GUIDE TO THE SR8 BUSH NEGROES FILE

[The Bush Negroes (also called Refugee Blacks) are the descendants of Black slaves brought as plantation laborers to Surinam mainly from West Africa starting in the last quarter of the 17th century. Many of these slaves escaped to the forests of the interior and formed communities of their own. After a period of strife, they concluded peace treaties with the Dutch colonial officials in the 1760s which enabled them to live an independent existence. They developed distinctive societies reflecting a blending and adaptation to local conditions of various West African sociocultural patterns. Also, their numbers increased markedly in the 18th and 19th centuries, so that the modern Bush Negro population is estimated to total about 25-30,000. For the most part, they live along the rivers of the interior of Surinam, but they seem to be increasingly expanding into adjacent French Guiana (cf. 1: Herskovits and Herskovits, p. vii; 5: Hurault, p. 2; and A.J.F. Kobben, Participation and quantification; field work among the djuka (bush negroes of surinam). In, D.G. Jongmans and P.C.W. Gutkind (eds.), Anthropologists in the field, 1967: 35).

The Bush Negro population is divided into four principal tribes: the Saramacca (Saramaka), the Djuka (Aucaner, Aucaner Auca, Awka), the Boni (Aluku nenge), and the Paramacca (Paramaka). Two or three other small tribes are mentioned in the literature, but very little information is given about them. Thus 6: Hurault (pp. 37, 39, 87) refers to the Bakabuchi, a small tribe in Surinam now presumably extinct, while 2: Kahn (p. 92) lists the Matawaai as a tribe living along the upper Saramacca River, with the Quintee-Matawaai sub-tribe located on the Copenam. The Matawaai may be the same tribe as the one referred to by 3: Coster (p. 7) under the name of Mantoewari; not only are the names similar, but roughly the same location is given in each case.

The Saramacca tribe, formed at the beginning of the 18th century, is the oldest and largest of the Bush Negro tribes. They "are very highly esteemed everywhere, for it is unanimously assumed that their magic is stronger, their techniques more perfected, than those of other tribes" (6: Hurault, p. 465). The Saramacca are located along the

lower Saramacca and upper Surinam rivers (including the Gran Rio and Pikien Rio) in Surinam. Kahn estimated their population as around 14,000 in the 1920s (cf. 1: Herskovits and Herskovits, p. vii; 2: Kahn, p. 92).

The Djuka tribe was evidently formed around 1760, and they are the second largest Bush Negro tribe. Population estimates for the 1950s range from 6,500 to about 8,000. They are located in the region of the upper Maroni (Marowyne) River, which forms the boundary between Surinam and French Guiana. Their main residential or "great" villages are in Surinam along the Tapanahoni River, while impermanent farming villages or camps may be found on both banks of the Maroni and on the islands in the river. Also, Djuka villages coexist with Boni farming villages on the Lawa River downstream from Abattis-Cottica Falls as far as Abounasounga; below the latter the settlements are entirely Djuka. Gradually, they are penetrating more and more deeply into French Guiana (cf. Herskovits and Herskovits, p. vii; 2: Kahn, p. 101; 3: Coster, p. 7; 4: Geijskes, p. 9; 6: Hurault, pp. 5, 13, 19; and Kobben 1967).

During one period of their existence, from 1815 to 1860, the Boni were considered as slaves of the Djuka. The Boni are the only tribe located primarily in French Guiana. Their six "great" villages are found along the middle course of the Lawa, principal tributary of the Maroni, upstream from Abattis-Cottica Falls. Their farming villages coexist with Djuka villages below the falls as far as Abounasounga, and there are three more recently founded small villages on the lower course of the Maroni. Hurault estimates their population as about 800 to 1,000 in the 1950s (cf. Hurault, pp. 1-2; 6: Hurault, pp. 4, 13, 19, 292).

The Paramacca occupy the lower part of the Maroni from the first waterfall (Hermina) to the junction with Beiman Creek. Population estimates in the 1950s range from 700 to 1,700 (cf. 4: Geijskes, p. 9; 6: Hurault, p. 12).

The Bush Negroes speak a lingua franca called taki-taki. This seems to be derived mainly from English, heavily mixed with African linguistic elements, and some Dutch and Portuguese words. In addition, the Saramacca are said to have a tribal language of their own called Saramacca tongo, which contains many African words but is essentially Negro-Portuguese, with a sprinkling of English and Dutch words (cf. 1: Herskovits and Herskovits, p. 345; 2: Kahn, pp. 161, 164; 6: Hurault, pp. 2, 12).

Each Bush Negro tribe has some degree of political unity, and could be classified as a chiefdom. There is a paramount chief called the granman or "grand man," who is assisted by a tribal council composed of the heads of the principal component matrilineal sibs. Generally, however, persons in these political offices exercise little temporal power. For example, among the Saramacca, broad policy issues or disputes between villages are brought before the granman and his council, but a village or group of neighboring villages belonging to the same matrilineal sib have a high degree of autonomy in governing their affairs (1: Herskovits and Herskovits, p. 190). As for the Boni, Hurault stresses that whatever authority the tribal officials have is religiously based. Thus the grand man of the Boni is believed to have special power over the spirits of the dead. He holds audiences of consultation and can use persuasion, but his effectiveness depends on his prestige and the people's religious beliefs. "In fact, the society of the Refugee Blacks has not elaborated true political institutions; it is essentially a grouping for collective defense against supernatural perils. The council, like the grand man, has power and authority only insofar as it remains closely bound to this function" (6: Hurault, pp. 99, 100, 103, 106).

Within each tribe the population clusters into a number of main residential or "great" villages, with those of the Djuka and Saramacca averaging some hundreds of inhabitants. The core of each village is formed by one or more matrilineages, and the head of the dominant matrilineage also functions as the village chief, assisted by a council. Subsistence is based on shifting cultivation, but some cash income used to be earned from Europeans and Creoles through the provision of transportation services on the rivers and by selling lumber. These sources of income have mostly disappeared, and nowadays many young Bush Negroes leave their villages to work as migrant laborers in the city of Paramaribo or elsewhere (cf. 6: Hurault, p. 13; Kobben 1967: 35).

Six sources have been processed for this file, two in English, two translations from Netherlandish, and two translations from French. These sources relate to the four principal tribal divisions previously listed as follows:

Sources	Tribes: Saramacca	Djuka	Boni	Paramacca
1: Herskovits & Hersko.	X			
2: Kahn	X	X	X	X
3: Coster		(X)?		
4: Geijskes		X		X
5: Hurault			X	
6: Hurault			X	

2: Kahn is a popularized account by a physician of the Bush Negroes in general, covering history, customs, and social life. Much useful information is presented, since this account is based on field data gathered by Kahn over the course of an eight-year period, 1922-1930. A potential source of confusion is his unfortunate use of the term "Djuka" as a generic name for the Bush Negroes, rather than as the name of a particular tribe.

3: Coster is the earliest source, dating from the author's residence in Surinam from about 1851 to about 1865. He seems to have had good business and personal relations with the Bush Negroes, and in this article he provides some interesting although miscellaneous cultural data. Most of the data probably pertain to the Djuka, but Coster never specifies the tribal provenience.

4: Geijskes is an article by a biologist based on field work in 1952 among both the Djuka and Paramacca. He focuses on a detailed analysis of patterns and problems of agricultural land utilization. Included is a valuable inventory of cultivated plants and some useful wild plants.

1: Herskovits and Herskovits is one of the two main sources in this file, and is written by a well-known professional anthropologist and his wife. The Herskovits did field work among the Saramacca for two summers in 1928 and 1929. Their book presents a general coverage of Saramacca culture, with greatest concentration on religion and the tribal assembly or council called krutu. But, as the authors themselves state, this book does not constitute a technically adequate basic ethnography. "The situations to which we have given emphasis are those which have a direct bearing upon the beliefs and practices of Negro people wherever they are found today,

but they are presented as they would - and did - actually occur among the Saramacca people" (pp. xii-xiii).

6: Hurault is the major source in this file, and consititues a very good basic ethnography of the Boni, with emphasis on demography, social organization, and the magico-religious system. Hurault is a French human geographer who has become the foremost authority on the Boni, among whom he has made seven field trips between 1948 and 1959.

Finally, 5: Hurault is an article analyzing and comparing some demographic characteristics of the Boni and the neighboring Oyana Indians (SR12). This is a very interesting study of a sort of natural biological experiment, since it involves two entirely distinct ethnic groups living side by side, with the same general way of life and diet, yet with striking differences in their basic demographic patterns and trends.

As this file now stands, the Boni are the only tribe with adequate ethnographic coverage. But several Dutch anthropologists, led by A.J.F. Kobben, have done extended field work among the Djuka in the 1960s. When their work becomes fully available, the Djuka will probably be the best described Bush Negro tribe.]

Processed in 1962, 1968

File Guide prepared in 1971
by Robert O. Lagacé

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

Preface

THE pages that follow describe scenes in the lives of a Negro people living in isolation in the interior of Dutch Guiana, South America. These Negroes are the descendants of runaway slaves imported from Africa, who took refuge in the dense Guiana bush and established African villages along the rivers whose rapids are their fortifications. The end of the seventeenth century already found these Negroes in constantly growing numbers up the Suriname River, and before the middle of the next century they were sufficiently organized to make repeated raids on the plantations for guns and gunpowder, for machetes and women. Several campaigns were conducted against them, but eventually final treaties were concluded with the Dutch owners of the colony, which guaranteed them their freedom. Today when a Bush Negro drinks with a white man his toast is "Free!" 175 [144]

Three tribal groups go to make up this Bush Negro population. The Saramacca tribe, of whom we write, is found in the heart of the colony along the upper reaches of the Suriname River (called by the Bush Negroes the "Saramacca," and hence so named in this book), and farther south along the Gran Rio and the Pikien Rio. This tribe has had the least contact with outside influences, and it is the Saramacca language which differs most from that spoken by the Negroes of the coastal region. The second is the Awka tribe, found mainly along the Marowyne (Maroni) River, which forms the boundary between French and Dutch Guiana; there are in addition several Awka villages on the lower Suriname. The third tribe, the Boni, 101 619

 [p. vi is blank]

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

PREFACE

is relatively small, and is localized in the interior of French Guiana, not far from the Dutch boundary. In any consideration of the Guiana Negroes, yet a fourth group must be kept in mind—that of the Negroes of the coastal region, who remained enslaved until their emancipation in 1865.

The country of the Saramacca people is reached from Paramaribo, the capital and port of the colony of Suriname (Dutch Guiana), by the weekly train which goes some ninety-five miles to Kabel, where the railway meets the river. From Kabel transportation into the far interior is by dugout canoe, owned and manned by Saramacca men. The country above Kabel, which the Saramacca people call the "big bush," is jungle. Over the watershed lie the Amazon basin and the forests of northern Brazil. Once in this region, the traveler has no contact with European civilization, though he is still under the protection of the Dutch Government.

The picture which we draw of the Saramacca people is based upon two field trips to Dutch Guiana, undertaken in the summers of 1928 and 1929. During our second trip we traversed the entire stretch of the Saramacca country from below Kabel, where the Awka villages are located, to the last native habitation on the Pikien Rio, beyond which are some fields, then uninhabitated miles of wilderness to the Brazilian border.

The ethnological work conducted among the Saramacca tribe of Bush Negroes and the Negroes of the coastal region of Suriname represents a portion of an investigation into the physical and cultural characteristics of the Negroes of the New World. This research, which is still in progress, has included field work in the United States, in Dutch Guiana, and in Africa, and some comparative study in the islands of the Caribbean. It began in 1923 with an inquiry into Negro-white crossing in the United States.[1] As the work progressed it became evident that the problem

[1] For the results of this portion of the investigation, see M. J. Herskovits, "The American Negro, a Study in Racial Crossing" (1928); and "The Anthropometry of the American Negro" (1931).

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

[2] glimpsed by me, seemed a problem worthy of being illuminated. Therefore in 1927 an expedition, under the auspices of Dr. Clark Wissler of the American Museum of Natural History, was undertaken with the financial aid of Mr. Myron I. Granger.

The short time allotted me during this expedition did not suffice for the gathering of much material on the history and culture of the Djukas; consequently in 1928 and 1930 further [2a] expeditions under the same auspices and also financed by Mr. Granger were organized. Djuka is a composite picture of these several journeys.

[0] As to the origin of the name "Djuka" there has been no little doubt. Many claim that it is a derivation of *Ouca* which was the name of the plantation where a treaty of peace was signed between the Bush Negroes and the whites nearly two hundred years ago. Perhaps that is true, for "Djuka" formerly applied solely to Bush Negroes of the Aucaner Auca tribe and is still so used by many but through widespread usage has come to designate not only the Aucaners, but all the Bush Negroes, collectively speaking.

[2] This work makes no attempt at being an ethnological or anthropological account in the scientific sense of the words. It is a narrative of personal observation among these Bush Negro tribes set down with such accuracy as is possible for one trained in another field of science. Its purpose is to further the understanding of these primitive people and to acknowledge their superiority in their own scene. Finally, this book has been inspired by sincere admiration of the

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

[352 1/A
322
532]

IN NORTH-EASTERN South America, more precisely in the hinterland of Dutch Guiana, there is a unique civilization little known to the white men of this continent. We know much of the strange life of the Congo and of the fascinating customs peculiar to the inhabitants of the Malay jungles, for a number of explorers have brought from the Eastern tropics the interesting accounts of their experiences. But of the Surinam Bush Negro, Djuka, as he calls himself, who nearly two hundred years ago fought his way out of slavery, of the survival of his African customs in the jungles of South America, little has been told. 114 101

The flush tides of imperialism have passed over these people, leaving them practically unaltered and unknown, unique among the Negro peoples of the world. They still maintain the life of jungle dwellers of the immemorial past.

3

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1/A [For caption, see category 116, p.204.--Analyst]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

114 Today they are hunting game with the long bow. Tonight
101 their bodies will be contorted with the sinuous movements of African dances, to the dull thudding of the tomtom. The huts along the rivers of Surinam are like the huts beside the Congo, as they were in the days of Stanley and the early explorers. And in these huts, polygamously, the Bush Negroes live.

114 There is a vicious irony to that famous phrase which describes the backward peoples of the earth as "the white man's burden." The backward sections of the globe have been invaded for exploitation, and the exposure of the natives to civilization is invariably disastrous. In West Africa the process of civilizing the natives has in a single decade decimated many of the tribes. Exploitation has ravished them with disease and despair, the gifts of the white man to the sons of Ham. In strong contrast with this deplorable life along the Congo, the Bush Negroes of South America are a proud and hardy race, independent of the white man and usually contemptuous of him. They have come into contact with white civilization and survived. *They have fought the white man with his own weapons and defeated him, forcing him to sue for peace.* Transported to this hemisphere originally as slaves, they threw off their bondage and began life again in the New World. Slaves, they organized armies for conquest. Primitives, they were the first new people in the Western hemisphere to establish their independence.

They were enabled to do this by the wild and inaccessible jungle, the ancient abode of their ancestors. In the face of

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

tribe of the Bush Negroes which owes allegiance to the 648
French. They have never forgiven the Dutch for their relentless pursuit back in the old rebel days. Several years ago the Dutch authorities made an effort to invite the Bonis back into Dutch territory; these overtures, however, were flatly refused.

The derivation of the word "Boni" makes for interesting 101
speculation, and three theories have been advanced to ex- 174
plain it. The first is that the word is derived from the French phrase "Bon Negre" or "Good Negroes" which the colonists of French Guiana applied to the Boni blacks because they were comparatively quiet and peaceful. It is also possible that the tribe may have been named after their famous rebel leader Bonny, who took such a formidable and prominent part in the rebellions. Thirdly, it has been considered that the name was derived from the Bonny River of West Africa, for undoubtedly some of the slaves came from that area. Although *B-o-n-i* is the official Dutch spelling of the word, when the tribesmen refer to themselves the accent is placed on the second syllable, and phonetically the word should be spelled *B-o-n-e-e* and pronounced much the same as the word *Pawnee,* the tribe of American Indians in the western United States. The Granman of this tribe, Awensai, receives his [643
annual stipend from the Governor of French Guiana at 728]
Cayenne.

The first village of the Boni, situated on the French side 361
of the Marowyne River, is that of Apatoo nestling at the foot 103
of the Armina falls. The entire French side of the river from

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Paramacca

seven days aimlessly in the high bush, and then happened 115
upon the putrid remains of a tapir which had been killed by 159
a jaguar and which food, after they chased the vultures away, was what saved them from starvation. He said that now they call themselves Teegre Nengre (Tiger Negroes), for they believe the jaguar was ordained to save them. One day his grandmother showed him gold in a creek bed and she told him never to touch it for she had seen it make white men crazy. His grandmother was born in Dutch Guiana. She had never told him stories of Africa, but he had heard of it from the Catholic missionaries. He knew that the blacks had come from over the sea, but he had also heard that they were the original inhabitants of the jungle who had been killed off by the Indians, with the exception of a few roving bands who had joined the escaped slaves. (Slaves are known to have escaped as early as 1650 and may have formed bands, which [101]
may, in turn, have joined the Boni tribe, for the Boni today are called Aluku Nengre—Indian Negroes—by the Aucaner and Paramacca tribes.) We also heard that the term Aluku Nengre refers to Indians of the Rukuyana tribe, of which one of the women was taken by Awensai, Granman of the Boni, as one of his wives. The term seems to be used in a somewhat opprobrious way on this account.

Old Captain Koffay, clear-minded and vigorous physically, believes that the white man will some day try to re-enslave the Bush Negroes and that there will be another war between them. "Bahkra greedy," said he.

The small Paramacca tribe does much less in the way of 800

/1/

Introduction

114 After having left the plantation life in the colony of Surinam,
121 [101] I went back there in the beginning of 1851 with the plan, as the result of an agreement reached by me with a Belgian firm, to send shiploads of wood to the motherland and Belgium.

[123] I undertook my journeys to the Bush Negroes for this purpose and visited most of their dwelling places, something that entailed effort and great cost, since I distributed ample presents everywhere for the purpose of thereby acquiring their confidence, which they do not readily grant to Whites.

123 At my very first encounter I took the precaution of politely
[576] greeting each one of them without distinction and shaking their
[177] hands, a practice taken over by them from the Whites in the most recent times, which assures them of a feeling of good-will such as they experience among themselves but never from a White.

[352] I spoke to them frankly and in a friendly way, sat next to them in their huts on their low stools, and partook of their meals. In short -- I lived for a while without reserve or fear among them, paying amply for everything that I enjoyed in this way or that.

[273] I also permitted them, whenever they wanted to use any of my store of beverages, such as wine, beer, brandy, and gin, to ask me for it quietly, so that I would be able to order my servants to offer them what they had requested. In addition I supplied /2/ them amply with dram (1), herbs, and lead and, in order to show

1. A kind of inland rum (sugar spirits).

generosity to the women as well, frequently gave them and the children biscuits, cake, or some coins.

[121] In the beginning they were very reserved and mistrustful, but gradually, and after some difficult years, became more open with me, so that I, adapting myself entirely to their practices, was able to carry out my plan to have the necessary wood processed by them.

/6 cont./

175 pacified Bush Negroes. From then on they received from the
648 Netherlands Government annual presents consisting of guns, herbs, lead, tobacco, rice, salt, dram, and so forth.

648 In later times, however, these were gradually decreased
829 by the government and finally completely abolished, as a result of which the Negroes no longer so willingly and without remuneration want to be of service to the government; since they believe that with the conclusion of the peace they came to an agreement with the government that on their part the Whites would no longer be hindered in anything, while they would endeavor to assist the government whenever that should be necessary, in return for which the presents mentioned above would be handed out to them annually on the part of the government. At present they complain about their treatment by the government and refuse to believe that they can and may trust the Whites.

101 The Bush Negroes are divided into four tribes: /7/
103 1st. Aucaners, who have their dwelling place, Auca, on the
133 river Marowyne; and they have their working places on the river above Cottica, where they come from the Marowyne by way of the Wanakreek. Among themselves they are called Joeka /Djuka/ and by the Whites, Aucaners, after the plantation Auca, where on 19 October 1760 peace was concluded with them.

2nd. Saramaccaners, who live on the river above Surinam, principally near the waterfall Arasoebanja near Gjengjen and Prakieki, and have their working places along the same river and in the cove /kreek," creek, cove"/ Taaiboto Kouloegrou and Kassipora. They are called Saramaccaners by the Whites, after the river of that name (where they formerly lived), and among themselves Wousie or Moejére.

3rd. Mantoewari, who have their dwelling place on the river above Saramacca and their working places along the same river on Maripaston and in the cove Mindrinetie. They are names like the Saramaccaners, since they, too, although separate, live on the same river.

/7 cont./

101 4th. Bonnie /Boni/ Negroes, living on the river above Marowyne; until 1862 they were in a state of slavery among the Aucaners, but at that time, through the intervention of the government, they were released from it. Their name is supposed to be derived from a former runaway slave who had placed himself at their head.

[175]
[567]

Chapter III

Government, Laws, Administration of Justice

643 Each of these tribes, except for the Bonnie Negroes, has a chief whom they call granman (governor); the uniform given to him by the government is a blue tunic with epaulets and a cocked hat with white plush.

[292]

Among the Aucaners the chief is called Byman, a cunning, courageous, and prudent man, around 63 years old.

The chief of the Saramaccaners is called Abram, an infirm old man who is very weak of character and has little influence.

The Mantoewari Negroes have a chief called Kalkoen, who, although aged and infirm, can nonetheless still be called firm of character.

631 /8/ Under their chief they have a certain number of captains and council members. The former are divided into bush captains, who take command in case of war, and into house or land captains, who deal with internal matters with the chief. The token of their prestige given to them by the government consists of a large staff with a round silver ball (drum-major's stick), on which is the Netherlands coat of arms with "Je maintiendrai."

[554]

344 They have a large open shed which serves them as court and which they call kroetoehoso (probably derived from the English "courthouse").

622 Their legislation is very limited. One who kills another is punished with death; one who poisons someone suffers death by torture, provided that substantial irrefutable proof exists. (See Chapter XI below.) If the death penalty is not appropriate, the

/135/

Agriculture among the Bush Negroes of the Marowijne /Maroni/

by D. C. Geijskes (1)

114 1. Government biologist with the Department of Internal Affairs, Paramaribo.

1. Introduction

121 182 When one goes to the small communities of the inhabitants of the bush who live in the interior districts of Surinam, one quickly sees, upon examination, the basis on which the maintenance of such communities rests. The struggle for existence among primitive peoples covers the food supply and the resistance that can be offered against illness and pests. These two factors ultimately determine the birth surplus, which as a result expresses the possibility for survival.

121 [161] Among the Bush Negroes we see in the course of the years an increase in the population, an advance, therefore, in spite of the obstructions of nature. But this advance creates new problems. [101] It was during the Medical-Scientific Expedition to the Southern Border of Surinam, held from February to July, 1952, that, in conjunction with the medical investigation in the gathering of data about the "housekeeping" of the Bush Negroes of the Marowijne /Maroni/ and the Tapanahoni, we were struck above all by the problem of the food supply and the food itself. There is little sense in paying attention only to medical care unless at the same time attempts are made to improve the food.

433 262 An important part of the food supply is produced by agriculture. This supplies the Bush Negroes with the most, but not the best food. Next to it a number of forest products serve to provide for the need for food fats, while hunting and fishing must provide the protein.

/136/

121 The agriculture of the Bush Negroes, however, has become
[241] a matter which urgently demands the attention of the administration as a result of the wasteful use of land. Until now little attention has been paid to this, but if one wants to develop the interior of Surinam, this problem will also have to be looked into.

101 The data provided here throw light upon the agriculture of
121 the Paramaccaners and the Aucaners on the Marowijne and the
[103] Tapanahoni. They were gathered during the above-mentioned medical expedition and during a trip to the Tapanahoni in October, 1952. The facts thus refer primarily to the Marowijne, but in general they are certainly also valid for the other rivers along
121 which the Bush Negroes live. It is a typically Surinam problem,
648 connected with the circumstance that the Bush Negroes have worked in the deep interior in the same fashion for hundreds of years, independent of the life in the civilized coastal region and almost completely outside the sphere of interest of the government.

2. The Grounds System

241 For the planting of agricultural crops the Bush Negro lays out little so-called food grounds. One is to understand by this cleared pieces of ground in the virgin forest on which the crops
[311] are cultivated. The grounds lie along the rivers on higher flat lands, mostly terraces that are not submerged during high water or, in the absence of such terrain, on the slopes of hills. They are more or less circular and have a surface area of a half to one and a half hectares.

241 During the long dry season (October, November) the men
221 clear the grounds. Two to three weeks thereafter the forest that
132 has been felled is burned; the smaller branches are cleared away,
462 but the trunks are left lying. The ground is not worked. As soon as the rains of the short rainy season begin, they start to plant and sow. This planting time falls in December and January. The wives of the Bush Negroes (for only the women do the further work) now plant all kinds of crops at the same time on one and the same ground.

000/141 cont./

241 of this predatory cultivation has been reached. The nearby
423 agricultural lands are kept in use with too brief a rest period, with
[134] the result that the soil is overworked and the periodic recovery
[825] of the forest proceeds at an ever slower pace. In addition one
struggles to an increasing degree with the problem /142/ of the
leaf-cutting ants, which keep the easily accessible places occupied.

241 The consequence of this circumstance is that the Bush Negroes
311 are forced to make the grounds farther and farther from their vil-
[484] lages. One travels for hours up or down the river in order to
[482] reach good land. When one cannot make good use of a forest
creek in order to transport the produce from the field, one is
forced to carry the harvest for one or two hours through the forest
to the river. The Bush Negro does not go farther than a two
hours' walk (about six kilometers from the river) (see the map /see
p. 13 /).

241 On the Tapanahoni one spends even days in traveling to less
311 populated areas in order to plant and to harvest. One then estab-
361 lishes so-called work camps along the river, from which one
[103] operates in the surrounding areas. This is the case, among others,
between Godoholo and Granbori for people from Drietabbetje or
311 other centers. That one does not go even farther up river, all the
423 way past the last village, Granbori, has to do with a prohibition
643 by the granman of the Aucaners. That is, the latter wants to re-
serve the lands lying beyond this point as hunting lands and there-
fore will not make them available for agricultural purposes.

241 The inhabitants of the villages along the lower Tapanahoni,
311 such as Sajé, Clementi, and Malobbi, frequently lay out their food
423 grounds in the Lawa, where they can have at their disposal agri-
361 cultural lands as far as the Aboenasoengoe Falls. Farther upstream
103 on this river the Bonni or Aloekoe Negroes assert their rights.

5. Differences between Aucaners and Paramaccaners

● 101 The conditions given above apply in the main to the Aucaner
162 Bush Negroes of the Tapanahoni. They number today approximately
[311] 6,500 persons. The Paramaccaner Bush Negroes of the Marowijne,
approximately 1,700 in number, are in somewhat more favorable

/142 cont./

101 162 311 circumstances because with their lower population density they are less seriously in need of land. But the same fate awaits them in the near future. In addition, the cutting of the forest has more serious consequences in this region because as a result exploitable timber is lost. Along the Tapanahoni, above the greater falls, woodcutting is impossible for the time being, so that the loss of wood in these districts does not as yet play an economic role here.

6. Measures toward Improvement

433 The question now is whether the grounds-operations of the Bush Negroes must be regulated by a higher authority. My advice is: The /143/ sooner improvement can be brought about in this, the better, and for the following reasons.

[311] 1st. Because of the grounds-system practiced from olden times, the Aucaners of the Tapanahoni in particular now have such a land shortage that further growth of the population is thereby hindered.

[262] 2nd. The food supply of this Bush Negro society is precarious and one-sided; this threatens to become more and more unfavorable, with the consequence that the health situation will require more and more care.

3rd. The Bush Negroes cannot be considered capable of bringing about changes for the better in these agricultural methods by themselves.

[167] 4th. Occupying these districts becomes less and less attractive for the younger generation, whereby a spreading of the [464] population over other areas takes place. The men try to find work in the lowlands or in the concerns in French Guiana.

5th. Through the wasteful use of land the supplies of wood along the rivers are in danger of becoming lost entirely.

6th. It is to be feared that unless help is offered through government channels in time to help this bush population out of the impasse, its social and economic retrogression will soon become seriously felt.

4: Geijskes--13 G, N-5 (1952) 1954 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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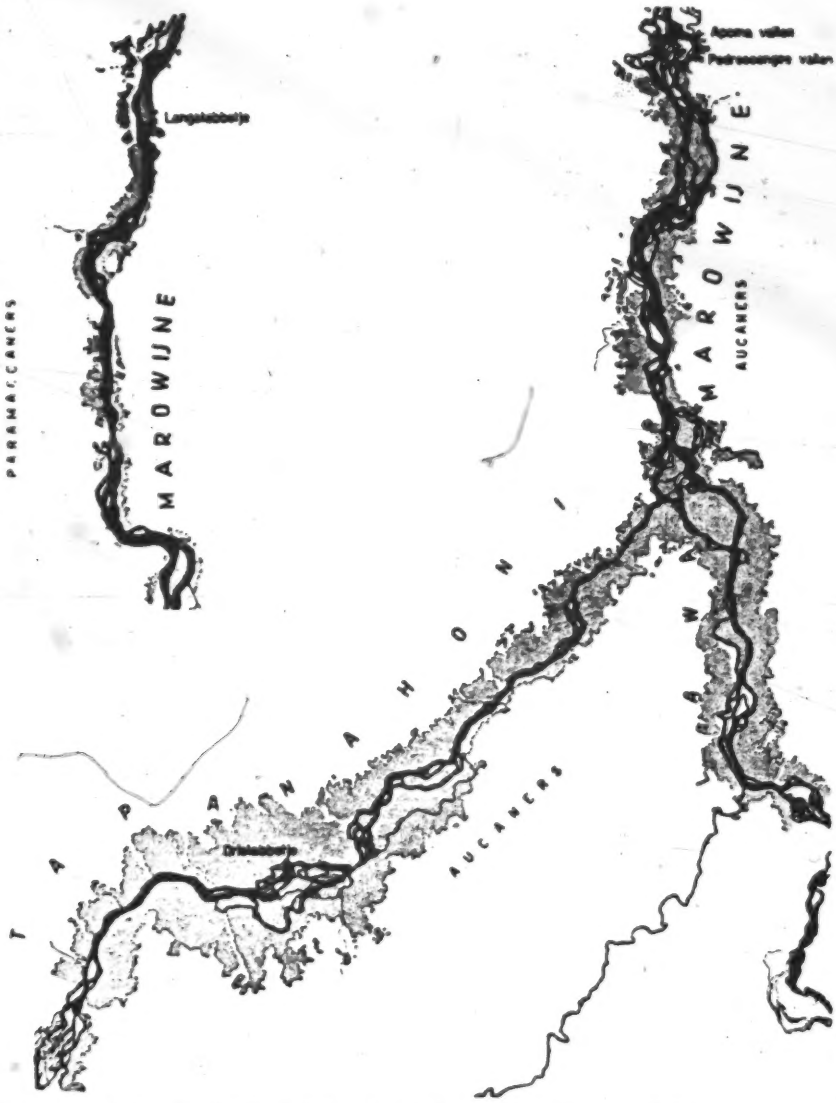

Survey map of the agricultural lands of the Bush Negroes of the Marowijne /Maroni/. Made from aerial photographs by the Central Bureau Luchtkaartering Paramaribo /Central Bureau for Aerial Surveying, Paramaribo/. Taken in 1947.

/509/

Introduction

B R 101 [122] During the expeditions of the Institut géographique national in French Guiana in 1948 and 1949, we lived in close contact with the Boni Refugee Blacks and the Oayana /Oyana/ Indians of the Upper Maroni. These populations present the remarkable peculiarity of belonging to two entirely distinct ethnic groups while living side B R 121 by side, leading in general the same way of life, and having the same diet. Historical circumstances have thus joined together in the Upper Maroni the conditions of a rigorous biological experiment which, so far as we know, do not exist so distinctly in the other regions. In fact, wherever two different ethnic groups coexist, they usually do not have either the same habitat or the same way of life; for example, on the coast of Surinam the Indonesians live mostly on the rice plantations and the Blacks in the towns, under quite different conditions of habitat, diet, and hygiene; B R under these conditions, the differences observed on the level of pathology and demography are difficult to interpret.

114 121 Doctor André Sausse, who accompanied us, studied the Boni and the Oayana Indians on the medical level; he submitted evidence that these two populations presented a distinct pathology having B R profound repercussions on their demographic situation (1). During

[113]

1. Dr. André Sausse, Populations primitives du Maroni /Primitive populations of the Maroni/, Larose, Paris, 1951.

B R this period we lacked the time to substantiate these data by a 101 census and by a systematic interrogation of the women. We were 114 able to carry out this work at the close of the expedition for the 121 delimitation of the southern frontier in January, 1957. The data [122] collected have been verified and completed in the course of two other expeditions made for the Office de la recherche scientifique dans les territoires d'Outre-Mer /Bureau of Scientific Research in the Overseas Territories/ (October 1957 – February 1958 and

B
R /509 cont./
101 October 1958 – January 1959), expeditions whose principal aim
114 was the sociological study of these populations.
121

/510/

Social Structure and Way of Life

B
101 The Boni Refugee Blacks. The Boni are one of the above-mentioned
[175] tribes of the Refugee Blacks, reconstituted in the course of the eighteenth century by rebel African slaves who escaped from
B Surinam plantations (Dutch Guiana).
[131] These tribes (Saramaka, Djuka, Paramaka, Boni) live for the
[161] most part along the rivers of the interior of Surinam. They group together a total of 25,000 persons.
B
161 With very rare exceptions, the Refugee Blacks are pure Africans.
[144] These populations, vigorous and well adapted to the country, have experienced in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a remarkable demographic increase, attested to by all the authors. Descended from small rebel groups which could not have contained more than a few hundred women, they are now estimated at more than 25,000 persons.
B
162 The Boni of the Upper Maroni, the subject of the present study,
103 number approximately 800, of whom 660 are on the French bank
[161] (the villages of Boniville, l'Enfant Perdu, Loka, Asiw, Papaïston, and Kormotibo) and 140 on the Surinam bank (the village of Kotika). These villages were established long ago.
B
613 Each of them groups together a matrilineage, i.e., the
621 descendants in the uterine line of one single founding ancestress;
769 certain villages know their genealogy in its entirety back to this ancestress, who must have lived at the end of the eighteenth century. The members of the lineage are united by the cult of the
B ancestors, which binds them firmly to their natal village and to
[622] their land. The social system is based essentially on this cult,
[793] the chief of the village being above all the priest of the ancestors.
B Strictly speaking, there is no marriage, but only an acknowl-
581 edged concubinage which entails neither a contract between the

/1/

INTRODUCTION

114 101 [122] In the course of three missions of the Institut Géographique National in 1948, 1949, and 1952, we lived in close relationship with the tribe of the Boni, who supplied us with the bearers and boat crews indispensable for travel in the country. From the first contacts, we felt a deep interest in this worthy people, made up in the 18th century of rebel slaves escaped from the plantations of Surinam.

114 [121] Taking advantage of the rare moments of respite allowed us by our work, we tried to study the various aspects of their material, social, and religious life. The men who accompanied us were for the most part young men who had only a limited understanding of the tradition of their group: in addition, the geographic work compelling constant moves in the uninhabited forest, investigator and informants were more often than not prey to worry and fatigue.

[101] [121] At the end of the mission to fix the French Guiana-Brazil boundary in January, 1957, we were able to undertake a systematic investigation based on a detailed inventory of the population of the villages.

114 101 [122] A fifth mission made under the aegis of the Institut Français d'Amérique Tropicale (IFAT) from October, 1957 to February, 1958 permitted us to fill part of the gaps in our work. Some complementary data were collected in October-November, 1958 on the occasion of another trip devoted mainly to the study of the Indians of the Upper Maroni.

128 The present work is exclusively devoted to the social life of the Boni. The information we assembled on their material life and their art, as well as their demographic situation, will be the subject of separate publications. /blank page/

/5 cont./

133 This extreme fragmentation of the relief must be remembered
182 as one of the ecological factors influencing the human peopling most directly; it renders the transport of heavy loads impracticable, the establishing of roads practically impossible. Men are led to
[361] settle along the rivers, which constitute the only routes of penetration toward the interior of the country.

133 All the important rivers flow into an alluvial valley whose
132 width varies from some tens of meters to a kilometer, dry during the greater part /6/ of the year, but flooded under several meters
134 of water during the great rains of May-June. This annual inunda-
241 tion makes the alluvial lands unfit for agriculture; the inhabitants of Guiana cultivate only sloping lands and even very steep slopes readily; for good drainage of the soil is indispensable for the raising of manioc whose tubers, which remain in the ground for more than a year, are threatened with rotting.

311 The cultivable zone is in fact closely limited around each village. Practically, it is limited to a strip of 1,500 to 2,000 meters along the banks of each watercourse accessible to pirogues.
[482] Transport of manioc tubers, carried on by the women several
[462] times a month, becomes impracticable if the distance to be covered with loads is greater than two kilometers at the maximum (1).

[101]
[131]
[184]

1. The Djuka, very numerous on the Tapanahoni, cultivate as far as three or four kilometers from the river; but in general, the Refugee Blacks prefer to build farming habitations at a distance of several days' by boat from their village when this gives them the possibility of farming in the neighborhood of the banks.

F /10 cont./

233 Since about ten years ago Creole exploiters without any
433 outside aid have built up a herd of several hundred head, principal-
F ly with an eye to the provisioning of the mining center of Benzdorp.
[508] The existence of an airodrome and regular air connections permits
F envisaging the export of meat to the coast. The success of animal
233 raising in the Upper Maroni seems to be attributable to a rainfall
[132] lower in total amount than on the coastal strip but better distributed,
[311] as well as to the nature of the soil. It is principally on the floodable alluvial strip bordering the river to a width of 500 to 600 meters that cattle find the most favorable conditions, taking refuge on the neighboring hills during the three weeks of annual inundation.

F Winning pastures from the forest and defending them against
[461] the encroachment of the bush represents continual work, but it
[464] can be carried out on the Maroni far better than on the coast, thanks to the man power of the Refugee Blacks.

F One cannot yet come to a conclusion on the profitableness
[433] of this animal raising. Like many other enterprises in Guiana it
[435] is handicapped by its too high cost price which prevents effective competition with imported products.

B 2) The populations of the Maroni, descending from rebel
101 slaves of the 18th century, who are often called Refugee Blacks, are divided into three tribes: the Djuka, the Paramaka, and the
B Boni, whose customs are practically identical and whose dialects
197 are very close. These dialects are variations of Taki-taki, vehicular language derived mainly from English, whose use was widespread in the time of slavery and which has become the national language of Surinam.

B The Paramaka, 700 to 800 in number, occupy the lower part
162 of the course of the Maroni from the first waterfall (Hermina)
131 to the junction with Béiman Creek. They are not navigators but
B farmers and foresters, who furnish highly prized man power for
433 the enterprises of the Saint-Laurent region.
464

6:Hurault--121 K-5 (1948-1958)1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni
French Guiana SR3
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Populations of the
Maroni and Mana Basin

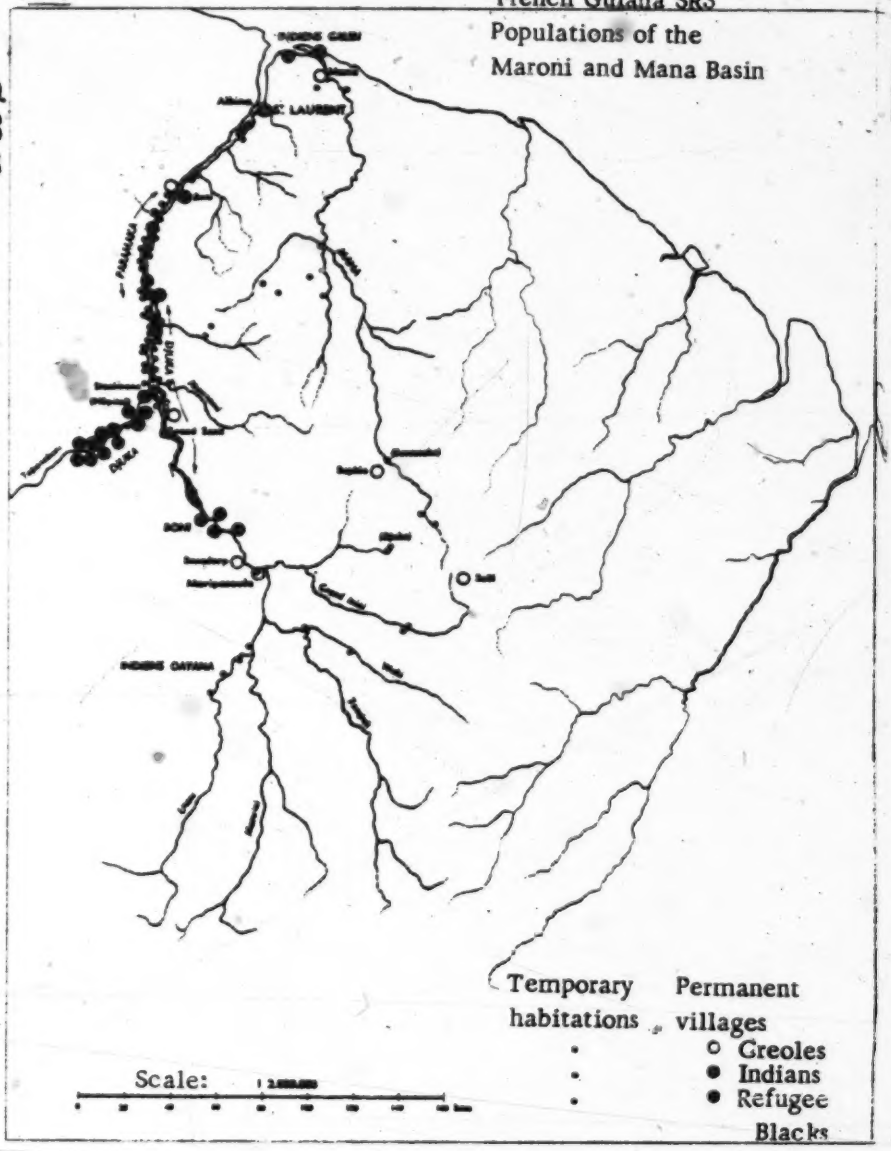

Fig. 2.

/17 cont. /

162 —On the Lawa a group of a little less than 680 persons is
103 settled on the French bank (villages of Agodé (Boniville), Asisi,
361 Loka, Tabiki (l'Enfant Perdu), Lapé (La Paix), and Papaïston).

—In proximity to this grouping subsists under Dutch control the village of Kotika (Cottica), grouping about 150 persons.

—In the region of Abounasounga two small groupings live in symbiosis with the Djuka. Finally, in the lower course of the Maroni exist three villages: Apatu, Ma Imma, and Wétiti. The whole represents about 150 persons.

361 These villages are stable: Kotika, Lapé, Asisi, Kormotibo
182 were already in existence at the beginning of the 19th century
[175] and their names figure in the report of the Franco-Dutch border mission of 1861; by contrast, farming habitations are moved according to the necessities of agriculture and fishing; thanks to this organization, a relatively numerous grouping can, in the interior of Guiana, in spite of conditions imposed by the geographical environment, conserve complete stability and a firm attachment
[171] to the ground. It is useful to compare this organization with the basic instability of the Indians of Guiana, for it shows very well that this instability is ascribable to psychological and sociological factors and not at all to the geographic environment.

• 101 The Boni designate themselves by the term Aluku nēnge. The meaning of this word is forgotten. It is possible that Aluku was the name of an ancient chief, or of the founding ancestress
[613] of a lineage. On this subject it is to be noted that the name of the most ancient ancestress known of the Dju lineage, who can be thought of as living at the end of the 18th century, was called
[175] Aluku. This name has been used since the origin of the tribe;
[103] indeed one reads in the interrogation of the woman prisoner conducted in 1847 by the French at Oyapok that her village was called Loukou (1).

/17 cont./

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1. Archives du Ministère de la France d'Outre-Mer, Guyane /Archives of the Ministry of Overseas France, Guiana/, A3-02.

611 /18/ Villages and Kin Groups

Among all the kinship systems which existed in the African tribes from which they issued, the Refugee Blacks came back unanimously, and from the beginning, to matrilineal filiation.

571 Their social system is symbiosis, under the authority of the
613 grand man, of a certain number of localized matrilineal kin groups.
643

613 Matrilineal kin groups of the Boni. With the Boni the basic grouping is the lineage, in the rigorous sense of the term, understanding by that all descendants in maternal line from a single ancestress.

To designate the kin groups the Boni employ almost interchangeably the words lo (troop, band) and bɛɛ, womb. In fact these expressions correspond to two variant interpretations of the same notion:

614 bɛɛ: matrilineage in the widest sense, understanding by that all persons knowing that they are issue of the same ancestress, even if the genealogical ties are forgotten, and even if these persons are scattered in several villages under different authorities;

lo: lineage fraction grouped in one village and constituting a distinct social unit.

The lineage bears a name whose origin is forgotten by present-day Boni; some of these names allude to a plantation or to a slave-owner, for example Lapé (La Paix: a plantation of the Cottica River); as for others, the name of the founding ancestress may be involved. Example: Kawina (name of the lineage constituting the village of Papaïston).

614
613 /26 cont./

[621] This village had no future. its complement did nothing but
[591] melt away for half a century, especially under the influence of
[177] venereal diseases.
[164]

Neither time nor geographical separation have brought on scission on the religious or legal planes. In this respect the members of Dipélu I and Dipélu II continue to think of one another as
[784] the same lineage. They remain subject to the same kunu.

613/614 The law of exogamy continues to be applied rigorously within Dipélu I and within Dipélu II, but marriages are permitted be-
582 tween Dipélu I and II. There are no longer any social sanctions about this, and the common origin of the two groups is so remote that they scarcely think any more of applying to them the term
[784] pikadu. But such unions remain exceptional, the people concerned continuing to fear a superhuman sanction.

[621] No element of heterogeneous origin, fragment paternally related or refugee outsiders, has settled among the Dipélu.

613 The Papaïston or Kawina lineage (Papaïston village) has
[621] remained perfectly coherent and well grouped. Its members know their genealogy as far back as an ancestress named Térésa, who must have lived at the beginning of the 18th century. But there exists a small fraction, nearly extinct, which we shall designate as Papaïston 2, which presents a separate genealogy going almost
[614] as far back in time. Nobody knows the origin of this group exactly; it is regarded as connected by kinship ties to the main group, but the members of the two groups consider that they form two distinct
[784] bee. They do not have the same kunu.
[582]

Marriage is not tolerated within the principal group, but it is allowed between members of the two groups.

613 Moreover, with the Papaïston lives a small group which
621 fled from Surinam about the end of the 19th century, originally
[167] of the Bakabuchi tribe. This group has no kinship tie at all with
[101] the Papaïston but has placed itself under the authority of the head

/27 cont./

614 The Aw.B.2, on whom we could not get sure information
[123] because this very closed group did not cooperate willingly with the inquiry, appear to be in a very similar situation, with the difference that their genealogy goes back much farther in time and they no longer remember the origin of this fraction nor the
[184] circumstances which tied its fate to that of the Aw.B.1. This group apparently has a separate kunu.

613 The Awara Bakka lineage is in a special situation from the
614 point of view of exogamy, for not only are there marriages be-
582 tween one fraction and another, but there are two within the same fraction and between relatively near relatives. Thus this group,
[183] without openly rejecting the law of exogamy, does not attach the same importance to it as do the others.

613 The Afi lineage. This lineage was founded by Afi, wife of a man from Papaïston, who came to live with him. Like the
[101] Toïna lineage, she had come from the small tribe called Bakabuchi which lived in Surinam. However, the Afi and Toïna lineages are not of the same matrilineal origin and the present members of each of the two small groups have no common worship. All of
[571] them have lost every tie with their original tribe, and their social life is entirely dependent on that of the Boni group which has taken them in.

[621] Afi settled near Kormotibo. This site is abandoned by her descendants who live, most of them, in Asisi, the rest in Kormotibo.

The lineage has lost every tie with its group of origin.
[619] Nevertheless, it is assumed that if one of them wanted to go back there, on proving his relationship, he would take up all his rights again and could demand a site for making his clearings.

613 /28/ The process of assimilation which took place for the
621 AW.B.3 did not come into play for Afi's descendants with respect
571 to the Papaïston lineage. They are regarded as a separate family group, insufficient in number to constitute a social unit and whose members are placed under the authority of the heads of the villages

/43 cont./

114 of the true foundresses and the circumstances of the formation of
613 the lineages (invaluable information which must still have been present in the memory of the old men at the end of the last century) are lost forever.

128 In order to simplify the drawing up of the genealogical
601 tables, we have eliminated individuals deceased before adult age.

128 Names. To insure the necessary anonymity to our informants
551 without diminishing the accuracy of the statement, we have
601 changed a large part of the names. The fictitious names under
162 which individuals are designated in the genealogical tables as
[101] well as in the inventory of the population were mostly taken from the Djuka, who belong to the same cultural and linguistic group; in other cases, in order "to figure" the census we used a more complex process consisting in exchanging the names of two persons. Children younger than 15 are designated simply by an initial (1).

[648] 1. It is particularly disagreeable to the Refugee Blacks to have their children's names known by Europeans, with the exception of
[123] the doctor. All systematic questioning on this subject runs into clear hostility.

114 Despite these precautions, we recommend that travelers
609 provided with this work make no allusion in front of the Boni to the facts related in it; the Refugee Blacks are very proud and cannot allow an outsider to penetrate forthwith into their family privacy. That would provoke lively hostility toward the indiscreet person and would hinder later work.

114 The table of correspondence between true and fictitious
128 names is held at the disposal of sociologists who may wish to conduct studies on the Boni.

/83 cont./

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--The Dikan lo, lineage of the grand man, nearly extinct
--A fragment of the Kotika lo
--A fragment of the Dju lo
--A fragment of the Lapé lo
--A fragment of the Papaïston lo
--A fragment of the Dipélu I lo

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The Dikan lineage holds the real rights over the whole of the lands situated on the eastern bank of the Lawa, from Puu Mofu Creek to the south up to the edge of L'Enfant Perdu village to the north.

The fragment of the Papaïston lo established in Boniville is in a special situation; it has for a long time possessed the lands situated to the south of Puu Mofu Creek up to the edge of Loka village (Lapé lo). This group has remained strongly organized and its members do not make clearings outside their zone, in which they have all the space desirable anyway.

The members of the other groups make their clearings on all
[643] the surface formerly occupied by the Dikan lo. The grand man has reserved for his personal use the lands situated near Likanaon Creek, where he has built a farming habitation. The inhabitants of Boniville make their clearings on all the rest and without any definite territorial grouping.

[101] This finage (1), like the others studied in the present chapter, was

1. Finage: zone cultivated by the members of a collectivity.

visited in January, 1957, in other words shortly after the end of the land-clearing and at the beginning of the planting.

Study of some clearings of the Agodé bakka locality "behind Boniville":

abbreviations:	(K)	Kotika	(D)	Dikan	(Dip)	Dipélu
	(Dju)	Dju	(P)	Papaïston	(L)	Lapé

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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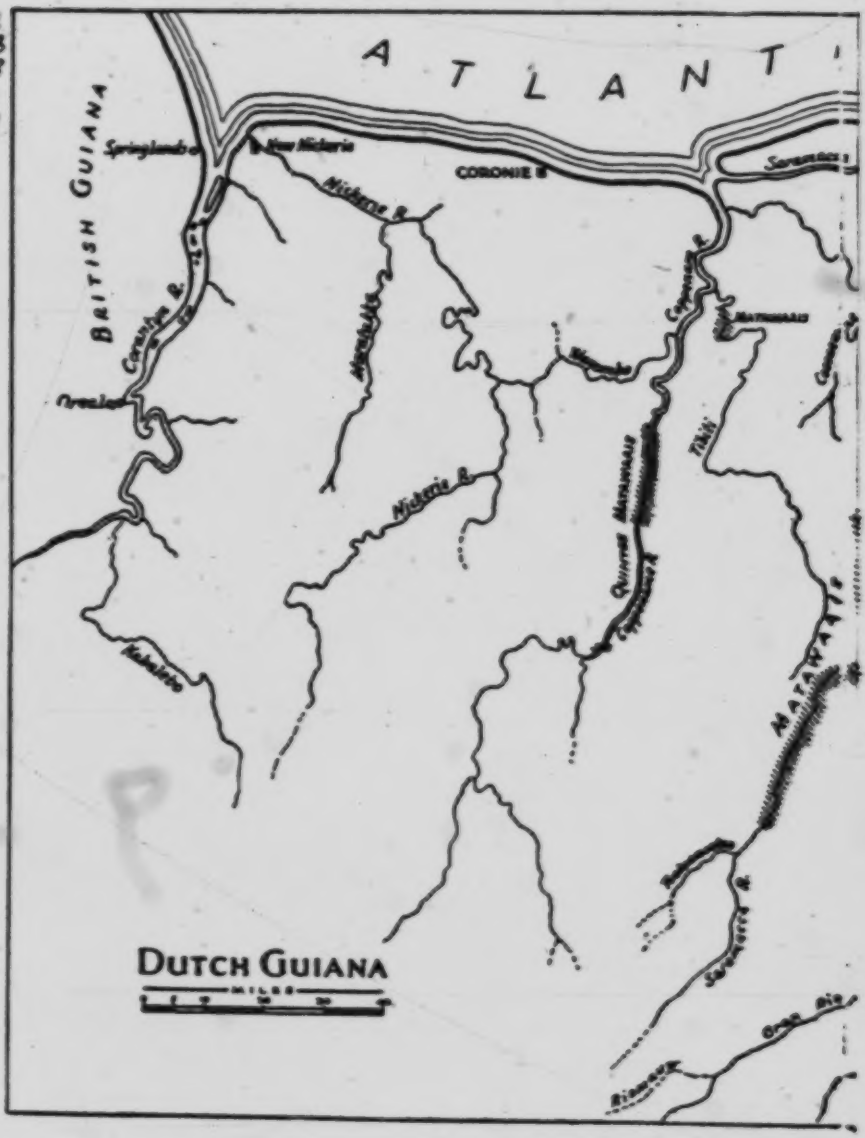

[Facing p. 100, Sec. A]

Distribution of Bush Negro Tribes
Drawn after a sketch by

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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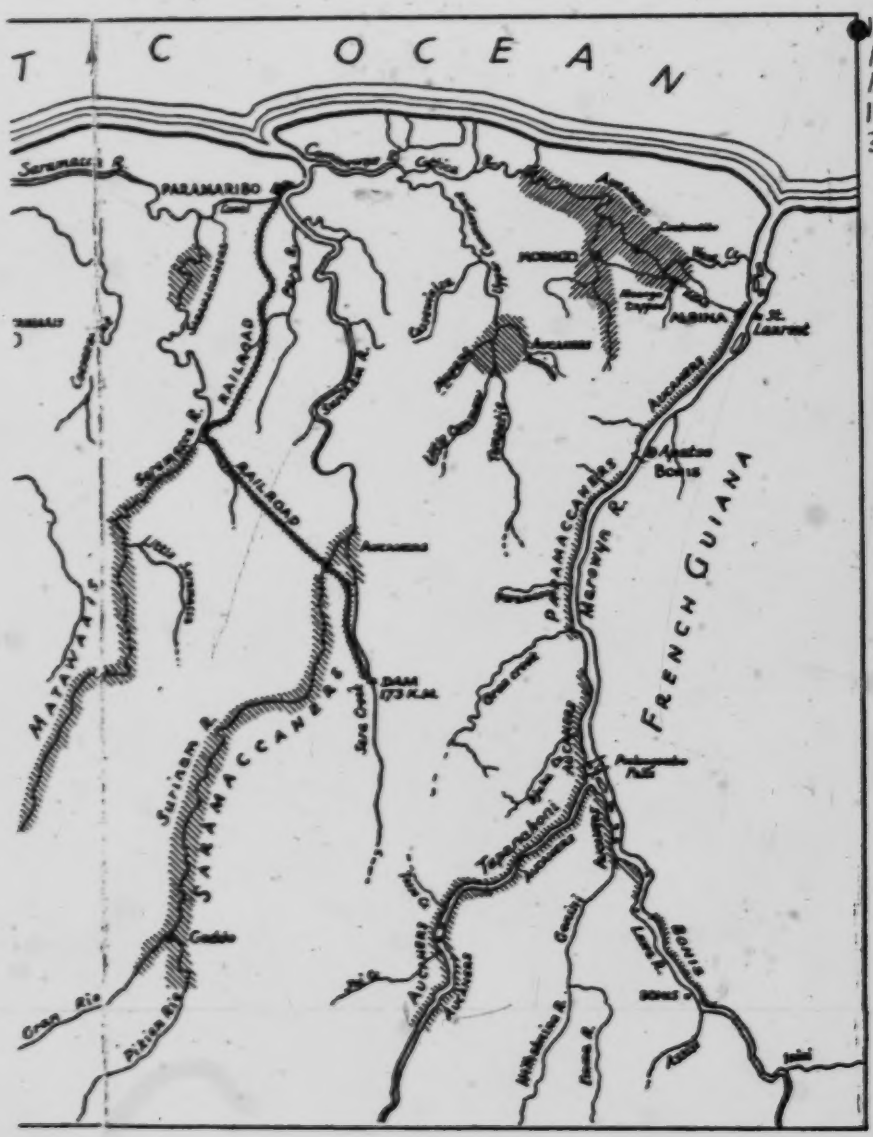
T C OCEAN
PARAMARIBO
RAILROAD
RAILROAD
MATAWAI
JARAMACCANEES
PARAMACCANEES
FRENCH GUIANA
Marowijne R.
Saramacca R.
Suriname R.
Coppename R.
Gran Rio
Pikien Rio
Tapanahoni
Boeni
Lawa R.
Litani
DAM
173 K.M.
Cottica
Commewijne R.
Cassipora R.
Saramacca R.
Sara Creek
Gonini
Mindonica R.
Tamu R.
Aluku R.
Aucaners
Aucaners
Aucaners

4: Geijskes--13 G, N-5 (1952) 1954 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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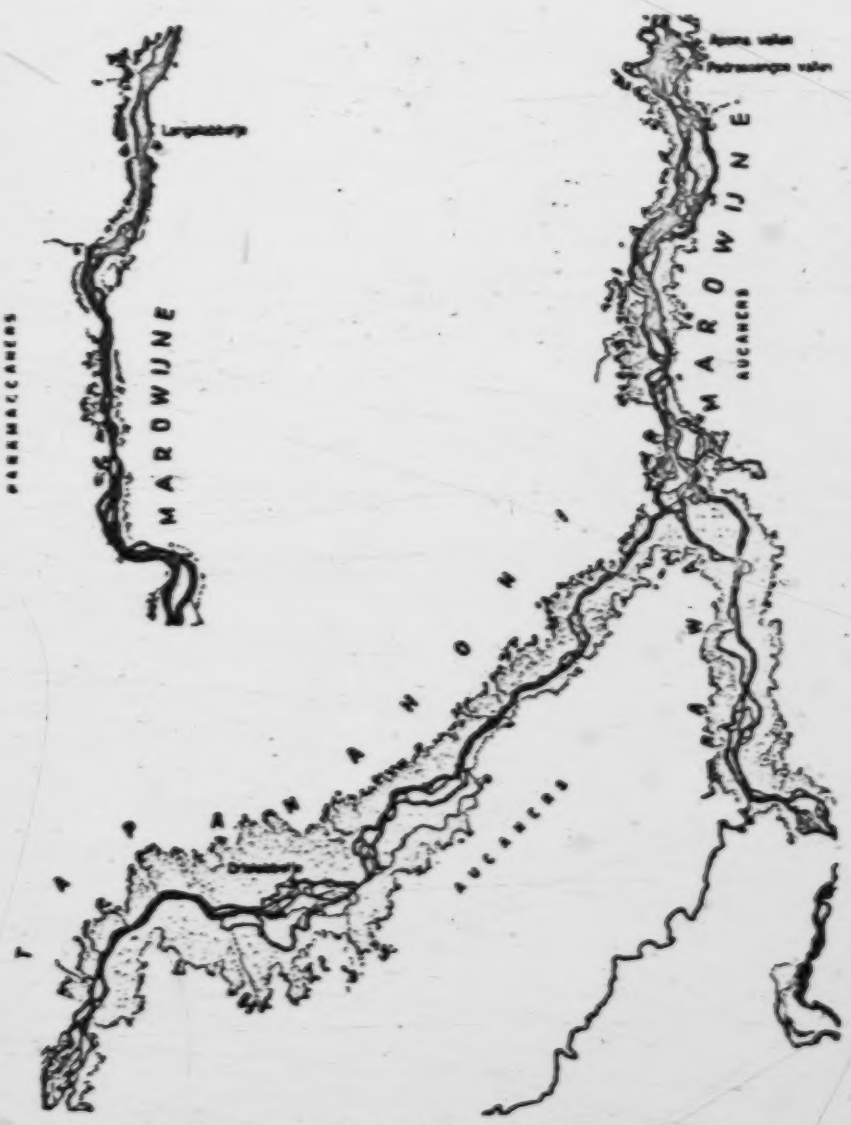

Survey map of the agricultural lands of the Bush Negroes of the Marowijne /Maroni/. Made from aerial photographs by the Central Bureau Luchtkaartering Paramaribo /Central Bureau for Aerial Surveying, Paramaribo/. Taken in 1947.

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A (p. 576)
B (p. 577)
C (p. 578)
D (p. 579)

Chart of Positions of End Map /facing p. 576/

6:Hurault--21 K-5 (1948-1958)1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni
French Guiana SR3
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B
F
101
102
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361

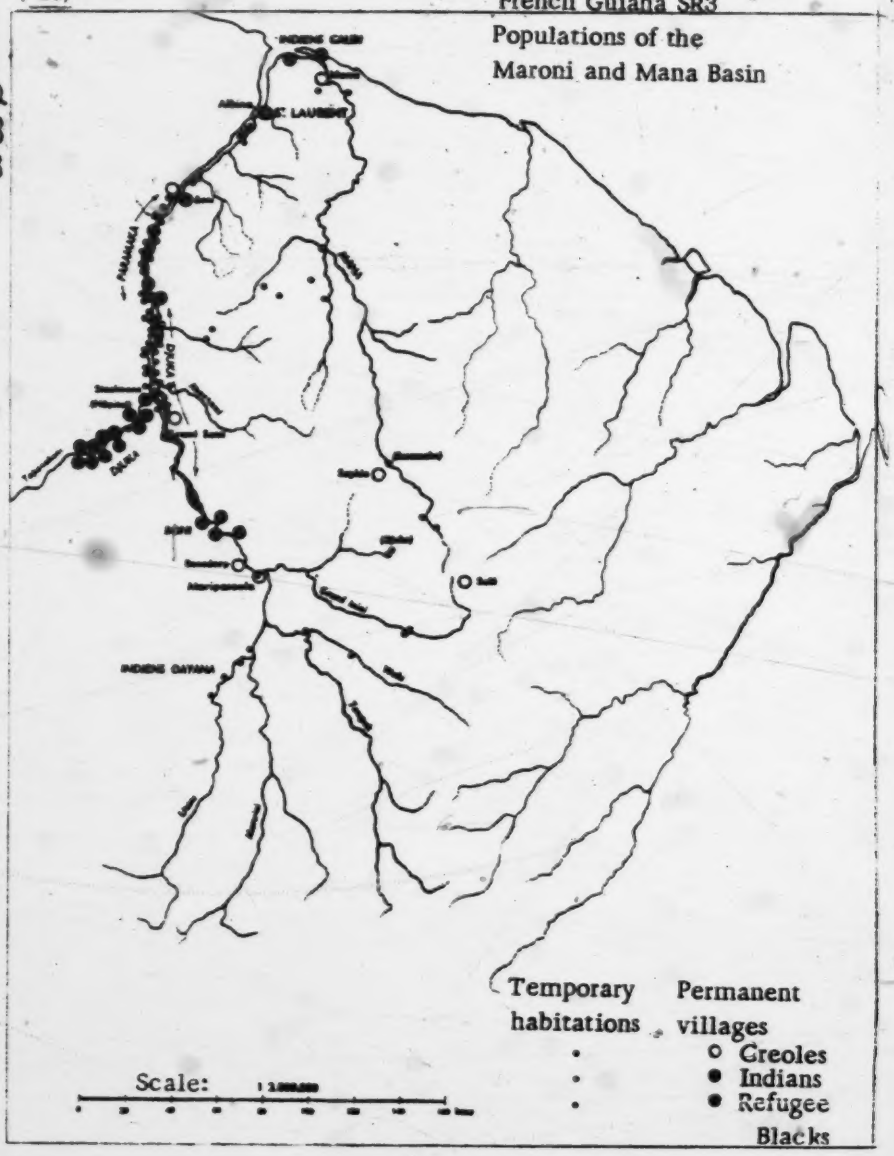

Fig. 2

6:Hurault--66 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

/45/ Boni

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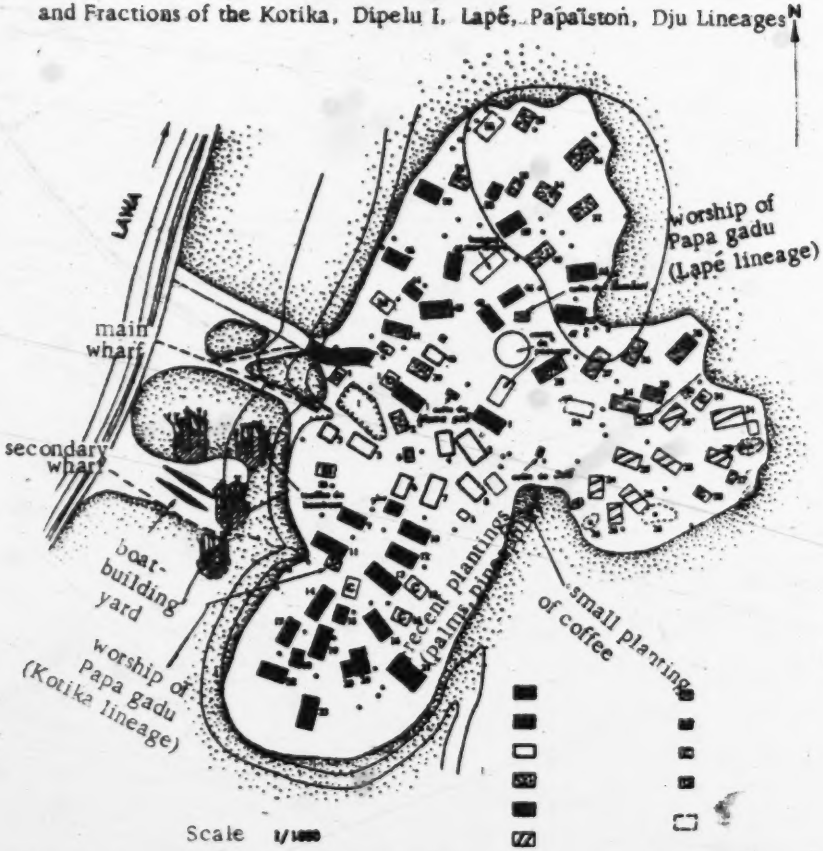
Agodé Village
(Boniville)
in Oct. 1957
Dikan Lineage
and Fractions of the Kotika, Dipelu I, Lapé, Papaïston, Dju Lineages



Scale 1/1000

/touffes de bambous = clumps of bamboo;
culte de = worship of;
cases de passage = guest houses;
hangar mortuaire = mortuary shed/

/see symbols on p. 68a/

Fig. 7.

/45 cont./

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361
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/The symbols below refer to Fig. 7 on p. 66./

lineages

- Dikan
- Kotika
- Dɔu
- Dipelu
- Lapé
- Papaïston
- Poti (Djuka origin)

- chapels (gadu ɔ/u)
- Munu ɔ/u (1)
- kitchens
- various outbuildings (granaries, etc.)
- building in ruins
- single trees
- clump of banana trees
- clump of pinot palms /ouassi/

(1) Houses to which women retire during their menstrual periods

6:Hurault--68 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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/47/

l'Enfant Perdu Village
(Dipelu I lo)
in 1957

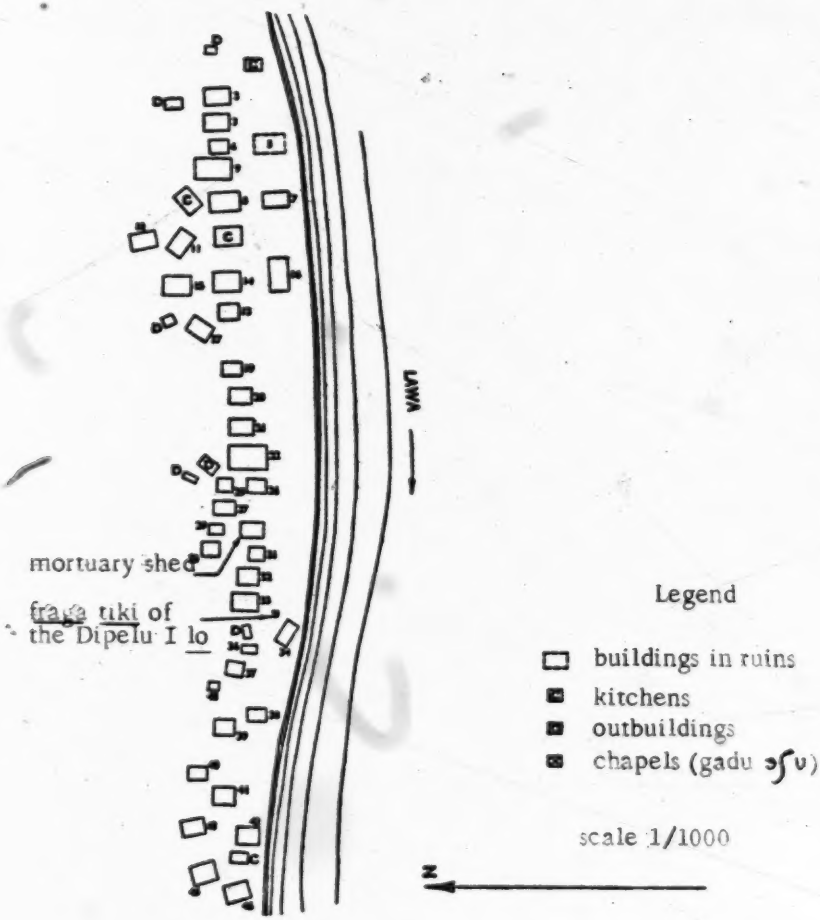

Fig. 8.

6:Hurault--70 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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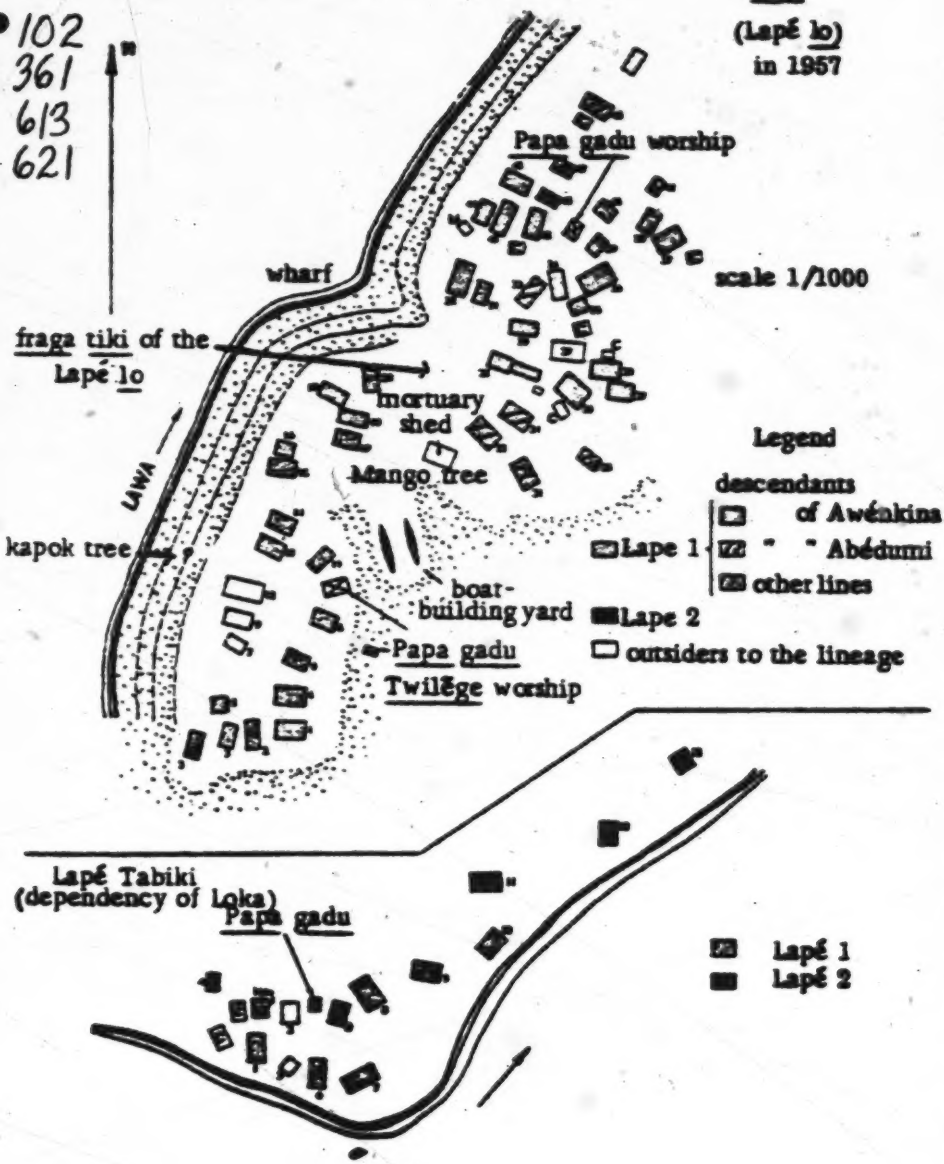

Fig. 9.

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Asisi
Dju Quarter
(Dju lo)
in 1957

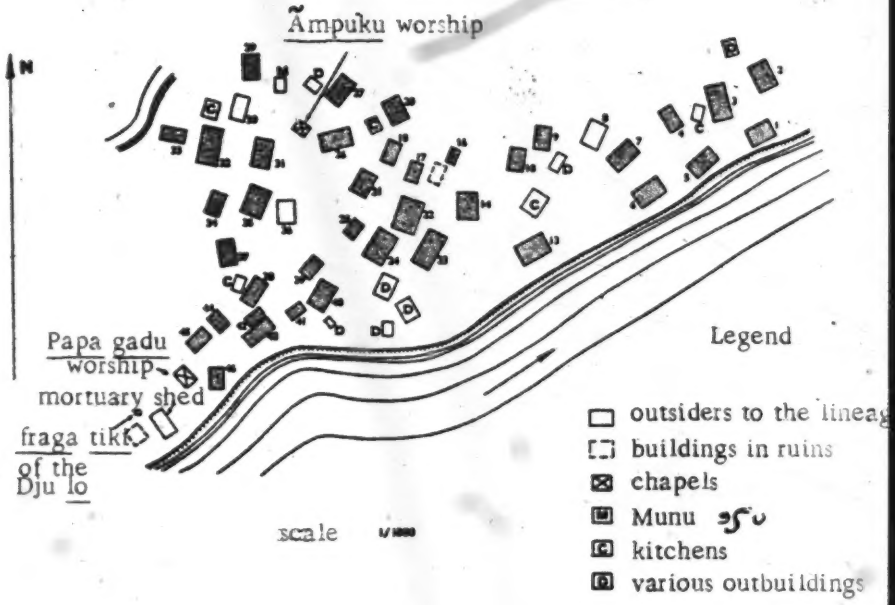

Fig. 10.

/53/

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613
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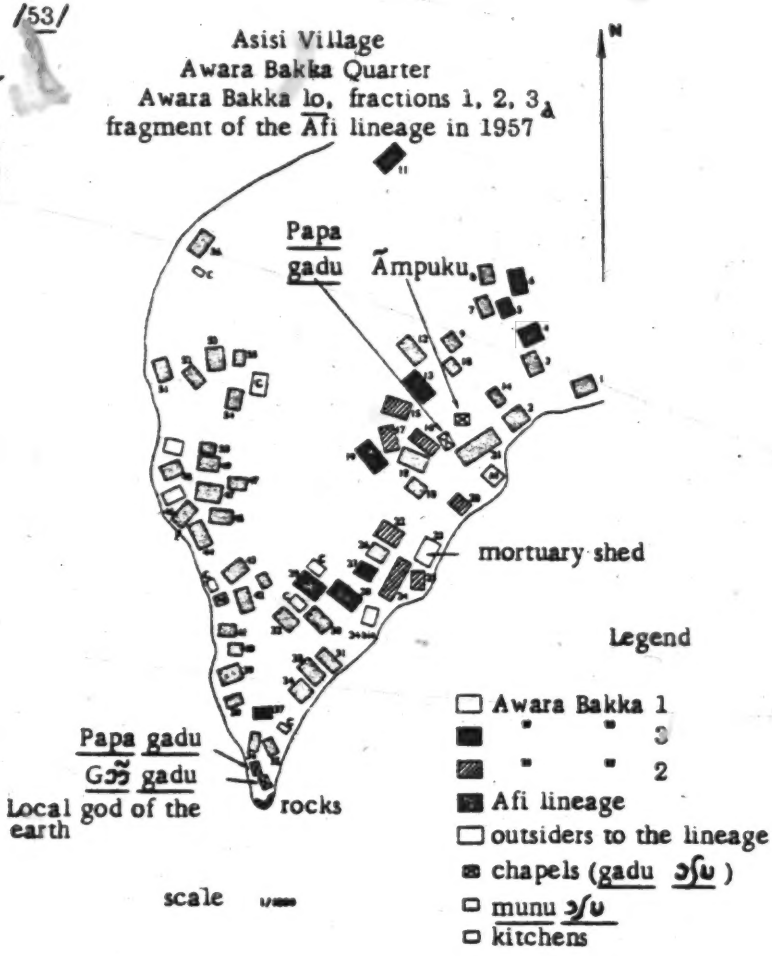


Fig. 11.

/55/

102
361
613
621

Papaïston Village
in Oct. 1957
Kawina or Papaïston lineage,
fragment of the Toïna (Bakabuchi) lineage

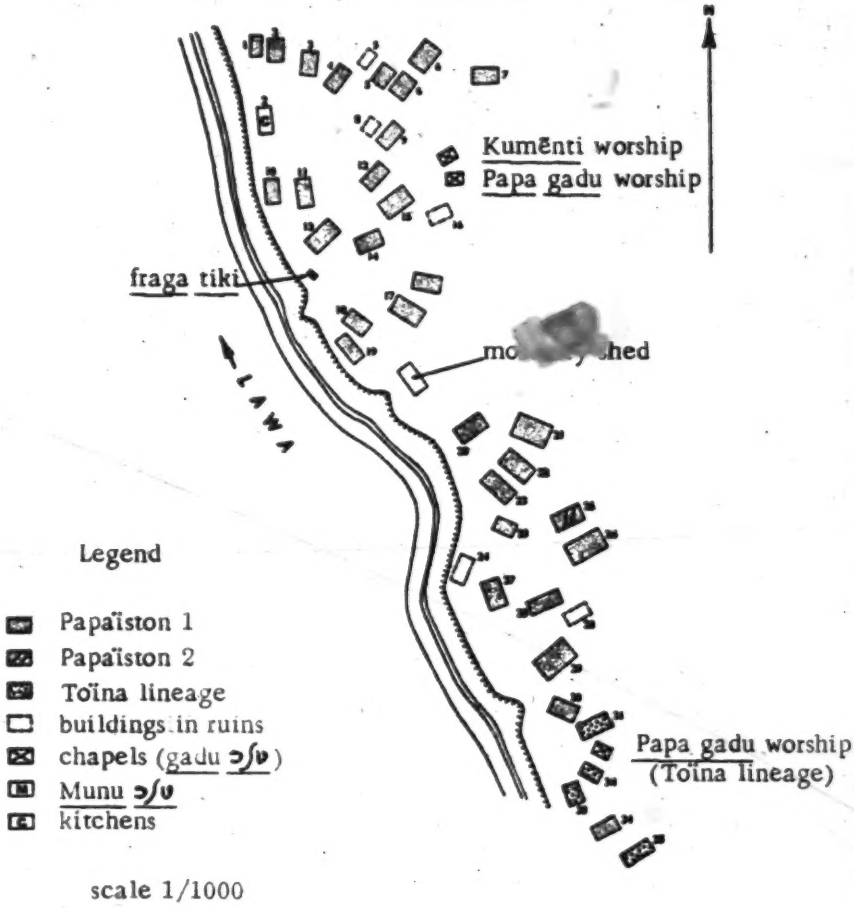
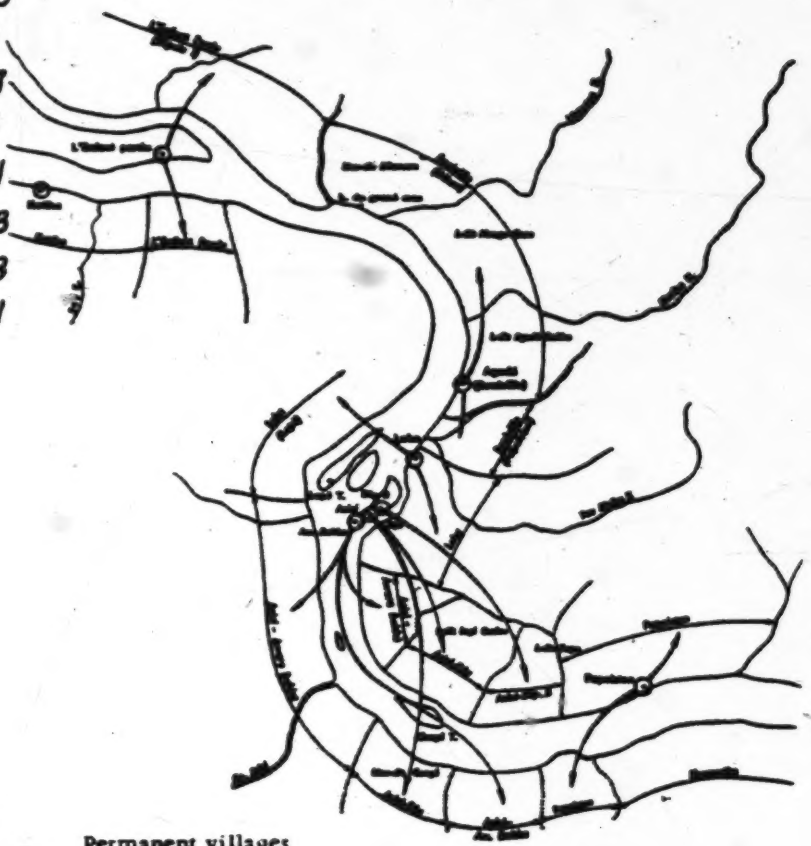


Fig. 12.

/98/

102
109
131
133
311
361
423
613
621

Distribution of Lands in the Neighborhood
of the Principal Boni Villages



Permanent villages
Boundary lines

Scale:

/K. or Cr. = Creek,
Lieu-dit = locality,
h. du grand man = habitation of the grand man,
Zone inondable = floodable zone./

Fig. 16.

6:Hurault--145 K-5 (1948 1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

/facing p. 100/

102
103
133
241
361

Boni Farming Habitations South of the Confluence with the Inini

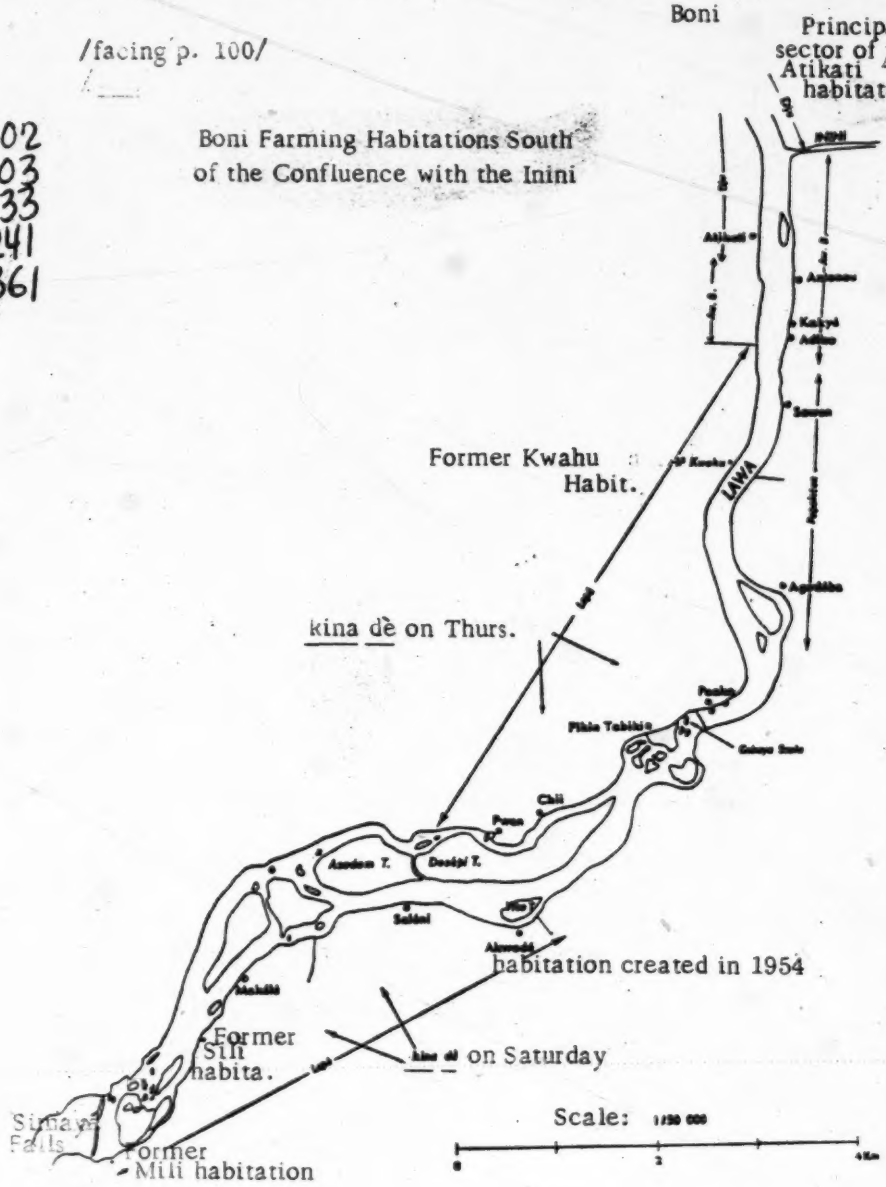


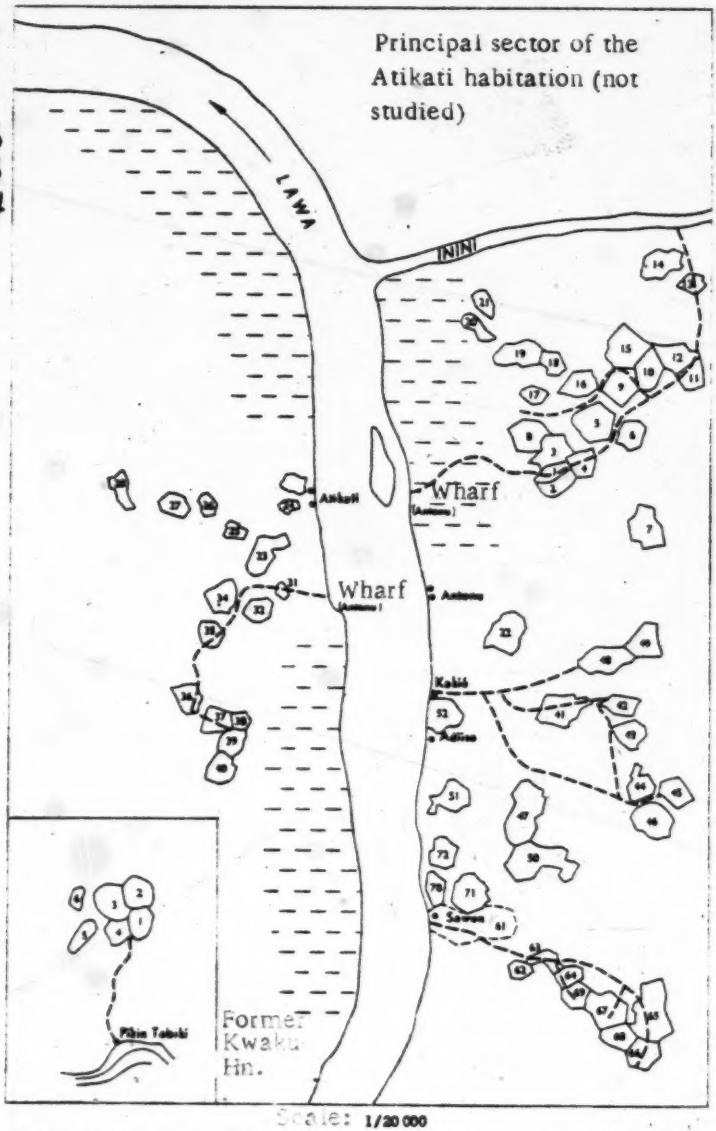
Fig. 17.

6:Hurault--158 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/facing p. 108/

102
103
133
241
361
423
613
504

Distribution of Lands among the Lineages
in the Neighborhood of the Confluence with the Inini



Scale: 1/20 000

After photographs by the 003/200 IGN mission, taken in October, 1956

• farming habitation

flooding zone ⬡ clearings studied in January, 1957

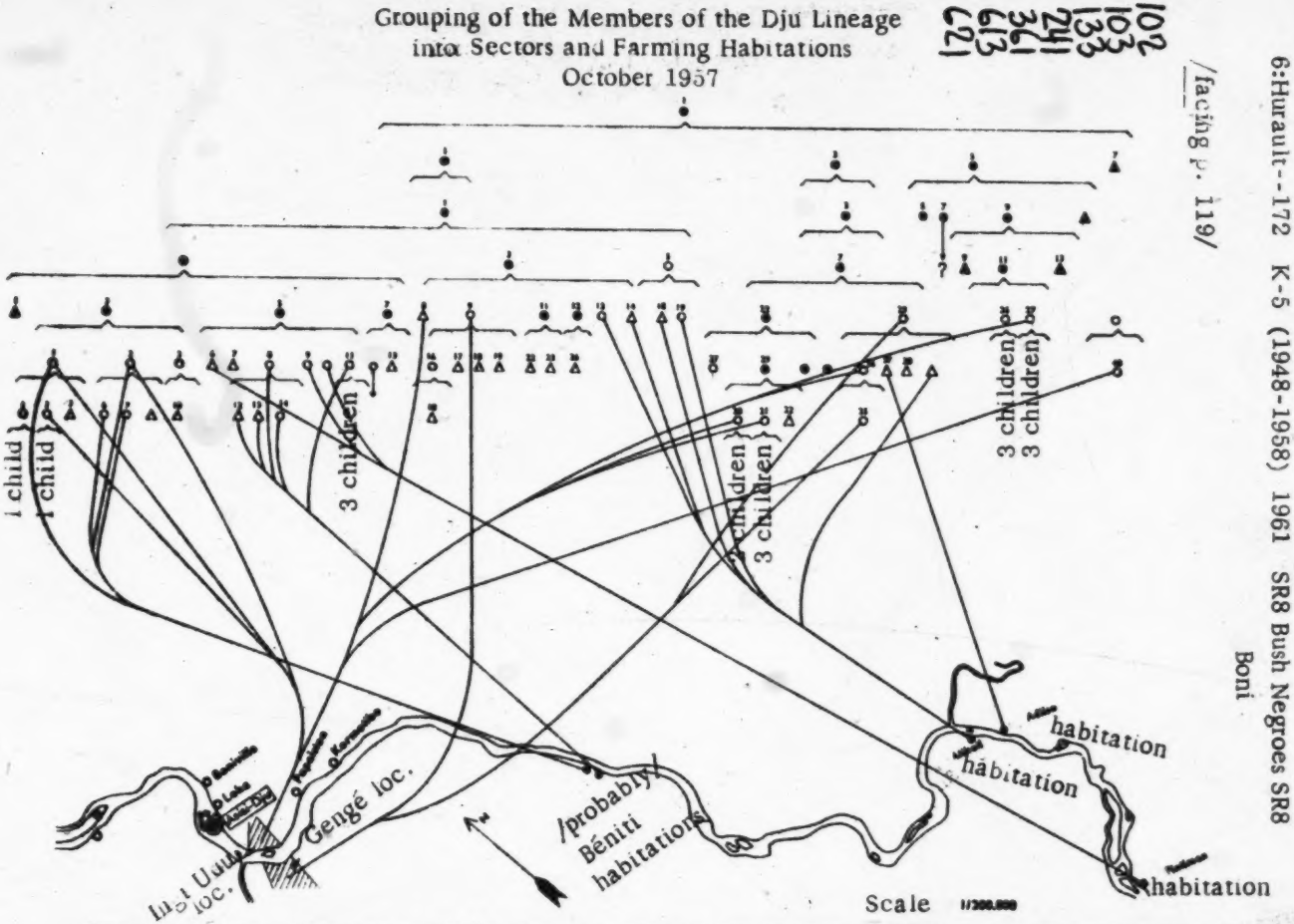
Fig. 18.

6:Hurault--172 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/facing p. 119/

102
103
133
241
361
613
621

Grouping of the Members of the Dju Lineage
into Sectors and Farming Habitations
October 1957

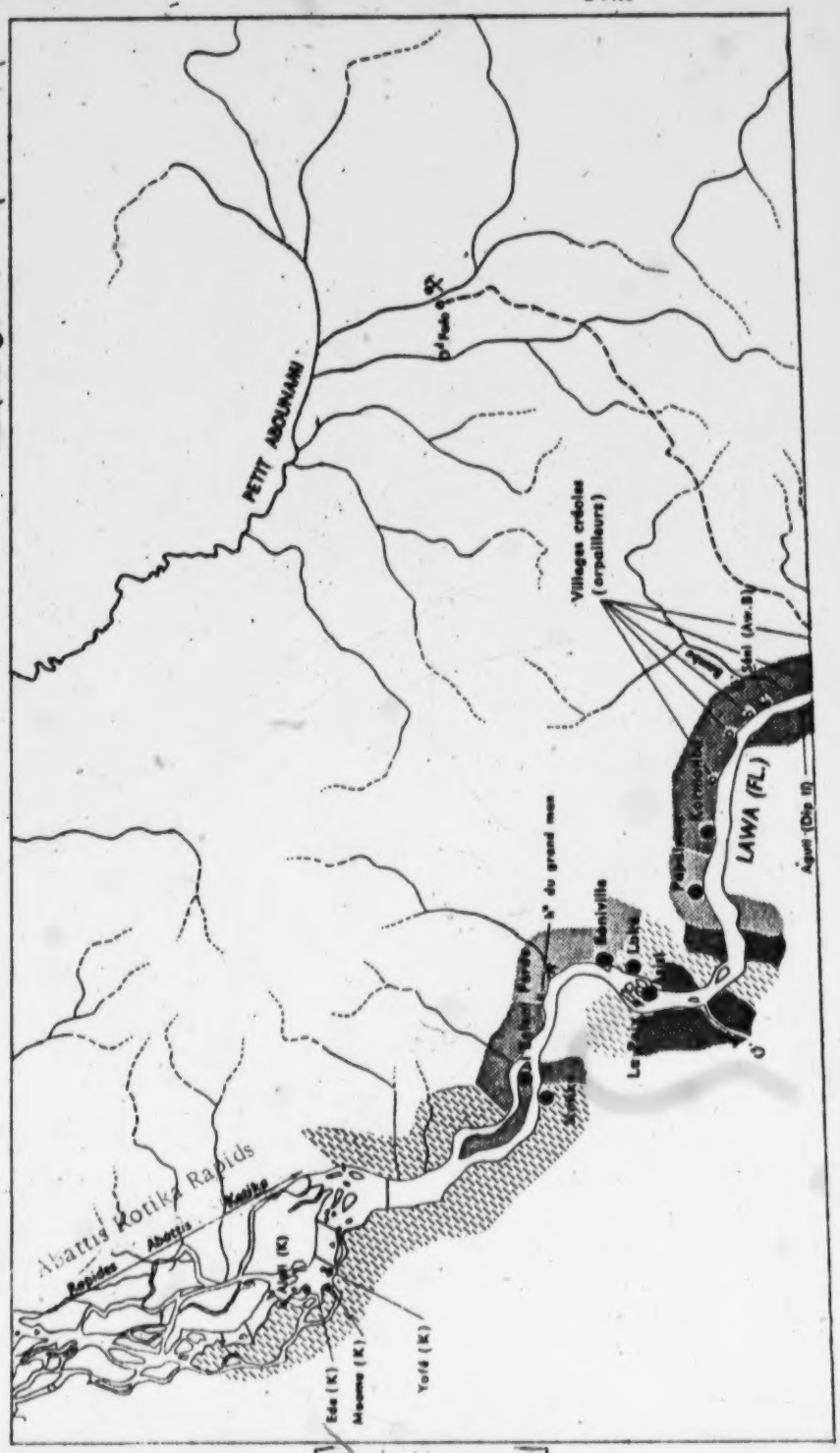


This chart shows the absence of any tendency toward the scission of the lineage into separate fractions.

Fig. 20.

6:Hurault--576 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

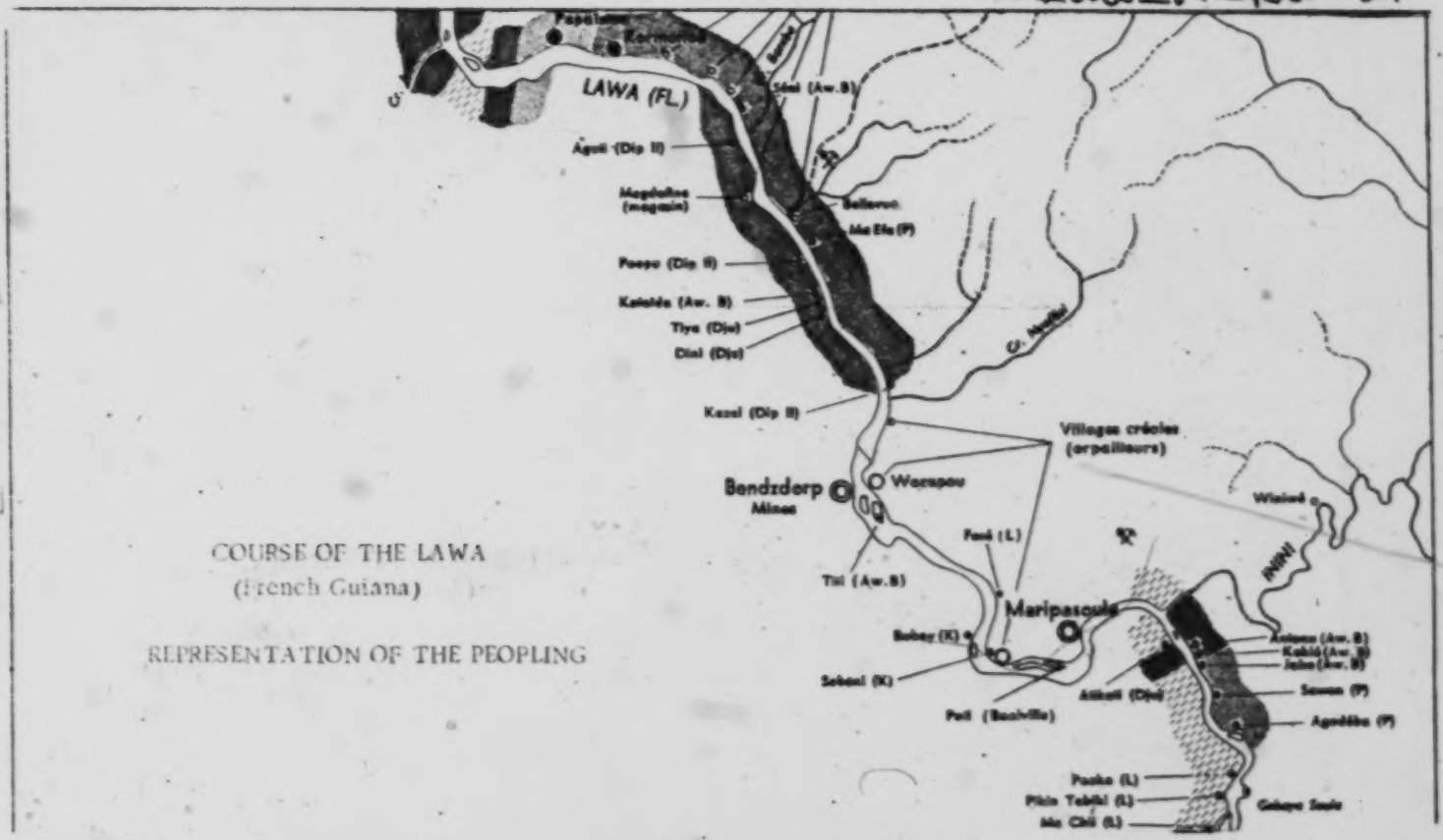
102
103
131
133
162
311
316
361
423
613
614
621



End Map - A

G:Hurault--577 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

102
103
131
131
133
162
311
316
361
423
613
614
621



COURSE OF THE LAWA
(French Guiana)

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLING

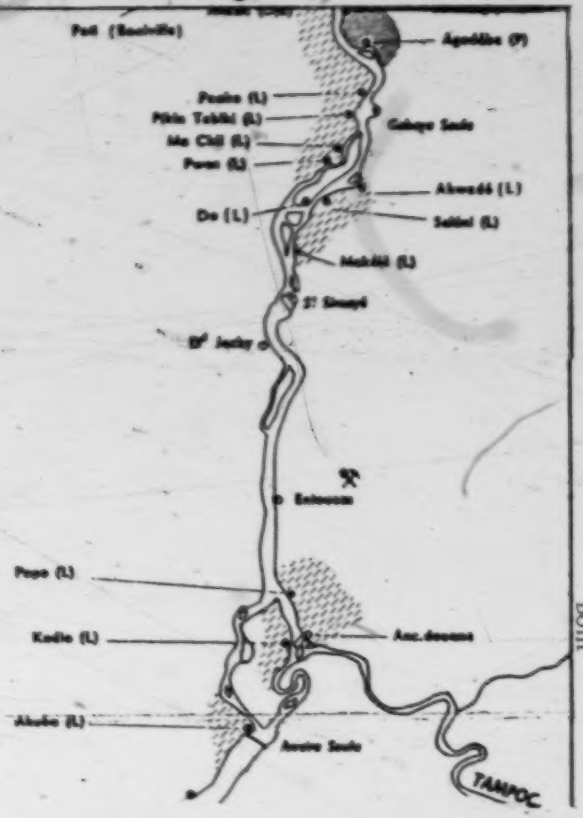
End Map - B

Villages and Farming Habitations
in 1958

- Boni residence villages
- Boni farming habitations
- *Creole villages*
- European establishments
- Creole habitations
- Small gold workings
- Indian villages

Lands belonging to the Boni lineages

- (K) Kotika lo
- (Dip) Dipé lu lo
- (D) Dikan lo
- (L) Lapé lo
- (Dju) Dju lo



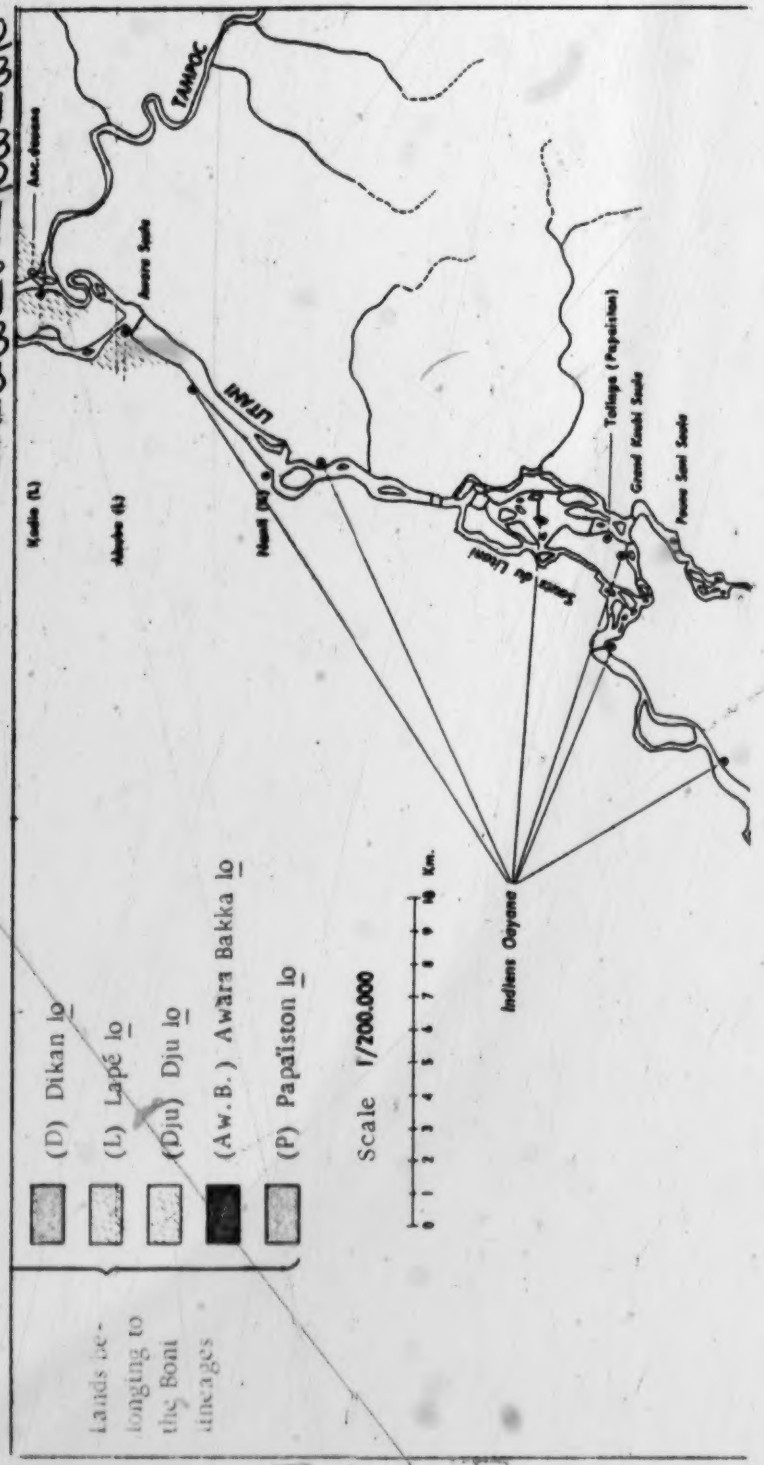
6:Hurault--578 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

102
103
131
133
162
311
316
361
423
613
614
621

End Map - E

6:Hurault--579 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

102
103
131
133
162
311
316
361
423
613
614
621



102
103
133
241
311
361
423
487
504
613
614

A (p. 580)	B (p. 581)	C (p. 582)	D (p. 583)

Chart of Positions of End Plate /facing p. 580/

DIVISION OF LANDS AMONG THE LINEAGES IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF THE PRINCIPAL BONI VILLAGES

102
103
133
241
311
361
423
489
613
614
504

Photographic montage made with the help of photographs of Field Trip 007/200 IGN Guiana
Scale 1/20 000 Taken in October, 1956

[End Plate-A]

6:Hurault--581 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

●102
103
133
241
311
361
423
487
613
614
764
504

Scale 1/20 000

[End Plate - B]

6:Hurault--582 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

102
103
133
241
311
361
423
487
504
613
614

Scale 1 / 20 000

[End Plate - C]

6:Hurault--583 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

102
103
133
241
311
361
423
487
504
613
614

Agodé Permanent villages
clearings
floodable zones
boundaries not known
farming habitation
dégrad (wharf)
path
approximate boundaries of agricultural land

[End Plate - D]

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

175 Now we were in the true, true Saramacca country, the land which the Bush Negro feels to be entirely his own. White men, it is true, had been here before, but only a handful, and the gods of the river, who were powerful, saw to it that of these not many got back to the white man's land. True, true Saramacca country! Every Bush Negro we met on the lower river spoke of it with the deepest feeling.

"It is all right here," one man after another had said, "but wait until you see the upper river, the true-true Saramacca!"

It was here that the first Bush Negro villages had been built, though this seemed fabulous to the strangers who, in strong boats, guided by men who were wise in the moods and courses of the river, had had nine days of hard travel on the way. The lower-river villages began to appear only after peace had been declared and had proved lasting. Eighty-six years ago men from the upper river who lived beyond the Granman's own village, in the Grand Rio, had come down and built the village of Gansee, which was some four hours' paddling upstream from the railhead.

We spoke of this to Bibifo, who himself was born in this country.

"You may well wonder, white man."

361 Here was no danger of having to wrest a camp from the
•103 bush at night, when the short tropical dusk came to overtake the traveler. Villages followed close, one upon the other. Here was Ma'lobbi, where the beauty of the wood
[322] carver's art had made us linger beyond the time allotted to us for making the journey from S'ei to Asindopo Lantiwe. Here was Hei Kununu—High Mountain—which rose on a
[133] steep slope above the river, and was pleasant to see after the long stretches of flat plain that lay below. Semoisi, noted for its riches, was there, and Pempeh, bearing a name well known in the Ashanti country in Africa. Here villages were so close to each other that they could announce our
203 approach on the talking drums.

"What is it we hear, Bayo?" we would ask.

"They are cutting down trees, Bak'a."

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

tion as the Djukas stand and gaze at the criminals of France. And, through this study of the Djuka, the reader may know Djuka life for himself. In the pages of Dr. Kahn's book he journeys up tropical rivers to jungle villages whose names, being translated are, "Try me," "God knows," "Don't Touch Me," and the "Village of the Foot that has no Resting-Place." He meets men whose names mean "Waving Flag," "He Speaks the Truth," "Nice Fellow," "Laughs When He Talks," and "Love Is Sweet."

Dr. Kahn takes his reader far into the interior, for his starting point is where superficial travellers end. The journey leads to the tribe which has two languages: one for ordinary use, and the other a secret language which they call "deepee talkee"; and to strange villages which a man must enter carrying a paddle before him as a symbol that he is voyaging. It is a journey among peoples proud and spirited and courageous, descended from ancestors so bold in their rebellion that they were able to conclude treaties whereby the white man paid them a tribute which their descendants still receive in the form of an annual gift from the Dutch authorities to the headmen of the various Djuka tribes. The reader thus finds himself among the only primitive people in the world to whom the white man pays tribute; among a people to whom magic is as real as science is to us; who believe that spirits, both good and evil, inhabit the very streams and trees of the forest; people who know how to manufacture courage through the hypnotic intoxication of the tomtom and how to get rid of fatigue in the ecstasy of the dance; people whose

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

It may be of interest to recall the names of some of the old villages which constituted places of refuge for the escaped slaves in the early days and from which many of the forays were conducted against the white plantations. In the jungle between the Surinam and the Saramacca rivers were the following:

648
175
103
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621

Villages	*Headmen or Captains*
Acoro-kriki	Aletoo
Attoma-kriki	Attama
Awara	Davo
Congo-kriki	Attoma
Doussou-kriki	Mufinga
Cabrolte	Primo
Janwiri-kriki	Kwakoo, Klaas, Pedro
La Motte	Foolon
Matawarie	Adoo
Loango	La Motte
Toofinga	Coffie
Wana	Mathysie
Pada	Pambo, Magondi, Darie, Samsam

[622]

Higher up the rivers, separated from these, were still more villages continuing right on to the Brazilian frontier, even on to the Orinoco River, where some of the escaped slaves mixed with the Indians.

The villages between the Surinam and the Marowyne rivers were the following:

To the north of Paramaribo, between the Duivelsbroek

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

648 (Devil's Pants) Swamp and the ocean was the village of
175 No Meli Mi (Don't Touch Me).
103 On the Upper Surinam River at the source of the Surnau
361 Creek and to the north of the plantation Maasstroom there
621 was a village called Broos Condree; on the right bank of the lower Commewyne River, the village of the Headman Kopro-Kanoo (Copper Cannon) was situated.

On the Upper Cottica were the following havens of refuge:

[622]

Villages	*Headmen or Captains*
Gado Saby	David Voro
Corsary	Pamo (Governor)
Meli Mi	Araby
Mi Sa Lasi	Boston
Tesi	Abram
Boesi Krei	Thoma
Kwami Condree	Coffie
Karoe Condree	Jan Prado
Areisi Condree	Quakoo
Boucou	Baron
Aroukou	Bonny, Joli Coeur

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

619 gave rise to another Bush Negro nation known as the *Boni* tribe. There are also three other tribes today of less importance: the *Matawaai* on the Upper Saramacca River, the *Quintee-Matawaai* which is a sub-tribe on the Copenam, and the *Paramacca* on the Middle Marowyne with villages on both the French and Dutch sides of the river.

619 184 [582] The tribal divisions are strictly enforced. Not only is intermarriage forbidden, but each tribe has its separate government, and each is referred to locally as a "river nation." Each tribe likewise has its own territory, and any poaching by hunters, fishers, or balata bleeders is rigorously punished. [643] The ruler of the tribe is a king, or *granman*. Among the photographs is one of old Jankoeso, the kindly shrewd ruler of the Saramaccaner nation; the Aucaner ruler, Amekti, has just died, his place probably being taken by Matodja. The Boni granman is named Awensai.

619 361 [161] The largest tribe is the Saramaccaner, with a population of about 14,000. Their village of Santi Gron (Sandy Ground), some twenty miles from Paramaribo on the Lower Saramacca River is the nearest of all Djuka villages to white civilization. But the main body of this tribe begins some ninety miles up the Surinam River from Paramaribo, and the villages are strung along the Surinam River for a hundred or more miles further on back into the interior. The names [103] of some of these villages are: Nu Condree, Lombe, Gansee, Biodoti, Adawai, De Jun, Masumba Pratti, and Dahomey, and other towns of even more picturesque appellations: Boto-Passi, Poki Gron, Granman Condree, and many more.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

102
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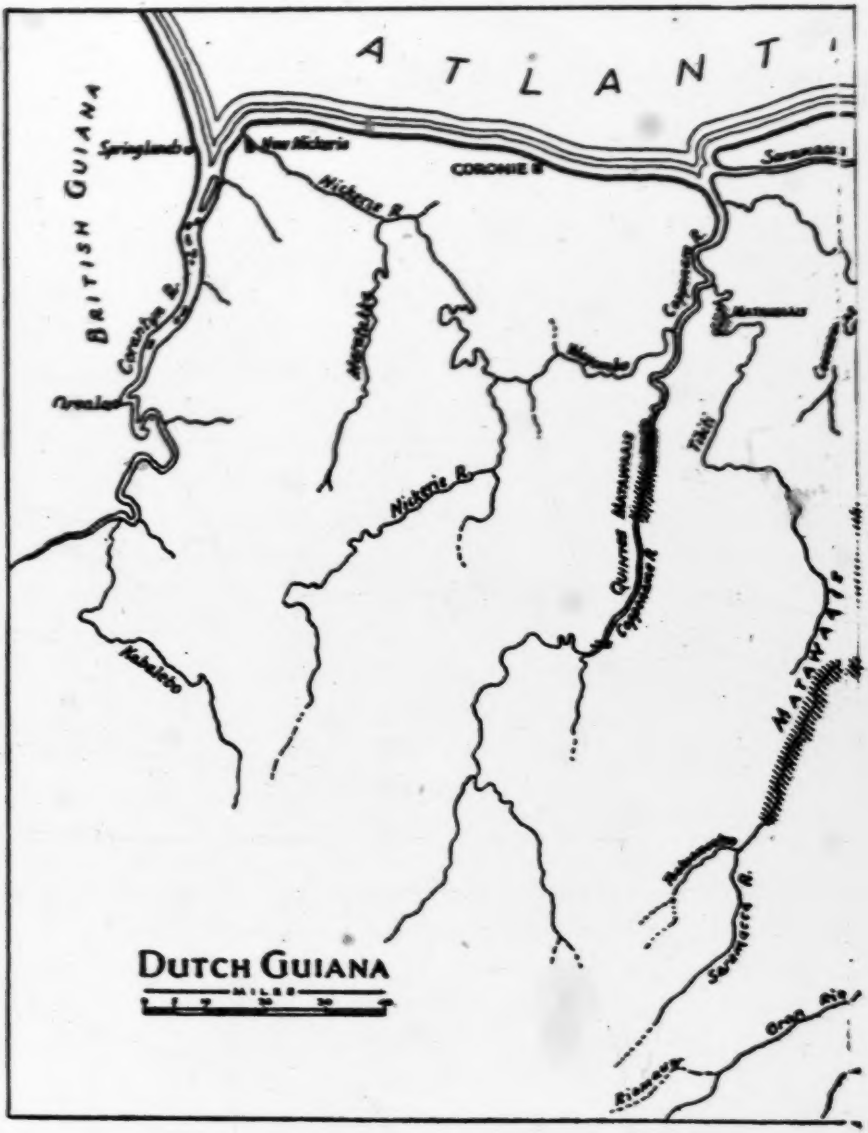
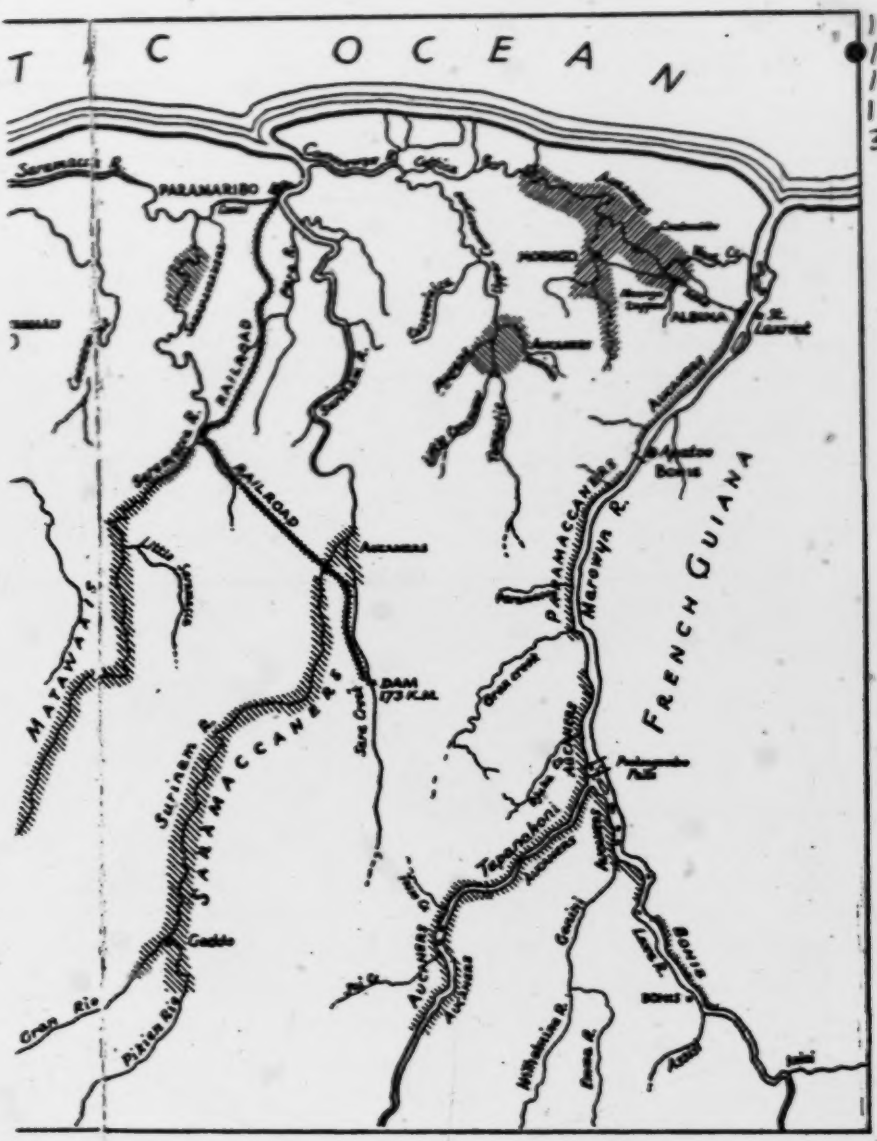


[Facing p. 100, Sec. A]

Distribution of Bush Negro Tribes
Drawn after a sketch by

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

102
103
133
131
361



gro Tribes in Dutch Guiana
: sketch by Rogalli

[Facing p. 100, Sec. B

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

after a day's portage from its source one may strike the 49
Tosso Creek, which brings the lower Sara Creek Aucaners 361
into the distant Tapanahoni River, where exist the main body of the Aucaner tribe. They inhabit both banks of the Tapanahoni, from its mouth where it flows into the Marowyne River to some distance beyond the far Jai Creek. The Aucaners, like the Saramaccaners, are divided into several lo or clans. The names of these are as follows: the *Missi Jon lo* and 614
Otto lo, which are the most powerful and to which belong the families of the Granmans; the *Perica lo, Pata lo M'beh lo, Ju Nengre lo, Penasi lo, N'Yafi lo, Bray lo, Compai lo, Deekah lo, La Paix lo, Ke-o Condree lo,* and *Pooloogoodoo lo.* The head of the lo is called *Papa fu ah lo,* "father for the lo."

Beside these, the Aucaners have also divided their tribe 621
into two separate parts, but they are both under the same 184 361
Granman. These divisions are known as the *Uppo Nengre* 616
(Upper Negro) and *Below Nengre* (Below Negro). The boundary between them being the Gran Hollo (Big Hole) Falls in the Tapanahoni River. The territory of the Below Nengre begins past the mouth of the Gran Creek and extends up the Tapanahoni River to the falls above mentioned. The islands in the Marowyne belong to this division and their territory also extends to the Dutch side of the Lawa River up to Aboona Sungu Falls (a man named Aboona sank there), which forms the boundary between the Aucaners and the Boni tribe in that region. Some names of the vil- 103
lages belonging to the Below Nengre Aucaners of that dis- 361

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

103 361 trict are as follows: Londo, Adjuba, Poko, Apah-gee, Bahnda, Apindah, Capusee Tabiki (Armadillo Island), Purigoodoo, Ki-u, Behnanoo, One Finga, Nikerie, Manlobbi, Fahndahki, Clementi, Moompasa, Saaje, Bow-wee, Chung-Chung; and there are many others.

At and above the Gran Hollo Falls in the far Tapanahoni, we have the villages of the Uppo Nengre Aucaners: Sangamasusa, Peekehtee, One-Watra-Ah-Bah, Moi-Talkee, Sribawatra, Yowsa, Meinsie, Dree Tabiki (the seat of the late Granman Amekti, and the seat of the probable new Granman, Matodja, whose mother was the sister of Amekti). Other villages of the Uppo Nengre are Polocaba, Pekein Condree (Little Country), Lohabie, Tombeh-do-me (What Ails Me), E'Sai, Gado Hollo (God's Hole), Ahkay Kuna, and Gran Borree, the last village, beyond which is nothing but the impenetrable bush for hundreds of miles, and no habitation save a few scattered villages of the all-but unknown Indians of that region.

361 On the Dutch side of the Marowyne River there are also Aucaner villages of the Below Nengre extending from just below Albina, the small Dutch settlement, where the Aucaner village of Captain Acrowsie is situated, to just opposite the Boni village of Apatoo. The settlements in this area are: [103] Papa Acroi Condree, Papa Blah Condree, Amon Yeh Condree, Tindalee, Swampu Condree, and Mahyoto.

In the region of the Upper Commewyne River and on the banks of the Mapane, Peninica, Little Commewyne, and Tempati Creeks are also Aucaner villages. These villages are

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

the closest of the tribe to Paramaribo, some ninety miles distant. Some of them are called Nengre Condree Pepper, Gado Dri, Jaffa, Mus Mussi (Little Mouth). 361

On the Upper and Lower Cottica and Cormotibo Rivers, as well as on the Wane Creek which flows into the Marowyne River close to its mouth, and in the region of the Patamacca Creek, are more Aucaner villages:

361
103

Upper Cottica, near Moengo
- Damtoppo (Top of Dam)
- Ferenkie (in the small Indufindu Creek)
- Peto Undro (in the Rikanau Creek)

Patamacca Creek
- Ifilaholo (He Filled the Hole)
- Lassa Undro
- Teme Koo
- Tanta Joe

Cormotibo River
- Toocopie
- Pekein Adjuma Condree
- Moengo Toppo (Top of Mountain)

Wane Creek (tributary of Cormotibo)
- Sebesay Condree
- Kopro Campa (Copper Camp)

Lower Cottica River
- Kumaku Dotee (Ant Hill)
- Langa Huku (Long Hook)
- Pekein Santi (Little Sand)
- Pina T'jari Me (Need Brought Me Here)
- Agiti Undro (Get Below)
- Wan Hatti (One Hat)

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

tribe of the Bush Negroes which owes allegiance to the 648
French. They have never forgiven the Dutch for their relentless pursuit back in the old rebel days. Several years ago the Dutch authorities made an effort to invite the Bonis back into Dutch territory; these overtures, however, were flatly refused.

The derivation of the word "Boni" makes for interesting 101
speculation, and three theories have been advanced to ex- 174
plain it. The first is that the word is derived from the French phrase "Bon Negre" or "Good Negroes" which the colonists of French Guiana applied to the Boni blacks because they were comparatively quiet and peaceful. It is also possible that the tribe may have been named after their famous rebel leader Bonny, who took such a formidable and prominent part in the rebellions. Thirdly, it has been considered that the name was derived from the Bonny River of West Africa, for undoubtedly some of the slaves came from that area. Although *B-o-n-i* is the official Dutch spelling of the word, when the tribesmen refer to themselves the accent is placed on the second syllable, and phonetically the word should be spelled *B-o-n-e-e* and pronounced much the same as the word *Pawnee,* the tribe of American Indians in the western United States. The Granman of this tribe, Awensai, receives his [643
annual stipend from the Governor of French Guiana at 728]
Cayenne.

The first village of the Boni, situated on the French side 361
of the Marowyne River, is that of Apatoo nestling at the foot 103
of the Armina falls. The entire French side of the river from

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

361 that point has no further permanent habitations of the Bush
103 Negroes. Past the realm of the Aucaners on the Lawa River (the confluence of which with the Tapanahoni goes to form the Marowyne) we find the continuation of the Boni tribe, consisting of the villages of Tahbiki, Pulumuffo, the seat of the Granman, Loka, Papai-Seton, Agodai, Komuntibo, Cottica (the only Boni village on Dutch territory, but whose inhabitants also owe allegiance to the French), Akuba, and the last of all the Bush Negro villages, Assisi, past the mouth of the far Assisi Creek.

177 The Bonis, although the most remote of the Bush Negroes from the plantations from which they originally escaped as slaves, have certainly succumbed the most to the influences of the white civilization. Even the village of the Saramaccaner tribe, Santi Gron, only some twenty miles from Paramaribo, maintains in true aboriginal fashion its African customs and its heathen gods.

797 The French Catholic priests have been more successful in making converts among the Boni than have the Dutch among the other tribes. In one village, however, we saw the usual heathen fetishes on full display, but we were told that they only afforded real protection to those who *believed* in them. Some of these tribesmen wear trousers and the headcloth of the French Guiana Town Negroes. We have even heard it whispered that some of the Boni own shoes, which
[689] is an unspeakable offence against the code among any of the other tribes.

Although the huts are of Africanesque architecture, similar

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Paramaca

175 Marowyne River on account of the Boni and Aucaner tribes,
361 who were long established there and who were much stronger numerically than the newly arrived Paramaccas. They finally came out of the creeks, however, and founded a village on the Dutch side of the Marowyne River near the mouth of the Paramacca Creek. The main seat of the tribe is
[103] now the village of Langa Tabiki (Long Island), which, as the name denotes, is an island in the Marowyne River. This is the village of the Granman. Beside Langa Tabiki, there is
361 the village of Amerika Condree (from a Bush Negro captain
103 called Amerika). This village is situated on the island of Boni Boro, which means the "Bonis arrived." A third important village is that of Akodo Condree, captained by one Akodo and situated on an island of the same name in the Marowyne River. There are lesser villages on the Dutch bank of the Marowyne extending just past the mouth of Gran Creek. The Paramacca village of Seeton Ponta (Pointed Stone) is situated on the French side of the Marowyne. The older villages in the Paramacca and Tempati Creeks have long since been abandoned.

115 In Seeton Ponta we had a long talk with an old Captain
159 Koffay who claims to be some eighty years of age and whose appearance certainly bears him out. He is the grandson of one of the original women slaves who escaped and aided in founding the tribe. He can remember his grandmother telling of the terrible privations of the early days when they first escaped into the jungle, how starvation nearly overtook them on a number of occasions, how they wandered for forty-

/6 cont./

175 pacified Bush Negroes. From then on they received from the
648 Netherlands Government annual presents consisting of guns, herbs, lead, tobacco, rice, salt, dram, and so forth.

648 In later times, however, these were gradually decreased
829 by the government and finally completely abolished, as a result of which the Negroes no longer so willingly and without remuneration want to be of service to the government; since they believe that with the conclusion of the peace they came to an agreement with the government that on their part the Whites would no longer be hindered in anything, while they would endeavor to assist the government whenever that should be necessary, in return for which the presents mentioned above would be handed out to them annually on the part of the government. At present they complain about their treatment by the government and refuse to believe that they can and may trust the Whites.

101 The Bush Negroes are divided into four tribes: /7/
103 1st. Aucaners, who have their dwelling place, Auca, on the
133 river Marowyne; and they have their working places on the river above Cottica, where they come from the Marowyne by way of the Wanakreek. Among themselves they are called Joeka /Djuka/ and by the Whites, Aucaners, after the plantation Auca, where on 19 October 1760 peace was concluded with them.

2nd. Saramaccaners, who live on the river above Surinam, principally near the waterfall Arasoebanja near Gjengjen and Prakieki, and have their working places along the same river and in the cove /kreek," creek, cove"/ Taaiboto Kouloegrou and Kassipora. They are called Saramaccaners by the Whites, after the river of that name (where they formerly lived), and among themselves Wousie or Moejére.

3rd. Mantoewari, who have their dwelling place on the river above Saramacca and their working places along the same river on Maripaston and in the cove Mindrinetie. They are names like the Saramaccaners, since they, too, although separate, live on the same river.

/136/

121 The agriculture of the Bush Negroes, however, has become
[241] a matter which urgently demands the attention of the administration as a result of the wasteful use of land. Until now little attention has been paid to this, but if one wants to develop the interior of Surinam, this problem will also have to be looked into.

101 The data provided here throw light upon the agriculture of
121 the Paramaccaners and the Aucaners on the Marowijne and the
[103] Tapanahoni. They were gathered during the above-mentioned medical expedition and during a trip to the Tapanahoni in October, 1952. The facts thus refer primarily to the Marowijne, but in general they are certainly also valid for the other rivers along
121 which the Bush Negroes live. It is a typically Surinam problem,
648 connected with the circumstance that the Bush Negroes have worked in the deep interior in the same fashion for hundreds of years, independent of the life in the civilized coastal region and almost completely outside the sphere of interest of the government.

2. The Grounds System

241 For the planting of agricultural crops the Bush Negro lays out little so-called food grounds. One is to understand by this cleared pieces of ground in the virgin forest on which the crops
[311] are cultivated. The grounds lie along the rivers on higher flat lands, mostly terraces that are not submerged during high water or, in the absence of such terrain, on the slopes of hills. They are more or less circular and have a surface area of a half to one and a half hectares.

241 During the long dry season (October, November) the men
221 clear the grounds. Two to three weeks thereafter the forest that
132 has been felled is burned; the smaller branches are cleared away,
462 but the trunks are left lying. The ground is not worked. As soon as the rains of the short rainy season begin, they start to plant and sow. This planting time falls in December and January. The wives of the Bush Negroes (for only the women do the further work) now plant all kinds of crops at the same time on one and the same ground.

/141 cont./
241 of this predatory cultivation has been reached. The nearby
423 agricultural lands are kept in use with too brief a rest period, with
[134] the result that the soil is overworked and the periodic recovery
[825] of the forest proceeds at an ever slower pace. In addition one struggles to an increasing degree with the problem /142/ of the leaf-cutting ants, which keep the easily accessible places occupied.

241 The consequence of this circumstance is that the Bush Negroes
311 are forced to make the grounds farther and farther from their vil-
[484] lages. One travels for hours up or down the river in order to
[482] reach good land. When one cannot make good use of a forest creek in order to transport the produce from the field, one is forced to carry the harvest for one or two hours through the forest to the river. The Bush Negro does not go farther than a two hours' walk (about six kilometers from the river) (see the map /see p. 13 /).

241 On the Tapanahoni one spends even days in traveling to less
311 populated areas in order to plant and to harvest. One then estab-
361 lishes so-called work camps along the river, from which one
[103] operates in the surrounding areas. This is the case, among others, between Godoholo and Granbori for people from Drietabbetje or
311 other centers. That one does not go even farther up river, all the
423 way past the last village, Granbori, has to do with a prohibition
643 by the granman of the Aucaners. That is, the latter wants to reserve the lands lying beyond this point as hunting lands and therefore will not make them available for agricultural purposes.

241 The inhabitants of the villages along the lower Tapanahoni,
311 such as Sajé, Clementi, and Malobbi, frequently lay out their food
423 grounds in the Lawa, where they can have at their disposal agri-
361 cultural lands as far as the Aboenasoengoe Falls. Farther upstream
103 on this river the Bonni or Aloekoe Negroes assert their rights.

5. Differences between Aucaners and Paramaccaners

101 The conditions given above apply in the main to the Aucaner
162 Bush Negroes of the Tapanahoni. They number today approximately
[311] 6,500 persons. The Paramaccaner Bush Negroes of the Marowijne, approximately 1,700 in number, are in somewhat more favorable

4: Geijskes--13 G, N-5 (1952) 1954 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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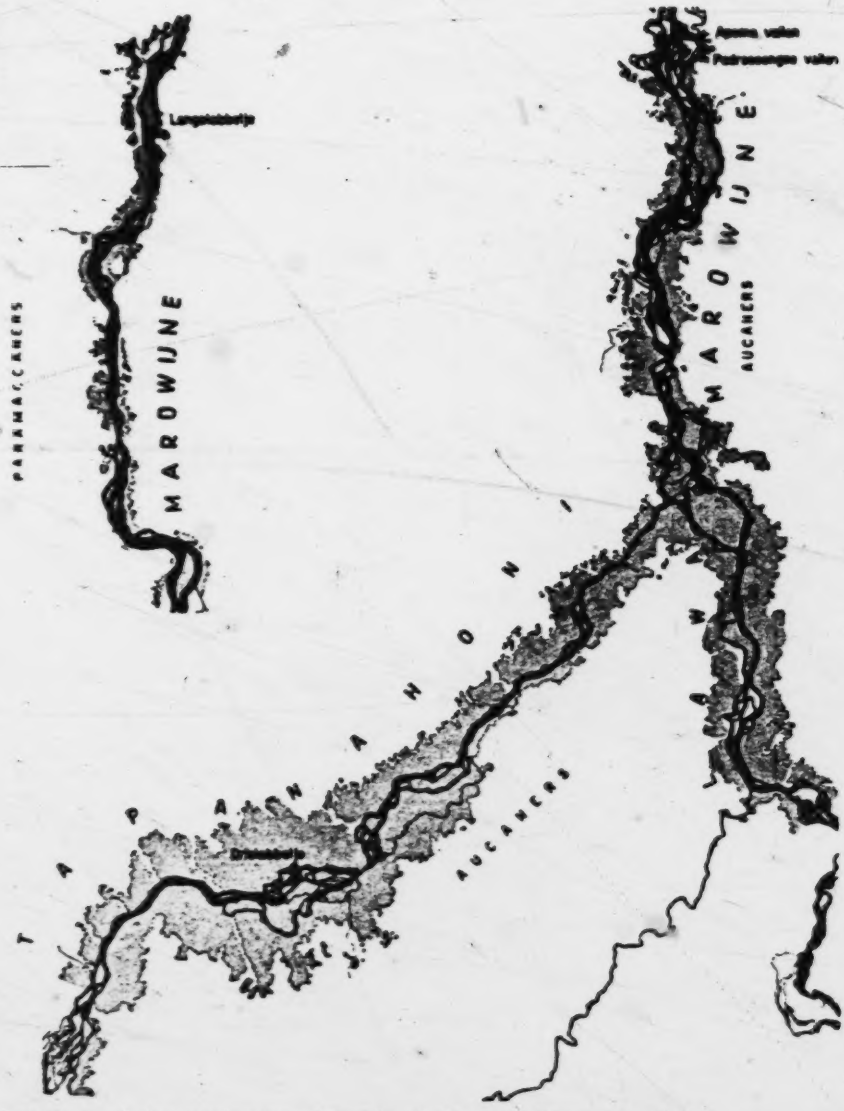

Survey map of the agricultural lands of the Bush Negroes of the Marowijne /Maroni/. Made from aerial photographs by the Central Bureau Luchtkaartering Paramaribo /Central Bureau for Aerial Surveying, Paramaribo/. Taken in 1947.

B
R /509 cont./
101 October 1958 – January 1959), expeditions whose principal aim
114 was the sociological study of these populations.
121

/510/

Social Structure and Way of Life

B
101 The Boni Refugee Blacks. The Boni are one of the above-mentioned
[175] tribes of the Refugee Blacks, reconstituted in the course of the eighteenth century by rebel African slaves who escaped from
B Surinam plantations (Dutch Guiana).

[131] These tribes (Saramaka, Djuka, Paramaka, Boni) live for the
[161] most part along the rivers of the interior of Surinam. They group together a total of 25,000 persons.

B
161 With very rare exceptions, the Refugee Blacks are pure Africans.
[144] These populations, vigorous and well adapted to the country, have experienced in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a remarkable demographic increase, attested to by all the authors. Descended from small rebel groups which could not have contained more than a few hundred women, they are now estimated at more than 25,000 persons.

B
162 The Boni of the Upper Maroni, the subject of the present study,
103 number approximately 800, of whom 660 are on the French bank
[161] (the villages of Boniville, l'Enfant Perdu, Loka, Asisi, Papaïston, and Kormotibo) and 140 on the Surinam bank (the village of Kotika). These villages were established long ago.

B
613 Each of them groups together a matrilineage, i.e., the
621 descendants in the uterine line of one single founding ancestress;
769 certain villages know their genealogy in its entirety back to this ancestress, who must have lived at the end of the eighteenth century. The members of the lineage are united by the cult of the
B ancestors, which binds them firmly to their natal village and to
[622] their land. The social system is based essentially on this cult,
[793] the chief of the village being above all the priest of the ancestors.

B Strictly speaking, there is no marriage, but only an acknowl-
581 edged concubinage which entails neither a contract between the

/10 cont./

162 The Boni, about 1,000 in number, occupy the course of the
131 Lawa between Abounasounga Falls to the north and the falls of the
Litani to the south. Their "great villages," that is, their residential
361 villages, are: Agodé (Boniville), Kotika, Asisi, Loka, Papaïston,
[103] Kormotibo, Lapé, and l'Enfant Perdu. Three small villages
founded more recently are established on the lower course of the
563 Maroni. The territorial implantation of the Boni has been dis-
turbed by the settlement of Creole gold miners on their territory
178 for three quarters of a century. Their demographic situation is
mediocre and their tribal organization, compared to that of the
[181] other tribes, has lost much of its strength. However, they still
make up a human grouping full of strength and originality.

131 The Djuka, whose "great villages" are in Surinam territory
361 on the /11/ Tapanahoni, can be evaluated at 7,000 to 8,000 in
total. At the height of demographic expansion, their farming
[162] villages swarm on both banks of the Maroni and on the islands,
[161] penetrating more and more deeply into the interior of French
[648] Guiana, where in places they form small temporary groupings
[619] living in symbiosis with the Creole gold miners; the Boni recognize
their right to cross their territory but not that of establishing
villages in it.

433 For a century the economy of the Refugee Blacks has been
648 founded on a symbiosis with the Europeans and Creoles; they furnish
[464] specialized labor (construction, but above all, transport) in ex-
[465] change for relatively high wages. This economy finds itself
[178] threatened by the gradual disappearance of gold mining; there is
[166] developing a tendency toward temporary emigration to the Euro-
[182] pean work yards of Saint-Laurent analogous to that of the Saramaka
of Surinam to French Guiana. This is a serious threat to the in-
terior cohesion of the tribes.

6:Hurault--●21 K-5 (1948-1958)1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8 ●
Boni
French Guiana SR3
B /16/
F
101
102
●103
133
361

Populations of the
Maroni and Mana Basin

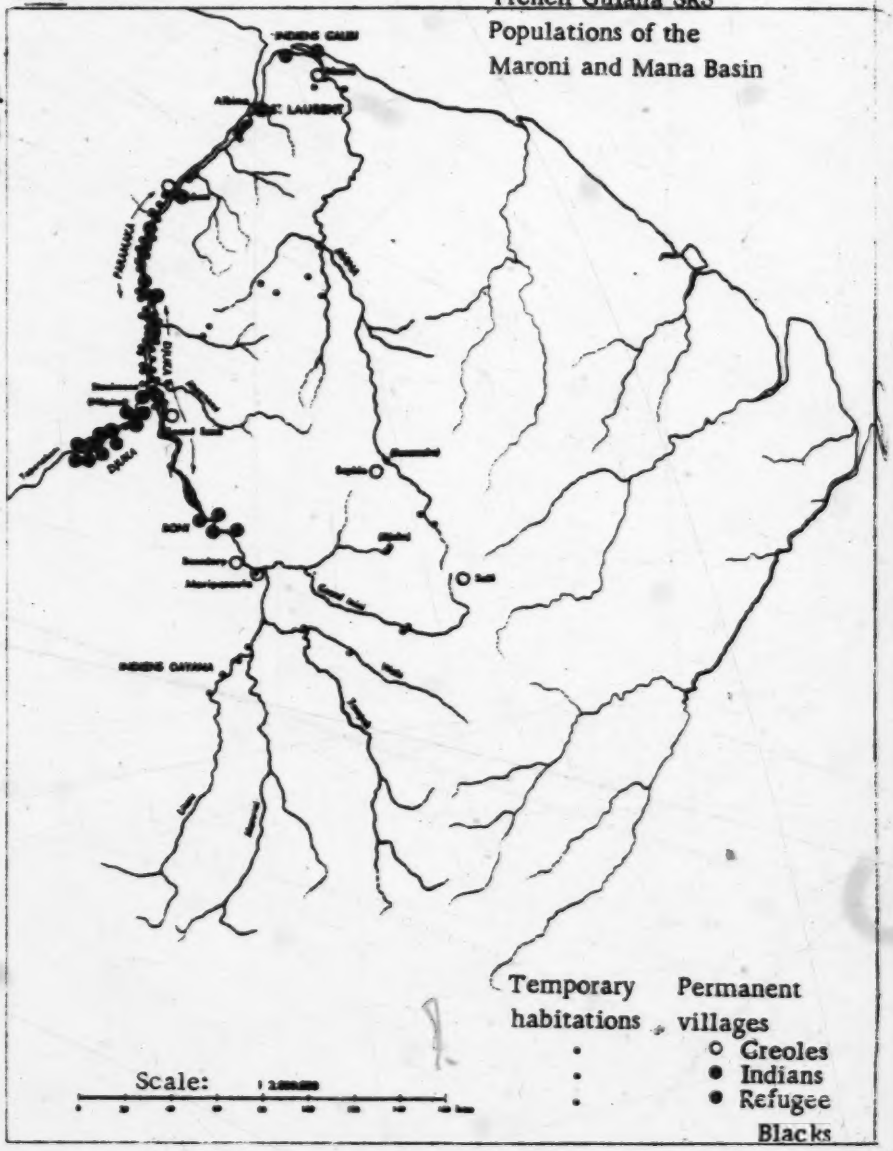

Fig. 2

/17 cont. /

162 —On the Lawa a group of a little less than 680 persons is
103 settled on the French bank (villages of Agodé (Boniville), Asisi,
361 Loka, Tabiki (l'Enfant Perdu), Lapé (La Paix), and Papaïston).

—In proximity to this grouping subsists under Dutch control the village of Kotika (Cottica), grouping about 150 persons.

—In the region of Abounasounga two small groupings live in symbiosis with the Djuka. Finally, in the lower course of the Maroni exist three villages: Apatu, Ma Imma, and Wétiti. The whole represents about 150 persons.

361 These villages are stable: Kotika, Lapé, Asisi, Kormotibo
182 were already in existence at the beginning of the 19th century
[175] and their names figure in the report of the Franco-Dutch border mission of 1861; by contrast, farming habitations are moved according to the necessities of agriculture and fishing; thanks to this organization, a relatively numerous grouping can, in the interior of Guiana, in spite of conditions imposed by the geographical environment, conserve complete stability and a firm attachment
[171] to the ground. It is useful to compare this organization with the basic instability of the Indians of Guiana, for it shows very well that this instability is ascribable to psychological and sociological factors and not at all to the geographic environment.

101 The Boni designate themselves by the term Aluku nēnge. The meaning of this word is forgotten. It is possible that Aluku was the name of an ancient chief, or of the founding ancestress
[613] of a lineage. On this subject it is to be noted that the name of the most ancient ancestress known of the Dju lineage, who can be thought of as living at the end of the 18th century, was called
[175] Aluku. This name has been used since the origin of the tribe;
[103] indeed one reads in the interrogation of the woman prisoner conducted in 1847 by the French at Oyapok that her village was called Loukou (1).

/17 cont./

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1. Archives du Ministère de la France d'Outre-Mer, Guyane /Archives of the Ministry of Overseas France, Guiana/, A3-02.

611 /18/ Villages and Kin Groups

Among all the kinship systems which existed in the African tribes from which they issued, the Refugee Blacks came back unanimously, and from the beginning, to matrilineal filiation.

571 Their social system is symbiosis, under the authority of the
613 grand man, of a certain number of localized matrilineal kin groups.
643

613 Matrilineal kin groups of the Boni. With the Boni the basic grouping is the lineage, in the rigorous sense of the term, understanding by that all descendants in maternal line from a single ancestress.

To designate the kin groups the Boni employ almost interchangeably the words lo (troop, band) and bɛɛ, womb. In fact these expressions correspond to two variant interpretations of the same notion:

614 bɛɛ: matrilineage in the widest sense, understanding by that all persons knowing that they are issue of the same ancestress, even if the genealogical ties are forgotten, and even if these persons are scattered in several villages under different authorities;

lo: lineage fraction grouped in one village and constituting a distinct social unit.

The lineage bears a name whose origin is forgotten by present-day Boni; some of these names allude to a plantation or to a slave-owner, for example Lapé (La Paix: a plantation of the Cottica River); as for others, the name of the founding ancestress may be involved. Example: Kawina (name of the lineage constituting the village of Papaïston).

/23 cont./

621 175 [166] [103] Agodé was founded by Grand Man Ochi, probably about 1895, at the time when the Boni were required by the settlement of the Lawa Dispute to evacuate the villages they were occupying on the Surinam bank. The name Boniville was given by the gold miners; it was used never at all by the Boni.

621 613 [103] The Yakubi or Kotika lineage forms the important village of Kotika (1). It is one of those which have remained best grouped.

1. This word alludes to the river where the rebellion of 1772 began.

[423] [241] [103] Its members have exclusive rights over the region included between Abunasunga Falls and their village. They have farmed there for more than a century, and this is why the region is called Abattis Kotika.

613 621 175 [648] Kotika is the oldest Boni village. It is one of those founded by the survivors of the battles against the Dutch when, about 1815, they settled again on the Lawa. Until about 1895 nearly all the Boni were grouped in one large village, each lineage occupying a different quarter. At the time of the settlement, unfavorable to France, of the Lawa Dispute (1895), the various lineages emigrated, founding especially the villages of l'Enfant Perdu, Loka, Boniville, and Papaïston. Only the members of the Kotika lineage stayed, in full agreement with the grand man, so that the ancestral land might not be completely abandoned. [648] [628] Thus the inhabitants of this village are nowadays under the authority of Surinam, without ceasing, for that reason, to be faithful to the grand man and maintaining normal relations with the other groups.

613 614 [124] The genealogies reconstituted in 1957 by systematic interrogation of the old people of the group had led to three distinct fractions which we shall call Kotika 1, 2, and 3, tracing respectively back to ancestresses named Kéněya, Amawi, and Oka.

/29 cont./

121 This is what necessitates as precise an inventory as possible of the population in its present state.

61 114 184 Matrilineal kin groups among the Djuka and Saramaka Refugee Blacks.
Authors who have described the social structure of the Djuka and Saramaka, groupings appreciably more numerous than the Boni, have also called attention to the use of the words lo and bɛɛ, but give them a completely different meaning.

174 The organization they describe can be summarized thus:
571 621 Before making up tribes, the rebels lived in small groups near the plantations from which they had escaped; these groups of composite origin were designated by the word lo which means: troop, band; the same word is used to designate a band of animals.

[162] [103] These rebels used to belong to all the nations of the west coast of Africa. In spots there may have been an attempt at regroupings of elements belonging to the same nation, as proven by the village names Loango, Dahomey, among the Saramaka.
[622] But the majority of these small groups were very probably of heterogeneous origin; in each of these lo, the bravest and most capable was designated as head.

[648] [167] After the recognition of the Djuka and Saramaka by the government of Surinam and their regrouping on the great rivers of the interior, these groups kept their unity since they had a de facto organization and leaders. They were naturally designated by the name of the plantation they had come from. We say for example Dju nēnge for the former slaves of the Jews, Kōpani nēnge for the former slaves of the Compagnie des Indes Orientales /Fast India Company/. /30/

174 613 614 621 571 1161 In the course of the 19th century the total number of Refugee Blacks increased very rapidly under the influence of a high birth rate. The lineages in the proper meaning of the term bɛɛ, meaning the descendants of the same ancestress, took on sufficient importance to constitute distinct social units. They grouped in

/98/

Distribution of Lands in the Neighborhood
of the Principal Boni Villages

102
● 109
131
133
311
361
423
613
621

● Permanent villages
— Boundary lines

Scale: 1/[illegible]

/K. or Cr. = Creek,
Lieu-dit = locality,
h. du grand man = habitation of the grand man,
Zone inondable = floodable zone./

Fig. 16.

/facing p. 100/

102
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Boni Farming Habitations South of the Confluence with the Inini

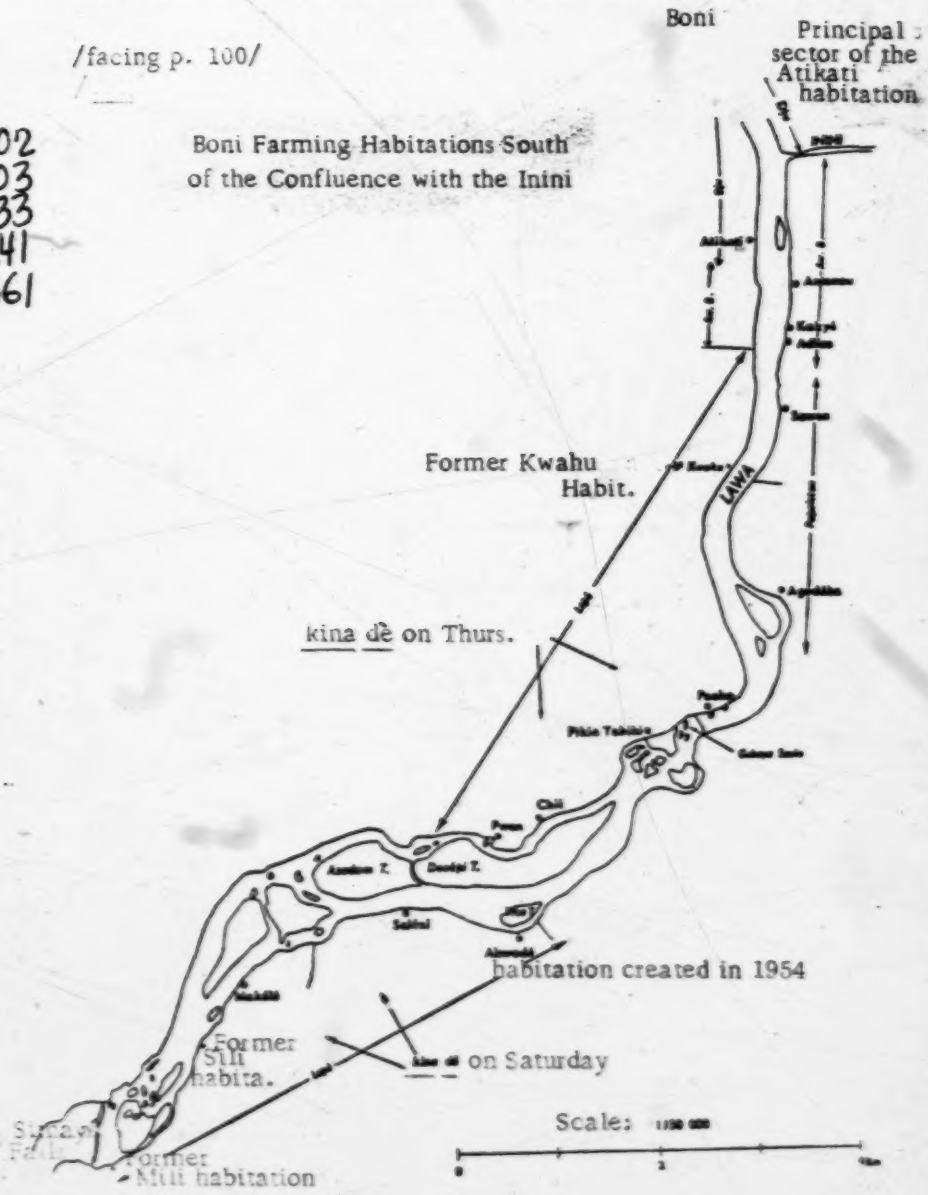


Fig. 17.

361 /102 cont. /
504 meet the clearings of the people of another lineage; a de facto
613 boundary is thus created, which is henceforth respected.
423

621 On the other hand, several farming villages of one lineage
241 may have their clearings totally intriqués /entangled/ (this is
613 the case, for example, with the ones of the Antonu and Adiiso
423 habitations). This conforms to the rule of joint possession of the land within the lineage.

621 Organization. The group in a farming habitation is brought to-
241 gether by mutual affinities, and has no hierarchy other than that
622 which springs from kinship ties: authority of the mother over her
592 daughters; authority of the "uncles" over the "nephews."
/103/ The grouping which conforms most to the matrilineal structure of the Refugee Blacks is made up of an old woman, her unmarried sons, her daughters and her daughters' daughters, their husbands coming to help at the time of the clearings but not belonging to the group. Often it is this old woman who directs the habitation, but often also it is an old uncle, her classificatory brother, who has worked with her for a long time. Sometimes this old woman has come to live with her daughters on the habitation founded by her husband.

103 Some of the habitations bear men's names, others women's
423 names. The name which prevails may be completely at variance
592 with the real rights exercised over the land (Ex.: name of Adiiso given to the habitation of his wife where Adiiso has no right at
[613] all). That has no great importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks, the only important thing being collective possession of the land by the lineage.

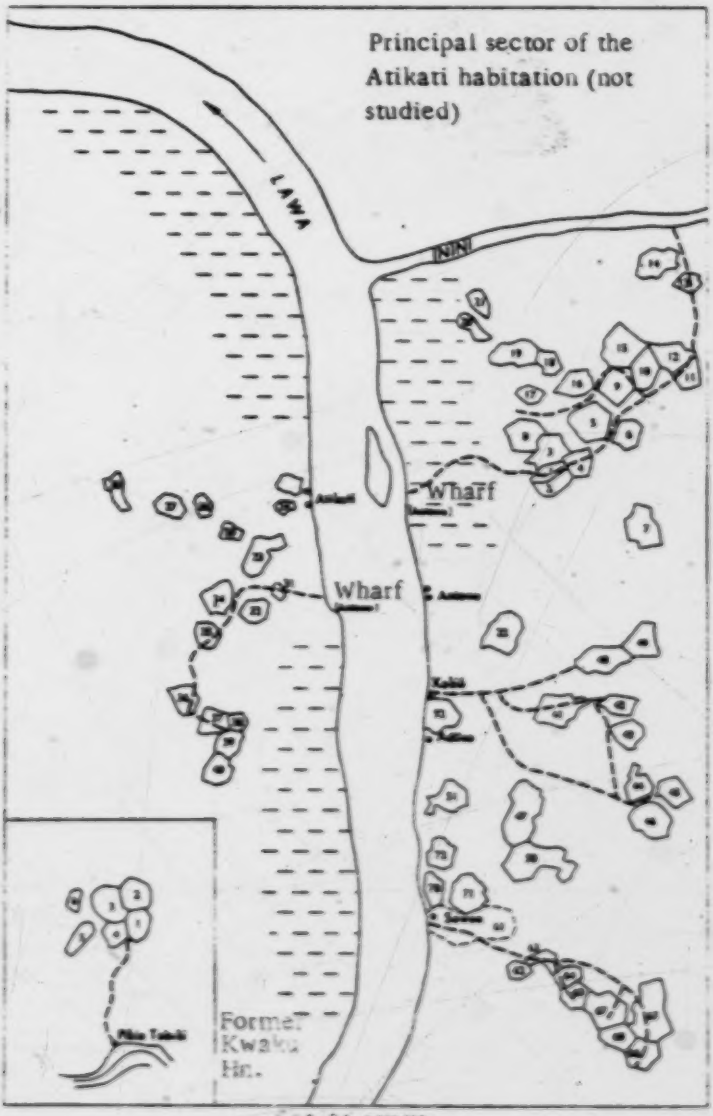
621 For groups which are relatively numerous and brought to-
241 gether more by mutual affinities than by kinship ties, the mini-
622 mum of authority necessary for good feeling and the organization of the work is brought to bear by the founder. For example,

:Hurault--158 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/facing p. 108/

102
103
133
241
361
423
613
504

Distribution of Lands among the Lineages
in the Neighborhood of the Confluence with the Inini



Scale: 1/20 000

After photographs by the 903/200 IGN mission, taken in October, 1956

farming habitation

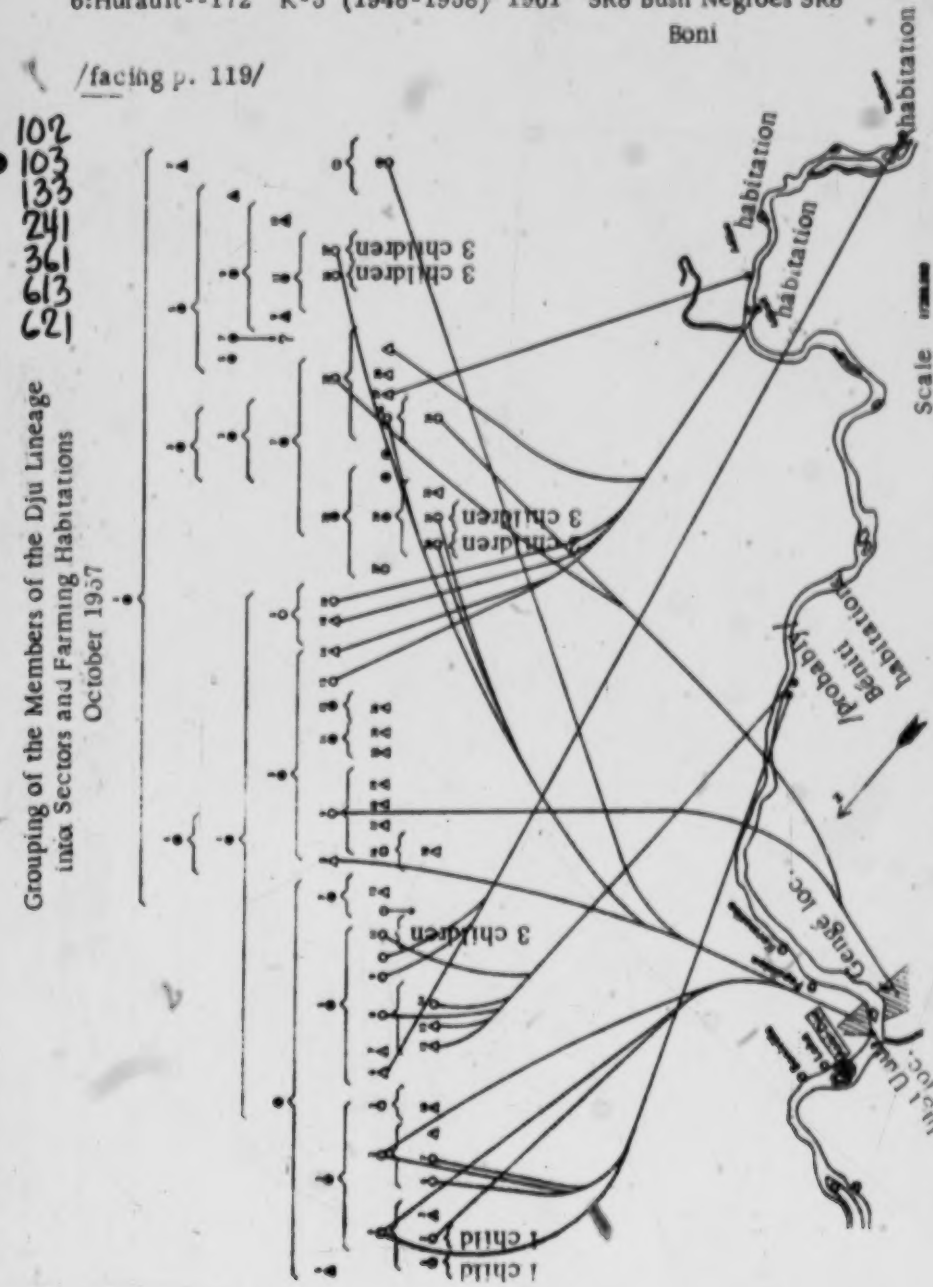
floodable zone

clearings studied in January, 1957

Fig. 18.

6:Hurault--172 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/facing p. 119/



This chart shows the absence of any tendency toward the scission of the lineage into separate fractions.

Fig. 20.

/214 cont./

787 their legs with this white clay; they prophesy in a singing tone, without the usual voice of their bearer's ceasing to be recognizable, expressing themselves in the Saramaka language.

796 The Ampuku have the appearance of men similar to Blacks, but unknown. They reside in the depths of the woods; some are good, others bad. One can gain their good will by [184] worshiping them, which is especially developed in Saramaka country.

796 • Baliki, of Kormotibo village, tells of having been present 535 one day at a dance of the Ampuku, when he was traveling to [103] the Saramaka village of Balen.

"During the day, people went on the paths far into the bush to put down calabashes containing certain herbs. At night were seen to come out of the forest a large number of unknown men, dressed in the manner of the Saramaka. They danced all night, and at dawn left again as they had come."

776 The Ampuku gods, considered to be maleficent gods of the bush, exercise their influence on everyone. When a person [789] has slept in the bush, he "washes" himself free of Ampuku with [824] an infusion of leaves of five plants which are part of the secondary flora surrounding the villages and of which the principal plant is the sangaafu (Costus cylindricus).

791 Frequency of possession. In 1956 teachers or bas were very 787 scarce in Boni country. For the Kumenti gods, only S... (Kotika) remained; for the Papa gadu, since the death of Antinon (Dju), there remained only M... (Papaïston) and B... [619] (Asisi). People were commonly going to receive instruction from Djuka teachers in the villages of the Tapanaoni.

787 It would be a great error to believe that nearly all the 562 men have gods. On the contrary, this is an exception. According to the evaluations we were able to make, there is not more than one adult man out of six or seven who is possessed.

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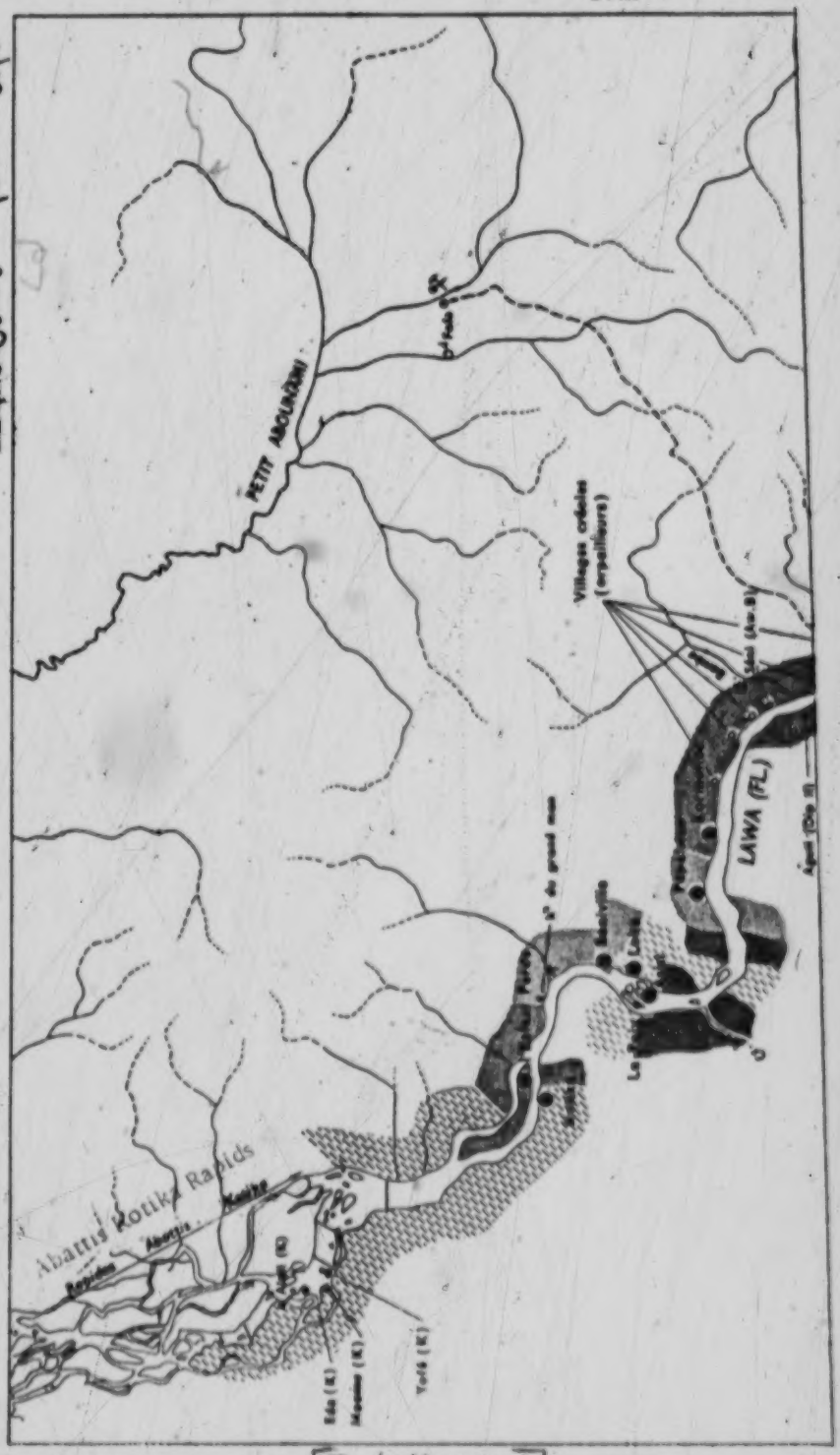
A (p. 576)
B (p. 577)
C (p. 578)
D (p. 579)

Chart of Positions of End Map /facing p. 576/

6:Hurault--576 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

102
103
131
133
162
311
316
361
423
613
614
621



[End Map - A]

G:Hurault--577 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

102
103
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133
162
311
316
361
423
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621

COURSE OF THE LAWA
(French Guiana)

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLING

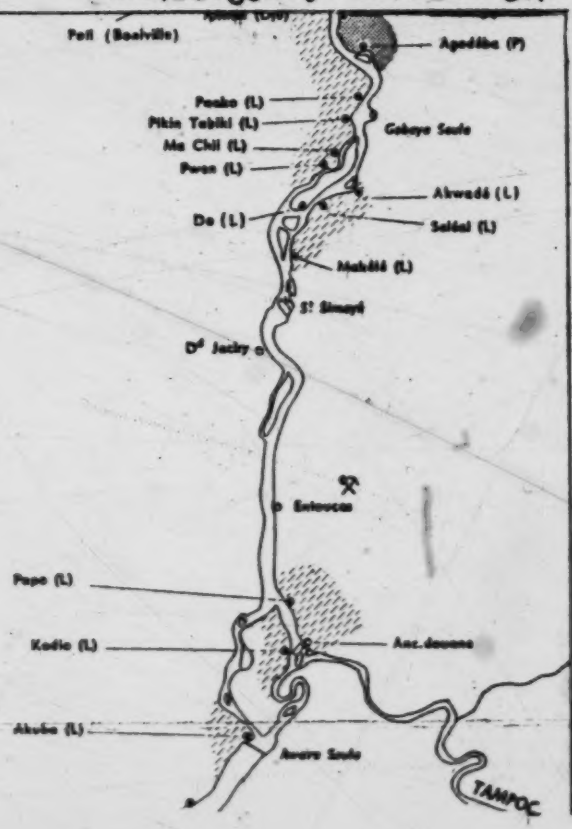
[End Map - B]

Villages and Farming Habitations
in 1958

- Boni residence villages
- Boni farming habitations
- Creole villages
- European establishments
- Creole habitations
- Small gold workings
- Indian villages

Lands belonging to the Boni lineages

- (K) Kotika lo
- (Dip) Dipélu lo
- (D) Dikan lo
- (L) Lapé lo
- (Dju) Dju lo



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6:Hurault--578 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8 Boni

End Map - C

6:Hurault--570 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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103
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361
423
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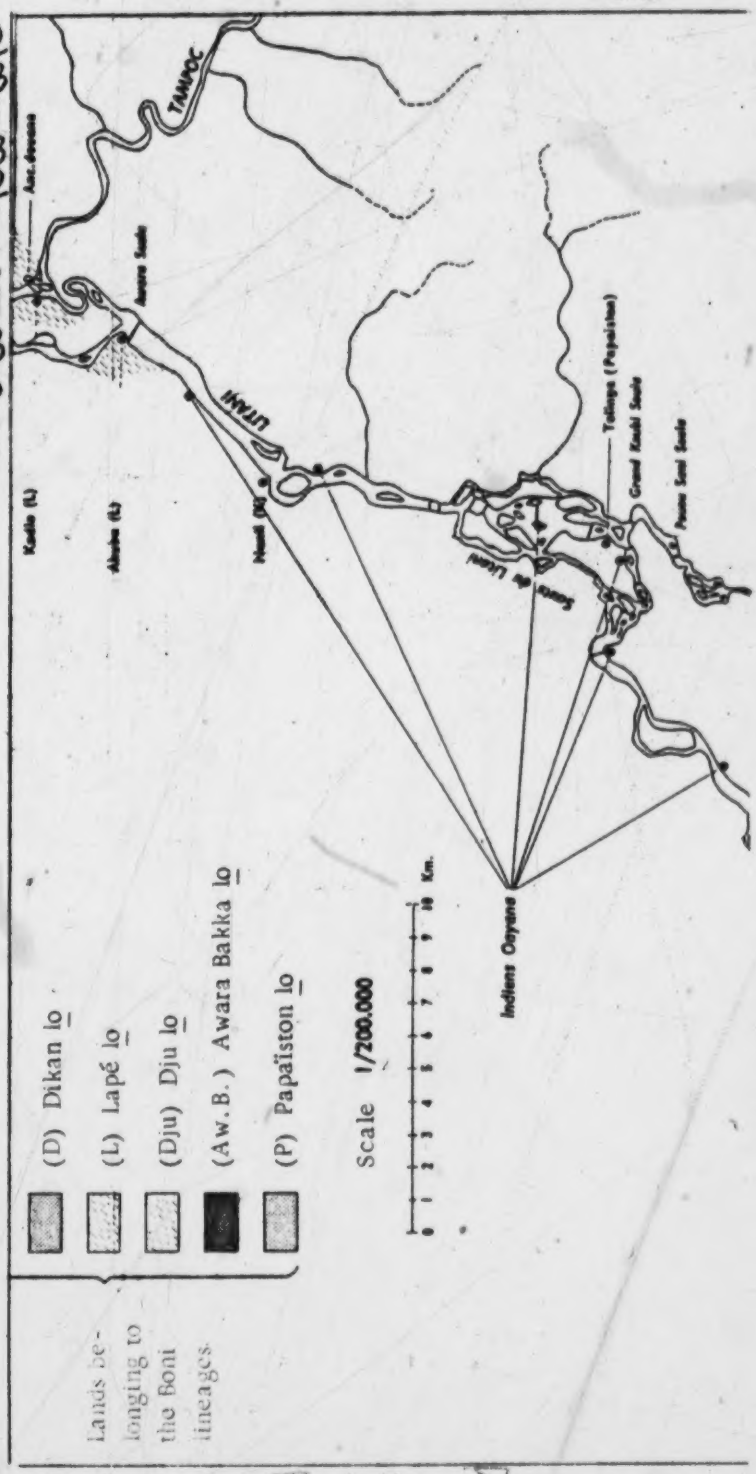
614
621



[End Map - D]

102
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241
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423
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A (p. 580)	B (p. 581)	C (p. 582)	D (p. 583)

Chart of Positions of End Plate /facing p. 580/

DIVISION OF LANDS AMONG THE LINEAGES IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF THE PRINCIPAL BONI VILLAGES

102
●103
133
241
311
361
423
489
613
614
504

Photographic montage made with the help of photographs of Field Trip 007/200 IGN Guiana
Scale 1/20 000 Taken in October, 1956

[End Plate -A]

6:Hurault--581 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

102
103
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241
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361
423
487
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614
764
504

Scale 1/20 000

[End Plate - B]

6:Hurault--582 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

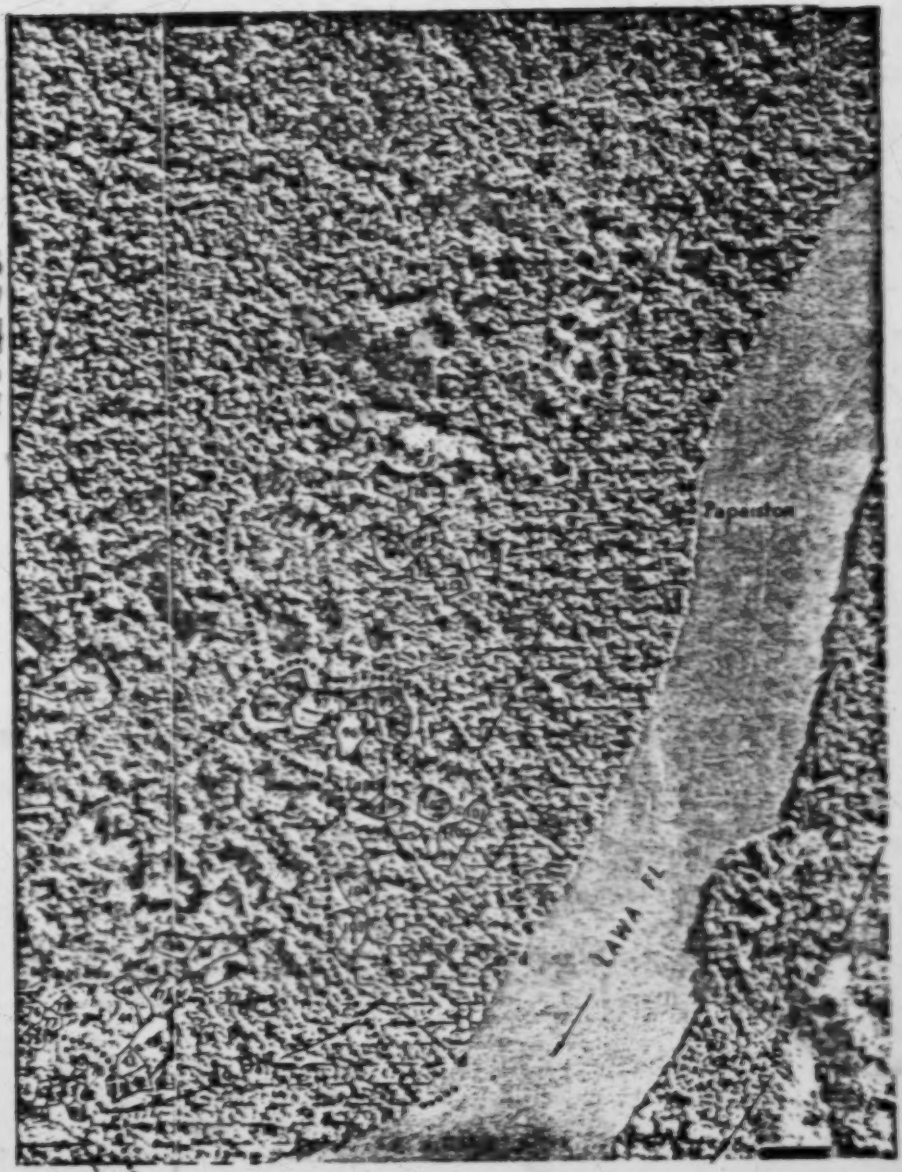
102
103
133
241
311
361
423
487
504
613
614

Scale 1/20 000

[End Plate-C]

6:Hurault--583 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

102
103
133
241
311
361
423
487
504
613
614



Agodé Permanent villages
clearings
floodable zones
boundaries not known
farming habitation
dégrad (wharf)
path
approximate boundaries of agricultural land

[End Plate - D]

Finally, we must

128 explain that in rendering the plural of native words, we
[93] have not employed the terminal "-s" that makes the plural in English, for in this regard we have followed the usage of Saramacca tongo.

A

● 104 *a*, he, she.

Abisa, an important female ancestor. The name may be a modification of *Abena*, a woman's Tuesday name (see under *Afi*). In one village on the Saramacca, a dance known only there, called the *bisia*, is said to have been taught by a female ancestor during the "running away time." This fact may have bearing on its origin, as it may point to an ancestor who had come from the Benin (Nigerian) kingdom. The people of Benin are known as the *Bini*.

akowa, boa constrictor.

adieu, goodbye. From the Portuguese.

adji-boto, a game of counters. This is played in Suriname as it is in the Caribbean, and in Africa. *Adji* is a Dahomean word. In Paramaribo, among the Awka Bush Negroes, and in the Caribbean, the Ashanti name for the game, *wari*, is employed.

Afi, "day name" for a girl born on Friday. The corresponding Friday name for a boy is *Kofi*. These day names are found in bush and town in Suriname. They are met with in Jamaica and names like *Kofi* (Cuffy), *Kwaku* (Quacoe), *Kwasi* (Quashi), are known in the United States. These day names exist among the peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa, where they are definitely associated with the soul, in the same manner as they are in Suriname.

Af'ica, Africa. This is the Saramacca pronunciation of the word. While known on the river, it is less used than the expression *nengi'e konde*, literally, "Negro kingdom." The word *konde* is used interchangeably for kingdom and village. The word *to*, for example, in Dahomey, is used in the same way.

Afoketa, a Saramacca goddess, whose origin is Dahomean. In Dahomey her genealogy differs from the one given in Suriname. Dahomeans say she is the daughter of *Agbe* and *Naete*, gods of the sea.

agida, the great drum of the Saramacca trio of drum types. In Paramaribo, when the earth spirits are called, a spirit named *Agida* is invoked as one of the earth pantheon.

ago, ancestors. It is said in Dahomey that among the ancient inhabitants this Saramacca meaning was known.

agora, name given a child born feet foremost. The same name is given such children in Dahomey and in Haiti.

Ahantamare, the god of the ant hill. A Gold Coast name.

akra, see *kra*.

ambe, an exclamation said to be a contraction of the phrase "by my mother's womb."

Anasi, name of Dahomean derivation.

Anansi, spider. *Anansi* is the trickster in the cycle of stories which bear his name. The *Anansi* stories on the Gold Coast and in the New World are like the Br'er Rabbit stories in the United States. In the New World, aside from

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Dutch Guiana, *Anansi* appears as the dominant trickster in Negro tales in Jamaica, and even in the stories of this country we occasionally hear of Miss Nancy.

ando, an exclamation. *Ando* is thought to be a famous ancestor. One of the strong warrior *obias* on the river is called the "hunter *ando*."

apinti, name of the Bush Negro tenor drum. The same name for this drum is found in western Nigeria and Dahomey; among the Gold Coast peoples the term is *mpinsia*.

Apuku, gods of the bush, who are visualized as little people. Whenever natural clearings appear in the jungle they are said to have been made by these *Apuku* gods. In southern Nigeria and Dahomey children who die young are called *Abiku*. They are said to be the messengers of the great gods who send them to earth and recall them. In Jamaica there is a cult whose members are called *Pukumerians*, but not enough is known of Jamaican worship to be able to determine whether this cult is exactly comparable to the *Apuku* cult in Suriname.

Asaasu, the Earth Mother. The earth deity has the identical name among the Ashanti.

awa, affirmative exclamation.

awara, Saramacca dance. In Ashanti this dance is known under the name *awisa*.

Awka, name for another tribe of Suriname Negroes. In southern Nigeria there is a group of Ibo-speaking people known as the *Awka* people, and a village not far from Ife called Awka.

aya, you.

aseng, a "spiritual barrier" of palm fronds erected across a path in order to brush away evil that might be seeking to enter the village. The word is Dahomean. The *aseng* is today only infrequently seen in the larger Dahomean centers, but when an epidemic comes, whether it is measles or influenza or whooping cough or the dreaded smallpox, these are put in place.

asoke nyewye, firefly; the Dahomean word is *asofe nyewye*.

B

bal'a, balwa, bakawa, white man. This is the same as the "buckra" of the Carolina Negroes.

bal'a maye, white woman. See also *maye*.

bal'a tani, literally "white man's thing." Idiomatically, anything which is outside the civilization of the Saramacca people. Thus an hibiscus tree on the lower river was called a "white man's thing." This term was also applied to our flashlight before it had been christened "diamond fire"; to our phonograph; to our ideas; to our medicine. We have heard the same distinction made in West Africa between the white man's things and those that appertained to the blacks.

bandamba, dance for twins and marriage. It is known and danced in Africa on the Gold Coast.

banya, a dance. It is found in both bush and town, and the *bakafuta banya* (cross-legged banya) is associated with dancing for the ancestors. The dance is known on the Gold Coast.

bassia, the second in command to a chief. In the town this word is used to name an overseer. The word is also employed in Jamaica.

104 *beye*, to dance. From the Portuguese. See also *bebi*.
Fabo dei, daybreak.
boakoro, the Paramaribo word for albino. The Saramacca people say "Tonl person."
bote, boat.
beye, in the song we quote, this word refers to the Earth spirits. When the Ashanti call on *Asaase Ya*, the Earth Mother, they also speak of the creature of the underworld as *Asaase Bowa*.
bungulu, half of a broken canoe on which a corpse lies until the coffin is completed.

C

chaka, literally, shake. The meaning is extended to designate the type of dancing which accentuates the shaking of the buttocks.

D

dede, dead, death.
Dera, name given a child born next after twins. The same name is given such a child in Dahomey and Haiti.
Djuka, a member of the Awka tribe of Negroes. In the city of Paramaribo and elsewhere in the coastal region this word is used loosely to refer to all Bush Negroes, whatever their tribal affiliations. No exhaustive study has been made of the Awka tribe, but what material there is suggests a predominating African culture from Southern Nigeria.
Dyombi, name of a god. In Suriname this deity, who is associated with the silk-cotton tree, is thought of as the child of *Gedewaru* and *Tinsi* (q.v.), and is dreaded by the natives. He is said in Dahomey, where he is also worshipped, to dance with the thunder pantheon. In Dahomean folklore the *Dyombi* are associated with hunters who conquered the mythical thirty-horned giants. The name is well known to New World Negroes and has come to be associated with ghosts. It occurs in the Caribbean interchangeably with *zombi* and *duppy*.

F

fo-fo, as explained in the text. It is an old Dahomean term meaning "anger." The word has also been reported as being in use by the Bantu-speaking peoples of Loango as a name for a medicinal herb.

G

g'a, literally "great." It has been assumed that this word is derived from the Portuguese "gran," but the derivation is probably a dual one, since the Ewe (Togoland) word *ga* signifies "great, old," and in Dahomey *ga* means "chief, elder, head of an organization."
g'aman, chief, headman. It is also the Saramacca term for the Dutch Governor of the Colony.
g'a zembe, "big" person, *i.e.*, important person. See *zembe*.

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g's tangi, literally "great thanks," but idiomatically "please," or "I beg you." 104 See *tangi*.

G'a Zombi, ghost. See *Dyombi*.

G'a Yorka, ghost. See *Yorka*.

gbola, expression of affirmation. Used as interpolation in narrative, and in council meetings.

Gedewaru, name of a god who lives in the silk-cotton tree. In Dahomey the word is a "strong name" for the same tree. The ancient people on the plateau of Abomey, the present capitol of Dahomey, were the *Gedevi*, and there is a legend in Dahomey which says that there were once two brothers, one *Gede*, one *Hewaru*. They quarreled and one turned into a stone and became the god animating the great *Gede* rock in Dahomey. The other entered the silk-cotton tree. When our informants in Dahomey heard that in Suriname they worshipped *Gedewaru*, they exclaimed, "You not only have Dahomeans there, you have people from right here in Abomey."

gemi, a citizen. Literally "child of the earth," *i.e.*, a person who belongs to the village where he is living. *Mi* is the Yoruban word for "child."

gezzi, doll. This word has the same meaning in Dahomey.

H

ha'i, *hali*, haul.

hebi, heavy. Also used in the sense of "hard," as in *a baya hebi*, "he danced hard."

Hene Tonaghue, said to be a "strong name" for the deity called the "Mother of the River." *Hene* is Ashanti for chief. Whether *Tonaghue* refers to the sacred lake Nohwe, in Dahomey, or not, is difficult to say.

hohobi, twins. The word is from Dahomey, the modern Dahomean pronunciation being *hohowi*.

I

Ingi, Indian.

K

kambosa, "the other wife of my husband." In its larger meaning, it signifies "the woman who makes trouble for me."

kamwba, cicatrizations made on the faces and bodies of men and women.

kandu, a "spiritual lock" found over doorways, on fruit-bearing trees, and in fields to keep off thieves by means of its magic power. It is of Bantu origin.

kankant'i, cotton tree. An old Dahomean word for this tree is *gengenti*. See *t'i*.

Kediamo, the Sky God. This is one of his "strong names." He is also known as *Nyankompon* and *Kediampon*. These names are employed today in the Gold Coast for the same deity, the latter pronounced there *Twediampon*.

Kentina dagowe, the name of one of the snake deities. *Dagowe* is Suriname for the Dahomean and Haitian *Dangbe*. The snake *Dangbe* is considered the founder of one of the Dahomean families.

kere-kere, expression of affirmation used to interpolate in council meetings and when listening to a long narrative. Also pronounced *krde*, and *krlele*. These interpolations punctuate all pauses in speech, and the rhythm and inflection

104 is analogous to the interpolations, "Oh, Lord," "Glory," "Yes, Lord," "Hallelujah," and "Too true," used in Negro churches in this country. These interpolations occur in speech and ceremonies in West Africa, particularly on the Gold Coast.

kerki, church. From the Dutch.

Kesekia, a snake deity. In Togoland this god is known as the wife of one of the sky gods.

keskesi, monkey.

kodjo, cudgel.

koda, expression of affirmation. It is employed as an interpolation in narrative, and in proceedings at council meetings.

komfo, a person possessed by the spirit of an African diviner. In this sense the word is used in both bush and town. It is of Ashanti-Fanti origin.

kuti-go, cut across.

'kra, soul. This word is that of the Gold Coast, a contraction of *akra*. Saramacca people also drop the "r" and say *ak'a*.

104 575 789 *Kromanti*, the name of a category of amulets which help the fighter, and also, we have strong reason to believe, of a male secret society. The former is known as *Kromanti obia*. The word can be most easily traced to the small kingdom of Coromantyne on the Gold Coast of Africa and to the slave factories in the coastal cities of Little and Great Coromantyne. The origin is often traced also to the Ashanti oath of this name, commemorating a battle in which the Ashanti King Osai Tutu was killed. Everywhere in the New World the Coromantyne Negroes were known as intractable, and it is claimed that they were the instigators of most of the slave rebellions in the New World, especially Jamaica and in the United States. In the Saramacca bush the rôle of the *Kromanti* group is in all respects akin to that of the Asafotche companies on the Gold Coast today. In both instances they are companies of young men—in more ancient times, warriors. In both instances they have magic to help them in war. In both instances this magic includes powers which endow the members with resistance to bullets, and to all things that cut or lacerate, like knives and thorns and glass. In both instances the power comes from the enshrining of magic, in Suriname called *obia*, and on the Gold Coast called *sumen*. In some of the old Asafotche songs sung on the Gold Coast the word *Kromanti* appears. The opening of all Asafotche songs with "fire, fire," a euphemism for calling the alarm to indicate the need for all members to gather, is heard in the *Kromanti* songs. The role of the young men of punishing for trespassing against clan or village property, and of watching over the chief's rule, exists in the Saramacca country as it exists on the Gold Coast.

kruta, council, counsel. The Saramacca pronunciation is *k'uta; kruta wuru*, council house.

104 *kuma*, a formal greeting. It is used especially in the Granman's village. The entire interchange when two people of the Saramacca tribe meet follows the West African pattern.

kuna, a supernatural force controlled by the ancestors and gods, which punishes with extinction the families of those who violate the laws of the ancestors. It would seem to be derived from the Ewe (Togoland) word *kuna*, "death."

kwati-kwati, no, no. A ceremonial interpolation used in council.

kye, exclamation of surprise and entreaty. Sometimes pronounced *ke* and sometimes *tye*. This phonetic shift occurs in Negro speech everywhere in the New

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World, as, for example, the Southern "cyah" and "cyarriage" for "car" and "carriage" or "gyahden" for "garden." 104

L

Lomé, name of a Bush Negro village. Probably derived from the city of Lome in Togoland.

lomi, government.

lika, moon. The term is also extended to mean "crescential," as in *lika-bangi*, a crescential stool. See also under *wuu*. In taki-taki *lika* means river. Saramacca for river is *lia*, from the Portuguese.

lo, clan. *Hlo* is the Ewe (Togoland) equivalent.

loko, a sacred tree. It is called by the identical term in Dahomey and Togoland, where it is also held in reverence. The Yoruba, who have the same attitude toward it, call it *iroko*.

M

Mamadam, the great falls of the Saramacca. There the "Mother of the River" is said to live. It is difficult to determine the exact African parallel for this. An important sacred lake in Dahomey is called *Nohue*—"house of our mother." The word *dam* in Ashanti means "room" and *mama* has our own connotation. In Ashanti a tributary of the sacred *Tano* river is called *Abrewa* meaning "old woman."

man, pronounced West Indian Negro fashion, "mahn." The meaning is the same as in English.

massa, master. This word is pronounced in the Suriname bush as it is in the South and in the English-speaking colonies in Africa and has the same meaning. The pronunciation of the Coastal Negroes is *massra*.

matapi, cassava press. The word comes from the indigenous Indians.

mbe, "extended family," descendants through the mother's line not too distantly related.

meye, woman. The derivation is the Portuguese *mulher*.

N

nana, grandfathers, ancestors. The word is Ashanti.

nebu, a poisonous vine used to kill the fish in the creeks.

neng'e (*nengree*), this word means "Negro" in Suriname; the first pronunciation given is that of the bush and the second of the coastal region. In the Saramacca country the word *neng'e* is used interchangeably with the word *la*, meaning clan, and has the further meaning of people. Thus, a man would be spoken of as belonging either to the *Popoto Lo* or being a *Popoto Neng'e*. It has been claimed that this word is a Negro modification of the Portuguese word signifying "black." However, in Dahomey one of the gods of the earth pantheon is called *Susi Nenge* and he is visualized as being the black vulture. In recent times, though, the Dahomeans have learned to be ashamed of the word *nenge*, which they have come to identify with the French *negre*, for it is said that Dahomeans who have gone to France as soldiers have come to know it as a term of derision. Hence they prefer the French *noir*. In Dahomey the forgers speak of a small piece of black iron as *nenge*, and once when our

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cook was taken unaware, and wished to express his surprise at the excellence of a game board which was modeled in such a way that the base of the board was held up by six small human figures, his exclamation was "*Gengs wengi!*" This is a term of affection for a small child, a term which had apparently fallen into bad repute in recent times because of those who had come to know the European association. These examples would seem to indicate African as well as European sources for the word "Negro." See also *opete*, *yankí'o*.

weng'e bonde, Africa. *Cf. Af'ica.*

weng'e Nana, African ancestors.

man weng'e, literally, "male Negro," but idiomatic for an adult man who has power in his community, a man who has proved himself as a full-fledged member of his group. It is a term of pride. *Cf. man.*

Nyankompon, name used by the Saramacca people for the Sky God. This is the Gold Coast name of the same deity.

O

obia, a supernatural force which comes from the great gods and was given to man to protect and heal him. *Obia* is also the term used for the charms which derive their power from this force. In the British West Indies the term is spelled *obeah* and is understood by whites to denote black magic.

obia cuts. The healing magic inherent in *obia* may be given a man either by letting medicine enter his body through cuts made, or by putting this medicine inside red or blue or white cotton or inside a cowrie shell or a piece of wood or string which he wears as a charm.

obia man, a man who practices *obia*. Such a man would be a maker of charms, and would have the knowledge to control and invoke the personal force to make effective whatever object he wished to endow with magic powers.

odi, Saramacca greeting. This may be related to the Southern Negro "howdy."

ogi, evil. It must be noted that the word in many instances as used by Negro peoples in Africa and the New World has not the connotation that the word "evil" has in our language. The expression "*ogi s'yepi*" means "evil itself," and is often used affectionately to designate someone who has outwitted another. The Negroes who speak French in Africa use the word *malin* in the same sense, and the English-speaking Africans use the words "too bad" or "bad too much." This use of "too bad" has persisted in American Negro speech.

okai, go, turn.

okai no ma, keep on going, turning.

opete, vulture, buzzard. An Ashanti word. See also *weng'e*, *yankí'o*.

opo, amulet which gives the owner power over the will of another.

Oyo, a word used by an important captain on the river to impress us with his rank. *Oyo* is the name for one of the Yoruban stocks. A legend in Dahomey credits the *Oyo*, their traditional enemies, with being the first rulers of the earth.

P

pangi, woman's cloth. This is usually a strip about a yard wide and a yard and a half long, worn so that it reaches from the waist to the knee and encircles the lower part of the body. The word is derived from the French *pagne*.

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pemba, white clay. This word is Bantu, coming from the region of the lower Congo. 104

pina hoaru, hairdressing style.

pinda, peanut. This is also a Bantu word.

S

safri, softly; idiomatic for handling a situation delicately.

sekeri, a social dance. It is known in Ashanti but is today seldom danced there. We collected a song in the Ashanti country with the same words as that of a *sekeri* song sung by the Bush Negroes.

sembe, person. This is the Saramacca word; the coastal Negroes use *suma*.

Sofa Bada, name of a god. In Dahomey this would mean Thunder King *Bada*, and there *Bada* is the youngest son of the thunder pantheon and the most cruel one.

sula, rapids. *Su* in Ashanti is water.

suma, person. An Ashanti word. *Cf. sembe*.

sura, a boy's dance. It is often danced to thank the earth gods for good harvests.

T

tangi, thanks. Also used in the form "*Tangi, tangi*" for "I beg you."

tapu, preventive against evil magic.

tata, father.

tekina, taboo. This is a Bantu word used in Loango. In Paramaribo the word for taboo is *trefu*, borrowed from the Jewish slave-owners who came from Brazil.

te, until. This word is employed in bush and town for "till," but in idiomatic use intensifies the word it modifies. The expression *so te* is heard in story-telling in Suriname as well as in English-speaking countries in Africa.

tembe, wood carving. Probably from the English "timber."

t'i, tree. An example of double derivation, coming from the English "tree" and the Ewe–Dahomean word *ati*, which has the same meaning. See also *kankant'i*, *Gedeonsu*.

tia, aunt. Used as a term of respect for any older woman. From the Portuguese.

tio, uncle. Used as a term of respect for any older man. From the Portuguese.

Tinsi, a spirit which lives in the silk-cotton tree, and is the wife of Gedeonsu (*q.v.*). In Dahomey *Tinsi* is danced to in the pantheon of *Agadakosu*, a god who personalizes the totemic origin of one of the Dahomean families.

Tosi, generic name for the river gods. Probably a Mahi (Dahomean) term. The river cult is one of the strongest cults in both Suriname town and bush. In Dahomey there is a legend that when the first kings of the last royal family conquered the plateau of Abomey, the priests of the river cult fomented rebellions against the new rulers, and were all sold into slavery. Nothing of their cult is said to be known today in Dahomey, and the old gods they worshipped are left to trouble the Dahomeans. Today there are places in Dahomey where no Dahomean dares to go. Sometimes, it is said, they hear drums beating from the river bottom, and sacrifices are given to the rivers, although the proper invocations to appease the gods are no longer known.

Tosugbu, river goddess.

Tosusu, a snake god, also called "Papa God." Cowrie shells, which up to comparatively recent times were the currency of West Africa, are referred to

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as *papa mosi* (money) on the Saramacca River. West African folklore gives accounts of snake river gods in whose bodies are imbedded cowries.

trefu, food taboo. See *tshina*.

trutu, indeed; true.

trutu Saramacca, Bush Negro name for all the land above the Mamadam falls. The Saramacca Negro speaks the phrase with great pride. Whether this is associated with the achievement of the early ancestors in penetrating the bush, or is to be traceable to African distinctions of rank, it is impossible to say. Among the Awka tribe on the Marowyne River the upper river tribes consider themselves more aristocratic than those who live on the lower river.

tumao, a "long" drum, the medium-sized drum of the Saramacca trio of drum types. It is played especially for the *Apuku* gods.

V

vodu, name of a particular kind of snake; a term used for all sacred snakes. In Paramaribo it is known also in its fuller meaning as a generic term for all the gods, which is the sense in which it is employed in Haiti (*voodoo*) and in Dahomey. In Paramaribo they sing:

> "*We want to see the vodu in our yard,*
> *We want to see them, brother.*"

W

waka, to travel. This word is from the English "walk."

waka bon, yere?, literally, "walk well, hear?" The word "*yere*" is not only used in the same sense as in the South, but with the same inflection.

waka koni, koni means carefully or with cunning, hence, "go with care." The word *konikoni* in Suriname means rabbit and suggests strongly a connection with Br'er Rabbit's name of "Cunny Rabbit."

wiri, black magic, poison. In Dahomey the expression "to poison a man" means as often to use black magic against him as actually to kill him by the use of poison, and this is also true of Suriname.

womi, man. This is from the Portuguese *homem*.

womi-fo-maye, man and woman. This is a term used generically for symbols of procreation which appear on carvings. *Cf. womi, maye.*

wosu, house.

dede-wosu, house of mourning. *Cf. dede.*

liba-wosu, a house of more than one story. Few two-story houses are known in the bush, and those appear on the upper river.

Y

yakai, indeed, yes.

yank'o, buzzard. In the Saramacca country it is considered one of the buzzard's "strong" names. In Jamaica and other British West Indian Islands variants of this word are associated with the name of the buzzard. The derivation usually claimed is that it is a corruption of the English "carrion crow." It is possible that the famous "John Canoe" dances can also be associated with the ancient dances to the buzzard, and this supposition is made more likely

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when one hears a Jamaican pronounce this phrase. On the Gold Coast there is a play given by the women called *nyankro* in which there are dancing and sexual extravaganza in word play, mimicry, and general ridicule. It seems quite likely that our own "Jim Crow" is derived from this term. Other pronunciations of this term are *yankoro*, *yankoma*, and *yankosa*. See also *nengi*, *opete*. 104

yrubo, no translation of this word was given us in Suriname; it is, however, the Yoruban for white man.

yorka, spirit of one who has died, ghost.

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PHONETIC NOTATIONS AND TRANSCRIPTIONS IN FRENCH OF NAMES OF PLACES AND PERSONS

197 The Boni language, made up from deformed English words, presents few phonetic difficulties.

104 Notations. We have made use of the simplified international alphabet of the International African Institute of London (Westerman and Ward).

Vowels:

a forward a (French a of "natte").
a: long a, pronounced very far back, analogous to the one in English "half."
ã nasalized a, French an of "banc."
e French é of "périr."
ɛ French è of "grève."
ẽ nasalized e (In the Boni language there does not seem to be any central oral vowel).
ɛ̃ nasalized è, French in of "pince."
i long i, as in "île."
ɔ open o, like the one of "port."
o closed o, as in "obus."
ɔ̃ nasalized o, on of the French "bon."
u French ou of "poule."
ũ nasalized ou.

Consonants:

b, d, f, g, k, l, m, n, p, t, z are used with their ordinary value in French.
h, w, with their ordinary value in English.

/3 cont./

● 104 ŋ velar nasal (final sound of "dancing"). /4/

ny palatal nasal; French gn of "montagnard."

r liquid heard sometimes as r, sometimes as l by Europeans; it appears to be borrowed from the Amerindian languages of Guiana.

s consonant placed between French s and ch. One hears initial s before a and o, ch in other cases, but this is a single phoneme.

Transcription. Names of places and persons have been transcribed according to the rules indicated by Mr. Houis, chief of the linguistic section of IFAN. In names of places and persons, u with the value of French ou has been kept on account of the frequent gemination of this vowel (1).

1. Exception is made for recognized toponyms (names of the principal water courses and administrative posts), for which we have kept the usual French spelling.

For the consonant s defined above, s or ch has been transcribed according to its position in the word.

/21 cont./

601 has been pushed by the Refugee Blacks to its extreme limit with-
613 out any attenuation. Everything turns on the number of generations separating from the founding ancestress. Age does not come into it. The fact of belonging to an older or younger branch with respect to such-and-such an ancestress does not come into it, either. The custom of the Refugee Blacks is hostile to any discrimination which could lead to a scission of the lineage.

At the same number of generations from the foundress, they call one another uniformly brother, baala, or sister, sisa, without consideration of age or degree of relationship. Absolutely no nuance exists in the language to differentiate the brother proper from the brother in the classificatory sense.

The people closest to the foundress of a generation are uniformly called uncles, tiyu, or aunts, tiya.

601 The thinking of the Refugee Blacks on the subject of kinship
602 centers above all around knowledge of those ties which can be
613 called horizontal; they consider them as ties in fact which they were taught in early childhood, and few of them worry about knowing the exact origin of them. It is enough for them to know
[814] that N... is their brother and M..., their uncle. Knowledge of the genealogies remains the province of the most wide-awake minds; the others take no heed.

602 This conception of kinship permits the maintenance of the
613 unity of a lineage even when the genealogical ties are forgotten
614 and when the group is in this respect cut into several fractions. The members of the lineage can be unaware of this fractioning, as we have observed in several cases.

[601] Thus in Figure 3[7/1] (fictitious example), Adam knows he must call Baïna brother, Afanis uncle, and Sota nephew.

[104] That is why we use the term extended lineage to translate the word bee (1).

7/1 [See category 116, P. 31--Analyst]

688 /247 cont. /
689 attenuated form of wisi; in serious cases the grand man may inflict a severe punishment on the guilty ones.

789 ɔbia. The Refugee Blacks use the word ɔbia (1) to designate

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1. The term ɔbia is used by the Refugee Blacks when they are speaking to outsiders, to designate positive magic, but in reality this term has a very different meaning in their language. It designates any kind of magic action, negative as well as positive; likewise the term ɔbiamã has the sense of sorcerer as well as that of holder of a remedy.

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The Boni among themselves use the word deesi, remedy, instead of ɔbia. They do not use the word deesimã in place of ɔbiamã. It is said, for example, of a man who knows the rites of a cult of possession "A sabi Papa gadu sani" (he knows the things of Papa gadu).

[787]

The term gadumã designates one who is possessed of a god, and not one who knows how to bring on possession.

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In the rest of this work we shall continue, nevertheless, to use the terms ɔbia and ɔbiamã to designate positive magic, in order to facilitate collation with the English- and Dutch-language authors who have used it in this sense.

B R 146 /513/ The scarcity of lipide foods,and, among the Boni, the low consumption of fruit might cause one to fear vitamin deficiencies. In fact, there are no signs of it.

B R 575 Body hygiene is excellent; Blacks and Indians bathe several times a day and are very fastidious about their persons.

B R 433 In summary, there is no appreciable difference in the customary activities, agriculture, hunting, and fishing, of the two populations. There is one in economic activity. Among the Boni, B R 461 who have a greater need for imported objects, the adult men work [465] for wages four to five months per year on the average. These jobs are very laborious and performed under bad dietary conditions, whereas the Indians rest when they are not occupied with their customary tasks, sometimes spending entire days stretched out in the hammock.

B R 177 The two populations have been in close contact for a long time. The Indian villages farthest downstream have immediate B R 177 contact with the first crop plantings of the Boni. Without having 648 any tendency to merge (their characters and their customs are too different), Boni and Oayana have maintained regular relations since the end of the eighteenth century, doing a little trade in imported articles exchanged for hammocks and dogs trained for hunting. They often visit each other, and nothing stops the spread of illness from the one group to the other.

B R 105 182 164 In fact, the way of life of the two groups is the same, the environmental conditions have the same influence, and the differences which are observed in the pathology can only be attributed to a different sensitivity with regard to the principal illnesses.

B 164 [114] Pathology of the Boni. We shall briefly summarize here the observations of Dr. A. Sausse in his work Populations primitives du Maroni.

The pathology of the Boni is characterized by:

-- a resistance to malaria, which means that if the children have bad attacks an immunity will develop with age; the size of the spleen diminishes regularly from child to adult. The adults have only episodical attacks which are not serious; in particular

B
R /534 cont./

14 In the whole of the Amazonian forest these facts have been
16 observed since the seventeenth century and have led to the re-
182 placement of Indians by slave manpower imported from Africa.
114 The course taken in denying the biological realities and wishing to find at any cost a purely sociological explanation has inspired in recent years an ingenious explanation by several authors:

The success of African manpower was, according to them, due to the fact that the Blacks had a civilization closer to that of the Europeans, whereas the Amerindians were more hunters-fishermen than agriculturalists.

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[105] For any observer of good faith, the Indians of Guiana and
R the Blacks of the forests of the Congo and Gabon are largely
[433] on the same technological and cultural level. The Indians are
[361] certainly cultivators just as experienced as the Negroes; is one to forget that it was they who taught the rest of the world the greater part of the important tropical crops: manioc, maize, cotton, tobacco, and so many others? Hunting and fishing for them is only a secondary means of support; it is their instability,
R their lack of attachment to the soil, which may create an
[136] illusion on this point. It can be explained to a certain extent
[361] by the small size of the kinship groups: an ecological factor which does not exist in Black Africa must also be taken into account, the manioc ant, which swarms in particular in the zones habitually cultivated, promoting a seminomadism (18).

B
[136]
[361]

18. This factor plays only a secondary role, since the Refugee Blacks despite the manioc ant, maintain villages of permanent residence, only changing their crop plantings, but it is certain that it promotes the dispersion of the groups and seminomadism.

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14 These considerations do not pretend to give a complete ex-
16 planation of the social behavior of the Indians of the Amazonian
182 forest. The biological characteristics of the group are only one of the factors of this behavior, parallel to many others, notably

6:Hurault--174 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

CHAPTER VI

FAMILY CUSTOM

17
105 The family custom of the Refugee Blacks presents more unity than their beliefs. Contrary to the Blacks of Brazil and Haiti, among whom the influences of Dahomey and the Yoruba country have dominated, the Refugee Blacks of Guiana have borrowed the essential part of their family custom from the Agni-Ashanti culture area. One finds again especially such characteristic traits as the prohibition of inheritance of widows, customs relating to birth, isolation of the dead in cemeteries away from habitations.

But on several essential points:

--The marriage system.

--Institutions relative to death and mourning, and the central place given to them in the whole body of customary institutions.

The Refugee Blacks have separated themselves cleanly from the conceptions of their ancestors, and the conceptions they have elaborated may be in large measure considered as an original creation.

Birth

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Beliefs. As soon as a woman is pregnant, her husband is subject to special obligations. He may not use a shovel nor drive nails. These operations which, among the Refugee Blacks, have as their primary purpose the digging of graves and the making of coffins, might be supposed to make the child die. Neither he nor his wife may cut their hair; he is subject to food interdictions, especially the maïpouri (tapir).

1: Herskovits, Melville J. and Frances S. Herskovits. Rebel Destiny: Among the Bush Negroes of Dutch Guiana. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1934

Pp. xviii, 366; 15 plates; glossary and linguistic notes; index

Yale: Guiana, Dutch Cwgd. xn4 934h

[This source describes the lives of the Saramacca tribe of Bush Negroes and the Negroes of the Coastal region of Suriname river. Included are, discussions of the beliefs and practices associated with birth, marriage, death, family relationships, community organization, folk lore, art, music, dancing, etc. It is based upon two field trips to Dutch Guiana by the authors, a husband and wife team, in the summers of 1928 and 1929. The authors employed event centered interviewing together with participant observation technique to investigate Bush Negro attitudes toward their own civilization, and their logic in explaining their own custom. They also compared Bush Negro customs with those of town Negro of Dutch Guiana, Negroes of Africa and of the United States. It is the authors' contention that the history of the Negro in the New World can be considered as a vast "laboratory" experiment in the processes of racial mixture and of cultural contacts. The

1: Herskovits, Melville J. and Frances S. Herskovits.

materials on the concept, symbols, functions and hierarchy of supernatural forces; Bush Negroes' religious practices; and the unique decision making institution called krutu are especially valuable. --Analyst]

Field date: 1928-1929
Analyst: Hesung C. Koh

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1962

2: Kahn, Morton C. Djuka: The Bush Negroes of Dutch Guiana. New York: The Viking Press, 1931.

Pp. xxiv, 233; foreword by Clark Wissler; preface; numerous illustrations; 2 appendices; bibliography; index

Yale: Guiana, Dutch Cwgd. f931k

[This source is basically a popularized account of the author's personal observations of the Bush Negroes, made during his several field trips to them in the years 1922-1930. Although the author was not a professional anthropologist, the data presents to the researcher a vivid and succinct account of many aspects of Bush Negro life. Subjects covered are: the culture history of the Djuka, their settlement patterns and house types, sorcery, spirits and spirit possession, ceremonial dances, foods, tribal division of the Bush Negroes, marriage and the family, magic, language variations, personal names, musical instruments, native arts, and elements in the society of West African origin. The source is illustrated with many photographs and figures of native art objects.--Analyst]

Field date: 1922-1930 Evaluation: Physician-5
Analyst: John Beierle Processed in 1962

3: Coster, A. M. De Boschnegers in de Kolonie Suriname. Hun Leven, Zeden en Gewoonten [The Bush Negroes in the Colony of Surinam. Their Life, Customs, and Habits]. Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië, Vol. 1 (third series), pp. 1-36. 'S Gravenhage [The Hague], Martinus Nijhoff, 1866.

Yale: A37h.20 13. [HRAF MS: pp. i, 1-40].

Translated from the Netherlandish for the Human Relations Area Files by Richard Neuse.

/This is an interesting account of miscellaneous aspects of Bush Negro ethnography based on first-hand observations in the middle of the nineteenth century. The author had a long and unusually close relationship with the Bush Negro, particularly for this time period. On the basis of his discussion of field experiences, it is very likely that most of the ethnographic data which he presents pertain to the Djuka; but since this is never specified, it was not possible to subhead the entire article for this group.

One anomalous point in the data concerns the marital residence pattern in cases of polygyny. On page 16 it is stated that all the wives sleep with their husband in one hut. This differs from the pattern reported in other sources on the Bush Negro previously processed for this File, such as Kahn on the Djuka, Herskovits on the Saramacca, and Hurault on the Boni - all of which date, however, from the twentieth century./

Field date: ca. 1857 (ca. 1851-ca. 1865)
Analyst: Robert O. Lagacé

Evaluation: Foreign Resident-5
Processed in 1968

4: Geijskes, D.C. De Landbouw bij de Bosnegers van de Marowijne [Agriculture among the Bush Negroes of the Maroni]. De West-Indische Gids, Vol. 35, pp. 135-153. 'S-Gravenhage [The Hague]. Martinus Nijhoff, 1954.

Yale: West Indies Dutch Cxw Bw52 35-36. [HRAF MS: pp. 1-34].

Translated from the Netherlandish for the Human Relations Area Files by Richard Neuse.

[This source focuses on patterns and problems of agricultural land utilization among two groups of Bush Negroes, the Paramacca along the Maroni River, and the Djuka (Aucaner) mainly along the Tapanahoni River. Included is a detailed inventory of food and other plants cultivated, plus some useful wild plants, and a number of good photographs illustrating cultivation practices and techniques of food processing. The author sets forth some suggestions for improving agricultural conditions.]

Field date: 1952
Analyst: Robert O. Lagacé

Evaluation: Government Biologist-5
Processed in 1968

S: Hurault, Jean. Étude Démographique Comparée des Indiens Oayana et des Noirs Réfugiés Boni du Haut-Maroni (Guyane Française) [Comparative Demographic Study of the Oyana Indians and the Boni Refugee Blacks of the Upper Maroni (French Guiana)]. Population, Vol. 14, pp. 509-534. Paris: Institut National d'Études Démographiques, 1959.

Yale: Nbn P21e 14. [HRAF MS: pp. 1-36.]

Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by Richard Fort.

/This source presents an analysis and comparison of some demographic characteristics of the Boni and the Oyana Indians (SR12). The author considers this to be a sort of natural biological experiment since it involves two entirely distinct ethnic groups which nevertheless live side by side, lead in general the same way of life, and have the same diet. The analysis deals mainly with age and sex distribution, birth and death rates, and the net rate of population growth or decline. Differences in the basic demographic patterns and trends of these two groups are interpreted as resulting primarily from their differential biological adaptation to the environment, including especially the major disease vectors, and from their differential reaction to introduced diseases. Brief supplementary data are also given for the Emerillon Indians (SQ8)./

Field date: 1948-1959
Analyst: Robert O. Lagacé

Evaluation: Geographer-5
Processed in 1968

6: Hurault, Jean. Les Noirs Réfugiés Boni de la Guyane Française [The Boni Refugee Blacks of French Guiana]. Institut Français d'Afrique Noire, Mémoires, No. 63. Dakar: IFAN, 1961.

Pp. xiii, 364; 12 photographs; 5 text figures; numerous tables; bibliography; annex; 1 text chart and 7 folded end charts (genealogical); 11 text maps and 1 folded end map; 1 folded end plate. /HRAF MS: pp. xi, 583/.

Yale: DT521 .H5 63.

Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by Jean Winchell.

[This is currently the basic ethnographic source on the Boni. The author focuses on social organization, demography, and the magico-religious system. (Hurault says his data on material life, art, and other demographic aspects will be published separately.) Excellent, detailed information is presented on the socio-demographic composition of each of the Boni villages, and on the organization, composition, distribution, and functions of the basic matrilineal descent groups (the lo). A complete census of the villages is given, plus extended genealogical charts, enabling a precise placement of each individual by residence, kin relations, and matrilineage affiliations. Associated information is included on age, sex, births and deaths, marriages and divorces, and ethnic derivation (if non-Boni). A long section discusses the role of the matrilineages in land ownership, an important factor in structuring the pattern of land utilization. Other sections cover settlement patterns, the physical structure of villages, family relations,

6: Hurault, Jean.

and marriage and residence patterns. Starting with death and mortuary practices, an extensive treatment is given of the magico-religious beliefs and rituals. The social significance of the matrilineage ancestor cults is clearly delineated, as is the pervasive influence of the cults of possession, and of various key ritual roles.

The only significant weakness in the book seems to be at the analytical level. Thus the data on social organization are not as fully analyzed as they might be, and this leaves some gaps which the researcher must try to piece together for himself. An example of this is the very fuzzy picture which Hurault gives of village political organization. What seems to have happened is that the relevant data are analyzed solely from the standpoint of the structure and functions of the major matrilineages, rather than from the standpoint of any one community as a whole.

But in general this is a very good ethnography, particularly in view of the fact that the author's primary field is evidently geography, not social anthropology.

In conclusion, it should be noted that the author uses the term "lineage" to cover types of kin groups which, in the OCM, are differentiated into lineages (cat. 613) and sibs (cat. 614). Generally, when the term lineage is used in the text without further specification of the group structure, it has been marked only for category 613, although the data may also be pertinent to category 614.]

Field date: 1948-1958
Analyst: Robert O. Lagacé

Evaluation: Geographer-5
Processed in 1968

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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● 113 Schneider, H. G., *Die Busch Neger Surinames*. Herrnhut, 1893.

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See also the numerous works of Dr. H. D. Benjamins in the *West-Indische Gids*.

/138 cont./

244 825 particular suffers greatly from this type of ant, but maize, tajer, and bananas are also eaten. This plague is so serious that the clearing of a new ground is partially determined by the occurrence of the nests of these ants at the place. Normally these nests lie fairly far apart in the forest, but as soon as the crops of the grounds come within the domain of the ants, the nests grow rampantly. In addition, at just about planting time the ants produce numerous sexual forms, which, as a result of the cleared lands, have a favorable opportunity to swarm and found new colonies. The leaf-cutting ants are therefore "Kulturfolger" /followers of culture/.

As a result of this plague of ants, it is usually not possible for the Bush Negroes to cut extensions to the existing grounds for longer than two to three years. After all, the kapoeweri of the abandoned pieces of ground functions then as a hiding place for the younger ant-nests, and one drags, as it were, the ant plague along with one. There is no combating the ants, and through impotence the Bush Negro is forced to yield the field. This flight before the ants consists in the search for new grounds farther into the bush or, in case this is no longer possible for some reason, in the occupation of new lands elsewhere along the river.

137 136 /139/ Stahel (1) has pointed to the fact that among the Bush

[113] 1. Het Bosnegervraagstuk en het Coronieplan /The Bush Negro Question and the Coronie Plan/, Department Landbouwproefstation Surinam /Department of Agriculture Research Station, Surinam/, Report No. 9, October, 1944, 28 pp.

Negroes the older grounds change into a low second-growth, called by him "ant-kapoeweri" /ant-bush/. In effect, in many places where a dense Bush Negro population is found, such a strip of second growth occurs along the rivers. According to Stahel, this inferior bush comes

13 [114] about through the presence of the great nests of leaf-cutting ants. According to his calculation, at a density of six ant nests per hectare (a maximum which is confirmed in the vicinity of Paramaribo, but which, according to my own observations in the Bush Negro lands,

/509/

Introduction

B R 101 [122] During the expeditions of the Institut géographique national in French Guiana in 1948 and 1949, we lived in close contact with the Boni Refugee Blacks and the Oayana /Oyana/ Indians of the Upper Maroni. These populations present the remarkable peculiarity of belonging to two entirely distinct ethnic groups while living side B R 121 by side, leading in general the same way of life, and having the same diet. Historical circumstances have thus joined together in the Upper Maroni the conditions of a rigorous biological experiment which, so far as we know, do not exist so distinctly in the other regions. In fact, wherever two different ethnic groups coexist, they usually do not have either the same habitat or the same way of life; for example, on the coast of Surinam the Indonesians live mostly on the rice plantations and the Blacks in the towns, under quite different conditions of habitat, diet, and hygiene; B R under these conditions, the differences observed on the level of pathology and demography are difficult to interpret.

114 Doctor André Sausse, who accompanied us, studied the Boni and 121 the Oayana Indians on the medical level; he submitted evidence that these two populations presented a distinct pathology having B R profound repercussions on their demographic situation (1). During

[113]

1. Dr. André Sausse, Populations primitives du Maroni /Primitive populations of the Maroni/, Larose, Paris, 1951.

B R this period we lacked the time to substantiate these data by a 101 census and by a systematic interrogation of the women. We were 114 able to carry out this work at the close of the expedition for the 121 delimitation of the southern frontier in January, 1957. The data [122] collected have been verified and completed in the course of two other expeditions made for the Office de la recherche scientifique dans les territoires d'Outre-Mer /Bureau of Scientific Research in the Overseas Territories/ (October 1957 – February 1958 and

/17 cont./

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113

1. Archives du Ministère de la France d'Outre-Mer, Guyane /Archives of the Ministry of Overseas France, Guiana/, A3-02.

611 /18/ Villages and Kin Groups

Among all the kinship systems which existed in the African tribes from which they issued, the Refugee Blacks came back unanimously, and from the beginning, to matrilineal filiation.

571 613 643 Their social system is symbiotic, under the authority of the grand man, of a certain number of localized matrilineal kin groups.

613 Matrilineal kin groups of the Boni. With the Boni the basic grouping is the lineage, in the rigorous sense of the term, understanding by that all descendants in maternal line from a single ancestress.

To designate the kin groups the Boni employ almost interchangeably the words lo (troop, band) and bɛɛ, womb. In fact these expressions correspond to two variant interpretations of the same notion:

614 bɛɛ: matrilineage in the widest sense, understanding by that all persons knowing that they are issue of the same ancestress, even if the genealogical ties are forgotten, and even if these persons are scattered in several villages under different authorities;

lo: lineage fraction grouped in one village and constituting a distinct social unit.

The lineage bears a name whose origin is forgotten by present-day Boni; some of these names allude to a plantation or to a slave-owner, for example Lapé (La Paix: a plantation of the Cottica River); as for others, the name of the founding ancestress may be involved. Example: Kawina (name of the lineage constituting the village of Papaïston).

/41 cont./

621 The principle behind the constitution of the Boni villages
613 is, as we have said, the localization of the matrilineage. Men
[591] and women live in the village of their maternal kin; the wife does not leave her village to join her husband, who comes to visit her from time to time without ceasing, himself, to live in the midst of his own lineage.

The composition of each village thus corresponds, at least in principle, to the group of living people on the genealogical table. But a certain number of exceptions are observed:

[167] -A certain number of men (about 20 out of 800 persons) have emigrated for good and can no longer be counted in the population of the villages;

[619] -On the other hand, a dozen Djuka and Saramaka married
[591] to Boni women have settled permanently in the villages and have been included in the census.

125 We have tried to estimate with as much precision as possible
128 the age of the people concerned, by means of events of known
[173] date which they remember, from the trip of the explorer Crevaux (1878) to the war 1939-45. We have established a local chronology, reproduced as an appendix at the end of the present chapter.

125 The demographic survey, which has been the subject of another publication (1), was conducted parallel with the sociological

[113] 1. "Etude démographique comparée des Noirs Réfugiés Boni et des Indiens Oayana du Haut-Maroni /Comparative Demographic Study of the Boni Refugee Blacks and the Oayana Indians of the Upper Maroni/," in Population, éditions de l'INED, 1959, No. 3. 2/A

investigation.
2/A [See S. Hurault, This file-- Analyst.]

6:Hurault--540 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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Boni

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[114] Editor's Note. -- An additional note by the same author, summarizing the data acquired on the origin of the various African survivals of the Refugee Blacks, will appear in the IFAN Bulletin, series B, volume XXIV, 1962.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

101 is relatively small, and is localized in the interior of French
619 Guiana, not far from the Dutch boundary. In any consideration of the Guiana Negroes, yet a fourth group must be kept in mind—that of the Negroes of the coastal region, who remained enslaved until their emancipation in 1865.

989 The country of the Saramacca people is reached from Paramaribo, the capital and port of the colony of Suriname (Dutch Guiana), by the weekly train which goes some ninety-five miles to Kabel, where the railway meets the river. From Kabel transportation into the far interior is by dugout canoe, owned and manned by Saramacca men.
133 The country above Kabel, which the Saramacca people call the "big bush," is jungle. Over the watershed lie the Amazon basin and the forests of northern Brazil. Once in this region, the traveler has no contact with European civilization, though he is still under the protection of the Dutch Government.

121 The picture which we draw of the Saramacca people is
●114 based upon two field trips to Dutch Guiana, undertaken in the summers of 1928 and 1929. During our second trip we traversed the entire stretch of the Saramacca country from below Kabel, where the Awka villages are located, to the last native habitation on the Pikien Rio, beyond which are some fields, then uninhabitated miles of wilderness to the Brazilian border.

The ethnological work conducted among the Saramacca tribe of Bush Negroes and the Negroes of the coastal region of Suriname represents a portion of an investigation into the physical and cultural characteristics of the Negroes of the New World. This research, which is still in progress, has included field work in the United States, in Dutch Guiana, and in Africa, and some comparative study in the islands of the Caribbean. It began in 1923 with an inquiry into Negro-white crossing in the United States.[1] As the work progressed it became evident that the problem

[1] For the results of this portion of the investigation, see M. J. Herskovits, "The American Negro, a Study in Racial Crossing" (1928); and "The Anthropometry of the American Negro" (1931).

demanded more knowledge of the sources of the slaves who compose the Negro ancestry of the American Negroes than was available. This knowledge, which historical documents do not give us, was, therefore, to be sought in a comparison of Negro cultures in the New World and in Africa. 121 114

As the research was continued, moreover, it became apparent that the scientific problem of the Negro in the New World held implications of larger significance, and that the history of the Negro in the New World has constituted a vast "laboratory" experiment in the processes of racial mixture and of cultural contacts. The Negroes who were brought to the New World came of various West African stocks, and here they mingled their blood with the English, the French, the Dutch, with the Danish, Spanish, and Portuguese who became their masters, and they absorbed in varying degrees the culture of these masters. At the same time, they came in contact with aboriginal Indian peoples with whom they also mingled. But the Negro has not only absorbed; he has also given. The conclusion, still held by many students, that the Negro slave came to this country a savage child with or without his loin cloth, and as naked culturally as he was sartorially, is one which cannot today be accepted.

At the beginning of our field work in Suriname, one of us went up the Suriname River to study the Bush Negroes, and the other remained in Paramaribo to collect folk lore from the town Negroes and to ascertain what Africanisms could be discerned in their beliefs and behavior. When we met and compared notes, some striking things came to light, for bush and town Negroes were, as the evidence in hand suggested, much more closely allied culturally than had been realized, while both were seen to have many aspects of culture that clearly link them with West African and other New World Negroes. 121

Thus, in bush and town, the Negroes hold the same concept and offer the same explanations of the soul and 776 171

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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Saramacca

184 emphasized that whatever the differences, much of Africa remains in the coastal region. Thus, to cite an instance, at a *winti* dance in Paramaribo one night, the drummers were grumbling about the slowness with which possession was coming on. At last the priestess, possessed by *Lebba*, the Nigerian-Dahomean god of the crossroads, began to dance. Whereupon an elderly drummer flung up his hands and cried out, "Praise God, idolatry is not dead yet!" The word he used for idolatry was Dutch, and he pronounced it in Negro-English, *afkodrai*.

121 The importance of the Bush Negroes for the student of Negro cultures, then, is that they live and think today as did their ancestors who established themselves in this bush, which is to say that they live and think much as did the Negroes who were brought to other parts of the New World, and who became the ancestors of the New World Negroes of the present day.

In planning this book, therefore, it has seemed more important to stress the Bush Negro's attitudes toward his own civilization, and his own logic in explaining his customs, than to give a more conventional description of an integrated village or the tribal life of a primitive people. Such attitudes, moreover, whether analyzed among Negroes in Africa, Guiana, the Caribbean, or in the United States, can be studied most advantageously when they are juxtaposed against the factor of outsiders—in this case ourselves, a man and a woman, who came as friendly whites.

114 This book, however, is not an ethnographic treatise. The scientific discussion of these data will appear in monographic form, while the correspondences between bush and town Negroes, and between these and other Negro groups found in the New World, are included in a memoir on the folk lore of the town Negroes of Paramaribo which is now in press. The situations to which we have given emphasis are those which have a direct bearing upon the beliefs and practices of Negro peoples wherever they are found today, but they are presented as they would—and did—actually

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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occur among the Saramacca people. Nothing has been included either in descriptive detail, in the spoken or unspoken thoughts attributed to a Bush Negro, or in characterization, which has not been given us by our Bush Negro informants or has not been witnessed by ourselves. If the thoughts of Moana Yankuso or of any of the elders who figure in the book seem sophisticated when contrasted with the simplicity of the material life of the Bush Negroes, then it is because the stereotype of the childlike, carefree Negro has been so widely accepted. The subtlety and astuteness of a man like Moana Yankuso, or of Sedefo, our chief paddler and the right-hand man of Yankuso's strongest rival, or of Apanto, the sorcerer, cannot be too emphatically stated. 114 [12]

In view of the political factions on the river, and our concern lest these make capital of the fact that a village had been generous in the confidences given the whites, several villages do not appear under their own names. For Headman Moana Yankuso was an old man when we visited him, and alliances for the succession to his high office were at that time already being formed, alliances which, since his death some three years ago, have undoubtedly been consolidated and made effective for the time when his successor is to be named. Villages, therefore, are in some instances given the names of rapids in the river, and not necessarily the names of the rapids found nearest to the villages of which we are writing. In this manner we have sought to preserve the anonymity of the villages without violating the authenticity of place names. Men and women, as well, with the exception of the priestess Amasina, Moana Yankuso, his daughter Wilhelmina, the bassia of his village, Bibifo, and the Captains of Baikutu, S'ei, and Dahomey do not appear under their own names, but under other typical Saramacca Negro names. 114 128

Work of the type we have attempted cannot be accomplished without the cooperation of many persons, and we are privileged to acknowledge here our gratitude to those

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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Chapter XIV

GRANMAN MOANA YANKUSO

I

•114 WHATEVER the rôle of the great man in the life of a people, there are names whose very mention bring up almost full-bodied an epoch, a great dynamic sweep of human thought and activity, of achievement, and sometimes of disaster. Perhaps the great individual does not exist until the poetic vision of a people gives to the skeleton of a name the flesh of a godhead. From earliest times and from people of varying civilizations have come down tales of these godheads, created, let us say if we like, out of a psychic need in the life of human beings to exalt personality in order that, imaginatively at least, the chasm between desire and insufficiency might be spanned.

643 159 In the council house of Granman Yankuso, as we listened to his stories, these thoughts constantly recurred to us, and it is not strange, therefore, that now as we try to collect images and impressions of the man for an objective picture of him not only as a Bush Negro but as an individual, we think of him as typifying among the Negroes of the Saramacca today such a name and such a personality.

Already Moana Yankuso was something of a myth among the people of the coastal region and among his own people.

Men on the coast said, "Granman Yankuso is a silent [159] man. You will be with him for days, and he will never utter a word."

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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FOREWORD

EVER since the discovery of America, writers of books have been busy tracking down clues to the transplanting of primitive cultures from the Old World to the New. For the most part these clues have proved false, but one case is made, the transplanting of pagan West African Negroes in northern South America. These Bush Negroes, as they are called, originated in slavery days as colonies formed by runaway slaves. There was room in the jungle and protection too. Something over two hundred years have elapsed since the first of these fugitive slaves set up communities of their own, twice as long ago as the founding of Chicago.

Several books have been written about the Bush Negroes, but none by an author so familiar with their intimate life as in the accompanying volume. For the reader to comprehend the Bush Negro, he must get the feel of the jungle; this he will have when he completes the first few chapters. Then our author carries him into the village where he looks in upon Bush Negro life and acquires some knowledge of quaint customs, most of which the slave ancestors of the present Bush Negroes brought with them from Africa.

CLARK WISSLER

Professor of Anthropology, Yale University; Curator in Chief, Department of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History.

[pp. iv–vi contain no text]

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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INTRODUCTION

I FIRST met the Djukas in St. Laurent, which is the prison 114
port of French Guiana, and the centre of the penitentiary system which is popularly known as the Devil's Island Penal Colony.

The Djukas come in to St. Laurent from the jungle. They come to trade jungle rubber and timber for bright beads and gunpowder and fish-hooks and the brilliant lengths of calico [139]
which they use as loin-cloths. When they have made their purchases they often pause on their way back to the canoes which they have left moored at the bank of the wide copper-coloured river which separates French from Dutch Guiana. They pause outside the penitentiary gates and stare at the French convicts as they are marched out to the hard labour which is part of their prison sentence.

And I could have had no more dramatic introduction than this to the wild free Djukas of the Guiana jungle.

The convicts march with the listless feet of diseased, under-nourished, hopeless men. They are sad and silent. The Djukas 181
stand erect, confident, and free. In the primitive communism of their forest life, they recognize no masters. It is in every Djuka's power to live as well as does every other Djuka. There is just enough social organization to keep order in the tribe and no more. There are no anarchists among them. No

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2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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181 one feels any grudge against society. There is small temptation to theft. There are, therefore, no questions of capital and labour, no leisure class, no organized industries, no exploitation either of men or of raw materials, no banks to rob, no checks to forge. Under such conditions economic crimes are practically eliminated. Man lives off the jungle and the streams which intersect it, and there are at his disposal uncounted miles of stream and of jungle. Such crimes as exist [674 among the human inhabitants of these forests arise chiefly 578] in quarrels over women. But where divorce is free and in- [586 stantaneous, and sexual relationships are taken lightly, even 833] the difficulties between men and women are enormously simplified.

114 And as these Djukas stood curiously staring outside the prison gates of St. Laurent, they seemed to me to stand in judgment. When I watched them get into their canoes and paddle upstream, returning to their green jungle fastnesses, and heard them call to one another from canoe to canoe, and heard their laughter ring out across the sunlit water, I felt that they went back to the forest, well content that their slave ancestors of two hundred years ago had fled from the white man and all his ways, back to the jungle, there to lead the primitive life of their African forbears.

I had gone to French Guiana to study the convict life of the Devil's Island Penal Colony. And when that had been completed, my husband and I made a journey through the interior of Dutch Guiana, travelling by the streams and trails used by fugitives from the French prisons. This is how we

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happened to cover a fraction of the Djuka territory, so familiar to Dr. Kahn. 114

We lived for a time at the Djuka village of Moengo Tappo, and from there visited other villages on neighbouring rivers and creeks. And there I felt again the sharp contrast between the primitive and the civilized. Through the Djukas, I saw civilization in perspective; and especially I saw that tragic phase of it which passes through prison gates.

Djuka life makes us stop to think all over again about everything. It makes us see what we have gained, as well as what we have lost.

There is, for example, no nonsense about white superiority among the Djukas. They are proud to the point of savage arrogance. Hatred and distrust of the white man are as much a part of their inheritance as is their jungle lore. As among the Negroes of Haiti, you must win your way. But when you are finally accepted, not as a superior being, but as an equal, then how warm and charming a thing their friendship is! [109 186]

The Djuka farewell to us is a beautiful memory. As we passed down the river, between walls of forest where orchids were in gorgeous blossom, the Djuka villagers came down to the water's edge to say good-bye, raising their hands high and bowing low to bring down blessings upon us. 576 114

Indirectly it was these Djukas who introduced me to Dr. Kahn. At the time that we were in the Guiana forest Dr. Kahn was in another part of the same jungle, though neither of us knew of the presence or the existence of the other. Later, after our return to New York, our common interest in the 114

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114 Djukas led a friend to arrange a dinner party for the purpose of bringing us together. And while we sat down to a glittering table and an elaborate meal, far away in the heart of the Guiana forest our mutual friends, the Djukas, were living the frugal life of the jungle. And our talk of them about that dinner table, brought, as every memory of them always brings, the same sense of acute contrast, and the same questioning of our own standards.

In our modern life of crowded interests, intense competition, and overproduction of all commodities, I feel strongly that a book must, from one angle or another, justify its existence.

And the justification for Dr. Kahn's *Djuka,* is not only that it is the best and most complete book on the subject, but that it gives us a perspective on our own problems. We have reached a point where we begin to realize that we must stop and take stock of this civilization, so painfully built by those who have gone before. We must be able to say what is good enough to survive, and what must be eliminated as a menace to human happiness. In what ways, for example, are the Djukas happier than we are? And how can we revise our life, so that we may include in it the best of jungle life, without losing any of the good of our own civilization? We have come to a world crisis in which we must look at this subject very seriously and as clearly as may be. And if we are to get any light from primitive life, it is essential that the books to which we go for a picture of primitive conditions shall be accurate. Romanticized versions of tropic isles and idyllic

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jungles will be no more good to us than tales of Aladdin's lamp, or of godmothers with fairy wands, or of beneficent elves who, while we sleep, bring order out of our chaos. We need the truth and we have a right to demand it. And the outstanding quality of Dr. Kahn's book is this integrity which we so greatly need. He has applied to his study of the Djuka the same exactitude as that which has made him distinguished as a bacteriologist. And to this scientific exactitude he has added the zest of exploration, a feeling for beauty, and an affectionate understanding of the primitive Djuka.

He tells us that in the writing of the book he has been "inspired by sincere admiration of the manner and success of these escaped African people in the adaptation of their primitive culture to a new environment." But even more significant of the spirit of his work, is the fact that in his acknowledgments to Anthropologists, and Colonial Secretaries and Governors, he includes gratitude to the black men who are the subjects of his book. "I am," he writes, "deeply indebted to the black men, particularly to Abaisa, the headman of Lombe; to Moi-Man and Bat-Jou of the Aucaners; to Ahleesie of the Boni tribe; and to old Captain Koffay of the Paramacca nation." But this sympathy with his subject never becomes sentimental. Dr. Kahn remains a scientist from the first page to the last: clear-sighted, without prejudice, and singularly free from self-consciousness or self-exploitation.

Dr. Kahn tells of this Djuka life as it is lived today in the depths of the Guiana forest. And he describes it in such accurate detail that the reader may stare at this jungle civiliza-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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tion as the Djukas stand and gaze at the criminals of France. And through this study of the Djuka, the reader may know Djuka life for himself. In the pages of Dr. Kahn's book he journeys up tropical rivers to jungle villages whose names, being translated are, "Try me," "God knows," "Don't Touch Me," and the "Village of the Foot that has no Resting-Place." He meets men whose names mean "Waving Flag," "He Speaks the Truth," "Nice Fellow," "Laughs When He Talks," and "Love Is Sweet."

Dr. Kahn takes his reader far into the interior, for his starting point is where superficial travellers end. The journey leads to the tribe which has two languages: one for ordinary use, and the other a secret language which they call "deepee talkee"; and to strange villages which a man must enter carrying a paddle before him as a symbol that he is voyaging. It is a journey among peoples proud and spirited and courageous, descended from ancestors so bold in their rebellion that they were able to conclude treaties whereby the white man paid them a tribute which their descendants still receive in the form of an annual gift from the Dutch authorities to the headmen of the various Djuka tribes. The reader thus finds himself among the only primitive people in the world to whom the white man pays tribute; among a people to whom magic is as real as science is to us; who believe that spirits, both good and evil, inhabit the very streams and trees of the forest; people who know how to manufacture courage through the hypnotic intoxication of the tomtom and how to get rid of fatigue in the ecstasy of the dance; people whose

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art sense is devoted entirely to the decoration of gifts for their 114
women, while no pains are taken in the decoration of reli- 121
gious objects. The Djuka reasons that "if a God is a good God, well disposed toward the black man, he does not care whether his fetishes are well executed or not"; while, "if he is a bad God, he will continue to be bad, regardless of whether much time has been spent in adorning his fetishes."

All this is picturesque; but, let me repeat that Dr. Kahn does more than give a vivid and authentic study of this twentieth century primitive; somehow in a starkly true unbiased picture, without ever pointing a moral, or presenting a personal conclusion, he contrives to make us see ouselves at the same time that we see the Djuka. And in that achievement, I think, lies the great value of his book.

BLAIR NILES

New York City
November, 1930

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PREFACE

THE year 1929 witnessed the opening of the air-mail route to Dutch Guiana, and it can be expected that before many years have passed the encroachments of industrial civilization will wipe out the last remnants of primitive West African culture in the New World. The Bush Negroes will be a vanished people, their culture gone, their habits and life forgotten. The African slave trade will then be only an historical memory.

Happily unaware of their probable extinction in a fast mechanizing world, these wild Bush Negroes still maintain in South America the ancient customs and venerable economy of the jungle dwellers of West Africa. Surinam is now an ethnological laboratory where one may study certain types of negroid jungle life in one of its purest forms. There the culture origins of the American Negro are preserved, as in a museum, by an historical accident.

In 1922, 1923 and 1925 I visited the South American tropics for the purpose of studying public health measures as applied to tropical disease. These studies took me to the border of the Bush Negro countries. Although my contacts at that time were very brief, and my knowledge of the Bush Negro altogether limited, I was determined to return and study further the lives and customs of a people who, although only

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532]

IN NORTH-EASTERN South America, more precisely in the hinterland of Dutch Guiana, there is a unique civilization little known to the white men of this continent. We know much of the strange life of the Congo and of the fascinating customs peculiar to the inhabitants of the Malay jungles, for a number of explorers have brought from the Eastern tropics the interesting accounts of their experiences. But of the Surinam Bush Negro, Djuka, as he calls himself, who nearly two hundred years ago fought his way out of slavery, of the survival of his African customs in the jungles of South America, little has been told. 114 101

The flush tides of imperialism have passed over these people, leaving them practically unaltered and unknown, unique among the Negro peoples of the world. They still maintain the life of jungle dwellers of the immemorial past.

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1/2 [For caption, see category 14, p.204.--Analyst]

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114 Today they are hunting game with the long bow. Tonight
101 their bodies will be contorted with the sinuous movements of African dances, to the dull thudding of the tomtom. The huts along the rivers of Surinam are like the huts beside the Congo, as they were in the days of Stanley and the early explorers. And in these huts, polygamously, the Bush Negroes live.

114 There is a vicious irony to that famous phrase which describes the backward peoples of the earth as "the white man's burden." The backward sections of the globe have been invaded for exploitation, and the exposure of the natives to civilization is invariably disastrous. In West Africa the process of civilizing the natives has in a single decade decimated many of the tribes. Exploitation has ravished them with disease and despair, the gifts of the white man to the sons of Ham. In strong contrast with this deplorable life along the Congo, the Bush Negroes of South America are a proud and hardy race, independent of the white man and usually contemptuous of him. They have come into contact with white civilization and survived. *They have fought the white man with his own weapons and defeated him, forcing him to sue for peace.* Transported to this hemisphere originally as slaves, they threw off their bondage and began life again in the New World. Slaves, they organized armies for conquest. Primitives, they were the first new people in the Western hemisphere to establish their independence.

They were enabled to do this by the wild and inaccessible jungle, the ancient abode of their ancestors. In the face of

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a desperate situation they established a civilization of their own, which, because of the implacable necessities of the jungle, differs widely from our own. The Djuka tribes are unique. To call them savage because they do not live as we do is an error. Their way is the way of the jungle; they cannot do otherwise and survive.

The Bush Negroes are blood relatives of the Negroes of the United States, only a few generations removed. The West African slavers that supplied the Carolinas and West Indies got their human cargoes from the same Guinea coast. In Jamaica, Haiti, and the United States, the Negroes have had too much contact with white civilization to retain their own characteristics. Among the Djukas the Negro strain remains practically pure. Here in the jungle the white man is weak and dependent, and the Djukas, having tasted the white civilization, reject it in favour of their own.

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His Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition Against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam in Guiana on the Wild Coast of South America is a record of strange happenings that could not occur again.

Many of the soldiers died en route, so reinforcements of three hundred men were sent from Amsterdam. Two hundred and fifty of these died on the way. The remainder were prepared for active service against the rebels. Acting with them were three hundred auxiliary troops, consisting of emancipated slaves under the command of white leaders. Such Negroes, freed for the purpose of fighting, were known as "rangers." They were given trousers and scarlet caps, armed with firelock and sabre, and taught the Dutch password, *"Orange!"* to distinguish them from rebel Negroes and prevent "disagreeable mistakes" during the fighting.

Under the command of the rebel leader Baron, whose very name sufficed to cause panic in any part of the colony, the Bush Negroes had established a strong settlement between the Cottica River and the seacoast. One proud rebel town was known as *Boucou,* which means *"Dust."* It was entirely surrounded by swamp, with secret paths under water, leading to gates in the palisade wall. Before the gates Baron placed swivel guns. On the whole it had the reputation of being "no contemptible fortification." There was another camp of rebel Negroes at Lee Shore, between the Surinam and Saramacca rivers. From these armed camps they made night forays into the plantations, robbing fields and stealing women.

Against Boucou the desperate Dutch sent a detachment

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Chapter Eight

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

THE Bush Negro family is not a family in our sense of the word. In the Surinam jungle the Djuka family is polygamous and matrilineal. The unit of society is the hut, where the mother and her children live. 594 595 611

In order to understand the marriage customs of the Bush Negro tribes it is first necessary to forget for the time being the system of patriarchal family life under which the white men of our age live. One unconsciously takes the customs of one's own society as a norm, and passes moral judgment on exotic customs by their deviation from that norm. This habit of thinking must be avoided as far as possible in considering a primitive society, though it is difficult even for an agile mind to make dispassionately the transition from one culture in which the father is dominant, to another, in which his position is not important. On the other hand, many of our 114

1 [For caption, see category 116, p. 204. — Analyst]

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114 prejudices about sex and marriage may become less rooted by a comparison with the customs of a primitive society.

611 The Djukas, like a number of other primitive tribes, reckon
428 descent only through the female line; property rights are transmitted through the maternal side of the house. Fatherhood is a fact of relative unimportance.

595 Polygamy is the practice. Each wife lives in a separate hut (often in a separate village), which belongs to her because her husband built it for her. A man has as many wives as he wants, or can keep. The wives get along together fairly [152] amicably. The cancer of matrimonial jealousy characteristic of our own system, is of narrow range and effect among the Djukas.

596 The head of the family is not the father, but the mother's
604 oldest male relative—her brother or her mother's brother. *The father is technically unrelated to his children.* As a matter of biological fact, he can never be sure of his paternity, whereas maternity is never in doubt. All children belong to their mother's family, and are subject to the authority of her brother or her maternal uncle. The latter is more closely related to them than any other male.

611 A group of families related through the female line con-
614 stitute a *m'beh,* and several m'beh together make up a *lo,* or clan. These groups are all reckoned through the mother. Husband and wife may belong to different m'beh and lo, but children of the union belong only to their mother's group. At
593 first sight the father seems negligible in this arrangement,
604 but it must be remembered that he is very likely the brother

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of some other woman, and exercises authority over her children rather than over his own. 593 604

The Djuka family, then, consists of a group of people all descended from a single woman, and related to each other through the female line. Whatever family authority exists resides in the mother's or grandmother's brothers; to them the children defer; from them the children will inherit property and title. The paternity of the children is unessential. This type of social organization is called matrilineal. 596 611

We should, perhaps, not expect to find romantic love, as we know it, among the Djukas. The peculiar transports and attenuated delights of romantic passion are a rather extraordinary phenomenon which, according to Briffault, does not exist outside of Western civilization. Romance requires a high development of individuality among women so that one may be desirable above all others. Where women are mutually interchangeable, romance cannot exist. The Djuka black does not love a woman; he loves women. Love among the Djukas is not a brainstorm but a physiological release, and marriage an economic device. 114

The young people have complete knowledge and some experience of sex at an extremely early age and are usually married at sixteen or seventeen. They are fairly promiscuous before marriage and extremely so afterward. This, again according to Briffault, is the rule in tribes retaining the matrilineal tradition. Since intercourse before marriage is a practice that the Djukas make little effort to restrain, sex is a common affair, not particularly connected with marriage. 836 [582 837]

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Appendix B

SYMBOLS IN DJUKA CARVINGS

In the work of the Djukas sexual symbols are fre- 532
quent. These symbols must not be taken to indicate preoccupation with lascivious interests, for they are not always even representations of coitus or of sexual desire on the part of the male donor of the carved wooden piece upon which the symbols occur. They are sometimes expressions, through conventional and decorative signs, of the entire fertility cult, embracing the Earth Mother (Mama fu a gron) and kindred spirits. The figures marked with the letter P are taken from an ar- [114]
ticle by Jonkheer Van Panhuys (see bibliography).

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Introduction

114 After having left the plantation life in the colony of Surinam,
121 I went back there in the beginning of 1851 with the plan, as the
[101] result of an agreement reached by me with a Belgian firm, to send shiploads of wood to the motherland and Belgium.

[123] I undertook my journeys to the Bush Negroes for this purpose and visited most of their dwelling places, something that entailed effort and great cost, since I distributed ample presents everywhere for the purpose of thereby acquiring their confidence, which they do not readily grant to Whites.

123 At my very first encounter I took the precaution of politely
[576] greeting each one of them without distinction and shaking their
[177] hands, a practice taken over by them from the Whites in the most recent times, which assures them of a feeling of good-will such as they experience among themselves but never from a White.

[352] I spoke to them frankly and in a friendly way, sat next to them in their huts on their low stools, and partook of their meals. In short -- I lived for a while without reserve or fear among them, paying amply for everything that I enjoyed in this way or that.

[273] I also permitted them, whenever they wanted to use any of my store of beverages, such as wine, beer, brandy, and gin, to ask me for it quietly, so that I would be able to order my servants to offer them what they had requested. In addition I supplied /2/ them amply with dram (1), herbs, and lead and, in order to show

1. A kind of inland rum (sugar spirits).

generosity to the women as well, frequently gave them and the children biscuits, cake, or some coins.

[121] In the beginning they were very reserved and mistrustful, but gradually, and after some difficult years, became more open with me, so that I, adapting myself entirely to their practices, was able to carry out my plan to have the necessary wood processed by them.

/2 cont./

114 439 Much wood was ordered by me, and all that I received was paid for according to the actual value and in accordance with a concluded agreement.

123 I lent several of them money, in spite of already having been misled and cheated by them frequently, and continued to treat them amicably, to give them articles of clothing, and, indeed, sometimes for bad wood, which they tried to force upon me among the good pieces, even though I noticed this, I nonetheless continued to pay them decently just as for good wood, whereby I made them realize that I wanted to do business in an accomodating way.

So I learned more and more of their way of life, customs, and habits, respected these in everything, and finally succeeded in leading them back from various bad habits and shortcomings and to observe a more honest way of dealing with me. I was even able to bring it about so that I enjoyed a blind trust and in return was able to give my complete trust to some.

114 439 Since the beginning of 1857 I have been the owner of a sawmill with which the previous owner could do little or nothing because he always lacked the logs needed for the sawing of boards, whereas I, on the other hand, receive so much wood from the Bush Negroes that it is frequently too much for me.

123 439 Many of them who are not even my regular workmen refuse to sell their wood on the plantations and bring it all the way to my sawmill located near the town, because, so they contend, they also want to share in the privileges which the other Bush Negroes enjoy in accordance with the agreement concluded with me.

123 Most of the Bush Negroes know me, if not in person, at least by name.

I have also had to promise them that I will bring up my son /3/ so that later he will be able to take my place and deal with their descendants in the same manner as I am now doing with them, while they, too, drill their children to conduct themselves toward my son as the parents do toward me. In this way they want to make any split between my family and theirs impossible, even in the future.

/29 cont./

439 Thus it is known to me that they have gone to one or
501 another plantation in order to sell timber, which they tie to their
505 korjalen or canoes after having made it into rafts with bush ropes
[283] (tough liana stalks), and have misled the Europeans in a scandalous manner.

[284] They make their squared timber into rafts in the following manner. Four thick strong round timbers are laid crosswise and tied together, two above and two under the korjaal; the timber is pushed in between these and fastened, so that the whole thing forms a firm long rectangle with the korjaal in the middle /30/ with which they make long journeys from the upper to the lower
[283] rivers. This timber that is made into rafts and carried along by the korjaal is called kokroko; they tie light and floating wood to long beams with bush rope (called boessitetei) (1); thus tied to the

1. From the copaiva.

heavy wood they drag it along down the river.

Chapter XXI

Understanding among Themselves

114 Not long ago I found myself among them on the river
133 Upper Commewijne on the Tempati (a branch of the river named, on the left going upstream; this branch runs into the mountains, which are reported as ruddle mountains /roodenberg/.

114 Residing among them, I made many attempts to induce
648 them to track down those in hiding who did not belong to their tribes and fugitives of a later time, and to make known to them that by governmental decree in the course of the year 1863, before the emancipation, a general amnesty regarding them had been issued, so that they could return to their former dwelling places without fear of punishment. The reason that induced me to acquaint them with this was that I saw in the return of these persons

114 /30 cont./
648 in hiding a significant advantage for the colony, since the lack of workers in agriculture makes itself felt with increasing urgency.

202 Accordingly they promised to satisfy my wish by putting
[123] up the signs customary among them, which would make known to those in hiding my wishes to acquaint them with the good news.

In order to let those in hiding know that they were requested to come out of the forest, they go to work in the following manner.

202 They tie white and blue, also perhaps white and black
822 patches of cotton half an ell long and three thumbs wide in Rhineland fashion to the upper branches of the trees, starting in the deepest part of the forest and progressing to the river /31/ bank. The little flags placed highest are of a dark color, while the patches tied progressively lower toward the river are white.

Those in hiding, who stay in the district and cross through the forest to hunt, discover these signs and see by them that there is something going on; either that others in hiding want to establish contact with them or that they have to fear danger.

The manner in which the signs are attached to the trees makes them understand that if they go more deeply into the forest there will be born for them a dark and dangerous future, whereas, if they can decide to go to the river bank they can walk a white, that is, a bright path and that, following the little white flags, they will find people who either want to make common cause with them or wish to give them important information.

202 Since these persons in hiding are constantly afraid of
152 surprise attack or deception, trust in these signs is not always im-
648 mediately established and thus at first only some of them go down with cunning and caution. When they come into the more inhabited districts, they watch and investigate everything that they wish to know; frequently this investigation extends all the way to Paramaribo. Now the Bush Negroes thought that if they followed their custom in this it would be clear to them why these signs had been placed in the bush and that as a result of these they would very quickly become acquainted with the declared amnesty.

202 I must add here also that in fact many fugitives or
648 persons in hiding later came out of the forests, among whom must

/31 cont./

202 be mentioned in particular the man who caused so much of a stir,
648 Broos, chief of a camp of persons in hiding behind the plantation Rac a Rac, who came back followed by many.

I must confess that I have never seen this chief and was not involved in this event in any way; the question is, however, whether this Broos and his followers came back of their own accord, or whether they returned without fear of the Whites because of the reassuring signs set up at my request.

That the Bush Negroes attached to me complied with my request by the placing of /32/ signs is not to be doubted, but what outcome resulted from it cannot be said with certainty.

Chapter XXII

Deception Practiced toward Them

114 I said a few words in Chapter XX and earlier about the
648 deceptions that the Whites practiced with regard to the Bush Negroes. I was at first diffident about communicating the unvarnished truth about this. Since, however, this is not reported by me as being generally applicable, because, as in all things, here, too, favorable exceptions exist, I therefore regard it as my duty to make my experience known.

186 The Bush Negroes, it cannot be denied, as the result
648 of the manifold deceptions that they have experienced from the Europeans and other free inhabitants of this colony, have developed an aversion toward them. They therefore oppose deception with deception, and trick with trick.

439 It has become apparent to me that many of them, when
648 they arrive with timber rafts at the plantations in order to sell the timber, after having been deceived several times, make use of all kinds of tricks in order in their turn to deceive the Europeans. I leave now to one side the question as to which of the two parties is the principal or initiating cause and has the greater responsibility in these fraudulent transactions. When a family of Bush Negroes

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Agriculture among the Bush Negroes of the Marowijne /Maroni/

by D. C. Geijskes (1)

114 1. Government biologist with the Department of Internal Affairs, Paramaribo.

1. Introduction

121 182 When one goes to the small communities of the inhabitants of the bush who live in the interior districts of Surinam, one quickly sees, upon examination, the basis on which the maintenance of such communities rests. The struggle for existence among primitive peoples covers the food supply and the resistance that can be offered against illness and pests. These two factors ultimately determine the birth surplus, which as a result expresses the possibility for survival.

121 [161] Among the Bush Negroes we see in the course of the years an increase in the population, an advance, therefore, in spite of the obstructions of nature. But this advance creates new problems. [101] It was during the Medical-Scientific Expedition to the Southern Border of Surinam, held from February to July, 1952, that, in conjunction with the medical investigation in the gathering of data about the "housekeeping" of the Bush Negroes of the Marowijne /Maroni/ and the Tapanahoni, we were struck above all by the problem of the food supply and the food itself. There is little sense in paying attention only to medical care unless at the same time attempts are made to improve the food.

433 262 An important part of the food supply is produced by agriculture. This supplies the Bush Negroes with the most, but not the best food. Next to it a number of forest products serve to provide for the need for food fats, while hunting and fishing must provide the protein.

/138 cont./

24 825 particular suffers greatly from this type of ant, but maize, tajer, and bananas are also eaten. This plague is so serious that the clearing of a new ground is partially determined by the occurrence of the nests of these ants at the place. Normally these nests lie fairly far apart in the forest, but as soon as the crops of the grounds come within the domain of the ants, the nests grow rampantly. In addition, at just about planting time the ants produce numerous sexual forms, which, as a result of the cleared lands, have a favorable opportunity to swarm and found new colonies. The leaf-cutting ants are therefore "Kulturfolger" /followers of culture/.

As a result of this plague of ants, it is usually not possible for the Bush Negroes to cut extensions to the existing grounds for longer than two to three years. After all, the kapoeweri of the abandoned pieces of ground functions then as a hiding place for the younger ant-nests, and one drags, as it were, the ant plague along with one. There is no combating the ants, and through impotence the Bush Negro is forced to yield the field. This flight before the ants consists in the search for new grounds farther into the bush or, in case this is no longer possible for some reason, in the occupation of new lands elsewhere along the river.

137 136 /139/ Stahel (1) has pointed to the fact that among the Bush

[113] 1. Het Bosnegervraagstuk en het Coronieplan /The Bush Negro Question and the Coronie Plan/, Department Landbouwproefstation Surinam /Department of Agriculture Research Station, Surinam/, Report No. 9, October, 1944, 28 pp.

Negroes the older grounds change into a low second-growth, called by him "ant-kapoeweri" /ant-bush/. In effect, in many places where a dense Bush Negro population is found, such a strip of second growth occurs along the rivers. According to Stahel, this inferior bush comes 13 about through the presence of the great nests of leaf-cutting ants. Ac- [114] cording to his calculation, at a density of six ant nests per hectare (a maximum which is confirmed in the vicinity of Paramaribo, but which, according to my own observations in the Bush Negro lands,

/139 cont./

13 seems too high to me), the ants can bring into the soil each year two to three tons of leaf material per hectare. As a result the soil would be so enriched with humus and, in addition, through the construction of the numerous nest corridors, receive so much extra ventilation that the oxygen content and the microbiological condition of this soil would tend to differ from the mineral soils in which the virgin forest is rooted. As proof of this, it is stated "that even the oldest ant-kapoeweri directly behind the villages shows no tendency to grow into normal high forest" (p. 13).

● 114 It does not seem correct to me to ascribe this kapoeweri
137 phenomenon only to the presence and the activity of the leaf-
136 cutting ants. In my opinion the ants here constitute a troublesome contributing factor, for when the virgin-forest grounds are abandoned by the population and no new food material is available to the ants while the kapoeweri gradually grows into higher forest, then the balance in the ant population re-establishes itself. This process takes place at a slow rate, depending on the local circumstances, but it leads to the re-establishment of the original situation. There is, however, one condition connected with it, namely, that the forest be left in peace for a long enough stretch.
241 Now this last is not the case for the grounds area of the Bush Negroes.
134 They return too soon (within ten years) to clear grounds again, with the consequence that the soil becomes too exhausted and the recovery of the forest becomes impossible.

171 Proof for this viewpoint is already provided by Stahel (loc.
241 cit.) in his consideration of the agriculture of the upland Indians.
137 The absence of the ant-kopoeweri there is not a matter of a lesser
[136] ant infestation, as Stahel /140/ believes -- for in places this is equally serious -- but of a less intensive use of the forest lands.
[161] The Indians are present in small numbers (a few hundred, as against
423] thousands of Bush Negroes), while only communal plots are laid out for one village, and not different ones for each family. In
[361] addition, the Indians move frequently in order to find new hunting and fishing grounds.

/143 cont./

433 The solution of this problem in my opinion lies in this, that in the first place agricultural methods which are based upon a better and more economical use of the land must be practiced. It is the task of the Department of Agriculture to investigate which possibilities the lands permit and which crops can best be cultivated; it is for this reason that to these observations is added a list of crops presently in use among the Bush Negroes. A small team of young Bush Negroes will have to be trained by the Agricultural Information Service to familiarize them with the new methods.

Next to that, combating the ants will have to be seriously taken in hand in conjunction with the plans for a modified agriculture. For this, too, people from the area itself will have to receive training, and a permanent work-team will have to be formed. It is unfeasible and unnecessary to clear the entire area now in use. Insecticides such as carbon sulfate, methylbromide, and parathion -- applied with the necessary caution -- could be used with success in places.

/144/ The District Administration will also have to provide co-operation in order to find a compromise between the customary laws of the Bush Negroes and the new regulations to be introduced concerning the use of land.

7. The Cultivated Crops and Their Use

241 Although for the most part the cultivated plants are those [171] generally in use as agricultural crops in Surinam, there is still not [114] much known in detail concerning the crops that are cultivated by the Bush Negroes for their sustenance. Giving a general survey of these plants is thus necessary first of all, with a report on the way in which they are used.

[174] From a more historical point of view it is of interest to point to a number of important plants that are of African origin and have only still remained in use among the Bush Negroes, such as [177] agobo and bongila. Furthermore presumably there are still varieties of ordinary cultivated plants present here -- such as sugar cane, bacove and bananas, species of tajer and yams -- from the

/144 cont./

241 [177] time that the runaway slaves took these with them from the plantations then in existence.

It is therefore worthwhile in various respects to explore what is

241 114 [128] being cultivated. The following summary has been put together from the data of my own observations and from information provided by various Bush Negroes. This list is not complete; what is lacking, however, is probably of minor importance.

A. Cultivated Crops That Are Grown on the Food Grounds

244 [262] Bitter cassava (kasàba).

This is the most important crop, from which the cassava bread and kwak are made. One plants the shoots in December, but also in March and April. After 12 months the harvest begins; in case of a food shortage they are dug after only seven months. Yellow and white varieties are distinguished according to the color of the contents of the tubers. To the yellow varieties belong: witti tiki, which is kept on the grounds up to two years, blaka tiki, which stands on the grounds only one year, and taja tiki, which provides produce for a long time and is especially good for the making of kwak. To the white varieties belong: amosiang, sanang kasaba, [252] and domberi. Cassava bread is made from this. In the making of kwak all the colors are mixed together in order to obtain the desired yellow color. Each variety separately provides a less tasty product.

252 [184] On the Marowijne one makes more kwak (kwaka) than cassava bread, while on the Surinam River and the Saramacca only cassava bread /a map and Figs. 1-14 appear here/ /145/ is baked with the flour. Kwak is prepared in the following manner: The tubers, after they are peeled, are put in water in a korjaal (1) for two

1. korjaal = boat.

days and then grated. This grated cassava is then allowed to sour in a box or a korjaal; after that the grated cassava is expressed

[text continues on p. 21]

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Introduction

During the expeditions of the Institut géographique national in French Guiana in 1948 and 1949, we lived in close contact with the Boni Refugee Blacks and the Oayana /Oyana/ Indians of the Upper Maroni. These populations present the remarkable peculiarity of belonging to two entirely distinct ethnic groups while living side by side, leading in general the same way of life, and having the same diet. Historical circumstances have thus joined together in the Upper Maroni the conditions of a rigorous biological experiment which, so far as we know, do not exist so distinctly in the other regions. In fact, wherever two different ethnic groups coexist, they usually do not have either the same habitat or the same way of life; for example, on the coast of Surinam the Indonesians live mostly on the rice plantations and the Blacks in the towns, under quite different conditions of habitat, diet, and hygiene; under these conditions, the differences observed on the level of pathology and demography are difficult to interpret.

Doctor André Sausse, who accompanied us, studied the Boni and the Oayana Indians on the medical level; he submitted evidence that these two populations presented a distinct pathology having profound repercussions on their demographic situation (1). During

1. Dr. André Sausse, Populations primitives du Maroni /Primitive populations of the Maroni/, Larose, Paris, 1951.

this period we lacked the time to substantiate these data by a census and by a systematic interrogation of the women. We were able to carry out this work at the close of the expedition for the delimitation of the southern frontier in January, 1957. The data collected have been verified and completed in the course of two other expeditions made for the Office de la recherche scientifique dans les territoires d'Outre-Mer /Bureau of Scientific Research in the Overseas Territories/ (October 1957 – February 1958 and

B R /509 cont./
101 October 1958 – January 1959), expeditions whose principal aim
114 was the sociological study of these populations.
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Social Structure and Way of Life

B
101 The Boni Refugee Blacks. The Boni are one of the above-mentioned
[175] tribes of the Refugee Blacks, reconstituted in the course of the eighteenth century by rebel African slaves who escaped from
B Surinam plantations (Dutch Guiana).

[131] These tribes (Saramaka, Djuka, Paramaka, Boni) live for the
[161] most part along the rivers of the interior of Surinam. They group together a total of 25,000 persons.

B 161 With very rare exceptions, the Refugee Blacks are pure Africans.
[144] These populations, vigorous and well adapted to the country, have experienced in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a remarkable demographic increase, attested to by all the authors. Descended from small rebel groups which could not have contained more than a few hundred women, they are now estimated at more than 25,000 persons.

B 162 The Boni of the Upper Maroni, the subject of the present study,
103 number approximately 800, of whom 660 are on the French bank
[161] (the villages of Boniville, l'Enfant Perdu, Loka, Asisi, Papaïton, and Kormotibo) and 140 on the Surinam bank (the village of Kotika). These villages were established long ago.

B Each of them groups together a matrilineage, i.e., the
613 descendants in the uterine line of one single founding ancestress;
621 certain villages know their genealogy in its entirety back to this
769 ancestress, who must have lived at the end of the eighteenth century. The members of the lineage are united by the cult of the
B ancestors, which binds them firmly to their natal village and to
[622] their land. The social system is based essentially on this cult,
[793] the chief of the village being above all the priest of the ancestors.

B Strictly speaking, there is no marriage, but only an acknowl-
581 edged concubinage which entails neither a contract between the

/513/

B R 146 The scarcity of lipide foods, and, among the Boni, the low consumption of fruit might cause one to fear vitamin deficiencies. In fact, there are no signs of it.

B R 575 Body hygiene is excellent; Blacks and Indians bathe several times a day and are very fastidious about their persons.

B R 433 In summary, there is no appreciable difference in the customary activities, agriculture, hunting, and fishing, of the two populations. There is one in economic activity. Among the Boni, B R 461 who have a greater need for imported objects, the adult men work [465] for wages four to five months per year on the average. These jobs are very laborious and performed under bad dietary conditions, whereas the Indians rest when they are not occupied with their customary tasks, sometimes spending entire days stretched out in the hammock.

B R 177 The two populations have been in close contact for a long time. The Indian villages farthest downstream have immediate B R 177 contact with the first crop plantings of the Boni. Without having 648 any tendency to merge (their characters and their customs are too different), Boni and Oayana have maintained regular relations since the end of the eighteenth century, doing a little trade in imported articles exchanged for hammocks and dogs trained for hunting. They often visit each other, and nothing stops the spread of illness from the one group to the other.

B R 105 In fact, the way of life of the two groups is the same, the 182 environmental conditions have the same influence, and the differ- 164 ences which are observed in the pathology can only be attributed to a different sensitivity with regard to the principal illnesses.

B 164 Pathology of the Boni. We shall briefly summarize here the ob- [114] servations of Dr. A. Sausse in his work Populations primitives du Maroni.

The pathology of the Boni is characterized by:

-- a resistance to malaria, which means that if the children have bad attacks an immunity will develop with age; the size of the spleen diminishes regularly from child to adult. The adults have only episodical attacks which are not serious; in particular

B
R /534 cont./

14 In the whole of the Amazonian forest these facts have been
16 observed since the seventeenth century and have led to the re-
182 placement of Indians by slave manpower imported from Africa.
114 The course taken in denying the biological realities and wishing to find at any cost a purely sociological explanation has inspired in recent years an ingenious explanation by several authors:

The success of African manpower was, according to them, due to the fact that the Blacks had a civilization closer to that of the Europeans, whereas the Amerindians were more hunters-
B fishermen than agriculturalists.
R [105] For any observer of good faith, the Indians of Guiana and
R the Blacks of the forests of the Congo and Gabon are largely
[433] on the same technological and cultural level. The Indians are
[361] certainly cultivators just as experienced as the Negroes; is one to forget that it was they who taught the rest of the world the greater part of the important tropical crops: manioc, maize, cotton, tobacco, and so many others? Hunting and fishing for them is only a secondary means of support; it is their instability,
R their lack of attachment to the soil, which may create an
[136] illusion on this point. It can be explained to a certain extent
[361] by the small size of the kinship groups: an ecological factor which does not exist in Black Africa must also be taken into account, the manioc ant, which swarms in particular in the zones habitually cultivated, promoting a seminomadism (18).

B
[136] 18. This factor plays only a secondary role,
[361] since the Refugee Blacks despite the manioc ant, maintain villages of permanent residence, only changing their crop plantings, but it is certain that it promotes the dispersion of the groups and seminomadism.

R
14 These considerations do not pretend to give a complete ex-
16 planation of the social behavior of the Indians of the Amazonian
182 forest. The biological characteristics of the group are only one of the factors of this behavior, parallel to many others, notably

/1/

INTRODUCTION

114 101 [122] In the course of three missions of the Institut Géographique National in 1948, 1949, and 1952, we lived in close relationship with the tribe of the Boni, who supplied us with the bearers and boat crews indispensable for travel in the country. From the first contacts, we felt a deep interest in this worthy people, made up in the 18th century of rebel slaves escaped from the plantations of Surinam.

114 [121] Taking advantage of the rare moments of respite allowed us by our work, we tried to study the various aspects of their material, social, and religious life. The men who accompanied us were for the most part young men who had only a limited understanding of the tradition of their group: in addition, the geographic work compelling constant moves in the uninhabited forest, investigator and informants were more often than not prey to worry and fatigue.

[101] [121] At the end of the mission to fix the French Guiana-Brazil boundary in January, 1957, we were able to undertake a systematic investigation based on a detailed inventory of the population of the villages.

114 101 [122] A fifth mission made under the aegis of the Institut Français d'Amérique Tropicale (IFAT) from October, 1957 to February, 1958 permitted us to fill part of the gaps in our work. Some complementary data were collected in October-November, 1958 on the occasion of another trip devoted mainly to the study of the Indians of the Upper Maroni.

128 The present work is exclusively devoted to the social life of the Boni. The information we assembled on their material life and their art, as well as their demographic situation, will be the subject of separate publications. /blank page/

Boni
Emerillon SQ8
Rucuyen SR12
Carib SR9
Locono SR10

C E L R /11 cont./

101 3) The autochthonous Indians are represented on the Maroni Basin by three groups:

C —The Arawak and the Kalifna (Galibi) (about 500 persons) [131] live downstream from Saint-Laurent; they live in symbiosis with [162] the population of the city, whom they supply with fish and manioc. [433] A century of contact with the Creole population has produced a [177] certain alteration in their customs and traditional way of life, but [178] the essentials of their tribal organization remain intact.

R —The Oayana /Oyana/ or Roucouyennes /Rucuyen/ (about [131] 250 persons) live on the Litani upstream from the Boni with whom [162] they are in close relationship. They have not undergone any [178] alteration in their race or their way of life.

E —The Emerillon, who belong to the Tupi-Guarani group, [131] form a small grouping on the way to extinction.

B The Refugee Blacks. —Ethnic origin. No comprehensive anthro-
• 114 pological study has as yet been undertaken on the Refugee Blacks. Not possessing the specialized knowledge necessary for tackling this study, we have left it entirely aside. Besides, we doubt that it would give important detailed information on the ethnic origin B of the Refugee Blacks. Study of archive documents concerning 175 the slave trade would certainly give more particulars; it is certain 144 from now onwards that their origin is very diverse; the slave traders [192] took on provisions principally on the coast of West Africa, but also in the Congo and in present-day Angola; the African words figuring in the present dialects come from the populations of these B various regions. So it is not surprising to meet rather variable 141 skull forms and statures among the Refugee Blacks.

The Refugee Blacks are in general of medium stature, that of the adult men being between 1 meter 60 and 1 meter 75; the average is a little below 1 meter 70.

/29 cont./

121 This is what necessitates as precise an inventory as possible of the population in its present state.

61 Matrilineal kin groups among the Djuka and Saramaka Refugee Blacks.

114 Authors who have described the social structure of the Djuka and
184 Saramaka, groupings appreciably more numerous than the Boni, have also called attention to the use of the words lo and bɛɛ, but give them a completely different meaning.

174 The organization they describe can be summarized thus:

571 Before making up tribes, the rebels lived in small groups
621 near the plantations from which they had escaped; these groups of composite origin were designated by the word lo which means: troop, band; the same word is used to designate a band of animals.

[162] These rebels used to belong to all the nations of the west
[103] coast of Africa. In spots there may have been an attempt at regroupings of elements belonging to the same nation, as proven by the village names Loango, Dahomey, among the Saramaka.

[622] But the majority of these small groups were very probably of heterogeneous origin; in each of these lo, the bravest and most capable was designated as head.

[648] After the recognition of the Djuka and Saramaka by the
[167] government of Surinam and their regrouping on the great rivers of the interior, these groups kept their unity since they had a de facto organization and leaders. They were naturally designated by the name of the plantation they had come from. We say for example Dju nɛ̃nge for the former slaves of the Jews, Kɔ̃pani nɛ̃nge for the former slaves of the Compagnie des Indes Orientales /East India Company/. /30/

174 In the course of the 19th century the total number of Refugee
613 Blacks increased very rapidly under the influence of a high birth
614 rate. The lineages in the proper meaning of the term bɛɛ, mean-
621 ing the descendants of the same ancestress, took on sufficient im-
571 portance to constitute distinct social units. They grouped in
1161

/30 cont./

174 separate villages and the more important even burst out into
613 several villages whose heads were recognized as "captains" by the grand man and then by the government. The number of Djuka
614 captains recognized by the government of Surinam has not stopped
621 growing; it was 28 these last few years.

571 The lo no longer represented an effective social unit, but its members kept common worships. For example, it is said that the Dju nẽnge go each year as a ritual to get earth from the
[188] Savanc des Juifs /Savanna of the Jews/ where their ancestors were slaves.

[114] This explanation seems probable. The kin-group is not the only social unit known to Africans; the bond between man and land has equal importance in their eyes; the fact that their fathers had lived together, that they had been buried in the same cemetery created a among the rebel slaves a de facto bond which was able to suffice, at the beginning of the rebellion, to found villages and a social organization.

[114] However, this theory cannot be entertained without reservations. It has not been possible to verify it by systematic studies, the Djuka and Saramaka having firmly opposed until now any ethnographic investigation involving the statement of genealogies and the inventory of the population of the villages.

[184] It contradicts what we have pointed out among the Boni. In that group six great lineages are counted, of which four (Dju, Kotika, La Paix, Dikan) have a name also alluding to the plantations from which their ancestors fled.

Nevertheless it is certainly a question of lineages in the proper meaning of the term, and nobody remembers that any other organization ever existed. Also, in the absence of systematic studies of the Djuka and Saramaka, the problem of the origin of
[184] their kin groups remains obscure. The future will permit verifying one or the other of the two hypotheses:

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601 So-and-so, and So-and-so, can be regarded as sure. On the other
128 hand, we have considered that there was a break in the genealogy when, going back in time, we arrived at this single datum: Ma X... was the sister of Ma Y..., for it could be a question of kinship in the classificatory sense.

No form of birthright existing among the Boni, there is some uncertainty about the order of birth of brothers and sisters for persons long dead. We have adopted the order kept by oral tradition without trying to rectify it.

613 In many African populations a special tradition is connected
814 with perpetuating the memory of the founder, at least his name,
829 the place of his grave. With the present-day Boni absolutely nothing like this is found; they are not concerned in any way with the true foundress of their lineage; no memory, no legend, not even a name has come down to them. It even seems as though these distant ancestors interest them little because they are less able to act in behalf of their present-day descendants. Indeed, with each new generation the memory of an ancient one dies out.

173 On our first trip in 1948 we called attention, unfortunately without
[126] noting them down precisely, to /43/ very interesting oral traditions going back to the time of slavery, especially the names of the slave-owners who showed themselves to be the most cruel. In
[814] 1952 the last old man who knew them had died; the very memory of what he had said was already effaced.

829 As a matter of fact, Boni thought, strictly practical and
602 utilitarian, is concerned principally with keeping the memory of the part of the genealogy indispensable to the living to know their kinship ties. Memory of women whose posterity has died out and of men who did nothing remarkable is dead from the second generation on.

114 Since none of the travelers of the 19th century understood
613 the importance of taking genealogies, it is probable that the names

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114 613 of the true foundresses and the circumstances of the formation of the lineages (invaluable information which must still have been present in the memory of the old men at the end of the last century) are lost forever.

128 601 In order to simplify the drawing up of the genealogical tables, we have eliminated individuals deceased before adult age.

128 551 601 162 101 Names. To insure the necessary anonymity to our informants without diminishing the accuracy of the statement, we have changed a large part of the names. The fictitious names under which individuals are designated in the genealogical tables as well as in the inventory of the population were mostly taken from the Djuka, who belong to the same cultural and linguistic group; in other cases, in order "to figure" the census we used a more complex process consisting in exchanging the names of two persons. Children younger than 15 are designated simply by an initial (1).

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1. It is particularly disagreeable to the Refugee Blacks to have their children's names known by Europeans, with the exception of the doctor. All systematic questioning on this subject runs into clear hostility.

114 609 Despite these precautions, we recommend that travelers provided with this work make no allusion in front of the Boni to the facts related in it; the Refugee Blacks are very proud and cannot allow an outsider to penetrate forthwith into their family privacy. That would provoke lively hostility toward the indiscreet person and would hinder later work.

114 128 The table of correspondence between true and fictitious names is held at the disposal of sociologists who may wish to conduct studies on the Boni.

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CHAPTER V

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STUDY OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF LANDS AMONG THE LINEAGES (1)

[114]

1. Part written with the cooperation of Mr. P. Frenay, assistant technical geographer.

Appropriation of Land in the Customary Law of the Refugee Blacks

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The fundamental principle of the customary law of the Refugee Blacks as far as land is concerned is that only the lineage can retain real rights. The individual can hold only a right of use, which disappears at his death.

This right concerns exclusively the working of the land for plantings and does not extend, as we shall see further on, to hunting and gathering.

Each lineage possesses recognized rights over certain portions of land, more or less well delimited according to the density of the population, but known by all and giving no occasion (at least in Boni country) for any dispute.

Right of use. Within these zones there is joint possession of the rights among all the members of the lineage; each one has rights of use over a certain number of "clearings" which he habitually uses in turn to make his plantings.

The right of use can be given away: for example, if someone thinks he will no longer need a clearing he was habitually cultivating, he gives the right to utilize it to another member of the lineage.

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R 105 [361] The Oayana Indians are half nomadic, moving their villages every ten years on the average. They have neither a permanent center of peopling, a place of worship, nor a cemetery; they do not have ancestor worship, at least no concept involving a precise and permanent tie between the living, the dead, and the land.

R 114 182 [136] This state of things has been attributed by several authors to the geographical environment and especially to the ravages of the manioc ant; the manioc ant, swarming particularly in formerly cultivated zones, makes nomadism advantageous. From this would have resulted a social structure and a mode of living adapted to these special conditions.

B 114 769 182 The example of the Refugee Blacks shows conspicuously that these considerations, in spite of their undeniable interest, do not constitute an explanation of general scope; for the Refugee Blacks, the only social ties conceivable flow from ancestor worship; above all the imperatives of material life the individual feels as a primordial duty the act of attaching himself to the village of his ancestors, to the land they cleared off and which remains under their protection.

B 182 241 423 613 The difficulties inherent in the geographical environment have been easily surmounted or gotten around. Rather than vast zones with one single holder, each lineage divided its finage into sectors distant from one another. If these zones become temporarily unusable, the Boni go to create farming habitations on the upper course of the river, without ceasing because of this to reside habitually in the village of their ancestors; there results from this no other constraint but losing two weeks each year in going and coming on the river.

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429 Until very recent times the authority of the guardian had
561 remained very strong and was prolonged very late; he had the
[861] right to strike his ward to make him obey, and he exercised his
[582] powers until the time when, judging the child's education finished, he authorized him to marry, which formerly seldom happened before 25-27 years.

Fintiman (of Boniville), about 50 years old in 1958, tells that his father, entrusted with his upbringing, did not authorize him to marry before he was completely established as a carpenter and boat-builder, at about the age of 27. Until that age he remained subject to the most tyrannical authority; his father intended especially to forbid him to go out in the evening, and in order to carry on a clandestine affair he had to use nocturnal fishing expeditions as a pretext!

429 When a boy's guardian judges his education finished, he
884 helps him to build his house and gives him tools, a trunk containing clothes, and a hammock. Henceforward the boy must make his own way in life.

429 All during his lifetime he will continue to show the greatest
576 respect to the person who raised him and often, speaking of that
601 person, he will say: "my father" or "my mother."

601 When a Refugee Black says in the course of a conversation, "My father used to do this," he often means the man who brought him up; if he wishes to speak of his true father, he will say, "My own father who made me." Likewise when he says "My
[128] grandfather," he usually means a great-uncle. This confusion
[114] makes research on family life risky as long as one does not
[593] possess any census by names; apparently it has led several authors into error, making them believe that among the Refugee Blacks the father brings up his children himself, when this is on the contrary the exception.

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429 The guardian continues to have a certain power all his life over his ward become adult. He is the conciliator to whom one applies first if there is any complaint about his ward.

This power of conciliation is bequeathed by the guardian at his death, as is the guardianship itself.

593 Role of the mother. For the Refugee Blacks, the sacred tie is
613 pre-eminently the one which attaches them to their mother and
152 through her to the ancestors of the lineage. It is manifested with respect to the mother by a delicate and deep feeling of affection which applies also, less directly, to the close relatives on the maternal side and to all the members of the lineage. It is not
[601] idly that within the lineage the men call one another brothers; the obligations /135/ they have toward one another are accepted by all with joy, and each tries his best to fulfill them, for he transposes to them the sentiment of love which he feels toward his mother.

● 114 The term matriarchy has often been used wrongly with re-
562 gard to the Refugee Blacks, letting people believe that the woman
593 exercises authority there; this is an error, the woman does not enter their councils and from a political point of view does not exist in their eyes; the woman has influence and authority only as mother, and over her own children.

593 The mother's authority remains very great over her sons after they have become men; none of them will undertake an important enterprise or leave for a long trip without consulting his mother; if she is absolutely opposed to the project, he will scarcely dare go on with it. We heard in December, 1952 a man of 45, M..., serious and intelligent, say to us with regret: "I would certainly go with you as far as Cayenne, but my mother does not wish it."

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613 614 In general, one can say that the law of exogamy is maintained firmly within the fractions which know completely their genealogy. Union between classificatory "brothers" and "sisters" belonging to different fractions remains always prohibited in principle, but as for all the institutions of the Refugee Blacks, the prohibition ceases to be observed if fear of suprahuman sanctions weaken. /139/

This is what explains the difference in attitude among the lineages. In the Awara Bakka lineage, people do not remember [784] that marriages between fractions may have been followed by maladies or misfortunes, and for this reason they are no longer feared.

In the Kotika lineage it was the same, but an event which took place in 1958 threw consternation. A young woman, Awini [787] (K1, E37, Boniville), died suddenly, and divination showed that [784] she had been struck down by the kunu for having married her [761] classificatory brother Sintamann (K3, E145, Boniville). However, they belonged to two different fractions and their common relationship was the farthest removed possible in the lineage (tenth-degree relatives).

684 688 784 Pikadu. The offense against exogamy, pikadu (1), incest in the

1. This word appears to come from the Portuguese pecado, sin.

broad sense, is considered an offense against society and against religious law; it exposes the lineage to the vengeance of the gods who exercise the kunu on it. But in the thought of the Refugee Blacks, if incest unleashes the functioning of existing kunu, it [114] does not create new ones. What has been written on this subject by several authors seems inexact to us, at least for the Boni. [761] In the example put forth above Awini's death was attributed to the kunu brought to bear for a long time by the yɔrka of a man assassinated in former times by a member of the lineage.

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684 This prohibition is of a purely religious nature and does
688 not entail any social sanctions; those concerned are convinced
784 that in such a case a suprahuman sanction would strike them in the form of sickness or accident.

582 Prohibitions limiting marriage. Outside of the great interdiction,
[613] pikadu, which is attached to unions within one matrilineage and one patrilineage, two prohibitions limiting marriage are found among the Refugee Blacks, which they express thus:

[595] --I cannot have two wives at the same time in the same lineage. For example I am forbidden to marry two "sisters"
[587] at the same time, but if I break with my wife, I may marry her classificatory "sister" or any other woman of the same lineage;

[835] --I may not have relations, even passing ones, with a
[587] woman who has been married to my brother by the same mother; in particular, if my brother has just died, I shall not be able to marry his widow.

The Boni are not capable of explaining the deep reasons for these interdictions, but they interpret them as purely social
[684] and not religious prohibitions. The offender is simply threatened with being beaten.

[171] The first of these rules seems very widely accepted in Black Africa, as much in patrilineal societies as in a matrilineal system.

[171] The second of these rules is characteristic in the Akan (Agni, Baoulé) culture area and shows that the family custom of the Refugee Blacks is related much more directly to that of the Agni-Ashanti group than to that of the Dahomey.

184 One can note that this rule is exactly contrary to the
587 Saramaka custom, which obliges the widow to marry one of the
114 brothers of the dead man; this custom has been interpreted by several authors as coming from imitation of the levirate of the Jews, with which certain rebels were acquainted (it is known that among the slaveowners there were many Jews).

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764 The bearers are changed and the interrogation continues,
787 still as confused as before. Captain Tafanié, who arrives in
761 the midst of all this, thinks that the dead woman does not want to speak in front of such a large crowd. He asks her to designate which of the people present will form a small group. I see the front of the coffin stop in front of an old Saramaka named Yasu, then successively in front of about ten of those present of various ages and origins. They stand up, take their little benches in their hands, and go to join Tafanié under a large tree in a spot to the side; the interrogation resumes; by nightfall a sure fact has been established: Way was killed by a god. They will resume the next day in order to find out what god is concerned and how to appease him.

764 Notes taken at the funeral ceremonies for Kotoïda (Afi lineage)
[114] October 22-23, 1956 (2nd and 3rd days after death).

I arrive at Asisi on the 22nd at eight o'clock. Kotoïda died on the twentieth; the first part of the ceremony has been finished.

[692] It is Tafanié, head of Papaïston village, who presides over the lãnti kuutu.

Tafanié himself has directed the making of the coffin (he is a kisimã) with the help of boards held in reserve on the spot. The work was finished at nine o'clock in the morning.

The body was placed in the coffin immediately, and after the presentation of the pieces of cloth, the wings were nailed. /168/

When I arrive at the wharf, the coffin is placed in the mortuary shed. The near relatives of the deceased (sons, daughters, and nephews) as well as the husband and the co-wife compelled to take part in the mourning are seated in their hammocks attached to the posts of the shed. The first-mentioned manifest no apparent sorrow whatever. Husband and

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965 Then they address the dead person in the name of the people of his village: "We have done with thee, stay there where God has placed thee."

The spouse in mourning is again bathed in the river by old women who have themselves gone through mourning.

Then they address the yɔrka of the ancestors and the [969] entities of the Beyond who are imagined to have come in a crowd: [975] "Ala sani di kɔm ya, yu mu luku ala ãŋga bū; u kaba ãŋga yu; yu sa: waka ala peesi; (Each one of the beings who have come, be benevolent toward us all; we have finished with thee, thou canst go anywhere)."

On the seventh day most of those present begin to leave. An intimate ceremony brings the dead person's near relatives together in the very house where he died. They weep and lament one last time. Then a last offering of food is made in the same house, and they repeat the adjuration: "We have done with thee; stay where God has placed thee."

[968] The eighth day, the spouse whose mourning has just been [613] lifted is conducted solemnly back to his village by the people [431] of the dead person's lineage. He is congratulated, he offers food and drink to all those present. What he might have had left of savings disappears on this occasion.

He must sleep three nights in his village, still without being able to have relations with a woman. When this time limit has gone by, he comes to give back the red clothes which the dead person's lineage had lent to him. Only then is he free.

[114] Notes taken in Boniville in November, 1957 on the occasion of the lifting of mourning for Béniti. This festival is given for the lifting of mourning for ○ Béniti (Dju, E5, living in Boniville, † in 1955 at 75), of Δ Tito (Kotika, Boniville, † in 1955 at 15), and of Δ G..., boy of ten, son of a woman of the village of L'Enfant Perdu (Dip. I), dead in Boniville where he was reared by Térésa. The festival is given more than two years after death. Sometimes, when there is no spouse subjected to mourning

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581 The Refugee Blacks change their attitude immediately as soon as one speaks to them about marriage. Men and women are unanimous in considering marriage as an intolerable violation of individual freedom and as a tie without purpose; they talk about it with veritable indignation, even having the feeling of an offense against morality.

Cults of Possession

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The phenomena of possession are extremely frequent
[171] among the Blacks of America (possession by saints or inspiration by the Holy Spirit among the Blacks of Brazil and the United
[171] States, voodooism in Haiti). With the Refugee Blacks they make up the very base of religious life to the point of being the normal means of communication between the gods and men; they have profound effects on all social life.

The cults of possession practiced by the Refugee Blacks of Guiana differ from those of the Blacks of Brazil and Haiti and do not appear to be directly connected with the African cults which have been described.

[128] We shall give here only very concise information about the ritual of these cults and we shall mainly try to show their place in relation to the institutions of the Refugee Blacks, and their functioning.

787 Possession is believed to be the entrance into a man of a suprahuman entity (divinity, spirit of an ancestor) which, during a variable length of time generally rather short (a few minutes to several hours), uses the body of this man and expresses itself through his mouth. They say that the man has become the horse - hasi - of the divinity. They also say: "Such-and-such a divinity entered his head." The possessed person is called
[114] gadu mã (gadu umã for a woman). This word has been translated improperly as "priest" in the first works treating of the Refugee Blacks.

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787 [171] The phenomena of possession exist among other populations of the Guianas and especially among the Amerindians, but among the Refugee Blacks they have special and well-defined forms.

--For the duration of possession, the ordinary consciousness of the man is totally abolished. When he comes back to himself, he no longer remembers anything and the others present have to repeat to him what the divinity revealed. This total [171] loss of consciousness during possession appears to be a very constant phenomenon with the Blacks, in Africa as much as in [114] America. Professor de Goeje calls attention to the fact that the Indian medicine man, on the contrary, does not lose /200/ consciousness during his trances and is supposed to receive, himself, the revelations of the spirits.

When a man is possessed by a divinity, in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks he is no longer there; what his body may do is not attributed to him at all. They say: "The gadu does this, says that, dances in such a way." If the gadu hurt someone (but that practically never happens) or broke something, its bearer would not have any responsibility.

787 198 [176] --The divinity expresses itself in a language peculiar to it; we shall see further on that there are four categories of divinities likely to become incarnate in men, which corresponds to four secret languages of which in practice only two are known by the Boni, at least by the oldest among them.

The bearer of the divinity, in his usual state of consciousness, knows in general this language, which he has learned from a teacher if it is a matter of a possession desired by him and obtained with the help of definite practices.

But there are also numerous cases of unprovoked possession (in the kunu especially) and people state that in this case the divinity speaks its language just as well, although its bearer has never learned it;

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776 613 428 [787] Still, they assume that the gods that have entered a matrilineage tend to be transmitted within this group. If, for example, a woman is possessed by a Papa gadu, at her death she must bequeath it in the same way as her property, and she can bequeath it only to someone of her lineage.

We have seen in studying the transmission of the god of Kotoïda († 1956), that only the women of the Afi lineage to which she belonged could inherit.

776 613 784 Even if the god is not bequeathed, which sometimes happens, if it exercises the kunu, it will manifest itself sooner or later in a member of the lineage. But long years may pass before it shows itself. This conception is absolutely clear to the Refugee Blacks, and furthermore, if it did not exist, the idea of the kunu would be without support. People have therefore wrongly believed in a transmission of gods from father to son. [114] [428]

346 787 794 613 Material organization of cults. A material organization of the cults of possession exists within the limits of the localized lineage (lo). This organization is completely independent of the apprenticeship of these cults. It permits the members of the lineage to easily practice cults they have received anywhere, on their own responsiblity.

In each lo there exists in general one single chapel (obia ɔsu) for all the divinities of the same category.

For example in the Awara Bakka lo quarter in Asisi (140 persons), for about 15 women having a Papa gadu, there exists only a single one. There is an obia ɔsu for the Ampuku (three or four possessed persons) and another for the Kumẽnti (about ten possessed people).

The chapel of the Papa gadu is placed under the responsibility of the head of the lo. On this subject it is to be noted that the individualized lineages Aw.B.3 and Afi, which however have separate gods, are included in this organization.

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776 character, touchy and vindictive. In speaking of them one
[576] says Papa gadu (papa does not mean "father"; it is a term of respect used for important personages (2)). They are believed

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2. This is the interpretation given by the Refugee Blacks. However, 18th-century documents on the origin of the slaves draw attention to the existence of an African tribe called Papa. Allusions contained in documents of the archives of Surinam, recently studied by Madame Silvia W. de Groot, would tend to identify the Papa with one of the populations of present-day Dahomey. In this hypothesis, the cult of the papa gadu would represent an archaic form of the Dahomey cult of the snake gods.

776 They are believed
[825] to have as habitual bearers the boa snakes (dagowe) (3) which

3. This word appears to be the deformation of the Dahomey word dägbe.

are not to be confused with the great water snakes (anaconda) that the Refugee Blacks call mboma sineki. They may also
[824] reside in silk-cotton trees (kankan tree) and in the trees called katu udu (Bombax surinamiensis).

[787] The Vɔɔdū which incarnate themselves in humans may be of either sex; if a male god is concerned, it is called "tata vɔɔdū."

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787 in their hands and utter adjurations. We saw this rite performed
789 in 1949 but without being able to observe the exact details.
[114]

The frequency of the phenomena of possession and the
787 importance accorded to them imprint a remarkable character
791 on the religious life of the Refugee Blacks: all these manifestations have for each one the character of obvious material fact. How, then, doubt that one lives with the gods, sees them, and
[177] speaks to them? Because of this fact the society of the Refugee Blacks is utterly impermeable to European influences.

787 Some plants utilized in the rites of possession. The preparations
824 with which the possessed people "wash" their bodies consist of macerations of leaves. The plants used, which for the most part belong to the secondary flora which develops in the old clearings, are very numerous. However, some are regarded as
[789] having a very unique power. The first five especially are utilized by all the Boni to "wash off the Ampuku" when they have slept a night in the bush.

Aluku Name	Identification (1)	Use
[122]	1. Identification by Mr. Hoock, botanist connected with the Institut français d'Amérique tropicale (IFAT) in Cayenne.	
Lebi katu	cotton	cult of the Ampuku
Kɔnɔpo wiwi	Ayptis atrorubens (Labiaceae)	—— /216/
Foo kɛ̃kɛ̃	Tiaridium indicum (Borraginaceae)	——
Sume wiwi	Ocimium sanctum (?) (Labiaceae)	——

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774 583 If someone marries a girl, he must not only pay her mother the price of virginity but must also pay the girl's akka. [782] For that he offers white beads and cloth which the bride will wear, as well as sweets which will be consumed by her. [784] If the price of virginity were not paid, the woman's akka, humiliated, might make her sick or kill her.

774 /218/ There are seven categories of akka, masculine and feminine, one for each day of the week.

[114] Crevaux in 1877 was able to establish the complete list(1):

[191] 1. This conception is widespread in the Agni-Ashanti culture area, among the Ewé and Mina, and as far as western Dahomey. The names reported among the Mina correspond very exactly, except for some differences in pronunciation, to the ones kept by the Boni.

[805]

	Men	Women
Sunday	Kwasi	Kwasiba
Monday	Kɔdyo	Adyuba
Tuesday	Kwami	Abeniba
Wednesday	Kwaku	Akuba
Thursday	Yao	Yaba
Friday	Kɔfi	Afiba
Saturday	Kwamina	Amba

[184] All these names are known to the Boni, but none of our informants was capable of reciting the complete list. It is [551] well understood that a name like Kɔfi, Kɔdio /sic/, etc. is the akka's name and not at all the man's name (2).

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114 784 The various works treating of the Refugee Blacks point out well the importance of the kunu, but it seems to us that the functioning of this institution (for in fact a social institution is certainly concerned here) has not been clearly understood.

784 613 A kunu is attached to a matrilineage in the literal sense (bés). It extends obligatorily to all the members of the matrilineage and can strike only them.

For example, my kunu can strike my sister's son but not my wife nor my children (they are subject to the kunu of their own lineage). /223/

[782] The kunu, striking the lineage as a whole, can be appeased only by prayers uniting (at least in principle) the whole lineage. That is the respect in which the kunu may be defined [571] as a social institution, for it is, we shall see, the principal cement holding the groups together.

The unleashing of a kunu does not necessarily and immediately follow the destruction of a termitary or the death of a dagowe snake. The god thus offended avenges itself by making a certain number of members of the lineage sick and 784 by causing limited misfortunes to happen. When things are 613 at that point the kunu can still be exercised by prayers and 782 offerings. In 1957 the beginning of a kunu was manifesting itself thus in the Awara Bakka lineage of Asisi; very frightened, the members of the lineage made offerings and prayers to exercise it.

784 But if the lineage people neglect the warnings of the god, 613 if through laziness or selfishness too great a number of them [673] are absent from the collective prayers and do not take part in [761] the offerings, prayers and offerings will be refused and the god will kill one of them. From then on the kunu is unleashed and can no longer leave the lineage. Its involuntary bearer [728] will have to bequeath it upon his death to a member of the lineage, who cannot refuse this legacy and must immediately

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784 613 786 787 They are the object of three kunu:

--One exercised by a Papa gadu god whose bearer up into 1956 was Kotoïda († Oct. 1956), who bequeathed it to ○ Mani (Afi lineage, d12).

784 785 613 --The other exercised by a yɔrka of the Lapé lineage. This kunu dates from about 60 years ago; Alémin (Afi lineage, b3, Kormotibo village), 80 years old in 1957, had when he was young cut a clearing in a place which was found to be an old abandoned Boni cemetery (opposite Maripasoula). Some [787] time afterward, a yɔrka revealed itself in a woman of the Lapé lineage, saying that it was exercising a kunu against the family of the sacrilegious person.

[761] It is to this yɔrka, whose bearer is M... (L2, Boniville), that the death of Kotoïda in October, 1956 is especially attributed.

--A third kunu is exercised by A..., of the Papaïston 2 [684] lineage. A... had committed pikadu. Surprised by Alémin (Afi lineage), he had paid the latter to obtain his silence. [762] But Alémin had talked. Dishonored, A... committed suicide with a gunshot; some time afterward his yɔrka revealed itself in Alémin; it exercises a kunu on this lineage.

613 614 784 Situation of the other lineages with respect to the kunu. The Papaïston lineage is divided into two groups: Papaïston 1 (the principal one) and Papaïston 2, of which there remain only three living members: two women and one young man. This remainder of a lineage continues to bear its own kunu, which is unique and separate from that of the principal group.

The principal group forms a unit with respect to the kunu.

The Lapé lineage, cut from the point of view of genealogy into two pieces, forms a unit with respect to the kunu. We [114] have been able to collect only fragmentary information on the various kunu of this village.

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784 A kunu is exercised by a Dipélu yarka, borne in 1958 by
785 a Loka woman. It is invoked before the fraga tiki of l'Enfant
778 Perdu village (Dipélu I). Sometimes a broko di is celebrated
768 for it in the same forms as the ceremony of the eighth day
613 after death.

784 We have likewise not been able to collect complete
613 information on the kunu of the Kotika lineage. This lineage,
114 divided into three fractions, forms a unit with respect to the kunu.

784 A kunu is exercised by the yarka of a Surinam Creole
613 assassinated in former times by a member of the lineage. Its
775 bearer in 1958 was Todo (K1, E68), a man of the Kotika lo
787 living in Boniville. In 1958 a young woman of the lineage,
[761] Awini (K1, E37), died suddenly; the yarka revealed that it
[684] had struck Awini because she had a liaison with Sintamann (K3, E145), thus committing pikadu. The idea of the collective responsibility of the lineage is so deeply accepted by the Boni that the near relatives of the dead woman did not reproach Sintamann at all.

784 /229/ A yarka of the Kotika lineage may exercise a kunu on
613 the Djuka. This is the case of an affair going back to 1950;
775 a young woman died some time after having a serious discussion
761 with a Djuka woman who had hit her. Deaths among the Djuka
619 these last years had been attributed to its vengeance.

It seems that there is no other kunu exercised by a Djuka
784 upon a Boni lineage and vice versa. This is surprising, con-
619 sidering the fights which in former times set the two nations
613 against each other.

621 The Djuka and Saramaka living isolated in the midst
784 of the Boni know their kunu, which were revealed to them in
[755] childhood. In case of sickness, they employ divinatory pro-
[613] cedures in order to know what kunu is concerned, then they make offerings. But in case of serious illness, they are forced to go back to the village of origin of their lineage.

/231 cont. /

776 which people do not hesitate to come to ask for remedies or
787 opinions, in spite of the evil they have done to the lineage and perhaps will do tomorrow. It is even allowable to wonder whether people do not prefer to consult the most wicked divinities, for they are believed to be stronger.

784 The kunu focuses, turns aside toward high purposes the
791 blind forces of superstition, fear, and rancor. Several authors
114 who have written on the Refugee Blacks have stated that
754 calamities were almost unfailingly attributed to sorcery (wisi). This is a grave error due to the fact that they believed they could transpose to the Refugee Blacks what is observed among the Creole populations of Surinam. If this were true, no
[787] positive social bond could exist. We believe we can assert that among the Refugee Blacks divination lays the blame on sorcery in only scarcely a tenth of the misfortunes. Here,
784 among other examples, are several typical cases concerning
[114] Boni who worked with us or whom we have known especially well:

[753] --In 1948, Fintiman (Dju) falls ill (violent pains in the
[776] legs); kunu of a Kintamasu.

[752] --In 1948, Galmo (Papaïston) is accidentally hurt (gun backfire): kunu.

[753] --In 1949, Diolè, captain of the Dju lo, is smitten with
[761] hemiplegia and remains paralyzed. He dies in 1951: kunu
[776] of a Papa gadu.

761 --In 1950, a Saramaka is killed in a hunting accident (a gun in poor condition went off by itself): [illegible]ku (accident).

[754] --In 1951, Kanayen (Kotika) drowns while sailing at night on the river: wisi.

[784] --In 1951, Loka (Dju) dies at the age of 70: kunu of an
[776] Ampuku.

752 --In 1951, F... (Dju) is seriously hurt by the falling of
784 a branch while cutting his clearing: kunu of a yɔrka.
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688 /247 cont./
689 attenuated form of wisi; in serious cases the grand man may inflict a severe punishment on the guilty ones.

789 ɔbia. The Refugee Blacks use the word ɔbia (1) to designate

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1. The term ɔbia is used by the Refugee Blacks when they are speaking to outsiders, to designate positive magic, but in reality this term has a very different meaning in their language. It designates any kind of magic action, negative as well as positive; likewise the term ɔbiamã has the sense of sorcerer as well as that of holder of a remedy.

192 The Boni among themselves use the word deesi, remedy, instead of ɔbia. They do not use the word deesimã in place of ɔbiamã. It is said, for example, of a man who knows the rites of a cult of possession "A sabi Papa gadu sani" (he knows the things of Papa gadu).

[987] The term gadumã designates one who is possessed of a god, and not one who knows how to bring on possession.

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In the rest of this work we shall continue, nevertheless, to use the terms ɔbia and ɔbiamã to designate positive magic, in order to facilitate collation with the English- and Dutch-language authors who have used it in this sense.

752 /255 cont./
834 ɔbiaman who treats a wound made by a firearm to observe
[171] chastity during the whole duration of the treatment. It is for this reason that the Boni hesitate to have gunshot wounds cared for in hospitals.

784 Kina. The interdictions of the Refugee Blacks generally have
[262] to do with food. There are five categories of them to our knowledge:

[753] --Bwasi kina, basic kina, mark of patrilineages, the breaking of which gives leprosy;

--Akka kina, often called gadu kina, established by divination and believed to be imposed by the akka;

--Gadu kina, mark of possession by a divinity;

--Obia kina, interdiction attached to each object involving a magic power, and which must be observed for this power to last;

--Finally, local kina, particularly the kina dɛ, days of rest, going back to the idea of the day of rest of the local divinity. They observe, for example, that the Mana River has a kina dɛ on Sunday. The Saramaka observe it strictly. The Boni we took on the Mana in 1949 went to find out from the Saramaka, and asked us to stop navigation on Sunday,
[648] for this kina was very urgent. It is noteworthy however that the Boni bow in such circumstances before the will of the Europeans, as with respect to their own kina dɛ of Friday; in effect they are assuming that if they are ordered to be on duty, it is the European alone who bears the responsibility for breaking the kina.

[428] It is possible that the kina alluded to by Mr. W. F. Van
[114] Lier and which, among the Djuka, would be imposed on a
[613] whole matrilineage are also local kina; in any case no kina is transmissible through the mother, all the Refugee Blacks are explicit on that point.

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year; by taking an Indian woman as his wife he apparently sought to humiliate his subjects.

Awensay's children and grandchildren were all dead in 1957 except for two women, both sterile. There has been no other case of marriage between Boni and Indians.

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439 /294/ In practice, the basis for commercial exchanges is the following: the Indians furnish hammocks, and above all dogs trained for hunting, to which great value is attached. The Boni furnish boats. In days gone by they also brought imported objects, machetes, axes, and beads, but this form of trade has disappeared since the Indians have had the possibility of getting supplies from the Europeans.

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648 Several observers, coming after Coudreau (1890) and Grébert (1937) in particular, have expressed the opinion that these relations were founded on fear and that the Boni, utilizing mysterious means of pressure, used to oppress the Indians.

After seven missions spent in contact with both, we affirm that these assertions are without foundation. On the contrary, one can only admire the way in which these primitive groups have been able to create loyal and trusting relations with one another. The Indians and Boni who have worked with us have always shown themselves happy to be together. To realize this, it was sufficient to hear the animated conversations they used to have in the evening around the campfires about their respective families, the events which took place in their villages, fishing, or hunting.

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888 829 This is a point of view which has great importance in the eyes of the Boni, for whom finishing one's days at the hospice or being reduced to asking for the help of outsiders constitutes the worst downfall.

829 They fear, moreover, as we have shown, Creole magic which they liken to a form of wisi.

On the other hand, they are impressed by the attainments of the Creoles, the real spirit of initiative and the strong personality of some of them; moreover, the Boni who have been to Cayenne have noticed the solicitude of the administration with respect to the population of the communes. For all these reasons there exists among the Boni a certain body of opinion in favor of creolization. But the very unique type of life of the Boni and their desire to keep their special customs attach them to their ancestral form of life; about 1890 the explorer Coudreau, observing the same facts, was predicting imminent creolization of the Boni. In fact, this did not happen, and it is unlikely to.

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648 464 Traditional relations with Europeans. The Refugee Blacks constitute an important element in the economic life of the Guianas; on behalf of the administration and European enterprises they perform many jobs (boating, wood-floating, tree-felling). They are not well adapted to other kinds of work, but in these activities which fit with their traditional mode of life they are equal if not superior to any labor. Very highly paid, they work with speed, effectiveness, and intelligence, exhibiting an initiative and sense of duty not commonly found in Africans(1).

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1. It is to be noted that if they stop leading their traditional kind of life, for example if they settle permanently near European establishments, they rapidly lose these qualities.

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114 Here desirous of remaining on the plane of strict scientific objectivity, we shall avoid entering the discussion of the benefit springing from this action, which, moreover, would necessitate a long development. We shall limit ourselves to showing that it appears to us to be doomed to failure.

871 --The experiment of schooling has been made for more
177 than 30 years among the Boni in the village of Kotika. Half a dozen children, doing well in their studies, left for Surinam and broke with their native group. In the others, the teaching received left only faint traces. As a matter of fact, there is no room in a normal intelligence to receive at the same time the mass of technical knowledge necessary for holding one's own in the society of the Refugee Blacks and ordinary school in-
[829] struction. One necessarily drives out the other; now the Boni are extremely fond of their free life on the great river, which assures them very satisfactory material conditions of living.

797 --Evangelization has been carried on with perseverance
177 for more than 200 years with the Refugee Blacks of Surinam. It has not given appreciable results. It has been the same in
184 French Guiana with the action carried on with the Saramaka working /299/ near the communes of the coast (1), and more

[648] 1. The Saramaka not only have no tendency to be converted, but they exert a significant influence on the population of the communes. On
[756] the Oyapok the Saramaka healer
[787] has numerous clients, and in spite of the clergy's interdiction, many women go to the possession dances of the Papa gudu serpent gods.

recently with the Boni of the Upper Maroni.

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of possession exist, the populations are particularly impermeable to Christian influence. Apparently destroyed, these cults soon reappear in another form, sometimes in Christian guise (possession by the saints).

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Let us add that one of the great strengths of the custom of the Refugee Blacks is the privileged position it gives to the woman. Women, shielded from the direct influence of Europeans and Creoles, and besides practically inaccessible to all reasoning, are hostile to changes which would infringe on their privileges. Now it is they, in fact, who have the education of the children in their hands.

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Thus it does not appear possible to "assimilate" these populations by destroying their original culture. The attempts inspired by fanaticism for civilizing will have as their only result its impoverishment, pushing the Refugee Blacks to dissimulate their beliefs, to abandon their art, costume, songs, and dances, all that makes up their joy in living. But the social structure based on the fear of ancestors and gods could be destroyed only by violence. We may hope that nobody thinks of coming to that.

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As for us who have lived a long time in the midst of the Refugee Blacks, we feel a deep esteem for them. By their historic past, the originality of the customs they have developed, the good relations they have been able to create with the other populations, they have proved their creative abilities; they deserve to be allowed to evolve in their own way. /blank page/

6:Hurault--541 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

113 /363 cont./

Kahn, Morton C. Djuka. The bush negroes of Dutch Guiana. New York, 1931.

Wong, E. Hoofdenverkiezing, stamverdeeling en stamverspreiding der Boschnegers van Suriname in de 18° en 19° eeuw (elections of heads, spread and division of the Refugee Black tribes in Surinam in the 18th and 19th centuries). Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië, Vol. 97, 1938.

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[114] Editor's Note. -- An additional note by the same author, summarizing the data acquired on the origin of the various African survivals of the Refugee Blacks, will appear in the IFAN Bulletin, series B, volume XXIV, 1962.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccs

was much of white man's magic that was not astonishing. 609
Old men and young men had heard of machines with people 123
on them that flew like birds, but had they not their own stories about the sacred vulture, the *opete*, that carried one of their warrior ancestors away from slavery across the river and into this bush? He had simply mounted the bird and said to it, "On your back is my home. You [773] can fly over land, and you can fly over water. I have no boat. You must carry me." And the opete took him. Then [776] there are beings with wings that range the sky, and some of them are birds, and some of them are spirits. No, a machine that flew like a bird was not astonishing magic. Then there was the kino—shadows appearing and moving about like the living—that you could see in the cities. Men on the French shore, too, had seen the kino, but it was a gift any man might have to see things. But here was something which talked back at you. . . .

"Ke . . . !"

"Massa Nen'ge!—Master Nigger!"

"Ma Nen'ge . . . !"

And even our town servant exclaimed, "*Mi Gado*—My God!"

Now all this was very well, except that the Bakra, not satisfied with the ordinary seketi dance tunes, kept asking for Kromanti songs—the warrior-spirit songs—and the bush-god songs, and river-god songs. From one man and from another came the expected, "I do not know such songs." The women did not even dare approach the machine.

At last Apanto came. His hair was braided and he wore a 609
jaguar tooth on a cord about his neck. He was not so 123
muscular as other men of his age, and when he went about 115
there was a softness in his movements that was unaccountably disquieting. His hands were not the hands of a worker of lumber, nor of a boatman who was accustomed to pole heavily loaded boats. They were smaller, and his fingers were narrow at the ends. Apanto, we discovered later, was what the Bush Negroes called a "tiger fighter." In a quarrel, he did not cuff and strike out with his fists, but

609 scratched like a "*tigri*"—a tiger, for this is how the Bush
123 Negroes name the jaguar. Later, when we saw him dance
● 115 the Tigri Kromanti dance, we witnessed one of the most realistic feline interpretations imaginable. But that is another matter.

Now Apanto was an obia man to be reckoned with, and his fellow villagers and the villagers of neighboring settlements treated him with a deference that his age alone could never have commanded. And it was this Apanto who now came up and said that he would sing the sacred Kromanti songs for our phonograph.

"You will not understand the songs. They will be in the Kromanti language," he warned us. "They are strong, and the machine must be strong to carry them."

It happens that a field phonograph is anything but strong. The mechanism is simple, since the instrument must be light enough to be carried about, and yet it often is subjected to all manner of hard usage. To this is added the
[126] hazard of the climate. The turntable is actuated by a belt running from the mechanism inside the case, and the ends of this belt are glued together. This, to be sure, we discovered later. At the moment, we met Apanto's challenge with assurance. We did not doubt that the machine was spiritually strong.

126 What he said about the Kromanti language was true.
533 The Kromanti tongo, of which we had been told during our
[197] first visit here, we were finding to be an actuality, and
539 although we took down the words as he sang them, aided in hearing them by the repetitions, their meaning was unknown to us. Some of them we learned later. Some of them we knew. "Obia" we knew concerned the spirit,
[196] the vague force known by that name, while "Amba" was
[551] a deity sacred to Saturday, and was given as a "day name" to women born on that day of the week. This, then, is what he sang:

"*Ma djeni ye-ye*
Obia kule ma djeni no-ho
Obia mo-ye

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

had not acted well toward the Granman. It would be best if we did not stop there. At the others the Granman could assure us hospitality. Then there was talk of hauling wood and making rafts, for our host, who knew these people well, moved safri, too, until he at last felt the moment had come to talk about buying a boat from Ajako.

When the arrangements of the sale were concluded, Ajako came back to talk with us. He had heard that we had a machine which the Kromanti spirit had broken, was it true? Did it really go again? They said the Bakra had much cunning. They said the Bakra knew African magic.

The Bakra said he knew something about Africa. The Ashanti people, for instance, were a fine people.

"*Ma na Asante, na Sa'macca sem-* . . . —But the Ashanti are Saramacca. . . . " But he would go no further, having spoken only one syllable of the word for people. He became guarded. Yes, there were some Anago people from Africa on this Saramacca River, and Dahomey, and Loango, and Fanti; the Ibo peoples were not on this river. . . . And again he would say no more. Later, when we had changed the subject, he said as if in both gratitude and explanation, "*Na sa-i-'akisi, a tranga poi*—You ask about strong things."

But he would sing into our machine, if we liked. He would sing Kromanti, if we wanted him to do so. "I won't fight your machine," he said, smiling.

"*Anabobi, Anabobi,*
Anabobi, Anabobyo,
Tata Ando.
Anabobi, Ando,
Anabobi,
Tata Adjaini,
Anabobyo
Tata Fa'aku."

"They will understand this in Africa," he said, gravely, and then he moved toward the doorway and stood there

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

looking out on the river. Whether it was a gesture that he 126
would sing no more, or not, we could not say, but when he 115
turned again to us he looked thoughtful. "White man, how far away is Africa? Would they kill me if I went there? Could I get a woman, if I went there?"

We sent him some food to his boat as an expression of 609
hospitality, and word came back that when we had done 576
eating, he would himself come and thank us. When he did 431
come, it was to speak his thanks and to say goodbye, and he did not come alone. With him was the young man who was his traveling companion, and this young man carried gifts to us. Bayo, who had arrived a short time before, received the gifts of fig bananas and rice for us, as was the custom of these people, for to have given or received a gift in person would have been the way of a boor, just as it would have been bad form to stand about and watch us eat.

The leave-taking ritual, as that of greeting, is as formalized as a litany and almost as solemn.

"*Adiosi, adiosio—waka bon, yere. Tan bon*—Goodbye, travel well, hear? Keep well." Ajako carefully laid away his top cloth in his woven closed basket, straightened his loin cloth, and paddled away briskly from the landing.

Later, boats pulled up bringing the Gankwe men.

"Sedefo, we have a fine boat for you. It's large, and it 501
will take a great deal of load. It's a new boat, just come 609
down from top-side."

The men busied themselves with bringing our provisions from the shelter to the landing place so that the loading might begin. A tent had been made of palm leaves for the boat in which we ourselves were traveling, so that we might be shielded from the glare of the open river, from sunstroke and the sudden tropical downpours, and the men decided to load this boat first.

Now there was a murmur among the Gankwe men. Sedefo was passing his hands over the new boat, as though it were a human form, touching its "head," running his hands over the "ribs," the "belly." Then he balanced himself in it, and shook his head.

KUNU

when The Time came, his brothers and sisters
and sisters' children would gather to divide what wealth 428
there was. The greatest share would, of course, go to the 168
brother who would marry the widow, but all the others [587]
would get something.

"And his children, the children he made, would they get anything?"

"Why no, the children he made are his wife's children. They belong to the family of his wife!"

"But suppose he cared for them very much. . . ."

"Then he might have made them some presents now and then when he was alive, but even then some people say it is better not to give them too much. When a man dies his possessions go to his family. If this man's children, who really belong to his wife, were to take things now, they would get a kunu for it, and they might get another kunu which the father had, for if they got his possessions, his kunu would go to them, too, and there would perhaps be one in their own family that had come to them through their mother. No man or woman wants this."

It is kunu, then, which sees to it that the tribal law of succession and inheritance through the female line is not [611] violated.

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There was the case of Asikanu, our paddler, who was the 115 brother of the head of an important clan, which gave us still another instance of the workings of kunu. Asikanu was, in his own right, not a negligible figure. When his brother died, it might be he who would succeed to the headship of the clan. When the other paddlers wanted things of us, they would come to ask in his name. "It is not a small thing when Asikanu asks," they would say. "He is a big man; he is the brother of our chief. You must not refuse him."

Asikanu had a way with the women, although it would 684 have been best if at least one of them had resisted him. She was married, and, when her husband discovered her infidelity, she went to Asikanu. Now this was as it should

REBEL DESTINY

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776 [115] Fa'aku was chief of his clan. He was a handsome man, with a quick, clever eye, and a reputation for great honesty everywhere on the river. To him we appealed for more light on kunu. We had met him in his village on our way upstream and we had seen him in the tribal council house when we had sat at the great krutu held there by Granman Yankuso. When we stopped again at Fa'aku's village on our way down the river—this village that was so close to Dahomey, the seat of magic—it was evident that the gods favored us. We had come safely through the great rapids. We had stayed at Asindopo Lantiwe in good health, and the spirits had even spoken for us through some of the women whom they had possessed. Fa'aku spoke with greater freedom than we had yet met with.

"There are different kinds of kunu, and some are big and are very bad; but some are small and do not make much trouble," he began.

835 776 588 681 The greatest kunu came from making a child with a member of one's own family, with one's true, true sister or, what would be almost as bad, with a child of one's mother's sister. Murder was a great kunu, too, and perhaps next to that was the kunu that came to the Bush Negro if he informed to the white man against one of his own kind. Then there were the kunu that one got for false accusation, and for repeated stealing, and even for lying, if it were done too much. For lying is not good, lying makes too much trouble among people. And there were many more kinds of kunu, some of which he mentioned. Killing a snake or a tiger and not burying it with honor brought on a kunu, and cutting down a silk-cotton tree was kunu.

776 When a big kunu came into a family, it wiped it out. One by one the members of the family died. Men died, women died, and children were never born, or they died when they were small. "This goes on until the family is finished," Fa'aku said. A lesser kunu could kill as well, but its vengeance would be directed only against the women who carried on the line of succession to office and property, or

BAYO, THE PLAYBOY

"Will Bayo be married before we leave the bush?" we asked, telling her that only a short time would see us returning to our own country. 115

We had often talked of marriage with Bayo on our trip up river and had offered to make up what he lacked in gifts and money that we might witness the festivities of marriage. He had, of course, promised to have matters arranged.

Bayo's aunt laughed, however, when she heard the question, and turned to the other woman who was with us in the dimly lighted hut.

"Did you hear what the white man asks?" she called out to her companion. "White man, let me tell you something. Bayo is a long way from marrying yet. Why, his girl's breasts haven't begun to come yet!" 584 115

It seemed that Bayo had also to see to many things before he could marry. He had not yet cut the field for his mother-in-law, nor had he made any of the carvings which he needed to give his betrothed and her mother, for Bayo was a poor carver.

"Bayo has cunning in his eyes, and his head, but his fingers have no cunning, Bak'a. . . . But you know this, Bayo is strong." 115

Her train of thought turned at the last phrase to our journey up river. Had we traveled well with Bayo? Had he got on with the other men? Awa, she knew that people liked him. It was the obia he had, and his own gods, but his gods were bad, too.

"When he was in his mother's womb, he troubled her much. He tore at her. Ai, she had no happy time of it with Bayo." [843]

We remembered the incest kunu in Bayo's family, which lay in wait for all its members, killing off one by one until the line was wiped out. We ventured a cautious question. 684 776

"You are the sister of Bayo's mother?"

The answer, however, did not take us to kunu, but rather to the iron on her arm. 115 776

"Ai, and of his father who is now dead. In our family we have strong gods. It is these that have come to Bayo. . . ." 789

115 "So we see from the Kromanti obia on your arm." Was
776 she, a woman, possessed of the war-like Kromanti spirit?
789 we asked her.

"It is as you see. I am a woman, and I have Kromanti—and it's strong Kromanti."

"We had not heard of women your age getting Kromanti."

"Ai, there are not many, but when my spirit comes, I dance heavy. I dance like the men."

We must have appeared unconvinced, for she became more emphatic.

"What they do in other villages, white man, I do not know. But I have Kromanti, and when the drums speak here at *D*jamungo *I*, too, come."

She rose and went into the inner chamber of the house, where the hammocks were hung, and brought out several objects wrapped in old cloth.

432 "Bayo said I should have obias for you when you came.
439 He said you would pay well for obias. I have these for
789 you."

The trading commenced. There were two small images—"*gadus*" they were called, both crudely carved. One was called Winti Nyamusi. It was a spirit which gave children to women.

789 "When I come to ask for children, then I take sweet
842 rum in my mouth, and I spray the gadu, then I say, '*Naymusi, da wa' buno mi'i*—O Spirit Naymusi! Give me a fine child.' Then the child will come."

What was the other image, the larger one, with anteater's bristles inserted at sides and top?

"That is a Kromanti obia. It is the Opete spirit, the buz-
789 zard. When you take it with you, you must speak to it so.
789 You must say, 'Obia-o, I am carrying you away with me. You must look after me, you must see that my life is spared, O great spirit.' Then you must spray it with rum, but not the sweet rum, not for Kromanti."

789 There were other obias she had for us, some to be worn
789 about the neck, and others to be worn below the knee.

BAYO, THE PLAYBOY

"Bayo has asked me to find a strong *arumani* for you," she said, naming the obia she held with the word for such magically endowed properties used by the Ashanti today, on the West Coast of Africa. In rapid succession she gave us the African words of the Kromanti designation for the white clay, for the ancestral pot, and for several other ceremonial objects we discussed with her.

"Did you make these for us?"

"Ah, no. Women do not make obias. My brother made them for you."

The next morning when we were leaving Djamungo she came to the landing place with us. In our hands were the images we had bought. The young paddlers looked on them with fear. On no account would they even come too close to us who carried them. It was not the image, nor the external properties of a sacred object which disclosed its power, but rather the magic that had been called to reside in it, and the strength of the gods of him who had been instrumental in bringing the magic to the figure of wood, the brass bell, the cowrie shells, the ant-eater's bristles, or whatever else was used.

"Tell them in your village," Bayo's mother's sister called after us, "that here at Djamungo the Kromanti spirit does not come to men only. When women get Kromanti, they, too, can fight."

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We had not been back at our base camp for more than a day when Bayo came up the path calling the greeting of a comrade. Had we fared well with the Granman?

He had, he told with pride, seen all those things a man who went on so long a journey should see, and he had been to Lamé again, where there were strong obias and where the women knew how to love. Now he would remain with us until we left the bush, and he might even decide to go with us to the city, and from there to the French shore, where there was money to be got. What with the money he had earned for timber, and the money we had given

him, and what he could get on the Marowyne in a year, it would be possible for him to see to it that his betrothed had all the gifts that a man of position gave to his woman. There were, too, other things to bear in mind. Already he had seen a girl who would make a desirable second wife, but that would require still more money.

"But, Bayo," we interposed, "we saw your mother at Djamungo. She told us your girl will not be ready for marrying for some time."

"Did she say that? Did she tell you that I am still a child?"

"What's the matter, Bayo? Don't you like her?"

"Awa, I like her. Not too much. She likes to talk."

We thought it politic to give the subject a new turn. Close beside Bayo lay the dog that had accompanied him the first time he came to us here, before our journey up the river. His was a curious color, a faint pinkish hue which puzzled us.

"What is the color of your dog, Bayo?"

"He is white when he does not have obia on him. He is a hunting dog. Tross is his name. He will stay with me. The obia comes off when he goes into the river."

We laughed. "Does Tross hunt in the river, Bayo?"

"No. In the bush. But if I leave him behind, he swims out to my canoe."

Tross was to become better known to us as the days went on. He had a great affection for his master, and this feeling extended to all those who appertained to Bayo. After Bayo had attached himself to our camp, we, too, came under the aura of his dog's regard, though this may have been made the more reasonable by the fact that the netting of the mosquito guards of our hammocks appealed to Tross as a comfortable place to spend the night. He was a good watchdog, and sometimes we were awakened by his low growl, and a voice saying "*Cho!*—Be quiet!" Just now we were interested in the cord about his neck, and we asked Bayo about it.

"It is more obia. It is strong, too. Nothing happens to Tross when he goes in the bush. You will see."

126 alone or with some friend, into the wax cylinders that
782 spoke back in such mysterious fashion. When Apanto came
796 to visit us, Bayo smiled as he saw the obia man approaching
179 from the landing place.

"His obia is strong, but mine is strong, too. Let him sing into the machine."

Apanto was visibly surprised when he saw in operation the machine his spirit had wrecked. "The machine is not weak, Apanto," we assured him. "It has its own strength, and now it has the strength your gods have given it. For in the true, true Saramacca, a great obia man spoke his message to the Great God into it, and since then it has walked well with us."

Out of the corners of our eyes, we could see Bayo's pride.

126 "Sing for us, Apanto," we urged, for he had a beautiful
533 voice. "Sing us an Apuku song."

Now Apanto sang, not once, but many times. It is true that when we asked for Apuku he sang Vodu, and when we asked for Vodu he sang Toné, and when we asked for Toné he sang Kromanti songs, and when we asked for Kromanti he sang the sacred dirges called "Papa" songs. Yet this was not otherwise than might be expected, and it was not too difficult to play the records to interested men of other villages, whose startled comments would soon tell us the kind of song he had sung.

It was another day when Apanto again sang, and some of these who had witnessed his first victory were about. One such addressed himself to Bayo, who was sitting near.

"Apanto's spirit fought the machine, and stopped it.
[196] But the machine works and sings back to Apanto. Its strength has come back to it."

"Awa, Apanto's spirit is strong," we heard Bayo reply, "but there are other strong spirits on the Saramacca."

4

307 Bayo had spent the night at Gankwe, and had returned
115 resplendent with a new hairdressing. We joked with

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

him about it as he came to take the white man through the bush trails to a neighboring village.

One of the girls who admired him had achieved this, but how she had managed to make the minute braids was difficult for us to see, for Bayo's hair the day before, long for him, had not seemed sufficiently yielding to permit of braiding. Yet here he was, his head covered with innumerable small braids which divided the white scalp into sections and showed lines where the many regular parts had been made. This made quite a new man out of Bayo. He was no longer the warrior who went without food because he was bored with the idea of preparing the food—a woman's task or, at best, that of an old man like his great-grandfather Bibifo who had cooked on the up-river trip. Now he was a dandy.

"Ai-yo!" he crowed back as we speculated on the labor that had gone into the creation. "It took her almost all the night! It is hard work."

"She must like you, Bayo."

"She likes me well, ai!"

"Are you going to have her for your third wife?"

"Who knows? But a man doesn't marry every woman who braids his hair."

Soon Bayo and the white man were off through the bush, Tross going ahead as scout. Back and across the path he would dart and for the white man, unaccustomed to the sounds of the bush, it was difficult to tell whether the rustling he heard was caused by the dog, or by the small animals stirred up from time to time. Once a snake coiled on the path moved lazily away as they approached; Tross had disturbed it, and the snake had no mind for more encounters. Once a small animal of some sort dashed across the trail ahead, the dog in close pursuit, and for some moments we could hear them tearing through the underbrush.

"Aren't you afraid that some animal will hurt Tross, Bayo?"

"He is a good dog. And I have put strong obia on him."

REBEL DESTINY

115 Bayo knew the bush as he knew the river. At one point
584 he stopped and, clipping off a long, slender branch with his bush knife, he trimmed it and began to strike at a palm
[249] tree. He was after maripa nuts, and soon they began to pelt the ground. Their pink, slightly astringent meat was highly prized by the Bush Negroes as a delicacy, and the white man also found them good. Both munched them as they walked farther into the bush. It was a good time to speak of Bayo's marriage.

"Your mother said you needed to work hard before marrying."

"Ai."

"Is it money you need?"

"Much money, and goods besides."

"What will your girl do with all this money, and all of these goods?"

"They are not all for her. She would have me without them. It is her mother who must get things, too."

That Bayo was attractive to women, we had often seen, but that his betrothed would have him without the wealth demanded for her by right of whatever position her family held, seemed doubtful. However, this was not the time to argue the point.

"Your girl is still young. Do girls her age know enough to choose a man?"

The question brought us to the story of how Bayo became betrothed.

His girl, he told us, was of good family. She had lived in his village, because her mother at marriage had come to live with her husband at Djamungo, but a few years after Bayo had become betrothed to the girl, his mother's sister took her away to the family seat up the river.

"Do you care for your girl, Bayo?"

"*M'an sabi, Bak'a*—I do not know. We shall see how we
[§31] get on. But her family is good, and they are looking after her chastity, as families who have position do."

"What if you don't get on after you are married?"

586 "We will separate. She will go back to her own family. Sometimes, if a man doesn't like a woman too much, and

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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she doesn't make children, then he can send her back. But most often it is the woman who goes away." 586

When the wife left the home her husband had built for her and went to her family, he had to go to her village and plead for her return, while her relations berated him soundly for his behavior toward their kin. If he had not mistreated her badly, the family would urge her to return to him, and so great would that pressure be that she would have to go. But Bayo again repeated that this did not happen often. If a woman left her husband and he failed to come for her, they were divorced. She could not remarry until three months had passed. [537]

But Bayo was more interested in marriage than in divorce, and the talk again turned to his betrothal. 584 115

His mother and her brothers had decided upon the match. His uncles had gone to the family of the girl, and talked with her mother's brothers. Her people called a family krutu to decide whether Bayo was qualified to be a suitable husband for this young member of their family.

"Were you there?"

"No. It was a krutu of her family. But I know how they talk at these krutu, for when my sister was promised in marriage my own family had a krutu, and I sat and listened. Anybody who knew anything bad about my brother-in-law or his family told of it. They talk much at these krutu. The woman you met at Djamungo talked when the men talked, and she talked when the women talked," he finished with a laugh, as though it were a relief to him to know that at least she had had no say when his girl's family had gathered to look into his own family position, and his personal habits of work, and the gifts the gods had given him. 584 115 623

At this krutu of the girl's family, Bayo had, however, been thoroughly discussed. Was he a good worker? Could he hunt well? How did he behave in strange villages? At his initiation had the gods come strong to him? Had he done anything that his wife's family would later be ashamed of?

The white man wondered about the kunu which hung over Bayo's family, the kunu of incest, the deadliest of all 776

"Suma de, ai," he acknowledged.

6

Bayo remained in the bush, but he did not come to the city with us, though he took us into the Awka villages as captain of our boat. While at the base camp, he busied himself with making small models of traps and snares, and whatever other examples of Bush Negro work we needed to augment our collection.

He was a poor weaver, for he was no craftsman at all. But on the river he showed almost superhuman strength, and his knowledge of obia and the gods showed his potentialities for achieving what he most desired—to become an obia man. It may well be that his great kunu had planted this ambition in him. Perhaps, if he became a renowned obia man, one of the greatest on the river, he would outwit the combined power of ancestors and gods. His physical strength was such that all seemed possible to him, and his eye was quick, his curiosity unbounded. As a child of incest, a twofold member of his clan, he had certain immunities from the gods, though his line would all the more be flayed by the punishment which his parentage had earned.

"White man," he would say to us, "the next time you come, I will go with you to Africa. By then, I shall have given my wife children, and my sister's children will be grown. I want to go to Africa to learn obia."

His young brother was not strong. Bayo allowed them to cut no kamemba on the boy, who was now almost eleven, and it was clear that he would not be able to go through the Kromanti initiation, that he would have few gods.

"What will you do then, Bayo?"

God alone knew. He did not expect that even in Africa he could learn all he needed to know to help his young brother.

"Would he go with Bibifo?" we ventured, remembering that Bibifo had become Adrian.

He laughed. The white man asked many questions.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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115 As we sat and talked with him, we learned much of his life. His father had died soon after he was born. His mother was still alive, but she was poor, and life was a burden to her. His shortcomings in all that required discipline and technique were directly traceable to the kunu, and so were the deaths of his father, and several of his uncles. He had been obliged to be his own master, to get his food as best he could. His gods came to him early, and long before his initiation he used to show evidence that his Tiger spirit would be strong. But it was not entirely his lack of training which was at fault. His uncle's spirits, too, were powerful in matters of obia, but they had not vouchsafed him any skill in carving or weaving.

Perhaps it was the exigencies of life as an orphan, whose family was plagued as well with the greatest kunu of all, that had given to Bayo's perceptions an amazing quickness. When people were puzzled about the nature of our work, Bayo decided that it was a type of white man's obia. The white man's desire to gain knowledge not for gold, but for its own sake, was not unlike the seeking of the good obia man who did not become rich by his labors. Later, when we spoke of what he had told us of ceremonies and ceremonial life with men who were older, men versed in the lore of their people, we were astonished at the grounding the boy had in his own civilization.

115 152 If he was boisterous, somewhat boastful with us, it was not difficult to understand the motivation. It was his urge to assert himself. But among his own people, particularly when he was with older men, he walked "softly," as he himself said. Yet men twice his age saw to it that they did not "rile" the boy.

"When Bayo gets his Tiger spirit, Bak'a, he is not the boy you know. Be on your guard. He is young, but when his Tiger spirit comes, he can kill."

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

manner and success of these escaped African people in the adaptation of their primitive culture to a new environment.

I wish to express my deep appreciation to Dr. Clark Wissler, Curator in Chief of Anthropology and Ethnology at the American Museum of Natural History, for his advice and co-operation. The kind assistance of His Excellency, Baron van Heemstra, ex-Governor of Dutch Guiana, and His Excellency Dr. L. Rutgers, present Governor of Dutch Guiana will always be remembered. The aid offered me by Dr. F. van Haaren, Colonial Secretary, and James B. Lawton, American Consul to Dutch Guiana has been invaluable. Mr. Alexander Wolff of the Surinam Balata Company assisted me wherever possible in a most friendly manner, as did Mr. J. M. W. Strang of Paramaribo. Also Mr. R. M. Schmidt, missionary at the village of Gansee was very helpful.

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I am deeply indebted to the black men, particularly to Abaisa, the headman of Lombe, to Moi-Man and Bat-Jou of the Aucaners; to Ahleesie of the Boni tribe; and to old Captain Koffay of the Paramacca nation, who, among other Bush Negroes acted as informants.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Paramaca

175 Marowyne River on account of the Boni and Aucaner tribes,
361 who were long established there and who were much stronger numerically than the newly arrived Paramaccas. They finally came out of the creeks, however, and founded a village on the Dutch side of the Marowyne River near the mouth of the Paramacca Creek. The main seat of the tribe is
[102] now the village of Langa Tabiki (Long Island), which, as the name denotes, is an island in the Marowyne River. This is the village of the Granman. Beside Langa Tabiki, there is
361 the village of Amerika Condree (from a Bush Negro captain
103 called Amerika). This village is situated on the island of Boni Boro, which means the "Bonis arrived." A third important village is that of Akodo Condree, captained by one Akodo and situated on an island of the same name in the Marowyne River. There are lesser villages on the Dutch bank of the Marowyne extending just past the mouth of Gran Creek. The Paramacca village of Seeton Ponta (Pointed Stone) is situated on the French side of the Marowyne. The older villages in the Paramacca and Tempati Creeks have long since been abandoned.

115 In Seeton Ponta we had a long talk with an old Captain
159 Koffay who claims to be some eighty years of age and whose appearance certainly bears him out. He is the grandson of one of the original women slaves who escaped and aided in founding the tribe. He can remember his grandmother telling of the terrible privations of the early days when they first escaped into the jungle, how starvation nearly overtook them on a number of occasions, how they wandered for forty-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Paramacca

seven days aimlessly in the high bush, and then happened 115 upon the putrid remains of a tapir which had been killed by 159 a jaguar and which food, after they chased the vultures away, was what saved them from starvation. He said that now they call themselves Teegre Nengre (Tiger Negroes), for they believe the jaguar was ordained to save them. One day his grandmother showed him gold in a creek bed and she told him never to touch it for she had seen it make white men crazy. His grandmother was born in Dutch Guiana. She had never told him stories of Africa, but he had heard of it from the Catholic missionaries. He knew that the blacks had come from over the sea, but he had also heard that they were the original inhabitants of the jungle who had been killed off by the Indians, with the exception of a few roving bands who had joined the escaped slaves. (Slaves are known to have escaped as early as 1650 and may have formed bands, which [101] may, in turn, have joined the Boni tribe, for the Boni today are called Aluku Nengre—Indian Negroes—by the Aucaner and Paramacca tribes.) We also heard that the term Aluku Nengre refers to Indians of the Rukuyana tribe, of which one of the women was taken by Awensai, Granman of the Boni, as one of his wives. The term seems to be used in a somewhat opprobrious way on this account.

Old Captain Koffay, clear-minded and vigorous physically, believes that the white man will some day try to re-enslave the Bush Negroes and that there will be another war between them. "Bahkra greedy," said he.

The small Paramacca tribe does much less in the way of 800

/20 cont./

613 We have said that the recently founded lineages, being of
571 only very small size, cannot constitute a distinct social unit and are placed under the authority of one of the lo heads. That is not a condition imposed by force or any moral coercion whatever, but a practical social necessity. A lineage, reduced in numbers though it may be, keeps in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks imprescriptible collective rights; and if these members agree to group in a separate village and work separate soil, nobody will stand in their way.

128 Such are the elements which stand out after a first study of
613 the kin groups as it can be deduced from interrogating the heads
614 of these units. It leaves unresolved some important problems:

[115] The Boni have the idea that their kin groups are lineages
[829] in the real sense of the term. Nevertheless, questioning on genealogies does not permit all to /21/ go back to the founding ancestress. Three of them, the most important numerically, prove in this respect to be divided into several fractions. Can we be sure that these fractions are actually of the same origin and that the people concerned are not deceiving themselves in believing it? In the social structure of the Refugee Blacks are there no mechanisms leading toward assimilation, to fusion of groups of heterogeneous origin?

We cannot answer these questions directly. First of all it is indispensable to study the conception that the Boni have of kinship ties within the matrilineage. Then we shall examine the genealogical tables of the various lineages, and for those that the study of genealogies shows to be divided into several fractions, we shall study the interrelations of these fractions.

601 Kinship within the matrilineage: The kinship terms translate a
613 purely classificatory system. The principle of classificatory kinship

/23 cont./

613 614 Not one of the members of the group could trace back to the common ancestress; yet these three fractions together behave as [601] a single lineage. All its members know their mutual appellations [784] "brother," "uncle," etc. All are subject to the same kunu.

The law of exogamy is respected within each fraction, but 613 614 there are seven cases of unions between members of different 582 183 fractions; these unions are disapproved of in principle, but they are tolerated.

Thus, on the subject of exogamy, we see the thought of the Refugee Blacks breaks away from the rigorous principle on which their social order is based. It is the actually known genealogy which counts in their eyes on this point.

613 614 In December, 1958 we were able to reconstitute the complete genealogy of the group (Fig. 4), thanks to the memories of 128 the doyenne of the group, Ma Imma, who had lived for a very [115] long time isolated in a village of the Maroni estuary. The data [601] thus reconstituted are in complete agreement with the kinship appellations among members of the various fractions. /24/

/Fig. 4 appears here./

The case of the Kotika lineage is thus particularly interesting, for we find ourselves knowing its genealogy completely when its members know it no more than partially.

613 614 Study of this group shows that the forgetting of kinship ties [602] has no effect on the physical grouping of the lineage and its functioning as a social unit.

It has direct repercussions only on the observation of the principle of exogamy. Thus the way in which exogamy is understood and observed appears to us from now on as a secondary criterion having no certain value for the recognition of a common origin.

[621] Some Djuka and Saramaka have settled among the members of the Kotika lineage, but as individuals.

[621] The Lapé (La Paix) lineage, whose name alludes to one of the great plantations of the Cottica River in the 18th century, is

[See p. 34, Category 116 -- Analyst]

/39 cont. /

648 posts except as they present themselves for recording of vital statistics or for registration on voting lists.

administration has for a long time appeared /40/ in the eyes of the inhabitants of the interior as a benevolent office); but they obey the old African maxim of never telling the whites more than half of what they know.

125 In the absence of any nominal census which could serve as a point of departure, this job presented considerable difficulties arising principally from the extreme mobility of the population:

[484] —Never is the whole population of a village assembled together simultaneously; the proportion of those absent frequently reaches 50 per cent, especially in the fine season (hunting, fishing, boating, clearings at the farming habitations, etc.);

[551] —A good many men and women have two, sometimes three, names used interchangeably. If one does not personally know a large part of the inhabitants of the villages and does not have at his disposal carefully made-up genealogical tables, it is impossible to understand anything;

[115] —If the men respond in good faith, it is not the same with the women, who are inaccessible to any reasoning. Some try to cash in on the information they give, others obstinately refuse to answer;

125 —A number of adolescents and even of men between 20
591 and 35 years old have no regular hut. Each Boni, man or woman,
342 is in principle expected to build a hut in one of the "great villages." But this residence may be fictitious: It can, for example, be a tumbled-down hut which they intend to put up again some day... or the pent roof of the house of the mother or a brother, under which they install themselves on days when a ceremony causes the lineage to meet together, residing the rest of the year in a farming habitation.

/42/

125 The name of each individual is printed in boldface type
128 once where he can be considered as habitually residing.
162 Children under 15 are considered as living with the persons responsible for their education. If it was not possible to obtain accurate information about this, they are considered as living with their mother.

Each listing bears a number, for example Dju D7, making it possible to find again the individual's place in the genealogical table. In the example noted, refer to the table of the Dju lineage, line D, no. 7.

601 Genealogical tables. These are of unequal value according to the
128 age and the memory of the old people consulted. In general
[115] they go back to three generations beyond the oldest of the old men now alive.

[165] Since the Boni show remarkable longevity, and the average difference in age between two generations can be estimated at 31 years, one can assume as probable that the most distant ancestress known of each lineage was born between the middle and the end of the 18th century. For example, if we assume that
[613] Kuluba, the ancestress of the Awara Bakka, was about 100 years old in 1956, we can take for granted that she was born about 1856 and that her great-grandmother was born about 1760.

613 The most ancient ancestress known of each lineage is certainly not the foundress. It is infinitely probable that the founding of these groups goes back to the beginning of the 18th century and that they were born on the same plantations where the ancestors of the Refugee Blacks were slaves; this would explain the names borne by the lineages, names which nearly always allude to a plantation or to a slave-owner.

601 In a general way, the memory of the Boni is very sure,
128 and the information given in the form: Ma X... begot So-and-so,

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(Frontispiece)

The Saramacca River below the Mamadam falls.

[Frontispiece]

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REBEL DESTINY

Among the Bush Negroes of Dutch Guiana

BY
MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS
AND
FRANCES S. HERSKOVITS

[P. iii]
[Title Page]

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[P. iv]

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To
ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS

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Preface

THE pages that follow describe scenes in the lives of 195
a Negro people living in isolation in the interior of
Dutch Guiana, South America. These Negroes are [144]
the descendants of runaway slaves imported from Africa, who took refuge in the dense Guiana bush and established African villages along the rivers whose rapids are their fortifications. The end of the seventeenth century already found these Negroes in constantly growing numbers up the Suriname River, and before the middle of the next century they were sufficiently organized to make repeated raids on the plantations for guns and gunpowder, for machetes and women. Several campaigns were conducted against them, but eventually final treaties were concluded with the Dutch owners of the colony, which guaranteed them their freedom. Today when a Bush Negro drinks with a white man his toast is "Free!"

Three tribal groups go to make up this Bush Negro 101
population. The Saramacca tribe, of whom we write, is 619
found in the heart of the colony along the upper reaches of the Suriname River (called by the Bush Negroes the "Saramacca," and hence so named in this book), and farther south along the Gran Rio and the Pikien Rio. This tribe has had the least contact with outside influences; and it is the Saramacca language which differs most from that spoken by the Negroes of the coastal region. The second is the Awka tribe, found mainly along the Marowyne (Maroni) River, which forms the boundary between French and Dutch Guiana; there are in addition several Awka villages on the lower Suriname. The third tribe, the Boni,

 [p. vi is blank]

PREFACE

101 is relatively small, and is localized in the interior of French
619 Guiana, not far from the Dutch boundary. In any consideration of the Guiana Negroes, yet a fourth group must be kept in mind—that of the Negroes of the coastal region, who remained enslaved until their emancipation in 1865.

989 The country of the Saramacca people is reached from Paramaribo, the capital and port of the colony of Suriname (Dutch Guiana), by the weekly train which goes some ninety-five miles to Kabel, where the railway meets the river. From Kabel transportation into the far interior is by dugout canoe, owned and manned by Saramacca men.
133 The country above Kabel, which the Saramacca people call the "big bush," is jungle. Over the watershed lie the Amazon basin and the forests of northern Brazil. Once in this region, the traveler has no contact with European civilization, though he is still under the protection of the Dutch Government.

121 The picture which we draw of the Saramacca people is
114 based upon two field trips to Dutch Guiana, undertaken in the summers of 1928 and 1929. During our second trip we traversed the entire stretch of the Saramacca country from below Kabel, where the Awka villages are located, to the last native habitation on the Pikien Rio, beyond which are some fields, then uninhabitated miles of wilderness to the Brazilian border.

The ethnological work conducted among the Saramacca tribe of Bush Negroes and the Negroes of the coastal region of Suriname represents a portion of an investigation into the physical and cultural characteristics of the Negroes of the New World. This research, which is still in progress, has included field work in the United States, in Dutch Guiana, and in Africa, and some comparative study in the islands of the Caribbean. It began in 1923 with an inquiry into Negro-white crossing in the United States.[1] As the work progressed it became evident that the problem

[1] For the results of this portion of the investigation, see M. J. Herskovits, "The American Negro, a Study in Racial Crossing" (1928); and "The Anthropometry of the American Negro" (1931).

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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demanded more knowledge of the sources of the slaves 121
who compose the Negro ancestry of the American Negroes 114
than was available. This knowledge, which historical documents do not give us, was, therefore, to be sought in a comparison of Negro cultures in the New World and in Africa.

As the research was continued, moreover, it became apparent that the scientific problem of the Negro in the New World held implications of larger significance, and that the history of the Negro in the New World has constituted a vast "laboratory" experiment in the processes of racial mixture and of cultural contacts. The Negroes who were brought to the New World came of various West African stocks, and here they mingled their blood with the English, the French, the Dutch, with the Danish, Spanish, and Portuguese who became their masters, and they absorbed in varying degrees the culture of these masters. At the same time, they came in contact with aboriginal Indian peoples with whom they also mingled. But the Negro has not only absorbed; he has also given. The conclusion, still held by many students, that the Negro slave came to this country a savage child with or without his loin cloth, and as naked culturally as he was sartorially, is one which cannot today be accepted.

At the beginning of our field work in Suriname, one of us 121
went up the Suriname River to study the Bush Negroes, and the other remained in Paramaribo to collect folk lore from the town Negroes and to ascertain what Africanisms could be discerned in their beliefs and behavior. When we met and compared notes, some striking things came to light, for bush and town Negroes were, as the evidence in hand suggested, much more closely allied culturally than had been realized, while both were seen to have many aspects of culture that clearly link them with West African and other New World Negroes.

Thus, in bush and town, the Negroes hold the same 776
concept and offer the same explanations of the soul and 171

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its influence on the life of man, and both employ the word *akra* for soul, a word used on the Gold Coast of Africa exactly as it is in Guiana. The day names associated with the soul are Gold Coast day names, known in Jamaica and heard in the United States, as well. In the bush the Saramacca people are "possessed" by the gods and by *obia;* in the town the Negroes are "possessed" by *winti*, a word meaning wind, and the use of wind as a euphemism for the gods is common in Dahomey and Ashanti. Many of the gods of both bush and town are the same, and they are African gods, invoked today in Nigeria, in Dahomey, in Togo, in Ashanti, and invoked also in the islands of the Caribbean. *Nyankompon*, the Bush Negro name for the Sky God, is the Gold Coast name. The Maroons of Jamaica know this deity under the same designation. *Dagow* is a snake god in the Suriname bush and in town—the Haitians and Dahomeans dance to the same snake god, whom they call *Dangbe*. In West Africa the silk-cotton and *loko* trees are sacred. In the Saramacca villages and in the town of Parimaribo they are sacred as well, and the names are Dahomean names, known also in Haiti. In bush and town the people dance to the river gods, as do the Negroes in Africa and the Caribbean, and the pattern of the ceremonies has been preserved in part in Negro baptismal rites in the United States. Bush and town invoke the buzzard, *Opete*, so named in Ashanti, and sacred everywhere in West Africa, and the style of dancing resembles certain of the dances of the "saints" who "shout" in the Negro Sanctified Churches of the United States.

Between bush and town there is, however, this difference—the bush is Africa of the seventeenth century. In West Africa today, for example, the roof of thatch has almost everywhere given way to the white man's metal roofing. In Dahomey, where thatch is still found, we discovered a strip of wall made of woven palm fronds, such as is found on the Saramacca, in a village which had been enslaved by the Dahomean kings in the early seventeenth century and had remained enslaved until the conquest

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of the Dahomean kingdom by the French. All other walls are of swish. Today in West Africa the automobile and sewing machine have found their way into remote corners. But more important still than these changes wrought by European civilizations, which have made inroads chiefly on the material life of the Africans, are those resulting from intertribal wars, which followed the introduction of guns and gunpowder into Africa and which helped to establish the great West African dynasties. The result of the conquest of one native people by another was constant cultural interstimulation which made for changes in the indigenous civilizations.

In the Guiana bush, however, where these runaway Negroes and their descendants have been living, the fortunes of African kingdoms, the cultural contacts that have affected the Africans, have not touched their own tribal destinies. Neither has the civilization of the white man nor that of the Indian introduced basic changes into their manner of living or thinking.

There are no roads in the Guiana bush, and what footpaths exist to connect one village with another are difficult to follow and, moreover, are not for the stranger, whether he be white or mulatto. For such as these the highway is the river, with native paddlers alert in their surveillance of a stranger's activities. The old men on the river have made a tradition of recalling the struggle of the ancestors for freedom and survival, and it is not without significance that one of the three worst crimes among the Bush Negroes—one that ranks with incest and murder—is informing on a Negro to a white man.

In contrast with this isolation of the Bush Negroes, the Negroes of Paramaribo have known close contact with the whites, with Carib and Arawak Indians, and in more recent years with the Hindu and Javanese laborers brought to the colony. Only suggestions of the manner in which the beliefs of town and bush correspond or differ can be included here, since this account concerns itself with the Saramacca people. Yet for the understanding of this study it must be

184 emphasized that whatever the differences, much of Africa remains in the coastal region. Thus, to cite an instance, at a *winti* dance in Paramaribo one night, the drummers were grumbling about the slowness with which possession was coming on. At last the priestess, possessed by *Lebba*, the Nigerian-Dahomean god of the crossroads, began to dance. Whereupon an elderly drummer flung up his hands and cried out, "Praise God, idolatry is not dead yet!" The word he used for idolatry was Dutch, and he pronounced it in Negro-English, *afkodrai*.

121 The importance of the Bush Negroes for the student of Negro cultures, then, is that they live and think today as did their ancestors who established themselves in this bush, which is to say that they live and think much as did the Negroes who were brought to other parts of the New World, and who became the ancestors of the New World Negroes of the present day.

In planning this book, therefore, it has seemed more important to stress the Bush Negro's attitudes toward his own civilization, and his own logic in explaining his customs, than to give a more conventional description of an integrated village or the tribal life of a primitive people. Such attitudes, moreover, whether analyzed among Negroes in Africa, Guiana, the Caribbean, or in the United States, can be studied most advantageously when they are juxtaposed against the factor of outsiders—in this case ourselves, a man and a woman, who came as friendly whites.

114 This book, however, is not an ethnographic treatise. The scientific discussion of these data will appear in monographic form, while the correspondences between bush and town Negroes, and between these and other Negro groups found in the New World, are included in a memoir on the folk lore of the town Negroes of Paramaribo which is now in press. The situations to which we have given emphasis are those which have a direct bearing upon the beliefs and practices of Negro peoples wherever they are found today, but they are presented as they would—and did—actually

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occur among the Saramacca people. Nothing has been included either in descriptive detail, in the spoken or unspoken thoughts attributed to a Bush Negro, or in characterization, which has not been given us by our Bush Negro informants or has not been witnessed by ourselves. If the thoughts of Moana Yankuso or of any of the elders who figure in the book seem sophisticated when contrasted with the simplicity of the material life of the Bush Negroes, then it is because the stereotype of the childlike, carefree Negro has been so widely accepted. The subtlety and astuteness of a man like Moana Yankuso, or of Sedefo, our chief paddler and the right-hand man of Yankuso's strongest rival, or of Apanto, the sorcerer, cannot be too emphatically stated. 114 [12]

In view of the political factions on the river, and our concern lest these make capital of the fact that a village had been generous in the confidences given the whites, several villages do not appear under their own names. For Headman Moana Yankuso was an old man when we visited him, and alliances for the succession to his high office were at that time already being formed, alliances which, since his death some three years ago, have undoubtedly been consolidated and made effective for the time when his successor is to be named. Villages, therefore, are in some instances given the names of rapids in the river, and not necessarily the names of the rapids found nearest to the villages of which we are writing. In this manner we have sought to preserve the anonymity of the villages without violating the authenticity of place names. Men and women, as well, with the exception of the priestess Amasina, Moana Yankuso, his daughter Wilhelmina, the bassia of his village, Bibifo, and the Captains of Baikutu, S'ei, and Dahomey do not appear under their own names, but under other typical Saramacca Negro names. 114 128

Work of the type we have attempted cannot be accomplished without the cooperation of many persons, and we are privileged to acknowledge here our gratitude to those 000

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who have helped us. To Professor Franz Boas and Dr. Elsie Clews Parsons, whose interest and scholarly advice have stimulated work on this problem; to Dr. Parsons, the Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences, and Northwestern University, for the financial support that allowed us to make the field trips on the results of which we base this book; to His Excellency, Dr. H. H. Rutgers, Governor of Suriname and the Honorable F. J. L. Van Haaren, Attorney-General of the colony, and their staffs of officials, for their generous cooperation; to Dr. Morton C. Kahn, to whom we owe our initiation into life in the tropics and many memories of congenial travel together; to Mr. A. C. van Lier, Mr. R. M. Schmidt, Mme. Gay Schneiders-Howard, and above all, Mr. Alexander Woolf, at whose balata station we made our base camp, for their great help in making contacts for us with the natives with whom we worked; to Mr. Irving Breger, who in making the illuminated map has so ably met the challenge of the Bush Negro artists; to the international body of scholars, especially Jhr. L. C. van Panhuys, Dr. Gerhard Lindblom, and the late Dr. H. D. Benjamins, whose writings afforded us a background and a starting point for our own studies; to all of these we wish to express our deepest appreciation. The first thanks of any ethnologist, however, must be to the native informants and friends who have given him his material, and it is with regret that, except in the case of that remarkable personality, the late Headman Moana Yankuso, we must acknowledge our indebtedness to these Saramacca friends without naming them. We do so out of the regard we have for them, and in recognition of the manner in which life is lived in the bush. Our gratitude to them is not the less lively because we do not name them individually.

MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS.
FRANCES S. HERSKOVITS.

EVANSTON, ILLINOIS,
March, 1934.

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REBEL DESTINY

Among the Bush Negroes of Dutch Guiana

Chapter I

DEATH AT GANKWE

WE HAD not thought to come upon death on our first night in the Suriname bush. What had killed Sedefo's brother no one could as yet say, for the time had not come to call upon the spirit of the dead man to speak. Death, said the Bush Negroes, was ravaging the family. Kunu, the law of retribution, the tool of ancestors and gods, had found this latest victim an easy prey to the black magic which had been invoked against him. In whispers they talked about a quarrel at work with a man who had a powerful snake god. 761 [154]

"The man's family kunu and the enemy's Aboma god," we heard as a refrain to the low muttering.

There would be dancing all that night for the spirit of the dead, the natives told us, and they asked if we did not wish to come and honor the dead. But an old man objected. "Let them wait until tomorrow," he said, "let them wait until they are rested. To face the spirit of the dead their own spirits must be strong." 764 [609]

That night whenever we stirred in our sleep we strained for the sound of the drums, but the wind blew from the east, and though Gankwe, where the dead man lay in state, was but a ten-minute run down the rapids, we could hear nothing. In the morning, however, we heard them plainly, heard the invocations drummed by the grave diggers on their way to the burial ground deep in the bush on the opposite bank.

Osio tintin
Osio be'e dyo. [539]

[P. 2 contain no textual material]

REBEL DESTINY

764 [539] "On the sacred apinti drum we speak to the spirit; we tell it we go to dig the grave." So the drum spoke. From the shore we could see five figures in the small corial, and, as they came closer, we saw also the drum, the food the men carried, and the muddy hoe. They would do this the next day and the next, for to dig a grave takes a long time.

I

795 769 191 Although separated by many generations from their African places of origin, the Bush Negroes of Dutch Guiana have held to the traditions and beliefs of their aboriginal home. In the Suriname bush, as in Africa, the responsibility which an individual bears toward his social group does not end with death. His clan, his village, and his family look to him, when he has joined the spirit of his ancestors, to protect them against the magic of their enemies, to help them in time of drought or pestilence, and at all times to intercede for them with the gods.

As in Africa, the spirit of the dead is powerful for good or evil, and the rites of death must be carried out as tradition demands, so that the dead man may feel he has received honor among the living and proper introduction to the world of the dead. As in Africa, we found that the 764 191 first care for the dead is to place the body on the central portion of a broken canoe; that rum and tobacco are included in the water with which the body is washed; that in washing the dead, the back must not be touched; that the number of those who wash the body must not be [801] an even one—five is the number preferred, though three persons are used, and seven; that those chosen must not be young, for it takes age and the knowledge of controlling the spirits which age brings to approach the dead without suffering harm.

764 While the body lies in the open house of the dead, relatives and the village elders are in attendance on the spirit night and day. It is they who all night tell stories about the trickster, spider Anansi, to amuse the spirit, and they who play traditional games. The dances begin when

the body has been put into the hexagonal cedar box which is ornamented with the cross-like design called by the natives *kete-oyo*, the eye of the coffin. 76A

"How many days to make the coffin?" we asked our informant.

"One day only, but they do not start the first day. They must go into the bush and hunt out a cedar tree and cut it down, and then there must be prayers."

It became clear as we talked with this man, who so reluctantly spoke of these rites, that death cannot be hurried.

"It takes time," he said, "hammocks and cloths must be gathered, and other articles to put into the coffin. It takes time."

Before the body is put into the coffin, the ears and nostrils are packed with tobacco and cotton, and the head and face are swathed in white so that the dead man may be recognized when he walks abroad.

As we sat and talked of death, we heard the discharge of guns and were told that the coffin was being closed and that these shots were to honor the spirit. "They dance well at Gankwe," said our friend, casting an eye in the direction of the village and showing very plainly his eagerness to be off. But we detained him and brought the conversation back to the digging of the grave.

To dig a grave takes a long time, we heard again. The digging party first goes out to select a fitting place in the "big bush" where the dead lie. Though it is not considered imperative—some villages do not follow the practice at all—it is considered good form to consult the spirit of the dead man whether or not he approves of the spot chosen. Then all has to be done softly—*safri*—without haste. The men who go to dig the grave must be in the prime of life, for they must not tire easily, and even these strong young men must work slowly, that no drop of perspiration fall into the upturned earth. If one drop of perspiration were to fall into the grave, then the dead man would in time claim the companionship of the living spirit

764 of him from whom it had dropped. The same belief in the
995 identification of the essence of one's being with any part of one's body which actuates so many primitive peoples, and
[171] is so characteristic of West Africa, exists among the Bush Negroes. It is for this reason that when an African or a Bush Negro dies away from home some of his hair and nail parings are sent to his native village for ceremonial burial. And it is for this reason, too, that for three mornings we saw the party of five young men go out from Gankwe to dig the grave of Sedefo's brother and heard the drum's invocation,

[539] *Osio tintin*
Osio be'e dyo.

2

776 The night was still and dark. The natives said the moon
996 was dead and this was the time for the dances to the river gods, but since there was a death in Gankwe all the gods might be danced to, for in times of important rituals, like death or the breaking of mourning or harvest festivals, it was not necessary to wait for the day sacred to each god to dance.

"They dance well at Gankwe," said our informant, as he sat by, and then after listening for a few moments he added, "They're dancing already."

We, too, walked out on the path to listen, and gradually we separated the sound of the falls above our camp from what seemed like the pulse of the night itself.

"It doesn't boom, does it?" we asked each other, remembering the accounts of impressionable travelers.

Soon Sedefo himself appeared and another, and we started for Gankwe.

"*Waka koni*, Sedefo," called our host at camp as we put off. He was evidently uneasy about us and asked the paddlers to be careful, for it is not safe on the river at night with the rapids below and the spirits that hover about.

OOO The paddles cut the water so soundlessly that it did seem as if the spirits were carrying the boat downstream.

DEATH AT GANKWE

Ahead of us and all about were the various shades of darkness which go to make the jungle darkness on a moonless night—the dark water, the dark branch of a liana which our paddlers skirted as if by magic, the dark wall of forest, and the dark horizon. But soon there was foam on the water, and then all the darkness seemed to break and come to life. We heard the drums plainly, and the rattles, the singing voices, and the chorus of approbation from the young onlookers, breaking into the song. We were nearing the rapids and Gankwe. 000

Up the bank, through the spiritual guard of palm fronds which stretched across the path, and up the path we went to the great village clearing, where the principal houses are grouped and where stands the house for the dead. 764

In this open palm-thatched house the coffin, covered over with a white striped cloth, rested on a rough bier. Underneath the head of the coffin a calabash dish stood to receive the fluid of the putrifying body, while in front of the coffin a fire smoldered and to one side a hammock was slung where Sedefo, or in his absence an elder of the village, lay to guard the dead. The drummers and some elders sat in front of the house facing the phalanx of singers seated on their low stools some ten feet away from them. There were perhaps fifty women singing, and as many standing about to the left ready to begin dancing again, or just standing by to mark the rhythm with hand clapping and a slight swaying in place. Here and there, hung upon forked sticks which had been planted in the ground or placed on the ground beside a stool, were a few lanterns. They cast a pale shadowy light and brought into relief the ceremonially oil-anointed shoulder of one, the shining anklets of another, a brilliant red-striped cloth, the intricate pattern of another's hairdress.

With our coming the singing and dancing had stopped. The children grouped together moved toward us in a body, and then took to their heels, repeating this again and again, until the two or three we had already talked with at our camp took courage and squatted down at our feet. The older 609

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A Gankwe dancer.

[Facing P. 8]

609 people kept their distance, and among them some pithy proverbs were spoken to bear upon the shortcomings of the white man. One or two of them turned to repeat to the dead what had been said, and there was great laughter. Sedefo came to assure us that the dead man liked it very much. For the dead, it appeared, were especially susceptible to humor and to exceptional occasions.

964 About us, or edging their way toward us, were the younger men in their ceremonial dress, the toga-like cloth covering their bodies, but leaving one shoulder bared for respect, and the women in their knee-length *pangi*, or cloths, hanging from the waist, and their shining brass rings reaching from wrist to elbow and from ankle halfway up to the knee. Among the dancers, but standing somewhat aloof, could be seen a man or woman with seed rattles about the ankles. These were the fine dancers. Of them our informant had spoken when he said, "They dance well at Gankwe."

964 Carved stools were placed for us facing the coffin a little to the left of the singers, where we could best see the dancing. One or two lanterns were moved to give us better light. The drummers, who had not left their places, took up the rhythm again—one of the women had us know that the spirit of the dead man had communicated to the spirits of the drummers that he wanted to see the dancing resumed. The singing began—a woman's falsetto voice and a chorus; the hand clapping of the singers and bystanders emphasized the basic rhythm. It was slow at first, then quickened, and the dancing became more animated.

"They dance seketi," whispered our friends. "Later they will dance awasa."

964 The dancing was confined to a comparatively small space. It began with a barely perceptible motion of the feet of the dancers to the rhythm of the drums and the hand clapping. Then the feet began to execute figures in place, without leaving the ground, the arms hanging loosely at the side. This was continued for some time, until, arms flexed and held rigid at the elbow, and knees bent but rigid, too, the

DEATH AT GANEWE

intricate steps began. The movement of the feet, angular 964
and precise, was reiterated by the outstretched palms, 535
while all the muscles of the hips took up the rhythm. Now
one of the men with the seed rattles at his feet danced facing [534]
a woman who also had these rattles, and the dance became
theirs with a chorus of dancers moving more and more to
the side, keeping the rhythm with the feet. The drums beat
faster, the hand clapping became louder. Those two
balanced their bodies as they bent their knees lower and
lower, all the while executing the figures with feet, arms,
and hips, and how unaware they seemed of the audience!
And even of each other, for what awareness there was to
quicken the pulse of the dancing was more than one man's
awareness of one woman. It might have been a dance to
Asaase—the great Earth Mother—but it was, in fact,
dancing for the dead, for the two would turn again and
again to face the coffin, as the others had done, except
during the intervals when they recalled the white man and
woman in back, and turned to dance to us and our
flashlights.

Seketi, awasa. . . . The dances changed, and the songs,
and the drum rhythms changed, too. The children at our
feet had fallen asleep and lay doubled over, their heads
resting upon their toes. More men joined the dancers. It
was long past midnight. The women who had infants on
their backs moved away silently in the direction of their
huts, but when an elderly woman tried to go, too, she was
reprimanded and sat down again.

There was another leader for the singing, and another.
A man's falsetto was heard in a long recitative that preceded [533]
the dancing to the massed voices of the chorus. He faced
now the dead, now us, as he improvised. Once more it was
gay.

The dancing became more and more spirited, but when a
dancer had continued in the circle for some time, an older
woman coming forward from among the bystanders would
put her arm about her and exclaim the singsong, "*Adm!*
. . . *Adoo!* . . . *Adoo!*" Others came forward to con-

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[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
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964 535 gratulate the dancer, while another had taken her place in the dance, only to be brought to herself again when her dancing had become so abandoned that there was danger of falling or tripping. For it is always a bad thing for one's [914] *akra*—soul—to fall from exhaustion or even to trip while dancing, and it would have been especially dangerous to have fallen with the spirit of the dead so close.

As time passed, figures were seen edging away into the darkness. The knot of dancers thinned. Now there were [942] but two young women dancing. They wore identical cloths of a new material, a pattern resembling the cloth over the coffin. They were related to the dead man. When all were wearied, they had to go on dancing. . . . Dawn would not be long in coming.

3

964 995 961 We knew that it would not be long before the spirit of the dead would be called upon to tell his family, fellow villagers, and clansmen how death had come upon him. For, in the Guiana bush, except for the very old, there is little natural dying. The deceased has been killed either by the gods whom he has offended or by the black magic of a powerful enemy, and it is of this which he must tell before his burial. When Sedefo came to our camp the next afternoon, we asked him about the "carrying of the corpse," as the ceremony is called. We told him that his people in Africa—for the Bush Negroes know that their origins are African—also asked the spirit of the dead why death had come upon him, and we plied him with questions. What would they do to be sure the answer was right? Who would ask the questions? When would they establish the facts of the killing? And might we come and see?

There would be no trouble, he told us amiably enough. The spirits of the dead liked attention, and for the *Bakra*—the white man—to come so often to his brother's bier was a compliment. We could return with him, but we must make haste—and it was evident that important ceremonies were about to take place.

DEATH AT GANKWE

And so once more we were in Sedefo's canoe running the rapids, and once more we pulled up at the landing place. 964

It was quiet enough there, and no one passing would have noticed anything out of the ordinary in the behavior of the one or two women washing clothes at the riverside, or of the children playing about in the water. Again we climbed the path to the village, this time to the delighted shrieks of the children, whose cries brought others, until we were surrounded by a fearless, clamoring group, shouting, calling after us, "Bak'a, Ame'ica' Bak'a!" Sedefo took us to his house, where we met the senior of his two wives, and turned us over to a young man, who had played one of the drums in the ceremony of the evening before, to show us the village. This was the routine of courtesy due any visitor. Nothing more tangible than a slight reserve marked the tension which made this village different from what it would have been on any midafternoon. [594] [595] [594]

In front of the house of mourning all was quiet. Three elderly men sat on their low stools, talking in low tones. They greeted us as we passed but neither engaged us in conversation nor offered us a seat. Inside the house the small fire still smoldered, and, where the hammock had been, now crouched, soundlessly, an old woman who, we later learned, was the dead man's maternal aunt. We were struck with the number of houses that had symbols of spiritual protection over their doors—*obias*, they are called—magically treated to keep the spirits of death from harming the occupants. As we passed one doorway, a woman holding a baby hastily threw a covering over its head, but not before we saw that it had special markings of sacred white clay on its face. The child was under treatment for some illness, and the mother, in these days when spiritual danger stalked about, could take no chances of the Bakra's magic obstructing the cure. [598] [155]

On the other side of the village, farthest away from the house of death, life flowed on yet more evenly. But as we looked about, our guide stiffened, and soon we too caught the sound of the drums which rapidly became louder. He

964 hurried us toward the river and had quite got away from us as we came to the principal shrine of the village at the head of the path. As we started down the hill to the river an elder of Gaakwe stopped us with an imperative, "You must not go."

Very loud and very fast the drums now sounded—it was the rhythm to Kediampo, the Sky God—and a moment later the grave diggers appeared. They came not by the usual way and not under the spiritual guard, but along an overgrown side path. There were ten or twelve men, five of them muddied from their labors, carrying drums and cutlasses, the others, villagers who had awaited them. The men who had been digging wore green parrot's feathers in their hair, and they walked briskly and silently in single file to the house of mourning. There was a great stillness along the path of the diggers. The children had disappeared and the women sought shelter in their own doorways. Stools were not offered us—there was serious business at hand.

All the men in the village had gathered here; they stood in a semicircle about the front of the open shelter. The old woman slowly arose and, taking a small strip of white cloth, passed it once along each side of the coffin and once over the back as though she were ceremonially cleansing it. Four of the earth-stained young men now took up the coffin, lifting it from the bier and placing it on the ground in front of the house, raising and lowering it three times before it was finally set down. A fifth brought out two pads of green leaves, and two of the bearers put these on their heads. The questioning was about to begin.

964 As they raised the coffin with the putrifying body within it on their heads, their muscles stiffened. With eyes half glazed, and expressionless faces, they seemed there but to do the bidding of the spirit of the dead man whose body they supported. They swayed forward and back, from side to side, without moving their feet, and the coffin swayed with their swaying. And then they began to advance, slowly at first, but after a few steps briskly, to a

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group of three elders who stood to the left of the death house. Three times they advanced, and three times retreated, and each time as they reached the three men, one of the elders would put up his hand, touch the end of the wooden box, and the bearers would retreat. 764 787

Sedefo took his place with the three and asked a question. The coffin advanced, retreated. Sedefo spoke again; what he said we could not hear, for his voice was so low that it reached us as a murmur. The response to the second question was disquieting; the men retreated without moving toward the questioner, step by step they moved slowly backward in a circle before us, and then, without any hesitation, they started on a run into the village along the path to our left. Two of the grave diggers followed them, for when the dead speaks, his replies to the questions asked him must be interpreted and attested.

Serious consequences may follow the expression of fact exposed by the dead. Repeated visits to a given house will point the finger of suspicion to the one who lives there, and a heavy fine at best, or expulsion from the village to certain death in the unprotecting bush at the worst, may be his fate. Supernatural forces are beyond control; here some man's destiny was being sealed by the automatic movements of two others under the hypnotizing influence of the spirit of the dead. Back came the coffin and the questioning was resumed. This time the man who took up the inquiry stood upwind, and we could hear his low voice.

"Did a white man slay you?" he asked. We watched anxiously. What if the answer should be that our coming to the bush had brought death in its train? But the bearers retreated when they came where the questioner was standing.

"Did someone at Gansee slay you?" Again the advance, and the backward steps to the mourning place.

"Did someone at Gandya village slay you?" The answer was "No."

"Did someone at Gankwe slay you?" And with the question, the corpse and its bearers once more disappeared from sight into the village, the women fleeing before it and

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1834
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764 780 herding the children before them so that they would be upwind from the coffin and the stench of decaying flesh.

As they returned the rear bearer was relieved; the tension eased for a moment, but there was one man who did not smile. And it was whispered that he lived in the part of the village where the corpse invariably went. The scene changed slightly; Sedefo, who had stopped questioning, resumed his efforts, and five, ten, fifteen times the bearers advanced toward him and retreated from where he stood. Sometimes we caught our breath; the corpse was coming toward us; but always the bearers swerved before they reached us, going no farther than the grove of thorn palms that grew near the house of death. Then once more they broke through the ranks of questioners and, followed by the watchers, were off in the direction of the village council house and the dwelling of the chief.

The bearer who had been relieved came forward; the corpse, he said, wanted to speak; he must be allowed to carry the body again. This time there was little relief while the change was being made, for the man was possessed, and the air vibrated with the intensity of the spirit which [158] animated him. But apparently there were still difficulties. Again and again the questions were asked, again and again the bearers advanced, retreated. Sedefo kept insisting "Yu mu taki. You *must* speak!" and again the coffin advanced, retreated, and then once more went to our left into the village.

Clouds were rising to windward; the sun was low on the horizon. The bearers returned, advanced to the village head once, twice, again, and again, and then the coffin was placed on the ground, raised three times, and left there for a moment before others took it into the house and replaced it where it had been when we first saw it. The ceremony was over; the elders of the village went to hold council and to interpret what the dead man had said.

764 In the swift tropical dusk, Sedefo and his son came to take us back to our camp. The drummers were adjusting the drums for the night's dancing. "He spoke, ai," he told

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us when we asked him. But what the pronouncement had been we were not to learn. 96A

"It takes a strong spirit to stand before the spirit of the dead," said our host when we returned to camp. "I don't wonder that you are tired."

4

The burial took place on the seventh day of death, our sixth in the Suriname bush. Sedefo, who had promised to come for us so that we could see the ceremonies, had not appeared for two days, and we were certain that he would fail us. But on that day he appeared, just as we had eaten our noon meal. "We do not hurry the spirit," he explained, "but the burial must be over before the sun has gone. Make haste!" And again we went to Gankwe.

The dancing we had seen on the night of our first visit had been spirited, even gay. The carrying of the corpse had been terrifying in the spell of magic it had cast and in its grim potentialities. Today what we saw was saddening. For today the dead man was to say goodbye to his friends, his family, and his village.

All the preparations had been made, and as we came in sight of the house of mourning the ceremonies were beginning. The men were about as before, but there were women, too, and even a few of the older boys. Stools were offered us, and as we sat down the coffin was brought out of the hut into the open space in front of it. Once more four of the young men who had dug the grave took it off its bier; they raised and lowered it three times before it was finally set down upon the earth. And the same two bearers who had carried the coffin on their heads when the spirit of the dead had spoken were now to carry it once more. This time, however, the forward bearer placed a broad bit of palm leaf on his head before he took up the coffin. For after seven days in the tropical heat, protection against the drippings of the corpse could not be dispensed with.

Everything that had been used in the ritual of death was to be taken away with the body. The calabash con-

764 taining the drippings was taken away by two young men to be emptied, a third going ahead to warn of what was coming. The floor of the mourning house was swept by two others, and the sweepings carefully collected and placed, with the calabash, in the bungolo, the broken boat on which the corpse had lain until the coffin was made. The fire was extinguished; the open hut was to be left as it had been before death had come.

This time the corpse was carried to allow the spirit to say goodbye. Out and back, out and back it went. First to the village *krutu wusu*—the council house—where the dead man in life as a boy had sat and listened to his elders debate the affairs of the village, and where he as a full-fledged member of the community had "gone aside" with a group of his fellows to talk over more privately some proposal placed before the men by the council of old men and the village head. Then his body was carried to the portion of Gankwe nearest the river and back, and finally to the house where lived the mother of his dead wife, and where his little boy had been living since his mother's death. And now, for the first time, we heard wailing. "He is going from me. My children are gone," was the lamentation, as the coffin stopped, backed away, returned once more and yet once again to say a final farewell.

The eyes of many of the people who were standing about so quietly were moist. Another member of the village had gone, and kunu had again taken its toll.

Now the body rested upon the ground before the mourning house. To the rear of the coffin were the three drums and the drummers, ready to play. The rhythms began fast and loud, with the big agida drum carrying the basic beat and the apinti talking to the spirit of the dead. More people gathered; women ventured near in greater numbers, and Sedefo appeared with his shotgun to render the final salutes to the spirit. As the reverberations ended, Sedefo took up a bowl of powdered sacred white clay, and walking with measured step in time to the drums, sprinkled the ground so that a circle of white now enclosed the space about the coffin. A girl began to dance Vodu—she was

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dancing to the snake god by whom she was possessed. [764] More people came, and these brought gifts of peanuts, [776] cassava, sugar cane, rice. The food was thrown over the [781] coffin and within the white circular path, on which a man was now dancing round and round in time to the drums. Faster and faster he twirled his way about the coffin, and now another joined him while a third walked slowly about the wooden box, a bunch of plantains in his hand, which he slashed from the stem with his machete so that they, too, fell over the coffin.

The men were dancing to the great Kromanti spirits; the tiger—jaguar—and the buzzard, two of the three forms [776] which the dreaded Kromanti obia can take. "Obia! Huh! Huh!" one ejaculated, imitating the tiger, as his dancing became wilder and wilder. As he ran about the village he wrested a branch from a tree and blindly slashed about him with it. He ran through the clump of thorn palms to our left and emerged with another branch, and now those about were on their guard, for to be struck with those thorns would cause serious lacerations. But the dancer's spirit, his Kromanti obia protected him against such consequences, for are not the Kromanti men immune to anything that wounds; are they not secure from danger of the iron bullets of a gun or the thrust of a machete? The girl with Vodu ran away as he came near her.

Soon, however, the drums were silent, and another shot was fired—the second salute to the dead. One of the elders of the village, bearing a bundle of several long green branches, took his place on one side of the coffin, a younger man on the other. We could not hear what he said, but as he finished speaking he struck the other three times over the bare back; the first two strokes lightly, but at the third he slashed as hard as he was able. It introduced the one note of merriment that afternoon. The people standing about laughed aloud as the ceremony was repeated. A woman, and then another man, were switched.

As this ended, Sedefo took the place of the elder, and in his hand was another kind of branch. This, too, was long, but except for a tuft at its very end it had been stripped of

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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764 all its leaves, while the butt of the stick was whitened with sacred clay.

Now the ceremony was drawing to a close, and the leave takings were to be said. Sedefo thrust the branch over the coffin, where it was grasped at its whitened end by the dancer who a few moments ago had been so frenzied. The laughter of an instant before was stilled; there was no wailing. Distinctly the low voice of Sedefo came to us as he addressed the corpse:

[539] *"The hour has come when we must part from you. What the Earth has decreed we cannot help. We have done for you what we could. We have given you a funeral worthy of you. You must care for us, and you must deliver us from all evil that may come upon us."*

As he finished, he slashed the branch in two with one quick stroke of his machete, so that the dancer held in his hand only the short whitened stump of what had been the long stem. The dancer then turned and walked sadly toward the river path still holding it in his outstretched hand, nor did he return to the village and the coffin.

Now the place that had been occupied by Sedefo was taken by an elder who held the second of the three sticks with their whitened ends. When Sedefo reappeared, he carried on one arm a little boy, the child of the deceased, and taking the dancer's place across the coffin he grasped the whitened end as the other had done. The separation from the group of men who had Kromanti spirits had taken place; the dead man was next to be separated from his family.

[539] *"You see, we bring your child. Now he is alone. Try to protect him, that he may live in health and prosperity, that he may not fall into the water, that fire may not burn him. Protect him in the bush, that he may not be harmed. Now we must separate you from him. What we must do we cannot help, for it is willed by the law of the Earth."*

With this, the second branch was slashed, and still holding the child Sedefo followed the Kromanti brother

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of the deceased with the same slow sad pace as he took the little boy and the whitened stump to the riverside to await the embarkation of the burial party. 76A

What happened to the third branch we did not see. As the elder's voice faded away, the two bearers helped by their fellows once more took up the coffin and amid the renewed wailing of the women started toward the river. The villagers followed, and we too took the path to the waterside. But after a few steps we were halted by the people ahead of us; some rite was being performed. When we were finally able to proceed, the coffin was being placed in the boat that was to take it across the river to the burial ground. But just outside the spiritual guard, where it had been thrown to the side of the path, we noticed the long green portion of the branch with its freshly cut whitened end. It was here that the dead man had been separated from his village.

No women went to bury the dead. Three canoes, each with its complement of men, started off across the river. In the first boat, resting on the gunwales, the coffin had been placed, and in front and behind it were the bearers to steady it. Underneath was the broken boat with the sweepings of the house of death, the calabash in which the drippings had been, and the short whitened ends of the *sangafu* branches by means of which the spirit had been parted from the living. As the canoe moved off with its load of coffin and paddlers, drums and drummers, two more shots were fired as the final salutes of the village. The third canoe came back twice; once for two broken pieces of iron which had been forgotten, once for the gun. But the canoe was not turned about; the boat was paddled backwards toward the landing place, and someone waded out to hand the desired object to the men in the boat. To turn around would be hazardous; death is dangerous, and they could not tempt danger by giving the spirit hovering about a clue where to return. We stood and watched the little flotilla disappear about the bend, and with us stood the heavy-eyed men and women. Then, when we had all washed away

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1834
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Then, when we had all washed away
[164] the taint of death in the flowing river, we turned and once
[183] more climbed the path to the village.

5

The muffled sound of a gunshot came to us as we sat in the hut of the headman, speaking of the funeral. "Another child gone," he said, "Soon he will be safe in the earth."

We had not been permitted to go across the river to witness the burial. "It is a dangerous place for those who do not know it," the headman said. "*Ogi*—evil things—are
[196] there, bad spirits who harm those who are not prepared, and we do not want evil to come to you. Several years ago there was a Bakra here when we buried another Gankwe man. He asked to go, and we granted him his wish. But the spirits of the bad bush across the river harmed him and he died, and now his ghost plagues us."

A second shot told us that the bearers had reached the grave after their march through the deep bush where living man seldom came. They had sung the *papa singi*—the dirges—which are intoned as the dead is borne to the grave. Once arrived there and the invocations pronounced, the salute fired, and the gods propitiated, two men would descend into the deep hole there to lift down the coffin and place it in the tunnel-like excavation dug under the undisturbed earth to the side of the large opening; would place it so that the falling earth might not disturb the spirit of the dead.

A third shot.

[413] The body was in the grave. The heaping of earth, with the burial hoe, with feet, and with fingers, back into the hole that had been so laboriously dug had commenced. The sun was getting low and darkness comes early in the big bush.

Now the last shot told us of the final ceremony. The food that had been brought for the last offering was being placed on the mound of heaped-up earth. The strip of white cloth to the spirit was being pushed into the ground on its stick. The burial party was backing away from the grave, slowly, slowly, so that the spirit would not be alarmed, so that it

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would not guess that the living were eager to desert him. And then all would turn and run as fast as they could to the river's edge, where the unwashed dirt that had accumulated during the digging of the grave, and the more serious spiritual contamination to which they had been exposed in handling the body, would be washed away in the safety of the flowing water.

We strained to see the returning party as our canoe was being paddled and poled upstream through the rapids to our camp. But it was too dark, and we heard nothing but the sound of water over rocks.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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Chapter II

WHILE THE RIVER WAS HIGH

I

501 313 NOW this was a busy time of the year, and the river so full of canoes that a man floating down a lumber raft to the railhead might expect to meet ten or twelve dugouts in a day.

221 Men in laden corials were returning from the French side for the harvest festivals. They had been away eighteen months or longer, and now they were coming back to burn new rice and cassava fields for their women, and to beget new children. When the harvesting was done was a fine time for love, and a woman with a child in her womb was the very luckiest for planting a field. These returning men, in the prime of life, with powerful bodies and muscles that were as so many great snakes coiling and uncoiling underneath the gleaming moist skins were deferential toward strangers. For it would have been unseemly to thrust at the first comer their adventures on the Marowyne River, and a man who was returning with many possessions had to exercise particular care that he angered neither men nor gods. Yet among themselves they could not keep from a certain amount of swagger.

"Ai ba! Ai mati!" they exclaimed to each other in reply to the most casual comment. "Indeed, brother! Yes, friend!" This was no more than the mode of address of the [596] Awka people who live along the Marowyne, but "Ai ba! Ai mati!" stood for the password of the larger outside

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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world, and they flung it at each other proudly, for it stood for the experience of making their way among strangers and earning sums with which to fill a large corial, and much else.

The men who had remained on the river found special pleasure in imparting to these returning ones some weighty gossip.

"At Gankwe they are burying Sedefo's younger brother," they said as the boats passed each other, and they went into the details of Zimbi's death and the kunu which was decimating the family.

"Asikanu has been charged with adultery by Matafo. Asikanu's family is offering a great fine, but it is far from settled yet."

All this was by way of preface. To come to the real news without casual preliminaries would have been the way of a child, but a Man Nengere, a full-grown Negro, knew better.

"Last year a white man came here with another one—a doctor. He said he would come back with his wife. He has brought his wife. He says they are going up the river. He says they are going to the Granman's country."

Up and down the great stretches of water as the boats passed each other, the news was given. Word and conjecture floated down river and into the creeks, reaching even the lower river Awka villages.

"The Bakra told me Awka is an African word. There is a place in Africa called Awka, and a people in Africa called Awka people. He knows Africa!"

"Kye, ba! Kye, mati!"

Word and conjecture were carried up river in the boats which were being poled upstream against the rapids. It would be some time yet before there would be legends, and songs about the American whites who had made their way into this bush. Now there could only be talk. The Bakra had a machine which talked back to you, if you talked into its horn, and when it talked back, it said the same thing you did, sang back the same song, and if you laughed, it laughed, too.

And did men speak into the horn, and sing? Would there be no harm to the *ak'a*—the soul?

Their own trickster, Asanai, the spider, working with his fabulous cunning, could not have spun the stories about the whites faster than had the passing boats. From boat to boat, from boat to shore, from shore to village the news went. Had the white man come with guns, or had he come accompanied by many others, then, to be sure, it would have been a matter for the drums. But the vagaries of a white man coming with his wife are of no ritual concern. The drums would only sound on occasions of moment; to summon the men for a council of the clan or to ask, ritually, for the health of a chief; to tell of death; or to speak to the gods themselves. But for a white man with his woman, gossip was good enough to carry the news.

Up and down the river, in the villages where they had visited the year before, many a woman to whom the Bakra had given a string of yellow beads, or a large glittering safety pin to put in her hair as an ornament, or, better still, a large tin can out of which her husband had fashioned a broad band to be worn on her arm, one which glistened as it reflected the pale light of the moon during a dance—such a woman heard of the coming of the Bakra with pleasure. She had them all, these gifts, safe in the carved calabash on which she had incised the sinuous lines of the snake spirit that gave her fertility, and now that the gourds were ripening once again, she would carve another to hold the new things that the whites would bring her.

The young men, too, heard of their coming with pleasure. For would not the strange ways of the Bakra and his woman give them many witty new things to put into words and sing to the traditional seketi tunes, the secular songs that they would later sing in the intervals of the religious dances? It was good to make up new words, which made a man the center of the dance. Ambe! But the women loved the man who could put clever new words to their dance songs!

The children heard the news with fear, for at four, at five, they were not too young to have learned of the enormi-

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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Village elders on a ceremonial visit.

[Facing p. 24]

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ties of the white men of long ago and the deeds of their slave ancestors, who had won for them freedom in this bush. 609 177

But what of the old men? What of them who govern and know proverb and parable to fit all ceremonial occasions, whose word is final in clan councils? What of those who call the gods and speak to the ancestors and who, surpassing all else in wisdom, know how to control *obia*, the great healing spirit which Nyankompon, the Sky God, created after he had brought earth and water into being, so that man might live? At the landing place of the balata camp, a group of such men were gathered and stood about talking. A Loango elder who was on his way to visit his relatives at Kadyu, his lower river clan village, had espied a clansman on the shore and had come up in his boat. 648

"A man and a woman came. And they are going up the river until . . . until beyond the Mamadam and Baikutu, until . . . past the Felulasi Falls, until . . . they come to the Tapa Water and into the Pekien Rio, and until . . . they arrive at the Granman's village."

The speaker, a younger man who had come from up river to the death ceremonies at Gankwe spoke with a certain eagerness, and made of the telling a long recital, drawing out the singsong word "*te*"—until—more and more with each repetition, and in this way intensifying both the distance and the hardships in these vast and vaster stretches. 609 203 648

"Ayo! A long way. Will the Ga'ma' let them come?"

"Ya-hai, tio! You must ask, will the gods let them come?"

"Kere, kere! You must ask if the ancestors will let them come?"

"They carry no guns."

"Then they bring us their gods."

"Kweti-kweti! And that's what I don't understand. They say they come to learn."

"By Ando! But what does that mean?"

"Well, they speak the proverb down below, they say: 'It isn't for nothing that the worm crawls from side to side.'"

"Massa Neng'e, but it's true, true."

"The white man wants to get the black man's obia."

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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REBEL DESTINY

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"The whites have wars against each other. . . . "

"Our ancestors. . . "

Before the last speaker could finish, a man broke in with a prayer. His voice was conversational and sounded as though he were addressing someone present.

> "*Great Sky God,*
> *Kediamo, Kediampon,*
> *Maker of the River,*
> *Sacred ancestors,*
> *Grant that if the white man comes for evil*
> *His race end.*
> *Grant that if the white woman comes for evil*
> *Her womb wither, her line perish.*"

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But the Loango headman shook his head and said, "The gods will deal with them, have no fear. Do you remember the man who was drowned at the Mamadam, and the one who died way beyond the Granman's country, and that other one, the soldier? They came with evil in their hearts. The gods killed them. The gods will deal with these, too."

And another said: "Let them go up the river. The gods know all. The ancestors know all. This is our land, and our earth spirits will protect us, and they will kill our enemies. This is our river. Our river gods will protect us, and kill our enemies. This is our bush. The gods of the bush are strong. The gods of the bush know their bush children. They know their children's enemies."

[14]

Then the Loango elder spoke again: "We have the gods from Africa. They are more than all gods. The African gods know all. They will watch over us. We have the obia spirits, the African obia spirits. Mati, friends, let them go up the river. Have no fear. Our gods are with us."

The men's soft, sober voices spoke the words without emotion. Theirs were the voices of destiny. Well might the answering chorus intone the affirmations, while the colloquy went on of leader and chorus, leader and chorus, now one taking up the main theme, now another. To us the cadenced speech came floating softly on the still air.

WHILE THE RIVER WAS HIGH

The sun stood over the sacred silk-cotton tree toward the Gankwe side of the land. Across the path leading from somewhere in the back of our shelter the parasol ants, each with its strip of green many times its size, made their way toward an unknown spot where no shelter stood, and no one trod. Like a wave the wide ribbon of green rose and fell as it crossed the ridges of the pathway. In unending numbers they came, and the lizards darting in and out of the brush swerved in the direction of the shelter to avoid the marching line, so that at our feet things moved now up, now back again.

While the men were at the landing place, one of the women who was drying rice on the high flat rocks opposite our shelter paddled over in her boat, and, passing the men with a formal greeting, walked on and stopped to talk with us. She was not a young woman. Her time for childbearing was long over, her wrinkled breasts sagged almost to her waist. The cicatrized designs which once had stood out so clearly, and in her youth had been so valued, were but faintly penciled on her face and about her breasts. Had she cared, she might have reopened the cuts, might have had ashes rubbed into them to make the keloids stand out black and alive against the dark brown of her skin. But what need had a woman her age to care? What need to urge life into symbols of fertility on face and between breasts and about her navel, when her time for fruitfulness was over? Of what use to reanimate the incised scrolls between her thighs, when the legend they told in terms of reproduction was for her a dead legend?

She came toward us slowly, balancing a bottle on her head. A faded cloth covered her from waist to knee, and at her waist a bit of the kerchief necessary to the attire of the married woman, even at work, could be seen. She wore a few beads on a cord about her neck, but she had no other ornaments, for ornaments were for festive occasions, and the cloth tied about the neck and worn cape fashion was for women who had children to carry straddling their backs, and woven garters below the knee were conceits of the young.

[488] young. Once she, too, had liked to have her calf look round and full.

[437] [476] "Will you exchange this bottle of palm oil for tobacco?" she asked, showing her empty clay pipe.

She came in, saying she would like to rest, and began unfastening her top tunic so that she might make a pad of it on which to sit down on the ground, for the earth spirits [484] forbid women who had reached puberty to sit upon the bare earth. In her second tunic, somewhat fresher than the top one, she stood hesitating, looking about her for a place to sit down, until we brought her a carved stool we had bought the day before. Instead of putting on the top pangi again, she used it to cover her knees.

[576] "*Bak'a muye,*" she said, "white woman, you ought to cover your knees, too, when you sit."

And sitting there, examining us and our belongings, she muttered her comments about our appearance and dress as she smoked, and muttering she swayed slightly, until the swaying rhythm seemed to bring a melody into her head, and she began to sing.

[533]

"*The American Bak'a*
Have come from far,
American koni
Has brought them
To the Saramacca River,
To the Saramacca people;
They must not sicken
They must not die."

While the men on the shore talked and called upon their gods to keep them free, the woman rocked and sang this invocation for our safety, forgetting for the moment that we were whites, whom the ancestors hated.

"You have so much wealth," she said to the white man, looking about her at our provision boxes, "you must have many wives."

And back again she went to her song, repeating the words over and over, until seeing people approach she rose slowly and went back to the river where her rice was drying.

WHILE THE RIVER WAS HIGH

3

Toward us came Tenye, a young friend of last year, and two small boys. She had seemed but a child the year before when she had danced bandamba with the other little girls while the men were getting ready for the Kromanti dance. But now she looked quite grown, and instead of the small apron she had worn, was wearing a cloth of a woman. 882

"You've grown, Tenye."

"*Ay, a biri bobbi baba*," one of the youngsters said. "She has her breasts already," and he went on to say that soon she would marry. "Two moons more," he said, showing two fingers.

"You will soon have many bracelets, Tenye, and when you dance you will be splendid." 883

"Ai," the boy went on speaking eagerly, "Abane will teach us how to dance when he comes back. He went to the French shore. Abane made Tenye, and he made me, too. I am Yamati, and he made Sabape, here." But they had not the same mother, nor did they live in the same village. "When I grow up," the child went on, "I will dance with seed rattles at my ankles. I will dance like Abane." The rattles his uncles would have to buy for him, or when grown he might buy them for himself, but his father would give him his gods when he was of age, and good dancing, too, was a thing of the gods.

"Who will get Abane's seed rattles, Tenye? Will you get them because you are the oldest child of the first wife?"

"Ah, no!" both she and the indomitable Yamati exclaimed at the same moment, and then both lowered their heads and would say no more, while the small Sabape looked away.

Now we had the year before discovered why we were so often met by young and old with the phrases, "I do not know," or better still, "*Mazza Gadu sabi*—God alone knows," when it was evident that the speakers knew the answer very well indeed. The reason lay with the will of the G'an Yorka, or the G'an Zombi, or the Nana, as the ancestors are variously called. The ancestors it seemed had long 609 123

Herskovits & Herskovits E-6 (1928-1929) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Saramacca

609 ago, so long that no one knew just when it happened, instruct-
123 ed that no one might impart to another, a stranger, more than half of what he knew. Moreover, no young person dared to speak at all of the supernatural, and such matters as inheritance were regulated by the laws of the gods and ancestors, who punished infractions with the scourge of kunu—a term we were to hear so much in this Suriname bush.

302 Tenye's head as we looked down upon it was a mound of wool, with little braids, each no more than an inch or an inch and a half long, fastened by a bit of black thread, each braid pointing upwards. This was called "tatafi," we knew, and to change the subject we talked about the styles of
[855] hairdressing. A child's hair usually was closely cropped, and the heads of both Yamati and Sabape looked as smooth as blackened gourds. Tenye's hair had been cut but a little while ago, a moon perhaps, when the braids had grown so long that it had been too much bother even to make the hair look well in the fashion of what was called the coiled head, or the earth furrow style. Both of these types of hairdressing consisted of braids which diverged from the center in many rows, appearing at the outer edge at intervals of one inch, or slightly more. These ends were caught up and rebraided around the head, to form either the one coil of "lollo 'ede," or the several coils of "gon wi." There were also the single long braids—the "pitto"—and the "pina bonsu" way of hair combing, where the head when properly dressed makes a design of narrow strips of scalp showing between flat ribbons of braids, which look like so many snake vertebrae, radiating from the middle of the head outwards.

"When you come back from up river, I will dress your hair," said Tenye to both of us. "You," she said, pointing, "will become an obia man in your white country, and you will look so well that your husband won't ever remember to go to his other wives."

302 But now Tenye's maternal aunt who had approached
954 unobserved came to call the children away. She was not in

good humor, and looked with disfavor on the friendly conversation between us. Her bad temper, we learned later, had earned for her the name of Mother Snake, given her by a witty town servant of a lumber factor. The idea of dressing our hair apparently appealed to the woman, however, for it would certainly only be a reckless white who would offer his hair for combing to a stranger, since with hair any number of supernatural things might be done. With the proper formula, a few hairs, and the required ingredients she might fashion an *opo*, let us say. Now an opo serves many purposes, but its essential quality is that it gives its owner power over the one whose essence is captured in the form of hair, or a scrap of garment, or finger nails, or whatever else had touched the person against whom one has designs. The power of the possessor of the opo is to dominate the will of the other, and its particular attribute might be to function in love, or in a court of justice, or in matters of getting employment, or of receiving gifts. But an opo would be the least dangerous consequence, for an opo is not to be conceived of as being in the category of bad magic. There is the danger of *wisi*—a word which has the double meaning of poison and black magic—and hair, or finger nails, or the menstrual cloth of a woman, or perspiration are the very best materials for working wisi.

And so the good woman, known when she was among us as Tita, and as Mother Snake otherwise, saw that we offered no cause for alarm and added her advice to Tenye's in pointing out powers which we might acquire and use to spectacular advantage in our white country.

"Yes, you must make pina bonsu," she said, adding her approval, "and then your husband will prefer you to his other wives. But if you want to keep him all to yourself, you must let us cut *kamsuba*—cicatrized designs—on you. An ingi kodjo here on each cheek to begin with," turning to Tenye and smiling.

And so it was all planned. The Indian cudgel, a euphemism for the buttocks, and procreative symbols were to be

given to the white woman when she returned from up river, yet with it all the thighs would still need to be cicatrized.

"Then," she said, speaking of the cicatrized thighs, "then he simply won't think of any one else, because among you, you will be the only one. We who all have the kamemba must see that it looks well, but you will be the only one."

3

The boys remained with us, amusing themselves by giving us their words for the various objects about us.

The strings about their waists, which formed their only clothing, the fiber cord with the bell about Sabape's neck, the word for garter, and machete, and shoes, boxes, and water jar, and all else they could see were named. A flashlight was a diamond fire, and a collapsible chair a hammock chair, and if we showed them something they had never seen it was a *Bakra sani*—a white man's thing.

Sabape spoke little, for he was a timid child and looked sluggish. He had but few cuts on his body, while Yamati, who was about the same age, had already several fully outlined designs.

"Why have you nothing about your neck, Yamati?"

"Oh, but I have. I have cuts. You can either have an obia cut, or an *obia tetei*—a string. It is to make us live. All children have it."

"And when do they start making kamemba?"

"A long time ago they start. If it doesn't hurt too much, they cut one more, and soon one more. But if it hurts too much, they wait until . . . ," he said, finishing on the word *te* . . . in the characteristic way of the grown narrator who uses the monosyllable to intensify space and time and danger and bounty.

Yamati found so much delight in his rôle as teacher that he became stern with us and had us say the words over again and again. There was the word for firefly which pleased him not at all. "*Mi taki, mi taki-e, anka-nyenye*—I say, I am saying . . . " ("if you would but listen," his voice

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

implied), and he repeated the word over and over, until this led us to talk about singing, and at last we had them consent to dance susa for us. It had to be done very quietly, in the slight clearing in back of the shelter. Susa is an African dance. It is danced by men only, in pairs, and is something of a game. The one who wins "kills" his opponent. The earth spirits are said especially to like it, and it is danced in the fields or in the villages for them. 123 609 535

There they stood, Yamati and Sabape, facing each other, their enlarged navels almost touching. One agreed to be "in," and one "out," and as they began, their jaws came forward in a patterned, pugnacious way, and their arms moved to reproduce in pantomime shield and spear, while the feet crossed and recrossed. 535 524

Kesi-kesi g'a S'sa
Zond'o linga
Linga-li

[533]

The monkeys
Go to dance susa
Without rings.

Huh, huh, huh!

They sang the song over and over again, panting at the end of each verse to dramatize combat.

"I killed him," said Yamati. He had won, and they began again. If the one who had agreed to be "in" had his foot on the outside as they clashed, then he lost—he was killed.

4

As they were dancing, we noticed a young man we had never seen before. He was standing watching the youngsters at their play, smiling as though he enjoyed their contest. He was very dark, even for a Bush Negro, short and stocky, with unusual muscular development of arm and chest and thigh. His age, one would judge, was nineteen or twenty. He turned his smile on us when he realized we were noticing him. 439

REBEL DESTINY

439 "I heard that you are buying things we make, as you did last year in my village. I have come with balata from my uncle, and I brought a stool to sell. Would you like to see it?"

And so Bayo brought us his stool. It was not well carved. Indeed, compared with even the least skilled carvings on benches and combs and trays and food-stirring paddles, the workmanship was crude. But one does not refuse a proffered article bruskly, and we sat down to talk with him about it.

531 322 It was Bayo who gave us our first insight into the meaning of Bush Negro designs, gave us our first information about this, as about so many other customs and practices. What is carved on the wood which the men work with such care has significance, and carries meaningful symbols which the Bush Negro is unwilling to reveal. That there might be symbolism in the art we had before suspected, but usually, when we asked, we heard the skillful evasions of which the Bush Negro is master. He did not know. Only the carver himself could say, but the carver was away or long dead. Or we would hear that it was carving, that it was carved to beautify it, that it was of an in-and-out design. Or, with carefully pointing finger that indicated the ornamentation, the Bush Negro would say, "This is wood."

531 So we talked to Bayo about his stool, expecting to hear one of the usual replies. But this time and without any urging we heard what we had so long wondered about. "Look," he said, tracing out the lines of the interwoven pattern, "this is a man, this a woman. This is her head, those her breasts, this her womb. Here are his head, his arms, his legs. We call this *womi-ko-maye*—man-and-woman. Here are the children which they will make," and his hands traced another series of designs on the top of the stool.

439 989 We bought his stool, and he stayed and talked of many things. Did we want to buy an *obia*—a charm? One day he would like to become an obia man. Already he could make obias which protect the wearer when he walks on the water.

WHILE THE RIVER WAS HIGH

Had we provided ourselves with the necessary obias with which to travel to the country of the Granman? He had never been so far up the river. He would like to go there. Ai-yo! He would like to go and see Dahomey, the sacred city, and look at the Tapa Wata falls, and visit the Granman's village. Did we have all our paddlers? He was strong, and he liked to make a boat walk up the rapids. He could get his father to come with him as steersman. His father had strong obias and knew the river. We could not go until the river went down, but he would stay with us here and wait, and if we wished it he would go back upstream to his village and get his father and food, and be ready for us in time. He needed the money the Bakra would pay, too, for he wanted to be married soon, and he would have to buy many things for his woman and her mother. 439 789 484

When he left us, he went to one of the little enclosed houses that were there for travelers, choosing the one closest to us, and built a small fire. His younger brother and the white dog that came in his boat sat with him. The dog wore a cord about his neck, covered with red ochre, to keep him safe in the bush. That night as we ate we could see Bayo, his brother, and the dog squatting close to the fire and eating, too. And all the next day, and for several days to come, as we waited, Bayo was with us, talking, laughing, explaining, and making and buying obias for us to carry us safely on our journey to the Granman. [231]

5

In the afternoon one of the political chiefs of the neighboring Christian village came to hear our phonograph. But when we asked him to sing into it, he said, "Ask me later. Now I am alone. We Saramacca people never do anything when we are alone." We had the year before acquired a powerful obia against slander and bearing false witness against us, and found the occasion useful for corroborating the invocation we had been given. The man, however, spoke with the greatest reluctance and looked 609 183

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583 Bush Negroes 583
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609 vastly relieved when he saw several boats pull up at the
123 shore.

It appeared that these newcomers were also interested in our phonograph, but that no one would consent to be the first to sing, until at last a young boy came up.

609 "I'll sing for you," he said, and it was at once whispered
123 that the boy came from a family of powerful obia men, that
991 he was sure of his spirit. "I'll sing, yes, but you must let me tell the machine something first."

What he said was an invocation to his soul and his personal gods, and he spoke it by putting his face into the horn of the phonograph and talking in a rapid whisper, making audible the one phrase: "Bakra obia isn't my obia." Subsequently when we discussed this occurrence with older men, they made the matter clear to us. He had assured his spirits that he was not conceding anything to our magic, and that they were neither to feel slighted nor to relax their vigilance. The gods favored the strong and the proven, and a young man had to be careful, for the gods were not conceived as especially logical or rational or inexorably just, so that one had to guard against becoming the victim of their caprice.

609 Boat after boat pulled up at the shore, and up the road
123 came a long line of callers. Women with infants straddling their backs, a breast drawn to the side so that the child might feed as it rested there; children with cords about their waists; young girls and boys, each with a square of apron across the front, or a loin cloth; and the men with togas and paddles, dignified and solemn, drawing nearer silently.

On our provision boxes sat those who had come early, particularly women nursing children, or old women who looked on with tired wonder. On the floor everywhere about our feet and against the posts sat the children we knew, while those who had come for the first time and were still fearful kept their distance, hiding behind some relative.

It was a great occasion, a spectacle of white man's magic, and they were there to verify it for themselves. Now there

was much of white man's magic that was not astonishing. 609
Old men and young men had heard of machines with people 123
on them that flew like birds, but had they not their own stories about the sacred vulture, the *opete*, that carried one of their warrior ancestors away from slavery across the river and into this bush? He had simply mounted the bird and said to it, "On your back is my home. You [913] can fly over land, and you can fly over water. I have no boat. You must carry me." And the opete took him. Then [916] there are beings with wings that range the sky, and some of them are birds, and some of them are spirits. No, a machine that flew like a bird was not astonishing magic. Then there was the kino—shadows appearing and moving about like the living—that you could see in the cities. Men on the French shore, too, had seen the kino, but it was a gift any man might have to see things. But here was something which talked back at you. . . .

"Ke . . . !"

"Massa Nen'ge!—Master Nigger!"

"Ma Nen'ge . . . !"

And even our town servant exclaimed, "*Mi Gado*—My God!"

Now all this was very well, except that the Bakra, not satisfied with the ordinary seketi dance tunes, kept asking for Kromanti songs—the warrior-spirit songs—and the bush-god songs, and river-god songs. From one man and from another came the expected, "I do not know such songs." The women did not even dare approach the machine.

At last Apanto came. His hair was braided and he wore a 609
jaguar tooth on a cord about his neck. He was not so 123
muscular as other men of his age, and when he went about 115
there was a softness in his movements that was unaccountably disquieting. His hands were not the hands of a worker of lumber, nor of a boatman who was accustomed to pole heavily loaded boats. They were smaller, and his fingers were narrow at the ends. Apanto, we discovered later, was what the Bush Negroes called a "tiger fighter." In a quarrel, he did not cuff and strike out with his fists, but

609 scratched like a "*tigri*"—a tiger, for this is how the Bush
103 Negroes name the jaguar. Later, when we saw him dance
115 the Tigri Kromanti dance, we witnessed one of the most realistic feline interpretations imaginable. But that is another matter.

Now Apanto was an obia man to be reckoned with, and his fellow villagers and the villagers of neighboring settlements treated him with a deference that his age alone could never have commanded. And it was this Apanto who now came up and said that he would sing the sacred Kromanti songs for our phonograph.

"You will not understand the songs. They will be in the Kromanti language," he warned us. "They are strong, and the machine must be strong to carry them."

It happens that a field phonograph is anything but strong. The mechanism is simple, since the instrument must be light enough to be carried about, and yet it often is subjected to all manner of hard usage. To this is added the
[126] hazard of the climate. The turntable is actuated by a belt running from the mechanism inside the case, and the ends of this belt are glued together. This, to be sure, we discovered later. At the moment, we met Apanto's challenge with assurance. We did not doubt that the machine was spiritually strong.

126 What he said about the Kromanti language was true.
533 The Kromanti tongo, of which we had been told during our
[197] first visit here, we were finding to be an actuality, and
539 although we took down the words as he sang them, aided in hearing them by the repetitions, their meaning was unknown to us. Some of them we learned later. Some of them we knew. "Obia" we knew concerned the spirit,
[176] the vague force known by that name, while "Amba" was
[551] a deity sacred to Saturday, and was given as a "day name" to women born on that day of the week. This, then, is what he sang:

"*Ma djeni ye-ye*
Obia kuls ma djeni no-ko
Obia mo-ye

Ii Herskovits & Herskovits E-4 (1928-1929) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Saramacca

126
533
539

WHILE THE RIVER WAS HIGH

Amba djeniyi, obia-mi yi-yi
Mo djeni-o
Mo djeni-o-ye
Obia mi-i
Man djeni no-ko
Obia no-i
Amba djeni-o-i, obia-i-i
Man djeni no-ko, obia-i."

The music was slow and soft, and in Apanto's appealing voice the song took on a strangely moving quality. But as he sang, a stir went through the people who were listening.

"He calls his obia, ai."

"His obia will fight the spirit of the machine."

"The Bakra is cunning, but obia is strong. We shall see."

The song came to an end, the recorder was lifted. We looked at Apanto. "Will you sing another? See, the thing is not finished. There is room for more."

He looked. Yes, one could see there was room for more. Yes, he would sing more. This time the song was livelier, louder. As Apanto sang, he seemed to force the song into the horn, and this time there were no murmurs from those watching.

"*Yen-ko, yenko,*
A yen-ko-ko no
Yen-ko, yenko,
A yen-ko. . . . "

And with this the machine began to give way. There was a rattling sound, a scratching. The machine went more slowly, then stopped. About us the murmurs became excited. Hastily we fitted a new cylinder, hastily we tested it. It was no use. We soon found the cause. The glue had softened in the tropical dampness, and the ends had pulled loose. It was almost dark, and there was no sun to dry a newly applied coat of glue.

Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1929-1930) 1934
Bush Negroes
Saramacca

126 Apanto looked at us. "The Bakra is cunning," he
533 repeated. "But obia is stronger. In the bush obia rules.
123 Kromanti is too strong for the spirit of the machine."

Swiftly the dark of the bush came down. The people who had been watching, listening to what had passed, were leaving to go to their villages and to spread the news of the power of obia, and how Apanto had defeated the spirit of the machine that talks back what has been said to it. And with the gathering dark, we could sense the pulse of the drums and hear a faint echo of the shrill cry of the women dancing at Gankwe for the spirit of the dead man who lay there in the house of mourning.

Chapter III

ON THE SARAMACCA RIVER

I

ON THIS, the second morning after the burial of Sedefo's brother, Bayo started downstream from the village of Djamungo before daybreak. With all the vigor of his youth and the freshness of the morning, he pushed off from shore, and with sharp, short strokes ran his canoe into midstream and through the foaming rapids below the village. In and out, and in, went the paddle, until he was past the rough water which made a tumbling fortification for his village. His eyes wandered back for an instant as he sat there, taking in at a glance the dark outlines of the two silk-cotton trees which reared themselves above the line of matted jungle, and the gleam of natural clearing on the opposite, uninhabited bank, where trees stood singly here and there above the low underbrush. "Ai-yo!" he exclaimed half aloud, thinking how well it was with his village. It was good to have been born where twin silk-cotton trees stood and across the river from where the Apuku—the little people of the bush—held council at night. It was the Apuku, to be sure, who had seen to this pleasant open place, and no man, whatever his need, would put to use this land which the gods had accommodated to their own purposes. 49A

Those rapids, too, were higher than any on the lower river, he thought, as he paddled vigorously in the still water. To have thought of the rapids at all, while going [133]

through them, would have meant courting the displeasure of the spirit which animated the troubled stretch, and would have been dangerous. He was a Man Nengere and knew all this well, for was he not ready to marry Dida any time now? He would have to wait as yet, but perhaps during the next planting her breasts would come, and then in a month, two, three, she would be ready to marry. He was, in fact, in the mood even to cast about for a second wife, though his marrying her would have to wait many years. All that would come, for what with the money he already had earned, and the sums he would get for the wood he might bring down the river later, and this money the Bakra would give him, he would have enough to pay for the hammock, the cloth pangi, the handkerchiefs, the bracelets and beads, and whatever else a man needed to give to his woman and her mother for a fine marriage.

Going through this stretch of still water, which Bayo always found dull, he thought of this and that, for there was no work for his muscles but the monotony of the dip and stroke of the paddle. Going upstream it was different. There the challenge of the slipping pole-stick against submerged slime-covered rocks made a man prove himself. It spoke to the warrior blood in him, which found no outlet in these quiet times. But this was only idling, and his mind found pleasure in wandering, especially if it happened, as now, to be dark enough to make it worthless for him to look about for the things that grew and stirred in the bush.

Yes, it would be almost three hours before the sun was high, and when it stood there—he indicated the place in the heavens to himself with his eye—he might be loading the Bakra's boats to go up river, for word had come from top-side that the Mamadam would be safe in a few days, and now if the Granman meant for the Bakra to get to the upper river, he would be sending word down almost any time. And he, Bayo, was ready for the journey. Here in the blue canister, which he had bought in the city on the Queen's last birthday with part of the money he had

got for the timber he and his great-grandfather had 484
floated down the river, he had two fine cloths. One was 574
older and was intended for visiting the villages on the way, and the new one was for the Granman's village. For this occasion, too, he was saving a pair of newly woven garters, though he would wear the two strands of small coral and yellow beads in some of the villages on the way. At Lamé, for instance.

Ai-yo! He would see to it that he looked well at Lamé, 789
for Lamé had handsome women, and at Lamé the women 796
knew how to love. His own powerful love obia had come 830
from Lamé, and there it was in his canister and there beside it was a potent fighting obia which his uncle, who was surpassed by few on the river in the strength of his obia spirits, had made for him. Some day, when Bayo was older, he, too, would know all these secrets, for his uncle had given him some of his gods, and at dances he already showed that he had a strong spirit. Until that time came, he had the obia from Lamé to win for him the love of his fellow men, and should it not avail against the magic of some surly fellow who wished him ill, then he had the other which would serve him in trouble. And on his upper arm was his Kromanti obia—the magically potent iron band—which, by tightening, would warn him when trouble was impending. That was the way to go through life—a man asked the gods to help him meet whatever might come, the good spirits with good, and the bad with yet greater evil.

Up above, whirling past him in the pale dawn, the 484
parrots flew, making a screeching chorus in the stillness, 596
and rousing him to the murmur of the next rapids which he was approaching.

What was that? A boat. Going downstream, he was soon alongside it.

"*Tio*, greetings," he called to the man, speaking in the subdued ceremonial voice.

"Thank you, tio," answered the older man, for he addressed a stranger.

Herskovits & Herskovits 2-5 (1929-1930) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Saramacca

484 And after they had inquired of each other's health, they
57 were well past each other, making in opposite directions,
521 but continuing their colloquy.

Bayo said, "I am on my way to the Bakra's camp. I am to be one of his paddlers. Today we start up the river. He is going to the Granman's country."

"I am going to Tunkshai. My sister's son died on the Marowyne. His wife is to come out of mourning. We shall have good dancing tonight."

Bayo's boat was disappearing in the bend of the river.

"Adiosi, adiosi-o. Adiosi, adiosi-o!" he sang out his goodbye, pitching his voice so low and so well that it seemed to penetrate not only the entire river, but the very thickness of the forest which hemmed it in. The response came back to him as a faint, cadenced song.

"Ooo oo oo . . . oo!" he sang out, placing his hand against his mouth to make the sound carry. And the answering call came back true as a bird's call.

484 Now he was in the rapids again, and stood at the stern with dilated nostrils and head thrown forward. When he was through the whirling eddies and in quieter water once more, he adjusted his loin cloth carefully and sat down and
[137] began paddling. The green-heart trees were beginning to bloom. Fine trees. They belonged to another clan. He and his great-grandfather went for their timber below. There was plenty of timber in this bush of theirs. The gods of the bush were strong, and the ancestors had done well for the country. In a week these channels would be gone. Right about him everywhere jagged rocks would show. In a week, or before then, they would play the drums for the gods of the river, sounding their call to the sun to come and dry and warm them, and the sun, hearing the call, would send his fire to the river banks, and the rains would end.

Was that a boat overtaking him? The cool of the morning was a time to be about. Who was that?

"Tio, greetings," he said to the man, who seemed in a
[576] great hurry.

"Thank you, tio. . . ."

[illegible] Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 ([illegible]) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Saramacca

Ah, but they knew each other. 484
Bayo began paddling faster to keep up with him.

"There is to be a council meeting at Gankwe. I had to 633
hurry away last night, and I must get back there in time. 995
We must have permission from the spirit of the dead man to go back to work, and Sedefo has to find out if he can start up the river, and if he does go, we must all pray to the ancestors because four men will be going from Gankwe, and [998]
the *Gran Sembe*—the village elders—have things to decide . . . "

Now, fearing that he might have said too much, he doubled his speed, and Bayo understood that the other preferred to be alone. They belonged to different clans, Bayo to the same as the headman of the tribe, and the Gankwe people to another. Gankwe was sending important men to take the Bakra up the river. The chief's own brother, Asikanu, was to go, although it was said he was [68A]
being sent out of the way while his adultery case was being settled. There had been talk about this case up and down the river. The Gankwe clan head had given a chief's [998]
sanctuary to the offender because he was his own brother, people said. Well, if the injured husband committed suicide as he threatened, and sent a kunu to the family of the brother, and even the village and clan, it would be an ugly thing. But so it was with trouble about women. It was as they said,

"*Sleep is death* [538]
Woman kills man."

He half chanted the proverb and smiled, for he looked 831
forward to his trip up the river with an eye to a visit in Lamé, where the women knew how to love. And he began singing the seketi song which he liked so well. Both the melody and the words were old, but he sang the refrain as if it were quite his own—whatever hardships there were on the river, at Lamé one slept with the women!

At the village of Akunkun an old man and a boy of 48A
about nine were at the landing place ready to start. Bayo

Littlankovits & Hankovits E-3 (1958-1959) 1934
[illegible] Bank Negroes [illegible]
Samaroca

recognized the coat of a village chief, and by the size of the boat he knew that it belonged to the upper river, far, far beyond the stretches he had yet penetrated.

He spoke the greeting in the faintest of whispers, out of deference to a man of age and rank, and stopped his boat, for this village belonged to his own clan, and it was here that he would get from his mother's sister the cassava bread which she had got ready for his journey up river. He got out of his boat gently; decorum demanded that he subdue his energy before the man of position. His palms rested on his knees for an instant, as he stood slightly inclined before the older man, and what questions he answered, he did in speech which was punctuated with the ceremonial stammering demanded by the occasion. He had put his toga-like cloth over him and stood hesitating whether or not to take his paddle to the village with him, for he was so well known here that this settlement was almost as familiar to him as his own. But at last he leaned down and took up his paddle. This mature formality, in a village where he was still often looked upon as a boy, was prompted perhaps by this meeting with the chief, or by the new feeling of confidence he had, since he was taking the Bakra's boat up the river. But here he was, going up the embankment with the firm, slow step of the stranger.

The old chief had already started, having first made his sacrifice of rum to the spirit of his boat by squirting it over the finely carved head which appeared in relief on the prow. And now, as he guided his canoe with the sure strokes of his large steering paddle, he sang his prayer.

"*Kediamo, Kediampon,*
Mother of the River,
Sacred ancestors, and m[illegible]a'ka,
I am taking this journey down the river,
I am going to the city,
Grant that I travel in safety,
Grant that the trip be joyous,
Grant that I meet with friends,

ON THE SARAMACCA RIVER

Grant that I walk with strangers in friendship,
Grant that the white man deal fairly with me.
Great Sky God,
Mother of the River,
Sacred ancestors,
I thank you."

Before the sound of the old chief's voice had died away, Bayo was on the bank again with the great disks of cassava bread in his arms. He covered them carefully and was on his way. His aunt had provided nicely for him. She had given him a large bottle of palm oil as well, and now, if he could but shoot a monkey or a macaw while going up the river, he would have excellent food. The Bakra would be certain to have a drink or two for his paddlers, and some leaf tobacco; and, though he himself was not old enough to snuff tobacco, he would save it for a gift to the father of his betrothed.

He went back to his seketi.

"Ma, a Lamé
A sib' ko' de muye."

On the bank of the next village several women were at work washing clothes. Were they young? Ah, but he must hurry. Twice he had been overtaken.

"Tia, odi! tia, odi! tia, odi!" He spoke to each of the three women separately and finished his "Adiosi" with an extra flourish, for he knew as he paddled away that the circle of cicatrized kamemba and the snake incised in the small of his back below it would gleam in the sun and look alive to the women who watched him make off.

That Lamé obia was a powerful thing!

2

At Gankwe they had been up all night, for yesterday was the eighth day after death, and that night the ceremony of B'oko Dei had to be cared for—until night met day, the villagers said, there would be Anansi stories, and then, after the dawn, the elders would hold council, for one's

965 head was clearest in the quiet of the early morning. A stillness so pronounced that we could feel it surrounded us at the base camp, for at Gankwe the drums had been replaced in the shrines of the gods for whom they speak, and no more guns saluted the spirit of Zimbi, or warned away the evil dead with the powder which was distasteful to ghosts. Zimbi was buried, the grave diggers had bathed [183] and put on fresh loin cloths, the village had been purified, and all was still.

512 From our shelter, watching the haze lift, we could see that the river had fallen; the tangled grasses at the bank showed fully a hand's breadth of fresh brown that had the day before been under water. With the coming of the sun things began to stir. The lizards appeared, the [231] chickens came to peck at our shoes, looking for crumbs, and boats began to make shadows across the opposite bank, as the Gankwe women in their small corials went to their fields. At the bow would be a little girl, or a yet smaller [868] boy—as young as four perhaps, for the older ones went with the men to learn a man's work—helping to take the boat up the fast water. All this went on quietly, until we espied three boats running down the rapids and pivoting about in the still water toward our landing place. As they 438 came nearer, we could see that the boats carried no load, and our host, the director of the balata-collecting station, explained that these boats were new and were being taken down river for sale.

"All the large boats come from top-side," he said. "The men take them clear around to the Marowyne River by way of the canals and there carry loads in them to the stations in the interior. The Saramacca men are fine canoe-men. They like them on the Marowyne. . . . You could 439 use a large boat for your trip up river. Maybe the man will sell one."

[142] [304] The man in charge of the little flotilla stood more than six feet tall. His face was intricately cicatrized, and he carried himself with a dignity and reserve that surpassed even the way of the village chiefs.

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Seeing him, our host gave an exclamation of pleasure. "But this is Ajako, the husband of Granman Yankuso's daughter!"

"*Kuma, Bakra. Kuma, Bakra maye*—Good morning, white man, good morning, white woman," he said, and our answer was, "*Ajako, kuma*—Ajako, good morning."

Had we awakened, no? This, in the Saramacca idiom, was how one asked if we were well, if we were alive, since the euphemism for death is sleep. We answered him in their patterned phrase.

"*Hafu so*," we said, using their equivalent for fairly well, only half so.

Ajako laughed. The white man had learned. "Are you no better? I hear the gods like you well," he replied.

And so the conversation went on, each giving account of himself.

Finally Ajako said, "Granman Yankuso waits for you, Bakra. He sends you his greetings, and says he will welcome you in Asindopo Lantiwe, his village. You have the freedom of the river. The village chiefs know of your coming. They will receive you. The river is not too high now, for top-side the rains are at an end. Here on the lower river, too, rocks that today are under water will appear tomorrow or the next day. The water is not too high now. The Granman sends word to you that you can start."

But what of him? Would he not come with us as our chief paddler, to show us the way through the many channels? But he smiled and said he was going to the Marowyne. He could not turn back, he told us, for he had the boats to sell, and money to earn there, while his wife was nursing her infant. When the child was seventeen, eighteen months old, then he would be back with his wife again, cutting new fields for her, and making children. While the infant was at the breast, he would be away working.

There was more talk, leading gently—*safri*, softly, as the Bush Negro himself says—to the subject of certain unfriendly villages. There were two of them up the river that

had not acted well toward the Granman. It would be best if we did not stop there. At the others the Granman could assure us hospitality. Then there was talk of hauling wood and making rafts, for our host, who knew these people well, moved safri, too, until he at last felt the moment had come to talk about buying a boat from Ajako.

When the arrangements of the sale were concluded, Ajako came back to talk with us. He had heard that we had a machine which the Kromanti spirit had broken, was it true? Did it really go again? They said the Bakra had much cunning. They said the Bakra knew African magic.

The Bakra said he knew something about Africa. The Ashanti people, for instance, were a fine people.

"*Ma na Asawie, na Sa'macca sem-* . . . .—But the Ashanti are Saramacca. . . . " But he would go no further, having spoken only one syllable of the word for people. He became guarded. Yes, there were some Anago people from Africa on this Saramacca River, and Dahomey, and Loango, and Fanti; the Ibo peoples were not on this river. . . . And again he would say no more. Later, when we had changed the subject, he said as if in both gratitude and explanation, "*Na se-i-'akisi, a tranga poi*—You ask about strong things."

But he would sing into our machine, if we liked. He would sing Kromanti, if we wanted him to do so. "I won't fight your machine," he said, smiling.

"*Anabobi, Anabobi,*
Anabobi, Anabobyo,
Tata Ando.
Anabobi, Ando,
Anabobi,
Tata Adjaisi,
Anabobyo
Tata Fa'aku."

"They will understand this in Africa," he said, gravely, and then he moved toward the doorway and stood there

looking out on the river. Whether it was a gesture that he would sing no more, or not, we could not say, but when he turned again to us he looked thoughtful. "White man, how far away is Africa? Would they kill me if I went there? Could I get a woman, if I went there?"

We sent him some food to his boat as an expression of hospitality, and word came back that when we had done eating, he would himself come and thank us. When he did come, it was to speak his thanks and to say goodbye, and he did not come alone. With him was the young man who was his traveling companion, and this young man carried gifts to us. Bayo, who had arrived a short time before, received the gifts of fig bananas and rice for us, as was the custom of these people, for to have given or received a gift in person would have been the way of a boor, just as it would have been bad form to stand about and watch us eat.

The leave-taking ritual, as that of greeting, is as formalized as a litany and almost as solemn.

"*Adiari, adiario—waka bon, yere. Tan bon*—Goodbye, travel well, hear! Keep well." Ajako carefully laid away his top cloth in his woven closed basket, straightened his loin cloth, and paddled away briskly from the landing.

Later, boats pulled up bringing the Gankwe men.

"Sedefo, we have a fine boat for you. It's large, and it will take a great deal of load. It's a new boat, just come down from top-side."

The men busied themselves with bringing our provisions from the shelter to the landing place so that the loading might begin. A tent had been made of palm leaves for the boat in which we ourselves were traveling, so that we might be shielded from the glare of the open river, from sunstroke and the sudden tropical downpours, and the men decided to load this boat first.

Now there was a murmur among the Gankwe men. Sedefo was passing his hands over the new boat, as though it were a human form, touching its "head," running his hands over the "ribs," the "belly." Then he balanced himself in it, and shook his head.

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501 609 "It is not good," he said aloud to us. "Its balance is not right. Look, it rolls . . . and besides, I have a kunu. I will go up in my own boat."

And so it was. Sedefo took his own boat up river, and another Gankwe boat was obtained, and there were four boats instead of three, and eight paddlers instead of six.

"Ya-hai! Kunu is costly for the white man as well as the black," Bayo said to Bibifo, his great-grandfather, for it was not his father, nor his grandfather, as he had later promised, who appeared to steer the boat in which Bayo was taking the Bakra and his woman up the river.

3

502 484 Bayo was at his best on the river. He loved it, and it treated him well. In the prow of the boat, swinging his pole-stick hand over hand, he steadily urged the boat upstream against the current, and sang as he poled.

[533] [539]

"*A-yai-yo,*
A-yai-yea,
Money is finished in Suriname
Lower Cayenna took it!
A-yai-yo,
A-yai-yea."

[533] Over and over he repeated the seketi, with tantalizing variations in rhythm and melody on the traditional air, to which he knew so many sets of words. In and out went the pole-stick. In, until it struck the sand with a soft caressing glide, then a hard push, and three short steps back along the boat until Bayo's hand reached the upper end of the wood, and a final thrust, then pull, and over, and in, and once again the three short steps.

The other boats had got ahead. In the distance close to the bank they followed one another.

"*Mbwogu, mbwogu*—Hurry!" said old Bibifo in back.

Bayo turned and grinned. "*Ai, mbwogu, mati, mbwogu*—Yes, hurry, friend, hurry," he twitted his great-grandfather,

but he did face about, and forgetting his seketi began to pole in earnest. 502 484

In a few moments his body glistened with the exertion, and over the circle and snake of kamemba in the small of his back the perspiration ran down in a trickle. When he had almost caught up he slackened his speed, and he and Bibifo talked about the river. Old Bibifo knew the river well. He was born beyond the Granman's country. A snake swam across the path of the boat, Bayo said. It was good luck. "See, look," he called. His eyes were sharp. The old man saw it, too, and then he called to us. There, close to the shore, a little ahead of us, a constrictor twined its tail about a liana, hanging head down, with a salamander slowly disappearing into its mouth. There was a slight jerk, the liana shook, the snake swallowed, and another bit of the salamander was out of sight. 484 [825] [777] [136]

Farther ahead we heard the report of a gun, and the crying of the mate of the wounded bird followed us for a long while. Bayo and Bibifo identified each cry, called by name the things that grew, planned about their timber rafts when they got back, until the next rapids were reached and passed and the conversation could be resumed, and then they talked about things which they did not care to have the Bakra know, and though they spoke none of the words of their ritual language, we could not understand anything they said. It was not until later that we learned to work out some of the elisions in their speech. [198]

A strip of sandy beach showed where a village stood, and as we passed it, we could see the azang, the spiritual guard of palm fronds, preventing evil spirits from entering the village. We saw also a strip of white hanging from the end of a stick which had been put up for the ancestors, and beyond, the low shelter for the roughly carved and weathered image holding an obia pot on its head. Under the azang the path stretched like a narrow ribbon which was soon lost as the walls of green converged. 778 789

"Is that another village?" we said, pointing at a pale stretch across the river. 361

361 "This is the entrance to the farm of a Gankwe family. And there, can you see? That's a broken village. Many people died there. The others left it. This happened when Bayo was small."

4

805 "How many hours, Bakra?" Bayo asked. He could tell time by the sun and guessed almost exactly. "They are stopping on the rocks there. It's time to eat."

264 The Bush Negro usually has two meals a day, one in the early forenoon and another at night after dark when work is over. He eats little. These men were on the river with us ten or eleven hours a day, poling upstream, loading and unloading the boats where the rapids were so high that it was impossible to take the heavily loaded boats across them, and what we saw them eat was some cassava bread [267] dipped in river water to soften it, and some cold rice with a little palm oil in it. They had no time to fish, and it was a bad year for fishing, too. Of game there was little. [224] A few toucans and a monkey were all they could get along the shore—game was scarce even in the deep bush. For more than a score of decades their ancestors had been shooting game along the river, and now the animals kept away.

In the other boats Asikanu was the first served.

"Look, here is your food."

The front paddler put a calabash filled with rice and some cassava bread on the water, and the stream carried it to Asikanu.

"Did you catch it?"

"Ai."

484 In Sedefo's boat the cassava cakes were green with mold. 261 One by one these disks of a finger's breadth in thickness and perhaps thirty inches in diameter were laid on the hot rocks to dry. On a trip such as this, enough must be taken to feed a man during his entire absence from home. Well in advance a man's wife, or his mother or sister, or a maternal aunt will be told of such a trip so that she may

have the necessary time to prepare the cassava. A man 484
cannot count on finding food to buy. Food is often scarce 861
and, especially when crops have not been good—a state of affairs these Bush Negroes know only too well—each household has need of all the food it has grown.

Asikanu, whose cassava bread was fresh, bathed in the 515
river and changed his dripping loin cloth, spreading out 484
the one he had removed so that it might dry. Bayo washed his second best cloth, for the sun was strong, and it was well to get it fresh and uncreased. So the men busied themselves getting their supplies in order for the journey which was not yet taxing, but would grow more difficult during the next few days, with heavy rapids, great distances between villages, and more exertion needed to strike a village before dark overtook them.

Even so it was time to be off, Sedefo decided, replacing 502
the cassava cakes—which in a few moments had lost their 484
mold—for the next rapids were something to be reckoned with. Again the four dugouts were on their way, and it was a brave sight to see the four pole-men swinging their long sticks with measured regularity, and the upward leaping three steps, and the down-running steps, and the seated paddlers dipping their carved blades into the water with a slight twist at the end of each stroke to counteract the effect of the push of the man at the bow, to keep the canoe headed straight into the current.

Ahead, in the leading canoe, the man at the bow waved [20]
his hand to us, indicating directions to our men. We could see him put the whole length of his pole in the water three times, then lay it along the gunwale of his dugout and, taking up his paddle, begin to stroke in time with the man at the stern of his boat.

"*Mfundu*," said Bayo to Bibifo. "Deep."

As we approached the deep water, Bayo with a fillip of his paddle sent our dugout heading into the stream, to be caught up by the current at the center and taken down and across by the impact of the water against the boat. The boats in front had done the same, had cut across to the

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502 other bank, and now as we reached the opposite shore, we
484 saw the small opening of a minor channel which we were to take. With astonishing nicety the tip of the juncture of the main stream and this smaller channel was reached at the same instant. Loin cloths were adjusted, and once more the pole-men took up their pole-sticks and continued the slow passage against the current.

484 The boats were now again traveling close to the bank, so that the details of the forest which fringed the river could be clearly seen. Straight from the water rose the
[133] wall of sheer green, all of a dark, almost dull purplish color—a wall of fifty, a hundred, a hundred and fifty feet and more, as the lianas dropped down from the upper branches of the great trees which gave these parasitic growths their support. Here and there we saw a brilliant wing of a bird, and a Bush Negro, ever ready to augment
[411] his meager food supply, would unlimber an ancient shotgun, steady himself, and shoot. In Sedefo's canoe, Angita, his pole-man, saw a blue and golden macaw silhouetted as it sat on a slender branch. Out came the shotgun. The macaw, startled but unhit, flew to another branch farther upstream. We crept slowly, noiselessly ahead, and when we were close by Angita shot again, and missed again. The macaw now did not trouble to fly away, and when Angita made aim once more, Sedefo stopped him.

[825] "No, mati—Let him be, friend. The gods are protecting him. Put away your gun."

Again we cut across, as we regained the wide channel, this time so that the men might speak their errand to the spirit of their great ancestor, the god of the large creek. We did not go too close, however, and all we could see was an azang again, the spiritual guard of palm fronds, and beyond the whitened trunk of a tree and a slender stick with a bit of white cotton attached to its end.

Sedefo spoke conversationally. "*Avo*—ancestor—we are
[782] going up the river. We are working for the American Bak'a. We are on our way to the G'ama's country. Grant

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that we walk the Bak'a with pleasure, that he treat us well, that we walk in safety. Thank you." 484 [982]

The men in the other canoes, who had gathered about Sedefo's boat, clapped their hands, as Sedefo had done, and said "Thank you," then took up their paddles.

We had noticed that when Sedefo spoke, Bibifo's lips had moved, as though he were either repeating the prayer, or speaking his own, but when the others joined in the voiced "Gran' tangi!" he was silent.

"Did you pray, Bayo?" we asked. Yes, he had. He had prayed for us, too. Did Bibifo also pray for the white man? But before Bibifo could answer, Bayo laughed aloud.

"Bibifo is *kerki suma*—a church man. Call him Adrian, it will please him. I call him Bibifo, nothing else."

"And you, Bayo?"

"I—you will take me with you to Africa. I want to learn African obia, and come back to the Saramacca, and be a big obia man here on the river." [152]

5

Old Bibifo accepted his great-grandson's jibes with good humor. We were sorry for the old fellow who was so little at ease with the other men, and was so mercilessly twitted by the youngster in the bow. 888 522 578

If the old man were to make a suggestion to him about a channel which Bayo had decided against, then he would turn brazenly, and exclaim, "Massa cow!" This is part of the proverb which says that a man who owns the cow has the best right to say where it shall graze. If Bibifo objected when Bayo attempted to do something that seemed impossible, he would face about smilingly and say, "The power which has raised the monkey from the ground and taught it to live safely in the trees is not dead yet." [538]

"Bibifo," we said, making conversation with the old man, "Why do we go close to the shore?"

"In the center the current is swift and the river deep. When we go in the center, then we use only paddles. It is 502 484

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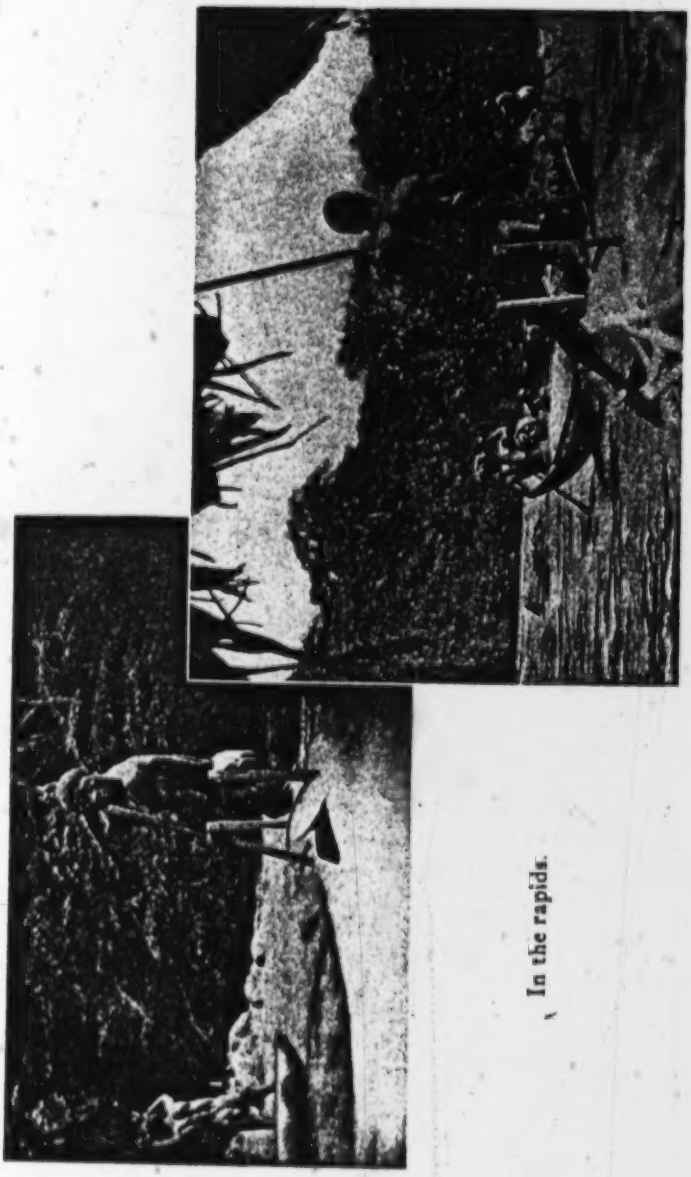

In the rapids.

[Facing P. 58]

502 498 too deep for the pole-stick. When we go in the center, it is slow. . . . *Koti go!*—Cut across!" he shouted in his shrill voice, as our boat and the others after us veered over to the other side of the stream where the current was less strong.

"How do you know just where these places are?" we asked. "There are so many channels, so many islands. How can you tell?"

"*Ma, kye!* What would you? I belong to this bush. An old man knows his river."

Steadily the boats went ahead in this long, quiet stretch. For fully half an hour the men worked in silence, doggedly going upstream close to the bank, until under the shade of a tree they saw a boat resting.

"Tio, odi! Tio, odi!" Each of our men addressed the two in the boat.

[576 609] "Tangi, tio! Tio, odi," they answered each one, until finally they said, "Odi, Bak'a," greeting the stranger last, as was the custom.

Our men explained, "We are going to the Saramacca country, up the river to the Granman. We are carrying the Bakra to the Granman. They belong to America country. They traveled in a fire ship for twenty-one nights and days to come to the Saramacca. Twenty-one nights and days, mati, without resting. *G'an sundyi*—A great state of affairs."

The man said, "We come from the Marowyne. The river is high. The next rapids are difficult. Let us travel together."

And so we were five canoes. Ahead, we could already hear the dull murmur which would soon crescendo to the final roar. This was the water pouring over the first rocks in the distance.

"What rapids are these?"

[823 796] "We must not talk about this here. Wait until we pass them. If we speak the name, the spirit will come, and he will be angry. The boat might go over. We might lose part of our load."

Now we came closer to the line of white, which rose higher and higher. Except for the bits of white foam like

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saliva coming downstream, the water below the rapids gave in its calmness little hint of the turbulence beyond. The boats gathered for a discussion. 502 484

"This is the best place."

"No, here."

"There, to the side."

The bow men had jumped out and were reconnoitering, shouting at each other from their respective rocks. At last the strangers' ideas prevailed. At the side was best, there, close to the shore, but an overhanging branch or two would have to be struck off. Bayo swam back to our boat to get his machete and, wading up the stream along the bank, slashed at the obstruction. He struck again, and the limb bent, struck once more, and down it fell, coming toward us with lightning rapidity as it was caught by the full force of the current.

"Look out, look out!" Sedefo shouted, as the jagged point made for the boat of the strangers. But the men had already perceived the danger to their canoe, and one of them had jumped into the water and caught at some twigs, diverting the main branch so that it only grazed the side.

Now all was clear, and they were ready to start. The heaviest boat, that of the strangers, would be the first to go. Both the men in it took up poles and, with a firm shove, their boat was in the thick of it.

"Ha'i! ha'i!" they cried, and first the prow man would force the boat slowly forward, and then would hold the advantage he had gained while the pole-man in the stern caught his stick in the rocky bottom and pushed with a force that bent the strong wood.

Our men stood by, ready to help.

"The boat is slipping!" Sedefo cried.

And it was true. Into the roaring water jumped Bayo and Angita, and swam out to reach the boat which was losing more and more ground and might at any instant crash downwards. Balancing themselves on the slippery rocks, half wading, half swimming, they grasped its sides and pulled in unison with the pole-man's urging "*Hali!*

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kali, ba!—Haul! haul, brother!" Now they had stopped its backward motion. "Hali!" Now the boat gained headway. "Hali!" And this time the prow tilted clear over the top of the rapids and, with another push and another, it was in the still water above.

Three men and not two returned to take our boat, for we were next, being next heaviest, and only one man was needed to keep the boat that had been through the dangerous stretch in its place in the quiet water. In climbed Bayo, and Sedefo took the old man's position. Into the water jumped the other two, this time swimming through the fast water farther away from shore to where some rocks projected from the white foam. For Sedefo had different ideas about the best passage. We were, in fact, to try to make it where the force of the water was greatest, near the center of the stream.

"*Koti go! Okai no mo, okai no mo!*—Cut across! Cut over more, more!" shouted Sedefo as we headed across and down the river toward a partly submerged rock.

"Massa Nengere, 'kai no mo!"

"Kai, kai, mati!"

With a grunt, he pushed in his pole-stick just as we reached it, holding fast as the boat swung about, and Bayo once more dug among the rocks on the bottom to obtain a fresh grip.

"*Okai, okai!*—Turn, turn!" he shouted above the noise of the water. The cries were frantic, but Sedefo knew the river too well for it to trick him, and as the head of the boat was about to be caught and swirled broadside against another rock, the first of the men from the other boats caught it and righted it about. It was as he had planned.

"Hali!" and, with four pairs of strong arms tugging, we could feel the pull as the boat went forward amid the white-capped water. "Hali!" and the quiet of the river above the falls could be seen just beyond the prow. "Hali!" and we, too, were in still water.

The old man again took his place in our boat, and Sedefo went back to bring his own dugout through. The three

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smaller boats were to be brought up each by its own men. Each selected a place, and the shrill shouted directions could be heard above the falling water. Up, up, they came, the man at the stern holding with his stick, the man at the head up to his shoulders in water, tugging, pulling, hauling the boat over. Once Asikanu's pole slipped, and his boat swung toward a rock, but it caught again and he held it with the fierceness of a man defending himself against an enemy, and then he, too, cut across and found the firmness of the friendly sandy bottom. 502-484

But when the five boats were at last together above the falls, out came machetes to sharpen the ends of the pole-sticks, for an encounter such as they had had the moment before shredded the hard wood into fiber.

Ahead the water was still. The hard work of this day was over. The men straightened their loin cloths and again began to make their way along the banks of the river. The village where we would camp that night was somewhere before us. The sun was nearing the treetops, and the shrieking pairs of parrots were flying over us to the west, seeking their roosting places. [136]

The short dusk was upon us.

"It is not far," said Bayo, speaking of the village ahead.

"Will we get there before dark?"

"*Massa Gadu sabi*—God alone knows."

"*No fe', Bak'a*—Don't be afraid. We know the river."

The Bush Negro and his river! Seeing the prodigious strength of the men, their great knowledge of current and rocks and channels, one was not afraid. Softly the pole-sticks slid into the sand banks, softly the paddles dipped, and Bayo sang his seketi. [533] [539]

"*N'an g'wa a Lamé*
A s'ib' ko' de muye."

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Chapter IV

KUNU

I

501
872 EVENTS on the river, as it turned out, showed Sedefo's fears of the large boat that rolled, and of his kunu, only too well grounded. It was to him that there occurred the only mishaps of the entire up-river journey. That what happened proved to be no more serious was, according to the general understanding of our men, to be credited to that personal boat of Sedefo's, whose spirit he had tried on many journeys, and had propitiated with offerings of sacred rum and prayer.

It was also whispered among our men that the Bakra's magic from Africa—a wholly imaginary thing, but which explained to the Bush Negroes our ability to do or withstand things that were not expected of us—had something to do with it, too. For kunu was kunu, and the one in Sedefo's family had shown its hand but too many times of late. Had not the family lost another man only a few months earlier? Had not Zimbi just been buried? And Zimbi's wife, dead less than a year before.

Thanks, then, to his boat, Sedefo's life had been spared. It was not for nothing that he had taken every care when making this boat, that before he had felled the log out of which he had made it, he had addressed himself to the spirit of the tree, explaining that he had need
[782] of its wood for a boat, that he would therefore cut it down. He had rendered his thanks for the spirit's permission, as

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was needful, and since then he had often made prayer to his boat, and the boat had carried him safely. 501 822 [182]

But this is what happened.

On our fourth day up the river we were on our way early, because the men said the falls ahead were difficult, and they wanted to be through them before they stopped to eat. It took us more than an hour to pass the rapids, for the land rose higher and higher, and the water cascaded from one ledge to the next, often in curving channels of swift water that were too deep to allow the use of pole-sticks, and too swift for the paddles to cope with. 502 489 [133]

There were also those stretches which were without the piled rocks to give the men a footing for pulling the boats over, so that a rope had to be used, and the going was slow and treacherous. Each of the dugouts had this long rope fastened to its prow, and ahead, on the first ledge, were two or more of the men, the other end of the rope in hand, waiting for the signal to start hauling, while holding on to the sides of the boat as they swam were as many men as could be spared, so that if the rope broke, the boat would not be swept downstream, to go crashing against the rocks. These men who faced the fast water of their river, worked as though at the sight of it their Kromanti fighting spirit had entered their bodies, as if not men were there, but an impersonal force pitting itself against the force of the river. Even where the water was not too deep, and they could haul the boat, care could not be slackened for an instant—a wrong turn, and the boat would be capsized, or, what would be as serious, the impact of a rock might cut a gash in its side or bottom, filling it with water faster than they could manage to bring it to a bank. But at last the sound of the falling water was behind us, and the men, once they were in the still water again, went on with the casualness that they fell into with their river when the danger was over, and cast about for a pleasant place to stop and eat.

All at once there was a shout from behind us. Each boat echoed it shrilly. What's that? Whose boat?

REBEL DESTINY

502 484 931 It was Sedefo's boat, there in the distance, tilted to one side in what looked to us like still water. The other canoes turned and paddled furiously to reach him, but he had righted his boat before they could come alongside him, and was off down the river to recover what he had lost. The water had claimed the basket back of the tarpaulin-covered load, and a carved paddle which had slipped off when the canoe tilted. The basket belonged to Sedefo. It held his food for the journey up river and the downgoing. The paddle was also his—the finest he had—and had been intended for ceremonial usage when he called as spokesman for us on village heads asking for a night's hospitality, and particularly at the Granman's village, and still later on the way home, when he brought political messages in behalf of his clan to friendly clans along the way he passed. He also lost his best cloth; it was not just a piece of striped cotton a man bought in the white man's store; it had been patiently and dexterously pieced together from many pieces [291] of cloth, plain and striped, in a pattern which was known to the ancestors. His young second wife had made it for him. Her first child was an infant at her breast. When she heard about this, she would think of Sedefo's kunu, and be afraid. Was it so big a kunu that it would punish a child of his wife's family, too?

This is what the men said while the boats waited for Sedefo to return from his vain search down the rapids. The [296] men had not expected him to recover the things lost. When kunu took, there was nothing that could be done. And it was kunu. The *Bakra-sani*—the white man's things—had remained in the boat unharmed! We looked at the few rocks against which the boat had crashed. They showed plainly above the water, and the current about them made so small a break in the still water that the spirit of this ruffled piece had never disclosed its name, had never before received notice. The three other canoes had gone through without even the grunts from the paddlers which came when the going was hard, for all that was necessary was to go straight for the rocks, let the current swing the boat

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around, give a strong thrust with the pole-stick, and the canoe was through—a bit of child's play. 502 484 n31

We were soon again to see Sedefo's kunu strike. This time it was almost at dusk. The men, it appeared, would not be able to make the village we had planned on for the night. In half an hour it would be dark, and here we were fully two hours' fast traveling from our intended destination. Overhead clouds were coming up from the east. The sky was rapidly becoming overcast. Rain—and everywhere the impenetrable wall of green, rising dark and forbidding. To make camp where we were would have taken at least two hours, and it was growing darker and darker. The men refused to clear the underbrush in the dark.

It seemed, however, that five minutes upstream on the opposite bank and only a little to the south of where we had stopped to talk things over was a village, the name of which when we heard it we recognized as one of the two we had been asked not to visit. There was nothing to do but to brave the displeasure of the Granman and stop there; so turning we headed our boats toward the opposite shore.

In midstream a great wind came up, a wind that in suddenness and force is only met in the tropics. The men shrieked and shouted and struggled until our boats reached shore. But Sedefo's boat, which was the second, seemed to be lifted bodily out of the water. We could see a black mass being heaved up . . . the black tarpaulin was overboard going downstream, and Sedefo after it. [132]

The wind subsided as quickly as it had sprung up, and when Sedefo came back sometime later, he carried the dripping tarpaulin on his head. He did not drink the rum we gave to warm him, but poured it over his hands and his boat as an offering. [180]

The next day we talked with Bayo about kunu. 502 484 n2

"Why is it, Bayo, that Sedefo lost his food in the still water? Was it because he felt safe and didn't take care in such small rapids?"

"No," he said promptly, "that's how kunu works. A man travels on the river all his life. He goes over small

502 rapids and large rapids. He carries loads and returns to
484 his own village. But then something happens. His boat is
996 good. He walks *koni*—carefully—but he loses his food, or his entire load, or his boat, or even his life. Something is working against him. It might be *wisi*—bad magic; it
[054] might be kunu. If you have kunu, then your enemies can make their bad magic work against you. So it is."

"But what is kunu, Bayo?"

He hesitated.

124 We assured him that there was no harm in our asking.
996 We had been hearing so much about it, first about Zimbi, and how he had died from a cut with his machete. Now this machete had worked for him since he was a boy, and then he cut himself, and then, having cut himself, he became sick and died. People said down below this was kunu. What did it mean?

But he still hesitated and looked about him until at last when he spoke, he gave the answer we were coming to know so well—"*Massa Gadu sabi*—God knows"—that answer that was the signal that not alone Massa Gadu, but the one who invoked his name in protection against Bakra questions, knew the answer quite well but meant to keep his own counsel. For to talk of these matters is not good, we had been told before by Sedefo.

It was Bibifo who brought up kunu again when Bayo stepped out of the boat for an instant.

"Better not talk to Bayo about kunu, Bakra. There is a very big kunu in Bayo's family. He does not mean to lie to the Bakra when he doesn't talk, but it is better for him not to tell you about it. We Saramacca people say: 'A snake bit me. I see a worm, I am afraid.' Do not ask him more."

2

538 But the Bush Negro has many sayings, and it was a different proverb from that which Bibifo had quoted to us that guided us in our tortuous course in search of an understanding of kunu.

KUNU

"*Na wa' taki: Efi gbuli wolo, i sa ri san de na ini.*—It is said: If a person stirs up a hole, he will find what is in it." 538

And so it was that very night, when we were camped on an island near the great falls, with the roar of the water sounding in our ears like the very signal drums we were told the river gods wanted sounded that the sun might come and warm and dry them after the long rains, that we learned more. Kasanya, the captain of the fourth boat, had conducted himself so unobtrusively that we barely knew he was there. He was almost as old as Bibifo, but strangely silent. He was tall and spare, with graying hair, and eyes that were rimmed with red. We had not sought him out particularly to make conversation with him because he had ugly, open sores on his body, the result of a virulent case of bush yaws, which showed when he sat paddling in his loin cloth. We had known him during our first year when he had been more willing to be friendly, more ready to talk. From him, in fact, we had learned to play one of the Bush Negro games that the ancestors had brought from Africa. 124 [177] [524]

Kasanya came over to ask us whether we had medicine for him. His head ached so until . . . he could barely see. There is that about white man's medicine in the bush, it is to be had free, and there is no harm in trying it. 123 609

"Will you make us a game board like the one we bought from your village last year, Kasanya?" we asked him.

"Yes, but you must have two of them, one flat and one curved like a boat. It is not good to have only one. When a man is alive he plays the game. When he dies and comes back to visit the living, he wants to play, too. Now if there is a board for him, he will play on that. But if there is but the one, he will play with the living and that is not good." 775 524

"You know a great deal, Kasanya."

"Awa, yes, but I'm an old man already. I've had much trouble. Last year after you left the third son I made died. Now I have no one. Kunu has taken the three of them, and my wife is asleep, too." [976]

REBEL DESTINY

524 The man looked so moved by what he told us that we had qualms about continuing the conversation with him about his dead family, and so we asked him about the game board. "Why is it, Kasanya, that young Amnika of your [320] village said he could not make us a game board, fine carver that he is? You yourself know that the board is just a piece of wood with holes in it for the seeds. It is not beautiful; there are no decorations on it."

765 "It is because he is young. His hair isn't white like mine. 524 Making an adji board is a big thing. It's not a little thing. It is on this we play when the body of the dead lies in the house of mourning to entertain his spirit, his yorka. Only [554] an old man who has lost his wife may make a board for this game which is played for the dead."

"But suppose he did make it?"

[176] "Then he would get a kunu, Bakra," he said with an impatient cluck which was intended to deplore the white man's inability to understand simple things.

776 And so again we came to kunu, and since he himself had brought it up, we decided to stir the hole once more to see what was in it. Kasanya talked with less hesitation than we had come to expect. It is easier for an older man who has had experience with the spirits and knows their ways to talk about the supernatural. He understands what he may and may not do, and then, too, with his greater knowledge he can tell more without offending the spirits who disapprove of a man's telling too great a part of his store.

"Yes, Bakra, kunu is a difficult thing for you, a white man, to understand. But we black people know what brings kunu. Many things bring kunu. Look, I made three children. Fine men all three. One died, the second died, the third died. . . ."

688 This was his story. His wife's mother's brother brought the curse on his family. He had cut a new field, and the trees he had felled and the brush he had cut had been lying for some time, as was proper, that the dead wood might [241] be burned off to clear the ground so that the ash might enrich the soil.

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enrich the soil. Now before a field is chosen for cutting, it must be surveyed carefully to see that there are no snakes to be injured; that no trees which have strong spirits like the silk-cotton tree, or the parasitic akatasi, will be destroyed; that no ant hill whether on the ground or on a tree be disturbed. But Kasanya's wife's mother's brother was careless, or unlucky. A small ant hill had escaped his notice.

"The *Akantamasu* god is powerful. It is a bad god," Kasanya said over and over, making of it a refrain to his story.

When the ant hill was destroyed, its spirit fixed itself upon the family. Kasanya's wife's mother became ill, and although the contents of one obia pot after another were used up in bathing her with sangrafu and the serabaki and chembe leaves, she did not get better. Her husband, an able obia man, made special charms for her to wear about her neck, and sprinkled her with medicine with the feather of the sacred ôpete, the vulture, but still her illness kept on. At last they went to a diviner. To the village of Dahomey they went, the village where the most powerful obia was lodged, and there she learned that the Akantamasu god had come to the family. The diviner told her how to serve the god so that she might have respite—the days that were sacred to him, the dances she must dance on these days, the sacrifices to make. They knew that it would never be a friendly god to them, for it had come as a kunu. There was more trouble and more. The family gave many offerings, and the possessed woman danced whenever the spirit seized her, but soon she died, and the others have been dying since.

"What happened to the man who destroyed the ant hill? Did he get the Akantamasu gadu?"

"No, not he himself. His mother, and his sister, and his sister's children."

"But why?"

The answer was that kunu worked that way, and he went on to tell us about his sons. The first son had gone to the

688 Marowyne to earn money that he needed for marrying. He was in good health, and he learned about the river "*so te*—until . . . " he knew how to travel on the river safely. But after he had been away only a short time, word came to Kasanya's village that he was ill, and before he could be brought home, he died. They brought back his hair and nail clippings so that his spirit might rest among [764] his own people. They held a big *dede wosu*—wake—for him for six days in the village, with the little coffin and the offerings which were to accompany the spirit, and dancing and Anansi stories and the adji game, just as though he had died at home. There were many guns, too. Everything was done, and the spirit of the dead son was asked to help the family against the kunu which was brought to them by the deed of his mother's mother's brother.

The second son died in the bush. His own gun went off accidentally as he tripped on a hidden liana and killed him, [789] though Kasanya had provided him with all the hunting [224] obias a man would want, and he himself had a strong Kromanti spirit, so that no gun was supposed to have power to hurt him. The third was married when he died. His boat went over in the rapids. His body was never recovered.

782 "Tomorrow we shall all go and pray to the Mother of the River that she carry us well, that our journey be pleasant, that we reach the Granman's village safely. . . . There across the river is her shrine."

3

761 It soon became clear that two things dominate the fore-
796 ground of the spiritual life of the bush—death and kunu. In
688 the last analysis, however, the two are perhaps but one force, for kunu slowly, inexorably, brings death to one member after another of the offender's kin, and it is largely the dead ancestors and the gods who are responsible for the meting out of kunu, in order that the ancient traditions and beliefs may go on. And so it was that daily, and many times daily, incidents not of our special seeking arose to document our knowledge of kunu.

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KUNU

We sat one night talking about the neku vine, which is 278
used to poison the streams for fishing, and the ceremonies 226
attending the discovery of a new one, how the ownership of it is passed on in the female line, and about the songs which are sung to celebrate the finding, and the feast which is given at this time.

"Do you use this poison only to catch fish, or does it have other uses?" we asked guardedly.

"Well, sometimes people use it to commit suicide," one man said. "That is bad. Sometimes a man or a woman will [763] do it to put a kunu on another's family." He went on to tell of a man who lately did this. He had been promised the daughter of a family in this very village when the girl was a small, small child. It happened that the girl's uncles found gold in one of the streams, for which the white man gave them much goods, and now they were big men. Since the girl's children would inherit much wealth, they wanted her to be the principal wife of a man of rank. There were messages back and forth, and council meetings, but the uncles insisted that the girl return the gifts she had received —insisted against the advice of many people. So this *kio*, [627] this young lad, could get his revenge in no other way than by taking his own life, and sending a kunu to the family. 776
"The next time you come you will probably see the kunu 754
at work. It is always so. Of what use is wealth when the children begin to die? One year the crops are bad, and you have to buy food. One year you go from one obia man to the next to find out why your sister cannot make children. Your money goes. Kunu is a bad thing."

Another day a woman came to us with a comb to sell. 439
She had heard that we were gathering pieces to put into a large house where carvings from Africa were being shown, and she wanted us to have this comb of hers which was [584] made as a betrothal gift by her husband who was now many years dead. It was an old comb with several broken tines and holes bored into it by insects, but the decorated end was still very beautiful, and we were eager to buy it. When we 439
asked her to explain to us the meaning of the design, she 532

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said, "It is not a woman and a snake, as you might imagine from this," and she indicated one or two lines of the design. "We do not carve the snake in my family. We have a *tchina*—a taboo—against carving snakes, for snakes are our kunu. . . . Years ago my brother went to the French shore and worked for a white man. The white man asked him to kill a snake, and he was afraid, but the white man laughed at him, and because he had a weak ak'a, because his soul was not strong, he killed the snake. If he had told us about it and had sent a piece of the snake, we would have held a burial, as would have been right. But he did not do as he should have done, and so now the snake is not a good spirit for us. We must give it offerings, and dance kunu. It is bad to have a weak soul. My brother did a bad thing, and now I and all my children, and my daughters' children, and their daughters' children on and on will have this kunu."

Farther up the river, in the deep interior, we stopped at the village of Opoku. As we walked to the house of the village head to give him our greetings, we noticed an unusually large house. It was a *liba-wosu*, a house with an upper story, more substantially built than any we passed, and ornamented with elaborate carvings, as were all personal houses of the men. The owner of it, we heard, had been dead eight months. Four more would need to go by before it could be entered. It had been owned by a powerful man, and his belongings were many. We could see some of them through the openings between the slats which formed its walls—an apinti drum, magnificently carved, tall earthen demijohns of rum, boxes, the edge of a metal canister and a lamp. Inside there were guns, and machetes, and native carved paddles, and implements.

Our men joked about the contents of the demijohns as they passed, speculating on the strength of the rum when the containers were opened, and when we asked about the house later—whether, for instance, we could not buy the drum, we were told that the twelve-month interval between a man's dying and the dividing of his property was not yet passed. When the time came, his brothers and sisters

KUNU

when The Time came, his brothers and sisters
and sisters' children would gather to divide what wealth 428
there was. The greatest share would, of course, go to the 168
brother who would marry the widow, but all the others [587]
would get something.

"And his children, the children he made, would they get anything?"

"Why no, the children he made are his wife's children. They belong to the family of his wife!"

"But suppose he cared for them very much. . . ."

"Then he might have made them some presents now and then when he was alive, but even then some people say it is better not to give them too much. When a man dies his possessions go to his family. If this man's children, who really belong to his wife, were to take things now, they would get a kunu for it, and they might get another kunu which the father had, for if they got his possessions, his kunu would go to them, too, and there would perhaps be one in their own family that had come to them through their mother. No man or woman wants this."

It is kunu, then, which sees to it that the tribal law of succession and inheritance through the female line is not [611] violated.

4

There was the case of Asikanu, our paddler, who was the 115
brother of the head of an important clan, which gave us still another instance of the workings of kunu. Asikanu was, in his own right, not a negligible figure. When his brother died, it might be he who would succeed to the headship of the clan. When the other paddlers wanted things of us, they would come to ask in his name. "It is not a small thing when Asikanu asks," they would say. "He is a big man; he is the brother of our chief. You must not refuse him."

Asikanu had a way with the women, although it would 684
have been best if at least one of them had resisted him. She was married, and, when her husband discovered her infidelity, she went to Asikanu. Now this was as it should

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684 [796] be. The Earth Mother, who is the giver of fertility, takes the adulterous woman who is with child under her protection, and no one may harm her. But the guilty man must make redress to the betrayed husband. Fines must be paid by the adulterer, and there is the beating which the husband administers. This beating has its ritual. The culprit, at the time that is set, comes out to the place where the injured husband and his family wait. They attack him with bare fists, although the Kromanti arm obias are sometimes slipped down on clenched hands, and with these serious wounds can be inflicted. With or without the iron arm bands, the beating is a serious matter, and the man who has committed the trespass is severely mishandled, unless he can get away from his assailants and run into the bush. In the bush he has sanctuary, and at the end of some time may come back to his village. The gods will not give a weakling husband, or one who is not clever enough to take his revenge when it is offered, a second chance.

At times this beating is a merry affair. This happens when the adulterer's family tries to protect him, and then the matter becomes a two-family brawl, or, if the village is a [628] large one with more than one clan substantially represented in it, it may become a fight between two clans. Once, in a village near the railhead, a man was killed in such a fight, and then white police stepped in, and the murderer went to prison.

[622] [778] A chief, however, can give the culprit sanctuary, and Asikanu, being a chief's brother, was protected by the chief while negotiations were being carried on in his behalf. Now he was sent away from home to be one of our paddlers so that the enraged husband might be dealt with—time helps to cool anger. This was important in Asikanu's case, since the husband of the woman who had gone to Asikanu would consent to no fine, however large, and seemed, 776 furthermore, to have misgivings about the manner in 762 which the ritual beating would be conducted. "I will kill 684 myself," he had been heard to declare. "I will kill myself, 754 and give them all kunu. My *yorka*—ghost—will come to

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trouble them, and I will give the family a kunu, and the clan, too, because the chief has shielded him. I am powerless against the chief. I will kill myself."

A clan kunu is a thing to dread. It must be averted, whatever the hazards. And so, while they held council at Gankwe with the husband and his family, Asikanu was away with the Bakra. . . .

At Apresina an old woman sent word that she wished to see us. She was so old and so ill that we had to cross half the length of the village to come to her, so that she might see what a white man and a white woman were like.

"Well, how is it in the city?" she asked. "How is it among you whites?"

She had heard, she told us, that everything was quiet in the city, that it was as if people slept night and day. Crops did not grow as they should. People were sick. Was it so? And without waiting for us to answer, she spoke again.

"But it must be so. So many, many black people took their own lives, before the time of running away. There must be kunu there." She assured us that it had to be so. How else but that the children of those whites should pay for the old abuses? . . .

And in the Granman's village we heard of kunu again.

"Do you know what they say in the city?" Granman Yankuso said one late afternoon, addressing several of his favorite village chiefs. "They say we are good men here in the bush, because we believe in kunu. In the city, where they do not believe in kunu any more, they are not afraid to use magic to enrich themselves, or hurt their neighbors. In the city they say that, friends."

There were the usual responses from the chiefs.

"So it is."

"True, true."

"Yes, master of the realm."

We looked out at the shadows across the carved door of the council house, that superb rendering of the Earth Mother and her attendant symbols of procreation and abundance, beyond into the great clearing where we could

776 754 see the shrines to the ancestors and gods. All about were the many houses of the Granman with the elaborately carved posts figuring his emblem. Under the shade trees the widow was pounding rice. She wore old clothes, and, since she [765] would soon be out of mourning, they were almost in rags. The mourning band about her hair was also old.

The Granman's eyes must have followed ours, must have seen us study the outlines of the carving, and must have followed us to the shrines and the woman, for his voice changed, and now he repeated in a ruminating voice, "Yes, here we believe in kunu."

[192] "Ya-hai!" was the noncommittal reply from his listeners.

The Granman looked now into the faces of his trusted chiefs. He looked steadily and long, searching in the semidarkness of the house for a betraying expression, as the chiefs sat on the low stools against the farther wall, their faces averted, as was seemly.

"Well, friends, kunu has made an end of my family. Is it not so? But the clan will go on. The clan's rule is not ended. Up and down the river tell them that, friends. Kunu has brought my family to an end. With me our family rule is finished. That is right. But the clan will go on."

The customary interpolations followed each phrase. Then singly the chiefs took their leave. Rising slowly, after [576] they had received permission to depart, and with body bent, their hands touching their knees, each spoke his farewell.

In the light their ceremonially anointed bodies glistened like polished ebony. Swift and straight each made his way down the clearing and into a side path which led to the river, where the boats were fastened.

"Fine men, these," said the Granman to us after a silence. "And you, have you kunu in your country? . . . "

5

996 But even after these and many more instances of kunu had come to us, and even though we had snatched a few sentences of explanation from one man and from another, the essential nature of kunu still eluded us. Was kunu, then,

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the vengeance of the gods? Was it conscience? Was it morality? Was it destiny? Was it all of these, traditionalized into one abstract philosophical concept which, for the average Bush Negro, was no more formulated than are the underlying sanctions of any civilization to the vast majority of people who live in it? We sought out Bayo again, Bayo, who had the great kunu, to see what light his own experience would shed. 776

"Almost everyone has some kind of kunu, Bayo," we said. "Now why is it that Sedefo, who has a kunu, is so careful, while you who, let us say, also have a kunu, seem not to take any notice?"

We had, as a matter of fact, often wondered about this. Why was Bayo so sure on the river? Why did he carry himself like a man so much older than he really was? What was behind his great self-confidence? Was it luck? Was it a temperamental carelessness? We had watched his amazing strength in taking up our boat almost singly through the rapids, for Bibifo was so old that when he tried to hold the boat in the current, his arm could give no steadying power to the paddle, and the pole-stick he was too old to use at all. Was it all his luck? Our luck?

He answered circumspectly. Let us suppose, he explained, that in making him his father and mother had incurred the greatest kunu of all—the kunu that comes from incest. Now, in that case, he, as a child of such a relationship would be a *gomi*, a "child of the earth," for he would belong twofold to the land which was in the possession of his clan, and thus would be doubly a clan member. He would, therefore, be protected by the spirits. For the gods, it appeared, declared a truce with the child of such a union and gave him a pass of free conduct among the world of spirits. But the children of a man such as this . . . but here he stopped. 835 588 776

"You know," he said, with his delightful smile, "A man who has a kunu like that doesn't talk about it. Kunu aren't talked about. He might not get a wife. . . . "

REBEL DESTINY

6

776 [115] Fa'aku was chief of his clan. He was a handsome man, with a quick, clever eye, and a reputation for great honesty everywhere on the river. To him we appealed for more light on kunu. We had met him in his village on our way upstream and we had seen him in the tribal council house when we had sat at the great krutu held there by Granman Yankuso. When we stopped again at Fa'aku's village on our way down the river—this village that was so close to Dahomey, the seat of magic—it was evident that the gods favored us. We had come safely through the great rapids. We had stayed at Asindopo Lantiwe in good health, and the spirits had even spoken for us through some of the women whom they had possessed. Fa'aku spoke with greater freedom than we had yet met with.

"There are different kinds of kunu, and some are big and are very bad; but some are small and do not make much trouble," he began.

835 776 588 681 The greatest kunu came from making a child with a member of one's own family, with one's true, true sister or, what would be almost as bad, with a child of one's mother's sister. Murder was a great kunu, too, and perhaps next to that was the kunu that came to the Bush Negro if he informed to the white man against one of his own kind. Then there were the kunu that one got for false accusation, and for repeated stealing, and even for lying, if it were done too much. For lying is not good, lying makes too much trouble among people. And there were many more kinds of kunu, some of which he mentioned. Killing a snake or a tiger and not burying it with honor brought on a kunu, and cutting down a silk-cotton tree was kunu.

776 When a big kunu came into a family, it wiped it out. One by one the members of the family died. Men died, women died, and children were never born, or they died when they were small. "This goes on until the family is finished," Fa'aku said. A lesser kunu could kill as well, but its vengeance would be directed only against the women who carried on the line of succession to office and property, or

if it was smaller still it would plague the members of the 776
family with sickness, or bad luck, or it might make them poor and send all kinds of trouble to them.

"Kunu," he went on, "attacks the family of the offender, but almost never the person who has done the evil thing himself. That would be too easy. If I wanted very much to do something I should not do, then I might be willing to take death in the end. But to punish my whole family until it is ended—that is too much."

"But what is kunu?" we asked.

"Kunu is a spirit. We dance to it and serve it with offer- 776
ings. It is not the same in every village, but in our village 782
we dance kunu in this way. If we dance it during the next 796
moon, then we dance one day only, and two months later we dance kunu again. Then we wait eleven months and dance again. We do this every year in the same way."

"Is this enough to keep kunu away? Would it not be better to dance more often?"

"It would do no good at all to dance kunu more often. The spirits would only be angry if they were disturbed all the time. If you have kunu, you have it," we heard again.

But why, we asked, were not people careful? Why, if they knew that kunu was hard, did they not walk more softly still, so that they might avoid this trouble?

"Ma, kye! There are always things happening, people always do things they shouldn't."

"Then life is hard for you Saramacca people," we said. "You must always think of kunu."

Our seriousness amused him. It was, after all, this way 776
with kunu. When you had it, you did what you could. If a wrong was done, then it had to be paid for. But the Bakra should not think that the Saramacca people weren't happy. There were good spirits, too. While some spirits punish, others protect.

"Have you seen our women dance, Bakra? A Saramacca 535
woman's foot can do things, mati. Have you seen them dance bandamba? Have you seen them *chaka*—shake?" he said, laughing, and turning to the men about him, he added, "We will show them how our women dance—and our men!"

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Chapter V

THE SHRINE TO THE RIVER GODS

I

ON THE narrow strip of land below the Mamadam, our hammocks were slung between trees whose trunks leaned well over the water, so that once we stretched out on the canvas, it was like swinging over an abyss to the rhythm of water wearing down rock.

133 At one time the shrine to the gods had stood on this clearing, but boats had gone aground in the falls, and rafts which needed but little urging when the spirits were friendly were swung about in the current and lost to their kingdom at the river bottom. Even now a great log lay wedged in between rocks in the middle of the stream. The water had worn grooves into its hard surface, yet there it was, held fast against the timeless flaying of the falls.

Nor was that all. One year when the time for the new rains came, the rain did not fall. In the villages the priests climbed the ladders within the sacred enclosures and from on high poured out libations to the ancestors, beseeching them to intercede in behalf of the living. Those who had river spirits went to the waterside when the moon was dead to dance to the gods. But the drums gave back a dull sound, and the dancing was listless. Those who plunged into the river to swim against the rapids while the drums intoned the exhortations did not remain under water long, and when they came up they uttered no oracles. Many who were known to be possessed by powerful spirits paced back

and forth on the sandy bank to the rhythm of the voicees in 871
the drums, but their gods would not come. They could not 782
dance, they could not find peace while the drums spoke, and 789
so this disconsolate pacing went on week after week, on 776
those days when the river gods might be danced to. Sometimes the pulse of the drumming, quickening for an interval, stirred the dancers. A shudder would go through the body of one or another and the dry throats would fall to uttering the sacred cries, but almost the next instant the hand of the drummer would go limp, and once more the listless, agonized pacing would continue. The gods were angered. When the drums called them from the river bottom, they came grudgingly and remained sullen, refusing to make their wishes known, and no gods or ancestors came to counsel the wise men in their sleep how to bend the will of the spirits of the river.

In the fields the parched earth baked in the merciless heat until it was like whitened bone. The few plants that 731
had pushed their way up through the sandy soil were now 776
brown dust which any wind might scatter. But there was no wind. No rain, no wind, for in the river the god of the wind dwells, and in the sky the rain god, and these gods are twins, and twins have but one soul, since it is with the [845]
gods as it is with humans.

No rain, no wind. Famine was upon the land.

At last, at the village of Opoku a woman had a dream. [987]
She was a pure albino, one of the type who, together with those who show by the slight turn of red in their wooly [826]
hair a strain of albinism, are called Toné people, and are identified with the river gods. To this Toné woman the gods came in sleep, and spoke their will.

"And what was it you gave to the gods?" we asked 776
Sedefo, who had fallen silent at this point in his story. 782

"Mati," he said, after a pause, "I am not an important 731
man. You ask what I may not tell. My mouth cannot take upon itself to speak what concerns our big men." [829]

This much he would say. A boat filled with things had been sent down the river. Men standing at the river bank

had seen a hand reach out for the boat, had seen it vanish out of sight. The gods had accepted the offerings. That year the Granman from the city, the white Granman, had to send rice from a far country to feed them, but the next year the crops were good, and all had been well since that time.

"And was that when this shrine was removed to the other island?"

"*M'an sabi. A kan de*—I do not know. It is possible."

2

"When you get to the Mamadam," we had been told by a priestess in the city, "wash your face in the running water, and call on the Mother of the River three times."

Another had said, "If your foot should trip anywhere, be sure to call on your ancestors, but if you should happen to slip at the Mamadam, you must go at once to the river, strike the water three times, and ask the Mother of the River to release your soul. It is a bad thing to lose your soul there."

And our principal story-teller in the city, who was something of a wit, had said: "You both have light eyes. Your hair is not dark. You are not unlike the Bonkoru people who are light, and who, up the river, you will hear called the Toné folk." He was speaking of albinos. "It may be that you have a river god without knowing it. When you come to the Mamadam the spirit may come to you. You may find yourself speaking the tongue that only the Toné people know, and dancing the dances to the river gods, and swimming up the rapids. It will be a fine sight to see you dance to the drums. There was once such a woman. A woman white as you are, you hear? I myself saw her dance. When she danced, she wore red, and put a plug through her lip, and as she danced her color changed. She became black. When the spirit was satisfied, it let her go, and she paled and was a white woman again. I myself saw that woman dance. I saw her grow black while she danced, and saw

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her become pale again. This may happen to you when you get to the Mamadam." 538 776

As he spoke, he began to beat on the table the drum rhythm which calls the river god, and he sang, 776 533

"*Today, today, O Spirit,*
Hard times are upon us
Ingi-o.
Hard times are upon us. [539]
Today, today, Boyo,
Hard times are upon us
Ingi-e."

And then he sang another song, which he said had been sung at the time when black people were running away from slavery, and is still heard at dances to the spirits of the river, the *watra ingi*, as the river gods are called in the city. In it, he called on the agida, the great drum upon which, in town as in the bush, the Negroes call the river gods, and on *Kopsi*, the name of one of the spirits of the water. This time he sang,

"*I will play the agida today,*
I will knock the agida today-o
Kopsi will foil the magic
Of the crowing cock.
O, I will play the agida today, [539]
I will knock the agida, today-o,
Kopsi will foil the magic,
Of the crowing cock.
I will play the agida today."

3

As we gained the island where the shrine itself stood and looked about us from the high rocks of the sacred spot, there lay before us in the early morning light a scene of inexpressible beauty. At dusk the narrow strips of land which forced the river into three channels had been like dark machetes plunged into the body of the great stream. 133 [778]

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Just above the Mamadam.

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Detail of boat—feline head on crosspiece.

[Facing P. 84]

REBEL DESTINY

133 But now a soft haze floated over stream and bush. To the right was the Ingi Sopi channel, dropping so sheer that not even an unloaded dugout could make its way up the rapids, not a single log of wood could be floated down. To the left was the Mamadam, a smoother, more rounded slope. It was up these falls that our boats would later be hauled.

501 484 Below us on the rocks our men were unloading the corials and carrying the provisions along the narrow trodden path to the topmost ledge of the falls, where the empty dugouts would be reloaded after they had been taken up through the streaming water.

133 Beyond lay the full stretch of the river. As far as the eye could see, there were none of the channels, none of the many islands which are met with everywhere on this river from its very headwaters to the reaches of the tidal belt near the coast. About us was a stillness which the very roar [136] of the water heightened. The parrots had long ago passed on in pairs. The butterflies would wait for the sun before they went winging from the east bank to the west. This was a moment of pure interlude. No sun, no breeze, no 000 sound, no glow. This was the moment before the fragmentary dawn would end, before the haze would lift, this the moment when night, having met day, as the Bush Negroes said, was disappearing from sight.

"It is fine here, ai!" Bayo called to us, as he walked on [487] with a large canister balanced on his head, making his way up the rocks with the sureness and ease of one who is strolling down a lane with the consciousness of a pleasant encounter at the next turning.

798 346 As soon as the mist had lifted, we walked up the rocks to the shrine. Facing us and the lower river, a tall, slender pole, weathered to a pale silver, stood higher than the roof of the shrine in front of which it was planted. At its top were the crude outlines of a head and, some three feet from its base, two side pieces were nailed to it and grounded at an angle to steady the image against the onrush of a sudden wind. A short distance from the pole was the shrine

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itself, an open shelter under a thatched roof resting on four posts. Inside it, upon the ground, lay a flat stone whitened with sacred clay, and on this a bottle stood. Directly behind the stone was the altar, a low table on which lay several egg-shaped pieces of the sacred pemba—the white clay—and some egg-shaped stones which had come from the bed of the river. A circle of iron, perhaps two fingers' breadth in thickness and having a diameter of ten or twelve inches, rested on the ground under the altar. A stick had been planted to face the thicket of wild pineapple that made a wall at the back, and from it hung a strip of white cotton for the ancestors. To the left of this was a simply carved stool, the tracery of its design become all but indistinguishable under the coat of white clay which covered it. Several bottles lay at the foot of this stool.

"Ya-hai, mati, you are praying to the Mother of the River. It is well," said Kasanya, as he came up to us with his pole-man and the men from Gankwe and interrupted our scrutiny of the shrine.

Followed by Sedefo and Asikanu, he entered the shrine, while the others stood with us outside the railing which connected at sides and back the posts upon which the roof rested. Kasanya called on the Sky God first. "*G'an gadu*," he began, "Mother of the River, Ancestors, grant that we travel safely. Grant that we bring the white man safely to the country of the Granman. Grant that the white man pay us well. I thank you."

As he finished, the listening men clapped their hands in unison, and spoke in chorus, "Great thanks!" Some distance away, down the slope which dropped to the river, was Bibifo, who wanted to be called Adrian. He did not come too near the shrine, but there he was, halfway up, with head bent, his lips moving as he muttered a prayer of his own.

Now Sedefo came forward, and Kasanya left the shrine and disappeared behind the pineapple bushes. When he came back he held leaves in his hand, which he said were sacred. He would crush them and put them in water dipped

783 here at the Mamadam, and later he would bathe with this
824 that he might be purified. Meanwhile Sedefo and Asikanu, each in his turn, addressed the Mother of the River, each speaking his errand and asking that his journey be prospered.

787 Bayo came up alone when the loading was quite finished. He sat down on a crosspiece of the shrine to one side of the flat rock, poured some of the contents of the bottle on the stone, and, taking up one of the egg-shaped pieces of pemba, he rubbed it between his fingers and touched the
[302] moist stone with his whitened hands. Now with his fingers he streaked his upper arm, just below the shoulders and over the muscles which played to the swinging of the pole-stick, and then his chest and knees.

"Mother of the River, give us a safe journey. Carry the white man and his woman without sickness. I thank you."

Later, when we were about to make off, he turned to us with his ready laugh. "You will walk well, Ba'ka. I have a strong spirit. I said things to the Mother of the River under my breath which you did not hear. The Mother of the River will look after you."

"What is this log, Bayo, right here on top of the falls? Why has no one claimed it?" we asked, pointing to the log of purple-heart close by, which we had noticed lying across the Mamadam.

"When it was sent down, something happened to turn it sidewise, and it was caught so. No one will touch it. It must be that the gods wanted it for themselves."

4

798 There are many shrines on the river. At the G'an Creek a
984 man would speak his prayer from a distance, call the creek "ancestor," state his errand, and continue his journey. Far up the stream, where the juncture of the Pikien Rio and the Grand Rio forms the river which the Bush Negroes call the Saramacca, is the Tapa Wata shrine. There, our men said, we would do well to avoid looking, though our boat rested across the river more than a quarter of a mile

away. It seemed dangerous even to notice the strip of white 798
cotton which showed high above the falls, though the stick 784
from which it hung we could not see.

"Human beings do not go there," Bayo had said warningly. "Human eyes must also not go there."

But the shrine at the Mamadam is a friendly place. There 798
a man finds a moment's ease. For a brief interval, at least, 484
the voyager upstream or down rests there to get his breath, as he makes ready for a new start. Directly below the falls is a stretch of still water, which follows upon the wearisome portage at the Musumba Prati and the struggle with the rapids just above it, while, when continuing up river, the boatmen face a succession of rapids before another stretch of quiet water is reached. It is not strange, therefore, that no man, whatever his need to make time, will fail to stop at the Mamadam long enough to make known to the Mother of the River his errand and to ask for the continuance of her protection.

This shrine is the home of the Great Mother of the 798
inland waters, she who, above all else, had secured to the 976
ancestors of these Bush Negroes their freedom from slavery. In the city and on the plantations of the coastal region the Negroes, under states of possession by the water gods, sing of their longing to join those at the Mamadam.

[533]
[539]

Let me die on the river, O!
Let me die on the water, O!
All the Ingi spirits
Are at the Mamadam,
Let me die on the river, O!

Deep in the interior, if one of the elders, let us say a man of the Dahomey clan, is alarmed at the prospect of the white man penetrating their bush, some man can be looked to, then, to say reassuringly, "Have no fear. They will not come beyond the Mamadam!"

For this river is their own. "Once, long, long ago," the 173
legend was told us, "this river was but a creek. There were no great trees here, no rocks. There were no boats, no

173 clearings, no villages. Our ancestors came and made of this creek a great river. They cleared the forest and built villages. They brought their gods from Africa with them, and the gods made the trees grow, and the gods made the clayey banks so that our old women might make the black obia pots. Once, long, long ago, two boats came up, each carrying six men. These were our ancestors. It is they who made this bush. It is they who made the river from a small creek."

Here the legend ended. The glow in the speaker's eyes was gone, and the intent expression of the dark face. When we questioned further, it was as though we spoke to a wooden mask, brown, passive.

"And women?" we asked at last, hoping that the spirits might permit the speaker to tell us half of what he knew of his female ancestors. "Did no women come? How did your ancestors get women to bear for them sons and daughters to people the bush?"

"The women, Bak'a, God gave them!"

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Chapter VI

THE PROVISION GROUND

I

THE chameleon says: "Haste is all right, but caution is also a good thing." 538

Bibifo spoke this proverb when we "went aside" with our men to see whether we would accept Chief Fandya's hospitality for that night and the next, that we might see a dance in his village. The rapids above the Mamadam had been difficult, and beyond Baikutu were more rapids. A rest was welcome to Bibifo, and especially a rest at the village of Fandya, where the Granman himself stopped when on his way down the river. 574

"A man is well here with Fandya," Kasanya said. Though he was not of the same clan as the chief of Baikutu, Fandya's clan was an ally of the Granman, and Fandya himself a man of consequence on the river, not alone in its political life, but, what was more to Kasanya's taste, in matters relating to magic. "For the sake of good broth, you eat the sour dumplings," he said to us, indicating his acquiescence, yet hinting that the men would look for pay for the time they would be forced to remain idle in the village, if we stayed. [538]

But the Gankwe men were for going on. Farther up the river were friendly villages from which several of them had drawn their wives, and farther still their own clan village. Asikanu, speaking for them, said, "Waiting for tomorrow is what caused the toad to remain without a tail. It is still early. The next village is not too far away." [538]

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Baikutu, Chief Fandya's village.

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REBEL DESTINY

574 609 In his own house, Fandya continued to urge our staying. "Ame'ika Fandya," he said—the year before he had given his own name to the white man—"remain with us tonight and tomorrow. I am an old man. I would like to know that you saw a dance in my village. When you go to the Neng'e country, I would like you to say that Captain Fandya knew how to treat a stranger who came as a friend. Last year when you were here you said you would come with your wife. You have come. Your wife has come. Last year you came, and since then all has gone well in our village. Today there are not many people about. The women are [462] away in the fields harvesting the rice; the men are in the bush hauling lumber. But tomorrow night the women will come in from the planting grounds, because the day after they may not work in the fields, and tomorrow, too, the men will come. Stay and see our dances."

And the bassia, the man second in command, said, [789] "Mati, last year I took an obia against the evil eye from my own door and gave it to you to hang over yours, that enemies entering your house might not bring in with them bad magic. All has gone well with you. Stay. The gods have shown they favor our friendship."

2

361 The will of the Gankwe men had, however, prevailed, and we reached the village of Pa'aba that day in good time. It was one of the largest on the river. In front of the azang 501 which guarded the road new boats lay on their sides, and farther up the path were others in the making, some black inside with charring, others huge hollowed-out logs, like gigantic drums, waiting for the hand that would set their pulses beating. These boats were as large as any we had seen on the river, as large as the boat Sedefo had rejected because it rolled and he had to think of his kunu.

[556] Kasanya said, "This is a prosperous village. They make the best boats on the river here."

And Bayo said, "Ai, this village has strong men."

THE PROVISION GROUND

We watched Sedefo and his pole-man adjust their ceremonial top cloths, and, paddles in hand, start up the path, as we joined Kasanya and the other men who were examining the boats. Kasanya, an excellent woodworker himself, ran his hands over the sides of the dugouts much as though he were touching things which held life inside them. 396 [292]

"There is much work making a boat. One the size of this needs cunning. It isn't anybody can do it. First the bark is cut away. Then you outline a space here on top, and with your machete you cut away inside. When you have done this, it is only the beginning."

He led us to just such a log, and then to another on which burning had been done. "You can only burn very little at a time, and you must fire carefully, carefully. You make a small fire and char the wood—you make a fire, and quench it, make a fire and quench it. So it is done. Then you take wet leaves and put them into the boat, and on the leaves you place live coals so that the steam can soften the grain of the wood. When the wood is softened, it can be forced into shape. Sticks are wedged in to make the opening hold. Slowly the log begins to have the lines of a boat."

But all this we were made to see called for the most exacting patience as well as skill, for any misjudged pressure might split the wood.

"Many moons come up and die before a log is fashioned into a boat, and even then, there is still the carving to be done on stern and prow; the crosspieces to be put in, the sides built up. It is not a thing a child undertakes, Bak'a."

Now Bayo, who had listened attentively to Kasanya's explanation of how boats were made, found a pretext to bring us back to the water, and soon he took up the talk of boats.

"Boats are like people. See, this we call a head. At the other end are the buttocks. Here are the ribs, here inside the belly. The crosspieces are the knees. Feet? Ma' Neng'e! What would a boat want with feet?" 501

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484 But Bayo's pleasant story came to an abrupt end. Down
574 toward the bank came Sedefo and his companion, motioning the men to join him. They all gathered in front of the guard of palm fronds, and began to discuss something in low
[776] voices, while from the village came the staccato rhythms
[782] to the Sky God and to the Kromanti spirits in tones at first soft, but swelling and quickening as they continued.

Sedefo came up to us at last and said, "I will tell you something, but you must not think the people of Pa'aba are unfriendly. I will tell you this. Let us go on and make camp farther up the river. There is a provision ground not too far away. We will make it in time."

789 In the boat Bayo told us that many were possessed in
574 the village, and since here at Pa'aba they danced Kromanti strong, the men did not think it safe to bring us to the village. The year before Kasanya had spent a trying night here. Two or three of the men had found guns and had gone tearing about the village, so that not alone had the women shut themselves up in their huts, as they often did at Kromanti dances, but the men, too, had had to go in hiding.

"That is why we are going on. But I have a strong Kromanti spirit myself. I will go back to Pa'aba tonight and watch the men dance," he said with a laugh.

3

574 It was already quite dark when we made the planting
[487] ground. Up a narrow footpath we followed Kasanya.

"*Koni, koni*—Take care, don't trip at night," he kept calling to us. "*Mbwogu*—Hurry," he urged, though we needed no urging to keep close behind him in this narrow dark shaft which cut the greater darkness of the bush in two.

Bibifo would sleep in our boat to watch the provisions, Kasanya explained as he led the way, for the clearing was so far from shore that it was not wise to leave the boats unwatched.

"It is far," he said. "Grounds are cleared that way—not too near a village, not too near the shore."

THE PROVISION GROUND

It is told that this practice of isolating the provision 251
ground was a heritage of the days when the ancestors were escaping from slavery, for then the whites were at war with them, and villages had often to be deserted. But to desert a village was one thing. What local spirits were there could be urged by the proper magical invocations to follow to another site. Men did not, after all, derive their food supply from a village. It was the provision ground upon which life depended. The provision ground had at all costs to be saved. Access to it was, therefore, made difficult. [487]
Trails were never clearly marked, and were often marked to mislead the invading enemy. The river bank was allowed to give no hint of shielding, behind the thicket, a clearing where crops grew to feed the warriors and their families. When a village was destroyed by the enemy, the Bush Negroes fell back on their fields and maintained life. To this day, it is said, this practice holds, for though hostilities ended more than a hundred years ago, the planting grounds are rarely found close to a village.

Walking behind Kasanya in the darkness which gave to 361
each down-hanging vine the outlines of the great aboma [825]
snake, held sacred in this bush, we fell to wondering whether in this, as in so many instances, the accounting for current beliefs, in terms of the experience of slavery alone, would prove inadequate.

"We have arrived, Bak'a," said Kasanya, interrupting our speculations. His eyes were sharper than ours, for not even when he spoke did we see the widening of the path and the clearing beyond. Yet fewer than a hundred additional paces found us facing four small huts scattered about a sandy open place, and a woman who was on her way from one house to another turned toward us. She listened to what Kasanya said, with her head slightly averted, pulling at her pipe all the while.

"Ai, they can stay," she said, pointing to the largest of the four houses. "As many of you as can, sleep there. The house next to it is for provisions. We have not much to offer here."

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574 609 In the doorway of one of the huts, a woman squatted over a fire, and at her feet a child sat busying itself with pushing the firewood toward the center. Our cook had planted two forked sticks in the ground, and on them had hung our lanterns, so that we could see the woman silhouetted against the fire and the naked child on the ground singing the seketi which Bayo had sung for us so many [533] times on the river. Over and over the child tried the air, her mother humming it for her softly, while from the doorway of another house a man sat watching them. We had not noticed him until the lanterns had come. The planting [291] ground at harvest time is not a place a man frequents. He was a strange figure there on his low stool, as he sat wrapped to his neck in a large striped cloth. He made not the slightest move, uttered not a single word. But for his cough, he might have been a corpse propped up in the doorway. We stood hesitating whether to cross the short distance between us and the fire to greet the woman and the man, but before we could come close enough to them to speak, we heard Bayo calling us in a voice we had never heard him use in a strange village.

"Bak'a, Bak'a. Come. They want you inside." When we were out of earshot of the woman at the fire, he said in a whisper, "Do not go over to those houses. Tomorrow when we are away from here, I will tell you why. It is for that I called you."

We had no need, however, to puzzle over Bayo's warning. [164] Our cook, who had heard the conversation of the men, told us that the man in the doorway was a leper.

753 262 "You know how it happens, Massa? Among us townspeople it is this way. A child inherits a *trefu* from his father. It is one thing, or many things, he must not eat. If he eats what he should not, then he sickens. We know a person who has eaten his trefu by the spots that come out on his skin. If a man goes on eating the things which are his trefu, then the spots become worse and worse. He becomes a leper. So that's how it is."

He did not at once answer the questions we put to him.

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"I'll tell you how it is mostly," he went on, after a silence. "Sometimes a woman will lie about the father of her child. The child will grow up keeping the trefu of a strange man. But it won't be his real trefu. His mother, you see, lied about his father. In the end, if nothing is done, this child will be sick, and later he will become a leper. Only a bad woman will lie about her child's father, because only a bad woman will want to hurt her own child. It doesn't happen among the girls who wear kerchiefs and live the way the old people live. These girls dance to the spirits. They are afraid of the ancestors. They are afraid of their *akra*—their soul—and the Earth Mother. But those girls who wear hats—ai, Massa, those girls do anything!"

But here in the bush, it seemed, they had other beliefs about leprosy, he went on. Here they believed it was a kind of a spirit, too. When a leper died he was not given a good burial. No wakes were held for him. He was given no coffin. He was buried in the Bad Bush, where the sorcerers were thrown.

"When a leper dies, they don't want him to come back again. They don't treat his spirit well. They do the same with him as with a madman. They bury him with no more ceremony than a child, who came on earth, and would not stay. They say it's all because of a bad spirit, and they don't want bad spirits on earth."

4

"Why do we plant away from the village?"

It was the old woman talking, as we sat and smoked with her. The moon had come up above the maripa palm trees behind the house where the leper had been helped into his hammock, and it was pleasant out-of-doors.

"Why, you ask? Well, sometimes when the bush is burned, a wind comes up suddenly, and sends the flames, down, down, beyond the cleared ground. How would it be with a village, if we cleared our grounds too close to it, and this happened? No, Bak'a, we people of the bush know better. . . . What do you say? Why do we do our clearing

away from the river? When the big rains come, the river goes up more and more. If our crops were too close to the water, then in the big rains the land would be flooded, and the crops long under water. . . . Yes, and we have to think of the ants, too. Ants, once they find their way into a field, will destroy everything. They like especially the green leaves of the young cassava plants. When the young leaves go, there is no cassava. So we move farther and farther away for our fields. Two, three years, and new fields must be cut, so that the yield might feed us all."

Once a field had been deserted, say, for five years, why did they not reclaim it later? we enquired, for by that time the big bush would have made fertile again the soil that had been exhausted.

"In this bush we do it like that. Why, I don't know. Our ancestors found much land for us. When we want new fields, we cut farther and farther into the bush."

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As Bayo and Angita set off for the dance at Pa'aba, Kasanya and Sedefo joined us, and we talked of crops and planting, of woman's work and man's, of good harvests and bad, and this is what was told us.

Finding a new field and clearing it is a man's task. If a man is about to be married, or if the field a man's wife works has become exhausted, then he goes into the forest, near to the planting ground of his mother and to the fields of his family, and casts about for a place to clear. A field must not be in a hollow, or the crops will not grow, and rice needs the sun of a hill slope to thrive. Once having found a spot where the drainage is good, he looks about to see if the spirits will allow its use. Patiently, painstakingly, he goes from one clump of matted vines to the next, machete in hand, searching for signs of an ant hill, or an Akatasi tree that is sacred to the gods of the ant hill, or for snakes, or a natural clearing belonging to the Apuku gods of the bush. No silk-cotton tree must be there, no loko tree wherein dwells the god of the same name so near that it

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might [illegible]h fire were a wind to come up when the underbrush is burned. If he spies a slender bent liana from which the Kromanti "Congo-bush" sticks are made, then he has to be sure to cut it down with the proper invocation, so that the spirit inside the liana will not bend him to its own shape.

Kasanya continued his explanation. "When a field is found, it is the man who clears it." A man calls on his relatives or friends to help him. The men come with their machetes, and they cut away at bushes and shrubs, they cut away the lianas which are twined about the trees, and then the trees themselves. Then they go away, leaving what they have cut to dry. "To take all this away would be too hard, and, besides, fire does the work better, and fertilizes the ground as well."

So, when the wood is dry, they come with fire, and let the fire finish the work. Then the ashes are allowed to lie for a time, for, though this clearing is done during the dry season, occasional showers can be relied upon to work the ash into the ground. Then, too, the time for planting is not yet.

"Many things we plant a little before the old year meets the new," the old woman said.

"When it is time to break the ground," Kasanya went on, "the man and the woman work together. It is then that the woman begins her work in this field. What was done before had to do with cutting timber, and our proverb says: Woodworking is not a woman's affair."

The man alone clears the ground, but the woman helps him break the earth.

"Breaking the ground is not easy," the old woman again interrupted. The matted roots have to be dug up with an iron hoe, for the Bush Negro works as his ancestors did hundreds of years ago in Africa. He has no plough, no beast of burden to help him in the fields.

When all this is done, then it is time to see to the consecration of the earth to its fertile uses. Rituals vary with each clan, and often from village to village of the same clan.

REBEL DESTINY

782 Among the people of one group, the principal ceremony
241 may be held in the clearing itself. The drums are brought,
535 and men and women and children pray for fertility. The beautifully carved apinti drum sounds the invocation to the Great God and to the ancestors, while the tall agida drums are brought to call the earth spirits. Two by two the men dance susa, the dance which in pantomime reproduces an ancient warrior's combat with spear and shield, the winner taking on a new combatant, until the final winner is given a wand as a reward, and gains for himself the title of "G'aman of Susa" until the next dance is held. Other dances follow. Perhaps the women now li[illegible]n two long
[585] rows facing each other, and dance banc[illegible] the dance
[845] which celebrates marriage and the birth of twins, and the birth of a child who is born feet foremost. The motions are the slow rhythmic manipulations of the muscles of hips and
[842] abdomen. It is a dance of fertility, danced by the very young girls as well as by those who have borne children. But the women who are past the age for dancing sit with
[888] their men, arms interlaced, swaying to the rhythms of the songs they sing. . . . There are offerings to the earth spirits, poured upon the earth out of black obia pots and
[769] calabashes, while other offerings are set upon the ground for the ancestors.

In another settlement, the ritual would be chiefly carried on in the village itself, and there might be a local dance of
[842] fertility, danced nowhere else on the river. "An old, old ancestress taught it to us," the villagers would say.

462 When it is time to plant, the woman plants with the man's help.
241 "When I plant a new field," said the younger woman, "I
782 pray as I work."
539 And this is her prayer:

O Sky God, Mother of the Earth, Ancestors,
I am planting a field,
Make it bear;
People who come to me must eat,

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O spirits, you must help me.
Help me find food,
That I may give to those who come;
Help me find food,
That all those who come to me may eat.
I am planting pinda,
Make it come;
I am planting yams,
My yams must grow;
I am planting cassava,
Make my cassava yield;
I am planting rice,
Make it come;
Let the earth copulate well,
Let me, too, be fruitful;
Let me live by my work;
My children have gone down the river,
They have gone to the white man's country,
Let them live and be fruitful;
When they return to me,
Let them bring back possessions;
O spirits, I myself must live,
I have belongings,
Let my belongings live;
Mother of the Earth,
This new field which was found
Make it yield food for me,
Make it yield for those who come;
I have planted seed,
The seed must bear.
O Great God, Earth spirits, Ancestors,
I thank you.

6

After the planting, the life of the women is spent at the provision grounds for the greater portion of the year, for the crops must be carefully tended. The jungle is not hospitable to those who invade it, and it is only at the

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462 241 price of grueling effort that a living can be wrested from its jealous grasp. The women in their fields care for the growing crops, hoeing the ground so that moisture and sun reach the young plants, seeing that the lianas which throw their creepers over the cleared spaces to throttle the tender shoots do not get headway, and, as each crop ripens, attending to its harvesting.

262 243 244 Yams, cassava, and nappi are roots. For their planting some of the crop of the year before is preserved and cut up. But rice and peanuts, or pinda, as these are called here in the bush, and maize, of which the Bush Negroes learned from the Indians, and okra grow from seeds. The rice is planted on a hillside, for the Bush Negro does not grow irrigated rice, but the dry African variety that thrives on the slopes. Cassava, okra, peppers, plantains, peanuts, beans, sugar cane—each crop is allotted its own space, until the newly cleared ground is filled. A woman usually has two fields cut for her; one is called a rice field and one a cassava field. In each, the crops which yield several harvests a year are rotated. The cassava roots take nine months at least to ripen, but it is better to leave them in the ground ten or eleven months.

"It is the time of the great harvest now," the old woman said.

243 244 These were busy days for the women. With their short-handled knives, they cut the rice stalk by stalk and made small sheaves of the golden grain, raked over the dirt so that the peanuts might be found and gathered, chopped the ripe sugar cane with the machetes which they handled with the same sureness as did their men, and dug out the cassava roots so that they might be carried to the village [262] and made into flour for the cassava bread which was the staple of their diet.

"The corn," she said, "is not harvested now. We cut it at a different time; and the melons ripen later, too." At other times of the year there were other harvests, but this one, of the months of July and August, was the principal one.

THE PROVISION GROUND

It is the woman's task, then, to see to the food which the Earth Mother yields, while the men are busy hauling lumber and making boats, hunting and fishing, and carrying the white man's loads to the city. In the leisure of the rainy season, while the women cut up the trade cotton cloth into long, narrow strips and sew them into cloths of traditional design, the men are at work carving fine things out of wood. 462 [294]

When the big rains come a man might busy himself carving doorposts for his new house, or he might make a paddle to put away in his personal treasure house, so that, when he is ready to take a second wife, he might have the proper gifts to make her. Another might be making a small canoe paddle for his first daughter. She is four, perhaps, and already is of help to her mother in the field, carrying water from the river in a small Indian jar. Soon she will be strong enough to have the cutting of the kamemba begin—a few slashes about the navel at first . . . He will cover the surface of the paddle with beautiful traceries, each design a meaningful symbol, and to add to its beauty he will darken it with a mixture of oil and charred rice hulls. When it is finished it will be of a reddish-brown color, slender, and smooth to the touch of his fingers as the skin of his woman-child. Combs, food stirrers, trays, stools, peanut pounding boards, and, if a man likes, mortar and pestle—all these are carved when the rains are heavy and there is no work to be done on the river or in the bush. 462 322 [584] [857] [532]

So the work is divided. A man does a man's work—wood, iron, hunting the game animals of the bush, and catching fish in traps, making baskets of wood fiber—all that is a man's affair he does. And the woman, tending the fields and cooking for her family, pounding palm nuts in her mortar to make palm oil, grating the bitter cassava to make flour free from the poison that is in the roots, caring for her house and carving calabash dishes with the symbols of men and women and fertility—woman does what it is woman's lot to do. 462 [252]

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Chapter VII

BA ANANSI

I

538 WHETHER it was that our men were thinking of the Kromanti dance at Pa'aba, or whether something in the night itself stirred them, no one thought of going to his hammock. We sat silent for a long time, until our cook suddenly exclaimed, "You know what, Massa, this is a night for stories. Let me make something to drink, and it will be like a wake. We will have a good time."

But Sedefo, who sat nearest to us, was unresponsive. With Bayo and Angita off to the village where obia ruled the dancing, and Bibifo asleep in our boat, there were not enough people about for the proper telling of stories. He was fastidious about such matters, for he was a story-teller of no small reputation on the river.

Yet it was, without doubt, a night for stories, and our town man joined our cook and ourselves in persuading Sedefo to tell the tales which in town and bush recount the exploits of Anansi, the spider. This trickster Anansi in some African mythologies is the creator of the world and, here in Suriname, gives his name to all tales. We were, our boys informed Sedefo, something of story-tellers ourselves, and we had, moreover, learned how to introduce the interludes of song which break up the telling of a tale, and many of the songs as well.

"They know Anansi stories, Sedefo. . . . They can tell many of those we tell in town, and they know those they tell in the Negro country."

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But Sedefo was still not impressed. 538

"We bush people have our own ways. How will it be with a long story, if the proper songs are not sung?"

So the discussion went on between Sedefo and the town boys, until among them they had gone over all the many details of how stories must be told. There was the interchange between the teller and his audience at the very beginning. Openings might differ. Here in the bush, one way was for the teller to cry "Mato!" and someone in his audience to call back "Tongoni!" What did this mean? It was a way to begin. That is how it was done long ago in the land of the Negroes. Did we not know that? Or the teller might begin with "Hireti!" and then the answer would be "Daieti!" But often, as well, the opening might be "Kri! Kra!" Sometimes, though now it was most often a way of beginning stories for children, the tale would be started with "Er tin tin," and the answer to this "Tin tin tin," in the manner of "Once upon a time."

What really mattered, however, was the way in which the intervals in the story-telling were dramatized. After the speaker had started his tale and had carried it to some incident where he paused for a moment, he would be interrupted by a call from someone in his audience, "Kri, kra!" His answer would come promptly, "What have you to say?"

"I myself was there," would be the response, and this would draw its question.

"What did you see?"

At this point, the person who had interrupted would begin a song, and its chorus would be taken up by all who were listening. And when it was ended, the leader of the song would shout, "Go on with your story, my man!" 538 533

Now the telling would be resumed, but only for two or three minutes, when again a voice would call out, "Bato! I was there, too!" And without further colloquy another song would begin. This was the way stories should be told, and when people knew what they were about, then they might change the words of old songs and make up new ones

538 to fit the story that was being recited, or they knew the
533 songs that, as long as anyone could remember, had been sung at given intervals in a particular tale, and which themselves carried the action forward.

538 But Sedefo and our boys spoke not only of how a tale is opened and carried forward, but of the many ways of bringing a story to a close. A song might furnish a proper ending, or a proverb. "The reward for goodness is the cudgel," they agreed, might well end some of the stories about Anansi's exploits, or, "When you wish to eat with the devil, you must have a long fork." Or, "He who doesn't believe a lie, won't believe the truth," would sometimes be fitting, and "All showing of teeth isn't a grin." There was also the ending in which the teller vouched for his participation in the concluding events of his tale, as when he would say, "Bato! I myself sat with the King at his feast!"

But now our cook, whose patience was tried by this discussion, began to riddle.

"Mato!"

"Tongoni!"

"You have three things in your house," he started, looking about him at Sedefo and us, and at Kasanya, who had fallen asleep, and Asikanu, who sat in the doorway watching the younger woman. "One of them longs for daybreak. One of them longs for night. One of them longs for the world to come to an end. *Suma sa puru?*—Who will pull the riddle?"

Asikanu finally broke the silence.

"The first is a bed. It longs for daylight. The second is a stool. It is tired. It longs for night to come that it may rest. The third is a clock. It is weary of life. It wishes the world would come to an end."

And so a beginning was made. Sedefo turned to the cook.

"Friend," he said, "You tell a story. And then I will tell one for the Bak'a."

Our cook began: "Kri! Kra! All men in their places!"

Back came the answer, "Will it go?"

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"It will go! . . . Anansi and Dew were great friends. 539
The two worked together, each helping the other. So they lived.

"Well, now, they each planted a field of corn. But the corn belonging to Dew was finer than Anansi's, and Anansi was envious. He wished that he had the field which belonged to Dew. So he said to Dew, he said: 'Your corn is fine, but mine is finer. If mine were like yours, I should cut it, so that it might come up better.'

"But Anansi was lying. When you cut corn, it will not grow again. He was deceiving Dew."

Now came the voice of our town man, as he offered the first "cut" to the story: "Bato! I was there!"

"What have you to say?"

With this came the song. The one that he chose was in 539
the Kromanti language, and later he told us it was a komfo 533
song, one which taking its name from the African Ashanti word for priest, calls on the Ashanti earth spirits to bring the singer a magic wand which, when touching his head, will make him possessed by the earth gods. And as leader, he began:

Asanti boyo
Da mi widya
Akolo!

The others responded in chorus

Akolo, Akolo, Abanu ba.

Singer and chorus repeated verse and refrain, until our boy shouted, "Go on with your story, man!"

"And so, my friends, Dew cut his corn.

"But in the afternoon, when people passed, they saw that the corn had been cut. And they asked one another: 'What made Dew cut his corn? It was such fine corn.' Dew said it was Anansi who had made him do it. Then the people told him it would not grow again.

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539 "And Dew said to them, he said, 'Well, all right. He
533 tricked me with corn, but I am going to trick him with his mother.'"

Now came another interruption: "Bato! I was there!" and this time the song that cut the story was one of the spirit Sofia Bada. He is strong, and to dance for him is "heavy," a priestess of the city had told us. The words that were sung were a challenge sung by this warrior spirit of Allada, one of the ancient West African kingdoms.

Come try me
I am the man.
Come feel me,
I am the man
I am Sofia Bada
The strong man in Allada
Come try me,
I am a man.

"Let the story go on," said the singer.

"The story will go on. . . . So Dew worked hard until he had enough to buy himself a scythe, a hoe, an axe, and all manner of implements and clothes. And then he worked some more until he had put by some money.

"Then he went to his mother, and he said, 'Well, mother, I am going to do this. I am going to say that you are dead. You must hide upstairs, and I will set to work to make a coffin and to arrange for the burial.'

"And he did that. He sent word to all the animals that his mother died. And all the animals came together for the burial, and with them came Anansi.

"Now, Dew had it all arranged. He hid his mother underneath the plank on which the coffin rested, and placed beside her all the things that he had bought. He knew how greedy Anansi was.

"And so, before they were ready to take up the coffin, he began to wail, 'Ai, mother, see how you leave me. Not even an axe have you left for your son. Your son has not a single tool.'

539 "I go into the bush to hunt. I step on the green leaves, and there is silence. I step on the dry leaves, and there is a crackling sound. . . . I have pulled the riddle."

We turned to Sedefo, as Kasanya finished speaking.

"Now, Bak'a, I will tell you a story," he said. "It is about a man, a hunter, who saved three beings, a human, a snake, and a rat. Who would you say showed his gratitude in the end? The human being? Well, you will hear. It is late, and Kasanya is almost asleep. I will tell it to you without cutting. Listen to the story. You will like it."

And this was the story:

Hireti!
Daieti!
Listen well!

There was a man who went to the bush to hunt. He walked and walked, and walked so far until . . . he heard someone calling for help from inside a great pit. So he looked in the pit, and saw Human Being, Snake, and Rat.

Now, he said to himself, he said, "Snake is a bad animal. Rat is bad, too. I will help Human Being."

But after a while, as he thought it over, he said, "I will help all three, Snake, Rat, and Human Being who is like myself."

So Snake took his path, and Rat went on his way, and the Hunter took Human Being to his own house. But no thanks did he get from these three, whom he had saved from death itself.

Now Rat began to study what to do to help the man who had done him so great a favor. So he went to the King's treasure house and gnawed through a plank, and he stole much money. He brought it to Hunter as payment for having saved him from death.

So Hunter became a rich man. He bought new boats, and new axes. He bought beads and bracelets for his women, and cloths for himself. He built himself a new house and he found for himself another wife. He bought so many new things. . . .

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"As he said this, all the things began to come out from under the plank. Anansi picked them up, and wished his own mother would die at once so that he might have these, too. Dew went on crying. He now begged his mother for some money. His mother flung the money at him. And so the burial went off well, and the mourners went their way. 539 533

"But now, day after day, Anansi and his mother quarreled. Anansi said, 'Why cannot death come to you as it did to Dew's mother?' Then one day he and his mother quarreled again, and in his anger he took up a stick and struck her, killing her."

Again there was the voice: "Bato! I myself was there!"

And the song was taken up:

A fine man is Amusi
A fine man.
If you believe in God
You must believe in Amusi.

"Anansi now did just as Dew had done. He fixed the plank properly, and began to weep just as Dew had wept, but nothing at all came of it. So they buried his mother.

"A week later, Dew had his mother come to the field, and when Anansi saw Dew's mother, he said: 'Friend Dew, isn't that your mother I see there?'

"He said, 'Yes, it is my mother. You deceived me about my corn. Now I have tricked you with your mother.'

"And so Dew's mother was alive, but Anansi's mother was dead. It is ended."

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Now Asikanu spoke. "Mato!"

"Tongoni!" 539

"I go into the bush to hunt. I greet the living, but they do not answer me. I greet the dead, and they speak."

This time Kasanya, who had sat dozing on his stool, heard and knew the answer.

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But now, the Human Being he had saved was still living with him, and he saw what was happening. So he went to the Granman, and he told on Hunter. The Granman sent word to all the elders of the kingdom to come together for a *lasti krutu*—a court assemblage; a man was to be judged. And Hunter was thrown into prison.

As the news spread from village to village, Snake came to hear of it. He studied what to do to help Hunter who had saved him from death. Now, the King of that country had a beautiful daughter. Snake said to himself, he said, "If I bite the King's daughter, and then show Hunter a medicine to save the Princess from death, they will free him."

So Snake went to the house of the King, and bit the King's daughter. Then he hurried back to the bush, and broke off some leaves. The leaves were medicine for saving the Princess from the hands of Death. So he carried them to the Hunter in prison, and showed him how to make the medicine for curing the Princess.

Meanwhile, the King called on all the doctors in the village to come to his house and cure his daughter, the Princess. But not one of them could produce a medicine to help her. So the King sent messengers to every part of his kingdom to say that whoever knew of a medicine to cure his daughter would get half of his kingdom, and would marry the Princess.

Now the Hunter sent a message to the King that if he could leave the prison, and go to the King's house, he would cure the Princess. The King said to the messenger, he said, "All right. Bring him here." When Hunter came, the King said to him, he said, "All these clever doctors tried and tried and could do nothing, and you think you can cure my daughter!"

The Hunter said to the King, he said, "Ya-hai, my King. I am the very man who can cure her."

All the people of the village came to the King's house to see the man who said he could cure the King's daughter. So Hunter took the weeds he had been given by Snake, and crushed them well, and made his medicine. And this

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539 medicine he rubbed into the wound which Snake had made when he bit the Princess. In an hour the Princess was better, and soon she was well.

The King was very happy. He caught Human Being who had betrayed Hunter, and put him into the same prison where Hunter had been. But Hunter, who made the medicine, married the King's daughter, and became King of the land.

"It is ended," concluded Sedefo, "and I myself was there, and my daughter danced bandamba at the wedding!"

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When Sedefo finished, it was almost midnight. Kasanya and Asikanu had sometime before gone to their hammocks. And now Sedefo, too, rose to go.

"*D'u mundu*," he said, as he went out. "Sleep well, all."

"*Ai-yo, so s'yepi-o!*—Yes, and do you sleep well, too!" Our boys sang back their response.

Since both they and we were still wide awake, they each offered to tell a short tale. But they told many stories, for there was a quality in the deep bush that night that allowed neither them nor us, unaccustomed to the jungle as we all were, to rest.

539 126 We no longer recall the exact tales they told. But later we had opportunities to record many more than just the ones they told there in the provision ground. Many were long, longer than we can give here. Many were the same as those we heard told by the Bush Negroes but which, told at night at festivals for the dead, with all the element of dramatization that went with the telling, we could not record in our notebooks. We group some of those which, for us, hold something of the quintessence of the mind of the Suriname Negroes.

Anansi Becomes a Preacher

539 Anansi asked the King to permit him to become a preacher. The King said, let him go to church one Sunday

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and preach a sermon. The first Sunday Anansi preached, the King could not come to hear him. But the King gave him a black suit, and said he was to wear it the following week when he preached.

Now Anansi and Cockroach lived side by side. Beside the fence separating Anansi's yard from that of Cockroach stood a coconut tree. The tree grew in Cockroach's yard. It was not a large tree, but it did have a bunch of nice coconuts on it. The coconuts hung right above the fence of which one side belonged to Anansi, and the other side to Cockroach.

One day Anansi took his machete and cut the bunch of coconuts exactly in two. When Cockroach saw this, he said to Anansi, he said, "Why did you cut down the coconuts? The tree is in my yard. You had no right to cut them." Anansi said, "Yes, but didn't you see how they were hanging? how one-half hung on your side, and one-half on mine?" Cockroach said, "All right. I'll get even."

On the Saturday before Anansi was to preach his sermon in church before the King, he told his wife to air his black suit. His wife took the suit and hung it over the fence. So now Cockroach took his machete and cut off that part of the suit which was on his side.

In the morning the King went to church to hear Anansi preach. But Anansi could not come, because he had no suit to wear. The King was angry. He had Anansi put in jail. Anansi said to Cockroach, he said, "You there, as long as I live I will never forget this. As long as I live I will remember what you have done. You made me lose my job."

How Death Came to the City

Death had not yet come to the cities. He lived in the deep bush. But one day Anansi had no food. It was a time of famine. He took his hunting bag and his gun and went to hunt. He worked his way deep into the bush, and then walked all through it, but not one animal did he meet. So he walked on and on, until one day he came to Death's village. Death was sitting in his doorway.

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539 Anansi was respectful. He said, "Howdo, Father Death." And he said, "Hunger is killing me. I have combed the entire bush for an animal, but not one did I find to kill."

Death said, "Come inside. I will give you some food." Death took him into the cook-house where much meat was being barbecued. When Anansi saw all this meat, his mouth began to water. Death gave him a fine portion of meat, and he ate until he had had enough.

Anansi said, "Many thanks." And he said, "But who are you who have so much meat to barbecue?"

Death said to him, "Do you not know that I am Death?"

Anansi said, "I see, Father Death, and that is why you have so much meat, and I walked through the entire bush and could find nothing." Then he said, "I am going to ask you a favor. I myself have eaten, but my wife and children have had nothing to eat. Give me some of this meat that I may bring them food."

Death said, "All right. Take that piece over there."

When Anansi came home, he said, "Sa Akuba, I found a place to get food. I do not have to bother looking around for something to eat, because when we have no food, I can go there and take it. Or better still, I can go and steal."

So whenever Anansi had no food, he went to the man Death's village, and stole Death's meat.

Death came home one day and noticed that some of his meat was missing, but he did not know who was at fault, until finally he lay in wait for the thief. Just as he hid in a corner, Anansi came. Anansi filled a basket with meat.

Death said, "Heh! So it is you who are the thief! Why did you do this?" But Anansi had no time to answer properly, for he set out on a run. Death ran after him. Death ran, and Anansi himself ran, too.

But when they came to the city, Anansi turned and saw Death at his heels. Anansi began to call in a loud voice, "Living-people all, shut your houses! Death is come!"

So, you see, Death came to the city, and many people have died because of the thief Anansi. If Anansi had not

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stolen Death's meat, Death would have remained quietly 539
in the deep bush.

The Devil Has a Bad Name

Now the Devil said to a man one day, "No matter what 539
good I do, I get a bad name for it." The man would not 776
believe him. The Devil said, "Very well, I will show you."

So the Devil went to God, and he said to God, he said, "You put a stone on the path along which men travel, and I will put a bag of money there. Then we will see what happens."

Well, they did this. God put down the stone, and the Devil the bag of money. One day a man came down the path and stubbed his foot against the stone. Instantly he cried, "Ah, the Devil put the stone there that I might hurt my foot!" Later another man came along and saw the money. He took up the bag and called out, "God be praised! I thank you, Master, for letting me find this money!"

The Devil said, "You see how it is? I put the gold there, but it is God who receives thanks, while I am cursed for the stone God put on the road. It is as I said. The Devil cannot look for fairness in this world."

The Tar Baby

The King had a plantation where there were many fruits, 539
and plantains, and other kinds of food. But someone was stealing the fruit and the crops. So the King had them put a large tar-baby in the field.

Now the thief used to come at night, and this thief was Ba Anansi. When he saw the image he became alarmed, and approached it with flattering words. Timidly he said to it, he said, "Father, how are you?" But he did not get an answer.

So he said, "If you do not speak to me, I will slap you!"

The image did not speak. Anansi struck him a blow, but his hand stuck. He said, "If you do not let me go, I will

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539 give you one with my other hand," and Anansi struck again. That hand stuck, too.

He said, "If you do not let me go, I will butt you." But when he butted him, his head stuck. So he said, "If you do not let me go, I will kick you." And then he kicked him.

But Anansi could do nothing more, for his head, his hands, and his feet were fast. So he had to remain there until they came and found him. And when they let it be known that Anansi was the thief, the King said that Anansi was to be killed.

The day Anansi was to die, he sent for his children and said to them, he said, "Children, you see I am about to die. What can you do to save me?"

Now each one of his children proposed some foolish thing, until the youngest one spoke. He said, "Father, you know what I am going to do? I am going to climb a tall tree and hide there. Then, when they come to put you to death, I will sing,

"*They kill Anansi till . . .*
They kill the Spider till . . .
The whole country will be flooded,
All the people will die,
The King's wife will die,
The King's daughter will die,
The King himself will perish,
Anansi alone will remain."

Now, when the King heard the voice singing, he asked, "What is that?"

Anansi answered, "Tye! Hearken, my King. God himself pleads for me!"

The King said, "It is not true. A thief must be punished."

But Anansi replied, "Tye! You will hear, my King, that it is the truth, because God will again speak for me." And soon the voice was again heard singing,

"*They kill Anansi till . . .*
They kill the Spider till . . .

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The whole country will be flooded,
All the people will die,
The King himself will perish,
Anansi alone will remain."

Then the King became disturbed. He was afraid. . . . And so he came to free Anansi.

Why Chicken and Butter Are Always Found Together

Chicken and Butter were great friends. They lived together. Every morning early they went for a walk. Now, Chicken was always the last to return, and every morning Butter was home early. Chicken did not know that if Butter walked in the sun he would melt, and that was why he was always home first.

One morning, when they left the house, Chicken took the key and carried it away with her. When Butter came back, he could not get in. So he stood in the doorway and waited. When the sun came up Butter melted.

Now Chicken returned, and she saw what had happened to Butter. She ran and called her neighbor to come. When the neighbor came, Chicken said to him, she said, "What shall we do with Butter?"

The neighbor said, "Bring a knife and I will show you."

But Chicken had no sooner brought the knife than her neighbor took it, and cut Chicken's neck. Then he put her in the pot with Butter, and cooked the two.

And that is why to this day we cook Chicken with Butter. Now the neighbor was Cockroach, and the proverb says: "You are Cockroach; you will never get justice from Chicken."

Anansi Gives a Feast on the Mountain Top—Turtle Gives His in the Water

Anansi decided to give a feast. Now he did not want Turtle to come, but since he was inviting all the animals, he had to ask Turtle, too. He said, "I will see to it that the boy Turtle does not eat a morsel of my food." So Anansi sent word to all the animals that on a certain day he would

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539 give a great feast, but that it would be held on top of a mountain. On the day of the feast all the animals came together to eat with Anansi.

Now, when they were all gathered, and the preparations were done, Anansi said, "We are ready to eat, but before we can begin, all must have clean hands." And Anansi said to Rabbit, he said, "Ba Kon'koni, you are a clever fellow. Look around for me, and see if there is anyone whose hands have sand on them."

Rabbit went from one animal at the other, examining their hands. Then he came to Turtle. He said, "Friend Turtle, you must go wash your hands. See, there is sand on them." So Turtle went back down the hill to wash his hands. Now when Turtle walks, crawling he crawls from one place to another. He does not go fast. So the whole time he was away the animals had been eating. When he returned to the table, half the food was gone.

Now just as he sat down at the table, Anansi said, "Friend Turtle, let me see if your hands are clean now." Turtle showed his hands. Again they were full of sand. Anansi said, "Ba Turtle, the rules are that everybody must have clean hands, so you must go wash your hands once more. You cannot eat otherwise." So again Turtle washed his hands. He washed them so many times, but, since he could not walk any other way, his hands were always dirty when he came to the table. So Turtle did not eat at Anansi's feast.

Turtle went away, and he said, "Anansi caught me this time, but I am going to get even with him."

So now Turtle gave a birthday party. He sent for all the animals to come to his party to eat with him. He knew that Anansi would come, too. So he said that his party would be held under water. He knew that Anansi was light and would not be able to stay under water. He did this so he could catch Anansi.

When all the animals were getting ready to go to Turtle's, Anansi studied what to do. He knew that he could not stay down under water. So he borrowed a coat and a pair of

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trousers, and put them on. Then he gathered many stones, and put them in the pockets. When he was heavy enough, he went down under the water.

Now the time came for them to come and eat. Turtle looked about and saw Anansi under water. He saw how Anansi had put stones in his pockets. At once Turtle said to them all, he said, before they sit down at the table they must take off their coats. Anansi was troubled when he heard Turtle say this. He thought, "If I take off my coat, I will at once float to the surface. The stones in my pockets keep me down." So Anansi could not take off his coat.

But when Anansi came to the table, Turtle said to him, he said, "Didn't I say everybody was to take off his coat? You must take off yours. When you gave your feast you did as you liked. When I give mine, I do as I like, too."

So Anansi took off his coat.

But no sooner did Ba Anansi take it off, than he rose to the top of the water. He got no food to eat. His greed had caused this to happen to him.

Anansi Rides Tiger

One day Ba Anansi went to the house of the King and said to the King, he said, he rode Tiger.

The King said, "A little spider like you! It is another of your lies. I don't believe you. I will ask Tiger." But Anansi said, "King, you can believe me. You will see that it is true."

The King, however, sent a messenger to Tiger, asking him to come to him. Tiger was delighted that he was asked to go to the King's house. He wondered, "Now what kind of a message does the King have for me?"

But as he arrived at the King's house with such pleasant feelings, the King said to him, he said, "Tiger, does a strong animal like you allow little Anansi to ride him?" Tiger was angry. He said, "King, I will go at once and make Anansi come to you to tell you that he lied."

One of Anansi's children was playing in the village. He met Tiger on the road. Tiger said to him, he said, "You

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539 boy! Where is your father? I will show him if he can lie about me!"

Now Anansi had already told the boy what he had done. Anansi said to him, he said, "If you see Tata Tiger, then, when he asks for me, you must tell him I am sick. Tell him I have fever." So the boy said to Tiger, "Tata Tiger, my father is sick. He lies at home, shaking with fever."

But Tiger said, "That's no affair of mine. He must come to the King's house with me, even if I have to carry him!" So he went to Anansi's house, and said to his wife, "Sa Akuba, where is that boy Anansi?"

Sa Akuba answered, "Tata, he is sick. He has a bad fever."

But Tiger said, "Where is he? Let me see him." When Sa Akuba brought Tiger to Anansi's bed, Tiger said, "You boy Anansi! What was this you said at the King's house?"

Anansi said to him, he said, "Tata Tiger, I am sick. The King lied to you. I did not say anything."

"That makes no difference. You must come with me to the King's house."

"Tye, Tata Tiger! See how I am trembling! You can see that I cannot travel. Please wait until I am better!"

"No, no. I can't wait. You must come right now, this very day."

"All right, Tata. But I cannot walk. How am I going to get to the King's house?"

"Come sit on my back. I will carry you there."

Anansi waited for a moment. Then he said, "Tata, I have a small bag here and a blanket. May I take them with me to use when I get cold?"

"All right. Take them. But you must come right away."

So Anansi climbed up on Tiger's back, and Tiger went on his way toward the King's house. Anansi sat shivering there, and he shook so that Tiger called to him, "You boy, why do you do this? Sit still!"

"But Tata," said Anansi, "it is the fever. I have something here. Won't you let me put it in your mouth so that I can use it to hold on to?"

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Tiger said, "All right," and hurried on. But Anansi shook again, and Tiger said once more, "You boy Anansi! Why do you do this? Do you think that if you carry on this way I won't take you to the King's house to show him how you lied?"

But Anansi said, "Tye, Tata, it is the fever. Look, I have something here that is like a saddle. Won't you wait until I can put my feet inside it so I can sit a little better?"

"That doesn't concern me, so long as we get on. Do what you like, so long as you go with me to the house of the King."

So Anansi put the saddle on Tiger, and they went on. When they had gone farther, Anansi saw the King's house facing them in the distance. He began to shake again. He shivered and shivered, and Tiger said, "You boy! Why are you carrying on so? When you see the King's house you begin to tremble, is that it? I will teach you to lie!"

Anansi only said, "Tata, it is the fever. I am shivering. It is the fever, and, besides, a mosquito just bit me."

"Didn't I tell you that was no affair of mine? Whether you shiver or whether you don't shiver, go you must. Don't you see the King's house, there ahead?"

"But Tata, I have one last favor to ask of you. I have a small whip here. Won't you let me strike at the mosquitoes with it? Then maybe I won't shiver so much."

"All right, I don't care. I only want to bring you to the King's house to show how you lied about an important man like me."

So Anansi had the bit and the saddle on Tiger, and his whip was in his hand. And when he saw all the people in front of the King's house, he gave Tiger three lashes with the whip. As Tiger jumped in the air, Anansi cried "Kon! Kon!" as though he were driving a horse, and Tiger became so angry that he started to run faster.

But Anansi pulled at the bit and called, "King! King! Come look at Anansi riding Tiger!"

And so the King said to Anansi, "Well, since you have brought me this horse, you can stay inside my house as long

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539 as you live." This is the reason why to this very day, Anansi lives inside the King's house.

The King's Beard

It is said, "There is nothing in darkness that will not come to light. . . . "

There was a King who had a very long beard. But he did not want anyone to know that he had a beard. But someone saw him when he did not think anyone was there. This was Ba Anansi. He became angry and called people to kill that person. For he did not wish anyone to know that he had a beard.

So they dug a great hole for Anansi. When they brought Anansi to the hole, he put his mouth to it and whispered, "The King has a beard-o. . . . " But no one heard him.

Three years later a tree sprang up, right where there was the hole to which Anansi had put his mouth. And marked across the bark of the tree was:

"The King has a beard-o!"

Tiger Entertains the Monkeys

It was a time of famine. Tiger had nothing to eat. He studied what to do. He went and made a large kettle, and he made a lid for the kettle. Then he called all the baboons together and said he was going to give a cinema play. They must come and see. When the baboons came, he went inside the kettle. He pretended that he was putting in the film, and he said when he called out "Warm!" they must take him out. Now he had put fire under the kettle, and when he called out "Warm!" the baboons raised the lid, and let him out.

He said, let all the baboons go inside the kettle now to see the cinema. But one young baboon did not go inside. He hid in a tree top, and from there he watched what was happening. Now, once the baboons were inside the kettle, the Tiger stirred the fire underneath it. So the baboons were cooked, and all were killed. And so Tiger came by his food.

BA ANANSI

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Now, another time there was again famine. Tiger called together all the monkeys, and said let them come and see the cinema play. But this time when the monkeys came, the young baboon who hid in the tree top the last time, said to the monkeys, he said, "When Tiger goes inside the kettle, you must not lift the lid when he cries out, 'Warm!' You must say, 'When a thing is warm, then a man's teeth must show.' " And so, when the Tiger went into the kettle, and called out, the monkeys did not raise the lid. And so Tiger died.

Gun Is Dead

Anansi borrowed a gun from Hunter, and sent word to all the animals that they must come to bury Gun. Gun, he said, was dead. All the animals rejoiced to hear that Gun had died, for Gun was an evil thing. It was he who had been killing off all the animals in the bush. So they were happy to hear that their enemy, Gun, was dead, and they came to the funeral.

Now Anansi made a trap, and he put Gun inside it, and said they would go and bury him. But Anansi made everyone pass in front of the coffin, and the Gun was pointed right at them. His own children carried the trap, and Anansi himself sat on top of Gun.

When Anansi saw all the animals lined up in single file facing Gun, he began to shoot. All the animals died.

And so Anansi got food. Ba Anansi is very cunning.

How Goat Came to Live at Home

Goat went to make a shelter. He cut one post and put it down, and went for another. But now when he brought the second, he found many posts alongside of the one he himself had put there. Back into the bush he went now for palm leaves, but when he returned, there was the shelter all made. Tiger had made it. And so Goat and Tiger met, and they talked it over, and they decided they would live together.

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539 Now they made one condition. Goat was to go in search of food one day, and Tiger the next day. The first day Tiger went. He made a kill, and brought it home, and they ate. When Goat went, he killed nothing. The following day Tiger went. He made a kill, and brought it home. The day after Goat went and killed nothing.

Now, one day, Tiger went and killed a deer, and brought him home. But Goat would not eat, because Deer is Goat's uncle, and if he had eaten the meat, then he would have been eating his own uncle. But Tiger was angry. He said, "Day after day you ate what I killed, but today you refuse to eat. Yet when you yourself go, you kill nothing, and bring nothing home."

And now when the little Tigers played with the little Goats, the little Tigers said, "My father will show you-all!"

Mother Goat said, "As Father Tiger talks, so the children of Father Tiger talk." And she told the little Goats to watch out for Tiger, because already Tiger had killed their uncle. But Father Goat said all little Negro children must play together.

Now Goat went to hunt, and he met Man. He said to Man, "Day after day I go hunting, but I never kill." Then Man gave him something, and he said to Goat, "When you see an animal coming toward you, point at it, and call out 'Take care!' and that instant the animal will fall down dead."

Just as Goat took the thing Man gave him, he saw Tiger's grandfather approaching. He pointed his finger, and called out, "Take care!" That moment grandfather Tiger was dead. Goat brought him home. But now, when he came, Tiger would not eat, because the dead animal was his grandfather.

The following day, Goat went again. This time he killed Tiger's brother, and brought him home. Tiger would not eat.

But now the little Goats said to the little Tigers, "Father will show you-all!"

And Mother Tiger said to Father Tiger he had better look out for Goat. Twice he had gone to the bush to hunt,

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and twice Goat had brought back with him members of their family. And so when Goat again went hunting, Tiger followed him softly, and as he spied on Goat, he saw his uncle Tiger coming. And he saw how Goat pointed at him and called out, "Take care!" and how that very instant his uncle Tiger fell down dead.

Father Tiger hurried home, and said to Mother Tiger and the little Tigers, "Let us escape at once. Goat has something which he points at whomever he meets. When he does it and calls out 'Take care!' they all die."

And Tiger and his whole family made off into the bush as fast as they could go. They left the house to Goat.

So it is ended. And so it is that when someone boasts of the strength of his clan, or his family, or his clan's magic, or his own spirits, then we say to him:

> "*There are men on the upper river,*
> *There are men on the lower river, too!*"

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Chapter VIII

PARENTS, CHILDREN, AND GRANDCHILDREN

I

512 WE WERE aroused early after our night of stories. The women were moving about, getting their morning meal before daybreak came to give them light for their harvesting. There was much they had to do. Late that afternoon they would be returning to their villages, for the next day was sacred to the Earth Mother, [520] and no work could be done in the fields. Today, added to the round of harvesting were the preparations for the return to their village. The rice that had been cut during the week would have to be carried there for drying and winnowing, and yams and peanuts and beans were to be brought in.

136 Not far off, in the bush, the "baboons" were crying. We had been told how these howling monkeys lived in bands, and how they had an "old man" for leader. Their strange cries, ringing through the forest, sounded like despair made articulate. A terribly moving reiteration of four or five wailing notes went on and on, rising slowly in volume, until their cries blotted out all other sounds, and then, like a wave receding, diminishing until quiet reigned again. But when we had given up listening for its distant echo, there it was again, filling the darkness of the clearing with despair, until, at its very height, we heard the low, penetrating grunts of their "*G'aman*—Chief" and instantly all was still. They were done for the night. With daylight, they would go deeper into the bush.

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Soon our men, too, began to stir, and, as we came out of our hammocks, Bayo and Angita entered the clearing. They were just now returning from the dance at Pa'aba.

"*A-yo, a baya kebi!*—Yes, they danced hard," Bayo told us. "Obia came strong."

With Angita was a man we had not seen before, holding a small child by the hand.

"This is Awingu, my brother-in-law," said Angita in explanation. "His eyes trouble him. I brought him to you for medicine."

After the exchange of courtesies demanded by the visit, we turned to the child.

"Is this your child, Awingu?" we asked.

His answer came promptly. "No, he is not my child. He is my wife's child. I made him."

Here was a fine distinction. He made him, but the child was not his.

Just then our cook came up with a small present for the child, but, since he would not take it from his hands or ours, Angita gave it to him.

"Thank you, father," he said to Angita.

Angita looked down affectionately at the youngster. "Two, three years more, Awingu, and he will be ready to go and live with his father at Gankwe. Do you remember your father at Gankwe? It was he who showed you how to make a gun from a reed. And you made it well. . . ."

There appeared, then, to be yet another father, for it was clear that Angita was not speaking of himself when he referred to the Gankwe father who had showed the child how to make a play gun.

All this, in itself, however confusing to a visitor, is by no means an unusual phenomenon. Different peoples have their own sanctions for establishing kinship and their own designations for relationships. In the city we had been told many tales of the manner of life of these Negroes of the bush. And the "matriarchate," as the custom of counting descent through the mother was termed, had often come up when these people were being discussed.

611 602 "Among them only the mothers count, because among savages, who can tell who the real father is? That is why a child calls many men 'father,'" we had heard variously explained and elaborated.

Yet here was a man who said without hesitation, "No, he is not my child. He is my wife's child. I made him." And the very next instant the child called Angita father, and Angita referred to still another man as the father who would in a few years take the child with him to live and train him for manhood.

Any number of questions came to our minds, but at daybreak a stranger coming to the planting ground of a village not his own is the least willing of talkers.

"This is not your child, Awingu," we took the occasion to remark when we were saying goodbye, "yet he seems to like you very much."

"*Ma, tye! Ma Neng'e!*—Mother of all Negroes! What would you have? I am his father!"

The man showed by his amused expression that this was a story to carry back to his village. Only the politeness due a stranger kept Awingu and Angita from laughing aloud at this strange question. But Awingu was a thoughtful fellow. "Tell me," he said, after a while, "in your white man's country, don't children care for their fathers?"

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602 But there were not only multiple fathers, as the story told in the city ran. The matter was not disposed of so simply as that. In point of fact, each person seemed to have several mothers as well. Take the case of Angita himself, whose brother-in-law we met at dawn in the provision ground. Angita was first pointed out to us by Tita, who, behind her back, was called Mother Snake. It was at Gankwe when we came to see the dancing for the dead Zimbi.

"Look," she had said, as she indicated one of the principal dancers who wore seed rattles at his ankles. "This is

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Angita. He dances well. He is my son." And she had showed her pleasure at our appreciation of his excellent dancing. 602

The following day Angita came to our camp, bringing with him Kutai, a woman of about Tita's age. He left to go farther upstream for a time, but she remained with us and sat and talked with the others who were standing about, as they discussed the wood carvings we were in the act of buying.

"Have you seen Angita's carvings?" she asked us. "He is one of the best young carvers at Gankwe. When he is older, he will be one of the best on the Saramacca."

An old man standing by said drily, "Chicken says, 'You can lie about an egg, but you can't lie about a chicken.'"

"That's right," commented another. "We know Angita's carving. It is good, but. . . . "

But Kutai would not be contradicted. She interrupted the speaker with a gesture. "I am his mother, and a mother knows her son. You can say what you like."

About the fifth day after we had started up the river for the country of the Granman, we came to a village where Angita stopped to supplement his food for the journey. When he returned, his arms were filled with the large cassava cakes. Behind him came a young girl with a bottle of palm oil, and some rice in an open calabash, and she was followed by the people of the village who came to see the Bakra. A woman of middle age, whom both the young girl and Angita resembled, took the rice from the girl and, wading into the shallow water, came up to our boat and gave it to us. "This is rice for you. I am Angita's mother. Angita is strong. You will walk well with him."

Later that day, when our boat found itself abreast of the dugout which Angita was poling, we lost no time in questioning him.

"Angita," we called, "is the woman who gave us the rice your mother?"

He nodded.

"But what of Tita, who said she was your mother, too?"

602 He was a quick-witted lad, and he saw at once what we had in mind. He said with a laugh, "You are asking about my true, true mother, the one who made me? It is not this one, and it is not Tita, who made me. It is Kutai."

"But who are the other two?"

"They are her sisters."

3

593 Yet the family life of the Bush Negro does not differ in any essential respect from that of any other group of individuals, who, related by close ties of blood, live their lives together. Men and women marry and beget children, and their children in turn marry and beget others. In reality, but for the fact that a man or a woman claimed more than one father and mother, and a great number of brothers and sisters, of uncles and aunts, there was little to indicate the existence of conventions of family life which differed radically from those we ourselves know.

None the less, there were differences, and, once we were permitted to see beneath the surface, a slight incident here, another hint there, threw into relief the life of these people, and their own attitudes toward their actual and spiritual relationships.

Let us take the instance of Misomba and his son. Misomba was a man of middle age, and the incident we tell occurred as we were sitting in his house in a village above the Mamadam. He was speaking of the wood he had cut and of his plans to take it to the city to sell. With him in the house were his wife and a young lad, perhaps fifteen or sixteen years old, and, besides ourselves, our paddler Kasanya, who was Misomba's wife's elder brother.

"I need someone to take the rafts down the river. There are none in my family who are free, and I need help. But Adyabu here," he said, indicating his son, "knows about taking down rafts, and it will be good for him to learn more of the river leading to the white man's city. I am glad you came, brother-in-law. Now I can ask you if he may go with me. Is it your wish that he go?"

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Kasanya glanced at the boy, who showed by his manner 593
his eagerness to accompany his father, and then at his 607
sister. "How will it be with you, sister, if Adyabu goes? Do you want him to go with Misomba?"

"Yes," she replied. "Misomba will care for him. Let him go."

The three older people talked over the details of the trip down the river, until it was made clear to all that Adyabu would share whatever money his father might receive for the lumber.

"You will treat him well, brother-in-law," said Kasanya, with a smile, "for in a few years his girl will be ripe for marrying, and he will need money for a fine wedding."

That night we talked this over with Kasanya.

"Why must a man ask another if he may take his own son with him on a journey? Is a man not to be trusted to take care of a boy he himself has made?"

"You do not understand, Bak'a. It is not that we don't trust Misomba," he replied. "He has lived with my sister for many years. She is his first wife, and my family have always liked him. When my sister's eldest daughter was asked in marriage by a man of this village, and our great family came together here to consider whether we should promise her to him or not, we asked Misomba to give us his advice. Misomba does not have a bold face. He did not speak until after much urging. To ask a man's advice about what does not concern his own family is a great honor. But we did this, and when he spoke, we found that what he said was good. So, you see, it is not that we do not trust Misomba."

We encouraged him to explain further.

"Adyabu is not his heir. He is the child of my sister 604
and belongs to my family. I am the one to say what he is to 428
do and what he is not to do, because I am the oldest living brother. Adyabu does not belong to Misomba's family. He is of my blood. When I die, he will inherit my possessions. When Misomba dies, his possessions will go to his own

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Dwelling houses.

Carved door of a man's house (*right*).

A *gadu wosu*—man's personal house.

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604 428 brothers and to his sisters' children. That is how we live here in the bush. That is how we do."

4

591 When a man marries, he either arranges to take his wife to live in his own village—his mother's village—or to stay in that of his wife. Whether he chooses the one village or the other, he has to build a house there for her, and this becomes her *wosu*, her household. If he wishes, he may build two houses, one in his own village, and one in the village of his wife. Kasanya's younger brother built two houses for his first wife. One was on the lower river, next to Kasanya's own house, and the other we would reach after two days' further travel up the river.

Yet the man, explained Kasanya, if the couple were living in the village of the wife, or the woman, if their house was in his village, was not entirely at home. In one's own village a person was a *gomi*, a child of the "ground." He belonged there. But when living in another's village, even though it was that of a husband or wife, one was a [609] *wakama'*, a stranger, and if a man of the village but uttered this word "wakama'" to such an individual, the outsider had to take up his belongings and leave at once. Were the [688] stranger, in turn, to speak aloud the word "gomi," disaster would follow, for the earth spirits, having been disturbed, would be sure to take their toll.

594 The *wosu*—the household—is the unit of family life, whether, in its physical location, it is in one village or two villages. In it a woman lives with her husband, and here the 596 children are reared. After the wosu comes the larger family unit, the *mbe*, composed of those who have come from the [614] common womb of a more remote ancestress, while several of these larger or extended families form a clan.

"If a man has more than one wife," said Kasanya, "then 595 he makes more than one house. A man never puts two wives in the same house. It would not be good. Each woman has her own house, where she lives with her children. It must be so. The children of the first wife belong to her

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family. The children of the second wife belong to the 595
family of the second wife. A woman calls her husband's other wife by the name of kambosa. Do you know what kambosa means?" he asked, laughing. "*Kambosa*—the woman who makes trouble for me. So, you see, we people of the bush learned from our ancestors to give each wife her own house, where she might live with her own children."

But not alone the woman needed to have a house of her 342
own. The man, too, built a house for himself. In it he stored 423
his possessions. It was his sanctuary. No woman might enter it. On the carving of its door, a man lavished all his [531]
love of ornamentation, all his artistry.

"A man likes to have his own house for his possessions," explained Kasanya. "If he is a rich man, it is better that his wives do not know how much he has. You know what women are. They always ask for presents. But if a man is not rich, then it is better still that his wives do not know it. If they know, they will make life hard for him with nagging. They will talk of leaving him. And all the village will know, too."

In this house, then, which a man built for his wife, the 592
children were reared. Sometimes, it is true, if the harvests 604
were poor or the father had met with ill luck, the mother's [858]
brothers would come for the children, for children are the [928]
ones to carry on the line. It is through them that clan rank
and material goods are inherited.

But if all went well with the father, then the attachments 592
of the household were the closest, and they continued even 768
after death. For the household was not entirely disrupted after the death of a parent. Unless the one who died had been a sorcerer, a leper, or a madman, the house where he lived was not torn down.

"When a man dies," Kasanya said, "the wife goes on 768
living in the house, once it has been purified. If a woman dies, then the man keeps on living there."

"What of the children?" we asked. "What becomes of them?"

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768 "If it is the man who is dead, then the woman takes her
775 girl children to live with her, but her sons she sends away to live elsewhere. A man's spirit will not harm his daughters. He loves them. But his sons, he will kill. . . . When a woman dies, then it is the sons that the man will keep with him in the house, and the daughters must go away. The yorka of a woman will protect her sons, but she will destroy the daughters when she visits the place where she once lived."

5

602 To her child the Bush Negro mother gives at birth
851 membership in all her own blood groups. The child is of her *wosu*, or household. He belongs to her *mbe*, or great family, which is an aggregate of many households. He is a member of her *lo*, or clan, which is composed of a number of great families, and which holds political sway over a given
613 portion of the land. The tie of all these groupings is a blood tie, a common female ancestress who lived long ago, or several women, daughters of the same mother, who had been the first to live with the runaway ancestors here in the bush, or several women who came from one people in Africa, and were the first to bear children to the rebels in the jungle. Every legal, every economic implication which this tradition of descent and inheritance through the female line might hold, is faithfully adhered to.

611 The mother does indeed count, as the tales told us in the
593 city insisted. But what of the father?

That the Bush Negro understands fully the rôle that
842 both father and mother play in the procreation of the
532 young was everywhere apparent. The wood carving which a father made for his young daughter had designs on it of the kind which bore the general designation "*womi ko' muye*—man and woman." Whatever the traceries on the carvings given by a man to his woman during courtship, or after marriage, whatever animals might be represented, the essential symbolism was that of fertility, and the

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figures of a male and a female in congress were often introduced into the design. 842 532

The ignorance of the physical rôle of the male parent, said to exist among other primitive peoples with a similar linkage of relatives on the mother's side, is not found among the Suriname Negroes. At a religious ceremony in which townspeople alone were dancing, a woman turned to us, and said, "Now they are dancing Afrekete. When *Ma Aisa*—an Earth goddess—and *Pa Lebba*—he who guards the crossroads—make a child, it is called Afrekete." Similar genealogies of spirits were vouchsafed us by Bush Negroes as well, and always, there was the male god as well as the female, and always the recognition that both made the spirit which was their offspring. 842

These are examples derived from the art of the people, from their ritual, and from the concepts they have of the forces that actuate the universe. There also were many incidents to show the attitude of fathers and children toward each other in the everyday run of life. 593

Awingu did not hesitate when he answered that the child who was with him belonged to his wife. But he added that it was he who made him, and his affection for the little boy, and the child's fondness for him was apparent even to the casual onlooker. Kasanya, in talking to us about the kunu of his wife's family which had destroyed his sons, mourned them as a father. He had made them, and he had taught them to run the rapids, and to carve. He had given them his own gods to protect them, he told us when recounting the tragedy of the kunu which killed them. Misomba, the brother-in-law of Kasanya, had made Adyabu. There was no ambiguity about who the boy's father was. The boy was Kasanya's heir, but he was Misomba's son. Sedefo had brought the child to his brother Zimbi's coffin, saying, "I bring you your child. Try to protect him. . . ."

There was the matter of slipping. It is dangerous to slip. Losing one's step may bring the soul to the ground in an unguarded moment, where the earth spirits, or what 774 776

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would be more serious yet, an evil spirit who would be lying in wait for a soul to use as emissary in his affairs of black magic, would snatch at the soul and take it away. If this happened, a person would sicken, languish, and die. Sometimes when a man tripped on the clayey bank, we heard him exclaim, "*Ago!*—Ancestors!" calling on these to protect him until he recovered his balance. But often we heard different cries. "Mi, Awana!" one man had called. "Mi, Nyamfai!" or, "Mi, Matchau!" or "Mi, Popoto!" These are all clan names, and for a time we assumed that instead of appealing to their ancestors, they called on the entire clan to come to their aid. But one day Sedefo lost his footing, and we heard him exclaim, "Mi, Fandaki!" Now we knew that Sedefo belonged to the clan of the Gankwe people, and we knew, further, that he was most emphatically not of the Fandaki clan.

"Sedefo, you are not a Fandaki. Why did you call on them?"

"My father belongs to the Fandaki. When we slip we call on our father's lo."

"Why, Sedefo?"

"I do not know. . . . "

Another day we were sitting and talking to a young man in an upper river village. A girl came and sat with us. "This is my sister," the man said. It was at a time when we were looking into these matters, and we asked, "Did the same mother make you both?"

"No," he answered, "she is here only on a visit. She lives across the river. Her father is my mother's brother."

"But she is not your sister, then," we said. "She does not even belong to your clan."

"Massa Neng'e! But she is my sister!" the man protested. "She is neither of my family, nor of my clan. But did not my mother's brother make her?"

"Could you marry her?"

He considered for a moment. "It would be possible. But it would not be good. . . . And the old women in the village would talk too much."

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This was not the only instance of our meeting an individual who liked to stay in her father's village. There was the girl Takuda. Her mother was of the Kasito clan, and her house was in Dahomey, its principal settlement. She was not happy among her mother's people, and when we met her, she was living with her father's family. 593

"Does her mother's family not want her with them?" we asked a friend with whom we were discussing her.

He shrugged his shoulders. "Should not a child live in her father's home if she wants to?" he answered simply. "A father likes his children, and they like him, too."

Nor was it strange. To the child, the father was a man of the older generation to whom he could come for sympathy. He rarely corrected, for this was the task of the mother and her family. Often it was he who interceded with the older people in behalf of a son who wished to do something which his maternal family opposed. If a father gave small gifts to his children, they were looked upon truly as gifts. The ritual obligations of gift-giving chiefly lay with the mother's side. [431]

But there was more than just the affection for a boon companion which children felt for their fathers. There was pride in the father, pride in his achievements, and identification with his village.

When the Granman told us he was arranging for us to visit the village across the river from his own, he said, "Today you will see my father's house. Let them shoot guns so that I may know when you arrive in my father's village. They will show you everything. It is a fine village," he ended, with pride. "It is my father's country."

The last phrase was a refrain which ran through our entire visit there.

"This is the village of the Granman's father," we heard, again and again. "This is the house of the father of the Granman," one said, and another, "This is where the father of the Granman would sit in krutu." This person and that were introduced as belonging to the family of the father of the Granman. The climax came when we were shown the shrine to the ancestors. An especially elaborate [198]

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593 place was pointed out to us. The carved representation of
798 the human face of the image was worked more carefully than is ordinarily done. Here the white clay was applied more thickly. The white cloth hanging from its stick was larger than we had ever seen before, the offerings of food and bottles and calabashes more numerous than at other ancestral shrines.

"This is where the yorka of the father of the Granman comes," we were told.

But why the father? What of the mother, the parent to whom the Granman was related? This village did not even belong to the Matchau clan to which he himself belonged. Yet with the pride that this was the shrine to the spirit of the Granman's father went a realization of its importance. Here was something outside the legal order, something which transcended the facts of descent and the theory of relationship. It was becoming ever more evident that in this "matriarchate" the father did count.

6

494 The inheritance of the father's kunu was one instance
796 where the father needed to be taken very much into account. "If this man's children should take some of his goods," they had said, pointing at things we could see through the slats of the dead man's treasure house in the village of Opoku, "they will get his kunu, too. No man wants that."

784 Then there was the *trefu*, or *tchina*—taboo—as it was
269 called in the bush, of which our cook had told us. Every individual in the bush had his tchina. Everyone knew the things he must not eat, or must not do. One man had to abstain from eating *anumara*, the great fish of the river. Another might never sleep in the open without a roof over his head. Should he find himself out in the bush with night coming, he must stop early enough to erect a small shelter and thatch it that his head might be covered when he slept. Bayo, we soon learned, might not eat food out of the cooking pot, and Sedefo could not bathe in a creek. Kasanya

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did not eat deer's meat, or his brother-in-law the meat of the bush-hog. 784 262

There are many kinds of tchina. There are the obia tchina. A man wearing or carrying with him a charm—an obia—will have several prohibitions imposed on him. If these are observed, the potency of the magic in the object given him will remain, but if they are violated, it will become a worthless ornament. When an obia is bought, its maker will take the hands of the man for whom he has made it in his, and pass his own lightly over them, blowing softly, so that the power of the spirit he had called upon when making it may enter into the man for whom the obia was made. Then the obia man will lean over and whisper, that no one might overhear, "When you wear this, do not get into a boat backwards," or, perhaps, "Never eat crab meat while you have this about your neck," or "Do not eat cassava and rice out of the same calabash." 789 784 [262]

But with the personal tchina it is otherwise. At birth each individual falls heir to a number of taboos. They come to him from his father. When a woman is with child she observes her husband's taboos as well as her own, for the child might otherwise be harmed in the womb by being nurtured on what is hateful to his father, and therefore to himself, since his father's taboos are his own. Male and female children take these tchina from the father. Their mother's tchina are no concern of theirs. Those which she observes had come to her from her own father. What makes the father ill will make the children ill, too. This holds for their entire lives, and the male children transmit their tchina from generation to generation. 784 424 [843]

A simple instance of this is the one which happened at our base camp when Bayo, who we knew could not eat out of a cooking pot, came one day to ask us for a dish. "My father forgot his eating dish. Will you let him use one of yours? He cannot eat out of a cooking pot."

When one man says of another, therefore, "He has the same tchina I have," he is saying that the two of them are related in the father's line. [602]

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607 784 But when one man shares a tchina with another it does not mean that they only share prohibitions. There are privileges as well. There is the right to lift a *kandu*, for example.

789 The outsider among the Bush Negro people cannot go long without learning of kandu. Many times we had noticed a small bundle of twigs hanging from a nail over a doorway of an uninhabited hut, or had remarked a small strip of colored cloth and a feather or two knotted together and swinging from an orange tree, or a calabash filled with hardened sacred clay, suspended from a limb where a creek entered the river. When we asked about them, we learned that each was a kandu, a spiritual lock, which by the potency of the magic put into it by the maker protected the house, or the tree, or the fishing creek—whatever we happened to be discussing at the moment—from thieves. It was a guard which no man dared violate.

Bayo had made one for us early in our visit to the Suriname bush.

"I will make you something to keep away thieves. I will make you a kandu."

He had asked us for a needle, and from wood of a special kind which is used only in kandu he fashioned the representation of a human head. Some native fiber and two kinds of sacred grass held the needle and the carved image together. This he covered with white clay, the sacred pemba, and the red coloring of the kuswe plant, which is also sacred. When he had spoken his invocations, and dipped the kandu in the river to purify it, he brought it to us.

"Put it where you keep your money. I have put strong magic into it. Your possessions will be safe. Anyone who opens the chest and sees this, will not touch what is inside. . . . But do not eat out of a cooking pot. It will lose its power. I have given it my own tchina."

But it seemed that a kandu did not always remain inviolate.

[593] "It would not be good," Bayo explained, "if a man went away and left a kandu over the house, and no one but he

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could enter it until he took the kandu away. Suppose a man went to hunt, and a friend came back to the village with a message from the hunter to get something inside the house. If no one at all could get it, it would not be good." 789 593

"What happens then?"

"The friend would seek out the man's own child—a child the man himself had made—and ask him to lift the kandu."

"Suppose his wife lifted it? Or his sister's child?"

"They wouldn't. The spirit in the kandu would punish them. His true, true child could touch the kandu, and his brother, or his sister, or his brother's children," said Bayo.

"The sisters' children?" we asked again.

"No, no! They would lift their own father's kandu."

Was there anyone else, we inquired, who could remove the kandu from a man's house?

Bayo considered. "Anyone who is born with the same tchina can lift it," he said, finally. "Those with the same tchina have the same fathers. Those whose fathers are the same, a kandu cannot harm."

7

We were talking one night with some men of the Anago clan. 628

"Is it true," asked one, "that in the Negro country there are great warriors, and many wars?"

In olden times, we said, it was true, but today the African peoples were at peace.

"So it is now on the Saramacca River," he replied, but with a laugh he added, "Sometimes there are quarrels."

For instance, there had been a quarrel on the river not very long ago over lumber which had been cut by members of one clan on land belonging to another. The men knew they had no right to the timber, but they cut it down. The first time they were warned, and fines were demanded. The second time it happened, however, the men of the clan who owned the bush where these trees stood surprised the trespassers, and beat them.

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628 "Yes," the man went on, "and there was much trouble." The men who had been punished incited their entire clan to come to their aid in an attack on the clan villages of those who had chastized them. "But now they are at peace." Those who were beaten were of his own clan, he said.

"And did you win your fight? What happened after that?"

"I did not go with the men. The land where the trees stood belonged to my father's clan, and my father's people I would not fight."

"What did you do?"

"I tried to make peace between them. That is what a man does when his father's clan and his mother's clan have trouble. But I was too young to speak in the big krutu—the assembly of the chiefs—so it was the elders of the Nyamfai people who brought them together, and settled the matter."

There was a point which we wanted cleared up. What was the attitude of the group toward a man who did not enter into a fight which concerned his own clan?

"Did no one say you ought to fight, too?" we asked, explaining our question to the man several times.

"No, why should they? A man can't fight against his father's people. Everybody knows that."

"But what if you did?"

"The gods would turn against my side."

After our return down river, when we again sat in the hut of the headman of the Gankwe clan, we turned to him with some questions about the family, and he gave us the following summary.

593 [614] 424 604 "From our mother we get our *lo*, our clan, and our *mbe*, our great family. Our mother's brothers are those we must obey. They correct us when we do wrong. They tell us what is good. In our mother's village is our true home, and from there we are buried when we die. But our father is our friend. He gives us his advice. From him we get many of the gods we dance to when we are men, and from him we

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get the tchina which, if we do not break them, will let us stay healthy. Both our parents care for us." 593 424 604

He thought for a moment, and then, with a laugh, he wondered as Awingu had wondered that early morning at the planting ground.

"Is it not so in your country, Bak'a," he said, "that you ask me so often about these things?"

8

"Massa cow," we heard Bayo call out again and again to his great-grandfather Bibifo, when he wanted to indicate to the old man that he knew what he was about. Bibifo accepted the reproof with unvarying meekness and good humor. 603 888

This relationship between them puzzled us. Yet the other men, overhearing Bayo's brusque words to Bibifo, made nothing of it. Before strangers, Bayo was subdued, shy. He stuttered ceremonially when he addressed a man of rank. He pitched his voice only a little above a whisper when he was in a strange village. Toward Kasanya and Sedefo and Asikanu he was respectful, and showed reserve. When he wanted his hair trimmed he came to Angita for help, or, better still, to the young man at the prow of Kasanya's boat who, like Kasanya, was of his own clan. [506]

The old man was not a forceful fellow. That was, perhaps, the reason, we thought at first. Then we wondered if it was not because Bibifo had become Adrian, and no longer wore obias to carry him well on the water—because he had forsaken the old gods. But the other men treated Bibifo with the respect due an old man. When Kasanya killed a monkey, and his own pole-man could not share it with him because he was a twin and twins did not eat monkey, he turned to Bibifo with the pole-man's portion, and not to Sedefo, or to Asikanu, who was the brother of a clan head, and himself a possible successor to his brother's chieftainship. 845 262

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888 We had had occasion to observe a not dissimilar manner of interchange between a young girl and an elderly woman in one village after another.

In one such village, a girl, who did not yet have her breasts, answered an old woman's reprimand with, "No, kambo, I will go down to the river later."

Kambo! She who makes trouble for me. . . .

The old woman said nothing.

603 888 The most striking instance, however, occurred in the village of the Granman. Moana Yankuso was held in no little fear everywhere on the river. It was not his rank alone as headman of all the clans, however, that had won him the reputation of a man to be obeyed. He was a powerful man, a great politician, and in every sense a personality, a man who knew how to dominate men and situations. One day in his council house, while he was surrounded by his chiefs, who sat on the low stools, their heads averted from him as is the way when men are in the presence of the great, the plaid strip of cloth which covered the door was brushed aside, and a young man entered. He took up a stool, brought it close to the Granman, and sat down. But he did not avert his face nor did he wait to be addressed.

"Howdo, mati," said he to the Granman, "I hear you want to see me."

We waited for the swift and terrible rebuke which the chief could give. None came.

"I sent for you," began the Granman, "because the Bak'a is leaving us. I am sending the captain of the village to take charge of the boat the white man and his woman will travel in. You will take the front paddle of the boat. You will see to it that his journey is pleasant. You must take care in going through the rapids. . . ."

"Mati," interrupted the young man, and his manner did not disguise his impatience with the injunctions of the Granman. "Mati, I am a man. I know how to run a boat. Why do you tell me all this?"

Instead of finding fault with the forward youth, the Granman turned to us and said, "You will be safe with

him. He has taken boats up and down the Marowyne. He is my grandson. If I had one of my own blood, I would have had him accompany you. . . . But my sisters' children sleep," he ended, using the euphemism for death. 603 888

When we came to know the young man, we asked him about this incident with the Granman. Was he not afraid to interrupt him?

"Ma kye! But he is my grandfather! With my grandfather I make sport."

Again we went to the old men and sought in village after village for their own explanation of this behavior toward grandparents.

There were, we learned, age distinctions that were deeply felt. A man was on easy terms with those of his own generation. Between parents and children, and those of the generation of their parents, however, there was a definite code of behavior. For example, no young man or woman might talk of sexual matters with either parent, and this lack of sanction for frankness in sexual discussions with parents became an actual taboo with parents-in-law. Encounters with the "pai" and "mai," as they were known, were hemmed in by countless prohibitions. A man might not sleep in the same house with either of them, nor might he eat with them out of the same dish. If he met either of his parents-in-law as he went along the path, he had to turn aside, make way for them, and cover his face. He might not pronounce their names, nor might they speak his. These observances held for women, too, and the ones we mention were by no means all. 561 576 606 [593] [831]

With grandparents, however, a vastly different situation obtained. 603

"He is my grandson. I call him mati—friend. I make sport with him!"

"She is my granddaughter. She calls me husband. She makes free with me!"

"She is my granddaughter, we talk about everything. She calls me kambo, and I call her kambo." Again, we

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603 were told that kambo was an abbreviated form of kamboa, and meant the woman who makes trouble.

"He is my grandson, he calls me wife, and I call him [522] husband. We joke together about everything."

Up and down the river we heard these expressions from the old men and women with whom we talked, and to them these were all-sufficient explanations of the relationship of grandparent and grandchild. This making free was a verbal give-and-take that did not stop at brusqueness or teasing. Indeed, those who indulged in this freedom might discuss with each other any phase of the sexual life. Nor did they need to resort to any evasion or circumlocution. There seemed, moreover, to be a sanction for emphasis on the obscene and the lascivious in these conversations—obscene and lascivious, that is, from the point of view of those who were themselves speaking!

603 182 The effect of the custom is interesting. It acts as a form of release for the young, who are held down under the strain of paying respect to those who are older and of greater experience. It is a way of escape from the discipline imposed by the parents and those of their generation.

What did the Bush Negro make of it?

We talked about it with men and women of many villages, and invariably the answer was the same.

"So we live in the bush, white man, and so we do. Our ancestors did this before us. Long ago our great ancestors brought all this knowledge with them from *Neng'e Kond'e* —from the land of the Negroes."

Yet in the beliefs of these people, and in their life as they live it, there are to be found a few suggestive hints which seem to have some bearing on this custom of verbal license between grandparents and grandchildren.

603 [551] The Bush Negro child is given many names at birth, and one name is usually that of a departed ancestor, a deceased grandparent. It may be, then, that this puts the child on a plane of spiritual equality with his grandparents and with those of their generation who are related to him. There is, also, the feeling about the propriety of the mar-

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riage of persons whose ages differ greatly. It may be that the grandparental generation is considered safe against infractions of this element in the code of proper behavior, and that the reticence about matters of sex, which is insisted upon between a child and those of the generation of his parents, has been proved to be unnecessary in the case of those so much older than the young person. Yet these, in the very nature of the case, are speculations. Whatever the reasons may be, the Bush Negro does not trouble himself about them.

"But my grandfather is my mati! With him I make sport!"

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Chapter IX

A NIGHT AT S'EI

I

133 37 FROM day to day the mood of the river changed, and the mood of the bush changed with it. The dankness of the river bank gave way to the smell of red, sun-scorched earth. No longer was the farther shore the forbidding wall of a great canyon. The flowering lianas, as they climbed a hundred feet and more from the roots of the trees they had enveloped, were making of it a tapestry. The blooms which showed against the masses of green seemed at first of the palest yellow with threads of white, or yellow with glints of gold in them, or the faintest of orange and violet. Later when the flaming gold, the scarlet and purple clusters appeared, they still did not mar the somber weave of the timeless pattern, for the deep note of this bush in any season is green, and no pushing, garish colors, no conceits of turning leaves or fragrant flowers can sound an echo here. As well expect the brilliantly tinted butterflies cruising from one bank to the other to make a [136] whir in their passage, as to look for it to be otherwise.

The air, however, became steadily drier, the green more varied and pleasing, and the land rising and sloping gave an occasional glimpse of a horizon. If something in the shade of the river banks still spoke of the way of the constrictor, the sudden lashing out of the tail, there was now also the pleasant consciousness of its long lethargy. The swish of wings overhead, when we walked for short intervals through

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the uncleared bush, or the sight of a snake twined about a liana, no longer struck terror, and the flaying rains which came down so suddenly, and as suddenly were over, no longer even aroused uneasiness. 133 131 [130]

At the prow of our boat Bayo poled vigorously and continued his countless variants of the seketi song we had been hearing everywhere on the river, while Bibifo had made a refrain of our question, "How do you say this in your Saramacca language?" He would paddle in silence for a long time, only to begin muttering at the most unexpected moments, "Sa'macca tongo!" in the way of an old man who talks to himself. He would then repeat it over and over in ridicule of us, and sometimes in a singsong voice he would improvise lines about the white man who wanted to know how everything was called in the true, true Saramacca language, and how all that was told him he wrote down in a book. 533 186

"Great-grandfather," we would say to him, "why do you say this? Isn't it all right for us to want to learn how to talk to the G'aman?"

"*Kere-kere*—It's all right."

But having said this, he would engage Bayo in conversation, clipping his words, and using so much idiom and parable as utterly to confound us.

"Your language is difficult, great-grandfather."

"Ya-hai, it is meant for the people of the bush, white man," he would say with a pride we had not looked for from the mild Bibifo, who was now called Adrian. There was, it appeared, potency in the "word," and magic. The names for things, and the things themselves were one. The knowledge of Saramacca names belonged to the Saramacca people, and whether as Bibifo or Adrian, he was above all a Saramacca Negro, and a member of an important clan. [559]

2

When we had been seven days on the river, our cook came to us and said he wanted to talk about something we had best know. 000

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776 609 "The gods are friendly to you, Massa. The men have all noticed it. You look upon trees and falls with pleasure. When you see them, it is as if you met with a friend. That is good. But the gods have their powers, and men have theirs. The Rabbit says, 'Evil is everywhere.' Last night, you remember, there was a man who did not look up when you passed his house, and when you spoke 'Howdo' to him, he would not answer. He was an obia man. He would not take the hand of a white man. I have heard the men say there are others who are not glad that the white man has come so far, and that the gods have allowed it. . . . "

Abruptly he stopped. He had said more than he intended.

"I came to tell you about another thing," he continued after a moment of embarrassment. "You should know about fio-fio."

Fio-fio was a small brown bug, and it was also a spirit. [153] The spirit fio-fio brought sickness and death to human beings. For people like ourselves, untutored in the ways of the spirits, and the things which allowed them to gain sway over an individual, only a diviner could seek out the incident which had caused fio-fio to come.

751 783 That was why it was necessary to bathe in a protecting fluid, to "wash fio-fio," even though we had not yet been stricken.

"Let me tell you how to wash fio-fio," he went on. "You must bathe when nobody sees you, and this is what you must have: the skin of a plantain we call the mother plantain that has been dried in smoke, and weeds which I will give you, and Negro-country pepper which I have with me, and seven pieces of chalk, and some eggshells. Some people put washing-blue in the water, too, but that you don't need. You can bathe in it early in the morning, or at noon, or right after sundown, but no one must see you."

He paused for a moment.

776 626 578 "Do you not have fio-fio in your country? Look, this is how it is. You quarrel with a man who works for you, and he comes back and says he is sorry, and you say you are

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sorry, too. He does that because he is afraid of fio-fio. If a man quarrels with you, and he keeps his anger in him, and you keep yours, and later he takes work from you, then either he, or you, or both of you will get sick. If the anger was great, then you or he or both of you will become very sick. If you catch it soon, then you get together, and, as we say, '*Pu' mofo'*—take back what you had said. Then you get better."

Fio-fio had nothing to do with enmity. Honest enmity was not harmful. Enmity masked, however, or bitterness, or a grudge which a man harbored while he continued a relationship of friendship, sickened a man, and it sickened the man against whom the grudge was held, as well. That was fio-fio. Only those who had relationships of intimacy were subject to it—people who were united by blood ties, or ties of friendship, or servants who formed part of the household.

The remedy was ceremonially to retract and ask for pardon. It had to be done before people, with the proper ritual and bathing.

"If this isn't done, then a person gets worse and worse, and dies. I myself saw the fio-fio bug fly out of the nose of a dying woman."

This woman had sickened because she had quarreled with her sister over a man. In the end they had both lost him. As time went on, they began to talk again and later lived together in their mother's house. But they had never forgiven each other. One day one of them borrowed a kerchief from the other to wear at a dance. The next day she was ill. From then on she got worse and worse.

"The quarrel between the sisters had happened so long ago that they never thought of it. So they did nothing. In a month she died, and I myself saw the fio-fio bug fly out of her nose."

He knew another story about fio-fio.

"This happened to a man I know. His child died less than a month ago. He was living with a woman, and the woman became big with child. He had been away in the

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796 bush for some months, and when he came back he did not
626 feel well, and they quarreled often. When they quarreled she
518 refused to cook for him, and so he said bad things to her.
He began to say the child was not his. Now when a father
[714] takes away his 'kra, his soul, from the child while it is in
the mother's womb, it is not good. When the child was
born, it was a very small child. Afterwards the man left
the woman. He still said the child was not his, but he used
to bring money to the woman sometimes to buy things for
the child. The neighbors said she must not take the money.
If she took it, they said, the child would die of fio-fio. But
the woman took the money. Nowadays many of them don't
believe in the old things, until they find out. When the
child was four months old it died. Everybody knew it was
fio-fio."

He told other incidents of what happened to people who had fio-fio.

"I tell you all this because sometimes the men in the boats talk about the whites, and they think you don't understand. But you know what they say, and you are angry. If you give them a present of leaf tobacco later, or rum, then they or you may become sick. . . . *The men in* the bush know what to do about fio-fio, Massa, and you
[538] must learn, too. The proverb says: 'How is a boat to go, if it has no paddles?'"

3

137 At the entrance to the village of S'ei a gigantic silk-
cotton tree stood. Its trunk was massive, and the roots
which projected outwards like so many buttresses made
824 of it a great somber cathedral. The curiously twisted
776 grooves which these buttresses made were said to house
many spirits, and particularly the three who lived in the
kankan tree, as the natives called it. Gedeonsu, the male
god, and Tinné, his wife, lived there with their child
Dyombie, the most dreaded of them all. The kankan tree
gods were thought of as women's gods, though a few men
might be found, here and there, who would, on occasion,

be possessed by them. Between the roots of the tree offerings were placed—two or three bottles on their sides, or a calabash filled with sacred clay. 824 776

When the time came to dance to the gods of the kankan tree, a tunic of cotton was placed about its trunk. While the drums spoke to the gods, white clay was spread over the bark, a chicken was killed, and its blood allowed to spray the tree and drip into a calabash placed on the ground to receive it. Eggs inside obia pots were put beside the tree, and bottles filled with sweet liquor and the juice of sugar cane. All about its wide trunk the dancers swayed and leaped, each dancing to her own spirit until, at the height of their ecstasy, there were a few among them who would climb the great tree itself, and dance on its branches. The drums continued until the frenzy ebbed. Had they stopped sooner, those in the tree could not have remained there safely or in safety have descended to the ground. 824 776 776

At other times, women came to Gedeonsu to ask him for children, and those who were troubled by his spirit brought offerings, though the great dances were held when the old year came to an end, and the big offerings were then *made*. [847] [789]

"If a man were to cut down a kankan tree, Gedeonsu would cut off his foot. I myself saw it happen," said a man to us at S'ei. "And his sister got the god." [688]

The kankan tree gods could be bought, too. A woman who wanted fertility would seek to buy Gedeonsu. Others might wish to have Tinné. Only an individual who had a spirit which gave him the right to make obias and call the gods could get the spirit for one who wished to buy it. Such a man would take an obia pot, fill it with water and place inside it cowrie shells which had not been cleansed. After speaking his invocation, he would add a sacred white stone, called an obia stone, and with a calabash in one hand and a bell in the other, he would go to the tree and address the spirits as he rang the bell. When the water became ruffled, it was a sign that the god had entered it. Quickly he would cover the calabash with a cloth and take it away with him. [843] [434] 791 824 776 776

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796 This ritual might have brought Gedeonsu, or Tinné—
776 whoever was called. The two could not, however, be taken
824 at the same time, for one of them had to be left to care for the child Dyombie. If two of the kankan tree gods were wanted, then mother and child, or father and child, would be sought.

824 "The kankan tree spirits are not bad, but people fear
776 them. They are not as bad as the Akatasi gods."

The Akatasi gods were those which animated the kato liana, and were related to the gods of the ant hill. This kato bush was a terrible parasite which, getting its strangle hold on a tree, would rise higher than the tree itself and at last kill it.

The silk-cotton, however, was a friendly tree and cruel only when its spirits were tampered with by those who did not know how to control the gods. When the ancestors came into this river, which "in early days was only a creek," it was they who had sought out these trees, and had made their villages where they stood. Now the trees had become great, and the villages were great.

Here was the silk-cotton tree at S'ei, one of the greatest of all. Its roots made ridges in the path to the village. Under the spiritual guard they spread, and to the large oval of wood fixed on a wooden base which stood a short distance from it, and to the low shelter where, on the head of a crudely carved image, rested a whitened covered pot, and farther to the mound of earth on which stood offerings. Farther still the roots followed the path, and into the village itself, until, perhaps half a mile from the tree, they reached the Kromanti house and the village council house and the home of the chief. It was as though these roots were the arteries which fed strength to the Kromanti spirits dwelling there, and as if they brought the wisdom of the ancestors to the shelter where the men of the village gathered to hear and try cases, to discuss the will of men and gods as they touched upon the well-being of the people.

34A Upon our arrival we were bidden to the council house, where men and women were waiting about. This was an

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open shelter, covered by a gabled thatch. At both sides the eaves extended several feet from the posts which supported the roof, and almost touched the ground. The floor was of red clay, hardened and smooth. There were no stools about, and no other decorations. Men summoned to a council came with their own council benches. About two of the slender posts which faced the path were obias made of twined native sisal, of narrow strips of blue and red cotton, and cowrie shells. Each differed a little from the other, and each had its own potency, but what this was, none would say. On one of the crosspieces below the eaves were large balls of hardened red clay. They had been put there by the old women to await the time for molding the clay into the obia pots, which, after they had been fired, would be blackened with the soot of rice hulls and oil and refired.

Against the crossbeams in one corner of the council house the women had gathered, and at the other end the men were seated on their stools, with Captain And'u and the bassia, the man second in command, among them. While the men were discussing the Neng'e Nana, their Negro grandfathers from Africa, the women were addressing some direct questions to the white woman.

Why was she not smoking a pipe, as fitted the position of a woman of rank who was on her way to visit the Granman? What had she done with her children when she went on this long journey which took twenty-one nights and days to reach the Suriname white man's city? Did she like her husband's other wife? Had she more children than the other wife? What rank would her sons inherit from their uncles?

"How many gods have you?" one of the younger women asked.

"I have four—three Vodu, and one Apuku," another said, as though the question had been put to her, and she could say with pride that she had three snake gods, and one bush god.

The bassia's handsome wife, who had overheard the men speak of the white man's book which showed pictures of their ancestors, said, "The whites read out of books. The

776 186 gods do not come to them." There was in her voice contempt for women who had no gods. She was of a reddish-brown color, taller and more slender than most, and the great coils of brass about her arms and ankles told that her [301] beauty had had full recognition. These had come to her at [585] marriage, as had the small earrings of gold which the bassia had brought to her from French Guiana. With these, too, had come cloths and handkerchiefs, beads and carvings.

609 123 If white women had no gods, did they know any of the other things which women must know? Did the white [591] woman wear an apron underneath all her cloths, as women should? Were her thighs cicatrized? Did she cook for her husband, or other men, when she should be isolated in the special house provided for women's monthly visits? [841] Did she purify herself with sacred clay when she emerged from isolation in order not to spoil her husband's obias, for which contact with a woman who has her menses is the deadliest taboo? Why, having borne children, did her figure not show it?

[534] "Have you drums?" the bassia's wife asked. "Without drums, how do you pray? How do you dance?"

[535] Dancing without drums availed nothing.

"White women have no gods. The gods do not come to them. They are not troubled by the need to dance. White women do not pray," she concluded, seeing that what dancing the white woman did could only be a feeble affair.

"I will send my son to your country. The men who go to the French shore say it is good to know how to count the white man's way. My woman-child I will never send," she finished with finality.

Now it was the white woman's turn to ask a few questions, having done explaining how her boots laced, and why it was that she was dressed very much as her husband was dressed.

751 776 183 The white clay in the hair and on the face of a small child was medicine. The child's mother had washed for her god that morning. He was a god whose day for dancing was Wednesday, and now, feeling the god stir in her, she would

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wash every day until Wednesday came to permit her to dance. When she washed with the sacred moistened clay, she rubbed the white on her children. 75 77 783

"Will all the women dance on Wednesday who have the same god as you?"

The child's mother shook her head. "If the god comes to them, yes. If he doesn't come, they can't dance."

And the bassia's wife said, "The women who are in the menstrual house can't dance. When they hear the drums, they are troubled, but they must remain quiet." 841

The woman had spoken too eagerly and too loudly, for her husband, overbearing her, said something in a low rapid voice, and at once the women fell silent and several of them remembered errands they had to see to. 593

4

"When men are in the council house, you mustn't interrupt," said the bassia's wife to the white woman. "If we did what you did just now, our husbands would scold us when they got home, and if we did it again, they would beat us." 576 [593]

She had taken upon herself all the prerogatives of friendship, and continually criticized the manners of her visitor.

The old were to be greeted last. A gift was to be received by another. When returning a piece of carving to another's hand, the carving should rest on the outstretched palm, while the elbow of that arm lay on the palm of the other hand. In the presence of men, a woman who took a stool should turn it about and sit on its narrower side.

"Never sit on the bare earth. The spirits don't like it," she said one instant, and the next, "Don't play with your fingers on top of your sun helmet. Your breasts will get long. Drumming is not a thing for women." [806] [562]

There had been other warnings during earlier visits to Bush Negro villages, but none had borne down so heavily upon the shortcomings of the stranger.

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834 848 "Don't go off into the bush with a man. A child born to you will have a bad bush god, if you do," she added as an afterthought.

5

123 177 In the other corner, Chief And'u, the bassia, and about half a dozen men were talking of the great book about their ancestors which the white man had.

"It is large so," said the chief to one of the older men, indicating an imaginary size which multiplied the size of the actual volume at least tenfold. "And people say it has in it pictures of the Apuku gods, small as we ourselves know them, and a picture of the evil Apuku who appear as fire in the distance. . . . Mati, white men have gone into the Kromanti houses in the country of our ancestors and have made pictures!"

"It is impossible!"

"I want to see!"

The old man said, "I will not look. Books are not for us, mati."

"But mati, the G'aman has heard, and he wants to see."

The old man shook his head. He would have nothing of pictures that figured what should never have been allowed to be photographed.

It seemed prudent to give the conversation a new turn. 137 Down river, the men had said that a man of this village had lately found a new *neku* liana. Was it so?

"The man who found it was my son," said the old man, "you should have come for the dance. You would have seen how we do things here in the bush. But pictures you could [892] not take. No, mati, if you photograph, you take the soul."

The festivities for the find had been especially joyful, he 824 explained, for the boy had only recently come by his gods, 796 and this had been yet another proof that he would serve his family capably. For though the find was his own, all his relatives in the mother's line would enjoy its use. Here- [278] after, when the poison of its leaves and its slender branches [226]

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was wanted for killing fish in a creek, they would have their own neku.

When a man found a neku vine, he first had to cut some of it, and bring it home with him. Then he sent word to all the men of his village to come and carry the branches of the neku to the place of ceremony. He named the place and day for the pounding of the neku. The invitation was given in the name of the old men of the village, and the headman sent his bassias, those men who assist him in village affairs, with messages to neighboring settlements. When this had been done, the finder of the vine appointed five or six men of his own choice, and these were called "Bassias of Neku." It was they who had charge of the ceremonies. The night preceding the dance these men went about crying, "Tomorrow we will have neku. All must come." Again the men went to the bush where the neku vine had been found, and brought to the village some more of the vine for pounding.

Early the following morning a horn was sounded, and the men from the neighboring villages who had come for the festivities also went and cut some of the neku, and brought it to the pounding place. When the men were gathered, each took up a stick and pounded the neku. And what they crushed they put into corials filled with water. These corials were then sunk in the stream. In a short time the poisoned fish floated to the surface of the water, and all the men took up their long-handled scoops and began to fish. The bassias of neku, whom the finder of the plant had appointed for the ceremony, directed the fishing. When a quantity of fish had been caught, those who were not of the village where the owner of the vine lived gave of their catch to the finder of the neku plant, and some went to the chief of the village, and the elders, too, had a share of what the outsiders had caught, though in some villages only the owner of the vine profited by the gifts of the others. Then the men joined the women, who were dressed in their finest cloths, and the dancing began.

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Shrine of the Apuku gods.

Kromanti Mama.

Village guardians.

[Facing P. 158]

824 796 Later, through the gathering darkness, the people of the neighboring villages went home, paddling their boats which were loaded down with the fish that had been netted. And from this time on, everyone knew that this neku vine was [423] the property of him who had found it, and of his family, [428] down through his mother's line, forever.

"Ai, mati, you would have seen something, if you had got here for the neku dance!"

6

361 Like any other Bush Negro village, S'ei was a series of sandy clearings about which were grouped huts of woven palm fronds and palm thatch. All about was the big bush. [487] The trails which led from the village were each guarded [789] by a magically treated palm azang, and shrines to the ancestral spirits who saw to it that evil was kept away. Where the several paths led, a stranger was not encouraged to discover. Down one, women were to be seen disappearing [492] in the morning with trays on their heads, their infants astride their backs, held inside the folds of a cloth which was fastened high above their breasts, and caught up again below them. In many upper river villages, this path led to the fields, some distance away. Others were the way to [778] shrines, erected to those spirits which must be worshiped outside the village. Another path might lead to a brook, which the villagers held sacred. There were trails, too, which connected neighboring villages, and led perhaps farther yet, but for the stranger, the highway was the river, and no matter how short the distance between one settle- [486] ment and another, he was not invited to make his way through the bush.

"You do not want to go through the bush, white man. In the bush are evil spirits," we heard many times.

A village clearing was divided into quarters. Each quarter was inhabited by one of the *mbe*, or extended families, and 361 the quarter bore its name. It was composed of several house- 592 holds—five or six or more, depending upon the size of the

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village. A household was not confined to one building only, but few who were not men of rank and means had more than three. One was for the woman and her children, another for storing the crops, and the third was the man's treasure house, where women might not come. It was like the matter of wives. Only men of position could afford more than one. But if a man had two wives and both lived in his village, then perhaps five huts would bear a design identified with him on the carved side posts which outlined the low doorway. This design would recur in the various carvings he had made for his women—it was his crest. And though a man from another village, who was not related to him, might like it, and liking it copy it, this practice would be socially frowned upon.

A village quarter, however, did not contain only dwelling places, and storehouses, and men's treasure house. Certain families also had in their part of the village an enclosed shrine for the family gods. If in a given family a powerful Vodu, or snake god, had come to an ancestress and had in a dream, or in a seizure, or through a revelation made to an obia man, chosen her as his *'asi*—his priestess or medium—then with this disclosure came the instructions for the place of locating a house of worship to that Vodu, and the type of house it was to be. Such a shrine, once erected, would be kept in the quarter, and worshiped by the members of that family. Sometimes in front of a dwelling hut, a low enclosure, the size of a small kennel, would stand a little to the side of the door. This was a house to Toné, the river spirit. In one such house lived a woman who had a great Toné god. She had the gift of prophecy. When the men gathered for a council meeting in the village of the Granman, then she, too, would sometimes be bidden to come and sit with the men, though, being a woman, she could never speak at council meetings.

"Touch her skin," the other women said, pointing out this albino woman, "and you will have your desires fulfilled."

In each quarter, too, there was an open house where the women did their cooking, and perhaps a platform or two,

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343 where, in the proper season, maripa nuts and rice were
251 dried.

One quarter differed very little from another, except
361 that in one there might grow the plant which yielded the
778 red and black beans used for the sacred rattles, and for playing the game of adji, which entertained the spirit of the dead while the body lay in state. Instead of a house to the family gods, there might be found a mound of earth in front of one doorway, with an axe-head lying upon it as a shrine for a man's spirit, or a low forked stick sunk into the ground, holding a pot with water and weeds in it for the curing powers of its obia.

361 A village of any size had also a quarter in which stood the
344 communal buildings. The council house which might also serve on occasion as the house for the dead was there. The menstrual house for the women, a small building which was recognized by a broken calabash, or a porcelain pot brought from the white man's city, lying outside the entrance, stood a little to the side. The Kromanti house, and perhaps an enclosed shelter for the bush gods who shared the shrine with the snake deities, was also located somewhere near the open communal shrine. A village wherein lived the clan
361 head contained in addition a house for the ancestral spirits
34[illegible] of the clan. This was called a *Fa'aka-pau wosu*, literally a
[614] flagpole house, a euphemism for the shrine to the ancestors
769 for whom white cotton was set up on sticks. In this Fa'aka-
782 pau wosu prayers were offered up for all the important ventures of the clan, and in time of stress a priest would come there with sacrifices, to bid one of the ancestors to enter his body and give him sight. When seizure came on, such a priest prophesied. Sometimes the ancestors were consulted in the same manner as that in which the will of the dead was ascertained. Men would take up a sacred plank and carry it in a state of possession; the elders would
[787] put questions to the ancestor who had been called. The answers were construed as favorable or unfavorable according to the way the plank tipped.

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As we made a tour of the village, we discussed all this 778
with the chief and his bassia, and with the other men who 776
accompanied us. When we reached the open place sacred to the great gods, we stopped. The shrine was a fenced-in space, perhaps eight or nine feet long and almost as wide. Inside was a slender pole, with a head carved on its top, and a cotton tunic about its middle, and this was the wife of the Great God, the chief said. The ladder with the platform on it, on which stood a bottle, was the shrine of the great Sky God. At the base of the image with the tunic were several bottles, some white clay, and a few empty glasses, and everywhere were sticks with cloth on them, many with the cloth in tatters. Where the cotton had altogether rotted away, the stick alone remained.

"Let us go in," said the chief to the men.

With the chief came a young man whose hair was braided, 791
and who wore several obias on neck and arms. He was [302]
training to become an obia man. The bassia signaled us to follow, but the others remained outside.

The young man took up a bottle and poured some of its 782
contents into an earthen jar, and from the jar he poured out a libation to the Earth Mother. The captain prayed, explaining that we were white people on our way to the Granman, that he was leaving in the morning to notify the Granman of our approach. Would the gods take him and us in safety, and would they see to it that all we saw should be seen with the eyes of friendship? Then he prayed for a child in the village who was ill, and for his people, and for the clan of the Granman, the Matchau lo, and for his own family. After each prayer he paused, and those outside the paling clapped their hands and sang out, "Great thanks."

Before the chief's prayer was finished, an old man came [411]
by with a bush knife in his belt, and his gun. He was just then returning from the hunt, and he stopped to thank the great gods for the kill he had made. He spoke in a whisper, but his intonation was as conversational as the chief's had been.

782 "Tonight there will be dancing for you," And'u said, when we left the shrine. "I will go and pray again before the dance, and then I will go to my hammock early, for I leave at sunrise. We will meet again at the G'aman's."

The bassia's wife followed us to our house.

[562] "You are a woman, yet you went inside the shrine. Maybe you do have gods, white woman. When you go in again will you pray to the Earth Mother for the woman Kupa, who is my sister? Twice she bore girl children, and both sleep. Now she is with child again. She wears many obias [842] about her neck, and daily she washes with white clay. She is the woman with the wooden obia doll hanging between her breasts. No, not the one who has the small black sack about her neck. Any woman who is with child wears that. You will know her when you see her. She is beautiful."

7

535 The dance was held in the bassia's quarter, in front of one of his houses. The bassia was a man of wealth. He had three wives, while the chief had but two. Whether one of the three was only nominally his wife and had come to him at the death of a brother, we were unable to learn, but that his means were large was apparent. The house where his [342] personal possessions were stored was built high on posts. A house so raised stood out from those about it and bore the same name as the moon. Underneath it, in the shelter made by the posts, lay a partly made drum, some carved wooden implements, and carpenter's tools. There was also a forked stick in the ground upon which rested a black obia pot with water and weeds in it.

535 The children began the dancing.

533

Ayo, ayo
Ayo, ayei,
Agida comes,
[539] *Ayo, ayo,*
Earth spirits come,
Ayo, ayei.

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A girl of ten or eleven led the chorus. She had a string 535
about her waist, and the strip of cloth that was tied about 533
her neck as a ceremonial garment hung down cape fashion. About her navel and on her face the cicatrized patterns had been completed. Her voice was the shrill voice of a child, and the answering chorus was as shrill.

"Chaka, chaka!" called the bassia who was directing 535
the dance. He was demanding those movements which bring into play the muscles of the hips.

The women waited. They had come in all their finery, their tunics of the newest cloth, their coils of brass brace- [301]
lets and anklets made to gleam by rubbing with sand, their skins dark and glistening with the oil rubbed into them for [302]
the ceremonial occasion. Those whose hair was worn in braids had redressed it that day. About their necks were beads. Their cloths were fastened tightly about them, so that their figures showed plainly.

The men, also in their best, waited with them. The iron 535
Kromanti obias on their upper arms fitted tightly, and 789
showed the great muscles above and below them. Those who wore beads had two or three strands of yellow and red intertwined, the small beads worn by men, small almost [301]
as okra seeds. One or two wore love obias—cowrie shells [332]
sewed on a band of white cotton, and then dipped into water which was thickened with white clay. One or two wore a small black bell-shaped obia—half the size of their thumbs—on a black string, and with swagger had swung it about so that it hung at the back. There were obias below the knee, and obias which were great brass rings for the big toe of the right foot. But one or two of the old men, and the young man who was in training for an obia man, wore a jaguar tooth on a string of native twining.

Drums . . . drums. Would there be drums? 535

The word was whispered from one to the other, and passed like a wave over the waiting figures.

But there would be no drums. This was the day when [776]
two gods might come. The god of the ant hill, for which men and women might dance, and the buzzard god of the men's Kromanti society.

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535 men's Kromanti society. The elders had decided these dances were too violent to show to the white man who was with them for the night. Whatever of the esoteric the white man was to see was for the Granman himself to decide. To introduce the drums for the secular dances, and the half-sacred awasa, would be dangerous, for once the drums were there, and the spirit seized one of the players, he would begin to call the gods. When the gods came the dancing would take place until the spirits were satisfied.

"There will be no drums," said the bassia aloud. "There is no one to play them."

No drums!

Again the whispering began. The eagerness, the energy which had seemed to float in the darkness from one to another of the waiting figures began to be dissipated. The men and women still waited, but they were listless.

[533] [539] The little girl sang,

"The kogbwa drum
Sounds Tonè."

And the chorus sang,

"Give us Tonè."

The bassia who was master of ceremonies noticed the loss of interest with displeasure. It had not been the intention of the elders, when they had made this decision, to have it interfere with the reception of the strangers. He had counted on having spirited secular dancing.

"Frieno," he said to the young chia man, "get the dancing started."

He turned again and again to the young man who was being disciplined in the way of the gods, exhorting him to beat time faster, to sing louder. And to the women he shouted, "Shake, women, shake—*chaka!*"

The dancing grew lively.

The white man had learned the words of the refrain, and [23] was singing with them. Master Nigger! here was a white man who could sing their songs. The white woman had

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been shown by the bassia's wife how to clap her hands to the rhythm of the song, and now she could not stop for an instant, though her hands ached. 535 [123]

"*Batu mau*—Clap your hands!" the bassia's wife called to her, the instant her visitor's zeal slackened. She herself was dancing in place, her infant on her back, sound asleep.

"*Chaka*—Shake!" she too began to shout, and once she was so carried away by her hand clapping that she joined the dancers, and danced facing the obia man.

Tall and slender as she was, she crouched opposite the man, her child on her back, and executed the most amazing steps. It was as though every muscle in her body had been set in motion by some invisible dynamo.

An old woman interrupted them. She stepped into the circle, and put her arm about the bassia's wife. "Adoo!" she crooned, and brought her to her feet. Another woman had done the same for the obia man.

Now one of the men who wore both a love obia and a brass ring on his great toe began a song. The melody was only a variant of the one Bayo had sung and the seketi songs we had heard at Gankwe and elsewhere. But here the recitative of the leader was longer. What he sang was not unlike one of our own ballads. He recounted the experiences of a young Saramacca man on the Marowyne River. He had met a Djuka woman, who had taken up with him for his money, and in the end she had exposed him to her people. 533 [132]

Another man sang of a war that white men had with each other. Hard times came to the Saramacca people. There was no work. Then their Granman sent a message to the white elders. The Granman told them people should live in peace together.

The bassia had no need now to spur on the dancers. The small open space was a heaving mass. Nothing [illegible] immobile. The stars darted, the lights of the small oil lamps held by the bystanders flickered, the very posts which held the thatch of the houses in place and ended some feet 535 533

535 above the roof, like great horns, appeared to sway now to
533 one side, now to the other.

The hand clapping grew louder and faster, and faster still. The rhythm changed. Now the dancers were in pairs, feet interlocking and raised from the ground, while they danced each on one foot. It was one form of the *bawya* dance. This was what was danced to the ancestors before the opening of sacred dances.

The bassia stirred uneasily and soon sought out the young obia man who was standing by. They whispered together for a few moments, and then the bassia spoke aloud.

"It is late, friends. Day will soon be coming. Let us end the dancing. Let us go to our houses."

He turned and whispered to his wife, who came forward with a smoking oil lamp in her hand. Like a knife she thrust herself straight between the pairs of interlocked figures, and began singing a slow moving song.

[539]

It is late,
Soon night will meet day,
Let us go to our hammocks,
Let us go to our homes,
Let the gods go to their homes.

In and out she went, separating the rows of figures, and her beautiful voice cast a spell over the dancers. With feet flexed, they stood poised to go on with their dance, yet did not move. The hand clapping stopped, and the singing. There was but the voice of the bassia's wife, who cut her way through the massed body of dancers, her sleeping child on her back, her oil lamp held before her, as she walked, arm outstretched. The dancers gave way before the flame in the small lamp, but still they stood there, their faces disturbed. It was as though food had been brought to whet their appetites and was as quickly snatched away.

At last a dancer reached for a lamp which was held by an old woman, and then another woman reached for hers.

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[539]

" . . . *It is late,*
Soon night will meet day . . . "

they chanted, as others joined them. Dancing to the slow rhythm of the singers, lamps in hand, all took up the song, until the bassia's wife led the way down the path. In a few moments the flicker of the oil lamps radiated in many directions, and the quieted dancers followed by their families went home singing. [35A]

Chapter X

AT THE COURT OF THE GRANMAN

I

"AT BREAK of day I start for the country of the Granman. I will see you there tomorrow, about the time day meets night," And'u, chief of S'ti, had said as he left the shrine to the Great Gods. Yet it was a full day later that we next saw And'u, for the speed at which two men could send a small corial upstream was not that at which our heavily loaded boats traveled. As the first day wore on and the succeeding one brought us closer and closer to our destination, it was evident that the news of the approach of the strangers had spread.

Report said that the white man had not come to bring his gods to them. He was not buying timber, he sought for no rubber trees, he was not here to tell them to grow new crops or to work gold. There were, in the white man's country, people who wanted to learn how other people lived. In the white man's country there were people who believed that men brought from the country of the great Negro ancestors had become Indians, or whites.

Master Nigger! They, the Saramacca people, become Ingi or Bak'a!

But why did people go about learning how others lived—Indians, and coolies who were brought to work the white man's plantations when their ancestors had won their freedom, and Negroes? Did white men grow rich doing this? Would this white man put their carvings in the big

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house he told of, beside carvings of their Negro ancestors, and then ask money from people who came to see? 123

Ambe! Was that what white people did to come into money?

From the provision grounds canoes filled with women would dart toward us, and Bayo would call to us, as the women cried their greetings, "Stand up, both of you. The women want to look at you." 123 609

The women's requests were, apparently, not to be ignored. Hurriedly we would climb out from inside the tent and balance ourselves on our knees over the tarpaulin-covered load in front of the boat.

"Look! Look! . . . . There are two men! It is not true that the white man brought his woman!"

Like a master showman, Bayo would stand there in the bow, his pole-stick poised for the next stroke, all his teeth showing.

"Take off your sun helmet, white woman," he would then say.

"Mother of all Negroes!"

"By Ando!"

"Her hair is yellow! She belongs to the river gods!"

"Is it that way they live in the white man's country? Do they not know the difference between men and women, that they both dress alike?"

Again Bayo had a ready answer.

"A white woman who travels in the bush dresses like a man. So they do in the white man's land."

"Master Nigger! Men and women wearing the same clothes!"

When Bayo decided that the women's curiosity had been satisfied, he would say his goodbyes to them with a flourish and, bearing down on the top of his pole-stick, would push away.

Soon we would hear Bayo's summons again.

"Come out. People want to see you."

This time there would be both men and women in the boats which had come circling about us, and the questions, exclamations, and Bayo's replies were heard afresh.

175 Now we were in the true, true Saramacca country, the land which the Bush Negro feels to be entirely his own. White men, it is true, had been here before, but only a handful, and the gods of the river, who were powerful, saw to it that of these not many got back to the white man's land. True, true Saramacca country! Every Bush Negro we met on the lower river spoke of it with the deepest feeling.

"It is all right here," one man after another had said, "but wait until you see the upper river, the true-true Saramacca!"

It was here that the first Bush Negro villages had been built, though this seemed fabulous to the strangers who, in strong boats, guided by men who were wise in the moods and courses of the river, had had nine days of hard travel on the way. The lower-river villages began to appear only after peace had been declared and had proved lasting. Eighty-six years ago men from the upper river who lived beyond the Granman's own village, in the Grand Rio, had come down and built the village of Gansee, which was some four hours' paddling upstream from the railhead.

We spoke of this to Bibifo, who himself was born in this country.

"You may well wonder, white man."

361 103 Here was no danger of having to wrest a camp from the bush at night, when the short tropical dusk came to overtake the traveler. Villages followed close, one upon the other. Here was Ma'lobbi, where the beauty of the wood [322] carver's art had made us linger beyond the time allotted to us for making the journey from S'ei to Asindopo Lantiwe. Here was Hei Kununu—High Mountain—which rose on a [133] steep slope above the river, and was pleasant to see after the long stretches of flat plain that lay below. Semoisi, noted for its riches, was there, and Pempeh, bearing a name well known in the Ashanti country in Africa. Here villages were so close to each other that they could announce our 203 approach on the talking drums.

"What is it we hear, Bayo?" we would ask.

"They are cutting down trees, Bak'a."

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"In the true, true Saramacca . . . "

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House of one recently dead.

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The approach to the Tapa Wata falls.

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We would proceed a short distance, and we would ask again, "Aren't those drums speaking?" 203

"Women are pounding rice."

But when we had asked the third time, he remained silent for a while, straining for the sound as though he could barely distinguish it. "Ya-hai, it's the apinti talking."

Some distance from Godo, which is situated just below the Tapa Wata falls, a small boat came up to us, paddled by one man. Bibifo whispered to us that this was Sungi, the head of the Kasito clan, and we knew that we were somewhere in the vicinity of the sacred village of Dahomey. He had come to pilot our boats into the Pikien Rio, he explained, after the greetings were over. 502

"Farther ahead others will come to help your boats up the rapids. I am here to show you the best course through this rough water. The G'aman has sent me to you. He awaits you."

"Bayo," we said, when Chief Sungi had left us to head up our little flotilla, "show us the landing place of Dahomey when we pass it."

We knew that we could not set foot in Dahomey, for it is the seat of the Bush Negro's most potent magic. Whether there is that in the village which the white man may not see, or whether, as we had been told, the natives do not wish to tempt the fates by bringing there those who would be doomed by the magic which kills the white man if he but treads on its earth, no one could say. But we had been warned that it would be of no avail to ask to be taken to Dahomey. 798

"Did you hear us, Bayo?"

"Ai!"

When we spoke to him again about the Dahomey landing place, however, he showed great astonishment. He had pointed it out to us, he said. How was it that we now asked about it again?

"It must be that it was with you like it was with the other white man who wanted to see Dahomey," he said.

798 797 The other white man was the Catholic missionary who for years had been living in the Gran Rio. He was a friend of the Saramacca people, and they liked him. Now this white man wanted to see Dahomey. He said that he, too, had a strong God who protected him. He asked so many times that they at last promised to take him there. But when he got to Pempeh he fell asleep, and he slept till . . . till they reached the Granman's country. So his life was saved. The gods, knowing that he was a friend of the Saramacca people, did not want to kill him. They put him to sleep until Dahomey was well out of reach.

"And this is what happened to you, Bak'a. The gods did not want to hurt you, so you did not see."

2

133 Past these rapids and another stretch of rough water, and then before us lay the highest falls of the Saramacca. To the right, over a ledge of rock spreading in an unbroken sweep across its entire width poured the Gran Rio, the [361] river up which lay the villages of the Loango clan, and beyond, the untrodden jungle which barricaded the way to the country of the Indians, and the basin of the Amazon. To the left was the final bit of fast water that remained between us and the village where the Granman awaited us. We were at last in the Pikien Rio.

Here the stream narrowed, and we could see on both banks the people who were waiting to see us pass. The [574] gay colors of the women's cloths were brilliant against the background of green, and their hallooing reached our ears above the rush of the water. A canoe with several young men came alongside.

"We are here to help you with your boats. We have been sent by the Granman. Fire three shots to let him know you are in the Pikien Rio."

576 We fired, and instantly there was an answering salute of [201] three guns. With the reinforcement of paddlers, it did not take long to reach the island which separated us from the landing place of Asindopo Lantiwe. Here all strangers

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stopped to change their clothes, and make themselves fit for the reception by the Granman. 576

We had been warned that these preparations were not to be slighted. Those who had been to the village of the Granman told many stories of the impressiveness of the ceremonial life, and the dignity of those who were there. It was the seat of government, the home of a potentate. A visitor, whether a village chief or a man from the city, had to keep in mind that he was to appear at court. Etiquette demanded that the traveler, once arrived at the island which now hid us from the Granman and his assembled villagers, debark, remove the stains of hard traveling, and dress in a manner befitting the reception which awaited him. 576 609

But the gods had planned otherwise.

At this time of the year, though the heavy rains were over and the showers were becoming less and less frequent, it did sometimes happen that the clouds gathered at midafternoon and rain fell. To the northeast, behind us, we had seen the clouds massing, and now they hung low and glowering. 132

"It will rain," Sedefo called to us, just as we were making ready to see to a change of clothes, and an instant later the storm broke. With a kind of hurricane force which sent the branches toward the earth, and flares of lightning and crashes of thunder, the deluge was upon us. Not since our first days in the bush had we coped with a rain like this. The water poured down as though some giant hands were turning over endless vessels. Our tent seemed to have been taken as unaware as we were, for having sheltered us in many hard storms, it was now inadequate to keep out the downpour. We drew our raincoats tighter about us to keep off the water which came through the thatch.

Under the trees of the island the Bush Negroes were huddled. Their favorite top cloths were still in their baskets, safe out of the wet under the white man's tarpaulins. No chance now to put them on, or to use the oil which they had jealously saved for making their faces and 123 [302]

123 shoulders and arms glisten, or otherwise to make themselves
[302] presentable for the reception. There was nothing to do but to keep close to a tree-trunk, water dripping from naked body and the strip of twisted loin cloth, teeth chattering in the sudden chill brought on by the storm.

The head of Sungi was suddenly thrust inside our boat-tent.

"I saw the Granman. He says the storm is passing. You are to come to him as you are. It is best so. Waiting here is cold."

Turning, he ordered the paddlers to their places, and almost before the paddles were in motion, the guns began to fire.

"The Granman knows the time it takes to give a message. The Granman knows everything," said Bayo in great
[303] admiration, as the guns saluted.

Three shots, and three more. Two shots, an interval, and another coming faintly. Then a short silence, and once more the guns, in clusters of three, but now sounding from several directions.

As we rounded the bend of the island the farther bank was alive with people. The rain had subsided to a drizzle. Across the strip of water which separated us from the shore we could see men and women and children standing about, the women with large food trays inverted over their heads to protect their finery. But the men, disdaining such aids, stood in the rain and looked on with undisguised curiosity. Boats joined ours from up and down the river. With the sound of the guns came hallooing, shrill cries which were the women's expression of enthusiasm, actual or ceremonial.

293 As we watched, several figures appeared on the high bank,
554 the others making way for them. Two of the men were not
622 dressed in the colored toga-like cloths that were worn by the others, but in coats of rich material which reached to their knees. They wore black top-hats with cockades at the side. One of these, we recognized as Chief And'u of S'ei. His coat was of deep crimson, bordered in blue, and his companion's a vivid yellow. Both of these men carried

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Both of these men carried
long wands of office, of black wood topped with silver 592
knobs. About their necks were heavy silver chains, and 554
from each chain was suspended a large silver crescent. 622
[593]

Another man stood near them to one side. He wore a long coat of white edged with scarlet and blue. He carried 554
no stick, and wore no insignia. On his head, over a white 643
kerchief wound tightly about the head and caught up in the back, was a white sun helmet. Above his head, held by one of the younger men who accompanied him, was an umbrella, the highest emblem of rank. It betokened that this man was Moana Yankuso, Granman of the Saramacca people.

3

Kasanya was first out of the boat when the dugouts 622
were brought to shore, and after him came Bibifo. Sedefo 574
and Asikanu remained with the younger men, waiting for 576
the Granman to indicate that he wished to receive them. Only men of rank and elderly members of his own clan [554]
would go at this time to speak to the headman, who stood there watching the boats.

"We came, G'aman," we heard Kasanya say, "and we brought the Bak'a." Two or three low-voiced sentences followed, and then the conversation was terminated by the elderly functionary in the yellow coat, who came down to our boat.

"I greet you in the name of the G'aman, Bak'a," he announced. "The G'aman himself awaits you. Come with me."

As we stepped out of the boat, the hallooing of the women 574
and the shouts of the children, which had stopped when the 576
paddlers addressed the Granman, began once again, and, 609
as an underlying voice, the salutes from the shotgun were 643
to be heard. The old man, shifting his wand of office to his left hand, now carefully helped first the one, then the other out of the boat and, offering his arm to each in turn, led us to the top of the steep rise, until we were face to face with the Granman. It would have been unlucky had we lost our footing at this moment of welcome. This chieftain was

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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574 there not only to tender the courtesy due the guests of the
576 tribal head, but to see that no such mishap occurred to
609 them.
643 When we had both gained the ascent, he turned to the Granman.

"Headman Yankuso, the Bak'a is before you."

As though just become aware of us, Yankuso fixed us with his eyes, fastening his glance on each in turn.

"Odi, white man. White woman, odi!"

A great figure of a man he was, as he stood there. Tall and massive of build, he towered over those who surrounded
[291] him. Barefooted like the rest, there was that in his bearing which was the way of a man who was accustomed to obedience, whose word was final. He was pure Negro. His skin was dark. In his features there was no hint that the lineage of this ruler held any of the blood of the white masters, nor that his ancestors numbered among them Indians who had given way before his invading forbears. His face was impassive, yet underneath the outward immobility was an alertness which the glistening, oil-anointed skin made the more alive. His speech was measured, his words articulated with studied emphasis, which gave to each of them the value of a completed image.

"*Bari*—Cry out!" he called to the women in his vibrant voice. "Halloo, give the welcome of the bush to the people who came."

Amid the renewed cries which his command brought, we turned from the river bank and walked slowly up the path toward the village, past the silk-cotton tree, past the shrine to the ancestors, until we reached an open place on which fronted half a dozen thatched buildings.

"This is my house, white man," he said, pointing to it. "I will put you near me. I will put you in the council house."

4

344 The council house at Asindopo Lantiwe—the village of Asin, the seat of government—was unlike any we had seen.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
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Two of its walls were of the plaited palm fronds which were 344
entwined into so pleasant a pattern on the houses of the 353
Bush Negroes. The side walls, however, were carpentered of slats which formed a paling, and over this the slanting roof hung. Through the spaces between the slats we could see the brown feet of the passing villagers, an occasional flare of a gay tunic, or a corner of a man's cloth. Occasionally the big eyes of a child who had wandered over to the paling peered through, to see what was happening inside. Through the slats of the wall nearest to the Granman's house we saw tall earthen jars resting on a plank. There [915]
were perhaps four of them, all of varying sizes, and these held creek and river water to which the magic properties of weeds and incantations had been added.

The purposes of these slats were manifold. Not everyone 344
could sit within the council house when the tribal chiefs 223
gathered. Only those whose rank qualified them appeared [554]
inside when court was held. But to those sitting quietly outside those palings which formed the side walls of the house, what was spoken inside was clearly audible, and it was thus that many listened for the decisions which they awaited. Then, too, since this was an enclosed council house and when the door was open a plaid cloth hung over the doorway to insure privacy, the only light which penetrated came through these openings in the side walls. The eaves hung low, barring much of the light that might have come through the palings, and this allowed but the grayest flicker even at midday and brought into the council house the atmosphere which symbolized to them the cool of morning. The word "cool" was their image for peace, and health, and fairness, and deliberation, and justice. Inside the council house, then, was a light which "cooled the [827]
heart," for heart and head are synonymous to the Bush Negro when he speaks of emotional states.

It was not a large house, and it appeared smaller because 344
of the many furnishings that were in it. Against the wall 352
facing the door a number of magnificently carved benches lay on their sides, one on top of the other, there obviously

344 to be admired for their artistry, but there also for ceremo-
352 nial purposes which were never divulged. When one of these benches was later taken down to show the magic of paper which, placed on the top of a carving and rubbed with black crayon, reproduced the design beneath, the Granman looked startled, and then ordered that it be replaced. Nor were other rubbings allowed.

531 On both sides of these massed benches were many objects
352 which could barely be distinguished in the half darkness of the house. There were guns and canisters, there were a few native brooms, and several wrapped parcels.
[534 There was also an apinti drum on which the gods were
[118] addressed. Not even at Ma'lobbi, where the chief, a famous carver, showed us many remarkable products of his art, did we see designs worked with the fine, sure lines or the beauty of individual motifs such as were traced on this apinti. The carving was in relief and covered the entire surface of the drum, which stood about three feet high, curving outwards from the top, and resting on a narrow circular base which raised its body about six inches from the ground. It was covered with a deerskin that use and exposure to the atmosphere had stained unevenly to shades of amber.

344 Facing these carvings was the door which, itself of
[118] wood, swung on wooden hinges of native fashioning. In
532 relief appeared the Earth Mother, and surrounding her were the symbols of fertility. No man, not even the Granman
[645 himself, dared speak her name in this council house. At trials, when oaths were taken, she might be appealed to, but to call her idly would bring down her wrath on the Granman's clan, and, perhaps not stopping there, since the council house was of all the clans, she would revenge herself upon all the people of the Saramacca River. The carving was more beautiful than on the apinti which stood against the opposite wall. The greatest artist on the river had made it.

"That man had the gods, ya-hai," the men said, when we talked of the Granman's carvings.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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Above the door was a shelf which did not quite reach the entire width of the wall, and on this shelf were the council benches, which the Granman supplied to the visiting chiefs. These benches were small, low, and as little ornamented with carvings as the work stools used by the women. But on the sides symbols were incised, and at least two of them we were able to identify as clan emblems. One of these had the conventionalized patterning of the hatchet, the emblem of the Granman's clan, and another a flower which is associated with the people from whose group come the principal diviners. The tops of these simple stools sometimes had inlays of dark wood, but whether their outlines were of ritualistic importance or not, no one would say.

From the beams hung several umbrellas, still inside the wrappings in which they had come from the white man's city, and a wickless metal lamp, into whose chains envelopes were inserted. These envelopes contained letters received by the Granman which awaited the coming of the missionary to be read, or letters which had already been read, and were there to add color to the official scene.

There were also other *Bakra tani*—white man's things—in the house. A canvas folding chair which filled almost an entire wall stood against the slats beside which, on the outside, were the earthen jars. This was for the Granman. He sat in it with the majesty of an emperor. No one ever approached it too closely, and we were never invited to take our ease in it when the Granman was in his own house.

In addition, there was a table in the center of the room, covered with a red and black plaid cloth from the city, and two straight-back chairs. On the table stood an alarm clock which was set for the noncommittal hour of twelve and a glass decanter filled with rum.

Chief And'u was the first to join us inside.

"It is fine here at the G'aman's."

"Yes, it is a fine house. And you, And'u, you look well in your coat. Is it when you are with the Granman that you dress so?"

622 "It is the coat of a chief. All chiefs wear these coats
292 At the G'aman's we wear the best we have."
[293] We looked at his silver-topped wand of office. "Do all chiefs carry these?" we asked.

"Not every chief has a stick like mine. And all chiefs do not have one of these." He pointed to the crescent of silver which hung from a chain about his neck.

"It is beautiful."

"Ya-hai. And it's old."

Embossed on the silver plaque were the arms of Holland, richly worked.

622 "After the time of running away, when the fighting was
648 over between our ancestors and the whites, these were given
293 to us, and the wands of office. But not all chiefs have their
643 wands from the white man. Some have the ones we call 'free sticks.' A man who has a 'free stick' is not a chief for the white man, but we know that he is a chief."

He added that the whites had made an agreement with the escaped Negroes that if they would no longer raid the plantations and carry away slaves with them they would be considered free men in their bush, under the white man's government. Since that time the Bush Negro Granman and certain of the village chiefs had had official recognition, and as a token of this each of them had been given a uniform, a
[292] high hat, a crescent with the arms of Holland worked on it, a silver-headed staff, and an annual stipend.

"The chiefs who have 'free sticks,' the white man does not pay."

576 As we spoke of these things, we were interrupted from time to time by the noiseless brushing aside of the cloth which hung above the door, and the entrance of one of our men, or a man of the Granman's village, who brought in our canisters and hammocks. With not even a glance in our direction, they would leave as noiselessly and return to the river. Through the slatted side walls we could hear the sounds of such activity as we had not thought possible in the tropics.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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AT THE COURT OF THE GRANMAN

5

Outside the doorway we heard a decisive clearing of the throat, louder than the coughs we had already learned to associate with the approach of a visitor. After a short pause, the Granman's bulk filled the low entrance, and with him came the elder in the yellow coat, followed by Sungi of Dahomey, the chief who had come to pilot us to the village of the Granman, and the bassia from S'ei. 574 576 609

The men stood with ceremonially inclined bodies until the Granman was settled in his chair, then each in turn took a bench from the shelf above the door, and still with body bent found a place for it against the wall facing the Granman.

After a silence, the Granman spoke.

"The unloading is done. I have set aside five houses for the Bak'a. Mati—friends—the white G'aman told me about this visit when I was in the white man's city. Others have told me. People who come to me must be cared for. The white people are come. They sit among you. The Bak'a and his woman will put up their hammocks here. Here they will stay. The white man's goods are stored in the house in back of mine. The white man has much goods. There is a man from the city who helps them. He will sleep where these goods are stored. So I speak. That is my wish."

"Ya-hai, G'aman," came the assent from And'u.

"Kelele," said the chief in the yellow coat.

"The house in back of this I have had the women get ready also for the white man and his woman. When the chiefs gather for councils, and they want to be alone, the whites must have a place to go aside. I have given a house for the cook, and an open house for the cooking. So it is. People who come to me must be cared for."

"True, true!"

"So it is."

"Kodo!"

"White man," said the Granman, for the first time turning to us, "you have heard?"

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-8 (1928-1929) 1934
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Saramacca

504 For a few moments there was a rapid interchange between him and the old man in the yellow coat.

"The down-river men who have brought the white man," the Granman continued his cadenced speech, "will be housed in the village. The four Gankwe men will put up their hammocks in one house. The other four will be put up in my quarter. So it is. So I care. . . . "

"Yes, wise man."

"Gbolo!"

622 554 The ceremonial introductions followed, and each chief was praised for his special services to the Granman. The man in the yellow coat was of the Oyo people, a son of a great line, held high in the esteem of men and gods. Sungi was a man who knew much of the white man's wisdom. He had been to the French shore, and knew the French tongue, he knew about white man's medicine, but, friends, he was a child of the bush! And'u was a beloved chief, an honest man, a man to send on missions of trust. The bassia was a clever man, one of the men of And'u's village. The gods loved him, for what his hands touched turned to wealth. He was a good man. He was a friend.

A low cough was heard outside. Slowly the cloth was raised, and crouching into the hut came Kasanya and [291] Bibifo. They were carefully dressed, and each wore a kerchief drawn tightly about his head. These they wore by right of age.

622 506 The bassia, lowest in rank, was greeted first, and then each chief in his turn, until the Granman was reached.

504 "Greetings, G'aman."

"Thank you, friends," came the vibrant answer.

This began the colloquy of inquiry about each other's well-being, which here at court had a longer ritual than anywhere on the river. It was a prelude of measured song which introduced all speech between strangers. Bibifo began timidly and did not show himself equal to the many variations which Kasanya had introduced with ease.

"Friends, I am glad you came. You must tell me what is happening in your villages."

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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AT THE COURT OF THE GRANMAN

Now it was the Granman's turn to supply the interpolations, while Kasanya and Bibifo reported.

"Yes, so it is. So I know it to be myself. So I have heard," he spoke when they paused.

But when the ceremonial greetings were over, and the conversation turned to down-river affairs, the Granman leaned forward in his chair and talked with the men informally. They were all clan members, or men belonging to clans whose allegiance to the Granman's rule was undoubted, and they talked over many things in the way men do when they meet with their own kind.

The room was growing darker. Yankuso called through the slatted wall against which he was leaning, and the young man who had fired the guns entered.

"Bassia, it is getting late. We must leave this house to the white man. These men with me are my friends. They must drink before they leave."

The bassia took the decanter from the table, and from the shelf underneath it, where we could dimly see shells and containers of shot, he took several small glasses. Before taking the glass to his lips, each man poured some of the liquor on the ground as a libation to the Earth Mother, and, as each drank, he turned to Yankuso and asked if he might leave.

"*Mi da permissi*—I grant you permission," he said to each.

When we had finished our meal, it was already dark. At the door of his own house, Granman Yankuso was sitting on a low stool.

"I have something for you," he said, disappearing inside his house. When he came out, he held in his hand some black object, which we were unable to identify. "You have fire?" he asked, as he suspended this object from a tree which grew between his house and the one in which we were staying.

"There was a white Hollander here who brought this to me. He went from here farther into the bush. He never came out. Light is a good thing at night. When visitors

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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354 come, I bring the lamp out. This is a big fire. In the village
974 of my father, across the river, they can see it."

The blazing light made the night seem darker.

"Bak'a," the Granman went on. "For many days you and your woman have been on the river. You are tired. Tomorrow, when you have slept, you will be refreshed. Tomorrow my chiefs will be here. You will tell us why you have come, what you want to do."

He turned toward his house.

"Du mundu, Bak'a," he said. "Let all sleep well."

Chapter XI

THE COUNCIL OF THE ELDERS

1

GRANMAN Yankuso's day began before the break of dawn. When the day was at its coolest men's hearts were cool, people said here on the river, and when hearts were cool they could be trusted with weighty matters. But long before men came to stand outside the Granman's house advising with him as he lay in his hammock, the women arrived to report in low monotones the happenings of the previous day, and to take orders for the one to follow.

Lying in our hammocks in the council house, separated from the speakers by the wall of palings and perhaps five feet of clearing, we could hear voices outside from a little after three in the morning, until with the coming day the soft footfalls died down and gave way to the sound of stamping mortars and the cries of children recalling their mothers from early tasks.

What was being said outside we could not hear, but as the days wore on we learned to recognize the voices of the speakers. We learned to know from the rapid, contradicting flow of words which followed upon one of the Granman's orders, that it was his principal wife who spoke, or from the halting, crooning phrases, the voice of his eldest daughter, who had mastered her father's gentlest intonations and now of a morning brought them forth as though she were speaking her lesson. We learned to know as well the range and intensity of the subdued grunts with which

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-3 (1928-1929) 1934
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194 the Granman punctuated the pauses of the men, though not often their meaning.

623 But whatever the reports of the women, and the commands given by the Granman, the word for white man interspersed all of the morning's recitals, and the questions of the Granman and the answers often came fast.

Of the men, the Granman asked little. They came up in pairs usually, and now one, now the other took up the report. Clan names were spoken, and occasionally a village name was mentioned, but on the morning preceding the council of the chiefs, only one village was discussed, and one clan. The name of the village was the forbidden one where we had stopped for the night against the Granman's orders, and the clan was that of one group of our paddlers.

2

574 Early on the morning after our arrival at Asindopo Lantiwe, our paddlers came to see us in the council house. The Granman was busy outside his own house with the chiefs who had gathered for the council meeting, and these men who, like ourselves, were strangers here, came as comrades of an adventurous journey to visit with us and talk over the impressiveness of our reception and the allure of the women of the Granman's village, who were famous everywhere on the river. It was a village where chastity [831] among the girls was closely watched, and where its women [582] were given in marriage to the most influential men on the river.

302 291 The men were gotten up splendidly. Their bodies glistened with oil, their cloths were made of the long strips, pieced together by their women, and of patterns which the sun's rays had had no chance to pale. Sedefo's was particularly fine, we thought, but he assured us that it did not compare with the one the river had claimed. His cloth was also made of strips, but the stitching which connected them was a lacy weave, worked in triangles, and made to resemble the vertebrae of a snake. The border was of triangular

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pieces of red and blue cloth worked with this thread, so that again the white vertebrae showed. Bayo and Angita wore their beads, and each had a garter below the knee of the right leg. Their garters were white in color, but of a whiteness which only new, unwashed cotton has. They were about an inch and a half wide and were so tight that the muscle of the calf bulged prominently. On their upper arms were Kromanti rings of iron which, by contracting, warned the men of impending danger. In addition, Sedefo and Angita wore the bell obia of the Gankwe people, and Bayo his love obia which had come from Lamé.

"When do you go, Sedefo?"

"When the G'aman speaks. When we finish a piece of work, then we do not want to be paid at once. We do not leave at once. It would be as if we had not gone together in pleasure and wanted to be away as soon as possible. With the white man it is one thing. In the bush we do not do it so. Here in the G'aman's village, we do as we do with our own people in the bush," he paused for an instant, and looked about toward the clearing outside the palings. "There is another thing. In the G'aman's village, men cannot leave until the G'aman gives permission. When the G'aman is ready, he will call us. We will speak together. Then we will speak with him again. Then we will ask to go."

Bayo had been looking about the council house with an interest which was not unmixed with awe at the Granman's possessions, and he spoke in whispers.

"Ai, when the G'aman gives permission, then we go."

As he spoke, the cloth over the doorway was gently thrust aside. Bassia Anaisi of the Granman's village entered. He was the man who had fired the saluting gun the day of our arrival and who had at the Granman's call come to serve the visiting chiefs with rum. He now greeted each in turn but did not take down a bench. For a moment he stood there, head lowered out of deference to the character of the place where he was, then he coughed slightly and, turning to us, said, "The G'aman is ready for you. The chiefs are here."

623 Our paddlers rose at once and left the council house. A
643 moment later And'u entered, followed by a group of elders
[291] with closely drawn kerchiefs covering their heads. Among these only Kasanya and Bibifo were known to us. Kasanya brought his bench close to ours and moved it yet closer, with a gesture of the head that he wanted to continue the intimacy of our ten days' journey together.

"White man," he said, leaning over and whispering, "call your man from the city. At a krutu a man has someone to speak for him. So we do here."

576 And so, we soon saw, it was. Address in the council of the
623 Saramacca people was always by indirection. If the Gran-
643 man wished to speak to one of his chiefs, then he gave his message through another chief, though the man for whom the words were intended might be closer to him or more clearly in view.

643 Others came in, until the room was half filled when the
623 Granman entered. Today he wore a printed red and black
[292] loose coat of knee length, and over it the ceremonial cloth
302 worn by men here in the bush, so that where other men's
291 bare shoulders showed was the sleeve of his coat. On his head were both kerchief and sun helmet. The men were anointed with oil, and many of them wore the jaguar's tooth obia. The last to enter was a man who was well past middle age, and he was followed by the young *obiaman* from S'ei. Both of these men wore the cloths required of men when not at work, but they were not so uncreased, or so new. Nor were their bodies bright with oil. The older man had several broad stripes of white clay from wrist to shoulder of his right arm, and from knee to pelvis on the inner left thigh. Slung from one shoulder and reaching across to the opposite thigh was a white obia made of native fiber, and on his neck were several others. To these
[289] obias were added iron bands on his arms, while below his right knee and at the ankle of his right foot were other obias made of fiber and twisted black thread.

623 The men we knew greeted us as they took down their benches and found places against the wall farthest from the

Granman's chair, and the Granman sent the dark flame of his eyes into all the corners of the house to verify the bassia's statement that all were there. The krutu was about to begin. 623

3

Discussion among the Bush Negroes is the close companion of authority, and both are symbolized in the word *krutu*. Krutu is at once court and parliament, and whether it was that two Bush Negroes wished to discuss the proffered price for a carved paddle, or whether the Granman and his elders met to assess a penalty against a recalcitrant village, the term applied was the same—krutu. [646]

We had had no little experience ourselves with krutu by the time we reached Asindopo Lantiwe. When our paddlers came to us again and again to suggest added fees for the journey upstream, they came to krutu with us. When at Gankwe it had been decided that Sedefo and his three companions might go with us, it was a krutu, and at Pa'aba when the men "went to one side" and decided we were not to be brought to the village where men whose spirits were strong danced Kromanti, it was again krutu. There were, too, the innumerable krutu in the villages on the way when we asked to buy carvings or obias or fish traps.

Now when the question was being decided formally whether we would be permitted to stay here on the upper river, it was again a krutu.

To understand what was implied in the term, how the Bush Negro himself regarded it, what the etiquette surrounding it was, and how it was integrated into the life of these people, it was necessary to range far and wide over this bush civilization. At the core of this word we found two ideas. One was the necessity of direction. "When the boat lacks a steersman, it sleeps quietly," these people say of a village whose chief is dead. Direction, authority was their legacy from Africa. Their ancestors had known the rule of dynasties, and the power of men who reigned. 641

But there was also the idea of the importance of free discussion, the need to weld authority and the will of those

641 over whom it was exercised. When the ancestors of the Bush Negroes were brought to New World slavery, what [567] measure of acquiescence they showed was due to the fact that slavery was not an unfamiliar tradition to them. They knew of the war captive, or the man convicted of a serious crime, who was a slave to one of their own kind. But the experience of the white man's slavery was a crucible in which the ownership of man by man, and the unquestioning obedience which men owed to those of higher rank, were destroyed, leaving only the ideal of the life of free men. "Free!" was the way in which one Bush Negro toasted [273] another, or a white man, when he drank with him. A "*Man Neugere*," an adult Negro was, above all, a free man, and 621 it was as a freeman that he was governed, for though villages had chiefs, and there were bassias who were subordinate to chiefs, and though above the village chiefs were clan chiefs, and over them all the Granman, yet the final word rested with the members of each subsidiary body, and not with its leader.

624 Every village had its officials, and its medium for discus- 622 sions. Every clan had its head, and its old men, who, [614] sounding out the will of the clan members, consulted with that head when questions were to be decided. For the decisions affecting the entire Saramacca River, there were [643] the Granman and his krutu, before whom questions of [692] larger policy or disputes between villages were brought.

Perhaps most impressive of all was the measure of auton- 632 omy which each village had. A village, or certainly a group 614 of neighboring villages belonging to the same clan, formed 609 a small kingdom. A Bush Negro of another village who came to visit, came as any stranger, paddle in hand, his top cloth covering his loin cloth. When he found himself in a strange village on a night when a dance was being given, he did not join the dancers until after much urging by a native of that village, and then he danced little, and if he were a particularly fine dancer, he took care not to flaunt his superior gifts. The exception to this, to be sure, were the sacred dances, when a stranger, whose god came

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to him when the drums called that god, could not be held accountable for what he did while his god had him in his control. 632 614 609

No stranger, no man who came to live in his wife's village, even though he had spent a good part of his life there, took it upon himself to offer advice to his wife's family. Again and again we would hear from men and women on the river, "In our village we do it this way," or, "We only carry the corpse on the head twice. Our spirits don't like to be troubled more often," or, "Mawu as a name for the Great God is used in our village, but not everywhere on the river." 614 602

There was the experience with several sacred images of village gods we had bought from an upper-river village. Our paddlers refused to carry them for us from the village to the boats, and it was with marked uneasiness that they permitted us to put them into the boats. 123 [178]

"We do not know what these gods can do. We do not know what is hateful to them. They are the gods of another people. We won't carry them."

But with the *gomi*—the child of the village of his mother's family, it was quite otherwise. He was a member of the village, he had a voice in its governing, he knew its gods. If he belonged to the family of the chief of the clan, if, let us say, his older brother were the chief, or if he was one of several nephews of a chief who had no surviving brothers, then at the death of the chief there would be a krutu, and the men of the village would decide which one of the several men who were eligible for the office was the most capable. Though rank was hereditary there was always selection among several heirs, and again the final word rested with the people of the clan. The offices of lesser chiefs—village chiefs who were subject to the clan chief, or bassias who served the chiefs—were passed on in the same manner. 622 624 [424]

While law making was in the hands of the chiefs, or captains, and the krutu over which they presided, law enforcement was the task of the bassias. It was they who saw to it that the orders of the chiefs were carried out. When 625 [622]

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[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
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625 some action was decided upon by the krutu, the several bassias were entrusted with its execution. Most villages
[562] had at least one woman bassia, and she was responsible to the village head for the behavior of the women. If food was to be gathered for a festival, if the village was to be cleaned for a special occasion like a visit to the village of strangers, it was she who saw that the work was done properly. If there were disputes between two women, it was she who carried the news to the village head, and she who transmitted his censure or decision, if the affair was not of sufficient gravity to warrant the calling together of the old men.

562 "Do the women talk in the big krutu?" we asked Bassia Anaisi, of the Granman's village.

"No, not in krutu. But they talk plenty at home."

623 The bassia, we learned, had other duties. He was not
624 only the messenger of his chief, he was also his official spokesman at krutu, and his intermediary in all matters of authority. If a council of the village was to be called, it was he who announced this to the men. When the men had gathered, it was not the chief who spoke, but the bassia who propounded the questions at issue. It was for this reason that Kasanya had leaned over and advised us to call for our town man.

623 Krutu, we learned, were of two types. Every village had its "*G'a Sembe*"—its council of the older men—who acted as an advisory body to the village captain, and the "*Lanti Krutu*," the meeting of all the men of the village. In this latter general assembly rested the final decisions.

Any important issue involving the village would be handled in two krutu, the g'a sembe krutu, and the lanti krutu. In this big lanti krutu where all the man were represented the bassia would speak the words of the chief and of the old men, and then the people would "go aside." This going aside was the concomitant of every consultation, no matter how informal the group or how unimportant the question which was being considered.

643 "True, true, G'aman."
82
716 "Captain And'u, the gods sent the rain to cool everything when the Bak'a came. The gods of the river carried
623 the Bak'a without mishap. We have heard of what the Bak'a has done. He has been at your country, at S'ei. He says he comes to learn. He says he does not come to buy wood or to work gold. What he says is good. Yet a full creek does not clear the bank of weeds. Tell us what the Bak'a did in your country, Captain And'u."

609 "The Bak'a came to S'ei. All that was there he looked
123 at. He walked about the village. His woman talked to our
623 women. The Bak'a spoke with our men. He asked about the obias in the krutu house. His woman asked our women about their gods. What was the name of the wife of the Gran Gadu, he wanted to know."

With every sentence, came the affirmation of the chief.

"So I know."

"So it is."

"By Ando!"

"So I heard."

And'u continued. "The Bak'a knows the land of the Negroes—*a sabi Afrika*. With him he has a great book. In it he has pictures."

"True, true."

"There are pictures of obias."

"Ya-hai!"

"There are pictures of the Kromanti houses."

"So it is!"

"There are pictures of people who have the gods."

"*Kwati-kwati*—No, no!"

"Yet pictures in S'ei the Bak'a did not make. The Bak'a said, 'If your ancestors tell you not to talk, do not talk. But when you talk, do not lie!' That which we did not wish to be done he would not do, his woman would not do."

"Gbolo!" exclaimed the Granman, "this is as I have heard. Now the Bak'a has come up the river. His woman has light hair, she is as our Tonê people. The river has
[906] treated the Bak'a well. The gods of the river have let the
Bak'a pass.

THE COUNCIL OF THE ELDERS

"Kodo!"

"Another letter has come, Bak'a. Will you read that one, too?"

This was a communication written by a lumber factor down the river. One of the villages, it seemed, was in dispute with another over timber rights. The case was laid before the Granman by the factor, who asked that the controversy be settled promptly, since the dispute was keeping the men of both villages from cutting the lumber which had been promised him.

Yankuso now spoke again: "You have heard the message, friends. The man who buys timber asks that I settle this dispute between two of our clans. Their villages are far from here. The clans of the Saramacca people can settle their own disputes."

"Gbolo!"

"So I say, friends. I can look at the cows, but from a distance I cannot tell how many there are. It is not for us here to decide this."

"*Kwati, kwati!*—No, no!"

"It is true, friends, as the Saramacca people say, 'The G'aman's breasts are for all his children.' But it is not my children who have come to me. Bak'a," he said, suddenly turning to us, "later you will write for me to this man who buys lumber. Tell him that for the sake of sweet soup a man eats sour dumplings. So I say."

The Granman looked about him. The heat of midday filled the darkness of the council house, and old Bibifo had dozed off. The gaze of the chief fixed him.

"Mati!" he said, when Bibifo stirred. "Sleep is death!"

Slowly the Granman's eyes circled the room until they came to us.

"The Bak'a has come," he repeated, with his slow intonation, every syllable clearly enunciated. "When the Bak'a came, the rain fell. From Asindopo Lantiwe we shot guns of welcome, from Abenda Konde guns were shot. In the heavens, the gods spoke them welcome. There was thunder."

THE COUNCIL OF THE ELDERS

"*We go asri*," we would be told when the question arose how far we would travel on any given day, or when we urged a reluctant man to sell a ceremonial bench with which he was loath to part. When the answer came back, it came as a unanimous decision of those most concerned. The members of his family had talked over their need for money and weighed that against his personal love for the object he had carved, and most often the decision was against his disposing of it. He cared for it, that meant it pleased his ak'a, his soul, and of what worth was money when it was a question of displeasing his soul, which might begin to trouble him?

"Bak'a, if we cut off our heads and sell them, then if we buy hats, where will we put them?"

So it was in krutu. The lanti, the people, discussed what the bassia had said, as they went apart in small groups. From time to time, a bassia would be called to join one group and then another. What did the chief have in mind when he said this, or that? What did the old men think the consequence would be of the action under discussion? Was it desirable for the village to take a slight, and do nothing at this time? Was it necessary to arrange a compromise, instead of taking the matter into their own hands and beating the members of the offending clan?

After this discussion, each group came back to the assembly united in its stand. If all the groups were agreed, the matter was ended, and the wisdom of the chief and his councilors prevailed. If all disagreed, then it would have been temerity indeed for a chief to attempt to impose his will against the massed dissent. But if there was a lack of agreement, then the long debates would commence. Man after man would summon all his oratory to the argument, and for hours the various factions would speak. In the end, the will of the group would be swayed one way or the other, and a decision reached.

But this was only the procedure in the lowest assembly—that of the village. As men grew older and their sons and

their nephews took up the dancing for the gods, their interests were directed more and more toward the clan rule.

"I do not dance any more," Sedefo had told us, "My sons dance Kromanti now. I must do now what is expected of a man of my years. I must see that our people act wisely in all things which touch this world, and the world of our ancestors."

A clan krutu was a self-sufficient unit made up of members whose maturity fitted them for looking after the worldly and supernatural welfare of their people, for in the larger organization of the tribe it was the clans who stood one with another in perfect equality to complete the whole—the Saramacca people.

The chieftain of the principal village of the clan was the clan head. In him was vested the right to speak for the large grouping, and in the krutu which he conducted the etiquette approached that of the tribal krutu in its intricacy. The village where the clan head lived was inhabited predominantly by his people. In other villages on the river his people might be one of several clan groups. Several villages were inhabited by three or even four clan groups, each of which had its own captain. But such villages were not the seats of clan heads. Where a clan chief ruled would be not only the clan krutu house, but the shrines raised to the important dead of the clan, the clan ancestors whose spiritual powers to help and advise the living were as great as the feats they had accomplished when alive. Here, too, at the village where the clan head lived would be the shrines to the gods who had the clan under their special protection. Above all, here under the direction of the chief were not only those who guided the worldly destinies of the clan, but those who knew how to control the supernatural forces. Here were the obias owned by the clan, those spiritual and unique healing powers whose magic would respond only to the will of clan members who had undergone the training which taught them to operate those forces their ancestors had left for them.

THE COUNCIL OF THE ELDERS

"I have my obia from Lamé," Bayo had said. "People like me because of this obia."

When we came to Lamé we found that the people who inhabited it controlled more than the love obia. They had a powerful fighting obia, too. There was not only *lumbe*, that gave power in love, but also *poitchi*, the obia that helped a man in a fight. But one who wanted to become a great hunter did not go to Lamé. Such a person sought out an obia man of the Dombi clan, who, working with the power of *mafungi*, helped him to see his game in the dark bush, though the animal was of the color of the bush itself, and, once having tracked it, helped him make his aim deadly. A man suffering from a bad gunshot wound would try to get an obia man from the Loango people to come and call on the powers of the Loango clan-obia to heal the dying man. For broken bones there was magic in the sacred village of Dahomey where centered the Kasito clan, and at Dahomey was also the best magic on the river for warriors. *'Bofyuando* and *sokoma'usu* were the two great warrior obias, and so powerful were they that if one but whispered their names, without taking the stems of two weeds, putting one crosswise on top of the other, and over them passing a coin to recompense for speaking the sacred names, the man who spoke would die. These obias belonged to the Kasito people, so strong in magic.

Of these clans there might be twelve or thirteen or fourteen. Among the Saramacca people, we learned, the clan partakes of the mysterious, the awesome. Our Bush Negro friends did not discuss their clans readily, and none of them would give us a list of their names. A few might be mentioned by one man, a few by another.

"To speak of the *lo* is not a thing for strangers," we were told. "My clan I can name, and another man can tell you the name of his clan. My father's clan I can name, too, but not others."

On one occasion we had made clear to a young man who had been away for some time in French Guiana, and who considered himself a man of the world, why we sought the

614 clan names. He went to his mother's brother, and asked for the origin of his own clan, and the relationship that existed between the lo to which he belonged and the others.

"It is for the old men to know," his uncle replied. "When you are old, you will know these things."

"But you must tell me. It is my right," the young man insisted.

"It will be your right," the older man corrected him.

And there the matter rested. But from one, and from another, we gathered the clan names. One village belonged to one clan, its obia was confided to us, and at another village we learned the name of still another clan. So the list of names slowly grew—ten, twelve, thirteen, fourteen. But some clans were paired in a fashion we could not fathom, and when the clans are grouped so as to express the tribe as a whole, the expression that is used is that of "the twelve lo."

614 423 The clan we found to be rooted deep in the land. Each clan had its own territory, and in the region it controlled only the men of the clan might fish in the creeks or fell the hardwood trees which the white man in the city bought. All of the up-river clans had land on the lower river near the railhead, and an important down-river clan, like that of the Gankwe people, had land deep in the interior. Whether fear of invasion, on the one hand, or the need to have their own strongholds in the event of factional disputes, on the other, dictated this division of the land, it was, of course, impossible to determine. Yet it was unquestionably useful for a clan to have representation up and down the river in this fashion. Thus a man, as he traveled up or down the river, would be sure of at least one or two places where he might count on receiving the welcome due him as one who is at home among those who have come from the same "old mother," and where he might feel spiritually safe among people of his own blood, and among the same gods as those of his own village.

631 619 Village, clan, and above these the tribe. So it was that the political order of the Bush Negro was integrated. Tribal

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assemblies such as were reported from the Awka people on the Marowyne were here not called regularly. There was no central body here to make decisions. The autonomy of village and clan seemed almost unquestioned. There were, to be sure, clan alliances, but these bore more directly on the factions which had formed to control the choice of the next headman. At this krutu, therefore, which had just gathered, there were Captain Sungi, head of the Kasito or Dahomey clan, and And'u, the able chief of the Dombi people, and the headman of the Popoto people, and the headman of the Anago. But Fandya of Baikutu who headed the Nasi people was not there, nor were the Awana people represented, nor the Alabaisa, nor Kwama, nor Bi'ito, nor Fandaki, to cite some examples. Of the missing chiefs, several of them lived a considerable distance from the seat of the Granman, and indeed had been to his village but few times.

"Ai, men must krutu," Kasanya had told us one day on the river. "If a few men decide, then the others have anger in their hearts. That is not good. When the lanti meets, and all men talk, then those who came with anger cool their hearts. Talk is good."

And another time, Sedefo had found occasion to quote the proverb, "If you have not settled one thing, you cannot go on to the second." The best way was to talk things over until all men saw that what was proposed was good or bad.

4

In the krutu house of Asindopo Lantiwe the Granman began to speak.

"Mati—friends—the white man has come. He sits there. With him is his wife. She is there beside him. The man from the white man's city has come. He is there. He will speak for the white man. The white man has a cook. The cook is outside."

"So it is, G'aman," said Captain Sungi.

"Mati, the white man came. All who come to me must eat. The white man must eat."

"True, true, master of the realm."

REBEL DESTINY

623 574 643 "Bassia," said the Granman, as he turned to the young man who had come to announce the krutu to us, "go and tell the lanti the white man has come. Tell the lanti the white man must be fed. All who come to this place must eat. Tell the people they must hunt and fish. Let them bring their kill to us here. Let them bring the fish they catch in their traps. Let all know, and may the gods favor their hunting."

"Ai, clever master," came the response, as the bassia left to issue the orders of the Granman.

623 648 "Bak'a," he said, turning to us, "you come from the city of the white man. The G'aman of the white man, in the white man's city, two moons ago, sent a message to us. It is here." He rose from his chair, and reached for several envelopes which were inserted in the chains of the hanging lamp. "What has been written, we cannot read. You know the writing that white men know. Read what the G'aman of the white man has said."

We opened the letter, with its great official seal. In it was a message from the Governor of the Colony, telling Granman Yankuso of our projected trip to the country of the Saramacca people, asking that we be received by him at his village. All this was read in its translation and transmitted to the Granman by our town man. As he spoke, it was the Granman who punctuated his pauses with the ceremonial affirmations.

"So it is."

"So I hear."

"It is as I know."

All listened attentively to the reading of the letter, and when it was concluded, the Granman turned to the members of the krutu.

"Captain Awagi, when I go to the white man's city, word is sent on ahead so that the people of the city know when the G'aman of the Saramacca people comes. So it is in the bush. When a white man comes to the bush, it is well that from the white man's city they tell me who is coming."

Bak'a pass. Friends, the river is more than I am. . . . Let us hear what the Bak'a has done on the river. Friend Kasanya, you have traveled with the Bak'a. Speak of what he has done."

"It is as Captain And'u has said," Kasanya began, "what was forbidden, the Bak'a did not do."

The Granman interposed an objection.

"I sent a message to the Bak'a by the husband of my daughter. To him I said, speak to the Bak'a, say that at all villages on the Saramacca you will be received. But two villages have not walked well with the G'aman. At those you will not stop. Yet at one of them the Bak'a stopped."

"So it is, cunning master. This was how it happened. Darkness was falling. Everywhere was the big bush. A storm was on its way."

"So I know."

"There were no other villages near. The next one could only be reached after dark. There were bad rapids ahead."

"So I understand."

"The Bak'a woman was in the boat. To make camp before the storm came was not possible. We had a krutu. We spoke with the Bak'a. The Bak'a said we must go where we could find a roof."

The Granman grunted, was silent for a moment, then took up the story.

"Friends, night overtook the white man in the bush. He had a woman with him. The men said they could not make camp at night. The white man took his woman to where there was shelter. Into the village he did not go. At the first house he slept. Early in the morning he left. He does not know the river. The men brought him at dark to the forbidden village. The gods sent a great wind when the Bak'a crossed the river to show their displeasure, but the Bak'a and his woman they did not harm. The gods took it into their hands. The gods are more than I am."

"So it is, G'aman."

"Friends, the children of the bush know what is done in the bush. Yet a man's lips must speak for himself. Let

609 the Bak'a himself tell why he has come the long way to the
623 Saramacca river and what it is he seeks."
183 There was a general chorus of agreement, and silence awaited our accounting.

As the town man began to repeat our words to the Granman, the quiet of the house was heightened by an occasional stirring outside the paling. From where we sat, we could see brown motionless feet, which told us that there were many more than those inside, who were listening to the white man's reason for being in the bush.

Again the Granman made the traditional responses.

"So it is, white man."

"True, what you have said, bassia."

Finally our telling was at an end. Again there was a silence as we sat, tensely waiting.

The Granman again broke the silence.

"Friends, chiefs, you have heard. The white man is here. He comes to learn of our life. The gods of the river have
[906] brought him and his woman safely. The Great God sent the
921 rain to cool the air when he reached Asindopo Lantiwe.
[883] The gods are more than I am. The river is more than I am. But the Saramacca people are also more than I am. It is you, headmen of the Saramacca people, who must speak."

"Ai, G'aman," said the man who had the stripes of white on him and who wore the many obias. "But have the ancestors spoken?"

"Truly you ask, friend," was the response. "It is well that you think of these things. In the bush, we think before we speak. Do you go aside and consider well."

Slowly the members of the krutu arose from their
[576] benches. Softly, with bent form, each passed out of the doorway. We were alone with the Granman, who waited with us for the reply of the chiefs.

5

623 As the elders slowly filed out of the council house, it was
693 as though a jury were leaving the courtroom to decide a case which had been laid before it. And as we learned more,

623 enough if the accused persisted in denying such crimes.
695 In that case he called upon the gods to witness that the sin of which he was accused had not been committed by him, and this called for trial by ordeal.

695 The ordeal as a judicial measure was not unknown to our own civilization. In Africa it flourished in the native courts before the coming of the white man, and, it is whispered, still persists in the Suriname bush. The facts as we tell them, we cannot vouch for from our own experience. They were given us independently by two men who have spent many years among the Saramacca people, men who speak the language fluently and who for long periods have lived in this big bush of the Saramacca tribe. Other facts which they told us we had been able to corroborate. These whispers, however, we could not check, for few Bush Negroes would admit that they knew anything of the ordeal.

One way of trial by ordeal was to "*bebe so'i*," to drink the oath. It was utilized in accusations of witchcraft and sorcery. The priests and the elders prepared a drink of deadly poison. Over it magic incantations were pronounced by the obia men. The oath of innocence was taken, and the accused drank. If the potion was retained and the man died, his guilt had been proved, but if the drink was vomited, he was innocent. What his redress was if he were proved not guilty, we were not able to discover.

"If a man is guilty of *wisi*—of evil magic," our friend said, when he told us the story, "he would be afraid of the oath. When it came time to drink, no matter how brave he was, he would confess."

695 Then there was the proof offered in adultery cases,
684 described to us by the other man who knew the ways of the Saramacca folk. When both man and woman who had been accused of misconduct denied their guilt, the procedure this man had witnessed was this. The woman was made to kneel before the assembled krutu of the village. While she knelt there, a buzzard's feather was put into water, in a calabash of the kind they call gubi, and the water was

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we found that for the krutu to act as a jury was an important part of its work. The krutu not only saw to the making of law, but it was also the medium for levying penalties upon those who transgressed law. The same krutu that legislated could judge infractions of its legislation. In its hands was the power to enforce the decisions it had made against the offender. 623 693

We had wondered whether, in this Suriname bush, the African court which so characterized the civilization of the ancestors of these people had survived. When we heard of the supernatural vengeance which followed upon infractions of custom, we sought to find out if people took the matter of punishment into their own hands, if kunu was reinforced by human assistance. 623 693 681

"Ai, mati," a chief once said to us, "kunu is strong, but the krutu is strong, too."

If a man had sworn an oath against another, had called down upon another a curse of some evil spirit, or asked that the gods make a man impotent, or that they stop the womb of his wife from conceiving, or if a man murdered by means other than witchcraft, then he was judged by a krutu. A man who had destroyed a canoe belonging to another—a serious offense, for, as the Bush Negro says, "Had our forefathers not had the wisdom to build canoes, we would still be slaves to the Bak'a"—he, too, would come before this court. The adulterer would be brought here for the assessment of his fine. [683] [685] [684]

When the krutu sat as a court, the accused was not without the right of defense. If it were thieving, or adultery, or the telling of falsehoods, or trespass, or the destruction of the property of another, where the kunu involved was not of the greatest, then the case was judged on the basis of the evidence. In the court, the interests of the one who was accused were cared for by one of the elders of his *mbe*, his relative and a fellow member of his own great family. But when the crime was one of the greater ones, then methods other than the sole use of testimony were employed. Evidence was necessary, but evidence was not 623 695

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treated with obia. An obia man now addressed the woman who denied the charge that had been lodged against her, restating the accusation and her denial. Then he asked her once more if she were guilty, and when the answer was still "No," the test was applied.

Through the woman's tongue the quill of the feather, which had been treated with magic, was thrust. When the entire length of the feather had passed through the tongue, then it was that the proof was had. If the woman's tongue neither swelled nor showed blood, she was innocent.

But whether it be trial by ordeal or through the taking of testimony, punishment by the krutu went along with punishment by the spirits. Only incest, we learned, was not punishable by the court. That was for kunu alone to avenge.

6

Once more the krutu was in session. Where the men had "gone aside," we did not know, but while we sat in the krutu house, alone with Moana Yankuso, we heard nothing.

The Granman had spoken little. Were our hammocks tied well the night before? Were we satisfied with the arrangements he had made for the storing of our supplies?

What were the elders deciding? We could not but wonder with anxiety. Would this krutu, after the fashion of the bush, where time meant so little, come to no decision? Was the answer to be one that had been previously arranged?

Chief Sungi was the first to speak.

"G'aman, we have gone aside. Your captains and bassas have spoken together. We say, the white man has come. The white man must eat. Let all be told to bring gifts, that you may feed those who have come to you."

"So it is," was the Granman's response. "Friends, great thanks to you. What you have said is good. Let all return to their villages. Let all tell their people that the white man has come. Let all come with gifts, that we may eat."

There was a chorus of affirmations. The Granman arose.

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"White man," he said, "I have told the young men to hunt, I have told them to fish. My captains, who are here, are going to their villages. You have heard. Their women will come with rice. The young men will bring their kill. So it is in the bush. So G'aman Yankuso holds those who come to him."

As the elders, each with his word of leave taking, left the house to us, we thought of the Granman's last words and of the verdict of the krutu. We had sat long enough in this assembly to realize the circumlocution which went with all statement, and we tried to decipher the cryptic words of the chiefs. Was it a verdict at all? Or was it merely a way of refusing to come to any decision when the white man sat in the krutu which was deciding the fate of his visit? That the decision would be reflected in the attitude of the people of the village seemed reasonable to suppose. And so, drawing aside the curtain which hung over the door, we went out into the open square before our house to see what the krutu had decided.

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Chapter XII

WOMEN AT WORK

I

A WOMAN stood in the council house, dipping her hand into a calabash and spraying the ground and walls. East and west, north and south she turned, with her fingers pointed downward toward the hard clay floor, then with palm upturned sending the water toward the thatch.

Evil spirits,
You must not come here,
You must dwell in the bush,
The bush is big.

O spirits,
Do not come here,
Remain in the bush,
The bush is big.

Startled by the white woman, who had taken her unawares, she allowed no apology. Her wet hand went quickly to her lips to show that not a word was to be uttered. In silence she withdrew, beckoning the white woman to follow her, and not until they were well away from the house did she break her silence.

"Come with me. Inside there no one must speak."

Some day, before we left, she might be able to tell what she had done and what weeds had gone into the water.

782 Now she could but say that the Granman had asked her to see to this.

"It is good medicine. Do not be afraid," she added, reassuringly.

She led the way to her quarter, but before we had gone past the open shrine she stopped, and her eyes narrowed as she tried to come to a decision. From the quarter we were approaching came a crooning, moaning sound.

787 "A god speaks. The Apuku god has come to a woman this morning. Come. We will go to the G'aman's women," she said as she retraced her steps.

644 888 On a squared log in back of the enclosed shrine which adjoined the council house sat the Granman's principal wife. She was a woman who in her prime must have had beauty, but, though still erect, she had deep grooves on her face, and her breasts were the breasts of an old woman. Her head was closely shorn, as was the way of women whose children were grown. Like any other woman of the village she wore only the short cloth and the bit of kerchief which showed at her waist. Like the others she went to the provision ground almost daily. She and her younger daughter, who was named Wilhelmina for the Queen of Holland, [462] cared for their field together, and now they were working side by side.

644 Wilhelmina was more robust than her mother could have been at her age. She was tall, more her father's daughter. It was she who served his food and looked after his personal needs. She was the wife of the man who had brought the boat which Sedefo had rejected, because he did not trust its spirit. As she worked, her two children were with her, the elder a child of three, sitting on the ground at her [855] feet, and the other on her back, or in her lap nursing while she did her tasks.

Unlike her older sister, Wilhelmina had little of her father's astuteness, of his quick eye, or his schooled tongue. She went about with the slow, sensuous grace of someone not quite awake, while her older sister busied herself with making the rounds of the village, observing this and that

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which went on, so that she might recount it to her father. 644
The women of the village walked "softly" with this older daughter. "Daughter of the G'aman," they called her when they addressed her, and her mildly spoken, persuasive suggestions were never ignored.

Wilhelmina, however, busied herself at her work, and if anything were asked of her, she would look up with an expression of bewilderment. Differing from other women of the village, who had come to live there after marriage and knew the speech of the less aristocratic down-river settlements, Wilhelmina had never been any distance from Asindopo Lantiwe. The other women were, therefore, constantly interpreting the questions which were being put to her.

She was dark of skin, as dark as her sister, but her face [142] had a flush of red in it, as though she had brushed it with the sacred red kuswe. A little above her wrists gleamed wide [301] bands of tin. These were bracelets her husband had made for her, and they were much prized. The brass coils which she once wore had been filed through and removed, for [843] when the ankles of a woman who bore children swelled, it became necessary to be rid of these ornaments.

In a small mortar, decorated with carvings, she was [252] pounding maripa nuts. The ends of the pestle were bordered [412] with finely cut cross hatchings.

"Ai, we use much palm oil here," she said.

Her mother was paring cassava. At her feet were several 644 baskets and pieces of bark, shaped like miniature canoes, 252 into which she threw the peeled cassava. Near these con- [285] tainers lay a sifter, woven of palm fiber, and a grater, made of a thin board perhaps sixteen inches long and half as wide, into which long slender nails had been hammered and their points filed to a needle-like sharpness. When the tubers were peeled, Wilhelmina began the grating, first squatting down, then dropping to her knees, better to work. The grated cassava was then packed into the matapi, the cassava press which had before leaned against the house. This matapi was of a basket-like weave, golden in color

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644 252 and tall as the Granman's wife herself, though in circumference no larger than the post of the house against which it leaned. The woven strands were caught together in the loops with which it was finished on top and bottom.

When it had been filled, the matapi was hung from the stub of a stout limb, and one end of an equally stout stick was inserted into the bottom loop, while the other rested on the ground. Now Wilhelmina and another woman sat down on this stick, and under the pressure exerted by their combined weight the matapi slowly contracted. A milky white fluid containing the poison which made the raw bitter cassava so deadly filtered through the woven strands, trickling into the gourd placed to receive it. Steadily the poisonous fluid was forced out until it was not long before the gourd was filled, and the cassava pressed dry. When there was much work to be done, and the white woman was not about to ask questions, the women would not waste their time sitting on the stick, but instead would suspend heavy stones from thongs tied to the bottom loop, and they were then free to be about their other tasks. Now, however, it was more amusing to sit and talk.

Whatever the method, when the meal was rid of the poison, it was worked through the sifter into a closely woven basket, and in that kneaded and made ready for baking [177] on the large iron griddles. The use of the bitter cassava they had learned from the Indians, and the names for the sifter and the cassava press were to this day Indian, as were their weave and shape, but the griddles came from the white man's city.

[415] [177] [80] "We use Indian water jars, too. The red pottery we do not make. But black obia pots are Negro things. These our old women mold," said the Granman's wife.

2

644 286 As she spun cotton for the garters she would later make, the woman they called the Granman's younger wife sat and talked of working the fields. Her spindle, a small iron

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rod set into a base of clay, rotated steadily as she worked. Her fingers moved fast, for she did not require too fine a thread. The raw cotton, she said, she got from a wild "cotton tree." Cotton which was picked in the fields and which grew from seeds planted in the ground, she did not know at all. Was there such cotton?

Working in the fields, she continued, was not too difficult. It was a woman's work. A woman did not mind it. From earliest childhood girls followed their mothers about, and learned how to work the fields.

"What is hard is having to cut my own field. I have no man to cut it for me. I must cut it myself."

She paused for an instant to right her thread.

"When I plant my field, and pray to the gods to make the seed grow, then I ask the Earth Mother to help me find a way to get a man to cut my field for me. 'Earth Mother,' I say, 'help me find a man to cut my field. I have great need of a man to burn my ground.' . . . "

Seeing two women approach, she said, "Fenekonde here is like myself, she too needs a man to cut her field."

But this needed explaining. Here were two women who called the Granman "husband," and who shared the difficulty of having to clear their own fields.

It was soon made apparent, however, that both of these women were only nominally wives of the Granman. They had married into his family. When kunu, however, killed one successor to his office after the other, these women were made widows. Like the widow who now worked alone before her house which fronted the clearing, where stood the shrine to the great gods and the Granman's principal houses, they had worn tattered clothes, and a twisted kerchief as a band on their heads. For five months this had lasted, and then a dance was given.

Did the white woman know about the ceremony called *pai Adyo?*

The white woman had heard the word Dyo-dyo from natives of the town many times. Once, indeed, a question about it put to an old woman, who it later developed was

774 at the time approaching a state of possession, had provoked great anger.

"If you do not know what the Dyo-dyo is, then you are not human. Then I won't talk to you. Have you never walked and felt something in back of you, yet nothing was there? Have you never had a dream?"

The Dyo-dyo was one of two souls with which each individual was born, the old woman had later been persuaded to explain, for each man had his akra, his personal soul, which if he were mindful of it, remained with him, and allowed no evil to come to him; and each man had his Dyo-dyo, his wandering soul. At death the soul which had [795] wandered came back to the body. If it were permitted to stray once more, this soul, which had been ever restless in life, would wander about troubling the living.

796 But now, sitting among the women in back of the Gran-
765 man's shrine, it seemed again best to admit that she knew nothing of the adyo ceremony. Fortunately, there was no outburst of anger this time, for here in the true, true Saramacca country, it was soon evident that there was a [186] pride in their magic, and their language, because these were held to be uniquely their own.

"We give a big play for the breaking of mourning." All [534] the drums were played, and the rattles sounded, and the *kwakwa*—the hard-wood bench played with two sticks—was beaten.

For this important ceremony, the oldest living brother [293] of the dead man provided food and rum, and, when the time came to partake of this food, he and the *kei mundu*—the people of rank—sat about the doorway of the widow's house. She herself stood inside the house, behind the threshold, scattering food for the dead, and pouring rum on the ground. Rice and peanuts and sugar cane were thrown [267] away, but not yams or plantains, for those things were not given in their village to the ancestral spirits. As the widow "threw away" the food she wept. In the clearing those who did not eat danced adyo. In a circle, men and women danced in close file, one behind the other, each

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holding a stick the size of a well-grown boy's arm. Round 796
and round they went, as the widow from her doorway 765
moaned her lament, and guns sounded in honor of the dead.
The more important the man, the more guns were fired. [55A]
Their own men had been the Granman's brothers. There was shooting till . . . till late afternoon, when they could not delay the bathing at the river any longer.

Before dark, all had to go to the river to bathe, and the 768
widow, too, was led there with the others. There she purified [783]
herself, and discarded her mourning clothes, drawing on 796
new cloths, and making herself fit with ornaments for the ceremony of rejoicing. This was followed by dancing which lasted late into the night. All the gods might be danced to at an adyo ceremony—Adonko; Vodu, the snake; Opete, the buzzard; Tigri, the jaguar; and all the gods of the bush and the ant hill—and, at the beginning, the seketi social dances and the half-sacred awasa. These dances were held for the spirits of men and women alike, and it did not matter whether the dead, or the living members of the family of the dead, shared these gods with the rest of the villagers, or not.

"But mourning is not over yet," said Fenekonde. 768

Seven months more elapsed, she showed on her fingers, 587
before a woman might cohabit with her brother-in-law. If there was no brother-in-law to take her, then a woman had to wait twelve months after the adyo ceremony, instead of seven.

"If a woman doesn't care for her brother-in-law," continued Fenekonde, "or he doesn't care for her, then, when the seven months have passed, he comes to her hammock for two nights. Then she can go to another man at once."

When the husband who had died left no brothers, and there was no one else in his family to take the widow, the family of the dead man sought out a husband for her.

"They look and they look, until they are weary," said the Granman's younger wife, "but a man must be found before a woman can come out of mourning."

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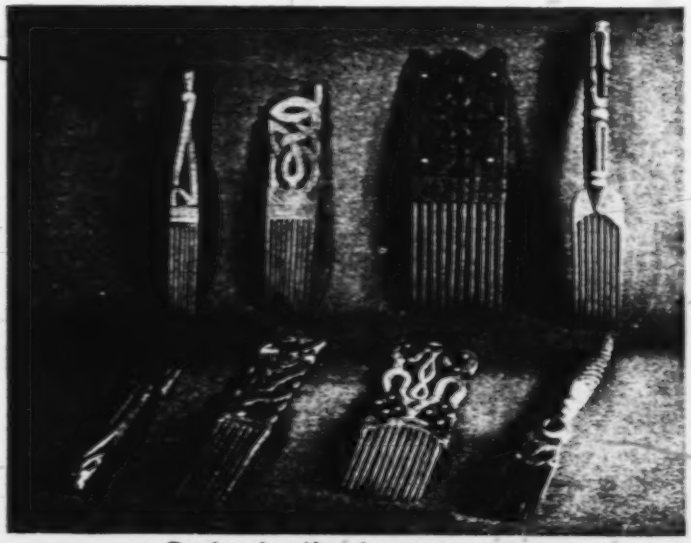

Comba, the gifts of men to women.

415
532

A tray for winnowing rice. (Symbolism on pages 282–283.)

[Facing p. 214]

765 And Fenekonde said, "Mourning is hard. The widow must not go to the river alone to wash. Other women must take her there. Her husband's spirit might seize her. Her [108] hair must be cut. If not, he will get her by the hair. Her clothes must be ugly. She must keep herself unclean, so that his ghost will not long for her when he sees her."

But mourning was difficult not only for a woman. A man's mourning period was no less burdensome, they added. He too wore old clothes. When he went to wash, his wife's brother took him to the river. If he had another wife, he did not go into the hammock with her, for the dead woman would be envious and would kill him.

765 There were times, however, when women did not go into 893 mourning for their husbands. If a woman carried a child in her womb, then she did not put on mourning clothes at all. She did not weep, she was not allowed to show any grief. That same night the dead man's oldest living brother would come with her in the hammock. If there were no brother, another man would come, for some man had to come.

"He must come. It cannot be otherwise. She cannot go to her hammock alone. So it is every night when a woman carries a child in her womb. A man must be with her, for the sake of the child."

3

243 In the clearing the widow stood stamping rice. About 644 her the rice hulls flew and made a half circle of gold at her dark feet. Her mortar, which was made of a hollowed-out [415] log, like a drum, was large and reached almost to her hips. On the ground was a large tray which she used for winnowing the rice. With slow, regular beats she lifted and dropped [412] the pestle, and as her body swung with its slow motion the [854] head of the sleeping child on her back rolled this way and that.

768 Her two small boys had gone to live in her mother's 644 village, but this girl child remained with her. She was born

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more than a year before her father's death and therefore had not saved her mother from mourning.

"My sons are big so," she showed, pointing to the mortar, "and already my brother takes them with him down the river, and when they are with him he tells them about the creeks and the trees, and where the villages are which are friendly to our people. But when they come here to see me, then they play. They have play guns and play arrows which they make themselves. Into the uncleared bush they shoot them until I call them away to eat. Here I have no man from whom they can learn. Here they only play."

But boys liked to be with men. When the rains came, her brother would let them sit by when he carved, and, seeing him work, they would take up a knife and begin whittling. That was how boys learned to do men's work.

Women children played with "gossi." She put down her pestle, and felt about in her cloth where the child slept, and brought out a gourd, resembling in size a small cucumber. It had beads on top for eyes and a few deft cuts to indicate nose and mouth, while above the eyes was crosshatching for the hair. Until girls were old enough to be of use in the fields, they sat about in the clearing playing with these dolls.

"When they are four and five, then they like to work."

There was, of course, dancing. All dances were opened by the children, and at six and seven the girls knew seketi and awasa, and bandamba, and the boys danced susa.

"Do you dance susa?" we asked the Granman's five-year-old grandson, who was standing with us beside the widow.

"Ai," he said, but once our attention was turned to him he said also, "White man, the children say you carry money in this." He touched a water canteen which hung from the stranger's belt. "I know it is water."

He knew also that shaving cream was soap, and not white people's sacred clay, and now as women came with bottles for the white man's obia water—a name they gave

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856 to all the medicine we had for them—he took it upon him-
644 self to instruct them to wash the bottles carefully, as he
609 followed us to the storehouse, and to warn them that what was given was not to be taken internally.

"*A taki, a taki-e, u' no mu' bebe*—He says, he is saying, you must not drink this," he explained, with something of his mother's persuasiveness in giving instructions.

His grandmother had said one day half in jest that he would have a tiger spirit which would need to be reckoned with when he grew to manhood. He was a straight-limbed, wiry child, not troubled with the umbilical hernia so often [164] met with in children here in the bush, or with the distended "cassava belly."

The coming of the strangers had eclipsed all desire for [857] familiar diversions here. From early morning the children of the village stood about watching us, so that the brushing of teeth and the lacing of boots were carried on under excited supervision which continued day after day. But to this small grandson of Yankuso we were visitors in his quarter, and whether we were alone in the council house or were in the small house reserved for privacy, he would find his way there and stand about asking questions.

Sometimes, however, when he found us at work and saw that we did not wish to be interrupted, he would lean against the wall for a long time watching us in silence, until presently he would come to life, as it were, walk over to the table, and begin beating the Kromanti rhythm on it.

856 But he was not the only child who knew the drum
533 rhythms. In the last village in the Pikien Rio, we met a
868 two-year-old child who came to us with more than usual readiness and followed us about, his hand in ours until we came to his mother's house, where he left us to sit down on a wooden plank which lay near it. We had been in conversation with the older people and did not notice his going, until all at once we heard the slow beating of the rhythm to the Sky God. It was this child of two, drumming against the plank on which he sat.

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"*A naki apinti, ai!*—He is playing the apinti," his father said, laughing, and a woman who stood by said that when he grew up he would have an important god. It would be a good god, too, and it might be a great Komfo—a priest reincarnated in him. 856 533 868

Among the little girls who were with us most often, and now stood by with Yankuso's grandson, were the two daughters of Dida, the wife of Chief And'u of S'ei, who went about the Granman's village with white on her face and body. The little girls were also washed in the white clay, and there was white in the wool of their hair. They had the quick, startled movements of their mother, and one of them in particular was a nervous child, shy and easily frightened. She never came too close to the strangers, and, for a time, if they but caught her eye, she would begin to tremble with fear. 857 [609]

"Your daughters are handsome, Dida." 776

"Ai, they come from a good line," she said, laughing. 868

The Granman's younger wife said, "They will have many gods when they are big. They will have them from their mother, and theirs will be stronger yet. They are twins." [845]

It was possible, she explained, by looking at a child to know if it would have the gods of the family. Sometimes the gods took a dislike to a child and refused to give it of their wisdom or protection, and sometimes the gods liked it so well that they gave it many gifts—the gift of a fine singing voice, the ability to dance better than others, and the good fortune to be liked.

"Until they are grown, the gods do not trouble them much," she added, "but we in the bush know a child who will have important gods, and we know if the gods will be kindly."

"Do you mean you know because of kunu?"

"*Ma kye*, all gods do not come from kunu."

4

One day when sitting among the women, the talk was of twins. 845

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845 "The next time you come to the Saramacca country, you must have twins here," the women said, laughing, "then you will see what a play we give for them. And for a child born after twins, and for a child who is born feet foremost."

The last, however, was not good, and they were really not in earnest, they explained, in wishing that type of childbirth upon the stranger.

"Such a child has a bad spirit. The mother almost always dies when giving birth."

"Is there no obia to save her?"

"The gods can save the mother if they wish. . . ."

There were special songs for twins which were sung when bandamba was danced. Several of the women, and Dida among them, began to sing them. The songs praised the generative powers of the man and woman who had "made" twins. As the women began their songs, they rose from their work and danced, for just as they could not
533 remember the words of a song apart from its melody, so
535 they could not sing the melody without the accompany-
845 ing dance movements which went with it. Words and melody and movements of the body were all part of the image evoked by the word "bandamba." With arms firmly planted on their hips, and feet slightly apart for balancing, the slow rhythmic play of abdomen, hips, and buttocks went on and on.

But as they sang and danced, the Granman's younger wife suddenly remembered that their voices must carry to the council house, and abruptly the women stopped, covering their faces.

"We're ashamed," Dida explained.

"But the men see you dance bandamba when you give your plays for twins, and the child after twins, and for marriages?"

"Yes, but then it's singing and dancing at a play."

When an occasion called for these songs and dances, it was quite another matter, she implied.

"It is not good to do this for sport."

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WOMEN AT WORK.

5

Tenemi made ready to carve a calabash dish. She sat down on her work stool, and on the ground beside her she put down a small knife, a piece of broken glass, and half of a calabash shell. The inner pulp had just been removed, and both the inside and outside of the gourd were of a pale green color. She had dipped it in water before she brought it here, and now with the point of her knife she deftly marked her design. The curves in the center, covering almost the entire inner surface, formed the body of a woman, she said, who was big with child. The geometric tracings in parallel narrow lines across one portion of the top was the Aboma snake, euphemistically called the G'an Tetei, the great creeper, or vine. Taking up the piece of glass, she began to scrape away carefully the soft pulp inside the outlines of her design. 322 532

In the entire village there was no woman who worked faster at carving calabash dishes than did Tenemi. In less than half an hour the dish was ready to be placed on the high platform where the maripa nuts were drying. With the sun upon it, the calabash would turn a deep cream color, but where the knife had borne down, it would show a golden brown, and where the glass had scraped away the pulp, the color would be a paler gold, so pale that it would be almost the cream of the unornamented outer surface.

"The large closed gourds are not done fast. Those are carved on the outside, and must be worked cleverly. But this does not take long. I am making this for you. When it is finished I will bring it to you. You must give it to your girl-child when she grows big." [431]

She herself had made four children, but only two of them were living. The oldest, a daughter, carried a child in her womb. Tomorrow she would come to the village, and Tenemi would bring her. 165

"She was afraid to come. Women who are with child must be very careful." [843]

84 It appeared that nothing in a woman's life was so dreaded
85 as childbearing, nothing more coveted than fertility, and no time so difficult and so anxious as when a woman was rearing her children.

787 "The day before a girl marries she prays all day to her
584 gods," said Dida, who with Fenekonde and several other women had joined us. "I begged my god Kesekia and gave him rice and rum. All day they played the agida. I begged
[843] him not to hate my husband. I begged him to give us children."

843 When a woman conceived, her husband made her many
[831] obias, and especially a black sack obia with four cowries
751 sewed on it, to keep her safe on the paths which led from
789 village to village, and from village to her field. The fear of the power of bad magic at this time was so great that, if we but looked at one of the pregnant women, or let our eyes rest on the several obias she wore, she grew nervous, covered them with both her hands, and disappeared in fear that the very power of our glance might weaken the potency of the charms. She did not believe in the white man's magic, but she was not in a condition to wish to put it to a test.

844 "When her time comes, a woman sees to it that she is in
782 her own village," said Fenekonde. "It is not good to give birth in the bush, or on the river."

This had almost happened to Wilhelmina with her last child. She was on the river alone in a boat. Chief Sungi of Dahomey met her and called on his gods to delay the coming of the child until he brought her home. He had strong obia, and so the misfortune was averted.

When the woman felt the first labor-pains, she prayed to the gods, and to her personal spirits. On the great Sky God she called, and the Earth Mother; on her ak'a, her soul; on the Yorka, the ancestors; and then she prayed to her personal gods, and particularly to whatever snake gods she might have, for some of these were known to be jealous of a coming child. But none of the gods dared be slighted.

WOMEN AT WORK

"Before she begs the gods, she is seated on a mat, or on cloths. Over her head a white cloth is thrown. The woman who is there to look after the coming of the child takes a calabash with water. Then she throws the water on the ground where the woman is seated. She begs the great gods, and the ancestors, and the woman's soul, and the woman's gods. 844 782

"When the pains come, she ties a cloth about her belly tight, tight, until it hurts. The woman who helps her gives her some water if she wants it, and she presses down on the belly and makes the cloth tighter and tighter, until the child comes. The cord is cut with a knife." 844

The knife was the same as the kind they used for cicatrizing, and the after-birth was buried behind the house, in a small hole into which food and a piece of the sacred sangrafu wood was thrown. [412]

"The child is washed, and then *pemba*—kaolin—is put on its forehead, and after that the mother and the child bathe every day and then wash in pemba. Sometimes a moon comes and wanes, and another comes, and the mother still puts the white on herself and on her child." [751]

But if the birth proved to be difficult, then the husband was told, and he besought his own ancestors and his own gods to help his woman and child. 845

"If the child doesn't come, then it's a bad spirit. Then they call the obia man."

When a woman had difficulty, everybody was troubled about it. If a woman had been unfaithful to her husband and had not confessed it, it would be that which would be killing the child in her womb, and killing her as well. Sometimes it was *wisi*—black magic—and everybody wondered who had sent it to their village. Sometimes it was a god who was envious. [754]

"If it is a god, then, when the woman is strong again, she goes to a more powerful god and buys from him the next child to come into her womb. The strong god sees to it that the jealous one finds no way to harm the child." 845 716 842

What happened when a child was born dead? [766]

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845 The women had spoken with greater and greater re-
766 luctance about troubled births and now moved uneasily.

"You must not ask this," said Dida, rising. "Never talk about such things to young women."

Not until later, when Fenekonde and Tenemi were left alone with the white woman did they talk about birth customs again.

When a child died at birth, a hole was dug somewhere in the family quarter, or just outside it, and the child was buried there. There was no wake, no mourning. All those who had been living in the house where it died found other quarters, and for a month the house was washed with obia water. But if this had occurred before to the same mother, they would break the house where the child was born and would cast the pieces into the unhallowed bush. Some people on the river even broke it down at the first occurrence. There were never any wakes for very small children.

761 "Children die because they are bad spirits come in the
845 form of a child. When they do not stay, we know it is a bad
766 spirit. When the house is broken, they do not know their way to come again."

"What if a woman died?"

845 This was whispered so softly that only Fenekonde heard
766 it, but she did not conceal her distaste for the question.

"When a woman dies she is put in a flat coffin. Some villages give her no coffin at all. Weeds are put into her eyes. All the girls in the village wash their eyes with obia weeds and water. They must never see this again. There is no wake. There is no dancing. No guns are shot. They break the house, and throw it after the coffin, as the men carry it away. She must not come back again."

But the white woman must not imagine that all deliveries were difficult. Often a woman bore a child, and, when the after-birth came, she herself rose and bathed and washed in pemba.

551 A child was given many names. Even in early childhood four or five names were not too many. There was the day

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name which was kept secret and never spoken except in 551
states of possession or when the obia man called on a person's spirit. For girls, Amba for a Saturday child, Affi for one born on Friday, Adjuba for Wednesday; and for the boys some of the names were Kwaku, for Monday, Yao for Thursday, Kofi for Friday, and Kwasi for Sunday. Then there was the name which the father gave, and after that any of the family who cared added a name and made the child a present.

From the day it was born until it was at least two years 853
old a child fed at its mother's breast. For twelve moons 846
and five more of this time the woman could not go to the hammock with a man. It was then that her husband went to the distant French shore to work or to the railhead. But after seventeen months of nursing were past, he came back. 844

"If a child is made before a woman gets back her men- [842]
strual flow, then it is a god. It is Kesefu. A child born feet [845]
first some call Agosu, and some Asaeng. The child born after twins we call Dosu, and twins are Hohobi. Now it is in your book. You will give those names to your children, and your sister's children. No one will know at all what names these are. No one will be able to harm them."

6

In the quarter immediately adjoining that of the Gran- 585
man there was great activity. Six or seven men and boys 476
were at work on a new house, for the youngest daughter of the family was ready for marrying, and now the men were helping her suitor to build a house for her in her village.

From the same quarter, behind a house which stood in 804
the shade, came the laughter of young girls. We made our way past the house and saw four girls ranging in age from thirteen to sixteen seated on a log. One of these held her head back, and an older girl was bending over her. They called to us as we passed.

"We are cutting kamemba. Do you want some cuts, too?"

These were not new cuts which were being made, for with perhaps one exception, the girls were all nubile, and

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304 the first cuts had been made on their faces long before they reached adolescence. When a girl began her monthly visits to the house which stood alone to one side of the road, directly opposite the shrine to the great gods, then it was time for the important cuts on the thighs, and it was the old women who made the cuts. But the reopening of old cuts, like the braiding of the hair, was a task the girls did for each other with enjoyment. It was with no small pride that they talked of their ornamental cuts.

The older girl held in her hand a razor from the white man's city. It was not very sharp, and the tropical dampness had spotted it with rust. Beside her was an old calabash holding charred rice hulls which had the moment before been rubbed into a powder, and a cloth whose color was rapidly being lost in the blood which flowed from the wounds which she cut.

Before proceeding with the cutting, the older girl would look critically at the girl on whom she was working, narrowing her eyes quite in the manner of an æsthete who was evaluating each detail. Then, with a firm grip on her razor, she would take an old scar between two fingers, and cut into it. Scar after scar she reopened, as the girls talked and laughed, until when she had made perhaps ten cuts, she would stop to staunch the blood and to survey her handiwork.

When the facial cuts were all open, it was time to rub
[298] the powder from the freshly charred rice hulls into the wounds.

"She will be handsome, ai-yo!" said the girl as she finished, and she dropped the smaller cloth back into another calabash which held water. With this moist cloth dipped into the black powder, she rubbed the black on the face of the seated girl. Now when the scar healed, each of the keloids would show black and prominent against the brown of the skin.

"Mine have been reopened four times," said the girl whose face had been treated, as she rose to make way for the next one. "The cuts heal fast."

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"It hurts, doesn't it?"

"*Ma kye!* It is beautiful. The men like it too much," said the girls in a chorus, laughing at the suggestion that the pain of the cuts would deter them from having them made. 304

Sometimes, of course, the older girl admitted, the wounds did become ugly. There was the girl from Godo, whose suitor had kept bringing her more gifts because she was growing handsomer and handsomer. She was all but ready for marrying, when one of her thighs became infected after the cuts. The wounds were so ugly that she could not even wear the tunics of the grown girl. The family was sacrificing to all the spirits of the earth, begging them to heal the wounds.

7

These days there were many visitors in the Granman's village. There was the girl the Granman had summoned to dance for his guests. She had, perhaps, that very summer got her cloths, and her reputation as the best dancer on the river had won for her a suitor who gave her many armlets and anklets. Her voice was fresh and flutelike in quality, and so fine that when she sang she placed a folded cloth over her mouth, or danced with her head low. This was the way of modesty before people, and humility before the gods. 535 574 [301] [533] [976]

The women said, "Her spirits dance well," when they watched her.

There was the large girl from a village down river who came almost daily. She had the body of a woman, yet she went about unclothed, and sometimes she appeared only with a string about her waist. 882 291

"She is ready for *pangi*—cloths—ai," the women said, "but her people do not want to give them to her yet."

They would not explain, however, why the attire of a grown woman was denied her. We could only conjecture about it. Perhaps she had no suitor. The man to whom she had been promised might have died. There might be other reasons.

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887 "Perhaps the women were wrong. She may not be a
891 woman yet."

"*Ma kye!*" Angita exclaimed. It seemed he knew better.

And there was the woman Amasina. She wore as many armlets and anklets of brass as the shy dancer, as many as the wife of the bassia of S'ei, whom the gods had prospered. Her cloths were of the finest, and in colors which were most often of yellow and blue stripes, with a thread of black interwoven, and another of twisted red and white. She was good-looking, but in her manner there was no smoldering challenge and no undue reserve. With ease she went from one group to another, and the women treated her neither with too much familiarity nor with restraint.

609 Amasina felt at ease, too, with the white people. In the bush they had an explanation for this feeling of well-being with strangers. If a man and a woman were both born on
581 the same day, they did not get on very well together, for they were both apt to have the same powers to grasp things which came within the province of the gods who also had come into the world on that day. Such a man and woman would at once perceive each other's mistakes or would be given to speaking continual warnings to each other. But there were days which were especially congenial affinities for marriages, and even friendships. These, we were led to see, were days which represented a male and female deity in the Bush Negro pantheon, whose mating had brought well-being to themselves and the living world.

"You and Amasina like each other, ai," they said in the village, and this friendship had a sequel of importance for us.

776 One late afternoon we were sitting with the women talking about the gods. Dida said the white on her body was for her god Kesekia. Chief And'u had washed her for her god when he was here in the village, and tomorrow she would dance. Kesekia, she said, was a Vodu god, who had come to her from the French shore. When he came to her, he spoke tongues; he knew French.

796 "Tomorrow they will play the agida drum, and I will put
776 a kerchief on my head tied so," she said, showing how she

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would fasten it in back, letting the ends hang down, "and I will tie my breasts with another." She took a proffered kerchief, folded it into a triangle, and from the back brought the ends between her breasts and knotted them twice.

Amasina now joined us, and stood by listening.

They danced for Vodu gods on Sunday and Monday, and for the spirits of the bush on Tuesday and Wednesday. All the obia dances were held on Friday. All spirits had their special days, when they were worshiped and when they manifested themselves.

As we talked, each woman showed on her fingers how many gods she had. Dida had two other Vodu gods. Three fingers, two, three, four—hands went up with pride, but what the names of the gods were, they would not say, for if they called the gods, they would come. It was well enough for Dida to talk, for having the god it was not she who was speaking, but the god himself. Very possibly he was deciding to come to the white woman, for that was what gods did if they chose. Intermingled with this banter was some concern for their visitor if the god should decide to come to her.

Faced with the opportunity of coming by a spirit, the visitor asked to be made wise in the ways of the gods. What was the name of the Earth Mother? And the Mother of the River? And of that very important snake god called Papa who came to women only, because only women gave birth to children?

Amasina, who had seated herself beside the white woman, leaned over, and calmly spoke.

"I will tell you. The Earth Mother is Asaase, and Hene Tonugbwe is the name of the Mother of the River, and Towenu is the Papa god. Now do not ask more, and never speak these names to any one, unless you get the god."

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Chapter XIII

THE GODS SPEAK

1

600 EARLY the next morning we heard the voice of a drum coming from some unidentifiable direction, not too close, not too far away.

"That's the agida drum we hear?" we asked Tenemi when she came to sweep the council house.

"Ai."

"It sounds far away."

"It's across the river. Dida is dancing. . . . "

But here she stopped, remembering, as we did, that she had agreed to come for us when Dida danced, if the god made Dida herself forget to fetch us to see her dancing.

"You can't take us to her, Tenemi?"

"It's across the river, and it's early."

"When did she leave this village?"

"Late last night."

As an after thought Tenemi added, "Dida has a house across the river. She went to her own quarter."

2

787 A few minutes later the white woman found herself walking toward the partially cleared ground outside the village, past the menstrual house and the open shrine to the great gods which stood almost directly opposite it. There were three women in the house, dressed in faded

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cloths, their hair disheveled, their faces without the glint 787
which the oil gave to their dark skins, and their eyes without the touch of dark flame which the gleaming skins brought out. One of these women stood leaning against a doorpost trembling. Her hands were clenched, and her mouth moved without pause, and without sound.

"She hears the agida?"

"Ai. She wants to dance, but she can't. Her god is troubling her."

The white woman must not stop with them longer, and she must not come closer, the two women who stood beside their quivering companion called out at once, for the obia which she wore about her neck would be contaminated if brought too close to them, and its power to protect the wearer against danger would leave it at once.

"Do not come too close. Tomorrow I will return to my house, and after I have bathed and washed in pemba, I will be clean again, and then I will come to see you," the younger of the two women said.

The other said, "When you go there," and she pointed toward the woman's path, "do not go by the way of the broken calabashes. That is the unclean way. It is the path [841]
for the women who stay in this house."

Down the clearing the white woman continued until, 343
when she turned, the open cooking shelter of Bassia Anaisi's quarter faced her. The floor of the shelter was of red clay, raised well above the clearing itself. A woman was laying a fire there, putting down the long sticks one end close to the other in the center, so that they radiated outwards in what seemed a perfect circle. Her child, who was fitted out with obias on neck and wrists and right ankle, sat [524]
near by watching her, and playing with a gourd doll.

The voice of the agida had a moment before died down, 533
and now a song reached the white woman. It came not from across the river, but from somewhere directly behind the houses grouped about the clearing beyond the cooking shelter. The song was a repetition of several melodic phrases, sung in varying rhythms, so that it had a disturb-

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533 ing quality as it continued slowly and yet more slowly for a time, then quickened sharply at irregular intervals.

533 "Who is singing?"

776 "The gods," said the woman at the fire, without pausing to look up as she fanned the small flame with a woven fiber fan.

[372]

"Whose gods?"

"Amasina's, and the god of a woman of the G'aman's family. She got back from the menstrual house last night, and this morning when Amasina got her god, she got one, too."

"May I go and listen to the singing?"

"Yes."

But before the white woman had walked ten paces, she came face to face with Bassia Anaisi.

"I am going to your quarter, Bassia. The woman at the fire said I might go and listen to the singing. Is it all right?"

"Yes, go."

In a few seconds she came to a house before which several women were gathered. Outside its doorway calabashes stood in a curving line across the entire stretch of front wall, some filled with a dark liquid and others with rice, while directly in front of the door itself a dark uncorked bottle had been placed.

Down several paths came women, each with a calabash in her hand, and each as she reached the line of calabashes placed hers beside the others, and went into the house. The women entered singly and remained there but an instant, emerging with lines of white over their arms and bodies. What had taken place in the house while they were there it was impossible to tell, for the singing had continued without interruption.

Two voices were heard now. The voice which had carried across the clearing still intoned the word "Ondyi," while the other chanted in a soft and beautiful voice words which came without pause or harshness, except for a strange hissing sound which issued from somewhere inside the house.

"May I come closer?"

THE GODS SPEAK

"Yes, move closer." 533

The white woman now went toward the open door, 776 and through it saw a little of the inside of the house. Like 342 all Bush Negro houses, it had no windows of any kind, and what light there was came from this low open doorway. Near the door sat the woman who belonged to the family of 787 the Granman. In her hand she held an egg-shaped piece 533 of clay which she rubbed between her hands to the rhythm of her song, and at intervals lifted first one hand, then the [302] other, rubbing the white clay on her face and arms. The thin layer of white over the dark of her skin gave to her appearance in the dark house a strange color. She swayed on her low bench as she sang, her body curving from her hips first to one side, then to the other.

"Ondyi, ondyi," she sang over and over, and with the quickening of voice, she called "bonsu."

This word "Ondyi," the women explained, when they 787 urged the stranger to greet the god as was fitting, was the greeting of the deity, the god's way of saying their everyday word "Odi."

The eyes of the woman at the door were half-closed as she sang, and she seemed dispirited, though with the quickened swaying she did rouse herself for an instant. She had no kerchief on her head, and none about her breasts.

"Her god hasn't got her very hard," the women said. "Go inside, perhaps when you speak with him, he will begin to stir. They want you to come in."

Into the house the white woman brought her bench, and sat down close to the possessed woman at the door. When she became accustomed to the darkness of the house, she saw a pair of eyes fixed on her from the farthest wall. The figure against this wall was so much the color of the house itself that it was not until a few moments had passed that the crouching form of an old woman was distinguishable. The old woman sat motionless, her eyes fastened on the stranger.

The white woman freed herself from the intent stare 787 of the old woman against the wall only when a sudden 776

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hissing sound so startled her that she faced quickly about. Now two other eyes met hers. They belonged to a figure on a low bench, seated with its back to the door, facing the darkness of the unbroken walls, but with head turned to watch the stranger. The figure was in white—tunic, cloths about the breasts and on the head, arms, throat, and body, all were white. But of a greater whiteness yet was the terrifying, macabre face in which the line of the mouth alone, and the living black of the eyes, showed. Beside this white figure stood a streaked glass tumbler, filled with a whitish liquid. This tumbler had been at the lips of the white form when the stranger turned to see where the hissing came from. Now that the glass was replaced, the whitened hands began kneading a piece of clay and rubbing face and throat and arms with the hands. While doing this, the body swayed and the voice chanted.

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"*From the river I come,*
And I say to you all,
Greetings.
All you Negroes,
Be greeted.

From the river I come,
I say to the white woman,
Greetings.
I say you came as a friend,
I say you came not for evil.

From the river I come,
I say to you all,
Be greeted."

Now the first woman moved closer to the stranger and put her arms about her, streaking her with clay.

"*Ondyi, Ondyi-o!*
I am Affi
I am Kantamasi-o!
Ondyi, ondyi,

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Woman, I care for you,
I will be your god."

There was consternation among the women who stood outside listening. The Akantamasu god was one of the strongest on the river. He ranked only slightly under the great obia spirits, which the Sky God when creating the world had sent as wisdom for the living to combat the capricious lesser gods, and humans who were dominated by evil spirits. Differing from the obia spirits, however, who befriended the living, and brought healing to them, the Akantamasu god was an avenger, surpassed alone by the yorka, the ghosts, who avenged by killing instantly when they chose, while the Akantamasu god killed more slowly.

But there was concern for the possessed woman, as well. She had spoken the name Affi, her day name, the name [551] which summoned her soul. When not in a state of possession, she would never have spoken it before a stranger, except in a whisper to an obia man who came to cure her, or to a diviner to whom she came to ask why her soul was troubled.

Presently the white figure rose, breaking the tension, and, chanting, went from the hut into the clearing. Affi and the white woman followed. In the light of the clearing, a faint resemblance could be seen in the grace of the body of the figure in white to the pleasant Amasina. Of the brown of her skin, only the ankles and feet showed.

Both of the possessed women began pacing back and forth in the clearing, in time to the rhythm of their songs, but while Amasina danced with an easy stride, Affi shook and quivered and moaned.

"When the gods come, we do not speak. We sing. The speech of the gods is song. So it is," one woman whispered. [533]

Another said, indicating Affi, "Her god troubles her. She gave you a strong god. Are you afraid?"

"When the god comes to you, you will speak tongues. Now you have two gods. When Kesekia comes to you, you will sing Kesekia songs, you will dance to him."

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787 When a male snake god came, then it was easy to know,
776 the women said. If the possessed one rolled face downward it was a male god, and he was courting the spirits of the earth, but if face upward then it was a female snake. "*Na muye opo-i-mbe gi 'a tapu*—The woman opens her womb for the sky," they said, using the precise image for one who was being wooed by the spirits who lived above.

3

123 When the white woman was about to enter the council house, Granman Yankuso called to her. He was standing in front of his house, surrounded by women, who were talking to him in low, excited voices.

"*Bak'a muye*—White woman," he said, looking at her searchingly, and saying nothing. "White woman," he repeated, after a short silence, "white mother, good morning. Are you awake?"

His voice sounded a little troubled, but not unfriendly. It helped the white woman to regain her self-possession.

"They sing well down below, Granman," she said, and went into the council house.

4

787 Whatever Granman Yankuso thought of the white
[123] woman's having witnessed the possession of the women of his village, he did not refuse permission to her and her husband to return to the hut.

Amasina and Affi were still in the clearing, dancing to their own songs. Women came up with their children, bringing more and more calabashes of rice. Amasina took up each child in her arms, and caressed it gently, streaking it with the white clay as she did so, and singing the while,

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"*I come from the river.*
You shall be cooled,
You shall be well."

Affi's moaning had become more and more faint, and her pacing, by this time, was listless. Her god would not take

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her into his power strongly enough to give her the release she craved. 787

Amasina sang,

> "*I come from the river.*
> *I tell all you people,*
> *This man, this woman*
> *Are friends.* [539]
> *They come not for evil.*
>
> *Go to the G'aman,*
> *Say to him.*
> *These people are friends,*
> *They bring us no evil.*"

Then her god, speaking through her, sang an explanation to the white people. From the river he came, bringing healing to all those who were fevered, caring for all those who were sick. Those who could, came to him, but those who could not come, he would visit and bring them healing. Now he must make the round of the village, go to the houses, and see those who were ill.

Singing, Amasina beckoned us to follow her, and as she led the way she danced in undulating steps from one end of the village to another, visiting the sick, singing the cure her god was bringing them in the words he was speaking through her.

The white people could stay with her no longer. Word came that the boat which was to take them across the river to the village of the Granman's father was ready, and they must go. The women suggested, however, that if the whites cared to make a gift to the god who had spoken so well of [123] them, it would be acceptable, and they hurried to their stores to get a gift.

As they passed the council house and turned toward the small hut behind it where their supplies were kept, they heard a new sound. It was a choking sound, torn from an unwilling throat. Seated quite alone on a low stool in front

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787 [412] of the mortar in which she had been pounding maripa nuts was the Granman's younger wife. The pestle had fallen from her shaking fingers. She gave the intruders no attention, for she, too, was possessed by her god,—by Toné, god of the river.

"*Ke-ke-ke-ke-ke-ke! Ke-ke-ke-ke-ke-ke!*" The syllables fell from her and, as the white people stood by, her shaking stopped, the sounds did not go on. Then they began again, her body racked, her voice choked. The Toné people do not speak when they are possessed, it is through sounds such as these that the god of the river makes known his wishes.

Women came running toward us. "Your boat is ready, Bak'a," they said.

787 431 173 The whites returned with the bracelets to find that the two women to whom they brought their offerings had come as far as the Granman's quarter of the village. Affi's greeting of "Ondyi!" had died down to a whisper. Disconsolately she followed Amasina, who, in the white cloth which reached almost to her ankles, looked tall and sinuous, and moved as though there were something in the still air to send her body curving to one side and to the other.

As the possessed women and those with them entered the quarter, the elder wife of Yankuso came toward Amasina with a large calabash of rice.

"All those who have the same god come with gifts. Amasina has the strongest god of all. It is a white god," a woman explained.

[822] White was the color for the ancestors, and hers was the god of a great priestess of the family. It was the god Towenu, the great Papa god, the giver of children, the jealous one, who came to her. If he cared for his priestess too well, he allowed her no children. The mention of his name the day before had brought him, and, coming, he vouched for the friendliness of the strangers.

Amasina put her arms about the older woman as she had done to the others who came to her. She sang once more her message:

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"Wife of the G'aman,
I come from the river.
Go to the G'aman
Say to him,
These strangers are friends,
They bring no evil."

It was the god speaking, and the Granman's wife received with lowered head the words spoken through the priestess.

"Ai, my master. Ai, Massa Gadu," she said.

5

The Granman's paternal village was directly across the river from Asindopo Lantiwe. It was called Akisiamau, literally "Took with an outstretched hand," but whether there was also some meaning in the phrase not intended for the uninitiated, we could not learn. In size it was not much larger than the Granman's village, and again and again we recognized houses which were his by the crest-like carvings on the doorposts, that reproduced the design found not only at the side of the council-house door, but at the door of all other houses at Asindopo Lantiwe which were his.

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Except for several old people who sat about in the shade and waited for the strangers to come to them with their greetings, the entire village followed us as we made our way down one path and another.

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"*Bak'a, Ame'ika Bak'a, Ame'ika Fandya!*—White man. American white man, American Fandya!" the children called after us, as they ran at our heels, touching our canteens, our sun helmets, and shoes.

The Granman had spoken with especial fondness of his father's house, and it was there that we asked first to be taken. It was not occupied, we were told, and none might enter it. Above the top crosspiece white cotton was draped. Except that its door was closed, it showed no signs of being

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342 uninhabited. Its posts and walls and thatch were in
643 excellent condition, and there was not even the weather-beaten appearance about it of a house which had been closed for some time. Nor had it the kandu, the spiritual lock of unoccupied houses.

178 To one side of this house was the open shrine to the
346 great gods, the pole to the Sky God, the smaller one with a checked tunic across the middle of it for the Earth Mother. But there was also a figure of wood with a broad white cloth hung from it like a flag, and this, the villagers said, was the image of the Granman's father. When the dead man's spirit came to the village, it was this image he animated. In times of need and on days fixed by ritual, it was to this image that prayers and food were brought.

Some distance from this shrine, standing close to the uncleared bush, was a house that had been deserted. Half of it the great bush had already reclaimed. The thatch of the roof and one entire side wall had altogether disappeared, and in place of these were garlands of leafy vines, so closely interwoven and so brilliantly green in the sun as to give to the asymmetrical mass of weathered grayish palm, and the strangling green, a strange beauty. Not quite two years ago it had been abandoned, and soon it would be completely lost to the bush.

But the villagers looked the other way when we photographed it.

A little to one side of the house with the doorposts which showed the Granman's crests was a smaller hut, before
[789] whose door stretched a magic azang of palm fronds that marked it as a shrine.

[796] "This house is for the Apuku gods," said an old woman who heard our inquiry. "It belongs to me. It was built when my god told me to make it."

And without hesitation she led the way under the palm fronds through the opening.

This was the first time we had been permitted to enter a closed shrine. We had had descriptions of shrines from men with whom we had talked of the gods. There were some,

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Carvings the women were eager to have admired: comb; clothes beater; tray.

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they told us, though never willing to name the villages 778
where they stood, whose walls were most elaborately 346
ornamented with symbols marked in red and black and [531]
white, the three sacred colors which appeared on the stools and which the men used for painting their faces and bodies for the dances. On the upper river we had been told that these shrines were in the villages below, and on the lower river it was always intimated that it was up above where the great shrines stood. We had been told of stools which were whitened with sacred pemba, and blackened with soot in the *Fa'aka Pau* houses—the houses of the ancestral [769]
spirits—and of the covered whitened vessels which were in the Vodu and Apuku houses, the shrines for the bush and snake deities, placed there for the spirits when they chose to animate them.

So we found it in this house dedicated to the spirits of the bush.

The hut was narrow and long, with walls of woven palm, and a floor made of hard smooth clay into which bare feet had nevertheless worn grooves. To one side of the door stood a drum of the type called *tumao*—the long drum. [534]
It was cylindrical, and narrowed but slightly toward the bottom. White clay had once covered it, but now there were irregular lines of white marking the cracks in the wood.

On the other side of the door, against the same wall, lay several large balls of clay. These the old woman was keeping 887
for the obia pots she would make from time to time. Among 778
the Negroes of the town as well as in the bush, these black 323
pots, made by women of the bush, were held to have great magical potency.

"I never make too many pots at once," the old woman said. "I make them for myself as I need them and for the young people of the family." A woman who had not passed her period of childbearing could not make them. "Obia pots are things for old, old women. I cannot tell you about making them."

Leaving these lumps of clay, the woman led us farther 778
into the enclosure, until we stood in front of a raised altar 346

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778 of earth which filled the rest of the hut. In the left-hand
346 corner was a covered whitened vessel for the god called Kentina Dagowe. This Kentina Dagowe was a deity who was the offspring of the Dagowe snake, and the Apuku god
776 of the bush whose name was Kentina. In him, as in so many
778 other of the spirits, we found exemplified the Bush Negro's concept of the world which held that the gods mated as did humans, that all which stirred and had life came into
[773] being by such matings.

Other spirits also came to this house, the woman went on. Mundewaya, another of the bush gods, was worshiped at the white-covered pot in the opposite corner, while beside it lay the vessel to which the spirit of a third might come. This one was the most powerful of all bush gods, and his name was Danhowao. There were other objects on the platform. Two stools, daubed with sacred clay, had their place there, and in the center was an image of wood, a rounded pot set on a base that tapered from the ground toward it, and this was to the Nanai, the ancestors.

The old woman said, "For the Apuku gods, we only play the tumao drum. The Apuku are mostly women's gods, but some men have them, and the men who have them play the drums. When the god comes to you, then if you are not
[888] too old you dance. But we old women do not dance. When the god comes to me, then I begin to shake. I go into this house on the day we call him, and they play the drum. Then I talk to the god. If I have something to beg of him for myself, or for someone else, then I put the pot which
[787] belongs to him on my head, and the drum calls him. When my body begins to shake, then it is the god. He has come, and when I speak it is not I but the god speaking."

776 From the clearing the talk of those who had remained
609 outside came through the thin woven walls of the shrine.
[203] From one to another we could hear the news spread that in the village of the Granman across the river the gods had spoken for the whites.

In the hut, we listened to the old woman inside whose shrine we stood.

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"The openings in the wall there," she explained, when we asked her about the two squares cut into the wall behind the altar, "are for all things that fly. In this place they must come and go as they like. Bats come here, and insects of all kinds, and when they want to go back to the bush, they must be able to go as they like. That is the wish of the gods. So they told us long ago."

6

We were led from house to house. The gods had spoken. We were friends, and as friends who came not to harm, we were given the hospitality of friendship. There were other shrines, but we did not have to ask about them. They were pointed out to us with the other sights of the village.

The closed low hut near the Apuku shrine we had entered was to the river god Toné. It was a very small enclosure, and before it was a plant which covered the low entrance. It belonged, we were told, to an albino woman who was possessed by Toné. But she was not in the village now. Farther down the path was a larger house, another shrine. This had a piece of iron over the door and, when we asked about it, the girls who were following us ran, and the men merely said that it was the place of the Kromanti obia and passed on.

As we continued on our way, each woman was anxious not to have us slight the house her man had built her or fail to admire the carvings that were inserted into the weave of the palm walls. The huts were swept clean—the cleanliness of the entire village was even more striking than that of others we had visited—and but for a few stools, which were brought out for the strangers while they spoke with the old people who lived in the quarter, they were entirely bare. In every house, however, there was sure to be a shelf, large or small, or several shelves, on which stood prized food trays with carvings which covered both inner and outer surfaces. Combs and food stirrers were taken down and shown us, and the calabash dishes made by the women

353 themselves, and the blade-like pieces of gourd which they
531 used for spoons, and which bore the same symbols as the
415 dishes.

"Our men make fine things here in the true, true
462 Saramacca," Dida said when we entered her quarter, and
531 sat in her house. "Look at the carvings I have."

Her body was still white with pemba. Her manner was still a little vague.

"Did you dance this morning?"

"Ai."

"We heard the agida drum play when we were in the
776 council house of the Granman."

"Ai, Kesekia is a big god. When he comes, his voice is
787 strong."

But she showed no willingness to talk, and we could tell by the repeated twitching of her body that she had still to dance to her god. Leaving her we continued up the path toward houses we had not yet visited. The white man, with a man who was guiding him and the bassia from Asindopo Lantiwe, walked ahead, while the children crowded about the white woman who was giving them safety pins which they at once put in their hair.

"There is the Vodu house," said the man who acted as
778 guide, and he led the way through the low doorway into
346 the hut.

Inside, though smaller than the shrine to the gods of the bush, it differed from it but little. It had the same clay floor, the same raised altar on which stood stools washed in white clay, and several covered, whitened vessels, an image, and the round balls of clay.

"May I go closer and look at the image there?"

"Yes, go."

[352] The stools resembled those in ordinary use, but whatever design they may have had was obscured by the white clay which covered them. The vessels were not unlike those in
[415] the other shrine we had visited or those which rested on the heads of village gods which stood under low, roofed-over shelters on the main village paths. Turning, the white man

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stepped from the raised platform ready to leave, when he noticed a drum which stood in a corner near the door of the hut, and reached almost to the thatch. 778 346

We had seen many agida drums during our stay in the Saramacca country. Some of them had been half as tall as a man—a round hollowed trunk of a tree, with wooden pegs in the side on which the drumhead was fastened. The agida had no elaborate tuning device such as the other drums carried, and on it was neither the beautiful carving with which the apinti was decorated, nor the white pembadoti of the tumao. The agida was the deep bass voice of every trio of drums which played for the sacred dances, and whatever other rhythms were struck on it, its steady note set the beat about which the more incidental rhythms played. We had been told what seemed fabulous tales of the size of some of these agida drums, but not until we saw the drum which stood in the corner of this shrine to the snake gods did we realize how large they might be. 778 534

The white man glanced about him. The rest of the party had not yet caught up. In the dimness of the shrine there were only the three men. He stepped up to the enormous drum.

"May I tap it?" he asked.

Reaching up, his arm outstretched above his head, he stood on tip-toe before his fingers found the taut head and gently drummed a rhythm there.

"It is large. It must have a deep voice."

"It is a big drum. Would you like to hear it? The man who plays it is near by."

Now there were four in the hut. The drummer spoke.

"Do you want to hear the drum, white man? I will play it if you are not afraid. But if I play, I will call the god, and when I call him he will come. Shall I play the drum?" 778 533 776

The white man asked that the god be called.

The bassia beckoned to the white woman to come, and signed to the others to remain outside. Framed in the low doorway, shutting out the glare of the sun-swept clearing, were the crouching bodies of women and children who

798 peered into the inner darkness, the whites of their eyes
533 moving with the movements of the strangers.

796 Gently the drummer laid the great cylinder of wood flat on the ground, and from the thatch took down a hard-wood stick, dark and smooth with use. The drum filled more than half of the wall near which it lay. Stooping, the drummer began to call the Vodu gods. It was the rhythm we had heard from across the river early in the morning. The drumming had sounded low and distant then, but in this small enclosure the volume of sound was deafening. It seemed to be pushing against the yielding woven walls, pushing outwards and up.

The rhythm was disturbingly irregular. There was, in the sense of the steady rhythms of the dances, no rhythm at all, and this uncertainty of beat added to the volume of sound racked the listeners. When we thought we heard a repetition of an interval, a sudden change in tempo brought us up with a start. On and on the man struck the drumhead, sounding the heavy beats with the stick, while with his free hand he kept up a running fire of obbligato to the message for the god.

The heads in the doorway began to move nervously this way and that as the message to the god continued, when suddenly they disappeared behind someone who was coming at a run. A moment later Dida was in the hut.

787 She was again possessed. Her body shook with the intensity with which she experienced her god, and her eyes glowed with a steady fire. Back and forth she paced, and when the drum had sounded, she addressed herself to it, listening for its voice and answering, listening again and answering in tones which grew more and more harsh. Then she turned to us, and began to chant

[539]

"I am the god Kesekia
From back of the prison,
From the French shore,
I come.
I am the god Kesekia."

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Once more she resumed her frenzied pacing, and from time to time as the drum spoke she whirled about and replied. Now and again she would repeat the phrases which the bassia said was the French snake god speaking—"Ti donc!" "Kesifo, kesifo!" "Ti donc!" 787

"Speak to the god," said the bassia. "Speak to him in the French tongue. He will answer you."

In spite of the bassia's urging, we stood silent, for it was crowded in the little hut, and Dida's god was not as genial a one as was Amasina's. Her body shook and quivered, her pupils were dilated, her voice became harsher as she turned to us with her hissing cries.

"Ti donc!

"Kesifo!

"Ti donc!"

For a moment, the god had done speaking on the drum. Gently the stick tapped against the wood, and the drummer's left hand was quiet. Then once more the roaring note began, and as the heads disappeared from the doorway, a second form shot inside.

A young woman entered. She had no white on her body, as had Dida, nor was there any kerchief on her head or about her breasts. When the drum sounded she had been in her house seeing to her small infant, but hearing the agida speak the words of the Vodu god, she could not hold back longer, for her god came into her and sent her to the shrine.

Now there were two who paced inside the enclosure, calling their answers to the drumbeats, until once more the steady tapping of the stick on the wood took the place of the strokes on the drumhead, and the second woman sang: 787 539

"*Maumbe-wa,*
Maumbe-o,
Father Manga
Father Maumbe. [533]
God Maumbe-wo
God Malimbe, Dagowe.
Tutu calls, ye-o

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Tutu calls, ye-o.
God is there in the river alone,
God Tutu calls,
Ye-o, yo."

787 So the young woman sang as she paced, her body twitching and quivering, while Dida repeated her exclamations. The man again took up his invocation to the gods, then resumed the soft tapping against the wood.

He said to us as he tapped, "My own god is Agida Wenowa. She is a Vodu god, and when I dance I put a parrot feather in my hair. When I play the agida, then all Vodu gods come. The agida is the drum for the Vodu gods."

As he spoke to the slow beating, yet two more figures came crowding in. We had been so intent on the two possessed women and on what the drummer was telling that, not until these new arrivals were at our side, did we notice them. One of them was Affi, the other Amasina. They were as we had left them, Amasina still in her white tunic and kerchiefs, her face and upper body yet more thickly coated with white so that only the eyes were alive, Affi still a grayish color, still anguished.

"We heard the voice of the god. We came."

But there was no longer room in the small shrine for the women to dance. The beating of the stick became fainter and fainter; the drummer no longer touched the skin which topped the drum. Fainter and fainter still came the beat, until the young woman who stood there without white on her body shook herself, as though she were coming awake. For a moment, all was quiet.

"He is gone."

"The god is gone."

"He has released her."

The drummer put back his stick. Slowly he lifted the drum; gently he stood the agida upright in its corner.

7

776
609 In the Granman's council house, voices of people standing outside reached us. From one to another the news was told.

THE GODS SPEAK

The gods of the river had carried the whites in safety up the rapids, and the gods of the sky had, at the moment of their landing, brought rain to cool the earth and sent thunder to speak the greetings from on high. This morning a great snake deity and the god of the ant hill had declared that the strangers carried no evil for the people of the Saramacca. Across the river they had been in the shrines, and the great agida had spoken. They had not been harmed, even though strong Vodu gods had come.

Inside the hut, we listened. We did not know the decision of the Granman's krutu, but the gods had spoken. This day, in any event, could not be changed.

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Chapter XIV

GRANMAN MOANA YANKUSO

I

114 WHATEVER the rôle of the great man in the life of a people, there are names whose very mention bring up almost full-bodied an epoch, a great dynamic sweep of human thought and activity, of achievement, and sometimes of disaster. Perhaps the great individual does not exist until the poetic vision of a people gives to the skeleton of a name the flesh of a godhead. From earliest times and from people of varying civilizations have come down tales of these godheads, created, let us say if we like, out of a psychic need in the life of human beings to exalt personality in order that, imaginatively at least, the chasm between desire and insufficiency might be spanned.

643 159 In the council house of Granman Yankuso, as we listened to his stories, these thoughts constantly recurred to us, and it is not strange, therefore, that now as we try to collect images and impressions of the man for an objective picture of him not only as a Bush Negro but as an individual, we think of him as typifying among the Negroes of the Saramacca today such a name and such a personality.

Already Moana Yankuso was something of a myth among the people of the coastal region and among his own people.

Men on the coast said, "Granman Yankuso is a silent [159] man. You will be with him for days, and he will never utter a word."

GRANMAN MOANA YANKUSO

"Granman Yankuso is the tallest man on the river, and the darkest," they said. "He speaks little. When he is angry, his growl strikes terror in all who hear him." 643 159 157

People said, "The Granman is a clever man. You can tell him about your work in the way you would speak to your own educated men, and he will understand you."

"They will take away everything you have up there on the river."

"They will never bring you to the Granman. He will see to it."

In the villages of the Saramacca country we heard again and again proverbs he had originated, which were quoted when men told of this almost mythical personality.

"The Granman says, 'No one must die, but the burial place cannot lie idle,' " Bayo once quoted him. [538]

"What does it mean, Bayo?"

"It is deep, white man. The Granman is wise."

Kasanya once quoted another of the Granman's proverbs. "If the gods say take one step at a time, do not stand still, and take two steps the next time in anger." [538]

On this river they told us that Granman Moana Yankuso knew all that went on. It was a kind of magic he had: whatever men did anywhere, he knew.

And they said, too, that men were afraid to cross him, not alone because of his rank, but because his spirits were strong.

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It is difficult to be objective about Moana Yankuso. In the terms his own people use, the explanation of his personality would be the explanation given of any other. 828 643

"He has strong gods."

If we urged them to explain what were the gods of a man they were praising, they would describe the Tiger spirit the man had, and what knowledge of healing and future events his Opete obia, his buzzard spirit, gave him, and how he had come by a special obia which had passed down to him from a famous magician of the earliest times.

REBEL DESTINY

643 159 In our own terms, if we were to picture the Granman as a splendid savage, cheerful, guileless, childlike, flattered by our interest, we would be belying his gifts of sophistication, and he would thank us little for these romantic outlines which, according to the values of his own civilization, would be insulting.

829 [538] 776 The code of life among these people was expressed in the proverb we had heard often spoken. "There are men on the upper river, there are men on the lower river, too." For survival in this bush, a man needed to match his strength and his wits and his magic, his kindliness and his enmity against those of any other. And the Bush Negro is a realist, for, as we had seen, not even the gods could be depended upon to be consistent—consistently good or consistently evil. The Bush Negro's gods, like humans, often did things for unaccountable reasons, because of a momentary whim, because of a desire to try the untried.

829 181 It was good to be guileless, but sometimes a man had to be a tiger, had to stalk his prey from behind. It was well enough to be a tiger, but sometimes a man needed the cunning of the bush hero, spider Anansi, who knew how to outwit the tiger. It was well enough to be an eagle, and be free and fly high, but sometimes a man needed the wit of the little bird konubri, who became king of all birds, because, when in the kingdom of birds there was a contest for the throne, it was he who, by perching on the back of the eagle, flew highest of all.

643 159 In the simplest of our own terms, Granman Moana Yankuso could be said to be a superb politician. In his villages, marriage alliances were calculated with the nicety of the best statesmanship. Whatever his own views, he saw to it that he never defied the arbiters of magic or the clan of the seat of magic, the Dahomey people. Toward the women of strange villages who came to see the white man and his woman, he showed an easy gallantry, which could not have been but flattering. When addressing the women who carried children astride their backs, he would speak gently to them and call them "mother" in greeting, and

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for the young girls he had the cavalier address of "wenki," possibly the English word wench under its seventeenth century connotation of young woman.

We had, thanks to the gods, perhaps, never seen him in the rôle of tiger, unless his parting krutu with the four Gankwe men could be said to symbolize its mood, if not its manner. To suggest that any full-grown Bush Negro—a man who had Kromanti—would be incapable, when need arose, of being the tiger, would, of course, be looked upon as the deepest affront.

But Moana Yankuso was more than an astute politician. Using our own values again, we admired his vitality, his dignity, his robust imagination, his wit. Perhaps what struck us particularly about him, when we came to know him in situations with his own people, was that here was a man who in intellect and will towered so much above those who were about him that he was a lonely figure. His age had become something of a myth, too. People said he was seventy, that he was more than that, that he was scarcely sixty. We had never seen his head without the covering kerchief, so that it was difficult to form any definite impression about his years. But in strength he was still a colossus, though it was not true that he was the tallest or the strongest or the darkest man on the river. His own son-in-law, Wilhelmina's husband, was perhaps a head taller than he, as was the drummer at Akisiamau, who had played the agida for us. We had seen him, cutlass in hand, clearing a path for us through the underbrush with amazing rapidity, as the courteous gesture of a host who wanted to insure our bathing in privacy. Had the underbrush been of papier-mâché, he could not have swung his strokes more surely or more tellingly.

Above all else, however, Granman Moana Yankuso was a magnificent talker, a fine story-teller. What we give of his conversations, and what incidents we describe, may suggest something of his personality. His full story will never be written.

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REBEL DESTINY

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"Tell me this," said Granman Yankuso to us one evening when we sat alone with him in the council house, "why is it that things have changed so in the city? I am not a young man. For years I came to the city, and when I met Negro women of the town going to market or coming from market, they were dressed in full skirts. They looked well. Now the women dress in straight dresses like men. Straight up and down and short. They want to look like white people.

"Years ago when I came to the city, I used to hear Negroes laugh. It is good to hear laughter. Now they are trying to be like the whites. They do not laugh. That is not good. It would be better if white people laughed more, too.

"Why do Negroes want to turn into white people? Look, is my skin like yours? Is my daughter's hair like yours, white woman? If you put on a pangi, you will not look like my daughter. You, white man, are as tall as Captain And'u. If you put on a cloth over one shoulder, you will not look like And'u. . . .

"A man came to me in the city and said he wanted to go to Dahomey. He wore no obias. He was a white man's Negro. I said he couldn't go to Dahomey. The man said, 'Look, my skin is as black as yours.' 'Ai, but your heart isn't.'

"You know why I said it? There is your kind of magic, white man, and there is our kind of magic. White man's magic keeps men in cities, but here in the bush a man needs black man's magic to keep alive and black man's strength to go up and down the rivers.

"You white men have books. You read in books, and you know. I cannot read what men write, yet I can read in my own way. I meet a man, and I can read him. I look at him, and I know what he is thinking. Before he begins to talk, I know what he wants to say. What your ancestors knew they put down in books, and you read it. What our ancestors know, they tell us at night, they tell us in the cool of the

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morning, they tell us when we call on them. That is the black man's way. 643 159

"You white people have money, you have fine houses, you wear clothes, you can count. They tell me that you say in your books all people must be friends. But you have wars. If white people kill white people, then *mati*—friend—how will it be with black people living among the whites?" 186 178

Granman Yankuso rose, when he said this, and took from the chains of the suspended lamp a folded envelope. He handed it to us, and from it we took out a letter on the stationery of the League of Nations, signed by its Secretary, Sir Eric Drummond. As we were reading this, he left the council house and soon returned with a larger envelope, which he had kept uncreased, and from it brought out a photograph of the Council of the League of Nations in session. They were his proud possessions. While the World War lasted there was no work for the Bush Negroes on the river. They could not earn the money they needed to buy cloths for marrying and powder and rum for ceremonial usage. The Bush Negroes called it a "great money famine," in the way of their Anansi stories which so often began with "This was a time of great famine." Through a missionary on the upper river, the Granman learned of the war, and through him later of the League, which the missionary had undoubtedly brought up as the white man's defense against the challenge of the black tribal head, who asked, "How will it be with black people living among the whites?" 648 [131]

It was then that the Granman through this same missionary addressed himself to the white rulers far away, telling of the fear of the blacks, and counseling them the wisdom of peace!

4

In the council house Granman Moana Yankuso was host to the Gankwe men. They were there to take their leave of him before starting down river. Asikanu, the handsome brother of the Gankwe clan head, who was sent away from his village while the elders were deciding upon his adultery 643 689 574

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643 684 574 [576] fine, sat between Sedefo, whose bench was moved forward a little, and Angita. The younger men sat with bodies half-turned toward the wall, out of respect for the Granman, the older ones, with their faces averted from him.

The Granman was speaking, telling a story.

643 684 538 "Ai, mati . . . " he said, in his precise, formal way, laying stress on each syllable, "in our bush, the gods be praised, men are men. There was a man near here, who saw a woman he liked, and he took her. He had a loving eye, he was young. Ai, mati, what is a beating to a man when he is young? But the proverb says, 'All that is in the darkness will come to light.' Dealings with women always come to light too soon. That man got a beating, mati! He came out into the clearing, his head held high, like any man whom young girls follow with their eyes. But waiting for him was the husband of the woman, and the men of his family, and. . . . "

"Well, so it is, G'ama'," said Sedefo, with the careful modulation which showed that he, too, was schooled in the way of the important councils.

"Ya-hai, G'ama'," said Asikanu, more briefly.

Granman Yankuso now went on with his story, bringing to his recital all the detail of the punishment of the adulterer, without quickening the telling of his story even when he spoke the words which described the sound of the blows.

"Yes, master of the realm," said Sedefo, his head still averted, but leaning his body forward a little as he spoke, so that he somewhat shielded Asikanu from the direct gaze of the Granman, yet managing this clever gesture so that it had the air of rapt interest.

"Kere-kere, G'ama'," Asikanu breathed, almost inaudibly.

As the Granman recounted his tale, Asikanu's spine twitched as though every blow mentioned was that instant being leveled at him, as though he himself were lying head down in the dust of the clearing, while blows rained down upon him, and the Kromanti iron bands cut gashes into his proud face and arms and body.

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But Sedefo, splendid actor that he was, betrayed in no way that he was aware of his friend's discomfiture, except that his interpolations became more and more spirited, balancing in the intensity of his voice the formality of the Granman's speech.

"True, true!" he said, with excitement.

"By Ando, G'ama'!"

When the tale was finished, the Granman became reminiscent. In his youth he had been like the rest. What did it mean to be a man and not to assert one's manhood when a handsome woman was to be had? He was on the Marowyne then. Did they want to beat him? He had said, "Very well." As many as wished could come at him—but one at a time.

As he spoke now, he clenched his fist and struck the table with it so that the table shook and the guns which lay underneath it rattled.

He was no longer young, but his answer to people who threatened would still be the same, he continued.

"Tell them that everywhere on the river, mati," he finished with a smile, and he cleared his throat as a signal for the bassia to come and pour out drinks for his visitors, before they left his village.

And how was their clan head who had been ailing? he asked, with friendly solicitude.

5

Granman Yankuso was telling about his great ancestors.

He looked particularly well that night. His smock-like coat was a deep blue, and over it was a print of orange and black worn toga fashion.

There was Bagida, one of the first to escape to the bush, and Dosi who made the Kasito clan, and Ajako who was a Matchau Negro, a man of the Granman's own clan, and it was he who had fought against the whites and had freed his people. There were Mother Bedu, and Mother Fakia, and the great Abini family which bore Alabi, whom the peccary had helped to freedom, so that Alabi's people, the Awana Negroes, to this day did not eat pingo.

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173 Alabi, as the Granman called him, was the Araby of history, the great rebel of whom Stedman, who campaigned against the Bush Negroes long ago, wrote.

"White man, Alabi did not know how to work gold, or to earn great wealth, but he had stories in his head." He had called the first black krutu. And from Alabi had come Danieh who built Gansee, which was even now one of the most populous villages on the whole river.

"Long ago in the bush here, we had men, Bak'a!"

There was G'ama' Okosu, a Nomerimi Negro, the leader of those men who had escaped to the swamps on the coast, instead of going into the bush, and whom the people were afraid to touch.

"G'ama' Okosu could change int[illegible]atta monkey when he liked. He could cross the river without a boat."

The Dombi Negroes had their man, too. He was Sabaku. He was leaving his people to run away from slavery. He was going into the bush. "If we do not meet again in life, we shall meet in death," he said. He had no boat in which to cross the river, so he went to Yank'o, the buzzard, and he asked him to carry him. "I have no home, O Yank'o," he said to the buzzard, "but I will get on your back, and there my home will be. You who fly high, who fly over water, and over the high bush, carry me to safety."

The Granman himself was part Dombi and part Matchau, he said.

[825] "That is why we do not shoot a buzzard. If we shoot him by accident, then we must say 'Many thanks.' "

There was Tata Wadia who opened up this bush, who was still sung about by the Negroes of the city when they invoked the Kromanti spirit.

"I have the stick which he used."

"Will you let us see it, Granman?"

"Gbolo!"

[126] "We will photograph you holding the stick, Granman, and when we show it in our country we will tell the story."

He nodded. But the photograph was never taken.

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6

The next night he told stories again. The talk was of Africa. 173

"Our first ancestor was Tata Sakotu. He came from God." Father Sakotu found himself alone in the bush. Day after day he wandered, and hunger was killing him. One day he came to a tree bearing the pongi fruit, but the fruit hung so high that he could not get it. Father Sakotu cried out to God, and said, "O God, you gave me life. Give me food that I may sustain the life you gave me." God came to him and said, he said, "Sakotu, break off a stick, and with the stick strike the branches of the tree, and the fruit will fall down." All that he knew Sakotu learned from God, and he passed it on to his children.

The Granman's story of wandering alone in the bush brought another to his mind.

"Did you ever hear about Captain Apatu?" he asked us. "He lived not so long ago. He was a man without fear. The French sent him to Pali (Paris) and wrote down in their white man's books that he was a great man. I will tell you his story."

Apatu was a Matchau Negro, a member of the Granman's own clan. He swore friendship with the Aluku people and went over to the French nationality and later tried to get the Granman's people to become French. This was how it came to pass.

"Apatu was a clever man. We say knowledge is not wisi, to want to know is not sorcery. But sometimes, when a man knows much, he has enemies, and trouble comes to him. This happened to Apatu. People on the river said he was a *wisiman*. He said to the people, when they drove him away and cursed him, he said, 'Give me one fig banana, and I will go. If I am guilty of witchcraft, let the whites catch me, and kill me.' He wore one obia on his arm which Tata Boni gave him. Tata Boni was a great obia man. He could walk on the water."

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173 With this obia, and unafraid, Apatu went. He reached the French shore, and found work. Years later he was asked to guide an expedition against the Indians. They came to a cave. At the other end of it Indians waited with their poisoned arrows.

The French officer said to him, "Apatu, are you afraid?"

"I will go, I am not afraid of death," Apatu said to the officer.

He led the way through the cave, calling out, "Mafi, Yanku na'a, hi!"

Three times the Indians tried to shoot him, and each time they failed.

"The French officer gave Apatu a gold piece for saving his life. That was when they sent him to Pali, and it was written down that he was a great man," ended the Granman.

7

822 "Do you know what they asked me in the city when I was there?" the Granman said one day, when his elders assembled. "'Chief Yankuso,' they asked me, 'which is better, light or darkness?' I said to them, I said, 'Darkness is better. When it is day we work and we struggle. At night we go into our hammocks with our women, and we find peace.'"

He turned to us as he told the story.

"Is it not so, white man? You yourself are young."

8

183 197 A few days after the gods had spoken, the Granman asked us if we would that evening show the pictures of the country of the Negroes which we had brought. We had shown him earlier the simple projector, actually a flashlight with a lens attached, through which a roll of film passed to flash images, one by one, on a screen. On the film were photographs of illustrations from books on Africa.

Mechanical objects of all kinds fascinated these men of the bush, and they would ask again and again to see our flashlights or the inside of our phonograph. Though un-

willing to touch the phonograph, they never tired of hearing 123
about its mechanism and how it was that a voice was 170
recorded and instantly reproduced. But the mystery of the moment was this projector.

We had delayed showing these photographs as long as we 157
could, for what leads we could get to African survivals, we 123
sought, for many reasons, to get singly. Not the least of these reasons was that the Bush Negro, who knew the method of krutu, did not allow himself to be impulsive in new situations, especially if they involved strangers. If something unfamiliar was presented, he wanted time to think and to krutu about it with others of his kind. Memories of the early experiences of their people seemed always to be stirring to make the most genial man, or a very pleasant old woman, fall silent and resort to the phrase, "God alone knows." Men, in particular, and often women, too, seemed to be posing to themselves a mute, anxious question: Was it well for the white people to know so much about them? Even when whites came as friends, as the gods attested, was it well to speak that fraction of their knowledge which the ancestors permitted? For generations they had lived with the feeling that their deep, deep Saramacca language was their own, its knowledge the wisdom of their own people, and here were strangers, speaking to them in their own tongue more easily as day followed day. Was it well? Men taking a white man's boat up and down the river could say what they chose, and the white man who traveled with them did not understand. What if this were to end?

We were constantly made to feel the effect of these doubts in the minds of the people.

"They say here," said Fenekonde one day, "when you get back to your white country, you will have much knowledge to profit you. The two of you will be able to talk Saramacca, and no one at all will know what you say."

Other things were said.

"At the krutu they said, these white people might have been sent by others, as soldiers with toys."

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123 "You must have strong obia from Africa—strong snake
117 obia—for the gods to have spoken so well of you!"

But when the Granman asked, there was no refusing. That day word was sent to all in the village that the Bakra was giving a cinema show in the bush.

Long before dark the entire village had gathered in front of our doorway. The children had been around since early afternoon. Against the council-house wall we hung a white sheet, and some feet away we stood our folding table and on it the little projector. The show was about to begin.

The Granman who sat a little to one side gave orders to
[354] the latecomers to extinguish the flames of their small oil lamps and their lanterns, and the large torch which he had so proudly shown that first night, and which had since illuminated the clearing nightly, was also extinguished.

The illustrations we had photographed were from volumes on the people of the West Coast of Africa—Ashanti and the Gold Coast, Dahomey, Nigeria, Benin, the Cameroons, Loango, and the Congo. Our first year's experiences among these people had taught us that it would not be well to show them too many ceremonial pictures. Photographs of sacrifices of animals other than fowls, we had felt, too, would not be wise to introduce. Such a picture as that of the Ashanti Sasabonsum, the "evil Apuku," as the Bush Negroes whom we had allowed to see the illustration named it, we had also decided should best be shown to individuals here and there. For the general showing, we relied upon pictures of cicatrizations, of hairdressing and teeth filing, of rafts floating on African lakes, of pottery making and cloth weaving, of laying fires and the doing of other household tasks, of carvings, and finally of one or two priests and priestesses in states of possession.

We waited for a signal from the Granman to begin. About
[342] the dark clearing the huts, with their roof poles meeting on top like great horns, gave a strange effect to the scene, for with the moving and shifting of bare feet it seemed as though everything in that clearing strained to fall in line

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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with the white curtain hanging against the wall of the council house. To one side was the image of the Sky God, tall almost as the big bush which stood about the clearing, and beside it the pole for the Earth Mother. People went from one side of the improvised screen to the other, with no mental image to tell them where they should look or what they might expect to see. Something of fear went with their expectancy. 123 177

The Granman nodded, and the pictures began to appear.

"Mati, did you see how they lay the fire?"

"Mother of all Negroes, what great breasts the women have!"

"See them getting the cassava ready! Look, they use the bark for a container!"

"Master Nigger! They know something there in the land of our ancestors. Men know how to weave cloth!"

"See the braids. They are handsome in our ancestral land. The head looks like a carved calabash!"

"Massa Nengere! That's the way to take lumber down! Not one raft at a time, or two, mati. Four at a time. They are workmen there, I tell you! Our ancestors used to say there was wealth there!"

We had usually to tell them what the picture showed, for they had not the habit of looking at these images and would stand to one side, or bend low and look up at the screen. But once we named the picture—"This is the head of a woman," or "This is timber going down to the city," or "This is a path through the bush"—then it was they who began to describe aloud what they saw, exclaiming over the resemblance to their own paths, or to their own manner of burning pots, or to their own way of preparing food.

"Mati, friends," said the Granman, "here deep in the Saramacca bush, all this has come to us. If I were a young man, I would go and see what goes on in the world. I would go to Africa. White man, how much gold does a man need to go to Africa?" After a short silence, he continued this train of thought. "What shall be done? Shall we go see the world? 179 186

177 186 Here is our bush. Our gods are here, and our ancestors come at our call. There is the world—*na g'on tapu*. There is the land of our old ancestors."

He stopped and covered his face with his hands, remaining deep in thought. But when he spoke again, his voice was calm.

177 123 "Mati, let us see all that the white man has brought. Here deep in the bush, all this has come to us that even children might see. Let us see all."

On the screen appeared a priest. He wore a grass skirt used in a sacred dance, a skirt like the one we had had made for us here on the river, and his face was covered, mask-like, with white clay.

"Ai, mati," exclaimed the Granman, as everyone gasped at what they saw.

The next picture showed the same priest dancing. Two men held his arms.

"When Kromanti gets a man in the ancestral country, it comes so strong that he has to be held in check, friends. So it is here, too."

9

123 So great was the fascination of the Granman and of all his people with the phonograph that many times we had occasion to feel if it were not for Apanto's curse, and the habit of elastic to stretch, and of glue to be affected by tropical heat, the machine would have overcome for us what distrust there was of our interest in their beliefs—that it might even have changed the decision of the ancestors when they were consulted by priests in Dahomey—a decision which ruled that the white man and his woman were not to be given the secrets of their worship.

[180] Whatever the ancestors had told the men who carried on their heads the sacred plank which was used for consulting the ancestral will, the attitude of the people showed that the white man could not be received in the bush without distrust. The intentions of a white man might be friendly,

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yet his findings might in time serve the enemy. We were soldiers bringing toys, as the image of the krutu had suggested. 123

Since life in the bush, for strangers like ourselves, was lived in terms of days, and each day was taken for what it might bring, we were grateful to those gods who had spoken for us, and watched the effect of the ancestral edict.

Before dawn of the day which followed the ceremony of asking the will of the ancestors, men came to counsel with the Granman, and from then onward many men were about the village. The young boys found their toy guns again, and the little girls played on the river bank. The widow who was so susceptible to evil influences no longer appeared in the central clearing with her child on her back, stamping her rice, or drying her peanuts. Her door was shut. Fenekonde was no longer about, for she had gone to the menstrual house, and Tenemi who came to sweep the council house each morning now wore a new obia on a long, twisted, white cord, hung from shoulder to side. She was polite, formal, and she worked fast.

Late that afternoon the obia man who had appeared at the first council meeting with wide stripes of clay came again, and his wife accompanied him. They were the best diviners on the river. From the corner of the council house the large mat which had been standing rolled up was carried into a closed hut, so that he might sit on it, and perform his magic to see what the future held for the destiny of the Saramacca people, and what immediate threat the white man's coming boded. Before leaving for the hut where the mat was prepared the man and woman sat with us in the council house in the company of the Granman. They apparently needed to know our individual names for their task. While we sat there, the white woman absently began to play with the obia about her neck, and this seemed a signal for the other woman to take hers into her hands and begin to mutter an invocation, for the stranger's careless playing appeared to her as the white man's way of casting a spell. 123 791 787 [285]

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123 609 So it went. The Granman was still a considerate host, but he no longer came to regale us with stories. He was disturbed. Again and again we were assured by indirection that our own motives were not doubted. But in what seemed to them our very foolhardiness in coming that distance, and because we had showed no fear, we had proved that we were being made use of by those who would later show enmity toward them.

When men came whose allegiance would go to any man in power, himself or the next man, the Granman would exclaim with all his splendid oratory that the black man's cause never could be that of the white man. To men of his own village, like the captain who took us down the river, he gave instructions that our every wish was to be met.

It was the way of the politician—and it was more than that. He showed in his manner when he was alone with us that he was deeply puzzled. As a man who had learned to trust his judgments of people, his pride would not permit him to grant that his wits had failed him. Then, too, what he had heard from us had fired his imagination. That he was skeptical of the ancestral revelation, we do not believe, but it was possible that, with the Bush Negro concept of the world of the dead, he might have felt that the great ancestors who were consulted remembered their days of slavery, and would, therefore, never consent to the revealing of secrets to the white man.

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123 199 It was our last night in the village of the Granman. In the council house more than thirty people were crowded, standing about the table on which we had placed the phonograph. The Granman sat in his folding chair and looked on without addressing himself to any one.

He had asked us to let all his people hear the machine. When we were gone, many people on the river would talk of it. He wanted all of his village to see how it worked.

GRANMAN MOANA YANKUSO

"You will play everything, white man," he had told us earlier. He had been especially anxious that we play the songs we had recorded in Haiti on our way to Suriname. Often he had spoken of these songs to the chiefs at council meetings. 123 177

"White man, tell these friends the words of those songs in that foreign tongue."

He had wanted us to speak before these men the words Legba, a deity to them in the bush as he is in Haiti and in West Africa today, and Loko, and Aida Wedo, and to translate the words of the Haitian twin song we had recorded, and the one to the water god Simbi.

Now he sat in his folding chair and looked on in silence, his face thoughtful. The songs he heard moved him deeply, and his expressive face showed it.

When, in the Haitian songs, the women heard the word "Ago-e" which they recognized, they uttered a shriek. It was one of their many words for ancestors. They cried out again when they heard "Aida Wedo" pronounced, and "Loko." They, too, sang of Aida Wedo, and of Alado, and of Loko. Dan was one of their words for snake.

The white man asked permission of the Granman later to record some songs of the people of the village, and promptly Moana Yankuso addressed a man who stood by. The man was a good singer, and his seketi improvisations had made him a figure on the river. 533 186 177

"Sing for the whites, mati. Let them hear in their far country how our people sing. Let them know that we can sing, that we sing much."

The singer Mapasi sat down and began to sing. His voice was of fine quality, and he was as modest in the midst of all these women with this gift which the gods had given him, as had been the young dancer whom the Granman had summoned to dance for us. He sang in a low voice, and directly into the horn. Accompanying his singing was the hand clapping of the women, which in the small council house was deafening. His recitatives were the longest we had heard on the river, longer by far than those which had

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533 surprised us that night at S'ei, and when he paused for a moment the women took up the chorus. From one song to another he went, and the hand clapping grew louder, and the chorus joined in more frequently, often breaking into his recitative, so that there was harmonizing of theme and chorus.

Once or twice the Granman called for a song we had already recorded, in order to give Mapasi a rest.

"Play us something from the lower river, white man. Let them hear their own songs, too, sung by others."

When the excitement of hearing the machine reproduce the song they had just sung had grown less intense, the singers repeated the song the phonograph was reproducing for them, for to listen to music without singing was difficult for them, just as when they sang, they could not but move their feet, though there was scarcely more than room for them to stand one close to the other. But a Bush Negro needs little room for his dancing, so that as the phonograph played their songs for them, they clapped their hands and danced in place. For a short interval, at least, the existence of the whites was forgotten in their pleasure of singing with the machine.

Until late into the night we played our records for them, and they sang for us. Whatever the consequences to the frail records of soft wax, we decided to play as long as they would listen, because of something in the manner of the Granman, something of wistfulness, let us say, and something, perhaps, which went deeper yet, as he sat there—a black Hamlet following a mute soliloquy while he looked on with his clever, perplexed eyes.

"Ai, so it is," he said at last, "and now let us go and get sleep." He rose and the others followed him out of the council house.

II

Early the next morning, while the tent on our boat was being finished, the Granman came into the council house with a calabash and a buzzard's feather in his hand. He came up to each of us in turn, and struck with the medicine-dipped feather the tops of our heads, brushed the eyes,

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touched the palms of our hands, and struck against the calves three times. 123 782

"This is obia," he said simply, and when he was finished, he went out. 789

Our cook knew this obia. It was Opete obia, medicine bearing the name of the sacred buzzard. It was given us that we might have a good journey down the river. 579 609

"Did you see how he was careful to touch the eyes?" our cook pointed out to us. "The Opete gets the eyes when it comes to a person, just like Kromanti goes into the head, and Vodu into the belly." [MC]

When we went out for a moment, and walked toward our storeroom, we saw the Granman splash water out of a calabash onto the floor and front wall of the house which held our supplies. Was it that our belongings might be safe on our journey down? It was no time for questions, and we asked none.

Women and children again came crowding about the white woman. Though they had been warned not to talk, there was still something of the warm feeling of earlier times which a command did not entirely destroy. Then, too, the order was that the sendoff was to lack no formality. As we stood there, a dog came running down the path. He was on his way to the river. In his mouth was a large ball of something which had been thoroughly charred. It was an offering to the river spirits, perhaps. It might have been less pleasant magic. He had been sent by men who were busy in the ancestral shrine. 123 931 782

When the white woman called attention to the dog, and asked what he held, the women recoiled with amazement that she should have seen the dog at all. Part of the magic might have been, as it was in some formulas we recorded, that he was to pass by invisible to the strangers. But this is conjecture. . . .

The moment before we went down the path to the river, Amasina came up alone, and gave us her hand. She was gracious, and completely at her ease. Whatever was said, she had faith in her god Towenu, who had vouched for our friendship. 123 609

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Chapter XV

THE ARTIST OF MA'LOBBI

I

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WE WERE recalled to the council house for a final informal krutu with Granman Yankuso and some of his elders before the more formal leave-taking on the river bank. Our boats were being loaded and soon we should be on our way down river. With the elders were the diviners, and our friend, the bassia.

The Granman opened the krutu, greeting and addressing the men who were present, until he turned to us.

"White man, you and your woman came to my village. I held you both well. Now when you are ready to go I give you my grandson for paddler, and the chief of my village for captain of your boat. That is how we do with those who come in friendship."

Through our town man, as was the way of the krutu, we spoke our acknowledgments to him, and our regrets that our visit was ending. Through our man, the last gifts to the tribal head were tendered, and through one of the elders, the ritual expression of thanks was returned us for what we had put before the Granman.

We had two favors to ask of him. For many days we had lived in this house, and had admired the fine carvings which the council house held. In our own country, when we thought of the days on the upper Saramacca River, a piece of carving from this house would give us much pleasure. But of the elaborate carvings we did not wish to

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deprive him. Might we buy, however, one of the simple benches from the shelf above the door, which the chiefs and we ourselves had used many times?

The one we took down had interested us for its possible ritual significance. On its top a single design was repeated four times. It was a representation of an axe-head, and the clan of Yankuso was the Matchau, the Axe Clan.

The Granman looked at the diviner. "*Fa fo do?*—What to do?" was his query.

The man he addressed murmured, "*T'obi*—Trouble."

But it was, after all, only a small and slightly ornamented bench.

"Take it!" the Granman said. "What else is it you ask?"

There was the apinti drum. In the house where objects of all peoples of the earth were brought for men and women to look at, there were none of the fine carvings the Bush Negroes make. When we returned, we would place beside the African and Indian objects which were there those of the Saramacca people. As yet, we had not been able to buy an apinti drum. This one was more beautiful than any we had seen. Could he not sell it to us, so that everyone might know that the finest of drums had come from the council house of Moana Yankuso, Granman of the Saramacca people?

This time he did not hesitate. He smiled, and shook his head.

"No, no, white man," he said, "this drum is not for me to sell. This one I cannot part with, not for all your goods. Down river, when you visit my villages, you can get an apinti which will be beautiful. When you come to the village of Akunkun, and you see Kasanya, ask him to find you an apinti. I will tell Captain Mataibo to leave a message at other villages that you want an apinti. This one no gold can buy."

This was not our first attempt to buy an apinti drum. Nor was it to be the last refusal.

Waiting, we sat in the council house while our supplies were being carried to the canoes and placed in them, until

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123 623 594 609 [554] Mataibo, the head of Yankuso's village, who was entrusted with the safe passage of our boats, came to announce that the men had done loading. Before the morning was yet well advanced we left the house, and with the Granman under his umbrella, which was the highest of insignia, passed to the river bank.

Our friends were there—the bassia, and Dida, and Amasina, and the Granman's wives and his little grandson, who shouted to us, "*Waka bon, ye'e!*—Travel well, you hear!" in the best manner of his elders. Again three guns sounded, and once more we were on the river, looking up at the people of these villages of the Pikien Rio who were waving to us from the shore.

502 Going down the river was restful. The enjoyment of the easy motion of the boats was felt in the manner of the paddlers themselves. Now there was no hard poling against the heavy current. As canoes were urged on the two paddlers wielded their long blades in unison, and the dugouts swung downstream in the center of the river, where the current was heaviest. When the murmurs of the rapids ahead were heard, it was but a moment until they grew into a roar, and then, in another, we were through, the man at the front standing up for an instant so that, with a twist of his paddle, he might turn the head of the boat from any threatening rock, while the stern man did not stroke at all, but merely held the craft on the course which was marked where the water tossed itself into foam-capped waves. Sometimes, as we came to rapids where the force of the water was especially strong, or there was a sharp double curve to be negotiated, the two boats would pause for a moment while Mataibo called out to the younger men the course to follow. Then into the falls, and through them, and our bow paddler would carefully rearrange his loin cloth and sit down once more to take up his steady stroking.

123 609 [831] Opposite one village Sungi came in his boat to meet us, to give and receive a final gift, and say his goodbye. But it was not to the landing place of Dahomey that he took us for this interchange, but to the village of his wife, he told

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us when we asked him. At one landing place where we 123
stopped for a moment, we could hear the drums sounding 609
the rhythm to the river gods, but the drumming stopped abruptly as word went back along the path that white people had come. Men streaked with pemba came down to the river to look at the Bakra who had visited the village of their Granman.

In the boat, we missed Bayo. The grandson of the Gran- 644
man, who was our bow paddler, we had met but casually 123
before we had started. There had been none of the chances 609
for conversation that had made of Bayo a friend before he and his great-grandfather came to take us to the country of the Granman. Later we would come to know this youth for a pleasant young man, capable and quiet, who was proud to show his ability, and quick to resent the suggestions of our town man in such matters as making a shelter for the night.

"We are children of the bush!" the young man exclaimed sharply. "We know how to make this." And such a good shelter did the paddlers build that men of a near-by village, who passed, stopped and asked that it not be torn down the [485]
next morning, as had to be done with shelters erected for the night on the land of a strange clan, but that we should let it stand so that others might use it.

When we asked him questions, however, or made observa- [157]
tions on people who passed by in their canoes, he gave us noncommittal replies. Mataibo, the captain of our boat, was even more reserved, though he liked to twit our town man, and in an unofficial capacity would have been amusing. Conversation between the two paddlers, or between them and the two young men who were entrusted with our other boat, was in the clipped, rapid "deep-Saramacca" [197]
speech which, in spite of our use of it in conversation at the Granman's village, we still found it difficult to follow when Bush Negroes spoke informally to one another.

As the day wore on, we began to get used to the rapidity 484
with which village after village was passed. Here was the landing place of the one where we had stopped so that

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Ceremonial benches incised with symbols of fertility and magic.

[Facing p. 272]

484 Sedefo might greet his sister. It was almost a half-day's travel, going up river, from Asindopo Lantiwe, yet it was not quite noon, and we were passing it. Here was Hei Kununu, its steep slopes already swinging into sight as we rounded a bend of the river and came through the small rapids above the settlement, and still it seemed as though we had but begun our course down toward our base camp and the railhead. And it was still early in the afternoon when we came to Ma'lobbi.

2

462 At the landing place, women were about. Much of the work of the Bush Negro woman is at the river's edge, and for strangers like ourselves, passing in a dugout, the presence of women working on the bank was the only sign [361] that here was a landing place, and that farther inland lay a [312] village. To the river they came with their carved clothes [296] beaters, like the one we could see in the hand of the woman who greeted us here at Ma'lobbi, fashioned, as we later learned when she sold it to us, in the shape of a male vodu head on one end, and a female snake on the other. It was at the edge of the water that a woman scraped cooking pots [264] and calabash dishes with sand, and it was here, if it seemed a good day for fishing, that a woman would go wading in the water to rest a cooking pot on the river [206] bottom, and stand silently until an inquisitive school of small fish swam into it when, with a quick jerk, she would bring it up to take out what fish there were. This, aside from the use of small hooks, was the only kind of fishing a woman could do, for the fishing traps were for the use of men. But the cooking pot brought in many small fish to add flavor to a dish of rice.

123 609 As we walked into the village, accompanied by one of our younger paddlers, the bassia greeted us. The head of the village was waiting for us, he told us. Paddlers of small boats on their way downstream had spread the word that our visit with the Granman was drawing to an end.

THE ARTIST OF MA'LOBBI

As we walked toward the chief's house we looked about us, seeing again the evidence that here at Ma'lobbi there were men who knew how to carve wood, seeing why it was that our paddlers had spoken of it as a place for fine work. 322 531

"Ai, at Ma'lobbi they are good carvers."

Here was a house with its doorposts elaborately carved; there a beautifully worked rice tray, lying where it had been left by the woman who owned it, until she should need it later in the day for winnowing her rice; farther along a great bench stood, with the designs cut through in a fluid progression over top and sides. [342]

The captain was in the lower portion of his two-story house when we entered. Several of the older men, who had been present at our earlier visit and who remembered our gifts of tobacco, came to join us, as the news of our arrival spread through the village. Soon the women were standing about, motioning to the white woman to come with them. 123 609

The house in which the captain received us was larger and more imposing than the others in the village. It was his *gudu-wosu*—his treasure house. Its lower portion, where we sat in conversation with him, was where he worked. Above, where none of his wives might enter, his wealth was stored. Here he kept the pieces he had carved, and from here drew from time to time the presents he gave his wives. Here lay the wealth which his nephews would inherit when he died. But below, in the partially open shelter, was his workshop where he fashioned rough logs into stools and paddles, combs and food stirrers, trays and canoe seats, and all manner of objects which he and his women used in their daily routine. 342 556 [408] [322]

All about the walls hung tools. There were machetes, whose sharp blades showed a reflection of fire from the sun which slanted on the wall. We had never seen so many of these bush knives on display, nor, for that matter, such an array of tools anywhere on this river. From projecting boards or nails driven into posts hung several compasses, their hinged arms sharp-pointed, so that the craftsman might describe the perfect circles on the wood he carved. 342 353 412 [413]

353 This they had learned from the whites long ago, and
179 now everywhere on the river compasses were seen, or
[413] carvings which showed their use. The machete, the small
412 sharp knives which lay about here on the work-table, the compass, and sand made up any Bush Negro carver's tools. But here at Ma'lobbi in this workshop of the captain were tools from the white man's city, collected by himself on his journeys down to the government office to receive his yearly allowance, or by his men who had been to the French shore and learned of the ways of the outside world. There was a plane to make the blade of a paddle smooth as the skin of a child, and there were two others in addition to this one, we were assured, in the treasure house of the upper story. Hammers, too, were useful for making boats, and even for smaller carvings like benches. There was also a bit and auger, though we were never convinced that the captain himself had ever put it to its more prosaic uses.

"I have many more up there," said the captain, pointing to the upper story. "I like them. If a man likes his tools, then they help him in his carvings. As he sees with his eyes, so they cut. I have always liked my tools, white man. I have spent much time with them."

221 A young man sat to one side shaving down a block of
322 wood with a knife which he held.

"He is not carving," the captain said, following our eyes. "He is making a piece for this," he explained, indicating a plane. "Now is not the time for carving. There is too much to be done. This is the time for cutting wood, for taking the rafts down the river, for making boats, for bleeding rubber trees for the white man, and for hunting game. When the great rains come, then men sit about and carve."

322 As he spoke our eyes traveled to the various carvings
531 which stood about the workshop. In one corner leaned a paddle which caught our attention because of its darkened color, and the patina which long use had given it, so that it seemed made of ebony. Against another wall were several
[352] stools, all richly ornamented with carvings, while beside us,

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and so close that our hands, moving about to find a rest, touched its top, and sounded an involuntary rhythm, was an apinti drum. We exclaimed at its beauty, for in form and carving it rivaled the one we had admired in the council house of Granman Yankuso, and we were determined to try to buy it. But we turned our conversation to other things. A stranger in this bush soon learns from the Bush Negroes to broach an important request gently, remembering the cautioning proverb spoken by the chameleon.

We talked of carving, of the white man's coming back some year when the rains were heavy to sit by and watch the men make paddles and benches, so that he might learn, as children learn.

The captain was politely skeptical. It took a Saramacca hand to do this work. But he smiled, "Ma kye, if you have the gods anything is possible."

"That's a fine paddle in the corner."

He brought it out, and we admired it. Would he sell it to us?

"You must ask its owner."

"Didn't you make it, captain?"

"Yes, but it is not mine to sell. I gave it to my wife." He would see, however, if she wanted to sell it. He would himself go and call her.

As he went, he gave us the paddle that we might examine it. We ran our hands over the smooth top, the design, the beveled blade. It was not so tall as the paddles used by the men, nor was its blade so broad as those used in steering the great boats through the rapids. In form, it was quite different from the round-bladed type used by the Indians of the region, for it was slender and came to a sharp point, and at the other end the carving formed a crutch-shaped hold into which the hand fitted.

We studied this carving. Parts of the design had meaning for us because of their realistic treatment. The motifs of others were recognizable to us from explanations we had been given of other carvings. But there were still details

532 of design which only the carver himself could name, or
501 someone who knew the symbolism of the art tradition in
302 which this paddle was carved.

During our first visit to these people we had been com-
532 pletely balked by the unwillingness of the Bush Negroes to
123 discuss their carvings. In answer to our questions we got delightful evasions, but with the coming of Bayo to our base camp, carrying his crudely carved stool, we learned enough to make it clear that there was a great deal of symbolism in the carving of the Bush Negroes and, as our knowledge of these symbols increased, it became increasingly easier to get descriptions of carvings in terms of the meanings and values these held for the Bush Negroes themselves.

532 Now, sitting in the workshop of one of the finest of Saramacca carvers, the captain of Ma'lobbi, we traced those parts of the design which we knew, mentioning their significance to the men who were about.

"There are two snakes," we said, pointing to the realistically entwined bodies which formed the upper portion of the hand grip, ending at the top with recognizable heads, and with mouths held open, which supported symmetrical figures of the top of the paddle.

"Aboma snakes," one man said, verifying to himself our statement.

"These," we continued, "are the teeth of the great lizard—*bamba tande*—and this part below the hand-grip reaching part way toward the blade is a carved chain, and you call it *moni mo' muye*—money is more than woman."

The men laughed. "Awa, so it is. The man knows about Saramacca carving."

And one of them took up the explanation, pointing out the two symmetrical figures which were posed opposite each other above the mouths of the snakes. "These are monkeys. They are women monkeys. No, don't call them just keskesi, their name is makaka," he went on, giving us the name of the species, when we spoke the word for monkey. "See the ears, the heads, the breasts. Ai, I

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know you see them. They told you much on the upper river." 532

As he finished speaking, the captain returned with his wife. Excited comments greeted him. 532 123

"The white man here knows *tembe*—carving."

"He knows lizard's teeth design."

"He knew that this was the aboma snake, and the makaka."

The old man was skeptical. "*A so?* Was it true?" Let the Bakra show him.

We repeated the lesson we had just learned to the captain and his wife who owned the paddle. They listened thoughtfully. Then the woman spoke.

"White man, I have used this paddle for many years. I do not like to sell it. But you care for it. You are a man who knows carving. In your country you tell me other men know carving. They will look at it, and see it is beautiful, and they will know it is from the Saramacca. Take it, and pay me what you like." [439]

There were other carvings which we bought—a large rice-carrying tray, and some food stirrers, one of which was especially fine, made as it was of two small paddles with miniature blades, the handles joined by a wooden ring-chain, and all of this carved out of one piece of wood. 532 439

3

Few things on the river seemed to the outsiders more characteristic of the life of the Saramacca people than these carvings which were met with everywhere, however small the village, however poor the home. When the seasonal rains came, men incised their desires on wood, which later told the legend of procreation, or safety on the river, or a curse invoked against a woman if she proved unfaithful; or something of humor, such as a man bidding for a girl's favor, and she refusing him, while up above intertwined were a man and woman, symbolizing the ultimate consummation with the proper suitor. 532

REBEL DESTINY

531 The greater part of these carvings men made for women,
431 and it was a rare woman who did not take pride in the excellence of the carvings given her, though often it must have been the pride in something which had traditional value, for it would be false to assume that among any people are all men equally endowed with creativeness and all women with sensitive appreciation of what is created.

462 As among so many peoples, two or three types of art
532 were to be found. There was the same sex division in the
322 art of these people as existed in all other aspects of life, and the men were the wood carvers. The sharpest division in the art of the men was that between the secular and the religious. The religious art was crude. A block of wood, roughly shaped, with several cuts to indicate a face, perhaps a break in the line to represent the neck, and a few more strokes in the wood to differentiate the upper part of the woman's body, and there stood an ancestral image, or a village god. Often white clay was added to this, and sometimes alternate stripes of white and red, or white, red, and black, but when seen on a village path underneath a low open shelter, what color there once was had become
[1178] weathered to a dull gray. The sacred art also included the
[1789] charms called obias, worn on the neck, and about the upper
[301] arm, or wrist, or below the knee, or at the ankle. Many of these made pleasing ornaments. The white fiber dipped in red clay became a deep golden brown as the sun paled the crimson, and there would be the added color of a finger's length of blue and orange parrot feather, fastened inside the woven fiber square, and extending below the fringe of the weave. Into this woven square cowries might be sewn, two facing each other, or three, or four.

532 There was also the art of modeling, but this was so secret and so specialized that we were assured that not even all Bush Negroes knew of its existence, and modeled objects appeared only in the most important of the shrines.

With the religious art might also perhaps be grouped the red and white striped crooked sticks of the Kromanti

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society, the "Congo" sticks, as they were called here, or the "fighting" sticks. 532

The carvings, however, which we were admiring in the house of the captain of Ma'lobbi were for secular use. The Bush Negro craftsman brought to the ornamenting of his paddles and his canoe seats, to his house posts, and particularly to the door of his treasure house, to his women's combs, and trays, and food stirrers, and clothes beaters all the traditional skill and patience. But the exceptional carver brought also the cunning in his fingers which his gods had given to him and only to few others on the river. Such a man was the captain of Ma'lobbi. Into the traditional designs such a man wove lines for the love of seeing them grow under his hand, for there were always single motifs which the people versed in the symbolism of the art would describe as "beautiful," as having no meaning. Yet with few exceptions the massing of outlines in a unified design bore on fertility. Men and women alone or together, and male and female animals were represented in all but occasional pieces. [501]

The Bush Negro artist was a man of consequence on the river. His companions admired his skill, and the young women were proud to have his handiwork. If he showed his gifts early, he was at an advantage in courting a girl of an influential family. The girl's mother, who shared in the gifts of her daughter's suitor, might be willing to overlook other less advantageous traits in the man or in his family, while the girl's uncles would not be loath to have such a man in their family to teach his art to his sons, who would be their successors. 532 554 584

On several occasions we were permitted to see how very deeply this appreciation of fine carving went. As in the instance of the paddle we had acquired from the wife of the captain of Ma'lobbi, it had happened often that the consent of the woman to sell a given piece was necessary before any trading could take place. Sometimes we traded directly with the woman, sometimes she asked her husband, or her brother, or her son, as the more worldly 432 562 439

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432 person, to act for her. But always hers was the final word,
562 and often that word when the time came for us to carry
439 away the piece was "No."

"It was made for me by my husband when I was a young girl. Now he sleeps, he is no more. I want to have it," was a statement which ended all bargaining.

Sometimes even after we had paid the woman, and stored the piece away, she returned with the moist coins in her hand, asking for the carved implement.

"Before some man from here will go to the city to buy me a pangi, I may lose the money, or he may lose it on the way. But if the clothes beater is here, I can use it and look at it. I want to keep it."

413 One vivid incident of bargaining concerned a peanut
532 pounding board which had belonged to the sister of Bassia
439 Anaisi. We were sitting and talking with him and his grandmother, when our eyes rested on his sister's house. From a projection hung a strikingly beautiful piece of carving. The rectangular portion of the board on which the peanuts were crushed was bordered on top and bottom with filigreed carving. It was made of brown-heart wood with inlays of purple-heart. Bassia Anaisi's sister supplemented our guesses of what the designs meant. The top represented a woman's head and headdress. The small brass nails, which made a glistening line in the center of the upper curve, were the cicatrizations on the woman's face.

"Look," said the woman, "she is a woman, but a woman hawk. Here is her neck, and the small cut-out circles here are her breasts, those curves at both ends are the wings. The very small nails are the cicatrizations on the thighs. She is a woman, and she has made herself beautiful. This large rounded portion is her belly, and the smaller one underneath is the *gonu mofo*—the gun's mouth," the last being their image for the vagina. Meeting this from the bottom curving upwards was a half-circle, which represented the male member. At the other end was more embellishment. In the center was a double curve to symbolize the first phase of the moon. Below were two "*Ingi Kodyo*,"

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Indian cudgels, a figure of speech for the buttocks, in this instance those of the woman, and again the male representation. This was edged with a border of deep curves which the woman said was mere ornamentation—scrolls. On another pounding board, however, of this village, a similar border was said to represent the boa constrictor. This board stood on two legs, each the width of the board and about two inches high, and worked in the same cut-through scroll design.

When we suggested that we might care to acquire the board, the woman became apprehensive. She took up the board, and excusing herself, disappeared with it inside her hut.

"No, no," she called from the house, when her brother went to tell her of the offer we had made for it. "I don't want money for it. I like it. I will not sell it."

The sum we offered was modest enough, but not inconsiderable for this deep interior. We increased it, then doubled our original offer. There was still no wavering on the woman's part, but the offer began to interest her family. Such wealth should not be refused. Bassia Anaisi began to urge her in our behalf.

"With this money you can buy from the white man's city a hammock, and several fine cloths. You should not refuse this."

The old woman took up the discussion, then another sister, and a brother. At last the bassia took us aside, and asked us to leave his sister alone with them.

"We will have a krutu, and tomorrow you will hear. She is foolish not to sell. But she cares for the board. It is good, too, when a woman loves what her man has carved for her. We will krutu about it, and you shall hear."

Three days passed before the woman's permission was given to dispose of the piece.

"When they see this, your people will know our men can carve!" she exclaimed in a voice which held as much regret as pride.

REBEL DESTINY

4

532 The cult of fertility came to the Suriname bush from
831 Africa. Deepseated today in this civilization, it is not strange that it should be invoked again and again in the carvings, that men and women in sexual congress, and animals in the act of reproduction should dominate the art motifs, and in particular those carvings which men make for their women.

532 The symbolism is known to all on the river though, as we have indicated, a gifted artist might play with his medium, and even give his own name to what he had designed. Evidences of nontraditional playing with technique were, to be sure, not met with often, but one or two instances stand out. One that was especially striking was a hinged folding stool, fashioned after a bench seen in the
[352] [109] city, and decorated in traditional fashion, where the problem of decorating unfamiliar surfaces was met.

Bayo could take up many of our photographs of pieces,
532 acquired during our first visit and brought here into the
183 bush to show the natives how their pieces were exhibited,
177 and describe the symbols to us which made up the carvings. There was one which interested him especially. He used to sit with the photograph in his hand, running his fingers over the glossy surface, as though he felt if he continued doing it long he would actually feel the texture of the wood which was so clearly imaged.

532 "Everything shows. Here's a crack, see?" Then his hands touched one motif after another. "This and this are women, and these are men. A man and woman to one side, and a man and woman facing them. It's like having the tray here, white man." The small designs close to the rim of the tray, facing each other, were the children to be
[845] born of these unions. "This is a boy, and this a girl. That is for both women to make twins."

We were looking over his shoulder as he explained the symbols, but still could not distinguish in the symbols to the side which represented the male child and which the female.

Bayo laughed. "All this isn't easy, white man. A line about this curve shows this to be a man-child. These are things bush people alone know." 532

The decorated rim of this tray had interested many who had seen the piece the winter before, and we had had pointed out to us what we ourselves had remarked, that the design was not continuous all around, but that it was divided into four parts, the crosshatched portion alternating with that of checkered squares. Did those have meaning? we asked Bayo.

"Ai, these belong to the women and the children. The small lines are the hair of the children, and the squares here that of the women." The brass-headed nails he touched one by one on the photograph. "The women have nice kamemba," he said, at last.

On the upper river we had acquired another tray with similar motifs, but more elaborately decorated, with carvings on the outer surface as well as the inner, and also with many more brass-headed nails. This use of nails, which was more general in the deep interior, had at first seemed an anomaly, for they must come from the white man's city, since the Bush Negro, we knew, had lost the African technique of iron working. But as we saw more deeply into their customs, we recognized that these nails studding the carvings represented a survival of the African art tradition, and it was, therefore, reasonable that in the deep interior they should be found more profusely on the carvings. [184] [97]

Human representations outlined with the realism of African masks we almost never met, and the exceptional instances suggested only resemblances. The mask itself, as far as we could learn, was not used in their dances. The men knew what masks were, but whether this knowledge came as part of their African tradition, or whether it was brought from the city and the French shore, we could not determine. The African style of depicting the human form had, however, not been entirely lost by their slave ancestors. 532 [97] [535]

In this village of Ma'lobbi, where lived one of the finest carvers on the river, the carving over a doorway held us 532

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Houses and house posts in Ma'lobbi.

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539 fascinated. It showed, in its purest form, the retention of the African mask-like head. Sometimes on the prow of a boat we would see in cruder form the outlines of a mask, and once an old woman came with a food stirrer to us. Its handle ended in a knob which with a few strokes of the knife had been formed into a double representation of the human [191] head, a perfect parallel to the type of mask that is associated with the people of the Ivory Coast.

539 Aside from the decorated apinti drum, only some of the 191 workaday art forms of Africa—combs, paddles, mortars, among other such objects—were retained. For their decoration the designs that in Africa had been cut into the base of figures or about the borders of masks had been remembered and reinterpreted in terms of the ancestral cults. And from those memories the Bush Negroes had developed the unique art which is theirs.

539 Thus, in the main, the art was symbolic, and many of the 181 designs represented the urge for reproduction. Some 84 stemmed from the fertility cult, though not entirely of it. There was, for example, the double-bladed food stirrer, which was given by a man to his wife with a curse woven [626] into its curves for the woman if she committed adultery.

539 There were carvings that did not deal with sex at all. On the lower river we sat on the shore as a canoe came up. Prow and stern were carved. On one of the seats was a representation of the head of a feline, done with the utmost realism.

"You have *tigri?*" we asked the man, as we bargained for the seats.

"I will sell you this, but do not ask me what it means."

The bird-headed paddles were also examples of this kind. [501] When laid on their sides, they showed the form of the parrot, or whatever bird they represented—the exaggerated beak, the head, the neck, the wings, and the feet. The design called *Alukutu folo*, an emblem of those who [791] could see into the future, was engraved on many benches on the upper river in particular, and these carvings were parted with only with the greatest reluctance, lest we try

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magic on their owners. And there was the Gankwe woman who brought us a paddle representing the bird she called the *apassa*. 532

"We Gankwe people do not eat the apassa," she had whispered to us when we bought the paddle. [262]

5

In the house of the captain of Ma'lobbi we sat and talked of the carvings of the Saramacca people, and as we talked, they brought us some of the things the men of the village had carved.

"Do all men carve?" we asked the chief.

"Not everyone has the spirit. But every young man tries. If a man is good at hunting, or on the river, then perhaps he can get the things he needs to give his wife from others for what he can give the carver. But it is better that he do these things for his wife himself. The women like it better." 463

Not everyone could make a boat, he said, nor was everyone able to carve the *pau pau dindu*, the intricate "wood within wood" motifs that made a strip go like a twisted snake in and out, in and out, through a design. And not everyone could make a drum. Like that apinti he had there. 463 532

It was the opening for which we had been waiting. 532

We had been admiring this drum since we had come into his house, we said. We remembered it from the first time on our way up river. It was as fine as any we had seen. Had he made it himself? 534 432 439

He smiled his appreciation.

"It is a fine apinti, ai," agreed several of the men sitting about.

An apinti was one of the things we wanted to take to show the white man. This one, especially, we would like to buy. Would he sell it?

He looked at us for a moment, and then gently shook his head. "To make an apinti is not a small thing. Not everyone can make an apinti. I have worked on it for a long time, and it is not yet finished. This drum I will not sell."

REBEL DESTINY

We redoubled our urging.

"White man, do you know what it is to make an apinti—an obia drum?"

A man had to have the proper spirit before he might address the god of the tree from which the drum was to be made. When he had felled the tree, he cut off from the trunk the part he wanted to use and took it to his village. Over it he had to pour the blood of a cock which he sacrificed that the gods might come when the drum called them. The maker had also to provide sweet rum and cassava and eggs. The cassava was eaten by the people, but the eggs were for the spirit of the drum, and only half the sweet rum was drunk—the rest was poured over the wood. When the body of the new drum had been fashioned, the people gathered and sang, but they did not dance, for the head yet remained to be made. A pingo, or a deer, might furnish the skin, but these animals were shot where they had been tracked in the bush, and not offered to the drum. Only chickens were given it. And when the drum was complete, then the maker sang his song alone.

"But the drum is not finished yet. It can be played on, for it has a head, and its spirit has been satisfied. But the carving is not yet done. I have worked on it a long time," he repeated. "I want them to play it for my spirit when I am dead."

A silence fell as he finished. There was nothing more to be said.

"White man, we have sat together in pleasure. You have come to the true, true Saramacca from far away. You have bought the carvings of my people. The apinti drum I cannot sell you. But this stool you like I want you to have."

He took up one of the round-topped benches, with carefully worked sides, and four purple-heart inlays on top, each in the shape of a fowl.

"Take it with you to your white man's country. When you show it, write on a paper that the captain of Ma'lobbi made it."

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Chapter XVI

BAYO, THE PLAYBOY

I

IT HAD been a day of hard travel, down the Mamadam, through the Musumba Prati, and down the long wearying stretch of quiet water until we reached the Tita Buka Falls. The memory of the up-river passage of these troubled stretches had not yet worn down sufficiently to allow of contemplating the downgoing without a measure of strain, but our anxiety turned to astonishment when the paddlers, skirting above the thunder of the water, steered the boats into a barely visible channel down which we floated by easy stages. 507 484

"Mati-o," said chief Mataibo to the young men, when we had made the singularly fine passage, "the gods are taking them with pleasure. We must do the same!"

Passing the Gran' Creek he prayed from midstream, calling on the spirit of the creek, whom he addressed as ancestor, to give us long life in our white man's country. 782

Now we were here at Djamungo, at Bayo's village where, if he were only there, we should be seeing a fine dance, and where, what at the moment was far more important for us, many sacred objects awaited us. Djamungo was a village about whose magic other villages on the river were uneasy. 789 361

"Bayo is at Gankwe waiting for you. He is helping the men haul lumber, but when he hears you are back, he will come," said a woman who came up saying she was his 609

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609 mother. The woman who had made Bayo was her sister, she told us.

142 The resemblance between this woman and Bayo was marked. She had the same dark skin, the same stocky, muscular build, the broad nose, the same general cast of features we had known so well in Bayo. Similar, too, were the sharply etched scars on her face, which were so black and so prominent as to bespeak her great vitality and rugged health. There were other likenesses, we learned, and of these the most valued was the strength of their gods.

789 794 562 We had not been long in her hut before we noticed the iron arm-band she wore. It was, we knew, a "*tapu*"—a magical preventive which, in this instance, warned its wearer of danger, and kept her from harm in a combat. Seeing it on the arm of a woman was astonishing for many reasons. Not in all our encounters on the river had we seen a woman wearing an arm obia of iron. Iron was the sign of the Kromanti, a men's group, composed of those men [595] who had the Kromanti spirit. It was in part warriors' secret society, and in part, when it was Obia Kromanti, the men's religious society which controlled the powerful supernatural forces of preventive and healing magic which played so prominent a part in the spiritual life of the Bush Negro. Now there were, we had been told, some women who inherited the Kromanti spirit, but these were few, and not until after their menopause could they enter a Kromanti house, and when this came they were too old to participate in the dance, but they sang the songs when the spirit came to them and did whatever else was known to the initiated of their years.

But this woman who was Bayo's mother's sister was not an old woman. As she talked to us, in fact, her breast was [853] swung over to the side, and against her ribs was the head of the child on her back who was nursing. Yet on her arm was the fighter's "tapu," as the emblem of membership in the Kromanti group.

This was so important an anomaly that, following the etiquette of the bush, we hastened at once to talk about something else.

BAYO, THE PLAYBOY

"Will Bayo be married before we leave the bush?" we 115
asked, telling her that only a short time would see us returning to our own country.

We had often talked of marriage with Bayo on our trip up river and had offered to make up what he lacked in gifts and money that we might witness the festivities of marriage. He had, of course, promised to have matters arranged.

Bayo's aunt laughed, however, when she heard the question, and turned to the other woman who was with us in the dimly lighted hut.

"Did you hear what the white man asks?" she called 584
out to her companion. "White man, let me tell you some- 115
thing. Bayo is a long way from marrying yet. Why, his girl's breasts haven't begun to come yet!"

It seemed that Bayo had also to see to many things before he could marry. He had not yet cut the field for his mother-in-law, nor had he made any of the carvings which he needed to give his betrothed and her mother, for Bayo was a poor carver.

"Bayo has cunning in his eyes, and his head, but his 115
fingers have no cunning, Bak'a. . . . But you know this, Bayo is strong."

Her train of thought turned at the last phrase to our journey up river. Had we traveled well with Bayo? Had he got on with the other men? Awa, she knew that people liked him. It was the obia he had, and his own gods, but his gods were bad, too.

"When he was in his mother's womb, he troubled her [843]
much. He tore at her. Ai, she had no happy time of it with Bayo."

We remembered the incest kunu in Bayo's family, which 684
lay in wait for all its members, killing off one by one until 776
the line was wiped out. We ventured a cautious question.

"You are the sister of Bayo's mother?"

The answer, however, did not take us to kunu, but rather 115
to the iron on her arm. 776

"Ai, and of his father who is now dead. In our family we 789
have strong gods. It is these that have come to Bayo. . . ."

REBEL DESTINY

115 "So we see from the Kromanti obia on your arm." Was
776 she, a woman, possessed of the war-like Kromanti spirit?
789 we asked her.

"It is as you see. I am a woman, and I have Kromanti—and it's strong Kromanti."

"We had not heard of women your age getting Kromanti."

"Ai, there are not many, but when my spirit comes, I dance heavy. I dance like the men."

We must have appeared unconvinced, for she became more emphatic.

"What they do in other villages, white man, I do not know. But I have Kromanti, and when the drums speak here at Djamungo I, too, come."

She rose and went into the inner chamber of the house, where the hammocks were hung, and brought out several objects wrapped in old cloth.

432 "Bayo said I should have obias for you when you came.
439 He said you would pay well for obias. I have these for
789 you."

The trading commenced. There were two small images—"*gadus*" they were called, both crudely carved. One was called Winti Nyamusi. It was a spirit which gave children to women.

789 "When I come to ask for children, then I take sweet
842 rum in my mouth, and I spray the gadu, then I say, '*Naymusi, da wa' buno mi'i*—O Spirit Naymusi! Give me a fine child.' Then the child will come."

What was the other image, the larger one, with anteater's bristles inserted at sides and top?

"That is a Kromanti obia. It is the Opete spirit, the buz-
789 zard. When you take it with you, you must speak to it so.
789 You must say, 'Obia-o, I am carrying you away with me. You must look after me, you must see that my life is spared, O great spirit.' Then you must spray it with rum, but not the sweet rum, not for Kromanti."

789 There were other obias she had for us, some to be worn about the neck, and others to be worn below the knee.

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BAYO, THE PLAYBOY

"Bayo has asked me to find a strong *asumani* for you," she said, naming the obia she held with the word for such magically endowed properties used by the Ashanti today, on the West Coast of Africa. In rapid succession she gave us the African words of the Kromanti designation for the white clay, for the ancestral pot, and for several other ceremonial objects we discussed with her. 789

"Did you make these for us?"

"Ah, no. Women do not make obias. My brother made them for you." [462] [564]

The next morning when we were leaving Djamungo she came to the landing place with us. In our hands were the images we had bought. The young paddlers looked on them with fear. On no account would they even come too close to us who carried them. It was not the image, nor the external properties of a sacred object which disclosed its power, but rather the magic that had been called to reside in it, and the strength of the gods of him who had been instrumental in bringing the magic to the figure of wood, the brass bell, the cowrie shells, the ant-eater's bristles, or whatever else was used.

"Tell them in your village," Bayo's mother's sister called after us, "that here at Djamungo the Kromanti spirit does not come to men only. When women get Kromanti, they, too, can fight."

2

We had not been back at our base camp for more than a day when Bayo came up the path calling the greeting of a comrade. Had we fared well with the Granman? 574 609

He had, he told with pride, seen all those things a man who went on so long a journey should see, and he had been to Lamé again, where there were strong obias and where the women knew how to love. Now he would remain with us until we left the bush, and he might even decide to go with us to the city, and from there to the French shore, where there was money to be got. What with the money he had earned for timber, and the money we had given 115 556

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115 him, and what he could get on the Marowyne in a year,
[SR] it would be possible for him to see to it that his betrothed
had all the gifts that a man of position gave to his woman.
[SR4] There were, too, other things to bear in mind. Already he had seen a girl who would make a desirable second wife, but that would require still more money.

115 "But, Bayo," we interposed, "we saw your mother at
913 Djamungo. She told us your girl will not be ready for marrying for some time."

"Did she say that? Did she tell you that I am still a child?"

"What's the matter, Bayo? Don't you like her?"

"Awa, I like her. Not too much. She likes to talk."

231 We thought it politic to give the subject a new turn.
224 Close beside Bayo lay the dog that had accompanied him the first time he came to us here, before our journey up the river. His was a curious color, a faint pinkish hue which puzzled us.

"What is the color of your dog, Bayo?"

"He is white when he does not have obia on him. He is a hunting dog. Tross is his name. He will stay with me. The obia comes off when he goes into the river."

We laughed. "Does Tross hunt in the river, Bayo?"

"No. In the bush. But if I leave him behind, he swims out to my canoe."

231 Tross was to become better known to us as the days went
789 on. He had a great affection for his master, and this feeling extended to all those who appertained to Bayo. After Bayo had attached himself to our camp, we, too, came under the aura of his dog's regard, though this may have been made the more reasonable by the fact that the netting of the mosquito guards of our hammocks appealed to Tross as a comfortable place to spend the night. He was a good watchdog, and sometimes we were awakened by his low growl, and a voice saying "*Cho!*—Be quiet!" Just now we were interested in the cord about his neck, and we asked Bayo about it.

"It is more obia. It is strong, too. Nothing happens to Tross when he goes in the bush. You will see."

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BAYO, THE PLAYBOY

The conversation turned to the lumbering Bayo had been doing. He had been helping some of the Gankwe men bring to the river the wood they had felled. To cut down a tree was not hard work, Bayo told us. It was, however, no easy matter to bring the trunks to the water. For in the tropical jungle timber does not grow in the convenient "stands" known to the northern forests. The searcher for rare woods will find a single purple-heart tree here, and there, some distance away, a brown-heart or one of the other trees for which the white man is willing to pay well. With machete or axe the tree is felled and stripped of its bark, and squared into a great long timber. The under part of each end is shaped so that as it goes down the river it will not split against the rocks it strikes. 313

Going back from the river bank are to be seen openings in the bush and these lead to places where trees have been cut. At short intervals lengths of branches are laid across them. It is over these that the timber is hauled to the river —over these main lumber ways, and over the smaller ones that must be cut deep in the bush from every felled tree to these principal paths.

Bayo had been hauling lumber. Cut and dressed, the paths made ready, the logs had been taken to the river. The Gankwe men had summoned their friends and the men of neighboring villages to help them. The weight of the hard wood is such that it takes great strength to haul the squared logs over the paths. Bayo had gone with the men into the forest, and there they had spent more than a week, eating of the rice and cassava of the men whose lumber they were hauling, and having a pleasant time of it, with joking and horseplay. 313 476

"When we haul the wood, we sing *so te* . . . until . . . " he said, prolonging his last syllables in the characteristic way. 313 476 533

The one whose logs were being brought to the water opened the singing by first speaking his thanks in a formal chant to those who had come to help him.

REBEL DESTINY

313 406 533 [539] *"You have come to go, come to go far, come to go far to bring the wood to the water. But it is long, it is far, to the river. Thank you, friends."*

Then the song was taken up by the workers and, with each rhythmic measure, the great piece of lumber went farther through the jungle on its way to the river. When he had chanted for us the greeting to the men, Bayo began to sing a song relating to men's casual exploits with women and, as he finished the song, he laughed. "White [831] man, if you came with us, you would hear what songs the men make up about women!"

3

126 The phonograph had delighted Bayo from the first. When Apanto had summoned the spirit of his obia to fight the machine, Bayo had watched. When the white man's glue had repaired the broken belt, and the hot sun had made the machine "walk" once more, Bayo had approved.

"The machine is not weak," he had said. "I will sing for it."

And sing for it he did.

But the curse of Apanto still troubled the machine, for up the river and down there had been difficulty with it. Often when there was a particularly good song to be recorded, the belt would give, the machine would fail the white man. The story of the prowess of Apanto had gone up the river with the Gankwe paddlers, and when the machine stopped, heads nodded, and we would catch the word "obia" among the murmurs of the bystanders.

126 Bayo thought, it seemed, that the machine's proud 123 spirit was by this time properly chastened and, since twice 782 the machine had refused to work while he was singing into 796 it, twice had made him stop the song and its drum accompaniment, he decided to take matters into his own hands.

"White man," said Bayo, shortly after our return from up the river, "I will help the spirit of the machine. I will

call the great gods. Apanto's spirit is strong, but Bayo has strong gods, too." 126 123

The machine was made ready for him, and Bayo sat down on a convenient box, his head bent over the tumao drum which we had acquired and which his fingers could scarce ever be near but that they played on it. 782 776

"It is not the right drum," he said. "You should have an apinti for me to speak to the gods. But I will try it with this one. Tomorrow I will go up the river to Djamungo. I know a man who has an apinti. You will give me money, and I will buy it for you. But now I will speak on the tumao."

He began the irregular tapping which we had learned to identify as the drum language. With one hand he carried the message, while with the other he played irrelevant motifs which served to confound anyone not initiated and leave him, as it left us, who had worked out some of the general principles on which this drum language was based, utterly unable to interpret it or to tell which were the significant elements. 202 534 782

"The great gods will look after your machine now, if they will listen to the tumao." [776]

The next day Bayo went upstream to get us the apinti we so desired. He was not successful, but the gods had listened to him, when he had invoked them on the tumao, for Bayo's ministrations ended all trouble with our recalcitrant phonograph. Bayo indeed had strong spirits! 126 782 776 777

As the days went on, and record after record was put on the turntable, and with its tracing of songs, or examples of Bush Negro speech, or fragments of the rhythms that called the various gods, was taken off and carefully put into its felt-lined box, Bayo visibly swelled with pride. This was his doing! With his strong spirits he had called the great gods! He was young, and he had not spoken on the proper drum, but they had listened to him! So his thoughts went, and so he would repeat them to us.

His interest in the phonograph was intensified the more he saw of it, and he sang and spoke and drumned, either

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alone or with some friend, into the wax cylinders that spoke back in such mysterious fashion. When Apanto came to visit us, Bayo smiled as he saw the obia man approaching from the landing place.

"His obia is strong, but mine is strong, too. Let him sing into the machine."

Apanto was visibly surprised when he saw in operation the machine his spirit had wrecked. "The machine is not weak, Apanto," we assured him. "It has its own strength, and now it has the strength your gods have given it. For in the true, true Saramacca, a great obia man spoke his message to the Great God into it, and since then it has walked well with us."

Out of the corners of our eyes, we could see Bayo's pride.

"Sing for us, Apanto," we urged, for he had a beautiful voice. "Sing us an Apuku song."

Now Apanto sang, not once, but many times. It is true that when we asked for Apuku he sang Vodu, and when we asked for Vodu he sang Toné, and when we asked for Toné he sang Kromanti songs, and when we asked for Kromanti he sang the sacred dirges called "Papa" songs. Yet this was not otherwise than might be expected, and it was not too difficult to play the records to interested men of other villages, whose startled comments would soon tell us the kind of song he had sung.

It was another day when Apanto again sang, and some of these who had witnessed his first victory were about. One such addressed himself to Bayo, who was sitting near.

"Apanto's spirit fought the machine, and stopped it. But the machine works and sings back to Apanto. Its strength has come back to it."

"Awa, Apanto's spirit is strong," we heard Bayo reply, "but there are other strong spirits on the Saramacca."

4

Bayo had spent the night at Gankwe, and had returned resplendent with a new hairdressing. We joked with

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him about it as he came to take the white man through the bush trails to a neighboring village. 302 115

One of the girls who admired him had achieved this, but how she had managed to make the minute braids was difficult for us to see, for Bayo's hair the day before, long for him, had not seemed sufficiently yielding to permit of braiding. Yet here he was, his head covered with innumerable small braids which divided the white scalp into sections and showed lines where the many regular parts had been made. This made quite a new man out of Bayo. He was no longer the warrior who went without food because he was bored with the idea of preparing the food—a woman's task or, at best, that of an old man like his great-grandfather Bibifo who had cooked on the up-river trip. [562] [887] Now he was a dandy.

"Ai-yo!" he crowed back as we speculated on the labor that had gone into the creation. "It took her almost all the night! It is hard work."

"She must like you, Bayo."

"She likes me well, ai!"

"Are you going to have her for your third wife?"

"Who knows? But a man doesn't marry every woman who braids his hair."

Soon Bayo and the white man were off through the bush, 484 Tross going ahead as scout. Back and across the path he 231 would dart and for the white man, unaccustomed to the sounds of the bush, it was difficult to tell whether the rustling he heard was caused by the dog, or by the small animals stirred up from time to time. Once a snake coiled on the path moved lazily away as they approached; Tross had disturbed it, and the snake had no mind for more encounters. Once a small animal of some sort dashed across the trail ahead, the dog in close pursuit, and for some moments we could hear them tearing through the underbrush.

"Aren't you afraid that some animal will hurt Tross, Bayo?"

"He is a good dog. And I have put strong obia on him." [789]

115 584 Bayo knew the bush as he knew the river. At one point he stopped and, clipping off a long, slender branch with his bush knife, he trimmed it and began to strike at a palm tree. He was after maripa nuts, and soon they began to [242] pelt the ground. Their pink, slightly astringent meat was highly prized by the Bush Negroes as a delicacy, and the white man also found them good. Both munched them as they walked farther into the bush. It was a good time to speak of Bayo's marriage.

"Your mother said you needed to work hard before marrying."

"Ai."

"Is it money you need?"

"Much money, and goods besides."

"What will your girl do with all this money, and all of these goods?"

"They are not all for her. She would have me without them. It is her mother who must get things, too."

That Bayo was attractive to women, we had often seen, but that his betrothed would have him without the wealth demanded for her by right of whatever position her family held, seemed doubtful. However, this was not the time to argue the point.

"Your girl is still young. Do girls her age know enough to choose a man?"

The question brought us to the story of how Bayo became betrothed.

His girl, he told us, was of good family. She had lived in his village, because her mother at marriage had come to live with her husband at Djamungo, but a few years after Bayo had become betrothed to the girl, his mother's sister took her away to the family seat up the river.

"Do you care for your girl, Bayo?"

"*M'an sabi, Bak'a*—I do not know. We shall see how we [831] get on. But her family is good, and they are looking after her chastity, as families who have position do."

"What if you don't get on after you are married?"

586 "We will separate. She will go back to her own family. Sometimes, if a man doesn't like a woman too much, and

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she doesn't make children, then he can send her back. But most often it is the woman who goes away." 586

When the wife left the home her husband had built for her and went to her family, he had to go to her village and plead for her return, while her relations berated him soundly for his behavior toward their kin. If he had not mistreated her badly, the family would urge her to return to him, and so great would that pressure be that she would have to go. But Bayo again repeated that this did not happen often. If a woman left her husband and he failed to come for her, they were divorced. She could not remarry until three months had passed. [587]

But Bayo was more interested in marriage than in divorce, and the talk again turned to his betrothal. 584 115

His mother and her brothers had decided upon the match. His uncles had gone to the family of the girl, and talked with her mother's brothers. Her people called a family krutu to decide whether Bayo was qualified to be a suitable husband for this young member of their family.

"Were you there?"

"No. It was a krutu of her family. But I know how they talk at these krutu, for when my sister was promised in marriage my own family had a krutu, and I sat and listened. Anybody who knew anything bad about my brother-in-law or his family told of it. They talk much at these krutu. The woman you met at Djamungo talked when the men talked, and she talked when the women talked," he finished with a laugh, as though it were a relief to him to know that at least she had had no say when his girl's family had gathered to look into his own family position, and his personal habits of work, and the gifts the gods had given him. 584 115 623

At this krutu of the girl's family, Bayo had, however, been thoroughly discussed. Was he a good worker? Could he hunt well? How did he behave in strange villages? At his initiation had the gods come strong to him? Had he done anything that his wife's family would later be ashamed of?

The white man wondered about the kunu which hung over Bayo's family, the kunu of incest, the deadliest of all 776

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776 kunu, which must kill his children. Was it safe to mention it? A chance question was asked.

"Nothing will happen to my children, Bak'a. They will [604] belong to my wife's family. It is my sister's children that things will happen to."

Bayo paused for a moment on the path, and stood in thought. Was it that he wished to be entirely honest with his friend? Was it that to confess the truth was too difficult for him? Whatever the reason, his next remark indicated a compromise.

"Nothing will happen to my children. Those of my younger brother will die, but not mine."

584 The conversation came back to the less painful subject of betrothal. Whatever the reason for accepting this boy whose kunu brought such supernatural risk, the match had apparently been satisfactory to the family of the girl, and they had sent word that the marriage would not displease them.

"Now I am earning the money I need, and later I will make the things I must give my girl and her family."

583 There was, first of all, the work to be done for Bayo's prospective mother-in-law. He might have to help her with repairs on her house, or assist her in clearing a field. Before he was married he would have to go into the bush and cut the two fields for his wife, one for rice and one for cassava, which a married woman must have, and in addition he would have to cut an extra field for the mother of his wife.

"I must do it so they can be sure that I am strong, and can take care of their girl when I marry her. But I will not have any trouble!"

Before that, however, Bayo would have to see to the carvings which a man had to have for marrying.

"I do not like to carve. But I have friends who will [439] carve for me while I go hunting for them!" That was the way to solve such difficulties. When the carvings were assembled he would have to make a boat for his girl. Bayo was not yet certain, but he thought that another boat would have to be made for his mother-in-law. Then

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houses would have to be built—one in his village where they would live, and one in the provision ground for his wife to sleep in when she worked in the field.

"Must you yourself build the house, Bayo?"

"My family will help me. Making a house is hard work, too, and a man must have clever fingers for weaving the walls."

There would have to be stools, and several well-ornamented combs. A clothes beater would have to be provided for the bride, and a peanut pounding board, and one mortar and pestle at least, and food stirrers and rice trays. A cassava squeezer would have to be woven, and a sifter and grater for the roots that were made into bread. And baskets, too, he would have to weave.

"This is not all. This is only what I must make. Other things I must buy for her."

He would have to provide cloths when the wedding day came, and cloths for his mother-in-law, too. The small kerchiefs which were folded in triangular shape and were worn about the waist as the sign that a woman was married he would also have to furnish, and two large cloths, each the size of three tunics. He would have to buy an iron cooking pot, and some small fishhooks with lines, and some cups from the white man's city. He was going to give his girl a pair of earrings, and a string of beads. Then there would have to be the hammock.

Bayo laughed, "For a marriage, there must be a hammock."

There were other things he was going to buy for his girl. Brass arm and leg ornaments he would buy, since his girl was already a fine dancer.

And when all these things were bought and given, then it was time for the marriage.

"But it doesn't always happen that the marriage takes place," said Bayo. "Sometimes the girl's people do not like what the man has done. They have another krutu, and decide the man should not marry into their family."

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891
R31

Bayo and Tross.

397
411
891

Bow and arrow used for shooting large fish.

[Facing p. 301]

584 This was a disgrace. A man was not looked upon as a good suitor by other girls when this happened to him. Everyone said he was worthless. It often came to pass that such a man could not get a woman to marry him. Not even a widow whose husband had left no brothers, and who [587] had to cut her own field, would consent to live with him.

Sometimes it happened, too, that the man's family did not approve of the girl. When she came to help his mother, they saw that she was lazy and inept, that she would never be able to feed herself and her husband and her children with what crops she raised, that whatever handiwork she touched, she could achieve nothing pleasing. If that happened, then his family met in krutu, and a decision was reached to break off the match. When that was done, the man often had to forfeit the gifts he had made the girl and her mother, but when the woman's family turned the man down, then they came with all the gifts he had given, and often an additional offering as well for what labor he had done for her family.

"With me it is not so. My family likes my girl, and hers likes me."

585 When the gifts were accumulated and the houses and boats and fields provided, then, if the girl was ripe for marrying, the marriage day was set, and on that day the girl was brought to the house where she would live. Both families were gathered in the village, and the uncles and old women addressed themselves to the young couple, admonishing them to live well together, and to observe the traditional ways.

[262] At night while the villagers danced bandamba, and feasted on the rum and salt beef and other delicacies which the man and his family had provided, the couple were led to the house which had been newly built for them, though sometimes they were taken to the house of one of the old people of the man's great family. In Bayo's village, the girl first was conducted to the house by a sister who helped her make the preparations for the night. They tied the hammock and then water was brought. This done, the man

was called, and the couple were left alone, while outside the villagers danced and sang of fertility all night. 585

In the morning the man's brothers come to the house to find out if she had ever before been to the hammock with another man. 831 585 626

"What happens if they find that she has?"

Bayo's reply was prompt. "Usually nothing. The man doesn't give her as many presents as he would have given her. If he had promised her thirty pangi, he would only give her fourteen. If he liked her, he wouldn't turn her away."

"What would happen to her, though? Would they punish her?"

"They say, Bak'a, sometimes a man likes her better for it. It shows him other men had cared for her. But her family scolds her, and sometimes punishes her, too, and the women of the village talk plenty. They pull their lip at her the next morning, and later, whenever there is a quarrel, they talk about it again."

But if the girl were found to have been a virgin, then all the people danced, and there was a great feast, with dances to all the gods.

"You must come back for my wedding, Bak'a, you and your woman. Then you will see dancing!" 585

"But your girl is still a child, Bayo."

"Ah, no. She is getting her cuts on her thighs. She wears a cloth." He knew, because on his way down from the Granman he had stopped at her village and when the family was not about he had made sure. "If you come next year, we will both be ready." 881

The two men still followed the bush trail when Bayo had finished his account of how the marriage was conducted. Now and then Tross would appear, wag his tail, and be off into the underbrush again. 000

"Tell me, Bayo," the white man began, "do many girls go with a man to the hammock before they are married?" 836

He waited for a moment before he answered. Smiling, he ran his hand over his newly braided head with the innumerable little braids between the lines of white.

"About half of them, I guess," he said.

"About half of them, I guess," he said.

5

When we returned to camp, Kasanya waited for us. He had come with the game boards he had promised to make for us, the adji game which was played in the house of death, and which the fine carver in Kasanya's village could not make because he was young, and a man needed to have a wife under the sod before he was fitted to make it.

Kasanya had taught the white man to play the game the year before, and though the white man had had much practice in playing it at home, Kasanya won one game after the other with ease.

With the white woman he would not play, nor would any other man—not even Bayo who showed so much indulgence toward the strangers. It was this way, Kasanya explained. A man knew that a woman could not beat him at the game, much less a woman who did not have the cunning of their bush, and would not, therefore, be expected to excel in what pertained to the life of the bush. But if the gods became capricious and allowed the white woman to win, then it would be more than a man could bear to be twitted up and down the river about it. Songs would be made up about it, and stories and proverbs. Master Nigger! A man would be a fool to risk it.

When Kasanya had gone, Bayo came back from Gankwe where, it seemed, his errands now took him daily. The sun was still high enough so that a game might be played before the hovering ghosts who in life had enjoyed the game would take their places beside the players, and play unseen at this game board with the living.

"Do you play adji, Bayo?"

"*Awa! Suma no de!*—Sure! No one better!"

But it soon appeared that Bayo had brought too much self-confidence with him from Gankwe. He was promptly beaten, and beaten again.

"*Suma de, Bayo?*—Someone better?"

The boy grinned, "Suma de, ai," he acknowledged.

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"Suma de, ai," he acknowledged.

6

Bayo remained in the bush, but he did not come to the city with us, though he took us into the Awka villages as captain of our boat. While at the base camp, he busied himself with making small models of traps and snares, and whatever other examples of Bush Negro work we needed to augment our collection.

He was a poor weaver, for he was no craftsman at all. But on the river he showed almost superhuman strength, and his knowledge of obia and the gods showed his potentialities for achieving what he most desired—to become an obia man. It may well be that his great kunu had planted this ambition in him. Perhaps, if he became a renowned obia man, one of the greatest on the river, he would outwit the combined power of ancestors and gods. His physical strength was such that all seemed possible to him, and his eye was quick, his curiosity unbounded. As a child of incest, a twofold member of his clan, he had certain immunities from the gods, though his line would all the more be flayed by the punishment which his parentage had earned.

"White man," he would say to us, "the next time you come, I will go with you to Africa. By then, I shall have given my wife children, and my sister's children will be grown. I want to go to Africa to learn obia."

His young brother was not strong. Bayo allowed them to cut no kamemba on the boy, who was now almost eleven, and it was clear that he would not be able to go through the Kromanti initiation, that he would have few gods.

"What will you do then, Bayo?"

God alone knew. He did not expect that even in Africa he could learn all he needed to know to help his young brother.

"Would he go with Bibifo?" we ventured, remembering that Bibifo had become Adrian.

He laughed. The white man asked many questions.

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115 As we sat and talked with him, we learned much of his life. His father had died soon after he was born. His mother was still alive, but she was poor, and life was a burden to her. His shortcomings in all that required discipline and technique were directly traceable to the kunu, and so were the deaths of his father, and several of his uncles. He had been obliged to be his own master, to get his food as best he could. His gods came to him early, and long before his initiation he used to show evidence that his Tiger spirit would be strong. But it was not entirely his lack of training which was at fault. His uncle's spirits, too, were powerful in matters of obia, but they had not vouchsafed him any skill in carving or weaving.

Perhaps it was the exigencies of life as an orphan, whose family was plagued as well with the greatest kunu of all, that had given to Bayo's perceptions an amazing quickness. When people were puzzled about the nature of our work, Bayo decided that it was a type of white man's obia. The white man's desire to gain knowledge not for gold, but for its own sake, was not unlike the seeking of the good obia man who did not become rich by his labors. Later, when we spoke of what he had told us of ceremonies and ceremonial life with men who were older, men versed in the lore of their people, we were astonished at the grounding the boy had in his own civilization.

115 If he was boisterous, somewhat boastful with us, it was not difficult to understand the motivation. It was his urge to assert himself. But among his own people, particularly when he was with older men, he walked "softly," as he himself said. Yet men twice his age saw to it that they did not "rile" the boy.

"When Bayo gets his Tiger spirit, Bak'a, he is not the boy you know. Be on your guard. He is young, but when his Tiger spirit comes, he can kill."

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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Chapter XVII

SARAMACCA OBIA

I

NO WORD of African origin which has survived in the New World has taken on such grim meaning as has the word *obia* in many of the islands of the Caribbean. No Negro there will speak of it, and its practices and properties are secret. When obia strikes in the islands, it is usually a matter for the government, and the forms its vengeance knows too often take a grisly turn. [789 791]

In the life of the Bush Negro, however, obia is everywhere, and its name the commonest of bywords, for among the Suriname Negroes obia is not black magic, or witchcraft, or sorcery. Black magic [in the Suriname bush is *wisi*, and wisi is never confounded in the Bush Negro's mind with obia. [754]

"Obia is good. Obia heals," they say in Suriname.

"Obia warns, obia protects."

"Obia protects a man against the force of a bullet, the thrust of an iron weapon, the dangers of fire."

"You want to know what obia is, Massa?" our cook asked one day. "We have this *komfo singi*—this priest's song: [533] [539]

> "*I am no master,*
> *And I am no slave,*
> *Yet when the masters come,*
> *They carry water for me.*"

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This, he went on to explain, had the meaning that obia was not so great as the very great gods, and it was not to be ranked with the lesser deities who served as emissaries for the great gods, yet when the great gods wanted to help mankind, it was through obia that they healed and purified, it was to obia that men were instructed to turn.

It seems that when the Sky God created the Earth Mother and the Mother of the River, he also created man and beast. Man had a poor time of it, pitting himself against the forces of earth and sky and water. And so that man might survive, the Sky God had had to send obia into the world to help man. Obia was not a god, it was a spirit. It gave people knowledge of herbs which cured, and herbs which prevented sickness. Obia warned of danger, and made known those properties of earth and water and air which healed and calmed. Obia taught the use of the band of metal on the arm, or the string about the waist which forewarned of evil, and made man wary and alert.

After obia came into the world, the Sky God sent Akantamasu, the god of the ant hill, to plague man. Perhaps obia had made of man an overbearing creature, defiant even against the great gods, so that the Sky God brought the Akantamasu spirit into being to teach him humility.

The answer of the Bush Negro was, of course, that so it was, and so it had been long ago, but why, he did not know. The Sky God had willed it so, and the Sky God was so far from man that he never vouchsafed explanations to human beings, and they in turn rarely taxed him to ease their bewilderment.

There was also the power of the ancestors, but our Bush Negro friends were never certain as to how they ranked in the supernatural hierarchy. Some said they ranked after the Earth Mother and the Mother of the River, that they were greater than obia, because the ancestors punished as well as helped mankind, and when angered their punishment came swifter than that of the powerful Akantamasu gods. Others said the ancestors were greater than obia, because obia had been given to the ancestors long ago,

and it was they who in dream or vision, or in a state of possession, instructed living men in the ways of yet greater and greater obia. But there were those who held that obia ranked after the greatest of the deities, that obia surpassed the power of the ancestors, for obia knew how to make "*yorka tapu*"—preventives against troublesome ghosts, and obia men could summon the dead to enter the body of a living man to make revelations.

Whatever the position of obia in the supernatural world, its place on earth was to serve man, for of all living beings, man alone knew obia.

2

What were the manifestations of obia in the life of the Bush Negro as we found them?

A black pot with its magic powers was an obia pot, the charm worn about the neck was called an obia, the medicines we gave the natives for their eyes or their cuts were called white man's obia, and their own mixture of weeds steeped in water, which stood in the burning sun gathering a green scum until it should be ready for use, was also obia. Young Yamati who had danced susa for us did not have a cord about his neck, but, he had assured us, he had obia for long life as did his partner Sabape, though his own could not be seen, since it consisted of several obia cuts made shortly after birth, which served instead of the cord. The strings about the waists of children were obias. The slight cuts to be noticed on men's arms, on thighs, below the knee, below the shoulder blades were obia cuts, too.

Nor was that all.

Bayo had said to us, "When obia comes a man does bad things. He destroys. When mine comes, it is ugly sometimes."

It was obia, too—Apanto's obia—which had stopped our phonograph, and obia again, invoked this time by Bayo, which had strengthened the spirit of the machine.

We talked about obia to an elder, a village head, from one of the down-river settlements, which was not, however,

776 important enough to be the residence of a clan chief. His
789 clan's magic was strong, and, being well past middle age, he could afford to speak of these matters with the whites, for like all Bush Negroes he was proud of the black man's obia.

"Ya-hai, white man, obia may well puzzle you. It is no small matter. No man knows all there is to know about obia. The greatest of obia men is never done learning. You
[791] say you spent more than twenty years learning your kind of work. Twenty years is nothing. All his life an obia man spends learning. The ancestors let him see a little at a time, and a little more. 'One step at a time,' as the G'ama' says. So it is, white man."

When did the learning begin, we asked him?

869 "In the bush here, children see what we do, and they
776 learn much by watching. They learn to recognize the kind
778 of obias a man wears, they learn to know the names of obias, and about the *ickina*—taboos—that go with the wearing of obias. That is the beginning." All children knew that, but only boys could aspire to learn the secrets of obia.

A boy's definite training in these things began with adolescence. The ceremony was not formal, for it concerned only the boy and his immediate relatives. When the time came to teach the novice about the gods, his father and
[604] his mother's brothers met with him, and they held a krutu. Other men also came, men of the village and elders of their great family. The outsiders sat by and said nothing, while
881 the instruction was carried on by the father and the boy's maternal uncles.

869 "First the father gives him his gods, and he tells his son
776 the name of each god and how he must serve him."

There were songs to be learned and dances and invocations; there were the offerings which had to be made, and the manner of prayer memorized. He was told when he might call on the god and what names the god bore, for each god had several names, just as had each human being. There were many names to learn for the gods—their day names, their "strong" names.

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So it was with each god, until the boy was ready to be initiated into the Kromanti Society. 881 869

"There are many, many krutu, white man, for a boy has much to learn." 776

When those who directed the krutu were satisfied that the boy had learned how to serve the gods he had been given, that he knew their powers, and those things which were hateful to them and would incur their displeasure, then a dance was held for him so that he might demonstrate before the assembled festive villagers that he was ready for manhood.

"We give a big play for a boy who gets his gods for the first time. When the gods come to him at this dance at the bidding of the drum, and he dances hard, then his family is pleased. When a boy dances, then we know what is in him. We know whether his gods are strong, whether he is to be feared."

Once the father had transferred his gods to his son, he did not dance much himself. He might continue to play the drum at sacred dances, but dancing and drumming were for the younger men. His son's worship of the gods through the dance released the father for the study of obia. With the governing elders, the father took up his rôle as a clan member who sought the will of the ancestors when new tasks were to be undertaken. 886 869 776 [535] [533]

"What happens if the father has few gods to give his son?" we asked.

"Then his mother's eldest brother gives his to the boy." [604]

"What if the boy's uncle has none to give?"

That happened so seldom that he could not remember such an instance, but he had heard it said that this had occurred once or twice.

"A man must have gods to help him live. If his family can give him none, then they buy gods for him. Sometimes there are gods in the family that are not too strong, and they want the boy to have strong gods. They go to a man who knows about such things and who himself has strong gods and buy a god for the boy from him." 432 776 424

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776 A man who wished to buy a god for his son went to a
432 renowned obia man and agreed to pay him a certain sum
424 of money if, at the end of the period of training, the god came to the boy.

"When the obia man says the boy is ready, they give a
[087] dance. At this dance, the drum is played for the god, and the boy must dance. If the god comes to him, then the obia man gets his money, but if the god does not come, then he does not get what was promised him, because they had made an agreement for a god, and no god came."

881 The training was not very difficult—it was not like the
869 training for becoming an obia man. A boy was given obia
776 water to wash in. Every eight days the water in the obia pot was changed, and this bathing continued for three
[083] moons. When the ritual of purification was over, he was taught the drum rhythms of the god, the invocations which the drum sounded, and the spoken invocations. Songs, and make-up for the dancing, and the dancing itself he was taught, and when he might call upon the god, and what he must do when the god comes, and what offerings the god was to receive. If the god spoke "tongues," he was also instructed in the appropriate language. There were the words of the mocking little Apuku gods and the sounds which only Toné people made, and there was the "Kromanti tongo."

"Can all the gods be bought?" we asked.

432 "Kweti, kweti!" he shook his head in emphatic denial.
776 "The river gods cannot be bought. You are born a Toné
989 man or woman, or the Toné god comes to you from your family. But all the Vodu gods you can buy; and the god Bongo, the alligator; and the ant hill gods and the gods of the kankan tree, and the Apuku bush gods." He paused for an instant, as if he were considering something. "And men buy Kromanti for their sons, if they have none to give them. Almost every man in the bush has Kromanti. If he hasn't it, then he tries to buy it for his sons. A man needs Kromanti. When he has the Kromanti spirit, fire cannot hurt him, nor glass, nor anything that cuts—

anything made of iron—nor can a gun shoot him, nor an 432
arrow pierce him. If he goes through a thicket of thorns 776
or climbs a thorny palm tree when the spirit comes to him, 789
he is not harmed. That is Kromanti."

"How much does a person pay an obia man for giving a boy Kromanti?" we asked.

"It costs plenty, white man. But a good obia man never [435]
asks too much. If a man says he will give the boy Kromanti, for not too many guilders, then we know he will do it. But if a man asks forty, fifty, then we know he is not an honest man, and he is not a good man. I have heard, though, of a good obia man who took as much as twenty-four guilders, but he gave the boy a strong Kromanti spirit, and it took much time to teach him."

3

From time to time members of Bayo's family visited 791
our camp. Each time we were introduced to a new brother, or father, or *suwagi*—brother-in-law. Among these visitors was a man whose name we never learned, though we had talked with him a good deal. He was, we later came to know, a man who knew obia. He was a scholar among his people, a thoughtful man who often went about alone, instead of being accompanied by a fellow clan member or a member of his family, as is customary among these people. Like Bayo, he had an incest kunu, and at his age, he had already had occasion to see what kunu planned for 791
him. He coughed badly. When men went to cut timber, 164
he could not go with them because of his cough and the fever which went with the cough.

"Have you been to a good obia man?" we asked him.

He smiled. Of what use to go from one diviner to the next, from one man who had special magic to another, when a [753]
man knew that what was troubling him was kunu?

"Come to the city with us," we said, when we knew him better, "and we will take you to a doctor. He may be able to do something for you."

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791 He promised readily enough to go with us, but Bayo
753 told us later that he would not come.
789 "He says the white doctor cannot do more than obia
791 can do. He says a man must take what kunu brings."

Was there no obia against kunu? we asked of Bayo.

"No, but kunu is not greater than obia. It is something else. When the Sky God gave obia to man, he gave it to help man live, not to help him do bad things. When men
[688] and women earn a kunu for their family, it is because they do what is hateful to the great gods and ancestors. Obia was not sent to save men from punishment."

"Does obia never punish, Bayo?" We were thinking of what he said about his own obia, of how when it seized him, he destroyed things.

But he would say no more. "I am too young, Bak'a, to
[888] speak of these things. At my age I know only a little obia. You must ask the old men."

4

54 The conversation led us one day to the obia men on the
791 river. They were, we knew, important persons in the Bush Negro communities. An obia man of reputation was not only consulted by his own villagers and clansmen, but men and women came to him from distant villages, when those who were nearer had failed them. It occurred sometimes that even from the Awka villages on the lower river, these Saramacca obia men were sought out—perhaps this was because of the same tradition which encouraged the buying of strange gods to enlarge the family pantheon, perhaps it was because of something which touched still deeper beliefs.

How did a man become an obia man?

868 From what we had already heard, it was apparent that
867 here was something which approached the formal education of our own civilization, a form of education, indeed, which we pride ourselves is unique to our own way of life.

All other knowledge the Bush Negro child gains by being about with members of his family who are busy at

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 194
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the tasks which will fall to his lot when he reches adulthood. Half in play, the boys and girls help their elders and in that way learn how to work, how to conductthemselves, how to sing and dance, how to make cicatriations, and how to pray to the gods. What they learn when they come by their gods is also taught them by members of their family. A boy's father and maternal uncles instruct him in the gods they give him. A girl is made familar with the will of her gods and their manner of worship when her mother and her mother's sisters give their gods to her. Knowledge is, therefore, shared in the family and much of it, the Bush Negro says, comes to each individual from his gods, since not every boy who watches a fine carver can rival the carving of his teacher. When he does show promise of excellence at a given task, it is beause he, too, has a god who helps him do his carving. It is the same with drumming, and singing, and telling stories, and making love.

But obia is learned formally and slowly. An obia man may teach his own brother, or his sister's oldest son, or his own son, even, what he knows, but the leaning process will be gradual, for no man may disclose tocmuch to an untrained mind. At times, however, an obia man trains men who are not related to him. He may himself decide upon a young man of promise to whom he caes to impart his knowledge. A considerable sum of money my be offered him by members of an influential family who wish to have an obia man of their own kin and who send a young man to him for training. In a dream or durig possession it may become known that the ancestors wish a certain young man to apprentice himself to the obia man they name.

The apprenticeship lasts from three months to a year. The novice goes to live with the obia man, working with him and observing all that his master does. During this period of intensive training he goes with the obia man into the bush and is shown the herbs which heal. He is trained in the manner of bathing for the *ak'a*—the soul—

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756 and how to cure fever, and fio-fio. He is shown how to make
791 obia medicine for lesions of the skin, and for colds, and for
868 diseases of children. He is taught the protective obias for
881 the woman who conceives, and those which help conception, the obias which keep people safe on the river, and those which guard them in the bush against enemy spirits.

It may be, too, that during this first period of training, the initiate is shown how to trap and treat the snakes from which the snake "cuttee" is made. This cure for snake bite is famous in Suriname among Bush Negroes and whites alike, but the secret of preparing the cuttee is known to the Bush Negroes alone.

While the young man is in training, he may not go with
[784] a woman, and there are many more prohibitions which he must observe.

"Not all men can become obia men."

"Does a man need obia in order to have Kromanti?" we asked.

"To have Obia Kromanti, yes. . . . Now do not ask about Kromanti, white man," said Bayo's uncle with a smile. "Only a Kromanti man knows about Kromanti. Do not ask, because I cannot tell you."

5

789 Men and women constantly drifted to our base camp with
439 carvings for our collection. Many brought us obias. Some
778 of these obias they took from their persons and sold to us, but others were newly made for us, for some of those they themselves wore, they would not part with, whatever the inducement.

"Why do you want my obia, white man?" a Bush Negro asked one day. "Do you want an obia to carry you well to your country? I will make one for you, but do not ask for mine. Mine has kept me in good health. I cannot give away an obia which has served me well. The spirits would be angered."

He returned after a day with one which resembled his own, and as he gave it, he placed it on the upturned palms

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of the white man and blew on it, drawing both his hands lightly over the hands which held the obia. When he had done this, he whispered its tchina. 789 439 778

"Do not let the obia come near a menstruating woman, and do not eat the meat of the crab." [841] [362]

Types of obias varied. Some were of fiber twisted into a cord and woven into bands to fit an arm or a leg, some were worn around the neck, and ended with a few cowries and a bell or a black sack with cowries sewn on them or some bristles and a brilliant bit of a parrot's feather. There were also the plain bands of iron, the Kromanti obias worn by men.

One of the most interesting obias was the coffin obia. It was not to be worn casually, as were all the others we had heretofore acquired. When our cook saw this one he paled.

"Mi Gado," he cried, and then turned to the English at his command to give us a warning which would not be understood by those who stood near. "What you got there? Put that away! You wan' fo' die?" Nor would he come near it until it was well out of sight.

It was, we saw, best hidden, if we wanted to continue our course up the river.

The man who had sold it had himself impressed us with its potency. "This obia is strong. . . . Look, it is made of cedar, the same wood from which we make the big coffins, and it is wrapped in the cloth we use to cover the coffin in which the dead man lies. Now that you have the power which is in the obia, I can tell you that the black on it is the soot from the fire, the white is pemba, and the inside ring is woven from the maripa palm. It will carry you well on the river. Nothing can harm you when you already carry your coffin with you." [764]

The logic of his last remark was not so convincing to the whites as it was to the obia man, but it seemed unwise to question him about it.

"To keep it strong, you must spray it with rum twice a month. When the moon is full you must do it, and again

789 before the new moon comes, and when you do this, you
778 must say,
439

"*Obia-o,*
Your spirit must stay,
[539] *Your power must not leave this.*
Do not go elsewhere,
Do not become defiled."

789 There was the obia on which Bayo had lavished all the
778 magic he could command so that his friends might be safe in the bush. From the sacred grass known as *s'a*—the same grass from which the woven ceremonial dancing skirts are made here on the river—he made several long lengths of twine. These he wove into a square which later became the pendant of this neck obia. On this, as a base, he sewed two cowries facing each other, and in the middle of the fringed border of this pendant he fastened a bit of a macaw's feather, blue and orange in color.

The twisted cord about the neck had several knots in it where the cord met the pendant. Tying is the symbol of attaching, of binding, so that if an invocation was uttered in the making of these knots, and the twine was then drawn taut, the power was certain to be lodged inside the knots. Then, too, knots form links, and links, whether they be in a metal chain or in fiber or wood, symbolize union, and any object or ornament with links is, therefore, much valued in bush and in town. A linked chain is a favorite
[775] gift to please the akra, the soul, among the coastal Negroes. A woman who wishes to attach her man to her will rise at
[832] night noiselessly and will knot a hair from the man's head three times, speaking her invocation. In the bush few obias are found which do not have several knots in them.

In his exuberance Bayo placed so many prohibitions on this finely woven obia, that we asked him if he could not nullify some of them.

784 "For very strong obias, we have many tchina. It is best
789 so, because no one who wants to harm you will guess all of them and so succeed in robbing the obia of its power.

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But if the tchina are too difficult to observe, then the man who made the obia can take the tchina away." 784 789

Suiting his action to the word, Bayo took some water from the river into his mouth and, spraying it over the obia, said, "The tchina I gave you, I take away. The breaking of these tchina must no longer defile you or take away your power."

There was nothing more hateful to the gods and the spirit of obia than an unclean woman, yet if an obia man wished, he could instruct the power in the obia not to take offense at unintentional contacts with menstruating women, or at cloths belonging to such women, or at food prepared by such women. But to accomplish this, an obia man had to be very powerful and, even so, he could not feel sure that the obia spirit would countenance such violations indefinitely. 784 841 791 789

All of these personal obias had definite attributes. One was made to guard an individual on the water, another in the bush. There were obias for successful hunting and fishing, for being safe against the evil spirits at the crossroads, for slander, and for envy. One obia saw to it that the soul remained strong, another that no illness sent by an enemy might lodge itself in the body of the wearer; there were love obias, and fighting obias, and obias which kept ghosts away. 789 798

Yet whatever such obias were made of, the object in itself had no validity. A simple fiber with a jaguar's tooth attached to it might well have greater powers for safety in the bush than an elaborately wrought obia, whose maker had not a strong obia spirit to give it spiritual power. Without this supernatural potency, it would be like a village god that had been allowed to rot because of itself it was merely a block of wood, and the deity for whom it had been made had not come to animate it.

6

Long ago, the Anansi stories tell us, there was a bird that knew obia. The cries of this bird shook all the kingdoms 773

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of the earth. In one kingdom, a ruler sent the heralds to proclaim throughout the land that he who killed the bird would get half his kingdom, and his daughter in marriage. Anansi, the spider, killed a hawk and brought it to the ruler. But Anansi lied when he said this was the bird that shook the earth with its cries. At the very time he was trying to persuade all the people that this was the bird, the cries of the ominous bird were heard. So they put Anansi in jail. Now one day there was born to a woman a child who at birth wore a cloth of pieced designs, and a hunting sack. This boy said to his mother, he said, "Give me a little water, mother, and I will go out into the world to learn wisdom. God has sent me to kill the bird which troubles mankind."

When the boy grew to manhood he succeeded in trapping this bird that knew how to cook obia without fire. He killed the bird and took the obia pot with him, and that is how he came by the secrets of obia. He passed on his knowledge to the men of his family, and this has been going on till today, so that obia is being spread throughout the world by the descendants of this man who killed the bird that knew obia.

But obia was not one thing only.

"Obia," Bayo's uncle had said, "is first of all the spirit. It is everywhere. But there are many kinds of obia. There is black man's obia, and there is white man's obia. Here in the bush black man's obia is the strongest.

"A man who has the obia spirit makes obia to wear, and obia to drink, and obia to rub the body with, and obia water for bathing. We can make obia beans and obia benches. The spirit tells you how to do things, and it tells you what to do. When we say a man has strong obia, we mean his spirit is strong."

The Bush Negro obia man, said Bayo to us one day, knew the things the white doctor knew—he knew how to heal—and he knew other things, too. He knew how to keep sickness away. The things an obia man gave for healing were

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called obias. The charms he gave for warding off illness and evil were obias, too. 756 751 789

"So we call all these things. But each obia has a name. Every charm I wear is an obia, but if I wore the one you are wearing, it would be a soul cord, an *ak'a tsiri*. One below the knee we call *asumasi* in my village, and one for the wrist *afwu*. The one on the upper arm is named *asdo*. But there are many names, and they are all obia, because inside them is the spirit obia which gives them power. When a man sells you an obia and passes its power on to you, he breathes on your hands as they hold the obia. When he does it, he gives you the obia spirit which went into the making of this obia. If he did not make it himself, the spirit was given him by the obia man, and he gives it to you."

Obia, then, is the spirit; obia is the preventive and curing agent; obias are the charms that are worn by people to help them. Some have called these obias "fetiches," but even a slight understanding of them should be enough to bring the outsider to the realization that the object of itself is meaningless, and that it is only the power that has been given the charm that makes it effective. 796 951 789

Yet it is not strange that the importance of the fetich has been overestimated, for if the visitor did not draw out the Bush Negroes about their gods and their theories of the universe, the existence of these higher powers would almost go unrecognized. For everywhere there are to be found obias guarding the village, obias screening paths, obias worn by the people. That they are important to the Bush Negro is obvious. But they are important for day-by-day existence, and they do not possess the overwhelming importance of the great spirits who control the universe. 796 789

Many of these charms came to us as tangible evidence of the belief in obia. Some of those we acquired were of a unique character because of the power that was latent in them, some because of the intricacy of their construction; all of them paled in interest and in arresting quality beside the Kromanti Mama that came to us one night in secret.

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[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
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Chapter XVIII

"OBIA COMES!"

1

WHITE and gaunt and staring in the dim light, the Kromanti Mama rested on its whitened beach, and about it coiled a snake modeled from the same sacred clay.

It had come to us in stealth, and as we responded to the awe it inspired, we could not but wonder what had prompted the man who had brought it to reveal one of the most secret religious objects known to his people. He came late one night, his burden carefully wrapped so that no one might suspect what he carried. That night only, while in whispers he told us what it was and wherein lay its powers, was it out of those wrappings, for not alone during the remainder of our stay in the bush but while we were in the city, we were careful to respect the man's trust.

"When you take it to your white man's country, and some man sees it who has a Tiger spirit, he will shout the cry of the tiger. All who have Tigri are related. Wherever the Kromanti Mama goes, there the Tigri obia goes, too."

2

Obia, we were told, came into the world to heal and to warn and to protect mankind. Of all obia, Kromanti is the strongest. Why, then, is the Kromanti obia so feared?

The clue to an answer to this question lies in the behavior of the men to whom this obia comes when they are possessed with it. The man who is actuated by Kromanti obia is

feared by all who themselves do not have Kromanti. Obia Kromanti warns and protects and heals, but its powers are only for those who belong to the Kromanti group.

Whether Kromanti is the African warrior society preserved in this bush, it is impossible to say. If this were the case, then the definite military organization of many of the West African societies should be present. The military character of any group among the Bush Negroes could not even be hinted at, of course, without the greatest caution. In their descriptions of the Kromanti, our intimates among the Bush Negroes never indicated in any way the existence of such an organization. Even leading questions brought out only unqualified denials instead of the revealing answers "I do not know," or "Massa Gadu sabi." Yet there are undoubtedly secrets which Kromanti men do not share with outsiders, and we remembered that when a Kromanti man dies, he must be "separated" from the Kromanti group just as he is "separated" from his family and from his village.

About the very meaning of the word Kromanti there can only be speculation. During the time of the slave trade, there were two ports on the Gold Coast of Africa known as Little and Great Coromantyne. From these ports came the slaves who, in the New World, were known as Coromantyne slaves. These slaves were so warlike, so prone to cause uprisings, that only English and Dutch colonies consented to buy them and in these colonies when slave rebellions broke out to alarm the white planters, they were led by the proud Coromantyne slaves.

It would not be strange, therefore, if the same term was carried over into the free civilization of this bush to typify the obia which protected and watched over the fighters who had won this freedom.

Other indications point to the same assumption. The strongest spirits of the Kromanti, those which inspire the greatest fear when they possess men of a village are Tigri and Djadja. Tigri is the jaguar, Djadja is often vaguely translated by our word "devil." If we again turn to the West African societies, we find that one of the most dreaded

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of the secret societies which flourish there is the Leopard Society, and this African feline is not very different from the one which gives its name to the Tigri obia. Other societies which chastise and protect have often been designated as "devil" societies.

Kromanti is feared, then, because of the kind of preventive it is. The man to whom this obia comes cannot be harmed by bullets shot from guns, by glass, by swords that cut, or by thorns which lacerate. Such a man is protected in combat from the weapons of his enemies and from thorny barricades that might be raised against his attack. It is protection for the warriors, and when it comes, the warriors who have the obia do not hesitate to test their immunity and to try that of others. A friendly, unassertive man seized by the Tiger Kromanti is in the grip of a power which transforms him into a tiger. When obia comes in the sacred dances, it is Kromanti obia. The Bush Negroes do not dance for the healing, protecting spirit that is obia in general. It is too remote. But when they dance and Kromanti comes, the women often flee, and the men who do not have Kromanti discreetly disappear. Only those who have Kromanti have nothing to fear from the attacks of their fellows, for they are protected by the power common to them all—the power of being unharmed by machetes or guns.

What is inside the Kromanti obia houses we cannot say, for we were never permitted to enter them. When we recognized their presence in villages we visited, the fact that they were Kromanti houses was acknowledged, but we were never allowed even to inspect the outside closely, and we were never accorded permission to photograph one of these shrines.

From our informants we learned that inside these houses there are paintings on the walls in black and red, the Kromanti colors, and in the white of the sacred pemba. There were, we were told, whitened benches that had about their tops the grass skirt of a kind worn by the obia man when he danced.

In the Kromanti house, too, was the Kromanti Mama. But until our friend brought us the one he had made for

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us, with its attendant bench and modeled snake, we had only heard the term. 575 346

3

In the dim light of our oil lantern, we listened and wrote in our book, while our informant told us about the Kromanti Mama. 126

"You must take it down carefully," he said, "or it might harm you."

The figure on the top of the bench was named Agbo. This was the watchman, and to this figure came news of all impending evil. About the neck of the figure was a Kromanti fighting obia. A stout iron ring, with red and blue cloth tied about one-half of it, it rested near the base of the watchman. 789 798 532

The eyes of this watchman were its most arresting feature. They were represented by deep sockets, and the effect was heightened by the beak-like character of the nose. Two ears completed the head, and on the body breasts were modeled. It was the only piece of Bush Negro modeling we had ever seen. This most secret of art forms was evidently little practiced.

"The watchman sees all," said our informant, "the Kromanti Mama knows when there is something about that will harm. She tells the snake."

Coiled about its base, this snake was treated in the same realistic style. The head of the snake and its tail almost met at the side of the clay figure which it encircled.

"His name is Bimbawai," we were told.

The bench itself was not unlike the obia stools we had seen in the shrines of the gods. Its rectangular top, curving toward the center, was fastened to the two boards which formed the legs. Like other obia stools, it was difficult to tell whether, under the thick coating of white clay, the wood was carved or not. In one respect it differed from all others we had seen—the bench wore, fringe-like, a grass skirt of the kind worn by the *komfo*, the priests. This was suspended from the top of the bench, the cord going outside [359]

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789 the space where the snake was modeled, but never touching
798 it.
532 The man who was explaining the bench to us pointed once more to the snake. "It is not always lifeless as you see it here," he said.

When the snake came to life, trouble was brewing. It turned red, the color of blood, and all who came into the Kromanti house and saw it were warned of danger.

"How does the snake know when to come to life?"

[794] "It is Agbo, the guard, who tells the snake. When she tells him there is trouble, he turns red, and then we know."

Immunity as well as knowledge was afforded by the magical powers of this stool and its snake and the Kromanti Mama.

"A man who has Kromanti sits down on the stool, and puts Agbo on his head, and when he has done that, nothing can harm him."

[789] Thus is safety attained. But this only comes if the image has been propitiated by the Kromanti men. Rum, not of the sweet kind, must be offered it and prayers transmitted to its spirit on the drum which Kromanti recognizes—the apinti. If this is done, the Kromanti Mama will not lose its power, and the snake will continue to turn the warning color when danger threatens, and the bench will give protection to the men who have the Kromanti obia.

4

796 Not long after we had entered the bush we saw our first Kromanti dance. The people of several neighboring villages came to our base camp to dance for us. They asked, "Will you be afraid if the dancing brings Kromanti?" We told them we should welcome whatever spirits came.

Late that afternoon canoes brought people to our encampment for the festivities. Some, with an eye to trade,
[939] had brought carvings and obias, and, as we sat and talked with them about what should be given for the pieces they offered us, we could watch the dance outside our open hut.

"OBIA COMES!"

Two boys, each armed with two sticks, were striking the flat top of a wooden bench called the *kwakwa*. There were other rhythms than the steady beat made by the concerted impact of the four sticks on the bench, but this set the time for the hand clapping and songs that accompanied the dances. 796

The young girls began the dancing. They were showing how well they could dance bandamba, and pair by pair they would take up the dance, the older women standing by, singing and watching closely to see how they controlled the muscles of their buttocks. When one girl showed clearly that she outdid her partner, we could see an old woman step between the dancing couples and put her arm about the shoulders of the better dancer, congratulating her with the crooning syllables, "Adoo! Adoo!"

As we went outside our hut, watching and joining in the applause, more and more people came up from the river, and among them were some older boys carrying drums. These were not the regular drummers, but an evening is long, and the sun had not yet set. This was the time for the younger boys to gain practice in drumming the intricate rhythms of the dances.

The drumheads tightened to give the proper tones, the boys began to play, and, with the kwakwa, swung into rhythms of the seketi. We had already seen it at Gankwe when they danced for the dead man, but there were always new words to these popular tunes, and these words were often diverting.

Slowly the sun set, slowly the dusk came on. The singing and dancing, the drumming and hand clapping continued without intermission, as people came up the path from the river bank. These late comers were almost all men. Some of them we had seen at the Gankwe funeral, and we knew we were to see good dancing. One by one, the boys at the drums were replaced by men, and at intervals one or the other of the three players gave up his place to a newcomer who, by his manner of testing the tightness of the drumhead and the increasing minuteness of the adjustments he made

1tHerskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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79% in the cords, was recognizable as a more able musician, a more experienced drummer.

Now the beat changed once more, and there were no more young dancers to be seen. They were dancing awasa, preparing for the spirits to come, so that during the long preparation the fury with which obia would burst upon them would be eased. In this awasa dance, the dancers patterned the massed movements after the solo and response of the song to which the dance was carried on.

Our paddler, Angita, acted as soloist against a chorus of [534] women. The seed rattles on his ankles clashed at the proper intervals of the music, adding a new sound to the combined notes of the drums and the monotonous pounding of the kwakwa. Forward he danced as he sang his solo, and the line of women opposite him retreated as he advanced. Then, as they sang the refrain, he danced backwards, as the women came closer toward him.

His rhythmic control surpassed any dancing we had seen on the river—never since have we seen a dancer who exhibited such perfect coordination of feet and muscles of the body as did Angita. This time there was no interruption, for he danced on until, voluntarily relinquishing his place, it was taken by another man, taller and more lean, who began a new awasa refrain, as he continued the dance. Occasionally a woman, brass on her wrists and at ankles, stepped from the line of women, and the dance became a wooing, the man advancing, the woman retreating, luring him on.

A new note sounded in the drums. In front of the hut where we were sitting, the drumming beat upon our ears with the persistence of the flaying tropical rain. This new note soon superseded the other. Obia was being called by the drummers—and obia came.

The light of the crescent moon threw into paler shadow the oil lamps in the clearing. Overhead, screening the starlit sky, branches hung from the trees of the big bush. Our cook came up with our sun helmets.

"What are these for?"

"OBIA COMES!"

"Put them on. See the moon? You will catch fresh colds if you sit in the moonlight with your heads uncovered." 796 [881]

So with sun helmets on our heads we sat, and, as we listened to the new rhythms of the drums, there came a shriek from the river which brought us to our feet. Those who were not dancing ran up the hill away from the drums. 781 796 796

"Obia! Obia comes! It is the Kromanti!" were the cries, and our cook and our town man placed themselves in line across the front of our hut, watching uneasily. 787

"They will destroy all you have if they get inside," they called to us, "we must try to keep them out."

Up from the river, along the path he had trodden but a while before, came a man whom we could not recognize in the disguise given him by the paint on his face. Half his face was white, half a deep red, and we later learned what we did not then know, that this was the face marking of the Djadja Kromanti and that this man was possessed by one of the two Kromanti spirits which carry danger to those who are present when the seizure comes. He advanced toward the drums, machete in hand, as though he were stalking his prey, his legs raised high at every step, trailing some enemy. At his mouth the foam was gathering, and the words he uttered were in the Kromanti tongo, the sacred speech not understood by the uninitiated. [198]

The songs changed in character, and the singers were men. The women who had not run away were dancing a quick accompaniment to the drum beats, adding their shrill voices to the singing and the intensity of the cries of the possessed man. When the possessed man reached the hut, he stopped in front of the drummers. As their rhythms poured out of the barrel-like drums, he answered stroke for stroke with shouted cries in his sacred secret language, raising his machete higher and higher, until, with a quick stroke, he slashed at two of the players who were seated side by side on a log. He missed them by what seemed a hair's breadth as his machete, whistling through the narrow space between their bodies, sank deep into the log on which they sat.

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REBEL DESTINY

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Other cries now came to us, and from the bush a second possessed man burst into the clearing. He, too, had a machete, and he made straight for our hut. But obia did not prompt him to insist on entering, and he came close to us, gibbering in our faces, and then, stepping high as had the other, went his way to slash at our washbasins, sending one of them, that we treasure as a memory of that night's adventure, hurtling into the bush with a deep dent in its side.

From the river came renewed shouts, and some of the men dashed to the bank to jump into a canoe and paddle into the rapids, so that they might watch the possessed man who had leaped into the river to pit his strength against the fast water. On and on he swam upstream in the foaming water, as from the bank we watched his progress uneasily in the clear light of the moon. Finally obia left him, and the men in the boat seized his inert form and brought him back to shore.

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When we returned to our hut, we found several others possessed. Obia had claimed six or seven, some with faces painted half white, half red, as was that of the first man, others with faces whitened, while still others had white faces with black markings. These last had Tigri, and the white was for Opete. Those who danced for the buzzard had no machetes, but went about in a circle, moving with bodies bent forward from their waists and with arms thrown back in imitation of the bird from which their spirit took its name.

One man with the Tigri face-painting took away the apinti from the drummer and placing it in the center of the clearing leaned over it and began drumming faster rhythms. Now indeed obia itself was drumming.

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Long before this, we had observed the amenities of the occasion. As hosts, our duty was to provide the ceremonial rum with which the spirits needed to be regaled, and our cook, holding the bottle of rum for us, filled and refilled the small glass which we offered to men and women. Some did not drink at all but poured part of the rum on the

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ground, rubbing the remainder over arms and upper body. 796 Some took a sip and, like the others, poured the rest as a 273 libation to the Earth Mother. Few drank more than a little, and only the men had as much as half of the small wine glass we were using.

The bassia of Gankwe came to us. "Do not be afraid. Obia has come strong, but we have prepared for it. The men will not hurt people."

Led by him, we passed from one dancer to the next, giving to this one a sip, to that one a taste. But there was one elderly man who would not drink.

"Not until I get obia," he said, "and obia does not come to me tonight."

Not all the possessed men were slashing about with 796 cutlasses. One man pulled up grass, eating part and throw- 279 ing the rest over his head. Another in the strength of his possession uprooted large clumps of brush, and one broke off a liana of some size and wrapped it about his body, and danced with it.

Songs, dancing men, dancing women, machetes flashing in the moonlight . . . and over all the beat of the drum. This was the dance of the Kromanti obia.

Now the man who had refused a drink came up. He was trembling.

"Obia comes!" he cried. "Give me rum!"

As he tossed off the drink, he dashed toward the possessed men. In his hand was a rattle, the first we had seen at this [534] dance. The rattle is sacred to the Kromanti, and possession can be brought on by shaking it even when there are no drums. As he danced, he supplemented the rhythm of the drums with his rattle, and his dancing surpassed in its fury that of all the others. Men kept out of his way as he dashed back and forth in his contortions, and he continued his gyrations as those with painted faces, whom obia was releasing, began to feel exhaustion.

The drums never stopped. As long as obia remained unsatisfied, they would need to play on and on. While the drummers beat the Kromanti rhythms, and the man with

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A Saramacca elder, who has Tiger spirit.

Bayo inspects an obia leaf.

[Facing P 332]

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796 his rattle danced his dance, the moon sank behind the screen
789 of branches.

It was late. Slowly the last dancer came out of his orgy of possession. One by one the drums stopped until, for a moment, all was quiet. Then, taking the apinti drum up the path beyond our clearing, one of the drummers drummed an invocation to the spirits that had come.

We trained our flashlights on the path which led to the river, lighting the way of the dancers to their waiting boats, while they sang for us the seketi song we had heard the night of Zimbi's funeral.

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[534]

Thank you, thank you, white man,
For coming to the Saramacca River,
For bringing us your diamond fire,
To light the darkness of our path.

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764 At the village opposite our base camp, a girl had died
796 shortly before our return from up river. The eighth night after the death was to be commemorated with the usual dancing of "eighth-day night," and with the ceremony of throwing away food for the spirit of the dead.

"Come tonight and we will dance for you," the men of the village said. It was agreed that they should come for us when they were through with the ceremony for throwing away the food, for the bereaved family would not look kindly upon the intrusion of the whites at the ceremony.

As we waited for the messenger, Bayo prowled about uneasily. He had been nervous for the past few days. His spirits had been troubling him, and he said he needed to dance. It was some time since he had danced, and his spirits were vexed with him for this neglect.

"If they dance Kromanti, I will dance, too," he said.

We talked with him of the rum we would have to take. The strength in which it was distilled made it necessary to cut it with water. Bayo watched us as we took out one bottle, prepared the rum, and then took up another. His hand interposed.

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"OBIA COMES!"

"Do not take too much rum," he said. "When there is much to drink, obia does not come." 764 796

The bottle ready, we waited. Eight, half-past, nine o'clock. When we had decided they were not coming for us, the sharp bark of Tross signaled the approach of a man up the path from the river bank. As he came into the circle of light, we recognized Apanto.

"Everything is ready, Bak'a," he said. "Come."

It was not an important village, this one across the river from our camp. It was smaller and had much less power than Gankwe, the seat of a clan head. But enough men had assembled for the ceremonies to make a dance, and the women were standing about waiting as we came from the river through the palm-frond guard. The moon was again up, but moving clouds hid it from view or covered it with a haze which dimmed its brilliance. A few houses fronted on the little clearing where the dance was to be held, and here and there some oil lanterns had been placed.

Not everything, we soon learned, was ready, for drums were lacking. They had an agida, but the two others which were needed were not there. Poor villages very often had to borrow their drums from other settlements. The dancers stood about waiting. [926]

We offered the tumao we had acquired, and Bayo returned to our camp for it. A large tin basin, turned upside down, gave the same metallic tenor voice as the apinti, and so with the makeshift orchestra the dancing began, two younger boys playing the kwakwa. 764 534

For a time it seemed as though we were only to see seketi. The children had had no opportunity at all to perform, and they stood about watching, while their elders danced the social dance we had seen so often. There was a tall man from a friendly village farther down the river whose dancing that night stood out. The careful awkwardness of his legs as he danced facing us, the carefully timed movements of arms and body showed us that in seketi, too, as the proverb ran, there were truly men on the lower river, as there were on the upper. 764 796

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A light rain fell, and for a while the dancing stopped. Deserting our benches, we joined the natives who clustered under the overhanging eaves of the houses, and sheltered ourselves from the shower. But the rain was soon over, and the moon came out again. The drummers took their places and the dancers resumed their seketi.

"Dance Kromanti," we urged, remembering Bayo, "we have seen much seketi."

"You will have to look out," said Apanto. "We have strong Kromanti here," as the drums began to call obia.

Bayo had been sitting behind us during the seketi. His face mirrored a frame of mind that was none too happy, for this was not the sort of dance that he had looked forward to. When Apanto gave the word to play Kromanti, however, Bayo rose, and when we next saw him, his head was low over the inverted tin basin which served for an apinti, and he was making the night throb with the intricacy of the messages he was sending to the strong spirits which were troubling him with their insistence for expression.

Where we sat, we could see the men becoming aware of the voices of the drums. Several rattles had made their appearance, and the sound they made as they were shaken in concert caused the men's bodies to grow rigid, while the women hovered uncertainly about. By now the evening's "play" was begun in earnest. No children remained to look on. At the moment, there was no dancing, for the men with the rattles, and those who were merely waiting for the spirit to come to them, moved about in the open place reserved for the dance, back and forth, waiting for their Kromanti spirits to enter their bodies. One man struck up a song, and the chorus carried the refrain, until interest in that song died down and another was sung.

These Kromanti songs were not of the lilting, rhythmic kind which other dances required. Some of them were slow and mournful, some quick and martial. Now they were singing to the Opete. The leader sang

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"OBIA COMESI"

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Opete kwasi Adjaini-o
Opete kwasi Adjaini-obia-o
Opete kwesi
Tide Adjaini-a weti kwao, kwao, kwao, kwao.

The chorus repeated,

Opete kwaso, Adjaini-o-yi
Opete kwaso, Adjaini-o-yo
Opete kwaso, Adjaini-o-kumani!

They were becoming more and more agitated. The rattles sounded a faster tempo, the drums beat louder, and the music swung into another song.

Amanu Djadja-o
O-o-o-o-o-o
Amanu Djadja-o
O ye-e-e
Kuma, luku, mowa,
O-e Mama-e
O-o-o-o-o - o - o . . .

This was a song of greeting for the Djadja spirit. Bayo still urged the rhythms out of the improvised apinti which he was playing. The drummers were calling all the Kromanti spirits, the buzzard called Opete, the jaguar, Tigri, and Djadja, the "devil." Would they come? 764 533

The question was answered soon enough. Out of the forest into the clearing ran one whose obia had come to him. It was Opete obia and, in his strength of possession, he had torn off two branches from a palm tree in the bush. These he held under his arms, so that, as he pranced about in his dance, he impersonated the awkwardness of the great carrion bird which gave its name to his obia. The tufts of palm leaves projecting from behind his flexed arms were wings. He leaped as in flight, then with startling rapidity he began turning round and round to the flapping of his wings. 787 787

Apanto suddenly seized a stick we held and, whirling it about our heads, was off to his dance, joining the six or 787 796

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787 seven men who were dancing the individual dances of their
796 spirits. His dancing was unlike any we had seen on the river. There was a stealthy, effeminate grace in his movements, which produced a strange effect on the visitors. Suddenly it struck us—Apanto was one of those who had the dreaded Tigri! When he fought, he fought with his finger nails, not his fists, and when he danced, he danced with the feline grace of the tiger trailing his prey.

Suddenly the drums faltered. People near us cried out. Voices were heard.

"Bayo!"

"Bayo has gone into the bush!"

"Sound the drums to bring him back!"

In the silence of the moment, we could hear from the
787 direction of the river the cries of our friend, now in the grip of obia. "*Hoi, hoi, hoi! Obia! Hoi!*"

The lull in the drumming was only momentary, for instantly another man jumped for the makeshift drum, which Bayo had left, and the voice of the spirits once more rolled out. Ten, twelve men were whirling before us in their dance, and now more joined them, until it was impossible to remain seated, and we rose, and stood on guard.

More cries. These came from the village. Someone else had got obia.

A woman dashed up to us. "Run, white people, run! Come inside my house! Obia has come too soon! Obia is bad tonight! You will be hurt!"

As we shook our heads, she hurried to a near-by house, and we could hear the slam of the door and the sound of the wooden bolt as it was shot to. She had done what she could for the visitors. If they would stay, let them take the consequences.

Before us a creeping figure appeared, with eyes fixed upon us, his muscles tense, as if ready for a spring. The dancing men who were not yet possessed, closed in front of us. They held him as he crouched there, glaring. Those who restrained him called to the others.

"See to the guns!"

"OBIA COMES!"

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"Hide the bush knives!"

These Kromanti men, in the strength of their obia, try to seize weapons made of iron, and if they succeed in wresting from a man a machete or gun, nothing is safe. Apanto, the obia man, and the old men of the village, had no wish for tragedy.

"Sound the drums louder, faster!" came the cry. "Call Bayo from the bush!"

The drummers redoubled their efforts, until at last Bayo's spirit responded to their call.

"Look out! Take care!" called the women who had stayed outside their huts, as they ran before us up the path, away from the two men whose obia was so dangerous. "It is Bayo! Obia came!"

It was indeed Bayo, but not a recognizable Bayo. He was on all fours. His knees and shins dragged over the stony path on which he crawled so that we dared not think of the lacerations we would see the following day. He stared about him wildly. Saliva drooled from his mouth, and his tongue lolled from between his parted lips. Two of the older men had him in charge, and several of those who had been dancing now came to his side to restrain him should he attempt to leap.

"Stop the drums!" came the command, and in a few moments the stillness of the night was restored to us. For with the drums quieted, Bayo and the other whom obia had possessed could be treated by the older men who knew the way of obia, knew how to give them release from the spirit without doing harm to the village and its people.

On Bayo dragged himself, out of sight, and the other man was taken with him. Soon they called to us to come and see Bayo. He was being brought out of his seizure.

He was still on his hands and knees, and the saliva still dropped from his mouth. As we looked, an elder stooped over him and whispered some words in his ear. Taking the small wineglass we had brought for our present of rum for the dance, he poured a few drops of liquor in his eyes, then in his ears, and then brought the glass to his mouth.

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787 Bayo's teeth closed with a snap, and the glass came away in the hands of the elder who had held it. A piece of glass remained in Bayo's mouth. Slowly, as we looked on, his mouth began to work. Would he swallow the piece of glass whole? Would he chew it into bits and then swallow it? We had heard of those whom Kromanti possessed who did this, but would Bayo?

He did not swallow it. Slowly the muscles of the mouth moved, and slowly the piece of glass appeared between his lips, then, slowly ejected, it fell to the ground.

The old man tried again to make him drink, this time giving him the liquor in a metal cup. When the cup was released, the marks of the boy's teeth were deeply imprinted on it.

In the clearing where the dancing had taken place, men and women stood about in little groups, excitedly talking. Obia had come without the proper preparation. Obia had come too soon—it had come too strong. Lucky for them that visiting obia men who knew how to control this strength were present, people who knew how to take violent men in the full strength of their violence and bring them to sanity by speaking magic words which obia listened to.

"Ah, Bak'a, it is good they were here. Obia came too strong. If the drums had not stopped, many would have been hurt, and our village would have mourned. When obia comes too soon, it is bad."

6

We were in our canoe, returning to the base camp. Two of the men who lived in the village where the dance had been held were paddling, and in the stern sat Bayo, a strange, strained, silent Bayo.

He had regained consciousness, for when we had asked him, "Are you ready to come back with us?" he had answered a hoarsely whispered "Ai." In the boat with us was the tumao drum, and as the two of us and Bayo sat silent, the paddlers gossiped about the events of the evening.

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"OBIA COMESI"

Back at the camp, Bayo was exhausted. Tross, after his frantic welcome, had settled down and was lying near his master who sat on a box, leaning against one of the posts of the hut. We were alone with him and our servants. The Bush Negroes had left us at the shore. Bayo had strong obia, and his obia had obviously not been satisfied. Would the spirits seize him once more?

Wisdom dictated that we take ordinary precautions and, as Bayo sat there, we accounted for all the machetes and Bayo's shotgun and locked them in a canister.

Did he want water? No. Suddenly he roused himself, and we came to our feet. What was to happen now?

He strode over to the corner of the hut where the tumao drum stood, and, hoisting it on his shoulder, walked out of the hut. As we followed him, we could see him stop at the river bank and place the drum on the ground. He brought his hands down on the drumhead. A rhythm sounded. Was he signaling the village across the river that he had arrived safely? Was he speaking to the spirits that had just left him? The drumming left off as suddenly as it had started, and he came back and replaced the drum.

But he was not yet ready to go into his hammock and rest, and he stood against the doorway, his tired body gleaming in the light of the lanterns, his knees slightly flexed, arms spread wide over the side poles of the house, his hands grasping the wood.

"Will you go to your hammock, Bayo?"

"Ai," and our town man who had helped him there came back saying that he was already asleep.

"It is all over," we hazarded the opinion.

But our cook was of another mind.

"Massa," he said, "you can never tell when the spirit will come back. Do not sleep without the lantern. Let it stay lighted."

And so we slept with lighted lantern, while Bayo lay separated from us by a partition which did not reach above a man's head.

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7

The next day was our last among the Saramacca people. Bayo came to us early to help with the packing. He was apparently none the worse for his seizure and, as he worked, we could tell from his manner how release had come to him and how the tension we had noticed the past few days had left him.

On his body were no marks. His mouth showed no cuts where the glass was bitten off and chewed. When we told him about the glass, he knew nothing of it. Had he not known about this eating of glass, he might well have doubted our word, for when we examined his lips and palate and tongue, not even a scratch showed.

"What did you drum last night, Bayo?"

"When, before the obia came to me?"

He remembered nothing after he had leaped from the improvised apinti to run into the bush.

"Not when you drummed apinti, but when you came back here and took the tumao to the river."

"I don't remember. Did I do that?"

8

Despite the early hour we had to leave in order to catch the weekly train for the coast, the boats of our friends began to be seen off the landing place as they came to say their farewells. The good woman Tita, whom they called Mother Snake behind her back, was the first to arrive. She walked slowly up from the river bank, pipe in mouth, a pot on her head, and one in each hand. The pots held obias which, she said, were made especially for us, to give us great powers in our own land—one to keep us safe from the ghosts of those we had wronged; one to guard us against the acts of the unfriendly living; one to make all those from whom we sought advantage "love" us.

Sedefo's younger wife came with her child on her back to collect whatever tin cans were about, and some gift for the child when it wakened, knowing that something was

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always given to children in the white man's camp. With her, too, came Sedefo's eldest son, the one who had already danced Kromanti. 173

"White man," he said in a soft confidential voice that was like his father's, "you gave the Granman gifts. Lower river chiefs are big men, too." This was a prelude to the suggestion that the Gankwe chief would not take it amiss if we sent him a pith helmet.

From the village where we had seen Bayo possessed the night before, Tenye and her two brothers, Yamati and Sabape, came to say goodbye, and with them was their "father" Semiye, Abane's brother. He was to have been "captain" of our dugout, but several days before he had told us he would be unable to go with us to the railhead. As haltingly he gave us his reasons, we wished that white men's lives were not keyed to railroad and boat and university schedules—wished, too, that it were possible to give a happier turn to the drama which bush destiny seemed ready to stage for Semiye.

Semiye was as slender and graceful as Abane, that superb dancer whom Yamati and Sabape, sons by different wives, wished so much to emulate. The passion which Abane had for dancing, Semiye knew to flare up within himself when he was at work. No man on the lower river could send a heavily loaded boat up the rapids faster than Semiye, and when he went fishing or lumbering, the catch he brought back was large, his timber rafts were valuable. He had not always felt this drive for work. When he and his village friend Abai were boys together, Abai had been the one to suggest games, to make decisions, to show courage in leading girls down side paths into the bush. When the time came for Semiye to go through the Kromanti initiation, he could not do the feats which Abai did so easily and with such bravado. Later, when the courage of a man was his, he was ashamed to ask for permission to go through the initiatory rites that were intended to test boys, and so Semiye was one of the few men on the river who was not a Kromanti man. 159

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159 In spite of all this, Semiye prospered. He married first one wife and then a second, and his five children were healthy and bright. But Abai, poor fellow, had had a hard time. His wife was a scold. His small son was straight-limbed and alert, but his girl child was ailing, and three of his children had died before they could walk. These days, when a load was to be carried for some white man to the city, Semiye was the one most often hired, and, because of their friendship, he saw to it that Abai went, too. Abai, who as a youth had led in all their escapades, grew more and more silent, but when the Tiger spirit possessed him, it made him noisy and violent and caused him to run about in search of Semiye with the threat to kill him. In the village they said Abai's spirit was growing ugly; they said that Abai's Tiger spirit hated Semiye. The night before, we ourselves had heard Abai when possessed by his Tiger spirit again threaten Semiye.

For the first time in many years Semiye began to know the old fears, and because this time he had to contend with a powerful spirit, he went to Apanto, the obia man, who gave him a strong obia. Then . . . then he decided it might be best to share work with Apanto occasionally.

"And now," he said, "you know why I can't go with you. I can't go without Apanto, and you promised Bayo he would have the front paddle."

After the dance of the night before, having witnessed Bayo's Tiger spirit in action, it was all very understandable.

Thus it came about that our last hour on the river was spent like so many other hours, with our boat in the competent hands of Bayo. But this time we were not to see him at the prow of the boat, for when we had told him that Semiye could not captain it, he had exclaimed, "Ai-yo! Then I will be your captain, and the son of Sedefo will take the front paddle." So now, with farewells said and canoe loaded, the boat backed away from the familiar landing place, turned, and was off down river, Bayo at the post of command—an honor he would not soon allow his friends to forget.

"OBIA COMESI"

The river had fallen. Whole stretches appeared as dry as the sandy village clearings. The green-heart trees were in full bloom, looking like giant flowering mimosas with heads lifted high above the green wall of matted bush. As we sped past the village landing of Gankwe, women washing their clothes and children at play called out a last "*Adiosio-o-o-o*," but in a moment we rounded a bend of the river and were out of sight.

Our only stop was at New Village, not far from the railroad, where the chief had promised to have an apinti for us. He was expecting us, and with him was his friend, the chief of Kadyu, whose village lay below the railhead.

"I had trouble finding a skin for the head," he said, "but one of my men shot a deer, and so I have a fine one for you. . . . And here is an obia to keep you alive on the water." He transferred the power of the obia to us, and then, as we rose to leave, he added, "When you get to your home, tell the headman of your village 'Howdo' in the name of the Chief of New Village, and his friend, the Chief of Kadyu."

9

As we floated up to the landing place where men were waiting to take our boxes to the train, we saw an hibiscus tree in bloom before the little shop kept by a British Guiana mulatto who did some trading with the Bush Negroes.

"What do you call this tree, Bayo?"

"Which one, this with the red flowers? I don't know. That's a Bak'a sani—a white man's thing."

Bakra sani!

The hibiscus tree, the mulatto who for the Bush Negro is also a Bakra, ourselves and our phonograph and flashlights—all were white men's things, intruders in his bush, strangers. Only by the grace of his powerful ancestors, and of the gods of his ancestors, might such things be allowed life and a measure of joy there, as witness the bright blossoms, the livelihood the mulatto earned, and our own good health.

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THE language of the Saramacca Bush Negroes is called by them the *Saramacca tongo*—the Saramacca tongue. Though there are many African words in ritual and everyday speech, the Saramacca tongo is essentially Negro-Portuguese, with a sprinkling of English and Dutch words. In the city of Paramaribo the Negroes speak *taki-taki*, Negro-English, though Dutch and Portuguese words are also found. The structure of the language of both bush and coastal Negroes is essentially African, that is to say, in all the borrowings it was the word which was borrowed, while the African idiom was retained, so that it may be said that the Negroes speak African dialects translated into English or Portuguese or Dutch. Simple examples of this are such phrases as "carry come" for "bring"; "carry go" for "take away"; or "hunger kills me" for "I am hungry"; or "one time" for "immediately."

For the correspondences between the languages of the Suriname Negroes and of West Africa, we have relied on various dictionaries and grammars of West African languages, and on our own findings made during our field work on the West African coast. In writing the words of Suriname and West African languages in both the glossary and the body of this book, the vowels have the "continental" values, not those given in English. It is to be noted that diacritical marks which would be necessary to indicate the strong nasalization that characterizes Bush Negro speech have been omitted from both text and glossary, in order to simplify the writing of native terms. Finally, we must

 [p. 344 is blank]

Finally, we must

128 [93] explain that in rendering the plural of native words, we have not employed the terminal "-s" that makes the plural in English, for in this regard we have followed the usage of Saramacca tongo.

A

104 *a*, he, she.

Abina, an important female ancestor. The name may be a modification of *Abena*, a woman's Tuesday name (see under *Afi*). In one village on the Saramacca, a dance known only there, called the *bisia*, is said to have been taught by a female ancestor during the "running away time." This fact may have bearing on its origin, as it may point to an ancestor who had come from the Benin (Nigerian) kingdom. The people of Benin are known as the *Bini*.

aboma, boa constrictor.

adiori, goodbye. From the Portuguese.

adji-boto, a game of counters. This is played in Suriname as it is in the Caribbean, and in Africa. *Adji* is a Dahomean word. In Paramaribo, among the Awka Bush Negroes, and in the Caribbean, the Ashanti name for the game, *wari*, is employed.

Afi, "day name" for a girl born on Friday. The corresponding Friday name for a boy is *Kofi*. These day names are found in bush and town in Suriname. They are met with in Jamaica and names like *Kofi* (Cuffy), *Kwaku* (Quacoo), *Kwari* (Quashi), are known in the United States. These day names exist among the peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa, where they are definitely associated with the soul, in the same manner as they are in Suriname.

Af'ica, Africa. This is the Saramacca pronunciation of the word. While known on the river, it is less used than the expression *neng'e konde*, literally, "Negro kingdom." The word *konde* is used interchangeably for kingdom and village. The word *to*, for example, in Dahomey, is used in the same way.

Afoekete, a Saramacca goddess, whose origin is Dahomean. In Dahomey her genealogy differs from the one given in Suriname. Dahomeans say she is the daughter of *Agbe* and *Naete*, gods of the sea.

agida, the great drum of the Saramacca trio of drum types. In Paramaribo, when the earth spirits are called, a spirit named *Agida* is invoked as one of the earth pantheon.

ago, ancestors. It is said in Dahomey that among the ancient inhabitants this Saramacca meaning was known.

agusu, name given a child born feet foremost. The same name is given such children in Dahomey and in Haiti.

Ahantomaru, the god of the ant hill. A Gold Coast name.

akra, see *kra*.

ambo, an exclamation said to be a contraction of the phrase "by my mother's womb."

Awari, name of Dahomean derivation.

Anansi, spider. *Anansi* is the trickster in the cycle of stories which bear his name. The *Anansi* stories on the Gold Coast and in the New World are like the Br'er Rabbit stories in the United States. In the New World, aside from

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Dutch Guiana, *Anansi* appears as the dominant trickster in Negro tales in Jamaica, and even in the stories of this country we occasionally hear of Miss Nancy. 104

ando, an exclamation. *Ando* is thought to be a famous ancestor. One of the strong warrior *obias* on the river is called the "hunter *ando*."

apinti, name of the Bush Negro tenor drum. The same name for this drum is found in western Nigeria and Dahomey; among the Gold Coast peoples the term is *upintin*.

Apuku, gods of the bush, who are visualized as little people. Whenever natural clearings appear in the jungle they are said to have been made by these *Apuku* gods. In southern Nigeria and Dahomey children who die young are called *Abiku*. They are said to be the messengers of the great gods who send them to earth and recall them. In Jamaica there is a cult whose members are called *Pukumerisses*, but not enough is known of Jamiacan worship to be able to determine whether this cult is exactly comparable to the *Apuku* cult in Suriname.

Asasse, the Earth Mother. The earth deity has the identical name among the Ashanti.

awa, affirmative exclamation.

awara, Saramacca dance. In Ashanti this dance is known under the name *awisa*.

Awka, name for another tribe of Suriname Negroes. In southern Nigeria there is a group of Ibo-speaking people known as the *Awka* people, and a village not far from Ife called Awka.

aye, yes.

asang, a "spiritual barrier" of palm fronds erected across a path in order to brush away evil that might be seeking to enter the village. The word is Dahomean. The *asang* is today only infrequently seen in the larger Dahomean centers, but when an epidemic comes, whether it is measles or influenza or whooping cough or the dreaded smallpox, these are put in place.

asoko wywye, firefly; the Dahomean word is *asofe wywye*.

B

bak'a, bakra, bakara, white man. This is the same as the "buckra" of the Carolina Negroes.

bak'a wuye, white woman. See also *wuye*.

bak'a seni, literally "white man's thing." Idiomatically, anything which is outside the civilization of the Saramacca people. Thus an hibiscus tree on the lower river was called a "white man's thing." This term was also applied to our flashlight before it had been christened "diamond fire"; to our phonograph; to our ideas; to our medicine. We have heard the same distinction made in West Africa between the white man's things and those that appertained to the blacks.

bandamba, dance for twins and marriage. It is known and danced in Africa on the Gold Coast.

banya, a dance. It is found in both bush and town, and the *bakafuta banya* (cross-legged banya) is associated with dancing for the ancestors. The dance is known on the Gold Coast.

bassia, the second in command to a chief. In the town this word is used to name an overseer. The word is also employed in Jamaica.

104 *beye*, to dance. From the Portuguese. See also *bébi*.
b'ube dei, daybreak.
bonboro, the Paramaribo word for albino. The Saramacca people say "Toad person."
bom, boat.
boyo, in the song we quote, this word refers to the Earth spirits. When the Ashanti call on *Asaase Ya*, the Earth Mother, they also speak of the creature of the underworld as *Asaase Bowa*.
bungulo, half of a broken canoe on which a corpse lies until the coffin is completed.

C

chaka, literally, shake. The meaning is extended to designate the type of dancing which accentuates the shaking of the buttocks.

D

dede, dead, death.
Dora, name given a child born next after twins. This same name is given such a child in Dahomey and Haiti.
Djuka, a member of the Awka tribe of Negroes. In the city of Paramaribo and elsewhere in the coastal region this word is used loosely to refer to all Bush Negroes, whatever their tribal affiliations. No exhaustive study has been made of the Awka tribe, but what material there is suggests a predominating African culture from Southern Nigeria.
Dyombi, name of a god. In Suriname this deity, who is associated with the silk-cotton tree, is thought of as the child of *Gedevanu* and *Tiusi* (q.v.), and is dreaded by the natives. He is said in Dahomey, where he is also worshipped, to dance with the thunder pantheon. In Dahomean folklore the *Dyombi* are associated with hunters who conquered the mythical thirty-horned giants. The name is well known to New World Negroes and has come to be associated with ghosts. It occurs in the Caribbean interchangeably with *zombi* and *duppy*.

F

fo-fo, as explained in the text. It is an old Dahomean term meaning "anger." The word has also been reported as being in use by the Bantu-speaking peoples of Loango as a name for a medicinal herb.

G

g'a, literally "great." It has been assumed that this word is derived from the Portuguese "gran," but the derivation is probably a dual one, since the Ewe (Togoland) word *ga* signifies "great, old," and in Dahomey *ga* means "chief, elder, head of an organization."
g'aman, chief, headman. It is also the Saramacca term for the Dutch Governor of the Colony.
g'a zembe, "big" person, *i.e.*, important person. See *zembe*.

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ĩ'o tengi, literally "great thanks," but idiomatically "please," or "I beg you." See *tengi*. 104

G'o Zombi, ghost. See *Dyombi*.

G'o Yorba, ghost. See *Yorba*.

ghalo, expression of affirmation. Used as interpolation in narrative, and in council meetings.

Gedewaru, name of a god who lives in the silk-cotton tree. In Dahomey the word is a "strong name" for the same tree. The ancient people on the plateau of Abomey, the present capital of Dahomey, were the *Gedewi*, and there is a legend in Dahomey which says that there were once two brothers, one *Gede*, one *Hewaru*. They quarreled and one turned into a stone and became the god animating the great *Gede* rock in Dahomey. The other entered the silk-cotton tree. When our informants in Dahomey heard that in Suriname they worshipped *Gedewaru*, they exclaimed, "You not only have Dahomeans there, you have people from right here in Abomey."

gwei, a citizen. Literally "child of the earth," *i.e.*, a person who belongs to the village where he is living. *Mi* is the Yoruban word for "child."

gwiri, doll. This word has the same meaning in Dahomey.

H

ha'i, hali, hard.

hebi, heavy. Also used in the sense of "hard," as in *a haya hebi*, "he danced hard."

Hene Tewaghur, said to be a "strong name" for the deity called the "Mother of the River." *Hene* is Ashanti for chief. Whether *Tewaghur* refers to the sacred lake Nohwe, in Dahomey, or not, is difficult to say.

hekedi, twins. The word is from Dahomey, the modern Dahomean pronunciation being *hekoni*.

I

Ingi, Indian.

K

kambere, "the other wife of my husband." In its larger meaning, it signifies "the woman who makes trouble for me."

kawumba, cicatrizations made on the faces and bodies of men and women.

kende, a "spiritual lock" found over doorways, on fruit-bearing trees, and in fields to keep off thieves by means of its magic power. It is of Bantu origin.

kenkeni'i, cotton tree. An old Dahomean word for this tree is *gengeni*. See *i'i*.

Kodiamo, the Sky God. This is one of his "strong names." He is also known as *Nyankompon* and *Kodiampon*. These names are employed today in the Gold Coast for the same deity, the latter pronounced there *Twediampon*.

Kwaina dagwor, the name of one of the snake deities. *Dagwor* is Suriname for the Dahomean and Haitian *Dangbe*. The snake *Dangbe* is considered the founder of one of the Dahomean families.

kwo-kwo, expression of affirmation used to interpolate in council meetings and when listening to a long narrative. Also pronounced *kedo*, and *kelele*. These interpolations punctuate all pauses in speech, and the rhythm and inflection

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104 is analogous to the interpolations, "Oh, Lord," "Glory," "Yes, Lord," "Hallelujah," and "Too true," used in Negro churches in this country. These interpolations occur in speech and ceremonies in West Africa, particularly on the Gold Coast.

kerki, church. From the Dutch.

Kerebia, a snake deity. In Togoland this god is known as the wife of one of the sky gods.

kekeri, monkey.

kadjo, cudgel.

kaie, expression of affirmation. It is employed as an interpolation in narrative, and in proceedings at council meetings.

kombi, a person possessed by the spirit of an African diviner. In this sense the word is used in both bush and town. It is of Ashanti-Fanti origin.

kuti-go, cut across.

'kra, soul. This word is that of the Gold Coast, a contraction of *akra*. Saramacca people also drop the "r" and say *ak'a*.

104 975 769 *Kromanti*, the name of a category of amulets which help the fighter, and also, we have strong reason to believe, of a male secret society. The former is known as *Kromanti obia*. The word can be most easily traced to the small kingdom of Coromantyne on the Gold Coast of Africa and to the slave factories in the coastal cities of Little and Great Coromantyne. The origin is often traced also to the Ashanti oath of this name, commemorating a battle in which the Ashanti King Osai Tutu was killed. Everywhere in the New World the Coromantyne Negroes were known as intractable, and it is claimed that they were the instigators of most of the slave rebellions in the New World, especially Jamaica and in the United States. In the Saramacca bush the rôle of the *Kromanti* group is in all respects akin to that of the Asafotche companies on the Gold Coast today. In both instances they are companies of young men—in more ancient times, warriors. In both instances they have magic to help them in war. In both instances this magic includes powers which endow the members with resistance to bullets, and to all things that cut or lacerate, like knives and thorns and glass. In both instances the power comes from the enshrining of magic, in Suriname called *obia*, and on the Gold Coast called *ramon*. In some of the old Asafotchi songs sung on the Gold Coast the word *Kromanti* appears. The opening of all Asafotche songs with "fire, fire," a euphemism for calling the alarm to indicate the need for all members to gather, is heard in the *Kromanti* songs. The role of the young men of punishing for trespassing against clan or village property, and of watching over the chief's rule, exists in the Saramacca country as it exists on the Gold Coast.

kruta, council, counsel. The Saramacca pronunciation is *k'uta*; *kruta wara*, council house.

104 *kwao*, a formal greeting. It is used especially in the Granman's village. The entire interchange when two people of the Saramacca tribe meet follows the West African pattern.

kwee, a supernatural force controlled by the ancestors and gods, which punishes with extinction the families of those who violate the laws of the ancestors. It would seem to be derived from the Ewe (Togoland) word *kwee*, "death."

kwoti-kwoti, no, no. A ceremonial interpolation used in council.

kye, exclamation of surprise and entreaty. Sometimes pronounced *ke* and sometimes *tye*. This phonetic shift occurs in Negro speech everywhere in the New

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World, as, for example, the Southern "cyah" and "cyarriage" for "car" and "carriage" or "gahden" for "garden." 104

L

Lemi, name of a Bush Negro village. Probably derived from the city of Lome in Togoland.

lesi, government.

lika, moon. The term is also extended to mean "crescential," as in *lika-dengi*, a crescential stool. See also under *mawa*. In taki-taki *lika* means river. Saramacca for river is *lin*, from the Portuguese.

lo, clan. *Ilo* is the Ewe (Togoland) equivalent.

loko, a sacred tree. It is called by the identical term in Dahomey and Togoland, where it is also held in reverence. The Yoruba, who have the same attitude toward it, call it *iroko*.

M

Mamadem, the great falls of the Saramacca. There the "Mother of the River" is said to live. It is difficult to determine the exact African parallel for this. An important sacred lake in Dahomey is called *Nohme*—"house of our mother." The word *dem* in Ashanti means "room" and *mama* has our own connotation. In Ashanti a tributary of the sacred *Tano* river is called *Abrewa* meaning "old woman."

mam, pronounced West Indian Negro fashion, "mahn." The meaning is the same as in English.

mama, master. This word is pronounced in the Suriname bush as it is in the South and in the English-speaking colonies in Africa and has the same meaning. The pronunciation of the Coastal Negroes is *massa*.

matapi, cassava press. The word comes from the indigenous Indians.

mbe, "extended family," descendants through the mother's line not too distantly related.

meye, woman. The derivation is the Portuguese *mulher*.

N

nana, grandfathers, ancestors. The word is Ashanti.

nebu, a poisonous vine used to kill the fish in the creeks.

neg'e (*nengee*), this word means "Negro" in Suriname; the first pronunciation given is that of the bush and the second of the coastal region. In the Saramacca country the word *neg'e* is used interchangeably with the word *lo*, meaning clan, and has the further meaning of people. Thus, a man would be spoken of as belonging either to the *Papata Lo* or being a *Papata Neg'e*. It has been claimed that this word is a Negro modification of the Portuguese word signifying "black." However, in Dahomey one of the gods of the earth pantheon is called *Sasi Nengi* and he is visualized as being the black vulture. In recent times, though, the Dahomeans have learned to be ashamed of the word *nengi*, which they have come to identify with the French *negre*, for it is said that Dahomeans who have gone to France as soldiers have come to know it as a term of derision. Hence they prefer the French *noir*. In Dahomey the forgers speak of a small piece of black iron as *nengi*, and once when our

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cook was taken unaware, and wished to express his surprise at the excellence of a game board which was modeled in such a way that the base of the board was held up by six small human figures, his exclamation was "*Gwapi uwagi!*" This is a term of affection for a small child, a term which had apparently fallen into bad repute in recent times because of those who had come to know the European association. These examples would seem to indicate African as well as European sources for the word "Negro." See also *opete*, *yanki's*.

uwg'e bonde, Africa. *Cf. Affica.*

uwg'e Nona, African ancestors.

man uwg'e, literally, "male Negro," but idiomatic for an adult man who has power in his community, a man who has proved himself as a full-fledged member of his group. It is a term of pride. *Cf.* man.

Nyankompon, name used by the Saramacca people for the Sky God. This is the Gold Coast name of the same deity.

O

obia, a supernatural force which comes from the great gods and was given to man to protect and heal him. *Obia* is also the term used for the charms which derive their power from this force. In the British West Indies the term is spelled *obeah* and is understood by whites to denote black magic.

obia cuti. The healing magic inherent in *obia* may be given a man either by letting medicine enter his body through cuts made, or by putting this medicine inside red or blue or white cotton or inside a cowrie shell or a piece of wood or string which he wears as a charm.

obia man, a man who practices *obia*. Such a man would be a maker of charms, and would have the knowledge to control and invoke the personal force to make effective whatever object he wished to endow with magic powers.

odi, Saramacca greeting. This may be related to the Southern Negro "howdy."

ogi, evil. It must be noted that the word is many instances as used by Negro peoples in Africa and the New World has not the connotation that the word "evil" has in our language. The expression "*ogi i'yepi*" means "evil itself," and is often used affectionately to designate someone who has outwitted another. The Negroes who speak French in Africa use the word *malin* in the same sense, and the English-speaking Africans use the words "too bad" or "bad too much." This use of "too bad" has persisted in American Negro speech.

okai, go, turn.

okai no mo, keep on going, turning.

opete, vulture, buzzard. An Ashanti word. See also *uwg'e*, *yanki's*.

ope, amulet which gives the owner power over the will of another.

Oyo, a word used by an important captain on the river to impress us with his rank. *Oyo* is the name for one of the Yoruban stocks. A legend in Dahomey credits the *Oyo*, their traditional enemies, with being the first rulers of the earth.

P

pangi, woman's cloth. This is usually a strip about a yard wide and a yard and a half long, worn so that it reaches from the waist to the knee and encircles the lower part of the body. The word is derived from the French *pagne*.

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pemba, white clay. This word is Bantu, coming from the region of the lower Congo.
pine kwaw, hairdressing style.
pinda, peanut. This is also a Bantu word.

S

sapri, subtly; idiomatic for handling a situation delicately.
sekeri, a social dance. It is known in Ashanti but is today seldom danced there. We collected a song in the Ashanti country with the same words as that of a *sekeri* song sung by the Bush Negroes.
sembe, person. This is the Saramacca word; the coastal Negroes use *ewma*.
Sofa Bada, name of a god. In Dahomey this would mean Thunder King *Bada*, and there *Bada* is the youngest son of the thunder pantheon and the most cruel one.
sulu, rapids. *Su* in Ashanti is water.
swma, person. An Ashanti word. *Cf. sembe*.
saza, a boy's dance. It is often danced to thank the earth gods for good harvests.

T

tengi, thanks. Also used in the form "*Tengi, tengi*" for "I beg you."
tepa, preventive against evil magic.
tata, father.
tebwa, taboo. This is a Bantu word used in Loango. In Paramaribo the word for taboo is *wofa*, borrowed from the Jewish slave-owners who came from Brazil.
te, until. This word is employed in bush and town for "till," but in idiomatic use intensifies the word it modifies. The expression *te te* is heard in story-telling in Suriname as well as in English-speaking countries in Africa.
tembe, wood carving. Probably from the English "timber."
ti, tree. An example of double derivation, coming from the English "tree" and the Ewe-Dahomean word *ati*, which has the same meaning. See also *kwakwa'ti*, *Gedeonsu*.
tia, aunt. Used as a term of respect for any older woman. From the Portuguese.
tio, uncle. Used as a term of respect for any older man. From the Portuguese.
Tiwai, a spirit which lives in the silk-cotton tree, and is the wife of *Gedeonsu* (q.v.). In Dahomey *Tiwai* is danced to in the pantheon of *Agadahwu*, a god who personalizes the totemic origin of one of the Dahomean families.
Tosi, generic name for the river gods. Probably a Mahi (Dahomean) term. The river cult is one of the strongest cults in both Suriname town and bush. In Dahomey there is a legend that when the first kings of the last royal family conquered the plateau of Abomey, the priests of the river cult fomented rebellions against the new rulers, and were all sold into slavery. Nothing of their cult is said to be known today in Dahomey, and the old gods they worshipped are left to trouble the Dahomeans. Today there are places in Dahomey where no Dahomean dares to go. Sometimes, it is said, they hear drums beating from the river bottom, and sacrifices are given to the rivers, although the proper invocations to appease the gods are no longer known.
Tosaghue, river goddess.
Tosuwa, a snake god, also called "Papa God." Cowrie shells, which up to comparatively recent times were the currency of West Africa, are referred to

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to papa mami (money) on the Saramacca River. West African folklore gives accounts of snake river gods in whose bodies are imbedded cowries.

sofa, food taboo. See *tabisa*.

sraira, indeed; true.

sraira Saramacca, Bush Negro name for all the land above the Mamadam falls. The Saramacca Negro speaks the phrase with great pride. Whether this is associated with the achievement of the early ancestors in penetrating the bush, or is to be traceable to African distinctions of rank, it is impossible to say. Among the Awka tribe on the Marowyne River the upper river tribes consider themselves more aristocratic than those who live on the lower river.

tamam, a "long" drum, the medium-sized drum of the Saramacca trio of drum types. It is played especially for the *Apoko* gods.

V

vodu, name of a particular kind of snake; a term used for all sacred snakes. In Paramaribo it is known also in its fuller meaning as a generic term for all the gods, which is the sense in which it is employed in Haiti (*voudou*) and in Dahomey. In Paramaribo they sing:

> "*We want to see the vodu in our yard,*
> *We want to see them, brother.*"

W

waka, to travel. This word is from the English "walk."

waka bow, yowf, literally, "walk well, hear!" The word "*yow*" is not only used in the same sense as in the South, but with the same inflection.

waka kowi, kowi means carefully or with cunning, hence, "go with care." The word *kowikowi* in Suriname means rabbit and suggests strongly a connection with Br'er Rabbit's name of "Cunny Rabbit."

wiri, black magic, poison. In Dahomey the expression "to poison a man" means as often to use black magic against him as actually to kill him by the use of poison, and this is also true of Suriname.

womi, man. This is from the Portuguese *homem*.

womi-fo-meye, man and woman. This is a term used generically for symbols of procreation which appear on carvings. *Cf. womi, meye.*

wowo, house.

dede-wowo, house of mourning. *Cf. dede.*

liko-wowo, a house of more than one story. Few two-story houses are known in the bush, and those appear on the upper river.

Y

yakai, indeed, yes.

yaká's, buzzard. In the Saramacca country it is considered one of the buzzard's "strong" names. In Jamaica and other British West Indian Islands variants of this word are associated with the name of the buzzard. The derivation usually claimed is that it is a corruption of the English "carrion crow." It is possible that the famous "John Canoe" dances can also be associated with the ancient dances to the buzzard, and this supposition is made more likely

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when one hears a Jamaican pronounce this phrase. On the Gold Coast there is a play given by the women called *yawdo* in which there are dancing and sexual extravagances in word play, mimicry, and general ridicule. It seems quite likely that our own "Jim Crow" is derived from this term. Other pronunciations of this term are *yawbow*, *yawbaw*, and *yawbaa*. See also *aseg'e*, *ayete*. 104

yeabo, no translation of this word was given us in Suriname; it is, however, the Yoruban for white man.

yeeka, spirit of one who has died, ghost.

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DJUKA

The Bush Negroes of Dutch Guiana

BY MORTON C. KAHN

[352 532 322] 1 A

With an introduction
by Blair Niles and a foreword by Clark Wissler

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[Title Page]

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1 A [For caption, see category 116, p. 204]

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FOREWORD

EVER since the discovery of America, writers of books have been busy tracking down clues to the transplanting of primitive cultures from the Old World to the New. For the most part these clues have proved false, but one case is made, the transplanting of pagan West African Negroes in northern South America. These Bush Negroes, as they are called, originated in slavery days as colonies formed by runaway slaves. There was room in the jungle and protection too. Something over two hundred years have elapsed since the first of these fugitive slaves set up communities of their own, twice as long ago as the founding of Chicago.

Several books have been written about the Bush Negroes, but none by an author so familiar with their intimate life as in the accompanying volume. For the reader to comprehend the Bush Negro, he must get the feel of the jungle; this he will have when he completes the first few chapters. Then our author carries him into the village where he looks in upon Bush Negro life and acquires some knowledge of quaint customs, most of which the slave ancestors of the present Bush Negroes brought with them from Africa.

CLARK WISSLER

Professor of Anthropology, Yale University; Curator in Chief, Department of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History.

[pp. iv–vi contain no text]

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INTRODUCTION

I FIRST met the Djukas in St. Laurent, which is the prison 114
port of French Guiana, and the centre of the penitentiary system which is popularly known as the Devil's Island Penal Colony.

The Djukas come in to St. Laurent from the jungle. They come to trade jungle rubber and timber for bright beads and gunpowder and fish-hooks and the brilliant lengths of calico [139] which they use as loin-cloths. When they have made their purchases they often pause on their way back to the canoes which they have left moored at the bank of the wide copper-coloured river which separates French from Dutch Guiana. They pause outside the penitentiary gates and stare at the French convicts as they are marched out to the hard labour which is part of their prison sentence.

And I could have had no more dramatic introduction than this to the wild free Djukas of the Guiana jungle.

The convicts march with the listless feet of diseased, under-nourished, hopeless men. They are sad and silent. The Djukas 131
stand erect, confident, and free. In the primitive communism of their forest life, they recognize no masters. It is in every Djuka's power to live as well as does every other Djuka. There is just enough social organization to keep order in the tribe and no more. There are no anarchists among them. No

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one feels any grudge against society. There is small temptation to theft. There are, therefore, no questions of capital and labour, no leisure class, no organized industries, no exploitation either of men or of raw materials, no banks to rob, no checks to forge. Under such conditions economic crimes are practically eliminated. Man lives off the jungle and the streams which intersect it, and there are at his disposal uncounted miles of stream and of jungle. Such crimes as exist among the human inhabitants of these forests arise chiefly in quarrels over women. But where divorce is free and instantaneous, and sexual relationships are taken lightly, even the difficulties between men and women are enormously simplified.

And as these Djukas stood curiously staring outside the prison gates of St. Laurent, they seemed to me to stand in judgment. When I watched them get into their canoes and paddle upstream, returning to their green jungle fastnesses, and heard them call to one another from canoe to canoe, and heard their laughter ring out across the sunlit water, I felt that they went back to the forest, well content that their slave ancestors of two hundred years ago had fled from the white man and all his ways, back to the jungle, there to lead the primitive life of their African forbears.

I had gone to French Guiana to study the convict life of the Devil's Island Penal Colony. And when that had been completed, my husband and I made a journey through the interior of Dutch Guiana, travelling by the streams and trails used by fugitives from the French prisons. This is how we

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happened to cover a fraction of the Djuka territory, so familiar to Dr. Kahn. 114

We lived for a time at the Djuka village of Moengo Tappo, and from there visited other villages on neighbouring rivers and creeks. And there I felt again the sharp contrast between the primitive and the civilized. Through the Djukas, I saw civilization in perspective; and especially I saw that tragic phase of it which passes through prison gates.

Djuka life makes us stop to think all over again about everything. It makes us see what we have gained, as well as what we have lost.

There is, for example, no nonsense about white superiority among the Djukas. They are proud to the point of savage arrogance. Hatred and distrust of the white man are as much a part of their inheritance as is their jungle lore. As among the Negroes of Haiti, you must win your way. But when you are finally accepted, not as a superior being, but as an equal, then how warm and charming a thing their friendship is! [Z09 186]

The Djuka farewell to us is a beautiful memory. As we passed down the river, between walls of forest where orchids were in gorgeous blossom, the Djuka villagers came down to the water's edge to say good-bye, raising their hands high and bowing low to bring down blessings upon us. 57% 114

Indirectly it was these Djukas who introduced me to Dr. Kahn. At the time that we were in the Guiana forest Dr. Kahn was in another part of the same jungle, though neither of us knew of the presence or the existence of the other. Later, after our return to New York, our common interest in the 114

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114 Djukas led a friend to arrange a dinner party for the purpose of bringing us together. And while we sat down to a glittering table and an elaborate meal, far away in the heart of the Guiana forest our mutual friends, the Djukas, were living the frugal life of the jungle. And our talk of them about that dinner table, brought, as every memory of them always brings, the same sense of acute contrast, and the same questioning of our own standards.

In our modern life of crowded interests, intense competition, and overproduction of all commodities, I feel strongly that a book must, from one angle or another, justify its existence.

And the justification for Dr. Kahn's *Djuka,* is not only that it is the best and most complete book on the subject, but that it gives us a perspective on our own problems. We have reached a point where we begin to realize that we must stop and take stock of this civilization, so painfully built by those who have gone before. We must be able to say what is good enough to survive, and what must be eliminated as a menace to human happiness. In what ways, for example, are the Djukas happier than we are? And how can we revise our life, so that we may include in it the b[illegible] of jungle life, without losing any of the good of our own civilization? We have come to a world crisis in which we must look at this subject very seriously and as clearly as may be. And if we are to get any light from primitive life, it is essential that the books to which we go for a picture of primitive conditions shall be accurate. Romanticized versions of tropic isles and idyllic

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jungles will be no more good to us than tales of Aladdin's lamp, or of godmothers with fairy wands, or of beneficent elves who, while we sleep, bring order out of our chaos. We need the truth and we have a right to demand it. And the outstanding quality of Dr. Kahn's book is this integrity which we so greatly need. He has applied to his study of the Djuka the same exactitude as that which has made him distinguished as a bacteriologist. And to this scientific exactitude he has added the zest of exploration, a feeling for beauty, and an affectionate understanding of the primitive Djuka.

He tells us that in the writing of the book he has been "inspired by sincere admiration of the manner and success of these escaped African people in the adaptation of their primitive culture to a new environment." But even more significant of the spirit of his work, is the fact that in his acknowledgments to Anthropologists and Colonial Secretaries and Governors, he includes gratitude to the black men who are the subjects of his book. "I am," he writes, "deeply indebted to the black men, particularly to Abaisa, the headman of Lombe; to Moi-Man and Bat-Jou of the Aucaners; to Ahleesie of the Boni tribe; and to old Captain Koffay of the Paramacca nation." But this sympathy with his subject never becomes sentimental. Dr. Kahn remains a scientist from the first page to the last: clear-sighted, without prejudice, and singularly free from self-consciousness or self-exploitation.

Dr. Kahn tells of this Djuka life as it is lived today in the depths of the Guiana forest. And he describes it in such accurate detail that the reader may stare at this jungle civiliza-

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tion as the Djukas stand and gaze at the criminals of France. And, through this study of the Djuka, the reader may know Djuka life for himself. In the pages of Dr. Kahn's book he journeys up tropical rivers to jungle villages whose names, being translated are, "Try me," "God knows," "Don't Touch Me," and the "Village of the Foot that has no Resting-Place." He meets men whose names mean "Waving Flag," "He Speaks the Truth," "Nice Fellow," "Laughs When He Talks," and "Love Is Sweet."

Dr. Kahn takes his reader far into the interior, for his starting point is where superficial travellers end. The journey leads to the tribe which has two languages: one for ordinary use, and the other a secret language which they call "deepee talkee"; and to strange villages which a man must enter carrying a paddle before him as a symbol that he is voyaging. It is a journey among peoples proud and spirited and courageous, descended from ancestors so bold in their rebellion that they were able to conclude treaties whereby the white man paid them a tribute which their descendants still receive in the form of an annual gift from the Dutch authorities to the headmen of the various Djuka tribes. The reader thus finds himself among the only primitive people in the world to whom the white man pays tribute; among a people to whom magic is as real as science is to us; who believe that spirits, both good and evil, inhabit the very streams and trees of the forest; people who know how to manufacture courage through the hypnotic intoxication of the tomtom and how to get rid of fatigue in the ecstasy of the dance; people whose

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art sense is devoted entirely to the decoration of gifts for their //4
women, while no pains are taken in the decoration of reli- 121
gious objects. The Djuka reasons that "if a God is a good God, well disposed toward the black man, he does not care whether his fetishes are well executed or not"; while, "if he is a bad God, he will continue to be bad, regardless of whether much time has been spent in adorning his fetishes."

All this is picturesque; but, let me repeat that Dr. Kahn does more than give a vivid and authentic study of this twentieth century primitive; somehow in a starkly true unbiased picture, without ever pointing a moral, or presenting a personal conclusion, he contrives to make us see ouselves at the same time that we see the Djuka. And in that achievement, I think, lies the great value of his book.

BLAIR NILES

New York City
November, 1930

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PREFACE

THE year 1929 witnessed the opening of the air-mail route 114
to Dutch Guiana, and it can be expected that before many years have passed the encroachments of industrial civilization will wipe out the last remnants of primitive West African culture in the New World. The Bush Negroes will be a vanished people, their culture gone, their habits and life forgotten. The African slave trade will then be only an historical memory.

Happily unaware of their probable extinction in a fast mechanizing world, these wild Bush Negroes still maintain in South America the ancient customs and venerable economy of the jungle dwellers of West Africa. Surinam is now an ethnological laboratory where one may study certain types of negroid jungle life in one of its purest forms. There the culture origins of the American Negro are preserved, as in a museum, by an historical accident.

In 1922, 1923 and 1925 I visited the South American tropics 121
for the purpose of studying public health measures as applied to tropical disease. These studies took me to the border of the Bush Negro countries. Although my contacts at that time were very brief, and my knowledge of the Bush Negro altogether limited, I was determined to return and study further the lives and customs of a people who, although only

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glimpsed by me, seemed a problem worthy of being illuminated. Therefore in 1927 an expedition, under the auspices of Dr. Clark Wissler of the American Museum of Natural History, was undertaken with the financial aid of Mr. Myron I. Granger.

The short time allotted me during this expedition did not suffice for the gathering of much material on the history and culture of the Djukas; consequently in 1928 and 1930 further expeditions under the same auspices and also financed by Mr. Granger were organized. Djuka is a composite picture of these several journeys.

As to the origin of the name "Djuka" there has been no little doubt. Many claim that it is a derivation of *Ouca* which was the name of the plantation where a treaty of peace was signed between the Bush Negroes and the whites nearly two hundred years ago. Perhaps that is true, for "Djuka" formerly applied solely to Bush Negroes of the Aucaner Auca tribe and is still so used by many but through widespread usage has come to designate not only the Aucaners, but all the Bush Negroes, collectively speaking.

This work makes no attempt at being an ethnological or anthropological account in the scientific sense of the words. It is a narrative of personal observation among these Bush Negro tribes set down with such accuracy as is possible for one trained in another field of science. Its purpose is to further the understanding of these primitive people and to acknowledge their superiority in their own scene. Finally, this book has been inspired by sincere admiration of the

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manner and success of these escaped African people in the 121
adaptation of their primitive culture to a new environment.

I wish to express my deep appreciation to Dr. Clark Wis- 100
sler, Curator in Chief of Anthropology and Ethnology at the American Museum of Natural History, for his advice and co-operation. The kind assistance of His Excellency, Baron van Heemstra, ex-Governor of Dutch Guiana, and His Excellency Dr. L. Rutgers, present Governor of Dutch Guiana will always be remembered. The aid offered me by Dr. F. van Haaren, Colonial Secretary, and James B. Lawton, American Consul to Dutch Guiana has been invaluable. Mr. Alexander Wolff of the Surinam Balata Company assisted me wherever possible in a most friendly manner, as did Mr. J. M. W. Strang of Paramaribo. Also Mr. R. M. Schmidt, missionary at the village of Gansee was very helpful.

To Mr. E. W. Rogalli I owe my profound gratitude as to a friend, guide, and adviser. With his thirty-five years of experience in the South American bush he helped me materially in gathering a considerable amount of the information which is incorporated in this book. His willing assistance greatly expedited and simplified my expeditions. I wish to express my thanks to my very good friend Dr. John C. Torrey, whose understanding and advice were of great value to me.

I am deeply indebted to the black men, particularly to 115
Abaisa, the headman of Lombe, to Moi-Man and Bat-Jou of the Aucaners; to Ahleesie of the Boni tribe; and to old Captain Koffay of the Paramacca nation, who, among other Bush Negroes acted as informants.

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I wish to acknowledge also the co-operation of Dr. Melville Herskovits of Northwestern University who made an expedition with me in 1928 to gather material on the American Negro. My thanks are also directed to Blair Niles, whose understanding and knowledge of the black man added greatly to the spirit of my undertakings.

To my very good friend J. Blake Eggen, who has also visited Surinam, I wish to extend my warmest thanks and deep appreciation. His serious efforts assisted me greatly in the preparation of this manuscript. My gratitude is also extended to William Baake and to my wife, Ruth K. Kahn, for their drawings and to Dorothy Waring for her editorial assistance.

I appreciate greatly the aid afforded me by the officials of the Surinam Bauxite Company during my journey to the country of the Boni and Paramacca tribes of Bush Negroes.

One of the pleasures of writing this volume is the opportunity it gives me to acknowledge the aid of my friends, and in particular, of Mr. Myron I. Granger, whose understanding and generous interest in primitive people played a large part in making these expeditions possible.

MORTON C. KAHN

Cornell University Medical College
New York City
1930

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DJUKA

The Bush Negroes of Dutch Guiana

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IN NORTH-EASTERN South America, more precisely in the hinterland of Dutch Guiana, there is a unique civilization little known to the white men of this continent. We know much of the strange life of the Congo and of the fascinating customs peculiar to the inhabitants of the Malay jungles, for a number of explorers have brought from the Eastern tropics the interesting accounts of their experiences. But of the Surinam Bush Negro, Djuka, as he calls himself, who nearly two hundred years ago fought his way out of slavery, of the survival of his African customs in the jungles of South America, little has been told. 114 101

The flush tides of imperialism have passed over these people, leaving them practically unaltered and unknown, unique among the Negro peoples of the world. They still maintain the life of jungle dwellers of the immemorial past.

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1/A [For caption, see category 116, p.204.--Analyst]

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114 Today they are hunting game with the long bow. Tonight
101 their bodies will be contorted with the sinuous movements of African dances, to the dull thudding of the tomtom. The huts along the rivers of Surinam are like the huts beside the Congo, as they were in the days of Stanley and the early explorers. And in these huts, polygamously, the Bush Negroes live.

114 There is a vicious irony to that famous phrase which describes the backward peoples of the earth as "the white man's burden." The backward sections of the globe have been invaded for exploitation, and the exposure of the natives to civilization is invariably disastrous. In West Africa the process of civilizing the natives has in a single decade decimated many of the tribes. Exploitation has ravished them with disease and despair, the gifts of the white man to the sons of Ham. In strong contrast with this deplorable life along the Congo, the Bush Negroes of South America are a proud and hardy race, independent of the white man and usually contemptuous of him. They have come into contact with white civilization and survived. *They have fought the white man with his own weapons and defeated him, forcing him to sue for peace.* Transported to this hemisphere originally as slaves, they threw off their bondage and began life again in the New World. Slaves, they organized armies for conquest. Primitives, they were the first new people in the Western hemisphere to establish their independence.

They were enabled to do this by the wild and inaccessible jungle, the ancient abode of their ancestors. In the face of

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a desperate situation they established a civilization of their own, which, because of the implacable necessities of the jungle, differs widely from our own. The Djuka tribes are unique. To call them savage because they do not live as we do is an error. Their way is the way of the jungle; they cannot do otherwise and survive.

The Bush Negroes are blood relatives of the Negroes of the United States, only a few generations removed. The West African slavers that supplied the Carolinas and West Indies got their human cargoes from the same Guinea coast. In Jamaica, Haiti, and the United States, the Negroes have had too much contact with white civilization to retain their own characteristics. Among the Djukas the Negro strain remains practically pure. Here in the jungle the white man is weak and dependent, and the Djukas, having tasted the white civilization, reject it in favour of their own.

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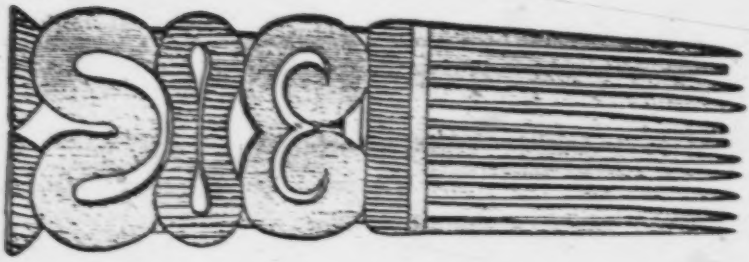

1 [442 532]

Chapter One

THE BLACK REBELLION

A GUINEA SLAVER, tacking up to Paramaribo. In the hold lay shackled Negroes, their bare bodies glistening with sweat. "Black Ivory" they were called. 148 175

Entrapped savages from the West Coast, transported nearly three thousand miles in slaving ships to the Dutch settlement in South America. Three months at sea, and they looked like leather-covered skeletons, those who were still alive.

Packed in a small space, without enough room to lie down, the slaves were forced to take turns at stretching out on the deck to sleep. The others squatted close together, straddling the ones lying down. The night air being considered pernicious, the portholes were closed when evening came, leaving the blacks to suffocate during the fetid dark hours. Sometimes the bare planks, combined with the rolling motion of the ship, rubbed off skin and flesh, leaving patches of bone exposed. Blood and filth were strewn about in an indescrib-

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1 [For caption, see category 116, p. 204. -- Analyst]

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able mess. Only one in twenty survived the ordeal; the bodies of those who succumbed were dropped overboard to be covered over in a swirl of water. The ship went on.

The Surinam is a tan river. There is a sharp line where it meets the deep green of the Atlantic. Twenty miles up the winding stream is Paramaribo, the end of the voyage.

Hot wind blew the ship along, wafting away the odour of flesh. The ship turned and tacked around the broad slow bends of the river. Some of the Negroes realized that the voyage was over and became hysterical, expecting to be killed and eaten. Kidnapped from many different tribes of Africa, speaking no language but their local dialects, they had no way of knowing the fate in store for them. The cruelties of the voyage made them anticipate the worst. As a matter of fact, their immediate fate was to be sold to the planters of the Surinam, to labour on the sugar plantations of the colony. Perhaps the mangrove swamps beside the river recalled their former home.

On the western coast of Africa, between the Senegal River and the Congo country, particularly the Gulf of Guinea, lay the hunting-ground of the slave trader. Somewhere along the Ivory Coast or Gold Coast these Negroes were captured. To facilitate the handling of large numbers of slaves, forts were set up at intervals along the coast, under the command of Europeans. Here Negroes were accumulated in large pens, awaiting shipment. These "factories," as they were called, obtained the blacks by kidnapping them, or by bartering with tribes of the interior, who took them

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captive in jungle wars. A raid on an African village, for the purpose of obtaining captives to sell as slaves, is described by an eye-witness, Captain Richard Drake, an Englishman who was captured and held prisoner by a tribe in Dahomey: 648 175

"When the night was somewhat advanced, the main portion of our force set off in small parties to creep on the unsuspecting town, and in about an hour a bright flame shot up followed by a chorus of yells, cries, and groans. In a few minutes the whole valley seemed in flames. From the brow of the hill I could see the Dahoman warriors running about whirling their weapons. The naked women and children were flying in all directions and in the light from the blazing huts I could see the wretched people rushing from the flames to be received on the spear points of their enemies. It was nearly morning when the work of capture and massacre was finished. . . . When we reached our valley there was a great feast and old King Mammee sat on his pile of sheepskins and distributed feathers to the principal men, and his priests made a solemn sacrifice of two young boys to the King's fetish. The poor lads were cut to pieces with knives by the women soldiers and afterwards burned before the idol."

Massacred by enemy tribes in the interior, taken to the coast face downward in dugout canoes, thrown into slave pens where many died, then the horrible voyage down the Middle Passage on a blood-washed slaving ship, to work under the lash on the sugar plantations of Dutch Guiana,

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648 these captive Negroes experienced the lowest degree of hu-
175 man misery. They were mere beasts. Their civilizations of Songhay and the Mellestine were forgotten.

Paramaribo, where the slaves landed, was then the only city in the Dutch settlement. It resembled a little piece of Holland transplanted to South America. Settled originally by the British, it was given to Holland in 1674 in exchange for the present city of New York, which was a crafty trade. Settlers from Holland gave the colony a Dutch atmosphere that it retains to this day. On this "wild coast" were to be found women in wooden shoes and burghers with long clay pipes.

A crowd usually gathered on the wharves at Paramaribo to watch a slaver put in. Planters in enormous hats and silken shirts walked conspicuously about, anxious to obtain more man-power for their fields. The Negroes were not going to be eaten, as they feared, but perhaps that would have been preferable for some of them. A landing of slaves in Dutch Guiana, some time later, was witnessed by Captain Drake:

"The blacks were landed at once and two days later were placed on sale in the market. There was a scarcity of hands on the sugar plantations and good prices were paid for the slaves. The Dutch maids, in short green jackets and scarlet petticoats, walked around inspecting the naked Africans as if it were a common thing. The auctioneer sat on a high chair at one end of the large room and the slaves stood on a stool in front of him. He made them turn round about,

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as they stood in their breech-cloths before the people, and 648
the purchasers walked up and felt of them to try their flesh 175
and soundness. The darkies were obliged to go through every sort of motion. It seemed at times as if their arms would be pulled out of joint or their jaws cracked by some of the Dutchmen. One dame was not satisfied until she forced a wench to screech by squeezing her breast cruelly. In two days the vendue was over. The grown men fetched as high as a thousand guilders and the boys and girls and women from seven to eight hundred, which were considered good prices."

The slaves were then put to work in the sugar fields. The overseers treated them cruelly and enjoyed it, with the callousness of their century; overseers in Virginia and Jamaica were doing the same with no less zeal. The planter's lash was often "incrusted with blood."

Inevitably some Negroes tried to run away. Near by was the jungle, a refuge from the white terror. From time to time runaway blacks succeeded in escaping into the bush. There they joined other fugitives, forming small bands.

The character of the country favoured them. The undergrowth is so thick that overland travel is impossibly laborious and slow. The rivers, save for a short distance near the ocean, [133] are unnavigable because of their torrential rapids. The Surinam, up which the slave ships sailed to Paramaribo, has seldom been explored to its extreme upper reaches; it is *terra incognita* to white men.

The fugitives were quite at home in the jungle. In this

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Bush Negroes Paddling a Loaded Dug-Out Canoe Up the Rapids.
Photo by Curiel

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648 natural sanctuary they reverted to their African habits of
175 living and began to multiply. Recapture being impossible, their bondage to the white man was definitely over. They propagated and prospered, but they did not forget those slave days behind them. Armed with firelocks and lances they began making raids on the outlying plantations. Revenge!

Resolute bands of them would descend on a plantation and massacre the whites. After carrying off the gunpowder, firelocks, and hatchets which they badly needed, burning the mansion, and freeing the slaves, they would disappear as quickly as they had come, leaving the colonists fuming at their impotence to punish them.

By 1726, but fifty years after the Dutch acquired Surinam, there was a large body of rebel slaves living in the bush around the Saramacca River. They were intrepid and merciless raiders—where would they have learned the meaning of mercy? Two years later a small military expedition was sent out from Paramaribo against them, but it was ineffectual. Back in the bush the Negroes were more than a match for the white man.

In 1730 the colonists succeeded in capturing eleven Bush Negro rebels and killed them by slow torture. One black was hanged to a tree by an iron hook thrust through his ribs; after being suspended thus for several days he finally died. Two were burned to death over a slow fire. Six women were broken on the rack, and two girls were decapitated. The tortures were endured heroically until death brought release.

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The rebels were enraged. Their depredations became more 648
fierce. Now a rich planter would be paddling desperately 175
down to Paramaribo in the dark jungle night, leaving behind him a burning mansion in whose eerie light infuriated Negroes danced, triumphant over the sacking of a white man's home. Or perhaps there would be no survivor to tell of the night attack, but only some charred ruins, no less eloquent, in the morning. The colonists lived in constant terror, dreading attacks that did not come and paralysed with rage and fear over those that did.

The whites had blindly brought upon themselves the necessity, almost, of abandoning the colony. Unnecessary ill-treatment had driven the rebels to an extremity of revenge; inhuman tortures had seared in their brains a deep hatred for the masters. It is true that some of the plantation owners were as kindly disposed as the custom of the age permitted, but most of the planters ill-used their slaves. There was nothing to prevent it; the magistrates were fellow-planters, and no Negro could bring legal testimony. The black had no redress except in blood. The idea of revolt spread.

After twenty years of intermittent raiding, the colonists had had enough of it; Governor Mauricius, the head of the colony, sent a detachment of troops into the bush to find the rebels and conclude a treaty of peace, "so ardently desired." After some skirmishing they arrived at the rebel headquarters and opened negotiations with the Bush Negro chief, named Adoe. There, in 1749, a treaty was signed, the conditions of which were dictated by the rebel blacks. Chief Adoe

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was presented with a large cane bearing the arms of Surinam, and, a more material gain, he extracted from the white negotiators a promise to turn over to him a large supply of arms and ammunition, along with other presents. As a pledge of friendship, Adoe presented them with a bow and arrows. Then the troops returned to Paramaribo.

The news of the treaty was variously received. Many planters expressed satisfaction, others doubted whether peace would be lasting. Some denied the advisability of handing out to the rebels more firelocks and gunpowder. As one man expressed it: "I must indeed confess that, notwithstanding the good intentions of Governor Mauricius, nothing appears to be more dangerous than making a forced friendship with people who, by the most abject slavery and ill usage, are provoked to break their chains and shake off their yoke in pursuit of revenge and liberty, and who, by the trust which is placed in them, have it in their power to become from day to day more formidable."

The following year the promised presents were sent upstream: checked linen and salt beef, spirits and salt pork, firearms and ammunition. The caravan was intercepted by an independent band led by a rebel called Zam Zam, who carried off the stock and murdered the carriers. Chief Adoe waited for the presents which did not come, and after long waiting finally concluded that they had never been sent, that the white men had cheated him with false promises. He declared the peace broken, and resumed the raids.

Thus an accident reopened the series of terroristic scenes;

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death and destruction again spread throughout the planta-
tions. The imprudent governor was recalled to Holland, and
never returned. Six hundred Dutch troops arrived as rein-
forcements for the colony, but they could not allay the dis-
tress. Besides the Saramacca rebels, a new revolt started in
the region of the Tempati Creek, and was immediately suc-
cessful. Dutch troops sent against it were defeated repeatedly.
By 1757 the whites were again compelled to sue for peace,
and a parley was agreed to.

The colonists were represented by two commissioners, Sober and Abercrombie, who carried presents with them to the Tempati rebels under the command of Chief Araby. He represented the new generation of Bush Negroes, born not in Africa but in the South American bush and having no personal memory of the slave ships. He received the white commissioners politely, and quieted their apprehensions regarding the ensuing parley.

During the negotiations a rebel captain named Boston became irate at the commissioners' presents and wanted to know whether the Europeans thought that the Bush Negroes could live on combs and looking-glasses. He ended his oration with a demand that the two commissioners be held as hostages. Another captain, bearing the African name of an Ashanti chief, Quaco, took the opposite side and spoke in defence of the white representatives. Finally Chief Araby dictated the terms of peace, making Abercrombie draw up a list of conditions to be agreed to, and merchandise to be delivered. The Dutch government was allowed a year to

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Aucaner

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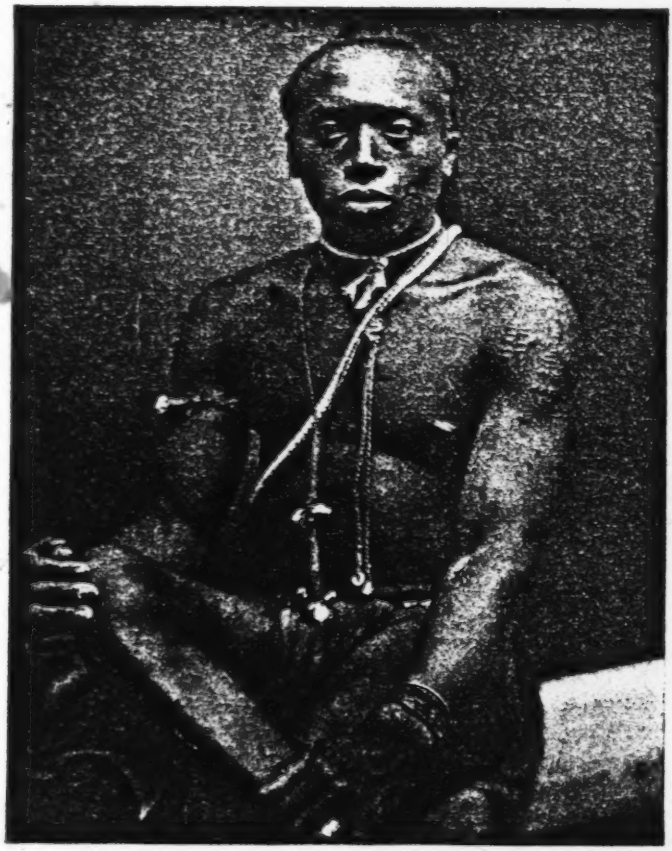

A Typical Bush Negro of the Aucaner Tribe, Lower Cottica River, Dutch Guiana. Note scar tissue decoration on arm.

Photo by Klein

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648 175 deliberate; at the end of that time it could choose either peace or war. The Negroes were ready for either.

When a bush chief finishes speaking, all the members of the gathering nod their heads and say *"Daso,"* or "That's so." As Araby finished, there was a general murmur of *"Daso."* The parley concluded with an elaborate entertainment for the commissioners, after which they were sent back to Paramaribo, accompanied by no escort, but with these proud instructions:

"We desire you to tell your Governor and your court that in case they want to raise no new gangs of rebels they ought to take care that the planters keep a more watchful eye over their own property, and do not trust them so frequently in the hands of drunken managers and overseers, who by wrongfully and severely chastising the Negroes, debauching their wives and children, neglecting the sick, etc., are the pain of the colony and wilfully drive to the woods such members of stout active people who by their sweat earn your subsistence and without whose hands your colony must drop to nothing and to whom at last in this disgraceful manner you are glad to sue for friendship."

Suing for peace, with the Negroes they had formerly owned body and soul! There was a vast difference between these arrogant, victorious blacks and the whipped slaves still coming over the Middle Passage. These men were no longer servile; they were free.

At the conclusion of the year of grace two commissioners came up the river again, bringing with them the required

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presents; again the white man acknowledged his defeat. The 61-8 presents were delivered to the Bush Negroes at Joca Creek, 175 where the parley had been held, fifteen miles east of Tempati. Here at the Ouca Plantation in 1761 a treaty of twelve or fourteen articles was signed by the white commissioners and sixteen blacks. They all took the sacred oath and drank each other's blood, mixed with spring water and ceremonial clay, from a calabash cup, while the *Gadoman* or high priest "with upcast eyes and outstretched arms took heaven and earth to witness."

The multitude responded *"Daso."*

Araby delivered four of his captains as hostages to Paramaribo, where they were entertained at the Governor's table. Considering an oath sacred, the Negroes never violated the treaty. They adhered to it so strictly that, when other Negroes escaped, this tribe helped the whites recapture them, thus incurring the enmity of many of their own people.

No sooner had the treaty been signed with one tribe than a fresh rebellion broke out in another part of the colony. The next revolt, at Berbice, was unsuccessful; the Bush Negroes were defeated and their villages looted. The whites were aided in this by three tribes of native Indians, the Caribs, Acaways, and Arawaks. When the Dutch general handed some Bush Negro loot over to these Indian allies, his own troops became dissatisfied and deserted. Seventy deserters marched overland through the bush, attempting to join the Spaniards on the Orinoco River. They were intercepted and captured by a large force of rebel Negroes, who executed

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648 175 fifty of them. Shortly afterward the entire revolt was quelled, and the Negro leaders burned alive six at a time. The remaining twenty deserters from the Dutch militia were brought to Paramaribo and executed by being hanged or broken alive.

After this setback, other rebellions broke out afresh in a different section of the colony. These outbursts were known as the Cottica rebellion, and were more formidable than even the Saramacca and Tempati revolts. Pillage was extended in every direction, and the colonists at Paramaribo lived in daily terror of a massacre. By 1772 hope of maintaining the colony had almost been relinquished; the Dutch were ready to admit that the finishing blow had been given to Surinam. The planters abandoned their homes and flocked to Paramaribo for refuge. Even there they could hear at night the throbbing of Negro drums.

In a desperate effort to save the settlement, faithful slaves were manumitted and armed, to act in conjunction with the colonial troops against the rebels. To send Negro against Negro was a hazardous resolve. At the same time the Society of Surinam appealed to the Prince of Orange for aid. Two companies of mercenaries, twelve hundred strong, were dispatched to the relief of the stricken plantations.

This was perhaps "the most extraordinary expedition ever undertaken by European troops." Among the officers of the expedition was an Englishman by the name of Captain John Stedman, of Tifferton, Devonshire, a free-lance soldier of fortune, who wrote a long account of his adventure. His *Nar-*

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His Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition Against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam in Guiana on the Wild Coast of South America is a record of strange happenings that could not occur again.

Many of the soldiers died en route, so reinforcements of three hundred men were sent from Amsterdam. Two hundred and fifty of these died on the way. The remainder were prepared for active service against the rebels. Acting with them were three hundred auxiliary troops, consisting of emancipated slaves under the command of white leaders. Such Negroes, freed for the purpose of fighting, were known as "rangers." They were given trousers and scarlet caps, armed with firelock and sabre, and taught the Dutch password, *"Orange!"* to distinguish them from rebel Negroes and prevent "disagreeable mistakes" during the fighting.

Under the command of the rebel leader Baron, whose very name sufficed to cause panic in any part of the colony, the Bush Negroes had established a strong settlement between the Cottica River and the seacoast. One proud rebel town was known as *Boucou,* which means *"Dust."* It was entirely surrounded by swamp, with secret paths under water, leading to gates in the palisade wall. Before the gates Baron placed swivel guns. On the whole it had the reputation of being "no contemptible fortification." There was another camp of rebel Negroes at Lee Shore, between the Surinam and Saramacca rivers. From these armed camps they made night forays into the plantations, robbing fields and stealing women.

Against Boucou the desperate Dutch sent a detachment

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648 175 of troops under the command of Captain Mayland. They camped on the border of the swamp, finding they could not cross it. Baron raised his white flag of defiance and the militia fired many useless fusillades. They planned a siege and a bridge of boats across the marsh, but both plans were abandoned when a ranger discovered an underwater path to the fortification.

Making a feint attack by rapid firing on one side of the swamp, Mayland drew the defenders to that side. Meanwhile, the troops crossed on the opposite side, swarmed over the palisadoes without encountering opposition, and fell upon the blacks from behind. Boucou was taken in a swirl of carnage.

Most of the Bush Negroes managed to escape; finding ten or twelve rangers stuck in the swamp, they slit their throats on the way. The white men's prisoners were put to horrible deaths. Stedman describes one as hanging for three days on a hook through his ribs, trying to drink the rainwater that rolled down his chest. He was finally killed with the butt of a musket. The story also tells that another captive was being flogged near the suspended Negro. When the beaten prisoner cried out in pain, the first one taunted him with weakness, saying, *"You mong? Da boy fasee,"* which means, "Are you really a man? You act like a boy!" Other captives had wooden splinters driven under their fingernails and toenails, after which they were quartered by being tied to four horses driven in different directions. As for young women being roasted alive, says Stedman, "Nothing was

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more common in the colony." This is probably an exaggeration. 648 175

Not long after this, Captain Mayland, the victor of Boucou, was caught with his troops in an ambuscade while fording a swamp. Up to their armpits in water, the Europeans and their rangers were unable to return the rebel fire. The whole party was wiped out. A few captives were taken back to the rebel village, stripped naked, and beaten to death before the assembled population to provide an afternoon's amusement.

But the colony was saved for the whites. Cruelties continued on both sides, those of the civilized Europeans equalling those of the savage. On one plantation Stedman saw a young woman hanging to a tree, being flogged with two hundred lashes. Seeing her stripped and covered with blood, he protested mildly. Enraged that anyone should venture to come between him and his slaves, the overseer ordered the punishment doubled, and the lashes went on.

In 1775, when the revolutionary spirit was also beginning to flame in North America, the mercenaries entered the Guiana jungle against the rebels for the last time. In this detachment were two hundred European troops and a hundred rangers, commanded by a Colonel Fourgeod. The first day they travelled due east from Paramaribo, cutting their way eight miles through the bush with billhooks. The following days they continued this laborious chopping of a path, and at night campfires were forbidden lest they draw the attention of the Bush Negroes. They proceeded in three columns, guarded by flankers. After marching a week, they stumbled

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upon the rebel village of *Gado Saby*. The name means "God Understands." The Dutch detachment came out of the bush into an oblong rice field, where the rebels met them with an impassioned defence of the village. The black warriors fired from the ground or from behind trees. Each was supported by two others, one to take his place if he were killed and the other to drag his body away. Trusting to their *obeiahs*, or talismans, for protection against enemy bullets, the rebels exposed themselves rashly and many were killed.

The Dutch found the opposing troops manœuvred in a masterly manner. The defence of the village was admirable. The Negroes even cut down trees about the village to impede the Dutch advance. It was soon noticed that, although the Bush Negroes were firing rapidly, few Europeans were injured and none were killed. Afterward the surgeons found out why. They discovered in the wounds many pebbles, coat buttons, bits of silver, but no bullets. The rebels had none. This was all that saved the whites from extermination. The blacks surrounded them, had them at their mercy—but lacked bullets to clinch the victory.

Pressing on, the Dutch reached the town. The Negro chieftain, Captain Bonny, immediately set fire to it, and his troops retired in good order. This turned out to be a very effective stroke, for it left the whites with no shelter and little provisions. Every rebel rice field that the whites could locate had been burned, as usual.

Camped on the charred site, the rangers amused themselves by bowling with severed human heads. It was, as Sted-

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man noted, a *condree fasee*—a custom of the country. Rifles were found, all lacking flint, for which the Europeans had good reason to be thankful. In the village were found silver spoons pillaged from the estates, along with china and other ware. The rebels were observed to be healthy, and lacking nothing but bullets and flint. Their diet contained ingenious makeshifts. Salt they obtained from the ashes of a palm tree, and butter from condensing the fat of the palm tree worm.

That evening the rebels crept near the European encampment and began shouting curses, threats. All night the jungle resounded with the yells of rebels and the replies of rangers. The hatred of the revolted blacks for the loyalist rangers knew no bounds. They swore that no ranger should ever leave the bush alive. They dared the planters to enter the woods. Finding so much communication going on, Colonel Fourgeod decided to join in, and began "hallooing." He offered the rebels food, drink, and freedom if they would lay down their arms.

The reply was curt and contemptuous. They "damned him for a French bastard," saying, "We are free men. You soldiers are white slaves, hired to be shot at for fourpence a day."

Fourgeod swore to pursue Bonny to the end of the earth. The following day the troops pressed on to the next village, *Cofaay*, which signifies "Try Me." They found it deserted. Lacking ammunition, the blacks had realized the impossibility of putting up a defence. So they made a great noise in the night, under cover of which Cofaay was evacuated. While the loud shouting was going on, the food of the next village had

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Aucaner

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Aucaner Woman and Children. Upper Comotibo River, Dutch Guiana.

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been packed in baskets and transported to a safe place. The Dutch, tricked by the wily Bonny, found Cofaay bare.

Provisions being imperative, a small detachment was sent back to Paramaribo for them. The detachment was cut off by the rebels. European soldiers were spared, but every ranger was killed, since the rebels had sworn none of them should leave the bush alive.

After one or two other engagements, in which the Bush Negroes were defeated, with the help of Indian tribes, the expedition returned to Paramaribo. Both sides had fought each other to a standstill. The Europeans were weary of the hazards of the bush, of the vicious fire-ants and carnivorous [134] mosquitoes. Above all they knew that if the Bush Negro had possessed ammunition they would never have returned.

From this point on the warfare ceased by common consent. The Bush Negroes were left alone to duplicate in the American forest their former life in Africa. The slaves who never revolted were finally emancipated in the nineteenth century, and their descendants today, still living with the whites in Paramaribo, are known as Town Negroes. The bush tribes call them *bahkra schlaff*, or "white man's slave."

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It may be of interest to recall the names of some of the old villages which constituted places of refuge for the escaped slaves in the early days and from which many of the forays were conducted against the white plantations. In the jungle between the Surinam and the Saramacca rivers were the following:

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Villages	*Headmen or Captains* [622]
Acoro-kriki	Aletoo
Attoma-kriki	Attama
Awara	Davo
Congo-kriki	Attoma
Doussou-kriki	Mufinga
Cabrolte	Primo
Janwiri-kriki	Kwakoo, Klaas, Pedro
La Motte	Foolon
Matawarie	Adoo
Loango	La Motte
Toofinga	Coffie
Wana	Mathysie
Pada	Pambo, Magondi, Darie, Samsam

Higher up the rivers, separated from these, were still more villages continuing right on to the Brazilian frontier, even on to the Orinoco River, where some of the escaped slaves mixed with the Indians.

The villages between the Surinam and the Marowyne rivers were the following:

To the north of Paramaribo, between the Duivelsbroek

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648 (Devil's Pants) Swamp and the ocean was the village of
175 No Meli Mi (Don't Touch Me).
103
361 On the Upper Surinam River at the source of the Surnau
621 Creek and to the north of the plantation Maasstroom there was a village called Broos Condree; on the right bank of the lower Commewyne River, the village of the Headman Kopro-Kanoo (Copper Cannon) was situated.

On the Upper Cottica were the following havens of refuge:

[622]

Villages	*Headmen or Captains*
Gado Saby	David Voro
Corsary	Pamo (Governor)
Meli Mi	Araby
Mi Sa Lasi	Boston
Tesi	Abram
Boesi Krei	Thoma
Kwami Condree	Coffie
Karoe Condree	Jan Prado
Areisi Condree	Quakoo
Boucou	Baron
Aroukou	Bonny, Joli Coeur

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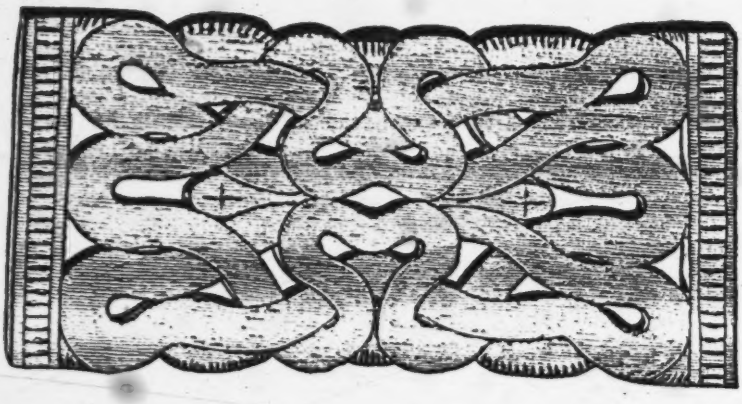

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[352
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Chapter Two

UPRIVER

EIGHT miles an hour the river moves, down long 133
stretches of rapids and fast water, over great rocks in the river-bed. Any sort of outboard motor would be torn to pieces. There is nothing to do but pole upstream in dugout canoes to the Djuka country.

Bush Negro boatmen, with glossy thighs and heaving 502
backs, stand at the bows. They plant their great ten-foot poles in the river-bed and pull against them. As the motion of the boat carries them past the planted poles, they walk back along the gunwales, pushing the poles to the extreme end. They are retrieved, wheeled in a great arc, and again planted in the river-bed. This makes a rare picture in the sunlight on

1/^ [For caption, see category H6, p. 204.-- Analyst]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

532

Bench Top Carved from a Single Piece of Wood: Human Face Motif. *Aucaner Tribe*, Sara Creek District. This specimen shows striking West African characteristics.

Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History

[Facing p. 28]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

the river—the glinting light on the black skins, shining with sweat and spray, and the veined muscles that roll and subside as the dripping pole goes down, first one end and then the other, into the yellow water. Hour after hour they strain their bodies against the bending poles. Without warning a heavy tropical downpour will blanket the river with sheets of rain, but the *corials* (canoes) go on. When the rain stops the hot sun quickly dries the black skins.

All along the river the foliage towers upward from the water's edge. Great trees rear high their masses of limbs and verdure. Going upstream the boatmen stay close to the bank, for there the current, checked by myriads of roots, is not so swift. Often the men can reach out of the corial and touch the foliage. In sharp contrast with this green is the brown colour of the muddy stream. The sunlight glares on the surface, except where the overhanging wall of trees throws a shade upon the water. The black boatmen blend in with the yellow river, the green foliage, and the metallic sky.

Parrots scream overhead. A pair of scarlet macaws cackle at each other. Leaping fish shimmer in the sunlight, falling back into the river with a white splash. Bats from underneath logs, disturbed by human intrusion, disappear into the bank a hundred feet ahead. The corials are eyed intently by parakeets feeding high up in the air, perched on tree limbs along the bank. Little black and white swallow-like skimmers scurry over the water just forward of the bow, which keeps pushing on through the white riffles. Huge water-fowl flap their wide wings and sail gracefully away.

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SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Hot sun . . . Gush of rapid water . . . Bees and dragon-flies cruise about. . . . Rain . . . Hot sun . . . There is a crash of branches in the bush; some animal, probably a tapir. . . . Kingfishers chase each other over the yellow bosom of the river. . . . Talkee-talkee chatter. . . . The white man curses the flies. . . . That tiny speck a mile high is a vulture, wheeling without effort in great circles. . . . Rapids . . . Cloud-banks in the sky. High-lights on the river . . . Hot sun . . . Poling up the rapids . . . Grunting Negroes lean on the slick wet poles. . . . Still water . . . The paddlers step overboard to drag the boat up a difficult piece of rapid water. . . . The canoe is stuck on a rock. . . . It swings broadside to the current. . . . The river almost wins; we get away by a hair's breadth. . . . Over into the still water . . .

Moi-Man sings a Djuka song. . . . Alligators sunning on sandbanks . . . Gorgeous Morpho butterflies go by on shimmering blue wings. . . . Jewellery is made from them. . . . Showers of little white butterflies cross the stream, fluttering tirelessly. . . . A feast for the swallows . . . Spray from the fast waves . . . Wet tarpaulin over the baggage . . .

The forest is as impassable now as it was in the days of the rebellion. There is no way of penetrating the interior except by travelling up one of the great rivers of Surinam. The Bush Negroes spend much of their time on the rivers; their water-craft is exquisite. To make the laborious passage upstream the expedition is entirely dependent upon these black polers. They consent to accompany the white men—*bahkras* as they are called—with no great eagerness. The Djukas realize that

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SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

they must tolerate a certain amount of intrusion, and negotiations for canoes and paddlers can be made for occasional journeys upstream.

The Bush Negroes sometimes come down to Paramaribo, but on the whole they have no desire for contact with white civilization. At one or two points along the lower rivers trading-posts have been set up by the Surinam Balata Company. The post near Kabel, on the Surinam River, is connected with Paramaribo by a small railroad, the only one in the colony. Once a week a tiny locomotive hauls some wooden coaches up to Kabel, a journey of nine hours. For a few miles the train passes through cleared plantation lands before plunging into the bush, the engine making as much as twenty miles an hour when it is going well. A few Hindu and Indian villages are scattered along the route. When the train stops at Republiek, swarms of Hindu fruit dealers attack the passengers: Carib Indians, coloured like ripe mangoes, can be seen holding themselves proudly aloof from such merchants. A little further on the *pork-knockers* detrain. They are freelance blacks, seeking a fortune by washing for gold in the yellow waters which roll down from the foothills of the distant mountains.

Here, at Kabel, one river trip begins. The trading factor, Mr. Alexander Wolff, had negotiated with the Bush Negroes for two forty-foot dugouts, capable of carrying a thousand pounds of luggage and equipment, and had secured four Bush Negro paddlers. One is named Quacoe, the famous name of the Tempati rebel, and another is called Flagawai,

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

or Waving Flag. There is also a town cook, known as Bundle. 484

It is grey on the misty river when we leave Kabel to take 648 up the journey into the interior. The corials are wet with fog.

A group of villagers stands on the bank to watch our departure. The last evidence of civilization is the corrugated iron shack which marks the terminus of the railroad. The baggage has been transferred to the canoes, and the paddlers take their places. We shove off on the tawny river. The villagers shout a farewell: *"Wakka bon na watra, bahkra."*—"Walk well on the water, white man."

Seeing these black-skinned paddlers dimly through the morning mist, one can easily imagine being on the Niger, headed into the interior of Africa. They are characteristic West African types, with broad noses, thick lips, and kinky [142] hair. There are no evidences of racial mixture, no hybrids, no mulattoes. Noticeably aristocratic in bearing, they are carefully groomed and carry themselves admirably. In parleying with the white man they show no deference, for they have no sense of inferiority. They remember the rebellion.

The corials are paddled over a short stretch of quiet water before the rapids begin. It is not long, however, before the boatmen lay down their paddles and take up the great poles. The rhythmic heaving begins. After a few miles they draw the canoes in to the bank, for no apparent reason. Their wives appear out of the bush, bringing the men some extra supplies for the journey. There is an additional loin-cloth for each [297] paddler, and two togas, worn over the shoulder. The native substitute for a valise, in which these clothes are packed to [415]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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The First Glimpse of a Bush Negro Village on the Upper Suriname River.

[Facing p. 32]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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keep them dry, is a carved calabash gourd, with a tight-fitting waterproof cover made from another gourd. These are stored away amidship, along with high piles of cassava cakes and jugs of mareepa oil, the native soft drink. The women also add to the cargo a small gipsy cooking-pot and an unclean shotgun.

There is much talkee-talkee during the loading. After the lapse of some time a second start is made, and the poling begins again. After hours on the river, around bend after bend, and through innumerable passages of rapid and rough water, we encounter a Bush Negro corial coming downstream. In it are two paddlers, and a woman with a little boy. Immediately the Djukas bring the boats together for a gossip and palaver. The strangers pay little attention to the bahkra, except a curt nod in answer to his greeting. But they ask the paddlers all about the white man, who he is, where he is going, and where he comes from. Flagawai replies in detail, and for his part asks news of the upper river. The strangers have come from a distant, picturesquely named village many days up the Surinam River, Futu No Habbe Ackaba, "The Foot That Has No Resting-Place." This signifies the long journey required to reach it, but the phrase might be taken as symbolical of the many enforced journeyings of the Negro race.

The powwow continues for some time. Our restless hints pass unnoticed. Unlike other natives, who can be commanded and beaten, the Djukas are independent; to give them orders is out of the question. The traveller who at-

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SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

tempted it would find himself deserted by his paddlers, lug- 484
gage deposited in the bush, scrupulously intact, while his 648
paddlers went along the river warning the villages against the malicious bahkra. And there he would remain, set down in the bush, unable to get more paddlers, until hunger made him humble. In the interior there is no means of transportation, no communication, except by Djukas. So on the whole the white man is largely subject to the will of his guides, over whom he has only nominal control; it behooves him to put up with their whims, and to avoid the mistake of trying to command them.

Gradually the canoes float apart, but the talking continues. 198
A thought pops into a black head and is shouted across the 484
intervening water. Questions, answers, continue though the 648
boats are now some distance away from each other. To make their words carry far over the water, the Djukas actually lower their voices, singing out the words in a sustained, resonant tone that makes a mellow sound across the waves. This long drawn-out "Ah-e-e-e" can be heard after the other corial has passed far down the river. Out of sight around a bend, we can still hear the other Bush Negroes intoning strange words.

Not being able to follow the conversation, we ask the cook, 198
Bundle, what it's about. Bundle does not know. The Djukas 191
are not using talkee-talkee now. They are using an obscure 484
tongue. When the Bush Negroes converse with outsiders 648
they employ the talkee-talkee language which white men and Paramaribo Town Negroes can understand. But they also

648 have a tribal language called *odo, deepee-talkee,* or *Saramacca-*
[191 *tongo* known only among themselves; they are members of
198] the Saramaccaner tribe.

Before the other corial is out of earshot, the Djukas bid us good-bye with the familiar words: *"Wakka bon na watra, bahkra!" "Gran danke, matio"*—"Many thanks, my uncle," we respond, adding the *o* sound to the last word to make it carry over the waves, as they do. To them "uncle" is the most
[576 respectful appellation that can be used, similar to our respect-
604] ful use of the word "father." For them a maternal uncle is more important than a father.

For a while now the poling continues in silence. Further on we pass a lone Djuka on the bank, skilfully setting a fish trap constructed of sticks and *lianas.* Far away upstream can be heard the muffled report of a shotgun; some black hunter is bringing in game. The angry currents slap constantly against the side of the corial. We round another bend and see ahead only more rapids, where rocks make innumerable white ripples in the muddy water.

A stop is made for lunch at one of the many islands. Bundle brings out canned food and the gipsy pot. The river looks enticing and cool. The bahkra begins taking off his clothes for a swim in the water near shore. The Negroes are abashed at his nakedness, and Bundle tactfully advises him to be more modest.

136 The waters in this part of the great South American rain forest are infested with the Brazilian piranha or piraya (*Serrasalmo sp.*), a species of carnivorous fish. They are small,

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SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

something like bass, but with undershot thick jaws and 136
heavy teeth. They run six to eight inches long and seldom weigh more than half a pound. But they travel in schools and attack simultaneously, so that any flesh in the water, human or otherwise, with a bloody surface exposed, is torn to pieces in a short time. If a bush-hog is killed and suspended in the water, the smell of blood attracts these fish; in an incredibly short space of time the carcass is wholly devoured.

The Djukas have learned to be wary of this fish. On one 136
occasion, when trading for a drum at an Aucaner village, 484
the blacks handed the drum out to the corial on a long pole, 648 502
rather than step a few feet into the water. Despite this fear, in poling upstream it is frequently necessary for the paddlers to get out of the canoe in water up to their armpits and forcibly drag it over the rocks. On such occasions their courage is immediate and unfailing. They enter the water, knowing that piraya may be present. There is no other way of getting the boats over rock-studded pieces of fast water, where paddles are useless and poles insufficient. They jump out into the river, taking the chance of having pieces of flesh excised from their limbs.

Fear of this fish prevents constant bathing in all parts of 136
the river. Now, however, after a long hot trip, the lure of a 484 648
cool bath in the fresh flowing water overcomes the bahkra's caution, but the Djukas, as soon as they have grasped the white man's intention, will not permit him to enter the water. They gesticulate violently, waving him back with rapid and excited words—no, no, he cannot go in—piraya, piraya! He is

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

136 almost forcibly prevented. But when the day's journey is over,
484 and we have camped for the night in an upriver village, the
648 paddlers will take the risk of bathing in the cool stream. Even though there are no piraya in the immediate vicinity, the bathers will not linger long.

484 All the long, heavy afternoon the Negroes toil slowly with
648 the great poles. Troe stops to cut some herbs for medicine. Flagawai sharpens the end of his pole with a bush-knife to give it a better grip on the river-bed. We have never seen better paddling, not even in the Canadian woods, where the Indian guides retain the canoe-craft of the American aborigines, nor on the Mazaruni River in British Guiana, where the black diamond-seekers haul their great whaling boats over the rapids.

There is a low falls across the river. The corials have to be dragged up over the slanting slippery rocks into the higher water beyond. Everyone gets out. The boatmen quietly decide the best path; there is little hesitation and no debate. Brown hands catch hold of the gunwales and brown feet begin to strain willingly on the slick wet rocks. The lumbering boat slowly mounts the incline. Here again the white man's life is in the hands of the Negroes; if the corial were to upset, the food would be lost, and the trip would end disastrously.

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The blacks are proud of their water skill. Upsetting a canoe 484
or drowning a passenger are disgraces that no man can ever 648
live down. But they are rare occurrences. The Indians of this 501
part of the continent, not nearly so skilful, use a different
style of canoe and paddle. Djuka paddles are hewn with a
bush-knife from a solid plank of hard wood, and finished off [322]
with an ordinary pocket-knife. The handle is frequently
pierced with delicate ornamental work, the entire piece beautifully balanced to handle easily. The men's paddles are as tall as they are, but the women's are shorter and more elaborate. Tiny ones are given children as soon as they are big enough to hold them, so that the Djuka's water skill is the result of a lifetime on the river.

All the boats are dugouts; no canvas or bark canoe would 396
last long in these rapids. They are manufactured out of big [501]
trees, which are felled and allowed to season. Then the centres are hollowed out with fire and adze; nothing is left but the shell of the trunk, with perpendicular sides and a rounded bottom. This is filled with water, into which hot rocks are dropped. The heated water softens the wood, enabling thwarts to be thrust in, forcing the gunwales apart. The ends are then symmetrically curved up and are often carved. Seats, as well as bow and stern pieces, are often carefully decorated. The entire boat has a distinct West African style. When com- 501
pleted it is from eight to forty feet long. Ours has a large [17]
sunshade of thatched grass near the stern, because the white 648
man is too soft to endure the sun's rays. Under the shade we have a camp-chair, a little comfort for the long trip. The

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other canoe is entirely open, the Negroes being more hardy than we.

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Stealing a corial is to the Bush Negro what stealing a horse was to the early plainsmen of the American frontier: a capital crime. So much of the Bush Negro life is on the water that no man can get along without a canoe for any length of time. There are only hunting trails through the jungle, and traffic by preference goes along the river. In spite of the luxuriant jungle, a man left in the bush without food is liable to starve, as a frontiersman left on the plains without a mount was considered to be as good as dead.

Next to Dutch Guiana is French Guiana, a penal colony. Here large numbers of convicts are imprisoned. There are also men known as *libérés*—exiles who are at liberty within the colony, but forbidden to leave it. Many succeed in escaping desperately into the bush. They must obtain canoes, for travelling any distance overland is practically impossible, due to the heavy growth. If the fugitive cannot purchase one at the Negro villages, the only alternative is to steal it. Such thieves are pursued relentlessly by the Djukas, and killed on sight. Bloody tales are told in Paramaribo of hand-to-hand struggles to horrid deaths, between black man and convict fighting for life, in the dim blue light of the jungle day, in the unknown interior of Surinam.

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See mac Canoe

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Chapter Three

THE JUNGLE CLEARING

THE first indication of a village is a group of empty canoes made fast on the shore. Behind them, a short distance inland, is the village of Lombe, the first real Bush Negro town at which we stop on the Surinam River.

Villages are seldom situated on the river-bank, but a quarter to a half mile inland. The reasons for this are that the

[For caption, see category 86, p. 204 - Analyst]

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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Bush Negro Group Showing Unfinished Dug-Out Canoe Hewn with Axe.
Photo by Carvid

[Facing p. 40]

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361 river floods periodically, and might wipe them out if they were too near, and that the Bush Negro still retains, back in his mind, a strong fear of another war with the white man. In the latter event the Djuka villages would have to be camouflaged or hidden. Often, too, the villages are to be found just above a waterfall or rapids, as another hindrance to possible invaders.

648 609 [576] At the landing we see bare-breasted Djuka women washing clothes or bathing their children. They do not evince much curiosity as we paddle up, for it is considered insolent to stare. The naked little ones are very much afraid of the white man. They scurry into the underbrush and watch us from behind trees. The older children remain and are proud of their courage. An old man is making a canoe. Most of the men are away on hunting or lumbering expeditions.

361 648 [417] Leading up to the village is a winding path, cut by the violent rain until it resembles a ravine. Sometimes the river floods the path, forming a little muddy inlet into which the canoes stick their noses. One town is perched on a high bank, reached only by a hardwood ladder twenty-five feet tall. The blacks clamber up easily, unlike the awkward white man, who has difficulty with the missing steps.

We ascend the path; the frightened children return to their play, paddling about or fishing from the moored canoes. 202 648 [534] Sometimes the bahkra's coming has been announced beforehand by a system of drum telegraphy. A certain rhythm beaten on the tomtom informs the adjacent villages that white men are coming up the river, and why. In this way

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their arrival is frequently anticipated. But it is something of an exaggeration to say that this primitive telegraphy is so extensive and efficient as to spread news of the white man over "more than two thousand square miles of impassable land." Nothing of the sort happens. The sound of the drums will carry for about two or three miles, when the wind is in the right direction, and the drum call is relayed from town to town. Most often, however, they are not beaten at all for us, and we arrive unannounced.

At the landing we are met by Captain Abaisa, a splendidly built Djuka whose friendship was obtained on a previous trip. His powerful body is all cut up with ornamental scars, a form of personal decoration highly esteemed by the Bush Negroes. The custom is a direct heritage from West Africa, found in many parts of the Gold Coast, the Congo country, and Cameroons, but unknown among the Indians of the Guianas. Abaisa greets us cordially: *"You wicki bah?" "E-e ah, matti"* is the proper reply. This talkee-talkee greeting, the equivalent of "Did you wake well?" is chanted rather than spoken. The voice ascends sharply on the second word, the final word being drawn out in a high sustained tone. The reply means "Yes, friend."

Another form of greeting is *"Ah broko baka,"* or "The day breaks again"—in other words—we meet again; or *"Neetee kaba"*—"The night is finished."

If a person is met for the second time within a short interval, the proper thing to say is *"We meetee baka."* Still another greeting is *"Bala, (Sis, Da, Ma) odio, how fa you de*

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576 *bah?"* In other words, "Brother, (Sister, Father, Mother) howdy, how-do-you-do?"

751 There is a ceremony connected with the simple act of en-
776 tering a Bush Negro town. A stranger might bring in foul intentions or evil spirits. The village must be protected against this horrific possibility, so nearly every path leading to the town has a magic device, known as an *azang pau,* to keep the spirits out. It consists of a dry stick across the path overhead, to which palm fronds are lashed. They hang down, brushing over everyone who passes beneath. The visitor passes under the azang pau, and is cleared of evil spirits that might harm the inhabitants of the village.

The Djukas have invisible enemies. On either side of the
[778] path, near the palm barrier, is the wooden statue of a fetish to provide protection from these enemies. The fetish named Cromanti, on one side, protects the village from the evil spirit that dwells in the silk-cotton tree, the *con con dree.* Opposite him stands *Aflamu,* who secures the village against the attacks of a mighty tribe of unseen men, who are the sworn enemies of the Bush Negro and kill him with invisible arrows.

Walking up from the river we reach the barrier, and pause before it for the customary ritual. But Abaisa is a potent chief, the head of his *lo* or clan, the *Abaisa-lo.* So long as the bahkra accompanies him, no ceremony is necessary. We enter unchallenged into the clearing beyond.

648 The usual procedure is for the white man to hang back and
576 let his paddler precede him. Moi-Man gains admittance to re-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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Saramaccaner

mote villages in this way; carrying his paddle before him, as 648
a symbol of voyaging, he approaches the barrier or azang pau, 576
halts before it, and clears his throat loudly. The rest remain some thirty feet behind. Someone comes out of the huts and inquires what is wanted.

One of the objects of the expedition being the acquisition of specimens of Bush Negro art objects, this is usually explained at the very beginning to prevent any misunderstanding. The following dialogue is typical:

"Bahkra wanny timbeh (or *sanni*)"—"White man wants wood carvings."

Cannily, the black replies: *"Me no habbe fu selli"*—"I don't have any to sell."

Moi-Man, accepting this verdict, explains further: *"Bahkra wanny luku, wan pekein"*—"White man wants to look around, wants to see inside a bit."

"Ah bon," the Negro replies, meaning: "It's good." He returns to his hut.

The parley formally concluded, the paddler turns around 361
and motions us to come up the trail into the village. The towns usually consist of a clearing a few hundred feet across, beyond which is the overhanging green wall of trees. Scattered about the clearing in no particular order are numerous huts, with an occasional palm or breadfruit tree beside them. The rest of the concourse is bare clay. Sometimes there is a flower garden in the centre. Here and there are tiny *God* [778]
houses, where the fetishes stand.

The villages vary greatly in size. Some, like Gansee, near

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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Clearing in a Bush Negro Village, Upper Surinam River.

[Facing p. 44]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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the trading-post, are so large as to have street-like roads extending across them. Others like Nu have only eight or nine huts.

The walls and roofs of the dwellings are made of grasses and reeds, intricately woven into a herring-bone pattern that can be seen in the photographs. So tightly are they woven that the jungle rain does not penetrate. The uprights are hewn out of tree trunks, and those that form the doorway are often deeply carved. So great is the decorative spirit of these people that every common utensil is carved until it becomes a work of art.

The roofs extend far beyond the walls, so that the projecting part throws a shadow on the walls, which lowers the temperature inside. In front, the roof extends a yard or more to form a shade in which the blacks may palaver. In front of the huts, always, babies are grubbing about in the dirt and yelling prodigiously.

Here and there are slightly dilapidated huts. They belong to people now dead. No one will live in them or venture to repair the ruin of time. Neglected, they sink into decay. The witch doctor's hut is also a bit frowzy; it seems to be a badge of his profession, like the sugar cane planted alongside his doorway or the turtle-shell impaled on a staff near by. All three are symbols of his calling.

A wall of woven mat divides some of the huts into two rooms, the back room being used for sleeping. The men have hand-made hammocks of woven cotton or grass. Their wives are provided with sleeping-mats on the floor. The front room

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

is used as a living-room; cooking is sometimes carried on 342
there, but more often in an open communal kitchen used by
the entire village. Some towns have several such open sheds. [343]

We enter the hut where the headman of the village lives, 648
and find him lying in his hammock. It is perhaps a bit of 609
conscious arrogance, to demonstrate his independence of the [352]
white man, that the captain does not rise to greet us. He rises,
however, to greet Abaisa.

"Well, friend, how are you?" we begin. In talkee-talkee
the question runs: *"So, matti, fie you tang?"*

He replies civilly, complaining a little, perhaps. We offer
him a few leaves of tobacco, always acceptable. While we
parley with the chief, the men of the village are carrying our
equipment up from the corials to the village. This they always
do, without being asked and without being paid. Even small
children take part in the portage. Nothing is ever stolen.

Quite conscious of the heat inside the dark hut, we do not 648
palaver long. Leaving the two chiefs lolling in hammocks we 184
pass out of the breast-high doorway into the clearing, and go
about examining the living-quarters and the people. This is a
village of the Saramaccaner tribe, descended from the Sara-
macca rebels of two hundred years ago. All the huts and vil-
lages of this tribe are quite similar. Among the Aucaner tribe,
descended from the Ouca rebels, are villages of a different
type.

One does not doubt the good intentions of the Moravian 797
Brothers and certain Catholics who have established missions
at a few points on the rivers. But their evangelical efforts have

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Aucaner

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Interior of a Bush Negro Village on the Cottica River, Dutch Guiana. *Aucaner Tribe.*
Photo by Klein

[Facing p. 46]

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797 done no little harm. Bush Negroes are not converted to Christianity except in a most superficial way; in moments of stress they quickly revert to the jungle gods. The mission stations incongruously bring into the South American bush not only the God of Israel but also his tribal taboos concerning clothing. The missionaries censure the idea of nakedness, despite the fact that the wearing of clothing produces a higher death-rate among the Christianized Negroes. If a black, drenched in the torrents of frequent rain, is dressed only in a scanty loin-cloth, the sun soon dries and warms his skin. If, on the other hand, he is swathed in flimsy cotton cloth that becomes soaked with water, there is an evaporation and radiation of heat from his body which leaves him chilled and cold. He is then an easy prey to pneumonia or tropical malaria, since his lowered resistance may permit the dormant parasites already present in the blood to proliferate. Thus, imported ideas of sin raise the pneumonia and malaria death-rate.

291 Bush Negro clothing is simple and effective. While working on the river the men wear only a short loin-cloth, consisting of a small piece of gaudily striped cotton goods. It is held in place by a string of plaited grass, called *cumu* grass. On full-dress occasions the Bush Negro dons another garment, a toga thrown over one shoulder and caught with a knot. The *camissa,* as it is called, is usually of variegated squares and bits of bright cotton sewn together. The brilliant hues against the black skins of the natives make a study in colourful contrast.

The women wear either one or two garments. The com-

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monest is a simple piece of cloth wrapped around the torso 291
from the breast to the knee. Sometimes the breasts are left bare; sometimes they are covered. This is a matter of individual taste, and has no ceremonial significance. Over this lower garment another cloth is sometimes thrown, and clasped at the shoulder. Near the mission stations, of course, and on visits to Paramaribo, much more clothing is used.

The Bush Negroes are not allowed to appear in loin-cloths on the street when they come down to visit Paramaribo, except on the river's side where they land in their canoes. They must have a pair of trousers for any further promenading. There is no objection to the upper parts of the man's body being bared; but the women may not walk about the streets of the capital with their breasts exposed.

If a Bush Negro is not fortunate enough to own a pair of trousers, he may rent one for ten Dutch cents a day (four cents in American money) from small shopkeepers who have their stores near the bank of the river. The traded cloth is fashioned into rough but brilliant trousers for the men, and crude bodices for the women. Even a straw hat may occasionally be seen. In the more remote villages, on the other hand, the women often wear only a short bit of cloth before their genitalia. Most of the children of both sexes wear no clothing until a few years before puberty. About the age of ten they are dressed in their first cloths. For the boy this is a ceremonial [352]
occasion, but the girls quietly begin clothing themselves without notice being taken of the event.

In addition to these garments, the Bush Negro indulges in 301

301 his much-loved ornamentation. Leg-bands of cotton cloth are frequently worn by both sexes, and where wire can be secured it is fashioned into arm or leg coils and paraded proudly.
[751 Many necklaces and bracelets are used because they con-
778] stitute magic amulets against evil spirits. Our own bracelets and necklaces can probably be traced back to this same origin.
302 The hair is another means of personal decoration, and therefore it is always dressed with deliberation. Carefully made partings divide the black skull into geometrical designs.
834 Despite the scanty nature of their clothing, the Djukas are quite modest, and never expose themselves. If a bahkra does, they avert their heads. It is a curious reflection on civilized morality that the almost naked blacks possess a large amount of dignified restraint, while the uncomfortably clothed white man is shameless in his nudity.

322 Here and there inside the dark huts can be seen bits of ex-
531 traordinary wood carving. These are not crude utensils; every stirring-paddle or comb is a work of art worthy of a place in a museum, designed and executed in a way that is
437 far from "primitive." The only way to acquire these objects is to bargain for them in Dutch money or tobacco, or cheap knick-knacks. Among the more distant villages money is use-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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less. Blue beads are very effective in bargaining, for blue is #37
the Djuka's favourite colour. Ear-rings are also good, but not [272]
perfume; they prefer the acrid odour of insecticides.

The Djukas bargain shrewdly, and are greedy in exactly the sense that children are. The trading begins in the dark interior of a hut, where a Bush Negro lolls in his hammock.

We say: *"Me wanny buy timbeh"*—"I want to buy wooden pieces."

The Negro's common reply is that he has none to part with: *"Me no habbe, massra."* The word *massra* is a corruption of "master," a vestige of the slave days.

We point to a pierced and inlaid stool and say *"How many?"* meaning, how much does he want for it.

"Me no wanny fu selly"—"I don't want to sell it."

To show him we mean business, a concrete offer is made, *"Me gon gibbe sixa banknoto"*—"I'm going to give six banknoto."

The bargaining is in silver half-guilder pieces, called *banknoto*. The Djukas do not understand large sums of money, except when counted in half-guilder pieces.

If he refuses six coins, we offer seven, eight, nine, and throw in the added temptation of some tobacco leaves. To each of these offers he shakes his head in negation, saying doggedly, "No, no."

Finally, in a tone of voice that indicates we are amazed at our own generosity, we say: *"Me gon gibbe tena banknoto, nanga twee weefee tabak"*—"I'm going to give ten banknoto, as well as three leaves of tobacco."

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Boni

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Palm Fronds Recently Cut to be Used for Thatching a Hut.
Boni Tribe, French Guiana.

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437 The reply is short and spirited.

"Gimme."

Which does not have to be translated.

574 We sleep that night in the Bush Negro village. A dilapi-
609 dated hut is assigned us, the hut of a dead man. There are
136 tarantulas on the cross-poles; we are not particular. The paddlers sleep elsewhere, being taken into friendly huts about the village. Except for the ghosts of the departed Bush Negroes, our hut is quite empty. The hammock is slung and the mosquito netting put in place. Mosquitoes and insect pests are not as bad in the jungle as commonly reported. They seldom caused us any discomfort. It is true that one of the boys contracted malaria during an expedition, but the parasites may have been dormant in his blood for some time previously. Our precaution against malaria was ten grains of quinine sulphate each night before retiring under the mosquito netting.

512 Far into the evening the Negroes will sit around the camp-
[521] fire and tell stories, their loud, musical Negro laughter carrying a long distance on the night air. Walking by each hut we see a tiny light flickering inside. Occasionally an infant cries. We sit before our doorway, amusing a group of chil-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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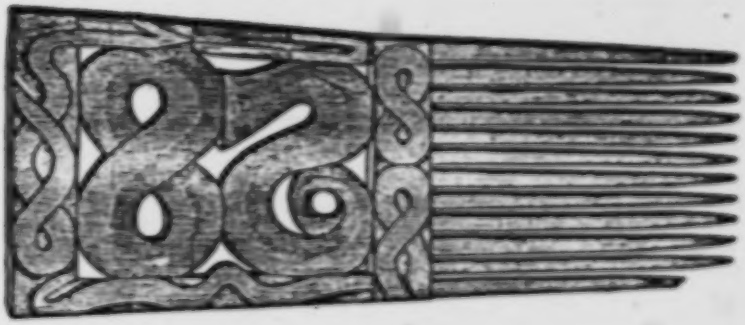
dren with an electric flashlight, throwing the beam upward 5/2
into the leaves. At night the atmosphere of the jungle comes close and penetrates everything. We think of the long distance back to white civilization. There comes a song out of the darkness. Near by is a young man carving a token for his woman. The females are busy about the cooking fires. The men are telling stories. For a long time after we have entered the hut and stretched out in the hammocks the hearty black laughter of the bucks keeps us awake. Then all noises cease. For one accustomed to the clang of cities, the silence is audible.



1 [412 532]

Chapter Four

THE DANCE

SUNDOWN on the Surinam. Women with breasts like dried tobacco leaves stew hunks of red baboon over the Djuka fires. The old dance gods will stir tonight. Mist is drifting up from the river and blowing between the trees. Colours fade out as darkness falls. The atmosphere of the jungle closes in on us with the night. 252 262 132

As night falls a Bush Negro corial appears on the river. It is followed by four others, all loaded with people from another village three miles downstream. The strangers have come to dance for the bahkra. We have promised them candy and high wine. The women tie bands of nuts about their limbs; the dried nuts rattle. 574 534

They bring the drums, the soul of the jungle. The big tom-tom, elaborately carved on the outside, is the *apenti*, or signal drum. The smaller *nanda* and the baby *baboula* (an African

[p. 52 is blank]

1 [For caption, see category 116, p. 204:- Analyst]

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SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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Bush Negroes of the Aucaner Tribe Who were Induced to Come to Paramaribo to Dance Before Colonel Lindbergh When the Air Mail Route Was Opened to Dutch Guiana

Photo Given to Dr. Kahn by American Consul to Dutch Guiana, James R. Lawton

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SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

534 word meaning "to make a hollow sound") are dance drums. Each is made from a short section of hollowed-out log. Long pegs are driven into the outside, around the circumference, close to one end. Animal skin, with brown hair still clinging in places, is stretched across the opening, and thonged over the pegs. The pegs are set at an angle, so that driving them further in stretches the skin more tightly, tuning the drum. Some villages possess drums six to eight feet long. They are called *ageedah*.

533 A young boy of fourteen or fifteen flippantly beats a few notes on one of the tomtoms. He puts it between his squatting legs and bends over it, striking the resonant skin with the flat of his fingers, using both hands to produce a rhythmical pattern. He holds his wrists loose, like a virtuoso. To set the drum on the earth while playing it would close up the open end, keeping the vibrations inside, and produce a flat sound. The drum is held by the squatting black at an angle with the ground, the pulsating tambour making an insidious beat that produces strange effects. The moment the sound of the tomtom reverberates through the jungle evening, the atmosphere seems to change.

The crowd is shy at first. There is still a little sun in the air. Darkness is necessary if the ancient gods are to possess us. A child of eleven squats beside a drum and places it between his knees. His creditable tempo arouses the envy of his playmates looking on. Three men arrange themselves for the coming dance, one with the *apenti*, one with the *nanda*, while the third wrestles with the little boy who will not relinquish

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SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

his hold on the *baboula*. The child is finally allowed to remain. He can keep time well enough and that is what the *baboula* is for. 533

It is now night, jungle night. The tomtoms crash out in a full-throated chorus. It is a driving, compelling rhythm of hollow sounds. The timbre is heavy, hypnotic, maddening. The drummers achieve a difference of tone by striking near the edge, which gives a shrill sound, and then returning to the centre, which booms by contrast.

The effect of the drums may be a species of hypnosis. Hypnosis can be produced experimentally by the sound of rhythmical tapping, without any condition of sleep.

The patting of the fingers on the drum-head of dried skin seems to induce in these primitives a type of hypnoid exaltation. The cause of it is the monotonous, rhythmical repetition of booming sounds. Fatigue falls away. Memories of other evenings around the jungle fires come crowding back. They imagine that Apuku seizes their bodies. Demoniacal possession is a phenomenon well known to history; here we have it in the South American bush. Here it is called *winti*. 533 158

The hypnoid stimulus—monotonous repetition—is reproduced in the other instruments that accompany the tomtoms. The first of these is the *saka-saka*, a gourd stuck on a handle and filled with pebbles. Then there is the *quaqua*, a flat board of resounding wood that is beaten with a hard paddle. Now the primitive orchestra is in full swing. [534]

By this time the crowd has arranged itself in a circle, with a bare space in the centre. The fires glow luridly on black 533 796

533 faces. The drummers stop to tune to the desired pitch, driv-
796 ing in the pegs with the back edge of a bush-knife. Then they resume, rattling out a sharply insistent tempo. Women begin to sway. Some of them start a plaintive jungle song. The drums never stop.

796 A woman disengages herself from the crowd and enters
535 the open space. She bends forward from the waist at a right angle. Her arms form a circle beyond her head, saffron palms outward. She sways from the hips, her torso contorted with sinuous suggestion. Then her feet on the bare earth rap out the tempo that the brown fingers of the men are drumming on the dried skin. The others begin patting juba.

It is a false start. The woman interrupts her dance to criticize the orchestra for not playing in her mood. The crowd is not yet possessed.

Dodo, the woman *bosseia,* or boss, goes about urging the women to begin. Meanwhile the bahkra slips through the
[123 crowd pouring out drinks of high wine to add to the dark
782 hilarity of the occasion. Always before drinking they will
273] spit on the ground a libation to the gods. A mother gives the rum to her seven-year-old child, who does not flinch from the burning potion.

A new tempo. Three little girls, slim in their nudity, enter the central space. The oldest is about eleven. They stand with their backs to us and begin the *bandamba* dance. The evening is on.

Standing still in the firelight, hands behind their heads, they arch their loins and raise their buttocks up and down.

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Shadows roll on the brown skin and quiver with the firelight. 796

It is a vivid picture, these naked girls standing still in the 535 flickering light of the fire, making their muscles dance to the monotony of the drums. Sweat breaks out on the foreheads of the drummers and runs down their faces, dropping off their chins unnoticed. The music grows louder and louder. 796 Apuku is coming. The stalwart black with the saka-sake 535 holds it at arm's length, braces his feet apart, and delivers his 153 whole body to the rhythm. The little girls, loath to stop, are seized by their proud mothers who rush out to embrace them, cheek to cheek. Others press forward with compliments for the excited girls. There is no stopping of the drums now. Louder and faster the metre becomes, a veritable pandemonium. No conversation or restrained observation is possible, due to the noise; the psychological effect is to wipe out the inhibitions of daily life and induce a state of semi-hysterical exhilaration. The white man, forgetting civilization for a time, feels like stamping his feet and shaking himself. And over all is the insistent monotony of the drums.

A woman has attached dried rattling nuts to her ankles, [537] and enters the clearing to be swayed by the drums. She too bends her body at a right angle, palms outward, caressing invisible curves in time with the beat of the drums. Her torso writhes, in time to the beat of the drums. She would be crying aloud, were it not for the pulsation of the drums. Two other women come out and accompany her, then another, then more, until finally eight or nine are dancing in the

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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Youth of the Boni Tribe Playing Dance Music on the "Apenti" or Signal Drum. Marowyne River, French Guiana. Drum Carved from a Single Section of Tree Trunk.

Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History

[Facing p. 58]

796 centre clearing, no longer caring, no longer entirely con-
535 scious, their bodies driven by the rhythm of the drums.
158 No man has yet danced. Now a young buck of nineteen jumps into the centre and begins the *awasa* dance. His movements simulate the flying of a hawk, arms out like wings, pirouetting gracefully. His bare feet stamp the earth, hard enough, it seems, to break his bones. Another man joins him, waving his arms at full length, like an eagle in flight. They chant in talkee-talkee an *awasa* song:

"Fooru mo luku bon nanga ahga."

[337] It means: The fowl must be careful of the hawk; in other words, the girls must be careful of the men. They circle from the waist like birds soaring into the blue.

796 Now a man begins dancing toward a woman. She re-
832 treats. No dancer has yet touched another, or even noticed another. But this one is making definite love advances to the woman. He mimics coitus. Coyly she evades his approaches, and will have none of his movements. They are not serious. When she definitely refuses his copulatory advances, the drums stop. He takes a drum from one of the men, puts it under his arm, and follows her, dancing around the clearing, beating out a message of love. They weave a pattern of movement, in and out, in this dance of courtship to the lone muttering tambour.

[202] There is a halt. The drummers rap out a message to other canoes coming up the river, telling them to hurry. Soon more strangers arrive for the final round.

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Then comes the *sacatee* dance, accompanied by songs of the rebellion. Ancient heroes live again. Once more raids are made on outlying plantations. The spirit of defiance that Stedman found at Boucou is still kept alive. Then come softer songs—songs of love. *"Te e durmi e songa me, grandanke,"* a girl sings plaintively. She is telling her lover, "When you sleep, dream of me, many thanks." *"Te kai me u seni neauco, becan na bonu soni e ta layme"*—"When you lead me to deceit I will not follow; such things you should not teach me."

Again the dancers find fault with the orchestra, protesting loudly. They are not satisfied with the rhythm. Abruptly the chief dancer seizes a drum and rolls out a call to Apuku, god of the forest, asking Apuku to come.

Dimly through the darkness they can feel some response. Apuku is coming. Everyone runs back a few steps and utters a slight scream. The spirit of the bush god is entering their bodies. He is welcomed with a little dance, jerkily done, in which all participate. Then comes the special Apuku dance, where writhing, circling, snaking arms simulate the twisted lianas of the jungle, which is the god's home.

Once the spirit of the bush god has entered them, they cannot stop. The drums increase their volume and tempo, until the rhythm is too rapid and intricate for white ears to follow. Now truly they are hypnotized by the feverish monotony, the shuffling beat of fingers on the drum-heads. Because of this trance, fatigue is forgotten. The little *baboula* keeps steady time, throbbing like a heart-beat. Flat hands

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Paramacca

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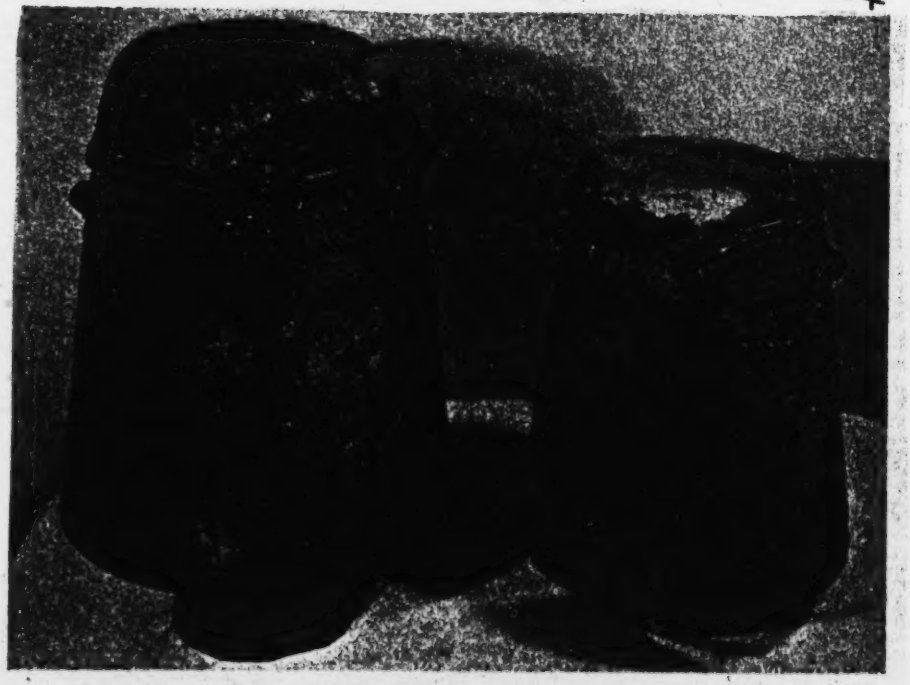

Drums from the Paramacca Tribe. The larger one is the Nanda, the small one the Baboula.

Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History

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796 shade out strange metres on the *nanda*. There is a break; the
535 orchestra stops, and the interval is filled in with the heavy
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158 booming of the *apenti*. Often the drummers seize a bush-
[534] knife and batter at the pegs, stretching the dried skin to the proper tone. Mist from the river has dampened their hair, unnoticed. The dance will continue until morning; they must play until the spirit of Apuku has gone.

796 Everything is set for the climax. Some are still watching
535 while the others dance. Since the old men are too dignified,
158 their places are taken by younger men from sixteen to twenty-five. There are more women dancing than men, anyhow. The white man is wondering how it is going to end. Despite the excitement there has been no orgiastic episode.

Grand finale. There is a tremendous screech from out of the blackness beyond. Three practically naked blacks come rushing up from the river, their faces and bodies daubed
[302] hideously with pemba dotee, the ceremonial white clay. One has stripes around his arms, belly, and legs, his face all white. Another's face is bisected with white and yellow pigment. The third is Adjobo, the medicine man; he has circles of clay on his forehead, cheeks, and chin, and rings around his neck. The presence of the ceremonial clay indicates the presence of a god. There is no doubt but that the hideousness of these men inspires a feeling of awe.

They burst into the circle of dancers and scatter them. Everyone retreats before them, with actual or pretended fright. The children become hysterical and cling frantically to their mothers for protection. Women in the crowd are cry-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

ing. The vibrating tomtoms are pouring out a great volume 796
of tangled sound. The three religious dancers whirl like 535
furies. One dances with a wicked-looking machete; he makes 158
it whistle through the air and brings it down with all his might into the ground between two drummers. They do not budge. A second dancer dashes into the bahkra's hut with his whirling bush-knife, hacking at everything in sight. The others seize him and overpower him, not before he has damaged many things with his vicious chops.

This ominous fury characterizes the hysterical possession of the *Cromanti* dance, the wild, mad dance of the evil spirit of the *con con dree*. The crowd keep clear of the chopping knives of the possessed men. They mutter unknown incantations in *odo,* making wild turns and gyrations. One falls on his knees to eat of the earth. Another bites the door of a hut like a dog. The third frees himself from a group of the struggling men who seek to restrain him, jumps into the rapids, swims against the great rush of water with feverish strength, and finally would drown were it not that his family rescues him with a canoe. There is nothing mystical about the extreme muscular endurance of such states; it can be produced experimentally in the laboratory.

The remaining obeiah dancers have a sham battle, fencing skilfully and dangerously with their bush-knives. First they stalk an imaginary enemy with poised machetes. Their muscular torsos held in strained attention would delight a sculptor. Picture a black, arms thrown out and head thrown back, eyes closed in frenzy, tense and foaming lips laying bare his

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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796 clenched teeth, stamping the earth like an animal. Then two
535 such blacks, with glazed eyes, slashing at each other with
158 yard-long knives. This is the obeiah dance. Nothing can stop it until the dancers are exhausted and drop from sheer fatigue. Then the spirit of the god has fled.

796 Until that time, protesting is useless. It is useless for the
535 bahkra to protest that he wants to go to sleep: *"Me wanny go seepy."* No attention is paid to that. It is dawn before the dancers finally stop. The visitors go down to the river to get in their corials. We light the dim path for them with a flashlight. They are grateful, and compose a little song of thanks. Even after the corials draw away from the bank, excited women get up in the boats and continue to dance, palms outward, hips high. It is no wonder that the marines in Haiti must confiscate the drums to keep the Negroes quiet. So long as the primitive holds to his intoxicating tom-toms, which manufacture courage automatically, he will never be a coward.

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Chapter Five

THE GAME TRAIL

ON the rivers we frequently encounter Djukas going 313
downstream to Paramaribo or Albina on lumber rafts. The big logs are fastened together with lianas, twined about stakes driven into holes, and lashed to stout cross-pieces. Three paddlers stand upright on this raft and take it down the river like a canoe.

The lumber is arduously cut, the great trees being felled [412]
and chopped square with axes. A tree cut in the jungle will not fall to earth; the surrounding growth holds it upright. Therefore, days are spent in clearing a space of ground where the tree may come down. The vines and lianas must be cut away, and the vast buttressing roots severed. The tree is brought down in this clearing, hewn of its branches, and dragged into the water. Hardwood is too heavy to float, so

1/n [For caption, see category 116, p. 04. - Analyst]

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Aucaner

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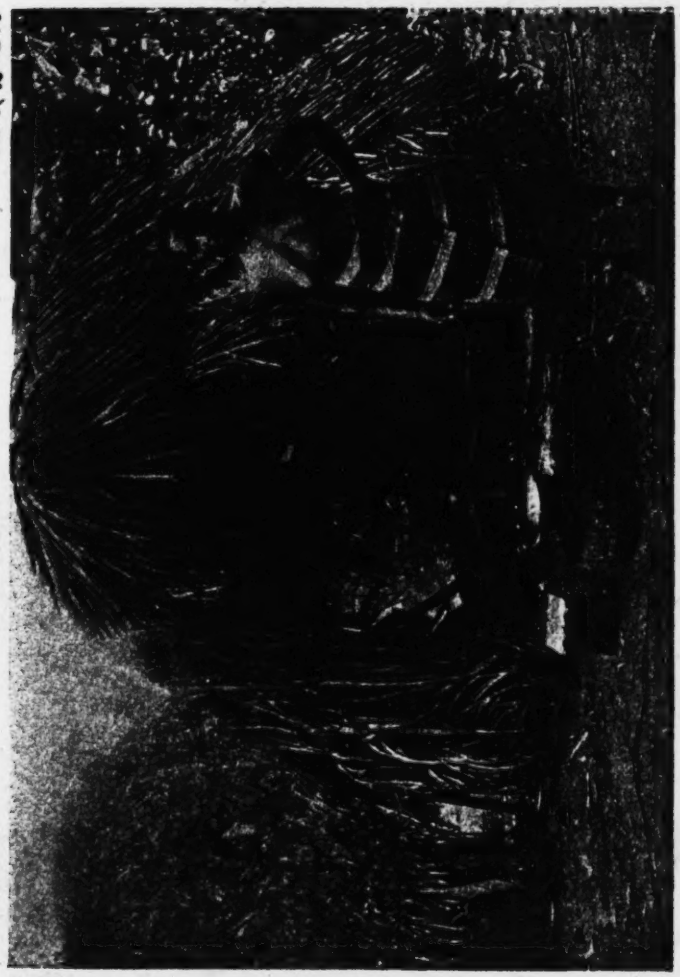

An Aucaner Mother. Note the Cassava Cakes Cooking Inside the Kitchen.
Photo by Curiel

[Facing p. 64]

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SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

313 hardwood trunks must be fastened between soft logs to keep them up.

At times the river drops in sheer falls. There is only one point at which the rafts can go down without jamming on the rocks; but here the men cannot go over with them, for the drop is too great. They steer for this point, keeping the logs in the centre of the current. To go over would mean being crushed to death. Moving at a high rate of speed, the men stay with the raft until the last possible minute, and then jump for some jutting rock. The raft crashes over the falls. Then the paddlers make their way from rock to rock, along the crest of the falls, back to the shore, and go down to recover the logs.

313 137 The Djukas sell the lumber that they bring downstream; it takes three days of palaver to reach an agreement on the price. They bargain quite as shrewdly as the lumber trader. Now their pouches of canvas, waterproofed with wild rubber, are heavy with many silver banknoto, or half-guilder pieces. Not as many as they expected, perhaps, but enough for their purposes.

643 They walk curiously about Paramaribo. The streets are crowded with a bizarre rabble, giving this little Dutch town the rare charm of the exotic. A more interesting place would be difficult to find in this modern age. Its wharves are re-
000 minders of the coming of the old slaving ships, and its white houses recall the plantations of the past. Town Negroes clatter by, some in wooden shoes brought from the Zuyder Zee countryside to this distant clime. Behind them come

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barefooted sinuous Javanese in their *sarongs* and *splendangs* of batik. Some stores in the town are kept by Chinese. Hindus in cloth turbans, and their wives with jewelled rings through their noses, rub elbows with juffrows from Amsterdam. Here and there a copper-coloured Carib Indian adds to the strangeness of the street scene.

The Javanese are brought over in boat-loads, indentured for five years to pay their passage. After this they may return to the tea fields of Java if they like, or remain in Surinam to cultivate a piece of land which is given them. East Indians were formerly brought over in large numbers from India, but the British put a stop to this importation in both British and Dutch Guiana. The Chinese bring themselves. The only race in the colony never transported is the Indian, indigenous to the country. All these races keep the dress and, where possible, the habits of their native land. They do not mingle with each other, and seldom intermarry. The one language common to all is talkee-talkee.

There is one civic privilege accorded the Bush Negro in Paramaribo. He may camp for the night behind the store that he trades with during the day. The Bush Negroes always stop at the hardware store, run by the Moravian Brothers, to buy some bottle-shaped flasks of good *mansanny* (gunpowder). Along with the powder they purchase empty shotgun shells, that they themselves will fill. A number of other purchases are made: shot, percussion caps, tobacco, salt, cloth, an iron implement, and perhaps a mirror. When night falls, the Djukas return to the hardware store and camp behind it,

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437 sleeping in their own hammocks slung under a shed provided for the purpose by the company. The next day they make their way back up the river, in the corial which they brought down with them tied behind the raft. They bring back no money; it is useless.

262 Cassava is very filling; yams are sweet; mareepa oil gives a sense of well-being; peanuts are pleasant while palavering; a few pieces of bahkra candy are toothsome to eat, but still the pot lacks meat. A slice of the white breast of a bush turkey, the *powese,* or a piece of the carcass of a red howler, or a slice of fat meat from the tapir or bush cow, or the second joint of *mom,* the bush hen, or the sweet Djuka substitute for ham, *pingo,* the peccary—these are morsels that black men dream about.

224 789 After resting a few days, one of the blacks wishes to try out his new gunpowder, and makes preparation for a hunt. The bahkra powder is too strong for the thin walls of his [411] cheap shotgun. He dilutes it with charcoal, adding a bit of pemba dotee, the sacred white clay, to help the shot find the game. A bit of dried nekku leaf from the medicine man adds to the straightness of the aim. The gun likewise must be sprinkled with high wine, squirted from the mouth. All

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this is bush magic. Around his neck several amulets are hung, one to enable him to find the game, another to keep him from getting lost, and the third, a small pouch of dried leaves, to make him shoot well. With these he takes the game trail behind the village, by the cassava fields where the women are working.

The trail does not last long; he begins to stalk like a black shadow through the bush. Overhead, parrots are cackling noisily, green as the jungle leaves. They eye him suspiciously as he snakes his way noiselessly through the tangled bush. In the dim blue jungle light the game is hard to see. But the Djuka, accustomed to it, approaches the tree where the parrots are. Some fly away.

Down on his haunches, like a Russian dancer, the hunter advances in a squatting position until he is directly underneath. He holds his gun at arm's length, the stock resting not on the shoulder but placed in the palm of his left hand, which is extended in front of him. This is a remnant from the old flintlock days, when the pans would occasionally flash back and burn the side of the face, unless the gun were held practically at arm's length. There is the added advantage of permitting a quicker movement of the barrel over a wide arc, especially when the hunter is crouched in this squatting position. He fires and the body of a parrot comes tumbling down through the leaves.

Accompanying the Djuka hunter is his highly prized hunting dog—a mangy little terrier. It is stained all over with a red nut-juice to lend it prowess in the pursuit of some par-

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224 ticular animal. The red terrier will not hunt anything else.
231 It stands now ferociously over the body of the dead parrot, its tongue hanging out, panting.

411 Bows and arrows are as common as shotguns, and preferred by many of the black huntsmen because they make no noise, need no mansanny. The bow is fashioned from one of the South American hardwoods, letterwood or purpleheart. The shaft is tremendously resilient, and strung with [283] *singrassi* it takes a stout arm indeed to bend it. Singrassi is a species of grass which is hand-spun into tough cord, by rolling it on the flesh of the thigh. When unflexed, the carved bow is nearly six feet long.

The arrows are made from hollow reeds, and are extremely light and well balanced. Into one end of the reed a foot-long hardwood point is set, wrapped with singrassi and gummed. At the other end, the ferrule is similarly set in, the joint again being wrapped around to prevent splitting. Some arrows have metal points filed from old bush-knives. A five-foot arrow like this can be used as a little javelin for spearing small game. The Bush Negroes also use blunt arrows to stun birds.

224 A naked savage stalking through the bush, armed only with a bow and arrow, furnishes a sight of the primitive that is fast disappearing from this commonplace world. The [534 323 321] Djuka calls some of his game, principally the agoutis, by imitating their cries on a little whistle, made out of baked clay or a hollow shell. The imitation is so accurate, in the case of smaller game, as to fool even the jaguar that feeds on

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these animals. So the hunter is occasionally surprised to find 224
a big cat responding to his game call.

Far up the river, jaguars have been known to come near 224
a provision clearing and carry off an infant while the mother 136
was at work in the cassava field. The grown Djuka, however, is not afraid of these cats. The jaguar is a medium-sized feline, the third largest of the cat family, but it is essentially cowardly. If a lone Negro encounters one on a game trail, a duel commences that usually ends with the shooting of the jaguar. On one occasion we saw a hunter come back from the game trail, armed only with a machete, who had met and killed one of these cats.

There are several smaller cats in the South American jungle, ranging in size from the puma to the diminutive jaguarundi. The boa constrictor is not the menace that some travellers make it out to be. The Bush Negroes will not kill either a boa or an alligator, nor will they allow a white man to do so. If they see the white man aiming his gun at snakes, [825
they will knock up the muzzle. Such reptiles are sacred. 778
Some of the Indians of the district, on the other hand, are 262]
fond of snake meat, and hunt it regularly. But the Bush [829]
Negroes look down on them.

In setting traps the Bush Negroes exhibit the typical cun- 224
ning of jungle dwellers. They have preserved the West African types of traps. Trails on which armadillos forage are set with a shotgun, in the middle of the path. By seizing the bait the animal shoots itself.

At night on the game trail the lone hunter builds a lean-

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224 to and camps before his little fire. The red monkey bands howl in the darkness, but the hunter is not afraid. The fact that a puma may be in a tree near by does not prevent him from snoring.

224 648 The Bush Negroes seldom have occasion to take a white man hunting. Because of his incompetence they are forced to hunt differently when he is along.

We are aroused at five o'clock one morning when Daniels, a "balata bleeder" from British Guiana, makes his appearance. He is a husky, powerful Negro from Demerara, a town in the adjacent colony, and one of the few men ever to obtain the confidence and friendship of the Djukas. Some years ago he saved many Bush Negroes from famine, when the cassava and rice crops had failed, by arranging, with the aid of Mynheer Alexander Wolff, for the Dutch government to give many thousands of guilders' worth of rice to feed them. Because of this, and because he speaks English perfectly and has the bahkra's point of view, no better person could possibly accompany us on the coming hunt.

[482 415] 177] The three Bush Negro bearers who go along with us carry wicker baskets of woven reed containing supplies. They are carried on the bearer's back, held in place by a band around the forehead—a device borrowed from the Indians.

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The blacks admire the bahkra's shotgun and rifle—beautiful, well-oiled weapons which they love. They gaze through the barrel of the shotgun to see the clean bore, and make a comparison with their own meagre, fouled guns. They sniff at the rifle, however, because it shoots only one bullet. How can a man get game with a single ball? Explanations of the high power of the shell produce no effect upon them. 224 648

We load. Canned goods, rice, bacon, tobacco, coffee—enough for five days. The provisions are packed in the wicker rucksacks, along with hammocks. The start is made. Walking through the village, the packers exchange jests with Negro women who pause to watch us go by. The hunters are teased regarding the amount of game they will bring back. [522]

After a half-mile walk we reach the new cassava fields in back of the village at a quarter of six, as the sun is rising. The women are already at work. Beyond lies the game trail. It is simply a slight path through the jungle brush, with occasional pools of water through which we wade. Idle toucans eye us from nearby palm trees. A flurry in the bush off to the right indicates the escape of an agouti, but we are not quick enough to see it. The agouti is a kind of giant guinea pig, called by the natives *cony-cony*, meaning "cunning-cunning," because it is hard to outwit. The Bush Negroes are eager to get some of this sweet, succulent meat.

Within an hour the last cassava field is left far behind and we are in the "high bush." The tops of giant trees are lost to sight a hundred and fifty feet overhead. Their massive trunks are buttressed with branches that have grown back 224 648 137

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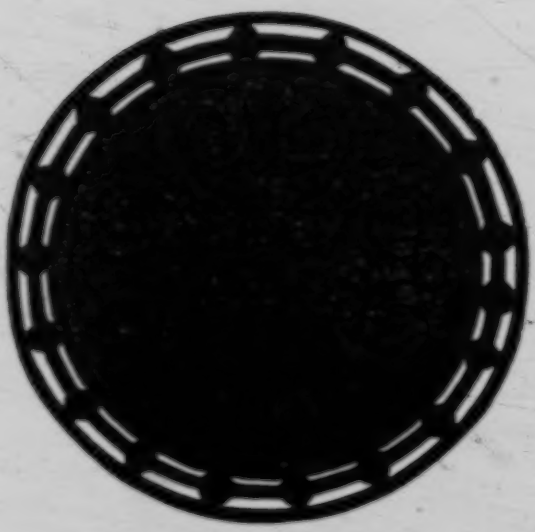

Tray Three Feet in Diameter Carved from a Single Section of Tree Trunk. *Boni Tribe*, French Guiana. Four Stylized Human Figures Showing Arms and Trunk.
Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History

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224 into the ground, becoming roots. The jungle vines, the lianas,
648 twine about the boles of palms, adding to the tangle of leaves.
137 The jungle is one immense struggle, none the less fierce because it is silent. The foliage is fighting for light and air.

224 We wade across a number of small creeks that bar our
648 path. Beautiful flat-winged butterflies hover in the hot air. The drone of other insects continues until our ears become accommodated to the sound and we no longer hear it. For five hours the trek continues.

At eleven o'clock a halt is called for lunch. The Djukas [132] drop their fifty-pound packs, under which they have trotted more easily than the white with only a gun and canteen. A little fire is started and we begin to eat. The creek beside the camp has no name; it is known only as a small tributary of the Lombe Creek. This is the occasion for a little ceremony. The stream is to be named after the first person to eat beside it, which in this case is a white man. A Bush Negro takes a mouthful of water from the creek and spits it back, motioning us to do the same. We comply. Then the Negro names the stream *"Datra Cong Creekee"*—"Doctor Kahn Creek." The others respond with solemnity, "Daso." We pass a few pleasantries and go on.

By two o'clock the fatigue is beginning to tell on the bahkra. A halt is called. The country gets higher as we leave [133] the neighbourhood of the river, but the bush does not thin out. The ground is rolling, with knolls fifty feet high. Up these the carriers scramble like goats, despite their load, but Daniels says they are going slow because of the bahkra. Be-

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sides the pack each carries a shotgun and a bush-knife. The 224
latter is indispensable, for if the game falls in the brush it 648
literally has to be cut out. There is nothing but muck underfoot, and our boots are by this time weighted down with it. We recall the adventurer Stedman going barefooted through this bush; and while preoccupied with this thought we slip on some roots and flounder in the mire.

Just where a yard-thick tree lies fallen across the path we come upon footprints. After studying them the Negroes state that a hunter passed along this trail the day before. Suddenly Daniels motions everyone to be still. He hears monkeys in the tree-tops a hundred yards ahead.

Noiselessly the packers unsling their harness and drop the baskets in the trail. Daniels and the bahkra go forward, as carefully as possible, hoping for monkey meat. It is impossible for white men to avoid making a sound in the brush; the monkeys hear it and cease their noise. They must know that something is approaching. Daniels motions us to lie down, and twenty minutes are passed perfectly immobile on the ground. We are conscious only of our own breathing and a slight movement of wind in the blue half-light of the jungle. Bodies in contact with the earth bring back the memory that we are preying animals. Civilization has not eradicated the primitive thrill of stalking meat.

There is a noise in the high branches overhead; we can see though we cannot hear the rustling where the tree-top has bent under the weight of a simian. As yet no form has been seen. There is no wind now, only an uncanny stillness. The

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224 rustle is heard again; there is no doubt that it is caused by the
648 movement of a monkey. But cautiously rising up on our knees we can just make out a tiny patch of brown fur amidst the green far above. We draw a bead on the target and fire both barrels.

There is a human-like screech, and after it the crash of a body tumbling down through the branches. But it does not fall; the monkey is only wounded and catches itself halfway. Quickly Daniels fires both barrels and finishes the job. A huge black spider monkey, the *quata*, falls to the ground forty feet away, quite dead. We have fresh meat for supper.

The bearers are back on the trail, now completely out of sight. Daniels picks up the carcass of the monkey and starts to return in what we are sure is the wrong direction. Of all places to get lost, we think, none is worse than the high bush, where there is only one trail, and that cannot be found. But Daniels was too wise to trust to a sense of direction. In spite of the excitement of imminent game, coming in from the trail he had broken little twigs all along the way. By following these markers we find the way back through the trackless bush.

The bearers are still waiting on the trail, and are delighted at the sight of the monkey. One of them makes a slit in its chin and passes through it a length of singrassi, the handspun cord. The end of the string is tied around the monkey's tail, thus binding the head and the tail together. The carcass is then slung over the shoulder like a big brass horn, and we are ready to go.

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Before starting, the Djukas take a sniff of tobacco. They 276
prefer snuffing it to smoking. They suck up their wide brown nostrils a dark liquid made from tobacco leaf soaked in water, to which a little wood-ash has been added. Each man carries a small supply, in a calabash gourd or tiny tin can. Before taking a sniff they put their fingers in the gourd and knead the leaf to get out all the juice. Then a little is poured out in the palm of the hand and snuffed up. They make a wry face at it, shaking their heads violently and spitting.

They pass it to the bahkra with a sly smile.

"Wannee?"

"No, no, no. *Me dissee no lubee; gran danke!*" which means, "I don't like this; many thanks!"

Late in the afternoon we come upon the camp of some 314
balata bleeders. It is deserted. There is an unforgettable sour stench from the last fermenting sap. For a while it is sickening and overwhelms every other odour. The balata bleeders are usually British Guiana Negroes, or Djukas trained by them, who go through the jungle tapping the sap from wild rubber trees. They produce sheets of a crude rubber, known as balata, which are traded in the white settlements of Demerara or Paramaribo. The chief industries of the bush country are balata bleeding, lumbering, and washing for gold. [313 316] All of them are carried on exclusively by Negroes.

A few sheets of balata, about a half-inch thick, are hanging from poles. The Djukas assert that the shotguns of the white man cannot shoot through the stiff rubber. We stand off about fifty feet and bang away. Strangely enough, the

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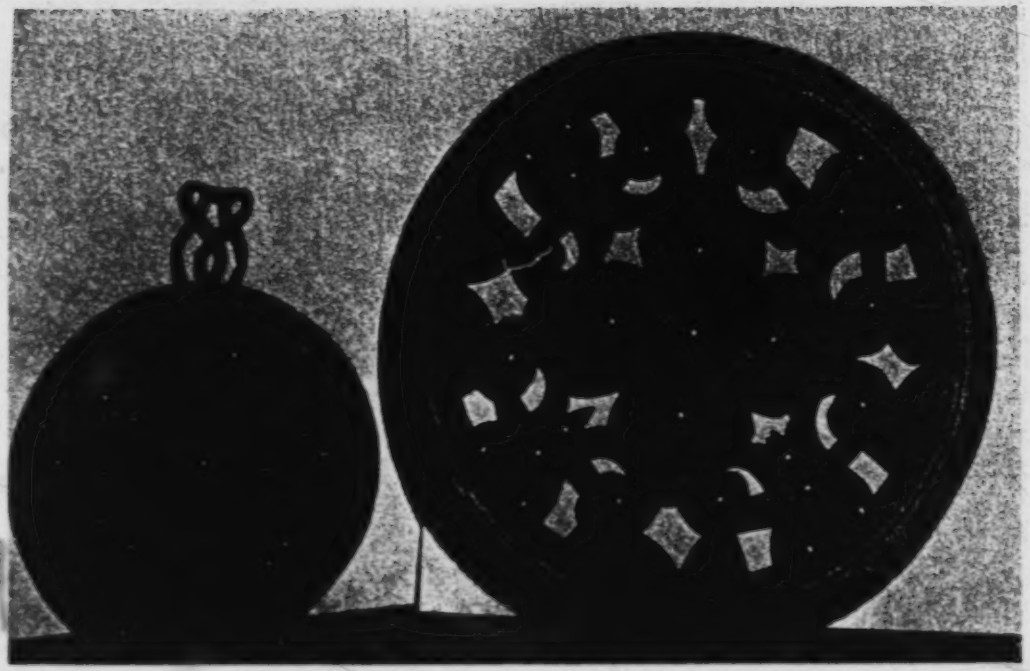

Carved Wooden Trays for Carrying Food. *Saramaccaner Tribe,* Upper Surinam River. The Central Figure on the Smaller Tray is That of a Dancing Woman.

Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History

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314 shot enters the rubber but does not pierce it through. Little dents indicate where the shot is buried inside. With a pistol, however, the result is different. A bullet from a .38 calibre revolver goes clean through. After we have fired, a Negro detaches himself from the group and disappears in the bush. In twenty minutes he is back, bringing the bullet from the revolver. He had traced its course by broken twigs and [151] clipped branches, and finally dug it out of the side of a tree with his bush-knife—on the whole an extraordinary bit of woodcraft.

484 It is disgusting to find that we have to sleep overnight in this camp. The white man is thoroughly exhausted, able only to drop down on a log while the Negroes make camp. The bahkra's hammock is slung and a fire started. Monkey meat is the *pièce de résistance* of the evening meal.

[252 The monkey is not skinned; only the hair is scraped off. 262] Monkey skin is a jungle delicacy, but there is a humanly cadaverous look to the depilated body. Half of the meat is cut up and dumped into the stew pot together with rice and salt. [251] The other half is smoked liberally to preserve it for the morrow.

Not in the mood to take food which his stomach might reject, the bahkra dines on a can of salmon, with rice and tea on the side. The sun has hardly set when he falls gratefully into the hammock and ties the mosquito netting in place, ready for profound slumber.

521 He soon finds that sleep is out of the question. The Bush Negroes are sitting about the campfire swapping tales of

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former hunts. What a noise they make! At the crucial point 521
of the story they imitate the explosion of the gun.

Excitedly: *"Me luku, me see one biggie teegre* (jaguar). *Me makke gunu go BOOM!"*

After shouting this last with the greatest volume that his throat is capable of producing, the narrator imitates the sound of the dead body crashing through the branches to the ground. All the thrill of the day's hunt is not merely remembered, it is re-lived in realistic detail. The snarl of the wounded cat, the gasping, baby-like cry of the wounded platyrrhine, bring forth appreciative laughter from the intent audience. Soon the next man tells his story; the bond of sympathy is so close that they all go BOOM together. One jungle inhabitant has triumphed over another, in memory.

While we curse in our efforts to sleep there comes through 533
the darkness a Djuka folk-song. It conveys the pointed moral of a man who thought himself very clever, but despite that he is now sleeping at the bottom of the river:

Cony mong,
Cony mong,
Dede na leeba.

or, "Cunning man, cunning man, dead in the river." At least, we reflect, with the sardonic grimness of tortured insomnia, he is now able to sleep.

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224 The next day the hunters rouse early and breakfast in the
648 freshness of the warm morning. Two of the Djukas refuse absolutely to accompany the bahkra any further. The white man, they say, goes through the jungle like a thunderstorm and brings bad luck. The prospects of getting any game with him around are exceedingly small. They get out their hunt-
[789] ing amulets, and rub on their gun-barrels a concoction prepared by the medicine man. Daniels laughs at this, but they refuse to be teased.

"You'll see!" they assert doggedly, certain of their magic.

The party splits up to go in three directions. Two bearers remain with us, one posted out ahead as a tracker, and Daniels, who brings up the rear as gun-bearer. The other two Negroes go in different directions and are immediately out of sight. We continue ahead, cutting the way through the bush—there are no trails. For two hours we tramp along without sighting game, realizing that *more things see us than ever we see*. The jungle is not teeming with game, as
[136] popularly believed. There is an occasional herd of bush hogs, but in general it is necessary to hunt long and hard to bag any amount of meat. It is doubtful if a man could subsist on the food his gun brings in, not because the game is lacking but because of the difficulty of seeing it.

224 The Djukas also hunt in other ways. One device is "still hunting"—sitting motionless in a tree beside a game trail, waiting for some animal to come along underneath. The
[411] Indians' *curare* and the blow-gun which shoots the poisoned dart are not employed by the Negroes. The only co-operative

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hunts among the Djukas occur when a tapir is sighted near the village; in which case all will go out and endeavour to surround it, and share equally in the kill. When, in dry seasons, *pingos* (bush hogs) swim the river in herds, the Bush Negroes take every available corial and paddle after them, cutting their throats, knocking them on the head, or drowning them by holding their heads under water. The result is a feast, and the excess meat is smoked. [251]

Djukas have also been known to leap from their canoes upon the backs of deer swimming the river, and thus to drown them.

Game that hears us first is gone. A herd of peccaries ahead of us hears the approach; there is a loud crash as they retreat back into the high bush. The Negro tracker finds the trail and we beat around after them for hours, but the animals have outwitted us and cannot be located.

At the end of the day the other hunters return, one of them bringing in a small anteater and a red howling monkey, while the other carries two agouti. Our own success consists of one *powese* (bush turkey) and a small armadillo, the *capusec*. These are cleaned and smoked, and camp is made for the night.

About dusk one of the men goes into the jungle. Less than fifteen minutes later we hear the distant detonation of both barrels, followed by loud yells. Instantly everyone grabs for firearms and begins running in that direction, stumbling and sliding in the jungle evening. The Bush Negroes make their way with marvellous rapidity through the moonless dusk,

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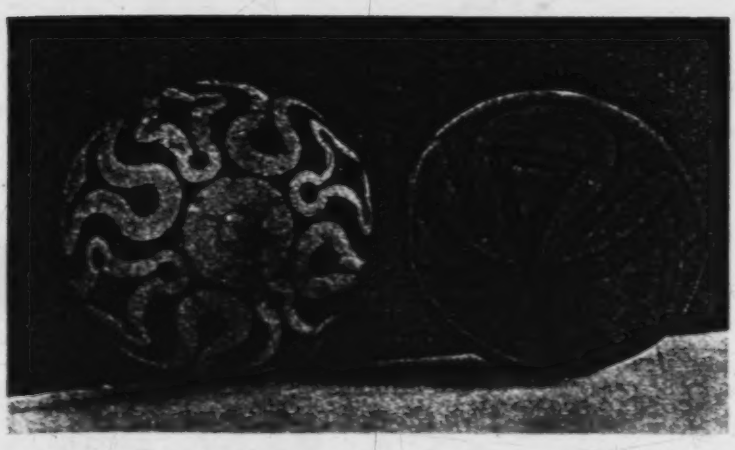

Carved Calabash Gourds Used as Plates. *Saramaccaner Tribe*, Upper Surinam River.

Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History. Photo by Herbert Heller

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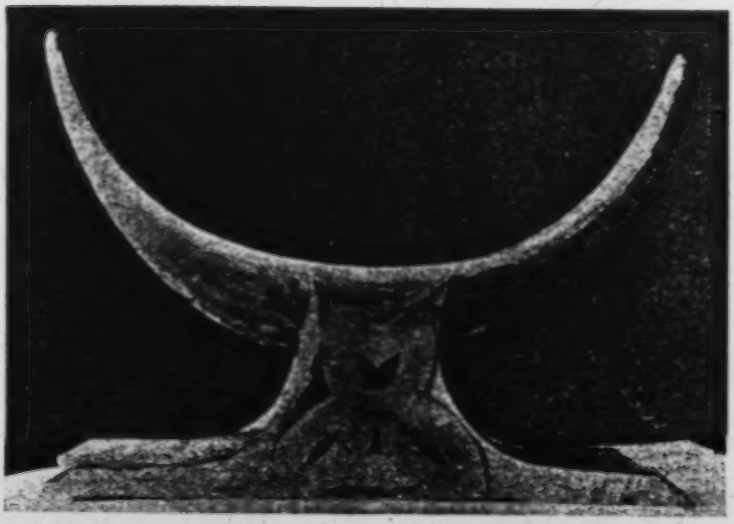

A Bush Negro Stool, Three Feet Long, Known as "Lebba Bangi" (Moon Stool), Taking Its Name from the Moon in the Crescent Phase. *Saramaccaner Tribe*. Stools of almost the identical nature are found in the Ashanti region of West Africa. This motif is probably one of the most striking West African Survivals.

Photo by Herbert Heller

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224 hardly more than shadows. We find the man unharmed,
648 excited and voluble. He encountered a puma, a large one. He fired at close range and wounded it. We see a track of blood, and instantly set out to follow it. It is too dark now; we are forced to retreat back to camp, blazing the trees along the route to find the trail in the morning.

[342] At camp the Djukas erect four uprights and a roof of palm frond, as a shield from the rain and heavy dew. Another is rigged for their own use, and the hammocks are slung underneath. Again they sit up around the campfire and tell loud stories, the same ones, probably.

000 Sitting by the campfire in the pathless interior, thinking of the hundreds of desperate and difficult miles of surrounding jungle, blue by day and black by night, in the company of a few Negroes without whom it would be impossible to return, it is difficult for anyone to escape a feeling of weakness and insignificance. One scoffs at the black man's superstitions, his amulets and guardian spirits, but in the bush at night one senses the overpowering magnitude of the fierce wilderness, one begins to understand his need for such things as a protection against the psychological powers of the darkness. We realize, of course, that there is little in the bush capable of hurting anyone, save some big cats and a few rare snakes. But, as a sceptic has said, it is not reason which governs men.

132 Late that night forked lightning lit up the eerie passages of the jungle. The corridors of trees were filled with wind. The branches, whipped furiously by the great volume of fast

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moving air, roared like an open steam valve. We are rudely 132
awakened by Daniels, who shakes our hammock violently. He shouts over the uproar; everyone must leave the huts at once. A giant tree close to the windward is about to fall and might crush the huts while we sleep.

We quickly abandon the hut and are immediately drenched. Imagine such disconsolate men, staring at the moving wilderness of leaves damning all trees and all weather that takes them out of their hammocks at two o'clock in the morning, and almost reconciled to the idea of being crushed in comfortable hammocks in preference to standing out in the open, expecting a tree to fall on them anyway. But in a short time the storm subsides sufficiently to allow us to return.

The next morning we break camp and trek another day 224
back into the interior. There are no camps now, no huts of 648
any kind, no men. Only the high bush. We make an early start to look for the puma that escaped the night before. There is a bloody bed of sheltered leaves where the puma rested, but the rest of the path is obliterated by the storm.

We turn and begin the trek back.

A curious custom widely prevalent among the Bush Ne- 224 231
groes is that called *Dressy Dahgo,* or dressing the dog, in 825

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224 other words, preparing a dog in such a manner that it will
231 be capable of hunting a particular species of game. There are
125 several methods of accomplishing this. The Negro may grasp the animal between his knees and pour the *dressy* through the nose of the dog. This substance is composed of pieces of the animal which they desire the dog to hunt. Most commonly it is the foot; this is dried and then infused with water. The infusion is also rubbed on the dog's feet. Such preliminaries are usual in hunting peccary.

If the hunter desires to prepare his dog for pursuing the *labba*, a type of water rodent, he cuts the flesh from the nose of the labba and also from its feet, prepares an infusion with water, and then pours this through the dog's nose. Still another method is to mix the hair of the animal which is to be hunted with pepper, and then to rub the dog all over with this mixture.

A fourth way is to feed a piece of the liver of the desired animal to the dog; but it is essential that the liver be placed on a knife, allowing the dog to eat it from that.

224 There is an interesting superstition among the Djukas that
845 anyone who is related to a twin will seriously disrupt a hunting party. On one occasion a large quata, or spider monkey, was sighted by some hunters who, however, failed to bring the animal to earth after fifteen shots. Their ill-luck
to the fact that one of the huntsmen "belonged to a tw

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[H15 532]

Chapter Six

FOOD IN THE JUNGLE

THE Bush Negroes investigate our equipment with great delight, and are much amused by our table manners. They gather around and comment on the food. Often they pick up an empty can discarded by Bundle, the cook, and wrinkle their noses in disgust at the smell of it. They seem to prefer their own food.

[For caption, see category 116, p. 204. – Analyst]

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241 313 Behind each village, a quarter of a mile to five miles distant, are its provision grounds, which the women work. They consist of tiny patches of half an acre or more, carved out of the heart of the jungle by means of terrific labour. It [412] takes the men weeks of work with axes and bush-knives to clear the ground. The fallen trees, some of extremely hard wood, are cut up, burnt, or carried away. The brush is cleared with a machete, or bush-knife, which Negroes call a neefee; they swing this blade with amazing force by making the wrist the centre of its arc.

462 241 The women, as in most primitive societies, tend to the planting and harvesting of the crops. They are helped by the men of the family on some occasions, such as when the harvest is threatened by voracious parasites. The arduous labour of cultivating the stubborn earth comes so naturally to a Bush Negro woman that she is incredulous when told that elsewhere the males alone till the soil.

136 241 A leaf-cutting ant, *Ecodoma cephalotes*, that carries small bits of leaves into its nest, preys on the cassava fields. These ants march in two parallel columns, one going to the field's and the other returning, and systematically ruin the crop. The bit of green that each ant is carrying off looks like an umbrella; hence they are called umbrella ants. They live on a fungus which they grow on the cut leaves. Large numbers of them working together can denude an entire cassava field in a comparatively short time.

137 241 The jungle ground is not excessively fertile, for the incessant downpours leach out the humus, and there is not

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

sufficient time for the nitrogenous substances to be reduced to fertilizing material. Because of this poverty of the ground and the constant foraging of insect and bird pests—the parrot is notorious among these—the cultivation of food is difficult and laborious for the Bush Negroes and the provision ground must often be moved to a fresh site.

Their main carbohydrate staple is the manioc or bitter cassava. It is a tuber-like plant that grows some three to seven feet in height, the edible portion being the underground root. The root contains the poisonous prussic acid, which must be carefully removed. Bush Negroes have been known to commit suicide by drinking the juice of the cassava. The plant itself resembles the tobacco plant, but has a stalk covered with bark and large roots that look like sweet potatoes.

The roots are harvested, carefully peeled, and reduced to a pulp by being rubbed on the roughened surface of an inclined board, the expelled free juices rolling down the incline into a bowl. The rest of the plant is thrown away. The pulp is stuffed into a cylindrical squeezing contrivance made of reed, known as the *matapee*. It resembles one of those toy finger grippers of straw that children play with. The reeds being flexible, elongating the tube by pulling at the ends reduces the diameter of it; this compresses the contents of the cylinder and squeezes out the deadly juice which then runs off into a bowl below. The matapee is a beautifully woven piece of basketry about five feet long and seven inches in diameter. The upper end is attached to the limb of a tree and a heavy stone is suspended from the lower end, the

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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weight of which elongates the tube. In place of a stone, a stick may be passed through the lower end. The Bush Negro straddles it, working the apparatus with his own weight.

The pulp, when dried and heated, becomes a nourishing flour ready for use. There are two ways of serving it. One way is to make it into large, circular pancakes, high piles or stacks of which were carried in our corials to constitute the chief diet of the paddlers on the river trip. When they feel a pang of hunger they break off a piece of cassava from one of the large pancakes, dip it into the river to soften it, and eat it without further preparation. The other way of preparing cassava is to stew it with fish or meat. On tasting this food we found it a bland, mealy cake of not unpleasant taste. The entire technic of preparing it is borrowed from the indigenous Indians; "matapee" is an Indian word.

In a number of Bush Negro villages can be found the common Indian corn. The Negroes allow it to mature and then roast it until it is as hard as a rock, after which they shell off the grains and eat them. If the white man asks for green corn, they refuse to give it to him, saying it is unfit to eat.

Another staple of their diet is rice, or *ahleesee*. Rice of the upland variety can be planted in a dry soil and flourishes like wheat or oats. When harvested, it is tied in small bundles, about a foot in diameter, and threshed. The Negroes put it in a wooden mortar made of a hollow tree trunk, and three Djuka boys stand around it with pounders, striking alternately, like three railway labourers driving one spike. Rice, especially when ripening, is attacked by birds, partic-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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Rice, especially when ripening, is attacked by birds, particularly the parakeets and parrots. These can destroy an entire 343 field in one evening. Sometimes the Djukas are forced to sit 136 up all night with shotguns to scare them off. Weevils and plant diseases are also common.

They have large sweet potatoes, known as yams, but no 262 white potatoes. Corn, which they call *korn;* okra, or *oko;* and peanuts (*pinda*), form a minor part of the Djuka diet. There are occasional banana and cocoanut trees, and some pineapples and breadfruit. Some few additional nuts and fruits are furnished by the jungle. Palm oil, of which they are excessively fond, is another part of the commissary. No journey is undertaken without a liberal supply. It is obtained by squeezing the nut or fruit of a species of palm, called the mareepa. To the white man it tastes like olive oil. Sugar cane is seen in a number of villages, as are domestic fowl. No cattle [231] or swine are to be found.

Thus the Bush Negroes carry on with courage and extreme hardihood under the implacable necessities of life in the enemy jungle, in which the white man has never been able to make his home successfully.

A common sight along the river is a Djuka black, poised 226 on a slippery rock in statuesque immobility, his bow flexed 516 and arrow drawn, shooting for fish.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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Plate and Spoon of Carved Calabash Gourd, Aucaner Tribe.
Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History

[Facing p. 88]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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226 The most primitive way of fishing, among the Bush Negroes, is with the bow and arrow. It takes a steady arm and
[227 eye. The fish arrow has a barbed point, which, besides being
411] glued on the shaft with gum, is tied to the centre of the shaft by a string of singrassi. When the fisher sights along the shaft and lets fly, skilfully impaling a fish just under the surface of the water, the point of the arrow may break off, but the string retains the shaft. It threshes around in the water behind the wounded fish, marking its location.

226 The Djukas are clever folk. One species of fish, the *cumaru*,
825 feeds on the seed of a certain tree, the *walaba*, that grows by the river bank. When the seed-pod of this tree is ripe, it explodes with a loud *pop!* For the fish this sound is associated with the falling of the seed into the water. They swim toward the sound to find and eat the seed. To attract these fish the Djukas imitate with a slap of the hands the noise of the cracking pod. The cumaru draw toward the spot, where the fisher is waiting with poised arrow. The result is more fish for the evening pot.

226 The women have a way of fishing in which they knock
[227] the bottom from a bottle and put crumbs of cassava into it, up near the neck. The trap is placed beside the bank, in shallow water where it can be watched. Minnows enter the submerged bottle after the crumbs, and the waiting women snatch out the bottle before the fish can escape. These minnows belong to the Rosy Barb species, highly prized by collectors of tropical fish.

[227] Other traps are carefully constructed of bamboo slats and

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

reeds, to catch the *dahgo fissee* or *makee fissee*—in other words, the dog fish and the eel. Trapped under water, these fish are easy prey to the savage piraya, so other devices are also used. A baited hook is attached to a bankside shrub called *mucca mucca* (*Montrichardia sp.*), the stalk of which is bent over and fixed beneath the water, under a constant strain. The hold is very slight—a hair-trigger tension—so that as soon as the fish snatches the bait the slight movement frees the bent stalk, whipping the fish free of the water.

There is a plant used by the Negroes to poison fish. The juice of the *nekku* (*Longchocorpus densiflorus* or *rufescens*) has an active alkaloid principle that is stupefying in its effect. It is called *yarro conali* by the Indians. Baskets full of nekku are carried to a small creek. The Djukas sit on the bank, beating the plant into pulp with carved wooden flails. Juice from the bruised shrub poisons the water, and the fish succumb, floating belly up, so that they can be scooped out with a dip-net. Often we passed Djuka tribesmen carrying baskets of this deadly plant toward some quiet stream.

In time of drought it often happens that fish are landlocked between sandbars. It is then an easy matter to scoop them out with a dip-net. Piraya are fished for with a hook and line, with a wire leader obtained in Paramaribo. A piece of bloody meat is used as bait, and the line is trolled. As soon as a fish is felt the rod is whipped overhead, throwing the fish up on the bank. Even out of water the piraya's jaws are still dangerous and avoided.

Gill nets are useless because there are too many predatory

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

226 animals in the water. The catch would be consumed before
227 it could be taken up. Besides spring-traps that snap shut when the bait is touched, cone-traps are used, similar to those of more northern waters. The fish pokes his way into a concave cone, at the end of which is an opening guarded by bristles. Going in, the bristles are easily pushed aside, but, coming out, they bar the path. Then, say the Bush Negroes, the fish speaks to the trap as follows:

"Matti, opa duro gimme"—"Friend, open the door."

But the trap replies: *"Matti, me na cong tia masura de habbe nassloto cun, dassa ope na da you"*—"Friend, I can't until master who has the key comes; he will open it for you."

262 Fish form a large part of the Djuka diet, and fishing is
264 carried on by women, men, and children indifferently. When our canoe paddlers bring in some fish, they get out their
[252 little black gipsy pot, add whole peppers, and boil the fish
263] as it is. It is then eaten like corn-on-the-cob. The head, especially, is a delicacy, the bones being crunched audibly and with gusto. The meat goes in one side of a Bush Negro mouth and the bones seem to come out the other. If a halt is called in the business of eating, it is only long enough to say: *"Fissee makee bon sweetee muffo"*—"Fish make good eating," i.e. make good sweet mouth.

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SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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Chapter Seven

THE ORGANIZATION OF LIFE

THERE are six tribes of Bush Negroes. These tribal divisions date back to the black rebellion in the eighteenth century. Bands of rebels fled into the bush together, and remained together within their jungle home. In Stedman's narrative of the revolt we read of a punitive expedition being sent out against the bands living along the "Serimaca" and Upper Copenam Rivers. After years of incessant warfare, a treaty of peace was concluded in 1749 with the "Serimaca rebels." The descendants of this group are known today as the *Saramaccaner* tribe. Another outbreak of rebels occurred in the Tempati Creek district; they won their freedom in 1761 by a treaty signed at the Ouca Plantation, from which they came to be called *Aucaners*. A third band of rebels, under the command of the famous Chief Bonny, probably

[For caption, see category 116, p.204.—Analyst]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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Surinaccaner

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A Family Group, Lower Suramacca River.

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SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

619 gave rise to another Bush Negro nation known as the *Boni* tribe. There are also three other tribes today of less importance: the *Matawaai* on the Upper Saramacca River, the *Quintee-Matawaai* which is a sub-tribe on the Copenam, and the *Paramacca* on the Middle Marowyne with villages on both the French and Dutch sides of the river.

619 The tribal divisions are strictly enforced. Not only is in-
18r termarriage forbidden, but each tribe has its separate gov-
[82] ernment, and each is referred to locally as a "river nation." Each tribe likewise has its own territory, and any poaching by hunters, fishers, or balata bleeders is rigorously punished.
[43] The ruler of the tribe is a king, or *granman*. Among the photographs is one of old Jankoeso, the kindly shrewd ruler of the Saramaccaner nation; the Aucaner ruler, Amekti, has just died, his place probably being taken by Matodja. The Boni granman is named Awensai.

619 The largest tribe is the Saramaccaner, with a population
361 of about 14,000. Their village of Santi Gron (Sandy Ground),
[161] some twenty miles from Paramaribo on the Lower Saramacca River is the nearest of all Djuka villages to white civilization. But the main body of this tribe begins some ninety miles up the Surinam River from Paramaribo, and the villages are strung along the Surinam River for a hundred or more miles further on back into the interior. The names
[103] of some of these villages are: Nu Condree, Lombe, Gansee, Biodoti, Adawai, De Jun, Masumba Pratti, and Dahomey, and other towns of even more picturesque appellations: Boto-Passi, Poki Gron, Granman Condree, and many more.

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There are also a few villages, belonging to this tribe, situated 619
on the lower Saramacca River, like Santi Gron, Toti Camp, 361
and Maka-Creekee. On the distant Surinam is located the poetically named village of Futu No Habbe Ackaba, The Foot That Has No Resting Place.

Every tribe is divided into several clans, or *lo*, and these lo 621
are subdivided into groups of families, called *m'beh*, relation- 614
ship being counted through the female line. These groupings 613
are direct survivals of the slave days, descendants of groups of fugitives who fled into the bush together. Among the Saramaccaners there is the *Abaisa lo* of which our friend Abaisa is the chief. Another lo is called the *Inge Peecee lo*, meaning "piece of Indian clan," referring to the marriage of a lone Indian squaw with a rebel slave, back in the old days. There is the *Companyi Nengre lo*, or "Company Negro clan" of blacks descended from the slaves who escaped from the Dutch West India Company. The *Dahomey lo* is a group of families especially skilled in the art of healing broken [759]
bones. Then there is a priesthood clan, the *Domini lo*, descended from the slaves of a plantation owner named Levy. Among the other lo are: *Matchow* (meaning axe), *Vondrake* (from a Dutch family named Van Drachte), *Baison Nengre*, *Luwangu*, *Nassi*, *Betu*, *Cumu*, *Quamu*, *Papoto*, and the *Awahna lo* at Gansee.

At a strategic location on the Little Surinam River, the 361
Pekein Rio, dwells the Granman Jankoeso. His village is ten days up the river from Gansee. It is situated in this inaccessible spot, on an especially fierce and rapid tributary, pur-

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Bush Negro Man of the Lower Saramacca River.

[Facing p. 94]

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Saramaccaner

361 posely to make the village as hard to reach as possible, to protect it from white invaders. From long experience the [648] Djukas mistrust all white men.

643 In Jankoeso is lodged the general authority over the Saramaccaner tribe and the territory in which they live. He has forbidden the intrusion of any visitors unless they are announced several days beforehand, by messenger.

[428] All the Granmans receive their title by matrilineal inheritance, and cannot be deposed. When one dies he is succeeded by his oldest sister's oldest male child, while his own sons never, under any circumstances, succeed him to the kingship. If there is no such person as his oldest sister's senior male child, then the succession passes on to the oldest male child of the nearest female relative. If the line dies out, and no [666 relatives are eligible, the successor is elected by popular vote 622] from among the captains of the river villages, but this seldom occurs. On such an occasion there may be a struggle between different lo, playing politics to get into power. Otherwise inheritance is strictly through the female line.

649 The Dutch government exerts only a nominal control over the Bush Negro tribes of the interior. Once every year the river Granmans come down the broad river highways to Paramaribo for a parley with the Governor of Surinam. After a ten-day canoe trip downstream, Jankoeso finds a train waiting for him at Kabel, to bring him ceremonially the rest of the way. The other rulers must come all the way by corial. On their long and often hazardous journey they are accompanied by their most powerful captains. The Gran-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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man of each tribe has a uniform given him by the Dutch; it 648
consists of a high silk hat, a braided frock coat, a drum-major's baton, and a metal plaque suspended around the neck, with the arms of Surinam on it. The ensemble is picturesque in the extreme. Captains have uniforms, too, but less ornate ones. The great full-dress occasion is the palaver at Paramaribo, held on or about the Queen's birthday, toward the end of August. This is an occasion of festivity throughout the colony.

The Governor receives the Bush Negro chiefs as he would any foreign ambassadors, and the dignity of these men, the aristocracy of their bearing, cannot be exceeded by white plenipotentiaries. There is one difference: most of the Djuka females remain at home. Indeed, Jankoeso has forbidden his daughters to go to Paramaribo on any occasion whatsoever. He himself must make a pilgrimage to the sacred medicine city of Dahomey in preparation for the trip, at which time he undergoes a purifying ritual at the hands of the high [783
obeiah priests, to muster good obeiahs for a salubrious passage. 793]

The only attempt of the Dutch to exercise any authority over the Bush Negroes is in regard to the burial ceremony. This has been a bone of contention for many years. The 648
Djuka custom is to allow the corpse to remain unburied for 764
a long period. The Dutch tried to stop this, not from any desire to interfere with the customs of the natives, but for sanitary reasons. The disagreement was finally compromised by a time limit of three days between death and burial. This regulation is usually not observed. Once they get back into their remote villages, the Bush Negroes do as they please.

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Saramaccaner

their remote villages, the Bush Negroes do as they please.

The punitive powers of the white government are seldom exercised. Occasionally in Djuka land, as elsewhere, a murder occurs over some woman. Once or twice the Dutch have made an effort to arrest the criminal. But on the whole police jurisdiction is impossible, as any person familiar with the impenetrable bush and impassable rivers will easily realize. What occurs in any but the nearby villages is largely unknown.

Once the white authorities were cognizant of a murder that took place in Biodoti, one of Jankoeso's villages, and demanded the murderer for trial. With more sympathy for their own people who are criminals than for the white people who are judges, the Djukas flatly refused to give the man up. The Dutch colonial troops threw a cordon across the river just below Biodoti, refusing thoroughfare to any Bush Negro corials; this blockade would be enforced, they said, until the murderer was handed over. During the night Djuka corials leaked past the cordon; it was difficult to stop them. The Governor sent word to Jankoeso to come down to Paramaribo for an extraordinary parley. His refusal was [102] brought by his personal messengers, his *lamba*, who are specially trained from childhood to carry long messages in their heads, keeping every word intact. The Governor informed these lamba that unless Jankoeso came willingly a detachment of troops would be sent to get him down by force.

Indignantly the Granman came, referring to himself as

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a prisoner, and refusing to take the special train awaiting him at Kabel. Special trains, he said, were not for prisoners. He was paddled the additional ninety miles in his own corial, which took six days longer. Very vexed at this, the Governor did not shake hands with him, and Jankoeso was offended. "Why doesn't he tell me 'Howdy'?" he asked Mynheer Wolff, who is always instrumental in furthering friendly relations between Dutch and Djukas. Wolff called the Governor outside, and advised him to treat the Granman with more cordiality. The necessary handshaking was done, and the parley continued more affably. The guilty one was apprehended and jailed for a year. Once again there went upstream the annual present of the Dutch government to each Granman. This is a continuation of the custom of tribute money paid to the Bush Negroes ever since the days of the black rebellions. Every year each Granman receives 1500 guilders.

The Granman is the actual chief of the river nation, but the government centres in the village proper. The village is governed by a headman or *captain*, and aiding him in his work is a council or *bosseia*, consisting of three or four or more of the most mature men and women of the town. "Bosseia," like the American colloquial *boss*, comes from the Dutch word *baas*. Here the rough justice of the jungle is administered, and local disputes are settled. Here decisions are made concerning the ownership of timber, and property rights in cassava fields. Quarrels over women are more frequent than any other kind of disputes, and they, too, are settled by the village captain and his bosseia.

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Bush Negro Men Visiting Paramaribo, the Capital of Dutch Guiana.

Photo by Klein

[Facing p. 98]

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Serenocrazer

622 The bosseia meet under a separate shed, specially built
623 for this purpose. The captain has a "throne," which is an
352 ornately carved stool. The one belonging to the captain of the village of Lombe was purchased and brought back to the American Museum of Natural History. The members of the bosseia, too, have ceremonial seats, with elaborately pierced carving, typically West African in design. When the occasion arises, a meeting is held and the council is seated about on these ceremonial benches to hold palaver.

622 The business is brought up. Perhaps it is a domestic quar-
623 rel—two men over one woman. The offended party rises
692 and begins exercising the Bush Negro's traditional privilege
[537] of unlimited and vociferous oratory. He details his wrongs. Grand gestures accompany the sonorous flow of words. The interested members of the village sit at a respectful distance from the captain and bosseia, and listen to the harangue. When other speakers have had their say, any inhabitant of the village may get up and give his or her opinion. Proudly the captain exercises his judicial talent, and the decision is handed down. It is not questioned.

622 The women members of the bosseia have as much power
623 as the men. It is chiefly the women who see that the ancestral
562 and village customs are enforced. They are the guardians of the ancient traditions and customs of the race. To them, also, belongs the duty of keeping the village clean. If the
[364] town needs a general cleaning, the women bosseia go about from hut to hut, telling the women to get together and perform the task.

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When there is a conflict between villages over their hunting and fishing territories, the captains and bosseias of each town meet on some neutral ground and arbitrate the matter. Then, indeed, the parley becomes wordy and rhetorical. Each cause is championed with long speeches, setting forth oratorically the rights and conditions involved. But once an agreement is arrived at, the matter is closed. 622 623 692 628 [537]

Local disputes, excluding those over women, are not nearly so common or so serious as they are among civilized white men. There is a minimum of quarrelling among the Djukas; they get along together in an almost idyllic way. Wherever there are women, there will, of course, be quarrelling, for, in the words of Confucius, "Disorder does not come from heaven, but is brought about by women." Outside of this factor there is little friction in the Bush Negro community. Their highly communalized government works exceedingly well. 683 578

The Granman and his captains have an annual council to make laws for the coming year. This and other assemblies are known as *kwatu*. The captains and bosseias from surrounding villages concentrate at some important town to meet the Granman there. The Council near Gansee, the trading-post, included the villages of Nu, Lombe, Biodoti, Ganya Condree, and Adawai. Jankoeso refused to hold his parley in the town proper, although Gansee is the largest village in the entire tribe, because there is a Christian mission station there, conducted by the Moravian Brothers. Jankoeso is in favour of retaining the ancestral gods of the jungle, and does not look with favour upon the white proselytizers. 671 622 628 [538]

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Aucaner

and does not look with favour upon the white proselytizers.

The Granman can call a meeting of his captains at any time. They must attend, even though it involves days of rigorous travel. Although the captains look up to the Granman and acknowledge him as their superior, the connexion between them is not close enough to be considered a hierarchy. The "river nations" are not monarchies in any sense. The only laws promulgated by the Granman are those that affect the entire tribe.

Neither the captains nor the Granman have any privileges or prerogatives to set them apart from the undistinguished natives; there is no leisure class. They are all dependent upon their own efforts to earn a living, and work like anyone else in the village. Rank does not make social parasites out of them, as among us. The Granman's only external distinction is that sent by the white man, the tribute from the Dutch government. The type of social organization now prevalent among the Djukas, therefore, may be described as primitive communism.

The Aucaner, second in number to the Saramaccaner, are scattered in a less compact way over the rivers and creeks of the colony toward the French Guiana line. This tribe numbers about 6000 in population.

Just below the realm of the Saramaccaner tribe, at the junction of the Sara Creek and the Surinam River (see map facing page), are some of the Aucaner villages: Koffay Camp, Lebbi Doti, Lasu Baka, Pitchong, Baku, and other settlements. There are few villages on the long Sara Creek, but

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[Facing p. 100, Sec. A]

Distribution of Bush Negro Tribes
Drawn after a sketch by

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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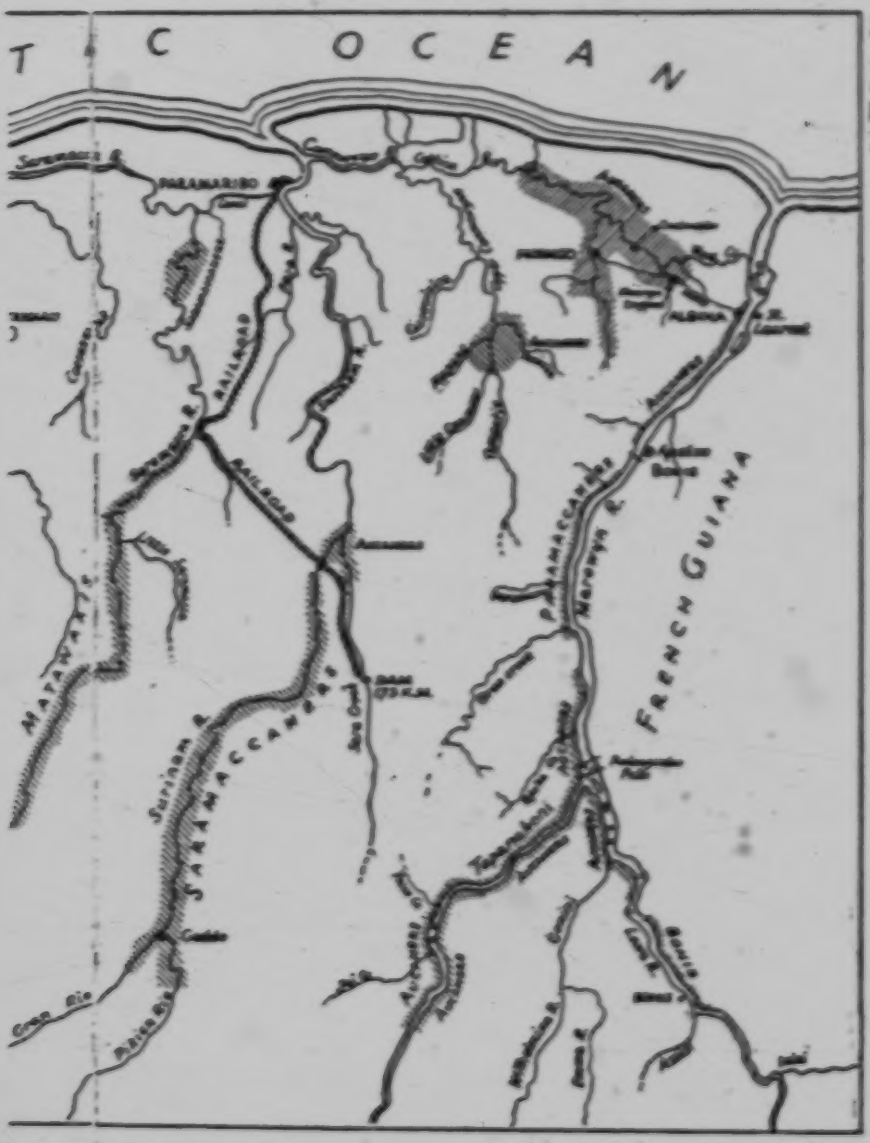

gro Tribes in Dutch Guiana
: sketch by Rogalli

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Aucaner

after a day's portage from its source one may strike the 619
Tosso Creek, which brings the lower Sara Creek Aucaners 361
into the distant Tapanahoni River, where exist the main body of the Aucaner tribe. They inhabit both banks of the Tapanahoni, from its mouth where it flows into the Marowyne River to some distance beyond the far Jai Creek. The Aucaners, like the Saramaccaners, are divided into several lo or clans. The names of these are as follows: the *Missi Jou lo* and 614
Otto lo, which are the most powerful and to which belong the families of the Granmans; the *Perica lo, Pata lo M'bek lo, Ju Nengre lo, Penani lo, N'Yafi lo, Bray lo, Compai lo, Deekah lo, La Paix lo, Ke-o Comdree lo*, and *Pooloogoodoo lo*. The head of the lo is called *Papa fu ah lo*, "father for the lo."

Beside these, the Aucaners have also divided their tribe 621
into two separate parts, but they are both under the same 184
Granman. These divisions are known as the *Uppo Nengre* 361
(Upper Negro) and *Below Nengre* (Below Negro). The 616
boundary between them being the Gran Hollo (Big Hole) Falls in the Tapanahoni River. The territory of the Below Nengre begins past the mouth of the Gran Creek and extends up the Tapanahoni River to the falls above mentioned. The islands in the Marowyne belong to this division and their territory also extends to the Dutch side of the Lawa River up to Aboona Sungu Falls (a man named Aboona sank there), which forms the boundary between the Aucaners and the Boni tribe in that region. Some names of the vil- 103
lages belonging to the Below Nengre Aucaners of that dis- 361

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Grammans and Captains Assembled in Paramaribo for a Council with the Governor of Dutch Guiana.
Photo by Gerold

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103 trict are as follows: Londo, Adjuba, Poko, Apah-gee, Bahnda,
361 Apindah, Capusee Tabiki (Armadillo Island), Purigoodoo, Ki-u, Behnanoo, One Finga, Nikerie, Manlobbi, Fahndahki, Clementi, Moompasa, Saaje, Bow-wee, Chung-Chung; and there are many others.

At and above the Gran Hollo Falls in the far Tapanahoni, we have the villages of the Uppo Nengre Aucaners: Sangamasusa, Peekehtee, One-Watra-Ah-Bah, Moi-Talkee, Sribawatra, Yowsa, Meinsie, Dree Tabiki (the seat of the late Granman Amekti, and the seat of the probable new Granman, Matodja, whose mother was the sister of Amekti). Other villages of the Uppo Nengre are Polocaba, Pekein Condree (Little Country), Lohabie, Tombeh-do-me (What Ails Me), E'Sai, Gado Hollo (God's Hole), Ahkay Kuna, and Gran Borree, the last village, beyond which is nothing but the impenetrable bush for hundreds of miles, and no habitation save a few scattered villages of the all-but unknown Indians of that region.

361 On the Dutch side of the Marowyne River there are also Aucaner villages of the Below Nengre extending from just below Albina, the small Dutch settlement, where the Aucaner village of Captain Acrowsie is situated, to just opposite the Boni village of Apatoo. The settlements in this area are:
[103] Papa Acroi Condree, Papa Blah Condree, Amon Yeh Condree, Tindalee, Swampu Condree, and Mahyoto.

In the region of the Upper Commewyne River and on the banks of the Mapane, Peninica, Little Commewyne, and Tempati Creeks are also Aucaner villages. These villages are

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

the closest of the tribe to Paramaribo, some ninety miles distant. Some of them are called Nengre Condree Pepper, Gado Dri, Jaffa, Mus Mussi (Little Mouth). 361

On the Upper and Lower Cottica and Cormotibo Rivers, as well as on the Wane Creek which flows into the Marowyne River close to its mouth, and in the region of the Patamacca Creek, are more Aucaner villages:

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Upper Cottica, near Moengo
- Dumtoppo (Top of Dum)
- Ferenkie (in the small Indufindu Creek)
- Peto Undro (in the Rikanau Creek)

Patamacca Creek
- Ifilahollo (He Filled the Hole)
- Lasu Undro
- Teme Koo
- Tanta Joe

Cormotibo River
- Toocoopie
- Pekein Adjuma Condree
- Moengo Toppo (Top of Mountain)

Wane Creek (tributary of Cormotibo)
- Sebesary Condree
- Kopro Campa (Copper Camp)

Lower Cottica River
- Kumaiku Dotee (Ant Hill)
- Langa Huku (Long Hook)
- Pekein Santi (Little Sand)
- Pina Tjari Me (Need Brought Me Here)
- Agiti Undro (Get Below)
- Wan Hatti (One Hat)

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner
Saramaccaner
Boni

619 184 In general appearance and culture the Aucaners vary little from the other large tribe, the Saramaccaners.

[531] The art motifs and their treatment as displayed on the Aucaner wood carvings as a rule differ from those of the Saramaccaners. On the other hand, some of the pieces were found to be practically identical.

The Aucaner talkee-talkee also differs from that of the Saramaccaners, the former being more like the speech of the Town Negroes. The Aucaners have no deepee-talkee or odo as have the Saramaccaners, but they have a dialect known as *Koropina* where a *p* or an *m* is spoken before the vowels in a word for the purpose of confusing strangers. A similar custom is prevalent among the Negroes of Curaçao, Dutch West Indies.

[197 198 191]

[291] The dress of the Aucaners is the same as that of the Saramaccaners, excepting that they affect more often the breast-cloth, the *wassapangye*, and the head-cloth, the *mussu*.

Among the Aucaners the toga garment is called the *yembah*, while it is called a camissa by the Saramaccaners. The barrier of palm leaves is called *ckifunga* by the Aucaners and *azang pau* by the Saramaccaners.

[262 606 184] The system of food taboos and general culture are the same. There is no mother-in-law taboo among either the Aucaners or the Saramaccaner tribe.

[161] 648 The Boni tribe, which consists of about 900 people, is descended from escaped slaves who crossed the Marowyne River into French Guiana and who were allowed to remain there unmolested by the French authorities. This is the only

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

tribe of the Bush Negroes which owes allegiance to the 645
French. They have never forgiven the Dutch for their relentless pursuit back in the old rebel days. Several years ago the Dutch authorities made an effort to invite the Bonis back into Dutch territory; these overtures, however, were flatly refused.

The derivation of the word "Boni" makes for interesting 101
speculation, and three theories have been advanced to ex- 174
plain it. The first is that the word is derived from the French phrase "Bon Negre" or "Good Negroes" which the colonists of French Guiana applied to the Boni blacks because they were comparatively quiet and peaceful. It is also possible that the tribe may have been named after their famous rebel leader Bonny, who took such a formidable and prominent part in the rebellions. Thirdly, it has been considered that the name was derived from the Bonny River of West Africa, for undoubtedly some of the slaves came from that area. Although *B-o-n-i* is the official Dutch spelling of the word, when the tribesmen refer to themselves the accent is placed on the second syllable, and phonetically the word should be spelled *B-o-n-e-e* and pronounced much the same as the word *Pawnee*, the tribe of American Indians in the western United States. The Granman of this tribe, Awensai, receives his [643
annual stipend from the Governor of French Guiana at 728]
Cayenne.

The first village of the Boni, situated on the French side 361
of the Marowyne River, is that of Apatoo nestling at the foot 103
of the Armina falls. The entire French side of the river from

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

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Jankoeso, Granman or King of the Saramaccaner Tribe, in Town for a Parley with the Governor.

Photo by Curiel

[Facing p. 106]

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SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

that point has no further permanent habitations of the Bush Negroes. Past the realm of the Aucaners on the Lawa River (the confluence of which with the Tapanahoni goes to form the Marowyne) we find the continuation of the Boni tribe, consisting of the villages of Tahbiki, Pulumuffo, the seat of the Granman, Loka, Papai-Seton, Agodai, Komuntibo, Cottica (the only Boni village on Dutch territory, but whose inhabitants also owe allegiance to the French), Akuba, and the last of all the Bush Negro villages, Assisi, past the mouth of the far Assisi Creek.

The Bonis, although the most remote of the Bush Negroes from the plantations from which they originally escaped as slaves, have certainly succumbed the most to the influences of the white civilization. Even the village of the Saramaccaner tribe, Santi Gron, only some twenty miles from Paramaribo, maintains in true aboriginal fashion its African customs and its heathen gods.

The French Catholic priests have been more successful in making converts among the Boni than have the Dutch among the other tribes. In one village, however, we saw the usual heathen fetishes on full display, but we were told that they only afforded real protection to those who *believed* in them. Some of these tribesmen wear trousers and the headcloth of the French Guiana Town Negroes. We have even heard it whispered that some of the Boni own shoes, which is an unspeakable offence against the code among any of the other tribes.

Although the huts are of Africanesque architecture, similar

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Foel

Although the huts are of Arawakoque architecture, similar 342
to those of the Aucaner tribe, there is, at times, more wooden board in the construction and less thatch.

During the expedition of 1928 we were informed that the 316
Bonis, particularly at the village of Apatou, were conversant 326
with the old West African method of smelting iron and manufacturing it into implements of various kinds. This claim proved to be entirely groundless. If there is any iron ore in the neighbourhood, these tribesmen do not know where it is, and most certainly do not understand how to smelt it.

It was in Africa that the art of iron working is supposed to have originated, and the iron work of West Africa, whence the Djukas came, is a thing of beauty. But the Djukas have lost this hereditary art. Among the Bonis, the work in metal seems to be limited to the soldering of copper French coins to bracelets made of iron or copper pipe, which they procure by trade or from the machinery of long abandoned French gold exploitations. They also make brass bracelets and anklets of considerable width out of brass piping obtained from a similar source. The piping is split with the sharp blade of an axe and hammered into shape with the blunt end. We were able to obtain a stiletto with an iron blade and a handle of brass riveted to it with copper, but we are under the impression that the blade, at least, is of French or Italian manufacture.

In their general habits as regards hunting, fishing, agri- 184
culture, canoe building, social customs and structure, dress, 419
and so on, the Bonis are quite similar to the Aucaners. They speak a dialect of talkee-talkee which has distinct differences [191
from the Aucaner and the Saramaccaner in that it contains a 192]
good deal of French words.

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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An Aid to Busy Mothers.

[Facing p. 108]

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SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

good deal of French patois. Most of the people also speak a fluent and, at times, a good French, which they have learned from the freed convicts, the libérés, of the largest French prison colonies in Guiana at St. Laurent, situated about forty miles from the mouth of the Marowyne River. Some of the Negroes of this tribe, as well as some of the Aucaners, sometimes visit St. Laurent for purposes of barter and trade. They also occasionally aid the French in transporting loads in their canoes up to the remaining placer mine.

These Bush Negroes have seen thousands of white convicts and libérés. They have seen white men under the most degrading conditions possible to human existence on this planet. They have seen them shot down in the street. They have seen them rummaging in cans of tropical garbage that even a dog would shun, or escaping through the jungles, simply starving, hunted animals. Their point of view in regard to this may be summarized in the answer received when the question was put to one Boni as to what he thought of the Penal Colony; he said: *"Francie mong sung go dede"*—"Frenchmen soon die."

But just across the river from St. Laurent is the little settlement of Albina and the *Doocie mong* (Dutchmen). The Dutch have armed soldiers there so that the escaping libérés cannot cross.

As among the other tribes, the Boni are adept in the carving of wood. They make the usual kinds of highly decorated implements, such as large combs, pot stirrers, food trays carved out of sections of a tree trunk. The door posts and

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni
Paramacca

façades of their huts are often elaborately carved. The drums and other Bush Negro implements take the usual West African form, but the treatment of the motifs among the Boni differs somewhat from that given by the other Bush Negro tribes. The spiral, snake, liana, and coil designs are less in evidence; the patterns are usually more angular in character than similar pieces from the Saramaccaner and Aucaner. Animal, human, and bird figures are more common in the designs of these French Guiana tribesmen, as the collection brought back for the American Museum of Natural History attests. Also, personal decoration by scar-tissue patterns seems to be less in evidence among the Boni. In all other respects, however, their culture seems identical with that of the other Djukas.

The Paramacca tribe, now numbering about 500 in population, was founded by one man and two women, who were slaves on a plantation in the Upper Commewyne River. They escaped by way of the Tempati Creek in 1813, then travelled over the watershed to the head of the Paramacca Creek, a tributary of the Marowyne River. For a long time they built villages at the head of the Tempati Creek and later at the head of the Paramacca Creek, being afraid to go into the

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

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Bush Negroes of the Saramaccaner Tribe, Upper Surinam River.

Photo by Klein

[Facing p. 110]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Paramaca

175 Marowyne River on account of the Boni and Aucaner tribes,
361 who were long established there and who were much stronger numerically than the newly arrived Paramaccas. They finally came out of the creeks, however, and founded a village on the Dutch side of the Marowyne River near the mouth of the Paramacca Creek. The main seat of the tribe is
[103] now the village of Langa Tabiki (Long Island), which, as the name denotes, is an island in the Marowyne River. This is the village of the Granman. Beside Langa Tabiki, there is
361 the village of Amerika Condree (from a Bush Negro captain
103 called Amerika). This village is situated on the island of Boni Boro, which means the "Bonis arrived." A third important village is that of Akodo Condree, captained by one Akodo and situated on an island of the same name in the Marowyne River. There are lesser villages on the Dutch bank of the Marowyne extending just past the mouth of Gran Creek. The Paramacca village of Seeton Ponta (Pointed Stone) is situated on the French side of the Marowyne. The older villages in the Paramacca and Tempati Creeks have long since been abandoned.

115 In Seeton Ponta we had a long talk with an old Captain
159 Koffay who claims to be some eighty years of age and whose appearance certainly bears him out. He is the grandson of one of the original women slaves who escaped and aided in founding the tribe. He can remember his grandmother telling of the terrible privations of the early days when they first escaped into the jungle, how starvation nearly overtook them on a number of occasions, how they wandered for forty-

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SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Paramacca

seven days aimlessly in the high bush, and then happened 115
upon the putrid remains of a tapir which had been killed by 159
a jaguar and which food, after they chased the vultures away, was what saved them from starvation. He said that now they call themselves Teegre Nengre (Tiger Negroes), for they believe the jaguar was ordained to save them. One day his grandmother showed him gold in a creek bed and she told him never to touch it for she had seen it make white men crazy. His grandmother was born in Dutch Guiana. She had never told him stories of Africa, but he had heard of it from the Catholic missionaries. He knew that the blacks had come from over the sea, but he had also heard that they were the original inhabitants of the jungle who had been killed off by the Indians, with the exception of a few roving bands who had joined the escaped slaves. (Slaves are known to have escaped as early as 1650 and may have formed bands, which [101]
may, in turn, have joined the Boni tribe, for the Boni today are called Aluku Nengre—Indian Negroes—by the Aucaner and Paramacca tribes.) We also heard that the term Aluku Nengre refers to Indians of the Rukuyana tribe, of which one of the women was taken by Awensai, Granman of the Boni, as one of his wives. The term seems to be used in a somewhat opprobrious way on this account.

Old Captain Koffay, clear-minded and vigorous physically, believes that the white man will some day try to re-enslave the Bush Negroes and that there will be another war between them. "Bahkra greedy," said he.

The small Paramacca tribe does much less in the way of 800

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SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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A Bush Negro Mother on the Lower Saramacca River.

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SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Paramaca

The small Paramacca tribe does much less in the way of
322 wood carving than do the others of the Djukas. This was evidenced by the few pieces we were able to collect and was also known to be a fact by the Aucaner Bush Negroes who accompanied us to the Paramacca district. The motifs dis-
[184] played upon the articles collected were practically identical with those found on Aucaner pieces.

123 In fairness to the Paramaccas, however, it must be mentioned from our experience among other tribes that collecting is much facilitated when one is cordially known. On a second or third expedition one is able to collect many times more specimens than upon a first introduction. The Bush Negroes are at first shy as a rule and not anxious to part with their belongings.

184 The tribes do not fraternize much with each other. Some
619 travellers report that the Aucaner and Boni tribes feel them-
609 selves superior to the others because they have less contact with the white man. If this is true, we cannot report any personal observation of it. A traveller has no more difficulty among them than among the Saramaccaner people. Some
628 ill-feeling between the Aucaners and Saramaccaners dates
609 back to the slave revolt, when the former observed their peace treaty so scrupulously as even to aid the slave-owners in re-

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gaining possession of other fugitives. It is said that, until recently, actual war prevailed among the tribes because some Saramaccaners invaded the Boni and Aucaner districts, poaching on their lumbering, hunting, fishing, and balata rights. The punishment today for any Bush Negro found poaching in another district is a healthy beating with canoe paddles and fists, after which he is warned not to repeat the offence.

With the Indians of Surinam the Bush Negroes have little commerce or intercourse. These aborigines belong principally to three American tribes, the Carib, Acaway, and Arawak. They and the Djukas mutually look down on each other, but in our opinion the latter are intellectually the superior. Indian and Djuka villages are separate; very little trading occurs between them. On the Marowyne, Tapanahoni, and Lawa Rivers, however, the Negroes occupy a strategic position on the middle rivers, so that Indians from their remote villages along the upper river must pass by Bush Negro towns on their way downstream to trade at the white settlement of Albina, near the mouth of the Marowyne. The Djukas tell the Indians that the white men in Albina practise cannibalism. Rather than run the risk of trading with cannibals, the Indians barter their stuff in the Bush Negro towns. By this crafty arrangement, the Negroes obtain bead and feather work in exchange for tobacco and for machetes.

The Indians on the other rivers do not share this superstition concerning the white man's cannibalism. None of the Indian tribes mingle with the Djukas other than for the pur-

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poses of necessary trade. What produces this antagonism is simply racial and cultural difference. Few of the Bush Negroes realize that the Indians are aborigines while they themselves are not. They have no memory of their African origin. Their historical knowledge, as far as we could determine, dates back no further than the rebellion. There is no native word in their vocabulary for "Africa," except where the missionaries teach.

Nor do the Djukas mingle with the Town Negroes. Remembering with pride their escape from the planter's lash, they regard contemptuously these Town Negroes descended from slaves who never had sufficient courage to revolt. It was not until the emancipation edict of the Dutch government that the Town Negroes gained their freedom from the old sugar plantations. As we have noted before, the Djuka refers to the Town Negro as *bahkra schlaff*, or "white man's slave." Only occasionally will a Town Negro be permitted to live in a Bush Negro village. We know of one instance, an old gold prospector named King, who lives at Gansee. After forty years of panning for gold on the river creeks of Surinam, he is content to retire to the peaceful life of a Djuka village. There are also isolated instances of British Negro balata bleeders from Demerara, the capital of the adjacent colony, who now live in Bush Negro towns. If a Djuka woman has intercourse with any of these strangers or, indeed, with anyone outside her own tribe, she is looked upon as a prostitute.

The Town Negroes, on the other hand, speak disparag-

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ingly of their "savage" relatives, but are afraid of them. The Town Negroes are frequently well educated, and by comparison with them the Djuka visitor to the white settlement appears shy and childish, except when trading. The Town Negroes, though, feel a wholesome timidity toward the Djukas. As our educated tent boy would say: "Deh wild people, Doctor, fill wit de devil. Deh gon gib you jumbee, Doctor; I tell you deh make plenty obeiah (magic). Deh know how to control de evil spirits."

Another Djuka relationship of peculiar interest is with the escaped convicts of the penal colony of French Guiana. The escape of a convict into the bush is vividly described in Blair Niles's *Condemned* and *Free*. The Djukas have learned to fear these incorrigibles, who at times attack their villages, steal the provisions, and ravish the women. Most of the escaped convicts, trying to reach Paramaribo, pass through the Aucaner tribe district, in the general neighbourhood of Moengo, where the bauxite mines are. In certain parts of the hinterland the Frenchmen are shot at on sight.

Once an escaped convict trailed a white man's party for several days and, when the men were out hunting, entered the camp, killed the cook, and stole the provisions. When the other members of the party returned, their food was gone and their cook dead. Remorselessly the Bush Negroes tracked down the incorrigible. When they caught him, they buried him in the sand up to his neck and built fires around his head, which they slowly pushed closer until they saw him die a slow death.

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SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

643 Curiously enough, many of the Djukas believe that there will be another war with the white man. To them it seems that the bahkra may attempt to re-enslave them at any time. Hence, they are suspicious of all white men, whom they expect soon to be fighting again. It is said that, in preparation for this eventuality, they have accumulated tremendous stores of *nekku* to poison the entire Surinam River, on which Paramaribo is located. The purpose of this, as they express it, is *"Fu killee ala bahkra na futu"*—"To kill all the white men at the foot (of the river)." Apparently they do not know that this plan is useless, that the water supply of Paramaribo does not come from the river, but from artesian wells and cisterns of rainwater.

Legally the Djukas are under the control of the Dutch Colonial Secretary, as wards of the Government of Surinam. The Bush Negroes recognize rather vaguely that the Dutch [65] own the colony, but while they are subjects they pay no taxes, have free range of nearly the entire area, and do exactly as they please concerning village and tribal affairs. The sovereignty of the Dutch is, for all practical purposes, merely nominal.

The Dutch make very humane colonists. In Surinam they are faced with the difficult business of governing a polyglot population of many races, Negroes wild and tame, aboriginal Indians, Hindus, Mohammedans from India, Javanese, Chinese, and white men of all nationalities. As Anatole France expressed it in *The Procurator of Judea,* putting the words in the mouth of Pontius Pilate, "It is no easy matter to

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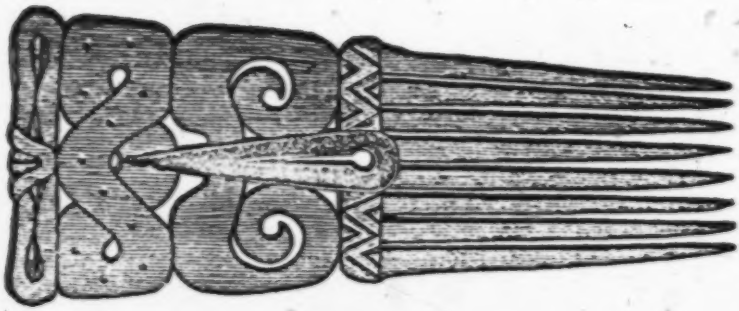
govern a subject race with justice, and not interfere with 648
their local customs." Here the Dutch have been marvellously successful. They seem to have a knack of understanding the primitive mind, so that under their rule the various races live in harmony—a wonder in itself—and peace reigns throughout the settlement.

Dutch Guiana does not have the atmosphere of tenseness that characterizes the British colony to the west or the penal colony to the east. On the whole a lovelier tropical settlement would be hard to find.

Unlike certain nations in Africa, the Dutch have never tried to exploit the natives by imposing anything like the [651]
infamous hut-tax. For this they certainly deserve high praise. The notable position of the Bush Negroes consists in this, that, whereas all over the world primitive tribes are paying tribute to the power of white exploiters, here is one tribe where the situation is reversed, and the whites are paying tribute to them.



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Chapter Eight

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

THE Bush Negro family is not a family in our sense of the word. In the Surinam jungle the Djuka family is polygamous and matrilineal. The unit of society is the hut, where the mother and her children live. 594 595 611

In order to understand the marriage customs of the Bush Negro tribes it is first necessary to forget for the time being the system of patriarchal family life under which the white men of our age live. One unconsciously takes the customs of one's own society as a norm, and passes moral judgment on exotic customs by their deviation from that norm. This habit of thinking must be avoided as far as possible in considering a primitive society, though it is difficult even for an agile mind to make dispassionately the transition from one culture in which the father is dominant, to another, in which his position is not important. On the other hand, many of our 114

*[For caption, see category 1162, p. 204. — Analyst]

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Paramacca

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Bush Negro Men of the Paramacca Tribe, Middle Marowyne River, French Guiana. The child is being tended by its maternal uncle, who, in the social structure of these people, takes the place of the father in tending the children.

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114 prejudices about sex and marriage may become less rooted by a comparison with the customs of a primitive society.

611 The Djukas, like a number of other primitive tribes, reckon
628 descent only through the female line; property rights are transmitted through the maternal side of the house. Fatherhood is a fact of relative unimportance.

595 Polygamy is the practice. Each wife lives in a separate hut (often in a separate village), which belongs to her because her husband built it for her. A man has as many wives as he wants, or can keep. The wives get along together fairly
[152] amicably. The cancer of matrimonial jealousy characteristic of our own system, is of narrow range and effect among the Djukas.

596 The head of the family is not the father, but the mother's
604 oldest male relative—her brother or her mother's brother. *The father is technically unrelated to his children.* As a matter of biological fact, he can never be sure of his paternity, whereas maternity is never in doubt. All children belong to their mother's family, and are subject to the authority of her brother or her maternal uncle. The latter is more closely related to them than any other male.

611 A group of families related through the female line con-
614 stitute a *m'beh,* and several m'beh together make up a *lo,* or clan. These groups are all reckoned through the mother. Husband and wife may belong to different m'beh and lo, but children of the union belong only to their mother's group. At
593 first sight the father seems negligible in this arrangement,
604 but it must be remembered that he is very likely the brother

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of some other woman, and exercises authority over her children rather than over his own. 593 604

The Djuka family, then, consists of a group of people all descended from a single woman, and related to each other through the female line. Whatever family authority exists resides in the mother's or grandmother's brothers; to them the children defer; from them the children will inherit property and title. The paternity of the children is unessential. This type of social organization is called matrilineal. 596 611

We should, perhaps, not expect to find romantic love, as we know it, among the Djukas. The peculiar transports and attenuated delights of romantic passion are a rather extraordinary phenomenon which, according to Briffault, does not exist outside of Western civilization. Romance requires a high development of individuality among women so that one may be desirable above all others. Where women are mutually interchangeable, romance cannot exist. The Djuka black does not love a woman; he loves women. Love among the Djukas is not a brainstorm but a physiological release, and marriage an economic device. 114

The young people have complete knowledge and some experience of sex at an extremely early age and are usually married at sixteen or seventeen. They are fairly promiscuous before marriage and extremely so afterward. This, again according to Briffault, is the rule in tribes retaining the matrilineal tradition. Since intercourse before marriage is a practice that the Djukas make little effort to restrain, sex is a common affair, not particularly connected with marriage. 836 [582 837]

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Saramaccaner

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Bush Negro Women of the Saramaccaner Tribe.
Photo by Klein

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It is indulged in as naturally as the other bodily functions.

"Marriage" is a convenient term for describing cohabitation among the Djukas, but it must be remembered that to them marriage is a purely economic institution. There is little ceremony. No one objects to getting married, because divorce is instantaneous and easy. The bonds of marriage are loose, and adultery, to use our harsh term, is customary.

Courting consists in presenting the prospective bride with elaborate wood carvings of useful implements. This wood carving has been developed by the Djukas to a high point of artistic perfection, as can be seen from the illustrative specimens, of which more will be said later. The approaching marriage is not looked upon as a departure from the maternal group; it is simply an arrangement for providing the man with a cook and the woman with children. The marriage of a captain or a Granman differs in no wise from any other; no especial care is taken of his bride.

We encountered two varieties of the process of choosing a husband. In the first, the girl has little to say, her husband being selected for her by her parents. In the second and more frequent practice the woman marries the man of her own choice, the parents making sure that the intended husband is a good provider. But since every Djuka buck is trained to the jungle crafts from childhood, this requirement can almost be taken for granted.

The husband marries frequently. He may marry outside of his village, or outside of his lo, but never outside of the tribe. Marriage requires a bride price, consisting of pieces of

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Marriage requires a bride price, consisting of pieces of 583
cloth, sugar, tobacco, and some carved wooden implements, such as combs, paddles, trays. These are handed over to the bride's family as presents. Then the wife simply moves into her husband's hut, or he into hers. Despite their pre-marital 585
promiscuity, it is said that on the bridal night all the inhabitants of a Bush Negro village will gather outside the hut to hear what the husband has to say regarding the bride's virginity. If the girl is not a virgin, part of the bride price may be refunded, at the husband's discretion. The gathering on such an occasion is attended by much jocularity.

The Djuka husband builds a hut for each one of his women 593
and has another for himself, to which he may retire when- 342
ever he feels the need of bachelor seclusion. The woman 591
sleeps in her own hut, cooks, and raises her children there. The husband comes to her when he wants to, and leaves her for another wife when impulse so guides him. She seldom quarrels with the other wives, who may even live in separate villages.

Each wife has her own provision ground, where she grows 593
rice and cassava; her husband has cleared it for her. The cas- 241
sava fields are owned by individual women, but are held in 562
very loose tenure. At harvest time, or when a plague of in- [423]
sects is threatening, the women of several households work [476]
together in common.

The man's hut is called his *gudu oso,* or "treasure house." 342
It serves to impress his women with his importance and 556
wealth. They are forbidden to enter it, but, woman-like, they insist on peeping in. So he keeps many boxes and wood carv-

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Saramaccaner

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Combs and Pot Stirrers with Chains. Each is Carved from One Piece of Wood. *Saramaccaner Tribe*, Upper Surinam River.

Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History.
Photo by Herbert Heller

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342 ings inside, to give the idea of affluence. The women looking
556 into the dim interior are awed by the numerous boxes. They are usually empty, however.

837 When men go away on hunting or fishing trips, adultery
687 frequently occurs. If it is discovered by the husband's family, they seize the wife and beat her. Her own family rushes to her aid, and a general mêlée ensues. The village is soon in
[622] an uproar, and to the captain belongs the unpleasant and thankless task of stopping the fight. There is considerable excitement for a few minutes. Many a hot listless evening is provided with a momentary thrill because someone's wife has been careless. After the mêlée the wife is usually forgiven, and the village returns to its normal routine.

586 Divorce is easy. A married woman merely informs the bosseia and captain, and moves out of her husband's hut, going back to her parents or to her lover. Even this formality may be dispensed with if she simply locks the door and refuses to let her husband enter. There is an heroic simplicity to this procedure. The husband may do the same, divorcing any one of his wives without assigning any reason for his action. The parting—we hesitate to distinguish it as a divorce—is usually on the woman's initiative; men leave their wives not so often as their wives leave them. Usually a husband will endure a wife until domestic dissension makes his life unbearable. Among women the motives for divorce vary; a husband's impotence is a very adequate reason, for of all masculine virtues the Djuka women esteem virility the most. Impotence seems to be common among primitive peoples after

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the age of about thirty-five. Another motive for separation is 586
a husband's inadequacy as a hunter, fisher, and provider. Or the woman may simply be bored with him and like some other man better. The husband is liable to be teased a bit by his friends, but after a few days he forgets and marries again.

Open licentiousness or sexual suggestiveness is never seen §34
in public. The personal modesty of the Djukas has already been noted. Exposure of themselves, or public intercourse, such as is common in some tribes in Africa, never occurs. After the dances, for instance, no open promiscuousness occurred. There is one orgiastic dance known as the *ogalusa*, [786 535]
which means "mating like loose hogs."

Two aphrodisiacs are used liberally by the natives. One is §32
prepared by infusing the bark of a bush vine called *debbil dour* with water or weak alcohol. The liquid when drunk is supposed to give an erection of several hours' duration. Some of it was brought back by the expedition and tried on laboratory animals, with no effect. It is well known, however, that witch doctors will substitute other roots or herbs when giving their medicines to white men.

Another aphrodisiac that we found used among the Aucaners is the seed of the mucca-mucca plant, which grows on the banks of most of the rivers of the colonies. The seed is mashed into fragments and then inserted into the urethra. This acts as a tremendous irritant and is supposed to bring about erections of long duration. If used frequently, a persistent and disagreeable type of urethritis is produced.

At the hospital near the mines of the Surinam Bauxite

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§32 Company, some ninety miles in the interior, we were informed by the physician in charge that it is not infrequent to have Bush Negro women report for internal disturbances, which upon examination prove to be irritation and small hæmorrhagic areas. The physician believed that this condition was due to the men's practice of using the mucca-mucca seed.

§44 During childbirth the mother stays in her own hut. She is often attended by her mother, her female relatives, and friends. In every village there are one or more women who are skilled in the art of midwifery; these women are called *pekein mama*—either "little mother" or "mother of little children." At the time of childbirth, the pekein mama is assisted by four little girls from about ten to twelve years of age. The pekein mama uses a liberal quantity of hot water in the process of delivery. In the event of an abnormal condition, it is the duty of the pekein mama to deliver the child as skilfully as possible. The woman bears the ordeal of childbirth with the usual primitive fortitude, although the pains of labour seem to be as great among these people as among [§46 women of more civilized countries. The mother must drink 184] only hot water for three months after the birth of the child.

§53 Children are nursed at the breast for a period of three months. They are then fed a little mush made of cassava to which is gradually added rice, a small amount of meat, eggs, and plenty of fruit, but periodical nursing may sometimes continue for as long as two years. The mothers often chew the food before giving it to their babies.

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We took particular pains to gather as much information 163
as possible on fecundity, infant mortality, and the death-rate of mothers in childbirth. Sixty women were questioned. The fecundity we found to be variable; one of the women claimed to have borne twelve children—the highest number encountered—and some had no offspring at all. The usual number of children was found to be two or three. Interestingly enough, there is a low infant mortality; that is to say, a low death-rate for infants during the first six months after birth, but a high child mortality. The higher death-rate occurs 165
among children from the ages of two to six years. There 844
seemed to be a considerable number of premature births, and deaths of mothers at the time of birth or shortly thereafter are numerous. After much questioning, we found this to be one of the grievances of the Djukas, for they consider the Dutch medical authorities could do a great deal in alleviating such a condition. The precautions surrounding the mother at the time of childbirth or shortly thereafter are very crude and they may lead to infections and end in death by puerperal sepsis. 164 844

The birth of a child is usually the occasion for some slight [852]
celebration. The umbilical cord is severed with a knife (unsterilized, of course) and buried behind the hut. The placenta is thrown into the river. *Trismus neonatorum,* a tetanus infection by way of the umbilical cord, occasionally occurs, due to the extremely unclean conditions surrounding parturition. As can be seen from the photographs, some of the Djuka children suffer from umbilical hernia, because the cord is

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Bush Negro Man and Women of the Aucaner Tribe from the Tapanahoni River, Dutch Guiana. Note scar tissue decoration on face and chest of woman at left. The central figure is "Moi-Man" (Nice Fellow), one of Dr. Kahn's guides.

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not severed gently enough. During the nursing period it is often customary for the mother to abstain from intercourse, and judging by the size of the nursing children this period may last for two years.

The children are carried in the West African manner, astride on their mothers' backs and held by a band of wide cloth that goes around both mother and child. This is unlike the local Indian custom, in which the squaws carry their offspring on their hips. The children are washed often, being bathed several times a day beside the river; they stand and gurgle as the water is being poured over them.

The number of births among the Djukas is not as great as might be inferred from their promiscuity. This suggests, of course, that some means of contraception is practised. In one village on the Saramacca River a medicine man showed the bahkra a yellow berry, an infusion of which is supposed to have abortive properties; it is known among the natives of British Guiana as "Doctor Doolittle." We doubt that the infusion has any such properties as are assigned to it. We also heard that the Djukas practice mechanical abortion, but their crude instruments must make this very dangerous.

Excepting during the first two or three years of the children's lives, mothers actually have little to do with their care. There are usually several older children in the family, sisters, brothers, or cousins, to whom is relegated the care of the younger ones. Besides their ordinary names, children are also called according to the day of the week on which they were born, such as Monday-child, Tuesday-child, and so on.

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were born, such as Monday-child, Tuesday-child, and so on. 000

The boys of about seven to ten years of age form them- 857
selves into groups and play at hunting or fishing, or canter in and out of the village. There seems to be very little organized game playing among the children. For that matter [525]
the adults have no organized games aside from that of gambling with the *adji-boto* board. The little girls play at house making, or follow pursuits of a less arduous nature than do the boys, and to them in particular is given the care of the young children, although the boys often do their share in this matter. The arts of hunting, fishing, canoe work, and [868
jungle craft in general are usually taught the boy by his ma- 604]
ternal uncle, or by some other male relative of his mother's family, and less often by his actual father. At irregular intervals there are canoe races, and the young men indulge in [526]
wrestling as a pastime.

We know of no initiatory rites for ceremonially admitting 881
children into the tribe at puberty. Among the Aucaners, however, the boy does undergo a slight ceremonial to indicate that he is at last a full-fledged adult. Most of the children of both sexes are entirely nude, and no notice is taken of the [291]
fact. At about the age of ten the boy begins wearing around his waist a string of singrassi, in anticipation of a loin-cloth. When the maternal uncle judges that the boy is old enough, he stands the boy up before the entire village, assembled for the purpose, and gives him a loin-cloth and camissa. But first the uncle rips off any cloth that happens to be on the boy's body and draws attention to his nudity. Everyone is told to

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881 have a last look at the child's penis, as they will never see it again. Then the boy is proclaimed a man, and given clothes.

So far as could be observed, there is no circumcision of either the male or female, although such mutilations are indulged in by West African tribes in the region from which the Djukas came. The girls wear only the *coyo,* or a larger cloth known as *pangi,* until their first menstruation, when their mothers give them cloths. This is done in private. Menstruating women are required to leave their homes and retire
841 to a separate hut situated outside the village on a by-path; they may not return until three days after the period is over. Under no condition are they allowed to go to the provision fields during this time.

584 At the age of about sixteen or seventeen the children are
[582] ready to be married. Sometimes they are betrothed in infancy, and occasionally a pregnant woman will betroth her child before it is born, conditionally, of course, upon its sex. Once the child is betrothed the ceremony must take place,
[754] otherwise the disappointed prospective mate will call down a *kunu,* or curse, on the entire perjured family, and they will all die. The pubescent child does not look forward to marriage as time for leaving its family, nor is marriage an
[581] initiation into sex relations. For these two reasons, getting
[348] married is not a serious step, and there is little illegitimacy because there is no reason for objecting to a marriage.

858 Youths must remain standing until their elders invite them
576 to be seated. It is customary for older people to receive much
888 respectful attention, for the older people are the sources of tradition and authority

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tradition and authority. The older women's opinions bear 838
considerable weight, for it is chiefly they who maintain the
customs of the tribe. The mother-in-law and father-in-law [606]
are held in special esteem.

Unlike divorce, death is an occasion of genuine sorrow. 765
If a man's wife dies, he may go into mourning for a whole
year. His mourning consists in staying in his hut and doing
no work, while his dead wife's family brings him food and
supports him. When the year is up, he makes a sacrifice to
"the little ground god, Amu" before taking another woman. [776
He slaughters a fowl, letting the blood flow from the throat 782]
on to the earth. After this ritual sacrifice a big dance is held,
and he is permitted to marry again. It is his next wife who
insists upon this ritual.

When a man dies, it is sometimes incumbent upon his 587
widow to have intercourse with his oldest surviving brother
and marry him. The fact that he may already be married
makes no difference whatever. It is imperative that they live
together for several months; after that, if there is no affec-
tion between them, they can separate. This is a widespread
custom among primitives, and there are remnants of it in
the present-day customs of orthodox Jews.

Among the Aucaners it is not necessary for a man to have
intercourse with his deceased brother's wife. He must, how-
ever, take care of her for a period of six months, after which
time she is free to remarry.

A woman may publicly mourn her deceased husband by [765]
singing a dirge every little while.

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768 Upon the father's decease, his property does not descend to his children, but reverts to his wives, sisters, mother, or brothers. As the wives may be living in different villages, each wife inherits only that property which happens to be in her village. If the man has no wife in a certain village where there are maternal relatives, they inherit all his property within that village. This pertains more to personal than to real property, as the latter tends to be communally held.

648 One thing more must be said regarding the sex life of the
833 Djukas. The white men seldom receive overtures from Bush Negro women. It is, of course, taboo for Djuka women to have intercourse with white men, Indians, Town Negroes, balata bleeders, or anyone except her own tribesmen, among whom she is promiscuous. One Djuka woman, running her hand over the skin of a white arm and shoulder, shuddered in repulsion. When asked why, she said that she did not care for white-skinned men. We, however, were marked out for special feminine favour. We received from a woman the gift
[431] of a bracelet of delicately filed iron wire, because, as she said, our eyes put her in mind of those of her dead husband.

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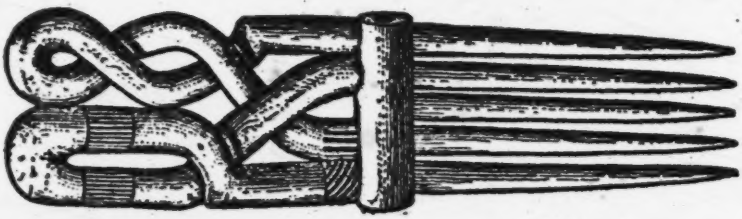

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Chapter Nine

MEDICINE AND MAGIC

NO one in Djuka land dies a natural death. Death is caused by witchcraft. At Santi Gron on the Saramacca River, preparations are being made for a burial. The whole village is excited. The women wailing are the relatives of the dead man. Children are crying because they see others crying. Unseen drums throb dully, making the hot air pulsate. The corpse lies in an open shed with only three walls—a death house (*dede oso*). Two girls of fifteen or sixteen are fanning it steadily to keep the flies away. The man died more than a week ago; all this time the body had been lying on a platform out in the tropical heat to decompose. 754 764

It is black magic that kills. Therefore the Bush Negroes make an effort to find out who made the magic that killed this man. An ancient ritual is employed. Three to ten days the corpse is left unburied, and in the humid heat the flesh undergoes a partial liquefaction. The putrescent fluid is gathered in a calabash cup and carried around from door to door. 754 695 787

[For caption, see category 116, p. 204.—Analyst]

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754 Each person in the village goes through the motion of drink-
695 ing some of it. Should anyone refuse to do this, he is the
787 person who is guilty of inflicting death by witchcraft upon the deceased.

The guilt is mainly ceremonial; but sometimes a penalty is attached to anyone's refusal to "drink." The liquid is not actually swallowed, but the calabash gourd is placed to the lips. The whole ritual is probably a folk-memory of the ancestral days when actual death was meted out to the man who worked black magic.

Another ceremony to find the guilty party may follow, especially if the first has not found him. The corpse on its platform is carried in procession through the paths of the village. Leading the procession are the obeiah men daubed with pemba dotee. Their faces are bisected vertically, one half covered with clay and the other half clean. Large crescents are drawn over each breast and over the belly. In the procession are the dead man's relatives. They are accompanied always by the booming drums. Four bucks carry the platform to the doorway of each hut, and pause there, or pause in the village clearing.

The obeiah men question the corpse: "Is this the house of the person who killed you?"

The four men bearing the body, which is supposedly possessed by the spirit of the dead, shake the platform, imparting a slight movement, a semblance of life, to the corpse. Meanwhile, buzzards and vultures, the uninvited guests, perch expectantly in the wall of jungle trees that surround

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the village clearing. Flies and insects scurry. The body rolls 754
over toward the door of the hut: yes, this is the guilty one. 695
Or else it rolls away: no, he is innocent. The tomtoms boom 787
again, and the procession moves on to the next hut.

After winding about the town, the procession continues along a game trail back into the forest, where the white man is not allowed to follow. There, back in the bush, the body is perhaps buried to cheat the buzzards and vultures; but we are not sure. The dead person's hut is never occupied again; 768
neither is it repaired or demolished, but allowed, like the corpse, to decay.

Not for some time has the actual death penalty been in- 683
flicted upon those suspected of killing their neighbours by witchcraft. However, this used to be the case among the Djukas—more especially among the Aucaners—and the ceremony surrounding the detection of the guilty party is probably a survival of the Tshi-speaking people of Africa. Today the punishment of one suspected of causing death takes a more moderate form. In fact, unless the guilty party had previously announced his intention of causing the death, the punishment is "left to God." Otherwise, the guilty one may be given a severe beating, but, if the culprit escapes to a neighbouring village, it is incumbent upon the captain of that village to give him asylum. This has been noted by Mr. E. Wong, head bush police official at Moengo. Men are sometimes ostracized from the village, and are left to gain a livelihood by their own resources at some lonely spot on the river.

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A Witch Doctor's House, Upper Surinam River. The sugar-cane stalks and the turtle shell impaled on a staff are badges of this profession.

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754 [695] More than one person may be involved in the black magic that brings about death, and the burial ceremony may indicate several persons as guilty. This magic is similar to that employed by other primitive peoples. A spirit or soul resides [774] in each living person; if this spirit is destroyed, the person will die. A man can cause the death of his enemy by summoning the spirit out of his enemy's body with herbs and charms and incantations; the spirit can then be shot with a gun. Or else he may procure some of his enemy's nail parings or hair, or any object of close personal association. He should also know his enemy's birthday and secret name. Rites are performed and, as a result, the enemy dies. His spirit has been slain. Magic, therefore, consists of the use of rituals for the purpose of compelling supernatural powers to do one's bidding.

123 774 822 For this reason many natives object to being photographed. The black camera, they believe, if pointed at them and clicked, will draw out their souls. The person owning the camera can then mutilate or destroy their souls at will. On our first expedition among the Bush Negroes all attempts at photography were difficult. When the attempt was made to take a native's picture the black would cry out, *"No puru me!"*—"Don't draw me out!" They firmly believed that the photographer was trying to draw out their spirits for magical purposes. On the second expedition, returning to the same villages with the developed photographs, we showed them to the natives and watched their reaction. The Negroes examined the snapshots curiously, turning them around, not

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being able to accommodate their eyes to the tiny grey perspec- 123
tives. When the significance of the chiaroscuro dawned upon 774
them, they broke into broad grins and were mightily pleased. 822
After that most of them readily consented to being photographed.

A woman was suspected of causing by witchcraft the death 683
of the late Granman, Amekti, of the Aucaner tribe. She was 766
severely beaten and was not allowed to attend the ceremony 643
of *Broko Day* (breaking day), the time when mourning is broken.

Broko Day is held four or five months after the death of 766
the Granman. Game is hunted and cassava cake prepared 643
for many days prior to the great feast. It is a time of great festivity; there is dancing, singing, and general merrymaking. At this time the *Songai,* the *Pekein play,* and the *Susa* dances are held. The participants are generously smeared with pemba dotee and they wear costumes and decorations which are not seen at any other time. Then, as many of the tribe as is possible gather in the village of the erstwhile Granman, and the feast lasts for about a week. Dancing and feasting continue night and day. At this time the ageedah drum—six to eight feet tall—is played, as well as [534]
the smaller instruments already referred to. Toward the end of the ceremony, the hair and nails of the corpse are buried, a new Granman is inaugurated, and the deceased ruler is relegated to the position of an ancestor. Prayers may then ascend heaven-ward to him.

Captain Acrowsie of the Aucaner tribe told us some in-

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766 643 [622] teresting things concerning burials. A Granman's or a captain's body is placed in a cave-like hole dug in the side of a hill, and is eventually sealed in. It is forbidden to throw dirt upon the bodies of such officials.

764 In the case of an ordinary person, a large hole is dug in the ground in which the corpse is lowered. A plank is placed over the body, so that the dirt subsequently thrown into the hole will not come into direct contact with the body.

766 The bodies of albinos, idiots, and lepers are otherwise disposed of. These people are supposed to be related to the river, and are called *watra pekein,* or water children. Instead of being allowed to rot, their bodies are placed in a pit dug in the bank when the river is low. When the water rises, the corpse is washed out of its temporary tomb.

769 Every year the azang pau, the palm barrier across the village path, is renewed, and at this time prayers are said for the dead. The dead person's relatives have shaved off their forelocks when he died, and often again at intervals of three, six, and nine months thereafter. But after the lapse of a year there is no mourning; a large dance is held to signify that the period is terminated, and after that the dead man or woman is relegated to the position of an ancestor. The prayers then ask him to intercede with the gods for the benefit of those still among the living.

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Not only are human beings animated by spirits, but the 774
Djukas believe that everything, every object in the external world, is the residence of a spirit. These spirits are called *Mama.* Thus, canoes have spirits (*Boto Mama*) and so have huts (*Oso Mama*), paddles, fetishes, stones, and especially drums. Each has an impalpable soul. Moreover, there are several jungle spirits, tribes of ghosts and invisible men.

The woods of Surinam are filled with ghosts. *Winti* is 776
a ghost that can come into your body and make you do things you otherwise would not do. A pregnant woman, several weeks before her delivery, was struck dumb by an unknown enemy. This aphasia disappeared upon the birth of the child. When she was expecting another child, she fasted six days, to the point of exhaustion. Then a magic rite was undergone, and she broke the fast. Knowing that someone has put *Winti* on her to prevent her from having children, she now fools them by simulating idiocy. From this it is apparent that Winti is under a measure of control; it can be sent into the [754]
body of an enemy to do him harm, then it is called *wissi.*

Jumbees are also bad spirits that can be controlled by the device of magic. Once put on a person, they bring him bad luck. Pain is caused by a spirit called *Congo Burtri.* The soul is known as *Basuki,* or *Kra.* In the bush there also dwell tribes of evil men who are invisible; every time a Bush Negro looks at them they turn themselves into a tree or an anthill. When the Bush Negro is not looking, they kill him with unseen arrows.

The Djukas believe in the *Gran Gadu,* the ruling spirit

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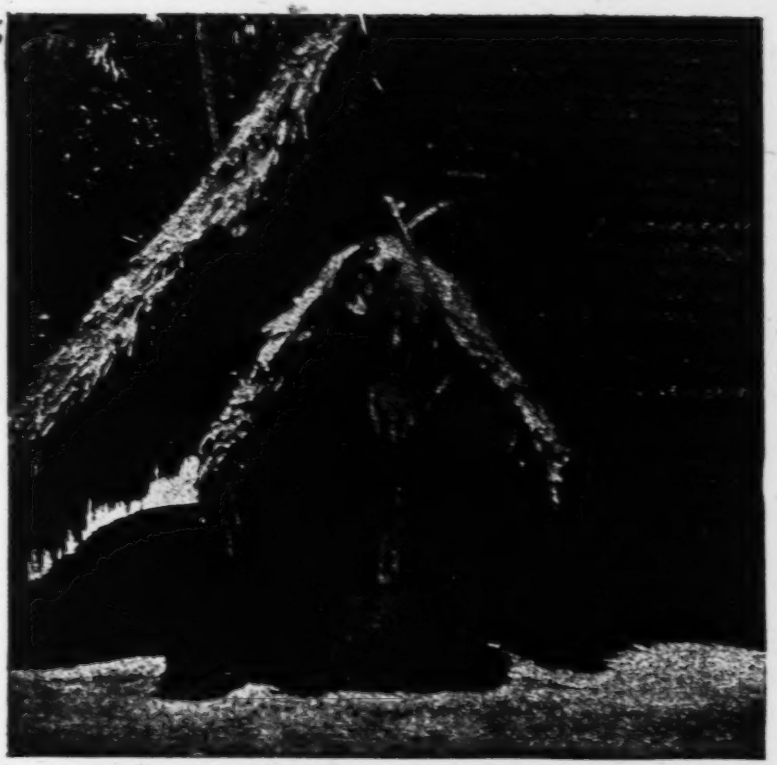

House God, Upper Surinam River. Note hut built to shade the fetish.

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776 over all things. Among his other names are *Gran Tata* (Great Father) and *Old Nengre*. Subordinate to the chief deity is Apuku, spirit of the jungle. There is also the spirit of the river, *Tonai*, or *Amucu*, or *Watra Mama*. Then comes the snake spirit, whose ritual was once a thing of horror, *Papa Gadu*, whose other name is *Voodoo*.

The evil spirit, the bad, wild spirit of the bush, is *Cromanti*, who possesses the dancers in their midnight fury. His dwelling-place is the silk-cotton tree. In the jungles of both West Africa and South America the silk-cotton trees (*Ceiba pentandra* or *Bombax ceiba*) grow to an immense size, towering above all the other vegetation. The Bush Negroes [824] consider this *con con dree* sacred, refusing to touch it with a knife or axe. Any man who cuts one down is accursed. Once, during the construction of a village, a man was forced to cut one down. Cromanti went into his wife and killed her in six weeks. Similar to the silk-cotton is the *kotu con con dree*, and any man so foolhardy as to molest it will get into dangerous trouble.

The kindly spirit is *Aflamu*, who protects the Djukas against the invisible men who live in the jungle. The fetishes to Aflamu have two eyes, one looking forward and the other placed backward, to indicate his unceasing vigilance in all directions. In *The Golden Bough*, Frazer mentions the Djukas as setting up a Janus-faced image on the village paths. We have never seen one of these and doubt their existence. The fetish to Aflamu is placed on the village path, however, and the same idea is involved in the eye set in the back.

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Other evil spirits are *Bakru*, *Yorkas* (a Carib word), *Aze-* 776
man, and *Lybba*. The Bakru are very ugly. A Negro picked up a crying child and sat him on his shoulders. His companion noticed the child's eyes and said: "That is a Bakru." The Negro dashed the child down. The child was instantly transformed into an ape and said: "I missed you that time, but next time I'll get you." The Bakru may also take the form of little mannikins with large heads.

Yorkas are ghosts. They are very similar to our conception of haunting spooks. They may be the ghosts of dead [775] people, more especially of dead enemies who have returned to do harm.

The Azeman are the most awful of all spirits. They leave their skins every night and travel about in the form of persons without any skin. Consequently they are an ugly, bleeding sight. At dawn they assume their covering. But if the skin is found and salt placed around it, it shrinks so that it becomes too small for the Azeman to get back into. This causes them to vanish. Another method of getting rid of the Azeman is to scatter rice about. They dislike rice very much and stop to pick the grains up out of the way. In their preoccupation they do not notice the coming of dawn, which is very harmful to them.

The Lybba are spirits or ghosts similar to the Yorka.

A sleeping Bush Negro must be waked with care, as his 828 774 personal spirit, the soul, or kra, may not be able to get back 513 in time if he is too suddenly aroused.

The Djukas may be possessed by almost any spirit. During

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The Djukas may be possessed by almost any spirit. During
776 the dances they sometimes feel Apuku or Cromanti, as the
787 case may be. Once a Bush Negro was possessed by the spirit of a jaguar. The big buck seized a dog that happened to be loitering near by and tore it to pieces with his fingers. After a dance a man was seized by the spirit of a rebel leader of the old plantation days; he seized a cutlass and began hacking and smashing everything around him until the others forcibly restrained him.

776 The Bush Negroes do not worship the jungle spirits very
782 meticulously, but every village has fetishes, usually standing
[778] in little god-houses which are mere sheds to keep off the rain. Under the shade of the tiny roof can be seen the stiff visage of one of these deities, at times with remnants of food and drink at his feet. Beside the food there is usually a paddle for the god to eat with, elaborately carved like any food-paddle, and smeared with pemba dotee, the sacred white clay. This clay is smeared on all religious or ceremonial objects. For the individual to hold profitable converse with the gods, he must be smeared with it; pemba dotee seems to be a sort of catalytic agent between the soul and the deity. This custom is a West African survival, and not to be found among the Indians of Dutch Guiana.

778 Along the river, also, are occasional shrines where the
782 Bush Negroes may appease their deities when on long journeys, or when hunting. The shrine consists of a tall pole which may be either festooned or plain. At the base of many of the poles are shells, stones, bottles, and pieces of wood, as well as food and drink, possibly as a sacrifice. Every village,

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too, has a large pole outside of or in the clearing, which is 782 used in praying to the god or to ancestors. The spirits of de- [778] parted ancestors are invoked frequently and reverently.

Very often, when a man begins to hunt, he will call on the god and his ancestors for aid. The following prayer we heard intoned at the mouth of a creek, where a *gadu* pole was situated, by one of our paddlers who had entered to shoot fish. He clasped his hands, knelt down, and, with eyes closed, grasped the obeiah which was around his neck while he said the following words: *"Mooma nanga Tata nanga Massra Gadu. Me beh you mekki dem luku me kissi fu tru-tru wan anumara"*—"Father and Mother and Mr. God, I beg you make them see (those who do not believe) that I (you will allow me to) surely catch anumara fish."

The Djuka was gone about an hour. He returned with a fish weighing eight pounds. For this occasion he knelt in front of the praying pole and uttered the following prayer of thanks: *"Keh Massra Gadu, gran danke fu you, ala suma go nanga inye uh kun oto nanga bon. Gran danke fu ala den sani, ala den sweeti mufo deh wey kissi. Gimme furu pekein. Gran danke fu you"*—"Oh, Mr. God, many thanks to you for all who go in and come out with good. Many thanks for all things, all good things to eat which we caught. Give me plenty (full of) children. Many thanks."

In almost every village one encounters a wooden post 778 thickly smeared with white clay on which is placed an iron 782 pot. This apparatus is sometimes under a small thatched roof. [755] Certain herbs are put in the vessel in case of sickness. At

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The Azang Pau. Phantom Barrier Over Paths Leading to Village. Upper Surinam River.

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778 other points throughout the village, one also sees posts, hav-
782 ing attached to them cross-pieces, from which a length of white cloth is flying. A few bottles usually stand around at the base of these posts. Here one comes to address the Gadu (any divine being), or the spirit of a deceased person, when one has something to request, or wishes to return thanks for good luck. This petitioning is accompanied by the pouring of water or strong drink ("high wine" or *sopie* as it is called by the Bush Negroes) on the ground. One may encounter these cross-pieces with the white cloth at almost any place in the village, as for example, near a sacred tree or on some of the paths leading to or from the village. We may also see various *krom-tiki,* sticks or pieces of bush vines which have grown in a peculiar zigzag fashion. These, too, are supposed to have protective powers against evil.

825 Snakes, excepting the venomous varieties, are held in
778 reverence, and their worship is woven through the whole religious pattern. If a snake enters a hut, it is not molested, but allowed to return to the outside. If it shows no disposition to depart, it is chastised gently with a little broom-like contrivance and chided for not knowing its proper home. The bahkra who tries to kill a snake is prevented from doing

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so. In accordance with the voodoo ceremony, sacrifices of 825
white chickens are occasionally offered to Papa Gadu, the 778
snake god. Sacrifices are especially made to the large land and water boas. Human sacrifices, if they occur, are kept secret from all outsiders. We have no reason to believe in their occurrence.

A most interesting *Winti* dance was witnessed by Mr. 825
Charles de Goeje, leader of the Dutch government expedition 796
to the Tumac-Humac Mountains in 1908. This dance was for the purpose of propitiating the spirit of a snake which had been accidentally burned to death while a provision ground was being prepared for cultivation.

About 10 P. M., Mr. de Goeje relates, the drums began to play furiously. There were two apenti and one large ageedah drum. The people began to sing in an unusual manner, and the wife of one of the headmen, thickly smeared with pemba dotee, sat immovable as an image upon a carved wooden stool. After the drums had gone on for a while, there was heard the exclamation, *"Pour watra!"* A man came with a basin; he dipped a palm leaf in it and sprinkled the seated woman while the drums beat furiously. The woman seemed to awaken and began to turn around and around on her stool; she twisted and turned her body sometimes slowly, sometimes quickly. When she had reached a high pitch of excitement, she began to dance.

Several other women smeared with pemba dotee rose and took part in the dance. They danced around the long drum, gesturing as if the drum were speaking to them. They then

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825 embraced the drummers, streaking the men's heads with
796 pemba dotee. A number of women in the audience also caught the spirit. One of them began to shake and convulse; when
825 she awoke from her trance, she ran to her hut in the village.
796 Another woman began to murmur as though in a dream.
158 Still another one ran about among the assembly streaking and rubbing others with the sacred white clay. This dance continued until very late, and the whites, overcome by fatigue, were forced to retire.

The next morning at daybreak they again assembled. One of the women began to chant in a thin strange voice, and at 6 A. M. the dance started again. A couple ran dancing into the village clearing and smeared a man with pemba dotee; he also began to prance and became hysterical. This is known as *winti kiki,* or the transference of winti from one person to another. Several others, obtaining the spirit in the same way, began to dance. One man, after dancing a long while, ran around the clearing and finally fell flat on his face. He remained there until others carried him away. The man who had been playing the ageedah drum circled around with his drum between his legs like a hobby horse. Some of the women fell on their knees and continued to dance thus. One fell to the ground and beat the earth with her arms and legs. This ceremony ended at 10 A. M., after which the body of the snake, which had all this while been carefully guarded, was buried with great solemnity.

The dancing recommenced at four o'clock in the afternoon. The women went to a little Gadu house. One had a

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severe attack of winti. She fell upon her knees and appeared 825
half lame. The others lifted her up. A youth came with a 776
green stick; he bit into it and spat on the woman's calves, 158
legs, feet, and arms. After a while she was able to stand alone. This seemed to constitute the end of the dance. It had somehow become known that the Papa Gadu, the snake spirit, was angry, and this big *gadu pray* (god's spread) had been necessary in order to propitiate him.

The women who are seized with the winti sometimes mutter a few words. The others regard these as the utterances of a spirit and say: *"Ya, gadu"*—"yes, God." Upon inquiry among the women who had caught the winti spirit, Mr. de Goeje found that they all complained of feeling very dizzy or giddy when in such a trance.

Certain localities, as well as individuals, may be possessed 776
by evil spirits. The Pwaba Creek is such a place. Were a 751
Djuka to go up this creek with any clothing on, he would never come out alive. So upon entering the waters of Pwaba the Djuka strips off all his clothes. That nullifies the bad magic.

Every Bush Negro, to protect himself from all varieties 751
of black magic, wears a number of charms or amulets. He 778

751 calls them *obeiahs*. An obeiah is a charm or a form of magic
778 to be distinguished from a *trafer*, which is a taboo. Obeiahs may be worn in the form of bracelets or necklaces, called *boe*. Bush Negroes never start out on a hunting or river trip without a number of boe around the arm, or leg, or neck. Thus the machinations of the evil spirits are set at naught.

One boe which Abaisa made for us is formed of heavy wire wrapped with white cord and set with cowrie shells. Worn on the arm, this will make you very strong. The charm will protect you while engaged in dangerous doings, such as
[431] drinking river water after someone has been drowned in it. Abaisa made this bracelet out of friendship. It was given, not purchased; therefore the old-time gods are not offended at its being possessed by a white man.

[782] He presented it with great solemnity, taking a mouthful of rum and spitting it on the ground as a libation to the ground god, then squirting another mouthful over the bracelet. After that we all had a swallow of the same liquid and
[553] Abaisa said a prayer in deepee-talkee. A somewhat similar ceremony attended the giving of a Djuka name to the white man—*Abentee*, provider.

751 The cowrie shells with which the obeiah is set are smeared
321 with pemba dotee. The clay closes up the openings of the
778 shells, thus preventing evil spirits from entering into the interior. These cowrie shells, which decorate practically all the
[71] magic emblems of the Djukas, are commonly found among the savages of Africa, both on the East and West Coasts. They are also common in African art work, and at one time constituted a form of currency, papa moni.

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stituted a form of currency, *papa moni*. They come originally 778 751 from the East Indies, having been brought to both Africa and [177] South America by Portuguese traders. When a savage takes a fancy to a thing, he will go to some trouble to get hold of it. Thus the tin cans of the Standard Oil Company have penetrated into almost every primitive community now known.

Projecting from the wrapped cord around Abaisa's boe is a bit of blue cloth to ward off the spirit of a dead enemy. A bit of red cloth blinds the wearer to evil sights and makes him serene. A small strand of white cloth provides protection from the bad spirits called *Bakru*. Underneath the cloth are bristles from the anteater to give strength. All these charms make the obeiah bracelet a powerful affair.

Another boe is used to foretell the future. It is similar to 778 the bracelet, but projecting from the wrapped cord is a short 787 bit of tubing. The device is suspended from a string and held motionless, the tube pointing toward the ground. When no air is stirring a question is asked concerning the future. If the pointer remains motionless the answer is "yes," but if it moves the reply is "no." In this simple way the Bush Negro acquires knowledge of coming events. Our tent boy had several questions he wanted to ask, and when they were answered he had "a peculiar feeling."

Another obeiah that we obtained is a jaguar-tooth neck- 778 lace. Strung on the same string with the pierced tooth are two little carved fetishes of Cromanti and Aflamu, crudely done. All religious articles are extremely crude in their carving, compared with the delicate tracery of Djuka implement

778 carvings. Still another magic device is a red necklace of macaw feathers, to bring luck in hunting. Another obeiah with [843] a tinkling bell is worn around the neck by pregnant women to tell the unborn child that everything is auspicious in the outside world.

Some of the beliefs accompanying these amulets are odd [776] and child-like. The Djukas think that spirits are afraid of strangers, and flee in terror when a stranger is encountered. The inhabitants of the little town of *Pekein Say* (Talk a Little Bit) have the power to call back hunters who are lost in the bush, a virtue peculiar to these townfolk alone. These curious beliefs persist despite the fact that they could easily be tested and exposed. Any coincidence will strongly reinforce them. Late one evening, going up the river, we came to an Aucaner village and stopped to spend the night. Not liking the looks of the place we told our paddlers to push on to the next village before night. Tired, they grumbled at this. To give weight to our decision we told the blacks that our obeiahs were warning us not to stay, and that it would be dangerous to let this warning pass unheeded. Impressed with the gravity of the warning, they acceded to our wishes. We went on, although not being able to reach the adjacent village in time we were forced to spend the night in the bush.

Later, coming back down the river, we learned that the village we had passed by had held, on that very night, a great and disastrous dance. There had been much drinking of high [579 731] wine, and, in the drunken and hysterical excitement that followed, half the town was burned down and three men were killed.

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were killed. When we told Abaisa about this, he nodded ap- 778
provingly, not at all surprised that his obeiah charm had warned us of the impending danger.

Other bush beliefs come under the head of *trafers,* or ta- 784
boos. Primitive behaviour is very largely governed by categorical rules; although the individual is unaware of the origin and purpose of these rules, violation of a taboo is unthinkable. It is trafer, for instance, to sit on the ground. This explains the many intricately carved stools in our collection of Djuka art objects. It is also trafer for a Bush Negro woman to have intercourse with anyone outside of her own tribe. This was not so in the old days, for Stedman mentions that the white commissioners parleying with the rebel blacks were liberally entertained and provided with women for the night. Such a thing would be trafer now. It is taboo to harm the alligator, and if you were, by some unspeakable chance, to kill one, [825]
its ghost would return and destroy all the children in your family.

Besides these general taboos, there are personal trafers and 825
food taboos that differ for each individual. If one man shoots 784
a sloth (*seloss*) it will spoil his gun, but his brother or his neighbour may kill one with impunity. It is that particular Djuka's trafer. Another man may have the turtle as his food taboo. The turtle is a well-known figure in Djuka folklore. The *sacri patu,* also called *logosu* and *kaw,* is spoken of as "walking like a sick man." The belief that when a turtle bites a man it will hold on until it thunders, a common belief in parts of rural America, is also found in Djuka land.

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Saramaccaner

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Ancestor Shrine. Village of Adawai, *Saramaccaner Tribe.*

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784 These food trafers are sometimes chosen by the individual,
262 and are acquired also by inheritance. A certain Bush Negro
[424 got his trafer in this way: His grandmother had a vision,
787] called *papa winti,* and she informed her grandson that she had been possessed. This made him feel the spirit of Cromanti. In that bad state he got the *idée fixe* that shooting a turtle would be reprehensible and dangerous. This animal then became his tabooed food, and for the rest of his life it is trafer so far as he is concerned.

797 So far only a slight attempt has been made to Christianize the Djukas. The Catholics and Moravian Brothers have established mission stations at a few points along the rivers. Their efforts at conversion appear on the whole to be unsuccessful. The Bush Negroes are converted in small numbers and very superficially; in moments of stress they will revert back to their jungle deities. The whole spirit of Christian customs is foreign to their mode of life. They have the Gran
776 Gadu, an adequate enough image of divine power. Their
782 prayers are sometimes said directly to him, or they pray to their ancestors to intercede with the Gran Gadu for aid. Sometimes the prayer is said by being beaten out on the tom-
[778] tom, for the tomtom is sacred, and the throbs of the great

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drums carry farther toward heaven than the talkee-talkee 782 778
of a lone supplicant.

It is not easy to distinguish between the primitive's magic 756
and his medicine. In the village organization a distinction is 793
sometimes made between the *medicine man,* who is concerned with remedies for sickness, and the *obeiah priest,* whose business is charms and rituals. There are two or three obeiah priests to each village. Their profession is the propitiation of spirits, that is, magic and religion. The magic of the obeiah men is largely secret. Once we arrived at a village while a ritual of some nature was going on. Pots were stewing in the centre of the clearing, while obeiah men were moving around them. One held a rattle, which he shook monotonously. The bahkra was asked to leave. It was magic in the making.

The Bush Negroes possess an extensive system of primitive 824
medicine. Various roots, herbs, and nuts are gathered in the jungle, and their use is mingled with various superstitions. The witch doctor or medicine man who prepares infusions 756
from these herbs holds no exalted position in the esteem of the villagers; he is simply following a particular profession to which no special prestige is attached. He may, however, [793]
be an obeiah priest in addition to being a medicine man.

He prepares several kinds of medicine, among them the 756
snakee-kutti, or snake-bite cure. It cures the bites of all rep- 789
tiles and makes the person immune from future attack. 278
Snakee-kutti is made in this way: a venomous snake is killed and the head and the tail-end are cut from the body; the tail

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756 is placed in the mouth of the snake and the whole is roasted
789 over a slow fire, along with certain herbs. Incantations ac-
278 company the business. After the materials are thoroughly charred they are reduced to a homogeneous powder, which is administered in two ways: first, internally, and second, by making a small incision in the arm and rubbing some of the powder into the wound. At first we were inclined to think that some of the venom might remain in the poison glands of the reptile's head, and so act as an antigen to set up a real immunity. But the heat of the roasting fire would probably destroy any such toxin remaining, leaving the resultant powder non-antigenic.

Even in Paramaribo enthusiastic accounts of the marvellous powers of snakee-kutti are common. It is supposed by some to have the power of making snakes turn and flee. Being curious we tried it ourselves, but noticed no effects.

778 Some doctors are skilled in the preparation of a certain
789 strength-giving concoction especially in demand by Bush Negroes before a fight. If by the following day the combat has not taken place, the man who swallowed the medicine must get it out of his system by hacking viciously at a tree with his bush-knife; otherwise he will become ill.

According to Abaisa, men who drink this magic potion sometimes become so strong that with one blow of the machete they can make all the leaves of a tree fall off.

Bathing is another way of acquiring extraordinary strength. Three baths in water infused with *bimbe* leaves will give a man the power to pick a red-hot axe-head out of the midst

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of a burning fire without being harmed. Bathing every day for nine days in water in which rusty scrap iron and peanut husks have been boiled renders a man impervious to the cut of a knife and his flesh capable of turning any blade. Stomach-ache is treated by drinking an infusion from the hollow handle of a dance rattle. Especially potent in all magic preparations are the bristles of *tamanua,* the anteater. *Obeiah watra,* another infusion, is drunk by men before going into the bush, to give them luck and strength. It is also possible to acquire strength or other virtues by rubbing one's body with the putrescent fluid gathered from the corpse of a dead man who possessed those qualities.

If a person should find fecal material in front of his hut or rotten eggs along the trail in such position as to make it likely for him to step upon it, it is certain that this material was placed there by a member of the community who is attempting to *wissi* or bewitch him. Anyone who removes this matter is liable to insanity.

Minor cuts and wounds may be treated with the bark of the *aproconyo* tree. This is ground up and mixed with the brew prepared from the leaves known as *pekein fol caca* (little rooster).

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Boni

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A Bush Negro Woman of the Boni Tribe with a Carved Wooden Flail Used Instead of a Wringer, for Cloth. The right hand holds a tin containing an infusion of tobacco leaf and water.

[Facing p. 156]

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164 The Djukas suffer from a number of diseases also common among white men. Yaws, a syphilis-like disease, caused by infection with *Spironema pertenue,* is frequently found among them. Individuals may be seen suffering from all three stages of it. Malaria, including the severe tropical form, is spread by the mosquitoes along the rivers. An ulcerous condition known as leishmaniasis, the result of infection by Leishman-Donovan bodies, is an ordinary occurrence, as is hookworm. The Town Negroes are occasionally infected with filariasis and schistosomyasis of the rectal type. Leprosy is present in the town of Paramaribo, but we saw none of it in the bush.

648 757 [515] [304] The Djukas do not fear to take the bahkra's medicine. The gratitude of more than one mother was earned when we gave her child castor oil. Of the principle of asepsis, naturally, the Djukas know nothing. Their incisions for making *cutty-cutty* (ornamental scars) are septic enough to give a bacteriologist nightmares.

On one occasion, snakee-kutti, the snake protector, did not work, and a Bush Negro, who had been bitten was taken to the hospital at Moengo. His leg had gone untreated for five days and was in the serious stage of gangrene. The limb was amputated by the doctor in charge and the Djuka made an uneventful recovery. He would not have been brought to the hospital by his family if there had been anything more for the Bush Negro medicine man to do. But there was not, and they went to the bahkra as the last resort to save his life.

778 756 Far up the Surinam River is the sacred medicine city of Dahomey (pronounced Daumay). Into its sacred precincts

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the white man has never been allowed to enter. A spirit named *Hini* hovers over the town, and it is he, not the Djukas, who would be offended by the presence of a bahkra. People seriously ill are brought to Dahomey from the surrounding villages. The witch doctors there, old women as well as old men, and occasionally a virgin, administer their potent charms. Only young married women are debarred from the profession of medicine among the Djukas.

Here also comes the Granman of the Saramaccaner tribe, to undergo the sacred ritual before making his annual visit to Paramaribo. He receives absolution from the Dahomey medicine men in preparation for his sojourn among the bahkras. The ceremony is known as *makee suka,* or putting himself in favour with the gods.

Our friend Abaisa, headman of Lombe, tells us something of the Dahomey rituals. To mend a broken bone the patient is shut up in a small hut with the doctor and three white cocks. The first fowl is killed by having its neck wrung, the blood from its beak running on the floor of the hut as a sacrifice to Amu, the ground god. The second fowl is cut open for inspection. If the bladder is light in colour the prognosis is good, but if dark the reverse is the case. The third cock has its leg bone broken at a point approximately corresponding to the patient's fracture. After this both the fowl and the human patient undergo daily treatment at the hands of the doctor, to the accompaniment of prayers to Amu and the shaking of rattles to scare off the evil spirits. The nature of the treatment could not be ascertained, but on the day when

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755 the cock is able to stand up and crow the patient is said to be cured.

787 The killing of the white rooster and inspection of its bladder are performed also in order to foretell the future in other than healing situations. There are several methods of prophesying. In one of them a plank is supported on the heads of two men, and on it are placed various little bundles. A third man stands before the plank and asks questions while the men bearing the plank jump up and down. The Gadu (the spirit in the bundles) is supposed to reply with a yes or no, as indicated by the way the bundles on the plank move. The questions are put metaphorically and in such a way as to exclude the possibility of the plank bearers deliberately influencing the answers. After one man has asked several questions, the bearers run with the plank to another part of the village where further questions are put to it. The carrying
463 of this plank seems to be the prerogative of certain individuals, and only certain others understand the making of the bundles and the correct placing of them.

778 Not even Mynheer Wolff, who has lived among the Bush Negroes for many years and undoubtedly commands their profound respect, has been permitted to enter Dahomey. The headman or captain of Dahomey, interestingly enough, is named Songai. There is a district on the West Coast of Africa still known today as Songhay. The name is the remnant of a great Negro empire that once flourished in North-West Africa, near the Sahara Desert. This empire is thought to have had universities and astronomical observatories, wealth

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and pageantry. Now it is only a name. But the name has been 778
carried overseas to the South American bush, and persists
there long after its origin has been forgotten.

As has already been noted, the villages are universally 364
clean and sanitary. There is no filth or debris scattered about.
The garbage is disposed of by being thrown into the river
at a point below the village. A small amount of it is fed to
the chickens, which we found in practically every Bush
Negro village. Feces are disposed of in small outhouses made
of leaves placed on bypaths some four hundred yards from
the village clearing. When these become seriously polluted,
they are removed to another location. Some villages have no
outhouses.

Bathing is indulged in frequently by all of the Bush Ne- 515
groes. There are few who do not bathe in the river two or
three times a day. No bodily odour could be detected on
them, except one of perspiration, when the men poled their
canoes for long distances and did not have time to bathe at
their accustomed hours.

Sometimes as a punishment a woman may be condemned 681
to act as scavenger for the village for as long as two years;
it is then her duty to be continually cleaning up the village.

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68/ It is incumbent upon the captain who convicted her to supply her with food throughout the entire period of her punishment. Sometimes an entire family is condemned to clean the village of the Granman for a longer or shorter time, according to the crime committed. If they refuse to accept their punishment, the culprits have the alternative of being placed in the white man's jail, but such cases are few.

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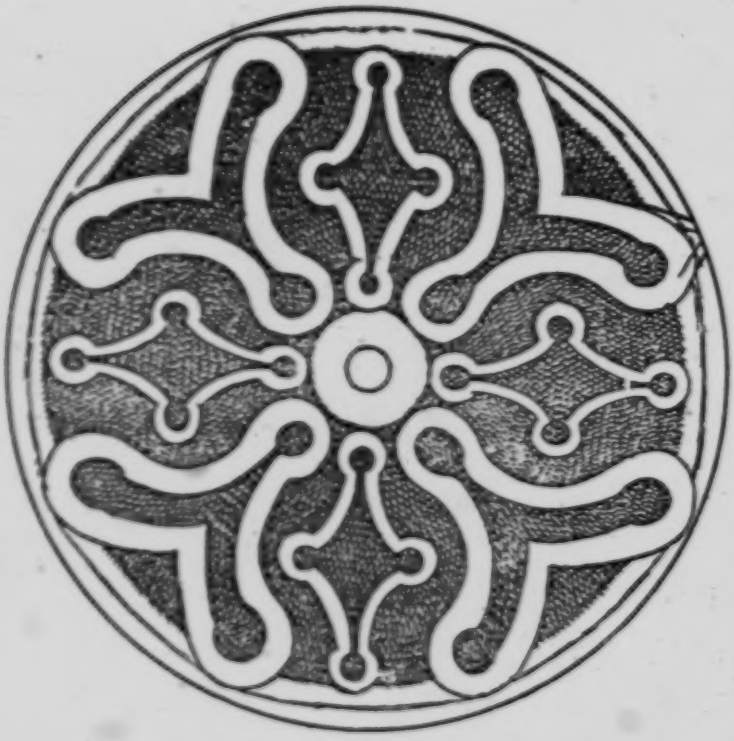

Chapter Ten

DJUKA TALK

THE Bush Negroes have two languages. The ordinary 197
tongue, phrases from which are scattered throughout 191
this book, is known as talkee-talkee. It is the common *lingua franca* of the entire colony, used not only by the Djukas, but also by some of the Indians and by the Town Negroes of

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A [For caption, see category 116, p. 204. – Analyst]

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Aucaner

Bush Negro Men of the Aucaner Tribe. Note scar tissue decoration on faces. Cottica River, Dutch Guiana.

Photo by Klein

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Paramaribo. Outside the boundaries of Dutch Guiana it is unknown.

Talkee-talkee is a pure-vowelled pidgin language, as picturesque as the countryside itself. Its vocabulary is drawn from many tongues, although English and Dutch words preponderate. The Dutch words are either vestiges of the slave days or infiltrations from the daily speech of the present Dutch colonists. The English words may date from the British occupation of the country, which lasted, with some brief intervals, from 1630 to 1674; or they may come from the English-speaking colony on the west, brought in by British Guiana balata bleeders. As numbers of the early colonists were Jews, originally from Brazil, Spain, or Portugal, as well as from Holland, one still encounters occasional Jewish terms, like *trafer* (taboo), among the Bush Negro speech. There are also a few French words, like *bon,* which still retains its original nasalization. They come from the convict colony toward the east. A few Spanish and Portuguese words, like *balata* and *camissa,* add to the variety of tongues. And finally we recognize a certain light sprinkling of West African dialect, such as *pekein* meaning small.

When the bahkra becomes accustomed to local idioms, the learning of talkee-talkee is not difficult, and the many familiar or half-familiar phrases are of great assistance. At first glance one might expect to find the Bush Negroes speaking a language largely Dutch, but this is not the case. It is doubtful, says one commentator, whether Dutch will ever be widespread among them, because their ancestors who came from

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Equatorial Africa were accustomed to the use of many broad, 198
open vowels, and "no faucal gutturals or abruptly collocated 197
consonants" (H. H. Johnson). Talkee-talkee is fluent and
euphonious, with many haunting phrases and graceful in- [194]
volutions. The phrase that designates the spider stories, *anansi-tories,* is markedly musical; *balata bleeding,* with its succession of broad vowels, is a memorable term.

The early rebels came from many different tribes, and were thrown into contact with alien races. Some common language was a necessity; talkee-talkee is the result. But despite the importation of many foreign words, the dominating characteristic of talkee-talkee is the pure intonation of the West African tongues.

The musical effect is enhanced by the use of distinct tones, 194
and words or phrases are often sung in a sustained pitch, in a manner made familiar to Western ears by the Chinese language. The phrase that occurs on page 45, *So matti, fie you tang,* is intoned with a rising inflection, prolonged on the last word. Sharp inflections of single words are also common, such as the word for the palate, *tu-tu.* But the musical nature of talkee-talkee is most evident when the Bush Negroes are communicating across the water. We have already described how they talk from one canoe to another, across great distances, by lowering their voices and drawing out the tones resonantly. There is still ringing in our ears the long drawn-out *Ah-e-e-e* of the boatmen, sounding across the yellow waters of the Surinam.

The individual words are strung together with very loose

193 The individual words are strung together with very loose grammatical construction, varying with the idiosyncrasies of the speaker. The nouns and verbs have no regular order; instead they are twisted around for convenience and emphasis. The implied meaning is usually not difficult to grasp.

We have resorted to arbitrary spellings, as the Bush Negroes possess no written language (see Appendix A), and the phonetic transcription of their speech is a task for an expert in linguistics. A few words have conventionalized forms adopted by previous writers, such as talkee-talkee, pronounced more nearly "tahki-tahki." The names of certain villages also, have a conventional spelling because they appear in the reports of the Dutch government. Examples of these are Gansee (Gan zay) and Lombe (Lom bay). Djuka is pronounced Djukah by the Aucaner.

197 The only difference between the Bush Negro's talkee-talkee and its use by the other natives of the colony is that the former have many words peculiar to themselves, such as the names of their gods and their implements. In addition to this common language, spoken by almost everyone in the colony, the Saramaccaners have a tribal language of their own. It is known as *deepee-talkee* (deep talk), or *odo, Saramacca tongo* or *Cromanti.*

In this language, which the Town Negroes and Indians cannot understand, is preserved a saga of the slave rebellion. It recounts the skirmishes and pitched battles, and the fate of the brave leaders who raided the plantations of the Dutch masters. It tells how they magically escaped the white man's bullets by the potency of their obeiahs. It ends with the white

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man suing for peace, and the independence of the Djukas in 197
their forest clearings.

As odo is used whenever the Bush Negroes desire secrecy, it is often difficult for the white man to get anyone to translate it for him. That deepee-talkee varies considerably from talkee-talkee may be seen from the comparison of the following words:

	Talkee-Talkee	*Deepee-Talkee*	192 197
child	pekein	meh	
cicatrizations	cutty-cutty	cumum bah'	
chicken	fow	ganee'ah	
knife	nee'fee	fah'kah	
leaf	wee'fee	pow uh' wee	

It can be seen even from these few words that talkee-talkee is a simple, childlike speech, bearing a superficial resemblance to the baby-talk of English-speaking parents. The word for chicken, *fow,* is the English word "fowl" as any small child would be likely to pronounce it. Odo, on the other hand, is a more complicated and comprehensive language.

The English derivation of most of the following talkee- 192
talkee words is apparent:

boat: *boto*
water: *watra*
tongue: *tongo*
current: *tonga watra* (strong water)
sandy: *santi*
ground: *gron*
country: *condree*
foot: *futu*
big: *gran* (French, *grand*)

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"Cow Fie" (Cow Fly), Six Feet Tall, and "Moi-Man" (Nice Fellow), Two Expert Canoemen from the Upper Tapanahoni River.
Aucaner Tribe.

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192 finger: *finga*
toe: *gran finga*
ear: *yeesee*
knee: *kinee*
eye: *woyo*
mouth: *buka* (Spanish, *boca*) or, *muflo, mussi*
nose: *nusee*
heart: *hatoo*
hand: *hanu*
belly: *beh*
breast: *bubbee*
hair: *oowee*
neck: *gunga*
ankle: *ago futu woyo* (the eye that keeps behind the foot)
nipple: *bubbee buka* (the mouth of the breast)
thigh: *asaqua*
buttocks: *gogo*
nails: *hunya*
teeth: *tandah* (Portuguese, *tanda*)

Other common words, some of which we have used before in phrases throughout this book, are:

canoe: *corial*
Bush Negro: *Djuka* (sometimes *Aucaner*)
wood carvings: *sanni* or *timbeh*
house: *osu* or *oso*
tobacco: *tabak*
toga: *asay sintee* or *camissa*
tapir: *bufra* (buffalo)
woman's cloth: *coyo*

The names of common Bush Negro implements are distributed about equally between odo and talkee-talkee, with a few words from the aboriginal Indian tongue:

stick or small paddle: *pow* (talkee-talkee)
paddle: *pada* (talkee-talkee)
stool: *bangki* (talkee-talkee)
bush knife: *buhfangee* (odo)
cassava squeezer: *matapee* (Indian)
fan: *wa wa'i* (Indian)

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hook: *tukusi* (odo or Indian) 192
knee band: *sepu* (odo or Indian)
paddle for washing knee bands: *sepu pow*

In making phrases and sentences, the verbs are not conjugated at all: 193

"Anga a killa me"—"I am hungry" (Hunger is killing me).
"Me nanga me ooma wannee bahkra fu makee sweetee muffo na da meh oso"—"I and my woman want the white man to come eat (make sweet mouth) at my house."
"Bahkra go nanga leeba"—"White man goes up the river."

A few sentences of talkee-talkee follow:

Neti de cun mekki we letti fai you.	Night is coming; light us a fire.
Go sidom en fu teli me fa you nanga you matti ben waka.	Sit down, and tell me how you and your friend have travelled.
Me fredui taki you de kori you srifi.	I am afraid you are fooling yourself.
Sam you sa do nah?	What will you do now?
Wo, me sah?	Who, myself? (Who, me?)
Me no sa tan dia.	I do not want to stay here.
Me prak seri fo go na Lombe.	I think I am going to Lombe.
Suma pekein data?	Whose child is that?
You wanni screevee wan breevee fu you matti.	You want to write a letter for your friend.
You savvy talkee-talkee, massra?	Do you understand talkee-talkee, master?
Pekein so, me savvy, matti.	I understand a little, friend.
Ah go kissi fissi.	I go to catch fish.
Tamara Ah sa go honti.	Tomorrow I shall go hunting.

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538 The Djukas possess, in common with many other primitive tribes, a number of trickster stories. They are called *anansi-stories,* and are usually concerned with the adventures of a clever spider, who outwits all the other animals. They resemble closely the Br'er Rabbit tales of the Negro of the [171] southern United States. These are West African themes, and can be found not only in the Carolinas and in Surinam, but scattered also throughout the West Indies. In the middle of the last century a collection of these stories was made among the Town Negroes of Paramaribo.

173 As most primitives possess no writing materials or technique, their knowledge is necessarily passed on by word of mouth, which imposes a severe limitation upon its possible extent. History, for the Djukas, starts with the rebellion, and of what came before they know little and care less. If they have stories of the Creation, we did not hear them. One approach to written language is in the Aucaner nation, where 212 a few rudimentary symbols are carved on paddles or other implements, a form of symbol-writing (see Appendix B). [431] The implement is given to someone as a token of affection, the symbols constituting a greeting. Some of them may be seen in the illustrations of small paddles and pot-stirrers.

202 For communicating over a long distance, the Djukas use [177] a system of drum telegraphy. This they have brought over from their West African homeland. At the town of Biodoti the news of our expedition was sent upriver by being drummed out on a tomtom. Squatting over the reverberating *apenti,* the Djuka buck rapped out the peculiar rhythm that

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signifies the coming of the white man. The tomtoms carry as far as three miles on a clear night, and the distant listeners in the next village pick up the message and repeat it, thus relaying it on to villages further upstream. Simple messages can thus be carried for great distances by being relayed from town to town.

This method of communication is not in use all day long. The river is not constantly booming with calls. Only on particular occasions do the villages signal each other, as when some intruder makes his way up the river. Sometimes a village was warned beforehand of our arrival, but more usually our arrival took the villages by surprise. It is an exaggeration to say that the signalling announces the bahkra's coming "over more than two thousand square miles of impassable land." Drum telegraphy is more common among the Aucaners than among the other tribes.

For telegraphic purposes the rhythm is arranged in a code pattern of long and short beats. Some calls we heard were interpreted as signifying: "Call the captain," "Come at once, sick," and so on.

When no drum is available, the Bush Negroes sometimes sound out a message by pounding on the side of the beached corial with a stick tightly wrapped in rags. This produces a hollow, booming sound that carries far—an excellent substitute for the drums. This method is reminiscent of the African tomtoms of resonant boards built about a hollow centre, which boom loudly when struck with the butt of the hand.

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202 In communicating by means of a beached canoe, instead of a series of long and short beats, the drummer will imitate the pitch and rhythm of a spoken sentence. By striking in different places along the gunwale of the boat, tones of different pitch can be obtained, which mimic the sharply modulated intonation of spoken words in talkee-talkee. The listeners match the sounds with the words that they suggest. The device is too difficult to be widely used, but seems to serve well in emergencies.

551 The method of naming people among the Djukas is extremely curious. There is a superstitious fear of mentioning certain names among them. This is very probably of African origin. In slavery days, no Negro, when passing an estate, [552] would dare to mention its name until the estate had been passed. When we went over a falls in the river, we could learn its name only after the danger spot had been passed.

For personal names the Djukas have one which everyone may use and another which depends upon the day of the week on which the individual was born. This latter can be learned only after explicit inquiry and often not at all. There is also the secret name that strangers seldom know, if ever. [171] This custom of secret names is also prevalent among the Surinam Carib Indians and other primitives.

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For example, one of our Bush Negro guides is called 55/ *Moi-Man* (Nice Fellow). He is also known as Kwassi which means Saturday-child. The Bush Negro woman known as Koko was also called Akoea because she was born on a Wednesday. This method of naming children after the day in the week on which they were born seems to have been [177] brought over from the Tshi-speaking people in Africa. The similarity is easily recognized after consulting the following table, compiled by Mr. Charles de Goeje.

	Male		*Female*	
Born on	*Djuka*	*Tshi*	*Djuka*	*Tshi*
Sunday	Kwassi	Kwassi	Akwasiba	Asi or Akwasiba
Monday	Kodjo	Kwadjo	Adoea, or Adjoba	Adua
Tuesday	Kwamina, or Kwabina	Kobina, or Kwabina	Abena, or Akoba	Abena, or Arabat
Wednesday	Kwakoe, or Quakoe	Kwaku	Akoea	Akua
Thursday	Jaw	Know, yow, or Akhor	Jaba	Awbah, Awybah, or Yawa
Friday	Koffi, or Koffay	Kwaffi	Afida	Yah-awfua
Saturday	Kwassi	Kwassi	Amba	Amenimwah

Some interesting, popular names for men are as follows:

Benzini, meaning benzine
Taki Laffu, laughs when he talks

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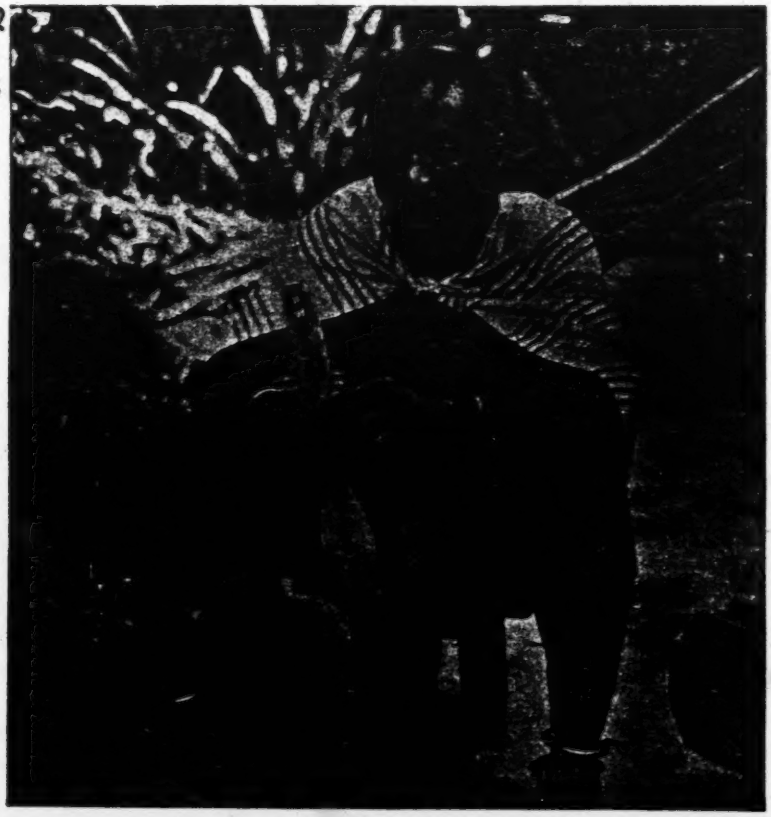

Bush Negro Man, "Amehkimoi" (Makes Nice Things), with a Carved and Inlaid Pot Stirrer Which He Has Just Completed for His Wife. *Aucaner Tribe,* Upper Cormotibo River, Dutch Guiana.

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Tak Lettie, he speaks the truth
Aporimoi, he spoils nice things
Pina Ingie, starving Indian
Fransie Boy, French boy
Horlogie Buka, mouth like a watch
Bor-Boriman, shouting man
Dansiman, dancing man
Sweetee Libbie, sweet life
Ameke Moi, makes nice things
Lobbi Sweetee, love is sweet
Apasaso, it happens so
Bat Jau, salt fish
Abbetam, he is in time
Addri, turning around
Kengieahnem, he changed his name
Pai Fini, exact payer

The following personal names for men are possibly of African origin:

Akwambo	Wonpay
Agenteno	Adjuju
Lado	Adjau
Payong	Ajonga
Twojong	Tojo
Tombey	Jong
Somboay	Yuyu

For the following names borne by men we were unable to find particular meanings:

Djuka Talk

Lawne	Abeyoni
Maddy	Abionie
Angasi	Samtoni
Dandilo	Samsie
Tjafaka	Saleh

A few feminine names are as follows:

Koko	Nee Nee
Amehna	Afanisi
Mehlee	Cudu
Suri	Yomeh
Widuma	Saomeh
Anitee	Tia Kabah

No stringed instruments were seen among the Bush Ne- 534
groes, although they may exist. The musical impulses of the blacks are expressed chiefly in the beating of the tomtoms. The *saka-sake,* which means "shake shake," is added to the drum ensemble to emphasize by contrast with its light pebbly sound the vast heavy tonality of the drums. The same is probably true of the *quaqua,* the board beaten with sticks. Occasionally a nose flute is seen, a direct survival of West [177]
Africa. It is a plain flute, made of a reed, but blown with the

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534 nose instead of the mouth. The only other accompaniments of the dance are the anklets and bracelets of Kahee-seed rattles, in which the dried nuts add a sensuous, whispering sound to the lithe movements of the limbs.

195 There are three expressions used among Djukas which are equivalent to swearing among ourselves. These are: *Tinkee muffo,* stink mouth, which is the worst possible insult; and two other insulting terms of lesser degree, *T'jobo teefee,* dirty teeth, and *sika futu,* jigger foot.

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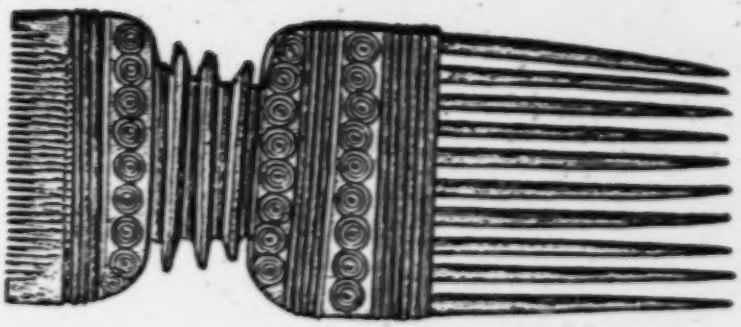

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Chapter Eleven

WEST AFRICAN SURVIVALS

FROM the Moors, the Spanish and Portuguese learned of the existence of the black races inhabiting the land of Africa. Recent archæological investigations have indicated that great Negro civilizations once flourished where the Sahara Desert now stretches its interminable sands. The drying up of the country helped cause the decay of these mighty empires, and Timbuktu today is almost forgotten. The final blow to Negro culture in West Africa was administered by the slave trade, in which thirty million blacks were either exterminated or transported across the ocean. The first cargo of slaves to the New World was landed in Haiti in 1502, and from then on increasing numbers of slave ships plied the Middle Passage with their squalid freight.

The Dutch, having won their freedom from the yoke of Spain, looked with envy upon the prosperous slave trade. In

1 [For caption, see category 16, p. 204, — Analyst]

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Carved Wooden Board for Mashing Peanuts.
Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History

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1595 they made their first slaving voyage to the Guinea Coast. They attacked and captured Spanish slave factories at Arguin, Goree, El Mina, São Paulo, and elsewhere. As many of these were lost, in turn, to the French, the Dutch colonists in America were forced to rely for their supply mainly upon the factories situated along that part of Africa known as the Gold Coast. For many years Negroes from the Gold Coast were shipped to the Dutch colonies in the West Indies and the Guianas. It is along the middle coast of West Africa and in the adjacent interior, therefore, that we must look for the direct ancestors of the Djuka tribes.

At the end of the sixteenth century, according to Charles Douglas, an old-time resident of Dutch Guiana who has pieced together a considerable lore concerning the early slaves, no Europeans inhabited Surinam. In 1613, however, the Dutch had a small tobacco plantation on the Corantyne River, near an Indian village known as Purmerbo. Both these settlements were destroyed soon after by hostile Indians and Spaniards. In 1630 a few English came to the colony under the leadership of one Captain Marechal, and settled on the Surinam River to plant tobacco. Not long afterward there came a small number of French colonists and a few Jews who had been driven from their homes in Brazil. They brought their slaves with them and, like the English, planted sugar cane as well as tobacco on the Surinam River. Toward the last half of the seventeenth century the Dutch sent ships to the "wild coast of South America" to trade with the Indians, and about the same time the Dutch West India Company, with

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an establishment at Curaçao, received permission to deliver 000
slaves to Surinam. In 1673 there were some 1200 African slaves in the colony as well as about 300 English colonists, and 200 Dutch, including Jews.

By this time the Negroes had already begun to desert the plantations and give trouble by raiding, burning the plantations, and murdering the inhabitants. The first village of escaped slaves was situated on the Upper Surinam River near the Bannister Creek under the leadership of a Coromantyn Negro named Iermes.

Gold Coast slaves "were usually called *Coromantis*, from the Dutch fort of Coromantyn or Koromanti near Cape Coast Castle." "The Coromanti slaves," says a historian, "on account of their disposition to rebel, were not admitted into the French or Spanish colonies and consequently found their way into the British colonies, the only market open to them. Surinam was English from 1630 to 1667, and for shorter intervals thereafter.

"These Coromanti slaves," he continues, "were distinguished from all others by their firmness, courage, and impatience of control, characteristics which caused numerous mutinies aboard the slavers, and several rebellions in the West Indies, in fact every rebellion of slaves in Jamaica." Another writer adds: "The Coromanti slaves were always the prominent or sole fighters in the slave revolts of the West Indies during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries."

As many Coromanti slaves landed in Surinam, it is proba- 174
ble that the ancestors of the present Djuka tribes included

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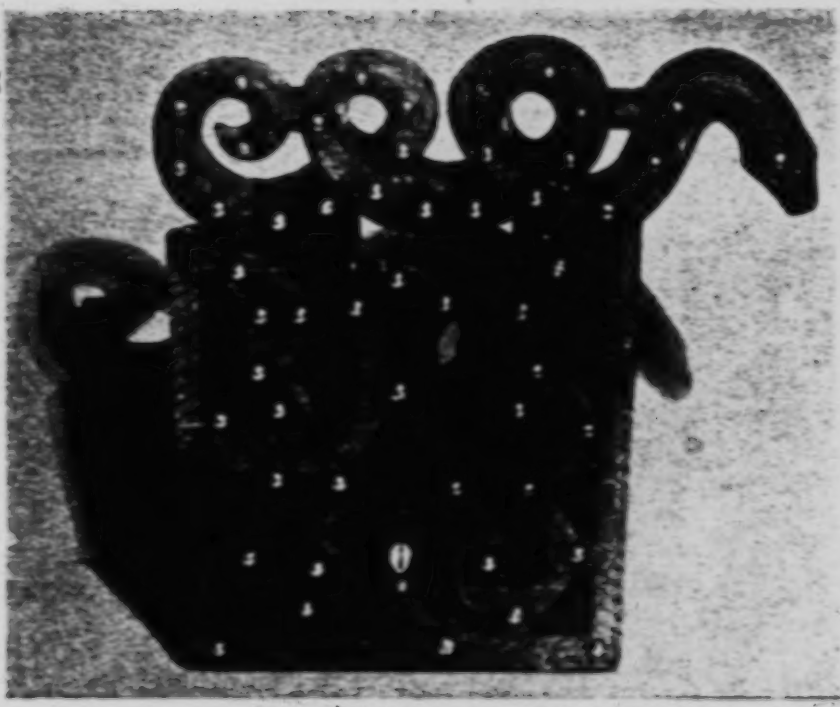

Snake Motif Bench Top or "Obeiah Bangi" (Sacred Bench) Carved from a Single Piece. *Saramaccaner Tribe*. On other benches and trays and similar pieces of wood carving the coil and serpentine motifs are often executed in such a way as to form figures of men and women.

Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History

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174 many of these brave and hardy blacks, who rebelled in Jamaica, Haiti, and elsewhere, as well as in Surinam. This intractable and high-spirited nature still characterizes the contemporary Bush Negro, who has the same hardihood, the same impatience of control, that marked the wild Coromantis of the early revolts. They may have been slaves in fact, but they were never slaves in spirit.

The name of these fractious slaves is not unfamiliar; we have encountered it in contemporaneous Bush Negro life. [776] *Cromanti* now designates a god of the South American bush. The name has apparently travelled from one continent to another, from a Dutch slave factory of the seventeenth century to the Bush Negro villages of the twentieth. Today there are "fetishes to the bad, wild god Cromanti."

776 In the person of Cromanti, the Djukas have obviously dei-
174 fied their own ancestors. The bad, wild god of the bush is to be identified with the Bush Negroes' Coromantyn forbears. The dancers smeared with sacred clay, whose mad gyrations [781] with whistling bush-knives signified that they were possessed by the spirit of Cromanti, were reincarnations of the rebels of the old days. The Djukas' bad demon of the forest is an atavistic memory, personifying the spirit of the uprisings.

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It is impossible to trace all of the individual African tribes 175
from which the Djukas came. The relationships have been too much confused by the ravages of time and the depredations of the slave trade. The first slavers plied their trade along the coast, picking up a few natives here and there, but with the passing of years the growing demand for slaves rendered this practice inadequate. So the slave factories were established, and the trade extended far back into the interior of Africa. The resulting body of slaves was a conglomeration of natives from practically every tribe around the Bight of [619]
Benin, the Abo, the Conia, the Blitai, Congo, Gango, Konree, Riemba, Loango, etc.

Aside from the aforementioned, Douglas enumerates the following African groups as contributing slaves to Surinam: the Calabari, Doomakookoo, Foola (or Fooloppo), Gola (or Gongola), Mende, Madingo, Papa, Pro, Temne, Tjamba, and Wan-Wie Negroes. The Negro woman, Semire, sentenced to death in 1836 for killing and eating Negro children, must have been from one of these tribes. This suggests that the practice of cannibalism was not unknown among some of them. Douglas also cites Hartsinck for other African tribes and regions whence came many of the Negro slaves of Dutch Guiana:

"The Ardras or Dongo Negroes came from a part about 000
fifty miles north-east from Ardras, and do not make the best slaves. Born in slavery and brought up for agriculture, they do not like service, but when treated well they are good slaves. The men, women, and children have for a mark some

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cuts on the cheeks, but the ones that have been slaves of the great people in their country have cuts around the forehead.

"The Nago Negroes differ little from the aforementioned and are also good workers; on the forehead they have long stripes and deep cuts, which, combined, show the rough outline of a certain animal.

"The Mallais Negroes, so called from Maillais, were to be found at the market of Fida, Audra, and Jaquin, but they come from far away. They are of a strong race and able to do the heaviest work, which they do willingly if treated well; for which reason they are sold at highest prices, no matter what marks they have, except those with the marks of Tebou and Guiamba slaves.

"The Aqueras Negroes are much appreciated because they are very trustworthy; they are known by several cuts on the back and chest, showing a likeness to lizards and snakes.

"The Tebou slaves are the worst, not fit for anything, if not taken up at the age of ten to twelve years, when they can be used for domestic or other light work; they have long cuts on cheeks, chest, and belly.

"The Foin Negroes are known by several cuts on the temple. They are a bad people, lazy, and of a thieving disposition, full of crazy imaginations, and will kill themselves by eating clay and by other methods.

"The Guiamba Negroes are, as regards custom and habits, similar to the two last-mentioned tribes, being marked with the same cuts as the Tebous.

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"The Delmina Negroes proper, are born in the *crom* (village) of d'Elmina and may not be sold unless they have sinned against the law of their country. Most of the slaves which are sold at St. George d'Elmina come from Assiantyn or Akimsche. The men and also the women are marked on the cheeks and breasts with several cuts. The scars of these cuts may grow out about one finger's breadth. Among them are many old slaves, whose hair the traders colour with charcoal to make them appear young.

"The Annambo Negroes, mostly called Fantyns, are under English supervision; they are well made and a people of discretion, and are known to be the best people along the whole coast for plantation work or any other kind of work. Their foreheads are marked with stips which are burned in with gunpowder. Among the Fantyns are to be found the Akimsche and Assiantyns; there is no difference among the three people except in language. The Assiantyns are also somewhat finer limbed than the Fantyns and Akimsche, but aside from that characteristic it is very difficult to separate them. The Assiantyns are, since the death of their king, nearly thirty years now, in a permanent war with the Wassasch people; the captives from both sides are delivered to the people on the coast to be sold, or they are brought to the forts to be exchanged for goods.

"The Acra Negroes are brave, strong, and good slaves, but expensive. They belong to the Danes but our nation (Dutch) and the English have authority over those among them who live under the protection of our respective forts.

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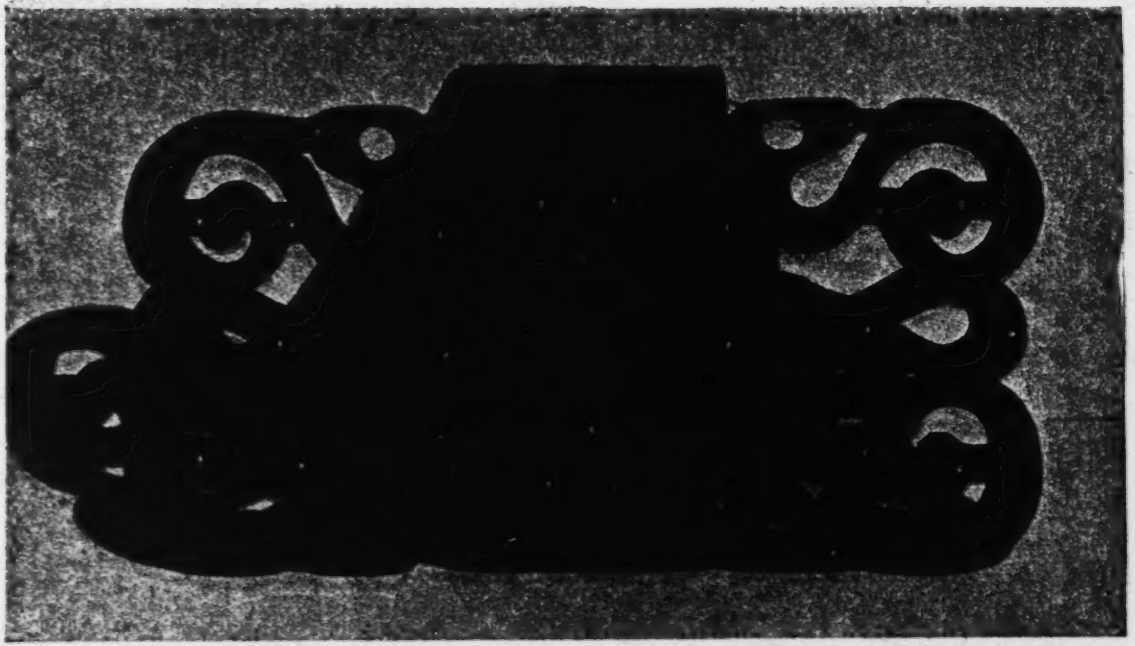

Open Work Bench Top Carved from a Single Piece, Human Face Motif. *Aucaner Tribe.*
Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History

[Facing p. 182]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

006 "One may find also Abo and Papa Negroes, who are very willing when treated well; the last named have a certain poison under their nails with which they are known to poison their adversaries so that they pine away.

"The Coromantyn Negroes have a good heart but cannot stand wrongs or punishment without reason, and if this happens they take a gun or a knife to take vengeance, and if they are not successful in this they very often cut their own throats. These Negroes are very well built, they have no marks whatsoever, only a very smooth black skin.

"The Loango Negroes or Gangoo Negroes are the very worst. They are cannibals and will kill one of their own kind to feast upon when celebrating the wedding of their king. They also file their teeth so as to be able to bite off one's finger. They are hated and feared by the other tribes for their treachery and cruelty, and when these people desert they hide themselves in the bush living on all kinds of reptiles such as lizards, snakes, frogs, and other creeping reptiles."

Thus, some idea may be obtained of the varied sources whence came the ancestors of the present-day Bush Negro tribes.

175 Perhaps it will suffice to say that the Djukas are descended
619 from the tribes of the Gold Coast, Ivory Coast, Slave Coast, Dahomey, Nigeria, Muni, Cameroons, Liberia, and the general adjacent equatorial interior of West Africa. Most of these natives were forest people, and after being transported across the ocean they could adapt themselves without great difficulty to the similiar jungles of Surinam.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

From the very earliest times some of the slaves managed 175
to escape. They found in their new home a number of palms and plants with which they were familiar in Africa. The bush was much like the African bush. The rivers of Dutch Guiana resemble the West African watercourses. Grown men do not change their habits readily, so it was only natural that these escaped blacks should continue, so far as possible, the mode of living to which they were accustomed in Africa. Huts, paddles, clothing, ornamentation—there was no necessity for them to alter their old habits. They could build the same kind of hut, fashion the same kind of dugout canoe, hollow out tomtoms, and dance the ancient dances of the Old World. For the most part they could duplicate in the South American jungle the manners and habits of their West African birthplace.

If the Bush Negroes had remained slaves for a number of generations, it is probable that they would have adopted to a large extent the white man's culture and forgotten their own. Because of the plasticity of human nature in childhood, any race bred in captivity changes its original characteristics. Thus blood-relations of the Surinam slaves, transported to the Carolinas and Virginia, sloughed off their West African culture and became "civilized" in the white tradition. But this was not the case in Dutch Guiana. The first slaves to escape belonged to the original generation brought over on the slave ships. As the years went by they were joined by other Negroes, many of them born in Africa. A few years of enforced residence among the whites was

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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Boni

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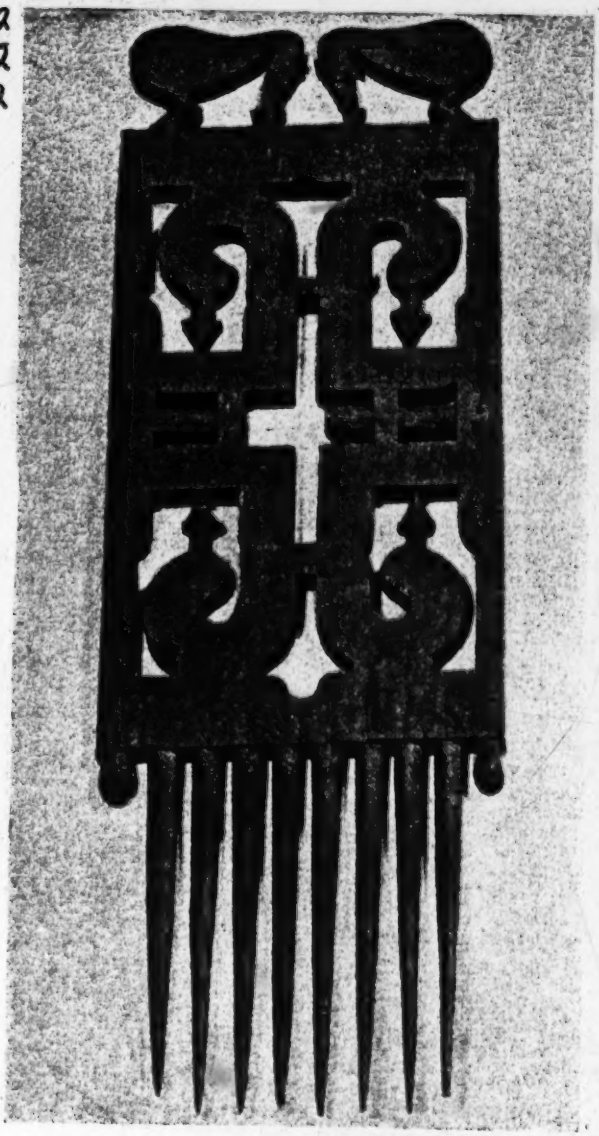

Carved Wooden Comb of the Boni Tribe, French Guiana. The central cross is a symbol of a woman surrounded by four phallic symbols in the form of curved arrows.

Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History

[Facing p. 184]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

175 not sufficient to make them adopt the white man's culture.

Many of the rebels, indeed, had been born on the sugar plantations and raised in close contact with European civilization. These were probably inclined to modify in many details the West African habits of their parents. But the white man and his magic were the object of universal hatred among the blacks. They had no incentive to adopt European ways, when they were proud of their own. And when they escaped into the bush, they found a typical West African culture reconstructed in the Surinam bush by the escaped slaves who had preceded them. It was as though a section of West Africa had been picked up bodily and deposited almost intact in the South American jungle. To this day, therefore, we have many evidences of West African culture in the life of the Surinam Bush Negroes. Their entire social structure, with the exception of a few items borrowed from the [177] Indians and certain European inventions like gunpowder which were forced upon them, is analogous to that of the Old World.

178 Conditions were not the same in every particular. In 182 West Africa there is iron ore, and the art of iron working was invented and carried to a high point of perfection by the African natives. There is little iron ore in Surinam, so that the art of working it is lost to the Bush Negroes. A limited quantity of iron weapons and implements was pillaged from the plantations, and all of it was probably converted immediately into arrow points, hatchets, and bush-knives, to carry on the guerilla warfare against the despised Europeans.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Common household implements for everyday use had to be 178
made out of different material. Wood was used wherever 182
possible. So in place of iron the Bush Negroes developed an elaborate and beautiful art of carving domestic utensils. Pots are stirred with wooden paddles instead of with iron [412
ladles. Enormous wooden trays are used for carrying food. 415]
Combs, stools, beaters, and a dozen other implements all bear evidence of this extraordinary technique of wood carving, and this too is a heritage from their African ancestry.

In tracing the relationship between any two cultures, such 177
as the West African and the Bush Negro, we should always 182
bear in mind the possibility that both developed independently and that similarities between them may be due to the influence of similar environments rather than to actual culture contact. Thus, for example, while the Djuka corial is hollowed out of solid logs in a fashion similar to the West African canoe, which at once suggests borrowing, it is also true that the rapid waters of the Surinam, Marowyne, and Saramacca Rivers make any other kind of board or bark canoe impracticable. The Bush Negroes' dugout canoes may be an independent adaptation to the environment rather than a heritage from Africa.

This difficulty is a common one in anthropological speculation; examples are to be found on all hands. Thus, it has been maintained that the Reindeer Men who lived in France during the Magdalenian Age are related to the present-day Eskimo, because their bone implements and crude drawings bear certain resemblances, although the two races are

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

177 separated by ten thousand years of time and two thousand
182 miles of space. It has, however, been pointed out that both peoples had to face environmental conditions that are roughly alike, and that a similar world may well have led to certain similar responses and adaptations. In Dutch Guiana, on the other hand, we do know of a direct historical connexion with Africa, so that the customs, habits, art work, social organization, and general material culture of the Bush Negroes must undoubtedly be related to the similar culture of West Africa. A great many articles in everyday use among the Djukas are of West African design. African words and African habits can readily be identified.

177 We also know that certain articles used by the Djukas are borrowings from the aboriginal Indians of the district.
[252] Thus the cassava squeezer, the *matapee,* and the whole technique of preparing cassava, the grater and sieve for the flour, are borrowed from the South American Indians. But by far the greater part of Djuka culture comes directly from the Dark Continent.

A Swedish anthropologist, Gerhard Lindblom, made a study of Bush Negro implements and wood carvings in
[322] European museums, and compared them with the implements and wood carvings from West Africa, pointing out a number of homologous forms.

[643 The Granman's throne, an intricately carved wooden stool
352] made by the Djukas, as Lindblom pointed out, is similar in construction to those owned by the headmen of the Gold Coast, Ashanti, Slave Coast, and the Niger tribes. The ornate

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

The ornate combs used by the Bush Negroes are a most direct West African heritage, being found along the Upper Guinea coast, Ashanti, Cameroons, Ivory and Gold Coasts, Dahomey, Muni, and many other regions of Africa. The wooden plates and trays are likewise found among the Ewe-speaking tribes of the West Coast.

The custom of personal decoration by the cicatrization of the skin is very common throughout many parts of Africa. Captain John Stedman remarks on this strange habit in his *Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition to Surinam:* "The Loanga Negroes distinguish themselves by puncturing or marking the skin of their sides, arms, and thighs with square, elevated figures something like dice." This custom was widespread on the Slave Coast. The scar designs varied widely according to the different tribes as well as the social position and wealth of the individual. As the Indians of South America do not practise this cicatrization, it is evident that the Bush Negroes brought it over with them from their former home.

The Bush Negro coiffure, the method of arranging the hair in plaited tufts, is found also on the Gold Coast, in Cameroons, and elsewhere in Africa. The Djuka method of weaving is similar to that of the Sudan, Gold Coast, Mandingo, Ashanti, and the Ewe. The spindle used in weaving is called by an African term, *kyekye,* a Tshi word. The woven leg band, the *sepu,* is the same as the leg bands found in Cameroons and the Upper Guinea coast in general.

The method of finding out who is responsible for the

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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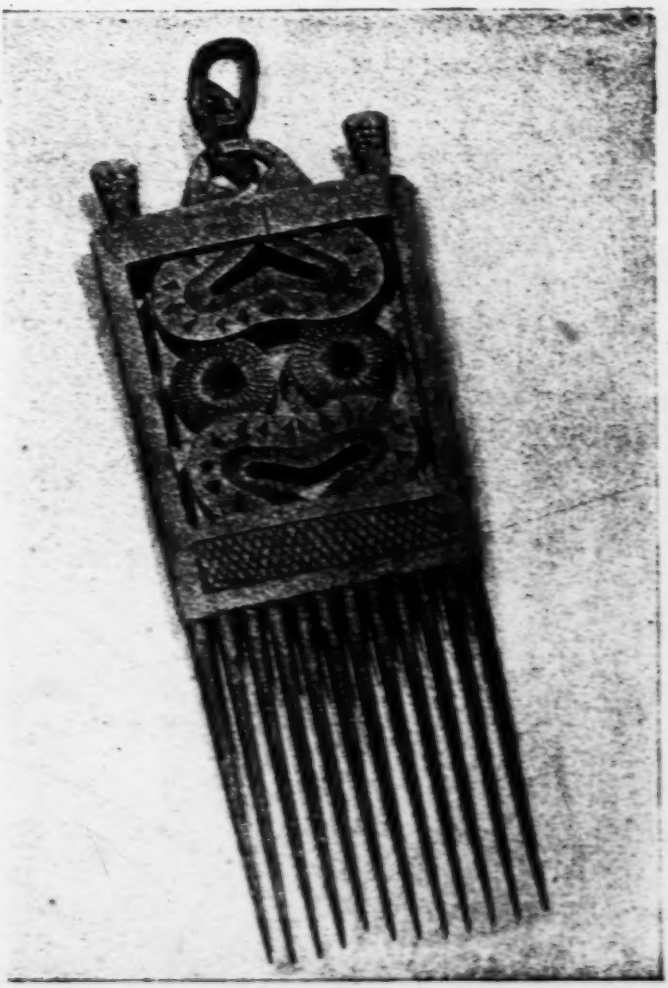

Carved Wooden Comb, Human Face Motif. *Boni Tribe.*
Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History

[Facing p. 188]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

177 The method of finding out who is responsible for the
[695] death of a man is found in many parts of the West Coast. The details vary considerably, but the essential idea that death is caused by witchcraft, and that some individual is guilty, is found in West Africa as well as in South America.
[764] The method of binding the corpse on a platform, covered with blankets of weeds, comes from the Gold Coast.

177 A number of Bush Negro words are African in origin.
192 *Lo,* the Djuka word for clan, designates a village in Yoruba or Ibo. The *quaqua,* the resounding plank which accompanies the drums, is possibly a Kikongo or M'pongwe word from the Ivory Coast. *Azeman,* meaning a kind of vampire, is an Ewe and Tshi word, as well as a Bush Negro term. The fetish house, the *kifunga,* is probably derived from Bacongo, Luango, Cameroons, or Togo, and the word itself is in all likelihood a Bacongo term. *Leeba,* meaning "river," is an Ewe word. *Akra,* designating a kind of ghost, is a Tshi word. *Makuku,* designating a Bush Negro fireplace made with three lumps of clay, is a Kikongo word, and the custom itself is derived from the Yoruba, Slave Coast, the lower Niger, and the Central and East Sudan region.

177 The carved wooden locks, the quintessence of Bush Negro
[322] wood carving, are found also among the Ashanti, in Dahomey, and in the Sudan. The method of poisoning fish by
[226] beating into a stream the pulp of poisonous plants is common in South America among the Indians, but it is likewise found in West Africa among the Tshi, Yoruba, Togo, Congo, and Angolo peoples. The same is true of other Djuka fishing practices, such as the custom of fishing at night by torchlight.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

torchlight. The Djukas have a rodent trap that is a direct African survival, found on both the West and East Coasts of Africa.

Stedman mentions in his *Narrative* that the Bush Negro rebels used a kind of conch-shell trumpet to call their people to arms. The same species of trumpet is still to be found among the Djukas, and is similar in type to those found on the Gold Coast. The nose flute used by the Bush Negroes also comes from the Congo region of Africa. Wooden trumpets like those used by the Bush Negroes are found also along the Gold Coast and in the Congo country.

The drums form perhaps the clearest and most characteristic West African survival. They are not at all like the Indian drums of the same region, which are flat and more like a tambourine. The Djuka manner of constructing them from a hollowed-out log, with skin stretched over the opening and thonged over pegs, is commonly in use among innumerable African tribes. The tuning of them by hammering on the pegs, set at an angle, is also a detail from Africa. The use of drums for communication over long distances, and the development of an elaborate code of drum signals, is developed to a high degree among West African tribes. Rattray, in his study of the Ashanti people, gives an extended description of this.

The *anansi-tories*, the spider stories, ubiquitous in the West Indies, are also found among the Tshi-speaking peoples of the West Coast. The use of white clay for smearing ceremonial objects and amulets is African. The decoration of

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

The decoration of
177 objects with cowrie shells comes by way of Africa. The
[328] monkey dance said to be practised by the Djukas is described
[746] as similar to the gorilla dance of the West Coast. The coiled wire bracelets and anklets are of African design, and the
[301 291] general mode of dress is the same.

The Djuka attitude toward the silk-cotton tree is common among the tribes of the Guinea Coast. "Throughout West
[324] Africa from Senegal to the Niger the silk-cotton tree is regarded with reverence and believed to be the abode of a god or spirit. This general consensus of opinion is no doubt due to the stupendous size attained by some of these trees, which tower far above all others of the forest."

[524] *Adji-boto*, a game in which seeds are placed in round holes in a board, is played not only by the Bush Negroes but also by the Town Negroes of Paramaribo; it is found along the Gold Coast, Benin, Sierra Leone, West Sudan, and, in modified forms, in many other parts of Africa. The fish spear
[227] of the Djukas is found in Liberia, Mandingo, and the Gold Coast. Shooting fish with a bow and arrow is an African
[224] custom, but it is also widespread among the aboriginal Indians of South America. On the other hand, according to Dr. W. Roth of Demerara, a number of traps and hunting devices now used by the Guiana Indians are of African origin and have been borrowed from the Negroes.

[373] The Djuka fire fan, woven of split rattan, is borrowed from the Arawak Indians, but different types of the same device can be found also among the Tshi- and Ewe-speaking people and in Liberia, Cameroons, etc. The Bush Negro

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

obeiahs, house gods, fetish houses, menstrual huts, and matrilineal system of inheritance are all to be found as ancient customs among the forest tribes of the West Coast. Other details, such as the use of chickens for sacrificial animals, the huts with their rectangular walls, the manufacture of butter from the palm worm, the sacredness of snakes and alligators, the use of drums for religious supplication, and the beating of them with the hand instead of with a stick as the Indians do, are also customs which are similar to West African customs and probably derived from them. The impaled turtle-shell on a staff, the badge of the witch doctor's profession, represents the symbol for the female genitalia among some West African tribes. The Bush Negroes' boats and paddles are typically African in design. The *awasa* dance of the Saramaccaners was borrowed from the Aucaners, among whom it is a direct West African survival.

From the study of these culture survivals among the Djuka tribes it can be seen that most of the jungle civilization of the Bush Negroes is derived from their West African ancestry, modified here and there by contact with the Indians of their new home. The remainder of the material culture of the Bush Negroes is borrowed from the white settlements along the coast, from which gunpowder, fish-hooks, bush-knives, and other articles filter upstream.

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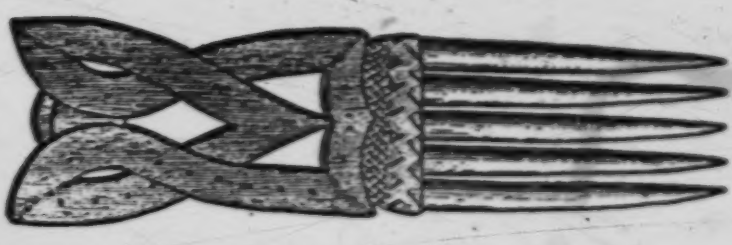

Chapter Twelve

PRIMITIVE ART

THE sense of beauty is not absent in the jungle. The 517 Djukas have definite æsthetic feelings and in their wood carving they have a well-developed and conventionalized art form. Art is highly socialized and universally appreciated among them. There are definite artistic conventions and common conventionalized forms.

Among ourselves the production of artistic objects is confined to a small group of especially gifted individuals, whereas among the Bush Negroes it is a regular part in the life of proportionately many more individuals. Common objects of everyday use, which among ourselves are designed for utility alone, are developed by the Bush Negroes into elaborate objects of art. They represent one of the most characteristic features of any Bush Negro village. One is sure to find in every village the carved plates and long-tined combs and pierced decorations that constitute the art of the Bush Negroes.

[For caption, see category 116, p. 204.—Analyst]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

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Fig. Stirrup. *Saramaccaner Tribe.*
Kahn-Sewage Collection, American Museum of Natural History

[Facing p. 194]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

531 In the combs, paddles, and other pieces of wood carv-
322 ing illustrated in this book, the most casual observer will discern a great beauty of form and design. The sense of line, the feeling for balance, combined with elaborate conception and execution, compare well with the productions of the highly sophisticated artists of our urban civilization. All of the wood carvings, collectively known as *sanni* or *timbeh,* follow certain traditional patterns. The individual motifs, however, are products of the individual imagination, and, judging by the variety and originality of the designs shown herewith, that imagination is evidently quite fertile.

[462] All the carving is done by men. There is a ceremonial significance to this. These wooden pieces are tokens of love.

Love in the jungle is not the etherealized sentiment portrayed by Victorian novelists. When a man and woman
[831] want each other the satisfaction of their desire is easy and immediate. The people are largely promiscuous among themselves. Under such conditions the existence of romantic sentiments is an impossibility.

822 Individual preference does, of course, exist, and this im-
322 plies courtship. A man may want a woman who does not
431 want him, and this implies wooing. The wooing consists in presenting the woman with specimens of sanni. Thus, every piece of wood carving is a token of love and affection, presented by a Bush Negro to his woman. The woman who accepts sanni from a suitor accepts his love along with it. The man naturally stores up a quantity of sanni in expecta-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

tion of falling in love, and the woman is inordinately proud 832
of her pieces of wood since each one betokens the affection 322
of a male. A great part of the love-life among the Djukas 431
is wrapped up in these carved household implements.

Those unfortunate natives who are not clever at handling 532
a knife must trade fish or game or some other personal pos- [438]
session for sanni produced by a more deft handicraftsman. 555
Almost any Bush Negro can hunt, fish, and care for a wife, but a man's value is enhanced in the eyes of the woman when he can carve artistically. The women appreciate him and the men respect him. Wood carving, therefore, is assiduously cultivated by the Bush Negroes from early childhood.

As sanni is a prized commodity everywhere, exchangeable 532
for female favours, a great deal of time is spent on each 322
individual piece. A single comb may take weeks to carve. The women are very good judges of sanni, and can tell a good piece at a glance. With such a critical audience, the Djuka artist is careful of his skill, and few awkward or ill-formed designs are seen. Boys between the ages of eight and ten years may be proficient carvers, and critical elders preside over their work, ready to point out any minute mistake. The father or uncle who is expert with the knife will train his son or nephew in the same tradition, so that certain families are known for their beautiful work.

This erotic significance of the wood carvings makes them difficult to obtain. The woman who sells one is not parting [832]
with a domestic utensil so much as with a treasured memento. Sentimental attachments are bound to appear. As

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

As
532 one woman said: "He gave me this piece when we were
322 first married. I won't part with it now." Usually an elaborate
439 parley is necessary. The women are undecided whether to sell or not. They laugh, giggle, put their finger coyly in their mouths, joke bashfully with bystanders, and cannot make up their minds as to the price. They never know how much to ask for a piece. Sometimes they will mention a preposterous figure, hoping like a naïve child that the strange bahkra will pay that much. But on such occasions a rebuke will make them more reasonable. Once an arrogant witch doctor intervened in a transaction with a Bush Negro woman, demanding angrily that she receive an exorbitant payment. His anger was squelched with a few sharp words, and, contrite, he sat up all night to carve an ornate implement to present to the bahkra as a peace-offering. Cunning Adjobo, the medicine man!

412 The Bush Negro implements are carved out of jungle
322 wood. Some are made of lignum vitæ, the hardest wood
[229] known. A few of them are made of soft wood, light and spongy, but these are not popular. The small paddles are used for stirring in the cooking pots, and the combs are
[301] actually used for the hair. They are never worn as personal ornaments, and when not in use are hung up on the walls of the hut. The utensils are all made with common trade
[177] jackknives and compasses which are used as dividers. It is principally with these dividers that the serpentine motifs
322 are executed. After the carving is finished the piece is smoothed off by rubbing it with matted grass and river

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

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Pot Stirrers and Canoe Paddle Handle.
Saramaccaner Tribe.

[Facing p.196 (A)]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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Boni
Aucaner

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Clothes Beater and Food Paddle. *Boni Tribe.*

Ceremonial Sword and Pot Stirrer. *Aucaner Tribe.*

[Facing p. 196 (8)]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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Pot Stirrers. Stylized human figure and snake motifs.
Aucaner Tribe.

[Facing p. 196 (c)]

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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Pot Stirrer and Hair Combs. The comb in the centre is three feet long. *Aucaner Tribe.*

[Facing p. 197]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

sand. A few chisels and carpenter's tools can occasionally 322
be found. Where compasses or dividers cannot be obtained, a nail and piece of string are often used to execute the involved serpentine patterns.

Bush Negro sanni is not used for trading purposes. A 438
few pieces find their way down to the coast, of course, but 322
they are never articles of commerce among the Djukas. In some villages, and particularly among the Paamacca tribe, it is practically impossible to obtain many carvings. But the willingness to part with these objects naturally varies with the village and the individual. Being known to the natives greatly facilitates trade.

One outstanding feature of this work is the complete 322
absence of colour. The finished piece shows the natural hue 532
of the wood, and rarely anything more. An occasional variation is obtained by inlaying with racuda wood, brownheart, or purpleheart, but tints and dyes are seldom applied. A different shade is also obtained once in a while by branding or burning the wood with a hot iron. The Aucaners, who paint red and black devices on their large canoe paddles, represent exceptions to the general rule of showing only the natural wood shades.

Nearly all the pieces are utilitarian in origin and purpose, 412
but some of them are so highly carved as to be of little [431
practical use. These are much prized as gift pieces. The 415]
trays are actually used to carry food on, and also for winnowing rice. The stirring paddles dip into the food pot every evening. After being used they are washed with river water and [264]
hung up on a peg.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931

SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Saramaccaner
Aucaner

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Pot Stirrer and Hair Comb.
Saramaccaner Tribe.

Pot Stirrer.
Aucaner Tribe.

[Facing p. 198]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

412 hung up on a peg. The canoe paddles are actually employed
[501] every day on the river, and the flails beat the day's wash of soiled togas and coyos.

352 Since it is taboo to sit on the ground, a large number of
[784] stools are made, pierced and decorated, with now and then a tiny cabinet inside them. Wooden locks that actually work
[414] are seen on the doors, especially in Aucaner villages, guarding the treasures inside. These are West African survivals; the same type of device can be found in several parts of the Old Continent. They are huge affairs often two feet in length. Door sills and door posts, bows and sterns of canoes,
532 canoe seats and calabash gourds (occasionally decorated by a woman) are all embellished with ornamentation of great intricacy. It is amazing that these designs could be wrought without preliminary designing, which would seem to be necessary, but so far as we were able to observe there is no conscious planning before the carving begins.

The symbolism employed in these pieces of sanni is limited to a few conventionalized motifs. Moreover, there is a variation in the symbolism peculiar to the individual artist, which is not comprehensible solely from an examination of the piece itself. Unless one can locate the original carver, it is impossible, for the most part, to be certain what the symbols mean. The same motif will be differently interpreted by different natives, and often has no objective meaning. It is therefore impossible to undertake an elaborate interpretation of Djuka symbolism.

There are a few outstanding designs found on a large

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

number of pieces. The first of these is the snake motif. It 532
takes the form of serpentine coils and twists, fancifully involuted and superimposed. The same general design is also interpreted as a liana motif, referring to the twisted tendrils of the jungle vines, convoluted and snarled. The second most important is the chain motif, an attempt to duplicate the links of iron chains.

The vulva motif is commonly found, and is consciously employed as a love symbol. The natives have no hesitation in [832]
interpreting this design as referring to the female genitalia; it is impressed on articles as a symbol of desire. The bill-bird, or toucan, provides another motif that can be recognized on a variety of pieces. Another West African survival is the [171]
bone motif, for the human scapula is frequently seen conventionalized on calabash objects. A few of the white man's objects also furnish themes for wood carvings, such as the rifle stock.

Other motifs are entirely without symbolic intention, and 531
represent symmetry and proportion only. The cross-hatch and notch motifs are African in origin, and can be found on West African objects. Other details of execution vary widely, without especial significance. The tines of the combs may be rounded or square. The food paddles may have two handles and one blade, or two blades and one handle. The size of the pieces varies considerably, from small combs a few inches long to the great six-foot canoe paddles. Outside of the vulva [532
and penis motifs there is little erotic symbolism. 832]

A peculiarity of Aucaner wood carvings is the system of

A peculiarity of Aucaner wood carvings is the system of
532 sign language imprinted thereon. If some of the pieces are
212 examined closely, it will be seen that they have odd symbols apparently placed at random, not conforming to the general pattern of the piece. These marks represent personal messages from the giver to the recipient, special indications or signs of affection, comparable to the marks at the ends of Victorian *billets doux,* indicating the place to kiss. Conventionalized letters are known as *schriefie,* a Bush Negro word that means "writing." Animal, bird, and human figure motifs are more common among the Boni and Aucaner tribes.

322 Besides the practical implements in everyday use there are
532 a number of trick pieces apparently made for no other purpose than to show the virtuosity of the artist. Thus there are pieces where a loose bauble is placed in a cup from which it cannot be forced. Some of the stools have tiny doors which
[352] open, and some of them are folding stools which close up like camp stools, yet are made from one piece of wood. There are stirring paddles with loose rings around the handles, carved from the same piece of wood and undetachable. Some have chains of wood attached, with separate links, all from one piece of wood. The Bush Negroes are also fond of mak-
[243] ing bush-knives in wood, or ornamental swords to be worn on ceremonial occasions. Small knives ordinarily seen in metal are also carved out of wood.

There are two general types of decoration, with one or two subsidiary devices. The commonest consists of pierced ornamental work, made from a single piece of wood. Except

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

for benches, no pieced specimens are ever found. Because 322 532 of the practical necessity of having a large number of benches, and the difficulty of executing both legs and seat out of a continuous piece of wood, benches are commonly made of [352] several pieces of wood fitted together, as can be seen in the photographs. A number of them, however, are made from a single piece, and this continuity is preferred by the Djukas. The Africanesque crescent stools are carved from a single log.

Relief work is the second form of decoration. It occurs 532 in the form of high relief on the plates and trays. It can be found to a modified degree on door-posts and other carved objects. Ornaments in low relief are represented by the calabash pieces, which are carved when green and allowed to dry.

Branding is done with a hot knife or wire, or else the piece may be charred by holding it in the flames. Circles are burned into the pattern by heating empty cartridge shells red hot and pressing them against the wood. Brass upholstery tacks, obtained in the white settlements of Para- [17] maribo and Albina, are in especial favour, and some pieces are heavily laden with these. They fit in very well with the general spirit of Djuka art, and although the material is anachronistic, the effect is not.

Religious carvings, unlike the practical implements, are 532 executed with a crudeness that is surprising. The fetish to 778 the god Aflamu which was brought back to the Museum is nothing more than a rough section of pole with a crudely hewn face and seeds for eyes. Other religious pieces are

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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532 likewise roughly done. The reason for this seems to derive
778 from the general nature of primitive religion as it occurs among the Bush Negroes. Two explanations of this were given by native informants. If the god is a good god, and well disposed toward the black man, he doesn't care whether his fetishes are well executed or not. If he is a bad god he is going to continue to be bad, regardless of whether much time is spent on his fetishes or not. Another Bush Negro, questioned about this, said: "Me no sabby de Gadu luku"—"I don't know what God looks like." The primitive æsthetic feeling, apparently, is bound up with practical ends. There is absolutely no care or pains taken with religious objects, whereas erotic objects are finished with great skill.

322 There seems to be considerable variation between the tribes
184 of Djukas in the character of their art work. The Aucaner
532 wood carvings have, in general, a more refined and delicate cast than the wood carvings of their neighbours, the Saramaccaners and Boni. The differences in treatment of the motifs among the Bush Negro tribes and the general dissimilarities and likenesses of the carvings are best understood by consulting the accompanying illustrations.

412 The combs vary from two and a half inches to twenty-
322 four inches in length, and even these more immense combs see actual service. They are always made of a single piece, including the tines. For the most part they are made of harder woods, with occasional inlays. A number of them are trick pieces, with little ingenious devices that catch and hold the imagination of the primitive. For comparison, a West

2;Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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African comb, from the region of Nigeria, is shown on page 175. It can be seen that the wooden comb is not a Djuka invention, as every characteristic of the Bush Negro pieces can be found on this West African piece, except the ornamental piercing.

The arts of weaving and basketry are not as highly developed among the Djukas as is the carving of wooden implements. The Bush Negroes do not weave the cotton cloth they wear. It is obtained, instead, by trading at the white settlements. The only weaving among them consists of cotton leg and arm bands—things that do not count for much so far as industry is concerned, but which expand the wearer's ego and add enormously to his or her self-esteem. The basketry of the Djukas, like the weaving, is simple and competent. Unornamented circular baskets, varying in size from a foot to a yard in diameter, can be seen in all the villages. They are used for carrying yams, rice, and foodstuffs generally. The finest basket work does not occur in these baskets, however, but in the cassava squeezers, those elongated tubes for producing cassava flour. These are beautifully woven of uniform rattan, and decorated with darker strips to form a simple pattern near each end. The finished product is an admirable piece of work, of which the owner must indeed be proud.

Pottery is made by the Djukas for utilitarian purposes only, and the solid black, absolutely undecorated clay ware has no particular element of beauty. The pots are black, stolid, and unimaginative. They are simply necessities.

But when the necessities of life have been provided for,

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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But when the necessities of life have been provided for,
417 and leisure is at hand for more beautiful and tender endeavours, the Bush Negro, seated before his evening fire, sharpens his knife and begins marking, with fine, deft lines, the graceful outlines of another paddle or comb to please his woman.

412 LIST OF CARVINGS SHOWN AT CHAPTER OPENINGS
359 WITH EXPLANATION OF SYMBOLISM

322 Carved Bench Top, *Saramaccaner Tribe:* Eight Women Dancing
532 Around a Gadu Pole (title page)

Carved Bench Top, *Boni Tribe:* Stylization of Male and Female Figures (page 3)

Hair Comb, *Aucaner Tribe* (page 7)

Carved Pierced Bench Top, *Saramaccaner Tribe:* Two Male Figures Each Holding a Snake Aloft (page 27)

Carved Bench Top, *Saramaccaner Tribe:* Two Highly Stylized Human Figures (page 39)

Hair Comb, *Aucaner Tribe:* Male and Female Snakes (page 53)

Carved Bench Top, *Boni Tribe:* Vulva Surrounded by Phallic Symbols (page 63)

[14] Carved Inner Surface of Calabash Gourd, African Bone Motif, *Saramaccaner Tribe* (page 83)

Carved Bench Top, *Saramaccaner Tribe:* Frog Design Executed with Serpentine Technique (page 91)

Hair Comb, *Aucaner Tribe:* Vulva Motif; the triangles on the cross bar represent snake teeth (page 119)

Hair Comb, *Saramaccaner Tribe:* Male and Female Figures (page 133)

[15] Carved Outer Surface of Calabash Gourd, *Saramaccaner Tribe* (page 161)

[71] Comb from Nigeria, West Africa (page 175)

Hair Comb, *Saramaccaner Tribe* (page 193)

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

Appendix A

PHONOGRAMS OF THE AUCANER BUSH NEGROES

212
124

These phonograms were collected for me by Mr. G. deBies, Dutch Government agent at Albina. They were set down by a Bush Negro named Affakka, with the aid of an attendant Krutu or assembly. So far as is known, they are in use only among the Aucaners, and their use is limited to the older members, who employ them for purposes of sending messages over long distances. These characters are extremely difficult to collect, and Mr. deBies is to be congratulated on his efforts in this regard. The characters were redrawn for the purpose of publication by Ruth K. Kahn.

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Ducaner

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2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931

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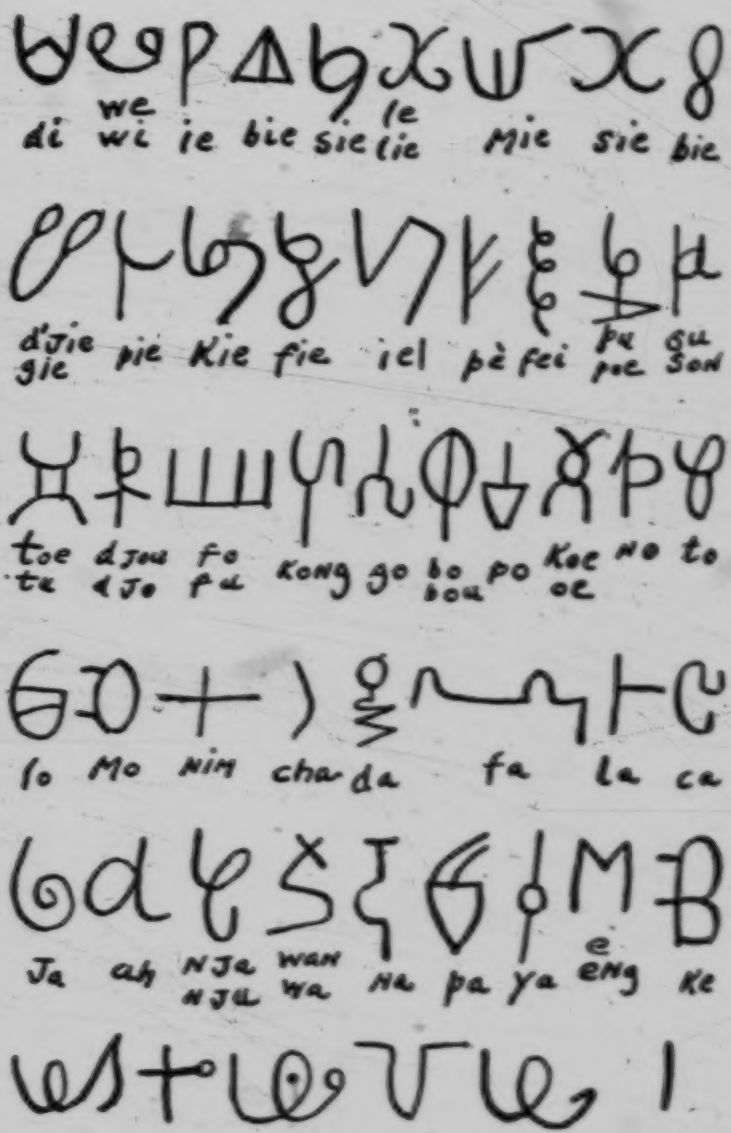
Avcaner



2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Appendix B

SYMBOLS IN DJUKA CARVINGS

In the work of the Djukas sexual symbols are fre- 532
quent. These symbols must not be taken to indicate preoccupation with lascivious interests, for they are not always even representations of coitus or of sexual desire on the part of the male donor of the carved wooden piece upon which the symbols occur. They are sometimes expressions, through conventional and decorative signs, of the entire fertility cult, embracing the Earth Mother (Mama fu a gron) and kindred spirits. The figures marked with the letter P are taken from an ar- [114]
ticle by Jonkheer Van Panhuys (see bibliography).

[P 208 is blank]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

1 P A bird

2 P Monkey head

3 P An electric eel

4 P Snakes

5 P A star with two tails, symbolic of a comet

6 P A parrot tongue

7 P A parrot tongue

8 P Snakes

9 P Two chickens

10 P Anchor and two fowl

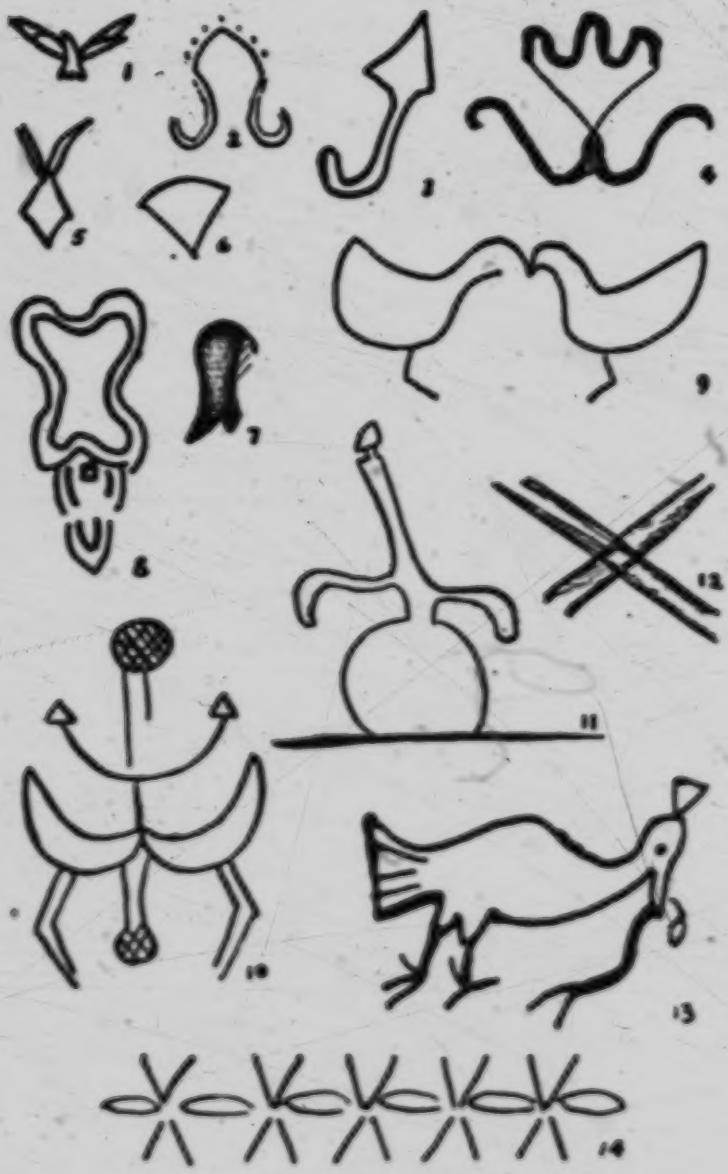
11 P Interpreted as birds in a furious battle, but possibly the symbol of a phallus

12 That the carved symbols on the gift piece are true in conveying their message of desire

13 P Bird killing a snake

14 P A centipede

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8



2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Explanation of Symbols

532

15 P A water fowl

16 P Figure of a man

17 P Figure of a man

18 P A human figure

19 P Human figure

20 P A human figure

21 P A human figure

22 P A human figure

23 P Symbol of a man

24 P A human figure

25 P A woman

26 A symbol of a woman

27 P Symbolized woman

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Explanation of Symbols

532

28 Symbol of a woman in the form of a duck

29 P A European woman

30 P Figure of a woman

31 Figure of a woman

32 P Symbolized woman

33 P A woman

34 P A human head

35 P Human head?

36 P Human head with feathers

37 A coffin. "His desire will last until death"

38 Two coffins. A hope that his loved one will lie with him in the same grave

39 A symbol of affection

40 P A man running with a snake on his head

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Explanation of Symbols

532

41 P Tattoo marks simulating a dancing man

42 P Bush Negro hut upside down

43 An affectionate greeting

44 An affectionate greeting

45 A curse upon anyone who states that the carving is not a good one

46 Curse motif, as 45

47 P Man with two fingers and two toes (webbed) symbol of a water spirit

48 Symbol of a man and woman engaged in the act of coitus

49 Vulva symbol

50 Vulva symbol; Desire

51 Vulva symbol

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Explanation of Symbols

532

52 A human face with vulva motifs; a woman

53 Vulva motif

54 P Man without a head giving forth his sex energy, here represented by a ball and arrow

55 Symbol of a woman being held with an arrow (penis) and therefore unable to escape

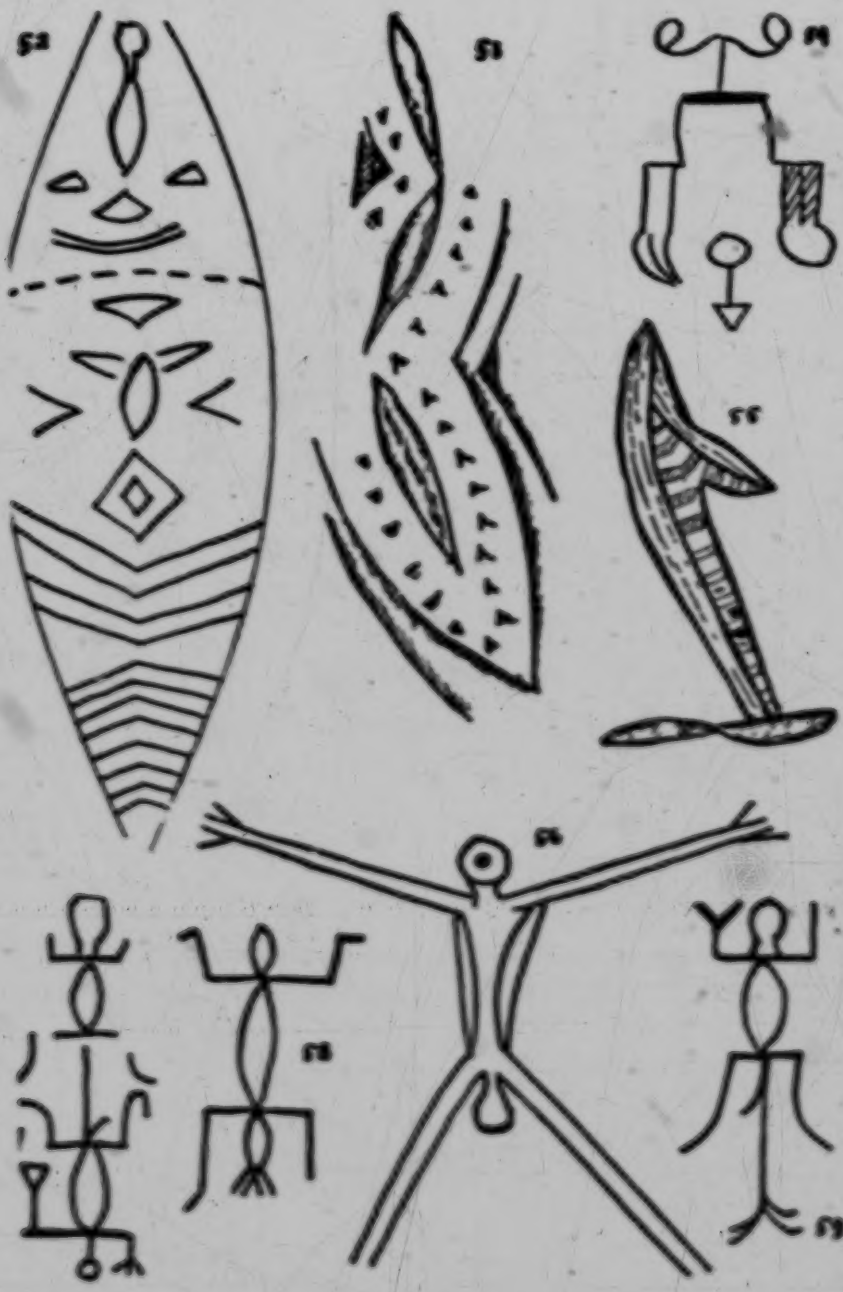
56 Symbol of a man about to engage in the act of coitus

57 P Man and woman in the act of coitus

58 P Figure of a man in the act of coitus

59 P Woman in the act of coitus receiving a phallus

2;Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8



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INDEX

For NATIVE TERMS only such references are given as may serve to explain or translate them. This index may thus be employed as a GLOSSARY.

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The Bush Negroes in the Colony of Surinam. Their Life, Customs, and Habits

[De Boschnegers in de Kolonie Suriname, Hun Leven, Zeden en Gewoonten.]

by A. M. Coster

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1966

[Title page]

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Sub Negroes in the Colony of Surinam

3: Coster--1 F-5 (ca.1857) 1866 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Djuka

/1/

Introduction

114 After having left the plantation life in the colony of Surinam,
121 I went back there in the beginning of 1851 with the plan, as the
[101] result of an agreement reached by me with a Belgian firm, to
send shiploads of wood to the motherland and Belgium.

[123] I undertook my journeys to the Bush Negroes for this purpose
and visited most of their dwelling places, something that entailed
effort and great cost, since I distributed ample presents everywhere
for the purpose of thereby acquiring their confidence, which they
do not readily grant to Whites.

123 At my very first encounter I took the precaution of politely
[576] greeting each one of them without distinction and shaking their
[177] hands, a practice taken over by them from the Whites in the
most recent times, which assures them of a feeling of good-will
such as they experience among themselves but never from a White.

[352] I spoke to them frankly and in a friendly way, sat next to them
in their huts on their low stools, and partook of their meals. In
short -- I lived for a while without reserve or fear among them,
paying amply for everything that I enjoyed in this way or that.

[273] I also permitted them, whenever they wanted to use any of
my store of beverages, such as wine, beer, brandy, and gin, to
ask me for it quietly, so that I would be able to order my servants
to offer them what they had requested. In addition I supplied /2/
them amply with dram (1), herbs, and lead and, in order to show

1. A kind of inland rum (sugar spirits).

generosity to the women as well, frequently gave them and the
children biscuits, cake, or some coins.

[121] In the beginning they were very reserved and mistrustful,
but gradually, and after some difficult years, became more open
with me, so that I, adapting myself entirely to their practices,
was able to carry out my plan to have the necessary wood processed
by them.

/2 cont./

114 Much wood was ordered by me, and all that I received was
439 paid for according to the actual value and in accordance with a concluded agreement.

123 I lent several of them money, in spite of already having been misled and cheated by them frequently, and continued to treat them amicably, to give them articles of clothing, and, indeed, sometimes for bad wood, which they tried to force upon me among the good pieces, even though I noticed this, I nonetheless continued to pay them decently just as for good wood, whereby I made them realize that I wanted to do business in an accommodating way.

So I learned more and more of their way of life, customs, and habits, respected these in everything, and finally succeeded in leading them back from various bad habits and shortcomings and to observe a more honest way of dealing with me. I was even able to bring it about so that I enjoyed a blind trust and in return was able to give my complete trust to some.

114 Since the beginning of 1857 I have been the owner of a
439 sawmill with which the previous owner could do little or nothing because he always lacked the logs needed for the sawing of boards, whereas I, on the other hand, receive so much wood from the Bush Negroes that it is frequently too much for me.

123 Many of them who are not even my regular workmen refuse
439 to sell their wood on the plantations and bring it all the way to my sawmill located near the town, because, so they contend, they also want to share in the privileges which the other Bush Negroes enjoy in accordance with the agreement concluded with me.

123 Most of the Bush Negroes know me, if not in person, at least by name.

I have also had to promise them that I will bring up my son /3/ so that later he will be able to take my place and deal with their descendants in the same manner as I am now doing with them, while they, too, drill their children to conduct themselves toward my son as the parents do toward me. In this way they want to make any split between my family and theirs impossible, even in the future.

/3 cont./

123 In connection with what I have already said concerning an agreement concluded by me with them, I regard it as not inappropriate to [illegible] here a sketch of the manner in which I was requested to enter into this agreement with them, and what happened before they came to an agreement with me in such an extraordinary manner.

After I had already dealt with them for some time in an increasingly open manner and my journeys to visit them had become more frequent, some of the chiefs confidentially notified me that, although they had already come to know me over a considerable period of time and regarded me as a good and honest man, since they had experienced better treatment from me than from many others with whom they had previously had dealings, they could nonetheless not simply assume that I would always remain the same and that possibly I had completely different intentions with regard to them which they might later regret. For this reason many of them had still been reluctant to commit themselves definitely to work for me. In order to do away completely with this mistrust among them, I continued to stay with them in the bush for a considerable time and always demonstrated that I had honest intentions with regard to them, until after a few weeks, as a result of the open-handed giving away of food and drink, I noticed that I was short of everything and was forced to send my vessel to Paramaribo in order to fetch what was needed, whereby I found myself completely alone among them.

123 675 [622] When thus, after the departure of my vessel, I spent a number of hours talking about my plans with the headman of the village, called Sparri Passi (1), in his hut, he strongly advised me

1. Sparri (a large flat fish) way.

to conclude at this time the agreement customary among them. I agreed and immediately requested him to accompany me via a bush path to the nearest village, Manjaondro (2), in order to

2. Under the manja tree.

123
675
[501]

/3 cont./
request the captain residing there, Kwasi jenfil, to man all the available korjalen (3) and to send them around to the camps of

3. Small vessels made out of tree trunks.

the Bush Negroes, in order to notify all the Aukaners /Aucaners/ /4/ in that district that I, sojourning entirely by myself among them, wished to see them all together so as to have the opportunity, in the place to be determined by them and in accordance with their manner and customs, to take the oath of agreement to remain at all times faithful to one another.

Three days were spent in deliberations and consultations among various captains, council members, and elders, before I could succeed in obtaining their consent for this.

[527]

Finally, however, it was decided to have the agreement ceremony take place on Friday (a day that is holy among them), when the sun reached its midday point.

On this day, around eleven o'clock in the forenoon, one of the oldest and most influential among them took a clean teacup, put in it some dram mixed with herbs, and took a few finely ground plants which he moistened with river water and squeezed over the cup.

I and seven of the most important people then had three small slashes cut into the right hand with a razor. The blood from this, having been taken up with a little flock of cotton, was also squeezed into the cup, and the cotton washed out with river water and wrung out so often that no more signs of blood showed in it. The one and the other having been thoroughly stirred in the cup, the latter was placed on a stool in the open air. At twelve o'clock exactly, a great number of men, women, and children gathered around the stool on which the cup stood, by the side of which they placed me.

Three gunshots were fired. Among all those present a profound silence reigned, whereupon the cup was offered, first to me and then to the other seven persons whose blood was mingled with mine, in order to drink a draught from the contents, whereupon it had to go around to all the men so that, however little, they would

123 /4 cont./
675 drink something from it or merely smell it; indeed! when it was empty, the remaining men who had not yet drunk from it or smelled it had to lick it.

I was then embraced by the headmen and many of the women; they flung the right arm over my left shoulder and the left arm under my right arm and rested their heads for a moment against my right cheek.

[273] After the conclusion, while much dram was drunk, general exuberant gaiety prevailed, and only then was /5/ I told that they had purposely cut me first and given me a drink first in order to ascertain whether I trusted them completely or whether, so entirely by myself, I would have been afraid to submit to their wishes and to do what they demanded of me; they assured me that if I had refused to be the first, none of them would have wanted to conclude the agreement with me.

If, therefore, I had not conducted myself as they wished, I would have missed out completely on this alliance which was so highly important and profitable for me.

466 On the following day many of them came to tell me that
313 their work places on the river Cottica supplied little of the kinds of wood that had been pointed out by me for processing, but they declared themselves ready to go and process them immediately for me on the Upper Commewijne river, where they were sure of finding richer forests.

Since the last-named river was closed to them at that time by a governmental decree, I made a request for access in the year
[361] 1854, in order to be able to work with them at this river. This was granted to me, and since then a few hundred Bush Negroes have been staying there and have laid out dwellings and croplands, while they continuously, with unexampled industry, process the wood needed by me and deliver it to the sawmill.

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Surinam SR4

/5 cont./

Chapter I

S

Topographical Description of the Colony of Surinam

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[133]

Surinam, or Dutch Guiana, is bounded on the north by the Atlantic Ocean, on the east by Cayenne, or French Guiana, from which it is separated by the river Marowyne /Maroni/; to the south it loses itself in ancient, still unexplored forests up to where the Tumutumaque mountain range establishes the border with Brazil; finally, in the west it is separated by the river Corantyn /Courantyne/ from Berbice, or British Guiana.

The distance between the boundary rivers Marowyne and Corantyn is 56 and one half hours. According to the latest measurements, /6/ the location is between 54° and 57° west longitude and 2° and 6° north latitude, and the colony has an expanse of 2500 square G. M., of which scarcely 700 are as yet known.

S
101

The name Surinam stems, according to general opinion, from an Indian tribe called Surinen which was found there at the time of discovery, but which later withdrew to the branches of the Amazon River.

S
103

The river was never called anything other than great coma (great river) by the natives.-

S
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162

The population, according to the latest reports offered to the States General, numbers 67,709 souls, as: 15,567 free, 38,042 emancipated on July 1, 1863, 8,000 Bush Negroes, 1,000 Indians, 5,000 slaves in hiding or escaped.

Chapter II

B

Origin and Settlement of the Bush Negroes

175
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The Bush Negroes stem from runaway slaves in former times, and later, in 1712, from the slaves who were hidden in the forests by their masters in order to escape the levy of Cassard, but did not return to their masters; after the peace that they concluded with the Whites on September 19, 1762, they received the name of

/6 cont:/

175 pacified Bush Negroes. From then on they received from the
648 Netherlands Government annual presents consisting of gum, herbs, lead, tobacco, rice, salt, dram, and so forth.

648 In later times, however, these were gradually decreased
829 by the government and finally completely abolished, as a result of which the Negroes no longer so willingly and without remuneration want to be of service to the government; since they believe that with the conclusion of the peace they came to an agreement with the government that on their part the Whites would no longer be hindered in anything, while they would endeavor to assist the government whenever that should be necessary, in return for which the presents mentioned above would be handed out to them annually on the part of the government. At present they complain about their treatment by the government and refuse to believe that they can and may trust the Whites.

101 The Bush Negroes are divided into four tribes; /7/
103 1st. Aucaners, who have their dwelling place, Auca, on the
133 river Marowyne; and they have their working places on the river above Cottica, where they come from the Marowyne by way of the Wanakreek. Among themselves they are called Joeka /Djuka/ and by the Whites, Aucaners, after the plantation Auca, where on 19 October 1760 peace was concluded with them.

2nd. Saramaccaners, who live on the river above Surinam, principally near the waterfall Arasoebanja near Gjengjen and Prakieki, and have their working places along the same river and in the cove /kreek," creek, cove"/ Taaiboto Kouloegrou and Kassipora. They are called Saramaccaners by the Whites, after the river of that name (where they formerly lived), and among themselves Wouxie or Moejêre.

3rd. Mantoewari, who have their dwelling place on the river above Saramacca and their working places along the same river on Maripaston and in the cove Mindrinetie. They are names like the Saramaccaners, since they, too, although separate, live on the same river.

/7 cont./

101 4th. Bonnie /Boni/ Negroes, living on the river above Marowyne; until 1862 they were in a state of slavery among the
[175] Aucaners, but at that time, through the intervention of
[567] the government, they were released from it. Their name is supposed to be derived from a former runaway slave who had placed himself at their head.

Chapter III

Government, Laws, Administration of Justice

693 Each of these tribes, except for the Bonnie Negroes, has
[292] a chief whom they call granman (governor): the uniform given to him by the government is a blue tunic with epaulets and a cocked hat with white plush.

Among the Aucaners the chief is called Byman, a cunning, courageous, and prudent man, around 63 years old.

The chief of the Saramaccaners is called Abram, an infirm old man who is very weak of character and has little influence.

The Mantocwari Negroes have a chief called Kalkoen, who, although aged and infirm, can nonetheless still be called firm of character.

631 /8/ Under their chief they have a certain number of captains and council members. The former are divided into bush captains, who take command in case of war, and into house or land cap-
[554] tains, who deal with internal matters with the chief. The token of their prestige given to them by the government consists of a large staff with a round silver ball (drum-major's stick), on which is the Netherlands coat of arms with "Je maintiendrai."

344 They have a large open shed which serves them as court and which they call kroetoehoso (probably derived from the English "courthouse").

682 Their legislation is very limited. One who kills another is punished with death, one who poisons someone suffers death by torture, provided that substantial irrefutable proof exists. (See Chapter XI below.) If the death penalty is not appropriate, the

682 /8 cont./

[672] culprit is condemned to find the requital in his offspring. His
[567] children, children's children, and great-grandchildren must render slave services for the family of the person poisoned.

692 Moreover, they usually act in accordance with the judgment
and the decision of their elders or council members. Most punish-
681 ment consist of whip lashes.

Chapter IV

Weapons

411 These consist of rifles, machetes, bow and arrow, and lances.
278 In some cases they also use a kind of cudgel (1). The most dangerous
682

1. An Indian weapon called apostoe.

one that they possess, however, is an assortment of vegetable poisons with which they can secretly strike their enemies and whose effects manifest themselves slowly, but are usually lethal. They not only mix these with one food or another, or in snuff or tobacco, but in the case of some can merely bring them in contact with a part of the body and thereby produce to the most infectious results.

/9/

Chapter V

Dwellings, Practices, Customs, Housekeeping

342 Their huts are constructed low above the ground from un-
824 worked round wood, covered with pina, the leaves of a palm species (1), and surrounded by palisade pales.

1. Euterpe oleracea Mart.

352 The couches and sleeping places within are also made of paling.

354 Inside the hut is found the hearth or place for the fire, on
372 which they cook and in which they constantly maintain a fire for

354 /9 cont./
[372] they do not like to be without it; at least they do not like to
[353] sleep without a fire. Their weapons hang above their sleeping
[513] place, which is a hammock, in which man and wife sometimes lie together. Rarely do more than one man and one woman with their
342 small children live in a single hut.

296 Their articles of clothing, as well as other small belongings,
251 are kept in pagalen, a kind of plaited basketwork, while they keep
415 water, strong drinks, sugar juice, rice, salt, and so forth in
824 calabashes and godos (2).

2. Both hollowed-out fruit rinds of the Crescentia cagete L. and the Cucurbita lagenaria L., plants from the family of the Cucurbitaceae.

415 Some of them have cedarwood clothes-chests, which must be specially mounted with a great deal of copper; one also sometimes finds liqueur cellars with gilded bottles.

353 For the rest everything is left out in the open in the hut.

264 Often many men come together in one hut for their meals and eat out of one large bowl or calabash. The women withdraw after having placed on very low tables several calabashes or bowls of food for their husbands in the circle in which they are seated, never forgetting to add a large calabash with clean water for washing the hands before and after the meal. The women gather in another hut in order to consume what they kept out for themselves beforehand and what has been left by their husbands.

[888] If an aged person or a highly placed person is in their midst,
[554] he is offered the calabash of food first, so that he may take from it what he wants and eat it by himself from an ordinary plate, although seated in the circle, /10/ while the others partake of their meal from the large bowl. In general they talk with one another during the meal, the highly placed person also taking part in the conversation.

/10 cont./

574 The politeness shown toward a guest springs from the idea that unknowingly one of them might easily take the very piece that the important person wished to have, and although no comment would be made on this, it could nonetheless happen that this would trouble the guest for whom they cherish special respect,
818 or that he would thereby consider himself insulted. It is particularly to old age that they pay great respect.

Chapter VI

Household and Agricultural Implements

412 The Bush Negroes mainly use adzes in order to hew their
[322] corjalen or canoes out of trees partially burned out beforehand;
[824] furthermore, they use planes and chisels in order to work their
[531] (usually cedarwood) (1) stools and parels or paddles (2). They are

1. Cedrela odorata L.

2. Hand oar.

especially fond of having these carved with many figures. For them the machete is an indispensable tool that they always carry around and use as a chopping knife, sword, and knife, indeed, even to cut splinters or thorns out of the foot with the tip. They use field axes or hatchets to cut down the bush in order to lay out their small cultivation grounds and to work the wood that they float by rafts and sell.

562 The women possess, aside from a machete or knife, also
412 mattocks with which they keep their lands and the place near the
[824] dwelling neat; they make brooms from the pina palm racemes or
[413] from rice ears bound in sheaves. They like to have scissors, needles, and pins, while for knitting they use a pointed and bent nail.

413 They spin their sewing thread from cotton with a certain
[283] tool which they call kéké; they also have a round, wooden tool
[286] called sepoe, with which they very nicely and sturdily /11/ make

/11 cont./

286 garments /pandjes/ or articles of dress and other knitted goods.
[413] They also know how to make very attractive hammocks of cotton.

Chapter VII

Food, Drinks, Delicacies, and so forth.

262 [252] Their daily food is mainly rice and cassava (1) bread which

1. Sweet cassava, the farina from the root of the Janipha manihot, not to be confused with Jatropha manihot, which gives the bitter cassava, which, however much is removed by boiling and continued washing, contains a very poisonous component.

is baked on an iron plate and provides a tasty food that can be
[241] kept for a long time. During the dry season, the months of September, October, and November, the ground also supplies them with a very mealy and tasty tuber called nappi (2); throughout the year,

2. Dioscorea sativa and Dioscorea alata L.

however, they grow yams, sweet potatoes (3), tayers (4), and cassava.

3. Convolvulus batatas L. and Batatas edulis Choisy.

4. Root from Arum esculentum.

[439] They have bananas only from time to time, whenever they exchange them on plantations for squared wood, which they pur-
[433] posely work for this exchange. They know how to obtain wild game
[263] and fish in great quantities; salt is an article greatly in demand.

/11 cont./

252 They always prepare their food with much native pepper (5)

5. All Capsicum species.

and in their soup or blaf cook various forest greens (6), which they

6. Kraroe, kalalve from the Amarantus oleraceus, taja leaves from an Arum species.

then eat with finely pounded bananas (called afoefoe) or else with cassava bread or rice dipped into it.

412 They make their spoons from a long strip of the calabash rind.

262 They are great lovers of pinda (7), a kind of groundnut, from

7. Arachis hypogoea L.

which they make various delicacies.

[439] They are particularly fond of bacon and buy it whenever they are in town, salted and smoked; they frequently take barrels of it with them into the bush and are very sparing with it.

/12/ They buy flour or meal only when they have had a bad rice harvest.

273 As drink they use rum or dram, and sometimes they make

[439] from the juice of the sugar cane, which they acquire on plantations, a kind of fermented drink which they use especially at festivals. They prefer gin and beer to wine, of which they are no great lovers. The women are very fond of liqueur.

276 Many men and women smoke American tobacco in short clay pipes. The taking of snuff is a passionate habit among some.

Chapter VIII

Festivals, Games, Gods

796

273 They do not have fixed times for the veneration of their gods, and they do this only then when they are amply supplied with strong drink and want to have a gay time for three or four days.

/12 cont./

796 Then they call all the neighbors together to take part in the
273 festivities to be held, which consist of invoking their gods amidst continuous dancing and excessive drinking.

They begin the festivities only on a Friday and usually finish on a Sunday or Monday, depending on the larger or smaller
[147] supply of drink, so, lacking this, the festival ends. After the conclusion they are usually extremely tired and listless and give themselves up entirely to rest for at least two or three days.

It is a definite requirement at these festivities to be very amply supplied with strong drink, because one must drink without
[782] interruption in order to remain in a continuous narcosis. With each drink they first pour a little on the ground, -- so that it, too, on which they find themselves so gay, may participate in their enjoyment.

[262] The merrymakers then take care that they will by no means
[577] be lacking in fish, wild game, bacon, rice, etc., since it is a matter of honor with them to display the most lavish hospitality on such occasions.

776 The gods that they worship are:

Loango Gado,
Papa Gado,
Cromantie Gado,

/13/ names certainly derived from the various African tribes of these names.

In the first two they glorify nature and everything created, from which it therefore appears that these are merely subordinate
[787] gods of the unnamed, single great spirit. The last is above all regarded by them as the mediator who transmits their wishes to the great spirit; he is invoked especially at burial ceremonies and for consultation in connection with serious illnesses.

796 They do not have any other cult or religion, so far as I was
[771] able to discover, but only the fixed habit of still celebrating to-
[132] gether and with their chief and captains on the first Friday of the new moon in the month of October or November, after the long
[783] dry period has set in for good, a great feast that has as its goal a general atonement, to cleanse them of the misdeeds that they have committed.

796 /13 cont./
[782] committed. This feast, at which pigs and poultry are sacrificed, must last for four weeks and thus ends with the following new moon. They pray, dancing and singing, while from time to time they kneel in order to ask for blessings.

[778] In the place where their idol stands they plant long sticks in the ground at certain intervals, on which they let flutter a number of long narrow strips of white cotton in the manner of flags.

[781] They celebrate this feast, for which no costs are spared, with all possible solemnity; it is attended by old and young and is very important among them.

Chapter IX

Conceptions about Death and Eternity

775 They believe that at death the existence of the human being ends, but that the spirit of the deceased does not disappear altogether and remains among them for a long time. Also they believe in unlucky spirits, which, as a result of an earlier evil life, must wander about restlessly, while the life on earth of the peaceful spirits is supposed to have been free of misdeeds.

They do not assume rewards in the hereafter for good deeds; /14/ misdeeds, however, in their opinion, are punished with restless wandering about.

[755] They say that those spirits know all that happens, and that they can come in contact with them at their feasts, that they receive many a hint and information, and through concealed signs come to know remedies against diseases, to which they attach the fullest confidence.

Chapter X

Marriage and Marital Life

584 Their marriages take place with few ceremonies. Frequently young men and even men ask pregnant women, in case they should bring a daughter into the world, to designate that girl as their wife,

/14 cont./

584 and, once this has been promised, she does indeed continue to be regarded specifically as the betrothed of the person who made the request. As soon as she is marriageable, she is handed over to her man with or without her consent, and it may be regarded as a rare case when such a promise is broken.

[431] The man to whom she is promised sometimes does not see his future wife before the occasion of her betrothal, but usually he is concerned with her upbringing and from time to time gives her presents consisting of money, pantjes, and corals.

[591] Some take the girl promised to them even when she is only three or four years old in order to rear her further.

[672] The promising of newborn girls takes place for the most part [682] when there are obligations between parents, as was reported in Chapter III, and in the case of enslavement which is done to one [567] family by another in case of poisoning, and so forth.

586 It is an everyday occurrence that a woman leaves her husband or a man his wife for another.

595 Polygyny is much practiced, and among my workers I know several who have three or four wives, most of whom are very young. Some, however, have only one wife.

It is noteworthy that all the wives sleep with the man in one hut, while in addition he perhaps keeps with him a girl whom he [513] is bringing up to be his wife. One wife will be /15/ with him in the hammock and lies with her feet at the head end of the man and the latter in turn with his feet at the head end of the women, while the other women sleep in their hammocks.

[484] If a Bush Negro goes out, be it to celebrate a festival or in order to float wood to the town, he takes all his wives with him; only in case of illness do they remain behind.

His wives get money separately, and therefore they must also separately provide for his food, so that one cooks the food in the morning, another at midday, a third in the evening, etc. [578] This way of life and their jealous nature frequently bring about household quarrels that rarely end in any way other than bloody fights.

585 Upon the conclusion of a marriage the man is obligated to 583 give the parents of the girl as a marriage portion a long, broad,

/15 cont./

585 white cotton sleeping blanket, various colored cloths and pantjes,
[583] some earthenware, such as bowls and plates, iron pots and pans, and the like, while he is obligated on the occasion to provide for an ample supply of strong drink and sugar wine.

They do not have festivities, games, or dancing in connection with their marriages.

586 If a marriage is dissolved, then each of the two parties again goes to his own family; in case those concerned in it and the elders disapprove of this, however, it happens that man and wife are forced to continue to live with each other, especially when there are no substantial reasons and grievances.

593 The man is obligated to provide his wife or his wives with food, clothing, and ornaments; she, to follow the man everywhere, to cook for him, to wash, and to take care of the housekeeping.

264 The wives are neat in an exemplary fashion; plates, bowls,
252 and pans are always kept extremely clean, and they also see to it that everything is extremely clean in connection with cooking.

841 If they find themselves in a period of menstruation, they
302 indicate this immediately to the husband by withdrawing from his dwelling and staying in seclusion with other women; they neither cook nor do the least thing for him in this state, do not even come within sight of him, and remain secluded to the end; when they have cleaned and dressed themselves, they decorate their shoulders and arms with white stripes as a token /16/ that they have again
[386] returned to their normal state. The stripes are made by mixing
[824] pounded adroe (1) with ground chalk and water.

1. A tuberous root-stalk from the Cyperus rotundus L.

Sometimes they also smear the forehead and the neck in this way and appear thus before their husbands.

841 During their seclusion another woman, who is a member of
571 the family or possibly a female friend, daily prepares and brings the
252 food, which, however, is at the expense of the secluded wife. They perform this service for each other mutually.

/16 cont./

868 The children learn their dances and games at a very early
858 age and are always present at the festivals.

867 From earliest youth on they are taught to respect and
689 venerate older persons; offenses against this obligatory respect are severely punished.

868 The boys in particular are taken along to the forest at an early age and remain there in connection with the processing of wood or other operations, as well as for hunting and fishing, and very quickly learn to swim.

515 Men, women, and children bathe separately in the river every day.

Chapter XI

Burial Services and Other Ceremonies

764 They celebrate the burial services with great solemnity. If one of them dies in Auca, that is, their land, then the corpse is cleaned, the nails are cut, and it is placed in a coffin, in which various and especially costly articles of clothing of the deceased are placed and to which all the relatives also add a new piece of cloth (usually blankets and pantjes) as remembrances, a farewell token on which much value is placed. Hence they always take care to have a sufficient stock of new and unused cloths.

Ordinarily the corpse lies in the open coffin for one day before the interment takes place, in order to bid it farewell. The relatives then sit around the coffin and weep ceaselessly /17/ in a mostly singsong manner peculiar to them, in which the visitors also join from time to time.

765 After the interment the closest blood relatives proceed to hold the days of mourning on a mat spread out on the ground for
[538] eight days. During this time they weep loudly by turns, at the same time making the strangest gestures, while day and night, generally by turns, little stories with many allusions, and always ending with a moral solution, are told.

/17 cont./

765 In these tales, called anansitori (spider-head story), the
[538] spider usually plays the main role as a personal being.

The close female relatives wear as a sign of mourning for husband, father, and mother, for a year, white or blue cloths around the head and a white cloth around the body. The men wear a white cloth around head and body only for three months, but during an entire year (since they then may not go completely clothed) they cover themselves with only a black loincloth. They also refrain from wearing ornaments for a whole year.

766 If one of them dies in the working place, in the town, or elsewhere, then the corpse has some hair shorn from its forehead and is subsequently buried without ceremonies. This hair is wrapped in a new piece of linen or cotton and brought to Auca, or their permanent dwelling place, where it then undergoes a proper burial, on which occasion all the customary ceremonies are observed as though the corpse were there.

766 Whenever one of them dies suddenly or from a strange
787 disease, which can arouse a suspicion of poisoning, immediately
[824] after death and before being washed the corpse is placed in a boesipapaja (1) tree (which, split and then tied together, is just

1. It is a hollow tree of very soft and unusable wood which, when split open, resembles bamboo from the inside; the leaves are broad and rasp-like.

like a halved hollow tree) at least five feet long. This kind of coffin is carried from east to west, past all those present, who for this purpose must be ranged in two rows, by two completely strange and impartial men, who are invited from other places for this purpose.

Now the place where the corpse through heavy pressure on the /18/ head forces the two bearers to stand still is where the inquiry begins, and one asks the corpse whether this place where they are now standing still is where clarification can be provided. If one notices a distinct movement of the hollowed-out tree, this is corroboration. If, after the question has been repeated three

/18 cont./

766 times, no noticeable movement has been observed, the answer is
787 negative, and one proceeds with the corpse all the way to the end of the crowd ranged on either side. Everyone endeavors to be present on such occasions in order not to cast any blame upon himself or to arouse suspicion.

If, however, the answer is in the affirmative, then one asks whether the right person or a close relative of his is here; if the answer to this is also affirmative, one proceeds to inquire about the degree of blood relationship until one has finally discovered who the actual person is. Since this happens in the presence of so many persons as witnesses, it is regarded as valid proof, and the corpse is buried. However incomprehensible and impossible this may appear, this procedure is nonetheless actually practiced con-
[123] stantly among the Bush Negroes. I have been an eyewitness several times.

695 A few days later the person indicated, in case he was not
[693] present at the above-mentioned inquiry, is tracked down, if necessary fetched forcibly, and brought before the governor or the chief, who questions him in the presence of the captains or the council members. In case of denial, he is offered something to drink, which, however, he will not accept if he is guilty, since it has become apparent that whoever drinks it with a pounding or uneasy heart frequently manifests immediate symptoms, such as
[681] vomiting, swelling, chlorosis, and so forth. If the person has been prepared to brave this (in spite of the conviction of his misdeed), he is put to death by means of the most horrible and unheard-of tortures, whereas in the case of confession he is forced with the whip to reveal whom else he has poisoned during his life.

696 All the relatives of the poisoned person are then called in
682 order to be present at the punishment and to pull on his ears with all possible force by means of a pair of pincers, one after
[262] another. Subsequently a bowl with pinda blaf is set before him, in which a turtle must be boiled, as well as a tomtom made of ripe bananas. All this, after all, is regarded as the tastiest food. He is then /19/ again severely beaten with a whip, whereupon he must eat what has been prepared for him, and immediately afterwards

/19 cont./

696 he must sit unbound on a large fire arranged in gridiron fashion,
682 so that he burns completely to ashes.

[695] Never, however, is an accused put to death before three months have elapsed after the inquiry, because there still might possibly be a chance that his innocence will be proved.

682 In the case of a confession and the supplying of clear proof
[695] that the deceased gave cause to be poisoned, the culprit frequently escapes with a light punishment; sometimes also forgiveness is
[672] granted with general approval, with the condition that the culprit take upon himself to the third generation the obligation to be of service in everything to the descendants of the maltreated person.

681 It may also happen that in the case of various other misdeeds the
672 perpetrator is completely forgiven for his misdeed, but that upon his descendants to the third generation there is imposed the obligation to render slave services exactly as in the case of poisoning.

681 The majority of these slave services ordinarily consist of giving money, strong drink, or the necessities of life, as a result of which hard work must often be done in order to be able to fulfill them. Every day they are afraid that this or that may be exacted from them. There are indications, however, that not too great a misuse is made of this.

765 Twelve months after the burial there always takes place a great gathering in the hut of the deceased, at which time the period of mourning ends with rejoicing. Exuberant festivities are then celebrated, and that night an unusually great amount is drunk, eaten, and honor salutes fired. Everyone in the vicinity, insofar as he is able, is present on this occasion.

This festival is called tesa, the ending of the mourning period, and begins after one of the nearest relatives, who enjoys the greatest respect, takes a large calabash filled with water in his right hand and with it slowly walks forth out of the hut along the other dwellings nearby and is followed by a large number of people, during which he here and there sprinkles the water,
[775] trowéwatra, in drops on the ground, saying: Like this water, the soul of the deceased will also be pure, and all that was dear to him will remain tranquilly on earth without being disturbed by him who as spirit finds himself in the spirit world.

/20/

765 Thereupon follows a second, who just like the first has a calabash in hand, but this time filled with spirituous liquor, and from time to time sprinkles a few drops of it on the ground, in token of the fact that on this occasion, too, by means of drink, they think of the deceased with joy.

Then they again return to the dwelling, where all are gathered, and celebrate an enjoyable night with song and dancing until daybreak.

Chapter XII

Character, Virtues and Vices

157 The Bush Negro, as I have already said above, has a great [577] deal of respect for old age and for distinguished persons; with respect to their closest relations they are honest, which they can- [461] not pride themselves on otherwise. In their ordinary affairs they [609] are not lazy, but work tirelessly whenever it is necessary. With respect to strangers they are generous and obliging, all the more [152] when they can assume that they may claim reward. Jealousy, [784] envy, and malice are their greatest vices. Concerning many matters they have an antipathy that they call trefoe (treef). Thus, [781] for instance, one will eat something, the other not. Also they are very superstitious in small matters, to which they cling all the way down to distant generations; they call that obia (literally translated, bewitchment, magic).

262 An Auca girl who through attachment to my wife and me [123] has already lived with us in the town for fully five years, because since the death of her husband, who was one of my most trusted [589] workers, she did not want to attach herself to another, and who performed all kinds of housework for us, carries her trefoe of not eating any unscaled fish so far that she will not even cook her food on a fire where there is a pot in which an unscaled fish was previously prepared. I know another one who uses no milk and also does not eat meat of any kind (with the exception of bacon), unless it be game, and then it must be prepared by her, on the grounds that everything is prepared with butter and that butter comes from

/20 cont./

262 milk. She does eat cheese, however, saying that there is absolutely no milk in it.

/21/

Chapter XIII

Diseases, Afflictions, and so forth

164 The greatest affliction among them, too, is the lepra boasi (leprosy and elephantiasis Fuchs), venereal diseases, leg and body
757 pains, and sores. They cure themselves mainly with herbs, which they possess in great quantities and with which they frequently work with special success. They cut open abcesses themselves; in most cases they cup themselves, making the cups from small calabashes.
[824] For many pains they rub themselves with spirits steeped in paradise seed (1) and with carapa oil, which they get from the carapa nuts (2).

1. Sem. paradisie Ningre kondre pepre from the Amomum paradise Afsel.

2. Carapa gujanens Obl.

755 In difficult cases and dangerous illnesses, however, they ask for advice from the Cromantie gado, which can only be done by means of song and dance, on which occasion a great deal is drunk.
[756] A wentie man (African idol-priest or priestess) qualified for this, or an influential person, is able by means of drink, song, and dance among the others to excite himself to such an extent that in a mad way, without consciousness of what he is doing, he makes superhuman leaps, turnings, and twistings with his body, jumps and dances in the fire, until he finally falls to the ground unconscious and, rolling like a tub, foaming at the mouth, utters the most repulsive and strange sounds, which lasts until he is finally put down somewhere for dead. So long as he remains lying without any movement or sound as if in a deep sleep, one may absolutely not come near him or touch him, but must always take care to keep out of his way in his course and not to hinder him in anything.

/21 cont./

955 When he lies as though dead, except only that his eyes sparkle and are completely turned in their sockets, at which time one frequently sees only the white and red, and he moves his chest panting for breath, then he is carefully brought to the place where the Cromantie gado is put, and where questions are put to him concerning the sickness which one wishes to cure, and where the sick person himself or, in the latter's absence, some of his most recently worn garments, must be.

These questions are put with a great deal of solemnity, and answered by /22/ the person lying there. Very frequently the very strange herbs named on this occasion had favorable results.

When they proceed to such cases, the sufferer is obligated, so long as he is not cured, to continue to use the medicines indicated, which frequently had the result that after all the sick person did finally recuperate after long suffering.

If he in the least way neglects the remedies indicated on this occasion, he may often count on it that for him there is no more help, because he has recklessly called on the Cromantie gado for recovery, without the requisite reverence and observance of the prescriptions.

However this matter may be regarded, it is certainly true that they firmly believe the desired outcome will not fail so long as one does not circumvent or neglect the prescriptions in any way.

It sometimes happens that someone, after his recovery, abstains for his whole life from something or other which was
953 ordered for his recovery. Many assert that the leprosy which they contract is to be ascribed to not paying attention to what was forbidden them or their parents.

786 Almost all Bush Negroes have wentie or excitations of the African idolatrous dance-madness, which one must see in order to be able to believe and understand it. They can frequently dance fully five minutes at a stretch in a hot fire, unclothed and barefoot, without burning themselves in the least and without any sign of singeing to be seen on them.

/22 cont./

123 As a White one must enjoy great confidence among them if one wants to obtain permission to witness such solemnities. Never shall I forget the spectacle when I was present at such a festival; it took place from seven o'clock in the evening until two o'clock in the morning. During all this time I found myself in a very unpleasant state of tension. Although I found myself far from the part inhabited by us (namely the town of Paramaribo) in the deep forest alone in their midst, I was nevertheless not afraid because of my positive conviction of my influence over them. I was not at ease that night, however, and were it not for the fact that I did not want to hinder them or show them that I did not feel at ease at this solemnity, I would have departed, however eager I was to see the result of the movements. I remained, however, until all had come to an end, both for the distinction that fell to me for /23/ having been allowed to be present there and in order not to offend the trust put in me, while to myself I rejoiced at being able later to give to others the description of this solemnity.

Chapter XIV

Language, Odo, and Narratives (1)

538 1. Odo, proverb; narratives are called fori, and tales anansi-tori.

197 Their language is the Negro English customarily spoken here, but in a singsong tone with a peculiar accent.

195 As proof that during the conversation they understand you well, they constantly repeat "Yaa!"

551 When a child is born among them, aside from a general name they also give it a day name, in which for them special meanings are concealed, for instance:

/23 cont./

551

The boys born on Sunday	Kwassie;	the girls	Kwassiba.
" " " " Monday	Kodjo;	" "	Adjuba.
" " " " Tuesday	Kwamina;	" "	Abenie.
" " " " Wednesday	Kwakoe;	" "	Akoeba.
" " " " Thursday	Jauw;	" "	Jaba.
" " " " Friday	Kofi;	" "	Afie.
" " " " Saturday	Kwami;	" "	Amba.

538 Their odo or proverbs as a rule have reference to their simple bush life, for instance:

539 "Te pikien boessi kiebrie joe boen, dan joe no moesoe falla biegie boessi te joe toeka naka hen": that is,

"If you are protected by a small bush, be content with it and do not demand the bigger one that you may happen to see."

Another meaning is:

"If the little suffices, then do not strive for the greater."

"Ha srefie avie die de falla pikien bon, de faila bigie wantoe": that is,

"The ax that cuts down little trees also cuts down big trees."

Another meaning is:

"God, who does not forsake the worm, will not forsake a man either," or:

/24/ "Nobody is so unhappy but that days of good luck come for him"; also:

"Regard your enemy not too lightly."

Chapter XV

General Knowledge

824 This is on a very low level among them and is confined mainly to a thorough knowledge of varieties of wood and medicinal herbs in use among them.

/24 cont./

Chapter XVI

Manner of Traveling, and so forth

484 Their manner of traveling is very simple. Usually wife and children accompany them; very rarely do they go alone. They never take along more food provisions than they consider to be strictly necessary, in order not to have any burden of great baggage, for which their small, narrow vessels made out of a tree trunk are in any case little suited.

484 As primitive people they are able to withstand deprivations
411 very well, but nonetheless they always take care to be armed when they go traveling. These hunting and war weapons consist of guns, powder, lead, bow and arrows, as well as a machete and an ax.

484 Frequently they can continue on these journeys in a small,
505 narrow corjaal (canoe) for weeks on end; there is, of course, a
[501] great lack of comforts, but they are contented so long as they
[372] merely have a little place in the corjaal where they can maintain a flaming fire, which serves for the preparation of foods and because the Negro generally finds in it a, for him, pleasant sociability. Their journeys are not of great significance; they never extend across the sea, which is the case among the various Indian tribes.

/25/

Chapter XVII

Manner of Waging War, Ceremonies in connection with Concluding Peace and Alliance

721 War is rarely waged by or among them, but when it does take place, their conflict bears the character of a thirst for revenge, treachery, and hatred.

728 At the conclusion of peace, the subject party pledges itself to satisfy the demands of the victors, provided these are mutually
[273] judged as fair. As part of the ceremonies observed on this occasion there is also a large consumption of dram.

/25 cont./

928 695 [344] The peace conditions are determined in a large building (shed). This shed is entirely open, they call it their court of justice, derived from kroetoe hoso or piketti (1). When they find

1. Piketti, place where the execution of the punishment takes place.

themselves there, whether this takes place after the conclusion of an internecine battle, or between spouses, members of a family, or former friends, the heads of the parties gather in the shed referred to and choose their places in the upper part of the building. Subsequently those concerned in this matter place themselves in the vicinity of the heads, and around these all those present who make up the public.

When all have been placed, one of the heads takes a cup (as a rule a calabash) filled with dram or still unfermented sugar [769] cane. He scatters a few drops of this on the ground in various places [782] in the shed, which signifies that their ancestors, who also once sat on this spot and passed judgment, are to be called up in the memory of all, and that the deceased, by having this offering presented to them first, have had respect paid to them.

Once this solemnity has been carried out, the cup goes around to each one, and each of those present takes a small draught from it. After it has been emptied, and none of them has refrained from drinking from it, the peace is regarded as concluded; all feuds are forgiven, and the enmity has ceased to exist.

Should it happen that one of those present refuses to drink, then he must publicly give the reason for his refusal, and then it may sometimes happen that the considerations concerning the quarrel start anew.

[693] /26/ Then the elders or council members ordinarily withdraw from the shed and leave behind only their granman (1).

1. Head or governor.

Those who have withdrawn divide themselves into different groups and consult with one another, make the matter clear and

/26 cont./

728 communicate to one another their opinions, in what way they
695 wish to see the points of difference resolved. If they are agreed concerning these, then they return to the chief in the shed and the discussion of the matter takes place anew, until finally agreement exists. During this consultation of the elders or council
[562] members a solemn seriousness prevails among them. Women are sometimes admitted to these conferences, but never have a voice, and come merely to listen and to see.

After the matter has been settled to the satisfaction of all parties, the cup once more makes several rounds among those present, and thereafter everyone goes silently and quietly to his camp or dwelling.

Chapter XVIII

Music, Musical Instruments

533 Their music is very simple and monotonous; one makes use of it, to the accompaniment of song and dance, at festivals and cult ceremonies.

534 The instruments are variously used and doubtless according to the type of event. Thus the so-called long drum, called agida (2), is played at cult ceremonies; on other occasions one

2. Papáá drum.

uses the small or apientie drum. Furthermore they have an instrument called kwakwa stool by them, a stool or board of very hard wood on which one beats with two sticks.

534 When they dance the papaá-wenti, an African idol dance,
535 they use the agida drum. For the songé, or ordinary dance, they play the small drum or apienti.

They dance the soessa to the beat of the small drum and with the kwakwa stool; in executing the last-named dance a great deal of competition prevails among the dancers, and the one who

/271/
534 holds out the longest and is the fastest and most accurate performer
535 of the specific steps for this is cheered as the winner.

Banja or baljaar is one of the true African dances. This name is also given to the African guitar, a musical instrument formerly generally known in the colony, but now totally vanished. This dance is performed to the beat of the two drums and the
[824] kwakwa stool. For this dance the women provide themselves with a saka-saka, a toy having the shape of a great rattle and made from a calabash filled with corals or pits of the Canna indica and Canna lutea, also called viengoe by them. They turn and shake this saka-saka according to the beat of the song taken up by them, which produces a peculiarly strange sound.

Chapter XIX

Clothing, Ornaments, Tattooing

291 Their clothing is very simple. The women ordinarily wear merely a piece of colored linen or cotton strip, called bont, two ells long and one and a quarter ells wide. They wrap this around their middle and allow it to hang down below the knee joints, calling it pangi. This undergarment of the Negro women is thus named
301] after pano (Spanish) and pagne (French). As a rule they have the upper body bare, while around the neck, the wrists, and the ankles
302 they wear strings of coral, which greatly take their fancy. They usually plait the head hair into a large number of small braids and bind the ends of these with white cotton threads. Some of them wear their hair combed out, as a result of which their heads,
301 seen from a distance, resemble large mop-heads. They are very fond of blood corals, which are greatly valued among them for ornamentation.

[292] When they celebrate a festival, they also wear a large number of colored cloths of cotton or muslin around the neck, and further adorn themselves with copper and iron rings around the wrists, among which there are strings of coral in the same manner

/27 cont./

301 as the European girl wears her bracelets. On their fingers they wear a number of copper rings, sometimes doubtless up to ten; the thumb is likewise generally decorated with them.

291 /28/ As a rule the men content themselves with merely
292 a simple loincloth or belt, but if they go so far as to dress up, then they wear a broad-brimmed hat which is usually painted with various colors; around the crown they wear a wide band whose ends hang far down over the brim.

301 Around their necks they frequently wear a string of tiger's
237 teeth and the incisors and molars of wild pigs (the pakier and piengo) and of other animal species that they have caught on the hunt; they wear these same ornaments hanging from a broad band under the knee, and to them is added now and then a shell, a piece of copper, iron, lead, and so forth. Their ornaments also include parrot and West Indian raven (1) feathers and small tassels

1. Lafroe, Psittacus macao L.

made of cotton.

301 They call the last-named obias (2). Just like the women,
751
292

2. Obia, charm. The same efficacious powers as the superstition sees in amulets and talismans are seen in this.

they wear colored cloths around the neck.

304 Like almost all tropical and African peoples, they tattoo themselves. Men, women, and children undergo this operation, and although they are set upon having this as ornamentation, they nonetheless look down upon the man decorated with many tattoos just as the European does on an effeminate dandy. There are among them those whose face and body are virtually covered with the incisions, but they are looked upon with contempt by the industrious and those most developed spiritually. They say that the former are too attached to luxury and must be lazy to waste

/28 cont./

304 so much time on the desire for this kind of ostentation. When the incisions become faint through time and the growing of the skin, they are raised again by renewed carving.

/29/

Chapter XX

The Attitude toward Europeans and the Latter's Treatment of Them

461 The Bush Negroes begin to think of work when they have
313 little strong drink, powder, and lead left on hand; they leave their
439 camp and go to the work places where they are accustomed to felling trees and working these into squared timber, which they then tie together into rafts and float down the rivers in order to sell it on the plantations and at Paramaribo.

439 Some among them, especially the Saramaccaners, bring korjalen, pinda nuts (1), and groundnuts and Tonka beans (2) to

1. Arachis hypogoea L.

2. The fruit of the Dipteryx.

439 the part of the colony inhabited by Europeans; they usually exchange
648 all this for strong drink. It is to be lamented that their trade with the Whites is frequently linked with unpleasantnesses. Generally the latter treat them with contempt. This takes place all too frequently on the plantations in particular, whereby naturally fear and dissatisfaction arise among the Bush Negroes against the Whites; it is therefore not surprising that, after having been repeatedly cheated out of their fair rights, driven by suspicion and a desire for revenge, they in turn frequently try to deceive the Europeans.

In order to make clear their attitude toward the Europeans, I shall cite some proceedings which became known to me in earlier years and which even now have not completely ceased in the colony,

/29 cont./

439 Thus it is known to me that they have gone to one or
501 another plantation in order to sell timber, which they tie to their
505 korjalen or canoes after having made it into rafts with bush ropes
[283] (tough liana stalks), and have misled the Europeans in a scandalous manner.

[284] They make their squared timber into rafts in the following manner. Four thick strong round timbers are laid crosswise and tied together, two above and two under the korjaal; the timber is pushed in between these and fastened, so that the whole thing forms a firm long rectangle with the korjaal in the middle /30/ with which they make long journeys from the upper to the lower
[283] rivers. This timber that is made into rafts and carried along by the korjaal is called kokroko; they tie light and floating wood to long beams with bush rope (called boessitetei) (1); thus tied to the

1. From the copaiva.

heavy wood they drag it along down the river.

Chapter XXI

Understanding among Themselves

114 Not long ago I found myself among them on the river
133 Upper Commewijne on the Tempati (a branch of the river named, on the left going upstream; this branch runs into the mountains, which are reported as ruddle mountains /roodenberg/.

114 Residing among them, I made many attempts to induce
648 them to track down those in hiding who did not belong to their tribes and fugitives of a later time, and to make known to them that by governmental decree in the course of the year 1863, before the emancipation, a general amnesty regarding them had been issued, so that they could return to their former dwelling places without fear of punishment. The reason that induced me to acquaint them with this was that I saw in the return of these persons

114 /30 cont,/
648 in hiding a significant advantage for the colony, since the lack of workers in agriculture makes itself felt with increasing urgency.

202 Accordingly they promised to satisfy my wish by putting
[123] up the signs customary among them, which would make known to those in hiding my wishes to acquaint them with the good news.

In order to let those in hiding know that they were requested to come out of the forest, they go to work in the following manner.

202 They tie white and blue, also perhaps white and black
822 patches of cotton half an ell long and three thumbs wide in Rhineland fashion to the upper branches of the trees, starting in the deepest part of the forest and progressing to the river /31/ bank. The little flags placed highest are of a dark color, while the patches tied progressively lower toward the river are white.

Those in hiding, who stay in the district and cross through the forest to hunt, discover these signs and see by them that there is something going on; either that others in hiding want to establish contact with them or that they have to fear danger.

The manner in which the signs are attached to the trees makes them understand that if they go more deeply into the forest there will be born for them a dark and dangerous future, whereas, if they can decide to go to the river bank they can walk a white, that is, a bright path and that, following the little white flags, they will find people who either want to make common cause with them or wish to give them important information.

202 Since these persons in hiding are constantly afraid of
152 surprise attack or deception, trust in these signs is not always im-
648 mediately established and thus at first only some of them go down with cunning and caution. When they come into the more inhabited districts, they watch and investigate everything that they wish to know; frequently this investigation extends all the way to Paramaribo. Now the Bush Negroes thought that if they followed their custom in this it would be clear to them why these signs had been placed in the bush and that as a result of these they would very quickly become acquainted with the declared amnesty.

202 I must add here also that in fact many fugitives or
648 persons in hiding later came out of the forests, among whom must

/31 cont./

202 be mentioned in particular the man who caused so much of a stir,
648 Broos, chief of a camp of persons in hiding behind the plantation Rac a Rac, who came back followed by many.

I must confess that I have never seen this chief and was not involved in this event in any way; the question is, however, whether this Broos and his followers came back of their own accord, or whether they returned without fear of the Whites because of the reassuring signs set up at my request.

That the Bush Negroes attached to me complied with my request by the placing of /32/ signs is not to be doubted, but what outcome resulted from it cannot be said with certainty.

Chapter XXII

Deception Practiced toward Them

114 I said a few words in Chapter XX and earlier about the
648 deceptions that the Whites practiced with regard to the Bush Negroes. I was at first diffident about communicating the unvarnished truth about this. Since, however, this is not reported by me as being generally applicable, because, as in all things, here, too, favorable exceptions exist, I therefore regard it as my duty to make my experience known.

186 The Bush Negroes, it cannot be denied, as the result
648 of the manifold deceptions that they have experienced from the Europeans and other free inhabitants of this colony, have developed an aversion toward them. They therefore oppose deception with deception, and trick with trick.

439 It has become apparent to me that many of them, when
648 they arrive with timber rafts at the plantations in order to sell the timber, after having been deceived several times, make use of all kinds of tricks in order in their turn to deceive the Europeans. I leave now to one side the question as to which of the two parties is the principal or initiating cause and has the greater responsibility in these fraudulent transactions. When a family of Bush Negroes

/32 cont./ When a family of Bush Negroes
439 lands at a plantation with rafts of timber, the man goes on land,
437 but according to old plantation custom, may not go farther than up to the residence of the overseer, who inquires about the species and the prices per foot (the prices vary a great deal depending on quality and thickness). As a rule he is not satisfied with the asking price and bargains until the seller contents himself with 40 cents for timber of 64.

When the sale has been concluded, the overseer permits the timber raft to be brought into the plantation creek, which is then subsequently, after the conclusion of the work in the fields, hauled to shore in the evening with the help of the Negroes of the plantation.

The following morning the timber is inspected and measured, and ordinarily, no matter how good the timber is or how fully it /33/ agrees with the description given by the seller, many faults are found, and the original offer is brought down to 32 or 24 cents a foot.

What must the poor Bush Negro do now? To take the timber back is difficult, a sheer impossibility, for, since he is ordinarily there with his wife and a few children, they are too few in number to haul the large pieces 25 to 40 feet long and 7/7 to 10/10 thumbs wide from the shore into the water again. He is thus entirely dependent upon the good will and the help of the overseer and the field workers of the plantation. To leave it there is equally difficult, for quite possibly, if he returns with some of his fellow tribesmen to help, he is not permitted to haul the timber off. He thus accepts the low offer. But with that the deceptions are not yet at an end. The agreement now being concluded for good, the measuring is done next, and it is truly not an unusual phenomenon that a measure of six feet, which the Bush Negro is told has a length of only five feet, is used for this purpose.

These frauds of a more or less punishable sort, alas, take place all too frequently, and during my five years of plantation life I was an eyewitness to them several times. Is it thus to be wondered at that these people, after having been repeatedly defrauded, should likewise try to do so to the Whites.

/33 cont./

439 When, for instance, the Bush Negro has cut down a
437 tree deep in the forest and discovers that it is almost hollow on
313 the inside, then he works it, this defect notwithstanding, into a
186 squared log, taking care to make the visible cavities above and below invisible by hammering wooden pins into it. After that he takes clay and mud and is able to make every trace disappear, a fraud which is thus rarely discovered before a piece is sawed off the log.

Also they practice a great deal of deception by unloading on the buyer as good stuff various qualities of timber of great and little value, but which resemble each other, for instance, by selling a low quality black kabbes (1) for brown hardwood (2),

1. Andira retusa H. B. K.

2. Andira called wassila among the Arrawakken /Arawak/ Indians.

two varieties which can be distinguished only by timber experts.

/34/ If they have worked timber that on one side is already somewhat rotten, or is worm-eaten or split, then they know how to place it in such a way in their rafts that the good side lies upward, a deception that can be discovered only when it has been hauled ashore and one becomes aware of it by turning each piece around and inspecting it carefully.

186 If it is possible to steal something from the Whites,
648 they will not fail to do so. They are also guilty of lying and give themselves the names of those who still possess the confidence of the Whites, which they can do with impunity because the similarity of their coloring and facial features makes it extremely difficult for the Whites to recognize them after an absence.

[829] This repeated trickery has accordingly made the Whites declare them to be scoundrels and liars, but the Bush Negroes, although they do not do so openly, say the same of them and
577 regard themselves as much more trustworthy and honest. That they do this with some appearance of justice cannot be denied; after

/34 cont./

577 all, toward one another as fellow tribesmen they are very honest and trust one another's word. Frequently it happens that among them one family leaves the camp to go on a journey or else is absent for some other reason, and that it must leave behind unfenced the cultivated land planted with rice, tubers, bananas, bakoven, and sugar cane. But never will another of them steal any of that. And similarly their dwellings are open, since the entrance is not closed off by any door; upon their departure they leave one thing and another in it, but they will never miss any-
626 thing upon their return. Certainly contributing to this is the circumstance that in the vicinity of everybody's property there is a sign or idolatrous image, which they call obia, to which great power is ascribed, and for those who might want to commit dishonest acts, the legend can be observed, as for the European:
784 "Beware of mantraps." The fear that they have of these obias is not unjustified, for if it should happen at any time that misuse of trust took place, then the culprit, however long it takes, upon discovery will not escape the revenge of the deceived, revenge which frequently consists in the administering of secret remedies whereby terrible diseases and sufferings, if not death, come about.

152 They are very concerned about the faithfulness of their
837 wife or wives, /35/ for the Bush Negro is very jealous, whereas the wives cannot be exonerated of being susceptible to seduction. Accordingly it happens among them more than once that marital fidelity is violated.

184 Of the various tribes, the Aucaners are the most
[177] civilized, but over against that also the craftiest, which can be
[157] attributed to their more frequent intercourse with Europeans.
[161] Among their tribes they are the most powerful, and their numerical strength is estimated at 4,000 to 5,000 souls.

123 According to the declaration of the Bush Negroes, no White has previously enjoyed the trust and attachment that I experienced from them. However, secretively they always conduct themselves toward the Whites, with respect to me they make an exception. If there is something secret among them that I should like to know, they will, upon my request, immediately and without any diffidence communicate it to me.

/35 cont./

123 Also, I am led to believe that for me they cherish a
466 more than general respect, since already for ten years now they have been faithful workers for me, a privilege to which no inhabitant in this colony other than myself can lay claim.

123 A family among them, whose head recently died --
778 according to their statements, through poisoning, which misdeed
[761] is supposed to have taken place out of envy, since I gave him preference above others, which he deserved on account of his faithfulness and industry -- has built a hut in the vicinity of its idol signs, in which they placed a crude image cut out of cedar-
[237] wood and painted with white paint. Beside that image they placed a little table and on it laid a number of quill feathers from the pouwies (1), a little bottle with black liquid, symbolizing ink,

1. A pheasant, the Crax alector L.

as well as some slips of paper. Near this little table they dug a number of steps into the ground, and at the lowermost step they made a gutter that runs in the direction of the river. Now when they have a festival with dancing and they want to pay respect to me, they place near it a number of children who constantly pour water brought in jugs, which, flowing down the steps into the gutter, streams riverward. While this ceremony takes place, songs in my honor are sung by the festive crowd.

[822] Now the image, according to their conception, is sup-
[829] posed to be a representation of me, /36/ the white color the sign that I am a White, while the quills, paper, and ink are the attributes of the Whites' higher civilization, the streaming water that I stem from the colonists who have come here from across the sea.

123 The wife of the headman referred to above came to me
589 in the town shortly after the death of her husband and remained to choose my household as her permanent residence, to which I gladly consented. Faithful and considerate, she performs not only a great many household services, but even anticipates in this respect the wishes of my wife, and out of love for us refuses any monetary compensation.

/36 cont./

I hope that with this sketch I have contributed something to a better knowledge of what our beautiful, but little-known colony of Surinam contains of importance.

3: Coster SR8 Bush Negroes

BIJDRAGEN

TOT DE

TAAL- LAND- EN VOLKENKUNDE

VAN

NEDERLANDSCH INDIË.

UITGEGEVEN

DOOR

HET KONINKLIJK INSTITUUT

VOOR DE

TAAL- LAND- EN VOLKENKUNDE VAN NEDERLANDSCH INDIË.

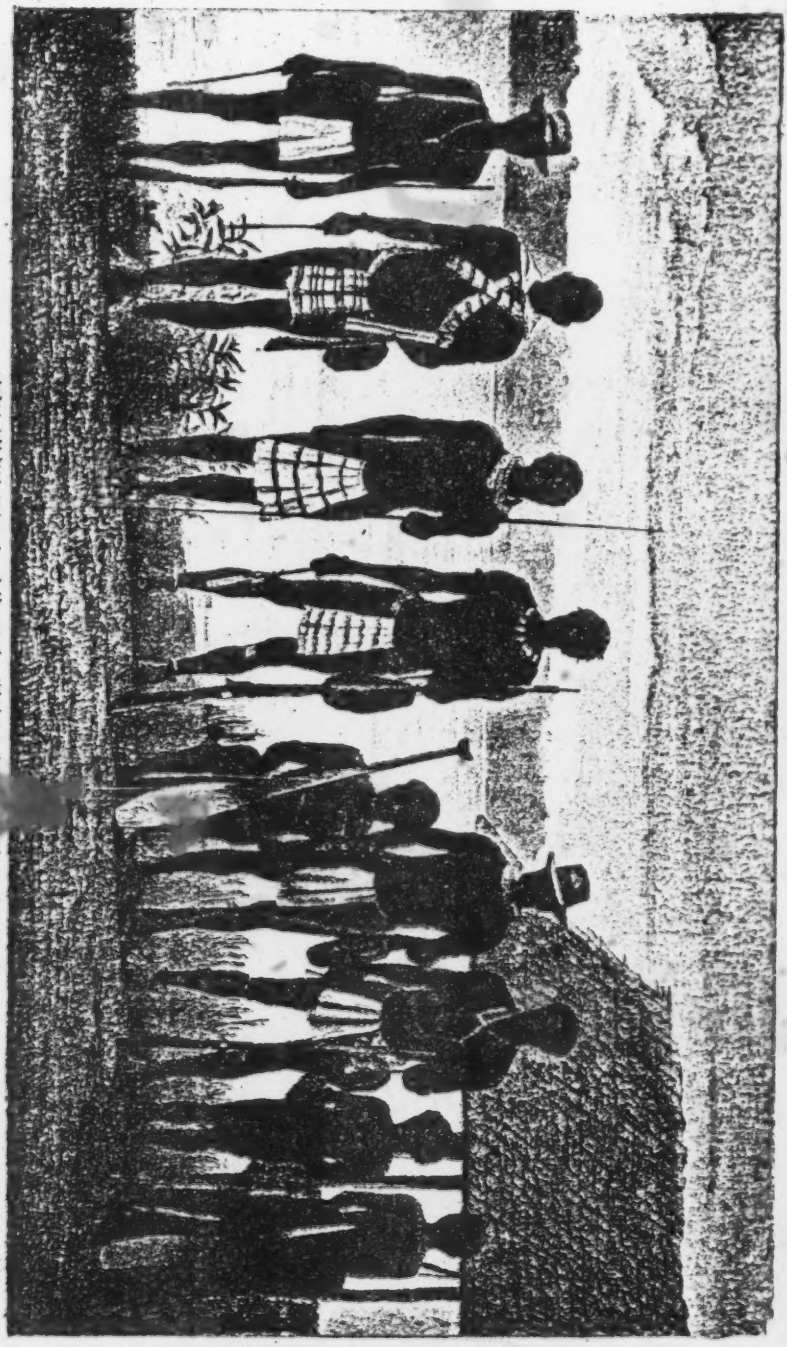
DERDE VOLGREEKS.

EERSTE DEEL.

'S GRAVENHAGE,
MARTINUS NIJHOFF.
1866.

GEDRUKT BIJ H. L. SMITS.

[Title Page]



BOSCHNEGERS IN DE KOLONIE SURINAME.

[Frontispiece]

[p. i]

DE BOSCHNEGERS IN DE KOLONIE SURINAME.

HUN LEVEN, ZEDEN EN GEWOONTEN.

DOOR

A. M. COSTER,

TE PARAMARIBO.

INLEIDING.

Na het plantageleven in de kolonie Suriname verlaten te hebben, kwam ik in het begin van 't jaar 1851 aldaar terug met het plan om, ingevolge eene door mij met een Belgisch huis getroffen overeenkomst, scheepsladingen hout naar het moederland en België te verzenden.

Hiertoe ondernam ik mijne reizen naar de boschnegers en bezocht de meeste hunner woonplaatsen; iets dat met moeite en groote kosten gepaard ging, daar ik overal ruime geschenken uitdeelde, met het doel om ook daardoor hun vertrouwen te verwerven, dat zij niet ligt aan blanken schenken.

Reeds bij mijne eerste ontmoeting nam ik de voorzorg elk hunner zonder onderscheid beleefd te groeten en de hand te schudden; eene door hen in de laatste tijden van de blanken overgenomen gewoonte, die hen van welgezindheid verzekert, welke zij wel onderling, maar nimmer van een blanke ondervinden.

Ik sprak hen vertrouwelijk en vriendelijk toe, ging in hunne hutten naast hen op hunne lage bankjes zitten, en nam deel aan hunne maaltijden. In 't kort — ik woonde eenigen tijd zonder terughoudendheid of vreeze onder hen, betalende voor alles wat ik genoot ruimschoots op deze of gene wijze.

Ook stond ik hun toe, wanneer zij van mijnen voorraad dranken, als wijn, bier, brandewijn en jenever, wilden gebruiken, mij zulks gerust te vragen, ten einde mijne bedienden te kunnen gelasten hun het verlangde aan te bieden. Bovendien voorzag ik

3: Coster SR8 Bush Negroes

hen ruim van dram,[1] kruid en lood, en gaf, om ook aan de vrouwen gulheid te tooneu, aan deze en den kinderen vaak beschuit, koek of eenige geldstukken.

In het eerst waren zij zeer terughoudend en wantrouwend, doch werden langzamerhand, en na eenige moeitevolle jaren, meer vertrouwelijk met mij, zoodat ik, mij geheel naar hunne gewoonte schikkende, mijn plan om het benoodigde hout door hen te doen bewerken, heb kunnen ten uitvoer brengen.

Veel hout werd door mij besteld en alles wat ik ontving werd naar de werkelijke waarde en volgens gesloten overeenkomst betaald.

Ik leende verscheidene hunner geld in weerwil van reeds dikwerf door hen misleid en bedrogen te zijn, en ging voort hen hartelijk te behandelen, kleedingstukken te schenken, ja, somtijds voor slecht hout, dat zij mij onder goede stukken poogden op te dringen, niettegenstaande ik zulks bemerkte, toch behoorlijk even als voor goed hout te betalen, waardoor ik hen deed inzien, dat ik op toegevende wijze wilde te werk gaan.

Zoo leerde ik meer en meer hunne levenswijze, zeden en gewoonten kennen, verbiedigde deze in alles, en mogt eindelijk slagen hen van verscheidene slechte gewoonten en gebreken te doen terugkomen en een meer eerlijken handel jegens mij in acht te nemen. Ik heb het zelfs zoo ver kunnen brengen, dat ik thans een blind vertrouwen geniet en wederkeerig aan sommigen mijn geheel vertrouwen heb kunnen schenken.

Sedert het begin van 1857 ben ik eigenaar van eenen houtzaagmolen, waarmede de vorige eigenaar weinig of niets konde uitvoeren, omdat hem altijd de tot zagen van planken benoodigde houtblokken ontbraken, terwijl ik daarentegen van de boschnegers zooveel hout erlang, dat het mij dikwijls te veel is.

Vele hunner, die niet eens tot mijne vaste werklieden behooren, weigeren hun hout op plantage te verkoopen, en brengen het tot aan mijnen bij de stad gelegen zaagmolen, omdat zij, naar hun beweren, ook willen deelen in die voorregten, welke de andere boschnegers volgens hun met mij gesloten verbond, genieten.

De meeste boschnegers kennen mij, zoo niet in persoon, dan toch bij naam.

Ook heb ik hun moeten beloven, dat ik mijn zoon zal op-

[1] Soort van inlandsche rum (suiker-spiritus).

3: Coster SR8 Bush Negroes

leiden, om later in mijne plaats te kunnen optreden en met hunne nakomelingen op dezelfde wijze om te gaan als ik thans met hen doe, terwijl ook zij hunne kinderen inprenten, zich jegens mijn zoon zoo te gedragen, als de ouders zich jegens mij betoonen. Zij willen noodoende eene scheiding tusschen de mijnen en de hunnen ook in de toekomst onmogelijk maken.

Bij het reeds aangehaalde omtrent een door mij met hen gesloten verbond acht ik het niet ondoelmatig hierbij eene schets te geven van de wijze, waarop ik aangezocht werd, dat verbond met hen aan te gaan, en wat er gebeurde, vóór zij zich aan mij op zoo buitengewone wijze hebben aangesloten.

Nadat ik reeds eenigen tijd steeds vertrouwelijker met hen had omgegaan en mijne reizen, om hen te bezoeken, veelvuldiger waren geworden, maakte eenige opperhoofden mij in vertrouwen bekend, dat, hoewel zij mij reeds geruimen tijd hadden leeren kennen, en mij als een goed en eerlijk man beschouwden, daar zij van mij betere behandeling ondervonden hadden dan van vele anderen, waarmede zij reeds omgang hadden gehad, zij toch niet zoo los weg konden aannemen, dat ik altijd dezelfde zou blijven, en dat ik welligt geheel andere bedoelingen met hen had die zij later konden betreuren. Daaron waren nog velen hunner weigerachtig gebleven, zich vast te verbinden voor mij te arbeiden. Om dat wantrouwen geheel bij hen te doen ophouden, vertoefde ik nog geruimen tijd onder hen in het bosch en toonde steeds eerlijke bedoelingen met hen te hebben, tot ik na eenige weken, door het ruim wegschenken van kost en dranken, bemerkte dat ik aan alles gebrek kreeg, en genoodzaakt was mijn vaartuig naar Paramaribo te zenden om het benoodigde voor mij te halen, waardoor ik mij geheel alleen onder hen bevond.

Toen ik dus na het vertrek van mijn vaartuig bij den hoofdman van het dorp, Sparri Passi [1] geheeten, eenigen uren in zijne hut al pratende over mijne plannen doorbragt, maakte hij mij ten sterkste aan thans het bij hen gebruikelijke verbond te sluiten. Ik bewilligde hierin en verzocht hem dadelijk mij door een boschpad naar het naastgelegen dorp Manjaondro [2] te vergezellen, ten einde aan den aldaar wonenden kapitein Kwassi jenni te verzoeken alle beschikbare korjalen [3] te bemannen, en naar de kampen der boschnegers rond te zenden, ten einde alle Anka-

[1] Sparri (een groote platte visch) weg.
[2] Onder de Manjaboom.
[3] Kleine vaartuigen, vervaardigd van boomstammen.

neen in dien omtrek te boodschappen, dat ik mij geheel alleen onder hen bevindende, hen allen bij elkander wenschte te zien, ten einde mij de gelegenheid te geven op de door hen te bepalen plaats, overeenkomstig hunne wijze en gebruiken, den verbondseed af te leggen om ten allen tijde elkaar getrouw te blijven.

Drie dagen verliepen met overwegingen en beraadslagingen tusschen verscheidene kapiteins, raadslieden en ouden, alvorens het mij kon gelukken hunne toestemming hiertoe te verkrijgen.

Eindelijk echter werd besloten op Vrijdag (een' bij hen heiligen dag), wanneer de zon haar middagpunt zou bereikt hebben, de verbondsplegtigheid te doen plaats vinden.

Op dien dag, omstreeks elf ure op den voormiddag, nam een der oudste en invloedrijkste onder hen een schoon theekopje, deed daarin wat drank met kruid gemengd, en nam eenige fijn gestampte planten, die hij met rivierwater bevochtigde, en in het kopje uitperste.

Mij en zeven der voornaamsten werden toen met een scheermes drie kleine kerven op de regterhand gesneden. Het bloed daaruit met een vlokje boomwol opgenomen, werd mede in het kopje uitgeperst, en de boomwol zoo dikwerf met rivierwater uitgewasschen en uitgedrukt, dat zich geene teekenen van bloed daaraan meer vertoonden. Een en ander in het kopje goed omgeroerd, werd dit op een bankje in de open lucht geplaatst. Tegen 12 ure precies verzamelde zich een groot aantal mannen, vrouwen en kinderen rondom het bankje, waarop het kopje stond, aan welke zijde men mij plaatste.

Er werden drie geweerschoten gelost. Onder al de aanwezigen heerschte eene diepe stilte, waarop eerst mij en toen de andere zeven personen, wier bloed met het mijne was vermengd, het kopje werd aangeboden om van den inhoud een teug te drinken, waarna het bij alle mannen moest rond gaan om er, hoe weinig ook, iets uit te drinken of maar te ruiken, ja! toen het geledigd was, moesten de overigen, die nog niet gedronken of geroken hadden, het aflekken.

Daarop werd ik door de hoofdlieden en vele der vrouwen omhelsd; zij sloegen den regterarm over mijn linker schouder en den linkerarm onder mijn regterarm, en rustten een' oogenblik met het hoofd tegen mijn regterwang.

Na den afloop, terwijl er veel drank gedronken werd, heerschte er eene algemeene, uithundige vrolijkheid, en werd

mij toen eerst gezegd, dat zij mij opzettelijk het eerst gezonden en het eerst te drinken gegeven hadden, om zich te overtuigen of ik hen volkomen vertrouwde, dan wel of ik vrees zou getoond hebben, mij zoo geheel alleen aan hunnen wil te onderwerpen en te doen, wat zij van mij verlangden; terwijl zij mij verzekerden, dat, wanneer ik geweigerd had de eerste te willen zijn, geen der hunne het verbond met mij zou hebben willen sluiten.

Indien ik mij dus niet naar hunnen zin had gedragen, zou ik deze voor mij zoo hoogst belangrijke en voordeelige verbindtenis geheel hebben gemist.

Den volgenden dag kwamen vele hunner mij zeggen, dat hunne werkplaatsen aan de rivier Cottica weinig van die houtsoorten opleverden, die door mij ter bewerking waren opgegeven, doch dat zij zich bereid verklaarden die terstond voor mij aan de rivier Boven-Commewijne te gaan bewerken, waar zij zeker waren rijker boschen te zullen vinden.

Daar laatstgenoemde rivier destijds door een gouvernements besluit voor hen gesloten was, rekwestreerde ik in het jaar 1854 om toegang te verkrijgen, ten einde met hen aan die rivier te kunnen arbeiden. Dit werd mij toegestaan, en sedert houden zich daar eenige honderde boschnegers op, die woningen en kostlanden hebben aangelegd, terwijl zij voortdurend met voorbeeldeloozen ijver het door mij benoodigde hout bewerken en tot aan den zaagmolen afbrengen.

HOOFDSTUK I.

TOPOGRAPHISCHE BESCHRIJVING DER KOLONIE SURINAME.

Suriname of Nederlandsch Guyana wordt ten noorden begrensd door den Atlantischen Oceaan, ten oosten door Cayenne of Fransch Guyana, waarvan het gescheiden wordt door de rivier de Marowyne; ten zuiden verliest het zich in eeuwenoude, nog nimmer doorzochte wouden tot daar, waar het Tumutumaquegebergte de grens stelt aan Brazilie; eindelijk ten westen wordt het door de rivier Corantyn gescheiden van Berbice of Britsch Guyana.

De afstand tusschen de grensrivieren Marowyne en Corantyn is zes en vijftig een en half uur. Volgens de laatste opmetingen

is de ligging bepaald tusschen 54 en 57° W. L. en 2 en 6° N. B. en heeft de kolonie eene uitgestrektheid van 2500 □ G. M., waarvan nog geen 700 bekend zijn.

De naam Suriname staat, volgens algemeen gevoelen, af van een Indianschen stam Surinen geheeten, dien men bij de ontdekking aldaar vond, doch die zich later tot de takken der Amazonerivier teruggetrokken heeft.

De rivier werd door de inlanders nooit anders genoemd dan groote Coma (groote rivier).

De bevolking telt, volgens het laatste verslag aan de statengeneraal aangeboden, 67,709 zielen, als: 15,567 vrije, 38,042 op 1e. Julij 1863 vrijgegevenen, 8,000 Boschnegers, 1,000 Indianen, 5,000 schuilhoulers of ontvlugtte slaven.

HOOFDSTUK II.

OORSPRONG EN VESTIGING DER BOSCHNEGERS.

De boschnegers stammen af van weggeloopen slaven in vroeger tijden, en later, in 1712, van die slaven, welke door hunne eigenaars in de bosschen werden verschoten om de brandschatting van Cassard te ontkomen, doch niet tot hunne meesters terugkeerden; na den vrede, dien zij met de blanken den 19 September 1762 hebben gesloten, ontvingen zij den naam van bevredigde boschnegers. Van toen af ontvingen zij van het Nederlandsche gouvernement jaarlijks geschenken, uit geweren, kruid, lood, tabak, rijst, zout, drank, enz. bestaande.

Deze werden echter in later tijd door het gouvernement langzamerhand verminderd, en eindelijk geheel afgeschaft, waardoor de negers dan ook niet meer zoo gewillig en zonder belooning het gouvernement van dienst willen zijn; daar zij meenen, dat zij bij het sluiten van den vrede met het gouvernement waren overeengekomen, dat van hunne zijde de blanken in niets meer zouden worden gehinderd, terwijl zij zich zouden beijveren, het gouvernement, waar zulks noodig was, bij te staan, waartegen hun van wege het gouvernement de hierboven vermelde geschenken jaarlijks zouden worden uitgereikt. Thans klagen zij over de handelwijze van het gouvernement en willen niet geloven, dat zij de blanken kunnen en mogen vertrouwen.

De boschnegers zijn verdeeld in vier stammen:

1e. Aucaners, die aan de rivier Marowyne hunne woonplaats Auca en aan de rivier boven Cottica, waar zij door de Wanakroek uit de Marowyne komen, hunne werkplaatsen hebben. Zij worden onderling Joeka en door de blanken Aucaners genoemd naar de plantagie Auca, waar den 19 October 1760 de vrede met hen werd gesloten.

2e. Saramaccaners, die aan de rivier boven Suriname, hoofdzakelijk bij den waterval Arasoebanja bij Gjengjen en Prakieki wonen, en langs dieselfde rivier en in de kreek Tasiboto Kouloegrou en Kasipora hunne werkplaatsen hebben. Zij worden door de blanken Saramaccaners, naar de rivier van dien naam (alwaar zij vroeger woonden), en onderling Wousie of Moejéré genoemd.

3e. Mantoewari, die aan de rivier boven Saramacca hunne woonplaats en langs dieselfde rivier, op Maripaston en in de kreek Mindrinetie hunne werkplaatsen hebben. Zij worden even als de Saramaccaners genoemd, daar ook zij, hoewel afgescheiden, aan dieselfde rivier wonen.

4e. Bonnienegers, wonende aan de rivier boven Marowyne; ze waren tot 1862 in slavenstaat bij de Aucaners, doch werden toen door tusschenkomst van het gouvernement daarvan ontheven. Hun naam zou afstammen van een vroeger weggeloopen neger, die zich aan hun hoofd had gesteld.

HOOFDSTUK III.

REGERING, WETTEN, RECHTSPLEGING.

Elk dezer stammen, behalve de Bonnienegers, heeft een opperhoofd, dat zij Granman (gouverneur) noemen; de aan deze door het gouvernement gegeven uniform, is een blauwe rok met epauletten, steek met witte pluche.

Bij de Aucaners is het opperhoofd Byman genaamd, een gedeeten, moedig en verstandig man, omstreeks 68 jaren oud.

Het opperhoofd der Saramaccaners heet Abram, een gebrekkig oud man, die zeer zwak van karakter is en weinig invloed heeft.

De Mantoewarienegers hebben een opperhoofd, Kalkoen genaamd, die, ofschoon bejaard en gebrekkig, toch nog fors van karakter kan geteemd worden.

Onder hunne opperhoofden hebben zij een zeker aantal kapiteins en raadslieden. De eersten zijn verdeeld in boschkapiteins, die het bevel bij oorlogen op zich nemen, en in huis- of landkapiteins, die de inwendige zaken met het opperhoofd behandelen. Het hun door het gouvernement geschonken teeken hunner waardigheid bestaat in een grooten stok met ronden zilveren bol (tamboormajoorstok), waarop het Nederlandsche wapen met „Je maintiendrai."

Zij bezitten eene groote, opene loods, die hun als hof dient en die zij Kroetoehoso noemen (waarschijnlijk afgeleid van het engelsche Court house).

Hunne wetgeving is zeer beperkt. Die een ander doodt, wordt met den dood gestraft; die iemand vergiftigt, ondergaat den martelkood, mits dat degelijke onomstootbare bewijzen voorhanden zijn. (Zie verder hoofdstuk XI.) Is de doodstraf niet van toepassing, zoo wordt de schuldige veroordeeld in zijn geslacht de vergelding te vinden. Zijne kinderen, kindskinderen en achterkleinkinderen moeten aan het geslacht van den vergiftigden persoon slaafsche diensten bewijzen.

Overigens handelen zij meest naar het oordeel en de beslissing hunner oudsten of raadslieden. De meeste straffen bestaan in zweepslagen.

HOOFDSTUK IV.

WAPENEN.

Deze bestaan uit geweren, houwers, boog en pijlen en lansen. In sommige gevallen bedienen zij zich ook van een soort knoeten.[1] Het gevaarlijkste echter wat zij bezitten, is eene menigte plantaardige vergiften, waarmede zij hunne vijanden heimelijk weten te treffen, en waarvan de gevolgen zich langzaam openbaren, maar meest doodelijk zijn. Zij mengen die niet alleen met een of ander voedsel, of in snuif en tabak, maar weten sommige slechts met een deel van het lichaam in aanraking te brengen, en daardoor tot de bezwarelijkste gevolgen aanleiding te geven.

[1] Een Indianesch wapentuig Apostoe genaamd.

3: Coster SR8 Bush Negroes

HOOFDSTUK V.

WONINGEN, ZEDEN, GEBRUIKEN, HUISHOUDEN.

Hunne hutten zijn laag van den grond opgetrokken uit onbewerkt rondhout, met pina, de bladen van een palmsoort [1], gedekt en met palissaden latten omslagen.

De rustbanken en slaapplaatsen daar binnen zijn mede van pallissaden gemaakt.

In de hut bevindt zich de haard of vuurplaats, waarop zij koken, en waarop zij altijd vuur aanhouden, daar zij ongaarne zonder blijven, ten minste niet zonder vuurtje slapen. Hunne wapenen hangen boven hunne slaapplaats, zijnde een hangmat, waarin somtijds man en vrouw te zamen liggen. Zelden wonen in éene hut meer dan een man en eene vrouw, met hunne kleine kinderen.

In pagalen, een soort gevlochten mandwerk, worden hunne kleedingstukken, benevens andere kleinigheden, geborgen; terwijl zij water, sterke dranken, suikersap, rijst, zout enz. in kallebassen en godos [2] bewaren.

Sommige hunner hebben cederhouten kleederkisten, welke vooral veel met koper moeten gemonteerd zijn; ook vindt men er soms likeurkelders met vergulde flesschen.

Voor het overige staat in de hut alles open.

Bij hunne maaltijden komen dikwerf vele mannen te zaam in eene hut, en eten uit eene groote kom of kallebas. De vrouwen verwijderen zich dan, na verschillende kallebassen of kommen met eten voor hunne mannen in den kring, waarin zij gezeten zijn, op zeer lage tafeltjes te hebben geplaatst, waarbij zij nimmer vergeten een grooten kallebas met zuiver water te voegen, om vóór en na het eten de handen te wasschen. De vrouwen verzamelen zich later in een andere hut om hetgeen zij vooraf voor zich hebben gehouden en wat door hunne mannen is overgelaten, te nuttigen.

Bevindt zich een grijsaard of hooggeplaatst persoon in hun midden, zoo wordt dezen den kallebas met eten het eerst aangeboden, om daaruit te gebruiken wat hij verlangt en het ten dien einde van een gewoon bord, ofschoon in den kring zittende,

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[1] Euterpe oleracea Mart.

[2] Beide uitgeholde vruchtschalen van de Crescentia Cagete L. en de Cucurbita lagenaria L., planten uit de fam. der Cucurbitaceen.

alleen te eten, terwijl de anderen uit de groote kom hunnen maaltijd doen. Over het algemeen praten zij onder het eten met elkander, aan welk gesprek ook de hooggeplaatste deel neemt.

De beleefdheid voor een gast ontspruit uit het denkbeeld, dat een hunner welligt onwetend een stuk zou kunnen nemen, dat de voorname persoon juist wenschte te hebben, en ofschoon hierop nu geene aanmerking zou gemaakt worden, kon het toch gebeuren dat dit den gast, voor wien zij bijzondere hoogachting koesteren, zou hinderen of dat hij zich hierdoor beleedigd zou achten. Het is vooral de ouderdom, dien ze hooge vereering toedragen.

HOOFDSTUK VI.

HUIS- EN VELDGEREEDSCHAPPEN.

De boschnegers gebruiken meest dissels om hunne corjalen of canos uit eerst gedeeltelijk uitgebrande boomen te houwen; voorts schaven en beitels om hunne (gewoonlijk cederhouten) [1] bankjes en parels of pagnaijen [2] te bewerken. Zij zijn er bijzonder op gesteld dat deze met vele figuren ingesneden zijn. De houwer is voor hen een onmisbaar werktuig, dat zij altijd bij zich dragen, en als kapmes, sabel en mes gebruiken, ja zelfs, om met de punt splinters of doornen uit de voeten te snijden. Veldaksen of bijlen gebruiken zij om boschen te vellen, ten einde hunne kleine bouwgronden aan te leggen, en het hout dat zij bij vlotten afbrengen en verkoopen, te bewerken.

De vrouwen bezitten behalve een houwer of mes ook houweelen, waarmede zij hunne landerijen en de plaats bij de woning schoon houden; bezems maken zij van pinapalm bloemtrossen, of van in schoven gebonden rijstaren. Scharen, naalden en spelden hebben zij gaarne, terwijl zij om te breijen een puntigen en omgebogen spijker gebruiken.

Met een zeker werktuig, dat zij kéké noemen, spinnen zij van boomwol hun naaigaren; ook hebben zij een rond houten werktuig, sepoe genaamd, waarmede zij zeer netjes en sterk

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[1] Cedrela odorata L.

[2] Hangmatspaan.

pandjes of kleedingstukken en andere breiwerken vervaardigen. Ook weten zij zeer mooije hangmatten van boomwol te maken.

HOOFDSTUK VII.

VOEDSEL, DRANKEN, VERSNAPERINGEN, ENZ.

Hun dagelijksch voedsel is meestal rijst en cassave [1], brood dat op eene ijzeren plaat wordt gebakken, en een smakelijk, langen tijd te bewaren voedsel oplevert. In den droogen tijd, de maanden September, October en November, levert de grond hun nog eene zeer melige en smakelijke aardvrucht, nappi [2] genaamd; het geheele jaar door echter verbouwen zij yams, zoete patatten [3], tayers [4] en cassave.

Bananen hebben zij alleen van tijd tot tijd, wanneer zij die op plantagies inruilen tegen vierkant hout, dat zij opzettelijk voor deze ruiling bewerken. Wild en visch weten zij zich veel te verschaffen; zout is een zeer gezocht artikel.

Zij bereiden hun voedsel steeds met veel inlandsche peper [5] en koken in hunne soep of blaf verscheidene boschgroenten [6], die zij dan met fijn gestampte bananen (afoefoe genaamd) of wel met cassave brood of rijst er in gedoopt, nuttigen.

Hunne lepels maken zij van een langen strook van de kallebasschil.

Zij zijn groote liefhebbers van pinda [7], een soort van aardnoot, waarvan zij verschillende lekkernijen maken.

Van spek houden zij bijzonder veel en koopen het zoo dikwerf zij in de stad zijn, gezouten en gerookt; zij nemen dikwijls vaten vol daarvan mede in het bosch en zijn er hoogst zuinig op.

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[1] Zoete cassaba, het zetmeel uit den wortel van Janipha Manihot, niet te verwarren met Jatropha Manihot, die de bittere cassaba geeft, welke, hoezeer door koken en gedurig afwasschen is te verwijderen, een zeer giftig bestanddeel bevat.

[2] Dioscorea sativa en Dioscorea alata L.

[3] Convolvulus Batatas L. en Batatas edulis Choisy.

[4] Wortel van Arum esculentum.

[5] Allen capsicum soorten.

[6] Kraroe, kalalve van de Amarantus oleraceus, Tajabladen van een arumsoort.

[7] Arachis hypogoea L.

Bloem of meel koopen zij alleen dan, wanneer zij een slechten rijstoogst hebben.

Als drank gebruiken zij rum of dram en maken soms van het sap uit suikerriet, dat zij op plantagies opdoen, een soort van gistenden drank, dien zij vooral bij feesten gebruiken. Zij geven aan jenever en bier de voorkeur boven wijn, waarvan zij geen groote liefhebbers zijn. De vrouwen houden veel van likeur.

Vele mannen en vrouwen rooken Amerikaansche tabak uit korte goudsche pijpen. Het snuiven is bij eenigen eene hartstogtelijke gewoonte.

HOOFDSTUK VIII.

FEESTEN, SPELEN, GODEN.

Vaste tijden voor de aanbidding hunner goden hebben zij niet, en doen dit alleen dan, wanneer zij ruim voorzien zijn van sterken drank, en zich een vrolijken tijd van drie of vier dagen willen verschaffen. Dan roepen zij alle buren te zamen om deel te nemen aan de te geven feesten, die bestaan in het aanroepen hunner goden, onder aanhoudend dansen en overmatig drinken.

Zij beginnen die feesten niet anders dan op een' Vrijdag en eindigen gewoonlijk 's Zondags of 's Maandags, afhangende van den meerderen of minderen voorraad drank, zoodat bij het gemis hiervan, het feest eindigt. Na den afloop zijn zij meestal uiterst moê en lusteloos, en geven zich dan minstens twee of drie dagen geheel aan de rust over.

Het is een bepaald vereischte bij die feesten zeer ruim van sterken drank voorzien te zijn, omdat er onverpoosd moet gedronken worden, ten einde in eene voortdurende bedwelming te blijven. Bij elken dronk storten zij vooraf een weinig op den grond, — opdat ook deze, waarop zij zich zoo vrolijk bevinden, in hunne genietingen deele.

De feestvierders zorgen dan, dat het hun volstrekt niet aan visch, wild, spek, rijst enz. ontbreke, daar zij er eer in stellen bij zulke gelegenheden de gulste gastvrijheid aan den dag te leggen.

De goden, die zij vereeren, zijn:

Loango Gado,
Papa Gado,
Cromantie Gado,

3: Coster SR8 Bush Negroes

namen voorzeker afkomstig van de verschillende afrikaansche volkstammen van die namen.

In de twee eersten verheerlijken zij de natuur en al het geschapene, waaruit dus blijkt, dat deze slechts ondergeschikte goden zijn van den ongenoemden eenigen grooten geest. De laatste wordt vooral als middelaar door hen beschouwd, die hunne wenschen aan den grooten geest overbrengt; hij wordt vooral bij lijkplegtigheden en voor raadpleging in ernstige ziekten aangeroepen.

Andere eere- of godsdienst hebben zij, voor zoover ik te weten kon komen, niet; alleen nog de vaste gewoonte om in de maanden October of November, nadat de groote drooge tijd zich voor goed heeft ingesteld, op den eersten Vrijdag van nieuwe maan, te zamen en met hun opperhoofd en kapiteins een groot feest te vieren, dat een algemeen verzoenings doel heeft, om hen van hunne bedreven misdaden te zuiveren. Dit feest, waarop varkens en pluimvee wordt geofferd, moet vier weken aanhouden en eindigt alzoo met de volgende nieuwe maan. Zij bidden dan dansende en zingende, terwijl ze van tijd tot tijd knielen om zegen af te bidden.

Op de plaats waar hun afgod staat, steken zij op sekere afstanden lange stokken in den grond, waaraan zij lange, smalle reepjes wit katoen bij wijze van vlaggen in menigte laten waaijen.

Dit feest, waarbij geene kosten worden ontzien, vieren zij met alle mogelijke plegtigheid; het wordt door oud en jong bijgewoond, en heeft bij hen zeer veel waarde.

HOOFDSTUK IX.

DENKBEELDEN OVER DOOD EN EEUWIGHEID.

Zij gelooven, dat met den dood het bestaan van den mensch eindigt, doch dat de geest van den afgestorvene niet geheel verdwijnt maar nog langen tijd onder hen blijft. Ook gelooven zij aan ongelukkige geesten, die door een vroeger misdadig leven, rusteloos moeten ronddwalen, terwijl het leven op aarde der rustige geesten vrij van misdaden zou zijn geweest.

Belooning hier namaals voor goede daden nemen zij niet aan;

misdaden worden echter, naar hunne meening, gestraft met rusteloos rondzwerven.

Zij zeggen dat die geesten alles weten wat er omgaat, en dat zij op hunne feesten er mede in aanraking kunnen komen, menigen wenk en opheldering ontvangen, en door verborgen teekens middelen tegen ziekten te weten komen, waaraan zij het volste vertrouwen hechten.

HOOFDSTUK X.

HUWELIJK EN HUWELIJKSLEVEN.

Hunne huwelijken vinden met weinig ceremoniën plaats. Dikwijls vragen jongelingen en ook wel mannen aan zwangere vrouwen, om indien zij eene dochter ter wereld mogten brengen, dat meisje voor hunne vrouw te bestemmen, en is dit eenmaal toegezegd zoo blijft zij ook bepaald als verloofde van den aanvrager beschouwd. Zoodra zij dan huwbaar is wordt zij met of zonder hare toestemming aan haren man overgegeven, en het mag een zeldzaam geval genoemd worden, wanneer zulk eene belofte verbroken wordt.

De haar toegezegde man ziet zijne toekomstige vrouw soms niet eerder dan bij zijne verloving, doch meestal bemoeit hij zich met hare opvoeding en geeft haar van tijd tot tijd geschenken, uit geld, pantjes en koralen bestaande.

Sommige nemen het hun toegezegde meisje reeds met het derde of vierde jaar tot zich, om haar dan verder groot te brengen.

De toezegging van pasgeboren meisjes vindt het meeste plaats zoo er tusschen ouders verpligtingen bestaan, zoo als in Hoofdstuk III is vermeld en bij de slaafsche onderwerping, die van de eene familie aan de andere bij vergiftiging moet plaats vinden enz.

Het is eene alledaagsche gebeurtenis, dat eene vrouw haren man of een man zijne vrouw om anderen verlaat.

Veelwijverij is sterk in gebruik en ik ken onder mijne werklieden verscheidene die drie of vier vrouwen hebben, waarvan de meeste zeer jong zijn. Enkele echter bezitten slechts eene vrouw.

Opmerkelijk is het, dat al de vrouwen met den man in eene hut slapen, terwijl hij dan nog wel een meisje, die hij tot zijne vrouw opleidt, ook bij zich houdt. Eene vrouw bevindt

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zich bij hem in de hangmat, en ligt met de voeten aan het hoofdeinde van den man en deze omgekeerd met de voeten aan het hoofdeinde van de vrouw, terwijl de andere vrouwen in hare hangmatten slapen.

Gaat een boschneger uit, hetzij om feest te vieren, of om hout naar de stad te vlotten, zoo neemt hij al zijne vrouwen mede; slechts in geval van ziekte blijven deze achter.

Zijne vrouwen krijgen afzonderlijk geld, waarom zij dan ook afzonderlijk voor zijn eten moeten zorgen, zoodat de eene des morgens, de andere des middags, eene derde des avonds de pot kookt, enz. Deze wijze van leven en hunne jaloersche aard breugen vaak huiselijke twisten te weeg, die zelden anders dan met bloedig vechten eindigen.

Bij het sluiten van een huwelijk is de man verpligt de ouders van het meisje als huwelijksgift eene lange, breede, wit katoenen slaapdeken, verscheidene gekleurde doeken en pantjes, eenig aardewerk zoo als kommen en borden, ijzeren potten en pannen en zoo al meer te geven, terwijl hij verpligt is bij die gelegenheid voor een ruimen voorraad sterken drank en suikerwijn te zorgen.

Feesten, spel of dans hebben zij bij hunne huwelijken niet.

Wordt een huwelijk ontbonden, zoo gaan de beide partijen weêr ieder naar zijne familie; zoo de daarin betrokkenen en ouden echter zulks afkeuren, gebeurt het, dat man en vrouw gedwongen worden met elkaâr te blijven leven, vooral wanneer er geene degelijke redenen en grieven bestaan.

De man is verpligt zijne vrouw of zijne vrouwen van voedsel, kleeding en sieraden te voorzien; zij, om den man overal te volgen, voor hem te kooken, te wasschen, en de huishouding waar te nemen.

De vrouwen zijn voorbeeldig zindelijk; borden, kommen en pannen worden altijd uiternate schoon gehouden, en ook bij het kooken van hun eten nemen zij de meeste reinheid in acht.

Bevinden zij zich in den tijd der menstruatie, zoo geven zij haren man onmiddellijk blijk daarvan door zich uit zijne woning te verwijderen en bij andere vrouwen in afzondering te houden; zij kooken, noch doen in dien staat het geringste voor hem, komen hem zelfs niet onder de oogen en blijven tot het einde afgezonderd; wanneer zij zich hebben gereinigd en aangekleed, versieren zij de schouders en armen met witte strepen, ten teeken

dat zij weder in hunnen normalen toestand zijn teruggekeerd. De streepen worden gemaakt door gestampte Adroe [1] met gemalen krijt en water te mengen.

Ook het voorhoofd en den hals besmeren zij soms op die wijze en verschijnen zoo voor hunnen man.

Tijdens hare afzondering bereidt en brengt eene andere vrouw, die tot de familie behoort, of ook wel eene vriendin, dagelijks eten, dat echter ten koste van de afgezonderde vrouw is. Deze dienst bewijzen zij elkaar wederkeerig.

De kinderen leeren al zeer vroeg hunne dansen en spelen en zijn bij de feesten altijd tegenwoordig.

Van de vroegste jeugd af wordt hun geleerd oudere menschen te achten en te eerbiedigen; vergrijpen tegen deze verpligte hoogachting worden streng gestraft.

Vooral de jongens worden reeds vroeg mede naar het bosch genomen en blijven daar bij het bewerken van hout of andere verrigtingen, zoomede bij jagt en visscherij en leeren al zeer spoedig zwemmen.

Mannen, vrouwen en kinderen baden zich dagelijks afzonderlijk in de rivier.

HOOFDSTUK XI.

LIJKDIENSTEN EN ANDERE PLEGTIGHEDEN.

De lijkdiensten vieren zij zeer plegtig. Sterft een hunner in Auca, dat is hun land, dan wordt het lijk gereinigd, de nagels geknipt, en in eene doodkist gelegd, waarin verscheidene en vooral kostbare kleedingstukken van den overledene worden gedaan en waarbij al de betrekkingen ook een nieuw stuk kleed (meestal doeken en pantjes) als aandenken medegeven; een afscheidsteeken waarop veel prijs wordt gesteld. Vandaar dat zij altijd zorgen een genoegzamen voorraad nieuwe en ongebruikte doeken te bezitten.

Gewoonlijk ligt het lijk, vóór de begrafenis plaats vindt, een dag in de opene kist om er afscheid van te kunnen nemen. De betrekkingen zitten dan roudom de kist en weenen onop-

[1] Een knobbelachtige wortelstok van den Cyperus rotundus L.

houdelijk op eene hun eigenaardige, meestal zingende wijze, waarbij zich ook van tijd tot tijd de bezoekers voegen.

Na de ter aarde bestelling gaan de naaste bloedverwanten gedurende acht dagen op een op den grond gespreide mat; de treurdagen houden. Gedurende dien tijd wordt er bij afwisseling luid geweend, waarbij de vreemdsoortigste gebaren worden gemaakt, terwijl dag en nacht, doorgaans bij afwisseling, sprookjes met vele zinspelingen, en altijd eindigende met een morele oplossing, worden verteld.

In deze sprookjes, Anansitori (Spinnekopgeschiedenis) genaamd, speelt meestal de spin als een persoonlijk wezen de hoofdrol.

De vrouwelijke nabestaanden dragen over man, vader en moeder als teeken van rouw, een jaar lang, witte of blaauwe doeken om het hoofd, en een witten doek om het lijf. De mannen dragen slechts drie maanden een witten doek om hoofd en lijf, doch bedekken zich gedurende een geheel jaar, (daar zij dan niet geheel gekleed mogen gaan) enkel met een zw[illegible]mdoekje. Ook onthouden zij zich een geheel jaar van [illegible] dragen van sieraden.

Sterft een hunner op de werkplaats, in de stad of elders, dan wordt het lijk een weinig haar van het voorhoofd afgeschoren, en vervolgens zonder plegtigheden begraven. Dit haar wordt in een nieuw stuk linnen of katoen gebonden en naar Auca of hunne vaste woonplaats gebragt, waar het dan eene behoorlijke begrafenis ondergaat, waarbij al de gewone plegtigheden worden in acht genomen alsof het lijk daar ware.

Wanneer een hunner plotseling of aan eene vreemde ziekte overlijdt, waardoor er vermoeden van vergiftiging kan bestaan, wordt het lijk onmiddellijk na den dood en vóór gewasschen te zijn in een Boesipapaja [1] boom (die gespleten en dan te zaam gebonden is even als een halve holle boom) van ten minste vijf voet lang, gelegd. Deze soort van kist wordt door twee geheel vreemde en onpartijdige mannen, die daartoe van andere plaatsen uitgenoodigd zijn, van het Oosten naar het Westen gedragen langs al de aanwezigen, die daartoe in twee rijen moeten geschaard zijn.

Waar nu het lijk de twee dragers door zware drukking op het

[1] Het is een holle boom van zeer zacht en onbruikbaar hout, dat opengespleten, van binnen op de bamboes gelijkt; de bladeren zijn breed en raspachtig.

hoofd dwingt stil te staan, daar begint het onderzoek, en men vraagt aan het lijk of hier, waar nu stilgestaan wordt, de plaats is, waar opheldering gegeven kan worden. Wanneer men eene duidelijke beweging van den geholden boom opmerkt, zoo is het eene bevestiging. Indien, nadat driemaal de vraag is herhaald, geene in het oog loopende beweging wordt waargenomen, is het antwoord ontkennend, en men gaat met het lijk door tot aan het einde van de aan weêrszijde geschaarde menigte. Elk beijvert zich bij zulke gevallen tegenwoordig te zijn, om geen blaam op zich te werpen of verdenking te verwekken.

Wanneer echter bevestigend is geantwoord, dan vraagt men, of hier de juiste persoon of wel een naastbestaande van dien zich bevindt; wordt ook hierop bevestigend geantwoord, zoo vervolgt men met naar den graad van bloedverwantschap te onderzoeken, totdat men eindelijk zal hebben uitgevonden, wie de eigenlijke persoon is. Daar dit in het bijzijn van zoovele personen als getuigen geschiedt, wordt het als een geldig bewijs aangemerkt, en het lijk begraven. Hoe onbegrijpelijk en onmogelijk dit ook schijne, is deze handelwijze toch inderdaad bij de boschnegers steeds in gebruik. Ik ben daarvan meermalen ooggetuige geweest.

Eenige dagen later wordt de aangeduide persoon, wanneer hij niet tegenwoordig was bij bovenvermeld onderzoek, opgespoord, des noods met geweld gehaald, en voor den gouverneur of het opperhoofd gebragt, die hem in tegenwoordigheid der kapiteins of raadslieden ondervraagt. Bij ontkenning wordt hem iets te drinken aangeboden, waaraan hij echter niet zal voldoen, wanneer hij schuldig is, daar het gebleken is, dat wie daarvan drinkt met een kloppend of ongerust hart, dikwijls directe kenteekenen openbaart, zoo als braking, opzwelling, bleekzucht enz. Wanneer de persoon, die (in weerwil van de overtuiging zijns misdrijfs) dit heeft willen trotseren, wordt hij door de afschuwelijkste en ongehoordste folteringen ter dood gebragt, terwijl bij bekentenis hij met de zweep gedwongen wordt op te geven, wie hij in zijn leven meer heeft vergiftigd.

Daarop worden al de betrekkingen van den vergiftigden persoon geroepen bij de strafoefening tegenwoordig te zijn, en hem met een nijptang de een na den ander, met alle mogelijke kracht aan de ooren te trekken. Vervolgens wordt hem een schotel met pindablaf voorgezet, waarin een schildpad moet gekookt zijn, benevens eene tomtom, van rijpe bananen gemaakt. Dit alles toch wordt als het lekkerste eten beschouwd. Hij wordt dan

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weder met de sweep zwaar geslagen, waarna hij het voor hem gereed gemaakte eten moet, en onmiddellijk daarop op een roosterswijze aangelegd groot vuur ongebonden gaan zitten, zoodat hij totaal tot asch verbrandt.

Nooit echter wordt een beschuldigde vóór het verloop van drie maanden na het onderzoek ter dood gebragt, omdat er misschien nog kans zoude kunnen bestaan, dat zijne onschuld bleek.

Bij eene bekentenis en bij het leveren van duidelijke bewijzen dat de gestorvene redenen heeft gegeven om te worden vergiftigd, komt dikwijls de schuldige met een ligte straf vrij; somtijds wordt ook met algemeene goedkeuring vergiffenis geschonken, onder voorwaarde, dat de schuldige tot in zijn derde geslacht, de verpligting op zich neme, om de nazaten van den mishandelde in alles van dienst te zijn. Het gebeurt ook wel dat bij verschillende andere misdaden den dader zijne misdaad geheel wordt vergeven, doch op zijne kinderen tot in het derde geslacht de verpligting wordt opgelegd om even als bij vergiftiging slaafsche diensten te bewijzen.

De meeste dier slaafsche diensten bestaan gewoonlijk in het geven van geld, sterken drank of levensbehoeften, waardoor dikwijls veel gearbeid moet worden, om daaraan te kunnen voldoen. Zij hebben daardoor iederen dag de vrees dat van hen dit of dat kan gevergd worden. Er zijn echter voorbeelden, dat daarvan geen te groot misbruik wordt gemaakt.

Twaalf maanden na de begrafenis vindt er altijd eene groote bijeenkomst in de hut van den overledene plaats, alwaar de rouwtijd met vreugdebedrijven eindigt. Uitbundige feesten worden er dan gevierd, en dien nacht buitengewoon veel gedronken, gegeten en eereschoten gedaan. Ieder in de buurt, voor zoover het hem mogelijk is, is daarbij tegenwoordig.

Dit feest wordt Tesa, het eindigen van den rouwtijd, genoemd, en neemt een aanvang, nadat een der naastbestaande, die het meest in aanzien is, eene groote callebas vol water in de regterhand neemt, en daarmede uit de hut langs de naastbij gelegene andere woningen langzaam voortwandelt, en door een groote hoop volks gevolgd wordt, waarbij hij hier en daar het water Trowéwatra dropsgewijze op den grond sprengt, zeggende: gelijk dit water zal ook de ziel des overledene zuiver zijn, en alles wat hem lief was, zal op aarde rustig blijven zonder door hem, die als geest zich in de geestenwereld bevindt, te worden gestoord.

Daarop volgt een tweede, die even als de eerste een callebas, maar thans met geestrijken drank gevuld, in handen heeft, en van tijd tot tijd eenige droppels daarvan op den grond sprengt, ten teeken, dat zij bij deze gelegenheid ook door drank den overledene met vreugde gedenken.

Dan begeven zij zich weder in de woning, waar allen verzameld zijn, en vieren tot het aanbreken van den dag een genoegelijken nacht met zang en dans.

HOOFDSTUK XII.

KARAKTER, DEUGDEN EN ONDEUGDEN.

De boschneger heeft, zoo als ik reeds hier boven zeide, zeer veel eerbied voor den ouderdom en voor aanzienlijken; zij zijn jegens hunne naaste betrekkingen eerlijk, waarop zij anders niet kunnen roemen. In hunne gewone bezigheden zijn zij niet lui, maar werken wanneer het moet, onvermoeid. Omtrent vreemden zijn zij gulhartig en voorkomend, te meer wanneer zij veronderstellen kunnen op belooning aanspraak te mogen maken. Jaloezij, afgunst en kwaadsprekendheid zijn hunne grootste ondeugden. Zij hebben omtrent vele zaken eene antipathie, die zij trefoe (treef) noemen. Zoo eet bijv. de een dit, de ander dat niet. Ook zijn zij zeer bijgeloovig in kleinigheden, waaraan zij zich tot in verre nageslachten houden, dat noemen zij obia (woordelijk vertaald betoovering, tooverij).

Eene Aucasche meid, die door gehechtheid aan mijne vrouw en mij al ruim vijf jaar bij ons in de stad woont, daar zij sedert het overlijden van haren man, die een mijner vertrouwdste werklieden was, zich aan geen ander wilde verbinden, en allerlei huiswerk bij ons verrigt, drijft haren trefoe om geen ongeschubden visch te eten zoo ver, dat zij niet eens het vuur, waarop een pot waarin vroeger eens ongeschubde visch was bereid, zal gebruiken om haar eten te koken. Een andere ken ik die geen melk gebruikt, en ook geen vleesch hoegenaamd (met uitzondering van spek) eet, of 't moet wild zijn en wel, dat door haar gereed is gemaakt, voorgevende, dat alles met boter bereid wordt, en dat boter van melk komt. Kaas echter eet zij wel, zeggende, dat daar volstrekt geen melk in voorkomt.

HOOFDSTUK XIII.

ZIEKTEN, KWALEN ENZ.

De grootste geessel is ook bij hen de Lepra Boasi, (melaatschheid en Elephantiasis Fuchs), venerische ziekten, been- en ligchaamspijnen en zweren. Zij genezen zich meestal met kruiden, die zij in menigte bezitten en waarmede zij dikwerf bijzonder gelukkig werken. Abcessen snijden zij zelf open, zetten zich in de meeste gevallen bloedige koppen, die zij van kleine callebassen maken. Voor vele pijnen wrijven zij zich met spiritus op paradijszaad [1] getrokken en met krapaolie in, die zij van de krapanoten [2] verkrijgen.

Bij moeijelijke gevallen en gevaarlijke ziekten vragen zij echter raad aan den Cromantie gado, dat niet dan door middel van zang en dans kan geschieden, waarbij veel gedronken wordt.

Een daartoe geregtigde Wentie man (afrikaansch afgodenpriester of priesteres) of een invloedrijk persoon weet zich door drank, zang en dans bij de anderen zoo op te winden, dat hij op eene razende wijze, zonder besef wat hij doet, bovenmenschelijke sprongen, kromningen en verdraaijingen met zijn ligchaam maakt, in het vuur springt en danst, totdat hij eindelijk bewusteloos op den grond valt, en als een ton rollende, schuimbekkende, de akeligste en vreemdsoortigste geluiden geeft, dat zoo lang aanhoudt, tot hij eindelijk voor dood ergens wordt nedergelegd. Zoo lang hij zonder eenige beweging of geluid als in diepen slaap blijft liggen, mag men hem volstrekt niet nabij komen of aanraken, maar moet steeds zorgen hem in zijne vaart uit den weg te gaan en in niets hinderlijk te zijn.

Ligt hij daar als dood neder, met uitzondering alleen dat zijne oogen vonkelen en in hare kassen geheel verdraaid zijn, waarbij men dikwijls alleen het wit en het rood ziet, en hij naar lucht hijgende zijn borst beweegt, dan wordt hij voorzigtig naar de plaats, waar de Cromantie gado gesteld is, gebragt, alwaar hem vragen betrekkelijk die ziekte worden gedaan, welke men wenscht te genezen en waarbij zich de zieke of, bij diens afwezigheid, eenige zijner laatstgedragen kleedingstukken moeten bevinden.

Die vragen worden met zeer veel plegtigheid gedaan, en door

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[1] Sem. paradisie Ningre kondre pepre van de Amomum paradise Afzel.

[2] Carapa guianensis Obl.

den daar liggende beantwoord. Zeer dikwijls zijn de bij die gelegenheden opgegeven en vreemdsoortigste kruiden van gunstig gevolg geweest.

Wanneer zij tot zulke gevallen overgaan, dan is de lijder verpligt, zoo lang hij niet genezen is, de opgegeven medicijnen te blijven gebruiken, wat dikwerf tot uitkomst heeft gehad dat de zieke na lang lijden toch eindelijk genas.

Wanneer hij in het minste de bij die gelegenheid opgegeven middelen veronachtzaamt, kan hij er vaak op rekenen, dat er voor hem geen baat meer bestaat, omdat hij zonder den bepaalden eerbied en inachtneming der voorschriften, roekeloos de Cromantie gado tot herstel heeft aangeroepen.

Hoe deze zaak ook moge beschouwd worden, is het toch eene zekere waarheid, dat zij vast gelooven, dat de uitkomst niet zal falen, mits men zich in niets te buiten ga en verwaarlooze.

Het gebeurt dan soms, dat iemand na zijne genezing, zich gedurende zijn geheele leven van het een of ander onthoudt, wat hem tot herstel geboden is. Vele beweren dat de Lepra, die zij krijgen, is toe te schrijven aan het niet in acht nemen van datgene wat hun of wel hunne ouders verboden was.

Meest alle boschnegers hebben Wentie of opwekkingen der afrikaansche afgodische dansrazernij, dat men moet zien, om het te kunnen gelooven en begrijpen. Zij kunnen dikwijls wel vijf minuten lang in een sterk vuur ongekleed en barrevoets dansen, zonder zich in het minste te branden, en zonder dat eenig teeken van zenging aan hen te zien is.

Als blanke moet men groot vertrouwen van hen genieten, wil men de vergunning verkrijgen diergelijke plegtigheden bij te wonen. Nimmer zal ik de gewaarwording vergeten, toen ik een dergelijk feest bijwoonde; het had plaats van zeven uur 's avonds tot twee uur in den morgen. Gedurende al dien tijd bevond ik mij in eene zeer onaangename spanning. Ofschoon ik ver van het door ons bewoonde gedeelte (namelijk de stad Paramaribo) mij in het hooge bosch alleen in hun midden bevond, toch was ik door de stellige overtuiging van mijnen invloed op hen, niet bevreesd. Ik was echter dien nacht niet gerust, en ware het niet, om hen niet te hinderen, of niet te toonen, dat ik mij bij deze plegtigheid niet op mijn gemak gevoelde, ik zou, hoe gaarne de uitslag der bewegingen wenschende te zien, mij verwijderd hebben. Ik bleef echter tot alles afgeloopen was, ook om de onderscheiding die mij te beurt viel van daarbij tegenwoordig te

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mogen zijn, en om het in mij gesteld vertrouwen niet te kwetsen, terwijl ik mij in gedachte verheugde later aan anderen de beschrijving dezer plegtigheid te kunnen geven.

HOOFDSTUK XIV.

SPRAAK, ODO'S EN VERTELLINGEN [1].

Hunne spraak bestaat in het alhier gewoonlijk gesproken wordende negerengelsch, doch op een zangerigen toon met een eigenaardig accent.

Als bewijs dat zij gedurende het gesprek u goed begrijpen, herhalen zij voortdurend het „Yaa!"

Wordt er een kind onder hen geboren, dan geven zij het buiten een algemeenen ook nog een dagnaam, waarin bij hen bijzondere beteekenissen schuilen, bijv.:

De op	Zondag	geboren	jongens	Kwassie	de	meisjes	Kwassiba.
„ „	Maandag	„	„	Kodjo	„	„	Adjuba.
„ „	Dingsdag	„	„	Kwamina	„	„	Abenie.
„ „	Woensdag	„	„	Kwakoe	„	„	Akoeba.
„ „	Donderdag	„	„	Jauw	„	„	Jaba.
„ „	Vrijdag	„	„	Kofi	„	„	Afie.
„ „	Zaturdag	„	„	Kwami	„	„	Amba.

Hunne odo's of spreekwoorden hebben in den regel betrekking op hun eenvoudig boschleven, bijv.:

„Te pikien boessi kiebrie joe boen, dan joe no moesoe falla „biegie boessi te joe toeka naka hen;" d. i.

„Wanneer gij door een klein bosch beschut zijt, wees er „tevreden mede, en eischt het grootere niet, dat gij toeval„lig niet."

Eene andere beteekenis is:

„Kan het weinige voldoen, tracht dan naar het meerdere niet."

„Na trefie avie die de falla pikien boe, de falla bigie „wantoe;" d. i.

„De bijl, die kleine boomen velt, velt groote boomen ook."

Eene andere beteekenis is:

„God die den worm niet verlaat, zal ook den mensch niet „verlaten," of wel:

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[1] Odo, spreekwoord, vertellingen Fori, en sprookjes Anansi-tori geheeten.

«Niemand is zoo ongelukkig of er kunnen dagen van voor-«spoed voor hem komen;» ook.

«Acht uw vijand niet te ligt.»

HOOFDSTUK XV.

ALGEMEENE KENNIS.

Deze staat bij hen op een zeer lagen trap, en bepaalt zich hoofdzakelijk tot eene grondige kennis van houtsoorten en geneeskrachtige planten, bij hen in gebruik.

HOOFDSTUK XVI.

WIJZE VAN REIZEN, ENZ.

Hunne wijze van reizen is zeer eenvoudig. Meestal vergezellen vrouw en kinderen hen, hoogst zeldzaam gaan zij alleen. Voedingsmiddelen nemen zij nooit meer mede dan zij hoog noodig achten, ten einde geen last van groote bagaadjes te hebben, waarvoor hunne kleine, smalle, uit een boomstam gemaakte vaartuigen ook weinig geschiktheid bezitten.

Als natuurmenschen kunnen zij zeer goed tegen ontberingen, maar dragen toch steeds zorg om wanneer zij op reis gaan, gewapend te wezen. Deze jagt- en oorlogswapenen bestaan in geweren, kruid, lood, boog en pijlen, benevens een houwer en een bijl.

Dikwijls kunnen zij zich weken lang op die reizen in een klein smal corjaal (canoe) ophouden; aan gemakken is natuurlijk veel gebrek, doch zij stellen zich hiermede tevreden, mits zij slechts een plekje in het corjaal hebben waar zij een vlammend vuurtje kunnen aanhouden, hetwelk dient tot bereiding van spijzen en omdat de neger in het algemeen daarin eene voor hem aangenaame geselligheid vindt. Van veel beteekenis zijn hunne reizen niet, zij strekken zich nooit over zee uit, wat bij de verschillende Indiaansche stammen wel het geval is.

HOOFDSTUK XVII.

WIJZE VAN OORLOGVOEREN, PLEGTIGHEDEN BIJ HET SLUITEN VAN VREDE EN VERBOND.

Oorlog wordt bij en onder hen zeldzaam gevoerd, doch heeft dit plaats, dan draagt hun strijd het karakter van wraakzucht, list en haat.

Bij het sluiten van vrede, verbindt de onderworpene partij zich aan de eischen der overwinnaars te zullen voldoen, mits die onderling als billijk zijn geoordeeld. Bij de plegtigheden, welke daarbij in het oog worden gehouden, behoort ook een groot gebruik van drank.

De vredesbepalingen worden in een groot gebouw (loods) beslist. Deze loods is geheel open, zij noemen die hun geregtshof, afgeleid van Kroetoe hoso of piketti [1]. Wanneer zij zich daar bevinden, hetzij dit plaats vindt na het eindigen van eenen onderlingen strijd, of wel tusschen echtgenooten, familieleden of vroegere vrienden, dan verzamelen de hoofden der partijen zich in de bedoelde loods, en kiezen hunne plaatsen in het oppergedeelte van het gebouw. Vervolgens plaatsen zich de in deze zaak betrokkenen in de nabijheid der hoofden, en rondom dezen al de daar aanwezigen, die het publiek uitmaken.

Allen geplaatst zijnde, neemt een der hoofden een beker, (in den regel een calleba) gevuld met drank, of nog niet gegist suikerriet. Daarvan stort hij op verscheidene plaatsen in de loods eenige droppels op den grond, hetgeen beteekent, dat hunne voorvaders, die op die plek ook eens geseten en regtgesproken hebben, in aller herinnering moet opgewekt worden en waarbij de afgestorvenen, door hen het eerst dit offer aan te bieden, eers bewezen wordt.

Deze plegtigheid volbragt zijnde, gaat de beker bij ieder rond en elk der aanwezigen neemt er een kleine teug uit. Nadat die geledigd is, en geen hunner zich hieraan onttrokken heeft, wordt de vrede als gesloten beschouwd; alle veeten zijn vergeven, en de vijandschap heeft opgehouden te bestaan.

Gebeurt het echter dat een der aanwezigen weigert te drinken, dan moet hij van zijne weigering openlijk reden geven, en dan geschiedt het wel eens dat de overweging omtrent het geschil op nieuw een aanvang neemt.

[1] Piketti, plaats waar de executie der straf plaats vindt.

Aldaar verwijderen de ouden of raadslieden zich gewoonlijk uit de loods en laten hun Granman[1] alleen achter. Zij, die zich verwijderd hebben, verdeelen zich in onderscheiden groepen en houden onderling raad, maken de zaak duidelijk kenbaar en deelen elkander hunne beschouwingen mede, hoe zij de punten van verschil wenschen opgelost te zien. Zijn zij het daaromtrent eens, dan keeren zij tot het opperhoofd in de loods terug en de behandeling der zaak vindt daarna op nieuw plaats, tot er eindelijk overeenstemming bestaat. Gedurende deze beraadslaging der ouden of raadslieden heerscht er onder hen een plegtige ernst. Vrouwen worden bij deze vergaderingen soms toegelaten, doch hebben nooit eene stem, en komen slechts om te luisteren en te zien.

Nadat de zaak tot genoegen van alle partijen is beslist, gaat de heker nog eenige keeren onder de aanwezigen rond, en daarna begeeft ieder zich stil en rustig naar zijn kamp of woning.

HOOFDSTUK XVIII.

MUZIEK, MUZIEKINSTRUMENTEN.

Hunne muzijk is zeer eenvoudig en eentoonig, men maakt er gebruik van onder begeleiding van zang en dans, bij feestvieringen en eeredienst-plegtigheden.

De instrumenten worden verschillend gebruikt en wel naar den aard der gebeurtenissen. Zoo wordt de zogenaamde lange tromm, Agida[2] geheeten, bij eeredienst-plegtigheden bespeeld; bij andere gelegenheden gebruikt men de kleine of Apientie-tromm. Vervolgens hebben zij een instrument, door hen kwakwabankje geheeten, zijnde een bankje of plank van zeer hard hout, waarop met twee stokjes geslagen wordt.

Dansen zij de Papaá-wenti, een Afrikaansche afgoderdanse, dan gebruiken zij de Agida-tromm. Bij den Sangé of gewonen dans, bespelen zij de kleine tromm of Apientie.

De Seesa dansen zij op den maatslag der kleine tromm en van het kwakwabankje; bij het uitvoeren van den laatstgenoemden dans heerscht er onder de dansers een groote zaijver en hij die

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[1] Hoofd, ook Gouverneur.
[2] Papaá-tromm.

het langst volhoudt en de vlugste en juiste uitvoerder der hierbij bepaalde passen is, wordt als overwinnaar toegejuicht.

Bunja of Baljaar behoort tot de echt Afrikaansche dansen. Deszelfs naam geeft men ook aan de Afrikaansche guitar, een muziekinstrument vroeger in de volkplanting algemeen bekend, thans geheel verdwenen. Deszelfs dans voert men uit onder den maatslag der beide trommels en het kwakwalankje. Bij deszelfs dans voorzien de vrouwen zich van een saka-saka, een speeltuig den vorm hebbende van een grooten rammelaar, gemaakt van een callebas met korralen of pitten van de canna indica en canna lutea gevuld, ook door hen viengoe geheeten. Deze saka-saka draaijen en schudden zij volgens de maat van den door hen aangeheven zang, hetgeen een eigenaardig vreemd geluid verwekt.

HOOFDSTUK XIX.

KLEEDING, SIERADEN, TATOEËRING.

Hunne kleeding is zeer eenvoudig. De vrouwen dragen gewoonlijk slechts een stuk gekleurd lijnwaad of katoen-streep en bont geboeten, van twee el lengte en *één* en een kwart el breedte. Dit slaan zij om hun midden, en laten het tot onder de knie-gewrichten afhangen, hetgeen zij pangi noemen. Dit onderkleed der negerinnen wordt alzoo genoemd naar Pano (Spaansch) en Pagne (Fransch). In den regel dragen zij het bovenlijf bloot, terwijl zij om den hals, de handpolsen en voetenkels korsalenzeeren dragen, waarmede zij zeer ingenomen zijn. Het hoofdhaar vlechten zij gewoonlijk in eene menigte kleine tressen en binden de uiteinden daarvan met wit katoenen draden. Eenige hunner dragen het haar uitgekamd, waardoor hunne hoofden, op eenen afstand gezien, veel op groote ragebollen gelijken. Zij zijn zeer versot op bloedkoralen, die als versiersel bij hen groote waarde hebben.

Vieren zij feest, dan dragen zij nog eene menigte gekleurde doeken van katoen of neteldoek om den hals, en tooijen zich verder met koperen en ijzeren ringen om de polsen, waartusschen korsalenzeeren, op dezelfde wijze als het Europeesche meisje hare armbanden draagt. Aan de vingers dragen zij eene menigte koperen ringen, soms wel tot tien stuks; ook wordt de duim over het algemeen hiermede versierd.

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De mannen vergenoegen zich in den regel slechts met een eenvoudigen schaamtedoek of gordel, doch gaan zij er toe over om zich op te schikken, dan dragen zij een breed geranden hoed, welke meestal met bonte kleuren geschilderd is; rond den bol dragen zij een breed lint, waarvan de einden lang over den rand afhangen.

Om hunnen hals dragen zij dikwijls een snoer bestaande uit tijgertanden, de slag- en gewone tanden van de boschwijnen (de Pakier en Piengo) en die van andere diersoorten, welke zij op de jagt hebben buit gemaakt; dezelfde versierselen dragen zij aan eenen breeden band hangende onder de knieën, hierbij wordt nu en dan eene schelp, een stuk koper, ijzer, lood enz. gevoegd. Tot hunne versierselen behooren ook de Papaguai- en West-Indische raven-[1] veren en kleine kwastjes van boomwol vervaardigd.

De laatst bedoelde versierselen noemen zij obia's.[2] Even als de vrouwen dragen zij gekleurde doeken om den hals.

Gelijk bijna alle tropische en afrikaansche volkeren tatoeëren zij zich. Mannen, vrouwen en kinderen ondergaan deze kunstbewerking en ofschoon zij er op gesteld zijn die als versiersel te bezitten, zoo zien zij op den met vele tatoeëeringen versierden man, gelijk de Europeaan op eenen verwijfden pronker neder. Er zijn er onder hen wier gelaat en ligchaam met deze insnijdingen als bedekt zijn, maar zij worden door de arbeidzamen en meest in geest ontwikkelden met verachting aangezien. Zij zeggen dat deze zich te veel aan de weelde hechten en luiaards moeten zijn, om aan de zucht dier pronkerij zoo veel tijd te verspillen. Wanneer door den tijd en vergroeijing der huid de insnijdingen verflauwen, worden die door hernieuwde kerving weder opgewekt.

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[1] Lafrue Psittacus Macao L.

[2] Obia, tooverniddel. Hierin zien zij dezelfde werkende krachten als het bijgeloof in amuletten en talisman's.

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HOOFDSTUK XX.

DE HOUDING TEGENOVER EUROPEANEN EN DE BEHANDELING VAN DEZEN TEGENOVER HEN.

De boschnegers beginnen, wanneer zij weinig sterken drank, kruid en lood meer in voorraad hebben, aan den arbeid te denken, zij verlaten hun kamp en gaan naar de werkplaatsen, waar zij gewoon zijn bomen te vellen en die tot vierkant hout te bewerken, hetgeen zij vervolgens tot vlotten te zamen binden en de rivieren af voeren om het op de plantages en te Paramaribo te verkoopen.

Sommigen hunner, vooral de Saramacaners, brengen korjalen, pindanooten [1], ook sardinooten en Tonkaboonen [2] naar het door Europeanen bewoonde gedeelte der kolonie; zij verruilen gewoonlijk dit alles voor sterke dranken. Te bejammeren is het, dat hun handel met de blanken dikwerf met onaangenaamheden gepaard gaat. Doorgaans behandelen de laatstgenoemden hen met minachting. Vooral vindt zulks maar al te dikwerf op de plantages plaats, waardoor natuurlijk bij de boschnegers vrees en ontevredenheid tegenover de blanken ontstaat; het is dus niet te verwonderen dat zij, na herhaaldelijk in hunne billijke regten te kort gedaan te zijn, door wantrouwen en wraak gedreven, dikwijls wederkeerig de Europeanen trachten te bedriegen.

Om hunne verhouding tegenover de Europeanen duidelijk te maken zal ik eenige handelingen aanhalen, die mij in vroegere jaren zijn bekend geworden en die nog niet geheel in de kolonie opgehouden hebben.

Zoo is mij bekend dat zij met houtwaren, die zij aan hunne korjalen of kanos binden, na ze met boschtouwen (taaije hanenstengels) tot vlotten gemaakt te hebben, naar de een of andere plantage gegaan zijn om die te verkoopen, en de Europeanen op eene schromelijke wijze hebben misleid.

Zij vlotten hun vierkanthout op de volgende wijze. Vier dikke sterke rondhouten worden regt-dwars, twee boven en twee onder het korjaal aan elkander gebonden; daartusschen wordt het hout ingeschoven en vast gemaakt, zoodat het geheel een stevig langwerpig vierkant vormt, in het midden waarvan de korjaal en

[1] Arachis hypogaea L.
[2] De vrucht van den Dipteryx.

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waarmede zij verre reisen van de boven naar de beneden rivieren afleggen. Deze tot vlotten gemaakte en door het korjaal medegevoerde houtwaren, noemen zij kokroko; ligt en drijvend hout binden zij aan lange sparren met boschtouw (boesitetei) geheeten [1]; zoo aan het zware hout verbonden slepen zij het mede de rivieren af.

HOOFDSTUK XXI.

ONDERLINGE VERSTANDHOUDING.

Niet lang geleden bevond ik mij bij hen in de rivier Boven-Commewijne in de Tempati (een zijtak der genoemde rivier links in het opvaren; deze zijtak loopt tot in het gebergte, dat als roodenberg vermeld staat).

Bij hen vertoevende deed ik vele pogingen om hen te bewegen de niet tot hunne stammen behoorende schuilhouders en wegloopers van lateren tijd op te sporen en hen bekend te maken dat er bij gouvernements besluit in den loop van het jaar 1863, vóór de emancipatie, eene algemeene amnestie omtrent hen is uitgevaardigd, zoodat zij zonder vrees voor eenige straf naar hunne vroegere woonplaatsen konden terug keeren. De reden die mij bewoog hen hiermede bekend te maken, was, dat ik in het terugkeeren dezer schuilhouders een belangrijk voordeel voor de kolonie zag, daar het gebrek aan arbeiders bij den landbouw zich steeds dringender doet gevoelen.

Ook beloofden zij aan mijnen wensch te voldoen door de bij hen gebruikelijke teekens daar te stellen, die de schuilhouders zouden bekend maken met mijn verlangen om hun de goede tijding mede te deelen.

Ten einde de schuilhouders te doen weten, dat zij werden aangezocht uit het woud te komen, gaan zij op de volgende wijze te werk.

Zij binden witte en blauwe, ook wel witte en zwarte lapjes katoen, ter lengte van een half el en ter breedte van 3 duim Rijnlandsch aan de boventakken der boomen, aanvangende in het diepst gedeelte van het woud en voortgaande naar den rivier-

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[1] Van de copaiva.

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over. De hoogst geplaatste vlaggetjes zijn van donkere kleur, terwijl de allengs lager gebondene lapjes naar de rivierzijde wit zijn.

De schuilhouders, die zich in die streek ophouden en bij de jagt het bosch doorkruisen, ontdekken deze teekens en zien daaruit dat er iets gaande is; hetzij dat andere schuilhouders zich met hen in aanraking willen stellen of dat zij voor gevaar te vreezen hebben.

De wijze, waarop die teekens aan de boomen gehecht zijn, doet hen verstaan, dat wanneer zij dieper boschwaarts ingaan, er voor hen eene donkere en gevaarlijke toekomst zal geboren worden, terwijl, wanneer zij er toe kunnen besluiten om zich naar den rivieroever te begeven, zij een wit, dat is, een helder pad zullen kunnen bewandelen en dat zij die witte vlagjes volgende menschen zullen vinden, die of met hen gemeene zaak willen maken of hun belangrijke inlichtingen wenschen te geven.

Daar deze schuilhouders steeds bevreesd zijn voor overrompeling of misleiding, is het vertrouwen in deze teekens niet altijd terstond gevestigd en dus begeven zich eerst eenige hunner met list en voorzigtigheid benedenwaarts. Komen zij in de meer bewoonde streken dan bespieden en onderzoeken zij alles wat zij verlangen te weten, dikwerf strekt zich dat onderzoek tot aan Paramaribo uit. Nu dachten de boschnegers dat wanneer zij hierin hunne gewoonte volgden, het hun duidelijk zijn zou waarom die teekens in het bosch geplaatst waren en dat zij naar aanleiding daarvan al spoedig met de uitgevaardigde amnestie bekend zouden worden.

Ik moet hier nog bijvoegen, dat er later werkelijk vele wegloopers of schuilhouders uit de bosschen gekomen zijn, waaronder vooral genoemd moet worden de zooveel opgang gemaakt hebbende Broos, opperhoofd van een schuilhonderkamp achter de plantage Rac a Rac, die door velen gevolgd terugkwam.

Ik moet bekennen dat ik dit opperhoofd nooit gezien heb, en mij met deze gebeurtenis volstrekt niet heb ingelaten; de vraag is echter of deze Broos en gevolg uit eigen beweging teruggekomen zijn, dan wel of zij zich zonder vrees onder de blanken begeven hebben door de op mijn verzoek geplaatste geruststelstellende teekens.

Dat de aan mij verkleefde boschnegers door het plaatsen van

teekens aan mijn verzoek hebben voldaan, is niet te betwijfelen, doch welke uitkomst daar het gevolg van is geweest kan niet met zekerheid gezegd worden.

HOOFDSTUK XXII.

MISLEIDING JEGENS HEN GEPLEEGD.

Met een enkel woord sprak ik in hoofdstuk XX en vroeger van de misleidingen die de blanken tegenover de boschnegers plegen. Ik was eerst beschroomd de waarheid hieromtrent onverholen mede te deelen. Daar die echter door mij niet wordt vermeld als algemeen van toepassing te zijn, omdat zooals in alles ook hier gunstige uitzonderingen bestaan, zoo acht ik het mij ten pligt mijne bevinding bekend te maken.

De boschnegers, het valt niet te ontkennen, hebben door de menigvuldige misleidingen, die zij van de Europeanen en andere vrije bewoners dezer volksplanting ondervonden een afkeer jegens hen gekregen. Zij stellen dus bedrog tegenover bedrog, en list tegenover list.

Het is mij gebleken dat vele hunner wanneer zij met houtvlotten op de plantages aankomen om het hout daar te verkoopen, na menigmaal bedrogen te zijn, alle listen in het werk stellen om van hunne zijde de Europeanen te bedriegen. Ik laat nu in het midden, wie van beide partijen de voorname of aanleidende oorzaak is en de grootste schuld in deze verkeerde handelingen heeft. Wanneer eene familie boschnegers met vlotten hout op eene plantaadje aanlandt, dan gaat de man aan den wal, doch mag zich volgens oud plantaadje gebruik niet verder begeven dan tot aan de woning des gezagvoerders, die naar de soorten en de prijzen per voetmaat vraagt (de prijzen verschillen veel naar gelang van kwaliteit en dikte). In den regel neemt men met den gevraagden prijs geen genoegen en dingt tot dat de verkooper zich met 40 centen voor hout van 64 tevreden stelt.

Is de koop gesloten dan staat de gezagvoerder toe om het houtvlot in de plantaadjekreek te brengen, dat dan vervolgens, na het eindigen van den veldarbeid, door de hulp der negers van de plantaadje, des avonds op den wal wordt gesleept.

Den volgenden morgen wordt het hout geïnspecteerd en gemeten, en gewoonlijk, al is het hout nog zoo goed en geheel

volgens de opgave des verkoopers, worden er nog vele aanmerkingen gemaakt, en het gedane bod op 32 of 24 centen de voet gebragt.

Wat moet nu de arme boschneger doen? Het hout terug nemen is moeijelijk, schier onmogelijk, want, daar hij gewoonlijk met zijne vrouw en een paar kinderen daar is, zijn zij te weinig in getal om de groote stukken van 25 tot 40 voetem lengte, bij eene dikte van 7/7 tot 10/10 duimen, weder van den wal in het water te slepen. Hij is alzoo geheel afhankelijk van den goeden wil en de hulp des gezagvoerders en der veldarbeiders van de plantaadje. Het daar laten liggen gaat even moeijelijk, want, welligt wanneer hij met eenige zijner stamgenooten tot hulp terug komt, wordt hem niet toegestaan het hout weg te halen. Hij neemt het lage bod dus aan. Doch daarmede zijn de mislaidingen nog niet ten einde. Het accoord nu voor goed gesloten zijnde, gaat men tot de meting over, en het behoort waarlijk niet onder de vreemde verschijnselen, dat men daartoe een maat van 6 voet gebruikt, die men den boschneger verklaart slechts 5 voet lengte te hebben.

Deze bedriegerijen van meer of minder strafwaardigen aard, vinden helaas maar al te dikwijls plaats, en gedurende mijn vijfjarig plantaadjeleven was ik er menigmaal ooggetuige van. Is het dus te verwonderen dat deze menschen, na herhaaldelijk te zijn bedrogen, zulks de blanken ook trachten te doen?

Wanneer bijv. de boschneger in het hooge woud een boom heeft geveld en ontdekt dat die binnen in bijna hol is, dan bewerkt hij dien, niettegenstaande dit gebrek, tot een vierkant blok, zorg dragende de zigtbare holten boven en onder, door er houten pennen in te slaan, onzigtbaar te maken. Daarna neemt hij klei en modder en weet elk spoor te doen verdwijnen, de ontdekking van welk bedrog ook zelden plaats vindt, vóór dat er een stuk van het blok is afgezaagd.

Ook plegen zij veel bedrog door verschillende kwaliteiten hout van veel en weinig waarde, doch die elkander gelijken, den kooper voor goede waar in de hand te stoppen, bijv. eene weinig geachte kwaliteit zwarte kabbes [1] voor bruinhardhout [2] te verkoopen, welke beide soorten alleen door houtkenners te onderkennen zijn.

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[1] Andira retusa H. B. K.

[2] Andira bij de Arrawakken Indianen Wassila geheeten.

Hebben zij hout bewerkt dat aan de eene zijde reeds eenigzins verrot is, of wel is het wormsteekig of gescheurd, dan weten zij het zoodanig in hunne vlotten te plaatsen, dat de goede kant boven ligt, welk bedrog eerst ontdekt kan worden, wanneer het op den wal gesleept is en men door elk stuk om te draaijen en scherp na te zien hiervan overtuigd wordt.

Is het hen mogelijk bij de blanken iets te kunnen ontvreemden, zij zullen het niet laten. Ook maken zij zich schuldig aan logentaal en geven zich de namen van hen, die nog vertrouwen bij de blanken bezitten, hetgeen zij ongestraft kunnen doen, omdat de gelijkheid hunner kleur en gelaatstrekken het na eenig afzijn voor de blanken hoogst moeijelijk maakt hen te herkennen.

Dat herhaaldelijk bedriegen heeft dan ook te weeg gebragt, dat de blanken hen tot schurken en leugenaars verklaren, maar de boschnegers, ofschoon zij zulks niet openlijk doen, zeggen hetzelfde van hen, en beschouwen zich zelven als veel trouwer en braver. Dat zij zulks met eenigen schijn van regt doen, valt niet te ontkennen; immers tegenover elkander als stamgenooten zijn zij zeer eerlijk, en vertrouwen op elkanders woord. Dikwerf gebeurt het onder hen dat eene familie uit het kamp op reis gaat of afwezig is, en deze het bebouwd land met rijst, aardvruchten, bananen, bakoven en suikerriet beplant, onafgesloten achter moet laten. Doch nooit zal een ander hunner daarvan iets ontvreemden. Zoo ook zijn hunne woningen open, daar de ingang door geen deur afgesloten is; bij hun vertrek laten zij daarin het een en ander achter, doch nooit zullen zij bij hunne terugkomst daar iets van missen. Zeker draagt hiertoe bij, dat in de nabijheid van ieders bezitting een teeken of afgodisch zinnebeeld staat, door hen Obia geheeten, waaraan eene groote kracht wordt toegeschreven, en voor hen die misschien oneerlijke handelingen zou willen plegen, aangemerkt kan worden als bij de Europeaan het opschrift: «Hier liggen voetangels en klemmen.» De vrees, die zij voor deze Obia's hebben is niet ten onregte, want gebeurde het al eens dat misbruik van vertrouwen plaats vond, dan zal de schuldige, hoe lang zulks ook duurt, bij ontdekking de wraak van den bedrogene niet ontgaan, welke wraak dikwijls bestaat in het toedienen van geheime middelen waardoor vreeselijke ziekten en kwalen zoo niet de dood ontstaan.

Zij zijn zeer naijverig op de trouw hunner vrouw of vrouwen,

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want de boschneger is zeer jaloersch, terwijl de vrouwen niet zijn vrij te spreken voor verleiding vatbaar te zijn. Het vindt dan ook onder hen nog al eens plaats dat de huwelijkstrouw geschonden wordt.

Van de onderscheidene stammen zijn de Aucaners de meest beschaafde, maar daarentegen ook de listigste, hetgeen men kan toeschrijven aan hun meerderen omgang met Europeanen. Onder hunne stammen zijn zij de magtigste, en hun getalsterkte wordt op 4 à 5000 zielen berekend.

Volgens de verklaring der boschnegers genoot tot heden nog geen blanke het vertrouwen en de gehechtheid, die ik van hen ondervond. Hoe geheimzinnig zij zich ook steeds tegenover de blanken gedragen, omtrent mij maken zij daarin eene uitzondering. Is er iets geheimzinnigs onder hen, dat ik gaarne wensch te weten, zoo zullen zij het mij op mijn verzoek dadelijk zonder eenige beschroomdheid mededeelen.

Ook moet ik gelooven, dat zij voor mij meer dan algemeene hoogachting koesteren, daar zij nu reeds tien jaren lang getrouwe arbeiders voor mij waren; een voorregt, waarop geen bewoner in deze volkplanting buiten mij aanspraak kan maken.

Eene familie onder hen, wier hoofdman onlangs is gestorven — naar hun zeggen door vergiftiging, welke misdaad zou hebben plaats gevonden uit wangunst, daar ik hem boven anderen bevoorregtte, hetgeen hij om zijne trouw en arbeidzaamheid verdiende — heeft in de nabijheid harer afgodsteekenen een hut gebouwd, waarin zij een ruw beeld, van cederhout gesneden, plaatste en het met witte verw beschilderde. Naast dat beeld hadden zij een tafeltje gesteld en daarop eenige vogelslagpennen van de Pouwies [1], een klein fleschje met zwart vocht, inkt verbeeldende, benevens eenige strookjes papier gelegd. Nabij dit tafeltje hebben zij eenige treden in den grond gegraven, en bij de onderste trede eene goot gemaakt, die naar de rigting der rivier loopt. Willen zij nu, wanneer zij dansende feest vieren, mij vereeren, dan plaatsen zij eenige kinderen daarbij die voortdurend in pullen aangevoerd water storten, dat van de treden af in de goot vlietende, rivierwaarts stroomt. Terwijl deze ceremonie plaats vindt, worden er door de feestvierende menigte gezangen ter mijner eere aangeheven.

Het beeld moet nu volgens hun begrip, mijne afbeelding zijn,

[1] Een fasant de Crax Alector L.

de witte kleur het teeken dat ik een blanken ben, terwijl penneu, papier en inkt de attributen zijn van der blanken hoogere beschaving, het stroomende water dat ik afstam van over de zee hier heen gekomen volkplanters.

De vrouw van de hierboven aangehaalde hoofdman kwam kort na het overlijden van haren man bij mij in de stad, en bleef in mijn huisgezin voor vast haar verblijf kiezen, waarin ik haar gaarne toegaf. Getrouw en oplettend volbrengt zij niet alleen eene menigte huishoudelijke diensten, maar voorkomt zelfs de wenschen mijner echtgenoot daaromtrent, en weigert uit liefde voor ons elke geldelijke belooning.

Ik hoop met deze schets eenigzins te hebben bijgedragen tot meerdere bekendmaking van hetgeen onze schoone maar weinig bekende kolonie Suriname belangrijks bevat.

4: Geijskes G, N-5 (1952) 1954 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Agriculture among the Bush Negroes of the Maroni

[De Landbouw bij de Bosnegers van de Marowijne]

by D. C. Geijskes

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[Title page]

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Agriculture among the Bush Negroes of the Marowijne /Maroni/

by D. C. Geijskes (1)

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1. Introduction

121 182 When one goes to the small communities of the inhabitants of the bush who live in the interior districts of Surinam, one quickly sees, upon examination, the basis on which the maintenance of such communities rests. The struggle for existence among primitive peoples covers the food supply and the resistance that can be offered against illness and pests. These two factors ultimately determine the birth surplus, which as a result expresses the possibility for survival.

121 [161] Among the Bush Negroes we see in the course of the years an increase in the population, an advance, therefore, in spite of the obstructions of nature. But this advance creates new problems. [101] It was during the Medical-Scientific Expedition to the Southern Border of Surinam, held from February to July, 1952, that, in conjunction with the medical investigation in the gathering of data about the "housekeeping" of the Bush Negroes of the Marowijne /Maroni/ and the Tapanahoni, we were struck above all by the problem of the food supply and the food itself. There is little sense in paying attention only to medical care unless at the same time attempts are made to improve the food.

433 262 An important part of the food supply is produced by agriculture. This supplies the Bush Negroes with the most, but not the best food. Next to it a number of forest products serve to provide for the need for food fats, while hunting and fishing must provide the protein.

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121 The agriculture of the Bush Negroes, however, has become
[241] a matter which urgently demands the attention of the administration as a result of the wasteful use of land. Until now little attention has been paid to this, but if one wants to develop the interior of Surinam, this problem will also have to be looked into.

101 The data provided here throw light upon the agriculture of
121 the Paramaccaners and the Aucaners on the Marowijne and the
[103] Tapanahoni. They were gathered during the above-mentioned medical expedition and during a trip to the Tapanahoni in October, 1952. The facts thus refer primarily to the Marowijne, but in general they are certainly also valid for the other rivers along
121 which the Bush Negroes live. It is a typically Surinam problem,
648 connected with the circumstance that the Bush Negroes have worked in the deep interior in the same fashion for hundreds of years, independent of the life in the civilized coastal region and almost completely outside the sphere of interest of the government.

2. The Grounds System

241 For the planting of agricultural crops the Bush Negro lays out little so-called food grounds. One is to understand by this cleared pieces of ground in the virgin forest on which the crops
[311] are cultivated. The grounds lie along the rivers on higher flat lands, mostly terraces that are not submerged during high water or, in the absence of such terrain, on the slopes of hills. They are more or less circular and have a surface area of a half to one and a half hectares.

241 During the long dry season (October, November) the men
221 clear the grounds. Two to three weeks thereafter the forest that
132 has been felled is burned; the smaller branches are cleared away,
462 but the trunks are left lying. The ground is not worked. As soon as the rains of the short rainy season begin, they start to plant and sow. This planting time falls in December and January. The wives of the Bush Negroes (for only the women do the further work) now plant all kinds of crops at the same time on one and the same ground.

/136 cont./

241 the same ground. The crops are thus scattered higgledy-piggledy
221 or at best are arranged in little patches. The harvest periods of these crops have a certain sequence. Two groups are to be differentiated, namely, (1st) the rapidly growing "annual" crops, and (2nd) the perennial crops, which grow more slowly.

/137/ To the first belong:

maize, is harvested after three months (in February and March);
watermelon, idem;
okra, produces edible fruit in three months (February, March) and still for a time after that;
pumpkin, gives ripe fruit in four months (April) and thereafter;
pinda /peanut/ and ogobo, blooms after three months (February, March) and supplies produce after five months (May, June);
bongila, idem;
tobacco, is ripe for picking after 4-5 months, blooms after 7 months;
rice, is ripe after 4-5 months (May-July).

To the second category belong the perennial crops:

sugar cane, is cut already after 5-6 months, but the stools are kept up to two years and longer;
cassava, the tubers are harvested after 7 months and longer;
tajer, napi, yams, and patatas, are harvested (aside from exceptions; see separate list) after 8 to 10 months (August to November), but also continuously thereafter;
pineapple, is ripe after 9 months;
bacove, ripe fruit after 10 months, the stools are kept;
bananas, harvested after 10 to 12 months continuously after that from the new stools.

241 The advantage of this method of planting is that the grounds supply something during the entire year. A disadvantage, however, is that new grounds must be laid out each year. In this manner, various grounds are always in use for a household /gezin/. In the first year the ground supplies above all the products that grow most rapidly and some perennial crops; in the second year one harvests principally cassava, bacove, bananas,

/137 cont./

241 and sugar cane, while in the third year some pineapples, bananas, and sugar cane are also harvested.

Thereafter one surrenders the ground to the second growth (kapoeweri) shooting up, here called "kauwé," and to the weeds, like the cutting grass "baboen nefi" (Scleria secans), which prevent further growth of the cultivated crop.

This system of clearing grounds requires much land. It is a severely predatory cultivation which can only be employed when sufficient free land is available. Only after many years can one return to the same piece of forest to lay out a new ground, depending on the recovery of the forest, more particularly on the top growth.

[592] Among the Bush Negroes of the Marowijne it is the rule that
[476] each household provide for itself. The man clears the ground with help of family /familie/ members or friends, who in return for food are taken in during this time. If the man has /138/ one wife, then ordinarily two grounds per year are cleared; if he has more than one wife, then he clears two grounds for each wife.

[622] The captain /kapitein/ of a village lays out his ground him-
[643] self, helped by his villagers. The granman /chief/, however, does not work himself, but, regardless of the number of his wives, has his family and other helpers clear grounds in return for food for the
423 workdays. The products of the grounds of a household are not joint
593 property, but rather the wife asserts her rights over the produce from one ground, while the man claims that from the other ground. Thus a distinction is made between the agrarian property of the wife and that of the husband.

3. The Plague of Ants and the Ant-bushes

241
825 In the agriculture of the Bush Negroes the plague of ants plays a significant role. The leaf-cutting or parasol ants (Atta sexdens and Atta cephalotes) are very destructive because of their attacks on the leaves in the plantings. The first-named species is the greatest evildoer in the interior districts of Surinam. Cassava in

/138 cont./

241 825 particular suffers greatly from this type of ant, but maize, tajer, and bananas are also eaten. This plague is so serious that the clearing of a new ground is partially determined by the occurrence of the nests of these ants at the place. Normally these nests lie fairly far apart in the forest, but as soon as the crops of the grounds come within the domain of the ants, the nests grow rampantly. In addition, at just about planting time the ants produce numerous sexual forms, which, as a result of the cleared lands, have a favorable opportunity to swarm and found new colonies. The leaf-cutting ants are therefore "Kulturfolger" /followers of culture/.

As a result of this plague of ants, it is usually not possible for the Bush Negroes to cut extensions to the existing grounds for longer than two to three years. After all, the kapoeweri of the abandoned pieces of ground functions then as a hiding place for the younger ant-nests, and one drags, as it were, the ant plague along with one. There is no combating the ants, and through impotence the Bush Negro is forced to yield the field. This flight before the ants consists in the search for new grounds farther into the bush or, in case this is no longer possible for some reason, in the occupation of new lands elsewhere along the river.

137 136 /139/ Stahel (1) has pointed to the fact that among the Bush

[113] 1. Het Bosnegervraagstuk en het Coronieplan /The Bush Negro Question and the Coronie Plan/, Department Landbouwproefstation Surinam /Department of Agriculture Research Station, Surinam/, Report No. 9, October, 1944, 28 pp.

Negroes the older grounds change into a low second-growth, called by him "ant-kapoeweri" /ant-bush/. In effect, in many places where a dense Bush Negro population is found, such a strip of second growth occurs along the rivers. According to Stahel, this inferior bush comes 13 about through the presence of the great nests of leaf-cutting ants. Ac- [114] cording to his calculation, at a density of six ant nests per hectare (a maximum which is confirmed in the vicinity of Paramaribo, but which, according to my own observations in the Bush Negro lands,

/139 cont./

13 seems too high to me), the ants can bring into the soil each year two to three tons of leaf material per hectare. As a result the soil would be so enriched with humus and, in addition, through the construction of the numerous nest corridors, receive so much extra ventilation that the oxygen content and the microbiological condition of this soil would tend to differ from the mineral soils in which the virgin forest is rooted. As proof of this, it is stated "that even the oldest ant-kapoeweri directly behind the villages shows no tendency to grow into normal high forest" (p. 13).

114 It does not seem correct to me to ascribe this kapoeweri
137 phenomenon only to the presence and the activity of the leaf-
136 cutting ants. In my opinion the ants here constitute a troublesome contributing factor, for when the virgin-forest grounds are abandoned by the population and no new food material is available to the ants while the kapoeweri gradually grows into higher forest, then the balance in the ant population re-establishes itself. This process takes place at a slow rate, depending on the local circumstances, but it leads to the re-establishment of the original situation. There is, however, one condition connected with it, namely, that the forest be left in peace for a long enough stretch.
241 Now this last is not the case for the grounds area of the Bush Negroes.
134 They return too soon (within ten years) to clear grounds again, with the consequence that the soil becomes too exhausted and the recovery of the forest becomes impossible.

171 Proof for this viewpoint is already provided by Stahel (loc.
241 cit.) in his consideration of the agriculture of the upland Indians.
137 The absence of the ant-kopoeweri there is not a matter of a lesser
[136] ant infestation, as Stahel /140/ believes -- for in places this is equally serious -- but of a less intensive use of the forest lands.
[161] The Indians are present in small numbers (a few hundred, as against
423] thousands of Bush Negroes), while only communal plots are laid out for one village, and not different ones for each family. In
[361] addition, the Indians move frequently in order to find new hunting and fishing grounds.

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241 There is yet another factor which plays a role in the origin
134 of the grounds-kapoeweri. This is the use of fire in clearing the
137 ground. The burning of the cut forest is done at the expense of the humus on and in the soil. The fertilization with ashes that one obtains by it only partially covers this loss. Furthermore, under the influence of the fire there are great disturbances in the balance of the microflora and fauna of the soil, hindering the conversion of organic materials into inorganic compounds. Sun and rain bring changes in the structure of the scorched earth, which forms a cement-like crust and becomes sealed. Also the growing of cultivated crops, especially cassave, draws many mineral components from the soil.

13 It is clear that the soil needs time to recover after this disturbance of the balance. This period of time is estimated at 25-30 years. The leaf-cutting ants play a part in this; they again enrich the soil with humus by bringing great quantities of leaves into their ground nests. In addition, they ventilate the soil by digging numerous nest corridors. In this manner the ants contribute
[242] to the recovery. It is well-known, moreover, that the soil on old leaf-cutting ant nests is fertile; one likes to plant bananas on it. If we assume with Stahel that in this kapoeweri six ant nests per hectare are found, then these nests together would only have a maximum surface of one-tenth of it. This would never be able to hinder the full growth of the forest.

136 That the leaf cutting ants occupy the secondary growth, or at
137 least are present there in greater numbers than is normally the case
241 in the forest, may be a consequence of the laying out of new grounds within their domain. Because of the lack of land, the Bush Negroes are constantly trying to lay out grounds again in this forest. The ants, moreover can maintain themselves because there are various forest trees that supply the ants with sufficient leaf material.

13 Thus, because of both the decreased capacity of the soil and
311 the presence of the leaf-cutting ants, the ant-kapoeweri forms a terrain that has become unusable for present-day primitive Bush Negro agriculture./141/ And from the standpoint of forestry too the ant-kapoeweri is worthless.

/141 cont./

4. The Agrarian Law

241 There is yet another circumstance which adversely affects
423 the agriculture of the Bush Negroes. As among many primitive peoples, so also in the life of the Djoeka /Djuka/ customary law plays an important role. We have already seen that at least two grounds per year are laid out per household. In fact it comes down to this, that both the man and the woman possess a ground of their own. Now these two grounds do not lie next to each other or close to each other. On the contrary, the one ground is always hours away from the other one; it is to be found on the other side of the river or elsewhere along a forest creek. One might think that this is a kind of division of risks. In actuality it is a question of family property. The ground of the wife is cleared in the area of her family, and the ground of the man in his family complex. The grounds are thus laid out with reference to the large family and not with reference to the household. Each family has a definite area where it has the right to clear grounds. This area lies along a forest creek, or one lays out a path from the river through the forest, along which the grounds
[578] are cleared. Not infrequently, quarrels arise over the use of land by "unauthorized" persons on distinctly family land.

A Bush Negro thus cannot simply select a piece of forest for his ground wherever he pleases. He is bound by the law of family property. This applies not only to the families among themselves, but in a larger context also to the villages. Each village has its area within which the families from that village lay out grounds. Only through marriage can men lay out grounds for their wives in the area of another village.

These complications in agriculture lead to the circumstance that the hunger for land arises much sooner than would otherwise
[361] be the case. Add to this the fact that many Bush Negro villages remain in existence for a very long time, sometimes 100 years at
[161] a stretch, in the same spot. It is therefore not surprising that through the growth in population in such centers, too, the limit of this predatory cultivation has been reached.

000 /141 cont. /
241 of this predatory cultivation has been reached. The nearby
423 agricultural lands are kept in use with too brief a rest period, with
[134] the result that the soil is overworked and the periodic recovery
[125] of the forest proceeds at an ever slower pace. In addition one
struggles to an increasing degree with the problem /142/ of the
leaf-cutting ants, which keep the easily accessible places occupied.

241 The consequence of this circumstance is that the Bush Negroes
311 are forced to make the grounds farther and farther from their vil-
[484] lages. One travels for hours up or down the river in order to
[422] reach good land. When one cannot make good use of a forest
creek in order to transport the produce from the field, one is
forced to carry the harvest for one or two hours through the forest
to the river. The Bush Negro does not go farther than a two
hours' walk (about six kilometers from the river, see the map /see
p. 13 /).

241 On the Tapanahoni one spends even days in traveling to less
311 populated areas in order to plant and to harvest. One then estab-
361 lishes so-called work camps along the river, from which one
[103] operates in the surrounding areas. This is the case, among others,
between Godoholo and Granbori for people from Drietabbetje or
311 other centers. That one does not go even farther up river, all the
423 way past the last village, Granbori, has to do with a prohibition
643 by the granman of the Aucaners. That is, the latter wants to re-
serve the lands lying beyond this point as hunting lands and there-
fore will not make them available for agricultural purposes.

241 The inhabitants of the villages along the lower Tapanahoni,
311 such as Sajé, Clementi, and Malobbi, frequently lay out their food
423 grounds in the Lawa, where they can have at their disposal agri-
361 cultural lands as far as the Aboenasoengoe Falls. Farther upstream
103 on this river the Bonni or Aloekoe Negroes assert their rights.

5. Differences between Aucaners and Paramaccaners

101 The conditions given above apply in the main to the Aucaner
162 Bush Negroes of the Tapanahoni. They number today approximately
[311] 6,500 persons. The Paramaccaner Bush Negroes of the Marowijne,
approximately 1,700 in number, are in somewhat more favorable

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101 162 311 circumstances because with their lower population density they are less seriously in need of land. But the same fate awaits them in the near future. In addition, the cutting of the forest has more serious consequences in this region because as a result exploitable timber is lost. Along the Tapanahoni, above the greater falls, woodcutting is impossible for the time being, so that the loss of wood in these districts does not as yet play an economic role here.

6. Measures toward Improvement

433 The question now is whether the grounds-operations of the Bush Negroes must be regulated by a higher authority. My advice is: The /143/ sooner improvement can be brought about in this, the better, and for the following reasons.

[311] 1st. Because of the grounds-system practiced from olden times, the Aucaners of the Tapanahoni in particular now have such a land shortage that further growth of the population is thereby hindered.

[262] 2nd. The food supply of this Bush Negro society is precarious and one-sided; this threatens to become more and more unfavorable, with the consequence that the health situation will require more and more care.

3rd. The Bush Negroes cannot be considered capable of bringing about changes for the better in these agricultural methods by themselves.

[167] 4th. Occupying these districts becomes less and less attractive for the younger generation, whereby a spreading of the [464] population over other areas takes place. The men try to find work in the lowlands or in the concerns in French Guiana.

5th. Through the wasteful use of land the supplies of wood along the rivers are in danger of becoming lost entirely.

6th. It is to be feared that unless help is offered through government channels in time to help this bush population out of the impasse, its social and economic retrogression will soon become seriously felt.

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433 The solution of this problem in my opinion lies in this, that in the first place agricultural methods which are based upon a better and more economical use of the land must be practiced. It is the task of the Department of Agriculture to investigate which possibilities the lands permit and which crops can best be cultivated; it is for this reason that to these observations is added a list of crops presently in use among the Bush Negroes. A small team of young Bush Negroes will have to be trained by the Agricultural Information Service to familiarize them with the new methods.

Next to that, combating the ants will have to be seriously taken in hand in conjunction with the plans for a modified agriculture. For this, too, people from the area itself will have to receive training, and a permanent work-team will have to be formed. It is unfeasible and unnecessary to clear the entire area now in use. Insecticides such as carbon sulfate, methylbromide, and parathion -- applied with the necessary caution -- could be used with success in places.

/144/ The District Administration will also have to provide co-operation in order to find a compromise between the customary laws of the Bush Negroes and the new regulations to be introduced concerning the use of land.

7. The Cultivated Crops and Their Use

241 Although for the most part the cultivated plants are those
[171] generally in use as agricultural crops in Surinam, there is still not
[114] much known in detail concerning the crops that are cultivated by the Bush Negroes for their sustenance. Giving a general survey of these plants is thus necessary first of all, with a report on the way in which they are used.

[174] From a more historical point of view it is of interest to point to a number of important plants that are of African origin and have only still remained in use among the Bush Negroes, such as
[177] agobo and bongila. Furthermore presumably there are still varieties of ordinary cultivated plants present here -- such as sugar cane, bacove and bananas, species of tajer and yams -- from the

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241 [177] time that the runaway slaves took these with them from the plantations then in existence.

It is therefore worthwhile in various respects to explore what is
241 being cultivated. The following summary has been put together
114 from the data of my own observations and from information pro-
[128] vided by various Bush Negroes. This list is not complete; what is lacking, however, is probably of minor importance.

A. Cultivated Crops That Are Grown on the Food Grounds

244 Bitter cassava (kasàba).

[262] This is the most important crop, from which the cassava bread and kwak are made. One plants the shoots in December, but also in March and April. After 12 months the harvest begins; in case of a food shortage they are dug after only seven months. Yellow and white varieties are distinguished according to the color of the contents of the tubers. To the yellow varieties belong: witti tiki, which is kept on the grounds up to two years, blaka tiki, which stands on the grounds only one year, and taja tiki, which provides produce for a long time and is especially good for the making of kwak. To the white varieties belong: amosiang, sanang kasaba,
[252] and domberi. Cassava bread is made from this. In the making of kwak all the colors are mixed together in order to obtain the desired yellow color. Each variety separately provides a less tasty product.

252 On the Marowijne one makes more kwak (kwaka) than cassava
[184] bread, while on the Surinam River and the Saramacca only cassava bread /a map and Figs. 1-14 appear here/ /145/ is baked with the flour. Kwak is prepared in the following manner: The tubers, after they are peeled, are put in water in a korjaal (1) for two

1. korjaal = boat.

days and then grated. This grated cassava is then allowed to sour in a box or a korjaal; after that the grated cassava is expressed

[text continues on p. 21]

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Survey map of the agricultural lands of the Bush Negroes of the Marowijne /Maroni/. Made from aerial photographs by the Central Bureau Luchtkaartering Paramaribo /Central Bureau for Aerial Surveying, Paramaribo/. Taken in 1947.

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[31] Fig. 1. Ground of a Paramaccaner on a hill beside the river. For want of flat terrain, the slopes of hills are used. The surroundings are second growth. -- Marowijne near Grankreck, Oct. 1952.

Fig. 2. Newly laid-out ground of an Aucaner, in young second growth. The slender trunks are typical. -- Tapanahoni, Saniki, Oct. 1952.

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Fig. 3. Ground on the slopes of the Malobbi range. The surroundings are primary virgin forest; in the distance, the Lely range. -- Tapanahoni, Malobbi, Oct. 1952.

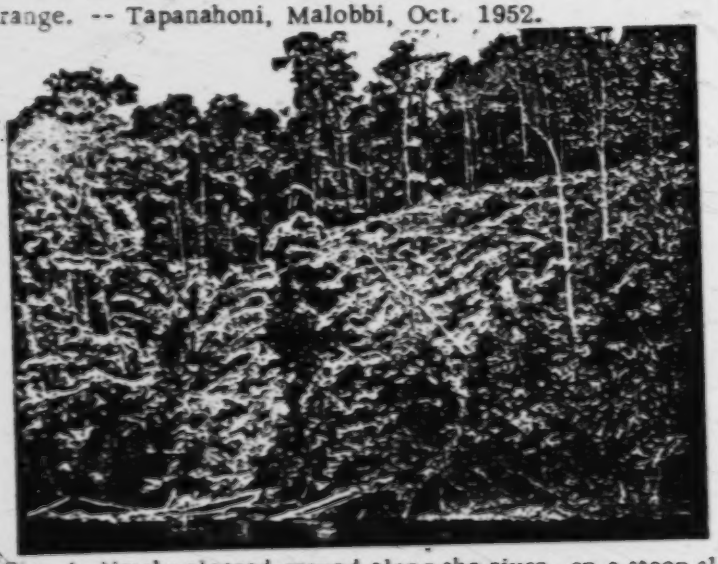

Fig. 4. Newly cleared ground along the river, on a steep slope. The danger of erosion is great. The surroundings are second growth. -- Marowijne near Grankreek, Oct. 1952.

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Fig. 5. Virgin forest in the Malobbi range, with severe fire-scars from a food-ground (in the foreground). -- Tapanahoni, Malobbi, Oct. 1952.

Fig. 6. Food-ground on river terrace, planted for three months. In the foreground, rice and cassava, behind them maize. The surroundings are kapoeweri and, at the right, high secondary growth. Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, March, 1952.

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Fig. 7. Ten-month-old food-ground with high cassava. On the right, kapoeweri; weeds in the foreground. -- Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, Oct. 1952.

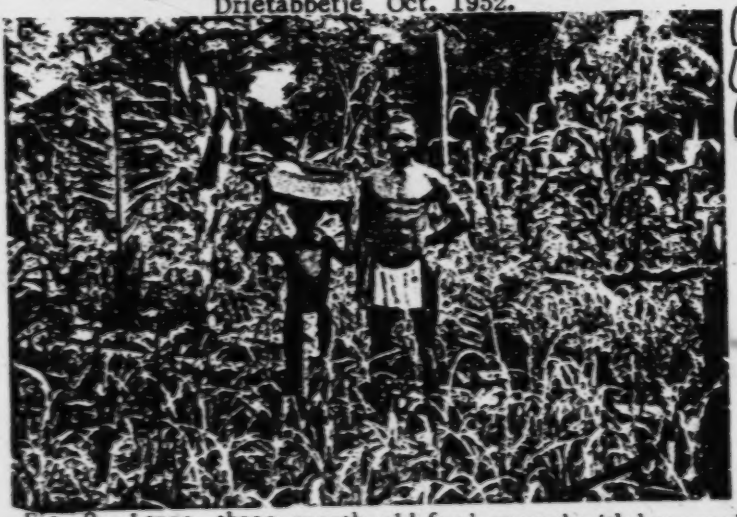

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Fig. 8. Large, three-month-old food-ground with harvestable maize and watermelons. Rice in the foreground. -- Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, March 1952.

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Fig. 9. Baking cassava bread on the iron baking plate (the "pan"). -- Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, June 1952.

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Fig. 10. Pounding the expressed pieces of cassava (in the pan in the foreground) to flour in a wooden mortar (the "matta") in order to bake bread with it. -- Marowijne, Albina, April 1953.

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Fig. 11. Threshing the rice ears on a sack with the feet. -- Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, June 1952.

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Fig. 12. The fruits of the pina palm are collected in a basket; a beverage is made from the fruit-pulp. -- Marowijne, Albina, April 1953.

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Fig. 13. The pitting of the maripa palm, from which the kernels (lying on a plate on a kerosene tin), after drying in the sun, are used for boiling edible oil out of them. -- Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, June 1952.

Fig. 14. Winnowing rice with the "kède," after it has been pounded in a matta. -- Tapanahoni, Granbori, May 1952.

/145 cont./

252 with the matapi (2) and subsequently baked on the baking plate (pan),

2. matapi = long tube of plaiting with which one expresses the juice and the water out of the grated cassava.

during which the granular mass is constantly stirred. The kwak [251] ultimately consists of dry yellow grains. One can keep kwak in good condition longer than bread. It is softened with water and eaten with some sugar (if available).

A less-used product is "afringi." For this one grates freshly peeled cassava, then expresses the grated cassava in the matapi, and dries the meal on the fire or in the sun. Subsequently one pounds this meal in the matta (3) and then kneads it with water

3. matta = large wooden mortar.

into little bails. These are boiled together with fish or meat into a soup. One calls this soup "afringi," which literally means "to throw," presumably because one throws the little balls into the pot. The same product is called "apitie" on the Surinam River.

244 Sweet cassava (kasàba-swieti) is little planted; the tubers are [262] harvested after three months and eaten boiled.

[252] The most important pests in the cassava are: leaf-cutting [825] ants, which cut off the leaves; deer, which eat the young tips and also bite off the stalks; tapirs, which consume the stalks and leaves and also trample many; koni-konis (4), which dig

4. koni-koni = Surinam rabbit.

out and gnaw the tubers; pingos and pakieras (5), which root the

5. pingo and pakiera = wild pigs.

tubers out of the ground and consume them.

/145 cont./

243 Rice (alésie).

Next to cassava rice is an important auxiliary crop. One sows the rice broadcast with the hand among the other crops and tjaps (6) the seed under lightly. The sowing time falls in Decem-

6. To tjap = to loosen the ground with a hoe.

ber to February or March. In the fourth month the rice is mature.
[132] The harvest time therefore falls in the long rainy season from May to July (somewhat later on the Surinam River). Only the ears are cut off, and these are dried in the sun on the grounds or in the villages. Only dry-land rice is cultivated but in many varieties, such as:

kasiwini, the best kind, with long white grains;
ajengena, with short fine grains, with pounding produces a beautiful white rice;
abalahede, with flat, round grain;
witti-alesie or paramakka-alesie, slightly colored in the ear;
lebi (redi) -- alesie, yellow as paddy, grows also in swampy places;
aloeloe or loeloe, sends out shoots quickly, has a good grain;
pindé-alesie, grain speckled on the outside;
asinkini, variety with long grain, is often planted.

/146/ Still other varieties are: rexora, saka, mabosoe, mooidà, sika-sirie, bakaté-saka, dendelei, mooimasra, wittifang, skati, blakatère, mesiti, pikienloeloe, trampoeloekoe.

[251] The Bush Negroes store the rice in the ears and thresh the paddy with the feet by treading on it after it has been dried on
252 zinc sheets or on sacks. The paddy is pounded in the matta whenever it is needed for a meal. Unpolished silver-pellicle rice /zilvervlies-rijst/ is thus eaten, and this is boiled in the usual
262 manner together with meat or fish. With a good harvest one has rice throughout the year until the following harvest, but frequently
[439] the quantity is sufficient for only a few months. In case of a shortage milled rice is purchased from the shops along the Marowijne.

/146 cont./

243 During the sowing one experiences a great deal of trouble
825 from "stondoifies" (1), which eat up the seed; the maturing ears

1. stondoifies = small pigeons, literally stone pigeons.

are plundered by a species of blackbird, "andokie," grain parakeets or pikoetoes, and the little rice bird, "tie." The loss that is suffered through these birds is frequently considerable. Other pests in the rice are not further known, or mentioned.

Bananas (bána).

245 These are always planted, but, in comparison with the cassava, less frequently. One ordinarily sets the plants in the ground somewhat later than the cassava shoots, in order to let them grow at the same time. It also happens that a certain section of a ground is planted exclusively with bananas and bacoven because otherwise these hinder the other crops too much with their shade. After 10-15 months the bunches are ripe.

There are various varieties in use:

granbána, ripe five months after the appearance of the bunch, fruit long;

oemanbána, ripe three months after the appearance of the bunch; fruit long;

patamacca-bána, idem; fruit short and somewhat sour in taste;

doengoe, , idem; fruit long; frequently with twin fingers;

kodjakondre, idem; fruit short.

252 The bananas are boiled as "green bananas" or, as ripe bananas, are first boiled and then pounded fine into "tomtom." Ripe bananas are also pounded uncooked, then mixed with cassava flour, and baked into a "koekoe."

/146 cont./

245 Bacoven (bakõeba, bãkba).

Planted like the bananas. The growing time varies from 10 to 15 months. The banana-bacove is grown the most. The varieties are indicated with the following names:

bigibakoeba or langa-finga, banana-bacove with long fruit (Gros Michel type); produces the bunch after 10 months and this ripens in five months;

watramama-bakoeba, a kind of congo-bacove originally from French Guiana, short variety, bunch matures in three months;

koboto-bakoeba or soeknoe-finga, small yellow, sweet variety of the size of the apple bacove or smaller (missie-finga); bunch ripens in three months;

indji-bakoeba, short, thick, red variety, sweet in taste, with yellow fruit-flesh; bunch ripens in three months.

[262] The bacoven are only eaten as fresh fruit and are very popu-
[136] lar. /147/ The leaves of bananas and bacoven are sometimes severely eaten by leaf-cutting ants.

244 Tajer (tãja).

One finds tajer on all grounds, standing in scattered groups. It is harvested after 8-10 months (August-October), but also continuously thereafter. There are various kinds in use:

agauw, large variety (pomtaja); tubers remain good for a long time; also found in the villages;

244 sjoe, smaller variety with yellowish tuber, tubers remain good for
262 a long time; the leaf is eaten as a vegetable;

dasini, larger variety with yellowish tubers, which is frequently planted because of its tastiness; the harvesting is done in small bits at a time, for the tubers rot quite quickly; the leaf of this too, is used as vegetable; a small variety of dasini is also called chinees taja;

wititaja, smaller variety; tubers remain good for a long time; leaf is also eaten.

252 Tajer tubers are boiled, like potatoes, frequently with fish or meat and oil, into a soup.

/147 cont./

244 Patatas (patáta).

Patatas are planted in patches; they creep with long tendrils in between everything as a weed. Even after the grounds have been abandoned, they continue to grow in the open patches. They are harvested in the long dry season, but there are also three-month varieties. There are white, red, and yellow varieties under the following names:

plata patata, white variety, frequently planted;
lebi (redi) patata, red variety, often runs wild;
abawini, yellow variety, frequently planted on grounds;
sakoela patata, yellow variety, idem.

[252] The tubers are eaten boiled, like potatoes, usually prepared
[136] with oil, or cut into little pieces and made into a soup. Rabbits and pigs are likewise lovers of these tubers.

Napi (napi).

Napi is planted scattered next to sticks in order to allow the vines to climb. It is not missing on a single ground. The harvest time falls in the long dry season from September to November. There are red and white varieties, which are known by the following names:

kakaboeroe, red on the inside, with red peel;
gangasombo, white on the inside, with red peel;
witti napi, white on the inside, with yellow peel;
finga napi, purple-red variety with divided tubers;
waka waka-napi, purple-red variety, creeping, with large, long tubers.

[252] Napi is eaten boiled like a potato. Most of the varieties are used unpeeled; when they are prepared with meat, however, one removes the peel from the tubers.

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Yams (yamesi).

The yam is found everywhere and is planted scattered. The harvest time is October or later. Two varieties are known:

maka yamesi, with thorns on stalk, planted with buds from the tubers;
afakõõ, planted with stalk shoots.

/148 cont./

244 Yam roots frequently become very large. One cuts them
252 up and boils the pieces like tajer tubers.

Maize (kaloe).

243 Maize is sowed together with other crops and provides one of the first products; the harvesting is done after three months
[184] (March). Only one variety is known. Sometimes special maize plots are laid out (Paramaccaners).

252 The young maize is eaten boiled or roasted, sometimes also pounded and boiled to a porridge (kaloepapa). A well-known delicacy is "ansowe" or "asogrie," made of roasted dry kernels finely pounded and mixed with sugar.

244 Watermelon (watramoen)

This is planted in patches everywhere on the grounds; the harvest time falls in March. There are two varieties in use:
[262] hesiskin and blakaskin, both of which provide small, oval-round, white-spotted fruit with a bland-sweet, light-pink fruit-flesh; the fruit is eaten fresh.

Pumpkin (pampoen).

One finds this plant in many places, but never in great numbers.

Only the oblong dark green variety is known; the harvest
[252] time is from April on, and a long time afterwards. The fruit is cut in pieces, boiled, and eaten.

Okra (okrò).

This crop is generally grown on the food grounds; it provides edible fruit after three months, in February and March. Three varieties are distinguished:
sebiwiki, with short fruit;
afoesibobi, with short fruit;
diatoetoe, with long fruit.

252 The young green fruit is cut into pieces and boiled to a soup, usually together with tajer, meat, and so forth.

/148 cont./

244 Pinda /peanuts/ (pienda) and djoekapinda /Djuka peanuts/ (agobo).

Both are planted in patches on the grounds and not infrequently also in the villages; they bloom in March and are harvested after the rice, in June and July. The quantities that are harvested are small and amount to one or two kerosene-tins per person. Only one variety is known of both the ordinary pinda and the djoekapinda.

[252] One boils the pinda into a soup or makes peanut butter by roasting it and then pounding it in the matta. The Saramaccaners call the djoekapinda "gobogobo."

/149/Bongila.

This is related to abongra (Sesamum) with white blossoms and with flat white seeds in long capsules. It is quite often sowed broadcast among other plants, and the stalks with the capsules are harvested in June. Only one variety is known.

252 The ripe seeds, flat and white, after having first been dried in a pan on the fire, are pounded in a matta. Then one adds some salt and uses this product like peanut butter on cassava bread.

[244] It is tasty and nutritious. On the Surinam River this plant is called "waja" and the seeds are baked with the cassava flour in the bread. Like abongra, this plant is probably also of African origin.

Beans (pesi).

244 These are used very little. String beans /kousebandjes/ -- runner beans with long thin pods -- are known, and a variety

[262] with white blossoms which makes pods 20 centimeters long. Other varieties of beans are not grown, although the Bush Negroes very much like to eat pesi varieties.

249 Sugar cane (keeng or sigáloe).

This is nowhere lacking, and aside from the grounds it is also planted in the villages. With bananas it remains standing for years on the abandoned grounds and is also cut there. Three varieties are distinguished:

[262] abaiboesi, red and black marked stalks; only eaten fresh;

/149 cont./

249 pikien keeng, small variety with thin stalks; is not cut with a
[789] cutter but broken off by hand; obia (1) is made from it;

1. obia = spirit medicine.

[262] switi-keeng, the ordinary variety which is most used: the stalks
[263] are eaten fresh (chewed) or the juice is expressed with the wooden
sugar-press (ma) and boiled down to a syrup (lika) which is used
[407] in coffee or in crushed awarra (2).

2. awarra = prickly palm which supplies
edible fruit.

273 For festivals one cuts the stalks in pieces and allows the juice to be extracted from them in water in a short korjaal (komata). This water is later heated in a pot and fermented into an alcoholic beverage (djojo).

245 Pineapple (nanási).

This is regularly grown, the shoots standing scattered on the grounds; after one year the plants produce fruit. Two varieties are distinguished:

bigi nanasi, a white variety;

indji nanasi, likewise a white variety, but sweeter.

[262] The fruit is eaten fresh. Together with sugar cane and bananas, pineapples continue to grow for a long time on the old grounds.

Papaya (papái).

Few papayas stand on the grounds, but many along the edges of the villages, where they grow into long tall trees.

[262] A long red variety is called bobi papai; a short yellow variety,
[252] papai. The fruit is eaten fresh, sometimes also boiled green.

/150/ Tobacco (tabáka).

249 Tobacco is cultivated on a modest scale in various places. The leaves are ripe for picking after 4-5 months (April to May); the man-high plant blooms after seven months with small, pink blossoms.

/150 cont./

249 There is only one variety of tobacco in use, probably the same one that is grown by the upland Indians. The leaves are hung to dry from the rafters in the dwelling huts. For use, the
276 dried leaves are softened in a small tin with water, and the juice that is poured into the palm of the hand is sniffed up and blown out again.

Bóembie.

249 This is Tephrosia toxicaria, whose roots are used as fish
226 poison. The man-high plants are found standing scattered on the grounds, where they are sowed with the other crops. The plant has hairy leaves and blooms with pink blossoms in clusters.

One uses the dried roots in order to "ponzen" with it between stones in the dry season when the river water is low. This operation consists of crushing the roots into fibers, whereby the poison is released as a milky substance and spreads in the water. In this manner warawara in particular -- in places difficult to reach otherwise -- are captured. According to the Bush Negroes, boembie works better than nekoe (1).

1. nekoe = a liana (Lonchocarpus) which is also used as fish poison.

B. Fruit Trees, Shrubs, and the Other Plants That Are Found in the Bush Negro Villages

241 Aside from the temporary crops that are grown on the grounds, the Bush Negro also uses fruit trees and other perennial crops that
[177] are planted in and along the edge of the villages. Most of them are well-known imported plants; some palm varieties are native. Perhaps these latter were already present on the spot when the village was established, or they more or less accidentally grew up there by the use of the pits. The following varieties are noted.

Coconut (kokonóto).

245 Occurs practically everywhere in the older villages, but is usually sparse because of the constant sweeping of the ground;

/150 cont./

245 In more favorable places it grows fairly well. The production
[262] is moderate. The nuts are eaten fresh or, as water nuts, are
[136] emptied by drinking. Many trunks exhibit the traces of Castnia daedalus infection (Drietabbetje, Fisiti, Granbori).

Manja (majang).

[262] Grows in all villages into mighty trees and in February-March produces fruit which is especially favored for eating by the youth. Tetémanje and redbreast are the most common varieties. Abandoned villages along the rivers are frequently still typified by the manja trees.

Citrus.

Is represented by lemmetje (lemmeki), sour orange /zure oranje/ (alanja), /151/ orange /sinaasappel/ (pesina), and lemon /citroen/ (toetoen). This order roughly expresses the relative frequency. They are scattered and grow strikingly well in spite of neglect. With a little effort the planting of oranges could be ex-
[252] tended. Lemmetjes and sour oranges are frequently used to wash meat and various articles.

Guava (gobai).

[262] Stands scattered and is never lacking; the fruit is eaten especially by the youth.

Soursop (atoekoe).

[262] Occurs here and there; the fruit is eaten fresh.

Breadfruit tree (belebong, brèdebong).

[252] Is found in many villages. It is usually the chestnut-breadfruit, of which only the pips are eaten, roasted or boiled. In Langatabbetje we also saw the ordinary breadfruit.

Koesoewé (koesoewé).

279 Stands in each village, but occurs less frequently than among the Indians. The large pink blossoms and the red fruit contribute

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249 greatly to the beautification of the village. The Bush Negroes use
[232] the red dyestuff from the seeds to smear on the dogs against vermin.

Cotton (katoen).

248 One sees it standing in various places along the edges of the
283 villages and among the dwelling huts. The cotton itself is in ex-
[286] ceptional cases used by the women for spinning. Calf bands (sepoe) are made out of cotton thread after the Indian model, and sometimes hammocks also.

Coffee.

245 Is found here and there in the forest along the edge of the village (Drietabbetje, Pocketti). It is the small variety, probably
[272] Coffea arabica. The beans are used for coffee. The trees probably grew from kernels that at one time were taken by slaves from the plantations.

Calabash (kabasi).

244 Grows everywhere among the dwelling huts and in neglected corners. A distinction is made between kabasi and pikien soepoen.
[415] The wood-like pericarps of both varieties are used for all kinds of purposes, especially for utensils (bowls, spoons) and as "koej" for scooping the korjalen empty.

Kasjoen (kasoeng).

245 Occurs here and there and ordinarily does not supply much
[262] fruit; the latter is eaten fresh, the kernels sometimes roasted
[252] like pinda.

Mappa.

Probably a variety of Tabernaemontana (Apocynaceae). Not infrequently in May one sees the women returning from the grounds with pear-shaped /152/ (up to ten centimeters long) yellow fruit,
[262] which they have gathered from a small forest tree. The fruit is eaten fresh; one first taps on the rind with a piece of wood in order to concentrate the milk sap in it, peels the fruit, and the

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245 white cucumber-like fruit flesh is eaten. The taste is refreshingly
262 tart.

249 Ricinus /castor-oil plant/ (karapata).
789 Is to be found in all villages and especially on refuse heaps.
302 The leaf is used for obia, the oil from the kernels as a hair oil.

Pepper (pépre).
244 Grows as a small shrub near the houses or along the edge of
[252] the village. The variety with small red fruit occurs especially frequently. The fruit is eaten boiled in meat soup.

Koemboe (komoe).
245 Stands in individual specimens in and along the villages and
[252] in the forest. The kernels of this palm are gladly eaten, softened with warm water and pounded into koemboe soup. The fruit is ripe in February-May. A large variety is patawah.

Maripa (maĩpa).
[262] Absent in not a single village. The fruit provides a white,
[252] fatty fruit-flesh that is eaten fresh (May). The pits are dried and pounded to pieces with a stone in order to obtain the three kernels. After having dried these (in the sun), one boils from them a food oil.

Awarra palms (awá).
[263] Stand in little groups in each Bush Negro village. The orange fruit, which is ripe in February-March, sometimes also in June

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245 is eaten fresh, but more frequently pounded in the matta, so
263 that the fruit flesh becomes mushy. Over this one sprinkles sugar or sugar syrup and eats it as a delicacy (awá-popo).

Pina palm (apodong).

222 In April-May supplies a marble-sized black fruit which is prepared in the manner described for koemboe. This palm variety grows in groups in swampy places in the forests.

Paramaribo, December, 1952.

/The following summary appears in English on pp. 152-153 of the original source./

SUMMARY

AGRICULTURE AS APPLIED BY THE BUSHNEGROES ALONG THE MARONI AND TAPANAHONI RIVERS

241 During the MEDICAL SCIENTIFIC EXPEDITION TO THE SOUTHERN BORDER OF SURINAM from February till July 1952, in order to get an insight into the medical problems of the interior, the opportunity was

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taken to investigate into the food supply of the Bushnegroes along the Maroni and Tapanahoni rivers. In this study agriculture, as applied by the Paramaccaner- and Aucaner Bushnegroes, and about which very little is known, is dealt with. 241

The Bushnegroes obtain their vegetable products by their system of shifting cultivation grounds, while some fruit trees are cultivated in the permanent villages. In the virgin bush they collect some palmfruits, of which they make drinks and palm oil.

The men cut and burn their grounds (each about two acres in size) during the long dry season (Sept.-Dec.). In the short rainy season following upon it (Dec.-Jan.), the women plant several crops (both annual and perennial) at the same time. Of these the harvest times differ widely, so that three months after planting time harvesting starts. Corn, ocras, peanuts, rice give their products in the first half year, while later on manioc and other tuberous plants, such as taro, yams and sweet potatoes follow. Bananas and plantains, sugarcane and pineapple are harvested in the second year.

Each plot of ground is used only for two years and after that it is given prey to the quickly overgrowing secondary vegetation. Each family usually cuts two grounds, one for the husband and one for the wife, so that with the ones cut the preceding year, each family has four grounds in use. These shifting grounds often lie far apart. This is not a division of risks, but a question of family property. The wife is allowed to cut hers only on the grounds of her people and the man to cut his only on his people's grounds. The different family-areas together form the piece of land on which a village can exercise its rights. The cultivation areas of the people of the villages along the river (see map) are assigned to the village captains by the granmans (chiefs) of the different tribes.

Much land is required by this system of shifting cultivation grounds. But owing to the curious laws of agriculture, the Bushnegro is obliged to stay within certain boundaries, which leads to exhaustion of the available soil. The use of the soil is intensified by the increase in the population, and is, besides, seriously threatened by the plague of the leafcutting ants (especially *Atta sexdens*). These ants principally occupy the secondary bush on the abandoned grounds, whence they undertake raids on the neighbouring shifting grounds. When an area is too seriously infected, the Bushnegroes avoid these ants — for lack of any remedy — and lay out new grounds in the virgin bush. As a result more and more secondary bush near the villages, occupied by leafcutting ants, becomes useless („ant-bushes").

Proposed measures to correct this bad state of affairs are: destruction of the nests of the *Atta*-ants and information on agricultural methods together with importation of other and better varieties of the crops used. In this way a more economical use of the grounds becomes possible and a greater production per acre is obtained.

A list of the crops grown by the Bushnegroes and their use is added, together with a statement of the fruit trees cultivated in the villages and of the fruits collected in the virgin bush.

4:Geijskes SR8 Bush Negroes

Vijf en Dertigste Jaargang No. 3 October 1954

De West-Indische Gids

ONDER REDACTIE VAN

Mr JOHANNA L. G. FELHOEN KRAAL
Mr B. DE GAAY FORTMAN, W. R. MENEMAN
Dr P. WAGENAAR HUMMELINCK
en Dr J. H. WESTERMANN

[Title Page]

's-GRAVENHAGE
MARTINUS NIJHOFF
1954

DE LANDBOUW BIJ DE BOSNEGERS VAN DE MAROWIJNE

DOOR

D. C. GEIJSKES [1])

1. INLEIDING

Wanneer men in de kleine maatschappijen komt van de bosbewoners, die in de binnenlanden van Suriname leven, dan ziet men bij onderzoek spoedig de basis, waarop de instandhouding van zulke gemeenschappen berust. De strijd om het bestaan bij de primitieve volken omvat de voedselvoorziening en de weerstand die kan worden geboden tegen ziekte en plagen. Deze twee factoren bepalen uiteindelijk het geboorte overschot, dat als resultante de bestaansmogelijkheid uitdrukt.

Bij de Bosnegers zien we in de loop der jaren een toeneming van de bevolking, een vooruitgang dus, ondanks de tegenwerking van de natuur. Maar deze vooruitgang schept nieuwe problemen. Het was tijdens de MEDISCH-WETENSCHAPPELIJKE EXPEDITIE NAAR DE ZUIDGRENS VAN SURINAME, gehouden van Februari tot Juli 1952, dat wij in aansluiting op het medisch onderzoek bij het verzamelen van gegevens over de „huishouding" van de Bosnegers van de Marowijne en de Tapanahoni, vooral op het probleem van de voedselvoorziening en van de voeding zelf stuitten. Het heeft weinig zin om alleen aandacht te schenken aan de medische zorg, wanneer daarbij niet tegelijkertijd pogingen worden aangewend, om de voeding te verbeteren.

Een voornaam onderdeel van de voedselvoorziening vormt de landbouw. Deze levert de Bosnegers het meeste, maar niet het beste voedsel op. Daarnaast voorzien enkele bosproducten in de behoefte aan spijsvetten, terwijl de jacht en de visvangst de dierlijke eiwitten moeten opbrengen.

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[1]) Gouvernements-bioloog bij het Departement van Binnenlandse Zaken, Paramaribo.

De landbouw van de Bosnegers is echter door het verkwistende landgebruik een aangelegenheid geworden, welke dringend de aandacht van de overheid vraagt. Tot nu toe is hieraan weinig aandacht besteed, maar wanneer men het binnenland van Suriname tot ontwikkeling wil brengen, zal ook dit probleem moeten worden bekeken.

De hier verstrekte gegevens belichten de landbouw bij de Paramaccaners en de Aucaners aan de Marowijne en de Tapanahoni. Zij zijn bijeen gebracht tijdens genoemde Medische Expeditie en gedurende een reis naar de Tapanahoni in October 1952. De feiten hebben dus in de eerste plaats betrekking op de Marowijne, maar zij gelden in hun algemeenheid stellig ook voor de andere rivieren waarlangs Bosnegers wonen. Het is een typisch Surinaams probleem, samenhangende met de omstandigheid, dat in de verre binnenlanden gedurende honderden van jaren door de Bosnegers op dezelfde wijze is gewerkt, onafhankelijk van het leven in het geciviliseerde kust-gebied en vrijwel geheel buiten de belangensfeer van het Gouvernement.

2. HET GRONDJESSYSTEEM

Voor het planten van landbouwgewassen legt de Bosneger z.g. kostgrondjes aan. Hieronder verstaat men opengekapte stukken in het oerwoud, waarop de gewassen worden geteeld. De grondjes liggen langs de rivieren op hogere vlakke terreinen, meestal terrassen, die bij hoogwater niet onderlopen, of, bij gebrek aan zulke terreinen, op de hellingen van heuvels. Zij zijn min of meer cirkelvormig en hebben een oppervlakte van een halve tot anderhalve hectare.

In de grote drogetijd (October, November) kappen de mannen de grondjes open. Twee tot drie weken daarna wordt het gevelde bos verbrand; men ruimt de kleinere takken op, maar laat de stammen liggen. De grond wordt niet bewerkt. Zodra de regens van de kleine regentijd inzetten, gaat men planten en zaaien. Deze planttijd valt in December en Januari. De Bosnegervrouwen (want alleen de vrouwen doen het verdere werk) planten nu allerlei gewassen tegelijkertijd op eenzelfde grondje. De gewassen komen dus verspreid door elkaar te staan of worden hoogstens pleksgewijs aangelegd. De oogsttijden van deze gewassen hebben een zekere successie. Er zijn twee groepen te onderscheiden, nl. (1e) de vlug groeiende „eenjarige" gewassen en (2e) de langzamer groeiende meerjarige gewassen.

Tot de eerste behoren:
mais, wordt na drie maanden (in Februari en Maart) geoogst;
watermeloen, idem;
oker, levert na drie maanden (Februari, Maart) en nog een tijd daarna eetbare vruchten;
pompoen, geeft na vier maanden (April) en daarna rijpe vruchten;
pinda en *agobo*, bloeit na drie maanden (Februari, Maart) en levert na vijf maanden (Mei, Juni) product;
bongila, idem;
tabak, is na 4–5 maanden plukrijp, bloeit na 7 maanden;
rijst, is na 4–5 maanden (Mei-Juli) rijp.

Tot de tweede categorie behoren de meerjarige gewassen:
suikerriet, wordt na 5–6 maanden reeds gekapt, maar de stoelen worden tot twee jaren en langer aangehouden;
cassave, de knollen worden na 7 maanden en langer geoogst;
tajer, *napi*, *yams* en *pataten*, worden (behoudens uitzonderingen, zie aparte lijst) na 8–10 maanden (Augustus tot November) geoogst, maar ook doorlopend daarna;
ananas, is na 9 maanden rijp;
bacove, na 10 maanden rijpe vruchten, de stoelen worden aangehouden;
bananen, na 10–12 maanden geoogst en verder doorlopend van de nieuwe stoelen.

Het voordeel van deze plantwijze is, dat de grondjes het gehele jaar door iets opleveren. Een nadeel is echter, dat elk jaar nieuwe grondjes moeten worden aangelegd. Op deze wijze zijn voor een gezin steeds verscheidene grondjes in gebruik. In het eerste jaar levert het grondje vooral de vlugst groeiende producten en een gedeelte van de meerjarige gewassen op; in het tweede jaar oogst men voornamelijk cassave, bacove, bananen en suikerriet, terwijl in het derde jaar nog wat ananas, bananen en suikerriet wordt afgeoogst.

Daarna geeft men het grondje prijs aan het opschietende secundaire bos (kapoeweri), hier „kauwé" genoemd, en aan de onkruiden, zoals het snijgras „baboen nefi" (*Scleria secans*), die een verder doorgroeien van de cultuurgewassen belemmeren.

Dit systeem van grondjes kappen vraagt veel land. Het is een ernstige roofbouw die alleen toegepast kan worden wanneer voldoende vrij land ter beschikking ligt. Pas na vele jaren kan men op een zelfde stuk bos voor de aanleg van een nieuw grondje terugkomen, afhankelijk van het herstel van het bos, meer in het bijzonder van de bouwkruin.

Bij de Bosnegers van de Marowijne geldt de regel, dat elk gezin voor zich zelf zorgt. De man kapt het grondje open met hulp van familieleden of vrienden, welke tegen verstrekking van voeding gedurende deze tijd worden aangenomen. Heeft de man

één vrouw, dan worden gewoonlijk twee grondjes per jaar gekapt; heeft hij meer dan één vrouw, dan kapt hij voor elke vrouw twee grondjes open.

Een kapitein van een dorp legt zelf zijn grondje aan, geholpen door zijn dorpelingen. De Granman echter werkt niet zelf, maar laat, afhankelijk van zijn vrouwenaantal, door familie en andere helpers grondjes openleggen, tegen verstrekking van mondkost voor de werkdagen. De producten van de grondjes van een gezin vormen geen gezamenlijk bezit, maar de vrouw laat haar rechten gelden voor de opbrengst van één grondje, terwijl de man aanspraak maakt op die van het andere grondje. Er wordt dus onderscheid gemaakt tussen het agrarisch bezit van de vrouw en dat van de man.

3. DE MIERENPLAAG EN DE MIEREN-KAPOEWERI

In de landbouw van de Bosnegers speelt de mierenplaag een belangrijke rol. De draag- of parasolmieren (*Atta sexdens* en *Atta cephalotes*) zijn door bladroof zeer ruïneus in de planterij. De eerstgenoemde soort is in de binnenlanden van Suriname de grootste boosdoener. Vooral cassave heeft van deze miersoort veel te lijden, maar ook mais, tajer en bananen worden afgevreten. Deze plaag is zo ernstig, dat het openkappen van een nieuw grondje mede bepaald wordt door het ter plaatse voorkomen van de nesten van deze mieren. Normaal liggen deze nesten in het oerbos vrij ver uiteen, maar zodra de gewassen van de grondjes onder het bereik van de mieren komen, groeien de nesten welig op. Bovendien vormen de mieren juist tegen de planttijd talrijke geslachtsdieren, die door de opengelegde terreinen een gunstige gelegenheid krijgen tot uitzwermen en het stichten van nieuwe kolonies. De draagmieren zijn hier dus „Kulturfolger".

Door deze mierenplaag is het meestal voor de Bosnegers niet mogelijk om langer dan twee tot drie jaren achtereen verlengstukken aan de bestaande grondjes te kappen. Immers, de kapoeweri van de verlaten stukken fungeert dan als schuilplaats voor de jongere mierennesten, en men sleept als het ware de mierenplaag achter zich aan. Mierenbestrijding vindt niet plaats en de Bosneger is door onmacht gedwongen het veld te ruimen. Deze vlucht voor de mieren bestaat in het zoeken van nieuwe gronden verder het bos in, of indien dit om bepaalde reden niet meer mogelijk is, in het bezetten van nieuwe terreinen elders langs de rivier

STAHEL [1]) heeft gewezen op het feit, dat de oudere grondjes bij de Bosnegers overgaan in een laag secundair bos, door hem genoemd „mierenkapoeweri". Inderdaad komt op vele plaatsen waar een dichte bosnegerbevolking gevonden wordt een dergelijke strook secundair bos langs de rivieren voor. Volgens STAHEL ontstaat dit minderwaardig bos door de aanwezigheid van de grote nesten der draagmieren. Volgens zijn berekening kunnen bij een dichtheid van 6 mierennesten per hectare (welk maximum in de omgeving van Paramaribo is geconstateerd maar dat mij naar eigen waarneming in de Bosnegerterreinen te hoog voorkomt) de mieren ieder jaar 2–3 ton bladmateriaal per ha in de grond brengen. Zodoende zou de grond dusdanig met humus verrijkt worden en bovendien door de aanleg van de talrijke nestgangen zoveel extra ventilatie krijgen, dat de zuurgraad en de microbiologische toestand van deze grond zou gaan verschillen van de minerale gronden, waarin het oerbos wortelt. Als bewijs wordt opgegeven „dat ook de oudste mieren-kapoeweri vlak achter de dorpen geen neiging vertoont om in normaal hoogbos op te groeien" (p. 13).

Het lijkt mij niet juist, om dit kapoeweri-verschijnsel alleen aan de aanwezigheid en de werkzaamheid van de draagmieren toe te schrijven. Naar mijn mening vormen de mieren hier een lastige bijkomstigheid, want wanneer de oerbosgrondjes door de bevolking verlaten worden en aan de mieren geen nieuw voedselmateriaal meer ter beschikking staat, terwijl de kapoeweri allengs tot hoger bos opgroeit, dan herstelt zich het evenwicht in de mierenpopulatie. Dit proces verloopt in langzaam tempo, afhankelijk van de locale omstandigheden, maar het leidt tot het herstel van de oorspronkelijke toestand. Er is echter één voorwaarde aan verbonden nl. dat het bos lang genoeg achtereen met rust wordt gelaten. Dit laatste nu is in het grondjes-areaal van de Bosnegers niet het geval. Zij komen te vroeg (binnen 10 jaren) terug om weer grondjes te kappen, met het gevolg dat de grond te veel uitgeput raakt en het herstel van het bos onmogelijk wordt.

Een bewijs voor deze zienswijze levert STAHEL (l.c.) reeds in zijn beschouwingen over de landbouw van de Bovenlandse Indianen. Het ontbreken van de mieren-kapoeweri aldaar is geen kwestie van een geringere mierenbesmetting zoals STAHEL

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[1]) *Het Bosnegervraagstuk en het Coronieplan*, Departement Landbouwproefstation Suriname, Mededeling No. 9, October 1944, 28 pp.)

meent — want die komt plaatselijk even erg voor — maar van een minder intensief gebruik van de bosgronden. De Indianen zijn in klein aantal aanwezig (enkele honderdtallen, tegenover duizendtallen Bosnegers), terwijl slechts gemeenschappelijke grondjes voor één dorp worden aangelegd en niet verschillende voor elk gezin. Bovendien verhuizen de Indianen dikwijls, om nieuwe jacht- en visgronden op te zoeken.

Er is nog een andere factor die bij het ontstaan van de grondjes-kapoeweri een rol speelt. Dat is het gebruik van vuur bij het openleggen van de grond. Het verbranden van het gekapte bos gaat ten koste van de humus op en in de grond. De bemesting met as die men daarbij krijgt, dekt dit verlies slechts ten dele. Verder ontstaan onder invloed van het vuur grote evenwichtsverstoringen in de microflora en fauna van de grond, waardoor de omzetting van organische stoffen in anorganische verbindingen wordt verhinderd. Zon en regen brengen verandering in de structuur van de geblakerde bodem, die een cementkorst vormt en dichtslaat. Ook onttrekt de teelt van cultuurgewassen, speciaal de cassave, vele minerale bestanddelen aan de grond.

Het is duidelijk dat na deze evenwichtsverstoring, de bodem tijd nodig heeft om zich te herstellen. Deze tijd wordt op 25–30 jaren geschat. De draagmieren spelen daarbij een rol; zij verrijken de grond weer met humus door het aanbrengen van grote hoeveelheden blad in hun grondnesten. Bovendien ventileren zij de grond door het graven van talrijke nestgangen. Op deze wijze dragen de mieren dus bij tot het herstel. Het is trouwens bekend dat de grond op oude draagmierennesten vruchtbaar is; men plant er gaarne bananen op. Wanneer wij met STAHEL aannemen dat in deze kapoeweri zes mierennesten per ha gevonden worden, dan zouden deze nesten tezamen slechts een oppervlakte hebben van maximaal 1/10 deel daarvan. Zulks zou nimmer het opgroeien van het bos kunnen belemmeren.

Dat de draagmieren het secundaire bos bezet houden, althans hier in groter aantal aanwezig zijn dan normaal in het oerbos het geval is, kan een gevolg zijn van de aanleg van nieuwe grondjes binnen hun bereik. Door grondgebrek proberen de Bosnegers immers steeds weer om in dit bos grondjes aan te leggen. De mieren kunnen zich bovendien handhaven omdat er verschillende bosbomen zijn, die de mieren voldoende bladmateriaal leveren.

De mierenkapoeweri vormt dus èn door de verminderde bodemcapaciteit èn door de aanwezigheid van de draagmieren, een voor de huidige primitieve Bosneger-landbouw onbruikbaar

geworden terrein. Ook uit een bosbouwkundig oogpunt is de mierenkapoeweri waardeloos.

4. HET AGRARISCH RECHT

Er is nog een andere omstandigheid die de landbouw van de Bosnegers in de weg staat. Zoals bij vele natuurvolken, speelt ook in het leven van de Djoeka het gewoonterecht een grote rol. Wij hebben reeds gezien, dat per gezin minstens twee grondjes per jaar worden aangelegd. In feite komt het hierop neer, dat zowel de man als de vrouw een eigen grondje bezitten. Nu liggen deze twee grondjes niet naast elkaar of dicht bij elkaar. Integendeel, het ene grondje is doorgaans uren ver van het andere verwijderd; het bevindt zich aan de andere zijde van de rivier of elders langs een boskreek. Men zou kunnen denken dat dit een soort van risicoverdeling is. In werkelijkheid is het een kwestie van familiebezit. Het grondje van de vrouw wordt in het areaal van haar familie gekapt en het grondje van de man in zijn familiecomplex. De grondjes worden dus in groter familieverband aangelegd en niet in gezinsverband. Elke familie heeft een bepaald gebied, waar zij het recht heeft de grondjes te kappen. Dit gebied ligt langs een boskreek, of men legt van de rivier een pad door het bos aan, waarlangs de grondjes worden opengelegd. Niet zelden treden twisten op over het grondgebruik door „onbevoegden" op bepaald familieterrein.

Een Bosneger kan dus niet zo maar een stuk bos uitzoeken voor zijn grondje, waar het hem goed dunkt. Hij is daarbij gebonden aan het recht van het familiebezit. Dit geldt niet alleen voor de familie onderling, maar in groter verband ook voor de dorpen. Elk dorp heeft zijn areaal, waarbinnen de families uit dat dorp de grondjes aanleggen. Alleen door huwelijk kunnen mannen voor hun vrouwen grondjes aanleggen in het areaal van een ander dorp.

Deze complicaties in de landbouw leiden er toe, dat de landhonger veel eerder optreedt dan anders het geval zou zijn. Er komt nog bij, dat vele Bosnegerdorpen zeer lange tijd, soms 100 jaren achtereen, op dezelfde plaats blijven bestaan. Het is daarom niet te verwonderen, dat mede door de bevolkingsaanwas in zulke centra de limiet van deze roofbouwcultuur is bereikt. De aabije landbouwgronden worden met te kleine rustperioden in gebruik gehouden, met het gevolg dat de grond wordt uitgeboerd en het periodiek herstel van het bos steeds trager verloopt. Bovendien worstelt men in toenemende mate met het probleem

van de draagmieren, die de gemakkelijk bereikbare plaatsen bezet houden.

Het gevolg van deze omstandigheid is, dat de Bosnegers gedwongen worden steeds verder van hun dorpen de grondjes te maken. Men vaart uren ver de rivier op of af, om bij de goede gronden te komen. Wanneer men geen gebruik kan maken van een boskreek om de producten uit het veld te vervoeren, is men gedwongen om één of twee uren ver de oogst door het bos naar de rivier te dragen. Verder dan twee uren lopen (ca 6 km van de rivier verwijderd) gaat de Bosneger niet (zie de kaart).

In de Tapanahoni reist men zelfs dagen ver weg, naar minder bevolkte streken, om te planten en te oogsten. Men legt dan z.g. werkkampen langs de rivier aan, vanwaar men in de omtrek opereert. Dit is o.a. het geval tussen Godoholo en Granbori, van mensen uit Drietabbetje of andere centra. Dat men niet nog verder de rivier opgaat, tot voorbij het laatste dorp Granbori, heeft te maken met een verbod van de Granman van de Aucaners. Deze wil nl. de daarboven liggende gronden als jachtterreinen reserveren en dus niet voor landbouw-doeleinden vrij geven.

De bewoners van de dorpen langs de beneden Tapanahoni, zoals van Sajé, Clementi en Malobbi, leggen dikwijls hun kostgrondjes in de Lawa aan, waar zij tot aan de Aboenasoengoe-val over landbouwgronden kunnen beschikken. Verder stroomop in deze rivier, laten de Bonni- of Aloekoe-negers hun rechten gelden.

5. VERSCHILLEN TUSSEN AUCANERS EN PARAMACANERS

De hierboven weergegeven toestanden gelden in hoofdzaak voor de Aucaner Bosnegers van de Tapanahoni. Zij tellen heden ongeveer 6500 mensen. De Paramaccaner Bosnegers van de Marowijne, ongeveer 1700 in getal, staan er iets gunstiger voor, omdat zij door hun geringere bevolkingsdichtheid in minder ernstige landnood zijn geraakt. Maar ook hun staat in de naaste toekomst een zelfde lot te wachten. Bovendien weegt in dit gebied het kappen van het bos zwaarder, omdat daarbij exploiteerbaar hout verloren gaat. Aan de Tapanahoni, boven de grotere vallen, is houtkap voorlopig niet mogelijk, zodat het verlies aan hout in deze streken hier nog geen economische rol speelt.

6. MAATREGELEN TER VERBETERING

De vraag is nu, of van hogerhand het grondjesbedrijf van de Bosnegers geregeld moet worden. Mijn advies in deze is: Hoe

eerder hierin verbetering kan worden gebracht, des te beter en wel om de volgende redenen.

1e Door het van ouds toegepaste grondjessysteem hebben speciaal de Aucaners van de Tapanahoni thans zulk een grondgebrek, dat een verdere aanwas van de bevolking daardoor gehinderd wordt.

2e De voedselvoorziening van deze Bosnegermaatschappij is precair en eenzijdig; deze dreigt steeds ongunstiger te worden, met als gevolg dat de gezondheidstoestand steeds meer zorg zal vragen.

3e De Bosnegers kunnen niet in staat worden geacht om zelf in deze landbouwmethoden veranderingen ten goede aan te brengen.

4e Het bewonen van deze streken wordt voor de jongere generaties steeds minder aantrekkelijk, waardoor een verspreiding van de bevolking over andere gebieden plaats vindt. De mannen trachten werk te vinden in de benedenlanden, of in de bedrijven in Frans Guyana.

5e De houtvoorraden langs de rivieren dreigen door het verkwistende grondgebruik geheel verloren te gaan.

6e Het is te vrezen dat, indien van overheidswege niet tijdig hulp geboden wordt om deze bosbevolking uit de impasse te helpen, de sociale en economische terugslag daarvan spoedig ernstig voelbaar wordt.

De oplossing van dit vraagstuk ligt m.i. hierin, dat in de eerste plaats landbouwmethoden moeten worden toegepast, welke op een beter en economischer gebruik van de grond zijn gebaseerd. Het is de taak van het Departement van Landbouw om te onderzoeken welke mogelijkheden de gronden toelaten en welke gewassen het beste kunnen worden geteeld; het is om deze reden, dat aan deze beschouwingen een lijst van thans bij de Bosnegers in gebruik zijnde gewassen wordt toegevoegd. Door de landbouwvoorlichtingsdienst zal een kleine ploeg van jonge Bosnegers in opleiding moeten worden genomen, teneinde hen vertrouwd te maken met de nieuwe methoden.

Daarnaast zal de mierenbestrijding ernstig ter hand genomen moeten worden, in overeenstemming met de plannen voor een gewijzigde landbouw. Ook hiervoor zullen mensen uit de eigen omgeving een opleiding moeten ontvangen, en een permanente werkploeg gevormd worden. Het is ondoenlijk en ook niet nodig om het gehele thans in gebruik zijnde areaal te gaan zuiveren. Insecticiden zoals zwavelkoolstof, methylbromide en parathion — mits met de nodige voorzichtigheid toegepast — zullen echter plaatselijk met succes kunnen worden gebruikt.

Ook zal het Districtsbestuur medewerking moeten verlenen om een compromis te vinden tussen de gewoonterechten van de Bosnegers en de nieuw in te voeren regelingen over het grondgebruik.

7. DE CULTUURGEWASSEN EN HUN GEBRUIK

Hoewel het voor het merendeel cultuurplanten betreft die in Suriname algemeen als landbouwgewassen in gebruik zijn, is in detail toch niet veel bekend van de gewassen welke door de Bosnegers voor hun onderhoud worden verbouwd. Het geven van een overzicht van deze planten is dus in de eerste plaats nodig, met vermelding op welke wijze zij worden gebruikt.

Uit een meer historisch oogpunt is het van belang te wijzen op enkele importplanten, die uit Afrika afkomstig zijn en alleen nog bij de Bosnegers in gebruik zijn gebleven, zoals agobo en bongila. Verder zijn hier vermoedelijk nog variëteiten van gewone cultuurplanten aanwezig — zoals: suikerriet, bacove en bananen, tajer- en yams-soorten, — uit de tijd, dat de weggelopen slaven deze van de toen bestaande plantages medenamen.

In verschillend opzicht loont het dus om na te gaan wat er geteeld wordt. De navolgende opsomming is samengesteld uit gegevens van eigen waarnemingen en uit inlichtingen die door verschillende Bosnegers zijn verstrekt. Deze lijst is niet volledig; het ontbrekende is echter waarschijnlijk van ondergeschikt belang

A. CULTUURGEWASSEN DIE OP DE KOSTGRONDEN GETEELD WORDEN

Bitters cassave (kasàba).

Dit is het voornaamste gewas, waarvan het cassavebrood en de kwak wordt gemaakt. Men plant de stekken in December, maar ook in Maart en April. Na 12 maanden begint de oogst; bij voedselgebrek wordt na 7 maanden reeds geoogd. Men onderscheidt gele en witte variëteiten, naar de kleur van het inwendige der knollen. Tot de gele variëteiten behoren: *witti tiki* die tot twee jaren op de grondjes wordt aangehouden, *blaka tiki* die maar een jaar op de grondjes staat, en *taja tiki* die ook lange tijd product levert en vooral goed is voor het maken van kwak. Tot de witte variëteiten behoren: *amosiang, sanang kasaba* en *domberi*. Hiervan bereidt men het cassavebrood. Bij het maken van kwak mengt men alle kleuren door elkaar om de gewenste gele kleur te krijgen. Elke variëteit apart levert een minder smakelijk product.

Aan de Marowijne maakt men meer kwak (kwaka) dan cassavebrood, terwijl aan de Suriname rivier en de Saramacca alleen cassavebrood

Overzichtskaart van de landbouwgronden van de Bosnegers van de Marowijne. Vervaardigd naar luchtfoto's door het Centraal Bureau Luchtkaartering Paramaribo. Opgenomen in 1947.

[p.144-A]

Fig. 1. Grondje van een Paramaccaner op een heuvel langs de rivier. Bij gebruik aan vlakke terreinen worden de hellingen van de heuvels benutt. De omgeving is secundair bos. — Marowijne bij Granskrek, Oct. 1952.

Fig. 2. Nieuw aangelegd grondje van een Aucaner, in jong secundair bos. De dunne stammen zijn typerend. — Tapanahoni, Saniki, Oct. 1952.

[p.144-B]

Fig. 3. Grondje op de hellingen van het Malobbi-gebergte. De omgeving is primair oerwoud; in de verte het Lely-gebergte. — Tapanahoni, Malobbi Oct. 1952.

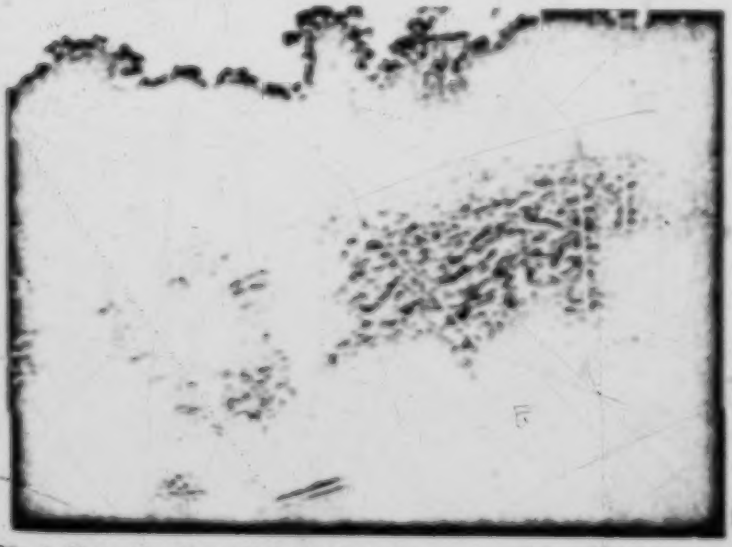

Fig. 4. Vers gekapt grondje langs de rivier, op een steile helling. Het gevaar voor erosie is groot. De omgeving is secundair bos. — Marowijne bij Granbreek, Oct. 1952.

[p.144-C]

Fig. 5. Gewoud in het Mobibbo-gebergte, met eenige brandsporen van een kostgrondje (op de voorgrond). — Tapoenahoni, Mobibbo, Oct. 1952.

Fig. 6. Kostgrondje op rivierterras, gedurende drie maanden beplant. (Op de voorgrond rijst en cassave, daarachter maïs. De omgeving is kapoewé en rechts, heger, secundair bos. Tapoenahoni, Drietabbetje, Maart 1951.

[p-144-D]

Fig. 7. Tien maanden oud kostgrondje met hoge cassave, Rechts kapowerti, de voorgrond met onkruid is. — Tapoenahoni, Drietabbetje, Oct. 1952.

Fig. 8. Ruim drie maanden oud kostgrondje met eegetbare maïs en waterrijsen. Op de voorgrond rijst. — Tapoenahoni, Drietabbetje, Maart 1952.

E144-E

Fig. 9. Het bakken van cassavebrood op de ijzeren bakplaat (de „pan"). — Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje. Juni 1952.

Fig. 10. Het stampen van uitgeperste cassavebrokken (in de bak op de voorgrond) in een houten vijzel (de „matta") tot meel, om brood van te bakken. — Marowijne, Albina, Apr. 1953.

[p.144-F]

Fig. 11. Het dorsen van rijstaren met de voeten, op een zak. — Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, Juni 1952.

Fig. 12. De vruchten van de pina-palm worden in een mand verzameld; van het vruchtvlees wordt een drank bereid. — Marowijne, Albina, Apr. 1953.

[p.144-G]

Fig. 13. Het pitten van de maripa-palm, waarvan de kernen (liggend op een plaat op een kroninetdiki), na droging in de zon, worden gebruikt om er spijsolie uit te koken. — Tapanahoni, Drietabiatje, Juni 1952.

Fig. 14. Het wannen van rijst met de "kèdè", nadat deze in een matta is gestampt. — Tapanahoni, Granbori, Mei 1952.

van het meel gebakken wordt. Kwak wordt op de volgende wijze bereid: de knollen worden, na geschild te zijn, twee dagen lang in water in een korjaal [1]) gelegd en dan geraspt. Deze geraspte cassave laat men verzuren in een kist of een korjaal; daarna wordt het raspsel uitgeperst met de matapi [2]) en vervolgens op de bakplaat (pan) gebakken, waarbij de korrelige massa steeds omgeroerd wordt. De kwak bestaat uiteindelijk uit droge gele korrels. Kwak kan men langer goed houden dan broden. Het wordt met water opgeweekt en met wat suiker (indien aanwezig) gegeten.

Een minder gebruikt product is „afringi". Hiervoor raspt men vers geschilde cassave, perst het raspsel daarna uit in de matapi en droogt het meel op vuur of in de zon. Vervolgens stampt men dit meel in de matta [3]), en kneedt het daarna met water tot balletjes. Deze worden tezamen met vis of vlees tot een soep gekookt. Men noemt deze soep „afringi", dat letterlijk gooien betekent, vermoedelijk omdat men de balletjes in de pot gooit. Hetzelfde product noemt men aan de Suriname-rivier „apitie".

Zoete cassave (kasàba-swieti) wordt weinig geplaat; de knollen worden na drie maanden geoogst en gekookt gegeten.

De voornaamste plagen in de cassave zijn: draagmieren die de bladeren afknippen, herten die de jonge toppen wegvreten en ook de stengels afbijten, tapirs die stengels en bladeren vreten, en ook veel vertrappen, koni-koni's [4]) die de knollen uitgraven en afknabbelen, pingo's en pakiera's [5]) die de knollen uit de grond wroeten en opvreten.

Rijst (alésie).

Naast cassave is rijst een belangrijk hulpgewas. Men zaait de rijst breed uit met de hand tussen de andere gewassen en tjapt [6]) het zaad licht onder. De zaaitijd valt in December tot Februari of Maart. In de vierde maand is de rijst rijp. De oogsttijd valt daarnaar in de grote regentijd van Mei tot Juli (aan de Suriname-rivier iets later). Alleen de aren worden afgesneden en deze worden in de zon gedroogd op de grondjes of in de dorpen. Men teelt alleen droogland-rijst in talrijke varieteiten, zoals:

kanwiei, de beste soort met lange witte korrels;
ajengwa, met korte fijne korrel, geeft bij stampen een mooie witte rijst;
abolakede, met platte ronde korrel;
wiiti-alessie of *paramakka-alessie*, in de aar licht gekleurd;
lebi (rood) – *alessie*, als padi geel, groeit ook op zwampige plekken;
aloelee of *loelee*, legert vlug, heeft een goede korrel;
pandé-alessie, korrel van buiten gespikkeld;
aziakiwi, varieteit met lange korrel, wordt veel aangeplant

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[1]) korjaal = boot
[2]) matapi = lange koker van vlechtwerk waarmee men uit de geraspte cassave het sap en het water perst.
[3]) matta = grote houten vijzel
[4]) koni-koni = Surinaams konijn
[5]) pingo en pakiera = bosvarkens
[6]) tjappen = het losmaken van de grond met een hak.

Andere variëteiten zijn nog: *rezwa*, *saka*, *mabesse*, *mooidá*, *sika-sirie*, *bakaté-saka*, *dendéei*, *mooimasra*, *witlifang*, *zhati*, *blakatére*, *mozili*, *pikiwinlolee*, *trampoinekee*.

De Boeangers bewaren de rijst in de aren en dorsen de padi met de voeten door er over te lopen, nadat ze gedroogd is op zinkplaten of op zakken. De padi wordt in de matta gestampt wanneer men een maal nodig heeft. Men eet dus ongeslepen zilvervlies-rijst en deze wordt op de gewone wijze met vlees of met vis tegelijk gekookt. Bij een goede oogst heeft men het hele jaar door rijst, tot de volgende oogst, maar dikwijls is de hoeveelheid slechts voor enkele maanden toereikend. Bij gebrek koopt men ook geslepen rijst uit de winkels langs de Marowijne.

Bij het uitzaaien ondervindt men veel last van „stondoifie's "[*]) die het zaad opvreten; de rijpende aren worden geplunderd door een zwarte vogelsoort „andokie", korenparkieten of pikoetoes en het rijstvogeltje „tie". Het verlies dat door deze vogels geleden wordt is dikwijls aanzienlijk. Andere plagen in de rijst zijn niet verder bekend, of genoemd.

Bananen (bána).

Deze worden steeds geplant, maar in verhouding tot cassave minder veelvuldig. De plantsoenen zet men gewoonlijk wat later in de grond dan de cassavestekken, om ze gelijk te laten opgroeien. Het komt ook voor, dat een bepaald stuk van een grondje alleen met bananen en bacoven beplant wordt, omdat deze anders de overige gewassen met hun schaduw te veel hinderen. Na 10–15 maanden zijn de bomen rijp.

Er zijn verschillende variëteiten in gebruik:
gronbána, 5 maanden na het uitstoten van de boe rijp; vruchten lang;
oswanbána, 3 maanden na het uitstoten van de boe rijp; vruchten lang;
patowacca-bána, idem; vrucht kort en wat zuur van smaak;
dawgor, idem; vruchten lang, dikwijls met tweelingvingers;
kodjakonder, idem; vruchten kort.

De bananen worden als „groene bananen" gekookt, of als rijpe bananen eerst gekookt en dan fijn gestampt tot „tomtom". Ook worden rijpe banen rauw gestampt, dan met cassavemeel gemengd en tot „koekoe" gebakken.

Bacoven (bakóeba, bákba).

Plantwijze als bij de bananen. De groeitijd wisselt van 10 tot 15 maanden. Het meest wordt de bananen-bacove geteeld. De soorten worden met de volgende benamingen aangeduid:
bigibakoeba of langa-finga, bananen-bacove met lange vruchten (Grus Michel type); stoot na 10 maanden de boe uit en deze rijpt na 5 maanden;
watramama-bakoeba, een soort congo-bacove, afkomstig uit Frans Guyana, korte soort; boe rijpt na 3 maanden;
kokoto-bakoeba of sorkrow-finga, kleine gele zoete soort ter grootte van de appelbacove of kleiner (*mosio-finga*); boe rijpt in 3 maanden;
tadji-bakoeba, korte dikke rode soort, soet van smaak met geel vruchtvlees; boe rijpt in 3 maanden.

De bacoven worden alleen als verse vrucht gegeten en zijn zeer gewild.

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[*]) stondoifies — kleine duiven, letterlijk stenduiven.

De bladeren van bananen en bacoven worden soms in sterke mate door dragmieren aangevreten.

Tajer (tája).

Op alle grondjes vindt men tajer in groepjes verspreid staan. Na 8–10 maanden wordt geoogst (Augustus-October) maar ook doorlopend daarna. Er zijn verschillende soorten in gebruik:

agaaw, grote soort (pomtaja); knollen blijven lang goed; komt ook op de dorpen voor;

sjoo, kleinere soort met geelachtige knol, knollen blijven lang goed; het blad wordt als groente gegeten;

dasini, grotere soort met geelachtige knollen welke wegens zijn smakelijkheid veel geplant wordt; het oogsten gebeurt bij kleine hoeveelheden tegelijk, want de knollen rotten vrij gauw; ook hiervan wordt het blad als groente gebruikt; een kleine soort dasini wordt ook wel *chinees taja* genoemd;

wihitaja, kleinere soort; knollen blijven lang goed; blad wordt ook gegeten.

Tajerknollen worden als aardappel, dikwijls met vis of vlees en olie, tot een soep gekookt.

Pataten (patáta).

Pataten worden plekgewijs geplant; ze kruipen als onkruid met lange ranken tussen alles door. Ook nadat de grondjes verlaten zijn, blijven ze op de open plekken doorgroeien. Ze worden in de grote droge tijd geoogst, maar men heeft ook driemaandse soorten. Er zijn witte, rode en gele soorten onder de volgende namen:

pleiti pataata, witte soort, veel aangeplant;

lobi (redi) *pataata*, rode soort, vaktal verwikderd;

ahawisi, gele soort, veelvuldig op grondjes aangeplant;

sakoela pataata, gele soort, idem.

De knollen worden gekookt gegeten als aardappelen, meestal met olie toebereid, of in kleine stukken gesneden tot soep verwerkt. Konijnen en varkens zijn eveneens liefhebbers van deze knollen.

Napi (napi).

Men plant de napi's verspreid naast stokken, om de ranken te laten opklimmen. Ze ontbreken op geen enkel grondje. De oogsttijd valt in de grote drogetijd van September tot November. Men kent rode en witte soorten, die onder de volgende benamingen bekend zijn:

kakaborroe, rood van binnen, met rode schil;

pangasombo, wit van binnen, met rode schil;

witti napi, wit van binnen, met gele schil;

fraga napi, paarsrode soort met verdeelde knollen;

waka waka-napi, paarsrode soort, kruipend, met grote, lange knollen.

Napi wordt gekookt gegeten als aardappel. De meeste soorten worden ongeschild gebruikt; wanneer ze tezamen met vlees worden bereid ontdoet men echter de knollen van de schil.

Yams (yamesi)

De yams komt algemeen voor en wordt verspreid aangeplant. De oogsttijd is October of later. Men kent twee soorten:
maka yamesi, met doorns aan stengel, geplant met knoppen van knollen;
afabdi, geplant met stengelstekken.

Yamswortels worden dikwijls zeer groot. Men kapt ze in stukken en kookt de brokken zoals tajerknollen.

Mais (kaloe).

Mais wordt tezamen met andere gewassen gezaaid en levert een van de eerste producten; het oogsten geschiedt na drie maanden (Maart). Men kent slechts één soort. Soms legt men speciale maisperceelen aan (Paramaccaners).

Men eet de jonge mais gekookt of geroosterd, soms ook gestampt en tot korenpap (kaloepapa) gekookt. Een bekende lekkernij is „anawé" of „aogrie", gemaakt van fijn gestampte geroosterde droge korrels, vermengd met suiker.

Watermoeren (watramoen).

Deze wordt overal pierkgewijs op de grondjes aangeplant; de oogsttijd valt in Maart. Er zijn twee soorten in gebruik:
kristikin en *blakskin*, welke beide kleine ovaal-ronde witgevlekte vruchten leveren, met een flauw-zoet lichtrose vruchtvlees; de vruchten worden vers gegeten.

Pompoen (pampoen).

Deze plant vindt men op vele plaatsen, maar nooit talrijk.

Men kent slechts de langwerpige donkergroene soort; de oogsttijd is van April af, en lange tijd daarna. De vruchten worden, in stukken gesneden, gekookt gegeten.

Okro (okrii).

Dit gewas wordt algemeen op de kostgrondjes geteeld; het levert, na drie maanden, in Februari en Maart eetbare vruchten. Men onderscheidt drie soorten:
ashiwiki, met korte vruchten;
afoesiboki, met korte vruchten;
dinkorlor, met lange vruchten.

De jonge groene vruchten worden in stukken gesneden en tot een soep gekookt, meestal tezamen met tajer, vlees enz.

Pinda (pinda) en *Djoekapinda* (agobo).

Beiden worden pierkgewijs op de grondjes en niet zelden ook in de dorpen aangeplant; zij bloeien in Maart en worden na de rijst geoogst, in Juni en Juli. De hoeveelheden die geoogst worden zijn gering en bedragen per man een of twee kerosine-blikken vol. Zowel van de gewone pinda als van de djoekapinda is maar één soort bekend.

Men kookt de pinda tot soep of men maakt er pindakaas van, door ze te roosteren en dan te stampen in de matta. De Saramaccaners noemen de djoekapinda „gobogobo".

Bongila.

Deze is verwant met abongra (*Sesawaw*) met witte bloemen en met platte witte zaden in lange zaaddozen. Zij wordt vrij veel tussen andere planten breeduit gezaaid en de stengels met de zaaddozen worden in Juni geoogst. Er is maar één soort van bekend.

De rijpe zaadjes, plat en wit, worden na voorgedroogd te zijn in een pan op het vuur, gestampt in een matta. Men voegt daarna wat zout toe en gebruikt dit product als pindakaas op cassavebrood. Het is smakelijk en voedzaam. Aan de Suriname rivier noemt men deze plant „waja" en de zaadjes bakt men met het cassavemeel mee in het brood. Evenals abongra, is vermoedelijk ook deze plant van Afrika afkomstig.

Bonen (pesi).

Deze zijn heel weinig in gebruik. Men kent kouseband jes — klimbonen met lange, dunne peulen — en een soort met witte bloemen welke 20 cm lange peulen maakt. Andere bonen-soorten worden niet geteeld, ofschoon de Bosnegers zeer gaarne pesi-soorten eten.

Suikerriet (keeng of sigáloe).

Dit ontbreekt nergens en wordt behalve op de grondjes, ook in de dorpen aangeplant. Het blijft met bananen nog jaren op de verlaten grondjes staan en wordt daar ook geoogst. Men onderscheidt drie soorten:

abeiboezi, rood en zwart getekende stengels; alleen vers gegeten;

fiikiiw keeng, kleine soort met dunne stengels; wordt niet met de houwer gekapt, maar met de hand afgebroken; men maakt er obia [8]) van;

ziwiti-keeng, de gewone soort, die het meest wordt gebruikt: de stengels worden vers gegeten (gekauwd) of het sap wordt met de houten suikerpers (ma) uitgeperst en ingekookt tot een stroop (lika), die in koffie of in awarra-stampsel [9]) genuttigd wordt.

Bij feesten kapt men de stengels in stukken en laat deze in water in een korte korjaal (komata) uittrekken. Dit water wordt later in een pot verwarmd en tot een alcoholische drank (djojo) gegist.

Ananas (nanási).

Deze wordt geregeld geteeld waarbij de stekken op de grondjes verspreid staan; na één jaar leveren de planten vruchten. Men onderscheidt twee soorten:

bigi nanasi, een witte soort;

redjii nanasi, eveneens een witte soort, maar zoeter.

De vruchten worden vers gegeten. Met suikerriet en bananen groeien ananassen nog lang op de oude grondjes.

Papaja (papái).

Er staan weinig papaja's op de grondjes, maar vele langs de randen van dèèdorpen, waar ze tot lange, hoge bomen uitgroeien.

Een lange rode soort noemt men *bobi papai*, een korte gele soort *pepai*. De vruchten worden vers gegeten, soms ook groen gekookt.

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[8]) obia = geestengrueesmiddel.

[9]) awarra = stekelpalm welke eetbare vruchten levert.

Tabak (tabáka).

Op verschillende plaatsen wordt op bescheiden schaal tabak aangeplant. De bladeren zijn na 4–5 maanden. (April-Mei) plukrijp; de manshoge plant bloeit na 7 maanden met kleine, rose bloemen.

Er is maar één soort tabak in gebruik, vermoedelijk dezelfde die door de Bovenlandse Indianen wordt geteeld. De bladeren worden in de woonhutten aan de zolder te drogen gehangen. Bij gebruik worden de gedroogde bladeren in een klein blikje met water geweekt en het sap dat in de handpalm wordt gegoten, opgesnoven en weer uitgesnoten.

Bóembie.

Dit is *Tephrosia toxicaria*, waarvan de wortels als vissergif worden gebruikt. De manshoge planten vindt men verspreid op de grondjes staan, waar ze worden uitgezaaid tegelijk met de andere gewassen. De plant heeft behaarde bladeren en bloeit met rose bloemen in trossen.

Men gebruikt de gedroogde wortels om er in de droge tijd bij lage rivierstand tussen stenen mee te „ponsen". Deze bewerking bestaat uit het tot vezels fijnkloppen van de wortels, waarbij het vergif als een melkachtige substantie vrij komt en zich in het water verspreidt. Op deze wijze worden vooral warawara's — op anders moeilijk bereikbare plaatsen — buitgemaakt. Volgens de Bosnegers werkt boembie beter dan nekoe [1]

B. VRUCHTBOMEN, STRUIKEN EN OVERBLIJVENDE PLANTEN DIE IN DE BOSNEGERDORPEN GEVONDEN WORDEN

Behalve de tijdelijke gewassen, die op de grondjes geteeld worden, benut de Bosneger ook vruchtbomen en andere meerjarige gewassen, die in en langs de rand van de dorpen geplant worden. De meeste behoren tot de welbekende import-planten; enkele palmsoorten zijn inheems. Wellicht waren deze laatste reeds bij de aanleg van het dorp ter plaatse aanwezig of zijn zij door het gebruik van de pitten min of meer toevallig daar opgegroeid. De volgende soorten zijn genoteerd.

Cocos (kokonóto).

Komt vrijwel overal in de oudere dorpen voor, maar staat gewoonlijk schraal door het steeds aanvegen van de grond; op gunstiger plekken groeit deze redelijk goed. De productie is matig. De noten worden vers gegeten of als waternoten leeggedronken. Vele stammen vertonen de sporen van *Castnia daedalus*-aantasting (Drietabbetje, Finiti, Granhori).

Manja (majang).

Groeit op alle dorpen tot machtige bomen uit en levert in Februari-Maart vruchten, die vooral door de jeugd gaarne worden gegeten. Tetémanje en roodbuistje zijn de meest voorkomende soorten. Verlaten dorpen langs de rivieren zijn dikwijls nog door de manjabomen getypeerd.

Citrus.

Is vertegenwoordigd door lemmetje (lemmeki), zure oranje (alanja).

[1] Nekoe - een liaan (*Lonchocarpus*) die ook als vissergif wordt gebruikt.

sinaasappel (pesina) en citroen (sootoen). Deze volgorde drukt ongeveer de relatieve frequentie uit. Ze komen verspreid voor en groeien, ondanks de verwaarloosing, opvallend goed. Met weinig moeite zou de aanplant van sinaasappels uitgebreid kunnen worden. Lemmetjes en zure oranjes worden veelal gebruikt om vlees en diverse voorwerpen mee te wassen.

Guijave (gobal).
Staat verspreid en ontbreekt nergens; de vruchten worden vooral door de jeugd gegeten.

Zuurzak (atoekoe).
Komt hier en daar voor; de vruchten worden vers gegeten.

Broodboom (belebong, brèdebong).
Is in vele dorpen te vinden. Het is meestal de kastanje-broodvrucht waarvan alleen de pitten gegeten worden, geroosterd of gekookt. In Langatabbetje zagen wij ook de gewone broodvrucht.

Koesoewé (koesoewé).
Staat in elk dorp, maar komt minder voor dan bij de Indianen. De grote rose bloemen en de rode vruchten dragen veel bij tot verfraaiing van het dorp. De Bosnegers gebruiken de rode kleurstof van de zaadjes om de honden mee in te smeren tegen ongedierte.

Katoen (katoen).
Ziet men op verschillende plaatsen langs de randen van de dorpen en tussen de woonhutten staan. De katoen zelf wordt bij uitzondering door de vrouwen gebruikt om te spinnen. Van de katoendraad maakt men kuitbanden (sepoe) naar Indianen model en soms ook hangmatten.

Koffie.
Wordt hier en daar in het bos langs de rand van het dorp gevonden (Drietabbetje, Poeketti). Het is de kleine soort, vermoedelijk *Coffea arabica*. Men gebruikt de bonen voor koffie. De bomen zijn vermoedelijk afkomstig van pitten, die destijds door de slaven van de plantages zijn meegenomen.

Kalebas (kabasi).
Groeit overal tussen de woonhutten en in verwaarloosde hoeken. Men maakt onderscheid tussen *kabasi* en *pikiru sorporu*. Van beide soorten worden de houtige vruchtwanden voor allerlei doeleinden gebruikt, vooral voor vaatwerk (kommen, lepels) en als „koej" om de korjalen mee leeg te hozen.

Kasjoen (kasoeng).
Komt hier en daar voor, en levert gewoonlijk niet veel vruchten; deze worden vers gegeten, de pitten soms geroosterd als pinda.

Mappa.
Vermoedelijk een *Tabernaemontana*-soort (*Apocynaceae*). Niet zelden ziet men in Mei de vrouwen van de grondjes terugkeren met peervormige

(tot 10 cm lange) gele vruchten, die zij verzameld hebben van een kleine boaboom. De vruchten worden vers gegeten; men klopt eerst met een stuk hout op de schil om het melksap hierin te concentreren, schilt de vrucht en het witte komkommerachtige vruchtvlees wordt gegeten. De smaak is fris zurig.

Ricinus (karapata)

Is in alle dorpen en vooral op afvalhopen te vinden. Het blad wordt gebruikt voor obia, de olie uit de pitten als een haarolie.

Peper (pépë).

Groeit als kleine struik bij de huizen of langs de rand van het dorp. Vooral de soort met kleine rode vruchten komt veel voor. De vruchten worden, in vleessoep gekookt, gegeten.

Koemboe (komoe).

Staat in enkele exemplaren in en langs de dorpen en in het bos. De pitten van deze palm worden graag gegeten, met warm water gewekt en gestampt tot koemboesoep. De vruchten zijn in Februari-Mei rijp. Een grote soort is *patawak*.

Maripa (malpa).

Ontbreekt in geen enkel dorp. De vruchten leveren een wit, vettig vruchtvlees, dat vers gegeten wordt (Mei). De pitten worden gedroogd en met een steen stukgeslagen om de 3 kernen te verkrijgen. Na deze gedroogd te hebben (in de zon), kookt men daaruit een spijsolie.

Awarra-palmen (awá).

Staan in groepjes in elk Bosnegerdorp. De oranje vruchten die in Februari-Maart, soms ook in Juni, rijp zijn, worden vers gegeten, maar vaker gestampt in de matta, zodat het vruchtvlees tot een moes wordt. Men strooit hier suiker of suikerstroop op en eet het als een lekkernij (awá-pepe).

Pina-palm (apodong).

Levert in April-Mei knikkergrote zwarte vruchtjes, die op de wijze als beschreven bij koemboe verwerkt worden. Deze palmsoort groeit op swampige plaatsen in de bossen, in groepen bijeen.

Paramaribo, December 1952.

SUMMARY

AGRICULTURE AS APPLIED BY THE BUSHNEGROES ALONG THE MARONI AND TAPANAHONI RIVERS

During the MEDICAL SCIENTIFIC EXPEDITION TO THE SOUTHERN BORDER OF SURINAM from February till July 1952, in order to get an insight into the medical problems of the interior, the opportunity was

[p 153 of foreign text not processed since it appears in English text]

5: Hurault K, E-5 (1948-1959) 1959 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Rucuyen SR12

Comparative Demographic Study of the Oyana Indians and the Boni Refugee Blacks of the Upper Maroni (French Guiana)

[Étude démographique comparée des Indiens Oayana et des Noirs Réfugiés Boni du Haut-Maroni (Guyane française)]

by Jean Hurault

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[Title page]

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Introduction

B R 101 [122] During the expeditions of the Institut géographique national in French Guiana in 1948 and 1949, we lived in close contact with the Boni Refugee Blacks and the Oayana /Oyana/ Indians of the Upper Maroni. These populations present the remarkable peculiarity of belonging to two entirely distinct ethnic groups while living side B R 121 by side, leading in general the same way of life, and having the same diet. Historical circumstances have thus joined together in the Upper Maroni the conditions of a rigorous biological experiment which, so far as we know, do not exist so distinctly in the other regions. In fact, wherever two different ethnic groups coexist, they usually do not have either the same habitat or the same way of life; for example, on the coast of Surinam the Indonesians live mostly on the rice plantations and the Blacks in the towns, under quite different conditions of habitat, diet, and hygiene; B R 114 121 under these conditions, the differences observed on the level of pathology and demography are difficult to interpret.

Doctor André Sausse, who accompanied us, studied the Boni and the Oayana Indians on the medical level; he submitted evidence that these two populations presented a distinct pathology having B R [113] profound repercussions on their demographic situation (1). During

1. Dr. André Sausse, Populations primitives du Maroni /Primitive populations of the Maroni/, Larose, Paris, 1951.

B R 101 114 121 [122] this period we lacked the time to substantiate these data by a census and by a systematic interrogation of the women. We were able to carry out this work at the close of the expedition for the delimitation of the southern frontier in January, 1957. The data collected have been verified and completed in the course of two other expeditions made for the Office de la recherche scientifique dans les territoires d'Outre-Mer /Bureau of Scientific Research in the Overseas Territories/ (October 1957 – February 1958 and

/509 cont./
October 1958 – January 1959), expeditions whose principal aim was the sociological study of these populations.

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Social Structure and Way of Life

The Boni Refugee Blacks. The Boni are one of the above-mentioned tribes of the Refugee Blacks reconstituted in the course of the eighteenth century by rebel African slaves who escaped from Surinam plantations (Dutch Guiana).

These tribes (Saramaka, Djuka, Paramaka, Boni) live for the most part along the rivers of the interior of Surinam. They group together a total of 25,000 persons.

With very rare exceptions, the Refugee Blacks are pure Africans. These populations, vigorous and well adapted to the country, have experienced in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a remarkable demographic increase, attested to by all the authors. Descended from small rebel groups which could not have contained more than a few hundred women, they are now estimated at more than 25,000 persons.

The Boni of the Upper Maroni, the subject of the present study, number approximately 800, of whom 660 are on the French bank (the villages of Boniville, l'Enfant Perdu, Loka, Asisi, Papaïton, and Kormotibo) and 140 on the Surinam bank (the village of Kotika). These villages were established long ago.

Each of them groups together a matrilineage, i.e., the descendants in the uterine line of one single founding ancestress; certain villages know their genealogy in its entirety back to this ancestress, who must have lived at the end of the eighteenth century. The members of the lineage are united by the cult of the ancestors, which binds them firmly to their natal village and to their land. The social system is based essentially on this cult, the chief of the village being above all the priest of the ancestors.

Strictly speaking, there is no marriage, but only an acknowledged concubinage which entails neither a contract between the

B /510 cont./
571 relatives, nor any power of the man over the woman, nor even
B household cohabitation. The man and the woman each reside in
591 the village of their maternal kin. The man goes to live with his
593 wife from time to time, providing her with the imported com-
modities that she needs, notably salt, kerosene, cloth, and
utensils, and felling trees for the clearings which she will exploit
B for the benefit of the household.
586 Divorce is entirely free. Unions are not very stable, mainly
on account of the woman. Numbers of women are divorced four
to five times during their lives.
B The grand man, chief of the tribe, exercises over the Boni a
643 power which is more religious than political.
B The Boni are a pirogue-people. For more than a century they
433 have been living by using their canoes for the benefit of gold-seekers
178 and exploiting miners. The decline of gold extraction is depriving
[501] them more and more of their traditional resources. Some of them
[167] are emigrating temporarily to the coastal lumberyards. But all of
them remain faithful to their villages and to their customs.

R /511/
101 The Oayana Indians (Roucouyennes /Rucuyen/). These Indians of the
177 Caribe /Carib/ ethnic group have had only a few direct contacts
144 with European civilization and still represent without alteration the
R human type which populated Guiana before the arrival of the
161 Europeans. On encountering the Refugee Blacks, the Indians of the
Guianese forest have been steadily and rapidly declining. Estimated
R at 30,000 at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Indians
101 of French Guiana are now no more than about a thousand. In
162 addition there must be included in this number 700 persons (Galibi and
131 Arawak) who have been protected by their habitat in the savannas of
the coast where malaria is less deadly than in the interior.
R The accounts of travelers and the censuses made notably in
175 1750, 1759, 1787, and 1815 allow one to follow with precision
161 this destruction of the autochthonous population since the first settle-
ment of the Europeans in Guiana (2).

2. Dr. André Sausse, op. cit., pp. 67-90.

R /511 cont./

161 The Oayana of the Upper Maroni in 1958 numbered about 240,
175 of whom 70 were on the Surinam side. About 250 others lived on the
[162] Yari and the Parou in Brazil, altogether some 500 persons. They numbered about 3,000 at the time of Leblond (1788), and the explorer Coudreau around 1890 estimated them again at 1,500. All the authors of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have noticed their further decline, but without understanding the cause.

R 361 The Oayana move their villages every ten years on the aver-
433 age. No cult of the ancestors binds them to their land; they are
R only concerned about a favorable place for agriculture and fishing.

621 As far as can be judged, a village used to group together the
613 members of a matrilineage. There were two types of marriage,
582 one endogamous, between cross cousins in the classificatory sense,
591 the other exogamous; in this latter case, the man would leave his group to establish himself among the relatives of his wife;
R nowadays this principle of residence is breached by individualism.
621 Marriage and residence are entirely free. The composition of the
571 villages changes constantly; a simple dispute suffices to cause the
R departure of a faction which goes to join the neighboring village.
178 Nevertheless the social and political decadence have not had any catastrophic influence on the way of life. The Oayana remain
R firmly attached to their beliefs, their language, and their techniques.

244 The Oayana are above all agriculturalists; their very large
262 clearings are cultivated with great care and provide for them the essentials of their diet.

R After agriculture, fishing is their principal resource. Hunting
433 and gathering come next.

R All this activity leaves plenty of free time for finery, dancing,
517 and, above all, doing nothing in their hammocks.

R /512/

A Geographic environment; way of life; diet. The Upper Maroni pre-
132 sents the characteristics of the humid equatorial environment. Lo-
[131] cated at 3° 30' latitude, the country has an annual mean temperature of about 26°. The annual rainfall is about three meters, as against 3.5 meters at Cayenne.

B R 137 241 /512 cont./

The region is entirely covered by equatorial forest which the inhabitants clear for their crops, practicing a shifting agriculture on burned-over land.

B R 31 504 368

Life is closely tied to the river, on the edge of which are established villages and crops. They scarcely move except by water. Everybody, man, woman, or child, has his pirogue, and the children learn to paddle at the same time that they learn to walk.

B R 433

The principal activities of the two populations are agriculture, fishing, and canoeing.

B R 262

There is scarcely any difference between the dietary resources of the Indians and the Boni. The principal portion is manioc, eaten in the form of camave (flat cakes cooked on a plate) or of couac (roasted and granulated flour). Then come tubers, yams, dasheem, "Carib cabbage" /taro/ and sweet potatoes, bananas and plantains. The Boni in addition plant mountain rice, from which the yield is small; in return, they eat fewer bananas.

B [241]

R [226]

The protein ration is furnished essentially by fish, eaten fresh or smoked. The Indians, skillful fishermen, never lack them. Game furnishes a less regular, but important resource.

B R [231] [439]

Animal husbandry, confined to a few chickens raised mainly to sell, represents only an insignificant part of the diet.

The fat from fish and from animals killed while hunting constitutes the principal portion of lipides. The Boni use in addition, for preparing their meals, a small quantity of mariga palm oil.

Vitamins come from fruit (papaya, pineapple, mangoes), which the Indians eat in greater abundance than the Blacks, from wild spinach, rich in Vitamin A, and palm nuts (awara and caumou), eaten in great abundance during the rainy season.

B R 146

Neither of the two populations is undernourished. The Indians might have been so temporarily during epidemics, when the adults, having been sick for a long time, were unable to clear sufficient land. But they can supplement an inadequate harvest with a great variety of wild foods that can be gathered.

The diet seems poor in mineral elements and especially in calcium. Traces of rachitis are noticeable among some of the Indian children.

B R 146 B R 575 B R 433 B R 461 [465]

/513/

The scarcity of lipide foods, and, among the Boni, the low consumption of fruit might cause one to fear vitamin deficiencies. In fact, there are no signs of it.

Body hygiene is excellent: Blacks and Indians bathe several times a day and are very fastidious about their persons.

In summary, there is no appreciable difference in the customary activities, agriculture, hunting, and fishing, of the two populations. There is one in economic activity. Among the Boni, who have a greater need for imported objects, the adult men work for wages four to five months per year on the average. These jobs are very laborious and performed under bad dietary conditions, whereas the Indians rest when they are not occupied with their customary tasks, sometimes spending entire days stretched out in the hammock.

B R 177 B R 177 648

The two populations have been in close contact for a long time. The Indian villages farthest downstream have immediate contact with the first crop plantings of the Boni. Without having any tendency to merge (their characters and their customs are too different), Boni and Guyana have maintained regular relations since the end of the eighteenth century, doing a little trade in imported articles exchanged for hammocks and dogs trained for hunting. They often visit each other, and nothing stops the spread of illness from the one group to the other.

B R 105 182 164

In fact, the way of life of the two groups is the same, the environmental conditions have the same influence, and the differences which are observed in the pathology can only be attributed to a different sensitivity with regard to the principal illnesses.

B 164 [114]

Pathology of the Boni. We shall briefly summarize here the observations of Dr. A. Sausse in his work Populations primitives du Maroni.

The pathology of the Boni is characterized by:

-- a resistance to malaria, which means that if the children have had attacks an immunity will develop with age; the size of the spleen diminishes regularly from child to adult. The adults have only episodical attacks which are not serious; in particular

8 /513 cont./
164 the birth rate of the Boni is scarcely influenced by malaria. This is an essential difference between Blacks and Indians.

This immunity, regarded as an hereditary characteristic of the African Blacks, was well known by the Europeans of past centuries. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was thought that on account of this fact only the African Blacks could furnish a regular force in tropical countries. This is one of the principal causes of the slave trade.

/514/ -- An important impairment by skin affections. The Boni, before the creation of the Maripasoula medical center, showed many cases of pian, which attacked most of the children, leaving infirmities and widespread incapacities in certain adults.

Also observed were numerous cases of American forest cutaneous leishmaniasis (pian-boin), involving ulcers, sometimes very widespread, almost always infected, and able to lead to a terminal cachexia. Finally, 1% of the Boni manifested cases of leprosy in the course of development. The total incidence of the disease was estimated in 1957 at approximately 3%.

8 [8+2] [161] -- An important invasion of venereal diseases, notably of blennorrhagia, leading to the sterility of a large number of women and stopping the demographic increase.

This aspect of the pathology seems in keeping with the very free morals of the Boni and the instability of their unions.

In 1948 the Boni attributed an important part of the infant mortality to a form of meningitis which they call "pikin nenge siki," "the sickness of the little Blacks"; the symptoms described seem to fit cerebrospinal meningitis.

R 164 114 Pathology of the Oayana Indians. Doctor Douvier, examining the Oayana in 1937, wrote: "The Indian does not show sores like the Negro; the Indian has epidemics."

Doctors who have examined the Indians of the interior in the course of recent years have made agreeing observations on their pathology, which can be summarized thus:

R 164 -- the Indians, in contrast to the Blacks, suffer severely from malaria: no immunity appears among adults, who are more severely attacked than children. The size of the spleen in most cases simply increases in the course of life.

/514 cont./

Among the Indians, deprived of medical aid, malaria leads to organic lesions so serious that some of the adults are semi-infirm, incessantly ill, incapable of sustaining a continuous effort. Any infectious illness causing a high fever can start an attack of malaria which leads to death within a few days.

These almost lightning deaths of young adults are one of the most characteristic aspects of the demography of the Indians of the Guianese forest.

They show a particular sensitivity to epidemic pulmonary diseases, a fact observed a long time ago in all the Amerindian populations. The examination of the archives of Guiana that we made showed that since the seventeenth century travelers have often found Indian villages prey to epidemics of "colds and lung inflammations," which would lead to many deaths.

/515/ It was probably a matter of influenza and post-influenza pneumonia, contracted from the Europeans and the Blacks. These epidemics rapidly decimated those tribes which had made contact with imported populations. In 1760, an officer, M. de Kerlove, meeting on the Camopi one of the first Oayana to enter into relations with the Europeans, asked him if his nation had also been decimated by the "flu." The Indian answered: "No, we suffer only from fever" (3).

3. Bibl. nationale, Manuscrits nouv. acq. fr. 2577, fol. 284.

Undoubtedly it is those illnesses imported involuntarily that have upset the precarious demographic balance of the Indians.

Epidemics of "flu" have broken out frequently among the Oayana, leading each time to the death of several adults. These epidemics have almost always coincided with population movements. One of them was started in 1937 by the passage of the expedition for the delimitation of the Guiana-Brazil frontier. Another at the end of 1948 followed a group move which the Indians had made to Saint-Laurent-du-Maroni.

R /515 cont./
175 These small repeated epidemics have been part, one might
164 say, of the ordinary pathology of the Oayana since their first con-
R tacts with the imported populations.
164 --Cases of dysentery are also observed, probably bacillary,
165 sometimes in the form of minor epidemics. This is a secondary
cause of mortality;
R --Children show, just as among the Boni, a massive intestinal
164 infestation by hookworms and Anguillula.

The Oayana very rarely have skin diseases; "their tegument is intact. One does not see any mycosis or ulcers among them, nor any dermotropic diseases. Leprosy and pian are unknown among them; even the small wounds which the Indians get in the woods, and which suppurate so frequently among the Blacks, heal quickly, even more quickly than among Europeans, who, however, disinfect their wounds" (4).

4. Dr. Andre Sausse, op. cit., p. 113.

R
[648] There are no venereal diseases among the Indians because they do not have sexual relations with the other groups.
R The rest of the pathology of the Indians shows nothing re-
114 markable. Their disappearance has often been attributed to
733 alcoholism. That is an assertion which does not stand up to ex-
R amination. Before 1950, the Indians, never having any money,
273 were not in a position to buy rum. With regard to their cachiri (5),

5. Fermented drink prepared from a manioc base; very small percentage of alcohol.

of which they absorb great quantities on the occasion of celebrations, it produces indigestion rather than intoxication; for that matter they do not drink any more of it than in former times when their tribes were numerous and strong.

R
703 /516/ Effects of Medical Assistance. Until 1949 the Boni and the
648 Oayana remained very isolated and practically deprived of all
medical help. The beliefs of both, attributing illnesses to

B The beliefs of both, attributing illnesses to
R /516 cont./
743 supernatural causes, did not predispose them to turn to European
648 doctors. Moreover, the Saint-Laurent hospital was so far away
[753] (six days paddling downstream) that a seriously ill person had
plenty of time to die en route. The Boni went there only as a last
resource and in general at the point of death. As for the Oayana,
B not a single one presented himself there before 1950.
R
744 In 1936-1939 several circuits had been made from the post
648 of La Forestière located at the mouth of the river, but no consistent
[743] medical action had been feasible. Not until 1949 was it possible
B to create a medical center in the country itself, at Maripasoula.
R The populations were visited regularly, and the seriously ill could
[164] be hospitalized on the spot. At the same time systematic spraying
with DDT inside all the huts, destroying the anthropophile
anopheles, changed the environmental conditions considerably;
if malaria has not disappeared, it has ceased, both among the
B Indians and among the Boni children, to be the principal cause of
R morbidity.
743 The action of the medical center has been exercised more on
744 the Boni, who live a few hours by canoe from Maripasoula, than on
648 the Oayana. Among the latter, the principal villages are two days
[484] journey by motorboat upstream amidst difficult waterfalls; the
[753] Indians are often on the move, fishing on the upper courses of
the rivers or visiting their relatives on Brazilian rivers; it has
happened several times that the circuits of the doctors and medi-
cal attendants (one per trimester on the average) do not find any-
body in the villages; incidentally, the Oayana tend to attribute
R all internal ailments to magical causes, consulting willingly only
[844] for wounds. They willingly accept the remedies given on the
spot, but rarely take the initiative of moving a sick person to
Maripasoula; the women continue to have their babies delivered
R in the villages, without any hygiene.
757 Only during the last three or four years has a change in
165 attitude been noticeable among them vis-à-vis medicine; as we
B shall show below, no notable modification in their mortality has
R yet been observed as a result of this fact.
121 The principal interest of this study being to compare the
165 demographic data of two populations before they had been modified

8
Q /S16 cont./
121 by the effect of medical care, we shall take 1 January 1950 as the
165 date of reference for the calculation of mortality among the Boni.

/S17/

II. – Demography of the Boni

Census. – Estimation of Age.

8
125 Method used. The demographic study of the Boni presents the difficulties inherent in all populations without civil records:

1. Difficulty of determining the ages of individuals;
2. Difficulty of determining for each woman the deceased children in relation to the surviving ones.

8
125 We attempted to establish a local chronology by linking the
123 ages of individuals to events of known date that had stuck in their minds.

More particularly we fixed the ages of the old men from the voyage of the explorer Crevaux (1877) and from the death of the grand man Atato (1891), the ages of middle-aged persons from events which occurred between 1915 and 1924, death of the grand man Ochi (1915), end of World War I (1918), hydroplane accident at the mouth of the Inini (1921), installation of a rosewood factory (1923).

8
125 The persons born after 1930 were placed without difficulty, for we knew a certain number of them as children or adolescents in 1948.

Starting with a certain number of men whose age could be fixed with considerable accuracy, all the others, men and women,
8 [829] were placed by comparison. In fact, if the Boni do not know their age, they are able to say that they are, for example, two or three years younger than so-and-so (6).

8
[755] 6. Their attention is brought to bear on these age differences because, if a group isolated in the bush is led to address a prayer to the ancestors for the curing of a sick person, this prayer has to be pronounced by the oldest person.

/517 cont./

125 We believe the ages are determined with a probable error of less than two years for persons less than 30 years old, two to three years for persons between 30 and 60 years old, and three years above 60. But this error has no systematic character, and one may assume that it is eliminated on the average, disturbing the calculations of fertility and of mortality very little.

[161] Census: age pyramid. The census finished on 1 January 1958 in-
[162] cluded 811 persons, of whom 666 were from villages on the French bank and 145 on the Surinam bank (Kotika). With regard to the latter, we interrogated them individually when they came over to the French side, particularly when they came to attend the celebrations of the end of mourning at Boniville in November 1957. Temporary absentees (less than 5%) were placed by information provided by their nearest relatives. /518/ /Diagram 1 appears here./

We estimate the omissions in the census at less than 2%. These omissions are almost exclusively a matter of adolescents and young orphans or youngsters raised by persons other than their own parents.

[167] Emigration and immigration are very slight, practically zero as far as the women are concerned. Thus the age pyramid really represents the demographic situation of the Boni and lends itself to complementary calculations of mortality.

Interrogation of the women. The women of the villages on the French bank were questioned about the children they had had and lost. An effort was made to place the dead children in relation to the survivors and in relation to the local chronology. The age of the dead ones was determined by comparison with children or adolescents living at the time of the inquiry.

For the dead adults an attempt was made to fix the year of their death in relation to the local chronology.

/518 cont. /

162

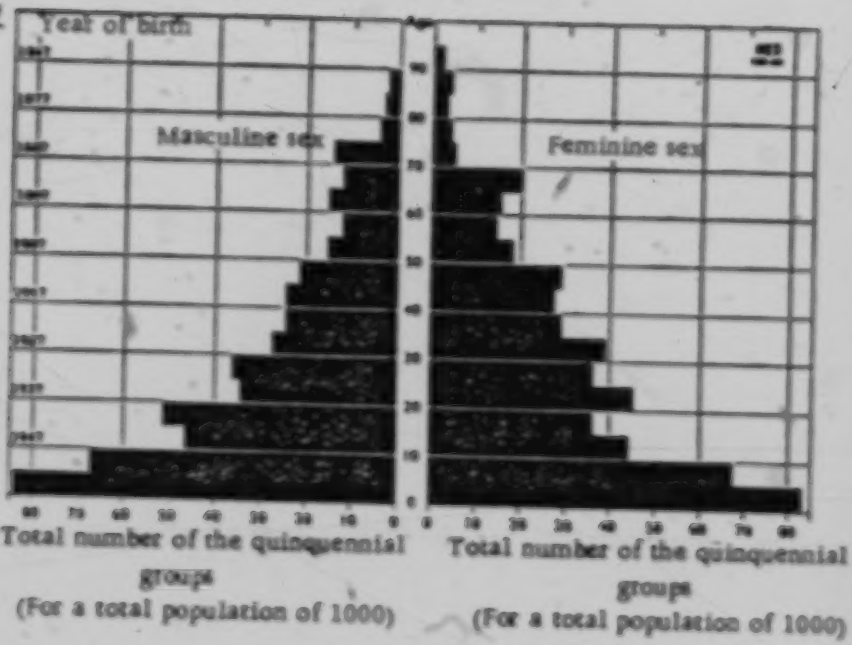


Diagram No. 1. Boni Refugee Blacks of the Upper Maroni

Age Pyramid on 1 January 1958

125 We gave up the idea of deducing the number of stillborn infants from the mortality tables, in order to facilitate comparison with the Indian populations where this distinction would not have been possible. We took account of all the children born at term.

For greater certainty we questioned the women twice at an interval of one year (end of 1956 and end of 1957). Those who gave contradictory answers were eliminated. /519/

[162] On 1 January 1958 the women from the villages on the French side born up until 1939 inclusive and married for at least one year were 216 in number, including in that number 17 women from the village of Kotika residing temporarily on the French side; 198 were questioned.

/519 cont./

125 --158 (80%) answered with good grace.

--33 (17%) answered with reticence or gave contradictory answers in 1956 and 1957. Checking showed that they neglected to mention a living child, generally one of their older ones whom they were not raising themselves. In spite of the precautions taken, there are some omissions in the census of the adolescents and young people because of this (7).

[593]

> 7. On the other hand, we never ascertained any dissimulation concerning dead children. On the contrary, the Boni women speak of their deceased children with a certain indifference.

For 28 of these women we were able to reconstruct their lives with sufficient precision by interrogating contradictorily the husbands and the older brothers of the same mother. The five others were eliminated:

7 (3%) obstinately refused to answer without giving any justification for their attitude.

[484] Eighteen women could not be added, this being due to the continual moving of the Boni between their villages, their crop plantings, and their fishing places.

We took into account 7 women who died before 1957, whom we had been able to question in the preceding years.

[163] All in all, we have preserved 193 records of women having had 747 children, of whom 472 had survived as of the first of January 1958.

/519 cont./

128 163 Fertility. We have classed the women, according to the year of birth, into four categories, for fertility has varied considerably in the course of time. The study has been made by five-year age-blocks. The table below /see p. 16 / shows the cumulative fertility (total of figures obtained for the various age-blocks from 15 to 50 years of age). For the women of categories three and four, the number obtained is the result of an extrapolation.

242 Among the Boni there is no custom leading to a diminution of fertility, and the voluntary restriction of births is unknown.

163 The vertical fall of fertility between categories one and 164 two results from the invasion of venereal diseases, which seems [177] to have coincided with the period (1920) when the search for the balata brought into the interior a heavy traffic of adventurers [231] accompanied by numerous prostitutes. The very free morals of the Boni favor the propagation of the illness, which, since that time, has not ceased its ravages, stemmed only, but not eliminated, by the medical effort of these last years.

/520/

163

Category	Born	Cumulative Fertility	Rate of Sterility	Age when half the children were born, or
		%	%	Years
1	1850—1895	7.30	5	31
2 3	1896—1915 1916—1925	3.83	21	27
4	1926—1938	0.52	15	27 [illegible]

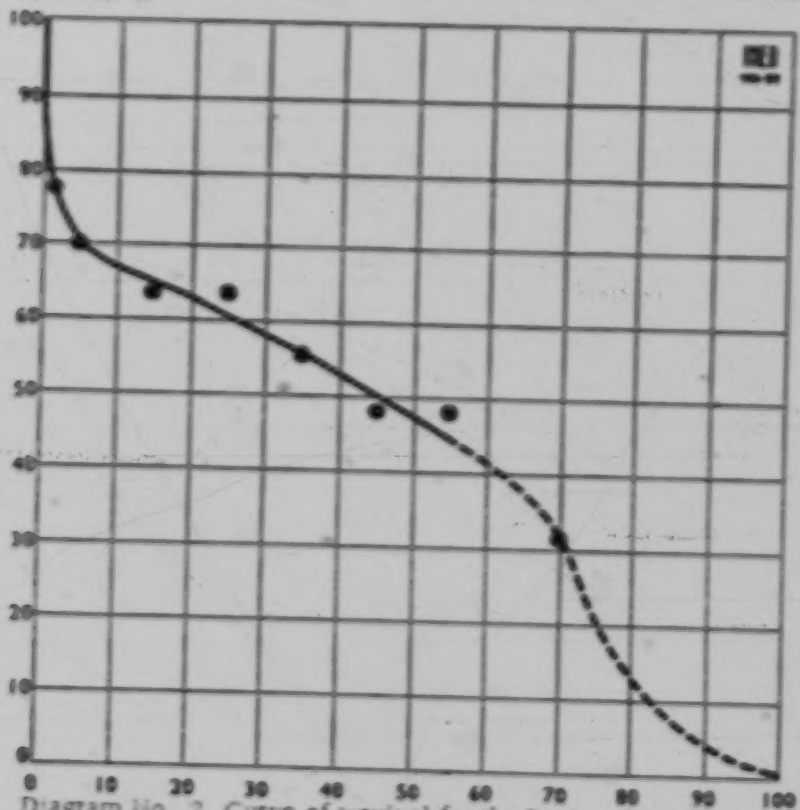


Diagram No. 2. Curve of survival for the Boni, taking 1 January 1950 as the date of reference.

163 128 8. In the evaluation of the net rate of reproduction (cf. p. 523), the average age should be brought in; there is the danger, however, of this being overestimated as a result of errors in the ages; this is why we preferred to substitute for it the median age.

9. The calculation with regard to the women of category 4 could not, in view of their age, give precise results. We preferred to adopt the figure for the preceding category.

/52/

165 Mortality. The principal interest of this study is to establish the
128 curve of survival showing, for 100 children born alive, the number surviving at one year, five years, ten years, etc., until the extinction of the group. The life expectancy at birth is given by this curve.

For the Boni, we can make this study with the assumption that the lives of the individuals stopped on the first of January 1950, the date on which one may consider that the conditions which influence mortality have changed, above all as far as the children are concerned.

The study of the mortality of the children born since the first of January 1950, dealt with in part, will furnish useful elements of comparison.

Establishment of the mortality table. Taking up again the records of the 193 women whose lives are completely known to us, and including the children who died in early infancy (10), we have marked down all their children, year by-year, on a table.

165 Table of Mortality Referring to 1 January 1950 (10)

Year of birth	Deceased children			Surviving on 1-1-50	Surviving	Average age on 1-1-50	Deceased between 1-1-50 & 1-1-58
	0-1 year	0-5 years	More than 5 years before 1-1-50		Total children	years	
1888-1899 inclus.	12 (36 %)	13 (39 %)	5	16	16/33 = 48 %	50	2
1900-1909 inclus.	15 (28 %)	20 (37 %)	8	26	26/54 = 48 %	45	1
1910-1919 inclus.	21 (24 %)	30 (35 %)	8	47	47/85 = 55 %	35	1
1920-1929 inclus.	20 (21 %)	28 (31 %)	7	50	50/94 = 53 %	25	3
1930-1939 inclus.	24 (24 %)	32 (30 %)	8	66	66/106 = 63 %	15	3
1940-1949 inclus.	40 (23 %)	.....	1	122	122/175 = 70 %	5	8

165 10. We were particularly careful in asking about chil-
128 dren who died in early infancy, an important cause of
[856] error in populations without civil records. The age of
[862] the children at the time of death has been estimated according to the following guidelines based on the study

/521 cont./

165 10. (cont.)
128 of the development of ten children born in
856 1956 and 1957: sitting up, 7 months; be-
862 ginning to walk, 1 year (a remarkably clear guideline among the Boni); end of weaning, 14 to 18 months. Beyond that, the ages were estimated by comparison with children living at the time of the inquiry.

165 The survival curve results directly from these values. It shows the high mortality of children (30% during the first five years).

S: Hurault--18[illegible]E-5 (1948-1959) 1959 SRB Bush Negroes SRB

/322/

165 It is not possible to obtain directly a value for the survival
128 rate for ages beyond 55 years, but it is possible to obtain an approximate value from the age pyramid. Calculation (11) gives: proportion surviving at the age of 70: 30%.

11. The calculation consists of comparing the lengths of the segments of the average curve of the pyramid corresponding to the ages 55 and 70, having taken into account the increase in births between 1888 and 1903, deduced from the rate of reproduction.

Table of Mortality Referring to January 1958 -

165

Year of birth	Deceased before 1-1-50	Deceased between 1-1-50 & 1-1-58	Surviving on 1-1-58	Proportion Surviving	Average age on 1-1-58
				%	Years
1888-1899 inclus...	18	2	14	41	65
1900-1909 inclus...	28	1	25	46	54
1910-1919 inclus...	38	1	46	54	44
1920-1929 inclus...	35	3	56	59	24
1930-1939 inclus...	40	3	64	59	24
1940-1949 inclus...	53	8	114	65	14
1950-1957 inclus....	.....	45, of which 35 under 1 year	154	77.5	4

/522 cont./

165 Life expectancy at birth is about 43 years. It is a remarkably high value for peoples deprived of medical help, and notably superior to that noted in Black Africa.

[757] Evolution of mortality under the influence of medical assistance. It is interesting to show the extent to which mortality has been influenced by medical assistance since 1950. For this purpose we shall reconsider the same observations, taking into account the deaths which intervened between the first of January 1950 and the first of January 1958, the date to which we shall relate the calculations.

The survival curve obtained by mapping the calculations on the first of January 1958 differs slightly from the preceding one, which principally concerns the mortality of children. The mortality from 0 to 1 year is given by 35/199 = 17.9% instead

/523/

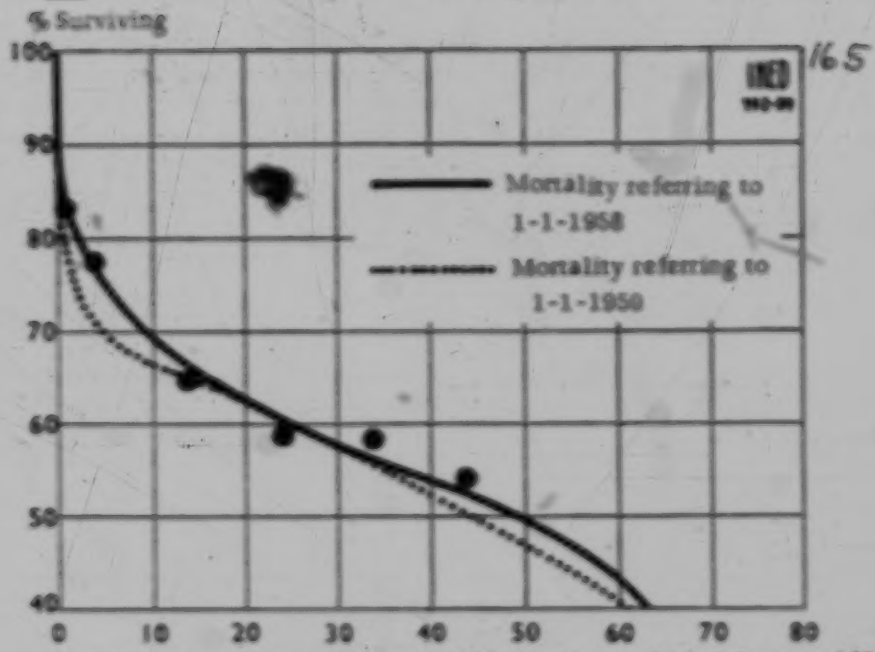


Diagram No. 3. Curve of survival for the Boni, taking 1 January 1958 as the date of reference

of 29%. The mortality from 0 to 5 years has fallen from 30% to 24%. The mortality of adults has been slightly reduced. As a whole the life expectancy of the Boni appears to have increased by approximately one year during the period considered.

Increase of population. From the survival curve it is possible for us to calculate the rate of reproduction of the population.

Women born from	Rate of reproduction	
1880 - 1895	$0.685 \times \frac{7,50}{100} \times \frac{57}{100} = \frac{201}{100}$	31 years
1895 - 1915	$0.685 \times \frac{3,80}{100} \times \frac{58}{100} = \frac{103}{100}$	27 years
1916 - 1935	$0.685 \times \frac{4,50}{100} \times \frac{59}{100} = \frac{125}{100}$	27 years

/324/

161 Thus during the period 1895 to 1925, the Boni population
[128] doubled with each generation. These results are confirmed by
(173) the study of the genealogies. The present-day Boni, with the
[613] exception of about 5% of them who belong to recently founded lineages, are descended by known filiation from seven women who lived at the end of the eighteenth century.

It is possible that before the period to which this inquiry refers epidemics were produced and struck certain villages in particular, destroying entire lineages. In fact we cannot say anything certain about the evolution of the population before 1890. Let us only remember that this rate of reproduction of 200% per generation of 31 years represents the normal rate for the Refugee Blacks, in the absence of large epidemics and of venereal diseases and before any medical aid.

During the period 1925-1942, the Boni population did not vary (rate of reproduction $\frac{105}{100}$).

Since 1940, it has been increasing slightly, by 25% per 27 years, that is just under 1% per year.

163 Birth rate and mortality rate. Demographic balance. From 1
165 January 1956 to 31 December 1957, i.e., in two years, 39 children were born in the villages on the French bank (660 persons), and 21 persons died (including 5 children born during this period).

Rate of birth: 2.9% per year.

Rate of mortality: 1.6% per year.

161 Rate of increase: 1.3% per year.

The rate of increase of 1.3%, which corresponds incidentally to the theoretical calculation indicated above, is very much below that of the population of Cayenne and of the communes of
[164] the coast. If one considers that before 1920 it reached the remarkable value of 3% per year, one realizes the extent of the disaster brought about by venereal diseases.

/524 cont./

165 Factors influencing the demographic characteristics of the Boni. Life expectancy at birth for the Boni is not only 12 years higher than that of the Indians, but is also considerably higher than that of the African peoples from which they came.

This fact can be attributed to two causes:

164 1. The Boni live in a more salubrious environment than
182 the African forest and have better living conditions. It seems likely that the Guianese forest, apart from malaria, presents few causes of bad health and is relatively favorable to man; the absence of trypanosomiasis permits men /525/ to gather on the banks of the large rivers, generously exposed to the air and to the light. The small number of the Boni and their dispersion over a vast territory stands in the way of the transmission of diseases by drinking water. In fact the water is generally healthy. Dysentery and parasitosis are considerably rarer and less serious than in Africa;

14 2. The Boni are a selected population. This is a very im-
162 portant aspect of their demography.

The slaves were the object of a systematic selection; the purchasing commissions of the rich colony of Surinam allowed only individuals of good health and constitution to pass. A second selection took place at the time of the formation of the tribes of Refugee Blacks. More than from a massive rebellion the rebel groups increased in size by the addition of those who, from year to year, escaped at the peril of their lives. Without any doubt those who preferred combat to servitude were the most vigorous and bravest. Voluntary migrations have always been a factor of selection; one may suppose that a migration which took place in such circumstances was accompanied by a particularly rigorous selection which, in spite of the time which has passed (eight generations), continues to influence the physiological
[734] characteristics of the Refugee Blacks. Notably it can explain
[157] the vigorous constitution of the Boni (there are only two congenital invalids out of 810 persons) and their exceptional qualities of physical courage and initiative.

5: Hurault--23 g E-5 (1948-1959) 1959 SRS Bush Negroes SR9
Ruuyen SR12
Emerillon SR8

/125 cont./

III. – Demography of the Oayana Indians

B
125 The inquiry covered the five Oayana villages on the French
162 bank, grouping together 170 persons in December 1957. We
361 were able, moreover, to interrogate most of the women of the villages on the Suriram side, with the result that the actual dimension of the group studied comes to approximately 240 persons (12).

E
101 12. In January 1959 we studied the
125 Oyampi and Emerillon Indians of
161 Oyapok, about 190 in number, whose demographic characteristics are very
E close to those of the Oayana. The
128 data obtained, compared to those concerning the Oayana, are indicated below.

R
621 Conditions of the inquiry. The Oayana villages do not have a
166 stable population; a simple disagreement suffices to provoke the departure of a faction, which goes to join another village.
R About half of the Oayana studied here came from the Yari (Brazil)
758 during the years 1951 and 1952 and have benefited from medical
[166] help only since that time. We can therefore acknowledge that the total population has benefited from medical care since 1951.
R
161 Since 1952, even if the internal composition of the villages has varied, we are dealing on the whole with the same population, which may be regarded as relatively stable.
R
125 /526/ The inquiry, conducted at three times (December
[101] 1956, December 1957, and November 1958), allowed us to cover the whole group except for some units (absent on a journey
[484] to Brazil).
B The determination of the ages has been made by comparison
R with the Boni. Oayana and Boni, acquainted since childhood, can
[648] say with precision which ones are close to their age.
[829] Historic guidelines have also been used, notably from the
R
[175] voyage of the explorer Laveau, 1913-1915.

/326 cont./

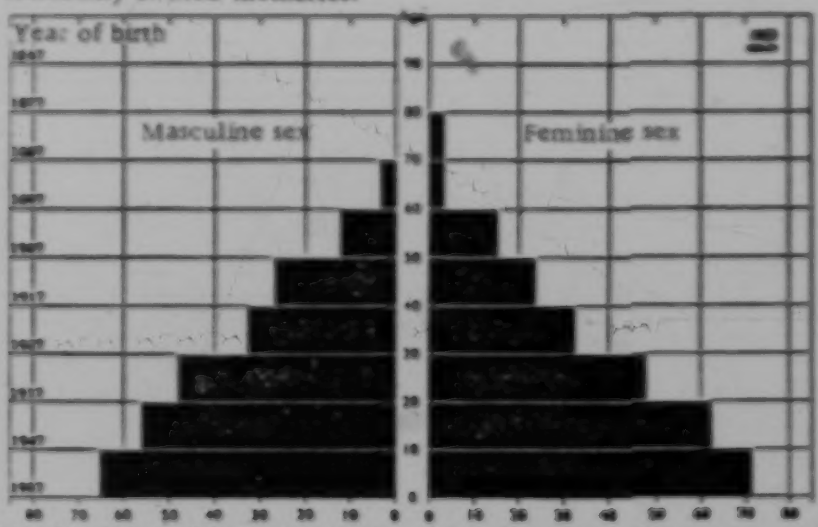
125 The determination of the ages of the Indians born in Brazil is more uncertain, and for some of them we had to be content with apparent ages.

[101] In November 1958, thanks to the authorization granted by the
(122) authorities of Surinam, we were able to visit the two villages on the Surinam side and question the women; but we were not able to make an accurate census of these villages, some of the men being on a journey.

125 The interrogation of the women about dead and living children
115 was conducted in the same way as among the Boni. They all replied with good grace.

The Indians were interested in the inquiry and answered with more
125 precision than could have been expected. Everything which concerns
153 children is registered in their memories with extreme care. They are
(181) capable of saying with certitude: "When X died, I was this tall, Untel was that tall." The checking that we were able to do confirms the reliability of their memories.

162



Total number of the quinquennial groups (For a total population of 1000)

Total number of the quinquennial groups (For a total population of 1000)

Diagram No. 4. Age pyramid for the Oayana Indians of the French bank of the Maroni on 1 January 1958

/327/

162 The age pyramid for the Oayana, inferred from the census of the villages of the French bank, terminated on the first of
[165] January 1958, presents a remarkable regularity. Its rapid decrease in terms of age is noticeable: there are only three persons over 60 years of age out of a total of 169.

163 Fertility. The purpose of this study is to show the fertility
(121) before any kind of medical aid, and, on the other hand, to establish if it has varied since the Oayana have been receiving care.

163 The most rigorous method would consist of establishing the
128 table of fertility by assuming that the lives of the women stopped on the first of January 1951. But the population studied is not large enough and includes too few women of mature age for a precise determination to be reached in this way. We preferred to divide the women into two categories:

-- those who in 1951 had reached the age when half of the children had already been born (38 years old), i.e., women born up to and including 1923. It may be admitted that their subsequent fertility has been very little influenced by the care received.

-- the women born from 1924 to 1943 inclusive.

In view of the reduced total of the group studied, it did not seem useful to distinguish between children born dead and children who died a few days after birth.

163 The study of fertility according to age leads to the following results (average number of children per quinquennial period.)

	13-17 Years	18-22 Years	23-27 Years	28-32 Years	33-37 Years	38-42 Years
(Women born up to 1923 inclusive): Number: 36	0.22	0.70	0.86	0.75	0.46	0.38
(Women born from 1924 to 1943 inclusive): Number: 34	0.47	0.75	1.00	-	-	-

/527 cont./

165 Allowing 0.15 for the average number of children beyond 42 years of age, for which we were unable to obtain a precise determination, we obtain for the women born up to 1923 inclusive:

-- average cumulative fertility, 3.62,

-- age at which half of the children have been born, 28 years.

[752] These facts characterize the fertility of the Cayana women

[324] in the absence of all medical aid. This fertility is very low. It results from purely physiological causes, birth control not being practiced.

/528/ The women born after 1923 show, for the first three five-year

[752] blocks, an increase in fertility of about 15%. It is evident that the medical effort of the last eight years has clearly modified the demographic data on this point.

165 Mortality. We classed by year of birth the children of these 70

128 women. We related the calculations to the first of December 1958, for, as we shall show later on, the mortality of the Cayana has only been slightly influenced by the medical effort of these last years.

165

Children born from	Dead children before 1 year	from 1-5 years	after 5 years	Surviving on 1-12-58	Proportion	Average age
						Years
1924-1933 inclus.....	7 (28%)	4	8	14	14/33=43%	30
1934-1943 inclus.....	10 (20%)	6	8	32	32/56=57%	20
1944-1953 inclus.....	6 (13%)	5	1	34	34/46=72%	10
1954-1958 inclus.....	8 (25%)	2	....	21	21/31=68%	2 1/2

Births prior to 1924 are not sufficiently numerous to enter into the calculation. But we can obtain approximate values from the proportion surviving beyond 30 years of age, from considerations based on the age pyramid:

-- proportion surviving at 42 years of age: 28%,

-- proportion surviving at 56 years of age: 11% (13).

[122] 13. To obtain this last figure, a comparison was made of the segments of the average curve

R /528 cont./
165
128

13. (cont.)
of the age pyramids relative to the ages of 28 and 56 years, taking into account the rate of reproduction of 83% per generation of 28 years.

B
R
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It can be seen that there remain practically no survivors at 70 years of age, whereas among the Boni there still remain 30%.

Life expectancy at birth, deduced from this curve, is 31 years (Boni: 43 years.)

The mortality curve is very different from that of the Boni, showing a completely different appearance vis-à-vis the geographic environment. The mortality from 0 to 5 years appears comparable in the two populations (about 30%). But whereas among the Boni the curve shows a distinct plateau between 5 and 25 years, nothing similar is seen among the Cayana; the
R survival curve /529/ /Diagram 5 appears here/ plunges rapidly
165 without showing any plateau. The Cayana have, generally speaking, the same probability of death at every age. This high mortality of adolescents and young adults is a remarkable characteristic, clearly linked to the particular pathology of the Indians of the forest.

R
161 Rate of reproduction. The proportion surviving at 28 years of age, the age at which half of the children have been born, is about 47%.

The rate of reproduction is thus:

$$0.485 \times \frac{3.62}{100} \times \frac{47}{100} = \frac{83}{100} \text{ in 28 years.}$$

Thus 100 persons are replaced in the following generation by only 83. The whole drama of the Indians of the Guianese forest is expressed by this figure.

/529 cont./

B R 165

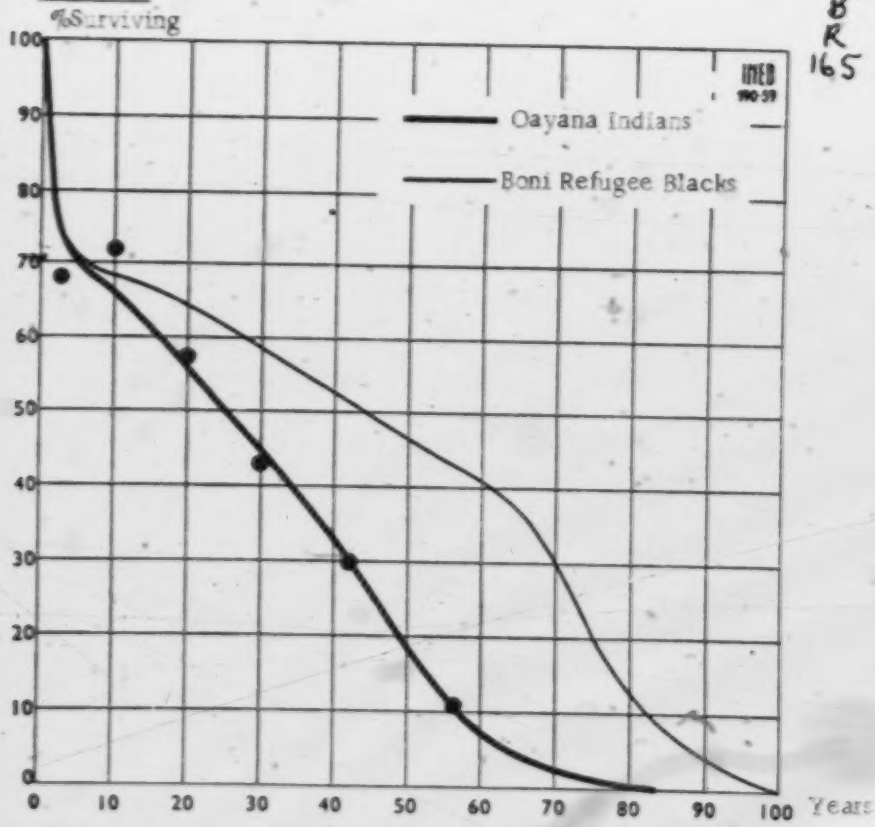

Diagram No. 5. Curve of survival for the Oayana Indians

/530/

B R 161

This rate of reproduction of 83% characterizes their behavior vis-à-vis the geographic environment modified since the arrival of the Europeans by their contribution of new microbial germs, just as 200% characterizes the behavior of the Refugee Blacks.

R 161

Before any kind of medical aid the group described here was dying out at the rate of 0.6% per year, i.e., it decreased on the average by one person every year.

This rate corresponds to the extinction of half in 103 years. It is not quite adequate to explain the reduction of the Oayana from 3,000 around 1780 to 500 in 1958. It is probable that at the moment of the first contact with the Europeans, at the end of the eighteenth century, the Oayana must have been decimated by the epidemics more severely than in our day.

R [174] [165]

/530 cont./

125 Rate of birth and mortality. In October 1948 we had set up a de-
162 tailed census of the Oayana who were at that time on the Litani French bank and numbered only 65.

165 From October 1948 to the end of November 1958, that is to
163 say, in an interval of 10.1 years, 18 of these 65 persons died. The women and girls of the group gave birth to 21 children, of whom 7 died. From these figures the approximate value of the birth rate and mortality rate can be deduced:

-- birth rate: 3.2% per year.

-- mortality rate: 3.8% per year.

161 Thus the group has diminished by four units in 10.1 years, which corresponds to 0.6% per year, a rate exactly identical with the one which the preceding calculation gives us.

161 It could be deduced from this figure that the medical effort
758 of these last years has in no way influenced the destiny of the Oayana Indians. Nevertheless the figures of the last two years, covering the total of 170 Indians living in 1958 on the French bank of the Litani, show a clear improvement.

163 For the whole of this group, from the first of January 1957 to
165 the first of December 1958, i.e., about 1.9 years, 16 births have been recorded as against 11 deaths.

161 Thus it seems, insofar as one can draw a conclusion on the basis of such a brief period of time, that since 1956 the demographic balance of the Oayana has changed direction. But the result obtained remains unstable, and if the effort were to slacken, a rapid return to their previous situation would be seen.

Future of the Oayana. Thus the Oayana reach only a demographic
[178] equilibrium. Nevertheless their sanitary conditions have improved in striking fashion, for those who knew them in 1948-49.
[164] Malaria has declined considerably, and the population of the vil-
[14] lages, children as well as adults, gives the impression of health and robustness.

R 161 R [172] R [164] /531/ The improvement of the sanitary situation would have been expressed earlier and more distinctly in the demographic statistics if other disastrous influences had not intervened. Since 1949 the Oayana have been more frequently in contact with the Europeans, more often visited. This has resulted in the introduction of new diseases, notably tuberculosis, which did not exist among them prior to 1949 (14) and of which at least three cases could be observed in 1958.

14. Dr. Andre Sausse checked it at that time by skin tests, which were all negative.

The Oayana continue to be an unstable population which it is important to keep in relative isolation. The worst danger in this regard would be for them to become an object of tourism. They are already visited too often, above all from the French side, by irresponsible travelers, whose passing has as principal object the development of mendicity, when it is not expressed by an influx of microbial germs; organized tourism would very probably lead to their destruction.

Conclusion

E R 16 The Guiana Indians of the Amazon forest and the other tribes.

We shall summarize in the table below the demographic data relative to the Oayana Indians, on the one hand, and to the Oyampi and Emerillon of Oyapok on the other.

Designation	Oayana	Oyampi and Emerillon
Cumulative fertility	3.6%	4.2%
Life expectancy at birth	31 years	30.5 years
Annual mortality rate	3.8%	4%
Annual birth rate	3.2%	4.2%

E R 16

/531 cont./

Thus these two populations, separated by hundreds of kilometers and having had practically no contacts for centuries, show very similar demographic characteristics.

E R 16 182 [144]

From all the evidence, these characteristics are linked to innate biological characteristics; it is infinitely probable that the ensemble of the Indians of Amazonia, belonging to very closely related anthropological groups, has had and still has, generally speaking, the same destiny. Wherever Indian groups show a positive demographic balance, one may suppose that the conditions of the environment are quite different. This is notably the case for the Galibi and Arawak Indians of the coast of the Guianas. There is no doubt that the alluvial zone along the coast is less malarial than the interior of the country (15).

E R [171]

15. This fact is notably illustrated by the history of white colonization in Surinam in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The colonists imported from Europe were unable to support themselves and to found families except on the coastal strip. The colonization of the high ground, attempted several times, has always failed because of malaria.

/532/ These considerations enable us to understand why the Amazon forest, on the whole more favorable to man than the African forest, shows this aspect of "human wilderness" attested to so often. The solution of this problem is simple: Amazonia is only a wilderness to the extent that it is inhabited by Amerindians. These populations, who manifest a very poor adaptation to the conditions of life in the equatorial forest, have only been able to maintain themselves there in a precarious equilibrium, despite the antiquity of their settlement, going back in all probability several millenniums (16). Here and now, the rivers populated by

E R [174]

E R [114] [172]

16. No precise study has been made on this point with regard to the interior of the Guianas. But it is enough to observe that the gold-seekers

ER /532 cont./

16 16. (cont.)
182 frequently find Indian stone axes under 5 to
172 6 meters of alluvia.

B Here and now, the rivers populated by
16 the Refugee Blacks offer the most striking contrast to the rest of
182 the Amazon forest.

If no social or political factor hindered their development, the populations of African origin would doubtless finish by gradually replacing the other populations of Amazonia, with the exception of the Asiatics established on the coast.

E R 161 174 The factors which we have brought to light in studying the Oayana and Oyampi Indians of Guiana suffice to explain the gradual extinction of the Indians of the Amazonian forest since their first contacts with the Europeans and the Blacks; the violence of which they must have been the object from time to time, as well as wars between tribes, have played only a quite secondary role.

It is not difficult to imagine what the demographic characteristics of the Indians of the forest might have been before the arrival
E R [165] of the Europeans. It may be imagined that in the absence of the epidemic lung diseases, the average life span was somewhat greater: perhaps 50% of the individuals instead of 45 reached the age of maximum fertility, and the cumulative fertility was as high as 4.5 instead of 4, due to a rather better state of general health. Under these conditions, in spite of malaria, the population would maintain itself; it could even increase slightly.

E 161 165 This point of view is illustrated in striking fashion by the observations made among the Oyampi Indians of Oyapok, a group
[758] which has had practically no regular medical care. In this group
[163] from October 1947 to January 1948, 57 deaths as against 60 births are noted. Out of these 57 deaths, at least 11 have been caused by epidemics of influenza or of pneumonia (17). If the Oyampi

17. From 1947 to 1959 there were three or four of these epidemics among the Oyampi, striking one or two villages each time and causing the death of some adults. This is part of the ordinary

E /532 cont./
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17. (cont.)
pathology of the Indians. The large epidemics causing numerous deaths have not reappeared for a century; they were the result of illnesses of recent introduction.

had been preserved from these illnesses, their demographic balance, in the absence of any medical help, would have been largely positive.

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16
[758]

Biological characteristics and social behavior. In comparing the Boni Refugee Blacks and the Oayana Indians of the Upper Maroni, populations leading the same kind of life to a considerable extent, both deprived of any medical aid before 1950, we came to the following conclusions:

B
16

1. The Boni Refugee Blacks showed remarkable fertility and longevity. Life expectancy at birth before 1950 reached 43 years. The average number of children per woman over 55 reached 7.9 for the period before 1920. The Boni population increased 3% per year.

These remarkable characteristics can be explained by the resistance to malaria which the African Blacks possess, and by the fact that the Refugee Blacks descended from a double selection.

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2. The Oayana Indians, on the contrary, show low fertility (3.7 children) and a life expectancy of only 31 years; until these last years they were dying out at a rate of approximately 0.6% per year.

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R
[165]

These conclusions are confirmed by the historic data which show the Oayana regularly decreasing in number since their first contact with the Europeans, passing from 3,000 at the end of the eighteenth century to less than 500 in our day. The extinction of the Indians can be attributed to their great sensitivity to malaria and to pulmonary illnesses.

B
R
121 /533 cont./

Thus the behavior of a human group, its fate as a people, and its very existence appear to be determined to a large extent by hereditary biological characteristics. This notion was seen clearly enough at the beginning of this century, but it has never been the object of thorough studies, the conditions for an incontestable experiment not being found together. Repudiated in the name of theoretical principles by the train of thought which has animated sociology for the past several decades, it has ended up by being completely lost from sight. Present-day sociology no longer takes into consideration the biological facts peculiar to the groups which it studies; one currently speaks of cycles of civilization, of laws of social change, of acculturation, etc., as if social facts had their own life and their own evolution, independent of the supposedly identical and interchangeable people. It is as though one claimed to study the psychism of the human being without taking his body into account, denying the influence of sex, age, sickness. Some have even managed to maintain that man is in all respects the product of the society from which he comes.

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In the case studied here the falsity of these theories is obvious. If the Indians disappear wherever the Blacks establish flourishing societies, it is because their biological characteristics are not suited to the conditions imposed by the geographic environment, whereas those of the Blacks are to the highest degree.

Seen from this angle, the fate of the Indians of the Amazonian forest becomes clear; their social behavior and in particular their collapse upon contact with European civilization find an explanation.

B
R
[177]

/534/ The relations of the Indians with the Europeans of past centuries have been equally influenced by their biological characteristics. Their inaptitude for prolonged effort came in part from their physical weakness. When the Blacks and the Indians of the Amazonian forest have been employed side by side for years as soldiers and porters, there can be no doubt on this point. The Black is a force of nature. The Indian of the great forest, often full of good will, is betrayed by his physical powers.

B
R
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B
R /534 cont./

14 In the whole of the Amazonian forest these facts have been
16 observed since the seventeenth century and have led to the re-
182 placement of Indians by slave manpower imported from Africa.
114 The course taken in denying the biological realities and wishing to find at any cost a purely sociological explanation has inspired in recent years an ingenious explanation by several authors:

The success of African manpower was, according to them, due to the fact that the Blacks had a civilization closer to that of the Europeans, whereas the Amerindians were more hunters-fishermen than agriculturalists.

B
R [105] For any observer of good faith, the Indians of Guiana and
R the Blacks of the forests of the Congo and Gabon are largely
[433] on the same technological and cultural level. The Indians are
[361] certainly cultivators just as experienced as the Negroes; is one to forget that it was they who taught the rest of the world the greater part of the important tropical crops: manioc, maize, cotton, tobacco, and so many others? Hunting and fishing for them is only a secondary means of support; it is their instability,
R their lack of attachment to the soil, which may create an
[136] illusion on this point. It can be explained to a certain extent
[361] by the small size of the kinship groups; an ecological factor which does not exist in Black Africa must also be taken into account, the manioc ant, which swarms in particular in the zones habitually cultivated, promoting a seminomadism (18).

B
[136] 18. This factor plays only a secondary role,
[361] since the Refugee Blacks despite the manioc ant, maintain villages of permanent residence, only changing their crop plantings, but it is certain that it promotes the dispersion of the groups and seminomadism.

R

14 These considerations do not pretend to give a complete ex-
16 planation of the social behavior of the Indians of the Amazonian
182 forest. The biological characteristics of the group are only one of the factors of this behavior, parallel to many others, notably

/534 cont./

14 ecological and historical ones. But it is important to bring out
16 the primary consideration; it is because they have not been
182 taken into account that the "civilizing" action carried on for
[114] more than three centuries among the Indians of Amazonia has
led everywhere to defeat.

Jean Hurault.

5:Hurault SR8 Bush Negroes

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ÉTUDE DÉMOGRAPHIQUE COMPARÉE DES INDIENS OAYANA ET DES NOIRS RÉFUGIÉS BONI DU HAUT-MARONI (GUYANE FRANÇAISE)

INTRODUCTION

Au cours des missions de l'Institut géographique national en Guyane française, en 1948 et 1949, nous avons vécu en contact étroit avec les Noirs Réfugiés Boni et les Indiens Oayana du Haut-Maroni. Ces populations présentent la particularité remarquable d'appartenir à deux groupes ethniques entièrement distincts tout en vivant côte à côte, menant sensiblement le même genre de vie et ayant la même alimentation. Des circonstances historiques ont ainsi réuni dans le Haut-Maroni les conditions d'une expérience biologique rigoureuse, qui n'existent pas aussi nettement, à notre connaissance, dans les autres contrées. En effet, là où coexistent deux groupes ethniques différents, ils n'ont pas en général le même habitat ni le même genre de vie; par exemple, sur la côte de Surinam, les Indonésiens vivent en majorité dans les rizières et les Noirs en ville, dans des conditions sensiblement différentes d'habitat, d'alimentation et d'hygiène; dans ces conditions, les différences observées sur le plan de la pathologie et de la démographie sont difficiles à interpréter.

Le docteur André Sausse qui nous accompagnait, étudia sur le plan médical les Boni et les Indiens Oayana; il mit en évidence que ces deux populations présentaient une pathologie distincte, ayant de profondes répercussions sur leur situation démographique [1]. Le temps nous manqua au cours de cette période pour préciser ces données par un recensement et un interrogatoire systématique des femmes. Nous avons pu effectuer ce travail à l'issue de la mission de délimitation de la frontière Sud, en janvier 1957. Les données recueillies ont été vérifiées et complétées au cours de deux autres missions effectuées pour l'Office de la recherche scientifique dans les territoires d'Outre-Mer (octobre 1957-février 1958 et octobre 1958-janvier 1959), missions dont le but principal était l'étude sociologique de ces populations.

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[1] Docteur André Sausse, « Populations primitives du Maroni », Larose, Paris, 1951.

STRUCTURE SOCIALE ET GENRE DE VIE

Les Noirs Réfugiés Boni. Les Boni font partie des tribus dites des Noirs Réfugiés, reconstituées au cours du XVIIIe siècle par des esclaves africains rebelles échappés des plantations de Surinam (Guyane hollandaise).

Ces tribus (Saramaka, Djuka, Paramaka, Boni) vivent pour la plupart sur les rivières de l'intérieur de Surinam. Elles groupent au total 25.000 personnes.

A de très rares exceptions près, les Noirs Réfugiés sont des africains purs. Ces populations vigoureuses et bien adaptées au pays ont connu au cours des XVIIIe et XIXe siècles un essor démographique remarquable dont témoignent tous les auteurs. Issues de petits groupes rebelles qui n'ont pas dû comprendre plus de quelques centaines de femmes, elles sont évaluées maintenant à plus de 25.000 personnes.

Les Boni du Haut-Maroni, objet de la présente étude, sont environ 800, dont 660 sur la rive française (villages de Boniville, l'Enfant Perdu, Loka, Asisi, Papaiston et Kormotibo) et 140 sur la rive surinamienne (village de Kotika). Ces villages sont de fondation ancienne.

Chacun d'eux groupe un matrilignage, c'est-à-dire les descendants en ligne utérine d'une même aïeule fondatrice; certains villages connaissent entièrement leur généalogie jusqu'à cette aïeule, qui a dû vivre à la fin du XVIIIe siècle. Les membres du lignage sont unis par le culte des ancêtres qui les attache fermement à leur village natal et à leur terre. Le système social est basé essentiellement sur ce culte, le chef du village étant avant tout prêtre des ancêtres.

Il n'y a pas à proprement parler de mariage, mais seulement un concubinage reconnu, ne comportant ni contrat entre les parentés, ni pouvoir de l'homme sur la femme, ni même cohabitation du ménage. L'homme et la femme résident chacun dans le village de sa parenté maternelle. L'homme va vivre avec sa femme par intermittence, lui fournissant les denrées d'importation dont elle a besoin, notamment sel, pétrole, étoffes et outils, et défrichant l'abattis qu'elle exploitera au profit du ménage.

Le divorce est entièrement libre. Les unions sont peu stables, principalement du fait de la femme. Nombre de femmes divorcent quatre à cinq fois au cours de leur vie.

Le grand man, chef de la tribu, exerce sur les Boni un pouvoir plus religieux que politique.

Les Boni sont un peuple de piroguiers. Depuis près d'un siècle, ils vivaient du canotage au profit des orpailleurs et exploitants miniers. La décadence de l'extraction de l'or les prive progressivement de leurs ressources traditionnelles. Certains émigrent temporairement dans les chantiers forestiers de la côte. Mais tous restent fidèles à leurs villages et à leurs coutumes.

Les Indiens Oayana (Roucouyennes). Ces Indiens, du groupe ethnique Caraïbe, n'ont eu que peu de contacts directs avec la civilisation européenne et représentent encore sans altération le type humain qui peuplait la Guyane avant l'arrivée des Européens. A l'encontre des Noirs Réfugiés, les Indiens de la forêt guyanaise sont en décroissance régulière et rapide. Évalués à 30.000 au début du XVIIe siècle, les Indiens de la Guyane française ne sont plus qu'un millier environ. Encore faut-il compter dans ce nombre 700 personnes (Galibi et Arawak) qui ont été protégées par leur habitat, dans les savanes de la côte où le paludisme est moins meurtrier que dans l'intérieur.

Les relations des voyageurs, et les recensements faits notamment en 1730, 1759, 1787 et 1815 permettent de suivre avec précision cette destruction de la population autochtone, depuis le premier établissement des Européens en Guyane [3].

Les Oayana du Haut-Maroni étaient, en 1958, environ 240 dont 70 sur la rive surinamienne. Environ 250 autres vivaient sur le Yari et le Parou au Brésil, soit au total 500 personnes. Ils étaient environ 3.000 au temps de LEBLOND (1788) et l'explorateur COUDREAU, vers 1890 les évaluait encore à 1.500. Tous les auteurs du XVIIIe et XIXe siècles ont remarqué leur diminution croissante, mais sans en comprendre la cause.

Les Oayana déplacent leurs villages tous les dix ans en moyenne. Aucun culte des ancêtres ne les attachant à leur terre, ils ne se préoccupent que d'un emplacement favorable à l'agriculture et à la pêche.

Autant qu'on peut en juger, un village groupait autrefois les membres d'un matrilignage. Il existait deux types de mariage, l'un endogame, entre cousins croisés au sens classificatoire, l'autre exogame; dans ce dernier cas, l'homme quittait son groupe pour s'établir parmi la parenté de sa femme; actuellement, ce principe de résidence est battu en brèche par l'individualisme. Le mariage et la résidence sont entièrement libres. La composition des villages change constamment, une simple dispute suffit à entraîner le départ d'une fraction qui va s'agglomérer au village voisin. Cependant, la décadence sociale et politique n'a pas eu d'influence catastrophique sur le mode de vie. Les Oayana restent fermement attachés à leurs croyances, à leur langue et à leurs techniques.

Les Oayana sont avant tout des agriculteurs ; leurs abattis très vastes sont cultivés avec beaucoup de soin et leur procurent l'essentiel de leur alimentation.

Après l'agriculture la pêche est leur principale ressource. La chasse et la cueillette viennent ensuite.

Toute cette activité laisse beaucoup de temps libre pour la parure, la danse et surtout le farniente dans les hamacs.

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[3] Docteur André SAUSSE, *op. cit.*, p. 67 à 98.

Milieu géographique; genre de vie; Alimentation. Le Haut Maroni présente les caractères du milieu équatorial humide. Situé à 3°30′ de latitude, le pays présente une température moyenne annuelle d'environ 26°. La hauteur annuelle des pluies est d'environ 3 mètres, contre 3,50 mètres à Cayenne.

La région est entièrement couverte par la forêt équatoriale, que les habitants défrichent pour leurs cultures, pratiquant une agriculture itinérante sur brûlis.

La vie est étroitement liée à la rivière, au bord de laquelle sont établis villages et cultures. On ne se déplace guère que par voie d'eau. Chacun, homme, femme ou enfant, a sa pirogue et les enfants apprennent à pagayer en même temps qu'à marcher.

Les principales activités des deux populations sont l'agriculture, la pêche et le canotage.

Il n'existe guère de différence entre les ressources alimentaires des Indiens et des Boni. Le principal apport est le manioc, consommé sous forme de cassave (galettes cuites sur une platine) ou de couac (farine grillée et granulée). Viennent ensuite les tubercules, ignames, dachines, « choux caraïbes » et patates, les bananes et plantains. Les Boni plantent par surcroît le riz de montagne, dont le rendement est faible; en revanche, ils consomment moins de bananes.

La ration protéique est essentiellement fournie par le poisson, consommé frais ou fumé. Les Indiens, pêcheurs habiles, n'en manquent jamais. La viande de chasse fournit une ressource moins régulière, mais importante.

L'élevage, réduit à quelques poulets élevés principalement pour la vente, ne représente qu'un apport alimentaire insignifiant.

La graisse des poissons et des animaux tués à la chasse constitue le principal apport de lipides. Les Boni utilisent en outre, pour préparer leurs repas, une faible quantité d'huile de palmier maripa.

Les vitamines proviennent des fruits (papayes, ananas, mangues) que les Indiens consomment en plus grande abondance que les Noirs, des épinards sauvages, riches en vitamines A, et des graines de palmier (awara et caumou), consommées en grande abondance à la saison des pluies.

Aucune des deux populations n'est sous-alimentée. Les Indiens ont pu l'être temporairement au moment des épidémies, quand les adultes, longtemps malades, n'avaient pu défricher suffisamment. Mais ils sont capables de suppléer à une récolte insuffisante par une grande variété de produits de cueillette.

La ration alimentaire paraît pauvre en éléments minéraux et spécialement en calcium. Des traces de rachitisme s'observent chez quelques enfants indiens.

La rareté des aliments lipidiques, et, chez les Boni, la faible consommation de fruits, pourraient faire craindre des carences vitaminiques. En fait, on en n'observe aucun symptôme.

L'hygiène corporelle est excellente; Noirs et Indiens se baignent plusieurs fois par jour et sont très soigneux de leur personne.

En résumé, il n'existe aucune différence appréciable dans les activités coutumières, agriculture, chasse et pêche, des deux populations. Il en existe une dans l'activité économique. Chez les Boni, qui ont un plus grand besoin d'objets importés, les hommes adultes font quatre à cinq mois de travail salarié par an en moyenne. Ces travaux sont très pénibles et menés dans des conditions d'alimentation défectueuses; tandis que les Indiens, quand ils ne sont pas occupés à leurs travaux coutumiers, se reposent, passant parfois des journées entières étendus dans le hamac.

Les deux populations sont en *étroites relations* depuis longtemps. Les villages indiens les plus en aval sont au contact immédiat des premières habitations de culture Boni. Sans avoir aucune tendance à se fondre (leurs caractères et leurs coutumes sont trop différents), Boni et Oayana entretiennent des relations suivies, depuis la fin du XVIIIe siècle, faisant un petit commerce d'objets d'importation, comme des hamacs et des chiens dressés pour la chasse. Ils sont souvent les uns chez les autres et rien ne s'oppose à la propagation des maladies d'un groupe à l'autre.

En fait, le genre de vie des deux groupes est le même, les conditions du milieu influent de la même façon, et les différences qu'on observe dans la pathologie ne peuvent être attribuées qu'à une réceptivité différente à l'égard des principales maladies.

Pathologie des Boni. Nous résumons ici brièvement les observations du Dr A. SAUSSE, dans son ouvrage « Populations primitives du Maroni ».

La pathologie des Boni est caractérisée par :

— une résistance au paludisme, qui fait que si les enfants sont fortement atteints, une prémunition se développe avec l'âge; la grosseur de la rate diminue régulièrement de l'enfant à l'adulte. Les adultes ne présentent plus que des accès épisodiques sans gravité; en particulier la natalité des Boni est peu influencée par le paludisme. C'est là une différence essentielle entre Noirs et Indiens.

Cette prémunition, regardée comme un caractère héréditaire des Noirs africains, était bien connue des Européens des siècles passés. Aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles, on considérait que seuls les Noirs africains pouvaient, de ce fait, fournir un effort régulier dans les pays tropicaux. C'est une des causes principales de la traite des esclaves.

— Une atteinte importante par les affections cutanées. Les Boni, avant la création du centre médical de Maripasoula, présentaient de nombreux cas de pian, qui atteignait la majorité des enfants, laissant chez certains adultes des infirmités et incapacités étendues.

On observait aussi de nombreux cas de leishmaniose cutanée forestière américaine (pian-bois), amenant des ulcères parfois très étendus, presque toujours surinfectés, pouvant entraîner une cachexie mortelle. Enfin, 1 % des Boni présentait des cas de lèpre en évolution. L'incidence totale de la maladie était évaluée en 1957 à 3 % environ.

— Une importante invasion des maladies vénériennes, notamment de la blennorragie, entraînant la stérilité d'un grand nombre de femmes et stoppant l'essor démographique.

Cet aspect de la pathologie paraît en rapport avec les mœurs très libres des Boni et le peu de stabilité de leurs unions.

En 1948 les Boni attribuaient une part importante de la mortalité infantile à une forme de méningite qu'ils appellent « *pikin nenge siki* » « la maladie des petits Noirs »; les symptômes décrits paraissaient se rattacher à la méningite cérébro-spinale.

Pathologie des Indiens Oayana. Le docteur DOUVIER, examinant les Oayana en 1937 écrivait : « l'Indien ne présente pas de plaies comme le Noir, l'Indien fait des épidémies ».

Les médecins qui ont examiné les Indiens de l'intérieur au cours de ces dernières années ont fait sur leur pathologie des observations concordantes qu'on peut résumer ainsi :

— les Indiens, contrairement aux Noirs, sont sévèrement impaludés; aucune prémunition n'apparaît chez les adultes, qui sont plus atteints que les enfants. La grosseur de la rate dans la majorité des cas, ne fait que s'accroître au cours de la vie.

Le paludisme entraîne chez les Indiens, privés de secours médical, des lésions organiques si graves qu'une partie des adultes sont des demi-infirmes, sans cesse malades, incapables de supporter un effort continu. Une maladie infectieuse quelconque, amenant une forte fièvre, peut déclancher un accès palustre entraînant la mort en quelques jours.

Ces morts quasi foudroyantes d'adultes jeunes sont un des aspects les plus caractéristiques de la démographie des Indiens de la forêt guyanaise.

Ils présentent une sensibilité particulière aux maladies pulmonaires épidémiques, fait remarqué depuis longtemps dans l'ensemble des populations amérindiennes. L'examen que nous avons fait des archives de la Guyane montre que, depuis le XVIIe siècle, les voyageurs trouvaient fréquemment les villages indiens en proie à des épidémies de « rhumes et fluxions de poitrine », qui entraînaient de nombreux décès.

Il s'agissait vraisemblablement de grippes et de pneumonies post-grippales, contractées auprès des Européens et des Noirs. Ces épidémies décimaient rapidement les tribus entrées en rapport avec les populations importées. En 1760, un officier, M. DE KERKOVE, rencontrant sur le Camopi un des premiers Oayana entrés en rapport avec les européens, lui demanda si sa nation était elle aussi décimée par le « rhume ». L'Indien répondit : « Non, nous souffrons seulement de la fièvre »[8].

Ce sont, à n'en pas douter, ces maladies involontairement importées, qui ont rompu l'équilibre démographique précaire des Indiens.

Des épidémies de « rhume » ont éclaté fréquemment chez les Oayana, amenant chaque fois la mort de plusieurs adultes. Ces épidémies ont presque toujours coïncidé avec des mouvements de population. L'une d'elles a été déclenchée en 1937 par le passage de la mission de délimitation de la frontière Guyane-Brésil. Une autre a suivi en fin 1948 un déplacement en groupe que les Indiens avaient fait jusqu'à Saint-Laurent-du-Maroni.

Ces petites épidémies répétées font partie, si l'on peut dire, de la pathologie ordinaire des Oayana depuis leurs premiers contacts avec les populations importées.

— On observe aussi des dysentries, probablement bacillaires, parfois sous forme de petites épidémies. C'est une cause secondaire de mortalité;

— Les enfants présentent, comme chez les Boni, une infestation intestinale massive par ankylostomes et anguillules.

Les Oayana ne présentent que très rarement des affections cutanées; « leur tégument est intact. On ne voit parmi eux ni myocose ni ulcère, ni affections dermotropes. La lèpre et le pian sont inconnus chez eux; même les blessures minimes que les Indiens se font dans les bois et qui suppurent si souvent chez les Noirs, cicatrisent vite, plus vite même que chez les Européens, qui pourtant désinfectent leurs plaies[9] ».

Il n'y a pas de maladies vénériennes chez les Indiens, du fait qu'ils n'ont pas de rapports sexuels avec les autres groupes.

Le reste de la pathologie des Indiens ne présente rien de remarquable. On a souvent imputé leur disparition à l'alcoolisme. C'est là une assertion qui ne résiste pas à l'examen. Avant 1950, les Indiens n'ayant jamais d'argent étaient hors d'état d'acheter du tafia. Quant à leur cachiri[10], dont ils absorbent de grandes quantités à l'occasion des fêtes, il produit plutôt une indigestion qu'une ivresse; d'ailleurs, ils n'en boivent pas davantage que jadis, quand leurs tribus étaient nombreuses et fortes.

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(8) Bibl. nationale, Manuscrits nouv. acq. fr. 2577, f° 284.
(9) Docteur André Sorrès, op. cit., p. 113.
(10) Boisson fermentée préparée à partir du manioc; teneur en alcool extrêmement faible.

Effets de l'assistance médicale. Jusqu'en 1949, les Boni et les Oayana sont demeurés très isolés et pratiquement privés de tout secours médical. Les croyances des uns et des autres, attribuant les maladies à des causes surnaturelles, ne les prédisposaient pas à s'adresser aux médecins européens. En outre, l'hôpital de Saint-Laurent était si loin (six jours de descente à la pagaie) qu'un malade grave avait tout le temps de mourir en route. Les Boni ne s'y adressaient qu'en désespoir de cause, et en général à l'article de la mort. Quant aux Oayana, aucun ne s'y était présenté avant 1950.

En 1936-1939, plusieurs tournées avaient été effectuées à partir du poste de La Forestière situé à l'embouchure du fleuve, mais aucune action médicale suivie n'avait pu être entreprise. En 1949 seulement, on put créer un centre médical dans le pays même, à Maripasoula. Les populations furent visitées régulièrement et les malades graves purent être hospitalisés sur place. En même temps des pulvérisations systématiques de DDT à l'intérieur de toutes les cases, détruisant les anophèles anthropophiles, changèrent sensiblement les conditions du milieu; si le paludisme n'a pas disparu, il a cessé, tant chez les Indiens que chez les enfants Boni, d'être la cause principale de la morbidité.

L'action du centre médical s'est exercée davantage sur les Boni, qui vivent à quelques heures de canot de Maripasoula, que sur les Oayana. Chez ces derniers, les principaux villages sont à deux jours de canot à moteur en amont, au milieu de sauts difficiles; les Indiens sont souvent en déplacement, à la pêche sur le cours supérieur des rivières, ou en visite chez leurs parents des rivières brésiliennes; il est arrivé à plusieurs reprises que les tournées des médecins et infirmiers (une par trimestre en moyenne) ne rencontrent personne dans les villages; par ailleurs, les Oayana contribuent à attribuer à des causes magiques toutes les maladies internes, ne consultant volontiers que pour les blessures. Ils acceptent volontiers les remèdes donnés sur place, mais prennent rarement l'initiative d'évacuer un malade sur Maripasoula; les femmes continuent d'accoucher dans les villages, sans aucune hygiène.

Ce n'est que depuis trois ou quatre ans qu'on observe chez eux un changement d'attitude vis à vis de la médecine; ainsi que nous le montrerons plus loin, on n'observe pas encore de modification notable, de ce fait, dans leur mortalité.

Le principal intérêt de cette étude étant de comparer les données démographiques de deux populations avant qu'elles n'aient été modifiées par l'effet des soins médicaux, nous prendrons comme date de référence pour les calculs de mortalité relatifs aux Boni, le 1er janvier 1950.

II. — DÉMOGRAPHIE DES BONI

RECENSEMENT. — ÉVALUATION DE L'ÂGE

Méthode employée. L'étude démographique des Boni présente les difficultés inhérentes à toutes les populations sans état-civil :

1° Difficulté de fixer l'âge des individus;

2° Difficulté de placer pour chaque femme les enfants défunts par rapport aux survivants.

Nous nous sommes efforcés d'établir une *chronologie locale*, en rattachant l'âge des individus à des événements de date connue ayant frappé les esprits.

Nous avons notamment fixé les âges des vieillards à partir du voyage de l'explorateur CREVAUX (1877) et de la mort du grand man Anato (1891), les âges des personnes d'âge moyen à partir d'événements survenus de 1915 à 1924, mort du grand man Ochi (1915), fin de la première guerre mondiale (1918), accident d'hydravion à l'embouchure de l'Inini (1921), installation d'une usine de bois de rose (1925).

Les gens nés postérieurement à 1930 ont été situés sans difficulté, car nous en avions connu un certain nombre enfants ou adolescents, en 1948.

A partir d'un certain nombre d'hommes dont l'âge a pu être fixé avec une bonne précision, on a situé tous les autres, hommes et femmes, par comparaison. En effet si les Boni ne savent pas leur âge, ils sont capables de dire qu'ils ont par exemple 2 ou 3 ans de moins que tel ou tel [6].

Nous croyons avoir fixé les âges avec une erreur probable inférieure à 2 ans pour les gens de moins de 30 ans, 2 à 3 ans pour les gens entre 30 et 60 ans et 3 ans au-dessus de 60 ans. Mais cette erreur n'a pas de caractère systématique et l'on peut penser qu'elle s'élimine dans la moyenne, ne perturbant que fort peu les calculs de fécondité et de mortalité.

Recensement; pyramides des âges. Le recensement, arrêté au 1er janvier 1958, a porté sur 811 personnes, dont 666 des villages de la rive française et 145 de la rive surinamienne (Kotika). Pour ces derniers, nous les avons interrogés individuellement quand ils venaient sur la rive française, notamment quand ils sont venus assister aux fêtes de lever de deuil à Boniville, en novembre 1957. Les absents temporaires (moins de 5 %) ont été situés par les renseignements donnés par leurs proches parents.

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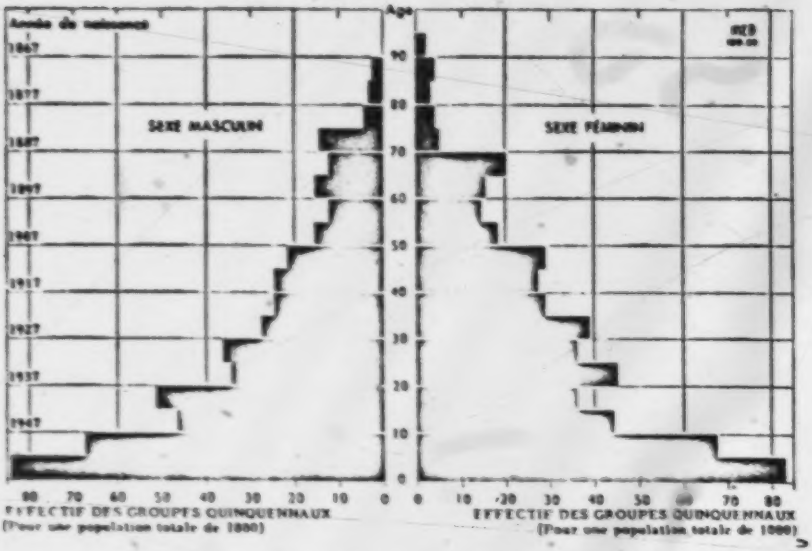
[6] Leur attention est amenée à se porter sur ces différences d'âge car si un groupe isolé en brousse est amené à adresser une prière aux ancêtres pour la guérison d'un malade, cette prière doit être prononcée par le plus âgé.



Graphique n° 1. — Noirs Réfugiés Boni du Haut-Maroni
Pyramides des âges au 1er janvier 1958

Nous estimons les lacunes du recensement à moins de 2 %. Ces lacunes portent presque exclusivement sur les adolescents et jeunes gens orphelins ou élevés par d'autres que leurs parents.

L'émigration et l'immigration sont très faibles, pratiquement nulles en ce qui concerne les femmes. Ainsi la pyramide des âges représente réellement la situation démographique des Boni et se prête à des calculs complémentaires de mortalité.

Interrogatoire des femmes. Les femmes des villages de la rive française ont été interrogées sur les enfants qu'elles avaient eus et perdus. On s'est efforcé de situer les enfants morts par rapport aux survivants et par rapport à la chronologie locale. On a situé l'âge des morts par comparaison à des enfants ou adolescents vivant au moment de l'enquête.

Pour les morts adultes on s'est efforcé de fixer l'année de leur décès par rapport à la chronologie locale.

Nous avons renoncé, pour faciliter la comparaison avec les populations indiennes où cette distinction n'aurait pas été possible, à déduire des tableaux de mortalité les enfants morts-nés. Nous avons tenu compte de tous les enfants nés à terme.

Nous avons, pour plus de certitude, interrogé les femmes deux fois à un an d'intervalle (fin 1956 et fin 1957). Celles qui ont donné des réponses contradictoires ont été éliminées.

Les femmes des villages de la rive française nées jusqu'en 1939 inclus et mariées depuis au moins un an étaient au 1er janvier 1958 au nombre de 216, en y incluant 17 femmes du village de Kotika résidant temporairement sur la rive française; 198 ont été interrogées :

— 158 (80 %) ont répondu de bonne grâce;

— 33 (17 %) ont répondu avec réticence ou ont donné des réponses contradictoires en 1956 et 1957. Les recoupements ont montré qu'elles passaient sous silence un enfant vivant, en général un de leurs aînés qu'elles n'élevaient pas elles-mêmes. Malgré les précautions prises, il subsiste quelques lacunes de ce fait dans le recensement des adolescents et jeunes gens [7].

Pour 28 de ces femmes, nous avons pu reconstituer leur vie avec une précision suffisante, en interrogeant contradictoirement les maris et les frères aînés de même mère. Les cinq autres ont été éliminées;

7 (3 %) se sont refusées obstinément à répondre sans donner de leur attitude aucune justification.

Dix-huit femmes n'ont pu être jointes, ceci tenant aux déplacements continuels des Boni entre leurs villages, leurs habitations de culture et leurs lieux de pêche.

Nous avons tenu compte de 7 femmes décédées antérieurement à 1957, que nous avions pu interroger les années précédentes.

Au total, nous avons conservé 193 fiches de femmes ayant eu 747 enfants dont 472 survivants au 1er janvier 1958.

Fécondité. Nous avons classé les femmes en 4 catégories, selon l'année de naissance, car la fécondité a varié considérablement au cours du temps. L'étude a été faite par tranches d'âge de 5 ans. Le tableau ci-dessous met en évidence la fécondité cumulée (somme des chiffres obtenus pour les diverses tranches d'âge de 15 à 50 ans). Pour les femmes des catégories 3 et 4, le chiffre obtenu résulte d'une extrapolation.

Il n'existe chez les Boni aucune coutume conduisant à une diminution de la fécondité, et la restriction volontaire des naissances est inconnue.

La chute verticale de la fécondité entre les catégories 1 et 2 résulte de l'invasion des maladies vénériennes, qui semble avoir coincidé avec l'époque (1920) où la recherche du balata amena dans l'intérieur une circulation intense d'aventuriers accompagnés de nombreuses prostituées. Les mœurs très libres des Boni favorisent la propagation de la maladie qui, depuis cette époque, n'a pas cessé ses ravages, endiguée seulement, mais non éliminée, par l'effort médical de ces dernières années.

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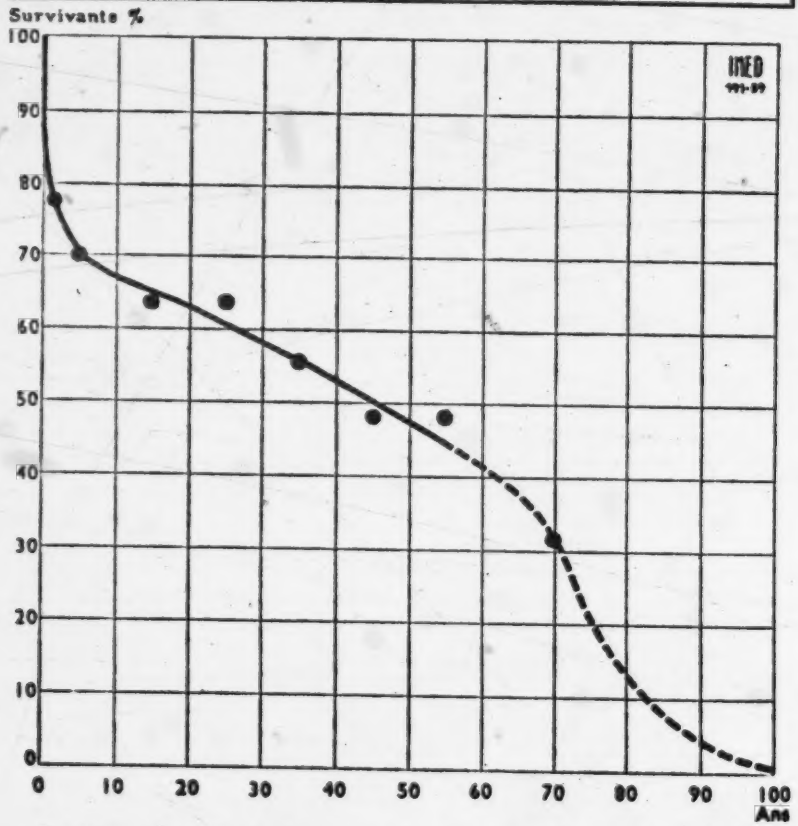
[7] Nous n'avons jamais constaté par contre de dissimulation portant sur des enfants morts. Les femmes Boni au contraire parlent de leurs enfants décédés avec une certaine indifférence.

Catégorie	Nées de	Fécondité cumulée	Taux de stérilité	Âge où la moitié des enfants ont été mis au monde (a)
		%	%	ans
1	1850 à 1895	7,30	5	31
2 3	1896 à 1915 1916 à 1925	3,83	21	27
4	1926 à 1938	4,52	15	27 (b)



Graphique n° 2. — Courbe de survie des Boni, en prenant pour date de référence le 1er janvier 1950

(a) Dans les évaluations du taux net de reproduction (cf. p. 523) on devrait faire intervenir l'âge moyen; celui-ci risque cependant d'être surestimé par suite d'erreurs sur les âges; c'est pourquoi nous avons préféré lui substituer l'âge médian.

(b) Le calcul relatif aux femmes de la catégorie 4 ne pourrait, vu leur âge, donner de résultats précis. On a préféré adopter le chiffre relatif à la catégorie précédente.

Mortalité. L'intérêt principal de cette étude est d'établir la courbe de survie montrant pour 100 enfants nés vivants le nombre de survivants à 1 an, 5 ans, 10 ans, etc., jusqu'à l'extinction du groupe. De cette courbe résulte l'espérance de vie à la naissance.

Pour les Boni, nous pouvons faire cette étude en supposant la vie des individus arrêtée au 1er janvier 1950, date à laquelle on peut considérer que les conditions influant sur la mortalité ont changé, surtout en ce qui concerne les enfants.

L'étude de la mortalité des enfants nés depuis le 1er janvier 1950, traitée à part, fournira d'utiles éléments de comparaison.

Établissement du tableau de mortalité. En reprenant les fiches des 193 femmes dont la vie nous est complètement connue, y compris les enfants morts en bas âge[10], nous avons pointé tous leurs enfants, année par année, sur un tableau.

TABLEAU DE MORTALITÉ RAPPORTÉ AU 1er JANVIER 1950 (10)

Année de naissance	Enfants décédés			Survivants au 1-1-50	Survivants	Âge moyen au 1-1-50	Décédés du 1-1-50 au 1-1-58
	de 0 à 1 an	de 0 à 5 ans	à plus de 5 ans avant le 1-1-50		Total enfants		
						ans	
1888 à 1899 inclus.	12 (36 %)	13 (39 %)	5	16	16/ 33 = 48 %	50	2
1900 à 1909 inclus.	15 (28 %)	20 (37 %)	8	26	26/ 54 = 48 %	45	1
1910 à 1919 inclus.	21 (24 %)	30 (35 %)	8	47	47/ 85 = 55 %	35	1
1920 à 1929 inclus.	20 (21 %)	28 (31 %)	7	59	59/ 94 = 62 %	25	3
1930 à 1939 inclus.	24 (24 %)	32 (30 %)	8	66	66/106 = 63 %	15	3
1940 à 1949 inclus.	40 (23 %)	.....	1	122	122/175 = 70 %	5	8

La courbe de survie résulte directement de ces valeurs. Elle se met en évidence la forte mortalité des enfants (30 % au cours des cinq premières années).

(10) Nous avons apporté un soin particulier à l'interrogatoire sur les enfants morts en bas âge, cause importante d'erreur dans les populations sans état civil. L'âge des enfants au moment de la mort a été estimé d'après les repères suivants, fondés sur l'étude du développement de 10 enfants nés en 1956 et 1957 : s'asseoir, 7 mois; commencer à marcher, 1 an (repère remarquablement net chez les Boni); fin du sevrage, 14 à 18 mois. Au delà, on a estimé les âges par comparaison avec des enfants vivants au moment de l'enquête.

Il n'est pas possible d'obtenir directement une valeur du taux de survie aux âges supérieurs à 55 ans, mais on peut en obtenir une valeur approchée d'après la pyramide des âges. Le calcul [11] donne : proportion des survivants à 70 ans : 30 %.

L'espérance de vie à la naissance est d'environ 43 ans. C'est une valeur remarquablement élevée pour des peuples privés de secours médical, et notablement supérieure à ce que l'on enregistre en Afrique noire.

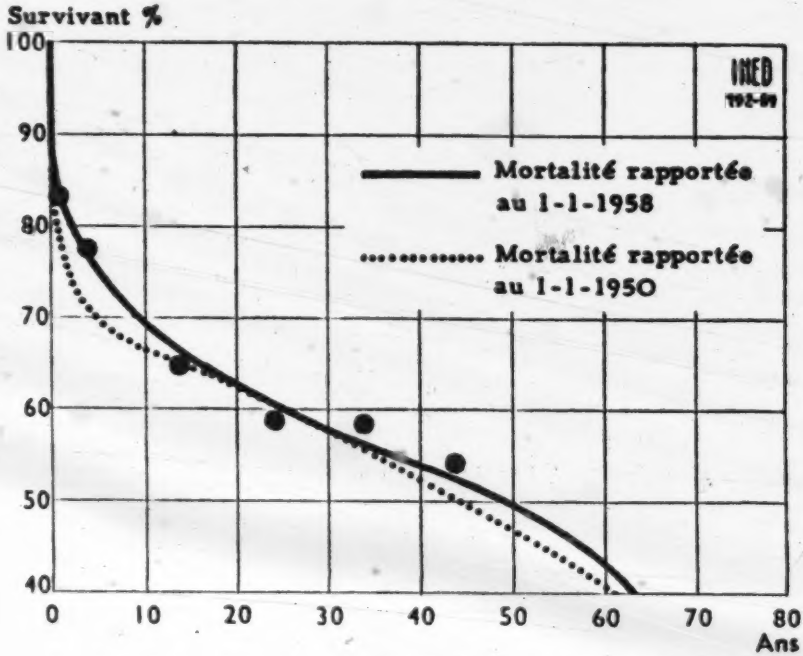
Évolution de la mortalité sous l'influence de l'assistance médicale. Il est intéressant de mettre en évidence dans quelle mesure la mortalité a été influencée par l'assistance médicale depuis 1950. A cet effet, nous reprendrons les mêmes observations, en tenant compte des décès survenus entre le 1er janvier 1950 et le 1er janvier 1958, date à laquelle nous rapporterons les calculs.

TABLEAU DE MORTALITÉ RAPPORTÉ AU 1er JANVIER 1958

Année de naissance	Décédés avant le 1-1-50	Décédés du 1-1-50 au 1-1-58	Survivants au 1-1-58	Proportion des survivants	Âge moyen au 1-1-58
				%	ans
1888 à 1899 inclus	18	2	14	41	65
1900 à 1909 inclus	28	1	25	46	54
1910 à 1919 inclus	38	1	46	54	44
1920 à 1929 inclus	35	3	56	59	24
1930 à 1939 inclus	40	3	64	59	24
1940 à 1949 inclus	53	8	114	65	14
1950 à 1957 inclus	.....	45 dont 35 avant 1 an	154	77,5	4

La courbe de survie obtenue en arrêtant les calculs au 1er janvier 1958 diffère légèrement de la précédente, qui concerne principalement la mortalité des enfants. La mortalité de 0 à 1 an est donnée par 35/199 = 17,5 % au lieu

[11] Le calcul consiste à comparer les longueurs des segments de la courbe moyenne de la pyramide correspondant aux âges 55 et 70 ans, compte tenu de l'accroissement des naissances entre 1888 et 1903, déduit du taux de reproduction.



Graphique n° 3. — Courbe de survie des Boni en prenant pour date de référence le 1er janvier 1958

de 23 %. La mortalité de 0 à 5 ans est tombée de 30 % à 24 %. La mortalité des adultes a été légèrement réduite. Au total l'espérance de vie des Boni paraît s'être accrue d'environ 1 an pendant la période considérée.

Accroissement de la population. D'après la courbe de survie, il nous est possible de calculer le taux de reproduction de la population.

Femmes nées de	Taux de reproduction
1860 à 1895	$0{,}485 \times \frac{7{,}30}{100} \times \frac{57}{100} = \frac{201}{100}$ en 31 ans.
1895 à 1915	$0{,}485 \times \frac{3{,}80}{100} \times \frac{58}{100} = \frac{105}{100}$ en 27 ans.
1916 à 1935	$0{,}485 \times \frac{4{,}50}{100} \times \frac{59}{100} = \frac{125}{100}$ en 27 ans.

Ainsi pendant la période 1895 à 1925, la population Boni doublait à chaque génération. Ces résultats sont confirmés par l'étude des généalogies. Les Boni actuels, à l'exception d'environ 5 °/₀ d'entre eux appartenant à des lignages de fondation récente, *descendent par une filiation connue de 7 femmes* ayant vécu à la fin du XVIIIe siècle.

Il est possible qu'avant la période sur laquelle porte cette enquête, des épidémies se soient produites et aient frappé plus spécialement certains villages, exterminant des lignages entiers. En fait, nous ne pouvons rien dire de certain sur l'évolution de la population avant 1890. Retenons seulement que ce taux de reproduction de 200 °/₀ par génération de 31 ans représente le *taux normal des Noirs Réfugiés*, en l'absence de grandes épidémies et de maladies vénériennes, et *avant tout secours médical.*

Pendant la période 1925-1942, la population Boni *n'a pas varié* (taux de reproduction $\frac{105}{100}$.

Depuis 1940, elle augmente légèrement, de 25 °/₀ par 27 ans, soit de moins 1 °/₀ par an.

Taux de natalité et de mortalité. Balance démographique. Du 1er janvier 1956 au 31 décembre 1957, soit en deux ans, il est né dans les villages de la rive française (660 personnes) 39 enfants; et il est mort 21 personnes (y compris 5 enfants nés pendant cette période).

Taux de natalité : 2,9 °/₀ par an.

Taux de mortalité : 1,6 °/₀ par an.

Taux d'accroissement : 1,3 °/₀ par an.

Le taux d'accroissement de 1,3 °/₀, qui correspond d'ailleurs au calcul théorique indiqué plus haut, est très inférieur à celui de la population de Cayenne et des communes de la côte. Si l'on considère qu'avant 1920, il atteignait la valeur remarquable de 3 °/₀ par an, on mesure l'étendue du désastre provoqué par les maladies vénériennes.

Facteurs influant sur les caractères démographiques des Boni. L'espérance de vie à la naissance des Boni est non seulement supérieure de 12 ans à celle des Indiens, mais encore sensiblement plus élevée que celle des peuples africains dont ils sont issus.

On peut attribuer ce fait à deux causes :

1° Les Boni vivent dans un milieu plus salubre que la forêt africaine et ont de meilleures conditions de vie. Il semble bien que la forêt guyanaise, mis à part le paludisme, présente peu de causes d'insalubrité et soit relativement favorable à l'homme; l'absence de trypanosomiase permet aux hommes

5:Hurault SR8 Bush Negroes

de se rassembler au bord des grandes rivières, largement ouvertes à l'air et à la lumière. Le petit nombre des Boni et leur dispersion sur un vaste territoire s'oppose à la transmission des maladies par l'eau de boisson. En fait, l'eau est généralement saine. Les dysenteries et parasitoses sont sensiblement plus rares et moins graves qu'en Afrique;

2° Les Boni sont une *population sélectionnée*. C'est un aspect très important de leur démographie.

Les esclaves faisaient l'objet d'une sélection systématique; les commissions d'achat de la riche colonie de Surinam ne laissaient passer que des individus sains et bien constitués. Une deuxième sélection s'est produite lors de la formation des tribus des Noirs Réfugiés. Plus que d'une rébellion massive, les groupes rebelles ont grossi de l'apport de ceux qui, d'année en année, s'évadaient au péril de leur vie. Sans nul doute, ceux qui préféraient le combat à la servitude étaient les plus vigoureux et les plus braves. Les migrations volontaires ont toujours constitué un facteur de sélection : il est permis de penser qu'une migration réalisée dans de pareilles circonstances s'est accompagnée d'une sélection particulièrement nette, qui malgré le temps écoulé (8 générations) continue à influer sur les caractères physiologiques des Noirs Réfugiés. Elle peut notamment expliquer la vigoureuse constitution des Boni (il n'y a que 2 infirmes de naissance sur 810 personnes) et leurs qualités exceptionnelles de courage physique et d'initiative.

III. — DÉMOGRAPHIE DES INDIENS OAYANA

L'enquête a porté sur les cinq villages Oayana de la rive française, groupant en décembre 1957 170 personnes. Nous avons pu d'autre part interroger la plupart des femmes des villages de la rive surinamienne, de sorte que la dimension réelle du groupe étudié est d'environ 240 personnes [12].

Conditions de l'enquête. Les villages Oayana n'ont pas une population stable; une simple mésentente suffit à provoquer le départ d'une fraction qui va s'agglomérer à un autre village. La moitié environ des Oayana étudiés ici sont venus du Yari (Brésil) au cours des années 1951 et 1952 et ne bénéficiaient que depuis cette époque des secours médicaux. On peut donc admettre que l'ensemble de la population bénéficie de soins depuis 1951.

Depuis 1952, si la composition interne des villages a varié, nous avons affaire au total à la même population, qu'on peut regarder comme relativement stabilisée.

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[12] En janvier 1959, nous avons étudié les Indiens Oyampi et Emerillon de l'Oyapok, au nombre d'environ 190, dont les caractères démographiques sont très voisins de ceux des Oayana. Les données obtenues, comparées à celles relatives aux Oayana, sont indiquées ci-après.

L'enquête, menée en trois fois (décembre 1956, décembre 1957 et novembre 1958), a permis de toucher l'ensemble du groupe à quelques unités près (absents, en voyage au Brésil).

La détermination des âges a été faite par comparaison avec les Boni. Oayana et Boni, se connaissant depuis leur enfance, peuvent dire avec précision lesquels sont sensiblement de leur âge.

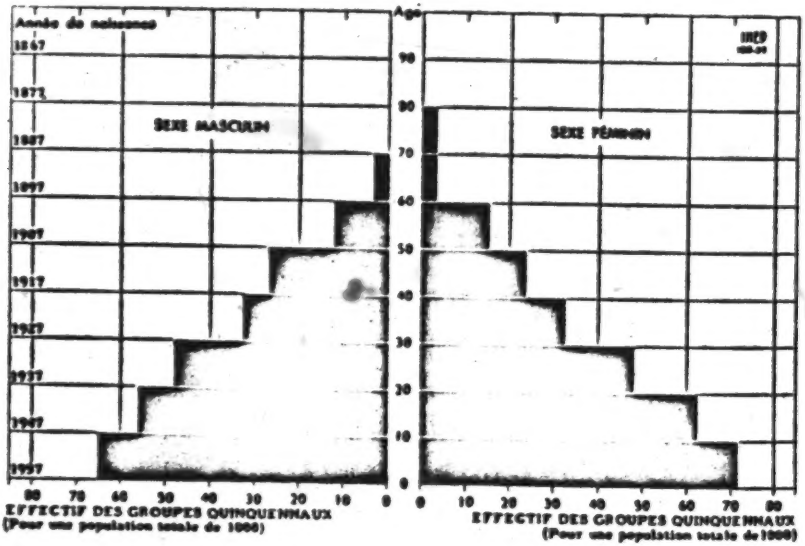
On a fait aussi usage de repères historiques, notamment du voyage de l'explorateur LAVEAU, 1913-1915.

La détermination des âges des Indiens nés au Brésil est plus incertaine et pour une partie d'entre eux nous avons dû nous contenter d'âges apparents.

En novembre 1958, grâce à l'autorisation accordée par les autorités de Surinam, nous avons pu visiter les deux villages de la rive surinamienne et interroger les femmes; mais nous n'avons pu faire un recensement précis de ces villages, une partie des hommes étant en voyage.

L'interrogatoire des femmes sur les enfants morts et vivants a été mené de la même façon que chez les Boni. Toutes ont répondu de bonne grâce.

Les Indiens se sont intéressés à l'enquête et ont répondu avec plus de précision qu'on n'aurait pu s'y attendre. Tout ce qui concerne les enfants est enregistré dans leur mémoire avec un soin extrême. Ils sont capables de dire avec certitude : « Quand X est mort, j'étais haut comme cela, Untel était haut comme cela ». Les recoupements que nous avons pu faire confirment la sûreté de leur mémoire.



Graphique n° 4. — Pyramide des âges des Indiens Oayana de la rive française du Maroni au 1er janvier 1958

5:Hurault SR8 Bush Negroes

La pyramide des âges des Oayana, déduite du recensement des villages de la rive française, arrêté au 1er janvier 1958, présente une régularité remarquable. On remarque sa décroissance rapide en fonction de l'âge : les personnes de plus de 60 ans sont au nombre de 3 seulement sur un effectif de 169.

Fécondité. L'intérêt de cette étude est de mettre en évidence la fécondité avant tout secours médical, et d'autre part d'établir si elle a varié depuis que les Oayana reçoivent des soins.

La méthode la plus rigoureuse consisterait à établir le tableau de fécondité en supposant la vie des femmes arrêtée au 1er janvier 1951. Mais la population étudiée est trop peu nombreuse et comprend trop peu de femmes d'âge mûr pour qu'on puisse parvenir ainsi à une détermination précise. Nous avons préféré répartir les femmes en deux catégories :

— celles qui avaient en 1951 atteint l'âge où la moitié des enfants ont été mis au monde (28 ans), c'est-à-dire les femmes nées jusqu'en 1923 inclusivement. On peut admettre que leur fécondité ultérieure a été fort peu influencée par les soins reçus.

— les femmes nées de 1924 à 1943 inclus.

Vu l'effectif réduit du groupe étudié, il n'a pas paru utile de différencier les enfants mort nés des enfants morts à quelques jours.

L'étude de la fécondité par âge conduit aux résultats suivants (nombre moyen d'enfants par période quinquennale).

	13-17 ans	18-22 ans	23-27 ans	28-32 ans	33-37 ans	38-42 ans
(Femmes nées jusqu'en 1923 inclus) : Nombre : 36	0,22	0,70	0,86	0,75	0,46	0,38
(Femmes nées de 1924 à 1943 inclus) : Nombre : 34	0,47	0,75	1,00	–	–	–

En admettant 0,25 pour le nombre moyen d'enfants au-delà de 42 ans, dont nous n'avons pas obtenu une détermination précise, on obtient pour les femmes nées jusqu'en 1923 inclus;

— fécondité cumulée moyenne, 3,62 ;

— âge où la moitié des enfants ont été mis au monde, 28 ans.

Ces données caractérisent la fécondité des femmes Oayana en l'absence de tout secours médical. Cette fécondité est très faible. Elle résulte de causes purement physiologiques, la restriction des naissances n'étant pas pratiquée.

Les femmes nées postérieurement à 1923 montrent, pour les trois premières tranches de 5 ans, un accroissement de fécondité d'environ 25 °/₀. On voit que l'effort médical des huit dernières années a nettement modifié sur ce point les données démographiques.

Mortalité. Nous avons classé par année de naissance les enfants de ces soixante-dix femmes. Nous avons rapporté le calcul au 1er décembre 1958 car ainsi que nous le montrerons ultérieurement, la mortalité des Oayana n'a été que faiblement influencée par l'effort médical de ces dernières années.

Enfants nés de	Enfants morts			Survivants au 1-12-58	Proportion	Age moyen
	avant 1 an	de 1 à 5 ans	après 5 ans			ans
1924 à 1933 inclus.....	7 (28 °/₀)	4	8	14	14/33 = 43 °/₀	30
1934 à 1943 inclus.....	10 (20 °/₀)	6	8	32	32/56 = 57 °/₀	20
1944 à 1953 inclus.....	6 (13 °/₀)	5	1	34	33/46 = 72 °/₀	10
1954 à 1958 inclus.....	8 (25 °/₀)	2	.....	21	21/31 = 68 °/₀	2 1/2

Les naissances antérieures à 1924 ne sont pas assez nombreuses pour entrer dans le calcul. Mais nous pouvons obtenir des valeurs approchées de la proportion des survivants au delà de 30 ans, d'après des considérations fondées sur la pyramide des âges :

— proportion des survivants à 42 ans : 28 °/₀;

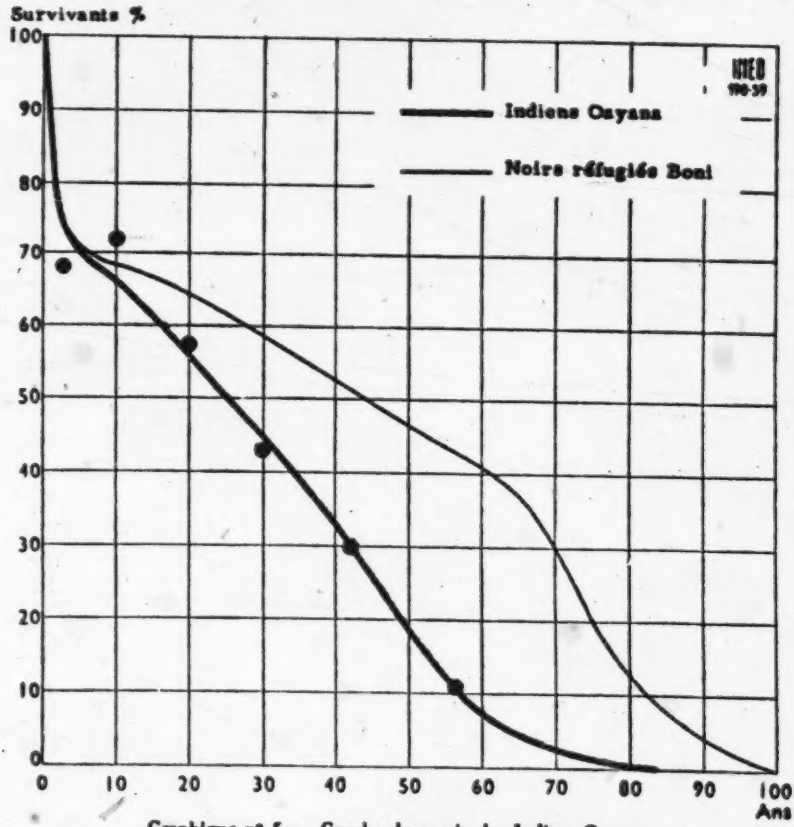
— proportion des survivants à 56 ans : 11 °/₀. [13].

On voit qu'il ne reste pratiquement plus de survivants à 70 ans, alors que chez les Boni, il en subsiste encore 30 °/₀.

L'espérance de vie à la naissance, déduite de cette courbe, est de 31 ans (Boni : 43 ans).

La courbe de mortalité est très différente de celle des Boni, montrant un comportement totalement différent vis-à-vis du milieu géographique. La mortalité de 0 à 5 ans paraît comparable dans les deux populations (environ 30 °/₀). Mais alors que chez les Boni la courbe marque un net palier entre 5 et 25 ans, on n'observe rien de semblable chez les Oayana; la courbe de survie

[13] Pour obtenir ce dernier chiffre, on a comparé les segments de la courbe moyenne de la pyramides des âges relatifs aux âges 28 et 56 ans, compte tenu du taux de reproduction de 83 °/₀ par génération de 28 ans.



Graphique n° 5. — Courbe de survie des Indiens Oayana

plonge rapidement sans marquer aucun palier. *Les Oayana ont sensiblement à tout âge la même probabilité de mort.* Cette forte mortalité des adolescents et des adultes jeunes est un caractère remarquable, lié de façon évidente à la pathologie particulière des Indiens de la forêt.

Taux de reproduction. La proportion des survivants à 28 ans, âge où la moitié des enfants ont été mis au monde, est d'environ 47 %.

Le taux de reproduction est donc de :

$$0{,}485 \times \frac{3{,}62}{100} \times \frac{47}{100} = \frac{83}{100} \text{ en 28 ans}$$

Donc 100 personnes sont remplacées à la génération suivante par 83 seulement. Tout le drame des Indiens de la forêt guyanaise est exprimé par ce chiffre.

Ce taux de reproduction de 83 °/₀ caractérise leur comportement vis-à-vis du milieu géographique modifié depuis l'arrivée des Européens par l'apport de nouveaux germes microbiens, comme 200 °/₀ caractérise le comportement des Noirs Réfugiés.

Avant tout secours médical, le groupe envisagé ici s'éteignait à raison de 0,6 °/₀ par an, c'est-à-dire qu'en moyenne tous les ans il diminuait d'une personne.

Ce taux correspond à l'extinction de moitié en 103 ans. Il ne suffit pas tout à fait à expliquer la réduction des Oayana de 3.000 vers 1780 à 500 en 1958. Il est probable qu'au moment du premier contact avec les Européens, à la fin du XVIIIe siècle, les Oayana ont du être décimés par les épidémies plus sévèrement que de nos jours.

Taux de natalité et de mortalité. Nous avions établi en octobre 1948 un recensement détaillé des Oayana qui se trouvaient à ce moment sur la rive française Litani, au nombre de 65 seulement.

D'octobre 1948 à fin novembre 1958, soit dans un intervalle de 10,1 années, 18 de ces 65 personnes sont mortes. Les femmes et filles du groupe ont mis au monde 21 enfants dont 7 sont morts. On peut déduire de ces chiffres des valeurs approchées des taux de natalité et de mortalité :

— taux de natalité : 3,2 °/₀ par an;

— taux de mortalité : 3,8 °/₀ par an.

Le groupe a donc diminué de 4 unités en 10,1 ans, ce qui correspond à 0,6 °/₀ par an, taux exactement identique à celui que nous donne le calcul précédent.

On pourrait déduire de ce chiffre que l'effort médical de ces dernières années n'a influencé en rien le destin des Indiens Oayana. Pourtant les chiffres des deux dernières années, portant sur l'ensemble des 170 Indiens vivant en 1958 sur la rive française du Litani, montrent une nette amélioration.

Pour l'ensemble de ce groupe, on a enregistré du 1er janvier 1957 au 1er décembre 1958, donc en 1,9 année environ, 16 naissances pour 11 décès.

Il semble donc, autant qu'on puisse tirer une conclusion sur un laps de temps si faible, que depuis 1956 la balance démographique des Oayana ait changé de sens. Mais le résultat obtenu demeure fragile et si l'effort se relâchait, on les verrait rapidement revenir à leur situation antérieure.

Avenir des Oayana. Ainsi les Oayana parviennent seulement à l'équilibre démographique. Pourtant leur état sanitaire s'est amélioré de façon frappante, pour qui les a connus en 1948-1949. Le paludisme a beaucoup régressé et la population des villages, enfants comme adultes, donne l'impression de la santé et de la robustesse.

5:Hurault SR8 Bush Negroes

L'amélioration de la situation sanitaire se serait traduite plus tôt et plus nettement dans les statistiques démographiques si d'autres influences néfastes n'étaient survenues. Depuis 1949, les Oayana sont plus fréquemment en contact avec les Européens, plus souvent visités. Il en est résulté l'apport de nouvelles maladies, notamment de la tuberculose qui n'existait pas chez eux avant 1949 [14] et dont trois cas au moins étaient observables en 1958.

Les Oayana demeurent une population fragile qu'il importe de maintenir dans un isolement relatif. Le pire danger à cet égard serait qu'ils devinssent un objet de tourisme. Ils ne sont déjà que trop visités, surtout du côté français, par des voyageurs irresponsables, dont le passage a pour principal objet de développer la mendicité, quand il ne se traduit pas par un apport de germes microbiens; un tourisme organisé conduirait très probablement à leur destruction.

CONCLUSION

Les Indiens de Guyane de la forêt amazonienne. et les autres tribus

Nous résumerons dans le tableau ci-après les données démographiques relatives aux Indiens Oayana d'une part, aux Oyampi et Emerillon de l'Oyapok, d'autre part.

Désignation	Oayana	Oyampi et Emerillon
Fécondité cumulée	3,6 %	4,2 %
Espérance de vie à la naissance	31 ans	30,5 ans
Taux de mortalité annuelle	3,8 %	4 %
Taux de natalité annuelle	3,2 %	4,2 %

Ainsi ces deux populations séparées par des centaines de kilomètres et n'ayant pratiquement pas eu de contacts depuis des siècles, présentent des caractères démographiques très semblables.

De toute évidence, ces caractères sont liés à des propriétés biologiques innées; il est infiniment vraisemblable que l'ensemble des Indiens de l'Amazonie, appartenant à des groupes anthropologiques très voisins, ont eu et ont encore sensiblement la même destinée. Là où des groupes Indiens présentent une balance démographique positive, on peut penser que les conditions du milieu sont sensiblement différentes. C'est le cas notamment des Indiens Galibi et Arawak de la côte des Guyanes. Il ne fait aucun doute que la zone alluviale bordant la côte est moins impaludée que l'intérieur du pays [15].

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[14] Le Docteur André Saussz le contrôla à cette époque par des cuti-réactions qui furent toutes négatives.

[15] Ce fait est illustré notamment par l'histoire de la colonisation blanche à Surinam aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles. Les colons importés d'Europe n'ont pu se maintenir et faire souche que sur la bande côtière. La colonisation des terres hautes, tentée à plusieurs reprises, a toujours échoué du fait du paludisme.

Ces considérations permettent de comprendre pourquoi la forêt amazonienne, dans l'ensemble plus favorable à l'homme que la forêt africaine-présente cet aspect de « désert humain », si souvent mis en évidence. La solution de ce problème est simple : L'Amazonie n'est un désert que dans la mesure où elle est peuplée par les Amérindiens. Ces populations, qui présentent une très mauvaise adaptation aux conditions de vie de la forêt équatoriale, n'ont pu que s'y maintenir en équilibre précaire, malgré l'ancienneté de leur peuplement atteignant vraisemblablement plusieurs millénaires [16]. D'ores et déjà, les rivières peuplées par les Noirs Réfugiés offrent, avec le reste de la forêt amazonienne, le plus frappant contraste.

Si aucun facteur social ou politique ne venait contrarier leur développement, les populations d'origine africaine finiraient, sans nul doute, par remplacer progressivement les autres populations de l'Amazonie, à l'exception des Asiatiques établis sur les côtes.

Les facteurs que nous avons mis en évidence en étudiant les Indiens Oayana et Oyampi de Guyane suffisent à expliquer l'extinction progressive des Indiens de la forêt amazonienne depuis leurs premiers contacts avec les Européens et les Noirs; les violences dont ils ont pu être l'objet par endroits, de même que les guerres entre tribus, n'ont joué qu'un rôle tout à fait secondaire.

Il n'est pas difficile de se représenter ce que pouvaient être les caractères démographiques des Indiens de la forêt, avant l'arrivée des Européens. On peut penser qu'en l'absence des maladies pulmonaires épidémiques, la durée moyenne de vie était un peu plus élevée : peut-être 50 % des individus au lieu de 45 atteignaient l'âge du maximum de fécondité et la fécondité cumulée s'élevait à 4,5 au lieu de 4 du fait d'un état de santé général un peu meilleur. Dans ces conditions, en dépit du paludisme, la population se maintenait, elle pouvait même s'accroître légèrement.

Ce point de vue est illustré de façon frappante par les observations faites chez les Indiens Oyampi de l'Oyapok, groupe qui n'a pratiquement pas reçu de soins médicaux suivis. On note dans ce groupe 57 décès pour 60 naissances d'octobre 1947 à janvier 1949. Sur ces 57 décès, 11 au moins ont été provoqués par des épidémies de grippe ou de pneumonie [17]. Si les Oyampi avaient été préservés de ces maladies, leur bilan démographique, en l'absence de tout secours médical, aurait été largement positif.

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(16) Aucune étude précise n'a été faite sur ce point en ce qui concerne l'intérieur des Guyanes. Mais il suffit d'observer que les orpailleurs retrouvent fréquemment des haches de pierre indiennes sous 5 à 6 mètres d'alluvions.

(17) De 1947 à 1959 il y a eu chez les Oyampi 3 à 4 de ces épidémies, frappant chaque fois un à deux villages et entraînant la mort de quelques adultes. Cela fait partie de la pathologie ordinaire des Indiens. Les grandes épidémies, entraînant de nombreux morts, n'ont pas reparu depuis un siècle; elles étaient le fait de maladies d'importation récente.

5:Hurault SR8 Bush Negroes

Caractères biologiques et comportement social. En comparant les Noirs Réfugiés Boni et les Indiens Oayana du Haut Maroni, populations menant sensiblement le même genre de vie, privées l'une et l'autre de tout secours médical avant 1950, nous sommes parvenus aux conclusions suivantes :

1. Les Noirs Réfugiés Boni présentaient une fécondité et une longévité remarquables. L'espérance de vie à la naissance avant 1950 atteignait 43 ans. Le nombre moyen d'enfants par femme de plus de 55 ans atteignait 7,9 pour la période antérieure à 1920. La population Boni s'accroissait de 3 % par an.

Ces caractères remarquables peuvent être expliqués par la résistance vis-à-vis du paludisme que possèdent les Noirs africains, et par le fait que les Noirs Réfugiés sont issus d'une double sélection.

2. Les Indiens Oayana présentaient au contraire une faible fécondité (3,7 enfants) et une espérance de vie de 31 ans seulement; jusqu'à ces dernières années, ils s'éteignaient à raison de 0,6 % par an environ.

Ces conclusions sont confirmées par les données historiques qui montrent les Oayana décroissant régulièrement de nombre depuis leur premier contact avec les Européens, passant de 3.000 à la fin du XVIIIe siècle à moins de 500 de nos jours. L'extinction des Indiens peut être attribuée à leur grande sensibilité au paludisme et aux maladies pulmonaires.

Ainsi le comportement d'un groupe humain, son destin en tant que peuple et son existence même apparaissent déterminés dans une large mesure par des propriétés biologiques héréditaires. Cette notion était assez clairement perçue au début de ce siècle, mais elle n'a jamais fait l'objet d'études approfondies, les conditions d'une expérimentation indiscutable ne s'étant pas trouvées réunies. Niée au nom de principes théoriques par le courant d'idées qui anime la sociologie depuis plusieurs dizaines d'années, elle a fini par être complètement perdue de vue. La sociologie actuelle ne tient plus aucun compte des données biologiques propres aux groupes qu'elle étudie; on parle couramment de cycles de civilisation, de lois de changements sociaux, d'acculturation, etc., comme si les faits sociaux avaient une vie propre et une évolution propre, indépendantes des hommes supposés identiques et interchangeables. C'est comme si l'on prétendait étudier le psychisme de l'être humain sans tenir compte de son corps, en niant l'influence du sexe, de l'âge, de la maladie. On en est même arrivé à soutenir que l'homme est à tous égards le produit de la société dont il est issu.

Dans le cas étudié ici, la fausseté de ces théories apparaît de façon évidente. Si les Indiens disparaissent, là où les Noirs fondent des sociétés florissantes, c'est parce que leurs caractères biologiques ne sont pas *appropriés* aux conditions imposées par le milieu géographique, alors que ceux des Noirs le sont au plus haut degré.

Vu sous cet angle, le destin des Indiens de la forêt amazonienne devient clair; leur comportement social, et spécialement leur effondrement au contact de la civilisation européenne trouvent une explication.

Les rapports des Indiens avec les Européens des siècles passés ont été également influencés par leurs caractères biologiques. Leur inaptitude à l'effort prolongé provenait en partie de leur faiblesse physique. Quand on a employé côte à côte pendant des années, comme sabreurs et porteurs, des Noirs et des Indiens de la forêt amazonienne, on ne peut conserver aucun doute sur ce point. Le Noir est une force de la nature. L'Indien des grands bois, souvent plein de bonne volonté, est trahi par ses moyens physiques.

Dans l'ensemble de la forêt amazonienne, ces faits ont été remarqués dès le XVIIe siècle et ont entraîné le remplacement des Indiens par la main-d'œuvre esclave, importée d'Afrique. Le parti pris de nier les réalités biologiques et de vouloir trouver à tout prix une explication de sociologie pure, a inspiré ces dernières années à plusieurs auteurs une explication ingénieuse :

Le succès de la main-d'œuvre africaine aurait été dû à ce que les Noirs avaient une civilisation plus proche de celle des Européens, tandis que les Amérindiens auraient été davantage chasseurs-pêcheurs qu'agriculteurs.

Pour tout observateur de bonne foi, les Indiens de la Guyane et les Noirs des forêts du Congo et du Gabon sont sensiblement du même niveau technologique et culturel. Les Indiens sont certainement des cultivateurs aussi expérimentés que les Noirs; oublie-t'on que ce sont eux qui ont enseigné au reste du monde la plupart des grandes cultures tropicales : manioc, maïs, coton, tabac et tant d'autres? La chasse et la pêche ne constituent pour eux qu'un apport secondaire; c'est leur instabilité, leur absence de fixation au sol qui peut faire illusion sur ce point. Elle peut être expliquée dans une certaine mesure par la faible dimension des groupes de parenté; il faut tenir compte également d'un facteur écologique qui n'existe pas en Afrique noire, la fourmi-manioc, qui pullule spécialement sur les zones habituellement cultivées, favorisant le semi-nomadisme [18].

Ces considérations ne prétendent pas donner une explication complète du comportement social des Indiens de la forêt amazonienne. Les caractères biologiques du groupe ne sont qu'un des facteurs de ce comportement, parallèlement à bien d'autres, notamment écologiques et historiques. Mais il importe d'en mettre en évidence l'importance primordiale; c'est pour n'en avoir tenu aucun compte que l'action « civilisatrice » menée depuis plus de trois siècles auprès des Indiens de l'Amazonie a conduit partout à un échec.

Jean HURAULT.

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[18] Ce facteur ne joue qu'un rôle secondaire, puisque les Noirs Réfugiés, en dépit de la fourmi-manioc, conservent des villages de résidence stables, ne déplaçant que leurs habitations de culture; mais il est certain qu'il favorise la dispersion des groupes et le semi-nomadisme.

6: Hurault K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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The Boni Refugee Blacks of French Guiana
/Les Noirs Réfugiés Boni de la Guyane Française/

Jean Hurault

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[Title page]

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Boni

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/1/

INTRODUCTION

114 101 [122] In the course of three missions of the Institut Géographique National in 1948, 1949, and 1952, we lived in close relationship with the tribe of the Boni, who supplied us with the bearers and boat crews indispensable for travel in the country. From the first contacts, we felt a deep interest in this worthy people, made up in the 18th century of rebel slaves escaped from the plantations of Surinam.

114 [121] Taking advantage of the rare moments of respite allowed us by our work, we tried to study the various aspects of their material, social, and religious life. The men who accompanied us were for the most part young men wh[illegible]nly a limited understanding of the tradition of their group: in addition, the geographic work compelling constant moves in the uninhabited forest, investigator and informants were more often than not prey to worry and fatigue.

[101] [121] At the end of the mission to fix the French Guiana-Brazil boundary in January, 1957, we were able to undertake a systematic investigation based on a detailed inventory of the population of the villages.

114 101 [122] A fifth mission made under the aegis of the Institut Français d'Amérique Tropicale (IFAT) from October, 1957 to February, 1958 permitted us to fill part of the gaps in our work. Some complementary data were collected in October-November, 1958 on the occasion of another trip devoted mainly to the study of the Indians of the Upper Maroni.

128 The present work is exclusively devoted to the social life of the Boni. The information we assembled on their material life and their art, as well as their demographic situation, will be the subject of separate publications. /blank page/

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PHONETIC NOTATIONS AND TRANSCRIPTIONS IN FRENCH OF NAMES OF PLACES AND PERSONS

197 The Boni language, made up from deformed English words, presents few phonetic difficulties.

104 Notations. We have made use of the simplified international alphabet of the International African Institute of London (Westerman and Ward).

Vowels:

a forward a (French a of "natte").
a: long a, pronounced very far back, analogous to the one in English "half."
ã nasalized a, French an of "banc."
e French é of "périr."
ɛ French è of "grève."
ẽ nasalized e (In the Boni language there does not seem to be any central oral vowel).
ɛ̃ nasalized è, French in of "pince."
i long i, as in "île."
ɔ open o, like the one of "port."
o closed o, as in "obus."
ɔ̃ nasalized o, on of the French "bon."
u French ou of "poule."
ũ nasalized ou.

Consonants:

b, d, f, g, k, l, m, n, p, t, z are used with their ordinary value in French.
h, w, with their ordinary value in English.

/3 cont./

104

ŋ velar nasal (final sound of "dancing"). /4/

ny palatal nasal; French gn of "montagnard."

r liquid heard sometimes as r, sometimes as l by Europeans; it appears to be borrowed from the Amerindian languages of Guiana.

s consonant placed between French s and ch. One hears initial s before a and o, ch in other cases, but this is a single phoneme.

Transcription. Names of places and persons have been transcribed according to the rules indicated by Mr. Houis, chief of the linguistic section of IFAN. In names of places and persons, u with the value of French ou has been kept on account of the frequent gemination of this vowel (1).

1. Exception is made for recognized toponyms (names of the principal water courses and administrative posts), for which we have kept the usual French spelling.

For the consonant s defined above, s or ch has been transcribed according to its position in the word.

/5/

CHAPTER I

MAN AND THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

The Country

133
[131] The Boni live along the middle course of the Lawa, principal tributary of the Maroni, above Abounasounga Falls. This region presents the same characteristics as the rest of Guiana: it is a very worn-down peneplain which, seen from the air, gives the impression of an immense plateau from which emerge every now and then isolated mountain massifs. When one travels across this peneplain, one perceives that in its detailed aspects it is very hilly everywhere; the terrain looks like an infinite covering of whitecaps of little hills as anonymous as the waves of the sea, whose always steep slopes end in swamps or pinotières drained by an infinitely complex maze of "criques" [creeks] (1); the shapes

1. In Guiana brooks and small rivers are called "criques."

and dimensions of these hills and valleys depend on the nature of the substratum, and their appearance on aerial photographs makes possible the drawing up of a concise geological map. The zones of "green rocks" are marked by much more important valleys and hills, reaching an altitude of 800 meters, with massive shapes and very steep slopes.

The other types of terrain most often lead to a very broken-up relief, the dimensions of the valleys and hills scarcely going over 300 meters, with local differences of altitude of from 50 to 100 meters.

/5 cont./

133 This extreme fragmentation of the relief must be remembered
182 as one of the ecological factors influencing the human peopling most directly; it renders the transport of heavy loads impracticable, the establishing of roads practically impossible. Men are led to
[361] settle along the rivers, which constitute the only routes of penetration toward the interior of the country.

133 All the important rivers flow into an alluvial valley whose
132 width varies from some tens of meters to a kilometer, dry during the greater part /6/ of the year, but flooded under several meters
134 of water during the great rains of May-June. This annual inunda-
241 tion makes the alluvial lands unfit for agriculture; the inhabitants of Guiana cultivate only sloping lands and even very steep slopes readily; for good drainage of the soil is indispensable for the raising of manioc whose tubers, which remain in the ground for more than a year, are threatened with rotting.

311 The cultivable zone is in fact closely limited around each village. Practically, it is limited to a strip of 1,500 to 2,000 meters along the banks of each watercourse accessible to pirogues.
[482] Transport of manioc tubers, carried on by the women several
[462] times a month, becomes impracticable if the distance to be covered with loads is greater than two kilometers at the maximum(1).

[101]
[131]
[184]

1. The Djuka, very numerous on the Tapanahoni, cultivate as far as three or four kilometers from the river; but in general, the Refugee Blacks prefer to build farming habitations at a distance of several days' by boat from their village when this gives them the possibility of farming in the neighborhood of the banks.

/6 cont./

133 Flooding is very variable according to the configuration of the rivers and the nature of the terrain.

133 At the Creole village of Grigel, situated at the bottom of
361 a glove-finger loop of the Waki River, the June flooding reaches
171 a level of eight meters above the average level in the dry season; the Creole and Indian villages of the Waki are established on hills. On the contrary, along the Lawa whose course is rectilinear, the variation in level is seldom greater than four meters. The maximum water level is 50 centimeters to one meter /above/
[342] the soil of the alluvial terrace. Several of the Creole and Boni
[484] villages of the Lawa are even established at the very edge of the great river; the houses are built on piles and their occupants go home by boat during several weeks of the year. Nevertheless, most of the villages and farming habitations are outside the reach of flooding on terraces situated about five meters above the high-water mark, which are found from place to place at the edge of the river and which perhaps mark vestiges of an ancient terrace. This is notably the case with Boniville and Loka villages.

137 The whole of the territory is entirely covered by equatorial forest: a forest continuous and dense which extends over hundreds of kilometers without a village, without a clearing, without a trail.

The Guiana forest is less high than is ordinarily thought. It is an infinite succession of trees of all dimensions and of extremely varied species, among which true giants are rare; the average height of the cover is around 30 meters, and large trunks are rare.

824 The variety of species is very great; and the useful ones, few in number and dispersed, are difficult to exploit. The Refugee Blacks, who have a deep knowledge of the forest and its resources, utilize scarcely ten species out of the some 200 which they differentiate, judging the others unusable either because their

/6 cont./

824 wood is too hard to be worked with ordinary instruments or, on the contrary, because it is too soft, too easily attacked by insects, or
311 has a tendency to rot. The zone exploitable by native procedures is limited (for the floodable zones /7/ do not allow fine woods) to the slope of the hills bordering the valley of the watercourses accessible to pirogues; beyond, the cartage of felled trunks becomes impracticable.

137 A very dense epiphytic vegetation connects the trees with
136 their upper parts; it is there that life blossoms out: flowers, birds, insects, and monkeys.

484 Progress through the forest is very arduous. The undergrowth,
480 shrubs, bushes, bound together by fine and elastic lianas, offers
[132] a constant obstacle, the machete /sabre/ must be wielded at each
[412] step. The nature of the terrain, a succession of bogs and hills
[133] with steep and slippery slopes, makes walking for heavily loaded men exhausting. On the trail one succeeds with difficulty in making more than 15 to 20 kilometers a day; in the uninhabited forest one can scarcely advance five to six kilometers a day by cutting the strict minimum as one does when hunting. The opening of a route permitting the passage of heavily laden men cannot progress more than three kilometers a day on the average.

137 The great forest offers few real dangers, but it is an environ-
182 ment profoundly hostile to man, which does not present spontaneously any food resource and allows establishment of villages and cultivated areas only at the price of great efforts.

136 One meets few animals in the interior of the forest, and the resources for hunting are very limited; on the other hand, there are few harmful animals; wild beasts are few and practically do not appear; snakes are much rarer than on the coast and represent
164 only a slight danger. The most real dangers of the forest come from the fall of branches and epiphytes, principally when it is cleared for cultivation; each year there are accidents of this kind in Boni country. Besides, work in the forest is the occasion for many wounds which tend to ulcerate.

/7 cont. /

132 [513] The climate is relatively temperate and easy for the European to stand. In the forest the thermometer does not rise to more than 28° during the hot hours, to go back down to 20° at the end of the night: everyone sleeps with a blanket, Refugee Blacks and Creoles as well as Europeans. Humidity is very great during nearly all the year; precipitation averages three meters a year or about 50 centimeters less than at Cayenne. The year is divided into two seasons: "summer" from July to December, and the rainy season the rest of the year, with a maximum of precipitation in May and June. 133 182 The water level varies considerably in the course of the year (several meters). [361] [164] The populations of the interior, spaced out along the rivers, suit the rhythm of their lives to the height of the water; the water rules transportation, fishing, and crops; moreover, a certain number of illnesses are in close relation to the rains, in particular those which have an insect for vector.

241 [134] Almost everywhere the soil is very poor in organic matter and fundamental ingredients, very waterlogged necessitating the practice of an itinerant agriculture on burned-over areas; the period of fallow ground varies from two to ten years, the optimum seeming to be about six. [136] The inhabitants of Guiana cannot allow ground to lie fallow regularly because of the ravages of the manioc ant, /8/ which is active especially in habitually cultivated zones. [134] Vain and costly efforts made by Europeans notably at Saint-Jean du Maroni about 1950, have shown that the fertility of lands not burned over is practically nil. [242] The Indians and the Refugee Blacks consider that the fertility of the soil depends exclusively on the weight of cinders laid down during the burning.

When burned-over areas are cultivated, only one harvest is obtained; but this harvest is abundant, and the soil thus utilized can be regarded as relatively fertile. The knocking down and burning do not require great labor, so that primitive agricultural methods can be considered to give a good yield. 241 197 As a matter of fact, the diverse populations of Guiana, Creoles and Refugee Blacks, have entirely adopted the methods of work resulting from the millennial

/8 cont./

241 experience of the American Indians, which seem the only utilizable
177 ones in the interior of the country.

Thus these populations which are so varied have in large measure the same agriculture and the same food.

241 Basic crops are manioc, consumed in the form of couac
[262] (flour roasted and granulated) which is the base food, the Indian yam, and tubers analogous to taro (dachine, "Caribbean cabbage").
[171] The Refugee Blacks plant mountain rice in addition. The Creoles do not plant rice but have on the other hand a greater variety of vegetables and fruits.

311 Men in Guiana live on the rivers; villages and cultivated
36 lands are to be found on their banks; everywhere else one finds
182 only the deserted forest; only Creole gold miners, constrained by their work, sometimes establish their villages far from watercourses.
181 The Refugee Blacks, like the Indians, love the rivers where they
182 find, along with water and light, the possibility of moving with-
171 out hindrance; they are a people of canoeism; their traditions are widely influenced by life on the river, and their mode of living finds in this a deep originality.

131 In fact, setting aside the gold miners' villages, we can say
133 that the populations of the Guianas living by exploitation of the
182 natural resources of the country have a linear habitat: it can be
171 estimated not in surface but in length, for it is limited to a band of one kilometer along each watercourse accessible to pirogues. These watercourses are limited in number, for one can take for granted that at a distance of some 20 kilometers from the source of each river, the congestion caused by fallen trees and parasitic vegetation prevents easy movement.

[161] Actually, considering the very low density of the population,
[226] the small rivers are scarcely utilized except as fishing places.

487 All the rivers are interrupted by falls and rapids which render
501 the use of large boats impossible. The pirogues of the Refugee

B /8 cont./ The Pirogues of the Refugee
487 Blacks, carrying a useful load of from 1,000 to 2,000 kilograms,
501 are the normal means for provisioning the placers and European
505 settlements of the Interior. The use of outboard motors on these small boats tends to become more general, but navigation remains difficult and dangerous and the Refugee Blacks continue to draw the essential part of their resources from these trips. /Fig. 1 appears here./

/9/ Populations

B
F
162 The Maroni Basin is relatively populated if it is compared
648 with the rest of Guiana. The population includes three human groups which are very different from one another and have absolutely no tendency to merge although they maintain friendly relations.

F
101 1) Creoles. This is the name of the colored persons who
177 lead a life with individual characteristics and have adopted European forms of life in part, by contrast to the Refugee Blacks who live in tribes under the command of chiefs. African blood
F
144 is dominant in the Creoles, especially among the gold miners.

In 1958 there were no more than about 800 Maroni Creoles,
F almost all gold miners or traders, grouped principally around the
131 little Surinam mining center of Benzdorp; very small villages of
361 gold miners are scattered along the principal tributaries of the
161 Maroni, notably the Abounami, the Great and the Little Inini,
463 the Waki.

F The Maroni Creoles are nearly all foreigners, the great ma-
167 jority originally from the British West Indies, more specifically from Santa Lucia and Barbados; there are very few among them
F from the French West Indies or the Guianas.

197 All speak dialects with a French base, very close to one another but rather different from the very special patois of the

6:Hurault--10a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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Fig. 1. Boni type.

F /9 cont./
197 Guiana coast which is rarely heard spoken in the interior. The
B Creole patois of Santa Lucia is most widespread, and it is this
[191] that the Refugee Blacks use to address Europeans.

F The Creole peopling of the Maroni Basin was formerly rela-
175 tively numerous and had been since an ancient era. In 1877
161 Crevaux already speaks of the existence in Boni country of a placer
[316] with a force of about a thousand workers. At the time of the
[314] Lawa (1887) and Inini (1902) gold rushes, as well as in the period of the exploitation of balata (1920-25), several thousand people lived on rivers now entirely deserted. A good many Creoles liv-
F ing nowadays by gold work have been settled there for 50 years
182 and more. Nevertheless, the Creole population of the interior
361 remains floating without real attachment to the country. This rises from two essential causes:

F —The absence of regular family life, the majority of the
[P36] Creole women in the gold miners' villages being in the category of mistresses;

F —The impossibility of living on agriculture in the manner
[241] of the indigenous populations because this agriculture can be conducted with a good yield only by a numerous family group. Now, few Creole women of the Maroni are willing to devote most of their time to working the land.

F The economy of the Creoles of the interior is therefore based
433 almost exclusively on the search for products of very high price
439 (gold, and formerly rosewood, balata), allowing them to pay for imported food. /10/

F Progressive exhaustion of the auriferous beds exploitable
316 without mechanical means is gradually leading the Maroni Creoles
167 to leave Guiana. This movement, begun about 20 years ago, continued until 1956, no form of economic life having been able
F to replace gold mining. In 1957 a tendency toward stabilization
161 was observed, principally because of the recent development of
233 cattle and sheep raising.

/10 cont./

F 233 433 Since about ten years ago Creole exploiters without any outside aid have built up a herd of several hundred head, principally with an eye to the provisioning of the mining center of Benzdorp. F [508] The existence of an airodrome and regular air connections permits envisaging the export of meat to the coast. The success of animal F 233 raising in the Upper Maroni seems to be attributable to a rainfall [132] lower in total amount than on the coastal strip but better distributed, as well as to the nature of the soil. It is principally on the floodable [311] alluvial strip bordering the river to a width of 500 to 600 meters that cattle find the most favorable conditions, taking refuge on the neighboring hills during the three weeks of annual inundation.

F Winning pastures from the forest and defending them against [461] the encroachment of the bush represents continual work, but it [464] can be carried out on the Maroni far better than on the coast, thanks to the man power of the Refugee Blacks.

F One cannot yet come to a conclusion on the profitableness [433] of this animal raising. Like many other enterprises in Guiana it [435] is handicapped by its too high cost price which prevents effective competition with imported products.

B 101 2) The populations of the Maroni, descending from rebel slaves of the 18th century, who are often called Refugee Blacks, are divided into three tribes: the Djuka, the Paramaka, and the B 197 Boni, whose customs are practically identical and whose dialects are very close. These dialects are variations of Taki-taki, vehicular language derived mainly from English, whose use was widespread in the time of slavery and which has become the national language of Surinam.

B The Paramaka, 700 to 800 in number, occupy the lower part 162 of the course of the Maroni from the first waterfall (Hermina) 131 to the junction with Béiman Creek. They are not navigators but B farmers and foresters, who furnish highly prized man power for 433 the enterprises of the Saint-Laurent region. 464

/10 cont./

162 The Boni, about 1,000 in number, occupy the course of the
131 Lawa between Abounasounga Falls to the north and the falls of the
Litani to the south. Their "great villages," that is, their residential
361 villages, are: Agodé (Boniville), Kotika, Asisi, Loka, Papaïston,
[103] Kormotibo, Lapé, and l'Enfant Perdu. Three small villages
founded more recently are established on the lower course of the
563 Maroni. The territorial implantation of the Boni has been dis-
turbed by the settlement of Creole gold miners on their territory
178 for three quarters of a century. Their demographic situation is
mediocre and their tribal organization, compared to that of the
[181] other tribes, has lost much of its strength. However, they still
make up a human grouping full of strength and originality.

131 The Djuka, whose "great villages" are in Surinam territory
361 on the /11/ Tapanahoni, can be evaluated at 7,000 to 8,000 in
total. At the height of demographic expansion, their farming
[162] villages swarm on both banks of the Maroni and on the islands,
[161] penetrating more and more deeply into the interior of French
[648] Guiana, where in places they form small temporary groupings
[619] living in symbiosis with the Creole gold miners; the Boni recognize
their right to cross their territory but not that of establishing
villages in it.

433 For a century the economy of the Refugee Blacks has been
648 founded on a symbiosis with the Europeans and Creoles; they furnish
[464] specialized labor (construction, but above all, transport) in ex-
[465] change for relatively high wages. This economy finds itself
threatened by the gradual disappearance of gold mining; there is
[178] developing a tendency toward temporary emigration to the Euro-
[166] pean work yards of Saint-Laurent analogous to that of the Saramaka
[182] of Surinam to French Guiana. This is a serious threat to the in-
terior cohesion of the tribes.

Boni
Emerillon SR8
Rucuyen SR12
Carib SR9
Locono SR10

C E L R /11 cont./

101 3) The autochthonous Indians are represented on the Maroni Basin by three groups:

C [13] [162] [133] [177] [178] —The Arawak and the Kalifia (Galibi) (about 500 persons) live downstream from Saint-Laurent; they live in symbiosis with the population of the city, whom they supply with fish and manioc. A century of contact with the Creole population has produced a certain alteration in their customs and traditional way of life, but the essentials of their tribal organization remain intact.

R [131] [162] [178] —The Oayana /Oyana/ or Roucouyennes /Rucuyen/ (about 250 persons) live on the Litani upstream from the Boni with whom they are in close relationship. They have not undergone any alteration in their race or their way of life.

E [131] —The Emerillon, who belong to the Tupi-Guarani group, form a small grouping on the way to extinction.

B 114 The Refugee Blacks. —Ethnic origin. No comprehensive anthropological study has as yet been undertaken on the Refugee Blacks. Not possessing the specialized knowledge necessary for tackling this study, we have left it entirely aside. Besides, we doubt that it would give important detailed information on the ethnic origin of the Refugee Blacks. Study of archive documents concerning the slave trade would certainly give more particulars; it is certain from now onwards that their origin is very diverse; the slave traders took on provisions principally on the coast of West Africa, but also in the Congo and in present-day Angola; the African words figuring in the present dialects come from the populations of these various regions. So it is not surprising to meet rather variable skull forms and statures among the Refugee Blacks.

B 175 144 [192]

B 141 The Refugee Blacks are in general of medium stature, that of the adult men being between 1 meter 60 and 1 meter 75; the average is a little below 1 meter 70.

/11 cont./

142 Certain somatic characteristics are found frequently among them. The /12/ majority of individuals are dolichocephalic,
144 slightly platyrrhine, have thick, flattened-out lips. These characteristics bring more especially to mind the populations of the Ivory Coast and Dahomey. The human types of the Congo and Equatorial Africa in general are rarely seen among the Refugee Blacks. This is a surprising finding, given the diversity of origin
175 of the slaves imported into Surinam. The fact can be attributed to the very special conditions under which the tribes of Refugee Blacks were formed: much more than from massive revolts, they were born of kinds of "maquis," enlarged from age to age, of all those who escaped at the peril of their lives. One can think that the majority of these indomitable people must have come from the large tribes of the African west, more combative and more thoroughly organized. The archives of the colony of Surinam, like those of French Guiana, pointed out especially that the "Coromantin" Negroes (that is, it seems, the ones who came from the Ashanti country) were so intractable that they could hardly be utilized and that they were found at the origin of most of the revolts.

144 Even if the Refugee Blacks do not represent one race in the rigorous sense of the term, they give, compared with the Blacks of America in general, a striking sensation of homogeneity and
175 unity. Actually, it is important to remark that they have practical-
144 ly only African blood; mulattoes were rare in Surinam plantations in the 18th century, for the documents of the time attest that most of these, more sensitive to malaria than the Blacks, were employed as workmen in Paramaribo. They must have had few chances to run away, and few of them would have been able to stand for very long the rebels' exceptionally harsh conditions of living.
144 The Refugee Blacks, thought of as representatives of the main African Negro race, can thus be considered a homogeneous

B 144 /12 cont./

population. This point of view is confirmed by the study of their demography which shows characteristics well marked and very different from those of the other ethnic groups, a fact illuminated by the study of pathology.

F 114 164 182 [13]

Man and the natural environment. Doctor André Sausse, studying the three populations of the Maroni (1), Refugee Blacks, Indians,

1. Doctor André Sausse: Populations primitives du Maroni /Primitive Populations of the Maroni/; Paris, Larose, 1951.

and Creoles, placed for centuries in the same geographical environment and leading very close kinds of lives, has shown that they present an entirely distinct pathology and a completely different behavior with respect to the geographic environment.

F 164 182 F 16 [17]

The autochthonous Indians have an extreme sensitivity to malaria, equal to that of Europeans; and one can believe that before the implantation of the new black and white populations they were living in a precarious equilibrium with the natural environment that the contact with Europeans broke. Extremely susceptible to lung diseases, they were decimated for centuries by epidemics of pneumonia due to microbial germs brought in with the Europeans and Blacks, without any adaptation appearing. In three centuries their number was reduced from several tens of thousands to a few hundred, without it being possible to blame any cause other than malaria and epidemics. The only ones to survive without outside help have been the groupings living in the marshy /13/ zones near the sea; for reasons not yet elucidated but which are probably related to the conditions of life of the anopheles, these zones are actually less dangerous on the whole from the point of view of malaria than the highlands (similar observations have been made in Indochina).

/13 cont. /

165 The tribes of the interior, on the way to rapid extinction,
161 have for several years been the object of medical assistance which
744 has greatly improved their sanitary state and living conditions in general (1). But it is important to observe that without this

1. Results unfortunately made questionable again by the bringing in of microbial germs by tourists, more and more numerous each year. In 1959-61, the Indians of the interior, who had been believed saved, presented anew a disastrous demographic balance sheet. One can ask if, in spite of the measures taken, the extinction of these populations can be avoided.

outside aid they would continue to die out, no biological adaptation appearing.

144 The Creoles, products of cross-breeding between Europeans
182 and Blacks, have biological characteristics and a degree of adaptation to the environment intermediate between those of these two
164 groups. On the whole their resistance to malaria appears to be
162 appreciably less than that of the pure Blacks; the Creoles of the Upper Maroni in particular are severely stricken, and before the
744 anti-mosquito campaigns undertaken for the last few years by the Institut Pasteur of Guiana, the gold miners and their families were constantly undermined by fever; moreover, within the Creole group extremely variable degrees of resistance are observed; on the gold-working sites of the interior practically only Creoles in

F 164 162 744 /13 cont. /
whom African blood predominates are seen; the mulattoes are in general traders, or practice small stock raising.

B 182 The Refugee Blacks are the only population of interior Guiana who can be regarded as perfectly adapted to the environment and capable of subsisting there by their own means. They

B 164 have a protection against malaria which operates thus: If the children suffer from this endemic disease, resistance appears with age, protecting adults from its attacks.

They are subject to serious skin diseases, notably to pian, but these maladies have few demographic consequences; only the

B [161] Boni are seriously attacked by venereal diseases. The Djuka are in the process of very great demographic expansion.

B 182 433 511 The strong tribal organization of these populations and their solid implantation on the ground render effective their methods of working, farming, hunting, and fishing, which assure them not only excellent provisionment but considerable means of exchange and a material standard of living superior to that of most of the populations of Africa. The techniques of the Refugee Blacks, especially as regards the squaring of wood, sawing, and building, procure for them resources comparable to those which the populations of the Ivory Coast get from coffee and cacao. /blank page/

/15/

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE BONI

Villages

[3] [36] [133] Localization. The principal Boni villages have for 150 years been grouped on the Lawa (1) upstream from Abattis-Cottica Falls.

1. Let us remember that the Lawa and the Tapanahoni are the streams forming the Maroni. The Lawa constitutes the border between Surinam and French Guiana.

The limit of Boni country toward the south is vague. However, it is taken for granted that all the Abattis-Cottica belong [36] to the Boni. Boni farming villages and Djuka villages coexist downstream from the Abattis-Cottica as far as Abounasounga. Below Abounasounga begins Djuka country properly speaking (2).

2. In reality this is a zone of colonization, for the "great country" of the Djuka is the Tapanahoni. But the customary rights they possess on the Lawa lands are contested by no one.

423 643 [131] Traditionally, the Boni used to consider the whole of the upper basin of the Maroni as their domain or at the very least as territory under the authority of the grand man. Thus it was at

/15 cont./ Thus it was at
423 the time of the Lawa gold rushes (1890) that Grand Man Anato
643 caused rent to be paid by the Creole miners who were settling in
[648] the region. But this practice, excessive when the small portion of this territory actually occupied by the Boni is considered, ended
423 up by falling into disuse. Nowadays things have fallen into the
648 opposite extreme, and the Boni find themselves having no right,
178 customary or otherwise, over the country of their ancestors; the first comer, even of the Creoles from the British West Indies, can settle anywhere, dislocating the apportionment of the land among lineages. This situation has been harmful to the life of the tribe by contributing to the scattering of the peopling. Perhaps it is not too late to remedy the situation. An /16/ /Figure 2 appears here/ /17/ African tribe cannot live wholesomely if there are no definite relationships, entailing unquestioned rights, between the group and the land.

423 The following modus vivendi has been in force for many
619 years:

a) The Djuka may circulate freely across Boni country, but
[486] they may not establish villages in it; if they wish to make clearings
[166] there, they must ask for permission from the grand man.
[226] Otherwise they have the right to fish on the Tanpok and the Waki.

423 b) The Creoles may settle anywhere and make their clear-
648 ings where the lands are not used. But that does not modify in the minds of the Boni the lineages' rights over the land; this occupation is regarded as creating no new right; for example, the Doglis habitation is built on the lands of Kormotibo village.

423 c) The Boni reserve for themselves along with the Oayana
648 Indians the exclusive right to fish on the Litani and the Maruini.
822 On these rivers the Djuka do not have the right to penetrate.
[619]

The Boni may be computed at a little less than 1,000 persons
162 all told.

6:Hurault--21 K-5 (1948-1958)1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni
French Guiana SR3
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Populations of the
Maroni and Mana Basin

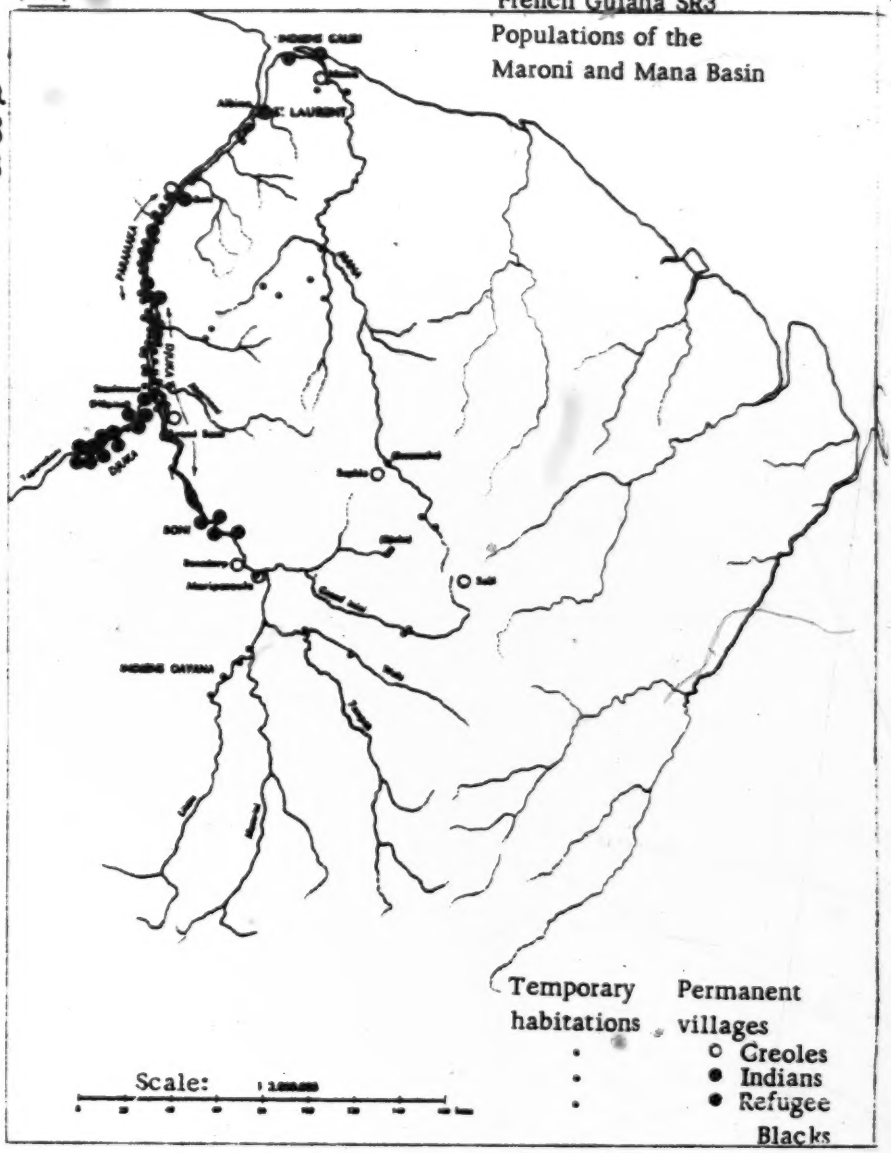

Fig. 2.

/17 cont. /

162 —On the Lawa a group of a little less than 680 persons is
103 settled on the French bank (villages of Agodé (Boniville), Asisi,
361 Loka, Tabiki (l'Enfant Perdu), Lapé (La Paix), and Papaïston).

—In proximity to this grouping subsists under Dutch control the village of Kotika (Cottica), grouping about 150 persons.

—In the region of Abounasounga two small groupings live in symbiosis with the Djuka. Finally, in the lower course of the Maroni exist three villages: Apatu, Ma Imma, and Wétiti. The whole represents about 150 persons.

361 These villages are stable: Kotika, Lapé, Asisi, Kormotibo
182 were already in existence at the beginning of the 19th century
[175] and their names figure in the report of the Franco-Dutch border mission of 1861; by contrast, farming habitations are moved according to the necessities of agriculture and fishing; thanks to this organization, a relatively numerous grouping can, in the interior of Guiana, in spite of conditions imposed by the geographical environment, conserve complete stability and a firm attachment
[171] to the ground. It is useful to compare this organization with the basic instability of the Indians of Guiana, for it shows very well that this instability is ascribable to psychological and sociological factors and not at all to the geographic environment.

101 The Boni designate themselves by the term Aluku nēnge. The meaning of this word is forgotten. It is possible that Aluku was the name of an ancient chief, or of the founding ancestress
[613] of a lineage. On this subject it is to be noted that the name of the most ancient ancestress known of the Dju lineage, who can be thought of as living at the end of the 18th century, was called
[175] Aluku. This name has been used since the origin of the tribe;
[103] indeed one reads in the interrogation of the woman prisoner conducted in 1847 by the French at Oyapok that her village was called Loukou (1).

/17 cont./

101 1. Archives du Ministère de la France
103 d'Outre-Mer, Guyane /Archives of the
175 Ministry of Overseas France, Guiana/,
113 A3-02.

611 /18/ Villages and Kin Groups

Among all the kinship systems which existed in the African tribes from which they issued, the Refugee Blacks came back unanimously, and from the beginning, to matrilineal filiation.

571 Their social system is symbiosis, under the authority of the
613 grand man, of a certain number of localized matrilineal kin groups.
643

613 Matrilineal kin groups of the Boni. With the Boni the basic grouping is the lineage, in the rigorous sense of the term, understanding by that all descendants in maternal line from a single ancestress.

To designate the kin groups the Boni employ almost interchangeably the words lo (troop, band) and bɛɛ, womb. In fact these expressions correspond to two variant interpretations of the same notion:

614 bɛɛ: matrilineage in the widest sense, understanding by that all persons knowing that they are issue of the same ancestress, even if the genealogical ties are forgotten, and even if these persons are scattered in several villages under different authorities;

lo: lineage fraction grouped in one village and constituting a distinct social unit.

The lineage bears a name whose origin is forgotten by present-day Boni; some of these names allude to a plantation or to a slave-owner, for example Lapé (La Paix: a plantation of the Cottica River); as for others, the name of the founding ancestress may be involved. Example: Kawina (name of the lineage constituting the village of Papaïston).

/18 cont./

613 [621] Six lineages (1) of ancient founding are counted among the

[178]

1. It seems that in the past there was a greater number of groups (they continue to use the expression twalɔfuyu lo, the 12 lo, to designate the Boni nation), but some have died out.

Boni; all, with one single exception, have remained effective groupings corresponding each one to a village; for these lineages the words bɛɛ and lo may be used indiscriminately. The seventh, Dipélu, is distributed in three villages under different authorities, that is, forms three lo.

[614] The lo possesses a head (hedeman or captain). The bɛɛ possesses neither head nor organization, but as we shall show, its members are united by religious ties and meet to celebrate common rites.

(See table on the following page.)

[643] The head of the Dikan lo is supreme chief -- grand man -- of the Boni.

/19/

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[643]

Io	Village of residence	Head in 1958
Dikan	Boniville village	Difu (grand man)
Dju	Asisi village; a small group in Boniville	Adiiso
Lapé	Loka and Lapé Tabiki villages; a small group in Boniville	Popo
Dipélu I	l'Enfant Perdu and Apatu villages; a small group in Boniville	Babun (l'Enfant Perdu) Saka (Apatu)
Dipélu II	Kormotibo village; a fraction in Asisi	Poopu
Kotika (Yakubi)	Kotika village; a group in Abunasunga	Nachinengé
Papaïston (Kawina)	Papaïston village; a small group in Boniville a small group in the Lower Maroni (Wétiti village)	Tafanié

/19 cont./

613 621 571 The principle of localization of matrilineal kin groups, each in a separate village, continues respected. However, as in all African populations, the actual structure is noticeably different from the theoretical organization:

1st. Fragments of paternal kin groups, as well as several small groups of heterogeneous origin, insufficient in number to form a separate unit, have been agglomerated with the lo. Such is the case for example of the Toïna lineage, a small group which fled from Surinam at the end of the 19th century and agglomerated with the Papaïston lo;

[578] 2nd. Scissions have been produced within the lo as a result of disagreements. A group issuing from the Papaïston lo founded Wétiti village in the Lower Maroni beside Apatu. A group issuing from the Kotika lo founded Ma Imma village in the same region. Finally, from the Dipélu II lo a group separated which settled in Asisi. Asisi village is thus in fact nowadays the juxtaposition of three villages: Asisi-Dju, Asisi-Awara Bakka, Asisi-Dipélu II, each having its organization and its separate territory.

[829] These scissions have no appreciable repercussions on the social life of the Boni, for the groups thus separated from the lo, in addition to being very small in numbers, are not recognized by [769] the grand man as distinct social units. They remain subject to the head of the lo to which ancestor worship attaches them.

361 613 621 Besides the residence villages, a certain number of Boni have personal farming habitations distributed on the lands of their lineage along both banks of the river and on the islands. These habitations designated by the word kāpu, camp, have no permanent character; their existence does not violate the principle of localization of the lineage; each Boni is obliged at least in principle to build a house in his native village and to live in it part of the year. [769] The village of origin of each /20/ lineage is called "great village": [778] it is there that the members of the group meet to pray to the ancestors in front of the fraga tiki.

/20 cont./

613 571 Thus the lo appears to us above all as a social and political unit, based in principle on matrilineal relationship but easily able to welcome heterogeneous elements. It is the framework by means of which the individual is integrated into the collectivity.

614 Functions of the lineage (bee).

—Members of the same bee form a joint group from the legal point of view, even if they do not live in the same village and are under different authorities. They recognize a common legal responsibility; for example, they are obliged, at least in principle, to pay the debts contracted by one of them. Reciprocally, the inheritance of one of them is shared among them all.

614 784 —They have the same religious responsibility, that is, they are subject to the same kunu. The kunu is a curse called down upon a group by a divinity since an ancient era. It is transmitted exclusively by the mother. We shall show in the remainder of this work the considerable importance of this notion in the social life of the Refugee Blacks.

614 —They cannot (at least in principle) contract a union with one another. The bee thus constitutes in principle the unit subject to the law of exogamy.

[835] An offense against exogamy, pikadu, incest in the wide sense, is regarded as very grave.

613 Functions of the lo: The lo transposes onto the material plane the legal principles resulting from the conception of the lineage: joint rights over land, common legal responsibility. Each of them forms a social unit in principle sufficient unto itself, possessing an ancestor worship peculiar to it, a head acting the role of ancestor priest and judge, materially grouped in one village, enjoying exclusive rights over a well-defined soil.

/20 cont. /

613 We have said that the recently founded lineages, being of
571 only very small size, cannot constitute a distinct social unit and are placed under the authority of one of the lo heads. That is not a condition imposed by force or any moral coercion whatever, but a practical social necessity. A lineage, reduced in numbers though it may be, keeps in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks imprescriptible collective rights; and if these members agree to group in a separate village and work separate soil, nobody will stand in their way.

128 Such are the elements which stand out after a first study of
613 the kin groups as it can be deduced from interrogating the heads
614 of these units. It leaves unresolved some important problems:
[115] The Boni have the idea that their kin groups are lineages
[829] in the real sense of the term. Nevertheless, questioning on genealogies does not permit all to /21/ go back to the founding ancestress. Three of them, the most important numerically, prove in this respect to be divided into several fractions. Can we be sure that these fractions are actually of the same origin and that the people concerned are not deceiving themselves in believing it? In the social structure of the Refugee Blacks are there no mechanisms leading toward assimilation, to fusion of groups of heterogeneous origin?

We cannot answer these questions directly. First of all it is indispensable to study the conception that the Boni have of kinship ties within the matrilineage. Then we shall examine the genealogical tables of the various lineages, and for those that the study of genealogies shows to be divided into several fractions, we shall study the interrelations of these fractions.

601 Kinship within the matrilineage: The kinship terms translate a
613 purely classificatory system. The principle of classificatory kinship

/21 cont./

601 has been pushed by the Refugee Blacks to its extreme limit with-
613 out any attenuation. Everything turns on the number of generations separating from the founding ancestress. Age does not come into it. The fact of belonging to an older or younger branch with respect to such-and-such an ancestress does not come into it, either. The custom of the Refugee Blacks is hostile to any discrimination which could lead to a scission of the lineage.

At the same number of generations from the foundress, they call one another uniformly brother, baala, or sister, sisa, without consideration of age or degree of relationship. Absolutely no nuance exists in the language to differentiate the brother proper from the brother in the classificatory sense.

The people closest to the foundress of a generation are uniformly called uncles, tiyu, or aunts, tiya.

601 The thinking of the Refugee Blacks on the subject of kinship
602 centers above all around knowledge of those ties which can be
613 called horizontal; they consider them as ties in fact which they were taught in early childhood, and few of them worry about knowing the exact origin of them. It is enough for them to know
[814] that N... is their brother and M..., their uncle. Knowledge of the genealogies remains the province of the most wide-awake minds; the others take no heed.

602 This conception of kinship permits the maintenance of the
613 unity of a lineage even when the genealogical ties are forgotten
614 and when the group is in this respect cut into several fractions. The members of the lineage can be unaware of this fractioning, as we have observed in several cases.

[601] Thus in Figure 3 (fictitious example), Adam knows he must call Baïna brother, Afanis uncle, and Sota nephew.

[104] That is why we use the term extended lineage to translate the word bae (1).

[See category 116, P. 31--Analyst]

/21 cont./

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1. This conception of kinship is also found among the Agni of the Ivory Coast and the Fon of Dahomey; it may be widespread in Black Africa, especially in populations with matrilineal filiation.

601 /22/ This conception, associated with that of the kunu, con-
602 flicts with the fractioning of lineages on the religious plane, even
613 when a scission has taken place on the plane of residence. The
614 rigor of the principle laid down, the quasi-mathematical trans-
204 mission from one generation to the next of appellations based on
571 rank relative to the foundress, prohibits the thought that elements foreign to the lineage can be integrated into this system by any process whatever. Nevertheless, a doubt remains as to the possibility of assimilating fragments with paternal kinship, for in paternal kinship the same principle of classificatory kinship rules, and the same appellations are used. We shall show that such a process of assimilation actually exists on the social plane, but that it is inconceivable on the religious plane, the kunu always being transmitted by the mother. /Fig. 3 appears here./

602 Knowledge of genealogical ties is very variable from one
613 lineage to another. Outside of the great splits like Dipélu I-Dipélu
614 II, we have demonstrated that small fractions of several lineages could no longer be attached to the main trunk, the genealogical ties being irremediably lost. The people concerned had never realized this; they had never wondered about it. This was the case particularly:

—With Samma's descendants (Dipélu II, Asisi);

—With the group of Atili's descendants (Lapé, Boniville).

[198] In both cases the split was very recent; old men dead for only a few years knew the genealogical ties now lost.

/22 cont./

613 Situation of the lineages in 1958.

[643] The Dikan lineage, whose head is the grand man of the Boni, has practically died out, since it is comprised of only Grand Man Difu; upon his death it will totally disappear (1).

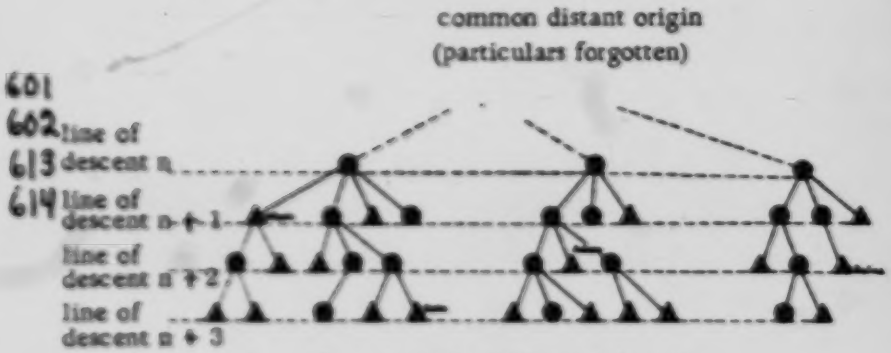

Fig. 3. Extended matrilineage.

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1. Note that a Dikan lo exists among the Djuka; the separation of the Dikan-Djuka and the Dikan-Boni is necessarily anterior to the battles of 1793, which shows the ancientness of these groups.

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For two generations the various lineages have delegated some of their members /23/ to the grand man to conserve a certain importance for his village. Thus Agodé (Boniville) now includes fragments of the Kotika, Dipélu, Lapé, Dju, and Papaïston lineages, forming that many individualized small quarters in the village.

/23 cont./

621 175 [166] [103] Agodé was founded by Grand Man Ochi, probably about 1895, at the time when the Boni were required by the settlement of the Lawa Dispute to evacuate the villages they were occupying on the Surinam bank. The name Boniville was given by the gold miners; it was used never at all by the Boni.

621 613 [103] The Yakubi or Kotika lineage forms the important village of Kotika (1). It is one of those which have remained best grouped.

1. This word alludes to the river where the rebellion of 1772 began.

[423] [241] [103] Its members have exclusive rights over the region included between Abunasunga Falls and their village. They have farmed there for more than a century, and this is why the region is called Abattis Kotika.

613 621 175 [648] Kotika is the oldest Boni village. It is one of those founded by the survivors of the battles against the Dutch when, about 1815, they settled again on the Lawa. Until about 1895 nearly all the Boni were grouped in one large village, each lineage occupying a different quarter. At the time of the settlement, unfavorable to France, of the Lawa Dispute (1895), the various lineages emigrated, founding especially the villages of l'Enfant Perdu, Loka, Boniville, and Papaïston. Only the members of the Kotika lineage stayed, in full agreement with the grand man, so that the ancestral land might not be completely abandoned. [648] [628] Thus the inhabitants of this village are nowadays under the authority of Surinam, without ceasing, for that reason, to be faithful to the grand man and maintaining normal relations with the other groups.

613 614 [124] The genealogies reconstituted in 1957 by systematic interrogation of the old people of the group had led to three distinct fractions which we shall call Kotika 1, 2, and 3, tracing respectively back to ancestresses named Kéneya, Amawi, and Oka.

/23 cont./

613 614 Not one of the members of the group could trace back to the common ancestress; yet these three fractions together behave as a single lineage. All its members know their mutual appellations "brother," "uncle," etc. All are subject to the same kunu. [601] [184]

The law of exogamy is respected within each fraction, but there are seven cases of unions between members of different fractions; these unions are disapproved of in principle, but they are tolerated. 613 614 512 113

Thus, on the subject of exogamy, we see the thought of the Refugee Blacks breaks away from the rigorous principle on which their social order is based. It is the actually known genealogy which counts in their eyes on this point.

613 614 128 In December, 1958 we were able to reconstitute the complete genealogy of the group (Fig. 4), thanks to the memories of the doyenne of the group, Ma Imma, who had lived for a very long time isolated in a village of the Maroni estuary. The data thus reconstituted are in complete agreement with the kinship appellations among members of the various fractions. [115] [601] /24/

/Fig. 4 appears here./

The case of the Kotika lineage is thus particularly interesting, for we find ourselves knowing its genealogy completely when its members know it no more than partially.

613 614 601 Study of this group shows that the forgetting of kinship ties has no effect on the physical grouping of the lineage and its functioning as a social unit.

It has direct repercussions only on the observation of the principle of exogamy. Thus the way in which exogamy is understood and observed appears to us from now on as a secondary criterion having no certain value for the recognition of a common origin.

[621] Some Djuka and Saramaka have settled among the members of the Kotika lineage, but as individuals.

[621] The Lapé (La Paix) lineage, whose name alludes to one of the great plantations of the Cottica river in the 18th century, is

[See p. 34, Category 16 -- Analyst]

/24 cont./

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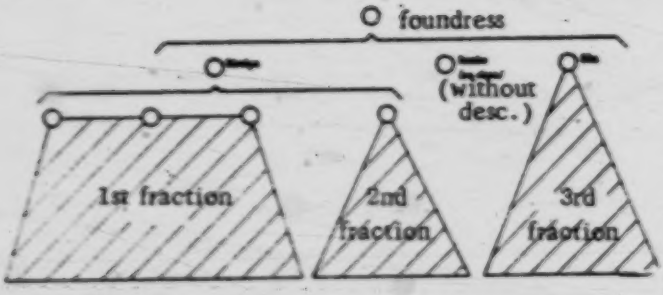

Fig. 4. Common genealogy of the three fractions of the Kotika lineage.

[621] divided between the small villages of Lapé Tabiki and Loka. It is a well-grouped lineage whose members know their genealogy perfectly as far as a common ancestress named Mata, who must have lived at the end of the 18th century; only one small group which we shall call Lapé 2 (descendants of Atili) does not know exactly the ties attaching them to the principal group. The law of exogamy is respected rigorously within this group; there is not a single case of marriage between the two fractions. The members of the two fractions consider themselves a single lineage.

[784] They have the same kunu.

[184] Note that there is a Lapé lo among the Djuka, regarded as of the same origin.

[621] No element of heterogeneous origin has settled in the villages of the Lapé lo.

613 The Dju lineage, which occupies the central part of the
[361] Asisi Island, also fits the definition of bin groups among the Refugee Blacks. Its members know /25/ their entire genealogy as far back as a common ancestress named Alubu, doubtless, tracing to the middle of the 18th century.

/25 cont./

613 Among the Dju there is no fraction separated from the principal group.

[184] There is also a Dju lo among the Djuka. The word Dju alludes to the Jews, the lineage probably having been born in the plantations belonging to the Jews of Surinam.

The law of exogamy is rigorously applied within the Dju lo.

No element of heterogeneous origin is established among the Dju.

613 614 621 The Dipélu lineage was the most important in the past; from the point of view of genealogy it is split up into three groups whose members are scattered in three villages, subject to different authorities.

Genealogy		Villages
Dipélu I		l'Enfant Perdu Apatu (founded in 1882)
Dipélu II. 1st fraction Dipélu II. 2nd fraction	very recent scission	Kormotibo some elements in Asisi.

613 —Dipélu I forms a unit remarkable for the amplitude of its genealogy, completely known, which extends over eight generations and goes back to a common ancestress named Sanyan, who must have lived in the middle of the 18th century. The common [174] origin of the two groups being necessarily anterior to this ancestress, it seems logical to make it go back to the beginning of the 18th [601] century. In spite of the remoteness in time of their common origin, the members of both groups know with precision their "horizontal" kinship ties (brother, uncle, etc.), which have lost

613 /25 cont./
[601] nothing of their strength although they have lost all correspondence with the age of the people concerned.

614 —Dipélu II, whose members know their genealogy badly,
571 appears on the contrary to be on the way toward breaking up. The head of the Dipélu II, who bears the title of captain, resides
[578] at Kormotibo. Part of the group settled in Asisi following a disagreement, without ceasing to be under his authority.

614 One might think that the physical separation of the two
602 groups took place as a function of the genealogies, that the 2nd
571 fraction of Dipélu II emigrated as a single group to Asisi, leaving in Kormotibo the members of the 1st fraction. But this is not the case at all; examination of the genealogical table shows that the emigrant group issues as much from one as from the other; this is a very remarkable aspect of the social structure of the Refugee Blacks, which proceeds directly from their conceptions of classificatory kinship. A man is "at home" wherever his classificatory "brothers" and "uncles" live, and if a physical separation occurs in the group, preferences and personal affinities will have as much influence as closeness of kinship. /26/

613 Three generations ago, Dipélu was only one group under
614 the leadership of a single head residing in Kormotibo. The process
571 of its breaking up is a beautiful example of what Europeans produce
199 by interfering in the social life of an African tribe in order to pick out a man who appears to them more intelligent and active than the others.

[554] The companion of the explorer Crevaux, Apatu, who be-
[621] longed to this group, was on his return covered with honors, en-
[578] dowed with the title of captain and with pay; he conflicted with the legitimate head of the lo, seceded, and founded a village on the outskirts of Saint-Laurent, taking with him a fraction of the group.

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613 /26 cont./
[621]
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[164]

This village had no future. its complement did nothing but melt away for half a century, especially under the influence of venereal diseases.

Neither time nor geographical separation have brought on scission on the religious or legal planes. In this respect the members of Dipélu I and Dipélu II continue to think of one another as [784] the same lineage. They remain subject to the same kunu.

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The law of exogamy continues to be applied rigorously within Dipélu I and within Dipélu II, but marriages are permitted between Dipélu I and II. There are no longer any social sanctions about this, and the common origin of the two groups is so remote that they scarcely think any more of applying to them the term pikadu. But such unions remain exceptional, the people concerned [784] continuing to fear a superhuman sanction.

[621] No element of heterogeneous origin, fragment paternally related or refugee outsiders, has settled among the Dipélu.

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[621]

The Papaïston or Kawina lineage (Papaïston village) has remained perfectly coherent and well grouped. Its members know their genealogy as far back as an ancestress named Térésa, who must have lived at the beginning of the 18th century. But there exists a small fraction, nearly extinct, which we shall designate as Papaïston 2, which presents a separate genealogy going almost [614] as far back in time. Nobody knows the origin of this group exactly; it is regarded as connected by kinship ties to the main group, but the members of the two groups consider that they form two distinct [784] bas. They do not have the same kunu.

[582] Marriage is not tolerated within the principal group, but it is allowed between members of the two groups.

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Moreover, with the Papaïston lives a small group which fled from Surinam about the end of the 19th century, originally of the Bakabuchi tribe. This group has no kinship tie at all with the Papaïston but has placed itself under the authority of the head

/26 cont./

613 of the Papaïston lo. It is generally designated by "Toïna's family,"
621 Toïna being the doyenne of the group.

The Awara Bakka lineage (Asisi village) has a more com-
613 plex and particularly interesting structure. Study of its genealogy
614 shows that it is in fact divided into three fractions which we shall
[621] call Aw.B.1, Aw.B.2, Aw.B.1 /misprint for Aw.B.3 -- Tr./.
The Aw.B.1 know /27/ their genealogy perfectly back to an ancestress named Akyé, great-great-grandmother of the centenarian Kuluba (+ 1957). Akyé must have lived toward the end of the
613 18th century.

Awara Bakka 3 is a paternally related fragment which was
614 "assimilated" to the principal group by a process of which several
571 [621] other examples exist among the Boni. It was founded by Anéta, a Djuka woman originally from the village of Tabiki on the Tapanaoni, wife of Pèèyon (Aw.B.1), who remained there with her numerous descendants after the death of her husband.

The members of this group, who should normally be regarded as Djuka and outsiders to the lo, end up by being engulfed in the social organization and ancestor worship of the Awara Bakka. The
[601] daughters of Anéta and Pèèyon were called "sisters" by the Aw.B.1 by reason of patrilineal relationship. These appellations were
[784] transposed for their descendants to the point where many ended by losing their true origin from sight; but the Aw.B.3 keep a separate religious and legal responsibility and are subject to their own kunu, that of the Djuka village of Tabiki from which came their ancestress.

613 As a matter of fact, as we shall show by studying the beliefs
614 of the Boni, the kunu is irremediably transmitted by the mother
784 and no process of assimilation has any effect on this. Thus the Aw.B.3 are not really part of the lineage; they are separated from it by a clear criterion, obvious in the eyes of all, impossible to disregard or forget.

/27 cont./

614 The Aw.B.2, on whom we could not get sure information
[123] because this very closed group did not cooperate willingly with the inquiry, appear to be in a very similar situation, with the difference that their genealogy goes back much farther in time and they no longer remember the origin of this fraction nor the
[184] circumstances which tied its fate to that of the Aw.B.1. This group apparently has a separate kunu.

613 The Awara Bakka lineage is in a special situation from the
614 point of view of exogamy, for not only are there marriages be-
582 tween one fraction and another, but there are two within the same
[183] fraction and between relatively near relatives. Thus this group, without openly rejecting the law of exogamy, does not attach the same importance to it as do the others.

613 The Afi lineage. This lineage was founded by Afi, wife of
[101] a man from Papaïston, who came to live with him. Like the Toïna lineage, she had come from the small tribe called Bakabuchi which lived in Surinam. However, the Afi and Toïna lineages are not of the same matrilineal origin and the present members of each of the two small groups have no common worship. All of
[571] them have lost every tie with their original tribe, and their social life is entirely dependent on that of the Boni group which has taken them in.

[621] Afi settled near Kormotibo. This site is abandoned by her descendants who live, most of them, in Asisi, the rest in Kormotibo.

The lineage has lost every tie with its group of origin.
[619] Nevertheless, it is assumed that if one of them wanted to go back there, on proving his relationship, he would take up all his rights again and could demand a site for making his clearings.

613 /28/ The process of assimilation which took place for the
621 AW.B.3 did not come into play for Afi's descendants with respect
571 to the Papaïston lineage. They are regarded as a separate family group, insufficient in number to constitute a social unit and whose members are placed under the authority of the heads of the villages

/28 cont./

613 where they have chosen to live. It is possible that later, if their
621 number continues to increase, they may found a separate village
571 whose head will be recognized as captain. A new lo would thus be created.

613 Real nature of Boni matrilineal groups. Examination of the situation
614 of the various lineages leads to the following conclusions:
571 — The fact that genealogies are forgotten does not lead to any fractioning of lineages on the material or religious planes.

— The conceptions of the Boni relative to classificatory kinship, as well as their custom hostile toward any discrimination within the lineage, hinder fractioning. When a separation takes place on the plane of residence and authority, it has no repercussion on the common worship which cements the lineage together;

— The fashion in which the law of exogamy is applied does not constitute a valid criterion, the attitude of the various groups in this regard being quite variable;

— No process of assimilation permits integration into the lineage of elements of foreign origin; a process of assimilation of paternally related fragments exists. But this assimilation is not complete, it does not operate on the plane of legal and religious responsibility;

613 — Ultimately, the surest criterion of true common matrilineal
614 origin is unity of legal and religious responsibility, marked by the
784 same kunu. The kunu, transmitted irrevocably by the mother whatever may be the conditions of her marriage, weighing collectively on all the members of a lineage and capable of being warded off only by their collective prayers, is the true cement of kin groups.

[571] By its very nature, the kunu opposes any scission of groups. Neither time nor geographical separation can break it.

[621] The example of Dipélu I and II is characteristic in this regard, for its members remain rigorously subject to the same kunu

/28 cont./

613 although the supposed common ancestress doubtless goes back to
614 the beginning of the 18th century and for three generations they
784 have been divided among four villages situated at a week's dis-
[621] tance by boat from one another. We can, with very few chances of error, affirm that they certainly have a common matrilineal origin and that they in fact constitute one lineage.

182 On this subject let us note that geographical separation can-
619 not play the same role among the Refugee Blacks as in the African
[361] tribes of cultivators. The Refugee Blacks, whose habitat is linear
[484] along the banks of the river and who, being boatmen, are continually moving, cannot be completely isolated from one another.

613 /29/ Under these conditions, how can we explain the
614 existence within certain lineages of individualized fractions subject
571 to a separate kunu, such as Papaïston 2?

One can assume that these fractions do not really have the same origin as the principal group and that they result from a process of assimilation of a paternally related fragment.

We have cited the example of Aneta's descendants (Aw.B.3). They are already integrated into the social life of the group; in two or three generations nobody will remember any longer their exact origin. But they will remain differentiated from the princi-
[784] pal fraction of the Awara Bakka because they will still be subject to the kunu of their ancestress.

121 Such are the elements we have been able to draw from a general study of kin groups among the Boni. We shall look for other data in the study of the implantation of these groups on the soil, and especially of the apportionment of lands among them; finally, we shall study family custom and especially inheritance.

A complete understanding of the kinship system and its functioning can be obtained only in the future by following the evolution of kin groups, the formation of new villages; and the designation of new headmen.

/29 cont./

121 This is what necessitates as precise an inventory as possible of the population in its present state.

61 Matrilineal kin groups among the Djuka and Saramaka Refugee Blacks.
114 Authors who have described the social structure of the Djuka and
184 Saramaka, groupings appreciably more numerous than the Boni, have also called attention to the use of the words lo and bɛɛ, but give them a completely different meaning.

174 The organization they describe can be summarized thus:
571 Before making up tribes, the rebels lived in small groups
621 near the plantations from which they had escaped; these groups of composite origin were designated by the word lo which means: troop, band; the same word is used to designate a band of animals.

[162] These rebels used to belong to all the nations of the west
[103] coast of Africa. In spots there may have been an attempt at regroupings of elements belonging to the same nation, as proven by the village names Loango, Dahomey, among the Saramaka.
[622] But the majority of these small groups were very probably of heterogeneous origin; in each of these lo, the bravest and most capable was designated as head.

[648] After the recognition of the Djuka and Saramaka by the
[167] government of Surinam and their regrouping on the great rivers of the interior, these groups kept their unity since they had a de facto organization and leaders. They were naturally designated by the name of the plantation they had come from. We say for example Dju nẽnge for the former slaves of the Jews, Kɔpani nẽnge for the former slaves of the Compagnie des Indes Orientales /East India Company/. /30/

174 In the course of the 19th century the total number of Refugee
613 Blacks increased very rapidly under the influence of a high birth
614 rate. The lineages in the proper meaning of the term bɛɛ, mean-
621 ing the descendants of the same ancestress, took on sufficient im-
57 portance to constitute distinct social units. They grouped in
1161

/30 cont./

174 separate villages and the more important even burst out into
613 several villages whose heads were recognized as "captains" by the grand man and then by the government. The number of Djuka
614 captains recognized by the government of Surinam has not stopped
621 growing; it was 28 these last few years.

571 The lo no longer represented an effective social unit, but its members kept common worships. For example, it is said that
[188] the Dju nẽnge go each year as a ritual to get earth from the Savanc des Juifs /Savanna of the Jews/ where their ancestors were slaves.

[114] This explanation seems probable. The kin-group is not the only social unit known to Africans; the bond between man and land has equal importance in their eyes; the fact that their fathers had lived together, that they had been buried in the same cemetery created a among the rebel slaves a de facto bond which was able to suffice, at the beginning of the rebellion, to found villages and a social organization.

[114] However, this theory cannot be entertained without reservations. It has not been possible to verify it by systematic studies, the Djuka and Saramaka having firmly opposed until now any ethnographic investigation involving the statement of genealogies and the inventory of the population of the villages.

[184] It contradicts what we have pointed out among the Boni. In that group six great lineages are counted, of which four (Dju, Kotika, La Paix, Dikan) have a name also alluding to the plantations from which their ancestors fled.

Nevertheless it is certainly a question of lineages in the proper meaning of the term, and nobody remembers that any other organization ever existed. Also, in the absence of systematic studies of the Djuka and Saramaka, the problem of the origin of
[184] their kin groups remains obscure. The future will permit verifying one or the other of the two hypotheses:

174 /30 cont./

613 1st. Lo = de facto grouping of rebels of any provenance,
614 which has in the long run split up into lineages but which remains
621 in the form of a common worship;

571 2nd. Lo = lineage, from the very beginning.
184

Conceptions Relative to Kinship and Marriage

769

[121] Ties between the individual and the ancestors. Before examining more deeply the social and family structure of the Refugee Blacks, it is indispensable to study what religious ties are implied between [184] the individual and the ancestors. Here one is in the presence of basic beliefs which seem identical in the various tribes of Refugee Blacks of Guiana and of which their structure is the consequence.

In the civilizations of Blacks Africa it is supposed that a [171] current of life and /31/ strength circulates from the divinity to men through the medium of the ancestors. Among the Refugee Blacks it is taken for granted that in this respect each man is bound [782] to his ancestors through the maternal line only. If he falls prey to illness, injustice, or adversity, he can call only on them in his prayer.

593 That does not mean that the tie with the father is ignored [827] or considered as having little importance; it is taken for granted, as we shall see, that in the creation of man certain psychic elements are transmitted from father to son. But the current of strength binding the individual to the ancestors does not pass through the father. One cannot pray usefully to the soul of one's dead father. [755] If I am sick and divination incriminates the action of my dead [782] father's soul, I cannot address either prayer or offering directly to him; for that I shall have recourse to one of his near relatives in the maternal line.

614 /31 cont./
769 Another very important principle in the minds of the Refugee
796 Blacks is that prayers must be collective; the principal ceremonies,
613 such as the New Year's prayer, must bring together, at least in principle, the total lineage.

These notions certainly have influenced the custom of the
182 Refugee Blacks with respect to residence and marriage. The lineage
613 cannot allow the permanent departure of a woman from her native
614 country any more than that of a man. In the populations of Black
591 Africa with matrilineal filiation, this conception is reconciled
[171] with the necessities of practical living in the following manner: the wife leaves her relatives to settle down with her husband, but when her children reach adulthood they must return there. Thus one cannot attribute to this preoccupation alone the special system of marriage among the Refugee Blacks, which does not involve the permanent cohabitation of man and wife. We shall see that this system was inspired by social and psychological necessities. But concern for the unity of the lineage, to which it corresponds perfectly, has surely contributed to make of it a rigorous principle of customary law.

601 Kinship within the matrilineage. The kinship terms translate a
613 purely classificatory system. It depends only on the number of generations separating from the foundress. The sons of women
611 descended from the foundress in uterine line are regarded as members of the matrilineage and united in the system of appellation. The children of these men are no longer part of the matrilineage.

601 /31 cont./
613

Baala, (brother) Sisa, (sister)	brothers and sisters in the classificatory sense. Persons separated from the foundress by the same number of generations.
Tiyu, tiya, (uncle, aunt)	persons nearer to the foundress by one generation.
Gaãta, gaãma (grandfather, grandmother)	persons nearer to the foundress by two generations.
Avo (great-grandmother)	women nearer to the foundress by three generations.
Sisa pikin (nephews)	persons farther from the foundress by one generation.

/32/ In a general fashion, a man situated on line n calls uncles and aunts all those situated on line n-1, and nephews all who are on line n+1.

601 Example (see genealogical table of the Dju lo): Fintiman
602 (F7) considers Aliki (E23) (his relative in the 9th degree) as his
613 aunt, for the same reason as Wima (E3), sister of his mother. Likewise, he considers Sosoman (E14), as well as Atikati (E18), as his uncle, although Sosoman is 10 years younger than he. He assumes that Sosoman can to a certain extent give him advice and that his opinion is preponderant over his own.

He considers Adiiso (F37), his relative in the 10th degree, as his brother for the same reason as Klémenti, his brother proper. Paana (G2), Kéwénu (G10) as well as Soalufu (G42) are his nephews and nieces, sisa pikin.

At one generation more, he says "my grandchildren."

/32 cont./

601 The very rigor of this principle seems to have to lead to a
613 scission of the lineages, for one can hardly conceive that people
571 will be willing to address girls younger than themselves as "my
[163] grandmother" and show them respect; now that must necessarily be the case at the end of a certain number of generations, for as we shall see, the fecundity of Boni women sometimes lasts up to the age of 50, and there are cases where the interval between the oldest and youngest child reaches 35 years.

Nevertheless, we have not actually observed that this conception of kinship leads to scissions or even to serious clashes.

That derives from the very nature of the hierarchy and the social ties within the matrilineage; they entail a collective tutelage by one generation over the next, and in the same way a collective tutelage by the ancestors over the living. But for the same reason that every prayer, every invocation addressed individually to such-and-such an ancestor is avoided, the hierarchy of the Refugee Blacks does not give rise to relationships of authority between one man and another, which would not be tolerated. Only the hedemã, or captain, designated by the assembly of the lineage, exerts a personal authority; even so, he is careful to limit it almost exclusively to religious functions.

604 "Uncles" exert collectively an authority over the generation
613 of "nephews." They meet in council, especially on the question of marriages. They do not vote, strictly speaking, but the opposition of three or four of them prevents the carrying out of a project. There is no preponderant voice for the closest uncles (yet in practice this seems to be taken into account). But the eldest of the uncles in the classificatory sense is unanimously recognized as preponderant.

602 Existence of patrilineages. Matrilineages are not the only kin
784 groups of the Refugee Blacks. Each one receives from his father
428 a fundamental interdiction -- bwasi kina -- which he will have

/32 cont./

602 784 428 [753] to observe all his life and which he himself will transmit to his children. It is unanimously believed that breaking this interdiction causes leprosy (bwasi).

This interdiction is never transmitted by women. It is transmitted from father to son /33/ or daughter. The son will observe it and transmit it; the daughter will observe it during her lifetime, but she will not transmit it.

602 784 The existence of the bwasi kina divides the Boni into de facto groupings which can be considered as patrilineages. These patrilineages have no name, no head, no organization; their members are dispersed among the various matrilineages and most of them do not know who the others are.

They exist nevertheless and extend throughout all the tribes of Refugee Blacks.

[582] Their importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks comes from the fact that they involve a law of exogamy: a man and a woman who have the same bwasi kina cannot marry; that would be pikadu, incest in the broad sense, an offense against exogamy, as much as the union of two members of the same matrilineage.

[262] [578] It is difficult to estimate the number of these patrilineages, which seems to us to be at least 20 among the Boni; actually, the Boni do not willingly tell their bwasi kina, for fear that one of their enemies might mix into their food a fragment of the interdicted food in order to harm them; besides, they do not know their paternal relations beyond their grandfather. Reconstitution of patrilineages by interrogation seems therefore to be illusory.

602 784 262 The bwasi kina we have been able to find out about are all about food. They involve the cayman, the "tiger," the tortoise, the white hen, the pian (awali), the eel. The cayman is often given in addition to another animal. But it is inaccurate to say that the Refugee Blacks have a general interdiction against the cayman.

/33 cont./

602 Patrilineal relationships have other important incidences which we shall bring to light in speaking of Boni beliefs. From the point of view of social structure, let us note:

[182] — That patrilineal relationship has no influence upon residence or organization of material living;

[582] — That the law of exogamy which it involves has only slight influence on the freedom of choice of couples; because of the relatively large number of patrilineages.

[601] As far as the ties of patrilineal kinship are known (in general people do not go beyond their grandfather), the same kinship terms are used as in the matrilineage, with the same classificatory value.

601 613 Appellations. We have seen that within the matrilineage the kinship appellations depend only on the number of generations with respect to the foundress.

Speaking familiarly, they use for addressing:

— People of the same generation, the expression	ba So-and-so... (man) sa So-and-so (woman)
— — of one generation above, the expression	tiyu, uncle tiya, aunt
— — of two generations above, the expression	papa mama.

[192] /34/ Papa does not mean father, but ancient, honorable. Likewise, mama means aged and respectable woman.

For example, to say good day they will say, according to the case, ba So-and-so, ɔdio, or tiyu, ɔdio.

[551] In speaking to people one generation below, they say mati (comrade) or call them by their name without any other appellation, which would be considered very insolent in addressing their "brothers" or "uncles."

/34 cont./

601 In speaking to one's mother, one uses a special expression, often formed of ma followed by the last syllable of her name.

For example, Asakundu (Lapé io) is called Ma Ndu or Mama Ndu by her sons. Béniti (Dju io, †1955) was called Ma Béniti or Anti by her children.

601 602 The appellations relating to patrilineage are exactly the same except for mi ta, my father. But as these patrilineages have no practical social function, being limited to the transmission of an interdiction, the kinship ties are not known beyond the second generation and people bother very little with them.

601 When one addresses someone of a different lineage one uses, in deference, the same terms whether the person being addressed appears to be the same age or older. This is particularly clear for old people who are uniformly called papa and mama. For people of about one's own age, if one knows them well one says ba So-and-so /male/ or sa So-and-so /female/. For men one does not know well one often uses masa So-and-so (masa = Mr.). The Boni are quite punctilious in this respect. It is very disagreeable to them to be called directly by their name; their European employers have the custom of speaking to them thus; they accept it on their part but not without reticence.

551 648

601 Special appellations result from marriage; the terms used are reciprocal:

Pay designates the relationship between father-in-law, son-in-law or daughter-in-law.

May — the relationship between mother-in-law, son-in-law.

Soagi — the relationship between brothers-in-law.

X Bega mi pay means "X is my father-in-law" as well as "X is my son-in-law."

As a general rule a man calls soagi all those whom his wife calls brothers in the classificatory sense, and pay all whom she calls uncles. But the term may is used only with respect to the wife's own mother.

/34 cont./

601 They continue to use the terms soagi, gay, may even after the break-up of a marriage, so that they are in frequent usage. As for the woman herself, they say sa So-and-so in speaking to her, as to a sister.

581 Marriage. The conceptions of the Refugee Blacks on this subject are remarkable. Marriage in the African sense of the term, understood as a contract between two groups of relatives, does not exist
581 among them. The union of the man and woman does not involve
583 any sort of contract between their groups of relatives and consequently entails no matrimonial compensation. /35/ The Refugee Blacks are the only African Negro population to our knowledge whose customs do not involve any form of "dowry" either in money or in kind.

587 Family life in the sense that we understand it does not exist;
621 as we shall see further on, marriage is forbidden between people of the same lineage, which implies that the husband and wife live
591 in different villages. The man builds a house for his wife in her
593 native village, but he does not come to live with her; he makes
[439] visits of several days to her as to his other wives, in the course of which he furnishes her with the imported objects (salt, kerosene, cloth, etc.) she needs, lends her his aid for heavy chores, while, for her part, she turns over to him the products of the clearing. The rest of the time he lives as a bachelor in his mother's village where he builds his own house. If he is very attached to his wife, he can come to reside with her and can even succeed without great difficulty in bringing her to live in his own village; but few couples take advantage of this option, for the man and wife prize their independence above everything else.

593 The life of the man and of the wife remain entirely separate
[613] and their union has more the character of a temporary association founded on material interests than that of a marriage; the family life of each one remains entirely centered around his or her matrilineage.

/35 cont./

593 This organization, compared with what is found in the greater part of Africa, is very advantageous for the wife, who [581] enjoys total independence. But against this she has great instability of unions.

581 601 The union of man and woman has so little of the character of a marriage that in the Boni language no word exists which means, strictly speaking, "husband" or "wife." They say: mi libi anga X = "I live with So-and-so.

174 591 How has the social and matrimonial system of the Refugee Blacks been set up? One could believe that one of the systems of Western Africa was purely and simply transposed, but this is not the case at all. In this domain as in that of beliefs, the ancestors of the Refugee Blacks elaborated an original synthesis out of numerous sources.

The African nations from which the rebels issued were certainly, in large part if not in the majority, patrilineal. This is especially the case of the Fon of Dahomey, from whom have been borrowed important cultural elements, especially the principal cults of possession. The matrilineal ones all conceded patrilocal residence, that is, the wife's leaving her village and settling in her husband's village.

[195] The 18th-century rebels, the archives attest, included a heavy percentage of "salt-water Negroes," born on African soil; such, for example, was Codio Coromantin, one of Boni's lieutenants; those who had not been born in Africa had, for the most part, been instructed in an African tradition by a father or uncle. One can be sure that once having attained freedom they sought to organize their villages according to the family custom by which they had been brought up, that is, to set up, some a patrilineal and patrilocal society, others a matrilineal society /36/ but with [643] patrilocal residence. We know for example that Boni had chosen his son Agosu as his successor.

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Family custom is a thing tenacious in other ways than a language, a technique, indeed a cult. Men cling desperately to the social and matrimonial system they have received, with the feeling that if they abandoned it their familiar universe would crumble. Do we not see nowadays in the big African cities groups completely separated geographically from their tribe of origin, subject sometimes for several generations to European influence, maintain fiercely their matrimonial system? Yet in all the tribes of Refugee Blacks patrilineal filiation prevailed nowhere at all, and patrilocal residence disappeared, it seems, rather rapidly; the problem cannot be dodged by facile explanations such as the influence of slavery or the rarity of women among the rebels (1).

[583]

1. The rebel groups were quickly balanced from a demographic point of view, for they went and carried off women from the plantations.

One must assume that fundamental reasons made the patrilineal groups less viable than the others and finally led to their dissolution. These reasons appear to be of two orders:

—The independent spirit of the African woman, concerned above all with her freedom with respect to the man;

—The moral and religious law under which the unification of the tribes of Refugee Blacks was brought about, implying rejection of any form of violence or oppression. Under this law it could no longer be a question of taking the wife away from her maternal village if she was attached to it, no more than of coercing her to make her live in a union which had ceased to please her.

/38 cont./

174 671 The formation of patrilineages must have been hampered by numerous divorces; in addition, in case of divorce, the wife unquestionably aspired to take her children with her, not recognizing any contract between the two groups of kin which might be able to affect her free will; one can also be certain that the children, if consulted, must have followed their mother in most cases and [586] joined their maternal kin group. This tendency remains perfectly observable in our day; we shall see all its importance when we study how the children are raised and what tutelage is exercised upon them.

Now there is no patrilineage conceivable if, in case of divorce, the children do not stay with the father. Patrilineal societies exist in which the wife is free, were it only the Peule society, where divorces are very frequent. But African custom has it that in a patrilineal system, by reason of payment of the dowry, the wife's kin lose all rights over the children. They have entered the man's kin group and his ancestral cult.

The formation of matrilineal and patrilocal groupings must also have collided with analogous difficulties, the women not willingly leaving their village of origin.

One can rather easily imagine that in the initial period of the formation of the /37/ new tribes, the different matrimonial systems coexisted; then the patrilocal groups, less viable, progressively broke up, while the present custom was being established.

175 643 This point of view is confirmed by an exact piece of information collected at the end of the 19th century by the explorer Coudreau. Upon the death of Agosu, son of Boni, it was his son Gongo who succeeded him. But after the death of Gongo, the succession went according to the matrilineal system.

583 Another important aspect of the matrimonial system of the Refugee Blacks is the absence of any compensation or payment. [591] Even if it happens that a woman leaves her lineage permanently in order to settle in her husband's village and found a family there

/37 cont./

583 (this was especially the case with the Afi and Tolna lineages
591 cited above), that does not entail any compensation. It is contrary to custom and disapproved of, but if the wife absolutely insists on leaving her kin she is free to do it. Nothing can be claimed from her husband's lineage.

The usual interpretation of matrimonial compensation, regarded as a mechanism for exchange of women among groups, thus does not seem valid here. If a woman leaves a Boni lineage for good to go and found a family, for example among the Djuka, her descendants are lost to the lineage without any possibility of compensation. Yet this society so deeply rooted in African soil does not make provision for any allowance or payment in such a case.

613 Things are clearer if the lineage is considered not as an
771 effective material grouping but as a spiritual community subject to the same religious law. In the thought of the Refugee Blacks,
[829] the fundamental religious tie which joins the individual to his ancestors in uterine line cannot be broken whatever anyone does.

[591] Wherever she may go, the emigrant woman remains a mem-
[784] ber of the spiritual community; she remains, she and her children, subject to the same kunu. Nor can this religious tie be transferred from the maternal kin group.

581 Understood thus, marriage breaks no spiritual tie, creates
583 none; it thus affords no reason for any compensation.

000 These considerations show that the African "dowry" as conceived by patrilineal societies is not only a mechanism for the exchange of women among materially constituted groups. It can also have as its end, without those concerned even being aware of it, to compensate the spiritual community of the lineage for the loss of the children the woman will bear, their passage to another cult.

/37 cont./

44 An example of scission in a kin group: the separation of Dipelu II
571 between Kormotibo and Asisi. (See Dip. II genealogical table.)
578 This scission resulted from a ridiculous incident: a falling-out which occurred between ○ Alawenchi † (E19) and ○ Bongo (E6) because of a hoe which the first claimed to have been stolen from her by Bongo.

Since neither one would yield, they became really angry and fought. /38/

△ Agosa, head of the lineage, taking the part of Alawenchi, decided to secede and settle in Asisi.

○ Pili † (F35) and ○ Sésey † (F38) who, their mother being dead, had been raised by Alawenchi, joined them and founded families in Asisi.

[621] This explains the present scission of this group and the
[184] bizarre division of its members between Kormotibo and Asisi. This scission had no result on the religious plane, unity being maintained by the pitiless tie of the kunu. Nowadays, Captain Poopu's authority is exerted normally on the fraction in Asisi. Relations between the two groups are rather good. /Figs. 5 and 6 appear here./

/39/ CHAPTER III

125 INVENTORY OF THE PEOPLING OF THE BONI VILLAGES

We have tried to take a complete census of the Boni of the Upper Maroni as of January 1, 1958, including for the women the statement of their successive unions and of their children living
[126] and dead. This census is associated with detailed plans of the villages and a study of the territorial implantation of kin groups.

6:Hurault--56a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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Fig. 5. Boni Village

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Fig. 6. The fraga
(lit. of the Kotika
h.

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121 It seemed to us that in the present state of knowledge about the Refugee Blacks a study of limited scope but covering the totality of the population was preferable to the very intensive study of a small group; only the study of the population considered in its entirety brings out clearly its family custom, its tendencies in the matter of marriage, divorce, inheritance; it alone can lead to a precise knowledge of its demographic data so important even on the social plane.

Finally, this detailed inventory constitutes a firm base for following the evolution of the population in the future.

125 Taking a census of the Boni posed a problem much more difficult than for most populations without vital statistics. The 648 tribes of the Refugee Blacks enjoy in effect a statute of autonomous nations under protectorate and insist fiercely on this autonomy. The French administration has never been able to take a census of them any more than the administration of Surinam has for the Djuka and Saramaka, colliding with an ingenious ill will which defies all efforts.

It is not that they fear taxes (this is a notion practically unknown in Guiana, even on the coast (1), and the French

1. Practically, in the interior of the country, with the exception of traders who are subject to a license, nobody pays taxes and there are not even any lists of taxable people. The Creoles of the interior (principally from the British West Indies) are known only because of the fact that, as foreign subjects, they must make declarations of change of residence; French citizens are scarcely known at the administrative

/39 cont./

648 posts except as they present themselves for recording of vital statistics or for registration on voting lists.

administration has for a long time appeared /40/ in the eyes of the inhabitants of the interior as a benevolent office); but they obey the old African maxim of never telling the whites more than half of what they know.

125 In the absence of any nominal census which could serve as a point of departure, this job presented considerable difficulties arising principally from the extreme mobility of the population:

[484] —Never is the whole population of a village assembled together simultaneously; the proportion of those absent frequently reaches 50 per cent, especially in the fine season (hunting, fishing, boating, clearings at the farming habitations, etc.);

[551] —A good many men and women have two, sometimes three, names used interchangeably. If one does not personally know a large part of the inhabitants of the villages and does not have at his disposal carefully made-up genealogical tables, it is impossible to understand anything;

1115] —If the men respond in good faith, it is not the same with the women, who are inaccessible to any reasoning. Some try to cash in on the information they give, others obstinately refuse to answer;

125 —A number of adolescents and even of men between 20
591 and 35 years old have no regular hut. Each Boni, man or woman,
342 is in principle expected to build a hut in one of the "great villages." But this residence may be fictitious: It can, for example, be a tumbled-down hut which they intend to put up again some day... or the pent roof of the house of the mother or a brother, under which they install themselves on days when a ceremony causes the lineage to meet together, residing the rest of the year in a farming habitation.

/40 cont./

125 [123] In spite of the relations of trust developed between the Boni and ourselves in the course of the work carried out together during four long missions, we were able to take this census only progressively and indirectly, by using simultaneously the following procedures:

—Study of the genealogy of the groups, going up from woman to woman up to the founding ancestress, then going back down from her. These genealogical tables, some of which extend [166] over nine generations and include more than 160 persons, brought [736] to light a certain number of temporarily absent people and individuals who lived away from the villages, isolated in the middle of the Creole gold miners, but continuing to make up part of their group; they also brought to light a certain number of young people and orphan children taken in by distant relatives who would not have spoken about them directly. But on this point, gaps remain;

[126] —Detailed plan of the villages and interrogation of the village heads as to the persons living in each house;

—Interrogation of the women about their dead and surviving children;

—General verification with the help of perfectly trustworthy informants who possessed a thorough knowledge of the genealogy of the groups.

[162] The census, stopped on January 1, 1958, covered 811 persons of whom 667 /41/ were from the villages of the French bank and 144 from the Surinam bank (Kotika). As for the latter, we [765] questioned them individually when they came to the French bank, especially when they came to attend the end of mourning festivities in Boniville in October, 1957. The Kotika census is less [128] exact than that of the French villages, and in addition we were [126] not able to make a plan of the village. For this reason we have not reproduced it in the present work, where only the corresponding genealogical table appears.

/41 cont./

621 The principle behind the constitution of the Boni villages
613 is, as we have said, the localization of the matrilineage. Men
[591] and women live in the village of their maternal kin; the wife does not leave her village to join her husband, who comes to visit her from time to time without ceasing, himself, to live in the midst of his own lineage.

The composition of each village thus corresponds, at least in principle, to the group of living people on the genealogical table. But a certain number of exceptions are observed:

[167] -A certain number of men (about 20 out of 800 persons) have emigrated for good and can no longer be counted in the population of the villages;

[619] -On the other hand, a dozen Djuka and Saramaka married
[591] to Boni women have settled permanently in the villages and have been included in the census.

125 We have tried to estimate with as much precision as possible
128 the age of the people concerned, by means of events of known
[173] date which they remember, from the trip of the explorer Crevaux (1878) to the war 1939-45. We have established a local chronology, reproduced as an appendix at the end of the present chapter.

125 The demographic survey, which has been the subject of another publication (1), was conducted parallel with the sociological

[113] 1. "Etude démographique comparée des Noirs Réfugiés Boni et des Indiens Oayana du Haut-Maroni /Comparative Demographic Study of the Boni Refugee Blacks and the Oayana Indians of the Upper Maroni/," in Population, éditions de l'INED, 1959, No. 3. 2 ^

investigation.
2 ^ [See S. Hurault, This file-- Analyst.]

/41 cont. /

125 We estimate the gaps in the census at less than 3 per cent.
[128] These gaps involve essentially the adolescents and young people orphaned or raised by others than their parents.

The adults over 35 years old were practically all known
[648] individually to us. Children under 10 years could be counted very exactly thanks to the distribution of milk carried out since 1956 by the Maripasoula medical center.

125 Classification. The classification of the population was made by
128 village of residence.
162 For each woman we have indicated her successive unions and the children who issued from them. The sign † means deceased, the sign ‡ divorce, the sign ‡† means that the husband is deceased but after the break-up of the union.

The listings for women preceded by an asterisk * indicate that they can be regarded as complete from the demographic point of view (children living and deceased).

A double asterisk ** indicates that the listing can in addition be regarded as complete with regard to successive marriages and divorces (2).

2. We avoided asking directly these questions to which the women replied unwillingly. The information was obtained indirectly by questioning brothers and husbands. It could be obtained complete for only about 30 per cent of the women.

/42/

125 The name of each individual is printed in boldface type
128 once where he can be considered as habitually residing.
162 Children under 15 are considered as living with the persons responsible for their education. If it was not possible to obtain accurate information about this, they are considered as living with their mother.

Each listing bears a number, for example Dju D7, making it possible to find again the individual's place in the genealogical table. In the example noted, refer to the table of the Dju lineage, line D, no. 7.

601 Genealogical tables. These are of unequal value according to the
128 age and the memory of the old people consulted. In general
[115] they go back to three generations beyond the oldest of the old men now alive.

[165] Since the Boni show remarkable longevity, and the average difference in age between two generations can be estimated at 31 years, one can assume as probable that the most distant ancestress known of each lineage was born between the middle and the end of the 18th century. For example, if we assume that
[613] Kuluba, the ancestress of the Awara lakka, was about 100 years old in 1956, we can take for granted that she was born about 1856 and that her great-grandmother was born about 1760.

613 The most ancient ancestress known of each lineage is certainly not the foundress. It is infinitely probable that the founding of these groups goes back to the beginning of the 18th century and that they were born on the same plantations where the ancestors of the Refugee Blacks were slaves; this would explain the names borne by the lineages, names which nearly always allude to a plantation or to a slave-owner.

601 In a general way, the memory of the Boni is very sure,
128 and the information given in the form: Ma X... begot So-and-so,

/42 cont./

601 So-and-so, and So-and-so, can be regarded as sure. On the other
128 hand, we have considered that there was a break in the genealogy when, going back in time, we arrived at this single datum: Ma X... was the sister of Ma Y..., for it could be a question of kinship in the classificatory sense.

No form of birthright existing among the Boni, there is some uncertainty about the order of birth of brothers and sisters for persons long dead. We have adopted the order kept by oral tradition without trying to rectify it.

613 In many African populations a special tradition is connected
814 with perpetuating the memory of the founder, at least his name,
829 the place of his grave. With the present-day Boni absolutely nothing like this is found; they are not concerned in any way with the true foundress of their lineage; no memory, no legend, not even a name has come down to them. It even seems as though these distant ancestors interest them little because they are less able to act in behalf of their present-day descendants. Indeed, with each new generation the memory of an ancient one dies out.

173 On our first trip in 1948 we called attention, unfortunately without
[126] noting them down precisely, to /43/ very interesting oral traditions going back to the time of slavery, especially the names of the slave-owners who showed themselves to be the most cruel. In
[814] 1952 the last old man who knew them had died; the very memory of what he had said was already effaced.

829 As a matter of fact, Boni thought, strictly practical and
602 utilitarian, is concerned principally with keeping the memory of the part of the genealogy indispensable to the living to know their kinship ties. Memory of women whose posterity has died out and of men who did nothing remarkable is dead from the second generation on.

114 Since none of the travelers of the 19th century understood
613 the importance of taking genealogies, it is probable that the names

/43 cont./

114 of the true foundresses and the circumstances of the formation of
613 the lineages (invaluable information which must still have been present in the memory of the old men at the end of the last century) are lost forever.

128 In order to simplify the drawing up of the genealogical
601 tables, we have eliminated individuals deceased before adult age.

128 Names. To insure the necessary anonymity to our informants
551 without diminishing the accuracy of the statement, we have
601 changed a large part of the names. The fictitious names under
162 which individuals are designated in the genealogical tables as
[101] well as in the inventory of the population were mostly taken from the Djuka, who belong to the same cultural and linguistic group; in other cases, in order "to figure" the census we used a more complex process consisting in exchanging the names of two persons. Children younger than 15 are designated simply by an initial (1).

[648]

1. It is particularly disagreeable to the Refugee Blacks to have their children's names known by Europeans, with the exception of the doctor. All systematic questioning on this subject runs into clear hostility.

[123]

114 Despite these precautions, we recommend that travelers
609 provided with this work make no allusion in front of the Boni to the facts related in it; the Refugee Blacks are very proud and cannot allow an outsider to penetrate forthwith into their family privacy. That would provoke lively hostility toward the indiscreet person and would hinder later work.

114 The table of correspondence between true and fictitious
128 names is held at the disposal of sociologists who may wish to conduct studies on the Boni.

/44/

BONIVILLE

Legend

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[643]

N°		House of		N°		House of	
1	△	Difu grand man	Dikan	31	○	Pélui	P1, F34
2	△	Dodoya	Dip. 1, F82	32	△	Gonisutu (2nd house)	
3	○	Kulina	Dju, F9	33			
4	△	Fintiman	Dju, F6	34	△	Baafu	L2, E58
5	△	Klémenti	Dju, F7	35	○	Lomé	L2, F74
6	○	Eliana	Dju, F8	36	○	Térésa	L2, E57
7	○	Kulina	Dju, F9	37	△	Amakti	L2, F71
8	△	Doni	Dju, G13	38	△	Monpé	1. Poti
9	△	Lota	K3, E142	39	○	Aboméki	
9(a)	△	Booki	K3, E133	40	△	Klémenti	Dju, F7
10	○	Mimi	K3, E156	41	○	Amékiwan	1. Poti
11	○	Lémiki	K3, D130	42	○	Léya	K2, F99
12	△	Tofioto	K3, E157	43	○	Paata	1. Poti
13	△	Lébiman	K3, D132	44	○	Chima	1. Poti
14	○	Achiké	K3, E140	45	○	Lésina	K2, F69
15	○	Sooto	K3, E142	46	△	Todo	K2, F68
16	○	Maka	K3, E146	47	○	Awini	K1, E37
17	○	Marta	K3, F140	48	△	Todo	K2, F68
18	○	Waway	K3, E130	49	△	Noël	Dip. 1, F83
19				50	△	Kallawa	1. Poti
20	○	Afiingi	K3, D120	51	○	Bada	Dip. 1, F1
21	○	Akyènki	K3, E144	52	△	Madéko	K2, E69
22	△	Makalanchi	K3, F130	53	○	Amanichi	Dip. 1, F7
23	△	Sintamann	K3, E145	54	○	Cécilia	Dip. 1, E9
24	△	Asékéyé	P1, G25	55	△	Dyakata	Dip. 1, E4
25	△	Bukuman	P1, F32	56	△	Alichi	Dip. 1, F5
26	○	Apinda	P1, G96	57	○	Asumé	Dip. 1, F2
27	△	Gonisutu	P1, G64	58			
28	○	Alasani	P1, F34	59	○	Léya	K2, F99
29	△	Bénanu	P1, G61	60	△	Todo	K2, F68
30	△	Nanga	P1, G31				

Total on January 1, 1958: 116 persons, including 43 children and adolescents of less than 16 years.

Adult inhabitants whose residence in Boniville is not normal: none.

The members of the small Poti lineage, founded about 50 years ago by a Djuka woman, wife of grand man Ochi†, have normal residence here through their foundress. No Djuka, Saramaka, or Paramaka lives in Boniville.

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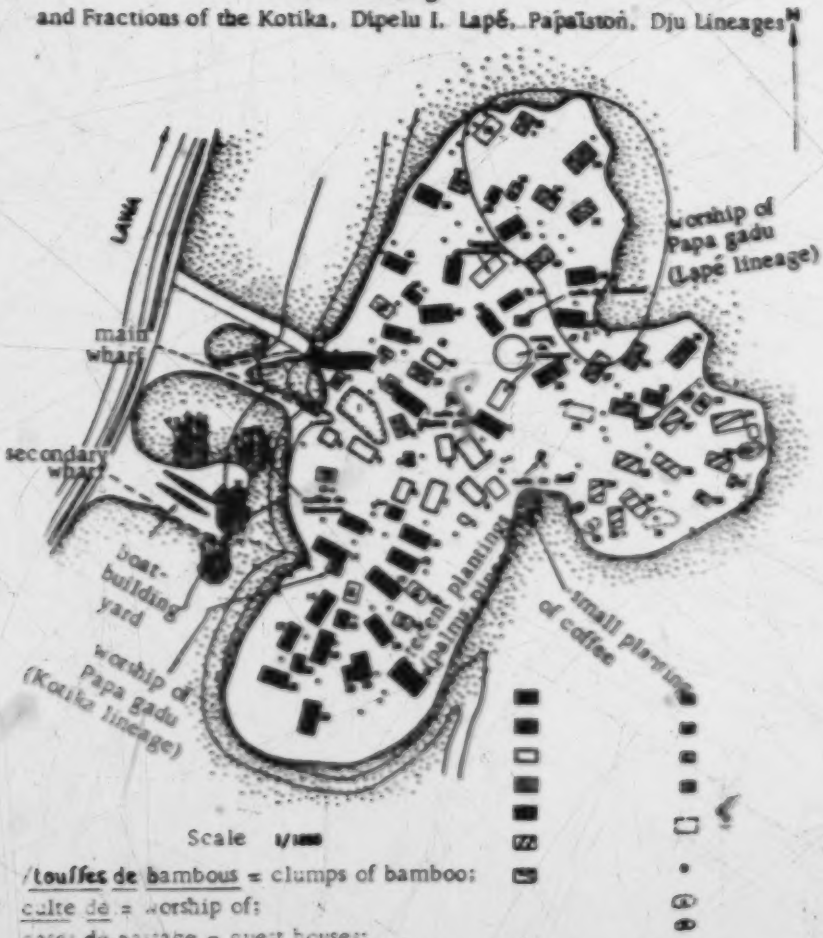
Agodé Village
(Boniville)
in Oct. 1957
Dikan Lineage
and Fractions of the Kotika, Dipelu I, Lapé, Papaïston, Dju Lineages



Scale 1/1000

/touffes de bambous = clumps of bamboo;
culte de = worship of;
cases de passage = guest houses;
hangar mortuaire = mortuary shed/

/see symbols on p. 63a/

Fig. 7.

/45 cont./

102
361
613
621

/The symbols below refer to Fig. 7 on p. 66./

lineages:

- Dikan
- Kotika
- Dju
- Dipelu
- Lapé
- Papaliton
- Poti (Djuka origin)

- chapels (gadu a/u)
- Munu a/u (1)
- kitchens
- various outbuildings (granaries, etc.)
- building in ruins
- single tree
- clump of banana trees
- clump of pinot palms /ouaut/

(1) Houses to which women retire during their menstrual periods

/46/

l'Enfant Perdu (Tabiki) Village

162
613
621

Legend

№	House of		№	House of	
3	○ Djalufu	Dip. 1, B8	25	△ Fambiéo	Dip. 1, B82
6	△ Kasua (usually lives in Kotika	Dip. 1, E3	26	○ Asuwèntina	K2, E73
			28, 29	△ Damini	Dip. 1, E47
8	△ Biani	Dip. 1, F78	30	○ Azuma	Dip. 1, E48
9	○ Seume	Dip. 1, E53	31, 32	○ Towachi	Dip. 1, F84
10	△ Tabayé	Dip. 1, F73			
11	○ Seumé (2nd house)		33	△ Malpe	Dip. 1, F52
13	○ Abena	Dip. 1, D39	34	△ Bakua (2nd house)	
14	△ Polou	Dip. 1, F77	36	○ Anili	Dip. 1, F80
15	△ Toli	Dip. 1, D44	37	○ Eliza	Dip. 1, E44
16	○ Mata	Dip. 1, F80	38	○ Azeu	Dip. 1, G50
17	△ Abagon	Dip. 1, E35	39	○ Musungs	Dip. 1, F51
19	△ Bayamali	Dip. 1, E56	41	○ Aperua	Dip. 1, F54
20	△ Somoa	Dip. 1, F76	42	○ Kodja	Dip. 1, F55
21	△ Manko	Dip. 1, F75	43	○ Saayé	Dip. 1, F56
22	△ Bakua village head	Dip. 1, D40	45	○ Poichina	Dip. 1, E42

[622]

Total on January 1, 1958: 65 persons, of whom 25 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

[591] Adult inhabitants of the village whose residence is not normal:

○ Asuwèntina 1926, raised by her father Fambiéo, remained in l'Enfant Perdu;

△ Yoni 1936, DJUKA, raised by his brother by the same father Tabayé in l'Enfant Perdu village, remained there afterward.

Total: 2 persons, of whom one is bringing up a child.

Loka and Lapé Tabiki Villages

[591] Adult inhabitants whose residence is normal: /Error for "not normal"? - Tr.

△ Aimando 1935, raised by his father Konuman in Loka, stayed there

○ Baïwom 1924, raised by her father Malobi in Loka, stayed there

○ Méchi 1922, raised by her father Kodio in Loka, stayed there

○ Noko 1937, raised by Namu, sister of her father, stayed in Loka

○ Régina 1936, raised by her father Popo in Loka, stayed there

Total: 5 persons, raising 7 children or adolescents under 16 years old.

c:Hurault--68 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

102
361
613
621

/47/

l'Enfant Perdu Village
(Dipelu I lo)
in 1957

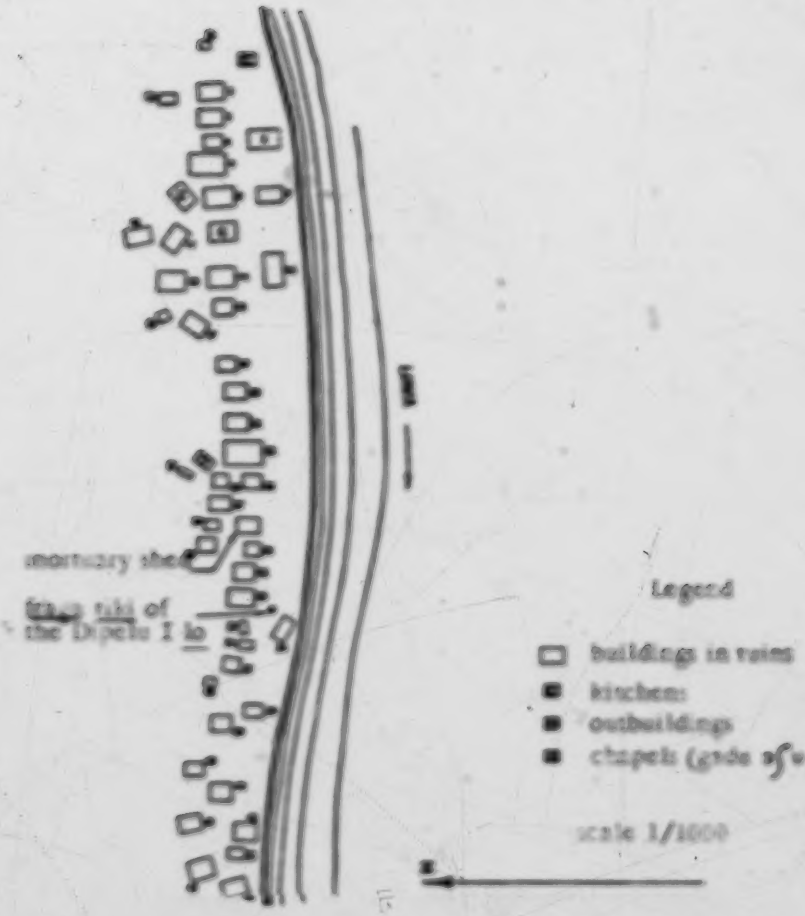


Fig. 8.

6:Mazzuli--69 . K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SRS Bull Negroes SPS
Bori

/48/

Loka and Lapé Tabiki Villages

Legend

162
613
621

Loka Village

⇒		House of	
1, 4	○	Bito	L1, D2
3	△	Téme	L1, E3
2, 5	○	Tofé	L1, E1
6	△	Pikinbeale	L1, E2
7	○	Totoumen	L1, F1
8	△	Doutó	L1, E10
9	○	Bafkom	Dja, F10
11	△	Abété	
12	△	Makibi	Dip. 1, E10
13	○	Alapu	L1, D9
14	○	Apitku	L1, E7
15	○	Yoana	L1, E20
16	○	Medu	L1, E41
17	△	Tupo	L1, E40
18	○	Chii	L1, D24
19	○	Koko	L1, E42
20	△	Ayuabédé	L1, E27
21	○	Mayon	L1, F27
22	○	Saimi	L1, E25
23	○	Kayé	L1, F28
24	△	Tingo	L1, F25
25	○	Awunkine	L1, D23
26	○	Puako	L1, E29
27	○	Do	L1, F26
28	○	Akwadéli	L1, F24
29	○	Mébi	Aw. B.1, E27
30	○	Balami	L1, F27
32	○	Mimé	L1, E34
33	○	Akuba	L1, E30
33	△	Akwado	L1, E32
34	○	Ondi	
35	△	Pwen	L1, E33

[622]

⇒		House of	
36	△	Kouimen	L1, E31
37	○	Akuba	L1, E30
38	○	Afuyéli	L1, F28
39	△	Abondo	Aw. B.1, F26
40	○	Mélia	L1, E22
41	○	Abiaman	L1, F29
42	○	Tabé	L1, F44
43, 44	△	Tamo	L1, F32
45, 46	△	Fuei	L1, F33
47	△	Sumié	L1, E34
48	△	Pupu, head of the village	L1, E22

Lapé Tabiki Village

⇒		House of	
1	○	Asamani	L1, D15
1a		Mamiso	L1, E30
2		Tabiki?	
3	△	Bato	DJUKA
4	△	Sofi	L1, D13
5	○	Twa ?	L1, E14
6	○	Asélé ?	L1, C11
7	○	Kama	L1, E15
8	○	Adoimbe	L1, E17
9	△	Mesteo	L1, E18
10	△	Tyaka	L1, D16
11	○	Yundu ? 1957	L2, G60
12	○	Asebondo	L2, [illegible]
	○	Angise	L2, F61
13	△	Anato	L2, G61

Total on January 1, 1958: [illegible] persons of whom 64 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

Schwaab--70 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SRB Bush Negroes SRB
Boni

A89/

Fig. 9.

/50/

Asisi Village--Dju Quarter

Legend

162
62
63

n°	House of		n°	House of	
1	△ Frage	Dju, F18	25	○ Paana	Dju, G2
2	△ Loko	Dju, F39	26	○ Téodora	Dju, G40
3	△ Seeeman	Dju, E14	27	○ Pikè	Dju, F28
4	△ Frage (2nd house)		29	○ Dabisa	Dju, G45
5	△ Tyolo	Dip. II, F48	30	△ Yaka	SAR.
6 } 7 }	△ Wima	Dju, F38	31	△ Soalufu	Dju, G42
			32	○ Aliki	Dju, E23
8	△ Koniami	Aw. B.1, G1	33	○ Maria	Dju, F11
9	○ Yéechi	Dju, F3	34	△ Achiké	Dju, F13
10	○ Wima † 1967		35	○ Félicia	Dju, G41
13	△ Féni	Dju, G3	36	△ Bernardin	K1, D60
14	△ Adiso, village head	Dju, F37	37	△ Achiké (2nd house)	
			38	○ Dachini	Dju, F16
15	○ Pamasa	Dju, E26	39	○ Adyidya (2nd house)	
16	○ Buba	Dju, G1	40	○ Kukusa	Dju, F40
17	○ Aguba	Dju, G14	41	△ Faawé	Dju, F19
18	○ Sara	Dju, E27	42	○ Ursula	Dju, D3
20	○ Ata	Dju, F2	43	○ Wima † (2nd house)	
21	○ Adyidya	Dju, E19	44 } 45 }	○ Diana	Dju, E9
22	○ Lénga	Dju, F36			
23	○ Sara (2nd house)		46	○ Baawé	Dju, E13
24	○ Timi	Dju, F1			

Total on January 1, 1958: 67 persons of whom 24 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

[591] Adult inhabitants whose residence is not normal:

△ Koniami 1935, raised by his father among the Dju, stayed there afterward;

△ Tyolo 1919 idem ?

△ Yaka 1870, old Saramaka moved in with his wife Aliki;

△ Bernardin 1885, raised by his father among the Dju where he took a wife;

○ AfaTia 1930, raised by her father among the Dju, stayed with her brother by the same father Féni.

Total: 5 persons, of whom one is raising a child.

/51/

102
361
613
621

Dju Quarter
(Dju lo)
in 1957

Fig. 10:

/52/

162
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621
[622]

Asisi Village--Awara Bakka Quarter

Legend

№	House of		№	House of	
1	△ Amusupé 1887	Aw. B. 1, E3	30	○ Notmi	Aw. B. 1, F51
2	△ Kondoku, village head	Aw. B. 1, E22	31	△ Empalé	DJUKA
3	○ Kyéti	Aw. B. 1, E30	32	△ Antonu	Aw. B. 1, E47
4	○ Mani	1. A6, d12	33	○ Agyasu, her husband △ Maliki	L2, F64
5	○ Paniki	1. A6, d13	34	○ Irma	Aw. B. 1, E37
6	△ Awéni	1. A6, c12	35	○ Bugi	Aw. B. 1, F41
7	△ Agbidon	Aw. B. 1, E21	36	○ Akumuyé ?	Aw. B. 1, D17
8	○ Akichi	Aw. B. 1, F27	37	○ Méédié	Aw. B. 3, F90
9	△ Boofo	Aw. B. 1, E31	38	○ Mona	Aw. B. 1, F50
10	○ Biyo	Aw. B. 1, F11	39	△ Mato	Aw. B. 1, E46
11	△ Matapi	1. A6, c3	40	○ Chitalna	Aw. B. 1, F43
12	△ Beti	Aw. B. 1, F37	41	○ Lébimay	Aw. B. 1, F55
13	△ Amonto	Aw. B. 3, E74	42	○ Namu	Aw. B. 1, E48
14	○ Kuluba ? 1957	Aw. B. 1, D1	43	○ Léna	Aw. B. 1, E52
15	○ Fakima	Aw. B. 2, E61	44	△ Maina	Aw. B. 1, F42
16	○ Abuyu	Aw. B. 2, E63	45	○ Lébimichi	Aw. B. 1, F27
17	○ Koluku	Aw. B. 2, E59	46	○ Amélia	Aw. B. 1, F19
18	△ Garwa	Aw. B. 1, F7	47	△ Ernest	Aw. B. 1, E25
19	○ Summa	Aw. B. 3, F81	48	○ Apinda	Aw. B. 1, F16
20	○ Emma	Aw. B. 2, D35	49	△ Béru	Aw. B. 1, F17
21	○ Titi	Aw. B. 1, E16	50	○ Kakié	Aw. B. 1, E18
22	△ Akodo	Aw. B. 2, E55	51	○ Atuku ?	Aw. B. 1, E26
24	○ Saanéti	Aw. B. 2, D28	52	○ Aytkuman	Aw. B. 1, F8
25	△ Asakya	Aw. B. 2, E65	53	○ Soéli	Aw. B. 1, F10
26	△ Kondoku (2nd house)		54	△ Dopia	Aw. B. 1, F9
27	○ Akanté	Aw. B. 3, E70	55	△ Baakeman	Aw. B. 1, F12
29	○ Kilina	Aw. B. 3, E71	56	○ Alicia	Aw. B. 1, E32

Total on January 1, 1958: 145 persons of whom 60 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

NOTA: The Awara Bakka lineage settled earliest on the island of Asisi, and when the Boni speak of Asisi village, they usually mean the quarter occupied by this lineage.

[591] Adult inhabitants of the village whose residence is not normal:

△ Empalé 1905, DJUKA mother, raised by his father Pééyon in Asisi, remained there afterward;

△ Maliki 1928, raised by his father in Asisi, remained there afterward;

○ Delina 1931, DJUKA woman settled near her husband Mylina.

Total: 3 persons.

6:Hurault--74 K-6 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Boni

/53/

102
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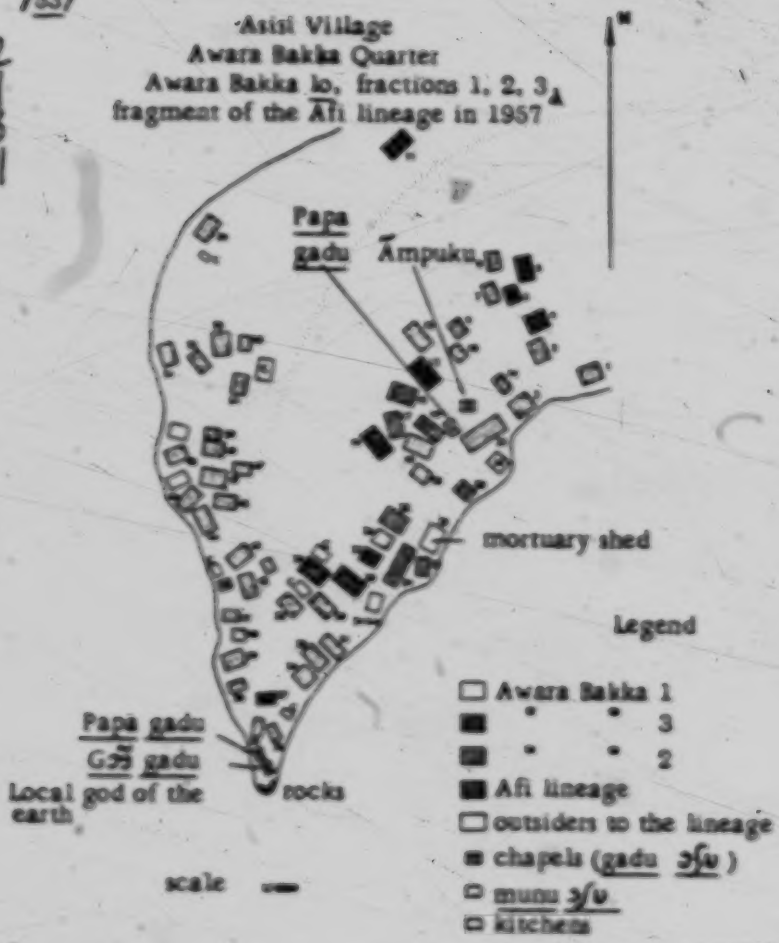

Fig. 11.

/54/

Papaïston Village

Legend

162
613
621

№	House of		№	House of	
1	○ Bélfi	P1, F19	18	○ Kumata	P1, G1
2	○ Oben	P1, E13	19	△ Sawen	P1, E7
3	○ Dodo	P1, F11	20	○ Emilia	P1, F3
4	△ Yusu	P1, E16	21	△ Gaimo	P1, E15
5	○ Kamen	P1, E14	22	○ Hélena	P1, F2
6	○ Agodéuman	P1, F10	23	○ Gou	P1, F8
7	○ Mili	P1, F20	24	△ Afay †	
8	○ Donasi † 1957	P1, E35	25	○ Puti	P2, F71
9	○ Asenten	P1, E10	26	○ Ondi	P1, F49
10	○ Adundu	P1, H61	27	○ Atipay	P1, F47
[622] 11	△ Tofenid, village head	P1, E12	28	○ Dopi	P1, G40
12	△ Tolinga	P1, E11	29	△ Agodéba	P1, E1
13	○ Efa	P1, D4	30	○ Tolina	1. Tolina
14	△ Agoundé	P1, F4	31	○ Apuulobi	1. Tolina
15	△ Dudu	P1, F18	33	△ Apuyu	1. Tolina
16	○ Kokoyo	P1, F9	34	○ Béndya	P1, F12
17	○ Wilelmina	P1, F1	35	△ Mangoto	P1, F20

Total on January 1, 1958: 83 persons, of whom 36 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

No outsider to the lineage lives in the midst of the Papaïston; the members of the Tolina lineage live isolated at the southern end of the village.

6:Hurault--76 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/55/

102
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Papalston Village
in Oct. 1957
Kawina or Papalston lineage,
fragment of the Toïna (Bakabuchi) lineage

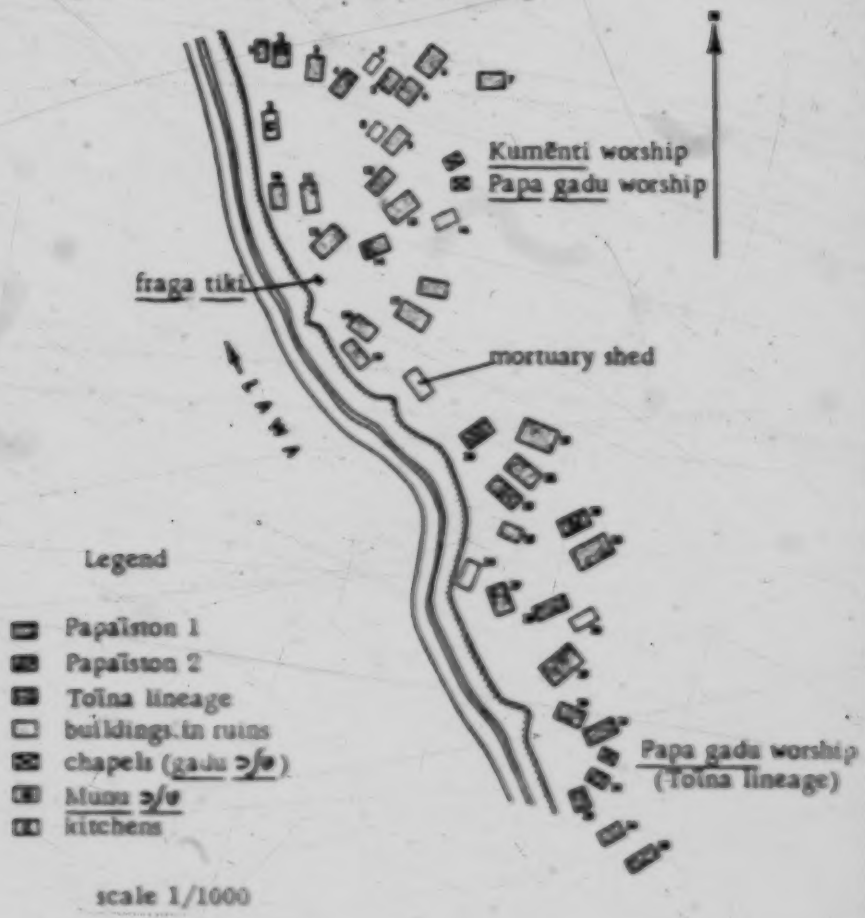

Fig. 12.

/56/

621
614

Kormotibo and Asisi-Dipélu Villages

Dipélu II lo

[128] [361] We did not judge it useful to include the plan of the habitat of this group, consisting of two hamlets which are badly kept up and in decay.

[162] As of January 1, 1958: 62 persons, of whom 31 are children and adolescents of less than 16 years.

[591] Adult inhabitants whose residence in these villages is not normal:

△ Alémin 1880 (Afi lineage)	has always lived isolated
○ Magdaléna 1912 (Afi lineage) (raising 4 children under 16)	came to live with her husband Léon (Dip. II, † in 1954); remained there afterward.
△ Doïchiman 1934 (Afi l.)	raised by his mother Magdaléna, lives near her.
△ Dokwé 1938 (Afi l.)	idem
○ Gongolon 1937 (Afi l.) (raising a child)	idem
○ Mauda 1935 (Afi l.)	idem
○ Ninga 1899 (Papaïston 2)	separated from her group after a disagreement.
△ Bénu 1928	Ninga's son, followed his mother.

Total: 8 persons raising 4 children under 16 years.

6:Hurault--77a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/facing p. 56/

501
531

Fig. 13. Boni paddles.
At the right, for comparison a Saramaka paddle --

[184]

/57/

621 Structure and Composition of the Villages

The examination we have just made of the peopling of six villages shows important aspects of the social organization and material life of the Boni.

591 613 Kin groups in the villages. We have seen that the principle of Boni residence was localization of the whole lineage, men, women, and children, which implies the absence of common household life, man and wife each living in his own village.

This principle of matrilocal residence is effectively applied in nearly all cases. In 1957, out of all the 670 persons in the villages on the French bank, only 27 adults out of 410, or six per cent, were living in the midst of their paternal relatives or had settled permanently in the village of their spouse. 162 621

591 613 Nowhere is seen any tendency toward patrilocal grouping; the small lineages issued in the course of the past two generations from Djuka or Bakabuchi wives who came to settle permanently near their husbands do not escape the common law. Their members follow strictly, with respect to their ancestress, the principle of matrilocal residence.

613 571 621 Another important conclusion is revealed by examination of the genealogical tables:

When a scission takes place within a lineage, scattering its members among several villages under different authorities, this scission is never complete. Lineage members feel at home as much in one as in the other of these villages and go at will from one to the other.

613 621 The Dipélu I example is particularly clear in this respect. Its members are divided among these villages: L'Enfant Perdu, Apatu, and Boniville (where this lineage occupies a quarter).

/57 cont./

613 The descendants of ○Monika † were scattered among these
621 three villages. △Kwau, the eldest, after living at Apatu until
591 the age of 70 years, moved in 1958 to Boniville; ○Djalufu lived from childhood at L'Enfant Perdu. Cécilia was raised in Boniville where she has lived since.

Again, let us cite the example of the descendants of Wétiti (Papaïston 1). Out of her 12 adult children and grandchildren living in January, 1958, seven established themselves with her in the habitation she founded on the estuary of the Maroni several hundred kilometers from Boni country, two live in Boniville (where the Papaïston lineage delegated a few of its members to live close to the grand man), three came back to live in Papaïston. In spite of this dispersion, there is perfect understanding among these brothers and sisters who remain in regular relationship.

128 Emigration; immigration; founding of new lineages. It is not
167 possible to give rigorous figures on this subject because it is very difficult to make a clear distinction between temporary and permanent emigrants. It does happen that a man /58/ who left a long time before and on whom they no longer counted comes back to take up again his place in ordinary living. It also happens that a man who left for a short trip prolongs his absence indefinitely.

167 Nevertheless, it can be asserted that long lasting emigration affects only a very small percentage of the Boni, and men almost exclusively. Out of 810 persons in the census, in registering the names of their brothers, sisters, and children, we noted only some 20 emigrants considered as permanently lost to their group, including four women.

/58 cont./

166 619 It is fitting to make an exception of the case of OWétiti (Papaïston) and OMa Imma (Kotika), who separated from their groups with their numerous descendants in order to found villages on the lower course of the river. These groups continue to consider themselves Boni; they are the nuclei of future villages.

For the same reasons it is difficult to get exact figures on [162] [621] immigration. About 100 Djuka and Saramaka have founded farming villages in Boni country but keep all their ties with their villages of origin; some 30 of them have married Boni women; one can estimate that some 15 have completely bound up their fate with the Boni and can be considered as integrated into the villages in which they have settled.

16 128 [562] All in all one can estimate that emigration and immigration of adult men, both very insignificant, compensate for each other; they have practically no importance on the social plane (since only the residence of the women has any influence upon the grouping of the lineages) or on the demographic plane; with the Boni the pyramid of ages constructed from the census of the villages represents very faithfully the demographic state of the population and lends itself to precise calculations of mortality (1).

1. It is not the same for the majority of African populations either because of emigration to the cities or polygamy. The presence of several average polygamists in a village is enough to render completely erroneous the counts of cross-sections by age.

166 57 59 613 The founding of new lineages results from the immigration of several Djuka women, some having come to settle permanently near their husbands, others brought up by their fathers in a Boni village. Half a dozen such cases occur in each generation, but

/58 cont./

166 571 591 613 not all result in the founding of a new lineage, either because the women are sterile or because only one or two surviving children remain who go back to live among their maternal kin. The more children a woman has, the more she tends to settle permanently with her descendants, for the group thus formed represents a force and can be self-sufficient as much on the material level as on the emotional level.

613 571 162 Four new lineages have been founded in the whole of Boni country during the past 50 years: /59/

Awara Bakka 3 (Anèta)	16 persons	on January 1, 1958
Afi	25	--
Toïna	9	--
Poti	8	--
Total....	58 persons	

Thus these new lineages represent only $\frac{58}{810}$ = 7 per cent of the Boni.

16 619 The immigration of women from other tribes thus remains an exceptional phenomenon which has few effects on the social and demographic levels. The development of the Boni as a nation results only from the natural movement of the population. Study of the genealogies forces the conclusion that when the members of these four small lineages are eliminated, the whole of the Boni are descended from only six or seven women who lived at the end of the 18th century. Few examples of such growth are to be found.

621 [613] Absence of division of the villages into quarters. We have seen that the custom of the Refugee Blacks is opposed to all that could alter the system of classificatory kinship and leads to the individualization of segments within the lineage. This principle [613] is translated very clearly in the structure of the villages, where one observes no tendency at all toward division into separate quarters.

613 /59 cont./
621 except in villages like Boniville where the issue of several lineages
[591] coexist. The rule is that in the homogeneous villages the members of the lineage are entirely free to build their houses anywhere. One observes only a certain tendency of children to group themselves around their mother as far as places are available (see especially in the village of Loka the intermingling of the homes of the descendants of Adédumi, Awenkina, and other ancestresses belonging to the same lineage).

In villages like Asisi-Awara Bakka, where are grouped the members of a lo including individualized fractions, it is the same.

These fractions have no tendency whatever to form separate quarters (see in the plan of Asisi the intermingling of the homes of the Aw.B.1, 2, 3) any more than they tend to group their clearings in a separate area.

The Boni are apt to say: "Barriers must not be raised between brothers."

621 In a general way, examination of the village plans shows
425 that the Boni build their houses to suit themselves without any privileged orientation and without grouping or isolating them in any special way. Any member of the lineage may build on a site left free (for example, the site of an old hut after the death of its owner, when it has been adjudged to be too ruined to be possi-
[622] ble to give as a legacy). He must only have the authorization of the head of the village and also the assent of the neighbors, whom he must not disturb. Since the houses occupy only a small amount of space and most of them have no outbuildings (kitchen
[578] or granary), this assent is very easily given. We have never heard it said that people argued about a site.

/60/

There are no gardens around the cabins because the conditions of the soil and climate render permanent cultivation impracticable. The nearest thing is a few persons planting some banana trees around the hut at the foot of which they spread the hearth ashes. As a general rule villages are closely hemmed in by secondary brushwood, and people plant far from one another and sometimes very far from the village.

If it does not admit the appropriation of land to individuals, custom does admit, on the other hand, the ownership of trees. In the villages the useful trees (coconut trees, maripa palms /attalea excelsa/, mango trees, cashew-apple trees, etc.) all have owners. The tree is considered as personal property and is transmitted by inheritance in the same way as a gun or a canoe. The procedure employed by the Boni for the dispersion of the inheritance among the members of the lineage of the dead man sometimes has the effect of transmitting the ownership of a tree to a person who is not of the village. For example, in Boniville where a fraction of the Kotika lineage lives, two caumou palms were bequeathed a long time ago to members of the lineage living in Kotika, who come each year to gather the fruit.

Appendix

Local Chronology Used for Determining Ages

1876	Death of Grand Man Atyaba.
1877	Trip of the explorer Crevaux from the Maroni to the Yari and the Amazon, in the company of Apatu, head of the Boni village.
1882	Apatu secedes, taking with him about 150 persons and founds the village which bears his name on the lower course of the Maroni.

/60 cont./

173 1891 (1) Death of Grand Man Anato.

1. The trips of the explorer Coudreau, who stayed in the Upper Maroni in 1888 and 1891, have left no memory behind.

1902 Discovery of the gold of the Inini.
1908 Death of Apatu.
1915 Death of Grand Man Ochi.
1915 (April) Death of the explorer Jean Laveau at the Grand Soula falls on the Litani.
1917 (Nov.) Nomination of Grand Man Awensay.
1918 (2) End of the "war against William." (2)

2. This date left a very precise memory, for it marked the end of a period of great misery.

1921 Creation of the short-lived "Compagnie des Transports Aériens Guyanais" /Guianan Air Transport Company/; hydroplane accident at the mouth of the Inini.

[213] 1925-26 A rosewood factory is established first in the Boni village of Kotika, then at the mouth of Coulé-Coulé Creek on the Litani.
1931 Monteux-Richard mission.
1936 Death of Grand Man Awensay.

6tHurault--85 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/61/ 1937	Mission to determine the trijunction point of the frontiers of French Guiana-Brazil-Surinam.
1939	Declaration of war.
1944-45	Not a precise point of reference. The Boni confuse the liberation of the territory with the end of the war.
1948	First I.G.N. mission.
1949	Mr. Aubert de la Rüe's mission; second I.G.N. mission.
1952	Third I.G.N. mission. /blank page/ /63/

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

The social institutions of the Refugee Blacks diverge noticeably from those of the African peoples from whom they issued. They do not include age grades, men's societies, or initiation; marriage involves neither a contract between kin groups nor "dowry."

In a general way these societies founded by rebel slaves who had retained an extreme horror of all oppression were organized so as not to have any material constraint weigh upon the individual. Their institutions are entirely founded on the idea of protection against superhuman perils; the individual remains perfectly free, and he adheres /to these institutions/ only in proportion as he is conscious of these perils. The custom of the Refugee Blacks, devoid of any means of material coercion, tends to develop within the individual the feeling that he is constantly threatened.

/63 cont./

that he can protect himself only by submitting to the law of the group. In this doubtless must be seen the deep reason for the importance attached to death and mourning, events around which is centered the activity of the usual societies and which entail a veritable mobilization.

It would be very difficult to condense the custom of the Refugee Blacks into a rigorous code. If one wished to do it, one would have to write as Article 1: "The living will conform to the will of the gods and the ancestors as it is expressed through the mouths of those possessed and by the movements of the bearers of the dead."

Each one of the tribes of the Refugee Blacks is formed of a certain number of matrilineages.

There is no limit on the number of these lineages, and it can be asserted that if any lineage whatever, detached from another tribe, asks to live in the midst of the Boni, it will be welcomed. From the first generation the children consider themselves as Boni.

In this regard one can cite the example of the Awara Bakka 3 lineage and that of the small lineage founded in Boniville by a Djuka woman, wife of Grand Man Ochi. All her descendants consider themselves Boni. /64/

But only the great lineages which constituted the tribe at its origin are social units recognized by the grand man, and only their heads are called to be members of the council.

We shall study first the interior functioning of the lineage, then the institutions going beyond the framework of the lineages.

/64 cont./

Functioning of the Lineage

613

We have seen that the effective social group, *id*, fraction of an extended lineage, is a social unit possessing all that is necessary to a human group to live, settling its differences and enforcing its rights:

--Ancestor worship;

--A head filling at the same time the role of priest of the ancestors and judge;

--Collective rights over a portion of land.

613 A lineage could live perfectly independent without any tie
69 of dependence vis-à-vis any tribe whatsoever. Actually, there exist in the interior of Surinam several lineages of very ancient origin (which are joined under the name of Bakabuchi • back of the bush) who live totally independent.

613 No privileged line of descendants exists within a lineage and
561 the only hierarchy recognized is that of age, or more exactly of closeness to the founding ancestress.

613 Collective tutelage of uncles in the classificatory sense is
561 effective only in childhood, but the principle of it continues
64 during the whole lifetime. In a discussion a man must avoid violently contradicting one of his "uncles" and finds it normal that more weight is attached to the opinion of this uncle than to his own. In 1956 we were subjected to some disagreeable incidents due to a bosman who was the classificatory uncle (although the same age) of the motorman of his boat; the motorman hesitated to order him vigorously as he did his other bosman and he, on his part, did not fail to remind his "nephew" of the respect due him.

/64 cont./

613 Nevertheless the lineage is not strictly speaking divided into
561 age grades; and when the men assemble in council for an affair which concerns the whole group, all may take the floor without consideration either of age or of place in the genealogy.

613 The council (kuutu). This is the principal social institution with-
571 in the lo. The kuutu is the assembly of the men of the lo without
574 consideration of age. No precise rule defines the age at which an adolescent may begin to attend it, and in principle all may take the floor. But decorum requires that unless they are personally interested in the question or have something important to say, the young let the elders do the talking. /65/

613 It is the captain (bedemã) and in his absence the eldest of
571 the lineage who presides. He faces the assemblage, surrounded by some of the oldest men.

(571) Opposite him he has a respondent (piki mã) who greets all his sentences with ritual approbations hiya, hiya ba!, na so!, etc., without which a Refugee Black could not suitably make his speech.

Each one then speaks if he feels the need to express his opinion. Women do not take part in the council unless it is a
562 question of a daughter's marriage; but it happens that men leave the meeting to go get the advice of their mothers and take their places again. If it concerns a simple affair without suprahuman complications, such as the fixing of the price of a piece of work, the discussion is often quickly over; but in the opposite case the discussion continues interminably, for there is no exact rule for concluding it. Only a negative rule exists: the determined opposition of one-fourth to one-fifth of the council members prevents the carrying out of a project.

/85 cont./

613 571 It seems that they expect unanimity to occur and that basically (here are found again the mental mechanisms peculiar to the Refugee Blacks), they expect it to take place by itself, to impose itself as if obvious. If nothing of the sort happens, they separate without deciding anything.

613 571 828 This public discussion of all important questions results, in the thought of the Refugee Blacks, not so much from a belief in the wisdom of assemblies as from fear of malevolence. If questions were debated in a small group, there would immediately be mistrustful and jealous minds who would see dark intrigues in it. The constant concern of the Refugee Blacks, when they have something important to say, is to find witnesses. That is in fact the role of the council, and it is why there is neither a lower age limit for taking part nor a precise rule governing the fashion of conducting the discussion.

613 554 The Captain or hedemã. The head of each of the great lineages which have been part of the tribe since its origin is recognized by the grand man as hedemã or "captain" (this word had been used since the original settlement of Europeans in Guiana to designate the chiefs of Indian tribes).

[692] The captains preside over the lãnti kuutu, supreme council whose functions are principally judiciary.

No precise rule of succession exists, and the choice of the members of the lineage is entirely free with regard to kinship ties. [693] When the old people are questioned about this, they usually answer that the successor must be chosen from among the classificatory "nephews" of the dead man, that is, from among the members of the lineage who are one more generation away from the foundress.

/65 cont./

613 It is enough to consult the genealogical tables, on each of
554 which we have indicated the transmission of the office of captain,
[183] to be convinced that nothing of the kind is practiced: besides, it would be impossible in fact. The council chooses from among
[643] /66/ the "brothers" and the "nephews" of the deceased. If the nomination is obtained, it is valid only if the grand man does not oppose his veto. He can require that the council be begun again.

613 The grand man observes the behavior of the new head for
554 about a year, and if he is satisfied with him, he calls him to
643 Boniville together with the members of the lineage. He turns over to him the bench and the baton of command (waka tiki) prepared by the doyen of the lineage. He takes him by the hand and has him sit down on the bench while proclaiming him head.

613 This appointment is made for life; once named, a captain
554 cannot be dismissed.

The succession of the last three captains of the Dju lo is particularly interesting (see the genealogical table of this group).

In 1948, the first time we passed through, Diolè (E1) had been captain for nearly 50 years, succeeding Doomé, whose position we have not been able to place exactly in the genealogical table.

Diolè died in 1951 at about 90 years of age. At the time of the mourning his yeka was questioned, and it designated ((through the medium of the coffin bearers) as a desirable successor one of his nephews in the classificatory sense, named Loko (F39).

[643] The council which met upon the close of the mourning
[685] for Diolè, in 1952, approved the designation of Loko; but the grand man opposed this appointment because Loko had been guilty of a serious crime (aggravated theft) and had incurred a sentence.

/66 cont./

613 554 The choice of the council then turned to Atikati (E18), the oldest among them (he was more than 70 years old), this even though there were other classificatory nephews of Diolè, perfectly capable.

Atikati died in 1955. The choice of the council, meeting in 1956, was Adiiso (F37), a man of about 60.

The place of various ones on the genealogical table shows well that no precise rule of succession exists, and that the choice of the council is free.

Likewise, in looking at the genealogical table of the Awara Bakka lo, divided into three fractions, one sees that the office of captain can pass indiscriminately from one to the other. It passed from Asèmbay (Aw.B.2) to Pèèyon (Aw.B.1), then to Kondoku (Aw.B.1).

These observations permit the statement that there is no privileged line within the lineage (1).

1. Understanding by "line" for lack of a more appropriate word, a linking causing the following of an individual, in the next generation, of a single individual chosen according to a definite criterion. One could speak for example in certain types of organization of lines of eldest sons, playing a privileged role with respect to the other lines constituting the lineage. Nothing like this exists among the Refugee Blacks.

25

/66 cont./

613 554 The small, recently founded lineages attached to a lo each designate a head: for example, the Afi lineage has Awéni as head. But this head remains subject to the authority of the captain of the lo and his office has no official existence.

/67/ The appointment is made by a council - kuutu - of the lineage, but it is not valid until endorsed by the grand man.

[787] When the deceased captain did not, while living, designate any successor, his yarka is interrogated in order to know whom he prefers. That does not have the force of law but can influence the council.

The council meets several days after the end of mourning for the deceased captain. All the male members of the lineage, regardless of age, give their opinion. Strictly speaking, they do not vote; but the nomination is considered valid only if three-quarters of those present are in agreement. If not, they disband without having decided anything, and the lineage can remain without a head for years. On this topic can be cited the example of the Awara Bakka lo, which remained without a head from 1935 (?) to 1953, until the appointment of Kouduku. During this time the [643] grand man had designated Captain Popo, head of the Lapé lineage, to secure the interim. As for the religious functions, they were taken care of by the joyen of the lineage.

The captain has the following functions within the lineage:

1) He is priest of the ancestor worship and presides over [793] the prayers and offerings made before the fraga tiki. In this duty [769] he is replaced in case of absence by the oldest man of the lineage.

In case of the death of a member of the lineage from the [761] effect of the kunu, the captain convokes all his people in order [782] to proceed to collective prayers and offerings intended to appease the gods;

/67 cont./

613 554 692 [642] 2) He exerts an extended judiciary power, for it is taken for granted that the legal and political power of the tribe cannot intervene in affairs between members of the same lineage, even murder, for it can be said that in the custom of the Refugee Blacks the lineage represents only one single life.

It is obligatory that the following be settled within the framework of the lineage:

[654] --Accusations of murder by sorcery where victim and supposed murderer are both members of the lineage;

[423] [578] --Arguments over lands within the zones effectively possessed by the lineage.

613 554 692 577 The way in which the captain exercises his functions as judge is hard to know, because for the Refugee Blacks it is extremely shameful to reveal the dissensions within one's own lineage. And as for those of other lineages, if one succeeds in becoming acquainted with them, one scarcely dares talk about it for if that came to be known you could smart for it.

613 466 554 Lineage heads have a certain authority on the material level; they designate the men charged with doing the work ordered by the administration, but truth to tell, it is above all a question of choosing from among volunteers, for it is profitable work. They might not succeed in imposing clearly unpopular orders.

613 554 624 The captain designates a certain number of supervisors or basia to help him. Their /68/ role consists in watching over the cleanliness of the village, in making all the material arrangements relative to dances and burials, in calling together those concerned to the meetings of the council.

613 571 The lo constitutes a unit from the spiritual point of view, but it is important to notice that it does not involve any collective organization on the material level. In this domain the wildest individualism reigns; there are no tools for collective use, and people get together to make their clearings only if they want to.

/68 cont./

613 624 [562] The basia are the mouthpieces of the captain, and not at all deputies having specific authority over a definite fraction of the village. There are three or four per village; in addition there are one or two women basia through whom the village head commands the work reserved for the women.

613 554 241 242 The head of the lineage possesses no religious power over the land. The Refugee Blacks assume that the fertility of the soil depends exclusively on local divinities, to whom each one prays on his own behalf.

613 554 681 The captain, no more than the council, does not have the right to expel a member from the lineage, even for marked unworthiness. This is one of the most remarkable aspects of the legal conceptions of the Refugee Blacks, tied to the idea that a lineage represents only one single life. There again the thought of the Refugee Blacks can be regarded as the extreme opposite of the thought of the Bamiléké, with whom the head alone retains possession of the rights over the land, expulsion constituting the supreme social sanction.

881 Initiation; age classes; men's society. These African institutions seem totally unknown to the Refugee Blacks. No form of initiation of adolescents exists, and no ceremony marks collectively their entrance into social life. Circumcision and excision are not practiced. For the children, boys and girls, there are two stages: that of the first garment, which is given upon the appearance of the pubic hair, at about 12-13 years, without ceremony, and the end of education which coincides with marriage.

[304] [852] [561]

561 The society of the Refugee Blacks rests however in large part on age hierarchy; strictly speaking there are no age classes involving a fixed organization, but they exist tacitly:

/68 cont./

561 198 The class of the young people, yuɔku sama, has definite activities; "style," that is to say, elegance, dancing, singing; it has a special language made up from taki-taki by inversion or addition of syllables. When the language begins to be known outside the group of young people, it is abandoned and another is invented. These past years the language in vogue was akɔɔpina, of Djuka origin; it had given rise to a whole folklore of songs.

561 Two other age classes appear to be rather clearly differentiated: that of the elders /69/ - gaã sama - (older than some 50 years), whose voices are preponderant in the council, and that of the old men - gaãndi sama - (older than 65 to 70 years).

[888] It is conceded by all that only the elders possess wisdom and knowledge, and in principle, in a discussion, the opinion of the eldest of them has the force of law.

575 Neither does one perceive among the Refugee Blacks any customary societies playing a role comparable to the men's society
571 in the Suian for example. In a general way their social life, very individualistic in spite of appearances, knows no other organization than the one resulting from kinship ties.

767 Nevertheless, the organization of the men within each village with an eye to the mourning ceremonies can be regarded as a rough approximation to customary societies:

--Kisimã or coffin-makers;

--Olɔma or grave-diggers.

But these societies are narrowly specialized and their customary powers exist only as long as the duration of their effective work.

562 Men and women. Even within the lineage where men and women
571 call one another brother, sister, aunt ... the relations between men and women are marked by mistrust.

/69 cont./

562 828 [191] It is assumed once and for all that women are shrews on whom one cannot count and from whom one can get nothing. The Refugee Blacks are inexhaustible on this subject and their opinion about the women of their group is very similar to that of Africans in general: they call them ill-natured, devoid of feeling, selfish, greedy, and unfaithful.

562 571 [165] In general, women are held apart from regular social life; no form of customary society of women exists. In the mourning ceremonies, which correspond to a veritable mobilization of the village, they play no role, except to prepare the meals.

562 789 794 Yet the women play indirectly an important role in the social life by way of the cults of possession. The Papa gadu gods so formidable have women nearly exclusively as bearers, and we shall see in studying the functioning of the kunu that they are the principal actors in this. Through this activity, which is exerted in arbitrary fashion on the outskirts of the institutions of regular social life, the women maintain around themselves an atmosphere of fear; it is not impossible that the functioning of these cults is influenced by the concern of the women to maintain their privileged position in the society of the Refugee Blacks.

562 157 Many women are charitable and have a certain generosity toward the members of their family, insuring the maintenance of the old men without resources. But their benevolence is essentially subjective and extends only to a small circle of personal friends and their nearest relatives. As soon as the elders appeal to them for a question of general interest, claiming to give them orders or even advice, they meet an attitude systematically malevolent and stubborn. /70/

[613] The lineage heads avoid giving them orders directly, for they run a strong risk of getting themselves insulted, as we have observed many a time.

/70 cont./

159 In March, 1957, Awéni, head of the Afi lineage, established
592 in Asisi, was concerned about repeopling the members of his
613 lineage and especially bringing back to Asisi Magdaléna (c20), a
[591] woman of about 45 years who had settled in Kormotiho near her husband L... († 1955), with her children and others whom she had raised. He went to Kormotiho and pointed out to her that since her husband was dead, she no longer had any reason to stay there and that she should come back to Asisi. Magdaléna insulted him in front of the inhabitants of the village, proclaimed that she had no orders to receive from anybody; then when he insisted, she armed herself with a stick and chased him across the village as far as the landing place. He had to re-embark precipitately to the laughter of the Kormotiho people.

Political and Legal Powers

613 613 The grand man. The head of the Dikan lo fills the office of grand man of the Boni. The present grand man, Difu, was about 67 years old in 1958.

[173] Oral tradition has kept the names of his seven predecessors:

Gongo (Dikan lo)	1810-1840	dates noted according to Coudreau
Labi (Adam?) (Dikan lo)	1840-1870	
Aryaba (Kotika lo)	1870-1876	
Anato (Kotika lo)	1876-1891	
Ochi (Dikan lo)	1891-1915	
Awemay id.	1917-1936	
Difu id.	since 1937.	

[195] According to information collected by Coudreau in 1887, Gongo was the successor to Agosu, himself successor to Boni. Upon the death of Labi, there were only women and children in the Dikan lo. The office of grand man then passed to the Kotika lo with Aryaba and Anato. It then came back to the Dikan lo with Ochi.

/70 cont./

643 In 1957 the Dikan lineage was practically extinct. There
613 remained only Grand Man Difu and his elder brother Samalobi, very old.

[629] The present grand man does not know the genealogy of his lineage beyond his grandmother. /Fig. 14 appears here./ /71/

[648] At the death of Awemay it was Samalobi, eldest of Awemay's clamificatory nephews, who was to be named; but the French administration thought they had to oppose it, judging him too old; he yielded with good grace.

613 Samalobi, the ancestor, the patriarch of the Boni, died
[165] in May, 1957 at over 100 years old. Although very weakened by
[594] his infirmities and nearly blind, he kept great prestige and no important decision was made without his consent.

173 The son of Apatu, companion of Crevaux, he had retained an exact memory of the explorer whom he had accompanied during part of his trip in 1877. It is thanks to his memories that Crevaux's prestige has remained so great on the Maroni.

643 The grand man judges without appeal disputes between
642 members of different lineages. Truly serious affairs are extremely
578 rare, if one keeps in mind that:

[613] --Disputes over the payment of dowry, paying it back in
[583] case of divorce, and the assignment of the children, which form
[584] the main part of the cases argued before ordinary African jurisdictions, do not exist among the Refugee Blacks;

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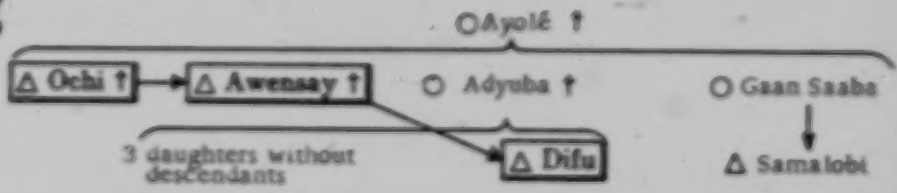

Fig. 14. Filiation of the last three grand men of the Boni.

643 692 [578] [423] /71 cont./

--Disputes over the appropriation of lands are very rare in Boni country because of the sparseness of population.

We have never seen the grand man hold anything other than audiences of conciliation relative to people who had fought or threatened each other. [183] The custom of the Refugee Blacks would indeed be difficult to fit into a code. The state of persons and social duties derive so directly from beliefs that the intervention of a judge is not indispensable for the functioning of the society.

643 423 The grand man is supposed to retain power over all the lands of Boni country which are not allocated to lineages; in particular, this is the case with the upper basin of the headstreams of the Lawa. [648] [184] It is above all by virtue of this that he is considered the suzerain of the Indians living in this territory. The same conception exists among the Djuka with respect to the headstreams of the Tapanahoni.

643 724 [226] The suzerainty of the grand man over the land and waters is marked, as in Africa, by special rights in the domain of hunting and fishing. He alone can authorize group fishing on the great river by the process of la nivrée. The same problem does not hold for hunting which is practiced in a strictly individual fashion. But it is taken for granted that if a tapir (1) is killed in Boni country,

1. The tapir is the largest animal of the bush.

the hunter must carry its head as well as a thigh to the grand man.

643 648 A certain misunderstanding reigns between the Europeans and the Boni on the subject of the duties of the grand man. The Europeans tend to believe that he commands the tribe in the way in which a colonel commands a regiment, that he can designate a certain man for a certain job, fix the price of boats, etc. The grand man tries to give satisfaction to the administration /72/ to justify the pay he draws, but he succeeds very badly in it, for in reality he possesses almost no temporal power.

/72 cont./

577 691 641 The morality of the Refugee Blacks knows in effect only obligations of a social and religious order. As for everything concerning material life, each one has the absolute right, one could even say the duty, to act as he sees fit, insofar as he does not wrong anyone else.

643 671 641 [156] If the grand man gave an order obliging someone to act against his own interest, for example if he wished to lower arbitrarily the price of boats, this order would be lawfully void. If the grand man has very great personal influence, he can persuade the Boni that it is to their interest to obey such a prescription, but in no case can his command have the effect of imposing by force an arbitrary order foreign to the social and religious tradition; the present grand man is weak in character to boot, sensitive to the influence of the Creoles and very little given to exerting any authority.

643 791 In reality, the office of grand man is above all religious. The grand man centralizes, if one may say so, the struggle against evil forces and watches ceaselessly over the welfare of the collectivity.

643 764 When a man dies, his near relatives come to report on the questioning of the yɔ́ɔka. Burial cannot take place until the grand man has made sure that all the prescriptions have been filled. People come to report to him again after the burial so that he can be sure that no suprahuman danger remains.

643 775 [782] The grand man has special power over the yɔ́ɔka (spirits) of the dead, which the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks place on a level intermediate between the human and the divine. When one of these yɔ́ɔka exerts against a lineage a vengeance (kunu) whose malignity goes beyond habitual bounds, the grand man beseeches it to stop; they allege that things go back to normal, at least for a time.

This power attributed to the grand man invests him, in the eyes of the Boni, with a suprahuman character. It is the very foundation of his political power.

/72 cont./

643 The grand man acts as land head for the whole of the tribe.
778 It is he who has the care of the sanctuary of mama gɔ̃ and who
241 prays each year in the presence of a large gathering of people for the fertility of the soil.

643 The grand man is the priest of Odun, divinity whom the Boni
743 regard as avenger of offenses against moral and religious law; by
776 virtue of this, he alone is qualified to administer the oath against
782 wɔ̃ (sorcery) and to implore the mercy of Odun toward those who have gone against his laws by fighting with arms.

643 In his religious functions this usually weak and unobtrusive
156 man acts with sovereign authority and assurance, and we have several times seen people tremble before him.

643 If someone has seriously transgressed the customary laws, or
681 if he has stolen, committed adultery, given blows, poured forth
[673] serious insults or curses, the grand man inflicts on him punishment proportional to the gravity of the offense, such as making planks, /73/ a boat, pounding rice (if it is a woman). The product of the punishment is acquired by the grand man, as are the fines in money which he imposes in less serious cases.

643 For example in October, 1952, two adolescents of Boniville,
685 Awétipay and Adyuka, were surprised while they were trying to break into an inhabited house; the grand man sentenced them forthwith to three days of forced labor, in the course of which he made them clean the approaches to the village and collect for his benefit wood for heating.

643 He can also punish disobedient or disrespectful young men
689 by making them do work reserved for women, such as weeding
462 the approaches to the village and the removal of dog droppings.

643 The grand man can confine a man to Boni villages by for-
681 bidding him to go beyond l'Enfant Perdu to the north and Kormotibo to the south; that is called sitafu sama (sitafu = captive). The man concerned, deprived of means of earning his living, thus becomes dependent on his family until he makes honorable amends.

/73 cont./

643 689 That happened especially to people who, summoned to work in the grand man's clearing, carried out their task with ill will.

About 1950, M...., of Papaïchou village, had openly revolted against the grand man whom he had refused to conduct to Saint-Laurent. The grand man sentenced him to make a large stairway of planks, from the Boniville wharf to the entrance to the village, giving him an injunction to leave the country if he refused. M... ended by yielding and executed the large stairway which can now be seen at the Boniville wharf.

643 648 292 199 The grand man is constantly concerned about his prestige and dignity; he is almost always dressed in the European manner and in ceremonies wears an impeccable white uniform; the French administration gives him a relatively large salary and, when he comes to Cayenne, he is put up in the hospital in the apartments reserved for officers.

643 [570] [644] [357] [466] To greet the grand man one does not look directly at him but places himself in profile with respect to him.

The grand man has no servants (that would be contrary to the morality of the Refugee Blacks) and leads a very simple life. Still, he does not do any hard manual labor; each year he calls together a certain number of men from each lo to work in his clearings; he does not pay them, for this work is an obligation provided for by custom, but he feeds them heartily.

643 466 Likewise, for his traveling, he requisitions by turns as boatmen two or three of his subjects. Sometimes also he requisitions women to help his wife at harvest time.

On the other hand, for all other work he may need (such as the construction of a large boat) he has to pay like everyone else and he is not given any reduction.

/73 cont./

643 The present grand man, contrary to his predecessors, has
644 only one wife. She is dressed like the other women and works
586 at her clearing like everyone else. /74/ but her marriage to the grand man imposes special obligations on her: she can not divorce him; neither can he repudiate her.

643 The attitude of the Boni toward the grand man is a curious
829 mixture of respect and disparagement. They regard him as the living symbol of their nation, and each one resents as if it were a personal insult an outsider having an incorrect attitude toward him. But their undisciplined spirit kicks up at the measures he is obliged to take to make them respect customary law, and even the authority of a poised and benevolent man like Grand Man Difu is not willingly accepted. As a matter of fact, the Boni stand for
[754] the authority of the grand man as they adhere to the worship of
[795] their gods, by the feeling of an absolute and inexorable necessity; in their minds the grand man is above all the priest of Odun; if the grand man were not there, they would be without defense against the wisiman, without recourse against the vengeance exercised by the yaka of the dead of other lineages.

The political power of the grand man is entirely based on these beliefs, and if they were to collapse, he would disappear
[822] with them. Nobody would submit to any other law than that of the lineage, founded upon fear of the ancestors.

692 The Ilani kuutu. This is the assembly of the men, without dis-
693 tinction of age (1) or kinship; this council (Ilani = law) constitutes

> 1. There is no precise rule for fixing the age from which an adolescent may sit in this council.
> [561] It is apparently when he has reached full physical development and earns his living by his own efforts, about 18 to 20 years. He does not have to be married.

the legal apparatus of the Boni.

/74 cont./

692 693 [641] An essential principle of the social life of the Refugee Blacks is that every citizen carries the law within himself. If several men are requested to arbitrate a private quarrel, it is said that they form a Hati kuutu. But they can hand down only a sentence of conciliation. Only the general assembly convoked by the grand man has the power to impose its decision.

692 995 The ordinary role of the Hati kuutu is to judge the dead, to make sure that they were not wisimi (sorcerers), to proceed to their interrogation in order to give the force of law to the answers, especially in what concerns inheritance.

692 693 775 The Hati kuutu meets when a death is announced; the first to arrive go to the grand man who designates two of the captains to preside over the council this time (for all the members are equal). In fact, rare are the councils attended by all the men present in the villages. Most of the time the Hati kuutu groups only about 30 men, mostly old men.

692 The Hati kuutu meets very rarely to judge a living man. That has happened only three times between 1948 and 1957.

692 687 In 1948 the grand man convoked the Hati kuutu to judge a man who, duly called as boatman to take him to Saint-Laurent, had not come. He was sentenced to make a palisade around the grand man's habitation, which took more than a month of work. /75/

692 685 In 1953 the council met to judge Loko (Dju), who had made himself guilty of aggravated theft (simulated shipwreck to the detriment of a Benzdorp trader and resale of the merchandise), for which he had been condemned by French justice to several months in prison. Loko had to make honorable amends in the presence of the assembled members of his lineage, then he was sentenced to make 50 planks for the benefit of the grand man.

[224] [643] In August, 1957, the council met to judge Pototo (Asisi-Dju), 23 years old, and Amusupé (Asisi-Aw.B.), 70 years old, who were guilty of a grave offense: misappropriation of a tapir (malpouri) killed by a Djuka who, feeling gratitude toward the grand man, had made known his intention to offer him part of the meat.

/15 cont./

592 The Djuka had killed the tapir which had sunk. Pressed for
685 time, he had had to leave, requesting the Asiri people to look for
[224] it.

The next day Pototo and Amusupé found the animal floating
[251] between two waters. They hid it in the bush and had it smoke-
[262] dried on their own behalf. They ate it with their wives (about 100 kilos of meat).

That ended up by becoming known, and a jealous man denounced them to the grand man.

Called before the Boni kautu, they had to apologize and were each sentenced to pay as a fine to the grand man a demijohn of 15 liters of tafia (worth about 6,000 francs) within four months.

[735] Both of them were at a loss to pay this fine, belonging to the category of ne'er-do-wells who have no regular activity and live from day to day, selling some fish or game from time to time.

[613] Amusupé appealed to Captain Kondoku, head of his lineage, who agreed to pay for the tafia for him, Amusupé reimbursing him little by little.

[613] As for Pototo, the head of his lineage refused categorically
[689] to help him because he had eaten the malpouri alone without allowing his family to share it (the village people would have found it normal to profit by the crime, but they deemed it immoral that
[123] one of their relatives had deprived them of meat). After three and a half months, Pototo began to occupy himself seriously at a paid job which he had the luck to find because we needed a boisman for two weeks.

577 The Boni did nothing but laugh while telling us this story.
626 Affairs of this kind, which do not involve any suprahuman inter-
[522] vention, escape in large measure their social morality; they have a certain feeling for what should be done, but submit to it only in proportion as they fear a material and immediate sanction.

/75 cont./

591 In fact, the society of the Refugee Blacks has not elaborated
971 true political institutions; it is essentially a grouping for collective
692 defense against suprahuman perils. The council, like the grand man, has power and authority only insofar as it remains closely bound to this function.

511 Absence of subordination. Among the Refugee Blacks no privileged
[565] class exists. /76/ and they all face life on a footing of rigorous equality; all receive the same education, must cultivate the soil,
[584] build their boats and houses, and live by paid work. The differences in standard of living observed from one to another stem basically from intelligence and work; and that, in spite of the belief in the possibility of getting rich by sorcery, is clearly understood by all.

565 Although the Boni willingly engage in paid work for one
[445] another in transportation by boat, there exists no tendency toward the formation of a class of rich people and one of wage-earners.
571 No servants exist among them, and one observes in their mutual
461 relations no exploitation of the weak. Neither does one observe that
[357] a rich man tries to have done by another, for pay, the customary
[462] jobs he must carry out for the benefit of his wife (clearings, building of boats). This would be looked on with great disfavor. The grand
[643] man himself, if his grandson is not there to help him, goes himself to draw water from the river and he does it ostensibly, even though he has a constant concern for his prestige.

829 The misfortunes undergone by their ancestors are certainly at the base of this conception; for they have inspired in the Refugee Blacks a particular sense of human dignity which is not found to the same degree in Africa.

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/16 cont./

No form of trade (1) is traditionally observed among them.

> 1. Since 1954, one of them, enriched by boat transport, set up a food business at Kotika, but this is a man more than half "creolized" and one who established himself in the midst of Creoles.

this activity being for them manifestly tied to the idea of the exploitation of others; there is not even any market in the villages.
423 Each person produces, or finds among the people of his own lineage,
439 what food he needs; as for imported objects, the Boni buy them in the course of their trips from the coast traders. That plague of
571 African societies, pseudo-trade or parasitism, is unknown to the
[935] Refugee Blacks. Just as one meets among them neither ragamuffins nor beggars, one perceives nothing nasty or low in their social relations.

In their collective life there is something aboveboard, clean, which strikes one on first meeting them and which one does not tire of admiring, the further one penetrates into the functioning of their institutions.

6:Hurault--107a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/facing p. 76/

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Fig. 15. House type of the Refugee Blacks; Loabi village (Djuka of the Upper Tapanahoni).

Gilliarault--108 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SRS Bush Negroes SRS Boni

/111/

CHAPTER V

STUDY OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF LANDS AMONG THE LINEAGES (1)

[114]

1. Part written with the cooperation of Mr. P. Frenay, assistant technical geographer.

Appropriation of Land in the Customary Law of the Refugee Blacks

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The fundamental principle of the customary law of the Refugee Blacks as far as land is concerned is that only the lineage can retain real rights. The individual can hold only a right of use, which disappears at his death.

This right concerns exclusively the working of the land for plantings and does not extend, as we shall see further on, to hunting and gathering.

Each lineage possesses recognized rights over certain portions of land, more or less well delimited according to the density of the population, but known by all and giving no occasion (at least in Boni country) for any dispute.

Right of use. Within these zones there is joint possession of the rights among all the members of the lineage; each one has rights of use over a certain number of "clearings" which he habitually uses in turn to make his plantings.

The right of use can be given away: for example, if someone thinks he will no longer need a clearing he was habitually cultivating, he gives the right to utilize it to another member of the lineage.

423 613 671 [428] /77 cont./

Land held by right of use cannot be sold nor rented, but only loaned. Neither can it be transmitted by inheritance; this would be entirely contrary to the thinking and custom of the Refugee Blacks, hostile to everything that would violate the legal joint possession of the lineage. Inheritance can affect only the harvest in process [425] from clearings. Once this harvest is made, the land can be occupied by any member of the lineage, man or woman, who wishes to cultivate it; and if there is any dispute, it is obligatorily settled within the lineage; the grand man would refuse to judge it. Kinship degree /78/ does not enter in, at least in principle, since they can say to each other "brother," "uncle," or "grandfather" in the classificatory sense.

423 428 The only attenuation of the rigor of this principle provided for by custom is that upon the death of a woman, her daughters have a right of priority to utilize her lands.

423 241 128 The Refugee Blacks have a clear tendency to remain faithful all their lives to the same clearings. The study we have made of the clearings in Boni country gives poor information on the history of each clearing, for it would have been necessary to be able to consult on the spot a large number of people, which we were not able to do; nevertheless it allows us to state that in the neighborhood of the residence villages, individuals keep their right of use of a clearing for the length of their lives.

42 241 Here is for example the transmission of rights over clearings 101 to 112 /sic/ (see genealogical table of the Dju lo) (1).

1. See plate at the end of this work: Distribution of lands in the neighborhood of the principal Boni villages.

/78 cont./

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Clearings Studied in January, 1957

Last user	Year	Transmission of Rights of Use
101 O Téodora (G40)	1955	occupied this land upon the death of her mother.
102 O Kukusa (F40)	1953	right created by Kukusa by clearing off an old secondary forest without a known user.
103 O Paana (G2)	1955	clearing cleared off by O Wima (E3); transmitted during her lifetime to her daughter O Tini (F1), then to O Pamasa (E26), raised by Tini. Pamasa worked it once, then gave her right to O Paana, daughter of Tiya /Tina?/.
104 O Tini (F1)	1954	right created by Tini (F1), who cleared it off for the first time (about 1920?); she has cut it three times in all; keeps her right of use.
105 O Lènga (F37) /F36?/	1954	cleared off by O Lènga for the first time (about 1920?). She has cut it 3 times in all; keeps her right of use.

/78 cont./

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Clearings Studied in January, 1957 (cont.)

Last user	Year	Transmission of Rights of Use
106 O /△ ?/ Féni (G3)	1954	occupied this land upon the death of △ Agoabuchi, old man of the Dju lineage (position on the genealogical table uncertain). /79/
107 O Tini (F1)	1955	it was △ Loka (D13) † 1951, who cleared off this land a long time ago. During his lifetime he ceded his right to O Tini, who cut it 2 times in all.
108 O Tini (F1)	1955	occupied this land upon the death of O Asoso (E7) † 1953, ancestress who had farmed there for a long time.
109 O Félicia (G41)	1954	occupied this land upon the death of O Anna † (E22), her grandmother.
110 O Téodora (G20)	1956	occupied this land upon the death of her mother Dondo † 1954, who had herself occupied it upon the death of her mother Anna (E22).

/79 cont./

42 241 Thus out of ten clearings we find only two cases where a member of the lineage gave his right of use to another during his lifetime; in four cases the right of use was taken over by a daughter upon the death of her mother; in two cases it passed to a distant relative.

241 423 425 562 Anyone, man or woman, may hold rights of use. But examination of the clearings shows that the great majority of men do not ask for any, and that nearly all the land is appropriated by women. In the example noted, out of ten clearings only one is appropriated by a man. This derives from the fact that most men are content to cut their wives' clearings on their wives' lands but do not bother to farm on their own account.

241 423 [613] Each woman holds rights of use over a certain number of clearings distributed in the different territorial zones of her lineage. It is important to have, so to say, many cords to one's bow, for it is necessary to be able, according to the activity of the manioc ants, to pass from one sector to another or on the contrary to work prematurely a clearing which one was hoping to leave fallow for several years.

241 425 [423] For example, Tini (F1) holds rights over six to seven clearings. For one (No. 104), she created the right of use on her own behalf by clearing it out of old secondary forest without any known owner. As for another (No. 107), she received it from Loka (D13), a distant relative, as a gift during his lifetime. As for the others (for example No. 106), she created the right on her own behalf by farming them first upon the death of their holder.

241 423 The right of use can be loaned, either to a member of the lineage or even to an outsider. It is specified that the loan is made for a certain number of years and that it is revocable. In such a case the donor does not lose his right of use.

/80/

241 Real right. The principle is that he who makes a clearing out of
423 primary forest (or old secondary forest without a known owner)
425 creates at the same time as a right of use for himself, an impre-
613 scriptible right for his lineage.

These two notions are very separate in the minds of the Refugee Blacks. The exercise of a right of use, even over a long period of time, over land already recognized as the possession of another lineage does not create any real right at all.

For example, ○ Béniti † 1953 (E5), an old woman of the Dju lo, had founded a farming habitation in the Kuyaku locality, where she worked the earth for several tens of years. But since these lands, even though unoccupied, were regarded as belonging to the Dipélu II lo (Kormotibo village), Béniti's work did not create any right at all for the Dju lo. If her daughters do not agree and if the habitation disappears, it is people of the Dipélu II lo who will be able to occupy the lands.

613 Consequences of the material scission of a lineage. When fraction
571 A' of lineage A emigrates and goes to settle on the land of another
425 village, B, which cedes a portion of land to it, the members of
423 fraction A', thus separated, keep all their rights over the land from which they originally came. But the reverse is not true: the people who remained in the village of origin of the lineage (A) have no right over the land ceded to the A' out of B's territory.

At the end of a certain time, and especially if the lineage (B) had never really occupied the land granted, it is assumed that the lineage (A') is possessor of it without restriction.

This was the case for example of the fraction of the Dipélu II who left Kormotibo village about 1930 to establish themselves in Asisi near the Awara Bakka lineage. The Awara Bakka granted them some unoccupied lands near Asisi village in the Tapo locality.
[162] This fraction, now numbering about 30 persons, considers that it has exclusive rights over these lands where the Kormotibo people cannot come to farm, but it has lost nothing as regards its rights over Kormotibo soil.

/80 cont./

621 613 [174] Case of the village of Boniville. This village constitutes an especially interesting case, for it brings together small fractions of the various lineages permanently settled there. It helps one to understand what the territorial implantation of the Refugee Blacks may have been toward the end of the 18th century at the time when their institutions were developing.

621 613 423 [643] [425] The principle is that the Boniville lands belong to the grand man, the last representative of the Dikan lineage; he granted individually to the inhabitants of the village the right to farm his lands. These inhabitants thus hold only a right of use, and there can be no competition among them for the possession of the real rights. But the principle of transmission of the right of use in the same lineage remains for each clearing taken separately. For example, Klémenti (Dju, F7), who made a clearing out of primary forest, concedes that after him his land may be occupied by any member of the Dju lineage residing in Boniville, but not by Dju lineage members living in Asisi. /81/

423 621 423 425 613 Few in number on a relatively extensive territorial sector, the inhabitants of Boniville have not felt the need to divide the sector granted by the grand man into precise territorial zones. It is difficult to foresee what will happen after the death of Grand Man Difu when the rights of use will be transformed into real rights. It is probable that a territorial division among the fractions of the lineage established in Boniville will be imperceptibly created by the simple fact that competition will arise among them.

423 Fishing, hunting, gathering, and mineral exploitation rights. These rights are totally separate from the right to farm; in this respect the conceptions of the Refugee Blacks reveal the precariousness of the bonds between the individual and the soil, which results from ecological conditions.

/81 cont./

423 The right to fish in certain rivers is held by lineages; other
226 rivers are regarded as property common to the inhabitants of a
613 village, whatever their kinship may be.

621 For example, the right to fish in Kumata Kiiki, a small
[425] creek of the Surinam bank, near the village of Kotika, is reserved for members of the Lapé lineage (the members of this lineage farmed there formerly, but they abandoned these lands, currently farmed by the Kotika people).

Maripa and Likanaon creeks, downstream from Boniville, are reserved for the inhabitants of Boniville.

Asisi Creek is reserved for the inhabitants of Asisi (Dju, Awara Bakka, and Dipélu II lineages).

423 The right to hunt cannot be reserved; everyone has the right
[224] to hunt anywhere.

The right to gather and the right to cut trees for making
222 planks or boats is generally bound up with the right to farm.
[313]

The right to collect underground products is completely
423 independent of the right to farm. For example, if someone finds
316 a seam of kaolin (pemba) on the lands of another lineage, he
317 exploits it freely. This aspect of the legal conceptions of the Refugee Blacks is very interesting, for it shows that even from the
423 point of view of customary law, the grand man is not entitled to
316 exercise any rights over the production of the Creole gold miners.
648 He could demand indemnities only insofar as these gold miners farm lands over which the Boni exercise customary rights. The interminable discussions which the claims of Grand Man Anato brought on at the time of the Lawa gold rush at the end of the past century would have been avoided by a better knowledge of the customary law.

/82/

Territorial Implantation of Lineages

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As we have shown, the Refugee Blacks are caught between contradictory imperatives:

--Their legal thought, centered on joint possession by the lineage, pushes them to distribute land among the lineages in compact blocs;

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[241]

--The geographic environment, and most especially the ravages of the manioc ant, obliges them to give to each individual the possibility of abruptly changing his territorial sector or to hasten the planned rhythm of his fallow fields.

The solution which has imposed itself has been to divide the lands of each lineage into a certain number of zones scattered on the two banks of the river. Instead of finding large blocks with a single holder, we are going to find sectors sometimes rather small. With that exception, the legal principles of the Refugee Blacks keep all their practical value.

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Each village possesses a certain number of landing places or dégrads /wharfs/, from which fan out a certain number of paths. The wharf is the center of a territorial zone within which the members of the lineage fan out, pushing their clearings farther and farther, until they meet the clearings created by other lineages. At this moment a boundary is in effect created, at least in some points (1).

[184]

1. Among the Djuka it happens that a wharf may be common to two lineages and that the boundary may be marked by a big road perpendicular to the river and starting from the wharf; this system corresponds to a concern for establishing more precise boundaries between groups occupying land to the maximum. It is not observed anywhere in Boni country.

/82 cont./

423 311 This fact is easily observable in the neighborhood of recently created farming habitations. In the figure "Distribution of lands ... in the neighborhood of the confluence with the Inini" (see at the end of the present chapter), the lands of the Antonu habitation are clearly seen distributed along two paths, one on each bank of the river.

241 423 In the sectors near Boni residence villages, cultivated in days gone by, the main lines of these boundaries are known everywhere. Still, they are far from being as precise as in the African countries with dense population, where the absence of manioc ants allows a regular rotation of lands. In Boni country this rotation is most variable, the duration of fallow ground going from two to 20 years [13] [311] and more. Vast sectors where the activity of the manioc ants suddenly becomes greater are abandoned for many years. When they are cultivated again, people no longer remember the exact boundaries of the former clearings and the new holders cut their clearings in their own way, taking care only that they remain on the lands of their lineage.

000 /83/ STUDY OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF LANDS
IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF RESIDENCE VILLAGES

Inventory of Part of the Cultivated or Fallow Plots
in January, 1957

62 [241] Study of the clearings of Agodé (Boniville). The lands adjacent to Boniville are worked in a very unsystematic fashion because of the composite character of the village population.

[613] Let us call to mind that Agodé includes fractions of six lineages:

/83 cont./

621 613 --The Dikan lo, lineage of the grand man, nearly extinct
--A fragment of the Kotika lo
--A fragment of the Dju lo
--A fragment of the Lapé lo
--A fragment of the Papaïston lo
--A fragment of the Dipélu I lo

621 613 423 241 The Dikan lineage holds the real rights over the whole of the lands situated on the eastern bank of the Lawa, from Puu Mofu Creek to the south up to the edge of L'Enfant Perdu village to the north.

The fragment of the Papaïston lo established in Boniville is in a special situation; it has for a long time possessed the lands situated to the south of Puu Mofu Creek up to the edge of Loka village (Lapé lo). This group has remained strongly organized and its members do not make clearings outside their zone, in which they have all the space desirable anyway.

[643] The members of the other groups make their clearings on all the surface formerly occupied by the Dikan lo. The grand man has reserved for his personal use the lands situated near Likanaon Creek, where he has built a farming habitation. The inhabitants of Boniville make their clearings on all the rest and without any definite territorial grouping.

[101] This finage (1), like the others studied in the present chapter, was

1. Finage: zone cultivated by the members of a collectivity.

visited in January, 1957, in other words shortly after the end of the land-clearing and at the beginning of the planting.

Study of some clearings of the Agodé bakka locality "behind Boniville":

abbreviations: (K) Kotika (D) Dikan (Dip) Dipélu
(Dju) Dju (P) Papaïston (L) Lapé

6:Hurault--119 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

[Agodé bakka locality]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
1	○	Kamina (K2, E92) clearing cut by her husband	1956	lived in Boniville	4 years; last user Todo (K2, F68), in 1952
2	△	Grand Man Difu (D)	1953	--	2 years; used by the grand man in 1951
3	○	Béniti (Dju, E5)	1951	--	cleared by Béniti about 1915, cut by her 3 times in all
4	○	Mimi (K3, E156)	1951	--	cut on old secondary forest
5	△	Todo (K2, F68)	1951	--	2 years; already cut by Todo in 1951 and 1953
6	○	Lèya (K2, F99); clearing cut by her husband	1956	--	6 years; clearing cut by Kanayen (Kotikalo) † in 1950
7	○	Lésina (K2, F69) clearing cut by her husband Manku (Dip. I)	1953	--	?

o:Huraulit --120 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

[Agodé bakka locality]

/84 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
8 △	Grand Man Difu	1952	--	?
9 ○	Paata (Djuka woman settled in Boniville)	1947(?)	id.	already used by Paata about 1940
10 ○	Térésa (L2, E57) clearing cut by her sons	1953	id.	?
11 ○	Paata (see above)	1953		already used by Paata in 1950

Thus, out of this group of eleven clearings, two remain attributed to the grand man, one to a woman of the Dju lineage, two to a Djuka woman, one to a woman of the Lapé lineage, five to members of the Kotika lineage, all inhabitants of Boniville. /85/

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[931]
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Study of the clearings of the fraction of the Papaïston established in Boniville. This group formerly lived in Puu Mofu village at the mouth of the creek of the same name, abandoned about 1940 following an epidemic. Its settlement in Boniville is therefore recent. The oldest man in the group, Bukuman, a man of some 60 years, exerts de facto authority.

This group tends to add to its initial finage the band of land included between Boniville village and Puu Mofu Creek belonging to the Dikan io (especially clearings Nos. 12, 13, 14).

[Papaïston fraction living in Boniville]

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
12 ○	Apinda (P1, G26)	1955	member of the Papaïston fraction living in Boniville	20 years; last user Adyuba (D) † mother of the grand man
13 ○	Alasani (P1, F34)	1953	id.	20 years idem
14 ○	Lémiki (K3, E130)	1945 (?)	lives in Boniville	20 years (this clearing is not in Papaïston territory)
15 △	Bukuman (P1, F32), for his wife	1956	member of the Papaïston fraction in Boniville	20 to 25 years
16 ○	Apinda; clearing cut by her husband Amatodja	1954	id.	id.
17 ○	Alasani	1954	id.	id.

[Papaïston fraction living in Boniville]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
18	O	Térésa (L2, E57)	1955	woman of Lapé lineage living in Boniville; has worked there as an exception with Bukuman's permission	id.
18a	O	Atasani; clearing cut by her son Nanga	1956	member of the Papaïston fraction living in Boniville	id.
19	O	Pélui (P1, F33)	1954	id.	id. /86/
20	△	Bukuman, for his wife	1954	id.	id.
21	O	Pélui	1955	id.	id.
22	O	Apinda; clearing cut by her husband Amatodja	1956	member of the Papaïston fraction living in Boniville	id.

[Papaïston fraction living in Boniville]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
23	O	Alasani; clearing cut by her son Nanga	1955	member of the Papaïston fraction living in Boniville	20 to 25 years
24	O	Apinda; clearing cut by her husband Amatodja	1955	id.	id.
25	△	Baafu (L2, E58), for himself	1955	man of the Lapé lineage living in Boniville. Has worked there as an exception with Bangasé's permission	id.
26	O	Pélui	1954	woman of the Papaïston lineage (Boniville)	id.
27	O	Apinda	1949	id.	id.

/86 cont./

621 Near this clearing is the limit of the lineage lands; beyond
613 are the clearings of Loka village (Lapé lineage).
423 Out of the 16 clearings examined here, 14 are occupied by
241 members of the Papaïston group at Boniville, two are held by
[562] temporary users, outsiders to the group. Out of the 16 clearings
13 are held by women and three by men.

Lands of Loka village (Lapé Io). This village, with its annex
Lapé Tabiki, is the residence village of the Lapé Io. The Lapé Io,
[614] whose genealogy is completely known and which remains geographically well grouped, is divided into two fractions without ceasing to constitute a lineage (bex) in the strict sense of the term. Its lands are divided into three zones:

--One on the east bank of the Maroni, behind Loka village.
/87/ --Another on the west bank (Surinam bank) opposite Lapé Tabiki, which we were not able to examine.
--Another upstream from Maripasoula, where part of the members of the lineage possess farming habitations.

[311] The first zone has been almost completely abandoned for about ten years as a consequence of an exceptional pullulation of manioc ants. We have summarized only a few relatively recent clearings there:

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
31 Δ	Akwadé (L1, E22) for himself	1948	member of the Lapé Io	cut only once on old secondary forest
32 Δ	Akwadé, for himself	1950	id.	cut twice in all by Akwadé

[Lands of Loka Village (Ampé'lo)]

/87 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
33	Δ	Akwadé	1952	id.	cut only once on old secondary forest
34	O	Awènkina (L1, D23); clearing cut by her husband	1949	id.	cut only once on old secondary forest
35	O	Awènkina id.	1936(?)	id.	cut twice in all by Awènkina
36	O	Awènkina; clearing cut by her son	1952	id.	2 years; cut in 1950 on old secondary forest
37	O	Chii (L1, D24); clearing cut by her son Ayaubédé	1952	id.	2 years; cut in 1950 by the same
38	O	Chii; clearing cut by her husband	1950	id.	cut only once on old secondary forest
38a	O	Maju (E41), Chii's daughter	1956	id.	6 years, a part of No. 38 taken up again

[Lands of Loka Village (Lape' lo)]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
39	○	Chii; clearing cut by her son Ayaubédé	1955	id.	?
40	△	Koniman (L1, E31) for himself	1953	id.	4 years (cut by himself in 1949)

[562] Out of the eleven clearings examined here, all are farmed by members of the Lapé lo; seven are held by men and four by women.

Lands of the Dju lo (Asisi village) in the Ingi Udu locality. The Dju lo, whose genealogy is completely known, also constitutes a lineage in the strict sense of the term. It remains well grouped geographically with the exception of a small group established in Boniville close to the grand man.

The lands of the Dju lo are distributed in several zones:

--One on the east bank of the Lawa, a little downstream from Asisi, in the Ingi Udu locality;

--One on the Dutch bank opposite Gengé Tabiki;

--One upstream from Maripasoula at the confluence with the Inini, where an important farming habitation is established (Atikati village);

--Finally, several members of the group make their clearings near Kormotibo in the Kuyaku locality, on the lands of the Dipélu II lo.

Clearings summarized here all belong to the first zone.

[Lands of the Dju Io (Asisi Village) in the Ingi Udu locality]

/88 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
41 O	Téodora (Dju. G40); clearing cut by her husband	1955	member of the Dju io, Asisi fraction	20 years
42 O	Kukusa (Dju. F40); cl. cut by her husband Bernardin	1953	id.	a very long time
43 O	Paana (Dju. G2), cut it herself (has no husband)	1955	id.	6 years /89/
44 O	Tini (Dju. F1); clearing cut by her husband	1954	id.	6 years (?); cut 3 times in all since 1920
45 O	Lènga (Dju. F36); clearing cut by her husband	1955	id.	4 years
46 O /Δ?/	Féni (Dju. G3), for his wife Abugu	1954	id.	7 years
47 O	Tini (Dju. F1); cl. cut by her husband	1955	id.	6 years (?)

[Lands of the Dju lo (Asisi Village) in the Ingi Udu locality]

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
48	Tini; clearing cut by her husband	1956	member of the Dju lo, Asisi fraction	3 years
48a	Sara (Dju, E27); cl. cut by her husband	1956	id.	3 years (fraction of clearing 48)
50	Félicia (Dju, G41); clearing cut by her husband Akodo	1954	id.	?
51	Téodora; clearing cut by her husband	1956	id.	2 years
64	Abo † (E8), for himself	1956	id.	2 years
76	Ata (F2); clearing cut by her husband	1956	id.	3 years
77	idem	1955	id.	3 years

Clearings 64, 76, and 77 appear to be enclaves a little within the Awara Bakka finage. Actually, from the very fashion

/89 cont./

621 in which these finages were constituted, one must not expect to
613 find clear boundaries.
423 These 14 clearings are thus used exclusively by members
241 of the Dju lineage living in Asisi village. All but two are held
[562] by women. /90/

It is interesting to study the kinship ties of the members of the lineage making their clearings in different zones. One might actually believe that there is a tendency toward individualization of sublineages, and that the descendants of a particular woman tend to hold exclusively the use of such and such a zone.

We see here that such is not the case.

In zone 1 (studied here), make their clearings: Tini (F1), Paana (G2), Féni (G3), very close relatives, but also Lènga (F36), Kukusa (F40), and Félicia (G41), whose relationship with the first-named is as distant as possible within the lineage: Félicia and Paana for example are relatives in the 12th degree.

The same thing is observed in other zones, as we shall see in the study of farming habitations.

621 Lands of the Awara Bakka lo (Asisi village). The finage of the
613 Awara Bakka lo is particularly interesting to study, for this lo
614 has a more complex structure. Study of the genealogy shows the
423 existence of three distinct fractions, which we have designated respectively as Aw.B.1, Aw.B.2, Aw.B.3. The Aw.B.1 and 2 fractions consider themselves as the same lineage in the strict sense (bɛɛ). On the contrary, fraction 3 can be considered as a separate lineage from the point of view of legal responsibility. Moreover, the members of the small Afi lineage, living with the Awara Bakka, also constitute a separate unit from the legal point of view. It is important to study whether that carries over into their territorial implantation.

[Lands of The Awara Bakka lo (Asisi Village)]

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[128]

We were not able to carry this study out exhaustively because the great mass of lands cultivated by the Awara Bakka are situated on the Surinam bank. The clearings summarized here are grouped in a zone called Ingi Udu; they are served by two landing places or dégrads, borrowed exclusively by the Awara Bakka.

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
61 O	Kyéti (Aw.B.1, E30); cl. cut by her brother Agibidon	1954	member of the Awara Bakka lo, 1st fraction	cut on old secondary forest
62 O	Mani (Afi lineage); clearing cut by her husband Galmo	1956	member of the Afi lineage, living in Asisi	2 years
63 O	Kyéti; clearing cut by her brother Agibidon	1956	Awara Bakka, 1st fraction, Asisi village	2 years; cut 4 times in all, the 1st about 1949 /91/
65 O	Akanté (Aw.B.3); clearing cut by her husband Poopu	1956	id. 3rd fraction	2 years

[Lands of the Awara Bakka lo (Asisi Village)]

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
66 O	Kyéti; clearing cut by her husband Sosoman	1954	id. 1st fraction	2 years
67 O	Lébimichi (Aw. B.1, F27); clearing cut by her husband Abagon	1956	id. 1st fraction	4 years
68 O	Anèta (Aw.B.3); clearing cut by her son-in-law Kéwénu	1956	id. 3rd fraction	4 years
69 O	Agyasu (Aw.B.1, F38); clearing cut by her brother Baliki	1956	Awara Bakka, 1st fraction, Asisi vge.	4 years
70 O	Emma (Aw.B.2); clearing cut by her son Akodo	?	id. 2nd fraction	4 years
71 O	Irma (Aw.B.1, E37); clearing cut by her husband Adiiso	1956	id. 1st fraction	cut on old secondary forest

[Lands of the Awara Bakka 10 (Asisi Village)]

/91 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
72	O	Emma; cl. cut by herself	1955	id. 2nd fraction	3 years
73	O	Lébimichi; clearing cut by her husband Abagon	1955	id. 1st fraction	3 years
74	O	Kilina (Aw.B.3, E71); cl. cut by her husband Amèmbé	1956	id. 4th fraction	4 years
75	O	Namu (Aw.B.1, E48); cl. cut by her husband Koniman	1956	id. 1st fraction	4 years
78	△	Lawa (Aw.B.1, F43); for his fiancée Kula (Asisi-Dju)	1956	id. 1st fraction	?
79	O	Béma (Aw.B.3, E73); cl. cut by her husband Maïna	1956	id. 4th fraction	2 years

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[Lands of The Awara Bakka lo (Asisi Village)]

/92 cont. /

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
80	○	Kakyé (Aw.B.1, E19)	1956	id. 1st fraction	4 years
81	△	Antonu (Aw.B.1, E47); for himself	1952	1st fraction	?
82	△	Adam (Afi lineage, c7); for his wife Dachini (Asisi-Dju)	1954	member of the Afi lineage living in Asisi	?
83	○	Titi (Aw.B.1, E18); cl. cut by her son Dopia	1954	member of the Awara Bakka lo, 1st fraction, Asisi village	
84	○	Noémi (Aw. B.1, F51); cl. cut by her husband	1955	id. 1st fraction	2 years
85	○	Summa (Aw. B.3, F81); clearing cut by herself	1956	id. 3rd fraction	3 years
86	○	Léna (Aw.B.1, F52); clearing cut by her son	1956	id. 1st fraction	3 years

[Lands of the Awara Bakka lo (Asisi Village)]

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/92 cont./

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
87 O	Noémi; clearing cut by herself (having become a widow)	1956	id. 1st fraction	3 years /93/
88 O	Titi; clearing cut by herself	1955	id. 1st fraction	3 years
89 O	Amélia (Aw.B.1, F19); clearing cut by her husband Sindu	1959	id. 1st fraction	4 years
90 O	Titi; cl. cut by her son Dopia	1954	id. 1st fraction	5 years

[562] Of the 27 clearings examined, only two /sic/ are held by men, 26 /sic/ by women.

19 are allotted to members of the 1st fraction;
2 " " to a member of the 2nd fraction;
2 " " to members of the 3rd fraction;
4 " " to members of the Afi lineage.

Thus one can deduce from this study that there is no tendency toward the making up of separate finages by the various fractions of the Awara Bakka lo. The members of the Afi lineage living in their midst have no tendency to group their clearings, either.

In fact, the inhabitants of a village, even issuing from different lineages, possess joint rights over the lands.

/93 cont./

621 Lands of the Asisi fraction of the Dipélu II lo, in the Tapo
613 locality. The fraction of the Dipélu II lo which has been settled
423 in Asisi for some 30 years and which remains subject to the
241 authority of the head of the lo living in Kormotibo, groups its clearings in a zone which has been allotted to it in the Tapo locality.

No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
91	○	Chichiti (G22); clearing cut by her husband Obino	1954	member of the Dipélu II fraction established in Asisi	2 years
92	○	Lawenchi	1951	id.	cleared off for the 1st time
93	△	Aténi (G20), for himself	1953	id.	id. /94/
94	△	Aténi (G20), for himself	1956	id.	id.
95	○	Kaala (G28); clearing cut by her husband Tamu	1954	id.	id.
96	○	Kaala	1951	id.	id.
97	○	Kiboya (G31); clearing cut by her husband Simon	1954	id.	3 years

[lands of the Asisi fraction of the Dipélu II 10]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
98	△	Kopo (G32), for himself	1954	id.	cleared off for the 1st time
99	○	Tama (G29); clearing cut by her husband Asékéyé	1954	id.	?
99a		Sésèy † (F38); clearing cut by her husband Mato	1949	id.	cleared off for the 1st time
100	○	Tyoko (G30); clearing cut by her husband Dodo	1954	id.	2 years
101	○	Tama; clearing cut by her husband Asékéyé	1953	id.	2 years
102	○	Chichiti (G22); clearing cut by her husband Obino	1953	id.	cleared off for the 1st time
103	○	Sésèy † (F38); clearing cut by her husband Mato	1951	id.	3 years

/95/

621 613 423 241 Out of 14 clearings examined here, all without exception are occupied by the members of the Dipélu II fraction in Asisi. This fraction is geographically separated from the other lineages of Asisi village, and has formed a separate finage; that has to do [578] with its relatively high effective force and the good relations among its members (the Afi lineage, with an analogous force but divided by disagreements, has not succeeded in forming a separate finage).

[562] Of 14 clearings, 13 are held by women and one by a man /sic/.

Study of several clearings of Papaïston village. The part of the Papaïston finage situated on the French bank had been abandoned for several years because of an abnormal pullulation of manioc [311] ants. In 1956-57 all the inhabitants of the village were making their clearings on the Surinam bank.

Only several clearings going back to the years 1947-50 could be identified.

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
111 O	Efa (P1, D4)	1946	member of the Papaïston lo	cleared for the 1st time on old secondary forest
112 O	Wilèlmina (P1, F1); clearing cut by her husband Bésu	1947	id.	id.
113 O	Oben (P1, E13)	1950	id.	id.

[Papaïston Village]

/95 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
114 ○	Gou (P1, F8); clearing cut by her husband Akwali		id.	id.
115 ○	Puti (P2, F71); clearing cut by her husband Maïpa	1951	id.	cleared off for the 1st time on old secondary forest
116 ○	Héléna (P1, F2); clearing cut by her husband Baliki	1951	id.	id.

[562] These six clearings are held by women of the Papaïston lineage, in accordance with the residence principle of the Refugee Blacks.

000 /96/ The Social System Illuminated by the Study of Implantation on the Soil

128 Study of the clearings in the neighborhood of the farming villages gives exact information about the structure of the kin groups which cannot be obtained by direct interrogation.

423 --Transmission of rights over land within the lineage fraction having the same residence constitutes an imprescriptible legal
613 principle, to which one refers as the conclusive argument to
621 settle every dispute;
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/96 cont./

423 613 621 --The principle of matriloca! grouping is effectively applied in nearly all cases. The matrilineages have almost all formed, according to this principle, separate finages, on which their rights are well established; most of these lands appear to be of old formation;

423 613 621 571 --The lineage fractions which have separated themselves geographically from their original grouping have formed finages over which their members exercise exclusive rights. For example, out of the lands of the Dipélu II fraction settled in Asisi not a single case is reported of use by members of the main fraction of the lineage living in Kormotibo;

--The inhabitants of a village subject to one authority possess collective rights over the lands of that village and form a de facto community, even if they belong to different lineages. We have found two characteristic examples of this, Boniville and Asisi-Awara Bakka; by coming to live in a village and subjecting oneself to the authority of the head, one enters ipso facto into this community.

This custom is in contradiction with the principle of the exclusive rights of the lineage over the soil, but the contradiction is more apparent than real; it makes possible the integration, into a collectivity, of detached persons and small fractions incapable of forming a separate village.

The actual situation thus created is not at all permanent. If a lineage fraction wishes to separate itself either as a consequence of a disagreement or simply because its numbers have grown sufficiently, it always has the right to do so.

The fundamental principles of the basic rights of the Boni can thus be summarized thus:

"Rights over the soil are joint within the fraction of a lineage whose members live in the same village and are subject to the same authority; any scission of a lineage which has to do with the residence village entails a scission of rights over lands. The

/96 cont./

423 emigrating fraction possesses exclusive rights over the /agricul-
613 tural/ land /terroir/ it forms. But it does not lose, at least in
621 principle, its rights over its original land /terroir/."
571 The study of finages gives us still more important informa-
tion concerning the exercising of rights of use:

241 /97/ Of 100 clearings examined, 81 follow the normal
423 process according to which the woman has her clearing made on
613 the land of her lineage (1). Of these 81 clearings, 14 had been
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1. For the joint sector of Boniville, the inhabitants of the village were considered as users of rights without distinction of lineage.

made under conditions not made clear, 48 had been cut by the husband, 14 by a near relative (son, brother, exceptionally brother or son-in-law), five by the woman herself.

In only five cases it is, on the contrary, the man who brings his wife onto his lineage's land.

A little more frequent is the case of a man cutting a clearing for himself on his lineage's land.

Finally, the case in which, for reasons of convenience, a member of a lineage asks to work temporarily on the land of another lineage is met twice. Thus this is an extremely unusual practice.

182 Influence of the geographical environment on the social structure.
171 These observations are to be compared with the ones that can be
[177] made about the Oayana Indians and the Indians of Guiana in general, living near the Refugee Blacks, in the same geographical environment and almost in the same way (let us recall that the Refugee Blacks borrowed the whole of their material culture from the Indians).

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R 105 [361] The Oayana Indians are half nomadic, moving their villages every ten years on the average. They have neither a permanent center of peopling, a place of worship, nor a cemetery; they do not have ancestor worship, at least no concept involving a precise and permanent tie between the living, the dead, and the land.

R 114 182 [136] This state of things has been attributed by several authors to the geographical environment and especially to the ravages of the manioc ant; the manioc ant, swarming particularly in formerly cultivated zones, makes nomadism advantageous. From this would have resulted a social structure and a mode of living adapted to these special conditions.

B 114 769 182 The example of the Refugee Blacks shows conspicuously that these considerations, in spite of their undeniable interest, do not constitute an explanation of general scope; for the Refugee Blacks, the only social ties conceivable flow from ancestor worship; above all the imperatives of material life the individual feels as a primordial duty the act of attaching himself to the village of his ancestors, to the land they cleared off and which remains under their protection.

B 182 241 423 613 The difficulties inherent in the geographical environment have been easily surmounted or gotten around. Rather than vast zones with one single holder, each lineage divided its finage into sectors distant from one another. If these zones become temporarily unusable, the Boni go to create farming habitations on the upper course of the river, without ceasing because of this to reside habitually in the village of their ancestors; there results from this no other constraint but losing two weeks each year in going and coming on the river.

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Distribution of Lands in the Neighborhood
of the Principal Boni Villages

Permanent villages
Boundary lines

Scale:

/K. or Cr. = Creek,
Lieu-dit = locality,
h. du grand man = habitation of the grand man,
Zone inondable = floodable zone./

Fig. 16.

/99/

182 That this system is perfectly workable has been sufficiently
161 demonstrated by the regular expansion for two centuries of the
241 tribes of Refugee Blacks and by the good functioning of their
423 institutions.
613

Thus the basic instability of the Indians of Guiana cannot
182 be attributed to the influence of the geographical environment alone. It comes essentially from social and psychological factors.

/100/ STUDY OF FARMING HABITATIONS

128 We are now going to study the functioning of the farming habitations under the same aspects:

--Structure (composition of each one, kinship ties);

--Territorial implantation: nature and extent of rights over the land;

--Functioning.

241 Not all Boni have a farming habitation; about two-thirds
621 of them are satisfied with the lands they occupy near the residence
184 villages.

241 The farming habitations we are going to study more es-
621 pecially and which are situated between the mouth of the Inini
361 and Simayé Falls to the south, group about a hundred persons be-
162 longing to the Dju, Lapé, Awara Bakka, and Papaïston lineages.
613 Another group of farming habitations situated a little south of Kormotibo, which we shall study briefly and only so far as their composition is concerned, bring together about 60 persons. Finally, other very dispersed farming habitations exist, belonging principally to the Kotika lineage, some in the Maripasoula region, others in the Abattis-Kotika Falls /region/.

241 On the whole, the Boni farming habitations cannot be com-
184 pared either as to importance or stability with the Djuka farming
621 villages which are placed at intervals on the middle course of the
[361] Maroni, grouping 3,000 to 3,500 persons: this is easy to
[162] understand: the Djuka, continually short of land, are obliged,

/100 cont./

24 62 [184] under pain of losing their rights, to occupy the soil to the maximum. Besides, settled very far from their residence villages, they are led to creating more lasting establishments.

Among the Boni, farming habitations do not amount to much, built carelessly (to designate them one says kāpu (camp), and the groups who work there are not very stable.

423 241 [182] [184] However, the principles of establishment and functioning of farming habitations are exactly the same for the two tribes and result on the whole from the customary laws which, among the Refugee Blacks, govern the possession of land:

[425] [613] 1) When a man cuts a clearing in a zone which has never had any human establishment, he creates at the same time as a right of use for himself an imprescriptible real right for his lineage (bɛɛ) or more precisely for the fraction of the lineage living in the same village and subject to the same authority;

[428] [613] 2) This right is joint; at the death of an individual, anyone of that fraction of his lineage may occupy the lands he used to cultivate habitually. If there is a dispute, it must be settled within the framework of the lineage; /101/ /Fig. 17 appears here/ /102/

3) The extent of the zone over which this right is exercised is limited only by the zones over which other rights are exercised.

We have seen what mode of occupation of the soil resulted from these laws in the neighborhood of the "great villages." Here the distribution of lands among the farming habitations follows practically the same laws, whose effects are less rigorous, considering the very low density of occupation of the soil.

425 [361] 1) It is taken for granted that an isolated establishment in a quasi-deserted zone does not create lasting rights. If it happens to disappear, anybody may come to settle there after ascertaining from the first occupant that he no longer needs the place (such is the case with the very scattered establishments south of Simayé Falls up to Indian country; they do not create real territorial rights for the benefit of any lineage whatever.

6:Hurault--145 K-5 (1948 1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Boni

/facing p. 100/

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Boni Farming Habitations South of the Confluence with the Inini

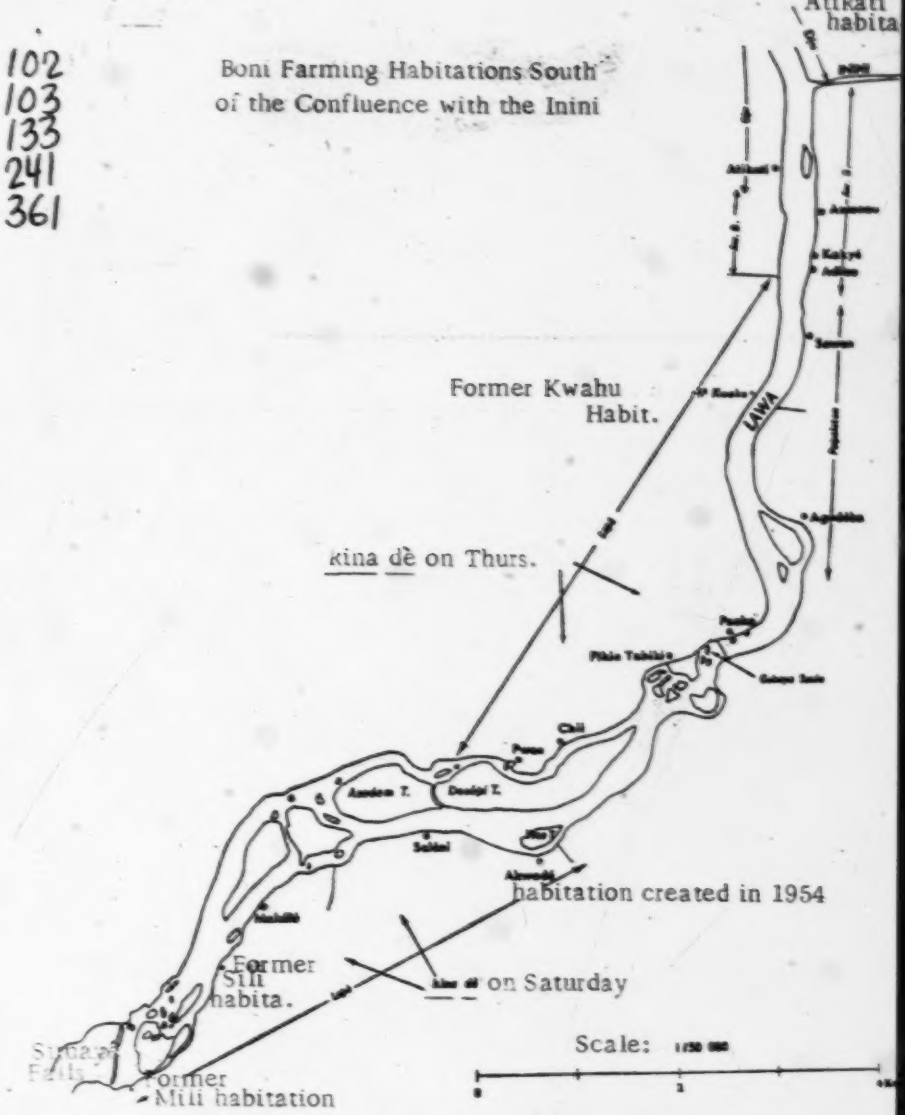

Fig. 17.

/102 cont./

425 2) On the contrary, from the time that occupation of a region becomes habitual, even by groups of small numerical importance, people pay attention to the attribution of the lands. [361] [613] Thus it is assumed that the west bank of the Lawa south of the Atikati habitation up to Simayé Falls has belonged, since the end of the last century, to the Lapé lo, which was occupying it in 1957 by the Paako, Samo, Pwen, Saléni, and Makélé habitations.

423 613 241 361 3) Within each zone the rights remain joint and anyone of the same lo may come to settle there. Thus the farming habitations move around, but within a definite sector. Thus for example Kwaku (Lapé) abandoned in 1954 his habitation situated in the lands of the Lapé lineage (it was too damp in the rainy season, he prefers to content himself with the lands of the "great village"). He does not lose his rights because of this. If he decides eventually to come back, he will settle anywhere in the zone attributed to the Lapé lo.

182 161 241 361 425 It goes without saying that if the population were more dense, such a principle would be difficult to apply and that serious disputes would arise. But this mode of occupation of the soil is perfectly suitable, in their present situation, for the tribes of the Refugee Blacks, for it allows them to practice, with a minimum of friction, the seminomadism which the geographical environment and especially the manioc ant impose.

241 361 423 The zones occupied by the farming habitations rarely have a single holder: most often they are divided into separate sectors on different parts of the river.

504 613 361 423 Actually, as we have seen around the "great villages," each lineage possesses a certain number of "dégrads," or landing places, from which paths radiate. Each "dégrad" is rigorously reserved for the members of a lineage. The occupants of a farming village radiate from around their landing place until they

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613 meet the clearings of the people of another lineage; a de facto
423 boundary is thus created, which is henceforth respected.

621 On the other hand, several farming villages of one lineage
241 may have their clearings totally intriqués /entangled/ (this is
613 the case, for example, with the ones of the Antonu and Adiiso
423 habitations). This conforms to the rule of joint possession of the land within the lineage.

621 Organization. The group in a farming habitation is brought to-
241 gether by mutual affinities, and has no hierarchy other than that
602 which springs from kinship ties: authority of the mother over her
592 daughters; authority of the "uncles" over the "nephews."
/103/ The grouping which conforms most to the matrilineal structure of the Refugee Blacks is made up of an old woman, her unmarried sons, her daughters and her daughters' daughters, their husbands coming to help at the time of the clearings but not belonging to the group. Often it is this old woman who directs the habitation, but often also it is an old uncle, her classificatory brother, who has worked with her for a long time. Sometimes this old woman has come to live with her daughters on the habitation founded by her husband.

103 Some of the habitations bear men's names, others women's
423 names. The name which prevails may be completely at variance
592 with the real rights exercised over the land (Ex.: name of Adiiso given to the habitation of his wife where Adiiso has no right at
[613] all). That has no great importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks, the only important thing being collective possession of the land by the lineage.

621 For groups which are relatively numerous and brought to-
241 gether more by mutual affinities than by kinship ties, the mini-
622 mum of authority necessary for good feeling and the organization of the work is brought to bear by the founder. For example,

/103 cont./

621 Atikati exercised authority by this right over the disparate group
622 around him, and at his death he bequeathed this function to his
241 sister Adyidya.

Likewise Antonu exerts undisputed authority over three
[613] groups of the Awara Bakka lo settled at the mouth of the Inini, for it was he who took the initiative of creating an establishment at this place. If there is any dispute, it is he who will defend the rights of the Awara Bakka lineage.

622 The authority exercised by the founder of the farming habitation is not brought to bear in material living, which remains subject to the strictly individualistic principles of the Refugee Blacks. He cannot require anyone to help him make his clearings or do any work whatever on his behalf.

361 Farming Habitations of the Awara Bakka lo
241 (Antonu, Adiiso, Kakyé)
613 in the Neighborhood of the Confluence with the Inini

621 These habitations work soil whose first user was Antonu, of
241 the Awara Bakka lo (fraction 1), which is regarded as belonging
[613] to that lineage. Antonu settled there in 1945 (he was finding that
[423] there were too many people farming the lands near Asisi).

To insure his rights, Antonu put on his land two groupings
621 whose situations are very different:
241 1) In his own habitation he installed his wife Asakundu, and
592 around her he made up the work group commonest among the
423 Refugee Blacks: group formed by the mother, her sons
[476] daughters, the daughters' husbands coming to help at the time of the /104/ clearings. But it is important to note that this group has no right at all over the land: if Antonu and his wife ever separate, the wife's group will leave the habitation.

/104 cont./

621 2) Nearby, he set up the habitation of his sister Irma
592 married to Adiiso (Dju). This village is improperly called Adiiso,
241 but Adiiso has no right at all there. In case of breaking with his
[423] wife, he leaves the habitation.

3) Finally, Kakyé, an old woman of the Awara Bakka lineage, settled nearby with her daughters and son.

Structure and functioning of the Antonu habitation. This habitation comprised in January, 1957, disregarding children:

○ [△] Antonu (Aw. B. 1, E47);
○ Asakundu, his wife (L2, E55);
○ Kapééki (L2, F60) } Asakundu's daughters, married;
○ Angisa (L2, F61) }
△ Sindu (L2, F62), Asakundu's son;
△ Maliki (L2, F63), Asakundu's son;
○ Yundu, Kapééki's daughter, married;
△ Anato, Kapééki's son;
○ Agata, Akoni's daughter.

The wives of Maliki and Sindu who do not have any personal habitation come there to work, but they are not to be considered as members of the group. They have no hut.

Likewise, the husbands of Kapééki, Yundu, and Angisa
241 come to help temporarily at the time of the clearings.
621 Activity of the Antonu village in 1955-56:

		1956	1955
○	Asakundu	1 clearing with Antonu	1 clearing with Antonu
○	Kapééki	1 clearing with Akuba her husband (who did not make any other clearing)	idem

/104 cont./

241
621

		1956	1955
○	Angisa	1 clearing with her husband Ernest (who cut 2 other clearings in other sectors because he has 2 other wives)	1 clearing with Antonu
△	Sindu	1 clearing for Amélia, his wife, 1 clearing for himself	id. (2 clearings)
△	Anato	en mission; cut no clearing; his wife weeded a two-year-old clearing herself	1 clearing for his mother (had made in addition a /105/ clearing in Asisi for his wife on her family's lands)
△	Maliki	same case	nothing for his mother, 1 clearing for his wife in another habitation

Study of the clearings of the Antonu habitation:

1) West Bank:

[423]
[613]

No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
31	△	Antonu, for himself	1952	member of the Awara Bakka lo, founder of the habitation	2 years (cut in 1950 for the 1st time on primary forest)

[Antonu habitation]

/105 cont./

241
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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
32	○	Angisa; clearing cut by her husband Ernest	1949	works there because her mother Asakundu is married to Antonu, but has no rights over the land	cut for the 1st time
34	○	Asakundu; clearing cut by her husband Antonu	1952	Antonu's wife	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1950)
35	○	Angisa; clearing cut by her husband Ernest	1948	like No. 32	3 years (cut for the 1st time in 1945)
36	○	Asakundu; clearing cut by her husband Antonu		like No. 34	cut for the 1st time on primary forest
37	△	Antonu, for himself	1948	like No. 31	cut for the 1st time

[Antonu habitation]

/105 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
38 △ /C/	Angisa; clearing cut by her husband Ernest	1949	like No. 32	cut for the 1st time
39 ○	Asakundu; clearing cut by her husband Antonu	1951	like No. 34	cut for the 1st time /106/
40 ○	Asakundu	1955	like No. 34	4 years (cut for the 1st time in 1951)
	2) East Bank			
1 ○	Angisa	1955	like No. 32	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1953)
2 ○	Angisa	1956	like No. 32	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1954)
3 △	Sindu, for himself	1955	Asakundu's son; same observations as No. 32, has no rights over the land	cut for the 1st time

6:Hurault--153 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8 Boni

[Antonu habitation]

/106 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
4 ○	Angisa; clearing cut by her husband Ernest	1952	like No. 32	cut for the 1st time
5 ○	Asakundu; clearing cut by her son Maliki		like No. 34	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
6 △	Amatodja (L2, F3), for himself		Asakundu's son; came to work there in 1953 only	
7 ○	Kapééki; clearing cut by her husband Madéko	1955	Asakundu's daughter; same observations as No. 32	cut for the 1st time
8 ○	Noémi (Aw.B.1, F51); cl. cut by her uncle Antonu	1952	member of the Awara Bakka lo	cut for 1st time
9 △	Antonu, for himself	1953		?

[Antonu habitation]

/106 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
10	○	Yundu; clearing cut by her brother Agata /listed as " ○Agata, Akoni's daughter," on p. 149 -- Tr./	1953	same observations as No. 32 (Jaughter of Kapééki and granddaughter of Asakundu	cut for the 1st time /107/
15	○	Kapééki; clearing cut by her husband	1954	like No. 32	cut for the 1st time
16	○	Noémi; clearing cut by her husband Galmo	1951(?)	same observations as No. 8	cut for the 1st time
17	△	Abéni (Aw.B.1, F49)	1951	does not usually work there, but has rights over the land as a member of the Awara Bakka lo	cut for the 1st time

[Antonu habitation]

/107 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
18	△	Antonu, for himself	1951	like No. 31	cut for the 1st time
19	△	Sindu	1951	cut for himself; same observations as No. 2	
20	○	Asakundu; clearing cut by her husband Antonu	1950	like No. 34	cut for the 1st time
21	○	Noémi; cl. cut by her husband Todo	1950 (?)	like No. 16	cut for the 1st time
22	○	Angisa; clearing cut by her husband Ernest	1949	same observations as No. 32	cut for the 1st time
41	○	Kapééki; clearing cut by her husband	1948	Asakundu's daughter; same observations as No. 32	cut for the 1st time
42	○	Kapééki; id.	1955	id.	id.

[Antonu habitation]

/107 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
43 ○	Yundu; clearing cut by her husband Alémin	1955	same observations as No. 10	id. /108/
44 △	Maliki, for his wife Agyasu	1954	id.	id.
45 △	Maliki, for his wife Agyasu	1954	id.	id.
46 △	id.		id.	id.
50 ○	Nella (K1, D44); clearing cut by her husband Agonichi	1936 (?)	woman working in Atikati village; had made a clearing there before Antonu's installation, then abandoned (manioc ant)	id.
51 △	Samalobi † (Dikan lo)	1920 (?)	Samalobi, first occupant of the place, had ceded all his rights to Antonu	d. /misprint for "id."?--Tr./

/108 cont./

62 592 24 [423] [613] [602] [476]

Structure of the Adiiso habitation. This habitation actually belongs to Irma, Adiiso's wife, of the Awara-Bakka (1) lineage (E37), who was settled there by Antonu whose classificatory sister she is.

Working with Irma, disregarding children, are:

--Her husband Adiiso (Dju, F37);

--Her daughter Chitaïna (Aw.B.1, F43), married to Déési (L1, F45);

--Her son Lawa, unmarried;

--Her son Maïna, married.

Maïna's wife Mbéma, who has no other habitation, has her clearing made there, but she has no hut in her own right and is not a member of the group.

Activity of the habitation in 1955-56:

	1956	1955
Irma	2 clearings (both by Adiiso, who cut a 3rd in Asisi for his other wife)	1 clearing cut by her son Maïna, Adiiso being on a trip
Chitaïna	1 clearing cut by Lawa, her brother, her husband being en mission.	1 clearing cut by her husband Déési /109/
/Fig. 18 appears here. / /110/		
Maïna	1 clearing for his wife Mbéma	Maïna en mission had not been able to cut for his wife. She had weeded a two-year-old clearing with Chitaïna and Irma

6:Hurault--158 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/facing p. 108/

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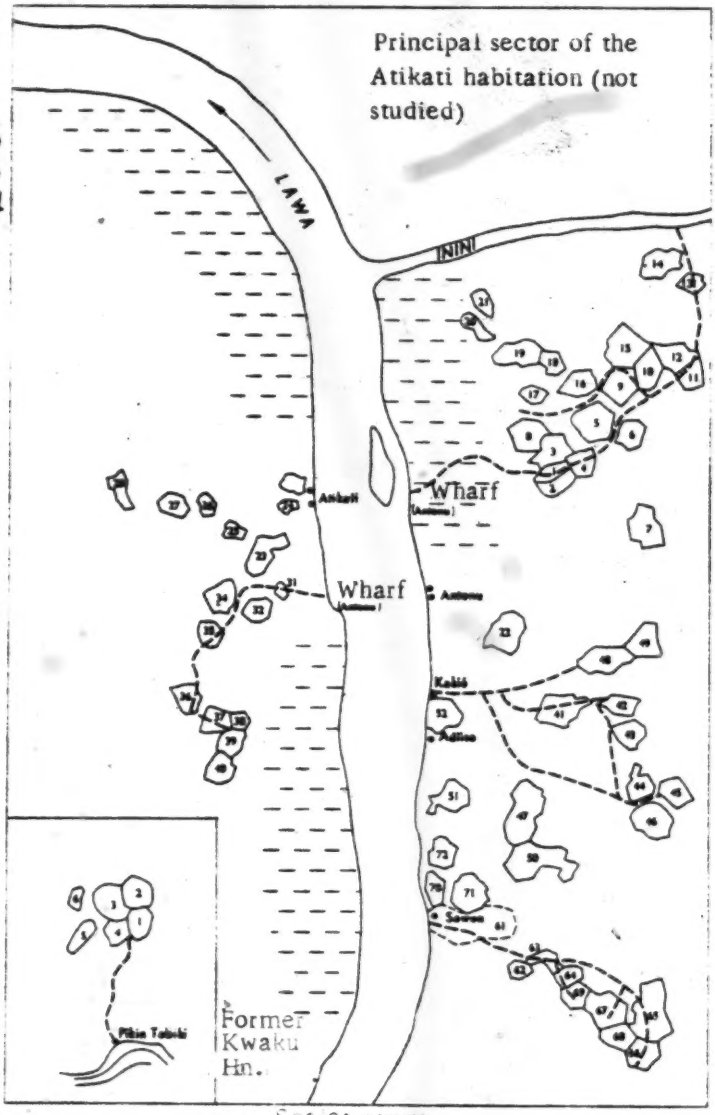
Distribution of Lands among the Lineages
in the Neighborhood of the Confluence with the Inini



Scale: 1/20 000

After photographs by the 003/200 IGN mission, taken in October, 1956

• farming habitation

flooding zone ⬡ clearings studied in January, 1957

Fig. 18.

621 /1 cont./
592 Structure of the Kakyé habitation. This habitation is directed
241 by Kakyé (Aw.B.1, E18), a widow for a long time and not re-
[589] married, working with her children.
[476] Working with her are:
--Amélia (Aw.B.1, F19), her daughter;
--Papakay (Aw.B.1, F23), her son;
--Akamina (Aw.B.1, F24), her daughter;
--Lébimichi (Aw.B.1, F27), daughter of Yochi † sister of Kakyé.

241 Listing of several clearings of the Adiiso and Kakyé habitations.
592 These clearings are totally mixed with each others' and with
621 those of the Antonu habitation, which is normal since these lands
423 all belong to the Awara Bakka lineage.
[613]

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
11 △	Bésu (Aw.B.1, F17), for himself	1954	Kakyé's son (does not work there habitually)	cut for the 1st time
12 ○	Amélia; clearing cut by her husband Sindu	1954	Kakyé's daughter	id.
13 ○	Lébimichi; clearing cut by her husband Asonzor	1954	Kakyé's niece	cut for the 1st time

[Adiiso and Kakyé habitations]

/110 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
14	△	Papakay, for himself	1953	Kakyé's son	id.
47	◯	Irma; clearing cut by her husband Adiiso	1955	foundress of the Adiiso habitation	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1951)
48	○	Amèntanu; clearing cut by her husband Sindu	1953	Kakyé's daughter	cut for the 1st time /111/
49	○	Kakyé; clearing cut by her son Bésu	1953	foundress of the Kakyé habitation	id.
52	○	Kakyé; clearing cut by her son Papakay	1951	id.	cut one single time

/111 cont./

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Habitation of the Dju Lo in the Neighborhood of the Mouth of the Inini

621 Structure of the Atikati habitation (Dju lo). Important habitation
241 founded by Atikati, of the Dju lo, possessing an extended finage
[613] fragmented into several blocks on both banks of the Lawa.

[423] This habitation has an abnormal composition, for Atikati
[476] worked there with his daughters, which is contrary to custom, and with friends.

622 Atikati directed the village with his old friend Bernardin (K1, D62), † in 1958, who was the son of a man of the Dju lo and had lived among the Dju since childhood.

621 The basic group of this habitation is made up of people
241 of the Dju lo. Since Atikati's death (1955), his sister Adyidya
613 (Dju, E19) has directed the village.

[622] Members of the Dju lo:

○ Adyidya } both without living children
○ Baawé (Dju, E13) }
△ Loko (Dju, F39)
△ Atikati worked with his daughters and granddaughter:
○ Wilèlmina (P1, F1);
○ Kumata (P1, G1), daughter of Wilèlmina.

To this group were added in 1957:

△ Bernardin (K1, D62), raised with the Dju;
○ Asumé (Dip. I, F2), daughter of △ Bernardin and ○ Mimen †.

[423] Finally, two Kotika women married to Djuka asked for permission to settle there and have their clearings cut there. But they have no right at all over the land:

○ Nèlla (K1, D44);
Maké (K1, E35), her daughter.

/111 cont./

621 571 183 The composition of this village is thus entirely aberrant from the point of view of /112/ custom, and founded entirely upon personal fellow feeling. But the customary rule is none 621 the less present in the thought of all: the founder being of the 613 Dju lineage, the land belongs to the Dju. The fact, for ex- 423 ample, that Bernardin (Kotika) and his daughters (Papaïston) have worked there for a very long time creates no right at all for either lineage.

[571] If dissensions occur in the group, those outside the Dju lineage must leave.

24 621 423 Listing of some clearings of the Atikati habitation (west bank).

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
23 △	Atikati (Dju, E18) for himself	1952	founder of the habitation	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1950)
24 ○	Wilèlmina (P1, F1); clearing cut by her husband Bésu	1955	Atikati's daughter, has no rights over the land	cut for the 1st time
25 ○	Wilèlmina; clearing cut by her father Atikati	1951	id.	id.

[Atikati habitation (west bank)]

/112 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
26 △	Sosoman (Dju, E14)	1951	Does not usually work there but has rights over the land as a member of the Dju lineage	cut for the 1st time in 1950, part taken up again in 1955
27 ○	Héléna (P1, F2); clearing cut by her father Atikati	1955	Atikati's daughter; usually lives at the Sawen habitation; has no rights over the land	6 years; cut for the 1st time in 1949, partially taken up again in 1955
28	Adyidya; clearing cut by her husband Kwami (Djuka)	1949	woman of the Dju lineage	cut for the 1st time

[6/3]

361 /113/
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Habitations of the Papaïston lo in the Neighborhood of the Mouth of the Inini

621 Structure of the Sawen and Agodéba habitations (Papaïston lo).
241 Habitations occupying an extensive zone, attributed for at
613 least 60 years to the principal Papaïston lineage.
[476] Working with Sawen (P1, E7) are:
--His nieces Héléna (P1, F2) and Emilia (P1, F3);
--His nephew Aguundé (P1, F4).
Working with Agodéba (P1, E1) are:
--His sister (in the classificatory sense) Kamen (P1, E14);
--His niece (in the classificatory sense) Gou (P1, F8).
Moreover, a group is settled there centered on Toïna, Agodéba's wife, representing the last of the Bakabuchi lineage, almost extinct:

△ Toïna, Agodéba's wife;
/△/ Mangoto, Toïna's son;
Apuulobi.

[423] This group has no right over the land and would leave in the case of a break-up of the Agodéba-Toïna household.

Finally, a female friend, Puti (F71), of the almost extinct Papaïston 2 lineage.

241 Activity of the Agodéba habitation in 1955-56:
621

	1956	1955
△ Agodéba	1 clearing for his wife Toïna	id.
○ Kamen	1 clearing cut by her husband Adam who made no other	id.
○ Gou	1 clearing cut by her husband Béku	id.

/113 cont./

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	1956	1955
○ Puti	1 clearing cut by her husband Maïpa (Dip. I)	id.
△ Mangoto	1 clearing for himself (he cut another for his wife in Kormotibo)	nothing (was not yet settled there)
○ Apuulobi	nothing (had her clearing made in Papaïston)	1 clearing by her husband Aténi /114/

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Listing of the clearings of Sawen village.

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
61 △	Sawen, for himself	1920 (?)	village founder	cut for the 1st time
62 △	Sawen, for himself	1955	village founder	cut for the 1st time
63 △	Sawen, for himself	1948	id.	id.
64 △	Sawen, for himself	1946 (?)	id.	id.
65 ○	Héléna; clearing cut by her husband	1954	woman of the Papaïston lineage (Sawen's niece)	id.

/114 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
66 ○	Héléna; clearing cut by her husband	1955	id.	?
67 ○	Emilia; clearing cut by her husband Loko	1954	id.	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
68 △	Aguundé, for his mother-in-law Populu	1954	man of the Papaïston lo making on his land the clearing intended for his mother-in-law	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
69 ○	Emilia; clearing cut by her husband Loko	1955	woman of the Papaïston lo	3 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
70 ○	Emilia id.	1956	id.	cut for the 1st time
71 ○	Emilia id.	1952	id.	id.
72 ○	Emilia id.	1956	id.	id.

6:Hurault--166a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/facing p. 114/

/..a/

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Fig. 19. Fishing à la nivrée.

/115/

Habitations of the Lapé lo
(Paako, Samo, Chii, Pwen, Saléni)

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[613]
[423]

These habitations occupy soil belonging to the Lapé lo since the end of the 19th century.

The Kwaku habitation has been abandoned since 1943, its occupants making their clearings around Loka.

Paako habitation. The Paako habitation is occupied only by two women, Paako (L1, E29) and her daughter Dona, who have their clearings made there by their husbands.

Chii habitation. Chii (L1, D24) directs the habitation where she works with her son Topo, her daughters Yaana, Madu, and Koko. The daughters' husbands come to help at the time of the clearings.

[578] Pwen habitations. As a consequence of dissensions, Pwen (L1, E33) lives all alone in this habitation.

Saléni habitation. It is directed by Saléni, an old woman of the Lapé lo (E25), who works there with her son Tingo, her daughters Kayé and Ananta.

[613] Structure of the Samo habitation called Pikin Tabiki (Lapé lo).

Habitation occupying another portion of the Lapé lo finage. Several Lapé men and women make their clearings there:

△ Tamu (L1, F32), who brings his wife Kaala (Dip. II) there
△ Fosé, his brother (L1, F33)
○ Mélita, his classificatory aunt (L1, E32);
○ Téké, Mélita's daughter (L1, F44)
○ Akomédi, Paako's daughter (L1, F34).

[183] The husbands of Mélita, Téké, Akomédi come to work at the time of the clearings but are not part of the group.

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/115 cont./

The composition of this village therefore entirely conforms to the custom.

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Activity in 1955-56:

	1956	1955
Δ Tamu	nothing (he cut in Lapé for his wife)	1 clearing for his wife
O Mélita	1 clearing by her husband Kwata (K)	id.
O Téké	1 clearing by Mélita's husband. for her husband Baïna is en mission	1 clearing by her husband /116/
Akomédi	1 clearing by her husband Todo (who cut another one in Asisi for his other wife)	

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Listing of several clearings of the Samo habitation (Pikin Tabiki) (Lapé lo).

No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
1	O	Akomédi; clearing cut by her husband Todo	1956	woman of the Lapé lo	cut for the 1st time
2	O	Akomédi - id.	1955	id.	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1953)

[Samo habitation (Pikin Tabiki)]

/116 cont./

241
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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
3	O	Mélita; clearing cut by her husband Kwata	1955	id.	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
4	O	Mélita; cl. cut by her son Déési	1954	id.	3 years (cut for the 1st time in 1948, then in 1953 for the 2nd time
5	O	Téké; cl. cut by her husband Baïna	1951	id.	3 years (cut in 1948 for the 1st time)
6	O	Téké id.	1953	id.	cut for the 1st time

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134

Farming Habitations downstream from Maripasoula

Several habitations are installed in the Kuyaku locality, very fertile region giving high yields of manioc (1).

1. This fertility is explained by the nature of the subsoil (sills of dolerite).

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Ownership of the land: Dipélu II lo (Kormotibe village). Several habitations side by side:

/116 cont./

621 241 ○ Nanay (Dip. II) † ; habitation disappeared at her death in 1953; /117/

613 423 ○ Béniti (Dju) † in 1955; habitation taken up again by her children and grandchildren: ○ Eliana, △ Doni, ○ Kulina, ○ Maria; ○ Tini (Dju);

○ Kotoïda (Afi lineage) † ;

△ Poopu, established there for a long time. He had abandoned the site in 1948; came back in 1952.

The composition of the groups is as follows:

1) ○ Béniti † (Dju, E5): her daughters Maria, Kulina, and Eliana. Béniti's hut has been taken up again by her grandson Doni whom she brought up.

2) ○ Tini (Dju, F1); habitation grouping Tini, Ata (Dju, F2), and their daughters.

3) ○ Kotoïda † ; habitation grouping Kotoïda († Oct., 1956) (Afi lineage), her brother Kenkina, her husband Empalé, her niece Samabun.

Other habitations:

Ma Efa (Papaïston), settled on Dipélu II lo lands upstream from Kormotibo (French bank) for about 30 years. Ma Efa (P1, D4) worked with her sons.

Gengé Tabiki (Dutch bank, upstream from Asisi village); small habitation founded by ○ Aliki (Dju, E23), with Lènga ○ (Dju, F36) and ○ Diana (Dju, E9).

621 241 591

Functioning of the Farming Habitations

Structure. Of the 13 farming habitations studied here, 12 have a structure conforming to the residence principle of the Refugee Blacks, implying the grouping of daughters and unmarried sons near the mother; only one has an abnormal structure:

621
241 /117 cont./
591 Atikati (daughters living with their father, groups of friends having no rights over the land).

621
241 It seems that exceptions of this kind have always existed among the Refugee Blacks, but they are probably tending to be-
591 come more numerous.
178 They do not appear to be due to a change of conception about family structure but to a development of individualistic tendencies. These groups of aberrant structure are particularly unstable.

361 Stability; changes of location. On this point there is no precise
241 custom. Certain farming habitations are old, such as those of Sawen and Atikati, which certainly date from the beginning of the century. Most appear to last from five to ten years. Others, like that of Kwaku, have had only an ephemeral existence.

361 The changes of location of habitations which have taken
241 place in this region since 1950 have very variable causes: /118/
166 /Fig. 20 appears here/ /119/

△ Dyakata (Dip. I)	left the region to live in the lower Maroni among the Paramaka for personal reasons.
○ Chili (Dip. I)	went to settle near Maripasoula. Gave up his habitation at Simayé Falls because of manioc ants.
△ Kwaku (L)	His habitation was too damp and the activity of the manioc ants too great. Henceforth lives all year in Loka.
[226] △ Akwadé (L)	Had no habitation, created one in 1954 near Simayé Falls. Was looking for a site favorable for fishing, from which he lives almost entirely.

On the whole, it can be estimated that the average duration of a farming habitation is about ten years. In these moves,

[Text Continues on P. 173]

6:Hurault--172 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/facing p. 119/

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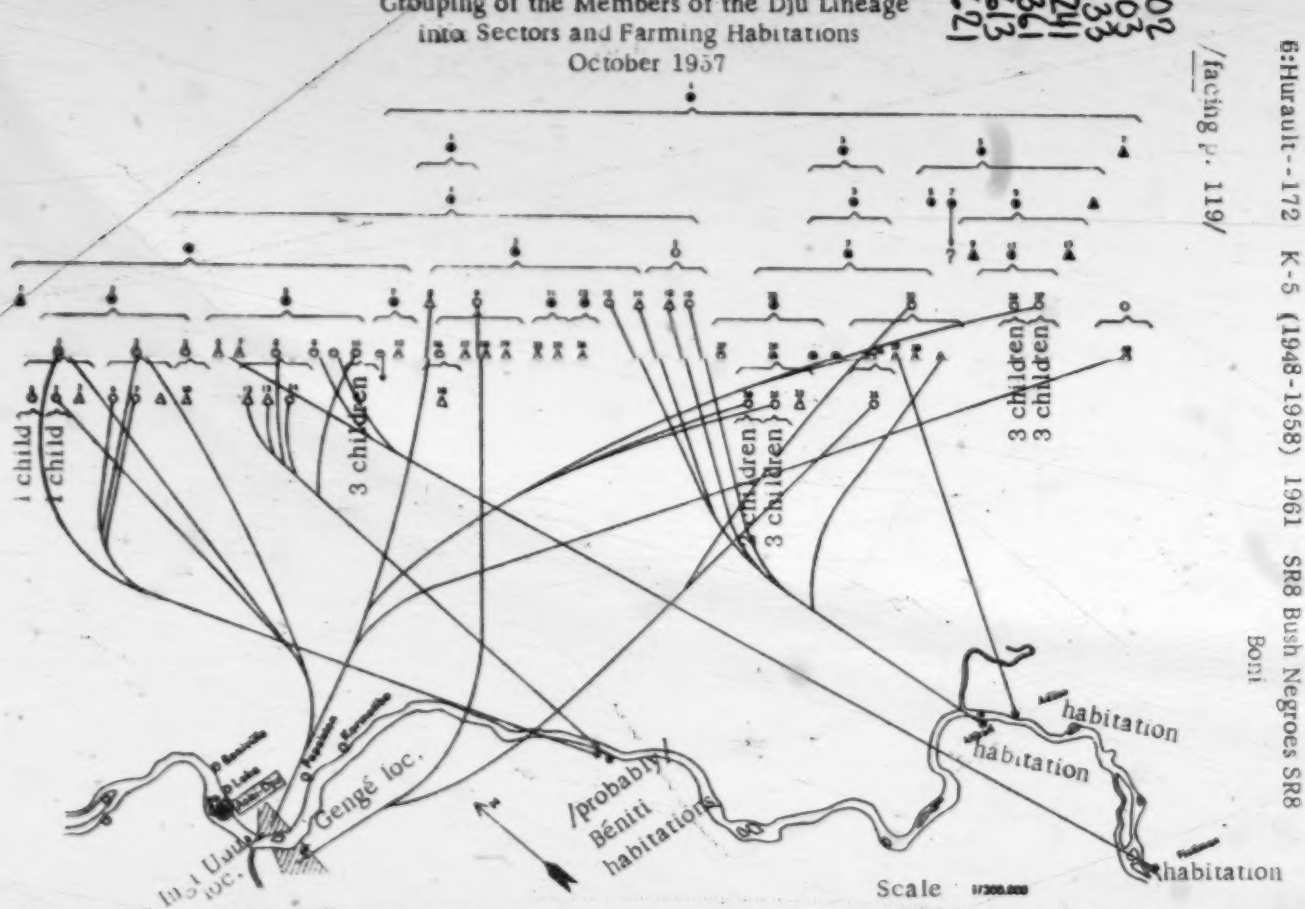
Grouping of the Members of the Dju Lineage
into Sectors and Farming Habitations
October 1957



This chart shows the absence of any tendency toward the scission of the lineage into separate
tractors.

/119 cont./

361 241 166 exhaustion of the lands does not seem to play any part: considering the sparseness of the population, one can either make new clearings out of primary forest or carry out any system of letting land lie fallow one wishes.

Most changes of location can be attributed to two causes of equal importance:

[136] [613] --The activity of the manioc ants; we have said that since about 15 years ago the principal soil of the Lapé lo, situated near Loka villages, has had to be totally abandoned as a consequence of exceptional activity of manioc ants. From this resulted the creation of several farming habitations on the soil of the Lapé lo studied here;

361 241 166 578 --Personal motives, among which comes first of all disagreement among the members of a group. For example ○ Kulina and ○ Bakamaman (Boniville, Dju) made their clearings until 1950 with their mother Béniti in her farming village in Kuyaku locality (to the south of Kormotibo).

In 1950 there was a quarrel. Kulina and Baïkom have made their clearings since that time at the habitation of their father Malobi (Lapé).

[768] It happens especially that upon the death of its founder a farming habitation disappears or changes composition entirely because disagreements arise.

361 241 166 Another cause of change of location of farming habitations is change of activity of their occupants. For example, a man grows old, he no longer finds paid work, he creates a habitation in order to take up fishing (Akwadé's case). When he reaches extreme old age, he abandons his habitation to move close to his relatives (case of Samalobi, first occupant of the lands cultivated nowadays by Antonu village). /Page 120 blank/

/121/

CHAPTER VI

FAMILY CUSTOM

17
105 The family custom of the Refugee Blacks presents more unity than their beliefs. Contrary to the Blacks of Brazil and Haiti, among whom the influences of Dahomey and the Yoruba country have dominated, the Refugee Blacks of Guiana have borrowed the essential part of their family custom from the Agni-Ashanti culture area. One finds again especially such characteristic traits as the prohibition of inheritance of widows, customs relating to birth, isolation of the dead in cemeteries away from habitations.

But on several essential points:

- The marriage system.

--Institutions relative to death and mourning, and the central place given to them in the whole body of customary institutions.

The Refugee Blacks have separated themselves cleanly from the conceptions of their ancestors, and the conceptions they have elaborated may be in large measure considered as an original creation.

Birth

843

Beliefs. As soon as a woman is pregnant, her husband is subject to special obligations. He may not use a shovel nor drive nails. These operations which, among the Refugee Blacks, have as their primary purpose the digging of graves and the making of coffins, might be supposed to make the child die. Neither he nor his wife may cut their hair; he is subject to food interdictions, especially the maïpouri (tapir).

/121 cont./

843 [827] Sexual relations continue during the whole pregnancy, for they are reputed to be indispensable for the formation of the mind of the child, which is thought to come from the father; also, for a man whose wife is pregnant there can be no question of abandoning her nor even of leaving for a long trip without the permission of the head of her lineage.

843 787 Forecasting of the birth. Divinatory rituals are carried out from the first months of pregnancy to forecast whether the childbirth will be easy or not. For that one goes to an old man who "knows" one of these remedies. There are several: one consists in making a small hole in the center of a cross outlined on the ground, pouring into it a decoction of magic-herbs kept secret, and putting an egg into it. The remedy-master then says: "If the childbirth is to be easy, the egg must be crushed as soon as my foot bears down /122/ on it." They state that sometimes the egg resists crushing: from this they deduce that the delivery will be difficult.

844 [789] [845] When the time for delivery arrives, concern is centered on the danger of maleficent human entities, ɔgi sani, which try to become incarnate in the child. The woman is shut up in the house, all of its exits are blocked off, and ɔbiaman are called to perform rites of protection all around the house. If delivery is difficult, that is attributed to the fact that one of these entities succeeded in getting into the house in spite of the precautions taken.

The ɔbiaman are called to "wash" the woman with the help of appropriate remedies.. Only in serious cases are men allowed to enter the house. As a general rule, during the first eight days only women related to the mother may enter. (Care is even taken as far as possible to get as midwife (mena) an old woman related to the mother.)

846 602

/122 cont./

845 [621] Observation at Maripasoula, November 3, 1956. The wife of Baïna, boatman of the border-fixing mission, gave birth at Pikin Tabiki, small farming village where she works with her mother and the latter's husband. Baïna went to be present at the delivery.

It was very long and dramatic. According to Baïna, an ɔgi sani had entered the child's body, making him stiff and impossible to extract. As a last resort they called a neighbor, T..., known for having a good gita. He called his gadu who revealed an efficacious remedy, since after the body of the sick woman was bathed with the prescribed leaves, the delivery ended successfully.

846 [515] Since we were leaving on our trip, it remained to find someone to take his place in fulfilling one of the husband's duties: cutting the supply of wood for heating the water necessary for the hot douches /showers?/ the mother was going to be given several times a day for about three months. [465] He made an agreement for that with Kwata, his mother-in-law's husband, to whom he will pay about 1,000 francs.

851 613 [603] Presentation of the child. On the eighth day the maternal grandmother (or great-grandmother if she is still living) takes the child and gives it to another ancestress of the same lineage, stationed in front of the house. The latter presents it to the family. Then [769] the head of the lineage, without taking the child, goes to the [778] fraga tiki to make an offering of tafia, asking the ancestors to [782] protect it.

For example, for the birth of A... (Lapé Tabiki village), son of O Yundu (L2, G60), it was Asakundu, grandmother of Yundu and great-grandmother of the child, who came to take him in the house and gave him over to her sister Térésa (L2, E57) to present him to the family (see genealogical table of the Lapé lineage, fraction 2).

/122 cont./

846 834 856 Interruption of conjugal relations after the birth. For three months after delivery the mother must stay away from men and even avoid touching them. Conjugal relations must be interrupted until the child begins to walk alone (eleven to 14 months). However, it is tolerated (but disapprovingly) that they be interrupted only for the time until the child begins to drag himself [842] on his knees /123/ (eight months). They cite the example of Baïna's wife who has puny children after pregnancies at too short intervals.

846 834 862 178 593 Actually, the interruption of conjugal relations tends to be reduced more and more, the women having condensed milk available and tending to reduce the duration of breast feeding.

Each woman acts as she wishes in this respect; the husband has no power to restrain her.

The Name

551 553 Existence of several independent names. Each Boni has two names, the gaã nɛm or big name, given by the father, and the pikin nɛm or little name, given by the mother.

These two names are given in totally independent fashion. Generally the pikin nɛm is given first; in former days they used to wait until the child was six to eight months old; nowadays it is given at the end of a few weeks. The head of the lineage does not intervene either in the choice or the giving of the name.

As a matter of fact, nearly three-quarters of the Boni are designated by one single name, either because the father and mother agreed to give the same name or because one of the two names fell into disuse.

To these two principal names may be added any number of names and cognomens given by the grandparents and later by friends or spouse; often one of the names ends by being given

551 [553] /123 cont./
and supplanting the others, but in numerous cases the names are used concurrently; in general an individual is designated among his maternal relatives by his pikin nɛm, while the people of other villages designate him by his gaã nɛm or by a cognomen. It has happened to us many a time in the course of the same conversation to hear the same individual designated by two or three different names.

[125] [128] It goes without saying that this custom makes any census of the Refugee Blacks impracticable, for as long as one does not know individually the members of a lineage and their genealogy, it is impossible to understand anything.

Nevertheless, one must not see in this a defense reaction with respect to the European administration. The Refugee Blacks find it completely normal to have several names at a time, for they do not have the notion of the identity of a name with a person.

Thus one of our boatmen was Fintiman to his maternal relatives, Gobiyo to his father and part of his friends, Loamba to his paternal grandfather, and Nakiyu to his first wife.

551 553 Choice of names. Names are highly varied and their choice does not follow any fixed rule; it is in the exclusive domain of fancy.

A large number are constituted of simple onomatopoeia: Tyutyu, Dada, Dodo, Dudu, etc. (which may be applied indiscriminately to man or woman). Dodo's mother explained to us the reason for her choice: dodo was the refrain of an air which often sang in her head while she was pregnant. /124/

551 177 Again are pointed out:

--More or less deformed European names: Afayèl (Rafaèl), Modèl, Pasensi (Patience), Félisi (Félix), Sophie, Toïna (Antonia). Certain names are deformed European proper names; for example: Sota for Chotard (name of an official in Saint-Laurent);

/124 cont./

551 --African names (Musa, Kodyo, Kofi, Akuba, Afiba, etc.),
[177] most of them apparently coming from the west coast of Africa.

--Some Indian names: Omiikan, Païké. This last name
[553] had been given to a young man of Asisi by his great-uncle in memory of an Indian chief with whom he was very closely connected;

--Names of plants, animals, or ordinary objects, either in taki-taki or in French:

Ex.: Kapachi (armadillo), Aguti (agouti, a rodent), Babun (red monkey), Kwata (South American spider monkey), Chii (seed), Maisi (maize), Tutu (bamboo), Sépina (épinards, "spinach"), Polimichi (small portable stove), Balansi (balance), Tambour /drum/, Kédé (chest, box), Mandolina (mandolin), Kokoti (tattooing), Guunkaala (blue bead), Klarinèt (clarinet), Alapu (arrow), Bisiklèt /bicycle/, Tomobil /automobile/, etc.;

[177] --European words whose meaning is more or less understood but which sound agreeable to the ears of the Refugee Blacks:

Ex.: Manifèst, Komisèr (commissioner), Nètwayé (nettoyé, "cleaned"), Machinn (machine);

551 --Kinship terms or terms of social relations, associated
601 often with a qualifier:

Ex.: Maman (mother), Baakamaman (black mother), May (mother-in-law), Pikin pay (little son-in-law), Pikin baala (little comrade), Bachi (master), Michi (young lady), Baakamichi (young black lady), etc.

551 --Expressions relating generally to the child's characteristics during its first months:

Ex.: Kundu mofu (little mouth), Kundu uman (short woman), Alébiédé (red head), Alobikyé (he likes to cry), Alobilafu (he likes to laugh), Koouman (cold woman), Amoyuman (pretty woman), Dansiuman (dancer), Hafukii (half dead), etc.;

551 --Names alluding to a virtue, but this is pure fancy;
577 we must not believe that they attempt in that way to make it enter the child. One sees Séyéuman (serious woman), Abété

/124 cont./

551 [577] (the best), Poyman (strong man), etc.; along the same line names are often given such as Goutu uman (golden woman);

551 522 --Often, finally, the name is the contraction of a short sentence expressing a joke or a ridiculous association of ideas:

Agimianèm (give me a name), Nafiimoo (it is no longer for you), Afumidichi (that one is for me), Sanidialobi (thing he likes), Agoabuchi (he goes into the bush), etc.

Woochia is the contraction of sa u ɔ si ya? (what shall we see there?), expressing the surprise of a woman who was seeing herself pregnant for the first time after 15 years of sterile marriage.

/125/ In this kind of name, in several cases it is a question of a joke with respect to the child, for which he will have to suffer all his life.

Ex.: Amoyanéti (he is pretty in the night), name given to a child who was very ugly.

Poété (convict) is the pikin nɛm of B..., a man about 42 years old in 1957; he never clearly understood why his mother had given him that name which he could not get rid of, his comrades taking malicious pleasure in calling him by his pikin nɛm.

This bad joke had so much success that it was put into circulation two more times: in Boni country there are now two Poété and a /female/ Poétéuman!

551 553 [522] This example, associated with many others, shows the casualness with which the Refugee Blacks choose their children's names. We have been present several times at discussions concerning the choice of these names; they proceed in an atmosphere of crude farce. B..., with whom we have just been concerned, who had had to suffer from the name his mother had given him, called one of his nephews Canada because it is the country in which are manufactured Evinrude motors which he admired very much.

/125 cont./

553 613 [178] [162] Transmission of names. It seems that in former times children were by preference given the name of one of their classificatory uncles in the father's lineage. This custom is still clearly observable, but its practice is not general. In fact, out of about 670 persons counted in the villages on the French bank, including about 250 children younger than 14 years, there are only 64, or less than 25 per cent who bear the name of an adult living or dead. These 64 cases are divided thus:

	Mother's Lineage	Father's Lineage	Other Lineages
Name taken from among the child's classificatory brothers and sisters.	0	3	
Name taken from among the child's classificatory uncles and aunts.	3	37	11
Name taken from among the child's "grandfathers" and "grandmothers."	2	8	

Of these 64 names, 44 /sic/ are taken from the father's lineage, only five from the mother's.

[551] This table is only good for a simple indication. In order to go farther it would have been necessary to study separately the name given by the father and that given by the mother, which we could not do (let us recall that 75 per cent of the individuals are designated by a single name; either the father and mother agreed on the same name, or one of the two names fell into disuse after the child's early years.

/126/

553 Let us remember simply that there is a clear tendency to choose the name from the paternal relatives of the child (1).

[171]

1. It is a general rule among the populations of Black Africa from whom the Refugee Blacks borrowed their main cultural traits, the patrilineal Fon and Yoruba as well as the matrilineal and patrilocal Agni and Ashanti. The persistence of this custom among the Refugee Blacks tends to strengthen the patrilineal and patrilocal tendencies which were persisting among them at the time when their institutions were developing.

[178]

551 Apparently they avoid giving the name of a very old person or one recently deceased.

553 In this transmission of the name there does not seem to be anything other than a mark of affection toward a relative. No bond is created between the child and the adult whose name he bears. Obviously there is nothing in the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks which requires the perpetuation of names and their transmission from the dead to the living.

[613] When they wish to give one of their children the name of a person of another lineage, they must ask permission of this person, who does not necessarily grant it (he may fear that his name might thus be borne later by a thief or a ne'er-do-well).

If he does give his permission it does not, strictly speaking, involve any payment, but he may be offered a small gift.

[613] There is no need of any authorization to take a name borne by a person of the lineage of the child's mother or father.

/126 cont./

551 553 The only case in which custom governs the choice of name is that of twins.

Male twins are called Adam and Agosu.

Boy and girl twins are called Adam and Efa (2).

[177]

2. This is connected with a myth derived from the Biblical tradition, which we shall set forth later.

Female twins are called Chimba and Sisi.

Social Relations within the Lineage

429 604 [593] Guardianship. Until he is old enough to work, the child is placed under the responsibility of the mother and, one step farther away, that of the eldest of his classificatory uncles. To a lesser degree all the uncles have authority over the child; guardianship is collective.

The custom of the Refugee Blacks, hostile to any division of the lineage, does not recognize any right peculiar to the mother's brothers (still, in fact, they seem to be consulted by preference about matters of small importance). For serious matters, such as authorizing a marriage, the classificatory uncles meet and deliberate; they do not vote, strictly speaking, but the proved opposition of three or four of them causes the project to be abandoned. [584]

429 593 604 [836] It is to the mother that people will come to complain about the child, and not to the father. She it is who decides to refer the thing to the uncles if it is serious (example of Doni, 18 years old, who deflowered Elina, 15 years old. Elina's mother came to complain to Doni's mother. Doni's mother went to notify her older brother Fintiman, who took the matter in hand).

/126 cont./

429 604 It is necessary to distinguish this principal guardianship, which is imprescriptible, from the secondary guardianship delegated by the uncles to the man or woman charged with bringing up the child. /127/

429 593 604 [858] Designation of the guardian. When a child reaches five or six years, the mother and the uncles decide who will be charged with his education and will become his guardian. The thought of the Refugee Blacks is that a child is much better educated if he is isolated and placed directly under the responsibility of an adult.

429 593 604 603 In order to decide who will bring up the child, they do not have a general meeting of the lineage. Everything is arranged among the mother and her brothers proper, the maternal grandmother, and the great-grandmother if she is still living. The child's classificatory uncles are consulted only if there are no uncles in the ordinary sense. Grandmothers have a preponderant influence in this decision as they do in all that concerns the child during his early years. The uncles' influence increases as the child advances in age.

429 There is no precise rule for the devolution of this guardianship, and nobody can take advantage of a right over the child.

[604] The guardian, male or female, carries out the responsibility of the education, but he can make no decision without asking the opinion of the uncles, whose decision is final. The guardianship can always be withdrawn.

This guardianship is exercised by one single person, man or woman.

429 593 It is very often the mother. In a large number of cases the mother raises her children, boys and girls, alone, with the cooperation of her husband, who often is not the father. Actually the husband has no rights over them. Whether the children

/127 cont./

429 593 [586] are his or not, he maintains them indirectly by maintaining his wife. He has only precarious authority. Every connection with the children disappears in case of divorce.

429 603 Guardianship is often exercised by the maternal grandmother, by an aunt, or even by an older sister.

[604] [593] If the maternal grandmother (or the great-grandmother if she is still living) insists on bringing up a child, the mother cannot refuse; one sees a rather large number of cases of women who have only one child and have given it to their mother to raise; it is true that since they live together, it is not a great sacrifice for the mother.

429 603 888 [163] [165] Thus one sees women over 70 years old, having had ten children or so, bringing up three or four of their grandchildren. The ancestress of Asisi village, Kuluba († 1957), after having had 12 children, brought up about ten of her children and grandchildren during the course of her long existence; when she died in 1957 at 100 years of age, she was still raising a child, one of her great-grandsons 12 years old. Of course she had not been working any more for a long time and was fed by her family, as the child was. But it was she who held the power of guardianship over him.

429 593 If it is the father who is charged with the child's education, he takes him into his own maternal family. His sisters will help him to bring up the child as long as he needs the presence of a woman.

From then on the father will exercise guardianship corresponding to that which the mother usually exercises under the responsibility of the uncles.

Sometimes a man is seen bringing up a daughter. Generally speaking, if a man /128/ has had three or more children by one woman, it is considered normal for him to be given one to raise, but that does not constitute a right; he cannot demand anything.

/128 cont./

593 One of the commonplaces of ethnographic literature is
152 the feeling of frustration that the father would experience in a
429 matrilineal system when he is separated from his children. Thoughts heard every now and then could allow one to believe in the existence of such a feeling among the Refugee Blacks. For example Baïna, of Asisi village, tells us one day with bitterness: "I have had eight children, all living, and I have been given only one to bring up." But this is only a pretense. No Refugee Black thinks seriously of bringing up the five or six children he has had in the course of his life by three or four
[464] different women. Besides, this would be materially impossible for him, considering the mode of life of the Refugee Blacks and the necessity for the adult men to move ceaselessly in search
[163] of paid work. For example, by encouraging Baïna to tell the basis for his thought, it was not difficult to understand that he would have liked to raise two or three of his eight children (born of four different women), the ones he loved for subjective reasons; the others scarcely interested him and it was all the same to him whether they were brought up here or there.

429 In reality the paternal feeling of the Refugee Blacks is a
152 rather subjective thing; raising a son or a nephew is the same in
[601] their eyes. The same paternal feeling will develop, and in both cases they will say "my son" and "my father."

593 Mothers give their children to be raised with the greatest
429 of ease, especially within the lineage.

For example Eliana (Dju, F8), about 45 years old in 1957,
[163] who had nine living children, was raising only four:

△	Alibi	1937	raised by his father Matapi (Asisi-Aw.B.);
△	Doni	1939	raised by his maternal grandmother Béniti (Dju, E5);
○	Aguba	1940	raised by Lènga (F36), Eliana's classificatory sister (tenth-degree kinship);
△	A...	1943	raised by his father Yusu (Papaïston);

593 /128 cont./
429 ○ S... 1947 raised by Kulina, Eliana's sister by the same mother (Dju, E9);
○ S... 1947 raised by her mother

and three young children raised by their mother.

[163] One sees unusual situations like that of Mimi (Boniville, Kotika), who gave her only child to her sister to raise and is bringing up another child in its place.

[163] In 1957, Téké (L1, F44, Loka village), who had seven living children, was not bringing up any of them.

△ C... 1945 raised by Mélita, Téké's mother (L1, E32);
△ A... 1947 raised by Akomédi (L1, F34), Téké's classificatory sister;
△ M... 1950 raised by Mélita;
△ C... 1952 raised by his father Baïna (Dip. II);
○ K... 1953 raised by △ Mato (Aw.B.1), her father Baïna's father;
○ F... 1956 raised by Mélita. /129/

Baïna, whom we have known for a long time, was incapable of giving the least explanation for his wife's strange behavior. Besides, he had given up a long time ago understanding the psychology of Boni women.

On the other hand, a certain number of women obstinately refuse to be separated from their children, deciding to raise
[163] them all, girls and boys, by their own means. This was the case for example with Magdaléna (Kormotibo), a woman of intractable character, who raised her eight children herself at
[828] the cost of the worst difficulties. In such a case, they say of the mother that she is a selfish woman and that she has a bad character, but there is no question of taking a child away from her by force. Nobody would risk that, no more her brothers or uncles than the head of the lineage. Only her mother could do it, and the women who behave thus have generally lost their mothers.

/129 cont./

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The conditions under which children are brought up throw a strong light on the thoughts of the Refugee Blacks relative to kinship and are worth a special study.

[125] In the course of an investigation carried on from October to December, 1957, we were able to record with precision under what conditions had been raised 311 persons distributed thus:

Male sex	born before 1936 (education finished) . . .	73
	born from 1936 to 1949 inclusive (education in process) (1)	88
Female sex	born before 1936 (education finished) . . .	72
	born from 1936 to 1949 inclusive (education in process)	78
	Total	311

1. Study of the case of children born after 1949 was of no interest because the definite assignment of their guardianship was not yet made at the end of the year 1957.

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Raised by:	Male Sex			Female Sex		
	born before 1936	from 1936 to 1949	average	born before 1936	from 1936 to 1949	average
Mother	together 50%	42%	55%	together 69%	58%	68%
Maternal grandmother		13%			12%	
A woman of the maternal lineage . . .	8%	12%	10%	13%	15%	14%
A man of the maternal lineage . . .	9%	4%	6.5%	2%	3%	2.5%
Father	27%	18%	22.5%	13%	6%	9.5%
Father's mother . . .	2%	3%	2.5%	0%	3%	1.5%
A person of the paternal lineage . .	1%	3%	2%	1%	3%	2%
An outrider to both lineages	2%	4%	3%	1%	3%	2%

6:Hurault--190 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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Raised by

Table I.- Men born before 1936

Mother	Maternal Grand-mother	A Woman of the Mother's Lineage	A Man of the Mother's Lineage	Father	Father's Mother	A Person of the Father's Lineage	An Out-sider to Both Lineages
41/86 47 %	3/86 3 %	7/86 8 %	8/86 9 %	24/86 27 %	2/86 2 %	1/86 1 %	2/86 2 %

together 50%(2)

Table II. -Boys born from 1936 to 1949 inclusive

31/73 42 %	10/73 13 %	9/73 12 %	3/73 4 %	13/73 18 %	2/73 3 %	2/73 3 %	3/73 4 %

Table III. - Women born before 1936

46/78 59 %	8/78 10 %	10/78 13 %	2/77 2 %	10/78 13 %	0	1/78 1 %	1/78 1 %

together 69%(2)

Table IV. - Girls born from 1936 to 1949 inclusive

40/72 56 %	9/72 13 %	11/72 15 %	2/72 3 %	4/72 6 %	2/72 3 %	2/72 3 %	2/72 3 %

(1) The symbol represents individuals who, raised outside their lineage, did not come back to it when their education was finished.

(591) (2) Since the mother and grandmother live together most often, informants may confuse them when it is a question of persons whose education has been finished for a long time.

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429 Recapitulation:

858 70% of the boys
613 85% of the girls are raised in the mother's lineage

27% of the boys
13% of the girls are raised in the father's lineage

3% of the boys
2% of the girls are raised by outsiders to both lineages.

429 It is important, moreover, to emphasize in what proportion
858 the children are brought up by women or men:
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67% of the boys
86% of the girls are raised by women

33% of the boys
12% of the girls are raised by men.

429 This preponderant role of women in the education of the
562 children is one of the fundamental aspects of the social structure
571 of the Refugee Blacks. In fact, women consider that the children
belong to them, and if they give some to men to bring up, it is
(171) only as many as they wish to. This conception which is found to
be widespread among the Blacks of America, in the West Indies
as in Guiana, explains, much more than the frequency of di-
vorces, the impossibility for them to make up patrilineages in
the absence of coercion exerted upon the women.

429 Several important pieces of information may still be drawn
from these tables:

/131 cont./ .

429 178 1) They show the continuity and vitality of the custom of the Refugee Blacks. The proportion of boys and girls brought up by the mother, the paternal grandmother, the father, etc. is noticeably constant from one generation to the other. There is no tendency for the proportion of children raised by the father to increase; it even seems to decrease, which may be related to the increasing instability of marriages. In fact, in spite of European influences, no evolution is observed toward patrilineal structures among the Refugee Blacks.

429 613 591 2) The fact that part of the children are raised outside of their own lineage has few consequences for the unity of the group; for most of them, when their education is finished, come to settle down in one of the villages belonging to their lineage.

Of 88 men born before 1936, 28 were raised outside their lineage; 21 of them came back to it; only seven, or less than 8 per cent, settled down in other lineages.

Of 78 women born before 1936, 12 were raised outside their lineage, of whom only four, or 5 per cent, settled permanently outside their group.

868 462 Education of children. If the education of girls does not necessitate a difficult apprenticeship, it is not the same for boys; the sum of knowledge that /132/ a Refugee Black must possess to carry out effectively the techniques of his group is considerable. In particular, he must:

--Know more than 200 kinds of trees with their uses, the way to fell them, the way to work their wood;

--Be capable of constructing boats of at least 10 kegs (1,000 kilograms of load). This technique alone requires several years of apprenticeship;

--Acquire sufficient knowledge of carpenter work to build his house and that of his wife;

--Learn how to handle boats on the river and the techniques of transport boating.

/132 cont./

868 To this traditional knowledge, which remains indispensable,
[501] has been added for the past several years substantial knowledge of mechanics, because the use of outboard motors is becoming more and more common; this knowledge is transmitted in empirical fashion as it has been acquired. It must be recorded that the motors go and that they are well kept up.

86 The system of education employed by the Refugee Blacks is surely effective; their children are excessively turbulent and very difficult when they are in a group. When they are divided up individually in the midst of adults, they are placed under the best conditions for learning the techniques and traditions of their group.

429 The person charged with the education of a child does not willingly entrust him to another and takes him along whenever
513 he moves. However, by concern for propriety, the woman guardian sends the children she is raising to sleep in other houses on the days when her husband comes to visit her. Boys go to sleep at the home of a brother, an uncle, a comrade; the same for girls who have not yet reached puberty; but it is not the same for girls who have reached puberty; they are subjected to strict supervision.

648 This is one of the reasons why the Boni find it repugnant to
871 put their children in school (French school of Maripasoula,
156 Surinam school of Kotika). Without wishing to tackle here this sad problem to its fullest extent, we must state that this teaching, entirely inappropriate and dispensed by teachers who look down on the Refugee Blacks, has results nearly similar to those observed generally in Africa, the main one being to make the children strangers to their own families and misfits in their own country. There is practically no example of a case where the Boni nation has benefited from having one of its children go to school: if the child succeeds, he leaves for Paramaribo and never comes back again. If he fails, he then has much more

/132 cont./

C48 871 156 difficulty in learning the techniques of his group, for the years when the mind is most pliant have been lost in this regard; as for the knowledge acquired at school, it is so foreign to the life of the Refugee Blacks that at the end of a few years none of it remains except vague smatterings.

861 In general, the process of education employed among the Refugee Blacks is imitation of the adult. A child is rarely given a lesson as such. He sees something done, he tries on his own 868 initiative, and little by little he learns. For example, /133/ he sees his guardian make a boat; he is simply asked to go and get dry palm branches and to take away the chips; he hears the adults discuss the job as it goes on. At about the age of 12 or 13 he tries to make a first boat for himself with the help of an older comrade. He progressively acquires knowledge of this technique.

561 462 Boys begin to take part in farm work from the age of six or seven, principally weeding and planting. At about ten or eleven they begin to handle the machete and help to cut through the bush; at about 12 they begin to handle the axe and learn to fell trees. At 14 or 15 they begin to make small boats. An adolescent of 16 or 17 is in general capable of cutting a clearing for his mother or sister.

429 86 Most often the guardian takes his role very seriously, giving his main attention to teaching the child all that is necessary. If it is a woman, she asks her brothers to teach the techniques of boating and building.

866 461 434 [291] The principle is to develop very early a sense of responsibility in the child by making it progressively necessary for him to earn his living. The guardian does not furnish pocket money, and with the exception of a hammock every other year, no manufactured objects (children under 11-12 years not being clothed, he has almost no expenses for clothing). But he gives the child progressively chances to earn money by his work. From ten years on, the child begins to render some services: for example for the construction of a boat, he helps transport the dry palm branches intended for the burning. If the boat is being

/133 cont./

866 made for sale, the guardian gives him a small sum out of the
461 money gained. At 14 an adolescent begins to satisfy nearly all
434 his own needs.

For example, from June to December, 1956, Tasa (14
883 years), son of Fintiman (Boniville) had earned about 13,000
465 francs:

June	helped his father build a large boat for the administration (45 days)	6,000
October	went to Saint-Laurent as auxiliary bossman .	3,000
December	helped convoy a boat of the border-fixing mission sent back empty to Maripasoula . .	4,000
		13,000

882 His father, entrusted with his education, let him use this
868 money in his own way; he pointed out to us with pride that for the first time in 1956 his son had been able to satisfy all his own needs, but that it was important to keep him under a firm hand until he was capable of doing a man's work alone: for that, five or six years of apprenticeship would not be too much.

868 In fact, many times we had the chance to verify it, it is
561 in this prolonged apprenticeship that are developed the seriousness
[153] of mind and the technical skill so remarkable among the Refugee Blacks. At 20 years, most of them still do not know how to do
[582] anything worthwhile, and it is scarcely before 25 or 27 that they
[178] become capable of /134/ painstaking work; in this respect the present tendency of the young boys toward precocious emancipation (the marriage age of men is going down to 20 and even 18 years) runs the risk of having very unfortunate consequences for the future of the Refugee Blacks.

429 The person charged with the education of a girl exercises the powers of a mother toward her. It is she who authorizes
[582] her to marry, and by giving her the pangi, married women's garment, gives her symbolically her freedom as a woman. It is
[583] to her that the first husband pays the price of the virginity of the girl.

/134 cont./

429 Until very recent times the authority of the guardian had
561 remained very strong and was prolonged very late; he had the
[861] right to strike his ward to make him obey, and he exercised his
[582] powers until the time when, judging the child's education finished,
he authorized him to marry, which formerly seldom happened
before 25-27 years.

Fintiman (of Boniville), about 50 years old in 1958, tells that his father, entrusted with his upbringing, did not authorize him to marry before he was completely established as a carpenter and boat-builder, at about the age of 27. Until that age he remained subject to the most tyrannical authority; his father intended especially to forbid him to go out in the evening, and in order to carry on a clandestine affair he had to use nocturnal fishing expeditions as a pretext!

429 When a boy's guardian judges his education finished, he
884 helps him to build his house and gives him tools, a trunk containing clothes, and a hammock. Henceforward the boy must make his own way in life.

429 All during his lifetime he will continue to show the greatest
576 respect to the person who raised him and often, speaking of that
601 person, he will say: "my father" or "my mother."

601 When a Refugee Black says in the course of a conversation, "My father used to do this," he often means the man who brought him up; if he wishes to speak of his true father, he will say, "My own father who made me." Likewise when he says "My
[128] grandfather," he usually means a great-uncle. This confusion
[114] makes research on family life risky as long as one does not
[593] possess any census by names; apparently it has led several authors into error, making them believe that among the Refugee Blacks the father brings up his children himself, when this is on the contrary the exception.

/134 cont./

429 The guardian continues to have a certain power all his life over his ward become adult. He is the conciliator to whom one applies first if there is any complaint about his ward.

This power of conciliation is bequeathed by the guardian at his death, as is the guardianship itself.

593 613 152 Role of the mother. For the Refugee Blacks, the sacred tie is pre-eminently the one which attaches them to their mother and through her to the ancestors of the lineage. It is manifested with respect to the mother by a delicate and deep feeling of affection which applies also, less directly, to the close relatives on the maternal side and to all the members of the lineage. It is not [601] idly that within the lineage the men call one another brothers; the obligations /135/ they have toward one another are accepted by all with joy, and each tries his best to fulfill them, for he transposes to them the sentiment of love which he feels toward his mother.

114 562 593 The term matriarchy has often been used wrongly with regard to the Refugee Blacks, letting people believe that the woman exercises authority there; this is an error, the woman does not enter their councils and from a political point of view does not exist in their eyes; the woman has influence and authority only as mother, and over her own children.

593 The mother's authority remains very great over her sons after they have become men; none of them will undertake an important enterprise or leave for a long trip without consulting his mother; if she is absolutely opposed to the project, he will scarcely dare go on with it. We heard in December, 1952 a man of 45, M..., serious and intelligent, say to us with regret: "I would certainly go with you as far as Cayenne, but my mother does not wish it."

/135 cont./

593 The same year, G..., man of about 50, particularly serious and hard-working, had saved up enough to buy an outboard motor; his mother, aged near 75 years, advised him absolutely not to make this purchase, claiming that he would be the object of jealousy and was risking being the victim of evil [765] spells; he gave up the project. He did not dare carry it out until 1957 after the mourning for his mother (dead in 1955) had been lifted.

To let one's mother be in need is considered a shame; if a mother has several sons, they divide up the purchases to be made for her benefit; each year one of them will cut the clearing intended for the mother; in exchange she will furnish couac and vegetables as long as her strength will allow her to work.

591 Ordinarily each of the sons, when he becomes 20 or 25 years old, builds himself in his village a house in which he lives alone. But it often happens that a man who has reached adulthood continues to live in his mother's house; for example, in 1952 in Loka village, Ayaubédé, about 40 years of age, was living with his mother Chii.

593 As for the authority of the mother over her daughters, it is [582] still much more strict and lasts all her life. The daughter may not marry without the authorization of her mother or of her [591] female guardian if she is not brought up by her mother. The married daughter has the use of a house that her husband built for her, but this house is situated near that of her mother. Since household life is intermittent and reduced to its simplest expression, she remains under the domination of her mother until the latter's death. Especially, she cannot travel without her permission.

593 In former times the authority of mothers over daughters 178 was tyrannical; they say that one might see an octogenarian mother requisition an old man's arm to strike her sexagenarian daughter who had disobeyed her. But nowadays this authority is battered [579] down by the development of individualism. From this results a growing dissoluteness in the girls and an increasing instability of unions.

/135 cont./

593 428 The nature of the relations with the mother is shown by the custom of inheritance. /136/ If a man dies while his mother is still living, his belongings return to her. She may keep them or divide them among the members of the lineage.

593 Role of the father. The father has no power over the children, but in general he is respected by them and his sons make no important decision without asking for his opinion.

In the very frequent case where the guardianship of the children is entrusted to the mother, the father exercises a de facto authority as long as the family group lasts. But in case of its break-up he loses any right over the children.

In general the father loves his children very much, but in the way Europeans love their nephews, he avoids taking a hand too closely in their education, which is the responsibility of the uncles, who might invite him not to busy himself with family affairs.

593 429 591 But if the father has received the guardianship of one or several children, the situation is completely different. If the family group breaks up, he takes them along with him. Besides, as a general rule, even if he gets along well with his wife, he settles in his own village the children whose guardianship has been entrusted to him, close to his maternal family; henceforth it is he who will provide entirely not only for their maintenance but for their food; except for periods when the husband spends some time with them near his wife, the latter no longer has to feed them.

593 429 If the father has received the guardianship of a child, he can in turn delegate it under his responsibility to someone of his lineage. We have noted several examples of this practice. For example Afoondo (Aw.B.1, F56), about 23 years old in 1957, had been entrusted to his father Koniman (Lapé), who had himself turned him over to his own mother Awènkina.

/136 cont./

593 The fact that some children are under the guardianship
429 of their father changes nothing about their position with respect
769 to ancestor worship and does not entail any payment or compen-
591 sation whatever on the part of the father. When the child has grown up he will be able to come back to live in his maternal kin group (which he does most often) or stay in his father's village. On this point there is no precise customary obligation.

593 The father plays an important role with respect to the
884 children when they reach manhood; he procures their ɔbia for them and transmits the knowledge and magical powers which he himself received from his father.

429 Inheritance of guardianship. At the death of the guardian, his
428 office is bequeathed in the same way as his goods and according to the same principle of dispersion of the inheritance. If he was raising several children, the guardianship of each one will be bequeathed individually.

For example Béniti († 1944) was raising OK... 1944, daughter of her daughter Baïkom, and OW... 1942, daughter of her son Fintiman and a woman of Papaïston village. She bequeathed the first to her daughter Kulina, the second to her daughter Baïkom settled in Loka village. W... thus found herself taken to a village which was neither that of her maternal nor her paternal relatives. Such cases are not rare. The child's uncles, who in principle could take back the guardianship, never seem to oppose, in practice, its being bequeathed. /137/

The spiritual power kept by the guardian over his ward after he becomes adult is bequeathed in the same manner. Thus, in the preceding example, Béniti († 1955) /sic/ bequeathed the spiritual tutelage she was keeping over each one of her adult sons and daughters whom she had raised herself, in part to outsiders to her lin[illegible]ge.

/137 cont./

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428

She bequeathed thus her guardianship over Fintiman (46 years) to the grand man
over Klémenti (43 years) to Samalobi, the grand man's brother
over ○ Kulina (38 years) to Samalobi
over ○ Eliana (40 years) to the grand man.

But she bequeathed nothing concerning her last two children, ○ Baïkom (35 years) and ○ Maria (28) respectively brought up by △ Malobi, Béniti's husband, and by ○ Aliki, an old woman of the Dju lineage. It will behoove these two persons to bequeath, at their death, the spiritual tutelage over the girls they have raised.

581

Marriage

It is for lack of a more appropriate word that we use the word "marriage" with respect to the Refugee Blacks; the word concubinage is unpleasant to use; nevertheless it fits better what the union of a man and woman represents in the thought of the Refugee Blacks as in their social life.

In the organization we have just described no stable and permanent tie between a man and woman is implied.

831

Actually the Refugee Blacks, with rare exceptions, appear to be incapable of associating a strong and lasting emotional tie with sexual union. They are unstable in this respect, always in search of new adventures and not settling on any one. Their unions are more inspired by material concern (getting the

/137 cont./

831 necessary food) than by a sentimental motive. It is very rare to meet among them the appearance of sincere and lasting love for a woman; that is sometimes seen, but it is the exception.

562 It is not enough to say that they have few emotional feelings with respect to women. In the conversations heard in the evening around the campfires a deep contempt is expressed on this subject; they even speak of the Boni women as of a foreign and almost enemy nation; they consider them besides as half irresponsible. This attitude shows through in the custom concern-
[684] ing adultery, which decrees that the lover be beaten but not the wife.

581 Among the Refugee Blacks marriage is in fact a contract of maintenance between a man and woman, which provides for the execution of such-and-such work by the one for the benefit of the other, and for the wife the obligation to be faithful.
[586] This contract can be cancelled unilaterally without any sort of indemnity. It does not directly involve the relatives of the
[965] spouses; it involves them only in case of the death of one spouse, for the surviving spouse must /138/ put up with the subservience
[613] of mourning. It is principally for this reason that a marriage must be officially known by both lineages, and that a divorce must be proclaimed without delay.

582 Exogamy. Marriage is forbidden between persons of the same
613 lineage. In expressing this prohibition the Refugee Blacks
614 employ the word bee (lineage in the restricted sense) and not the word lo.

613 As we have seen in studying the situation of the various lineages, the various Boni kin groups follow different rules in this regard:

--The Dju lineage, which forms only one single group from the genealogical point of view, does not allow marriage between its members;

/138 cont./

613 614 --The Lapé lineage is divided into two groups from the genealogical point of view, but marriage between these two fractions remains prohibited. The law of exogamy is rigorously respected within this group;

--The Kotika lineage, which tends by forgetfulness of the genealogy to split into three fractions, tolerates union between members of different fractions; in 1958 there were seven cases of this. On the contrary, union is not allowed between members of the same fraction;

--The Dipélu I lineage, whose genealogy is completely known, does not allow marriage between its members, although for several generations it has been cut into two distinct social units, L'Enfant Perdu and Apatu villages, entirely separated geographically and each possessing its own head;

--It is the same for Dipélu II, but marriage is permitted between Dipélu I and Dipélu II;

--The Papaïston lineage allows the possibility of union between the principal fraction and the small Papaïston 2 fraction. But there is no marriage between members of the principal fraction;

613 614 588 --The Awara Bakka lineage on the contrary tolerates unions not only between the members of its three fractions but also recently within the principal fraction:

○Abenkina (Aw.B.1, F21) and △Boofo (Aw.B.1, E31)
○Kyéti (Aw.B.1, E30) and △Pitipiti (Aw.B.1, F3).

This situation is an object of scandal to the other groups, and it does not seem that we are present here at the beginning of a general transformation.

613 614 It is to be noted that the possibility of marriage is allowed between the members of groups presumed to be of the same origin but separated for a long time, like Dipélu I and Dipélu II.

/138 cont./

613 614 In general, one can say that the law of exogamy is maintained firmly within the fractions which know completely their genealogy. Union between classificatory "brothers" and "sisters" belonging to different fractions remains always prohibited in principle, but as for all the institutions of the Refugee Blacks, the prohibition ceases to be observed if fear of suprahuman sanctions weaken. /139/

This is what explains the difference in attitude among the lineages. In the Awara Bakka lineage, people do not remember [784] that marriages between fractions may have been followed by maladies or misfortunes, and for this reason they are no longer feared.

In the Kotika lineage it was the same, but an event which took place in 1958 threw consternation. A young woman, Awini [789] (K1, E37, Boniville), died suddenly, and divination showed that [784] she had been struck down by the kunu for having married her [761] classificatory brother Sintamann (K3, E145, Boniville). However, they belonged to two different fractions and their common relationship was the farthest removed possible in the lineage (tenth-degree relatives).

684 688 784 Pikadu. The offense against exogamy, pikadu (1), incest in the

1. This word appears to come from the Portuguese pecado, sin.

broad sense, is considered an offense against society and against religious law; it exposes the lineage to the vengeance of the gods who exercise the kunu on it. But in the thought of the Refugee Blacks, if incest unleashes the functioning of existing kunu, it [114] does not create new ones. What has been written on this subject by several authors seems inexact to us, at least for the Boni. [761] In the example put forth above Awini's death was attributed to the kunu brought to bear for a long time by the yɔ́ka of a man assassinated in former times by a member of the lineage.

/139 cont./

684 Committing pikadu is one of the most serious offenses that
688 a Refugee Black can commit; of course, as in the rest of the moral prescriptions, no abstract principle is called on: the elders teach the children from their earliest years: "If you com-
[613] mit pikadu, you will fall ill or die." The head of the lineage inflicts severe punishments on the guilty people to boot: for the man, to make a large number of planks with an adze; for the woman, to prepare and winnow as preparation for the next broko de several touques /cans/ of rice, a long and tedious job.

588 However, if in spite of insults and blows a man and woman of the same bee absolutely insist on marrying, people end up, for the sake of peace and quiet, by accepting the ac-
[769] complished fact. They go to the fraga tiki to make an offering
[778] of tafia to the ancestors to ask them to forgive the offense
[782] committed. No reprobation extends to the children born of this union.

613 In the Awara Bakka lineage, which has practically re-
588 jected the law of exogamy, the principle of a sanction remains
[684] and there is a pretense of chasing the guilty ones across the village.

Not being able to use coercion and not having the right to expel a member of the lineage, captain and council can exert no material sanction.

613 The same notion of pikadu is attached to unions between
684 persons of the same patrilineage, although these patrilineages have no effective organization and exist only by the transmission of the fundamental interdiction, bwasi kina.

[819] Before concluding an official or even clandestine union, the man and woman make sure that they do not have the same bwasi kina and in such a case give up their project; that, even if they are from different tribes, for example a Boni woman and a Saramaka.

/140/

684 This prohibition is of a purely religious nature and does
688 not entail any social sanctions; those concerned are convinced
984 that in such a case a suprahuman sanction would strike them in the form of sickness or accident.

582 Prohibitions limiting marriage. Outside of the great interdiction,
[613] pikadu, which is attached to unions within one matrilineage and one patrilineage, two prohibitions limiting marriage are found among the Refugee Blacks, which they express thus:

[595] --I cannot have two wives at the same time in the same lineage. For example I am forbidden to marry two "sisters"
[587] at the same time, but if I break with my wife, I may marry her classificatory "sister" or any other woman of the same lineage;

[835] --I may not have relations, even passing ones, with a
[587] woman who has been married to my brother by the same mother; in particular, if my brother has just died, I shall not be able to marry his widow.

The Boni are not capable of explaining the deep reasons for these interdictions, but they interpret them as purely social
[684] and not religious prohibitions. The offender is simply threatened with being beaten.

[171] The first of these rules seems very widely accepted in Black Africa, as much in patrilineal societies as in a matrilineal system.

[171] The second of these rules is characteristic in the Akan (Agni, Baoulé) culture area and shows that the family custom of the Refugee Blacks is related much more directly to that of the Agni-Ashanti group than to that of the Dahomey.

184 One can note that this rule is exactly contrary to the
587 Saramaka custom, which obliges the widow to marry one of the
114 brothers of the dead man; this custom has been interpreted by several authors as coming from imitation of the levirate of the Jews, with which certain rebels were acquainted (it is known that among the slaveowners there were many Jews).

/140 cont./

184 589 Whatever its origin, we should note that the Saramaka custom has no relation, as far as its legal content is concerned, to the levirate, nor to the inheritance of widows as it is practiced in numerous African societies. It does not correspond in any way to the transmission of a right over the widow, since this right does not exist; it probably results from the idea that the widow is better protected from the effects of the dead man's jealousy if she marries one of his brothers. Besides, she may [613] choose from among all his classificatory brothers, in the matrilineage as in the patrilineage, which assures her of a wide [586] choice. She can break this union without any compensation after some months of living together and resume complete liberty.

582 Statistics of marriages between kin groups. We have listed on the table opposite, the total unions for which we have been able to identify with certainty the kinship of the spouses, including those broken by divorce and death. Their total number is 411.

582 619 The table emphasizes the more or less great frequency of unions between /141/ /table appears here/ /142/ such-and-such kin groups, as well as the frequency of unions between Boni women and men of other tribes, DJUKA, PARAMAKA, and SARAMAKA.

Out of a total of 411 unions of Boni women one notes:

--327 with BONI (80%);
-- 50 with DJUKA (12%);
-- 21 with SARAMAKA (5%);
-- 5 with PARAMAKA (1%);
[648] -- 8 with Creoles from Surinam (2%):

The proportion of intertribal marriages (20%) is high; it results from the frequent presence on the Maroni of Djuka or Saramaka boatmen coming to carry on transport. The reciprocal is not true; marriages between Boni men and women

[Text Continues on P. 209]

Marriage of Boni women of the lineages:

Ghurau--208 K-6 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes Sp8
Boni

/142 cont./

582 619 of other groupings are rare; that is because the Boni have almost no occasion to frequent the Tapanahoni, where economic activity is nil.

For 123 married men of the villages on the French bank there were in November, 1958, 11 unions with Djuka women, or 8 per cent. No marriage to Saramaka or Paramaka women existed.

582 613 The table confirms besides that marriages between members of different kin groups are entirely free and are not subject to any preoccupation with exchange or reciprocity. For example, out of 60 unions between Boni women of the Lapé lineage and Boni men, we have:

6	with men of the Dipélu I lineage
7	-- -- - - Dipélu II --
7	-- -- - - Papaïstone --
11	-- -- - - Awara Bakka --
4	-- -- - - Dju --
5	-- -- - - Dipélu I /Me/ --
20	-- -- - - Kotika --

(628) In fact, the geographical proximity of the villages has the most direct influence on unions.

582 613 628 For example a high proportion of women from Kormotibo (Dip. II) married men from Papaïston and reciprocally.

That comes from the fact that these villages are near each other and isolated from others. It is the same for Kotika and L'Enfant Perdu (Dip. I). In the small Afi lineage, divided between Kormotibo and Asisi-Awara Bakka villages, more than half the women are married to inhabitants of these two villages.

582 619 621 Certain personal affinities and habits of living have an indirect influence. For example, the Djuka boatmen passing through Boni country habitually stay in Asisi-Awara Bakka, because they are received in the homes of some of their own

582 /142 cont./
619 people who have lived there for a long time. They strike up
62 relationships with the people of Asisi, and that favors new unions. This explains the high proportion of unions between the women of this village and the Djuka (13 out of 75). On the contrary, almost no marriages to Djuka are observed in Papaïston village, where no Djuka has settled permanently. /143/

584 The marriage proposal. The suitor is obliged to ask for the
613 assent of his own mother and his uncles (at the very least the
604 eldest of his classificatory uncles); in general he asks his father also.

[604] If two of his classificatory uncles are expressly opposed, the plan must be abandoned. But there is no possible sanction for disobedience.

The suitor does not make the proposal himself; after making sure of the agreement of the girl he sends two persons, one of his uncles or brothers and one of his sisters in the classificatory sense.

These envoys speak to the woman's mother and uncles assembled together. If they agree, they go to ask for the assent of the head of the lineage. The men and women of the woman's lineage drink together a liter of tafia brought by the
[969] envoys. Before drinking, the doyen of the lineage pours a little of it on the ground while invoking the ancestors, asking them to perpetuate the accord of the household and to grant them health and fecundity. This ceremony is made on the spot and they do not go to the fraga tiki, for they would be afraid to present themselves again at the fraga tiki in case of a break-up; prayer said anywhere in the village is not binding.

The two envoys, man and woman, play a very precise role. The man represents the postulant (it is a sort of marriage by proxy).

/143 cont./

585 613 The head of the lineage calls a classificatory sister of the girl. He takes her by the hand and leads her to the suitor's envoy, saying: "I give thee this woman."

Then he calls a classificatory brother of the girl. He leads him to the suitor's envoy, saying: "I give thee this man."

This second part of the ceremony is purely symbolic; there is no question at all that this man and this woman are marrying. Its purpose seems to be to show the perfect equality of the man and the woman in the marriage.

[969] The words pronounced in the invocation to the ancestors are: "We give (this) woman to (this) man; may they live together, may they not be sick, may they have children, children who live."

[584] There is no need for the assent of the woman's father.

585 If it is a question of the first marriage of a young girl, the fiancé comes, aided by his friends, to build her a house. [583] He builds her a boat and buys for her what is necessary for domestic life. [429] When the person who is bringing up the girl judges the time to be ripe, she gives her the pãŋgi, garment of married women, authorizing thus the consummation of the marriage.

[613] [969] The husband who built the house asks the elders of his wife's lineage to come in front of the house to throw tafia, to ask the ancestors that the couple be fecund and live a long time in this house.

584 613 Here, for example, is how the marriage proposal to Chitaĩna (Aw.B.1, F43, Asisi village) by Déési (L1, F45, Loka village) proceeded in 1948.

To represent him Déési had sent his classificatory brother Tamu /144/ (L1, F32), older than he by about 15 years, and his classificatory aunt, Yaana (L1, E39). (See the genealogical table of the Lapé lineage.)

/144 cont./

584 613 The envoys, after making it known the evening before that they were coming, presented themselves at 10 o'clock in the morning in Asisi-Awara Bakka village. Present were Irma, Chitaïna's mother; Alémin (Aw.B.1, E40), actual uncle; Antonu (Aw.B.1, E47), one of the oldest of the classificatory uncles; Namu (Aw.B.1, E48), classificatory aunt; and the girl's brothers and sisters by the same mother.

Tamu took the floor, unfolding Déési's merits and stating that he had serious intentions. The eldest of the uncles declared 585 613 acceptance. Chitaïna having fled according to custom, he took her young sister Boomi, who was only five years old, by the hand and led her to Tamu, saying, "I give thee this woman." Then he took Abéni, Chitaïna's older brother, by the hand and led him to Yaana, saying, "I give thee this man."

[769] Next, tafia was poured on the ground while the ancestors were invoked in favor of the /new/ household.

The liter of tafia brought by Déési was shared symbolically in the evening among all the village inhabitants including the Afi lineage there.

585 431 For the installation of the household, since there was no more room near Irma's house to build another, the latter gave one of the two houses she possessed.

584 602 [595] Here is still another example concerning the two wives of Fintiman (Dju, F6, Boniville village).

For his first wife Mimi (K3, E156, Boniville) he sent his brother and sister by the same mother, Klémenti and Eliana, who approached Mimi's mother and her classificatory uncle Lébiman.

Fintiman had previously made sure of the agreement of his own father Malobi (Dip. I, E50), who had brought him up, of his mother Béniti, and of his uncle Diolè (Dju, E1), the eldest of the classificatory uncles.

/144 cont./

584 602 To ask for his second wife Bugi (Aw.B.1, F41, Asisi-Awara Bakka vge.) he had sent Dosu (Dip. I, E4, Boniville), his father Malobi's classificatory brother (although a very distant relative) and his younger sister by the same mother, Kulina, who made the marriage proposal to Bugi's mother and to her classificatory uncles Antonu and Mato.

582 178 [701] Age of marriage. In former times there was a very precise custom about this. Men were not authorized to marry before about 30 years of age, constituting until that age the immediately mobilizable armed force. Women were authorized by their mothers to marry only when they had reached complete physical development, or between 20 and 22 years. This was the safeguard of a society deprived of all medical help against obstetrical risk, particularly serious for very young women. When the fiancé had temporarily emigrated to earn his living, the marriage could be put off until the age of 25 years and more. [184] This late marriage of girls was still met with only a few years ago among the Djuka, more faithful to custom. There was on the average five to ten years of age difference between husband and wife. /145/

For about the past ten years, under the influence of the relaxation of family discipline, the marriage age has gone down considerably, as much for the man as for the woman. Nearly all the girls married during the last two years were from 15 to 17 years old. It can be stated that the average marriage age of girls is 18 years (1).

1. We are speaking here of the age at the time of the consummation of marriage.

/145 cont./

582 About a third of the young men marry between 18 and 20; nearly all the others before 25.

However, part of the girls choose as husbands men appreciably older than they, so that the average age difference between husband and wife remains close to six years.

Women born from	Age difference between husband and wife. The sign — indicates that the husband is younger than the wife.	Average	Spread
1936 and after	24/2/0/14/3/0/4/1/6/1/4/17/2/9/—2/19/4/4/1/9/1/17/4/2/9/4/1/12/7/10/14/4/	+ 6.5 years	-2 to + 24 years 33 out of 34 husbands are older than their wives
1926 to 1935 incl.	7/6/30/12/20/28/5/11/8/4/6/5/17/—1/—1/—1 10/5/9/—1/2/2/7/10/19/14/8/—2/6/4/5/14/0/—7/4/14/0/13/4/13/	+ 6.9 years	-7 to +30 years 35 out of 41 husbands are older than their wives
1916 to 1925 incl.	5/—3/—11/—2/10/2/1/—4/22/2/17/14/11/4/7/5/16/3/6/1/17/4/—4/20/4/7/10/—14/10/9/6/9/11/8/10/9/—4	+5.9 years	-11 to +22 years 30 out of 37 husbands are older than their wives

/145 cont./

582

Women born from	Age difference between husband and wife. The sign — indicates that the husband is younger than the wife.	Average	Spread
1896 to 1915 incl.	—4/1/—1/8/2/—3/—2/7/3/22/9/—3/2/—11/19/17/11/11/21/5/3/1/1/3/2/6/20/16/—2/8/	+5.8 years	—1 to +22 years 22 out of 29 husbands are older than their wives
before 1896	2/0/3/10/—10/—5/5/—2/10/—8/8/0/5/5/.	+1.5 years	-10 to +8 years 8 out of 14 husbands are older than their wives

[587] As the man and woman advance in age, this average age
[162] difference of six years is maintained in the course of successive remarriages until old age. It decreases then only by the effect of demographic factors, the proportion of women in the higher age brackets being greater and greater.

162 Out of 37 women over 60 years of age in the Boni villages on the French bank, only 14 were married; all the others had been widows or divorcees for a long time.

/145 cont./

582 Generally speaking, the custom of the Refugee Blacks used to consider as immoral the marriage of a very young girl to an old man, or of a very young boy to an adult woman. 588 The weakening of family morals is clearly demonstrated by 178 two events which happened during the summer of 1960. A boy of thirteen and a half, K... of Boniville, left his guardian to join an Assisi woman, A...., 20 years older than he and with a very bad reputation to boot; some months later his example was imitated /146/ by a boy of 14 who began living with a [684] woman of 29. Nothing like that had ever been seen, and [613] people inveighed against the scandal of it; but in both cases, guardians and lineage heads showed themselves incapable of making their authority respected by force.

882 Marriage of girls. It can still be said (although things are in [562] the process of changing rapidly) that girls, kweyi umã, occupy a place apart in the thought of the Refugee Blacks; the reprobation which embraces women does not extend to them. 882 People say that girls "have good manners," and in fact most 834 of them, although naked except for a little apron, have a re- [291] served attitude, a becoming bearing, which contrast with the attitude of the married women. To tell the truth, this virtue is not so much due to natural inclinations as to the strict [593] vigilance with which their mothers surround them. The mothers literally do not let them out of their sight and permit no man to speak to them out of their presence. "Until dawn, until the cock crows, she keeps vigil," says the song, alluding to the mother who watches over her daughter's virtue. If a girl [836] comes to lose her virginity without being properly married, [597] pɔti na ɔsu, "established in a house," it is a dishonor for her mother and her near relatives.

/146 cont./

882 Whereas little girls before puberty are left free to come
[858] and go, older girls are the object of constant surveillance.
They are always under the surveillance of one of their near
[883] relatives specifically designated. If they have permission to
go dancing in another village, they must present themselves
upon arrival to an uncle, an aunt, an older brother who will
watch over them all evening.

Sometimes they build for a girl a little house where she
sleeps alone ... but she is double-locked into it for the night.

At nightfall, when their mothers are busy with the prepa-
[883] ration of the meal, the girls are sent to get water or to angle
for fish; there is wavering in the surveillance, and seducers
know how to profit by it.

[593] Until recent times girls were held by their mothers in
[584] the bonds of a strict authority, and although engaged very
young, they were not authorized to marry before reaching
[582] complete physical development.

584 It often used to happen that a girl might be promised by
her mother to a man from her first years (they still say, although
that is no longer practiced, poti mofu na umã, "to put his
mouth on a girl," meaning by that to have received a promise
of marriage). This plan always used to remain subject to the
girl's assent when she grew up and did not constitute a contract,
strictly speaking; it did not involve any payment or compensa-
[593] tion whatever. A girl could not be obligated to a marriage
which was absolutely displeasing to her, but the mother's
authority was great enough to make these marriages come about
in most cases.

[431] If a girl had not been promised, the young man who
wanted to marry her used to try to attract her attention during
a dance and to exchange a few words with her. /147/ Later he
would give her a paddle bearing symbols of fecundity and the
representation of a house and a boat. If the girl accepted the
paddle, he could propose to her officially.

/147 cont./

583 A girl's marriage does not involve any dowry in the African sense of the term, but it involves payment of the price of virginity to the mother. This payment is made after consummation of the marriage (or after defloration if there has been a clandestine union). It consists of seven pieces of cloth, a demijohn of tafia, and various imported objects (the whole representing in 1958 about 8,000 francs, which is relatively small for the Refugee Blacks). It really has to do with the price of virginity, for nothing is paid back if there is a break-up. The man moreover gives the girl white beads /possibly "pearls" --Tr./, red cloth, and sweetmeats which constitute the payment of her akka.

[429] The price of virginity is paid to the person who has raised the girl, even if it is a man. This person divides it equally with the mother or, if the latter is dead, with the mother's sisters.

For example, for O Baïkom (D,u, F10), brought up by her father Malobi in Loka village, her husband Moomu (Kotika) paid the price of virginity to Malobi who shared it with his wife Béniti.

[604] [613] No payment is made to the uncles or to the head of the lineage.

836 The fact that a girl may carry on a clandestine affair and be deflowered without having been properly proposed to is con-
[599] sidered a shame for the mothe[illegible]ut if the seducer confesses and pays the price of virginity, honor is restored.

Defloration does not necessarily entail marriage, for the seducer does not always intend to take on the maintenance of a household.

If the girl is deflowered too young, her mother does not give her the pãgi and continues to forbid her to have sexual relations, for she fears that she may become pregnant. Now for
848 a girl, becoming pregnant without having concluded a contract
558 of maintenance with a man is an extreme shame, for that means she is not worth anything.

/147 cont./

848 If the girl is pregnant, the man may not abandon her: that would make a great to-do between the two kin groups: he must stay with her at least until the birth of the child.

883 836 178 [582] Nowadays among the Boni things tend to happen completely otherwise than custom makes provision for. The general opinion is that girls can no longer be held down, that they escape more and more from the authority of their mothers; many of them begin to run wild at about 14 or 15, and people are obliged to marry them off precipitately at 15 or 16. It is difficult to say what the proportion of these hasty marriages is, but the recriminations heard on all sides on the subject of the shamelessness of girls give the idea that it is increasing. In the [582] villages on the French bank, out of nine girls married in 1958 [848] there were only four marriages concluded according to regulations; the five others had been arranged hastily either because the girl was pregnant (two cases) or because she had laid herself open to scandal. /148/

582 Nearly all girls married between 1952 and 1956 were 15 to 17 years old.

584 This is about how things happen:

A man who is attracted by a girl tries to exchange a few [537] words with her unknown to her mother. There are special forms for these declarations. One speaks in a low voice, very fast, using special formulas. This is how one of our boatmen, one evening in October, 1952, addressed young Lomé, age 15, of Boniville village, who had gotten away from her mother on the pretext of going to get water for us.

584 539 "Woman, I love thee, I wish to live with thee, I wish to marry thee. That which God put in me I cannot take away (1).

1. Which means: I cannot change, you must take me as I am.

/148 cont./

584 539 I do not know whether thou lovest me, whether thou wilt answer yes or no; perhaps I am not so handsome as thou, but I cannot help loving thee. If thou lovest me, tell me clearly. I have come, I have attached my boat to a rock, I have wet my feet before reaching land (2)."

> 2. High-flown words to which no precise meaning can be attached; it is a kind of verbal music whose formulas vary infinitely.

"Come back tomorrow, come back, I cannot answer thee today, I cannot."

"I know for today, but not for tomorrow (3); yield to me,

> 3. One must understand: It is necessary to decide today.

be mine, I shall give thee the garment (4)."

> 4. The man lays down one of his garments at the home of the woman who has agreed to marry him.

584 Our departure on our tour the next day put an end to his attempts for the time being!

836 584 It often happens that the girl allows herself to be seduced; her mother soon learns of it from the village people. She flies into a passion, beats her daughter to obtain a confession without [558] which she can obtain nothing from the supposed seducer. It is an extreme shame for a mother not to receive the price of her

/148 cont./

836 684 [558] daughter's virginity: the other women will make fun of her and as for the men, they will be unanimous in laughing cruelly at the new trick played on the women. Now certain girls refuse obstinately to confess, or they have already had several adventures, so that nobody succeeds in knowing the truth. After many recriminations and arguments the affair proceeds no further.

If it has been possible to identify the seducer with certainty, the mother, arming herself with a stick, goes from village to village to find him; his uncles intervene and end by settling the business by asking the mother to accept, since there is nothing else to do, the payment for virginity. This sum absolutely must be paid; if the young man were not able to do it, his uncles would pay it for him even if they have to turn against him ultimately. The mother accepts the payment, honor is safe.

583 In many cases the couple consider themselves as joined, at least temporarily; the man prepares, if he is hard working, to build a house for his wife. If he is not hard working, he simply promises to make one for her some day; in reality he has spared himself this great labor; the woman will have to wait for years unless her mother or one of her uncles dies, bequeathing her his or her house. /149/

836 684 Observation in Boniville in October, 1956:

A village woman comes to complain to Fintiman that his nephew and ward Doni has deflowered her daughter Elina, 15 *years old, in July of the same year. She learned it indirectly,* and the daughter expressly confessed it. Doni admitted the facts; he promised to pay the indemnity at the end of the border-fixing mission when he has received his pay. Elina continues to wear the kwey until further orders and does not show any embarrassment. Doni comes back in the evening. I hear Fintiman reprimand him, but only for form's sake: "Deflowering a girl when one does not intend to live with her is something which is

/149 cont./

836 not done." He advises Doni above all to remit to the girl the
684 payment of her akka, namely two camisas, a string of white beads which she will wear on her left wrist, and a bottle of syrup which she will offer to her akka while drinking it. Doni does not bother to face the mother and does not intend to see the girl again; it is his sister Maria who will attend to the errand.

That done, the mother will accept the fait accompli and will not show her anger. She will wait for the payment.

584 One also hears talk rather often of the clandestine con-
936 summation of a properly arranged marriage, the engaged couple wishing thus to force the hand of their guardians and obtain their freedom sooner.

587 Remarriage of widows or divorcées. It does not give rise to any payment, but the marriage proposal is made to the woman's uncles and the head of her lineage in the same form as for a girl. In such a case it is no longer a question of asking for an authorization (a man would have to have the worst reputation for the woman's lineage to refuse the marriage) but to obtain the benediction of the ancestors on the household. Moreover, it is
[613] very important for the heads of both lineages to be notified of this marriage, for in case of the death of husband or wife the other will have to bear the weight of the mourning.

581 Women are guided in their choice by sensual attraction but largely also by self-interest. They take care to marry a man who has, as it is said among us, some future, a position. The owners of outboard motors do not fail to pass at reduced speed by the villages in order to be admired by the women.

Men who have a reputation for "working hard" (for work is the sole wealth in Boni country) are frequently chosen by girls even though they may have one or two wives already.

/149 cont./

592 The household. Household life is a limited association, freely
593 agreed upon by two beings who live totally independent of each other, the emotional life of each remaining almost entirely centered upon his maternal family. It entails reciprocal duties:

--For the man, to build a house for his wife in her village, to construct a new boat for her every three or four years, to cut a clearing for her each year /150/ and help in planting it, to furnish her with imported commodities, cloth, salt, kerosene, tools, which she needs, as well as game and smoke-dried fish;

--For the woman, to farm the clearing and furnish her husband when he comes to visit her with couac and the vegetables
[462] necessary for his food. (The man, used to living as a bachelor, owns his own cooking utensils and most of the time prepares his meals himself.)

This system of intermittent conjugal life seems to assure the Boni a perfect balance at the same time that it permits them
[562] to satisfy their taste for change. The men divide their life among work, visits to their different wives, hunting and fishing expeditions; their life is thus constantly renewed and they are protected against tendencies toward apathy and mental inertia.

In general, as long as the union lasts, the woman fulfills
[241] exactly her obligations; although the yield from the clearing is
[422] her property and the excess of the harvest is sold for her ex-
[434] clusive benefit, the man is assured of getting from her all the
[591] provisions he needs. On the other hand, many men, through laziness, get out of constructing a house for their wives and the latter continue to live with their mothers. In the villages on the French bank about 20 such cases were observed in 1958.
591/ Several cases are even noted in which a woman, aged but still
592 having unmarried children, one or two of her daughters and their children are living together in one house. For example, in Asisi village, nine persons were living together in the very small house of their mother and grandmother Tini.

/150 cont./

593 342 461 [198] Nothing marks better the small place the conjugal bond has in a man's life; imagine the torture which this forced living and crowding together represent for each of these women! The Boni of today, much richer than their ancestors and better equipped with tools, are singularly lazier in building houses; no longer is anyone seen to sculpture and decorate the façades lovingly; when a man, after many recriminations, decides to build a house for his wife, he is content most of the time now with a simple shelter with plaited walls, which does not require 30 days work.

595 As we have said, each man may take as many wives as he wishes, on condition that he can supply their needs; but in practice the maintenance of a household is so heavy a load that most men have only one or two wives; only one to our knowledge has three. In fact, it is contrary to custom to free oneself by paying for work which one must do for one's wife. We have never heard it said that a rich man (many of them have hundreds of thousands of francs in savings) paid money in place of a piece of work, or paid someone to do it for him. The furnishing of imported objects is particularly burdensome, especially cloth, kitchen utensils (Boni women are infatuated with aluminum objects), and occasionally jewels. The Boni conceded in 1958 that the maintenance of a wife amounted to 30 to 40 thousand francs a year at least. If one considers that a hard-working man earned about 120,000 francs a year, that he spent 30 to 40 thousand francs a year for himself, that he often had /151/ in addition to provide for the needs of his aged parents and share the expenses of the festivals of the lineage, one sees that he could not have more than two wives at the same time. As for less hard-working men, who have no more than 60 to 80 thousand francs a year in ready money, they have a great deal of trouble in facing the maintenance of a single household, and many divorces have no other cause.

593 [461] [556] [454] [439] [511] [434] [511] [595] [434] [511] [586]

/151 cont./

593 Among the Refugee Blacks some very devoted couples are
[591] seen, who spend their whole lives together and who, in their old
[163] age, have completely united their destinies, living in the same house, either in the woman's village or the man's: for example, in the village of Lapé Tabiki, Buru and his wife Asamani, in 1952 aged about 70 years, together for 45 years and having had eight children. But such cases are exceptional. Besides, they
[581] are not admired and held up as an example as one might believe; this man and this woman suited each other, they remained together; if some day they no longer get along, they will divorce, that is all.

595 Polygamy. Polygamy in the African sense of the term, that is, the simultaneous maintenance of several regular households, is exceptional among the Refugee Blacks because of their mode of living:

[433] --The wife is practically entirely dependent on her hus-
[511] band; an economy based mainly on wage earning and involving a relatively high standard of living makes it impossible for most men to maintain more than one household;

[461] --Even if a man had sizable financial means at his disposal, he could scarcely maintain more than two households; for it is not acceptable, at least nowadays, for him to have done by others the customary chores: clearings, boats, house.

168 On January 1, 1958 out of 134 men over 20 years old in
595 the villages on the French bank, whose lives were well known to us, there were:

Men maintaining three households	1	1%
" " two households	18	13%
" " one household	104	77%
[589] Bachelors, widowers, or recent divorcés	11	8%
	134	100% /sic/

/151 cont./

595 Sticking to statistics, one could say that the Refugee Blacks are monogamous in the proportion of 85 per cent. But
581 it is an apparent monogamy, for unions are not stable; their
586 average duration is about ten years; in fact the Refugee Blacks are practicing polygamy over a period of time.

595 A man who takes another wife apologizes to the first and gives her a liter of tafia, asking her to live on good terms with
[586] the co-wife. A certain number of wives do not accept co-wives and get divorced.

589 Most men have had, in general, four or five wives
586 successively. Most of the time these marriages have been
163 broken by the wife. /152/

Example S... (65 years old in 1957) had at least seven wives:

-- Nanay (Dip. II)†	1 child	divorced
Baakauman (K)†	3 children	"
1 Paramaka woman	1 child dead	"
Saumè (Dip. I)	1 child	"
Paata (Boniville)	no children	"
Emma (Asisi-Aw.B.)	no children	"
Masé (K)	"	marriage extant in 1958

Kwami (50 years old in 1958) had four wives:

-- Apinda (Asisi)	no children	divorced
Saayé (Dip. I)	several children	"
Do (Lapé)	1 child dead	"
Noémi (Asisi-Aw.B.)	1 child	marriage extant in 1958

159
582 Example of the family life of G... (50 years old in 1958).
About 1935 G... married M... (Kotika), a serious-minded and
159 intelligent woman who was very attached to him. Neverthe-
837 less, about the same time he had a clandestine affair with S...,
[847] classificatory sister of M..., whom he made pregnant (abortion).

159 /152 cont./
595
[837]
[613] Since it is forbidden to have two wives at the same time in the same lineage, that produced a scandal and his uncles had to intervene so that he would not be beaten.

After that, without leaving M...., he took officially another wife, A... (Papalston). They lived together nearly
[839] eight years, but A... began to deceive him while he was on a
[586] trip. The first time, he only threatened her; the third time he repudiated her.

[619] Again he officially took another wife, T...., a Djuka from the Tapanahoni.

[589] A year later A...., who wished she had him back, had her uncles intervene so that she might come back into his favor. G...., through deference to her uncles, accepted against his will.

Thus he found himself engaged in three unions, M....,
[586] A...., and T.... He thought this situation was leading him to ruin and sacrificed T... although he had no fault to find with her.

[586] Some time afterward A... began to deceive him again and he repudiated her once and for all.

Finally he took a last wife, B... (Asisi), by whom he had no children.

On each of these undertakings he had to submit to violent scenes by his first wife M...., who was very attached to him and would have liked to keep him for herself alone. Nevertheless, she never divorced him and did not provoke difficulties with her co-wives.

[842] He had a child by M... after more than 15 years of sterile marriage.

In 1958 G... was living with M... and B...., who got along well together. He was not looking for any more new adventures.

606 /152 cont./
Relations between husband and mother-in-law. As is commonly observed in Africa, the husband has the duty to respect his mother-in-law, to have a reserved attitude toward her. /153/ A curious custom exists on this subject among the Refugee Blacks: If he inadvertently arrives at the village wharf at the moment when she is bathing, he must pay her compensation in the form of a camisa. This is a reciprocal obligation.

[513] He may sleep under the same roof as she when the village is crowded, but not habitually.

606 607 On the other hand, the custom of the Refugee Blacks differs sharply from African customs on one important point: it does not call for any material obligation toward the mother-in-law or the wife's brothers. The husband is not at all required to give them presents or to contribute toward their maintenance. In fact, the wife gives her mother part of what her husband gives her.

684 Adultery. The custom of the Refugee Blacks concerning adultery is extremely curious. The outraged husband has the right to inflict a public punishment on the lover, which he must stand without defending himself. In the absence of the husband his brother is qualified to strike in his place. This punishment must take place in a village in the presence of witnesses capable of intervening if the punishment goes beyond accepted limits.

Only bare fists may be used.

A man can always escape too brutal a punishment by taking refuge in the water. His adversary may not follow him into it under pain of a severe punishment by the grand man. He can also take refuge in the bush.

[692] The husband's honor being thus publicly restored, the row is over; in such cases some men are seen to beat the wife in addition, but this is not the general case; the true custom does not call for the wife to be beaten because she is considered irresponsible. She can either be repudiated or threatened

/153 cont./

684 with repudiation in case of a second offense. The rule is to
586 repudiate her, under pain of ridicule.
626

In 1951 G..., of Kotika village, was informed that his
837 wife A...., of Asisi village, 25 years old, was deceiving him
with a boy of the same age named K.... The first time he
684 encountered K in a village he took issue with him; K... con-
fessed without difficulty. G... delivered a strong punch which
threw him to the ground, and that was all. He did not ad-
[586] minister any punishment to his wife but immediately let her
know that he was repudiating her. Some time after, K...
[576] asked to be reconciled with him. He asked his pardon and
[431] gave him a bottle of tafia (this is obligatory for reconciliation).
Since, the two men have again been friends.

It also happens that the grand man levies a more or less stiff fine on the guilty man.

837 According to the elders, adultery was rare in former
[586] times. If a woman was tired of her husband, she divorced him
openly, but she did not deceive him. Nowadays it seems to be rather frequent.

586 Divorce. The Refugee Blacks divorce each other as easily as they join together; in general it is the woman who decides to break up the union because she finds her husband too poor, too lazy, or simply because she wants to change. /154/

In the case of divorce the woman keeps all that her husband has given to her or made for her (utensils, house, boat), but of course the man keeps all his own belongings; this rupture changes nothing about the possession of property since no object was owned jointly.

581 The rule is the following: at the time of the marriage the man puts down symbolically several personal objects (fabrics, utensils) in the woman's home. As long as these objects are in her home the marriage remains in force, the wife is held to fidelity or at the very least, if there is adultery, it is regarded as such and entails the sanction related above.

/154 cont./

000 586 as such and entails the sanction related above. But the wife has the absolute right, even in her husband's absence, to break the contract unilaterally by taking back to the head of her husband's lineage the objects left with her. From this moment on, no more can be said to her, she is no longer guilty of adultery, and she can take another husband forthwith; in case of the first husband's death she will not have to stand the weight of the mourning. All that her husband has made for her: house, boat, etc... is kept without counterpart.

No Boni leaving on a three-month trip is sure of finding his wife again. He may very well find another man installed in his place, officially, without his being able to say anything. As for those who leave for a long time, this is practically a certainty.

This is a misfortune which however they take philosophically, thinking above all of the work furnished for nothing. What concerns them most is not to be deceived clandestinely, [684] [626] for the final result is the same: they are practically obliged to repudiate the wife in such a case, for it is unworthy of a man to forgive, and in addition they will be the laughingstock of the population.

Several of our boatmen made the following speech to their wives at the time of leaving for a two-months' tour: "If you have enough of me in my absence, if you cannot wait for me, go and take my belongings to the house of such-and-such a brother; I shall not be angry and will not do anything to you on my return."

581 Custom is so favorable to the women that practically nothing guarantees the private contract made between the man and woman at the time of marriage. Since this contract is [586] essentially founded on a material association, the man cutting the clearing and the woman farming it, one might believe that the woman would be held to fulfilling her contract even in case of the marriage's breaking up, but there is nothing of the sort.

/154 cont./

586 As far as the clearing already cut and planted is concerned, if it is on the land of the wife's family, the man can demand nothing. However, some women continue to furnish couac for a year after breaking up.

If the clearing is on the husband's lands, the woman continues to farm it normally. But she is required to furnish [593] food as if there had been no rupture. This is why men who do [241] not trust their wives insist on cutting the clearing on land of their own lineage.

Many women wait to divorce their husbands until after they have cut the year's clearing! In January, 1957, upon the return of the border-fixing mission from the southern frontier, /155/ one of us heard M...., a woman of about 40, speak in these terms of her husband T...., 60 years old, who had done everything for her and still used to come to take part in laborious jobs to procure money for her: "He is getting old; I am going to have to look for another."

Observation at Maripasoula, Nov. 5, 1956.

Mutété, boatman of the Maripasoula post, laments in front of his comrades: his wife has just had him notified, without indicating any motive, that she was breaking with him. She did not even disturb herself to tell him so, and she waited until he had finished cutting the year's clearing for her! His [562] comrades once more expressed their rancor against the avarice, spitefulness, and inconstancy of Boni women, inferior beings whom they had once and for all given up trying to understand.

Among the Refugee Blacks people divorce at any age, at 70 years as well as at 18. Thus it is that Captain Diofe (+1951), head of the Djuka lo, and his wife Efa, of the Papaïston lo, divorced each other about 1940 when both were approaching 70 and had remained together more than 35 years: in growing old their natures no longer hit it off.

/156 cont./

586 [163] Likewise Pééchina, about 70 years old in 1957, separated from Nachinengé (Kotika) after having spent the greatest part of her life with him and having six children by him.

In order to be able to break thus a long standing union without undergoing moral collapse, it is certainly necessary for the affectivity of each one to be entirely centered on his maternal family.

586 124 Frequency of divorce. This essential aspect of the social life of the Refugee Blacks is not easy to lay hold on by direct interrogation. The women do not willingly talk about their past unions and let go in silence the ones which remained 586 128 childless. However, we were able to reconstitute with rather great certainty the past life of about a hundred women (mothers, near relatives, or wives of our most reliable informants). These men /"women" -- printing error. -- Tr./ are marked with a double asterisk ** in the population list of the villages.

[178] It is useful to classify them by age groups relating to the year of birth, for we shall see that the frequency of divorce seems to have increased with time. The groups chosen are the same as for the demographic investigation which we carried on parallel to the sociological study:

/155 cont./

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162

Women born from	0 Div.	1 Div.	2 Div.	3 Div.	4 Div.	Irregular Life	Total
1926 to 1935 incl.	13	8	8	0	0	2	31
1916 to 1925 incl.	9	7	10	1	0	3	30
1896 to 1915 incl.	1	12	6	3	0	1	23
before 1896	3	9	5	1	2	(?)	20
						Total.....	104

/156/ Supposing that divorces are regularly spaced through the course of life, and that they cease at about the age of 65 on the average, one can arrive at an estimate of the average number of divorces in store for a Bantu woman at old age.

Women born from	Average Age End 1957	Average No. Divorces	Probable No. by Age 65
1926 to 1935 incl.	27 years	0.8 in 10 years(1)	3.8
1916 to 1925	37 years	[illegible] in 17 years	2.8
1896 to 1915	52 years	[illegible] in 32 years	2.1
before 1896	70 years		1.5 (?)

[582]

1. The average age at marriage is 17 for this group of women, 20 for the earlier groups.

/156 cont./

586 The estimate of the average number of divorces for women
[128] born before 1896 is probably lower than the actual number, their first divorces not being well known to our informants. It is probably in the neighborhood of two.

586 The increase in frequency of divorces among young women
593 is striking. It is related to the weakening of the authority, very
178 strong in former times, exercised by mothers over their daughters.

Here are two examples concerning two girls we have known since their childhood.

836 Lomé (L2, F74, Boniville) born in 1938, began to cause people to talk about her in 1954. She was deflowered by N...., who did not want to marry her. Then she had relations with Asadam (K, Boniville), who did not want to marry her either. She was beaten; she continued to see him. Now this is extreme-
[558] ly shameful for a girl because it is placing herself in a state of inferiority with respect to a man, when her self-respect consists in making a contract between equals.

582 Her brother Amèmbé beat her, and she ended up by marrying Pitipiti (Aw.B.2, Asisi village), who formally asked
586 for her in marriage in 1956. This marriage lasted less than a
587 year. In 1957 Lomé divorced him to marry Djoni (Kotika village).

584 Aguba (D.u. G14), girl of Asisi-Dju village, born in 1941, had been proposed to with the customary formalities in May, 1956 by Paltiki (L2, Loka village), a young man of 18. It was
584 agreed that the engaged couple would wait two years. But
585 Paltiki did not wait and consummated the marriage clandestine-
[429] ly at the end of a few months. Lènga, Aguba's aunt and guardian, became very angry and beat her. She did not give her the [illegible] until May, 1957. The marriage lasted only a few
586 months. /157/ By the end of 1957 Aguba was breaking off with Paltiki and beginning openly to look for adventures.

/157 cont./

586 If one considers all Boni women together without any age distinctions, one can estimate that on the average they have been divorced 2.5 times during the course of their lives between 18 and 65 years of age. The average duration of marriages (not counting unions broken by the death of one of the spouses) could be evaluated, for the period before 1950, at about 15 years. [178] It tends to decrease in proportion as a generation brought up under less strict discipline reaches adulthood (1).

1. Doctor Étienne Bois, revising in September, 1960 our card file stopped at the end of November, 1958, recorded for the villages on the French bank 28 divorces which had taken place in the course of this period of 1.8 years. [162] The number of women of marriageable age in these villages being about 160, this figure corresponds to 0.1 divorce per woman and per year, or to an average duration of unions of about 10 years.

[837] Dissoluteness of the women. It appears that most wives are faithful to their husbands for the duration of the union. But since they have the possibility of breaking this union with no need of authorization by anybody whatever, they leave their husband very readily, whether they have stopped liking him or whether they intend to marry a richer man.

/157 cont./

589 A woman who has just been divorced does not remarry
[587] immediately. Several months, sometimes a year or more, may go by between two unions, a period during which she thinks only of "living it up," indulging in all the adventures she wishes. This attitude is considered normal, and the elders have nothing to say to her provided that she does not fall into pikadu, or cause any scandal, and that the period does not last too long.

[586] We have cited the example of Aguba, a pretty girl of 18, who at the end of 1957 had just broken with her husband Faifiki /sic/ after only one year of living together. She was living with Lènga who brought her up; she was cutting a small clearing herself. Beyond that, she had no other concern but to indulge
[836] in all the adventures she liked. Men used to come to solicit her favors discreetly, each one reserving his day. From one she would ask for a camisa, from another, soap, kerosene, etc.

[429] Her guardian Lènga used to press her to take another husband, but she could not forbid her to live thus, having given with the pagi her freedom as a woman.

[587] She contracted a new marriage in May or June, 1958 after leading an irregular life for more than six months.

836 As a matter of fact, things go on with great discretion. A man is notified in secret by his sister or /female/ cousin that such-and-such a woman noticed him during a dance, that she will await him at her home on such-and-such a night. At night on the river, one perceives boats which pass close to the shore,
[504] advancing silently. In each village there are secondary landings which allow nocturnal visitors to arrive at night without being noticed and to leave again before dawn. /158/

[684] If a woman lacks this discretion and if her life is openly dissolute, her mother will beat her and the head of the lineage will inflict punishments on her, but she will not be sent away; in no case can anyone be expelled from his natal village.

/158 cont./

848 If children are born of these irregular liaisons, the mother
[784] takes care to know with certainty who the father is, for if there
[753] were any doubt, the child, respecting a kina which would not
be his own, would contract leprosy. On this subject the Boni
842 have a remarkable belief: they think that it is the first man
with whom a woman has had relations after the end of a menstrual
period who is likely to make her pregnant.

836 These adventures always involve gifts in kind (cloth,
431 jewels); so the men who have the most success with women
are always short of money.

581 A woman who has lived thus in notorious fashion has a
little more difficulty than another in finding another husband,
but if she is young and winsome she succeeds.

548 Prostitution as such is very rare in Boni country, and the
women who give themselves over to it openly (three or four for
all the villages on the French bank) have generally left the
[836] tribe to settle in the gold miners' villages. Dissoluteness is
not considered dishonorable by the Refugee Blacks when it is
carried on within the tribe and when it has no other purpose but
pleasure; but prostitution is judged shameful.

834 Except for these few prostitutes, we have never heard it
648 said that a Boni woman had relations with a European; on this
point tribal discipline is observed with extreme rigor.

581 Conclusion. The average duration of marriages, which was
[178] from 15 to 20 years for the preceding generation, tends to be-
come shorter and can be estimated nowadays at about ten years.
[191] In spite of this evolution, the stability of marriages among the
Refugee Blacks remains noticeably greater than that observed
548 among the black populations of South America. Among them
is not seen the form of prostitution so widespread in South
America, the supported mistress who does not work and who
lives entirely at the expense of her successive lovers.

/158 cont./

156 The Boni woman, poor in emotional feelings, and jealous of her independence with respect to men, puts her pride into subsisting by her own efforts.

178 [156] The young women, even the ones with the freest habits, stay firmly attached to their village, to their plantings, and to the mode of life they received from their grandmothers. In fact, because of its structure and customs, the society of the Refugee Blacks has much less likelihood of suffering from the poisons spread by modern life than the patrilineal societies of Black Africa.

761 /159/ Death; Burial Rites

Death is for the Refugee Blacks an event of extreme gravity.

775 In order to ward off danger and permit the yɔrka of the dead person to take its place among the ancestors, the unstinting cooperation of everyone is required.

764 765 181 [621] [619] The ceremonies which have to do with death and mourning are by far the most important ones in the day-to-day life of the Refugee Blacks; for each one they represent a very heavy material load which is accepted without recriminations. It is really a veritable mobilization, which takes place within the framework of the village and not of the lineage. The apparatus set into motion is independent of the lineage, for it must function in the same way for an outsider, Djuka or Saramaka, who dies during a trip.

764 868 767 Participation in the burial rites is for all an essential religious duty. From childhood the Boni are prepared for this task and become, some of them kisimɛ̃ (coffin-makers), others ɔlɔmɛ̃ (grave-diggers), some others wasimɛ̃ (bathers of the dead).

767 487 Kisimɛ̃ and ɔlɔmɛ̃. It can be said that in each village, ɔlɔmɛ̃ and kisimɛ̃ constitute customary societies, provided with an organization and wielding verisable powers for the duration of their work.

/159 cont./

767 --The kisimã command the village during the whole
764 time the coffin is being made and can requisition anyone to
[466] help them;

--The ɔlɔmã are masters of the river while their work lasts. In particular they can requisition travelers passing through to help them, and even confiscate their provisions. This is piisi, a joke. But as Mr. W. F. Van Lier also has us observe, this custom has a deep meaning; it reminds everyone that participation in the burial of a dead person is a fundamental religious duty.

767 The organization of these customary societies is, at least
467 among the Boni, very rudimentary.

In each village there is a head of the ɔlɔmã who is acquainted with the topography of the cemetery and the rites to be carried out (hedemã fu ɔlo).

In Boniville, in 1958, this was Bukuman (Papaïston);

In Loka, Tabikiť, not replaced at the beginning of 1958;

In Asisi, Antonu (Awara Bakka).

If he is absent, someone is sent to get the head of the ɔlɔmã of another village.

Likewise, in each village there is a head of the kisimã:

In Boniville, this was Fintiman (Dju);

In Asisi, it was Boofo (Awara Bakka);

In Kormotibo, it was Aténi. /160/

764 The people willingly lend one another assistance from one
476 village to the other, with no need even to ask for help, and even if it is a question of burying a foreigner in the country, a Saramaka or a Djuka for example, who dies in Boni country.

767 For the making of the coffin it is rare not to find about 15 kisimã
46 spontaneously met together when four or five would be enough.
[152] They like this labor very much, which proceeds in an atmosphere of joyous over-excitement in the center of admiring spectators.

/160 cont./

767 According to the moral law of the Refugee Blacks, all work must be paid for. The work of the ɔlɔmã and kisimã is no exception to the rule: the dead person must pay for what is done for him; to this end, his brothers appropriate pieces of cloth from his trunk (about 30 if the dead man was rich) and since that would not suffice, the relatives and friends of the dead man come to swell these assets by giving additional pieces of cloth.

If the dead man was very poor and no longer had cloth in good condition, the people of the lineage must give enough so that at least six may be given to the kisimã and about ten to the ɔlɔmã. If there are too few pieces of cloth for each one to be able to receive a whole one, they are cut up into small pieces, but it is absolutely indispensable for each one to be paid, even if symbolically.

764 Unfolding of the burial rites. These rites are complex, and the ceremonies in which they unfold are always very confused. Even if one is acquainted with the general idea and understands the language rather well, they are very difficult to follow. For [128] clearness in this account, we shall first give a résumé, which will be followed by observations collected in particular cases.

763 The day of the death is taken up by weeping and lamentations and the sending of messengers to the neighboring villages.

/160 cont./

764 As soon as the death is announced, the kisimɛ̃ hastily construct a platform called papay (1), while waiting for the

[824]

1. Papay = canon wood /F. canon, from L. canna reed, pipe, tube -- Tr./ (Cecropia Sp.), rapid-growing shrub similar to the African parasol-tree; it is used for the construction of the platform because of the great lightness of its stem.

building of the coffin which will be undertaken the next day.

The wasimɛ̃ bathe the dead man with warm water after transporting him to a special place in the village. A hole is dug for the run-off of this water and closed up again afterward. This place is strictly reserved for this use; people do not go there any other time (at Boniville it is behind hut No. 5).

[767] The wasimɛ̃ are two in number, two men and two women; in each lineage there are at least one man and one woman who are acquainted with this work.

The wasimɛ̃ remove from the dead man every object (metal, ɔbia, etc.) and dress him in clean clothes. Cotton is

[775] put in his nostrils and a chin-strap put on, all of which will be removed at the moment when the coffin is closed (so that the yɔtka of the dead man will not be impeded in its life beyond the grave).

The body placed in the papay is carried under the mortuary shed (krɛyɔsu = house /161/ of tears). A tuft of hair and the fingernails are taken, which are wrapped in a cloth and hung inside the krɛyɔsu.

/161 cont./

764 The dead person's spouse, his nearest relatives, and his children come and hang their hammocks inside the kraɣɔsu, where they will live until broko dɛ (eighth day after the death).

[533] [535] The village people begin the tukka songs and dance, which will last part of the night, while the friends and near relatives of the dead man lament seated, head covered with a cloth.

[824] The first day after the death, as soon as it is morning, the kisimɛ̃ arrive, and begin to make the coffin, using mahogany boards always kept on hand, thanks to the head of the village.

[613] The women of the dead man's lineage prepare a meal which is offered to the kisimɛ̃ about 1:00 P.M. at the end of their work.

While the coffin is being made, the dead man's friends and distant relatives arrive in crowds from the neighboring villages, bringing tafia and cloth as offerings. Two kisimɛ̃ lay these pieces of cloth one by one on the body saying, "So-and-so buries you."

[867] These pieces of cloth are divided up; about 15 are put into the coffin by the kisimɛ̃, part of the rest serve as pay for the kisimɛ̃, part as pay for the ɔkɔmɛ̃; another part, finally, is used for dressing the widower and his co-wives (or the widow), showing thus that during the whole mourning period they live dependent on the dead person.

Then the kisimɛ̃ close the coffin without any other rites taking place. The late arrivers who bring more cloths knock the coffin saying, "I bury you," and put them down on the ground.

[692] The work of the kisimɛ̃ is over; they bring the body outside the kraɣɔsu, in front of which has assembled the council called ɛ̃nti kuutu, which constitutes the judicial apparatus of the Boni.

/161 cont./

764 692 This tribunal is charged with establishing the causes of death and rendering a decision on this subject which has the force of law. But it is above all charged with judging the dead person, with determining whether he has lived worthily, whether he has the right to be buried according to the rites and to be invoked as an ancestor, or whether on the contrary he was a wisima.

[613] [645] The grand man designates one or two lineage heads to preside over the council and "command" the dead person until the burial.

The grand man designates who will lead the assemblage and will "command" the dead person until the burial.

764 692 613 This cannot be the head of the dead person's lineage, for no one can at the same time be judge and judged.

Ex.: for Béniti (Dju) this was Popo head of the Lapé lo
for Atikati (Dju) it was Kondoku head of the Awara Bakka lo
for Kotoïda (Aw.B.) it was Tafanié head of the Papaïston lo
for Way (Dip. II) it was Tafanié --- /162/

764 787 The 2nd and 3rd days after the death are given over to the interrogation of the dead person, which on the evening of the first day had scarcely begun.

[184] The rites of this interrogation vary from one village to another; in certain villages they begin to carry the dead man even before the construction of the coffin; the questions are not asked everywhere in the same fashion.

[171] The dead person is interrogated by methods widespread in West Africa and which are related to spiritualism: the coffin is carried on the heads of two men, feet forward. The dead man is supposed to push the bearers forward to say yes, and to make them now their heads from left to right to say no.

/162 cont./

764 In principle the forward bearer (who is called bosman by analogy
767 with a boat) must belong to the dead person's lineage. Apart
[613] from this restriction, the bearers can be (and are in fact) any people whatever, the only condition required being that they be extremely vigorous, because the load they carry is at the limit of their strength.

Fraud can exist in isolated cases, but in the great majority of cases there is no doubt as to the good faith of the bearers; they give contradictory answers, go ahead and back interminably, until, exhausted, they are raised up again by others. Actually, the interpretation of these automatic movements does not differ essentially from any process of divination.

The dead person is interrogated from the age of four or
[766] five years up. If it is a very young child, he is not interrogated; but the causes of his death are sought by interrogating possessed people, and if there is reason to, the kunu is appeased in the same fashion.

764 At the beginning of the interrogation the tribunal tries to
787 make sure that the dead person was not a wisimɛ̃. After sending
754 the bearers to the other end of the village, the president of the assemblage has two young men hidden in huts; then he has the bearers called, saying to the dead person: "I have lost So-and-so and So-and-so, find them." If the dead person was an upright man, he must have acquired a suprahuman clairvoyance permitting him to direct his bearers straight away toward the huts in question. If he was a wisimɛ̃, he will be as if blind; his bearers go wandering in vain from hut to hut.

They state that this test always succeeds.

764 The interrogation proceeds interminably. The causes of
787 death are taken up. The first question is: is it a god who killed
761 you? The answer is nearly always yes, and they proceed by
[996] elimination in order to arrive, for example, at learning that it
[784] is an Ampuku, that it is the Ampuku borne by So-and-so. By what the kunu was set in motion, how to appease it, is not the

764 /162 cont. /
787 business of the tribunal. The people of the dead person's lineage
761 will have to settle that among themselves after the obsequies.
[784] The role of the tribunal is to make official the cause of death and give it the force of law.

764 Then the inheritance is taken up in the presence of the
787 near relatives of the dead man. The questions are asked suc-
428 cessively: "To whom dost thou leave thy boat...?" "To whom dost thou leave thy gun (1)...?" The coffin moves each time

> 1. That, unless the dead man has, before his death, in front of witnesses, formally indicated the apportionment of his belongings; in such a case, questions are asked only for the objects whose attribution had not been clearly specified.

toward one of the people present. /Figs. 22 and 23 appear here/

764 /163/ At the end of the third day after the death the
[789] burial is prepared; the dead person is asked from daybreak on whether he is ready for that; if not it can be postponed until the next day.

[767] The pouli have been working at the cemetery since the
[827] beginning of the day. They are young and strong men who have to work slowly, for not a drop of sweat may fall into the grave or their akka would risk remaining prisoner in it.

About 4:00 P.M. the bearers promenade the dead person one last time in the village for a supreme adieu. The near
[534] relatives go to the wharf. The dead man is hoisted into a canoe
[705] while the aluti drum calls his yaka so that it will not remain in the village.

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Fig. 22. Offering of food to the ancestors.

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516
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Fig. 23. Interrogation of the dead person.

/163 cont./

764 About 5:00 P.M. the coffin arrives at the cemetery wharf and is given over to the Dizmii. No other rite is carried out. It is placed at the bottom of the grave; a layer of round logs separates it from the pile of earth which is put back on top. The burial is finished about six o'clock.

Notes taken at the burial of Way in Kormotibo (January 25, 1957) (1st day after death).

I arrive in Kormotibo at nine o'clock. There are two dead people in the village: Sokodo, 37 years old, who is to be buried the next day, and Way, 65, who died in Maripasoula and whose body was transported the day before.

764 When we moored, I noticed at the south end of the village
787 the bearers of Sokodo's coffin, alone and immobile. Arriving
892 near the mortuary shed, I find Captain Kondoku, who presides
822 over the Ifinti kuutu, and Captain Poopu, head of the village. Kondoku tells me that he is in the act of proceeding to a new test on Sokodo; he has just had two young men hidden, M... and G...., and the dead man is called upon to find them without hesitation.

I look around us. There is nobody nearby; a few women are attending to their occupations, indifferent to a scene observed many a time. It seems as though Kondoku is doing that for himself alone.

The coffin-bearers appear, coming from the other end of the village. Without hesitation they go toward the mortuary shed, enter it, and the end of the coffin stops before the hammock covered with a large mosquito net spread to the ground, where Way's widower, the Saramaka Gamba, is seated.

To my great surprise I see two young men go out. Nothing revealed their presence under the hammock, and Kondoku, who was talking with me, has neither said nor done anything which could direct the bearers. Nobody present could have

/163 cont./

764 given any indication whatever. Besides, how would he have
787 had time to make himself understood by two men walking at top speed, crushed by their heavy load and looking straight ahead?

This upsets all the ideas I had formed about this test. The only hypothesis that remains is that the bearers have been "tipped off" by the man who went to get them (an old man of the council). But is it possible that such a crude fraud could be current practice? The Boni are far from being stupid, they are ever suspicious /164/ and they are too talkative for such deceptions not to be laid bare by their perpetrators themselves.

Under these conditions, how can it operate--this collective suggestion which explains most of the rites of the Refugee Blacks? I can't explain it to myself.

764 Manufacture of the Coffin. The kisimã are gathered
769 around a pile of boards. They are about 15 in number,
322 commanded by Boofo, head of the kisimã of Asisi, and Aténi
[412] (Asisi-Dipélu II). A pile of boards is at their feet; some work with a small hand saw, others with an adze; the fitting is done with a machete. /Fig. 21 appears here./

They take measurements with a graver. The bottom board is cut first, then the front and back ends. The outline of the back end, in the shape of a truncated diamond, results from a rather complex construction with the compass which I have not time to report.

764 The work is done noisily in an atmosphere of crude farce.
769 The whole time it lasts, the kisimã exert veritable command
[152] over the village. The coconut trees of Kormotibo are pillaged
[262] for their benefit. The village women prepare the rice for the meal which must, according to custom, be offered to them upon finishing the coffin about noon.

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/164 cont./

764 767 322 I see the head of the kisimã make ready the fitting of the lower lateral wings. Without nailing it, he places the back end on the bottom plank, giving it the proper inclination. They put

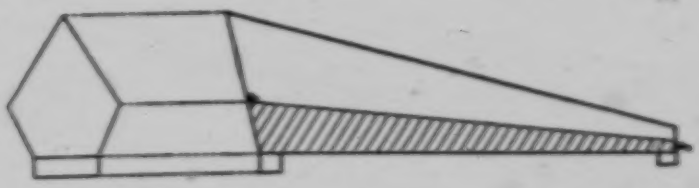

Fig. 21. A Boni coffin.

in place the board which is to serve as a wing. An elastic string smeared with soot is stretched between a_1 and a_2; they pinch it in the middle and in falling back it traces the line a_1a_2 on the wing.

[412] The cutting out of the wing is done with a saw and the fitting with the machete, then with a plane.

About 11 o'clock they begin to nail the wings. According to the rites, several kisimã accompany in cadence the noise of the hammer blows by hitting the coffin with pieces of wood. Why this ceremony? None of the kisimã can explain it. Perhaps it would be considered dangerous for one man to carry out alone one of the operations relating most directly to death.

764 While the kisimã work, Way's friends and relatives do not stop /165/ arriving; their boats jam the wharf. The people wend their way toward the mortuary shed, men on one side, women on the other. It is the women who bring pieces of cloth (including those given by their brothers and husbands); the men carry tafia in bottles.

Upon arriving the women sit down, cover their faces and lament a few minutes, then sit down with the others in front of the mortuary shed. On the other side of the shed the men are seated, immobile on their small benches. An elder busies himself

764 /165 cont./
at collecting in a large demijohn the tafia brought. It will be used at the dances which will take place that very evening.

764 767 About 1:00 P.M. the coffin is nearly finished, the upper wings are fitted and ready to be nailed. This is the moment when, according to custom, the meal must be served. But nothing is to be seen; the village women have talked more than worked, and their preparations are far from finished.

Time passes; discontent grows among the kisimã, who threaten to stop work. About 2:00 P.M. the women come in a procession led by the oldest ones to apologize for the delay; they have to pay a forfeit of a bottle of maripa oil, in consideration of which the kisimã agree to eat; the scene lasts at least 30 minutes, in a flood of words whose transcription in extenso would fill a book.

[782] Before the meal an offertory rite is gone through; two of the youngest among the kisimã slowly go around the mortuary shed carrying a dish of food; at the same time they eat, they throw food on the ground, without uttering a single word. Then they go to the river where the dish is washed.

[782] After the meal the coffin is consecrated by the sacrifice of a rooster. The leader of the kisimã sprinkles with its blood first the bottom at the back, then the upper side wings.

The presenting of pieces of cloth, having gone on since noon, comes to an end. Two kisimã stand beside the body; a woman of the lineage unfolds and hands to them the cloths given by the people present.

The kisimã grab the piece of cloth and unfold it. One of them says these words: "N... beli yu, umã (N... buries you, woman)." They do that if they recognize the cloth offered by N...; if not, they simply say: "Someone buries you, woman." Then they put the cloth on the preceding ones piled up on the body. There may be 126 camisas (1) and

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[439]

/165 cont./ There may be 126 camisas (1) and

1. Pieces of cotton goods about 1.10 x 0.75 meters. These cloths are manufactured in Holland especially for the Refugee Black clientele.

15 large pieces of cloth. About 30 camisas have been taken from the dead woman's trunk; the others have been given by the people present, the near relatives each giving several, the other relatives only one.

Their work finished, the kisimã burn the shavings and
[983] scraps of board. They pass their tools through a flame to purify them of the stains of death. /166/

About 3:00 P.M. the coffin is brought into the mortuary shed by the kisimã. The kisimã, who have complete charge of this phase of the obsequies, count the pieces of cloth and divide them up. One part will be used for their pay, others for the pay of the gravediggers. Fifteen pieces of cloth and about
[965] ten ordinary camisas will be placed in the coffin. The rest will be used for clothing the widower who, during the whole period of mourning, will thus remain symbolically dependent upon the dead person; if there are any left over, they are distributed to the members of the dead person's lineage.

Placing in the Coffin. About three o'clock four of the
[292] kisimã take their places beside the coffin; they gird their loins with a camisa as the Refugee Blacks always do before carrying out a religious act. In the greatest silence they spread out the 15 large pieces of cloth inside the coffin, allowing them to fall to the ground at right and left. Next, two of them lift up the body while the others slip the coffin underneath (for the whole duration of the burial ceremonies, the body must remain at the exact place where it was put down. The coffin does not rest directly on the ground but is put on a mat through the

/166 cont./

764 767 medium of two round logs. This ritual seems to have as its purpose restricting the defilement of death for the village.).

The body is put back down in the deepest silence, with the greatest care, into the coffin. A pillow is put under the head.

[152] Those present show no emotion. The widower, the Saramaka Gamba, who has remained seated in his hammock since morning, turning his back to his wife's body, does not stir.

The kisimã bring the edges of the pieces of cloth back over the body and put on, in addition, a few camisas of the ordinary kind. Before the upper wings of the coffin are put in place, one of them gently removes the wads of cotton which had been put in the dead woman's nostrils.

Then the upper wings of the coffin are nailed down, always according to the same rite, blows struck in cadence with pieces of wood accompanying the hammer blows.

[692] The role of the kisimã is ended; they give over the dead woman to the council, ãnti kuutu, charged with judging her.

764 787 Search for the Causes of Death. The ceremony begins about four o'clock in the greatest confusion, as is usual among the Refugee Blacks; it is impossible to understand who is really a member of the council and who is not a member, everybody talking at once.

I think I understand that the grand man has designated Captains Kondoku (Asisi-Awara Bakka) and Tafanié (Papaïston) to preside over the ceremony. In fact, it is neither the one nor the other who begins the interrogation, but a man from Papaïston village, Agodéba, a venerable old man whose torso is molded in a deplorably shoddy jersey calling to mind a rugby match.

/166 cont./

764 The coffin is placed at the edge of the mortuary shed,
787 the front turned toward the spectators. Agodéba sits down be-
fore the front of the coffin. According to ceremony, he enters
into contact with the /167/ yɔ̃ka of the dead woman by pour-
ing water on the ground before the coffin and calling her by
764 name. He says the same sentences several times in different
787 forms: "Thou hast lived here ... thou hast had children in this
761 village; now death has killed thee. Thou must tell us who
killed thee."

[292] Two men, B... (L'Enfant Perdu, Dipélu I) and A...
(Asisi-Awara Bakka) come forward, gird their loins with a
camisa, and, aided by several others, lift the coffin. B....
who is of the dead woman's lineage, takes the forward position.

For about ten minutes the two bearers try to put them-
selves into a state of passivity permitting them to receive fitly
the promptings of the dead woman; no question whatever is
asked. They are seen to make contradictory movements, to
go forward tilting the coffin from left to right, which means
yes and no at the same time. Sometimes a sudden impulse
appears to draw them far from the spectators, they are seen
going from hut to hut, wheeling around, going away again.

Finally they come back. Agodéba asks: "Is it a god who
struck thee down?" The answer seems to be yes. "Is it a
Papa gadu, an Ampuku, a Kɛ̃ntasasu?" Contradictory answers,
the people present lean toward the negative.

Agodéba continues: "Is it a yɔ̃ka who killed thee?"
Confused and contradictory movements of the coffin. Agodéba
begins again: "Is it a god?" Someone among those present
shouts: "Don't you see that she meant yes, speaking of the
yɔ̃ka? Agodéba gets angry, takes his hat, and leaves the
meeting. General hubbub. Half an hour of words, broken by
various movements and sham exits, is required in order to bring
him to take his place again.

/167 cont./

764 The bearers are changed and the interrogation continues,
787 still as confused as before. Captain Tafanié, who arrives in
761 the midst of all this, thinks that the dead woman does not want to speak in front of such a large crowd. He asks her to designate which of the people present will form a small group. I see the front of the coffin stop in front of an old Saramaka named Yasu, then successively in front of about ten of those present of various ages and origins. They stand up, take their little benches in their hands, and go to join Tafanié under a large tree in a spot to the side; the interrogation resumes; by nightfall a sure fact has been established: Way was killed by a god. They will resume the next day in order to find out what god is concerned and how to appease him.

764 Notes taken at the funeral ceremonies for Kotolda (Afi lineage)
[114] October 22-23, 1956 (2nd and 3rd days after death).

I arrive at Asisi on the 22nd at eight o'clock. Kotolda died on the twentieth; the first part of the ceremony has been finished.

[692] It is Tafanié, head of Papsiston village, who presides over the Ilinti kuutu.

Tafanié himself has directed the making of the coffin (he is a kisimi) with the help of boards held in reserve on the spot. The work was finished at nine o'clock in the morning.

The body was placed in the coffin immediately, and after the presentation of the pieces of cloth, the wings were nailed. /168/

When I arrive at the wharf, the coffin is placed in the mortuary shed. The near relatives of the deceased (sons, daughters, and nephews) as well as the husband and the co-wife compelled to take part in the mourning are seated in their hammocks attached to the posts of the shed. The first-mentioned manifest no apparent sorrow whatever. Husband and

/168 cont./

764 co-wife, on the contrary, are completely veiled and show by their state of prostration the keenest sorrow. Each of them is assisted by a female relative who supports them when they have to move somewhere else, for they are supposed to be too overcome to move alone.

764 The interrogation as to the causes of death has already
787 taken place the day before, but Tafanié proclaims, in front of
761 me, the result of it to the latest arrivals: the deceased was struck down by a yɔ̃ɛ̃ka which pursues the lineage with its kunu. She had already received several warnings in the form of illness; the yɔ̃ɛ̃ka had demanded a payment which she and her near relatives had neglected to furnish. Impossible to learn anything further before being able to interrogate this yɔ̃ɛ̃ka, whose habitual bearer has left for Saint-Laurent. It is necessary to wait for his return in order to mollify the yɔ̃ɛ̃ka's anger.

764 About ten o'clock the members of the lɛ̃nti kuutu go to-
769 ward the fraga tiki of the Awara Bakka lo, in front of which they
778 all sit down on their stools. I notice that not a single man of
[613] the dead person's lineage appears in the front row. In it I recognize Popo (Lapé), Poopu (Dipélu II, Kormotibo), Tafanié (Papalisson). The one who is speaking is a foreigner passing through, a very aged and respected Djuka.

[782] The elders invoke Masa Gadu and the ancestors in general, asking them to protect them from adversity in the future; then the offering of water and tafia takes place (no cane juice). I notice that a little is poured on each of the secondary fraga tiki erected for the sake of each one of the ancestors who pursue another lineage with their kunu. That lasts about a quarter of an hour.

764 Next someone goes to ask the deceased to whom she
787 bequeaths the Papa gadu god which manifested itself in her;
776 for the gods are bequeathed like the rest of the inheritance,
428 even if those concerned are divinities which exercise the kunu
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/168 cont./

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against the lineage. The god ratifies this legacy or not; in general it follows, they say, the wishes of its bearer and manifests itself some time afterward in the designated heir.

The coffin is placed on the heads of two men: Tafanié puts the questions with authority. He begins first by making sure of the passivity of the bearers, invites the dead woman to push their heads forward to say yes, to give them an impulse from right to left to say no.

The coffin advances and draws back several times; its weight is at the limit of what the two men can support. Two secondary bearers help the rear bearer, preventing the coffin from falling.

.. /. L. /Footnote at bottom of p. 168; no reference to it on the page/ Let us recall that this lineage, too few in numbers to constitute a separate social unit, lives with the Awara Bakka, with whom it has no connection through kinship or alliance.

[613]
[621]

The dead woman suddenly leads her bearers across the village. We see it come back /169/ a quarter of an hour afterward, accompanied by a woman of about 35 years, Moni, in front of whom it stopped.

Tafanié asks whether it wishes to leave its god to her; the dead woman confirms. Upon the statement of this legacy Moni's face reflects no gladness at all, nor any fear.

They explain to me that the designated heiress can in no way refuse this legacy. She must immediately begin her instruction given by a teacher, in order to become a suitable bearer. The expenses of her instruction are borne by her lineage.

764 /169 cont./
789 They will be paid when the gita has been "arranged," that is,
792 has lost the bestial character of the beginning and when the god
428 can express itself in intelligible fashion.

764 There and then they busy themselves with transferring
789 the god out of the body of the deceased. An obiaman well
789 known in the cult of the Papa gadu, Goutu (Dju) and his pupil
Balan (Aw.B.) come with calabashes containing infusions of leaves. Four or five women having a Papa gadu come and line up behind them. The heiress, with an extremely vexed air, takes her place among them, clothed with the emblems of the god of the dead woman; they are going to call their gods who will dance in honor of Kotolda's god.

The obiaman and his pupil for several minutes trickle the infusion of herbs over the coffin, using packets of herbs like sponges, then they "wash" the women, including the postulant; he gives them the rest of the calabash to drink. One of the women, Samabun, falls immediately to the ground, attached by the lowest form of possession: she drags herself on her belly like a snake (these are the first forms of the gita when it has not yet been "arranged." In her case that has lasted four years, contrary to what ordinarily happens. The scene was certainly anticipated, for she had put on European panties. The other women also drink but are not possessed; they leave to dress for dancing.

[534] The agida drum taken out of the god's chapel begins to beat, accompanied by two apinti.

The female bearers of Papa gadu arrive at the sound of the agida, smeared with pemba and carrying /wearing?--Tr./ the insignia of the god. Six come in all. They are not in a state of possession; only two will reach it. The first possessed woman keeps crawling on the ground, gropingly approaching the drum which she embraces, lying on her back. It is torn away from her. The obiaman continue to come to "wash"

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her from time to time in order to help the god to manifest itself. The crowd presses around the women dancers who execute the greatest variety of figures. At times they embrace each other two by two in the Boni manner. The onlookers jump for joy.

The scene lasts about half an hour, then, at the signal given by one of them, the possessed ones scatter and begin to run through the village: this is the moment for the gods to pay the musicians. Each person rushes to hide his belongings, for the gods will steal anything in the village without anyone being able to prevent them: this is their way of paying.

Soon the possessed women come back, putting down at the feet of the musicians a heap of incongruous objects: /170/ calabashes, cloth, paddles, etc., which their owners come to recover by means of bottles of beer and eggs. Then the women who were truly possessed come back to their normal state and all go home.

This dance was not a success; those present think that it is because the women bearers had drunk tafia, which the Papa gadu detest.

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Inheritance. The dead woman is asked to whom she bequeaths her clearings. She answers: "To her family," this being understood because the bearers move parallel to the people present without designating anybody. Under these conditions the property must be distributed (Kotolda having no children) among her classificatory nephews. Actually, the plantations still farmable will go to Samabun, her sister's daughter.

[591]

Inheritance of the house does not come up, for the dead woman lived in her husband Empalé's house.

The boat is left to Samabun.

Held back are the personal objects, money, jewelry, fabrics. When the mourning is lifted, the eldest of the surviving brothers or sisters in the classificatory sense will make the distribution among the near relatives.

/170 cont./

428 613 It is very clear in Kotoïda's case that the inheriting is within the matrilineage in the strict sense, bee. Only the members of the Afi lineage to which she belonged can profit by it.

764 Burial. About 2:00 P.M. the women of the lineage who had been preparing the food for the ɔlɔmɛ̃ since morning leave by canoe in the direction of the cemetery.

At three o'clock the last preparations begin. The occupants of the mortuary shed, completely veiled and supported by their near relatives, go to take up positions at the wharf for the last farewells (for they will not go to the cemetery).

The coffin is carried through the village one last time. This is the farewell of the dead woman to her family. The objects used in mourning are carefully collected, the earth of the shed floor raked up wherever the zanies of the cadaver might have fallen, and the whole put on the papay which is placed on the mortuary bark.

[795] At three o'clock an apinti drum is placed on the wharf to call the dead person (it is obviously a question of preventing the yaka from remaining in the village). The dead person turns up at the wharf. The coffin passes over a freshly cut banana-tree trunk placed at the limit of the village and of the beach. This is the symbolic passing of the dead person out of the world of the living. It is put on the canoe while the lamentations of the near relatives resound. The scene is not lacking in grandeur.

[783] The canoe draws slowly away, the drummer in the bow, while the spectators go down in a long procession to wash themselves free of the defilement of death.

[767] At four o'clock they arrive at the cemetery. The bearers of the dead person who have taken places in the canoe pass their burden to the ɔlɔmɛ̃ who have come to the edge of the river. This to mark the fact that /.7./ the ɔlɔmɛ̃ are in authority at the cemetery. The bearers will only be present at the ceremony.

/171 cont./

764 The women who had come to carry the food of the ɔlɔmɛ̃ go away, their work finished. Only two of them, not especially old, remain.

[787] We arrive on a little separated space where a last interrogation takes place. It is Antonu, head of the ɔlɔmɛ̃ of Asisi who speaks, while Tansia (Dipélu I) and Tyolo (Dju), basia or party-head of the ɔlɔmɛ̃ of Asisi serve as bearers.

764 787 The dead woman is asked for instructions as to the choice of the men she designates as busimɛ̃ (hunters, fishermen), intended to procure the food for the guests on the day of the broko de. The coffin advances successively toward six men. Each one of these asks: "Is it really I?" I see the forward bearer, his eyes strangely fixed, nod in their direction.

764 At four o'clock we arrive in front of the grave, about 100 meters from the riverside. It is dug with neat edges; it is about 2 meters deep, 2 meters 50 long, and 1 meter wide. It has the trapezoidal shape of the coffin.

A bench is cut in half with a blow of the machete to make two supports placed in the bottom of the grave.

The coffin is lowered to the bottom by means of the cloth ropes which enclosed it. These ropes are then pulled back up. Several shots are fired. Not a word is spoken. About ten thick round logs about 20 centimeters in diameter are placed side by side on the grave and the earth thrown over them. The ɔlɔmɛ̃ work with the shovel and hoe; the pile of earth rapidly reaches a meter in height.

Then the head of the ɔlɔmɛ̃ stops the work. He passes over the grave several times, jumping with feet together. Next, passing the bundle of cloth ropes several times around his legs, he addresses the akka of those present, admonishing them not to stay in the hole.

/171 cont./

764 Work is then resumed. Those present who are not ɔ̃ɔ̃mã, including me, are invited to throw several shovels of earth. On top of the mound are placed the papay and the objects used in the mourning, topped by the dead woman's bench. Then those present go away without haste and wash at the wharf. Several shots are again fired while the canoes go away.

The graves are spaced about 10 meters apart. The dead are not grouped by lineages; the cemetery is extended as needed, and the dead person is put in the first available spot. Thus Kosolida (Awara Bakka) is placed beside Asolida (Lapé), a hundred-year-old woman dead a few months before.

They show me the graves of village heads I have known, Dholé († in 1951), Atikati († in 1953). The mounds are already half settled down, the brush on them is as much as a meter high.

[969] One of my boatmen pours a little tafia on his mother's grave which is at the edge /172/ of the path. None of those present leaves the group to go to the grave of his relatives.

[692] Thanking Ceremonies. On the twenty-third at eight o'clock, the ɔ̃nti kuutu is convened and sits at the edge of the mortuary shed.

[969] The ɔ̃ɔ̃mã and in a general way those who have worked on behalf of the dead person (only about ten remain, the others have left to work) are seated opposite the men of the dead woman's lineage.

It is always Tafanié who speaks. Béna (Dju), seated before the ɔ̃ɔ̃mã, turned toward the speaker, plays the role of respondent. Tafanié thanks all those who have worked on behalf of the dead person, detailing at length the various jobs, then citing their various lineages; he repeats the same thing in several ways and his speech is interminable. Sometimes he [293] interrupts himself to put in a good joke or drink a bumper of [415] tafia. A 15-liter demijohn is seen circulating inside the shed.

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Suddenly an incident erupts. Baafu (Lapé) insinuates that Agidibon (Aw.B.) is helping himself immoderately. Insulting words are exchanged. Agidibon leaves the council. General commotion. The tumult calms down after a quarter of an hour.

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The speaker now thanks the foreigners passing through, Saramaka and Djuka, who helped at the obsequies.

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Someone puts down on the ground a paddle on which is attached a bundle wrapped in cloth. It is the dead woman's paddle, and the bundle contains her hair. It is kept until the

[965]

broko dɛ (it seems, in fact, that this is the reason for this celebration) in order to keep contact with the dead woman's yɔ̃ka for the further questions people might have to ask it (1).

1. It seems that on this point custom envisages especially the case of near relatives of the dead person traveling on the river at the time of the death, and who could not be present at the burial.

Then, several ɔlɔmɛ will go to the cemetery to bury the bundle inside the mound.

The spectators go toward a shaded spot, for it is near noon and the sun is overwhelming.

Sosoman carries the front of the paddle and Tansia the back. Without any question at all being asked, they circulate in the village for a long time. Several times I see them make contradictory movements, nod their heads forward and sideways at the same time.

Here they are back again near Tafanié. To my great surprise Tafanié asks questions in a low voice, cupping his hands in front of his mouth.

/172 cont./

764 787 Several times the paddle is seen to answer affirmatively, then negatively. Not one of those present can understand what is said, but not one shows impatience or doubt.

[613] Suddenly Tafanié orders his assistants to cut rods: the dead woman has asked that the people of her own lineage be beaten, guilty of having neglected the yɔ́ka's warnings. On seeing these preparations the people of Kotoïda's lineage /173/ run away in confusion in every direction while their adversaries pursue them with the appearance of having a very good time. Some take refuge in the water, others in the bush; none whatever can be caught.

Completely symbolic punishment, moreover, for at the end of ten minutes they are seen to reappear and take their places again among those present.

764 The obsequies are ended. Only the deceased's near relatives stay seated in their hammocks under the mortuary shed. They will remain there until the broko dɛ.

764 767 Payments of the ɔ́kɔmɛ̃. The ɔ́kɔmɛ̃ divide up one lot of cloth, keeping track of what they have received in the preceding obsequies. That does not appear to cause any discussion. If, after this, someone who has not furnished any work wants to take one of these pieces of cloth, he may do so by offering tafia to the people present.

766 787 775 Funeral ceremonies for people who die while traveling. If a man dies in the course of a distant trip, they take from the cadaver before burying it his hair and fingernails, which are brought back to his native village; in fact, it is assumed that as long as a fragment of the body is not buried, the yɔ́ka remains attached to it; hair and fingernails will therefore permit the interrogation of the yɔ́ka and will be buried in the cemetery with the usual rites.

/173 cont./

764 Broko dɛ. The eighth day after death, a ceremony called broko dɛ takes place, not to be confused with the lifting of mourning. This ceremony marks the end of the burial rites proper; when it is ended, the dead person can no longer be questioned directly; the period of mourning begins.

[613] It is a very simple ceremony which attracts few people and happens almost entirely within the lineage.

[538] At nightfall they begin to relate Anansi toli, those tra-
[535] ditional tales which make the audience vibrate together and create a special atmosphere. Then come the sɩnge, susa, and awasa dances which last all night.

764 The next day each one busies himself at small jobs in
769 the village while the women prepare the meal. This is the ceremony called towɛ nyɩ̃, which takes place at the edge of the mortuary shed about four o'clock in the afternoon. Each woman of the lineage brings a large bowl of rice and a small bowl containing either a piece of meat cooked in sauce or some fish. The oldest man of the lineage has large banana leaves spread out on the ground at the edge of the shed; he takes a little of each dish and puts it down on the leaves, while at the same time addressing the ancestors in ordinary language in the tone of an intimate conversation: "Dead of the family, come, come to eat today."

That lasts perhaps a quarter of an hour, while those present are seated, immobile and meditative. The ancestors are supposed to eat the spiritual part of the food -- kaaka fu nyɩ̃.

Then the elders line up at the edge of the shed five or six small children of about ten years, each one of whom holds a basin upside down. A man keeps them in line /174/ with the aid of a long stick. Then, at a signal, he lifts the stick and the children dash headlong with laughs and shouts toward the ancestors' portion, each one carrying away all he could cover
[613] with his basin. The ceremony terminates with a joyful meal eaten together by the whole lineage, symbol of the communion between the dead and the living.

/174 cont./

764 Cemeteries. There are two cemeteries in Boni country: one on the lands of the Dikan lineage for the people living on the French bank, the other downstream from Kotika for the inhabitants of that village. They are ordinary places which nothing indicates from the bank, for they are covered like the rest of the country by secondary forest. The dead are buried there in graves aligned parallel to the river, about seven meters apart. The dead are placed with heads turned toward the river. No separation by lineage exists within the cemetery.

The graves are not marked by any decoration, and at the end of about ten years, the mound having settled down, no trace of the burial remains.

[767] The graves are never cleaned. Only the ɔlamã heads, who have received special instruction, know the graves of the principal chiefs and the boundaries of the cemetery.

769 The Boni never go to the cemetery alone and do not
[754] make offerings on the graves of their near relatives. Someone
[775] who would frequent the cemetery alone would be suspected of being a wisimã seeking to capture the yɔ́ka of a dead person.

764 Even if they are right near the villages, cemeteries are
487 never connected directly to them by paths, and the dead are transported by boat. By proceeding thus they hope to isolate the villages from evil influences.

966 If someone dies by drowning, he is buried away from the cemetery. According to Mr. W. F. van Lier, among the Djuka
[961] all drowned persons are supposed to have been victims of a
[784] kunu; the Boni do not have this conception and declare that they
[184] have lost the meaning of this custom; one notices, however, that they observe mourning for the drowned according to the usual rites.

/174 cont./

764 Children are buried with the normal ceremonies only from about the age of six on. The rule is the following: A child is buried in the cemetery and broko dɛ is done for him if the next child of the same mother is beginning to walk.

766 Young children are buried without a coffin at a special site on the edge of each village; a board is simply placed on the [828] body before filling the grave. They have the idea that very [795] young children have no vital force, and that their yɔka cannot do any harm. /Fig. 25 appears here./ /175/

764

Mourning

After the burial the wives of the dead man (or the husband if it is a woman), the nearest relatives on the maternal side, as well as the children, sojourn eight days more in the mortuary shed, until the broko dɛ.

765 From then on the obligations of mourning are limited, [831] for the near relatives of the dead person, to abstaining for a [795] year from dancing, wearing jewelry or too fine clothes; it goes [171] completely otherwise for the spouse of the dead person; the Refugee Blacks indeed take for granted, like the Creoles of Surinam, the persistence of the sexual jealousy of the dead person, whose yɔka is thought to remain in contact with the living for a year.

State of the spouse in mourning. The principle is that the surviving spouse, until the lifting of mourning, is subject to the will of the dead person. In order to materialize that in an obvious way, he cannot, during this whole period, wear his usual clothes but must dress exclusively in pieces of cloth appropriated for him from among the ones the dead person possessed, or given by the nearest maternal relatives of the dead person.

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Fig. 25. The coffin is placed on board a canoe.

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765 For the duration of the mourning, any indiscretion of the
775 surviving spouse will draw upon him the pitiless vengeance of the yɔrka; it is important for him to make himself forgotten, to have a modest and decent demeanor. The dead person might be vexed with him for having kept his health and good looks. So they try to give the surviving spouse the aspect of a miserable
765 and unfortunate being. The dead person's relatives are par-
775 ticularly interested in having this discipline observed, for in
613 the opposite case the dead person's yɔrka would turn back its vengeance against his own lineage. During all the mourning the whole lineage considers itself in danger. So custom requires that during all this period the widower (or widow) be placed under the authority of the dead person's lineage.

765 In the case of concubinage, mourning is taken on by the
SOV spouse even if the relations have not been made official. People cite the example of Way (Boniville) who assumed mourning for a Djuka with whom she had begun to live before he could propose to her officially.

765 State of persons in mourning. A widower's state is exactly like
[775] that of a widow, which tends to show that in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks the dead, men and women, have the same level of being and the same power over the living.

765 The surviving spouse is placed under the protection of
769 the ancestors of the dead spouse's lineage. Without this pro-
613 tection assured by the prayers of the members of this lineage, he would find himself defenseless. The proof of it is that the
[628] principal sanction against him is to lift the mourning premature-
[304] ly by going to the fraga tiki to tell the ancestors that one is no longer interested in him. That amounts indirectly to cursing him (see below the example of Gamba).

/175 cont./

765 613 The spouse in mourning is taken temporarily out of his lineage and placed under the /176/ /Fig. 24 appears here/ /177/ protection of the lineage of the dead spouse, in a situation corresponding to that of the client in ancient /Roman/ society.

[769] He can no longer pray to his own ancestors. If he is sick he asks the elders of the dead spouse's lineage to pray for him to their own ancestors.

765 A man in mourning is freed from certain obligations and responsibilities:

--He cannot take part in a council of his lineage;

--If there is a squabble between his lineage and another, he cannot be taken to task;

--Part of his catch may not be appropriated in case of great nivrée;

--He is freed from his funerary obligations as an ɔlɔmã or kisimã.

765 602 613 A man in mourning is placed under the collective authority of his wife's lineage, but actually under the authority of her near relatives: mother, grandmother, real uncles and aunts. It is real kinship which is involved in matters of mourning; classificatory kinship enters into it only if all the near relatives are dead.

In general it is old women of these near relatives who are charged with watching over the behavior of the widower and on the other hand with seeing that he does not lack anything he needs.

For example Alémin (Aw.B.1) was married to Yundu (L2, G60) of the Lapé 2 fraction, living in Loka village. When she died in May, 1957, he was put under the authority of Asakundu (L2, E55), his wife's grandmother, and of Asakundu's sister

[768] Térésa, living in Boniville. Since he had not yet built a hut for his wife, he was enjoined to come specially to build himself a little hut in Loka village in order to reside near Asakundu.

[Text continues on p. 269]

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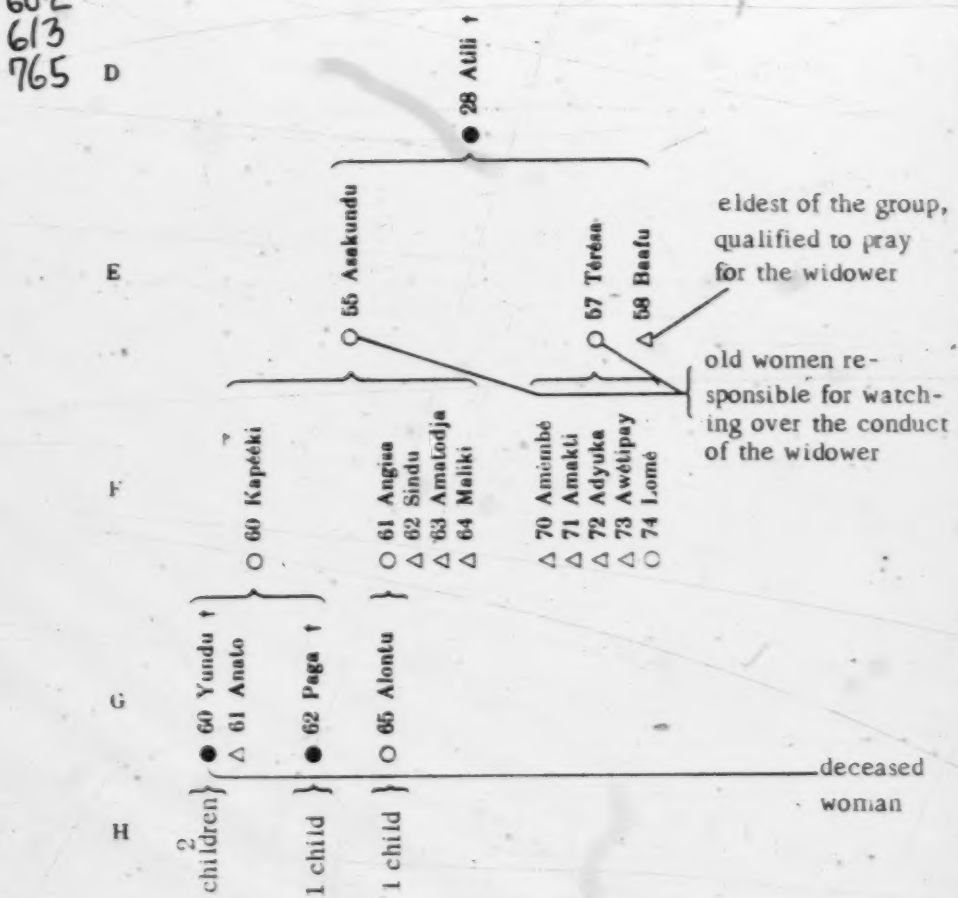

Fig. 24. Genealogy of the Lapé 2 fraction. Functions resulting from Yundu's death.

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765 If he was sick, it was △ Baafu (L2, E58), the eldest of the
602 group, who was to pray for him. Alémin had nothing to do with
613 the head of the Lapé lineage nor with his wife's classificatory uncles of the Lapé 1 group.

As for Diamanti (Aw.B.2, E56, † in 1955), her husband Booki (K3, E133) spent the mourning in the house that Diamanti had had constructed for her by a former husband. It was ○Emma, Diamanti's mother, and Sanéti, Emma's younger sister, who kept him under watch, under the responsibility of △ Akodo, the dead woman's brother (all the actual uncles being dead). Booki had nothing to do with either the classificatory uncles nor the head of the Awara Bakka lineage.

When Atuku (Aw.B.1, D20) died (1956), her husband Nétali was put under the authority of Kondoku, Atuku's brother, all the uncles in both the real and the classificatory sense being dead.

765 The submission that this mourning entails must not be
[775] considered as symbolic. It bears down on the surviving spouse with an intolerable weight which can be borne only because of the conviction that it is the sole means of protection against the dead person's jealousy. Not only does the widower (or widow) do nothing to free himself from it, but at the least indisposition he will add, of his own accord, to the harshness of his state.

The widower can no longer use his clothes and personal
765 utensils; he keeps /178/ his hammock and gun. All the rest,
613 clothing (appropriated for the mourning), various utensils, is furnished him by the dead woman's lineage. Each woman of this lineage must give him a little of what she prepares. He himself must not ask for anything.

/178 cont./

765 He cannot go anywhere without the authorization of his watchers, and only for a specific purpose. For example, when Alémin found work with a European in October, 1957, the two old women who were charged with looking after him came to deliver him to his employer like a prisoner, making it clear in particular that they were forbidding him to disembark in such-and-such villages where he had nothing to do.

Alémin was authorized to be present at the mourning for his mother, but he did not take part in any of the ceremonies at all. He was not present at the interrogation of the dead woman carried in her coffin, and was not informed about the arrangements made for dividing up the inheritance.

765 768 A man in mourning does not necessarily live in the hut he has had built for his wife, but in a hut designated for him. He may (this is Alémin's case) be invited to build a small hut which, at the end of the mourning, will become the property of his mother-in-law.

When the house has been bequeathed, the heir may take possession of it only if the spouse has not received orders to reside in it. Only at the end of mourning does he enter fully into possession of his rights.

765 [769] A man in mourning may not go out of his house after nightfall, particularly on nights when people dance after having called all the ancestors. He would have everything to fear from the yorka.

He may circulate in the village and speak to anyone he wishes, but must not joke or be present at any festivities whatever, not even to hear tales. Not only may he not pay court to a woman, but it is still forbidden for him to make discreet overtures, even through an intermediary, with an eye to remarriage.

/178 cont./

765 He may not walk around stripped to the waist and bare-headed; Alémin used to wear permanently a horrible jersey and a holey beret.

765 He may neither dance nor sing (even alone). If he has a
787 gadu, this gadu is called and invited not to go to the head of its "master" for the duration of mourning. The doyen of the lineage of the party concerned pronounces this adjuration.

However, a reservation exists. If someone absolutely needs to consult this god, the widower is asked to remove his mourning clothing and put on his own clothes for a few hours. The consultation takes place in private inside a hut; then the mourning resumes.

765 He observes the basic interdiction (bwasi kina) of the dead woman in addition to his own.

He must absolutely spend the yali festival (New Year's Day) with the dead woman's family.

Such are the principal obligations and interdictions which rule over the life of a man in mourning, during a period of at least 18 months, which may even be prolonged up to two years and more (at the end of 1958 the mourning for Yundu, † in May, 1957, was still not lifted, and Alémin did not expect to be freed from it before the spring of 1959).

These obligations are aggravated still more during the first three months by special provisions. /179/

During these first three months, the dipi baaka or deep mourning, the man in mourning must keep an attitude of the most acute sorrow. He leaves the house assigned to him only for indispensable work, and does not go away from the dead woman's village; he remains with his eyes lowered, not looking directly at anyone except members of the dead woman's family. Usage used to require him to lean on a stick like an exhausted person, but the present grand man has abolished that custom.

/179 cont./

765 After three months, an offering is made at the fraga tiki
[769] of the dead person's lineage, setting forth how much her spouse
[718] has respected her memory and asking permission to lighten the
[613] manifestations of his sorrow. The mourning is then lightened, but the man in mourning continues to wear a bandeau around his head or at the very least an old beret.

765 During the first months the man in mourning has no other
461 responsibility than to hunt and fish at the order of the dead
[613] woman's lineage. He does his own cooking with the food given to him; he cuts a clearing for his mother-in-law or another woman of the deceased's relatives, who will farm it with him.
[431] Next, he receives the order to go and earn the money necessary for the sizable contribution he must bring to the festival of the lifting of mourning. During the entire duration of the mourning he must report on his work and moves.

765 When the end of mourning approaches, he must do a job
[606] for the benefit of his mother-in-law, generally redoing the roof of her house or building a boat for her.

These arrangements do not involve any material sanction
[626] whatever. Like the rest of the social life of the Refugee Blacks, they rest entirely upon fear of a suprahuman sanction.
[587] After the lifting of mourning, the person in mourning may remarry without further delay.

765 State of widows and co-wives of a widower. The state of a
768 woman in mourning is practically identical to that of a widower.
[562] She lives for the duration of mourning in her deceased husband's house under the surveillance of his near relatives on the maternal
[613] side. The dead man's lineage lends her all the objects she
[439] needs and furnishes the imported commodities (salt, kerosene, soap) that she uses. On the other hand, she may freely use the produce of the clearing that her husband had cut for her, since it is taken for granted that these products are the exclusive property of the wife.

/179 cont./

765 431 [606] Before coming out of mourning, the widow must procure for herself at the minimum the money necessary for a demijohn of tafia as a contribution to the festival of the lifting of mourning. She must make a present of several cans of couac to her husband's mother.

765 843 184 A pregnant woman undergoes mourning exactly according to the general law. The custom described by several authors for the Saramaka, according to which the pregnant woman must join one of her husband's "brothers," does not apply to the Boni.

765 888 There are some attenuations of the harshness of mourning with respect to old women. For example in 1956, Lémiki (70 years), living in Boniville, was in mourning for her husband Tabiki (Awara Bakka, but residing since childhood with the Lapé lineage in Loka /180/ where he had been raised by his father). [768] [602] Lémiki alternately spent three weeks in her house and three in her husband's. It was Asamani, Tabiki's sister by the same father, who exercised authority over her.

765 768 [613] This remarkable example shows that as regards mourning (rights and duties), the principle of residence plays an essential role. He who has been reared by his father is in this respect taken out of his lineage, which loses all rights and all control over the conduct of the mourning.

765 [775] The co-wives of a widower are subject to mourning on the same grounds as he, and for the same motive, since they are targets for the jealousy of the dead woman's yɔrka.

[768] However, they are authorized most often to live with their maternal family. 765 833 When the period of dipi baaka has ended, they may take up conjugal relations again with their husband, but at intervals of several weeks and without his being able to spend the night with one of them. [613] Each time he must ask permission of the head of the dead woman's lineage.

/180 cont./

765 613 689 An incident. In 1957, the Saramaka Gamba (75 years old), Way's widower (Dip. I), caused a serious incident by refusing several times the obedience he owed to the latter's lineage, on the pretext that he was old and knew how to behave.

His son Maliki (born of a Saramaka woman), whom he was raising, married to Way's daughter, had gone fishing above the Litani. Upon his return, Kwau (80 years old), Way's elder brother, reproached him for having left without authorization, pointing out that his father, Gamba, being placed under his authority by mourning, he was too, because of this fact. Gamba [578] did not accept this reasoning and the two old men fought. This [769] was a fine scandal. Kwau and the elders of Way's lineage came [778] before the fraga tiki of L'Enfant Perdu village to lift his mourn- [784] ing forthwith (which, let us recall, is the equivalent of cursing him by delivering him over to the vengeance of the dead woman's yɔrka).

Members of Way's family went to break up the shacks of Gamba and his son, who lived hidden in the bush for some time. [627] Then Gamba had the village heads intercede and obtained his [769] pardon. The elders of Way's lineage went to the fraga tiki to [778] utter the words putting things back in order.

765 Lifting of mourning. The festival of the lifting of mourning - puu baaka - is celebrated 18 months to two years after the burial. The delay may be a little longer, for most often the village celebrates this festival for several of its dead at the same time. It is a heavy burden, for festivals for lifting mourning attract many people and everyone present must find as much as he wishes to eat and drink.

[621] This festival is celebrated in the framework of the village and not in that of the lineage. It will be celebrated in the same way for a Djuka who died in a Boni village, provided that he lived there a sufficiently long time. In such a case the expenses

/180 cont./

765 are divided up equally among all the inhabitants of the village. But if the dead person had near relatives in the village, children, nephews, or brothers, it is they who stand the main burden.

[613] Members of the dead person's lineage who are settled in other villages contribute equally to the expenses and the organizing of the festival, but in a symbolic fashion. /181/

[623] A council (kuutu) of the village inhabitants sets the date; during the two weeks preceding each one is busy. The women 765 hull and winnow rice, prepare great quantities of couac and 262 sugar-cane juice. The busimã scour the bush and have meat and fish smoked. Each one, according to his means, buys tafia, sugar, chocolate, and other articles of food liked by the Refugee Blacks.

765 The celebration of the rites occupies a whole week. This 775 is because, the Refugee Blacks think the influence of the dead person can be eliminated only progressively by the repetition of the rite of separation.

The first day, the yɔrka of the dead person whose mourning is going to be lifted is called by formulas beaten on the [535] apinti drum. Then possession dances take place.

765 The second day is reserved for the material preparation for the ceremonies to follow.

[613] The third day, the spouse in mourning, if there is one, is conducted by the members of the dead person's lineage under [822] the mortuary shed. He is dressed in red and is congratulated for having kept the mourning well. Then he is led to the river, [783] and old women of the dead person's lineage begin to bathe him [775] while adjuring the yɔrka to part company with him.

The fourth day at nightfall, all those present assemble at the mortuary shed. They recite tales (Anãsi tɔli), [538] improvisations (mato), and riddles (ɔdo). This phase of the [781] festival has as its object the concentrating of the attention of the hearers; it creates a warm, collective atmosphere which impregnates those present, bringing to them intense and highly coloured emotions.

/181 cont./

765 535 533 Next come the dances, always in the order sɔ̃nge, susa, awasa, the rhythms given on the apinti drum. These are not possession dances and do not appear in themselves to have a religious meaning; all involve choruses in which the singers do not accompany themselves on any instrument at all; these songs have no other meaning than to exalt life; the Refugee Blacks find their best artistic expression in them. Many of them demonstrate dazzling imagination; the subjects are extremely varied, and every year new ones are created. But there is a certain number of "classics" which reappear in each festival. Let us mention: "The man who calls his dog lost in the woods"; "The song of the Balen River"; "The woman who watches over her daughter," etc. These songs are very beautiful, and in the great mourning festivals it is difficult to hear them without emotion. Songs and dances follow one another without interruption until the sun's return. This is what is called broko dɛ̃, "break a day." This ritual, which has a key value in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks, appears to be the affirmation by the group of the triumph of life over death.

765 [769] The fifth day, a kind of buffet is served to the guests under the mortuary shed. In the afternoon there is the offering of food to the ancestors, tɔwɛ nyã; this rite is a communion between the dead and the living.

[769] On the morning of the sixth day, the ceremony ends with the offering of water, celebrated not at the fraga tiki but at the edge of the shed, in honor of the ancestors. They invoke one [775] last time /182/ the yɔrka of the dead man (or the dead woman), while asking it to separate from his spouse for good and to leave her in peace! "U puu a umã a baaka; yu ãŋga umã yu paati tidɛ, na: mu siki, na: wã sani mu du ẽŋ, a mu dɛ̃ bũ. (We lift the mourning of (this) woman; thou and the woman, you separate from each other today; she must not be sick, nothing must happen to her, she must be well)."

/182 cont./

965 Then they address the dead person in the name of the people of his village: "We have done with thee, stay there where God has placed thee."

The spouse in mourning is again bathed in the river by old women who have themselves gone through mourning.

Then they address the yɔrka of the ancestors and the [969] entities of the Beyond who are imagined to have come in a crowd: [975] "Ala sani di kɔm ya, yu mu luku ala ãŋga bū; u kaba ãŋga yu; yu sa: waka ala peesi; (Each one of the beings who have come, be benevolent toward us all; we have finished with thee, thou canst go anywhere)."

On the seventh day most of those present begin to leave. An intimate ceremony brings the dead person's near relatives together in the very house where he died. They weep and lament one last time. Then a last offering of food is made in the same house, and they repeat the adjuration: "We have done with thee; stay where God has placed thee."

[968] The eighth day, the spouse whose mourning has just been [613] lifted is conducted solemnly back to his village by the people [431] of the dead person's lineage. He is congratulated, he offers food and drink to all those present. What he might have had left of savings disappears on this occasion.

He must sleep three nights in his village, still without being able to have relations with a woman. When this time limit has gone by, he comes to give back the red clothes which the dead person's lineage had lent to him. Only then is he free.

[114] Notes taken in Boniville in November, 1957 on the occasion of the lifting of mourning for Béniti. This festival is given for the lifting of mourning for ○ Béniti (Dju, E5, living in Boniville, † in 1955 at 75), of △ Tito (Kotika, Boniville, † in 1955 at 15), and of △ G..., boy of ten, son of a woman of the village of L'Enfant Perdu (Dip. I), dead in Boniville where he was reared by Térésa. The festival is given more than two years after death. Sometimes, when there is no spouse subjected to mourning

765 /182 cont./
(which is the case here), they wait still longer in order to be able to group the lifting of mourning for several dead people from the same village in a single ceremony. The unfolding of the rites shows that much more importance is attached to Béniti than to the two young boys; in fact, the ceremony is devoted almost exclusively to her.

765 621 613 [229] The mourning-lifting ceremonies in Boniville are particularly interesting, for this village includes members of five different lineages. The distribution of functions and duties allows one to better understand the thought of the Boni relative to social organization; the principle of residence plays the determining role. The ceremony takes place in the village where the dead people lived, whatever their lineage was. The burden of organization is divided up about equally among all the inhabitants of the village. The /183/ members of the lineages of the dead people living in other villages are present at the ceremony, but their contribution is much less important.

765 [251] On November 8 (day called busimã kom) at noon, the festival begins with the arrival of the buchiman who, the week before, had caught and dried fish for the festival.

The buchiman are put under the authority of Tofioto (K). They are all volunteers (one who would excuse himself from rendering this service would lay himself open to being abandoned alone on the day when he would have to bear the weight of mourning for one of his near relatives). The main weight of mourning is borne by Boniville village. The people of the principal fraction of the Dju (Asisi village) furnish a rather large contribution as regards time spent fishing but symbolic as to the furnishing of tafia and imported foods.

[226] [251] [621] [613] These buchiman had been at work since October 25, catching and salting fish:

765 /183 cont./
22C

	for Boniville	for Asisi-Dju
251 Fintiman 621 Kiémenti Doni 613 Alibi	sons and grandsons of Béniti (Dju)	3 men over 20 years old
4 young men of the Kotika lineage		4 to 5 adolescents
1 —	Dip. I —	
2 —	Lapé —	
1 —	Papaïston —	
2 —	Poti —	

They furnished a total of two weeks of work but each one collected for himself about 15 kilograms of dry fish.

765 [531] [411] The buchiman, riding in five large canoes decorated with multicolored oriflammes, approach the Boniville wharf where all the young people of the village are massed, the men armed with their guns, the women brandishing banners made of brand-new camisas. The hurrahs resound, punctuated by hundreds of shots. In an atmosphere of enthusiasm the buchiman make their entrance into the village and go to report on their mission to the council assembled under the mortuary shed. According to custom, this council is improvised at the last moment by the elders who are there, without attention to origin, and does not involve any definite authority.

Four baskets of dried fish are put down at the edge of the shed, for the mourning-lifting festival, then each one goes to get and arrange in his house a big personal basketful.

The fish intended for the festival are distributed among the women charged with preparing them.

About 2:00 P.M. the elders are assembled in the western part of the shed; in the eastern part, the near relatives of the dead for whom mourning will be lifted lament.

Several apinti drums are brought and placed laterally.

/184/

765 [535] The buchiman execute the kwadyo dance, which seems to be an African war dance; they hold a stick in front of them and make the gesture of taking aim.

That lasts about half an hour.

The guests continue to arrive individually and settle themselves around the mortuary shed, seated on their little benches.

765 202 About three o'clock the drums begin to beat again. It is Bukuman, master of the art of speaking with the drum, who strikes the summons' formulas; the others give him the cue.

The drum speaks for a long time (1). An elder translates

> 1. It is more a question of conventional formulas than a language; two different sounds can be obtained from the drum by striking respectively with the fingers and with the palm.

for me approximately: "Other villages, be still, for there is a great festival in the grand man's village."

"We who are now living, we are going to do what our ancestors taught us long ago."

765 [551] Then the dead for whom mourning will be lifted are directly addressed, being called by name if they are men; for the women like Béniti, who cannot be called directly, for women do not have a drum-name, they call one of their deceased near relatives, here Diolé †, Béniti's brother: "Tell thy sister that we are going to part company with her, for we have been in mourning for her a long time and this is the custom, such as the ancestors did before us."

[969] "Ancestors, come, come near us, we are going to pour the tafia and cane juice for you."

[202] (Libations are made within the shed.) Then the drum addresses those present:

765 /184 cont./

[202] "You who with obia so that the machete will not cut you, so that the broken glass will not wound you, what are you waiting for? You remain seated, are you afraid?"

765 At these words, several of those present stand up and
786 begin to dance, seeking the trance of possession. Some run
787 into the village and come back running, carrying banana-tree stalks. Others drag thorny spathes of awara; two brandish an old, demolished boat.

The drum furiously beats the rhythm of Kumenti. Part of the dancers, taken hold of by a furious delirium, jump and [824] prance about. Certain ones take thorny spathes of awara (2)

2. Thorny palm (astrocaryum vulgare) whose sharp thorns nearly 10 centimeters long are particularly formidable. It is impossible to pick up an awara spathe with bare hands without hurting oneself.

under the arm or pass them around the neck.

Part of those present are taken hold of in their turn by trances, including people of mature age and serious character like Fintiman, who is carried off in a faint.

Two possessed people, a man (Ernest, Kotika) and a woman (Awini, Boniville), smeared with pemba, are subject to extraordinary contortions. Ernest breaks a bottle over his head with such force that the pieces fly several meters. Both /185/ dance on their knees for an appreciable length of time (but the next day Awini will come to have herself cared for). Those present manifest frenzied joy.

765 About five o'clock the sange dance begins. Three apinti
535 drums are placed at the west wall of the shed. The orchestra
534 is completed by an old overturned boat which seven to eight men strike with sticks.

/185 cont./

765 [535] The figures are almost similar to those of the awasa dance, except that the dancers move forward stamping with the left foot.

[533] Songs follow, but entirely covered by the drum and without great musical interest.

Second day, Nov. 9. Day called puu dɛ ("a day is withdrawn"). No rite is performed on that day. Each one is busy with his occupations. The women pound and winnow rice.

Third day, Nov. 10. Day called lolo mata "the pestles are rolled." That day they carry to the edge of the mortuary shed pestles, wood for heating, and everything necessary for the preparation of the next day's food (1).

1. When there is a spouse in mourning, it is on that day that he is brought to the mortuary shed by the dead person's lineage, congratulated, and clothed in new garments red in color.

Fourth day, Nov. 11. Day called poti ala sani na a krɛy ɔsu ("to put all things into the mortuary shed").

About two o'clock the young men who have been to cut wood for heating come back in boats decorated with pennons, in the midst of hurrahs and shots.

At three o'clock the basia circulate in the village, calling the women who appear from all sides carrying heavy baskets of cassava.

The provisions prepared for the festival are brought to the edge of the shed. Many of those present have brought a bottle [293] of tafia. The basia collect all the tafia in large demijohns. In all there will be six demijohns of 15 liters of tafia and as much cane juice.

/185 cont./

765 538 About eight o'clock in the evening, people assemble around the mortuary shed where the drummers and mato (Anansi Toli) storytellers sit. Amèmbé, of Loka village, begins to tell a story which is scarcely listened to, the audience remaining noisy and distracted. The respondents punctuate his discourse with approbations: "hiya ba! na so!" At several [522] passages of the story (when Anansi has succeeded in deceiving his victim), the audience shakes with laughter, the drums beat, the storyteller and his respondents sing and dance. Little by little the audience warms up, participates intensely in the story.

Another tale follows, told by Adiiso, head of the Dju lineage (Asisi). The audience is overexcited, the interludes [535] of dancing become more and more numerous and longer, everybody, men, women, and children take part in it.

About eleven o'clock the dances are going to begin in 765 the order susa, sɔ̃ŋgɛ, awasa; at six /186/ o'clock in the morn- [535] ing the next day the awasa dances are carried on. Part of those present go down to the wharf to go home, showing no apparent fatigue.

Fifth day, Nov. 12. Nothing happens in the morning. The people take some rest.

At 3:00 P.M. the young men go around dressed up to the nines; people visit each other from one house to the other, they drink and sing.

765 About 3:30 the basia circulate in the village, calling the 262 women to bring the ceremonial meal. Tables are set out under 264 the shed. The women each bring a big bowl or basin of cooked rice (about two kilograms of rice). Some add a bowl of sauce or cooked fish. No meat.

The basia lay out all that on the tables. There are about 30 bowls or basins (which represents a handsome effort, the rice harvest having been bad), about 50 bottles of soda, several boxes of pastries /biscuits/ and Dutch cheeses.

/18o cont./

765 Fintiman directs the ceremony. He divides all these
264 dishes without distinction of origin into several lots, one for
[613] each lineage.

[515] All the guests go down to the wharf to wash in the river, then put on new clothes before participating in the ceremonial meal.

[613] The people of each lineage go to eat on their side; a bowl is carried to the people in mourning, like Alémin, who remain confined at home. But the near relatives of the three dead for whom mourning is going to be lifted take part in the ceremony.

765 About four o'clock the women are seen to appear again, carrying a small bowl of rice accompanied by a little fish and peanut sauce. They put them down on the ground at the edge of the mortuary shed.

Banana leaves are arranged at the edge of the shed (north wall, on the side facing the river).

The elders, seated on their little benches, gather together in a half circle. Fintiman and Bukuman take a little from each bowl, spread it out on the banana leaves. They call by name the dead for whom mourning is being lifted, Béniti and the young boys Tito and G..., speaking to them in a familiar conversational tone as if to living people whom one invited to eat.

Several persons come to eat a little of the food.

At 5:00 P.M. Fintiman has five small boys of five to seven years line up, each provided with a basin, in front of the food spread out on the ground. At a given signal they rush forward, each one carrying away what he could cover with his basin. They leave a little of it, which will stay there all night. The next day the left-overs from the buffet prepared for the living will be added to it.

/186 cont./

765 In the evening the young people dance in front of the houses of several men who have given the tafia, but that no longer has the character of a ceremony. All is over at eleven o'clock in the evening.

On the sixth day, Nov. 13, at seven o'clock, the elders assemble again in front of the /187/ banana leaves where a little of the food offered the day before remains (dogs and chickens have eaten part of it).

A long palaver begins, disconnected and disconcerting, whose purpose escapes me. The clearest thing coming out of it is that the captains make known what the grand man (absent from the ceremony) told them in the morning. They thank the grand man for this festival which has gone off without any incident; they say that they can be counted on if some mourning rises in another village.

[291] [535] [177] Todo makes apologies to the grand man because the young people were dressed in a new style (large loincloths /calimbés/ reaching to the ground) and danced several Creole dances. He says to the audience that this does not conform to custom and that the true Boni dances are sɔ̃ŋgɛ, susa, awasa.

Next Fintiman pours water gently on the banana leaves, calling the dead whose mourning is being lifted. "We pour water for you, watch over the people in your family, over the grand man and over those who have worked for the mourning, that they may be in good health, that nothing bad happen to them.

We have done with you; stay where God put you."

765 While pronouncing these words, Fintiman breaks his dead 775 mother's bench and dish (for the dead boys, nothing had been [768] brought). It is a question not only of marking the break with the living but of procuring for the dead woman what will be necessary for her in the Beyond. For this purpose a paddle is also broken, which her son Klémenti prepared for her, and calabashes prepared by her daughters.

/187 cont./

765 Since there is no spouse in mourning (Béniti had been divorced for a long time), the ceremony stops there.

Then those present scatter in the village, go to dance, eat, and drink at one another's houses. They have the satisfied air of people who have just done an important job successfully.

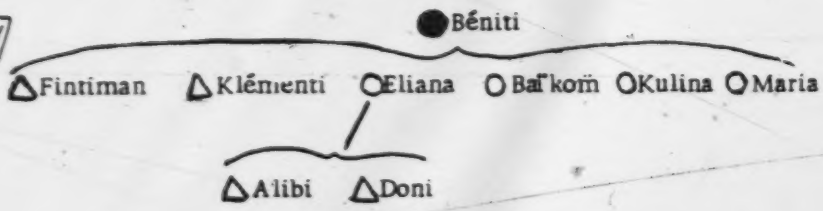
[602] On the seventh day an intimate ceremony brings together Béniti's children and grandchildren in her daughter Kulina's house, where she died. After an offering of food, they weep and lament a last time. Then Fintiman, her elder son, repeats the formula of separation:

"We have done with you; stay where God has put you."

Lifting of mourning for Béniti. Division of expenditures. Béniti belonged to the fraction of the Dju lineage settled in [613] Boniville; the principal weight of the mourning therefore had [621] to be borne by that fraction, the other (the one in Asisi) bringing a symbolic contribution.

Béniti left two sons and two adult grandsons:

[601]



/188/ Actually the elder son Fintiman paid half the expense himself, the younger son being ill and without regular [431] resources. No contribution in money is asked of the women, who must, on the other hand, draw substantial amounts from their rice stock.

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	Fintiman	Klémenti	Alibi	Doni
10 liter demijohns of tafia	4 = 14,800 fr	1 = 3,700 fr	1 = 3,700 fr	1 = 3,700 fr
Cases of soda (1,000 fr.)	4 = 4,000 fr	3 = 3,000 fr	1 = 1,000 fr	1 = 1,000 fr
Dutch cheeses	1 = 1,000	nothing	nothing	nothing
Boxes biscuits	2 = 1,800	---	---	---
Sugar, kilograms	10 = 1,000	---	---	---
Sugar cane	3,000	---	---	---
	25,600 fr	6,700 fr	4,700 fr	4,700 fr

/188 cont./

765 431 Nearly half of the tafia was brought to the mortuary shed to serve for the dances, the other half was distributed to visitors in the course of calls of personal interest that they were coming to make on the village people at home.

Béniti's three sons-in-law each gave three liters of tafia.

[613] The Boniville men belonging to other lineages each gave one liter, except the two principal basia (assistants to the grand man for the internal running of the village), Todo and Tofioto, who gave two liters each. Besides, each one kept one or two liters to offer to callers at their homes.

[613] As for the men of the Dju lo of Asisi, they brought one liter each, including the head of the lineage.

All the Boniville women and all the women of Asisi-Dju brought their contributions in the form of food.

In all about 150 adult visitors came.

765 273 One can estimate that about 200 liters of tafia were drunk, or a little more than a liter per person, which, for five days of festivities, is not enormous.

But since some drink very little, one can estimate that those most given to drunkenness drank up to three and four liters.

Inheritance

428 613

The custom of the Refugee Blacks, hostile to all that might divide the matrilineage, cannot accept the notion of a single heir entering into possession of all the property of the dead person and replacing him in his functions. This idea of the only heir considered as a substitute for the dead person, as it exists among the Bamiléké, which leads toward the individualization of one line within the lineage, can be regarded as the extreme opposite of the thought of the Refugee Blacks.

/188 cont./

428 In the custom of the Refugee Blacks, the inheritance
[613] must be dispersed among the members of the dead person's matrilineage in the strict sense (bɛ) and his children.

/189/ The custom of numerous African societies has it that the men inherit from men and the women from women. This notion is totally contrary to the legal thought of the Refugee Blacks. A house, an object, a boat, may pass from a man to a woman or conversely. It is the same with the lower gods with which the dead person might have been possessed.

428 If the dead person has not indicated before his death, in
787 front of witnesses, the distribution of his property, the same
764 divinatory procedure is used as for the determination of the causes of death: the coffin being carried on the heads of two men, in front of it are lined up the members of the dead person's matrilineage in the restricted sense and his children. The president of the lãnti kuutu asks: "To whom dost thou leave thy house?" The coffin moves toward one of those present, then: "To whom dost thou leave thy boat?" "To whom dost thou leave thy gun?" "To whom dost thou leave thy clearings being harvested?"

428 The partial heirs thus designated may enter immediately into possession of their legacies.

428 Reserved are what the Boni call the "equipment" of the
765 dead person, that is, his personal belongings, linen, money, which will be divided up after the lifting of mourning.

The customary rule is the following:

[602] For the duration of the mourning, these objects shut up in a trunk are put under the care of the eldest child if a woman was concerned, of the eldest classificatory nephew if a man was concerned. After the lifting of mourning, the distribution is
428 made by the dead person's mother, if she is still alive, if not
602 by the eldest of the classificatory uncles or aunts, and if they all are dead, by the eldest of the surviving classificatory brothers or sisters of the dead person.

/189 cont./

428 Example: When △ Atikati (Dju, E18) died in 1953, about 75 years old, his house went to his sister Adyidya (E19), his gun to Kéwénu (G10), his boat to his classificatory sister Aliki (E23), aged 85.

[602] Upon the lifting of mourning for Atikati, it was Aliki, by reason of being the eldest of the surviving classificatory sisters, who distributed his personal belongings and his money; for example, an iron bracelet went to Sosoman (E14) (1).

1. See the genealogical table of the Dju lineage.

428 613 602 By seeing the division of this inheritance on the genealogical table, one realizes that classificatory kinship is not a useless word and that in fact, within the matrilineage (bee), the division is made strictly at random, without consideration of sex, age, or proximity of kinship, which is strictly normal, given the divinatory procedure used.

428 776 602 An analogous conclusion comes out of the study of the inheritance of gods; the Papa gadu god of the ancestress ○Sapiké (D5) passed into Pamasa (E26), her kin in the seventh degree. Likewise the god Ampuku of △ Agoabuchi, passing from a man to a woman, went /190/ to Dabisa (G45), his kin in the tenth degree at least (Agoabuchi could not be placed with certainty on the genealogical table). The Kumēnti god of △ Antinon (D9) went to Achiké (F13).

428 Study of the inheritance of houses leads to analogous conclusions.

The only case where a certain systematization is seen to appear is that of inheriting from women having adult children. It seems (but this is not a legal principle) that these children receive the essential part of the inheritance.

/190 cont./

428 178 A tendency which has appeared during recent years in connection with men consists in bequeathing during their lifetime the essential part of their property to the children they have raised.

613 [787] Inheritance of functions and powers. Upon the death of a lineage head, the yɔrka of the dead man is asked whom it wishes to see named. Then the council assembles to proceed with the nomination; it remains free in its choice, the will of the dead man beyond the grave does not have the force of law; but actually, it seems to be most often followed.

As for the function of captain which is common to all the fractions of one lo, the inheritance may pass from one fraction to another.

Ex.: for the Awara Bakka lo, the succession:
Asèmbay (Aw.B.2);
Pèèyon (Aw.B.1);
Kondoku (Aw.B.1).

000 /191/

CHAPTER VII

BELIEFS

Origin of the Beliefs of the Refugee Blacks

771 128 The spiritual life of the Refugee Blacks of the Guianas is intimately bound up with their social life, and the division we are obliged to make for the sake of clearness of the account is very often arbitrary. So we shall try to point out these connections wherever they are essential.

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791 What constitutes the religion of the Refugee Blacks is a
194 synthesis of elements originating with various peoples of West Africa, especially the Ashanti, Agni, Mina, and Fon and also Congolese elements. This synthesis seems to have been born
[619] among the Saramaka, the first tribe formed at the beginning of the 18th century, and to have been adopted thereafter with modifications of detail by the Djuka, tribe created about 1760. The Boni, the last tribe formed, probably received these beliefs during the time of slavery which they spent under the tutelage
[184] of the Djuka, from 1815 to 1860. The beliefs of the Boni and those of the Djuka have an identical base; the rites and their
[178] effects on social life are exactly the same. Nevertheless, the Djuka, almost ten times more numerous, have been able to keep very differentiated conceptions and specialized cults, involving priests in the literal sense of the term.

The Boni have kept only the essentials, and many conceptions, especially the myths which serve as support for the whole tradition, are very much blurred among them.

829 The Boni like to imagine that Africans constitute only one nation, and that they have inherited in a lump the traditions and social forms of this nation. They know now (especially from having seen a good deal of the Senegalese riflemen of the 1937 French mission) that numerous tribes exist, but that has not shaken the veneration they have for Africa, source, for
178 them, of all knowledge and all strength. However, almost nothing of the culture peculiar to each one of the great tribes has reached them; no name of an African nation has remained in their memory, and /192/ none of the languages of their land of origin has been kept (1); everywhere the vehicular language

[173]

1. One observes, however, that a certain number of disconnected details of African life have come down to them by oral tradition;

178 [173] /192 cont./

thus it is that they have kept a rather exact description of the elephant (leu) and the gorilla (malẽngwana).

[648] imposed on the slaves has prevailed. There is nothing surprising about that, since the slaveholders tried, in order to prevent revolts, to mix to the maximum the Blacks of the various tribes.

174 A certain number of men initiated in differing degrees into African cults were among the rebels. They tried to con-
177 serve and transmit these rites, which their descendants have more or less transposed or deformed (2). As far as one can

[182]

2. The single fact that the vegetation and fauna differed totally from those of Africa immediately required a modification of ritual which called for infusions of leaves of numerous plants to which definite magical properties are attributed.

[198] As far as one can judge by the secret languages attached to these cults, in which are recognized many words deformed from the ordinary language, and a few Indian words, these cults in their present state must
[178] differ appreciably from the ones which gave them birth. In fact, the only thing the Refugee Blacks have authentically kept is concepts, metaphysical and moral ideas.

/192 cont./

771 171 [177] This is precisely what constitutes the great interest of the Refugee Blacks' religious forms, which one finds again, besides, in large measure, mixed with Christian ideas, among all the Blacks of South America. They seem to point out a very important common background of conceptions common to the West African civilizations.

771 174 184 It is certainly not by chance if the various tribes of Refugee Blacks have adopted such close social and religious forms. One must assume the action of several strong personalities who knew, with an almost superhuman instinct, how to sift out from the jumble of beliefs brought by the rebel slaves what was necessary to the life of the new society; but this new religion would not have taken root in forms so stable and so coherent if all had not been intimately conscious of being in agreement on a minimum of common concepts.

It is important to observe that the Refugee Blacks, who borrowed most of their techniques from the Indians and Europeans, remained rigorously faithful in their beliefs and rituals to the African substratum, from which they drew a homogeneous and [177] living whole. Although the beliefs of the Indians are known to them in their main lines, they have borrowed almost nothing from them; on the other hand, it is certain that vague Christian recollections influenced the conception they have of the supreme god, Masa Gadu, and their moral and religious law. But they have been introduced into an African system of thought, and in fact the beliefs which directly influence individual and social life come in a straight line from the African earth.

772 [171] Metaphysical conceptions. Through the rituals of the Refugee Blacks appear /193/ metaphysical conceptions very comparable to those which have been noted in the populations of West Africa.

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772 The Refugee Blacks consider beings and things as distributed on several levels:

--The creator god;
--Lower gods;
--Ancestors;
--Men;
--Animals;
--Plants and inanimate things.

To each of these levels corresponds a level of life and a level of force (kaakiti). A higher force may act on a lower force, but not the reverse.

771 One may say that the cults of the Refugee Blacks have as their goal to capture the vital force of the gods and the ancestors and to bring it back to the level of men, giving them strength, luck, and fecundity. To thus increase one's vital force can be defined as good. Evil (negative magic, wisi) is, on the contrary, to capture the vital force of another man in order to increase one's own.

754 The idea that one has wisima is that he uses a higher force (especially an ancestor's yorka) which he has succeeded in capturing by magic and in subjecting to his will in order to dominate someone else. Reduced to his own strength alone he could do nothing.

789 824 The magic of the Refugee Blacks might allow one to believe that they think they act directly on men through the medium of plants to which magic virtues are attached. This [772] would be a grave error; in their minds, animals and plants are placed at a lower level absolutely incapable of acting on man by itself. Plants are thought to act only insofar as they appear capable of attracting, of holding like storage cells, the vital force emanated from the gods.

/193 cont./

778 824 A currently widespread idea about animism would lead one to think, for example, that before felling a tree a Refugee Black addresses words and offerings to it. That is entirely absent from his thought: either this tree is likely to serve as support for a god, in which case it can be touched only after complex rites having the aim of transferring the god elsewhere, or it is simply a tree, and one cuts it down without further ado.

784 825 One very clear aspect of these conceptions is the dagu kunu, a curse resulting from the killing of a dog. Any animal may be killed with impunity but not a dog, because "a dog is almost a man."

[613] At the opposite extreme from the true kunu, a curse extending to a whole lineage, the dagu kunu applies only to the guilty person and draws only limited misfortunes upon him.

[772] No feeling whatever with respect to the dog enters into this conception, but only the idea that he is placed on a particular plane, near the plane of the human and his level of force.

776 /194/ The Great Gods

The Boni recognize a supreme God, Nana (1), more

1. This term comes from the Agni.

commonly called Masa Gadu, and Kedi Amu, Kediampon in Kumenti language. He created the lower gods and all that lives on the earth.

773 Here is how the old Boni men relate the myth of the creation of the world:

God created a brother and sister, Adam and Efa. They were twins. He put them in a place where they lived happily without working. But he forbade them to touch the fruit of the custard-apple tree.

/194 cont./

773 One day, the devil came in the form of the serpent dagowe. He told them: "Eat the seeds of this tree and you will know all things like God himself."

Adam allowed himself to be tempted and ate a custard apple, he had Efa eat some of it. He found this fruit good and said: "God had deceived us." His heart changed, he ceased looking at Efa as a sister and united with her. She became pregnant.

Some time afterward, God came upon the earth and saw what had happened. He said to Efa: "Thou shalt bear a child in pain." And to Adam: "Thou shalt eat only what thou hast harvested by the sweat of thy brow." He gave him a stone axe and told him: "Go on the nearby mountain; thou wilt find the seedlings of what thou wilt have to plant henceforth in order to feed thyself."

Efa had two twins whom she again called Adam and Efa, and other children. From these children all men have descended.

[775] This Biblical myth, transposed into the African way of thinking, explains the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks concerning [845] twins. It was two twins whom God created first. Twins are beloved of God and share his nature.

776 The idea most generally accepted among the Boni is that Masa Gadu is the source of force from which all living beings derive theirs; men are connected with him through their ancestors.

It happens that Masa Gadu may intervene directly in the lives of men, and in such a case he acts necessarily according to justice, without any magic whatever being able to protect the guilty one. But in most cases he does not intervene, showing himself in that way to be as arbitrary as the lower gods.

776 /194 cont./

[184] The great gods Gwangwéla and Gédéosu of the Djuka are not known to the Boni.

[194] Strictly speaking, no cult of Masa Gadu exists. No edifice is reserved for him, he has no priests, and no collective
776 ceremonies are conducted on his behalf. He is nevertheless
769 constantly present in the religious life of the Boni, associated with ancestor worship. Every ceremony of ancestor worship
776 includes an invocation to Masa Gadu. From time to time, for
769 specific motives such as the illness of a member of the lo,
755 people go /195/ specially to the fraga tiki to invoke Masa Gadu.
[613] The oldest man of the lo officiates, while a younger one pours
[778] a little water and tafia at the foot of the fraga tiki; the elder addresses Masa Gadu in everyday language, in simple terms, in a familiar conversational tone, asking him for the cure of illnesses or the end of calamities. Those present, seated in a semicircle, punctuate the end of the speech with some rhythmical applause, uttering the ritual formula of thanks: "Gaã tãŋgi tãŋgi fi yu, Masa Gadu."

776 Outside of these ceremonies which hardly go beyond the
782 framework of the lineage, everyone may address Masa Gadu directly by praying aloud, if, for example, he finds himself alone in the bush and prey to an illness. One never addresses Masa Gadu other than for a specific material purpose. Inner prayer for the purpose of spiritual perfection does not exist to our knowledge among the Refugee Blacks.

776 One applies directly to Masa Gadu when one believes
[755] oneself to be the victim of an iniquitous action (see curse). How-
[784] ever, although the Refugee Blacks have a very lively sense of justice, they never call Masa Gadu to witness for the cruel and arbitrary vengeances (kunu) which the lower divinities are
[812] believed to exercise on them. It is taken for granted that all these divinities do conforms to the role which Masa Gadu has assigned to them and that the suffering they inflict on men is indispensable to the proper working of the universe.

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794 [181] The laws of Odun. The cult of Odun (Odū) is the keystone of the social and religious structure of the Refugee Blacks. It is a very secret cult; its rites are not practiced in the presence of outsiders and all curiosity about it meets with frank hostility. The Boni, who talk rather freely about the cults of possession, [123] are mute on the subject of Odun, and one may spend years among them without even hearing this name uttered.

794 184 The worship of Odun is common to the Boni and the Saramaka (perhaps this is what explains the trustful relations which exist between the two groupings). Among the Djuka it is replaced by the worship of Gwangwéla (Grantata), which has exactly the same functions and rites.

796 Odun is not to be confused with the creator God Nana (Masa Gadu). The myths explaining the relationship of these two entities were not known by our informants, but it is clear that Odun was sent to men by Masa Gadu as legislator and judge.

671 Odun's laws have a profound originality, as much by their content as by the sanctions which accompany them. It is not excessive to speak of a religious and moral doctrine of the Refugee Blacks.

These laws appear in negative form. A certain number [641] of acts and behavior are forbidden to those who have entered the society of the Refugee Blacks by taking an oath which binds 784 them for good and all. Offenders will be punished without the direct intervention of men, by the all-powerful action of Odun, who will kill them or /196/ strike them down with sicknesses. As a general rule, Odun's punishment is death; this is what explains the fear his name inspires.

673 Odun forbids:

[754] --Sorcery, wisi, in the most general sense, that is, any magic action having as its purpose the killing, making ill, and in a general way doing harm to another person.

/196 cont./

[673] --Vengeance; if someone believes himself to be the
[754] victim of witchcraft, he must under no circumstances engage
[627] in counterwitchcraft or invoke his ancestors against his enemy.
He may ask only for the protection of the ɔbia. It is Odun who
[784] will avenge him by sooner or later killing the evil-doer.

--Violence in any form whatever. It is regarded as a
[683] particularly serious offense against the laws of Odun to strike
with an armed hand and to make human blood flow (1).

[684] 1. That explains the strictness with which the society of the Refugee Blacks limits the right of punishment granted to the wronged husband, who must strike only with bare fists in front of witnesses, never in the bush nor on the river. Fear of seeing
[826] human blood flow explains the
[952] reticence of the Boni toward minor surgical operations.

[641] --Any attack on personal liberty by material or moral
[586] coercion; in particular, neither a man nor woman may be constrained to remain in a marriage which has ceased to please him; nobody may be forced to reside here or there.

[832] The forms of magic so popular among West Indians, aimed at capturing a person's love, are for this reason rejected by the Refugee Blacks and considered as a form of wisi.

[769] --Any evocation of the spirits of the dead, even to ask
them for protection, other than in the public ceremonies
[754] provided for by custom. Thus nobody must go to the cemetery
to pray alone on his parents' grave. Whoever would do that
would immediately be considered as wisima.

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784 Odun's punishment is not regarded as immediate. It may be delayed for a certain number of years for reasons known to him alone, but it will necessarily take place.

683 783 Violence can be pardoned if the guilty one repents and makes an offering. The reparative offering (for example, if someone has threatened his adversary with a machete or has struck him to the point of making blood flow) is a demijohn of tafia or a certain quantity of tobacco leaves displayed in Odun's chapel.

754 784 But there is no pardon for the wisimã. Even if men pardon, Odun remains pitiless. Thus nobody can admit being guilty of wisi, for there is no possible reparation; besides, no one would dare beg for Odun's mercy on behalf of a wisimã, for this would be to associate oneself with him and expose oneself to being struck by the god in the same way.

[683] [766] The wisimã will be killed by Odun, and men will have to share in the punishing by refusing the body burial in the cemetery and by going to throw it in the bush. If they /197/ refused to obey this law, Odun would consider that they denied his doctrine and would strike them down either in person or by killing any member of the guilty lineage.

Thus, when in 1952 an old woman named A... of the Lapé lineage, who had settled in the Creole village Hermina, died, it appeared that she had wisi; but since she had been living among the Creoles, her near relatives did not dare intervene, and she was buried in the Hermina cemetery. Several [613] years passed without incident, then misfortunes cropped up; deaths which took place in the lineage, especially that of P... (1955) and T... (1957), and an accident that happened to a child in 1958, were recognized as punishments carried out by Odun upon the Lapé lineage.

346 The place of worship of Odun is a tiny chapel near the grand man's house. It contains only a post crudely carved in the shape of a bust, without any decoration.

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788 The rites of the worship of Odun are known only by the [643] grand man and by an old man who replaces him when he travels. [754] They are practiced only on the occasion of the collective oath against wisi, renewed every two or three years, and when it is [783] necessary to implore Odun's mercy toward an offender. The officiant bathes the latter's body with a maceration of leaves that he alone knows.

783 To question Odun and know whether he pardons, they 789 make use of a sacred object named afalaku, placed on a board [708] put on the heads of two men. The answers yes and no are deduced by interpretation of the movements of the bearers, as in the interrogation of the dead.

695 The oath before Odun is also practiced as a legal test, permitting a man unjustly accused of theft or any misdeed whatever to justify himself.

Thus, in November, 1959, B... of Asisi, accused by two Djuka of being responsible for the burning of a large cabin /carbet/ in which objects of value were stored, asked to justify himself before Odun.

671 Odun's laws, which have the effect of forbidding violence, 771 vengeance, and every form of oppression, give to the society 571 of the Refugee Blacks a unique atmosphere of dignity and serenity which is not found to the same degree in animistic African societies. Most African societies censure sorcery and murder, but they accept vengeance and various forms of oppression. It is probable that the men who, two or three centuries ago, deep in the forests of Surinam, developed these laws, were inspired more or less consciously by Christian ideas; but they introduced them into an African system of thought, associating them with the idea of material sanctions in the present life, without which they would have been powerless.

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Odun's laws create an irreducible cleavage between the Refugee Blacks and the Creoles. The Creoles of Surinam, like the West Indian gold miners of the Maroni, profess Christianity, but they have a special conception of it, associating with Christian ideas /198/ beliefs of various origins and often magic practices. If in quasi-totality they reject magic aimed at doing harm without reason, they take very generally for granted:

--Counter sorcery inspired by vengeance;

--"Invocations" to the spirits of the dead and divers magic formulas in which it is believed one captures the vital force of these spirits in order to make practical use of it;

--Charms having the purpose of forcing the love of a person one desires.

B S 771 648

The Creoles are as attached to these conceptions as the Refugee Blacks to the laws of Odun, which are absolutely contrary to them. They have such importance in the thought of both that it would be unthinkable to make a group of Creoles and a group of Refugee Blacks live together for any appreciable length of time integrated into the same organization. Attempts made to do this, especially in Surinam, have always failed. When an economic activity engages them in the same work in the same locality, Creoles and Refugee Blacks form two separate groupings, each living according to its own law.

B 167 754 [782] [613]

If Refugee Blacks leave their group for any great length of time to settle in the midst of Creoles, if they do not come back periodically to renew the oath of Odun, it is taken for granted that they have abjured his laws and that they are suspect of wisi. It happens that people who have spent a whole portion of their lives in the midst of the Creoles come back to live in their native village because they are prey to adversity or sickness; they are always welcomed (the lineage cannot expel one of its members), but chances are great that they will be declared wisimã upon their death. This was especially the case with an

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167 754 old woman of 90, A..., who died in Asisi in January, 1957. Having lived with Creoles in her youth, she had come back to live in her native village for at least 30 years and had never given occasion for any unfavorable remark. Nevertheless, upon her death it appeared that she had wisi.

771 829 177 Attitude toward Christianity. The Refugee Blacks, who are acquainted better than one might believe with the conceptions of the populations in the midst of whom they live, have a clear feeling of the relationship which exists between their metaphysical and moral conceptions and those of Christianity. They think they worship the same god as the Christians, in a com-
[797] pletely different way but just as sound. They have no animosity whatever toward the Catholic and Protestant clergy, and most of them agree willingly to wearing crosses or medals. But they have not the least intention of abandoning their beliefs for that. They do not perceive the contradiction and do not understand that people might want to oblige them to choose.

851 171 Like the Creole gold miners, they attach great importance to baptism, considered as an obia protective against the dangers of the bush. On Christmas, 1957 they were strongly impressed
165 797 by the accidental death of a Djuka Christian living at the Kotika school. He refused to observe mourning for his wife
[688] according to the custom of the Refugee Blacks, and used to go
[273] to drink in the cabarets of the Creole villages. On Christmas
[784] evening, when drunk, he drowned himself. That was attributed to a suprahuman punishment. We heard /199/ the following reflection on this subject: "He was baptized and he drowned himself just the same. That is therefore not worth the trouble."

61 581 591 Actually, the matrilineal structure of the Refugee Blacks and their conception of marriage form an irreducible cleavage, which appears immediately as soon as one leaves the metaphysical conceptions to pass to the plane of practical living.

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581 The Refugee Blacks change their attitude immediately as soon as one speaks to them about marriage. Men and women are unanimous in considering marriage as an intolerable violation of individual freedom and as a tie without purpose; they talk about it with veritable indignation, even having the feeling of an offense against morality.

Cults of Possession

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The phenomena of possession are extremely frequent
[171] among the Blacks of America (possession by saints or inspiration by the Holy Spirit among the Blacks of Brazil and the United
[171] States, voodooism in Haiti). With the Refugee Blacks they make up the very base of religious life to the point of being the normal means of communication between the gods and men; they have profound effects on all social life.

The cults of possession practiced by the Refugee Blacks of Guiana differ from those of the Blacks of Brazil and Haiti and do not appear to be directly connected with the African cults which have been described.

[128] We shall give here only very concise information about the ritual of these cults and we shall mainly try to show their place in relation to the institutions of the Refugee Blacks, and their functioning.

787 Possession is believed to be the entrance into a man of a suprahuman entity (divinity, spirit of an ancestor) which, during a variable length of time generally rather short (a few minutes to several hours), uses the body of this man and expresses itself through his mouth. They say that the man has become the horse - hasi - of the divinity. They also say: "Such-and-such a divinity entered his head." The possessed person is called
[114] gadu mã (gadu umã for a woman). This word has been translated improperly as "priest" in the first works treating of the Refugee Blacks.

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787 [171] The phenomena of possession exist among other populations of the Guianas and especially among the Amerindians, but among the Refugee Blacks they have special and well-defined forms.

--For the duration of possession, the ordinary consciousness of the man is totally abolished. When he comes back to himself, he no longer remembers anything and the others present have to repeat to him what the divinity revealed. This total [171] loss of consciousness during possession appears to be a very constant phenomenon with the Blacks, in Africa as much as in [114] America. Professor de Goeje calls attention to the fact that the Indian medicine man, on the contrary, does not lose /200/ consciousness during his trances and is supposed to receive, himself, the revelations of the spirits.

When a man is possessed by a divinity, in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks he is no longer there; what his body may do is not attributed to him at all. They say: "The gadu does this, says that, dances in such a way." If the gadu hurt someone (but that practically never happens) or broke something, its bearer would not have any responsibility.

787 198 [176] --The divinity expresses itself in a language peculiar to it; we shall see further on that there are four categories of divinities likely to become incarnate in men, which corresponds to four secret languages of which in practice only two are known by the Boni, at least by the oldest among them.

The bearer of the divinity, in his usual state of consciousness, knows in general this language, which he has learned from a teacher if it is a matter of a possession desired by him and obtained with the help of definite practices.

But there are also numerous cases of unprovoked possession (in the kunu especially) and people state that in this case the divinity speaks its language just as well, although its bearer has never learned it;

/200 cont./

787 --Possession is manifested by kinds of trances called gita or k3mfo, of a varying nature according to the divinity concerned, which sometimes involve phenomena of insensibility and acts impossible to perform in a normal state;

787 --The first time the divinity enters a man, it imposes
776 a kina (interdiction) upon him which will henceforth be the
784 sign of his function. This is what is called a gadu kina. This kina varies from one divinity to another, but in principle a given divinity imposes the same kina on its divers bearers. The divinity names itself and indicates to its bearer a means of calling it back in case of need: make such-and-such gestures, scatter such-and-such a liquid or powder.

All that is recorded by those present who reveal it to the person possessed when he has come round.

It is taken for granted that the god protects its bearer as long as the latter respects the laws of its cult and observes its kina (in the opposite case the god may punish him cruelly).
787 Conversely it is assumed that the man has a certain power, a
776 certain right over the god who possesses him. They say that he
789 is the master of it, masa, word which is habitually used in the sense "to be the owner of." At his death he can bequeath this
428 god in the forms and according to the laws regulating the inheritance of property. Of course the god is capable of not ratifying this decision, and it is free to manifest itself in anyone it wishes. But they affirm that in most cases it follows docilely the choice of its bearer. We shall see that this inheritance of gods plays an essential role in the functioning of the kunu.

787 Apprenticeship for possession. What goals does a man pursue
181 who desires thus to have a gadu? Above all he seeks strength. To succeed in life, to be protected against his enemies, to be respected: Such are the goals generally pursued and openly recognized by the Refugee Blacks who "have a gadu."

/201/

787 181 One also often finds as an avowed goal the idea of being useful to his lineage.

Disinterested mystical impulses appear totally absent from these cults.

787 154 But that is only one aspect of the phenomena of possession; they really seem to be, in large measure, unconscious and involuntary. Everyone can try to obtain a gadu, but everyone 787 797 does not succeed; one must have a certain predisposition. [154] "One cannot oblige a gadu to enter a man," say the Boni; it certainly seems, in fact, that in nearly half the cases possession takes place spontaneously and sometimes to the great terror of the person concerned; this is observed especially in the kunu.

[776] Mimi, a woman about 46 years old in 1958, of the Kotika lineage, was possessed by two gadu, an Ampuku and a Papa gadu. Here is how her near relatives relate the fashion in which they came into her.

[158] About ten years before, Mimi was showing signs of mental derangement. Her mind wandered, she sometimes used to leave the village to run in the bush at random, she uttered disconnected words (1). Then she fell very ill (pleurisy?).

[828] [171]

1. It is necessary to note on this subject the very widely held idea among the Refugee Blacks, as among the Creoles, that certain forms of mental imbalance are due to the action of an entity which is trying to manifest itself in a man and does not [755] succeed. In order to cure this man, he must be "washed" with appropriate leaves so that the god can come to manifest itself in him; the rest of the time he will be normal.

787 /201 cont./
791 The elders then consulted the oracles and perceived that Mimi
776 was victim of an Ampuku named Maogan which for a very long
[613] time had been pursuing the Kotika lineage with its vengeance
[784] (kunu). In order to protect herself, she sought to have herself given a more powerful god, and she became the pupil of an obiaman specialist in the cult of the Papa gadu. In this way she
[782] had a Papa gadu named Ayaémé, divinity of beneficent character to which, in difficult cases, her family applies in order
[346] to obtain advice, protection, and remedies. She had a little hut built beside her house, where the god goes to rest when it has finished each of its trips to the country of men. Ayaémé
[784] imposed on Mimi its kina which concerns a fish. But even with all this she was not rid of her kunu of the Ampuku; and one day, something it had not yet done, the latter revealed itself in her
[784] and spoke through her mouth. It announced that it would con-
[782] tinue to exercise its kunu against the Kotika lineage. They appeased it by sacrifices of red cloth and beer; since then, it seems calm and in rather good humor. It comes into Mimi from time to time and speaks in Saramaka language. They are very afraid of it, but they do not hesitate to question it and ask it for remedies, which it sometimes indicates. It laid on Mimi three
[784] gadu kina concerning the acouchy, the agami, and the armadillo.

791 Organization of the cults of possession. Strictly speaking, no
787 religious brotherhoods exist in Boni country; there are only
794 teachers - bas(2) - who have received their power from another

2. It does not seem advisable to translate this word by "priest." In the minds of the Refugee Blacks, this is a matter of a teacher teaching pupils; they use the same word to designate a European or Creole schoolmaster.

/201 cont. /

791 teacher and who teach a small group of disciples - kineki -,
787 without distinction of villages or lineages and under their sole
[794] responsibility; each one, man or woman, is absolutely free to pursue his teaching.

/202/These teachers are not themselves possessed, but they are believed to know the processes which permit the neophyte to obtain possession with the minimum of risks. They accept the
[776] fact, however, that that involves dangers, for one cannot oblige a particular gadu to come into someone, and one may in its place obtain an undesirable gadu.

791 Procedures vary according to the categories of gadu sought.
787 But they involve three elements which are always found in one
776 form or another:

--They begin by teaching the pupil the language of the
[198] divinity, or rudiments at the very least (as we shall point out further on, these languages appear to be in decline); these lessons are private;

--On behalf of a group of pupils, the teacher prepares
[824] infusions of certain leaves which are suited to the divinity in question. It is thought that the god likes these plants and that they have the power to attract it.

In certain cults it is required of the pupil to utter at the
[788] same time formulas inviting the god to come into him. But this is not general; in the cult of the Papa gadu especially, the teachers bathe the students in the greatest silence.

791 At the end of the session, the student is often asked to
787 drink a little of the infusion. One might believe that it is a
824 matter of a process having a physical action, certain plants possibly containing hypnotic substances; but except for one aspect of the cult of the Kumēnti of which we shall speak later, this does not seem true; especially about the plants believed to attract the Papa gadu, it seems that they have received this role because of their color or odor. Our feeling is that, at least
[562] for the Papa gadu cult which appeals more especially to women, suggestion plays an essential part.

/202 cont./

153 --Pupils are taught, individually or collectively, to dance
791 in the manner of the god. Indeed, each divinity has a charac-
787 teristic form of dance, which it executes sometimes by using
776 the bodies of its bearers when it comes into them. The pupil
535 must imitate as best he can the individual movements and the
[868] rhythm of this dance, while the teacher, using the appropriate drum, beats out the calling formulas.

If the god is satisfied with the student, he will be able to come into him.

791 These exercises appear to have as their goal the creation
787 in the pupils of forms of conditioned reflexes; they have nothing
785 in common with the very harsh ordeals which the medicine man
153 of the Guiana Indians imposes upon himself, and do not involve any form of asceticism. It does not seem that chastity, even temporary, is demanded of the student, any more than fasting or doing anything contrary to his inclinations.

787 The idea of a spiritual death and resurrection of the
791 possessed person, with all the ritual it entails: long reclusion of the neophytes, change of name of the one possessed, who is supposed to relearn all the activities of ordinary life, does not appear to have been kept by the Refugee Blacks. In a general
[152] way, the atmosphere of solemn seriousness, /203/ of secrecy, and of fear, which characterize the Dahomey cults of possession is not found among them.

791 These lessons are always paid for and are even very
787 expensive. Payment is made in pieces of cloth, in demijohns
435 of tafia.
[436] Having a Kumēnti amounted in 1958 to at least 25,000 francs. This payment is not only compensation for the teacher;
[181] it is the mark of legitimacy. What has not been paid for is not, for the Refugee Blacks, legitimately acquired. We shall come back to this important point later.

/203 cont./

153 Possession begins progressively; in the beginning the
787 divinity does not find in its bearer sufficient passivity, it does
791 not succeed well in expressing itself through his mouth, spectators observe only incoherent gestures and hear only unintelligible stammerings. The pupil must continue his training for a long time in order to become a suitable bearer.

789 The god, when it has just entered a man, always begins by rendering homage in its language to Masa Gadu, proclaiming that it acts only in his name and by his will.

[576] Then it greets those present, employing formulas which
[198] are the exact transposition into its language of the ordinary Boni formulas of politeness; that even if it is getting ready to speak to them in the harshest manner.

The god speaks then in its language, saying not very intelligible things to the audience that appear to be related to what goes on in its country, to its family (for it is believed that these lower gods have a family). Finally, it begins to speak in ordinary language in order to be understood by those present, and answers questions.

796 Various categories of gods capable of bringing on possession.
787 The Refugee Blacks assume that four categories of lower gods
825 exist:

The first category consists of a series of gods which present themselves to men under very different aspects but which are nevertheless felt to be of the same nature. All speak the Kumenti language, all are well disposed toward men and do not exercise against them the kunu, that is, the curse;

--The Kumēnti, which have the appearance of jaguars and live in the bush;

--The Djadja, which have the appearance of ocelots;

--The Opete, which have the appearance of the urubu and which reside in the air;

/203 cont./

776 --The Bũnsuɲki, which have the appearance of Indian
787 women and which reside in the waters of the rivers;
825 The second category is that of the Ampuku, much feared
[784] gods of the bush, likely to exercise the kunu against men. The
[198] Ampuku speak a language which is very well known to the Saramaka but which nobody speaks in Boni country. When they wish to be understood, they speak the ordinary Saramaka dialect. They can, it is said, /204/ be seen at night in the bush in the form of unknown men dressed in the manner of the Refugee Blacks;

The third category is that of the Vɔɔdũ or Papa gadu, gods still more feared, which become incarnate in the boa snake
[198] dagowe. They speak the Papa language;
776 Finally, much feared also are the Kãntamasu, gods of
787 the termitaries, which speak a language which nobody under-
[198] stands and use the Kumenti language to make themselves understood.

It is important to note that there is not a god Kumẽnti, a god Ampuku, etc., as there was in the pantheon of the Ancients a god Mars, a god Vulcan. For the Refugee Blacks those are generic names like Frenchman, Englishman. Questioned about a phenomenon of possession, they will answer: "It is Ampuku who makes," but in the same way they would say in front of a boat: "It is Saramaka who makes."

776 The relationships between these gods and their animal
787 form are obscure. For the Vɔɔdũ it is clear that people believe
825 they really live in the dagowe snakes, since the accidental death of one of these snakes in the burning of a clearing is considered a calamity which risks bringing a kunu. But that does not prove that a divine character is attributed to the snake itself. As for the Kumẽnti, there does not appear to be any precise bond between the genie and its jaguar appearance. If one meets a jaguar, one may fire on him all the same without inconvenience. If he is the support of a Kumẽnti, the shot will not be able to touch him, the god will not get angry about it.

/20[illegible] cont./

776 This shows that in the minds of the Refugee Blacks, the
787 animal is simply a prop for the god. The god borrows this body
825 in order to manifest itself, but it is not bound to it by nature. These conceptions are totally contrary to those of the Indians, who tend to personify in their minds the beings and phenomena of nature.

776 As we have said, the Boni do not see these gods since the
787 person possessed loses consciousness. But in the time of the ancestors, there were people who used to see the gods, and it is through them that their present-day descendants have an idea of their appearance; on the other hand, certain gods such as the Ampuku and the Bũnsuŋki may be seen in dreams.

Sometimes the residence of this or that god is known, for it has revealed it through the mouth of its bearer; the god's
[823] name is then given to that place. For example, at the mouth of the Abounami there is a fall named Ma Akoti Gadu Sula. It is there that the god resides which revealed itself in olden days in an old woman named Akoti.

776 Connections with the group of relatives. The idea of a god
613 protector of the lineage, whose worship, brought by the founder of the group, is regarded as indispensable to the life of the collectivity, is not found clearly among the Refugee Blacks. There are actually many divinities which have entered the lineage and which are worshiped collectively. But these di-
[784] vinities are intruders; they have penetrated into the group by force in order to exert an inexorable vengeance against it.
[782] People do not apply to them to ask for protection, and they are worshiped only because they cannot be expelled. /[illegible]/

776 /205/ There is not believed to be any kinship tie between the
602 gods and men, nor any tie of a systematic or exclusive character.

/205 cont./

776 613 428 [787] Still, they assume that the gods that have entered a matrilineage tend to be transmitted within this group. If, for example, a woman is possessed by a Papa gadu, at her death she must bequeath it in the same way as her property, and she can bequeath it only to someone of her lineage.

We have seen in studying the transmission of the god of Kotoïda († 1956), that only the women of the Afi lineage to which she belonged could inherit.

776 613 784 Even if the god is not bequeathed, which sometimes happens, if it exercises the kunu, it will manifest itself sooner or later in a member of the lineage. But long years may pass before it shows itself. This conception is absolutely clear to the Refugee Blacks, and furthermore, if it did not exist, the idea of the kunu would be without support. [114] [428] People have therefore wrongly believed in a transmission of gods from father to son.

346 787 794 613 Material organization of cults. A material organization of the cults of possession exists within the limits of the localized lineage (lo). This organization is completely independent of the apprenticeship of these cults. It permits the members of the lineage to easily practice cults they have received anywhere, on their own responsiblity.

In each lo there exists in general one single chapel (obia ɔsu) for all the divinities of the same category.

For example in the Awara Bakka lo quarter in Asisi (140 persons), for about 15 women having a Papa gadu, there exists only a single one. There is an obia ɔsu for the Ampuku (three or four possessed persons) and another for the Kumẽnti (about ten possessed people).

The chapel of the Papa gadu is placed under the responsibility of the head of the lo. On this subject it is to be noted that the individualized lineages Aw.B.3 and Afi, which however have separate gods, are included in this organization.

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346 794 787 613 The objects placed in these chapels are simply the clothing, beverage, and tools of the gods when they come to visit men; they correspond nearly to what the Refugee Blacks leave in a farming habitation where they go to work regularly. For example, in the Papa gadu ɔsu of the Awara Bakka quarter of [273] Asisi, which serves for about 15 gods, each one has a definite place on the shelves to lay out especially the scarf which serves it as a garment and a bottle of beer (a bottle is always kept in readiness by the bearer of the god) (1).

1. The Papa gadu do not like tafia. If the usual bearer of one of these gods has drunk tafia, it cannot come into him.

[534] They still stow the Papa dɔɔ̃ drum in this chapel. This drum, like the chapel itself, is believed to belong to the Papa gadu god which first came into a member of the lineage to exercise the kunu. In the example mentioned of the Awara [428] /206/ Bakka lo of Asisi, in 1957 it was the centenarian grandmother Kuluba who had borne this god since her youth, having herself received it, by several successive transmissions, from a distant ancestress.

[621] In villages like Boniville and Papaïston where fragments of lineage of entirely different origins coexist, each has its own organization.

For example in Boniville there is a Papa gadu ɔsu for the fragment of the Lapé lineage (it belongs to Térésa whose god exercises the kunu on this lineage). The fragment of the lineage has another.

In Papaïston the Toïna (Bakabuchi) lineage, reduced to half a dozen persons, has a Papa gadu ɔsu of its own.

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776 The Kumẽnti. These gods are common to the Saramaka
787 (Kromenti) (1), Djuka, and Boni. The Kumẽnti are considered
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1. There is no doubt about the origin of this word; it is a deformation of Coromantin, name given in the 18th century to Ashanti country. The "Coromantin Negroes," reputed to be particularly intractable, played a large role in the slave revolts. The Kumenti cult of possession must originally have been a cult peculiar to the Coromantin nation.

to be benevolent gods and friends of men, so their possession is very much desired. They do not come into men spontaneously, they are obtained only by applying to a teacher. In principle
[562] only men can obtain Kumẽnti, while on the other hand only women can have Bũnzunki /sic/.

776 The Kumẽnti are specialized in protection against fire
787 and against machete and gun wounds. These dangers hold the
751 largest place among the anxieties of the Refugee Blacks, who spend almost all their life in the bush and with whom nearly
[789] all sores become infected and have serious consequences. Thus the Kumẽnti cult holds an important place in their magic; even someone who is not possessed will try to obtain from these gods an ɔbia that will protect him from these various dangers.

153 The instruction of the disciples of these gods takes as its
791 pattern the procedures described above, but the collective dances
787 appear to play an essential part. The teacher calls on the gods
786 by beating a special rhythm on ordinary drums (apinti) and by
[533] uttering invocations punctuated by the rattle of the saka (Indian
[534] maraka, that is, hollow calabash provided with a handle and containing seeds).

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153 containing seeds). Sometimes, when a god has entered a pupil,
791 the teacher puts the latter's passivity to the test by insulting the
787 god with the help of the drum. The Kumẽnti gets angry, breaks
786 bottles and swallows ground glass, walks in the fire, hits him-
[789] self with machete blows, all without any wound resulting, they say, on the body of its bearer.

[302] These frenzied dances, whose participants completely covered with pɛmba (white clay) are as if hallucinated, have a bizarre aspect which is perceptible to some of the Boni themselves. They do not have any secret character and constitute,
[522] on the contrary, a fine spectacle for the village people. The spectators double up with laughter at the contortions and strange actions which the gods inspire in those possessed. They are
[521] talked about at length /207/ afterward in the evenings, humorists imitating what they saw done there, without any fear whatever of irritating the gods.

791 Each "teacher for Kumẽnti" owns a small gadu ɔsu in
787 which are lined up the implements of the cult. One finds in
346 general in these chapels a post crudely carved in the shape of a human bust, a block of stone, jaguar skulls, some kɔkɔti (shrub stalks with a spontaneous double bend, thought to be the prop of spirits in the bush), and a saka (maraka), the whole sprinkled with white clay (pɛmba). One finds also beside the door a seat and a trough which are used for the ablutions of the pupils.

153 While bathing his body with the infusion of leaves pre-
791 pared by the teacher, the neophyte repeats, in ordinary language,
787 a series of invocations: "Come to me, enter into me. But be-
788 fore entering into me, it is necessary to teach me the things of thy country; O God, when thou art in me, may I be able to dance on broken glass without its cutting me; may I be able to dance in fire without its burning me. If tomorrow someone takes a machete to hurt me, he shall not be able to come forward. If someone takes a gun to shoot me, (his weapon) must break, must not be able to take off. If someone is sick, make an ɔbia for him, he must recover."

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153 The teacher has the pupil turn in a circle around the
791 mortar in which has been prepared the infusion of leaves, until
787 he is dizzy. Alternately he makes him turn and "washes" his body with the infusion. Possession occurs by itself at the end of a certain number of sessions.

[276] In the practices intended to make the gita of Kumēnti
[171] "rise," the absorption of toxic substances enters, especially tobacco juice, method employed by the Indian medicine men. But once the reflexes are created, there is no further need for these substances; the gita appears as soon as the calling procedures are used, which are of two kinds:

--Personal procedures: The man voluntarily calls on his gita while putting on the god's costume and taking a certain posture;

--Outside procedures: The gita may be released from outside either by calling the god by name or by beating the corresponding rhythm on the drum.

787 When the pupil begins to feel the gita of Kumēnti, that
158 is first manifested by trances. We have very often been present at these attacks, which usually come on at night in the forest, but commonly also during the day. The one possessed suddenly lets go of the objects he was holding (for example, if he was in the process of eating, he drops plate and spoon), and rushes forward running through the forest howling rhythmically as if he had become an animal. His eyes are rolled upward, he no longer is conscious of his surroundings; he is not in any way threatening; these fits are totally inoffensive in spite of their
[147] impressive aspect. One sees possessed people in this state do things which are difficult to explain, such as running in complete darkness in the most impenetrable underbrush without falling or hurting themselves, or climbing up in a few seconds on a craggy rock which would have been hard to scale in full daylight.

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153 In proportion as the pupil perfects himself, the god ex-
791 presses itself more easily with the help of his body, begins to
787 do coordinated acts and to speak. They say that the gita has
[195] been "arranged" (seeka). The Kumēnti speak with a gruff, jerky voice, characteristic, which humorists love to imitate in the evenings' recitals.

In order to call on his gita voluntarily, the pupil crouches down, feet together, throwing pemba from right to left at the level of his feet and uttering the formula: "O Kumēnti, djumpo ku a mi." Then he remains immobile in this position and waits; possession takes place generally at the end of a few minutes.

776 The Kumēnti which enter thus into men are exclusively
787 male gods; it is known that they have wives because they talk about them, but they never manifest themselves.

[812] The Kumēnti are generally benevolent; still, no more than any divinity of the Refugee Blacks, do they represent a principle of goodness and justice in itself. They watch in a partial fashion over the interests of their bearers. Thus it is that A..., of the Dipélu II lo, has a Kumēnti which reacts in a violent way when it has the impression that danger threatens
[158] its bearer. It enters into him suddenly, takes a machete and storms through the village, while people prudently barricade themselves in their houses.

787 In certain circumstances, when their trances are particu-
789 larly intense, the people possessed by Kumēnti are capable, it is said, of walking in fire, dancing on broken glass, climbing thorny awara palm trees, and even having themselves struck with blows of a machete without any wound resulting from it. Professor de Goeje gives impressive personal testimony on this subject, such as the case of a possessed man who overturned a pail of boiling water on his body (1). Mr. Mathieu, Director of

1. In a note in Mr. W.F. van Lier's work, § 37.

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787 the Forestry Society of Saint-Laurent, told us of seeing in 1937
789 among the Paramaka a possessed man take firmly in his hands a red-hot axe-head and keep it between his two hands for an appreciable length of time.

Personally we have several times seen possessed people thrash themselves with spiny awara branches and break bottles on their heads with such violence that the pieces flew several meters; some of them were hurt, but others presented an intact epidermis.

There is no special instruction for the exercises of invulnerability. The possessed person does what he feels capable of, strikes himself progressively harder and harder, breaks bottles, etc.

It is affirmed that certain possessed people are capable of climbing the thorny awara palm trees. If the gita then abandons them, they can no longer come down. Those who know the Kumenti /sic/ language well then evoke the god by formulas so that he will come back.

787 Theoretically, if someone wrongs a man who has a
578 Kumēnti, his gita "rises" immediately. The guilty one can
[173] do no more than flee. They say that in the old days possessed people were seen /209/ to kill those who had done them wrong. No kunu can result from this if the victim is in the wrong. Nothing like this has been seen for a very long time.

The principle is that if one has nothing to reproach himself about with respect to the possessed person, one has nothing to fear from him. This is why people do not hesitate to interpose themselves between the possessed one and the object of his wrath.

[789] If two men having a Kumēnti get into an argument, their gita "rise" simultaneously and they strike each other with machete blows without, it is said, any harm resulting to either one, until someone separates them.

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787 784 If someone has a Kumẽnti, certain objects used in the cult: pestle, mortar, machete, must not be raised near him. His gita "would rise" immediately. Likewise while he is eating, neither tiger nor gun must be mentioned. To prevent their gita from rising, those concerned may take the precaution of putting a small piece of wood behind the ear while they eat.

787 178 [771] [781] [484] [743] [755] These past years the cult of the Kumẽnti was clearly declining among the Boni, as was the whole of their religious life; every one, indeed, no longer thought about anything but earning money and was always traveling in order to do this, which made difficult the indispensable meetings and dances. On the other hand, cared for effectively when they are ill in the Maripasoula hospital, the Boni feel the cult of the Kumẽnti less necessary, of which the principal social function is to cure. So, while in 1948 we used to be present very often at manifestations of the gita of Kumẽnti, in 1952 they were becoming much rarer and more secret /modest/. They were tending to fall to the level of the latent manifestations of which we shall speak further on. In 1956 we did not observe in the course of the forest [346] work any spontaneous attack of this gita. The chapels dedicated to the Kumẽnti are scarcely maintained and are falling into ruins; such is the fate of the gods judged benevolent toward men. [751] Nevertheless people continue to lay great store by the ɔbia of Kumẽnti, especially the man nẽŋge ɔbia which protects against the machete and the gun, and the Kumẽnti bui, ring of Kumẽnti, instrument of divination.

776 [823] [787] The Bũnsuŋki. The Bũnsuŋki are gods which live in the waters, by preference at the head of falls, beside rocks bearing copses of detached trees; they can also reside ordinarily in these trees themselves. They appear sometimes in dreams to men as well as to women in the aspect of Indians, more commonly Indian women with long hair. This is why they are sometimes called wata Iŋgi, Indians of the water.

776 /209 cont./
wata ɲgi, Indians of the water. In certain spots, people have
[778] known since the time of the ancestors that there resides such a
[782] Bũnsuŋki, whose name they know; when they pass there, they address a prayer to it while making a sacrifice of tafia.

776 (The Bũnsuŋki must not be confused with wata mama, the
171 mama-of-the-water of the Creoles, a dreaded divinity but one which the Boni do not appear to worship. The wata mama lives at the bottom of deep holes in river beds and never allows her face to be seen; she sometimes abandons one of her long hairs on the rocks and he who finds it becomes rich).

776 /210/ The Bũnsuŋki can enter into human beings, exclusively,
787 it seems, into women. They give a different gita from those
[562] of the Kumẽnti. The possessed person dances at the edge of the water, then swims and dives for a long time. They affirm that
[789] if its possession is sufficiently intense, the genie carries the possessed woman along to the bottom of the water, where she stays for a very long time without any harm! That is supposed to have happened especially in Asisi village to a woman named Dabisa.

Possession by the Bũnsuŋki is not frequent. In 1952 it was known in Boni country in only three women.

[562] As for men, they may perceive these divinities in dreams
and receive benefits from them. For that they go to the place
[788] where it resides and bathe, uttering an invocation: "O god,
[782] watch over me, protect me, come to me at night when I sleep, speak to me, act so that I may not be sick, so that I may get rich." The following night, the divinity will come in a dream, demand a sacrifice (beer in general), say that it /grants/ the prayer.

776 The Vɔɔdũ (1). These are gods much feared for their evil

1. This word is obviously a deformation of the Dahomey word vodũn.

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776 character, touchy and vindictive. In speaking of them one
[576] says Papa gadu (papa does not mean "father"; it is a term of respect used for important personages (2)). They are believed

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2. This is the interpretation given by the Refugee Blacks. However, 18th-century documents on the origin of the slaves draw attention to the existence of an African tribe called Papa. Allusions contained in documents of the archives of Surinam, recently studied by Madame Silvia W. de Groot, would tend to identify the Papa with one of the populations of present-day Dahomey. In this hypothesis, the cult of the papa gadu would represent an archaic form of the Dahomey cult of the snake gods.

776 they are believed
[825] to have as habitual bearers the boa snakes (dagowe) (3) which

3. This word appears to be the deformation of the Dahomey word dãgbe.

are not to be confused with the great water snakes (anaconda) that the Refugee Blacks call mboma sineki. They may also
[824] reside in silk-cotton trees (kankan tree) and in the trees called katu udu (Bombax surinamiensis).

[787] The Vɔɔdũ which incarnate themselves in humans may be of either sex; if a male god is concerned, it is called "tata vɔɔdũ."

/210 cont./

776 [825] The Bumba gadu, other gods of the same nature and equally feared, have as bearers other categories of snakes, principally the great anaconda water snakes.

[784] [812] The Voodū, we have said, are feared; they can exercise on a lineage the collective curse called kunu. But, no more than the Kumēnti do not represent a principle of good, they do not represent a principle of evil. Not all are so badly disposed toward men, and even if one of them is the enemy of a lineage, it is not for that reason badly disposed toward the rest of men.

787 178 [562] However this may be, the cult of possession of the Papa gadu is not at all in decline among the Boni. According to the cross-checking we have been able to do, of the 670 persons living on the French bank there are at least 40 to 50 who have a Papa gadu, the great majority of them old women.

787 784 /211/ The Voodū /sic/ are much feared, and for that very reason much respected. They are oracles which are consulted very often, without consideration of the evil their kunu has done and will still do. A god which exercises the kunu but which is provisionally declared appeased may be consulted without danger; it is always assumed that in any case its bearer, if he respects its commands, has nothing to fear from it.

787 562 It is possible that, very unconsciously, women use the fear that the Papa gadu gods inspire in order to maintain their independence and privileged position in Refugee Black society.

153 79 787 [198] [178] [515] [824] [534] Instruction in possession appears to take as a pattern the same principles as that which correspond to the Kumēnti. It involves the teaching of the Papa language; this language appeared to us to be in decline; in fact, it is used only for formulas of greeting; then the possessed people vaticinate in ordinary language. Instruction in possession also involves daily ablutions with decoctions of leaves; certain of these mixtures are particularly complicated (it is said that they include more than a hundred different kinds of leaves). Instruction is essentially individual; however it also includes dances; on this occasion a

/211 cont./

153 special drum is used, about two meters long and very narrow,
791 devoid of any decoration, which is called lãŋga dɔ̃ or papa
787 dɔ̃.
534 To call on her gita, the possessed woman (they are almost
787 always women) stands, puts on a piece of cloth which she always
[562] keeps nearby and always takes along with her when she travels: this is the garment of the god; it consists of a sort of scarf crossed in front; then she throws white clay, pemba, on her feet from right to left and left to right while invoking the god. Possession is almost immediate. One sees the woman's eyes roll up and her expression become haggard. The god does not cover himself entirely with pɛmba like the Kumẽnti, he makes himself a sort of headband on the forehead with white clay.
787 He begins with an invocation to Masa Gadu said in ordinary
788 language.
539 "Masa gadu, gi mi pimisi, beka mi na pikin nẽŋge; ala
[782] sani di mi ɔ taki, na yu mu gi mi kaakiti, beka na yu abi mi kaakiti, da mi ɲyãfalu gi yu."

"Masa Gadu, I implore you, for I am a humble creature; (in) all that I am going to say, it is you who will give me strength, for my strength is in you; I shall exalt you."

787 Next come formulas of welcome to those present, which
788 are the exact translation of the formulas of greeting of everyday
[198] life, then songs, all in the Papa language. After about a quarter of an hour, it enters a hut and sits down, answering in ordinary language the questions of those present, always in a singing tone.

787 Possession by Papa gadu does not have the bestial character of possession by Kumẽnti; outside of the dances, it does not involve brutish gestures or bizarre acts; the possessed woman hums softly in a shrill voice, moving with graceful gestures.
[531] /212/ Sometimes she draws strange signs on the huts; the Boni state that that is a kind of writing, that other possessed people

787 /212 cont./
531 can read these messages; but we have not turned up any precise evidence on this subject (1).

1. These signs are very little systematized and have no relation whatever with the symbolic designs which figure in certain rituals of possession, especially in Dahomey and Haiti. It is permitted to see in them a simple likeness.

787 The Papa gadu are chiefly consulted to ask them to re-
[255] veal the cause of misfortunes that happen. One of them is not
[253] asked to cure an illness unless the interrogation reveals that it brought it on.

776 The worship of the Papa gadu snake gods makes a strong
648 impression on the West Indian Creoles who maintain regular relations with the Refugee Blacks. Most consider it as diabolical
[782] in nature and disapprove of it, but if the presence of an "adder"
[171] (anaconda snake) is noted in a neighboring creek, and if at the same time misfortunes occur, it happens that a Creole may go to ask the Refugee Blacks to practice rites to mollify
[778] the vengeance of the god. We have happened to catch sight of, hidden in a copse behind the habitation of a gold miner, a small altar decorated with blue and red pennants, the usual place of worship of the Papa gadu.

755 Observation in Boniville, November, 1952.
An Asisi woman, Tini, comes to Boniville to consult
[787] her adoptive daughter Pamasa, about 35 years old, who is possessed by a Papa gadu named Adawa. Féni, 15 years old,
[164] Tini's son, has been sick for several days (fever, eruption all over the body). When someone comes to get us, the god has already entered into Pamasa, has sat down in a hut, and

/212 cont./

755 is answering in ordinary language the questions posed. The sick
[753] boy's mother asks the god if it is really he who made her son
[784] ill. He answers that it is he and gives two reasons: first, a
[824] week before, Féni damaged with a blow of the machete the root of a silk-cotton tree in which precisely he himself was living; moreover, his sister Pamasa was sick for 15 days, he did not go to visit her.

The mother begs the god: "Ubegi yu, yu abi leti, gi ɛŋ paadʒ, a 'ã be sabi bũ-bũ. (We beg you, you are right (but) pardon him, he had not realized well /what he did/.)"

Then the god directs a treatment: an infusion of a certain number of leaves, with which the sick boy will wash his body. It states that the sick boy will quickly get well.

Pamasa then comes back to her ordinary state. The scene has lasted about three-quarters of an hour in all.

164 Observation in Asisi, October, 1956.

On October 21 at 8 o'clock I am told that Bugi, a woman of about 45, is gravely ill; she suffers from violent pains in the chest and a general tremor. The sick woman is stretched out on the ground, supported by her brother and surrounded by old women who are comforting her. She appears to suffer atrociously, her body is covered with sweat, her lower limbs are agitated with an incessant trembling; she presents the symptoms of a
755 heart attack (2). In front of the house, the ɔbiaman are

2. Bugi had already been hospitalized in Maripasoula for a heart attack.

preparing a "remedy," /213/ for they suspect that this is a question of a manifestation of the Papa gadu of which Bugi is the bearer.

/213 cont./

755 A stalk of sɔŋgaafu twice bent in an elbow is arranged on the ground. A cross is traced in the dirt.

Centered on the cross is placed a large basin into which is poured infusions of leaves taken from several calabashes.

The sick woman, still prostrate and groaning, is seated on a stool facing the basin. The contents of the basin are poured slowly over her body while she is massaged. It is not a question of a remedy in the literal sense of the word; the sick one is "washed" to help the god to manifest itself in her.

I notice that while going back into the hut she trembles almost no more; the attack seems to be subsiding.

In the meanwhile someone comes to call me elsewhere and I cannot come back until half an hour later. I find the sick woman standing, smeared with pɛmba, in the middle of a meditative audience. The god has descended into her and is [787] expressing itself in Papa language while she dances with slow gestures.

[753] [784] I am told that it has just given the explanation of the illness: it struck Bugi because she did not observe the kina given to all bearers of Papa gadu, to stay away from funeral ceremonies. Now, the day before yesterday, she had knowingly participated in the tukka dance around Kotoïda's coffin.

The ɔbiaman present beg the god to pardon, which it does after claiming a bottle of beer which it drinks through the mouth of its bearer.

152 Observation in Kormotibo, December 18, 1957.

164 On December 18 in the evening I find the village of
753 Kormotibo in the clutches of terror. Several persons are sick
784 from the effect of the kunu. Apaita, a young woman, has an enormous whitlow, following an accident; two women have been stricken with pneumonia.

/213 cont./

753 These misfortunes are attributed to the kunu exercised
784 by a Papa gadu god, since about a hundred years ago an ancestress named Akonté involuntarily killed a dagɔwe snake
[787] while fishing /nivrant/ a creek. In our day this god manifests itself in Alama (Dip. II, E1), and another Papa gadu, which says it is the descendant of the first, manifests itself in Apaita
[755] (F9). It is the latter which, speaking through the mouth of Apaita, revealed that it was striking the village because nobody had danced for it for five years.

755 They called B..., obiaman specialized in the vɔɔdũ cult. He surrounded the chapel of the Papa gadu with stalks
[789] of sãɔgaafu placed vertically. He prepared an infusion of leaves with which the Kormotibo women who have a Papa gadu have just smeared themselves (they are four in number, including two outsiders to the Dipélu II lineage). It is a question of helping their gods to manifest themselves.

People are going to dance eight nights running, part of the night. The agida drum drawn out of the chapel is set up in working position. /214/

The rites carried out to neutralize the kunu are:

--Cleaning of the chapel;

--Decoration by means of stalks of sãɔgaafu placed upright all around /it/;

--Bathing of the sick with leaves believed to have the power of making the influence of the Papa gadu go away;

--With other leaves, on the contrary concentrating the maleficent influence of the Papa gadu in a calabash which is then carefully shut up in the chapel.

787 Possession by the Ampuku. It is much more rare, and personally we have observed it only twice; the possessed people make circles of pemba around their eyes and draw kinds of ovals on

/214 cont./

787 their legs with this white clay; they prophesy in a singing tone, without the usual voice of their bearer's ceasing to be recognizable, expressing themselves in the Saramaka language.

796 The Ampuku have the appearance of men similar to Blacks, but unknown. They reside in the depths of the woods; some are good, others bad. One can gain their good will by [184] worshiping them, which is especially developed in Saramaka country.

796 Baliki, of Kormotibo village, tells of having been present 535 one day at a dance of the Ampuku, when he was traveling to [103] the Saramaka village of Balen.

"During the day, people went on the paths far into the bush to put down calabashes containing certain herbs. At night were seen to come out of the forest a large number of unknown men, dressed in the manner of the Saramaka. They danced all night, and at dawn left again as they had come."

776 The Ampuku gods, considered to be maleficent gods of the bush, exercise their influence on everyone. When a person [789] has slept in the bush, he "washes" himself free of Ampuku with [824] an infusion of leaves of five plants which are part of the secondary flora surrounding the villages and of which the principal plant is the sangaafu (Costus cylindricus).

791 Frequency of possession. In 1956 teachers or bas were very 787 scarce in Boni country. For the Kumenti gods, only S... (Kotika) remained; for the Papa gadu, since the death of Antinon (Dju), there remained only M... (Papaïston) and B... [619] (Asisi). People were commonly going to receive instruction from Djuka teachers in the villages of the Tapanaoni.

787 It would be a great error to believe that nearly all the 562 men have gods. On the contrary, this is an exception. According to the evaluations we were able to make, there is not more than one adult man out of six or seven who is possessed.

/214 cont./

562 On the other hand, possession is much more frequent among
787 women: it can be estimated that on the average, one adult woman out of three or four has a gadu.

162 For example in Boniville, out of 115 persons including
776 about 70 adults, one reckons about 30 gods including 8 to 10
787 Papa gadu, 8 to 10 Kumẽnti, 1 Bunsunki, and 2 Ampuku.

791 Apprenticeship for possession can begin from adult age,
787 but it seems /215/ that in general it is between 35 and 50 that
561 women take heed of obtaining a gadu. Would that not be, very
562 unconsciously, the desire to stay in the limelight and indirectly to keep a hold over men, once the age of sensual attraction is past?

787 Possession continues for life, and it is out of the question for a god to be transmitted before the death of its bearer. For example, in 1957, the centenarian grandmother in Asisi village, Kuluba, still kept her Papa gadu god. She had not participated any more in the dances of possession for long years, but her gita was always consulted.

But it can happen, if a possessed person stops taking part in dances and practicing the rites that have been shown him, that any manifestation ceases at the end of a few years.

We observed that in B... of the Dipélu II lo, in 1948 and 1949. He used to exhibit strong attacks of the gita of Kumẽnti. He stopped his instruction, finding that it was costing too much and was taking time. In 1952 he exhibited only latent manifestations of his gita at rare intervals. In 1956 nothing was any longer observable.

787 It can happen, on the other hand, that attacks of pos-
789 session become so frequent and so strong that the person concerned risks losing his reason; if it concerns a god which did not come of its own initiative, one can try to expel it. In
[824] order to "wash" someone free of a gita, he is made to pass between two rows of ɔbiaman who hold dry palms, pina tɔ̃ŋgo, in their hands and utter adjurations.

787 /215 cont./
789 in their hands and utter adjurations. We saw this rite performed
[114] in 1949 but without being able to observe the exact details.

787 The frequency of the phenomena of possession and the
791 importance accorded to them imprint a remarkable character on the religious life of the Refugee Blacks: all these manifestations have for each one the character of obvious material fact. How, then, doubt that one lives with the gods, sees them, and
[177] speaks to them? Because of this fact the society of the Refugee Blacks is utterly impermeable to European influences.

787 Some plants utilized in the rites of possession. The preparations
824 with which the possessed people "wash" their bodies consist of macerations of leaves. The plants used, which for the most part belong to the secondary flora which develops in the old clearings, are very numerous. However, some are regarded as
[789] having a very unique power. The first five especially are utilized by all the Boni to "wash off the Ampuku" when they have slept a night in the bush.

Aluku Name	Identification (1)	Use
[122]	1. Identification by Mr. Hoock, botanist connected with the Institut français d'Amérique tropicale (IFAT) in Cayenne.	
Lebi katu	cotton	cult of the Ampuku
Konopo wiwi	Ayapis atrorubens (Labiaceae)	---- /216/
Foo kāka	Tiaridium indicum (Borraginaceae)	----
Sume wiwi	Ocimium sanctum (?) (Labiaceae)	----

787 /216 cont./
824

Aluku Name	Identification	Use
Sãŋgaafu	Costus cylindricus (zingiberaceae)	cult of the Papa gadu and of the Ampuku
Malimbelimbe	Piper sp. (?)	-----
Filli (Hɔligɔɔ̃)	Chamaesyae sp. (?) (euphorbiaceae)	-----

828 Beliefs Concerning the Human Person and Its Development
Ancestor Worship

[171] The Refugee Blacks of the various tribes have precise and identical conceptions on this subject, which are found also, more or less mixed with Christian conceptions, among the West Indian populations of African origin. For them, man is formed of three elements: the body, the yɔrka which may be translated by personality, and a higher principle called akka.

[184] It goes without saying that among the Boni, who have not elaborated these conceptions and received them from the Djuka, nobody is capable of discoursing on them. But numerous con-
[128] ceptions having to do with magic and to the relationships with the ancestors permit of rather reliable cross-checking.

774 The akka. - It is not possible to translate akka (1) by soul in the

1. This word appears to be a deformation of kla (Agni-Baoulé), word to which a very comparable meaning is attached.

sense we understand it. The akka is an immortal divine element

774 /216 cont./ The akka is an immortal divine element
[775] attached to a human person for the duration of his life and which, at his death, returns to the domain of the divine, no longer keeping any contact with men.

[828] The akka is the source of life from which the human personality is nourished, but it is not this personality.

The Refugee Blacks consider the akka as a personal protector god; they are apt to say mi gadu, my god, for mi akka.

The concept of the akka was spontaneously transposed by the West Indians into that of the guardian angel. They speak in Haiti of the "big good angel."

For Refugee Blacks the life, health, and destiny of a man depend above all on the akka; they think that if the akka went away, the body and mind of the man could not remain bound together; he would die or lose consciousness. This is, a little, what happens each night, for they believe that the akka leaves the body to wander, which brings on the loss of consciousness.
[754] /217/ So the wisimã, the sorcerer, tries to profit by this to capture the akka so that the man may become insane.

The akka is thought to have tastes, desires, and goals foreign to those of the personality and of which the man, in his
[753] ordinary consciousness, has no knowledge. The akka can make the man sick if he behaves in a way that it does not like. So
[755] when someone is sick, he resorts to divination in order to know whether it is not the deed of the akka and, in the affirmative, for what motive. One might think that the akka behaves like a conscience in the moral sense of the term; that it gets angry if its bearer does something evil. But in reality the akka shows itself to be as arbitrary, wicked, and venal as the lower gods of the Refugee Blacks. If it gets angry (they say: mi akka mãndi), this is because its bearer wears clothes of a color it does not like, or because it wants an offering. We have never, on the other hand, heard a case spoken of in which the akka might have become angry with its bearer because he was a thief, liar, or adulterer.

/217 cont./

774 Most of the Boni are not concerned with their akka. The only ones who take heed of it are those who have reasons to believe it irritated. The worship rendered varies a good deal from one individual to another in the nature and frequency of the rites performed.

774 For example, K..., of Papaïston village, prey to a
777 persistent streak of bad luck, went to consult a Creole lukumã
[640] from Surinam, who revealed to him that it was the doing of unsatisfied desires of his akka. His akka wanted a black dog and a copper bracelet. He procured both for himself, and since, he says, he no longer has the same bad luck.

774 B..., head of T... village, has in a corner of his hut
778 a post crudely carved in the shape of a bust with a half calabash from which emerge stalks of saŋgaafu on its head. At the side is a small fraga tiki. He tells me that this is the god of the cult of his akka; these rites are strictly personal with him.

774 Most of the akka esteem white beads and red cloth. If
[822] one sees a Boni wear a red cloak, one can be almost sure that it is by order of his akka.

[787] If someone's mind wanders or he has bizarre dreams, he may see in this the feeling that his akka wishes to leave him and that he is in danger of its happening. He then goes to ask
[789] an ɔbiaman to make him an akka tetɛy: this is a ring of fibers worn on the big toe and which is supposed to prevent the akka from going away.

These rites vary a lot from one individual to the other, but they have a common principle. If someone begins to attend to his akka, he cannot abandon the worship during his lifetime, or else the akka will avenge itself.

Akka worship is strictly personal and is not bequeathed upon death.

/217 cont./

774 583 If someone marries a girl, he must not only pay her mother the price of virginity but must also pay the girl's akka. [782] For that he offers white beads and cloth which the bride will wear, as well as sweets which will be consumed by her. If the [784] price of virginity were not paid, the woman's akka, humiliated, might make her sick or kill her. /218/

774 /218/ There are seven categories of akka, masculine and feminine, one for each day of the week.

[114] Crevaux in 1877 was able to establish the complete list (1):

[191] 1. This conception is widespread in the Agni-Ashanti culture area, among the Éwé and Mina, and as far as western Dahomey. The names reported among the Mina correspond very exactly, except for some differences in pronunciation, to the ones kept by the Boni.

[805]

	Men	Women
Sunday	Kwasi	Kwasiba
Monday	Kɔdyo	Adyuba
Tuesday	Kwami	Abeniba
Wednesday	Kwaku	Akuba
Thursday	Yao	Yaba
Friday	Kɔfi	Afiba
Saturday	Kwamina	Amba

[184] All these names are known to the Boni, but none of our informants was capable of reciting the complete list. It is [551] well understood that a name like Kɔfi, Kɔdio /sic/, etc. is the akka's name and not at all the man's name (2).

/218 cont./

774
551

2. Although it happens that people receive as a name an akka name, sometimes accompanied by a qualificative, such as Lébikwaku.

774 Actually, each one knows his akka's name, which was revealed
762 to him by his parents when he was a child; to this name is
[551] attached an akka kina or food prohibition relative to the akka.
[754] Both are carefully kept secret even from near relatives and friends, for knowing them could help the wisimã take possession of the akka. On this subject people often use the term gadu kina, as they say mi gadu instead of mi akka. This term is
[784] easily confused with the prohibition imposed on the possessed
[787] person by the god which incarnates itself in him; these are two very different notions.

[258] The akka kina is unique for each man. It is sought by the parents when the child is completely weaned. They try to
[787] draw parallels between the foods he has eaten and the health disorders he may exhibit, and these suppositions are confirmed by divinatory procedures.

774 A man does not ordinarily pray to his akka. He addresses
782 prayer to it only if he is sick, to ask it for protection, or before leaving on a long trip, to ask it to watch over him. If he comes back safe and sound, he thanks it by making an offering to it, in the form of a bottle of syrup (switi sopi), which he turns upside down over his head.

774 According to Mr. W. F. van Lier, the Djuka have the
184 idea that the shadow (kaaka) is the visible image of the akka; the Boni do not appear to have this conception; one does not observe that they attach any importance whatever to whether a man's shadow passes over them; on the contrary, one must not step over a man lying on the ground, that might injure his akka.

/218 cont./

774 The yɔrka. (The Boni say yɔɔka, the Djuka and the Creoles
775 of Surinam yɔrka.) The expression yɔrka is used only to designate the spirits of the dead. But of course the elements of the yɔrka are present in the living man. /[illegible]/

774 /219/ The yɔrka is the ordinary consciousness of the man, his
828 memories, tastes, aversions, all that constitutes his personality. All that, for the Refugee Blacks, does not come from the divine plane but at least in part from former human existences, and after death will not reach the divine plane. The Refugee
775 Blacks seem to believe that after death, the yɔrka remains unchanged, will keep the same desires, the same aversions, the same thoughts; it is simply no longer in ordinary life, it has passed to another plane, intermediate between the divine and the human, from whence it continues to remain in a certain fashion in contact with men. The various informants we questioned on this subject declare that they have no idea of the fate of the yɔrka after death, of its place with respect to the divinities, of the rewards or punishments of which it may be the object according to the manner in which the man lived. These are questions they never ask themselves openly and which hardly interest them, all their interest being centered on earth-
[754] ly life. The idea of a paradise is absolutely foreign to them; they acknowledge however in the case of the wisimã that they will be stripped of the force that every living being receives from the divine, and that thus destroyed as beings, they will no longer be more than empty shadows.

769 The gaã yɔrka, spirits of the ancestors, are believed to watch over their descendants and are subject to worship.

[771] Ancestor worship. Among the Refugee Blacks, ancestor worship is intimately bound up with all the acts of family and social life. They assume that the yɔrka of the ancestors are always present near their descendants and that they protect them. It is through them as intermediaries that the force emanated by the divine is received by the living.

/219 cont./

769 We have described the principal ceremonies of this worship in speaking of family life.

769 613 One addresses only his near ancestors in maternal line, and one addresses them all collectively. Just as the custom of the Refugee Blacks rejects all that might individualize one line within a lineage, it rejects every individual bond between a given dead person and a given living person. Just as "uncles" exercise guardianship collectively over "nephews," the dead collectively protect the living. It would be a grave offense against the customary law of the Refugee Blacks to go individually to the fraga tiki to invoke the yɔrka of one or another of his relatives. We shall see further on that the only exception to this is for the ancestors who have made themselves conspicuous by exercising the kunu against another lineage.

[784]

Ancestor worship is organized within the lo, and its priest is the head of the lo, hedemã or captain. Individualized fractions (bɛɛ) which may exist within the lo, like Papaïston 2, have no separate ancestor worship.

769 778 The place of prayer is made up of a small square of ground about 1 meter x 1 meter, separated from village soil by pieces of boards; in the middle of this square is set a T-shaped post whose horizontal arm serves as support for a square of white cloth: this is the fraga tiki.

The cloth rots rapidly under the influence of bad weather, but it is not removed; a new one is attached over the old when it is too spoiled; likewise /220/ the post, which ends up by rotting, is not replaced as long as it does not fall to the ground. This behavior might be thought to be negligence, but it is nothing of the sort: for the Refugee Blacks, what has been offered to the ancestors is removed from the action of men; no one can touch it any more, even to repair it.

/220 cont./

769 Beside the principal fraga tiki one sometimes sees sticks
778 bearing fragments of white cloth; they have been planted in honor of those ancestors who have demanded it.

The ceremonies at the fraga tiki have a very simple
769 character; prayers are said in the ordinary language and often
778 have the character of an intimate conversation. In the absence
782 of the head of the lineage, an old man pronounces them; while he speaks, an assistant makes the offering of water and tafia. Pouring water on the ground is a rite having as its purpose entering into contact with the ancestors: it is seen performed in funeral ceremonies, before beginning the interrogation of the yɔrka. The tafia is an offering in the literal sense of the term; at the time of the principal prayers being addressed to the ancestors, the offering of tafia is preceded by an offering of cane
[272] juice, kyẽɔ wata. Cane juice was the beverage on feast days in the times when the ancestors, at war with the Europeans, were bereft of tafia.

The prayer formulas most commonly used ask the ancestors to intercede with Masa gadu on behalf of their descendants: "Ancestors, watch over us, protect us, pray to Masa gadu for us so that...."

769 Possession by a yɔrka. It is taken for granted that the yɔrka of
an ancestor can enter into a member of his matrilineage and
787 reveal itself in the course of attacks of possession. This is a very
613 rare phenomenon. In 1958, in all the Boni country, only about ten people were known who bore thus the yɔrka of an ancestor. These attacks come on spontaneously, no cult having their provocation as its purpose. We were present in December, 1956 at one of these attacks in a young woman from Papaïston, Mili, about 20 years old. Since the day before, the yɔrka of an ancestor of the lineage dead for two generations had manifested itself in her intermittently; these attacks lasted several minutes;

/220 cont./

769 778 782 her voice changed, imitating a man's; eyes staring, she appeared to have no longer any consciousness of what was around her. Then suddenly the attack would cease and she would busy herself with her household occupations in the most natural fashion. The yɔrka which was believed to become incarnate thus in Mili's body spoke of very commonplace things, repeating indefinitely sentences concerning minor happenings of the day, or asking for a small offering of tafia on its behalf at the fraga tiki. A psychiatrist would doubtless have thought of an attack of mental dissociation.

[784] These yɔrka are not feared by their involuntary bearer, since none can exercise a kunu against his own lineage; they manifest themselves only exceptionally, sometimes indicating remedies or warning of dangers. Thus it is that A... of the Dipélu II lo, who has a Kumẽnti besides, also has a yɔrka which revealed itself in him without ever having been called on. According to his comrades, this yɔrka sometimes steps in with a cavernous voice, notably in September, 1952, during a hunting expedition, where it shouted: "Let us not go that way, we shall meet a jaguar." A... lost consciousness for only a few seconds and had not been aware of anything.
/Figs. 26 and 27 appear here./ /221/

775 828 The nẽmseki (1). Each Refugee Black has a nẽmseki, that is

1. This word seems to be a deformation of English "namesake" (homonym).

to say that certain elements of his personality are thought to originate from the reincarnation of a certain ancestor. This is a very obscure conception with the Boni, and without apparent correlation with their notion of the akka and the yɔrka; they never say: "I am the reincarnation of So-and-So," but simply:

6:Hurault--342a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
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Fig. 26. Woman possessed by a Papa gadu god.

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Fig. 27. Dance of possession (Papa gadu worship).

/221 cont./

775 828 [184] "My nɛ̃mseki is So-and-So." Mr. W. F. van Lier, speaking of the Djuka who have much clearer conceptions on religious questions, gives an important clarification: in 1915 Grand Man Oséisi became incarnate in a newborn baby of the tribe, nevertheless he continues to be invoked as an ancestor before the fraga tiki. It seems, then, that it is a case of certain elements of the personality which are believed to be reincarnated, and not of the yɔrka as a whole.

787 It is important to distinguish the nɛ̃mseki from possession by a yɔrka. Possession by a yɔrka is an exceptional occurrence which is manifested in the form of trances, the yɔrka speaking through the mouth of its bearer; outside of these possessions, this yɔrka is believed to reside in the abode of the ancestors.

[613] A yɔrka can reveal itself thus only in a person of its mauflineage.

775 828 The nɛ̃mseki, on the contrary, exists in all men. The ancestor who is thus partially reincarnated is generally on the paternal side, but this is not an absolute rule.

A man is not conscious of his nɛ̃mseki and is acquainted with it only because his parents have revealed it to him. This nɛ̃mseki does not manifest itself in anything in everyday life; it does not impose any kina whatever and does not ask for offerings. However, when a young child falls ill, divination may reveal that it is the doing of the nɛ̃mseki which is indignant at being misunderstood. People hurry then, always with the help of divination, to find out the name of the nɛ̃mseki, proceeding by elimination. As a general rule, they allow themselves to be guided by resemblances of physiognomy, birthmarks calling to mind, for example, certain scars of the dead ancestor.

[753] [755]

It is believed that the older a man is when he dies, the more time he will allow to elapse before being reincarnated.

/221 cont./

Relations between Gods and Men

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The kunu

The kunu. The Refugee Blacks call kunu the collective curse which has weighed on a matrilineage since an ancient offense. The kunu is without time limit, without pardon, without pity, blind in the choice of its victims; in principle, it can end only with the complete extermination of the lineage. Each time [753] that adversity swoops down on one of its members in the form [761] of death, sickness, various calamities, the kunu is the most frequently obtained explanation. The instrument of this inexpiable vengeance is either a god or the yɔ̃ka (spirit) of a dead person.

784 This notion, which occupies a central position in the
613 beliefs of the Refugee Blacks, does not appear to have been
171 borrowed directly. Most of the populations of Dahomey /222/ and the Ivory Coast take for granted the idea of arbitrary punishments exercised upon the members of the lineage by the gods or the ancestors of the group. But no population of these regions has, to our knowledge, developed so highly systematized a doctrine.

784 The conceptions developed by the Refugee Blacks,
571 divinities impelled exclusively by vengeance, and especially ancestors inexorably chastising lineages other than their own, have created new relationships among individuals and among lineages.

784 We have not been able to elucidate the origin of the word kunu. Perhaps it is a deformation of the Mina word ekunu, which means burial.

776 Three categories of divinities can pursue men with their
784 kunu, and because of this fact the Refugee Blacks feel toward
781 them an extreme terror mixed with veneration.

/222 cont./

776 --The Papa gadu (Vɔɔdũ). The kunu that one of them
784 exercises upon a lineage comes uniformly from the fact that in
613 times past, one of the ancestors had inadvertently killed a
[825] dagowe snake (boa), usual bearer of the Papa gadu. For example,
the snake might have perished in the burning of a clearing.
[787] Some time after, the god had possessed a member of the lineage
and revealed that henceforth it would exercise a kunu;

--The Ampuku. The kunu of an Ampuku begins in an analogous way; in days gone by an ancestor had, for example, cut a katu tree without performing the rites suitably, or had made a clearing in a place where an Ampuku was residing;

--The Kĩntamasu (who call themselves Akɔlo), gods of the termitaries, much feared, may exercise a kunu if, before cutting a clearing, someone has, in spite of all his searching, allowed a termitary to escape him, which thus was not the object of the indispensable rite;

775 --Finally, the kunu may be brought by a dead person's
784 yɔrka. For example, a man of lineage A had once upon a time
613 unjustly accused a man of lineage B. The latter committed
762 suicide out of revenge. The meaning of this act is not the same as in Europe. It is not a question of making one's enemies live in shame and remorse, but by sacrificing one's life to cause an eternal vengeance to be wreaked upon one's enemies. Some time after the suicide, the yɔrka reveals itself in a man of his lineage and announces that it will pursue the members of lineage A eternally with its kunu.

784 Thus the offenses which the kunu punishes are not moral sins as we understand them, but involuntary acts without inner meaning. The purifications and sacrifices demanded are likewise purely exterior acts.

/222 cont./

114 The various works treating of the Refugee Blacks point out
784 well the importance of the kunu, but it seems to us that the functioning of this institution (for in fact a social institution is certainly concerned here) has not been clearly understood.

784 A kunu is attached to a matrilineage in the literal sense
613 (b&s). It extends obligatorily to all the members of the matrilineage and can strike only them.

For example, my kunu can strike my sister's son but not my wife nor my children (they are subject to the kunu of their own lineage). /223/

[782] The kunu, striking the lineage as a whole, can be appeased only by prayers uniting (at least in principle) the whole lineage. That is the respect in which the kunu may be defined
[571] as a social institution, for it is, we shall see, the principal cement holding the groups together.

The unleashing of a kunu does not necessarily and immediately follow the destruction of a termitary or the death of a dagowe snake. The god thus offended avenges itself by making a certain number of members of the lineage sick and
784 by causing limited misfortunes to happen. When things are
613 at that point the kunu can still be exorcised by prayers and
782 offerings. In 1957 the beginning of a kunu was manifesting itself thus in the Awara Bakka lineage of Asisi; very frightened, the members of the lineage made offerings and prayers to exorcise it.

784 But if the lineage people neglect the warnings of the god,
613 if through laziness or selfishness too great a number of them
[673] are absent from the collective prayers and do not take part in
[761] the offerings, prayers and offerings will be refused and the god will kill one of them. From then on the kunu is unleashed and can no longer leave the lineage. Its involuntary bearer
[428] will have to bequeath it upon his death to a member of the lineage, who cannot refuse this legacy and must immediately

/223 cont./

784 begin his instruction in order to become a suitable bearer. (If
613 this procedure were not carried out, the god would not cease
428 its kunu at all, and the possibility of entering into contact with it and appeasing it would be lost. Besides, sooner or later it would come back into a member of the lineage.)

784 The kunu strikes without regard to kinship ties, even if
613 kinship between the bearer of the god and the supposed victim
[602] is very distant. Ex.: The Papa gadu of Donasi (Papaïston lo) struck a young woman, Gou, with illness in January, 1957.
[782] Donasi and Gou are only relatives in the ninth degree. The
[361] members of the entire Papaïston lineage assembled to supplicate the god: even people of Wétiti village in the lower Maroni came.

775 The kunu exercised by the yɔrka of a dead person has a
784 special importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks, for it has
613 profound repercussions on the relations among the lineages.

In principle, the yɔrka exercising a kunu has as bearer
[428] a living member of its own lineage, who will bequeath it at his death. But it is also possible that the yɔrka may take as bearer a member of the lineage upon which it exercises the kunu.

In both cases, the rite to appease the yɔrka is the same;
[782] the yɔrka can be invoked effectively only by the members of its own lineage, since one can pray (at least in principle) only to one's own maternal ancestors.

When matrilineage A is struck by the kunu exercised by a yɔrka of matrilineage B, its members thereupon go to consult the elders of matrilineage A /sic/ and ask them to try to calm
[769] the anger of their ancestor. The members of lineage A assemble
[778] around the fraga tiki of lineage B, in back of the elders of this
[787] lineage, in the presence of the bearer of the yɔrka, who calls on his gita, goes into trances and prophesying. The yɔrka
[782] usually asks for an offering of cane juice and tafia, which is made at the foot of the /224/ fraga tiki by the elders of lineage B (for the rite to be efficacious, the offering must have been furnished by lineage A).

/224 cont./

775 A yɔrka exercising a kunu may also demand that another
784 smaller fraga tiki be erected for it beside the principal fraga
769 tiki of its lo. In the villages of the Refugee Blacks one often
778 sees these little crosses provided with white veils like the main
613 fraga tiki, planted beside it a little obliquely.

The notion of the kunu exercised by a yɔrka explains the
775 rarity of murder among the Refugee Blacks. How would you
784 dare to kill someone when, as soon as it is freed from his body,
674 his yɔrka will have full latitude to make you sick, to make tree branches fall across your path, to cause to suffer and to
775 kill all those dear to you? If someone is blinded by hate, it
784 is the idea of suicide which will dominate him. In October,
762 1952 we were able to observe this reaction in a man who had just been subject to a deep humiliation: "I am going to kill my body in order to go to kill that man and his whole family," he said to us, prey to a fit of rage; fortunately, when the fit had passed, he came back to a more sound outlook on things.

775 It is to be noted that a yɔrka cannot exercise a kunu
784 against its own lineage. This notion explains why, in the times
613 when they exercised absolute authority, tribal chiefs had those
696 condemned to death executed by men of the same lineage.
[171] Apparently similar practices were the rule in olden days in several African kingdoms, which allows one to think that notions analogous to those of the kunu may be rather widespread there.

784 Situation of the various lineages with respect to the kunu. There
613 we touch on one of the most secret aspects of the social life of the Refugee Blacks. Years of living among them are necessary in order to obtain precise information on the nature and the mode of action of the kunu acting on the various lineages.

784 Nearly all the entities which now exercise their kunu on the
613 Boni have been in their lineages since a very ancient period,
428 to the point where the name of their first bearer is forgotten. They are transmitted inexorably from generation to generation. In the course of the ages, the kunu have accumulated, and now certain lineages are living with four, five, or even six kunu.

/224 cont. /

784 613 776 787 Kunu of the Dju lineage. The Dju lineage in 1958 was affected by four kunu:

--An Ampuku which has exercised its vengeance since time immemorial, to the point where the origin of this kunu is no longer remembered, its bearers being Dabisa (G25) and Adyidya (E19), two women about 50 years old. This Ampuku formerly had as its bearer an ancestor named Agoabuchi, who died about 1940. Two or three years after his death, it manifested itself in Dabisa;

--A Papa gadu named Adawa which has also pursued the lineage with a pitiless vengeance since the time of the great ancestors. It revealed itself to the preceding generation in an ancestress named Sapiké (D5), and a long time after her death it passed into Pamasa (E26), a woman of 35. This kunu has grown worse since /225/ two other Papa gadu revealed themselves in recent years in two women named Kulina (F9) and Diana (E9). They declared that they were the descendants of the first one and that they came in support of it;

784 613 775 787 [762] --A yɔrka whose name nobody wanted to tell us because they were so afraid of it. It is that of a man of the Awara Bakka lineage, who committed suicide two or three generations ago when he was unjustly accused of a crime by a man of the Dju lineage. Since then, this yɔrka has been exterminating the Dju lineage little by little. Its bearer in 1958 was an old woman of the Awara Bakka lineage, named Namu;

784 613 776 787 --A Kantamasu since, a very long time ago, an ancestress whose name is forgotten inadvertently destroyed a termitary while burning a clearing. It had as bearer a very old woman named Wima (E3) († 1957), and it manifested itself also in Ata (F2).

784 613 787 562 Thus, in this group, the maleficent gods had exclusively women as bearers; out of about 20 adult women, seven were participating in the functioning of the kunu.

/225 cont. /

784 One sees from this example how the influence of women,
613 exerted in arbitrary fashion, in a domain placed outside of
787 custom and ordinary social life, weighs on the life of the
562 group.

Kunu of the Dipélu lineage. The situation of the Dipélu
614 lineage with respect to the kunu is particularly interesting.
571 Although split for perhaps 100 years into two separate groups, Dipélu I (L'Enfant Perdu and Apatu villages) and Dipélu II (Kormotibo and Asisi-Dip. II villages), this group still constitutes an undivided unit with respect to the kunu. Neither time nor
[484] distance (it takes more than a week of traveling to make the round trip between L'Enfant Perdu and Apatu) has been able to
[755] break it up. The Apatu people come very often (at least some of them) to be present at the collective prayers which take place at L'Enfant Perdu to appease a kunu in order to cure a sick person.

The oldest kunu ("since Africa") is that of a Papa gadu
614 god whose bearer was ○ Dika (Dip. I, D10, † 1951) and which
776 passed after her death into ○ Pééchina (Dip. I, E42, L'Enfant
[787] Perdu village). This kunu strikes indiscriminately the people of L'Enfant Perdu, Apatu, Kormotibo, Asisi-Dip. II, and the Dipélu fraction residing in Boniville. To it, these past years,
[761] have been attributed the death of ○ Way (Dip. I, E6, living
[753] in Boniville), the illness of △ Akwali (Dip. II, F7, Kormotibo village) and of ○ Bongo (same village).

Another very old kunu is the one exercised by the yɔrka
775 of a Surinam Creole who had settled with the Dipélu people a
614 very long time ago. He was suspected of sorcery and killed.
[683] Since then his yɔrka comes back regularly to exterminate the Dipélu.

/225 cont./

784 Having no known lineage (his family, if he had any, was
776 in Surinam), it had taken people of the Dipélu lineage as
614 bearers. The last was △ Denis † in 1938. Since Denis'
787 death, it no longer has a bearer. The questioning of the dead reveals that they died by its kunu. The members of the two
[782] fractions of the lineage meet together (at least two or three members of each village come) to supplicate it.

784 A third kunu, very interesting in origin and supposed
614 action, /226/ in 1957 was borne by Kwau (Dip. I, E1, Kotika village). It results from the killing of an anaconda snake by Apatu † (Dip. I, C1), companion of the explorer Crevaux when he was traveling to /in/ Brazil. Upon contact with Europeans Apatu had become a freethinker and was no longer
[753] observing the laws of his people. Among the later victims of this kunu was counted Kwami (Dip. II, F4, Kormotibo village)
[755] who, gravely ill, had had to go to L'Enfant Perdu where the god had been invoked for him and offerings made. The death
[761] of Manga (Dip. I, E5, Boniville, † about 1930) was particularly attributed to it.

No other kunu has revealed itself in Apatu village since its founding in 1882.

784 A fourth kunu concerning all the Dipélu has as bearers
614 women of the Dipélu II group. It results from the inadvertent
776 murder of a Papa gadu whose bearer was a dagowe snake killed
787 in the course of the nivrée /fishing/ of a pool by Akonté
562 † (Dip. II, B1), transmitted to Kondo †, then to Alama (Dip. II, E1).

Since then Papa gadu have revealed themselves in ○ Apaïta (Dip. II, F9, Kormotibo village) and in ○ Kaala (Dip. II, G28, Asisi-Dip. II village). They declared themselves to be the descendants of the first and to come in support of it.

/226 cont./

784 Finally, a fifth kunu is threatening to show itself. This
182 is a remarkable affair which clarifies at the same time the legal and religious conceptions of the Refugee Blacks.

672 About 1918, a stupid accident which happened at Dagouédé (gun which went off by itself at the moment when it was being stowed in a boat) caused the death of a girl, Santonia, daughter of Kuluba (Aw.B.1). The unwitting perpetrator of the accident was Kwau (Dip. I, Apatu village).
[692] There were people in the Awara Bakka lineage who accused him of having done it on purpose, but the grand man judged that he was innocent and the affair was shelved.

784 Now in April, 1957, Kiboya (Dip. II), a young woman
614 of 25, was attacked by a fit of possession. It was Santonia's
775 yɔrka which was supposed to reveal itself in her. It declared
787 that it was going to exercise a kunu on Dipélu. It was not claiming that Kwau had killed her on purpose and even asked the Awara Bakka not to make reprisals.

628 Nevertheless, full of fury, a party of Awara Bakka went
614 the next day to attack the village of L'Enfant Perdu, demolishing a certain number of huts and pursuing the inhabitants, some of whom took refuge in the water and others in the bush. There were, however, no serious blows.

The next day they went to attack Kormotibo in the same way. It is to be noted that only after that did they think of blaming Kwau, who was then living at Wacapou. But the grand man had intervened in the meantime to re-establish peace.

In both cases the façades of several shacks were smashed and two men, Bonana and Amatodja, who had run less fast than the others, were struck symbolically.

/226 cont./

628 The members of the Dipélu lineage did not believe a
614 word of this affair, convinced that Kiboya, a proud and scheming
784 woman, had pretended the gita to make herself interesting.
787 Nevertheless, to bring back peace, they decided to go to Asisi
156 and to ask pardon in front of the fraga tiki, pouring tafia,
769 asking the ancestors not to take vengeance, the living being
778 reconciled. /227/

784 /227/ (Note that in this affair, the yɔrka manifests itself in a
614 member of the lineage on which it exercises the kunu.)
775

784 Kunu of the Awara Bakka lineage. The Awara Bakka lineage
614 does not form a unit with respect to the kunu, and the situation
613 of its fractions is particularly interesting. This lineage includes:

--A principal fraction (Aw.B.1);

--A fraction whose kinship ties with the first are forgotten (Aw.B.2), whose position with respect to the kunu we have not been able to define.

--Finally, a group descended from Anèta, Djuka woman, wife of Péeyon † (Aw.B.1) settled in Asisi with her descendants in uterine line. We have called this group Aw.B.3. It has a separate kunu originating in the Djuka village of Tabiki where Anèta came from.

784 The Awara Bakka I, all living in Asisi village, had to
787 our knowledge three kunu in 1957:
776 --One exercised by a Papa gadu god, borne up to 1957
613 by O Kuluba (Aw.B.1, D1). At her death in April, 1957,
428 she bequeathed it, contrary to custom, to a person of another fraction, Summa (Aw.B.3). But the god did not ratify this legacy and, in January, 1958; it manifested itself in OLéna (Aw.B.1, F52), thus remaining in the same lineage;

/227 cont./

784 --A second, very old kunu is exercised by a yɔrka of the
775 Dipélu II lo, Gy..., dead so long that he cannot be placed on
the genealogical table; it, too, had as bearer a member of the
613 lineage on which it was exercising the kunu. O Akumuyé
614 (Aw.B.1, D17) † 1957.

Thus the Awara Bakka and Dipélu lineages exercise the kunu reciprocally one against the other;

784 --A third kunu of recent origin is exercised by a Papa
776 gadu god which had as bearer in 1957 O Irma (Aw.B.1, E37).
613 It results from the inadvertent killing of a Dagowe /sic/ snake
[789] by △ Takwa, Irma's brother. At the end of 1957 this kunu
[953] had yet brought on only illnesses of such a kind that people could still hope to exorcise it.

784 The Aw.B.3 group has a special kunu of its own and
613 considers itself out of reach of the kunu of the Aw.B.1.

Anèta, originating in the Djuka village of Tabiki, is subject to the kunu of that lineage as are all her descendants in
[782] uterine line. On occasion of serious illnesses the latter have sometimes had to go to Tabiki village to supplicate the kunu.

[776] This kunu is the one of a god borne by Akanté, Anèta's
[787] daughter. In September, 1956, Summa, Akanté's daughter, was sick. The god revealed that this was its doing. It was
[782] supplicated (the other fractions joined the group) and she then got well.

613 Kunu of the Afi lineage. The descendants of Afi † (woman
621 coming from the tribe of the Bakabuchi of Surinam) live for the most part in Asisi in close symbiosis with the /228/ Awara Bakka lineage. They are in a situation analogous to that of Anèta's descendants (Aw.B.3) but, perhaps by the simple fact of their number, they form a more individualized unit.

/228 cont./

784 613 786 787 They are the object of three kunu:

--One exercised by a Papa gadu god whose bearer up into 1956 was Kotoïda († Oct. 1956), who bequeathed it to O Mani (Afi lineage, d12).

784 785 613 --The other exercised by a yɔrka of the Lapé lineage. This kunu dates from about 60 years ago; Alémin (Afi lineage, b3, Kormotibo village), 80 years old in 1957, had when he was young cut a clearing in a place which was found to be an old abandoned Boni cemetery (opposite Maripasoula). Some [787] time afterward, a yɔrka revealed itself in a woman of the Lapé lineage, saying that it was exercising a kunu against the family of the sacrilegious person.

[761] It is to this yɔrka, whose bearer is M... (L2, Boniville), that the death of Kotoïda in October, 1956 is especially attributed.

--A third kunu is exercised by A..., of the Papaïston 2 [684] lineage. A... had committed pikadu. Surprised by Alémin (Afi lineage), he had paid the latter to obtain his silence. [762] But Alémin had talked. Dishonored, A... committed suicide with a gunshot; some time afterward his yɔrka revealed itself in Alémin; it exercises a kunu on this lineage.

613 614 784 Situation of the other lineages with respect to the kunu. The Papaïston lineage is divided into two groups: Papaïston 1 (the principal one) and Papaïston 2, of which there remain only three living members: two women and one young man. This remainder of a lineage continues to bear its own kunu, which is unique and separate from that of the principal group.

The principal group forms a unit with respect to the kunu.

The Lapé lineage, cut from the point of view of genealogy into two pieces, forms a unit with respect to the kunu. We [114] have been able to collect only fragmentary information on the various kunu of this village.

/228 cont./

784 A kunu is exercised by a Dipélu yɔrka, borne in 1958 by
775 a Loka woman. It is invoked before the fraga tiki of l'Enfant
778 Perdu village (Dipélu I). Sometimes a broko dɛ is celebrated
769 for it in the same forms as the ceremony of the eighth day
613 after death.

784 We have likewise not been able to collect complete
613 information on the kunu of the Kotika lineage. This lineage,
114 divided into three fractions, forms a unit with respect to the kunu.

784 A kunu is exercised by the yɔrka of a Surinam Creole
613 assassinated in former times by a member of the lineage. Its
775 bearer in 1958 was Todo (K1, E68), a man of the Kotika lo
787 living in Boniville. In 1958 a young woman of the lineage,
[761] Awini (K1, E37), died suddenly; the yɔrka revealed that it
[684] had struck Awini because she had a liaison with Sintamann (K3, E145), thus committing pikadu. The idea of the collective responsibility of the lineage is so deeply accepted by the Boni that the near relatives of the dead woman did not reproach Sintamann at all.

784 /229/ A yɔrka of the Kotika lineage may exercise a kunu on
613 the Djuka. This is the case of an affair going back to 1950;
775 a young woman died some time after having a serious discussion
761 with a Djuka woman who had hit her. Deaths among the Djuka
619 these last years had been attributed to its vengeance.

It seems that there is no other kunu exercised by a Djuka
784 upon a Boni lineage and vice versa. This is surprising, con-
619 sidering the fights which in former times set the two nations
613 against each other.

The Djuka and Saramaka living isolated in the midst
621 of the Boni know their kunu, which were revealed to them in
784 childhood. In case of sickness, they employ divinatory pro-
[755] cedures in order to know what kunu is concerned, then they
[613] make offerings. But in case of serious illness, they are forced to go back to the village of origin of their lineage.

/229 cont./

784 613 [428] The kunu and Boni family life. It follows from the detailed examination we have just made of the situation of the various lineages that the transmission of the kunu within the uterine kin group is a rigorous law which suffers no exception whatever. [571] [602] The process of assimilation which permits in a certain measure, on the social plane, the integration of fragments of paternal kin (like Awara Bakka 3) into a group does not come into play here. [611] [829] Unity with respect to the kunu can therefore be regarded as a rigorous criterion of a common matrilineal origin. The Boni feel it as an obvious fact and in such a case it is the proof that comes to their minds: "We are of the same origin since we have the same kunu."

784 613 571 182 Thus the kunu appears as the principal cement of the unity of the groups. It opposes the dissociation of the lineages; this curse which weighs collectively upon a group and which can be exorcised only collectively is an iron bond which nothing can break. It obliges the Refugee Blacks to surmount their individualistic tendencies, their egoism which, if they acted freely, would soon have scattered them into a dust of [888] separate persons. In the face of adversity each one accepts with good grace obedience to the elders, who alone know how to talk to the gods and appease them. [672] Nobody ever is indignant or even surprised to be struck down for the offense of another; there is not a movement of revolt or hostility against the one who by his inattention or inconsiderateness has brought on misfortune. On this plane the members of a lineage feel like cells of a single body.

784 613 672 The collective legal responsibility of the members of a group in the domain of customary law flows from the kunu. We have observed that several times, notably at the time of the obsequies for Kotoïda (Afi lineage) in October, 1956. The president of the lãnti kuutu condemned the members of

/229 cont./

784 613 672 the Afi lineage to be thrashed symbolically for not having paid sufficient attention to the warnings of the yɔrka which had already made Kotoïda sick several times: by their negligence they bore part of the responsibility for Kotoïda's death. Although the Afi and the Awara Bakka live together and regard themselves as members of one community, there was no question whatever of thrashing the Awara Bakka, and that because, not being subject to the same kunu, they bore no responsibility for this death. /230/

Likewise it is taken for granted that the descendants of Anèta (Aw.B.3) do not share the legal responsibility of the Awara Bakka proper (fractions 1 and 2). The fact that Anéta was the wife of Péeyon, captain of the Aw.B., and that her descendants are completely integrated into the life of the village, does not modify this legal situation at all. At the time of the brawl between the Dipélu and the Awara Bakka in 1948, the Aw.B.3 were not taken to task, any more than the members of the Afi lineage.

791 The relations of the Boni with the entities which are believed to pursue them are most interesting. They seek only to appease the divinity, to calm it provisionally, and to live with it in a state of armed peace, if one may say so.

784 787 When divination has shown that a certain calamity was due to the kunu (sometimes the divinity in question reveals it immediately, through the mouth of its bearer, before being interrogated), it is asked why it struck: it always indicates a precise reason: usually it appears to be inspired by arbitrariness [776] and a pitiless despotism. The Refugee Blacks are not surprised at this, for thus it is that they imagine the lower gods.

784 787 776 In 1948, A..., of the Dju lineage, fell ill; he felt violent pains in his legs. Divination showed that it was the doing of the Kãntamasu, which was exercising its kunu upon

/230 cont./

784 the lineage; questioned, this god declared that it had something
787 to complain about in the bad condition of the house which the
776 members of the lineage had erected to it on its order; the roof of leaves had not been changed and it was raining through.

784 It happens also, but as an exception, that the god has
684 sanctioned an offense against morals or more precisely, against the social law, such as the breaking of an interdiction, pikadu (incest in the wider sense, an offense against exogamy). It is necessary to understand that in the thought of the Refugee Blacks, incest unleashes the existing kunu but does not create a new kunu.

In October, 1952, Dolo, a young man of 25 of the
[787] Awara Bakka lo, died almost suddenly. Divination revealed
[761] that he had been killed by the kunu (it was a Papa gadu which
[613] had intervened) in order to sanction an offense committed some time previously by another member of the lo named P.... The latter, a notoriously depraved individual, had committed incest with his own sister.

784 When the divinity has made known through the mouth
776 of its bearer the causes of its act, the assembled members of
782 the lineage implore it, ask it not to pursue its vengeance; the
[787] divinity then requires an offering: for example, if it is a Papa gadu, it will require bottles of beer, some red and white cloth which will be immersed in a given place in the river. It may also require dances in its honor, celebrated by the other possessed people in the village. If it is an Ampuku, it will demand rum, dark-blue cloth which will be exposed in a remote place in the forest. An offering of this kind represents a relatively small sum, even for the Boni (several thousand francs in 1952). The god then declares itself appeased. But it does not pardon and it will resume /231/ its vengeance
[183] at the first cause. Thus the Boni have hope only in a rigorous
776 observance of customary law and the rites. There are divinities
787 which appeared to be thus appeased for a long time and to

/231 cont./

776 which people do not hesitate to come to ask for remedies or
787 opinions, in spite of the evil they have done to the lineage and perhaps will do tomorrow. It is even allowable to wonder whether people do not prefer to consult the most wicked divinities, for they are believed to be stronger.

784 The kunu focuses, turns aside toward high purposes the
771 blind forces of superstition, fear, and rancor. Several authors
114 who have written on the Refugee Blacks have stated that
754 calamities were almost unfailingly attributed to sorcery (wisi). This is a grave error due to the fact that they believed they could transpose to the Refugee Blacks what is observed among the Creole populations of Surinam. If this were true, no
[787] positive social bond could exist. We believe we can assert that among the Refugee Blacks divination lays the blame on sorcery in only scarcely a tenth of the misfortunes. Here,
784 among other examples, are several typical cases concerning
[114] Boni who worked with us or whom we have known especially well:

[753] --In 1948, Fintiman (Dju) falls ill (violent pains in the
[776] legs); kunu of a Kãntamasu.

[752] --In 1948, Galmo (Papaïston) is accidentally hurt (gun backfire): kunu.

[753] --In 1949, Diolè, captain of the Dju lo, is smitten with
[761] hemiplegia and remains paralyzed. He dies in 1951: kunu
[776] of a Papa gadu.

761 --In 1950, a Saramaka is killed in a hunting accident (a gun in poor condition went off by itself): ɔŋgɔɔku (accident).

[754] --In 1951, Kanayen (Kotika) drowns while sailing at night on the river: wisi.

[784] --In 1951, Loka (Dju) dies at the age of 70: kunu of an
[776] Ampuku.

752 --In 1951, F... (Dju) is seriously hurt by the falling of
784 a branch while cutting his clearing: kunu of a yɔrka.
775

/231 cont./

761 --In 1952, Dolo (Awara Bakka) dies almost all of a
[784] sudden with the symptoms of peritonitis: kunu, punishment for
[684] incest committed by another member of the lineage.

--In 1952, Maìèndo, ten years old, son of Osaya (Awara Bakka) accidentally drowns: natural accident (ɔ̃ŋgɔɔku).

[784] --In 1954, Bèniti (Dju) dies at nearly 75 years of age:
[776] kunu of a Papa gadu.

[784] --In 1954, Agyémési (Aw.B.) dies almost all of a sudden:
[754] killed by Odun (he was a wisimã).

--In 1955, Tabiki (Awara Bakka) dies at over 80: natural illness.

[784] --In 1956, Kotoida /sic/ (Afi lineage) dies suddenly,
[775] aged about 50: kunu of a yɔrka.

784 --In 1957, F... (Lapé) is gravely ill with symptoms of
776 typhoid: kunu of a Papa gadu.

[753] --In 1957, Sokodo (Dip. II) dies at 40: kunu of a
[761] Kãntamasu. /232/

75 /232/ One observes that in the 15 cases cited here, the kunu
761 interferes ten times, while in three cases natural causes: ill-
784 ness, accident, were assumed.

In reality, the Refugee Blacks do not have the conceptions of a natural world, subject to known or knowable laws, which is set against a supernatural world. The intervention of a Papa gadu is neither more nor less natural than an illness or an accident. There is only, on the plane of human life, more or less frequent intervention by suprahuman forces. The intervention of these forces is made according to laws which embrace the totality of beings and things, laws which men cannot understand but of which they believe they have a partial and empirical knowledge.

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/232 cont./

75 It is important not to confuse the kunu with the sufferings
784 which other divinities can arbitrarily make men undergo. The
776 kunu has a systematic character. But a divinity theoretically beneficent, and which has come into a man after being called on, may also from time to time bring misfortunes if such is its whim of the moment.

752 In 1949, G... (Dju) was busy cooking a crab in the
776 house of his mother D... A machete which was fastened to
784 the wall suddenly detached itself and wounded him in the right hand. Now his mother had an Ampuku which had imposed
[787] the crab on her as kina. This Ampuku, immediately called
[428] on, revealed that it really was it which had struck G..., for it did not like to see D...'s son eat crab (note that G... was not at all held to the observance of this kina, for no kina is transmitted from mother to son).

784 Neither must the kunu exercised by a yɔrka be confused
775 with the vengeance that a dead person can exercise against
613 the members of his own lineage in order to punish them for
769 having neglected their duties.

Punishment inflicted by an ancestor of the lineage seems for the Boni to be a notion distinct from that of the kunu. Vengeance exercised by a yɔrka upon its own lineage is regarded as exceptional and devoid of the inexorable and definitive character of the kunu, but they assume it to be
[762] possible. They cited to us the case of Yali (Loka), who
[753] committed suicide when accused of sorcery by the people
[761] of his lineage. Since then, his yɔrka has caused sicknesses and deaths in his own village.

776 Conversely, a god which exercises the kunu upon a
784 lineage may in certain cases intervene in favor of this lineage
613 if such is its whim of the moment. Thus the death of Diamanti
[761] (Aw.B.2, Asisi village, † in 1955) is attributed to the god which exercises the kunu on the village of L'Enfant Perdu and whose bearer was Pééchina. Diamanti had wronged someone of this village and the god had intervened against her.

/232 cont./

787 In a general way, they consider that the bearer of a god
784 exercising the kunu has nothing to fear from it personally if he
776 rigorously observes the kina which have been imposed upon
him. On the other hand, this god will punish any injury to
[562] its bearer. Thus these bearers (almost always old women) live
[888] surrounded by respect and fear.

784 /233/ Observations in January, 1958 (misfortunes attributed to
769 vengeance of ancestors on their own lineage).
613 Do (Lapé) is taken ill on January 7, 1958 with a violent
75 attack of dysentery. The same day his five-year-old son is
grievously hurt at the wharf by falling on a broken bottle.
[787] Alarmed by this coincidence, the members of the Lapé lo
assemble and proceed to question a possessed person. The latter
reveals that it is the doing of an old woman of the lineage,
Atala, dead for two years. Several lineage members have already been sick from this; the dead woman wanted to sanction offenses committed by the people of the lineage.

The same day in Boniville, Klémenti (Dju), to whom I am recounting this affair, tells me that before the lifting of mourning for his mother Béniti, he and his sisters were sick.
[787] Divination showed that it was the doing of Béniti, who wished to hasten the celebration of the ceremony.

784 The kunu and social peace among the Boni. Role of the grand
775 man. The kunu exercised by a yɔrka creates very strange re-
613 lations among the Boni lineages. As blind and arbitrary as the
571 vengeance attributed to the yɔrka may be, the Boni have the
sense of the legal unity of the lineage too much for any resentment to exist: "They are killing our family..."; and yet the
two lineages find themselves henceforth irreparably bound to-
[782] gether. The victims of the kunu can no longer get along without
people of the lineage of the yɔrka which pursues them with its
vengeance, since they alone, by their prayers, can appease
temporarily the anger of their ancestor. One conceives of the

784 /233 cont./ One conceives of the
795 interminable dissensions which this situation entails: if the
613 manifestations of the kunu do not cease, the victims let it be
578 understood that the prayers were badly made.... /Figure 28 appears here./

761 Every suspicious death whose circumstances lead to the
628 belief that /234/ an inhabitant of another village was responsi-
613 ble can bring on a punitive expedition against that village and
[784] other villages of the same kin group. By taking this vengeful attitude even before the grand man has been notified and the blamed people heard, the people of the dead person's lineage are thinking above all else of taking precautions against the action of the dead person, who could turn back his vengeance
628 against them. Actually, these fights are above all symbolic; the wisdom of the Refugee Blacks has promulgated precepts which many nations could take as a pattern, in order that these punitive expeditions might not have serious consequences:

--One may strike only with the fists, and blood must not flow;

--Men may strike only men, while the women find fault with women;

--One may fight only on the village common and before witnesses, never in the bush or on the river. As a general rule, the people aimed at by the expedition do not resist, but flee into the bush or on the boats, or group themselves around the fraga tiki, holy place which the aggressors must respect.

628 We have told about the expedition made in April, 1957
613 by the people of Asisi-Awara Bakka against the villages of L'Enfant Perdu (Dipélu I) and Kormotibo (Dipélu II). Eight years earlier, in 1949, another squabble had thrown the Dipélu against the Awara Bakka after the death of Pétikona (Dip. II), whom her husband Boofo had taken to Surinam and who had died there. The Kormotibo people claimed that Boofo was responsible for her death. They went to attack the people of Asisi who, although three times more numerous, did not try

/234 cont./

628 613 to resist and fled to Boniville, where some took refuge in the water, others in the bush. About ten shacks were broken (without great damage), principally kitchens and empty sheds. Only one man could be caught and he received several punches.

The expedition of April, 1957 against the villages of L'Enfant Perdu and Kormotibo did not do much more harm. Only one good house was smashed, that of Akwali (Dip. II, Kormotibo) because its owner, passing by in a boat on the river, insulted the aggressors....

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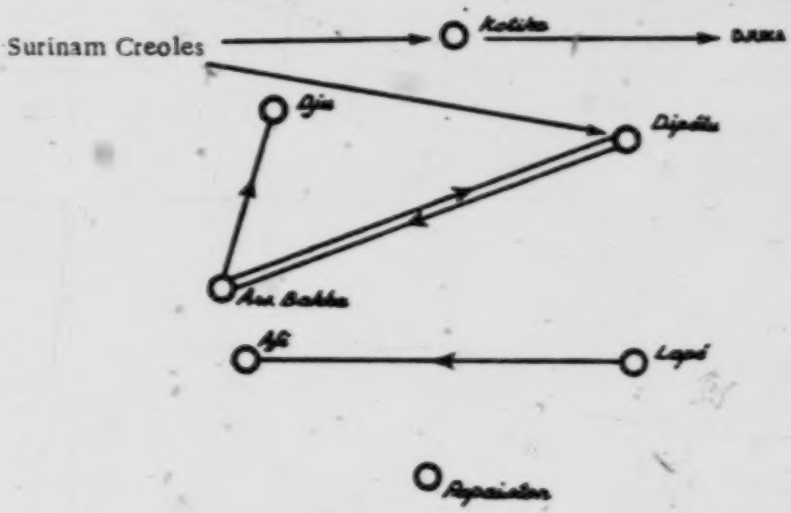

Fig. 28. Schema of the kunu exercised upon one another by the various lineages.

/234 cont./

695 Fist-fighting is practiced also between individuals as a test for justification. If someone is unjustly accused of theft, this is the first idea which occurs to him, even before the oath before Odun. On this subject the Refugee Blacks have a conception analogous to that of the ancient Europeans, according to which God will come to the aid of the innocent person, giving him the strength of ten. This fighting, too, is subject to precise rules; it can be indulged in only publicly, in a village, never in the bush or on the river.

In spite of the importance attached to the oath before Odun, Boni custom does not make provision for any test for
628 justification having a recognized legal value. This is what makes
613 the symbolic battle indispensable. Intervention is then asked of the head of a neutral lineage in order to restore peace. If no death or calamity takes place allowing /235/ belief in the unappeased vengeance of a dead person, the affair is very quickly forgotten. For example, in examining the table of marriages among the various lineages, one ascertains that there are a number of normal unions between the Dipélu and the Awara Bakka.

643 In these kinds of affairs the grand man has two very
692 exact functions:

--To reveal pretense;

--To intervene as supreme arbiter in case of necessity.

[787] Each time that someone is attacked by a fit of possession
[775] and claims to speak in the name of a yɔrka coming to exercise a kunu, the lineage head conducts him to the grand man who makes sure that there is no question of pretense.

643 The grand man, in the thought of the Boni, has the
775 power to compel any yɔrka to manifest itself.
787 He conducts the person concerned to the fraga tiki and
695 invokes the yɔrka. If pretense is involved, the individual will not be able to articulate a syllable. If it is true possession, the yɔrka will speak through his mouth.

643 /235 cont./
775 A few years ago a Kormotibo woman was thus confounded.
787 She had wanted to pretend possession by a yɔrka in order to
695 blackmail another family.

Grand Man Difu recently forbade the bequeathing of gods
784 and yɔrka exercising the kunu (1). People will wait for them
428
643
[787]

1. Let us recall that the dead are questioned on this subject as for the apportionment of the rest of their heritage.

to manifest themselves of their own accord. That will reduce the risks of pretense.

643 The grand man's lineage does not exercise any kunu upon
613 another lineage, and no kunu is exercised upon it. For the Boni
775 this is a fundamental idea, because the grand man is precisely
784 the supreme recourse in case of persistent calamities attributed to the yɔrka of a dead person. The grand man has the power to exorcise all the dead Boni. If his lineage exercised a kunu or were victim of one, he would be judge and litigant at the same time.

When, with the death of Grand Man Difu, the Dikan lineage is extinct, and when the function passes to another lineage, consideration of the kunu exercised by the lineages upon one another will be determinative in the choice of his successor.

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Divination; Premonition; Dreams

Divination. It plays an essential role among the Refugee Blacks as in all animistic societies. Individuals have recourse to it to inspire all important discussions; in large measure one can say that for them it takes the place of will and conscience.

/235 cont./

787 But divination is more than that; the interpretation it
626 gives of the events of daily life is the very mover of the ani-
182 mistic society; presenting calamities /236/ as the punishment
571 of offenses against customary law, it is constantly vitalizing that law, conserving its practical value and its efficacity. What it expresses is not the hidden influence of chiefs or priests -- there are in fact neither chiefs nor priests among the Boni -- but the very consensus of the group, the deep feeling it has of its unity.

787 There are two large categories of divination:

The first consists of calling on a divinity through the medium of its bearer. For that, one applies to a person (of his
[791] lineage if possible) who has a gadu. This is a service which is rarely refused. This person employs the appropriate procedure for calling his gita and enters into trances. The god speaks, the question is put to it; if it is well disposed, it may give the explanation or the advice requested. For example, one asks for advice before looking for another sector to make his clearings.

787 Suggestible as the Boni may be, they do not fail to per-
776 ceive that all the gods interrogated do not give the same directions. So they think that certain ones are stronger than others; there are people whose gita is considered to be particularly
[791] good, others whom they have stopped consulting entirely. The defunct head of Kotika village, Bayo, used to have a gita so remarkable that people would come from very far to consult it.

[829] The general opinion is, furthermore, that nowadays
[178] everything is degenerating and that good gita are no longer seen as in the olden days.

787 These consultations involve only a very modest remuner-
[791] ation, a bottle of tafia at most (1). If it is not a matter of a

1. The remuneration of the possessed person is in question; the god always demands a payment for itself, of variable size according to its whim.

/236 cont./

[787] very serious question, the asker contents himself with going to interrogate a divinity in which he has confidence. If, when put to the test, the advice turns out to be bad, he goes to consult others and if he obtains the same advice from two different directions, he stops there. If not, he appeals to the elders of [888] his village to bring into play the processes of divination which [791] they alone know.

A second category of divinatory procedures consists in the [428] use of "remedies," whose origin is unknown and which are transmitted like a personal belonging.

The process reputed to be the surest, in which everybody has confidence, is called pusu. The instrument is composed [824] simply of a rope made of fibers of the Mauritia (2) palm tree

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2. Palm tree which grows in the coastal savannas and whose fibers are bought from the Galibi Indians. The word pusu, like gita, kandu, mula, is of Congolese origin. In Kikongo, mpuusu = raffia palm tree.

which has been dipped in an infusion of herbs; it is stretched horizontally between two stakes. The elder brings near it a machete blade heated red-hot, at the same time asking the question. If the answer is positive, the rope is cut when the iron has scarcely touched it. If the answer is no, they state that the red-hot iron remains in contact with the rope for an appreciable length of time without the rope's being cut.

They will say for example: ɛfu na Ampuku siki X, a how a 'ɛ mu do: fosi a kɔti: If it is an Ampuku which is making X sick, the machete must cut (the rope) before (even) reaching it.

/237/

787 In this way they put a series of questions entailing yes or no answers and which narrow down the problem more and more.

791 For this divinatory procedure, they pay the man who has brought it into play three liters of tafia, two pieces of cloth, and one machete.

787 695 This procedure is put into play to confound thieves and adulterers. The plaintiff publicly calls on the accused to come and undergo the test: Mi ɔ tya yu go a sweli! If he refuses, it is the equivalent of a confession.

In 1947, Liki (Aw.B.), accused of having stolen 20 grams of gold by a man from Loka, was thus put to the test. The rope was not cut. He was declared innocent and it was the plaintiff who had to pay the price of the test.

In 1950, the uncle of Tabayé (Dip. I) accused him of having committed adultery with his wife. He denied it, but he was put to the test which gave a positive result; he confessed immediately and begged his uncle's pardon. Then they were reconciled. Of course it was he who paid the price of the test.

787 Another important divinatory procedure is the Kumẽnti bui (ring of Kumẽnti). This is a surprising form of divination by pendulum. The ring, which is made of fibers, is ordinarily kept hidden by its owner. Very few people have any. The ring, suspended at the end of a string, is put in oscillation. Its owner puts a question to it. If the answer is affirmative, it oscillates from right to left. If it is negative, it describes a circle.

[825] Another procedure is sometimes used after a sacrifice to know whether the god has received it favorably: it consists of killing a rooster to examine the color of its testicles: if they are found to be black, the sacrifice has not been accepted.

791 /237 cont./
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888 Not just anyone may resort to divination on behalf of someone else: only the eldest have the right to do it, and it has happened that the grand man punished offenders severely.

797 Fate. The Refugee Blacks do not attribute all misfortunes
[752] to suprahuman causes. They have the notion of natural accident, ɔŋgɔɔku. They say ɔŋgɔɔku miti mi, or again ogi miti mi,
[761] misfortune met me. They also accept the idea of natural death. They usually regard as natural death that of the very old, the infirm from birth, and sickly children.

[787] Divination blames fate in ten to 20 per cent of accidents.
[792] It is the usual explanation for hunting accidents.

772 /238/ Magic Forces

As we have shown, the Refugee Blacks consider beings and things as a world of forces capable of acting on one another, outside of time and space, according to laws which men cannot understand but of which they believe they have a partial and empirical knowledge transmitted by tradition since the
754 time of the ancestors. They distinguish negative magic forces,
789 wisi, which have the effect of diminishing the vital force of men, which makes them sick or kills them, and positive magic forces, ɔbia, which come from the gods: the ɔbia comes to increase the vital force of men, giving them protection, immunity, or knowledge. But no power is in essence a principle of good or evil; nothing is impossible for him who knows the formulas; this is why the magic of the Refugee Blacks is reduced to a perpetual and indecisive struggle between ɔbia and wisi.

754 Wisi. Wisi is sorcery in the African sense of the term, that is,
[673] the use of magic procedures to harm others; wisi is for the Refugee Blacks the pre-eminently criminal act, at the same time against morals and against society. The struggle against

754 /238 cont./ The struggle against
781 wisi is one of the foundations of their social life, protection against the undertakings of the wisimã one of the most constant worries of each person. Nobody knows these wisimã with certainty; one is reduced to vague suspicions of this or that person, which one dares not formulate for lack of proof. No one knows exactly how they operate. Yet each one feels their enterprises everywhere about him, and those who by reason of their wealth or successes with women have the most reason to believe themselves exposed to jealousy live in anxiety.

754 Intense jealousy or hate are already a form of wisi, and
[828] this is why each one must try to drive them out of his heart;
[784] besides, he would risk falling ill or being subject to all sorts of calamities for having broken his oath. But the wisimã employs explicit procedures:

--Burying a bottle (beli bata) containing sorcery under his enemy's door. When the latter comes home, the sorcery will
[751] penetrate into him. So some Refugee Blacks carry a special ɔbia against this kind of aggression: thanks to this ɔbia, they will feel a sharp pain in the tip of the foot when approaching the bottle, which they will thus uncover easily.

754 --Kisi akkaa, stealing the akka of the enemy. The latter
774 then becomes mad. The Boni believe that the wisimã operates at night, taking advantage of the fact that the enemy's akka has left his body to wander. He captures it by attracting it with what it likes. For that, one must know the name of his enemy's akka, know its tastes and preferences; all things which each Refugee Black will carefully hide, even from his comrades. What the wisimã does with the akka was not clear to any of our informants. He tries either to capture it in order to deprive his enemy of it, or to make it hostile to its bearer, or to inspire it with abnormal ideas or tastes. If someone manifests an abnormal change /239/ in tastes or behavior, people will be inclined to think that a wisimã was able to act upon his akka.

/239 cont./

754 [774] [829] On this point it is taken for granted that Indian magic is much more powerful than African magic, and that any Indian is capable of attracting his enemy's akka.

--Transforming himself into a vampire (azemã) and flying at night in search of sleeping men in order to suck their blood and eat them in spirit; this conception, closely related to the one which the West Indians have of the soucougnan, comes from Dahomey (in Fon, aze = sorcery). It is said, as in Dahomey, that the azemã flies by emitting fire through the anus.

--Seni ŋgi sani: this is what the Creoles call "sending bad baggage." This is acting upon a living being or an inanimate object to make it behave in abnormal fashion at the expense of the enemy. For example, if someone is bitten by a snake or if a child is carried off by a tiger, the action of a wisimã will be blamed first, for normally snake and tiger do not attack. But there is no material limit to the action of the wisimã, who can make a branch fall on his enemy's head or make a cartridge of dynamite burst prematurely.

[825] The idea that the sorcerer may transform himself into a jaguar, dog, or other animal is not assumed by the Refugee Blacks. Neither do they have the idea of brotherhoods of sorcerers.

754 695 How does society defend itself against the wisimã? There is first of all the test oath. At regular intervals, every two or three years for example, the grand man gathers together all the Boni to the last man before Odun's chapel, and makes each one drink a little of a magic liquid while inviting him to utter the formula: ɛfu mi e meki wisi fu dede a sama, mi mu dede: If I do sorcery to make someone die, I must die. This is what is called diŋgi sweri, to drink the test. Actually, it is a harmless liquid, but each one is convinced that a wisimã would not be able to drink it without dying from it. If someone stubbornly refuses to present himself at the ceremony, he is not obliged to, but he has denounced himself: suspicions will be directed on him henceforward.

/239 cont./

754 Trial for sorcery does not exist among the Boni, but a
787 procedure exists which allows for pinning down suspicions.

After each death the dead person is asked the question: Is it wisi that killed thee? The question is put last (they first ask kunu, then fyo-fyo /see p. 398/).

If it is wisi, they ask: Is it such-and-such a family? (In general it is in the lineage itself), then the names of the lineage members are uttered successively until there is a positive response.

754 The one who is thus accused of wisi can be summoned
695 to justify himself before the grand man, but that can only have the character of an investigation and not a trial. The suspected individual may not be challenged. They accept the fact that it is only a matter of presumption and that the dead accuser can lie, pursuing vengeance beyond the grave.

The Refugee Blacks declare that there is no certainty about wisi.

754 A remarkable principle of customary law is that if a
613 member of a matrilineage /240/ is believed to have killed one
692 of his "brothers," the judiciary power of the Boni cannot interfere. It is an affair purely within the lineage.

754 Thus no one can be challenged or expelled for an act of sorcery. If one suspects somebody strongly, one will avoid him, one will turn the cold shoulder to him, all the time remaining polite, but one will not show anything. To this principle is attached a very noble idea, that of the interdiction of vengeance. He who is victim of sorcery must under no circumstances do countersorcery. He can only ask for the protection of the obia. One must not under any circumstances ask a divinity or his ancestors to harm his aggressor.

754 Among the Refugee Blacks there is only one sanction
715 against the wisimã: They will necessarily be found out at their
787 death. The yorka of the dead person, interrogated by the elders,

754
775 /240 cont./
787 will be obliged to confess: "It is I who killed So-and-So and
So-and-So." They immediately inform the grand man, who
754 orders the usual procedure against wisimã: Ceremonies are
766 suspended, the body is transported by boat to a place reserved
for cursed people, downstream from Boni country, and it is
abandoned in the bush without being buried. Grand Man Difu
is trying to modify this custom and to compel burial of wisimã
in a special cemetery, but without great success up to now, it
seems.

754 There is no broko dɛ. The spouse may remarry immediate-
765 ly. Since the property of the deceased are presumed to be ill-
768 gotten, inheritance is cancelled. The house is destroyed and
thrown into the water, the boat abandoned to the current.
Personal belongings of the deceased are turned over to the grand
man who distributes them to whom he wishes.

The near relatives of persons thus designated are over-
come with shame but can say nothing. Not a bit of responsibility
is imputed to them.

754 How does society protect itself against the sorcery of the
775 wisimã from beyond the grave? According to Grand Man Difu,
784 this is a problem which does not come up. The wisimã has
been killed by Odun as punishment for his crimes. Since every
being draws its force from the divine, he has no more force, he
is destroyed as a being, he is no longer anything but an empty
shadow incapable of doing harm.

754 In fact, among the Refugee Blacks these trials of dead
775 people are very rare. Whereas about 15 persons die per year
782 on the average in Boni country, including about ten adults,
[165] in the last 20 years (1) only about 20 persons were revealed to
be wisimã.

1. Disregarding the period 1957-1959 when a definite fresh outbreak of the fear of wisimã was observed.

/240 cont./

754 be wisimã. We were able to draw up the list of these from
775 information from diverse sources which agreed very well.
787 In nearly every case persons were concerned who had already been accused, during their lifetime, of being wisimã; and on whom suspicions had been directed either by reason of their solitary life and irascible character or as a consequence of a series of coincidences.

754 In general, they tend to accuse of wisi any individual
828 who systematically isolates himself, shows ill will in the observation of customary law, or shows himself particularly selfish, irascible, or jealous.

754 /241/ They tend also to suspect those who in their youth had
648 abandoned the tribe for years to settle among the Creoles, and those who frequent the Creoles of the region, known as quimboiseurs, or who go too often to Saint Laurent or Paramaribo to consult lukumã (clairvoyants) (1).

1. Consulting a clairvoyant is not contrary to the laws of Odun. Infringement of these laws begins when one claims to act upon other people.

754 Also deemed suspect of wisi is anyone who gets rich too
434 quickly or shows an immoderate love of money. A hard-
828 working man who earns his living in broad daylight is never accused of wisi. But the one who engages in trade is suspect. It is thought, for example, that G..., who furnished a shop and earns much money, is a "pledged man." It is said also of F..., a fishing contractor particularly greedy for profit. But neither has been accused openly.

/241 cont. /

152 828 754 777 Jealousy. To speak of jealousy as a negative magic force is not to be false to the thought of the Refugee Blacks. They regard it as an attenuated force of wisi, capable of bringing misfortunes even if no sorcery has been formulated. Jealousy is 152 157 very marked in their character, associated with an individualism verging on asocial tendencies. When somebody is accused of 754 wisi, jealousy is the commonest explanation of the crimes 152 828 attributed to him; it is thought for example that a man can be jealous of his brother's growing rich to the point of making him die; that a woman may be jealous of the beauty or health of 152 her sister's children. Not laying themselves open to jealousy 156 is the constant preoccupation of the Refugee Blacks; one ob- 828 serves it in daily behavior, for example in the greetings which 576 they exchange on the river. They never say, "I am well," but: "I feel only fair." If they come back from hunting they say, "I found a little."

152 Examples are not lacking of people who avoid building 156 a fine house or buying an outboard motor in order not to give 828 cause for jealousy. This preoccupation has profound reper- [182] cussions on the material life and the economy of the Refugee [463] Blacks; it explains in particular the absence of specialized professions and trade among them.

Many aspects of the customary law of the Refugee Blacks [183] have no other function than to exorcise, if one may say so, [591] tendencies toward jealousy and selfishness which, if they were given free rein, would poison the life of the collectivity.

76 The rites of death and mourning, which we have shown 181 to constitute the pivot of the social life of the Refugee Blacks, 725 are entirely based on the idea of preserving the surviving spouse 828 from the effect of the jealousy of the deceased.

754 /241 cont./
[126] Several cases of wisi. We transcribe these affairs as they were related to us, placing ourselves in the perspective of the narrator, without making any judgment as to the nature of the facts and their probability.

N... affair. -- N..., of Kotika, was working gold with another Boni. After they had eaten /242/ together, the latter was taken with uncontrollable vomiting, then he died. His near relatives blamed N..., accusing him of wisi. In the night N... took refuge at Benzdorp and took passage on a Djuka
[167] boat which was going down the river. He settled in Paramaribo. Since then his sister T... has gone to join him. They have left the Boni for good.

P... affair. -- Toko (Dipélu II), while boating on the lower river, wagered one morning with his friend Kwami (who told us the story) to stay in a dive for the time necessary to fill a five-liter demijohn; bet taken; Toko did not come back up, he had drowned. His body was found the next day. The family
[578] blamed one P..., of Kotika village, whose wife N... had left him to marry Toko and who at the time had made threats.
[683] They insulted him, they presented Toko's decomposed body to him: "Eat him, since thou hast killed him like game." P... stubbornly denied it. The grand man commanded that he be left alone, turning him over to Odun to punish if he were guilty. As a matter of fact, some time afterward, P... died and was declared wisimã.

[464] S... affair. -- About 1955, S..., of Kotika, about 60 years old, was working with Kwau weeding the clearings of a Benzdorp Creole who raised oxen. One morning this cattle-raiser saw one of his oxen covered with blood coming from wounds which bore tooth marks and could not have been made by bats. He followed the traces of blood which led him to S...'s hammock.

/242 cont./

754 He accused him of being an azemã (vampire) and of drinking the ox's blood. S... answered nothing, which appeared to everyone obvious proof of his guilt. He untied his boat and went away. Since then everybody in Kotika avoids him; they abstain from accusing him personally in order not to become victims of his sorcery.

Agyémési affair. -- Agyémési, an old man of Asisi village (Awara Bakka) who died in 1953, was a solitary and morose man with odd ways. For a long time he had been accused by B... (of Loka) and by N..., a Djuka living among the Boni, of being a wisimã and of having made them sick. He had even
[695] been accused before the grand man, had denied it, and the grand man according to usage had told him: "We leave to God
[167] the job of punishing thee if thou art guilty." Agyémési, in order to flee his persecutors, had settled in the Indian village of Aloïké.

His accusers insisted to people of his lineage that he be brought and publicly interrogated. A... and P... were sent, who went to get him by making him believe that the council of the Awara Bakka lo, putting an end to a long dispute, had decided to name him captain as the doyen of the lo. Without
[695] mistrust, he followed them to Asisi. He was received by his accusers who insulted him tumultuously, without, however, there
[154] being any blows. The poor man remained speechless, which appeared to all to be the obvious proof of his guilt. He took to his bed and five days later he was dead (1).

1. The Refugee Blacks are so suggestible that the sole fact of seeing oneself cursed and abandoned by all must bring on a psychological shock capable
[171] of bringing death. Similar cases have been observed in Africa.

/242 cont./

754 Of course he was recognized as a wisimã by the first
764 adjuration made to his body carried in the papay on the heads
787 of two men: "If thou art a wisi man, do not come toward us."
The dead man drew back. /2.o/

[784] /243/Continuation of the interrogation showed that he had not yet killed anybody, but that he had been killed by Odun when he was preparing to kill someone of his lineage.

754 The persecutors of Agyémési, contrary to their hope, did not recover after his death from the maladies which they were attributing to his sorcery; that did not shake their conviction in
755 the least. They left for Paramaribo to have themselves treated
648 by a Creole magician (for the Surinam Creoles, who practice white magic and black magic indiscriminately, are by this fact reputed to be more expert than the Refugee Blacks in combating the effects of wisi).

754 In recounting this story to us, the grand man told us that it is always necessary to be cautious with accusations of wisi,
[762] because one can never be sure. A man unjustly accused can
[784] commit suicide and pursue his accusers with his kunu (most of the Boni state that they would do so in such a case). In former
173 times, the barbarous punishments in use in Africa were applied
683 to revealed wisimã: they were burned alive. But people tell
784 that one of them, some months afterward, undertook against his accusers' lineage a kunu which still lasts today. He had been wrongly condemned! It is through fear of the kunu more than
[178] through care for humanity, that these punishments have been abolished.

754 It certainly seems that the constant fear of the wisimã in
[152] which the Boni live is only a collective hallucination, and that rare indeed are those who dare to indulge in practices which might draw upon them such terrible social and religious sanctions. As for these practices themselves, they appear to be without any real content, and the misfortunes attributed to them are

/243 cont./

754 only commonplace illnesses or accidents of some sort. We
[683] have never heard poisoning, in the usual sense of the term, mentioned.

754 The wisimã trials are in our opinion the most unpleasant
695 aspect of the civilization of the Refugee Blacks. But it must
182 be admitted that they correspond to profound necessities. These archaic societies need an obvious materialization of the principles they have given themselves. Since evil exists, opposing itself to good, the practices of wisi and wisimã exist, and the punishment of evildoers is indispensable for the society to remain subject to the law of good.

[984] By its notion of the kunu which turns aside toward the gods the responsibility for most misfortunes, by the extreme rarity of wisimã trials, by the prudence of its judiciary action which in point of fact pursues only the dead, the society of the Refugee Blacks shows itself humane and realistic.

If one undertook with the Refugee Blacks definite action to make these practices disappear, one would risk obscuring their notion of good and evil and removing all efficacy from their customary law.

[183] The social order of the Refugee Blacks cannot be maintained if the interdiction of harming anyone and the interdiction of vengeance do not remain clearly laid down. It matters little that these acts of sorcery are without real content: It is the intention to harm which counts, with all its social and psychological consequences.

171 When one observes the Creole populations of the Guianas
177 and the West Indies, even though /244/ they have been under
182 the influence of Christianity for several centuries, one is
754 struck by the development of sorcery and by its repercussions on the whole of social life. The teaching received at school and from the catechism, which embraces white magic and black magic in a single reprobation, has greatly contributed toward making these populations lose the principles of social morals of their ancestors without in exchange modifying their

/244 cont./

171 image of the world. Since magic practices are rejected by
177 religion, since it even denies their reality, one does not think,
182 when one finds oneself constrained to have recourse to them,
754 of transferring to them the notion of good and evil which it teaches. Black magic gets in almost inevitably because a person believes he must defend himself; then its use becomes habitual, and the two forms of magic end up by mixing together and being no longer regarded as fundamentally different from each other.

171 Cases of wisi and Boni customary law. In African villages,
754 cases of sorcery are interpreted by interminable and useless
695 discussions, wild accusations, protestations of innocence, sometimes more or less sincere confessions, oaths and legal tests with always contested results. These cases are never finished; they are in permanent evolution, sometimes for months and years. Opinion moves successively onto different hypotheses according to events which take place, seeking its way gropingly like a man lost in darkness.

754 It is clear that the first lawgivers of the Refugee Blacks,
695 by carrying judgment back to the death of those concerned and
182 by refusing the wisima any kind of pardon or compromise, tried to prevent the development of these sad crises. What is the use of discussing interminably, since there is no certain proof, and since nobody may confess? But customary law collides on this point with tendencies too deep to be entirely restrained. The laws of Oduu are not always obeyed to the letter, and it happens sometimes that the Boni lose their footing in the
[571] observance of their customary law. Then crises take place among them, as violent and confused as in the villages of Black Africa, going as far as paralyzing social life for several weeks; then peace returns for several months, sometimes for several years.

/244 cont./

754 695 571 In 1958, a Boniville woman, N..., was convicted of having paid a Creole quimboiseur to make the grand man die. She confessed, a rare thing in this kind of case, and the materiality of the facts did not appear doubtful. The Boni were strongly impressed by this unprecedented event, and for several weeks the members of the lineage concerned were in such agitation that one could have believed they had lost their reason. In Boniville they "held court" continually for nearly two months, and they discussed so much that farm work was neglected and part of the rice crop lost.

754 695 683 [648] What were they going to do with this woman? The laws of Odun forbade killing her, no more could she be expelled. The Boni made discreet overtures to the administration to find out whether it was not possible to have her imprisoned. They were surprised to learn that French law does not recognize the offense of sorcery. Somebody then proposed having her admitted as a servant at the leprosarium of the Acarouani on the /245/ coast. This suggestion produced a surprising result; the Boni were unanimous in thinking that making someone who was not a leper live in a leprosarium was a punishment worse than death, and they resolved to pardon her.

How does one go about it, since the laws of Odun do not permit pardoning a wisimã? Nobody could give us a satisfactory justification on this, but in 1959 A..., the preceding year spurned and maltreated, had taken up normal living again in her village.

754 761 784 In fact, a case of wisi is terminated only upon the death of the person concerned. If a man who has been accused of wisi during his lifetime dies accidentally, or is struck by a fulminating sickness, the fact that he has been chastised by Odun appears as incontestable proof. The case is fixed in the memory of the group in a specific form and will be given as an example to inspire respect for customary law.

/245 cont./

754 766 Burial of a wisima. We transcribe here an account given by a witness of this scene, K..., of Papaïston village, withholding the exact date and place.

"It was at the time of the clearings, people were in the farming habitations and the village was almost deserted. I was going fishing with P..., of Loka. We had moored our boat and were walking at the edge of the water when our attention was attracted by a nauseous odor which came from an unoccupied house. There we found the cadaver of a woman, E..., dead for two or three days. She had tried to break into the house by raising the roof, but she had remained wedged between two beams and smothered to death. Since she knew the house to be empty, she could not have had any other intention than to lodge an evil spell; after disengaging the body in the presence of witnesses, we went to inform the grand man who commanded, the motive seeming to be clear, that the yɔrka be interrogated on the spot without making a coffin.

[787] "Before a council composed of half a dozen men and two village heads, the interrogation began; the dead woman was carried in an old boat bottom; at times I myself served as bearer. Pressed with questions, she confessed that she had wisi (1) and that she had been killed by Odun. The case was

1. They say commonly "to have wisi," as they say "to have an ɔbia," "to have a remedy."

clear. We were ordered to transport the body to the place reserved for cursed people, downstream from Boni country. When we arrived there the body was again borne on the heads of two men to ask it to choose the spot where it wanted to be abandoned. The dead woman drew us far into the forest, wandered a moment, then stopped. We abandoned her on the

/245 cont./

754 766 ground, after scattering the cloths which were covering her, and left without carrying out any rite.

"Next we went to Boniville, the grand man invoked Odun on our behalf, stating that we had only followed his laws and that he had to protect the performers of the job against any distressing consequence."

754 181 178 Development of sorcery. Since 1957 Boni country has been passing through a crisis; /246/ fear of sorcery is poisoning village life, while in 1948-50 it was a preoccupation of secondary importance.

[578] That is due to the fact that the rapid growing rich of part of the Boni aggravates jealousies and suspicions. Moreover, these affairs tend to appear in series. Since the case related above (1958), in which a woman, N...., was convicted of having paid a Creole quimboiseur to make the grand man die, an affair which strongly impressed the Boni, they tend to see wisi in all misfortunes that occur.

[167] In November, 1958 the death of a little girl of 12 of Kotika village was attributed to her uncle Mbomaolo, who had recently emigrated to Surinam and settled in a Creole village. [787] It is believed that he "committed himself," that is, that he sold his soul to the devil (1), which necessitates sacrificing one

1. This notion, which plays such a large role in West Indian beliefs, has no equivalent among the Refugee Blacks. There is no word in the Boni language for translating the term "committed." They translate thus: a e suku didibi, he [776] seeks the devil. The Boni do not have a clear image of the devil, and this notion remains, in fact, foreign to their beliefs.

754 /246 cont./
181 of his near relatives, his sister's children being regarded as
178 the victims most pleasing to the demon.
[787] Although in former times one to two out of ten deaths were attributed to wisi, in 1957 and 1958 out of 14 adult deaths of which we could obtain the explanation, there were:

[784] --Four wisimã killed by Odun, including two women of over 85 who during their lifetime had never been the object of unfavorable notice;

[761] --One death by the action of a wisimã, or a total of more than a third of the deaths; out of the nine others, two were looked upon as natural deaths (dead of old age), seven were attributed to the kunu.

754 The Refugee Blacks and Creole magic. Some of them go to
648 get from the lukumã what their own social morals forbid: vengeance or success acquired at the expense of other people. They have uttered an oath that prohibits the practice of wisi: for most of them it is clear that if they paid a piayeur /magician, sorcerer/ to harm someone, it would be the same as if they performed the sorcery themselves. But others make a mental reservation on this point.

754 In 1951, G...., of the Kotika lo, then about 20 years old,
755 felt ill while staying at Saint Laurent. He went to find a
648 Creole maïtif (clairvoyant) who presented him with a mirror, announcing to him that he was going to see in it the face of the one who had piayé /bewitched, cast a spell on/ him. G... saw nothing in the mirror. The maïtif was not upset at this and revealed to him that the piayeur must be someone in his wife's family. G... then recalled a dispute he had had some time previously with one of his wife's brothers and let himself be convinced: since that day he has not gotten along with his brother-in-law.

754 /246 cont./
755 The maître asked 2,000 francs from him as the price of
648 his consultation.

789 Curse. Someone who judges himself victim of evil-doing has at his disposal a supreme resource: /247/ cursing his adversary, that is, appealing directly to the supreme God, Masa Gadu, to ask him to punish his adversary. This is called seni gadu -- sending God -- against someone. To do that, while asking God to kill him or make him sick, one kneels and strikes the ground with both hands in the presence of the adversary or in front of his house. This act is regarded as totally different from wisi, for one is relying on the justice of God, who judges with equity and punishes only the guilty.

However that may be, cursing is for the Refugee Blacks a very serious act. It may happen that, feeling guilty, the source of the injustice asks pardon and promises to make amends for his misdeeds. The one who uttered the curse again implores Masa Gadu in order to take back the words he spoke: "He has given me satisfaction, do nothing against him." But oftener still it happens that a complicated affair is involved, that both parties concerned are persuaded of their legitimate
[692] ground and curse each other. The case must then be carried before the grand man and straightened out at once or misfortunes
[695] may pounce upon both lineages. The grand man judges without appeal and inflicts a punishment on the one who was wrong
[778] on the main issue of the debate. Then he obliges the ad-
[782] versaries to be reconciled before the fraga tiki, where the offering of tafia and water is made.

[828] The effect of these conceptions is to render nearly im-
[754] possible hidden hatreds and rancors, which the Refugee Blacks fear very much, for they are the source of wisi.

688 In general, the act of getting angry in public and serious-
689 ly insulting somebody is considered as an offense against moral and religious law, capable of attracting misfortunes; it is an

688 /247 cont./
689 attenuated form of wisi; in serious cases the grand man may inflict a severe punishment on the guilty ones.

789 ɔbia. The Refugee Blacks use the word ɔbia (1) to designate

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1. The term ɔbia is used by the Refugee Blacks when they are speaking to outsiders, to designate positive magic, but in reality this term has a very different meaning in their language. It designates any kind of magic action, negative as well as positive; likewise the term ɔbiamã has the sense of sorcerer as well as that of holder of a remedy.

192 The Boni among themselves use the word deesi, remedy, instead of ɔbia. They do not use the word deesimã in place of ɔbiamã. It is said, for example, of a man who knows the rites of a cult of possession "A sabi Papa gadu sani" (he knows the things of Papa gadu).

[787] The term gadumã designates one who is possessed of a god, and not one who knows how to bring on possession.

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In the rest of this work we shall continue, nevertheless, to use the terms ɔbia and ɔbiamã to designate positive magic, in order to facilitate collation with the English- and Dutch-language authors who have used it in this sense.

/247 cont./

789 the object to which is attached a magic force, as well as that force itself. But there is no confusion in their minds; the object is only a simple support, it is nothing by itself. The traveler [755] who sees them prepare an infusion of leaves for a sick person may be tempted to believe that they attach to this leaf the power of acting against a certain disease; that would be an error, they attach to these leaves and to the white clay, pemba, the power of holding, /248/ of condensing the vital force which emanated from a certain god. It is the god which "makes ɔbia," and not men; men do nothing but collect this energy and apply it.

755 The Boni distinguish two categories of magic remedies:
787 --Those which come from a god through the medium of a possessed person. The god must be consulted each time, and the remedy it gives is effective only for the asker alone, and for a limited time; it can act only when the god has been paid, usually in the form of drink or piece of cloth; in principle nothing is owed to the possessed person (they admit that he benefits by the payment made to the god), but the custom is to give him a bottle of tafia.

Consultation of a possessed person is in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks the normal mechanism by which the ɔbia descends from the god to men.

755 Certain Ampuku gods might give remedies effective for
776 a particular disease and for any asker, remedies which could be transmitted from one man to another. Unfortunately we could not obtain exact information about this.

755 --Those whose origin is unknown, and which have been
756 transmitted from one man to another for a very long time. It is believed that these are remedies which were found empirically by a man in days past; this is the case with many remedies specific for this or that disease.

In such a case payment is made to the possessor of the remedy and to him alone.

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755 823 [174] White clay, pɛmba (the word and the rite are of Congolese origin), does not undergo any special preparation. In the thought of the Refugee Blacks it has the power to fix upon a man's body the magic influence of the infusion of leaves.

791 Among the Boni, except for the cult of Odun, there are no priests, strictly speaking, invested with a function at the same time social and religious. A large number of persons 756 791 are regarded as "knowing remedies." This notion implies at once knowledge and power. In general the ɔbiamã is believed to hold only a specialized power: for example, he knows how to prepare a hunting ɔbia, or an ɔbia for protection against wisimã. This power he received from his father (as an exception, it seems, from his uncle), who instructed him, before dying, in the specialized rites it requires and transmitted his power to him by giving him mula.

To give mula to someone, one blows into his hands, one puts them on his head while uttering a formula by which one transmits to him a certain power or piece of magic knowledge.

What is the criterion of legitimacy? Who has the right to call himself an ɔbiamã? It seems that basically everything is reduced to this: the ɔbiamã has the conviction, the sensation that he holds this power; as for his clients, they believe they observe the efficacy of his ɔbia; if they stop having confidence in his remedy, they will abstain from coming to ask it of him, that is all; no social prohibition comes to limit the action of the ɔbiamã. The grand man intervenes only against someone [754] who might claim to hold remedies to harm another person or to capture his will, which would be wisi. /250/

[888] /249/ The Boni accept the possibility of deception as regards ɔbia, especially by people who are too young, but they have the conviction that the elders (people over 55-60) possess wisdom and that one can apply to them with complete confidence.

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751 Principal ɔbia. The Kumẽnti bui, bracelet of Kumẽnti, which is not to be confused with the man nẽŋge ɔbia, is materialized by a bracelet of fibers not worn on the arm but shut up in one's small trunk. It is a polyvalent ɔbia which insures at the same time [787] the protection of its owner against the machete and the gun, his material prosperity and his moral security, for it furnishes him with a very highly esteemed procedure of divination.

751 This ɔbia must be prepared each time on the orders of a 787 Kumẽnti and in its presence in the body of a possessed person. It is the Kumẽnti which designates the leaves to go and get and the processing to make them undergo; according to the information which we have been able to get, this consists of plunging into the infusion of leaves first a machete, then an axe, both red hot, while the postulant recites formulas intended to fix in the ɔbia the power he desires (that the machete may not cut me, that I become rich, etc.).

751 The man nẽŋge ɔbia, exclusively intended for protection against the machete and gun, is materialized by a crudely fashioned iron ring clasping the arm a little below the shoulder (1).

1. The fact of wearing an iron ring on the arm does not necessarily correspond with possession of this ɔbia. In general, commoner ɔbia intended to protect from leprosy are concerned.

This ɔbia must not be confused with the ɔbia Kumẽnti. Obtaining possession by a Kumẽnti and the man nẽŋge obia /sic/ are two different things, corresponding to different rites.

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751 [787] Possession by a Kumẽnti gives, they say, invulnerability during the time of the trance, but in his ordinary state the individual remains vulnerable (they say only that in case of danger the gita "rises" immediately).

Someone who has a man nẽŋga ɔbia has no trances of possession, but they state that he is permanently invulnerable (except for breaking of the kina). In order to obtain this ɔbia one must have himself "washed" for a very long time by an elder who knows the leaves in question. He delivers them already crushed so that no one may be able to know this secret outside of the son or nephew to whom he bequeaths it.

It is necessary to continue to be washed four times a year for 15 days each time, to keep up the force of the ɔbia.

[515] During these 15 days one bathes three times a day, in secret (in principle nobody knows that you have this ɔbia).

[834] During these periods one must have no relation with a woman, even to talk to her.

They state that someone who has a man nẽŋge ɔbia can be struck by blows of a machete and even receive a gunshot with impunity.

[173] They believe that this ɔbia, in the past called man feti ɔbia, was obtained by the ancestors at the time of the wars against the whites; still today it inspires an unshakeable confidence. /250/ In October, 1952 we saw M..., a man of 45 [164] [752] with great good sense, make a deep gash in his leg while cutting a liana, in spite of his ɔbia. Doubt did not cross his mind for a second: he told us that certainly he had unknowingly eaten something contrary to the kina of the ɔbia. Since we were working near some villages, he went immediately to find the master of the remedy to have the power restored. For nothing in the world would he have left for a long round of work in the bush with the feeling that he was at the mercy of an accident.

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751 Next in the preoccupations of the Refugee Blacks come the ɔbia called tapu, that is to say, protection. There exist numerous kinds adapted to the various dangers of a supernatural order (protection against other divinities, against the maleficent entities of the bush, against the wisimã).

[776] [754] The Ampuku are generally asked for tapu against the wisimã. We saw a remarkable one in front of the house of F... (Dju). Its owner was not a little proud of it and he talked about it to us freely.

751 778 [532] The ɔbia, placed at ground level in front of the door, was composed of a crude representation in clay of a head in which appeared two wide-open eyes: in front of it were planted in the ground three plant clusters including a planting of groundnuts and one of maize; the whole was topped by a small basket containing an egg. It was necessary to water the ɔbia with a certain infusion of leaves at regular intervals to restore its force.

751 754 This ɔbia insured infallible protection against wisimã; in fact, none of them would have been able to cross the threshold without stubbing his toe on the door frame in spite of all his precautions; F... stated that his ɔbia constituted by this fact an effective means of detection of wisimã, for it was enough for him to invite suspects to enter his hut, to know what to think; the wisimã refused, for fear of thus being given away in the eyes of all; one could thus at least pin down suspicions.

751 [411] Other ɔbia are called sama mɔfu tetɛy (ɔbia against "people's mouths," that is, people's jealousy). They are nearly always seen on fine guns; they have a cord to hold them made of mɔriti palm fibers, to which two cowries are fastened.

755 The ɔbia intended to treat diseases generally have for support a calabash containing the infusion of leaves and a ball of pɛmba (kaolin). The person concerned sprinkles himself several times a day with this liquid.

/250 cont./

789 396 There exist special ɔbia for the building of boats. The opening of the hull in the fire, a delicate operation, sometimes fails. To insure its success everyone possesses a personal recipe inherited from his father or uncle. It does not call by name and directly upon the action of a god; the Boni do not have a clear idea about the origin or the nature of these rites. It is a matter of a maceration of two or three kinds of leaves, generally belonging to the secondary flora which surrounds the villages, and they vary from one man to another. One pours this maceration over the overturned boat before the burning is begun, while saying: "The boat must not split, it must open well."

832 [673] The laws of Odun forbid the use of charms aimed at forcing the love of a woman one desires; that would infringe on a person's freedom, therefore wisi. It is very /251/ possible however that certain people go to get charms of this kind from Creole magicians. But they take for granted, on the other hand, the ɔbia believed to permit men who have little success with women to have more in the future.

751 789 There does not seem to be any hierarchy of ɔbia nor is one category of ɔbia believed to be stronger by nature than another; in fact, the Refugee Blacks are seen to go readily to ask one divinity for an ɔbia in order to protect themselves from another. Here is an example:

464 [648] In 1951 the administration had a systematic cleaning of the Petit Inini River begun, in order to rid its course of innumerable pieces of fallen wood which were making the use of motors on boats difficult. A team of Boni were employed in this work under the direction of a Creole foreman. While the [776] work was being done, a Papa gadu "came into the head" of an [787] old woman named M... of the Awara Bakka lo. It revealed that it was opposed to this work, for it lived in exactly this 464 place and the noise of the motors bothered it. Upon their return 776 to Boni country, the men charged with this work learned the

/251 cont./

464 776 decision of the god and under some pretext or other refused to resume work. In August, 1952, while we were on a work trip 751 /en mission/, an ɔbiamã made it known that an Ampuku was 79 willing to give a tapu, that is, an ɔbia of protection, against this Papa gadu. We were present at a discussion in the course [465] of which several Boni planned to take up this work again, but asking for raised wages to cover the expenses of the ɔbia (1).

[171]

1. Situations of this kind are common in the Guianan forest, even among Creoles. For difficult or unusual work, the high wages demanded serve in part to remunerate magicians.

751 435 These expenses amounted to about 5,000 francs per person, or:

--3,000 for the payment of the god, including red cloth, 771 dark-blue cloth, white beads, beer, rum, cowries; the ɔbiamã would take them to set them out in the forest.

--1,500 for payment for the work of the ɔbiamã, including a piece of canvas /toile/, beer, a container /bidon/ of powder, a chicken.

751 The remedy would consist of an infusion of leaves with which one should "wash one's body" morning and evening for the duration of the work.

As for the Creole foreman, he prudently had himself assigned to another job.

751 776 They have the habit of asking an Ampuku for protection against a Papa gadu and conversely (we have cited an example of this above), but they do not ask a Kumẽnti for protection; the Kumẽnti occupy themselves only with illnesses.

/251 cont./

751 789 Renewal of the power of the ɔbia. The Refugee Blacks have the idea that no magic power can last if it is not renewed by formulas and offerings appealing to the god from which it came. [824] Each year, at variable dates for each ɔbia, one must renew the power of the ɔbia by dipping the support object into a maceration of certain leaves. This renewal may not take place on January 1. On that day all leaves lose their power. /252/

[768] Mr. W. F. van Lier writes that among the Djuka, objects (bracelets, etc.) serving as support for a magic remedy are thrown away upon the death of the owner for they have lost [184] [428] all power. The Boni do not have this conception; with them, these objects keep their value for the dead person's son provided that before dying he voluntarily transmitted them to him by giving him mula.

789 428 613 Transmission of ɔbia. An ɔbia is often bequeathed simultaneously to a son and to a nephew. Care is taken not to lose the ɔbia for the lineage. Thus it is that certain lineages have certain ɔbia as their specialty.

789 [171] Kãndu. The Refugee Blacks call kãndu a magic object intended to protect property (houses, harvests) against theft. This procedure is also very much used by the Creoles.

There are three common kinds of kãndu:

--Piiti tiki kãndu. It is made of a split stick stuck into the ground, in the slit of which dry banana leaves or small sticks are placed horizontally. This device originated in Dahomey.

--Sikopu kãndu. It involves a shovel stuck into the ground in front of the house (the idea of the shovel is associated with the idea of death, for this instrument is used particularly in digging graves).

--Bɔɔ kãndu, made up of a bow and arrow planted in the ground.

/252 cont./

789 The one who installs a kãndu utters the formula: mi poti yu ya, ɛfu a sama kɔm fu fufu mi sani, yu mu siki ẽn (I put thee here; if someone comes to steal my belongings, thou must make him sick).

[784] If someone goes beyond /it/ and commits a theft, he will be struck sooner or later with various sicknesses.

According to the conceptions of the Refugee Blacks, the kãndu is blind and strikes as well the friend who came to take objects because he received previous authorization to do it. So, many forego placing kãndu, as with us, people hesitate to set wolf-traps for fear of causing accidents.

789 784 428 However, the kãndu does not act upon the people who have the same basic interdiction (bwasi kina) as the one who placed it. This conception shows that these interdictions transmitted from father to children really are the mark of true patrilineages.

674 789 754 In fact, we have ascertained several times, there are burglaries in Boni country in spite of the kãndu and people do not succeed in uncovering the burglars; it is infinitely probable that one must not see in this the stamp of freethinkers who do not believe in sorcery; these are people who have obtained from a wisimã a talisman of black magic stronger than the kãndu! At least this is the explanation their victims give.

789 751 One can lift a kãndu on behalf of any man, whom one wants, for example, to send to get an object which one has forgotten; for that it is sufficient to give him mula: one blows into one's hands and lays them on the man's head, saying: mi puu a kãndu gi yu, a 'ã mu du a sani ãŋga yu: I withdraw the kãndu for thee, it must not do anything to thee. /253/

Mula can be given retroactively: If someone perceives that he has inadvertently incurred the chastisement of a kãndu, he has several days to be able to ask for mula from the owner, for the action of the kãndu is slow.

/253 cont./

Various Beliefs

578 Fyo-fyo. If a Boni is on bad terms with someone of his lineage or of another lineage, he has the absolute right to turn a cold shoulder to him and stop having anything to do with him. But 828 if, hiding his rancor, he seeks, from selfish motives, to main- 753 tain the appearance of friendly relations, he risks falling ill, be- 761 ing struck by various calamities, or even dying from the effect 789 of what the Refugee Blacks call a fyo-fyo. The nature of this [825] force is not clear; they know only that its support is a small, common insect named fyo-fyo. They declare that if a person dies from the consequences of a fyo-fyo, one of these insects will be seen leaving his body through the nose at the moment of death.

776 Taku sani. By this name the Refugee Blacks designate maleficent [775] entities of the bush, which they imagine as of nonhuman nature by contrast to the taku yɔrka, wandering spirits of dead people [753] rejected by society. These entities are lower beings devoid of [828] consciousness but dangerous for men into whom they may enter, rendering them sick or mad. Certain of these entities are believed to reside in plants, like the kɔtkɔti, others are thought to take on the appearance of dwarfs (baku), whom certain people believe they sometimes see at dawn on the outskirts of villages.

751 One protects oneself against taku sani by special ɔbia, and those who do not feel completely secure take a certain number of precautions in addition, like that of tearing up the leaves they have used for drinking water from creeks.

/253 cont./

751 417 [824] Tyifunga (1). This is the name of the magic enclosures made

1. They also use the word azãg, borrowed from the Fon of Dahomey.

of shoots /"tongues"/ of pinot palm, pina tõngo, attached to a string, with which on certain occasions a village is completely surrounded. These enclosures are thought to bar the passage of the evil spirits of the bush (taku sani); they are put up especially in the case of an epidemic, as well as before the great festivals which attract a crowd of persons among whom wisimã can slip
789 in. After putting the enclosure in place, people arrange themselves in a line at one end of the village and move along slowly so as to sweep its whole surface, firing guns, making all the noise possible by striking metallic objects and striking the ground with reeds to expel the evil spirits. This is what is called naki tyifunga. The elders repeat the formula: "U naki tyifunga fu agi na: mu ku a so (We strike tyifunga so that the evil (spirits) may not be able to come to earth)."

751 417 The magic fence is then left in place until it is rotten.

753 76 Beliefs about leprosy. Lepers are buried at the limits of the cemetery, but they are not considered cursed, and mourning for them is carried out normally.

753 784 /254/ They take for granted that if someone is attacked by leprosy, it is because he has "broken" his bwasi kina. They think that an enemy can, because of ill will, hide a bit of the forbidden fare in the food. This is why the Boni do not willingly tell one another their interdictions.

/254 cont./

784 756 751 If someone realizes that he has broken his kina, he goes to see, not an ɔbiaman, but the specialist-healer of leprosy and asks him to treat him by way of prevention.

411 832 [177] [558] Beliefs about guns and hunting. The gun, which entered the everyday life of the Refugee Blacks two centuries ago, has taken an important place in their magic. It is the symbol of virility. A Refugee Black who no longer has a gun is a man humiliated and almost dishonored. As one of them explained to us in begging us to help him replace his old gun eaten by rust: "If you cannot present yourself before the women with a machete, hunting bag on your shoulder, and gun in your hand, you are not a man."

411 754 This idea has been transposed onto the plane of magic and they take for granted that the wisimã can, by putting evil spells on a gun, attack the owner of the weapon in his virility. It is supposed to be enough for someone to put his finger into the barrel of the gun while uttering a formula of vengeance, or even being moved by hate for the owner of the weapon, for this gun to be no longer capable of hitting the mark. So, to avoid these misfortunes, the Boni never part with their guns and never lend them to anyone. If, in spite of these precautions, they 411 789 have the impression that a gun no longer fires so well, they will go to an ɔbiaman to have it washed of maleficent influence. There exist for that purpose several remedies all of which consist of soaking the gun for one to three days in infusions of leaves, which has the unfailing result of making it rust. We have seen a hammerless, latest model gun spoiled thus by an intelligent Boni head boatman, a clever mechanic and usually full of good sense.

224 We have never witnessed among the Boni any individual or collective hunting rites claiming to attract game or to promote meeting it (when, on the contrary, hunting playes are extremely widespread among the Creoles).

/254 cont./

841 Woman's magic power. The Refugee Blacks assume that a woman, during her menstrual periods, is impure and has the power to destroy the power of ɔbia. So during these periods she must withdraw into a special hut, munu ɔsu, and prepare her meals in special dishes; she may not prepare her husband's food, for by doing this she would destroy the power of his ɔbia, and must abstain from touching objects he habitually uses, particularly his gun, which would lose its good points for shooting. Even in the little farming habitations which consist of only several huts, one may be sure that one of them serves as a munu ɔsu.

841 343 462 [465] The munu ɔsu are very simple sheds built by the women themselves, using reclaimed materials taken from huts being demolished; some belong to one woman only; for others, three or four women get together. They have recourse to men only for assembling the framework, remunerating them with several cans of couac or several baskets of yams.

841 /255/ A man who has a powerful ɔbia like the man nɛ̃ŋge ɔbia must abstain from speaking to a woman who has her menses.

[751] The Boni assume there are women wicked enough to willfully hide their menses in order to destroy the power of a man's ɔbia, but he who has a good man nɛ̃ŋge ɔbia cannot be a dupe: the iron circle warns him of the danger by squeezing his arm.

184 841 68 According to Mr. W. F. van Lier, the act of willfully hiding her menses is for the Djuka one of the gravest offenses a woman can commit, and the most severe punishments are inflicted on her. It is not the same with the Boni: in such a case a woman risks only being insulted and banned.

752 834 171 Another deeply rooted belief among the Refugee Blacks, and which exists with many Creoles, is the necessity for the

752 /255 cont./
834 ɔbiaman who treats a wound made by a firearm to observe
[171] chastity during the whole duration of the treatment. It is for this reason that the Boni hesitate to have gunshot wounds cared for in hospitals.

784 Kina. The interdictions of the Refugee Blacks generally have
[262] to do with food. There are five categories of them to our knowledge:

[753] --Bwasi kina, basic kina, mark of patrilineages, the breaking of which gives leprosy;

--Akka kina, often called gadu kina, established by divination and believed to be imposed by the akka;

--Gadu kina, mark of possession by a divinity;

--Obia kina, interdiction attached to each object involving a magic power, and which must be observed for this power to last;

--Finally, local kina, particularly the kina dɛ, days of rest, going back to the idea of the day of rest of the local divinity. They observe, for example, that the Mana River has a kina dɛ on Sunday. The Saramaka observe it strictly. The Boni we took on the Mana in 1949 went to find out from the Saramaka, and asked us to stop navigation on Sunday,
[648] for this kina was very urgent. It is noteworthy however that the Boni bow in such circumstances before the will of the Europeans, as with respect to their own kina dɛ of Friday; in effect they are assuming that if they are ordered to be on duty, it is the European alone who bears the responsibility for breaking the kina.

[428] It is possible that the kina alluded to by Mr. W. F. Van
[114] Lier and which, among the Djuka, would be imposed on a
[613] whole matrilineage are also local kina; in any case no kina is transmissible through the mother, all the Refugee Blacks are explicit on that point.

/255 cont./

784 262 A... of the Dju lo, about 28 years old in 1958, must observe six kina:

--The cayman and the jaguar as bwasi kina.

--The otter (yundu) as akka kina. /256/

These three kina have been imposed on him since his first years, but the meaning of them was explained to him only later on.

[751] --The eel (mãnsi) was imposed on him as a kina by his father when the latter gave him a man nẽɔge ɔbia, ɔbia of protection against machete or gun, materialized by an iron bracelet.

[841] [834] To this ɔbia is attached another kina. A... must not speak to a woman having her menstrual period.

[751] [787] --Finally, the crab (kaabu), kina attached to an ɔbia of which the man concerned only spoke with reticence, probably a Kumẽnti bui (bracelet of Kumẽnti, instrument of divination).

A... has no gadu kina in the strict sense of the term.

There exists no food kina common to all the Boni; the cayman is generally forbidden to them as bwasi kina, associated with another animal; but this is not absolute; we know at least one Boni who has not received this kina.

If someone has broken a kina inadvertently, he can have himself cleansed of this offense by ɔbiaman. But if he broke it willfully, he cannot escape the punishment attached to the offense.

845 p28 Beliefs about twins. They have the idea that twins and children who follow twins are of a nature different from other men, participating in a divine principle.

[755] Twins cannot live (since they do not belong to ordinary humanity) if they are not treated with a special remedy known only to certain lineages especially rich in twins.

/256 cont./

845 961 578 613 When twins die young people almost always blame a disagreement which has arisen in the lineage. The twins did not want to live in a disunited family. The head of the lineage then exhorts his people to be reconciled with one another at any cost in order to avoid new misfortunes (1).

[753] 1. In general they have the idea that dissensions occurring in the lineage have as a consequence illnesses or misfortunes striking the members of the lineage. [182] This notion plays a major role in the social life of the Refugee Blacks; after the kunu, it is the principle cement holding groups together.

845 798 One who harms a twin is sure to fall ill. Conversely, it is assumed that the twin must not abuse his power, that he must lead an upright life and avoid quarrels. He is nearer to God than other men.

They assume for example that Efa, of Papalston village, herself a twin and the mother of twins, has a very special power. Nobody would risk harming her.

[613] [274] In lineages having many twins there exists a place of worship sacred to a vital principle called Twilenge. The nature of this principle is not clear. The Boni define it as the soul of twins. Is it a matter of the first twins Adam and Eve? Or of a collective worship offered up to all deceased twins?

845 782 751 /257/

This worship is celebrated each time there is occasion to protect newborn babies. They are washed with a certain decoction of leaves.

845 535 751 Every four or five years on the average a big dance takes place, then the father and mother of twins and the twins themselves are washed in order to maintain their powers and keep them in good health.

[784] [753] If these dances are not held, dead twins will show their anger by making living twins and parents of twins sick.

845 613 778 Lineages that do not have twins do not practice these rites. If twins are born to them, they will apply at the place of worship of another lineage.

Papaïston and Lapé have this cult particularly highly developed.

842 776 Tɔne pikin. It is assumed that a woman may be made pregnant by a river god, either a Papa gadu snake god or by the Wata Ingi, which look like Indians. Children thus conceived are called tɔne pikin.

A...., of Papaïston, had cut a clearing opposite a remarkable white rock called Weti stɔ, where she used to moor her boat. She had not had any children for several years and she became pregnant. When her daughter was born a possessed person revealed that she was born of a Papa gadu snake god which lived there: since then her parents /relatives/ go regularly to this rock to make offerings.

[787] [778] [782]

About 1910 Alama (Kormotibo) had followed her husband to a shipyard on the lower river; one day while walking in the forest she met an Indian having the appearance of a Galibi Indian, who was carrying a newborn baby. She stopped and admired the baby. The Indian said to her: "Do you wish to raise him?" She acquiesced. He said: "We shall see each other again"; then he went away so quickly that she had the impression that he had disappeared on the spot.

/257 cont./

842 A few weeks afterward she found herself pregnant, and
976 it seemed obvious to all that this was the doing of a Wata Ingi.

845 No magic power is attributed to the tone pikin, any more than special mental or physical characteristics. But it is assumed that they are the object of a special protection, and that they cannot be harmed with impunity.

771 The sacred character of payment. Relations between the gods
789 and men always have the character of a bargain, among the
435 Refugee Blacks: an irritated divinity is never appeased by repentance or good will; it requires that it be paid; likewise, an obia is of value only for the person who has paid for it. Refugee Blacks will never utilize ready-made magic recipes: uttering certain words, making certain gestures; face to face with such a recipe they will ask immediately: "From what
[P/2] god does this obia come, and whom must one pay?" It seems that in their conception every transference of a spiritual power or a magic force disturbs something in the proper functioning of the universe; payment restores this equilibrium, it is the
[M] mark of legitimacy. Some Creoles of African ancestry transpose the same idea with respect to Christianity, and this is
/258/ why they insist so much on paying for masses and buying
759 "orisons" (1). One observes likewise that free medical care
558

1. Written prayer to which is attached protective power. This notion, borrowed from the rustic magic of 17th-century France, seems to have been introduced into Guiana by the first European colonists.

lowers the prestige of the doctor in the eyes of all.

/258 cont./

461 829 431 On the material plane the same conception explains the high importance attached to fair payment for work done, the holy fury which takes possession of Refugee Blacks who consider themselves wronged; it also explains why they can interpret a free gift only as a mark of weakness except in exceptional cases (present given by a high official on the occasion 431 829 of a visit). A gift which does not have the character of an exchange has no spiritual value for them; it brings only scorn and near hostility, for they feel that the object has not been legitimately acquired and that they are not in tune with their moral law.

Local Divinities

776 823 The Refugee Blacks assume the existence of local divinities exercising a de facto power on such-and-such a portion of the country. Since their very special mode of life leads them to circulate almost exclusively along rivers, with them this idea has been transposed into a double notion: the divinities of the rivers and the gods of the soil. In their minds those are two entirely separate conceptions: the power of the god of the soil stops at the edge of the water and conversely.

De facto worship is rendered the divinities of the river according to the rites set by the first users of the river. In practice, worship is rendered only to the divinities of dangerous rivers where accidents are frequent. People do not bother with the others.

These gods are designated indiscriminately by the words gadu and sani (thing, being), indicating that their nature is not known.

/258 cont./

776 One of the best known of these gods is that of the Maruini.
823 It is assumed to control all the tributaries of the Maruini as far
778 as their sources. Its place of worship is a thicket situated downstream from the dangerous Kubi Sula Falls, at the mouth
782 of the river. Before starting to go upriver in August, 1956,
[539] the crews of our three boats, in an atmosphere of great meditation, lined up behind the eldest of them, who made the offering of water and tafia, uttering these words: "God who commands this river, watch over us, keep us from being sick, let no accident happen to us; if there is on this river an interdiction which we do not know (2) and which, through

2. It is obvious here that this is a case of de facto worship of a divinity about which nothing is known.

ignorance, we do not observe, pardon us. Bring us back to our villages safe and sound." The boatmen came one after the other to make the offering of tafia. The scene lasted more than a quarter of an hour. This ceremony was not without nobility, engendering belief in that sincere fervor of animists so often mentioned in the /259/ ethnographic literature.
771 But our return at the end of our work trip took place in a completely different atmosphere, showing the strictly practical and utilitarian side of the religion of the Refugee Blacks. Once past the Kubi Sula, the three boss boatmen could not persuade any of their men, who were in the act of eating their meal, to accompany them as far as the place of worship to thank the god. Some told us straight out that they were scoffing at this god from now on, having no intention of
[782] coming back on the Maruini. As for the boss boatmen themselves, they measured stingily the quantity of tafia offered

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/259 cont./

771 [782] to the god, and their words of thanks lasted scarcely half a minute (1). At the time of our first trip on the Maruini, in

1. Yet custom expressly provides for this rite of thanking.

1948, the same scenes had unfolded, going as well as coming back.

241 771

Rites Relative to Agriculture

These rites occupy a relatively minor place in the religious life of the Refugee Blacks, which may be attributed to the great regularity of the climate and the absence of calamities affecting the yield of crops.

[613] It does not seem, at least among the Boni, that a religious bond is assumed between the lineage and the land, and rites intended to insure the fertility of the soil are carried out by each one for himself in the neighborhood of his own field; the lineage head does not appear to play any particular role in this regard. In the thought of the Boni, the fertility of the soil depends upon a local divinity, to which is offered de facto worship; the temporary or permanent users of the lands situated in the domain of this god perform on their own behalf the rites of this worship without any distinction of origin, whether they are Boni, Djuka, or Saramaka.

241 776

[796] [793] [643] The only collective worship existing in Boni country is the worship of mama gɔ̃, of which the grand man is priest. Its rites are limited to a short annual prayer.

/259 cont./

241 776 [532] 831 [778] [643] [782] Cult of Mama gɔ̃. Mama gɔ̃, mother of the earth, is represented by a crude statue of white clay provided with enormous breasts, symbol of fecundity, which can be seen in a little hut situated on the open place of Boniville village. Each year, when the time for cutting the clearings approaches, the grand man, surrounded by many other people, prays to the god to grant fertility to the plantings. If rain does not fall, an offering of water and tafia is made and the statue is sprinkled.

811 The Boni do not appear to associate the idea of women's fecundity with that of the fertility of the soil, and we have not heard anyone say that the grand man prays on this subject.

241 776 Neither do they appear to have a very clear idea about the relationships of this worship with that of the gɔ̃ gadu, local gods of the soil.

796 535 787 Every three years a great possession dance takes place in Boniville on January 1, /260/ in which the Papa gadu gods dance in front of the sanctuary of Mama gɔ̃. We have not been able to obtain specific information on the meaning of this rite.

241 776 [784] Cult of the gɔ̃ gadu. It is assumed that every portion of land is under the sway of a local god, gɔ̃ gadu. Its power is limited only by the fertility of the soil, and he who neglects its worship cannot be attacked in his person or in his goods, but only punished by a poor harvest.

What is the nature of these gods, what is their place in the cosmogony? These are questions which not one of our informants had ever asked himself. In their minds, gɔ̃ gadu has a de facto existence, and is rendered de facto worship. This worship consists essentially of:

[782] --Offerings made at the moment of planting;

[527] --The observance of a local day of rest, kina dɛ, corresponding to the god's day of rest.

/260 cont./

241 776 In order to observe these rites suitably, it is important then to know in which god's domain are situated the lands one is cultivating. On the banks of the great river, the division of the lands among the gods of the soil has been well
241 776 known since the time of the ancestors. By summarizing the kina dɛ of the farming habitations, one realizes that the do-
527 main of each god is extensive; it occupies several kilometers along the banks. It is often thought (but not everywhere) that the two banks are controlled by different gods. For example:

Downstream from Boniville, right bank: Wednesday;
Toward Kormotibo, right bank: Thursday;
Toward the mouth of the Imini, both banks: Wednesday;
Toward Simayé Falls, both banks: Saturday.

On those days one may do nothing related to agriculture, and in particular one may not dig in the earth nor plant. If absolutely necessary one may go to pull up tubercules.

What one must avoid above all is handling tools which make noise and could disturb the god, except in the immediate vicinity of the water which is not under its control. However, one may shoot off a gun.

This kina dɛ is observed more strictly than Friday, the general kina dɛ in Boni country, which appears to be related to the cult of Mama gɔʒ. On those days people mend boats and especially go hunting and fishing.

241 778 Offerings are made in a purely individual and local fashion; in each farming habitation is seen at the approaches to the wharf a worship place formed by a simple meat-drying rack decorated with pennants of several colors, on which the offerings are exposed; even if this habitation combines people of diverse kin groups, there is only one place of worship.

/260 cont./

241 778 People who have no farming habitation and who farm on the outskirts of /Fig. 29 appears here/ /261/ residence villages get together in groups of three or four to establish a worship place in a copse, preserved from the forest adjoining their clearings.

241 782 Cane juice, syrup, rice pounded fine but not cooked are offered.

They make this offering at the time of the plantings, saying, "Gadu, please come and eat a little, watch over us, thank you very much."

The Boni who observe the rites most faithfully renew this offering each month at the new moon.

If someone has two clearings in two different sectors, he performs the rites twice, each gɔɓ gadu being entirely independent of the others.

241 171 On this subject one notices that the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks are much more systematized than those of the Creole populations of African origin in the West Indies. They do not think each field has an individual soul; neither do they apparently believe in the possibility of capturing the soul of the field in order to make the neighbor's field sterile out of revenge. These beliefs, which play such a large role in the popular magic of the West Indies, seem to be without exact counterpart in the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks.

241 [776] Interdictions and various rites. Cutting a clearing involves great dangers: it is necessary to avoid injuring the maleficent divinities of the bush, which have as supports well-defined plants and animals, by brutal destruction of these supports, and their wreaking inexorable revenge -- the kunu -- on the lineage of the unintentional sacrilege. It is therefore necessary to seek out these plants and animals and to carry out for each the rites recommended by the ancestors' experience without forgetting a single one. No Refugee Black would dream of

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Fig. 29. The last trip of a dead person on the river.

/261 cont./

241 neglecting these rites. Their rigorous observance has the effect of preventing farming from becoming for them a commercial activity and of keeping a religious and family feeling in it.

824 778 784 [776] --The kākāti (silk-cotton tree) is a much feared tree, for according to the elders each one of them shelters 12 categories of divinities, especially a Papa gadu and an Ampuku. So it is absolutely impossible to cut it. One must even be very careful not to injure its roots which spread far. The site of every one felled is preserved. Likewise people watch carefully so as not to injure the roots of the big silk-cotton trees often found in the villages.

824 778 776 361 Still, the fact that their site was chosen for setting up a village shows that people believe they can make an alliance with the divinities which reside in a silk-cotton tree and draw their protection upon themselves.

824 778 789 [776] --The katu tree (Bombax Surinamiensis), tree of very large size, living in symbiosis with a parasitic liana which appears to enclose it in a gigantic net, also shelters maleficent divinities (Ampuku, Papa gadu, Bumba gadu). One may cut it down after performing rites whose purpose is to transfer these divinities into another tree.

First, one must have procured from a man who possesses this remedy a pot of ɔbia containing an infusion of leaves in the middle of which is a bracelet of fibers. /262/ It costs [435] two liters of tafia, four liters of beverage (beer for example), one large piece of cloth, and one machete.

Having arrived at the foot of the tree, one bathes his body and machete with this infusion; one puts the fiber bracelet on one's arm. One also bathes several small sticks provided [822] with squares of white cloth (for the Papa gadu), dark blue and red (for the Ampuku), and a pinot palm (pina tɔngo) leaf.

One plants the sticks at the foot of the tree, one strikes the trunk with the palm leaf while invoking the divinities of

/262 cont./

824 778 789 the tree: "Ala sani di dɛ̃ na a udu ya, da mu kumɔto, beka mi ɔ faa ɛ̃ŋ. Kɔm na a pina tɔ̃ŋgo: All things (suprahuman entities) who are in this tree, leave it, for I am going to throw it to the ground; come into this palm leaf." One takes away the palm leaf and the little flags far from there into the interior of the lands, to a spot where nobody is likely to come to fell trees, and one arranges them beside some big tree. The divinities will come and settle there. Nevertheless, it is still necessary to wait almost a month to cut the katu tree, probably to leave the maleficent influences time to dissipate.

824 778 [781] [771] The Boni are so afraid of this tree that many of them, deeming these precautions insufficient, give up the idea of cutting it down and go to establish their clearings elsewhere. The Creole gold miners of the Haut Maroni, who call it cottonwood, also attribute a maleficent influence to it and some of them do not cut it.

The Refugee Blacks fear also, but to a lesser degree, what they call kɔtkɔti, that is, the small trees of any species which, instead of having grown straight, have two angles in their trunk like a Z. This is a very rare anomaly. In such [776] [784] a shrub is hidden a maleficent entity, taku sani, capable, if a man cut the trunk unintentionally, to take revenge on him by paralyzing a limb or even the whole body in a bent position. In order to see whether or not the entity is present in the shrub, there exists, according to the Boni, a very simple means: one gently brings the finger near the bent part. If he feels his finger held there to the point where he has trouble drawing it back, the genie is present! The power of autosuggestion characteristic of the Refugee Blacks shows itself clearly here.

[789] Rites exist for rendering the kɔtkɔti harmless, for cutting them with impunity, and even for using them in magic preparations, but we do not know the details. Kɔtkɔti are among the objects usually found in the chapels (ɔbia ɔsu) of Kumẽnti; we have even happened to see one used to fasten a

/262 cont./

824 778 door; it was a particularly feared kãndu that no thief would have dared to remove.

825 778 [776] --The Kãntamasu are the divinities, especially maleficent and hostile to men, who live in the termitaries (these are termites proper, who make their nest in the earth, and not wood lice, much more common). There is one to each termitary.

[789] After a meticulous examination of the soil of the clearing, one marks all the termitaries /263/ and sprinkles each of them with a preparation containing leaves, pink clay kukusa, and manioc juice. One adjures the genie to go away, no matter where.

It happens that in spite of all the precautions taken a termitary is forgotten. Then, several days later, one will [789] have the consternation of seeing the Kãntamasu reveal itself [784] in someone of the lineage; it announces that it is going to exercise its kunu (curse). It is temporarily appeased by offer- [782] ings of tafia, various drinks, red cloth.

796 198 787 The Kãntamasu call themselves the Akɔlo. Through the mouth of their bearers they speak a language nobody understands. However, when they wish to be understood by those present they speak Kumẽnti.

755 784 Observation in Boniville, January, 1957:

A..., boatman of the border-fixing mission, asks for three days off. His wife, Masauman, has been ill for several days; divination (in this particular case the gita of a female relative in his lineage) showed that it was the doing of a Kãntamasu injured in the burning of the clearing which he himself, A..., cut for his wife in October. The Kãntamasu has not yet manifested itself directly, but a kunu threatens; to appease it he must put in action the remedy known only 000 to M..., an old man of Asisi. He will go to the spot, following

765 /263 cont./ He will go to the spot, following
782 at a good distance M..., bearer of the remedy, with which he will sprinkle the surface of the clearing, and of offering objects. When the offering has been made, they will wait some time to see whether Masauman is better and if she is, they will deem the god appeased.

The Yali Festival

796
[805] The Refugee Blacks, who do not count the days that elapse, contenting themselves with lunations in order to follow the course of the year, make inquiries from Europeans and Creoles to set the time for the Yali festival which marks the new year. Everyone accumulates provisions, especially tortoise meat, varied drinks, and many firecrackers.

On the evening of December 31 each one dances in his own village.

The festival lasts all night, tafia gushes forth, firecrackers go off everywhere.

[787] At the end of the night several gods "rise" in the heads of their bearers, at least of those who are not completely drunk.

[535] During the day dances resume intermittently in the order awasa, sɔŋgɛ, susa. It is customary for the people of one lineage to go to dance in the village of another, then they
[574] invite them back. People make many individual visits. Some have set up in front of their hut a sort of small buffet on which they have arranged about ten glasses, five to six liters of tafia, four or five bottles of beer, lemonade, and syrup.

Observation in Boniville, January 1, 1958:

The grand man, who scarcely leaves his habitation downstream from Boniville any more, did not /264/ put himself out. He delegated his functions to Lébiman and Fintiman, men about 50 years old, belonging to the fraction of the Kotika and Dju lineages residing in Boniville.

/264 cont./

796 At seven o'clock, about ten men assemble at the fraga
769 tiki. They pour water first, then tafia, while uttering the
539 prayer whose whole text follows, taken from a tape recording:
[126] Fintiman (pouring the water):

"Ancestors, hail! We have come to you; it is for the new year that we have come to you! as you yourselves used to do when you were (alive). May God protect us until the new year comes back again; thus it is that you yourselves used to pour the water on behalf of the ancestors. We have come to our place of prayer to speak with you, to ask you to carry our words to God."

(The same formulas are repeated several times.)

Lébiman:

"This is the New Year's Day water. It is God's day. He has arrived. Grand man Awensay (1), (because) I have

1. Predecessor of Grand Man Difu, who died in 1936. In each village the last dead head is invoked by name in order to ask him to call the more ancient dead.

not known the more distant ancestors, it is you alone that I call; call all the others."

"It has arrived, God's day. As for the grand man himself, a slight hindrance has come to him, he could not come, but it is not that he is no longer interested in the village."

"Watch over all the people who are there... we have come to pour water on your behalf, so that you will watch over the chickens and dogs of the village (and up to the living men) (2). Protect the grand man; if misfortune was about to

2. Usual prayer formula.

/264 cont./

796 happen to him, may it pass to one side. Thus we have come
769 to pour (the water) to beg you to protect the village. The year
539 has changed today, it is a new year. May we have money and food, we beg of you, ancestors; watch over our plantings, may they prosper, may the young women who fish at the wharf catch fish."

"All the captains pour (the water), the fiskal, the majors pour (3) for all the lineages; protect the villages."

[184]
[622]

3. Honorific titles imitated from the Djuka but which, among the Boni, do not really mean anything; the head of Kormotibo village bears the title fiskal and the one of Kotika village the title major.

Fintiman:

"The people who have pure hearts, protect them, big and small. But the people whose hearts are not good, who do evil spells to kill others and decrease the village, we do not pray for them; turn them out."

"Watch over the grand man; if something happens to him, it must not be said that we, the people who are seated there, have not prayed well. Great ancestors, we supplicate you, if we were on the point of meeting misfortune, that we may find the good."

(They begin to pour the tafia.)

/265/ "Grand Man Awensay ,..." (Thanks follow for a trip which was carried out without hindrance.)

Lébiman:

"May the grand man live long with us, may misfortune not happen to him."

/265 cont./

796 "Great ancestors who are in God's country, it is you who
769 have the strength of the village."
539 (The tafia gushes forth.)

"Drink, drink, but do not get drunk to the point of being deluded, look with favor upon the righteous, scatter the wicked."

796 Next, Fintiman goes off to make an offering of tafia
782 accompanied by a few words at the chapel of Odun. Then he goes to the edge of the mortuary shed to pour water, tafia, and coffee on behalf of Samalobi, the grand man's brother, for whom mourning has not been lifted.

He goes next to the house of the deceased grand man Awensay to make an offering of coffee (Awensay, like the other grand men, used to drink coffee).

796 The prayer of the preceding year (January 1, 1957),
782 presided over by grandfather Samalobi, had had a higher
829 inspiration. After praying in about the same terms as above for the Boni, they prayed for the Djuka, explaining that in days gone by Boni and Djuka had fought, but that all that was forgotten. They prayed next for the Saramaka, then for the Indians, finally for the Europeans. I asked why; they answered: "It is because the Europeans were the ones who brought us to this country which has become ours." /p. 266 is blank/

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CHAPTER VIII

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765

TALES -- PROVERBS

Tales (Anɛsi ɔlɔli) and Proverbs (ɔdo) retain an important social function among the Refugee Blacks. It is always by tales that the great customary ceremonies of the lifting of mourning begin. Their function is to concentrate the attention of the

538 765 /267 cont./
audience and to create an atmosphere of participation in the rite.

This ritual character makes it so that the Anansi Toli cannot be recited any time and in any old way. The story-teller may speak only at night, in the presence of a respondent and of an audience of at least two or three persons. A ritual formula: "dirinti" -- the response of the audience: "ndaeti," [124] precedes each new story. It is only with extreme repugnance [126] that informants consent to listen to and comment in the day-[76] time on a tale recorded on tape, particularly if their parents are still living, for it is said among the Refugee Blacks as in Black Africa that telling stories in full daylight makes one's father and mother die.

[194] These tales belong to an authentically African [197] accumulated store, practically unchanged in spite of the borrowing from the Creole Blacks of Paramaribo of several themes concerning automobiles, steamboats, etc., inserted in droll fashion into the traditional themes.

The usual hero of these tales is Anansi, the crafty one. [825] Anansi is the name of the Mygale spider (1). It is noteworthy,

[191] 1. The spider cycle is characteristic of the Akan (Agni-Baoulé-Abron) culture area. Anansi is the name of the Mygale spider among the Agni.

however, that this spider does not appear to play any special role in the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks and that no divinatory power is attributed to it. In fact, in the tales of which he is the hero, Anansi is nearly always represented as a man.

538 /2 7 cont. /

Habitually figure in these tales:

Wénon	Anansi's wife
Akpwatitikwati	his sons
Asingébelé	
Panikitapu	
Bigimofu	

Santasimooyu, his daughter.

(825) /268/ Also included under the title of Anansi Toli are tales in which only animals appear: leu, the elephant (whose description the Refugee Blacks have kept through oral tradition), kɔgioni, the agouti (1), who knows everything that happens

1. Rodent the size of a rabbit.

in the bush, kariaku, the deer, a sly old blade who thwarts all tricks (2).

2. It is strange to see this animal play the role of the fox of our fables; the deer easily escapes the hunter thanks to his acute vision, but he does not really have intelligence.

The tales transcribed below are 14 in number; they have been chosen from about 30 and represent the most characteristic themes as well as the best-constructed narratives.

About half of the tales of the Refugee Blacks turn upon two fundamental themes:

--Hunting ruses, whereby Anansi succeeds in killing all the animals of the bush except one who, cleverer than he, succeeds in turning the trick and killing him in turn;

/268 cont./

538 --Deception, more particularly associated with gluttony; in many tales, complicated ruses have for their purpose eating the neighbor's share.

Half the tales are improvisations on extremely varied themes and are impossible to classify. A large proportion are fantastic stories, disconnected and incoherent, recalling the progress of dreams. We have given no room here to this type of tale which in fact presents little of sociological interest.

[831] The Anansi Toli never have a licentious character.

In a general way, the tales of the Refugee Blacks do not reflect any definite concept. The same character is represented from one tale to another in contradictory aspects; he has no fixed personality. For example, the character Anansi, generally represented as lying, thieving, jealous, greedy, and cruel, is not associated with any definite concept. Some tales show him bringing Death among men, but others show him humiliating, to the great joy of men, the maleficent goddesses of the water and the bush. Most of the tales represent him as a swindler, but in some he figures as a judge. These contradictions are not perceived by the Refugee Blacks.

The storyteller himself succeeds with difficulty in following the thread of his story, losing himself in details, often recounted with wit. Sometimes the theme turns aside completely in the course of the narrative, like the ornamental motifs of the Refugee Blacks in which human limbs end in volutes, giving a harmonious whole but without great meaning. In this respect there is a great difference from one storyteller to the other. Certain ones construct more highly organized narratives; most are satisfied with the incoherent and fantastic tales.

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538 Doubtless for the same reason, nothing is found in most of these tales which brings to mind a moral inspired by a concept of good and evil. Now it is the thief and the swindler who triumph, now they find one cleverer than they. It is easy to see that for the storyteller all that is on the same plane; he simply guided his story on what seemed to him most amusing. [522] As for the audience, it always laughs at the loser. One single tale out of 14 (No. 1) expresses a practical moral: "That is why you must not deceive people, for there are people who are cleverer than you."

Most of the tales and proverbs have already been heard many a time by the Refugee Blacks without that lessening their pleasure. More than the story itself, they appreciate the verve of the storyteller, his mimicking talent, the always new variations he knows how to give of a hackneyed theme.

538 All these tales were recorded with the tape recorder and 128 then were studied carefully with respect to vocabulary and syn- [126] tax. We have stayed very close to the actual wording and as far as possible have kept the special Aluku turns of phrase, especially African interjections which reinforce the verbs. The tedious passages which had to be summarized are put in parentheses. Tales nos. ten to 14 are summarized.

*539 Tales

1) The Bearded Rock

One day Anansi went into the bush. He walked until ... he saw a rock, a rock with a beard. He cried: "Bearded rock!"

*539 /269 cont./
Then he fell, he fainted (1). He stayed there until (finally)

1. It must be understood that the genie which was in the rock had heard him.

he came to, and (could) go back home. Then he said (to himself): "I have found a place to kill game."

He saw the agouti who was passing by, he asked him: "Where are you going thus?" The agouti answered: "I am going hunting." Then Anansi told him: "I know a good place, come tomorrow so that I may take you there." He came and both walked until they had arrived at this rock. Then Anansi told him very softly: "Look at this rock, shout 'Bearded rock!'" The agouti shouted: "Bearded rock!" Immediately he fell in a faint; Anansi killed him with blows of a club and carried him off home.

He killed game in this way until the deer arrived unexpectedly. Anansi told him: "I know a place where game is found. We shall walk to a spot where we shall see a rock and you will shout: "Bearded rock!" They arrived at the rock; the deer said to Anansi: "I have forgotten the name of this rock." Anansi said very low: "Bearded rock." The deer said to him: "I don't hear." Then Anansi got angry, his heart took fire (with rage) and he shouted very loudly: "Bearded rock!" Then he himself fell to the ground. The deer killed him, took his liver, and carried it back to his wife.

That is why you must not deceive people, because there are people who are cleverer than you.

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*539

2) The Pond Genie

(One day) Anansi went into the bush; he explored in the bush, comrades. He went until... hunger seized him. He arrived at a pond where there were fish! fish! He caught the fish, he caught until...he came to a stump. He slipped his hand into a hole, and there his hand was grabbed, kyin kyin! He said: "Who is holding me like that?" "It is I the Thrower" (said the pond genie). He said: "Throw me to see." He threw him...to the top of the trees. He fell back down to the ground. Comrades, you know Anansi, he did not die of it. He said: "I shall kill all the animals (here) to the last one." He went to sharpen a trident. He said: "It is here that I must bury the trident, since it is here that I fell back down. I am going to show the animals here, I am going to show them." He buried it up to the iron. He carried a load of fish, said to his wife Wénon: "I am going to kill all the animals to the last one." She said: "How are you going to do it?" He explained to her.

Some time afterward the agouti arrived. He said to him: "Brother agouti, aren't you hungry?" The agouti said: "Brother, I am hungry; I am looking for the sauce (1). He said

1. Meaning by that, meat or fish to accompany the couac or the rice.

to him: "Come, I am going to take you to a pond where there are many fish. The agouti accepted. They walked until they got there. They caught fish, until... Anansi said: "Feel around at the foot of this stump; you will find a hole; there are some acoupas (2). Comrade agouti, go ahead and feel!

2. Fish of stagnant waters.

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#539

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2. Fish of stagnant waters.

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#539 The agouti slipped his paw into the hole; kyin kyin! It stayed prisoner. He said: "Brother Anansi, my paw is caught." -- Say: "What is holding me there?" He said: "What is holding me there?" -- "It is I the Thrower." The agouti said: "Brother Anansi, what must I say?" -- Say: "Throw me to see." He said: "Throw me to see." Comrades, he threw him into the air, he passed over the top of the trees, he fell down on the trident. Anansi took his club, pa! He ran up, he knocked him down, gbo! He killed him. He put him aside. He picked up all the fish the agouti had caught. He took the agouti himself, cut out his liver. He took it to the agouti's wife; he told her: "The agouti and I killed a tapir out there, he stayed to smoke it. He sent half of the liver for you to cook." She cooked the liver and boiled rice. They ate; they ate to the last spoonful, to the last piece of liver. He said: "All livers are good but the agouti's liver is the best." (Then she understood.) She took a pestle to hit him but he got away.

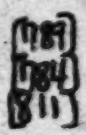
Thus he killed in succession all the animals of the region. There remained the deer. The deer is some clever. He had observed Anansi and seen what he had done. Anansi came to him and said to him: "Brother deer, aren't you hungry?" He answered: "I am very hungry." Anansi said: "I know a pond where there are many fish." They went there. They fished until Anansi said: "Feel in the hole at the base of this stump, there are some acoupas and plant-runners /coulants/." The deer felt and said: "I don't feel the hole"; he knew /271/ very well where it was. Anansi said: "You have big eyes, how is it that you do not see the hole?" He took his paw in his hand to plunge it into the hole; the deer's paw is thin. He pulled it back. It was Anansi's hand which remained prisoner.

/271 cont./

#539 Anansi said: "Brother deer, go over there; you will find a trident I use for hunting; pull it out of the ground." The deer came back saying: "It is done." He showed him another trident which he himself had brought and hidden. Then Anansi said (to the genie): "Throw me to see." He threw him to the summit of the trees. He fell back on the trident. The deer knocked him down with a club, cut out his liver, and took it to Wénon. He said to Wénon: "Anansi and I killed a tapir. He stayed to smoke it. He sent the liver for you to cook." She prepared the liver and boiled rice. They ate to the last mouthful. Then the deer said: "All livers are good but Anansi's liver is the best." Wénon grabbed a pestle to strike him, but he was already far away.

3) Anansi and the Magic Frying-Pan

(One day) Anansi went exploring in the bush, comrades. He went into the bush one day, until... he was hungry. And now he saw a frying-pan hooked in the air. He went near; he said: "Frying-pan, why art thou beautiful thus?" It said: "I am beautiful, but I am not beautiful for nothing." He said: "Let me see." It began to fry all sorts of things, fritters, meat. He said: "Put that down on the ground in front of me." It put them before him. Then Anansi ate, he ate until... his belly was full. He said: "Frying-pan, I beg of thee, stop." It stopped, gban! He said: "What kina dost thou have, in truth(1)?" It said: "It is the lemon, lemon juice, and the



1. Let us remember that in the minds of the Refugee Blacks, to the exercise of any magic power corresponds a kina (interdiction).

/271 cont./

*539 rice-straw broom (2). If you rub me with it, I lose my

[264]
[824]

2. The Refugee Blacks have the practice of using lemon juice for scouring dishes.

power."

He said: "That's good; please agree to come into my ɔbia house, so that I may frustrate my wife Wénon and my children. They tire me." It said: "Very well, I shall go with you." He walked, he put it on his head. His belly was full, comrades, his intestines were full. He walked until he arrived at the outskirts of the village. He shouted: "All the people of the village, shut yourselves up, I am carrying my ɔbia to my ɔbia house." They said: "What art thou saying?" He repeated: "I am carrying my ɔbia pot to my ɔbia house." Gban! Gban! The people slammed the doors of their houses, gban!

Anansi walked to his ɔbia house, opened the door, he hung up the frying-pan in a corner.

That day he did not eat in Wénon's house. Wénon cooked spinach for him. He said: "My belly is full." He waited until midnight, then he went out. He said to the frying-pan: "Frying-pan, why are you beautiful thus?" It said: "I am beautiful, but I am not beautiful for nothing." He said: "Show me so that I may see."

It began to fry for him as much food as he could eat. /272/

/272/ One of his children named Akpwatitikwati said (to his brother) Asingébélé: "We are cleverer than Anansi. I am going to keep an eye on my father until I surprise him." Then he began to watch him and surprised him. He saw and cried: "So that's how he did it."

Anansi said he was going hunting; then he went away to hunt. (Immediately) the children came; they said: "Frying-pan... " ... (same formulas).

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#539 It began to fry for them. It fried until... they went to get their other brothers and their mother Wénon. They arrived, carrying calabashes and all sorts of receptacles; comrades, they put in them meat, fritters, all kinds of food. They loaded themselves up with all these things to the very limit.

They said: "Stop." It stopped, gban! Comrades, they climbed up to the attic (1); they lifted up the bunches of rice,

[342]

1. Meaning by that the roof of huts, separated by a ceiling of planks.

they slipped all that underneath, zou! They hid these things so that Anansi might not see them, until they were finished. There! They went, took some lemon, took a brush. They cried: "We are going to teach Anansi a lesson today, we are tired of hearing him say that he does not want to eat spinach, we are going to make him see!" And so they did. They poured the lemon juice, tollo! They rubbed the (frying-pan) with rice straw (2). It is done! They hung it up again.

2. It is necessary to understand that it was through malevolence and not inadvertence that Anansi's wife and children destroyed the power of the frying-pan.

They went away until dinner time. Anansi came. Wénon had cooked spinach with rice: "Brother Anansi, since thou art already here, come, take something to eat; we have not found much that was good." He said: "Sister, I am still not eating. My belly is not open. While I was walking in the

/272 cont./

#539 bush a wind entered my belly, it is cold." She said: "Very well." He went to eat the frying-pan's food; he walked until he arrived there. He said: "Frying-pan, why art thou so beautiful?" Nothing! "Frying-pan, why art thou so beautiful?" Nothing, nothing!

He said: "What has happened to my frying-pan, that it doesn't work any more? I know, it is Akpwatitikwati who has spoiled it. I am going to teach him a lesson, wait!" He went away; he said: "That one is spoiled; I am going to go and get another."

He came home. He made no remarks at all; he remained silent. He took the spinach which he had refused; with the spinach he ate rice.

The next day he went into the bush, voloou! exploring, comrades; Anansi walked in the bush, looked... until he saw three whips hung up. He said: "Whips, why are you so handsome?" They said: "Ho! We are handsome, but we are not handsome for nothing."

Comrades, they whipped him in the bush, viop, viop! they whipped Anansi. He shouted: "You are right, you are right. I am the one who came to bother you, you are right! Can you come with me?" The whips stopped striking. He said: "Please, I ask you, I have bad children in my village; I beg of you, come into my ɔbia house." They said: "Out of sheer caprice, we shall go." He took them. He arrived at the edge of the village; he shouted: "I am carrying my ɔbia pot home! my ɔbia pot /273/ again! Comrades, again gban! gban! (His sons) said: "Well, well, our father is bringing the same thing again. We shall make him see!" Anansi opened the door of the ɔbia house gently, put down the whips carefully. He slept until the next day. He said: "I am going hunting." But he stayed at the edge of the forest; he kept an eye on the approaches to the ɔbia house. When he had seen Anansi leave, Akpwatitikwati said: "I am going to get my brothers and my

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1539 mother." Comrades, they suffered from pian (1)! All together

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1. Skin disease from which most Refugee Black children used to suffer.

they entered the ɔbia house. Again: "Whips, why are you so handsome?"

(same formula)

Viop! viop! Anansi ran, he shut the door; he said: "Let me see, whips, strike so that I may see!" viop! viop!

(Somebody in the audience) "Wénon was inside?" -- "Wénon was inside!" (laughs). The whips hit them until their skin was bloody, their pian pimples cut, so that the blood flowed over them.

(cruel laughs from the audience)

Then Anansi opened the door and they fled.

The end.

4) Anansi and the Bat

Anansi was looking for someone to go with him to a festival which was taking place in a neighboring village... because the more who come, the more they give you to eat. He asked the bat, who said to him: "I haven't been to a festival for a long time. I'll go on the day you wish." The day they had set arrived. They started out; they walked until they had arrived near the village. Anansi said: "Comrade bat, see this lebi weko (2). If I begin to shout: "My belly,

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2. Lebi weko: bougouni (Inga alba) tree whose bark is used in the native pharmacopoeia.

/273 cont./

*539 my belly," come and cut its bark, have me drink an infusion of it to calm my pains. My belly likes to play these tricks on me." They walked a little more. The bat said: "I am going to step aside for a moment." It stepped aside, then ran noiselessly to the tree, cut a piece of bark, put it in its bag, and came back.

They arrived at the village. The people had set the table; a big table! As they were getting ready to eat, Anansi moaned: "My belly, my belly. Please, that bark I spoke to thee about, go and get me some (3)."

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3. This complicated ruse is to get his comrade away in order to eat its portion. This is the central theme of a whole cycle of tales of the Refugee Blacks.

The bat pulled it out of its bag: "Here it is." Anansi said to himself: "There are some people who must not be involved in one's affairs." They ate until they had finished; they danced until dawn. As they were taking their leave, the people made them a gift of a bag /274/ of groundnuts, comrades, a big bag; it was not a one-quintal bag, but a two-quintal bag.

Anansi said to the bat: "Thou art not able to carry this bag. I am the elder, it is up to me to carry it." He lifted it; he wavered (under the weight) but stuck to it just the same. They walked. Anansi was going first, the bat behind. The bat flew, pou, pou, pou! dropped on the road and changed itself into a golden fork. Anansi arrived. He said: "Here is a golden fork, I am going to take it." He stretched out his hand as if to take it. He said to himself: "Hou? I must not take it, it is the bat." He cut a stick and struck it, gbo! He walked, walked. The bat flew ahead, pou, pou, pou! It dropped on the

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#539 ground and changed itself into a golden chain. Anansi arrived. He said to himself: "The people who left ahead dropped a golden chain. I have already left a golden fork, this golden chain I am not going to leave." He opened the bag of groundnuts, he threw the chain inside. Comrades, the bat ate the groundnuts. It would eat, it would void. Anansi was almost arriving in his village. The bat took the last nut, ate it, and voided. Anansi walked to the village without bothering any more with the bat. He said: "Sister Wénon, I have been lucky. I and the bat were out there, how it walked I have no idea. I found a bag of groundnuts for me and thee. Children, come into the house." They went in, locked the door carefully. He untied the bag. The bat escaped, pou, pou, pou! He said: "Wife, I am dead." He opened the bag: nothing but droppings. The bat was flying, pou, pou, pou! It alighted on the head of Saniasamooyu (1).

1. Anansi's daughter.

Anansi said: "Thou hast ruined me thus. I shall fix thee." He took a stick, he brandished it as hard as he could; he threw it, gbo! to knock down the bat. The bat flew away, pou, pou, pou! The stick struck the child who fell. The bat lighted on Bigimofu's head. Anansi said: "Mother, I am dead; Bat, I am going to kill thee." He threw the stick at it, pou, pou, pou! The bat flew away, the child fell. The bat lighted on Wénon's head. Anansi said: "Mother, I am dead, it is thy fault that I have killed my children, and now thou lightest on my wife's head!" Gbob! Pou, pou, pou! Wénon fell dead. The bat lighted on Anansi's head. Anansi said: "I am going to fix thee." He went under the baliki (2) (and hit his head). Gbo! balau!

2. Horizontal beam of the house-framing.

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*539 (He fell), he stayed there, bashed in like an old kerosene can. He didn't die of it. He came to and went away. So goes the tale.

5) Anansi, the King and the Rabbit(3).

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3. The rabbit, who plays the part of the sly character in the folklore of the West Indies, does not exist in Guiana. This tale is probably the transposition of a West Indian theme.

There was a king; he reigned over a country. All the people of the king's village had the habit of going to wash in a certain pond. One day, the king went to this pond to bathe. Comrade, he saw a cack in the water! "Who relieved himself there?" "I don't know." /275/ The king called the people together. This one said: "It isn't I." That one: "It isn't I." Nobody had made that cack, but there it was.

Anansi said to the king: "Grand-man, I shall discover the guilty one." The king said: "Very well; do what thou canst do."

Anansi went away. He went and cut a tree; he made a beautiful big statue, he made it eyes, a nose, a mouth, breasts. He smeared it with birdlime, then put it in the middle of the path which went to the pond. The moon had not risen.

Comrades, the rabbit relieved himself in the pond, then he came back to the bank, for it was he who had made that cack in the water. He took to the road, a pail of water on his head. He saw a woman standing in the middle of the path. He shouted: "Ho! woman! get off the path, I don't want thee (here)." She remained immobile. He said: "Woman! I am

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#539 going to hit thee." She stayed immobile without answering. He puts the pail down on the ground, he hits her gbo! Kyin kyin! (1), his hand stays stuck fast. He says: "Art thou going

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1. Interjection reinforcing the meaning of a verb expressing that something has become fastened or immobilized.

to let me go, I don't want thee (here)." He struck her with the other hand, gbo! Kyin kyin! The other hand stayed stuck. He said: "I am going to give thee a poke with my knee!" He gave her a poke with his knee, kyin kyin! The knee stayed stuck fast. He hit her with the other knee, it stayed stuck too. Thus the rabbit remained immobilized, feet in the air, until the next morning. Anansi came, he said: "Rabbit, we meet again! Ever since somebody made cack in the pond, it was thou. We meet again!"

Anansi went to the king; he said: "Grand man, I have found the one who was dirtying the water, it is the rabbit! It is he who was making cack in the water. What shall I do with him? The king said: "Anansi, do as thou wish, for that water, all the people of this country use it."

Anansi said: "Very well." He lighted a fire, he made the pitch melt which was holding the rabbit, he put the rabbit in a bag, zou! He tied the bag, kwa! Next he went and got a long iron rod; he said to the rabbit: "Dost thou see this rod? Well, I am going to heat it red hot and plunge it into thine anus up to the very end. Thou wilt not dirty the king's water any more."

*539 /275 cont./

He arrived at his degrad (2). He disembarked (leaving

2. Wharf. It must be understood that he traveled by boat on a river like the Refugee Blacks.

the rabbit at the edge of the water). The way was long from the wharf to his house. Comrades, he made a big fire, heated the rod red hot.

The rabbit, alone, spoke aloud, saying: "What misfortune! Here I am in a pretty mess! I haven't any luck!" The jaguar came by; he said: "Old man rabbit, what's the matter with you?" -- "It is the king who has had me taken for he wants to force me to marry his daughter; he had me arrested and tied in a bag so that I could not run away."

The jaguar said: I am going to free thee and get into the bag in thy place, for that is just what I am looking for, in order to find a good set-up."

The rabbit said: "Come and set me free." He let him go, got into the bag. The rabbit shut up the bag again and ran away. /2/

/276/Anansi came, he said no more but groped for the rabbit's abdomen. He plunged the iron rod into his anus to the very end. Then the tiger howled: "Hi, hi!" Then Anansi said: "Brother tiger, I have nothing against thee; it is the rabbit!"

The tiger said: "Anansi, I have nothing against thee, but I and the rabbit are enemies to the death today." Anansi freed the jaguar, who ran after the rabbit. He saw the rabbit; he said: "Rabbit, thou hast burned my intestine, thou hast deceived me, now we meet!" They ran, they ran until... the rabbit escaped.

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*539 No way to catch the rabbit again! The rabbit saw an agouti which had been dead for a whole week, all swollen up and stinking. He slipped into his belly. He began to groan. The jaguar came; he stopped and said: "Brother agouti, good day!" He replied: "How are you?" -- "Only fair." (1) The jaguar said: "Noble

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1. Common formulas of greeting of the Refugee Blacks.

brother, what happened to you?" He said: "The rabbit and I fought, he gave me one single blow, and here I am stretched out dead; that is what he did to me."

The jaguar went on his way. He saw the rabbit in front of him, he said: "Today we meet." They ran until... the rabbit escaped. He saw the cadaver of a deer, dead for a week, swollen and stinking. He slipped inside. The jaguar ran until he arrived there. He said: "Brother deer, what happened to you?" He answered: "The rabbit and I quarreled, we fought, then he gave me one single blow and here I am stretched out dead."

The jaguar said: "(I give up.) I and the rabbit, this is the end until the end of the world."

6) Anansi and Death

(One day) Anansi went hunting. He walked until he came out into a large glade. He went ahead until he met a man. He greeted him and said: "Good day, brother!" No answer! -- "Good day, brother!" Nothing; no answer! He said to him: "Hem! Brother! That's meat you have there?" No answer! He said to him: "Since you don't answer me, (it is as though) you were saying to help myself." Comrades, Anansi went up to the cooking-pot and he ate, ate until his belly was full.

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*539 He said: "Although you don't answer me, we are father- and son-in-law. Tomorrow I shall bring one of my daughters to you." No answer. "Since he says nothing, it means that he agrees." He went, went until he arrived home. He had made a catouri (2) and taken as much meat as he had been able to ca

2. Basket to carry on the back.

carry off. The next day he said to his wife Wénon: "I found a place, a good place for hunting. I found a husband for our daughter; he is the one who gave me all that." Wénon said: "That's good."

The following day before dawn, he went to his daughter, said to her: "Take thy work-basket." She got her things ready; they walked, they walked until they /277/ got there. He said: "Son-in-law, good day!" Nothing. He said (to his daughter): "Thou seest how he doesn't answer, he is like that; here is thy husband."

He went to the pot. He ate until his belly was full. He cut palm leaves, wove a catouri, loaded as much meat as he could hold in it. He said: "Son-in-law, I am going away, dwell here with your wife." He loaded up the catouri and went away. The girl saw a very neat trail going to a creek. She took the dirty dish from which her father had eaten, she started on the path. Kwakpwala! The trap was sprung; it was there that Death (for the unknown man was Death) had set his trap.

Death arose, rushed armed with his club, hit her, gbo! It dragged her body to the house, carved it up, put it into the pot, and cooked it. The girl had two rings on her finger as you see I have myself (the narrator shows his hand).

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*539 The next day before dawn, Anansi came back: "Son-in-law, good day!" No answer! -- "How is your wife?" No answer. -- "I know, she went to the creek to wash dirty dishes; that's good." He put the pot on the ground and began to eat. He ate until his belly was full. He was turning the pot, looking for the best pieces, when suddenly, fang! he saw the rings. He said: "Mother! I am dead; my daughter has been killed." He seized a strong club which was there, then he hit Death on the tibia, bom! Death rushed up; he fled; they ran until they arrived near the village. Then he shouted: "Climb up into the air (to the top of a tree)! Wénon, Asingébélé, Akpwatitikwati, Bigimofu, climb up into the air." -- "What art thou saying, should we bring thee the big pot?" (1) -- "Imbecile! All those

1. Play on words. Wenon understands paatu, pot, instead of a tapu, in the air.

meats we ate, it was not I who killed them; he who killed them is running after me." They climbed (to the top of a tree). Anansi jumped, climbed to the top of the tree. Death arrived there; it sat down at the bottom of the tree. They stayed there some time. Asingébélé said: "Father, my arm can't hold any longer." Anansi said to him: "Look at the brother-in-law below, go on down!" (2) He dropped down.

2. Anansi does not try to save his life by sacrificing his children, he only tells them to be resigned to the inevitable.

Death stunned him gbo! and threw him aside. They remained a certain length of time longer, then Akpwatitikwati said: "Father, I am exhausted." Anansi said to him: "All those meats

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*539 we ate, it was he who killed them; look at the brother-in-law below; go on down!" He dropped down. Death stunned him, then threw him aside.

(Same scene; Anansi's last child, then his wife Wenon, drop down in turn. Anansi remains alone at the top of the tree.)

...Anansi stayed. He resisted, resisted until... he said: "Son-in-law, you know what you must do. I have eaten much of your meat, I am fat. Go and get banana leaves and many ashes, so that when I fall, my body may not burst and my fat be lost. If I fall on the bare ground, my body /278/ will burst." Death stood up, vou! cut banana leaves, picked up as many ashes as it could.

"Look well at the spot where I am going to fall, I am coming." Death looked at the pile of ashes! plaou! Anansi fell right in the middle (the ashes spurted out in every direction). In the time that Death took to wipe its eyes, Anansi had fled.

Thus it is that Anansi came to carry Death among us. Before, Death used to stay in the bush; it killed animals but not men. It is because of Anansi that it came to separate and kill men.

7) Anansi, Buchi Mama, and Wata Mama (1)

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1. Maleficent divinities of the bush and the water, which are not worshiped.

Anansi, one day, went into the bush. He went to see the Bush-Mama. He said to her: "Bush-Mama, will you have a tug-of-war with me?" /Fr. expression corde raide usually means "tightrope," but gist of story indicates transl. given. -- Tr./ The Bush-Mama said to him: "What? Have you looked at me? Strong as I am, you aspire to a tug-of-war against me?" He said: "Bush-Mama, you lie, you are not capable of vanquishing me. I am sure to pull you as far as the village, step by step,

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#539 so that the people will see you." She answered: "It is I who will drag you as far as the bush." They discussed it to the insult stage, and wagered. They agreed to set Sunday as the test time; she should pull the end of a rope going out from the village. She said: "Very well." -- "I am proud of my ancestors, Bush-Mama. You will not drag me into the bush, I am the one who will drag you inside the village."

Then he came back to the village and went to the river. He rushed into the water, dyou! he went up to the Water-Mama. He said to her: "Will you have a tug-of-war against me? The Water-Mama answered: "It is I who will drag you into the river." Anansi said: "I am sure to drag you up on land so that the people will see how you look." Again they wagered and set Sunday as the test day. He said: "Very well, on the day set I shall come into the water to hold out the end of a rope to you." The Water-Mama said: "Very well. I shall stay there to take the end of the rope." We shall see who is a man and who is not."

He went back to his village. Saturday afternoon he set up a tyifunga (2) enclosure around the village, as far as the river

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2. Magic enclosure made of pinot palm leaves strung on a cord, to which is attributed the power to stop bad influences. After putting up the enclosure they purify the village by cleaning it completely.

and as far as the bush behind the village. He cleaned the village completely. He cut a long and strong rope, he went to slip one end of it into the river, he went to put the other in the bush.

On Sunday the Bush-Mama and the Water-Mama came and each pulled on an end of the rope. Anansi himself was not

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*539 pulling, but each one thought: "It is Anansi." Anansi's gita came into his head, he began to sing and dance.

(The narrator sings a sequence of onomatopoeias, repeated in chorus by the audience.) /279/

/279/ The two divinities struggled at the rope. The Water-Mama was dragged to the middle of the village, step by step, pata, pata, pata! Anansi jumped into the air, did all sorts of freakish things. Then the Bush-Mama was dragged to the middle of the village, with rocks on her body. Thus all men could see their faces.

Then the Bush-Mama backed out toward the forest, the Water-Mama rushed into the water, d,ou! That is what Anansi did. Since, these divinities have never allowed their faces to be seen by men any more. The Bush-Mama stayed in the bush, the Water-Mama stayed in the water; they hurt men. I have finished, gbolon!

8) Anansi and the Steamboat

There was a king; he had a daughter. He raised her until she became a big girl. Comrades, she was pretty. Men to the last one wanted her for a wife. But to all her suitors she used to say: "I shall belong to the one who will bring a steamboat to my father." In those times men did not know about steamboats; there were none in the country of the Whites, since the country of the Whites did not exist. How to know about the steamboat? All the people of that country, all the animals asked it. To all she would answer: "Since I said that a steamboat was necessary, if you are not capable of finding it, leave me alone!" Anansi said: I shall have that woman, I, Anansi." He went to her, he said: "Sister, thank you very much, come!" The girl ran to the door. He courted her assiduously. She said to him: "Anansi, you, too, know what I have demanded: a steamboat for my father. Bring it and I shall be your wife."

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*539 He said: "What? You are at a loss for a little thing like a steamboat? That's a small matter for me. I shall find you that very quickly. Tomorrow, ask your father to give me a kernel of corn." The next day, Anansi arrived and said: "Then give me (the kernel of corn)." She took a whole ear of corn; he said: "I don't want the whole ear, but one single kernel; with that kernel I shall buy the steamboat." He jumped into his boat, he said: "I am going away." He paddled, going down the river, until he arrived at a village. The people shouted to him from the bank: "Uncle Anansi, come to land!" He said: "I can't come, I am carrying a letter from the king." That time Anansi was successful. The people said to him: "Come on, we shall put it in a safe place." He said: "Here I am already, why did you call me?" The people said: "Come with us, brother, we are hungry for you." He said (to the women): "Very well, sisters." They prepared the food. The people said: "Where is the king's letter?" He said: "It is that kernel of corn." They took it and put it in a safe place. He stayed awake until they were asleep, he opened softly, he went to take the kernel of corn. He went to the chicken coop, he threw it to the poultry who picked it up; corn and poultry do not go together.

He slept until morning. He said: "Bachia (1), please

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1. Assistant head of the village.

give me the letter." The bachia went to get the kernel of corn. Nothing! He said: "Ho, ho, Anansi, we have lost it; we shall give you another." He said: "It is not another that I want, /280/ for I was passing on my way on the river, it was you who called me without any reason; give me a rooster. If you do not give me any rooster, we shall fight to the death in this village." They took a rooster and gave it to him.

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#539 He embarked in his boat. He paddled until evening, until he passed in front of a village. The people shouted to him from the bank: "Uncle Anansi, come to land, come to land." He said: "I can't come, I am carrying a letter from the king." They said: "Come on, we shall put it in a safe place." He came alongside, he said: "Why did you call me?" The people said: "Because we haven't seen you for a long time." He said: "Very well." -- "Where is the letter?" -- "It is this rooster."

They took the rooster, they shut it up in a basket. They set the table and served him a good meal. He ate until it was gone. He unpacked his things; he slept until midnight. He opened, he went to the rooster, took it and threw it into a pig-pen, vo! The pigs ate it, gwili-gwolo! He slept until the next day. He said: "Bachia, please give me my letter." The bachia went to get the rooster. Nothing! He did not see it. He said: "We shall give you another." Anansi answered: "That won't do, for I was passing by on the river, it was you who called me and enticed me to land without any reason; give me a pig. If you do not give me a pig today, I shall kill you in this village." They took a pig and put it in his boat.

He paddled, paddled until...he arrived at a village.

(By the same process, Anansi exchanges his pig for an ox.)

....It was about ten o'clock in the evening. He passed before a village where a child had died; a mother's little one was dead, the people were making the coffin. The comrade passed by. The people shouted: "Uncle Anansi, come to land, come to land. Someone has died here; come help us." He said: "I can't, I am carrying a letter from the king." They said: "We shall put it in a safe place." He arrived. They took the ox, they tied it to a branch. They set the table for him. Death was in this village; they put the body into the coffin. They danced until....night.

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*539 During the night he got up and went and untied the ox which escaped into the bush.

The next day he said to the bachia: "Bachia, please go and get my ox." The bachia looked for it in vain. He said: "Anansi, the ox has escaped into the bush." We shall give you another." -- "That won't do," said Anansi; "I was passing by on the river and you called me without any reason. Give me the dead child."

They said: "Uncle Anansi, we cannot give him to you, he is already in the coffin." "Let's make an end of it," said Anansi, "you are provoking me." The bachia went to tell the mother (of the dead child) that a misfortune had arrived(1).

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1. It is to be noted that it is not from the lineage head that one asks for authorization to dispose of the body, but from the mother alone.

She agreed to it. They broke the coffin and gave the body to Anansi. He put it in the bow of the boat and paddled until he came to a big bend in the river. Once out of sight of the village people, he /281/ made a little paddle. He went to the bow seat of the boat, he fastened the dead child to it with glue. He put the body in a sitting position, as if it were alive, he fastened the paddle in its hand.

He paddled until he heard something like the noise of a boat. He said to himself: "Listen, stand up, perhaps a boat is coming." He placed the boat in the strongest part of the current, he paddled hard, standing in the stern. He heard better, he said: "It is a ship." He shouted: "Ah, ah! Today I meet thee, thou whom I sought for so long." He saw clearly that it was a ship. Comrades, he paddled in the current; the

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*539 big boat avoided him. Anansi paddled toward it, paddled until... gbo! (collision) the small boat sank. Anansi in the water shouted: "You have drowned the king's child, give back to me, give back the king's child to me quickly, if not, Whites, who are in that ship, you and I are going to die!(1)"

1. Obvious contradiction with the beginning of the tale where it is said that in those times the country of the Whites did not exist. But none of the listeners appears to worry about it.

They stopped the big boat. They hoisted Anansi on board. They fished out the small boat, but did not find the dead child.

The Whites told him: "We do not find the king's child. What must be done to finish up this business?" He said: "Give me the big boat." They acquiesced.

He went back up the river with the big boat. He arrived at the pier of the king's village. Anansi shot off the cannon. On land, they fired the cannon too. Anansi was received triumphally, the king's daughter put a ring on his finger, and they were married. Thus it was that the king had a steamboat.

9) Pikinbaya (2)

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2. This tale is a theme of the Creole Blacks of Paramaribo.

There was a woman; she had a child whom she named Pikinbaya (3). One day she gave him food to take to the market

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3. The name means "little comrade."

*539 /281 cont./
to sell, bananas and yams. He sold it all and got two sous; he took the two sous and bought a little snake(4). He came

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4. Mboma (couleuvre of the Creoles) is the large anaconda water snake.

back home, they asked him: "Where is the money?" He said: "That is what I bought, a little snake."

They whipped him until he was nearly dead. He went into the bush until he found a place; he dug a fine round hole. He filled it with water and put the snake in it. He gave it small fish.

The next day he took food again. He walked, walked until he came to the market. Comrades, again he sold all the food. He saw a woman at the entrance to the market with parrots. He said to her: "Woman, how much is a parrot?" She said: "I sell one for one sou." He said: "Give me this one." He took the parrot. He saw another woman who had rats. He said: "Woman, how much is a rat?" She said: "I sell one for one sou." He bought the rat.

He went back home.

They asked him: "Where is the money?" He said: "That is what I bought, a parrot /282/ and a rat." Comrades! They took the boy, they hit him until he was nearly dead.

His mother said to his father: "All that happens there is thy fault. He must not be given food to sell any more."

The next day, they did not give him any. Pikinbaya kept quiet and busied himself with his snake until the snake told him: "I am hot, I want to go into a brook." He lifted it, put it on his neck. He carried it to the brook and put it in. Then he came back to the village.

*539 /282 cont./

He hunted (to feed the snake), caught small fish for it. One day the snake (which had grown) said to him: "Pikinbaya, I don't want to stay any longer in this brook. Take me to a big river." The snake went down the brook, Pikinbaya walking along the bank. They went down until... they came to a big creek. The snake stayed there. The boy went away but came back (regularly) to see the snake. He used to hunt for it and bring it meat. The snake grew bigger! It became adult. One day when he had come to see it, it told him: "Pikinbaya! I want to go to the river, I want to feed on fish like other snakes." It went downstream, Pikinbaya walked along the bank until... they had arrived at the river. The snake said: "Well, Pikinbaya, I am going away."

(A confused and boring passage follows. It takes Pikinbaya along to the village of the snakes and gives him a talisman enclosed in a pot, which will guarantee him luck and prosperity.)

....Pikinbaya stayed there until... he understood that it would come back no more. He set out on the path, walked, walked until he came to his village. His family was poverty-stricken. They did not even have any more salt to eat. The boy arrived. He hung the pot on a cashew apple tree /pommier cajou/.

(Immediately Pikinbaya's village became prosperous.)

Comrades! Even Paris was not so rich as it. Big ships came alongside Pikinbaya's village.

Now this country was governed by a king who was very rich; he said to himself: "That astounds me, Pikinbaya is richer than I. All my workmen leave me to go to him. He pays up to ten florins a day(1). I am going to send my eldest daughter to

[829]

1. The Refugee Blacks cannot imagine a king otherwise than as a boss paying his workmen.

/282 cont./

*539 discover what makes Pikinbaya rich like that and tell me." He took his eldest daughter, put her on a boat, on a big boat. The boat left the wharf of the king's village, it went until... it arrived at the wharf of Pikinbaya's village, a very large wharf. The cannon thundered (in her honor). Pikinbaya came in a big automobile and took the girl by the little finger; she got into the car which went as far as inside the grounds /of the house/. They entered the house. They stayed there until a whole week had /283/ slipped by. Then she said: "Pikinbaya," -- they were stretched out on the bed (1) -- "I am going to go

[562]

1. It is hardly necessary to dwell on the image which the Refugee Blacks conceive of woman, as reflected by this tale. That the king's daughter agrees to give herself immediately to a man she has never seen poses no problem whatever. The narrator, so wordy elsewhere, does not grant a sentence for the description of the woman and her love affair with Pikinbaya.

away." He said: "Good, that's all right!" She said: "Pikinbaya, what makes you so rich?" He said: ""You want to know? It is a pot I have at the head of my bed." She took the pot, enclosed it in an iron case, loaded it into the car, and the boat left the wharf.

(Immediately poverty swooped down on the village.)

Comrades, Pikinbaya's village became dirtier than Boniville (laughs from the audience, for Boniville is a badly

/283 cont./

*539 kept village), more overrun by the bush than Puu Mofu (2).

[361]

2. Village abandoned and overrun by the bush south of Boniville.

Pikinbaya no longer had anything to wear but an old rice sack, for it was that pot which used to make the village rich.

The parrot said: "I would gladly go to look for the pot, but I have no teeth." The rat said: "If I had had wings, I would have gone to look for the pot." The parrot said to him: "Come on my back." He jumped on the parrot's back. He flew, flew... until...he alighted on the big mast of the boat, kpwala! The rat reached the iron case. He gnawed it, kwokwo! burst it, took the pot, pa! At the moment when people were beginning to notice the parrot's presence, he flew away, flew, as far as... Pikinbaya's village.

There is Pikinbaya, rich again.

The king's eldest daughter arrived at her father's village. The king came with his automobile to get his daughter and the trunk. They arrived at the palace, he opened the trunk: nothing! He said: "That astounds me. But I must find that pot which makes Pikinbaya rich, I must know where it is." The king had three daughters. He said: "I am going to send the second to him; she will succeed in finding that object."

(The same scene is repeated. The daughter succeeds in seizing the pot which she puts into an iron casket, enclosed in an iron case. The parrot and the rat go and win it back, but the rat breaks one of his incisors.)

/283 cont./

*539 Upon arrival the parrot said: "Pikinbaya, if thou allowest another woman to take this pot away from thee, I shall not go any more to find it. My eyes are irritated by the sea wind." The rat said: "Look at my incisors, I used to have four of them, one is broken, three remain. If thou allowest another woman to take this pot, thou wilt remain in poverty until the end of thy days, I shall not go any more."

The king's second daughter arrived in her father's village. The king said: "That astounds me. I am going to send him my last daughter, it is absolutely necessary for me to find this object."

A week later he put his youngest daughter on board a boat provided with three iron trunks fitted one inside the other.

/284/ Pikinbaya came with his automobile to receive her at the wharf and drove her to his house. They stayed there a week. She said: "Now I am going to leave." Pikinbaya said to her: "You wish to leave?" She said: "What makes you so rich?" He replied: "You want to know what makes me rich?" He took a pistol and killed her point-blank. (Laughs from the audience.) He embalmed the body with camphor. He took it, put it in the first trunk, the first into the second. He fastened a paper on the trunk, saying "What the girl had come to get, she found."

The following week the boat came back to the king's village. The king opened the first trunk, kpwa! The second trunk, kpwa! He opened the last trunk and saw his daughter's corpse with the abdomen open.

Then the king said: "I am dead." He took a pistol and killed himself.

/284 cont./

*539

10) Anansi and the Pretty Woman (summarized)

There was a very pretty and very much desired woman. She used to say to all her suitors: "I shall be yours if you pledge your word, when I am dead, to be buried alive with me under my coffin." Nobody wanted to take that pledge. Anansi, who desired this woman, came to her and said: "I take this pledge, but I too lay down one condition: Whenever I have left a village, I can no longer return there." The woman agreed to this and they lived together.

One day the woman died. They reminded Anansi of the pledge he had taken. There they are on the way to the cemetery, the coffin ahead, Anansi behind, then the village people. Anansi lay down at the bottom of the grave and the coffin was lowered.

Anansi shouted: "You are crushing me, you hurt me, take away that coffin." Surprised, the people lifted the coffin. Then Anansi reminded them of the condition he had laid down: "Whenever I have left a village, I can no longer come back to it." (It must be understood that he had just left the village of the dead.)

He jumped on the edge of the grave and ran away.

11) Anansi and the Unknown Man (summarized)

One day, Anansi was working cutting his clearing. He heard a voice in a neighboring clearing, which shouted: "Who is there?" He said: "It is I, Anansi." The voice continued: "Dost thou want me to help thee?" He said: "Yes!" He saw a man come whom he did not know. The man began to cut the clearing with him.

#539 /284 cont./

They worked thus for some time. Then the man said: "It is time to stop to eat." -- "What shall we eat?" said Anansi. The man replied: "I know only one food: battle. I am going to wrestle with thee."

(It must be understood that this was a bad genie which had taken on the appearance of a man.) /285/

/285/ The man wrestled with Anansi, and as he was much stronger, he threw him to the ground and subdued him. Then, making an iron rod, which was there, red in the fire, he poked it into his anus. Then he went away.

Anansi howled with pain and wept a long time. Then he got up painfully and dragged himself home.

He said to his wife Wénon: "I am tired from cutting the clearing all day long. Tomorrow, it is thou who wilt go to continue the work."

The next day, Wénon was cutting the clearing when she heard a voice which was saying: "Who is there?" She said: "It is I, Wénon." The voice continued: "Dost thou want me to go help thee?" She said: "Yes." She saw a man come whom she did not know. The man began to cut the clearing with her. They worked thus for some time. Then the man said: "It is time to stop to eat." -- "What shall we eat?" said Wénon. The man replied: "I know only one food, battle, I am going to wrestle with thee."

Wénon shouted: "But I am a woman, I cannot wrestle."

The man answered: "Woman or man, it's all the same to me; I want battle." He knocked her down and subdued her. Then, heating the iron rod in the fire, he poked it into her anus.

Wénon howled with pain and wept a long time. Then she got up painfully and dragged herself home.

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12) The Brother, the Sister, and the King (summarized)

There was a brother and sister. They were in the greatest poverty. They went through the country looking for work, until they arrived at the king's home. The king told them: "You are looking for something to live on; I wish to see a little elephant, I have never yet been able to see one. Find one and bring it to me, I shall reward you."

Then the brother said to the sister: "I am going to cover thee with cloth, hide thy head, fasten a rope around thy waist."

This he did, and they went on the road to the king's house.

She turned her back to the king and while her brother held her at the end of a rope, danced, as I shall show you.

[522] (The narrator executes a burlesque dance, bent over double, his back turned toward the spectators who shake with laughter.)

Then the king said: "I don't need to see the front of the elephant, he is too ugly." /: /

/286/ 13) Anansi and the Toclo Partridge

The toclo partridge had made a large clearing. Since she used to go to it by flying, she had made no path for going there. One day Anansi passed by, he saw this clearing in the middle of the uninhabited forest, without any road leading to it. He said; "It is God who has made this clearing for me," and he marked out a wide path from the clearing to his house. The partridge arrived unexpectedly and said to him: "It was I who made this clearing." Anansi said to her: "I do not believe you; if it had been you who made the clearing, there would be a road."

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*539 They went to plead the case before the grand man. Anansi won.

The partridge decided to take revenge. Some time later, she announced that her mother had died, and invited the inhabitants of the forest to dance for the mourning. They came in crowds.

The partridge had had her mother go up into a tree. She pretended to invoke her spirit, saying: "Mother who art in God's country, do something for me, for I am poverty-stricken. Procure for me tafia and provisions for the guests."

She held out her hand and her mother put in it a bottle of tafia which she showed to those present. Then provisions, and everything needed to treat the dancers.

Anansi saw that, and when he went home he said to his mother Bobilanga: "The partridge's mother, who is in heaven, procures for her all that she needs, and thou who art here, thou art of no use to me, thou dost only eat my food." He took a stick and hit his mother, who fell dead.

He assembled the people of the neighborhood to dance the broko dɛ. He invoked the spirit of his mother as he had seen the partridge do. Nothing! He saw nothing come. The people thought he was making fun of them. They threw themselves upon him and struck him. Thus Anansi killed his mother for nothing.

14) Anansi and the Tortoise (summarized)

One day Anansi invited the animals of the forest to a feast. He had put the dishes on a high table. Only the tortoise could not get up to it. Anansi left her on the ground; she departed, furious.

Some time later, the tortoise announced that she was inviting the animals of the forest to a feast. They came in crowds.

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*539 She had placed the table at the bottom of the water. Only Anansi was not able to have access to it, for spiders float on the water (1).

1. This is the only allusion made in this whole series of tales to Anansi as a spider.

Anansi placed in his loincloth a big stone to make himself heavy, and he arrived at the table. The tortoise, who had seen his stratagem, said to the assembled animals: "Before eating, let's undo our belts to be more comfortable."

Anansi, forgetting the stone, undid his belt. The stone fell, and he found himself again floating on the surface of the water. /2 /

/287/ Odo (proverbs, riddles)

Riddles

--I have taken a prisoner. If I cannot tie his hands behind his back, I cannot take him back home.

(It is an iguana lizard; people usually fasten the paws above the head in order to immobilize them.)

--A creek, in it there is only one aïmara (1);

1. Large fish with a massive body.

(It is the mouth, with the tongue.)

--I have a village, in it there are completely white people;

(It is the mouth, with the teeth.)

--I am raising a little dog, he has his tail inside his belly;

(It is the cramanioc, whose tubercule has a hard fiber in the axis.)

/287 cont./

*539 --I have a pot, it cooks uppermost, it does not cook downward;

(It is a pipe.)

--A hole in a hole, fantasia comes out of the hole;

(It is a flute.)

--A post that makes a house;

(It is an umbrella.)

--I cut a path to... far away. Coming back, I see it no longer, everything is blocked.

(It is the wake of a boat.)

Proverbs

You have a sum of money which you like. You take it to buy an object which you will like less.

[454] (Picturesque justification of hoarding which is one of the principle passions of the Refugee Blacks.)

Thou thoughtst thus, but it is not thus that thou camest.

(Thou didst not act according to thy thought.)

I cut a clearing, I take a handful of groundnuts, it fills a chest and a barrel.

(Idea of fertility.)

Pushed and pulled, in what position do you hold yourself erect?

(One must know how to make a definite decision.)

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6:Hurault--458 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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CHAPTER IX

SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ECONOMY OF THE REFUGEE BLACKS. RELATIONS WITH OTHER POPULATIONS

Influence of the Social Institutions and Psychological Tendencies of the Refugee Blacks on Their Material Life and Their Economy

157 182 Certain psychological tendencies of the Refugee Blacks, in part bound up with their moral and religious conceptions and with the historical conditions under which these societies were formed, directly influence their material life in its various aspects: implantation on the ground, agriculture, paid work, trade.

The principal one of these tendencies is individualism, concern for complete material independence.

157 24 31 Influence on agriculture. We have seen that the clearings of the various households issuing from the same kin group were very rarely grouped together. On the contrary, the Refugee Blacks like to disperse their cultivated lands; even in the recently occupied zones where land is not lacking, it happens that one finds isolated clearings in the middle of primary forest more than a kilometer from the riverbank, at the mercy of predatory animals. Ecological conditions, in particular the concern with protection against the manioc-ant, do not explain this dispersion. The Boni recognize that it would be preferable, for fighting the manioc-ant, to group each year all the plantations of one lineage

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157 241 311 in a sector recognized to be undamaged. But objections immediately come to their minds: one would not feel at home, people would be jealous of one another; above all, the children would go pilfering fruit and vegetables in the clearings of other families. The Refugee Blacks are unanimous in thinking that the children of one village put together in a single place would constitute a scourge much worse than the manioc-ant, and that dispersion is the wisest solution for maintaining the peace of families.

562 241 One observes likewise that the total freedom of woman, and the custom which leaves to her /290/ the free disposal of the products of the clearing, contribute toward preventing the development of agriculture with an eye to selling. In order [592] to undertake large clearings farmed jointly by one household, it would be necessary to have very unified and stable households, which is rare.

157 476 Difficulty of grouping for common advantage. The Refugee Blacks are incapable of forming groups voluntarily to undertake the execution of a job with an eye to common advantage. The small groups which get together for fishing, working gold, etc. are formed of intimate friends or near relatives and are hardly larger than four or five persons.

157 454 The Refugee Blacks are still less capable of grouping themselves into societies looking toward future benefits. Putting a part of their resources into a common pot with that of another seems to them not only illusory but immoral. Because of this fact there exists among them no way to group financial assets, sometimes good-sized.

426 Lending without interest is practiced rather commonly, having to do with small sums between near relatives or intimate friends. If a man feels capable of earning his living by buying a motor, he will succeed rather easily in finding the necessary money by borrowing from his brothers or friends, 10,000 francs

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426 here, 5,000 there. But these loans are never large and do not constitute an effective process for grouping financial assets.

157 525 The so-called subscription societies so common in Black Africa are totally contrary to the thinking of the Refugee Blacks, in the same way as games of chance. In 1958 the Maripasoula post, on the occasion of a festival, had organized a tombola. When the principle of it was explained to the Boni, they were unanimous in thinking that the Europeans had odd amusements. Few of them agreed to buy tickets, and the ones who had not won anything left embittered, with the feeling of having been involved in an immoral operation.

157 571 High esteem attached to contracts. This inaptitude for forming groups and combining assets contributes very much toward crystallizing the society of the Refugee Blacks in its present form by opposing all large-scale initiative. On the other hand, 157 577 it develops the sense of personal responsibility. The Refugee Blacks are especially strict with respect to money (1). 426

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1. This with regard to their mutual relations; as for debts to Europeans, they are not prompt in paying them back; but marked deception, borrowing done for the purpose of swindling, are very rare with the Refugee Blacks.

[829] Custom lays down as a strict principle that everything must be paid for. No one may live at the expense of someone [613] else, no one may borrow without paying back. If a man died before repaying a debt, the members of his lineage would club together to pay it off.

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695 The Refugee Blacks have a sense of contract to a high
461 degree, and they bring /291/ to the execution of work to which
157 they have committed themselves qualities of seriousness, initiative, and a sense of duty not found to the same degree in Black Africa.

157 Refusal of any lasting commitment. If the Refugee Blacks honor
671 their contracts, they do not like to commit themselves for a
571 long period.

This attitude results from their desire for independence, but also from the moral and religious law which governs their society.

This law forbids infringing on the liberty of persons, humiliating anyone, and doing anything which might be able to plunge him into anger or affliction. Its effect is to prevent any exploitation of the weak, any creation of a servant or proletarian caste. It even leads to the absence of any permanent subordination of one man to another.

[466] The desire for independence of the Refugee Blacks makes them unwilling to bind themselves definitively to a job, however profitable. When a man judges that he has put aside sufficient savings, he leaves the job which furnished him with these resources.

[464] This tendency makes the search for paid work much more difficult and hazardous; it happens that a man may stay for years without finding gainful work, living in straitened circumstances. But that is the price of independence, and it is accepted without hesitation.

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159 Wishing to take advantage of all the possibilities which
464 turn up, the Refugee Blacks are led to learn simultaneously the
463 traditional techniques of their group, boating, boat-building, felling of trees, squaring of wood, and /building/ framework. In these techniques they may be considered specialized workers.

Proud of their strength and knowledge, sure of themselves,
159 the Refugee Blacks are never worried about the future and con-
812 sider life as an exciting adventure, ceaselessly bringing new things. If the past year has been bad, the new year will be better, with God's help. Nobody doubts that he will find gainful work again.

152 Influence of jealousy: absence of specialized professions and
182 trade. Another strong psychological tendency having a direct influence on the economy is jealousy.

152 The effect of jealousy, and the fear of jealousy, is to
828 limit enrichment and to maintain a de facto equality: it often
556 happens that talented people forego undertaking profitable work
953 in order not to give occasion for the jealousy which would render
999 their position in the village difficult and might draw misfortunes upon them; for people have the idea that jealousy draws down illnesses and calamities upon him who is the object of it and on his near relatives, by the action of a natural force, even without sorcery being formulated.

954 Fear of sorcery interferes in the same way; one who be-
556 comes unusually rich is almost inevitably accused of being a
441 sorcerer and may be obliged to leave the country. Particularly
829 vulnerable are those, very rare, who engage in trade. People do not suspect of sorcery a man who is seen to become rich by /292/ working ceaselessly. But the trader whose wealth increases without his furnishing obvious work, is quickly regarded as a "committed one," accused of having his good luck as a result of a pact with the devil.

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754 In that can doubtless be seen the most likely explanation
522 of the absence, in the tribes of Refugee Blacks, of any internal
441 trade. There are not even markets in the villages. In practice
438 only Creole and Asian traders are patronized.
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463 The repugnance which the Refugee Blacks have for trad-
829 ing with one another contributes toward preventing the develop-
[438] ment of specialized professions among them. Specialization
does actually exist: one man is particularly good at building
boats, another is a competent carpenter, still another devotes
himself mainly to fishing; but the Refugee Blacks exercise these
specialties with respect to other peoples and not with respect
to one another. Nobody fails to build his own boat, his house,
to cut his clearings himself. If it were otherwise, classes and
castes would rapidly be created, and that is precisely what the
463 moral law of the Refugee Blacks condemns. A special effect
829 of this conception is to preserve family custom from deteriorating,
593 by preventing the rich from becoming great polygamists main-
182 taining idle mistresses. We have never heard it said that a
461 richer man paid someone to perform for him the customary work
he owes to his wives, clearings, house, boat. Whatever his
wealth may be, he continues to do these jobs by the sweat of
his brow, and that contributes toward maintaining in its mean-
ing and value the tacit contract concluded between husband and
wife.

182 Thus the geographic conditions, associated with in-
157 fluences of a social and psychological order, impose on the
433 Refugee Blacks a unique economy, based on a symbiosis with
648 the coast populations in the form of piece-work or temporary
wage-earning.

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Relations with the Other Populations

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The tribes of Refugee Blacks do not constitute a closed world. They have lived since their formation in close symbiosis with the neighboring populations: autochthonous Indians, Europeans, and Creoles. Their traditions and their conception of life have been strongly influenced by these, not because they have lost anything of their interior unity, but because they have accepted, at least collectively, the idea that they have bonds and duties toward other men.

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Just as their economy on the material plane is based on exchange, so they consider the symbiosis of their group with the neighboring groups as the normal order of the universe. The misfortunes undergone by their ancestors have given them an extreme horror of violence; they consider peace a precious blessing common to all nations, and their moral principles which forbid harming anyone extend to all men. It is clear that these notions are less clearly understood on the individual level and that there are, as elsewhere, some thefts and abuses of trust. But, on /293/ the collective level, the relations between the Refugee Blacks and their neighbors are established on a base of trust, loyalty, and honesty not found to the same degree in Africa.

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Relations with the other tribes. The Boni do not have any well-defined political ties with the other tribes of Refugee Blacks, but the grand men have semiofficial relations through the medium of messengers, and consult one another rather frequently.

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The Boni have harbored a tenacious resentment against the Djuka for having in former times allied themselves with the Dutch against them, but this resentment, chiefly collective in nature, has died down with time; it does not prevent individual relations from being cordial.

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619 829 The Saramaka are very highly esteemed everywhere, for it is unanimously assumed that their magic is stronger, their techniques more perfected, than those of the other tribes.

175 648 Relations with the Indians. The relations between the Boni and the Oayana Indians are extremely curious and interesting. They were probably established from the end of the 18th century on. Several writers have stated that Boni and Indians fought each other for a long time; the examination we made of authentic archive documents, unfortunately few in number, capable of throwing light on the history of the Maroni, does not confirm this hypothesis (1). One can think on the contrary that symbiotic

175 726 1. The only combats pointed out took place about 1840 between the Boni and the Wayakulé "Oyaricoulets" Indians, a very primitive tribe who lived on the Oulémari and was itself at war with the Oayana.

175 648 727 The Boni were certainly already allied with the Oayana at the time of the battles on the Maroni in 1793, since after their defeat the survivors, grouped around Agosu son of Boni, took refuge on the Maruini River which they went up as far as the region of its sources, where nobody could catch up with them. Now it was precisely there that the Oayana Indians were living at the end of the 18th century. They would not have tried this maneuver if they had not had the certainty of finding refuge

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175 648 727 with their allies. The sites of their villages, marked on Condreau's map (1888) are in immediate proximity to those of former Oayana villages.

175 648 [643] relations must have been created rapidly and in a very natural fashion. The grand man of the Boni is in a way the suzerain of the Indian chiefs; this situation was not imposed by force; it results from the privileged situation of the Boni on the river, which until recent times obliged the Indians to deal through them in order to trade with the outside world.

Although the Boni took advantage of this situation in days gone by to impose arbitrary rates of exchange upon the Indians, this relation must not be imagined as the exploitation of conquered by conqueror. It is based on the absolute respect of each 648 829 group for the beliefs and social structure of the other, and an activity for each befitting its inclination. The proverb says: [439] "To the Boni the river, to the Indians the forest." Thus it is that the Boni traditionally buy arrows from the Indians, while the latter buy paddles from them; the meaning of this symobl is perfectly understood by both.

648 582 Marriages between the two groups, without being forbidden, are regarded as contrary to custom (2).

159 156 643 648 582 2. The marriage of Grand Man Awensay to an Indian woman about 1915 was inspired by complex motives. Toward the end of his life, Awensay could no longer stand the Boni, his imperious personality putting up badly with their individualism and their taste for discussion. He had established the Indian country a farming habitation in which he lived nearly all

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year; by taking an Indian woman as his wife he apparently sought to humiliate his subjects.

Awensay's children and grandchildren were all dead in 1957 except for two women, both sterile. There has been no other case of marriage between Boni and Indians.

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439 /294/ In practice, the basis for commercial exchanges is the following: the Indians furnish hammocks, and above all dogs trained for hunting, to which great value is attached. The Boni furnish boats. In days gone by they also brought imported objects, machetes, axes, and beads, but this form of trade has disappeared since the Indians have had the possibility of getting supplies from the Europeans.

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Several observers, coming after Coudreau (1890) and Grébert (1937) in particular, have expressed the opinion that these relations were founded on fear and that the Boni, utilizing mysterious means of pressure, used to oppress the Indians.

After seven missions spent in contact with both, we affirm that these assertions are without foundation. On the contrary, one can only admire the way in which these primitive groups have been able to create loyal and trusting relations with one another. The Indians and Boni who have worked with us have always shown themselves happy to be together. To realize this, it was sufficient to hear the animated conversations they used to have in the evening around the campfires about their respective families, the events which took place in their villages, fishing, or hunting.

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618 It seems that in these relations, both bring more patience and tolerance to bear than toward the people of their own group. It is excessively rare to see disputes arise between Indians and Boni, when there sometimes are some within each group.

186 The feelings which the Boni have toward the Indians are complex: they feel superior in physical strength, effectiveness, and organization; they make fun of the Indians' puerile eagerness for beads and jewelry, of the begging attitude of certain ones among them. But they admire them for their cleverness, their intimate knowledge of the forest, and fear them for the supernatural powers they attribute to them. Sure of themselves, fearing nothing from the bush, never getting lost, unrivalled hunters and fishermen, the Indians appear to them to be endowed with unique faculties which other men do not possess. We have happened to hear in camp reflections such as this: "It is going to rain, the Indians are making thacks."

829 The Boni feel an intense fear of Indian magic. Not one
152 of them would dare to seriously displease an Indian, and even if he feels he has been wronged, in most cases he will not dare complain (1).

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1. In the search for the magic causes of death, it happens that divination may incriminate the action of an Indian medicine man. In such a case the legal action of the Boni is extinguished, for the principle is that the Indian medicine man does not hurt anyone without a reason. It is considered that the deceased must have gravely injured him and that he deserved his fate.

/294 cont. /

648 A picturesque incident once more showed us this attitude in the course /295/ of a circuit on the Litani in 1962. When [262] we passed through AloTké village, our four Boni boatmen, who had killed some coumarou, had prepared a very appetizing dish for themselves; they had scarcely begun to eat when several Indians arrived unexpectedly who joined in the conversation, sat down beside them, then began to dip their spoons into the pot. Other Indians came and, continuing to talk things over deliberately and without hurrying, came and took their share of the feast. The Boni were progressively pushed back to the [152] second row and finally gave up. Three of them laughed about [127] this incident which was familiar to them; the fourth was furious but he did not dare say anything, for, said he to us, if he struck the Indians as he wanted to, he risked being bewitched.

648 In truth, what is the nature of the authority that the grand 643 man of the Boni is supposed to exercise over the Indians? Does it involve precise obligations, a tribute, vexatious measures? Not in the least: it is reduced nowadays to two things:

--The principle of the obedience of the Indian village heads to the person of the grand man;

--The interdiction of transport by boat in the Boni fashion.

One can only approve of this interdiction which protects the Indians more than it harms them. As for the personal influence of Grand Man Difu, it is extremely favorable; he has a profound knowledge of the language and customs of the Indians, toward whom he has always exhibited an interest and sympathy which are certainly sincere. When, during the ceremonies at the fraga tiki, he appeals to the ancestors to ask them to watch over the Boni, he does not fail to add: gaã yɔɔka, de mu luku de lligi: Ancestors, watch over the Indians.

648 It is also said of the Boni that they are interested in the Indians only in order to traffic with them. Even if that were true -- we have shown how inexact this assertion was -- we should hold all the same that it is much less dangerous for the

/295 cont./

648 Indians to trade with them than with the Europeans and Creoles; the Boni are a graded society in which things tend to take place according to well-defined norms. It suffices to compare the Oayana Indians, who have kept the essentials of their civilization, with the Indians of the Oyapok to be convinced that the Boni have protected the former much more than they have oppressed them.

[164] Relations with the Creoles. The Boni are in constant contact with Creole gold miners and traders, for the benefit of whom they carry out many kinds of work (boating, tree-felling, con-
[191] [829] struction). Most of them speak the Creole dialect very well and are well informed on the Creole type of life.

On the whole, relations between the two groups are good.
[829] On the Upper Maroni, it is mainly a matter of Creoles of African blood, who have come from the British West Indies, whom the Boni do not consider to be extremely different from themselves. Many have been settled there for a very long time, and individual friendships have become established; yet the two groups have not the least tendency to merge. /295 4

/296/ The Creoles have only scorn for the civilization of the Refugee Blacks, which reminds them of a detested African past. They have a feeling of superiority and do not cease exhorting the Boni to adopt their clothing and way of life.

829 The feelings that the Boni have toward the Creoles are complex; they clearly perceive that the activity of the gold miners is artificial and that isolated people are incapable of living by their own efforts in the midst of this pitiless forest. When they have become old and sick, the gold miners experience the worst distress and literally die of hunger until they are
888 evacuated to the hospice of Saint Laurent. Among the Refugee Blacks, old men are assured of a decent life in the midst of the members of their lineage, who surround them with affectionate respect.

/296 cont./

888 This is a point of view which has great importance in the
829 eyes of the Boni, for whom finishing one's days at the hospice or being reduced to asking for the help of outsiders constitutes the worst downfall.

829 They fear, moreover, as we have shown, Creole magic which they liken to a form of wisi.

On the other hand, they are impressed by the attainments of the Creoles, the real spirit of initiative and the strong personality of some of them; moreover, the Boni who have been to Cayenne have noticed the solicitude of the administration
829 with respect to the population of the communes. For all these
177 reasons there exists among the Boni a certain body of opinion
178 in favor of creolization. But the very unique type of life of the
[114] Boni and their desire to keep their special customs attach them to their ancestral form of life; about 1890 the explorer Coudreau, observing the same facts, was predicting imminent creolization of the Boni. In fact, this did not happen, and it is unlikely to.

648 Traditional relations with Europeans. The Refugee Blacks con-
464 stitute an important element in the economic life of the Guianas; on behalf of the administration and European enterprises they perform many jobs (boating, wood-floating, tree-felling).
648 They are not well adapted to other kinds of work, but in these
461 activities which fit with their traditional mode of life they are
[465] equal if not superior to any labor. Very highly paid, they work with speed, effectiveness, and intelligence, exhibiting an initiative and sense of duty not commonly found in Africans(1).

[177]

1. It is to be noted that if they stop leading their traditional kind of life, for example if they settle permanently near European establishments, they rapidly lose these qualities.

/296 cont./

648 So relations between the Europeans and Refugee Blacks have nothing in common with what one observes in Africa: one notes their faults without indulgence, but one admires them for their strong personality, their art, and their techniques, and one bears an esteem for them which is not feigned.

829 The Refugee Blacks feel neither hate nor jealousy toward Europeans. This /297/ may surprise one at first, for they have had to put up with cruel wars fought against them, which have left a precise memory with them; but the explanation is simple: the Boni have no hate because their life is happy, and they have no jealousy because they do not try to imitate the Europeans and are satisfied with their own civilization.

193 186 On this subject it will be noted that the Refugee Blacks recall the time of slavery without shame and without any inferiority complex; this is simply because they do not have the feeling of being the descendants of slaves; they feel themselves to be the descendants of warriors who imposed their independence by force of arms; the Djuka, exaggerating to themselves the scope of the successes won by their ancestors, even have a certain superiority complex. Proud of their ancestors, the Refugee Blacks do not feel in any way inferior to the white man and behave toward him as equal to equal.

648 084 The Boni, like the Djuka and the Saramaka in Surinam, live under a de facto regime which is equivalent to internal autonomy. This regime was instituted for the Boni from their first contact with the French administration in 1861; it has always been associated with perfect loyalty.

The French administration, which until recent times did not have any permanent establishments in the interior of the country, has never tried to interfere with the interior functioning of the tribes which went on and still goes on according to their own law. The Refugee Blacks have thus been spared that hybrid jurisdiction, applying a customary law altered by European ideas,

/297 cont. /

648 which in Black Africa has so powerfully contributed toward the destruction of traditional structures.

[829] Truth to tell, the problem was simpler, for the conceptions of the Refugee Blacks, involving no form of oppression of individuals and assuming the right of the woman to self-determination, reduce to the vanishing point the sources of disputes between individuals and groups.

[162] In 1946 the administrative post of Maripasoula was created, near the confluence of the Lawa and the Inini. Since that time, the gendarmerie has administered to the satisfaction of all and without any incident a heterogeneous population of 2,000 persons, gold miners, Refugee Blacks, and Indians, scattered over [743] a vast territory. The medical post created at Maripasoula in 1949 is very much frequented by the Boni and performs an extremely useful function on the psychological as well as on the social level.

The relations of the various groups give rise to very small frictions, one with another, but the Refugee Blacks never give occasion for intervention in the internal affairs of their groups. [505] Respectful of the administration, they carry out punctually their commitments to their employers, insuring all the transport on the river according to a modus vivendi established for a long time (1).

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On this subject it is to be noted that disagreeable incidents occur each time the Boni deal with inexperienced travelers who do not know the customs of the river or do not wish to apply them. In a general way the Refugee Blacks, of their own accord respectful of anyone who comes to do a useful job, loathe tourists; they cannot stand being photographed or observed like queer animals.

/298/

648 Never do they appeal to the courts to settle their differences, still less their family quarrels; never do they beg for help.

829 The Europeans' material superiority does not impress them: the whites are more able in mechanics, but they are more able in magic, that is all. The efficacy of European medicine does [758] not shake their convictions: if someone has reasons to believe himself victim of the anger of a gadu, he begins by making the sacrifices intended to appease it, then asks it for authorization to have himself cared for by the whites. Personally we have [123] never done anything to disabuse the Boni of this idea which [753] satisfies at the same time the requirements of medicine and those of social discipline, for it must not be forgotten that for them 177 sickness is punishment for an offense. Thus one sees that unless it is deliberately brought to bear against tradition and against the leaders, the influence of Europeans is without appreciable effect on the civilization of the Refugee Blacks. It is no longer the same when contacts become too frequent, tend to alter drastically the way of life, and especially when these influences become openly "civilizing."

178 The Future of the Refugee Blacks

Obliged to solve all the problems of life by their own means, the Refugee Blacks have been able to adapt with intelligence to the evolution of the modern world, and their custom has kept all its vigor and effectiveness. Their future would not 648 seem to be threatened if a wave of opinion had not come to the surface these past years, in French Guiana as well as in Surinam, to destroy their civilization, deemed primitive and barbarous, and to fuse them into the population of the coast. This result would be obtained in particular by schooling and evangelization.

/298 cont./

114 Here desirous of remaining on the plane of strict scientific objectivity, we shall avoid entering the discussion of the benefit springing from this action, which, moreover, would necessitate a long development. We shall limit ourselves to showing that it appears to us to be doomed to failure.

871 --The experiment of schooling has been made for more
177 than 30 years among the Boni in the village of Kotika. Half a dozen children, doing well in their studies, left for Surinam and broke with their native group. In the others, the teaching received left only faint traces. As a matter of fact, there is no room in a normal intelligence to receive at the same time the mass of technical knowledge necessary for holding one's own in the society of the Refugee Blacks and ordinary school in-
[829] struction. One necessarily drives out the other; now the Boni are extremely fond of their free life on the great river, which assures them very satisfactory material conditions of living.

797 --Evangelization has been carried on with perseverance
177 for more than 200 years with the Refugee Blacks of Surinam. It has not given appreciable results. It has been the same in
184 French Guiana with the action carried on with the Saramaka working /299/ near the communes of the coast (1), and more

[648] 1. The Saramaka not only have no tendency to be converted, but they exert a significant influence on the population of the communes. On
[756] the Oyapok the Saramaka healer
[787] has numerous clients, and in spite of the clergy's interdiction, many women go to the possession dances of the Papa gudu serpent gods.

recently with the Boni of the Upper Maroni.

/299 cont./

791 The Boni, as we have shown, do not feel that they are pagans. They think they worship the same god as the Christians, in a different way but just as valid; they feel that their moral principles are not inferior to those of the Christians, that they are expressed in practice by the same prescriptions and are in fact better obeyed(2).

[828]

2. We report here faithfully the point of view of those concerned without making any judgment of its worth; let us recall that their principles of living do not assume any moral conscience in the individual and rest entirely upon the fear of material punishments in the present life. But even this base gives them great practical effectiveness.

829 Only in their conception of their kinship and the family, in the absence of family life based on the indissolubly united couple, do they recognize that they live under another law. But they do not fail to notice that the populations of the Guianas who profess Christianity hardly put it into practice in their family life: the stability of marriages is appreciably greater among the Refugee Blacks.

787 776 828 As for the cults of possession, the Boni feel that they worship de facto entities whose existence appears as tangible to them as light or weight to us. These ideas are bound up with a characteristic way of perceiving, touching deep zones of the mind which reasoning does not reach (3).

171 177 787

3. Actually, it is observed in Black Africa that where cults

/299 cont./

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of possession exist, the populations are particularly impermeable to Christian influence. Apparently destroyed, these cults soon reappear in another form, sometimes in Christian guise (possession by the saints).

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Let us add that one of the great strengths of the custom of the Refugee Blacks is the privileged position it gives to the woman. Women, shielded from the direct influence of Europeans and Creoles, and besides practically inaccessible to all reasoning, are hostile to changes which would infringe on their privileges. Now it is they, in fact, who have the education of the children in their hands.

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Thus it does not appear possible to "assimilate" these populations by destroying their original culture. The attempts inspired by fanaticism for civilizing will have as their only result its impoverishment, pushing the Refugee Blacks to dissimulate their beliefs, to abandon their art, costume, songs, and dances, all that makes up their joy in living. But the social structure based on the fear of ancestors and gods could be destroyed only by violence. We may hope that nobody thinks of coming to that.

114

As for us who have lived a long time in the midst of the Refugee Blacks, we feel a deep esteem for them. By their historic past, the originality of the customs they have developed, the good relations they have been able to create with the other populations, they have proved their creative abilities; they deserve to be allowed to evolve in their own way. /blank page/

6:Hurault--478 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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APPENDIX

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TABLE OF THE POPULATION OF THE BONI VILLAGES

as of January 1, 1958, arranged in alphabetical order

Classification. The classification of the population has been made by village of residence.

For each woman, we have indicated her successive unions and the children issuing from them. The sign † means deceased, the sign ⊥, divorce. The sign ⊥ † means that the husband is dead, but after the break-up of the union.

The women's listings preceded by an asterisk * indicate that the listing may be regarded as complete from the demographic point of view (children living and deceased).

A double asterisk ** indicates that the listing can in addition be regarded as complete from the point of view of successive marriages and divorces.

The name of each individual is printed in boldface once only, where he may be considered as residing habitually. The total of the names in boldface gives immediately the population figure for the village.

Children under 15 years are considered to be living with the persons responsible for their education. If details about this could not be obtained, they are considered to be living with their mothers.

Each listing bears a number, for example Dju D7, permitting one to find the place of the individual in the genealogical table. In the example indicated, reference must be made to the table of the Dju lo, line D, no. 7.

Let us recall that part of the names have been replaced, by request of those concerned, by fictitious names.

/302/ VILLAGE BONIVELLE

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Abbrev.: SAR. = SARAMAKA
PAR. = PARAMAKA

** ○ Abomdhi 1925 Dip. I, F81
mo. Bélli †
fa. Pantó †

1st hus. A... (SAR.)
○ K... 1945, raised by ○ Sumé, sis. of Bélli †, in village l'Enfant Perdu

2d hus. M... (SAR.)
△ A... 1951, raised by the grand man Difu
○ M... 1954, raised by her mother

raising △ P... 1948, mo. Mato (Dip I, village l'Enfant Perdu)

** ○ Ashibi 1909 K3, E140
mo. Lémiki
fa. Tabiki †

1st hus. Pwen (L1, E33, village Loka) +

2d hus. Namlodé (K1, D7, village Kotika)
○ Marta 1923
○ Sonta 1926
△ E . 1946, raised by his mother

raising ○ M... 1954, daughter of Sonto

declares no children 1st

△ Adyuku 1935 L2, F72
mo. Tèdeu
fa. S... (SAR.) † raised by his mother

○ Aiko 1935 K3, E147
mo. Lémiki
fa. Tabiki † raised by her mother

hus. Dudu (P1, F16, village Papaïton)
○ K... 1952, raised by her mother
○ R... Sept. 58

** ○ Aliugi 1902 K3, D120
mo. Afo † -- Ben †
fa. Anthé † (L)

1st Tandon (Aw. B.) †
△ † A... 1928-1939

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*621

○ Wawey 1904
child † dead in a few days 1907
child † dead in a few days 1911

2d hus. Bayumati (Dip. I, E35, village l'Enfant Perdu)
○ † C... 1914-1934
△ Aondum 1916
△ Bentti 1921
△ Atanga 1926
† child dead in a few days 1930
○ † S... 1928-1946

not remarried
raising △ B... 1948, mo. Koba, village Loka

△ Ahanga 1926 K2, E154
mo. Afingi
fa. Bayumati (Dip. I) raised by his mother

△ Akpahki 1934 K3, E144
mo. Lamiki
fa. Tabiki † raised by his mother

** ○ Ahanni 1900 P1, F34
mo. Abanya †
fa.
1st hus. D... (PAR.) +
△ Bokiki 1924
2d hus. A... (DJUKA) +
△ D... † 1935-1955
△ Hanga 1938
3d hus. Mbamnole (K1, D43, Bonville) + 1956
△ W... 1960

△ Aibi 1936 Djo, G13
mo. Eliana
fa. Matapi (Aw. B.)

△ Aiboki 1930 Dip. I, F5
mo. Way †
fa. Tabiki † (Aw. B.) raised by his mother

△ Aiboko 1940 P1, G27
mo. Pidni
fa. Mumti raised by his mother

△ Amahki 1928 L2, F71
mo. Tirion
fa. S... (SAR.) raised by his father

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*621

** Amanbiki 1935 Dip. I, F7
mo. Way †
fa. Kanai (F) † raised by her mother

hus. W... (SAR.) since 1961
△ F... 1962
○ E... 1965
○ E... Nov. 1967

△ Amatadja 1932 L2, F82
mo. Ambundu (L)
fa. A... (SAR.) † raised by Téněa, his mo.'s sis., in Bonville

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** ○ Amikiman 1917 Puti lineage. (DJUKA origin)
mo. Paata
fa. A... (DJUKA) † raised by her mother

1st hus. Aminbié (L2, F70, village Loka) †
△ Sokudo 1940 ; raised by their mother
○ Máde 1942 ↓
○ † at 4 mos. 1944
○ A... 1945, raised by Paata

2d hus. Hébimoa † (Dja)

3d hus. A... (SAR.) † in 1955
△ E... June 1955
not remarried end of 1957

** ○ Aplada 1923 Pl. O96
mo. Alibo † ← Abenya †
fa.

1st hus. A... †
○ A... 1942, raised by her mother
△ A... 1945 — —
○ † at two years 1947-1949

2d hus. Amatadja (L 2, F 83, Bonville)
○ A... 1948, raised by Asakundu, mo. of her fa., in village Loka
○ E... 1951, raised by her mother
△ E... 1954 — —
○ F... 1956 — —

△ Amdam 1916 K 3, E 152
mo. Afdagi
fa. Bayamali (Dip. 1) raised by his father

△ Aelbéjé 1935 Pl, G 95
mo. Alibo † ← Abenya †
fa. raised by his mother

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○ Amoni 1930 Dip. I, F2
mo. Mengo †
fa. Bawendie (K, living at Anni-Djo)
status Numerous divorces, irregular life

△ Antigoy 1937 L9, F73
mo. Tinim
fa. S... (SAR.) † raised by his mother

○ Ankel 1900 K1, E37
mo. Boboy
fa. Amoempé (Aw. B.)
irregular life, numerous divorces

last hus. Stefanoma, (K2, E145, Bushville)

△ Bada 1900 L5, E50
mo. Alili †
fa.

** ○ Bada 1915 Dep. I, F1
mo. Mengo †
fa. S... (DJUKA) † raised by her mother
1st hus. Alibiddi (Im. Ali) † 1949
2d hus. C... (SAR.) +
3d hus. D... (Surinamese)
status prostitute, lived for a long time with the Creoles in Macipasoe?

△ Bakuba 1941 K3, E140
mo. Lémiki
fa. Tabiki † raised by Tabiki, then upon the latter's death by Lémiki

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△ Bonn 1930 K2, E180
mo. Bonne †
fa. raised by Mimi, his sis. by the same mo.

△ Bimam 1919 F1, G61
mo. Wiki <- Dunai †
fa. Aso (SAR.) raised by his mother
mating △ T... 1948, mo.? (village Loko)

△ Bokoli 1921 F1, G30
mo. Alamai
fa. D... (PAR.) raised by Dunai † (F1, F70), old woman of his mo.-'s lineage

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*621

△ Bani 1921 K3, K120
mo. Adingi
fa. Bayanati (Dja. I) raised by his sister Wawey

△ Bokanza 1909 P1, P28
mo. Abenya ?
fa. Nali ?
last head of a fraction of the Papelinou (Kavina) lineage, established in the village of Pan Mofu, a little downstream from Bonivilles; abandoned since 1945 (?) because of sickness and a fall in the birthrate

○ Gbelle 1910 Dja. I, E9
mo. Nonlin ?
fa.
1st hus. N... (DJUKA)
? child dead in a few days 1937
several divorces, irregular life
hus. L... (DJUKA) since 1952

** ○ Chinu 1929 Pati lineage, Djula origin
mo. Pasta
fa. Abani ? raised by her mother
1st hus. Bonlé + 1951
2d hus. Bonhomme (Aw. B.) + 1955
3d hus. Pilipili (Aw. B. I, F2)
sterile

△ Bila 1909 Dhan
mo. Adyuba ?
fa.
grand man of the Bani
raising △ A... 1951, mo. Nato, & △ I... 1947, mo. Asantse

△ Dubaya 1923 Dja. I, F12
mo. Dilli ?
fa. Pasta ? (I. Dhan) raised by his father

△ Dani 1930 Dja. G13
mo. Ehuan ← Dinili
fa. Natapi raised by his grandmother Dinili ?

△ Dyubain 1930 Dja. I, E4
mo. Nonlin ?
fa.

** ○ Ehuan 1934 Dja. F8
mo. Dinili ?
fa. Nalolé raised by her mother

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*(21)

1st hus. Matagi (lin. A8, c2) +
△ Alika 1936
△ Doni 1939
○ Agubo 1941

2d hus. N... (village Papaikou)
△ A... 1948, raised by his father
○ S... 1947, raised by Kukina, sister of Eliana
○ E...
△ A... 1949
△ † S... 1951-1952
△ B... 1954
△ E... 1956
raised by Eliana

○ Eliana 1941 K3, E140
mo. Lémiki
fa. Sandali † raised by her mother

△ Pietanza 1936 Dju, F6
mo. Bénili †
fa. Malobi raised by his father's mother

△ Gaduale 1938 Pl, G64
mo. Wéili (lives in Hermina)
fa. Aza (SAM.) raised by his mother

△ Kalluma 1935 Poti lineage (DJUKA origin)
mo. Pauta
fa. A... (DJUKA) † raised by his mother

△ Ekimanli 1911 Dju, F7
mo. Bénili †
fa. Malobi raised by his mother

** ○ Kalina 1937 Dju, F9
mo. Bénili †
fa. Malobi raised by her mother
1st hus. Tanu (L1, F32, village Loka) +
2d hus. Antalin (Lepé)
sterile
raising her niece S..., mo. Eliana, and her niece K..., mo. Bélkom

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△ Léhman 1940 (K) K3, D132
mo. Adaudu †
fa.
raising △ K... 1952, mo. Kama (village Lepé T.)

○ Lémiki 1940 ? K3, D130
mo. Adaudu † ← Bau †
fa.
1st hus. Tabiki (Aw. B. 1, E45, village Loka) †

/[illegible]/

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*/21

○ Ambiku 1909
△ Leto 1914.
○ Bada †
△ Akyinki 1924

2d hus. Nowa (Dip. I, E1, Boniville) +
△ Bakamoun 1929

3d hus. Tabiki (again) † in 1966
○ Moko 1931
○ Adiki 1933
△ Bokoko
○ Ellen 1941 } raised by their mother

Not answer. Raising △ A... 1946 mn. Bada †
Civil incomplete. Refused to answer concerning her deceased children

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** ○ Lisian 1909 K2, F89
mo. Kaia
fa. Bedi
hus. Manko (Dip. I, F76, village l'Enfant Perdu)
sterile

** ○ Lipa 1920 K2, E50
Mo. Kamina
fa. M... (DJUKA)
1st hus. Alimin (Aw. B. I, E40, village Aniki) + in 1943
○ † 1950-1960, died at 2 yrs.
2nd hus. Z... (SAFL)

was raised by Kara. Kamina's sister in the classificatory sense, then after the death of Kara, by the latter's son. Tado

---

** ○ Lemi 1926 L2, F74
Mo. Tinina
fa. S... (SAFL) †
clandestine
Kisses with Amokon (K2, E34, Boniville) + 1955
△ E... 1956 raised by Tinina
1st hus. Philipii (Aw. B. I, F2, village Aniki) + in 1957
2d hus. Daisy (K2, F97, village Kotika)

raised by her mother

△ Leto 1914 K3, E142
Mo. Lémiki
fa. Tabiki

raised by his father

△ Bokiko 1927 K2, E80
Mo. Ambulo †
fa. ? (SAFL)

---

* ○ Bisia 1931 K3, E146
mo. Lémiki
fa. Tabiki (Aw. B.) †

[illegible] K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 [illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Boni

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hus. Amadi (K3, F71, Boniville)
○ K... 1949
○ L... 1952
△ dead in a few days 1952
○ A... 1954
○ A... July 1957

△ Bakolamdi 1920 K3, F130
mo. Wawey ← Alingi
fa. Semé (L)

** ○ Hanaya 1919
dau. of grand mon Awesany † and an Indian woman raised by her father
hus. Tolinga (P1, E11, village Papaiston) since 1936 + & 1957
no children

** ○ Bheda 1906 Djo, F11
mo. Bdaki †
fa. Makéki raised by ○ Akiki (Djo, E22) in village of Boini
1st hus. Alingoey (K2, E97, village Kotika) + in 1953
○ K... 1916, raised by her mother
○ A... 1920 id.
2d hus. Bamin (F) + 1956
△ A... 1949

** ○ Bheda 1920 K3, E140
mo. Ashiki
fa. Numbado (K) raised by her mother
hus. Dodoye (Djo. I, F88, Boniville)
○ A... 1951

△ Bhemadu 1911 K1, D48
mo. Sano †
fa. † (DJUKA) raised by his mother

○ Bhiki 1941 Poci lineage (DJUKA origin)
mo. Ajadikwan
fa. Amimbé raised by her mother
marr. to Tembo (K3, F120, Boniville) 1957

** ○ Bhiwi 1919 K3, E158
mo. Bassa †
fa.
hus. Fintinan (Djo, F4, Boniville) since 1931
○ W... 1945, raised by ○ Bakoso in village Loka
† stillborn child 1948
raising ○ S... 1945, mo. A... (Kotika)

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*621

△ Bosopé 1927 Pati lineage (DJUKA origin)
mo. Pasia
fa. A... (DJUKA) † raised by his mother

△ Bosopé 1930 P1, G33
mo. Abeani
fa. (DJUKA)

△ Boli 1928 Dip. 1, F93
mo. Boli †
fa. Pasiá † raised by his father

○ Pasia 1896 Pati lineage (DJUKA origin)
Mo. DJUKA... fa Dikan
fa. Oshi †
1st hus. A... (DJUKA) †
○ Amélivwa 1918
△ Kalivwa 1924
1 child dead at 3 yrs.?
○ Chinu 1930
△ Bosopé 1927
3d hus. Semii (L1, E32, village Loko) ✝ Pasia is the dau. of a Djuka woman, wife of grand man Oshi †, lived in Benitville
3d hus. Abani †
4th hus. Zawi ✝
raising○ A... 1945, mo.Amélivwa.
card incomplete

○ Pilai 1902 P1, F34
mo. Abaiya †
fa.
1st hus. Mensi (K) ✝
△ Aldale 1940, raised by his mother
○ dau.† æ: 5 yrs.
△ K... 1946, raised by his mother
2d hus. B... (DKUJA) ✝ in 1932
3d hus. H... (K) ✝
not remarried
card incomplete

△ Bélémasa 1905 Aw. R. 1, F52
Mo. Nasse
fa. A... (SAR.) raised by Tabiki †, Nagma's bro. by the same mo., then by Lemiki, widow of Tabiki.

△ Ekwanza 1939 K2, E145
mo. Lémiki
fa. Kwao (Dip. 3)

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** ○ Sunie 1960 K2, F142
mo. Achillé
fa. Hunsikó (N) raised by her mother
bro. Sunie (L1, E12, village Leba)
○ N... 1954, raised by Achillé
○ E... 1957

△ Bilinde 1941 Pori lineage
mo. Amikbum
fa. Antimbé

△ Tum 1940 P1
mb. Aligey (P2, F47, village Pegubdem)
fa. Fintiman (Dju) raised by his father Fintiman

△ Tumbé 1918 K2, E180
mo. Bunu †
fa.

** ○ Tinkin 1954 L2, E97
mo. Aili †
fa.
1st hus. A... (DJUKA) ◆
△ Antimbé 1951
† in a few days 1918
† in a few days 1918
2d hus. S... (BAR.) † in 1988
○ † at 4 yrs. 1951-1955
△ Amehti 1956
△ Adyuba 1954
△ Awitipey 1955
2 stillborn children 1956
○ Lemé 1958
1 child dead in a few days 1961
3d hus. △ Alive (Aw. B. 1, E4, village Aeté) since 1954
raising △ E... 1956, mo. Lemé

△ Tulu 1914 K2, F88
(K)
mo. Kain †
fa. Bodi (L) † raised by his mother
raising △ A... 1955, mo. ? (village Apulu) & △ G... 1944

△ Tulinin 1915 K2, F88
mo. Bunu †
fa. Semié raised by his father

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△ Tembe 1941 X3, F128
mo. Wawey <- Adingi
fa. Akwadé (L.)

** ○ Wawey 1926 X3, E129
mo. Adingi
fa. Tembe †

1st hus. Akwadé (L.)
† child dead in 1 day (1955 (?))
† child dead in 1 day 1930 (?)
△ Mabalandé 1935
△ S.. 1948, raised at Kutiln
△ Tembe 1941
○ S.. 1949, raised by her mother

2d hus. ? (SAR.) † because of sickness

3d hus. Ernest (Aw. B. 1, 555, village Adé)

Raising △ A.. 1946, mo. Sisi (village Kutiln)

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VILLAGE L'ENFANT PERDU

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△ Abaina 1930 Dip. I, E25
mo. Ingi (village Apatou)
fa. Andreyo (SAFL) raised by Toli (Dip. I, D44)

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* ○ Abina 1934 Dip. I, D38
mo. Koto †
fa. Anato †
hus. Kodio (Dip. II) †
○ Saumé 1952
○ † stillborn
○ Bélli 1957-1960
△ Bayamati 1960

** ○ Abli 1917 Dip. I, F52
mo. Pétéhine
fa. Nasbinongé (K) raised by her mother
1st hus. Gaman (Aw. B. I, F7, village Aduti) †
△ Abéili 1940
△ † dead in 3 days
2d hus. Baiumao (P1, F32, Benivile)
no children

△ Abéili 1940 Dip. I, G51
mo. Abli
fa. Gaman (Aw. B.) raised by his mother

○ Abli 1950 Dip. I, F10
mo. Djaiafu
fa. Kido (K) † raised by her mother
hus. Djoni (Kotika)
○ † 1 yr.
○ F... 1951
○ F... 1954
△ F... Oct. 58
card incomplete

** ○ Asan 1950 Dip. I, G50
mo. Musinga
fa. Adiino (Dju) raised by her mother

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hus. Tapo (L1, E40, village Loka)
△ F... 1946
○ A... 1949 (Yuyu)
○ E... 1953
○ E... 1957

** ○ Amuma 1920 Dip. I, F85
mo. Amuma
fa. Abaaku (K) raised by her mother

hus. Awéléyey (L2, F73, village Bentville)
△ A... 1957

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* ○ Amun 1886 Dip. I, E48
mo. Umé †
fa. Lanou †

1st hus. Djoy (Aw. B. 1, D82, village Asisi) +
△ † 4 yrs. 1915-1919
○ † 2 yrs. 1917-1919
○ † dead 1st week 1918
○ † — — 1919
○ † — — 1920
△ † Nuagé 1921
○ † Tewéléi 1924

2d hus. Abanko (K2, E90) †
○ Amuma 1920
○ B... 1944, raised by her mother

3d hus. Kédé (Dip. II, F20, village Kormoijko)

** ○ Apuma 1918 Dip. I, F54
mo. Pélélina
fa. Nuchiuagé (Kotika) raised by her mother

1st hus. Bésu (Aw. B. 1, F17, village Asisi) +
○ Séya 1941
△ † at 2 weeks

2d hus. Tyuka (L1, D16, village Lapé Tahiki) +

3d hus. Ayuubédé (L1, E37, village Loka)

** ○ Adéli 1929 Dip. I, F60
mo. Elina (Gruizani)
fa. Adingo (DJUKA) raised by her mother

1st hus. Baiuzi (L1, F27, village Loka) +
○ A... 1945
△ † 1st week 1947
○ † 1st week 1951
○ A... 1955, raised by Elina

2d hus. (?) +

3d hus. Wabéi (K3, E115, village Kotika)

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* ○ Anuwéléina 1926 K3, E150
mo. Sépélina (village Kotika)
fa. Fambéin (Dip. I) raised by her father

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successive
husbands? 1st hus. Fikinbasis (L)
6 child † before 1. yr.
○ A... 1953, raised by Alapu at Loka
○ T... 1957

△ Bakua 1920 Dip. I, E40
mo. Diba †
fa. Abâgu (L.) †
head of l'Enfant Perdu village

△ Bakubaka 1940 Dip. I, F79
mo. Seumâ
fa. Sauki
raised by his mother

△ Bayumati 1922 Dip. I, E55
mo. Abâma
fa. Kodio †

△ Bimi 1924 Dip. I, F70
mo. Seumâ
fa. L... (DJUKA) raised by his mother

△ Bonum 1926 Dip. I, E19
mo. Kasio †
fa.

△ Dambai 1930 Dip. I, E47
mo. Umâ †
fa. Lamu †

○ Djakula 1927 Dip. I, E2
mo. Marie-Louise †
fa. ?
1st hus. Kido (K) + †
{ ○ Fâlili 1950
/ ○ Alâli 1950
2d hus. Gidé +
3d hus. A... (DJUKA) †
4th hus. Kondotu (Aw. B. 1, E22)
card incomplete. Refused to answer.

** ○ Ellen 1902 Dip. I, E44
mo. Diba †
fa. Abâgu (L.) †
1st hus. Tasen (K) †
○ † 1st day 1920?
△ † 1 week 1924
△ † 8 yrs. 1928
2d hus. Adingo (DJUKA, fa. Beni, village Apatau) +
○ Aséli 1929

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2d hus. Aleta (K2, E54, village Kotika) +
not remarried in Jan. 58

raising ○ A... 1955, mo. Asili

△ Pumbin 1951 Dip. I, E88
mo. Nathumon †
fa. Lehikodio (Dip. II) † raised by his father

wife Sépélim (village Kotika)
raising△ M... 1944, mo. Sépélim (K)

○ Bili 1950 Dip. I, F9
mo. Djabuo
fa. Kido (K) † raised by her mother

1st hus. Y... (DJUKA) +
△ † in 8 days
△ R... 1950, raised by his father's mother

2d hus. Nempé (Puri lineage. Bonville)

card incomplete

○ Kodia 1929 Dip. I, F50
mo. Pitchim
fa. Nachinengé (K) raised by ○ Dodey †

1st hus. Amémbé (L2, F72, village Loka) +
△ G... † 1945-1954
○ G... 1949, raised by her mother

2d hus. Kito (K2, E182, village Kotika)

raising ○ F... 1954, daughter of Sazyé

card incomplete

△ Mulya 1931 Dip. I, F52
mo. Pitchino -- Diba †
fa. Nachinengé raised by ○ Diba †, his grandmother

raising△ S... 1949, mo. Sazyé

△ Mauka 1951 Dip. I, F75
mo. Saumé
fa. L... (DJUKA) raised by his mother

** ○ Bisia 1934 Dip. I, F80
mo. Billi †
fa. Pantó † (Dibua) raised by her father

1st hus. Fané (L1, F32, village Loka +
△ F... 1949, raised by Abocmili, sis. of Matz

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2d hus. Ashibé (Dju, F18, village Ashi) +
† stillborn child
○ † 1 week
○ † 1 month
○ N... 1955, raised by her mother
not remarried

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* ○ Musinga 1906 Dip. I, F51
mo. Pééhéna
fa. Nachinangé raised by her mother
1st hus. Adiko (Dju, F37, village Ashi) +
○ Anna 1929
2d hus. Akuba (P) †
△ stillborn
3d hus. Kwashi (Dip. II, E3) †
4th hus. Akwadé (L1, E34, village Loka)

△ Nangé 1921 Dip. I, F83
mo. Anna
fa. Djoy (Aw. B.) raised by ○ Diko † (Dip. I, D19)

○ Pééhéna 1885 Dip. I, E42
mo. Diko † 1951
fa. Abége (L)
1st hus. Nachinangé (K1, D15)
△ stillborn 1906
△ dead in 8 days
○ Musinga 1908
△ Natpa 1911
○ Adéi 1916
○ Apenna 1919
○ Kadja 1920
○ Sazyé 1926
2d hus. Agoss † (Dip. II, E21, head of village of Kormotibo)
not remarried
raising ○ A... 1948, mo. Sazyé

△ Pulou 1939 Dip. I, F77
mo. Sazané
fa. L... (DJUKA) raised by Toli (Dip. I, D44)

** ○ Sazyé 1926 Dip. I, F54
mo. Pééhéna
fa. Nachinangé (K)
1st hus. Kwami (Dip. II, F4, village Kormotibo) + in 1948
○ A... 1948, raised by ○ Pééhéna
△ S... 1947, raised by his father
△ S... 1948, raised by △ Natpa, brother of Sazyé
○ F... 1954, raised by Kadja
○ twin dead the same day
2d hus. Mutété (Dju, F17, village Ashi) (since 1957)

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** ○ Soumé 1892 Dip. I, E23
mo. Abéne
fa. Kodio (Dip. II) †
1st hus. L... (DJUKA) + †
△ † } twin deceased about 3 yrs. old. 1909-1912
△ † }
△ Takayé 1911
△ B... 1916-1918
△ Manku 1921
△ Bimi 1924
△ Peten 1930
△ Simon 1934
2d hus. Soumé (L1, E22, village Loka) +
△ Bakafuta 1940
3d hus. Atikotikati (Dju, E19, village Asisi) †
raising ○ L... 1945, mo.Abeomiki, & ○ E... 1955, mo. Nata.

○ Sengé 1940 Dip. I, G85
mo. Towéchi
fa. Pwen (L)

○ Séyn 1941 Dip. I, G84
mo. Apenu
fa. Bésu (Aw. B.)

△ Simon 1934 Dip. I, F76
mo. Soumé
fa. L... (DJUKA) raised by his mother

△ Takayé 1911 Dip. I, F73
mo. Soumé
fa. L... (DJUKA) raised by his mother
raising △ Yoni 1930, same father and DJUKA mother

△ Pell 1876 Dip. I, D44
mo. Kotu (Vufudu) †
fa. Anato †

** ○ Towéchi 1924 Dip. I, F64
mo. Anuse
fa. Djoy (Aw. B.) raised by her mother
hus. Pwen (L1, E23, village Loka).
○ Sengé 1940
○ † at 3 yrs.
○ K... 1946
○ T... 1950
△ A... 1954

△ Tinuma 1915 Dip. I, E22
mo. Ingi (village Apatou)
fa.

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VILLAGES LOKA and LAPE TAHIKI

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** ○ Abbbi 1898 L1, D8 Loka
mo. Duba †
fa.
1st hus. Adikiba ✚
△ † dead in a few days 1912
○ † dead in a few days 1913
○ † A... † at 5 yrs., 1916-1921
○ Alapo 1924
△ Deebi 1927
2d hus. Adiko (Djo, F37) ✚

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* ○ Akkuma 1928 L1, F39 Loka
mo. Akuba
fa. Kosu (Dip. I)
1st hus. Bibo (K) ✚
△ B... 1946, raised by Akuba, his grandmother
2d hus. Akyinki (K3, E144, Benville)
no children
raising N... 1954, dau. of Kosin (Dip. 11-Asisi)

○ Adelaida 1932 L1, E17 Lapé Tahiki
mo. Assumi ← Asaida †
fa. Boto (DJUKA) raised by Asaida †
1st hus. Kondoko (Aw. B. 1, E22, village Asisi) ✚
△ M... 1948, raised by Butu
○ †
2d hus. Tofoto (K3, E157, Benville)
○ F... 1949 raised by her mother
card incomplete

△ Afonsio 1936 Aw. B. 1, F56
mo. Nasu Loka
fa. Kosinan raised by his father

△ Afunyé 1939 L1, F11 Lapé Tahiki
mo. Two † ← Assumi
fa. Dongo † (Dip. I) raised by his mother

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○ Afuyéé 1925 L.I, F38 Loka
mo. Akube
fa. Kasun (Dip. I)

1st hus. Dogido †
2d hus. Anoli (PAR.) †
3d hus. Puupa (K1, E82, village Kotika) †
4th hus. Béti (Aw. B. I, F 37, village Asini)

raising △ D... 1943, mo. Méchi (Aw. B. I, E27), & ○ A... 1954, mo. Dudu (L.I, F40)

card incomplete

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* ○ Akumédi 1924 L.I, F34
mo. Panko ← Awankina
fa. P... (DJUKA) †

raised by her mother

1st hus. Sanauman (P) †
2d hus. Todo (K2, F68, Beniville)
△ F... 1954

raising △ A... 1947, mo. Tiké

** ○ Akuba 1895 L.I, E30 Loka
mo. Awénkina
fa. Gyampe †

1st hus. Kasun (Dip. I, E3, village Kotika)
○ Yakoba 1915
△ Belansi 1918
○ Afuyéti 1925
○ Abiaman 1928
○ Dudu 1930

2d hus. Kédé (Dip. II, F20, village Kormotiba)

3d hus. Nato (Aw. B. I, E46, village Asini)

raising △ B... 1945, mo. Abiaman

△ Akwadé 1885 L.I, E28
mo. Abéjumi †
fa. Samalobi (Dikan)

raising A 1950, mo. Donasyé (Dip. II, Kormotiba)

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* ○ Alape 1924 L.I, E9 Loka
mo. Abété
fa. A... (PAR.)

hus. Yoté (K2, E106, village Kotika)

sterile

raising ○ A... 1953, mo. Asuwéntina (village L'Enfant Perdu)

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○ Alonto 1927 L2, G85 Lapé Tabiki
mo. Angim
fa. Keke † raised by her mother
hus. Bonso (K2, E158, village Benivilla)
○ K... 1955
card incomplete

△ Ambambé 1911 L2, F70
mo. Téréso (village Benivilla)
fa. A... (DJUKA)
raising △ A... 1954, mo. Kiliso (Aséé-Aw. B.)

○ Ananto 1927 L1, F30 Loko
mo. Saloni
fa. Kwaché (Dip. II) +
1st hus. Béno (P2, G80, village Kormotiko) since 1954
△ K... 1955(?)
○ K... 1956 raised by Saloni
card incomplete

△ Anato 1929 L2, G61 Lapé Tabiki
mo. Kapéki ← Asokundu
fa. Tonki † (Dip. II) raised by his mother

○ Angim 1914 L2, F61 Lapé Tabiki
mo. Asokundu
fa. A... (BAR.)
1st hus. Keke †
○ Alonto 1927
2d hus. Ernest (Aw. B. 1, E25, village Aséé)
raising ○ K... 1951, dau. of Paga †
card incomplete

△ Antaiki 1929 L1, E19 Lapé Tabiki
mo. Asemani
fa. Butu (DJUKA) raised by his mother

** ○ Apiliso 1906 L1, E7 Loko
mo. Yali †
fa.
1st hus. Naléo (K) †
2d hus. G... (BAR.) +
△ † 1 week 1926
○ † 2 yrs. 1929-1931
△ 1937
○ Kidi 1939
3d hus. *Tafaaié (P1, K12, village Papaikoso)

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** ○ Asikunda 1901 L2, E38 Lapé Tabiki
mo. Atili †
fa.
1st hus. A... (SAR.) † ✤
○ Kapéiki 1908
† dead in a few days 1910
○ † 1912-1934
○ Angisa 1914
○ B... † 1916-1930
△ Sindu 1919
△ Ametodja 1922
△ Maliki 1928
2d hus. Antonu (Aw. D. 1, E47, village Asisi)
raising ○ A... 1948, mo. Apinda (P., Benville)

○ Asumani 1890 L1, D15 Lapé Tabiki
mo. Asuda †
fa.
hus. Butu (DJUKA)
○ Twa † 1916-1957
○ Kama 1920
△ Masten 1923
○ Adoimba 1922
△ Antelye (Ana) 1929
○ Mantsu 1937
card incomplete
raising △ B... 1946, mo. Kama, & ○ C... 1953, mo. Mantsu

** ○ Awinkina 1870 L1, D23 Loka
mo. Makuya †
fa.
1st hus. Gyempe †
○ Puoko 1890
○ Figa † 1893-1900
○ Akuba 1896
△ Kaniman 1900
○ Malita 1904
△ Pwan 1907
○ Máná 1911
2d hus. Pándi †
3d hus. Kwau (Dip. 1, E3, village Apatu) ✤

△ Ayanbédé 1911 L1, E37 Loka
mo. Chii
fa. K... (DJUKA)
raising △ Y... 1951, mo. Ata (village Asisi-Dju)

△ Baala 1933 L1, F29 Loka
mo. Sulini
fa. Kwuchi (Dip. 11) † raised by his mother

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△ Buale 1924 L1, E42 Loka
mo. Chii
fa. Adam (P) † raised by his mother

** ○ Balhom 1924 Djo, F10 Loka
mo. Bisiti †
fa. Malobi (Dip. I, Loka) raised by her fa. in Loka vill.

md. about 1944 to Mosuwa (K2, E94, village Kotika)
○ K... 1945 raised by Kulina, sis. of Balhom, at Boniville
○ A... 1950
△ † 1951-1955
△ A... 1955
○ E... Sept. 1957

raising ○ W... 1946 mo. Misai (K, Bonivville)

△ Bakasai 1918 L1, F37 Loka
mo. Akuba
fa. Kodio †

** ○ Bito 1924 L1, D8 Loka
mo. Bini (Opan) †
fa.
hus. Atiddi (K1, D94, village Kotika)
○ Totti 1916
△ Pikinhosia 1924
△ Tiion 1932

raising △ W... 1954, mo. Mili (village Papaktan)

△ Bute 1923 (?) Lapé Tabiki
DJUKA, hus. of Asamani, long established at Lapé-Tabiki.

raising ○ F... 1949, mo. Kama, & △ K... 1947, mo. Adaimba

** ○ Chii 1906 L1, D94 Loka
mo. Makuya †
fa.
1st hus. K... (DJUKA) ✝
† dead in a few days 1908
△ Ayaubdé 1911

2d hus. Adam (P) †
△ Tiboyan 1914
△ † at 2 yrs. 1916-1918
○ Yeana 1918
△ Tapo 1920
○ Madu 1923
○ Koko 1930
△ Buale 1924

not remarried

raising △ F... 1948, mo. Anou (village L'Enfant Perdu)

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△ Bédé 1927 L1, F45 Loka
mo. Méllo
fa. Dyakata (Dip. I) raised by his father

** ○ Boti 1934 L1, F36 Loka
mo. Puako
fa. Sawen (P)

1st hus. Hinni (Dip. I, F76, village l'Enhut Pwdu)
△ K... 1958 raised by his mother
(no child lost)

** ○ Do 1929 L1, F29 Loka
mo. Saldai
fa. Kwadi (Dip. II) † raised by her mother

1st hus. Mulpa (Dip. I, F58, village L'Enhut Pwdu) +
2d hus. Kwami (Dip. II, F4, village Kormotibo) + in 1957
○ † the 1st day 1956
3d hus. Abédo (K1, D32, village Kotiba)

△ Donté 1937 L1, E10
mo. Abété
fa. Adéba raised by his mother

** ○ Duda 1930 L1, F40 Loka
mo. Akuba
fa. Kasun (Dip. I) raised by Tahoba, her mo.'s sis.

hus. Sélémman (Aw. B. I, F53, Benivile)
○ † 1947-1952, dead at 5 yrs.
△ † 1950-1953, dead at 3 yrs.
○ A... 1954, raised by ○ Afuyéti, her mother's sis.
△ E... 1955

○ Ellen 1939 L1, F18 Lapé Tubiki
mo. Kama ← Asamoni
fa. Léhiman (K) raised by her mother

hus. Akuabi (K2, F66, village Kotiba)
no children

△ Fédo 1937 L1, F5 Loka
mo. Agéléu
fa. Nédo (K)

△ Fusé 1917 L1, F22 Loka
mo. Puako
fa. P... (DJUKA) raised by his mother
raising △ S... 1960, mo. Oben (village Papatiou)

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○ Gudu 1941 L1, F12 Lapé Tabiki
mo. Tva † ← Asamani
fa. Dongo † raised by Kama, her mo.'s sis.

△ Kabiku 1939 L1, F46 Loka
mo. Mélita
fa. Dyshata (Dip. I)

** ○ Kama 1939 L1, E15 Lapé Tabiki
mo. Asamani
fa. Butu

hus. Lébéman (K2, D88, Beniville)
○ Eline 1959
† before 1 yr. 1960
○ M... † 1949-1948
○ E... 1944 raised by her mother
○ B... 1946 — by Asamani, her grandmother
○ F... 1949 — by Butu, husband of Asamani
△ K... 1952 — by his fa., Lébéman, in Beniville
△ † in 8 days 1954
△ A... Sept. 1956

** ○ Kapédki 1906 L2, F80 Lapé Tabiki
mo. Asakundu
fa. A... (SAR.) †
1st hus. E... (DJUKA) +
○ Yundu † 1927-1957
2d hus. Tuski (Dip. II) †
1 child dead in a few days 1926
△ Anete 1929
○ Page † 1930-1951
3d hus. Nadéko (K2, E69, Beniville)
raising ○ T... 1945, mo. Yundu †

○ Kapé 1917 L1, F38 Loka
mo. Saléni
fa. Kwaki (Dip. II) † raised by Saléni
1st hus. N... (DJUKA) +
△ 1935 † at 3 weeks
card incomplete

** ○ Kéli 1930 L1, F8 Loka
mo. Apéku
fa. G... (SAR.) raised by Abété, sis. of her maternal grandmother
hus. Djani (K) + Jan. 57
△ A... Dec. 56

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** ○ Kaku 1930 L1, E48 Loko
mo. Chil
fa. Adum (P) † raised by her mother
hus. Amokum (K2, E54, Benitville)
△ B... 1948, raised by ○ Akingi, mo. of his fa., in Benitville
△ T... 1950
△ † Kuku † 1952 at 6 mon.
○ S... 1954
○ M... Sept. 58

△ Kwakum 1909 L1, E31 Loko
mo. Ayokokina
fa. Gyampo †

△ Bimbim 1908 L1, E10 Lapé Tshiki
mo. Asumani ← Asokin †
fa. Boku raised by his father

○ Hoku 1922 L1, E41 Loko
mo. Chil
fa. Adum (P) † raised by her mother
1st hus. D... (PAR.) + †
△△ †† ♀ Hilkom twins 1946
△ S... 1947
△ A... 1949, raised by Yaiaa
2d hus. N... (SAR.) +
△ † 1950-1954
3d hus. Matapi (Lin. A8, s2, village Aoisi)
○ K... † 1952 at 6 mon.
○ E... 1955
△ E... 1957 (beginning)
raising ○ E... 1947, mo. ○ Chimbo (K)

△ Bokiki 1888 Dip. I, E30 Loko
mo. Agua † ← Fukudu
fa. Pentani † (Lapé) raised by his father in Loko vill., lived there afterwards

** ○ Bimbim 1937 L1, E30 Lapé Tshiki
mo. Asumani
fa. Boku raised by her mother
1st hus. Keton (Dip. II) †
○ Cilius 1952, raised by Asumani
2d hus. Ashiki (Djo, F15, village Aoisi) since 1954
○ 1956 † at 3 mon.
○ E... 1957

○ Hayon 1919 L1, F27 Loko
mo. Bokini
fa. Kwashi (Dip. II) † raised by her mother

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hus. Yimmee (Dip. I, [illegible], village l'Enfant Perdu)
no children
card incomplete

○ Bibbi 1922 (?) Aw. B. 1, [illegible] Loka
mo. Akumine †
fa. Kodie † 1928 raised by her fa., lived in Loka
1st hus. F... (DJUKA) +
△ D... 1943 raised by ○ Akuyéli
△ A... 1946
△ A... 1950
2d hus. Tembé (K3, E108, Bentville)
○ A... 1952
○ A... 1955
○ B... 1955
card incomplete

** ○ Bibbi 1904 L1, [illegible] Loka
mo. Awenkine
fa.
1st hus. Dyakuto (Dip. I, E4, Bentville) + 1954
○ Tibé 1934
△ Déisi 1937
△ Kabita 1939
2d hus. Kwato (K3, E108, village Ketika)
has not lost any children

raising △ G... 1945, △ H... 1950, △ F... 1956, mo. Tibé, & △ G... 1948, mo. Chitatua, village Adsi

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○ Bimé 1911 L1, E24 Loka
mo. Awenkine
fa. Gyempo †
1st hus. Saisi (K1, D40, village Ketika) +
2d hus. A... (DJUKA)
○ A... 1948 raised by her father
card incomplete

** ○ Buke 1937 Aw. B. 1, F57 Loka
mo. Nome (Aw. B.)
fa. Kenman raised by Akuba, her fa.'s sis.
hus. D... (F) † 1955
no children
not remarried end 1957

** ○ Fuabo 1899 L1, E29 Loka
mo. Awenkine
fa. Gyempo †
1st hus. F... (DJUKA) †
△ Tassa 1911
○ † at 5 yrs. 1913-1918

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△ Pené 1916
○ Akemédi 1914
△ † P... 1931-1946
2d hus. Sowun (Pl. E7, village Pupahion)
○ Doti 1924
3d hus. Abéto (K2, E84, village Kotika)
raising ○ H... 1950, mo. Dubun (Pupahion)

△ Pahbi 1926 L1, F10 Lapé Tohiki
mo. Twa † ← Asumani
fa. Dungo † raised by his mother

△ Pémbanh 1924 L1, E2 Loka
mo. Bito ← Bini †
fa. Abéki (K) raised by his mother

△ Pupu 1900 L1, E29 Loka
mo. Abédumi †
fa.
head of the Lapé lineage

△ Pum 1920 L1, E30 Loka
mo. Awunkina
fa. Gyango †

○ Répina 1926 Dip. 1, F5 Loka
mo. Minen †
fa. Pupu raised by Pupu in the vill. of Loka
hus. Tyolo (Dip. 11, F48, village Anini-Dju)
no children

○ Saléni 1893 L1, E35 Loka
mo. Abédumi †
fa.
1st hus. Kwachi (Dip. 11) †
△ Tingo 1915
○ Kayé 1917
○ Mayun 1919
○ De 1921
△ Ruale 1923
○ Dolané † 1927-1956
○ Amonto 1927
△ Sangudugini 1941
2d hus. Nalobi (Dip. 11, E56, village Loka)
no children
card incomplete

△ Sangudugini 1941 L1, F31 Loka
mo. Saléni
fa. Kwachi (Dip. 11) †

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△ Ehdu 1919 L2, F80 Lapé Tobbé (?)
mo. Aschunlu ← AEE
fa. A... (BAR.) † raised by his mother
raising △ H... 1950, mo. Amélio (village Aziri-Aw. R.)

△ Bélé 1906 L1, D12 Lapé Tobbé
mo. Amélio †
fa.

△ Sunlé 1906 L1, [illegible] Lako
mo. Abédumi †
fa.

** ○ Tendim 1906 Aw. R. 1, F30 Lako
mo. Yeshi
fa. Abo (Djo) † raised by Méélé, her sis., in Lako
hus. Tingo (L1, F32, village Lako)
△ E... 1948
○ H... 1954
○ R... 1956

△ Tunu 1911 L1, F32 Lako
mo. Pasho ← Awushina
fa. P... (DJUKA) †

** ○ Téhé 1904 L1, F44 Lako
mo. Méélé
fa. Dyukolo
1st hus. Hébimoo (Djo, E12, village Aziri Djo) + †
△ C... 1940, raised by Méélé
△ A... 1947, raised by Ahumédi
2d hus. B... (DJUKA) +
△ E... 1950, raised by Méélé
3d hus. Bulus (Dip. II, G27, village Aziri-Dip. II)
△ C... 1953, raised by his father
○ K... 1953, raised by her paternal grandfather
○ † stillborn 1954
○ F... 1956, raised by Méélé

Observation : Téhé is not raising any of her children

△ Tilim 1925 L1, E3 Lako
mo. Sito ← Bani †
fa. Ahéié (K) raised by his father

△ Tingo 1915 L1, F35 Lako
mo. Sahini
fa. Kwashi (Dip. II) †

** ○ Tahi 1918 L1, E1 Lako
mo. Sito ← Bani (Open) ←
fa. Ahéié (K) raised by her mother

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hus. Aldal (Dip. II, C26, village Kamatiha)
○ Tatamma 1926
△ A... 1948, raised by his father

raising △ B... 1954, son of Tatamma

△ Tupa 1930 L1, E40 Loka
mo. Chil (Abyyiki)
fa. Adum (P) † raised by his mother

○ Tatamma 1926 L1, F1 Loka
mo. Tuki ← Bila ← Bual
fa. Aldal (Dip. II) raised by her mother

hus. Kamami (Aw. B. 1, G1, village Aldé-Dju)
△ B... 1954 raised by Tuki, his grandmother
△ B... 1956

has not lost any children

△ Tyuin 1900 L1, D16 Lapé Tubiki
mo. Asuida †
fa.

○ Tuana 1919 L1, E20 Loka
mo. Chil (Abyyiki)
fa. Adum (P) † raised by her mother
1st hus. Wima (Dju, F36, village Aldé-Dju)
lost 1 child
2d hus. Awumé (Dip. II, F42, village Aldé-Dip. II)

raising A... 1948, son of Modu
card incomplete

** ○ Tububa 1915 L1, F36 Loka
mo. Abuba (Lin)
fa. Kotto (Dip. I)

1st hus. Liki (Aw. B.) †

2d hus. Numadé (K1, D7, village Kotiha)

sterile

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VILLAGE ABIES-ZUU

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△ Ashibé 1933 Dju, F13
mo. Asuse † 1955
fa. Dibé †

△ Adiliso 1957 Dju, F27
mo. Alibi ← Abe †
fa. Boeli head of the Bjo lineage

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* ○ Adyéiya 1932 Dju, E19 †
mo. Sapibé †
fa. Sazuleibi † (Dikan) raised by her mother
1st hus. W... (DJUKA)
2d hus. N... (DJUKA)
○ † at 2 yrs. 1955-1957

** ○ Abéla 1930 DJUKA origin
mo. † (DJUKA)
fa. L... (DJUKA)
hus. Antelya (L1, E10, village Loka) + raised among the Dju with Fini, her brother by the same fa., by Tini (Dju, F1), mo. of Fini
○ L... 1952

** ○ Agaba 1941 Dju, G14
mo. Kibusa
fa. Matapi (lin. A8) raised by ○ Lingo (Dju, F36)
married to Pudibi (L1, F70, village Loka) 1957
divorced end of 1957, irregular life beginning 1958

○ Abela 1941 Dju, G6
mo. Ato ← Wimu
fa. Ayambéli (L1) raised by her mother
hus. Adilimi (K2, F94, village Kotika)

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* ○ Alibi 1909 Dju, E24
mo. Abe †
fa.
successive husbands? last hus. T... (SAR.)
○ Lingo 1936
△ Adiliso 1957
△ Wimu 1960
△ Loho 1960
plus 6 children dead in the first weeks

/[illegible]/

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*621

△ [illegible] 1930 Djo, F02
mo. Mina † <-- Uwile
fa. Kido † (K)

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* ○ Ale 1910 Djo, F3
mo. Wima †
fa.
1st hus. Mobiko (K2, E03, village Boniville) +
2d hus. Ayambdd (L1, E27, village Loko)
child † 1936 (?) before 18 mos.
child † 1939 (?) before 1 yr.
○ Alete 1941 } raised by their mother
○ K... 1945 }
○ Y... 1951 raised by her father at Loko
1 twin † at 2 mos.
child 1953 at 3 weeks

raising ○ R... 1948, mo. Buke (Djo, G1)

○ Awali 1906 Djo, E10
mo. Uwile
fa.
1st hus. Awini (Ilo. A8) +
2d hus. Agbidan (Bidaj, (Aw. B. 1, E21, village Aziki)
sterile

** ○ Bawé 1908 Djo, E12
mo. Uwale
fa. Amungé † raised by her mother
1st hus. Dosfo (L2, E04, Boniville) +
2d hus. Pwina +
3d hus. V... (SAIL)
sterile

△ Bonisoko 1928 K1, D02
mo. Kobolo † (village Kotika)
fa. ? (Djo) raised by his fa. at Asini-Djo
lives with wife Kakuma (Djo)

○ Buke 1930 Djo, G1
mo. Tini <-- Wima †
fa. L... (DJUKA) raised by Wima
hus. S... (SAR.)
○ R... 1948, raised by ○ Ale (Djo, F2)
△ † at 5 mos. in 1948?
card incomplete

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○ Dabin 1917 Dju, G45
mo. Lingo ← Akisi
fa.
1st hus. † (DJUKA) +
2d hus. Boden (Aw. R. 1, F4)
sterile

** ○ Dadini 1919 Dju, F16
mo. Diana
fa.
1st hus. Amboté (L2, F78, village Loko) +
△ Léya 1941 raised by his mother
2d hus. Yoté (K2, E168, village Kotika) +
○ G... 1943, raised by her mother
○ † 1st week 1945
○ † 1st week 1947
△ † 1st week 1949
2d hus. Adum (lin. A8, c7, village Asisi)
○ T... 1964

○ Diana 1898 Dju, E3
mo. Ünsin
fa. Amusapé † (Aw. R.)
1st hus. Foy +
○ Dadini 1917
2d hus. A... (SAR.)
△ Mutéké 1935
△ Fenge 1939
3d hus. E... (DJUKA) +
△ Fazué 1935
△ T... † at 1 yr. 19377
△ L... † at 6 mos. 19397
△ † dead at 1 month 19407
card incomplete

△ Fazué 1935 Dju, F19
mo. Diana ← Ünsin
fa. E... (DJUKA) raised by his father

** ○ Fitiéle 1937 Dju, G41
mo. Dande † ← Anne †
fa.
hus. Akude (Aw. R. 2, E34, village Asisi)
△ † 1st week 1944
○ A... 1946, raised by ○ Titiéké
○ ○ twins †† 1st week 1948
○ A... 1949
○ ○ twins †† 1st week 1951
○ A... 1954

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△ Tini 1930 Dju, G2
mo. Tini ← Wima †
fa. L... (DJUKA) raised by his mother

△ Pinga 1930 Dju, F18
mo. Diana ← Ousia
fa. A... (Bar.) raised by his mother

△ Edwiku 1935 Dju, G10
mo. Yéébi ← Wima †
fa. Tapi † raised by his mother

△ Kuakani 1935 (?) Aw. B. 1, G1
mo. Embeki †
fa. P... (DJUKA) raised by his fa., lives with the Dju.

○ Kukum 1900? Dju, F46
mo. Bassua †
fa.
hus. Bowandin (K1, D8K, living with her in Asisi-Dju)
no living children
raising ○ Bébéli 1941, dau. of Mina †
card incomplete: refused to answer

* ○ Lingu 1938 Dju, F36
mo. Aikki
fa. ?
successive husbands?
○ Dubiss 1917
has lost 7 children 1 to 5 yrs. old

△ Lém 1941 Dju, G28
mo. Doukini
fa. Ambuké raised by his mother

△ Lolo 1910 Dju, F20
mo. Aikki ← Abo †
fa.

△ Bébéli 1927 Dju, F17
mo. Diana ← Ousia
fa. A... (BAR.) raised by his mother

* ○ Pauna 1930 Dju, G2
mo. Tini
fa. L... (DJUKA) raised by ○ Aikki (Dju, E23)
hus. Bino (Aw. B. 1, F37, village Asisi) ✝ in 1952

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△ P... 1947, raised by Kyéti, mother of his father, in Asisi
○ A... 1950
has not lost any children
woman with a bad reputation: irregular life

** ○ Pamaan 1939 Dju, E38
mo. Agikiwan †
fa.
1st hus. Abéni (Aw. B. 1, F49, village Asisi) raised by ○ Tisi (Dju, F1)
○ † in 8 days 1963
△ B... 1944, raised byTisi (Dju, F1)
○ K... 1948, raised by her mother
2d hus. Tede (K2, F68, Benivilla) since 1952
○ L... 1950, raised by her mother
child† in 2 days 1956

△ Pokoto 1933 Dju, F35
mo. Amati † ← Urutia
fa. Sebi (L) raised by his father

** ○ Pikó 1911 Dju, F28
mo. Anna †
fa.
1st hus. Bokuman (P1, F33, Benivilla) ♀ +
2d hus. Djoy (Aw. B. 1, D22, village Asisi) +
3d hus. Beafu (L2, E58, Benivilla)
sterile

** ○ Sam 1930 Dju, E27
mo. Agikiwan † ← Amapé †
fa. P... † (Aw. B.) raised by ○ Kuluba, her fa.'s mo.
1st hus. Déku (K) +
B... 1949 raised by his mother
2d hus. Kaliawa (Iin. Poti, Benivilla) +
M... 1951
○ K... † 1953-54
3d hus. Atauta (K2, F80, village Kotika)
○ L... June 1956

△ Sonlofu 1932 Dju, G42
mo. Donde † ← Anna †
fa.

△ Sonoman 1915 Dju, E14
mo. Ustia
fa. Amanapé †

** ○ Tóbiki 1941 Dju, F34
mo. Kukuna
fa.
1st hus. Aminisau (Aw. B. 1, F48, village Asisi) raised by her mother
O... Oct. 57

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** ○ Nadoua 1923 Dju, G40
mo. Dende † ← Anna †
fa. raised by her mother
1st hus. Tofiete (K3, E157, Boniville) +
2d hus. Deoté (L1, E16, village Loka)
△ † in a few days 1946 (?)
raising ○ † A... 1946, mo. Fillein.

** ○ Tini 1886 Dju, F1
mo. Wima †
fa.
hus. L... (DJUKA)
† † 2 children dead before 1 yr.
○ Buba 1924 †
△ † stillborn
○ † 1 day
△ dead 1st week
○
△ Fini
○ Puma 1930
raising △ R... 1944, mo. Pumaa (Dju, E26)

△ Tyale 1919 Dju. H, F48
mo. Alawenchi †
fa.

* ○ Ünsila 1870 Dju, D3
mo. Sazawi †
fa.
successive husbands?
△ Abo † Ilaa-1967
△ † dead at 1 mo.
○ Diana 1902
○ Awali 1905
○ † Mána 1905-1964
○ † Amati 1907-1949
○ † Sawei 1908
△ Sonoman 1915
△ † Hábinan 1918-1960

△ Wéna 1908 Dju, F28
mo. Allki
fa.

△ Yadi 1926 Dju, F23
mo. Mána † ← Ünsila
fa. Kido † (K) raised by his father

△ Yaba 1870 SARAMAKA
Saramaka living for a very long time in the Dju lot hus. of Allki

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* ○ Téédé 1913 Dja, F3
mo. Wima
fa. Toli (Dip. 1)

1st hus. Tapi †
△ † Kéwéma 1928
△ † 4 days 1940
△ † 3 days 1941
△ † 1948-1950
△ † à 1 yr. 1944

2d hus. Akyaba +

raising △ L... 1946 & △ R... 1950, mo. Apuku †

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VILLAGE ASIKI-AWARA BANKA

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△ Abini 1912 Aw. B. 1, F49
mo. Nama
fa. A... (DJUKA) † raised by △ Asiama, bro. of Nama

** ○ Abankim 1920 Aw. B. 1, F21
mo. Kakyé
fa. Musa (Dip. I) raised by her mother
1st hus. Fraga (Dju, F18, village Asiki) ✚
2d hus. Boodo (Aw. B. 1, E31, village Asiki) ✚
sterile
not remarried end 1957
(woman with a bad reputation: irregular life)

** ○ Abaya 1936 Aw. B. 2, E83
mo. Seanéti
fa. Kondoko (Aw. B. 1) raised by Seanéti
1st hus. Tabayé (Dip. I, F73, village L'Enfant Perdu) ✚
2d hus. Féni (Dju, G3, village Asiki-Dju)
△ P... 1953 raised by Seanéti
○ L... 1955 } raised by their mother
○ Z... 1957 }
has not lost any children

△ Adam 1922 AE, e7
mo. Emélina †
fa. Creole from Surinam raised by his mo. Emélina †

○ Aliasuman 1941 Aw. B. 2, E86
mo. Seanéti
fa. Kondoko (Aw. B. 1) raised by her mother

△ Agibiam 1906 Aw. B. 1, F7.
mo. Akamine †
fa.

** ○ Agnam 1933 Aw. B. 1, F28
mo. Kyéti
fa. Aléwa raised by Aléwa, her fa.
1st hus. Atukwi ✚
2d hus. Pétéli (K1, E36, village Kotika) ✚

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3d hus. Maliki (L2, F84, village Aniei)
△ M... Dec. 56

raising ○ S... 1956, mo. Lébimiéki

** ○ Abusié 1909 Aw. B. 3, E70
mo. Anéta
fa. Péiyen † raised by her father

1st hus. Nguté (K2, D104, village Kotika) +
△ Félini 1929
○ Summa 1931
△ D... 1946, raised by Anéta
△ A... 1946, raised by his mother
○ O... 1946, raised by her mother

2d hus. Poopa (Dip. II, E7, village Kerematibo)
△ L... 1946 raised by his mother
△ R... 1949
△ F... 1953

has not lost any children

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* ○ Aliéki 1933 Aw. B. 1, F87
mo. Yoshi †
fa. A... (DJUKA) raised by ○ Tili (Aw. B. 1, E16)

hus. Akuapa (K3, E134, Benitville)
△ S... 1956 raised by his mother

△ Abuée 1920 Aw. B. 2, E55
mo. Ezuma
fa. A... (DJUKA) raised by his mother

△ Aliéuin 1917 Aw. B. 1, E40
mo. Abumayé †
fa. D... (DJUKA) raised by his mother

raising △ A... 1949, mo. Yundu † (village Lapé T.)

△ Aléen 1892 Aw. B. 1, E4
mo. Kulube †
fa.

○ Aléin 1915 Aw. B. 1, E25
mo. Mali †
fa. † (Surinamese Creole) raised by ○ Aliki (Dje-Aniei)

1st hus. Yénimo (Dip. I, E28, village L'Enfant Perdu)
△ Amenimo 1928

2d hus. L... (DJUKA)

may have lost some children?

may have had unions of short duration with Namiadé and Senidal

raising ○ A... 1953, mo. Lébimay
card incomplete

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*321

** ○ Amélia 1922 Aw. B. 1, F19
mo. Kakyé
fa. Senaié (L)

1st hus. Baiso (Dip. II, G27, village Astaj) +
△ S... 1943, raised by Kakyé
△ T... 1946, raised by Kakyé

2d hus. Sindu (L2, F82, village Lapé Tabiki)
○ A... 1947, raised by her mother
△ † 1st week 1949
△ M... 1950, raised by his father at Lapé-Tabiki

raising △ A... 1958, mo. Atuku †

△ Ambatuzu 1939 Aw. B. 1, F40
mo. Aliéto
fa. Yéssusu (Dip. I) raised by his mother

○ Aminto 1934 Aw. B. 3, E74
mo. Anéto †
fa. Péiyon † raised by her mother

△ Amumpé 1927 Aw. B. 1, E3
mo. Kulubo †
fa.

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* ○ Anéto 1875 Aw. B. 3 (foundress)
mo. Abéenki (DJUKA)
fa. (came to reside in her husband's vill.)

hus. Péiyon (Aw. B. 1) †
△ † 1 week 1897
○ † 1 week 1898
△ Emanié 1898 (?)
○ † 1 1/2 yrs. 1900
△ † Papey 1902-1942
△ † Pwisu 1904-1951
△ Ayesus emigrated to Djuka country
○ † Akusé emigrated to Djuka country
○ † Apéiyé † at 20 yrs. 1907-1927
○ Akanié 1909
○ Kilisu 1913
△ Gaisu 1916
△ Aminto 1922

raising △ D... 1943, mo. Akanié, & △ T... 1951, mo. Sumus

△ Antonu 1888 Aw. B. 1, 47
mo. Adiomsu †
fa.

○ Apaki 1940 Aw. B. 1, F34
mo. Kakyé
fa. Musu (Dip. I) raised by her mother

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*627

○ Apinda 1919 Aw. B. 1, F16
mo. Kakyé
fa. A... (SAR.) raised by her mother
1st hus. Apayu (lin.. Tutus, village Papaktan) ✚
○ S... † at 5 yrs.
○ Tuwi 1927
△ † 1st week
2d hus. Kwami (Dip. 11, F4, village Kermatika) ✚
no children
3d hus. Pantl (K1, D36, village Ketika) ✚ in July 57
card incomplete

△ Aankya 1939 Aw. B. 2, E25
mo. Sasadti
fa. Kendoku (Aw. B. 1) raised by Kendoku

○ Awum 1941 Aw. B. 1, G30
mo. Lina ← Nanu
fa. Baiana (L.) raised by Nanu, her grandmother

△ Awdai 1956 Ugunga A8, c12
mo. Tundu †
fa.
raising △ F... 1958, mo. Sadi

** ○ Apikumma 1911 Aw. B. 1, F8
mo. Titi
fa. Yosé †
1st hus. Kolinou (K1, E12, village Ketika-Abeumuuanga) ✚
○ Kapuchi (Nini) 1931
† 1934-1936 dead at 18 mos.
† 1937-1939 dead at 2 yrs.
○ Dama 1941 raised by her mother
2d hus. △ A... (DJUKA) ✚
† 1946-1948 dead at 2 yrs.
3d hus. T... (DJUKA) ✚ in 1953
△ A... 1952 raised by his mother

△ Baakanza 1939 Aw. B. 1, F12
mo. Titi
fa. Yosé † raised by his mother

△ Bulua 1939 (?) Aw. B. 1, F4
mo. Liki † ← Kuluba
fa. Saling raised by his grandmother Kuluba

** ○ Bakiddi 1957 Aw. B. 1, F29
mo. Kyéti
fa. Aliwa (Aw. B. 1) raised by her mother
hus. Amelo (L2, G61, village Lapé Tabiki)
sterile

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** ○ Bimm 1922 Aw. B. 3, E73
mo. Akusé † ← Pédyon
fa.
1st hus. Ptiipiti (Aw. B. 1, F2, village Asini)
○ † at 8 yrs. 1945-1951
○ † at 2 yrs. 1949-1952
2d hus. Maina (Aw. B. 1, F42, village Asini)
○ B... 1946

△ Bim 1914 Aw. B. 1, F17
mo. Kakyé ← Akamina †
fa. A... (SAR.) † raised by his mother

△ Bili 1927 Aw. B. 1, F37
mo. Kyéti
fa. Aiówa (Aw. B. 1) raised by his mother

○ Bipo 1913 Aw. B. 1, F11
mo. Titi
fa. A... (DJUKA) raised by her mother
1st hus. Dundu (Lin. A8, d6)
○ A... 1951 raised by Titi
2d hus. Abinano (P1, G55, village Papaibiam)
○ B... raised by Titi
card incomplete

△ Bondo 1899 (?) Aw. B. 1, E31
mo. Mali †
fa.

△ Bodé 1941
mo. Titi
fa. A... (DJUKA) raised by his mother

△ Bodyu 1941 Aw. B. 1, F45
mo. Irma ← Akumuyé †
fa. A... (DJUKA) † raised by his mother

** ○ Bugi 1915 Aw. B. 1, F41
mo. Irma ← Akumuyé †
fa. Samuyuku raised by Akumuyé
1st hus. B... (SAR.) †
△ Dodi 1939
2d hus. Pintimen (Dju, F5, Boniville)
no children
raising ○ B... 1948, her sister

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** ○ Ebitoku 1929 Aw. B. 1, F42
mo. Irma ← Akumuyé †
fa. A... (DJUKA) raised by Irma, her mother

hus. Dédei (L1, F48, village Lokaytince 1947
△ O... 1948, raised by Mélitu, mo. of his fa. (L)
△ B... 1951, raised by Irma
○ M... 1954, raised by her mother

○ Duma 1941
mo. Ayékumen
fa. Kolinon (K) raised by her mother

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* ○ Déika 1931 DJUKA origin
mo. ? (DJUKA)
fa. lives with her husband
hus. Malus (Aw. B. 1, F42, village Asisi)
○ † at 3 mos. in 1952

○ Dan 1931 Aw. B. 1, F38
mo. Yechi †
fa. P... † (DJUKA) raised by Atuku, Yechi's sis.

hus. Aminto (Aw. B. 3, E74, village Asisi)
△ G... 1957

△ Doeli 1930 Aw. B. 1, G40
mo. Bugi
fa. B... (SAR.) raised by his mother

△ Dugin 1918 Aw. B. 1, F9
mo. Tiu
fa. A... (DJUKA) raised by his mother
raising △ A... 1952, mo. Bédekti (village Asisi-Dip. I1)

△ Dumin 1931 lineage AS, d8
mo. Saisiu † ← Emdas
fa. Amusupé (Aw. B. 1) raised by his mother

** ○ Emma 1906 (?) Aw. B. 2, D25
mo. Abiti †
fa.

1st hus.(?)

2d hus. A... (DJUKA) ✝
△ Abodo 1930
○ Dédei † 1933-1956
△ S... † 1939-1949
○ Kokuku 1933

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*621

3d hus. Tyuke (L1, D18, village Loka)
○ Fakima 1937
△ T... † at 3 yrs. 1940-1943

4th hus. Semté (L1, E22, village Loka)
not remarried

raising △ T... 1954, mo. Fakima, & ○ A... 1948, mo. Déléi †

△ Ekpulé 1906 (?)
mo. Anéta (?)
fa. Pééyen † raised by his fa. in Asisi-Aw. B.

△ Emmé 1906 Aw. B. 1, E35
mo. Akumina †
fa.

** ○ Fakima 1937 Aw. B. 2, E61
mo. Emma
fa. Tyuke (L.) raised by her mother

hus. Nofi (Dip. 1, F63, Bushville)
△ T... raised by Emma
○ A... March 1957

△ Félisi 1929 Aw. B. 3
mo. Akanéé ← Anéta
fa. Ngusé (K)

△ Gakma 1918 Aw. B. 3, E72
mo. Anéta
fa. Pééyen † raised by his mother
most often lives with the DJUKA

△ Gaama 1910 Aw. B. 1, F7
mo. Tiki
fa. Yoofi †

raising B... 1936, mo. Ote (Papaikon)

** ○ Irma 1897 Aw. B. 1, E37
mo. Akumuyé †
fa. †

1st hus. Samayuka ✝
○ Bugi 1915
△ † at 1 week 1917

2d hus. A... (DJUKA) † in 1951
○ P... † at 2 yrs. 1918-1919
○ stillborn 1920
△ Maina 1921
△ P... † at 15 yrs. 1925-1940
○ Chitaka 1929
△ Lowa 1930

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*621

△ B... 1941, raised by his mother
○ B... 1943, raised by her mother
○ D... 1948, raised by her elder sister Bugi

3d hus. Adiboé (Dju, F37, village Aniti)
raising △ R... 1951, son of Chitalba

** ○ Kabbé 1892 Aw. B. 1, E18
mo. Akumina †
fa.
1st hus. A... (BAR.) +
○ Apinde 1912
△ Bisu 1914
△ T... † 1917-1924, dead at 17 yrs.
2d hus. [illegible] (L1, E22, village Loka) +
○ Amélin 1922
△ D... † 1923-1928, dead at 15 yrs.
3d hus. A... (DJUKA) +
△ Pupakoy 1925
4th hus. Buse (Dip. I, E16, village Apatu) +
○ Abenkina 1928
△ P... † 1931-1935, dead at 4 yrs.
△ D... † 1933-1936, dead at 3 yrs.
△ Tyukatu 1937
○ Apaki 1940, raised by her mother
not remarried
raising △ K... 1938, mo. Willemina, △ S... 1943 & △ Y... 1945, mo. Amélia

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* ○ Kilina 1913 Aw. B. 3, E71
mo. Anéla
fa. Pééyun †
1st hus. K... (DJUKA) +
○ Mébéli 1927
○ Hanuna 1941, raised by her mother
2d hus. Ambambé (L2, F70, village Loka)
○ K... 1951, raised by ○ Susana, niece of Kilina
△ A... 1954, raised by his father in village Loka
△ S... July 56
has not lost any children

** ○ Kababa 1933 Aw. B. 2, E39
mo. Ezuna
fa. A... (DJUKA) raised by ○ Saandi, her mo.'s sis.
1st hus. Kébéli +
2d hus. Atuata (K2, F95, village Kotika) +
3d hus. Bali (Aw. B. 1, F37)
○ A... 1951, raised by ○ Kyéli, her father's mother

△ Kandaba 1903 Aw. B. 1, E23
mo. Akumina †
fa.
head of the Asuna Bakba lo

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*621

△ Kabamman 1940 lineage A2, e9
mo. Samakem
fa. Y... (DJUKA) raised by his mother

** ○ Kpéli 1931 Aw. B. 1, E20
mo. Mali † ← Apoku †
fa.
hus. Aléwa (Aw. B. 1, E4) ✚
△ P... † at 2 yrs. 1915-1917
△ P... † at 2 yrs. 1919-1921
○ † at 3 yrs. 1923-1926
△ Bali 1927
○ Agyasa 1928
○ Bakiahi 1927
2d hus. ○ Pudsali (Creole, Surinam) ✚
3d hus. Somman (Dje, E14) ✚
visiting △ P... 1946, mo. Pesam, Dje-Asisi, & ○ A... 1951, mo. Kobaba (Aw. B. 2)

△ Lawa 1936 Aw. B. 1, F44
mo. Irma ← Abumayé †
fa. A... † raised by his mother

○ Léhinay 1930 Aw. B. 1, F55
mo. Namu
fa. Koniman (L) raised by her mother
1st hus. Nanga (F1, G31, Benivilla) ✚
○ A... 1953 raised by ○ Aliola (Aw. B. 1, E23)
1 stillborn
2d hus. Mahalaméli (K2, F130, Benivilla) ✚
○ † at 5 mos. 1956
△ A... 1957
card incomplete

** ○ Léhinéki 1931 Aw. B. 1, F57
mo. Yoosi †
fa. Bosfu raised by ○ Abamina †
hus. Abagwa (Dip. 1, E36, village L'Enkost Pardu)
△ G... 1949, raised by his mother
△ A... 1951, raised by his mother
○ S..., raised by ○ Agyasa (Aw. B. 1, F28)
○ G... 1955

** ○ Léna 1923 Aw. B. 1, E52
mo. Namu
fa. A... (BAFL)
hus. Bahami (L1, F37, village Leka)
○ Awasa 1942, raised by Namu
△ † 18 mos. 1950-1952

1962

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*621

△ Mulan 1949 Aw. B. 1, F48
mo. Kyo ← [illegible] †
fa. A... (DJUKA) raised by his father

△ Mulki 1952 L2, F84
mo. Asukundo ← Aiili †
fa. A... (SAR.) † raised by his fa. at Aziki-Aw. B.

** ○ Musi 1935 lineage A8, 412
mo. Sali ← Tamita
fa. Ambeizasu † raised by her mother
1st hus. Akwali (Dip. II, F7, village Kormotiko) +
no children
2d hus. Baiza (Dip. II, G27, village Asisi-Dip. II) + in 1949
△ † at 1 mo.
○ B... 1948, raised by ○ Sali
△ B... 1950, id
3d hus. Gelmo (Aw. B. 3, E72, village Asisi) in 1956
no children
Observation : woman with a bad reputation: irregular life from 1949 to 1956

△ Mulugi 1900 lineage A8, c2
mo. Emkoe † ← A8 †
fa.

△ Musio 1935 Aw. B. 1, E48
mo. Adiemas †
fa.

** ○ MAMÁ 1937 Aw. B. 3, F90
mo. Kilim
fa. K... (DJUKA) raised by her mother
hus. Kopo (Dip. II, G38, village Asisi) since 1953
sterile

** Mama 1914 Aw. B. 1, F50
mo. Nanu
fa. raised by her mother
widowed

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* △ Mano 1939 † Aw. B. 1, E48
mo. Adiemas
fa. Kwasi-Ve (Aja) †
1st hus. A... (DJUKA) +
△ Ai-Ai 1938
○ Mano 1914
○ † L... 1918-1938
2d hus. K... (SAR.) +
○ Rudai 1918

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○ Léon 1952
△ Séikamen 1960

3d hus. Kouimane (L1, E31, village Loka)
○ Léhimay 1950
○ † at 2 mos. 1952
△ Afrondo 1958
○ Noko (Amokiti) 1956 } settled in the village Loka
○ † in a few days 1958

raising △ K... 1948, mo. Nodoni

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* Bini 1931 Aw. B. 1, G7
mo. Ayékamen
fa. △... (DJUKA)

hus. Soulufu (Dju, G48, village Astei-Dju)
○ K... † at 2 mos. 1952
△ † stillborn 1954

** ○ Boloni 1918 Aw. B. 1, F51
mo. Namu
fa. A... (BAR.)

1st hus. Todo (K3, F28, Boniville) +
△ † before 1 yr. 1942
△ G... 1944, raised by Todo in Boniville
△ W... 1947, raised by his mother
△ M... † 1949-1952

2d hus. Gekuo (Aw. B. 2, E72, village Astei) +
△ K... 1949, raised by Namu

3d hus. A... (DJUKA) +
△ A... 1952, raised by his mother
○ twin † at 1 yr.

4th hus. Kwami (Dip. II, F4, Kermotibo), since April 1957

** ○ Panili 1927 AB, 413
mo. Sali
fa. Agbédon raised by her mother
hus. Pototo (Dju, F25, village Astei-Dju)
△ S... 1955

△ Pugudi 1941 Aw. B. 1, G8
mo. Embaki †
fa. Creole raised by Kukuba †, his maternal great-grandmother

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△ Papaluy 1936 Aw. B. 1, F20
mo. Kakyé
fa. A... (DJUKA) raised by his mother Kakyé

△ Pilipili 1921 Aw. B. 1, F3
mo. Liki † ← Kukuba
fa. A... (DJUKA) † raised by △ Bernardin (Astei)

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○ Baandi 1905 Aw. B. 2, D88
mo. Abiti †
fa.
hus. Kandoku
○ Abuya 1928
△ Dobi † 1930-1932 (?)
△ Asokya 1930
○ Adikusuma 1941
△ † at 1 yr. 1943
raising △ P... 1932, mo. Abuya

** ○ Bali 1900 Ad, c13
mo. Tundu †
fa.
1st hus. Ambatsau (L) ✚ †
△ T... † at 8 yrs., 1920-28
○ Boni 1925
2d hus. Amusupi (Aw. B. 1, E2, village Asini) ✚
3d hus. Agbidon (Aw. B. 1, E21, village Asini) ✚ (?)
○ Pentbi 1937
raising ○ B... 1940 & △ B... 1950, mo. Boni

○ Bamabu 1922 lineage Ad, d3
mo. Saloto † ← Emina
fa.
1st hus. Y... (DJUKA) ✚
△ Kukusuma 1940, raised by his mother
2d hus. Djani (Aw. B. 3) †
3d hus. Nétali (K) ✚
○ B... 1948, raised by her mother
4th hus. Tahayé (Dip. I, F73, village L'Enfant Perdu)
△ E... 1957
card incomplete

** ○ Bamusuma 1936 lineage Ad, d32
mo. Baakusuma † ← Tundu
fa. Manu (Dip. II, Kormatibo)
1st hus. Piti (L) †
2d hus. Abéni (Aw. B. 1, F49)
△ A... 1953, raised by his father
△ A... Dec. 1956

raised by △ Awini, maternal uncle of her mother

** ○ Bofli 1921 Aw. B. 1, F10
mo. Titi
fa. Adingo (Dip. I)
1st hus. Awini (lin. Ad, c12, village Asini) ✚
△ K... 1947, raised by his mother
△ F... 1950, raised by his father
△ † at 1 week 1954
2d hus. Kaliowa (lin. Poli, Santefibo)
△ S... 1955

raised by her mother

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* ○ Gaaaaa 1931 Av. R. 3, P31
mo. Ahanté ← Anéte
fa. Ngaté (K) raised by Anéte
hus. Kabéte (L1, F40, village Loka)
△ ↑ at 1 yr. 1969
○ Y... 1961, raised by Anéte
△ E... end 1966
raising ○ K... 1961, mo. Kibbe

△ Tabaa 1937 Av. R. 1, E30
mo. ahanaya ↑
fa. most often lives in DJUKA country

** ○ Titi 1930 Av. R. 1, E31
mo. Akanina ↑
fa.
1st hus. Yauli ↑
△ Gaaaa 1950
△ ↑ at 8 mos.
○ nilibaaa
○ Ayibaaaaa 1952
△ ↑ at 2 days 1956
△ ↑ at 1 week 1958
2d hus. Adiapo (Dip. I) +
△ Dapin 1950
○ Sadé 1951
○ Bipo 1953
△ Baakaaaa 1960
a child ↑ before 1 yr. (?)
3d hus. Djaté (L) + ↑
4th hus. A... (DJUKA) +
△ Bodé 1940
△ K... 1943
not remarried
raising ○ A... 1951 & ○ E... 1961, mo. Bipo, ○ F... 1966, mo. Oto, village Papaldaa

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○ Tani 1927 Av. R. 1, O13
mo. Aplada ← Kabyé
fa. Agayo raised by her mother
hus. Ilaaa (K)
○ M... 1956 } raised by their mother
○ N... 1957 }
card incomplete

△ Tadada 1937 Av. R. 1, P32
mo. Kabyé
fa. raised by his mother

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Villages of Karmotibo and Adzi-Dipela II

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1) Kasacoma

△ Akwali 1935 Dip. II, F7 Karmotibo
mo. Mashi-Mochi † ← Kwiyimasa
fa. Papa (L)

raising △ A... 1948, mo. Gas (Papatitos)

△ Alkada 1900 Hunsuga A5, b5 Karmotibo
mo. A5 †
fa.

** ○ Akuma 1900 Dip. II, E1 Karmotibo
mo. Kwiyimasa
fa. Sintonli (P)

1st hus. K... (DJUKA)
△ † 1 mo. 1897
○ † Petikoma 1899-1948
△ † 1901-1930

2d hus. Rassi (P) ♦ †
△ C... ♂ 1906-1908
△ Kwami 1908

3d hus. M... (DJUKA) †
△ Balikti 1930

4th hus. P...(Creoli) ♦

** ○ Apalin 1922 † Dip. II, F9 Karmotibo
mo. Mashi-Mochi †
fa. Papa (L)

hus. M... (village Papatitos)
† child dead 1st week 1937
† child dead — 1938
† child dead — 1939
† ch. 1940
† ch. 1941 —
○ M... 1942, raised by her mother
△ S... 1950
○ R... 1953
△ S... 1956
○ L... Oct. 1957
} raised by their mother

△ Balikti 1930 Dip. II, F5 Karmotibo
mo. Alama
fa. M... (DJUKA) raised by his sister Petikoma †

/[illegible]/

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△ Bian 1[illegible] P[illegible], [illegible]
mo. Ninga
fa. Agoti (lin. Tolinga) †

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* ○ Ranga 1[illegible] Dip. II, E[illegible] Kawatibo
mo. Kwéyiamen †
fa. Lébéwaku (Djo) † raised by her mother

hus. Tolinga (P1, E11, village Papaïkou) +
△ † in a few months
△ † Saakulu 1934-1948

not remarried

** ○ Dumapé 1[illegible] Dip. II, G17 Kawatibo
mo. Nanay †
fa. Sumlé (P1)
1st hus. A... (DJUKA) +

2d hus. K... (DJUKA) +
○ A... 1948, raised by Uman, Dumayé's sis.
△ † in a few months
△ A... 1950, raised by Alwadé in village Loka
○ K... 1953

△ Dédéman 1934 lineage AS, 415 Kawatibo
mo. Magdaléna
fa. Léon († 1954) raised by his mother

△ Dakwé 1936 lineage AS, 419
mo. Magdaléna
fa. Léon († 1954) raised by his mother

** ○ Gengaku 1937 lineage AS, 418
mo. Magdaléna
fa. Léon † raised by her mother

hus. Tapié (Djusi) (lin. Tolinga, village Papaïkou)
○ K... Nov. 57

△ Kéké 1[illegible] Dip. II, F[illegible] Kawatibo
mo. Akabu †
fa. Kosya (Djo) † raised by his mother

△ Kanaé 1[illegible] Dip. II, F4 Kawatibo
mo. Alama
fa. Kanaé (P) † raised by his mother

** ○ Léléé 1[illegible] Dip. II, Kawatibo
mo. Pélikanu † ← Alama
fa. K... (DJUKA) †
1st hus. Yuna (P1, E15, village Papaïkou) +

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2d hus. Tuhuto (K3, K197, Bushdile) ◆
○ † in 2 days 1965

3d hus. T... (DJUKA) ◆
△ K... 1948, raised by his mother
△ R... 1951, raised by his mother

4th hus. Boekoeman (Aw. R. I, F12, village Asisi)
△ T... 1953
○ A... Jan. 1957

○ Magdalena 1912 Lineage A8, e59 Kwamalike
mo. Tunita †
fa.
hus. Léon † 1953
△ Dotokimon 1934
△ † at 3 yrs. 1951-1954
△ † at 2 yrs. 1951-1953
△ T... 1950
△ R... 1955
○ Handa 1956
○ Gangalon 1957
△ Dokwé 1958
△ S... † 1941-1942
○ † 1943-1948
○ E... 1944
○ M... 1949
△ R... 1951

raising △ G... 1948 mo. Boekoeman †
not remarried end of 1957
Observation : Magdalena has raised all her children herself

△ Hanu 1905 Dip. II, S9 Kwamalike
mo. Kwéytuman †
fa. Léhikwuka † (Djo, Asisi) raised by his father

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* ○ Handa 1956 A8, d18 Kwamalike
mo. Magdalena
fa. Léon † raised by her mother
hus. Dodo (Papaloton)
△ † 1955-1956

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* ○ Hugo 1899 F2, F70 Kwamalike
mo. Alatikyé †
fa. Alémin (lineage A8)
husbs.? 1st hus. Agusi (lin. A8) † 1957
△ † 1st week 1920
△ † 1st week 1922
△ † 1st week 1924
○ † 1st day 1926
△ Bian 1929

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△ Tuapa 1935 Dip. II, E7 Kuzualiko
mo. Kwéyimuan †
fa. Lébikwaku
head of the village Kuzualiko

** ○ Tuma 1918 Dip. II, G15 Kuzualiko
mo. Nanoy †
fa. A... (SAM.) † raised by her mother
1st hus. Anatombé (L2, F79, village Loka) +
2d hus. Mangato (lin. Tuba, village Papaikoso)
○ † at 2 yrs. 1947-1949
raising ○ A... 1948, mo. Dunayé

2) Aanu-Dudlu II

* ○ Ahandi 1929 Dip. II Aziel-Dip. II
mo. Kaale ← Sinty
fa. Loko (Dju) raised by her mother
hus. Papakay (Aw. B. 1, F82, village Aziel) since 1955
○ R... 1956

△ Amundé 1907 Dip. II, F42 Aziel-Dip. II
mo. Afiandi †
fa. Bulbichi † (Dip. I) raised by his father

△ Aziel 1910 Dip. II, G30 Aziel-Dip. II
mo. Pilli †
fa. Agodibo (P1, Papaikoso) raised by his father
raising △ A... 1942, mo. Tobi (village Loka)

△ Baine 1915 Dip. II, G27 Aziel-Dip. II
mo. Sinty
fa. Nato (Aw. B.) raised by his father
raising △ G... 1951, mo. Tobi (village Loka)

** ○ Bibiki 1930 Dip. II, G22 Aziel-Dip. II
mo. Pilli †
fa. Agodibo (P1) raised by her mother
1st hus. Adam (lin. AS) +
2nd hus. Dopie (Aw. B. 1, F9, village Aziel) +
△ A... 1950, raised by his father in Aziel
○ A... 1955
△ L... 1957

○ Ghibiki 1930 Dip. II, G24 Aziel-Dip. II
mo. Pilli †
fa. Agodibo

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1st hus. Mangoto (I. Tolles) +
3d hus. Nelpe (Dip. I, F22, village L'Enfant Perdu) +
3d hus. K... (DJUKA)
sterile

** ○ Kaala 1917 Dip. II, G18 Ashi-Dip. II
mo. Sisty †
fa. Nato †
1st hus. Modéko (K2, E20, Benville) +
2d hus. Loko (Djo, F20, village Ashi)
○ Amafo 1939
△ † 1944-1945
○ K... 1949
○ G... 1952
○ † stillborn 1955
○ A... 1954, raised by her mother
○ M... 1954, raised by Abiaman in Loka
3d hus. Tamo (L1, F22, village Loka) +

** ○ Ellaga 1919 Dip. II, G31 Ashi-Dip. II
mo. Kaala ← Sisty
fa. Loko raised by her mother
1st hus. Bisso (F2, G30, village Papaikou) +
2d hus. Simon (Dip. I, F78, village L'Enfant Perdu)
△ K... 1952
△ P... 1954
has not lost any children

△ Kopo 1924 Dip. II, G32 Ashi-Dip. II
mo. Sisty †
fa. Nato raised by his father

** ○ Tamo 1932 Dip. II, G39 Ashi-Dip. II
mo. Sisty †
fa. Nato raised by her mother
1st hus. Dyukato (Dip. I, E4, Benville) +
2d hus. Anikéyé (P1, G32, Papaikou)
○ Z... 1955
raising ○ E... 1949, mo. Tyoko

** ○ Tyoko 1936 Dip. II, G39 Ashi-Dip. II
mo. Sisty †
fa. Nato
1st hus. Sinalo (L2, F23, village Loka) +
○ A... 1952, raised by her mother
○ E... 1949, raised by Tamo, Tyoko's sit.
○ † at 4 mos.
○ T... 1961
2d hus. Dodo (K1, E15, village Kotika)
△ A... 1960
○ K... Oct. 1967

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VILLAGE PANDANUS

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△ [illegible] 1922 F1, G25
mo. WAHM
fa.

△ Adam 1910
mo. ?)
fa. ?) uncertain origin

○ Adauda 1932 F1, H61
mo. Mama ← WAHI
fa.
hus. E... (DJUKA)
△ Y... 1952
△ A... 1955
raised by Dauat ?, her maternal great-grandmother

△ Agadika 1939 F1, K1
mo. Aqana ?
fa.
raising △ A... 1948, mo. Agadiki
Observation : remembered having been 10 to 12 years old at the time of the death of the grand mum Ameto (DUKA)

○ Agadiamam 1921 F1, F10
mo. Aemian ← Ela
fa. Kidd (Dip. II)
raised by Kamam, her mo.'s sis.
hus. Peiao (Dip. I)
stella (?)
card incomplete

Agamdi 1930 F1, P4
mo. Gafin ?
fa.
raised by his uncle Sawan

○ Ahoamam 1908 F1, F21
mo. Obon ← Ela
fa. Peapa (Anlaki) (Dip. II)
raised by her mother
hus. Sakamam (K1, K16, Hankitin) since 1929
○ ? 2 days 1928
△ ? 1 week 1954
△ S... 1956

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** ○ Agbuta 1910 P1, F45
mo. Ayaka †
fa. raised by her mother
1st hus. Kwata (K2, E100, village Kattiko) ✚ in 1950
○ Dugi 1930
○ † 1930-1945
△ † 8 mos. 1931
○ Maina 1933
○ † 1 week
○ Bambi 1936
△ Baka 1940 raised by his father
△ G... 1948
2d hus. W... (Creole)
raising △ A... 1952, mo. Atipay.

** ○ Agambéé 1919 lineage Tolna (BAKABUCMI)
mo. Fachi ← Tolna
fa. raised by Tolna
1st hus. Agaya (P) †
△ Tapié 1936
3d hus. Aténi (Dip. II, G20, village Aabé-Dip. II)
○ Susan 1938
○ K... † at 1 yr. 1940
△ A... 1945, raised by △ Agadiba (P1, E1)
△ B... † 1946-1952
△ P... 1950, raised by △ Agaya, his mother's uncle
△ † at 3 yrs. 1951-1954
△ † at 2 yrs. 1951-1953
△ Z... 1953
△ R... 1955

△ Agaya 1901 lineage Tolna (BAKABUCMI)
mo. Tolna ← Mankamana
fa. Agadiba (?)
raising △ P... 1950, mo. Agambéé

** ○ Amadan 1890 P1, E10
mo. Ela
fa. Fanté †
1st hus. Adiko (Dju, F37, village Aabé-Dju) ✚
2 child. † before 1 yr.
○ Dété 1923
○ Gan 1927
○ Kobaya 1928
2d hus. Kédé (Dip. II, F28, village Kormotiko) ✚
○ Agadémana 1931
△ Dodo 1933
3d hus. Agaté (lin. Tolna, village Kormotiko) ✚ † in 1957
○ Bindya 1939
○ Magi 1941, raised by her mother
△ K... 1947, raised by the grand man Difu in Benville
4th hus. Kédé taken again.

/356/

*162
*621

** ○ Aligar 1921 P1, F47
mo. Ayuko †
fa. raised by her mother
1st hus. Flattmus (Dju, F4, Boniville) +
△ † at 2 mos. 1935
△ Tano 1940, raised by his father in Boniville
○ E... 1947, raised by her mother
2d hus. Ernest (Aw. H. 1, K28, village Asisi)
△ A... 1952, raised by Apiluzu

** ○ Bill 1924 P1, F19
mo. Oben ← Eli
fa. Poapu (Dipéle 11) raised by Oben
hus. Pikinlanle (L1, E2, village Lapt Tobiki) since 1951
no children

○ Bindya 1929 P1, F12
mo. Asenton ← Eli
fa. Agaéi † (l. Tolus) raised by Ma Toina
hus. Alichi (Dip. 1, F4, Boniville)
no children

** ○ Boaki 1936 P1, G42
mo. Apitubu ← Ayuko
fa. Kwato (K) ← △ Loko † raised by Kukuza (Asisi), sis. of Loko
hus. Paawé (Dju, F19, village Asisi-Dju)
○ E... 1956

* ○ Bibi 1942 P1, F7
mo. Asenton ← Eli
fa. Adiino (Dju) raised by Asenton
hus. Apuyo (lin. Tolus, village Papakton)
△ P... 1943
○ † at 2 yrs.
○ † at 1 yr.
△ A... 1954
△ E... 1956
○ A... 1957

△ Bulu 1940 P1, G43
mo. Apituzu ← Ayuko †
fa. Kwato raised by his father

△ Budo 1933 P1, F11
mo. Asenton ← Eli
fa. Kaki (Dip. 18) raised by Tafunié, his mo.'s bro.
raising △ T... 1951, son of his sister Kokoyo

/359/

*162
*621

** ○ Bapi 1930 P1, G49
mo. Apituta ← Ayuka †
fa. Kwata (K) raised by Ayuka †
hus. Tanu (L1, F22, village Loka) ✚
△ N... 1956, raised by ○ Pauka, his father's mother, in village Loka
△ † 1958-1954

△ Buka 1939 P1, F18
mo. Obea ← Ela
fa. Peapu (Asisi) (Dip. II) raised by Tolinga, his mo.'s bro.

** ○ Ela 1875 P1, D4
mo. Gabonda †
fa.
1st hus. Paulé (Dju, Bonville) †
△ Umuseso † at 2 yrs.
○ Asuman 1900
△ twin † in a few months
2d hus. Dupau (Dju, Asisi) ✚
△ Tolinga 1901
△ Tabaté 1902
○ Obea 1906
○ A... † 1909-1908
3d hus. Adowda (L1, Loka) †
○ Kamau 1912
△ Gaimo 1916
△ Yuso 1920

* ○ Bodila 1907 P1, F9
mo. Ondie †
fa.
1st hus. Pilipili (Aw. B. 1, F2, village Asisi) ✚ raised by Agodiba
2d hus. Loko (Dju, F20, village Asisi-Dju)
sterile

△ Gaimo 1916 P1, E15
mo. Ela
fa. Dupau (Dju) † raised by his bro. Tolinga

** Gon 1927 P1, F8
mo. Asuman ← Ela
fa. Adiko (Dju) raised by △ Agodiba
1st hus. Akwali (Dip. II, Karamtiko) ✚ 1953
○ A... 1955,
△ A... 1956,
○ K... 1959
○ P... 1954
raised by their mother
2d hus. Bibu (K) ✚
has not lost any children

/360/

*712
*621

** ○ Bilima 1918 P1, F2
mo. Ouin †
fa. raised by Ela
1st hus. Alemin (Aw. H. 1, E40, village Asini) +
2d hus. Matpa (Dip. I, F52, village L'Enfant Perdu)
3d hus. Dalihi (Dip. II, F5, Kormotiko)
△ C... 1952
△ L... 1955

** ○ Kunan 1912 P1, E14
mo. Ela
fa. Adaudé † (L.) raised by her father Adaudé
1st hus. Papay †
2d hus. Yéneron (Dip. I, E32, village l'Enfant Perdu)
△ T... 1949, raised by Tafanié
3d hus. Adam (lin. Tolna, village Papaintan)
○ A... 1956
○ † at 4 mos. 1957
raising ○ E... 1942, mo. Oben

** ○ Kalapo 1929 P1, F9
mo. Asentéw
fa. Adiloo (Djo, Asini)
1st hus. Baiam (Dip. II, Asini) + 1952
△ † in a few months
○ A... 1948, raised by her mother
△ T... 1951, raised by Dodo, his mother's bro.
2d hus. Glyom + in 1956
3d hus. Tiago (L1, F25, village Loka)

○ Kunuta 1937 P1, G1
mo. Wiliminia ← Ouin
fa. Mengoto (l. Tolna) raised by her mother
married to Baiami (L. Loka) 1954
△ A... 1954

△ Kunku 1894 P1, F40
mo. Ayuka †
fa. lives at Boundorp

○ Magi 1941 P1, F13
mo. Asentea ← Ela
fa. Agoti (Dip. II) raised by her mother
hus. Afanyé (L1, F11, village Loka)

** ○ Mulua 1933 P1, G41
mo. Apiluto
fa. Kwoto (K) raised by her mother
hus. Nano (Dip. II, E5, Kormotiko)
○ M... 1953
△ E... 1955

/361/

*162
*621

△ Hangalo 1960 lineage Tolon (BAKABUCHI)
mo. Tolon ← Mankamman
fa. Agodiko (?)

** ○ [illegible] 1957 P1, F30
mo. Obon ← Eis
fa. Poopo (Azisi) (Dip. II) raised by Efa
hus. Tolon (L1, E3, village Loka)
△ W... 1954, raised by Bito, his fa.'s mo., in the vill. of Loka

** ○ Obon 1960 P1, E13
mo. Eis
fa. Dapon † (Djo)
1st hus. Poopo (Dip. II, E7, village Kormotibo) +
△ Dudu 1929
△ † at 3 yrs. 1931-34
○ [illegible] 1940
○ † at 2 days 1935
○ [illegible] 1937
○ Ahoeman 1950
○ K... 1948, raised by Kamen, her mo.'s sis.
○ S... 1944, raised by her mother
2d hus. Pusi (L1, F30, village Loka)
△ O... 1960, raised by his father in Loka
△ Z... 1962

** ○ Gadi 1958 P1, F49
mo. Ayaba †
fa. Wadisi (BAKABUCHI) raised by her father
hus. Gaman (Aw. B. 1, F7, village Azisi)
△ † 1945-1947
○ F... 1946, raised by Titi, her fa.'s mo., in Azisi
△ B... 1949, raised by his father in Azisi
△ † 1950, dead in 1 week
○ K... 1951
△ D... 1956

** ○ Pali 1950 P2, F71
mo. Alabiyé †
fa.
1st hus. Bubi +
2d hus. Musiti (K) +
3d hus. Mutya (Dip. I, F92, Village L'Enfant Perdu)
sterile

△ Sawan 1955 (?) P1, E7
mo. Sen †
fa. Samabiti (Dibon) †
raising ○ A... 1948, daughter of Seboy (X)

/162/

*162
*121

○ Senan 1937 lineage Tolen (BAKABUCHI)
mo. Apuulobi
fa. Aténi (Dip. II) raised by Tofiti, 2d wife of her fa.
hus. Aliki (Dju)
○ † 1 week 1957 (Jan.)
card incomplete

△ Tokoli 1903 P1, E12
mo. Eli
fa. Dupou †
raising ○ A... 1945, mo. Nanaso (P1, G60) & △ T... 1948, mo. Kanaso

△ Tagié 1936 lineage Tolen (BAKABUCHI)
mo. Apuulobi
fa. Apupu (P) †

** ○ Tolen 1870 BAKABUCHI
mo. Mentanman ← Kunchibo
fa.
1st hus. Gadubio ♦ †
○ Fenki 1896
△ Mangolo 1898
△ Apuyu 1901
○ † at 2 yrs. 1903-1905
○ † Koko 1905-1943
2d hus. Mazai ♦ †
3d hus. Agodibo (P1, E1, village Papaikan)

△ Tolingo 1901 P1, E11
mo. Eli
fa. Dupou (Dju) † raised by Adam †, his mo.'s bro.

○ Wilhelmina 1915 P1, F1
mo. Ondin †
fa. raised by her mother
1st hus. Mangolo (I. Tolen) ♦
○ Kumolo 1937
2d hus. Atyéntya †
△ A... 1942, raised by his mother
△△ †† in a few days 1943
1 child † in a few days 1945
3d hus. Bleu (Aw. B. 1, F17, Aziki)
○ S... 1947, raised by her mother
△ K... 1952, raised by Kabyé, his fa.'s mo., in Aziki
△ G... 1953
△ B... 1956
△ G... 1957

△ Tuan 1926 P1, E16
mo. Eli
fa.
raising △ A... 1946, mo. Kiman (K, Benivilla)

6:Hurault--540 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/363/

113

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6:Hurault--541 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

113 /363 cont./

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[114] Editor's Note. -- An additional note by the same author, summarizing the data acquired on the origin of the various African survivals of the Refugee Blacks, will appear in the IFAN Bulletin, series B, volume XXIV, 1962.

6: Hurault

SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

*162

*601

*613

*614

C1 (p. 555)
C2 (p. 556)
C3 (p. 557)

Chart of Positions of End Chart C (Genealogy of the Dipelu II Lo and the Afi lineage) /facing p. 555/

6: Hurault

SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

*162

*601

*613

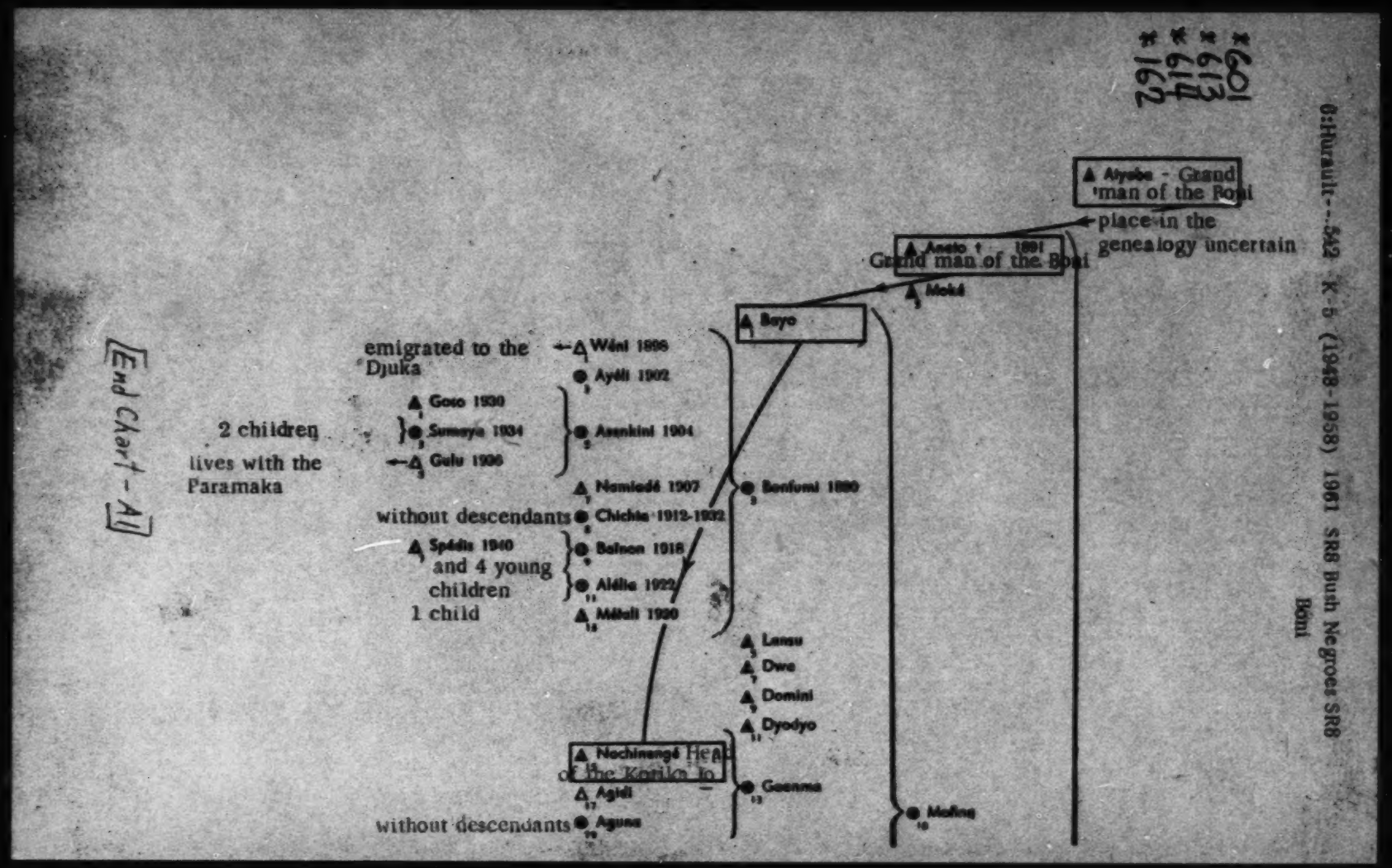
*614

A1 (p. 542)
A2 (p. 543)
A3 (p. 544)
A4 (p. 545)
A5 (p. 546)
A6 (P. 547)
A7 (p. 548)
A8 (p. 549)

Chart of Positions of End Chart A (Genealogy of the Yakabi (Kotika))Lo /facing p. 542/

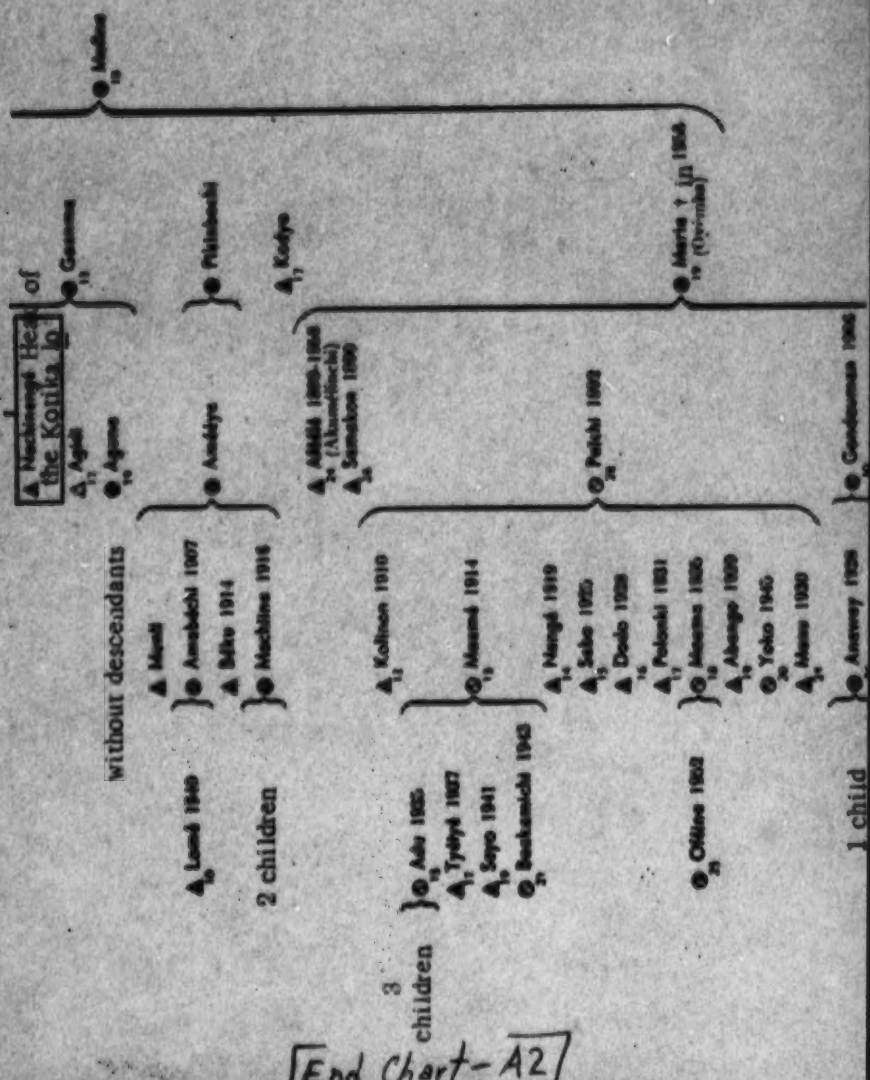
G:Hurault--542 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

*601
*613
*614
*162



6:Hurault--543 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

*601
*613
*614
*162



[End Chart-A2]

*601
*613
*614
*962

6:Huzault--544: K-5 (1948-1969) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

1st FRACTION

[End chart-A3]

#601
#613
#614
#162

End Chart - AW

6:Hurault--SRG: K-3 (1948-1958) 1961 SRG Bush Negroes SRG

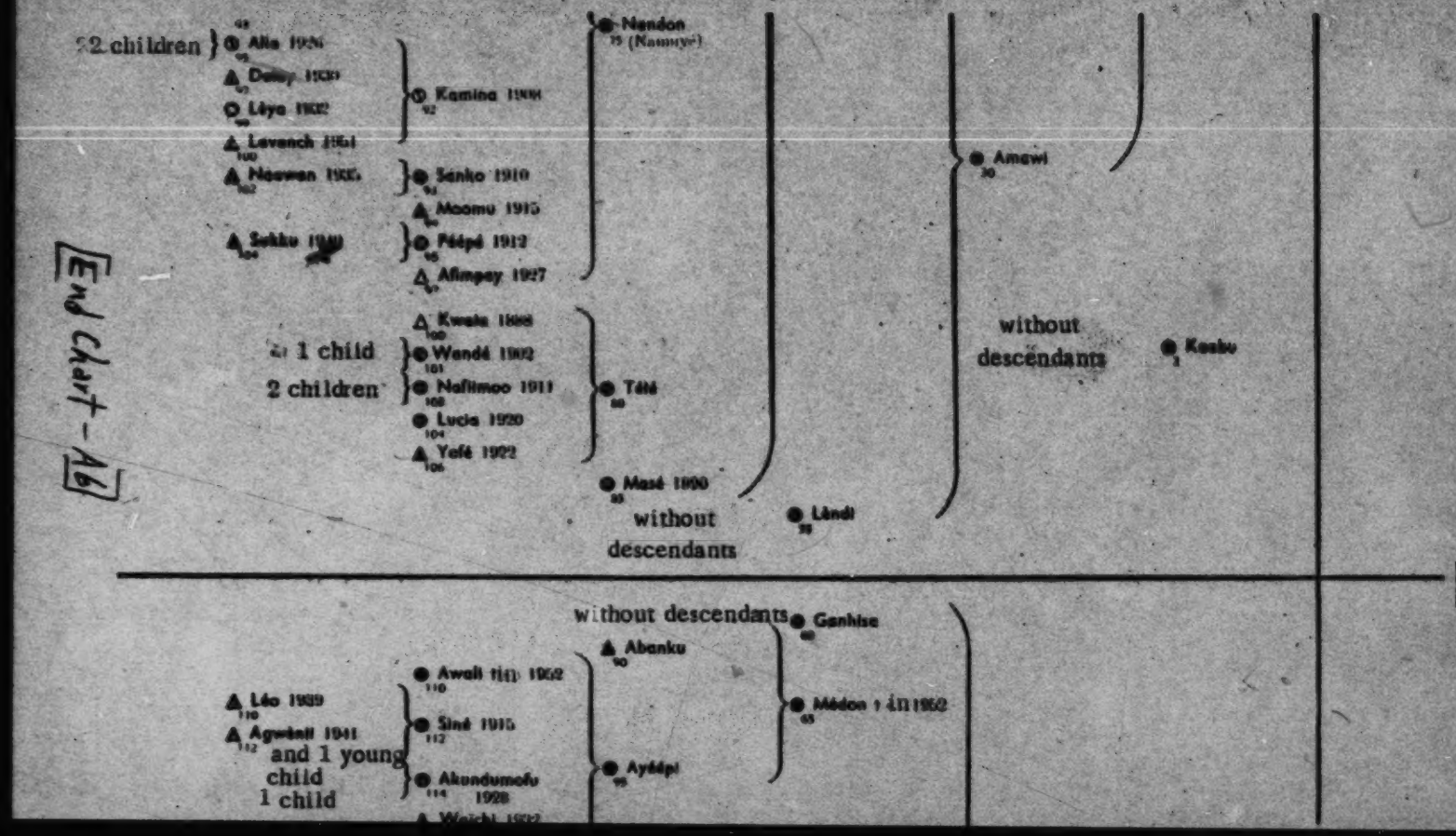
Boni

*601
*613
*614
*612

[End Chart-A5]

6:Huault--SR7. K-5 (1948-1958) 1961. SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

1967
1964
1963
1962
1961



*601
*613
*614
*162

6:Hurault--548 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

3rd FRACTION

[End chart-A7]

6:Hurault--549 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Boni

*601
*613
*614
*162

GENEALOGY OF THE YAKUBI (KOTIKA) (O)
(KOTIKA AND BONIVILLE VILLAGES)
IN JANUARY 1958

Kotika
Boniville
Abounasounga
Habitations on the estuary
Dead
Isolated in the midst of other villages
Emigrated for good

[End Chart-A8]

6: Hurault

SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

*162

*601

*613

*614

B1 (p. 550)
B2 (p. 551)
B3 (p. 552)
B4 (p. 553)
B5 (p. 554)

Chart of Positions of End Chart B (Genealogy of the Dipelu I Lo) /facing p. 550/

6:Hurault--550 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Binh Negroes SR8

Boni

*601
*613
*614
*162

GENEALOGY OF THE DIPELU 1 LO
(APATU AND L'ENFANT PERDU VILLAGES)
IN JANUARY 1958

Apatu
L'Enfant Perdu
Boniville
Dead
Isolated in the midst of other lineages
Emigrated for good

[End Chart-B]

End Chart-82

601
613
614
162

8:Humanity--653, K-5 (1946-1949) 1961 SRB Bush Negroes SRB
boni

1601
*613
*614
*162

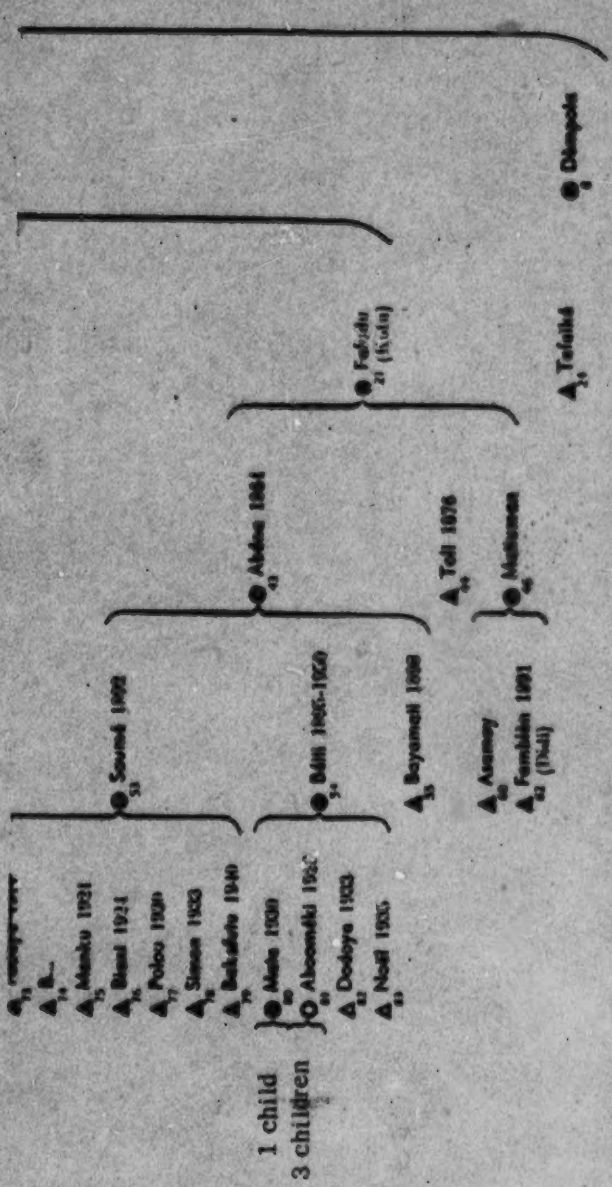
End Chart - B3

*601
*613
*614
*162

End Chart-84

6:Hurault--652 .. K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

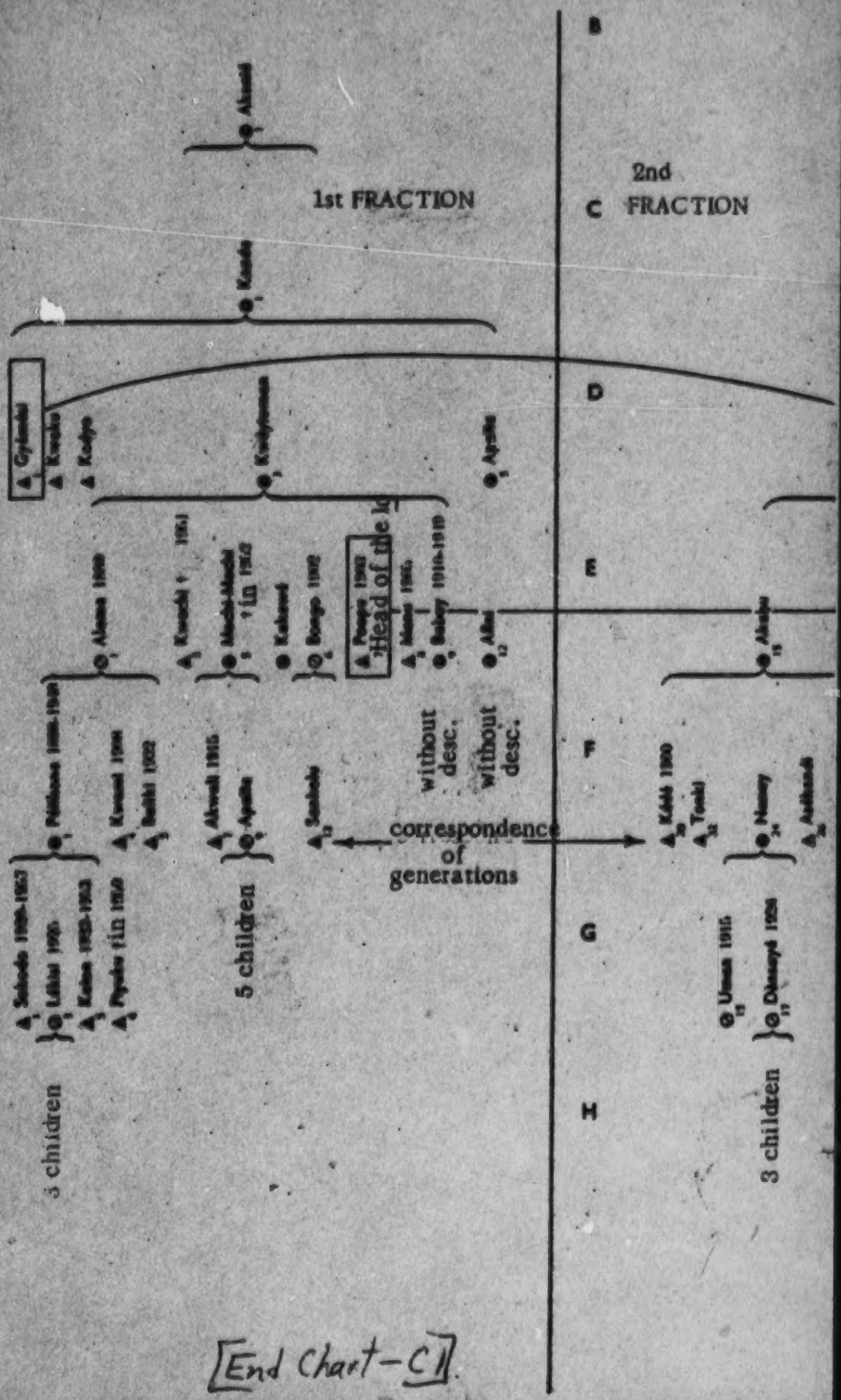
*601
*613
*614
*162



End Chart-BS

6:Hurault--556. K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

*601
*613
*614
*162



[End Chart-C1]

8:Hurault--556 K-8 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

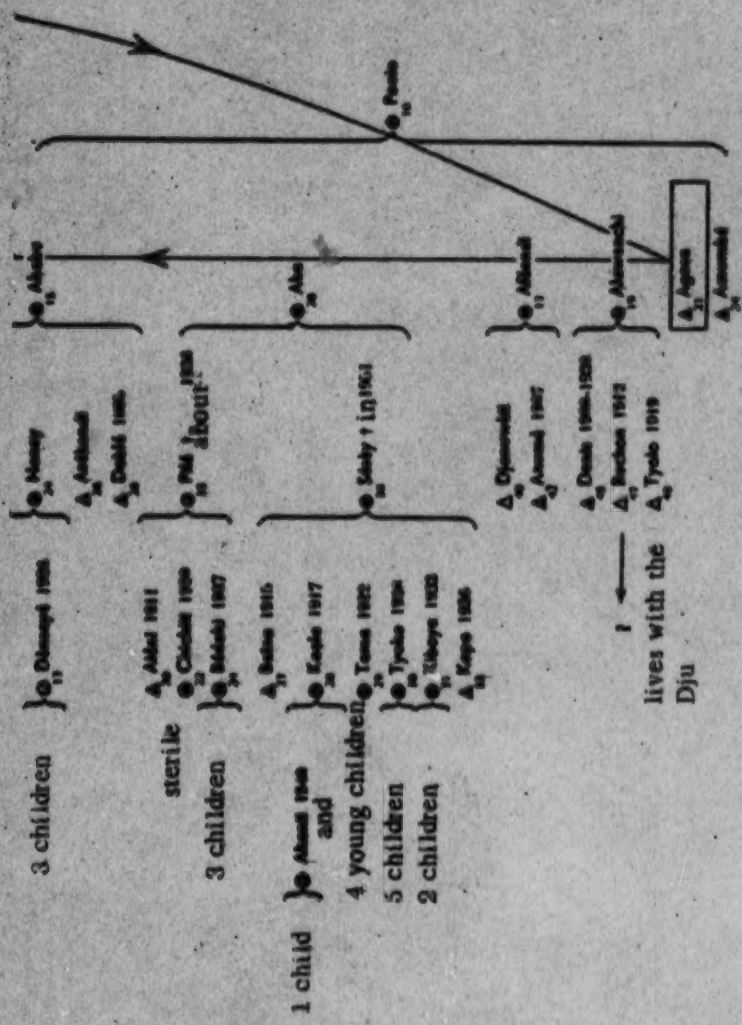
Boni

GENEALOGY OF THE DIPELU II LO AND THE AFI LINEAGE IN JANUARY 1958

*601
*613
*614
*162

2nd FRACTION

Kormotibo
Asisi
Dead
Isolated in the midst of other lineages
Emigrated for good

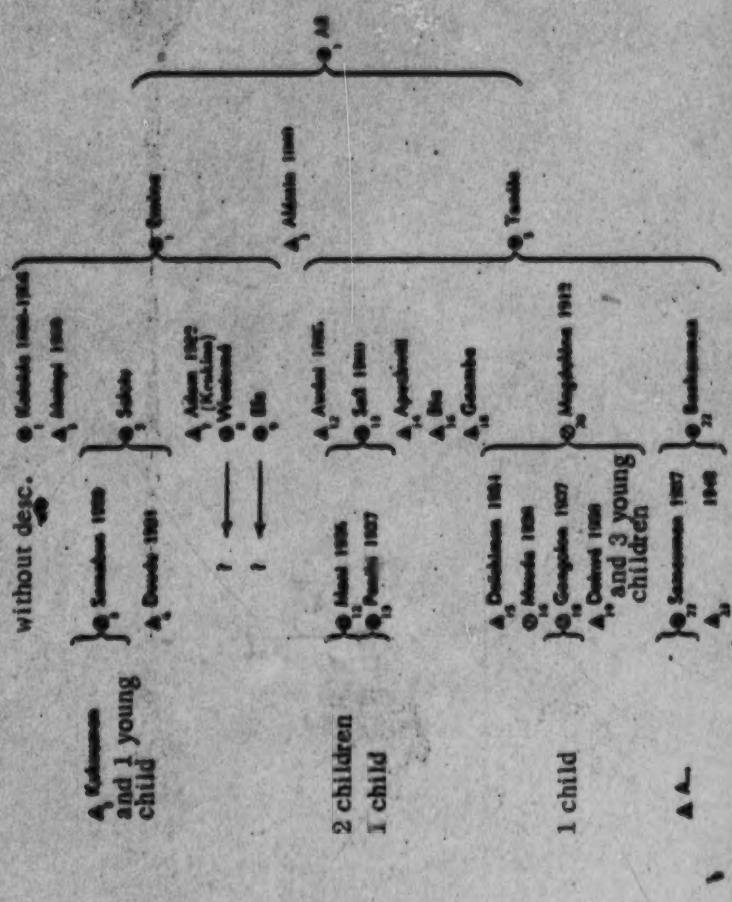


[End Chart - C2]

#601
#613
#162

AFI LINEAGE

Lineage unrelated to the Awara Bakka; founded by Afi, a woman of the Bakabuchi tribe (Surinam), immigrated at the end of the 19th century.



[End Chart - C3]

St Hurault

SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

*162

*601

*613

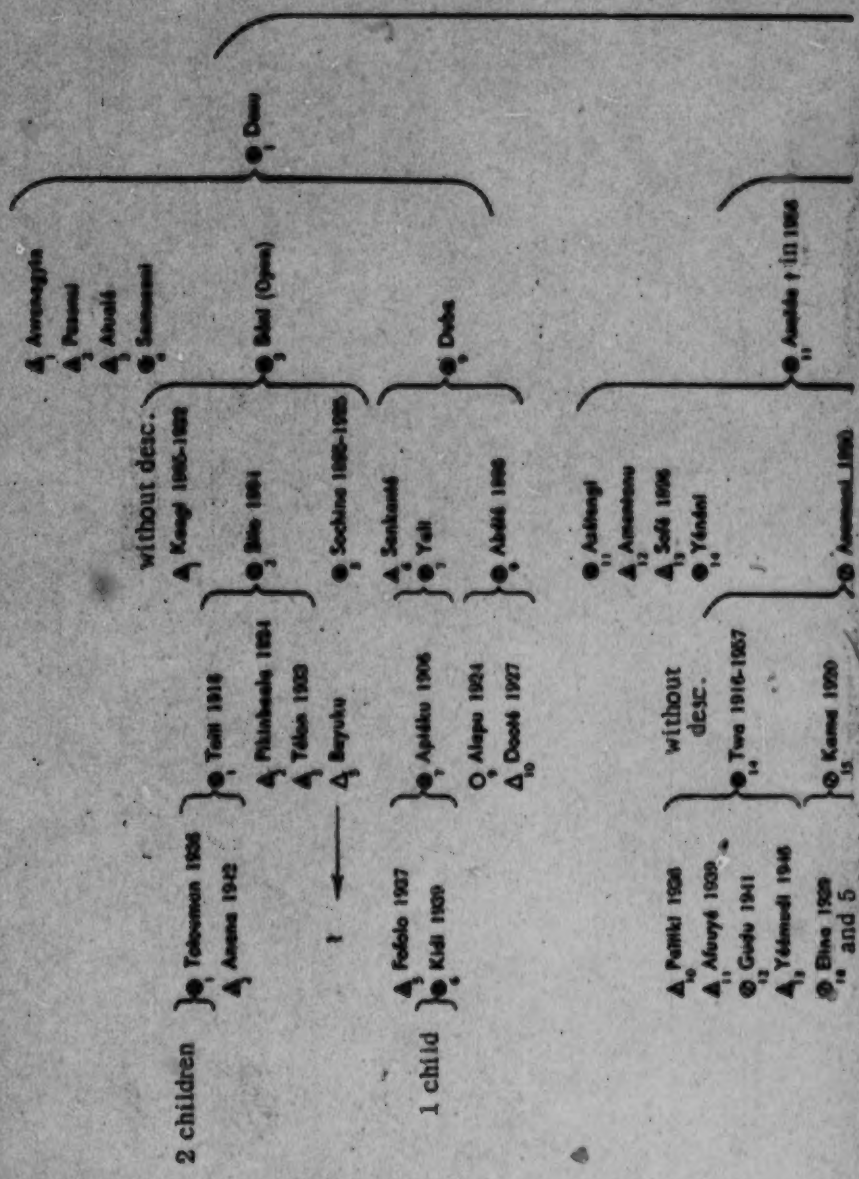
*614

D1 (p. 558)
D2 (p. 559)
D3 (p. 560)
D4 (p. 561)
D5 (p. 562)

Chart of Positions of End Chart D (Genealogy of the Lapé Lo) /facing p. 558/

6:Hurault--558. K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

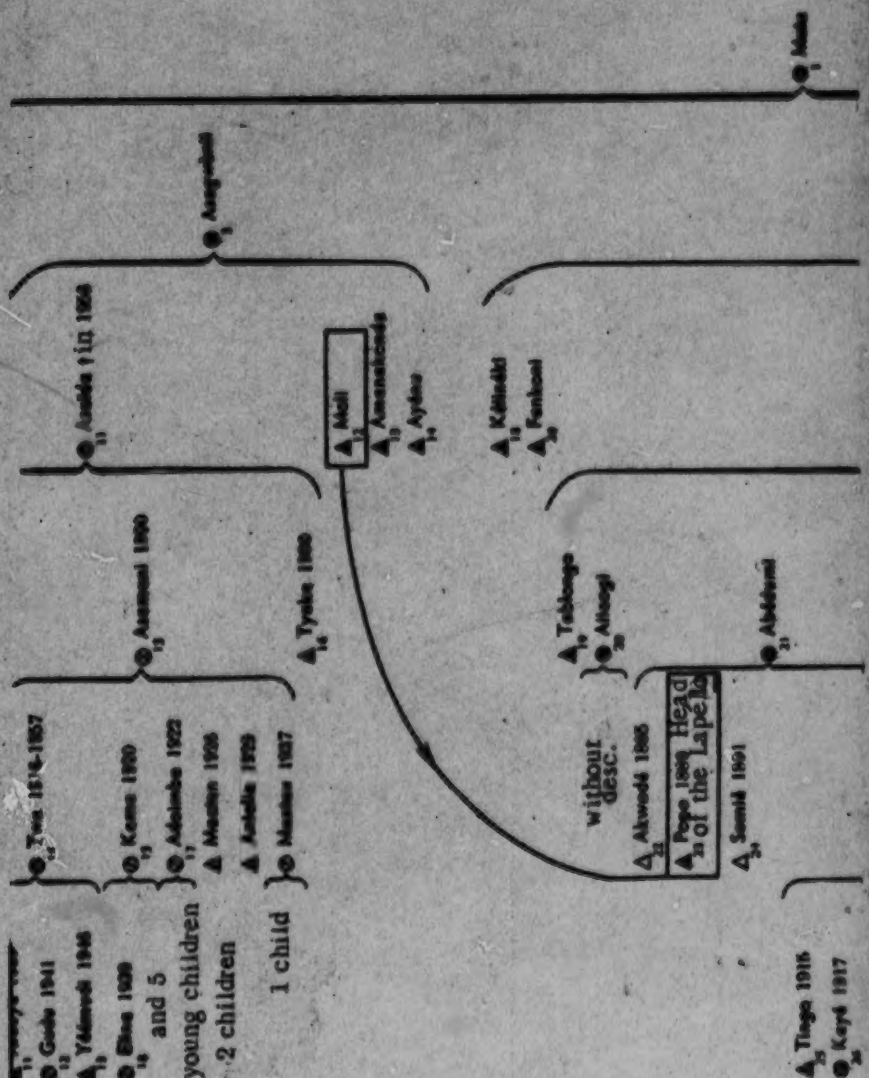
*601
*613
*614
*162



[End Chart - D1]

6:Hurault--~~569~~ K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

*601
*613
*614
*162



[End Chart-D2]

*601
*613
*614
*162

6:Hurault--660: K-6 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

End Chart - D3

*601
*613
*614
*162

6:Hurault--561 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Boni

1st FRACTION

2 children ● Dudu 1930 40

6 children ● Téké 1924 44
▲ Déési 1927 45
▲ Kabila 1929 46

● A... 1948 47

▲ Koniman 1900 31
● Mélita 1904 32
▲ Pwen 1908 33
● Mémé 1911 34

emigrated to the Paramaka ← ▲ Tiboyon 1914 38

▲ Ayaubédé 1911 37
● Yoana 1918 39
▲ Topo 1920 40
● Chil 1886 24

4 children ● Madu 1928 41
5 children ● Koko 1930 42
▲ Baala 1934 43

live in Hermina

▲ Pikinpapa 30
▲ Alimichi 1903 31
● Kokich 32

● Alala † in 1952 32

without desc.

● Gaan Sabéna 29

Lomé

Captain before Mali

place in the genealogy uncertain

Correspondence of generations

2 children ● Yundu 1926-1957

[End Chart - D4]

6:Hurault-1562 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Boni

*601
*613
*614
*162

GENEALOGY OF THE LAPÉ LO
((LOKA AND LAPÉ TABIKI VILLAGES)
IN JANUARY 1958

Loka
Lapé Taliki
Boniville
Dead
Isolated in the midst of other lineages
Emigrated for good

Lomé
Captain before Mali

place in the genealogy uncertain

Correspondence of generations

2nd FRACTION

Ahli 28

Asakundu 1891 55
- Kapéeki 1908 60
  - Yundu 1928-1957 60 — 2 children
  - Anato 1929 61
  - Paga 1930-1951 62 — 1 child
  - Alontu 1937 65 — 1 child
- Angisa 1913 61
- Sindu 1919 62 — lives in Boniville
- Amatodja 1922 63
- Maliki 1928 64 — raised by his father in Asisi

Térésa 1894 57
- Amèmbé 1911 70
- Amakli 1926 71
- Adyuka 1935 72
- Awélipay 1937 73
- Lomé 1938 74 — 1 child

Baafu 1900 58
Amédié 59
Kadi 60

[End Chart-Dd]

6: Hurault

SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

*162

*601

*613

*614

E1 (p. 563)
E2 (p. 564)
E3 (p. 565)
E4 (p. 566)

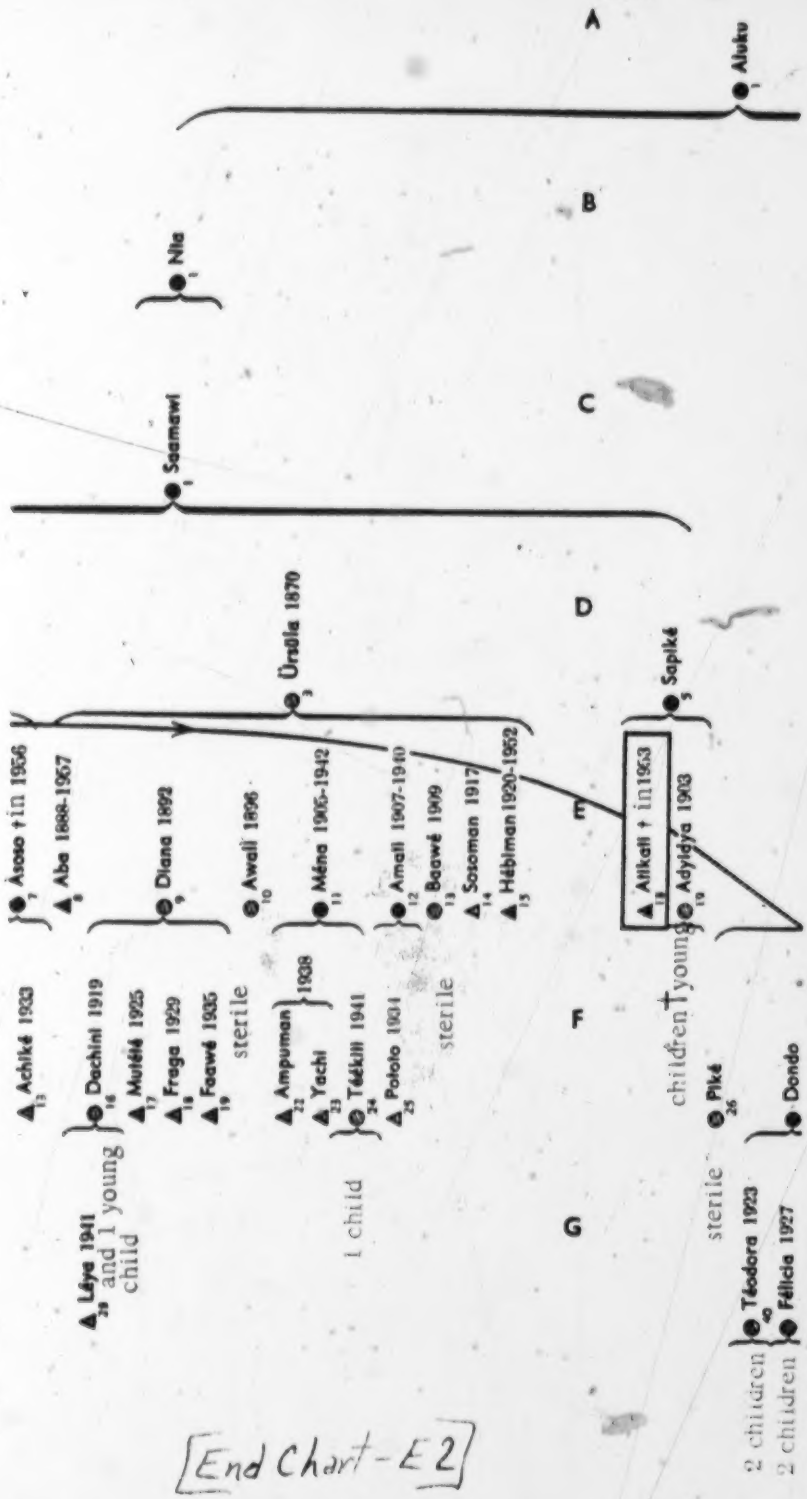
Chart of Positions of End Chart E (Genealogy of the Dju Lo) /facing p. 563/

6:Hurault--563 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

*601
*613
*614
*162

[End Chart-E1]

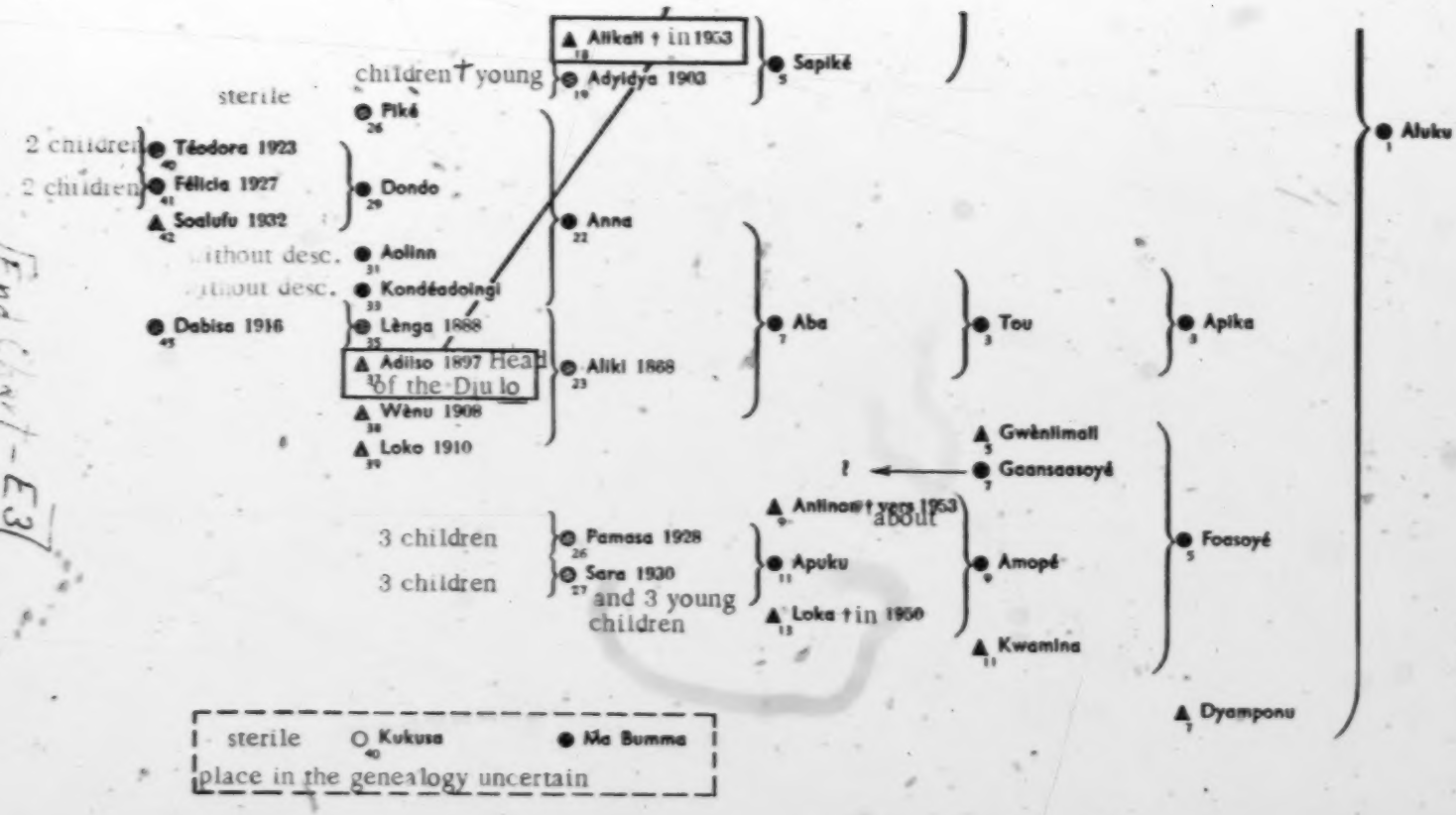
*601
*613
*614
*162



[End Chart - E2]

*601
*613
*614
*162

6:Hurault--565. K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

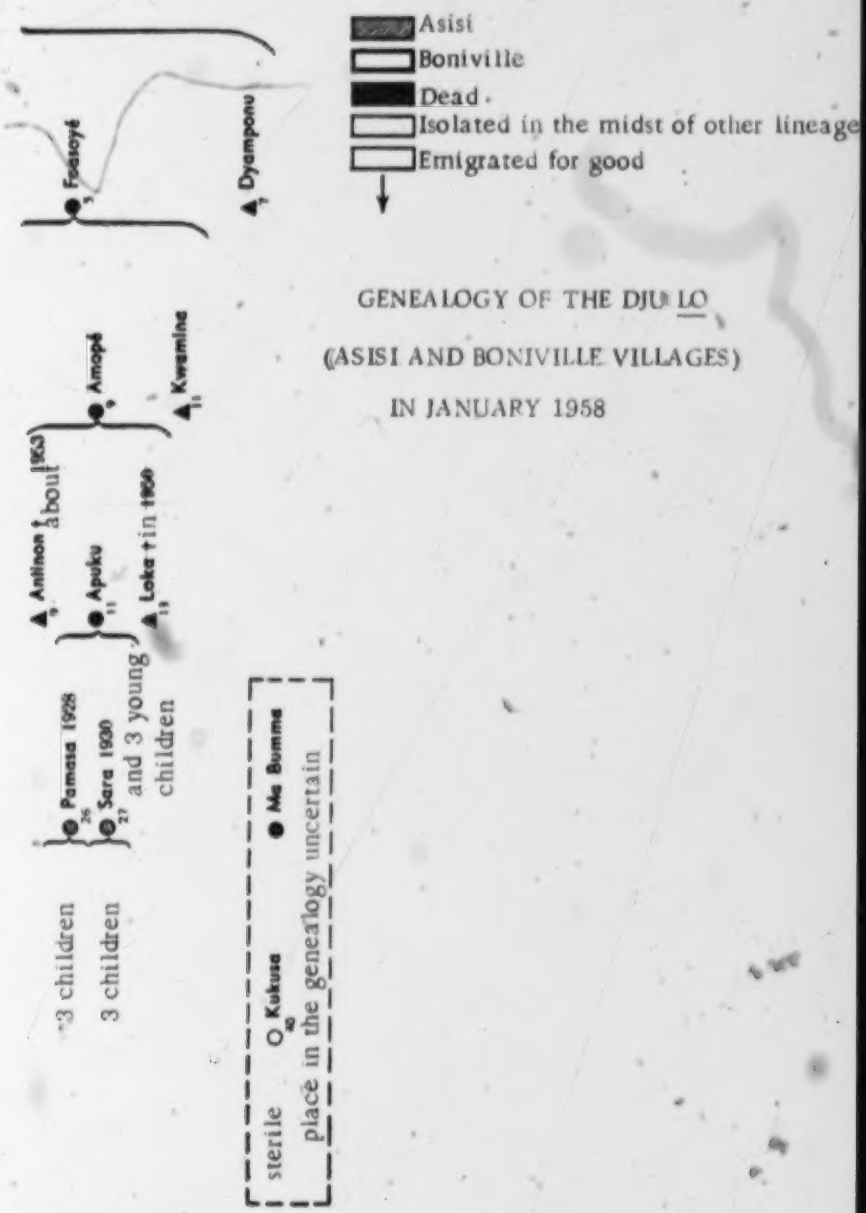


End Chart - E3

6:Hurault--566 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Boni

*601
*613
*614
*162



GENEALOGY OF THE DJUBLO

(ASISI AND BONIVILLE VILLAGES)

IN JANUARY 1958

[End Chart - E4]

6: Hurault

SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

*162

*601

*613

*614

F1 (p. 567)
F2 (p. 568)
F3 (p. 569)
F4 (p. 570)
F5 (p. 571)

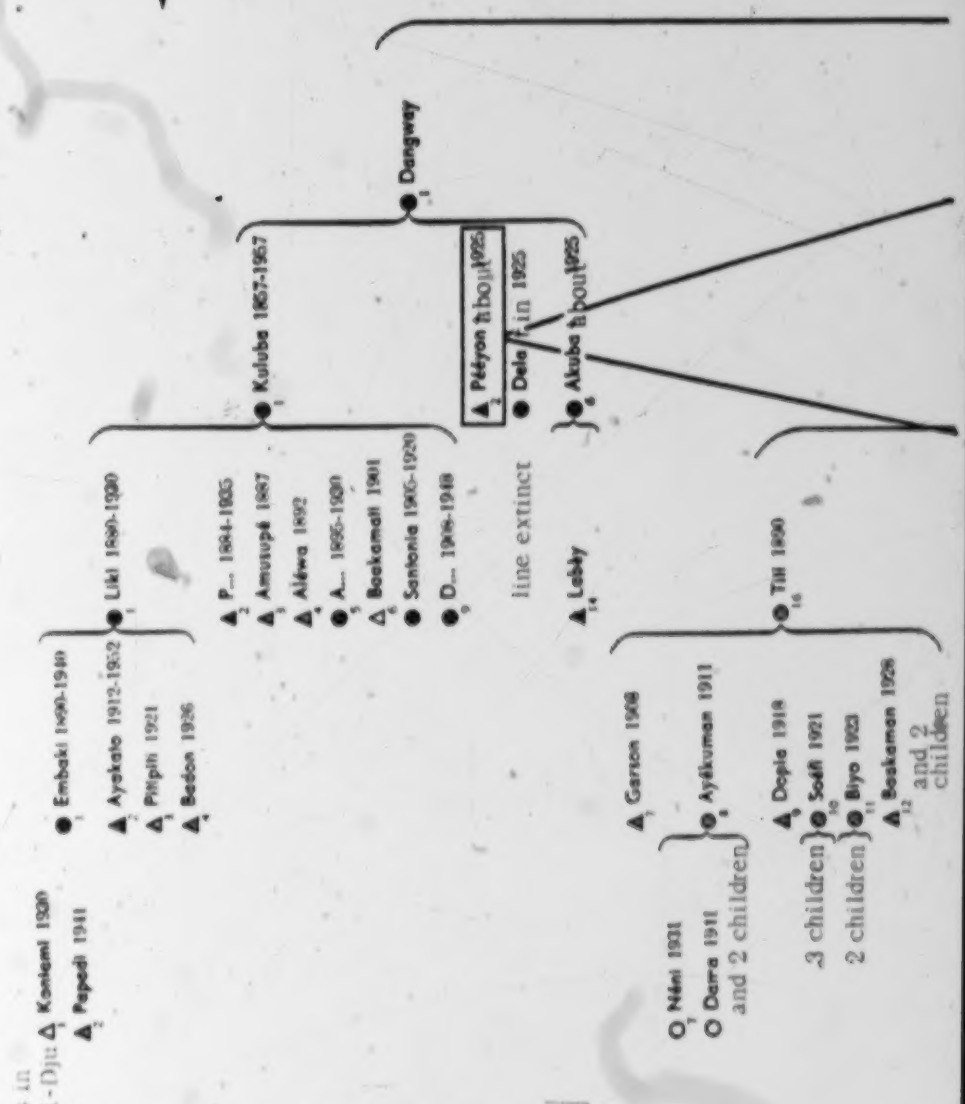
Chart of Positions of End Chart F (Genealogy of the Awara Bakka Lo) /facing p. 567/

6:Hurault--537. K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

*601
*613
*614.
*162

Asisi
Kormotibo
Dead
Isolated in the midst of other lineages
Emigrated for good

GENEALOGY OF THE AWARA BAKKA LO
(ASISI VILLAGE)
IN JANUARY 1958



[End Chart - F1]

6:Hurault--568 a K-6 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

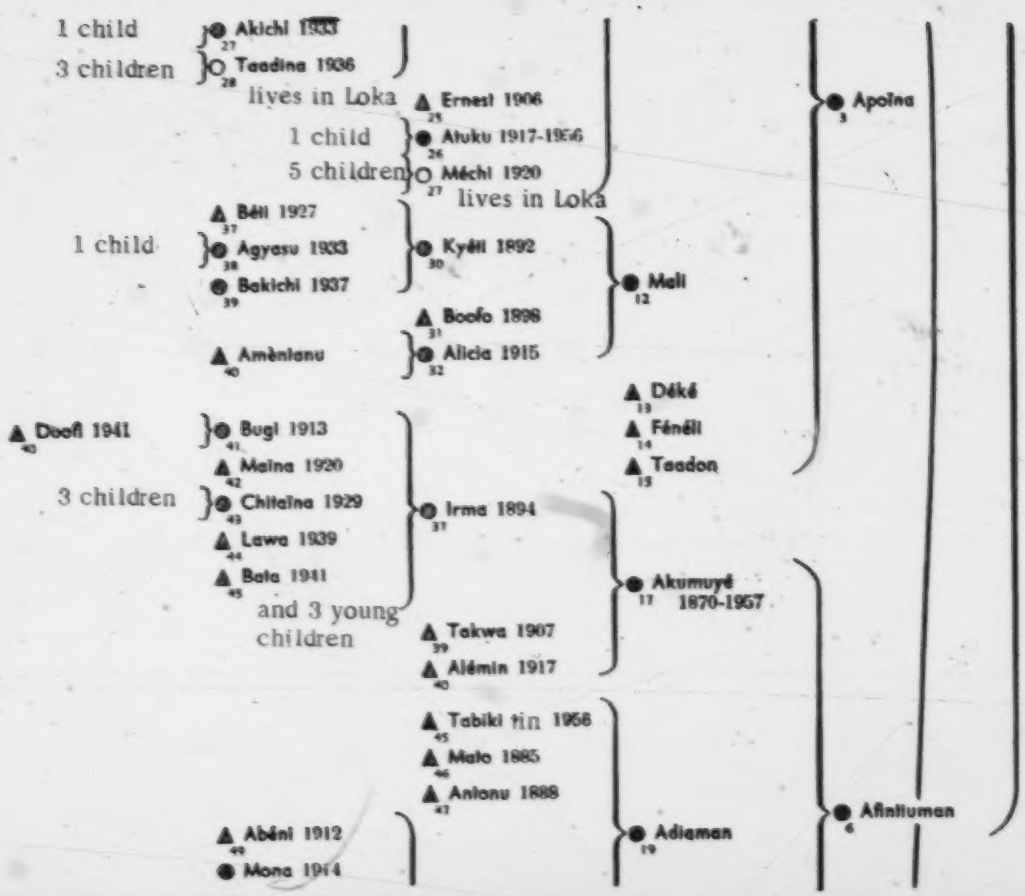
*601
*613
*614
*162

End chart-F2

*601
*613
*614
*162

6:Hurault--569 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

1st FRACTION

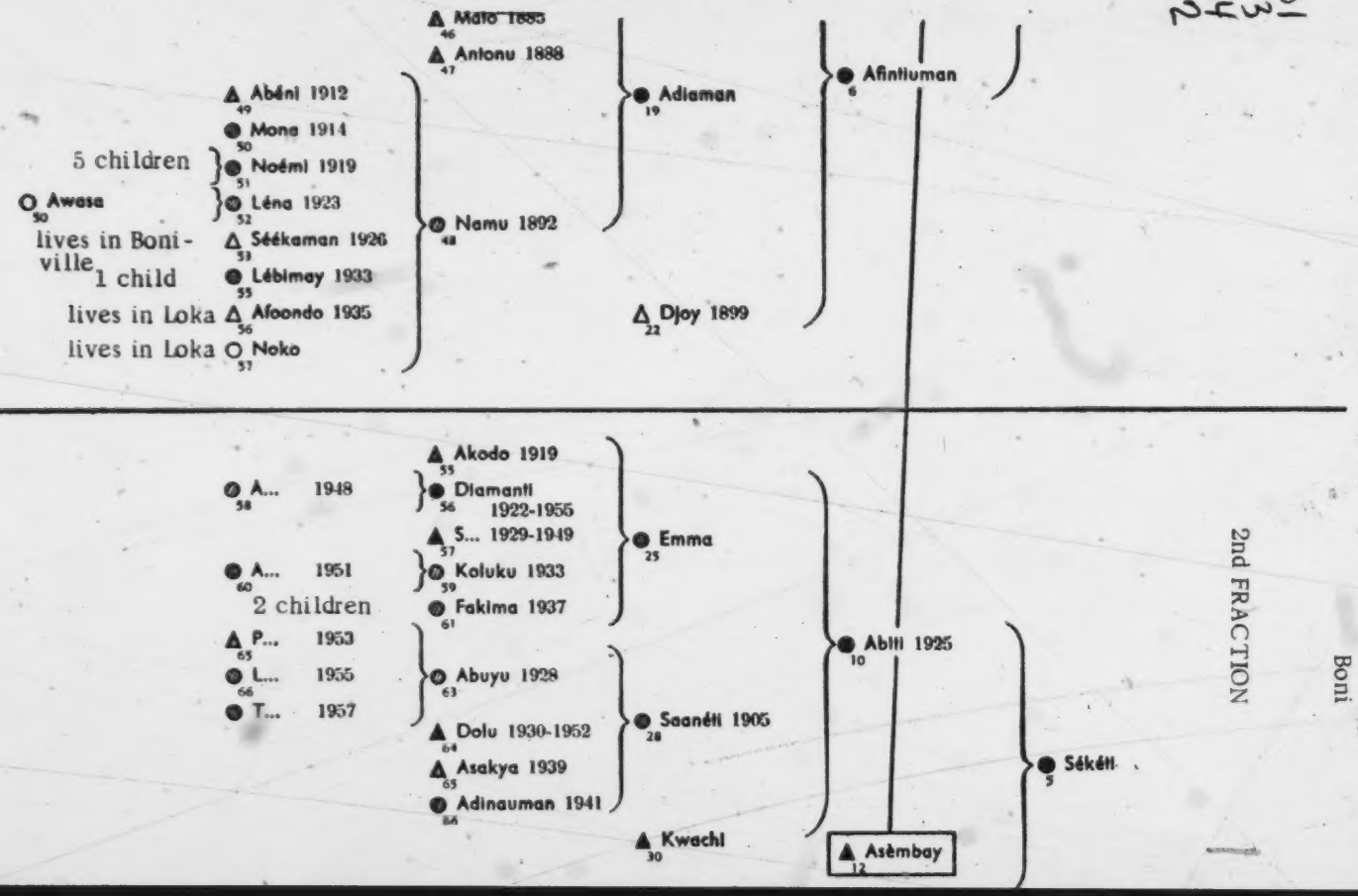


[End Chart-F3]

*601
*613
*614
*162

6:Hurault--57[illegible] K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

2nd FRACTION

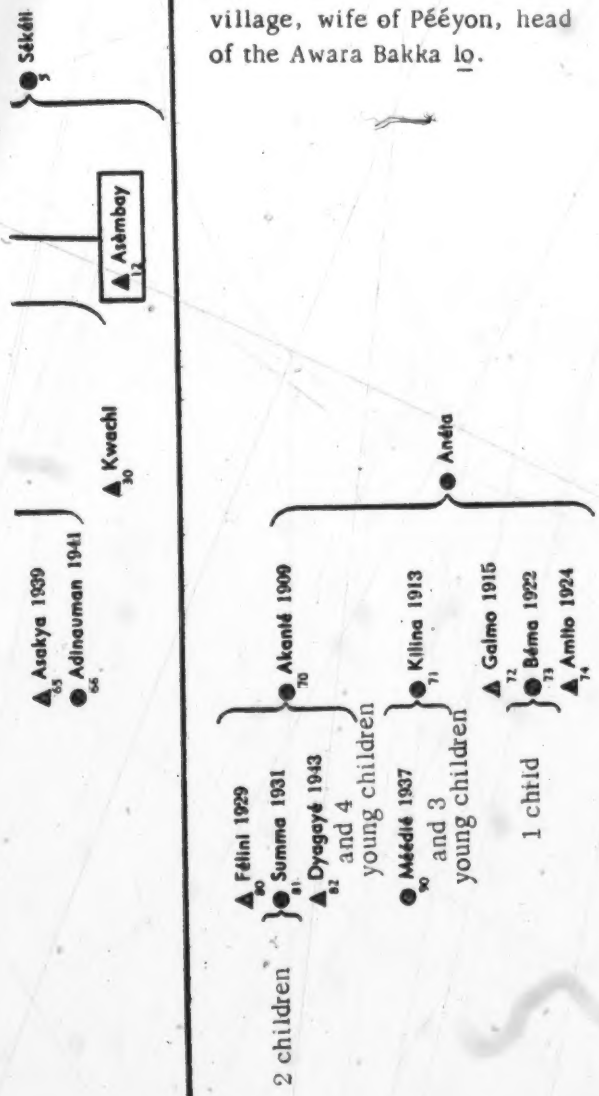


End chart - F4

*601
*613
*614
*162

3rd FRACTION

Lineage created by Anéta, Djuka woman of Tabiki village, wife of Péeyon, head of the Awara Bakka lo.



End Chart-F5

6: Hurault

SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

*162

*601

*613

*614

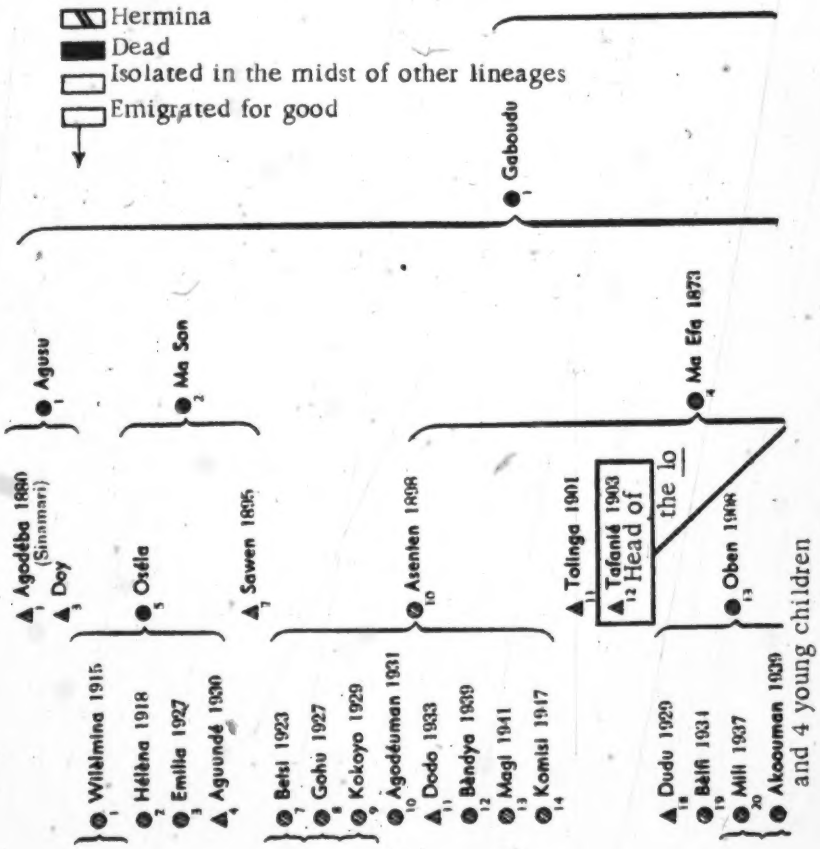
G1 (p. 572)
G2 (p. 573)
G3 (p. 574)
G4 (p. 575)

Chart of Positions of End Chart G (Genealogy of the Kawina Lo and Toina lineage) /facing p. 572/

6:Hurault--572 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

*601
*613
*614
*162

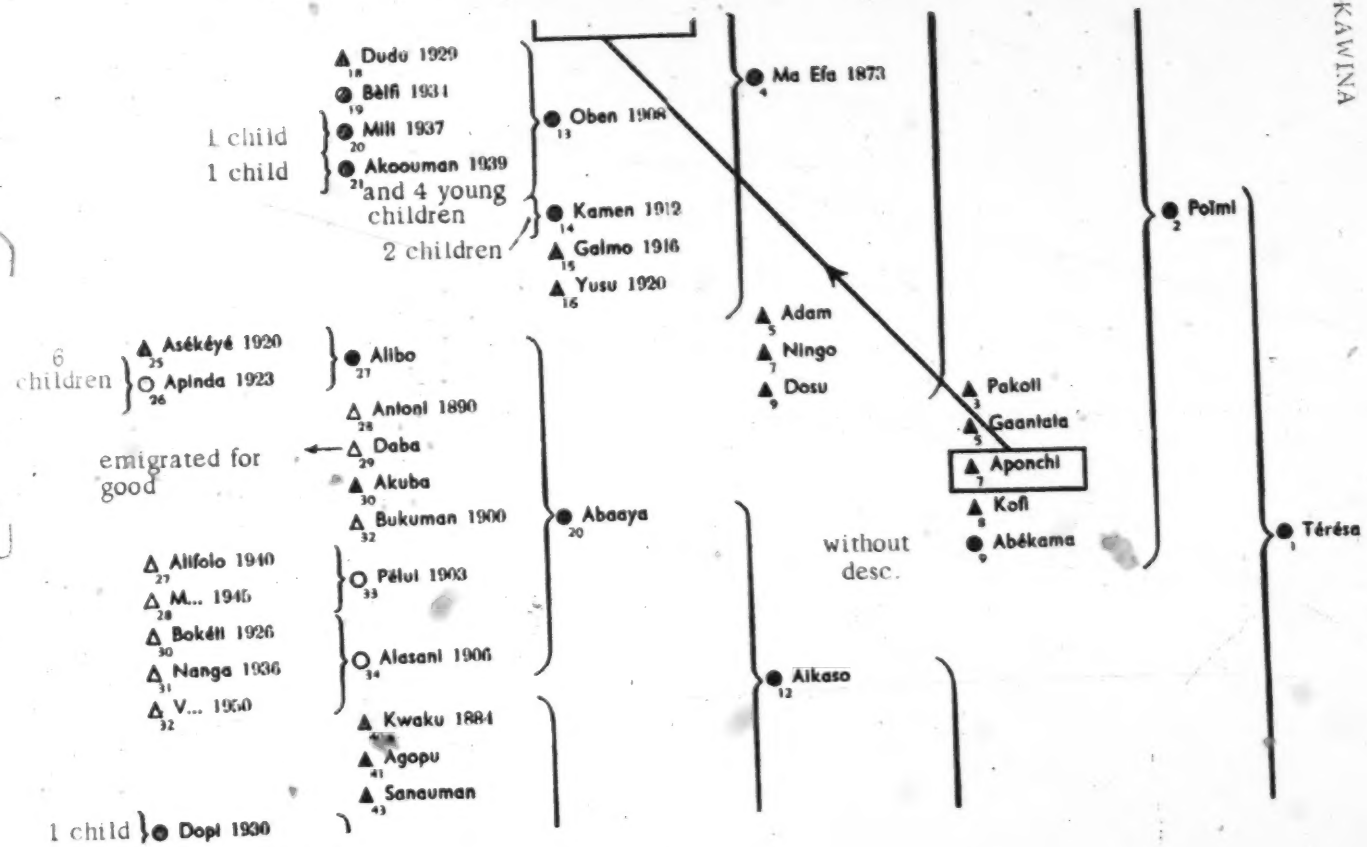
GENEALOGY OF THE KAWINA LO
(PAPAÏSTON)
IN JANUARY 1958



[End Chart - G1]

6:Hurault--573 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

KAWINA



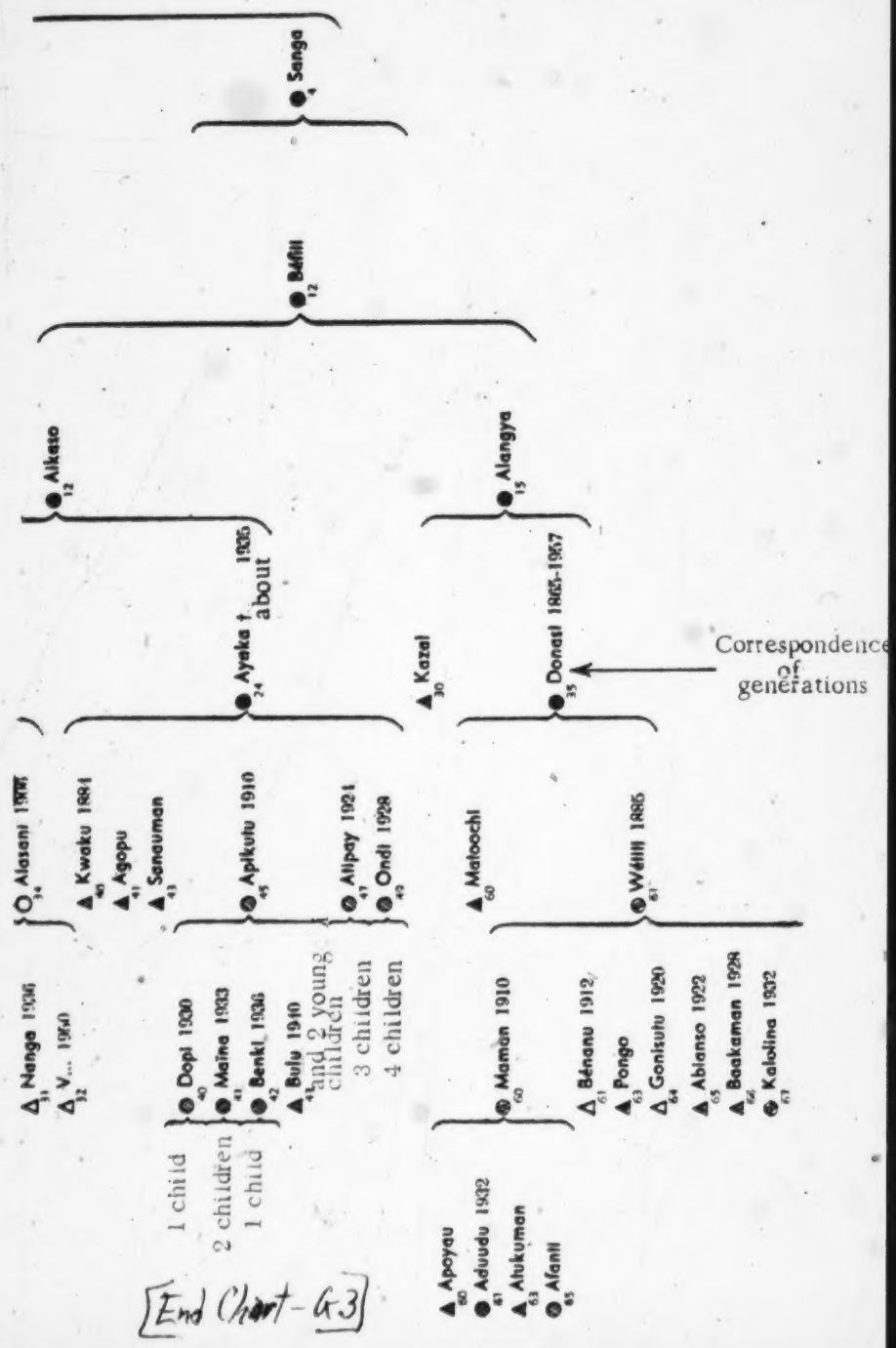
End Chart-K2

6
6
3
4
2

6:Hurault--574 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

*601
*613
*614
*162

1st FRACTION



[End Chart - G3]

6:Hurault-575 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

*601
*613
*614
*162

A 2nd FRACTION

TOÏNA LINEAGE
(origin BAKABUCHI, Surinam)

(lineage unrelated to the Papaïston; took refuge from Surinam at the end of the 19th century)

B

C

D

E

F

G

H

Correspondence of generations

Afida

Fulambé 30

Alobikyé 40

Ninga 1899 70

Pull 1908 71

Bénu 1920 80
sterile

Gonisutu 1920 64

Abianso 1922 65

Beakaman 1928 66

Kalolina 1932 67

Amana 1934 69

Kwachiba

Maatauman

Amba

Toina 1874

Bochi

Aguli 1892-1967

Fuchi 1895
emigrated to Surinam

Mangolo 1898

Apuyu 1901

Koko 1903-1943
without desc.

?

Apuulobi 1919

Suusu 1937
and 4 young children

End Chart-K4

102

103

131

133

162

311

316

361

423

613

614

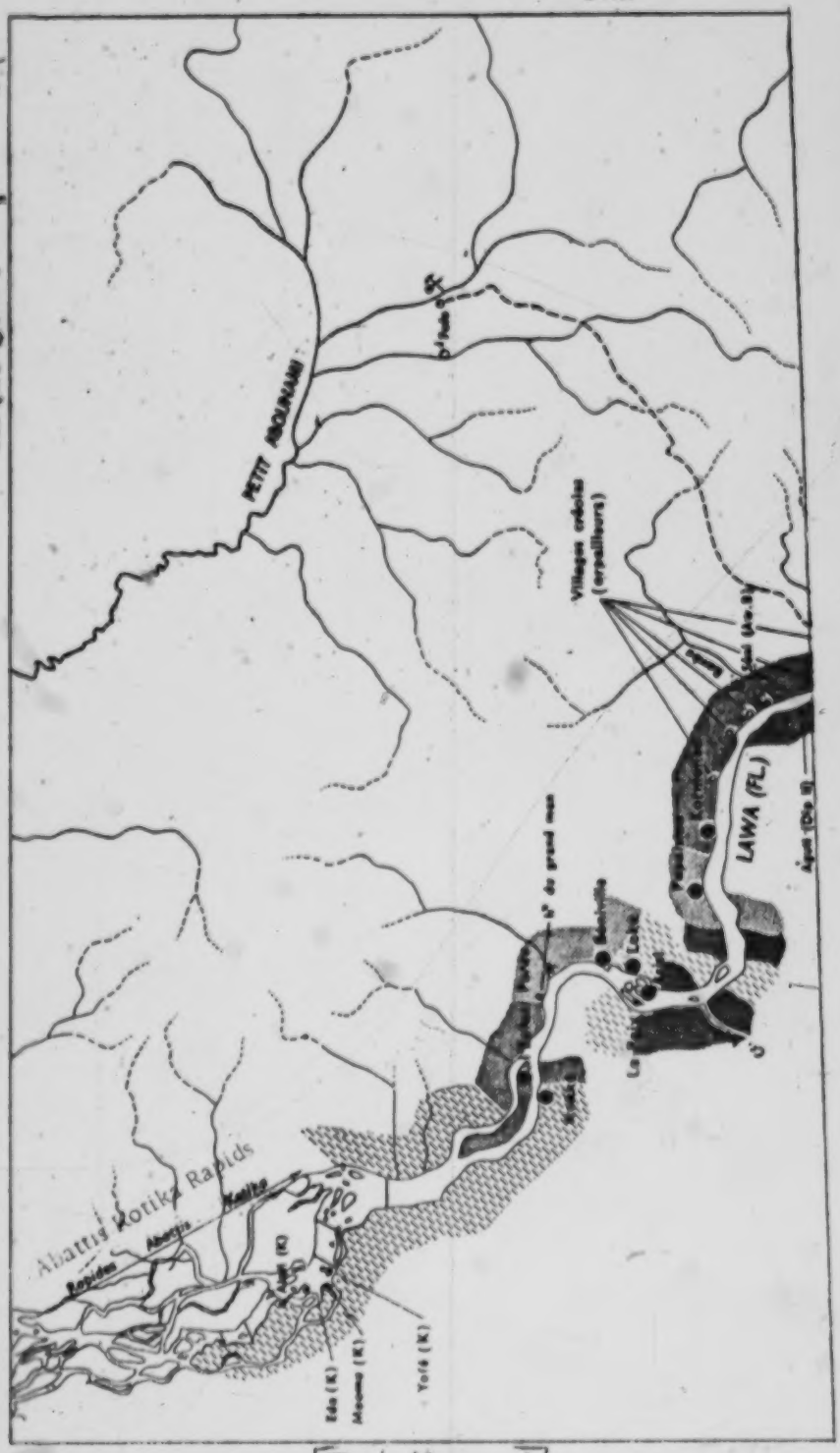
621

A (p. 576)
B (p. 577)
C (p. 578)
D (p. 579)

Chart of Positions of End Map /facing p. 576/

6:Hurault--576 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

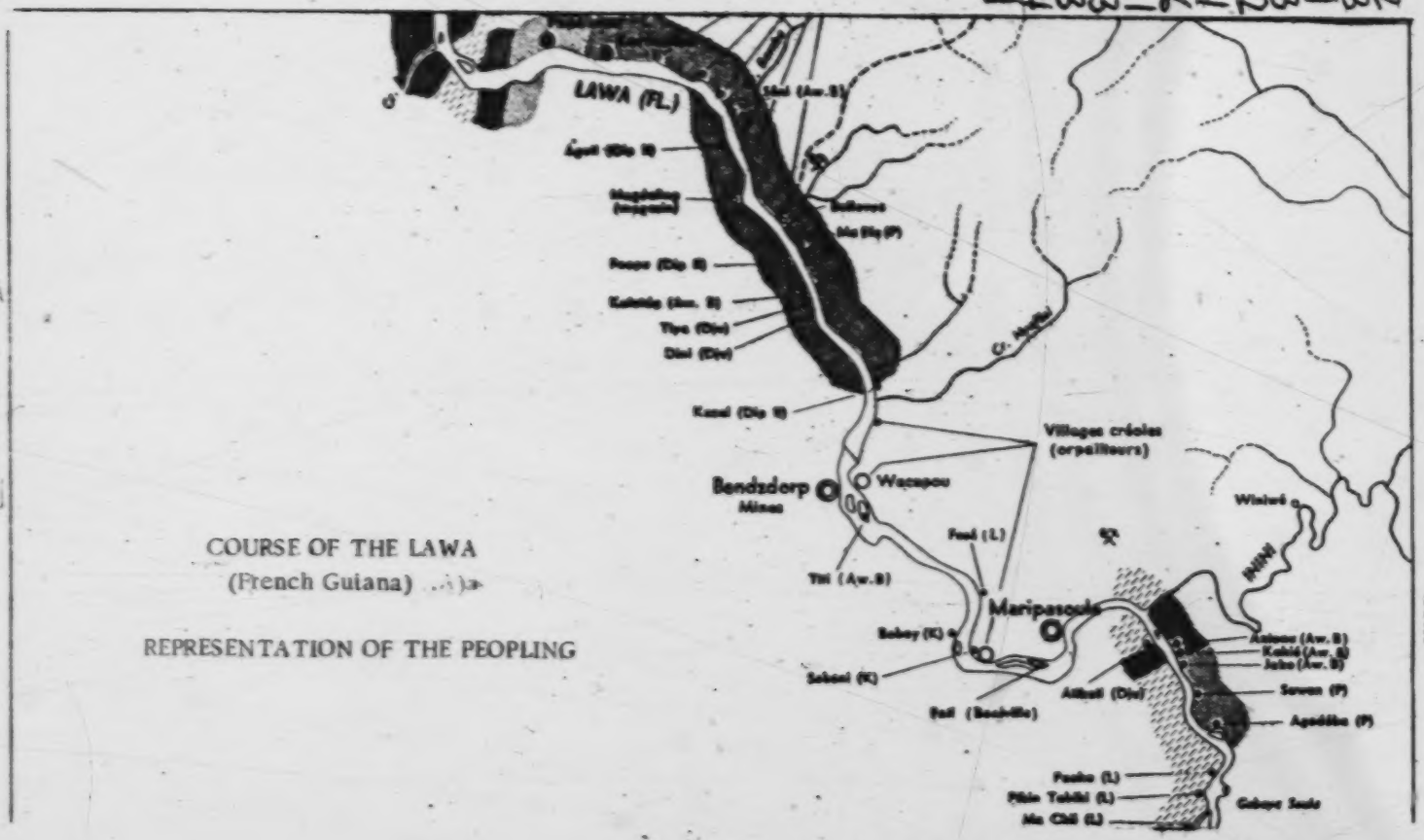
102
103
131
133
162
311
316
361
423
613
614
621



[End Map - A]

6:Hurault--577 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

102
103
131
133
162
311
316
361
423
613
614
621



COURSE OF THE LAWA
(French Guiana)

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLING

End Map - B

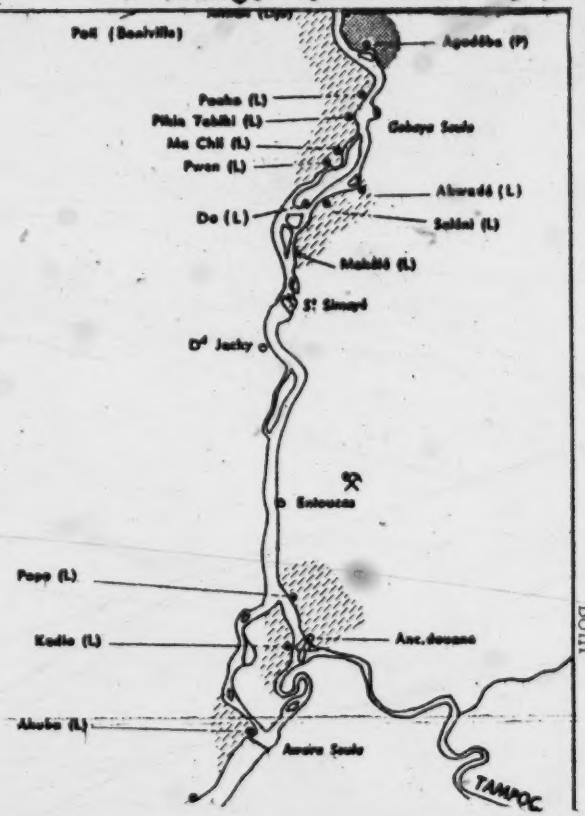
102
103
131
133
162
311
316
361
423
613
614
621

Villages and Farming Habitations
in 1958

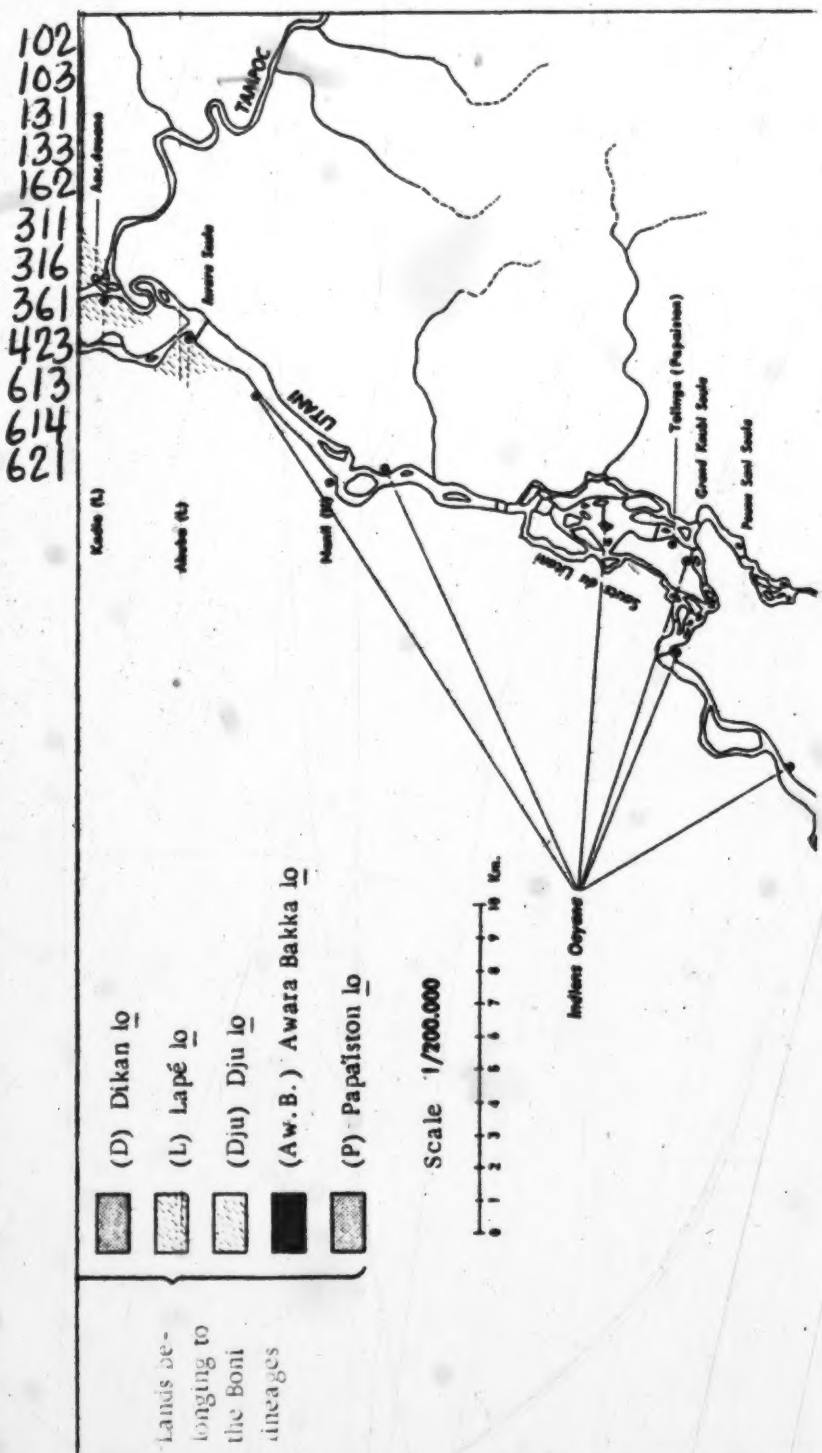
- ● Boni residence villages
- • Boni farming habitations
- ○ Creole villages
- ◎ European establishments
- • Creole habitations
- ⚒ Small gold workings
- • Indian villages

Lands belonging to the Boni lineages

- (K) Kotika lo
- (Dip) Dipélu lo
- (D) Dikan lo
- (L) Lapé lo
- (Dju) Dju lo



End Map - C


102
103
131
133
162
311
316
361
423
613
614
621
TAMPOC
Aw. Amana
Awara Saale
UTANI
Kadie (L)
Akaba (L)
Nauel (Dj)
Tolinga (Papaïston)
Grand Kadali Saale
Petite Saal Saale
Indians Oyapoc
(D) Dikan lo
(L) Lapé lo
(Dju) Dju lo
(Aw.B.) Awara Bakka lo
(P) Papaïston lo
Lands belonging to the Boni lineages
Scale 1/200.000
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Km.

[End Map - D]

6: Hurault

SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

102

103

133

241

311

361

423

487

504

613

614

A (p. 580)	B (p. 581)	C (p. 582)	D (p. 583)

Chart of Positions of End Plate /facing p. 580/

DIVISION OF LANDS AMONG THE LINEAGES IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF THE PRINCIPAL BONI VILLAGES

102
103
133
241
311
361
423
487
613
614
504

Photographic montage made with the help of photographs of Field Trip 007/200 IGN Guiana Scale 1/20 000 Taken in October, 1956

[End Plate-A]

6:Hurault--581 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

102
103
133
241
311
361
423
487
613
614
764
504

Scale 1/20 000

[End Plate - B]

6:Hurault--582 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

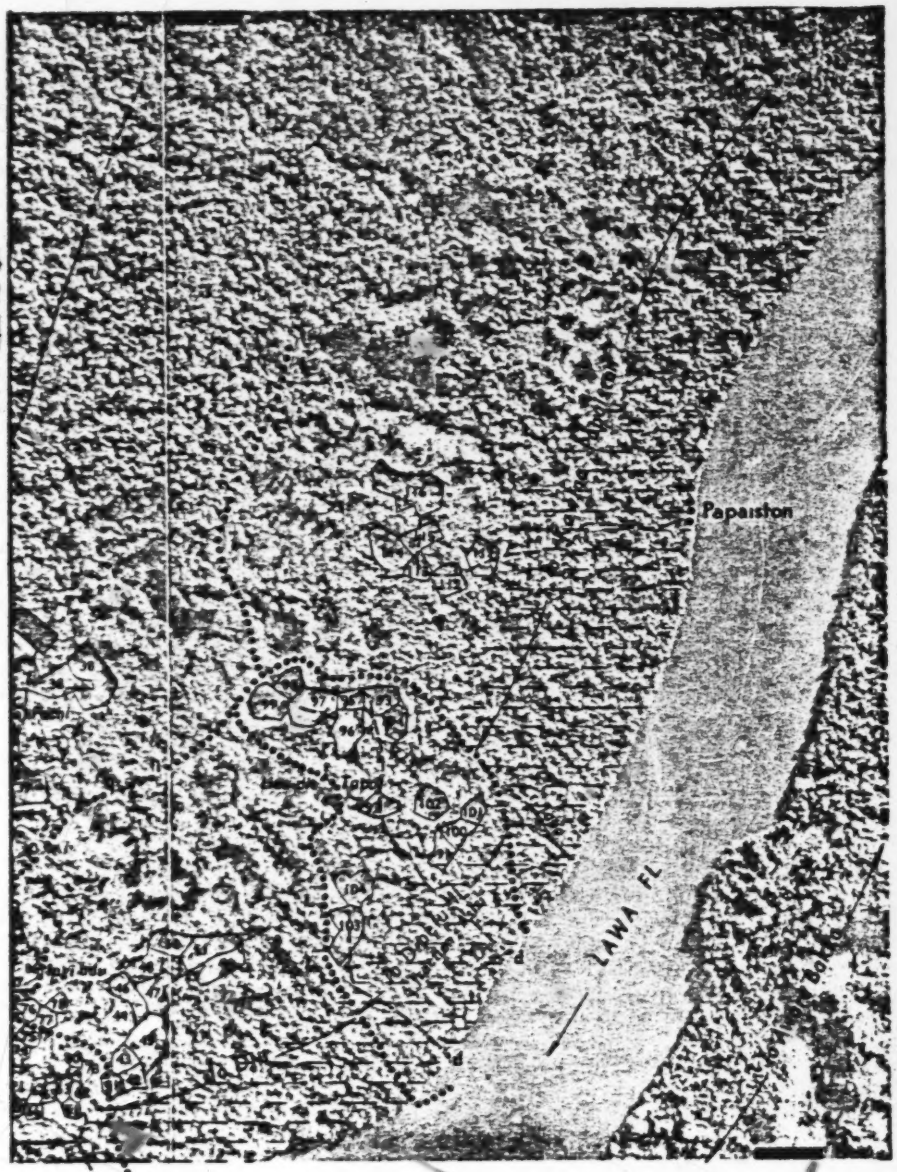
102
103
133
241
311
361
423
487
504
613
614

Scale 1 / 20 000

[End Plate-C]

6:Hurault--583 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

102
103
133
241
311
361
423
487
504
613
614



Agodé Permanent villages
clearings
floodable zones
boundaries not known
farming habitation
dégrad (wharf)
path
approximate boundaries of agricultural land

[End Plate - D]

163

165 [For additional demographic and social information, see the "Table of the Population
429 of the Boni Villages," on pp. 479-539, category 116. Included are data on the number
551 of children per woman, the number of deaths by age and sex, the name of the guardian
582 (usually, but not necessarily a parent) who was responsible for raising a particular
586 individual, personal names of the Boni, marital residence and residence changes by
591 specific individuals, marriage practices, including polygynous unions and secondary
593 marriages, cases of divorce, and lineage/sib affiliations of each individual.]

595

613

614

162

621

[For further information concerning the socio-demographic composition of each of the Boni villages, see category 116, pp. 478-539.]

6: Hurault

SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

695 [For information concerning a pseudo-trial procedure involving the interrogation of a recently deceased person for purposes of judging him, see category 116, pp. 243-245.]

[Generalized data on the Amerindians of French Guiana, which do not fit under any of the more specific OWC headings, will be marked for this File.]

[For additional information on the judicial functions of the lānti kuutu (the assembly of men), see also categories 692 and 693.]

6: Hurault

SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

695 [For information concerning a pseudo-trial procedure involving the interrogation of a recently deceased person for purposes of judging him, see category 116, pp. 243-245.]

6: Hurault

SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

539

[For translated texts of folktales, plus several riddles and proverbs, see category 116, pp. 423-457.]

163

165

167

621

[For additional data on the number of children per woman, mortality, Boni emigrants, and the village of residence of lineage/sib members, see the genealogical charts on pp. 542-575, category 116.]

162

601

613

614

[For further information concerning the lineage/sib organization and membership of the Boni, with associated data on age, sex, and ethnic affiliations, see the genealogical charts on pp. 542-575, category 116.]

6:Hurault

SR8 Bush Negroes

MÉMOIRES DE L'INSTITUT FRANÇAIS
D'AFRIQUE NOIRE

N° 63

JEAN HURAULT
INGÉNIEUR GÉOGRAPHE

LES NOIRS RÉFUGIÉS BUSH DE LA GUYANE FRANÇAISE

IFAN-DAKAR
1961

LES NOIRS RÉFUGIÉS BONI DE LA GUYANE FRANÇAISE

[p. iii]

[pp. i & ii are blank]

6:Hurault SR8 Bush Negroes

MÉMOIRES DE L'INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'AFRIQUE NOIRE

N° 63

JEAN HURAULT
INGÉNIEUR GÉOGRAPHE

LES NOIRS RÉFUGIÉS BONI DE LA GUYANE FRANÇAISE

[Title Page]
[p v]

[p iv is blank]

IFAN
DAKAR
—
1961

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[p. vi is blank]

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INTRODUCTION

Au cours de trois missions de l'Institut Géographique National, en 1948, 1949 et 1952, nous avons vécu en étroite rapports avec la tribu des Boni, qui nous fournissait les porteurs et les équipages de canot indispensables au parcours du pays. Dès les premiers contacts, nous avons éprouvé un profond intérêt pour ce vaillant peuple, constitué au XVIIIe siècle par des esclaves rebelles évadés des plantations de Surinam.

Nous nous sommes efforcés d'étudier, en profitant des rares instants de répit que nous laissaient nos travaux, les divers aspects de leur vie matérielle, sociale et religieuse. Les hommes qui nous accompagnaient étaient pour la plupart des jeunes, qui n'avaient de la tradition de leur groupe qu'une compréhension limitée : d'autre part, les travaux géographiques imposant de constants déplacements en forêt inhabitée, enquêteur et informateurs étaient le plus souvent en proie au souci et à la fatigue.

A l'issue de la mission de délimitation de la frontière Guyane Française-Brésil, en janvier 1957, nous avons pu entreprendre une enquête systématique fondée sur un inventaire détaillé de la population des villages.

Une cinquième mission, faite sous l'égide de l'Institut Français d'Amérique Tropicale (IFAT) d'octobre 1957 à février 1958, nous a permis de combler une partie des lacunes de notre travail. Quelques données complémentaires ont été recueillies en octobre-novembre 1958, à l'occasion d'une autre mission principalement consacrée à l'étude des Indiens du Haut-Maroni.

Le présent travail est exclusivement consacré à la vie sociale des Boni. Les éléments que nous avons rassemblés sur leur vie matérielle et leur art, ainsi que sur leur situation démographique, feront l'objet de publications distinctes.

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[p. 3]

NOTATIONS PHONÉTIQUES ET TRANSCRIPTION EN FRANCAIS DES NOMS DE LIEUX ET DE PERSONNES

La langue Boni, construite à partir de mots anglais déformés, présente peu de difficultés phonétiques.

Notations. Nous avons fait usage de l'alphabet international simplifié de l'Institut Africain International de Londres (Westerman et Ward).

Voyelles :

- *a* a antérieur (a français de « natte »).
- *a:* a long, prononcé très en arrière, analogue à celui de l'anglais « half ».
- *ã* a nasalisé, an français de « banc ».
- *e* é français de « périr ».
- *ɛ* è français de « grève ».
- *ẽ* e nasalisé (Il ne paraît pas y avoir dans la langue Boni de voyelle centrale orale).
- *ɛ̃* è nasalisé, in français de « pince ».
- *i* i long, comme dans « île ».
- *ɔ* o ouvert, comme celui de « port ».
- *o* o fermé, comme dans « obus ».
- *ɔ̃* o nasalisé, on du français « bon ».
- *u* ou français de « poule ».
- *ũ* ou nasalisé.

Consonnes :

b, d, f, g, k, l, m, n, p, t, z, sont utilisées avec leur valeur ordinaire en français.
h, w, avec leur valeur ordinaire en anglais.
ŋ nasale vélaire (finale de « dancing »).

ng nasale palatale ; gn français de montagnard.

r liquide entendue par les européens tantôt r, tantôt l ; elle paraît empruntée aux langues amérindiennes de Guyane.

s consonne placée entre s et ch français. On entend s à l'initiale devant a et o, ch dans les autres cas, mais il s'agit d'un phonème unique.

Transcription. Les noms de lieux et de personnes ont été transcrits selon les règles indiquées par M. Houis, chef de la section de linguistique de l'IFAN. On a gardé dans les noms de lieux et de personnes u avec la valeur ou français, en raison de la fréquente gémination de cette voyelle[1].

Pour la consonne *s* définie ci-dessus, on a transcrit s ou ch, selon sa position dans le mot.

(1) Exception faite pour les toponymes notoires (noms des principaux cours d'eau et postes administratifs) pour lesquels nous avons conservé les graphies françaises usuelles.

[p5]

CHAPITRE PREMIER

L'HOMME ET LE MILIEU NATUREL

Le pays

Les Boni habitent le cours moyen du Lawa, principal formateur du Maroni, au dessus des Sauts Abounasounga. Cette région présente les mêmes caractères que le reste de la Guyane : c'est une pénéplaine très usée qui, vue d'avion, donne l'impression d'un immense plateau d'où émergent de loin en loin des massifs montagneux isolés. Quand on parcourt cette pénéplaine, on s'aperçoit que dans ses formes de détail elle est partout très accidentée ; le terrain se présente comme un moutonnement infini de petites collines aussi anonymes que les vagues de la mer, dont les pentes toujours raides aboutissent à des marécages ou pinotières, drainés par un écheveau infiniment complexe de « criques »[1]; les formes et les dimensions de ces mouvements de terrain dépendent de la nature du sous-sol et leur apparence sur les photographies aériennes permet à elle seule de dresser une carte géologique sommaire. Les zones de « roches vertes » sont marquées par des mouvements de terrain beaucoup plus importants, atteignant 800 mètres d'altitude, aux formes massives et aux pentes très raides.

Les autres types de terrain conduisent le plus souvent à un relief très morcelé, les dimensions des mouvements de terrain ne dépassant guère 300 mètres, avec des dénivelées locales de 50 à 100 mètres.

Cette extrême fragmentation du relief doit être retenue comme un des facteurs écologiques influant le plus directement sur le peuplement humain ; elle rend le transport de lourdes charges impraticable, l'établissement de routes pratiquement impossible. Les hommes sont amenés à s'établir le long des rivières, qui constituent les seules voies de pénétration vers l'intérieur du pays.

Toutes les rivières importantes coulent dans une vallée alluviale, dont la largeur varie de quelques dizaines de mètres à un kilomètre, sèche pendant la plus grande partie

(1) On appelle « criques » en Guyane les ruisseaux et les petites rivières.

de l'année, mais inondée sous plusieurs mètres d'eau pendant les grandes pluies de mai-juin. Cette inondation annuelle rend les terres alluviales impropres à l'agriculture ; les habitants de la Guyane ne cultivent que sur des terrains en pente, et même volontiers sur des pentes très fortes, car un bon drainage du sol est indispensable à la culture du manioc dont les tubercules, qui restent plus d'un an en terre, sont menacés de pourrir.

La zone cultivable est en fait, étroitement limitée autour de chaque village. Pratiquement, elle se limite à une bande de 1.500 à 2.000 mètres le long des rives de chaque cours d'eau accessible aux pirogues. Le transport des tubercules de manioc, que les femmes effectuent plusieurs fois par mois, devient impraticable si la distance à parcourir avec des charges dépasse deux kilomètres au maximum[1].

L'inondation est très variable selon la configuration des rivières et la nature du terrain.

Au village créole de Grigel, situé au fond d'une boucle en doigt de gant de la rivière Waki, l'inondation de juin atteint un niveau de 8 mètres au-dessus du niveau moyen de la saison sèche ; les villages créoles et indiens de la Waki sont installés sur des collines. Au contraire, le long du Lawa, dont le cours est rectiligne, la variation du niveau ne dépasse guère 1 mètres. Le niveau maximum de l'eau dépasse de 50 centimètres à 1 mètre le sol de la terrasse alluviale. Plusieurs des villages créoles et Boni du Lawa sont installés au bord même de la grande rivière ; les maisons sont établies sur pilotis et leurs occupants rentrent en canot chez eux pendant plusieurs semaines par an. La plupart des villages et des habitations de culture sont cependant installés hors de portée de l'inondation, sur des replats situés à environ 5 mètres au-dessus du niveau maximum des eaux, qu'on trouve de place en place au bord du fleuve et qui marquent peut-être des vestiges d'une ancienne terrasse. C'est le cas notamment des villages Boniville et Loka.

L'ensemble du territoire est entièrement recouvert par la forêt équatoriale : forêt continue et dense qui s'étend sur des centaines de kilomètres sans un village, sans une clairière, sans une piste.

La forêt guyanaise est moins élevée qu'on ne le croit d'ordinaire. C'est une succession infinie d'arbres de toutes dimensions et d'espèces très variées, parmi lesquels les véritables géants sont rares ; la hauteur moyenne du couvert est d'environ 30 mètres et les gros troncs sont rares.

La variété des espèces est très grande, et les espèces utiles, peu nombreuses et dispersées, sont difficilement exploitables. Les Noirs Réfugiés, qui ont une connaissance approfondie de la forêt et de ses ressources, n'utilisent guère qu'une dizaine d'espèces sur les quelque deux cents qu'ils différencient, jugeant les autres inutilisables soit parce que leur bois est trop dur pour être travaillé avec les instruments ordinaires, soit au contraire parce qu'il est trop tendre, trop facilement attaqué par les insectes ou a tendance à pourrir. La zone exploitable par les procédés indigènes se limite (car les zones

1. Les Djuka, très nombreux sur le Tapanahoni, cultivent jusqu'à 3 ou 4 kilomètres du fleuve ; mais d'une façon générale les Noirs Réfugiés préfèrent établir des habitations de culture à plusieurs jours de canot de leur village quand elles leur donnent la possibilité de cultiver à proximité des rives.

inondables ne comportent pas de beaux bois) à la pente des collines bordant la vallée des cours d'eau accessibles aux pirogues ; au-delà, le charroi des troncs abattus devient impraticable.

Une végétation épiphyte très dense relie les arbres à leur partie supérieure ; c'est là que s'épanouit la vie : fleurs, oiseaux, insectes et singes.

La progression en forêt est très pénible. Le sous-bois, arbustes, broussailles, reliés par des lianes fines et élastiques, offre un obstacle constant, il faut manier le sabre à chaque pas. La nature du terrain, succession de fondrières et de collines aux pentes raides et glissantes, rend exténuante la marche d'hommes lourdement chargés. Sur piste, on parvient difficilement à faire plus de 15 à 20 kilomètres par jour ; en forêt inhabitée on ne peut guère progresser que de 5 à 6 kilomètres par jour, à condition de couper le strict minimum comme on fait à la chasse. L'ouverture d'un tracé permettant le passage d'hommes lourdement chargés ne peut progresser de plus de 3 kilomètres par jour en moyenne.

La grande forêt offre peu de dangers réels, mais c'est un milieu profondément hostile à l'homme, qui n'offre spontanément aucune ressource alimentaire et ne permet qu'au prix de grands efforts l'installation de villages et de cultures.

On rencontre peu d'animaux dans l'intérieur de la forêt, et les ressources à attendre de la chasse sont très limitées ; en revanche il y a peu d'animaux nuisibles ; les fauves sont peu nombreux et ne se manifestent pratiquement pas ; les serpents sont beaucoup plus rares que sur la côte et ne représentent qu'un faible danger. Les dangers les plus réels de la forêt proviennent de la chute des branches et des épiphytes, principalement quand on défriche la forêt en vue des cultures ; il y a chaque année des accidents de ce genre en pays Boni. En outre les travaux en forêt sont l'occasion de multiples plaies qui ont tendance à s'ulcérer.

Le climat est relativement tempéré et bien supporté par l'européen. En forêt le thermomètre ne monte pas à plus de 28° aux heures chaudes, pour redescendre à 20° à la fin de la nuit ; tout le monde dort avec une couverture, les Noirs Réfugiés et les créoles comme les européens. L'humidité est très grande pendant presque toute l'année ; les précipitations atteignent en moyenne 3 mètres par an, soit environ 50 centimètres de moins qu'à Cayenne. L'année est divisée en deux saisons : l'« été » de juillet à décembre, et la saison des pluies le reste de l'année, avec un maximum de précipitations en mai et juin. Le niveau de l'eau varie au cours de l'année dans des proportions considérables (plusieurs mètres). Les populations de l'intérieur, échelonnées le long des rivières, rythment leur vie d'après la hauteur de l'eau ; l'eau commande les transports, la pêche et les cultures ; d'autre part un certain nombre de maladies sont en rapport étroit avec les pluies, en particulier celles qui ont un insecte pour vecteur.

Le sol est presque partout très pauvre en matières organiques et en bases, très délavé, obligeant à pratiquer une agriculture itinérante sur brûlis ; la durée des jachères varie de 2 à 10 ans, l'optimum semblant se situer autour de 6 ans. Les habitants de la Guyane ne peuvent pratiquer de jachères régulières du fait des ravages de la fourmi-

Fig. 1. — Type Boni.

[facing p. 8]

manioc, dont l'activité s'exerce surtout sur les zones habituellement cultivées. Des tentatives vaines et coûteuses effectuées par des européens, notamment à Saint-Jean du Maroni vers 1950, ont montré que la fertilité des terrains non brûlés est pratiquement nulle. Les Indiens et les Noirs Réfugiés considèrent que la fertilité du sol dépend exclusivement du poids des cendres déposées au cours du brûlage.

En cultivant sur brûlis, on n'obtient qu'une récolte, mais cette récolte est abondante, et le sol ainsi utilisé peut être regardé comme relativement fertile. L'abattage et le brûlage ne demandant pas un travail considérable, on peut estimer que les méthodes primitives d'agriculture ont un bon rendement. En fait, les diverses populations de la Guyane, créoles et Noirs Réfugiés, ont adopté entièrement les méthodes de travail résultant de l'expérience millénaire des Indiens d'Amérique, et qui semblent les seules utilisables dans l'intérieur du pays.

Ainsi ces populations si diverses ont dans une large mesure la même agriculture et la même alimentation.

Les cultures de base sont le manioc, consommé sous forme de couac (farine grillée et granulée) qui est la base de l'alimentation, l'igname indien, et des tubercules analogues au taro (dachine, « chou caraïbe »). Les Noirs Réfugiés plantent en outre du riz de montagne. Les créoles ne plantent pas de riz, mais ont en revanche une variété plus grande de légumes et de fruits.

Les hommes en Guyane vivent sur les rivières ; c'est sur leurs bords que se trouvent villages et cultures ; partout ailleurs on ne trouve que la forêt déserte ; seuls les orpailleurs créoles, contraints par leur travail, installent quelquefois leurs villages loin des cours d'eau. Les Noirs Réfugiés, comme les Indiens, aiment les rivières où ils trouvent avec l'eau et la lumière, la possibilité de se déplacer sans entraves ; ce sont des peuples de piroguiers ; leurs traditions sont largement influencées par la vie sur le fleuve et leur genre de vie y trouve une profonde originalité.

En fait, en mettant à part les villages d'orpailleurs, on peut dire que les populations des Guyanes vivant de l'exploitation des ressources naturelles du pays ont un habitat linéaire : il peut s'estimer non en surface mais en longueur, car il se limite à une bande d'un kilomètre le long de chaque cours d'eau accessible aux pirogues. Ces cours d'eau sont en nombre limité, car on peut admettre qu'arrivé à une vingtaine de kilomètres de la source de chaque rivière, l'encombrement par les bois tombés et la végétation parasite empêche de circuler commodément.

En fait, vue la densité très faible de la population, les petites rivières ne sont guère utilisées que comme lieux de pêche.

Toutes les rivières sont coupées de sauts et de rapides, qui rendent impossible l'emploi de grosses embarcations. Les pirogues des Noirs Réfugiés, portant 1.000 à 2.000 kilogrammes de charge utile, sont le moyen normal de ravitaillement des placers et des établissements européens de l'Intérieur. L'emploi de moteurs hors-bord sur ces embarcations tend à se généraliser, mais la navigation reste difficile et dangereuse et les Noirs Réfugiés continuent à tirer de ces voyages l'essentiel de leurs ressources.

POPULATIONS

Le Bassin du Maroni est relativement peuplé si on le compare au reste de la Guyane. La population comprend trois groupes humains très différents les uns des autres et qui n'ont aucune tendance à se fondre, tout en entretenant des rapports amicaux.

1) **Les Créoles.** On appelle ainsi les personnes de couleur qui mènent une vie individualisée et ont adopté en partie les formes de vie européennes, par opposition aux Noirs Réfugiés qui vivent en tribus sous le commandement de chefs. Le sang africain domine chez les créoles, spécialement parmi les orpailleurs.

Les créoles du Maroni ne représentaient plus guère en 1958 que 800 personnes environ, en quasi-totalité orpailleurs ou commerçants, groupées principalement autour du petit centre minier surinamien de Benzdorp ; de très petits villages d'orpailleurs sont disséminés le long des principaux affluents du Maroni, notamment l'Abounami, le Grand et le Petit Inini, la Waki.

Les créoles du Maroni sont presque tous étrangers, en grande majorité originaires des Antilles anglaises, plus spécialement de Sainte-Lucie et de la Barbade ; on trouve parmi eux très peu d'Antillais français et de Guyanais.

Tous parlent des dialectes à base de français, très voisins les uns des autres, mais assez différents du patois très particulier de la côte de Guyane qu'on entend rarement parler dans l'intérieur. Le patois créole de Sainte-Lucie est le plus répandu et c'est lui que les Noirs Réfugiés emploient pour s'adresser aux européens.

Le peuplement créole du bassin du Maroni a été jadis relativement nombreux, et cela depuis une époque ancienne. En 1877, Crevaux parle déjà de l'existence en pays Boni d'un placer occupant un millier d'ouvriers. Lors des rush aurifères du Lawa (1887) et de l'Inini (1902), ainsi qu'au moment de l'exploitation du balata (1920-1925), plusieurs milliers de personnes ont vécu sur des rivières maintenant entièrement désertes. Nombre de créoles vivant actuellement du travail de l'or, sont installés là depuis 50 ans et plus. Pourtant, la population créole de l'intérieur demeure flottante, sans attaches réelles avec le pays. Cela tient à deux causes essentielles :

— L'absence de vie familiale régulière, la plupart des femmes créoles des villages d'orpailleurs étant de la catégorie des maîtresses ;

— L'impossibilité de vivre de l'agriculture à la façon des populations indigènes, parce que cette agriculture ne peut être menée avec un bon rendement que par un groupe familial nombreux. Or, peu de femmes créoles du Maroni acceptent de consacrer l'essentiel de leur temps au travail de la terre.

L'économie des créoles de l'intérieur est donc fondée presque exclusivement sur la recherche de produits d'un prix très élevé (or, et jadis bois de rose, balata) permettant de payer la nourriture importée.

L'épuisement progressif des gisements aurifères exploitables sans moyens mécaniques amène progressivement les créoles du Maroni à quitter la Guyane. Ce mouvement, commencé depuis une vingtaine d'années, s'est poursuivi jusqu'en 1956, aucune forme de vie économique n'ayant pu remplacer l'orpaillage. En 1957 on observait une tendance à la stabilisation, principalement du fait d'un développement récent de l'élevage des bœufs et des moutons.

Depuis une dizaine d'années, des exploitants créoles ont constitué sans aucune aide extérieure un troupeau de plusieurs centaines de têtes, principalement en vue de l'alimentation du centre minier de Benzdorp. L'existence d'un aérodrome et de liaisons aériennes régulières permet d'envisager l'exportation de la viande vers la côte. Le succès de l'élevage dans le Haut Maroni semble pouvoir être attribué à une pluviosité plus faible au total que sur la bande côtière, mais mieux répartie, ainsi qu'à la nature du sol. C'est principalement sur la bande alluviale inondable, qui borde le fleuve sur 500 à 600 mètres de large, que le bétail trouve les conditions les plus favorables, se réfugiant pendant les 3 semaines d'inondation annuelle sur les collines voisines.

Conquérir sur la forêt des pâturages et les défendre contre l'embroussaillement représentent un travail continuel, mais qui peut être effectué sur le Maroni à bien meilleur compte que sur la côte, grâce à la main-d'œuvre des Noirs Réfugiés.

On ne peut encore se prononcer sur la rentabilité de cet élevage. Comme beaucoup d'autres entreprises en Guyane, il est handicapé par son prix de revient trop élevé qui empêche de concurrencer efficacement les produits importés ;

2) Les populations du Maroni, descendant des esclaves rebelles du XVIIIe siècle, que l'on appelle souvent les Noirs Réfugiés, sont divisées en trois tribus : les **Djuka**, les **Paramaka** et les **Boni**, dont les coutumes sont pratiquement identiques et dont les dialectes sont très voisins. Ces dialectes sont des variantes du taki-taki, langue véhiculaire dérivée principalement de l'anglais, dont l'usage avait été répandu au temps de l'esclavage, et qui est devenue la langue nationale de Surinam.

Les **Paramaka**, au nombre de 700 à 800, occupent la partie inférieure du cours du Maroni depuis le premier saut (Hermina) jusqu'au confluent de la crique Béiman. Ce ne sont pas des navigateurs, mais des cultivateurs et des forestiers, qui fournissent aux entreprises de la région de Saint-Laurent une main-d'œuvre très appréciée.

Les **Boni**, au nombre de 1.000 environ, occupent le cours du Lawa entre le saut Abonnasounga au Nord et les sauts du Litani au Sud. Leurs « grands villages », c'est-à-dire leurs villages de résidence, sont : Agodé (Boniville), Kotika, Asisi, Loka, Papaiston, Kormotibo, Lapé et l'Enfant Perdu. Trois petits villages de fondation plus récente sont établis sur le cours inférieur du Maroni. L'implantation territoriale des Boni a été perturbée par l'installation sur leur territoire des orpailleurs créoles depuis trois quarts de siècle. Leur situation démographique est médiocre et leur organisation tribale, comparée à celle des autres tribus, a beaucoup perdu de sa force. Pourtant, ils constituent encore un groupement humain plein de force et d'originalité.

Les **Djuka**, dont les « grands villages » sont en territoire surinamien sur le

Tapanahoni, peuvent être évalués à 7 à 8.000 au total. En pleine expansion démographique, ils essaiment leurs villages de culture sur les deux rives du Maroni et sur les îles, pénétrant de plus en plus profondément dans l'intérieur de la Guyane Française, où ils forment par endroits de petits groupements temporaires vivant en symbiose avec les orpailleurs créoles ; les Boni leur reconnaissent le droit de traverser leur territoire mais non celui d'y établir des villages.

L'économie des Noirs Réfugiés est fondée depuis un siècle sur une symbiose avec les européens et les créoles ; ils fournissent un travail spécialisé (constructions, mais surtout transport) en échange de salaires relativement élevés. Cette économie se trouve menacée par la disparition progressive de l'orpaillage ; il se développe une tendance à l'émigration temporaire vers les chantiers européens de Saint-Laurent, analogue à celle des Saramaka de Surinam vers la Guyane Française. C'est une grave menace pour la cohésion intérieure des tribus ;

3) Les Indiens autochtones sont représentés sur le bassin du Maroni par trois groupes :

— Les Arawak et les Kalina (Galibi) (500 personnes environ) résident en aval de Saint-Laurent ; ils vivent en symbiose avec la population de la ville qu'ils alimentent en poisson et en manioc. Un siècle de contact avec la population créole a produit une certaine altération dans leurs coutumes et leur mode de vie traditionnel, mais l'essentiel de leur organisation tribale demeure intact.

Les Oayana ou Roucouyennes (250 personnes environ) vivent sur le Litani, en amont des Boni avec lesquels ils sont en étroites relations. Ils n'ont subi aucune altération ni dans leur race ni dans leur mode de vie.

Les Emerillon, qui appartiennent au groupe Tupi-Guarani, forment un petit groupement en voie d'extinction.

Les Noirs Réfugiés. — Origine ethnique. Aucune étude anthropologique d'ensemble n'a jusqu'ici été entreprise sur les Noirs Réfugiés. Ne possédant pas les connaissances spécialisées nécessaires pour aborder cette étude, nous l'avons laissée entièrement de côté. Il est d'ailleurs douteux qu'elle puisse donner des précisions importantes sur l'origine ethnique des Noirs Réfugiés. L'étude des pièces d'archives concernant la traite des esclaves donnerait certainement des indications plus précises ; il est d'ores et déjà certain que leur origine est très diverse ; les trafiquants d'esclaves se ravitaillaient principalement sur la côte de l'Afrique Occidentale, mais aussi au Congo et dans l'Angola actuel ; les mots africains qui figurent dans les dialectes actuels proviennent des populations de ces diverses régions. Aussi n'est-il pas surprenant de rencontrer chez les Noirs Réfugiés des formes de crâne et des statures assez variables.

Les Noirs Réfugiés sont en général de taille moyenne, celle des hommes adultes étant comprise entre 1 m. 60 et 1 m. 75 ; la moyenne se situant un peu au-dessous de 1 m. 70.

Certains caractères somatiques se rencontrent chez eux de façon fréquente ; la

majorité des individus sont dolichocéphales, faiblement platyrhiniens, ont les lèvres hautes, éversées. Ces caractères évoquent plus spécialement les populations de la Côte d'Ivoire et du Dahomey. Les types humains du Congo et de l'Afrique Équatoriale en général se rencontrent rarement chez les Noirs Réfugiés. C'est une constatation surprenante étant donnée la diversité de provenance des esclaves importés à Surinam. Ce fait peut être attribué aux conditions très particulières dans lesquelles se sont formées les tribus des Noirs Réfugiés : bien plus que de révoltes massives, elles sont nées de sortes de « maquis » grossis d'âge en âge de tous ceux qui s'évadaient au péril de leur vie. On peut penser que ces irréductibles devaient provenir en majorité des grandes tribus de l'Ouest africain, plus combatives et plus solidement organisées. Les archives de la colonie de Surinam, comme celles de la Guyane Française, signalaient notamment que les nègres « Coromantin » (c'est-à-dire semble-t-il ceux qui provenaient du pays Ashanti) étaient si intraitables qu'on pouvait à peine les utiliser et qu'on les trouvait à l'origine de la plupart des révoltes.

Si les Noirs Réfugiés ne représentent pas une race au sens rigoureux du terme, ils donnent, comparés aux Noirs d'Amérique en général, une frappante sensation d'homogénéité et d'unité. Il importe de remarquer en effet qu'il n'y a pratiquement chez eux que du sang africain ; les mulâtres étaient rares dans les plantations du Surinam au XVIIIe siècle, car les documents du temps attestent que la plupart de ceux-ci, plus sensibles au paludisme que les Noirs, étaient employés comme ouvriers à Paramaribo. Ils devaient avoir peu d'occasions de s'enfuir, et peu d'entre eux auraient pu supporter longtemps les conditions de vie exceptionnellement dures des rebelles. Les Noirs Réfugiés, envisagés comme représentants de la grand-race négro-africaine, peuvent donc être considérés comme une population homogène. Ce point de vue est confirmé par l'étude de leur démographie qui montre des caractères bien marqués et très différents de ceux des autres groupes ethniques, fait qu'éclaire l'étude de la pathologie.

L'homme et le milieu naturel. Le Dr André Sausse, étudiant les trois populations du Maroni[1], Noirs Réfugiés, Indiens et Créoles, placés depuis des siècles dans le même milieu géographique et menant des genres de vie très voisins, a montré qu'elles présentaient une **pathologie entièrement distincte** et un comportement tout à fait différent vis-à-vis du milieu géographique.

Les Indiens autochtones ont une sensibilité extrême au paludisme, égale à celle des européens, et l'on peut penser qu'ils vivaient avant l'implantation des nouvelles populations noires et blanches dans un équilibre précaire avec le milieu naturel, que le contact avec les européens a rompu. Extrêmement sensibles aux maladies pulmonaires, ils sont décimés depuis des siècles par des épidémies de pneumonie dues aux germes microbiens importés avec les européens et les Noirs, sans qu'aucune adaptation apparaisse. Leur nombre s'est réduit en trois siècles de plusieurs dizaines de milliers à quelques centaines, sans qu'on puisse incriminer d'autre cause que le paludisme et les épidémies. Seuls ont survécu sans aide extérieure les groupements qui résidaient dans les zones

1 Docteur André Sausse : Populations primitives du Maroni ; Paris, Larose, 1951.

marécageuses proches de la mer ; pour des raisons qui n'ont pas été encore élucidées, mais qui sont vraisemblablement liées aux conditions de vie des anophèles, ces zones sont en effet dans l'ensemble moins dangereuses du point de vue du paludisme que les terres hautes (des observations semblables ont été faites en Indochine).

Les tribus de l'intérieur, en voie d'extinction rapide, ont été l'objet depuis quelques années d'une assistance médicale qui a sensiblement amélioré leur état sanitaire et leurs conditions de vie en général[1]. Mais il importe d'observer que sans cette aide extérieure, ils continueraient à s'éteindre, aucune adaptation biologique n'apparaissant.

Les Créoles, issus de métissages entre les européens et les Noirs, présentent des caractères biologiques et un degré d'appropriation au milieu intermédiaires entre ceux de ces deux groupes. Dans l'ensemble leur résistance au paludisme apparaît sensiblement inférieure à celle des Noirs purs ; les créoles du Haut-Maroni en particulier sont sévèrement impaludés et avant les campagnes de démoustication entreprises depuis quelques années par l'Institut Pasteur de la Guyane, les orpailleurs et leur famille étaient constamment minés par la fièvre ; on observe d'ailleurs à l'intérieur du groupe créole des degrés de résistance très variables ; sur les chantiers aurifères de l'intérieur on ne voit pratiquement travailler que des créoles chez lesquels le sang africain prédomine ; les mulâtres sont en général commerçants, ou pratiquent le petit élevage.

Les Noirs Réfugiés sont la seule population de la Guyane intérieure que l'on puisse regarder comme parfaitement adaptée au milieu et capable d'y subsister par ses propres moyens. Ils présentent une prémunition vis-à-vis du paludisme qui fait que si les enfants souffrent de cette endémie, une résistance apparaît avec l'âge, protégeant les adultes de ses atteintes.

Ils sont sujets à de graves maladies cutanées, et notamment au pian, mais ces maladies ont peu de conséquences démographiques ; seuls les Boni sont sérieusement atteints par les maladies vénériennes. Les Djuka sont en très forte expansion démographique.

La forte organisation tribale de ces populations et leur solide implantation sur le sol rendent efficaces leurs méthodes de travail, de culture, de chasse et de pêche, qui leur assurent non seulement une excellente alimentation mais des moyens d'échange importants et un niveau de vie matérielle supérieur à celui de la plupart des populations de l'Afrique. Les techniques des Noirs Réfugiés, notamment en matière d'équarissage, de sciage et de construction, leur procurent des ressources comparables à celles que les populations de la Côte d'Ivoire tirent du café et du cacao.

(1) Résultats malheureusement remis en question par l'apport de germes microbiens par les touristes, de plus en plus nombreux chaque année. En 1960-61, les Indiens de l'intérieur, qu'on avait cru sauvés, ont présenté de nouveau un bilan démographique désastreux. On peut se demander si, en dépit des moyens mis en œuvre, l'extinction de ces populations pourra être évitée.

[p.14 in Hank]

[p.15]

CHAPITRE II

ORGANISATION SOCIALE DES BONI

Villages

Localisation. Les principaux villages Boni sont groupés depuis 150 ans sur le Lawa[1], en amont des sauts Abattis-Cottica.

La limite du pays Boni vers le Sud est imprécise. On admet toutefois que l'ensemble des Abattis-Cottica appartient aux Boni. En aval des Abattis-Cottica et jusqu'à Abounasounga coexistent des villages de culture Boni et des villages Djuka. En aval d'Abounasounga commence le pays Djuka proprement dit[2].

Traditionnellement, les Boni considéraient l'ensemble du bassin supérieur du Maroni comme leur domaine, ou tout au moins comme un territoire soumis à l'autorité du grand man. C'est ainsi qu'au moment des rush du Lawa (1890) le grand man Anato faisait payer des redevances aux mineurs créoles qui s'établissaient dans la région. Mais cet usage, abusif si l'on considère la faible portion de ce territoire effectivement occupée par les Boni, finit par tomber en désuétude. Actuellement on est tombé d'un excès dans l'autre, et les Boni ne se voient reconnaître aucun droit coutumier ou autre sur le pays de leurs ancêtres ; le premier venu, même des créoles des Antilles anglaises, peut venir s'établir n'importe où, disloquant la répartition de la terre entre les lignages. Cette situation a été préjudiciable à la vie de la tribu, en contribuant à la dispersion du peuplement. Il n'est peut-être pas trop tard pour y porter remède. Une

(1) Rappelons que le Lawa et le Tapanahoni sont les formateurs du Maroni. Le Lawa constitue la frontière entre le Surinam et la Guyane française.

(2) En réalité c'est une zone de colonisation car le « grand pays » des Djuka est le Tapanahoni. Mais les droits coutumiers qu'ils possèdent sur les terres du Lawa ne sont contestés par personne.

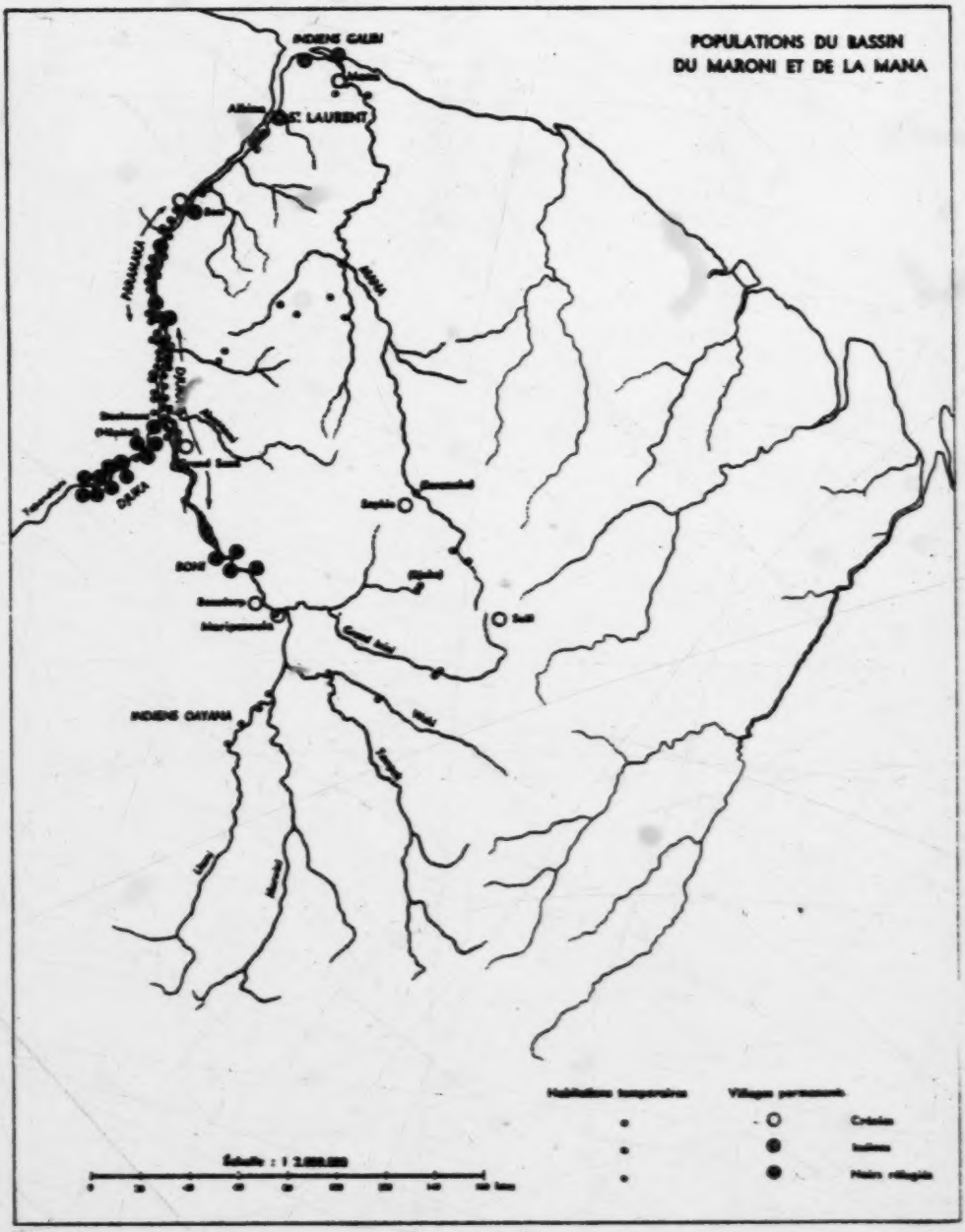
POPULATIONS DU BASSIN
DU MARONI ET DE LA MANA
INDIENS GALIBI
ST. LAURENT
PARAMACA
INDIENS OYANA
Habitations temporaires
Villages permanents
Créoles
Indiens
Noirs réfugiés

Fig. 2.

[p. 16]

tribu africaine ne peut pas vivre sainement s'il n'existe pas de rapports définis, comportant des droits indiscutés, entre le groupe et la terre.

Depuis de nombreuses années s'est établi le modus vivendi suivant :

a) Les Djuka peuvent circuler librement à travers le pays Boni, mais ils ne peuvent y établir de villages ; s'ils veulent y faire des abattis, ils doivent en demander la permission au grand man.

Par ailleurs ils ont le droit de pêche sur le Tanpok et la Waki.

b) Les Créoles peuvent s'établir n'importe où et faire leurs abattis là où les terres ne sont pas utilisées. Mais cela ne modifie pas dans l'esprit des Boni les droits des lignages sur la terre ; cette occupation est regardée comme ne créant aucun droit nouveau ; par exemple l'habitation Doglis est installée sur les terres du village Kormotibo.

c) Les Boni se réservent avec les Indiens Oayana le droit exclusif de pêche sur le Litani et le Maruini. Sur ces rivières les Djuka n'ont pas le droit de pénétrer.

Les Boni peuvent être évalués au total à un peu moins de 1.000 personnes :

— Sur le Lawa un groupe d'un peu moins de 680 personnes est établi sur la rive française (villages de Agodé (Boniville), Asisi, Loka, Tabiki (L'Enfant perdu), Lapé (La Paix) et Papaïston).

— A proximité de ce groupement subsiste sous contrôle hollandais le village de Kotika (Cottica), groupant 150 personnes environ.

— Dans la région de Abounasounga vivent en symbiose avec les Djuka deux petits groupements. Enfin, dans le cours inférieur du Maroni existent trois villages : Apatu, Ma Imma et Wétiti. Le tout représente 150 personnes environ.

Ces villages sont stables : Kotika, Lapé, Asisi, Kormotibo existaient déjà au début du XIXe siècle et leurs noms figurent dans le rapport de la mission de délimitation franco-hollandaise de 1861 ; par contre les habitations de culture se déplacent selon les nécessités de l'agriculture et de la pêche ; grâce à cette organisation, un groupement relativement nombreux peut, dans l'intérieur de la Guyane, en dépit des conditions imposées par le milieu géographique, conserver une complète stabilité et un ferme attachement au sol. Il n'est pas inutile de comparer cette organisation avec la foncière instabilité des Indiens de la Guyane, car elle montre bien que cette instabilité est imputable à des facteurs psychologiques et sociologiques et nullement au milieu géographique.

Les Boni se désignent eux-mêmes par le terme *Aluku nènge*. Le sens de ce mot est oublié. Il est possible que Aluku ait été le nom d'un ancien chef, ou de l'aïeule fondatrice d'un lignage. Il est à noter à ce sujet que la plus ancienne aïeule connue du lignage Dju, dont on peut penser qu'elle a vécu à la fin du XVIIIe siècle, s'appelait Aluku. Ce nom est employé depuis l'origine de la tribu ; on lit en effet dans l'interrogatoire de la prisonnière faite en 1847 par les Français à l'Oyapok, que son village s'appelait Loukou[1].

(1) Archives du Ministère de la France d'Outre-Mer, Guyane, A3-02.

VILLAGES ET GROUPES DE PARENTÉ

Entre tous les systèmes de parenté qui existaient dans les tribus africaines dont ils sont issus, les Noirs Réfugiés sont revenus unanimement, et dès l'origine, à la filiation matrilinéaire.

Leur système social est la symbiose, sous l'autorité du grand man, d'un certain nombre de groupes de parenté matrilinéaire localisés.

Les groupes de parenté matrilinéaire des Boni. Chez les Boni le groupement de base est le lignage, au sens rigoureux du terme, entendant par là, l'ensemble des descendants en ligne maternelle d'une même aïeule.

Pour désigner les groupes de parenté, les Boni emploient presque indifféremment les mots *lo* (troupe, bande) et *bex*, ventre. En fait ces expressions correspondent à deux variantes de la même notion :

bex : matrilignage au sens le plus large, entendant par là l'ensemble des personnes sachant être issues d'une même aïeule, même si les liens généalogiques sont oubliés, et même si ces personnes sont réparties en plusieurs villages soumis à des commandements différents ;

lo : fraction de lignage groupée dans un même village et constituant une unité sociale distincte.

Le lignage porte un nom, dont l'origine est oubliée des Boni actuels ; certains de ces noms font allusion à une plantation ou à un propriétaire d'esclaves ; par exemple Lapé (La Paix : une plantation de la rivière de Cottica) ; pour d'autres, il peut s'agir du nom de l'aïeule fondatrice. Exemple : Kawina (nom du lignage constituant le village de Papaïston).

On compte chez les Boni six lignages[1] de fondation ancienne ; tous, à l'exception d'un seul, sont demeurés des groupements effectifs correspondant chacun à un village ; pour ces lignages les mots *bex* et *lo* peuvent être employés indifféremment. Le septième, Dipélu, est réparti en trois villages soumis à des commandements distincts, c'est-à-dire forme trois *lo*.

Le *lo* possède un chef (bodeman ou capitaine). Le *bex* ne possède ni chef ni organisation, mais ainsi que nous le montrerons, ses membres sont unis par des liens religieux et se réunissent pour célébrer des rites communs.

(Voir le tableau à la page suivante)

Le chef du *lo* Dikan est chef suprême — grand man — des Boni.

(1) Il semble qu'autrefois il y ait eu un plus grand nombre de groupes (on continue à employer l'expression *bendéyoyo lo*, les 12 *lo*, pour désigner la nation Boni), mais certains se seraient éteints.

lo	Village de résidence	Chef en 1968
Dikan	village Boniville	Difu (grand man)
Dju	village Asisi ; un petit groupe à Boniville	Adiiso
Lapé	villages Loka et Lapé Tabiki ; un petit groupe à Boniville	Popo
Dipélu I	villages l'Enfant Perdu et Apatu ; un petit groupe à Boniville	Babun (l'Enfant Perdu) Saka (Apatu)
Dipélu II	village Kormotibo ; une fraction à Asisi	Poopu
Kotiba (Yakubi)	village Kotiba ; un groupe à Abunasunga	Nachinengé
Papalston (Kawina)	village Papalston ; un petit groupe à Boniville, un petit groupe dans le Bas-Maroni (village Wétiti)	Tafanié

Le principe de localisation des groupes de parenté matrilinéaire, chacun dans un village distinct, reste respecté. Toutefois, comme dans toutes les populations africaines, la structure réelle s'écarte sensiblement de l'organisation théorique :

1° Des fragments de parenté paternelle, ainsi que quelques petits groupes d'origine hétérogène, insuffisamment nombreux pour former une unité distincte, se sont agglomérés aux *lo*. Tel est le cas par exemple du lignage Toina, petit groupe réfugié de Surinam à la fin du XIXe siècle, aggloméré au *lo* Papalston ;

2° Des scissions se sont produites à l'intérieur des *lo*, à la suite de mésententes. Un groupe issu du *lo* Papalston a fondé le village Wétiti, dans le bas-Maroni, à côté d'Apatu. Un groupe issu du *lo* Kotika a fondé dans la même région le village Ma Imma. Enfin du *lo* Dipélu II s'est séparé un groupe qui s'est installé à Asisi. Le village d'Asisi est donc actuellement en fait la juxtaposition de trois villages : Asisi-Dju, Asisi-Awara Bakka, Asisi-Dipélu II, possédant chacun son organisation et son territoire distinct.

Ces scissions n'ont pas de répercussions appréciables sur la vie sociale des Boni, car les groupes ainsi séparés du *lo*, d'ailleurs très faibles numériquement, ne sont pas reconnus par le grand man comme des unités sociales distinctes. Ils demeurent soumis au chef du *lo*, auquel les attache le culte des ancêtres.

Outre les villages de résidence, un certain nombre de Boni ont des habitations de culture personnelles, réparties sur les terres de leur lignage, le long des deux rives du fleuve et dans les îles. Ces habitations désignées par le mot *kapu*, campement, n'ont aucun caractère permanent ; leur existence ne porte pas atteinte au principe de localisation du lignage ; chaque Boni est astreint au moins en principe, à bâtir une maison dans son village natal et à y résider une partie de l'année. Le village d'origine de chaque

lignage est dit « grand village » : c'est là que les membres du groupe se réunissent pour prier les ancêtres devant le *fraga liki*.

Ainsi le *lo* nous apparaît avant tout comme une unité sociale et politique, fondée en principe sur la parenté matrilinéaire, mais pouvant facilement donner accueil à des éléments hétérogènes. C'est le cadre par l'intermédiaire duquel l'individu se trouve intégré à la collectivité.

Fonctions du lignage *(bex)*.

— Les membres d'un même *bex* forment un groupe indivis au point de vue juridique, même s'ils ne résident pas dans le même village et sont soumis à des commandements distincts. Ils reconnaissent une responsabilité juridique commune ; par exemple ils sont obligés, au moins en principe, de payer les dettes contractées par l'un d'eux. Réciproquement l'héritage de l'un d'eux est partagé entre eux tous.

— Ils ont une même responsabilité religieuse, c'est-à-dire qu'ils sont soumis aux mêmes *kunu*. Le *kunu* est une malédiction exercée sur un groupe par une divinité, depuis une époque ancienne. Il est transmis exclusivement par la mère. Nous montrerons dans la suite de cet ouvrage, l'importance considérable de cette notion dans la vie sociale des Noirs Réfugiés.

Ils ne peuvent (tout au moins en principe) contracter une union entre eux. Le *bex* constitue donc en principe l'unité soumise à la loi d'exogamie.

La faute contre l'exogamie, *pikadu* inceste au sens large, est regardée comme une faute très grave.

Fonctions du *lo* : Le *lo* transpose sur le plan matériel les principes juridiques résultant de la conception du lignage : indivision des droits sur la terre, responsabilité juridique commune. Chacun d'eux forme une unité sociale pouvant en principe se suffire à elle-même, possédant un culte des ancêtres qui lui est propre, un chef jouant le rôle de prêtre des ancêtres et de juge, matériellement groupée dans un village, jouissant de droits exclusifs sur un terroir déterminé.

Nous avons dit que les lignages de fondation récente, ne réunissant qu'un faible effectif, ne peuvent constituer une unité sociale distincte et sont placés sous l'autorité de l'un des chefs de *lo*. Ce n'est pas là une condition imposée par la force ou une coercition morale quelconque, mais une nécessité sociale pratique. Un lignage, aussi réduit qu'il soit, conserve aux yeux des Noirs Réfugiés des droits collectifs imprescriptibles, et si ces membres sont d'accord pour se grouper en un village distinct et cultiver un terroir séparé, personne n'y mettra obstacle.

Tels sont les éléments qui se dégagent d'une première étude des groupes de parenté, telle qu'on peut la déduire de l'interrogatoire des chefs de ces unités. Elle laisse non résolus d'importants problèmes :

Les Boni ont l'idée que leurs groupes de parenté sont des lignages au sens réel du terme. Pourtant l'interrogatoire sur les généalogies ne permet pas pour tous de

remonter jusqu'à l'aïeule fondatrice. Trois d'entre eux, les plus importants numériquement, s'avèrent à cet égard divisés en plusieurs fractions. Pouvons-nous être sûrs que ces fractions sont bien de même origine, et que les intéressés ne se trompent pas en le croyant? N'y a-t-il pas dans la structure sociale des Noirs Réfugiés des mécanismes conduisant à l'assimilation, à la fusion de groupes d'origine hétérogène?

Nous ne pouvons répondre directement à ces questions. Il est indispensable d'étudier au préalable la conception que les Boni ont des liens de parenté à l'intérieur du matrilignage. Nous examinerons ensuite les tableaux généalogiques des divers lignages, et pour ceux que l'étude des généalogies montre divisés en plusieurs fractions, nous étudierons les rapports de ces fractions entre elles.

La parenté à l'intérieur du matrilignage : Les termes de parenté traduisent un système purement classificatoire. Le principe de la parenté classificatoire a été poussé par les Noirs Réfugiés à sa dernière limite, sans aucune atténuation. Tout est axé sur le nombre de générations séparant de l'aïeule fondatrice. L'âge n'intervient pas. Le fait d'appartenir à une branche aînée ou cadette par rapport à telle ou telle aïeule n'intervient pas non plus. La coutume des Noirs Réfugiés est hostile à toute discrimination qui pourrait conduire à une scission du lignage.

A un même nombre de générations de la fondatrice, on se dit uniformément frère, *boala*, ou sœur, *sisa*, sans considération d'âge ni de degré de parenté. Il n'existe aucune nuance dans la langue pour différencier le frère au sens propre et le frère au sens classificatoire.

Les gens plus proches de la fondatrice d'une génération sont appelés uniformément oncles, *ligu*, ou tantes, *liya*.

La pensée des Noirs Réfugiés, en matière de parenté, est surtout axée sur la connaissance de ces liens qu'on peut appeler liens horizontaux ; ils les considèrent comme des liens de fait, qu'on leur a fait connaître dans leur première enfance, et peu d'entre eux se préoccupent d'en connaître l'origine exacte. Savoir que N... est leur frère et que M... est leur oncle leur suffit. La connaissance des généalogies demeure le fait des esprits les plus ouverts ; les autres ne s'en préoccupent pas.

Cette conception de la parenté permet de maintenir l'unité d'un lignage alors même que les liens généalogiques sont oubliés, et que le groupe est à cet égard coupé en plusieurs fractions. Les membres du lignage peuvent n'avoir pas conscience de ce fractionnement, ainsi que nous l'avons observé dans plusieurs cas.

Ainsi dans la figure 3 (exemple fictif), Adam sait qu'il doit appeler Baina frère, Afanis oncle et Sota neveu.

C'est pour cela que nous employons pour traduire le mot *bex* le terme de lignage étendu[1].

(1) Cette conception de la parenté se retrouve chez les Agni de la Côte d'Ivoire et les Fon du Dahomey ; il est possible qu'elle soit largement répandue en Afrique Noire, surtout dans les populations à filiation matrilinéaire.

Cette conception, associée à celle du *kunu*, s'oppose au fractionnement des lignages sur le plan religieux, alors même qu'une scission est intervenue sur le plan de la résidence. La rigueur du principe posé, la transmission quasi mathématique d'une génération à la suivante d'appellations fondées sur le rang par rapport à la fondatrice, interdit de penser que des éléments étrangers au lignage puissent par un procédé quelconque, être intégrés dans ce système. Cependant il demeure un doute quant à la possibilité d'assimiler des fragments de parenté paternelle, car dans la parenté paternelle règne le même principe de parenté classificatoire, et on fait usage des mêmes appellations. Nous montrerons qu'un tel processus d'assimilation existe effectivement sur le plan social, mais qu'il n'est pas concevable sur le plan religieux, le *kunu* étant toujours transmis par la mère.

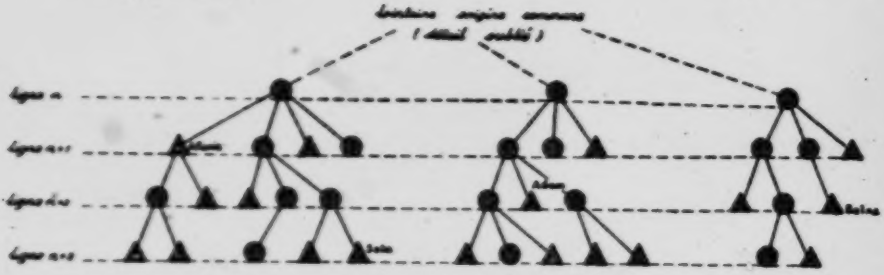

Fig. 3. — Matrilignage éteint

La connaissance des liens généalogiques est très variable d'un lignage à l'autre. En dehors des grandes coupures comme Dipélu I-Dipélu II, nous avons mis en évidence que de petites fractions de quelques lignages ne pouvaient plus être rattachées au tronc principal, les liens généalogiques étant irrémédiablement perdus. Les intéressés ne s'en étaient jamais rendu compte, ils ne s'étaient jamais posé la question. Ce fut le cas notamment :

Des descendants de Samma (Dipélu II, Asisi) ;
Du groupe des descendants de Atili (Lapé, Boniville).

Dans les deux cas la coupure était très récente ; des vieillards morts depuis peu d'années connaissaient les liens généalogiques maintenant perdus.

Situation des lignages en 1958.

Le lignage Dikan, dont le chef est le grand man des Boni, est pratiquement éteint puisqu'il ne comprend plus que le grand man Difu ; à sa mort il aura totalement disparu[1].

Depuis deux générations, les divers lignages ont délégué auprès du grand man

(1) Il est à noter qu'il existe chez les Djuka un le Dikan ; la séparation des Dikan-Djuka et des Dikan-Boni, est nécessairement antérieure aux copiants de 1783, ce qui montre l'ancienneté de ces groupes.

quelques-uns des leurs, pour conserver à son village une certaine importance. Ainsi Agodé (Boniville) comprend maintenant des fragments des lignages Kotika, Dipélu, Lapé, Dju et Papalston, formant dans le village autant de petits quartiers individualisés.

Agodé a été fondé par le grand man Ochi, probablement vers 1896, au moment où les Boni furent contraints par le règlement du Contesté du Lawa d'évacuer les villages qu'ils occupaient sur la rive surinamienne. Le surnom de Boniville a été donné par les orpailleurs ; il n'est nullement entré dans l'usage des Boni.

Le lignage Yokubi ou Kotika forme l'important village de Kotika[1]. C'est un de ceux qui sont restés le mieux groupés. Ses membres ont des droits exclusifs sur la région comprise entre le saut d'Abunasunga et leur village. C'est là que depuis plus d'un siècle ils font leurs cultures, et c'est pour cette raison que la région est appelée Abattis Kotika.

Kotika est le plus vieux village Boni. C'est un de ceux qu'avaient fondés les survivants des combats contre les Hollandais quand, vers 1815, ils se réinstallèrent sur le Lawa. Jusqu'en 1895 environ, la presque totalité des Boni s'y trouvaient groupés en un grand village, chaque lignage occupant un quartier différent. Au moment du règlement défavorable à la France du Contesté du Lawa (1895), les divers lignages émigrèrent, fondant notamment les villages de l'Enfant Perdu, Loka, Boniville et Papalston. Seuls les membres du lignage Kotika restèrent, en plein accord avec le grand man, pour que la terre des ancêtres ne fût pas complètement abandonnée. Ainsi les habitants de ce village sont de nos jours d'obédience surinamienne, sans pour cela cesser d'être fidèles au grand man et d'entretenir des rapports normaux avec les autres groupes.

Les généalogies reconstituées en 1957 par l'interrogatoire systématique des anciens du groupe avaient conduit à trois fractions distinctes que nous appellerons Kotika 1, 2 et 3, remontant respectivement à des aïeules nommées Kéněyà, Amawi et Oka. Aucun des membres du groupe ne pouvait remonter jusqu'à la fondatrice commune ; pourtant l'ensemble de ces trois fractions se comporte comme un lignage unique. Tous ses membres connaissent leurs appellations mutuelles « frère », « oncle », etc. Tous sont soumis au même *kunu*.

La loi d'exogamie est respectée à l'intérieur de chaque fraction, mais il y a sept cas d'unions entre membres de fractions différentes ; ces unions sont réprouvées en principe, mais on les tolère.

Ainsi, en matière d'exogamie, nous voyons la pensée des Noirs Réfugiés se détacher du principe rigoureux sur lequel est fondé leur ordre social. C'est la généalogie effectivement connue qui compte à leurs yeux sur ce point.

En décembre 1958, nous avons pu reconstituer la généalogie complète du groupe (fig. 4) grâce aux souvenirs de la doyenne du groupe, Ma Imma, qui vit isolée depuis très longtemps dans un village de l'estuaire du Maroni. Les données ainsi reconstituées sont en complet accord avec les appellations de parenté entre membres des diverses fractions.

(1) Ce mot fait allusion à la rivière où la rébellion de 1772 a commencé.

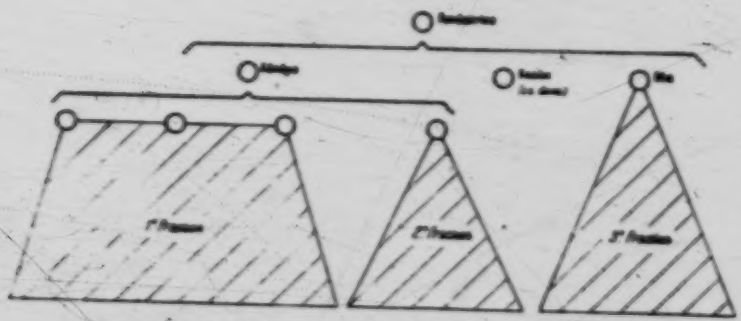

Fig. 4. — Généalogie commune des trois fractions lignagère Kotika.

Le cas du lignage Kotika est donc particulièrement intéressant, car nous nous trouvons connaître complètement sa généalogie, alors que ses membres ne la connaissent plus que partiellement.

L'étude de ce groupe montre que l'oubli des liens de parenté est sans conséquence sur le groupement matériel du lignage et sur son fonctionnement en tant qu'unité sociale.

Il n'a de répercussions directes que sur l'observation du principe d'exogamie. Ainsi la façon dont est comprise et observée l'exogamie nous apparaît d'ores et déjà comme un critère secondaire, n'ayant pas de valeur certaine pour la reconnaissance d'une commune origine.

Quelques Djuka et Saramaka se sont établis parmi les membres du lignage Kotika mais à titre individuel.

Le lignage Lapé (La Paix), dont le nom fait allusion à l'une des grandes plantations de la rivière de Cottica au XVIIIe siècle, est partagé entre les petits villages de Lapé Tabiki et de Loka. C'est un lignage bien groupé dont les membres connaissent parfaitement leur généalogie, jusqu'à une aïeule commune nommée Mata qui a dû vivre à la fin du XVIIIe siècle ; seul un petit groupe que nous appellerons Lapé 2 (descendants de Atih), ne connaît pas exactement les liens qui les rattachent au groupe principal. La loi d'exogamie est respectée rigoureusement à l'intérieur de ce groupe ; il n'y a pas un seul cas de mariage entre les deux fractions. Les membres des deux fractions se considèrent comme un lignage unique. Ils ont le même *kunu*.

Il est à noter qu'il y a chez les Djuka un *lo* Lapé, regardé comme de même origine.

Aucun élément d'origine hétérogène ne s'est établi dans les villages du *lo* Lapé.

Le lignage Dju, qui occupe la partie centrale de l'île Asisi, est lui aussi conforme à la définition des groupes de parenté chez les Noirs Réfugiés. Ses membres connaissent

entièrement leur généalogie jusqu'à une aïeule commune nommée Aluku, remontant sans doute au milieu du XVIIIe siècle.

Il n'y a chez les Dju aucune fraction séparée du groupe principal.

Il y a également chez les Djuka un *lo* Dju. Le mot Dju fait allusion aux Juifs, le lignage ayant probablement pris naissance dans les plantations appartenant aux Juifs de Surinam.

La loi d'exogamie est appliquée rigoureusement à l'intérieur du *lo* Dju.

Aucun élément d'origine hétérogène n'est établi parmi les Dju.

Le lignage Dipélu était autrefois le plus important ; il est au point de vue généalogie scindé en trois groupes dont les membres sont répartis en trois villages, soumis à des commandements distincts.

Généalogie		Villages
Dipélu I		L'Enfant Perdu Apatu (fondé en 1882)
Dipélu II, 1re fraction	scission très récente	Kormotibo
Dipélu II, 2e fraction		quelques éléments à Asisi.

— Dipélu I forme une unité remarquable par l'ampleur de sa généalogie, entièrement connue, qui s'étend sur huit générations et remonte à une aïeule commune nommée Sanyaa, qui a dû vivre au milieu du XVIIIe siècle. L'origine commune des deux groupes étant nécessairement antérieure à cette aïeule, il paraît logique de la faire remonter au début du XVIIIe siècle. Malgré l'éloignement dans le temps de leur origine commune, les membres des deux groupes connaissent avec précision leurs liens de parenté « horizontaux » (frère, oncle, etc.), qui n'ont rien perdu de leur force bien qu'ils aient perdu toute correspondance avec l'âge des intéressés.

— Dipélu II, dont les membres connaissent mal leur généalogie, paraît par contre en voie de désagrégation. Le chef des Dipélu II, qui porte le titre de Capitaine, réside à Kormotibo. Une partie du groupe s'est établie à Asisi à la suite d'une mésentente, sans cesser d'être soumise à son commandement.

On pourrait croire que la séparation matérielle des deux groupes s'est faite en fonction des généalogies, que la 2e fraction de Dipélu II a émigré en bloc à Asisi, laissant à Kormotibo les membres de la 1re fraction. Mais il n'en est rien ; l'examen du tableau généalogique montre que le groupe émigré provient aussi bien de l'une que de l'autre ; c'est là un aspect très remarquable de la structure sociale des Noirs Réfugiés, qui découle directement de leurs conceptions de la parenté classificatoire. Un homme est chez lui partout là où résident ses « frères » et ses « oncles » classificatoires, et si une séparation matérielle intervient dans le groupe, les préférences et les affinités personnelles auront autant d'influence que la proximité de la parenté.

Voici 3 générations. Dipélu ne formait qu'un groupe, sous la direction d'un chef unique résidant à Kormotibo. Le processus de sa désagrégation est un bel exemple de ce que produisent les Européens en s'immisçant dans la vie sociale d'une tribu africaine pour distinguer un homme qui leur paraît plus intelligent et plus actif que les autres.

Le compagnon de l'explorateur Crevaux, Apatu, qui appartenait à ce groupe, fut à son retour comblé d'honneurs, doté du titre de Capitaine et d'une solde ; il entra en conflit avec le chef légitime du *lo*, fit sécession et fonda un village aux abords de Saint-Laurent, entraînant une fraction du groupement.

Ce village était sans avenir, ses effectifs n'ont fait que fondre depuis un demi-siècle, notamment sous l'influence des maladies vénériennes.

Ni le temps, ni la séparation géographique n'ont provoqué de scission sur le plan religieux, ni sur le plan juridique. A cet égard, les membres de Dipélu I et Dipélu II continuent de se considérer comme un même lignage. Ils demeurent soumis au même *kuno*.

La loi d'exogamie demeure appliquée rigoureusement à l'intérieur de Dipélu I et à l'intérieur de Dipélu II, mais les unions sont permises entre Dipélu I et II. Il n'y a plus à ce sujet de sanctions sociales, et l'origine commune des deux groupes est si éloignée qu'on ne songe plus guère à leur appliquer le terme de *pikadus*. Mais elles demeurent exceptionnelles, les intéressés continuant à craindre une sanction suprahumaine.

Aucun élément d'origine hétérogène, fragment de parenté paternelle ou étrangers réfugiés ne s'est établi parmi les Dipélu.

Le lignage **Papaiston** ou **Kawina** (village Papaiston) est demeuré parfaitement cohérent et bien groupé. Ses membres connaissent leur généalogie jusqu'à une aïeule nommée Teresa qui a dû vivre au début du XVIIIe siècle. Mais il existe une petite fraction, presque éteinte d'ailleurs, que nous désignerons par Papaiston 2, qui présente une généalogie distincte remontant presqu'aussi loin dans le temps. Personne ne peut préciser l'origine de ce groupe ; on le regarde comme relié par des liens de parenté au groupe principal, mais les membres des deux groupes considèrent qu'ils forment deux *kus* distincts. Ils n'ont pas le même *kuno*.

Les unions ne sont pas tolérées à l'intérieur du groupe principal, mais elles sont admises entre membres des deux groupes.

En contrôle avec les Papaiston un petit groupe réfugié du Surimam vers la fin du XIXe siècle, originaire de la tribu Bakabuchi. Ce groupe n'a aucun rapport de parenté avec les Papaiston, mais s'est placé sous l'autorité du chef *lo* Papaiston. On le désigne généralement par « la famille de Toina », Toina étant la doyenne de ce groupe.

Le lignage **Awara Bakka** (village Asisi) a une structure plus complexe et particulièrement intéressante. L'étude de sa généalogie montre qu'il est en fait divisé en trois fractions que nous appellerons Aw.B.1, Aw.B.2, Aw.B.1. Les Aw.B.1 connaissent

parfaitement leur généalogie, jusqu'à une aïeule nommée Akyé, trisaïeule de la centenaire Kuluba († 1957). Akyé a dû vivre vers la fin du XVIIIe siècle.

Awara Bakka 3 est un fragment de parenté paternelle qui a été « assimilé » au groupe principal par un processus dont il existe plusieurs autres exemples parmi les Boni. Il a été fondé par Anéta, femme Djuka originaire du village de Tabiki sur le Tapanoni, épouse de Pèèyon (Aw.B.1), restée là après la mort de son mari avec sa nombreuse descendance.

Les membres de ce groupe, qui normalement devraient être regardés comme Djuka et étrangers au *lo*, finissent par être englobés dans l'organisation sociale et le culte des ancêtres des Awara Bakka. Les filles de Anéta et de Pèèyon étaient appelées « sœurs » par les Aw.B.1 au titre de la parenté patrilinéaire. On a transposé ces appellations pour leurs descendants, au point que beaucoup ont fini par perdre de vue leur origine véritable ; mais les Aw.B.3 conservent une responsabilité religieuse et juridique distincte, et sont soumis à un *kunu* particulier, celui du village Djuka de Tabiki d'où était issue leur aïeule.

En effet, nous le montrerons en étudiant les croyances des Boni, le *kunu* est irrémédiablement transmis par la mère et aucun processus d'assimilation ne peut jouer à cet égard. Ainsi les Aw.B.3 ne font pas vraiment partie du lignage, ils en sont séparés par un critère net, apparent aux yeux de tous, impossible à méconnaître ou à oublier.

Les Aw.B.2., sur lesquels nous n'avons pu avoir de renseignements certains car ce groupe, très fermé, ne s'est pas prêté volontiers à l'enquête, paraissent être dans une situation très semblable, à cette différence près que leur généalogie remonte beaucoup plus loin dans le temps et qu'on ne se souvient plus de l'origine de cette fraction ni des circonstances qui ont lié son destin à celui des Aw.B.1. Il semble que ce groupe a un *kunu* distinct.

Le lignage Awara Bakka est dans une situation particulière au point de vue de l'exogamie, car non seulement il y a des mariages d'une fraction à l'autre, mais on en compte deux à l'intérieur de la même fraction, et entre parents relativement proches. Ainsi ce groupe, sans rejeter ouvertement la loi d'exogamie, ne lui attache pas la même importance que les autres.

Le lignage Afi. Ce lignage a été fondé par Afi, épouse d'un homme de Papaïston, venue vivre avec lui. Elle était issue, comme le lignage Toïna, de la petite tribu appelée Bakabuchi, qui vit à Surinam. Cependant les lignages Afi et Toïna ne sont pas de même origine matrilinéaire et les membres actuels de chacun des deux petits groupes n'ont aucun culte commun. Les uns et les autres ont perdu tous liens avec leur tribu d'origine et leur vie sociale est entièrement dépendante de celle du groupe Boni qui les a accueillis.

Afi s'était établie dans les environs de Kormotibo. Cet emplacement est abandonné par ses descendants qui vivent la plupart à Asisi, les autres à Kormotibo.

Le lignage a perdu tout lien avec son groupe d'origine. On admet cependant que si l'un d'eux voulait y retourner, en prouvant sa parenté, il reprendrait tous ses droits et pourrait exiger un emplacement pour faire ses abattis.

Le processus d'assimilation qui se produit pour les Aw.B.3 n'a pas joué pour les descendants de Afi par rapport au lignage Papahton. Ils sont regardés comme un groupe familial distinct, insuffisamment nombreux pour constituer une unité sociale, et dont les membres sont placés sous le commandement des chefs des villages où ils ont élu résidence. Il est possible que plus tard, si leur nombre continu à s'accroître, ils fondent un village distinct dont le chef sera reconnu comme capitaine. Un nouveau *kuna* se trouverait ainsi créé.

Nature réelle des groupes de parenté matrilinéaire des Boni. L'examen fait de la situation des divers lignages amène aux conclusions suivantes :

L'oubli des généalogies n'entraîne aucun fractionnement des lignages sur le plan matériel ni sur le plan religieux.

Les conceptions des Boni relatives à la parenté classificatoire, ainsi que leur coutume hostile à toute discrimination à l'intérieur du lignage, font obstacle au fractionnement. Quand une séparation s'est produite sur le plan de la résidence et du commandement, elle n'a pas de répercussion sur le culte commun qui cimente le lignage ;

La façon dont est appliquée la loi d'exogamie ne constitue pas un critère valable, l'attitude des divers groupes à cet égard étant très variable ;

Aucun processus d'assimilation ne permet d'intégrer au lignage des éléments d'origine étrangère ; il existe un processus d'assimilation de fragments de parenté patrilinéaire. Mais cette assimilation n'est pas complète, elle ne joue pas sur le plan de la responsabilité juridique et religieuse ;

En définitive, le critère le plus sûr d'une véritable origine commune matrilinéaire est l'unité de responsabilité juridique et religieuse, marquée par le même *kunu*. Le *kunu*, transmis irrévocablement par la mère quelles que soient les conditions de son mariage, pesant collectivement sur tous les membres d'un lignage et ne pouvant être conjuré que par leurs prières collectives, est le véritable ciment des groupes de parenté.

De par sa nature même, le *kunu* s'oppose à toute scission des groupes. Ni le temps, ni la séparation géographique ne peuvent le rompre.

L'exemple de Dipélu I et II est caractéristique à ce sujet car ses membres restent rigoureusement soumis aux mêmes *kunu*, bien que l'aïeule commune supposée remonte sans doute au début du XVIIIe siècle, et que depuis trois générations ils soient répartis entre quatre villages situés à huit jours de canotage l'un de l'autre. Nous pouvons, avec très peu de chances d'erreur, affirmer qu'ils ont bien une commune origine matrilinéaire et qu'ils constituent effectivement un lignage.

Remarquons à ce sujet que **la séparation géographique ne peut jouer le même rôle chez les Noirs Réfugiés que dans les tribus africaines de cultivateurs.** Les Noirs Réfugiés, dont l'habitat est linéaire le long des rives du fleuve et qui, pratiquant le canotage, sont sans cesse en déplacements, ne peuvent être complètement isolés les uns des autres.

Dans ces conditions, comment s'expliquer l'existence à l'intérieur de certains lignages de fractions individualisées, soumises à un *kunu* distinct, comme Papaïdon 2?

Il est permis de croire que ces fractions n'ont pas vraiment le même origine que le groupe principal et qu'elles résultent d'un processus d'assimilation d'un fragment de parenté paternelle.

Nous avons cité l'exemple des descendants de Anéta (Aw.B.3.). Ils sont déjà intégrés à la vie sociale du groupe ; dans deux ou trois générations, personne ne se souviendra plus de leur origine exacte. Mais ils resteront différenciés de la fraction principale des Awara Bakka parce qu'ils demeureront soumis au *kunu* de leur aïeule.

Tels sont les éléments que nous pouvons tirer d'une étude générale des groupes de parenté chez les Boni. Nous rechercherons d'autres données dans l'étude de l'implantation de ces groupes sur le sol, et notamment de la répartition des terres entre eux ; enfin, nous étudierons la coutume familiale et notamment l'héritage.

Une compréhension complète du système de parenté et de son fonctionnement ne pourra être obtenue que dans l'avenir, en suivant l'évolution des groupes de parenté, la formation de nouveaux villages et la désignation de nouveaux chefs.

C'est ce qui impose un inventaire aussi précis que possible de la population dans son état actuel.

Les groupes de parenté matrilinéaire chez les Noirs Réfugiés Djuka et Saramaka. Les auteurs qui ont décrit la structure sociale des Djuka et des Saramaka, groupements sensiblement plus nombreux que les Boni, ont relevé également l'emploi des mots *lo* et *bu*, mais leur donnent un sens tout différent.

L'organisation qu'ils décrivent peut être résumée ainsi :

Avant de constituer des tribus, les rebelles vivaient en petits groupes à proximité des plantations dont ils s'étaient évadés ; ces groupes d'origine composite étaient désignés par le mot *lo* qui veut dire : troupe, bande ; on emploie le même mot pour désigner une bande d'animaux.

Ces rebelles appartenaient à toutes les nations de la côte occidentale d'Afrique. Il a pu y avoir par endroits, tentative de regroupements d'éléments appartenant à une même nation, comme le prouvent les noms de village Loango, Dahomey, chez les Saramaka. Mais la plupart de ces petits groupes étaient très probablement d'origine hétérogène ; dans chacun de ces *lo*, le plus brave et le plus capable se trouva désigné comme chef.

Après la reconnaissance des Djuka et des Saramaka par le gouvernement de Surinam et leur regroupement sur les grandes rivières de l'intérieur, ces groupes ont conservé leur unité puisqu'ils avaient une organisation de fait et des chefs. On les désigna tout naturellement par le nom de la plantation dont ils étaient issus. On dit par exemple *Dju nènge* pour les anciens esclaves des juifs, *K3pani nènge* pour les anciens esclaves de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales.

Au cours du XIXe siècle, l'effectif des Noirs Réfugiés s'est accru très vite, sous l'influence d'une forte natalité. Les lignages au sens propre du terme, *les*, entendant par là les descendants d'une même aïeule, ont pris une importance suffisante pour constituer des unités sociales distinctes. Ils se groupèrent en villages distincts et même les plus importants ont éclaté en plusieurs villages dont le chef a été reconnu comme « Capitaine » par le grand man, puis par le Gouvernement. Le nombre des Capitaines Djuka reconnus par le Gouvernement de Surinam n'a cessé de croître, il était ces dernières années de vingt-huit.

Le lo ne représenterait plus une unité sociale effective mais ses membres conserveraient des cultes communs. On dit par exemple que les *Dju nènge* vont chaque année, pour un rite, chercher de la terre à la Savane des Juifs où leurs ancêtres ont été esclaves.

Cette explication paraît vraisemblable. Le groupe de parenté n'est pas la seule unité sociale connue des Africains ; le lien de l'homme et de la terre possède à leurs yeux une importance égale ; le fait que leurs pères avaient vécu ensemble, qu'ils aient été enterrés dans le même cimetière, créait entre les esclaves rebelles un lien de fait qui a pu suffire, au début de la rebellion, pour fonder des villages et une organisation sociale.

Cependant cette théorie ne peut être admise sans réserves. Elle n'a pu être vérifiée par des études systématiques, les Djuka et les Saramaka s'étant fermement opposés jusqu'ici à toute investigation ethnographique comportant le relevé des généalogies et l'inventaire de la population des villages.

Elle est en contradiction avec ce que nous avons relevé chez les Boni. Dans ce groupement, on compte six grands lignages dont quatre (Dju, Kotika, La Paix, Dikan) ont un nom faisant allusion lui aussi aux plantations dont s'étaient enfuis leurs ancêtres.

Pourtant il s'agit bien de lignages au sens propre du terme, et on ne se souvient pas qu'il ait jamais existé une autre organisation. Aussi, en l'absence d'études systématiques des Djuka et des Saramaka, le problème de l'origine de leurs groupes de parenté demeure obscur. L'avenir permettra de vérifier l'une ou l'autre des deux hypothèses :

1° *Le* — groupement de fait de rebelles de toute provenance, qui s'est à la longue scindé en lignages, mais qui subsiste sous forme d'un culte commun ;

2° *Le* — lignage, dès l'origine.

CONCEPTIONS RELATIVES A LA PARENTÉ ET AU MARIAGE

Liens entre l'individu et les ancêtres. Avant d'examiner de façon plus approfondie la structure sociale et familiale des Noirs Réfugiés, il est indispensable d'étudier quels liens religieux sont supposés entre l'individu et les ancêtres. On se trouve ici en présence de croyances de base qui paraissent identiques dans les diverses tribus des Noirs Réfugiés de Guyane, et dont résulte leur structure.

Dans les civilisations de l'Afrique Noire, il est supposé qu'un courant de vie et

de force circule par l'intermédiaire des ancêtres de la divinité aux hommes. Chez les Noirs Réfugiés il est admis qu'à cet égard chaque homme n'est relié qu'à ses ancêtres en ligne maternelle. S'il se trouve en proie à la maladie, à l'injustice ou à l'adversité, il ne peut, dans sa prière, s'adresser qu'à eux.

Cela ne veut pas dire que le lien avec le père est méconnu, ou considéré comme de peu d'importance ; il est admis, nous le verrons, que dans la création de l'homme certains éléments psychiques se transmettent du père au fils. Mais le courant de force qui relie l'individu aux ancêtres ne passe pas par le père. On ne peut prier *utilement* l'âme de son père défunt. Si je me trouve malade et si la divination incrimine l'action de l'âme de mon défunt père, je ne peux adresser directement à lui ni prière, ni offrande ; j'aurai recours pour cela à un de ses proches parents en ligne maternelle.

Un autre principe très important dans l'esprit des Noirs Réfugiés, est que les prières doivent être collectives ; les principales cérémonies, comme la prière du nouvel an, doivent réunir, au moins en principe, la totalité du lignage.

Ces notions ont certainement influencé la coutume des Noirs Réfugiés en ce qui concerne la résidence et le mariage. Le lignage ne peut admettre le départ définitif de la femme hors de son pays natal, et pas davantage celui de l'homme. Dans les populations à filiation matrilinéaire d'Afrique Noire, cette conception se concilie avec les nécessités de la vie pratique de la manière suivante : la femme quitte, sa parenté pour s'établir auprès de son mari, mais ses enfants arrivés à l'âge adulte doivent y revenir. On ne peut donc attribuer à cette seule préoccupation le régime particulier du mariage chez les Noirs Réfugiés, ne comportant pas de cohabitation permanente de l'homme et de la femme. Nous verrons que ce régime a été inspiré par des nécessités d'ordre social et psychologique. Mais le souci de l'unité du lignage, auquel il correspond parfaitement, a certainement contribué à en faire un principe rigoureux de droit coutumier.

La parenté à l'intérieur du matrilignage. Les termes de parenté traduisent un système purement classificatoire. Ils ne dépendent que du nombre de générations séparant de la fondatrice. Sont regardés comme membres du matrilignage et englobés dans le système d'appellation, les fils des femmes issues de la fondatrice en ligne utérine. Les enfants de ces hommes ne font plus partie du matrilignage.

Baala, (frère) *Sisa*, (sœur)	frères et sœurs au sens classificatoire. Personnes qu'un même nombre de générations sépare de la fondatrice.
Tiyu, liya, (oncle, tante)	personnes plus proches de la fondatrice d'une génération.
Gadla, gauma, (grand-père, grand-mère)	personnes plus proches de la fondatrice de deux générations.
Aro (arrière grand-mère)	femmes plus proches de la fondatrice de trois générations.
Sisa pikin (neveux)	personnes plus éloignées de la fondatrice d'une génération.

D'une façon générale un homme situé sur la ligne n appelle oncles et tantes tous ceux qui sont situés sur la ligne n—1, et neveux tous ceux qui sont sur la ligne n+1.

Exemple (voir tableau généalogique du *lo* Dju) : Fintiman (F7) considère Aliki (E23) (sa parente au 9e degré) comme sa tante, au même titre que Wima (E3), sœur de sa mère. De même il considère Sosoman (E14), aussi bien que Atikati (E18), comme son oncle, bien que Sosoman soit plus jeune que lui de 10 ans. Il admet que Sosoman peut dans une certaine mesure lui donner des avis et que sa voix est prépondérante sur la sienne.

Il considère Adiiso (F37), son parent au 10e degré, comme son frère au même titre que Klémenti, son frère au sens propre. Paana (G2), Kéwénu (G10) aussi bien que Soalufu (G12) sont ses neveux et nièces, *sisu pikin*.

A une génération de plus, il dit « mes petits enfants ».

La rigueur même de ce principe semble devoir conduire à une scission des lignages, car on conçoit mal que des gens supportent d'appeler « ma grand-mère » des filles plus jeunes qu'eux, et de leur témoigner du respect ; or cela doit nécessairement se produire au bout d'un certain nombre de générations, car ainsi que nous le verrons, la fécondité des femmes Boni se prolonge parfois jusqu'à l'âge de 50 ans et il y a des cas où l'intervalle entre l'aîné et le cadet atteint 35 ans.

Cependant nous n'avons pas observé en fait, que cette conception de la parenté conduise à des scissions ni même à des froissements sérieux.

Cela tient à la nature même de la hiérarchie et des liens sociaux à l'intérieur du matrilignage ; ils comportent une tutelle collective d'une génération sur la suivante, et de même une tutelle collective des ancêtres sur les vivants. Mais de même qu'est évitée toute prière, toute invocation s'adressant individuellement à tel ou tel ancêtre, la hiérarchie des Noirs Réfugiés ne donne pas naissance à des relations d'autorité d'homme à homme, qui ne seraient pas supportées. Seul, le *hedemã* ou Capitaine, désigné par l'assemblée du lignage, exerce un commandement personnel ; encore a-t-il soin de le limiter presque exclusivement à des fonctions religieuses.

Les « oncles » exercent collectivement une autorité sur la génération des « neveux ». Ils tiennent conseil, notamment s'il s'agit de mariages. Ils ne votent pas à proprement parler mais l'opposition de 3 ou 4 d'entre eux empêche l'exécution d'un projet. Il n'y a pas de voix prépondérante pour les oncles les plus proches (toutefois en pratique on semble en tenir compte). Mais l'aîné des oncles au sens classificatoire est unanimement reconnu comme prépondérant.

Existence de patrilignages. Les matrilignages ne sont pas les seuls groupes de parenté des Noirs Réfugiés. Chacun reçoit de son père un interdit fondamental *-bwasi kina-* qu'il devra observer toute sa vie et que lui-même transmettra à ses enfants. Il est unanimement admis que la rupture de cet interdit donne la lèpre *(bwasi)*.

Cet interdit ne se transmet jamais par les femmes. Il se transmet du père au fils

ou à la fille. Le fils l'observera et le transmettra ; la fille l'observera sa vie durant, mais elle ne le transmettra pas.

L'existence du *bwasi kina* divise les Boni en des groupements de fait qu'on peut considérer comme des patrilignages. Ces patrilignages n'ont pas de nom, pas de chef, pas d'organisation ; leurs membres sont dispersés dans les divers matrilignages et s'ignorent pour la plupart les uns les autres.

Ils existent pourtant et s'étendent à l'ensemble des tribus des Noirs Réfugiés.

Leur importance aux yeux des Noirs Réfugiés vient de ce qu'ils comportent une loi d'exogamie : un homme et une femme qui ont même *bwasi kina* ne peuvent se marier ; ce serait *pikodu*, inceste au sens large, faute contre l'exogamie, au même titre que l'union de deux membres d'un même matrilignage.

Il est difficile d'évaluer le nombre de ces patrilignages qui nous paraît chez les Boni être d'une vingtaine au moins ; en effet, les Boni ne disent pas volontiers leurs *bwasi kina*, de peur qu'un de leurs ennemis ne mélangent pour leur nuire à leur nourriture une parcelle de la nourriture interdite ; d'autre part, ils ne connaissent pas leur parenté paternelle au-delà de leur grand-père. La reconstitution par interrogatoire des patrilignages paraît donc illusoire.

Les *bwasi kina* que nous avons pu connaître sont tous d'ordre alimentaire. Ils portent sur le caïman, le « tigre », la tortue, la poule blanche, le pian *(awoli)*, l'anguille. Souvent le caïman est donné en plus d'un autre animal. Mais il est inexact de dire que les Noirs Réfugiés ont un interdit général sur le caïman.

Les relations patrilinéaires ont d'autres incidences importantes que nous exposerons en parlant des croyances des Boni. Du point de vue de la structure sociale, notons :

— Que la relation patrilinéaire n'a aucune influence sur la résidence ni sur l'organisation de la vie matérielle ;

— Que la loi d'exogamie qu'elle comporte n'a qu'une faible influence sur la liberté de choix des couples, en raison du nombre relativement élevé des patrilignages.

Dans la mesure où les liens de parenté patrilinéaires sont connus (en général les gens ne vont pas au-delà de leur grand-père), on emploie les mêmes termes de parenté que dans le matrilignage, avec la même valeur classificatoire.

Appellations. Nous avons vu qu'à l'intérieur du matrilignage les appellations de parenté ne dépendent que du nombre de générations par rapport à la fondatrice.

En parlant familièrement, on emploie pour s'adresser :

— Aux gens de la même génération, l'expression	*ba*	Untel... (homme)
	sa	Une telle (femme)
— — d'une génération au-dessus, l'expression	*liyu*,	oncle
	liya,	tante
— — de deux générations au-dessus, l'expression	*papa*	
	mama.	

Papa ne veut pas dire père, mais ancien, honorable. De même *mama* veut dire femme âgée et respectable.

Par exemple pour dire bonjour on dira selon les cas : *ba* Untel, *ɔdio*, ou *liyu*, *ɔdio*.

Pour parler aux gens d'une génération au-dessous, on dit *mati* (camarade) ou on les appelle par leur nom sans autre appellation, ce qui serait considéré comme très insolent en s'adressant à ses « frères » ou à ses « oncles ».

Pour parler à sa mère on emploie une expression particulière, souvent formée de *ma* suivi de la dernière syllabe de son nom.

Par exemple Asakundu (*la* Lapé) est appelée par ses fils Ma Ndu ou Mama Ndu. Béniti (*la* Dju, † 1955) était appelée par ses enfants Ma Béniti ou Anti.

Les appellations relatives au patrilignage sont exactement les mêmes, à l'exception de *mi la*, mon père. Mais comme ces patrilignages n'ont pas de fonction sociale pratique, étant limités à la transmission d'un interdit, les liens de parenté n'y sont pas connus au-delà de la 2e génération et on s'en préoccupe fort peu.

Quand on s'adresse à quelqu'un d'un lignage différent, on emploie, par déférence, les mêmes termes selon que la personne à laquelle on s'adresse paraît de même âge ou plus âgée. C'est particulièrement net pour les gens âgés qu'on appelle uniformément *papa* et *mama*. Pour les gens à peu près de même âge, si on les connaît bien on dit *ba* Untel ou *sa* Untelle. Pour les hommes qu'on connaît mal on emploie souvent *masa* Untel (*masa* = Monsieur). Les Boni sont assez pointilleux à cet égard. Il leur est fort désagréable d'être appelés directement par leur nom ; leurs employeurs européens ont l'habitude de leur parler ainsi, ils l'admettent de leur part mais non sans réticence.

Des appellations particulières résultent du mariage ; les termes utilisés sont réciproques :

Pay — désigne la relation entre beau-père, beau-fils ou belle-fille.
May — la relation entre belle-mère, gendre.
Soagi — la relation entre beaux-frères.

X *ayga mi pay* veut dire aussi bien : « X est mon beau-père » que « X est mon gendre ».

En règle générale un homme appelle *soagi* tous ceux que sa femme appelle frères au sens classificatoire, et *pay* tous ceux qu'elle appelle oncles. Mais le terme *may* ne s'emploie qu'à l'égard de la propre mère de la femme.

On continue à employer les termes *soagi*, *pay*, *may* même après la rupture d'un mariage, de sorte qu'ils sont d'un usage fréquent. Quant à la femme elle-même, on dit *sa* Untelle en lui parlant, comme à une sœur.

Le mariage. Les conceptions des Noirs Réfugiés à ce sujet sont remarquables. Le mariage, au sens africain du terme, compris comme un contrat entre deux parentés, n'existe pas chez eux. L'union de l'homme et de la femme ne comporte aucune sorte de contrat entre leurs parentés et par voie de conséquence, aucune compensation matrimo-

siècle. Les Noirs Réfugiés sont la seule population négro-africaine à notre connaissance, dont la coutume ne comporte aucune forme de « dot », ni en argent ni en nature.

La vie de famille au sens où nous l'entendons n'existe pas ; comme nous le verrons plus loin, le mariage est interdit entre gens du même lignage, ce qui implique que le mari et la femme résident dans des villages différents. L'homme bâtit une maison à sa femme dans le village natal de celle-ci, mais il ne vient pas vivre avec elle ; il lui rend comme à ses autres femmes des visites de quelques jours au cours desquelles il lui fournit les objets d'importation (sel, pétrole, étoffes, etc.) dont elle a besoin, lui apporte son aide pour les travaux pénibles, tandis que, de son côté, elle lui remet les produits de l'abattis. Le reste du temps il vit en célibataire dans le village de sa mère où il bâtit sa propre maison. S'il est très attaché à sa femme, il peut venir résider avec elle et peut même obtenir sans grande difficulté de l'emmener vivre dans son propre village, mais peu de couples usent de cette faculté, car l'homme et la femme tiennent avant tout à leur indépendance.

La vie de l'homme et celle de la femme restent entièrement séparées et leur union a davantage le caractère d'une association temporaire, fondée sur des intérêts matériels, que celui d'un mariage ; la vie familiale de chacun d'eux reste entièrement axée sur son matrilignage.

Cette organisation, comparée à ce que l'on trouve dans la plus grande partie de l'Afrique, est très avantageuse pour la femme qui jouit d'une totale indépendance. Mais elle a pour contrepartie une grande instabilité des unions.

L'union de l'homme et de la femme a si peu le caractère d'un mariage qu'il n'existe dans la langue Boni aucun mot signifiant à proprement parler « époux » et « épouse ». On dit : *mi libi anga* X = « je vis avec une telle ».

Comment le système social et matrimonial des Noirs Réfugiés s'est-il constitué ? On pourrait croire qu'un des systèmes de l'Afrique Occidentale a été purement et simplement transposé, mais il n'en est rien. Dans ce domaine comme dans celui des croyances, les ancêtres des Noirs Réfugiés ont élaboré à partir de sources nombreuses, une synthèse originale.

Les nations africaines dont étaient issues les rebelles étaient certainement, en grande partie sinon en majorité, patrilinéaires. C'est notamment le cas des Fon du Dahomey, auxquels ont été emprunté d'importants éléments culturels, notamment les principaux cultes de possession. Celles qui étaient matrilinéaires admettaient toutes la résidence patrilocale, c'est-à-dire le départ de la femme hors de son village et son établissement au village de son mari.

Les rebelles du XVIIIe siècle, les archives l'attestent, comprenaient un fort pourcentage de « nègres d'eau salée », nés sur la terre africaine ; tel était par exemple Codio Coromantin, un des lieutenants de Boni ; ceux qui n'étaient pas nés en Afrique avaient, pour la plupart, été instruits dans une tradition africaine, par un père ou un oncle. On peut être certain qu'une fois parvenus à la liberté ils ont cherché à organiser leurs villages selon la coutume familiale à laquelle ils avaient été formés, c'est-à-dire à constituer, les uns une société patrilinéaire et patrilocale, les autres une société matrilinéaire

mais à résidence patrilocale. Nous savons par exemple que Boni avait choisi pour successeur son fils Agosu.

Une coutume familiale est chose autrement tenace qu'une langue, une technique, voire un culte. Les hommes s'attachent désespérément au système social et matrimonial qu'ils ont reçu, avec le sentiment que s'ils l'abandonnaient leur univers familier s'écroulerait. Ne voyons-nous pas de nos jours dans les grandes villes africaines, des groupes complètement séparés géographiquement de leur tribu d'origine, soumis parfois depuis plusieurs générations à l'influence européenne, maintenir avec acharnement leur système matrimonial? Pourtant, dans l'ensemble des tribus des Noirs Réfugiés, la filiation patrilinéaire n'a prévalu nulle part, et la résidence patrilocale a disparu, semble-t-il, assez rapidement ; le problème ne peut être éludé par des explications faciles telles que l'influence de l'esclavage ou la rareté des femmes parmi les rebelles[1].

On est obligé d'admettre que des raisons profondes ont rendu les groupes patrilinéaires moins viables que les autres, et ont conduit finalement à leur dissolution. Ces raisons nous paraissent être de deux ordres :

- L'esprit d'indépendance de la femme africaine, soucieuse avant tout de sa liberté à l'égard de l'homme ;

- la loi morale et religieuse sous laquelle s'est faite l'unification des tribus des Noirs Réfugiés, impliquant le rejet de toute forme de violence et d'oppression. Sous cette loi il ne pouvait plus être question d'emmener la femme hors de son village maternel si elle y était attachée, et pas davantage d'exercer sur elle une coercition pour la faire demeurer dans une union qui avait cessé de lui plaire.

La formation des patrilignages a dû être entravée par de nombreux divorces ; de plus, en cas de divorce, la femme, à n'en pas douter, prétendait emmener ses enfants, ne reconnaissant aucun contrat entre les deux parentés qui pût influer sur son libre arbitre ; on peut également être certain que les enfants, consultés, devaient dans la plupart des cas suivre leur mère et se grouper dans leur parenté maternelle. Cette tendance demeure parfaitement observable de nos jours ; nous en verrons toute l'importance en étudiant comment sont élevés les enfants et quelle tutelle est exercée sur eux.

Or il n'y a pas de patrilignage concevable si, en cas de divorce, les enfants ne restent pas avec le père. Il existe des sociétés patrilinéaires où la femme est libre, ne fût-ce que la société Peule, où les divorces sont très fréquents. Mais la coutume africaine veut qu'en régime patrilinéaire, du fait du versement de la dot, la parenté de la femme perde tout droit sur les enfants. Ils sont entrés dans la parenté de l'homme et dans son culte des ancêtres.

La formation de groupements matrilinéaires et patrilocaux a dû elle aussi se heurter à des difficultés analogues, les femmes ne quittant pas volontiers leur village d'origine.

On peut imaginer assez aisément que dans la période initiale de la formation des

(1) Les groupes rebelles ont été vite déséquilibrés au point de vue démographique, car ils allaient enlever des femmes sur les plantations.

nouvelles tribus, les différents systèmes matrimoniaux ont coexisté ; puis les groupes patrilocaux, moins viables, se sont progressivement dissous, tandis que la coutume actuelle se constituait.

Ce point de vue est confirmé par un renseignement précis recueilli à la fin du XIXe siècle par l'explorateur Coudreau. A la mort d'Agosu, fils de Boni, c'est son fils Gongo qui lui succéda. Mais après la mort de Gongo, la succession se fit selon le régime matrilinéaire.

Un autre aspect important du système matrimonial des Noirs Réfugiés est l'absence de toute compensation ou prestation. Même s'il arrive qu'une femme quitte définitivement son lignage pour s'établir dans le village de son mari et y faire souche (c'est notamment le cas des lignages Afi et Toïna cités plus haut), cela n'entraîne aucune compensation. C'est contraire à la coutume et mal vu, mais si la femme tient absolument à quitter sa parenté elle est libre de le faire. On ne peut rien réclamer au lignage de son mari.

L'interprétation habituelle de la compensation matrimoniale, regardée comme un mécanisme d'échange de femmes entre les groupes, ne paraît donc pas valable ici. Si une femme quitte définitivement un lignage Boni pour aller faire souche par exemple chez les Djuka, sa descendance est perdue pour le lignage sans aucune possibilité de compensation. Pourtant cette société si profondément enracinée dans la terre africaine ne prévoit en pareil cas aucun versement ou prestation.

Les choses s'éclairent si on considère le lignage non pas en tant que groupement matériel effectif, mais comme communauté spirituelle soumise à une même loi religieuse. Dans la pensée des Noirs Réfugiés, le lien religieux fondamental qui unit l'individu à ses ancêtres en ligne utérine ne peut être brisé quoi qu'on fasse.

Où qu'elle aille, la femme émigrée demeure membre de la communauté spirituelle ; elle reste, elle et ses enfants, soumise au même *kunu*. Ce lien religieux ne peut pas non plus être transposé sur la parenté maternelle.

Ainsi compris, le mariage ne rompt aucun lien spirituel, il n'en crée aucun ; il ne donne donc lieu à aucune compensation.

Ces considérations montrent que la « dot » africaine, telle que la conçoivent les sociétés patrilinéaires, n'est pas seulement un mécanisme d'échange de femmes entre des groupes matériellement constitués. Elle peut aussi avoir comme but, sans que les intéressés en aient bien conscience, de compenser pour la communauté spirituelle du lignage la perte des enfants à naître de la femme, leur passage à un autre culte.

Un exemple de scission dans un groupe de parenté : la séparation de Dipélu II entre Kormotibo et Asisi. (Voir tableau généalogique des Dip. II).

Cette scission a résulté d'un incident dérisoire : une brouille survenue entre ○ Alawenchi † (E19) et ○ Bongo (E6), à l'occasion d'une houe que la première prétendait lui avoir été volée par Bongo.

Ni l'une ni l'autre ne voulant céder, elles se fâchèrent définitivement et se batirent.

Fig. 5. — Village [illegible]

Fig. 6. — La grande [illegible] de la Rodolie

[facing p.38]

△ Agoua, chef du lignage, prenant le parti de Alawenchi, décida de faire sécession et de s'installer à Asini.

○ Pile † (F35) et ○ Sésey † (F38) qui, leur mère étant morte, avaient été élevées par Alawenchi, se joignirent à elles et firent souche à Asini.

C'est ce qui explique la scission actuelle de ce groupe et la répartition bizarre de ses membres entre Kormotibo et Asini. Cette scission n'eut pas de conséquence sur le plan religieux, l'unité étant maintenue par le lien impitoyable du *kunu*. Actuellement, l'autorité du capitaine Poupu s'exerce normalement sur la fraction d'Asini. L'entente est assez bonne entre les deux groupes.

[p.39]

CHAPITRE III

INVENTAIRE DU PEUPLEMENT DES VILLAGES BONI

Nous nous sommes efforcés d'établir un recensement complet au 1er janvier 1958 des Boni du Haut Maroni, comportant pour les femmes le relevé de leurs unions successives, et de leurs enfants vivants et décédés. Ce recensement est associé à des plans détaillés des villages et à une étude de l'implantation territoriale des groupes de parenté.

Il nous a semblé que dans l'état actuel de la connaissance des Noirs Réfugiés, une étude de portée limitée, mais s'étendant à la totalité de la population, était préférable à l'étude très approfondie d'un petit groupe ; seule l'étude de la population considérée dans son ensemble fait apparaître nettement sa coutume familiale, ses tendances en matière de mariage, de divorce, d'héritage ; seule elle peut conduire à une connaissance précise de ses données démographiques, si importantes même sur le plan social.

Enfin, cet inventaire détaillé constitue une base solide pour suivre dans l'avenir l'évolution de la population.

Recenser les Boni posait un problème beaucoup plus difficile que pour la plupart des populations sans état-civil. Les tribus des Noirs Réfugiés jouissent en fait d'un statut de nations autonomes sous protectorat, et tiennent farouchement à cette autonomie. Jamais l'administration française, pas plus que l'administration de Surinam pour les Djuka et Saramaka, n'a pu les recenser, se heurtant à une mauvaise volonté ingénieuse qui défie tous les efforts.

Ce n'est pas qu'ils craignent l'impôt (c'est une notion pratiquement inconnue en Guyane, même sur la côte[1], et depuis longtemps l'administration française apparaît

(1) Pratiquement, dans l'intérieur du pays, à l'exception des commerçants qui sont astreints à la patente, personne ne paie d'impôt et il n'y a même pas de listes de contribuables. Les créoles de l'intérieur (principalement des Antilais anglais) ne sont connus que dans la mesure où, sujets étrangers, ils sont astreints à des déclarations de changement de résidence ; les citoyens français ne sont guère connus des postes administratifs que dans la mesure où ils s'y présentent pour des actes d'état civil, ou pour l'inscription sur les listes électorales.

aux yeux des habitants de l'intérieur comme un bureau de bienfaisance), mais ils obéissent à la vieille maxime africaine de ne jamais dire aux Blancs que la moitié de ce qu'on sait.

En l'absence de tout recensement nominal pouvant servir de base de départ, ce travail présentait des difficultés considérables tenant principalement à l'extrême mobilité de la population :

— Jamais on ne trouve rassemblée simultanément toute la population d'un village ; la proportion des absents atteint fréquemment 50 %, notamment à la belle saison (chasse, pêche, canotage, abattis dans les habitations de culture, etc.) ;

— Nombre d'hommes et de femmes ont 2, parfois 3 noms, employés indifféremment. Fait qu'on ne connaît pas personnellement une partie importante des habitants des villages et qu'on ne dispose pas de tableaux généalogiques établis avec soin, il est impossible de rien comprendre ;

Si les hommes répondent de bonne foi, il n'en est pas de même des femmes, qui sont inaccessibles à tout raisonnement. Les unes cherchent à monnayer les renseignements qu'elles donnent, d'autres refusent obstinément de répondre ;

Nombre d'adolescents et même d'hommes entre 20 et 35 ans n'ont pas de case attitrée. Chaque Boni, homme ou femme, est en principe tenu de bâtir une case dans un des « grands villages ». Mais cette résidence peut être fictive : ce peut être par exemple une case ébauchée qu'on se propose de relever un jour... ou l'auvent de la maison de la mère, ou d'un frère, sous lequel on s'installe les jours où une cérémonie réunit le lignage, résidant le reste de l'année dans une habitation de culture.

Malgré les relations confiantes développées entre le Boni et nous au cours des travaux effectués en commun pendant quatre longues missions, nous n'avons pu faire ce recensement que progressivement et indirectement, en employant simultanément les procédés suivants :

Étude de la généalogie des groupes, en remontant de femme en femme jusqu'à l'ancêtre fondatrice, puis en redescendant. Ces tableaux généalogiques, dont certains s'étendent sur neuf générations et englobent plus de 160 personnes, ont mis en évidence un certain nombre d'absents temporaires et d'individus qui vivaient à l'écart des villages, isolés au milieu des orpailleurs créoles, mais continuant à faire partie de leur groupe ; ils ont mis en évidence également un certain nombre de jeunes gens et enfants orphelins recueillis par des parents éloignés qui n'en auraient pas parlé directement. Mais sur ce point, il subsiste des lacunes ;

Plan détaillé des villages et interrogatoire des chefs de village sur les personnes habitant chaque maison ;

Interrogatoire des femmes sur leurs enfants morts et survivants ;

— Vérification générale à l'aide d'informateurs parfaitement en confiance et possédant à fond la généalogie des groupes.

Le recensement, arrêté au 1er janvier 1968, a porté sur 811 personnes dont 667

des villages de la rive française et 144 de la rive surinamienne (Kotika). Pour ces derniers nous les avons interrogés individuellement quand ils venaient sur la rive française, notamment quand ils sont venus assister aux fêtes de lever de deuil à Bonivile en octobre 1957. Le recensement de Kotika est moins précis que celui des villages français, et d'autre part nous n'avons pu faire le plan du village. Pour cette raison nous ne l'avons reproduit dans le présent ouvrage, où seul figure le tableau généalogique correspondant.

Le principe de constitution des villages Boni est, avons-nous dit, la localisation du matrilignage. Hommes et femmes demeurent dans le village de leur parenté maternelle ; la femme ne quitte pas son village pour rejoindre son mari, qui vient la visiter de temps à autre sans cesser de résider lui-même au milieu de son propre lignage.

La composition de chaque village correspond donc, au moins en principe, au groupe des vivants du tableau généalogique. Mais on observe un certain nombre d'exceptions :

— Un certain nombre d'hommes (une vingtaine sur 800 personnes) ont émigré définitivement et ne peuvent plus être comptés dans la population des villages ;

— Par contre une douzaine de Djuka et Saramaka mariés à des femmes Boni se sont installés à demeure dans les villages et ont été englobés dans le recensement.

Nous nous sommes efforcés d'évaluer avec autant de précision que possible l'âge des intéressés, grâce à des événements de date connue dont ils ont conservé le souvenir, depuis le voyage de l'explorateur Crevaux (1878) jusqu'à la guerre 1939-1945. Nous avons établi une chronologie locale, qui est reproduite en annexe à la fin du présent chapitre.

L'enquête démographique, qui a fait l'objet d'une publication distincte[1], a été conduite parallèlement à l'enquête sociologique.

Nous estimons les lacunes du recensement à moins de 3 %. Ces lacunes portent essentiellement sur les adolescents et jeunes gens orphelins ou élevés par d'autres que leurs parents.

Les adultes de plus de 35 ans nous étaient pratiquement tous individuellement connus. Les enfants de moins de 10 ans ont pu être très exactement recensés grâce aux distributions de lait effectuées depuis 1956 par le centre médical de Maripasoula.

Classement. Le classement de la population a été fait par village de résidence.

Pour chaque femme, on a indiqué ses unions successives et les enfants qui en sont issus. Le signe † signifie décédé, le signe ✦ divorce, Le signe ✦ † signifie que le mari est décédé, mais après la rupture de l'union.

Les fiches des femmes précédées d'un astérisque * indiquent que la fiche peut être regardée comme complète au point de vue démographique (enfants vivants et décédés).

Un double astérisque ** indique que la fiche peut en outre être regardée comme complète au point de vue des mariages et divorces successifs[2].

(1) Étude démographique comparée des Noirs Réfugiés Boni et des Indiens Guyana du Haut-Maroni, dans Population, éditions de l'INED, 1950, n° 3.

(2) Nous évitions de poser directement ces questions auxquelles les femmes ne répondaient pas de bonne grâce. Ces renseignements ont été obtenus indirectement par l'interrogatoire des frères et des maris. Ils n'ont pu être obtenus de façon complète que pour 30 % environ des femmes.

Le nom de chaque individu est porté en caractères gras une fois, là où il peut être considéré comme résidant habituellement.

Les enfants de moins de 15 ans sont considérés comme résidant avec les personnes chargées de leur éducation. Si des précisions n'ont pu être obtenues à cet égard, ils sont considérés comme résidant avec leur mère.

Chaque fiche porte un numéro, par exemple Dju D7, permettant de retrouver la place de l'individu dans le tableau généalogique. Dans l'exemple indiqué il faut se référer au tableau du lignage Dju, ligne D, n° 7.

Tableaux généalogiques. Ils sont de valeur inégale selon l'âge et la mémoire des anciens consultés. D'une façon générale ils remontent à trois générations au-delà des plus âgés des vieillards actuels.

Comme les Boni présentent une longévité remarquable et qu'on peut évaluer à 31 ans la différence moyenne d'âge entre deux générations, on peut admettre comme probable que la plus lointaine aïeule connue de chaque lignage est née entre le milieu et la fin du XVIIIe siècle. Par exemple, si on admet que Kuluba, l'aïeule des Awara Bakka, avait environ 100 ans en 1956, on peut admettre qu'elle est née vers 1856 et que son arrière grand-mère est née vers 1760.

La plus ancienne aïeule connue de chaque lignage n'est certainement pas la fondatrice. Il est infiniment probable que la fondation de ces groupes remonte au début du XVIIIe siècle et qu'ils ont pris naissance dans les plantations mêmes où les aïeux des Noirs Réfugiés étaient esclaves ; ce serait là l'explication des noms portés par les lignages, noms qui font presque toujours allusion à une plantation ou à un propriétaire d'esclaves.

D'une façon générale, la mémoire des Boni est très sûre et les renseignements donnés sous la forme : Ma X... a engendré tel, tel et tel, peuvent être regardés comme certains. Par contre, nous avons considéré qu'il y avait une coupure dans la généalogie lorsqu'en remontant dans le temps on arrivait à cette seule donnée : Ma X... était la sœur de Ma Y...., car il pouvait s'agir d'une parenté au sens classificatoire.

Aucune forme de droit d'aînesse n'existant chez les Boni, on observe une certaine incertitude quant à l'ordre de naissance des frères et des sœurs, pour les gens décédés depuis longtemps. Nous avons adopté l'ordre conservé par la tradition orale, sans chercher à le rectifier.

Dans nombre de populations africaines, une tradition spéciale s'attache à perpétuer la mémoire du fondateur, au moins son nom, l'emplacement de sa tombe. Chez les Boni actuels on ne trouve absolument rien de semblable ; ils ne se préoccupent en rien de la fondatrice véritable de leur lignage ; aucun souvenir, aucune légende, pas même un nom n'est parvenu jusqu'à eux. Il semble même que ces aïeux lointains les intéressent peu, étant moins à même d'agir en faveur de leurs descendants actuels. En fait, à chaque génération nouvelle, le souvenir d'une génération ancienne s'éteint. A notre premier voyage en 1948, nous avions relevé, malheureusement sans les noter avec précision, des

traditions orales très intéressantes remontant au temps de l'esclavage, notamment les noms des propriétaires d'esclaves qui se montraient le plus cruels. En 1962 le dernier vieillard qui les connaissait était mort, le souvenir même de ce qu'il avait dit était déjà effacé.

En fait la pensée des Boni, strictement pratique et utilitaire, s'attache principalement à conserver le souvenir de la partie de la généalogie indispensable aux vivants pour connaître leurs liens de parenté. Le souvenir des femmes dont la descendance est éteinte et des hommes qui n'ont rien fait de remarquable est éteint dès la seconde génération.

Comme aucun des voyageurs du XIXe siècle n'a compris l'intérêt de relever des généalogies, il est probable que le nom des véritables fondatrices et les circonstances de la formation des lignages (renseignements inestimables qui devaient encore être présents à la mémoire des vieillards de la fin du siècle dernier), sont à jamais perdus.

Pour simplifier la rédaction des tableaux généalogiques, on a éliminé les individus décédés avant l'âge adulte.

Les noms. Pour assurer à nos informateurs l'anonymat nécessaire, sans diminuer la précision de l'exposé, nous avons changé une grande partie des noms. Les noms fictifs sous lesquels les individus sont désignés tant sur les tableaux généalogiques que dans l'inventaire de la population, ont été pris pour la plupart parmi les Djuka, qui appartiennent au même groupe culturel et linguistique ; dans d'autres cas nous avons employé pour « chiffrer » le recensement un procédé plus complexe consistant à échanger les noms de deux personnes. Les enfants de moins de 15 ans sont simplement désignés par une initiale[1].

Malgré ces précautions, nous recommandons aux voyageurs munis de cet ouvrage de ne faire aucune allusion devant les Boni, aux faits qui y sont relatés ; les Noirs Réfugiés sont très fiers et ne peuvent admettre qu'un étranger pénètre de plain-pied dans leur intimité familiale. Cela provoquerait à l'égard de l'indiscret une vive hostilité et gênerait les travaux ultérieurs.

Le tableau de correspondance entre les noms véritables et les noms fictifs est tenu à la disposition des sociologues qui désireraient poursuivre des études sur les Boni.

(1) Il est particulièrement désagréable aux Noirs Réfugiés que les noms de leurs enfants soient connus des européens, à l'exception du médecin. Tout interrogatoire systématique sur ce sujet se heurte à une telle hostilité.

Boniville

Légende

N°		Maison de		N°		Maison de	
1	△	Défu grand man	Dikan	31	○	Pélui	P1, F34
2	△	Dodoya	Dip. I, F82	32	△	Gonisutu (2e maison)	
3	○	Kulina	Dju, F9	33			
4	△	Fintiman	Dju, F6	34	△	Baafu	L2, E58
5	△	Klémenti	Dju, F7	35	○	Lomé	L2, F74
6	○	Eliana	Dju, F8	36	○	Térésa	L2, E57
7	○	Kulina	Dju, F9	37	△	Amakti	L2, F71
8	△	Doni	Dju, G13	38	△	Monpé	1. Poti
9	△	Lota	K3, E142	39	○	Aboméki	
9 bis	△	Booki	K3, E133	40	△	Klémenti	Dju, F7
10	○	Mini	K3, E156	41	○	Amékiwan	1. Poti
11	○	Lémiki	K3, D130	42	○	Léya	K2, F99
12	○	Tofioto	K3, E157	43	○	Paata	1. Poti
13	△	Lébiman	K3, D132	44	○	Chima	1. Poti
14	○	Arhiké	K3, E140	45	○	Lésina	K2, F69
15	○	Soato	K3, E142	46	△	Todo	K2, F68
16	○	Maka	K3, E146	47	○	Awini	K1, E37
17	○	Marta	K3, F140	48	△	Todo	K2, F68
18	○	Waway	K3, E130	49	△	Noël	Dip. I, F83
19				50	△	Kailawa	1. Poti
20	○	Afingi	K3, D120	51	○	Bada	Dip. I, F1
21	○	Akyénki	K3, E144	52	△	Madéko	K2, E69
22	△	Makalanchi	K3, F130	53	○	Amanichi	Dip. I, F7
23	△	Sintamann	K3, E145	54	○	Cécilia	Dip. I, E9
24	△	Asékeyé	P1, G25	55	△	Dyakata	Dip. I, E4
25	△	Hukuman	P1, F32	56	△	Alichi	Dip. I, F5
26	○	Apinda	P1, G96	57	○	Asumé	Dip. I, F2
27	△	Gonisutu	P1, G64	58			
28	○	Alasani	P1, F34	59	○	Léya	K2, F99
29	△	Bénanu	P1, G61	60	△	Todo	K2, F68
30	△	Nanga	P1, G31				

Total au 1er janvier 1958 : 116 personnes, dont 43 enfants et adolescents de moins de 16 ans.

Habitants adultes dont la résidence à Boniville est anormale : néant.

Les membres du petit lignage Poti, fondé il y a une cinquantaine d'années par une femme Djuka épouse du grand man Ochi†, ont une résidence normale par rapport à leur fondatrice. Aucun Djuka, Saramaka ou Paramaka ne vit à Boniville.

[p. 45]

VILLAGE DE AGODÉ
(BONIVILLE)

[illegible]

lignage Dikan

et fractions des lignages Kotika, Dipala I, Lapé, Papoisten, Dju

Fig. 2.

Village L'Enfant Perdu (Tabiki)

Légende

N°	Maison de		N°	Maison de	
3	○ Djalufu	Dip. I, E8	25	△ Famblèn	Dip. I, E62
6	△ Kasun (vit habituellement à Kotika)	Dip. I, E3	26	○ Asuwèntina	K2, E73
			25, 29	△ Daméni	Dip. I, E47
8	△ Biani	Dip. I, F76	30	○ Anusa	Dip. I, E48
9	○ Saumè	Dip. I, E53	31, 32	○ Towéchi	Dip. I, F64
10	△ Tabayé	Dip. I, F73			
11	○ Saumè (2e maison)		33	△ Malpa	Dip. I, F52
13	○ Abéna	Dip. I, D38	34	△ Babun (2e maison)	
14	△ Polou	Dip. I, F77	36	○ Aséli	Dip. I, F60
15	△ Toli	Dip. I, D44	37	○ Efina	Dip. I, E44
16	○ Mata	Dip. I, F80	38	○ Anau	Dip. I, G50
17	△ Abagon	Dip. I, E35	39	○ Musingu	Dip. I, F51
19	△ Bayamati	Dip. I, E55	41	○ Apense	Dip. I, F54
20	△ Simon	Dip. I, F78	42	○ Kodja	Dip. I, F55
21	△ Manku	Dip. I, F75	43	○ Saayé	Dip. I, F56
22	△ Bobun chef du village	Dip. I, D40	45	○ Péechina	Dip. I, E42

Total au 1er janvier 1958 : 65 personnes, dont 25 enfants et adolescents de moins de 16 ans.

Habitants adultes du village dont la résidence est anormale :

○ Asuwentina 1926, élevée par son père Famblèn, demeurée à L'Enfant Perdu ;

△ Yoni 1930, Djuka, élevé par son frère de même père Tabayé au village L'Enfant Perdu, demeuré là ensuite.

Total : 2 personnes, dont l'une élève un enfant.

Villages Loka et Lapé Tabiki

Habitants adultes dont la résidence est normale :

△ Afoondo 1935, élevé par son père Koniman à Loka, demeuré là
○ Baïkom 1924, élevée par son père Malobi à Loka, demeurée là
○ Méchi 1922, élevée par son père Kodio à Loka, demeurée là
○ Noko 1937, élevée par Namu, sœur de son père, demeurée à Loka
○ Régina 1936, élevée par son père Popo à Loka, demeurée là

Total : 5 personnes, élevant 7 enfants ou adolescents de moins de 16 ans.

VILLAGE L'ENFANT PERDU
(le Dipolu I)

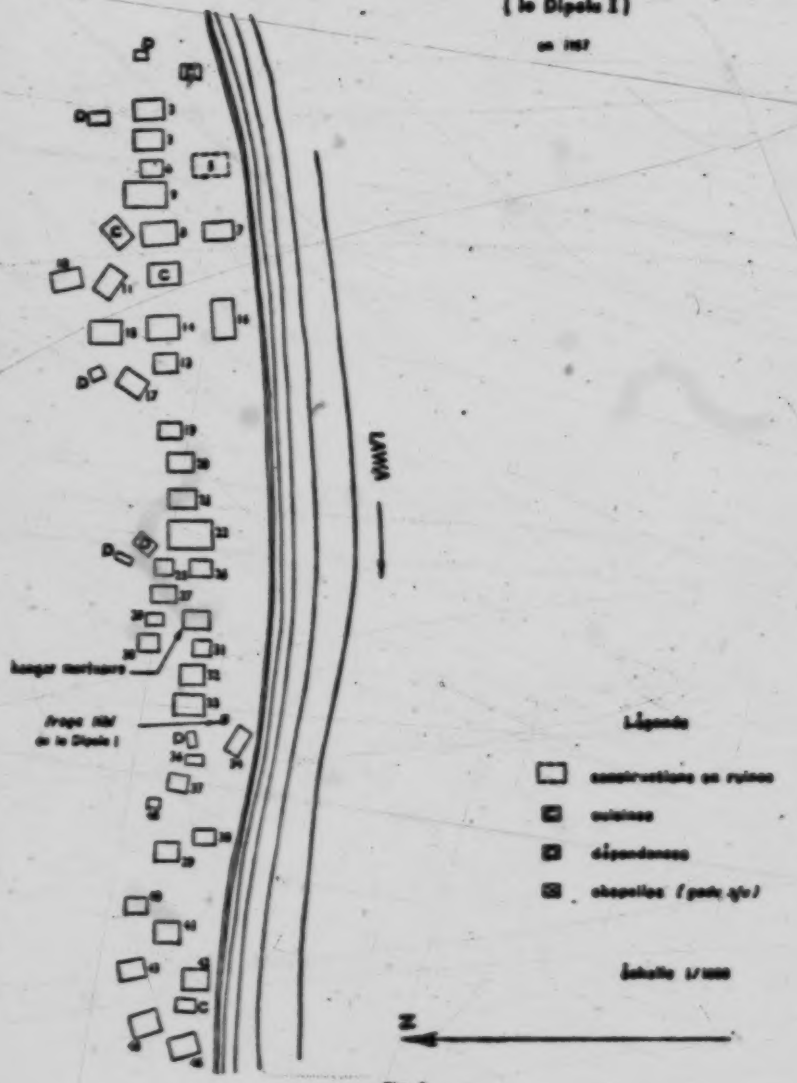

Fig. 6.

[p 47]

Villages Loka et Lapé Tabiki

Légende

Village Loka

N°	Maison de		
1, 4	○	Bito	L1, D2
3	△	Télon	L1, E3
2, 5	○	Tolti	L1, E1
6	△	Pikinbaale	L1, E2
7	○	Totouman	L1, F1
8	△	Dootè	L1, E10
9	○	Baïkom	Dju, F10
11	△	Abété	
12	△	Malobi	Dip. I, E50
13	○	Alapu	L1, D9
14	○	Apiéku	L1, E7
15	○	Yaana	L1, E39
16	○	Madu	L1, E41
17	△	Topo	L1, E40
18	○	Chii	L1, D24
19	○	Koko	L1, E42
20	△	Ayaubédé	L1, E37
21	○	Mayon	L1, F27
22	○	Saléni	L1, E25
23	○	Kayé	L1, F26
24	△	Tingo	L1, F25
25	○	Awenkina	L1, D23
26	○	Paako	L1, E29
27	○	Do	L1, F35
28	○	Akomédi	L1, F34
29	○	Méchi	Aw. B.1, E27
30	○	Balansi	L1, F37
31	○	Mémé	L1, E34
32	○	Akuba	L1, E30
33	△	Akwadé	L1, E22
34	○	Ondi	
35	△	Pwen	L1, E33
36	△	Koniman	L1, E31
37	○	Akuba	L1, E30
38	○	Afuyéti	L1, F38
39	△	Afoondo	Aw. B.1, F56
40	○	Mélita	L1, E32
41	○	Abiaman	L1, F39
42	○	Téké	L1, F44
43, 44	△	Tamu	L1, F32
45, 46	△	Fosé	L1, F33
47	△	Somié	L1, E24
48	△	Popo, chef du village	L1, E23

Village Lapé Tabiki.

N°	Maison de		
1	○	Asamani	L1, D15
1 bis		Manntau	L1, E20
2		Tabiki†	
3	△	Butu	DJUKA
4	△	Solé	L1, D13
5	○	Twa †	L1, E14
6	○	Asolda †	L1, C11
7	○	Kama	L1, E15
8	○	Adoimba	L1, E17
9	△	Maaten	L1, E18
10	△	Tyaka	L1, D16
11	○	Yundu † 1957	L2, G60
12	○	Asakundu	L2, E55
	○	Angisa	L2, F61
13	△	Anato	L2, G61

Total au 1er janvier 1958 : 138 personnes dont 64 enfants et adolescents de moins de 16 ans.

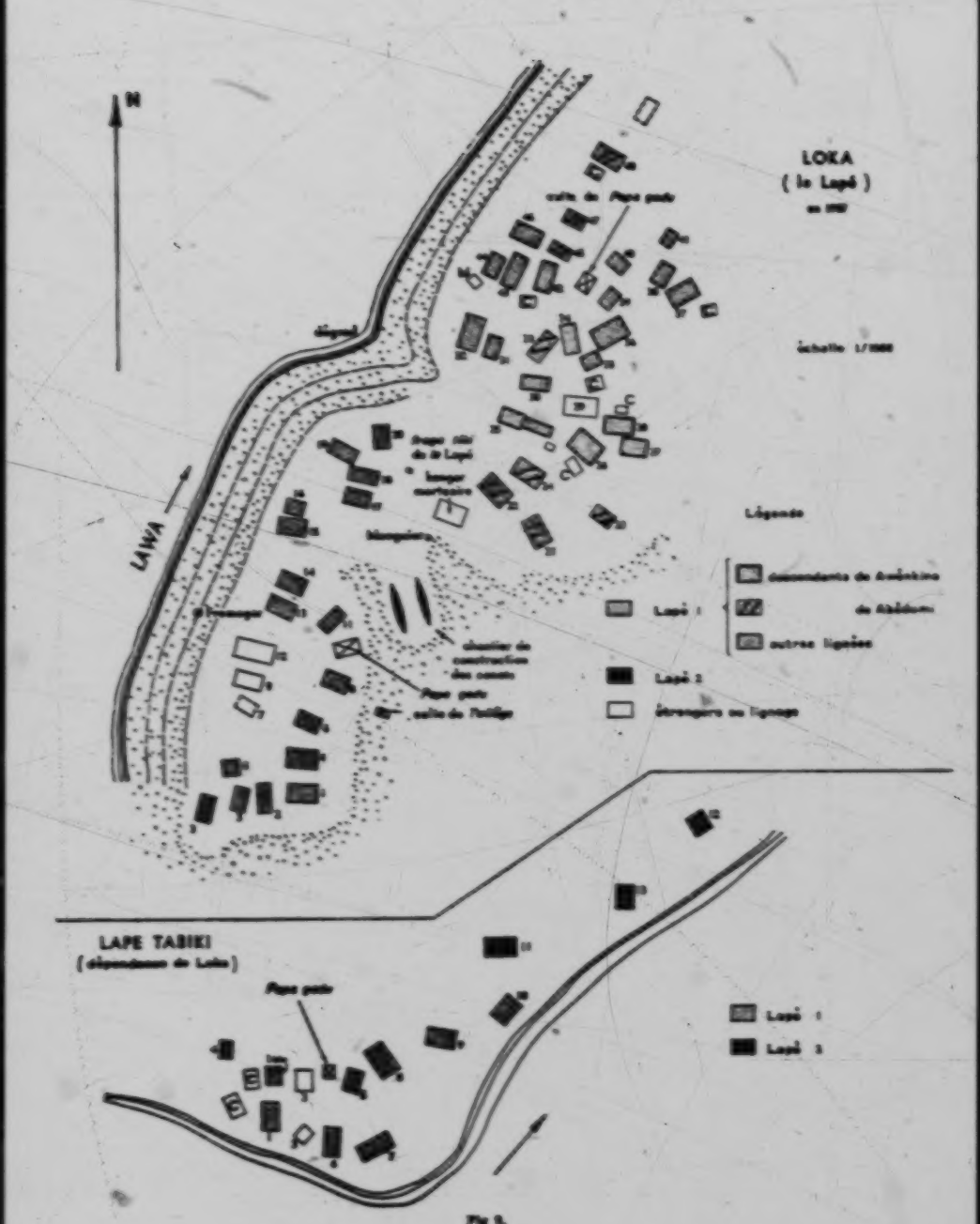
N
LOKA
(le Lapé)
LAWA
Légende
LAPE TABIKI
(dépendance de Loka)
Lapé 1
Lapé 2

Fig 2.

[p. 49]

Village Anini — Quartier Dju

Légende

N°	Maison de		N°	Maison de	
1	△ Fraga	Dju, F18	25	○ Paana	Dju, G2
2	△ Loko	Dju, F39	26	○ Téodora	Dju, G40
3	△ Sosoman	Dju, E14	27	○ Pikè	Dju, F28
4	△ Fraga (2e maison)		29	○ Dabisa	Dju, G45
5	△ Tyolo	Dip. II, F68	30	△ Yaka	SAR.
6, 7	△ Wéua	Dju, F38	31	△ Soalufu	Dju, G42
			32	○ Aliki	Dju, E23
8	△ Koninmi	Aw. B.1, G1	33	○ Maria	Dju, F11
9	○ Yéèchi	Dju, F3	34	△ Achikè	Dju, F13
10	○ Wima † 1957		35	○ Félicia	Dju, G41
12	△ Féni	Dju, G3	36	△ Bernardin	K1, D60
14	△ Adiso, chef du village	Dju, F37	37	△ Achikè (2e maison)	
			38	○ Dechini	Dju, F16
15	○ Pamasa	Dju, E26	39	○ Adyidya (2e maison)	
16	○ Buba	Dju, G1	40	○ Kukusa	Dju, F40
17	○ Aguba	Dju, G14	41	△ Faawé	Dju, F19
18	○ Sara	Dju, E27	42	○ Ursula	Dju, D3
20	○ Ata	Dju, F2	43	○ Wima † (2e maison)	
21	○ Adyidya	Dju, E19	44, 45	○ Diana	Dju, E9
22	○ Lèage	Dju, F36			
23	○ Sara (2e maison)		46	○ Baawè	Dju, E13
24	○ Tini	Dju, F1			

Total au 1er janvier 1958 : 67 personnes dont 24 enfants et adolescents de moins de 16 ans.

Habitants adultes dont la résidence est anormale :

△ Koninmi 1935, élevé par son père chez les Dju, demeuré là ensuite ;
△ Tyolo 1919 idem
△ Yaka, 1870, vieux Saramaka installé chez sa femme Aliki ;
△ Bernardin 1886, élevé par son père chez les Dju où il a pris femme ;
○ Afaïla 1920, élevée par son père chez les Dju, demeure chez son frère de même père Féni.

Total : 5 personnes dont une élevant un enfant.

ASISI

QUARTIER DJU

(le Dju)

en 1967

Échelle 1/1000

Fig. 10.

Village Asisi — Quartier Awara Bakka

Légende

N°	Maison de		N°	Maison de	
1	△ Amusupé 1887	Aw. B. 1, E3	30	○ Noémi	Aw. B. 1, F51
2	△ Kondoku, chef du village	Aw. B. 1, E22	31	△ Empalé	DJUKA
3	○ Kyéti	Aw. B. 1, E30	32	△ Antonu	Aw. B. 1, E47
4	○ Mani	I. Afi, d12	33	○ Agyasu	
5	○ Paniki	I. Afi, d13	34	△ Maliki, son mari,	L2, F64
6	△ Awéni	I. Afi, c12	35	○ Irma	Aw. B. 1, E37
7	△ Agibidon	Aw. B. 1, E21	36	○ Bugi	Aw. B. 1, F41
8	○ Akichi	Aw. B. 1, F27	37	○ Akumuyé †	Aw. B. 1, D17
9	△ Boofo	Aw. B. 1, E31	38	○ Méédié	Aw. B. 3, F90
10	○ Hiyo	Aw. B. 1, F11	39	○ Mona	Aw. B. 1, F50
11	△ Matapi	I. Afi, c3	40	△ Mato	Aw. B. 1, E46
12	△ Béti	Aw. B. 1, F37	41	○ Chitaina	Aw. B. 1, F43
13	△ Aminto	Aw. B. 3, E74	42	○ Lébimay	Aw. B. 1, F55
14	○ Kulubu † 1957	Aw. B. 1, D1	43	○ Namu	Aw. B. 1, E48
15	○ Fakima	Aw. B. 2, E61	44	○ Léna	Aw. B. 1, E52
16	○ Abuyu	Aw. B. 2, E63	45	△ Maina	Aw. B. 1, F42
17	○ Koduku	Aw. B. 2, E59	46	○ Lébimichi	Aw. B. 1, F27
18	△ Garson	Aw. B. 1, F7	47	○ Amélia	Aw. B. 1, F19
19	○ Somma	Aw. B. 3, F81	48	△ Ernest	Aw. B. 1, E25
20	○ Emma	Aw. B. 2, D25	49	○ Apinda	Aw. B. 1, F16
21	○ Téti	Aw. B. 1, E16	50	△ Bésu	Aw. B. 1, F17
22	△ Akodo	Aw. B. 2, E55	51	○ Kakié	Aw. B. 1, E18
24	○ Saaneti	Aw. B. 2, D28	52	○ Atuku †	Aw. B. 1, E26
25	△ Asokya	Aw. B. 2, E65	53	○ Ayékuman	Aw. B. 1, F8
26	△ Kondoku (2e maison)		54	○ Soéfi	Aw. B. 1, F10
27	○ Akanté	Aw. B. 3, E70	55	△ Dupiu	Aw. B. 1, F9
29	○ Kilina	Aw. B. 3, E71	56	△ Baokaman	Aw. B. 1, F12
				○ Alicia	Aw. B. 1, E32

Total au 1er janvier 1958 : 145 personnes dont 60 enfants et adolescents de moins de 16 ans.

Nota : Le lignage Awara Bakka est le plus anciennement fixé dans l'île d'Asisi, et quand les Boni parlent du village d'Asisi ils veulent généralement parler du quartier occupé par ce lignage.

Habitants adultes du village dont la résidence est anormale :

Empalé 1905, mère Djuka, élevé par son père Pééyon † à Asisi, demeuré là ensuite ;
Maliki 1928, élevé par son père à Asisi, demeuré là ensuite ;
Maina 1931, femme Djuka établie auprès de son mari Maina.

Total : 3 personnes.

[p.53]

VILLAGE ASISI

QUARTIER AWARA BAKKA

le Awara Bakka, fractions 1, 2, 3

fragment du lignage Afi

en 1957

Fig. 11.

Village Papaïston

Légende

N°	Maison de		N°	Maison de	
1	○ Bélli	P1, F19	18	○ Kumata	P1, G1
2	○ Oben	P1, E13	19	△ Sawen	P1, E7
3	○ Dodo	P1, F11	20	○ Emilia	P1, F3
4	△ Yusu	P1, E16	21	△ Galmo	P1, E15
5	○ Kamen	P1, E14	22	○ Héléna	P1, F2
6	○ Agodéuman	P1, F10	23	○ Gou	P1, F8
7	○ Mili	P1, F20	24	△ Afay †	
8	○ Donasi † 1957	P1, E35	25	○ Puti	P2, F71
9	○ Asetuten	P1, E10	26	○ Ondi	P1, F49
10	○ Adinudu	P1, H61	27	○ Atipay	P1, F47
11	△ Tolonié, chef du village	P1, E12	28	○ Dopi	P1, G40
			29	△ Agodéba	P1, E1
12	△ Tolinga	P1, E11	30	○ Tolna	1. Tolna
13	○ Efa	P1, D4	31	○ Apuulobi	1. Tolna
14	△ Agoundé	P1, F4	33	△ Apuyu	1. Tolna
15	△ Dudu	P1, F18	34	○ Bèndya	P1, F12
16	○ Kokoyo	P1, F9	35	△ Mangoto	P1, F20
17	○ Wilélmina	P1, F1			

Total au 1er janvier 1958 : 83 personnes, dont 36 enfants et adolescents de moins de 16 ans.

Aucun étranger au lignage ne vit au milieu des Papaïston ; les membres du lignage Tolna vivent isolés à l'extrémité Sud du village.

[p.55]

VILLAGE PAPAISTON

[illegible]

[illegible] Kowina ou Papaïston,

Fragment du lignage Tolou (Boisabunda)

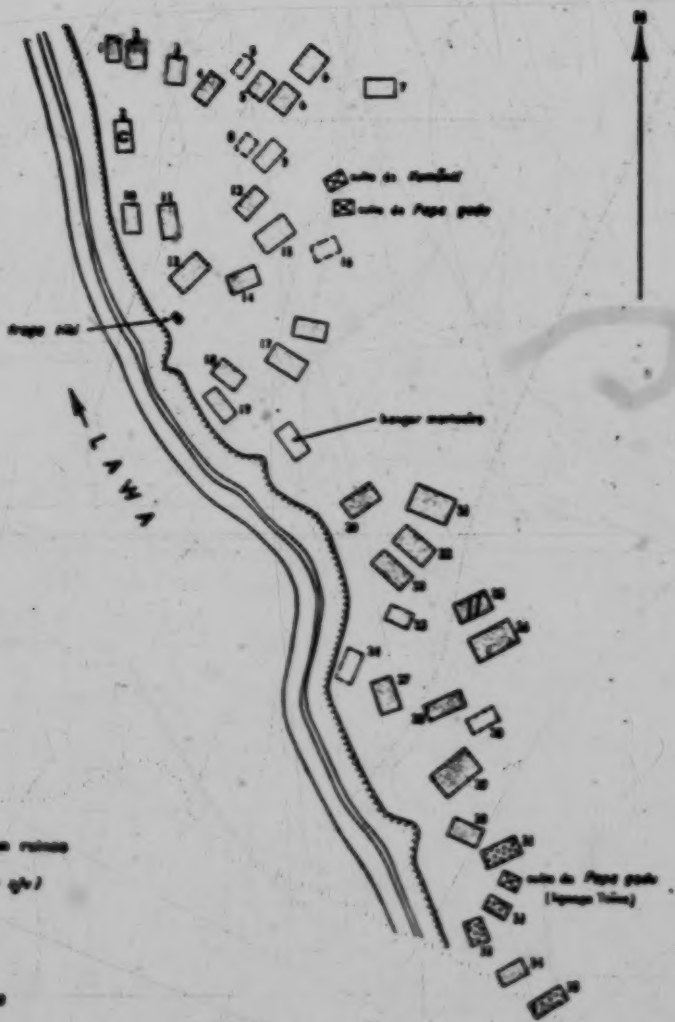

Fig. 11.

Fig. 13. — Pagaies Boni.
A droite, comme chef-d'œuvre de conquérants, une pagaie Saramaka.

[facing p. 56]

Villages Kormotibo et Asisi-Dipélu

Ia Dipélu II

Nous n'avons pas jugé utile de relever le plan de l'habitat de ce groupe, constitué par deux hameaux mal tenus et en décadence.

Effectif au 1er janvier 1958 : 62 personnes, dont 31 enfants et adolescents de moins de 16 ans.

Habitants adultes dont la résidence dans ces villages est anormale :

Memun 1880 (lignage Afi)	a toujours vécu en isolé
Magdaléna 1912 (lignage Afi) élevant 4 enfants de moins de 16 ans)	venue s'installer chez son mari Léon (Dip.II, ? en 1954), demeurée là ensuite.
△ Dokchiman 1934 (l. Afi)	élevé par sa mère Magdaléna, réside auprès d'elle.
△ Dokwé 1938 (l. Afi)	idem
○ Gongolon 1937 (l. Afi) élevant un enfant)	idem
○ Manda 1935 (l. Afi)	idem
○ Ninga 1899 (Papaston 2)	s'est séparée de son groupe à la suite d'une mésentente.
△ Benu 1938	fils de Ninga, a suivi sa mère.

Total : 8 personnes élevant 4 enfants de moins de 16 ans.

Structure et composition des villages

L'examen que nous venons de faire du peuplement de six villages montre d'importants aspects de l'organisation sociale et de la vie matérielle des Boni.

Les groupes de parenté dans les villages. Nous avons vu que le principe de résidence des Boni était la localisation de l'ensemble du lignage, hommes, femmes et enfants ; ce qui implique l'absence de vie commune du ménage, l'homme et la femme résidant chacun dans son propre village.

Ce principe de résidence matrilocale est effectivement appliqué dans la presque totalité des cas. En 1967, sur l'ensemble des 670 personnes des villages de la rive française, 27 adultes seulement sur 410, soit 6 %, résidaient au milieu de leur parenté paternelle ou s'étaient installées à demeure au village de leur conjoint.

Nulle part on ne voit apparaître de tendance au groupement patrilocal ; les petits lignages issus au cours des deux dernières générations de femmes Djuka ou Bakabuchi venues s'installer définitivement auprès de leur mari n'échappent pas à la loi commune. Leurs membres suivent strictement, par rapport à leur aïeule, le principe de résidence matrilocale.

Une autre conclusion importante se dégage de l'examen des tableaux généalogiques :

Quand une scission s'est produite à l'intérieur d'un lignage, répartissant ses membres entre plusieurs villages soumis à des commandements différents, cette scission n'est jamais complète. Les membres du lignage se trouvent chez eux aussi bien dans l'un que dans l'autre de ces villages, et passent volontiers de l'un à l'autre.

L'exemple de Dipélu I est particulièrement net à cet égard. Ses membres sont répartis en 3 villages : L'Enfant Perdu, Apatu et Boniville (où ce lignage occupe un quartier).

Les descendants de ○ Monika † se sont répartis entre ces trois villages. △ Kwau, l'aîné, après avoir vécu à Apatu jusqu'à l'âge de 70 ans, s'est établi en 1968 à Boniville ; ○ Djalufu vit depuis son enfance à L'Enfant Perdu, Cécilia a été élevée à Boniville où elle réside depuis.

Citons encore l'exemple des descendants de Wétili (Papaïston I). Sur ses 12 enfants et petits-enfants adultes vivants en janvier 1968, 7 se sont établis avec elle, dans l'habitation qu'elle a fondée sur l'estuaire du Maroni, à plusieurs centaines de kilomètres du pays Boni, 2 vivent à Boniville (où le lignage Papaïston a délégué quelques-uns de ses membres auprès du grand man, 3 sont revenus vivre à Papaïston. Malgré cette dispersion, l'entente est parfaite entre ces frères et sœurs qui demeurent en relations suivies.

Émigration ; immigration ; fondation de nouveaux lignages. Il n'est pas possible de donner à ce sujet des chiffres rigoureux, parce qu'il est très difficile de faire une distinction nette entre émigrés temporaires et émigrés définitifs. Il arrive qu'un homme

parti depuis très longtemps et sur lequel on ne comptait plus revienne reprendre sa place dans la vie coutumière. Il arrive aussi qu'un homme parti pour un court voyage prolonge indéfiniment son absence.

On peut affirmer cependant que l'émigration de longue durée n'affecte qu'un pourcentage très faible des Boni, et presque exclusivement des hommes. Pour 810 personnes recensées, en enregistrant les noms de leurs frères, sœurs et enfants, nous n'avons noté qu'une vingtaine d'émigrés considérés comme définitivement perdus pour leur groupe, dont 4 femmes.

Il convient de mettre à part le cas de O Wétiti (Papaïston) et O Ma Imma (Kotika), qui se sont séparées de leur groupe avec leur nombreuse descendance pour fonder des villages sur le cours inférieur du fleuve. Ces groupes continuent à se considérer comme Boni ; ce sont les noyaux de futurs villages.

Pour les mêmes raisons il est difficile de chiffrer l'immigration. Environ cent Djuka et Saramaka ont fondé des villages de culture dans le pays Boni, mais conservent tous leurs liens avec leurs villages d'origine ; une trentaine d'entre eux sont mariés à des femmes Boni ; on peut estimer qu'une quinzaine ont lié complètement leur sort aux Boni et peuvent être considérés comme intégrés aux villages dans lesquels ils se sont établis.

Au total on peut estimer que l'émigration et l'immigration des adultes hommes, toutes les deux très faibles, se compensent ; elles n'ont pratiquement aucune conséquence sur le plan social (puisque seule la résidence des femmes influe sur le groupement des lignages), ni sur le plan démographique ; chez les Boni la pyramide des âges construite à partir du recensement des villages représente très fidèlement l'état démographique de la population, et se prête à des calculs précis de mortalité[1].

La fondation de nouveaux lignages résulte de l'immigration de quelques femmes Djuka, les unes venues s'installer à demeure auprès de leur mari, les autres élevées par leur père dans un village Boni. A chaque génération on compte une demi-douzaine de cas semblables, mais tous n'ont pas pour conséquence la fondation d'un lignage, soit que les femmes soient stériles, soit qu'il ne reste qu'un ou deux enfants survivants qui retournent vivre dans leur parenté maternelle. Plus une femme a d'enfants, plus elle a tendance à se fixer définitivement avec sa descendance, car le groupe ainsi formé représente une force et peut se suffire à lui-même, tant sur le plan matériel que sur le plan affectif.

Au cours des 50 dernières années, ont été fondés dans l'ensemble du pays Boni 4 nouveaux lignages :

[1] Il n'en est pas de même pour la plupart des populations africaines, soit en raison de l'émigration vers les villes, soit du fait de la polygynie. La présence de quelques moyens polygames dans un village suffit à fausser complètement les effectifs des tranches d'âge.

Awara Bakka 3 (Aníta)	16 personnes	au 1er janvier 1958
Afi	25	—
Tolna	9	—
Poti	8	—
TOTAL.....	58 personnes.	

Ces nouveaux lignages ne représentent donc que $\frac{58}{810} = 7\ \%$ des Boni.

L'immigration de femmes provenant d'autres tribus demeure donc un phénomène exceptionnel qui a peu de conséquences sur le plan social et démographique. Le développement des Boni en tant que nation ne résulte que du mouvement naturel de la population. L'étude des généalogies oblige à admettre qu'en éliminant les membres de ces quatre petits lignages, l'ensemble des Boni descendent de 6 à 7 femmes seulement ayant vécu à la fin du XVIIIe siècle. On trouve peu d'exemples d'un semblable accroissement.

Absence d'une division des villages en quartiers. Nous avons vu que la coutume des Noirs Réfugiés s'oppose à tout ce qui pourrait altérer le système de parenté classificatoire, et conduire à l'individualisation de segments à l'intérieur du lignage. Ce principe se traduit très nettement dans la structure des villages où l'on n'observe aucune tendance à la division en quartiers séparés, sauf dans les villages comme Boniville, où coexistent les ressortissants de plusieurs lignages. La règle est que dans les villages homogènes, les membres du lignage soient entièrement libres de construire leurs maisons n'importe où. On observe seulement une certaine tendance des enfants à se grouper autour de leur mère, dans la mesure des places disponibles (voir notamment au village de Loka, l'intrication des maisons des descendants de Adédumi, de Awènkina et des autres aïeules appartenant au même lignage.

Dans les villages comme Asisi-Awara Bakka, où sont groupés les membres d'un *lo* comportant des fractions individualisées, il en est de même.

Ces fractions n'ont aucune tendance à former des quartiers séparés (voir dans le plan d'Asisi l'intrication des maisons des Aw.B.1, 2, 3) pas plus qu'ils n'ont tendance à grouper leurs abattis dans un terroir séparé.

Les Boni disent volontiers : « on ne doit pas élever de barrières entre frères. »

D'une façon générale, l'examen du plan des villages montre que les Boni construisent leur maison à leur fantaisie sans aucune orientation privilégiée et sans les grouper ou les isoler de quelque façon que ce soit. Tout membre du lignage peut construire sur un emplacement laissé libre (par exemple l'emplacement d'une vieille case après la mort de son propriétaire, quand elle a été jugée trop abîmée pour pouvoir être donnée en héritage). Il doit seulement avoir l'autorisation du chef du village, et aussi l'accord des voisins qu'il ne doit pas gêner. Comme les maisons n'occupent que peu de place et que la plupart n'ont pas de dépendances (cuisine ou grenier) cet accord est donné très facilement. Nous n'avons jamais entendu dire que des gens se soient disputés un emplacement.

Il n'existe pas de jardins de case, les conditions de sol et de climat rendant impraticable la culture permanente. C'est tout juste si quelques personnes plantent autour de leur case quelques bananiers, au pieds desquels ils répandent la cendre du foyer. En règle générale les villages sont étroitement enserrés par la brousse secondaire, et les gens font leurs plantations loin les unes des autres et parfois très loin du village.

Si elle n'admet pas l'appropriation de la terre aux individus, la coutume admet en revanche la propriété des arbres. Dans les villages, les arbres utiles (cocotiers, palmiers maripa, manguiers, pommiers-cajou, etc.) ont tous un propriétaire. L'arbre est considéré comme un bien personnel et il est transmis par héritage au même titre qu'un fusil ou un canot. Le procédé employé par les Boni pour la dispersion de l'héritage entre les membres du lignage du défunt a parfois pour effet de transmettre la propriété d'un arbre à une personne qui n'est pas du village. Par exemple, à Boniville, où est établie une fraction du lignage Kotika, deux palmiers caumou ont été légués voici longtemps à des membres du lignage habitant Kotika, qui viennent chaque année faire la cueillette.

ANNEXE

Chronologie locale utilisée pour la fixation des âges

1876	Mort du Grand man Atyaba.
1877	Voyage de l'explorateur Crevaux du Maroni au Yari et à l'Amazone, en compagnie d'Apatu, chef du village Boni.
1882	Apatu fait sécession, entraînant environ 150 personnes et fonde le village qui porte son nom sur le cours inférieur du Maroni.
1891[1]	Mort du Grand man Anato.
1902	Découverte de l'or de l'Inini.
1908	Mort d'Apatu.
1915	Mort du Grand man Ochi.
1915 (avril)	Mort de l'explorateur Jean Laveau au saut Grand Soula sur le Litani.
1917 (nov.)	Nomination du Grand man Awensay.
1918[2]	Fin de la « guerre contre Guillaume ».
1921	Création de l'éphémère « Compagnie des Transports Aériens Guyanais »; accident d'hydravion à l'embouchure de l'Inini.
1925-26	Une usine de bois de rose est d'abord établie au village Boni de Kotika, ensuite à l'embouchure de la crique Coulé-Coulé sur le Litani.
1931	Mission Monteux-Richard.
1936	Mort du Grand man Awensay.

(1) Les voyages de l'explorateur Coudreau, qui séjourna dans le Haut-Maroni en 1889 et 1891, n'ont laissé aucun souvenir.

(2) Cette date a laissé un souvenir très précis car elle a marqué la fin d'une période de grande misère.

1937	Mission de détermination du point de trijonction des frontières Guyane Française-Brésil-Suriaam.
1939	Déclaration de guerre.
1944-45	Pas de repère précis. Les Boni confondent la libération du territoire et la fin de la guerre.
1948	Première mission I.G.N.
1949	Mission de M. Aubert de la Rüe ; seconde mission I.G.N.
1952	Troisième mission I.G.N.

[p.62 is blank]

[p.63]

CHAPITRE IV

INSTITUTIONS SOCIALES

Les institutions sociales des Noirs Réfugiés s'écartent sensiblement de celles des peuples africains dont ils sont issus. Elles ne comportent ni classes d'âge, ni société des hommes, ni initiation ; le mariage ne comporte ni contrat entre les parentés ni « dot ».

D'une façon générale ces sociétés fondées par des esclaves rebelles qui avaient gardé une horreur extrême de toute oppression, se sont organisées de façon à ne faire peser sur l'individu aucune contrainte matérielle. Leurs institutions sont entièrement fondées sur l'idée d'une protection contre les périls suprahumains ; l'individu demeure parfaitement libre, et il n'y adhère que dans la mesure où il a le sentiment de ces périls. La coutume des Noirs Réfugiés, privée de tout moyen de coercition matérielle, a tendance à développer chez l'individu le sentiment qu'il est constamment menacé, qu'il ne peut se protéger qu'en se soumettant à la loi du groupe. C'est sans doute là qu'il faut voir la raison profonde de l'importance attachée à la mort et au deuil, événements sur lesquels est centrée l'activité des sociétés coutumières, et qui entraînent une véritable mobilisation.

Il serait très difficile de condenser la coutume des Noirs Réfugiés en un code rigoureux. Si l'on voulait le faire, il faudrait écrire comme article 1 : « les vivants se conformeront à la volonté des dieux et des ancêtres, telle qu'elle s'exprime par la bouche des possédés et par les mouvements des porteurs des morts. »

Chacune des tribus des Noirs Réfugiés est formée d'une certain nombre de matrilignages.

Le nombre de ces lignages n'est pas limité et on peut affirmer que si un lignage quelconque détaché d'une autre tribu demande à vivre au milieu des Boni, il sera accueilli. Dès la première génération les enfants se considèrent comme Boni.

On peut citer à ce sujet l'exemple du lignage Awara Bakka 3, et celui du petit lignage fondé à Boniville par une femme Djuka épouse du grand man Ochi. Tous ses descendants se considèrent comme Boni.

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Mais seuls les grands lignages qui constituaient la tribu à ses origines sont des unités sociales reconnues par le grand man, et seuls leurs chefs sont appelés à faire partie du conseil.

Nous étudierons d'abord le fonctionnement intérieur du lignage, puis les institutions dépassant le cadre des lignages.

Fonctionnement du lignage

Nous avons vu que le groupe social effectif, *lo*, fraction d'un lignage étendu, est une unité sociale possédant tout ce qui est nécessaire à un groupe humain pour vivre, régler ses différends et faire valoir ses droits :

- Un culte des ancêtres ;
- Un chef jouant à la fois le rôle de prêtre des ancêtres et de juge ;
- Des droits collectifs sur une portion de terre.

Un lignage pourrait parfaitement vivre indépendant sans aucun lien de dépendance vis-à-vis d'une tribu quelconque. Il existe effectivement, à l'intérieur de Surinam, plusieurs lignages d'origine très ancienne (qu'on englobe sous le nom de Bakabuchi = derrière la brousse) qui vivent totalement indépendants.

Il n'existe à l'intérieur du lignage aucune lignée privilégiée et la seule hiérarchie reconnue est celle de l'âge, ou plus exactement de la proximité de l'aïeule fondatrice.

La tutelle collective des oncles au sens classificatoire, n'est effective que dans le jeune âge, mais le principe en subsiste toute la vie. Dans une délibération un homme doit éviter de contredire violemment un de ses « oncles » et trouver normal qu'on attache plus de poids à l'opinion de cet oncle qu'à la sienne. Nous avons subi en 1956 des incidents désagréables du fait d'un bossman qui se trouvait être l'oncle au sens classificatoire (bien qu'il eût le même âge) du conducteur motoriste de son canot ; le conducteur hésitait à le commander vigoureusement comme il commandait son autre bossman, et lui, de son côté, ne manquait pas de rappeler à son « neveu » le respect qui lui était dû.

Cependant le lignage n'est pas à proprement parler divisé en classes d'âge, et quand les hommes se rassemblent en conseil pour une affaire intéressant la totalité du groupe, tous peuvent prendre la parole sans considération d'âge ni de place dans la généalogie.

Le conseil *(Lundu)*. C'est la principale institution sociale à l'intérieur du *lo*. Le *Lundu* est l'assemblée des hommes du *lo*, sans considération d'âge. Aucune règle précise ne définit à partir de quel âge un adolescent peut y assister, et en principe tous peuvent prendre la parole. Mais la bienséance veut qu'à moins d'être personnellement intéressé à la question ou d'avoir quelque chose d'important à dire, les jeunes laissent parler les anciens.

C'est le capitaine *(hedemã)* et en son absence l'aîné du lignage, qui préside. Il fait face à l'assemblée, entouré de quelques-uns des plus anciens.

Il a en face de lui un répondant *(piki mã)* qui salue toutes ses phrases par les approbations rituelles *hipa, hipa ha!, na so!*, etc., sans lesquelles un Noir Réfugié ne pourrait prononcer convenablement son discours.

Chacun intervient ensuite s'il éprouve le besoin d'exprimer son opinion. Les femmes ne participent pas au conseil, à moins qu'il ne s'agisse du mariage d'une fille, mais il arrive que des hommes quittent la réunion pour aller prendre conseil de leur mère, et reprennent leur place. S'il s'agit d'une question simple et sans intrication surehumaine, comme la fixation du prix d'un travail, la discussion est souvent rapidement prise, mais dans le cas contraire la discussion se poursuit interminablement car il n'y a aucune règle précise pour conclure. Il n'existe qu'une règle négative : l'opposition déterminée d'un quart à un cinquième des membres du conseil empêche l'exécution d'un projet.

Il semble qu'on attende que l'unanimité se produise et qu'au fond (on retrouve ici les mécanismes mentaux particuliers des Noirs Réfugiés), on attende qu'elle se prenne toute seule, qu'elle s'impose comme une évidence. Si rien de tel ne se produit, on se sépare sans avoir rien décidé.

Cette discussion publique de toutes les questions importantes ne résulte pas tant, dans la pensée des Noirs Réfugiés, d'une croyance en la sagesse des assemblées, que de la crainte de la malveillance. Si des questions étaient débattues en petit comité, il se trouverait aussitôt des esprits méfiants et jaloux pour y voir de sombres intrigues. Le souci constant des Noirs Réfugiés, quand ils ont quelque chose d'important à dire, est de trouver des témoins. C'est là en fait le rôle du conseil, et c'est pourquoi il n'y a ni limite inférieure d'âge pour en faire partie, ni règle précise sur la façon de conduire la discussion.

Le Capitaine ou *hedemã*. Le chef de chacun des grands lignages faisant partie de la tribu depuis son origine est reconnu par le grand man comme *hedemã* ou « Capitaine » (ce mot était employé depuis l'origine de l'installation des européens en Guyane pour désigner les chefs des tribus indiennes).

Les Capitaines président le *kiuli kuulu*, conseil suprême dont les fonctions sont principalement judiciaires.

Il n'existe aucune règle précise de succession, et le choix des membres du lignage est entièrement libre à l'égard des liens de parenté. Quand on interroge à ce sujet les anciens, ils répondent ordinairement que le successeur doit être choisi parmi les « neveux », au sens classificatoire du défunt, c'est-à-dire parmi les membres du lignage qui sont éloignés de la fondatrice d'une génération de plus.

Il suffit de consulter les tableaux généalogiques, sur chacun desquels nous avons mis en évidence la transmission de la fonction de Capitaine, pour se convaincre qu'on ne pratique rien de semblable : ce serait du reste impossible en fait. Le conseil choisit entre

les « frères » et les « neveux » du défunt. Si la nomination est acquise, elle n'est valable que si le grand man n'oppose pas son veto. Il peut exiger qu'on recommence le conseil.

Le grand man observe pendant environ un an le comportement du nouveau chef, et s'il est satisfait de lui, il le convoque à Boniville avec les membres du lignage. Il lui remet le banc et le bâton de commandement *(wuku liki)* préparés par le doyen du lignage. Il le prend par la main et le fait asseoir sur le banc en le proclamant chef.

Cette nomination est faite à vie ; une fois nommé un Capitaine ne peut être révoqué.

La succession des trois derniers Capitaines du *lo* Dju est particulièrement intéressante (Voir le tableau généalogique de ce groupe).

En 1948, à notre premier passage, Diolè (E1) était Capitaine depuis près de 50 ans, succédant à Doomé dont nous n'avons pu situer exactement la place dans le tableau généalogique.

Diolè mourut en 1951, âgé de près de 90 ans. Au moment du deuil, on interrogea son *gorko* qui désigna (par l'intermédiaire des porteurs du cercueil) comme successeur souhaitable un de ses neveux au sens classificatoire, nommé Loko (F39).

Le conseil réuni dès la levée du deuil de Diolè, en 1952, approuva la désignation de Loko ; mais le grand man s'opposa à cette nomination car Loko s'était rendu coupable d'une faute grave (vol qualifié) et avait encouru une condamnation.

Le choix du conseil se porta alors sur Atikati (E18), le plus âgé d'entre eux (il avait plus de 70 ans), cela bien qu'il y eût d'autres neveux au sens classificatoire de Diolè, parfaitement capables.

Atikati mourut en 1955. Le choix du conseil, réuni en 1956, se porta sur Adiiso (F37), homme d'une soixantaine d'années.

La place des uns et des autres sur le tableau généalogique montre bien qu'il n'existe aucune règle précise de succession, et que le choix du conseil est libre.

De même, en regardant le tableau généalogique de *lo* Awara Bakka, divisé en 3 fractions, on voit que la fonction de Capitaine peut passer indifféremment de l'une à l'autre. Elle est passée de Asèmbay (Aw.B.2) à Pèèyon (Aw.B.1), puis à Kondoku (Aw. B.1).

Ces observations permettent d'affirmer qu'il n'y a pas, à l'intérieur du lignage, de ligne privilégiée[1].

Les petits lignages de fondation récente rattachés à un *lo* désignent chacun un chef : par exemple le lignage Afi a pour chef Awéni. Mais ce chef demeure soumis à l'autorité du Capitaine du *lo* et sa fonction n'a pas d'existence officielle.

(1) Entendant par ligne, faute d'un mot mieux approprié, un cheminement faisant correspondre à un individu, à la génération suivante, un individu unique choisi selon un critère déterminé. On pourrait parler par exemple dans certains types d'organisation de lignes d'aînés, jouant un rôle privilégié par rapport aux autres lignes constituant le lignage. Rien de semblable n'existe chez les Noirs Réfugiés.

La nomination est faite par un conseil -*kuulu*- du lignage, mais elle n'est valable qu'une fois avalisée par le grand man.

Quand le défunt Capitaine n'a pas de son vivant désigné de successeur, on interroge son *gorèn* pour savoir qui il préfère. Cela n'a pas force de loi mais peut influencer le conseil.

Le conseil se réunit quelques jours après la levée du deuil du défunt Capitaine. Tous les membres masculins du lignage sans considération d'âge donnent leur avis. On ne vote pas à proprement parler, mais on considère la nomination comme valable seulement si les trois quarts des assistants sont d'accord. Sinon on se sépare sans avoir rien décidé et le lignage peut rester sans chef pendant des années. On peut citer à ce sujet l'exemple du *lo* Awara Bakka qui est resté sans chef de 1935 (?) à 1953, jusqu'à la nomination de Konduku. Pendant ce temps le grand man avait désigné le Capitaine Popo, chef du lignage Lapé, pour assurer l'intérim. Quant aux fonctions religieuses, elles étaient assurées par le doyen du lignage.

Le capitaine exerce à l'intérieur du lignage les fonctions suivantes :

1) il est prêtre du culte des ancêtres et préside les prières et les offrandes faites devant le *frugo liki*. Dans cette fonction il est remplacé en cas d'absence par l'aîné du lignage.

En cas de mort d'un membre du lignage sous l'effet du *kunu*, le Capitaine convoque tous ses gens pour procéder aux prières collectives et aux offrandes destinées à apaiser les dieux ;

2) il exerce un pouvoir judiciaire étendu, car il est admis que le pouvoir judiciaire et politique de la tribu ne peut intervenir dans les affaires entre membres du même lignage, même les affaires de meurtre, car on peut dire qu'à l'égard de la coutume des Noirs Réfugiés, le lignage ne représente qu'une seule vie.

Doivent obligatoirement être réglées dans le cadre du lignage :

— Les accusations de meurtre par sorcellerie où victime et meurtrier supposé sont l'un et l'autre membres du lignage ;

— Les contestations sur des terres à l'intérieur des zones possédées effectivement par le lignage.

La façon dont le Capitaine exerce ses fonctions de juge est difficile à connaître, car pour les Noirs Réfugiés, il est extrêmement honteux de révéler les dissensions intérieures à son propre lignage. Et quant à celles des autres lignages, si l'on vient à les connaître, on n'ose guère en parler car si cela venait à se savoir il pourrait vous en cuire.

Les chefs de lignage ont une certaine autorité sur le plan matériel ; ils désignent les hommes chargés d'exécuter les travaux commandés par l'administration, mais à vrai dire il s'agit surtout de choisir entre des volontaires, car ce sont des travaux avantageux. Il n'est pas certain qu'ils parviendraient à imposer des ordres nettement impopulaires.

Le Capitaine désigne pour l'aider un certain nombre de surveillants ou *basia*. Leur

rôle consiste à veiller à la propreté du village, à prendre toutes les dispositions matérielles relatives aux danses et aux enterrements, à convoquer les intéressés aux réunions du conseil.

Le *lo* constitue une unité au point de vue spirituel, mais il importe de remarquer qu'il ne comporte aucune organisation collective sur le plan matériel. Dans ce domaine règne l'individualisme le plus forcené ; il n'y a pas d'outils d'usage collectif et les gens ne se groupent pour faire leurs abattis que dans la mesure où ils le veulent bien.

Les *basia* sont les porte-paroles du capitaine, et non pas des adjoints ayant un commandement précis sur une fraction déterminée du village. Ils sont au nombre de 3 ou 4 par village ; en outre il y a une ou deux femmes *basia*, par l'intermédiaire desquelles le chef du village commande les travaux réservés aux femmes.

Le chef du lignage ne possède pas de pouvoirs religieux sur la terre. Les Noirs Réfugiés admettent que la fécondité du sol dépend exclusivement de divinités locales, que chacun prie pour son compte.

Le Capitaine, pas plus que le conseil, n'a le droit de chasser un membre du lignage, même pour indignité caractérisée. C'est un des aspects les plus remarquables des conceptions juridiques des Noirs Réfugiés, lié à l'idée qu'un lignage ne représente qu'une seule vie. Là encore la pensée des Noirs Réfugiés peut être regardée comme l'extrême opposé de la pensée des Bamiléké, où le chef seul détient les droits sur la terre, l'expulsion constituant la sanction sociale suprême.

Initiation ; classes d'âges ; société des hommes. Ces institutions africaines paraissent totalement ignorées des Noirs Réfugiés. Il n'existe aucune forme d'initiation des adolescents, et aucune cérémonie ne marque collectivement leur entrée dans la vie sociale. La circoncision et l'excision ne sont pas pratiquées. Pour les enfants, garçons et filles, il y a deux étapes : celle du premier vêtement, qui est donné à l'apparition des poils pubiens, vers 12-13 ans, sans cérémonie, et la fin de l'éducation qui coïncide avec le mariage.

La société des Noirs Réfugiés repose pourtant en grande partie sur la hiérarchie de l'âge ; il n'y a pas de classes d'âges à proprement parler, comportant une organisation précise, mais elles existent tacitement :

La classe des jeunes, *gupku sama*, a des activités précises ; la « mode » c'est-à-dire l'élégance, la danse, le chant ; elle possède un langage spécial fabriqué à partir du taki-taki par interversion ou adjonction de syllabes. Quand le langage commence à être connu hors du groupe des jeunes, on l'abandonne et on en invente un autre. Ces dernières années le langage en vogue était l'*akupina*, d'origine Djuka ; il avait donné naissance à tout un folklore de chants.

Deux autres classes d'âges paraissent assez nettement différenciées : celle des anciens

-pul sumo- (à partir d'une cinquantaine d'années) dont la voix est prépondérante dans les conseils, et celle des vieillards -gulandi sumo- (à partir de 65 à 70 ans).

Il est admis par tous que seuls les anciens possèdent la sagesse et la connaissance, et en principe, dans une discussion, l'opinion du plus ancien fait force de loi.

On n'aperçoit pas non plus chez les Noirs Réfugiés de sociétés coutumières jouant un rôle comparable à la société des hommes au Soudan par exemple. D'une façon générale leur vie sociale, très individualiste en dépit des apparences, ne connaît d'autre organisation que celle qui résulte des liens de parenté.

Cependant l'organisation des hommes à l'intérieur de chaque village en vue des cérémonies de deuil peut être regardée comme une ébauche de sociétés coutumières :

— *Kisimi* ou faiseurs de cercueils ;

— *Obmi* ou fossoyeurs.

Mais ces sociétés sont étroitement spécialisées et leurs pouvoirs coutumiers n'existent que pendant la durée de leur travail effectif.

Hommes et femmes. Même à l'intérieur du lignage où les hommes et femmes s'appellent frère, sœur, tante ... les rapports entre hommes et femmes sont marqués par la défiance.

Il est admis une fois pour toutes que les femmes sont des mégères sur lesquelles on ne peut pas compter et dont on ne peut rien tirer. Les Noirs Réfugiés sont intarissables sur ce chapitre et leur opinion sur les femmes de leur groupe est très semblable à celle des Africains en général : ils les disent méchantes, dépourvues de sentiments affectifs, égoïstes, cupides et infidèles.

D'une façon générale les femmes sont tenues à l'écart de la vie sociale régulière ; il n'existe aucune forme de société coutumière de femmes. Dans les cérémonies de deuil, qui correspondent à une véritable mobilisation du village, elles ne jouent aucun rôle, sinon de préparer les repas.

Les femmes jouent pourtant indirectement un rôle important dans la vie sociale, par le biais des cultes de possession. Les dieux *Papa gadu* si redoutés ont presque exclusivement pour porteurs des femmes, et nous verrons en étudiant le fonctionnement du *kunu*, qu'elles en sont les acteurs principaux. Par cette activité qui s'exerce de façon arbitraire, en marge des institutions de la vie sociale régulière, les femmes entretiennent autour d'elles une atmosphère de crainte ; il n'est pas impossible que le fonctionnement de ces cultes soit influencé par le souci des femmes de maintenir leur position privilégiée dans la société des Noirs Réfugiés.

Beaucoup de femmes sont charitables et ont une certaine générosité à l'égard des membres de leur famille, assurant l'entretien des vieillards sans ressource. Mais leur bienveillance est essentiellement subjective, et ne s'étend qu'à un petit cercle d'amis personnels et à leurs plus proches parents. Dès que les anciens font appel à elles pour une question d'intérêt général, prétendent leur donner des ordres ou même des conseils, ils rencontrent une attitude systématiquement malveillante et butée.

Les chefs de lignage évitent de leur donner des ordres directement, car ils risquent fort de se faire insulter, ainsi que nous l'avons observé à maintes reprises.

En mars 1957, Awéni, chef du lignage Afi, établi à Asini, se préoccupa de regrouper les membres de son lignage et notamment de faire rentrer à Asini Magdaléna (c20), femme âgée d'environ 45 ans, qui s'était installée à Kormotibo auprès de son mari L... (? 1956), avec ses enfants et d'autres qu'elle avait élevés. Il se rendit à Kormotibo et lui représenta que son mari étant mort, elle n'avait plus de raison de rester là et qu'elle devait revenir à Asini. Magdaléna l'insulta devant les habitants du village, proclama qu'elle n'avait d'ordres à recevoir de personne, puis comme il insistait, elle s'armait d'un bâton et le poursuivit à travers le village jusqu'au dégrad. Il dut rembarquer précipitamment sous les rires des gens de Kormotibo.

Pouvoir politique et judiciaire

Le grand man. C'est le chef du *lo* Dikan qui exerce la fonction de grand man des Boni. Le grand man actuel Difu était âgé en 1958 de 67 ans environ.

La tradition orale a retenu le nom de ses sept prédécesseurs :

Gongo (*lo* Dikan)	1810-1840	dates indiquées d'après Coudreau
Labi (Adam?) (*lo* Dikan)	1840-1870	
Myaba (*lo* Kotika)	1870-1876	
Amato (*lo* Kotika)	1876-1891	
Ochi (*lo* Dikan)	1891-1915	
Awensay id.	1917-1936	
Difu id.	depuis 1937.	

D'après les renseignements recueillis par Coudreau en 1887, Gongo était le successeur d'Agoso, lui-même successeur de Boni. A la mort de Labi, il n'y avait dans le *lo* Dikan que des femmes et des enfants. La fonction de grand man est alors passée au *lo* Kotika avec Myaba et Amato. Elle est ensuite revenue au *lo* Dikan avec Ochi.

En 1957, le lignage Dikan était pratiquement éteint. Il ne restait plus que le grand man Difu et son frère aîné Samalobi, très âgé.

L'actuel grand man ne connaît pas la généalogie de son lignage au-delà de sa grand-mère.

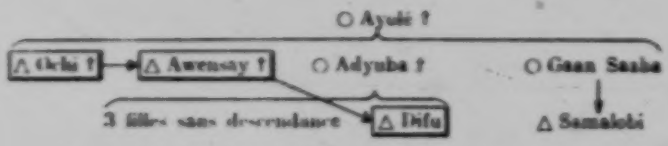

Fig. 11. Filiation des trois dernies grands mans des Boni

A la mort d'Awenasy c'était Samalobi, aîné des neveux au sens classificatoire de Awenasy qui devait être nommé, mais l'administration française crut devoir s'y opposer, le jugeant trop âgé ; il s'inclina de bonne grâce.

Samalobi, l'aïeul, le patriarche des Boni, est mort en mai 1957, âgé de plus de 100 ans. Bien que très diminué par ses infirmités et presque aveugle, il conservait un grand prestige et aucune décision importante n'était prise sans son consentement.

Fils d'Apatu, compagnon de Crevaux, il avait conservé un souvenir précis de l'explorateur qu'il avait accompagné pendant une partie de sa randonnée en 1877. C'est grâce à ses souvenirs que le prestige de Crevaux est resté si grand sur le Maroni.

Le grand man juge sans appel les contestations entre les membres de lignages différents. Les affaires vraiment sérieuses sont extrêmement rares, si l'on tient compte de ce que :

— Les contestations sur le versement de dot, le reversement en cas de divorce et l'attribution des enfants, qui forment l'essentiel des causes plaidées devant les juridictions coutumières africaines, n'existent pas chez les Noirs Réfugiés ;

— Les contestations sur l'appropriation des terres sont fort rares en pays Boni, vue la faible densité de population.

Nous n'avons jamais vu le grand man tenir autre chose que des audiences de conciliation, relatives à des gens qui s'étaient battus ou menacés. La coutume des Noirs Réfugiés se laisserait en fait difficilement enfermer dans un code. État des personnes et devoirs sociaux découlent si directement des croyances que l'intervention d'un juge n'est pas indispensable au fonctionnement de la société.

Le grand man est supposé détenir un pouvoir sur toutes les terres du pays Boni qui ne sont pas appropriées aux lignages ; c'est en particulier le cas du bassin supérieur des rivières formatrices du Lawa. C'est à ce titre surtout qu'il se considère comme le suzerain des Indiens vivant sur ce territoire. La même conception existe chez les Djuka vis-à-vis des rivières formatrices du Tapanahoni.

La suzeraineté du grand man sur la terre et les eaux est marquée, comme en Afrique, par des droits spéciaux dans le domaine de la chasse et de la pêche. Seul il peut autoriser la pêche en groupe sur le grand fleuve par le procédé de la nivrée. Le même problème ne se pose pas pour la chasse qui est pratiquée de façon strictement individuelle. Mais il est admis que si un tapir[1] est tué en pays Boni, le chasseur doit en porter la tête au grand man ainsi qu'une cuisse.

Un certain malentendu règne entre les européens et les Boni au sujet des fonctions du grand man. Les européens ont tendance à croire qu'il commande la tribu à la façon dont un colonel commande un régiment, qu'il peut désigner un tel pour tel travail, fixer le prix des canots, etc. Le grand man s'efforce de donner satisfaction à l'administration

(1) Le tapir est le plus grand animal de la brousse.

pour justifier la solde qu'il perçoit, mais il y réussit fort mal, car en réalité il ne possède à peu près aucun pouvoir temporel.

La morale des Noirs Réfugiés ne connaît en effet que des obligations d'ordre social et religieux. Pour tout ce qui concerne la vie matérielle, chacun a le droit absolu, on pourrait même dire le devoir, d'agir comme bon lui semble, dans la mesure où il ne lèse personne.

Si le grand man donnait un ordre obligeant quelqu'un à agir contre son intérêt, par exemple s'il voulait réduire arbitrairement le prix des canots, cet ordre serait nul de plein droit. Si le grand man a une très grande influence personnelle, il peut persuader les Boni que leur intérêt est d'obéir à telle prescription, mais en aucun cas son commandement ne peut avoir pour effet d'imposer par la force un ordre arbitraire étranger à la tradition sociale et religieuse ; le grand man actuel est par surcroît d'un caractère faible, sensible à l'influence des créoles et très peu porté à faire acte d'autorité.

En réalité la fonction de grand man est d'ordre surtout religieux. Le grand man centralise, si l'on peut dire, la lutte contre les forces mauvaises, et veille sans cesse au salut de la collectivité.

Quand un homme meurt, ses proches viennent rendre compte de l'interrogatoire du *gorôo*. L'enterrement ne peut avoir lieu qu'après que le grand man se soit assuré que toutes les prescriptions ont été remplies. On vient lui rendre compte une fois encore après l'enterrement pour qu'il s'assure qu'aucun danger surhumain ne subsiste.

Le grand man a un pouvoir particulier sur les *gorôo* (esprits) des défunts, que les croyances des Noirs Réfugiés placent pourtant sur un plan intermédiaire entre l'humain et le divin. Quand un de ces *gorôo* exerce contre un lignage une vengeance *(kunu)* dont la malignité dépasse les bornes habituelles, le grand man l'adjure de cesser ; on affirme que les choses rentrent dans l'ordre, au moins pour quelque temps.

Ce pouvoir attribué au grand man le revêt, aux yeux des Boni, d'un caractère surhumain. Il est le fondement même de son pouvoir politique.

Le grand man fait fonction de chef de terre pour l'ensemble de la tribu. C'est lui qui a la garde du sanctuaire de *mama gô* et qui prie chaque année en présence d'un grand concours de peuple pour la fécondité du sol.

Le grand man est le prêtre de Odun, divinité que les Boni regardent comme vengeur des fautes contre la loi morale et religieuse ; à ce titre, il est seul qualifié pour faire prêter le serment contre *wifi* (sorcellerie), et implorer la clémence de Odun à l'égard de ceux qui ont contrevenu à ses lois en se battant à main armée.

Dans ses fonctions religieuses, cet homme habituellement faible et effacé agit avec une autorité et une assurance souveraines, et nous avons vu à plusieurs reprises les gens trembler devant lui.

Si quelqu'un a contrevenu gravement aux lois coutumières, ou s'il a volé, commis l'adultère, donné des coups, proféré des injures graves ou des malédictions, le grand man lui inflige une punition proportionnée à la gravité de la faute, telle que faire des planches,

un canot, piler du riz (s'il s'agit d'une femme). Le produit de la punition est acquis au grand man, de même que les amendes en argent qu'il inflige dans des cas moins graves.

Par exemple en octobre 1953, deux adolescents de Boniville, Awétipay et Adyuka, furent surpris alors qu'ils essayaient de s'introduire dans une maison inhabitée ; le grand man les condamna séance tenante à trois jours de travaux forcés, au cours desquels il leur fit nettoyer les abords du village et accumuler à son profit du bois de chauffage.

Il peut aussi punir des jeunes gens désobéissants ou irrespectueux en leur faisant exécuter des travaux réservés aux femmes, tels que le désherbage des abords du village et l'enlèvement des crottes de chien.

Le grand man peut consigner un homme dans les villages Boni en lui interdisant de dépasser l'Enfant Perdu vers le Nord et Kormotibo vers le Sud ; cela s'appelle *silufu sama* (*silufu* = captif). L'intéressé, mis hors d'état de gagner sa vie, tombe ainsi à la charge de sa famille jusqu'à ce qu'il fasse amende honorable.

Cela s'est produit notamment pour des gens qui, convoqués pour travailler dans les abattis du grand man, s'acquittaient de leur tâche avec mauvaise volonté.

Vers 1950, M..., du village Papaston, s'était mis en révolte ouverte contre le grand man qu'il avait refusé de conduire à Saint-Laurent. Le grand man le condamna à faire un grand escalier en planches, du dégrad de Boniville jusqu'à l'entrée du village, le mettant en demeure s'il refusait, de quitter le pays. M..., finit par s'incliner et exécuta le grand escalier qu'on voit actuellement au dégrad de Boniville.

Le grand man a un constant souci de son prestige et de sa dignité ; il est presque toujours vêtu à l'européenne et porte dans les cérémonies un uniforme blanc impeccable ; l'administration française lui verse une solde relativement importante et, quand il vient à Cayenne, il est logé à l'hôpital dans les appartements réservés aux officiers.

Pour saluer le grand man on ne le regarde pas en face, mais on se place de profil par rapport à lui.

Le grand man n'a pas de serviteurs (ce serait contraire à la morale des Noirs Réfugiés) et mène une vie très simple. Toutefois, il n'exécute pas de travaux manuels pénibles ; chaque année il convoque un certain nombre d'hommes de chaque *lo* pour travailler à ses abattis ; il ne les paie pas, car ce travail est une obligation prévue par la coutume, mais il les nourrit largement.

De même, pour ses déplacements, il requiert à tour de rôle comme canotiers deux ou trois de ses sujets. Il lui arrive aussi de requérir des femmes pour aider sa femme au moment de la récolte.

Par contre, pour tous les autres travaux dont il peut avoir besoin (comme la construction d'un grand canot) il faut qu'il paie comme tout le monde et on ne lui fera pas de réduction.

Le grand man actuel, au contraire de ses prédécesseurs, n'a qu'une femme ; celle-ci est vêtue comme les autres femmes et travaille à son abattis comme tout le monde,

mais son mariage avec le grand man lui impose des obligations particulières : elle ne peut divorcer, de même qu'il ne peut la répudier.

L'attitude des Boni à l'égard du grand man est un curieux mélange de respect et de dénigrement. Ils le regardent comme le symbole vivant de leur nation, et chacun ressent comme une injure personnelle qu'un étranger ait à son égard une attitude incorrecte. Mais leur esprit frondeur se cabre devant les mesures qu'il est obligé de prendre pour faire respecter la loi coutumière, et même l'autorité d'un homme pondéré et bienveillant comme le grand man Difu, n'est pas acceptée volontiers. En fait les Boni supportent l'autorité du grand man comme ils adhèrent au culte de leurs dieux, par le sentiment d'une absolue et inexorable nécessité ; dans leur esprit le grand man est avant tout le prêtre d'Odjun ; si le grand man n'était pas là ils seraient sans défense contre les *wisiman*, sans recours contre la vengeance exercée par les *gaba* des morts des autres lignages.

Le pouvoir politique du grand man est entièrement fondé sur ces croyances, et si elles venaient à s'effondrer il disparaîtrait avec elles. Personne ne se soumettrait à une autre loi qu'à celle du lignage, fondée sur la crainte des ancêtres.

Le *lindi kuulu*. C'est l'assemblée des hommes, sans distinction d'âge[1] ou de parenté ; ce conseil (*lindi* = loi) constitue l'appareil judiciaire des Boni.

Un principe essentiel de la vie sociale des Noirs Réfugiés est que tout citoyen porte en lui la loi. Si quelques hommes sont sollicités d'arbitrer une querelle privée, on dit qu'ils forment un *lindi kuulu*. Mais ils ne peuvent rendre qu'une sentence de conciliation. Seule l'assemblée générale convoquée par le grand man possède le pouvoir d'imposer sa décision.

Le rôle ordinaire du *lindi kuulu* est de juger les morts, de s'assurer qu'ils n'étaient pas *wisiman* (sorciers), de procéder à leur interrogatoire pour donner aux réponses force de loi, notamment en ce qui concerne l'héritage.

Le *lindi kuulu* se réunit à l'annonce d'un décès ; les premiers arrivés se rendent auprès du grand man qui désigne deux des capitaines pour présider le conseil pour cette fois (car tous les membres sont égaux). En fait, rares sont les conseils où assistent tous les hommes présents dans les villages. La plupart du temps le *lindi kuulu* ne groupe qu'une trentaine d'hommes, en majorité des vieillards.

Le *lindi kuulu* se réunit très rarement pour juger un vivant. Cela n'est arrivé que trois fois entre 1948 et 1957.

En 1948 le grand man a convoqué le *lindi kuulu* pour juger un homme qui, régulièrement convoqué comme canotier pour le conduire à Saint-Laurent, n'était pas venu. Il fut condamné à faire autour de l'habitation du grand man une palissade de pieux qui prit plus d'un mois de travail.

(1) Il n'y a pas de règle précise pour fixer l'âge à partir duquel un adolescent peut siéger dans un conseil. C'est semble-t-il quand il a atteint son plein développement physique et gagne sa vie par ses propres moyens, vers 18 à 20 ans. Il n'est pas nécessaire qu'il soit marié.

En 1953, le conseil s'est réuni pour juger Loko (Dju) qui s'était rendu coupable d'un vol qualifié (naufrage simulé au préjudice d'un commerçant de Benzdorp et revente des marchandises), pour lequel il avait été condamné par la justice française à plusieurs mois de prison. Loko dut faire amende honorable en présence des membres de son lignage rassemblés, puis il fut condamné à faire 50 planches au profit du grand man.

En août 1957, le conseil s'est réuni pour juger Pototo (Asini-Dju), 23 ans, et Amusupé (Asini-Aw.B.), 70 ans, qui s'étaient rendus coupables d'une faute grave : détournement d'un tapir (malpouri) tué par un Djuka qui, ayant de la reconnaissance envers le grand man, avait manifesté l'intention de lui offrir une partie de la viande.

Le Djuka avait tué le tapir qui avait coulé. Pressé par le temps, il avait dû partir, recommandant aux gens d'Asini de le chercher.

Le jour suivant, Pototo et Amusupé trouvèrent l'animal flottant entre deux eaux. Ils le cachèrent en brousse et le firent boucaner pour leur compte. Ils le mangèrent avec leurs femmes (environ 100 kilos de viande).

Cela finit par se savoir et un jaloux les dénonça au grand man.

Convoqués devant le *lânti kuulu*, ils durent faire amende honorable et furent condamnés chacun à verser à titre d'amende au grand man, une dame-jeanne de 15 litres de tafia (valeur environ 6000 francs) dans un délai de quatre mois.

L'un et l'autre étaient fort en peine de verser cette amende, appartenant à la catégorie des fainéants qui n'ont aucune activité régulière et vivent au jour le jour, vendant de temps à autre quelque poisson ou gibier.

Amusupé s'adressa au capitaine Konduku, chef de son lignage, qui accepta de verser ce tafia pour lui, Amusupé le remboursant petit à petit.

Quant à Pototo, le chef de son lignage refusa catégoriquement de l'aider, parce qu'il avait mangé ce malpouri seul sans en faire profiter sa famille (les gens du village auraient trouvé normal de profiter du délit, mais ils jugeaient immoral qu'un des leurs les eût privés de viande). Après trois mois et demi, Pototo commença à se préoccuper sérieusement d'un travail salarié qu'il eut la chance de trouver, du fait que nous avions besoin d'un boscmaï pendant 15 jours.

En nous racontant cette histoire, les Boni ne faisaient que rire. Les affaires de ce genre, qui ne comportent aucune intervention surhumaine, échappent dans une large mesure à leur morale sociale ; ils ont un certain sentiment de ce qu'il faudrait faire, mais ne s'y soumettent que dans la mesure où ils craignent une sanction matérielle et immédiate.

En fait la société des Noirs Réfugiés n'a pas élaboré de véritables institutions politiques ; c'est essentiellement un groupement de défense collective contre les périls surhumains. Le conseil, comme le grand man, n'a de pouvoir et d'autorité que dans la mesure où il reste étroitement lié à cette fonction.

Absence de subordination. Il n'existe chez les Noirs Réfugiés aucune classe privilégiée

Fig. 15 — Type de maison des Noirs-Bétonnés : village Loulé (Upoko du Haut Lapounchoum)

[facing p. 76]

et tous sont placés devant la vie sur un pied de rigoureuse égalité ; tous reçoivent la même éducation, doivent cultiver la terre, construire leurs canots et leurs maisons, et vivre de travaux rémunérés. Les différences de niveau de vie que l'on observe de l'un à l'autre tiennent essentiellement à l'intelligence et au travail, et cela, malgré la croyance à la possibilité de s'enrichir par sorcellerie, est clairement compris de tous.

Bien que les Boni pratiquent volontiers le travail salarié les uns pour les autres en matière de canotage de transport, il n'existe aucune tendance à la formation d'une classe de riches et d'une classe de salariés. Il n'existe pas chez eux de serviteurs et l'on n'observe dans leurs rapports mutuels aucune exploitation des faibles. On n'observe pas non plus qu'un homme riche essaie de faire faire par un autre, moyennant salaire, les travaux coutumiers qu'il doit exécuter au profit de sa femme (abattis, construction de canots). Ce serait très mal jugé. Le grand man lui-même, si son petit-fils n'est pas là pour l'aider, va puiser de l'eau lui-même à la rivière et il le fait ostensiblement, bien qu'il ait un constant souci de son prestige.

Les malheurs subis par leurs ancêtres sont certainement à la base de cette conception car ils ont inspiré aux Noirs Réfugiés un sens particulier de la dignité humaine, que l'on ne trouve pas au même degré en Afrique.

On n'observe traditionnellement chez eux aucune forme de commerce[1], cette activité étant manifestement liée pour eux à l'idée d'exploitation d'autrui ; il n'y a même pas, dans les villages, de marché. Chacun produit, ou trouve auprès des gens de son lignage, ce qui est nécessaire à son alimentation ; quant aux objets d'importation, les Boni les achètent au cours de leurs voyages, aux commerçants de la côte. Cette plaie des sociétés africaines qu'est le pseudo-commerce, le parasitisme, est inconnue des Noirs Réfugiés. De même qu'on ne rencontre chez eux ni loqueteux ni mendiants, on n'aperçoit dans leurs rapports sociaux rien de malpropre ni de bas.

Il y a dans leur vie collective quelque chose de net, de propre, qui frappe dès le premier abord et qu'on ne se lasse pas d'admirer à mesure qu'on pénètre le fonctionnement de leurs institutions.

(1) Depuis 1954, l'un d'eux, enrichi par le canotage de transport, a monté un commerce d'alimentation à Kotika, mais il n'agit d'un homme plus qu'à demi créolisé et qui s'est installé au milieu des créoles.

[77]

CHAPITRE V

ÉTUDE DE LA RÉPARTITION DES TERRES ENTRE LES LIGNAGES[1]

L'APPROPRIATION DE LA TERRE DANS LE DROIT COUTUMIER DES NOIRS RÉFUGIÉS

Le principe fondamental du droit coutumier des Noirs Réfugiés, en ce qui concerne la terre, est que seul le lignage peut détenir ses droits réels. L'individu ne peut détenir qu'un droit d'usage, qui disparaît à sa mort.

Ce droit concerne exclusivement le travail de la terre en vue des plantations, et ne s'étend pas, ainsi que nous le verrons plus loin, à la chasse et à la cueillette.

Chaque lignage possède des droits reconnus sur certaines portions de terre, plus ou moins bien délimitées selon la densité de la population, mais connus de tous et ne donnant lieu (tout au moins en pays Boni) à aucune contestation.

Droit d'usage. A l'intérieur de ces zones, il y a indivision des droits entre tous les membres du lignage ; chacun a des droits d'usage sur un certain nombre d'« abattis » qu'il a l'habitude d'utiliser à tour de rôle pour faire ses plantations.

Le droit d'usage peut être donné : par exemple si quelqu'un estime n'avoir plus besoin d'un abattis qu'il cultivait habituellement, il donne le droit de l'utiliser à un autre membre du lignage.

La terre détenue par droit d'usage ne peut être vendue ni louée, mais seulement prêtée. Elle ne peut non plus être transmise par héritage ; ce serait entièrement contraire à la pensée et à la coutume des Noirs Réfugiés, hostiles à tout ce qui porterait atteinte à l'indivision juridique du lignage. L'héritage porte exclusivement sur la récolte des abattis en cours. Cette récolte faite, la terre peut être occupée par n'importe quel membre du lignage, homme ou femme, qui désire la cultiver, et s'il y a contestation, elle est obligatoirement réglée à l'intérieur du lignage ; le grand man refuserait de la juger. Le degré

(1) Partie rédigée avec le concours de M. P. Fromy, Adjoint technique Géographe.

de parenté n'intervient pas au moins en principe, du moment qu'on peut se dire « frère », « oncle » ou « grand-père » au sens classificatoire.

La seule atténuation prévue par la coutume à la rigueur de ce principe est qu'à la mort d'une femme, ses filles ont un droit de priorité pour utiliser ses terres.

Les Noirs Réfugiés ont une nette tendance à rester fidèles tout au long de leur vie, aux mêmes abattis. L'étude que nous avons faite des abattis du pays Boni renseigne mal sur l'histoire de chaque abattis, car il aurait fallu pouvoir consulter sur place un grand nombre de gens, ce que nous n'avons pu faire ; elle permet cependant d'affirmer qu'au voisinage des villages de résidence, les individus conservent leur droit d'usage sur un abattis tout au long de leur vie.

Voici par exemple la transmission des droits sur les abattis 101 à 112 (voir tableau généalogique du lo Dju)[1].

Abattis étudiés en janvier 1957

	Dernier utilisateur	année	transmission des droits d'usage
101	○ Tembura (G30)	1955	a occupé cette terre à la mort de sa mère.
102	○ Kukusa (F40)	1953	droit créé par Kukusa en défrichant une forêt secondaire ancienne sans usager connu.
103	○ Paana (G2)	1955	abattis défriché par ○ Wima (E3) ; transmis de son vivant à sa fille ○ Tini (F1), puis à ○ Pamasa (E26), élevée par Tini. Pamasa y a cultivé une fois puis a donné son droit à ○ Paana, fille de Tiya.
104	○ Tini (F1)	1954	droit créé par Tini (F1), qui l'a défriché pour la première fois (vers 1930?) ; elle l'a coupé 3 fois en tout ; conserve son droit d'usage.
105	○ Lenga (F37)	1954	défriché par ○ Lenga pour la première fois (vers 1920?). Elle l'a coupé 3 fois en tout ; conserve son droit d'usage.
106	○ Fêni (G3)	1954	a occupé cette terre à la mort de △ Agasbuchi, vieillard du lignage Dju (place sur le tableau généalogique incertaine).

(1) Voir à la fin de l'ouvrage la planche : Répartition des terres au voisinage des principaux villages Boni.

	Dernier utilisateur	année	transmission des droits d'usage
107	○ Tini (F1)	1955	c'est △ Loka (D13) † 1951, qui a défriché cette terre voici longtemps. Il a cédé de son vivant son droit à ○ Tini, qui à coupé 2 fois en tout.
108	○ Tini (F1)	1955	a occupé cette terre à la mort de ○ Asono (E7) † 1953, aïeule qui cultivait là depuis longtemps.
109	○ Félicia (G41)	1954	a occupé cette terre à la mort de ○ Anna † (E22), sa grand-mère.
110	○ Téodore (G20)	1956	a occupé cette terre à la mort de sa mère Dondo † 1954 qui l'avait elle-même occupée à la mort de sa mère Anna (E22).

Donc sur 10 abattis nous ne trouvons que deux cas où un membre du lignage ait donné de son vivant son droit d'usage à un autre ; dans 4 cas le droit d'usage a été repris par une fille à la mort de sa mère ; dans 2 cas il est passé à un parent éloigné.

N'importe qui, homme ou femme, peut détenir des droits d'usage. Mais l'examen des abattis montre que la grande majorité des hommes n'en demandent pas, et que la presque totalité des terres est appropriée aux femmes. Dans l'exemple indiqué, sur 10 abattis, un seul est approprié à un homme. Ceci tient à ce que la plupart des hommes se contentent de couper les abattis de leurs femmes sur les terres de celles-ci, mais ne se soucient pas de cultiver pour leur compte.

Chaque femme détient des droits d'usage sur un certain nombre d'abattis, répartis dans les différentes zones territoriales de son lignage. Il est important d'avoir, si l'on peut dire, beaucoup de cordes à son arc, car il faut pouvoir, selon l'activité des fourmis-manioc, passer d'un secteur à l'autre, ou au contraire reprendre prématurément un abattis qu'on espérait laisser en jachère quelques années.

Par exemple Tini (F1) détient des droits sur 6 à 7 abattis. Pour l'un (n° 104), elle a créé le droit d'usage à son profit en le défrichant sur forêt secondaire ancienne sans propriétaire connu. Pour un autre (n° 107), elle l'a reçu de Loka (D13), parent éloigné, par donation du vivant de celui-ci. Pour les autres (par exemple le n° 106), elle a créé le droit à son profit en les cultivant la première à la mort de leur détenteur.

Le droit d'usage peut être prêté, soit à un membre du lignage, soit même à un étranger. Il est spécifié que ce prêt est fait pour un certain nombre d'années, et qu'il est révocable. En pareil cas le donateur ne perd pas son droit d'usage.

Droit réel. Le principe est que celui qui défriche un abattis sur forêt primaire (ou sur forêt secondaire ancienne sans possesseur connu) crée, en même temps qu'un droit d'usage pour lui, un droit réel imprescriptible pour son lignage.

Ces deux notions sont bien distinctes dans l'esprit des Noirs Réfugiés. L'exercice d'un droit d'usage, même pendant très longtemps, sur une terre déjà reconnue comme possession d'un autre lignage, ne crée aucun droit réel.

Par exemple ○ Béniti † 1963 (E5), vieille femme du *lo* Dju, avait fondé une habitation de culture au lieu-dit Kuyaku, où elle travailla la terre pendant plusieurs dizaines d'années. Mais comme ces terres, bien qu'inoccupées, étaient regardées comme possession du *lo* Dipélu II (village Kormotibo), le travail de Béniti n'a créé aucun droit pour le *lo* Dju. Ses filles ne s'entendent pas et si l'habitation disparaît, ce sont des gens du *lo* Dipélu II qui pourront occuper les terres.

Conséquences de la scission matérielle d'un lignage. Quand une fraction A' d'un lignage A émigre et va s'implanter sur la terre d'un autre village B qui lui cède une portion de terre, les membres de la fraction A' ainsi isolée conservent tous leurs droits sur la terre d'où ils sont issus. Mais la réciproque n'est pas vraie : les gens restés dans le village d'origine du lignage (A) n'ont aucun droit sur la terre concédée aux A' sur le territoire de B.

Au bout d'un certain temps, et surtout si le lignage (B) n'avait jamais occupé réellement la terre concédée, on admet que le lignage (A') en est possesseur sans restriction.

C'est le cas par exemple de la fraction des Dipélu II qui vers 1930 a quitté le village de Kormotibo pour s'établir à Asisi auprès du lignage Awara Bakka. Les Awara Bakka leur ont concédé des terres inoccupées près du village d'Asisi au lieu-dit Tapo. Cette fraction, forte actuellement d'une trentaine de personnes, considère qu'elle a des droits exclusifs sur ces terres où les gens de Kormotibo ne peuvent venir cultiver, mais elle n'a rien perdu pour autant de ses droits sur le terroir de Kormotibo.

Cas du village de Boniville. Ce village constitue un cas particulièrement intéressant, car il réunit de petites fractions des divers lignages fixées là définitivement. Il permet de comprendre quelle pouvait être l'implantation territoriale des Noirs Réfugiés vers la fin du XVIIIe siècle, au moment où s'élaboraient leurs institutions.

Le principe est que les terres de Boniville appartiennent au grand man, dernier représentant du lignage Dikan ; il a concédé individuellement aux habitants du village le droit de cultiver sur ses terres. Ces habitants ne détiennent donc qu'un droit d'usage, et il ne peut y avoir de concurrence entre eux pour la détention des droits réels. Mais le principe de la transmission du droit d'usage dans le même lignage subsiste pour chaque abattis pris séparément. Par exemple, Klémenti (Dju, F7), qui a défriché un abattis sur la forêt primaire, admet qu'après lui sa terre pourra être occupée par n'importe quel membre du lignage Dju résidant à Boniville, mais pas par les membres du lignage Dju résidant à Asisi.

Peu nombreux sur un secteur territorial relativement vaste, les habitants de Boniville n'ont pas éprouvé le besoin de diviser le secteur concédé par le grand man en zones territoriales précises. Il est difficile de prévoir ce qui arrivera après la mort du grand man Difu, quand les droits d'usage se transformeront en droits réels. Il est probable qu'une division territoriale entre les fractions de lignage établies à Boniville se créera insensiblement, par le simple fait qu'une concurrence s'établira entre elles.

Droit de pêche, de chasse, de cueillette et d'exploitation des minéraux. Ces droits sont totalement distincts du droit de cultiver ; à cet égard les conceptions des Noirs Réfugiés traduisent la précarité des liens entre l'individu et le sol, qui résulte des conditions écologiques.

Le droit de pêche dans certaines rivières est approprié à des lignages ; d'autres rivières sont regardées comme un bien commun aux habitants d'un village, quelle que soit leur parenté.

Par exemple, le droit de pêche dans Kumata Kiiki, petite crique de la rive surinamienne, à proximité du village de Kotika, est réservé aux membres du lignage Lapé (les membres de ce lignage cultivaient là jadis, mais ils ont abandonné ces terres, actuellement cultivées par les gens de Kotika).

Les criques Maripa et Likanaon, en aval de Boniville, sont réservées aux habitants de Boniville.

La crique Asisi est réservée aux habitants d'Asisi (lignages Dju, Awara Bakka et Dipélu H).

Le droit de chasse ne peut être réservé ; chacun a le droit de chasser n'importe où.

Le droit de cueillette et le droit de couper des arbres pour fabriquer des planches ou des canots, est généralement lié au droit de cultiver.

Le droit de recueillir des produits du sous-sol est tout à fait indépendant du droit de cultiver. Par exemple si quelqu'un trouve un gisement de kaolin *(pamba)* sur les terres d'un autre lignage, il l'exploite librement. Cet aspect des conceptions juridiques des Noirs Réfugiés est fort intéressant car il montre que même du point de vue coutumier, le grand man n'est pas fondé à percevoir des droits sur la production des orpailleurs créoles. Il ne pourrait demander d'indemnités que dans la mesure où ces orpailleurs cultivent des terres sur lesquelles les Boni exercent des droits coutumiers. Les discussions interminables que soulevèrent sur ce point les prétentions du grand man Anato au moment du rush du Lawa à la fin du siècle dernier auraient été évitées par une meilleure connaissance du droit coutumier.

IMPLANTATION TERRITORIALE DES LIGNAGES

Ainsi que nous l'avons montré, les Noirs Réfugiés sont pris entre des impératifs contradictoires :

— Leur pensée juridique, centrée sur l'indivision du lignage, les pousse à répartir la terre entre les lignages en blocs compacts ;

— Le milieu géographique, et tout spécialement les ravages de la fourmi-manioc, les oblige à donner à chaque individu la possibilité de changer brusquement de secteur territorial ou de précipiter le rythme prévu de ses jachères.

La solution qui s'est imposée d'elle-même a été de diviser les terres de chaque lignage en un certain nombre de zones dispersées sur les deux rives du fleuve. Au lieu de trouver de grands blocs d'un seul tenant, nous allons trouver des secteurs parfois assez petits. A cela près, les principes juridiques des Noirs Réfugiés conservent toute leur valeur pratique.

Chaque village possède un certain nombre de débarcadères ou *dégrads*, d'où rayonnent un certain nombre de chemins. Le dégrad est le centre d'une zone territoriale à l'intérieur de laquelle les membres du lignage rayonnent, poussant leurs abattis de plus en plus loin, jusqu'à ce qu'ils rencontrent les abattis créés par d'autres lignages. A ce moment, une limite de fait se trouve créée, au moins en quelques points[1].

Ce fait est aisément observable aux environs des habitations de culture de création récente. Dans la figure « Répartition des terres... au voisinage du confluent de l'Inini » (voir à la fin du présent chapitre), on voit clairement les terres de l'habitation Antonu réparties le long de deux chemins, un sur chaque rive du fleuve.

Dans les secteurs proches des villages de résidence Boni, anciennement cultivés, ces limites sont partout connues dans leurs grandes lignes. Toutefois, elles sont loin d'être aussi précises que dans les pays africains à population dense, où l'absence de fourmis-manioc permet une rotation régulière des terres. En pays Boni, cette rotation est des plus variables, la durée des jachères allant de 2 ans à 20 ans et plus. De vastes secteurs où l'activité des fourmis-manioc devient soudain plus grande, sont abandonnés pendant de nombreuses années. Quand ils sont repris, on ne se souvient plus des limites exactes des anciens abattis et les nouveaux titulaires coupent leurs abattis à leur guise, se préoccupant seulement de demeurer sur les terres de leur lignage.

(1) Chez les Djuka, il arrive qu'un dégrad soit commun à deux lignages et que la limite soit marquée par un grand chemin perpendiculaire à la rivière partant de ce dégrad ; ce système correspond à un souci de délimitation plus précise entre groupes occupant le sol au maximum. Il ne s'observe nulle part en pays Boni.

ÉTUDE DE LA RÉPARTITION DES TERRES AU VOISINAGE DES VILLAGES DE RÉSIDENCE

RELEVÉ D'UNE PARTIE DES PARCELLES CULTIVÉES OU EN JACHÈRE EN JANVIER 1957

Étude des abattis de Agodé (Boniville). Les terres avoisinant Boniville sont exploitées de façon fort décousue, en raison du caractère composite de la population du village.

Rappelons que Agodé comprend des fractions de 6 lignages :

— Le *lo* Dikan, lignage du grand man, presque éteint
— Un fragment du *lo* Kotika
— Un fragment du *lo* Dju
— Un fragment du *lo* Lapé
— Un fragment du *lo* Papaïston
— Un fragment du *lo* Dipélu I

Le lignage Dikan conserve les droits réels sur l'ensemble des terres situées sur la rive Est du Lawa, depuis la crique Puu Mofu au Sud jusqu'aux abords du village L'Enfant Perdu au Nord.

Le fragment du *lo* Papaïston établi à Boniville est dans une situation particulière ; il possède depuis très longtemps les terres situées au Sud de la crique Puu Mofu jusqu'aux abords du village Loka (*lo* Lapé). Ce groupe est resté fortement organisé et ses membres ne font pas d'abattis en dehors de leur zone, où ils ont du reste toute la place désirable.

Les membres des autres groupes font leurs abattis sur toute la surface jadis occupée par le *lo* Dikan. Le grand man a réservé pour son usage personnel les terres situées à proximité de la crique Likanaon, où il a installé une habitation de culture. Les habitants de Boniville font leurs abattis sur tout le reste et sans aucun groupement territorial défini.

Ce finage[1], comme les autres étudiés dans le présent chapitre, a été visité en janvier 1957, soit peu après la fin de l'abattage et au début des plantations.

Étude de quelques abattis du lieu-dit Agodé bakka « derrière Boniville » :

abréviations : (K) Kotika (D) Dikan (Dip) Dipélu
(Dju) Dju (P) Papaïstôn (L) Lapé

(1) Finage : zone cultivée par les membres d'une collectivité.

N°		dernier utilisateur	année	à quel titre	durée de la dernière jachère
1	○	Kamina (K2, E92) abattis coupé par son mari	1956	habitait Boniville	4 ans; dernier utilisateur Todo (K2, F68), en 1952
2	△	grand man Difu (D)	1953	—	2 ans; utilisé par le grand man en 1951
3	○	Béniti (Dju, E5)	1951	—	défriché par Béniti vers 1915, coupé par elle 3 fois en tout
4	○	Mimi (K3, E156)	1951	—	coupé sur forêt secondaire ancienne
5	△	Todo (K2, F68)	1951	—	2 ans; déjà coupé par Todo en 1951 et 1953
6	○	Léya (K2, F99); abattis coupé par son mari	1956	—	6 ans; abattis coupé par Kanayen (lo Kotika) † en 1950
7	○	Lésina (K2, F69) ab. coupé par son mari Manku (Dip.I)	1953	—	?
8	△	Grand man Difu	1952	—	?
9	○	Paata (femme Djuka installée à Boniville)	1947(?)	id.	déjà utilisé par Paata vers 1940
10	○	Térésa (L2, E57) abattis coupé par ses fils	1953	id.	?
11	○	Paata (voir ci-dessus)	1953		déjà utilisé par Paata en 1950

Ainsi, sur ce groupe de 11 abattis, 2 restent attribués au grand man, 1 à une femme du lignage Dju, 2 à une femme Djuka, 1 à une femme du lignage Lapé, 5 à des membres du lignage Kotika, tous habitants de Boniville.

Étude des abattis de la fraction des Papalston établie à Boniville. Ce groupe résidait autrefois au village Puu Mofu, à l'embouchure de la crique du même nom, abandonné vers 1940 à la suite d'une épidémie. Son installation à Boniville est donc récente. L'aîné du groupe, Bukuman, homme d'une soixantaine d'années, exerce une autorité de fait.

Ce groupe a tendance à ajouter à son finage initial la bande de terre comprise entre le village de Boniville et la crique Puu Mofu appartenant au *lo* Dikan (cas notamment des abattis n° 12, 13, 14).

N°	dernier utilisateur	année	à quel titre	durée de la dernière jachère
12	○ Apinda (P1, G26)	1955	membre de la fraction des Papalston habitant Boniville	20 ans ; dernier utilisateur Adyuba (D) † mère du grand man
13	○ Alasani (P1, F34)	1953	id.	20 ans idem
14	○ Lémiki (K3, E130)	1945(?)	habite Boniville	20 ans (cet abattis n'est pas dans le terroir des Papalston)
15	△ Bukuman (P1, F32), pour sa femme	1956	membre de la fraction des Papalston de Boniville	20 à 25 ans
16	○ Apinda ; abattis coupé par son mari Amatodja	1954	id.	id.
17	○ Alasani	1954	id.	id.
18	○ Térésa (L2, E57)	1955	femme du lignage Lapé habitant Boniville ; a travaillé là exceptionnellement avec la permission de Bukuman	id.
18*bis*	○ Alasani ; abattis coupé par son fils Nanga	1956	membre de la fraction des Papalston habitant Boniville	id.
19	○ Pélui (P1, F33)	1954	id.	id.

N°		dernier utilisateur	année	à quel titre	durée de la dernière jachère
20	△	Bukuman, pour sa femme	1954	id.	id.
21	○	Pélui	1955	id.	id.
22	○	Apinda ; abattis coupé par son mari Amatodja	1956	membre de la fraction des Papaïston habitant Boniville	id.
23	○	Alasani ; abattis coupé par son fils Nanga	1955	membre de la fraction des Papaïston habitant Boniville	20 à 25 ans
24	○	Apinda ; abattis coupé par son mari Amatodja	1955	id.	id.
25	△	Banfu (L2, E58), pour lui-même	1955	homme du lignage Lapé habitant Boniville. A travaillé là exceptionnellement avec la permission de Bangasé	id.
26	○	Pelui	1954	femme du lignage Papaïston (Boniville)	id.
27	○	Apinda	1949	id.	id.

A proximité de cet abattis on trouve la limite des terres du lignage, au delà ce sont les abattis du village Loka (lignage Lapé).

Sur les 16 abattis examinés ici, 14 sont occupés par les membres du groupe Papaïston de Boniville, 2 sont des usagers temporaires étrangers au groupe. Sur les 16 abattis, 13 sont appropriés à des femmes et 3 à des hommes.

Terres du village Loka (*lo* Lapé). Ce village est, avec son annexe Lapé Tabiki, le village de résidence du *lo* Lapé. Le *lo* Lapé, dont la généalogie est entièrement connue et qui demeure bien groupé géographiquement, est divisé en deux fractions sans cesser de constituer un lignage *(bee)* au sens propre du terme. Ses terres sont divisées en trois zones :

Une sur la rive Est du Maroni, derrière le village de Loka,

— Une autre sur la rive Ouest (rive surinamienne), en face de Lapé Tabiki, que nous n'avons pu examiner,

— Une autre en amont de Maripasoula, où une partie des membres du lignage possèdent des habitations de culture.

La première zone est presque complètement abandonnée depuis une dizaine d'années par suite d'une pullulation exceptionnelle des fourmis-manioc. Nous n'y avons relevé que quelques abattis relativement récents :

N°	dernier utilisateur	année	à quel titre	durée de la dernière jachère
31	△ Akwadé (L1, E22) pour lui-même	1948	membre du *lo* Lapé	coupé une seule fois sur forêt secondaire ancienne
32	△ Akwadé, pour lui-même	1950	id.	coupé 2 fois en tout par Akwadé
33	△ Akwadé	1952	id.	coupé une seule fois sur forêt secondaire ancienne
34	○ Awènkina (L1, D 23) ; abattis coupé par son mari	1949	id.	coupé une seule fois sur forêt secondaire ancienne
35	○ Awènkina id.	1936(?)	id.	coupé deux fois en tout par Awènkina
36	○ Awènkina ; abattis coupé par son fils	1952	id.	2 ans ; coupé en 1950 sur forêt secondaire ancienne
37	○ Chii (L1, D24) ; abattis coupé par son fils Ayaubédé	1952	id.	2 ans ; coupé en 1950 par la même
38	○ Chii ; abattis coupé par son mari	1950	id.	coupé une seule fois sur forêt secondaire ancienne
38*bis*	○ Madu (E41), fille de Chii	1956	id.	6 ans, a repris une partie du n° 38

N°	dernier utilisateur	année	à quel titre	durée de la dernière jachère
39	○ Chii ; abattis coupé par son fils Ayaubédé	1955	id.	?
40	△ Koniman (L1, E 3[1]), pour lui-même	1953	id.	4 ans (coupé par lui-même en 1949)

Sur les 11 abattis examinés ici, tous sont cultivés par des membres du *lo* Lapé, 7 sont appropriés à des hommes et 4 à des femmes.

Terres du *lo* Dju (village Asisi) au lieu-dit Ingi Udu. Le *lo* Dju, dont la généalogie est complètement connue, constitue lui aussi un lignage au sens propre du terme. Il demeure bien groupé géographiquement, à l'exception du petit groupe établi à Boniville auprès du grand man.

Les terres du *lo* Dju sont réparties en plusieurs zones :

- Une sur la rive Est du Lawa, un peu en aval d'Asisi, au lieu-dit Ingi Udu ;
- Une sur la rive hollandaise en face de Gengé Tabiki ;
- Une en amont de Maripasoula, au confluent de l'Inini où est établie une importante habitation de culture (village Atikati) ;
- Enfin, plusieurs membres du groupe font leurs abattis à proximité de Kormotibo, au lieu-dit Kuyaku, sur les terres du *lo* Dipélu II.

Les abattis relevés ici appartiennent tous à la première zone.

N°	dernier utilisateur	année	à quel titre	durée de la dernière jachère
41	○ Téodora (Dju, G 40) ; abattis coupé par son mari	1955	membre du *lo* Dju, fraction Asisi	20 ans
42	○ Kukusa (Dju, F40) : ab. coupé par son mari Bernardin	1953	id.	très longtemps
43	○ Paana (Dju, G2), a coupé elle-même (n'a pas de mari)	1955	id.	6 ans

N°	dernier utilisateur	année	à quel titre	durée de la dernière jachère
44	○ Tini (Dju, F1) ; abattis coupé par son mari	1954	id.	6 ans (?) ; coupé 3 fois en tout depuis 1920
45	○ Lènga (Dju, F36) ; abattis coupé par son mari	1955	id.	4 ans
46	○ Féni (Dju, G3), pour sa femme Abugu	1954	id.	7 ans
47	○ Tini (Dju, F1) ; ab. coupé par son mari	1955	id.	6 ans (?)
48	Tini ; abattis coupé par son mari	1956	membre du *lo* Dju, fraction Asisi	3 ans
48*bis*	Sara (Dju, E27) ; ab. coupé par son mari	1956	id.	3 ans (fraction de l'abattis 48)
50	Félicia (Dju, G41) ; abattis coupé par son mari Akodo	1954	id.	?
51	Téodora ; abattis coupé par son mari	1956	id.	2 ans
64	Abo † (E8), pour lui-même	1956	id.	2 ans
76	Ata (F2) ; abattis coupé par son mari	1956	id.	3 ans
77	idem	1955	id.	3 ans

Les abattis 64, 76 et 77 apparaissent comme des enclaves un peu à l'intérieur du finage des Awara Bakka. En réalité, de par la façon même dont se sont constitués ces finages, on ne doit pas s'attendre à trouver des limites nettes.

Ces 14 abattis sont donc utilisés exclusivement par des membres du lignage Dju habitant le village d'Asisi. Tous, sauf 2, sont appropriés à des femmes.

Il est intéressant d'étudier les liens de parenté des membres du lignage faisant leurs abattis dans les différentes zones. On pourrait croire en effet qu'il y a tendance à l'individualisation de sublignages, et que les descendants de telle femme ont tendance à s'attribuer exclusivement la jouissance de telle zône.

Nous voyons ici qu'il n'en est rien.

Dans la zone 1 (étudiée ici), font leurs abattis : Tini (F1), Paana (G2), Féni (G3), très proches parentes, mais aussi Lènga (F36), Kukusa (F40) et Félicia (G41), dont la parenté avec les premiers est aussi éloignée que possible à l'intérieur du lignage : Félicia et Paana par exemple sont parentes au 12e degré.

La même chose s'observe dans les autres zones, ainsi que nous le verrons dans l'étude des habitations de culture.

Terres du *lo* Awara Bakka (village Asisi). Le finage du *lo* Awara Bakka est particulièrement intéressant à étudier car ce *lo* a une structure plus complexe. L'étude de la généalogie montre l'existence de 3 fractions distinctes que nous avons désignées respectivement par Aw.B.1, Aw.B.2. Aw.B.3. Les fractions Aw.B.1 et 2 se considèrent comme un même lignage au sens strict *(bee)*. Par contre, la fraction 3 peut être considérée au point de vue de la responsabilité juridique comme un lignage isolé. En outre, les membres du petit lignage Afi, vivant avec les Awara Bakka, constituent aussi une unité distincte au point de vue juridique. Il est important d'étudier si cela se traduit dans leur implantation territoriale.

Nous n'avons pu pousser à fond cette étude car la grande masse des terres cultivées par les Awara Bakka sont situées sur la rive surinamienne. Les abattis relevés ici sont groupés dans une zone dite Ingi Udu ; ils sont desservis par deux débarcadères ou dégrads, empruntés exclusivement par les Awara Bakka.

N°	dernier utilisateur	année	à quel titre	durée de la dernière jachère
61	Kyéti (Aw.B.1, E 30) ; ab. coupé par son frère Agibidon	1954	membre du *lo* Awara Bakka, 1re fraction	coupé sur forêt secondaire ancienne
62	Mani (lignage Afi) ; abattis coupé par son mari Galmo	1956	membre du lignage Afi, habitant Asisi	2 ans
63	Kyéti ; abattis coupé par son frère Agibidon	1956	Awara Bakka, 1re fraction, vde Asisi	2 ans ; coupé en tout 4 fois, la 1re vers 1949

N°	dernier utilisateur	année	à quel titre	durée de la dernière jachère
65	Akanté (Aw.B.3) ; abattis coupé par son mari Poopu	1956	id. 3e fraction	2 ans
66	Kyéti ; abattis coupé par son mari Sosoman	1954	id. 1re fraction	2 ans
67	Lébimichi(Aw.B.1, F27) ; abattis coupé par son mari Abagon	1956	id. 1re fraction	4 ans
68	Anéta (Aw.B.3) ; abattis coupé par son gendre Kéwénu	1956	id. 3e fraction	4 ans
69	○ Agyasu (Aw.B.1, F38); abattis coupé par son frère Baliki	1956	Awara Bakka, 1re fraction, ve Asisi	4 ans
70	○ Emma (Aw.B.2) ; abattis coupé par son fils Akodo	?	id. 2e fraction	4 ans
71	○ Irma (Aw.B.1, E 37) ; abattis coupé par son mari Adiiso	1956	id. 1re fraction	coupé sur forêt secondaire ancienne
72	○ Emma ; ab. coupé par elle-même	1955	id. 2e fraction	3 ans
73	○ Lébimichi ; abattis coupé par son mari Abagon	1955	id. 1re fraction	3 ans
74	○ Kilina (Aw.B.3, E 71) ; ab. coupé par son mari Amémbé	1956	id. 4e fraction	4 ans

N°		dernier utilisateur	année	à quel titre	durée de la dernière jachère
75	○	Namu (Aw.B.1, E 48) ; ab. coupé par son mari Koniman	1956	id. 1re fraction	4 ans
78	△	Lawa (Aw.B.1, F 43) ; pour sa fiancée Kula (Asisi-Dju)	1956	id. 1re fraction	?
79	○	Béma (Aw.B.3, E 73) ; ab. coupé par son mari Maina	1956	id. 4e fraction	2 ans
80	○	Kakyé (Aw.B.1, E 19)	1956	id. 1re fraction	4 ans
81	△	Antonu (Aw.B.1, E 47) ; pour lui-même	1952	1re fraction	?
82	△	Adam (lignage Afi, c7) ; pour sa femme Dachini (Asisi-Dju)	1954	membre du lignage Afi habitant Asisi	?
83	○	Titi (Aw.B.1.E16) ; ab. coupé par son fils Dopia	1954	membre du *lo* Awara Bakka, 1re fraction, village Asisi	
84	○	Noémi (Aw.B.1, F 51) ; ab. coupé par son mari	1955	id. 1re fraction	2 ans
85	○	Summa (Aw.B.3, F 81) ; abattis coupé par elle-même	1956	id. 3e fraction	3 ans
86	○	Léna (Aw.B.1, F 52) ; abattis coupé par son fils	1956	id. 1re fraction	3 ans
87	○	Noémi ; abattis coupé par elle-même (devenue veuve)	1956	id. 1re fraction	3 ans

N°		dernier utilisateur	année	à quel titre	durée de la dernière jachère
88	○	Titi; abattis coupé par elle-même	1955	id. 1re fraction	3 ans
89	○	Amélia (Aw.B.1, F 19); abattis coupé par son mari Sindu	1959	id. 1re fraction	4 ans
90	○	Titi ; ab. coupé par son fils Dopia	1954	id. 1re fraction	5 ans

Sur les 27 abattis examinés, deux seulement sont appropriés à des hommes, 26 à des femmes.

19 sont attribués à des membres de la 1re fraction ;
2 — — à un membre de la 2e fraction ;
2 — — à des membres de la 3e fraction ;
4 — — à des membres du lignage Afi.

On peut donc déduire de cette étude qu'il n'y a aucune tendance à la constitution de finages distincts par les diverses fractions du *lo* Awara Bakka. Les membres du lignage Afi vivant au milieu d'eux n'ont pas non plus tendance à grouper leurs abattis.

En fait, les habitants d'un village, même ressortissant de lignages différents, possèdent des droits indivis sur les terres.

Terres de la fraction du *lo* Dipélu II de Asisi, au lieu-dit Tapo. La fraction du *lo* Dipélu II installée à Asisi depuis une trentaine d'années et qui reste soumise à l'autorité du chef du *lo* résidant à Kormotibo, groupe ses abattis dans une zone qui lui a été attribuée, au lieu-dit Tapo.

N°		dernier utilisateur	année	à quel titre	durée de la dernière jachère
91	○	Chichiti (G22) ; abattis coupé par son mari Obino	1954	membre de la fraction Dipélu II établie à Asisi	2 ans
92	○	Lawenchi †	1951	id.	défriché pour la 1re fois
93	△	Aténi (G20), pour lui-même	1953	id.	id.

N°		dernier utilisateur	année	à quel titre	durée de la dernière jachère
94	△	Aténi (G20), pour lui-même	1956	id.	id.
95	○	Kaala (G28) ; abattis coupé par son mari Tamu	1954	id.	id.
96	○	Kaala	1951	id.	id.
97	○	Kiboya (G31) ; abattis coupé par son mari Simon	1954	id.	3 ans
98	△	Kopo (G32), pour lui-même	1954	id.	défriché pour la 1re fois
99	○	Tama (G29) ; abattis coupé par son mari Asékéyé	1954	id.	?
99bis		Sésèy † (F38) ; abattis coupé par son mari Mato	1949	id.	défriché pour la 1re fois
100	○	Tyoko (G30) ; abattis coupé par son mari Dodo	1954	id.	2 ans
101	○	Tama ; abattis coupé par son mari Asékéyé	1953	id.	2 ans
102	○	Chichiti (G22) ; abattis coupé par son mari Obino	1953	id.	défriché pour la 1re fois
103	○	Sésèy † (F38) ; abattis coupé par son mari Mato	1951	id.	3 ans

Sur 14 abattis examinés ici, tous sans exception sont occupés par les membres de la fraction Dipélu II établie à Asiai. Cette fraction est isolée géographiquement des autres lignages du village Asiai, et a constitué un finage distinct ; cela tient à son effectif relativement élevé et à la bonne entente de ses membres (le lignage Afi, d'un effectif analogue mais divisé par des mésententes, n'a pas réussi à constituer un finage distinct).

Sur 14 abattis 13 sont appropriés à des femmes et 1 à un homme.

Étude de quelques abattis du village Papalston. La partie du finage de Papalston située sur la rive française se trouvait délaissée depuis plusieurs années en raison d'une pullulation anormale de fourmis-manioc. En 1956-57 la totalité des habitants du village faisaient leurs abattis sur la rive surinamienne.

Seuls ont pu être identifiés quelques abattis remontant aux années 1947-1950.

N°	dernier utilisateur	année	à quel titre	durée de la dernière jachère
111	○ Efa (P1, D4)	1946	membre du *lo* Papalston	défriché pour la 1re fois sur forêt secondaire ancienne
112	○ Wilèlmina (P1, F1); abattis coupé par son mari Bésu	1947	id.	id.
11	○ Oben (P1, E13)	1950	id.	id.
114	○ Gou (P1, F8) ; abattis coupé par son mari Akwali		id.	id.
115	○ Puti (P2, F71) ; abattis coupé par son mari Maïpa	1951	id.	défriché pour la 1re fois sur forêt secondaire ancienne
116	○ Héléna (P1, F2) ; abattis coupé par son mari Baliki	1951	id.	id.

Ces 6 abattis sont appropriés à des femmes du lignage Papalston, conformément au principe de résidence des Noirs Réfugiés.

Le système social éclairé par l'étude de l'implantation sur le sol

L'étude des abattis au voisinage des villages de culture donne sur la structure des groupes de parenté des renseignements précis qui ne peuvent être atteints par l'interrogatoire direct.

— La transmission des droits sur la terre à l'intérieur de la fraction de lignage ayant même résidence constitue un principe juridique imprescriptible, auquel on se référerait en définitive pour trancher tout litige ;

— Le principe du groupement matrilocal est effectivement appliqué dans la presque totalité des cas. Les matrilignages ont presque tous constitué selon ce principe des finages distincts, sur lesquels leurs droits sont bien établis ; la plupart de ces terroirs paraissent de formation ancienne ;

— Les fractions de lignage qui se sont séparées géographiquement de leur groupement d'origine ont constitué des finages sur lesquels leurs membres exercent des droits exclusifs. Par exemple, sur les terres de la fraction des Dipélu II installée à Asisi, on ne relève pas un seul cas d'utilisation par les membres de la fraction principale du lignage établie à Kormotibo ;

— Les habitants d'un village soumis à un même commandement possèdent des droits collectifs sur les terres de ce village et constituent une communauté de fait, même s'ils sont des ressortissants de lignages différents. Nous en avons trouvé deux exemples caractéristiques, Boniville et Asisi-Awara Bakka ; en venant s'établir dans un village et en se soumettant à l'autorité du chef, on entre ipso facto dans cette communauté.

Cette coutume est en contradiction avec le principe des droits exclusifs du lignage sur le sol, mais en contradiction plus apparente que réelle ; elle permet d'intégrer à une collectivité des isolés et de petites fractions incapables de constituer un village distinct.

La situation de fait ainsi créée n'a rien de définitif. Si une fraction de lignage désire s'isoler, soit à la suite d'une mésentente, soit simplement parce que son effectif s'est accru suffisamment, elle en conserve le droit.

Les principes fondamentaux du droit foncier des Boni peuvent donc être résumés ainsi :

« Les droits sur le sol sont indivis à l'intérieur de la fraction d'un lignage dont les membres résident dans le même village, et sont soumis au même commandement ; toute scission d'un lignage en ce qui concerne le village de résidence entraîne une scission des droits sur les terres. La fraction émigrée possède des droits exclusifs sur le terroir qu'elle constitue. Mais elle ne perd pas, au moins en principe, ses droits sur le terroir d'origine. »

L'étude des finages nous donne encore d'importants renseignements en ce qui concerne l'exercice des droits d'usage :

Sur 100 abattis examinés, 81 répondent au processus normal selon lequel la femme fait faire son abattis sur la terre de son lignage[1]. Sur ces 81 abattis, 14 avaient été faits dans des conditions non précisées, 48 avaient été coupés par le mari, 14 par un proche parent (fils, frère, exceptionnellement frère ou gendre), 5 par la femme elle-même.

Dans 5 cas seulement c'est au contraire l'homme qui amène sa femme sur la terre de son lignage.

Un peu plus fréquent est le cas d'un homme coupant un abattis pour son propre compte sur la terre de son lignage.

Enfin le cas où, pour des raisons de commodité, un membre d'un lignage demande à travailler temporairement sur la terre d'un autre lignage, est rencontré 2 fois. Il s'agit donc d'une pratique tout à fait exceptionnelle.

Influence du milieu géographique sur la structure sociale. Ces observations sont à rapprocher de celles qu'on peut faire sur les Indiens Oayana, et sur les Indiens de la Guyane en général, vivant à proximité des Noirs Réfugiés, dans le même milieu géographique et à peu près de la même manière (rappelons que les Noirs Réfugiés ont emprunté aux Indiens l'ensemble de leur culture matérielle).

Les Indiens Oayana sont à demi nomades, déplaçant leurs villages tous les 10 ans en moyenne. Ils n'ont ni centre permanent de peuplement, ni lieu de culte, ni cimetière ; ils n'ont pas de culte des ancêtres, tout au moins aucune conception supposant un lien précis et permanent entre les vivants, les morts et la terre.

Cet état de choses a été imputé par plusieurs auteurs au milieu géographique et notamment aux ravages de la fourmi-manioc ; la fourmi-manioc, pullulant plus spécialement dans les zones anciennement cultivées, rend le nomadisme avantageux. Il en serait résulté une structure sociale et un mode de vie adaptés à ces conditions particulières.

L'exemple des Noirs Réfugiés montre à l'évidence que ces considérations, malgré l'intérêt indéniable qu'elles présentent, ne constituent pas une explication de portée générale ; pour les Noirs Réfugiés, les seuls liens sociaux concevables découlent du culte des ancêtres ; par-dessus tous les impératifs de la vie matérielle, l'individu ressent comme un devoir primordial, celui de se relier au village de ses ancêtres, à la terre qu'ils ont défrichée et qui demeure sous leur protection.

Les difficultés inhérentes au milieu géographique ont été facilement surmontées ou tournées. Plutôt que de vastes zones d'un seul tenant, chaque lignage a divisé son finage en secteurs éloignés les uns des autres. Si ces zones deviennent temporairement inutilisables, les Bonu vont créer des habitations de culture sur le cours supérieur du fleuve, sans cesser pour autant de résider habituellement au village de leurs ancêtres ; il n'en résulte d'autre sujétion que de perdre chaque année une quinzaine de jours en allées et venues sur la rivière.

(1) Pour le secteur indivis de Boulville, on a considéré comme usagers de droits les habitants du village sans distinction de lignage.

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RÉPARTITION DES TERRES
AU VOISINAGE DES PRINCIPAUX VILLAGES BONI

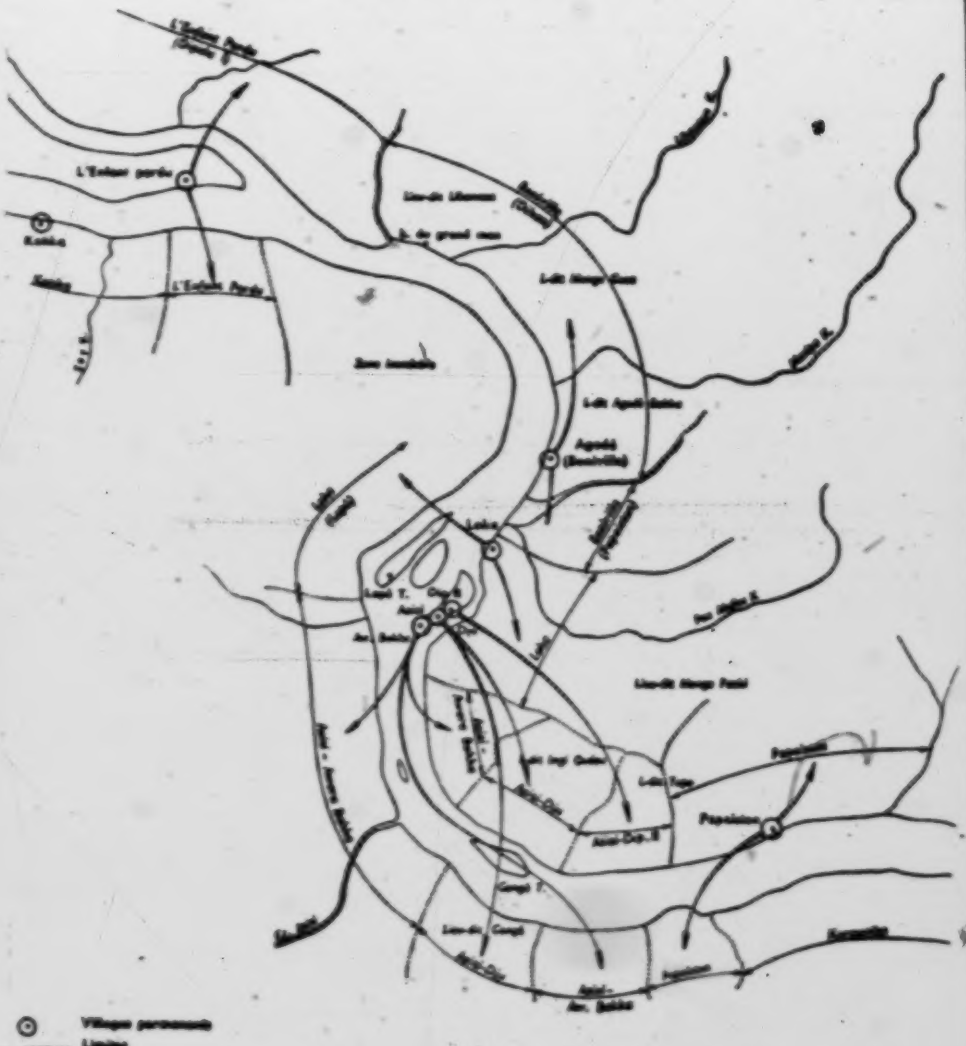


Fig 16

Que ce système soit parfaitement viable est suffisamment démontré par l'expansion régulière, depuis deux siècles, des tribus des Noirs Réfugiés, et par le bon fonctionnement de leurs institutions.

On ne peut donc attribuer à la seule influence du milieu géographique l'instabilité foncière des Indiens de la Guyane. Elle provient essentiellement de facteurs sociaux et psychologiques.

ÉTUDE DES HABITATIONS DE CULTURE

Nous allons maintenant étudier le fonctionnement des habitations de culture sous les mêmes aspects :

— Structure (composition de chacun d'eux, rapports de parenté) ;
— Implantation territoriale : nature et étendue des droits sur la terre ;
— Fonctionnement.

Tous les Boni n'ont pas d'habitation de culture ; les deux tiers d'entre eux environ se satisfont des terres qu'ils occupent à proximité des villages de résidence.

Les habitations de culture que nous allons étudier plus spécialement et qui sont situées entre l'embouchure de l'Inini et le Saut Simayé au Sud, groupent une centaine de personnes, appartenant aux lignages Dju, Lapé, Awara Bakka et Papaiston. Un autre groupe d'habitations de culture situées un peu au Sud de Kormotibo, que nous étudierons sommairement et seulement en ce qui concerne leur composition, réunit environ 60 personnes. Enfin, il existe d'autres habitations de culture très dispersées, relevant principalement du lignage Kotika, les unes dans la région de Maripasoula, les autres dans les sauts Abattis-Kotika.

Dans l'ensemble, les habitations de culture Boni ne peuvent être comparées ni comme importance ni comme stabilité aux villages de culture Djuka qui s'échelonnent sur le cours moyen du Maroni, groupant 3000 à 3500 personnes : ceci est facile à comprendre : les Djuka, sans cesse à court de terre, sont obligés sous peine de perdre leurs droits, d'occuper au maximum le sol. D'autre part, installés très loin de leur village de résidence, ils sont amenés à créer des établissements plus durables.

Chez les Boni, les habitations de culture sont peu importantes, construites avec peu de soin pour les désigner on dit *kapu* (campement), et les groupes qui travaillent là sont peu stables.

Toutefois les principes d'établissement et de fonctionnement des habitations de culture sont exactement les mêmes chez les deux tribus, et répondent dans l'ensemble aux lois coutumières qui, chez les Noirs Réfugiés régissent la possession de la terre :

1° Quand un homme coupe un abattis dans une zone vierge de tout établissement humain, il crée en même temps qu'un droit d'usage pour lui-même un droit réel imprescriptible pour son lignage *(bee)*, ou plus précisément pour la fraction du lignage résidant dans le même village et soumise au même commandement ;

2° Ce droit est indivis ; à la mort d'un individu, n'importe qui de cette fraction de son lignage peut occuper les terres qu'il cultivait habituellement. S'il y a contestation elle est réglée obligatoirement dans le cadre du lignage ;

[p.101]

HABITATIONS DE CULTURE BONI
AU SUD DU CONFLUENT DE L'ININI

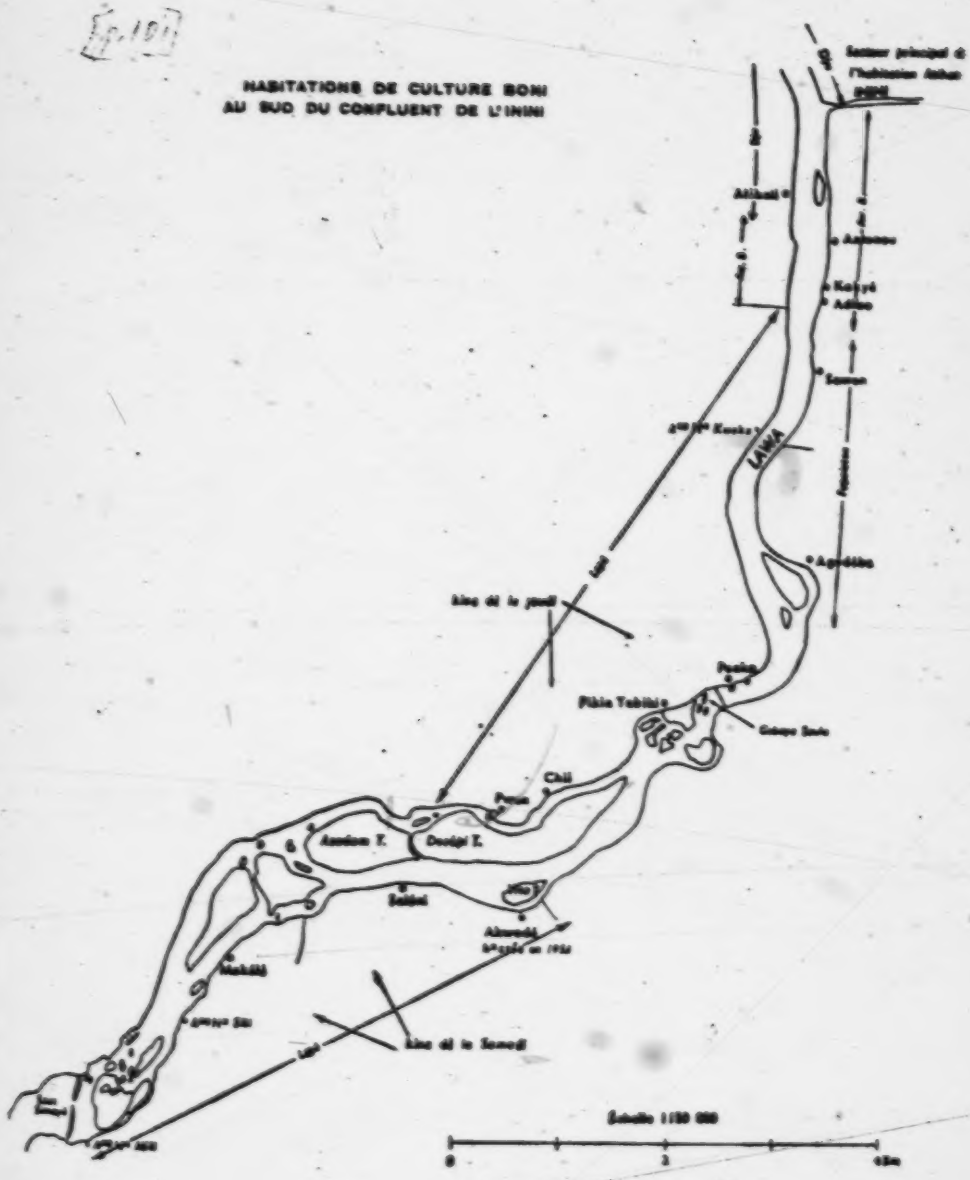


Fig. 17.

3) L'étendue de la zone sur laquelle s'exerce ce droit n'est limitée que par les zones sur lesquelles s'exercent d'autres droits.

Nous avons vu quel mode d'occupation du sol résultait de ces lois au voisinage des « grands villages ». Ici la répartition des terres entre les habitations de culture suit pratiquement les mêmes lois, dont les effets sont moins rigoureux, compte tenu de la très faible densité de l'occupation du sol.

1) On admet qu'un établissement isolé dans une zone quasi déserte ne crée pas de droits durables. S'il vient à disparaître, n'importe qui peut venir s'installer là après s'être assuré auprès du premier occupant qu'il n'a plus besoin de la place (tel est le cas des établissements très dispersés au Sud du Saut Simayé jusqu'au pays indien ; ils ne créent pas de réels droits territoriaux au profit d'un lignage quelconque.

2) Par contre, dès que l'occupation d'une région devient habituelle, même par des groupes de faible importance numérique, on se préoccupe de l'attribution des terres. Ainsi on admet que la rive Ouest du Lawa, au Sud de l'habitation Atikati jusqu'au Saut Simayé, appartient depuis la fin du siècle dernier au *lo* Lapé, qui l'occupait en 1957 par les habitations Paako, Samo, Pwen, Saléni et Makélé.

3) A l'intérieur de chaque zone les droits demeurent indivis et n'importe qui du même *lo* peut venir s'installer là. Ainsi les habitations de culture se déplacent, mais à l'intérieur d'un secteur déterminé. Ainsi par exemple, Kwaku (Lapé) a abandonné en 1954 son habitation située dans les terres du lignage Lapé (elle était trop humide en saison des pluies, il préfère se contenter des terres du « grand village »). Il ne perd pas pour autant ses droits. S'il décide ultérieurement de revenir, il s'installera n'importe où dans la zone attribuée au *lo* Lapé.

Il va de soi que si la population était plus dense, un tel principe serait malaisément appliqué et qu'il s'élèverait de sérieuses contestations. Mais ce mode d'occupation du sol convient parfaitement dans leur situation présente, aux tribus des Noirs Réfugiés, car il leur permet d'exercer, avec un minimum de frictions, le semi-nomadisme qu'impose le milieu géographique et notamment la fourmi-manioc.

Les zones occupées par les habitations de culture sont rarement d'un seul tenant : le plus souvent elles sont divisées en secteurs isolés de part et d'autre du fleuve.

En fait, comme nous l'avons vu autour des « grands villages », chaque lignage possède un certain nombre de *dégrads* ou débarcadères, autour desquels rayonnent des sentiers. Chaque *dégrad* est rigoureusement réservé aux membres d'un lignage. Les occupants d'un village de culture rayonnent autour de leur débarcadère jusqu'à ce qu'ils rencontrent les abattis des gens d'un autre lignage ; une limite de fait est ainsi créée, qu'on respectera désormais.

Par contre plusieurs villages de culture ressortissant d'un même lignage peuvent avoir leurs abattis totalement intriqués (c'est le cas par exemple de ceux des habitations Antonu et Adiiso). Ceci est conforme à la règle d'indivision de la terre à l'intérieur du lignage.

Organisation. Le groupe réuni dans une habitation de culture est réuni par affinités mutuelles, et ne comporte d'autre hiérarchie que celle qui découle des liens de parenté : autorité de la mère sur ses filles ; autorité des « oncles » sur les « neveux ».

Le groupement le plus conforme à la structure matrilinéaire des Noirs Réfugiés est constitué par une vieille femme, ses fils non mariés, ses filles et les filles de ses filles, leurs maris venant en renfort au moment des abattis mais ne faisant pas partie du groupe. Souvent c'est cette vieille femme qui dirige l'habitation, mais souvent aussi c'est un vieil oncle, son frère au sens classificatoire, qui travaille avec elle depuis longtemps. Parfois cette vieille femme est venue s'installer avec ses filles sur l'habitation fondée par son mari.

Les habitations portent les unes des noms d'hommes, les autres des noms de femmes. Le nom qui prévaut peut être tout à fait en désaccord avec les droits réels exercés sur la terre (Ex. : nom de Adiiso donné à l'habitation de sa femme où Adiiso n'a aucun droit). Cela n'a pas grande importance aux yeux des Noirs Réfugiés, la seule chose importante étant la possession collective de la terre par le lignage.

Pour les groupes relativement nombreux et réunis plus par les affinités mutuelles que par des liens de parenté, le minimum d'autorité nécessaire à la bonne entente et à l'organisation du travail est exercé par le fondateur. Par exemple, Atikati a exercé un commandement à ce titre sur le groupe disparate réuni autour de lui, et à sa mort, il a légué cette fonction à sa sœur Adyidya.

De même Antonu exerce une autorité indiscutée sur trois groupes du *lo* Awara Bakka installés à l'embouchure de l'Inini, car c'est lui qui a pris l'initiative de créer un établissement en cet endroit. S'il y a contestation, c'est lui qui défendra les droits du lignage Awara Bakka.

L'autorité exercée par le fondateur de l'habitation de culture ne s'exerce pas dans la vie matérielle, qui demeure soumise aux principes strictement individualistes des Noirs Réfugiés. Il ne peut imposer à personne de l'aider à faire ses abattis ou de faire à son profit un travail quelconque.

Habitations de culture du *lo* Awara Bakka (Antonu, Adiiso, Kakyé) au voisinage du confluent de l'Inini

Ces habitations exploitent un terroir dont le premier utilisateur a été Antonu, du *lo* Awara Bakka (fraction 1), qui est regardé comme appartenant à ce lignage. Antonu s'est installé là en 1945 (il trouvait qu'il y avait trop de monde cultivant les terres proches de Asisi).

Pour assurer ses droits, Antonu a placé sur sa terre deux groupements dont la situation est fort différente :

1) Dans sa propre habitation il a installé sa femme Asakundu, et il s'est constitué autour d'elle le groupe de travail le plus courant chez les Noirs Réfugiés : groupe formé par la mère, ses fils et ses filles, les maris des filles venant en renfort au moment des

abattis. Mais il importe de remarquer que ce groupe n'a aucun droit sur la terre : si Antonu et sa femme viennent à se séparer, le groupe de la femme quittera l'habitation.

2) A proximité, il a installé l'habitation de sa sœur Irma mariée à Adiiso (Dju). Ce village est appelé improprement Adiiso, mais Adiiso n'y a aucun droit. En cas de rupture avec sa femme, il quitte l'habitation.

3) Enfin, Kakyé, vieille femme du lignage Awara Bakka, s'est installée à proximité avec ses filles et son fils.

Structure et fonctionnement de l'habitation Antonu. Cette habitation comprenait en janvier 1957, en faisant abstraction des enfants :

○ Antonu (Aw.B.1, E47) ;
○ Asakundu, sa femme (L2, E55) ;
○ Kapéeki (L2, F60) ;
○ Angisa (L2, F61) ; filles de Asakundu, mariées ;
△ Sindu (L2, F62), fils de Asakundu ;
△ Maliki (L2, F63), fils de Asakundu ;
○ Yundu, fille de Kapéeki, mariée ;
△ Anato, fils de Kapéeki ;
○ Agata, fille de Akom.

Les femmes de Maliki et de Sindu qui n'ont pas d'habitation personnelle, viennent travailler là, mais elles ne doivent pas être considérées comme faisant partie du groupe. Elles n'ont pas de case.

De même les maris de Kapéeki, Yundu et Angisa viennent aider temporairement au moment des abattis.

Activité du village Antonu en 1955-56 :

	1956	1955
Asakundu	1 abattis avec Antonu	1 abattis avec Antonu
Kapéeki	1 abattis avec Akuba son mari (qui n'a pas fait d'autre abattis)	idem
Angisa	1 abattis avec son mari Ernest (qui a coupé 2 autres abattis dans d'autres secteurs car il a deux autres femmes)	1 abattis avec Antonu
△ Sindu	1 abattis pour Amélia, sa femme.	
	1 abattis pour lui	id. (deux abattis)
△ Anato	en mission, n'a pas coupé d'abattis ; sa femme a sarclé	1 abattis pour sa mère (avait fait d'autre part un

	elle-même un abattis de deux ans		abattis à Asisi pour sa femme sur les terres de la famille de celle-ci)
△ Maliki	même cas		rien pour sa mère, 1 abattis pour sa femme dans une autre habitation

Étude des abattis de l'habitation Antonu :

1) Rive Ouest :

N°		dernier utilisateur	année	à quel titre	durée de la dernière jachère
31	△	Antonu, pour lui-même	1952	membre du *lo* Awara Bakka, fondateur de l'habitation	2 ans (coupé en 1950 pour la 1re fois sur forêt primaire)
32	○	Angisa ; abattis coupé par son mari Ernest	1949	travaille là parce que sa mère Asakundu est mariée à Antonu, mais n'a pas de droits sur la terre	coupé pour la 1re fois
34	○	Asakundu ; abattis coupé par son mari Antonu	1952	femme de Antonu	2 ans (coupé pour la 1re fois en 1950)
35	○	Angisa ; abattis coupé par son mari Ernest	1948	comme le n° 32	3 ans (coupé pour la 1re fois en 1945)
36	○	Asakundu ; abattis coupé par son mari Antonu		comme le n° 34	coupé pour la 1re fois sur forêt primaire
37	△	Antonu, pour lui-même	1948	comme le n° 31	coupé pour la 1re fois
38	△	Angisa ; abattis coupé par son mari Ernest	1949	comme le n° 32	coupé pour la 1re fois
39	○	Asakundu ; abattis coupé par son mari Antonu	1951	comme le n° 34	coupé pour la 1re fois

N°		dernier utilisateur	année	à quel titre	durée de la dernière jachère
40	○	Asakundu	1955	comme le n° 34	4 ans (coupé pour la 1re fois en 1951)
		2) Rive Est			
1	○	Angisa	1955	comme le n° 32	2 ans (coupé pour la 1re fois en 1953)
2	○	Angisa	1956	comme le n° 32	2 ans (coupé pour la 1re fois en 1954)
3	△	Sindu, pour lui-même	1955	fils de Asakundu ; mêmes observations que n° 32, n'a pas de droits sur la terre	coupé pour la 1re fois
4	○	Angisa ; abattis coupé par son mari Ernest	1952	comme le n° 32	coupé pour la 1re fois
5	○	Asakundu ; abattis coupé par son fils Maliki		comme le n° 34	2 ans (coupé pour la 1re fois en 1952)
6	△	Amatodja (L2, F 63), pour lui-même		fils de Asakundu ; venu travailler là en 1953 seulement	
7	○	Kapéeki ; abattis coupé par son mari Madéko	1955	fille de Asakundu ; mêmes observations que n° 32	coupé pour la 1re fois
8	○	Noémi (Aw.B.1.F 51) ; ab. coupé par son oncle Antonu	1952	membre du *lo* Awara Bakka	coupé pour la 1re fois
9	△	Antonu, pour lui-même	1953		?
10	○	Yundu ; abattis coupé par son frère Agata	1953	mêmes observations que n° 32 (fille de Kapéeki et petite-fille de Asakundu)	coupé pour la 1re fois

N°		dernier utilisateur	année	à quel titre	durée de la dernière jachère
15	○	Kapééki ; abattis coupé par son mari	1954	comme le n° 32	coupé pour la 1re fois
16	○	Noémi ; abattis coupé par son mari Galmo	1951(?)	mêmes observations que n° 8	coupé pour la 1re fois
17	△	Abéni (Aw.B.1, F49)	1951	ne travaille pas là habituellement, mais a des des droits sur la terre en tant que membre du *lo* Awara Bakka	coupé pour la 1re fois
18	△	Antonu, pour lui-même	1951	comme le n° 31	coupé pour la 1re fois
19	△	Sindu	1951	coupé pour lui-même ; mêmes observations que le n° 2	
20	○	Asakundu ; abattis coupé par son mari Antonu	1950	comme le n° 34	coupé pour la 1re fois
21	○	Noémi ; ab. coupé par son mari Todo	1950(?)	comme le n° 16	coupé pour la 1re fois
22	○	Angisa ; abattis coupé par son mari Ernest	1949	mêmes observations que le n° 32	coupé pour la 1re fois
41	○	Kapééki ; abattis coupé par son mari	1948	fille de Asakundu ; mêmes observations que le n° 32	coupé pour la 1re fois
42	○	Kapééki ; id.	1955	id.	id.
43	○	Yundu ; abattis coupé par son mari Alémin	1955	mêmes observations que le n° 10	id.

N°		dernier utilisateur	année	à quel titre	durée de la dernière jachère
44	△	Maliki, pour sa femme Agyasu	1954	id.	id.
45	△	Maliki pour sa femme Agyasu	1954	id.	id.
46	△	id.		id.	id.
50	○	Nella (K1, D44) abattis coupé par son mari Agonichi	1936(?)	femme travaillant au village Atikati ; avait fait un abattis là avant l'installation d'Antonu, puis abandonné (fourmis-manioc)	id.
51	△	Samalobi † (*le* Dikan)	1920(?)	Samalobi, premier occupant du lieu, avait cédé tous ses droits à Antonu	id.

Structure de l'habitation Adiiso. Cette habitation appartient en fait à Irma, femme de Adiiso, du lignage Awara-Bakka 1 (E37), qui a été installée là par Antonu dont elle est la sœur au sens classificatoire.

Travaillent avec Irma, en faisant abstraction des enfants :

— Son mari Adiiso (Dju, F37) ;
— Sa fille Chitaïna (Aw.B.1, F43), mariée à Déési (L1, F45) ;
— Son fils Lawa, non marié ;
— Son fils Maïna, marié.

La femme de Maïna, Mbéma, qui n'a pas d'autre habitation, fait faire son abattis là, mais elle n'a pas de case en propre et ne fait pas partie du groupe.

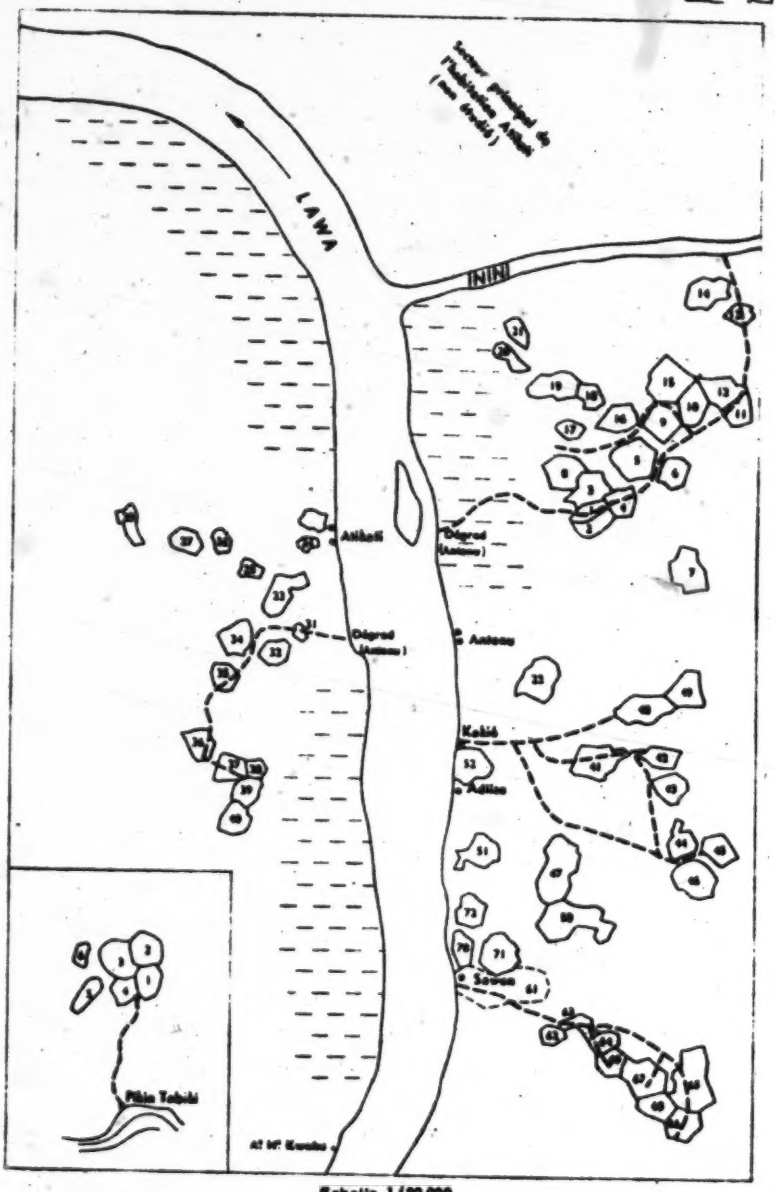
Activité de l'habitation en 1955-1956 :

	1956	1955
Irma	2 abattis (tous les deux par Adiiso, qui en a coupé un 3e à Asisi pour son autre femme	1 abattis coupé par son fils Maïna, Adiiso étant en voyage
Chitaïna	1 abattis coupé par Lawa son frère, son mari étant en mission	1 abattis coupé par son mari Déési

DEPARTITION DES TERRES ENTRE LES LIGNAGES

AU VOISINAGE DU CONFLUENT DE L'ININI

[p.109]



Echelle 1/20 000

D'après les photographies de la mission 003/200 IGN prises en Octobre 1966

• habitation de culture

zone inondable

abattis étudiés en janvier 1967

Maïna	**1 abattis pour sa femme Mbéma**	**Maïna en mission n'avait pu couper pour sa femme. Celle-ci avait sarclé un abattis de 2 ans avec Chitaïna et Irma**

Structure de l'habitation Kakyé. Cette habitation est dirigée par Kakyé (Aw.B.1, E18), veuve depuis longtemps et non remariée, travaillant avec ses enfants.

Travaillent avec elle :
- Amélia (Aw.B.1, F19), sa fille ;
- Papakay (Aw.B.1, F23), son fils ;
- Akamina (Aw.B.1, F24), sa fille ;
- Lébimichi (Aw.B.1, F27), fille de Yochi † sœur de Kakyé.

Relevé de quelques abattis des habitations Adiiso et Kakyé. Ces abattis sont totalement intriqués entre eux et avec ceux de l'habitation Antonu, ce qui est normal puisque ces terres appartiennent toutes au lignage Awara Bakka.

N°		dernier utilisateur	année	à quel titre	durée de la dernière jachère
11	△	Itésu (Aw.B.1, F 17), pour lui-même	1954	fils de Kakyé (ne travaille pas là habituellement	coupé pour la 1re fois
12	○	Amélia : abattis coupé par son mari Sindu	1954	fille de Kakyé	id.
13	○	Lébimichi : abattis coupé par son mari Asonson	1954	nièce de Kakyé	coupé pour la 1re fois
14	△	Papakay, pour lui-même	1953	fils de Kakyé	id.
17	○	Irma : abattis coupé par son mari Adiiso	1955	fondatrice de l'habitation Adiiso	2 ans (coupé pour la 1re fois en 1951)
18	○	Amèntanu : abattis coupé par son mari Sindu	1953	fille de Kakyé	coupé pour la 1re fois

N°	dernier utilisateur	année	à quel titre	durée de la dernière jachère
49	○ Kakyé ; abattis coupé par son fils Bésu	1953	fondatrice de l'habitation Kakyé	id.
52	○ Kakyé ; abattis coupé par son fils Papakay	1951	id.	coupé une seule fois

Habitation du *lo* Dju
au voisinage du confluent de l'Inini

Structure de l'habitation Atikati (*lo* Dju). Importante habitation fondée par Atikati, du *lo* Dju, possédant un finage étendu, fragmenté en plusieurs blocs sur les deux rives du Lawa.

Cette habitation a une composition anormale car Atikati y travaillait avec ses filles, ce qui est contraire à la coutume, et avec des amis.

Atikati dirigeait le village avec son vieil ami Bernardin (K1, D62), † en 1958, qui était fils d'un homme du *lo* Dju et vivait parmi les Dju depuis son enfance.

Le groupe de base de cette habitation est formé par des gens du *lo* Dju. Depuis la mort de Atikati (1955), c'est sa sœur Adyidya (Dju, E19), qui dirige le village.

Membres du *lo* Dju :

○ Adyidya
○ Baawé (Dju, E13) } toutes les deux sans enfants vivants
△ Loko (Dju, F39)

△ Atikati travaillait avec ses filles et petite-fille :

○ Wilèlmina (P1, F1) ;
○ Kumata (P1, G1), fille de Wilèlmina.

A ce groupe s'ajoutaient en 1957 :

△ Bernardin (K1, D62), élevé avec les Dju ;
○ Asumé (Dip. I, F2), fille de △ Bernardin et de ○ Mimen †.

Enfin, deux femmes de Kotika mariées à des Djuka ont demandé la permission de s'installer là et y font couper leurs abattis. Mais elles n'ont aucun droit sur la terre :

○ Nèlla (K1, D44) ;
Maké (K1, E35), sa fille.

La composition de ce village est donc entièrement aberrante, du point de vue de

la coutume, et fondée entièrement sur des sympathies personnelles. Mais la règle coutumière n'en est pas moins présente à la pensée de tous : le fondateur étant du lignage Dju, la terre est aux Dju. Le fait par exemple que Bernardin (Kotika) et ses filles (Papaïston), aient travaillé là depuis très longtemps, ne crée aucun droit pour l'un ou l'autre lignage.

Si des dissensions se produisent dans le groupe, les étrangers au lignage Dju doivent partir.

Relevé de quelques abattis de l'habitation Atikati (rive Ouest).

N		dernier utilisateur	année	à quel titre	durée de la dernière jachère
23	△	Atikati (Dju, E18) pour lui-même	1952	fondateur de l'habitation	2 ans (coupé pour la 1re fois en 1950)
24	○	Wilèlmina (P1,F1) abattis coupé par son mari Bésu	1955	fille de Atikati ; n'a pas de droits sur la terre	coupé pour la 1re fois
25	○	Wilèlmina ; abattis coupé par son père Atikati	1951	id.	id.
26	△	Sosoman (Dju.E14)	1951	Ne travaille pas là habituellement mais a des droits sur la terre en tant que membre du lignage Dju	coupé pour la 1re fois en 1950, repris en partie en 1955
27	○	Hèléna (P1, F2) ; abattis coupé par son père Atikati	1955	fille de Atikati ; réside habituellement à l'habitation Suwen ; n'a pas de droits sur la terre	6 ans ; coupé pour la 1re fois en 1949, repris partiellement en 1955
28		Adyidya ; abattis coupé par son mari Kwami (Djuka)	1949	femme du lignage Dju	coupé pour la 1re fois

HABITATIONS DU *lo* PAPAISTON AU VOISINAGE DU CONFLUENT DE L'ININI

Structure des habitations Sawen et Agodéba (*lo* Papaiston).

Habitations occupant une zone étendue, attribuée depuis au moins 60 ans au lignage principal de Papaiston.

Travaillent avec Sawen (P1, E7) :

— Ses nièces Héléna (P1, F2) et Emilia (P1, F3) ;
— Son neveu Aguundé (P1, F4).

Travaillent avec Agodéba (P1, E1) :

— Sa sœur (au sens classificatoire) Kamen (P1, E14) ;
— Sa nièce (au sens classificatoire) Gou (P1, F8).

En outre, est installé là un groupe centré sur Toïna, femme de Agodéba, représentant les restes du lignage Bakabuchi, presque éteint :

○ Toïna, femme de Agodéba ;
○ Mangoto, fils de Toïna ;
○ Apuulobi.

Ce groupe n'a aucun droit sur la terre et partirait en cas de rupture du ménage Agodéba-Toïna.

Enfin, une amie, Puti (F71), du lignage Papaiston 2 presque éteint.

Activité de l'habitation Agodéba en 1955-1956 :

		1956	1955
△	Agodéba	1 abattis pour sa femme Toïna	id.
○	Kamen	1 abattis coupé par son mari Adam qui n'en a pas fait d'autre	id.
○	Gou	1 abattis coupé par son mari Béku	id.
○	Puti	1 abattis coupé par son mari Maïpa (Dip. I)	id.
△	Mangoto	1 abattis pour lui (a coupé un autre pour sa femme à Kormotibo)	rien (n'était encore installé là)
○	Apuulobi	rien (a fait faire son abattis à Papaiston)	1 abattis par son mari Aténi

Fig. 19. — Pêche à la nivrée

[facing p. 114]

Relevé des abattis du village Sawen.

N°		dernier utilisateur	année	à quel titre	durée de la dernière jachère
61	△	Sawen, pour lui-même	1920(?)	fondateur du village	coupé pour la 1re fois
62	△	Sawen, pour lui-même	1955	fondateur du village	coupé pour la 1re fois
63	△	Sawen, pour lui-même	1948	id.	id.
64	△	Sawen, pour lui-même	1946(?)	id.	id.
65	○	Héléna ; abattis coupé par son mari	1954	femme du lignage Papaiston (nièce de Sawen)	id.
66	○	Héléna ; abattis coupé par son mari	1955	id.	?
67	○	Emilia ; abattis coupé par son mari Loko	1954	id.	2 ans (coupé pour la 1re fois en 1952)
68	△	Aguundé, pour sa belle-mère Populu	1954	homme du *lo* Papaiston faisant sur sa terre l'abattis destiné à sa belle-mère	2 ans (coupé pour la 1re fois en 1952)
69	○	Emilia ; abattis coupé par son mari Loko	1955	femme du *lo* Papaiston	3 ans (coupé pour la 1re fois en 1952)
70	○	Emilia id.	1956	id.	coupé pour la 1re fois
71	○	Emilia id.	1952	id.	id.
72	○	Emilia id.	1956	id.	id

Habitations du *lo* Lapé
(Paako, Samo, Chii, Pwen, Saléni)

Ces habitations occupent un terroir appartenant depuis la fin du XIXe siècle au *lo* Lapé.

L'habitation Kwaku est abandonnée depuis 1943, ses occupants faisant leurs abattis aux environs de Loka.

Habitation Paako. L'habitation Paako est occupée seulement par deux femmes, Paako (L1, E29) et sa fille Dona, qui y font faire leurs abattis par leurs maris.

Habitation Chii. C'est Chii (L1, D24) qui dirige l'habitation où elle travaille avec son fils Topo, ses filles Yaana, Madu et Koko. Les maris des filles viennent en renfort au moment des abattis.

Habitations Pwen. A la suite de dissensions, Pwen (L1, E33) demeure tout seul dans cette habitation.

Habitation Saléni. Elle est dirigée par Saléni, vieille femme du *lo* Lapé (E25), qui travaille là avec son fils Tingo, ses filles Kayé et Ananta.

Structure de l'habitation Samo dite Pikin Tabiki (*lo* Lapé).

Habitation occupant une autre portion du finage du *lo* Lapé.

Font leurs abattis là plusieurs hommes et femmes de Lapé :

△ Tamu (L1, F32), qui y amène sa femme Kaala (Dip.II)
△ Fosé, son frère (L1, F33)
○ Mélita, sa tante au sens classificatoire (L1, E32) ;
○ Téké, fille de Mélita (L1, F44)
○ Akomédi, fille de Paako (L1, F34).

Les maris de Mélita, Téké, Akomédi, viennent travailler au moment des abattis mais ne font pas partie du groupe.

La composition de ce village est donc entièrement conforme à la coutume.

Activité en 1955-56 :

	1956	1955
△ Tamu	rien (a coupé à Lapé pour sa femme)	1 abattis pour sa femme
○ Mélita	1 abattis par son mari Kwata (K)	id.
○ Téké	1 abattis par le mari de Mélita, car son mari Baïna est en mission	1 abattis par son mari

Akomédi 1 abattis par son mari Todo (qui en a coupé un autre à Asisi pour son autre femme)

Relevés de quelques abattis de l'habitation Samo (Pikin Tabiki) (*lo* Lapé).

N°	dernier utilisateur	année	à quel titre	durée de la dernière jachère
1	○ Akomédi ; abattis coupé par son mari Todo	1956	femme du *lo* Lapé	coupé pour la 1re fois
2	○ Akomédi id.	1955	id.	2 ans (coupé pour la 1re fois en 1953)
3	○ Mélita ; abattis coupé par son mari Kwata	1955	id.	2 ans (coupé pour la 1re fois en 1952)
4	○ Mélita ; ab. coupé par son fils Déési	1954	id.	3 ans (coupé pour la 1re fois en 1948 puis en 1953 pour la 2e fois)
5	○ Téké ; ab. coupé par son mari Baina	1951	id.	3 ans (coupé en 1948 pour la 1re fois)
6	○ Téké id.	1953	id.	coupé pour la 1re fois

Habitations de culture en aval de Maripasoula

Plusieurs habitations sont installées au lieu-dit Kuyaku, région très fertile donnant des rendements élevés en manioc[1].

Appartenance de la terre : *lo* Dipélu II (village Kormotibo).

Plusieurs habitations côte à côte :

○ Nanay (Dip. II) †; habitation disparue à sa mort en 1953 ;

[1] Cette fertilité s'explique par la nature du sous-sol (flons de dolérite).

○ Béniti (Dju) † en 1955 ; habitation reprise par ses enfants et petits-enfants : ○ Eliana, △ Doni, ○ Kulina, ○ Maria ;

○ Tini (Dju) ;

○ Kotoïda (lignage Afi) † ;

△ Poopu, établi là depuis longtemps. Avait abandonné l'emplacement en 1948 ; revenu en 1952.

La composition des groupes est la suivante :

1) ○ Béniti † (Dju, E5) : ses filles Maria, Kulina et Eliana. La case de Béniti a été reprise par son petit-fils Doni qu'elle élevait.

2) ○ Tini (Dju, F1) ; habitation groupant Tini, Ata (Dju, F2) et leurs filles.

3) ○ Kotoïda † ; habitation groupant Kotoïda († oct. 1956) (lignage Afi), son frère Kenkina, son mari Empalé, sa nièce Samabun.

Autres habitations :

Ma Efa (Papaiston), installée sur les terres du *lo* Dipélu II en amont de Kormotibo (rive française), depuis une trentaine d'années. Ma Efa (P1, D4) travaillait avec ses fils.

Gengé Tabiki (rive hollandaise, en amont du village Asisi ; petite habitation fondée par ○ Aliki (Dju, E23), avec Lènga ○ (Dju F36) et ○ Diana (Dju, E9).

Fonctionnement des habitations de culture

Structure. Sur les 13 habitations de culture étudiées ici, 12 ont une structure conforme au principe de résidence des Noirs Réfugiés, impliquant le groupement des filles et des fils non mariés auprès de la mère ; une seule a une structure anormale :

Atikati (filles résidant avec leur père, groupes d'amis n'ayant pas de droits sur la terre).

Il semble que des exceptions de ce genre ont toujours existé chez les Noirs Réfugiés, mais elles ont vraisemblablement tendance à se faire plus nombreuses.

Elles ne paraissent pas dues à un changement de conception sur la structure familiale, mais à un développement des tendances individualistes. Ces groupes de structure aberrante sont particulièrement instables.

Stabilité ; déplacements. Il n'y a pas sur ce point d'usage précis. Certaines habitations de culture sont anciennes, telles celles de Sawen et de Atikati, qui datent certainement du début du siècle. La plupart paraissent durer de 5 à 10 ans. D'autres, comme celle de Kwaku, n'ont eu qu'une existence éphémère.

Les déplacements d'habitations qui se sont produits dans cette région depuis 1950 ont des causes très variables :

[p.118]

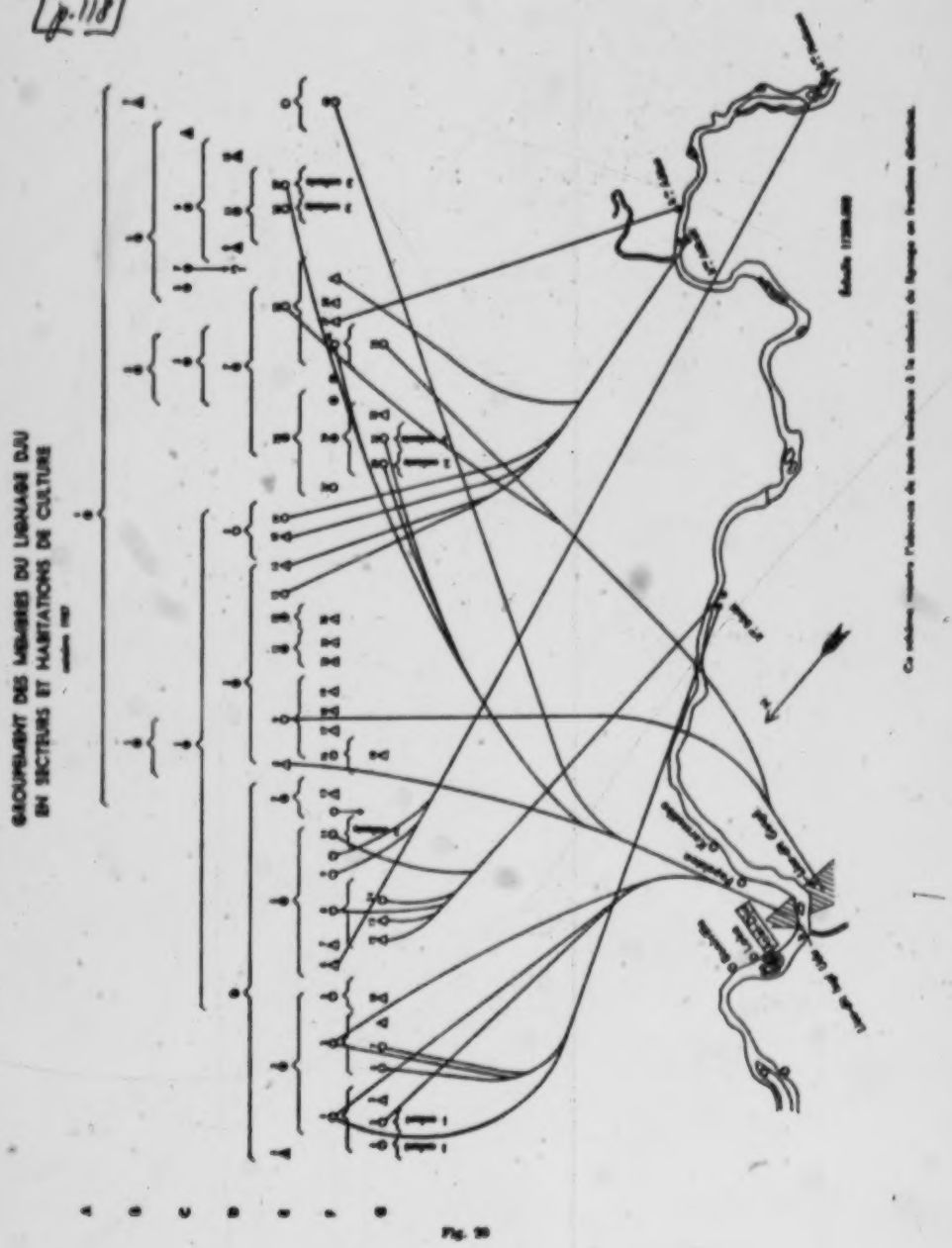

GROUPEMENT DES MEMBRES DU LIGNAGE DJU
EN SECTEURS ET HABITATIONS DE CULTURE

Fig. 30

△ Dyakata (Dip. I) a quitté la région pour vivre dans le bas Maroni chez les Paramaka, pour convenances personnelles.

○ Chili (Dip. I) est allée s'installer près de Maripasoula. A renoncé à son habitation du saut Simayé en raison des fourmis-manioc.

△ Kwaku (L) Son habitation était trop humide et l'activité des fourmis-manioc trop grande. Réside désormais toute l'année à Loka.

△ Akwadé (L) N'avait pas d'habitation, en a créé une en 1954 à proximité du saut Simayé. Recherchait un emplacement favorable pour la pêche, dont il vit presque entièrement.

Dans l'ensemble, on peut estimer que la durée moyenne d'une habitation de culture est d'une dizaine d'années. Dans ces déplacements, l'épuisement des terres ne paraît jouer aucun rôle : vu la faible densité de la population, on peut soit pratiquer des coupes sur forêt primaire, soit pratiquer le régime de jachère que l'on désire.

On peut attribuer la plupart des déplacements à deux causes d'importance égale :

— L'activité des fourmis-manioc ; nous avons dit que depuis une quinzaine d'années, le terroir principal du *lo* Lapé, situé à proximité du village de Loka a dû être totalement abandonné par suite d'une activité exceptionnelle des fourmis-manioc. Il en est résulté la création sur le terroir du *lo* Lapé étudié ici, de plusieurs habitations de culture ;

— Des motifs personnels, parmi lesquels vient en premier lieu la mésentente entre les membres d'un groupe. Par exemple ○ Kulina et ○ Bakamaman (Boniville, Dju) faisaient jusqu'en 1950 leurs abattis avec leur mère Béniti, au village de culture de celle-ci au lieu-dit Kuyaku (au Sud de Kormotibo).

En 1950 une brouille est survenue. Kulina et Baïkom font depuis ce temps leurs abattis à l'habitation de leur père Malobi (Lapé).

Il arrive notamment qu'à la mort de son fondateur, une habitation de culture disparaisse ou change entièrement de composition, parce que des brouilles surviennent.

Une autre cause de déplacement des habitations de culture est le changement d'activité de leurs occupants. Par exemple un homme vieillit, il ne trouve plus de travail salarié, il crée une habitation pour se consacrer à la pêche (cas de Akwadé). Arrivé à l'extrême vieillesse, il abandonne son habitation pour se retirer auprès des siens (cas de Samalobi, premier occupant des terres cultivées actuellement par le village Antonu).

[p.120 is blank]

[p.121]

CHAPITRE VI

COUTUME FAMILIALE

La coutume familiale des Noirs Réfugiés présente plus d'unité que leurs croyances. A l'encontre des Noirs du Brésil et de Haïti, chez lesquels ont dominé les influences du Dahomey et du pays Yorouba, les Noirs Réfugiés de Guyane ont emprunté l'essentiel de leur coutume familiale à l'aire culturelle Agni-Ashanti. On retrouve notamment des traits caractéristiques tels que la prohibition de l'héritage des veuves, les coutumes relatives à la naissance, l'isolement des morts dans des cimetières à l'écart des habitations.

Mais sur plusieurs points essentiels :

— Le régime du mariage.

— Les institutions relatives à la mort et au deuil, et la place centrale qui leur est donnée dans l'ensemble des institutions coutumières.

Les Noirs Réfugiés se sont nettement séparés des conceptions de leurs ancêtres, et les conceptions qu'ils ont élaborées peuvent être dans une large mesure considérées comme une création originale.

Naissance

Croyances. Dès qu'une femme est enceinte, son mari est astreint à des obligations particulières. Il ne peut se servir d'une pelle, ni enfoncer des clous. Ces opérations qui, chez les Noirs Réfugiés, ont pour but principal de creuser des fosses et de faire les cercueils, seraient supposées faire mourir l'enfant. Ni lui ni sa femme ne peuvent se couper les cheveux ; il est astreint à des interdits alimentaires, notamment le malpouri (tapir).

Les rapports sexuels sont poursuivis pendant toute la grossesse, car ils sont réputés indispensables à la formation de l'esprit de l'enfant qui, semble-t-il, est supposé venir du père ; aussi ne peut-il être question pour un homme dont la femme est enceinte, de l'abandonner, ni même de partir pour un voyage lointain sans la permission du chef de lignage de celle-ci.

Prévision de la naissance. Des rites divinatoires sont effectués dès les premiers mois de la grossesse, pour prévoir si l'accouchement sera facile ou non. On se rend pour cela chez un ancien qui « connaît » un de ces remèdes. Il y en a plusieurs : l'un consiste à faire un petit trou au centre d'une croix tracée par terre, à y verser une décoction d'herbes magiques tenue secrète, et à y placer un œuf. Le maître du remède dit alors : « Si l'accouchement doit être facile, l'œuf doit être écrasé aussitôt que mon pied appuiera

dessus. » On affirme que quelquefois l'œuf résiste à l'écrasement : on en déduit que l'accouchement sera difficile.

Quand le moment de l'accouchement arrive, les préoccupations sont centrées sur le danger des entités maléfiques humaines, *ɔgi sani*, qui cherchent à s'incarner dans l'enfant. La femme est enfermée dans la maison dont toutes les issues sont obstruées et on appelle des *ɔbiaman* pour effectuer des rites de protection tout autour de la maison. Si l'accouchement est difficile, on attribue cela au fait qu'une de ces entités a réussi à pénétrer dans la maison malgré les précautions prises.

On appelle les *ɔbiaman* pour « laver » la femme à l'aide de remèdes appropriés. Ce n'est que dans des cas graves qu'on fait entrer des hommes dans la maison. En règle générale, pendant les huit premiers jours, seules peuvent entrer des femmes de la parenté de la mère (On se préoccupe même dans la mesure du possible de prendre pour accoucheuse *(menu)* une vieille femme de la parenté de la mère).

Observation à Maripasoula, le 3 novembre 1966. La femme de Baïna, canotier de la mission de délimitation, est accouchée à Pikin Tabiki, petit village de culture où elle travaille avec sa mère et le mari de celle-ci. Baïna est allé assister à l'accouchement.

Celui-ci a été très long et dramatique. D'après Baïna, une *ɔgi sani* était entrée dans le corps de l'enfant, le rendant raide et impossible à extraire. En désespoir de cause, on a appelé un voisin, T.... connu pour avoir une bonne *gila*. Il a appelé son *gadu* qui a révélé un remède efficace, puisqu'après avoir lavé le corps de la malade avec les feuilles indiquées, l'accouchement s'est heureusement terminé.

Restait à trouver quelqu'un pour remplir à sa place, puisque nous partions en tournée, un des devoirs du mari : couper la provision de bois destinée à chauffer l'eau nécessaire aux douches chaudes qu'on va donner à la mère plusieurs fois par jour pendant environ 3 mois. Il s'est entendu pour cela avec Kwata, mari de sa belle-mère, auquel il versera environ 1000 francs.

Présentation de l'enfant. Le 8e jour, c'est la grand-mère maternelle (ou l'arrière grand-mère si elle est encore vivante) qui prend l'enfant et le donne à une autre aïeule du même lignage, placée devant la maison. Celle-ci le présente à la famille. Puis, le chef du lignage, sans prendre l'enfant, va au *fraga tiki* faire une offrande de tafia, demandant aux ancêtres de le protéger.

Par exemple, pour la naissance de A... (Village Lapé Tabiki), fils de ○ Yundu (L2, G50), c'est Asakundu, grand-mère de Yundu et arrière-grand-mère de l'enfant, qui est venue le prendre dans la maison et l'a remis à sa sœur Térésa (L2, E57) pour le présenter à la famille (Voir le tableau généalogique du lignage Lapé, fraction 2).

Interruption des rapports conjugaux après la naissance. Pendant trois mois après l'accouchement, la mère doit se tenir à l'écart des hommes et même éviter de les toucher. Les rapports conjugaux doivent être interrompus jusqu'à ce que l'enfant commence à marcher seul (11 à 14 mois). On tolère cependant (mais en réprouvant) qu'ils soient interrompus le temps que l'enfant commence à se traîner sur les genoux

(8 mois). On cite l'exemple de la femme de Baïna qui à la suite de grossesses à intervalles trop faibles, a des enfants débiles.

En fait, l'interruption des rapports conjugaux a tendance à se réduire de plus en plus, les femmes disposant de lait condensé et ayant tendance à réduire la durée de l'allaitement.

Chaque femme agit à cet égard comme elle l'entend ; le mari n'a aucun pouvoir pour la contraindre.

Le nom

Existence de plusieurs noms indépendants. Chaque Boni a deux noms, le *gad nem* ou grand nom, donné par le père, et le *pikin nem* ou petit nom, donné par la mère.

Ces deux noms sont donnés de façon totalement indépendante. C'est généralement le *pikin nem* qui est donné le premier ; autrefois on attendait que l'enfant fût âgé de 6 à 8 mois ; actuellement, on le donne au bout de quelques semaines. Le chef du lignage n'intervient pas dans le choix ni dans l'imposition du nom.

En fait, près des trois quarts des Boni sont désignés par un seul nom, soit que le père et la mère se soient mis d'accord pour donner le même nom, soit que l'une des deux appellations soit tombée en désuétude.

A ces deux noms principaux peuvent s'ajouter un nombre quelconque de noms et de surnoms donnés par les grands-parents et plus tard les amis ou les épouses ; souvent l'un des noms finit par s'imposer et supplanter les autres, mais dans de nombreux cas, ces noms sont employés concuremment ; en général un individu est désigné dans sa parenté maternelle par son *pikin nem* tandis que les gens des autres villages le désignent par son *gad nem* ou par un surnom. Il nous est arrivé maintes fois, au cours de la même conversation, d'entendre désigner le même individu sous deux ou trois noms différents.

Il va sans dire que cette coutume rend impraticable tout recensement des Noirs Réfugiés, car tant qu'on ne connaît pas individuellement les membres d'un lignage et leur généalogie, il est impossible de rien comprendre.

Pourtant, il ne faut pas voir là une réaction de défense à l'égard de l'administration européenne. Les Noirs Réfugiés trouvent tout à fait normal d'avoir concurremment plusieurs noms, car ils n'ont pas la notion de l'identité d'un nom et d'une personne.

Ainsi l'un de nos canotiers était Fintiman pour la parenté maternelle, Gobiyo pour son père et une partie de ses amis, Loamba pour son grand-père paternel et Nakiyu pour sa première femme.

Choix des noms. Les noms sont très variés et leur choix ne répond à aucune règle fixe ; il est du domaine exclusif de la fantaisie.

Un grand nombre sont constitués de simples onomatopées : Tyutyu, Dada, Dodo, Dudu, etc. (qui peuvent s'appliquer indifféremment à un homme ou à une femme). La mère de Dodo nous expliqua la raison de son choix : dodo était le refrain d'un air qui chantait souvent dans sa tête quand elle était enceinte.

On relève encore :

— Des noms ou prénoms européens plus ou moins déformés : Afayèl (Rafaèl), Modèl, Pasensi (Patience), Félisi (Félix), Sophie, Toïna (Antonia). Certains noms sont des noms propres européens déformés ; par exemple : Sota pour Chotard (nom d'un fonctionnaire de Saint-Laurent) ;

— Des noms africains (Musa, Kodyo, Kofi, Akuba, Afiba, etc.), la plupart semble-t-il provenant de la côte occidentale d'Afrique.

— Quelques noms indiens : Omiikan, Païké. Ce dernier nom avait été donné à un jeune homme d'Asisi par son grand-oncle, en souvenir d'un chef indien avec lequel il était très lié ;

— Des noms de plantes, d'animaux ou d'objets usuels, soit en taki-taki, soit en français :

Ex. Kapachi (tatou), Aguti (agouti, un rongeur), Babun (singe rouge), Kwata (singe atèle), Chii (graine), Maisi (maïs), Tutu (bambou), Sépina (épinards), Polimichi (réchaud), Balansi (balance), Tambour, Kédé (caisse), Mandolina (mandoline), Kokoti (tatouage), Gunnkaala (perle bleue), Klarinèt (clarinette), Alapu (flèche), Bisiklèt, Tomobil, etc. ;

— Des mots européens dont le sens est plus ou moins compris mais qui sonnent agréablement aux oreilles des Noirs Réfugiés :

ex. : Manifèst, Komisèr (commissaire), Nètwayé (nettoyé), Machinn (Machine) ;

— Des termes de parenté ou des termes de relations sociales, associés souvent à un qualificatif :

Ex. : Maman, (mère), Baakamaman (mère noire), May (belle-mère), Pikin pay (petit-gendre), Pikin baala (petit camarade), Bachi (maître), Michi (demoiselle), Baakamichi (demoiselle noire), etc.

— Des expressions se rapportant généralement aux particularités de l'enfant durant ses premiers mois :

Ex. : Kundu mofu (petite bouche), Kundu uman (femme courte), Alébiédé (tête rouge), Alobikyé (il aime pleurer), Alobilafu (il aime rire), Koouman (femme froide), Amoyuman (jolie femme), Dansiuman (danseuse), Hafukii (à moitié mort), etc. ;

— Des noms faisant allusion à une qualité, mais c'est pure fantaisie ; il ne faut pas croire qu'on recherche par là à la faire entrer dans l'enfant. On voit Séyéuman (femme sérieuse), Abété (le meilleur), Poyman (homme fort), etc. ; dans la même signification on donne souvent des noms tels que Goutu uman (femme en or) ;

— Souvent enfin, le nom est la contraction d'une courte phrase exprimant une plaisanterie ou une association d'idées saugrenue :

Agimianèm (donne-moi un nom), Nàfiimoo (ce n'est plus pour vous), Afumidichi (c'est pour moi celui-là), Sanidialobi (chose qu'il aime), Agoabuchi (il va en brousse), etc.

Woochia est la contraction de *sa u ɔ si ya?* (que verrons-nous là?) exprimant la surprise d'une femme qui se voyait enceinte pour la première fois après 15 ans de mariage stérile.

Dans ce genre de noms, il s'agit dans plusieurs cas d'une plaisanterie à l'égard de l'enfant, dont il pourra avoir à souffrir toute la vie.

Ex. : Amoyanéti (il est joli la nuit), nom donné à un enfant qui était très laid.

Poété (forçat) est le *pikin nem* de B..., homme âgé en 1957 d'environ 42 ans ; il n'a jamais compris clairement pourquoi sa mère lui avait donné ce nom dont il n'a pu se débarrasser, ses camarades se faisant un malin plaisir de l'appeler par son *pikin nem*.

Cette mauvaise plaisanterie a eu tant de succès qu'elle a été rééditée deux fois : il y a actuellement en pays Boni deux Poété et une Poétéuman !

Cet exemple, associé à bien d'autres, montre la légèreté avec laquelle les Noirs Réfugiés choisissent les noms de leurs enfants. Nous avons assisté plusieurs fois à des discussions concernant le choix de ces noms ; elles se déroulent dans une atmosphère de grosse farce. B.. dont il vient d'être question, qui avait eu à souffrir du nom que sa mère lui avait donné, appela un de ses neveux Canada, parce que c'est le pays où sont fabriqués les moteurs Evinrude qu'il admirait beaucoup.

Transmission des noms. Il semble qu'autrefois, on donnait de préférence aux enfants le nom d'un de leurs oncles au sens classificatoire dans le lignage du père. Cette coutume est encore nettement observable mais sa pratique n'est pas générale. En effet, sur environ 670 personnes recensées dans les villages de la rive française, dont environ 250 enfants de moins de 14 ans, il ne s'en trouve que 64, soit moins de 25 %, qui portent le nom d'un adulte vivant ou décédé. Ces 64 cas se répartissent ainsi :

	Lignage de la mère	Lignage du père	Autres lignages
Nom pris parmi les frères et sœurs au sens classificatoire de l'enfant.	0	3	
Nom pris parmi les oncles et tantes au sens classificatoire de l'enfant.	3	37	11
Nom pris parmi les « grands-pères » et les « grands-mères » de l'enfant.	2	8	

Sur ces 64 noms, 44 sont pris dans le lignage du père, 5 seulement dans le lignage de la mère.

Ce tableau n'a qu'une valeur de simple indication. Pour aller plus loin, il aurait fallu étudier à part le nom donné par le père et celui donné par la mère, ce que nous n'avons pas pu faire (rappelons que 75 % des individus sont désignés sous un seul nom, soit que le père et la mère se soient mis d'accord sur le même, soit que l'un des deux noms soit tombé en désuétude dès les premières années de l'enfant).

Retenons simplement qu'il y a une nette tendance à choisir le nom dans la parenté paternelle de l'enfant[1].

Il semble qu'on évite de donner le nom d'une personne très âgée ou d'une personne décédée depuis peu de temps.

Il ne semble pas que dans cette transmission du nom il y ait autre chose qu'une marque d'affection à l'égard d'un parent. Aucun lien n'est créé entre l'enfant et l'adulte dont il porte le nom. Manifestement, il n'y a rien dans les croyances des Noirs Réfugiés qui impose la perpétuation des noms et leur transmission des morts aux vivants.

Quand on veut donner à un de ses enfants un nom porté par une personne d'un autre lignage, il faut demander l'accord de celle-ci, qui ne le donne pas forcément (elle peut craindre que son nom soit ainsi porté plus tard par un voleur ou un fainéant).

Si elle donne son accord cela ne comporte pas à proprement parler un paiement, mais on peut lui offrir un petit cadeau.

Il n'y a besoin d'aucune autorisation pour prendre un nom porté par une personne du lignage de la mère ou du lignage du père de l'enfant.

Le seul cas où la coutume impose le choix du nom est celui des jumeaux.
Les jumeaux mâles sont appelés Adam et Agosu.
Les jumeaux garçon et fille sont appelés Adam et Efa[2].
Les jumelles sont appelées Chimba et Sisi.

Rapports sociaux a l'intérieur du lignage

Tutelle L'enfant, jusqu'à ce qu'il soit en âge de travailler, est placé sous la responsabilité de la mère et, à un échelon de plus, sous celle de l'aîné de ses oncles au sens classificatoire. Tous les oncles ont à un degré moindre, autorité sur l'enfant ; la tutelle est collective.

La coutume des Noirs Réfugiés, hostile à toute division du lignage, ne reconnaît aucun droit particulier aux frères de la mère (toutefois, en fait, on paraît s'adresser de préférence à eux pour les affaires de peu d'importance). Pour les affaires graves, comme autoriser un mariage, les oncles au sens classificatoire se réunissent et délibèrent ; ils ne votent pas à proprement parler mais l'opposition avérée de trois ou quatre d'entre eux fait abandonner le projet.

C'est à la mère qu'on viendra se plaindre de l'enfant, et non au père. C'est elle qui décide d'en référer aux oncles si la chose est grave (exemple de Doni, 18 ans, qui défiora Elina, 15 ans. C'est à la mère de Doni que la mère de Elina est venue se plaindre. La mère de Doni est allée prévenir son frère aîné Fintiman qui a pris l'affaire en mains.)

Il faut bien distinguer cette tutelle principale, qui est imprescriptible, de la tutelle secondaire **déléguée** par les oncles à celui ou celle qui est chargé d'élever l'enfant.

[1] C'est une règle générale dans les populations d'Afrique Noire auxquels les Noirs réfugiés ont emprunté leurs principaux traits culturels, aussi bien chez les Fon et Yorouba, patrilinéaires, que chez les Agni et Ashanti, matrilinéaires et patrilocaux. La persistance de cette coutume chez les Noirs Réfugiés tend à confirmer les tendances patrilinéaires et patrilocales qui persistaient chez eux au moment où s'élaboraient leurs institutions.

[2] Ceci se rattache à un mythe dérivé de la tradition biblique, que nous exposerons ci-après.

Désignation du tuteur. Quand un enfant atteint 5 ou 6 ans, la mère et les oncles décident qui sera chargé de son éducation et deviendra son tuteur. La pensée des Noirs Réfugiés est qu'un enfant est beaucoup mieux éduqué s'il se trouve isolé et placé directement sous la responsabilité d'un adulte.

Pour décider qui élèvera un enfant, on ne fait pas une réunion générale du lignage. Tout est réglé entre la mère et ses frères au sens propre, la grand-mère maternelle et l'arrière-grand-mère si elle est encore vivante. Les oncles au sens classificatoire de l'enfant ne sont consultés que s'il n'y pas d'oncles au sens ordinaire. Les aïeules ont une influence prépondérante dans cette décision, comme pour tout ce qui concerne l'enfant pendant ses premières années. L'influence des oncles va en augmentant à mesure que l'enfant avance en âge.

Il n'y a pas de règle précise pour la dévolution de cette tutelle, et nul ne peut se prévaloir d'un droit sur l'enfant.

Le tuteur ou la tutrice exerce la responsabilité de l'éducation, mais il ne peut prendre aucune décision sans demander l'avis des oncles dont la décision est sans appel. La tutelle peut toujours être retirée.

Cette tutelle est exercée par une seule personne, homme ou femme.

C'est très souvent la mère. Dans un grand nombre de cas, la mère élève seule ses enfants, garçons et filles, avec le concours de son mari qui souvent est un autre que le père. Le mari n'exerce en fait aucun droit. Que les enfants soient à lui ou non, il les entretient indirectement en entretenant sa femme. Il n'a qu'une autorité précaire. Tout lien avec les enfants disparaît en cas de divorce.

La tutelle est souvent exercée par la grand-mère maternelle, par une tante ou même par une sœur aînée.

Si la grand-mère maternelle (ou l'arrière-grand-mère si elle est encore vivante) insiste pour élever un enfant, la mère ne peut refuser ; on voit un assez grand nombre de cas de femmes qui n'ont qu'un seul enfant et l'ont donné à élever à leur mère ; il est vrai que l'une et l'autre vivant ensemble, ce n'est pas un grand sacrifice pour la mère.

On voit ainsi des femmes de plus de 70 ans, ayant eu une dizaine d'enfants, élever 3 ou 4 de leurs petits-enfants. L'aïeule du village d'Asisi, Kuluba († 1957), après avoir eu 12 enfants, éleva au cours de sa longue existence une dizaine de ses enfants et petits-enfants ; quand elle mourut en 1957 âgée de 100 ans, elle élevait encore un enfant, un de ses arrière-petits-fils âgé de 12 ans. Bien entendu, elle ne travaillait plus depuis longtemps et était nourrie par sa famille ainsi que l'enfant. Mais c'était elle qui exercait sur lui le pouvoir de tutelle.

Si c'est le père qui est chargé de l'éducation de l'enfant, il l'emmène dans sa propre famille maternelle. Ses sœurs l'aideront à élever l'enfant tant qu'il aura besoin de la présence d'une femme.

Le père exercera dès lors une tutelle correspondant à celle qu'exerce habituellement la mère, sous la responsabilité des oncles.

On voit quelquefois un homme élever une fille. D'une façon générale, si un homme

a eu d'une femme 3 enfants ou plus, on admet qu'il est normal qu'on lui en donne un à élever, mais cela ne constitue pas un droit ; il ne peut rien exiger.

Un des lieux communs de la littérature ethnographique est le sentiment de frustration qu'éprouverait en régime matrilinéaire le père séparé de ses enfants. Des réflexions entendues de loin en loin pourraient laisser croire à l'existence d'un tel sentiment chez les Noirs Réfugiés. Par exemple Baïna, du village Asisi, nous dit un jour avec amertume : « j'ai eu 8 enfants, tous vivants, et on ne m'en a donné qu'un à élever ». Mais ce n'est qu'une apparence. Aucun Noir Réfugié ne songe sérieusement à élever les 5 ou 6 enfants qu'il a eus au cours de sa vie de trois ou quatre femmes différentes. Cela lui serait d'ailleurs matériellement impossible, compte tenu du mode de vie des Noirs Réfugiés et de l'obligation pour les hommes adultes de se déplacer sans cesse à la recherche de travaux salariés. Par exemple, en poussant Baïna à dire le fond de sa pensée, il n'était pas difficile de comprendre qu'il aurait souhaité élever 2 ou 3 de ses 8 enfants (nés de quatre femmes différentes), ceux qu'il aimait pour des raisons subjectives : les autres ne l'intéressaient guère et, qu'ils fussent élevés ici ou là lui était indifférent.

En réalité le sentiment paternel chez les Noirs Réfugiés est chose assez subjective ; élever un fils ou élever un neveu, cela ne fait qu'un à leurs yeux. Le même sentiment paternel se développera, et dans les deux cas on dira « mon fils » et « mon père ».

Les mères donnent leurs enfants à élever avec la plus grande facilité, spécialement à l'intérieur du lignage.

Par exemple Eliana (Dju, F8), âgée en 1957 d'environ 45 ans, qui avait 9 enfants vivants, n'en élevait que quatre :

△ Alilo 1937 élevé par son père Matapi (Asisi-Aw. B.) ;
△ Doni 1939 élevé par sa grand-mère maternelle Béniti (Dju, E5) ;
○ Agoba 1940 élevée par Lènga (F36), sœur au sens classificatoire de Eliana (parenté au 10e degré) ;
△ A... 1943 élevée par son père Yusu (Papaïston) ;
○ S... 1947 élevée par Kulina, sœur de même mère de Eliana (Dju, E9) ;
○ S... 1947 élevée par sa mère

et 3 jeunes enfants élevés par leur mère.

On voit des situations peu banales comme celle de Mimi (Boniville, Kotika), qui a donné son unique enfant à élever à sa sœur et élève un autre enfant à la place.

En 1957, Téké (L1, F44, ve Loka) qui avait 7 enfants vivants, n'en élevait aucun.

△ C... 1945 élevé par Mélita, mère de Téké (L1, E32) ;
△ A... 1947 élevé par Akomédi (L1, F34), sœur au sens classificatoire de Téké ;
△ M... 1950 élevé par Mélita ;
△ C... 1952 élevé par son père Baïna (Dip. II) ;
○ K... 1953 élevée par △ Mato (Aw. B. 1), père de son père Baïna ;
○ F... 1956 élevée par Mélita.

Baïna, que nous connaissons depuis longtemps, était incapable de donner la moindre explication de l'étrange comportement de sa femme. Il avait du reste renoncé depuis longtemps à comprendre la psychologie des femmes Boni.

Par contre un certain nombre de femmes refusent obstinément de se séparer de leurs enfants, décidant de les élever tous, filles et garçons, par leurs propres moyens. C'est le cas par exemple de Magdaléna (Kormotibo) femme d'un caractère intraitable, qui éleva elle-même ses 8 enfants au prix des pires difficultés. En pareil cas, on dit de la mère que c'est une femme égoïste et qu'elle a mauvais caractère, mais il n'est nullement question de lui enlever un enfant de force. Personne ne s'y risquerait, pas plus ses frères ou ses oncles que le chef du lignage. Seule sa mère le pourrait, et les femmes qui agissent ainsi ont généralement perdu leur mère.

Les conditions dans lesquelles sont élevés les enfants jettent une vive lumière sur la pensée des Noirs Réfugiés relativement à la parenté, et méritent une étude particulière.

Au cours d'une enquête menée d'octobre à décembre 1957, nous avons pu relever avec précision dans quelles conditions avaient été élevées 311 personnes se répartissant ainsi :

Sexe masculin	nés avant 1936 (éducation terminée)	73
	nés de 1936 à 1949 inclus (éducation en cours)[1]	88
Sexe féminin	nées avant 1936 (éducation terminée)	72
	nées de 1936 à 1949 inclus (éducation en cours)	78
	Total	311

Ont été élevés par :	Sexe masculin			Sexe féminin		
	nés avant 1936	de 1936 à 1949	moyenne	nées avant 1936	de 1936 à 1949	moyenne
La mère	ensemble 50 %	42 %	55 %	ensemble 69 %	56 %	68 %
La grand-mère maternelle		13 %			12 %	
Une femme du lignage maternel	8 %	12 %	10 %	13 %	15 %	14 %
Un homme du lignage maternel	9 %	4 %	6,5 %	2 %	3 %	2,5 %
Le père	27 %	18 %	22,5 %	13 %	6 %	9,5 %
La mère du père	2 %	3 %	2,5 %	0 %	3 %	1,5 %
Une personne du lignage paternel	1 %	3 %	2 %	1 %	3 %	2 %
Une personne étrangère aux deux lignages	2 %	4 %	3 %	1 %	3 %	2 %

(1) L'étude du cas des enfants nés postérieurement à 1949 était sans intérêt, car l'attribution définitive de leur tutelle n'était pas encore fixée à la fin de l'année 1957.

ont été élevés par

Tableau I. — Hommes nés avant 1936

la [illegible]	la grand-mère maternelle	une femme du lignage de la mère	un homme du lignage de la mère	le père	la mère du père	une personne du lignage du père	un étranger aux deux lignages
[illegible]	III	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	II	I	II
41 88 47 %	3 88 3 %	7 88 8 %	8 88 9 %	24 88 27 %	2 88 2 %	1 88 1 %	2 88 2 %
ensemble 50 %[2]							

Tableau II. — Garçons nés de 1936 à 1949 inclus

[illegible] III	[illegible]	[illegible]	III	[illegible]	II	II	III
31 73 42 %	10 73 13 %	9 73 12 %	3 73 4 %	13 73 18 %	2 73 3 %	2 73 3 %	3 73 4 %

Tableau III. — Femmes nées avant 1936

[illegible] I	[illegible]	[illegible]	II	[illegible]		I	I
16 78 59 %	8 78 10 %	10 78 13 %	2 27 2 %	10 78 13 %	0	1 78 1 %	1 78 1 %
ensemble 69 %[2]							

Tableau IV. — Filles nées de 1936 à 1949 inclus

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	II	[illegible]	II	II	II
40 70 56 %	9 72 12 %	11 72 15 %	2 72 3 %	4 72 6 %	2 72 3 %	2 72 3 %	2 72 3 %

(1) Le signe [illegible] représente les individus qui, élevés hors de leur lignage n'y sont pas revenus, une fois leur éducation terminée.

(2) Comme la mère et la grand-mère vivent ensemble le plus souvent, les informateurs peuvent confondre, quand il s'agit de personnes dont l'éducation est terminée depuis longtemps.

Récapitulation :

70 % des garçons
85 % des filles — sont élevés dans le lignage de la mère

27 % des garçons
13 % des filles — sont élevés dans le lignage du père

3 % des garçons
2 % des filles — sont élevés par des étrangers aux deux lignages.

Il est important d'autre part de mettre en évidence dans quelle proportion les enfants sont élevés par des femmes ou par des hommes :

67 % des garçons
86 % des filles — sont élevés par des femmes

33 % des garçons
12 % des filles — sont élevés par des hommes.

Cette part prépondérante des femmes dans l'éducation des enfants est un des aspects fondamentaux de la structure sociale des Noirs Réfugiés. En fait les femmes considèrent que les enfants leur appartiennent, et si elles en donnent quelques-uns à élever à des hommes, c'est dans la mesure où elles le veulent bien. [illegible] nception, que l'on retrouve largement répandue chez les Noirs d'Amérique, au[illegible]s comme en Guyane, explique, bien plus que la fréquence des divorces, l'impossibilité pour eux de constituer, en l'absence de coercition exercée sur les femmes, des patrilignages.

Plusieurs indications importantes peuvent encore être tirées de ces tableaux :

1) ils montrent la continuité et la vitalité de la coutume des Noirs Réfugiés. La proportion des garçons et filles élevés par la mère, la grand-mère paternelle, le père, etc., est sensiblement constante d'une génération à l'autre. Il n'y a aucune tendance à l'accroissement de la proportion des enfants élevés par le père ; elle semble même aller en décroissant, ce qui peut être rapproché de l'instabilité croissante des unions. En fait, en dépit des influences européennes, on n'observe chez les Noirs Réfugiés aucune évolution vers des structures patrilinéaires.

2) Le fait qu'une partie des enfants sont élevés hors de leur lignage a peu de conséquences pour l'unité des groupes, car la plupart d'entre eux, leur éducation terminée, viennent se fixer dans un des villages dépendant de leur lignage.

Sur 88 hommes nés avant 1936, 28 ont été élevés hors de leur lignage ; 21 d'entre eux y sont revenus ; 7 seulement, soit moins de 8 %, se sont fixés dans d'autres lignages.
Sur 78 femmes nées avant 1936, 12 ont été élevées hors de leur lignage, sur lesquelles 4 seulement, soit 5 %, se sont fixées définitivement hors de leur groupe.

Éducation des enfants. Si l'éducation des filles ne nécessite pas un apprentissage difficile, il n'en est pas de même pour les garçons ; la somme de connaissances que doit

posséder un Noir Réfugié pour exercer valablement les techniques de son groupe, est considérable. Il doit notamment :

— Connaître plus de 200 espèces d'arbres avec leur utilisation, la façon de les abattre, la façon de travailler leur bois ;

— Etre capable de construire des canots d'au moins 10 barils (1.000 kilogrammes de charge). Cette seule technique demande plusieurs années d'apprentissage ;

— Acquérir une connaissance suffisante du travail de charpentier pour construire sa maison et celle de sa femme ;

— Apprendre la manœuvre des canots sur la rivière et les techniques du canotage de transport.

A ces connaissances traditionnelles qui demeurent indispensables, s'ajoutent depuis quelques années des connaissances sérieuses en mécanique, l'emploi des moteurs hors-bord devenant de plus en plus courant ; ces connaissances sont transmises de façon empirique, comme elles ont été acquises. On doit constater que les moteurs marchent et qu'ils sont bien entretenus.

Le système d'éducation employé par les Noirs Réfugiés est d'une efficacité certaine ; leurs enfants sont excessivement turbulents et très difficiles quand ils sont en groupe. Quand ils sont répartis individuellement au milieu des adultes, ils sont placés dans les meilleures conditions pour apprendre les techniques et les traditions de leur groupe.

La personne chargée de l'éducation d'un enfant ne le confie pas volontiers à une autre et l'emmène dans tous ses déplacements. Cependant, par un souci de décence, la tutrice envoie coucher dans d'autres maisons les enfants dont elle a la charge, les jours où son mari vient la visiter. Les garçons vont dormir chez un frère, un oncle, un camarade ; les filles impubères de même ; mais il n'en est pas de même des filles arrivées à la puberté, qui sont soumises à une stricte surveillance.

C'est une des raisons pour lesquelles les Boni répugnent à mettre leurs enfants à l'école (école française de Maripasoula, école surinamienne de Kotika). Sans vouloir aborder ici dans toute son ampleur ce douloureux problème, on doit constater que cet enseignement, entièrement inadapté et dispensé par des instituteurs qui méprisent les Noirs Réfugiés, a des résultats à peu près semblables à ceux que l'on observe généralement en Afrique, le principal étant de rendre les enfants étrangers à leur famille et inadaptés à leur propre pays. Il est pratiquement sans exemple que la nation Boni ait bénéficié du passage à l'école d'un des siens : si l'enfant réussit, il part à Paramaribo et ne revient plus jamais. S'il échoue, il a beaucoup plus de mal ensuite à apprendre les techniques de son groupe car les années où l'esprit est le plus malléable ont été perdues à cet égard ; quant aux connaissances acquises à l'école, elles sont tellement étrangères à la vie des Noirs Réfugiés qu'il n'en reste plus au bout de quelques années que des bribes informes.

D'une façon générale, le procédé d'éducation employé chez les Noirs Réfugiés est l'imitation de l'adulte. Il est rare qu'on donne à l'enfant une leçon à proprement parler. Il voit faire, il essaie de sa propre initiative et petit à petit il apprend. Par exemple

il voit son tuteur faire un canot, on lui demande simplement d'aller chercher des palmes sèches et d'enlever les copeaux ; il entend les adultes discuter la poursuite du travail. Vers l'âge de 12 ou 13 ans, il essaie de faire un premier canot pour lui, avec l'aide d'un camarade plus âgé. Il acquiert progressivement la connaissance de cette technique.

Les garçons commencent à participer aux travaux agricoles dès l'âge de 6 ou 7 ans, principalement pour sarcler et planter. Vers 10 ou 11 ans ils commencent à manier le sabre et aident à sabrer la brousse ; vers 12 ans ils commencent à manier la hache et apprennent à abattre des arbres. A 14 ou 15 ans, ils commencent à faire de petits canots. Un adolescent de 16 ou 17 ans est en général capable de couper un abattis pour sa mère ou pour sa sœur.

Le tuteur prend le plus souvent son rôle très au sérieux, se préoccupant d'enseigner à l'enfant tout ce qui lui est nécessaire. Si c'est une femme, elle demande à ses frères d'enseigner les techniques de canotage et de construction.

Le principe est de développer très tôt le sens de la responsabilité chez l'enfant, en le mettant progressivement dans la nécessité de gagner sa vie. Le tuteur ne fournit pas d'argent de poche, et à l'exception d'un hamac tous les deux ans, pas d'objets manufacturés (les enfants jusqu'à 11-12 ans n'étant pas vêtus, il n'a guère de frais d'habillement à supporter). Mais il donne progressivement à l'enfant des occasions de gagner quelque argent par son travail. A partir de 10 ans, l'enfant commence à rendre quelques services : par exemple pour la construction d'un canot, il aide à transporter les palmes sèches destinées au brûlage. S'il s'agit d'un canot destiné à la vente, le tuteur lui remettra une petite somme sur l'argent gagné. A 14 ans un adolescent commence à subvenir à presque tous ses besoins.

Par exemple, de juin à décembre 1956, Tasa (14 ans), fils de Fintiman (Boniville) avait gagné environ 13.000 francs :

juin	aidé son père à construire un grand canot pour l'administration (45 jours)	6.000
octobre	allé à Saint-Laurent comme bossman auxiliaire	3.000
décembre	aidé à convoyer un canot de la mission de délimitation renvoyé à vide sur Maripasoula	4.000
		13.000

Son père, chargé de son éducation, le laissait employer cet argent à sa guise ; il nous fit remarquer avec orgueil que pour la première fois en 1956, son fils avait pu subvenir entièrement à ses besoins, mais qu'il importait de le maintenir sous une ferme autorité jusqu'à ce qu'il fût capable de faire seul des travaux d'homme : pour cela 5 ou 6 ans d'apprentissage ne seraient pas de trop.

En fait, nous avons eu maintes fois l'occasion de le constater, c'est dans cet apprentissage prolongé que se développent le sérieux et l'habileté technique si remarquable des Noirs Réfugiés ; à 20 ans la plupart d'entre eux ne savent encore rien faire de bon, et ce n'est guère avant 25 ou 27 ans qu'ils deviennent capables d'un travail

soigné ; à cet égard, la tendance actuelle des jeunes garçons à une émancipation précoce (l'âge du mariage des hommes descend à 20 et même 18 ans) risque d'avoir des conséquences très fâcheuses pour l'avenir des Noirs Réfugiés.

La personne chargée de l'éducation d'une jeune fille exerce à son égard les pouvoirs de la mère. C'est elle qui l'autorise à se marier et en lui remettant le *pdŋgi*, vêtement des femmes mariées, lui donne symboliquement sa liberté de femme. C'est à elle que le premier mari verse le prix de la virginité de la jeune fille.

L'autorité du tuteur était, jusqu'à une époque toute récente, demeurée très forte et se prolongeait fort tard ; il avait le droit de frapper son pupille pour le faire obéir, et il exerçait ses pouvoirs jusqu'au moment où, jugeant l'éducation terminée, il l'autorisait à se marier, ce qui n'arrivait guère autrefois avant 25-27 ans.

Fintiman (de Boniville), âgé en 1958 d'environ 50 ans, raconte que son père, chargé de l'élever, ne l'autorisa pas à se marier avant qu'il fût complètement confirmé comme charpentier et constructeur de canots, vers l'âge de 27 ans. Jusqu'à cet âge il demeura soumis à l'autorité la plus tyrannique ; son père entendait notamment lui interdire de sortir le soir, et il devait pour entretenir une liaison clandestine, prétexter des parties de pêche nocturne !

Quand le tuteur d'un garçon juge son éducation terminée, il l'aide à construire sa maison et lui remet des outils, une cantine contenant des vêtements, et un hamac. Le garçon doit faire désormais son chemin dans la vie.

Sa vie durant, il continuera à témoigner le plus grand respect à la personne qui l'a élevé et souvent, parlant d'elle, il dira : « mon père » ou « ma mère ».

Quand un Noir Réfugié, au cours d'une conversation vient à dire : « Mon père faisait ceci », il veut souvent parler de l'homme qui l'a élevé ; s'il veut parler de son véritable père, il dira : « Mon père même, qui m'a fait ». De même quand il dit : « Mon grand-père », il veut en général parler d'un grand-oncle. Cette confusion rend aléatoires les recherches sur la vie familiale, tant qu'on ne possède pas de recensement nominal ; il semble qu'elle ait induit en erreur plusieurs auteurs, leur faisant croire que chez les Noirs Réfugiés le père élève lui-même ses enfants, alors que c'est au contraire l'exception.

Le tuteur garde toute sa vie, sur son pupille devenu adulte, un certain pouvoir. Il est le conciliateur, auquel on s'adressera en première instance si on a à se plaindre de son pupille.

Ce pouvoir de conciliation est légué par le tuteur à sa mort, comme la tutelle elle-même.

Rôle de la mère. Le lien sacré par excellence est, pour les Noirs Réfugiés, celui qui les rattache à leur mère, et par elle aux ancêtres du lignage. Il se traduit à l'égard de la mère par un sentiment d'affection délicat et profond, qui s'adresse aussi, moins directement, aux proches parents du côté maternel et à tous les membres du lignage. Ce n'est pas en vain qu'à l'intérieur du lignage les hommes se disent frères ; les obligations

qu'ils ont les uns vis-à-vis des autres sont acceptées par tous avec joie, et chacun met à les remplir le meilleur de lui-même, car il y transpose le sentiment d'amour qu'il éprouve à l'égard de sa mère.

Le terme de matriarcat a été souvent employé à tort à l'égard des Noirs Réfugiés, laissant croire que la femme y exerce une autorité ; c'est une erreur, la femme n'intervient pas dans leurs conseils et au point de vue politique elle n'existe pas à leurs yeux ; la femme n'a d'influence et d'autorité qu'en tant que mère, et sur ses propres enfants.

L'autorité de la mère reste très grande sur ses fils devenus hommes ; aucun d'eux ne se lancera dans une entreprise importante ou ne partira pour un grand voyage sans avoir pris conseil de sa mère ; si sa mère est formellement opposée à ce projet, il n'osera guère passer outre. Nous avons entendu en décembre 1952 un homme de 45 ans, M..., sérieux et intelligent, nous dire avec regret : « J'irais bien avec vous jusqu'à Cayenne, mais ma mère ne veut pas ».

La même année, G..., homme d'une cinquantaine d'années, particulièrement sérieux et travailleur, avait économisé de quoi acheter un moteur hors-bord ; sa mère, âgée de près de 75 ans, lui déconseilla formellement cet achat, lui représentant qu'il serait l'objet de la jalousie et qu'il risquait d'être victime de maléfices ; il renonça à son projet. Il n'osa le mettre à exécution qu'en 1957, après que le deuil de sa mère (morte en 1955) eût été levé.

Laisser sa mère dans le besoin est considéré comme une honte ; si une mère a plusieurs fils, ceux-ci se répartissent les achats à effectuer à son profit ; chaque année l'un d'eux coupera l'abattis destiné à la mère ; celle-ci en échange fournira du couac et des légumes, tant que ses forces lui permettront de travailler.

D'ordinaire chacun des fils, arrivé à 20 ou 25 ans, se construit dans son village une maison où il vit seul. Mais il arrive souvent qu'un homme arrivé à l'âge adulte continue à habiter la maison de sa mère ; par exemple en 1952, au village Loka, Ayaubédé, âgé d'environ 40 ans, vivait avec sa mère Chii.

Quant à l'autorité de la mère sur ses filles, elle est beaucoup plus stricte encore et dure toute la vie. La fille ne peut se marier sans l'autorisation de sa mère, ou de sa tutrice si elle n'est pas élevée par sa mère. La fille mariée dispose d'une maison que son mari lui a construite, mais cette maison est située à proximité de celle de sa mère. Comme la vie du ménage est intermittente et réduite à sa plus simple expression, elle reste placée sous la dépendance de sa mère jusqu'à la mort de celle-ci. Elle ne peut notamment voyager sans sa permission.

L'autorité des mères sur les filles était autrefois tyrannique ; il arrivait, dit-on, de voir une mère octogénaire requérir le bras d'un vieillard du lignage pour frapper sa fille sexagénaire qui lui avait désobéi. Mais actuellement cette autorité est battue en brèche par le développement de l'individualisme. Il en résulte un dévergondage croissant des filles et une instabilité croissante des unions.

La nature des rapports avec la mère est montrée par la coutume de l'héritage.

Si un homme meurt alors que sa mère est encore vivante, ses biens font retour à la mère. Elle peut les garder ou les partager entre les membres du lignage.

Rôle du père. Le père n'a aucun pouvoir sur les enfants, mais en général il est respecté d'eux et ses fils ne prennent aucune décision importante sans solliciter son avis.

Dans le cas très fréquent où la tutelle des enfants est confiée à la mère, le père exerce une autorité de fait tant que dure le ménage. Mais en cas de rupture il perd tout droit sur les enfants.

En général le père aime bien ses enfants, mais à la façon dont chez les européens on aime ses neveux ; il évite de se mêler de trop près à leur éducation qui est sous la responsabilité des oncles, lesquels pourraient l'inviter à ne pas s'occuper des affaires de la famille.

Mais si le père a reçu la tutelle d'un ou de plusieurs enfants, la situation est complètement différente. En cas de rupture du ménage, il les emmène avec lui. D'ailleurs, en règle générale, même s'il fait bon ménage avec sa femme, il installe dans son propre village les enfants dont on lui a confié la tutelle, auprès de sa famille maternelle ; c'est lui qui désormais pourvoiera entièrement, non seulement à leur entretien, mais à leur nourriture ; à l'exception des périodes où le mari séjourne avec eux auprès de sa femme, celle-ci n'a plus à les nourrir.

Si le père a reçu la tutelle d'un enfant, il peut lui-même la déléguer, sous sa responsabilité, à quelqu'un de son lignage. Nous avons relevé plusieurs exemples de cette pratique. Par exemple Afoondo (Aw.B.1, F56), âgé en 1957 d'environ 23 ans, avait été confié à son père Koniman (Lapé) qui l'avait lui-même confié à sa propre mère Awènkina.

Le fait que des enfants passent sous la tutelle de leur père ne modifie rien à leur position vis à vis du culte des ancêtres, et n'entraîne de la part du père aucun versement ou compensation quelconque. L'enfant devenu grand pourra revenir résider dans sa parenté maternelle (ce qu'il fait le plus souvent), ou rester dans le village de son père. Il n'y a sur ce point aucune obligation coutumière précise.

Le père joue un rôle important auprès des enfants quand ceux-ci arrivent à l'âge d'homme ; il leur procure leurs *obia* et leur transmet les connaissances et les pouvoirs magiques qu'il a lui-même reçus de son père.

Héritage de la tutelle. A la mort du tuteur, sa fonction est léguée, au même titre que ses biens, et selon le même principe de dispersion de l'héritage. S'il élevait plusieurs enfants, la tutelle de chacun d'eux sera léguée individuellement.

Par exemple Béniti († 1944) élevait ○ K... 1944, fille de sa fille Baïkom, et ○ W... 1942, fille de son fils Fintiman et d'une femme du village Papaïston. Elle légua le premier à sa fille Kulina, la seconde à sa fille Baïkom établie au village Loka. W... se trouvait ainsi emmenée dans un village qui n'était ni celui de sa parenté maternelle, ni celui de sa parenté paternelle. De tels cas ne sont pas rares. Les oncles de l'enfant, qui pourraient en principe reprendre la tutelle, ne paraissent jamais s'opposer, en pratique, à ce qu'elle soit léguée.

Le pouvoir spirituel que le tuteur conserve sur son pupille devenu adulte est légué de la même façon. Ainsi, dans l'exemple précédent, Béniti († 1955) légua la tutelle spirituelle qu'elle conservait sur chacun de ses fils et filles adultes qu'elle avait élevés elle-même, en partie à des personnes étrangères à son lignage.

Elle légua ainsi sa tutelle sur Fintiman (46 ans) au grand man
sur Klémenti (43 ans) à Samalobi, frère du grand man
sur ○ Kulina (38 ans) à Samalobi
sur ○ Eliana (40 ans) au grand man.

Mais elle ne légua rien en ce qui concernait ses deux derniers enfants, ○ Baïkom (35 ans) et ○ Maria (28 ans) respectivement élevées par △ Malobi, mari de Béniti, et par ○ Aliki, une vieille femme du lignage Dju. Il appartiendra à ces deux personnes de léguer, à leur mort, la tutelle spirituelle sur les filles qu'elles ont élevées.

Le mariage

C'est faute d'un mot mieux approprié que nous employons le mot de mariage à l'égard des Noirs Réfugiés ; le mot de concubinage est d'un emploi déplaisant, pourtant il conviendrait mieux à ce que représente, dans la pensée des Noirs Réfugiés comme dans leur vie sociale, l'union de l'homme et de la femme.

Dans l'organisation que nous venons de décrire, il n'est supposé aucun lien stable et permanent entre l'homme et la femme.

Les Noirs Réfugiés paraissent en fait, à de rares exceptions près, peu capables d'associer un lien affectif fort et durable à l'union sexuelle. Ce sont à cet égard des instables, toujours en quête d'aventures nouvelles et ne se fixant à aucune. Leurs unions sont davantage inspirées par un souci matériel (se procurer les vivres qui leur sont nécessaires) que par un mobile sentimental. Il est bien rare de rencontrer chez eux l'apparence d'un amour sincère et durable à l'égard d'une femme ; cela se voit quelquefois mais c'est l'exception.

Ce n'est pas assez dire qu'ils ont peu de sentiments affectifs à l'égard de la femme. Dans les conversations que l'on entend le soir autour des feux de camp, s'exprime à son sujet un profond mépris ; il leur arrive de parler des femmes Boni comme d'une nation étrangère et presque ennemie ; ils les considèrent d'ailleurs comme à demi-irresponsables. Cette attitude transparaît dans la coutume concernant l'adultère, qui veut que l'on batte l'amant mais non la femme.

Le mariage chez les Noirs Réfugiés est en fait un contrat d'entretien, passé entre l'homme et la femme, qui prévoit l'exécution de tel ou tel travail par l'un au profit de l'autre, et pour la femme l'obligation d'être fidèle. Ce contrat est résiliable unilatéralement, sans indemnité d'aucune sorte. Il n'engage pas directement les parentés des conjoints ; il ne les engage qu'en cas de mort du conjoint, car le conjoint survivant doit

supporter la sujétion du deuil. C'est principalement pour cela que le mariage doit être connu officiellement des deux lignages, et que le divorce doit être proclamé sans délai.

Exogamie. Le mariage est défendu entre personnes du même lignage. En exprimant cette défense, les Noirs Réfugiés emploient le mot *bes* (lignage au sens restreint) et non le mot *lo*.

Ainsi que nous l'avons vu en étudiant la situation des divers lignages, les divers groupes de parenté Boni suivent à cet égard des règles différentes :

— Le lignage Dju, qui ne forme au point de vue généalogique qu'un seul groupe, n'admet pas de mariage entre ses membres ;

— Le lignage Lapé est divisé au point de vue généalogique en deux groupes ; mais le mariage demeure prohibé entre ces deux fractions. La loi d'exogamie est respectée rigoureusement à l'intérieur de ce groupe ;

— Le lignage Kotika, qui tend par l'oubli de la généalogie à se scinder en trois fractions, tolère l'union entre membres de fractions différentes, dont il existait en 1958 sept cas. Par contre l'union n'est pas admise entre membres de la même fraction ;

— Le lignage Dipélu I, dont la généalogie est complètement connue, n'admet pas de mariage entre ses membres, bien qu'il soit depuis plusieurs générations coupé en deux unités sociales distinctes, les villages L'Enfant Perdu et Apatu, entièrement séparés géographiquement et possédant chacune son chef ;

— Il en est de même pour Dipélu II, mais le mariage est permis entre Dipélu I et Dipélu II ;

— Le lignage Papaïston admet la possibilité d'union entre la fraction principale et la petite fraction Papaïston 2. Mais il n'y a aucune union entre membres de la fraction principale ;

— Le lignage Awara Bakka au contraire tolère les unions non seulement entre les membres de ses trois fractions, mais encore depuis une époque récente à l'intérieur de la fraction principale :

○ Abenkina (Aw.B.1, F21) et △ Boofo (Aw.B.1, E 31)
⌒ Kyéti (Aw.B.1, E30) et △ Pitipiti (Aw.B.1, F3).

Cette situation est un objet de scandale de la part des autres groupes, et il ne semble pas qu'on assiste là au début d'une transformation générale.

Il est à noter qu'on admet la possibilité du mariage entre les membres des groupes présumés de même origine, mais séparés depuis très longtemps, comme Dipélu I et Dipélu II.

D'une façon générale, on peut dire que la loi d'exogamie est maintenue fermement à l'intérieur des fractions qui connaissent complètement leur généalogie. L'union entre « frères » et « sœurs » classificatoires appartenant à des fractions différentes demeure toujours prohibée en principe, mais comme pour l'ensemble des institutions des Noirs Réfugiés, la prohibition cesse d'être observée si la crainte de sanctions suprahumaines s'affaiblit.

C'est ce qui explique la différence d'attitude entre les lignages. Dans le lignage Awara Bakka, on ne se souvient pas que des mariages entre fractions aient été suivis de maladies ou de malheurs, et pour cette raison on ne les craint plus.

Dans le lignage Kotika il en était de même, mais un événement survenu en 1956 jeta la consternation. Une jeune femme, Awini (K1, E37, Boniville), mourut subitement, et la divination montra qu'elle avait été frappée par le *kunu* pour avoir épousé son frère classificatoire Sintamann (K3, E145, Boniville). Pourtant ils appartenaient à deux fractions différentes et leur parenté commune était la plus éloignée qui fut possible dans le lignage (parents au 10e degré).

Pikodu. La faute contre l'exogamie, *pikodu*[1], inceste au sens large, est considérée comme une offense contre la société et contre la loi religieuse ; elle expose le lignage à la vengeance des dieux qui exercent sur lui le *kunu*. Mais dans la pensée des Noirs Réfugiés, si l'inceste déclenche le fonctionnement des *kunu* existants, il n'en crée pas de nouveaux. Ce qui a été écrit à ce sujet par plusieurs auteurs nous paraît inexact, tout au moins pour les Boni. Dans l'exemple exposé ci-dessus, c'est au *kunu* exercé depuis longtemps par le *yoko* d'un homme jadis assassiné par un membre du lignage qu'a été attribuée la mort de Awini.

Commettre *pikodu* est une des fautes les plus graves que puisse commettre un Noir Réfugié ; bien entendu, comme dans le reste des prescriptions morales, on ne fait appel à aucun principe abstrait : les anciens enseignent aux enfants dès leur plus jeune âge : « si tu commets *pikodu*, tu tomberas malade ou tu mourras. » Par surcroît, le chef du lignage inflige de sévères punitions aux coupables : pour l'homme, confectionner à l'herminette un nombre élevé de planches ; pour la femme, préparer et vanner en vue du prochain *broko de* plusieurs touques de riz, travail long et fastidieux.

Cependant, si malgré injures et coups un homme et une femme de même *bee* tiennent absolument à se marier, on finit, de guerre lasse, par accepter le fait accompli. On se rend au *fruga tiki* pour faire une offrande de tafia aux ancêtres, leur demander de pardonner la faute commise. Aucune réprobation ne s'étend aux enfants nés de cette union.

Dans le lignage Awara Bakka, qui a pratiquement rejeté la loi d'exogamie, le principe d'une sanction subsiste et il y a un simulacre de poursuite des coupables à travers le village.

Ne pouvant employer la coercition et n'ayant pas le droit de chasser un membre du lignage, Capitaine et conseil ne peuvent exercer aucune sanction matérielle.

La même notion de *pikodu* s'attache aux unions entre personnes d'un même patrilignage, bien que ces patrilignages n'aient aucune organisation effective et n'existent que par la transmission de l'interdit fondamental, *bwosi kina*.

Avant de conclure une union officielle ou même clandestine, l'homme et la femme s'assurent qu'ils n'ont pas le même *bwosi kina* et en pareil cas renoncent à leur projet ; cela, même s'ils sont de tribus différentes, par exemple une femme Boni et un Saramaka.

(1) Ce mot paraît provenir du portugais *pecado*, péché.

Cette prohibition est d'ordre purement religieux et ne comporte pas de sanctions sociales ; les intéressés sont convaincus qu'en pareil cas, une sanction surhumaine les frapperait, sous la forme de maladie ou d'accident.

Prohibitions limitant le mariage. En dehors du grand interdit, *pikodu*, qui s'attache aux unions à l'intérieur d'un même matrilignage et à l'intérieur d'un même patrilignage, on trouve chez les Noirs Réfugiés deux prohibitions limitant le mariage, qu'ils expriment ainsi :

Je ne peux avoir deux femmes en même temps dans le même lignage. Par exemple il m'est interdit d'épouser à la fois deux « sœurs », mais si je rompe avec ma femme, je peux épouser sa « sœur » au sens classificatoire ou n'importe quelle autre femme du même lignage ;

— Je ne peux avoir de rapports, même passagers, avec une femme qui a été mariée avec mon frère de même mère ; en particulier, si mon frère vient à mourir, je ne pourrai épouser sa veuve.

Les Boni ne sont pas capables d'expliquer les raisons profondes de ces interdits, mais ils les interprètent comme des défenses purement sociales et non religieuses. L'infracteur est simplement menacé d'être battu.

La première de ces règles semble très largement admise en Afrique Noire, tant dans les sociétés patrilinéaires qu'en régime matrilinéaire.

La seconde de ces règles est caractéristique dans l'aire culturelle Akan (Agni, Baoulé), et montre que la coutume familiale des Noirs Réfugiés se rattache beaucoup plus directement à celle du groupe Agni-Ashanti qu'à celle du Dahomey.

On peut remarquer que cette règle est exactement contraire à la coutume des Saramaka, qui oblige la veuve à épouser l'un des frères du mort ; cette coutume a été interprétée par plusieurs auteurs comme provenant de l'imitation du lévirat des Juifs, que certains rebelles connaissaient (on sait en effet que parmi les propriétaires d'esclaves, il y avait de nombreux Juifs).

Quelle que soit son origine, il importe de remarquer que la coutume Saramaka n'a aucun rapport, en ce qui concerne son contenu juridique, avec le lévirat, ni avec l'héritage des veuves, tel qu'il se pratique dans de nombreuses sociétés africaines. Elle ne correspond en rien à la transmission d'un droit sur la veuve, puisque ce droit n'existe pas ; elle résulte probablement de l'idée que la veuve est mieux protégée des effets de la jalousie du défunt en épousant l'un de ses frères. Elle a d'ailleurs le choix entre tous ses frères au sens classificatoire, dans le matrilignage comme dans le patrilignage, ce qui lui assure un choix étendu. Elle peut rompre cette union sans aucune compensation après quelques mois de vie commune, et reprendre son entière liberté.

Statistiques des mariages entre les groupes de parenté. Nous avons relevé sur le tableau ci-contre la totalité des unions pour lesquelles nous avons pu identifier avec certitude la parenté des conjoints, y compris celles qui ont été rompues par le divorce et par la mort. Leur nombre total est de 411.

Le tableau met en évidence la plus ou moins grande fréquence des unions entre

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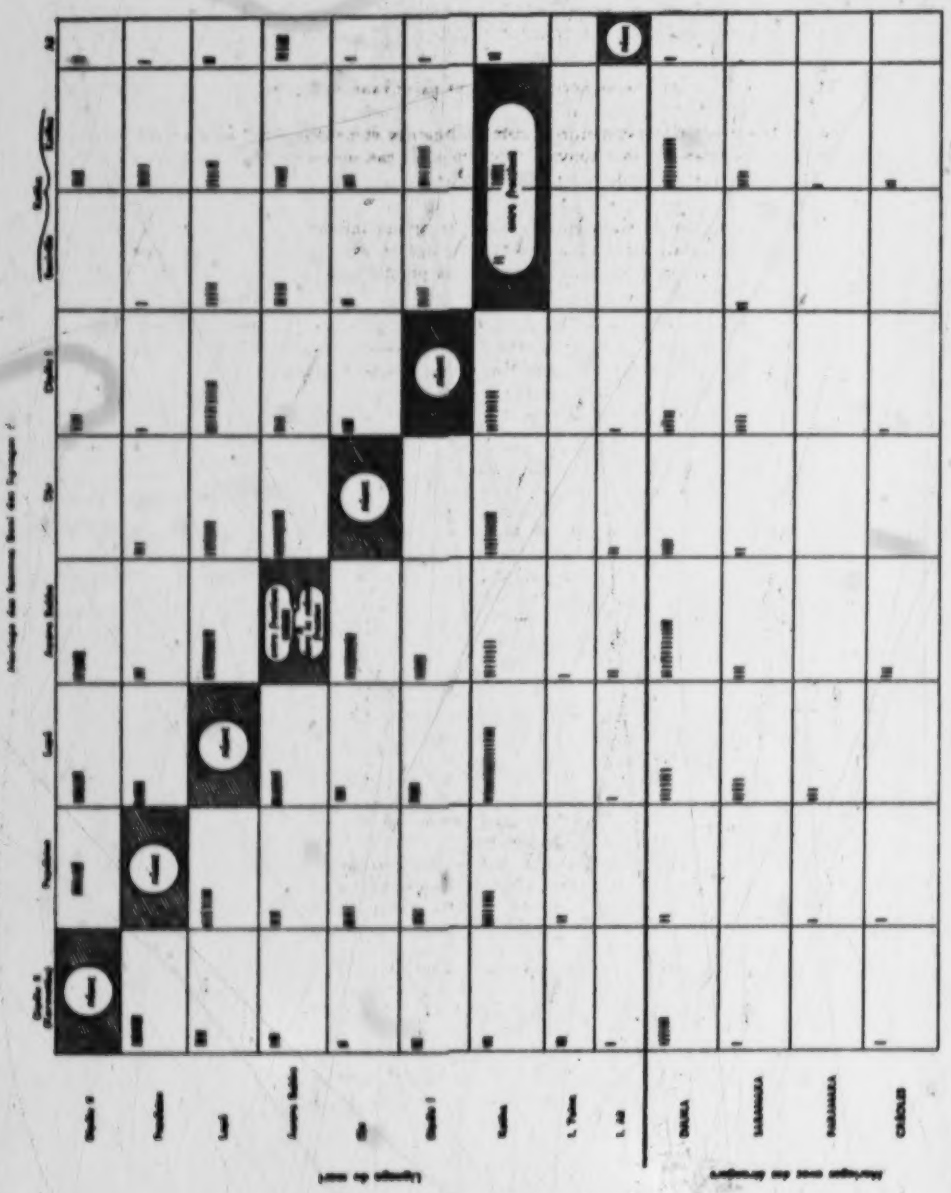


tels et tels groupes de parenté, ainsi que la fréquence des unions entre femmes Boni et hommes des autres tribus, DJUKA, PARAMAKA et SARAMAKA.

Sur un total de 411 unions de femmes Boni, on relève :

327 avec des BONI (80 %) ;
50 avec des DJUKA (12 %) ;
21 avec des SARAMAKA (5 %) ;
5 avec des PARAMAKA (1 %) ;
8 avec des créoles de Surinam (2 %).

La proportion des mariages intertribaux (20 %) est élevée ; elle résulte de la présence fréquente sur le Maroni de canotiers Djuka ou Saramaka venant effectuer des transports. La réciproque n'est pas vraie, les mariages entre hommes Boni et femmes des autres groupements sont peu fréquents ; cela tient à ce que les Boni n'ont guère l'occasion de fréquenter le Tapanahoni, où l'activité économique est nulle.

Pour 123 hommes mariés des villages de la rive française on comptait en novembre 1958, 11 unions avec des femmes Djuka, soit 8 %. Il n'existait aucun mariage avec des femmes Saramaka ou Paramaka.

Le tableau confirme par ailleurs que les mariages entre membres de parentés différentes sont entièrement libres et ne sont soumis à aucune préoccupation d'échange ou de réciprocité. Par exemple sur 60 unions entre femmes Boni du lignage Lapé et hommes Boni, on relève :

6	avec des hommes du lignage Dipélu I
7	— — — Dipélu II
7	— — — — Papaïston
11	— — — Awara Bakka
4	— — Dju
5	— — Dipélu I
20	— — — Kotika

En fait, c'est la proximité géographique des villages qui influe le plus directement sur les unions.

Par exemple une proportion élevée de femmes de Kormotibo (Dip. II) ont épousé des hommes de Papaïston et réciproquement.

Cela tient à ce que ces villages sont proches l'un de l'autre et isolés des autres. Il en est de même pour Kotika et L'Enfant-Perdu (Dip. I). Dans le petit lignage Afi, réparti entre les villages de Kormotibo et Asisi-Awara Bakka, plus de la moitié des femmes sont mariées avec des habitants de ces deux villages.

Certaines affinités personnelles et habitudes de vie influent indirectement. Par exemple c'est à Asisi-Awara Bakka que les canotiers Djuka de passage en pays Boni ont l'habitude de séjourner, parce qu'ils sont reçus chez quelques-uns d'entre eux installés là depuis longtemps. Ils nouent des relations avec les gens d'Asisi, et cela favorise de nouvelles unions. C'est ce qui explique la proportion élevée d'unions entre les femmes de ce village et les Djuka (13 sur 75). Par contre on n'observe presque aucun mariage avec des Djuka au village de Papaïston, où aucun Djuka n'est installé à demeure.

La demande en mariage. Le prétendant est obligé de demander leur accord à sa propre mère et à ses oncles (tout au moins l'aîné de ses oncles au sens classificatoire) ; en général il demande aussi à son père.

Si deux des oncles au sens classificatoire sont formellement opposés, le projet doit être abandonné. Mais il n'y a pas de sanction possible pour désobéissance.

Le prétendant ne fait pas sa demande lui-même ; après s'être assuré de l'accord de la jeune fille, il envoie deux personnes, un de ses oncles ou frères et une de ses sœurs au sens classificatoire.

Ces envoyés parlent à la mère et aux oncles de la femme réunis. S'ils sont d'accord, ils vont demander l'accord du chef du lignage. Les hommes et les femmes du lignage de la femme réunis boivent un litre de tafia apporté par les envoyés. Avant de boire, le doyen du lignage en verse un peu par terre en invoquant les ancêtres, leur demandant de conserver l'accord du ménage et de leur accorder santé et fécondité. On fait cette cérémonie sur place et on ne se rend pas au *fraga liki*, car on aurait peur de se présenter de nouveau au *fraga liki* en cas de rupture ; la prière faite n'importe où dans le village n'engage pas.

Les deux envoyés, homme et femme, jouent un rôle très précis. L'homme représente le postulant (c'est une sorte de mariage par procuration).

Le chef du lignage appelle une sœur au sens classificatoire de la jeune fille. Il la prend par la main et la conduit à l'envoyé du demandeur, disant : « Je te donne cette femme ».

Puis il appelle un frère au sens classificatoire de la jeune fille. Il le conduit à l'envoyé du demandeur, disant : « Je te donne cet homme ».

Cette seconde partie de la cérémonie est purement symbolique ; il n'est aucunement question que cet homme et cette femme se marient. Elle semble avoir pour but de montrer la parfaite égalité de l'homme et de la femme dans le mariage.

Les paroles prononcées dans l'invocation aux ancêtres sont : « Nous donnons (cette) femme à (cet) homme ; qu'ils vivent ensemble, qu'ils ne soient pas malades, qu'ils aient des enfants, des enfants qui vivent ».

Il n'y a pas besoin de l'accord du père de la femme.

S'il s'agit du premier mariage d'une jeune fille, le fiancé vient, aidé de ses amis, lui construire une maison. Il lui construit un canot et lui achète ce qui est nécessaire à la vie du ménage. Quand la personne qui élève la jeune fille juge le temps venu, elle lui remet le *pãŋgi*, vêtement des femmes mariées, autorisant ainsi la consommation du mariage.

Le mari qui a construit la maison demande aux anciens du lignage de sa femme de venir devant la maison jeter du tafia, demander aux ancêtres que le couple soit fécond et demeure longtemps dans cette maison.

Voici par exemple comment s'est déroulé en 1948 la demande en mariage de Chitaïna (Aw.B.1, F43, village Asisi) par Déési (L1, F45, village Loka).

Déési avait envoyé pour le représenter son frère au sens classificatoire Tamu

(L1, F32) plus âgé que lui d'une quinzaine d'années, et sa tante au sens classificatoire Yaana (L1, E39). (Voir le tableau généalogique du lignage Lapé).

Les envoyés, après avoir fait prévenir la veille, se présentèrent à 10 heures du matin au village Asisi-Awara Bakka. Étaient présents Irma, mère de Chitaïna, Alémin (Aw.B.1, E40), oncle au sens propre, Antonu (Aw.B.1, E47), un des plus âgés des oncles au sens classificatoire, Namu (Aw.B.1, E48), tante au sens classificatoire, et les frères et sœurs de même mère de la jeune fille.

Tamu prit la parole, développant les mérites de Déési et affirmant qu'il avait des intentions sérieuses. L'aîné des oncles déclara accepter. Chitaïna s'étant enfuie selon la coutume, il prit par la main sa jeune sœur Boomi qui n'avait que 5 ans et la conduisit à Tamu en disant : « Je te donne cette femme. » Puis il prit par la main Abéni, frère aîné de Chitaïna, et le conduisit à Yaana, disant : « je te donne cet homme ».

Puis on versa du tafia à terre en invoquant les ancêtres en faveur du ménage.

Le litre de tafia apporté par Déési fut partagé le soir symboliquement entre tous les habitants du village y compris le lignage Afi.

Pour l'installation du ménage, comme il n'y avait plus de place à proximité de la maison d'Irma pour construire, celle-ci donna une des deux maisons qu'elle possédait.

Voici encore un autre exemple concernant les deux femmes de Fintiman (Dju, F6, village Boniville).

Pour sa première femme Mimi (K3, E156, Boniville) il envoya ses frère et sœur de même mère Klémenti et Eliana, qui s'adressèrent à la mère de Mimi et à son oncle au sens classificatoire Lébiman.

Auparavant, Fintiman s'était assuré de l'accord de son propre père Malobi (Dip.I, E50) qui l'avait élevé, de sa mère Béniti et de son oncle Diolè (Dju, E1), aîné des oncles au sens classificatoire.

Pour demander sa seconde femme Bugi (Aw. B.1, F41, Vse Asisi-Awara-Bakka) il avait envoyé Dosu (Dip. I, E4, Boniville), frère au sens classificatoire de son père Malobi (quoique parent très éloigné) et sa sœur cadette de même mère Kulina, qui firent la demande à la mère de Bugi et à ses oncles au sens classificatoire Antonu et Mato.

Age du mariage. Il y avait autrefois une coutume très précise à ce sujet. Les hommes n'étaient pas autorisés à se marier avant 30 ans environ, constituant jusqu'à cet âge la force armée immédiatement mobilisable. Les femmes n'étaient autorisées par leur mère à se marier que lorsqu'elles avaient atteint leur complet développement physique, soit entre 20 et 22 ans. C'était la défense d'une société dépourvue de tout secours médical contre le risque obstétrical, particulièrement grave pour les très jeunes femmes. Quand le fiancé avait émigré temporairement pour gagner sa vie, le mariage pouvait être reculé jusqu'à 25 ans et plus. Ce mariage tardif des jeunes filles se rencontrait encore il y a peu d'années chez les Djuka, plus fidèles à la coutume. Il y avait en moyenne 5 à 10 ans de différence d'âge entre le mari et la femme.

Depuis une dizaine d'années, sous l'influence du relâchement de la discipline familiale, l'âge du mariage s'est abaissé considérablement, tant pour l'homme que pour la femme. Presque toutes les jeunes filles mariées ces deux dernières années avaient de 15 à 17 ans. On peut admettre que l'âge moyen du mariage des filles est de 16 ans[1].

Environ un tiers des jeunes gens se marient entre 18 et 20 ans, presque tous les autres avant 25 ans.

Cependant une partie des jeunes filles choisissent pour maris des hommes sensiblement plus âgés qu'elles, de sorte que la différence d'âge moyenne entre mari et femme demeure voisine de 6 ans.

Femmes nées de	Différence d'âge entre le mari et la femme. Le signe — indique que le mari est plus jeune que la femme	Moyenne	Ecart
1936 et suiv.....	24/2/0/14/3/0/4/1/8/1/4/17/2/9/—2/19/4/4/1/9/1/17/4/2/9/4/1/12/7/10/14/4/	+6,5 ans	—2 à + 24 ans 23 sur 34 des maris sont plus âgés que leur femme
1926 à 1935 incl..	7/6/30/12/20/29/5/11/8/4/6/5/17/—1/—1/—1 10/5/9/—1/2/2/7/10/19/14/9/—2/6/4/5/14/ 0/—7/4/14/0/13/4/13/	+6,9 ans	—7 à +30 ans 35 sur 41 des maris sont plus âgés que leur femme
1916 à 1925 incl..	5/—3/—11/—2/10/2/1/—4/22/2/17/14/11/4/ 7/5/16/3/6/1/17/4/—4/20/4/7/10/—14/10/9/6/ 9/11/6/10/9/—4	+5,9 ans	—11 à+22 ans 30 sur 37 des maris sont plus âgés que leur femme
1896 à 1915 incl..	—4/1/—1/6/2/—3/—2/7/3/22/9/—3/2/—11/ 19/17/11/11/21/5/3/1/1/3/2/6/20/16/—2/8/	+5,8 ans	—1 à + 22 ans 22 sur 29 des maris sont plus âgés que leur femme
ant. à 1896	2/0/3/10/—10/—5/5/—2/10/—8/8/0/5/5/.	+1,5 ans	— 10 à +8 ans 8 sur 14 des maris sont plus âgés que leur femme

A mesure que l'homme et la femme avancent en âge, cette différence d'âge moyenne de 6 ans se maintient au cours des remariages successifs, jusqu'à la vieillesse. Elle va ensuite en s'atténuant par le seul effet des facteurs démographiques, la proportion des femmes dans les tranches d'âge élevées étant de plus en plus forte.

Sur 37 femmes de plus de 60 ans des villages Boni de la rive française, 14 seulement étaient mariées ; toutes les autres étaient veuves ou divorcées depuis longtemps.

D'une façon générale, la coutume des Noirs Réfugiés considérait comme immoral le mariage d'une très jeune fille avec un homme âgé, ou d'un très jeune garçon avec une femme adulte. L'affaiblissement de la morale familiale est clairement démontré par deux évènements survenus au cours de l'été 1960. Un garçon de 13 ans et demi, K... de Boniville, quitta son tuteur pour rejoindre une femme d'Asisi, A..., de 20 ans son aînée, et de fort mauvaise réputation par surcroît ; quelques mois après, son exemple fut imité

(1) Nous parlons ici de l'âge au moment de la consommation du mariage.

par un garçon de 14 ans qui se mit en ménage avec une femme de 29 ans. Jamais on n'avait rien vu de semblable, et l'on cria au scandale ; mais dans l'un et l'autre cas, tuteurs et chefs de lignage s'avérèrent incapables de faire respecter leur autorité par la force.

Mariage des jeunes filles. On peut dire encore (bien que les choses soient en train d'évoluer rapidement) que les jeunes filles, *kweyi umã*, occupent une place à part dans la pensée des Noirs Réfugiés ; la réprobation qui englobe les femmes ne s'étend pas à elles. On dit que les jeunes filles « ont de bonnes manières » et, de fait, la plupart d'entre elles, bien que nues à l'exception d'un petit tablier, ont une attitude réservée, un maintien décent qui contrastent avec l'attitude des femmes mariées. A vrai dire, cette vertu n'est pas tant due à des dispositions naturelles qu'à la ferme vigilance dont les entourent leurs mères. Celles-ci ne les quittent littéralement pas des yeux, ne permettant à aucun homme de leur adresser la parole hors de leur présence. « Jusqu'à l'aurore, jusqu'à ce que le coq chante, elle veille », dit la chanson, évoquant la mère qui veille sur la vertu de sa fille. Si une jeune fille vient à perdre sa virginité sans avoir été régulièrement épousée, *pɔli na ɔsu*, mise dans une maison, c'est un déshonneur pour sa mère et pour ses proches.

Alors qu'on laisse libres de leurs allées et venues les fillettes impubères, les jeunes filles sont l'objet d'une surveillance constante. Elles sont toujours sous la surveillance d'un de leurs proches nommément désigné. Si elles ont la permission d'aller danser dans un autre village, elles doivent se présenter dès l'arrivée à un oncle, une tante, un frère aîné qui veillera sur elles toute la soirée.

Quelquefois on construit pour une jeune fille une petite maison où elle dort seule... mais on l'y enferme à double tour pour la nuit.

A la tombée de la nuit, quand leurs mères sont affairées par la préparation du repas, on envoie les jeunes filles chercher de l'eau ou pêcher à la ligne ; il y a flottement dans la surveillance, et les séducteurs savent en profiter.

Jusqu'à une époque récente, les jeunes filles étaient tenues par leur mère dans les liens d'une stricte autorité, et bien que fiancées très jeunes, elles n'étaient pas autorisées à se marier avant d'avoir atteint leur complet développement physique.

Il arrivait souvent qu'une jeune fille fût promise par sa mère à un homme dès ses premières années (on dit encore, bien que cela ne se pratique plus, *pɔli mɔfu na umã*, mettre sa bouche sur une fille, entendant par là avoir reçu une promesse de mariage). Ce projet restait toujours soumis à l'accord de la fille devenue grande et ne constituait pas à proprement parler un contrat ; il ne comportait aucun versement ou compensation quelconque. On ne pouvait pas obliger une fille à un mariage qui lui déplaisait absolument, mais l'autorité de la mère était assez grande pour faire aboutir ces mariages dans la plupart des cas.

Si une jeune fille n'avait pas été promise, le jeune homme qui désirait l'épouser s'efforçait d'attirer son attention au cours d'une danse et d'échanger avec elle quelques

mots. Plus tard il lui offrait une pagaie portant des symboles de fécondité et la représentation d'une maison et d'un canot. Si la jeune fille acceptait la pagaie, il pouvait la demander officiellement en mariage.

Le mariage d'une jeune fille ne comporte aucune dot au sens africain du terme, mais il comporte le versement à la mère du prix de la virginité. Ce versement est fait après consommation du mariage (ou après la défloration s'il y a eu union clandestine). Il comporte sept pièces d'étoffe, une dame-jeanne de tafia et divers objets d'importation (le tout représentant en 1958 environ 8.000 francs, ce qui est relativement peu important pour les Noirs Réfugiés). Il s'agit bien du prix de la virginité, car rien n'est reversé s'il y a rupture. L'homme donne d'autre part à la jeune fille des perles blanches, de l'étoffe rouge et des sucreries qui constituent le paiement de son *akka*.

Le prix de la virginité est versé à la personne qui a élevé la jeune fille, même si c'est un homme. Cette personne le partage par moitié avec la mère, ou, si celle-ci est morte, avec les sœurs de la mère.

Par exemple pour ○ Baïkom (Dju, F10), élevée par son père Malobi au village Loka, son mari Moomu (Kotika) a versé le prix de la virginité à Malobi qui l'a partagé avec sa femme Béniti.

Aucun versement n'est fait aux oncles ni au chef du lignage.

Le fait qu'une fille entretienne une liaison clandestine et soit déflorée sans avoir été régulièrement demandée en mariage, est considéré comme une honte pour la mère ; mais si le séducteur avoue et verse le prix de la virginité, l'honneur se trouve réparé.

La défloration n'entraîne pas forcément le mariage, car le séducteur n'entend pas toujours se charger de l'entretien du ménage.

Si la fille est déflorée trop jeune, la mère ne lui donne pas le *pdygi* et continue de lui interdire les rapports sexuels, car elle craint qu'elle ne devienne enceinte. Or, pour une fille, devenir enceinte sans avoir conclu un contrat d'entretien avec un homme, est une honte extrême, car cela signifie qu'elle ne vaut rien.

Si la jeune fille est enceinte, il ne peut être question pour l'homme de l'abandonner : cela ferait une grosse affaire entre les deux parentés : il doit rester avec elle au moins jusqu'à la naissance de l'enfant.

Actuellement, chez les Boni, les choses ont tendance à se passer tout autrement que ne le prévoit la coutume. L'opinion générale est qu'on ne peut plus tenir les filles, qu'elles échappent de plus en plus à l'autorité de leur mère ; nombre d'entre elles commencent à se dévergonder vers 14 ou 15 ans et on est obligé de les marier précipitamment à 15 ou 16 ans. Il est difficile de dire quelle est la proportion de ces mariages précipités, mais les récriminations qu'on entend de toutes parts au sujet du dévergondage des filles laissent penser qu'il va croissant. Dans les villages de la rive française, sur neuf jeunes filles mariées en 1958, on ne comptait que quatre mariages régulièrement conclus ; les cinq autres avaient été précipitamment arrangés soit parce que la jeune fille était enceinte (deux cas), soit parce qu'elle avait donné prise au scandale.

Presque toutes les jeunes filles mariées entre 1952 et 1956 avaient de 15 à 17 ans.

Voici à peu près comment les choses se passent :

L'homme qui est attiré par une jeune fille s'efforce d'échanger quelques mots avec elle à l'insu de sa mère. Il y a des formes spéciales pour ces déclarations. On parle à voix basse, très vite, en employant des formules particulières. Voici comment un de nos canotiers s'adressait un soir d'octobre 1952 à la jeune Lomé, âgée de 15 ans, du village de Boniville, qui s'était éloignée de sa mère sous prétexte d'aller nous chercher de l'eau.

— « Femme, je t'aime, je désire vivre avec toi, je désire t'épouser. Ce que Dieu a mis en moi, je ne peux le retirer[1]. Je ne sais pas si tu m'aimes, si tu vas répondre oui ou non ; peut-être ne suis-je pas aussi beau que toi, mais je ne peux m'empêcher de t'aimer. Si tu m'aimes, dis-le moi clairement. Voici que je suis venu, j'ai attaché mon canot à une roche, j'ai mouillé mes pieds avant d'arriver à terre[2]. »

— « Reviens demain, reviens, je ne peux pas te répondre aujourd'hui, je ne peux pas. »

— « Je sais pour aujourd'hui, mais ne sais pas pour demain[3], cède-moi, sois mienne, je te donnerai le vêtement[4]. »

Notre départ en tournée le lendemain mit fin pour un temps à ses entreprises !

Il arrive souvent que la jeune fille se laisse séduire ; la mère ne tarde pas à l'apprendre par les gens du village. Elle entre dans une grande colère, bat sa fille pour obtenir un aveu sans lequel elle ne peut rien obtenir du séducteur supposé. C'est une honte extrême pour une mère que de ne pas recevoir le prix de la virginité de sa fille : les autres femmes se moqueront d'elle et quant aux hommes, ils seront unanimes à rire cruellement du nouveau tour joué aux femmes. Or, certaines filles refusent obstinément d'avouer, ou elles ont déjà eu plusieurs aventures, de telle sorte qu'on ne parvient pas à savoir la vérité. Après force récriminations et disputes, l'affaire en reste là.

Si le séducteur a pu être identifié avec certitude, la mère, s'armant d'un bâton, va le rechercher de village en village ; ses oncles s'interposent et finissent par arranger l'affaire, en demandant à la mère d'accepter, puisqu'il n'y a rien d'autre à faire, le paiement de la virginité. Il faut absolument que ce paiement soit versé : si le jeune homme n'en était pas capable, ses oncles le verseraient à sa place, quitte à se retourner ultérieurement contre lui ; la mère accepte le paiement, l'honneur est sauf.

Dans beaucoup de cas, le couple se considère comme uni, au moins temporairement ; l'homme se met en devoir, s'il est travailleur, de bâtir une maison à sa femme. S'il n'est pas travailleur, il promet simplement de lui en faire une un jour : en réalité il s'est épargné ce gros travail ; la femme devra attendre des années, à moins que sa mère ou un de ses oncles ne meure, lui léguant sa maison.

(1) Ce qui signifie : je ne peux pas changer, il faut me prendre comme je suis.

(2) Paroles ampoulées auxquelles on ne peut attacher une signification précise ; c'est une sorte de musique verbale dont les formules varient à l'infini.

(3) Il faut comprendre : c'est aujourd'hui qu'il faut décider.

(4) L'homme dépose un de ses vêtements chez la femme qui a accepté de l'épouser.

Observation à Boniville en octobre 1956 :

Une femme du village vient se plaindre à Fintiman que son neveu et pupille Doni a défloré sa fille Elina, 15 ans, en juillet de la même année. Elle l'a appris indirectement et la fille a formellement avoué. Doni a reconnu les faits, il a promis de verser l'indemnité à la fin de la mission de délimitation de la frontière quand il aura touché sa solde. Elina continue à porter le *kwey* jusqu'à nouvel ordre et ne manifeste aucune gêne. Doni est de retour le soir. J'entends Fintiman le gourmander, mais pour la forme seulement : « Déflorer une fille alors qu'on n'a pas l'intention de vivre avec elle, ce sont des choses qui ne se font pas ». Il conseille à Doni avant tout de remettre à la fille le paiement de son *akka*, soit 2 camisas, 1 rang de perles blanches qu'elle portera au poignet gauche, et une bouteille de sirop qu'elle offrira à son *akka* tout en la buvant. Doni ne se soucie pas d'affronter la mère et n'a pas l'intention de revoir la fille, c'est sa sœur Maria qui se chargera de la commission.

Cela fait, la mère admettra le fait accompli et ne marquera pas sa colère. Elle attendra le paiement.

On entend aussi parler assez souvent de la consommation clandestine d'un mariage régulièrement conclu, les fiancés voulant ainsi forcer la main à leurs tuteurs et obtenir plus tôt leur liberté.

Mariage des femmes veuves ou divorcées. Il ne donne lieu à aucun paiement, mais la femme est demandée en mariage à ses oncles et au chef de son lignage dans les mêmes formes qu'une jeune fille. Il ne s'agit plus en pareil cas de demander une autorisation (il faudrait qu'un homme eût la pire réputation pour que le lignage de la femme refusât le mariage) mais d'obtenir sur le ménage la bénédiction des ancêtres. D'autre part, il est très important que les chefs des deux lignages soient avertis de cette union, car en cas de décès d'un des conjoints, l'autre aura à supporter le poids du deuil.

Les femmes sont guidées dans leur choix par l'attrait sensuel, mais largement aussi par l'intérêt. Elles ont le souci d'épouser un homme qui ait, comme on dit chez nous, de l'avenir, une situation. Les possesseurs de moteurs hors-bord ne manquent pas de passer à vitesse réduite devant les villages pour être admirés par les femmes.

Les hommes qui ont la réputation de « travailler fort » (car le travail est la seule richesse en pays Boni), sont fréquemment choisis par les jeunes filles, bien qu'ils aient déjà une ou deux femmes.

Le ménage. La vie du ménage est une association limitée, librement consentie entre deux êtres qui demeurent totalement indépendants l'un de l'autre, la vie affective de chacun d'eux restant presque entièrement centrée sur sa famille maternelle. Elle comporte des devoirs réciproques :

— Pour l'homme, bâtir une maison à sa femme dans le village de celle-ci, lui construire un canot neuf tous les trois ou quatre ans, lui couper un abattis chaque année

et aider à le planter, lui fournir les denrées d'importation, étoffe, sel, pétrole, outils, dont elle a besoin, ainsi que de la viande de chasse et du poisson boucané ;

— Pour la femme, exploiter l'abattis et fournir à son mari, quand celui-ci vient la visiter, le couac et les légumes nécessaires à son alimentation. (L'homme, habitué à vivre en célibataire, possède ses propres ustensiles de cuisine et la plupart du temps prépare lui-même ses repas.)

Ce système de vie conjugale intermittente semble assurer aux Boni un parfait équilibre, en même temps qu'il leur permet de satisfaire leur goût du changement. Les hommes partagent leur vie entre le travail, les visites à leurs différentes femmes, les expéditions de chasse et de pêche ; leur vie est ainsi constamment renouvelée et ils sont protégés contre les tendances à l'apathie et à l'inertie mentale.

En général, tant que dure le ménage, la femme remplit exactement ses obligations ; bien que le produit de l'abattis soit sa propriété et que l'excédent de la récolte soit vendu à son profit exclusif, l'homme est assuré de trouver auprès d'elle tous les vivres dont il a besoin. Par contre, beaucoup d'hommes, par paresse, se dispensent de construire une maison à leur femme et celle-ci continue à habiter avec sa mère. Dans les villages de la rive française, on observait en 1958 une vingtaine de cas semblables. On note même plusieurs cas où dans une même maison cohabitent une femme âgée mais ayant encore des enfants non mariés, une ou deux de ses filles et les enfants de celles-ci. Par exemple, au village de Asisi, 9 personnes cohabitaient dans la très petite maison de leur mère et grand-mère Tini.

Rien ne marque mieux le peu de place que tient dans la vie d'un homme le lien conjugal ; que l'on s'imagine le supplice que représente pour chacune de ces femmes cette cohabitation forcée et cet entassement ! Les Boni d'aujourd'hui, bien plus riches que leurs ancêtres et mieux outillés, sont singulièrement plus paresseux pour construire des maisons : on ne voit plus personne sculpter et décorer avec amour les façades ; quand un homme, après force récriminations, se décide à bâtir une maison à sa femme, il se contente maintenant la plupart du temps d'un simple abri aux murs tressés, qui ne demande pas 30 jours de travail.

Comme nous l'avons dit, chaque homme peut prendre autant de femmes qu'il le désire, à condition de pouvoir subvenir à leurs besoins ; mais en pratique, l'entretien d'un ménage est une charge si lourde que la plupart des hommes n'ont qu'une ou deux femmes ; un seul à notre connaissance en a trois. En effet, il est contraire à la coutume de se libérer par le paiement des travaux qu'on doit accomplir pour sa femme. Jamais nous n'avons entendu dire qu'un homme riche (nombre d'entre eux ont des centaines de milliers de francs d'économies) ait versé de l'argent à la place d'un travail, ou ait payé quelqu'un pour l'exécuter à sa place. Particulièrement lourde est la fourniture des objets d'importation, spécialement les étoffes, les ustensiles de cuisine (les femmes Boni raffolent des objets en aluminium) et éventuellement les bijoux. Les Boni admettaient en 1958 que l'entretien d'une femme revenait à 30 à 40.000 francs par an au moins. Si l'on considère qu'un homme travailleur gagnait 120.000 francs par an environ, qu'il dépensait 30 à 40.000 francs par an pour lui-même, qu'il devait souvent de

6:Hurault SR8 Bush Negroes

plus subvenir aux besoins de ses parents âgés, et participer aux dépenses des fêtes du lignage, on voit qu'il ne pouvait pas avoir plus de deux femmes en même temps. Quant aux hommes les moins travailleurs, qui n'ont pas plus de 60 à 80.000 francs d'argent liquide par an, ils ont bien du mal à faire face à l'entretien d'un seul ménage, et nombre de divorces n'ont pas d'autre cause.

On voit chez les Noirs Réfugiés quelques couples très unis, qui passent toute leur vie ensemble et qui, sur leurs vieux jours, ont tout à fait uni leurs destinées, vivant dans la même maison, soit dans le village de la femme, soit dans le village de l'homme : par exemple, au village de Lapé Tabiki, Butu et sa femme Asamani, âgés en 1952 d'environ 70 ans, unis depuis 45 ans et ayant eu 8 enfants. Mais de tels cas sont exceptionnels. Ils ne sont pas d'ailleurs admirés et donnés en exemple comme on pourrait le croire ; cet homme et cette femme se convenaient, ils sont restés ensemble ; s'ils viennent un jour à ne plus s'entendre ils divorceront, voilà tout.

Polygamie. La polygamie au sens africain du terme, c'est-à-dire l'entretien simultané de plusieurs ménages réguliers, est exceptionnelle chez les Noirs Réfugiés, en raison de leur mode de vie :

— La femme est pratiquement entièrement à la charge de son mari ; une économie fondée principalement sur le salariat, et comportant un niveau de vie relativement élevé, met la plupart des hommes dans l'impossibilité d'entretenir plus d'un ménage ;

— Même si un homme disposait d'importants moyens financiers, il ne pourrait guère entretenir plus de deux ménages, car il n'est pas admis, tout au moins actuellement, qu'on fasse faire par d'autres les travaux prévus par la coutume, abattis, canots, maison.

Au 1er janvier 1958, sur 134 hommes de plus de 20 ans des villages de la rive française dont la vie nous était bien connue, on comptait :

Hommes entretenant trois ménages	1	1 %
— — deux ménages	18	13 %
— — un ménage	104	77 %
Célibataires, veufs ou divorcés récents	11	8 %
	134	100 %

En s'en tenant aux statistiques, on pourrait dire que les Noirs Réfugiés sont monogames dans la proportion de 85 %. Mais il s'agit d'une monogamie apparente, car les unions ne sont pas stables ; leur durée moyenne est d'une dizaine d'années ; en fait les Noirs Réfugiés pratiquent une polygamie dans le temps.

Un homme qui prend une autre femme s'excuse auprès de la première et lui offre un litre de tafia, lui demandant de vivre en bonne intelligence avec la coépouse. Un certain nombre de femmes n'admettent pas de coépouses et divorcent.

La plupart des hommes ont eu, en général successivement, 4 ou 5 femmes. La plupart du temps ces ménages ont été rompus du fait de la femme.

Exemple S... (65 ans en 1957), a eu au moins 7 femmes :

— Nanay (Dip.II) †	1 enfant	divorcé
Baakauman (K) †	3 enfants	—
1 femme Paramaka	1 enfant mort	—
Saumè (Dip.I)	1 enfant	—
Paata (Boniville)	pas d'enfant	—
Emma (Asisi-Aw.B.)	—	—
Masé (K)	—	mariage subsistant en 1958

Kwami (50 ans en 1958) a eu 4 femmes :

— Apinda (Asisi)	pas d'enfant	divorcé
Saayé (Dip.I)	plusieurs enfants	—
Do (Lapé)	1 enfant mort	—
Noémi (Asisi-Aw.B.)	1 enfant	mariage subsistant en 1958

Exemple de la vie familiale de G... (âgé de 50 ans en 1958). G... épousa vers 1935 M... (Kotika) femme sérieuse et intelligente qui lui était très attachée. Cependant il eut vers la même époque une liaison clandestine avec S... sœur au sens classificatoire de M... qu'il rendit enceinte (avortement). Comme il est interdit d'avoir 2 femmes à la fois dans le même lignage, cela fit un scandale et ses oncles durent s'interposer pour qu'il ne fût pas battu.

Après cela, sans quitter M..., il prit officiellement une autre femme, A... (Papaiston). Ils vécurent ensemble près de 8 ans, mais A... commença à le tromper pendant qu'il était en voyage. La première fois il la menaça seulement, à la troisième fois il la répudia.

Il prit de nouveau, officiellement, une autre femme, T..., une Djuka du Tapanahoni.

Une année après, A..., qui le regrettait, fit intervenir ses oncles pour rentrer en grâce. G.... par déférence pour ses oncles, accepta à contre-cœur.

Il se trouvait ainsi engagé dans trois unions, M..., A... et T... Il réfléchit que cette situation le menait à la ruine et sacrifia T..., bien qu'il n'eut rien à lui reprocher.

Quelque temps après, A... se mit à le tromper de nouveau et il la répudia définitivement.

Il prit enfin une dernière épouse, B... (Asisi), dont il n'eût pas d'enfant.

A chacune de ces entreprises il eut à subir des scènes violentes de la part de sa première femme M..., qui lui était très attachée et aurait voulu le garder pour elle seule. Cependant elle ne divorça jamais et ne provoqua pas de difficultés avec ses coépouses.

Il eut un enfant de M... après plus de 15 ans de mariage stérile.

En 1958, G... vivait avec M... et B..., qui entretenaient de bonnes relations. Il ne recherchait plus de nouvelles aventures.

Rapports du mari et de la belle-mère. Comme on l'observe couramment en Afrique, le mari a le devoir de respecter sa belle-mère, d'avoir à son égard une attitude réservée.

Il existe à ce sujet chez les Noirs Réfugiés une curieuse coutume : Si par mégarde il arrive au dégrad du village au moment où elle se baigne, il doit lui verser une amende sous forme d'une camisa. C'est une obligation réciproque.

Il peut dormir sous le même toit qu'elle en cas d'affluence dans le village, mais pas de façon habituelle.

Par contre, la coutume des Noirs Réfugiés se sépare nettement des coutumes africaines sur un point important : elle ne prévoit pas d'obligation matérielle à l'égard de la belle-mère, ni des frères de la femme. Le mari n'est nullement tenu de leur faire des cadeaux ni de contribuer à leur entretien. En fait, la femme remet à sa mère une partie de ce que son mari lui offre.

L'adultère. La coutume des Noirs Réfugiés concernant l'adultère est des plus curieuses. Le mari outragé a le droit d'infliger à l'amant une correction publique, qu'il doit supporter sans se défendre. En l'absence du mari, son frère est qualifié pour frapper à sa place. Cette correction doit avoir lieu dans un village, en présence de témoins, capables d'intervenir si la punition dépassait les limites admises.

On ne doit faire usage que des poings nus.

Un homme peut toujours échapper à une correction trop brutale en se réfugiant dans l'eau. Son adversaire ne peut l'y poursuivre sous peine d'une sévère punition du grand man. Il peut aussi se réfugier dans la brousse.

L'honneur du mari étant ainsi publiquement réparé, la querelle est terminée ; on voit en pareil cas des hommes battre leur femme par surcroît, mais ce n'est pas le cas général ; la vraie coutume veut qu'on ne batte pas la femme, considérée comme irresponsable. On peut soit la répudier, soit la menacer de la répudier en cas de récidive. La règle est de la répudier, sous peine de ridicule.

En 1951, G..., du village Kotika, fut averti que sa femme A..., du village Asisi, âgée de 25 ans, le trompait avec un garçon du même âge nommé K... La première fois qu'il rencontra K... dans un village, il le prit à partie ; K... avoua sans difficulté. G... lui envoya un fort coup de poing qui le jeta à terre, et ce fut tout. Il n'administra pas de correction à sa femme mais lui signifia sur-le-champ qu'il la répudiait. Quelque temps après, K... demanda à se réconcilier avec lui. Il lui demanda pardon et lui offrit une bouteille de tafia (c'est obligatoire pour la réconciliation). Depuis, les deux hommes sont de nouveau amis.

Il arrive aussi que le grand man inflige au coupable une amende plus ou moins forte.

D'après les anciens, autrefois l'adultère était rare ; si une femme était lasse de son mari elle divorçait ouvertement mais elle ne le trompait pas. Actuellement, il paraît assez fréquent.

Le divorce. On divorce chez les Noirs Réfugiés aussi facilement que l'on s'unit ; c'est la femme en général qui décide de rompre l'union, parce qu'elle trouve son mari trop pauvre, trop paresseux, ou simplement parce qu'elle désire en changer.

En cas de divorce la femme conserve la totalité de ce que son mari lui a donné ou construit (ustensiles, maison, canot), mais bien entendu l'homme conserve tous ses biens propres ; cette rupture ne change rien à la possession des biens puisqu'aucun objet n'était indivis.

La règle est la suivante : au moment du mariage, l'homme dépose symboliquement quelques objets personnels (étoffes, ustensiles) chez la femme. Tant que ces objets sont chez elle, l'union reste conclue, la femme est tenue à la fidélité ou tout au moins, s'il y a adultère, il est regardé comme tel et entraîne la sanction relatée ci-dessus. Mais la femme a le droit absolu, même en l'absence de son mari, de rompre unilatéralement le contrat, en rapportant au chef du lignage de son mari les objets laissés chez elle. Dès ce moment, il n'y a plus rien à lui dire, elle n'est plus coupable d'adultère et elle peut prendre un autre mari séance tenante ; en cas de mort du premier mari elle n'aura pas à supporter le poids du deuil. Tout ce que son mari a fait pour elle : maison, canot, etc... est conservé sans contrepartie.

Aucun Boni partant en voyage de 3 mois n'est sûr de retrouver sa femme. Il peut très bien trouver un autre homme installé à sa place, officiellement, sans qu'il puisse rien dire. Quant à ceux qui partent pour longtemps, c'est à peu près assuré.

C'est un malheur qu'ils prennent d'ailleurs philosophiquement, pensant surtout au travail fourni pour rien. Ce qui les préoccupe le plus, c'est de ne pas être trompé clandestinement, car le résultat final est le même : ils sont pratiquement obligés de répudier la femme en pareil cas, car il est indigne d'un homme de pardonner, et de plus ils seront la risée de la population.

Plusieurs de nos canotiers ont tenu à leur femme, au moment de partir pour une tournée de deux mois, le discours suivant : « Si tu en as assez de moi en mon absence, si tu ne peux pas m'attendre, va déposer mes affaires chez tel frère, je ne me fâcherai pas et ne te ferai rien au retour. »

La coutume est si favorable aux femmes que pratiquement rien ne garantit le contrat privé passé entre l'homme et la femme au moment du mariage. Puisque ce contrat est essentiellement fondé sur une association matérielle, l'homme coupant l'abattis et la femme l'exploitant, on pourrait croire que la femme est tenue de remplir son contrat même en cas de rupture, mais il n'en est rien.

Pour ce qui est de l'abattis déjà coupé et planté, s'il est sur la terre de la famille de la femme, l'homme ne peut rien demander. Toutefois, quelques femmes continuent après rupture à fournir du couac pendant un an.

Si l'abattis est sur les terres du mari, la femme continue à l'exploiter normalement. Mais elle est tenue de fournir des vivres comme si il n'y avait pas eu rupture. C'est pourquoi les hommes qui se méfient de leur femme insistent pour couper l'abattis sur la terre de leur lignage.

Nombre de femmes attendent pour divorcer que leur mari ait coupé l'abattis de l'année ! En janvier 1967, au retour de la mission de délimitation de la frontière Sud,

l'un de nous a entendu M..., femme d'une quarantaine d'années, parler en ces termes de son mari T..., âgé de 60 ans, qui avait tout fait pour elle et venait encore de participer à des travaux pénibles pour lui procurer de l'argent : « il se fait vieux, il va falloir que j'en cherche un autre. »

Observation à Maripasoula, 5 nov. 1956.

Mutété, canotier du poste de Maripasoula, se lamente devant ses camarades : sa femme vient de le faire prévenir, sans indiquer aucun motif, qu'elle rompait avec lui. Elle ne s'est même pas dérangée pour le lui dire, et elle a attendu qu'il ait fini de lui couper l'abattis de l'année ! Ses camarades expriment une fois de plus leur rancœur contre l'avarice, la méchanceté et l'inconstance des femmes Boni, êtres inférieurs qu'ils ont une fois pour toutes renoncé à comprendre.

Chez les Noirs Réfugiés on divorce à tout âge, à 70 ans aussi bien qu'à 18. C'est ainsi que le capitaine Diolè († 1951), chef du *lo* Dju et sa femme Efa, du *lo* Papalston, divorcèrent vers 1940, alors que l'un et l'autre approchaient de 70 ans et qu'ils étaient restés ensemble plus de 35 ans : en vieillissant leurs caractères ne s'accordaient plus.

De même Pèèchina, âgée en 1957 de près de 70 ans, s'est séparée de Nachinengé (Kotika) après avoir passé la plus grande partie de sa vie avec lui et en avoir eu six enfants.

Pour pouvoir rompre ainsi une union ancienne sans subir un effondrement moral, il faut bien que l'affectivité de chacun soit entièrement centrée sur sa famille maternelle.

Fréquence des divorces. Cet aspect essentiel de la vie sociale des Noirs Réfugiés n'est pas facile à saisir par l'interrogatoire direct. Les femmes ne parlent pas volontiers de leurs unions passées, et passent sous silence celles qui sont restées stériles. Nous avons pu cependant reconstituer avec une assez grande certitude la vie passée d'une centaine de femmes (mères, proches parentes ou épouses de nos informateurs les plus sûrs). Ces hommes sont marqués d'un double astérisque ** dans la liste de la population des villages.

Il est utile de les classer par tranches d'âges en fonction de l'année de naissance, car nous allons voir que la fréquence du divorce semble s'être accrue avec le temps. Les tranches choisies sont les mêmes que pour l'enquête démographique que nous avons menée parallèlement à l'étude sociologique :

Femmes nées de	0 div.	1 div.	2 div.	3 div.	4 div.	vie irrégulière	total
1926 à 1935 incl.	13	8	8	0	0	2	31
1916 à 1925 —	9	7	10	1	0	3	30
1896 à 1915 —	1	12	6	3	0	1	23
avant 1896	3	9	5	1	2	(?)	20
						TOTAL....	104

En supposant que les divorces sont régulièrement espacés au cours de la vie, et qu'ils cessent vers 65 ans en moyenne, on peut parvenir à une estimation du nombre moyen de divorces atteint par une femme Boni arrivée à la vieillesse.

Femmes nées de	âge moyen fin 1957	nombre moyen de divorces	nombre probable arrivé à l'âge de 65 ans
1926 à 1935 incl.	27 ans	0,8 en 10 ans[1]	3,8
1916 à 1925	37 ans	1,0 en 17 ans	2,8
1896 à 1915	52 ans	1,5 en 32 ans	2,1
antérieur à 1896	70 ans		1,5 (?)

L'estimation du nombre moyen de divorces pour les femmes nées avant 1896 est probablement inférieur à la réalité, leurs premiers divorces étant mal connus de nos informateurs. Il est probablement voisin de 2.

L'augmentation de la fréquence des divorces chez les jeunes femmes est frappante. Elle est en rapport avec l'affaiblissement de l'autorité, autrefois très forte, qu'exerçaient les mères sur leurs filles.

Voici deux exemples concernant deux jeunes femmes que nous connaissons depuis leur enfance.

Lomé (L2, F74, Boniville) née en 1938, a commencé à faire parler d'elle en 1954. Elle a été déflorée par N... qui ne voulait pas l'épouser. Ensuite, elle a eu des relations avec Asadam (K, Boniville) qui ne voulait pas l'épouser non plus. On l'a battue, elle continuait à le voir. Or, c'est extrêmement honteux pour une fille, parce que c'est se placer en état d'infériorité par rapport à un homme, alors que sa dignité est de conclure un contrat d'égal à égal.

Son frère Amèmbé l'a battue, et elle a fini par conclure mariage avec Pitipiti (Aw. B.2, village Asisi), qui l'a demandée officiellement en 1956. Ce mariage a duré moins d'un an. En 1957 Lomé divorçait pour épouser Djoni (village Kotika).

Aguba (Dju, G14), jeune fille du village Asisi-Dju, née en 1941, avait été demandée en mariage dans les formes régulières en mai 1956 par Paltiki (L2, village Loka), jeune homme de 18 ans. Il était convenu que les fiancés attendraient deux ans. Mais Paltiki n'a pas attendu et a consommé clandestinement le mariage au bout de quelques mois. La tante et tutrice de Aguba, Lènga, est entrée dans une grande colère et l'a battue. Elle ne lui a donné le *pàggi* qu'en mai 1957. Le mariage n'a duré que quelques mois.

(1. L'âge moyen du mariage est de 17 ans pour cette tranche d'âge de femmes, de 20 ans pour les tranches antérieures.

Fin 1957 Aguba rompait avec Païtiki et commençait ouvertement à rechercher des aventures.

Si l'on envisage l'ensemble des femmes Boni sans distinction d'âge, on peut estimer qu'en moyenne elles ont divorcé 2,5 fois au cours de leur vie entre 18 et 65 ans. La durée moyenne des ménages (compte non tenu des unions rompues par la mort d'un des conjoints) pouvait être évaluée, pour la période antérieure à 1950, à environ 15 ans. Elle tend à baisser à mesure que parvient à l'âge adulte une génération élevée dans une discipline moins stricte[1].

Dévergondage des femmes. Il semble que la plupart des femmes soient fidèles à leur mari pendant la durée de l'union. Mais comme elles ont la possibilité de rompre cette union sans avoir besoin de l'autorisation de quiconque, elles quittent leur mari avec une grande facilité, soit qu'il ait cessé de leur plaire, soit qu'elles aient l'intention de se remarier avec un homme plus riche.

Une femme qui vient de divorcer ne se remarie pas immédiatement. Il peut se passer plusieurs mois, parfois une année et plus, entre deux unions, période pendant laquelle elle ne songe qu'à « vivre sa vie », s'offrant toutes les aventures qu'elle désire. Cette attitude est considérée comme normale et les anciens n'ont rien à lui dire, pourvu qu'elle ne tombe pas dans *pikodu*, qu'elle ne cause aucun scandale et que cela ne dure pas trop longtemps.

Nous avons cité l'exemple de Aguba, jolie fille de 18 ans, qui, fin 1957 venait de rompre avec son mari Paitiki après 1 an seulement de vie commune. Elle demeurait chez Lènga qui l'a élevée ; elle coupait un petit abattis elle-même. Pour le reste, elle n'avait d'autre souci que de s'offrir toutes les aventures qui lui plaisaient. Les hommes venaient la solliciter discrètement, retenant leur jour. A l'un elle demandait une camisa, à l'autre du savon, du pétrole, etc.

Sa tutrice Lènga la pressait de reprendre un mari, mais elle ne pouvait lui interdire de vivre ainsi, lui ayant donné avec le *pdygi* sa liberté de femme.

Elle a conclu un nouveau mariage en mai ou juin 1958, ayant mené une vie irrégulière pendant plus de six mois.

En fait, les choses se passent avec une grande discrétion. Un homme est averti en secret par sa sœur ou sa cousine qu'une telle l'a remarqué au cours d'une danse, qu'elle l'attendra chez elle telle nuit. La nuit, sur le fleuve, on aperçoit des canots qui rasent la rive, avançant silencieusement. Dans chaque village il y a des accès secondaires qui permettent aux visiteurs nocturnes d'arriver la nuit sans être remarqués et de repartir avant l'aube.

(1) Le docteur Étienne Bois, rivivant en septembre 1960 notre fichier arrêté à fin novembre 1958, a enregistré pour les villages de la rive française 28 divorces, survenus au cours de cette période de 1,8 année. Le nombre de femmes de ces villages en âge d'être mariées étant d'environ 180, ce chiffre correspond à 0,1 divorce par femme et par an, soit à une durée moyenne des unions d'environ 10 ans

Si une femme manque à cette discrétion et si sa vie est ouvertement dissolue, sa mère la battra et le chef du lignage lui infligera des punitions, mais on ne la chassera pas ; en aucun cas on ne peut expulser quelqu'un de son village natal.

Si des enfants naissent de ces liaisons irrégulières, la mère se préoccupe de savoir avec certitude quel est le père, car s'il y avait doute, l'enfant, respectant un *kina* qui ne serait pas le sien, serait atteint de la lèpre. Les Boni ont à ce sujet une croyance remarquable : ils pensent que c'est le premier homme avec lequel une femme a eu des rapports après la fin d'une période menstruelle qui est susceptible de la rendre enceinte.

Ces aventures comportent toujours des cadeaux en nature (étoffe, bijoux) ; aussi les hommes qui ont le plus de succès auprès des femmes sont-ils toujours à court d'argent.

Une femme qui a vécu ainsi de façon notoire a un peu plus de mal qu'une autre à retrouver un mari, mais si elle est jeune et agréable elle y parvient.

La prostitution proprement dite est très peu répandue en pays Boni, et les femmes qui s'y livrent ouvertement (trois ou quatre pour l'ensemble des villages de la rive française), ont généralement quitté la tribu pour s'établir dans les villages d'orpailleurs. Le dévergondage n'est pas considéré comme déshonorant par les Noirs Réfugiés, quand il s'exerce à l'intérieur de la tribu et quand il n'a d'autre but que le plaisir, mais la prostitution est jugée honteuse.

Mises à part ces quelques prostituées, nous n'avons jamais entendu dire qu'une femme Boni ait eu des relations avec un européen ; sur ce point la discipline tribale est observée avec une rigueur extrême.

Conclusion. La durée moyenne des ménages, qui était de 15 à 20 ans pour la génération précédente, tend à s'abaisser et peut être évaluée actuellement à environ 10 ans. En dépit de cette évolution, la stabilité des ménages chez les Noirs Réfugiés demeure sensiblement supérieure à ce qu'on observe dans les populations noires d'Amérique du Sud. On n'observe pas chez eux cette forme de prostitution si répandue en Amérique du Sud, la maîtresse entretenue, ne travaillant pas et vivant entièrement à la charge de ses amants successifs.

La femme Boni, pauvre en sentiments affectifs, et jalouse de son indépendance à l'égard de l'homme, met son orgueil à subsister par ses propres moyens.

Les jeunes femmes, même les plus libres de mœurs, restent fermement attachées à leur village, à leurs plantations et au mode de vie qu'elles ont reçu de leurs aïeules. En fait, de par sa structure et ses coutumes, la société des Noirs Réfugiés a beaucoup moins à souffrir des poisons répandus par la vie moderne que les sociétés patrilinéaires d'Afrique Noire

La mort ; les rites mortuaires

La mort est pour les Noirs Réfugiés un événement d'une gravité extrême.

Pour conjurer le danger et permettre au *gadu* du défunt de prendre sa place parmi les ancêtres, le concours sans restriction de chacun est exigé.

Les cérémonies qui se rapportent à la mort et au deuil sont de loin les plus importantes de la vie coutumière des Noirs Réfugiés ; elles représentent pour chacun une charge matérielle très lourde, qui est acceptée sans récriminations. C'est en fait une véritable mobilisation, qui s'effectue dans le cadre du *village* et non du lignage. L'appareil mis en œuvre est indépendant du lignage car il doit pouvoir fonctionner de la même façon pour un étranger, Djuka ou Saramaka, mort au cours d'un voyage.

Participer aux rites mortuaires est pour tous un devoir religieux essentiel. Dès leur enfance, les Boni sont préparés à cette tâche et deviennent les uns *kisimã* (faiseurs de cercueils), les autres *ɔbɔmã* (fossoyeurs), quelques-uns *musimã* (laveurs de mort).

Kisimã et *ɔbɔmã*. On peut dire que dans chaque village, *ɔbɔmã* et *kisimã* constituent des sociétés coutumières, pourvues d'une organisation et détenant de véritables pouvoirs pendant la durée de leur travail.

— Les *kisimã* commandent le village pendant toute la durée de la fabrication du cercueil et peuvent requérir n'importe qui pour les aider ;

— Les *ɔbɔmã* sont maîtres de la rivière pendant la durée de leur travail. Ils peuvent notamment requérir pour les aider les voyageurs de passage et même confisquer leurs vivres. C'est *piisi*, plaisanterie. Mais, ainsi que le fait observer M. W. F. Van Lier, cette coutume a un sens profond ; elle rappelle à tous que participer à l'enterrement d'un mort est un devoir religieux fondamental.

L'organisation de ces sociétés coutumières est, tout au moins chez les Boni, très rudimentaire.

Dans chaque village il y a un chef des *ɔbɔmã* qui connaît la topographie du cimetière et les rites à accomplir *(hedemã fu ɔlo)*.

A Boniville, c'était en 1958 Bukuman (Papalston) ;
A Loka, Tabiki †, pas remplacé début 1958 ;
A Asiai, Antonu (Awara Bakka).

S'il est absent, on envoie chercher le chef des *ɔbɔmã* d'un autre village.
De même dans chaque village, il y a un chef des *kisimã* :

A Boniville, c'était Fintiman (Dju) ;
A Asiai, c'était Boofo (Awara Bakka) ;
A Kormotibo, c'était Aténi.

Les gens se prêtent volontiers assistance d'un village à l'autre, sans même qu'il soit besoin de demander du renfort, et même s'il s'agit d'enterrer un étranger au pays, un Saramaka ou un Djuka par exemple, mort en pays Boni. Pour faire le cercueil, il est rare qu'une quinzaine de *kisimã* ne se trouvent pas spontanément réunis, alors que 4 ou 5 suffiraient. Ce travail, qui se déroule dans une atmosphère de joyeuse surexcitation, au milieu d'une assistance admirative, leur plaît beaucoup.

Selon la morale des Noirs Réfugiés, tout travail doit être payé. Le travail des *abasi* et des *kisimã* n'échappe pas à la règle : le mort doit payer ce qu'on fait pour lui ; à cet effet, les frères du défunt prélèvent dans sa cantine des pièces d'étoffe (une trentaine, si le défunt était riche) et comme cela ne suffirait pas, les parents et les amis du mort viennent grossir ce fonds en offrant d'autres étoffes.

Si le défunt était très pauvre et ne possédait plus d'étoffes en bon état, les gens du lignage doivent en offrir un nombre suffisant pour que 6 au moins soient données aux *kisimã* et une dixaine aux *abasi*. Si les pièces d'étoffe sont trop peu nombreuses pour que chacun puisse en recevoir une entière, on les découpe en petits morceaux, mais il est absolument indispensable que, même symboliquement, chacun soit payé.

Déroulement des rites mortuaires. Ces rites sont complexes et les cérémonies dans lesquelles ils se déroulent sont toujours très confuses. Même si l'on en connaît la trame générale et si l'on comprend assez bien la langue, elles sont fort difficiles à suivre. Pour la clarté de l'exposé, nous en donnerons d'abord un résumé, que nous ferons suivre d'observations recueillies dans des cas précis.

Le jour de la mort est occupé par les pleurs et les lamentations et l'envoi de messagers aux villages voisins.

Aussitôt la mort annoncée, les *kisimã* construisent à la hâte un plateau appelé *papay*[1], en attendant la construction du cercueil qui sera entreprise le lendemain.

Les *musimã* lavent le mort à l'eau tiède après l'avoir transporté à un emplacement spécial du village. Un trou est creusé pour l'écoulement de cette eau et refermé après. Cette place est strictement réservée à cet usage, on n'y va pas en temps normal (à Bonville c'est derrière la case n° 5).

Les *musimã* sont au nombre de deux, deux hommes et deux femmes ; dans chaque lignage il y a au minimum 1 homme et 1 femme connaissant ce travail.

Les *musimã* enlèvent au mort tout objet (métal, *abia*, etc.) et le revêtent de vêtements propres. On lui met du coton dans les narines et une mentonnière qui seront enlevés au moment où on fermera le cercueil (pour que le *yorku* du mort ne soit pas entravé dans sa vie d'outre-tombe).

Le corps placé dans le *papay* est porté sous le hangar mortuaire (*krupau* = maison

(1) Papay = bois canon (Couropita Sp.), arbuste à croissance rapide semblable au parasolier africain ; on l'emploie pour la construction du plateau en raison de la grande légèreté de ses tiges.

des pleurs). On prélève une touffe de cheveux et les ongles, qui sont enveloppés dans un linge et suspendus à l'intérieur du *krugɔsu*.

Le conjoint du mort, ses plus proches parents et ses enfants viennent suspendre leur hamac à l'intérieur du *krugɔsu* où ils demeureront jusqu'au *broko de* (huitième jour après la mort).

Les gens du village commencent les chants et la danse *lukku*, qui durera une partie de la nuit, tandis que les amis et les proches du mort se lamentent assis, la tête recouverte d'une étoffe.

Le 1er jour après le mort, dès le matin arrivent les *kisimã* qui commencent à fabriquer le cercueil, en utilisant des planches d'acajou toujours tenues en réserve par les soins du chef de village.

Les femmes du lignage du mort préparent un repas qui est offert aux *kisimã* vers 13 heures à la fin de leur travail.

Pendant que le cercueil est fabriqué, les amis et les parents éloignés du mort arrivent en foule des villages voisins, apportant en offrande des étoffes et du tafia. Deux *kisimã* déposent ces étoffes à mesure sur le corps en disant « Untel vous enterre ».

On fait une part de ces étoffes, une quinzaine sont mises dans le cercueil par les *kisimã*, une part sert au salaire des *kisimã*, une au salaire des *ɔfamã ;* une autre enfin sert à habiller le veuf et ses coépouses (ou la veuve), marquant ainsi que pendant toute la durée du deuil, ils demeurent sous la dépendance du mort.

Les *kisimã* ferment alors le cercueil sans que d'autres rites soient effectués. Les retardataires qui apportent encore des étoffes frappent le cercueil en disant : « je vous enterre » et les déposent à terre.

Le travail des *kisimã* est terminé ; ils apportent le corps à l'extérieur du *krugɔsu*, devant lequel s'est rassemblé le conseil appelé *lãnti kuulu*, qui constitue l'appareil judiciaire des Boni.

Ce tribunal est chargé d'établir les causes de la mort et de rendre à ce sujet une sentence qui aura force de loi. Mais il est surtout chargé de juger le défunt, de reconnaître s'il a bien vécu, s'il a le droit d'être enterré selon les rites et d'être invoqué en tant qu'ancêtre, ou si au contraire c'était un *wisimã*.

Le grand man désigne un ou deux des chefs de lignage pour présider le conseil et « commander » le défunt jusqu'à l'enterrement.

Le grand man désigne qui dirigera l'assemblée et « commandera » le défunt jusqu'à l'enterrement.

Ce ne peut pas être le chef du lignage du défunt car nul ne peut être à la fois juge et partie.

Ex. : pour Bèniti (Dju) ce fut Popo	chef du *lo* Lapé
pour Atikati (Dju) ce fut Kondoku	chef du *lo* Awara Bakka
pour Kotoïda (Aw. B.) ce fut Tafanié	chef du *lo* Papalston
pour Way (Dip. II) ce fut Tafanié	—

Fig. 22. — Offrande de nourriture aux ancêtres.

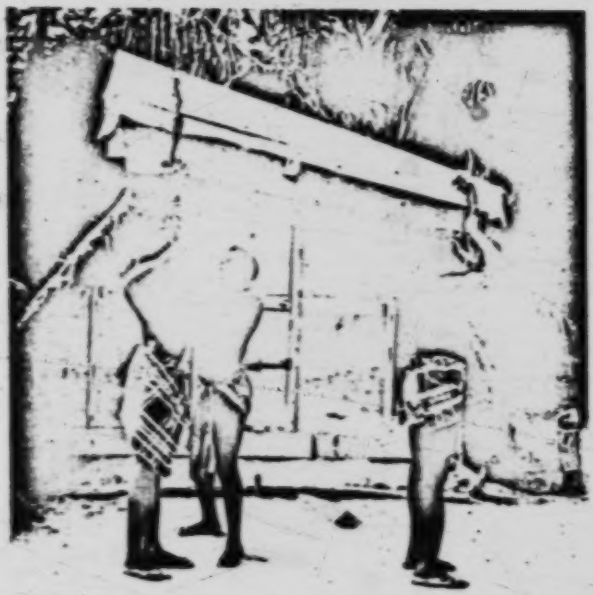


Fig. 23. — Interrogatoire du sorcier.

[facing p.162]

Le 2e et le 3e jour après le mort sont consacrés à l'interrogatoire du mort qui, le soir du 1er jour, a été à peine commencé.

Les rites de cet interrogatoire sont variables d'un village à l'autre ; dans certains villages on commence à porter le mort avant même la construction du cercueil ; les questions ne sont pas posées partout de la même façon.

Le mort est interrogé par des procédés largement répandus en Afrique Occidentale et qui s'apparentent au spiritisme : le cercueil est porté sur la tête de deux hommes, les pieds en avant. Le mort est supposé pousser les porteurs en avant pour dire oui, et leur faire incliner la tête de gauche à droite pour dire non. En principe le porteur de devant (qu'on appelle bossman, par analogie avec un canot), doit appartenir au lignage du mort. A cette restriction près, les porteurs peuvent être (et sont en fait) des gens quelconques, la seule condition requise étant d'être extrêmement vigoureux, la charge qu'ils portent étant à la limite de leurs forces.

La fraude peut exister dans des cas isolés, mais dans la grande majorité des cas la bonne foi des porteurs ne fait aucun doute ; ils donnent des réponses contradictoires, vont en avant et en arrière interminablement, jusqu'à ce qu'épuisés, ils soient relevés par d'autres. En fait, l'interprétation de ces mouvements automatiques ne diffère pas essentiellement de n'importe quel procédé de divination.

Le mort est interrogé à partir de l'âge de 4 ou 5 ans. Si c'est un très jeune enfant, on ne l'interroge pas, mais on recherche en interrogeant les possédés, les causes de sa mort et s'il y a lieu, on apaise le *kunu* de la même façon.

Au début de l'interrogatoire, le tribunal cherche à s'assurer si le mort n'était pas un *wisimi*. Après avoir envoyé les porteurs à l'autre bout du village, le président de l'assemblée fait cacher deux jeunes gens dans des cases ; puis il fait appeler les porteurs, disant au mort : « J'ai perdu Untel et Untel », trouve-les ». Si le mort était un juste, il doit avoir acquis une lucidité surhumaine lui permettant de diriger d'emblée ses porteurs vers les cases en question. S'il était un *wisimi* il sera comme aveugle, ses porteurs vont errer en vain de case en case.

On affirme que cette épreuve réussit toujours.

L'interrogatoire se poursuit interminablement. On aborde les causes de la mort. La première question est : est-ce un dieu qui t'a tué ? La réponse est presque toujours oui, et on procède par élimination pour arriver par exemple à savoir que c'est un *Ampuku*, que c'est l'*Ampuku* porté par Untel. Par quoi le *kunu* a-t-il été déclenché, comment l'apaiser, n'est pas l'affaire du tribunal. Ce sont les gens du lignage du mort qui devront régler cela entre eux après les obsèques. Le rôle du tribunal est de rendre officielle la cause de la mort et de lui donner force de loi.

On aborde ensuite l'héritage, en présence des proches du mort. On pose les questions successivement : « A qui laisses-tu ton canot...? A qui laisses-tu ton fusil[1]...? » Le cercueil se dirige chaque fois vers un des assistants.

(1) Après a-t-on que le défunt n'ait avant sa mort, devant témoins, formellement indiqué la répartition de ses biens ; en pareil cas il n'est posé de questions que pour les objets dont l'attribution n'avait pas été nettement spécifiée.

A la fin du 3e jour après la mort est préparé l'enterrement ; on demande au mort dès le lever du jour s'il est prêt pour cela, sinon on peut remettre au lendemain.

Les *ɔlɔmɑ̃*, depuis le début du jour, travaillent au cimetière. Ce sont des hommes jeunes et forts qui doivent travailler lentement, car il ne faut pas qu'une goutte de sueur tombe dans la fosse, leur *akka* risquerait d'y rester prisonnière.

Vers 16 heures les porteurs promènent une dernière fois le mort dans le village pour un suprême adieu. Les proches se rendent au dégrad. Le mort est embarqué dans une pirogue tandis que le tambour *apinti* appelle son *yɔrka* pour qu'il ne demeure pas dans le village.

Vers 17 heures le cercueil arrive au dégrad du cimetière et est remis aux *ɔlɔmɑ̃*. Aucun autre rite n'est effectué. Il est placé au fond de la fosse, une couche de rondins l'isole du tas de terre qui est ramené par-dessus. L'enterrement est terminé vers 18 heures.

Notes prises à l'enterrement de Way à Kormotibo (25 janvier 1957) (1er jour après la mort).

J'arrive à Kormotibo à 9 heures. Il y a deux morts au village : Sokodo, 37 ans, qu'on doit enterrer le lendemain, et Way, 65 ans, morte à Maripasoula, dont le corps a été transporté la veille.

Quand nous avions accosté, j'avais remarqué à l'extrémité Sud du village, les porteurs du cercueil de Sokodo, seuls et immobiles. En arrivant à proximité du hangar mortuaire, je trouve le capitaine Kondoku, qui préside le *lãnti kuutu*, et le capitaine Poopu, chef du village. Kondoku me dit qu'il est en train de procéder à une nouvelle épreuve sur Sokodo ; il vient de faire cacher deux jeunes gens, M... et G..., et le mort est appelé à les trouver sans hésitation.

Je regarde autour de nous. Il n'y a personne à proximité ; quelques femmes vaquent à leurs occupations, indifférentes à une scène maintes fois observée. Il semble bien que Kondoku fasse cela pour lui-même.

Les porteurs du cercueil apparaissent, venant de l'autre extrémité du village. Sans hésitation, ils se dirigent vers le hangar mortuaire, y pénètrent et l'extrémité du cercueil s'arrête devant le hamac, couvert d'une grande moustiquaire déployée jusqu'à terre, où se trouve assis le veuf de Way, le Saramaka Gamba.

A ma grande surprise j'en vois sortir les deux jeunes gens. Rien ne décelait leur présence sous le hamac, et Kondoku qui parlait avec moi n'a rien dit ni fait qui puisse orienter les porteurs. Personne de l'assistance n'a pu donner une indication quelconque. Comment d'ailleurs aurait-il eu le temps de se faire comprendre de deux hommes marchant à toute vitesse, écrasés par leur lourde charge et regardant droit devant eux ?

Ceci renverse toutes les idées que je m'étais formées de cette épreuve. La seule hypothèse qui reste est que les porteurs ont été prévenus par celui qui a été les chercher (un vieillard du conseil). Mais, se peut-il qu'une aussi grossière supercherie soit pratiquée couramment ? Les Boni sont loin d'être stupides, leur méfiance est sans cesse

en éveil et ils sont trop bavards pour que de pareilles tromperies ne soient pas dévoilées par leurs auteurs mêmes.

Dans ces conditions, comment peut s'exercer cette suggestion collective qui explique la plupart des rites des Noirs Réfugiés? Je ne peux me l'expliquer.

Fabrication du cercueil. — Les *kisimã* sont rassemblés autour d'un tas de planches. Ils sont au nombre d'une quinzaine, commandés par Boofo, chef des *kisimã* d'Asisi, et Aténi Asisi-Dipélu II). Un tas de planches est à leurs pieds ; les uns travaillent à la scie égoine, d'autres à l'herminette ; l'ajustage se fait au sabre.

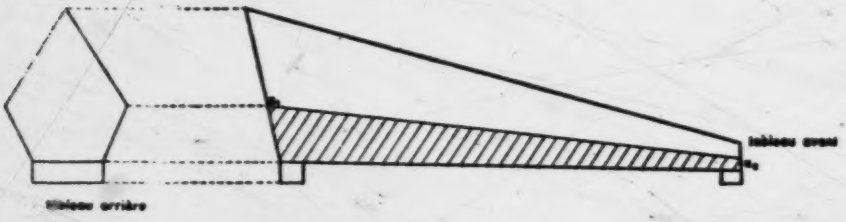


Fig. 21 — Le cercueil Boni.

Ils prennent des mesures avec une pointe sèche. La planche de fond est découpée la première, puis les tableaux avant et arrière. Le tracé du tableau arrière, en forme de losange tronqué, résulte d'une construction au compas assez complexe que je n'ai pas le temps de relever.

Le travail se fait bruyamment, dans une atmosphère de grosse farce. Tout le temps qu'il dure, les *kisimã* exercent un véritable commandement sur le village. Les cocotiers de Ivorumolibo sont mis au pillage à leur profit. Les femmes du village préparent le riz pour le repas qui devra, selon la coutume, leur être offert à l'achèvement du cercueil vers midi.

Je vois le chef des *kisimã* préparer l'ajustage des volets latéraux inférieurs. Il place, sans le clouer, le tableau arrière sur la planche de fond, lui donnant l'inclinaison convenable. On place la planche qui devra servir de volet. Une ficelle élastique enduite de noir de fumée est tendue entre a_1 et a_2 ; on la pince par le milieu et en retombant elle trace la ligne a_1a_2 sur le volet.

Le découpage du volet se fait à la scie et l'ajustage au sabre, puis au rabot.

Vers 11 heures on commence à clouer les volets. Selon les rites, plusieurs *kisimã* accompagnent en cadence, en frappant sur le cercueil avec des morceaux de bois, le bruit des coups de marteau. Pourquoi ce rite? Aucun des *kisimã* n'est capable de l'expliquer. Peut-être serait-il considéré comme dangereux pour un homme d'effectuer seul une des opérations se rapportant le plus directement à la mort.

Pendant que les *kisimã* travaillent, les amis et les parents de Way ne cessent

d'arriver, leurs canots encombrent le dégrad. Les gens se dirigent vers le hangar mortuaire, les hommes d'un côté, les femmes de l'autre. Ce sont les femmes qui apportent des étoffes (y compris celles offertes par leurs frères et leurs maris) ; les hommes portent du tafia dans des bouteilles.

En arrivant, les femmes s'asseoient, se couvrent le visage et se lamentent quelques minutes, puis s'asseoient avec les autres devant le hangar mortuaire. De l'autre côté du hangar les hommes sont assis, immobiles sur leurs petits bancs. Un ancien s'occupe de rassembler dans une grande dame-jeanne le tafia apporté. Il servira aux danses qui auront lieu le soir même.

Vers 13 heures le cercueil est presque fini, les volets supérieurs sont ajustés et prêts à être cloués. C'est à ce moment que selon la coutume, le repas doit être servi. Mais il n'en est rien, les femmes du village ont parlé plus que travaillé et leurs préparatifs sont loin d'être achevés.

Le temps passe, le mécontentement grandit chez les *kisimã* qui menacent de suspendre leur travail. Vers 14 heures les femmes viennent en procession, conduites par les plus âgées, s'excuser de ce retard ; elles sont mises à l'amende d'une bouteille d'huile de maripa, moyennant quoi les *kisimã* acceptent de manger ; la scène dure au moins 30 minutes, dans un flot de paroles dont la transcription in extenso occuperait un volume.

Avant le repas, est effectué un rite d'offrande ; deux des plus jeunes parmi les *kisimã* font lentement le tour du hangar mortuaire, portant un plat de nourriture ; tout en mangeant ils jettent de la nourriture à terre, sans prononcer aucune parole. Puis ils vont jusqu'au fleuve où le plat est lavé.

Après le repas, le cercueil est consacré par le sacrifice d'un coq. Le chef des *kisimã* asperge de son sang d'abord le fond arrière, puis les volets latéraux supérieurs.

L'offrande des étoffes, commencée depuis midi, s'achève. Deux *kisimã* sont debout à côté du corps, une femme du lignage leur tend, en les déployant, les étoffes offertes par les assistants.

Les *kisimã* saisissent l'étoffe et la déploient. L'un d'eux prononce ces paroles : « N... *beli yu, umã* (N... vous enterre, femme) ». Cela, s'ils reconnaissent l'étoffe offerte par N..., sinon ils disent simplement : « quelqu'un vous enterre, femme ». Puis ils posent l'étoffe sur les précédentes déjà entassées sur le corps. On comptera ainsi 126 camisas[1] et 15 grandes pièces d'étoffe. Une trentaine de camisas ont été prises dans la cantine de la défunte, les autres ont été offertes par les assistants, les proches parents en donnant plusieurs, les simples relations une seulement.

Les *kisimã*, leur travail terminé, brûlent les copeaux et les restes de planches. Ils passent leurs outils à la flamme pour les purifier des souillures de la mort.

(1) Pièces de cotonnade d'environ 1 m. 10 × 0 m. 75. Ces étoffes sont fabriquées spécialement en Hollande pour la clientèle des Noirs Réfugiés.

Vers 15 heures le cercueil est apporté par les *kisimã* dans le hangar mortuaire. Les *kisimã*, qui dirigent entièrement cette phase des obsèques, comptent les étoffes et font le partage. Une partie servira à leur salaire, d'autres serviront au salaire des fossoyeurs. Quinze pièces d'étoffe et une dizaine de camisas ordinaires seront placées dans le cercueil. Le reste servira à habiller le veuf qui, pendant tout le deuil, restera ainsi symboliquement sous la dépendance du mort ; s'il en reste, on le distribuera aux membres du lignage de la défunte.

Mise en bière. — Vers 15 heures quatre des *kisimã* se placent à côté du cercueil ; ils se ceignent les reins d'une camisa, comme font toujours les Noirs Réfugiés avant d'accomplir un acte religieux. Dans le plus grand silence, ils étendent à l'intérieur du cercueil, retombant à terre à droite et à gauche, les quinze grandes pièces d'étoffe. Puis deux d'entre eux soulèvent le corps, tandis que les autres glissent le cercueil dessous le corps doit rester pendant toute la durée des cérémonies mortuaires, à la place exacte où on l'a déposé. Le cercueil ne repose pas directement sur le sol, mais il est posé sur une natte par l'intermédiaire de deux rondins. Ce rituel semble avoir pour but de limiter pour le village la souillure de la mort).

Le corps est reposé dans le plus grand silence, avec la plus grande précaution, à l'intérieur du cercueil. Un coussin est placé sous la tête.

Les assistants ne manifestent aucune émotion. Le veuf, le Saramaka Gamba, qui depuis le matin est resté assis dans son hamac, tournant le dos au corps de sa femme, ne fait pas un mouvement.

Les *kisimã* ramènent sur le corps le bord des pièces d'étoffe et placent encore par-dessus quelques camisas du format ordinaire. Avant de placer les volets supérieurs du cercueil, l'un d'eux enlève doucement les tampons de coton qui avaient été placés dans les narines de la morte.

Puis on cloue les volets supérieurs du cercueil, toujours selon le même rite, des coups frappés en cadence avec des morceaux de bois accompagnant les coups de marteau.

Le rôle des *kisimã* est terminé, ils remettent la défunte au conseil, *lãnli kuulu*, chargé de la juger.

Recherche des causes de la mort. — La cérémonie commence vers 16 heures dans la plus grande confusion, ainsi qu'il est de règle chez les Noirs Réfugiés ; il est impossible de comprendre qui fait partie réellement du conseil, qui n'en fait pas partie, tout le monde parlant à la fois.

Je crois comprendre que le grand man a désigné pour présider la cérémonie les capitaines Kondoku (Asisi-Awara Bakka) et Tafanié (Papaïston). En fait, ce n'est ni l'un ni l'autre qui commence l'interrogatoire, mais un homme du village Papaïston, Agudèba, vieillard vénérable dont le torse est moulé dans un déplorable maillot de pacotille représentant un match de rugby.

Le cercueil est placé au bord du hangar mortuaire, l'avant tourné vers les spectateurs. Agudèba s'asseoit devant l'avant du cercueil. Selon le rite, il entre en contact avec le

yɔrka de la morte en versant de l'eau sur le sol devant le cercueil et en l'appelant par son nom. Il prononce plusieurs fois les mêmes phrases sous des formes différentes : « Tu as vécu ici... tu as eu des enfants dans ce village ; maintenant la mort t'a tuée. Tu dois nous dire qui t'a tuée. »

Deux hommes, B... (L'Enfant Perdu, Dipélu I) et A... (Asisi-Awara Bakka) s'avancent, se ceignent les reins d'une camisa et, aidés de plusieurs autres, soulèvent le cercueil. B..., qui est du lignage de la morte, se place à l'avant.

Pendant une dizaine de minutes, les deux porteurs s'efforcent de se mettre dans un état de passivité leur permettant de recevoir convenablement les impulsions de la morte ; aucune question n'est posée. On les voit faire des mouvements contradictoires, aller vers l'avant tout en basculant le cercueil de gauche à droite, ce qui veut dire à la fois oui et non. Parfois, une impulsion subite paraît les entraîner loin de l'assistance, on les voit aller de case en case, faire volte-face, s'en aller de nouveau.

Enfin ils reviennent. Agodéba demande : « Est-ce un dieu qui t'a frappé ? La réponse paraît être oui. « Est-ce un *Papa gadu*, un *Ampuku*, un *Kānlasasu?* Réponses contradictoires, l'assistance penche pour la négative.

Agodéba reprend : « Est-ce un *yɔrka* qui t'a tuée ? ». Mouvements confus et contradictoires du cercueil. Agodéba recommence : « Est-ce un dieu ? » Quelqu'un dans l'assistance crie : « Vous ne voyez pas qu'elle voulait dire oui en parlant du *yɔrka?* Agodéba se fâche, prend son chapeau et quitte la réunion. Brouhaha général. Il faut une demi-heure de paroles, coupées de mouvements divers et de fausses sorties, pour l'amener à reprendre sa place.

On change les porteurs et l'interrogatoire reprend, toujours aussi confus. Le capitaine Tafanié, qui arrive sur ces entrefaites, pense que la défunte ne veut pas parler devant une assistance si nombreuse. Il lui demande de désigner ceux des assistants qui formeront un comité restreint. Je vois l'avant du cercueil s'arrêter devant un vieux Saramaka nommé Yasu, puis successivement devant une dizaine d'assistants d'âge et d'origine quelconque. Ils se lèvent, prennent leur petit banc à la main, et vont rejoindre Tafanié sous un grand arbre dans un endroit écarté ; l'interrogatoire reprend ; à la tombée de la nuit on a acquis une certitude : Way a été tuée par un dieu. On reprendra le lendemain pour savoir de quel dieu il s'agit et comment l'apaiser.

Notes prises aux funérailles de Kotoïda (lignage Afi), les 22-23 octobre 1956 (2e et 3e jours après la mort).

J'arrive à Asisi le 22 à 8 heures. Kotoïda est morte le 20 ; on a achevé la première partie de la cérémonie.

C'est Tafanié, chef du village de Papaiston, qui préside le *lānli kuulu*.

Tafanié a dirigé lui-même la fabrication du cercueil (il est *kisimā*) à l'aide de planches tenues en réserve sur place. Le travail était terminé à 9 heures du matin.

On a placé aussitôt le corps dans le cercueil, et après l'offrande des étoffes, on en a cloué les volets.

Quand j'arrive au dégrad, le cercueil est placé dans le hangar mortuaire. Les proches du défunt (fils, filles et neveux) ainsi que le mari et la coépouse astreinte au deuil, sont assis dans leurs hamacs attachés aux poteaux du hangar. Les premiers ne manifestent aucune douleur apparente. Mari et coépouse au contraire sont entièrement voilés et manifestent par leur état de prostration la plus vive douleur. Chacun d'eux est assisté d'une parente qui les soutient quand ils ont à se déplacer, car ils sont supposés être trop accablés pour se déplacer seuls.

L'interrogatoire sur les causes de la mort a déjà eu lieu la veille, mais Tafanié en proclame devant moi le résultat aux derniers arrivés : la défunte a été frappée par un *yɔrka* qui poursuit le lignage de son *kunu*. Elle avait déjà reçu plusieurs avertissements sous forme de maladie, le *yɔrka* avait exigé un paiement qu'elle et ses proches avaient négligé de fournir. Impossible de rien savoir d'autre avant de pouvoir interroger ce *yɔrka*, dont le porteur habituel est parti à Saint-Laurent. Il faut attendre son retour pour désarmer la colère du *yɔrka*.

Vers 10 heures, les membres du *lãnli kuulu* se dirigent vers le *fraga liki* du *lo* Awara Bakka, devant lequel tous s'asseoient sur leurs tabourets. Je remarque qu'aucun homme du lignage de la morte ne figure au premier rang. J'y reconnais Popo (Lapé), Poopu Dipelu II, Kormotibo[1], Tafanié (Papaïston). Celui qui parle est un étranger de passage, un Djuka très âgé et respecté.

Les anciens invoquent Masa Gadu et les ancêtres en général, leur demandant de les protéger à l'avenir contre l'adversité ; puis a lieu l'offrande de l'eau et du tafia (pas de jus de canne). Je remarque qu'on en verse un peu sur chacun des *fraga liki* secondaires élevés à l'intention de chacun des ancêtres qui poursuivent de leur *kunu* un autre lignage. Cela dure un quart d'heure environ.

Ensuite on va demander à la défunte à qui elle lègue le dieu *Papa gadu* qui se manifestait en elle ; car on lègue les dieux comme le reste de l'héritage, même s'il s'agit de divinités qui exercent le *kunu* contre le lignage. Le dieu ratifie ou non ce legs ; en général il suit, dit-on, les intentions de son porteur et se manifeste quelque temps après chez l'héritier désigné.

Le cercueil est placé sur la tête de deux hommes : Tafanié pose les questions avec autorité. Il commence d'abord par s'assurer de la passivité des porteurs, invite la morte à pousser leurs têtes en avant pour dire oui, à leur donner une impulsion de droite à gauche pour dire non.

Le cercueil avance et recule à plusieurs reprises ; son poids est à la limite de ce que les deux hommes peuvent supporter. Deux porteurs secondaires aident le porteur arrière, empêchant la chute du cercueil.

La morte entraîne soudain ses porteurs à travers le village. Nous le voyons revenir

(1) Rappelons que ce lignage, trop peu nombreux pour constituer une unité sociale distincte, vit avec les Awara Bakka, avec lesquels il n'a aucun lien de parenté ni d'alliance.

un quart d'heure après, accompagné d'une femme d'environ 35 ans, Moni; devant laquelle il s'est arrêté.

Tafanié demande s'il veut lui laisser son dieu ; la défunte confirme. Le visage de Moni à l'énoncé de ce legs ne reflète aucune allégresse, aucune crainte non plus.

On m'explique que l'héritière désignée ne peut en aucune manière refuser ce legs. Elle doit séance tenante commencer son instruction auprès d'un maître pour devenir un porteur convenable. Les frais de son instruction sont à la charge de son lignage. Ils seront payés quand la *gila* aura été « arrangée », c'est-à-dire aura perdu le caractère bestial du début et quand le dieu pourra s'exprimer de façon intelligible.

Séance tenante on s'occupe de transférer le dieu hors du corps de la défunte. Un *ɔbiaman* réputé dans le culte des *Papa gadu*, Goutu (Dju) et son élève Balan (Aw.B.) viennent avec des calebasses contenant des infusions de feuilles. Quatre ou cinq femmes ayant un *Papa gadu* viennent se ranger derrière eux. L'héritière, l'air profondément contrarié, se place parmi elles, revêtue des emblèmes du dieu de la défunte ; elles vont appeler leurs dieux qui vont danser en l'honneur du dieu de Kotoïda.

L'*ɔbiaman* et son élève, pendant plusieurs minutes, font couler l'infusion d'herbes sur le cercueil, se servant des paquets d'herbes comme d'une éponge, puis ils « lavent » les femmes y compris la postulante ; il leur donne à boire le reste de la calebasse. Une des femmes, Samabun, tombe aussitôt à terre, prise de la forme la plus inférieure de la possession : elle se traîne sur le ventre comme un serpent (ce sont les premières formes de la *gila* quand elle n'a pas encore été « arrangée ». Il y a quatre ans que cela dure pour elle, contrairement à ce qui se passe d'ordinaire. La scène était certainement prévue car elle avait mis un slip européen. Les autres femmes boivent aussi mais ne sont pas prises de possession ; elles partent se mettre en tenue de danse.

Le tambour *agida* extrait de la chapelle du dieu commence à battre, accompagné de deux *apinti*.

Les porteuses de Papa gadu arrivent au son de l'*agida*, enduites de *pemba* et portant les insignes du dieu. Au total il en viendra six. Elles ne sont pas en état de possession, deux seulement y parviendront. La première possédée rampe toujours sur le sol, se rapprochant à tâtons du tambour qu'elle étreint, couchée sur le dos. On l'en arrache. Les *ɔbiaman* continuent à venir la « laver » de temps à autre pour aider le dieu à se manifester. La foule se presse autour des danseuses qui exécutent les figures les plus variables. Par moments elles s'étreignent deux à deux à la façon dont les Boni s'embrassent. L'assistance trépigne de joie.

La scène dure une demi-heure environ, puis, au signal donné par l'une d'elles, les possédées se dispersent et se mettent à courir à travers le village : c'est le moment pour les dieux de payer les musiciens. Chacun se précipite pour cacher ses affaires car les dieux vont voler n'importe quoi dans le village, sans qu'on puisse les en empêcher : c'est leur manière de payer.

Les possédées reviennent bientôt, déposant aux pieds des musiciens un amas d'objets

hétéroclites : calebasses, étoffe, pagaies, etc., que leurs propriétaires viennent récupérer moyennant des bouteilles de bière et des œufs. Puis celles qui étaient vraiment possédées reviennent à leur état ordinaire et toutes rentrent chez elles.

Cette danse n'a pas été un succès, les assistants pensent que c'est parce que les porteuses avaient bu du tafia, ce que les *Papa godu* détestent.

Héritage. — On demande à la défunte à qui elle lègue ses abattis. Elle répond : « à sa famille », ceci étant compris parce que les porteurs se déplacent parallèlement à l'assistance sans désigner personne. Dans ces conditions, les biens doivent être partagés (Kotoïda n'ayant pas d'enfants) entre ses neveux au sens classificatoire. En fait, les plantations encore exploitables iront à Samabun, fille de sa sœur.

L'héritage de la maison ne se pose pas car la morte vivait dans la maison de son mari Empalé.

Le canot est laissé à Samabun.

Sont réservés les objets personnels, argent, bijoux, étoffes. A la levée du deuil, l'aîné des frères ou sœurs survivants au sens classificatoire fera la répartition entre les proches.

Il est bien net dans le cas de Kotoïda que l'héritage se fait à l'intérieur du matrilignage au sens rigoureux, *bee*. Seuls les membres du lignage Afi auquel elle appartenait peuvent en bénéficier.

Enterrement. — Vers 14 heures, les femmes du lignage qui depuis le matin préparaient la nourriture des *obomã*, partent en pirogue en direction du cimetière.

A 15 heures, commencent les derniers préparatifs. Les occupants du hangar mortuaire, entièrement voilés et soutenus par leurs proches, vont prendre position au dégrad pour les derniers adieux (car ils n'iront pas au cimetière).

Le cercueil est une dernière fois porté à travers le village. Ce sont les adieux de la défunte à sa famille. Les objets ayant servi au deuil sont soigneusement ramassés, le sol du hangar gratté partout où a pu tomber la sanie cadavérique et le tout mis sur le *papay* qu'on place sur la barque mortuaire.

A 15 heures un tambour *apinli* est placé au dégrad pour appeler le mort (il s'agit évidemment d'empêcher le *yorka* de rester au village). Le mort se présente au dégrad. Le cercueil passe par-dessus un tronc de bananier fraîchement coupé, placé à la limite du village et de la plage. C'est le passage symbolique du mort hors du monde des vivants. Il est placé sur la pirogue tandis que retentissent les lamentations de ses proches. La scène ne manque pas de grandeur.

La pirogue s'éloigne lentement, le joueur de tambour placé à l'avant, tandis que les assistants descendent en long cortège se laver dans le fleuve des souillures de la mort.

A 16 heures on arrive au cimetière. Les porteurs du mort qui ont pris place dans la pirogue passent leur fardeau aux *obomã* venus au bord du fleuve. Ceci pour marquer que

ce sont les *ɔlɔmã* qui commandent au cimetière. Les porteurs assisteront seulement à la cérémonie.

Les femmes qui étaient venues porter la nourriture des *ɔlɔmã* s'en vont, leur travail terminé. Seules restent deux d'entre elles, pas spécialement âgées.

Nous arrivons sur un petit espace dégagé où a lieu un dernier interrogatoire. C'est Antonu, chef des *ɔlɔmã* de Asisi qui parle, tandis que Tansia (Dipélu I) et Tyolo (Dju), *basia* c'est-à-dire chef d'équipe des *ɔlɔmã* d'Asisi, servent de porteurs.

On demande à la morte les instructions pour le choix des hommes qu'elle désigne comme *busimã* (chasseurs, pêcheurs), destinés à procurer la nourriture aux invités le jour du *broko de*. Le cercueil s'avance successivement vers 6 hommes. Chacun de ceux-ci demande : « Est-ce bien moi ? » Je vois le porteur de tête, les yeux étrangement fixes, avancer la tête dans leur direction.

A 16 heures, nous arrivons devant la fosse, à environ cent mètres de la rive. Elle est creusée à bords francs ; sa profondeur est d'environ 2 mètres, sa longueur 2 m. 50 et sa largeur 1 mètre. Elle a la forme trapézoïdale du cercueil.

On coupe en deux un banc d'un coup de sabre pour confectionner deux supports placés au fond de la fosse.

Le cercueil est descendu au fond à l'aide des cordes d'étoffe qui l'enserraient. Ces cordes sont ensuite retirées. Plusieurs coups de fusil sont tirés. Aucune parole n'est prononcée. Une dizaine de gros rondins d'environ 20 centimètres de diamètre sont placés côte à côte sur la fosse et la terre jetée dessus. Les *ɔlɔmã* travaillent à la pelle et à la houe, le tas de terre atteint rapidement un mètre de hauteur.

Le chef des *ɔlɔmã* arrête alors le travail. Il passe plusieurs fois sur la fosse en sautant à pieds joints. Puis, passant plusieurs fois autour de ses jambes le paquet de cordes d'étoffe, il s'adresse aux *akka* des assistants, les adjurant de ne pas rester dans le trou.

Le travail est ensuite repris. Les assistants non *ɔlɔmã*, moi compris, sont invités à jeter quelques pelletées de terre. On place au sommet du tertre le *papay* et les objets ayant servi au deuil, surmontés du banc de la défunte. Puis les assistants s'en vont sans hâte et se lavent au dégrad. Plusieurs coups de fusil sont encore tirés tandis que les canots s'éloignent.

Les tombes sont espacées de 10 mètres environ. Les morts ne sont pas groupés par lignages ; à mesure des besoins on étend le cimetière et on place le mort à la première place disponible. Ainsi Kotoïda (Awara Bakka) est placée à côté de Asoïda (Lapé), femme centenaire morte quelques mois auparavant.

On me montre les tombes de chefs de village que j'ai connus, Diolé († en 1951), Atikati († en 1953). Les tertres sont déjà à demi-tassés, la brousse y atteint un mètre de haut.

Un de mes canotiers verse un peu de tafia sur la tombe de sa mère qui est au bord

du chemin. Aucun des assistants ne s'écarte du groupe pour aller sur la tombe de ses parents.

CÉRÉMONIES DE REMERCIEMENT. — Le 23 à 8 heures, le *lànli kuulu* est rassemblé et siège au bord du hangar mortuaire.

Les *ɔlɔmò* et d'une façon générale ceux qui ont travaillé au profit du mort (il n'en reste qu'une dizaine, les autres sont partis travailler) sont assis en face des hommes du lignage de la défunte.

C'est toujours Tafanié qui parle. Béna (Dju), assis devant les *ɔlɔmò*, tourné vers l'orateur, joue le rôle du répondant. Tafanié remercie tous ceux qui ont travaillé au profit du mort, en détaillant longuement les divers travaux, puis en citant les divers lignages : il répète la même chose sous plusieurs formes et son discours est interminable. Quelquefois il s'interrompt pour placer une bonne plaisanterie ou boire une rasade de tafia. On voit une dame-jeanne de 15 litres circuler à l'intérieur du hangar. Un incident éclate soudain. Baafu (Lapé) insinue que Agidibon (Aw.B.) se sert sans discrétion. Des paroles injurieuses sont échangées. Agibidon quitte le conseil. Brouhaha général. Le tumulte s'apaise après un quart d'heure.

L'orateur remercie maintenant les étrangers de passage, Saramaka et Djuka, qui ont assisté aux obsèques.

On dépose à terre une pagaie sur laquelle est attaché un paquet entouré d'étoffe. C'est la pagaie de la morte et le paquet contient ses cheveux. Ils sont conservés jusqu'au *broko da* (il semble bien en fait que ce soit la raison de cette fête) afin de conserver le contact avec le *yɔrka* de la défunte pour les questions complémentaires que l'on peut avoir à lui poser[1].

Ensuite, quelques *ɔlɔmò* iront au cimetière enfoncer le paquet à l'intérieur du tertre.

L'assistance se dirige vers un endroit ombragé, car il est près de midi et le soleil est accablant.

Sosoman porte le devant de la pagaie et Tansia l'arrière. Sans qu'aucune question soit posée, ils circulent longtemps dans le village. Je les vois à plusieurs reprises faire des mouvements contradictoires, incliner la tête à la fois en avant et sur le côté.

Les voici de retour auprès de Tafanié. A ma grande surprise Tafanié pose des questions à voix basse, mettant ses mains en cornet devant sa bouche.

On voit à plusieurs reprises la pagaie répondre affirmativement, puis négativement. Aucun des assistants ne peut comprendre ce qui se dit, mais aucun ne manifeste d'impatience ni de doute.

Tafanié ordonne soudain à ses assesseurs de couper des baguettes : la défunte a demandé qu'on fustige les gens de son propre lignage, coupables d'avoir négligé les avertissements du *yɔrka*. A la vue de ces préparatifs les gens du lignage de Kotoïda

(1) Il semble que sur ce point la coutume envisage surtout le cas des proches parents du défunt en voyage sur la rivière au moment du décès, et qui n'ont pu assister à l'enterrement.

s'enfuient en désordre de toutes parts tandis que leurs adversaires les poursuivent, l'air de s'amuser beaucoup. Les uns se réfugient dans l'eau, d'autres dans la brousse ; aucun ne peut être rejoint.

Correction toute symbolique d'ailleurs, car au bout de 10 minutes on les voit reparaître et reprendre leurs places dans l'assistance.

Les obsèques sont terminées. Seuls les proches de la morte restent assis dans leur hamac sous le hangar mortuaire. Ils resteront là jusqu'au *broko dɛ*.

Paiements des *ɔbɔmã*. — Les *ɔbɔmã* se partagent un lot d'étoffes en tenant compte de ce qu'ils ont reçu dans les obsèques précédentes. Cela ne paraît pas soulever de discussion. Si ensuite quelqu'un qui n'a pas fourni de travail désire prendre une de ces étoffes, il le peut, en offrant du tafia à l'assistance.

Funérailles des gens morts en voyage. Si un homme meurt au cours d'un voyage lointain, on prélève sur le cadavre avant de l'enterrer, ses cheveux et ses ongles, qui seront rapportés à son village natal ; il est admis en effet que tant qu'une parcelle du cadavre n'est pas enterrée, le *yɔrka* y reste attaché ; cheveux et ongles permettront donc l'interrogatoire du *yɔrka* et seront enterrés au cimetière avec les rites habituels.

Broko dɛ. Le huitième jour après la mort, a lieu une cérémonie appelée *broko dɛ*, qu'il ne faut pas confondre avec la levée du deuil. Cette cérémonie marque la fin des rites mortuaires proprement dits ; quand elle est terminée, on ne peut plus interroger directement le défunt ; la période du deuil commence.

C'est une cérémonie très simple qui attire peu de monde et se passe presque entièrement dans le cadre du lignage.

A la tombée du jour on commence à raconter des Anansi toli, ces contes traditionnels qui font vibrer en commun les assistants et créent une ambiance particulière. Puis viennent les danses *sɔ̃ngɛ*, *susa* et *awasa* qui durent toute la nuit.

Le lendemain chacun s'occupe à de menus travaux dans le village, tandis que les femmes préparent le repas. C'est la cérémonie dite *lowɛ nyã*, qui a lieu au bord du hangar mortuaire, vers 4 heures de l'après-midi. Chaque femme du lignage apporte un grand bol de riz et un petit bol contenant soit un morceau de viande cuite en sauce, soit du poisson. Le plus âgé des hommes du lignage fait étendre par terre au bord du hangar, de grandes feuilles de bananier ; il prend un peu de chaque plat et le dépose sur les feuilles, tout en s'adressant aux ancêtres dans la langue ordinaire, sur le ton d'une conversation familière : « Morts de la famille, venez, venez manger aujourd'hui. »

Cela dure peut-être un quart d'heure, tandis que les assistants sont assis, immobiles et recueillis. Les ancêtres sont supposés manger la partie spirituelle de la nourriture — *kaaka fu nyã*.

Puis les anciens font ranger au bord du hangar 5 ou 6 petits enfants d'une dizaine d'années, dont chacun tient une cuvette renversée. Un homme les maintient alignés

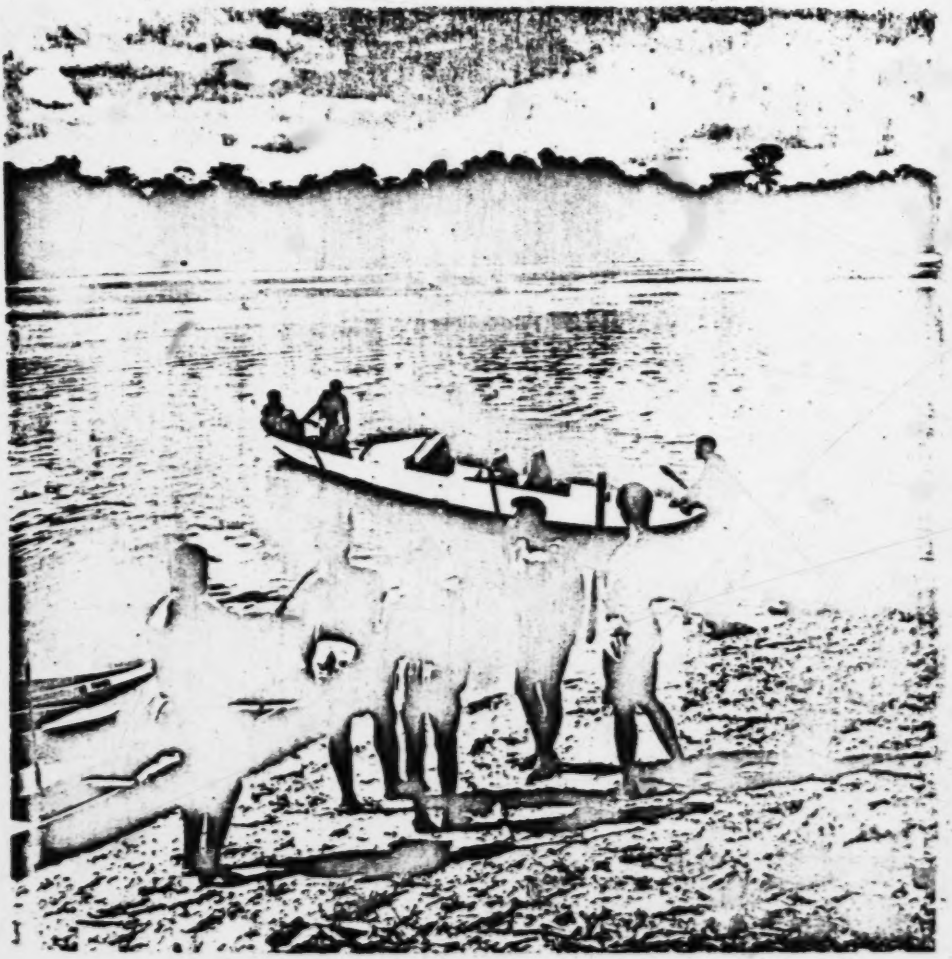


Fig. 25. — Le cercueil est placé à bord d'une pirogue.

[facing p. 174]

à l'aide d'une longue baguette. Puis, à un signal, il relève la baguette et les enfants se précipitent avec des rires et des cris sur la part des ancêtres, chacun emportant tout ce qu'il a pu recouvrir de sa cuvette. La cérémonie se termine par un joyeux repas pris en commun par tout le lignage, symbole de la communion entre les morts et les vivants.

Les cimetières. Il y a deux cimetières en pays Boni : l'un sur les terres du lignage Dikan pour les gens habitant la rive française, l'autre en aval de Kotika pour les habitants de ce village. Ce sont des endroits quelconques que rien n'annonce de la rive, car ils sont couverts comme le reste du pays par la forêt secondaire. Les morts y sont enterrés dans des tombes alignées parallèlement au fleuve, à peu près à 7 mètres de distance les unes des autres. Les morts sont placés la tête tournée vers le fleuve. Il n'existe pas de séparation par lignage à l'intérieur du cimetière.

Les tombes ne sont marquées par aucun ornement et au bout d'une dizaine d'années le terre s'étant tassé, aucune trace de l'ensevelissement ne subsiste.

Jamais on ne nettoie les tombes. Seuls les chefs *ɔlɔmã*, qui ont reçu une instruction spéciale, connaissent les tombes des principaux chefs et les limites du cimetière.

Les Boni ne se rendent jamais au cimetière individuellement, et ne font pas d'offrandes sur la tombe de leurs proches. Quelqu'un qui fréquenterait le cimetière individuellement serait soupçonné d'être un *wisimã* cherchant à capturer le *yɔrko* d'un mort.

Les cimetières, même s'ils sont à proximité immédiate des villages, ne leur sont jamais reliés directement par des chemins, et les morts sont transportés en canot. En procédant ainsi, on espère isoler les villages des influences maléfiques.

Si quelqu'un est mort noyé, on l'enterre à l'écart du cimetière. D'après M. W. F. van Lier, chez les Djuka tous les noyés sont supposés avoir été victimes d'un *kunu* ; les Boni n'ont pas cette conception et déclarent avoir perdu le sens de cette coutume ; on remarque du reste qu'ils observent le deuil des noyés selon les rites habituels.

Les enfants ne sont enterrés avec les cérémonies normales qu'à partir de 6 ans environ. La règle est la suivante : un enfant est enterré au cimetière et on fait *broko de* pour lui si l'enfant suivant de la même mère commence à marcher.

Les enfants en bas âge sont enterrés sans cercueil à un emplacement spécial en bordure de chaque village ; on place simplement une planche sur le corps avant de combler la fosse. On a l'idée que les enfants très jeunes n'ont pas de force vitale, et que leur *yɔrko* ne peut nuire.

Le deuil

Après l'enterrement, les femmes du mort (ou le mari si c'est une femme), les plus proches parents du côté maternel, ainsi que les enfants, séjournent encore huit jours dans le hangar mortuaire, jusqu'au *broko da*.

Les obligations du deuil se limitent dès lors, pour les proches parents du mort, à s'abstenir pendant un an de danser, de porter des bijoux ou de trop beaux vêtements ; il en va tout autrement pour le conjoint du mort ; les Noirs Réfugiés admettent en effet, comme les Créoles de Surinam, la persistance de la jalousie sexuelle du mort, dont pendant un an le *yorku* est supposé demeurer en contact des vivants.

Condition du conjoint en deuil. Le principe est que le conjoint survivant, jusqu'à la levée du deuil, est soumis à la volonté du mort. Pour matérialiser cela de façon évidente, il ne peut, pendant toute cette période, porter ses vêtements habituels, mais doit s'habiller exclusivement des étoffes prélevées à son intention sur celles que le défunt possédait, ou données par les plus proches parents maternels du défunt.

Pendant la durée du deuil, toute incartade du conjoint survivant attirera sur lui la vengeance impitoyable du *yorku* ; il importe qu'il se fasse oublier, qu'il ait un maintien modeste et décent. Le mort pourrait lui en vouloir d'avoir gardé sa santé et sa beauté. Aussi va-t-on s'efforcer de donner au conjoint survivant l'aspect d'un être misérable et malheureux. La parenté du mort est spécialement intéressée à ce que cette discipline soit observée, car dans le cas contraire le *yorku* du mort retournerait sa vengeance contre son propre lignage. Pendant tout le deuil l'ensemble du lignage se considère comme en danger. Aussi la coutume veut-elle que pendant toute cette période le veuf (ou la veuve) soit placé sous le commandement du lignage du mort.

En cas de concubinage, le deuil est pris par le conjoint, même si les relations n'ont pas été rendues officielles. On cite l'exemple de Way (Boniville) qui avait pris le deuil d'un Djuka avec qui elle avait commencé à vivre, avant qu'il n'ait pu la demander officiellement.

Conditions des personnes en deuil. La condition d'un veuf est exactement semblable à celle d'une veuve, ce qui tend à montrer qu'aux yeux des Noirs Réfugiés les défunts, hommes et femmes, ont le même niveau d'être, et le même pouvoir sur les vivants.

Le conjoint survivant est placé sous la protection des ancêtres du lignage du conjoint défunt. Sans cette protection assurée par les prières des gens de ce lignage, il se trouverait sans défense. La preuve en est que la principale sanction contre lui est de lui lever le deuil prématurément, en allant au *fraga liki* dire aux ancêtres qu'on se désintéresse de lui. Cela revient indirectement à le maudire (voir ci-dessous l'exemple de Gamba).

Le conjoint en deuil est extrait temporairement de son lignage et placé sous la pro-

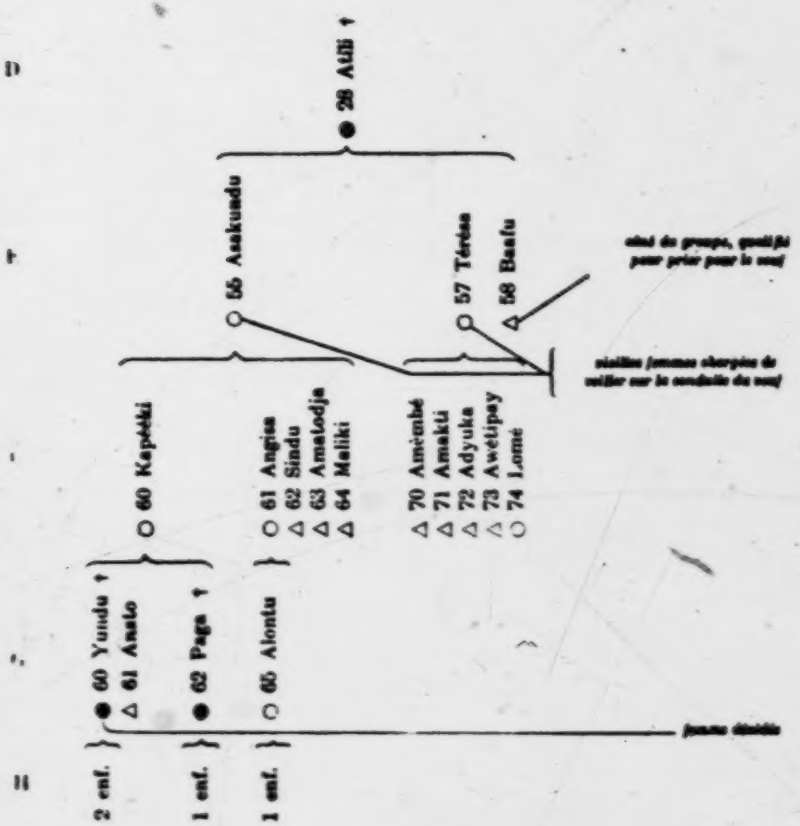


Fig. 21 – Généalogie de la fraction Lapé 2. Fonctions résultant de la mort de Yundu.

tection du lignage du conjoint défunt, dans une condition correspondant à celle du client de la société antique.

Il ne peut plus prier ses propres ancêtres. S'il est malade, il demande aux anciens du lignage du conjoint défunt de prier pour lui leurs propres ancêtres.

L'homme en deuil est dispensé de certaines obligations et responsabilités :

— Il ne peut prendre part à un conseil de son lignage ;

— S'il y a bagarre entre son lignage et un autre, il ne peut être pris à partie ;

— On ne peut prélever une partie de sa pêche en cas de grande ivrée ;

— Il est dispensé de ses obligations funéraires en tant que *ziemd* ou *kisimd*.

L'homme en deuil est placé sous le commandement collectif du lignage de sa femme, mais en fait sous le commandement des proches parents de celle-ci : mère, grand-mère, oncles et tantes au sens propre. C'est la parenté naturelle qui joue en matière de deuil, la parenté classificatoire n'intervient que si tous les proches parents sont décédés.

Ce sont en général de vieilles femmes de cette proche parenté qui sont chargées de surveiller le comportement du veuf, et en contrepartie de veiller à ce qu'il ne manque pas du nécessaire.

Par exemple Alémin (Aw.B.1) était marié à Yundu (L2, G60) de la fraction Lapé 2, vivant au village de Loka. Quand elle mourut en mai 1957, il a été placé sous le commandement de Asakundu (L2, E55), grand-mère de sa femme, et de la sœur de Asakundu, Téréza, vivant à Boniville. Comme il n'avait pas encore construit de case pour sa femme, on lui enjoignit de venir spécialement se bâtir une petite cabane au village Loka, pour résider auprès de Asakundu. S'il était malade, c'était △ Baafu (L2, E58), aîné du groupe, qui devait prier pour lui. Alémin n'a eu affaire ni au chef du lignage Lapé, ni aux oncles au sens classificatoire de sa femme du groupe Lapé 1.

Pour Diamanti (Aw.B.2, E56, † en 1955), son conjoint Booki (K3, E133) passa le deuil dans la maison que Diamanti s'était fait construire par un précédent mari. Ce furent ○ Emma, mère de Diamanti, et Sanéti, sœur cadette d'Emma, qui exercèrent la surveillance sur lui, sous la responsabilité de △ Akodo, frère de la morte (tous les oncles au sens propre étant morts). Booki n'eut affaire ni aux oncles au sens classificatoire, ni au chef du lignage Awara Bakka.

Quand Atuku (Aw.B.1, D20) mourut (1956), son mari Nétali fut placé sous le commandement de Kondoku, frère de Atuku, tous les oncles au sens propre et au sens classificatoire étant morts.

La sujétion qu'entraîne ce deuil ne doit pas être considérée comme symbolique. Elle pèse sur le conjoint survivant d'un poids intolérable que seule permet de supporter la conviction qu'elle est l'unique moyen de protection contre la jalousie du défunt. Non seulement le veuf (ou la veuve) ne fait rien pour s'en s'affranchir, mais au moindre malaise il ajoutera de sa propre initiative à la rigueur de sa condition.

Le veuf ne peut plus utiliser ses vêtements et ustensiles personnels ; il conserve

son hamac et son fusil. Tout le reste, vêtements (prélevés sur le deuil), ustensiles divers, lui est fourni par le lignage de la morte. Chaque femme de ce lignage doit lui donner un peu de ce qu'elle prépare. Lui-même ne doit rien demander.

Il ne peut se déplacer sans l'autorisation de ses surveillantes, et seulement pour un motif précis. Par exemple, quand Alémin a trouvé du travail auprès d'un européen en octobre 1957, les deux vieilles femmes qui étaient chargées de sa surveillance sont venues le livrer à son employeur comme un prisonnier, précisant notamment qu'elles lui interdisaient de débarquer dans tels ou tels villages où il n'avait rien à faire.

Alémin a été autorisé à assister au deuil de sa mère, mais il n'a pris part à aucune des cérémonies. Il n'a pas assisté à l'interrogatoire de la morte portée dans son cercueil, et n'a pas été mis au courant des dispositions prises pour partager l'héritage.

L'homme en deuil n'habite pas forcément dans la case qu'il avait fait bâtir pour sa femme, mais dans une case qu'on lui désigne. Il peut (c'est le cas de Alémin) être invité à construire une petite case qui, à la fin du deuil, deviendra la propriété de sa belle-mère.

Quand la maison a été léguée, l'héritier ne peut en prendre possession que si le conjoint n'a pas reçu l'ordre d'y résider. Ce n'est qu'à la fin du deuil qu'il entre pleinement en possession de ses droits.

L'homme en deuil ne peut sortir de sa maison à la nuit tombée, spécialement les nuits où l'on danse après avoir appelé tous les ancêtres. Il aurait tout à craindre des *gadu*.

Il peut circuler dans le village et adresser la parole à qui le veut, mais ne doit pas plaisanter ni assister à des réjouissances quelconques, pas même entendre des contes. Non seulement il ne peut faire la cour à une femme, mais encore il lui est interdit de faire des ouvertures discrètes, même par personne interposée, en vue d'un remariage.

Il ne peut se promener torse nu et tête nue ; Alemin portait en permanence un affreux tricot et un béret troué.

Il ne peut ni danser ni chanter (même seul). S'il a un *gadu*, ce *gadu* est appelé et invité à ne pas monter à la tête de son « maître » pendant la durée du deuil. C'est le doyen du lignage de l'intéressé qui prononce cette adjuration.

Toutefois il existe une restriction. Si on a absolument besoin de consulter ce dieu, on demande au veuf de retirer ses vêtements de deuil et de reprendre pendant quelques heures ses propres vêtements. La consultation a lieu en privé dans une case, puis le deuil reprend.

Il observe l'interdit fondamental *(bwosi kina)* de la défunte en plus du sien.

Il doit absolument passer la fête *goli* (jour de l'an) dans la famille de la défunte.

Telles sont les principales obligations et interdictions qui régissent la vie de l'homme en deuil, pendant une période d'au moins 18 mois, qui peut même se prolonger jusqu'à deux ans et davantage (fin 1958, le deuil de Yundu, † en mai 1957, n'était toujours pas levé, et Alémin n'espérait pas en être libéré avant le printemps de 1959).

Ces obligations se trouvent encore aggravées pendant les trois premiers mois par des dispositions particulières.

Pendant ces trois premiers mois, le *dipi baaka* ou deuil profond, l'homme en deuil doit conserver l'attitude de la plus vive douleur. Il ne quitte la maison qui lui est attribuée que pour les travaux indispensables, et ne s'éloigne pas du village de la défunte ; il reste les yeux baissés, ne regardant personne en face sinon les membres de la famille de la morte. L'usage voulait même qu'il s'appuyât sur un bâton comme une personne éguinée, mais le grand man actuel a supprimé cette coutume.

Après 3 mois, on fait une offrande auprès du *fraga liki* du lignage du mort, lui exposant combien son conjoint a respecté sa mémoire et lui demandant la permission d'alléger les manifestations de sa peine. Le deuil est alors allégé, mais l'homme en deuil continue à porter un bandeau autour de la tête ou à tout le moins un vieux béret.

L'homme en deuil, pendant les premiers mois, n'a d'autre responsabilité que de chasser et de pêcher sur ordre du lignage de la défunte. Il fait lui-même sa cuisine avec les aliments qu'on lui remet ; il coupe un abattis pour sa belle-mère ou une autre femme de la parenté de la défunte, qui l'exploitera avec lui. Ensuite, il reçoit l'ordre d'aller gagner l'argent nécessaire à l'importante contribution qu'il doit apporter à la fête de levée du deuil. Pendant toute la durée du deuil il doit rendre compte de ses travaux et de ses déplacements.

Quand approche la fin du deuil, il doit faire un travail au profit de sa belle-mère, en général refaire la toiture de sa maison, ou encore lui construire un canot.

Ces dispositions ne comportent aucune sanction matérielle. Comme le reste de la vie sociale des Noirs Réfugiés, elles reposent entièrement sur la crainte d'une sanction suprahumaine.

Après la levée du deuil, la personne en deuil peut se remarier sans autre délai.

Conditions des veuves et des coépouses d'un veuf. La condition d'une femme en deuil est à très peu de chose près identique à celle d'un veuf. Elle réside pendant la durée du deuil dans la maison de son mari décédé, sous la surveillance des proches parents maternels de celui-ci. Le lignage du mort lui prête tous les objets dont elle a besoin, et lui fournit les denrées d'importation (sel, pétrole, savon) dont elle fait usage. Elle peut par contre user librement des produits de l'abattis que son mari avait coupé pour elle, puisqu'il est admis que ces produits sont la propriété exclusive de la femme.

La veuve, avant de sortir du deuil, doit se procurer au minimum l'argent nécessaire à une dame-jeanne de tafia, comme contribution à la fête de levée de deuil. Elle doit faire à la mère de son mari un cadeau de quelques touques de couac.

Une femme enceinte prend le deuil exactement selon la loi commune. La coutume décrite par plusieurs auteurs chez les Saramaka, selon laquelle la femme enceinte doit rejoindre un des « frères » de son mari, ne s'applique pas aux Boni.

Il y a quelques atténuations à la rigueur du deuil en ce qui concerne les femmes âgées. Par exemple en 1956, Lémiki (70 ans), habitant Boniville, était en deuil de son mari Tabiki (Awara Bakka, mais résidant depuis son enfance auprès du lignage Lapé, à Loka

où il avait été élevé par son père). Lémiki passait alternativement trois semaines dans sa maison et trois semaines dans celle de son mari. C'était Asamani, sœur de même père de Tabiki, qui exerçait le commandement sur elle.

Cet exemple remarquable montre qu'en matière de deuil (droits et devoirs), le principe de *résidence* joue un rôle essentiel. Celui qui a été élevé par son père est à cet égard extrait de son lignage, qui perd tout droit et tout regard sur la conduite du deuil.

Les coépouses d'un veuf sont soumises au deuil au même titre que lui, et pour le même motif, puisqu'elles sont visées par la jalousie du *gaku* de la défunte.

Cependant elles sont autorisées le plus souvent à demeurer dans leur famille maternelle. Passée la période du *dipi boaku*, elles peuvent reprendre des relations conjugales avec leur mari, mais à des intervalles de plusieurs semaines et sans qu'il puisse passer la nuit avec l'une d'elles. Chaque fois il doit demander la permission du chef de lignage de la défunte.

Un incident. En 1957, le Saramaka Gamba (75 ans), veuf de Way (Dip. I), a causé un incident sérieux en refusant à plusieurs reprises l'obéissance qu'il devait au lignage de celle-ci, sous prétexte qu'il était âgé et savait se conduire.

Son fils Maliki (né d'une femme Saramaka) qu'il élevait, marié à la fille de Way, était allé à la pêche en haut du Litani. Au retour, Kwau (80 ans), frère aîné de Way, lui reprocha d'être parti sans autorisation, lui faisant remarquer que son père, Gamba, étant par le deuil placé sous son commandement, lui-même s'y trouvait aussi de ce fait. Gamba n'admit pas ce raisonnement et les deux vieillards se battirent. Ce fut un beau scandale. Kwau et les anciens du lignage de Way vinrent devant le *fraga liki* du village de L'Enfant Perdu, pour lever son deuil séance tenante (ce qui, rappelons-le, équivaut à le maudire, en le livrant à la vengeance du *gaku* de la défunte).

Des membres de la famille de Way allèrent casser les carbets de Gamba et de son fils, qui demeurèrent cachés dans la brousse quelque temps. Puis Gamba fit intercéder les chefs de village et obtint son pardon. Les anciens du lignage de Way allèrent au *fraga liki* prononcer les paroles remettant les choses dans l'ordre.

La levée du deuil. La fête de levée du deuil -*puu boaku*- est célébrée 18 mois à 2 ans après l'enterrement. Le délai peut être un peu plus long car le plus souvent le village célèbre cette fête pour plusieurs de ses morts en même temps. C'est une lourde charge car les fêtes de levée de deuil attirent beaucoup de monde et il faut que chaque assistant trouve à manger et à boire à discrétion.

Cette fête est célébrée dans le cadre du village et non dans celui du lignage. Elle sera célébrée de la même façon pour un Djuka mort dans un village Boni, pourvu qu'il ait résidé là suffisamment longtemps. En pareil cas les dépenses sont réparties également sur tous les habitants du village. Mais si le défunt avait dans le village des proches parents, enfants, neveux ou frères, ce sont eux qui supportent la charge principale. Les membres du lignage du défunt établis dans d'autres villages contribuent également aux dépenses et à l'organisation de la fête, mais de façon symbolique.

Un conseil *(kunda)* des habitants du village fixe la date ; pendant les 15 jours qui précèdent, chacun est à l'œuvre. Les femmes décortiquent et vannent le riz, préparent de grandes quantités de couac et de jus de canne à sucre. Les *basimã* parcourent la brousse et font boucaner viande et poisson. Chacun selon ses moyens achète tafia, sucre, chocolat et autres denrées appréciées des Noirs Réfugiés.

La célébration des rites occupe toute une semaine. C'est que, dans la pensée des Noirs Réfugiés, l'influence du mort ne peut être éliminée que progressivement, par la répétition du rite de séparation.

Le premier jour, on appelle par des formules frappées sur le tambour *apinti* le *gaka* des morts dont on va lever le deuil. Puis ont lieu des danses de possession.

Le deuxième jour est réservé à la préparation matérielle des cérémonies qui vont suivre.

Le troisième jour, le conjoint en deuil, s'il y en a un, est conduit par les membres du lignage du défunt sous le hangar mortuaire. On l'habille de rouge et il est félicité pour avoir bien gardé le deuil. Puis on le mène à la rivière et de vieilles femmes du lignage du défunt commencent à le laver en adjurant le *gaka* de se séparer de lui.

Le quatrième jour, à la tombée de la nuit, tous les assistants se rassemblent au hangar mortuaire. On récite des contes *(Anãsi tali)*, des improvisations *(mado)* et des énigmes *(ado)*. Cette phase de la fête a pour but de concentrer l'attention des auditeurs ; elle crée une chaude atmosphère collective qui imprègne les assistants, amenant chez eux des émotions intenses et colorées.

Viennent ensuite les danses, toujours dans l'ordre, *singe*, *susu*, *amusu*, rythmées sur le tambour *apinti*. Ces danses ne sont pas des danses de possession et ne paraissent pas avoir elles-mêmes de sens religieux ; toutes comportent des chœurs dans lesquels les chanteurs ne s'accompagnent d'aucun instrument ; ces chants n'ont d'autre sens que d'exalter la vie ; les Noirs Réfugiés y trouvent leur meilleure expression artistique. Nombre d'entre eux témoignent d'une fantaisie éblouissante ; les sujets en sont très variés et chaque année on en crée de nouveaux. Mais il est un certain nombre de « classiques » qu'on voit revenir dans chaque fête. Citons : l'homme qui appelle son chien *perdu* dans les bois ; le chant de la rivière Balen ; la femme qui veille sur sa fille, etc. Ces chants sont d'une grande beauté et dans les grandes fêtes de deuil, il est difficile de les entendre sans émotion. Chants et danses se poursuivent sans interruption jusqu'au retour du soleil. C'est ce qu'on appelle *broko de*, « casser un jour ». Ce rite, qui a une valeur essentielle aux yeux des Noirs Réfugiés, paraît être l'affirmation par le groupe du triomphe de la vie sur la mort.

Le 5e jour, on sert aux invités sous le hangar mortuaire, une sorte de buffet. L'après-midi il y a l'offrande de nourriture aux ancêtres, *bwe nyã* ; ce rite est une communion entre les morts et les vivants.

Le 6e jour au matin, la cérémonie se termine par l'offrande de l'eau, célébrée non au *fogu liki* mais au bord du hangar, à l'intention des ancêtres. On invoque une dernière

fois le gorko du mort (ou de la morte) en lui demandant de se séparer définitivement de son conjoint et de le laisser en repos ! « *U puu a umd a bonko; yu dyga umd yu pooli lido, na: mu siki, na: ud sani mu du dy, a mu de bâ.* (Nous levons le deuil de (cette) femme ; toi et la femme vous vous séparez aujourd'hui ; elle ne doit pas être malade, il ne doit rien lui arriver, elle doit aller bien) ».

On s'adresse ensuite au défunt au nom des gens de son village : « Nous en avons fini avec toi, reste là où Dieu t'a placé. »

Le conjoint en deuil est de nouveau lavé à la rivière par de vieilles femmes ayant «les-mêmes» supporté le deuil.

Puis on s'adresse aux gorko des ancêtres et aux entités de l'au-delà qui sont supposés être venus en foule : « *Ala sani di kam ya, yu mu luku ala dyga bâ ; u kobo dyga yu; yu sa: mako ala pesi ;* (Chacun des êtres qui êtes venus, sois bienveillant envers nous tous ; nous avons fini avec toi, tu peux aller n'importe où) ».

Le 7e jour, la plupart des assistants commencent à se retirer. Une cérémonie intime réunit les proches parents du défunt dans la maison même où il est mort. Ils pleurent et se lamentent une dernière fois. Puis on fait une dernière offrande de nourriture dans la maison même, et on répète l'adjuration : « Nous en avons fini avec toi ; reste là où Dieu t'a placé. »

Le 8e jour, le conjoint dont on vient de lever le deuil est reconduit solennellement à son village par les gens du lignage du mort. On le congratule, il offre à boire et à manger à toute l'assistance. Ce qui pouvait lui rester d'économies disparaît à cette occasion.

Il doit dormir trois nuits dans son village, toujours sans pouvoir avoir de relations avec une femme. Ce délai passé, il vient rendre les vêtements rouges que le lignage du mort lui avait prêtés. C'est alors seulement qu'il est libre.

Notes prises à Boniville en nov. 1957 à l'occasion de la levée de deuil de Bénili. Cette fête est donnée pour la levée de deuil de ○ Bénili (Dju, E5, habitant Boniville, † en 1955 à 75 ans), de △ Tito, (Kotika, Boniville, † en 1955, à 15 ans) et de △ G..., garçon de 10 ans, fils d'une femme du village l'Enfant Perdu (Dip.I), mort à Boniville où il était élevé par Térésa. La fête est donnée plus de deux ans après la mort. Parfois, quand il n'y a pas de conjoint soumis au deuil (ce qui est le cas ici), on attend davantage encore pour pouvoir grouper les levées de deuil de plusieurs défunts du même village en une seule cérémonie. Le déroulement des rites montre qu'on attache bien plus d'importance à Bénili qu'aux deux jeunes garçons ; en fait, la cérémonie lui est consacrée à peu près exclusivement.

Les cérémonies de levée de deuil à Boniville sont particulièrement intéressantes, car ce village comprend des ressortissants de 5 lignages différents. La répartition des fonctions et des charges permet de mieux comprendre la pensée des Boni relative à l'organisation sociale ; le principe de résidence joue le rôle déterminant. La cérémonie a lieu au village où les défunts résidaient, quel que fût leur lignage. La charge de l'organisation est répartie à peu près également entre tous les habitants du village. Les

membres des lignages des défunts habitant les autres villages assistent à la cérémonie, mais leur contribution est beaucoup moins importante.

Le 8 novembre (journée dite *busimd kom*), à midi, la fête commence par l'arrivée des buchiman qui, la semaine précédente, avaient pêché et séché du poisson pour la fête.

Les buchiman sont placés sous le commandement de △ Tofloto (K). Ce sont tous des volontaires (celui qui se dispenserait de rendre ce service serait exposé à être abandonné seul le jour où il aurait à supporter le poids du deuil d'un de ses proches parents). Le poids principal du deuil est supporté par le village de Boniville. Les gens de la fraction principale des Dju (village Asisi) fournissent une contribution assez importante quant au temps passé à la pêche, mais symbolique quant à la fourniture de tafia et de vivres importés.

Ces buchiman étaient à l'œuvre depuis le 25 octobre, pêchant et salant du poisson :

pour Boniville	pour Asisi-Dju
Fintiman, Klémenti, Doni, Alibi — fils et petits-fils de Béniti (Dju)	3 hommes de plus de 20 ans
4 jeunes gens du lignage Kotika	4 à 5 adolescents
1 — — Dip. I	
2 — — Lapé	
1 — — Papalston	
2 — — Poti	

Au total ils ont fourni quinze jours de travail mais chacun a recueilli pour son compte environ 15 kilogrammes de poisson sec.

Les buchiman, montés dans cinq grandes pirogues ornées d'oriflammes multicolores, approchent du dégrad de Boniville où se trouvent massés tous les jeunes gens du village, les hommes armés de leurs fusils, les femmes brandissant des bannières faites de camisas neuves. Les hourrahs retentissent, ponctués de centaines de coups de fusil. Dans une ambiance enthousiaste, les buchiman font leur entrée dans le village et vont rendre compte de leur mission au conseil rassemblé sous le hangar mortuaire. Selon la coutume ce conseil est improvisé au dernier moment par les anciens se trouvant là, sans distinction d'origine, et ne comporte pas de commandement défini.

4 paniers de poisson séché sont déposés au bord du hangar, pour la fête de levée de deuil, puis chacun va chercher et ranger dans sa maison un gros panier personnel.

Les poissons destinés à la fête sont distribués entre les femmes chargées de les préparer.

Vers 14 heures, les anciens sont rassemblés dans la partie Ouest du hangar ; dans la partie Est, les proches des défunts dont on va lever le deuil se lamentent.

Plusieurs tambours *apinli* sont apportés et placés latéralement.

Les buchiman exécutent la danse *kwadyo* qui semble être une danse guerrière africaine ; ils tiennent un bâton devant eux et font le geste de mettre en joue.

Cela dure environ une demi-heure.

Les invités continuent d'arriver isolément et s'installent aux abords du hangar mortuaire, assis sur leurs petits bancs.

Vers 15 heures, les tambours recommencent à battre. C'est Bukuman, maître dans l'art de parler avec le tambour, qui frappe les formules d'appel, les autres lui donnent la réplique.

Le tambour parle longuement[1]. Un ancien me traduit approximativement : « Autres villages, taisez-vous, car il y a une grande fête au village du grand man ».

« Nous qui sommes vivants actuellement, nous allons faire ce que nous ont appris nos ancêtres voici longtemps ».

Aux morts dont on va lever le deuil, on s'adresse directement ensuite, les appelant par leur nom si ce sont des hommes ; pour les femmes comme Béniti, qu'on ne peut appeler directement car les femmes n'ont pas de nom de tambour, on appelle un de leurs proches défunts, ici Diolé †, frère de Béniti : « Dis à ta sœur que nous allons nous séparer d'elle, car voici longtemps que nous portons son deuil et c'est la coutume, telle que les ancêtres l'ont faite avant nous ».

« Ancêtres, venez, approchez-vous de nous, nous allons verser pour vous le tafia et le jus de canne. »

(Des libations sont faites à l'intérieur du hangar). Le tambour s'adresse ensuite aux assistants :

« Vous qui avez des *obia* pour que le sabre ne vous coupe pas, pour que le verre cassé ne vous blesse pas, qu'attendez-vous ? Vous restez assis, avez-vous peur ? ».

A ces mots, plusieurs des assistants se dressent et se mettent à danser, cherchant la transe de possession. Quelques-uns courent dans le village et reviennent en courant, portant des tiges de bananiers. D'autres traînent des spathes épineuses d'awara ; deux brandissent un vieux canot démoli.

Le tambour bat furieusement le rythme de Kumenti. Une partie des danseurs, pris d'un délire furieux, sautent et trépignent. Certains prennent sous le bras des spathes épineuses d'awara[2] ou se les passent autour du cou.

Une partie des assistants sont pris à leur tour de transes, dont les gens d'âge mûr et de caractère sérieux, comme Fintiman, qu'on emporte évanoui.

Deux possédés, un homme (Ernest, Kotika) et une femme (Awini, Boniville), enduits de *pemba*, sont en proie à des contorsions extraordinaires. Ernest se casse une bouteille sur la tête avec une force telle que les morceaux jaillissent à plusieurs mètres. L'un et

(1) Il s'agit davantage de formules conventionnelles que d'un langage ; deux sons différents peuvent être obtenus du tambour, en frappant respectivement avec les doigts et avec la paume.

(2) Palmier épineux *(astrocaryum vulgare)* dont les épines acérées, longues de près de 10 centimètres, sont particulièrement redoutables. Il est impossible de ramasser à mains nues une spathe d'awara sans se blesser.

l'autre dansent sur les genoux pendant un temps appréciable (le lendemain du reste Awini viendra se faire soigner). L'assistance manifeste une joie frénétique.

Vers 17 heures commence la danse *zinge*. Trois tambours *apinli* sont placés sur la face Ouest du hangar. L'orchestre est complété par un vieux canot retourné que sept à huit hommes frappent avec des bâtons.

Les figures sont à peu près semblables à celles de la danse *aseme*, sauf que les danseurs avancent en frappant du pied gauche.

Suivent des chants, mais entièrement couverts par le tambour et sans grand intérêt musical.

2e jour, 9 nov. Journée appelé *pau de* (« on retire une journée »). Ce jour-là aucun rite n'est exécuté. Chacun vaque à ses occupations. Les femmes pilent et vannent du riz.

3e jour, 10 nov. Journée dite *lolo malo* « on roule les pilons ». Ce jour-là on porte au bord du hangar mortuaire les pilons, le bois de chauffage et tout ce qui est nécessaire à la préparation de la nourriture du lendemain[1].

4e jour, 11 nov. Journée dite *poli ala sani na a kruy zou* (« mettre toutes choses dans le hangar mortuaire »).

Vers 14 heures les jeunes gens qui ont été couper du bois de chauffage reviennent dans des canots ornés de fanions, au milieu des hourrahs et des coups de fusil.

A 15 heures les *basia* circulent dans le village, appelant les femmes qui apparaissent de toutes parts, portant de lourds paniers de cassave.

Les vivres préparés pour la fête sont apportés au bord du hangar. Nombre d'assistants ont apporté une bouteille de tafia. Les *basia* accumulent tout le tafia dans de grandes dames-jeannes. Au total il y aura 6 dames-jeannes de 15 litres de tafia et autant de jus de canne.

Vers 8 heures du soir, les assistants se rassemblent autour du hangar mortuaire où sont assis les joueurs de tambour et les conteurs de *malo* (Anansi Toli). Amèmbé, du village Loka, commence à raconter une histoire qu'on n'écoute guère, l'assistance restant bruyante et distraite. Les répondants ponctuent son discours d'approbations : « hiya ba ! na so ! ». A quelques passages de l'histoire (quand Anansi a réussi à tromper sa victime), l'assistance s'esclaffe, les tambours battent, le conteur et ses répondants chantent et dansent. Peu à peu l'assistance s'échauffe, participe intensément à l'histoire.

Un autre conte suit, raconté par Adiuso, chef du lignage Dju (Asisi). L'assistance est surexcitée, les intermèdes de danse se font de plus en plus nombreux et plus longs, tout le monde, hommes, femmes et enfants y prend part.

Vers 11 heures les danses vont commencer dans l'ordre *aseme*, *zinge*, *aseme*; à six

(1) Quand il y a un conjoint en deuil, c'est ce jour-là qu'il est amené au hangar mortuaire par le lignage du défunt, lilicité et revêtu de vêtements usés de couleur rouge.

heures du matin le lendemain les danses aussi se poursuivent. Une partie des assistants descendent au dégrad pour rentrer chez eux, ne manifestant aucune fatigue apparente.

5e jour, 12 nov. Rien ne se passe le matin. Les assistants prennent quelque repos.

A 15 heures les jeunes gens circulent vêtus de leurs plus beaux atours ; on se rend visite d'une maison à l'autre, on boit et on chante.

Vers 15 h. 30 les *basia* circulent dans le village, appelant les femmes pour apporter le repas cérémoniel. Des tables sont disposées sous le hangar. Les femmes apportent chacune un grand bol ou une cuvette de riz cuit (environ 2 kilogrammes de riz). Certaines y ajoutent un bol de sauce ou de poisson cuit. Pas de viande.

Les *basia* disposent tout cela sur les tables. On compte environ 60 bols ou cuvettes (ce qui représente un bel effort, la récolte de riz ayant été mauvaise), une cinquantaine de bouteilles de soda, quelques boîtes de biscuits et fromages de Hollande.

Fintiman dirige la cérémonie. Il partage tous ces mets sans distinction de provenance en plusieurs lots, un pour chaque lignage.

Tous les invités descendent au dégrad se laver au fleuve, puis revêtent des vêtements neufs avant de participer au repas cérémoniel.

Les gens de chaque lignage vont manger de leur côté ; un bol est porté aux gens en deuil, comme Alémin, qui restent confinés chez eux. Mais les proches des trois défunts dont on va lever le deuil prennent part à la cérémonie.

Vers 16 heures on voit de nouveau apparaître les femmes, portant un petit bol de riz accompagné d'un peu de poisson et de sauce aux arachides. Elles les disposent à terre au bord du hangar mortuaire.

Des feuilles de bananier sont disposées au bord du hangar (face Nord, du côté de la rivière).

Les anciens, assis sur leur petit banc, se réunissent en demi-cercle. Fintiman et Bukuman prennent un peu de chaque bol, le répandent sur les feuilles de bananier. Ils appellent par leur nom les défunts dont on lève le deuil, Béniti et les jeunes garçons Tito et G..., leur parlant sur le ton d'une conversation familière, comme à des vivants qu'on convie à manger.

Quelques personnes viennent manger un peu de la nourriture.

A 17 heures, Fintiman fait ranger cinq petits garçons de 5 à 7 ans, munis chacun d'une cuvette, devant la nourriture étalée par terre. A un signal donné ils se précipitent, chacun emportant ce qu'il a pu recouvrir de sa cuvette. Ils en laissent un peu qui restera là toute la nuit. On y ajoutera le lendemain les restes du buffet préparé pour les vivants.

Le soir, les jeunes gens dansent devant les maisons de quelques hommes qui ont offert le tafia, mais cela n'a plus le caractère d'une cérémonie. Tout est terminé à onze heures du soir.

Le 6e jour, 13 nov., à sept heures, les anciens se réunissent de nouveau devant les

feuilles de bananier où reste un peu de la nourriture offerte la veille (chiens et poules en ont mangé une partie).

Un long palabre commence, décousu et déconcertant, dont le but m'échappe. Ce qui en résulte de plus clair est que les Capitaines exposent ce que le grand man (absent de la cérémonie) leur a dit le matin. Ils remercient le grand man de cette fête qui s'est passée sans aucun incident ; disent qu'on pourra compter sur eux si quelque deuil se produit dans un autre village.

Todo s'excuse auprès du grand man parce que les jeunes gens étaient habillés selon une nouvelle mode (grands calimbés allant jusqu'à terre), et ont dansé quelques danses créoles. Il dit à l'assistance que ce n'est pas conforme à la coutume et que les vraies danses Boni sont *aɔygɛ*, *suza*, *awasa*.

Puis Fintiman verse doucement de l'eau sur les feuilles de bananier en appelant les morts dont on lève le deuil. « Nous versons de l'eau pour vous, veillez sur les gens de votre famille, sur le grand man et sur ceux qui ont travaillé pour le deuil, qu'ils soient en bonne santé, qu'il ne leur arrive rien de mauvais.

Nous en avons fini avec vous ; restez là où Dieu vous a mis ».

En prononçant ces paroles, Fintiman brise le banc et la vaisselle de sa mère défunte (pour les garçons décédés on n'avait rien apporté). Il ne s'agit pas seulement de marquer la rupture avec les vivants, mais de procurer à la défunte ce qui lui sera nécessaire dans l'au-delà. A cet effet on brise aussi une pagaie que son fils Klémenti a préparée pour elle, et des calebasses préparées par ses filles.

Comme il n'y a pas de conjoint en deuil (Béniti était divorcée depuis longtemps) la cérémonie s'arrête là.

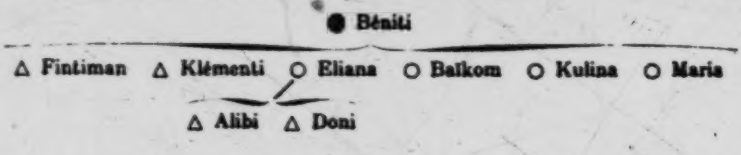
Puis les assistants se dispersent dans le village, allant danser, manger et boire les uns chez les autres. Ils ont l'air satisfait de gens qui viennent de réussir un important travail.

Le 7e jour une cérémonie intime réunit les enfants et petits-enfants de Béniti dans la maison de sa fille Kulina, où elle est morte. Après une offrande de nourriture, ils pleurent et se lamentent une dernière fois. Puis Fintiman, son fils aîné, répète la formule de séparation :

« Nous en avons fini avec vous ; restez là où Dieu vous a mise. »

Levée de deuil de Béniti. Répartition des dépenses. Béniti appartenait à la fraction du lignage Dju établie à Boniville ; le poids principal du deuil devait donc être supporté par cette fraction, l'autre (celle d'Asisi) apportant une contribution symbolique.

Béniti laissait 2 fils et 2 petits-fils adultes :



En fait le fils aîné Fintiman a supporté à lui seul la moitié des frais, le fils cadet étant malade et sans ressources régulières. Aucune contribution en argent n'est demandé aux femmes, qui doivent par contre puiser largement dans leurs réserves de riz.

	Fintiman	Klémenti	Alibi	Doni
dames jeannes de tafia de 15 l	4 = 14.800 fr	1 = 3.700 fr	1 = 3.700 fr	1 = 3.700 fr
caisses de soda (1.000 fr)	4 = 4.000 fr	3 = 3.000 fr	1 = 1.000 fr	1 = 1.000 fr
fromages Hollande	1 = 1.000	néant	néant	néant
boîtes biscuits	2 = 1.800	—	—	—
sucre, kg.	10 = 1.000	—	—	—
canne à sucre	3.000	—	—	—
	25.600 fr	6.700 fr	4.700 fr	4.700 fr

A peu près la moitié du tafia a été apportée au hangar mortuaire pour servir pour les danses, l'autre moitié a été distribuée aux visiteurs au cours des visites intéressées qu'ils venaient faire à domicile aux gens du village.

Les 3 gendres de Béniti ont donné chacun 3 litres de tafia.

Les hommes de Boniville appartenant aux autres lignages ont donné 1 litre chacun, sauf les deux principaux *basia* (adjoints au grand man pour le commandement intérieur du village), Todo et Tofioto, qui ont donné chacun deux litres. En outre, chacun a conservé 1 litre ou deux pour offrir aux visiteurs à domicile.

Quant aux hommes du *lo* Dju de Asisi, ils ont apporté 1 litre chacun, y compris le chef du lignage.

Toutes les femmes de Boniville et toutes les femmes de Asisi-Dju ont apporté leur contribution sous forme de nourriture.

Au total il est venu environ 150 visiteurs adultes.

On peut compter qu'il s'est bu environ 200 litres de tafia, soit un peu plus d'un litre par personne, ce qui pour 5 jours de fête n'est pas énorme.

Mais comme certains boivent fort peu, on peut estimer que les plus portés à l'ivrognerie ont bu jusqu'à 3 et 4 litres.

Héritage

La coutume des Noirs Réfugiés, hostile à tout ce qui peut diviser le matrilignage, ne peut admettre la notion d'un héritier unique entrant en possession de tous les biens du défunt et le remplaçant dans ses fonctions. Cette notion de l'héritier unique considéré comme substitut du défunt, telle qu'elle existe chez les Bamiléké, qui conduit à l'individualisation d'une ligne à l'intérieur du lignage, peut être regardée comme l'extrême opposé de la pensée des Noirs Réfugiés.

Dans la coutume des Noirs Réfugiés, l'héritage doit être dispersé entre les membres du matrilignage au sens strict *(bee)* du mort, et ses enfants.

La coutume de nombreuses sociétés africaines veut que les hommes héritent des hommes et les femmes des femmes. Cette notion est totalement contraire à la pensée juridique des Noirs Réfugiés. Une maison, un objet, un canot, peuvent passer d'un homme à une femme ou inversement. Il en est de même des dieux inférieurs dont le défunt pouvait être possédé.

Si le défunt n'a pas indiqué avant sa mort, devant témoins, la répartition de ses biens, on emploie le même procédé divinatoire que pour la détermination des causes de la mort : le cercueil étant porté sur la tête de deux hommes, on fait ranger devant les membres du matrilignage au sens restreint du défunt, et ses enfants. Le président du *lànli kuulu* demande : à qui laisses-tu ta maison ? Le cercueil s'avance vers l'un des assistants, puis : « A qui laisses-tu ton canot ? » A qui laisses-tu ton fusil ? » A qui laisses-tu tes abattis en cours de récolte ? ».

Les héritiers partiels ainsi désignés peuvent entrer immédiatement en possession de leurs legs.

Sont réservés ce que les Boni appellent le « matériel » du défunt c'est-à-dire ses objets personnels, son linge, son argent, qui seront répartis après la levée du deuil.

La règle coutumière est la suivante :

Pendant la durée du deuil, ces objets enfermés dans une malle sont placés sous la garde de l'aîné des enfants s'il s'agissait d'une femme, de l'aîné des neveux au sens classificatoire s'il s'agissait d'un homme. Après la levée du deuil, la répartition est faite par la mère du défunt, si elle est encore vivante, sinon par l'aîné des oncles ou tantes au sens classificatoire et s'ils sont tous morts, par l'aîné des frères ou sœurs survivants au sens classificatoire du défunt.

Exemple : Quand △ Atikuti (Dju, E18) est mort en 1953, âgé d'environ 75 ans, sa maison alla à sa sœur Adyidya (E19), son fusil à Kéwénu (G10), son canot à sa sœur au sens classificatoire Aliki (E23), âgée de 85 ans.

A la levée du deuil de Atikuti, c'est Aliki, à titre d'aînée des sœurs survivantes au sens classificatoire, qui a fait la répartition de ses objets personnels et de son argent ; par exemple un bracelet de fer est allé à Sosoman (E14)[1].

En voyant la répartition de cet héritage sur le tableau généalogique, on se rend compte que la parenté classificatoire n'est pas un vain mot et qu'en fait, à l'intérieur du matrilignage *(bee)*, la répartition se fait strictement au hasard, sans considération de sexe, d'âge ou de proximité de parenté, ce qui est strictement normal, vu le procédé divinatoire employé.

Une conclusion analogue se dégage de l'étude de l'héritage des dieux ; le dieu *Papa gadu* de l'aïeule ○ Sapiké (D5) est passé dans Pamasa (E26), sa parente au 7e degré. De même le dieu *Ampuku* de △ Agoabuchi, passant d'un homme à une femme, est allé

(1) Voir le tableau généalogique du lignage Dju.

à Dabisa (G45), sa parente au 10e degré au moins (Agoabuchi n'a pu être situé avec certitude sur le tableau généalogique). Le dieu *Kumânti* de △ Antinon (D9) est allé à Achiké (F13).

L'étude de l'héritage des maisons amène à des conclusions analogues.

Le seul cas où on voit apparaître un certain systématisme est celui de l'héritage des femmes ayant des enfants adultes. Il semble (mais ce n'est pas un principe juridique) que ces enfants reçoivent l'essentiel de l'héritage.

Une tendance qui se fait pour ces dernières années en ce qui concerne les hommes consiste à léguer de son vivant l'essentiel de ses biens aux enfants que l'on a élevés.

Héritage des fonctions et des pouvoirs. A la mort d'un chef de lignage, on demande au *yorka* du défunt qui il désire voir nommer. Le conseil se réunit ensuite pour procéder à la nomination ; il demeure libre de son choix. la volonté d'outre-tombe du défunt n'a pas force de loi ; en fait il semble qu'elle soit suivie le plus souvent.

Pour la fonction de Capitaine qui est commune à l'ensemble des fractions d'un même *lo*, l'héritage peut passer d'une fraction à une autre.

Ex. : pour le *lo* Awara Bakka, la succession :
Asembay (Aw. B.2) ;
Pèèyon (Aw. B.1) ;
Kondoku (Aw. B.1).

[p. 191]

CHAPITRE VII

CROYANCES

Origine des croyances des Noirs Réfugiés

La vie spirituelle des Noirs Réfugiés des Guyanes est intimement liée à leur vie sociale, et la division que nous sommes obligés de faire pour la clarté de l'exposé est bien souvent arbitraire. Aussi nous efforcerons-nous de mettre en évidence ces connexions partout où elles sont essentielles.

Ce qui constitue la religion des Noirs Réfugiés est une synthèse d'éléments provenant de divers peuples de l'Ouest africain, notamment des Ashanti, des Agni, des Mina et des Fon et aussi d'éléments congolais. Cette synthèse semble avoir pris naissance chez les Saramaka, première tribu constituée au début du XVIIIe siècle, et avoir été adoptée ensuite avec des modifications de détail par les Djuka, tribu créée vers 1760. Les Boni, dernière tribu constituée, ont probablement reçu ces croyances pendant le temps de servitude qu'ils ont passé sous la tutelle des Djuka, de 1815 à 1860. Les croyances des Boni et celles des Djuka ont un fondement identique, les rites et leurs incidences sur la vie sociale sont exactement les mêmes. Toutefois les Djuka, près de 10 fois plus nombreux, ont pu garder des conceptions très différenciées et des cultes spécialisés, comportant des prêtres au sens propre du terme.

Les Boni n'ont gardé que l'essentiel, et beaucoup de conceptions, notamment les mythes qui servent de support à l'ensemble de la tradition, se sont fortement estompées chez eux.

Les Boni s'imaginent volontiers que les Africains ne constituent qu'une nation, et qu'ils ont hérité en bloc des traditions et des formes sociales de cette nation. Ils savent maintenant (notamment pour avoir fréquenté les tirailleurs sénégalais de la mission française de 1937) qu'il y existe de nombreuses tribus, mais cela n'a pas ébranlé la vénération qu'ils portent à l'Afrique, source pour eux de toute connaissance et de toute force. Pourtant, presque rien n'est parvenu jusqu'à eux de la culture propre à chacune des grandes tribus ; aucun nom de nation africaine n'est resté dans leur mémoire et

aucune des langues de leurs pays d'origine ne s'est conservée[1] ; partout a prévalu la langue véhiculaire imposée aux esclaves. Cela n'a rien d'étonnant, puisque les propriétaires d'esclaves s'efforçaient, pour empêcher les révoltes, de mélanger au maximum les Noirs des diverses tribus.

Un certain nombre d'hommes initiés à des degrés divers à des cultes africains se trouvaient parmi les rebelles. Ils se sont efforcés de conserver et de transmettre ces rites, que leurs descendants ont plus ou moins transposés ou déformés[2]. Autant qu'on puisse en juger par les langues secrètes attachées à ces cultes, où se reconnaissent de nombreux mots déformés de la langue ordinaire, et quelques mots indiens, ces cultes dans leur état actuel, doivent différer sensiblement de ceux qui leur ont donné naissance. En fait, la seule chose que les Noirs Réfugiés aient authentiquement gardée, ce sont des concepts, des idées métaphysiques et morales.

C'est précisément ce qui fait le grand intérêt des formes religieuses des Noirs Réfugiés, que l'on retrouve d'ailleurs dans une large mesure, mélangées avec les idées chrétiennes, chez l'ensemble des Noirs de l'Amérique du Sud. Elles semblent mettre en évidence un fonds commun très important de conceptions communes aux civilisations ouest-africaines.

Ce n'est certainement pas par hasard si les diverses tribus des Noirs Réfugiés ont adopté des formes sociales et religieuses si voisines. On doit admettre l'action de quelques fortes personnalités qui ont su, avec un instinct presque surhumain, dégager dans le fatras des croyances qu'apportaient les esclaves révoltés, ce qui était nécessaire à la vie de la nouvelle société ; mais cette nouvelle religion ne se serait pas implantée sous des formes si stables et si cohérentes si tous n'avaient pas eu intimement conscience d'être d'accord sur un minimum de concepts communs.

Il importe d'observer que les Noirs Réfugiés, qui ont emprunté aux Indiens et aux Européens la plupart de leurs techniques, sont restés rigoureusement fidèles dans leurs croyances et leurs rites au fonds africain, dont ils ont tiré un ensemble homogène et vivant. Bien que les croyances des Indiens leur soient connues dans leurs grandes lignes, ils ne leur ont presque rien emprunté ; il est par contre certain que des réminiscences chrétiennes ont influé sur la conception qu'ils ont du dieu suprême, Masa Gadu, et sur leur loi morale et religieuse. Mais elles ont été introduites dans un système de pensée africain, et en fait, les croyances qui influent directement sur la vie individuelle et sur la vie sociale proviennent en droite ligne de la terre africaine.

Conceptions métaphysiques. A travers les rites des Noirs Réfugiés transparaissent des

(1) On observe pourtant qu'un certain nombre de détails décousus de la vie africaine leur sont parvenus par tradition orale ; c'est ainsi qu'ils ont gardé une description assez exacte de l'éléphant *(lea)* et du gorille *(malégrenu)*.

(2) Le seul fait que la végétation et la faune différaient totalement de celles de l'Afrique obligeait déjà à une modification du rituel, qui fait appel à des infusions de feuilles de nombreuses plantes auxquelles sont attachées des propriétés magiques précises.

conceptions métaphysiques très comparables à celles qui ont été relevées dans les populations de l'Ouest africain.

Les Noirs Réfugiés considèrent les êtres et les choses comme répartis sur plusieurs niveaux :

— Le dieu créateur ;
— Les dieux inférieurs ;
— Les ancêtres ;
— Les hommes ;
— Les animaux ;
— Les plantes et les choses inanimées.

A chacun de ces niveaux correspondent un niveau de vie et un niveau de force *(kaakili)*. Une force supérieure peut agir sur une force inférieure, mais non l'inverse.

On peut dire que les cultes des Noirs Réfugiés ont pour but de capter la force vitale des dieux et des ancêtres et de la ramener au niveau des hommes, leur donnant force, chance et fécondité. Accroître ainsi sa force vitale peut être défini comme le bien. Le mal (la magie négative, *wisi*) c'est au contraire capter la force vitale d'un autre homme pour accroître la sienne.

L'idée qu'on a du *wisimã*, c'est qu'il se sert d'une force supérieure (du *yorka* d'un ancêtre notamment) qu'il a réussi à capturer par magie et à soumettre à sa volonté, pour dominer autrui. Réduit à sa seule force, il ne pourrait rien.

La magie des Noirs Réfugiés pourrait laisser croire qu'ils pensent agir directement sur les hommes par l'intermédiaire des plantes auxquelles seraient attachées des vertus magiques. Ce serait une profonde erreur ; dans leur esprit, animaux et plantes sont placés à un niveau inférieur absolument incapable par lui-même d'agir sur l'homme. Les plantes ne sont supposées agir que dans la mesure où elles paraissent capables d'attirer, de fixer comme des accumulateurs, la force vitale émanée des dieux.

Une idée couramment répandue sur l'animisme laisserait penser par exemple qu'avant d'abattre un arbre, un Noir Réfugié lui adresse des paroles et des offrandes. Cela est entièrement absent de sa pensée : ou bien cet arbre est susceptible de servir de support à un dieu, auquel cas on ne peut y toucher qu'après des rites complexes ayant pour but de transférer ce dieu ailleurs, ou c'est simplement un arbre, et on le coupe sans autre forme de procès.

Un aspect très net de ces conceptions est le *dagu kunu*, malédiction résultant du meurtre d'un chien. On peut tuer impunément n'importe quel animal mais non un chien, parce qu'« un chien, c'est presque un homme ».

A l'opposé du véritable *kunu*, malédiction s'étendant à tout un lignage, le *dagu kunu* ne porte que sur la personne coupable, et n'attire sur lui que des malheurs limités.

Aucun sentiment à l'égard du chien n'intervient dans cette conception, mais seulement l'idée qu'il est placé sur un plan particulier, proche du plan de l'humain et de son niveau de force.

LES GRANDS DIEUX

Les Boni reconnaissent un Dieu suprême, Nana[1], plus communément appelé Masa Gadu, et *Kedi Amu*, *Kediampon* en langue Kumanti. Il a créé les dieux inférieurs et tout ce qui vit sur la terre.

Voici comment les vieillards Boni racontent le mythe de la création du monde :

Dieu créa un frère et une sœur, Adam et Efa. Ils étaient jumeaux. Il les plaça dans un lieu où ils vivaient heureux sans travailler. Mais il leur interdit de toucher au fruit du corossolier.

Un jour, le diable vint sous la forme du serpent *dapome*. Il leur dit : « Mangez les graines de cet arbre et vous connaîtrez toutes choses comme Dieu même ».

Adam se laissa tenter et mangea un corossol, il en fit manger à Efa. Il trouva ce fruit bon et dit : « Dieu nous avait trompé ». Son cœur changea, il cessa de regarder Efa comme une sœur et s'unit à elle. Elle devint enceinte.

Quelque temps après, Dieu vint sur la terre et vit ce qui s'était passé. Il dit à Efa : « Tu enfanteras dans la douleur ». Et à Adam : « Tu ne mangeras que ce que tu auras récolté à la sueur de ton front ». Il lui remit une hache de pierre et lui dit : « Va sur la montagne voisine ; tu trouveras les plants de ce que tu devras planter désormais pour te nourrir ».

Efa eut deux jumeaux qu'elle appela de nouveau Adam et Efa, et d'autres enfants. C'est de ces enfants que sont issus tous les hommes.

Ce mythe biblique, transposé dans la pensée africaine, explique les croyances des Noirs Réfugiés concernant les jumeaux. Ce sont deux jumeaux que Dieu créa les premiers. Les jumeaux sont aimés de Dieu et participent à sa nature.

L'idée la plus communément répandue parmi les Boni est que Masa Gadu est la source de force à laquelle s'alimentent tous les êtres vivants ; les hommes lui sont reliés par l'intermédiaire des ancêtres.

Il arrive à Masa Gadu d'intervenir directement dans la vie des hommes et en pareil cas il agit nécessairement selon l'équité, sans qu'aucune magie puisse protéger le coupable. Mais dans la plupart des cas il n'intervient pas, témoignant par là d'autant d'arbitraire que les dieux inférieurs.

Les grands dieux Gwangwéla et Gédéosu des Djuka ne sont pas connus des Boni.

Il n'existe pas à proprement parler de culte de Masa Gadu. Aucun édifice ne lui est réservé, il n'a pas de prêtres et on ne fait pas de cérémonies collectives à son intention. Il est pourtant constamment présent dans la vie religieuse des Boni, associé au culte des ancêtres. Toute cérémonie du culte des ancêtres comporte une invocation à Masa Gadu. De temps à autre, pour des motifs précis, comme la maladie d'un membre du *lo*, on va

(1) Ce terme provient des Agni.

spécialement au *fraga tiki* pour invoquer Masa Gadu. C'est le plus ancien de *le* qui officie, tandis qu'un plus jeune verse un peu d'eau et de tafia au pied du *fraga tiki;* l'ancien s'adresse à Masa Gadu dans la langue ordinaire, en des termes simples, sur le ton d'une conversation familière, lui demandant la guérison des malades ou la fin des calamités. Les assistants assis en demi-cercle ponctuent la fin du discours de quelques applaudissements rythmés en prononçant la formule rituelle de remerciements : « *Gad bigi bigi fi gu, Masa Gadu* ».

En dehors de ces cérémonies qui ne dépassent guère le cadre du lignage, chacun peut s'adresser directement à Masa Gadu, en priant à haute voix, si par exemple il se trouve isolé en brousse et en proie à la maladie. Jamais on ne s'adresse à Masa Gadu autrement que pour un motif matériel précis. La prière intérieure dans un but de perfection spirituelle n'existe pas à notre connaissance chez les Noirs Réfugiés.

On s'adresse directement à Masa Gadu quand on se croit victime d'une iniquité (voir malédiction). Pourtant, bien que les Noirs Réfugiés aient un sens très vif de l'équité, ils ne prennent jamais à témoin Masa Gadu des vengeances cruelles et arbitraires *(kunu)* que sont supposées exercer sur eux les divinités inférieures. Il est admis que tout ce que font ces divinités est conforme au rôle que Masa Gadu leur a assigné et que les souffrances qu'elles infligent aux hommes sont indispensables à la bonne marche de l'univers.

Les lois de Odun. Le culte de Odun *(Odû)* est la clé de voûte de l'édifice social et religieux des Noirs Réfugiés. C'est un culte très secret ; ses rites ne sont pas pratiqués en présence d'étrangers et toute curiosité à son égard rencontre une franche hostilité. Les Boni, qui parlent assez volontiers des cultes de possession, sont muets au sujet de Odun, et l'on peut passer des années parmi eux sans même entendre prononcer ce nom.

Le culte de Odun est commun aux Boni et aux Saramaka (c'est peut-être ce qui explique les relations conflantes qui existent entre les deux groupements). Chez les Djuka, il est remplacé par le culte de Gwangwéla (Grantata), qui possède exactement les mêmes fonctions et les mêmes rites.

Odun ne doit pas être confondu avec le Dieu créateur Nana (Masa Gadu). Les mythes expliquant les relations de ces deux entités n'étaient pas connus de nos informateurs, mais il est clair que Odun a été envoyé aux hommes par Masa Gadu comme législateur et justicier.

Les lois de Odun ont une profonde originalité, tant par leur contenu que par les sanctions qui les accompagnent. Il n'est pas excessif de parler d'une doctrine religieuse et morale des Noirs Réfugiés.

Ces lois se présentent sous une forme négative. Un certain nombre d'actes et de comportements sont défendus à ceux qui sont entrés dans la société des Noirs Réfugiés en prêtant un serment qui les engage définitivement. Les infracteurs seront punis sans intervention directe des hommes, par l'action toute puissante de Odun, qui les tuera ou

les frappera de maladies. En règle générale, le châtiment de Odun est la mort ; c'est ce qui explique la crainte qu'inspire son nom.

Odun défend :

La sorcellerie, *wisi*, au sens le plus général, c'est-à-dire toute action magique ayant pour but de tuer, de rendre malade et d'une façon générale de nuire à autrui.

— La vengeance ; si quelqu'un se croit victime d'un maléfice, il ne doit en aucun cas faire de contre-maléfice, ou invoquer ses ancêtres contre son ennemi. Il ne peut demander que la protection des *shin*. C'est Odun qui le vengera en tuant tôt ou tard, le malfaisant.

La violence sous quelque forme que ce soit. Il est regardé comme une offense particulièrement grave aux lois de Odun de frapper à main armée et de faire couler du sang humain[1]

Toute atteinte à la liberté des personnes, par une coercition matérielle ou morale ; en particulier ni homme ni femme ne peut être contraint de demeurer dans une union qui a cessé de lui plaire ; personne ne peut être contraint de résider ici ou là.

Les formes de magie si courantes parmi les Antillais, visant à capter l'amour d'une personne, sont à ce titre réprouvées par les Noirs Réfugiés et considérées comme une forme de *wisi*.

Toute évocation des esprits des morts, même pour leur demander protection, autrement que dans les cérémonies publiques prévues par la coutume. Ainsi personne ne doit se rendre au cimetière pour prier individuellement sur la tombe de ses parents. Quiconque ferait cela serait immédiatement considéré comme *wisimd*.

Le châtiment de Odun n'est pas regardé comme immédiat. Il peut être différé pendant un certain nombre d'années, pour des motifs connus de lui seul, mais il survient inévitablement.

La violence peut être pardonnée, si le coupable se repent et fait une offrande. L'offrande réparatrice (par exemple si quelqu'un a menacé son adversaire d'un sabre ou l'a frappé au point de faire couler du sang) est d'une dame-jeanne de tafia, ou d'une certaine quantité de tabac en feuilles exposée dans la chapelle de Odun.

Mais il n'y a pas de pardon pour les *wisimd*. Même si les hommes pardonnent, Odun reste impitoyable. Personne ne peut donc avouer être coupable de *wisi*, car il n'y a pas de réparation possible ; d'ailleurs nul n'oserait supplier la clémence de Odun en faveur d'un *wisimd*, car ce serait s'associer avec lui et s'exposer à être frappé par le dieu de la même façon.

Les *wisimd* seront tués par Odun, et les hommes devront s'associer au châtiment en refusant au corps l'inhumation dans le cimetière, et en allant le jeter en brousse. S'ils

[1] Cette explication est différente avec laquelle la société des N des Réfugiés limite le droit de coercition accordé au maître d'esclaves, qui ne doit frapper qu'à poings nus devant témoins, jamais en brousse ni sur la rivière. La crainte de verser du sang humain explique le rituel des Boni devant les opérations de petite chirurgie.

se refusaient à obéir à cette loi, Odun considérerait qu'ils ont renié sa doctrine et les frapperait soit dans leur personne, soit en tuant un membre quelconque du lignage coupable.

Ainsi, quand mourut en 1952 une vieille femme nommée A..., du lignage Lapé, qui s'était établie au village créole Hermina, il apparut qu'elle avait *wisi;* mais comme elle vivait parmi les créoles, ses proches n'osèrent pas intervenir et on l'enterra au cimetière d'Hermina. Plusieurs années se passèrent sans incident, puis des malheurs survinrent ; des décès survenus dans le lignage, notamment celui de P... (1955), et de T... (1957), et un accident survenu à un enfant en 1958, furent reconnus comme des châtiments exercés par Odun sur le lignage Lapé.

Le lieu de culte de Odun est une chapelle minuscule à proximité de la maison du grand man. Elle ne contient qu'un poteau grossièrement sculpté en forme de buste, sans aucun ornement.

Les rites du culte de Odun ne sont connus que du grand man, et d'un vieillard qui le remplace quand il est en voyage. Ils ne sont pratiqués qu'à l'occasion du serment collectif contre *wisi*, renouvelé tous les deux ou trois ans, et quand il faut implorer la clémence de Odun à l'égard d'un infracteur. L'officiant lave le corps de celui-ci avec une macération de feuilles qu'il est seul à connaître.

Pour interroger Odun et savoir s'il pardonne, on fait usage d'un objet sacré nommé *afaloku*, placé sur une planche posée sur la tête de deux hommes. Les réponses par oui et par non sont déduites de l'interprétation des mouvements des porteurs, comme pour l'interrogatoire des morts.

Le serment devant Odun est pratiqué également comme épreuve judiciaire, permettant à un homme injustement accusé de vol ou d'un méfait quelconque de se justifier.

Ainsi, en novembre 1959, B..., de Asisi, accusé par deux Djuka d'être responsable de l'incendie d'un carbet où se trouvaient entreposés des objets de valeur, demanda à se justifier devant Odun.

Les lois de Odun, qui ont pour effet d'interdire la violence, la vengeance et toute forme d'oppression, donnent à la société des Noirs Réfugiés une atmosphère particulière de dignité et de sérénité, qu'on ne trouve pas au même degré dans les sociétés animistes africaines. La plupart des sociétés africaines réprouvent la sorcellerie et le meurtre, mais elles admettent la vengeance et des formes diverses d'oppression. Il est probable que les hommes qui, voici deux ou trois siècles, au fond des forêts de Surinam, élaborèrent ces lois, se sont inspirés plus ou moins consciemment de notions chrétiennes ; mais ils les ont introduites dans un système de pensée africain, les associant à l'idée de sanctions matérielles dans la vie présente, sans laquelle elles auraient été sans pouvoir.

Les lois de Odun créent un clivage irréductible entre les Noirs Réfugiés et les créoles. Les créoles de Surinam, comme les orpailleurs antillais du Maroni, professent le christianisme, mais ils en ont une conception particulière, associant aux idées chrétiennes des

croyances d'origines diverses et souvent des pratiques de magie. Si en quasi-totalité ils réprouvent la magie visant à nuire sans raison, ils admettent très généralement :

— La contre-sorcellerie inspirée par la vengeance ;

— Les « invocations » envers les esprits des morts, et diverses recettes magiques dans lesquelles on suppose capter la force vitale de ces esprits pour en faire une utilisation pratique ;

— Les charmes ayant pour but de forcer l'amour d'une personne qu'on désire.

Les créoles sont aussi attachés à ces conceptions que les Noirs Réfugiés aux lois de Odun, qui leur sont absolument contraires. Elles ont une telle importance dans la pensée des uns et des autres qu'il serait impensable de faire vivre durablement ensemble, intégrés dans la même organisation, un groupe de créoles et un groupe de Noirs Réfugiés. Les tentatives faites à cet égard, notamment à Surinam, ont toujours échoué. Quand une activité économique les attache au même travail, dans une même localité, créoles et Noirs Réfugiés forment deux groupements distincts, vivant chacun selon sa propre loi.

Si des Noirs Réfugiés quittent leur groupe durablement pour s'établir au milieu des créoles, s'ils ne reviennent pas périodiquement renouveler le serment de Odun, on admet qu'ils ont *renié* ses lois et qu'ils sont suspects de *wisi*. Il arrive que des gens ayant passé toute une partie de leur vie au milieu des créoles reviennent vivre dans leur village natal, parce qu'ils sont en proie à l'adversité ou à la maladie ; on les accueille toujours (le lignage ne peut chasser un de ses membres), mais ils ont les plus grandes chances d'être déclarés *wisimd* à leur mort. Ce fut notamment le cas d'une vieille femme de 90 ans, A..., morte à Asisi en janvier 1957. Ayant vécu avec des créoles dans sa jeunesse, elle était revenue vivre dans son village natal depuis au moins trente ans, et n'avait jamais donné lieu à aucune remarque défavorable. Pourtant à sa mort, il apparut qu'elle avait *wisi*.

Attitude envers le christianisme. Les Noirs Réfugiés, qui connaissent mieux qu'on ne pourrait le croire les conceptions des populations au milieu desquelles ils vivent, ont un net sentiment de la parenté qui existe entre leurs conceptions métaphysiques et morales et celles du christianisme. Ils pensent qu'ils adorent le même dieu que les chrétiens, d'une façon différente mais toute aussi valable. Ils n'ont aucune animosité à l'égard du clergé catholique et protestant, et la plupart d'entre eux acceptent volontiers de porter des croix ou des médailles. Mais ils n'ont pas la moindre intention d'abandonner pour autant leurs croyances. Ils ne perçoivent pas la contradiction et ne comprennent pas qu'on veuille les obliger à un choix.

Comme les orpailleurs créoles, ils attachent une grande importance au baptême, considéré comme un rite protégeant contre les dangers de la brousse. A Noël 1957, ils furent fortement impressionnés par la mort accidentelle d'un Djuka chrétien vivant à l'école de Kotika. Il refusait d'observer le deuil de sa femme selon la coutume des Noirs Réfugiés, et allait boire dans les cabarets des villages créoles. Le soir de Noël, étant ivre, il se noya. Cela fut attribué à un châtiment surhumain. Nous avons entendu

à ce sujet la réflexion suivante : « Il était baptisé et il s'est noyé quand même. Cela ne vaut donc pas la peine ».

En fait, la structure matrilinéaire des Noirs Réfugiés et leur conception du mariage constituent un clivage irréductible, qui apparaît immédiatement dès qu'on quitte les conceptions métaphysiques pour passer sur le plan de la vie pratique. Les Noirs Réfugiés changent aussitôt d'attitude dès qu'on leur parle de mariage. Hommes et femmes sont unanimes à considérer le mariage comme une atteinte intolérable à la liberté individuelle, et comme un lien sans objet ; ils en parlent avec une véritable indignation, ayant même le sentiment d'une offrage contre la morale.

Les cultes de possession

Les phénomènes de possession sont extrêmement fréquents chez les Noirs d'Amérique (possession par les saints, ou inspiration par le Saint-Esprit, chez les Noirs du Brésil et des États-Unis, culte du Vaudou en Haïti). Chez les Noirs Réfugiés ils constituent la base même de la vie religieuse, au point d'être le moyen normal de communication entre les dieux et les hommes ; ils ont des incidences profondes dans l'ensemble de la vie sociale.

Les cultes de possession pratiqués par les Noirs Réfugiés de Guyane diffèrent de ceux des Noirs du Brésil et de Haïti, et ne paraissent pas se rattacher directement à ceux des cultes africains qui ont été décrits.

Nous ne donnerons ici que des indications très succinctes sur le rituel de ces cultes et nous nous efforcerons principalement de montrer leur place par rapport aux institutions des Noirs Réfugiés, et leur fonctionnement.

La possession est supposée être l'entrée dans un homme d'une entité surhumaine (divinité, esprit d'un ancêtre) qui, pendant un temps variable, généralement assez court (quelques minutes à quelques heures), se sert du corps de cet homme et s'exprime par sa bouche. On dit que l'homme est devenu le cheval *-kasi-* de la divinité. On dit aussi : telle divinité est entrée dans sa tête. Le possédé est dit *gadu mô* (*gadu umô* pour une femme). Ce mot a été traduit improprement par prêtre dans les premiers ouvrages traitant des Noirs Réfugiés.

Les phénomènes de possession existent chez d'autres populations des Guyanes et notamment chez les Amérindiens, mais ils ont chez les Noirs Réfugiés des formes bien définies et particulières.

— Pendant la durée de la possession, la conscience ordinaire de l'homme est totalement abolie. Revenu à lui, il ne se souvient plus de rien et il faut que les assistants lui répètent ce que la divinité a révélé. Cette perte totale de conscience pendant la possession paraît être un phénomène très constant chez les Noirs, tant en Afrique qu'en Amérique. Le Pr. de Granje fait remarquer que l'homme-médecine indien, au contraire, ne perd

pas conscience pendant ses transes et qu'il est censé recevoir lui-même les révélations des esprits.

Quand un homme est possédé par une divinité, aux yeux des Noirs Réfugiés il n'est plus là, ce que son corps peut faire ne lui est en rien attribué. On dit : le *godu* fait ceci, dit cela, danse de telle façon. Si le *godu* blessait quelqu'un (cela n'arrive pratiquement jamais du reste), ou cassait quelque chose, son porteur ne supporterait aucune responsabilité.

— La divinité s'exprime en une langue qui lui est propre ; nous verrons plus loin qu'il y a quatre catégories de divinités susceptibles de s'incarner dans les hommes, ce qui correspond à quatre langues secrètes dont en pratique deux seulement sont connues des Boni, tout au moins des plus âgés d'entre eux.

Le porteur de la divinité, dans son état de conscience habituel, connaît en général cette langue, qu'il a apprise d'un maître s'il s'agit d'une possession désirée et obtenue à l'aide de pratiques précises.

Mais il y a aussi de nombreux cas de possession non provoquée (dans le *kunu* notamment) et l'on affirme que dans ce cas, la divinité parle tout aussi bien sa langue, quoique son porteur ne l'ait jamais apprise ;

— La possession se manifeste par des sortes de transes qu'on appelle *gila* ou *kimfo*, d'une nature variable selon la divinité dont il s'agit, qui comportent parfois des phénomènes d'insensibilité et des actions impossibles à exécuter dans un état normal ;

— La première fois que la divinité pénètre dans un homme, elle lui impose un *kina* (un interdit) qui sera désormais la marque de son appartenance. C'est ce qu'on appelle un *godu kina*. Ce *kina* est variable d'une divinité à une autre, mais en principe une divinité donnée impose le même *kina* à ses divers porteurs. La divinité se nomme, et elle indique à son porteur un moyen de la rappeler en cas de besoin : faire tels gestes, répandre tel liquide ou telle poudre.

Tout cela est enregistré par les assistants qui le révèlent au possédé quand il est revenu à lui.

Il est admis que le dieu protège son porteur tant que celui-ci respecte les lois de son culte et observe son *kina* (dans le cas contraire le dieu peut le punir cruellement). Réciproquement il est admis que l'homme a un certain pouvoir, un certain droit sur le dieu qui le possède. On dit qu'il en est le maître, *masa*, mot qui est employé habituellement dans le sens « être propriétaire de ». A sa mort, il peut léguer ce dieu dans les formes et selon les lois qui régissent l'héritage des biens. Bien entendu le dieu peut ne pas entériner cette division et il est libre de se manifester en qui il veut. Mais on affirme que dans la plupart des cas il suit docilement le choix de son porteur. Nous verrons que cet héritage des dieux joue un rôle essentiel dans le fonctionnement du *kunu*.

Apprentissage de la possession. Quels buts poursuit l'homme qui désire avoir ainsi un *godu*? Avant tout il recherche la force. Réussir dans la vie, être protégé contre ses ennemis, être respecté : Tels sont les buts couramment poursuivis et ouvertement reconnus par les Noirs Réfugiés qui « ont un *godu* ».

On trouve souvent aussi comme but avoué l'idée d'être utile à son lignage.

Les élans mystiques désintéressés paraissent totalement absents de ces cultes.

Mais ce n'est là qu'un aspect des phénomènes de possession ; ils semblent bien être, dans une large mesure, inconscients et involontaires. Tout le monde peut essayer d'obtenir un *godu*, mais tout le monde ne réussit pas ; il faut avoir une certaine prédisposition. « On ne peut pas obliger un *godu* à entrer dans un homme », disent les Boni ; il semble bien en fait que dans près de la moitié des cas, la possession survient spontanément et parfois à la grande terreur de l'intéressé : c'est ce qu'on observe notamment dans le *kunu*.

Mimi, femme âgée en 1958 d'environ 46 ans, du lignage Kotika, était possédée par deux *godu*, un *Ampuku* et un *Papa godu*. Voici comment ses proches relatent la façon dont ils sont venus en elle.

Une dizaine d'années auparavant, Mimi donnait des signes de dérangement mental. Elle avait des absences, quittait parfois le village pour courir dans la brousse au hasard, prononçait des paroles sans suite[1]. Puis elle tomba très malade (pleurésie ?). Les anciens consultèrent alors les oracles et s'aperçurent que Mimi était victime d'un *Ampuku* nommé Maogan, qui depuis très longtemps poursuivait de sa vengeance *(kunu)* le lignage Kotika. Pour se protéger, elle chercha à se faire donner un dieu plus puissant et elle devint élève d'un obiaman spécialisé dans le culte des *Papa godu*. Elle eut ainsi un *Papa godu* nommé Ayaémé, divinité d'un caractère bienfaisant à laquelle dans les cas difficiles sa famille s'adresse pour obtenir conseils, protection et remèdes. Elle a fait construire à côté de sa maison une petite case où le dieu va se reposer quand il a fini chacun de ses voyages au pays des hommes. Ayaémé a imposé à Mimi son *kina* qui concerne un poisson. Mais elle n'était pas pour autant débarrassée de son *kunu* de l'*Ampuku*, et un jour, ce qu'il n'avait pas encore fait, ce dernier se révéla en elle et parla par sa bouche. Il annonça qu'il continuerait à exercer son *kunu* contre le lignage Kotika. On l'apaisa par des sacrifices d'étoffes rouge et de bière ; depuis, il paraît calmé et plutôt de bonne humeur. Il vient de temps en temps en Mimi et parle en langue Saramaka. On a très peur de lui mais on n'hésite pas à le questionner et à lui demander des remèdes, qu'il indique quelquefois. Il a imposé à Mimi 3 *godu kina* concernant l'acourhi, l'agami et le tatou.

Organisation des cultes de possession. Il n'existe pas en pays Boni de confréries religieuses à proprement parler ; il y a seulement des maîtres *-bas*[2]- qui ont reçu leur pouvoir d'un autre maître et qui enseignent un petit groupe de disciples *-kindi-*, sans distinction de villages ou de lignages, et sous leur seule responsabilité ; chacun, homme ou femme, est absolument libre de suivre son enseignement.

(1) Il faut remarquer à ce sujet l'idée très répandue chez les Nègres Réfugiés comme chez les créoles, que certaines formes de déséquilibre mental sont dues à l'action d'une entité qui cherche à se manifester dans un homme et n'y parvient pas. Pour guérir cet homme, il faut le « lever » avec les feuilles appropriées, pour que le dieu puisse venir se manifester en lui ; le reste du temps il sera normal.

(2) Il ne paraît pas indiqué de traduire ce mot par « prêtre ». Dans l'esprit des Nègres Réfugiés, il s'agit bien d'un maître enseignant des élèves ; ils emploient le même mot pour désigner un instituteur européen ou créole.

Ces maîtres ne sont pas eux-mêmes possédés, mais ils sont supposés connaître les procédés qui permettent au néophyte d'obtenir la possession avec le minimum de risques. On admet cependant que cela comporte des dangers, car on ne peut pas obliger tel *gadu* à venir dans quelqu'un et on peut à sa place obtenir un *gadu* indésirable.

Les procédés sont variables selon les catégories de *gadu* que l'on recherche. Mais ils comportent trois éléments que sous des formes diverses on retrouve toujours :

— On commence par apprendre à l'élève la langue de la divinité, ou tout au moins des rudiments (comme nous l'indiquerons plus loin, ces langues paraissent en décadence) ; ces leçons sont individuelles ;

— le maître prépare à l'intention d'un groupe d'élèves, des infusions de certaines feuilles qui s'accordent avec la divinité en question. Il est supposé que le dieu aime ces plantes et qu'elles ont le pouvoir de l'attirer.

Dans certains cultes il est demandé à l'élève de prononcer en même temps des formules invitant le dieu à venir en lui. Mais ce n'est pas général ; dans le culte des *Papa gadu* notamment, les maîtres lavent les élèves dans le plus grand silence.

Il est demandé souvent à l'élève, à la fin de la séance, de boire un peu de l'infusion. On pourrait croire qu'il s'agit là d'un procédé ayant une action physique, certaines plantes pouvant contenir des substances hypnotiques ; mais sauf pour un aspect du culte des *Kumèni* dont nous parlerons plus loin, il ne semble pas ; en ce qui concerne notamment les plantes supposées attirer les *Papa gadu*, il semble qu'elles aient reçu ce rôle en raison de leur couleur ou de leur odeur. Notre sentiment est que, tout au moins pour le culte des *Papa gadu* qui s'adresse plus spécialement aux femmes, la suggestion joue un rôle essentiel ;

— On apprend aux élèves, individuellement ou collectivement, à danser à la façon du dieu. En effet, chaque divinité possède une forme particulière de danse, qu'elle exécute parfois en se servant du corps de ses porteurs, quand elle vient en eux. L'élève doit imiter de son mieux les mouvements particuliers et le rythme de cette danse, tandis que le maître, utilisant le tambour convenable, frappe des formules d'appel.

Si le dieu est satisfait de l'élève, il pourra venir en lui.

Ces exercices paraissent avoir pour but de créer chez les élèves des formes de réflexes conditionnés ; ils n'ont rien de commun avec les épreuves très dures que s'impose l'homme-médecine des Indiens de Guyane, et ne comportent aucune forme d'ascétisme. Il ne semble pas que la chasteté, même temporaire, soit demandée à l'élève, pas plus que de jeûner ou de faire quoi que ce soit de contraire à ses penchants.

L'idée d'une mort spirituelle et d'une résurrection du possédé, avec tout le rituel qu'elle entraîne : longue réclusion des néophytes, changement de nom du possédé, auquel on est censé réapprendre toutes les activités de la vie courante, ne paraît pas avoir été retenue par les Noirs Réfugiés. D'une façon générale l'ambiance de gravité

solennelle, de secret et de crainte qui caractérise les cultes de possession dahoméens, ne se retrouve pas chez eux.

Ces leçons sont toujours payantes et même très coûteuses. Le paiement se fait en pièces d'étoffe, en dames-jeannes de tafia.

Avoir un *Kumẽnti* revenait en 1958 à au moins 25.000 francs. Ce paiement n'est pas seulement la rétribution du maître ; c'est la marque de la légitimité. Ce qui n'a pas été payé n'est pas, pour les Noirs Réfugiés, légitimement acquis. Nous reviendrons plus loin sur ce point important.

La possession commence progressivement ; au début la divinité ne trouve pas dans son porteur une passivité suffisante, elle ne parvient pas bien à s'exprimer par sa bouche, les assistants n'observent que des gestes incohérents et n'entendent que des balbutiements inintelligibles. Il faut que l'élève continue longtemps son entraînement pour devenir un porteur convenable.

Le dieu, quand il vient d'entrer dans un homme, commence toujours par rendre hommage dans sa langue à *Musu Gadu*, proclamant qu'il n'agit qu'en son nom et par sa volonté.

Puis il salue les assistants, employant des formules qui sont dans sa langue la transposition exacte des formules de politesse usuelles des Boni ; cela même s'il se prépare à leur parler de la façon la plus dure.

Le dieu parle alors dans sa langue, disant des choses peu intelligibles aux assistants, qui paraissent avoir rapport à ce qui se passe dans son pays, à sa famille (car on suppose que ces dieux inférieurs ont une famille). Enfin, il se met à parler dans la langue ordinaire, pour être compris des assistants, et répond aux questions.

Les diverses catégories de dieux susceptibles de provoquer la possession. Les Noirs Réfugiés admettent qu'il existe quatre catégories de divinités inférieures :

La première catégorie comporte une série de dieux qui se présentent aux hommes sous des aspects fort différents, mais qui sont pourtant ressentis comme de même nature. Tous parlent la langue Kumenti, tous sont bien disposés envers les hommes et n'exercent pas contre eux le *kunu*, c'est-à-dire la malédiction ;

— Les *Kumẽnti*, qui ont l'apparence de jaguars et qui résident en brousse ;

— Les *Djadja*, qui ont l'apparence d'ocelots ;

— Les *Opele*, qui ont l'apparence de l'urubu et qui résident dans les airs ;

— Les *Bãnsuŋki*, qui ont l'apparence de femmes indiennes, et qui résident dans les eaux des rivières ;

La seconde catégorie est celle des *Ampuku*, dieux de brousse très redoutés, susceptibles d'exercer contre les hommes le *kunu*. Les *Ampuku* parlent une langue qui est très bien connue des Saramaka, mais que personne ne parle en pays Boni. Quand ils veulent être compris, ils parlent le dialecte Saramaka ordinaire. Ils peuvent, dit-on,

être aperçus la nuit en brousse sous forme d'hommes inconnus vêtus à la façon des Noirs Réfugiés :

La troisième catégorie est celle des *Vɔodû* ou *Papa gadu*, dieux plus redoutés encore, qui s'incarnent dans le serpent boa *dagowe*. Ils parlent la langue Papa ;

Enfin, très redoutés aussi sont les *Kànlamasu*, dieux des termitières, qui parlent une langue que personne ne comprend et se servent de la langue Kumenti pour se faire entendre.

Il importe d'observer qu'il n'y a pas un dieu *Kumènti*, un dieu *Ampuku*, etc., comme il y avait dans le panthéon des Anciens, un dieu Mars, un dieu Vulcain. Ce sont là pour les Noirs Réfugiés des noms génériques comme Français, Anglais. Interrogés sur un phénomène de possession, ils répondront : « C'est *Ampuku* qui fait », mais de la même façon qu'ils diraient devant un canot : « C'est Saramaka qui fait. »

Les rapports entre ces dieux et leur forme animale sont obscurs. Pour les *Vɔodû* il est clair qu'on suppose qu'ils habitent réellement les serpents *dagowe* puisque la mort accidentelle de l'un de ces serpents dans le brûlage de l'abattis est considérée comme une calamité risquant d'amener un *kunu*. Mais cela ne prouve pas qu'on attribue un caractère divin au serpent lui-même. En ce qui concerne les *Kumènti*, il ne paraît pas y avoir de lien précis entre le génie et son apparence de jaguar. Si l'on rencontre un jaguar, on peut tout de même tirer dessus sans inconvénient. S'il est le support d'un *Kumènti* les plombs ne pourront pas le toucher, le dieu ne s'en fâchera pas.

Ceci montre que dans l'esprit des Noirs Réfugiés, l'animal est un simple support du dieu. Le dieu emprunte ce corps pour se manifester mais il ne lui est pas lié par nature. Ces conceptions sont totalement contraires à celles des Indiens, qui ont tendance à personnaliser dans leurs esprits les êtres et les phénomènes de la nature.

Comme nous l'avons dit, les Boni ne voient pas ces dieux puisque le possédé perd conscience. Mais au temps des ancêtres, il y avait des gens qui voyaient les dieux et c'est par eux que leurs descendants actuels ont une idée de leur apparence ; d'autre part certains dieux comme les *Ampuku* et les *Bànsuyki* peuvent être vus en rêve.

On connaît parfois la résidence exacte de tel ou tel dieu, car il l'a révélée par la bouche de son porteur ; on donne alors le nom du dieu à cet emplacement. Par exemple, à l'embouchure de l'Abounami, il y a un saut nommé Ma Akoti Gadu Sula. C'est là que réside le dieu qui s'était révélé autrefois dans une vieille femme nommée Akoti.

Rapports avec la parenté. L'idée d'un dieu protecteur du lignage, dont le culte, apporté par le fondateur du groupe, est regardé comme indispensable à la vie de la collectivité, ne se retrouve pas clairement chez les Noirs Réfugiés. Il y a bien, en fait, des divinités qui sont entrées dans le lignage et auxquelles on rend collectivement un culte. Mais ces divinités sont des intrusées ; elles ont pénétré de force dans le groupe, pour exercer contre lui une vengeance inexorable. On ne s'adresse pas à elles pour demander protection, et on ne leur rend un culte que faute de pouvoir les chasser.

Il n'est supposé aucun lien de parenté entre les dieux et les hommes, ni aucun lien de caractère systématique ou exclusif.

Toutefois on admet que les dieux entrés dans un matrilignage tendent à être transmis à l'intérieur de ce groupe. Si par exemple, une femme est possédée d'un *Papa gadu*, à sa mort elle doit le léguer, au même titre que ses biens, et elle ne peut le léguer qu'à quelqu'un de son lignage.

Nous avons vu en étudiant la transmission du dieu de Kotolda († 1956), que seules les femmes du lignage Afi auquel elle appartenait, pouvaient hériter.

Même si le dieu n'est pas légué, ce qui arrive quelquefois, s'il exerce le *kunu*, il se manifestera tôt ou tard dans un membre du lignage. Il pourra du reste se passer de longues années avant qu'il se manifeste. Cette conception est absolument nette chez les Noirs Réfugiés, et du reste, si elle n'existait pas, la notion du *kunu* serait sans support. C'est donc à tort qu'on a supposé une transmission des dieux du père au fils.

Organisation matérielle des cultes. Il existe dans le cadre du lignage localisé *(lo)* une organisation matérielle des cultes de possession. Cette organisation est tout à fait indépendante de l'apprentissage de ces cultes. Elle permet aux membres du lignage d'exercer commodément des cultes qu'ils ont reçus n'importe où sous leur propre responsabilité.

Dans chaque *lo*, il existe en général une seule chapelle *(obia ɔsü)* pour toutes les divinités de même catégorie.

Par exemple dans le quartier du *lo* Awara Bakka à Asisi (140 personnes), pour une quinzaine de femmes ayant un *Papa gadu*, il n'en existe qu'une seule. Il existe une *obia ɔsu* pour les *Ampuku* (3 ou 4 possédés) et une autre pour les *Kumẽnli* (une dizaine de possédés).

La chapelle des *Papa gadu* est placée sous la responsabilité du chef du *lo*. Il est à remarquer à ce sujet que les lignages individualisés Aw.B.3 et Afi, qui ont pourtant des dieux distincts, sont englobés dans cette organisation.

Les objets placés dans ces chapelles sont tout simplement les vêtements, la boisson et les outils des dieux, quand ils viennent visiter les hommes ; ils correspondent à peu près à ce que les Noirs Réfugiés laissent dans une habitation de culture où ils vont travailler régulièrement. Par exemple dans le *Papa gadu ɔsu* du quartier Awara Bakka d'Asisi, qui sert pour une quinzaine de dieux, chacun a une place définie sur les étagères pour ranger notamment l'écharpe qui lui sert de vêtement et une bouteille de bière (une bouteille est toujours tenue prête par le porteur du dieu)[1].

On range encore dans cette chapelle le tambour *Papa dɔ̃*. Ce tambour, comme la chapelle elle-même, est supposé appartenir au dieu *Papa gadu* qui est venu le premier dans un membre du lignage pour exercer le *kunu*. Dans l'exemple indiqué du *lo* Awara

(1) Les *Papa gadu* n'aiment pas le tafia. Si le porteur habituel d'un de ces dieux a bu du tafia, il ne peut venir en lui.

Bakka d'Asini, c'était en 1957 l'aïeule centenaire Kuluba qui portait ce dieu depuis sa jeunesse, l'ayant reçu elle-même par plusieurs transmissions successives, d'une lointaine aïeule.

Dans les villages comme Boniville et Papaïston où coexistent des fragments de lignage d'origine entièrement différente, chacun a sa propre organisation.

Par exemple à Boniville, il y a une *Papa gadu* ɔsu pour le fragment du lignage Lapé (elle appartient à Térésa dont le dieu exerce le *kunu* sur ce lignage). Le fragment du lignage Kotika en possède une autre.

A Papaïston, le lignage Tolna (Bakabuchi), réduit à une demi-douzaine de personnes, possède une *Papa gadu* ɔsu qui lui est propre.

Les *Kumènti*. Ces dieux sont communs aux Saramaka (Kromenti)[1], aux Djuka et aux Boni. Les *Kumènti* sont considérés comme des dieux bienveillants et amis des hommes ; aussi leur possession est très désirée. Ils ne viennent pas spontanément dans les hommes, on ne les obtient qu'en s'adressant à un maître. En principe seuls les hommes peuvent obtenir les *Kumènti*, alors que par contre seules les femmes peuvent avoir les *Bùnzunki*.

Les *Kumènti* sont spécialisés dans la protection contre le feu et contre les blessures par le sabre et le fusil. Ces dangers tiennent la plus grande place dans les préoccupations des Noirs Réfugiés, qui passent presque toute leur vie en brousse et chez qui presque toutes les plaies s'infectent et ont des conséquences graves. Aussi le culte des *Kumènti* tient-il une grande place dans leur magie ; même quelqu'un qui n'est pas possédé cherchera à obtenir de ces dieux un ɔbia qui le protégera contre ces divers dangers.

L'instruction des disciples de ces dieux s'inspire des procédés ci-dessus décrits, mais les danses collectives paraissent y jouer un rôle essentiel. Le maître appelle les dieux en battant un rythme spécial sur les tambours ordinaires *(apinli)* et en prononçant des invocations ponctuées par le cliquetis de la salu (maraka indienne, c'est-à-dire calebasse creuse emmanchée et contenant des graines). Parfois, quand un dieu est entré dans un élève, le maître met à l'épreuve la passivité de ce dernier en injuriant le dieu à l'aide du tambour. Le *Kumènti* se fâche, casse des bouteilles et avale du verre pilé, marche dans le feu, se frappe à coups de sabre, le tout sans qu'il en résulte, dit-on, de blessure pour le corps de son porteur.

Ces danses frénétiques, dont les participants entièrement passés au *panba* (argile blanche) sont comme hallucinés, ont un aspect bizarre qui est perceptible à certains Boni eux-mêmes. Elles n'ont aucun caractère secret et constituent au contraire pour les gens du village un spectacle de choix. Les assistants se tordent de rire devant les contorsions et les actions étranges que les dieux inspirent aux possédés. On en parle longuement

(1) L'origine de ce mot ne fait aucun doute ; c'est une déformation de Coromantin, nom donné au XVIIIe siècle au pays Ashanti. Les « nègres Coromantins », réputés comme particulièrement intrépides, ont joué un grand rôle dans les révoltes d'esclaves. Le culte de possession de kumènti devait à l'origine, être un culte propre à la nation Coromantin.

ensuite dans les veillées, les humoristes imitant ce qu'ils ont vu faire là, sans aucune crainte d'irriter les dieux.

Chaque « maître pour *Kumbili* » possède une petite *gulu* ou dans laquelle sont rangés les instruments du culte. On trouve en général dans ces chapelles un poteau grossièrement taillé en forme de buste humain, un quartier de roche, des crânes de jaguars, des *kokoli* (tiges d'arbuste présentant une double coudure spontanée, supposées être le support d'esprits de la brousse), et une *saku* (maraka), le tout aspergé d'argile blanche *(pemba)*. On trouve aussi à côté de la porte un siège et une auge qui servent aux ablutions des élèves.

En lavant son corps avec l'infusion de feuilles préparée par le maître, le néophyte répète, dans la langue ordinaire, une série d'invocations : « Viens à moi, entre en moi. Mais avant d'entrer en moi, il faut m'apprendre les choses de ton pays ; ô Dieu, quand tu seras en moi, que je puisse danser sur du verre cassé sans qu'il me coupe ; que je puisse danser dans le feu sans qu'il me brûle. Si demain quelqu'un prend un sabre pour me blesser, il ne devra pas pouvoir avancer. Si quelqu'un prend un fusil pour tirer sur moi (son arme) devra se briser, ne devra pas pouvoir partir. Si quelqu'un est malade, fais un *obia* pour lui, il devra guérir. »

Le maître fait tourner l'élève en rond autour du mortier où on a préparé l'infusion de feuilles, jusqu'à ce que la tête lui tourne. Alternativement il le fait tourner et « lave » son corps avec l'infusion. La possession se produit d'elle-même au bout d'un certain nombre de séances.

Dans les pratiques destinées à faire « monter » la *gilu* de *Kumbili*, il entre l'absorption de substances toxiques, notamment du jus de tabac, méthode employée par les hommes-médecine indiens. Mais une fois les réflexes créés, il n'y a plus besoin de ces substances ; la *gilu* apparaît dès qu'on emploie les procédés d'appel qui sont de deux sortes :

— Procédés personnels : l'homme appelle volontairement sa *gilu* en revêtant le costume du dieu et en se mettant dans une certaine posture ;

— Procédés extérieurs : la *gilu* peut être déclenchée de l'extérieur soit en appelant le dieu par son nom, soit en battant le rythme correspondant sur le tambour.

Quand l'élève commence à ressentir la *gilu* de *Kumbili*, cela se manifeste d'abord par des transes. Nous avons assisté bien souvent à ces accès qui surviennent le plus souvent la nuit dans la forêt, mais communément aussi le jour. Le possédé lâche subitement les objets qu'il tenait (par exemple s'il était en train de manger, il laisse tomber assiette et cuiller), et se précipite en courant à travers la forêt, en poussant un hurlement rythmé, comme s'il était devenu une bête. Ses yeux sont révulsés, il n'a plus conscience de ce qui l'entoure ; il n'est d'ailleurs aucunement menaçant, ces accès sont totalement inoffensifs en dépit de leur aspect impressionnant. On voit dans cet état, des possédés faire des choses difficilement explicables, telles que courir dans une obscurité complète dans la brousse la plus impénétrable sans tomber et sans se blesser, ou monter en quelques secondes sur un rocher escarpé, qui aurait été difficile à escalader en plein jour.

A mesure que l'élève se perfectionne, le dieu s'exprime plus facilement à l'aide de son corps, commence à faire des actes coordonnés et à parler. On dit que la *gila* a été « arrangée » *(seeka)*. Les *Kumènli* parlent avec une grosse voix hachée, caractéristique, que les humoristes aiment à imiter dans les récits des veillées.

Pour appeler volontairement sa *gila*, l'élève s'accroupit, les pieds réunis, en jetant du *pambe* de droite à gauche à la hauteur de ses pieds et en prononçant la formule : « *O Kumènli, djumpo ku a mi.* » Il reste ensuite immobile dans cette position et attend ; la possession se produit en général au bout de quelques minutes.

Les *Kumènli* qui entrent ainsi dans les hommes sont exclusivement des dieux mâles ; on sait qu'ils ont des femmes parce qu'ils en parlent, mais elles ne se manifestent jamais.

Les *Kumènli* sont généralement bienveillants ; toutefois, pas plus qu'aucune divinité des Noirs Réfugiés, ils ne représentent un principe de bonté et de justice en soi. Ils veillent de façon partiale sur les intérêts de leurs porteurs. C'est ainsi que A..., du *lo* Dipelu II, a un *Kumènli* qui réagit de façon violente quand il a l'impression qu'un danger menace son porteur. Il entre en lui tout à coup, prend un sabre et se précipite en trombe à travers le village, tandis que les gens se barricadent prudemment chez eux.

Dans certaines circonstances, quand leurs transes sont particulièrement intenses, les possédés de *Kumènli* sont capables, dit-on, de marcher dans le feu, de danser sur du verre cassé, de monter aux palmiers épineux awara, et même de se faire frapper à coups de sabre sans qu'il en résulte de blessure. Le Pr. de Goeje donne à ce sujet des témoignages personnels impressionnants, tel le cas d'un possédé qui se renversa un seau d'eau bouillante sur le corps[1]. M. Mathieu, Directeur de la Société Forestière de Saint-Laurent, nous a dit avoir vu en 1937 chez les Paramaka un possédé prendre à pleines mains un fer de hache chauffé au rouge et le garder entre ses deux mains pendant un temps appréciable.

Personnellement nous avons vu à plusieurs reprises des possédés se fustiger avec des branches épineuses d'awara et se casser des bouteilles sur la tête avec une telle violence que les morceaux jaillissaient à plusieurs mètres ; une partie d'entre eux étaient blessés, mais d'autres présentaient un épiderme intact.

Il n'y a pas d'instruction spéciale pour les exercices d'invulnérabilité, le possédé fait ce dont il se sent capable, progressivement se frappe de plus en plus fort, casse des bouteilles, etc.

On affirme que certains possédés sont capables de monter aux palmiers épineux awara. Si la *gila* vient alors à les abandonner, ils ne peuvent plus descendre. Ceux qui connaissent bien la langue Kumenli évoquent alors le dieu par des formules pour qu'il revienne.

En principe, si quelqu'un fait tort à un homme qui a un *Kumènli*, sa *gila* « monte » immédiatement. Le coupable n'a plus qu'à s'enfuir. On dit qu'autrefois on a vu des

[1] Cf. note dans l'ouvrage de M. W. F. van Lier, § 37.

possédés tuer des gens qui leur avaient fait du tort. Il ne peut en résulter de *kunu* si la victime est dans son tort. Depuis très longtemps on n'a rien vu de semblable.

Le principe est que si on n'a rien à se reprocher vis-à-vis du possédé, on n'a rien à craindre de lui. C'est pourquoi on n'hésite pas à s'interposer entre le possédé et l'objet de sa fureur.

Si deux hommes ayant un *Kumènli* se prennent de querelle, leurs *gila* « montent » simultanément et ils se frappent à coups de sabre, sans qu'il en résulte dit-on de dommage pour l'un ni pour l'autre, jusqu'à ce qu'on les sépare.

Si quelqu'un a un *Kumènli*, il ne faut pas lever à proximité de lui certains objets dont il est fait usage dans le culte : pilon, mortier, sabre. Sa *gila* « monterait » immédiatement. De même pendant qu'il mange, il ne faut pas parler de tigre ni de fusil. Pour empêcher leur *gila* de monter, les intéressés peuvent prendre la précaution, pendant qu'ils mangent, de se mettre un petit morceau de bois derrière l'oreille.

Ces dernières années le culte des *Kumènli* était en nette décadence chez les Boni, de même que l'ensemble de leur vie religieuse ; chacun ne songeait plus en effet qu'à gagner de l'argent, et était pour ce faire toujours en voyage, ce qui rendait difficiles les réunions et les danses indispensables. D'autre part, efficacement soignés quand ils sont malades à l'hôpital de Maripasoula, les Boni ressentent moins la nécessité du culte des *Kumènli*, dont la principale fonction sociale est de guérir. Aussi, alors qu'en 1948, nous assistions très fréquemment à des manifestations de la *gila* de *Kumènli*, en 1952, elles se faisaient beaucoup plus rares et discrètes. Elles avaient tendance à tomber au niveau de ces manifestations larvées dont nous parlerons plus loin. En 1956, nous n'avons observé au cours des travaux en forêt aucun accès spontané de cette *gila*. Les chapelles dédiées aux *Kumènli* sont à peine entretenues et tombent en ruines ; tel est le sort des dieux jugés bienveillants envers les hommes. Cependant on continue à attacher une grande valeur aux *ɔbia* de *Kumènli*, notamment au *man nɛ̃yge ɔbia* qui protège contre le sabre et le fusil, et au *Kumènli bui*, anneau de *Kumènli*, instrument de divination.

Les *Bũnsuɣki*. Les *Bũnsuɣki* sont des dieux qui habitent dans les eaux, de préférence en tête des sauts, à côté des roches portant des boqueteaux d'arbres isolés ; ils peuvent aussi résider habituellement dans ces arbres eux-mêmes. Ils apparaissent parfois en rêve aux hommes comme aux femmes, sous l'aspect d'Indiens, plus communément de femmes indiennes à la longue chevelure. C'est pourquoi on les appelle parfois *wala Iyɣi*, les Indiens de l'eau. En certains endroits, on sait depuis le temps des ancêtres que là réside tel *Bũnsuɣki* dont on connaît le nom ; quand on passe là, on lui adresse une prière en faisant un sacrifice de tafia.

(Les *Bũnsuɣki* ne doivent pas être confondus avec *wala mama*, la maman-de-l'eau des créoles, divinité redoutée mais à laquelle les Boni ne paraissent pas adresser de culte. La *wala mama* habite au fond des trous profonds du lit des rivières et ne laisse jamais voir son visage ; elle abandonne parfois sur les roches un de ses longs cheveux et celui qui le trouve devient riche).

Les *Bànsuɣki* peuvent entrer dans les êtres humains, exclusivement semble-t-il dans les femmes. Ils donnent une *gila* différente de celles des *Kumènli*. La possédée danse au bord de l'eau, puis nage et plonge longuement. On affirme que si sa possession est suffisamment intense, le génie entraîne la possédée au fond de l'eau, où elle reste pendant un temps très long sans aucun dommage ! Cela se serait passé notamment au village d'Asisi pour une femme nommée Dabisa.

La possession par les *Bànsuɣki* n'est pas fréquente. En 1952 on ne la connaissait en pays Boni que chez trois femmes.

Quant aux hommes, ils peuvent apercevoir ces divinités en rêve et en recevoir des bienfaits. Pour cela ils vont à l'endroit où elle réside et s'y baignent en prononçant une invocation : « ô dieu, veillez sur moi, protégez-moi, venez auprès de moi la nuit quand je dormirai, parlez-moi, faites que je ne sois pas malade, que je m'enrichisse. » La nuit suivante, la divinité viendra en rêve, demandera un sacrifice (bière en général), dira si elle exauce la prière.

Les *Vɔɔdù*[1]. Ce sont des dieux très redoutés pour leur caractère méchant, susceptible et vindicatif. En parlant d'eux on dit *Papa gadu* (*papa* ne veut pas dire « père », c'est un terme de respect que l'on emploie à l'égard de personnages importants[2]. Ils sont supposés avoir pour porteurs habituels les serpents bôa *(dagowe)*[3] qu'il ne faut pas confondre avec les grands serpents d'eau (anaconda) que les Noirs Réfugiés appellent *mboma sineki*. Ils peuvent aussi résider dans les fromagers (kankan tree) et dans les arbres appelés *kalu udu* (Bombax surinamiensis).

Les *Vɔɔdù* qui s'incarnent dans les humains peuvent être de l'un ou l'autre sexe ; s'il s'agit d'un dieu mâle on l'appelle « *lala vɔɔdù* ».

Les *Bumba gadu*, autres dieux de même nature et également redoutés, ont pour porteurs d'autres catégories de serpents, principalement les grands serpents d'eau anaconda.

Les *Vɔɔdù*, avons-nous dit, sont redoutés ; ils peuvent exercer sur un lignage la malédiction collective appelée *kunu*. Mais, pas plus que les *Kumènli* ne représentent un principe de bien, ils ne représentent un principe de mal. Tous ne sont pas aussi mal disposés à l'égard des hommes, et même si l'un d'eux est ennemi d'un lignage, il n'est pas pour cela mal disposé envers le reste des hommes. Quoi qu'il en soit, le culte de possession des *Papa gadu* n'est nullement en décadence chez les Boni. D'après les recoupements que nous avons pu faire, sur les 670 personnes vivant sur la rive française, il y en a au moins 40 à 50 qui ont un *Papa gadu*, en très grande majorité de vieilles femmes.

(1) Ce mot est manifestement une déformation du mot dahoméen *vodù*.

(2) C'est l'interprétation donnée par les Noirs Réfugiés. Toutefois les documents du XVIIIe siècle sur l'origine des esclaves, signalent l'existence d'une tribu africaine appelée Papa. Des allusions contenues dans des documents des archives de Surinam, récemment étudiées par Madame Silvia W. de Groot, tendraient à identifier les Papa avec l'une des populations du Dahomey actuel. Dans cette hypothèse, le culte des *papa gadu* représenterait une forme archaïque du culte dahoméen des dieux serpents.

(3) Ce mot paraît être la déformation du mot dahoméen *dàgbè*.

Les *Vodû* sont très redoutés, par cela même très respectés. Ce sont des oracles qu'on consulte très souvent, sans considération du mal que leur *kunu* a fait et fera encore. Un dieu qui exerce le *kunu*, mais qui s'est provisoirement déclaré apaisé, peut être consulté sans danger ; il est toujours admis qu'en tout état de cause son porteur, s'il respecte ses commandements, n'a rien à craindre de lui.

Il est possible que, très inconsciemment, les femmes se servent de la crainte qu'inspirent les dieux *Papa gadu* pour maintenir leur indépendance et leur position privilégiée dans la société des Noirs Réfugiés.

L'enseignement de la possession paraît s'inspirer des mêmes principes que celui qui correspond aux *Kumènti*. Il comporte l'enseignement de la langue Papa ; cette langue nous a paru en décadence ; elle n'est employée en fait que pour les formules de salutation ; ensuite les possédés vaticinent dans la langue ordinaire. L'enseignement de la possession comporte aussi des ablutions quotidiennes avec des décoctions de feuilles ; certains de ces mélanges sont particulièrement complexes (ils comportent dit-on plus de cent espèces différentes de feuilles). L'enseignement est essentiellement individuel ; cependant il comporte aussi des danses ; on se sert à cette occasion d'un tambour spécial long d'environ deux mètres et très étroit, dépourvu de tout ornement, qu'on appelle *lãygu dɔ3* ou *papa dɔ3*.

Pour appeler sa *gila*, la possédée (il s'agit presque toujours de femmes) se met debout, met sur elle une étoffe qu'elle conserve toujours à proximité et qu'elle emporte toujours avec elle en voyage : c'est le vêtement du dieu ; il consiste en une sorte d'écharpe croisée par devant ; puis elle jette l'argile blanche, *pemba*, sur ses pieds de droite à gauche et de gauche à droite en invoquant le dieu. La possession est presque immédiate. On voit les yeux de la femme se révulser et son expression devenir hagarde. Le dieu ne se pâsse pas entièrement au *pemba* comme les *Kumènti*, il se fait avec l'argile blanche une sorte de bandeau sur le front. Il commence par une invocation à Masa Gadu prononcée dans la langue ordinaire.

« *Masa gadu, gi mi pimisi, beka mi na pikin nɛ̃ygɛ ; ala sani di mi ɔ laki, na gu mu gi mi kaakili, beka na yu abi mi kaakili, da mi pyãfahu gi yu* ».

« Masa Gadu, je vous implore, car je suis une humble créature ; (dans) tout ce que je vais dire, c'est vous qui me donnerez la force, car ma force est en vous ; je vous exalterai ».

Viennent ensuite des formules de bienvenue à l'égard des assistants, qui sont la traduction exacte des formules de salutation de la vie courante, puis des chants, le tout dans la langue Papa. Après un quart d'heure environ, il entre dans une case et s'assoit, répondant dans la langue ordinaire aux questions des assistants, toujours sur un ton chantant.

La possession par les *Papa gadu* n'a pas le caractère bestial de la possession par les *Kumènti* ; elle ne comporte, en dehors des danses, ni gestes brutaux ni actes bizarres ; la possédée chantonne doucement, d'une voix grêle, se déplaçant avec des gestes gracieux.

Parfois elle trace sur les cases des signes particuliers ; les Boni affirment que c'est là une sorte d'écriture, que d'autres possédés peuvent lire ces messages ; mais nous n'avons relevé aucun témoignage précis à ce sujet[1].

Les *Papa gadu* sont consultés surtout pour leur demander de révéler la cause des malheurs qui surviennent. On ne demande à l'un d'eux de guérir une maladie que si l'interrogatoire révèle que c'est lui qui l'a provoquée.

Le culte des dieux serpents *Papa gadu* fait une vive impression sur les créoles antillais qui entretiennent des relations suivies avec les Noirs Réfugiés. La plupart le considèrent comme de nature diabolique et le réprouvent, mais si la présence d'une « couleuvre » (serpent anaconda) est signalée dans une crique voisine, et si en même temps des malheurs surviennent, il arrive qu'un créole aille demander aux Noirs Réfugiés de pratiquer des rites pour désarmer la vengeance du dieu. Il nous est arrivé d'apercevoir, dissimulé dans un bosquereau derrière l'habitation d'un orpailleur, un petit autel orné de banderolles bleues et rouges, lieu du culte habituel des *Papa gadu*.

Observation à Bonville, novembre 1962.

Une femme de Asèsi, Tini, vient à Boniville consulter sa fille adoptive Pamasa, âgée de 30 ans environ, qui est possédée par un *Papa gadu* nommé Adawa. Féni, âgé de 15 ans, fils de Tini, est malade depuis plusieurs jours (fièvre, éruption sur tout le corps). Quand on vient nous chercher, le dieu est déjà entré en Pamasa, s'est assis dans une case et répond dans la langue ordinaire aux questions posées. La mère du malade demande au dieu si c'est bien lui qui a rendu son fils malade. Il répond que c'est bien lui, et donne deux raisons : d'abord, une semaine auparavant, Féni a endommagé d'un coup de sabre la racine d'un fromager dans lequel précisément lui-même résidait ; d'autre part sa sœur Pamasa a été malade pendant 15 jours, il n'a pas été la visiter.

La mère supplie le dieu : « *Ulegi gu, gu abi lefi, gi dy pondi, a 'ã be sabi bã-bã.* (Nous vous supplions, vous êtes juste (mais) pardonnez-lui, il ne s'était pas bien rendu compte) ».

Le dieu indique ensuite un traitement : une infusion d'un certain nombre de feuilles, avec lesquelles le malade lavera son corps. Il affirme que le malade guérira vite.

Pamasa revient alors à son état habituel. La scène a duré au total trois quarts d'heure environ.

Observation à Asèsi, octobre 1966.

Le 21 octobre à 8 heures on me dit que Bugi, femme d'environ 45 ans, est gravement malade : elle souffre de douleurs violentes dans la poitrine et d'un tremblement général. La malade est étendue par terre, soutenue par son frère et entourée de vieilles femmes qui la réconfortent. Elle paraît souffrir atrocement, son corps est couvert de sueur, ses membres inférieurs sont agités d'un tremblement incessant ; elle présente les symptômes d'une crise cardiaque[2]. Devant la maison, les zhèmun préparent un « remède »

(1) Ces signes sont très peu systématisés et n'ont aucun rapport avec les dessins symboliques qui font partie de certaines séries de pensées, en Dahomey et en Haïti notamment. Il est permis d'y voir un simple témoignage.

(2) Bugi avait déjà été hospitalisée à Saint-Laurent pour crise cardiaque.

car ils soupçonnent qu'il s'agit là d'une manifestation du *Papa gadu* dont Bugi est le porteur.

Une tige de *sãygoafu* coudée deux fois est disposée par terre. Une croix est tracée sur le sol.

Centrée sur la croix est placée une grande cuvette dans laquelle on verse des infusions de feuilles tirées de plusieurs calebasses.

La malade, toujours prostrée et gémissante, est assise sur un tabouret face à la cuvette. On lui verse lentement le contenu de la cuvette sur le corps en la massant. Il ne s'agit pas d'un remède au sens propre du terme, on « lave » la malade pour aider le dieu à se manifester en elle.

Je remarque qu'en rentrant dans la case elle ne tremble presque plus ; la crise paraît s'apaiser.

Sur ces entrefaites on vient m'appeler ailleurs et je ne peux revenir qu'une demi-heure plus tard. Je trouve la malade debout, enduite de *pemba*, au milieu d'un auditoire recueilli. Le dieu est descendu en elle et s'exprime en langue Papa tandis qu'elle danse avec des gestes lents.

On me dit qu'il vient de donner l'explication de la maladie : il a frappé Bugi parce qu'elle n'a pas observé le *kina* donné à tous les porteurs de *Papa gadu*, de s'écarter des cérémonies funèbres. Or, l'avant-veille, elle avait sciemment participé à la danse *lukêe* autour du cercueil de Kotoïda.

Les *obiaman* présents supplient le dieu de pardonner, ce qu'il fait après avoir réclamé une bouteille de bière qu'il boit par la bouche de son porteur.

Observation à Kormotibo, le 18 décembre 1957.

Le 18 décembre au soir, je trouve le village de Kormotibo en proie à la terreur. Plusieurs personnes sont malades par l'effet du *kunu*. Apaita, une jeune femme, a un panaris énorme, consécutif à un accident ; deux femmes sont atteintes de pneumonie.

Ces malheurs sont attribués au *kunu* exercé par un dieu *Papa gadu*, depuis que voici une centaine d'années une aïeule nommée Akonté a involontairement tué un serpent *dagaue* en nivrant une crique. De nos jours ce dieu se manifeste en Alama (Dip. II, E1), et un autre *Papa gadu*, qui se dit le descendant du premier, se manifeste dans Apaita (F9). C'est ce dernier qui, parlant par la bouche d'Apaita, a révélé qu'il frappait le village parce qu'on n'avait pas dansé pour lui depuis 5 ans.

On a appelé B..., obiaman spécialisé dans le culte des *asadu*. Il a entouré la chapelle des *Papa gadu* de tiges de *sãygoafu* placées verticalement. Il a préparé une infusion de feuilles dont les femmes de Kormotibo qui ont un *Papa gadu* viennent s'enduire (elles sont au nombre de quatre, dont deux étrangères au lignage Dipélu II). Il s'agit d'aider leurs dieux à se manifester.

On va danser huit nuits de suite, une partie de la nuit. Le tambour *agida* tiré de la chapelle est mis en batterie.

Les rites effectués pour neutraliser le *kunu* sont :

— Nettoyage de la chapelle ;

— Ornement au moyen de tiges de *sangaafu* placées debout tout autour ;

— Lavage des malades avec des feuilles supposées avoir le pouvoir de faire partir l'influence des *Papa gadu* ;

— Avec d'autres feuilles, concentrer au contraire l'influence maléfique des *Papa gadu* dans une calebasse qui est ensuite soigneusement renfermée dans la chapelle.

La possession par les Ampuku. Elle est beaucoup plus rare et personnellement nous ne l'avons observée qu'à deux reprises ; les possédés se font autour des yeux des cercles au *pemba* et se tracent sur les jambes avec cette argile blanche des sortes d'ovales ; ils vaticinent sur un ton chantant, sans que la voix habituelle de leur porteur cesse d'être reconnaissable, en s'exprimant dans la langue Saramaka.

Les *Ampuku* ont l'apparence d'hommes semblables à des Noirs, mais inconnus. Ils résident au fond des bois ; les uns sont bons, d'autres mauvais. On peut se les concilier en leur rendant un culte, qui s'est surtout développé en pays Saramaka.

Baliki, du village Kormotibo, raconte avoir assisté un jour, étant en voyage au village Saramaka de Balen, à une danse des *Ampuku*.

« Pendant la journée, on alla sur les sentiers au loin dans la brousse déposer des calebasses contenant certaines herbes. A la nuit on vit sortir de la forêt un grand nombre d'hommes inconnus, habillés à la façon des Saramaka. Ils dansèrent toute la nuit, et à l'aube repartirent comme ils étaient venus. »

Les dieux *Ampuku*, considérés comme les dieux malfaisants de la brousse, exercent leur influence sur tous. Quand on a dormi en brousse, on se « lave » d'*Ampuku* avec une infusion de feuilles de 5 plantes faisant partie de la flore secondaire qui entoure les villages, et dont la principale est le *sangaafu (Costus cylindricus)*.

Fréquence de la possession. En 1956, les maîtres ou *bas* étaient très peu nombreux en pays Boni. Pour les dieux *Kumènli* il ne restait plus que S... (Kotika) ; pour les *Papa gadu*, depuis la mort d'Antinon (Dju), il ne restait plus que M... (Papaston) et H... (Asisi). On allait communément recevoir l'instruction de maîtres Djuka des villages du Tapanaoni.

Ce serait une grande erreur de croire que presque tous les hommes ont des dieux. C'est au contraire une exception. D'après les évaluations que nous avons pu faire, il n'y a pas plus d'un homme adulte sur six ou sept qui soit possédé. Par contre la possession est beaucoup plus fréquente chez les femmes : on peut estimer qu'en moyenne une femme adulte sur trois ou quatre a un *gadu*.

Par exemple à Bonville, sur 115 personnes dont environ 70 adultes, on compte une trentaine de dieux dont 8 à 10 *Papa gadu*, 8 à 10 *Kumènli*, 1 *Bunsunki* et 2 *Ampuku*.

L'apprentissage de la possession peut commencer dès l'âge adulte, mais il semble

qu'en général c'est entre 35 et 50 ans que les femmes se préoccupent d'obtenir un *godu*. N'y aurait-il pas là, très inconsciemment, le désir de maintenir sur soi l'attention et de conserver indirectement un pouvoir sur les hommes, une fois passé l'âge de l'attrait sensuel ?

La possession se maintient toute la vie et il n'est nullement question qu'un dieu soit transmis avant la mort de son porteur. Par exemple, en 1957, l'aïeule centenaire du village d'Asisi, Kuluba, conservait son dieu *Papa godu*. Depuis de longues années, elle ne participait plus aux danses de possession, mais sa *gila* était toujours consultée.

Mais il peut arriver, si un possédé cesse de participer aux danses et de pratiquer les rites qui lui ont été indiqués, que toute manifestation cesse au bout de quelques années.

Nous avons observé cela chez B... du *lo* Dipélu II, en 1948 et 49. Il présentait de forts accès de la *gila* de *Kumènli*. Il cessa son instruction, trouvant qu'elle lui coûtait trop cher et prenait du temps. En 1952 il ne présentait que des manifestations larvées de sa *gila* à de rares intervalles. En 1956 rien n'était plus observable.

Il peut arriver au contraire que les crises de possession deviennent si fréquentes et si fortes que l'intéressé risque de perdre la raison ; s'il s'agit d'un dieu qui n'est pas venu de sa propre initiative, on peut s'efforcer de l'expulser. Pour « laver » quelqu'un d'une *gila*, on le fait passer entre deux rangées d'*obiaman* qui tiennent à la main des palmes sèches, *pina Bygo*, en prononçant des adjurations. Nous avons vu effectuer ce rite en 1949, mais sans pouvoir en observer le détail exact.

La fréquence des phénomènes de possession et l'importance qui leur est accordée, impriment à la vie religieuse des Noirs Réfugiés un caractère remarquable : toutes ses manifestations ont pour chacun le caractère d'une évidence matérielle. Comment douter alors que l'on vit avec les dieux, qu'on les voit et qu'on leur parle ? La société des Noirs Réfugiés est de ce fait profondément imperméable aux influences européennes.

Quelques plantes utilisées dans les rites de possession. Les préparations à l'aide desquelles les possédés « lavent » leur corps consistent en des macérations de feuilles. Les végétaux utilisés, qui font partie pour la plupart de la flore secondaire qui se développe dans les anciens abattis, sont très nombreux. Toutefois quelques-uns sont regardés comme ayant un pouvoir tout particulier. Les cinq premières notamment sont utilisées par tous les Boni pour se « laver d'Ampuku » quand ils ont dormi une nuit en brousse.

noms Aluku	identification[1]	usage
Lebi kutu	coton	culte des *Ampuku*
Kwapo wini	*Agplis atrorubens* (labiacées)	—

(1) Identification par M. Houck, botaniste attaché à l'Institut français d'Amérique tropicale (IFAT) à Cayenne.

Noms Aluli	Identification	usage
Fou kikó	*Tieridium indicum* (borraginacées)	—
Sumu wini	*Ocimum sanctum* (?) (labiacées)	—
Sàyapuju	*Costus cylindricus* (zingibéracées)	culte des *Papa gudu* et des *Ampuku*
Malimbelimbe	*Piper sp.* (?)	—
Fili (Haïti)	*Chamaesyce sp.* (?) (euphorbiacées)	—

CROYANCES CONCERNANT LA PERSONNE HUMAINE ET SON DEVENIR
CULTE DES ANCÊTRES.

Les Noirs Réfugiés des diverses tribus ont sur ce sujet des conceptions précises et identiques, que l'on retrouve aussi, plus ou moins mélangées avec des conceptions chrétiennes, chez les populations antillaises d'origine africaine. Pour eux, l'homme est formé de trois éléments : le corps, le *gorku* qui peut être traduit par personnalité, et un principe supérieur appelé *akka*.

Il va sans dire que chez les Boni, qui n'ont pas élaboré ces conceptions et les ont reçues des Djuka, personne n'est capable d'en disserter. Mais de nombreuses conceptions relatives à la magie et aux rapports avec les ancêtres permettent des recoupements assez sûrs.

L'*akka*. Il n'est pas possible de traduire *akka*[1] par *âme*, au sens où nous l'entendons. L'*akka* est un élément divin immortel attaché à une personne humaine pendant la durée de sa vie et qui, à la mort, retourne au domaine du divin, ne gardant plus aucun contact avec les hommes.

L'*akka* est la source de vie à laquelle s'alimente la personnalité humaine, mais elle n'est pas cette personnalité.

Les Noirs Réfugiés considèrent l'*akka* comme un dieu protecteur personnel ; ils disent volontiers *mi gudu*, mon dieu, pour *mi akka*.

Le concept de l'*akka* s'est spontanément transposé chez les Antillais en celui de l'ange gardien. On parle en Haïti du « gros bon ange ».

Pour les Noirs Réfugiés, la vie, la santé et le destin d'un homme dépendent avant tout de l'*akka* ; on pense que si l'*akka* s'en allait, le corps et l'esprit de l'homme ne pourraient rester reliés ; il mourrait ou perdrait conscience. C'est un peu ce qui se passe chaque nuit, car on croit que l'*akka* quitte le corps pour errer, ce qui provoque la perte de con-

(1) Ce mot paraît être une déformation du tête (Agni-Baoulé), mot auquel s'attache une signification très comparable.

science. Aussi le *winimd*, le sorcier, cherche-t-il à en profiter pour capturer l'*akku*, de façon que l'homme devienne fou.

L'*akku* est supposé avoir des goûts, des désirs et des buts étrangers à ceux de la personnalité, et dont l'homme dans sa conscience ordinaire n'a pas connaissance. L'*akku* peut rendre l'homme malade s'il se comporte d'une façon qui ne lui plaît pas. Aussi quand on est malade a-t-on recours à la divination pour savoir si ce n'est pas le fait de l'*akku* et, dans l'affirmative, pour quel motif. On pourrait croire que l'*akku* se comporte comme une conscience au sens moral du terme ; qu'elle se fâche si son porteur fait quelque chose de mal. Mais en réalité l'*akku* se montre aussi arbitraire, méchante et vénale que les dieux inférieurs des Noirs Réfugiés. Si elle se fâche (on dit : *mi akku mindi*), c'est parce que son porteur porte des vêtements d'une couleur qui ne lui plaît pas, ou parce qu'elle désire une offrande. Nous n'avons par contre jamais entendu parler d'un cas où l'*akku* se serait fâchée contre son porteur en tant que voleur, menteur ou adultère.

La plupart des Boni ne se préoccupent pas de leur *akku*. Seuls s'en préoccupent ceux qui ont des raisons de la croire irritée. Le culte rendu est très variable d'un individu à l'autre par la nature et la fréquence des rites exécutés.

Par exemple, K..., du village Papaïton, en proie à une malchance persistante, alla consulter un *lukumá* créole de Surinam, qui lui révéla que c'était le fait de désirs insatisfaits de son *akku*. Son *akku* désirait un chien noir et un bracelet en cuivre. Il se procura l'un et l'autre et depuis, dit-il, il n'a plus la même malchance.

B..., chef du village de T..., a dans un coin de sa case un poteau grossièrement sculpté en forme de buste coiffé d'une demi-calebasse d'où émergent des tiges de *sayoofu*. A côté est un petit *fogu liki*. Il me dit que c'est le dieu du culte de son *akku*; ces rites lui sont strictement personnels.

La plupart des *akku* apprécient les perles blanches et l'étoffe rouge. Si on voit un Boni porter un manteau rouge, on peut être à peu près sûr que c'est par ordre de son *akku*.

Si quelqu'un a des absences, des rêves bizarres, il peut y voir la sensation que son *akku* désire le quitter et qu'il est en danger de ce fait. Il va alors demander à un *obiaman* de confectionner pour lui un *akku lefey* : c'est un anneau de fibres qu'on porte au gros orteil et qui est censé empêcher l'*akku* de s'en aller.

Ces rites sont très variables d'un individu à l'autre, mais ils ont un principe commun. Si quelqu'un commence à s'occuper de son *akku*, il ne peut plus, sa vie durant, en abandonner le culte, sinon l'*akku* se vengera.

Le culte de l'*akku* est strictement personnel et n'est pas légué à la mort.

Si quelqu'un épouse une jeune fille, il faut non seulement qu'il verse à sa mère le prix de la virginité, mais encore qu'il paye l'*akku* de la fille. Pour cela il offre des perles blanches et de l'étoffe que la nouvelle mariée portera sur elle, ainsi que des sucreries qui seront consommées par elle. Si le prix de la virginité n'était pas payé, l'*akku* de la femme, humiliée, risquerait de la rendre malade ou de la tuer.

Il y a 7 catégories d'*akka*, masculines et féminines, une pour chaque jour de la semaine.

Crevaux en 1877 a pu établir la liste complète[1] :

	hommes	femmes
dimanche	*Kwasi*	*Kwasiba*
lundi	*Kɔdyo*	*Adyuba*
mardi	*Kwemi*	*Abeniba*
mercredi	*Kwaku*	*Akuba*
jeudi	*Yao*	*Yaba*
vendredi	*Kɔβi*	*Aβiba*
samedi	*Kwamina*	*Amba*

Tous ces noms sont connus des Boni, mais aucun de nos informateurs n'était capable de réciter la liste complète. Il est bien entendu qu'un nom comme *Kɔβi*, *Kɔdio*, etc., est le nom de son *akka* et nullement celui de l'homme[2]. En fait, chacun sait le nom de son *akka*, qui lui a été révélé par ses parents alors qu'il était enfant ; à ce nom est attaché un *akka kina* ou interdit alimentaire relatif à l'*akka*. L'un et l'autre sont soigneusement tenus secrets même vis-à-vis des proches et amis, car leur connaissance pourrait aider le *wisimã* à s'emparer de l'*akka*. On emploie souvent à ce sujet le terme *godu kina*, comme on dit *mi godu* au lieu de *mi akka*. Ce terme prête à confusion avec l'interdit imposé au possédé par le dieu qui s'incarne en lui ; il s'agit de deux notions bien différentes.

L'*akka kina* est particulier à chaque homme. Il est recherché par les parents quand l'enfant est complètement sevré. On s'efforce de faire des rapprochements entre les nourritures qu'il a absorbées et les troubles de santé qu'il peut présenter, et on confirme ces présomptions par des procédés divinatoires.

L'homme ne prie pas son *akka* en temps ordinaire. Il ne lui adresse de prière que s'il est malade, pour lui demander protection, ou avant de partir pour un long voyage, pour lui demander de veiller sur lui. S'il revient sain et sauf, il la remercie en lui faisant une offrande, sous forme d'une bouteille de sirop *(swili sapi)*, qu'il renverse sur sa tête.

D'après M. W. F. van Lier, les Djuka ont l'idée que l'ombre *(kanka)* est l'image visible de l'*akka* ; les Boni ne paraissent pas avoir cette conception ; on n'observe pas qu'ils attachent une importance quelconque à ce que l'ombre d'un homme passe sur eux ; par contre il ne faut pas enjamber un homme couché à terre, cela pourrait léser son *akka*.

Le *gɔka*. (Les Boni prononcent *goka*, les Djuka et les créoles de Surinam *gɔka*). On n'emploie l'expression *gɔka* que pour désigner l'esprit des morts. Mais bien entendu les éléments du *gɔka* sont présents dans l'homme vivant.

(1) Cette conception est largement répandue dans l'aire culturelle Agni-Ashanti, chez les Ewe-Fon Mina, et jusque dans l'Ouest du Dahomey. Les noms relevés chez les Mina correspondent très exactement, sous réserve de quelques différences dans la prononciation, à ceux conservés par les Boni.

(2) Bien qu'il arrive que des gens reçoivent comme nom un nom d'akka, parfois accompagné d'un qualificatif, comme Lekiwiku.

Le *gorku* c'est la conscience ordinaire de l'homme, ses souvenirs, ses goûts, ses aversions, tout ce qui constitue sa personnalité. Tout cela, pour les Noirs Réfugiés ne provient pas du plan divin, mais en moins en partie d'existences humaines antérieures, et après la mort ne parviendra pas sur le plan divin. Les Noirs Réfugiés paraissent croire qu'après la mort, le *gorku* restera inchangé, gardera les mêmes désirs, les mêmes aversions, les mêmes pensées ; simplement il n'est plus dans la vie ordinaire, il a passé sur un autre plan, intermédiaire entre le divin et l'humain, d'où il continue à rester d'une certaine façon en rapport avec les hommes. Les divers informateurs que nous avons interrogés à ce sujet, déclarent n'avoir aucun idée du sort du *gorku* après la mort, de sa place par rapport aux divinités, des récompenses ou des châtiments dont il peut être l'objet selon la manière dont l'homme a vécu. Ce sont des questions qu'ils ne se posent jamais ouvertement et qui ne les intéressent guère, tout leur intérêt étant centré sur la vie terrestre. L'idée d'un paradis leur est absolument étrangère ; ils admettent toutefois dans le cas des *wisimi* qu'ils seront privés de la force que tout être vivant reçoit du divin, et qu'ainsi détruits en tant qu'êtres, ils ne seront plus que des ombres vaines.

Les *gaé gorku*, les esprits des ancêtres, sont supposés veiller sur leurs descendants et sont l'objet d'un culte.

Le culte des ancêtres. Chez les Noirs Réfugiés, le culte des ancêtres est intimement lié à tous les actes de la vie familiale et sociale. On admet que les *gorku* des ancêtres sont toujours présents auprès de leurs descendants et qu'ils les protègent. C'est par leur intermédiaire que la force émanée du divin est reçue par les vivants.

Nous avons décrit les principales cérémonies de ce culte en parlant de la vie familiale.

On ne s'adresse qu'à ses proches ancêtres en ligne maternelle, et on s'adresse à eux tous collectivement. De même que la coutume des Noirs Réfugiés réprouve tout ce qui pourrait individualiser une ligne à l'intérieur du lignage, elle réprouve tout lien individuel entre tel mort et tel vivant. De même que les « oncles » exercent collectivement le *totale* sur les « neveux », les morts protègent collectivement les vivants. Ce serait une faute grave contre la loi coutumière des Noirs Réfugiés que de se rendre individuellement au *frapa liki* pour invoquer le *gorku* de tel ou tel de ses parents. Il n'y a exception, nous le verrons plus loin, que pour les ancêtres qui se sont singularisés en exerçant sur un autre lignage le *kuau*.

Le culte des ancêtres est organisé dans le cadre du *lo*, et son prêtre est le chef du *lo*, *hedemi* ou capitaine. Les fractions individualisées *(bes)* qui peuvent exister à l'intérieur du *lo*, comme Papaiston 2, n'ont pas de culte séparé des ancêtres.

Le lieu de prière est constitué par un petit carré de terre d'environ 1 mètre × 1 mètre, isolé du sol du village par des morceaux de planches ; au milieu de ce carré est planté un poteau en forme de T dont la branche horizontale sert de support à un carré d'étoffe blanche : c'est le *frapa liki*.

L'étoffe pourrit rapidement sous l'influence des intempéries, mais on ne l'enlève pas ; on en attache une nouvelle par-dessus l'autre quand elle est trop abîmée ; de même

Fig. 21. — Femme gouriche d'un des Papot petit.

Fig. 22. — Danse de gouriches (petits des Papot petit).

[facing p. 220]

le poteau, qui finit par pourrir, n'est pas remplacé tant qu'il n'est pas tombé à terre. Ce comportement pourrait laisser croire à de la négligence, mais il n'en est rien : pour les Noirs Réfugiés ce qui a été offert aux ancêtres se trouve soustrait à l'action des hommes ; nul ne peut plus y toucher, même pour le réparer.

A côté du *fraga liki* principal on aperçoit parfois des bâtons portant des fragments d'étoffe blanche ; ils ont été plantés à l'intention de ceux des ancêtres qui l'ont exigé.

Les cérémonies au *fraga liki* ont un caractère très simple, les prières sont dites dans la langue ordinaire et ont souvent le caractère d'une conversation familière. En l'absence du chef de lignage, c'est un vieillard qui les prononce ; pendant qu'il parle, un assistant fait l'offrande de l'eau et du tafia. Verser de l'eau sur le sol est un rite ayant pour but d'entrer en contact avec les ancêtres : on le voit effectuer dans les cérémonies mortuaires, avant de commencer l'interrogatoire du *gorku*. Le tafia est une offrande au sens propre du terme : lors des principales prières s'adressant aux ancêtres, l'offrande de tafia est précédée d'une offrande de jus de canne, *kyêy wala*. Le jus de canne était la boisson des jours de fête au temps où les ancêtres, en guerre contre les européens, étaient privés de tafia.

Les formules de prières les plus couramment employées demandent aux ancêtres d'intercéder auprès de Masa gadu en faveur de leurs descendants : « Ancêtres, veillez sur nous, protégez-nous, priez pour nous Masa gadu afin que... ».

Possession par un *gorku*. Il est admis que le *gorku* d'un ancêtre peut entrer dans un membre de son matrilignage et se révéler au cours de crises de possession. C'est un phénomène exceptionnel. En 1968, dans l'ensemble du pays Boni, on ne connaissait qu'une dizaine de personnes qui portaient ainsi le *gorku* d'un ancêtre. Ces crises surviennent spontanément, aucun culte n'ayant pour but de les provoquer. Nous avons assisté en décembre 1966 à une de ces crises chez une jeune femme de Papaïston, Mili, âgée d'une vingtaine d'années. Depuis la veille, le *gorku* d'un aïeul du lignage mort depuis deux générations, se manifestait en elle par intermittences ; ces crises duraient quelques secondes : sa voix changeait, imitant celle d'un homme ; les yeux fixes, elle paraissait n'avoir plus aucune conscience de ce qui l'entourait. Puis soudain la crise cessait et elle vaquait à ses occupations ménagères de la façon la plus naturelle. Le *gorku* qui était supposé s'incarner ainsi dans le corps de Mili parlait de choses très banales, répétant indéfiniment des phrases concernant de menus événements de la journée, ou demandant une petite offrande de tafia à son intention au *fraga liki*. Un psychiatre voit sans doute pour sa part un accès de dissociation mentale.

Les *gorku* ne sont pas craints par leur porteur involontaire, puisque nul ne peut exercer un *kwau* contre son propre lignage ; ils ne se manifestent qu'exceptionnellement, indiquant parfois des remèdes ou avertissant de dangers. C'est ainsi que A... du *lo* Dipélu II, qui a pour alliés un *Kumèdi*, a aussi un *gorku* qui s'est révélé en lui sans avoir jamais été appelé. D'après ses camarades, ce *gorku* intervient parfois d'une voix caverneuse, notamment en septembre 1962, au cours d'une partie de chasse, où il a crié : « n'allons pas par là, nous allons rencontrer un jaguar ». A... n'avait perdu conscience que pendant quelques secondes et ne s'était aperçu de rien.

Le *nemseki*[1]. Chaque Noir Réfugié a un *nemseki*, c'est-à-dire que certains éléments de sa personnalité sont supposés provenir par réincarnation d'un certain ancêtre. C'est une conception très obscure chez les Boni, et sans corrélation apparente avec leur notion de l'*akka* et du *gorku*; ils ne disent jamais : « je suis la réincarnation de un tel », mais simplement : « mon *nemseki* est un tel ». M. W. F. van Lier, parlant des Djuka qui ont sur les questions religieuses des conceptions beaucoup plus nettes, donne une précision importante : en 1915 le grand man Oséisi s'est incarné dans un nouveau-né de la tribu, pourtant il continue à être invoqué en tant qu'ancêtre devant le *fraga liki*. Il semble donc bien qu'il s'agisse de certains éléments de la personnalité qui sont supposés se réincarner, et non du *gorku* tout entier.

Il importe de distinguer le *nemseki* de la possession par un *gorku*. La possession par un *gorku* est un fait exceptionnel, qui se manifeste sous forme de transes, le *gorku* parlant par la bouche de son porteur; en dehors de ces possessions, ce *gorku* est supposé résider au séjour des ancêtres.

Un *gorku* ne peut se révéler ainsi que chez une personne de son matrilignage.

Le *nemseki* au contraire existe chez tous les hommes. L'ancêtre qui se réincarne partiellement ainsi est généralement de l'ascendance paternelle, mais ce n'est pas une règle absolue.

L'homme n'a pas conscience de son *nemseki* et ne le connaît que parce que ses parents le lui ont révélé. Ce *nemseki* ne se manifeste en rien dans la vie courante ; il n'impose aucun *kina* et ne demande pas d'offrandes. Toutefois, quand un jeune enfant tombe malade, la divination peut révéler que c'est le fait du *nemseki* qui s'indigne d'être méconnu. On se hâte alors, toujours avec le secours de la divination, de chercher le nom du *nemseki*, en procédant par élimination. En règle générale, on se laisse guider par des ressemblances de physionomie, des marques de naissance rappelant par exemple certaines cicatrices de l'ancêtre disparu.

On suppose que plus un homme est mort âgé, plus il mettra de temps avant de se réincarner.

Les rapports entre les dieux et les hommes

Le *kunu*

Le *kunu*. Les Noirs Réfugiés appellent *kunu* la malédiction collective qui pèse sur un matrilignage, depuis une faute ancienne. Le *kunu* est sans limite dans le temps, sans pardon, sans pitié, aveugle dans le choix de ses victimes ; en principe, il ne peut finir qu'avec l'extermination complète du lignage. Chaque fois que l'adversité s'abat sur un de ses membres, sous forme de mort, de maladie, de calamités diverses, le *kunu* est l'explication la plus couramment obtenue. L'instrument de cette vengeance inexpiable est soit un dieu, soit le *gorku* (esprit) d'un mort.

Cette notion, qui occupe une place centrale dans les croyances des Noirs Réfugiés, ne paraît pas avoir été empruntée directement. La plupart des populations du Dahomey

(1) Ce mot semble être une déformation de l'anglais nemesis (homonyme).

et de la Côte d'Ivoire admettent l'idée de châtiments arbitraires exercés sur les membres du lignage par les dieux ou les ancêtres du groupe. Mais aucune population de ces régions à notre connaissance n'a élaboré une doctrine aussi fortement systématisée.

Les conceptions développées par les Noirs Réfugiés, divinités animées exclusivement par la vengeance, et surtout ancêtres châtiant inexorablement des lignages étrangers au leur, ont créé entre les individus et entre les lignages des rapports nouveaux.

Nous n'avons pu élucider l'origine du mot *kunu*. Peut-être est-ce une déformation du mot Mina *ekunu* qui signifie funérailles.

Trois catégories de divinités peuvent poursuivre les hommes de leur *kunu* et de ce fait les Noirs Réfugiés éprouvent à leur égard une frayeur extrême mêlée de vénération.

— Les *Papa gudu (Vodû)*. Le *kunu* que l'un d'eux exerce sur un lignage provient régulièrement du fait qu'autrefois, un des ancêtres avait par mégarde tué un serpent *dagwe* (boa), porteur habituel du *Papa gudu*. Par exemple ce serpent avait péri dans le brûlage d'un abattis. Quelque temps après, le dieu avait possédé un membre du lignage et révélé qu'il exercerait désormais un *kunu* ;

— Les *Ampuku*. Le *kunu* d'un *Ampuku* commence d'une façon analogue ; jadis un ancêtre avait par exemple coupé un arbre *kulu* sans exécuter convenablement les rites, ou fait un abattis dans un endroit où résidait un *Ampuku*;

— Les *Kôntomasu* (qui se nomment eux-mêmes *Akôlo*) dieux des termitières, très redoutés, peuvent exercer un *kunu* si, avant de couper l'abattis, on a malgré toutes les recherches, laissé échapper une termitière qui ainsi n'a pas été l'objet du rite indispensable :

— Enfin, le *kunu* peut être mené par le *gorlu* d'un mort. Par exemple, un homme du lignage A avait jadis injustement accusé un homme du lignage B. Ce dernier par vengeance s'était suicidé. Le sens de cet acte n'est pas le même qu'en Europe. Il ne s'agit pas de faire vivre ses ennemis dans la honte et le remords, mais en sacrifiant sa vie, de partir exercer contre ses ennemis une vengeance éternelle. Quelque temps après le suicide, le *gorlu* se révèle dans un homme de son lignage et annonce qu'il poursuivra éternellement de son *kunu* les membres du lignage A.

Ainsi les fautes que punit le *kunu* ne sont pas des fautes morales au sens où nous l'entendons, mais des actes involontaires, sans signification intérieure. De même purifications et sacrifices demandés sont des actes purement extérieurs.

Les divers ouvrages traitant des Noirs Réfugiés mettent bien en évidence l'importance du *kunu*, mais il nous semble que le fonctionnement de cette institution (car en fait il s'agit bien d'une institution sociale), n'a pas été clairement compris.

Un *kunu* s'attache à un matrilignage au sens propre *(bex)*. Il s'étend obligatoirement à tous les membres du matrilignage et ne peut frapper qu'eux.

Par exemple mon *kunu* peut frapper le fils de ma sœur, mais non ma femme ni mes enfants (ils sont soumis au *kunu* de leur propre lignage).

Le *kunu*, frappant le lignage dans son ensemble, ne peut être apaisé que par des prières réunissant (en principe du moins) la totalité du lignage. C'est en cela que le *kunu* peut être défini comme une institution sociale car il est, nous le verrons, le principal ciment de l'unité des groupes.

Le déclenchement d'un *kunu* ne suit pas nécessairement et immédiatement la destruction d'une termitière ou la mort d'un serpent *dapuw*. Le dieu ainsi offensé se venge en rendant malades un certain nombre de membres du lignage et en faisant arriver des malheurs limités. Quand les choses en sont là le *kunu* peut encore être conjuré par des prières et des offrandes. En 1957, un début de *kunu* se manifestait ainsi dans le lignage Awara Bakka d'Asisi ; fort effrayés, les membres du lignage faisaient offrandes et prières pour le conjurer.

Mais si les gens du lignage négligent les avertissements du dieu, si par paresse ou égoïsme un trop grand nombre d'entre eux sont absents des prières collectives et ne participent pas aux offrandes, prières et offrandes seront refusées et le dieu tuera l'un d'eux. Dès lors le *kunu* est déclenché et ne peut plus quitter le lignage. Son porteur involontaire devra le léguer à sa mort à un membre du lignage, qui ne peut refuser ce legs et doit commencer aussitôt son instruction pour devenir un porteur convenable. (Si on ne procédait pas ainsi, le dieu ne cesserait pas pour autant son *kunu* et on perdrait la possibilité d'entrer en rapport avec lui et de l'apaiser. Du reste tôt ou tard il reviendrait dans un membre du lignage).

Le *kunu* frappe sans considération des liens de parenté, même si la parenté est très lointaine entre le porteur du dieu et la victime supposée. Ex. : Le *Papa gadu* de Donasi (*le* Papaiston) frappa de maladie en janvier 1957 une jeune femme, Gou. Donasi et Gou sont parentes au 9e degré seulement. Les membres du lignage Papaiston se sont rassemblés au complet pour supplier le dieu : il est même venu des gens du village Wétiti dans le bas Maroni.

Le *kunu* exercé par le *gorku* d'un mort a une importance particulière aux yeux des Noirs Réfugiés, car il a de profondes répercussions sur les rapports des lignages entre eux.

En principe, le *gorku* exerçant un *kunu* a pour porteur un membre vivant de son propre lignage qui à sa mort le léguera. Mais on admet aussi la possibilité que le *gorku* prenne pour porteur un membre du lignage sur lequel il exerce le *kunu*.

Dans les deux cas, le rite pour apaiser le *gorku* est le même ; le *gorku* ne peut être invoqué utilement que par des membres de son propre lignage, puisqu'on ne peut (au moins en principe) prier que ses propres ancêtres en ligne maternelle.

Quand un matrilignage A est frappé par le *kunu* exercé par un *gorku* d'un matrilignage B, ses membres vont donc consulter les anciens du matrilignage A et leur demandent de chercher à calmer la colère de leur ancêtre. Les membres du lignage A se rassemblent autour du *frapa liki* du lignage B, derrière les anciens de ce lignage, en présence du porteur du *gorku*, qui appelle sa *gila*, entre en transes et vaticine. Le *gorku* demande généralement une offrande de jus de canne et de tafia, qui est faite au pied du

fraga liki par les anciens du lignage B (pour que le rite soit efficace, il faut que l'offrande ait été fournie par le lignage A).

Un *gorko* exerçant un *kunu* peut aussi demander qu'on érige à son intention, à côté du *fraga liki* principal de son *lo*, un autre *fraga liki* plus petit. On aperçoit souvent dans les villages des Noirs Réfugiés ces petites croix munies de voiles blancs [illegible] le *fraga liki* principal, plantées à côté de lui, un peu en oblique.

La notion du *kunu* exercé par un *gorko* explique la rareté du meurtre parmi les Noirs Réfugiés. Comment oser tuer quelqu'un alors qu'aussitôt libéré de son corps, son *gorko* aura toute latitude de vous rendre malade, de faire tomber des branches d'arbre sur votre passage, de faire souffrir et de tuer tous ceux qui vous sont chers? Si quelqu'un est aveugle par la haine, c'est l'idée de suicide qui le dominera. En octobre 1952, nous avons pu observer cette réaction chez un homme qui venait de subir une grave humiliation. « Je vais tuer mon corps pour aller tuer cet homme et toute sa famille », nous dit il, en proie à un accès de rage ; heureusement, l'accès passé, il revint à une plus juste vision des choses.

Il est à noter qu'un *gorko* ne peut exercer un *kunu* contre son propre lignage. Cette notion explique pourquoi, au temps où ils exerçaient une autorité absolue, les chefs de tribus faisaient exécuter les condamnés à mort par des hommes du même lignage. Il semble bien que des usages semblables régnaient autrefois dans plusieurs royaumes africains, ce qui laisse à penser que des notions analogues à celles du *kunu* peuvent y être assez largement répandues.

Situation des divers lignages par rapport au *kunu*. Nous touchons là à un des aspects les plus secrets de la vie sociale des Noirs Réfugiés. Il faut des années de séjour parmi eux pour obtenir des informations précises sur la nature et le mode d'action des *kunu* s'exerçant sur les divers lignages.

En quasi-totalité, les entités qui exercent actuellement leur *kunu* sur les Boni sont dans leurs lignages depuis une époque très ancienne, au point que le nom de leur premier porteur est oublié. Ils sont transmis inexorablement de génération en génération. Au cours des âges, les *kunu* se sont accumulés et maintenant certains lignages vivent avec 4, 5 ou même 6 *kunu*.

Kunu du lignage Dju. Le lignage Dju était en 1968 affecté de quatre *kunu* :

Un *Ampuku* qui exerce sa vengeance depuis un temps immémorial, au point qu'on ne se souvient plus de l'origine de ce *kunu*, dont les porteurs étaient Dabisa (G25) et Adyidya (E19), deux femmes d'environ 50 ans. Cet *Ampuku* avait auparavant pour porteur un aïeul nommé Agoabuchi, mort vers 1940. Deux à trois ans après sa mort, il se manifesta en Dabisa ;

— Un *Papa godu* nommé Adawa qui lui aussi poursuit le lignage d'une vengeance implacable depuis le temps des grands ancêtres. Il se révélait à la génération précédente dans une aïeule nommée Sapiké (D5) et longtemps après la mort de celle-ci, il est passé dans Pamasa (E26), femme de 35 ans. Ce *kunu* s'est aggravé depuis que ces dernières

années, deux autres *Papa gadu* se sont révélés chez deux femmes nommées Kulina (F9) et Diana (E9). Ils ont déclaré être les descendants du premier et venir en renfort auprès de lui ;

— Un *gorku* dont personne n'a voulu nous dire le nom tellement on en avait peur. C'est celui d'un homme du lignage Awara Bakka, qui voici deux ou trois générations, accusé injustement d'un crime par un homme du lignage Dju, s'est suicidé. Depuis, ce *gorku* extermine petit à petit le lignage Dju. Son porteur en 1958 était une vieille femme du lignage Awara Bakka, nommée Namu ;

— Un *Kandanasu*, depuis que, voici très longtemps, une aïeule dont le nom est oublié a détruit involontairement une termitière en brûlant un abattis. Il avait pour porteur une très vieille femme nommée Wima (E3) († 1957), et il se manifestait aussi dans Ala (F2).

Ainsi, dans ce groupe, les dieux malfaisants avaient exclusivement pour porteurs des femmes ; sur 20 femmes adultes environ, 7 participaient au fonctionnement du *kunu*.

On voit sur cet exemple comment l'influence des femmes, s'exerçant de façon arbitraire, dans un domaine placé en dehors de la coutume et de la vie sociale régulière, pèse sur la vie du groupe.

Kunu du lignage Dipélu. La situation du lignage Dipélu à l'égard du *kunu* est particulièrement intéressante. Bien que fractionné depuis peut-être 100 ans en deux groupes distincts, Dipélu I (villages L'Enfant Perdu et Apatu) et Dipélu II (villages Kormotibo et Asisi-Dip. II), ce groupe constitue toujours une unité indivise à l'égard du *kunu*. Ni le temps, ni l'éloignement (il faut plus d'une semaine de voyage aller et retour pour se rendre de L'Enfant Perdu à Apatu) n'ont pu la briser. Les gens d'Apatu viennent très souvent (au moins quelques-uns d'entre eux) assister aux prières collectives qui ont lieu à L'Enfant Perdu pour apaiser un *kunu* afin de guérir un malade.

Le *kunu* le plus ancien (« depuis l'Afrique ») est celui d'un dieu *Papa gadu* dont le porteur était ○ Dika (Dip. I, D10, † 1951) et qui est passé après sa mort dans ○ Pééchina (Dip. I, E42, village L'Enfant Perdu). Ce *kunu* frappe indifféremment les gens de L'Enfant Perdu, d'Apatu, de Kormotibo, de Asisi-Dip. II et de la fraction des Dipélu résidant à Boniville. Ces dernières années on lui attribuait la mort de ○ Way (Dip. I, E6, habitant Boniville), la maladie de △ Akwali (Dip. II, F7, village Kormotibo) et de ○ Bongo (même village).

Un autre *kunu* très ancien est celui exercé par le *gorku* d'un créole de Surinam qui voici très longtemps s'était établi avec les gens de Dipélu. On l'a soupçonné de sorcellerie et tué. Depuis, son *gorku* revient régulièrement pour exterminer les Dipélu.

N'ayant pas de lignage connu (sa famille s'il en avait était à Surinam), il avait pris pour porteur des gens du lignage Dipélu. Le dernier était △ Denis † en 1938. Depuis la mort de Denis, il n'a plus de porteur. C'est l'interrogatoire des défunts qui révèle qu'ils sont morts par son *kunu*. Les membres des deux fractions du lignage se réunissent (il vient au moins 2 à 3 membres de chaque village) pour le supplier.

Un troisième *kunu*, fort intéressant dans son origine et son action supposée, était

en 1957 porté par Kwau (Dip. I, E1, village Kotika). Il résulte du meurtre par Apatu † (Dip. I, C1), compagnon de l'explorateur Crevaux, d'un serpent anaconda, alors qu'il voyageait au Brésil. Au contact des européens Apatu était devenu un esprit fort et n'observait plus les lois de son peuple. Parmi les dernières victimes de ce *kuau*, on notait Kwama (Dip. II, F4, village Kormotibo) qui, gravement malade, avait dû se rendre à l'Enfant Perdu où on avait invoqué le dieu pour lui et fait des offrandes. On lui attribuait notamment la mort de Manga (Dip. I, E5, Boniville, † vers 1930).

Aucun autre *kuau* ne s'est révélé au village Apatu depuis sa fondation en 1882.

Un quatrième *kuau* concernant l'ensemble des Dipélu a pour porteur des femmes du groupe Dipélu II. Il résulte du meurtre involontaire d'un *Papa gadu* dont le porteur était un serpent *dagaue*, tué au cours de la noyée d'un étang par Akonté † (Dip. II, B1) transmise à Kondo † puis à Alama (Dip. II, E1).

Depuis, des *Papa gadu* se sont révélés dans ○ Apalla (Dip. II, F9, village Kormotibo) et dans ○ Kuala (Dip.II, G28, village Asisi-Dip.II). Ils ont déclaré être les descendants du premier et venir en renfort auprès de lui.

Enfin, un cinquième *kuau* menace de se déclarer. C'est une affaire remarquable qui éclaire à la fois les conceptions juridiques et religieuses des Noirs Réfugiés.

Vers 1918, un accident stupide survenu à Dagoudé (fusil qui partit tout seul au moment où on le déposait dans un canot) causa la mort d'une jeune fille, Santonia, fille de Kuluba (Aw.B.1). L'auteur involontaire de l'accident était Kwau (Dip.I, village Apatu). Il se trouva des gens dans le lignage Awaru Bakka pour l'accuser de l'avoir fait exprès, mais le grand man jugea qu'il était innocent et l'affaire fut classée.

Or, en avril 1957, Kiboya (Dip.II), jeune femme de 25 ans, fut prise d'un accès de possession. C'était le *gadu* de Santonia qui était censé se révéler en elle. Il déclarait qu'il allait exercer un *kuau* sur Dipélu. Il ne prétendait pas que Kwau l'avait tuée exprès et demanda même aux Awaru Bakka de ne pas exercer de représailles.

Néanmoins, pris de fureur, une partie des Awaru Bakka allèrent le lendemain attaquer le village de L'Enfant Perdu, démolissant un certain nombre de cases et pourchassant les habitants dont les uns se réfugièrent dans l'eau et les autres dans la brousse. Il n'y eut pas cependant de voies de fait graves.

Le jour suivant, ils allèrent de même attaquer Kormotibo. Il est à noter qu'ils ne songèrent qu'ensuite à s'en prendre à Kwau qui résidait alors à Wacapou. Mais le grand man était intervenu dans l'intervalle pour rétablir la paix.

Dans les deux cas on brisa à la hache la façade de quelques carbets et on frappa symboliquement deux hommes, Bonana et Amatodja, qui avaient couru moins vite que les autres.

Les membres du lignage Dipélu ne crurent pas un mot de cette affaire, persuadés que Kiboya, femme orgueilleuse et intrigante, avait simulé la *gila* pour se rendre intéressante. Néanmoins, pour ramener la paix, ils décidèrent de se rendre à Asisi et de demander pardon devant le *fraga liki*, versant du tafia, demandant aux ancêtres de ne pas exercer de vengeance, les vivants s'étant réconciliés.

(Il est à remarquer que dans cette affaire, le gorlu se manifeste dans un membre du lignage sur lequel il exerce le *kunu*).

Kunu du lignage Awaru Bakka. Le lignage Awaru Bakka ne constitue pas une unité au regard du *kunu*, et la situation de ses fractions est particulièrement intéressante. Ce lignage comprend :

— Une fraction principale (Aw.B.1) ;

— Une fraction dont les liens de parenté avec la première sont oubliés (Aw.B.2), dont nous n'avons pu définir la position à l'égard du *kunu*.

— Enfin, un groupe issu de Anèta, femme Djuka, épouse de Pèèyun † (Aw.B.1) fixée à Asini avec sa descendance en ligne utérine. Nous avons appelé ce groupe Aw.B.3. Il possède un *kunu* distinct provenant du village Djuka de Tabiki dont Anèta est issue.

Les Awaru Bakka 1, tous habitant le village d'Asini, avaient en 1957 à notre connaissance, trois *kunu* :

— L'un exercé par un dieu *Papa gado* porté jusqu'en 1957 par ○ Kuduba (Aw.B.1 D1). A sa mort en avril 1957, elle le légua, contrairement à la coutume, à une personne, d'une autre fraction, Summa (Aw.B.3). Mais le dieu ne ratifia pas ce legs et, en janvier 1958, il se manifesta dans ○ Léna (Aw.B.1, F52), restant ainsi dans le même lignage ;

— Un second *kunu* très ancien est exercé par un gorlu du *lo* Dipèlu II, Gy..., mort depuis si longtemps qu'on ne peut le situer sur le tableau généalogique ; lui aussi avait pour porteur un membre du lignage sur lequel il exerçait le *kunu*, ○ Akumuyé (Aw.B.1, D17) † 1957.

Ainsi les lignages Awaru Bakka et Dipèlu exercent le *kunu* réciproquement l'un contre l'autre ;

— Un troisième *kunu* d'origine récente est exercé par un dieu *Papa gado* qui avait pour porteur en 1957 ○ Irma (Aw.B.1, E37). Il résulte du meurtre involontaire d'un serpent *Dagaue* par △ Takwa, frère de Irma. Ce *kunu* n'avait encore, fin 1957, provoqué que des maladies, de telle sorte qu'on pouvait encore espérer le conjurer.

Le groupe Aw.B.3 a un *kunu* particulier et se considère comme hors d'atteinte des *kunu* des Aw.B.1.

Anèta, issue du village Djuka de Tabiki, est soumise aux *kunu* de ce lignage, ainsi que tous ses descendants en ligne utérine. Ceux-ci ont dû parfois, à l'occasion de maladies graves, se rendre au village Tabiki pour supplier le *kunu*.

Ce *kunu* est celui d'un dieu porté par Akanté, fille de Anèta. En septembre 1956, Summa, fille de Akanté, a été malade. Le dieu a révélé que c'était par sa faute. On l'a supplié (les autres fractions se sont jointes au groupe) et elle a guéri ensuite.

Kunu du lignage Afi. Les descendants de Afi † (femme originaire de la tribu des Bakabuchi de Surinam) vivent pour la plupart à Asini, en symbiose étroite avec le

lignage Awaru Bakka. Ils sont dans une situation analogue à celui des descendants de Anéta (Aw.B.3) mais, peut-être du simple fait de leur nombre, ils forment une unité mieux individualisée.

Ils sont l'objet de trois *kunu* :

— L'un exercé par un dieu *Papa gadu* dont le porteur jusqu'en 1956 était Kotoida (oct. 1956), qui l'a légué à ○ Mani (lignage Afi, d12).

— L'autre exercé par un *gorku* du lignage Lapé. Ce *kunu* date d'une soixantaine d'années ; Alémin (lignage Afi, b3, village Kormotibo) âgé de 80 ans en 1957, avait, étant jeune, coupé un abattis dans un emplacement qui se trouvait être un ancien cimetière Boni abandonné (en face de Maripasoula). Quelque temps après, un *gorku* se révéla dans une femme du lignage Lapé, disant qu'il exerçait un *kunu* contre la famille du sacrilège.

C'est à ce *gorku*, dont le porteur est M... (L2, Boniville) qu'on attribue notamment la mort de Kotoida en octobre 1956.

— Un troisième *kunu* est exercé par A..., du lignage Papalston 2. A..., avait commis *pikodu*. Surpris par Alémin (lignage Afi), il avait payé celui-ci pour obtenir son silence. Mais Alémin avait parlé. Déshonoré, A... se suicida d'un coup de fusil ; quelque temps après un *gorku* se révéla dans Alémin ; il exerce un *kunu* sur ce lignage.

Situation des autres lignages à l'égard du *kunu*. Le lignage Papalston est divisé en deux groupes : Papalston 1 (le principal) et Papalston 2 dont il ne reste plus que 3 membres vivants : 2 femmes et 1 jeune homme. Ce débris de lignage continue à porter un groupe *kunu* unique et distinct de celui du groupe principal.

Le groupe principal constitue une unité au regard du *kunu*.

Le lignage Lapé, coupé au point de vue de la généalogie en deux tronçons, forme une unité au regard du *kunu*. Nous n'avons pu recueillir que des informations fragmentaires sur les divers *kunu* de ce village.

Un *kunu* est exercé par un *gorku* de Dipélu, porté en 1958 par une femme de Loka. On l'invoque devant le *fraga liki* du village L'Enfant Perdu (Dipélu I). Quelquefois on célèbre un *kodo* de pour lui dans les mêmes formes que la cérémonie du 8e jour après la mort.

Nous n'avons pu de même recueillir des informations complètes sur les *kunu* du lignage Kotika. Ce lignage divisé en trois fractions forme une unité au regard du *kunu*.

Un *kunu* est exercé par le *gorku* d'un créole de Surinam jadis assassiné par un membre du lignage. Son porteur en 1958 était Todo (K1, E68), homme du *lo* Kotika résidant à Boniville. En 1958, une jeune femme du lignage, Awini, (K1, E37) est morte subitement ; le *gorku* a révélé qu'il avait frappé Awini parce qu'elle avait une liaison avec Sintamann (K3, E145), commettant ainsi *pikodu*. L'idée de la responsabilité collective du lignage est si profondément acceptée par les Boni les proches parents de la défunte n'ont adressé à Sintamann aucun reproche.

Un *gorka* du lignage Kotika exerçait un *kunu* sur les Djuka. Il s'agit d'une affaire remontant à 1950 ; une jeune femme est morte quelque temps après avoir eu une grave discussion avec une femme Djuka, qui l'avait frappée. Des décès survenus chez les Djuka ces dernières années avaient été attribués à sa vengeance.

Il semble qu'il n'y ait pas d'autre *kunu* exercé par un Djuka sur un lignage Boni et réciproquement. C'est surprenant étant donné les combats qui ont jadis opposé les deux nations.

Les Djuka et Saramaka vivant isolés au milieu des Boni connaissent leurs *kunu* qui leur ont été révélés dans leur enfance. En cas de maladie, ils emploient des procédés divinatoires pour savoir de quel *kunu* il s'agit, puis ils font des offrandes. Mais en cas de maladie grave, ils sont contraints de retourner au village d'origine de leur lignage.

Le *kunu* et la vie familiale des Boni. Il résulte de l'examen détaillé que nous venons de faire de la situation des divers lignages que la transmission du *kunu* dans la parenté utérine est une loi rigoureuse qui ne souffre aucune exception. Le processus d'assimilation qui permet dans une certaine mesure, sur le plan social, d'intégrer à un groupe des fragments de parenté paternelle (comme Awara Bakka 3) ne joue pas ici. L'unité au regard du *kunu* peut donc être regardée comme un critère rigoureux d'une commune origine matrilinéaire. Les Boni le ressentent comme une évidence et c'est en pareil cas la démonstration qui leur vient à l'esprit : « Nous sommes de même origine puisque nous avons même *kunu* ».

Ainsi le *kunu* apparaît comme le principal ciment de l'unité des groupes. Il s'oppose à la dissociation des lignages ; cette malédiction qui pèse collectivement sur un groupe et qui ne peut être conjurée que collectivement, est un lien de fer que rien ne peut rompre. Il oblige les Noirs Réfugiés à surmonter leurs tendances individualistes, leur égoïsme qui, s'ils jouaient librement, auraient tôt fait de les éparpiller en une poussière d'isolés. Devant l'adversité chacun accepte de meilleur cœur l'obéissance aux anciens qui seuls savent parler aux dieux et les apaiser. Jamais personne ne s'indigne, ni même ne s'étonne d'être frappé pour la faute d'un autre ; il n'y a pas un mouvement de révolte ni d'hostilité contre celui qui, par son inattention ou sa légèreté, a attiré le malheur. Sur ce plan, les membres d'un lignage se sentent comme les cellules d'un même corps.

La responsabilité juridique collective des membres d'un groupe dans le domaine coutumier ordinaire découle du *kunu*. Nous avons observé cela à plusieurs reprises, notamment lors des obsèques de Kotoïda (lignage Afi) en octobre 1956. Le président du *lánti kuulu* a condamné les membres du lignage Afi à être fustigés symboliquement pour ne s'être pas préoccupés suffisamment des avertissements du *gorka* qui avait déjà rendu Kotoïda malade à plusieurs reprises : par leur négligence ils portaient une part de responsabilité dans la mort de Kotoïda. Bien que les Afi et les Awara Bakka vivent ensemble et se regardent comme membres d'une même communauté, il n'a nullement été question de fustiger les Awara Bakka, et cela parce que n'étant pas soumis au même *kunu*, ils ne portaient pas de responsabilité dans cette mort.

De même on admet que les descendants de Anéta (Aw.B.3) ne partagent pas la responsabilité juridique des Awara Bakka proprement dits (fractions 1 et 2). Le fait que Anéta était l'épouse de Péyon, capitaine des Aw.B., et que ses descendants soient totalement intégrés à la vie du village ne modifie en rien cette situation juridique. Lors de la bagarre qui opposa en 1948 les Dipélu et les Awara Bakka, les Aw.B.3 n'ont pas été pris à partie, pas plus que les membres du lignage Afi.

Les rapports des Boni avec les entités qui sont supposées les poursuivre sont des plus intéressants. On ne cherche qu'à apaiser la divinité, à la calmer provisoirement, et à vivre avec elle dans un état de paix armée, si l'on peut dire.

Quand la divination a montré que telle calamité était due au *kunu* (parfois la divinité en question le révèle aussitôt, par la bouche de son porteur, avant d'avoir été interrogée), on lui demande pourquoi elle a frappé : elle indique toujours une raison précise : le plus souvent elle paraît inspirée par l'arbitraire et un despotisme impitoyable. Les Noirs Réfugiés ne s'en étonnent pas, car c'est bien ainsi qu'ils se représentent les dieux inférieurs.

En 1948, A..., du lignage Dju, tomba malade ; il ressentait de violentes douleurs aux jambes. La divination montra que c'était le fait du *Kdnlomosu* qui exerçait son *kunu* sur le lignage ; interrogé, ce dieu déclara qu'il avait à se plaindre du mauvais état de la maison que lui avait élevée sur son ordre les membres du lignage ; la toiture de bouillo n'avait pas été changée et il pleuvait à travers.

Il arrive aussi, mais exceptionnellement, que le dieu ait sanctionné une faute contre la morale ou plus précisément contre la loi sociale telle que rupture d'un interdit, *pikudu* (inceste au sens large, faute contre l'exogamie). Il faut bien comprendre que dans la pensée des Noirs Réfugiés, l'inceste déclenche les *kunu* existants mais ne crée pas un nouveau *kunu*.

En octobre 1952, Dolo, jeune homme de 25 ans du *lo* Awara Bakka, mourut presque subitement. La divination révéla qu'il avait été tué par le *kunu* (c'est un *Papa gadu* qui était intervenu) pour sanctionner une faute commise quelque temps avant par un autre membre du *lo* nommé P... Ce dernier, individu notoirement taré, avait commis l'inceste avec sa propre sœur.

Quand la divinité a fait connaître par la bouche de son porteur les motifs de son acte, les membres du lignage assemblés l'implorent, lui demandent de ne pas poursuivre sa vengeance ; la divinité exige alors une offrande : par exemple si c'est un *Papa gadu*, il exigera des bouteilles de bière, de l'étoffe rouge et blanche qu'on immergera dans un endroit donné de la rivière. Il pourra aussi exiger des danses en son honneur, célébrées par les autres possédés du village. Si c'est un *Ampuku*, il demandera du rhum, de l'étoffe bleu sombre qu'on exposera dans un endroit écarté de la forêt. Une offrande de ce genre représente une somme relativement faible, même pour les Boni (quelques milliers de francs en 1952). Le dieu se déclare alors apaisé. Mais il ne pardonne pas et il reprendra

sa vengeance au premier motif. Ainsi les Boni n'ont-ils d'espoir que dans une observance rigoureuse de la loi coutumière et des rites. Il y a des divinités qui paraissent ainsi apaisées depuis longtemps et auxquelles on n'hésite pas à venir demander des remèdes ou des avis, en dépit du mal qu'elles ont fait au lignage et feront peut-être demain. Il est même permis de se demander si on ne va pas consulter de préférence les divinités les plus méchantes, car on les suppose plus fortes.

Le *kunu* focaline, détourne vers des buts élevés les forces aveugles de la superstition, de la peur et de la rancune. Plusieurs des auteurs qui ont écrit sur les Noirs Réfugiés ont affirmé que les calamités étaient presque immanquablement attribuées à la sorcellerie *(wisi)*. C'est une profonde erreur, due à ce qu'ils croient pouvoir transposer chez eux ce qu'on observe chez les populations créoles de Surinam. S'il en était ainsi aucun lien social positif ne pourrait exister. Nous croyons pouvoir affirmer que chez les Noirs Réfugiés, la divination n'incrimine la sorcellerie que dans un dixième des malheurs à peine. Voici, parmi d'autres exemples, quelques cas typiques intéressant des Boni qui ont travaillé avec nous ou que nous avons particulièrement bien connus :

— En 1948, Fintiman (Dju) tombe malade (douleurs violentes aux jambes) ; *kunu* d'un *Kèdèmasu*.

— En 1948, Galmo (Papalston) est blessé accidentellement (trappe-fusil) : *kunu*.

— En 1949, Diolè, capitaine du *lo* Dju, est frappé d'hémiplégie et reste paralysé. Il meurt en 1951 : *kunu* d'un *Papa gadu*.

— En 1950, un Saramaka est tué dans un accident de chasse (un fusil en mauvais état est parti tout seul : *Jygoku* (accident).

— En 1951, Kanayen (Kotika) se noie en naviguant de nuit sur le fleuve : *wisi*.

— En 1951, Loka (Dju) meurt à l'âge de 70 ans : *kunu* d'un *Ampuku*.

— En 1951, F... (Dju) est sérieusement blessé par la chute d'une branche en coupant son abattis : *kunu* d'un *gorka*.

— En 1952, Dolo (Awara Bakka) meurt presque subitement avec les symptômes d'une péritonite : *kunu*, châtiment pour un inceste commis par un autre membre du lignage.

— En 1952, Malèndo, âgé de 10 ans, fils de Osaya (Awara Bakka) se noie accidentellement : accident naturel *(Jygoku)*.

— En 1954, Bèniti (Dju) meurt âgée de près de 75 ans : *kunu* d'un *Papa gadu*.

— En 1954, Agyèmèsi (Aw.B.) meurt presque subitement : tué par Odun (c'était un *wisimi*).

— En 1955, Tabiki (Awara Bakka) meurt à plus de 80 ans : maladie naturelle.

— En 1956, Kotoida (lignage Afi) meurt subitement, âgée d'environ 50 ans : *kunu* d'un *gorka*.

— En 1957, F... (Lapé) est gravement malade avec symptômes d'une typhoïde : *kunu* d'un *Papa gadu*.

— En 1957, Sokodo (Dip.II) meurt âgé de 40 ans : *kunu* d'un *Kèdèmasu*.

On observe que dans les 15 cas cités ici, le *kunu* intervient 10 fois, tandis que dans trois cas on admettait des causes naturelles : maladie, accident.

En réalité, les Noirs Réfugiés n'ont pas la conception d'un monde naturel, soumis à des lois connues ou connaissables, s'opposant à un monde surnaturel. L'intervention d'un *Papa gadu* n'est ni plus ni moins naturelle qu'une maladie ou un accident. Il y a seulement, sur le plan de la vie humaine, intervention plus ou moins fréquente de forces «surhumaines». L'intervention de ces forces se fait selon des lois qui englobent la totalité des êtres et des choses, lois que les hommes ne peuvent pas comprendre mais dont ils seraient avoir une connaissance partielle et empirique.

Il importe de ne pas confondre le *kunu* avec les souffrances que peuvent faire subir arbitrairement aux hommes d'autres divinités. Le *kunu* a un caractère systématique. Mais une divinité en principe bienfaisante, et qui est venue dans un homme après avoir été appelée, peut elle aussi, de temps à autre, amener des malheurs si telle est sa fantaisie du moment.

En 1949, G... (Dju), était occupé à faire cuire un crabe dans la maison de sa mère D... Un sabre qui était attaché au mur se détacha soudain et le blessa à la main droite. Or, sa mère avait un *Ampuku* qui lui avait imposé comme *kinu* le crabe. Cet *Ampuku* aussitôt appelé révéla que c'était bien lui qui avait frappé G..., car il lui déplaisait de voir le fils de D... manger du crabe (il est à noter que G... n'était nullement tenu à observer ce *kinu*, car aucun *kinu* ne se transmet de la mère au fils).

Il ne faut pas non plus confondre le *kunu* exercé par un *gadu* avec la vengeance que peut exercer un défunt contre les membres de son propre lignage pour les punir d'avoir négligé leurs devoirs.

La punition infligée par un ancêtre du lignage semble être pour les Boni une notion distincte de celle du *kunu*. La vengeance exercée par un *gadu* sur son propre lignage est regardée comme exceptionnelle et dépourvue du caractère inexorable et définitif du *kunu*, mais on admet qu'elle est possible. On nous a cité le cas de Yali (Loka) qui accusé de sorcellerie par les gens de son lignage s'était suicidé. Depuis son *gadu* a provoqué des maladies et des morts dans son propre village.

Inversement, un dieu qui exerce le *kunu* sur un lignage peut dans certains cas intervenir en faveur de ce lignage si telle est sa fantaisie du moment. Ainsi on attribue la mort de Diamanti (Aw.B.2, village Asiri, 9 en 1965) au dieu qui exerce le *kunu* sur le village de L'Enfant Perdu et dont le porteur était Pééchina. Diamanti avait fait du tort à quelqu'un de ce village et le dieu était intervenu contre elle.

D'une façon générale, on considère que le porteur d'un dieu exerçant le *kunu* n'a rien à en craindre personnellement, s'il observe rigoureusement les *kinu* qui lui ont été imposés. Au contraire, ce dieu punira toute offense faite à son porteur. Ainsi ces porteurs (il s'agit presque toujours de vieilles femmes) vivent entourés de considération et de crainte.

Observations en janvier 1958 (malheurs attribués à des vengeances d'ancêtres sur leur propre lignage).

Do (Lapé) est pris le 7 janvier 58 d'une violente attaque de dysenterie. Le même jour son fils âgé de 5 ans est blessé grièvement au dégrad en tombant sur une bouteille cassée. Émus de cette coïncidence, les membres du *lo* Lapé se réunissent et procèdent à l'interrogatoire d'un possédé. Celui-ci révèle que c'est le fait d'une vieille femme du lignage, Atala, morte depuis deux ans. Plusieurs membres du lignage ont déjà été malades de ce fait ; la défunte a voulu sanctionner des fautes commises par des gens du lignage.

Le même jour, à Boniville, Klémenti, (Dju), auquel je relate cette affaire, me dit qu'avant la levée du deuil de sa mère Bénili, lui-même et ses sœurs ont été malades. La divination a montré que c'était le fait de Bénili qui voulait accélérer la célébration de la cérémonie.

Le *kunu* et le poix sociale chez les Boni. Rôle du grand mon. Le *kunu* exercé par un *gorku* crée entre les lignages Boni des rapports fort étranges. Aussi aveugle et arbitraire que soit la vengeance attribuée au *gorku*, les Boni ont trop le sens de l'unité juridique du lignage pour qu'il n'en subsiste pas un ressentiment : « Ils tuent notre famille... » ; et pourtant les deux lignages se trouvent désormais irrémédiablement liés. Les victimes du *kunu* ne peuvent plus se passer des gens du lignage du *gorku* qui les poursuit de sa vengeance, puisque seuls ils peuvent, par leurs prières, apaiser temporairement la colère de leur ancêtre. On conçoit les dissensions interminables, qu'entraîne cette situation : si les manifestations du *kunu* ne cessent pas, les victimes laissent entendre que les prières ont été mal faites...

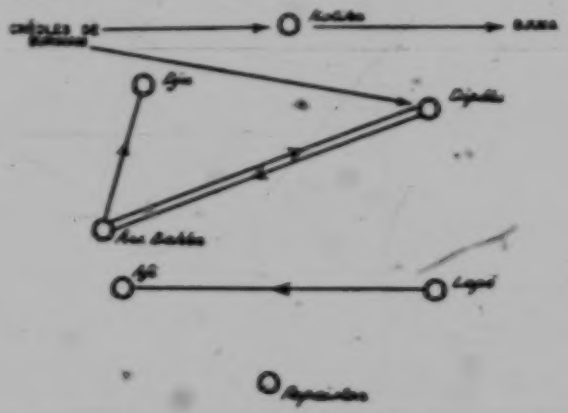


Fig. 58. — Schéma des *kunu* exercés les uns sur les autres par les divers lignages.

Toute mort suspecte dont les circonstances laissent supposer une responsabilité

d'un habitant d'un autre village, peut entraîner une expédition punitive contre ce village et les autres villages de même parenté. En prenant cette attitude vengeresse, avant même que le grand man ait été prévenu et les gens incriminés entendus, les gens du lignage du mort songent avant tout à se prémunir contre l'action du défunt, qui pourrait retourner sa vengeance contre eux. En fait, ces combats sont surtout symboliques ; la sagesse des Noirs Réfugiés a édicté des préceptes dont bien des nations pourraient s'inspirer, pour empêcher que ces expéditions punitives n'aient des conséquences graves :

— On ne peut frapper qu'avec les poings, et le sang ne doit pas couler ;

— Les hommes ne peuvent frapper que les hommes, tandis que les femmes s'en prennent aux femmes ;

— On ne peut se battre que sur la place du village et devant témoins, jamais dans la brousse ou sur la rivière. En règle générale, les gens visés par l'expédition ne résistent pas mais s'enfuient dans la brousse ou sur les canots, ou se groupent autour du *frapa liki*, lieu saint que les agresseurs doivent respecter.

Nous avons relaté l'expédition faite en avril 1957 par les gens de Asini-Awara Bakka contre les villages de L'Enfant Perdu (Dipélu I) et Kormotibo (Dipélu II). Une autre bagarre avait huit ans plus tôt, en 1949, lancé les Dipélu contre les Awara Bakka à la suite de la mort de Pétikona (Dip.II) que son mari, Boofo, avait emmenée à Surinam et qui y était morte. Les gens de Kormotibo prétendirent que Boofo était responsable de sa mort. Ils allèrent attaquer les gens de Asini qui, bien que trois fois plus nombreux, ne cherchèrent pas à résister et s'enfuirent à Boniville ou se réfugièrent les uns dans l'eau, les autres dans la brousse. On cassa (sans grands dommages) une dizaine de carbets, principalement des cuisines et des hangars vides. Un seul homme put être attrapé et reçut quelques coups de poing.

L'expédition d'avril 57 contre les villages de L'Enfant Perdu et de Kormotibo ne fit pas beaucoup plus de mal. Une seule belle maison fut brisée, celle d'Akwali (Dip. II, Kormotibo) parce que son propriétaire, passant en canot sur la rivière, insulta les agresseurs...

Le combat à coups de poings est pratiqué aussi entre individus, comme épreuve de justification. Si quelqu'un est injustement accusé de vol, c'est la première idée qui lui viendra, avant même le serment devant Odun. Les Noirs Réfugiés ont à ce sujet une conception analogue à celle des anciens européens, selon laquelle Dieu viendra au secours de l'innocent en décuplant ses forces. Ce combat lui aussi est astreint à des règles précises ; on ne peut s'y livrer que publiquement, dans un village, jamais dans la brousse ni sur la rivière.

Malgré l'importance attachée au serment devant Odun, la coutume Boni ne prévoit pas d'épreuve de justification ayant une valeur juridique reconnue. C'est ce qui rend indispensable cette bataille symbolique. Une intervention est ensuite demandée au chef d'un lignage neutre pour rétablir la paix. S'il ne survient pas de mort ou de calamité lais-

sant croire à la vengeance non apaisée d'un défunt, l'affaire est oubliée très vite. Par exemple, en examinant le tableau des mariages entre les divers lignages, on constate qu'il y a entre les Dipéïa et les Awara Bakka un nombre d'unions normal.

Le grand man a dans ces sortes d'affaires deux fonctions bien précises :

— Déceler la simulation ;

— Intervenir comme arbitre suprême en cas de nécessité.

Chaque fois que quelqu'un est pris d'une crise de possession et prétend parler au nom d'un *gorku* venant exercer un *kunu*, le chef du lignage le conduit au grand man qui s'assure qu'il ne s'agit pas de simulation.

Le grand man, dans la pensée des Boni, a le pouvoir de contraindre n'importe quel *gorku* à se manifester.

Il conduit l'intéressé au *fenga liki* et invoque le *gorku*. S'il s'agit de simulation, l'individu ne pourra pas articuler une syllabe. S'il s'agit de possession véritable le *gorku* parlera par sa bouche.

Il y a quelques années, une femme de Kormotibo a été ainsi confondue. Elle avait voulu simuler la possession par un *gorku* pour exercer un chantage sur une autre famille.

Le grand man Difu a interdit récemment qu'on lègue les dieux et les *gorku* exerçant le *kunu*[1]. On attendra qu'ils se manifestent d'eux-mêmes. Cela réduira les risques de simulation.

Le lignage du grand man n'exerce aucun *kunu* sur un autre lignage et aucun *kunu* n'est exercé sur lui. C'est pour les Boni une idée fondamentale, car le grand man est précisément le recours suprême en cas de calamités persistantes attribuées au *gorku* d'un mort. Le grand man a le pouvoir d'exorciser tous les Boni défunts. Si son lignage exerçait un *kunu* ou en était victime, il serait à la fois juge et partie.

Quand, avec la mort du grand man Difu le lignage Dikan sera éteint, et quand la fonction passera à un autre lignage, la considération des *kunu* exercés par les lignages les uns sur les autres sera déterminante dans le choix de son successeur.

Divination ; prémonition ; rêves

La divination. Elle joue chez les Noirs Réfugiés, comme dans toutes les sociétés animistes, un rôle essentiel. Les individus y ont recours pour inspirer toutes les discussions importantes ; dans une large mesure on peut dire qu'elle leur tient lieu de volonté et de conscience.

Mais la divination est plus que cela ; l'interprétation qu'elle donne des événements de la vie courante est le moteur même de la société animiste ; présentant les calamités

(1) Peuplades qu'on interroge les morts à ce sujet comme pour la répartition du reste de leur héritage.

comme le châtiment de fautes contre la loi coutumière, elle vivifie constamment cette loi, lui conservant sa valeur pratique et son efficacité. Ce qu'elle exprime, ce n'est pas l'influence occulte de chefs ou de prêtres — il n'y a en fait ni chefs ni prêtres chez les Boni — mais le consensus même du groupe, le sentiment profond qu'il a de son unité.

Il y a deux grandes catégories de divination :

La première consiste à appeler une divinité par l'intermédiaire de son porteur. On s'adresse pour cela à une personne (de son lignage si possible) qui a un *gula*. C'est un service qui se refuse rarement. Cette personne emploie le procédé qui lui est propre pour appeler sa *gila* et entre en transes. Le dieu parle, on lui pose la question ; s'il est bien disposé il peut donner l'explication ou le conseil demandé. On demande par exemple conseil avant de chercher un autre secteur pour faire son abattis.

Aussi suggestibles que soient les Boni, ils ne sont pas sans s'apercevoir que tous les dieux interrogés ne donnent pas les mêmes indications. Aussi pensent-ils que certains sont plus forts que d'autres ; il est des gens dont la *gila* est considérée comme particulièrement bonne, d'autres qu'on a cessé tout à fait de consulter. Le défunt chef du village de Kotika, Bayo, avait une *gila* si remarquable qu'on venait de très loin la consulter.

L'opinion générale est du reste qu'actuellement, tout dégénère et qu'on ne voit plus de bonnes *gila* comme autrefois.

Ces consultations ne comportent qu'une rétribution très modique, une bouteille de tafia au maximum[1]. S'il ne s'agit pas d'une question très grave, le demandeur se contente d'aller interroger une divinité dans laquelle il a confiance. Si à l'épreuve le conseil se révèle mauvais, il va en consulter d'autres et s'il obtient le même conseil de deux côtés différents, il s'en tient là, sinon il s'adresse aux anciens de son village pour mettre en œuvre les procédés de divination qu'ils sont seuls à connaître ;

La seconde catégorie de procédés divinatoires consiste en l'emploi de « remèdes » dont l'origine est inconnue, et qui sont transmis comme un bien personnel.

Le procédé réputé le plus sûr, dans lequel tout le monde a confiance, est appelé *pasa*. L'instrument se compose simplement d'une corde faite de fibres de palmier *Mauritia*[2] qui a été trempée dans une infusion d'herbes ; on la tend horizontalement entre deux piquets. L'ancien en approche une lame de sabre chauffée au rouge, tout en posant la question. Si la réponse est positive la corde est coupée à peine le fer arrivé au contact. Si la réponse est non, on affirme que le fer rouge reste au contact pendant un temps appréciable sans que la corde ne se coupe.

On dira par exemple : *efu na Ampuku siki X, a hoo a 'd mu do: fasi a loti* : Si c'est un Ampuku qui rend X malade, le sabre doit couper (la corde) avant (même) de l'avoir atteinte

1. Il n'est de la rétribution du pouvoir ; le dieu quant à lui demande toujours un poisson, d'importance variable selon la fantaisie.

2. Palmier qui pousse dans les savanes de la côte et dont les fibres sont achetées aux Indiens Galibi. Le mot *pasa*, de même que *gila*, *bando*, *mada*, est d'origine caraïbe. En Kikongo, *mpasu* = palmier raphia.

On pose ainsi une série de questions comportant des réponses par oui ou par non et qui serrent le problème de plus en plus près.

Pour ce procédé de divination, on paie à l'homme qui l'a mis en œuvre 3 litres de tafia, 2 pièces d'étoffe et 1 sabre.

Ce procédé est mis en œuvre pour confondre les voleurs et les adultères. Le plaignant somme publiquement l'accusé de venir se soumettre à l'épreuve : *Mi ɔ lye gu po a sunli!* S'il refuse, c'est l'équivalent d'un aveu.

En 1947, Liki (Aw.B.), accusé d'avoir volé 20 grammes d'or par un homme de Loka, fut ainsi soumis à l'épreuve. La corde ne fut pas coupée. Il fut déclaré innocent et ce fut le plaignant qui dut payer le prix de l'épreuve.

En 1950, l'oncle de Tabayé (Dip. I) l'accusa d'avoir commis l'adultère avec sa femme. Il niait mais il fut soumis à l'épreuve qui donna un résultat positif; il avoua aussitôt et demanda pardon à son oncle. Ils se réconcilièrent ensuite. Bien entendu c'est lui qui paya le prix de l'épreuve.

Un autre procédé important de divination est le *Kumɔ̃ti bui* (anneau de *Kumɔ̃ti*). C'est une forme surprenante de divination par le pendule. Cet anneau, qui est fait de fibres, est tenu caché d'ordinaire par son propriétaire. Très peu de gens en ont. L'anneau, suspendu au bout d'une ficelle est mis en oscillation. Son possesseur lui pose une question. Si la réponse est affirmative, il oscille de droite à gauche. Si elle est négative, il décrit un cercle.

Un autre procédé est parfois utilisé après un sacrifice pour savoir si le dieu l'a favorablement accueilli : il consiste à tuer un coq pour examiner la couleur de ses testicules : s'ils sont trouvés noirs, le sacrifice n'a pas été agréé.

N'importe qui ne peut se livrer à la divination pour le compte d'autrui : seuls les plus anciens ont le droit de le faire et il est arrivé que le grand man punisse sévèrement les infracteurs.

Fatalité. Les Noirs Réfugiés n'attribuent pas tous les malheurs à des causes surhumaines. Ils ont la notion d'accident naturel, *Jɔgɔɔlu*. On dit *Jɔgɔɔlu mili mi*, ou encore *ogi mili mi*, le mal m'a rencontré. Ils acceptent aussi l'idée de la mort naturelle. On regarde couramment comme mort naturelle celle des grands vieillards, des infirmes de naissance et des enfants souffreteux.

La divination incrimine la fatalité dans 10 à 20 % des accidents. C'est l'explication habituelle des accidents de chasse.

Les forces magiques

Ainsi que nous l'avons montré, les Noirs Réfugiés considèrent les êtres et les choses comme un monde de forces susceptibles d'agir les unes sur les autres, en dehors du temps et de l'espace, selon des lois que les hommes ne peuvent pas comprendre mais dont ils croient avoir une connaissance partielle et empirique, transmise par la tradition depuis le temps des ancêtres. Ils distinguent les forces magiques négatives, *wisi*, qui ont pour effet, de diminuer la force vitale des hommes, ce qui les rend malades ou les tue, et les forces magiques positives, *obia*, qui viennent des dieux : l'*obia* vient accroître la force vitale des hommes, leur donnant protection, immunité ou connaissance. Mais aucune puissance n'est par essence un principe de bien ou un principe de mal ; rien n'est impossible à celui qui connaît les formules ; c'est pourquoi la magie des Noirs Réfugiés se réduit à une lutte perpétuelle et indécise entre *obia* et *wisi*.

Wisi. *Wisi* est la sorcellerie, au sens africain du terme, c'est-à-dire l'emploi de procédés magiques pour nuire à autrui ; *wisi* est pour les Noirs Réfugiés l'acte criminel par excellence, à la fois contre la morale et contre la société. La lutte contre *wisi* est un des fondements de leur vie sociale, la protection contre les entreprises des *wisimã* un des plus constants soucis de chacun. Nul ne connaît avec certitude ces *wisimã*; on est réduit à des soupçons vagues contre tel ou tel, que l'on n'ose formuler faute de preuve. Nul ne sait exactement comment ils opèrent. Cependant chacun se sent environné de leurs entreprises et ceux qui pour leurs richesses ou leurs succès féminins ont le plus de raison de se croire en butte à la jalousie, vivent dans l'angoisse.

Une jalousie ou une haine intense sont déjà une forme de *wisi*, et c'est pourquoi chacun doit s'efforcer de les chasser de son cœur ; il risquerait d'ailleurs de tomber malade ou de subir toutes sortes de calamités pour avoir rompu son serment. Mais le *wisimã* emploie des procédés précis :

— Enterrer une bouteille *(beli bele)* contenant un maléfice, sous la porte de son ennemi. Quand celui-ci rentrera chez lui, le maléfice pénétrera en lui. Aussi certains Noirs Réfugiés portent-ils un *obia* spécial contre ce genre d'agression : grâce à cet *obia*, ils ressentiront une vive douleur à l'extrémité du pied en approchant de la bouteille, qu'ils dévieront ainsi aisément ;

Kosi akkuu, voler l'*akku* de l'ennemi. Ce dernier devient alors insensé. Les Boni croient que le *wisimã* opère la nuit, en profitant de ce que l'*akku* de son ennemi a quitté son corps pour errer. Il la capture en l'attirant avec ce qu'elle aime. Il faut pour cela connaître le nom de l'*akku* de son ennemi, connaître ses goûts et ses préférences ; toutes choses que chaque Noir Réfugié cachera soigneusement, même à ses camarades. Ce que le *wisimã* fait de l'*akku* n'était clair pour aucun de nos informateurs. Il cherche soit à la capturer pour en priver son ennemi, soit à la rendre hostile à son porteur, soit à lui inspirer des idées ou des goûts anormaux. Si quelqu'un manifeste un changement anormal

de goûts ou de comportement, on inclinera à penser qu'un *wisimã* a pu agir sur son *akka*. Il est admis que sur ce point la magie indienne est beaucoup plus puissante que la magie africaine, et que n'importe quel Indien est capable d'attirer l'*akka* de son ennemi ;

— Se transformer en vampire *(azemã)*, et voler la nuit à la recherche des hommes endormis pour sucer leur sang et les manger en esprit ; cette conception, voisine de celle que les Antillais ont du « soucougnan », vient du Dahomey (en Fon, *azɛ* = sorcellerie). On dit comme au Dahomey, que l'*azemã* vole en émettant du feu par l'anus.

— *Seni ɔgi sani :* c'est ce que les créoles appellent « envoyer mauvais bagage ». C'est agir sur un être vivant ou sur un objet inanimé pour qu'il se comporte de façon anormale aux dépens de l'ennemi. Par exemple, si quelqu'un est mordu par un serpent, ou si un enfant est enlevé par un tigre, on incriminera en premier lieu l'action d'un *wisimã*, car normalement serpent et tigre n'attaquent pas. Il n'y a du reste pas de limite matérielle à l'action du *wisimã*, qui peut faire tomber une branche sur la tête de son ennemi ou faire éclater prématurément une cartouche de dynamite.

L'idée que le sorcier se transforme lui-même en jaguar, en chien ou en un autre animal n'est pas admise par les Noirs Réfugiés. Ils n'ont pas non plus l'idée de confréries de sorciers.

Comment la société se défend-elle contre les *wisimã?* Il y a d'abord le serment d'épreuve. A des intervalles réguliers, tous les deux ou trois ans par exemple, le grand man réunit tous les Boni jusqu'au dernier devant la chapelle de Odun, et fait boire à chacun un peu d'un liquide magique, en l'invitant à prononcer la formule : *efu mi e meki wisi fu dede a sama, mi mu dede :* si je fais un maléfice pour faire mourir quelqu'un, je dois mourir. C'est ce qu'on appelle *diɔgi sweri*, boire l'épreuve. Il s'agit en fait d'un liquide inoffensif, mais chacun est persuadé qu'un *wisimã* ne saurait le boire sans en mourir. Si quelqu'un refuse obstinément de se présenter à la cérémonie, on ne l'oblige pas, mais il s'est dénoncé lui-même : les soupçons se porteront sur lui désormais.

Il n'existe pas chez les Boni de procès de sorcellerie, mais il existe une procédure qui permet de préciser les soupçons.

A chaque décès on pose au mort la question : est-ce *wisi* qui t'a tué ? La question étant posée en dernier (On demande d'abord *kugu*, ensuite *fyo-fyo*).

Si c'est *wisi* on demande : est-ce telle famille ? (en général c'est dans le lignage même), puis on prononce successivement les noms des membres du lignage jusqu'à ce qu'il y ait une réponse positive.

Celui qui est ainsi accusé de *wisi* peut être sommé de se justifier devant le grand man, mais cela ne peut avoir que le caractère d'une information et non d'un procès. L'individu soupçonné ne peut être inquiété. On admet qu'il ne s'agit que d'une présomption et que le mort accusateur peut mentir, poursuivant une vengeance outre-tombe.

Les Noirs Réfugiés professent qu'à l'égard de *wisi*, il n'y a pas de certitude.

Un principe remarquable de droit coutumier est que si un membre d'un matrilignage

est supposé avoir tué un de ses « frères », le pouvoir judiciaire des Boni ne peut intervenir. C'est une affaire purement intérieure au lignage.

Ainsi personne ne peut être inquiété ni expulsé pour fait de sorcellerie. Si on soupçonne fortement quelqu'un, on l'évitera, on lui battra froid tout en restant poli, mais on ne manifestera rien. A ce principe est attachée une idée très haute, celle de l'interdiction de la vengeance. Celui qui est victime d'un maléfice ne doit en aucun cas faire de contre-maléfice. Il ne peut que demander la protection des *obia*. En aucun cas on ne devra demander à une divinité ou à ses ancêtres de nuire à son agresseur.

Chez les Noirs Réfugiés, il n'y a qu'une sanction contre les *wisimã* : ils seront nécessairement décelés à leur mort. Le *yaka* du mort, interrogé par les anciens, sera obligé d'avouer : « c'est moi qui ai tué Untel et Untel ». On va aussitôt prévenir le grand man qui ordonne la procédure habituelle contre les *wisimã* : les cérémonies sont suspendues, le corps est transporté en canot jusqu'à un emplacement réservé aux maudits, en aval du pays Boni, et on l'abandonne en brousse sans l'enterrer. Le grand man Difu s'efforce de modifier cette coutume et d'imposer que les *wisimã* soient enterrés dans un cimetière spécial, mais sans grand succès jusqu'ici semble-t-il.

Il n'y a pas de *broko di*. Le conjoint peut se remarier immédiatement. Les biens du défunt étant présumés mal acquis, l'héritage est supprimé. La maison est détruite et jetée à l'eau, le canot abandonné au fil de l'eau. Les objets personnels du mort sont remis au grand man qui les distribue à qui il veut.

Les proches des personnes ainsi désignées sont accablés de honte mais ne peuvent rien dire. Aucune part de responsabilité ne leur est imputée.

Comment la société se protège-t-elle contre les maléfices d'outre-tombe du *wisimã?* Selon le grand man Difu, c'est un problème qui ne se pose pas. Le *wisimã* a été tué par Oduu, en châtiment de ses crimes. Comme tout être tire sa force du divin, il n'a plus de force, il est détruit en tant qu'être, ce n'est plus qu'une ombre vaine incapable de nuire.

En fait, chez les Noirs Réfugiés, ces procès faits à des morts sont fort rares. Alors qu'il meurt en moyenne en pays Boni une quinzaine de personnes par an dont une dizaine d'adultes, dans les vingt dernières années[1] on n'a décelé comme *wisimã* qu'une vingtaine de personnes, dont nous avons pu dresser la liste à partir de renseignements de provenance diverse qui concordaient très bien.

Dans presque tous les cas il s'agissait de gens ayant déjà été accusés de leur vivant comme *wisimã*, et sur lesquels les soupçons s'étaient portés soit en raison de leur vie solitaire et de leur caractère irascible, soit par suite d'une série de coïncidences.

D'une façon générale, on a tendance à accuser de *wisi* tout individu qui s'isole systématiquement, fait preuve de mauvaise volonté dans l'observation de la loi coutumière, ou se montre particulièrement égoïste, colèreux ou jaloux.

1. Ce ne tenant pas compte de la période 1957-1959 où l'on observait une nette recrudescence de la crainte des *wisimã*.

On a tendance aussi à soupçonner ceux qui dans leur jeunesse avaient abandonné la tribu pendant des années pour s'établir au milieu des créoles, et ceux qui fréquentent les créoles de la région connus comme quimboiseurs, ou vont trop souvent à Saint-Laurent ou Paramaribo consulter les *lukumâ* (voyants)[1].

Est également réputé suspect de *wisi* quiconque s'enrichit trop vite ou montre un amour immodéré de l'argent. On n'accuse jamais de *wisi* un homme travailleur qui gagne sa vie au grand jour. Mais celui qui fait du commerce est suspect. On pense par exemple que G..., qui a monté un magasin et gagne beaucoup d'argent, est un « engagé ». On le dit aussi de F..., entrepreneur de pêche particulièrement âpre au gain. Mais ni l'un ni l'autre n'ont été accusés ouvertement.

La jalousie. Parler de la jalousie comme force magique négative n'est pas trahir la pensée des Noirs Réfugiés. Ils la regardent comme une force atténuée de *wisi*, capable d'amener des malheurs même si aucun maléfice n'a été formulé. La jalousie est très marquée dans leur caractère, associée à un individualisme qui confine aux tendances asociales. Quand quelqu'un est accusé de *wisi*, la jalousie est l'explication la plus courante des crimes qu'on lui prête ; il est supposé par exemple qu'un homme peut être jaloux de l'enrichissement de son frère au point de le faire mourir, qu'une femme peut être jalouse de la beauté ou de la santé des enfants de sa sœur. Ne pas donner prise à la jalousie est la préoccupation constante des Noirs Réfugiés ; on l'observe dans les comportements habituels de la vie, par exemple dans les salutations qu'ils échangent sur la rivière. Jamais on ne dit : « Je vais bien », mais : « Je vais un peu ». Si on revient de la chasse on dit : « J'ai trouvé un peu ».

Il ne manque pas d'exemples de gens qui évitent de construire une belle maison ou d'acheter un moteur hors-bord pour ne pas donner prise à la jalousie. Cette préoccupation a de profondes répercussions sur la vie matérielle et l'économie des Noirs Réfugiés ; elle explique notamment l'absence chez eux de professions spécialisées et de commerce.

Bien des aspects de la loi coutumière des Noirs Réfugiés n'ont pas d'autre fonction que d'exorciser, si l'on peut dire, les tendances à la jalousie et à l'égoïsme, qui si elles jouaient librement empoisonneraient la vie de la collectivité.

Les rites de la mort et du deuil, dont nous avons montré qu'ils constituent le pivot de la vie sociale des Noirs Réfugiés, sont entièrement fondés sur l'idée de préserver le conjoint survivant de l'effet de la jalousie du défunt.

Quelques affaires de *wisi*. Nous transcrivons ces affaires telles qu'elles nous ont été relatées, en nous plaçant dans l'optique du narrateur, sans porter aucun jugement sur la nature des faits et leur vraisemblance.

Affaire N... — N..., de Kotika, travaillait l'or avec un autre Boni. Ayant mangé

(1) La consultation d'un voyant n'est pas contraire aux lois de Ojun. L'atteinte à ces lois commence quand on prétend agir sur autrui.

ensemble, ce dernier fut pris de vomissements incoercibles, puis il mourut. Ses proches s'en prirent à N.... l'accusant de *wisi*. Dans la nuit N... se réfugia à Benzdorp et prit passage sur un canot Djuka qui descendait le fleuve. Il s'établit à Paramaribo. Depuis sa sœur T... est allée le rejoindre. Ils ont quitté définitivement les Boni.

Affaire P... — Toko (Dipélu II), se trouvant en canotage dans le bas fleuve, paria un matin avec son ami Kwami (qui nous raconta l'histoire) de rester en plongée le temps nécessaire pour remplir une dame-jeanne de 5 l. ; pari tenu ; Toko ne remonta pas, il s'était noyé. On retrouva son corps le lendemain. La famille s'en prit à un nommé P..., du village de Kotika, dont la femme N... l'avait quitté pour épouser Toko et qui à l'époque avait proféré des menaces. On l'insulta, on lui présenta le corps décomposé de Toko : « Mange-le, puisque tu l'as tué comme gibier ». P... nia obstinément. Le grand man ordonna qu'on le laissât tranquille, s'en remettant à Odun de le punir s'il était coupable. De fait, quelque temps après, P... mourut et fut déclaré *wisimã*.

Affaire S... — Vers 1956, S..., de Kotika, âgé d'environ 60 ans, travaillait avec Kwau à sarcler les abattis d'un créole de Benzdorp qui élevait des bœufs. Un matin cet éleveur vit un de ses bœufs couvert de sang sortant de blessures qui portaient la marque de dents et ne pouvaient avoir été faites par des chauves-souris. Il suivit les traces de sang qui le menèrent au hamac de S... Il l'accusa d'être un *azemã* (vampire) et de boire le sang des bœufs. S... ne répondit rien, ce qui parut à tous la preuve évidente de sa culpabilité. Il décrocha son canot et s'en alla. Depuis tout le monde à Kotika l'évite ; on s'abstient de l'accuser personnellement pour ne pas devenir victime de ses maléfices.

Affaire Agyémési — Agyémési, vieillard du village Asisi (Awara Bakka), mort en 1953, était un homme solitaire et morose, aux manières bizarres. Depuis longtemps il était accusé par B... (de Loka) et par N..., Djuka vivant au milieu des Boni, d'être un *wisimã* et de les avoir rendus malades. Il avait même été accusé devant le grand man, avait nié et le grand man selon l'usage lui avait dit : « Nous laissons à Dieu le soin de te punir si tu es coupable ». Agyémési, pour fuir ses persécuteurs, s'était installé au village indien d'Aloïké.

Ses accusateurs insistèrent auprès des gens de son lignage pour qu'on allât le chercher et qu'on l'interrogeât publiquement. On envoya A... et P..., qui allèrent le chercher en lui faisant croire que le conseil du *lo* Awara Bakka, mettant fin à une longue querelle, avait décidé de le nommer capitaine en tant que doyen du *lo*. Sans méfiance, il les suivit à Asisi. Il fut accueilli par ses accusateurs qui l'insultèrent tumultueusement, sans qu'il y eût toutefois de voies de fait. Le pauvre homme en resta sans voix, ce qui parut à tous la preuve évidente de sa culpabilité. Il s'alita et 5 jours après il était mort[1].

Bien entendu il fut reconnu comme *wisimã* par la première adjuration faite à son corps porté dans le *papay* sur la tête de deux hommes : « si tu es un homme de *wisi*, n'avance pas vers nous ». Le mort recula.

(1) Les Noirs Réfugiés sont si suggestibles que le seul fait de se voir maudit et abandonné de tous doit amener un choc psychologique susceptible d'amener la mort. Des cas semblables ont été observés en Afrique.

La suite de l'interrogatoire montra qu'il n'avait encore tué personne, mais qu'il avait été tué par Odun alors qu'il se préparait à tuer quelqu'un de son lignage.

Les persécuteurs de Agyéméi, contrairement à leur espoir, ne guérirent pas après sa mort des maladies qu'ils attribuaient à ses maléfices ; cela n'ébranla en rien leur conviction ; ils partirent à Paramaribo se faire traiter par un magicien créole (car les créoles de Surinam, qui pratiquent indifféremment magie blanche et magie noire, sont de ce fait réputés plus experts que les Noirs Réfugiés pour combattre les effets de *wisi*).

En nous racontant cette histoire, le grand man nous dit qu'il faut toujours être prudent avec les accusations de *wisi*, parce qu'on ne peut jamais être sûr. Un homme injustement accusé peut se suicider et poursuivre de son *kunu* ses accusateurs (la plupart des Boni affirment qu'ils agiraient ainsi en pareil cas). Jadis, on appliquait aux *wisimã* décelés les châtiments barbares en usage en Afrique : on les brûlait vifs. Mais on raconte que l'un d'eux, quelques mois après, entreprit contre le lignage de ses accusateurs un *kunu* qui dure encore aujourd'hui. Il avait été condamné à tort ! C'est par peur du *kunu*, plus que par souci d'humanité, que ces châtiments ont été supprimés.

Il semble bien que la constante crainte des *wisimã*, dans laquelle vivent les Boni, n'est qu'une hallucination collective, et que très rares sont ceux qui osent se livrer à des pratiques qui attireraient sur eux de si terribles sanctions sociales et religieuses. Quant à ces pratiques elles-mêmes, elles apparaissent sans aucun contenu réel, et les malheurs qui leur sont attribués ne sont que des maladies banales ou des accidents quelconques. Nous n'avons jamais entendu parler d'empoisonnement au sens habituel du terme.

Les procès de *wisimã* sont à nos yeux l'aspect le plus déplaisant de la civilisation des Noirs Réfugiés. Mais il faut admettre qu'ils correspondent à de profondes nécessités. Ces sociétés archaïques ont besoin d'une matérialisation évidente des principes qu'elles se sont donnés. Puisque le mal existe, s'opposant au bien, il existe des pratiques de *wisi* et des *wisimã*, et le châtiment des malfaisants est indispensable pour que la société demeure soumise à la loi du bien.

Par sa notion du *kunu* qui détourne vers les dieux la responsabilité de la plupart des malheurs, par l'extrême rareté des procès de *wisimã*, par la prudence de son action judiciaire qui en fait ne poursuit que des morts, la société des Noirs Réfugiés se montre humaine et réaliste.

Si l'on entreprenait auprès des Noirs Réfugiés une action déterminée pour faire disparaître ces pratiques, on risquerait d'obscurcir leur notion du bien et du mal, et d'enlever toute efficacité à leur loi coutumière.

L'ordre social des Noirs Réfugiés ne peut se maintenir si ne demeurent pas nettement posées l'interdiction de nuire à quiconque et l'interdiction de la vengeance. Que ces maléfices soient sans contenu réel, peu importe : c'est l'intention de nuire qui compte, avec toutes ses conséquences sociales et psychologiques.

Quand on observe les populations créoles des Guyanes et des Antilles, pourtant

soumises depuis plusieurs siècles à l'influence du christianisme, on est frappé du développement de la sorcellerie et de ses répercussions sur l'ensemble de la vie sociale. L'enseignement reçu à l'école et au catéchisme, qui englobe dans une même réprobation magie blanche et magie noire, a grandement contribué à faire perdre à ces populations les principes de morale sociale de leurs ancêtres, sans pour autant modifier leur représentation du monde. Puisque les pratiques de magie sont rejetées par la religion, puisqu'elle en nie même la réalité, on ne songe pas, quand on se trouve contraint d'y recourir, à y transposer la notion du bien et du mal qu'elle enseigne. La magie noire s'introduit presque inévitablement par la nécessité où l'on croit se trouver de se défendre ; puis son usage devient habituel et les deux formes de magie finissent par se mêler et n'être plus regardées comme fondamentalement différentes l'une de l'autre.

Les affaires de *wisi* et la loi coutumière des Boni. Dans les villages africains, les affaires de sorcellerie se traduisent par d'interminables et vaines discussions, accusations forcenées, protestations d'innocence, parfois aveux plus ou moins sincères, serments et épreuves judiciaires aux résultats toujours contestés. Ces affaires ne sont jamais finies ; elles sont en évolution permanente, parfois pendant des mois et des années. L'opinion se porte successivement sur des hypothèses différentes, selon les événements qui surviennent, cherchant sa voie à tâtons comme un homme perdu dans les ténèbres.

Il est clair que les premiers législateurs des Noirs Réfugiés, en reportant le jugement à la mort des intéressés, et en refusant aux *wisimã* toute espèce de pardon ou d'accommodement, se sont efforcés d'empêcher le développement de ces crises douloureuses. A quoi bon discuter interminablement, puisqu'il n'y a pas de preuve certaine, et puisque personne ne peut avouer ? Mais la loi coutumière se heurte sur ce point à des tendances trop profondes pour être entièrement réfrénées. Les lois de Odun ne sont pas toujours obéies à la lettre, et il arrive parfois que les Boni perdent pied dans l'observance de leur loi coutumière. Il survient alors chez eux des crises aussi violentes et aussi confuses que dans les villages d'Afrique Noire, allant jusqu'à paralyser la vie sociale pendant plusieurs semaines ; puis la paix revient pour plusieurs mois, parfois pour plusieurs années.

En 1928, une femme de Boniville, N..., fut convaincue d'avoir payé un « quimboiseur » créole pour faire mourir le grand man. Elle avoua, chose rare dans ces sortes d'affaires, et la matérialité des faits ne paraissait pas douteuse. Les Boni furent fortement impressionnés par cet événement sans précédent, et pendant plusieurs semaines les membres du lignage intéressé furent dans une telle agitation qu'on put croire qu'ils avaient perdu la raison. A Boniville on « fit tribunal » en permanence pendant près de deux mois, et l'on discuta tant que les travaux agricoles furent délaissés, et une partie de la récolte de riz perdue.

Qu'allait-on faire de cette femme ? Les lois de Odun interdisaient de la tuer, et on ne pouvait davantage la chasser. Les Boni firent des ouvertures discrètes à l'administration pour savoir s'il n'était pas possible de la faire emprisonner. Ils furent surpris d'apprendre que la loi française ne reconnaît pas le délit de sorcellerie. Quelqu'un proposa alors de la faire admettre comme femme de service à la léproserie de l'Acarouani, sur la

côte. Cette suggestion obtint un résultat surprenant ; les Boni furent unanimes à penser que faire vivre dans une léproserie quelqu'un qui n'était pas lépreux était un châtiment pire que la mort, et on se résolut à lui pardonner.

Comment s'y prit-on, puisque les lois de Odun ne permettent pas de pardonner à un *wisimã*? Personne ne put nous donner à ce sujet une justification satisfaisante, mais en 1959 A..., l'année précédente honnie et maltraitée, avait repris une vie normale dans son village.

En fait, une affaire de *wisi* n'est terminée qu'à la mort de l'intéressé. Si un homme qui a été accusé de *wisi* au cours de sa vie meurt accidentellement, ou frappé d'une maladie foudroyante, le fait qu'il ait été châtié par Odun apparaît comme une évidence incontestable. L'affaire se fixe dans la mémoire du groupe sous une forme définitive, et sera donnée en exemple pour inciter au respect de la loi coutumière.

Enterrement d'un *wisimã*. Nous transcrivons ici un récit fait par un témoin de cette scène, K..., du village Papalston, en enlevant les précisions de date et de lieu.

« C'était au moment des abattis, les gens étaient dans les habitations de culture et le village était presque désert. Allant à la pêche avec P..., de Loka, nous avons accosté, et nous marchions au bord de l'eau quand notre attention a été attirée par une odeur nauséabonde qui sortait d'une maison inoccupée. Nous y avons trouvé le cadavre d'une femme, E..., morte depuis deux ou trois jours. Elle avait essayé de pénétrer par effraction dans la maison en soulevant le toit, mais elle était restée coincée entre deux poutres et elle était morte étouffée. Comme elle savait la maison vide elle n'avait pu avoir d'autre intention que de déposer un maléfice ; après avoir dégagé le corps en présence de témoins, nous avons été prévenir le grand man qui ordonna, la cause paraissant entendue, d'interroger le *yorka* séance tenante sans faire de cercueil.

« Devant un conseil composé d'une demi-douzaine d'hommes et de deux chefs de villages, l'interrogatoire commença ; on porta la morte dans un vieux fond de canot ; par moment j'ai servi moi-même de porteur. Pressée de questions, elle avoua qu'elle avait *wisi*[1] et qu'elle avait été tuée par Odun. La cause était entendue. On nous ordonna de transporter le corps dans le lieu réservé aux maudits, en aval du pays Boni. Arrivé là, on porta de nouveau le corps sur la tête de deux hommes, lui demandant de choisir l'endroit où il voulait être abandonné. La morte nous entraîna au loin dans la forêt, erra un moment puis s'arrêta. Nous l'avons abandonnée par terre, après avoir écarté les étoffes qui la recouvraient, et sommes partis sans avoir effectué aucun rite.

« Ensuite nous sommes allés à Boniville, le grand man invoqua pour nous Odun, exposant qu'on n'avait fait que suivre ses lois et qu'il devait protéger les exécutants contre toute suite fâcheuse. »

Développement de la sorcellerie. Depuis 1957, le pays Boni traverse une crise ; la

(1) On dit communément « avoir *wisi*, comme dont dit « avoir un obia », « avoir un remède ».

crainte de la sorcellerie empoisonne la vie des villages, alors qu'en 1948-50 c'était une préoccupation de second plan.

Cela tient à ce que l'enrichissement rapide d'une partie des Boni aggrave les jalousies et les suspicions. D'autre part, ces affaires ont tendance à apparaître par série. Depuis l'affaire relatée ci-dessus (1958), où une femme, N..., a été convaincue d'avoir payé un quimboiseur créole pour faire mourir le grand man, affaire qui a fortement impressionné les Boni, on a tendance à voir *wisi* dans tous les malheurs qui surviennent.

En novembre 1958, la mort d'une fillette de 12 ans, du village Kotika, a été attribuée à son oncle Mbomaolo, récemment émigré à Surinam et établi dans un village créole. On suppose qu'il s'est « engagé », c'est-à-dire qu'il a vendu son âme au diable[1], ce qui nécessite de sacrifier un de ses proches, les enfants de la sœur étant regardés comme les victimes les plus agréables au démon.

Alors qu'autrefois un à deux pour dix des morts étaient attribués à *wisi*, en 1957 et 1958, pour quatorze morts d'adultes dont nous avons pu obtenir l'interprétation, on comptait :

— Quatre *wisimã* tués par Odun, dont deux femmes de plus de 85 ans, qui de leur vivant n'avaient jamais fait l'objet de remarques défavorables ;

— Une mort par l'action d'un *wisimã*.

soit au total plus d'un tiers des décès ; sur les neuf autres, deux ont été regardés comme des morts naturelles (morts de vieillesse), sept ont été attribués au *kunu*.

Les Noirs Réfugiés et la magie créole. Certains d'entre eux ont tendance à aller chercher auprès des *lukumã* ce que leur morale sociale leur interdit : la vengeance ou le succès acquis aux dépens d'autrui. Ils ont prononcé un serment qui leur interdit la pratique de *wisi* : pour la plupart d'entre eux, il est clair que s'ils payaient un « playeur » pour nuire à quelqu'un, ce serait la même chose que s'ils faisaient le maléfice eux-mêmes. Mais d'autres font sur ce point une restriction mentale.

En 1951, G..., du *lo* Kotika, âgé alors d'une vingtaine d'années, se trouva malade alors qu'il séjournait à Saint-Laurent. Il s'en fut trouver un maître (voyant) créole qui lui présenta un miroir, lui annonçant qu'il allait y voir le visage de celui qui l'avait « playé ». G... ne vit rien dans le miroir. Le maître ne se démonta pas pour autant et lui révéla que le « playeur » devait être quelqu'un de la famille de sa femme. G... se remémora alors une dispute qu'il avait eue quelque temps auparavant avec un des frères de sa femme et se laissa convaincre : depuis ce jour il est brouillé avec son beau-frère.

Le maître lui demanda 2.000 francs pour prix de sa consultation.

Malédiction. Quelqu'un qui se juge victime d'une iniquité dispose d'une ressource

[1] Cette notion, qui joue un si grand rôle dans les croyances antillaises, est sans aucune correspondance chez les Noirs Réfugiés. Il n'y a pas de mot dans la langue Boni pour traduire le terme « engagé ». On traduit ainsi : *a e sukii diabla*, il cherche le diable. Les Boni n'ont pas une représentation nette du diable, et cette notion demeure en fait étrangère à leurs croyances.

suprême : maudire son adversaire, c'est-à-dire s'adresser directement au Dieu suprême, Masa Gadu, pour lui demander de punir son adversaire. C'est ce qu'on appelle *seni gadu* — envoyer Dieu — contre quelqu'un. Pour cela, tout en demandant à Dieu de le tuer ou de le rendre malade, on s'agenouille et on frappe le sol de ses deux mains, en présence de l'adversaire ou devant sa maison. Cet acte est regardé comme totalement différent de *wisi* car on s'en remet à la justice de Dieu, qui juge selon l'équité et ne punit que le coupable.

Quoi qu'il en soit, maudire est pour les Noirs Réfugiés un acte très grave. Il peut arriver que, se sentant coupable, l'auteur de l'injustice demande pardon et promette de réparer ses torts. L'auteur de la malédiction implore de nouveau Masa Gadu pour retirer les paroles qu'il avait prononcées : « Il m'a rendu raison, ne faites rien contre lui ». Mais il arrive plus souvent encore qu'il s'agisse d'une affaire compliquée, que les deux parties en cause soient persuadées de leur bon droit et se maudissent réciproquement. La cause doit alors être portée devant le grand man et arrangée sur l'heure, sinon des malheurs risqueraient de fondre sur les deux lignages. Le grand man juge sans appel et inflige une punition à celui qui avait tort sur le fond du débat. Puis il exige que les adversaires se réconcilient devant le *fraga tiki* où l'on fait l'offrande de l'eau et du tafia.

Ces conceptions ont pour effet de rendre à peu près impossibles les haines et les rancunes cachées, que les Noirs Réfugiés craignent beaucoup car elles sont la source de *wisi*.

D'une façon générale le fait de se mettre en colère en public et d'injurier gravement quelqu'un, est considéré comme une offense contre la loi morale et religieuse, capable d'attirer les malheurs ; c'est une forme atténuée de *wisi*; dans les cas graves le grand man peut infliger une sévère punition aux coupables.

obia. Les Noirs Réfugiés emploient le mot *obia*[1] pour désigner aussi bien l'objet auquel est attachée une force magique, que cette force elle-même. Mais aucune confusion ne se fait dans leur esprit; l'objet n'est qu'un simple support, il n'est rien par lui-même. Le voyageur qui les voit préparer pour un malade une infusion de feuilles peut être tenté de croire qu'ils attachent à telle feuille le pouvoir d'agir contre telle maladie ; ce serait une erreur, ils attachent à ces feuilles et à l'argile blanche, *pamba*, le pouvoir de retenir,

(1) Le terme *obia* est employé par les Noirs Réfugiés quand ils s'adressent à des étrangers, pour désigner la magie positive, mais en réalité ce terme a dans leur langue un sens bien différent. Il désigne toute espèce d'action magique, aussi bien négative que positive ; de même le terme *obiamd* a aussi bien le sens de sorcier que celui de détenteur d'un remède.

Les Boni emploient entre eux le mot *dessi*, remède, à la place de *obia*. Ils n'emploient pas le mot *dessimd* à la place de *obiamd*. On dit par exemple d'un homme qui connaît les rites d'un culte de possession « *A sabi Papa gadu seni* » (il connaît les choses de *Papa gadu*).

Le terme *gadumd* désigne celui qui est possédé d'un dieu, et non celui qui sait provoquer la possession.

Dans la suite de cet ouvrage nous continuerons cependant à employer les termes *obia* et *obiamd* pour désigner la magie positive, afin de faciliter la confrontation avec les auteurs de langue anglaise et néerlandaise qui l'ont employé dans ce sens.

de condenser la force vitale émanée de tel dieu. C'est le dieu qui « fait *ɔbia* », et non pas les hommes ; les hommes ne font que recueillir cette énergie et la mettent en application.

Les Boni distinguent deux catégories de remèdes magiques :

— Ceux qui viennent d'un dieu par l'intermédiaire d'un possédé. Le dieu doit être consulté chaque fois, et le remède qu'il donne n'est valable que pour le consultant seul, et pour un temps limité ; il ne peut agir que quand le dieu a été payé, sous forme de boisson ou d'étoffes le plus souvent ; il n'est rien dû en principe au possédé (on admet qu'il bénéficie du paiement fait au dieu), mais l'usage est de lui offrir une bouteille de tafia.

La consultation d'un possédé est aux yeux des Noirs Réfugiés le mécanisme normal par lequel l'*ɔbia* descend du dieu aux hommes.

Certains dieux *Ampuku* donneraient des remèdes valables pour une maladie déterminée et pour n'importe quel consultant, remèdes qui pourraient être transmis d'un homme à l'autre. Nous n'avons malheureusement pu obtenir de renseignements précis à ce sujet.

— Ceux dont l'origine n'est pas connue, et qui sont transmis d'un homme à l'autre depuis très longtemps. On croit qu'il peut s'agir de remèdes trouvés jadis empiriquement par un homme ; c'est le cas de beaucoup de remèdes spécifiques pour telle ou telle maladie.

En pareil cas le paiement est fait au possesseur du remède et à lui seul.

L'argile blanche, *pemba* (le mot et le rite sont d'origine congolaise), ne subit pas de préparation spéciale. Elle a dans la pensée des Noirs Réfugiés le pouvoir de fixer sur le corps de l'homme, l'influence magique de l'infusion de feuilles.

Chez les Boni, mis à part le culte de Odun, il n'y a pas de prêtres à proprement parler, investis d'une fonction à la fois sociale et religieuse. Un grand nombre de personnes sont regardées comme « connaissant des remèdes ». Cette notion implique à la fois des connaissances et un pouvoir. En général l'*ɔbiamã* n'est supposé détenir qu'un pouvoir spécialisé : par exemple il sait préparer un *ɔbia* de chasse, ou un *ɔbia* de protection contre les *wisimã*. Ce pouvoir, il l'a reçu de son père (exceptionnellement semble-t-il de son oncle) qui l'a instruit avant de mourir dans les rites spécialisés qu'il comporte et lui a transmis son pouvoir en lui donnant *mula*.

Pour donner *mula* à quelqu'un, on souffle dans ses mains, on les lui impose sur la tête en prononçant une formule par laquelle on lui transmet tel pouvoir ou telle connaissance magique.

Quel est le principe de légitimité ? Qui a le droit de se dire *ɔbiamã*? Il semble bien qu'au fond tout se réduise à ceci : l'*ɔbiamã* a la conviction, la sensation qu'il détient ce pouvoir ; quant à ses consultants, ils croient remarquer l'efficacité de son *ɔbia*; s'ils cessent d'avoir confiance dans son remède, ils s'abstiendront de venir le lui demander, voilà tout ; aucune défense sociale ne vient limiter l'action des *ɔbiamã*. Le grand man n'interviendrait que contre quelqu'un qui prétendrait détenir des remèdes pour nuire à autrui ou pour capter sa volonté, ce qui serait *wisi*.

Les Boni admettent la possibilité de tromperie en matière d'*ɔbia*, surtout de la part de gens trop jeunes, mais ils ont la conviction que les anciens (les gens de plus de 55-60 ans) détiennent la sagesse et qu'on peut s'adresser à eux en toute confiance.

Principaux *ɔbia*. Le *Kumènli bui*, bracelet de *Kumènli*, qu'il ne faut pas confondre avec le *man nèyge ɔbia*, est matérialisé par un bracelet de fibres qu'on ne porte pas au bras mais qu'on enferme dans sa mallette. C'est un *ɔbia* polyvalent qui assure à la fois la protection de son propriétaire contre le sabre et le fusil, sa prospérité matérielle et sa sécurité morale, car il lui fournit un procédé de divination très apprécié.

Cet *ɔbia* doit être préparé chaque fois sur les ordres d'un *Kumènli* et en sa présence dans le corps d'un possédé. C'est le *Kumènli* qui désigne les feuilles à aller chercher et les traitements à leur faire subir ; d'après les renseignements que nous avons pu obtenir, ils consistent à plonger dans l'infusion de feuilles un sabre, puis une hache, portés au rouge, tandis que le postulant récite des formules destinées à fixer dans l'*ɔbia* le pouvoir qu'il désire (que le sabre ne me coupe pas, que je devienne riche, etc.).

Le *man nèyge ɔbia*, exclusivement destiné à la protection contre le sabre et le fusil, est matérialisé par un anneau de fer grossièrement confectionné enserrant le bras un peu au-dessous de l'épaule[1]. Cet *ɔbia* ne doit pas être confondu avec les *ɔbia Kumènli*. Obtenir la possession par un *Kumènli* et le *man nèyge ɔbia* sont deux choses différentes, correspondant à des rites différents.

La possession par un *Kumènli* donne dit-on, l'invulnérabilité pendant le temps de la transe, mais dans son état ordinaire l'individu reste vulnérable (on dit seulement qu'en cas de danger la *gila* « monte » immédiatement).

Quelqu'un qui a un *man nèyga ɔbia* n'a pas de transes de possession, mais on affirme qu'il est invulnérable en permanence (sauf rupture du *kina*). Pour obtenir cet *ɔbia* il faut se faire « laver » pendant très longtemps par un ancien qui connaît les feuilles en question. Il les lui re déjà pilées pour que nul ne puisse connaître ce secret en dehors du fils ou du neveu à qui il le lègue.

Il faut continuer à se laver quatre fois par an pendant 15 jours chaque fois, pour entretenir la force de l'*ɔbia*.

Pendant ces 15 jours on se lave trois fois par jour, en secret (en principe personne ne sait que vous avez cet *ɔbia*). Pendant ces périodes on ne doit avoir aucun rapport avec une femme ni même lui parler.

On affirme que quelqu'un qui a un *man nèyge ɔbia* peut impunément être frappé à coups de sabre et même recevoir une décharge de fusil.

On croit que cet *ɔbia*, appelé autrefois *man feli ɔbia*, aurait été obtenu par les ancêtres au temps des guerres contre les blancs ; encore aujourd'hui il inspire une confiance

(1) *Le fait de porter un anneau de fer au bras ne correspond pas nécessairement à la possession de cet ɔbia. Il s'agit en général d'ɔbia plus communs destinés à protéger de la lèpre.*

inébranlable. En octobre 1962, nous avons vu M..., homme de 45 ans, d'un grand bon sens, se faire une profonde entaille à la jambe en coupant une liane, en dépit de son *ɔbia*. Le doute ne l'effleura pas une seconde : il nous dit que certainement, à son insu, il avait mangé quelque chose de contraire au *kina* de l'*ɔbia*. Comme nous travaillions à proximité des villages, il s'en fut aussitôt trouver le maître du remède pour en faire rétablir le pouvoir. Pour rien au monde il ne serait reparti pour une longue tournée en brousse avec la sensation qu'il était à la merci d'un accident.

Viennent ensuite dans les préoccupations des Noirs Réfugiés, les *ɔbia* appelés *lapu*, c'est-à-dire protection. Il en existe de nombreuses sortes adaptées aux divers dangers d'ordre surnaturel (protection contre d'autres divinités, contre les entités maléfiques de la brousse, contre les *wisimã*).

Les *lapu* contre les *wisimã* sont demandés généralement aux *Ampuku*. Nous en avons vu un remarquable devant la maison de F... (Dju). Son propriétaire n'en était pas peu fier et il nous en parla sans réticence.

L'*ɔbia*, placé à même la terre devant la porte, était composé de la représentation grossière en argile d'une tête, dans laquelle apparaissaient deux yeux largement ouverts : devant, étaient plantées en terre 3 touffes végétales dont un plant d'arachide, un plant de maïs ; le tout était surmonté d'une petite corbeille contenant un œuf. Il fallait à intervalles réguliers, arroser l'*ɔbia* d'une certaine infusion de feuilles pour lui redonner de la force. Cet *ɔbia* assurait une protection infaillible contre les *wisimã* ; en effet, aucun d'eux n'aurait pu franchir le seuil sans se heurter le pied au cadre de la porte, en dépit de toutes ses précautions ; F... affirmait que son *ɔbia* constituait de ce fait un moyen efficace de détection des *wisimã*, car il lui suffisait d'inviter les suspects à pénétrer dans sa case pour être fixé : le *wisimã* refusait, de peur d'être ainsi dénoncé aux yeux de tous ; on pouvait ainsi à tout le moins préciser les soupçons.

D'autres *ɔbia* sont dits *suma mɔfu lelɛy* (*ɔbia* contre la « bouche des gens », c'est-à-dire la jalousie des gens). On les voit presque toujours sur les beaux fusils ; ils ont pour support une corde faite de fibres de palmier *morili*, à laquelle sont fixés deux cauris.

Les *ɔbia* destinés à soigner les maladies ont généralement pour support une calebasse contenant l'infusion de feuilles et une boule de *pɛmba* (kaolin). L'intéressé s'asperge plusieurs fois par jour de ce liquide.

Il existe des *ɔbia* particuliers pour la construction des canots. L'ouverture au feu de la coque, opération délicate, échoue parfois. Pour assurer son succès chacun possède une recette personnelle, héritée de son père ou de son oncle. Elle ne fait pas appel nommément et directement à l'action d'un dieu ; les Boni n'ont pas une idée nette de l'origine ni de la nature de ces rites. Il s'agit d'une macération de deux ou trois sortes de feuilles, faisant en général partie de la flore secondaire qui entoure les villages, et varient d'un homme à l'autre. On verse cette macération sur le canot retourné avant de commencer le brûlage, en disant : « le canot ne doit pas se fendre, il doit s'ouvrir bien ».

Les lois de Odun interdisent l'usage de charmes visant à forcer l'amour d'une femme que l'on désire ; ce serait une atteinte à la liberté d'une personne, donc *wisi*. Il est bien

possible cependant que certains aillent chercher auprès des magiciens créoles des charmes de ce genre. Mais on admet par contre les *ɔbia* supposés permettre aux gens qui ont peu de succès auprès des femmes, d'en avoir davantage à l'avenir.

Il ne semble pas qu'il y ait une hiérarchie d'*ɔbia* et que l'on suppose que telle catégorie d'*ɔbia* soit par nature plus forte que telle autre ; on observe en effet que les Noirs Réfugiés vont couramment demander à une divinité un *ɔbia* pour se protéger contre une autre. En voici un exemple :

En 1951, l'Administration fit commencer un nettoyage systématique de la rivière Petit Inini, pour débarrasser son cours des innombrables bois tombés qui rendaient difficile l'emploi des moteurs sur les canots. Une équipe de Boni fut employée à ce travail sous la direction d'un contre-maître créole. Pendant que le travail s'effectuait, un *Papa gadu* « vint dans la tête » d'une vieille femme nommée M... du *lo* Awara Bakka. Il révéla qu'il s'opposerait à ce travail, car il résidait précisément dans ce lieu et le bruit des moteurs le dérangerait. A leur retour en pays Boni, les hommes chargés de ce travail apprirent la décision du dieu et sous un prétexte quelconque refusèrent de reprendre le travail. En août 1952, pendant que nous étions en mission, un *ɔbiamã* fit connaître qu'un *Ampuku* acceptait de donner un *lapu*, c'est-à-dire un *ɔbia* de protection, contre ce *Papa gadu*. Nous avons assisté à une discussion au cours de laquelle plusieurs Boni projetèrent de reprendre ce travail, mais en demandant un salaire élevé pour couvrir les frais de l'*ɔbia*[1]. Ces frais s'élevaient à environ 5.000 francs par personne, soit :

— 3.000 pour le paiement du dieu, comprenant de l'étoffe rouge, de l'étoffe bleu foncé, des perles blanches, de la bière, du rhum, des cauris ; l'*ɔbiamã* les prendrait pour les exposer dans la forêt.

— 1.500 pour le paiement du travail de l'*ɔbiamã*, comportant une pièce de toile, de la bière, un bidon de poudre, une poule.

Le remède comporterait une infusion de feuilles avec laquelle on devrait « laver son corps » matin et soir pendant la durée des travaux.

Quant au chef d'équipe créole, il s'était prudemment fait affecter à un autre travail.

On a l'habitude de demander protection contre un *Papa gadu* à un *Ampuku* et réciproquement (nous en avons cité un exemple ci-dessus), mais on ne demande pas protection à un *Kumẽnti ;* les *Kumẽnti* ne s'occupent que des maladies.

Renouvellement du pouvoir des *ɔbia*. Les Noirs Réfugiés ont l'idée qu'aucun pouvoir magique ne peut durer s'il n'est renouvelé par des formules et des offrandes s'adressant au dieu dont il est issu. Chaque année, à des dates variables pour chaque *ɔbia*, on doit renouveler le pouvoir de l'*ɔbia* en trempant l'objet support dans une macération de certaines feuilles. Ce renouvellement ne peut avoir lieu le 1er janvier. Ce jour, toutes les feuilles perdent leur pouvoir.

(1) Des faits de ce genre sont courants en forêt guyanaise, même chez les créoles. Pour des travaux difficiles ou inhabituels, les salaires élevés que l'on demande servent en partie à rétribuer les magiciens.

M. W. F. van Lier écrit que chez les Djuka, les objets (bracelets, etc...) servant de support à un remède magique sont jetés à la mort de leur possesseur car ils ont perdu tout pouvoir. Les Boni n'ont pas cette conception ; chez eux, ces objets conservent leur valeur pour le fils du défunt, pourvu qu'avant de mourir il les lui ait volontairement transmis en lui donnant *mula*.

Transmissions des ɔbia. Souvent on lègue un *ɔbia* simultanément à un fils et à un neveu. On se préoccupe de ne pas perdre l'*ɔbia* pour le lignage. C'est ainsi que certains lignages ont la spécialité de certains *ɔbia*.

Kãndu. Les Noirs Réfugiés appellent *kãndu* un objet magique destiné à protéger les biens (maisons, récoltes) contre le vol. Ce procédé est également très employé par les créoles.

Il y a trois sortes courantes de *kãndu :*

– *Pili tiki kãndu.* Il est fait d'un bâton fendu enfoncé dans le sol et dans la fente duquel sont placées horizontalement des feuilles de bananiers sèches ou des baguettes. Ce procédé est originaire du Dahomey.

Sikopu kãndu. Il comporte une pelle enfoncée dans le sol devant la maison (l'idée de pelle est associée à l'idée de mort, car cet instrument sert plus spécialement à creuser les fosses) ;

Bɔɔ kãndu, constitué par un arc et une flèche plantés dans le sol,

Celui qui installe un kandu prononce la formule : *mi poli yu ya, efu a sama kɔm fu pufu mi sani yu mu siki ẽn* (je te mets ici, si quelqu'un vient voler mes biens, tu dois le rendre malade).

Si quelqu'un passe outre et commet un vol, il sera frappé à plus ou moins longue échéance de maladies variées.

Selon les conceptions des Noirs Réfugiés, le *kãndu* est aveugle et frappe aussi bien l'ami qui est venu prendre des objets parce qu'il en a reçu l'autorisation auparavant. Aussi beaucoup renoncent à placer des *kãndu*, comme chez nous on hésite à placer des pièges à loup, de peur de provoquer des accidents.

Toutefois, le *kãndu* est sans action sur les gens qui ont le même interdit fondamental (*bunsi kina*) que celui qui l'a placé. Cette conception montre que ces interdits transmis du père aux enfants sont bien la marque de véritables patrilignages.

En fait, nous l'avons constaté à plusieurs reprises, il y a des cambriolages en pays Boni malgré les *kãndu* et on n'arrive pas à déceler leurs auteurs ; il est infiniment probable qu'il ne faut pas voir là la marque d'esprits forts, ne croyant pas aux maléfices ; ce sont des gens qui ont obtenu d'un *wisimã* un talisman de magie noire plus fort que le *kãndu !* C'est tout au moins l'explication que donnent leurs victimes.

On peut lever un *kãndu* à l'intention d'un homme quelconque, que l'on veut par exemple envoyer prendre un objet que l'on a oublié ; pour cela il suffit de lui donner *mula :* on souffle dans ses mains et on les impose sur la tête de l'homme en disant : *mi puu a kãndu gi yu, a 'ã mu du a sani ãgga yu :* je retire le *kãndu* pour toi, il ne doit rien te faire

On peut donner *mulu* rétroactivement : si quelqu'un s'aperçoit qu'il a involontairement encouru le châtiment d'un *kãndu*, il a plusieurs jours pour pouvoir demander *mulu* au propriétaire, car l'action du *kãndu* est lente.

Croyances diverses

Fyo-fyo. Si un Boni est en mauvais termes avec quelqu'un de son lignage ou d'un autre lignage, il a le droit absolu de lui battre froid et de cesser de le fréquenter. Mais si, dissimulant sa rancune, il cherche par calcul à maintenir l'apparence de relations amicales, il risque de tomber malade, d'être frappé de calamités diverses, ou même de mourir par l'effet de ce que les Noirs Réfugiés appellent un *fyo-fyo*. La nature de cette force n'est pas claire, on sait seulement que son support est un petit insecte commun nommé *fyo-fyo*. On affirme que si une personne meurt des suites d'un *fyo-fyo*, on verra l'un de ces insectes sortir de son corps par le nez au moment de la mort.

Taku sani. Les Noirs Réfugiés désignent sous ce nom des entités maléfiques de la brousse, qu'ils se représentent comme de nature *non humaine*, par opposition aux *taku yorku*, esprits errants de défunts rejetés par la société. Ces entités sont des êtres inférieurs dépourvus de conscience mais dangereux pour les hommes en lesquels ils peuvent entrer, les rendant malades ou fous. Certaines de ces entités sont supposées résider dans les végétaux, comme les *kɔlkɔli*, d'autres sont supposées revêtir l'apparence de nains *(baku)*, que certains croient parfois apercevoir à l'aube aux abords des villages.

Contre les *taku sani* on se prémunit par des *ɔbia* spéciaux, et ceux qui ne se sentent pas complètement garantis prennent par surcroît un certain nombre de précautions, comme celle de déchirer les feuilles dont ils se sont servis pour boire l'eau des criques.

Tyifunga[1]. On appelle ainsi les clôtures magiques faites de langues de palmier pinot, *pina lɔngu*, attachées à une ficelle dont à certaines occasions on entoure complètement un village. Ces clôtures sont supposées barrer le passage aux mauvais esprits de la brousse *(taku sani)*; on les met en place notamment en cas d'épidémie, ainsi qu'avant les grandes fêtes qui attirent une foule de personnes, parmi lesquelles peuvent se glisser des *wisimã*. Après avoir mis en place la clôture, les gens se rangent en ligne à une extrémité du village et se déplacent lentement de façon à en balayer toute la surface, tirant des coups de fusil, faisant tout le bruit possible en frappant des objets métalliques et frappant le sol avec des roseaux pour expulser les mauvais esprits. C'est ce qu'on appelle *naki tyifunga*. Les anciens répètent la formule : « *U naki tyifunga fu ɔgi na: mu ku a so* (Nous frappons *tyifunga* pour que les mauvais (esprits) ne puissent venir à terre) ».

La barrière magique est ensuite laissée en place jusqu'à ce qu'elle soit pourrie.

Croyances relatives à la lèpre. Les lépreux sont enterrés aux limites du cimetière, mais ils ne sont pas considérés comme maudits et on porte leur deuil normalement.

(1) On emploie aussi le mot *aɔlɛ*, emprunté aux Fon du Dahomey.

On admet que si quelqu'un est atteint de la lèpre, c'est qu'il a « cassé » son *bonsi kina*. On suppose qu'un ennemi peut par malveillance, cacher une parcelle de l'aliment interdit dans la nourriture. C'est pourquoi les Boni ne se disent pas volontiers entre eux leurs interdits.

Si quelqu'un se rend compte qu'il a rompu son *kina*, il va voir, non un *obiaman*, mais le guérisseur spécialisé de la lèpre, et lui demande de le traiter à titre préventif.

Croyances relatives au fusil et à la chasse. Le fusil, entré depuis deux siècles dans la vie courante des Noirs Réfugiés, a pris une place importante dans leur magie. C'est le symbole de la virilité. Un Noir Réfugié qui n'a plus de fusil est un homme humilié et presque déshonoré. Comme nous l'expliquait l'un d'eux en nous suppliant de l'aider à remplacer sa vieille pétoire mangée de rouille : « Si vous ne pouvez pas vous présenter devant les femmes avec le sabre, le sac de chasse à l'épaule et le fusil à la main, vous n'êtes pas un homme. »

Cette idée a été transposée sur le plan de la magie et on admet que le *wisimd* peut, en faisant des maléfices sur un fusil, atteindre le propriétaire de l'arme dans sa virilité. On admet qu'il suffit que quelqu'un mette le doigt dans le canon du fusil en prononçant une formule de vengeance, ou même en étant animé de haine contre le propriétaire de l'arme, pour que ce fusil ne puisse plus tirer juste. Aussi, pour éviter ces malheurs, les Boni ne se séparent jamais de leur fusil et ne le prêtent jamais à personne. Si, malgré ces précautions ils ont l'impression que le fusil ne tire plus aussi bien, ils iront auprès d'un *obiaman* pour le faire laver de l'influence maléfique. Il existe pour cela plusieurs remèdes, qui tous consistent à tremper le fusil pendant un à trois jours dans des infusions de feuilles, ce qui a pour résultat infaillible de le faire rouiller. Nous avons vu abîmer ainsi un fusil hammerless dernier modèle par un chef canotier Boni intelligent, fin mécanicien et habituellement plein de bon sens.

Nous n'avons jamais été témoins chez les Boni de rites de chasse individuels ou collectifs, prétendant attirer le gibier ou favoriser sa rencontre (alors qu'au contraire les « pouvoirs » de chasse sont extrêmement répandus parmi les créoles).

Pouvoir magique de la femme. Les Noirs Réfugiés admettent que la femme, pendant ses périodes menstruelles, est impure et a le pouvoir de détruire le pouvoir des *obia*. Aussi pendant ces périodes doit-elle se retirer dans une case spéciale, *munu zau*, et préparer ses repas dans une vaisselle spéciale ; elle ne peut pas préparer la nourriture de son mari, car ce faisant, elle détruirait le pouvoir de ses *obia*, et doit s'abstenir de toucher les objets qu'il utilise habituellement, spécialement son fusil qui perdrait ses qualités de tir. Même dans les petites habitations de culture qui ne comportent que quelques carbets, on peut être sûr que l'un d'eux sert de *munu zau*.

Les *munu zau* sont des cabanes très simples construites par les femmes elles-mêmes, en utilisant des matériaux de récupération pris sur les cases en démolition ; certaines appartiennent à une seule femme ; pour d'autres, trois ou quatre femmes se sont associées. Elles n'ont recours aux hommes que pour assembler la charpente, les rétribuant par quelques touques de couac ou quelques paniers d'ignames.

Un homme qui possède un puissant *obia*, comme le *man négge obia*, doit s'abstenir d'adresser la parole à une femme qui a ses règles.

Les Boni admettent qu'il y a des femmes assez méchantes pour dissimuler volontairement leurs règles afin de détruire le pouvoir des *obia* d'un homme, mais celui qui a un bon *man négge obia* ne peut être dupe : le cercle de fer l'avertit du danger en serrant son bras.

D'après M. W. F. van Lier, le fait de dissimuler volontairement ses règles est pour les Djuka une des plus grandes fautes que puisse commettre une femme, et on lui inflige les plus sévères punitions. Chez les Boni il n'en va pas de même : en pareil cas, une femme risque seulement d'être insultée et mise à l'index.

Une autre croyance profondément enracinée chez les Noirs Réfugiés, et qui subsiste chez beaucoup de créoles, est la nécessité pour l'*obiaman* qui soigne une blessure par arme à feu, d'observer la chasteté pendant toute la durée du traitement. C'est pour cette raison que les Boni hésitent à faire soigner les plaies de tir dans les hôpitaux.

Kina. Les interdits des Noirs Réfugiés sont généralement d'ordre alimentaire. Il y en a, à notre connaissance, 5 catégories :

— *Bunsi kina*, *kina* fondamental, marque des patrilignages, dont la rupture donne la lèpre ;

— *Akka kina*, souvent appelé *godu kina*, qui est établi par divination et qui est supposé imposé par l'*akka* ;

— *Godu kina*, marque de possession par une divinité ;

— *Obia kina*, interdit attaché à chaque objet comportant un pouvoir magique, et qu'il est indispensable d'observer pour que ce pouvoir se conserve ;

— Enfin, des *kina* locaux, notamment les *kina de*, jours de repos, se rattachant à l'idée du jour de repos de la divinité locale. On observe par exemple que la rivière Mana a un *kina de* sur le dimanche. Les Saramaka l'observent rigoureusement. Les Boni que nous avons emmenés sur la Mana en 1949, allèrent se renseigner auprès des Saramaka, et nous demandèrent d'arrêter la navigation le dimanche car ce *kina* était très impérieux. Il est à noter cependant que les Boni s'inclinent en pareil cas devant la volonté des Européens, comme en ce qui concerne leur propre *kina de* du vendredi ; ils admettent en effet que s'ils sont commandés de service, c'est l'européen seul qui supporte la responsabilité de la rupture du *kina*.

Il est possible que les *kina* évoqués par M. W. F. Van Lier et qui chez les Djuka seraient imposés à tout un matrilignage, soient aussi des *kina* locaux ; en tout cas aucun *kina* n'est transmissible par la mère, tous les Noirs Réfugiés sont formels sur ce point.

A... du *lo* Dju, âgé en 1958 de 28 ans environ, doit observer six *kina* :

— Le caïman et le jaguar, à titre de *bunsi kina*

— La loutre *(yundu)* comme *akka kina*.

Ces trois *kina* lui ont été imposés dès ses premières années mais on ne lui en a expliqué le sens que plus tard.

— L'anguille *(mânsi)* lui a été imposée comme *kina* par son père lorsque ce dernier lui a donné un *man nêgge obia*, *obia* de protection contre le sabre ou le fusil, matérialisé par un bracelet de fer.

A cet *obia* est attaché un autre *kina*. A... ne doit pas adresser la parole à une femme en période menstruelle ;

— Enfin le crabe *(koubu)*, *kina* attaché à un *obia* dont l'intéressé ne parlait qu'avec réticence, probablement un *Kumênli bui* (bracelet de *Kumênli*, instrument de divination).

A... n'a pas de *godu kina* au sens propre du terme.

Il n'existe pas de *kina* alimentaire commun à tous les Boni ; le caïman leur est généralement interdit à titre de *bwasi kina*, associé à un autre animal ; mais ce n'est pas absolu, nous connaissons au moins un Boni qui n'a pas reçu ce *kina*.

Si quelqu'un a rompu un *kina* par inadvertance, il peut se faire laver de cette faute par des *obiaman*. Mais s'il l'a rompu volontairement, il ne peut échapper au châtiment attaché à la faute.

Croyances concernant les jumeaux. On a l'idée que les jumeaux et les enfants qui suivent les jumeaux sont d'une nature différente des autres hommes, participant d'un principe divin.

Les jumeaux ne peuvent pas vivre (puisqu'ils n'appartiennent pas à l'humanité ordinaire) s'ils ne sont pas traités par un remède spécial que ne connaissent que certains lignages particulièrement riches en jumeaux.

Quand des jumeaux meurent en bas âge, on incrimine presque toujours une mésentente survenue dans le lignage. Les jumeaux n'ont pas voulu vivre dans une famille désunie. Le chef du lignage exhorte alors ses gens à se réconcilier coûte que coûte, afin d'éviter de nouveaux malheurs[1].

Celui qui nuit à un jumeau est assuré de tomber malade. Il est admis réciproquement que le jumeau ne doit pas abuser de son pouvoir, qu'il doit avoir une vie droite et éviter les querelles. Il est plus près de Dieu que les autres hommes.

On admet que par exemple Efa, du village Papaïston, elle-même jumelle et mère de jumeaux, a un pouvoir tout spécial. Personne ne se hasarderait à lui nuire.

Dans les lignages où il y a beaucoup de jumeaux, il existe un lieu de culte consacré à un principe vital qu'on appelle *Turilêngo*. La nature de ce principe n'est pas claire. Les Boni le définissent comme âme des jumeaux. S'agit-il des premiers jumeaux Adam et Ève ? Ou d'un culte collectif adressé à l'ensemble des jumeaux défunts ?

[1] D'une façon générale on a l'idée que des désordres survenus dans le lignage ont pour conséquences des maladies ou des malheurs frappant les membres du lignage. Cette notion joue un rôle capital dans la vie sociale des Noirs Réfugiés ; elle est après le kanu le principal ciment de l'unité des groupes.

Le culte est célébré chaque fois qu'il s'agit de protéger des enfants nouveaux-nés. On les lave avec une certaine décoction de feuilles.

Tous les 4 ou 5 ans en moyenne a lieu une grande danse, puis on lave les père et mère des jumeaux et les jumeaux eux-mêmes, pour entretenir leurs pouvoirs et les maintenir en bonne santé.

Si ces danses ne sont pas faites, les jumeaux défunts manifesteront leur colère en rendant malades les jumeaux et parents de jumeaux vivants.

Les lignages qui n'ont pas de jumeaux ne pratiquent pas ces rites. S'il leur naît des jumeaux, ils s'adresseront au lieu du culte d'un autre lignage.

Papalston et Lapé ont ce culte particulièrement développé.

Les *tone pikin*. On admet qu'une femme puisse être rendue enceinte par un dieu de la rivière, soit un dieu serpent *Papa gadu*, soit par les *Wala Ingi* qui ont l'apparence d'Indiens. On appelle *tone pikin* les enfants ainsi conçus.

A..., de Papalston, avait coupé un abattis en face d'une roche blanche remarquable dite *Weti sɔ̃*, où elle amarrait son canot. Elle n'avait pas eu d'enfants depuis plusieurs années et elle devint enceinte. Quand sa fille fut née, un possédé révéla qu'elle était née des œuvres d'un dieu serpent *Papa gadu* qui vivait là : depuis ses parents vont régulièrement à cette roche faire des offrandes.

Vers 1910, Alama (Kormotibo), avait suivi son mari dans un chantier du bas fleuve ; un jour, marchant dans la forêt elle rencontra un Indien ayant l'apparence d'un Indien Galibi, qui portait un enfant nouveau-né. Elle s'arrêta et admira l'enfant. L'Indien lui dit : voulez-vous l'élever? Elle acquiesça. Il dit : « nous nous reverrons » ; puis il s'en alla si vite qu'elle eut l'impression qu'il avait disparu sur place.

Quelques semaines après, elle se trouva enceinte et il parut évident à tous que c'était des œuvres d'un *Wala Ingi*.

On n'attribue aucun pouvoir magique au *tone pikin*, pas plus qu'on ne leur attribue de particularités mentales ou physiques. Mais on admet qu'ils soient l'objet d'une protection particulière, et qu'on ne peut leur nuire impunément.

Le caractère sacré du paiement. Les rapports entre les dieux et les hommes chez les Noirs Réfugiés ont toujours le caractère d'un marché : une divinité irritée n'est jamais apaisée par le repentir ou la bonne volonté ; elle exige d'être payée ; de même un *obia* n'a de valeur que pour celui qui l'a payé. Des Noirs Réfugiés n'utiliseront jamais des recettes magiques toutes faites : prononcer telles paroles, faire tels gestes ; en présence d'une telle recette ils demanderont aussitôt : « De quel dieu vient cet *obia*, et auprès de qui doit-on payer? Il semble que dans leur conception tout transfert d'un pouvoir spirituel ou d'une force magique dérange quelque chose à la bonne marche de l'univers ; le paiement rétablit cet équilibre, il est la marque de la légitimité. Certains créoles d'ascendance africaine transposent la même idée vis-à-vis du christianisme, et c'est

pourquoi ils insistent tant pour payer les messes et acheter les « oraisons »[1]. On observe de même que la gratuité des soins médicaux diminue aux yeux des uns et des autres le prestige du médecin.

Sur le plan matériel, la même conception explique le caractère élevé attaché au juste paiement d'un travail, la fureur sacrée qui s'empare des Noirs Réfugiés qui se jugent lésés ; elle explique aussi qu'ils ne peuvent interpréter un don gratuit que comme une marque de faiblesse, sauf dans des cas exceptionnels (présent offert par un haut fonctionnaire à l'occasion d'une visite). Un cadeau qui n'a pas le caractère d'un échange n'a pas pour eux de valeur spirituelle ; il n'amène que du mépris et presque de l'hostilité, car ils sentent que l'objet n'a pas été acquis légitimement et qu'ils ne sont pas en règle avec leur loi morale.

Divinités locales

Les Noirs Réfugiés admettent l'existence de divinités locales, exerçant un pouvoir de fait sur telle ou telle portion du pays. Comme leur mode de vie très particulier les amène à circuler presque exclusivement le long des rivières, cette idée s'est transposée chez eux en une double notion : les divinités des rivières et les dieux du sol. Dans leur esprit ce sont là deux conceptions entièrement distinctes : le pouvoir du dieu du sol s'arrête au bord de l'eau et réciproquement.

Aux divinités du fleuve on rend un culte de fait, selon les rites fixés par les premiers usagers de la rivière. En pratique on ne rend de culte qu'aux divinités des rivières dangereuses, où les accidents sont fréquents. Pour les autres, on ne s'en préoccupe pas.

Ces dieux sont désignés indifféremment par les mots *godu* et *sani* (chose, être), indiquant qu'on n'en connaît pas la nature.

L'un des plus connus de ces dieux est celui du Maruini. Il est admis qu'il contrôle jusqu'à leur source tous les cours d'eau formateurs du Maruini. Son lieu de culte est un bosquet situé en aval du dangereux saut Kubi Sula, à l'embouchure de la rivière. Avant de commencer la remontée de la rivière en août 1956, les équipages de nos trois canots, dans une atmosphère de grand recueillement, se rangèrent derrière l'aîné d'entre eux qui fit l'offrande de l'eau et du tafia, prononçant ces paroles : « Dieu qui commande cette rivière, veille sur nous, fais que nous ne soyons pas malade, qu'il ne nous arrive pas d'accident ; s'il y a sur cette rivière un interdit que nous ne connaissons pas[2] et que nous n'observons pas par ignorance, pardonne-nous. Fais que nous revenions dans nos villages sains et saufs. » Les canotiers vinrent l'un après l'autre faire l'offrande du tafia. La scène dura plus d'un quart d'heure. Cette cérémonie n'était pas sans grandeur, laissant croire à cette ferveur sincère des animistes dont il est si souvent question dans la

1. Prière écrite à laquelle on attache un pouvoir de protection. Cette notion, qui a été empruntée à la magie européenne de la France du XVIIe siècle, semble avoir été introduite en Guyane par les premiers colons européens.
2. On voit bien ici qu'il s'agit d'un culte de fait rendu à une divinité dont on ne connaît rien.

littérature ethnographique. Mais notre retour en fin de mission se passa dans une tout autre atmosphère, montrant le côté strictement pratique et utilitaire de la religion des Noirs Réfugiés. Une fois passé le Kubi Sula, les trois patrons canotiers ne purent décider aucun de leurs hommes, qui étaient en train de prendre leur repas, à les accompagner jusqu'au lieu du culte pour remercier le dieu. Quelques-uns nous dirent sans ambages qu'ils se moquaient bien de ce dieu désormais, n'ayant pas l'intention de revenir sur le Maruini. Quant aux patrons canotiers eux-mêmes, ils mesurèrent chichement la quantité de tafia offerte au dieu, et leurs paroles de remerciements durèrent à peine une demi-minute[1]. A notre première mission sur le Maruini, en 1948, les mêmes scènes s'étaient déroulées, tant à l'aller qu'au retour.

Rites relatifs a l'agriculture

Ces rites occupent dans la vie religieuse des Noirs Réfugiés une place relativement faible, ce qu'on peut attribuer à la grande régularité du climat et à l'absence de calamités influant sur le rendement des récoltes.

Il ne semble pas, tout au moins chez les Boni, que soit supposé un lien religieux entre le lignage et la terre, et les rites destinés à assurer la fécondité du sol sont effectués par chacun pour son compte au voisinage de son propre champ ; le chef de lignage ne paraît jouer aucun rôle particulier à cet égard. Dans la pensée des Boni, la fécondité du sol dépend d'une divinité locale, à laquelle est adressé un culte de fait ; les usagers temporaires ou permanents des terres situées dans le domaine de ce dieu effectuent pour leur compte les rites de ce culte, sans aucune distinction d'origine, qu'ils soient Boni, Djuka ou Saramaka.

Le seul culte collectif existant en pays Boni est le culte de *mama gɔ3*, dont le grand man est le prêtre. Ses rites se bornent à une courte prière annuelle.

Culte de *Mama gɔ3*. *Mama gɔ3*, mère de la terre, est représentée par une grossière statue d'argile blanche munie d'énormes seins, symbole de fécondité, que l'on peut apercevoir dans une petite case située sur la place du village de Boniville. Chaque année, quand approche le temps de couper les abattis, le grand man, entouré d'une nombreuse assistance, prie le dieu d'accorder la fécondité aux plantations. Si la pluie ne tombe pas, on fait une offrande d'eau et de tafia et on arrose la statue.

Les Boni ne paraissent pas associer l'idée de la fécondité des femmes à celle de la fertilité du sol, et nous n'avons pas entendu dire que le grand man prie à ce sujet.

Ils ne paraissent pas non plus avoir une idée très nette des rapports de ce culte avec celui des *gɔ3 gadu*, dieux locaux du sol.

Tous les trois ans a lieu à Boniville, le 1er janvier, une grande danse de possession

(1) Pourtant la coutume prévoit expressément ce rite de remerciement.

Fig. 29. — Le dernier voyage du mort sur le fleuve.

[facing p 260]

où les dieux *Papa godu* dansent devant le sanctuaire de *Mama gɔ̃*, Nous n'avons pu obtenir de précisions sur la signification de ce rite.

Culte des *gɔ̃ godu*. Il est supposé que toute portion de terre est sous la dépendance d'un dieu local, *gɔ̃ godu*. Son pouvoir ne se limite qu'à la fécondité du sol, et celui qui néglige son culte ne peut être atteint dans sa personne, ni dans ses biens, mais seulement puni par une mauvaise récolte.

Quelle est la nature de ces dieux, quelle est leur place dans la cosmogonie ? Ce sont là des questions qu'aucun de nos informateurs ne s'était posé. Dans leur esprit, *gɔ̃ godu* a une existence de fait, et on lui rend un culte de fait. Ce culte comprend essentiellement :

Des offrandes faites au moment des plantations ;

L'observance d'un jour de repos local, *kina de*, correspondant au jour de repos du dieu.

Pour observer convenablement ces rites, il importe donc de connaître si les terres qu'on cultive sont situées dans le domaine de tel ou tel dieu. Sur les rives du grand fleuve, la répartition des terres entre les dieux du sol est bien connue depuis le temps des ancêtres. En relevant les *kina de* des habitations de culture on se rend compte que le domaine de chaque dieu est étendu ; il occupe plusieurs kilomètres le long des rives. Il est souvent supposé (mais pas partout) que les deux rives sont contrôlées par des dieux différents. Par exemple :

En aval de Boniville, rive droite : mercredi ;
Vers Kormotibo, rive droite : jeudi ;
Vers le confluent de l'Inini, deux rives : mercredi ;
Vers le Saut Simayé, deux rives : samedi.

Ces jours-là on ne peut rien faire se rapportant à l'agriculture et spécialement on ne peut pas creuser la terre ni planter. On peut à la rigueur aller extraire des tubercules.

Ce qu'on doit surtout éviter, c'est de manier des outils qui font du bruit et pourraient déranger le dieu, sauf au voisinage immédiat de l'eau qui n'est pas sous son contrôle. Cependant on peut tirer des coups de fusil.

Ce *kina de* est d'une observance plus stricte que le vendredi, *kina de* général en pays Boni, qui paraît se rapporter au culte de *Mama gɔ̃*. Ces jours-là on répare les canots et surtout on va à la chasse et à la pêche.

Les offrandes sont faites de façon purement individuelle et locale ; dans chaque habitation de culture on voit aux abords du dégrad un lieu de culte formé d'un simple bouean, orné de banderolles de plusieurs couleurs, sur lequel sont exposées les offrandes ; même si cette habitation réunit des gens de parentés diverses, il n'y a qu'un lieu de culte.

Les gens qui n'ont pas d'habitation de culture et qui cultivent aux abords des

villages de résidence, se réunissent par groupes de trois ou quatre pour établir un lieu de culte dans un boqueteau préservé de la forêt attenant à leurs abattis.

On offre du jus de canne, du sirop, du riz finement pilé mais non cuit.

Cette offrande est faite au moment des plantations en disant : « Gadu, s'il vous plaît venez manger un peu, veillez sur nous, grand merci. »

Les Boni qui observent le plus fidèlement les rites renouvellent cette offrande chaque mois à la nouvelle lune.

Si quelqu'un a deux abattis dans deux secteurs différents, il effectue ces rites deux fois, chaque *gɔ̃ gadu* étant entièrement indépendant des autres.

On remarque à ce sujet que les croyances des Noirs Réfugiés sont beaucoup plus systématisées que celles des populations créoles d'origine africaine des Antilles. Il n'est pas supposé une âme individuelle de chaque champ ; il ne paraît pas non plus qu'on admette la possibilité de capturer l'âme du champ pour rendre stérile par vengeance le champ du voisin. Ces croyances, qui jouent un si grand rôle dans la magie populaire des Antilles, paraissent sans correspondance précise dans les croyances des Noirs Réfugiés.

Interdits et rites divers. Couper un abattis comporte de grands dangers : il faut éviter que les divinités malfaisantes de la brousse, qui ont pour support des végétaux et des animaux bien définis, ne soient lésées par la destruction brutale de ce support, et n'exercent une vengeance inexorable — le *kunu* — sur le lignage de l'involontaire sacrilège. Il faut donc rechercher avec une attention extrême, en examinant centimètre par centimètre la surface de l'abattis, ces végétaux et ces animaux, accomplir pour chacun les rites indiqués par l'expérience des ancêtres sans en oublier un seul. Aucun Noir Réfugié ne songerait à négliger ces rites. Leur observance rigoureuse a pour effet d'empêcher que l'agriculture ne devienne pour eux une activité mercantile, et de lui garder un sens religieux et familial.

— Le *kûkâti* (fromager) est un arbre très redouté, car d'après les anciens, chacun d'eux abrite douze catégories de divinités, notamment un *Papa gadu* et un *Ampuku*. Aussi est-il absolument impossible de le couper. Il faut même faire très attention à ne pas léser ses racines qui s'étendent au loin. On préservera l'emplacement de tout abattage. De même on veille à ne pas léser les racines des grands fromagers que l'on trouve souvent dans les villages.

Pourtant, le fait qu'on ait choisi leur emplacement pour y installer un village, montre qu'on croit pouvoir faire alliance avec les divinités qui résident dans un fromager et s'attirer leur protection.

— L'arbre *kalu* (Bombax Surinamiensis), arbre de très grande taille, vivant en symbiose avec une liane parasite qui paraît l'enserrer d'un gigantesque filet, abrite lui aussi des divinités malfaisantes (des *Ampuku*, des *Papa gadu*, des *Bumba gadu*). On peut le couper après avoir exécuté des rites qui ont pour but de transférer ces divinités dans un autre arbre.

Il faut d'abord s'être procuré chez un homme qui possède ce remède, un pot d'*ɔbia* contenant une infusion de feuilles, au milieu desquelles se trouve un bracelet de fibres.

Il en coûte 2 litres de tafia, 4 litres de boisson (bière par exemple), 1 grande pièce d'étoffe et 1 sabre.

Arrivé au pied de l'arbre, on lave son corps et son sabre avec cette infusion, on se passe au bras le bracelet de fibres. On lave aussi plusieurs petits bâtons munis de carrés de toile blanche (pour les *Papa godu*), bleu noir et rouge (pour les *Ampuku*) et une feuille de palmier pinot *(pina Bygo)*.

On plante les bâtons au pied de l'arbre, on frappe le tronc avec la feuille de palmier en invoquant les divinités de l'arbre : « *Ala sani di de na a udu ya, da mu kumɔlo, beka mi ɔ fau ɛy. Kɔm na a pina Bygo* : Toutes choses (entités suprahumaines) qui êtes dans cet arbre, quittez-le car je vais le jeter à terre ; venez dans cette feuille de palmier ». On emporte la feuille de palmier et les petits drapeaux loin de là dans l'intérieur des terres, dans un endroit où personne n'est susceptible de venir abattre des arbres, et on les dispose à côté d'un gros arbre quelconque. Les divinités viendront s'y établir. Cependant il faut encore attendre près d'un mois pour couper l'arbre *kulu*, probablement pour laisser aux influences maléfiques le temps de se dissiper.

Les Boni ont si peur de cet arbre que nombre d'entre eux, jugeant ces précautions insuffisantes, renoncent à le couper et vont établir leur abattis ailleurs. Les orpailleurs créoles du Haut Maroni, qui l'appellent bois coton, lui attribuent aussi une influence maléfique et certains d'entre eux ne le coupent pas.

Les Noirs Réfugiés redoutent aussi, mais à un moindre degré, ce qu'ils appellent *kɔlkɔli*, c'est-à-dire les petits arbres de n'importe quelle espèce qui, au lieu d'avoir poussé droit, ont leur tige coudée à deux reprises comme un Z. C'est une anomalie très rare. Dans cet arbuste se cache une entité malfaisante, *laku sani*, susceptible, si un homme coupait la tige par inadvertance, de se venger de lui en lui paralysant un membre, ou même tout le corps, en position fléchie. Pour voir si l'entité est présente ou non dans l'arbuste, il existe selon les Boni, un moyen très simple : on approche délicatement le doigt de la partie coudée. Si on sent son doigt retenu au point qu'on a du mal à le retirer, c'est que le génie est présent ! Le pouvoir d'autosuggestion caractéristique des Noirs Réfugiés se montre ici nettement.

Il existe des rites pour rendre inoffensifs les *kɔlkɔli*, les couper impunément et même en servir pour des préparations magiques, mais nous n'en connaissons pas le détail. Des *kɔlkɔli* figurent parmi les objets qu'on trouve habituellement dans les chapelles *(ɔhin sou)* de *Kumènti* il nous est même arrivé d'en voir un utilisé comme fermeture d'une porte ; c'était un *kindu* particulièrement redouté, qu'aucun voleur n'aurait osé enlever.

Les *Kintamasu* sont les divinités, particulièrement malfaisantes et hostiles aux hommes, qui habitent les termitières (il s'agit des termites au sens propre du terme, qui font leur nid en terre, et non des poux-bois, beaucoup plus communs). Il y en a un par termitière.

Après un examen méticuleux du sol de l'abattis, on marque toutes les termitières

et l'on arrose chacune d'elles d'une préparation contenant des feuilles, de l'argile rose *kukusa* et du suc de manioc. On adjure le génie de s'en aller n'importe où.

Il arrive que malgré toutes les précautions prises, on oublie une termitière. Alors, quelques jours après, on aura la consternation de voir le *Kãnlamasu* se révéler dans quelqu'un du lignage ; il annonce qu'il va exercer son *kunu* (sa malédiction). On l'apaise provisoirement par des offrandes de tafia, de boissons diverses, de toile rouge.

Les *Kãnlamasu* se nomment eux-mêmes les *Akɔlo*. Ils parlent, par la bouche de leurs porteurs, une langue que personne ne comprend. Toutefois, quand ils veulent se faire comprendre de l'assistance, ils parlent *Kumẽnli*.

Observation à Boniville, janvier 1957 :

A..., canotier de la mission de délimitation, demande un congé de trois jours. Sa femme, Masauman, est malade depuis quelques jours ; la divination (en l'espèce la *gita* d'une parente de son lignage) a montré que c'était le fait d'un *Kãnlamasu* lésé dans l'incendie de l'abattis que lui-même, A..., a coupé pour sa femme en octobre. Le *Kãnlamasu* ne s'est pas encore manifesté directement, mais un *kunu* menace ; pour l'apaiser il faut qu'il mette en action le remède que seul connaît M..., un vieillard d'Asisi. Il se rendra sur place, suivant à bonne distance M..., porteur du remède, dont il aspergera la surface de l'abattis, et d'objets d'offrande. L'offrande faite, on attendra quelque temps pour voir si Masauman va mieux et si oui, on jugera que le dieu est apaisé.

La fête Yali

Les Noirs Réfugiés, qui ne comptent pas les jours écoulés, se contentant des lunaisons pour suivre le cours de l'année, se renseignent auprès des européens et des créoles, pour fixer la fête *Yali* qui marque le nouvel an. Chacun accumule des provisions, notamment de la viande de tortue, des boissons variées et force pétards.

Le soir du 31 décembre chacun danse dans son propre village.

La fête dure toute la nuit, le tafia coulant à flots, les pétards éclatant de toutes parts.

A la fin de la nuit, quelques dieux « montent » à la tête de leurs porteurs, tout au moins de ceux qui ne sont pas complètement ivres.

Dans la journée, des danses reprennent par intermittence dans l'ordre *awasa*, *sãŋgɛ*, *susa*. Il est d'usage que les gens d'un lignage aillent danser dans le village d'un autre, puis les invitent chez eux. On rend beaucoup de visites individuelles. Quelques-uns ont établi devant leur case une sorte de petit buffet sur lequel ils ont disposé une dizaine de verres, 5 à 6 litres de tafia, 4 ou 5 bouteilles de bière, limonade et sirop.

Observation à Boniville, le 1er janvier 1958 :

Le grand man, qui ne quitte plus guère son habitation en aval de Boniville, ne s'est

pas dérangé. Il a délégué ses fonctions à Lébiman et Fintiman, hommes d'une cinquantaine d'années, appartenant aux fractions des lignages Kotika et Dju résidant à Boniville.

A 7 heures, une dizaine d'hommes se rassemblent au *fraga liki*. On verse d'abord l'eau, puis le tafia, en prononçant la prière dont le texte intégral suit, d'après un enregistrement au magnétophone :

Fintiman (en versant de l'eau) :

« Ancêtres, salut ! Nous sommes venus à vous ; c'est pour l'année nouvelle que nous sommes venus à vous ! comme vous-mêmes faisiez quand vous étiez (vivants). Que Dieu nous protège jusqu'à ce que l'année nouvelle revienne encore ; c'est ainsi que vous-mêmes veniez verser l'eau à l'intention des ancêtres. Nous sommes venus à notre lieu de prière pour parler avec vous, pour vous demander de porter nos paroles à Dieu. »

(Les mêmes formules sont répétées à plusieurs reprises.)

Lébiman

« C'est l'eau du jour de l'an. C'est le jour de Dieu. Il est arrivé. Grand man Awensay[1] [parce que] je n'ai pas connu les ancêtres plus éloignés, c'est vous seulement que j'appelle, appelez tous les autres. »

« Il est arrivé, le jour de Dieu. Quant au grand man lui-même il lui est arrivé un petit empêchement, il n'a pu venir, mais il ne se désintéresse pas pour autant du village. »

Veillez sur tous les gens qui sont là... nous sommes venus verser de l'eau à votre intention, pour que vous veilliez sur les poules et les chiens du village [et jusqu'aux hommes vivants[2]]. Protégez le grand man ; si un malheur était prêt à lui arriver, qu'il passe à côté. Ainsi nous sommes venus verser [l'eau] pour vous supplier de protéger le village. L'année a changé aujourd'hui, c'est une nouvelle année. Que nous ayons de l'argent et de la nourriture, nous vous supplions, ancêtres ; veillez sur nos plantations, qu'elles prospèrent, que les jeunes femmes qui pêchent au dégrad prennent du poisson. »

« Tous les capitaines versent [l'eau], le fiskal, les majors versent[3] pour tous les lignages ; protégez les villages. »

Fintiman

Les gens qui ont le cœur pur, protégez-les, grands et petits. Mais les gens dont le cœur n'est pas bon, qui font des maléfices pour tuer les autres et pour diminuer le village, nous ne prions pas pour eux ; chassez-les. »

Veillez sur le grand man ; s'il lui arrive quelque chose, il ne faudra pas qu'on vienne dire que nous, les gens qui sommes assis là, nous n'avons pas bien prié. Grands ancêtres, nous vous supplions, si nous étions sur le point de rencontrer le malheur, que nous rencontrons le bien. »

On commence à verser le tafia.

1. Prédécesseur du grand man Difu, mort en 1936. Dans chaque village on invoque par son nom le dernier chef défunt pour lui demander d'appeler les morts les plus anciens.

2. Formule habituelle de prière.

3. Titres hétéroclites imités des Djuka mais qui, chez les Boni, n'ont pas de contenu réel ; le chef du village de Boniville porte le titre de fiskal et celui du village de Kotika le titre de major.

« Grand man Awensay... » (Suit un remerciement pour un voyage qui s'est effectué sans encombre.)

Lébiman :

« Que le grand man vive longtemps avec nous, qu'il ne lui arrive pas malheur. »
« Grands ancêtres qui êtes au pays de Dieu, c'est vous qui avez la force du village. »
(Le tafia coule à flots.)

« Buvez, buvez, mais ne vous enivrez pas au point de vous tromper, regardez favorablement les justes, écartez les méchants. »

Ensuite, Fintiman s'écarte pour aller faire une offrande de tafia accompagnée de quelques paroles à la chapelle de Odun. Puis il va au bord du hangar mortuaire verser de l'eau, du tafia et du café à l'intention de Samalobi, frère du grand man, dont le deuil n'est pas levé.

Il va ensuite à la maison du défunt grand man Awensay faire une offrande de café (Awensay comme les autres grand man buvait du café).

La prière de l'année précédente (1er janvier 1957), présidée par l'aïeul Samalobi, avait eu une plus haute inspiration. Après avoir prié, à peu près dans les mêmes termes que ci-dessus, pour les Boni, on pria pour les Djuka, précisant qu'autrefois Boni et Djuka s'étaient combattus, mais que tout cela était oublié. On pria ensuite pour les Saramaka, puis pour les Indiens, enfin pour les européens. Je demandai pourquoi ; on me répondit : « c'est parce que ce sont les européens qui nous ont amenés dans ce pays qui est devenu le nôtre ».

[p.266 is blank]

[p.267]

CHAPITRE VIII

CONTES — PROVERBES

Les contes *(Anâsi bli)* et les proverbes *(ɔdo)* conservent chez les Noirs Réfugiés une fonction sociale importante. Ç'est toujours par des contes que commencent les grandes cérémonies coutumières de levée de deuil. Ils ont pour fonction de concentrer l'attention de l'assistance et de créer une ambiance de participation au rite.

Ce caractère rituel fait que les Anansi Toli ne peuvent être récités n'importe quand et n'importe comment. Le conteur ne peut parler que la nuit, en présence d'un répondant, et d'un auditoire d'au moins deux ou trois personnes. Une formule rituelle : « *dirinti* » — réponse de l'auditoire : « *ndaeli* », précède chaque nouvelle histoire. Ce n'est qu'avec une répugnance extrême que les informateurs consentent à entendre et à commenter de jour un conte enregistré au magnétophone, cela spécialement si leurs parents sont encore vivants, car on dit chez les Noirs Réfugiés comme en Afrique Noire que raconter des contes en plein jour peut faire mourir son père et sa mère.

Ces contes appartiennent à un fonds authentiquement africain, pratiquement inaltéré malgré l'emprunt aux Noirs créoles de Paramaribo de quelques thèmes concernant des automobiles, des bateaux à vapeur, etc., insérés de façon cocasse dans les thèmes traditionnels.

Le héros ordinaire de ces contes est Anansi le rusé. Anansi est le nom de l'araignée mygale[1]. Il est à noter cependant que cette araignée ne paraît jouer aucun rôle particulier dans les croyances des Noirs Réfugiés et qu'on ne lui attribue pas de pouvoir divinatoire. En fait, dans les contes dont il est le héros, Anansi est presque toujours représenté comme un homme.

Interviennent habituellement dans ces contes :

Wénon — femme d'Anansi

Akpwatitikwati, Asingébelé, Panikitapu, Bigimofu — ses fils

Saniasâmooyu, sa fille.

(1) Le cycle de l'araignée est caractéristique de l'aire culturelle Akan (Agni-Baoulé-Abron). Anansi est le nom de l'araignée mygale chez les Agni.

On englobe aussi sous le titre d'Anansi Toli des contes où seuls interviennent des animaux : *leu*, l'éléphant (dont les Noirs Réfugiés ont gardé par tradition orale la description), *kɔykoni*, l'agouti[1], qui sait tout ce qui se passe en brousse, *kariaku*, le daim, malin compère qui déjoue tous les tours[2].

Les contes transcrits ci-dessous sont au nombre de quatorze ; ils ont été choisis parmi une trentaine environ et représentent les thèmes les plus caractéristiques, en même temps que les récits les mieux charpentés.

La moitié environ des contes des Noirs Réfugiés roulent sur deux thèmes fondamentaux :

— Des ruses de chasse, par lesquelles Anansi parvient à tuer tous les animaux de la brousse sauf un qui, plus malin que lui, parvient à retourner la ruse et à le tuer à son tour ;

— La tromperie, plus spécialement associée à la gloutonnerie ; dans beaucoup de contes, des ruses compliquées ont pour but de manger la part du voisin.

La moitié des contes sont des improvisations sur des thèmes très variés et impossibles à classer. Une proportion importante sont des histoires fantastiques, décousues et incohérentes, rappelant le processus des rêves. Nous n'avons pas donné de place ici à ce type de contes, qui présente en fait peu d'intérêt sociologique.

Les Anansi Toli n'ont jamais de caractère licencieux.

D'une façon générale, les contes des Noirs Réfugiés ne reflètent aucun concept défini. Le même personnage est représenté d'un conte à l'autre sous des aspects contradictoires ; il n'a aucun caractère fixe. Par exemple le personnage d'Anansi, généralement représenté comme menteur, voleur, jaloux, glouton et cruel, n'est associé à aucun concept défini. Quelques contes le montrent amenant la Mort parmi les hommes, mais d'autres le montrent humiliant, pour la grande joie des hommes, les déesses malfaisantes de l'eau et de la brousse. La plupart des contes le représentent comme un escroc, mais dans quelques-uns il intervient comme justicier. Ces contradictions ne sont pas perçues par les Noirs Réfugiés.

Le conteur lui-même parvient difficilement à suivre le fil de son histoire, se perdant dans les détails, souvent racontés avec esprit. Quelquefois le thème dérive complètement au cours du récit, comme ces motifs ornementaux des Noirs Réfugiés où des membres humains se terminent en volutes, donnant un ensemble harmonieux mais sans grande signification. Il y a à cet égard une grande différence d'un conteur à l'autre. Certains construisent des récits plus fortement charpentés, la plupart se complaisent dans les contes incohérents et fantastiques.

1. Rongeur de la taille d'un lapin.

2. Il est étrange de voir cet animal jouer le rôle du renard de nos fables ; le daim échappe aisément au chasseur grâce à sa vue perçante, mais il n'a pas vraiment d'intelligence.

6:Hurault

SR8 Bush Negroes

Pour la même raison sans doute, on ne trouve rien dans la plupart de ces contes qui rappelle une morale inspirée par un concept du bien et du mal. Tantôt c'est le voleur et l'escroc qui triomphent, tantôt ils trouvent un plus malin qu'eux. On voit bien que pour le conteur tout cela est sur le même plan ; il a simplement guidé son histoire sur ce qui lui paraissait le plus amusant. Quant à l'auditoire, il rit toujours du vaincu. Un seul conte sur quatorze (le n° 1) exprime une morale pratique : « C'est pour cela qu'il ne faut pas tromper les gens, car il y a des gens qui sont plus malins que vous ».

La plupart des contes et proverbes ont déjà été entendus maintes fois par les Noirs Réfugiés, sans que cela diminue leur plaisir. Plus que l'histoire elle-même, ils apprécient la verve du conteur, son talent de mime, les variantes toujours nouvelles qu'il sait donner d'un thème rebattu.

Tous ces contes ont été enregistrés au magnétophone et ont été étudiés ensuite avec soin en ce qui concerne vocabulaire et syntaxe. On est resté très près du mot à mot et dans la mesure du possible on a conservé les tournures particulières de la phrase Aluku, notamment les interjections africaines qui renforcent les verbes. Les passages fastidieux qu'il a fallu résumer sont placés entre parenthèse. Les contes n°s 10 à 14 sont résumés.

CONTES

1) La roche a barbe

Un jour Anansi alla en brousse. Il marcha jusqu'à... ce qu'il vit une roche, une roche avec de la barbe. Il s'écria : « Roche à barbe ! ». Alors, il tomba, il s'évanouit[1]. Il resta là jusqu'à ce [qu'enfin] il se ranimât, et [pût] retourner chez lui. Alors il [se] dit : « J'ai trouvé un endroit pour tuer du gibier ».

Il vit l'agouti qui passait, il lui demanda : « Où allez-vous ainsi ? ». L'agouti répondit : « Je vais à la chasse ». Alors Anansi lui dit : « Je connais un bon endroit, venez demain que je vous y mène ». Il vint et tous deux marchèrent jusqu'à ce qu'ils fussent arrivés à cette roche. Alors Anansi lui dit tout bas : « Regardez cette roche, criez « Roche à barbe ». L'agouti cria : « Roche à barbe ! » Aussitôt il tomba évanoui ; Anansi le tua à coups de massue et l'emporta chez lui.

Ainsi tua-t-il du gibier jusqu'à ce que survint le daim. Anansi lui dit : « Je connais un endroit où on trouve du gibier. Nous marcherons jusqu'à un endroit où nous apercevrons une roche et vous crierez : « Roche à barbe ». Ils arrivèrent à la roche ; le daim dit à Anansi : « j'ai oublié comment s'appelle cette roche ». Anansi dit tout bas : « Roche à barbe ». Le daim lui dit : « Je n'entends pas ». Alors Anansi se fâcha, son cœur s'enflamma [de rage] et il cria tout haut : « Roche à barbe ». Alors lui-même tomba à terre. Le daim le tua, lui prit le foie et le rapporta à sa femme.

C'est pour cela qu'il ne faut pas tromper les gens, parce qu'il y a des gens qui sont plus malins que vous.

(1) Il faut entendre que le génie qui était dans la roche l'avait entendu.

2) Le génie de la mare

[Un jour] Anansi alla en brousse ; il alla en brousse à la découverte, camarades. Il alla jusqu'à... ce que la faim le prît. Il arriva à une mare, où il y avait des poissons ! des poissons ! Il pêcha les poissons, il pêcha jusqu'à... ce qu'il arrivât à une souche. Il glissa sa main dans un trou, et voilà sa main agrippée, kyin kyin ! Il dit : « Qui est-ce qui me tient comme cela ? » : « C'est moi le Lanceur » [dit le génie de la mare]. Il dit : « Lancez-moi pour voir ». Il le lança... jusqu'au haut des arbres. Il retomba à terre. Camarades, vous connaissez Anansi, il n'en mourut pas. Il dit : « Je tuerai tous les animaux [d'ici] jusqu'au dernier. Il alla affuter un trident. Il dit : « C'est ici qu'il faut enterrer le trident, puisque c'est ici que je suis retombé. Je vais leur faire voir aux animaux d'ici, je vais leur faire voir ». Il l'enterra jusqu'au fer. Il porta une charge de poisson, dit à sa femme Wénon : « Je vais tuer tous les animaux jusqu'au dernier ». Elle dit : « Comment vas-tu faire ? » Il lui expliqua.

Quelque temps après arriva l'agouti. Il lui dit : « Frère agouti, n'avez-vous pas faim ? L'agouti dit : « Frère, j'ai faim ; je cherche la sauce[1]. Il lui dit :« Venez, je vais vous mener à une mare où il y a beaucoup de poisson ». L'agouti accepta. Ils marchèrent jusqu'à ce qu'ils arrivèrent. Ils prirent du poisson, jusqu'à... ce qu'Anansi dit : « Tâtez au pied de cette souche ; vous trouverez un trou ; il y a des acoupas[2]. Camarade agouti, tâtez donc !

L'agouti glissa sa patte dans le trou ; kyin kyin ! Elle resta prisonnière. Il dit : « Frère Anansi, ma patte est prise » — « Dites : qu'est-ce qui me tient là ?» Il dit : « Qu'est-ce qui me tient là ? » — « C'est moi le Lanceur ». L'agouti dit : « Frère Anansi, que faut-il dire ? — Dites : « Lancez-moi pour voir ». Il dit : « Lancez-moi pour voir ». Camarades, il le lança en l'air, il passa au-dessus de la cime des arbres, il retomba sur le trident. Anansi prit sa massue, pa ! Il accourut, il l'assomma, gbo ! Il le tua. Il le mit de côté. Il ramassa tous les poissons que l'agouti avait pêchés. Il prit l'agouti lui-même, lui coupa le foie. Il le porta à la femme de l'agouti ; il lui dit : « L'agouti et moi avons tué un tapir là-bas, il est resté pour le boucaner. Il a envoyé la moitié du foie pour que vous le fassiez cuire. » Elle fit cuire le foie et bouillir du riz. Ils mangèrent ; ils mangèrent jusqu'à la dernière cuiller, jusqu'au dernier morceau de foie. Il dit : « Tous les foies sont bons mais le foie de l'agouti est le meilleur ». [Alors elle comprit]. Elle prit un pilon pour le frapper mais il s'enfuit.

Ainsi tua-t-il successivement tous les animaux de la région. Restait le daim. Le daim est quelqu'un de malin. Il avait surveillé Anansi et vu ce qu'il avait fait. Anansi vint à lui et lui dit : « Frère daim, n'avez-vous pas faim ? ». Il répondit : « j'ai très faim ». Anansi dit : « je connais une mare où il y a beaucoup de poisson ». Ils y allèrent. Ils pêchèrent jusqu'à ce que Anansi dit : « Tâtez dans le trou au pied de cette souche, il y a des acoupas et des coulants ». Le daim tâta et dit : « Je ne sens pas le trou » ; il savait

1 Entendant par là de la viande ou du poisson pour accompagner le couac ou le riz.
2 Poissons des eaux stagnantes.

très bien où il était. Anansi dit : « Vous avez de grands yeux, comment ne voyez-vous pas le trou ? ». Il lui prit la patte avec la main pour la plonger dans le trou ; la patte du daim est fine. Il la retira. C'est la main d'Anansi qui resta prisonnière.

Anansi dit : « Frère daim ; allez par là ; vous trouverez un trident dont je me sers pour la chasse ; retirez-le de terre». Le daim revint en disant : « C'est fait ». Il lui montra un autre trident qu'il avait lui-même apporté et caché. Alors Anansi dit [au génie] : « Lancez-moi pour voir ». Il le lança jusqu'au sommet des arbres. Il retomba sur le trident. Le daim l'assomma avec une massue, lui coupa le foie et l'apporta à Wénon. Il dit à Wénon : « Anansi et moi avons tué un tapir. Il est resté pour le boucaner. Il a envoyé le foie pour que vous le fassiez cuire ». Elle prépara le foie et fit bouillir du riz. Ils mangèrent jusqu'à la dernière bouchée. Alors le daim dit : « Tous les foies sont bons mais le foie d'Anansi est le meilleur ». Wénon prit un pilon pour le frapper, mais il était déjà loin.

3) Anansi et la poêle a frire magique

[Un jour] Anansi alla en brousse à la découverte, camarades. Il alla en brousse un jour, jusqu'à... ce qu'il eut faim. Voilà qu'il vit une poêle à frire accrochée en l'air. Il s'approcha, il dit : « Poêle à frire, comment es-tu belle ainsi ? » Elle dit : « Je suis belle, mais je ne suis pas belle pour rien ». Il dit : « Fais-moi voir ». Elle se mit à frire toutes sortes de choses, des beignets, de la viande. Il dit : « Dépose cela à terre devant moi ». Elle les posa devant lui. Alors Anansi mangea, il mangea jusqu'à... ce que son ventre fut plein. Il dit : « Poêle à frire, je t'en prie, arrête ». Elle arrêta, gban ! Il dit : « Quel *kina* en vérité as-tu[1] ? » Elle dit : « C'est le citron, le jus de citron, et le balai de paille de riz[2]. Si vous me frottez avec, je perds mon pouvoir ».

Il dit : « C'est bien ; s'il te plaît, accepte de venir dans ma maison d'*ɔbia*, afin que je puisse frustrer ma femme Wénon et mes enfants. Ils me fatiguent ». Elle dit : « C'est bien, j'irai avec vous ». Il marcha, il la posa sur sa tête. Son ventre était plein, camarades, ses intestins étaient pleins. Il marcha jusqu'à ce qu'il arrivât en lisière du village. Il cria : « Tous les gens du village, enfermez-vous, je porte mon *ɔbia* à ma maison d'*ɔbia* ». Ils dirent : « Que dis-tu ? ». Il répéta : « Je porte mon pot d'*ɔbia* à ma maison d'*ɔbia*. Gban ! Gban ! Les gens claquèrent les portes de leurs maisons, gban !

Anansi marcha jusqu'à sa maison d'*ɔbia*, ouvrit la porte, il suspendit la poêle à frire dans un coin.

Ce jour-là il ne mangea pas dans la maison de Wénon. Wénon fit cuire des épinards pour lui. Il dit : « Mon ventre est plein ». Il attendit jusqu'à minuit, puis il sortit. Il dit à la poêle à frire : « Poêle, comment êtes-vous belle ainsi ? ». Elle dit : « Je suis belle, mais je ne suis pas belle pour rien ». Il dit : « Montre-moi pour voir ».

Elle se mit à frire pour lui autant de nourriture qu'il put en manger.

(1) Rappelons que dans l'esprit des Noirs Réfugiés, à l'exercice de tout pouvoir magique correspond un *kina* (interdit).

(2) Les Noirs Réfugiés ont l'habitude d'employer le jus de citron pour récurer la vaisselle.

Un de ses enfants appelé Akpwatitikwati dit [à son frère] Asingébélé : « Nous sommes plus malins qu'Anansi. Je vais surveiller mon père jusqu'à le surprendre ». Alors il se mit à le surveiller et le surprit. Il vit et s'écria : « C'est donc ainsi qu'il faisait ».

Anansi dit qu'il allait à la chasse ; alors il s'en fut à la chasse. [Aussitôt] les enfants vinrent ; ils dirent : « Poêle à frire... » ... (mêmes formules).

Elle se mit à frire pour eux. Elle frit jusqu'à... ce qu'ils aillent chercher leurs autres frères et leur mère Wénon. Ils arrivèrent, portant des calebasses et toutes sortes de récipients; camarades, ils y mirent viande, beignets, toutes sortes de nourriture. Ils se chargèrent de toutes ces choses jusqu'à n'en plus pouvoir.

Ils dirent : « Arrête-toi ». Elle s'arrêta, gban ! Camarades, ils montèrent au grenier[1] ; ils soulevèrent les bottes de riz, ils glissèrent tout cela dessous, zou ! Ils cachèrent ces choses pour qu'Anansi ne les vît pas, jusqu'à ce que ce fut fini. Voilà ! Ils allèrent, prirent du citron, prirent une brosse. Ils s'écrièrent : « Nous allons donner une leçon à Anansi aujourd'hui, nous sommes fatigués de l'entendre dire qu'il ne veut pas manger d'épinards, nous allons lui faire voir ! ». Ainsi firent-ils. Ils versèrent le jus de citron, tollo ! Ils frotterent la poêle à frire] avec de la paille de riz[2]. C'est fini ! Ils la suspendirent de nouveau.

Ils s'en allèrent jusqu'à l'heure du dîner. Anansi vint. Wénon avait fait cuire des épinards avec du riz : « Frère Anansi, puisque te voilà déjà, viens prendre de quoi manger ; nous n'avons pas trouvé grand'chose de bon ». Il dit : « Ma sœur, je ne mange pas encore. Mon ventre n'est pas ouvert. Pendant que je marchais en brousse un vent est entré dans mon ventre, il est froid ». Elle dit : « C'est bien ». Il alla manger la nourriture de la poêle à frire ; il marcha jusqu'à ce qu'il y arrivât. Il dit : « Poêle, comment es-tu si belle ? ». Rien ! : « Poêle, comment es-tu si belle ? » Rien, rien !

Il dit : « Qu'est-ce qui est arrivé à ma poêle à frire, qu'elle ne marche plus ? Je sais, c'est Akpwatitikwati qui l'a gâtée. Je vais lui donner une leçon, attendez ! ». Il s'en alla ; il dit : « celle-là est gâtée ; je vais aller en chercher une autre ».

Il vint à la maison. Il ne fit aucune remarque ; il resta tranquille. Il prit les épinards qu'il avait refusés ; avec les épinards il mangea du riz.

Le lendemain il alla en brousse, voloou ! à la découverte, camarades ; Anansi marcha en brousse, chercha... jusqu'à ce qu'il vit trois fouets suspendus. Il dit : « Fouets, comment êtes-vous si beaux ? ». Ils dirent : « Ho ! Nous sommes beaux, mais nous ne sommes pas beaux pour rien ».

Camarades, ils le fouettèrent dans la brousse, viop, viop ! ils fouettèrent Anansi. Il cria : « Vous avez raison, vous avez raison. C'est moi qui suis venu vous ennuyer, vous avez raison ! Pouvez-vous venir avec moi ? ». Les fouets s'arrêtèrent de frapper. Il dit : « S'il vous plaît, je vous demande, j'ai de mauvais enfants dans mon village ; je vous en prie, venez dans ma maison d'*ɔbia* ». Ils dirent : « Par fantaisie, nous irons ». Il les prit. Il arriva à l'orée du village, il cria : « je porte mon pot d'*ɔbia* à la maison ! mon pot d'*ɔbia*

(1) Entendant par là le toit des cases, isolé par un plafond de planches.

(2) Il faut comprendre que c'est par malveillance et non par inadvertance que la femme et les enfants d'Anansi détruisent le pouvoir de la poêle.

de nouveau ! Camarades, de nouveau gban ! gban ! [Ses fils] dirent : « Eh bien, notre père apporte de nouveau la même chose. Nous allons lui faire voir ! ». Anansi ouvrit doucement la porte de la maison d'*ɔbia*, posa les fouets soigneusement. Il dormit jusqu'au lendemain. Il dit : « Je vais à la chasse ». Mais il resta à l'orée de la forêt ; il surveillait les abords de la maison d'*ɔbia*. Quand il eut vu Anansi partir, Akpwatitikwati dit : « Je vais aller chercher mes frères et ma mère ». Camarades, ils étaient atteints de pian[1] ! Ils entrèrent tous ensemble dans la maison d'*ɔbia*. De nouveau : « Fouets, comment êtes-vous si beaux ? ».

(même formule)

Viop ! viop ! Anansi courut, il ferma la porte ; il dit : « Faites pour voir, fouets, frappez donc pour voir ! » viop ! viop !

(Quelqu'un dans l'assistance) « Wénon était dedans ? » — « Wénon était dedans ! » (rires). Les fouets les frappèrent jusqu'à ce que leur peau fût en sang, leurs boutons de pian coupés, que le sang coulât sur eux.

(rires cruels de l'auditoire)

Alors Anansi ouvrit la porte et ils s'enfuirent.

C'est fini.

4) Anansi et la chauve-souris

Anansi cherchait quelqu'un pour aller avec lui à une fête qui avait lieu dans un village voisin... parce que plus on vient nombreux et plus on vous donne à manger. Il demanda à la chauve-souris qui lui dit : « depuis longtemps je ne suis pas allée à une fête. Le jour que tu voudras j'irai ». Le jour qu'ils avaient dit arriva. Ils prirent le chemin ; ils marchèrent jusqu'à ce qu'ils fussent arrivés à proximité du village. Anansi dit : « camarade chauve-souris, vois ce *lebi weko*[2]. Si je me mets à crier : « Mon ventre, mon ventre », viens en couper de l'écorce, fais m'en boire une infusion pour calmer mes douleurs. Mon ventre aime à me jouer de ces tours ». Ils marchèrent encore un peu. La chauve-souris dit : « Je vais m'écarter un moment ». Elle alla à l'écart, puis courut sans bruit jusqu'à l'arbre, coupa un morceau d'écorce, la mit dans son sac et revint.

Ils arrivèrent au village. Les gens avaient mis la table ; une grande table ! Comme ils se préparaient à manger, Anansi gémit : « Mon ventre, mon ventre. S'il te plaît, cette écorce dont je t'ai parlé, va m'en chercher[3] ».

La chauve-souris la tira de son sac : « La voici ». Anansi se dit : « Il y a des gens qu'il ne faut pas mêler à ses affaires ». Ils mangèrent jusqu'à ce qu'ils eurent fini ; ils dansèrent jusqu'à l'aube. Comme ils prenaient congé, les gens leur firent cadeau d'un sac

(1) Maladie cutanée qui atteignait la plupart des enfants chez les Noirs Réfugiés.

(2) *Lebi weko* : bougouni *(Inga alba)* arbre dont l'écorce est employée dans la pharmacopée indigène.

(3) Cette ruse compliquée a pour but d'écarter son camarade pour manger sa part. C'est le thème central de tout un cycle de contes des Noirs Réfugiés.

d'arachides, camarades, un gros sac ; ce n'était pas un sac d'un quintal, mais un sac de deux quintaux.

Anansi dit à la chauve-souris : « Tu n'es pas capable de porter ce sac. C'est moi l'aîné, c'est à moi de le porter. Il le souleva ; il oscilla [sous le poids] mais tint bon quand même. Ils marchèrent. Anansi allait devant, la chauve-souris derrière. La chauve-souris vola, pou, pou, pou ! se laissa tomber sur le chemin et se changea en une fourchette d'or. Anansi arriva. Il dit : « Voici une fourchette d'or, je vais la prendre ». Il allongea la main comme pour la prendre. Il se dit : « Hou ? Il ne faut pas la prendre, c'est la chauve-souris ». Il coupa une baguette et la frappa, gbo ! Il marcha, marcha. La chauve-souris vola devant, pou, pou, pou ! Elle se laissa tomber à terre et se changea en une chaîne en or. Anansi arriva. Il se dit : « Les gens qui sont partis devant ont laissé tomber une chaîne en or. J'ai déjà laissé une fourchette en or, cette chaîne en or, je ne vais pas la laisser ». Il ouvrit le sac d'arachides, il lança la chaîne à l'intérieur. Camarades, la chauve-souris mangea les arachides. Elle mangeait, elle fientait. Anansi était près d'arriver à son village. La chauve-souris prit la dernière graine d'arachide, elle la mangea et fienta. Anansi marcha jusqu'au village sans plus s'occuper de la chauve-souris. Il dit : « Sœur Wénon, j'ai eu de la chance. Moi et la chauve-souris étions là-bas, comment a-t-elle marché, je n'en sais rien. J'ai trouvé un sac d'arachides pour moi et toi. Enfants, entrez à la maison ». Ils entrèrent, fermèrent la porte à clé soigneusement. Il défiçela le sac. La chauve-souris s'échappa, pou, pou, pou ! Il dit : « Ma femme, je suis mort ». Il ouvrit le sac : rien, que des fientes. La chauve-souris volait, pou, pou, pou ! Elle se posa sur la tête de Samasamooyu[1]. Anansi dit : « C'est ainsi que tu m'as ruiné. Je vais t'arranger ». Il prit un bâton, il le brandit aussi fort qu'il put ; il le jeta, gbo ! pour assommer la chauve-souris. La chauve-souris s'envola, pou, pou, pou ! Le bâton frappa l'enfant qui tomba. La chauve-souris se posa sur la tête de Bigimofu. Anansi dit : « Ma mère, je suis mort ; Chauve-souris, je vais te tuer ». Il lui lança le bâton, pou, pou, pou ! La chauve-souris s'envola, l'enfant tomba. La chauve-souris se posa sur la tête de Wénon. Anansi dit : « Ma mère, je suis mort, c'est par ta faute que j'ai tué mes enfants, et maintenant tu te poses sur la tête de ma femme ! » Gbob ! Pou, pou, pou ! Wénon tomba morte. La chauve-souris se posa sur la tête d'Anansi. Anansi dit : « Je vais t'arranger ». Il alla sous le baliki[2] et se frappa la tête]. Gbo ! balau ! [Il tomba], il resta là cabossé comme une vieille touque à pétrole. Il n'en mourut pas. Il se ranima et s'en fut. Ainsi va le conte.

5) Anansi, le roi et le lapin[3]

Il y avait un roi ; il régnait sur un pays. Tous les gens du village du roi avaient l'habitude d'aller se laver à un certain étang. Un jour, le roi alla à cet étang pour se baigner. Camarade, il vit un caca dans l'eau ! « Qui a fait ses besoins là ? » « Je ne sais

(1) Fille d'Anansi.
(2) Poutre horizontale de la charpente.
(3) Le lapin, qui joue dans le folklore des Antilles le rôle du personnage rusé, n'existe pas en Guyane. Ce conte est vraisemblablement la transposition d'un thème antillais.

pas ». Le roi convoqua l'assemblée du peuple. Celui-ci dit : « Ce n'est pas moi ». Celui-là : « Ce n'est pas moi ». Personne n'avait fait ce caca, mais il était là.

Anansi dit au roi : « Grand-man, je découvrirai le coupable ». Le roi dit : « C'est bien ; fais ce que tu sais faire ».

Anansi s'en alla. Il alla couper un arbre ; il fit une belle grande statue, il lui fit des yeux, un nez, une bouche, des seins. Il l'enduisit de glu, puis la plaça au milieu du chemin qui allait à l'étang. La lune ne s'était pas levée.

Camarades, le lapin fit ses besoins dans l'étang, puis il revint à la rive, car c'était lui qui avait fait ce caca dans l'eau. Il prit le chemin, un seau d'eau sur la tête. Il vit une femme arrêtée au milieu du chemin. Il cria : « Ho ! femme ! écarte-toi du chemin, je ne te veux pas [ici] ». Elle resta immobile. Il dit : « Femme ! Je vais te frapper ». Elle resta immobile sans répondre. Il pose le seau à terre, il la frappe gbo ! Kyin kyin ![1], sa main reste collée. Il dit : « Vas-tu me lâcher, je ne te veux pas [ici] ». Il la frappa de l'autre main, gbo ! Kyin kyin ! L'autre main resta collée. Il dit : « Je vais te donner un coup de genou ! ». Il lui donna un coup de genou, kyin kyin ! Le genou resta collé. Il la frappa de l'autre genou, il resta collé aussi. Ainsi le lapin resta immobilisé les pieds en l'air jusqu'au lendemain matin. Anansi vint, il dit : « Lapin, nous nous rencontrons ! depuis qu'on faisait caca dans l'étang, c'était toi. Nous nous rencontrons ! ».

Anansi se rendit auprès du roi ; il dit : « Grand man, j'ai trouvé celui qui souillait l'eau, c'est le lapin ! C'est lui qui faisait caca dans l'eau. Que vais-je faire de lui ? Le roi dit : « Anansi, fais comme tu voudras, car cette eau-là, c'est d'elle que tous les gens de ce pays se servent ».

Anansi dit : « C'est bien ». Il alluma du feu, il fit fondre la poix qui collait le lapin, il fit entrer le lapin dans un sac, zou ! Il ficela le sac, kwa ! Puis il alla chercher une longue tige de fer ; il dit au lapin : « Tu vois cette tige ? Eh bien, je vais la faire chauffer au rouge et te la plonger dans l'anus jusqu'à l'extrémité. Tu ne souilleras plus l'eau du roi ».

Il arriva à son dégrad[2]. Il descendit à terre [laissant le lapin au bord de l'eau]. Le chemin était long du dégrad à sa maison. Camarades, il fit un grand feu, fit chauffer la tige au rouge.

Le lapin parla seul à haute voix, disant : « Quel malheur ! Me voilà joli ! Je n'ai pas de chance ! ». Le jaguar vint à passer ; il dit : « Père lapin, qu'avez-vous ? » — « C'est le roi qui m'a fait prendre, car il veut me forcer à épouser sa fille ; il m'a fait arrêter et ficeler dans un sac pour que je ne puisse pas m'enfuir ».

Le jaguar dit : « Je vais te délivrer et entrer dans le sac à ta place, car moi, c'est cela même que je cherche, pour trouver une belle situation ».

Le lapin dit : « Viens me délivrer ». Il le relâcha, entra dans le sac. Le lapin referma le sac et s'enfuit.

(1) Interjection renforçant le sens d'un verbe exprimant que quelque chose s'est fixé ou immobilisé.
(2) Débarcadère. Il faut comprendre qu'il se déplaça en canot sur une rivière comme les Noirs réfugiés.

Anansi vint, il ne dit plus rien mais chercha à tâtons l'abdomen du lapin. Il lui plongea la tige de fer dans l'anus jusqu'à l'extrémité. Alors le tigre hurla : « hi, hi ! ». Alors Anansi dit : « Frère tigre, je n'ai rien contre toi ; c'est le lapin ! ».

Le tigre dit : « Anansi, je n'ai rien contre toi, mais moi et le lapin sommes ennemis à mort aujourd'hui ». Anansi libéra le jaguar qui courut après le lapin. Il vit le lapin ; il dit : « Lapin, tu m'as brûlé l'intestin, tu m'as trompé, nous nous rencontrons maintenant ! ». Ils coururent, ils coururent jusqu'à... ce que le lapin s'échappât. Pas moyen de rattraper le lapin ! Le lapin vit un agouti mort depuis toute une semaine, tout gonflé et puant. Il se glissa dans son ventre. Il se mit à gémir. Le jaguar arrivait ; il s'arrêta et dit : « Frère agouti, bonjour ! ». Il répondit : « Comment allez-vous ? » — « Cela va un peu »[1]. Le jaguar dit : « Grand frère, que vous est-il arrivé ? ». Il dit : « Le lapin et moi, nous nous sommes battus, il m'a donné un seul coup, et me voici étendu mort ... c'est cela qu'il m'a fait ».

Le jaguar reprit sa course. Il vit le lapin devant lui, il dit : « Aujourd'hui nous nous rencontrons ». Ils coururent jusqu'à... ce que le lapin s'échappât. Il vit le cadavre d'un daim, mort depuis une semaine, gonflé et puant. Il se glissa dedans. Le jaguar courut jusqu'à ce qu'il arrivât là. Il dit : « Frère daim, que vous est-il arrivé ? ». Il répondit : « Le lapin et moi nous nous sommes querellés, nous nous sommes battus, alors il m'a donné un seul coup et me voici étendu mort ».

Le jaguar dit : « [J'abandonne]. Moi et le lapin, c'est fini jusqu'à la fin du monde ».

6) Anansi et la Mort

[Un jour] Anansi alla à la chasse. Il marcha jusqu'à ce qu'il débouchât dans une grande clairière. Il avança jusqu'à ce qu'il rencontrât un homme. Il salua, lui dit : « Bonjour, frère ! ». Pas de réponse ! — « Bonjour, frère ! » Rien ; pas de réponse ! Il lui dit : « Heu ! frère ! c'est de la viande que vous avez là ? » Pas de réponse ! Il lui dit : « Puisque vous ne me répondez pas, [c'est comme si] vous disiez de me servir ». Camarades, Anansi s'approcha de la marmite et il mangea, mangea jusqu'à ce que son ventre fût plein. Il dit : « Bien que vous ne me répondiez pas, nous sommes beau-père et gendre. Demain je vous conduirai une de mes filles ». Pas de réponse : « Puisqu'il ne dit rien, c'est qu'il est d'accord ». Il alla, alla jusqu'à ce qu'il arrivât à la maison. Il avait fait un « atouri »[2] et pris autant de viande qu'il avait pu emporter. Le lendemain il dit à sa femme Wénon : « J'ai trouvé un endroit, un bon endroit pour la chasse. J'ai trouvé un mari pour notre fille ; c'est lui qui m'a donné tout cela ». Wénon dit : « C'est bien ».

Le jour suivant avant l'aube, il alla vers sa fille, lui dit : « Prends ton panier à ouvrage ». Elle prépara ses affaires ; ils marchèrent, ils marchèrent jusqu'à ce qu'ils

1. Formules de salutations habituelles des Noirs Réfugiés.
2. Hotte.

arrivèrent. Il dit : « Gendre, bonjour ! ». Rien. Il dit [à sa fille] : « Tu vois comme il ne répond pas, c'est ainsi qu'il est ; voici ton mari ».

Il alla à la marmite. Il mangea jusqu'à ce que son ventre fût plein. Il coupa des feuilles de palmier, tressa un catouri, chargea de la viande autant qu'il en put tenir. Il dit : « Gendre, je m'en vais, demeurez ici avec votre femme ». Il chargea le catouri et s'en alla. La jeune fille vit un tracé bien propre allant à une crique. Elle prit la vaisselle sale dans laquelle son père avait mangé, elle s'engagea sur le chemin. Kwakpwala ! La trappe se déclencha ; c'est là que la Mort [car cet homme inconnu, c'était la Mort] avait mis sa trappe.

La Mort se leva, se précipita armée de sa massue, la frappa, gbo ! Elle traîna son corps jusqu'à la maison, la dépeça, la mit dans la marmite et la fit cuire. La jeune fille avait deux bagues à son doigt comme vous voyez que j'ai moi-même (le conteur montre sa main).

Le lendemain avant l'aube, Anansi revint : « Gendre, bonjour ! ». Pas de réponse ! — « Comment va votre femme ? » Pas de réponse. — « Je sais, elle est allée à la crique, laver de la vaisselle sale ; c'est bien ». Il mit la marmite à terre, et se mit à manger. Il mangea jusqu'à ce que son ventre fût plein. Il faisait tourner la marmite, cherchant les meilleurs morceaux, quand soudain, fang ! il vit les bagues. Il dit : « Ma mère ! je suis mort ; on a tué ma fille ». Il saisit une forte massue qui se trouvait là, puis il frappa la Mort sur le tibia, bom ! La Mort se précipita ; il s'enfuit ; ils coururent jusqu'à ce qu'ils arrivèrent à proximité du village. Alors il cria : « Montez en l'air [en haut d'un arbre] ! Wénon, Asingébélé, Akpwatitikwati, Bigimofu, montez en l'air. — « Que dis-tu, faut-il que nous t'apportions la grosse marmite ? »[1] — « Imbécile ! Toutes ces viandes que nous avons mangées, ce n'est pas moi qui les ai tuées ; celui qui les avait tuées me court après ». Ils montèrent [en haut d'un arbre]. Anansi sauta, grimpa jusqu'en haut de l'arbre. La Mort arrivait ; elle s'assit en bas de l'arbre. Ils restèrent là quelque temps. Asingébélé dit : « Père, mon bras n'en peut plus ». Anansi lui dit : « Regarde le beau-frère en bas, va donc ! »[2]. Il se laissa tomber. La Mort l'assomma gbo ! et le jeta de côté. Ils demeurèrent encore un certain temps, puis Akpwatitikwati dit : « Mon père, je n'en peux plus ». Anansi lui dit : « Toutes ces viandes que nous avons mangées, c'est lui qui les avait tuées ; regarde le beau-frère en bas ; va donc ! Il se laissa tomber. La Mort l'assomma puis le jeta de côté.

(Même scène ; le dernier enfant d'Anansi, puis sa femme Wenon, se laissent tomber à leur tour. Anansi reste seul en haut de l'arbre).

...Anansi restait. Il résista, résista jusqu'à ... ce qu'il dit : « Gendre, vous savez ce que vous devez faire. J'ai beaucoup mangé de votre viande, je suis gras. Allez chercher des feuilles de bananier et beaucoup de cendre, pour que quand je tomberai, mon corps n'éclate pas et ma graisse ne soit pas perdue. Si je tombe sur la terre nue mon corps

(1) Jeu de mots. Wenon comprend *pantu*, marmite, à la place de *o tapu*, en l'air.
(2) Anansi ne cherche pas à sauver sa vie en sacrifiant ses enfants, il leur dit seulement de se résigner à l'inévitable.

éclatera. La Mort se leva, vou ! coupa des feuilles de bananier, ramassa de la cendre comme elle put.

« Regardez bien l'endroit où je vais tomber, j'arrive. » La Mort regarda le tas de cendres ! plaou ! Anansi tomba en plein au milieu [la cendre jaillit de toutes parts]. Le temps que la Mort s'essuyât les yeux, Anansi s'était enfui.

C'est ainsi qu'Anansi vint porter la Mort parmi nous. Auparavant la Mort restait en brousse ; elle tuait des animaux, mais non des hommes. C'est à cause d'Anansi qu'elle vint séparer et tuer les hommes.

7) Anansi, Buchi Mama et Wata Mama[1]

Anansi, un jour alla en brousse. Il alla voir la Maman-la brousse. Il lui dit : « Maman-la brousse, voulez-vous lutter à la corde raide avec moi ? » La Maman-la brousse lui dit : « Quoi ? M'avez-vous regardée ? Forte comme je suis, vous prétendez lutter à la corde raide contre moi ? » Il dit : « Maman-la brousse, vous mentez, vous n'êtes pas capable de me vaincre. Je suis sûr de vous tirer jusqu'au village pas à pas pour que les gens vous voient. » Elle répondit : « c'est moi qui vous traînerai jusqu'à la brousse. » Ils discutèrent jusqu'à l'injure, et parièrent. Ils convinrent de fixer l'épreuve au dimanche ; elle devrait tirer l'extrémité d'une corde sortant du village. Elle dit : « C'est bien » — « je m'enorgueillis de mes ancêtres, Maman-la brousse. Vous ne me traînerez pas en brousse, c'est moi qui vous traînerai jusqu'à l'intérieur du village. »

Puis il revint au village et alla jusqu'à la rivière. Il se jeta à l'eau, dyou ! il alla jusqu'à la Maman-di-l'eau. Il lui dit : « Voulez-vous lutter à la corde raide contre moi ? La Maman-di-l'eau répondit : « C'est moi qui vous tirerai jusqu'à la rivière. » Anansi dit : « Je suis sûr de vous tirer à terre, pour que les gens voient comment vous êtes faite. » Ils parièrent de nouveau et fixèrent le jour de l'épreuve au dimanche. Il dit : « C'est bien, le jour dit je viendrai dans l'eau vous tendre l'extrémité d'une corde. » La Maman-di-l'eau dit : « C'est bien. Je vais rester là pour prendre le bout de la corde. » « Nous allons voir qui est homme et qui ne l'est pas. »

Il rentra à son village. Le samedi après-midi il installa une clôture *lyifuygu*[2] autour du village, jusqu'à la rivière et jusqu'à la brousse derrière le village. Il nettoya le village complètement. Il coupa une longue et forte corde, il alla en glisser une extrémité dans la rivière, il alla placer l'autre dans la brousse.

Le dimanche, la Maman-la brousse et la Maman-di-l'eau vinrent et tirèrent chacune sur une extrémité de la corde. Anansi lui-même ne tirait pas mais chacune pensait : « C'est Anansi ». La *gila* de Anansi vint dans sa tête, il se mit à chanter et danser.

(Le conteur chante une suite d'onomatopées, reprises en chœur par l'assistance.)

(1) Divinités maléfiques de la brousse et de l'eau, auxquelles on ne rend pas de culte.

(2) Clôture complète faite de feuilles de palmier piaut enfilées sur une corde, à laquelle est attribuée le pouvoir d'arrêter les mauvaises influences. Après la pose de la clôture on purifie le village en le nettoyant complètement.

Les deux divinités luttèrent à la corde. La Maman-di-l'eau fut traînée au milieu du village pas à pas, pata, pata, pata ! Anansi sauta en l'air, fit toutes sortes de fantaisies. Puis la Maman-la-brousse fut traînée au milieu du village, avec des roches sur son corps. Ainsi tous les hommes purent voir leurs visages.

Alors la Maman-la-brousse partit à reculons vers la forêt, la Maman-di-l'eau se jeta à l'eau, djou ! C'est cela que fit Anansi. Depuis, ces divinités n'ont plus jamais laissé voir leur visage par les hommes. La Maman-la-brousse resta en brousse, la Maman-di-l'eau resta dans l'eau ; elles firent du mal aux hommes. J'ai fini, gbolon !

8) Anansi et le bateau a vapeur

Il y avait un roi ; il avait une fille. Il l'éleva jusqu'à ce qu'elle devînt une grande jeune fille. Camarades, elle était jolie. Les hommes jusqu'au dernier la voulaient pour femme. Mais à tous ses prétendants elle disait : « Je serai à celui qui apportera un bateau à vapeur à mon père. » En ce temps-là les hommes ne connaissaient pas les bateaux à vapeur ; il n'y en avait pas au pays des Blancs, puisque le pays des Blancs n'existait pas. Comment connaître le bateau à vapeur ? Tous les gens de ce pays, tous les animaux la demandaient. A tous elle répondait : « Puisque j'ai dit qu'il fallait un bateau à vapeur, si vous n'êtes pas capable de le trouver, laissez ! » Anansi dit : « Moi, j'aurai cette femme, moi Anansi. » Il alla vers elle, il dit : « Sœur, grand merci, venez ! » La jeune fille accourut à la porte. Il lui fit une cour assidue. Elle lui dit : « Anansi, vous aussi vous savez ce que j'ai demandé : un bateau à vapeur pour mon père. Apportez-le et je serai votre femme. » Il dit : « Quoi ? C'est pour un bateau à vapeur que vous êtes en peine ? C'est une petite affaire pour moi. Je vais vous trouvez cela bien vite. Demain, demandez à votre père de me donnez un grain de maïs. » Le lendemain, Anansi arriva et dit : « Donnez-moi donc [le grain de maïs]. » Elle prit un épi de maïs entier ; il dit : « Je ne veux pas l'épi entier, mais une seule graine ; avec cette graine, j'achèterai le bateau à vapeur. » Il sauta dans son canot, il dit : « Je m'en vais. » Il pagaya, descendant la rivière, jusqu'à ce qu'il arrivât à un village. Les gens lui crièrent de la rive : « Oncle Anansi, venez à terre ! » Il dit : « Je ne peux pas venir, je porte une lettre du roi. » En ce temps-là Anansi avait du succès. Les gens lui dirent : « Venez donc, nous allons la mettre en lieu sûr. » Il dit : « Me voici déjà, pourquoi m'avez-vous appelé ? » Les gens dirent : « Venez avec nous, frère, nous avons faim de vous ». Il dit [aux femmes] : « Bien, mes sœurs. » Elles préparèrent la nourriture. Les gens dirent : « Où est la lettre du roi ? » Il dit : « C'est cette graine de maïs-là. » Ils la prirent et la mirent en lieu sûr. Il veilla jusqu'à ce qu'ils fussent endormis, il ouvrit doucement, il alla prendre le grain de maïs. Il alla jusqu'à un poulailler, il le jeta aux volailles qui le picorèrent : maïs et volailles ne vont pas ensemble.

Il dormit jusqu'au matin. Il dit : « Bachia[1] s'il vous plaît, donnez-moi la lettre. » Le bachia alla chercher le grain de maïs. Rien ! Il dit : « Ho, ho, Anansi, nous l'avons perdu ; nous allons vous en donnez un autre. » Il dit : « Ce n'est pas un autre que je veux,

(1) Adjoint au chef du village.

car je passais mon chemin sur la rivière, c'est vous qui m'avez appelé sans raison ; donnez-moi un coq. Si vous ne me donnez pas de coq, nous allons combattre à mort dans ce village. » Ils prirent un coq et lui donnèrent.

Il embarqua dans son canot. Il pagaya jusqu'au soir, jusqu'à ce qu'il passât devant un village. Les gens lui crièrent de la rive : « Oncle Anansi, venez à terre, venez à terre. » Il dit : « Je ne peux pas venir, je porte une lettre du roi. » Ils dirent : « Venez donc, nous allons la mettre en lieu sûr. » Il accosta, il dit : « Pourquoi m'avez-vous appelé ? » Les gens dirent : « C'est parce qu'il y a longtemps que nous ne vous avons pas vu. » Il dit : « C'est bien » — « Où est la lettre ? » — « C'est ce coq ».

Ils prirent le coq, ils l'enfermèrent dans un panier. Ils mirent la table et lui servirent un bon repas. Il mangea jusqu'à ce que ce fût fini. Il déballa ses affaires ; il dormit jusqu'à minuit. Il ouvrit, il alla jusqu'au coq, le prit et le jeta dans un parc à cochons, vo ! Les cochons le mangèrent, gwili-gwolo ! Il dormit jusqu'au lendemain. Il dit : « Bachia, s'il vous plaît, donnez-moi ma lettre ». Le bachia alla chercher le coq. Rien ! Il ne le vit pas. Il dit : « Nous allons vous en donner un autre ». Anansi répondit : « Cela ne fait pas mon affaire, car je passais sur la rivière, c'est vous qui m'avez appelé et attiré à terre sans raison ; donnez-moi un cochon. Si vous ne me donnez pas un cochon aujourd'hui, je vais vous tuer dans ce village ». Ils prirent un cochon et le mirent dans son canot.

Il pagaya, pagaya jusqu'à... ce qu'il arrivât à un village.

(Par le même procédé, Anansi change son cochon contre un bœuf.)

Il était environ 10 heures du soir. Il passa devant un village où un enfant était mort, le petit d'une mère était mort, les gens faisaient le cercueil. Le camarade passa. Les gens crièrent : « Oncle Anansi, venez à terre, venez à terre. Quelqu'un est mort ici ; venez nous aider ». Il dit : « Je ne peux pas, je porte une lettre du roi ». Ils dirent : « Nous allons la mettre en lieu sûr ». Il arriva. Ils prirent le bœuf, ils l'attachèrent à une branche. Ils mirent la table pour lui. La mort était dans ce village ; ils mirent le corps dans le cercueil. Ils dansèrent jusqu'à... la nuit.

Pendant la nuit il se leva et alla détacher le bœuf qui s'échappa dans la brousse.

Le lendemain il dit au bachia : « Bachia, s'il vous plaît, allez chercher mon bœuf ». Le bachia le chercha en vain. Il dit : « Anansi, le bœuf s'est échappé dans la brousse ». Nous allons vous en donner un autre. — « Cela ne fait pas mon affaire, dit Anansi ; je passais sur la rivière et vous m'avez appelé sans raison. Donnez-moi l'enfant mort ».

Ils dirent : « Oncle Anansi, nous ne pouvons te le donner, il est déjà dans le cercueil ». « Laissons-en », dit Anansi, « vous me cherchez querelle. » Le bachia alla dire à la mère de l'enfant mort qu'un malheur était arrivé[1]. Elle accepta. Ils brisèrent le cercueil et donnèrent le corps à Anansi. Il le mit à l'avant du canot et pagaya jusqu'à ce qu'il arrivât à une grande boucle de la rivière. Une fois hors de la vue des gens du village, il

[1] Il est à remarquer que ce n'est pas au chef du lignage qu'on demande l'autorisation de disposer du corps, mais à la mère seule.

fit une petite pagaie. Il alla au banc avant du canot, il y fixa l'enfant mort avec de la glu. Il mit le corps en position assise, comme s'il était vivant, il lui fixa la pagaie à la main.

Il pagaya jusqu'à ce qu'il entendît quelque chose comme le bruit d'un bateau. Il se dit : « Ecoutons, mettons-nous debout, peut-être qu'un bateau vient ». Il plaça le canot au plus fort du courant, il pagaya fort, debout à l'arrière. Il entendit mieux, il dit : « C'est un navire ». Il cria : « Ah, ah ! aujourd'hui je te rencontre, toi que je cherchais depuis si longtemps ». Il vit clairement que c'était un navire. Camarades, il pagaya dans le courant ; le bateau l'évita. Anansi pagaya vers lui, pagaya jusque... gbo ! [collision] le canot coula. Anansi dans l'eau, cria : « Vous avez noyé l'enfant du roi, rendez-moi, rendez-moi vite l'enfant du roi, sinon, Blancs, qui êtes dans ce navire, vous et moi nous allons mourir ![1] » Ils stoppèrent le bateau. Ils hissèrent Anansi à bord. Ils repêchèrent le canot, mais ne trouvèrent pas l'enfant mort.

Les Blancs lui dirent : « Nous ne retrouvons pas l'enfant du roi. Que faut-il faire pour que cette affaire soit finie ? » Il dit : « Donnez-moi le bateau ». Ils acceptèrent.

Il remonta la rivière avec le bateau. Il arriva à l'appontement du village du roi. Anansi tira le canon. A terre, on tira le canon aussi. Anansi fut reçu triomphalement, la fille du roi lui passa une bague au doigt et ils s'unirent. C'est ainsi que le roi eût un bateau à vapeur.

9) Pikinbaya[2]

Il y avait une femme ; elle eût un enfant qu'elle appela Pikinbaya[3]. Un jour elle lui donna de la nourriture à porter au marché pour vendre, des bananes et ignames. Il la vendit entièrement et en obtint 2 sous ; il prit les deux sous et acheta une petite couleuvre[4]. Il revint à la maison, on lui demanda : « où est l'argent ? » Il dit : « C'est cela que j'ai acheté, une petite couleuvre ».

Ils le fouettèrent jusqu'à ce qu'il fût presque mort. Il alla en brousse, jusqu'à ce qu'il trouvât un endroit ; il creusa un beau trou rond. Il le remplit d'eau et y mit la couleuvre. Il lui donna de petits poissons.

Le lendemain il prit la nourriture de nouveau. Il marcha, marcha jusqu'à ce qu'il arrivât au marché. Camarades, de nouveau il vendit entièrement la nourriture. Il vit une femme à l'entrée du marché avec des perroquets. Il lui dit : « Femme, combien vendez-vous un perroquet ? » Elle dit : « Je le vends un sou ». Il dit : « Donnez-moi celui-ci ». Il prit le perroquet. Il vit une autre femme qui avait des rats. Il dit : « Femme, combien vendez-vous un rat ? » Elle dit : « Je le vends un sou ». Il acheta le rat.

Il s'en retourna à la maison.

On lui demanda : « Où est l'argent ? » Il dit : « C'est cela que j'ai acheté, un perroquet

(1) Contradiction évidente avec le début du conte où il est dit qu'en ce temps-là le pays des Blancs n'existait pas. Mais aucun des auditeurs ne paraît s'en soucier.
(2) Ce conte est un thème des Noirs créoles de Paramaribo.
(3) Le nom signifie « petit camarade ».
(4) *Mbanu* (« couleuvre » des créoles), est le grand serpent d'eau anaconda.

et un rat ». Camarades ! Ils prirent le garçon, ils le frappèrent jusqu'à ce qu'il fût presque mort.

Sa mère dit à son père : « Tout ce qui arrive là est de ta faute. Il ne faut plus lui donner de la nourriture à vendre. »

Le lendemain, ils ne lui en donnèrent plus. Pikinbaya resta tranquille et s'occupa de sa couleuvre jusqu'à ce que la couleuvre lui dit : « J'ai chaud, je veux aller dans un ruisseau. » Il la souleva, la mit sur son cou. Il la porta jusqu'au ruisseau où il la posa. Puis il revint au village.

Il chassa [pour nourrir la couleuvre], attrapa pour elles de petits poissons. Un jour la couleuvre [qui avait grossi] lui dit : « Pikinbaya, je ne veux plus rester dans ce ruisseau. Mène-moi jusqu'à une grande rivière. » La couleuvre descendit le ruisseau, Pikinbaya marchant le long de la rive. Ils descendirent jusqu'à... ce qu'ils fussent arrivés à une grande crique. La couleuvre resta là. Le garçon s'en alla mais revint [régulièrement] voir la couleuvre. Il chassait pour elle et lui portait de la viande. La couleuvre grossit ! Elle devint adulte. Un jour qu'il était venu la voir, elle lui dit : « Pikinbaya ! Je veux aller au fleuve, je veux me nourrir de poissons comme les autres couleuvres. » Elle descendit le courant. Pikinbaya marchait le long de la rive jusqu'à... ce qu'ils fussent arrivés dans le fleuve. La couleuvre dit : « eh bien, Pikinbaya, je m'en vais. »

Suit un passage confus et fastidieux. Elle emmène Pikinbaya au village des couleuvres et lui remet un talisman contenu dans un pot, qui lui assurera chance et prospérité.

Pikinbaya resta là jusqu'à ce que ... il comprit qu'elle ne reviendrait plus. Il prit le chemin, marcha, marcha jusqu'à ce qu'il arrivât à son village. Sa famille était dans la misère. Ils n'avaient même plus de sel pour manger. Le garçon arriva. Il suspendit le pot à un pommier cajou.

Aussitôt le village de Pikinbaya devint prospère.)

Camarades ! Paris même n'était pas si riche que lui. Les grands navires accostèrent au village de Pikinbaya.

Or, ce pays était gouverné par un roi qui était très riche ; il se dit : « Cela me stupéfie, Pikinbaya est plus riche que moi. Tous mes ouvriers me quittent pour aller chez lui. Il paie jusqu'à 10 florins par jour[1]. Je vais envoyer ma fille aînée découvrir ce qui enrichit Pikinbaya ainsi et me le dire. » Il prit sa fille aînée, la mit sur un bateau, sur un grand bateau. Le bateau quitta le débarcadère du village du roi, il marcha jusqu'à... ce qu'il arrivât au débarcadère du village de Pikinbaya, un très grand débarcadère. Le canon tonna en son honneur ! Pikinbaya vint dans une grande automobile et prit la jeune fille par le petit doigt : elle monta dans la voiture qui marcha jusqu'à l'intérieur du parc. Ils entrèrent dans la maison. Ils restèrent là jusqu'à ce que toute une semaine se fût

(1) Les Noirs Réfugiés ne parviennent pas à se représenter un roi autrement que comme un patron payant ses ouvriers.

écoulée. Alors elle dit : « Pikinbaya » — ils étaient étendus sur le lit[1] — « je vais m'en aller ». Il dit : « Bon, cela va ! » Elle dit : « Pikinbaya, qu'est-ce qui vous enrichit ainsi ? » Il dit : « Vous voulez le savoir ? » C'est un pot que j'ai à la tête de mon lit. » Elle prit le pot, l'enferma dans une cantine de fer, la chargea dans la voiture et le bateau quitta le débarcadère.

(Aussitôt la misère s'abattit sur le village.)

Camarades, le village de Pikinbaya devint plus sale que Boniville (rires de l'auditoire, car Boniville est un village mal tenu), plus envahi par la brousse que Puu Mofu[2]. Pikinbaya n'avait plus pour vêtement qu'un vieux sac de riz, car c'était ce pot qui enrichissait le village.

Le perroquet dit : « J'irais bien rechercher le pot, mais je n'ai pas de dents. » Le rat dit : « Si j'avais eu des ailes, j'aurais été chercher le pot. » Le perroquet lui dit : « Viens sur mon dos ». Il sauta sur le dos du perroquet. Il vola, vola... jusqu'à ... ce qu'il se posât sur le grand mât du bateau, kpwala ! Le rat atteignit la cantine. Il la rongea, kwokwo ! la creva, prit le pot, pa ! Au moment où les gens commençaient à remarquer la présence du perroquet, il s'envola, vola, jusqu'au... village de Pikinbaya.

Voilà Pikinbaya riche de nouveau.

La fille aînée du roi arriva au village de son père. Le roi vint avec son automobile chercher sa fille et la malle. Ils arrivèrent au palais, il ouvrit la malle : rien ! Il dit : « Cela me stupéfie. Mais il faut que je trouve ce pot qui enrichit Pikinbaya, il faut que je sache où il est. » Le roi avait trois filles. Il dit : « Je vais lui envoyer la seconde ; elle parviendra à trouver cet objet ».

(La même scène se renouvelle. La fille parvint à saisir le pot qu'elle met dans une cassette de fer, enfermée dans une cantine de fer. Le perroquet et le rat vont le reconquérir, mais le rat brise une de ses incisives.)

En arrivant, le perroquet dit : « Pikinbaya, si tu laisses encore une femme te prendre ce pot, je n'irai plus le rechercher. Mes yeux sont irrités par le vent de la mer. » Le rat dit : « Regarde mes incisives, j'en avais quatre, une est cassée, restent trois. Si tu laisses encore une femme te prendre ce pot, tu resteras dans la misère jusqu'à la fin de tes jours, je n'irai plus. »

La seconde fille du roi arriva au village de son père. Le roi dit : « Cela me stupéfie. Je vais lui envoyer ma dernière fille, il faut absolument que je trouve cet objet. »

Une semaine après il embarqua sa fille cadette sur un bateau, munie de trois malles en fer emboîtées l'une dans l'autre.

(1) Il est à peine besoin d'insister sur l'image que les Noirs Réfugiés se font de la femme, telle que ce conte la reflète : que la fille du roi accepte de se donner sur-le-champ à un homme qu'elle n'a jamais vu, cela ne pose aucun problème. Le conteur, si prolixe par ailleurs, n'accorde pas une phrase à la description de la femme et à ses amours avec Pikinbaya.

(2) Village abandonné et envahi par la brousse au sud de Boniville.

Pikinbaya vint avec son automobile la recevoir à l'embarcadère et la conduisit à sa maison. Ils y restèrent une semaine. Elle dit : « Maintenant je vais m'en aller. » Pikinbaya lui dit : « Vous voulez partir ? » Elle dit : « Qu'est-ce qui vous enrichit ainsi ? » Il répondit : « Vous voulez le savoir ce qui m'enrichit ? » Il prit un pistolet et la tua net. (4tires de l'auditoire). Il embauma le corps avec du camphre. Il le prit, le mit dans la première malle, la première dans la seconde. Il fixa un papier sur la malle, disant « Ce que la fille était venue chercher, elle l'a trouvé. »

La semaine suivante, la bateau revint au village du roi. Le roi ouvrit la première malle, kpwa ! La deuxième malle, kpwa ! Il ouvrit la dernière malle et vit le cadavre de sa fille avec le ventre ouvert.

Alors le roi dit : « Je suis mort ». Il prit un pistolet et se tua.

10) Anansi et la jolie femme (résumé)

Il y avait une femme très jolie et très désirée. Elle disait à tous ses prétendants : « Je serai à vous si vous vous engagez, quand je serai morte, à être enterré vivant avec moi, sous mon cercueil. » Personne ne voulait prendre cet engagement. Anansi, qui désirait cette femme, vint à elle et dit : « Je prends cet engagement, mais je pose une condition, moi aussi : Quand j'ai quitté un village, je ne peux plus y retourner. » La femme accepta et ils vécurent ensemble.

Un jour la femme mourut. On rappela à Anansi l'engagement qu'il avait pris. Les voilà partis au cimetière, le cercueil devant, Anansi derrière, puis les gens du village. Anansi se coucha au fond de la fosse et on descendit le cercueil.

Anansi cria : « Vous m'écrasez, vous me faites mal, enlevez ce cercueil. » Surpris, les gens soulevèrent le cercueil. Alors Anansi rappela la condition qu'il avait posée : « Quand j'ai quitté un village, je ne peux plus y revenir. » (Il faut entendre qu'il venait de quitter le village des morts.)

Il sauta sur le bord de la fosse et s'enfuit.

11) Anansi et l'homme inconnu (résumé)

Un jour Anansi travaillait à sabrer son abattis. Il entendit une voix dans un abattis voisin, qui criait : « Qui est là ? » Il dit : « C'est moi, Anansi. » La voix reprit : « Veux-tu que j'aille t'aider » Il dit « Oui ! » Il vit venir un homme qu'il ne connaissait pas. L'homme se mit à sabrer l'abattis avec lui.

Ils travaillèrent ainsi quelque temps. Puis l'homme dit : « Il est temps de nous arrêter pour manger » – « Que mangerons-nous ? » dit Anansi. L'homme répondit : « Je ne connais qu'une nourriture : la bataille. Je vais lutter avec toi. »

(Il faut entendre que c'était un mauvais génie qui avait pris l'apparence d'un homme.)

L'homme lutta avec Ananzi et comme il était beaucoup plus fort, il le jeta à terre et le maîtrisa. Puis, faisant rougir au feu une tige de fer qui se trouvait là, il la lui enfonça dans l'anus. Puis il s'en alla.

Ananzi hurla de douleur et pleura longtemps. Puis il se leva péniblement et se traîna jusqu'à sa maison.

Il dit à sa femme Wénon : « Je suis fatigué d'avoir sabré l'abattis toute la journée. Demain, c'est toi qui iras continuer le travail. »

Le lendemain, Wénon sabrait l'abattis quand elle entendit une voix qui disait : « Qui est là ? » Elle dit : « C'est moi Wénon. » La voix reprit : « Veux-tu que j'aille t'aider ? » Elle dit : « Oui ». Elle vit venir un homme qu'elle ne connaissait pas. L'homme se mit à sabrer l'abattis avec elle. Ils travaillèrent ainsi quelque temps. Puis l'homme dit : « Il est temps de nous arrêter pour manger. » — « Que mangerons-nous, dit Wénon. » L'homme répondit : « je ne connais qu'une nourriture, la bataille, je vais lutter avec toi. »

Wénon cria : « Mais je suis une femme, je ne peux pas lutter. »

L'homme répondit : « Femme ou homme, c'est la même chose pour moi ; je veux la bataille. » Il renversa Wénon et la maîtrisa. Puis faisant chauffer au feu la tige de fer il la lui enfonça dans l'anus.

Wénon hurla de douleur et pleura longtemps. Puis elle se leva péniblement et se traîna jusqu'à sa maison.

12) Le frère, la sœur et le roi (résumé)

Il y avait un frère et une sœur. Ils étaient dans la plus grande pauvreté. Ils parcoururent le pays, cherchant du travail, jusqu'à ce qu'ils arrivent chez le roi. Le roi leur dit : « Vous cherchez de quoi vivre ; je désire voir un petit éléphant, je n'ai jamais pu encore en voir un. Trouvez-en un et apportez-le moi, je vous récompenserai ».

Alors le frère dit à la sœur : « Je vais te couvrir d'étoffe, te cacher la tête, t'attacher une corde à la taille. »

Ainsi fit-il et ils allèrent sur le chemin jusqu'à la maison du roi.

Elle tourna le dos au roi et tandis que son frère la tenait au bout d'une corde, dansa, ainsi que je vais vous le montrer.

(Le conteur exécute une danse burlesque, courbé en deux, le dos tourné à l'assistance qui s'esclaffe.)

Alors le roi dit : « Je n'ai pas besoin de voir le devant de l'éléphant, il est trop laid. »

13) Anansi et la perdrix toclo (résumé)

La perdrix toclo avait fait un grand abattis. Comme elle s'y rendait en volant, elle n'avait pas fait de chemin pour s'y rendre. Un jour Anansi passa par là, il vit cet abattis au milieu de la forêt déserte, sans aucun chemin pour s'y rendre. Il dit « C'est Dieu qui a fait cet abattis pour moi » et il traça un large chemin de l'abattis jusqu'à sa maison. La perdrix survint et lui dit: « C'est moi qui ai fait cet abattis ». Anansi lui dit : « Je ne vous crois pas ; si c'était vous qui aviez fait cet abattis, il y aurait un chemin ».

Ils allèrent plaider devant le grand man. Anansi eut gain de cause.

La perdrix décida de se venger. A quelque temps de là, elle annonça que sa mère était morte, et invita les habitants de la forêt à danser pour le deuil. Ils s'y rendirent en foule.

La perdrix avait fait monter sa mère dans un arbre. Elle fit semblant d'invoquer son esprit en disant : « Ma mère qui es au pays de Dieu, fais quelque chose pour moi, car je suis dans la misère. Procure-moi du tafia et des vivres pour l'assistance. »

Elle étendit la main et sa mère mit dedans une bouteille de tafia qu'elle montra aux assistants. Puis des vivres, et tout ce qu'il fallut pour régaler les danseurs.

Anansi vit cela, et quand il rentra chez lui il dit à sa mère Bobilanga : « La mère de la perdrix, qui est au ciel, lui procure tout ce qu'il lui faut, et toi qui es là, tu ne me sers à rien, tu ne fais que manger mes vivres. » Il prit un bâton et frappa sa mère, qui tomba morte.

Il convoqua les gens du voisinage pour danser le *broko de*. Il invoqua l'esprit de sa mère comme il avait vu la perdrix faire. Rien ! Il ne vit rien venir. Les gens pensèrent qu'il se moquait d'eux. Ils se jetèrent sur lui et le frappèrent. Ainsi Anansi tua sa mère pour rien.

14) Anansi et la tortue (résumé)

Un jour Anansi convoqua les animaux de la forêt à un festin. Il avait mis les plats sur une table élevée. La tortue seule, ne put y monter. Anansi la laissa à terre ; elle partit furieuse.

A quelque temps de là, la tortue annonça qu'elle invitait les animaux de la forêt à un festin. Ils vinrent en foule. Elle avait placé la table au fond de l'eau. Seul Anansi ne pouvait y accéder, car les araignées flottent sur l'eau[1].

Anansi plaça dans son calimbé une grosse pierre pour s'alourdir, et il parvint jusqu'à la table. La tortue qui avait vu son manège dit aux animaux rassemblés : « Avant de manger, défaisons nos ceintures pour être plus à l'aise ».

Anansi oubliant la pierre, défit sa ceinture. La pierre tomba, et il se retrouva flottant à la surface de l'eau.

[1] C'est la seule allusion faite dans toute cette série de contes à Anansi en temps qu'araignée.

GDO (proverbes, énigmes)

ÉNIGMES.

— J'ai fait un prisonnier. Si je ne peux lui lier les mains derrière le dos, je ne peux le ramener à la maison.

(C'est un lézard iguane ; on a l'habitude de leur attacher les pattes au-dessus de la tête pour les immobiliser.)

— Une crique, il n'y a dedans qu'un seul aïmara[1] ;
(C'est la bouche, avec la langue.)

— J'ai un village, il y a dedans des gens tout blancs ;
(C'est la bouche, avec les dents.)

— J'élève un petit chien, il a sa queue à l'intérieur du ventre ;
(C'est le cramanioc, dont le tubercule a une fibre dure dans l'axe.)

— J'ai une marmite, dessus elle cuit, dessous elle ne cuit pas ;
(C'est une pipe.)

— Un trou dans un trou, la fantaisie sort du trou ;
(C'est une flûte.)

— Un poteau qui fait une maison ;
(C'est un parapluie.)

— Je coupe un tracé jusque... au loin. En m'en retournant, je ne le vois plus, tout est bouché ;
(C'est le sillage d'un canot.)

PROVERBES.

Vous avez une somme d'argent que vous aimez. Vous la prenez pour acheter un objet que vous aimerez moins.

(Justification pittoresque de la thésaurisation qui est une des principales passions des Noirs Réfugiés.)

Tu as pensé ainsi, mais ce n'est pas ainsi que tu es venu.
(Tu n'as pas agi selon ta pensée.)

Je coupe un abattis, je prends une poignée d'arachides, elle remplit une caisse et un tonneau.

(Idée de la fécondité.)

Poussé et tiré, dans quelle position tenez-vous debout ?
(Il faut savoir prendre une décision nette.)

(1) Gros poisson au corps massif.

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CHAPITRE IX

CARACTÈRES PARTICULIERS DE L'ÉCONOMIE DES NOIRS RÉFUGIÉS. RAPPORT AVEC LES AUTRES POPULATIONS

Influence des institutions sociales et des tendances psychologiques des Noirs Réfugiés sur leur vie matérielle et leur économie

Certaines tendances psychologiques des Noirs Réfugiés, en parties liées à leurs conceptions morales et religieuses, et aux conditions historiques dans lesquelles ces sociétés se sont formées, influencent directement leur vie matérielle, dans ses divers aspects : implantation sur le sol, agriculture, travaux salariés, commerce.

La principale de ces tendances est l'individualisme, le souci de complète indépendance matérielle.

Influence sur l'agriculture. Nous avons vu que les abattis des divers ménages ressortissant du même groupe de parenté étaient très rarement groupés. Au contraire, les Noirs Réfugiés aiment disperser leurs cultures ; même dans les zones d'occupation récente, où la terre ne manque pas, il arrive de trouver des abattis isolés au milieu de la forêt primaire à plus d'un kilomètre de la rive, à la merci des animaux prédateurs. Les conditions écologiques, en particulier le souci de la défense contre la fourmi-manioc, n'expliquent pas cette dispersion. Les Boni reconnaissent qu'il serait préférable pour lutter contre la fourmi-manioc, de grouper chaque année toutes les cultures d'un lignage dans un secteur reconnu indemne. Mais des objections leur viennent aussitôt à l'esprit : on ne se sentirait pas chez soi, les gens seraient jaloux les uns des autres ; surtout les enfants iraient chaparder fruits et légumes dans les abattis des autres ménages. Les Noirs Réfugiés sont unanimes à penser que les enfants d'un village réunis en un même lieu constitueraient un fléau bien pire que la fourmi-manioc, et que pour maintenir la paix des familles la dispersion est la solution la plus sage.

On observe de même que la liberté totale de la femme, et la coutume qui lui laisse

la libre disposition des produits de l'abattis, contribuent à empêcher le développement de l'agriculture en vue de la vente. Pour entreprendre de grands abattis exploités en commun par un ménage, il faudrait des ménages très unis et stables, ce qui est rare.

Difficulté du groupement en vue d'un profit commun. Les Noirs Réfugiés sont peu capables de se grouper volontairement pour entreprendre l'exécution d'un travail en vue d'un profit commun. Les petits groupes qui se réunissent pour la pêche, le travail de l'or, etc., sont formés d'amis intimes ou de proches parents, et ne dépassent guère 4 à 5 personnes.

Les Noirs Réfugiés sont moins capables encore de se grouper en sociétés en vue de profits futurs. Mettre une partie de leurs ressources en commun avec celle d'un autre leur paraît non seulement illusoire mais immoral. Il n'existe de ce fait chez eux aucun moyen de grouper les disponibilités financières, parfois importantes.

On pratique assez couramment le prêt sans intérêt, portant sur de petites sommes, entre proches parents ou amis intimes. Si un homme se sent capable de gagner sa vie en achetant un moteur, il parviendra assez facilement à trouver l'argent nécessaire en empruntant à ses frères ou à ses amis, dix mille francs ici, cinq mille là. Mais ces prêts ne sont jamais importants et ne constituent pas un procédé efficace de groupement des disponibilités financières.

Les sociétés dites de cotisation, si courantes en Afrique Noire, sont totalement contraires à la pensée des Noirs Réfugiés, de même que les jeux de hasard. En 1958, le poste de Maripasoula, à l'occasion d'une fête, avait organisé une tombola. Quand on en expliqua le principe aux Boni, ils furent unanimes à penser que les européens avaient de singulières distractions. Peu d'entre eux acceptèrent de prendre des billets, et ceux qui n'avaient rien gagné partirent ulcérés, avec le sentiment d'avoir été mêlés à une opération immorale.

Caractère élevé attribué aux contrats. Cette inaptitude à se grouper et à mettre en commun les disponibilités contribue beaucoup à cristalliser la société des Noirs Réfugiés dans sa forme actuelle en s'opposant à toute initiative d'envergure. En revanche elle développe le sens de la responsabilité personnelle. Les Noirs Réfugiés ont notamment une grande rigueur à l'égard de l'argent[1].

La coutume pose comme un principe rigoureux que tout doit être payé. Personne ne doit vivre aux crochets d'autrui, personne ne doit emprunter sans rendre. Si un homme mourait avant d'avoir remboursé une dette, les membres de son lignage se cotiseraient pour l'acquitter.

Les Noirs Réfugiés ont à un haut degré le sens du contrat, et ils apportent à l'exécu-

(1) Ceci en ce qui concerne leurs relations mutuelles ; quant aux dettes à l'égard des européens, on ne met pas l'empressement à les rembourser ; mais la tromperie caractéristique, l'emprunt fait dans un but d'escroquerie, sont très rares chez les Noirs Réfugiés.

tion des travaux pour lesquels ils se sont engagés des qualités de sérieux, d'initiative et un sens du devoir qu'on ne trouve pas au même degré en Afrique Noire.

Refus de tout engagement durable. Si les Noirs Réfugiés respectent leurs contrats, ils n'aiment pas à s'engager pour une longue durée.

Cette attitude résulte de leur volonté d'indépendance, mais aussi de la loi morale et religieuse qui régit leur société.

Cette loi défend d'attenter à la liberté des personnes, d'humilier quiconque et de rien faire qui puisse le plonger dans la colère ou l'affliction. Elle a pour effet d'empêcher toute exploitation des faibles, toute création d'une caste de serviteurs ou de prolétaires. Elle conduit même à l'absence de toute subordination permanente d'un homme à un autre.

La volonté d'indépendance des Noirs Réfugiés fait qu'ils ne veulent pas se lier définitivement à un emploi, même avantageux. Quand un homme a jugé avoir fait des économies suffisantes, il quitte l'emploi qui lui avait procuré ces ressources.

Cette tendance rend beaucoup plus difficile et hasardeuse la recherche de travaux rétribués ; il arrive qu'un homme reste des années sans trouver de travaux profitables, vivant dans la gêne. Mais c'est là le prix de l'indépendance, et il est accepté sans hésitation.

Voulant profiter de toutes les possibilités qui s'offrent, les No[illegible]giés sont amenés à apprendre simultanément les techniques traditionnelles de [illegible]pe, canotage, construction des canots, abattage d'arbres, équarissage et charpente. Dans ces techniques ils peuvent être considérés comme des travailleurs spécialisés.

Fiers de leur force et de leurs connaissances, sûrs d'eux, les Noirs Réfugiés ne sont jamais inquiets de l'avenir et considèrent la vie comme une aventure passionnante, apportant sans cesse du nouveau. Si l'année passée a été mauvaise, l'année nouvelle sera meilleure, avec l'aide de Dieu. Personne ne doute de retrouver des travaux profitables.

Influence de la jalousie : absence de professions spécialisées et de commerce. Une autre grande tendance psychologique influant directement sur l'économie est la jalousie.

La jalousie, et la crainte de la jalousie, ont pour effet de limiter l'enrichissement, et de maintenir une égalité de fait : il arrive souvent que des gens doués renoncent à entreprendre des travaux profitables, pour ne pas donner prise à la jalousie qui rendrait leur position dans le village difficile, et pourrait attirer sur eux des malheurs ; car on a l'idée que la jalousie attire des maladies et des calamités sur celui qui en est l'objet et sur ses proches, par le jeu d'une force naturelle, sans même que des maléfices aient été formulés.

La crainte de la sorcellerie intervient dans le même sens ; celui qui s'enrichit anormalement est presque inévitablement accusé d'être sorcier et, peut être mis dans l'obligation de quitter le pays. Tout spécialement visés sont ceux, très rares, qui s'adonnent au commerce. On ne soupçonnera pas de sorcellerie un homme qu'on voit s'enrichir en

travaillant sans cesse. Mais le commerçant, dont la fortune va se développant sans qu'il fournisse un travail évident, est vite regardé comme un « engagé », accusé de tenir sa chance d'un pacte avec le diable.

Il faut sans doute voir là l'explication la plus vraisemblable de l'absence, dans les tribus des Noirs Réfugiés, de tout commerce intérieur. Il n'y a même pas de marchés dans les villages. On ne s'adresse en pratique qu'aux commerçants créoles et asiatiques.

La répugnance que les Noirs Réfugiés ont de commercer les uns avec les autres contribue à empêcher le développement chez eux de professions spécialisées. Il existe des spécialisations de fait : tel est particulièrement habile dans la construction des canots, tel autre est un charpentier qualifié, tel autre encore se consacre principalement à la pêche, mais les Noirs Réfugiés exercent ces spécialisations vis-à-vis des autres populations, et non les uns vis-à-vis des autres. Personne ne renonce à construire son canot, sa maison, à couper lui-même ses abattis. S'il en était autrement il se créerait rapidement des classes et des castes, et c'est précisément ce que la loi morale des Noirs Réfugiés condamne. Cette conception a notamment pour effet de préserver de la dégradation la coutume familiale, en empêchant les riches de devenir de grands polygames entretenant des maîtresses oisives. Jamais nous n'avons entendu dire qu'un homme enrichi ait payé quelqu'un pour exécuter à sa place les travaux coutumiers qu'il doit à ses épouses, abattis, maison, canot. Quelle que soit sa richesse, il continue à exécuter ces travaux « la sueur de son front, et cela contribue à maintenir dans son sens et dans sa valeur le contrat tacite conclu entre mari et femme.

Ainsi les conditions géographiques, associées aux influences d'ordre social et psychologique, imposent aux Noirs Réfugiés une économie particulière, fondée sur une symbiose avec les populations de la côte, sous forme de travaux à la tâche ou de salariat temporaire.

Rapports avec les autres populations

Les tribus des Noirs Réfugiés ne constituent pas un monde fermé. Elles vivent depuis leur formation en symbiose étroite avec les populations voisines : Indiens autochtones, européens et créoles. Leurs traditions et leur conception de la vie en ont été fortement influencées, non qu'ils aient perdu quoi que ce soit de leur unité intérieure, mais parce qu'ils ont accepté, au moins collectivement, l'idée qu'ils ont des liens et des devoirs vis-à-vis des autres hommes.

De même que sur le plan matériel leur économie est fondée sur l'échange, ils considèrent la symbiose de leur groupe avec les groupes voisins comme l'ordre normal de l'univers. Les malheurs subis par leurs ancêtres leur ont donné une horreur extrême de la violence ; ils considèrent la paix comme un bien précieux commun à toutes les nations, et leurs principes de morale qui interdisent de nuire à quiconque s'étendent à tous les hommes. Il est clair que ces notions sont moins nettement comprises sur le plan individuel et qu'il y a comme ailleurs quelques vols et abus de confiance. Mais, sur

le plan collectif, les rapports entre les Noirs Réfugiés et leurs voisins sont établis sur une base de confiance, de loyauté et d'honnêteté qu'on ne trouve pas au même degré en Afrique.

Rapports avec les autres tribus. Les Boni n'ont pas de liens politiques précis avec les autres tribus des Noirs Réfugiés, mais les grands man ont des relations officieuses par l'intermédiaire de messagers, et se consultent assez fréquemment.

Les Boni ont gardé une rancune tenace aux Djuka de s'être jadis alliés contre eux aux Hollandais, mais ce ressentiment, d'ordre surtout collectif, s'est apaisé avec le temps ; il n'empêche pas les relations individuelles d'être cordiales.

Les Saramaka sont partout très estimés car on admet unanimement que leur magie est plus forte, leurs techniques plus perfectionnées que celles des autres tribus.

Rapports avec les Indiens. Les relations entre les Boni et les Indiens Oayana sont des plus curieuses et intéressantes. Elles se sont établies vraisemblablement dès la fin du XVIIIe siècle. Plusieurs auteurs ont affirmé que Boni et Indiens se sont longtemps combattus ; l'examen que nous avons fait des pièces d'archives authentiques, malheureusement peu nombreuses, susceptibles d'éclairer l'histoire du Maroni, ne confirme pas cette hypothèse[1]. On peut penser au contraire que des relations de symbiose ont dû se créer rapidement et de façon très naturelle. Le grand man des Boni est en quelque sorte le suzerain des chefs indiens ; cette situation n'a pas été imposée par la force ; elle résulte de la situation privilégiée des Boni sur la rivière, qui jusqu'à une époque récente obligeait les Indiens à passer par leur intermédiaire pour commercer avec le monde extérieur.

Bien que les Boni aient autrefois abusé de cette situation pour imposer aux Indiens des taux d'échange arbitraires, il ne faut pas se représenter cette relation comme l'exploitation d'un vaincu par un vainqueur. Elle a pour base le respect absolu par chaque groupe des croyances et de la structure sociale de l'autre, et une activité pour chacun conforme à son inclination. Le proverbe dit : « Aux Boni la rivière, aux Indiens la forêt ». C'est ainsi que traditionnellement les Boni achètent aux Indiens des flèches, tandis que ceux-ci leur achètent des pagaies ; le sens de ce symbole est parfaitement compris des uns et des autres.

Les mariages entre les deux groupes, sans être défendus, sont regardés comme contraires à la coutume[2].

(1) Seuls sont signalés des combats vers 1840, entre les Boni et les Indiens Wayakulé « Oyaricoulets », tribu très primitive qui vivait sur l'Oulémari et était elle-même en guerre avec les Oayana.

Les Boni étaient certainement déjà alliés aux Oayana au moment des combats sur le Maroni en 1793, puisque après leur défaite les survivants, groupés autour d'Agusu fils de Boni, se réfugièrent sur la rivière Maruini qu'ils remontèrent jusqu'au voisinage de ses sources, où personne ne put les rejoindre. Or c'était précisément là que vivaient à la fin du XVIIIe siècle, les Indiens Oayana. Ils n'auraient pas tenté cette manœuvre s'ils n'avaient eu la certitude de trouver refuge auprès de leurs alliés. Les emplacements de leurs villages, portés sur la carte de Coudreau (1888) sont à proximité immédiate de ceux des anciens villages Oayana.

(2) Le mariage du Grand Man Awensay avec une femme indienne, vers 1915, fut inspiré par des motifs complexes. Sur la fin de sa vie, Awensay ne pouvait plus souffrir les Boni, son caractère impérieux s'accommodant

Dans la pratique le fond des échanges commerciaux est le suivant : les Indiens fournissent des hamacs, et surtout des chiens dressés pour la chasse, auxquels on attache une grande valeur. Les Boni fournissent des canots. Autrefois ils apportaient aussi des objets d'importation, sabres, haches et perles, mais cette forme de commerce a disparu depuis que les Indiens ont la possibilité de se ravitailler auprès des européens.

Plusieurs observateurs, à la suite notamment de Coudreau (1890) et de Grébert (1937) ont émis l'opinion que ces rapports étaient fondés sur la crainte et que les Boni, utilisant des moyens de pression mystérieux, opprimaient les Indiens.

Après cent missions passées au contact des uns et des autres, nous affirmons que ces assertions ne sont pas fondées. On ne peut qu'admirer au contraire la façon dont ces groupes primitifs ont su créer entre eux des relations loyales et confiantes. Les Indiens et les Boni qui ont travaillé avec nous se sont toujours montrés heureux d'être ensemble. Il suffisait, pour s'en rendre compte, d'entendre les conversations animées qu'ils avaient le soir autour des feux de camp sur leurs familles respectives, les événements survenus dans leur village, la pêche ou la chasse.

Il semble que dans ces relations, les uns et les autres mettent plus de patience et de tolérance qu'envers les gens de leur propre groupe. Il est excessivement rare de voir s'élever des contestations entre Indiens et Bôni, alors qu'il y en a parfois à l'intérieur de chaque groupe.

Les sentiments que les Boni ont à l'égard des Indiens sont complexes : ils se sentent supérieurs par leur force physique, leur efficacité et leur organisation ; ils se moquent de la puérile avidité des Indiens pour les perles et les bijoux, de l'attitude mendigote de certains d'entre eux. Mais ils les admirent pour leur habileté, leur connaissance intime de la forêt et les craignent pour les pouvoirs surnaturels qu'ils leur attribuent. Sûrs d'eux, ne craignant rien de la brousse, ne s'égarant jamais, chasseurs et pêcheurs hors ligne, les Indiens leur apparaissent comme doués de facultés particulières que les autres hommes ne possèdent pas. Il nous est arrivé d'entendre au campement des réflexions telles que celle-ci : « Il va pleuvoir, les Indiens font des carbets ».

Les Boni éprouvent à l'égard de la magie indienne une peur intense. Aucun d'eux n'oserait mécontenter gravement un Indien et même s'il s'estime lésé, dans la plupart des cas il n'osera pas se plaindre[1].

Un incident pittoresque nous a montré une fois de plus cette attitude au cours

mat de leur individualisme et de leur goût de la discussion. Il avait établi en pays indien une habitation de culture où il vivait presque toute l'année ; en prenant pour femme une indienne, il chercha semble-t-il à humilier ses sujets.

Les enfants et petits-enfants d'Awensay étaient tous morts en 1967, à l'exception de deux femmes, toutes deux stériles. Il n'y a pas eu d'autre cas d'union entre Boni et Indiens.

[1] Dans la recherche des causes magiques de la mort, il arrive que la divination incrimine l'action d'un homme médecine indien. En pareil cas l'action judiciaire des Boni est éteinte, car le principe est que l'homme-médecine indien ne nuit pas sans raison. On considère que le défunt avait dû le léser gravement et qu'il méritait son sort

d'une tournée sur le Litani en 1952. A notre passage au village Aloïké, nos quatre canotiers Boni, qui avaient tué des coumarous, s'étaient préparé un plat fort appétissant ; ils avaient à peine commencé à manger quand survinrent quelques Indiens qui se mêlèrent à la conversation, s'assirent à côté d'eux, puis commencèrent à tremper leur cuiller dans la marmite. D'autres Indiens survinrent et, toujours en discutant posément et sans se presser, vinrent prendre leur part du festin. Les Boni furent progressivement refoulés au second rang et finalement abandonnèrent. Trois d'entre eux riaient de cet incident qui leur était familier ; le quatrième était furieux mais il n'osa rien dire car, nous dit-il, s'il frappait les Indiens comme il en avait envie, il risquait d'être payé.

A vrai dire, quelle est la nature du commandement que le grand man des Boni est censé exercer sur les Indiens ? Comporte-t-il des obligations précises, un tribut, des vexations ? Nullement : il se réduit actuellement à deux choses :

— Le principe de l'obédience des chefs de village indiens à la personne du grand man ;

— L'interdiction de faire du canotage de transport à la façon des Boni.

On ne peut qu'approuver cette interdiction qui protège les Indiens plus qu'elle ne leur nuit. Quant à l'influence personnelle du grand man Difu, elle est des plus favorables ; il a une connaissance approfondie de la langue et des coutumes des Indiens, auxquels il a toujours témoigné un intérêt et une sympathie certainement sincères. Quand, au cours des cérémonies au *fraga liki*, il s'adresse aux ancêtres pour leur demander de veiller sur les Boni, il ne manque pas d'ajouter : *gad yooku, de mu luku de Iñgi :* ancêtres, veillez sur les Indiens.

On dit aussi des Boni qu'ils ne s'intéressent aux Indiens que pour trafiquer avec eux. Même si cela était — nous avons montré combien cette assertion était inexacte — nous soutiendrions tout de même qu'il est beaucoup moins dangereux pour les Indiens de commercer avec eux qu'avec les européens et les créoles ; les Boni sont une société hiérarchisée, où les choses ont tendance à se passer selon des normes précises. Il suffit de comparer les Indiens Oayana qui ont gardé l'essentiel de leur civilisation, avec les Indiens de l'Oyapok, pour se convaincre que les Boni ont protégé les premiers bien plus qu'ils ne les ont opprimés.

Rapports avec les créoles. Les Boni sont en rapports constants avec les orpailleurs et les commerçants créoles, au profit desquels ils effectuent de nombreux travaux (canotage, abattage, constructions). La plupart d'entre eux parlent très bien le dialecte créole et sont bien informés du genre de vie des créoles.

Les rapports entre les deux groupes sont bons dans l'ensemble. Il s'agit principalement sur le Haut Maroni de créoles de sang africain, originaires des Antilles anglaises, que les Boni ne considèrent pas comme profondément différents d'eux-mêmes. Beaucoup sont établis là depuis très longtemps et des relations d'amitiés individuelles se sont établies ; toutefois les deux groupes n'ont pas la moindre tendance à se fondre.

Les créoles n'ont que mépris pour la civilisation des Noirs Réfugiés qui leur rappelle un passé africain détesté. Ils ont un sentiment de supériorité et ne cessent d'exhorter les Boni à adopter leur vêtement et leur mode de vie.

Les sentiments que les Boni ont à l'égard des créoles sont complexes ; ils perçoivent clairement que l'activité des orpailleurs est artificielle, et que des isolés sont incapables de vivre par leurs propres moyens au sein de cette forêt impitoyable. Devenus vieux et malades, les orpailleurs connaissent la pire détresse et meurent littéralement de faim, jusqu'à ce qu'on les évacue sur l'hospice de Saint-Laurent. Chez les Noirs Réfugiés les vieillards sont assurés d'une vie décente au milieu des membres de leur lignage qui les entourent d'un affectueux respect.

C'est un point de vue qui a une grande importance aux yeux des Boni, pour qui finir ses jours à l'hospice ou être réduit à solliciter le secours d'étrangers, constitue la pire déchéance.

Ils craignent d'autre part, ainsi que nous l'avons montré, la magie créole qu'ils assimilent à une forme de *misi*.

En revanche ils sont impressionnés par les connaissances des créoles, le réel esprit d'initiative et la forte personnalité de certains d'entre eux ; d'autre part les Boni qui ont été à Cayenne ont remarqué la sollicitude de l'administration vis-à-vis de la population des communes. Pour toutes ces raisons il existe chez les Boni un certain mouvement d'opinion en faveur de la créolisation. Mais le genre de vie très particulier des Boni et leur désir de conserver leurs coutumes particulières les attachent à leur forme de vie ancestrale ; vers 1890, l'explorateur Coudreau observant les mêmes faits, prédisait une prochaine créolisation des Boni. En fait, elle ne s'est pas produite et il est peu probable qu'elle se produise.

Rapports traditionnels avec les européens. Les Noirs Réfugiés constituent un élément important de la vie économique des Guyanes ; ils exécutent pour le compte de l'administration et des entreprises européennes, de nombreux travaux (canotage, flottage de bois, abattage d'arbres). Ils ne sont guère aptes à d'autres travaux, mais dans ces activités qui correspondent à leur genre de vie traditionnel, ils sont égaux, sinon supérieurs, à n'importe quelle main-d'œuvre. Payés très cher, ils travaillent avec rapidité, efficacité et intelligence, faisant preuve d'une initiative et d'un sens du devoir qu'on ne trouve pas communément chez les Africains[1]. Aussi les rapports entre les européens et les Noirs Réfugiés n'ont-ils rien de commun avec ce que l'on observe en Afrique : on relève sans indulgence leurs défauts, mais on les admire pour leur forte personnalité, leur art et leurs techniques, et on leur témoigne une estime qui n'est pas feinte.

Les Noirs Réfugiés n'éprouvent à l'égard des européens ni haine ni jalousie. On

(1) Il est à noter que s'ils cessent de mener leur genre de vie traditionnel, par exemple s'ils se fixent à demeure auprès des établissements européens, ils perdent rapidement ces qualités.

peut s'en étonner au premier abord car ils ont eu à soutenir contre eux des guerres cruelles, qui leur ont laissé un souvenir précis ; mais l'explication en est simple : les Boni n'ont pas de haine parce que leur vie est heureuse, et ils n'ont pas de jalousie parce qu'ils ne cherchent pas à imiter les européens et se satisfont de leur propre civilisation.

On remarquera à ce sujet que les Noirs Réfugiés évoquent le temps de l'esclavage sans honte et sans complexe d'infériorité ; c'est que, tout simplement, ils n'ont pas la sensation d'être des descendants d'esclaves ; ils se sentent les descendants de guerriers qui ont imposé leur indépendance par la force des armes ; les Djuka, s'exagérant la portée des succès remportés par leurs ancêtres, ont même un certain complexe de supériorité. Fiers de leurs ancêtres, les Noirs Réfugiés ne se sentent aucunement inférieurs au Blanc et traitent avec lui d'égal à égal.

Les Boni, comme les Djuka et les Saramaka à Surinam, vivent sous un régime de fait qui équivaut à l'autonomie interne. Ce régime s'est institué pour les Boni dès leur prise de contact avec l'administration française en 1861 ; il s'est toujours associé à un parfait loyalisme.

L'administration française, qui jusqu'à une époque récente ne disposait pas d'établissements permanents dans l'intérieur du pays, n'a jamais cherché à intervenir dans le fonctionnement intérieur des tribus qui s'est exercé et s'exerce toujours selon leur propre loi. Les Noirs Réfugiés ont été ainsi dispensés de cette juridiction hybride, appliquant un droit coutumier altéré par des idées européennes, qui en Afrique Noire a si puissamment contribué à la destruction des structures traditionnelles.

Le problème était à vrai dire plus simple car les conceptions des Noirs Réfugiés, ne comportant aucune forme d'oppression des individus, et admettant le droit de la femme à disposer d'elle-même, réduit à l'extrême les sources de contestations entre les individus et les groupes.

En 1946 a été créé le poste administratif de Maripasoula, à proximité du confluent du Lawa et de l'Inini. Depuis cette époque, la gendarmerie administre à la satisfaction de tous et sans aucun incident une population disparate de 2.000 personnes, orpailleurs, Noirs Réfugiés et Indiens, répartis sur un vaste territoire. Le poste médical créé à Maripasoula en 1949 est très fréquenté par les Boni, et exerce une action des plus utiles tant sur le plan psychologique que sur le plan social.

Les relations des divers groupes entre eux donnent lieu à de minimes frictions, mais les Noirs Réfugiés ne donnent jamais lieu à intervention dans les affaires intérieures de leurs groupes. Respectueux de l'administration, ils exécutent ponctuellement leurs engagements vis-à-vis de leurs employeurs, assurant la totalité des transports sur le fleuve, selon un modus vivendi établi depuis très longtemps[1].

(1) Il est à noter à ce sujet que des incidents désagréables surviennent chaque fois que les Boni ont affaire à des voyageurs inexpérimentés, ignorant les coutumes du fleuve ou ne voulant pas les appliquer. D'une façon générale les Noirs Réfugiés, spontanément respectueux de quiconque vient faire un travail utile, ont les touristes en horreur ; ils ne peuvent pas supporter d'être photographiés ou observés comme des bêtes curieuses.

Jamais ils ne s'adressent aux tribunaux pour régler leurs différends, encore moins leurs querelles de famille ; jamais ils ne sollicitent de secours.

La supériorité matérielle des européens ne les impressionne pas ; les Blancs sont plus forts en mécanique, mais eux sont plus forts en magie, voilà tout. L'efficacité de la médecine européenne n'ébranle pas leurs convictions : si quelqu'un a des raisons de se croire victime de la colère d'un *gadu*, il commence par faire les sacrifices destinés à l'apaiser, puis lui demande l'autorisation de se faire soigner par les Blancs. Personnellement nous n'avons jamais rien fait pour détourner les Boni de cette conception qui satisfait à la fois les nécessités de la médecine et celles de la discipline sociale, car il ne faut pas oublier que pour eux la maladie est le châtiment d'une faute. On voit donc qu'à moins de s'exercer délibérément contre la tradition et contre les chefs, l'influence des européens est sans action appréciable sur la civilisation des Noirs Réfugiés. Il n'en va plus de même quand les contacts deviennent trop fréquents, ont tendance à altérer gravement le mode de vie, et surtout quand ces influences deviennent ouvertement « civilisatrices ».

L'avenir des Noirs Réfugiés

Obligés de résoudre par leurs propres moyens l'ensemble des problèmes de la vie, les Noirs Réfugiés ont su s'adapter avec intelligence à l'évolution du monde moderne et leur coutume a conservé toute sa vigueur et son efficacité. Leur avenir n'apparaîtrait pas menacé si un mouvement d'opinion ne s'était fait jour ces dernières années, tant en Guyane Française, qu'à Surinam, pour détruire leur civilisation jugée primitive et barbare, et les fondre dans la population de la côte. Ce résultat serait obtenu notamment par l'école et l'évangélisation.

Désireux de rester ici sur le plan de la stricte objectivité scientifique, nous éviterons d'entrer dans la discussion du bien fondé de cette action, qui nécessiterait d'ailleurs un long développement. Nous nous bornerons à montrer qu'elle nous paraît vouée à l'échec :

— L'expérience de l'école a été faite depuis plus de 30 ans chez les Boni, au village de Kotika. Une demi-douzaine d'enfants, réussissant dans les études, sont partis à Surinam et ont rompu avec leur groupe d'origine. Chez les autres l'enseignement reçu n'a laissé que de faibles traces. En fait, il n'y a pas de place dans une intelligence normale pour recevoir à la fois la masse de connaissances techniques nécessaires pour tenir sa place dans la société des Noirs Réfugiés, et l'enseignement ordinaire de l'école. L'un chasse l'autre nécessairement ; or, les Boni aiment extrêmement leur vie libre sur le grand fleuve, qui leur assure des conditions matérielles de vie très satisfaisantes ;

— L'évangélisation a été menée avec persévérance depuis plus de 200 ans auprès des Noirs Réfugiés de Surinam. Elle n'a pas donné de résultats appréciables. Il en a été de même en Guyane Française de l'action menée auprès des Saramaka travaillant à

proximité des communes de la côte[1], et plus récemment auprès des Boni du Haut-Maroni.

Les Boni, ainsi que nous l'avons montré, n'ont pas le sentiment d'être des païens. Ils pensent qu'ils adorent le même dieu que les chrétiens, d'une façon différente mais tout aussi valable ; ils ont le sentiment que leurs principes de morale ne sont pas inférieurs à ceux des chrétiens, qu'ils se traduisent dans la pratique par les mêmes prescriptions et sont en fait mieux obéis[2].

C'est seulement dans leur conception de leur parenté et de la famille, dans l'absence d'une vie familiale fondée sur le couple indissolublement uni, qu'ils reconnaissent vivre sous une autre loi. Mais ils ne manquent pas de remarquer que les populations des Guyanes qui professent le christianisme ne le mettent guère en pratique dans leur vie familiale : la stabilité des unions est sensiblement plus forte chez les Noirs Réfugiés.

Quant aux cultes de possession, les Boni ont le sentiment de rendre un culte de fait à des entités dont l'existence leur apparaît aussi tangible que pour nous la lumière ou la pesanteur. Ces idées sont liées à une qualité particulière de perceptions, touchant des zones profondes de l'esprit que le raisonnement n'atteint pas[3].

Ajoutons qu'une des grandes forces de la coutume des Noirs Réfugiés est la position privilégiée qu'elle donne à la femme. Les femmes, soustraites à l'influence directe des européens et des créoles, et d'ailleurs pratiquement inaccessibles à tout raisonnement, sont hostiles aux changements qui porteraient atteinte à leurs privilèges. Or, ce sont elles en fait, qui ont en main l'éducation des enfants.

Il n'apparaît donc pas possible d'« assimiler » ces populations en détruisant leur culture originale. Les tentatives inspirées par le fanatisme civilisateur n'auront d'autre résultat que de l'appauvrir, de pousser les Noirs Réfugiés à dissimuler leurs croyances, à abandonner leur art, leurs costumes, leurs chants et leurs danses, tout ce qui fait leur joie de vivre. Mais la structure sociale, solidement fondée sur la peur des ancêtres et des dieux, ne pourrait être détruite que par la violence. Il est permis d'espérer que personne ne songe à en venir là.

Pour nous qui avons vécu longtemps au milieu des Noirs Réfugiés, nous éprouvons à leur égard une profonde estime. Par leur passé historique, l'originalité des coutumes qu'ils ont élaborées, les bonnes relations qu'ils ont su créer avec les autres populations, ils ont fait la preuve de leurs facultés créatrices ; ils méritent qu'on les laisse évoluer selon leur propre voie.

(1) Non seulement les Saramaka n'ont aucune tendance à se convertir, mais ils exercent une influence non négligeable sur la population des communes. A l'Oyapok, le guérisseur des Saramaka a de nombreux consultants, et en dépit de l'interdiction du clergé, nombre de femmes assistent aux danses de possession des dieux serpents *Papa godu*.

(2) Nous rapportons ici fidèlement le point de vue des intéressés, sans porter de jugement sur sa valeur ; rappelons que leurs principes de vie ne supposent pas chez l'individu de conscience morale, et reposent entièrement sur la crainte de châtiments matériels dans la vie présente. Mais cette base même leur donne une grande efficacité pratique.

(3) On observe effectivement en Afrique Noire que là où existent les cultes de possession, les populations sont particulièrement imperméables à l'influence chrétienne. Détruits en apparence, ces cultes ne tardent pas à reparaître sous une autre forme, parfois sous une apparence chrétienne (possession par les saints).

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[p.301]

ANNEXE

RÉPERTOIRE DE LA POPULATION DES VILLAGES BONI

au 1er janvier 1948, classée par ordre alphabétique

Classement. Le classement de la population a été fait par village de résidence.

Pour chaque femme, on a indiqué ses unions successives et les enfants qui en sont issus. Le signe † signifie décédé, le signe ≠ divorce. Le signe ≠ † signifie que le mari est décédé, mais après la rupture de l'union.

Les fiches des femmes précédées d'un astérisque * indiquent que la fiche peut être regardée comme complète au point de vue démographique (enfants vivants et décédés).

Un double astérisque ** indique que la fiche peut en outre être regardée comme complète au point de vue des mariages et divorces successifs.

Le nom de chaque individu est porté en caractère gras une seule fois, là où il peut être considéré comme résidant habituellement. La somme des noms en caractère gras donne immédiatement le chiffre de la population du village.

Les enfants de moins de 15 ans sont considérés comme résidant avec les personnes chargées de leur éducation. Si des précisions n'ont pu être obtenues à cet égard ils sont considérés comme résidant avec leur mère.

Chaque fiche porte un numéro, par exemple Dju D7, permettant de retrouver la place de l'individu dans le tableau généalogique. Dans l'exemple indiqué il faut se référer au tableau du *Jo* Dju, ligne D, n° 7.

Rappelons qu'une partie des noms ont été remplacés, à la demande des intéressés, par des noms fictifs.

VILLAGE DOSIVELLE

abréviations : SAR. — SARAMAKA
PAR. — PARAMAKA

** ○ Abomadé 1956 Dip. I, F81
mère [illegible] ?
père Fanté ?

1er mari A... (SAR.)
○ K... 1945, élevée par ○ Sesmé, sœur de Bobé I, au village l'Enfant Perdu

2e mari M... (SAR.)
△ A... 1951, élevé par le grand mari Dido
○ M... 1954, élevée par sa mère

élève △ F... 1949 mère Mata (Dip I, village l'Enfant Perdu)

** ○ Aséléé 1940 K3, E140
mère Fanté
père Tabéé ?

1er mari Pawa (L1, E32, village Loka) ✝

2e mari Nandaté (K1, D7, village Kotiko)
○ Marie 1933
○ Sonia 1936
△ B... 1948, élevé par sa mère

élève ○ M... 1954, fille de Sonia

déclare n'avoir pas perdu d'enfant.

△ Adjoba 1926 L2, F78
mère Tinéa
père S... (SAR.) ?

a été élevé par sa mère

○ Aléla 1926 K3, E147
mère Fanté
père Tabéé ?

a été élevée par sa mère

mari Dado (P1, F18, village Papaïchou)
○ E... 1950, élevée par sa mère
○ E... sept. 56

** ○ Allaté 1907 K3, D150
mère Afo ? = Dosu ?
père Aséléé ? (L)

1er Tandou (Aw. K.) ?
△ ? A... 1930-1933

○ Wawey 1906
enfant † mort à quelques jours 1907
enfant † mort à quelques jours 1911

3e mari Bayamati (Dip. I, E36, village l'Enfant Perdu)
○ † C... 1914-1934
△ Assoam 1916
△ Booki 1921
△ Akaapa 1926
† enfant mort à quelques jours 1930
○ † S... 1935-1946

pas remarié

délivre △ B... 1949, mère Kaiku, village Lolon

△ Abaapa 1926 — K3, E134
mère Alingi
père Bayamati (Dip. I)
a été élevé par sa mère

△ Akyiabi 1934 — K3, E146
mère Lémiki
père Tabiki †
a été élevé par sa mère

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x,°° ○ Abasani 1900 — P1, F34
mère Abazya †
père
1er mari D... (PAR.) †
△ Bokiki 1926
2e mari A... (DJUKA) †
△ D... † 1925-1955
△ Naaga 1936
3e mari Mbomaolo (K1, D43, Boniville) † 1954
△ W... 1950

△ Akki 1936 — Djo, G18
mère Eliasu
père Matapi (Aw. B.)

△ Aliabi 1930 — Dip. I, F5
mère Way †
père Tabiki † (Aw. B.)
a été élevé par sa mère

△ Alibolo 1940 — P1, G87
mère Pélui
père Munli
élevé par sa mère

△ Amaiki 1938 — L2, F71
mère Tarina
père S... (SAR.)
a été élevé par son père

** **Amoinbi** 1935 — Dip. I, F7
mère Way ?
père Kapal (P) ? — a été élevée par sa mère
mari W... (SAR.) depuis 1951
△ F... 1953
○ E... 1955
○ E... nov. 1957

△ **Amotodja** 1922 — LE, F83
mère Asakundu (L
père A... (SAR.) ? — a été élevé par Tioisa, sœur de sa mère, à Bonivilla

** ○ **Anikiwa** 1917 — lignage Poti (origine DJUKA)
mère Pasta
père A... (DJUKA) ? — a été élevée par sa mère
1er mari Amotodja (L2, F70, village Loka) ✝
△ Sukudo 1940 ; élevée par leur mère
○ Mala 1942 —
○ ? à 4 mois 1944
○ A... 1945, élevée par Pasta
2e mari Hélamon ? (Dju)
3e mari A... (SAR.) ✝ en 1955
E... juin 1955
pas revenue fin 1957

** ○ **Apinda** 1922 — Pl. G98
mère Alibo ? ← Abasya ?
père
1er mari A...
○ A... 1942, élevée par sa mère
△ A... 1945 —
○ ? à deux ans 1947-1949
2e mari Amotodja (L 2, F 83, Bonivilla)
○ A... 1948, élevée par Asakundu mère de son père, au village Loka
○ E... 1951, élevée par sa mère
△ E... 1954 — —
○ F... 1956 —

\ **Andoan** 1918 — K 3, K 132
mère Aliaya
père Bayamali (Dip. I)
a été élevé par son père

\ **Anikipi** 1926 — Pl. G 95
mère Alibo ? ← Abasya ?
père
a été élevé par sa mère

○ Amané 1930 — Dip. I, F2
mère Manga †
père Bovendia (K, vivant à Aziné-Dju)
stérile — Nombreux divorces, vie irrégulière

△ Amélipg 1927 — L2, F73
mère Téréa
père S... (SAR.) †
a été élevé par sa mère

○ Antoi 1922 — K1, G37
mère Bobey
père Amusapé (Aw. B.)
vie irrégulière, nombreux divorces
dernier mari Sintamana, (K3, E145, Boniville)

△ Bada 1900 — L2, E56
mère Aiili †
père

** ○ Bada 1915 — Dip. I, F1
mère Manga †
père S... (DJUKA) †
a été élevée par sa mère
1er mari Alibdédé (lignage AB) † 1940
2e mari C... (SAR.) ♁
3e mari D... (Surinamien)
stérile — prostituée ayant longtemps vécu avec des créoles à Maripasoula

△ Bakuba 1941 — K3, E140
mère Lémiki
père Tubiki †
élevé par Tubiki, puis à la mort de celui-ci par Lémiki

△ Bazan 1950 — K3, E150
mère Bazan †
père
a été élevé par Mimi, sa sœur de même mère.

△ Bémana 1912 — Pl, G61
mère Wéiki ← Donsai †
père Aza (SAR.)
a été élevé par sa mère
élève △ T... 1946, mère? (village Loka)

△ Bobodi 1926 — Pl, G39
mère Aisonai
père D... (PAR.)
a été élevé par Donsai † (Pl, E26), vieille femme du lignage de sa mère.

△ **Boeki** 1921 K3, E133
mère Aflingi
père Bayamati (Dip. I) a été élevé par sa sœur Waway

△ **Dobuman** 1900 Pt. F38
mère Abasya †
père Mali †

dernier chef d'une fraction du lignage Papaïsion (Kawina) établie au village de Pau Mofu, un peu en aval de Pomiville ; abandonné depuis 1945 (?) pour maladies et désétatisé.

○ **Gisilin** 1910 Dip. I, E9
mère Monika †
père
1er mari M... (DJUKA)
1 enfant mort à quelques jours 1927
plusieurs divorces, vie irrégulière
mari L... (DJUKA) depuis 1962

○ **Chima** 1929 lignage Puli, origine Djuka
mère Pasia
père Abani † a été élevée par sa mère
1er mari Boeki ✝ 1951
2e mari Haakaman (Aw. B.) ✝ 1955
3e mari Philipili (Aw. H. I, F3)
veuve

△ **Difu** 1889 Dikan
mère Adyuba †
père
grand-mère des Boni
enfants △ A... 1951, mère Mata, et △ L... 1947, mère Asanlan

△ **Dodoya** 1933 Dip. I, F92
mère Bélili †
père Pantu † (Dikan) a été élevé par son père

△ **Doni** 1939 Dju, G13
mère Hana = Bélili
père Malapi a été élevé par sa grand-mère Bélili †

△ **Dyakata** 1890 Dip. I, E4
mère Monika †
père

○ **Eliana** 1914 Dju, F8
mère Bélili †
père Malobi a été élevée par sa mère

1er mari Matapi (lignage AA, e2) ✝
△ Aïdi 1938
△ Dani 1939
○ Agube 1941

2e mari N... (village Pupuhtom)
△ A... 1948, élevé par son père
○ S... 1947, élevée par Kulina, sœur de Eliana
○ S...
△ A... 1949
△ † S... 1951-1953 } élevés par Eliana
△ D... 1954
△ E... 1956

○ Eliza 1941 K3, E149
mère Lémiki
père Soudali † a été élevée par sa mère

△ Fatimaa 1908 Dju, F6
mère Bénili †
père Malobi a été élevé par la mère de son père.

△ Gaulonia 1920 Pl, G64
mère Wéiili (vit à Hermina)
père Aza (SAIL) a été élevé par sa mère

△ Kalluwa 1925 lignage Poti (origine DJUKA)
mère Paala
père A... (DJUKA) † a été élevé par sa mère

△ Kléonaïdi 1911 Dju, F7
mère Bénili †
père Malobi a été élevé par sa mère

** ○ Kulina 1917 Dju, F9
mère Bénili †
père Malobi a été élevée par sa mère
1er mari Tamu (L1, F32, village Loka) ✝
2e mari Antalia (Lapé)
stérile
élève sa nièce S..., mère Eliana, et sa nièce E..., mère Balkom

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△ Léhiman 1900 (K) K3, D128
mère Adaudu †
père
élève △ E... 1952, mère Kamu (village Lapé T.)

○ Lémiki 1890 ? K3, D130
mère Adaudu † ← Baa †
père
1er mari Talaki (Aw. B. 1, E45, village Loka) †

○ Achika 1909
△ Lota 1914
○ Badu †
△ Akyinki 1924

2e mari Kwau (Dip. I, E1, Boniville) ✝
△ Sintamann 1929

3e mari Tabiki (de nouveau) † en 1955
○ Maka 1931
○ Aflolu 1935
△ Bakulu
○ Eliso 1941 } élevés par leur mère

pas remarié. Fi... A... 1945 mère Badu †

Fiche incomplète. A refusé de répondre sur ses enfants †

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* ○ Léina 1926 K2, F98
mère Katu
père Bodi

mari Manku (Dip. I, F75, village l'Enfant Perdu)

stérile

Léya 1933 K2, E99
mère Kamina
père M... (DJUKA)

1er mari Alémin (Aw. B. I, E40, village Asisi) ✝ en 1953
○ † 1950-1952, morte à 2 ans

2e mari Z... (SAH.)

a été élevée par Katu, sœur ou sœur classificatoire de Kamina, puis après la mort de Katu, par le fils de celle-ci, Todo

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** ○ Lomé 1938 I.2, F74
mère Teresa
père S... (SAH.) †

a été élevée par sa mère

liaison clandestine avec Asadam (K2, E84, Boniville) ✝ 1955
△ E... 1955 élevé par Téresa

1er mari Pilipili (Aw. B. I, F3, village Asisi) [illegible] 1957
2e mari Datey (K2, F97, village Kotika)

△ Lota 1914 K3, E142
mère Léniki
père Tabiki

a été élevé par son père

△ Makiba 1907 K2, E89
mère Amlolo †
père ? (SAH.)

○ Maka 1931 K3, E146
mère Léniki
père Tabiki (Aw. B. [illegible]

mari Amakti (L2, F71, Boniville)
○ L... 1949
○ L... 1951
△ mort à quelques jours 1953
○ A... 1954
○ A... juil. 1957

△ Hakalanchi 1936 K3, F130
mère Waway ← Afingi
père Somié (L)

** ○ Hamapa 1918
fille du grand man Awenzay † et d'une femme indienne a été élevée par son père
mari Tolinga (P1, E11, village Papakéan) depuis 1936 ✝ fin 1957
pas d'enfant

** ○ Harla 1926 Djo, F11
mère Bémiti †
père Malobi
a été élevée par ○ Aliki (Djo, E23) au village Asini
1er mari Afimpay (K2, E97, village Kotika) ✝ en 1953
○ N... 1950, élevée par sa mère
○ A... 1953 id.
2e mari Baaka (P) ✝ 1956
△ A... 1957

** ○ Harta 1933 K3, E140
mère Aéhiké
père Namiadé (K)
a été élevée par sa mère
mari Dodoya (Dip. I, F92, Boniville)
○ A... 1951

△ Hbomaolo 1911 K1, D43
mère Sasa †
père † (DJUKA)
a été élevé par sa mère

○ Héda 1942 lignage Poti (origine DJUKA)
mère Amékiwan
père Amémbé
a été élevée par sa mère
mariée 1957 à Tombo (K3, F132, Boniville)

** ○ Hini 1913 K3, E154
mère Basna †
père
mari Finliman (Djo, F8, Boniville) depuis 1931
○ W... 1945, élevée par ○ Baikom au village Loka
† enfant mort-né 1948
élève ○ S... 1948, mère A... (Kotika)

△ **Monpé** 1937 — lignage Poti (origine DJUKA)
mère Paata
père A... (DJUKA) † — a été élevé par sa mère

△ **Banga** 1936 — P1, G31
mère Alasani
père (DJUKA)

△ **Boiti** 1935 — Dip. I, P83
mère Haiti ?
père Paata ? — a été élevé par son père

Paata 1895 — lignage Poti (origine DJUKA)
mère DJUKA du le Dikan
père Ochi †
1er mari A... (DJUKA) †
○ Amékiwan 1918
△ Kailawa 1924
1 enfant mort à 3 ans †
○ Chima 1929
△ Monpé 1937
2e mari Somie (D 1, E22, village Loka) ✝ — Paata est la fille d'une femme Djuka épouse du grand man Ochi †, demeurée à Benivilla
3e mari Abani †
4e mari Zawi ✝
élève ○ A... 1946, mère Amékiwan.
fiche incomplète

○ **Pétai** 1903 — P1, F34
mère Abanya ?
père
1er mari Munti (K) ✝
Aldolo 1940, élevé par sa mère
○ fille † à 5 ans
△ M... 1945, élevé par sa mère
2e mari B... (DKUJA) ✝ en 1952
3e mari N... (K) ✝
une remarque
fiche incomplète

△ **Bélkaman** 1936 — Aw. B. 1, P53
mère Naimu
père A... SAH — a été élevé par Tabiki †, frère de même mère de Naimu, puis par Léniki, veuve de Tabiki.

△ **Bintamma** 1939 — K3, E145
mère Léniki
père Kwau (Dip. I

** ○ Boulo 1936 K3, F142
mère Ashiké
père Nemlodé (K) a été élevée par sa mère
mari Baala (L1, E43, village Loka)
○ M... 1954, élevée par Ashiké
○ L... 1957

△ Bakundo 1941 lignage Poti
mère Amikiwan
père Amembé

△ Tuna 1940 P1
mère Atipay (P1, F47, village Papaloton)
père Fintiman (Dju) élevé par son père Fintiman

△ Tombé 1918 K3, E156
mère Baana †
père

** ○ Tindan 1904 L2, E57
mère Atili †
père
1er mari A... (DJUKA) ϕ
△ Amembé 1911
† à quelques jours 1915
† à quelques jours 1918
2e mari S... (SAR.) † en 1952
○ † à 4 ans 1921-1925
△ Amakti 1926
△ Adyuka 1934
△ Awétipay 1935
2 enfants morts-nés 1936
○ Lomé 1938
1 enfant mort à quelques jours 1941
3e mari △ Aléwa (Aw. B. 1, E4, village Aziai) depuis 1954
élève △ E... 1955, mère Lomé

△ Tudo 1914 K2, F68
(K)
mère Katu †
père Bodi (L) † a été élevé par sa mère
élève △ A... 1950, mère ? (village Apatu) et △ G... 1944

△ Tulioto 1915 K2, F68
mère Baana †
père Somlé a été élevé par son père

△ Tombo 1941 K3, F138
mère Waway ← Aßingi
père Akwadé (L)

•• ○ Waway 1905 K3, E130
mère Aßingi
père Tauden ?

1er mari Akwadé (L)
† enf. mort à 1 jour 1925 (?)
† enf. mort à 1 jour 1930 (?)
△ Mokalonchi 1936
△ S... 1942, élevé à Kotika
△ Tombo 1941
○ S... 1946, élevée par sa mère.

2e mari ? (SAR.) † pour maladie

3e mari Ernest (Aw. B. 1, E25, village Aaisi)

Élève △ A... 1946, mère Sinè (village Kotika)

VILLAGE L'ENFANT PERDU

△ **Abagua** 1930 — Dip. I, E35
mère Ingi (village Apatou)
père Andasayo (SAR.) — a été élevé par Toli (Dip. I, D44)

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* ○ **Abéna** 1864 — Dip. I, D38
mère Kotu †
père Anato †
mari Kodio (Dip. II) †
○ Saumé 1892
○ † mort-né
○ Béiti 1897-1950
△ Bayamati 1905

** ○ **Aliti** 1917 — Dip. I, F53
mère Pétchinu
père Nachinongé (K) — a été élevée par sa mère
1er mari Garson (Aw. B. I, F7, village Aeiei) ϕ
△ Akéiti 1940
△ † mort à 3 jours
2e mari Bukuman (P1, F32, Boniville)
pas d'enfant

△ **Abéiti** 1940 — Dip. I, G51
mère Aliti
père Garson (Aw. B.) — élevé par sa mère

○ **Aliti** 1930 — Dip. I, F10
mère Djabufu
père Kido (K) † — a été élevée par sa mère
mari Djoni (Kotiku)
○ † 1 an
○ F... 1951
○ F... 1954
△ F... oct. 56
fiche incomplète

** ○ **Anan** 1928 — Dip. I, G50
mère Musinga
père Adiiso (Dju) — a été élevée par sa mère

mari Tapo (L1, E40, village Loka)
△ F... 1946
○ A... 1949 (Yuyu)
○ H... 1955
○ E... 1957

** ○ Anuuna 1938 Dip. I, F85
mère Anuna
père Abanku (K)
a été élevée par sa mère

mari Awétipay (L2, F73, village Benivile)
△ A... 1957

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* ○ Anuu 1905 Dip. I, E48
mère Umé †
père Lanou †

1er mari Djoy (Aw. B. 1, D22, village Aziel) ✝
△ † 4 ans 1915-1919
○ † 2 ans 1917-1919
○ † morte 1re semaine 1918
○ † — — 1919
○ † — — 1920
△ † Nengé 1921
○ † Towéchi 1924

2e mari Abanku (K3, E80) †
○ Anuuna 1938
○ B... 1944, élevée par sa mère

3e mari Kédé (Dip. II, F20, village Kermotibo)

** ○ Apoum 1918 Dip. I, F54
mère Pééchina
père Nachinengé (Kotika)
a été élevée par sa mère

1er mari Bésu (Aw. B. 1, F17, village Aziel) ✝
○ Séya 1941
△ † à 2 semaines

2e mari Tyaka (L1, D16, village Lapé Tabiki) ✝

3e mari Ayaubédé (L1, E37, village Loka)

** ○ Aolli 1929 Dip. I, F80
mère Éfina (Grouiani)
père Adingo (DJUKA)
a été élevée par sa mère

1er mari Bolansi (L1, F37, village Loka) ✝
○ A... 1945
△ † 1re semaine 1947
○ † 1re semaine 1951
○ A... 1955, élevée par Éfina

2e mari (?) ✝

3e mari Wabéki (K3, E115, village Kotika)

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* ○ Aouwhatina 1936 K3, E120
mère Sépétina (village Kotika)
père Pambéin (Dip. I)
a été élevée par son père

mère successifs† dernier mari Pikinbonin (L)
6 enfants † avant 1 an
○ A... 1953, élevée par Alapu à Loka
○ Y... 1957

△ Ruben 1900 Dip. I, E60
mère Dika †
père Abégu (L) †
chef du village de l'Enfant Perdu

△ Dédédéa 1940 Dip. I, F79
mère Soumé
père Somié
élevé par sa mère

△ Bagamati 1938 Dip. I, E56
mère Abéna
père Kodio †

△ Bizai 1934 Dip. I, F76
mère Soumé
père L... (DJUKA)
a été élevé par sa mère

△ Bonana 1906 Dip. I, E19
mère Kaatu †
père

△ Damédi 1900 Dip. I, E47
mère Umé †
père Lanzu †

○ Djabulu 1907 Dip. I, E8
mère Marie-Louise †
père?
1er mari Kido (K) ✝ †
○ Félix 1930
○ Aléli 1930
2e mari Gidé ✝
3e mari A... (DJUKA) †
4e mari Kondoku (Aw. B. I, E28)
fiche incomplète. A refusé de répondre

** ○ Elias 1892 Dip. I, E44
mère Dika †
père Abégu (L) †
1er mari Tasan (K) †
○ † 1er jour 1930 †
△ † 1 semaine 1934
△ † 2 ans 1936
2e mari Adingo (DJUKA, père Boni, village Apetou) ✝
○ Aséli 1929

3e mari Aloto (K2, E84, village Kotika) ✤

pas remarié en janv. 58

élève ○ A... 1955, mère Asili

△ **Fumbin** 1891 — Dip. I, E82

mère Matinman †

père Lébikodio (Dip. II) †

a été élevé par son père

femme Sepélina (village Kotika)

élève △ B... 1944, mère Sépélina (K)

○ **Fili** 1930 — Dip. I, F9

mère Djalufu

père Kilo (K) †

a été élevée par sa mère

1er mari Y... (DJUKA) ✤

△ † à 8 jours

△ B... 1950, élevé par la mère de son père

2e mari Monpe (lignage Poti, Boniville)

fiche incomplète

○ **Kodja** 1920 — Dip. I, F55

mère Pechino

père Nachinengé (K)

a été élevée par ○ Dodoy †

1er mari Amembé (L2, F72, village Loka) ✤

○ † 1946-1954

○ O... 1948, élevée par sa mère

2e mari Kilo (K3, E152, village Kotika)

élève ○ F... 1954, fille de Saayé

fiche incomplète

△ **Maipa** 1911 — Dip. I, F52

mère Péchino † Dika †

père Nachinengé

a été élevé par ○ Dika †, sa grand-mère

élève △ S... 1949, mère Saayé

△ **Manlu** 1921 — Dip. I, F75

mère Soumé

père L... (DJUKA)

a été élevé par sa mère

Mata 1921 — Dip. I, F80

mère Beitu †

père Fanté † (Dikan)

a été élevée par son père

1er mari Fosé (L1, F33, village Loka) ✤

△ P... 1949, élevé par Abosmili, sœur de Mata

2e mari Achiké (Dju, F13, village Asisi) ✝
† enfant mort né
○ † 1 semaine
○ † 1 mois
○ N... 1955, élevée par sa mère

pas remariée

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* ○ Hunlogo 1908 Dip. I, F51
mère Péchina
père Nachinongé a été élevée par sa mère

1er mari Adlino (Dju, F37, village Asisi) ✝
○ Anzu 1956

2e mari Akuba (P) †
△ mort-né

3e mari Kwachi (Dip. II, E3) †

4e mari Akwadé (L1, E34, village Loka)

△ Hungé 1921 Dip. I, F62
mère Anuso
père Djey (Aw. B.) a été élevé par ○ Diba † (Dip. I, D19)

○ Péchina 1885 Dip. I, E42
mère Diba † 1951
père Abégu (L)

1er mari Nachinongé (K1, D15)
△ mort-né 1906
△ mort à 8 jours
○ Musinga 1909
△ Malpa 1911
○ Aziti 1913
○ Aponza 1915
○ Kodja 1920
○ Sanyé 1926

2e mari Agosa † (Dip. II, E21, chef du village de Karmotibo)

pas remariée

élève ○ A... 1946, mère Sanyé

△ Pulsu 1930 Dip. I, F77
mère Saumé
père L... (DJUKA) a été élevé par Toli (Dip. I, D44)

** ○ Sanyé 1926 Dip. I, F56
mère Péchina
père Nachinongé (K)

1er mari Kwami (Dip. II, F4, village Karmotibo) ✝ en 1954
○ A... 1946, élevée par ○ Péchina
△ S... 1947, élevé par son père
△ S... 1948, élevé par △ Malpa, frère de Sanyé
○ P... 1954, élevée par Kodja
○ jumelle morte le jour même

2e mari Mutété (Dju, F17, village Asisi) (depuis 1957)

** ○ **Soumé** 1892 Dip. I, E53
mère Aléna
père Kodio (Dip. II) †
1er mari L... (DJUKA) ♁ *
△ † } jumeaux décédés vers l'âge de 3 ans, 1909-1912
△ * }
△ Tabayé 1911
△ B... 1916-1918
△ Manku 1921
△ Bimi 1924
△ Polou 1930
△ Simon 1934
2e mari Somié (L1, E22, village Loka) ♁
△ Hakafutu 1940
3e mari Atikatikati (Dju, E19, village Aziai) †
élève ○ L... 1945, mère Aboomiki et ○ E... 1955, mère Mata.

○ **Sengé** 1940 Dip. I, G65
mère Towéchi
père Pwen (L)

○ **Béyu** 1941 Dip. I, G64
mère Apenua
père Béau (Aw. B.)

△ **Simon** 1934 Dip. I, F78
mère Soumé
père L... (DJUKA) a été élevé par sa mère

△ **Tabayé** 1911 Dip. I, F73
mère Soumé
père L... (DJUKA) a été élevé par sa mère
a élevé △ Yoni 1930, de même père et de mère DJUKA

△ **Tuli** 1876 Dip. I, D41
mère Kotu (Fafudu) †
père Anato †

** ○ **Towéchi** 1924 Dip. I, F84
mère Anusa
père Djoy (Aw. B.) a été élevée par sa mère
mari Pwen (L1, E33, village Loka).
○ Sengé 1940
○ † à 3 ans
○ E... 1945
○ T... 1950
△ A... 1954

△ **Yénuma** 1915 Dip. I, E32
mère Ingi (village Apatou)
père

VILLAGES LOKA ET LAPE TABIKI

** ○ **Abdé 1896** L1, D8 Loka
mère Duba †
père
1er mari Adiéba ✝
△ † mort à quelques jours 1912
○ † mort à quelques jours 1913
○ † A... † à 5 ans, 1916-1921
○ Alapu 1924
△ Doeté 1927
2e mari Adiino (Dju, F37) ✝

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* ○ **Ahlaman 1928** L1, F39 Loka
mère Akubo
père Kasan (Dip. I)
1er mari Béku (K) ✝
△ B... 1945, élevé par Akubo sa grand-mère
2e mari Àkyèmki (K3, E144, Boniville)
pas d'enfant
élève M... 1954, fille de Kasia (Dip. II-Asini)

○ **Adoimbo 1922** L1, E17 Lapé Tabiki
mère Asamani ← Asaida †
père Butu (DJUKA) a été élevée par Asaida †
1er mari Kondoku (Aw. B. 1, E22, village Asini) ✝
△ M... 1948, élevé par Butu
○ †
2e mari Toôoto (K3, E157, Boniville)
○ P... 1949 élevée par sa mère
Soba incomplète

△ **Adoundo 1935** Aw. B. 1, F56
mère Namu Loka
père Koniman a été élevé par son père

△ **Afanpé 1939** L1, F11 Lapé Tabiki
père Twa † ← Asamani
père Dongo † (Dip. I) a été élevé par sa mère

Afuyéti 1925 L1, F38 Loka
mère Akuba
père Kasun (Dip. I)

1er mari Dogido †
2e mari Anoli (PAR.) †
3e mari Pumpa (K1, E52, village Kotika) +
4e mari Déli (Aw. B. 1, F 37, village Aséi)

élève △ D... 1943, mère Néchi (Aw. B. 1, F37) et ○ A... 1954, mère Dudu (L1, F40)

fiche incomplète.

○ **Abomédi 1924** L1, F31
mère Paako ← Awenkina
père P... (DJUKA) †

a été élevée par sa mère

1er mari Sanauman (P) +
2e mari Todo (K2, F88, Bonville)
△ F... 1954

élève △ A... 1947, mère Teké

Akuba 1895 L1, E30 Loka
mère Awenkina
père Gyampo +

1er mari Kasun (Dip. I, E3, village Kotika)
○ Yakobe 1915
△ Balansi 1918
○ Afuyéti 1925
○ Ablaman 1928
○ Dudu 1930

2e mari Kété (Dip. II, F20, village Kormotibo)

3e mari Mato (Aw. B. 1, E46, village Aséi)

élève △ B... 1945, mère Ablaman

△ **Akwadé 1885** L1, E28
mère Abédumi +
père Samalobi (Dikan)
élève A 1950, mère Dansayé (Dip. II, Kormotibo)

○ **Akapu 1924** L1, E9 Loka
mère Abété
père A... (PAR.)

mari Nale (K2, E106, village Kotika)

stérile

élève ○ A... 1953, mère Asuwèntina (village L'Enfant Perdu)

○ **Alonzo 1937** L2, G65 Lapé Tabiki
mère Angion
père Koko †
a été élevée par sa mère
mari Buma (K3, E150, village Boniville)
○ E... 1955
fiche incomplète

△ **Amèmbé 1911** L2, F70
mère Téréso (village Boniville)
père A... (DJUKA)
élève △ A... 1954, mère Kilian (Aséé-Aw. B.)

○ **Ananda 1937** L1, F30 Loka
mère Saléni
père Kwashi (Dip. II) ✝
1er mari Bému (P2, G80, village Kormotibo) depuis 1954
△ E... 1955(?)
○ K... 1956 élevée par Saléni
fiche incomplète

△ **Annie 1920** L2, G61 Lapé Tabiki
mère Kapéiki ← Asakundu
père Tonki † (Dip. II)
a été élevé par sa mère

○ **Angion 1914** L2, F61 Lapé Tabiki
mère Asakundu
père A... (SAR.)
1er mari Koko †
○ Alonzo 1937
2e mari Ernest (Aw. B. I, E35, village Asini)
élève ○ E... 1951, fille de Paga †
fiche incomplète

△ **Aniella 1929** L1, E10 Lapé Tabiki
mère Asamani
père Butu (DJUKA)
a été élevé par sa mère

** ○ **Apélin 1906** L1, E7 Loka
mère Yali †
père
1er mari Neldu (K) †
2e mari G... (SAR.) ✝
△ † 1 semaine 1926
○ † 2 ans 1928-1931
△ 1937
○ Kidi 1939
3e mari Tafanié (P1, E12, village Papaïston)

[illegible] L1, E56 Lapé Tshiki

[illegible] ○ Aménodo [illegible]
mère Aloh [illegible]
père
1er mari A... (SAR.) † ✝
○ Kapédé 1940
† mort à quelques jours 1940
○ † 1919-1934
○ Angéno 1934
○ B... † 1916-1936
△ Sémo 1937
△ Amodoja 1938
△ Mahéi 1939
2e mari Ambano (Ar. 0. 1, E47, village Aéké)
fille ○ A... 1949, mère Aplédo (P., Benoville)

[illegible] L1, D15 Lapé Tshiki

○ Amamé 1930
mère Ambio †
père
mari Hulu (DJUKA)
○ Tou † 1946-1967
○ K... 1950
△ Mamou 1956
○ A... 1961
△ Amidjo (Ann) 1969
○ Mamao 1970
fille incomplète.
[illegible] B... 1946, mère Kama, et ○ C... 1953, mère Nanéno

[illegible] L1, D13 Loka

[illegible] ○ Aménéma 1870
mère Mokoyo [illegible]
père
1er mari Gyampo †
○ Punko 1890
○ Figo † 1905-1940
○ Akado 1905
△ Kouimou 1900
○ Mélila 1904
△ Pwan 1907
○ Mémé 1911
2e mari Pénéli †
3e mari Kwao (Ép. I, E3, village Apaéa) ✝

[illegible] L1, E27 Loka

○ Apanéléli 1911
mère Chéi
père K... (DJUKA)
[illegible] T... 1934, mère Aia (village Aéké-Ijin)

[illegible] L1, F19 Loka

[illegible] Bonlo 1933
mère Sabéi
père Kawéli (Ép. II, ?
a été élevé par sa mère

△ [illegible] 1934 — L1, E43 — Loka
mère Chili
père Adum (P) ? — a été élevé par sa mère

** ○ [illegible] 1934 — Djo, F30 — Loka
mère Bimili ?
père Maimi (Dip. I, Loka) — a été élevée par son père au village Loka

remise vers 1944 avec Kumau (K2, E34, village Kalika)
○ K... 1945 élevée par Kalima, sœur de Boikum, à Benitiko
○ A... 1946
△ ? 1951-1953
△ A... 1955
○ E... sept. 1957

élève ○ W... 1946 mère Mini (K, Benitiko)

△ [illegible] 1918 — L1, F37 — Loka
mère Akuku
père Kadio ?

** ○ [illegible] 1934 — L1, D8 — Loka
mère Bini (Opuni) ?
père

mari Ahuiu (K1, D84, village Kalika)
○ Toiti 1918
△ Pikinbanin 1934
△ Tiion 1923

élève △ W... 1954, mère Mili (village Pagatikon)

△ [illegible] 1893 (?) — Lapé Takiki
DJUKA, mari de Azamani, établi depuis longtemps à Lapé-Takiki.

élève ○ F... 1949, mère Kanu et △ E... 1947, mère Adeinuko

** ○ [illegible] 1946 — L1, D84 — Loka
mère Makuya ?
père
1er mari K... (DJUKA) ✝
? mort à quelques jours 1950
△ Ayankédé 1911

2e mari Adum (P) ?
△ Tiboyon 1914
△ ? à 2 ans 1916-1918
○ Yanan 1918
△ Tapo 1920
○ Modu 1929
○ Koko 1930
△ Baala 1934

peu remarquable

élève △ F... 1948, mère Anau (village L'Kabasi Pueda)

. **Dédé** 1927 — L1, F45 — Loka
mère Sélika
père Dyakala (Dip. I) — a été élevé par son père

** ○ **Doti** 1934 — L1, F26 — Loka
mère Panko
père Newen (P)

1er mari Hissi (Dip. I, F76, village l'Enfant Perdu)
△ E... 1955 élevé par sa mère

n'a pas perdu d'enfant)

** ○ **Do** 1939 — L1, F26 — Loka
mère Solini
père Kwashi (Dip. II) † — a été élevée par sa mère

1er mari Malpo (Dip. I, F56, village L'Enfant Perdu) ♦
2e mari Kwami (Dip. II, F4, village Kormalibo) ♦ en 1957
○ † le 1er jour 1958
3e mari Abdo (K1, D28, village Kolika)

△ **Dosé** 1927 — L1, E10
mère Abéké
père Adiba — a été élevé par sa mère

** ○ **Dulu** 1930 — L1, F40 — Loka
mère Akuba
père Kassa (Dip. I) — a été élevée par Tukobo, sœur de sa mère

mari Sekamma (Aw. B. I, F52, Donisville)
○ † 1947-1953, morte à 6 ans
△ † 1950-1953, mort à 3 ans
○ A... 1954, élevée par ○ Aloyéli, sœur de sa mère
△ E... 1955

○ **Elisa** 1929 — L1, F18 — Lapé Tabiki
mère Kama ← Assumai
père Léémma (K) — a été élevée par sa mère

mari Akambi (K2, F88, village Kolika)
pas d'enfant

△ **Fabiby** 192[illegible] — L1, F5 — Loka
mère Apéika
père Naido (K)

. **Fané** 1917 — L1, F33 — Loka
mère Panko
père P... (DJUKA) — a été élevé par sa mère
[illegible] G... 1956, naissance Ubera (village Papaïchou)

○ Ebdo 1941 — L1, P12 — Lapé Tabiki
mère Twa † ← Assumani
père Dongo †
élevée par Kama, sœur de sa mère

△ Kabiba 1939 — L1, P48 — Loka
mère Mâlita
père Dyokala (Dip. I)

** ○ Kama 1940 — L1, E15 — Lapé Tabiki
mère Assumani
père Boiu
mari Lôkômea (K2, D90, Benbéréke)
○ Elima 1959
† avant 1 an 1960
○ M... † 1962-1965
○ E... 1964 élevée par sa mère
○ B... 1966 — par Assumani, sa grand-mère
○ F... 1969 — par Boiu, mari de Assumani
△ K... 1952 — par son père, Lôkômea, à Benbéréke
△ † à 8 jours 1954
△ A... sept. 1956

** ○ Kapédi 1908 — L2, P80 — Lapé Tabiki
mère Asekunda
père A... (SAR.) †
1er mari E... (DJUKA) ✝
○ Yundu † 1957-1957
2e mari Tonki (Dip. II) †
1 enfant mort à quelques jours 1930
△ Anele 1933
○ Pugu † 1930-1961
3e mari Madika (K2, E80, Benbéréke)
élève ○ T... 1946, mère Yundu †

○ Kapé 1917 — L1, P50 — Loka
mère Kalini
père Kwaki (Dip. II) †
a été élevée par Kalini
1er mari N... (DJUKA) ✝
△ 1936 † à 3 semaines
fiche incomplète

** ○ Kidi 1920 — L2, P8 — Loka
mère Apiika
père G... (SAR.)
a été élevée par Abéki, sœur de sa grand-mère maternelle.
mari Ijuai (K) ✝ janv. 57
△ A... déc. 58

[illegible] ○ **Eolo** 1920 I.I, F48 **Loka**
mère Chli
père Adam (P) ? a été élevée par sa mère
mari Aseduma (K3, K34, Beniville)
△ B... 1948, élevé par ○ Allaud, mère de son père, à Beniville
△ P... 1950
△ ? Kulu ? 1952 à 6 mois
○ A... 1954
○ E... sept. 56

Kapinan 1900 I.I, K31 **Loka**
mère Awenkina
père Gyanque ?

Hosiou 1926 I.I, K16 **Lapé Tabiki**
mère Aseduma ← Asiéda ?
père Hulu a été élevé par son père

○ **Hulu** 1920 I.I, K41 **Loka**
mère Chli
père Adam (P) ? a été élevée par sa mère
1er mari D... (PAR.) ♦ ?
△△ ?? 2 jumeaux morts-nés 1946
△ B... 1947
△ A... 1949, élevé par Yuane
2e mari N... (SAR.) ♦
△ ? 1950-1954
3e mari Matapi (Igungu Ad, c3, village Asiné)
○ K... ? 1956 à 6 mois
○ B... 1956
△ L... 1957 (début)
sœur ○ E... 1947, mère ○ Gilambo (K)

Bakiki 1905 Dip. I, F50 **Loka**
mère Agun ? ← Fabulu
père Pardoun ? (Lapé a été élevé par son père au village Loka, demeuré là ensuite.

Hosiou 1937 I.I, E30 **Lapé Tabiki**
mère Aseduma
père Hulu a été élevée par sa mère
1er mari Kulum (Dip. II) ?
○ Gilino 1953, élevée par Aseduma
mari Arbiki (Dja, F13, village Asiné) depuis 1954
○ 1956 ? à 3 mois
E... 195?

Hapun 1919 I.I, F27 **Loka**
mère Sakua
père Kwarlu (Dip. II) ? a été élevée par sa mère

mari Yémanu (Dip. I, E32, village l'Enfant Perdu)
pas d'enfant

fiche incomplète

○ Bébé 1923 (?) Aw. B. I, E27 Loka
mère Akaniau †
père Kodio † 1956 a été élevée par son père, résidée à Loka
1er mari P... (DJUKA) ✝
△ D... 1943 élevé par ○ Abayéli
△ A... 1946
△ A... 1950
2e mari Tembé (K2, E158, Benéville)
○ A... 1952
○ A... 1955
○ D... 1956

fiche incomplète

** ○ Hélène 1904 I.I, E29 Loka
mère Awéakina
père
1er mari Dyakala (Dip. I, E4, Benéville) ✝ 1954
○ Téké 1924
△ Déédi 1927
△ Kéhila 1929
2e mari Kwata (K3, E108, village Kotika)

n'a pas perdu d'enfants.

élève △ G... 1945, △ E... 1950, △ F... 1956, mère Téké, et △ G... 1948, mère Chikalou, village Asini

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○ Bébé 1911 I.I, E34 Loka
mère Awéakina
père Gyampo †
1er mari Soéi (K1, D40, village Kotika) ✝
2e mari A... (DJUKA)
○ A... 1949 élevée par son père

fiche incomplète

** ○ Bébé 1927 Aw. B. I, F27 Loka
mère Nanu (Aw. B.)
père Koniman a été élevée par Akaba, sœur de son père
mari D... (P) † 1955
pas d'enfant

pas remariée en 1957

** ○ Pauline 1890 I.I, E30 Loka
mère Awéakina
père Gyampo †
1er mari P... (DJUKA) †
△ Tamu 1911
○ † 4 5 ans 1912-1918

△ Pauli 1916
○ Akoudéli 1916
△ † P... 1931-1949

2e mari Sawan (Pl. E7, village Papaïchou) †
○ Doli 1924

3e mari Aloto (E2, E24, village Kotiko)

fils ○ H... 1950, mère Dokoso (Papaïchou)

△ Pellini 1936 — L1, F10 — Lapé Tabiki
mère Twa † ← Assumani
père Dengo †
a été élevé par sa mère

△ Pikinzulu 1924 — L1, E2 — Loka
mère Hito - Jiwai †
père Aliété K
a été élevé par sa mère

△ Papa 1920 — L1, E23 — Loka
mère Abéduni †
père
chef du lignage Lapé

△ Pema 1900 — L1, E23 — Loka
mère Awankian
père Gyangu †

○ Régina 1936 — Dip. I, F3 — Loka
mère Minan †
père Papa
a été élevée par Papa au village Loka

mari Tyabo (Dip. II, F40, village Aoké-Djoi)
père d'enfant

Sabini 1953 — L1, F25 — Loka
mère Abéduni †
père

1er mari Kwachi (Dip. II) †
△ Tingo 1916
○ Kayé 1917
○ Mayan 1919
[illegible] 1921
[illegible] Hanlu 1933
[illegible] Dolmé † 1937-1956
○ Amanta 1937
△ Sangodogini 1941

2e mari Mokobi (Dip. II, E50, village Loka)
père d'enfant

fille [illegible]

△ Sangodogini 1941 — L1, F31 — Loka
mère Sabini
père Kwachi (Dip. II) †

△ Sindu 1919 — L2, F02 — Lapé Tabiki (?)
mère Assikundu ← Aiili
père A... (SAR.) †
a été élevé par sa mère
élève △ E... 1950, mère Amélie (village Anini-Aw. B.)

△ Sodé 1896 — L1, D12 — Lapé Tabiki
mère Anaida †
père

△ Soudé 1891 — L1, E22 — Loka
mère Abédumi †
père

** ○ Tandina 1936 — Aw. B. 1, F20 — Loka
mère Yoshi †
père Abo (Dju) †
a été élevée par Méshé, sa sœur, à Loka
mari Tingo (L1, F25, village Loka)
△ T... 1952
○ E... 1954
○ D... 1956

△ Tanu 1911 — L1, F22 — Loka
mère Pazko ← Awoakina
père P... (DJUKA) †

** ○ Téké 1934 — L1, F44 — Loka
mère Mélita
père Dyakata
1er mari Hébimaa (Dju, E15, village Anini Dju) ✝ †
△ C... 1945, élevé par Mélita
△ A... 1947, élevé par Akumédi
2e mari B... (DJUKA) ✝
△ M... 1950, élevé par Mélita
3e mari Baine (Dip. II, G27, village Anini-Dip. II)
△ C... 1952, élevé par son père
○ K... 1953, élevée par son grand père paternel
○ † morte-née 1954
○ F... 1956, élevée par Mélita
Observation : Téké n'élève aucun de ses enfants

△ Téku 1933 — L1, E3 — Loka
mère Bita ← Béni †
père Aféléé (K)
a été élevé par son père

△ Tingo 1915 — L1, F25 — Loka
mère Salini
père Kwachi (Dip. II) †

** ○ Toili 1918 — L1, E1 — Loka
mère Bita ← Béni (Opon) ←
père Aféléé (K)
a été élevée par sa mère

mari Aléni (Dip. II, G90, village Kormotibo)
○ Toloumen 1936
△ A... 1942, élevé par son père

élève △ B... 1954, fils de Toloumen

△ Tupu 1930 L1, E40 Loka
mère Chii (Afuyéli)
père Adam (P) †
a été élevé par sa mère

○ Toloumen 1936 L1, F1 Loka
mère Tulli ← Bilo ← Beni
père Aléni (Dip. II)
a été élevée par sa mère

mari Koniami (Aw. B. I, G1, village Asisi-Dju)
△ B... 1954 élevé par Tulli sa grand-mère
△ D... 1956

n'a pas perdu d'enfants.

△ Tyuku 1930 L1, D18 Lapé Tubiki
mère Asoida †
père

○ Tanna 1918 L1, E39 Loka
mère Chii (Afuyéli)
père Adam (P) †
a été élevée par sa mère
1er mari Wème (Dju, F38, village Asisi-Dju)
a perdu 1 enfant
2e mari Anumé (Dip. II, F42, village Asisi-Dip. II)

élève A... 1949, fils de Madu

fiche incomplète

** ○ Tabuku 191[illegible] L1, F38 Loka
mère Akubu (Lio)
père Kodio (Dip. I)

1er mari Liki (Aw. B.) †

2e mari Numindé (K1, D7, village Kotika)

stérile

VILLAGE ABIN-DJU

△ **Aohiki 1938** Dju, F13
· mère Asono † 1955
père Dikâ †

△ **Adiino 1907** Dju, F37
mère Aliki ← Aba †
père Bootl chef du lignage Dju

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* ○ **Adyiiqu 1905** Dju, E19 †
mère Sepiké †
père Samalobi † (Dikan) a été élevée par sa mère
1er mari W... (DJUKA)
2e mari M... (DJUKA)
○ † à 2 ans 1925-1927

** ○ **Ahalu 1930** origine DJUKA
mère † (DJUKA)
père I.... (DJUKA)
mari Antalyo (L1, E19, village Loko) ♦ élevée chez les Dju avec son frère de même père Fini, par Tini (Dju, F1), mère de Fini
○ L... 1953

** ○ **Aguko 1941** Dju, G14
mère Eliana
père Matapi (lignage AE) a été élevée par ○ Lango (Dju, F36)
mariée en 1957 avec Pulliki (L1, F70, village Loko)
divorcée fin 1957, vie irrégulière début 1958.

○ **Ahuto 1941** Dju, G6
mère Ata ← Wimu
père Ayumbédé (L1) élevée par sa mère
mari Adilimi (K2, F84, village Kotika)

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* ○ **Aliki 1909** Dju, E23
mère Aba †
père
maris successifs † dernier mari Y... (BAR.)
○ Lango 1928
△ Adiino 1907
△ Wimu 1908
△ Loko 1910
plus 6 enfants morts dans les premières semaines

△ **Amoumau** 1938 Dju, F22
mère Ména † ← Urulia
père Nlolo † (K)

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* ○ **Ala** 1910 Dju, F2
mère Wima *
père
1er mari Mudéko (K2, K60, village Boniville) †
2e mari Ayoubadé (L1, E37, village Loka)
enf. † 1936 (?) avant 18 mois
enf. † 1939 (?) avant 1 an
○ Alata 1941 } élevées par leur mère
○ E... 1945 }
○ Y... 1951 élevée par son père à Loka
1 jumeau † à 2 mois
enfant 1953 à 2 semaines

Aîné ○ B... 1948, mère Buba (Dju, G1)

) **Awali** 1906 Dju, E10
mère Urulia
père
1er mari Awéni (Benage Ali) †
2e mari Agbédou (Mélo), (Aw. B. 1, E21, village Asini)
stérile

** ○ **Bawé** 1909 Dju, E13
mère Urula
père Amoumpé † a été élevée par sa mère
1er mari Baafu (L2, K56, Boniville) †
2e mari Pwina †
3e mari V... (SAI)
stérile

△ **Bernardin** 1905 K1, D62
mère Kokobo † (village Kolika)
père ? (Dju) a été élevé par son père à Asini-Dju
vit avec sa femme Kukusu (Dju)

○ **Buba** 1924 Dju, G1
mère Tini * Wima †
père I... (DJUKA) a été élevée par Wima
mari S... (SAIL)
○ B... 1948, élevée par ○ Ala (Dju, F2)
△ † à 5 mois en 1948?

Sebe incomplète

○ **Dubim 1917** Dju, G45
mère Lânga ← Alâbi
père

1er mari † (DJUKA) ✚
2e mari Bedon (Aw. B. I, F4)

stérile

** ○ **Dachini 1919** Dju, F16
mère Diana
père

1er mari Amèmbé (L2, F72, village Loka) ✚
△ Léya 1941 élevé par sa mère

2e mari Yofé (K2, E106, village Kotika) ✚
○ G... 1943, élevée par sa mère
○ † 1re semaine 1945
○ † 1re semaine 1947
△ † 1re semaine 1949

3e mari Adam (lignage A8, c7, village Asini)
○ T... 1954

○ **Diana 1902** Dju, E9
mère Urûla
père Amusupé † (Aw. B.)

1er mari Puy ✚
○ Dachini 1917

2e mari A... (SAR.)
△ Mutéké 1925
△ Frage 1929

3e mari F... (DJUKA) ✚
△ Faawé 1935
△ T... † à 1 an 1937 ?
△ I.... † à 6 mois 1939 ?
△ † mort à 1 mois 1940 ?

Scène incomplète

△ **Faawé 1935** Dju, F19
mère Diana ← Urûla
père E... (DJUKA)

a été élevé par son père

** ○ **Pélala 1937** Dju, G41
mère Dondo † ← Anna †
père

mari Akodo (Aw. B. 2, E55, village Asini)
△ † 1re semaine 1944
○ A... 1946, élevée par ○ Tikichi
○ ○ jumelles †† 1re semaine 1948
○ A... 1949
○ ○ jumelles †† 1re semaine 1951
○ A... 1954

△ **Pini** 1930 — Dju, G3
mère Tini ← Wima †
père L... (DJUKA)
a été élevé par sa mère

△ **Pauga** 1929 — Dju, F16
mère Diana ← Ornin
père A... (Sar.)
a été élevé par sa mère

△ **Edouma** 1936 — Dju, G10
mère Yééchi ← Wima †
père Topi †
a été élevé par sa mère

△ **Koulami** 1936 (?) — Aw. B. I, G1
mère Embaki †
père P... (DJUKA)
a été élevé par son père, vit avec les Dju.

○ **Kabum** 1890 † — Dju, F40
mère Bumma †
père
mari Bernardin (K1, D89, vivant avec elle à Aalel-Dje)
pas d'enfant vivant
élevé ○ **Téhéli** 1941, fille de Mina †
fiche incomplète ; a refusé de répondre.

○ **Lânga** [illegible] — Dju, F36
mère Alki
père ?
mari successif ?
○ Dabéna 1917
a vécu 7 enfants âgés de 1 à 5 ans

△ **Léya** 1941 — Dju, G20
mère Yaschani
père Ambembé
a été élevé par sa mère

Loko [illegible] — Dju, F39
mère Alki ← Abo †
père

△ **Mahéli** 1927 — Dju, F17
mère Diana ← Ornin
père A... (SAR.)
a été élevé par sa mère

○ **Pauna** 1930 — Dju, G2
mère Tini
père L... (DJUKA)
a été élevée par ○ Alki (Dju, E23)
mari Mina (Aw. B. I, F37, village Aalel) ♀ en 1951

△ P... 1947, élevé par Kyéti, mère de son père, à Asiei
○ A... 1950

n'a pas perdu d'enfant

femme de mauvaise réputation ; vie irrégulière.

** ○ Pamam 1928 Dju, E36
mère Apikiwan †
père
a été élevée par ○ Tini (Dju, F1)
1er mari Abéni (Aw. B. 1, F42, village Asiei)
○ † à 8 jours 1943
△ B... 1944, élevé par Tini (Dju, F1)
○ E... 1948, élevé par sa mère
2e mari Todo (K2, F85, Boniville) depuis 1956
○ L... 1950, élevée par sa mère
enf. † à 2 jours 1956

△ Poinée 1933 Dju, F35
mère Amati † ← Urulia
père Sodé (L)
a été élevé par son père

** ○ Pikè 1911 Dju, F28
mère Anna †
père
1er mari Bukuman (P1, F32, Boniville) ✝
2e mari Djoy (Aw. B. 1, D22, village Asiei) ✝
3e mari Beafu (L2, E38, Boniville)
stérile

** ○ Sam 1930 Dju, E37
mère Apikiwan † ← Amapé †
père P... † (Aw. B.)
a été élevée par ○ Kuluba, mère de son père.
1er mari Iéku (K) ✝
E... 1949 élevé par sa mère
2e mari Kellawa (lignage Poli, Boniville) ✝
E... 1951
○ K... † 1952-54
3e mari Aluutu (K2, F80, village Kotika)
○ L... juin 1956

△ Soululu 1935 Dju, G45
mère Dondo † ← Anna †
père

△ Soumun 1915 Dju, E14
mère Urulia
père Amusupé †

** ○ Téléti 1941 Dju, F24
mère Kukusu
père
a été élevée par sa mère
1er mari Amésiusu (Aw. B. 1, F40, village Asiei)
○... oct. 57

○ **Tiodom** 1923 — Dju, G40

mère Dondo † ← Anna †

père — a été élevée par sa mère

1er mari Toôoto (K3, E157, Benivilla) †

2e mari Deoté (L1, K10, village Loka)

△ † à quelques jours 1946 (?)

élève △ A... 1946, mère Félicia.

Tina [illegible] — Dju, F1

mère Winna †

père

[illegible] (DJUKA)

† † 2 enfants morts avant 1 an

○ Bube 1924 †

△ † mort-né

○ † 1 jour

△ ○ morts 1re semaine

△ Fémi

○ Panna 1930

élève △ B... 1944, mère Pamano (Dju, E36)

Tyolo 1919 — Dju, H, F40

mère Alawanchi †

père

○ **Ürotila** 1870 — Dju, D3

mère Beamawi †

père †

maris successifs †

△ Abo † 1868-1957

△ † mort à 1 mois

○ Diana 1892

○ Awali 1895

○ † Méno 1905-1944

○ † Amati 1907-1940

○ † Baawé 1909

△ Sooomau 1915

○ † Hébimau 1918-1952

△ **Wému** 1900 — Dju, F38

mère Alikí

père

Yachi 1930 — Dju, F23

mère Méno † ← Ürotila

père Kiéto † (K)

a été élevé par son père

Yaka 1870 — SARAMAKA

[illegible] vivant depuis très longtemps dans le bo Dju ; mari de Alikí

* ○ Téléli 1913 Dju, F3
mère Wima
père Teli (Dip. I)
1er mari Topi †
△ † Kéwéma 1939
△ † 4 jours 1940
△ † 3 jours 1941
△ † 1942-1950
△ † à 1 an 1944
2e mari Akyabu ♁
filles △ L... 1948 et △ E... 1950, mère Apuku †

VILLAGE ASIBI-AWARA BAKKA

Abdai 1912 Aw. B. 1, F49
mère Nanu
père A... (DJUKA) †
a été élevé par △ Antonu, frère de Nanu

○ **Abenbina** 1936 Aw. B. 1, F31
mère Kakyé
père Muso (Dip. I)
a été élevée par sa mère
1er mari Kraga (Dju, F18, village Asiei) ✝
2e mari Bonfo (Aw. B. 1, E31, village Asiei) ✝
divorcée
non remariée en 1957
(femme de mauvaise réputation, vie irrégulière)

○ **Abogu** 1938 Aw. B. 2, E63
mère Sanatti
père Kondoku (Aw. B. 1.
a été élevée par Sanatti
1er mari Tabayé (Dip. I, F73, village L'Enfant Perdu) ✝
2e mari Feni (Dju, G3, village Asiei-Dju)
△ P... 1953 élevé par Sanatti
○ E... 1955 ; élevés par leur mère
○ T... 1957 ;
n'a pas perdu d'enfant

△ **Adam** 1922 lignage Afi, e7
mère Emilina †
père créole de Surinam
a été élevé par sa mère Emilina †

○ **Adinaman** 1941 Aw. B. 2, E66
mère Sanatti
père Kondoku (Aw. B. 1)
élevée par sa mère

△ **Agbidan** 1900 Aw. B. 1, F21
mère Akomina †
père

Aiyum 1933 Aw. B. 1, F26
mère Kyeti
père Alèwa
a été élevée par Alèwa, son père
1er mari Aluku ✝
2e mari Pedi (K1, Klan, village Kotika) ✝

3e mari Makki (L2, P84, village Asini)
△ M... déc. 56

élève ○ S... 1952, mère Lébémbki

** ○ Ahanté 1900 Aw. B. 3, E70
mère Anéta
père Péiyan † a été élevée par son père

1er mari Ngutó (K3, D104, village Kotika) +
△ Fáiini 1929
○ Summa 1931
△ D... 1946, élevé par Anéta
△ A... 1945, élevé par sa mère
○ O... 1948, élevée par sa mère

2e mari Puopu (Dip. II, E7, village Kormotiibo)
△ L... 1948 élevé par sa mère
△ B... 1950
△ F... 1953

n'a pas perdu d'enfant

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* ○ Ahinki 1953 Aw. B. 1, P37
mère Yochi †
père A... (DJUKA) a été élevée par ○ Tiii (Aw. B. 1, E18)

mari Akaapa (K3, E134, Bonivilla)
△ S... 1955 élevé par sa mère

△ Ahodo 1930 Aw. B. 2, E36
mère Emma
père A... (DJUKA) a été élevé par sa mère

△ Aiémin 1917 Aw. B. 1, E40
mère Akumuyé †
père D... (DJUKA) a été élevé par sa mère

élève △ A... 1949, mère Yundu † (village Lapé T.)

△ Aiéna 1902 Aw. B. 1, E4
mère Kutubu †
père

○ Aiéla 1915 Aw. B. 1, E32
mère Mali †
père ? (créole Surinamien) a été élevée par ○ Aiiki (Djo-Aaisi)

1er mari Yéuimu (Dip. I, E22, village L'Enfant Perdu)
△ Amoniama 1939

2e mari L... (DJUKA)
n'aurait pas perdu d'enfant ?

aurait eu des unions de courte durée avec Numinoki et Sonkisi

élève ○ A... 1953, mère Léhimay

fiche incomplète

** ○ **Amélia** 1922 Av. B. 1, F19
mère Kakye
père Sémé [illegible]

1er mari Baiam (Dip. 11, G27, village Asini) +
△ B... 1943, élevé par Kakyé
△ T... 1945, élevé par Kakyé

2e mari [illegible] (L2, F92, village Lapé Tabiki
○ A... 1947, élevé par sa mère
△ + 1re semaine 1949
M... 1950, élevé par son père à Lapé-Tabiki

élève △ A... 1956, mère Atuka +

Ambolman 1929 Av. B. 1, F40
mère Aliéto
père Yémanse Dip. 1 a été élevé par sa mère

Amiato 1934 Av. B. 3, K74
mère Amita +
père Piéyan +
a été élevé par sa mère

△ **Amoupé** 1940 Av. B. 1, E2
mère Aabula +
père

Anita 19[illegible] Av. B. 3 (Jondolette)
mère [illegible] (DJUKA
père (venue résider au village de son mari)

mère Piéyan (Av. B. 1) +
+ 1 semaine 1937
+ 1 semaine 1938
Kaapalé 1939 (?
+ 1 m. ½ 1940
+ Papay 1942-1942
△ + Poima 1941-1961
△ Ayuma émigré en pays Djuka
○ + Akusé enterré en pays Djuka
○ + Apéiye ? [illegible] 20 ans 1907-1927
Akaale 1909
Kilina 1912
Galma 1915
Amiato 1922

élève B... 1943, mère Akaabé, et △ T... 1951, mère Samma

△ **Antoua** 1[illegible] Av. B. 1, 67
mère Aliéman
père

Apaki 194[illegible] Av. B. 1, F54
mère Kakye
père Mano Dip. 1 a été élevée par sa mère

○ **Apinin 1912** Aw. B. 1, F16
mère Kakyé
père A... (SAR.) a été élevée par sa mère
1er mari Apuyu (lignage Tuina, village Papaiston) ✚
○ S... † à 5 ans
○ Tuwi 1937
△ † 1re semaine
2e mari Kwami (Dip. II, F4, village Kormotibo) ✚
pas d'enfant
3e mari Fonti (K1, D34, village Kotika) ✚ en juillet 57
fiche incomplète

△ **Amkyu 1920** Aw. B. 2, E25
mère Senédi
père Kondoku (Aw. B. 1) a été élevé par Kondoku

○ **Awum 1941** Aw. B. 1, G50
mère Léna ← Nanu
père Balam (L) élevée par Nanu, sa grand-mère

△ **Awini 1905** lignage AE, e12
mère Tunéta †
père
élève △ F... 1952, mère Soéé

** ○ **Ayikuman 1911** Aw. B. 1, F8
mère Titi
père Yooé †
1er mari Kokinon (K1, E12, village Kotika-Abouanasongo) ✚
○ Kapachi (Nini) 1931
† 1934-1936 mort à 18 mois
† 1937-1939 mort à 2 ans
○ Dunu 1941 élevée par sa mère
2e mari △ A... (DJUKA) ✚
† 1946-1948 mort à 2 ans
3e mari T... (DJUKA) ✚ en 1953
△ A... 1952 élevé par sa mère

△ **Baakuman 1920** Aw. B. 1, F12
mère Titi
père Yooé † a été élevé par sa mère

△ **Bakau 1920 (?)** Aw. B. 1, F4
mère Liki † ← Kalube
père Saléng a été élevé par sa grand-mère Kalube

** ○ **Bakiéki 1927** Aw. B. 1, F29
mère Kyéti
père Aléwa (Aw. B. 1) a été élevée par sa mère
mari Anato (L2, G41, village Lapé Tabiki)
stérile

Dèna 1922 Aw. B. 3, E73
mère Akaw ? ← Préyan
père
1er mari Pilipili (Aw. B. 1, F2, village Asini)
○ † à 9 ans 1940-1951
○ † à 2 ans 1949-1952
2e mari Mulno (Aw. B. 1, F43, village Asini)
○ B... 1946

△ **Dèm 1914** Aw. B. 1, F17
mère Kakyé ← Akandan ?
père A... (SAJL, ?
a été élevé par sa mère

Dèti 1927 Aw. B. 1, F37
mère Kyeti
père Aléwa (Aw. B. 1)
a été élevé par sa mère

Dipo 1923 Aw. B. 1, F11
mère Tili
père A... (DJUKA)
a été élevée par sa mère
1er mari Dundu (village Ali, d6)
○ A... 1951 élevée par Tili
2e mari Abiamo (P1, G65, village Papaldam)
○ B... élevée par Tili
fèlse incomplète

Dodo 1930 (?) Aw. B. 1, E31
mère Mali ?
père

Dodó 1911
mère Tili
père A... (DJUKA)
élevé par sa mère

Dodyo 1941 Aw. B. 1, F45
mère Irma ← Akamayé ?
père A... (DJUKA) ?
élevé par sa mère

△ **Dogi 1915** Aw. B. 1, F41
mère Irma ← Akamayé ?
père Somayaka
a été élevée par Akamayé.
1er mari B... (SAJL, ♦
△ Dodó 1920
2e mari Fleiamon (Lipa, F8, Boniville)
pas d'enfant
élève ○ B... 1949, sa sœur.

** ○ Hélène 1939 Aw. B. 1, F43
mère Irma ← Akumuyé ?
père A... (DJUKA) a été élevée par Irma, sa mère

mari Désé (L1, F48, village Loéa) depuis 1947
△ O... 1948, élevée par Hélène, mère de son père (L)
△ R... 1951, élevé par Irma
○ H... 1956, élevée par sa mère

○ Diana 1941
mère Ayékumua
père Kaimon (K) élevée par sa mère

* ○ Délina 1931 origine DJUKA
mère ? (DJUKA)
père vit avec son mari

mari Mabu (Aw. B. 1, F49, village Aséé)
○ † à 3 mois en 1956

○ Dia 1931 Aw. B. 1, F56
mère Yaabi ?
père P... ? (DJUKA) a été élevée par Aloéka, sœur de Yaabi

mari Antoéto (Aw. B. 3, E74, village Aséé)
△ S... 1957

△ Doudi 1930 Aw. B. 1, G40
mère Bugi
père B... (SAR.) a été élevé par sa mère

△ Dapia 1918 Aw. B. 1, F9
mère Tili
père A... (DJUKA) a été élevé par sa mère

élève △ A... 1955, mère Bébéki (village Aséé-Dip. 11)

△ Dondo 1931 Ilynage AB, 46
mère Saiéto ? ← Eména
père Amumpé (Aw. B. 1) a été élevé par sa mère

** ○ Emma 1905 (?) Aw. B. 5, D95
mère Aléli ?
père

1er mari (?)

2e mari A... (DJUKA) ♦
△ Aléndo 1930
○ Déédi ? 1953-1956
△ S... ? 1955-1949
○ Kaéndo 1952

[illegible] mari Tyako (L1, D48, village Loka)
○ Fakima 1927
△ T... † à 3 ans 1940-1943

4e mari Sumé (L1, E32, village Loka)

pas remarqué

Aîné △ T... 1954, mère Fakima et ○ A... 1956, mère Dédé †

△ Bapuli 1880 (?)
mère Anéla (?)
père Pétyun ?

a été élevé par son père à Aséé-Av. B,

△ Ernest 1906 Av. B. 1, E35
mère Akumina ?
père

Fakima 1927 Av. B. 3, F61
mère Zanna
père Tyako (L)

a été élevée par sa mère

mari Nuli (Dip. I, F62, Boubville
△ T... élevé par Zanna
○ A... mars 1957

Pétui 1929 Av. B. 3
mère Akumayé Anéla
père Nguto (K.

Guima 1915 Av. B. 3, K72
mère Anéla
père Pevuu ?

a été élevé par sa mère
vit chez les DJUKA le plus souvent

Gaama 1916 Av. B. 1, F7
mère Ilin
père Vaudi ?

épouse B... 1938, mère Oko (Papaïchton)

Ema 1907 Av. B. 1, E37
mère Akumayé ?
père ?

1er mari Nemoyuba ♦
○ Hugi 1915
△ † à 1 semaine 1917

2e mari A... (DJUKA) † en 1951
○ P... † à 2 ans 1918-1919
○ morte-née 1920
△ Mama 1921
△ P... † à 15 ans 1935-1940
○ Chikaina 1929
○ Lawa 1930

△ E... 1941, élevé par sa mère
○ E... 1943, élevée par sa mère
○ D... 1945, élevée par sa sœur ainée Dugi

3e mari Adiles (Djo, F37, village Anini)
élève △ E... 1951, fils de Chikiko

** ○ Kaléé 1895 Aw. K. 1, E16
mère Akanima †
père —

1er mari A... (SAR.) ✝
○ Apinda 1911
△ Bém 1914
△ T... † 1917-1924, mort à 17 ans

2e mari Sonié (L1, E22, village Loka) ✝
○ Amélia 1922
△ D... † 1923-1928, mort à 15 ans

3e mari A... (DJUKA) ✝
△ Papakay 1925

4e mari Mèka (Dep. I, E16, village Apeiza) ✝
○ Akanima 1928
△ P... † 1931-1936, morte à 4 ans
△ D... † 1933-1936, mort à 3 ans
△ Tyakata 1937
○ Apaké 1940, élevée par sa mère

pas remariée
élève △ K... 1956, mère Wilhelmina, △ E... 1962 et △ T... 1965, mère Amélia

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* ○ Killas 1913 Aw. B. 2, E71
mère Amélia
père Pélyan †

1er mari K... (DJUKA) ✝
○ Mémé 1927
○ Ilsanna 1941, élevée par sa mère

2e mari Aménié (L2, F70, village Loka)
○ K... 1961, élevée par ○ Summa, nièce de Killas
△ A... 1964, élevé par son père au village Loka
△ E... juillet 66

n'a pas perdu d'enfant

** ○ Kaiaka 1933 Aw. B. 2, E30
mère Emma
père A... (DJUKA) a été élevée par ○ Sonnéki, sœur de sa mère

1er mari Kéké ✝

2e mari Atuuto (K2, F90, village Kotika) ✝
3e mari Déli (Aw. B. 1, F37)
○ A... 1961, élevée par ○ Kyéli, mère de son père

△ Kondéin 1903 Aw. B. 1, E72
mère Akanima †
père

chef de le Aouna Bakiko

○ **Kokoumu** 1940 — Igungo A4, o3
mère Sumaiou
père Y... (DJUKA)
a été élevé par sa mère

** ○ **Epili** 1901 — Aw. B. I, E20
mère Mali ? ← Apoiou ?
père
mari Aiposu (Aw. B. I, E4) ♦
△ P... ? à 2 ans 1915-1917
△ P... ? à 2 ans 1919-1915
○ ? à 3 ans 1923-1926
△ Beti 1927
○ Agyasu 1933
○ Bokiloki 1937
2e mari ○ Pankali (réside à Saramacca) ♦
3e mari Sasamou (Dip. K14) ♦
élevé △ P... 1946, mère Pauna, Dip. Aoini, et ○ A... 1951, mère Kokoko (Aw. B. I)

△ **Lanu** 1920 — Aw. B. I, F44
mère Irma ← Akamuyo ?
père A... ?
a été élevé par sa mère

○ **Lélimay** 1930 — Aw. B. I, F55
mère Nanu
père Kouimau (L
a été élevé par sa mère
1er mari Nunga (P1, G31, Benivelle) ♦
○ A... 1953 élevée par ○ Alinda (Aw. B. I, E30)
1 mort-né
2e mari Makalanchi (K2, F130, Benivelle) ♦
○ ? à 5 mois 1956
△ A... 1957
fiche incomplète

** ○ **Lélimaki** 1931 — Aw. B. I, F57
mère Tuochi ?
père Bonfo
a été élevée par ○ Akamina ?
mari Abagwa (Dip. I, E35, village L'Enkati Pardu)
△ O... 1949, élevé par sa mère
△ A... 1951, élevé par sa mère
○ S... élevée par ○ Agyasu (Aw. B. I, F38)
○ E... 1956

○ **Lisa** 1923 — Aw. B. I, E38
mère Nanu
père A... (SAH
mari Baiami (L1, F37, village Loko)
○ Awasu 1941, élevée par Nanu
○ ? 18 mois 1950-1953

△ **Ebéni 1910** Av. B. 1, F49
mère Ivana ← Akumayé ?
père A... (DJUKA) a été élevé par son père

△ **Hellé 1900** 12, F64
mère Amkumée ← Aéli ?
père A... (SAR.) ? a été élevé par son père à Aséé-Av. B

** ○ **Hoai 1905** Ignage A4, 411
mère Sali ← Tonée
père Amésézu ? a été élevée par sa mère
1er mari Akwali (Dip. 11, F7, village Kwémalibo) ✝
pas d'enfants
2e mari Eoiso (Dip. II, G67, village Aséé-Dip. 11) ✝ en 1949
△ ? à 1 mois
○ B... 1948, élevé par ○ Sali
△ B... 1950, id
3e mari Coimo (Av. B. 2, K72, village Aséé) en 1954
pas d'enfant
Observation : femme de mauvaise réputation ; vie irrégulière de 1940 à 1954.

△ **Hoingé 1940** Ignage A4, c3
mère Emées ? ← Ali ?
père

△ **Hoio 1905** Av. B. 1, E46
mère Adiamma ?
père

** ○ **Hoéké 1927** Av. B. 3, F90
mère Kilina
père K... (DJUKA) a été élevée par sa mère
mari Kopo (Dip. 11, G22, village Aséé) depuis 1952
stérile

** **Homa 1914** Av. B. 1, F50
mère Noma
père a été élevée par sa mère
pas marié

** ○ **Homa 1906 ?** Av. B. 1, E40
mère Adiamma ?
père Kwamian (Dju) ?
1er mari A... (DJUKA) ✝
△ Abéni 1912
○ Moma 1914
○ ? L... 1916-1926
2e mari A... (SAR.) ✝
○ Notoni 1919

○ Lâne 1953
△ Bâkaanoa 1956

3e mari Kondmoa (I.1, E21, village Loka)
○ Lâdimoy 1930
○ † à 2 mois 1932
△ Aboondo 1935
○ Noko (Amoiéli) 1936 } établis au village Loka
○ † à quelques jours 1938

élève △ E... 1949, sœur Noémi

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* Bâdi 1931 Aw. B. 1, G7
mère Ayékamon
père △... (DJUKA)

mari Soubabo (Djo, G12, village Adoé-Djo)
○ F... † à 2 mois 1952
△ † mort-né 1954

** ○ Bâmâ 1919 Aw. B. 1, F51
mère Nanou
père A... (SAR)

1er mari Todo (K2, F2o, Boniville) ♦
△ † avant 1 an 1942
△ G... 1944, élevé par Todo à Boniville
△ W... 1947, élevé par sa mère
△ M... † 1948-1952

2e mari Gaboo (Aw. B. 3, F72, village Adoé) ♦
△ K... 1949, élevé par Nanou

3e mari A... (DJUKA) ♦
△ A... 1955, élevé par sa mère
○ jumelle † à 1 an

4e mari Kwami (Dip. II, F'1, Kawaoïbo), depuis avril 1957

** ○ Panâli 1937 Aymago A8, d13
mère Sali
père Agbâdéa a été élevée par sa mère
mari Potato (Djo, F75, village Adoé-Djo)
△ B... 1956

△ Papoli 1941 Aw. B. 1, G8
mère Emiaki †
père créole a été élevé par Kulubo †, son arrière grand-mère maternelle

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△ Papokay 1936 Aw. B. 1, F30
mère Kakyé
père A... (DJUKA a été élevé par sa mère Kakyé

[Pôlpôli 1921 Aw. B. 1, F3
mère Liki † ← Kulubo
père A... (DJUKA) † a été élevé par △ Hovanrôin (Adoé)

* ○ Bandé 1905 Aw. B. 2, D29
mère Abéli †
père
mari Kondoku
○ Abeya 1928
△ Dobu † 1930-1933 (?)
△ Aankya 1930
○ Adimamoa 1941
△ † à 1 an 1943
élève △ F... 1953, mère Abeya

** ○ Bali 1900 lignage AB, c13
mère Tonéla †
père
1er mari Amémoa (L) ✝ †
△ T... † à 8 ans, 1920-30
○ Mani 1925
2e mari Amumupé (Aw. B. 1, E2, village Aéni) ✝
3e mari Agitédan (Aw. B. 1, E31, village Aéni) ✝ (?)
○ Panéli 1937
élève ○ B... 1940 et △ B... 1950, mère Mani

○ Bamaka 1909 lignage AB, c2
mère Bobéu † ← Emdoa
père
1er mari Y... (DJUKA) ✝
△ Kabouman 1940, élevé par sa mère
2e mari Djani (Aw. B. 2) †
3e mari Nétali (K) ✝
○ B... 1948, élevée par sa mère
4e mari Tabayé (Dip. I, F73, village L'Enfant Perdu)
△ E... 1967
Zèle incomplète

** ○ Bamaman 1936 lignage AB, d22
mère Bankauman † ← Tonéla
père Manu (Dip. II, Kormatibo) a été élevée par △ Awini, oncle maternel de sa mère
1er mari Pili (L) †
2e mari Abéni (Aw. B. 1, F49)
△ A... 1953, élevé par son père
△ A... déc. 1956

** ○ Bodi 1921 Aw. B. 1, F10
mère Tili
père Adingo (Dip. I) a été élevée par sa mère
1er mari Awini (lignage AB, c12, village Aéni) ✝
△ K... 1947, élevé par sa mère
△ F... 1952, élevé par son père
△ † à 1 semaine 1954
2e mari Kellowa (lignage Poti, Benéville)
△ E... 1956

* ○ Samma 1931 Av. B. 3, F91
mère Akaulé ← Aseto
père Ngoté (K) a été élevée par Aséto
mari Kabita (L1, F46, village Loka)
△ † à 1 an 1949
○ Y... 1951, élevée par Aséto
△ E... fin 1954
élève ○ E... 1951, mère Kiliza

△ Tabou 1907 Av. G. 1, E36
mère Akumayé †
père vit le plus souvent au pays DJUKA

** ○ Tiki 1900 Av. B. 1, E38
mère Akamisa †
père
1er mari Yaoli †
△ Gaman 1909
△ † à 6 mois
○ morte-née
○ Ayékaman 1912
△ † à 2 jours 1914
△ † à 1 semaine 1916
2e mari Adingo (Dép. I) ♦
△ Dapia 1918
○ Sodi 1921
○ Biyo 1923
△ Baakaman 1929
un enfant † avant 1 an (?
3e mari Djaki (L) ♦ †
4e mari A... (DJI'KA) ♦
△ Daaki 1940
△ E... 1943
pas remariée
élève ○ A... 1951 et ○ B... 1951, mère Biya, ○ F... 1948, mère Oia, village Papaïdam

○ Tami 1937 Av. B. 1, G33
mère Apindo ← Kakyo
père Apayu a été élevée par sa mère
mari Mano (K)
○ M... 1952 ; élevée par leur mère
○ N... 1957 ;
fiche incomplète

△ Tyaiada 1937 Av. B. 1, F32
mère Kakyo
père a été élevé par sa mère

VILLAGES KOMOTIBO ET ARIS-DEFILE II

I) Komotibo

△ Ahmali 1915 — Dép. II, P7 — Komotibo
mère Modé-Modé † ← Kwéyumée
père Papa (I.)

élevé △ A... 1946, mère Gou (Papaïkou)

△ Aliada 1880 — Igmaga A8, A3 — Komotibo
mère Aâ †
père

** ○ Alama 1880 — Dép. II, E1 — Komotibo
mère Kwéyumaa
père Sémaali (P)

1er mari K... (DJUKA)
△ † 1 mois 1897
○ † Pôlikoma 1899-1948
△ † 1901-1910

2e mari Kaasi (P) ♦ †
△ C... ♀ 1906-1908
△ Kwaasi 1906

3e mari M... (DJUKA) †
△ Bellki 1920

4e mari P... (créole) ♦

** ○ Ayaila 1925 † — Dép. II, F9 — Komotibo
mère Modé-Modé †
père Papa (I.)

mari M... (village Papaïkou)
† enf. mort 1er semaine 1927
† enf. mort — 1928
† enf. mort — 1930
† enf. 1940
† enf. 1941 —
○ M... 1943, élevée par sa mère
△ E... 1950
○ B... 1953
△ S... 1956
○ L... vct. 1957
} élevée par leur mère

△ Bellki 1920 — Dép. II, F5 — Komotibo
mère Alama
père M... (DJUKA) — a été élevé par sa sœur Pôlikoma †

\ **Bées 1929** P2, G60
mère Ninga
père Agoti (lignage Tolou) †

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* ○ **Bonga 1902** Dip. II, E8 **Kormotibo**
mère Kwéyimasu †
père Lébikwaku (Dju) † a été élevée par sa mère

mari Tolingo (P1, E11, village Papaïchton) ✚
△ † à quelques mois
△ † Saakolu 1934-1940

pas remariée

**) **Dosayé 1908** Dip. II, G17 **Kormotibo**
mère Nanny †
père Sanno (P)?

1er mari A... (DJUKA) ✚

2e mari K... (DJUKA) ✚
○ A... 1948, élevée par Uman, sœur de Dosayé
△ † à quelques mois
△ A... 1950, élevé par Akwadé au village Loka
○ K... 1953

Dolchinan 1934 lignage A8, d15 **Kormotibo**
mère Magdaléna
père Léon († 1954) a été élevé par sa mère

△ **Dokwé 1936** lignage A8, d19
mère Magdaléna
père Léon († 1954) a été élevé par sa mère

**) **Gongolou 1937** lignage A8, d16
mère Magdaléna
père Léon † a été élevée par sa mère

mari Tapie (Djuka, lignage Tolou, village Papaïchton)
○ E... nov. 57

△ **Kéké 1906** Dip. II, P20 **Kormotibo**
mère Akaiso †
père Kasaya (Dju) † a été élevé par sa mère

△ **Kwami 1908** Dip. II, P4 **Kormotibo**
mère Alaina
père Kazal (P) † a été élevé par sa mère

** ○ **Léléi 1925** Dip. II, **Kormotibo**
mère Pétikona † + Alano
père K... (DJUKA) †
1er mari Yuso (P1, E15, village Papaïchton) ✚

2e mari Tuéuta (K3, H287, Boubville) +
○ † à 2 jours 1945

3e mari T... (DJUKA) +
△ E... 1948, élevé par sa mère
△ D... 1951, élevé par sa mère

4e mari Baakauman (Aw. B. 1, F12, village Asini)
△ T... 1953
○ A... janv. 1957

○ Magdaléna 1912 — lignage A8, s30 — Kormotibo
mère Tonéta †
père

mari Léon † 1953
△ Dukbimau 1934
△ † à 3 ans 1951-1954
△ † à 2 ans 1951-1953
△ T... 1953
△ B... 1956
○ Maada 1935
○ Gongolon 1937
△ Dukwé 1938
△ S... † 1941-1943
○ † 1943-1946
○ E... 1944
○ M... 1949
△ B... 1951

élève △ G... 1942 mère Baakauman †
pas remariée fin 1957

Observation : Magdaléna a élevé elle-même tous ses enfants

△ Hans 1906 — Dip. 11, E8 — Kormotibo
mère Kwéyimau †
père Lébikwéku † (Dju, Asini) — a été élevé par son père

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* ○ Maada 1935 — lignage A8, d16 — Kormotibo
mère Magdaléna
père Léon † — a été élevée par sa mère

mari Dodo (Papaloton)
△ † 1953-1955

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* ○ Ringa 1899 — P2, F70 — Kormotibo
mère Alobikyé †
père Alémin (lignage A8)

maris? dernier mari Agoli (lignage A8) † 1957
△ † 1re semaine 1950
△ † 1re semaine 1952
△ † 1re semaine 1954
○ † 1er jour 1956
△ Dénu 1929

Fonga 1903 — Dip. II, F7 — **Kormotibo**
mère Kwéyluman †
père Lébikwaku

Chef du village Kormotibo

○ **Uman** 1915 — Dip. II, G15 — **Kormotibo**
mère Nanay †
père A... SAIL... — a été élevée par sa mère
1er mari Amembé (I 2, F79, village Loka) ✝
2e mari Mangoto (lignage Tolna, village Papoloton)
† à 2 ans 1947-1949
élève A... 1948, mère Dennayé

2. Asisi-Dipika II

Akanti 1939 — Dip. II — **Asisi-Dip. II**
mère Kanla † Sesé
père Loko (Dip. — a été élevée par sa mère
mari Papakay (Aw. II. 1, F22, village Asisi) depuis 1955
○ B... 1956

△ **Anamé** [illegible] — Dip. II, F42 — **Asisi-Dip. II**
mère Alemeki †
père Halbérki † (Dip. I — a été élevé par son père

△ **Asisi** [illegible] — Dip. II, G39 — **Asisi-Dip. II**
mère Pilé †
père Agoléto (P1, Papoloton — a été élevé par son père
élève △ A... 1942, mère Tolli (village Loka

△ **Baina** 1945 — Dip. II, G37 — **Asisi-Dip. II**
mère Sawy
père Malo (Aw. II — a été élevé par son père
élève △ C... 1951, mère Tohé (village Loka)

○ **Bébéki** 1936 — Dip. II, G22 — **Asisi-Dip. II**
mère Pilé †
père Agobéda (P1) — a été élevée par sa mère
1er mari Adam (lignage Ali) ✝
2e mari Dogin (Aw. II. 1, F9, village Asisi) ✝
△ A... 1952, élevé par son père à Asisi
A... 1955
L... 1957

Chichiti 1936 — Dip. II, G24 — **Asisi-Dip. II**
mère Pilé †
père Agoléto

1er mari Mangoto (I. Tuma) ✝
2e mari Maipa (Dip. I, F92, village L'Enfant Perdu) ✝
3e mari K... (DJUKA)
décédée

** ○ Kaala 1917 Dip. II, G08 Aalsi-Dip. II
mère Sèèby †
père Mato †
1er mari Modèko (K2, E89, Benivilla) ✝
2e mari Loko (Dju, F39, village Aalsi)
○ Amofu 1939
△ † 1944-1946
○ K... 1942
○ G... 1952
○ † mort-né 1955
○ A... 1954, élevée par sa mère
○ M... 1954, élevée par Abimman à Loka
3e mari Tamu (L1, F32, village Loka) ✝

** ○ Kbaga 1933 Dip. II, G31 Aalsi-Dip. II
mère Kaala ← Sèèby
père Loko a été élevée par sa mère
1er mari Bèau (P2, G80, village Papaïkoa) ✝
2e mari Simon (Dip. I, F76, village L'Enfant Perdu)
△ M... 1952
△ P... 1954
n'a pas perdu d'enfant

△ Kapo 1936 Dip. II, G36 Aalsi-Dip. II
mère Sèèby †
père Mato a été élevé par son père

** ○ Tama 1932 Dip. II, G39 Aalsi-Dip. II
mère Sèèby †
père Mato a été élevée par sa mère
1er mari Dyakala (Dip. I, E4, Benivilla) ✝
2e mari Aaèkèyé (P1, G88, Papaïkoa)
○ Z... 1955
élève ○ E... 1949, mère Tyoko

** ○ Tyoko 1920 Dip. II, G50 Aalsi-Dip. II
mère Sèèby †
père Mato
1er mari Sindu (L2, F68, village Loka) ✝
○ A... 1942, élevée par sa mère
○ S... 1949, élevée par Tama, sœur de Tyoko
○ † à 4 mois
○ Y... 1951
2e mari Dodo (K1, E16, village Kotika)
△ A... 1953
○ E... oct. 1957

VILLAGE PAPAÏSUON

△ Abiaou 1922 — P1, G86
mère Wéili
père

△ Adam 1915
mère ? ; origine inconnue
père ?

Adouda 1937 — P1, H61
mère Nama ← Wéili
père

mari B... (DJUKA) — a été élevée par Donni †, son oncle grand-mère maternelle
△ Y... 1963
△ A... 1966

Agodéba 1900 — P1, K1
mère Aguau ?
père

élève △ A... 1945, mère Agodéba
Observation : se souvient d'avoir eu 10 à 15 ans au moment de la mort du grand oncle Anato (1901).

Agodéuman 1931 — P1, F10
mère Aoraion ← Eda
père Kédé (Dip. II) — a été élevée par Kamna, sœur de sa mère.

mari Pulou (Dip. ?

stérile (?

fiche incomplète

Agoundé 1930 — P1, F9
mère Oudia ?
père — a été élevé par son oncle Sovou.

○ Aboumun 1930 — P1, F81
mère Obro ← Eda
père Poupo (Anloh) (Dip. II — a été élevée par sa mère

mari Nulamum (K3, E148, Benivile) depuis 1953
○ † 2 jours 1953
△ † 1 semaine 1954
△ E... 1956

** ○ Agbinin 1910 P1, F45
mère Ayuba †
père a été élevée par sa mère
1er mari Kwato (K8, E160, village Kotiko) † en 1950
○ Dopi 1930
○ † 1930-1945
△ † 8 mois 1931
○ Mahna 1932
○ † 1 semaine
○ Benhi 1936
△ Bulu 1940 élevé par son père
△ G... 1946
2e mari W... (créole)
élève △ A... 1952, mère Alipuy.

** ○ Agnubhi 1919 lignage Tolna (BAKABUCHI)
mère Fushi <- Tolna
père a été élevée par Tolna
1er mari Agoga (P) †
△ Tapié 1936
2e mari Aténi (Dip. II, C90, village Aséé-Dip. II)
○ Sonoo 1939
○ K... † à un an 1940
△ A... 1945, élevé par △ Agnéiba (P1, E1)
△ B... † 1948-1950
△ P... 1950, élevé par △ Apuyu, oncle de sa mère
△ † à 3 ans 1951-1954
△ † à 2 ans 1951-1953
△ T... 1953
△ B... 1956

△ Apuyu 1941 lignage Tolna (BAKABUCHI).
mère Tolna <- Mazinsonna
père Agnéiba (?)
élève △ P... 1950, mère Agnubhi

** ○ Ameiku 1900 P1, E10
mère Eis
père Fanté †
1er mari Adiiso (Dju, F37, village Aséé-Dju) †
2 enfants † avant 1 an
○ Bétsi 1923
○ Gou 1927
○ Kokoye 1929
2e mari Kédé (Dip. II, F28, village Kermotibo) †
○ Agodéoman 1931
△ Dodo 1932
3e mari Agoti (lignage Tolna, village Kermotibo) † † en 1957
○ Dèndyu 1930
○ Magi 1941, élevée par sa mère
△ K... 1947, élevé par le grand zma Dilu à Benoville
4e mari regula Kédé

Aligoo 1922 P1, F47
mère Ayuka ?
père a été élevée par sa mère

1er mari Flatimon (Dju, F8, Boniville) ♂
△ ? à 2 mois 1936
Tuso 1940, élevé par son père à Boniville
○ B... 1947, élevée par sa mère

2e mari Ernest (Av. B. 1, F36, village Aduo
△ A... 1952, élevé par Apikuta

Bill 1934 P1, F19
mère Oben ← Elo
père Pusupu (Dipelu 1) a été élevée par Oben

mari Pikinbonia (L1, F2, village Lage Tabiki) depuis 1954
pas d'enfant

Bindya 1939 P1, F12
mère Asanten ← Elo
père Aguli ? 1 Tuisu élevée par Ma Tuisu

mari Alichi (Dip. 1, F5, Boniville)
pas d'enfant

Bonki 1936 P1, G42
mère Apitaku ← Ayuka
père Kwala (h. ← △ Loka ? élevée par Kukusu (Aduli) sœur de Loka

mari Fazu ← Dju, F19, village Aduli-Dju
E... 1955

Bôni 1923 P1, F7
mère Asanten ← Elo
père Adiuso Dju a été élevée par Asanten

mari Apoyo (gendre Tuisu, village Papaloton
P... 1943
1 à 2 ans
1 à 1 an
A... 1954
B... 1955
A... 1957

Bôu 1940 P1, G43
mère Apakuta ← Ayuka ?
père Kwala élevé par son père

Dodo 1933 P1, F11
mère Asanten ← Elo
père Kede (Dip. 1) a été élevé par Tuisuté, frère de sa mère

élevé T... 1951, fils de sa sœur Kokoyo

** ○ **Bugi** 1920 P1, G40
mère Apikuta ← Ayaka †
père Kwata (K) a été élevée par Ayaka †

mari Tamu (L1, F35, village Loka) ♦
△ M... 1950, élevée par ○ Pueko, mère de son père, au village Loka
△ † 1953-1954

△ **Dada** 1925 P1, F18
mère Oben ← Efu
père Poepu (Aniété) (Dip. 11) a été élevé par Tolinga, frère de sa mère

** ○ **Efu** 1875 P1, I34
mère Gaboudu †
père

1er mari Fanté (Dikan, Boujville) †
△ Umamoeso † à 2 ans
○ Asonian 1896
△ Jumoeu † à quelques mois

2e mari Dapau (Dju, Aniei) ♦
△ Tolinga 1901
△ Tofanié 1903
○ Oben 1906
○ A... † 1909-1920

3e mari Adaudé (L1, Loka) †
○ Kamea 1912
△ Gaima 1916
△ Yuma 1920

* ○ **Emilia** 1927 P1, F3
mère Coila †
père a été élevée par Agodiko
1er mari Pilipili (Aw. B. 1, F3, village Aniei) ♦
2e mari Loko (Dju, F39, village Aniei-Dju)
stérile

△ **Gaima** 1916 P1, E15
mère Efu
père Dapau (Dju) † a été élevé par son frère Tolinga

** **Gau** 1927 P1, F8
mère Asonian ← Efu
père Adiino (Dju) a été élevée par △ Agodiko

1er mari Akwali (Dip. 11, Kormotibo) ♦ 1953
○ A... 1955,
△ A... 1949,
○ E... 1950
○ P... 1954
} élevés par leur mère

2e mari Béku (K) ♦

n'a pas perdu d'enfant

Hélène 1919 — Pl. F2
mère Ouéla *
père — a été élevée par Elo
1er mari Alemin (Ass. H. I, E40, village Aala) +
2e mari Matpa (Dip. I, F52, village L'Enfant Perdu)
3e mari Helihi (Dip. II, F5, Kormotibo)
C... 1953
L... 1955

Emma 1912 — Pl. E14
mère Ela *
père Adondo * I — a été élevée par son père Adondo
1er mari Papay *
2e mari Yémum (Dip. I, E22, village l'Enfant Perdu)
T... 1949, élevé par Tafunie
3e mari Adam (Hymage Tubu, village Papaoton)
C. A... 1956
C. ? à l'école 1957
élève B... 1942, mère Oban

Kalupo 1929 — Pl. F9
mère Aseuleu
père Adoni (Dip. Aoni
1er mari Yoma (Dip. II, Aala) + 1962
+ à quelques mois
A... 1949, élevée par sa mère
T... 1951, élevé par Dodo, frère de sa mère
2e mari Gayum + en 1956
3e mari Tiago (I.I. F25, village Loko

Kamala 1942 — Pl. G1
mère Wilhelmina * Ouéla
père Mon.uto (I. Loko — a été élevée par sa mère
mariée 1964 avec Helmut (I.. Loko
A... 1964

Kwaku 1904 — Pl. F60
mère Aseka *
père — vit à Boumbery

Hugi 1941 — Pl. F13
mère Angelina * Ela
père Agusti (Dip. II) — a été élevée par sa mère
mari Alouyé (I.I, F11, village Loko)

Maina 1953 — Pl. G41
mère Apikoto
père Kouta *
1er mari Mosu (Dip. II, E6, Kormotibo — a été élevée par sa mère
H... 1953
E... 1955

△ [illegible] 1956 Ugunge Tolus (BAKABUCHI)
mère Tolus ← Masiamma
père Agodéla (?)

** ○ [illegible] 1927 P1, F50
mère Oban ← E2a
père Poupu (Aniché) (Dip. H) a été élevée par E2a
mari Tilan (L1, E2, village Loko)
△ W... 1954, élevé par Bita, mère de son père, au village Loko

** ○ Oban 1956 P1, E13
mère E2a
père Dapau ? (Dja)
1er mari Poupu (Dip. H, E2, village Kamakiko) ✝
△ Dudu 1929
△ ? à 3 ans 1931-34
○ Bété 1943
○ ? à 2 jours 1935
○ Mili 1937
○ Akoumau 1936
○ N... 1942, élevé par Kamau, sœur de sa mère
○ E... 1944, élevée par sa mère
2e mari Paar (L1, F22, village Loko)
△ G... 1950, élevé par son père à Loko
△ T... 1952

** ○ Gudi 1950 P1, F60
mère Ayaka ?
père Nialéi (BAKABUCHI) a été élevée par son père
mari Gamau (Aw. B. 1, F7, village Aséé)
△ ? 1945-1947
○ F... 1948, élevée par Till, mère de son père, à Aséé
△ B... 1949, élevé par son père à Aséé
△ ? 1950, mort à 1 semaine
○ K... 1951
△ D... 1954

** ○ Pati 1956 P2, F71
mère Abéléwé ?
père
1er mari Bobi ✝
2e mari Monti (K) ✝
3e mari Moipa (Dip. I, F52, village L'Enfant Perdu)
stérile

△ Bowa 1956 (?) P1, E7
mère Ben ?
père Semaloti (Dikan) ?
élève ○ A... 1948, fille de Dubey (K)

Bonn 1937 — lignage Tolan (BAKABUCHI)
mère Apondobé
père Abbé (Djo) 11 — a été élevée par Tolli, 2e femme de son père
mort Abbé (Djo)
○ † 1 semaine 1957 (pav.)
drôle surnaginée

Tabaté 1903 — P1, E12
mère Ella
père Dapou †
élève △ A... 1945, mère Nanna (P1, G40) et △ T... 1948, mère Kanon

Tapé [illegible] — lignage Tolan (BAKABUCHI)
mère Apondobé
père Aroqui (P) †

Tolan [illegible] — BAKABUCHI
mère Wonlomma ← Kwarbiko
père
1 mort Gabbiko ♀ †
○ Fiscki 1896
△ Mangoto 1899
Apoyo 1901
○ † à ? ans 1903-1905
○ † koko 1905-1943
2e mort Mawi ♀ †
3e mort Apondobé (P1, E1, village Papaïchou

Tolan 1901 — P1, E11
mère Ella
père Dapou (Djo) † — a été élevé par Adam †, frère de sa mère

Wéléman [illegible] — P1, F1
mère [illegible]
père — a été élevée par sa mère
mort Mangoto 1. Tolan ♀
○ Kamato 1927
2e mort Siyonkya †
△ A... 1947, élevé par sa mère
△ †† à quelques jours 1943
1 enfant † à quelques jours 1945
3e mort Dowa Ay. II 1. P17, Aoini
○ A... 1947, élevée par sa mère
△ A... 1952, élevé par Kokoyo, mère de son père, à Aoini
△ A... 1953
△ A... 1955
△ A... 1957

Tom 1939 — P1, E10
mère Ella
père †
élève △ A... 1945, mère Hoan (K, Boniville)

[p.363]

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Nous n'indiquons ici que les ouvrages se rapportant en propre à la structure sociale et à la coutume familiale des Noirs Réfugiés de Guyane.

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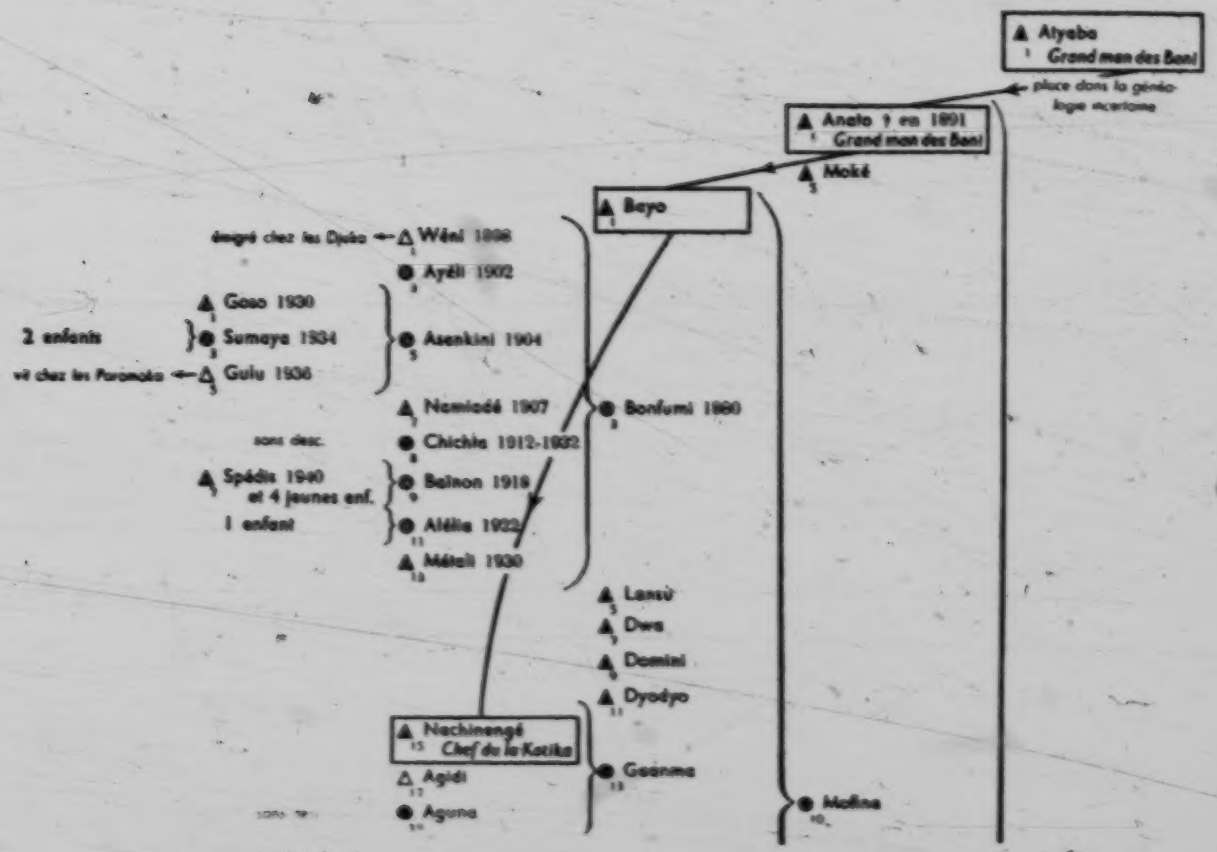
N. D. L. R. — Une note additionnelle du même auteur, résumant les données acquises sur l'origine des diverses survivances africaines des Noirs Réfugiés, paraîtra dans le Bulletin de l'IFAN, série B, tome XXIV, 1962.

[p. 364]

IMPRIMERIE A. BONTEMPS, LIMOGES (FRANCE)

DÉPÔT LÉGAL 4e TRIMESTRE 1961

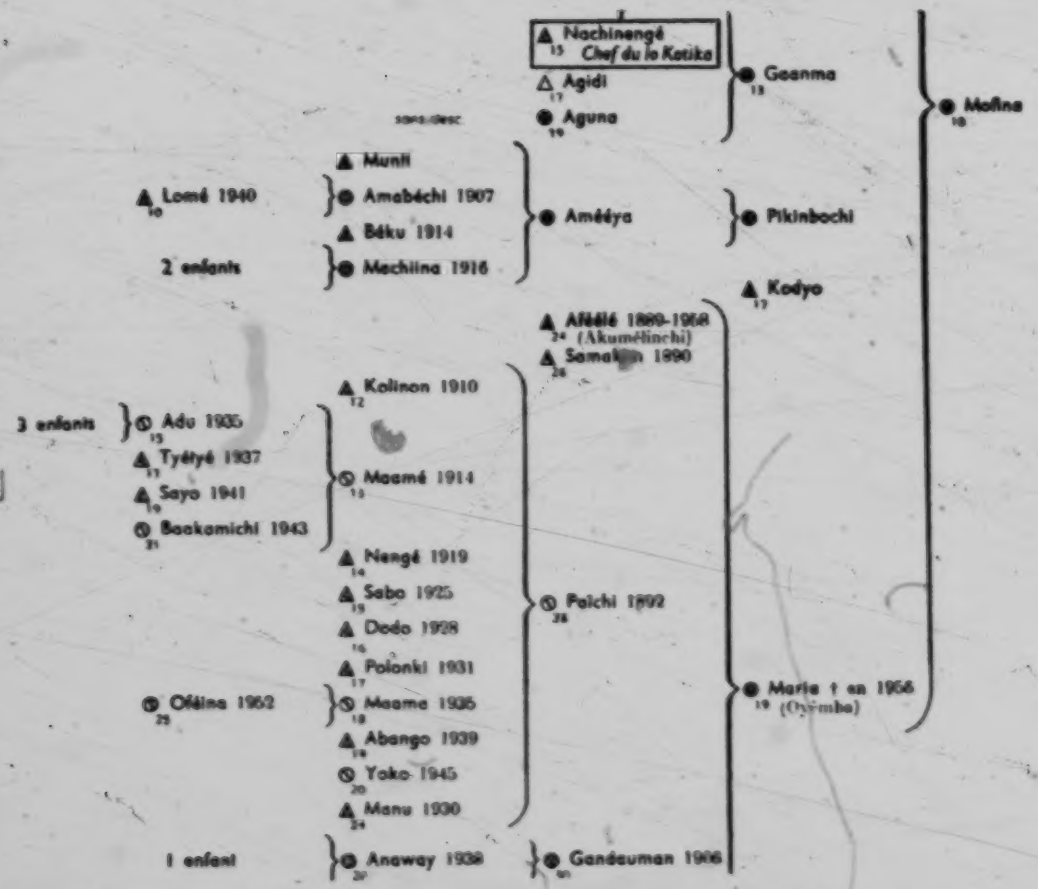


[End Chart - A]
[Following p. 364]

6:Harault

SR.8 Bush Negroes

1re FRACTION

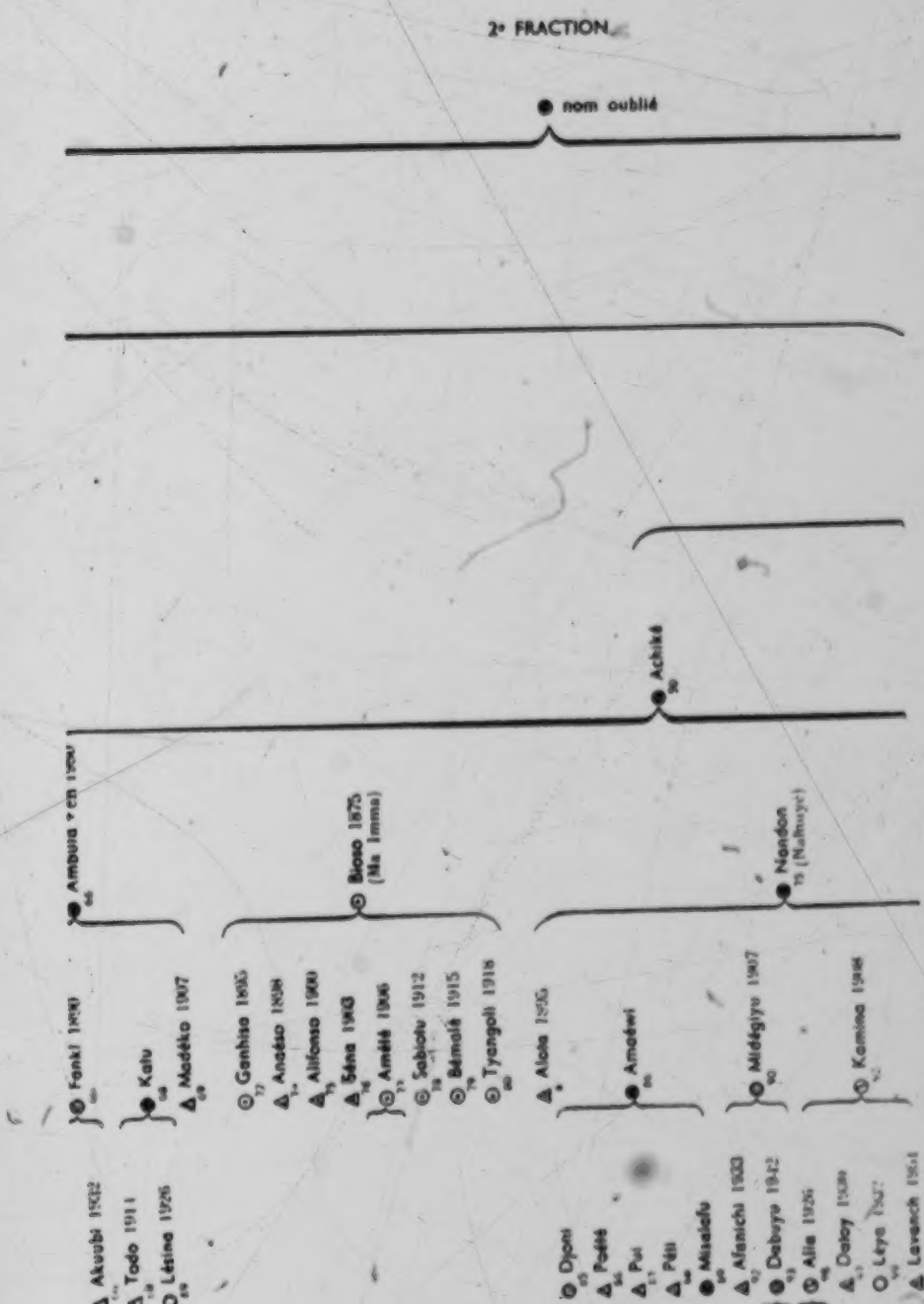


[End Chart-A2]

6:Hurault
FRACTION
SR8 Bush Negroes
Abengo 1939
Yoko 1945
Manu 1930
1 enfant
Anaway 1938
Gandauman 1906
Abédu 1908
Chimba 1910
Yobo 1912
(Elisa)
Wani 1914
Salchi
émigré à Surinam
Natwan
émigré à Surinam
avec 3 enfants
Tiiso
Pikimay 1
Pié
émigré à Surinam
Mbomoolo
Anadini 1936
Abédichi 1948
Maké 1919
Nella 1896
(Waméni)
Chiibo
Awini 1922-1958
3 enfants
Téllo 1920
Asukundu 1939
Boboy 1902
Sasa
(Elela)
Kanéya
Maambo 1911
Apusen 1945-1958
Paapa
émigré à Surinam
Amission 1933
Alua 1949
Niuuman
Adiantawa
Alexandre
Louis
End Chart - A3

Alua 1949
Niuuman
Adiantewa
Alexandre
Louis
Umé
Chikimen
Pété 1910
Puupa 1914
Tinya 1889 (Tomma)
Kuyu
Kolu 1933
3 enfants
Asini 1935
Amantu 1940
Klémen 1950
Naambo 1906
Florida 1910
Akonfina
Ankulu
Yoni
Bonéti
Kokobo
Atutu 1930
Méduse 1908
Adiimi 1921
Akuubi 1932
Todo 1911
Lésine 1926
Like 1908
Fenki 1900
Katu
Modéko 1907
Ambula 1 en 1950
G
F
m
D
C
B
A2
A1

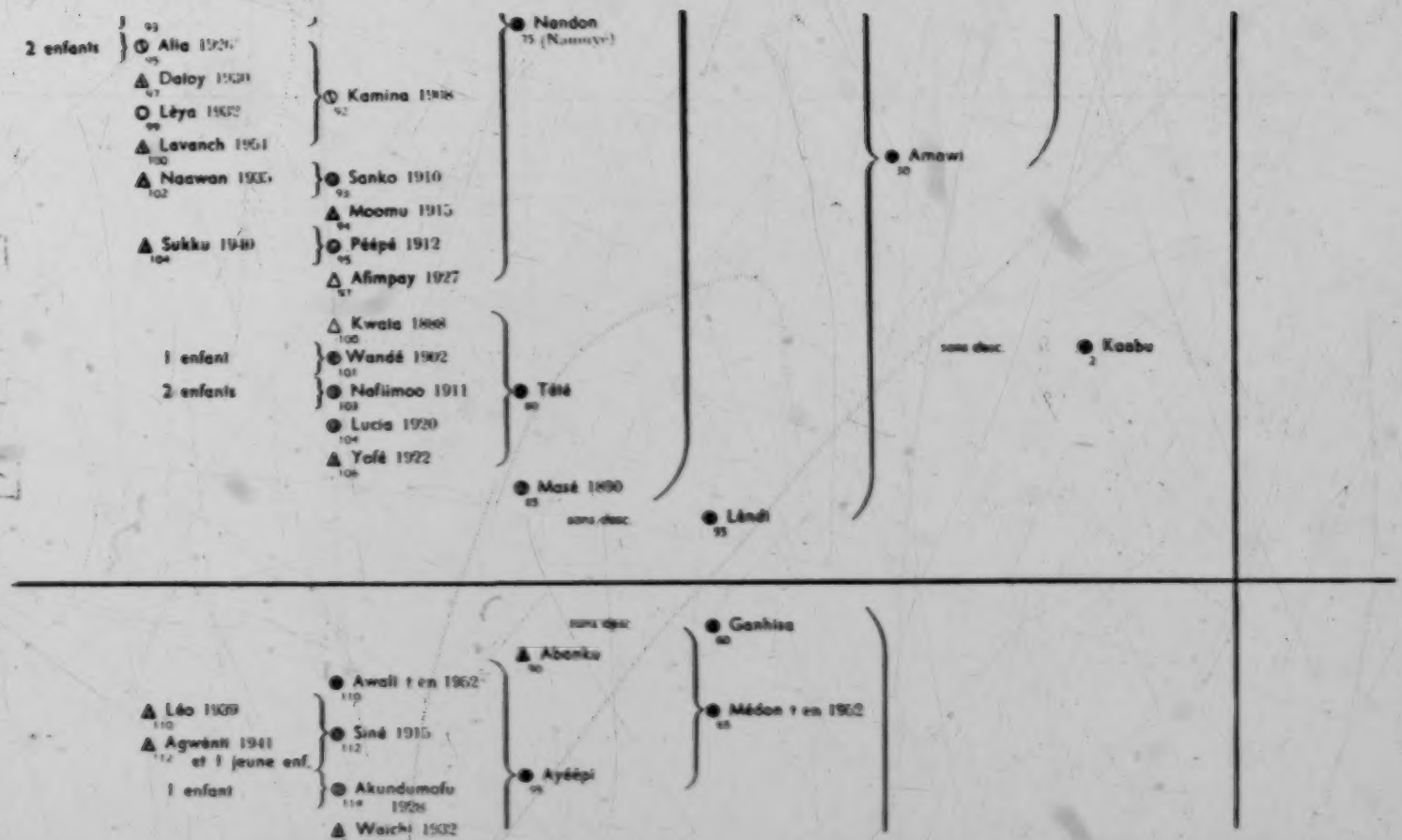
End Chart - A4


2e FRACTION
nom oublié
Ambua vers 1904
Achiké
Fanki 1900
Kalu
Madéko 1907
Akuubi 1902
Todo 1911
Lésina 1926
Ganhisa 1895
Andéso 1898
Alifonso 1900
Sána 1903
Bioso 1875 (Ma Imma)
Amété 1906
Sabiotu 1912
Bémolé 1915
Tyangoli 1918
Alola 1895
Amoéwi
Nandon (Nahuyé)
Midégiyu 1907
Kamina 1946
Dipoti
Petté
Pui
Piti
Misalafu
Afanichi 1903
Dabeyo 1942
Alia 1926
Daboy
Léya 1927
Lévasch 1941

[End Chart-A5]

6:Hurault

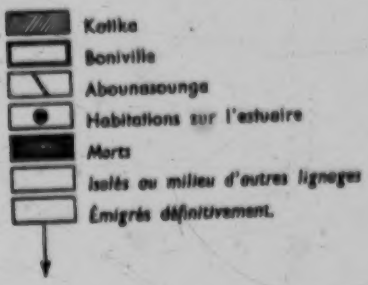
SR8 Bush Negroes



3e FRACTION
Médon I en 1902
65
Ayéépi
95
Siné 1915
112
Akundumofu
114 1928
Léo 1939
110
Agwènli 1941
112 et 1 jeune enf.
1 enfant
Waichi 1932
115
Konstan 1936
116
Nanli 1885
100
Tubusa
102
Ngulé 1897
104
Yaba I en 1938
70 (Kimi)
Asuwèntina 1926
120 est à l'Enfant Perdu
Wakaso 1932
122
Mopayé 1911
124 et 2 enfants
2 enfants
Sépélina 1900
106
Nongo 1905
108
Eda 1907-1956
80
Bea
35
Oka
Makalanchi 1937
130
Sooda 1940
132
Tombo 1941
134
S... 1946
Weway 1906
130
C...
131
Asadam 1915
132
Booki 1921
133
Akoapa 1926
134
S...
135
Aflingi 1880
120
Afo
75
Asapoli
122
Wéli 1885
123
Bandula
125
1 enfant
Marta 1933
140

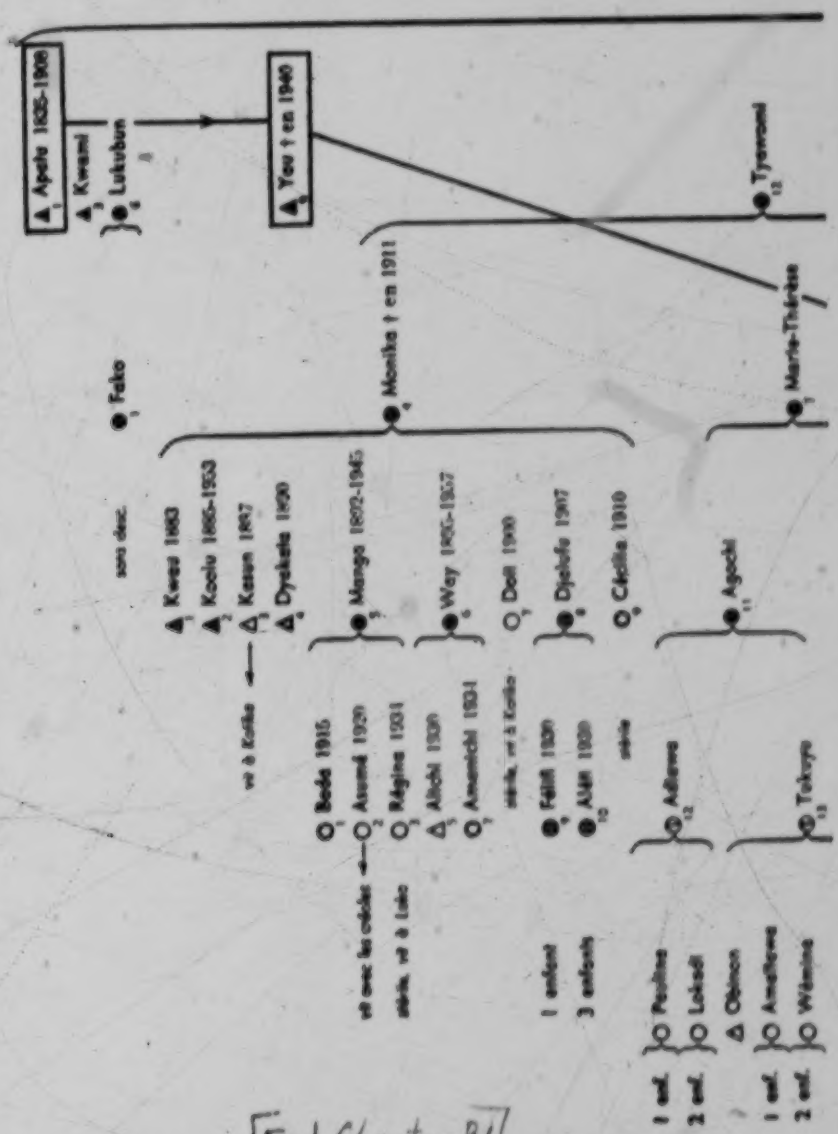
End Chart - A7

GÉNÉALOGIE DU LO YAKUBI (KOTIKA)
(VILLAGES KOTIKA ET BONIVILLE)
EN JANVIER 1958



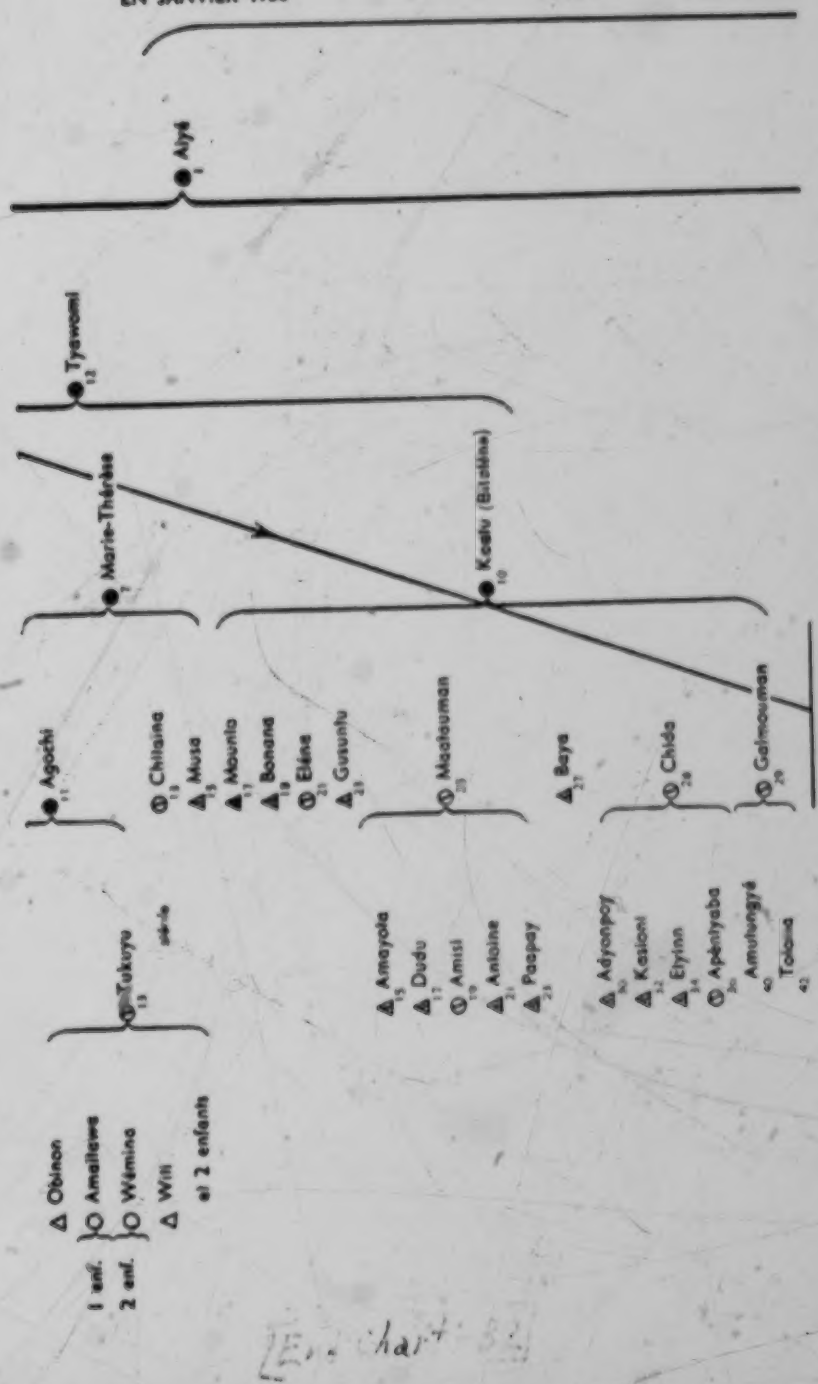
[End Chart - A8]

GÉNÉALO
(VILLAGES A/
B



[End Chart - B1]

GÉNÉALOGIE DU LO DIPÉLU 1
VILLAGES APATU ET L'ENFANT PERDU)
EN JANVIER 1958

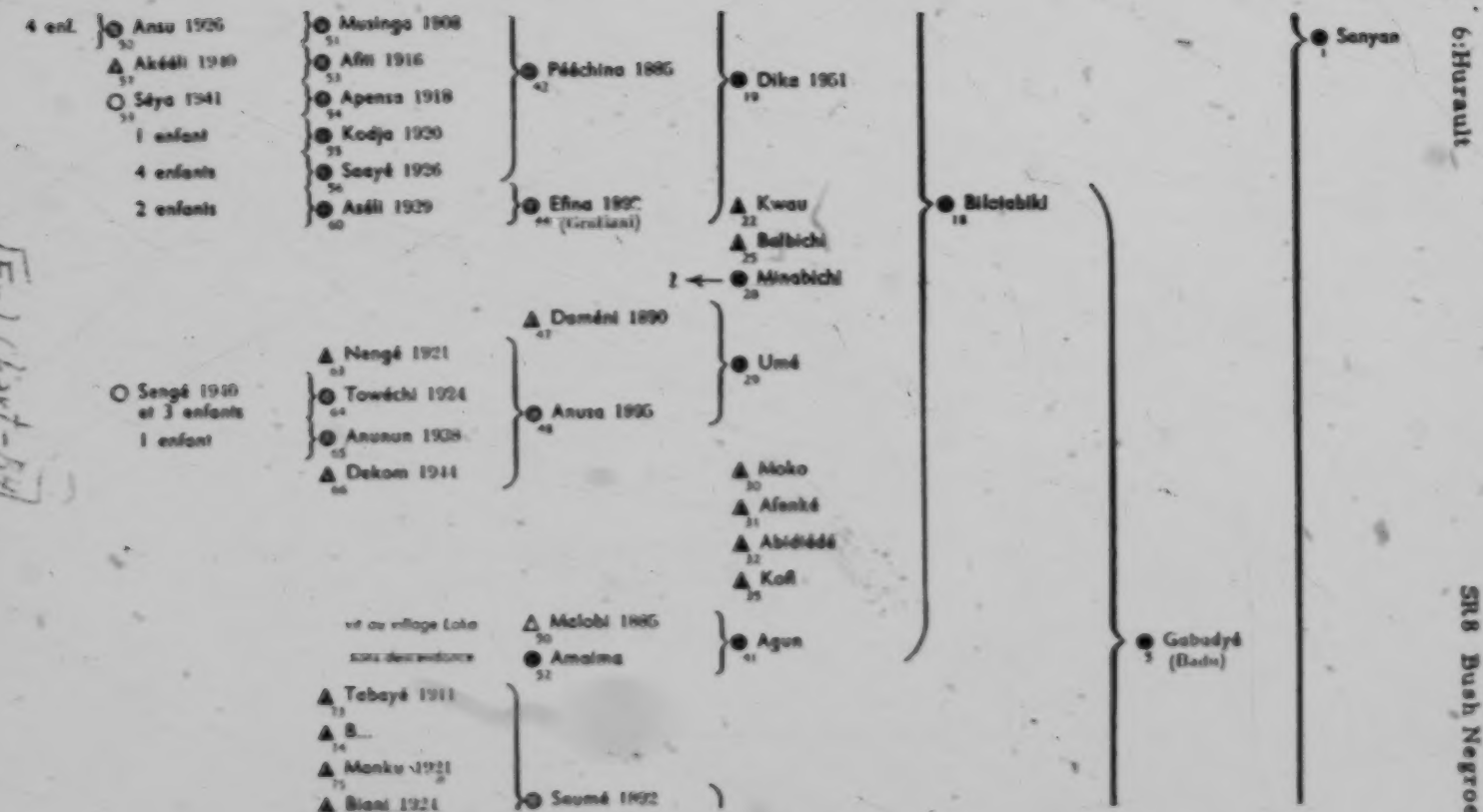


[Ex chart 82]

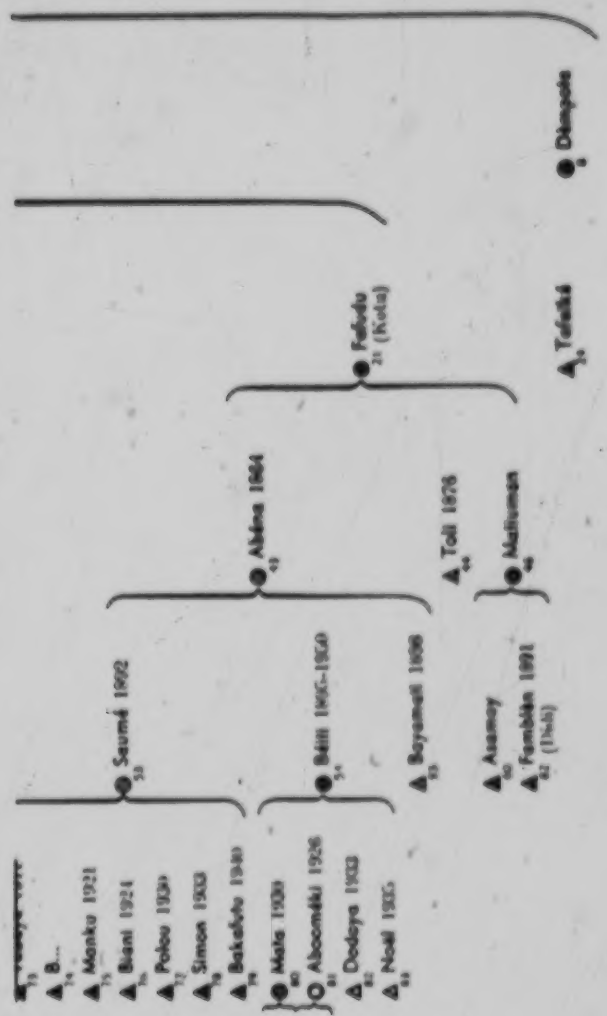
6:Hurault

SR8 Bush Negroes

End chart-R3


4 enf.
Ansu 1926 52
Akéélí 1940 53
Séya 1941 54
1 enfant
4 enfants
2 enfants
Musingo 1908 51
Afiti 1916 53
Apensa 1918 54
Kodja 1920 55
Saayé 1926 56
Asélí 1929 60
Pééchina 1886 42
Efina 1890 44 (Gratiani)
Dika 1951 19
Kwau 22
Balbichi 25
? ← Minabichi 28
Bilatabiki 18
Sanyan 1
Doméni 1890 47
Nengé 1921 63
Towéchi 1924 64
Anunun 1928 65
Dekom 1944 66
Sengé 1940 et 3 enfants
1 enfant
Anusa 1906 48
Umé 29
Moko 30
Afenké 31
Abidéédé 32
Koß 35
vif du village Loko
sans descendance
Malobi 1886 50
Amaima 52
Agun 41
Gabadyé (Badu) 3
Tabayé 1911 73
B... 74
Manku 1921 75
Biani 1924
Saumé 1922

End chart-B4


B...
Monko 1921
Bani 1924
Pobo 1930
Simon 1933
Bakaloko 1940
Seumé 1892
Makis 1930
Abomokli 1926
Dodoya 1933
Noël 1935
Bâtu 1896–1960
Boyamali 1896
Akéna 1864
Toli 1876
Asamoy
Fambikin 1891 (Ibiki)
Matumen
Fakodu (Kodu)
Tafaiki
Dimpolo
1 enfant
3 enfants

[End Chart-B5]

6:Harault

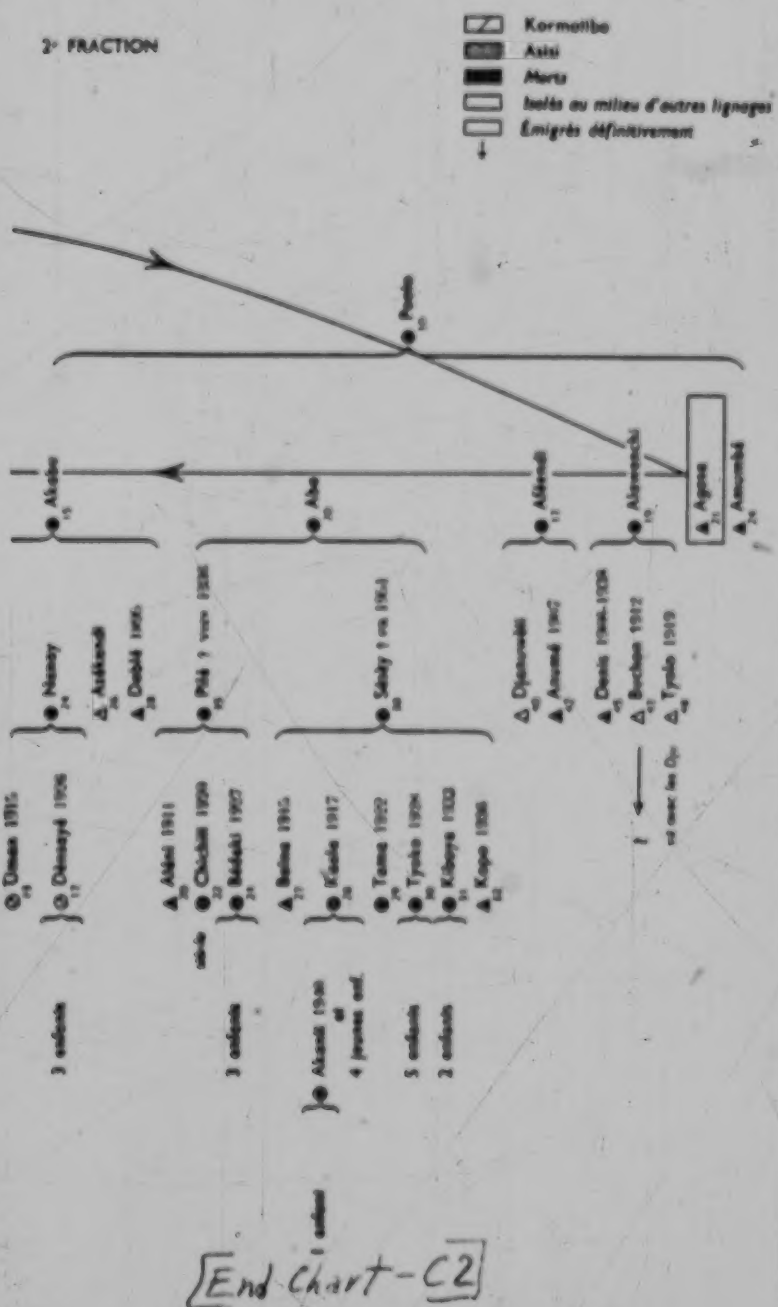
SR.6 Bush Negroes

[End chart-C1]

GÉNÉALOGIE DU LO DIPELU II ET DU LIGNAGE AFI

EN JANVIER 1958

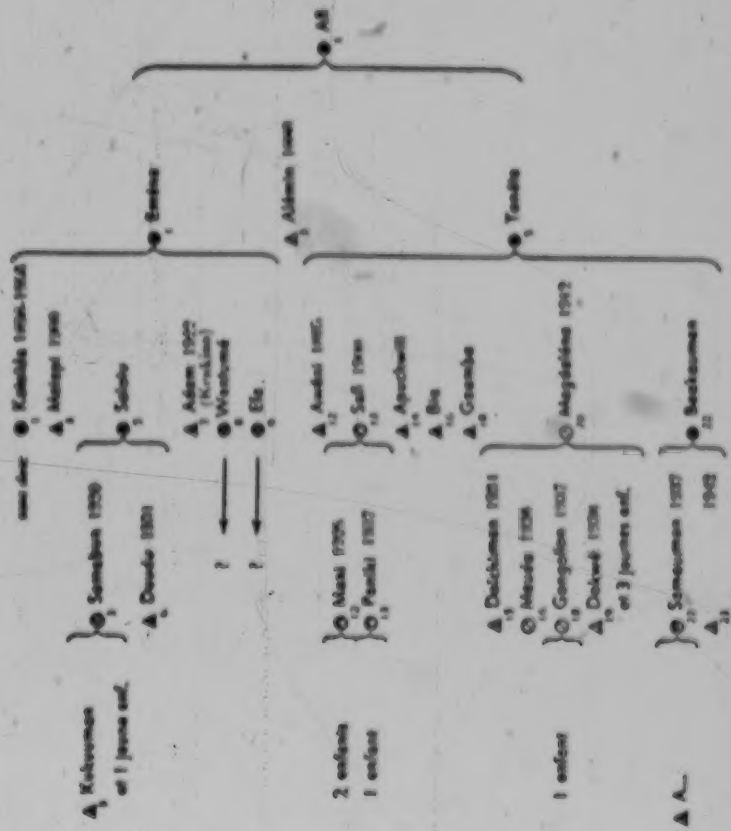
2e FRACTION



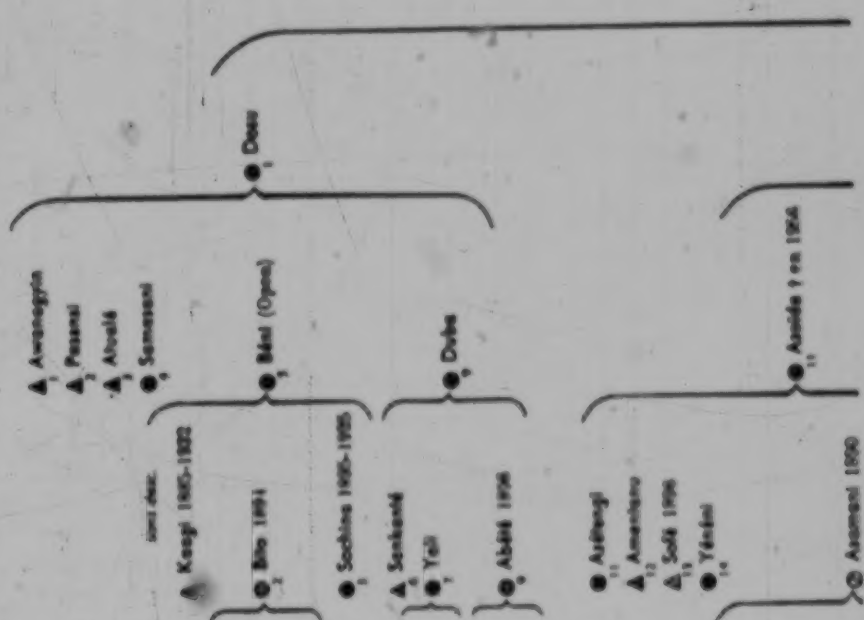
[End Chart - C2]

LIGNAGE AFI

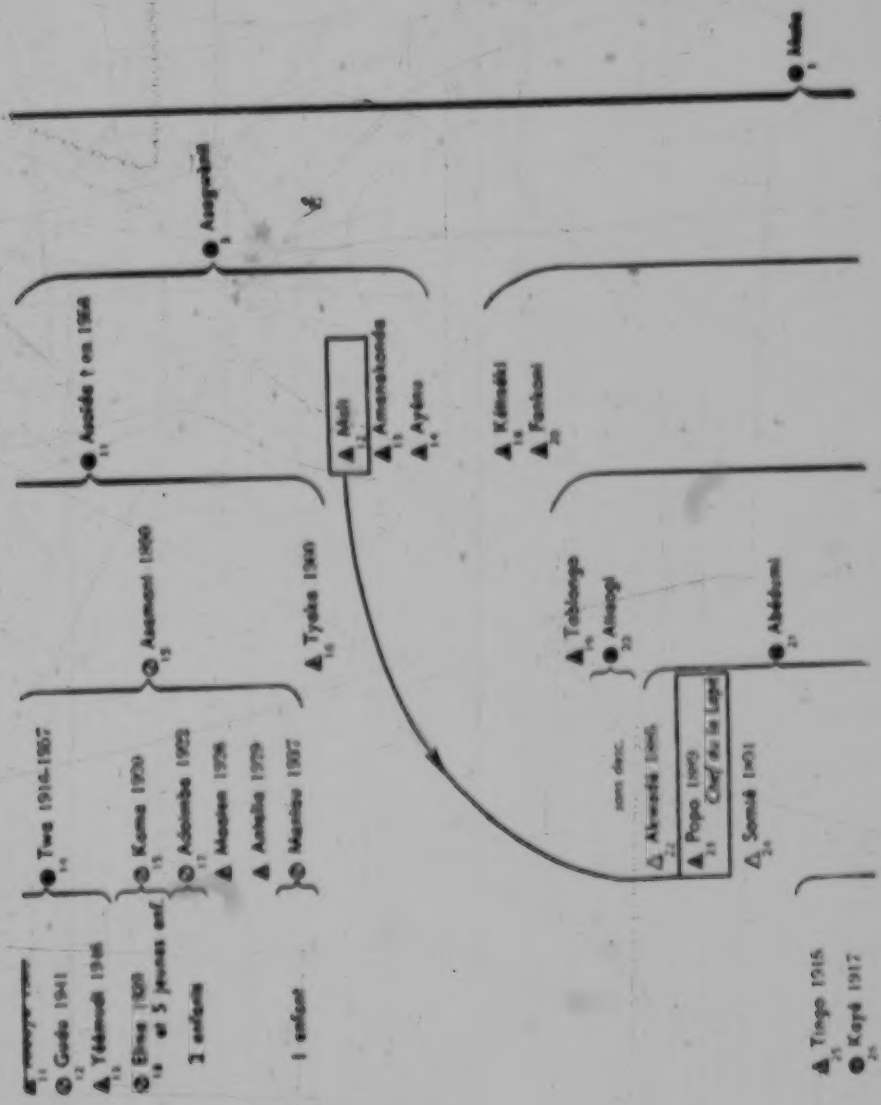
Lignage sans rapport de parenté avec les Awara Bakka ; fondé par Afi, femme de la tribu des Bakabuchi (Surinam), immigrée à la fin du XIXe siècle.



[End Chart - C3]


Awanagron
Pasanai
Alvuká
Sanasani
Dosu
Kaagi 1905-1932
Bito 1941
Bitsi (Opon)
Sochina 1905-1925
Senkanó
Yoli
Dobe
Abiká 1936
Aseida ? ca 1936
Ashengi
Amanbaru
Sóli 1936
Yéskai
Asumani 1930
Tolomen 1936
Asana 1942
Tolli 1916
Pikinbada 1934
Tikon 1933
Bayoko
Afaiku 1936
Alapu 1921
Dondé 1927
Fokolo 1937
Kiki 1937
Panikí 1936
Alvuyá 1939
Gobi 1911
Yékenuh 1946
Elisa 1939
of 3 jewes est.
Twa 1916-1937
Kasa 1930
2 enfants
1 enfant

[End Chart-D1]


Aseyeki
Aoide † en 1956
Assanoi 1960
Kuma 1920
Adoimbo 1923
Mosson 1926
Antoko 1929
Mantoo 1937
Twa 1916-1937
Gado 1941
Tékanoé 1946
Bing 1928
et 5 jeunes enf.
2 enfants
1 enfant
Tyoko 1930
Mili
Amanokonde
Ayéko
Kénaéki
Fonkoei
Tobloogo
Atsogi
Abbéoei
sans desc.
Akwaéki 1946
Popo 1950
Chef du la Lapé
Sonoé 1951
Tiogo 1915
Kayé 1917
Mako

[End Chart - D2]

6:Hurault

SR6 Bush Negroes

End Chart-D3

1re FRACTION

2 enfants — Dudu 1930 (40)

Koniman 1900 (31)

6 enfants — Téké 1924 (44)

Déési 1927 (45)

Kabita 1929 (46)

Mélita 1904 (32)

Pwen 1908 (33)

A... 1948 (47)

Mémé 1911 (34)

Ayaubédé 1911 (37)

a émigré chez les Paramaka — Tiboyon 1914 (38)

Yaana 1918 (39)

Topo 1920 (40)

Chii 1886 (24)

4 enfants — Madu 1928 (41)

5 enfants — Koko 1930 (42)

Baala 1934 (43)

vivent à Herminia — Pikinpapa (50)

Alimichi 1903 (51)

Kokich (52)

Atala † en 1952 (52)

sans desc. — Gaan Sabéna (24)

place dans la généalogie incertaine

Lomé Capitaine avant Mali

Correspondance des générations

2 enfants — Yundu 1928-1957

[End Chart - D4]

6:Hurault

SR8 Bush Negroes

GÉNÉALOGIE DU LO LAPÉ
(VILLAGES LOKA ET LAPÉ TABIKI)
EN JANVIER 1958

- Loka
- Lapé Taliki
- Boniville
- Morts
- Isolés au milieu d'autres lignages.
- Émigrés définitivement

2e FRACTION

Lomé
Capitaine avant Mali

28

place dans la généalogie incertaine

Correspondance des générations

● Ahli 28

○ Térésa 1894 57

Δ Baafu 1900 58

▲ Amédié 59

▲ Kadi 60

⊘ Asakundu 1891 55

▲ Amèmbé 1911 70

Δ Amakli 1926 71

Δ Adyuka 1935 72

Δ Awétipay 1937 73

○ Lomé 1938 74

1 enfant

⊘ Kapééki 1908 60

⊘ Angisa 1913 61

▲ Sindu 1919 62

Δ Amatodja 1922 63

Δ Maliki 1928 64

vit à Boniville

élevé par son père à Assi

2 enfants

● Yundu 1928-1957 60

▲ Anato 1929 61

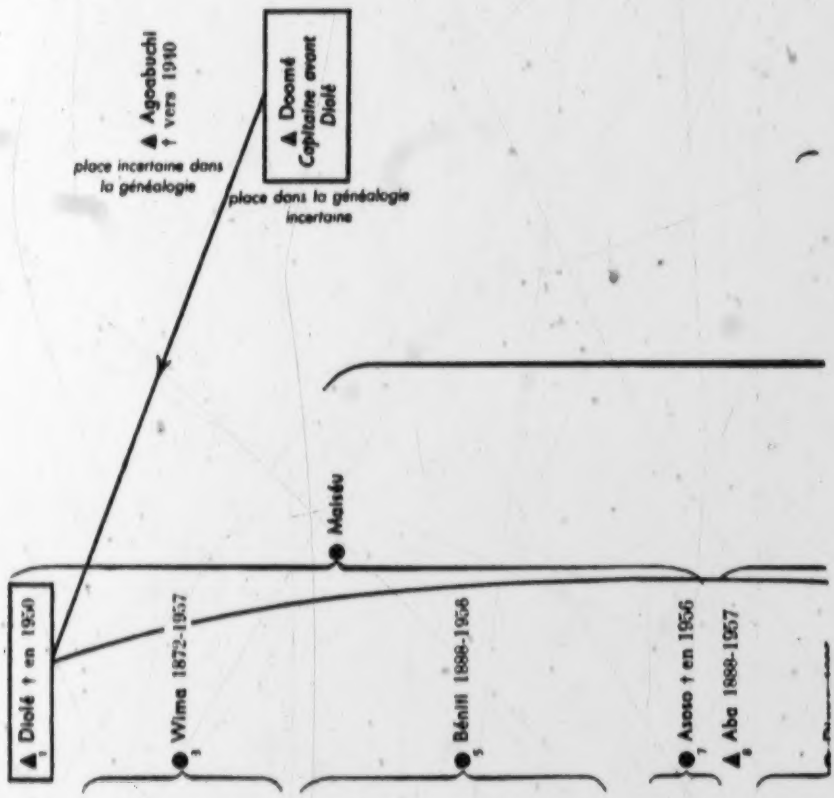
1 enfant

● Paga 1930-1951 62

1 enfant

⊘ Alontu 1937 65

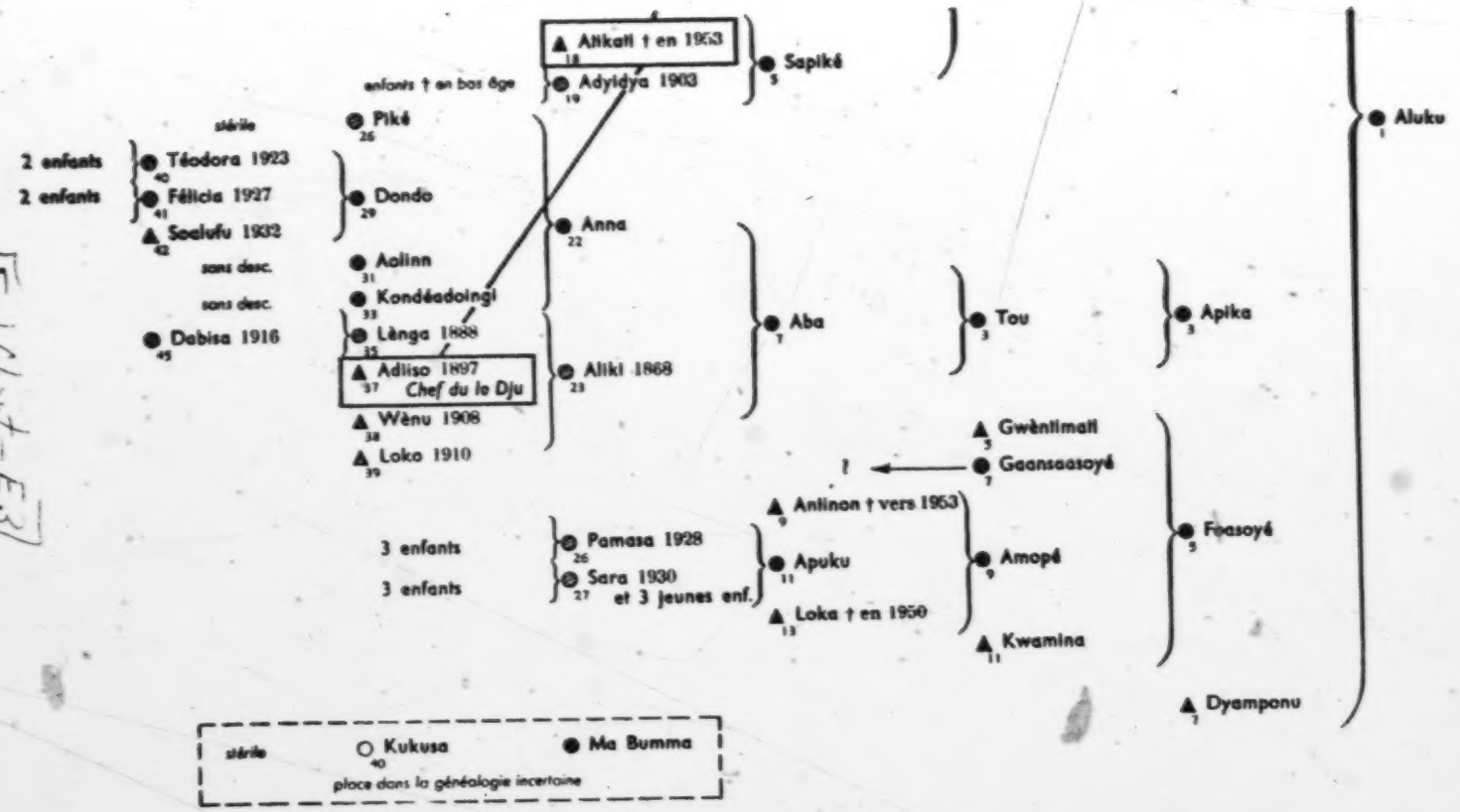
[End Chart-D5]


▲ Diolé † en 1930
▲ Agoabuchi † vers 1910
place incertaine dans la généalogie
▲ Doomé Capitaine avant Diolé
place dans la généalogie incertaine
1 enfant
2 enfants
Buba 1924 1
Paana 2
Féni 3
1900
Tini 1892 1
Wima 1872-1957 3
Meisèu
Alala 1911 6
Kula 1944 7
Yaka 1951 8
Kéwénu 1908 10
Ala 1910 2
Yééchi 1913 3
Finimen 1908 6
Klémenti 1912 4
Alibi 1906 12
Doni 1909 13
Agoba 1911 14
et 6 jeunes enf.
Eliana 1914 8
Bénili 1888-1956 5
stérile
3 enfants
3 enfants
Kulina 1917 9
Baikom 1924 10
vit à Loko
Maria 1926 11
prostituée, vit à Alina
Dina 12
Achiké 1933 13
Léya 1941 20
et 1 jeune enf.
Dachini 1919 16
Mutété 1925 17
Asoso † en 1956 7
Aba 1888-1957 9

[End Chart - E1]

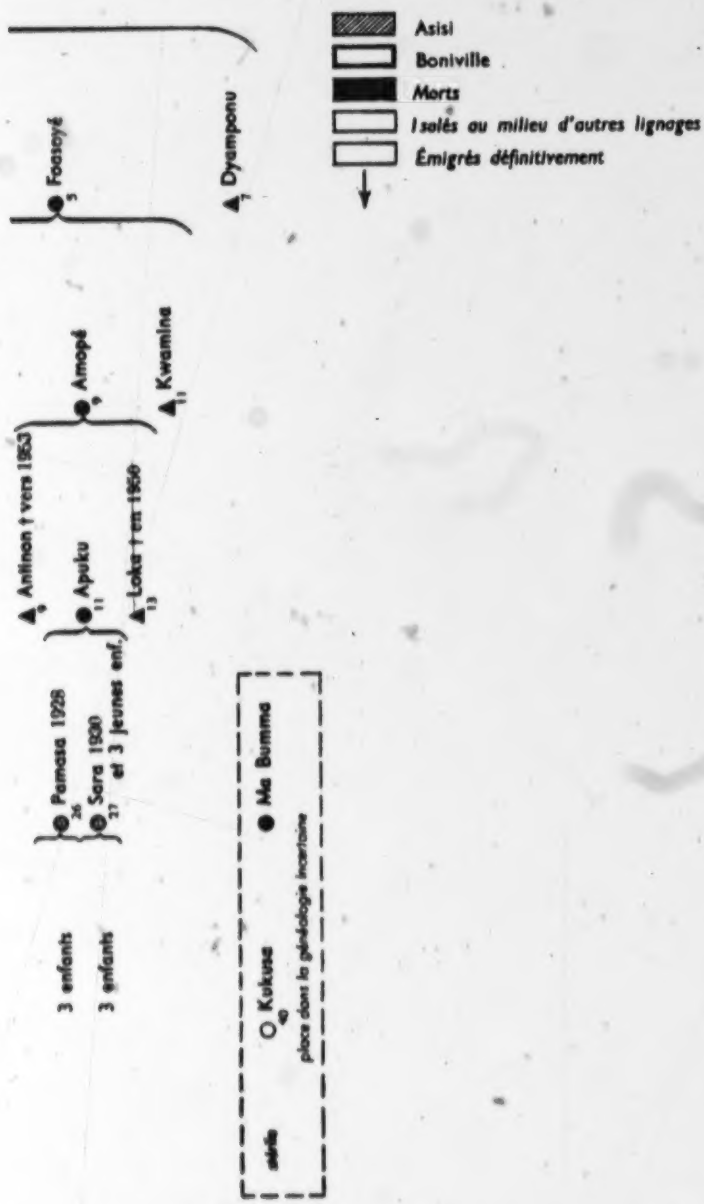
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
Aluku 1
Nia 1
Saamswi 1
Ürsüla 1870 3
Sapiké 5
Asoso † en 1956 7
Aba 1888-1957 8
Diana 1892 9
Awali 1896 10
Ména 1905-1942 11
Amati 1907-1940 12
Baawé 1909 13
Sosoman 1917 14
Hébiman 1920-1952 15
Atikati † en 1953 18
Adyidya 1903 19
enfants † en bas âge
Achiké 1933 13
Léya 1941 28
et 1 jeune enf.
Dachini 1919 16
Mutété 1925 17
Fraga 1929 18
Faawé 1935 19
stérile
Ampuman 22
Yachi 23
1938
1 enfant
Téékiti 1941 24
Pototo 1934 25
stérile
Piké 26
stérile
2 enfants
Téodora 1923
2 enfants
Félicia 1927
Dondo

End Chart-E2


Aluku 1
Sapiké 5
Adyidya 1903 19
Attikati † en 1953 18
enfants † en bas âge
Piké 26
stérile
2 enfants
Téodora 1923 40
2 enfants
Félicia 1927 41
Dondo 29
Soalufu 1932 42
sans desc.
Aolinn 31
Kondéadoingi 33
sans desc.
Dabisa 1916 45
Lènga 1888 35
Adliso 1897 37
Chef du lo Dju
Wènu 1908 38
Loko 1910 39
Anna 22
Aliki 1868 23
Aba 7
Tou 3
Apika 3
Gwèntimati 5
Gaansaasoyé 7
?
Antinon † vers 1953 9
Amopé 9
Foasoyé 5
3 enfants
Pamasa 1928 26
3 enfants
Sara 1930 27
et 3 jeunes enf.
Apuku 11
Loka † en 1950 13
Kwamina 11
Dyamponu 7
stérile
Kukusa 40
Ma Bumma
place dans la généalogie incertaine

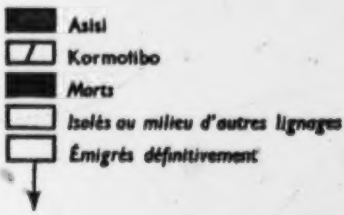
End Chart - E3

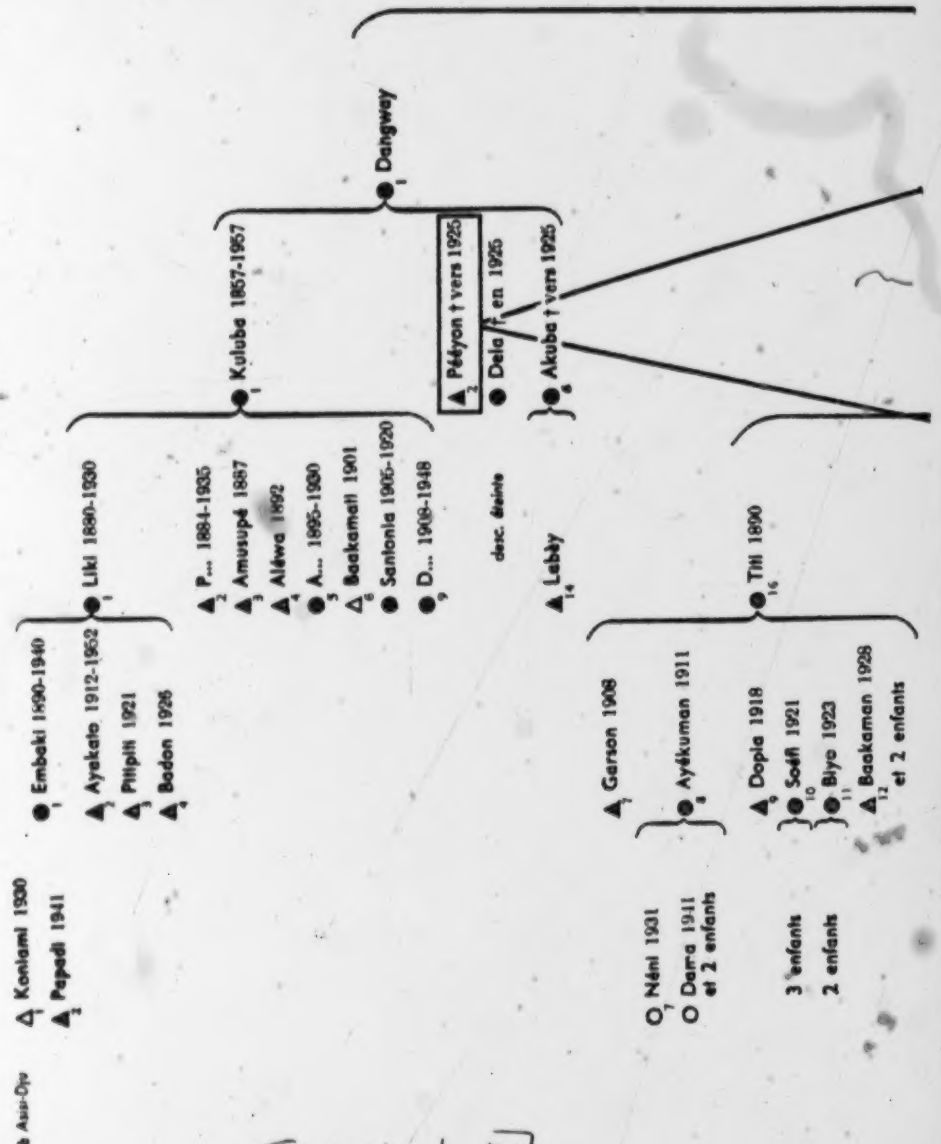
GÉNÉALOGIE DU LO DJU
(VILLAGES ASISI ET BONIVILLE)
EN JANVIER 1958



[End Chart-E4]

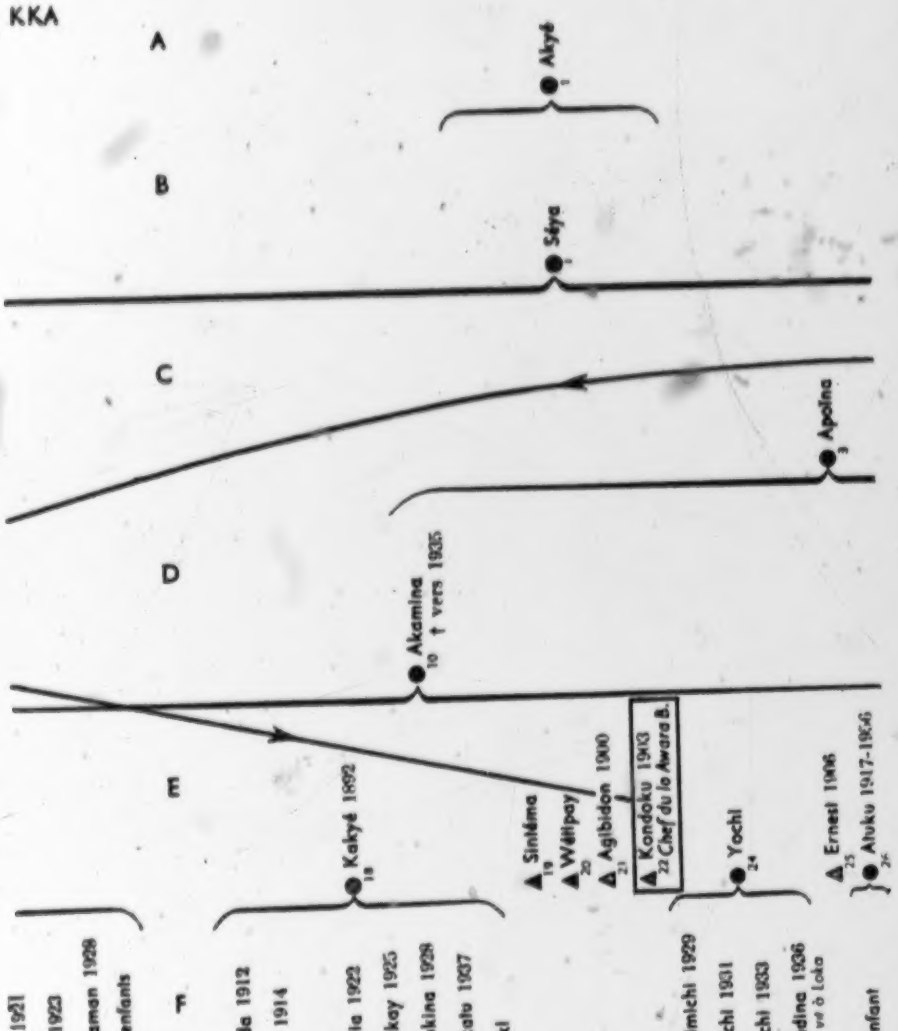
GÉNÉALOGIE DU LO AWARA BAKKA
(VILLAGE ASISI)
EN JANVIER 1958





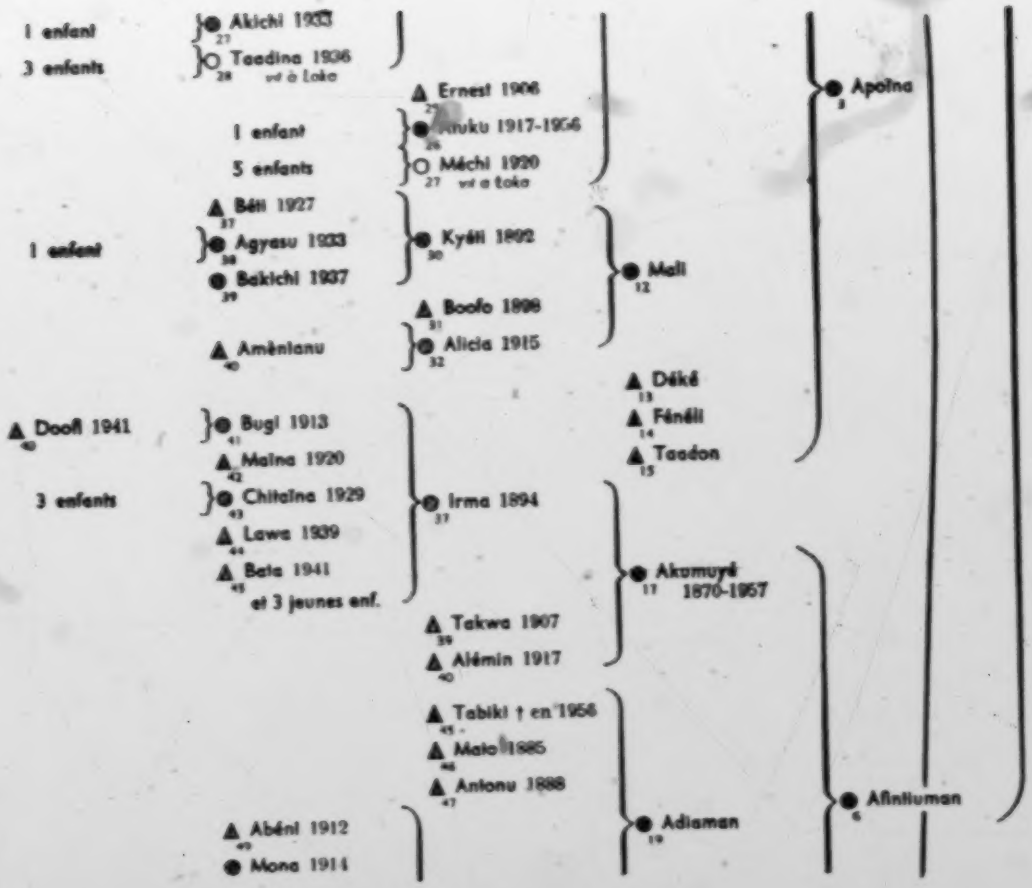
[End Chart-F1]

KKA

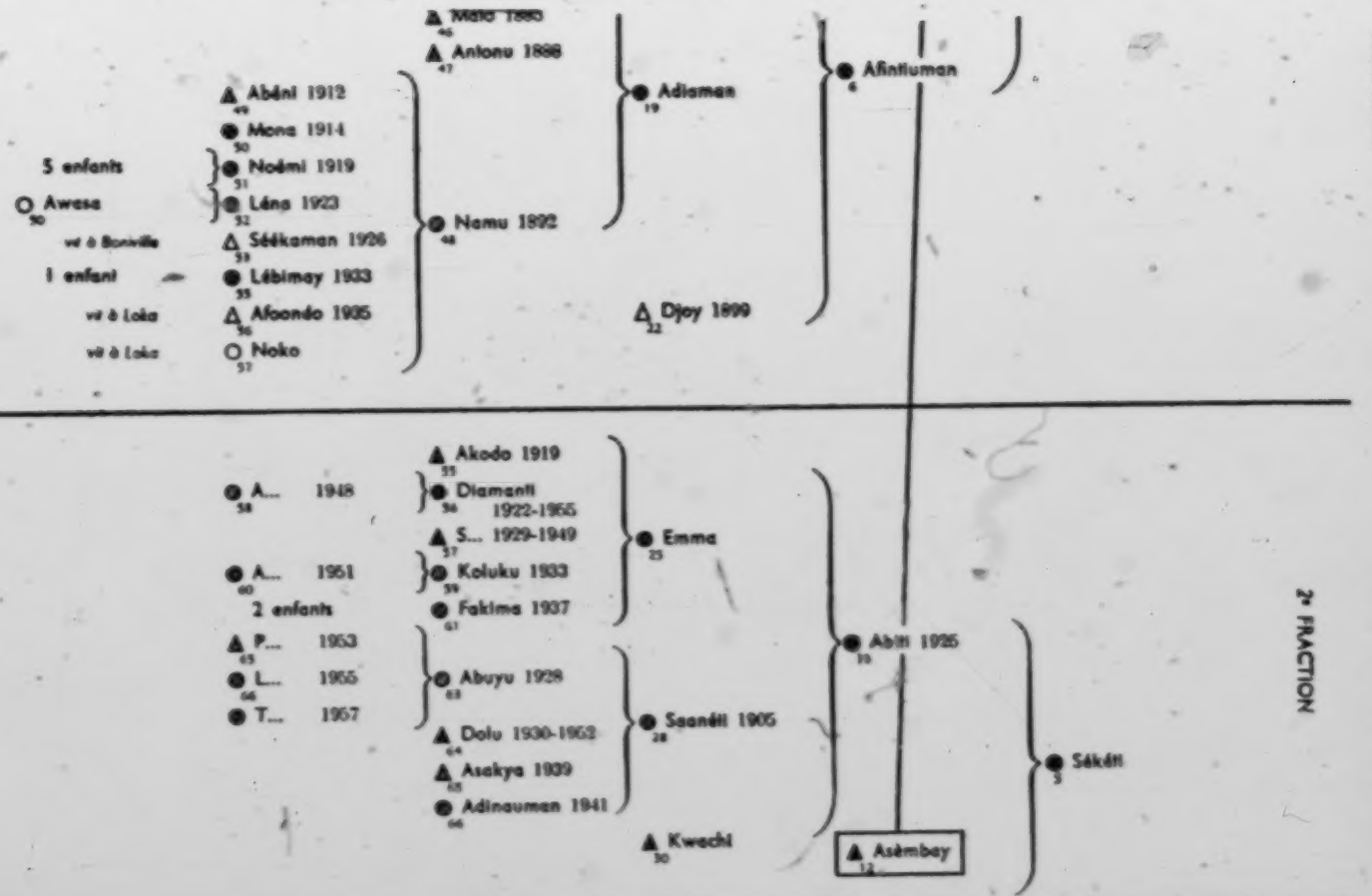


[End Chart-F2]

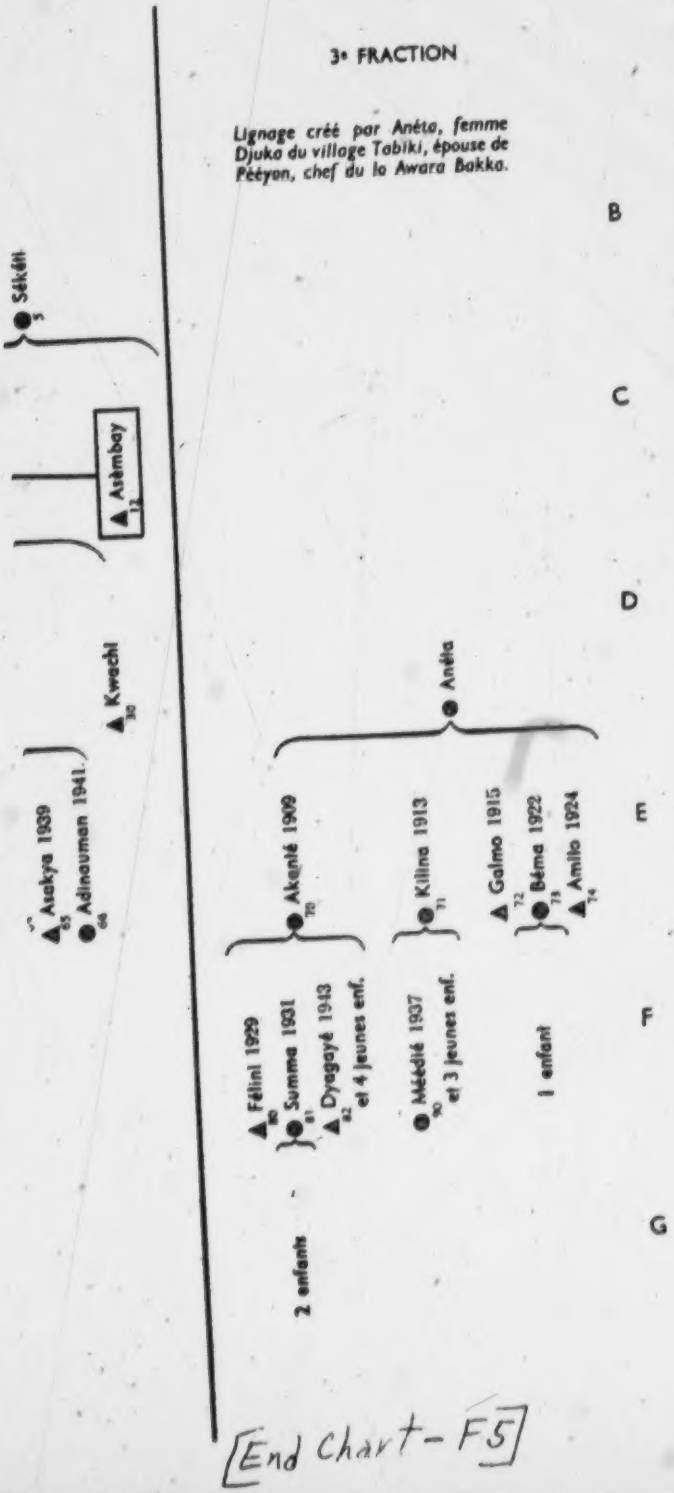
1re FRACTION



[End Chart - F3]

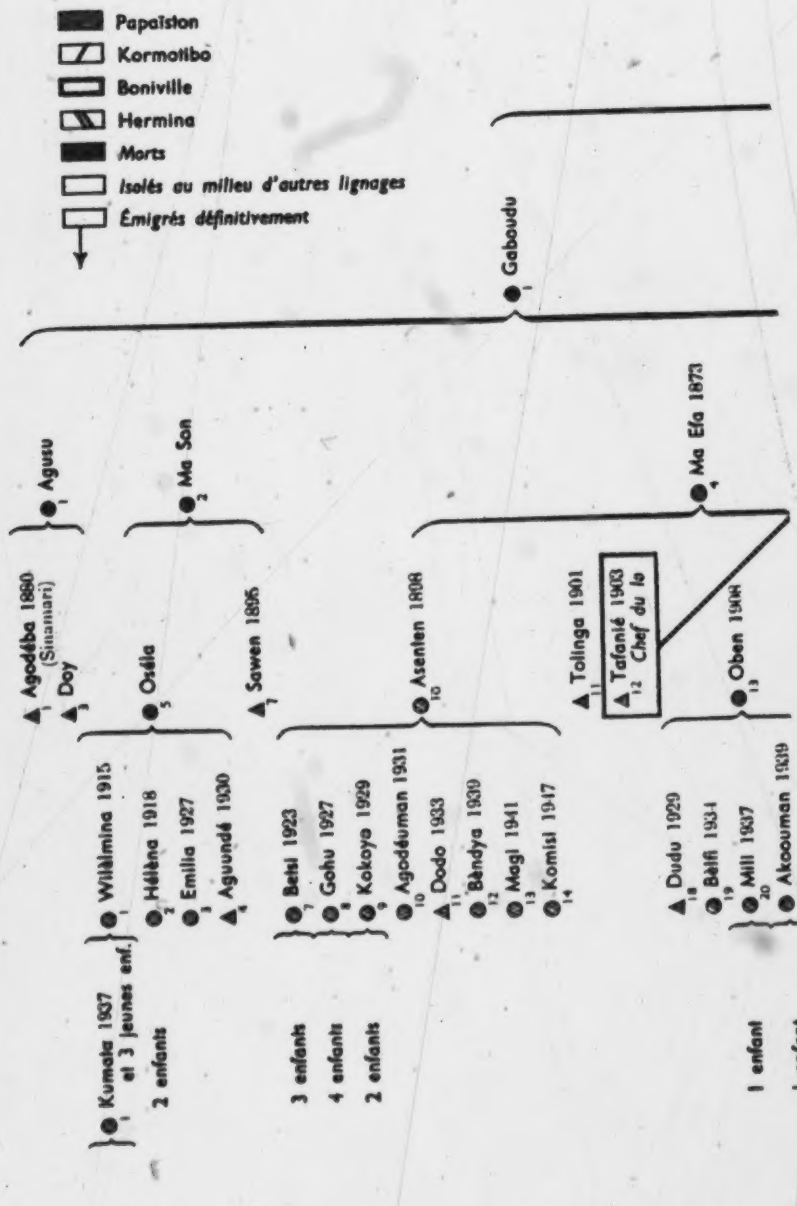

Mato 1880
46
Antonu 1888
47
Abáni 1912
49
Mona 1914
50
5 enfants
Noémi 1919
51
Awesa
50
Láng 1923
52
vit à Bonville
Séékaman 1926
53
1 enfant
Lébimay 1933
55
vit à Loka
Afoondo 1935
56
vit à Loka
Noko
57
Namu 1892
48
Adiaman
19
Djoy 1899
22
Afintiuman
6
Akodo 1919
35
A... 1948
58
Diamanti
36
1922-1955
S... 1929-1949
37
A... 1951
60
Koluku 1933
59
2 enfants
Fakima 1937
61
Emma
25
P... 1953
65
L... 1955
66
T... 1957
Abuyu 1928
63
Dolu 1930-1952
64
Asakya 1939
65
Adinauman 1941
66
Saanéti 1905
28
Kwachi
30
Abiti 1925
10
Asèmbay
12
Sákéti
5
2e FRACTION

End chart-F4


3e FRACTION
Lignage créé par Anéto, femme Djuka du village Tabiki, épouse de Péeyon, chef du la Awara Bakka.
Sékéli 5
Asàmbay 13
Kwachi 30
Asakya 1939 65
Adinouman 1941 66
Anéto
Akenlé 1909 70
Kilina 1913 71
Galmo 1915 72
Béma 1922 73
Amilo 1924 74
Félini 1929 80
Somma 1931 81
Dyagayé 1943 82
et 4 jeunes enf.
Mékélé 1937 90
et 3 jeunes enf.
1 enfant
2 enfants
B
C
D
E
F
G

[End Chart - F5]

GÉNÉALOGIE DU LO KAWINA
(PAPAÏSTON)
EN JANVIER 1958



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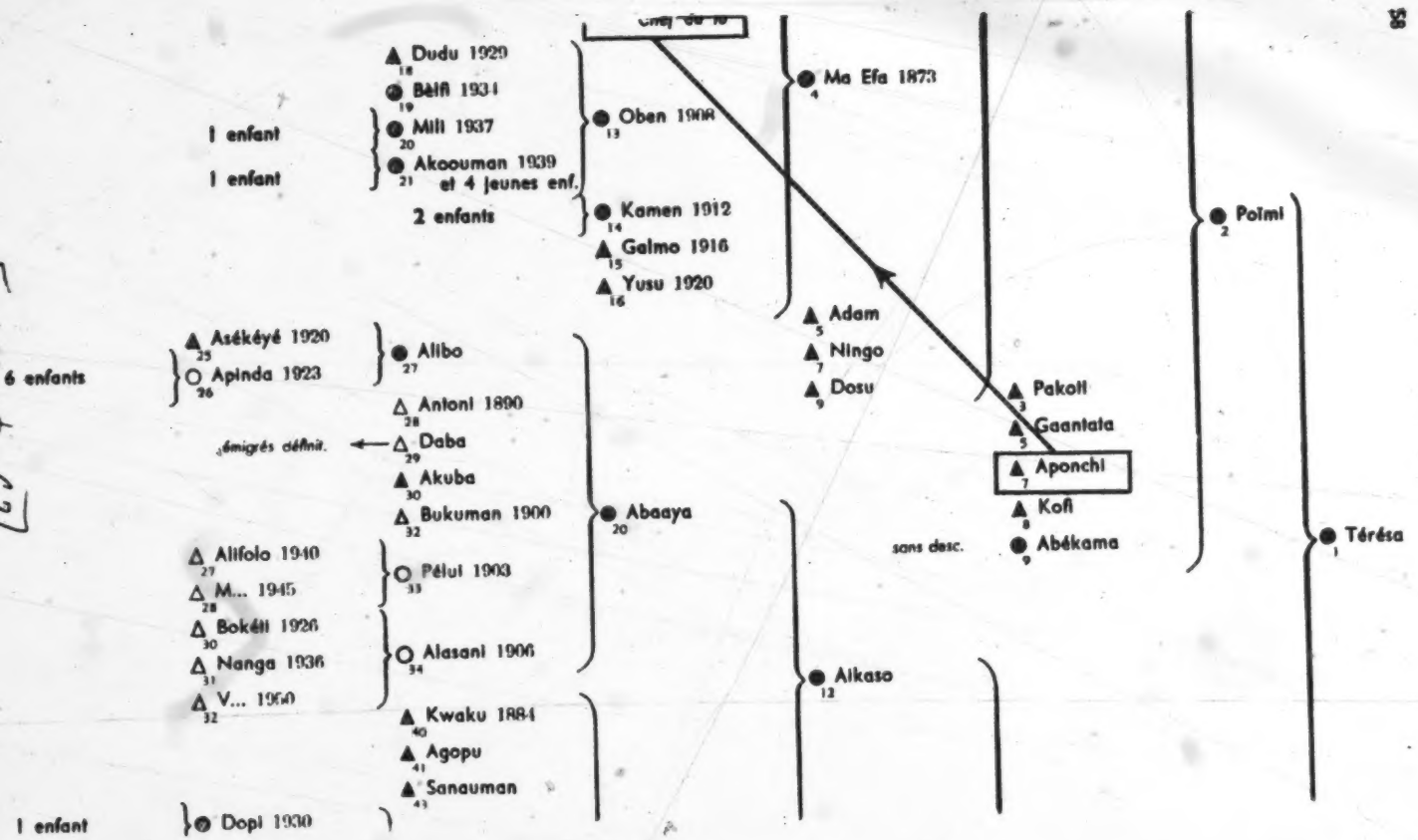
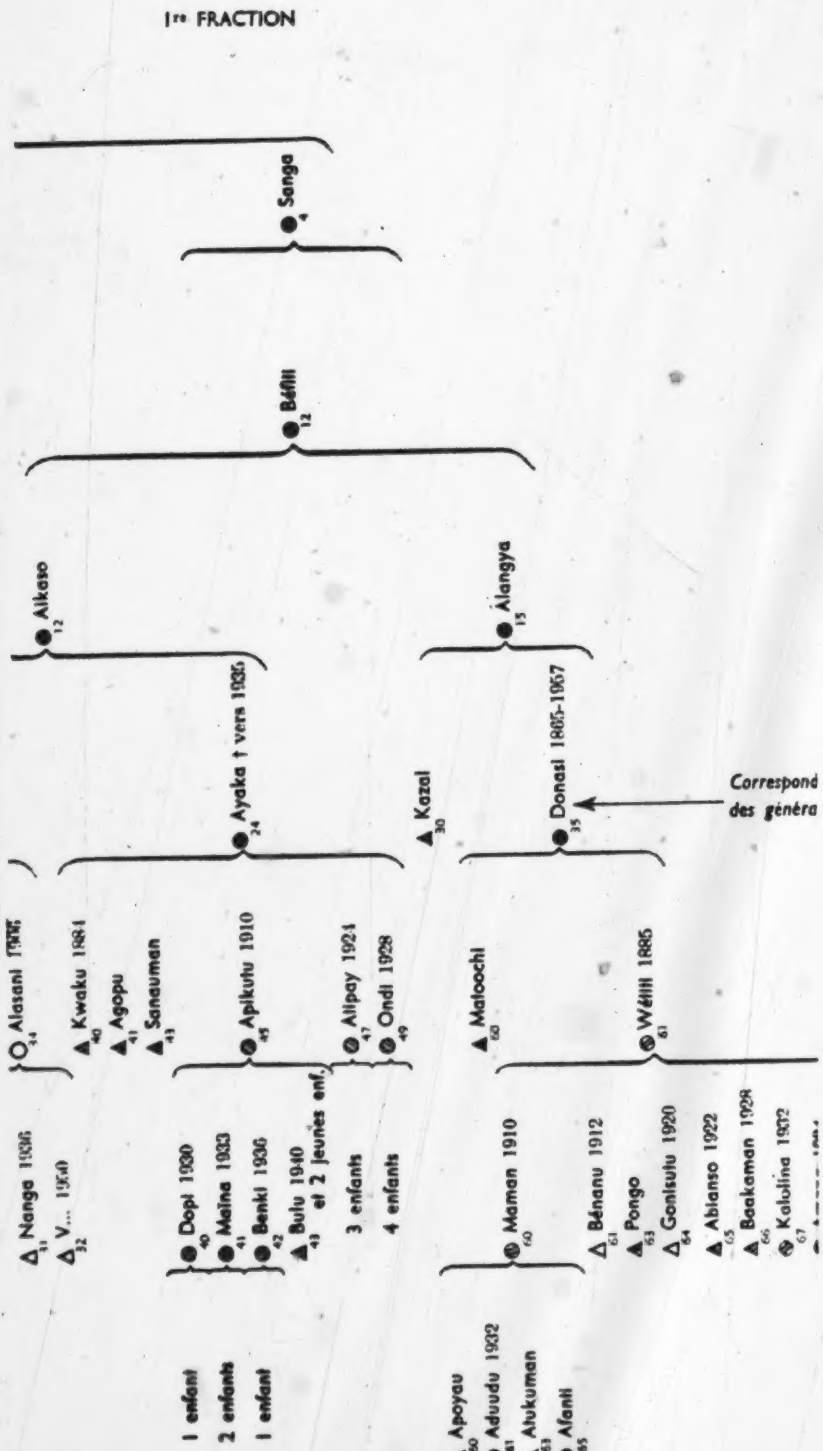
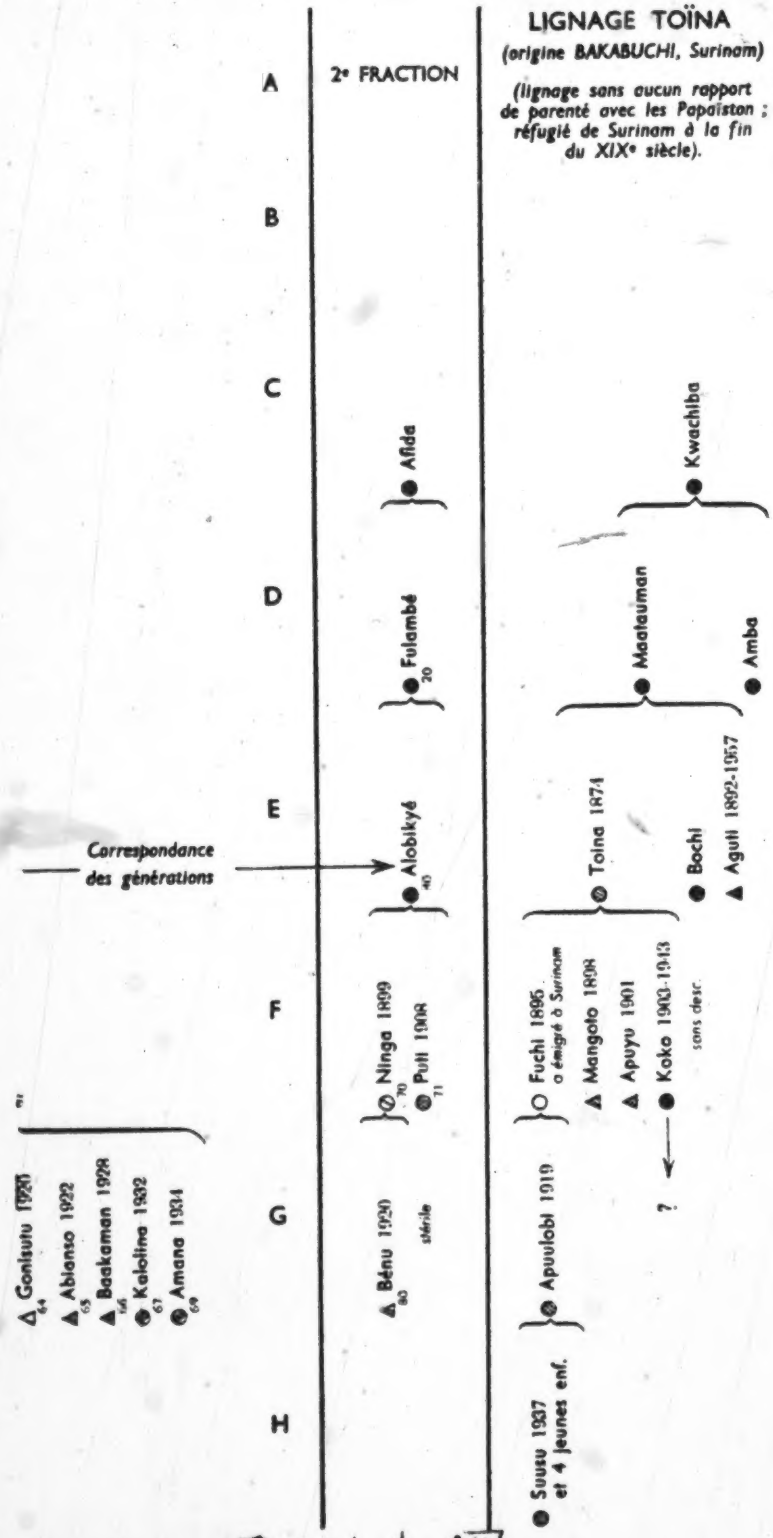
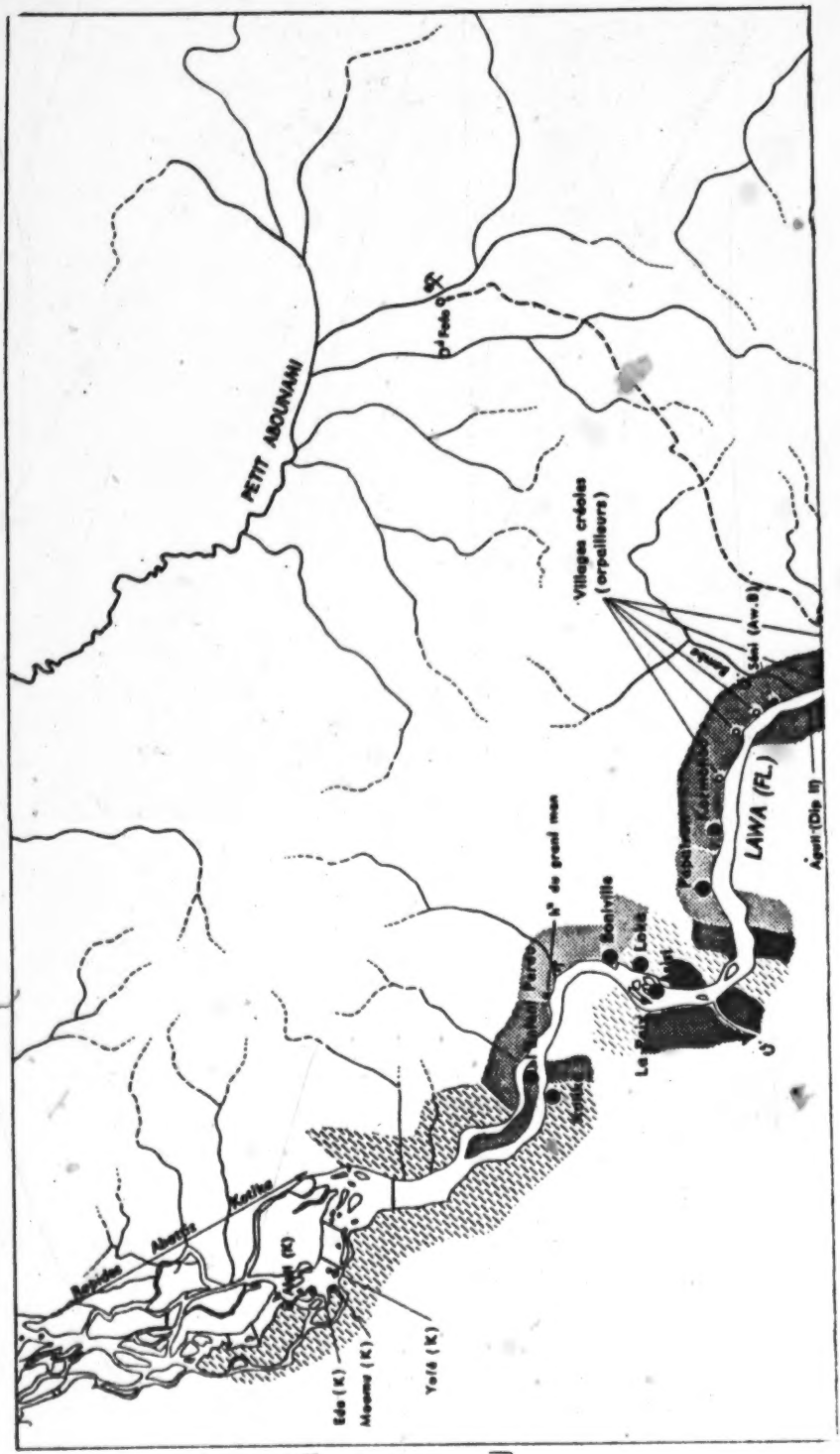

Chef de la
Dudu 1929 18
Bèlfi 1934 19
1 enfant
Mili 1937 20
1 enfant
Akoouman 1939 21 et 4 jeunes enf.
2 enfants
Oben 1908 13
Kamen 1912 14
Galmo 1916 15
Yusu 1920 16
Ma Efa 1873 4
Adam 5
Ningo 7
Dosu 9
Pakoti 3
Gaantata 5
Aponchi 7
Koti 8
sans desc.
Abékama 9
Poimi 2
Térésa 1
Asékéyé 1920 25
6 enfants
Apinda 1923 26
Alibo 27
Antoni 1890 28
émigrés définit.
Daba 29
Akuba 30
Bukuman 1900 32
Abaaya 20
Alifolo 1940 27
M... 1945 28
Pélui 1903 33
Bokéti 1926 30
Nanga 1936 31
V... 1950 32
Alasani 1906 34
Kwaku 1884 40
Agopu 41
Sanauman 43
Aikaso 12
1 enfant
Dopi 1930

End Chart - 42

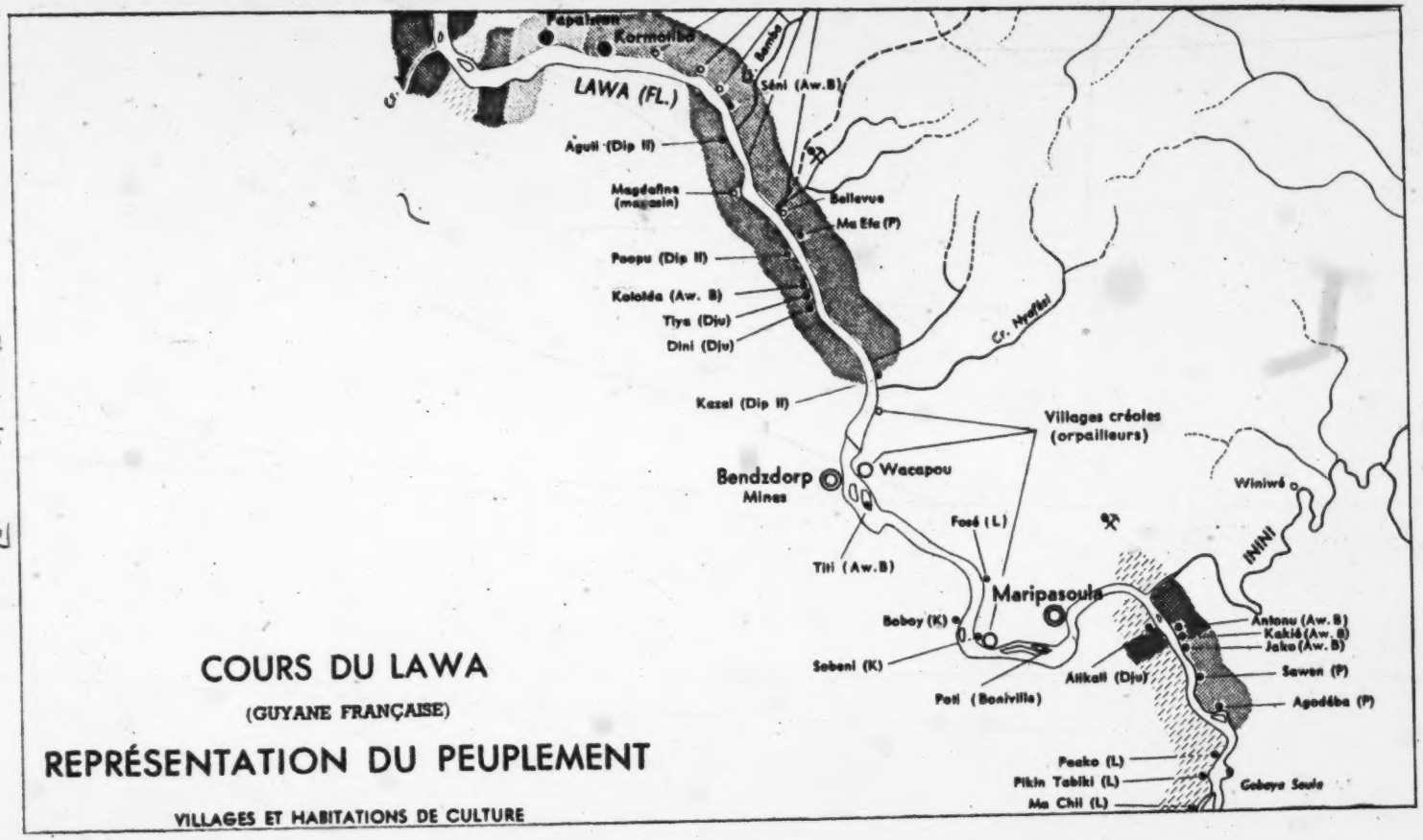

1re FRACTION
Sanga 4
Bâfili 12
Aikoso 12
Álangya 15
Ayaka † vers 1935 24
Kazal 30
Donasi 1865-1957 35
Correspond des généra
Alasani 1906 34
Kwaku 1881 40
Agopu 41
Sanauman 43
Apikutu 1910 45
Alipay 1924 47
Ondi 1928 49
Matoochi 50
Wéfili 1885 61
Nanga 1936 31
V... 1950 32
Dopi 1930 40
Maina 1933 41
Benki 1936 42
Bulu 1940 43 et 2 jeunes enf.
3 enfants
4 enfants
Maman 1910 60
Bénanu 1912 61
Pongo 63
Gonisutu 1920 64
Abiaso 1922 65
Baakaman 1928 66
Kalulina 1932 67
1 enfant
2 enfants
1 enfant
Apoyau 80
Aduudu 1932 81
Atukuman 83
Afanti 85

[End Chart-G3]


LIGNAGE TOÏNA
(origine BAKABUCHI, Surinam)
(lignage sans aucun rapport de parenté avec les Papaïston ; réfugié de Surinam à la fin du XIXe siècle).
2e FRACTION
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
Correspondance des générations
Gonlutu 1920 64
Ablanso 1922 65
Baakaman 1928 66
Kalotiva 1932 67
Amana 1934 69
Bénu 1920 80
stérile
Ninga 1899 70
Puli 1908 71
Alobikyé 40
Afida
Fulambé 20
Apuvlobi 1919
Suusu 1937 et 4 jeunes enf.
Fuchi 1885 o émigré à Surinam
Mangolo 1898
Apuyu 1901
Koko 1903-1943 sans desc.
Toina 1874
Bochi
Aguli 1892-1957
Maatauman
Amba
Kwachiba
End Chart—G4



[End Map - A]
[following End Chart - G4]



COURS DU LAWA

(GUYANE FRANÇAISE)

REPRÉSENTATION DU PEUPLEMENT

VILLAGES ET HABITATIONS DE CULTURE

[End Map - B]
[Following End Chart - G4]

(GUYANE FRANÇAISE)

REPRÉSENTATION DU PEUPLEMENT

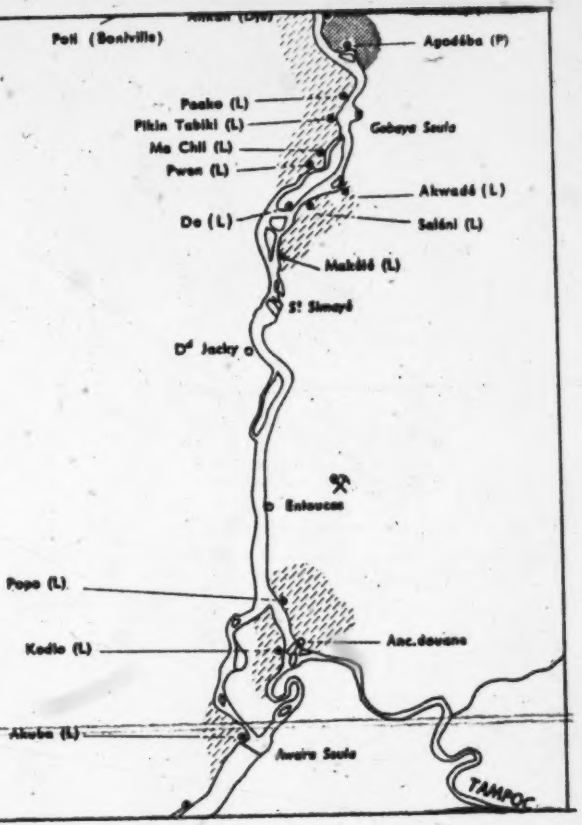
VILLAGES ET HABITATIONS DE CULTURE

EN 1958

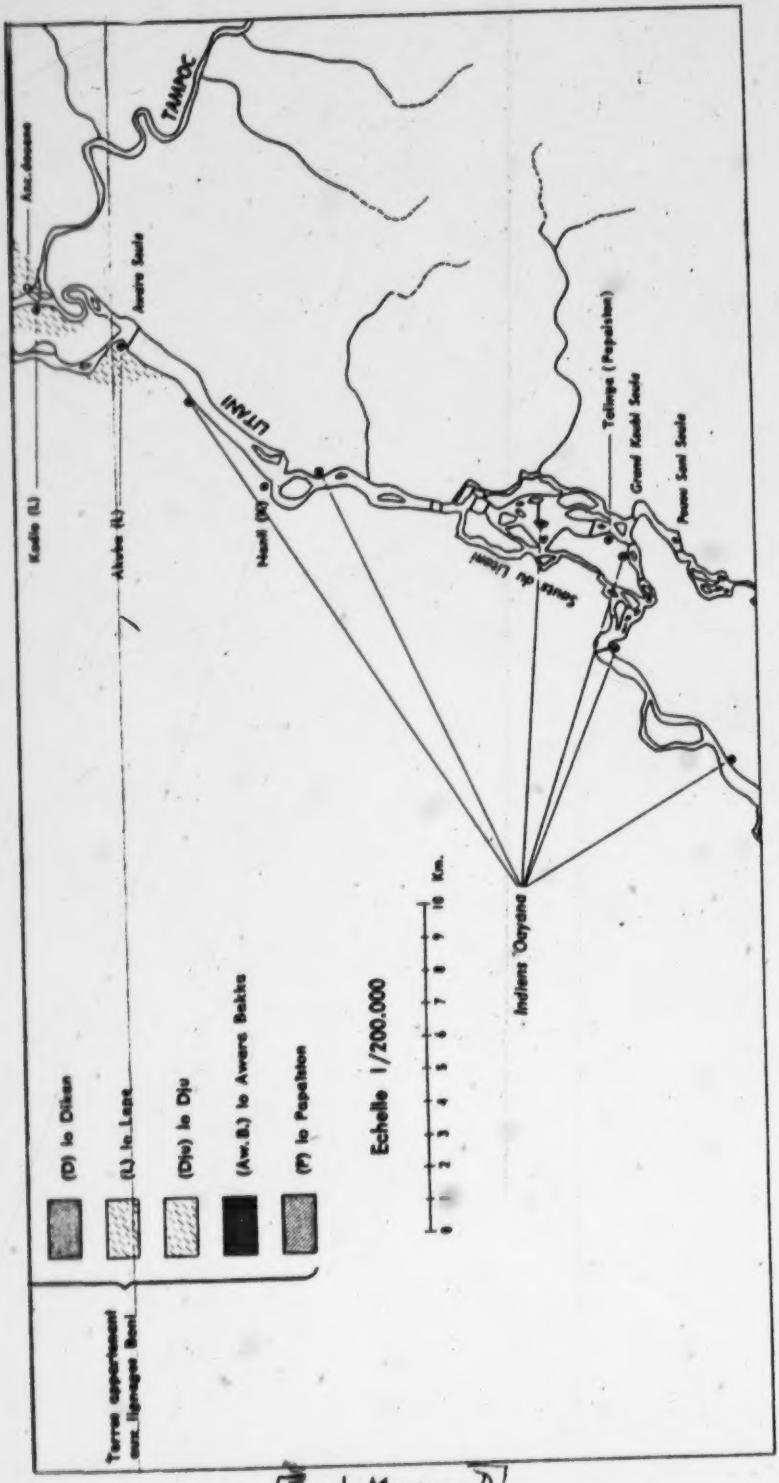
- Villages de résidence Boni
- Habitations de culture Boni
- Villages créoles
- Établissements européens
- Habitations créoles
- Petits chantiers d'orpailleurs
- Villages indiens

Terres appartenant aux lignages Boni:

- (K) le Kotika
- (Dip) le Dipélu
- (D) le Dikan
- (L) le Lape
- (Dju) le Dju



[End Map - C]
[following End Chart-G4]



[End Map - D]
[Following End Chart-G-4]

R

ASSEMBLAGE PHOTOGRAPHIQUE ETABLI A L'AIDE DES PHOTOGRAPHIES DE LA MISSION 007/200 IGN GUYANE ECHELLE 1/20000 PRISES EN OCTOBRE 1986

[End Plate - A]

[Following End Map - D]

REPARTITION DES TERRES

AU VOISINAGE DES PRINCIF

Echelle 1/20 000

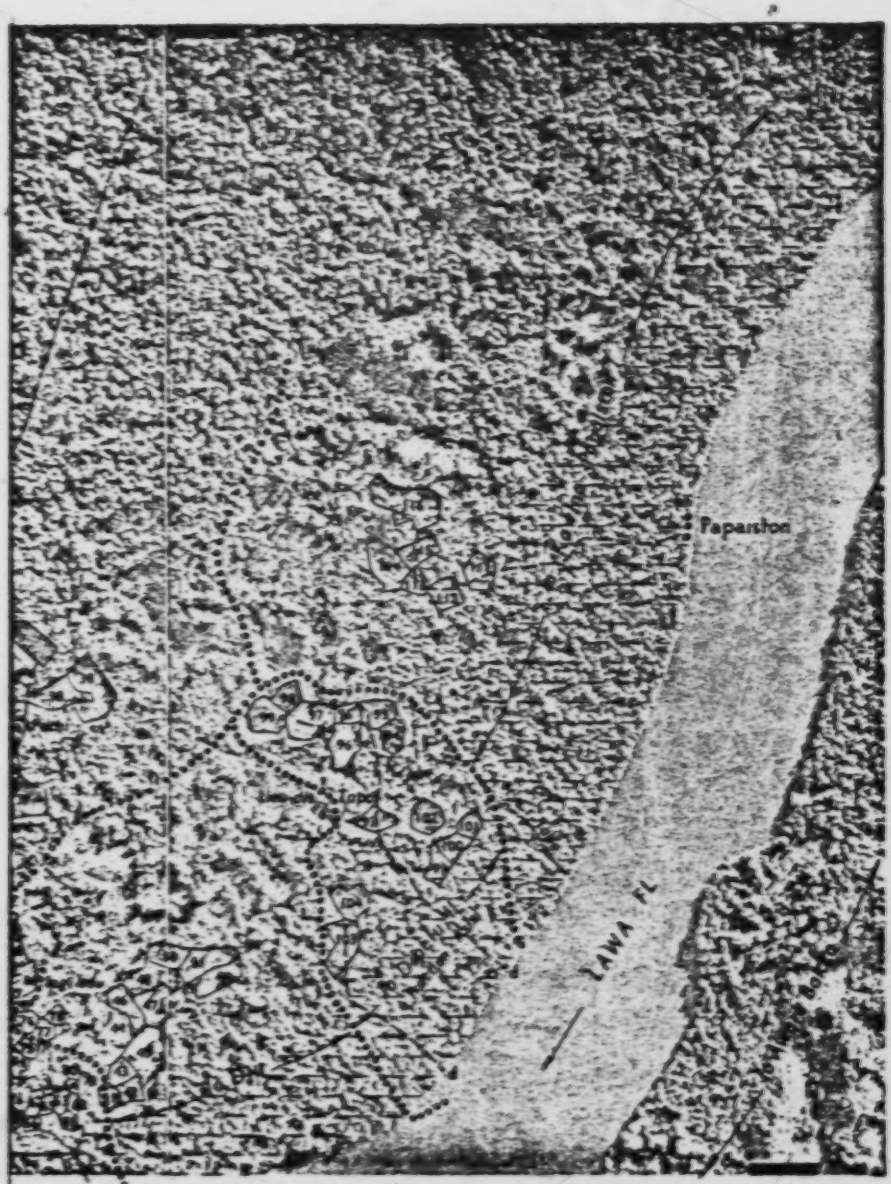
[End Plate - 8]

RRES ENTRE LES LIGNAGES

PRINCIPAUX VILLAGES BONI

[End Plate - C]

ES



Agodé	Villages permanents	• h°	habitation de culture
	abattis	• d	dégrad (débarcadère)
	zones inondables		chemin
	limites non reconnues		limites approximatives des terrains

[End Plate - D]

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

PREFACE

is relatively small, and is localized in the interior of French Guiana, not far from the Dutch boundary. In any consideration of the Guiana Negroes, yet a fourth group must be kept in mind—that of the Negroes of the coastal region, who remained enslaved until their emancipation in 1865.

The country of the Saramacca people is reached from Paramaribo, the capital and port of the colony of Suriname (Dutch Guiana), by the weekly train which goes some ninety-five miles to Kabel, where the railway meets the river. From Kabel transportation into the far interior is by dugout canoe, owned and manned by Saramacca men. The country above Kabel, which the Saramacca people call the "big bush," is jungle. Over the watershed lie the Amazon basin and the forests of northern Brazil. Once in this region, the traveler has no contact with European civilization, though he is still under the protection of the Dutch Government.

The picture which we draw of the Saramacca people is based upon two field trips to Dutch Guiana, undertaken in the summers of 1928 and 1929. During our second trip we traversed the entire stretch of the Saramacca country from below Kabel, where the Awka villages are located, to the last native habitation on the Pikien Rio, beyond which are some fields, then uninhabitated miles of wilderness to the Brazilian border.

The ethnological work conducted among the Saramacca tribe of Bush Negroes and the Negroes of the coastal region of Suriname represents a portion of an investigation into the physical and cultural characteristics of the Negroes of the New World. This research, which is still in progress, has included field work in the United States, in Dutch Guiana, and in Africa, and some comparative study in the islands of the Caribbean. It began in 1923 with an inquiry into Negro-white crossing in the United States.[1] As the work progressed it became evident that the problem

[1] For the results of this portion of the investigation, see M. J. Herskovits, "The American Negro, a Study in Racial Crossing" (1928); and "The Anthropometry of the American Negro" (1931).

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

demanded more knowledge of the sources of the slaves who compose the Negro ancestry of the American Negroes than was available. This knowledge, which historical documents do not give us, was, therefore, to be sought in a comparison of Negro cultures in the New World and in Africa. 121 114

As the research was continued, moreover, it became apparent that the scientific problem of the Negro in the New World held implications of larger significance, and that the history of the Negro in the New World has constituted a vast "laboratory" experiment in the processes of racial mixture and of cultural contacts. The Negroes who were brought to the New World came of various West African stocks, and here they mingled their blood with the English, the French, the Dutch, with the Danish, Spanish, and Portuguese who became their masters, and they absorbed in varying degrees the culture of these masters. At the same time, they came in contact with aboriginal Indian peoples with whom they also mingled. But the Negro has not only absorbed; he has also given. The conclusion, still held by many students, that the Negro slave came to this country a savage child with or without his loin cloth, and as naked culturally as he was sartorially, is one which cannot today be accepted.

At the beginning of our field work in Suriname, one of us went up the Suriname River to study the Bush Negroes, and the other remained in Paramaribo to collect folk lore from the town Negroes and to ascertain what Africanisms could be discerned in their beliefs and behavior. When we met and compared notes, some striking things came to light, for bush and town Negroes were, as the evidence in hand suggested, much more closely allied culturally than had been realized, while both were seen to have many aspects of culture that clearly link them with West African and other New World Negroes. 121

Thus, in bush and town, the Negroes hold the same concept and offer the same explanations of the soul and 176 171

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

184 emphasized that whatever the differences, much of Africa remains in the coastal region. Thus, to cite an instance, at a *winti* dance in Paramaribo one night, the drummers were grumbling about the slowness with which possession was coming on. At last the priestess, possessed by *Lebba*, the Nigerian-Dahomean god of the crossroads, began to dance. Whereupon an elderly drummer flung up his hands and cried out, "Praise God, idolatry is not dead yet!" The word he used for idolatry was Dutch, and he pronounced it in Negro-English, *afkodrai*.

● 121 The importance of the Bush Negroes for the student of Negro cultures, then, is that they live and think today as did their ancestors who established themselves in this bush, which is to say that they live and think much as did the Negroes who were brought to other parts of the New World, and who became the ancestors of the New World Negroes of the present day.

In planning this book, therefore, it has seemed more important to stress the Bush Negro's attitudes toward his own civilization, and his own logic in explaining his customs, than to give a more conventional description of an integrated village or the tribal life of a primitive people. Such attitudes, moreover, whether analyzed among Negroes in Africa, Guiana, the Caribbean, or in the United States, can be studied most advantageously when they are juxtaposed against the factor of outsiders—in this case ourselves, a man and a woman, who came as friendly whites.

114 This book, however, is not an ethnographic treatise. The scientific discussion of these data will appear in monographic form, while the correspondences between bush and town Negroes, and between these and other Negro groups found in the New World, are included in a memoir on the folk lore of the town Negroes of Paramaribo which is now in press. The situations to which we have given emphasis are those which have a direct bearing upon the beliefs and practices of Negro peoples wherever they are found today, but they are presented as they would—and did—actually

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

occur among the Saramacca people. Nothing has been included either in descriptive detail, in the spoken or unspoken thoughts attributed to a Bush Negro, or in characterization, which has not been given us by our Bush Negro informants or has not been witnessed by ourselves. If the thoughts of Moana Yankuso or of any of the elders who figure in the book seem sophisticated when contrasted with the simplicity of the material life of the Bush Negroes, then it is because the stereotype of the childlike, carefree Negro has been so widely accepted. The subtlety and astuteness of a man like Moana Yankuso, or of Sedefo, our chief paddler and the right-hand man of Yankuso's strongest rival, or of Apanto, the sorcerer, cannot be too emphatically stated. 114 [12]

In view of the political factions on the river, and our concern lest these make capital of the fact that a village had been generous in the confidences given the whites, several villages do not appear under their own names. For Headman Moana Yankuso was an old man when we visited him, and alliances for the succession to his high office were at that time already being formed, alliances which, since his death some three years ago, have undoubtedly been consolidated and made effective for the time when his successor is to be named. Villages, therefore, are in some instances given the names of rapids in the river, and not necessarily the names of the rapids found nearest to the villages of which we are writing. In this manner we have sought to preserve the anonymity of the villages without violating the authenticity of place names. Men and women, as well, with the exception of the priestess Amasina, Moana Yankuso, his daughter Wilhelmina, the bassia of his village, Bibifo, and the Captains of Baikutu, S'ei, and Dahomey do not appear under their own names, but under other typical Saramacca Negro names. 114 128

Work of the type we have attempted cannot be accomplished without the cooperation of many persons, and we are privileged to acknowledge here our gratitude to those 000

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

tion as the Djukas stand and gaze at the criminals of France. And, through this study of the Djuka, the reader may know Djuka life for himself. In the pages of Dr. Kahn's book he journeys up tropical rivers to jungle villages whose names, being translated are, "Try me," "God knows," "Don't Touch Me," and the "Village of the Foot that has no Resting-Place." He meets men whose names mean "Waving Flag," "He Speaks the Truth," "Nice Fellow," "Laughs When He Talks," and "Love Is Sweet."

Dr. Kahn takes his reader far into the interior, for his starting point is where superficial travellers end. The journey leads to the tribe which has two languages: one for ordinary use, and the other a secret language which they call "deepee talkee"; and to strange villages which a man must enter carrying a paddle before him as a symbol that he is voyaging. It is a journey among peoples proud and spirited and courageous, descended from ancestors so bold in their rebellion that they were able to conclude treaties whereby the white man paid them a tribute which their descendants still receive in the form of an annual gift from the Dutch authorities to the headmen of the various Djuka tribes. The reader thus finds himself among the only primitive people in the world to whom the white man pays tribute; among a people to whom magic is as real as science is to us; who believe that spirits, both good and evil, inhabit the very streams and trees of the forest; people who know how to manufacture courage through the hypnotic intoxication of the tomtom and how to get rid of fatigue in the ecstasy of the dance; people whose

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

art sense is devoted entirely to the decoration of gifts for their //4
women, while no pains are taken in the decoration of reli- /21
gious objects. The Djuka reasons that "if a God is a good God, well disposed toward the black man, he does not care whether his fetishes are well executed or not"; while, "if he is a bad God, he will continue to be bad, regardless of whether much time has been spent in adorning his fetishes."

All this is picturesque; but, let me repeat that Dr. Kahn does more than give a vivid and authentic study of this twentieth century primitive; somehow in a starkly true unbiased picture, without ever pointing a moral, or presenting a personal conclusion, he contrives to make us see ouselves at the same time that we see the Djuka. And in that achievement, I think, lies the great value of his book.

BLAIR NILES

New York City
November, 1930

[p.xvi is blank]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

PREFACE

THE year 1929 witnessed the opening of the air-mail route 114
to Dutch Guiana, and it can be expected that before many years have passed the encroachments of industrial civilization will wipe out the last remnants of primitive West African culture in the New World. The Bush Negroes will be a vanished people, their culture gone, their habits and life forgotten. The African slave trade will then be only an historical memory.

Happily unaware of their probable extinction in a fast mechanizing world, these wild Bush Negroes still maintain in South America the ancient customs and venerable economy of the jungle dwellers of West Africa. Surinam is now an ethnological laboratory where one may study certain types of negroid jungle life in one of its purest forms. There the culture origins of the American Negro are preserved, as in a museum, by an historical accident.

In 1922, 1923 and 1925 I visited the South American tropics 121
for the purpose of studying public health measures as applied to tropical disease. These studies took me to the border of the Bush Negro countries. Although my contacts at that time were very brief, and my knowledge of the Bush Negro altogether limited, I was determined to return and study further the lives and customs of a people who, although only

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

[2] glimpsed by me, seemed a problem worthy of being illuminated. Therefore in 1927 an expedition, under the auspices of Dr. Clark Wissler of the American Museum of Natural History, was undertaken with the financial aid of Mr. Myron I. Granger.

The short time allotted me during this expedition did not suffice for the gathering of much material on the history and culture of the Djukas; consequently in 1928 and 1930 further [2a] expeditions under the same auspices and also financed by Mr. Granger were organized. Djuka is a composite picture of these several journeys.

[0] As to the origin of the name "Djuka" there has been no little doubt. Many claim that it is a derivation of *Ouca* which was the name of the plantation where a treaty of peace was signed between the Bush Negroes and the whites nearly two hundred years ago. Perhaps that is true, for "Djuka" formerly applied solely to Bush Negroes of the Aucaner Auca tribe and is still so used by many but through widespread usage has come to designate not only the Aucaners, but all the Bush Negroes, collectively speaking.

[1] This work makes no attempt at being an ethnological or anthropological account in the scientific sense of the words. It is a narrative of personal observation among these Bush Negro tribes set down with such accuracy as is possible for one trained in another field of science. Its purpose is to further the understanding of these primitive people and to acknowledge their superiority in their own scene. Finally, this book has been inspired by sincere admiration of the

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

manner and success of these escaped African people in the 121 adaptation of their primitive culture to a new environment.

I wish to express my deep appreciation to Dr. Clark Wis- 100 sler, Curator in Chief of Anthropology and Ethnology at the American Museum of Natural History, for his advice and co-operation. The kind assistance of His Excellency, Baron van Heemstra, ex-Governor of Dutch Guiana, and His Excellency Dr. L. Rutgers, present Governor of Dutch Guiana will always be remembered. The aid offered me by [illegible] F. van Haaren, Colonial Secretary, and James B. Lawton, American Consul to Dutch Guiana has been invaluable. Mr. Alexander Wolff of the Surinam Balata Company assisted me wherever possible in a most friendly manner, as did Mr. J. M. W. Strang of Paramaribo. Also Mr. R. M. Schmidt, missionary at the village of Gansee was very helpful.

To Mr. E. W. Rogalli I owe my profound gratitude as to a friend, guide, and adviser. With his thirty-five years of experience in the South American bush he helped me materially in gathering a considerable amount of the information which is incorporated in this book. His willing assistance greatly expedited and simplified my expeditions. I wish to express my thanks to my very good friend Dr. John C. Torrey, whose understanding and advice were of great value to me.

I am deeply indebted to the black men, particularly to 115 Abaisa, the headman of Lombe, to Moi-Man and Bat-Jou of the Aucaners; to Ahleesie of the Boni tribe; and to old Captain Koffay of the Paramacca nation, who, among other Bush Negroes acted as informants.

/1/

Introduction

114 After having left the plantation life in the colony of Surinam,
121 I went back there in the beginning of 1851 with the plan, as the
[101] result of an agreement reached by me with a Belgian firm, to send shiploads of wood to the motherland and Belgium.

[123] I undertook my journeys to the Bush Negroes for this purpose and visited most of their dwelling places, something that entailed effort and great cost, since I distributed ample presents everywhere for the purpose of thereby acquiring their confidence, which they do not readily grant to Whites.

123 At my very first encounter I took the precaution of politely
[576] greeting each one of them without distinction and shaking their
[177] hands, a practice taken over by them from the Whites in the most recent times, which assures them of a feeling of good-will such as they experience among themselves but never from a White.

[352] I spoke to them frankly and in a friendly way, sat next to them in their huts on their low stools, and partook of their meals. In short -- I lived for a while without reserve or fear among them, paying amply for everything that I enjoyed in this way or that.

[273] I also permitted them, whenever they wanted to use any of my store of beverages, such as wine, beer, brandy, and gin, to ask me for it quietly, so that I would be able to order my servants to offer them what they had requested. In addition I supplied /2/ them amply with dram (1), herbs, and lead and, in order to show

1. A kind of inland rum (sugar spirits).

generosity to the women as well, frequently gave them and the children biscuits, cake, or some coins.

[121] In the beginning they were very reserved and mistrustful, but gradually, and after some difficult years, became more open with me, so that I, adapting myself entirely to their practices, was able to carry out my plan to have the necessary wood processed by them.

/135/

Agriculture among the Bush Negroes of the Marowijne /Maroni/

by D. C. Geijskes (1)

114 1. Government biologist with the Department of Internal Affairs, Paramaribo.

1. Introduction

121 182 When one goes to the small communities of the inhabitants of the bush who live in the interior districts of Surinam, one quickly sees, upon examination, the basis on which the maintenance of such communities rests. The struggle for existence among primitive peoples covers the food supply and the resistance that can be offered against illness and pests. These two factors ultimately determine the birth surplus, which as a result expresses the possibility for survival.

121 [161] Among the Bush Negroes we see in the course of the years an increase in the population, an advance, therefore, in spite of the obstructions of nature. But this advance creates new problems. [101] It was during the Medical-Scientific Expedition to the Southern Border of Surinam, held from February to July, 1952, that, in conjunction with the medical investigation in the gathering of data about the "housekeeping" of the Bush Negroes of the Marowijne /Maroni/ and the Tapanahoni, we were struck above all by the problem of the food supply and the food itself. There is little sense in paying attention only to medical care unless at the same time attempts are made to improve the food.

433 262 An important part of the food supply is produced by agriculture. This supplies the Bush Negroes with the most, but not the best food. Next to it a number of forest products serve to provide for the need for food fats, while hunting and fishing must provide the protein.

/136/

121 The agriculture of the Bush Negroes, however, has become
[241] a matter which urgently demands the attention of the administration as a result of the wasteful use of land. Until now little attention has been paid to this, but if one wants to develop the interior of Surinam, this problem will also have to be looked into.

101 The data provided here throw light upon the agriculture of
121 the Paramaccaners and the Aucaners on the Marowijne and the
[103] Tapanahoni. They were gathered during the above-mentioned medical expedition and during a trip to the Tapanahoni in October, 1952. The facts thus refer primarily to the Marowijne, but in general they are certainly also valid for the other rivers along
121 which the Bush Negroes live. It is a typically Surinam problem,
648 connected with the circumstance that the Bush Negroes have worked in the deep interior in the same fashion for hundreds of years, independent of the life in the civilized coastal region and almost completely outside the sphere of interest of the government.

2. The Grounds System

241 For the planting of agricultural crops the Bush Negro lays out little so-called food grounds. One is to understand by this cleared pieces of ground in the virgin forest on which the crops
[311] are cultivated. The grounds lie along the rivers on higher flat lands, mostly terraces that are not submerged during high water or, in the absence of such terrain, on the slopes of hills. They are more or less circular and have a surface area of a half to one and a half hectares.

241 During the long dry season (October, November) the men
221 clear the grounds. Two to three weeks thereafter the forest that
132 has been felled is burned; the smaller branches are cleared away,
462 but the trunks are left lying. The ground is not worked. As soon as the rains of the short rainy season begin, they start to plant and sow. This planting time falls in December and January. The wives of the Bush Negroes (for only the women do the further work) now plant all kinds of crops at the same time on one and the same ground.

/509/

Introduction

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B R 121

B R 114 121 Doctor André Sausse, who accompanied us, studied the Boni and the Oayana Indians on the medical level; he submitted evidence that these two populations presented a distinct pathology having profound repercussions on their demographic situation (1). During

B R [113]

1. Dr. André Sausse, Populations primitives du Maroni /Primitive populations of the Maroni/, Larose, Paris, 1951.

B R 101 114 121 [122] this period we lacked the time to substantiate these data by a census and by a systematic interrogation of the women. We were able to carry out this work at the close of the expedition for the delimitation of the southern frontier in January, 1957. The data collected have been verified and completed in the course of two other expeditions made for the Office de la recherche scientifique dans les territoires d'Outre-Mer /Bureau of Scientific Research in the Overseas Territories/ (October 1957 – February 1958 and

B
R /509 cont./
104 October 1958 – January 1959), expeditions whose principal aim
114 was the sociological study of these populations.
121

/510/

Social Structure and Way of Life

B
101 The Boni Refugee Blacks. The Boni are one of the above-mentioned
[175] tribes of the Refugee Blacks, reconstituted in the course of the eighteenth century by rebel African slaves who escaped from
B Surinam plantations (Dutch Guiana).

[131] These tribes (Saramaka, Djuka, Paramaka, Boni) live for the
[161] most part along the rivers of the interior of Surinam. They group together a total of 25,000 persons.

B With very rare exceptions, the Refugee Blacks are pure Africans.
161 These populations, vigorous and well adapted to the country, have
[144] experienced in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a remarkable demographic increase, attested to by all the authors. Descended from small rebel groups which could not have contained more than a few hundred women, they are now estimated at more than 25,000 persons.

B The Boni of the Upper Maroni, the subject of the present study,
162 number approximately 800, of whom 660 are on the French bank
103 (the villages of Boniville, l'Enfant Perdu, Loka, Asisi, Papaïston,
[161] and Kormotibo) and 140 on the Surinam bank (the village of Kotika). These villages were established long ago.

B Each of them groups together a matrilineage, i.e., the
613 descendants in the uterine line of one single founding ancestress;
621 certain villages know their genealogy in its entirety back to this
769 ancestress, who must have lived at the end of the eighteenth century. The members of the lineage are united by the cult of the
B ancestors, which binds them firmly to their natal village and to
[622] their land. The social system is based essentially on this cult,
[793] the chief of the village being above all the priest of the ancestors.

B Strictly speaking, there is no marriage, but only an acknowl-
581 edged concubinage which entails neither a contract between the

B R The beliefs of both, attributing illnesses to
/516 cont./
743 supernatural causes, did not predispose them to turn to European
648 doctors. Moreover, the Saint-Laurent hospital was so far away
[753] (six days paddling downstream) that a seriously ill person had plenty of time to die en route. The Boni went there only as a last resource and in general at the point of death. As for the Oayana,
B R not a single one presented himself there before 1950.

744 In 1936-1939 several circuits had been made from the post
648 of La Forestière located at the mouth of the river, but no consistent
[743] medical action had been feasible. Not until 1949 was it possible
B to create a medical center in the country itself, at Maripasoula.
R The populations were visited regularly, and the seriously ill could
[164] be hospitalized on the spot. At the same time systematic spraying with DDT inside all the huts, destroying the anthropophile anopheles, changed the environmental conditions considerably; if malaria has not disappeared, it has ceased, both among the
B Indians and among the Boni children, to be the principal cause of
R morbidity.

743 The action of the medical center has been exercised more on
744 the Boni, who live a few hours by canoe from Maripasoula, than on
648 the Oayana. Among the latter, the principal villages are two days
[484] journey by motorboat upstream amidst difficult waterfalls; the
[753] Indians are often on the move, fishing on the upper courses of the rivers or visiting their relatives on Brazilian rivers; it has happened several times that the circuits of the doctors and medical attendants (one per trimester on the average) do not find anybody in the villages; incidentally, the Oayana tend to attribute
R all internal ailments to magical causes, consulting willingly only
[844] for wounds. They willingly accept the remedies given on the spot, but rarely take the initiative of moving a sick person to Maripasoula; the women continue to have their babies delivered
R in the villages, without any hygiene.

757 Only during the last three or four years has a change in
165 attitude been noticeable among them vis-à-vis medicine; as we
B shall show below, no notable modification in their mortality has
R yet been observed as a result of this fact.

121 The principal interest of this study being to compare the
165 demographic data of two populations before they had been modified

B
R /516 cont./
121 by the effect of medical care, we shall take 1 January 1950 as the
165 date of reference for the calculations of mortality among the Boni.

/517/

II. — Demography of the Boni

Census. — Estimation of Age.

B
125 Method used. The demographic study of the Boni presents the difficulties inherent in all populations without civil records:

1. Difficulty of determining the ages of individuals;

2. Difficulty of determining for each woman the deceased children in relation to the surviving ones.

B
125 We attempted to establish a local chronology by linking the
173 ages of individuals to events of known date that had stuck in their minds.

More particularly we fixed the ages of the old men from the voyage of the explorer Crevaux (1877) and from the death of the grand man Anato (1891), the ages of middle-aged persons from events which occurred between 1915 and 1924, death of the grand man Ochi (1915), end of World War I (1918), hydroplane accident at the mouth of the Inini (1921), installation of a rosewood factory (1925).

B
125 The persons born after 1930 were placed without difficulty, for we knew a certain number of them as children or adolescents in 1948.

Starting with a certain number of men whose age could be fixed with considerable accuracy, all the others, men and women,
B
829] were placed by comparison. In fact, if the Boni do not know their age, they are able to say that they are, for example, two or three years younger than so-and-so (6).

B
[755] 6. Their attention is brought to bear on these age differences because, if a group isolated in the bush is led to address a prayer to the ancestors for the curing of a sick person, this prayer has to be pronounced by the oldest person.

B
R
121 /533 cont./

Thus the behavior of a human group, its fate as a people, and its very existence appear to be determined to a large extent by hereditary biological characteristics. This notion was seen clearly enough at the beginning of this century, but it has never been the object of thorough studies, the conditions for an incontestable experiment not being found together. Repudiated in the name of theoretical principles by the train of thought which has animated sociology for the past several decades, it has ended up by being completely lost from sight. Present-day sociology no longer takes into consideration the biological facts peculiar to the groups which it studies; one currently speaks of cycles of civilization, of laws of social change, of acculturation, etc., as if social facts had their own life and their own evolution, independent of the supposedly identical and interchangeable people. It is as though one claimed to study the psychism of the human being without taking his body into account, denying the influence of sex, age, sickness. Some have even managed to maintain that man is in all respects the product of the society from which he comes.

B
R
161 In the case studied here the falsity of these theories is obvious.
14 If the Indians disappear wherever the Blacks establish flourishing
182 societies, it is because their biological characteristics are not suited to the conditions imposed by the geographic environment, whereas those of the Blacks are to the highest degree.

Seen from this angle, the fate of the Indians of the Amazonian
B forest becomes clear; their social behavior and in particular their
R collapse upon contact with European civilization find an explanation.
[177] /534/ The relations of the Indians with the Europeans of past
B centuries have been equally influenced by their biological charac-
R
147 teristics. Their inaptitude for prolonged effort came in part from their physical weakness. When the Blacks and the Indians of the Amazonian forest have been employed side by side for years as soldiers and porters, there can be no doubt on this point. The Black is a force of nature. The Indian of the great forest, often full of good will, is betrayed by his physical powers.

/1/

INTRODUCTION

114 101 [122] In the course of three missions of the Institut Géographique National in 1948, 1949, and 1952, we lived in close relationship with the tribe of the Boni, who supplied us with the bearers and boat crews indispensable for travel in the country. From the first contacts, we felt a deep interest in this worthy people, made up in the 18th century of rebel slaves escaped from the plantations of Surinam.

114 [121] Taking advantage of the rare moments of respite allowed us by our work, we tried to study the various aspects of their material, social, and religious life. The men who accompanied us were for the most part young men who had only a limited understanding of the tradition of their group: in addition, the geographic work compelling constant moves in the uninhabited forest, investigator and informants were more often than not prey to worry and fatigue.

[101] [121] At the end of the mission to fix the French Guiana-Brazil boundary in January, 1957, we were able to undertake a systematic investigation based on a detailed inventory of the population of the villages.

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128 The present work is exclusively devoted to the social life of the Boni. The information we assembled on their material life and their art, as well as their demographic situation, will be the subject of separate publications. /blank page/

/28 cont./

613 614 784 [621] although the supposed common ancestress doubtless goes back to the beginning of the 18th century and for three generations they have been divided among four villages situated at a week's distance by boat from one another. We can, with very few chances of error, affirm that they certainly have a common matrilineal origin and that they in fact constitute one lineage.

182 619 [361] [484] On this subject let us note that geographical separation cannot play the same role among the Refugee Blacks as in the African tribes of cultivators. The Refugee Blacks, whose habitat is linear along the banks of the river and who, being boatmen, are continually moving, cannot be completely isolated from one another.

613 614 571 /29/ Under these conditions, how can we explain the existence within certain lineages of individualized fractions subject to a separate kunu, such as Papaïston 2?

One can assume that these fractions do not really have the same origin as the principal group and that they result from a process of assimilation of a paternally related fragment.

We have cited the example of Aneta's descendants (Aw.B.3). They are already integrated into the social life of the group; in two or three generations nobody will remember any longer their exact origin. But they will remain differentiated from the principal fraction of the Awara Bakka because they will still be subject to the kunu of their ancestress. [784]

● 121 Such are the elements we have been able to draw from a general study of kin groups among the Boni. We shall look for other data in the study of the implantation of these groups on the soil, and especially of the apportionment of lands among them; finally, we shall study family custom and especially inheritance.

A complete understanding of the kinship system and its functioning can be obtained only in the future by following the evolution of kin groups, the formation of new villages; and the designation of new headmen.

/29 cont./

121 This is what necessitates as precise an inventory as possible of the population in its present state.

61 Matrilineal kin groups among the Djuka and Saramaka Refugee Blacks.
114 Authors who have described the social structure of the Djuka and
184 Saramaka, groupings appreciably more numerous than the Boni, have also called attention to the use of the words lo and bɛɛ, but give them a completely different meaning.

174 The organization they describe can be summarized thus:
571 Before making up tribes, the rebels lived in small groups
621 near the plantations from which they had escaped; these groups of composite origin were designated by the word lo which means: troop, band; the same word is used to designate a band of animals.

[162] These rebels used to belong to all the nations of the west
[103] coast of Africa. In spots there may have been an attempt at regroupings of elements belonging to the same nation, as proven by the village names Loango, Dahomey, among the Saramaka.
[622] But the majority of these small groups were very probably of heterogeneous origin; in each of these lo, the bravest and most capable was designated as head.

[648] After the recognition of the Djuka and Saramaka by the
[167] government of Surinam and their regrouping on the great rivers of the interior, these groups kept their unity since they had a de facto organization and leaders. They were naturally designated by the name of the plantation they had come from. We say for example Dju nẽnge for the former slaves of the Jews, Kõpani nẽnge for the former slaves of the Compagnie des Indes Orientales /East India Company/. /30/

174 In the course of the 19th century the total number of Refugee
613 Blacks increased very rapidly under the influence of a high birth
614 rate. The lineages in the proper meaning of the term bɛɛ, mean-
621 ing the descendants of the same ancestress, took on sufficient im-
571 portance to constitute distinct social units. They grouped in
161

174 /30 cont./

613 1st. Lo = de facto grouping of rebels of any provenance,
614 which has in the long run split up into lineages but which remains
621 in the form of a common worship;

571 2nd. Lo = lineage, from the very beginning.
184

Conceptions Relative to Kinship and Marriage

769

[121] Ties between the individual and the ancestors. Before examining more deeply the social and family structure of the Refugee Blacks, it is indispensable to study what religious ties are implied between [184] the individual and the ancestors. Here one is in the presence of basic beliefs which seem identical in the various tribes of Refugee Blacks of Guiana and of which their structure is the consequence.

In the civilizations of Blacks Africa it is supposed that a [171] current of life and /31/ strength circulates from the divinity to men through the medium of the ancestors. Among the Refugee Blacks it is taken for granted that in this respect each man is bound [782] to his ancestors through the maternal line only. If he falls prey to illness, injustice, or adversity, he can call only on them in his prayer.

593 That does not mean that the tie with the father is ignored [827] or considered as having little importance; it is taken for granted, as we shall see, that in the creation of man certain psychic elements are transmitted from father to son. But the current of strength binding the individual to the ancestors does not pass through the father. One cannot pray usefully to the soul of one's dead father. [755] If I am sick and divination incriminates the action of my dead [782] father's soul, I cannot address either prayer or offering directly to him; for that I shall have recourse to one of his near relatives in the maternal line.

/39 cont./

121 It seemed to us that in the present state of knowledge about the Refugee Blacks a study of limited scope but covering the totality of the population was preferable to the very intensive study of a small group; only the study of the population considered in its entirety brings out clearly its family custom, its tendencies in the matter of marriage, divorce, inheritance; it alone can lead to a precise knowledge of its demographic data so important even on the social plane.

Finally, this detailed inventory constitutes a firm base for following the evolution of the population in the future.

125 Taking a census of the Boni posed a problem much more difficult than for most populations without vital statistics. The 648 tribes of the Refugee Blacks enjoy in effect a statute of autonomous nations under protectorate and insist fiercely on this autonomy. The French administration has never been able to take a census of them any more than the administration of Surinam has for the Djuka and Saramaka, colliding with an ingenious ill will which defies all efforts.

It is not that they fear taxes (this is a notion practically unknown in Guiana, even on the coast (1), and the French

1. Practically, in the interior of the country, with the exception of traders who are subject to a license, nobody pays taxes and there are not even any lists of taxable people. The Creoles of the interior (principally from the British West Indies) are known only because of the fact that, as foreign subjects, they must make declarations of change of residence; French citizens are scarcely known at the administrative

GLOSSARY AND LINGUISTIC NOTES

THE language of the Saramacca Bush Negroes is called by them the *Saramacca tongo*—the Saramacca tongue. Though there are many African words in ritual and everyday speech, the Saramacca tongo is essentially Negro-Portuguese, with a sprinkling of English and Dutch words. In the city of Paramaribo the Negroes speak *taki-taki*, Negro-English, though Dutch and Portuguese words are also found. The structure of the language of both bush and coastal Negroes is essentially African, that is to say, in all the borrowings it was the word which was borrowed, while the African idiom was retained, so that it may be said that the Negroes speak African dialects translated into English or Portuguese or Dutch. Simple examples of this are such phrases as "carry come" for "bring"; "carry go" for "take away"; or "hunger kills me" for "I am hungry"; or "one time" for "immediately." 197 197

For the correspondences between the languages of the Suriname Negroes and of West Africa, we have relied on various dictionaries and grammars of West African languages, and on our own findings made during our field work on the West African coast. In writing the words of Suriname and West African languages in both the glossary and the body of this book, the vowels have the "continental" values, not those given in English. It is to be noted that diacritical marks which would be necessary to indicate the strong nasalization that characterizes Bush Negro speech have been omitted from both text and glossary, in order to simplify the writing of native terms. Finally, we must 122 128 [194]

 [p. 344 is blank]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

[2] glimpsed by me, seemed a problem worthy of being illuminated. Therefore in 1927 an expedition, under the auspices of Dr. Clark Wissler of the American Museum of Natural History, was undertaken with the financial aid of Mr. Myron I. Granger.

The short time allotted me during this expedition did not suffice for the gathering of much material on the history and culture of the Djukas; consequently in 1928 and 1930 further [2a] expeditions under the same auspices and also financed by Mr. Granger were organized. Djuka is a composite picture of these several journeys.

[0] As to the origin of the name "Djuka" there has been no little doubt. Many claim that it is a derivation of *Ouca* which was the name of the plantation where a treaty of peace was signed between the Bush Negroes and the whites nearly two hundred years ago. Perhaps that is true, for "Djuka" formerly applied solely to Bush Negroes of the Aucaner Auca tribe and is still so used by many but through widespread usage has come to designate not only the Aucaners, but all the Bush Negroes, collectively speaking.

[2] This work makes no attempt at being an ethnological or anthropological account in the scientific sense of the words. It is a narrative of personal observation among these Bush Negro tribes set down with such accuracy as is possible for one trained in another field of science. Its purpose is to further the understanding of these primitive people and to acknowledge their superiority in their own scene. Finally, this book has been inspired by sincere admiration of the

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787 /215 cont./
789 in their hands and utter adjurations. We saw this rite performed
[114] in 1949 but without being able to observe the exact details.

The frequency of the phenomena of possession and the
787 importance accorded to them imprint a remarkable character
791 on the religious life of the Refugee Blacks: all these manifestations have for each one the character of obvious material fact. How, then, doubt that one lives with the gods, sees them, and
[177] speaks to them? Because of this fact the society of the Refugee Blacks is utterly impermeable to European influences.

787 Some plants utilized in the rites of possession. The preparations
824 with which the possessed people "wash" their bodies consist of macerations of leaves. The plants used, which for the most part belong to the secondary flora which develops in the old clearings, are very numerous. However, some are regarded as
[789] having a very unique power. The first five especially are utilized by all the Boni to "wash off the Ampuku" when they have slept a night in the bush.

Aluku Name	Identification (1)	Use
[122]	1. Identification by Mr. Hoock, botanist connected with the Institut français d'Amérique tropicale (IFAT) in Cayenne.	
Lebi katu	cotton	cult of the Ampuku
Kɔnɔpo wiwi	Ayptis atrorubens (Labiaceae)	---- /216/
Foo kāka	Tiaridium indicum (Borraginaceae)	----
Sume wiwi	Oumium sanctum (?) (Labiaceae)	----

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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2

Toward us came Tenye, a young friend of last year, and two small boys. She had seemed but a child the year before when she had danced bandamba with the other little girls while the men were getting ready for the Kromanti dance. But now she looked quite grown, and instead of the small apron she had worn, was wearing a cloth of a woman. 882

"You've grown, Tenye."

"*Ay, a kisi bobbi kaba,*" one of the youngsters said. "She has her breasts already," and he went on to say that soon she would marry. "Two moons more," he said, showing two fingers.

"You will soon have many bracelets, Tenye, and when you dance you will be splendid."

"Ai," the boy went on speaking eagerly, "Abane will teach us how to dance when he comes back. He went to the French shore. Abane made Tenye, and he made me, too. I am Yamati, and he made Sabape, here." But they had not the same mother, nor did they live in the same village. "When I grow up," the child went on, "I will dance with seed rattles at my ankles. I will dance like Abane." The rattles his uncles would have to buy for him, or when grown he might buy them for himself, but his father would give him his gods when he was of age, and good dancing, too, was a thing of the gods. 883

"Who will get Abane's seed rattles, Tenye? Will you get them because you are the oldest child of the first wife?"

"Ah, no!" both she and the indomitable Yamati exclaimed at the same moment, and then both lowered their heads and would say no more, while the small Sabape looked away.

Now we had the year before discovered why we were so often met by young and old with the phrases, "I do not know," or better still, "*Massa Gadu sabi*—God alone knows," when it was evident that the speakers knew the answer very well indeed. The reason lay with the will of the G'an Yorka, or the G'an Zombi, or the Nana, as the ancestors are variously called. The ancestors it seemed had long 609 123

609 ago, so long that no one knew just when it happened, instruct-
123 ed that no one might impart to another, a stranger, more than half of what he knew. Moreover, no young person dared to speak at all of the supernatural, and such matters as inheritance were regulated by the laws of the gods and ancestors, who punished infractions with the scourge of kunu—a term we were to hear so much in this Suriname bush.

302 Tenye's head as we looked down upon it was a mound of wool, with little braids, each no more than an inch or an inch and a half long, fastened by a bit of black thread, each braid pointing upwards. This was called "tatafi," we knew, and to change the subject we talked about the styles of [855] hairdressing. A child's hair usually was closely cropped, and the heads of both Yamati and Sabape looked as smooth as blackened gourds. Tenye's hair had been cut but a little while ago, a moon perhaps, when the braids had grown so long that it had been too much bother even to make the hair look well in the fashion of what was called the coiled head, or the earth furrow style. Both of these types of hairdressing consisted of braids which diverged from the center in many rows, appearing at the outer edge at intervals of one inch, or slightly more. These ends were caught up and rebraided around the head, to form either the one coil of "lollo 'ede," or the several coils of "gon wi." There were also the single long braids—the "pitto"—and the "pina bonsu" way of hair combing, where the head when properly dressed makes a design of narrow strips of scalp showing between flat ribbons of braids, which look like so many snake vertebrae, radiating from the middle of the head outwards.

"When you come back from up river, I will dress your hair," said Tenye to both of us. "You," she said, pointing, "will become an obia man in your white country, and you will look so well that your husband won't ever remember to go to his other wives."

302 But now Tenye's maternal aunt who had approached
754 unobserved came to call the children away. She was not in

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

609 given to the white woman when she returned from up river,
304 yet with it all the thighs would still need to be cicatrized.

"Then," she said, speaking of the cicatrized thighs, "then he simply won't think of any one else, because among you, you will be the only one. We who all have the kamemba must see that it looks well, but you will be the only one."

3

123 The boys remained with us, amusing themselves by
609 giving us their words for the various objects about us.

The strings about their waists, which formed their only
[291] clothing, the fiber cord with the bell about Sabape's neck,
304 the word for garter, and machete, and shoes, boxes, and water jar, and all else they could see were named. A flashlight was a diamond fire, and a collapsible chair a hammock chair, and if we showed them something they had never seen it was a *Bakra sani*—a white man's thing.

Sabape spoke little, for he was a timid child and looked sluggish. He had but few cuts on his body, while Yamati, who was about the same age, had already several fully outlined designs.

"Why have you nothing about your neck, Yamati?"

"Oh, but I have. I have cuts. You can either have an obia cut, or an *obia tetai*—a string. It is to make us live. All children have it."

"And when do they start making kamemba?"

"A long time ago they start. If it doesn't hurt too much, they cut one more, and soon one more. But if it hurts too much, they wait until . . . ," he said, finishing on the
[195] word *te* . . . in the characteristic way of the grown narrator who uses the monosyllable to intensify space and time and danger and bounty.

123 Yamati found so much delight in his rôle as teacher that
609 he became stern with us and had us say the words over again and again. There was the word for firefly which pleased him not at all. "*Mi taki, mi taki-e, azoka-nyenye*—I say, I am saying . . . " ("if you would but listen," his voice

implied), and he repeated the word over and over, until this led us to talk about singing, and at last we had them consent to dance susa for us. It had to be done very quietly, in the slight clearing in back of the shelter. Susa is an African dance. It is danced by men only, in pairs, and is something of a game. The one who wins "kills" his opponent. The earth spirits are said especially to like it, and it is danced in the fields or in the villages for them. 123 609 535

There they stood, Yamati and Sabape, facing each other, their enlarged navels almost touching. One agreed to be "in," and one "out," and as they began, their jaws came forward in a patterned, pugnacious way, and their arms moved to reproduce in pantomime shield and spear, while the feet crossed and recrossed. 535 524

Kesi-kesi g'a S'sa
Zond'o linga
Linga-li [533]

The monkeys
Go to dance susa
Without rings.

Huh, huh, huh!

They sang the song over and over again, panting at the end of each verse to dramatize combat.

"I killed him," said Yamati. He had won, and they began again. If the one who had agreed to be "in" had his foot on the outside as they clashed, then he lost—he was killed.

4

As they were dancing, we noticed a young man we had never seen before. He was standing watching the youngsters at their play, smiling as though he enjoyed their contest. He was very dark, even for a Bush Negro, short and stocky, with unusual muscular development of arm and chest and thigh. His age, one would judge, was nineteen or twenty. He turned his smile on us when he realized we were noticing him. 439

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WHILE THE RIVER WAS HIGH

Had we provided ourselves with the necessary obias with 439
which to travel to the country of the Granman? He had 789
never been so far up the river. He would like to go there. 484
Ai-yo! He would like to go and see Dahomey, the sacred city, and look at the Tapa Wata falls, and visit the Granman's village. Did we have all our paddlers? He was strong, and he liked to make a boat walk up the rapids. He could get his father to come with him as steersman. His father had strong obias and knew the river. We could not go until the river went down, but he would stay with us here and wait, and if we wished it he would go back upstream to his village and get his father and food, and be ready for us in time. He needed the money the Bakra would pay, too, for he wanted to be married soon, and he would have to buy many things for his woman and her mother.

When he left us, he went to one of the little enclosed houses that were there for travelers, choosing the one closest to us, and built a small fire. His younger brother [231]
and the white dog that came in his boat sat with him. The dog wore a cord about his neck, covered with red ochre, to keep him safe in the bush. That night as we ate we could see Bayo, his brother, and the dog squatting close to the fire and eating, too. And all the next day, and for several days to come, as we waited, Bayo was with us, talking, laughing, explaining, and making and buying obias for us to carry us safely on our journey to the Granman.

5

In the afternoon one of the political chiefs of the neigh- 609
boring Christian village came to hear our phonograph. 123
But when we asked him to sing into it, he said, "Ask me later. Now I am alone. We Saramacca people never do anything when we are alone." We had the year before acquired a powerful obia against slander and bearing false witness against us, and found the occasion useful for corroborating the invocation we had been given. The man, however, spoke with the greatest reluctance and looked

609 vastly relieved when he saw several boats pull up at the
123 shore.

It appeared that these newcomers were also interested in our phonograph, but that no one would consent to be the first to sing, until at last a young boy came up.

609 "I'll sing for you," he said, and it was at once whispered
123 that the boy came from a family of powerful obia men, that
771 he was sure of his spirit. "I'll sing, yes, but you must let me tell the machine something first."

What he said was an invocation to his soul and his personal gods, and he spoke it by putting his face into the horn of the phonograph and talking in a rapid whisper, making audible the one phrase: "Bakra obia isn't my obia." Subsequently when we discussed this occurrence with older men, they made the matter clear to us. He had assured his spirits that he was not conceding anything to our magic, and that they were neither to feel slighted nor to relax their vigilance. The gods favored the strong and the proven, and a young man had to be careful, for the gods were not conceived as especially logical or rational or inexorably just, so that one had to guard against becoming the victim of their caprice.

609 Boat after boat pulled up at the shore, and up the road
123 came a long line of callers. Women with infants straddling their backs, a breast drawn to the side so that the child might feed as it rested there; children with cords about their waists; young girls and boys, each with a square of apron across the front, or a loin cloth; and the men with togas and paddles, dignified and solemn, drawing nearer silently.

On our provision boxes sat those who had come early, particularly women nursing children, or old women who looked on with tired wonder. On the floor everywhere about our feet and against the posts sat the children we knew, while those who had come for the first time and were still fearful kept their distance, hiding behind some relative.

It was a great occasion, a spectacle of white man's magic, and they were there to verify it for themselves. Now there

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was much of white man's magic that was not astonishing. 609 123
Old men and young men had heard of machines with people on them that flew like birds, but had they not their own stories about the sacred vulture, the *opete*, that carried one of their warrior ancestors away from slavery across the river and into this bush? He had simply mounted the bird and said to it, "On your back is my home. You [773] can fly over land, and you can fly over water. I have no boat. You must carry me." And the opete took him. Then [776] there are beings with wings that range the sky, and some of them are birds, and some of them are spirits. No, a machine that flew like a bird was not astonishing magic. Then there was the kino—shadows appearing and moving about like the living—that you could see in the cities. Men on the French shore, too, had seen the kino, but it was a gift any man might have to see things. But here was something which talked back at you. . . .

"Ke . . . !"

"Massa Nen'ge!—Master Nigger!"

"Ma Nen'ge . . . !"

And even our town servant exclaimed, "*Mi Gado*—My God!"

Now all this was very well, except that the Bakra, not satisfied with the ordinary seketi dance tunes, kept asking for Kromanti songs—the warrior-spirit songs—and the bush-god songs, and river-god songs. From one man and from another came the expected, "I do not know such songs." The women did not even dare approach the machine.

At last Apanto came. His hair was braided and he wore a 609 jaguar tooth on a cord about his neck. He was not so 123 muscular as other men of his age, and when he went about 115 there was a softness in his movements that was unaccountably disquieting. His hands were not the hands of a worker of lumber, nor of a boatman who was accustomed to pole heavily loaded boats. They were smaller, and his fingers were narrow at the ends. Apanto, we discovered later, was what the Bush Negroes called a "tiger fighter." In a quarrel, he did not cuff and strike out with his fists, but

609 scratched like a "*tigri*"—a tiger, for this is how the Bush
• 123 Negroes name the jaguar. Later, when we saw him dance
115 the Tigri Kromanti dance, we witnessed one of the most realistic feline interpretations imaginable. But that is another matter.

Now Apanto was an obia man to be reckoned with, and his fellow villagers and the villagers of neighboring settlements treated him with a deference that his age alone could never have commanded. And it was this Apanto who now came up and said that he would sing the sacred Kromanti songs for our phonograph.

"You will not understand the songs. They will be in the Kromanti language," he warned us. "They are strong, and the machine must be strong to carry them."

It happens that a field phonograph is anything but strong. The mechanism is simple, since the instrument must be light enough to be carried about, and yet it often is sub-
[126] jected to all manner of hard usage. To this is added the hazard of the climate. The turntable is actuated by a belt running from the mechanism inside the case, and the ends of this belt are glued together. This, to be sure, we discovered later. At the moment, we met Apanto's challenge with assurance. We did not doubt that the machine was spiritually strong.

126 What he said about the Kromanti language was true.
533 The Kromanti tongo, of which we had been told during our
[197] first visit here, we were finding to be an actuality, and
539 although we took down the words as he sang them, aided in hearing them by the repetitions, their meaning was unknown to us. Some of them we learned later. Some of them we knew. "Obia" we knew concerned the spirit,
[176] the vague force known by that name, while "Amba" was a deity sacred to Saturday, and was given as a "day name"
[551] to women born on that day of the week. This, then, is what he sang:

"*Ma djeni ye-ye*
Obia kule ma djeni no-ho
Obia mo-ye

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REBEL DESTINY

126 Apanto looked at us. "The Bakra is cunning," he
533 repeated. "But obia is stronger. In the bush obia rules.
●123 Kromanti is too strong for the spirit of the machine."

Swiftly the dark of the bush came down. The people who had been watching, listening to what had passed, were leaving to go to their villages and to spread the news of the power of obia, and how Apanto had defeated the spirit of the machine that talks back what has been said to it. And with the gathering dark, we could sense the pulse of the drums and hear a faint echo of the shrill cry of the women dancing at Gankwe for the spirit of the dead man who lay there in the house of mourning.

had not acted well toward the Granman. It would be best if we did not stop there. At the others the Granman could assure us hospitality. Then there was talk of hauling wood and making rafts, for our host, who knew these people well, moved safri, too, until he at last felt the moment had come to talk about buying a boat from Ajako.

When the arrangements of the sale were concluded, Ajako came back to talk with us. He had heard that we had a machine which the Kromanti spirit had broken, was it true? Did it really go again? They said the Bakra had much cunning. They said the Bakra knew African magic.

The Bakra said he knew something about Africa. The Ashanti people, for instance, were a fine people.

"*Ma na Asante, na Sa'macca sem-* . . . —But the Ashanti are Saramacca. . . . " But he would go no further, having spoken only one syllable of the word for people. He became guarded. Yes, there were some Anago people from Africa on this Saramacca River, and Dahomey, and Loango, and Fanti; the Ibo peoples were not on this river. . . . And again he would say no more. Later, when we had changed the subject, he said as if in both gratitude and explanation, "*Na sa-i-'akisi, a tranga poi*—You ask about strong things."

But he would sing into our machine, if we liked. He would sing Kromanti, if we wanted him to do so. "I won't fight your machine," he said, smiling.

"*Anabobi, Anabobi,*
Anabobi, Anabobyo,
Tata Ando.
Anabobi, Ando,
Anabobi,
Tata Adjaini,
Anabobyo
Tata Fa'aku."

"They will understand this in Africa," he said, gravely, and then he moved toward the doorway and stood there

KUNU

"*Na wa' taki: Efi gbuli wolo, i sa si san de na ini.*—It is said: If a person stirs up a hole, he will find what is in it." 538

And so it was that very night, when we were camped on an island near the great falls, with the roar of the water sounding in our ears like the very signal drums we were told the river gods wanted sounded that the sun might come and warm and dry them after the long rains, that we learned more. Kasanya, the captain of the fourth boat, had conducted himself so unobtrusively that we barely knew he was there. He was almost as old as Bibifo, but strangely silent. He was tall and spare, with graying hair, and eyes that were rimmed with red. We had not sought him out particularly to make conversation with him because he had ugly, open sores on his body, the result of a virulent case of bush yaws, which showed when he sat paddling in his loin cloth. We had known him during our first year when he had been more willing to be friendly, more ready to talk. From him, in fact, we had learned to play one of the Bush Negro games that the ancestors had brought from Africa. 124 [177] [524]

Kasanya came over to ask us whether we had medicine for him. His head ached so until . . . he could barely see. There is that about white man's medicine in the bush, it is to be had free, and there is no harm in trying it. 123 609

"Will you make us a game board like the one we bought from your village last year, Kasanya?" we asked him.

"Yes, but you must have two of them, one flat and one curved like a boat. It is not good to have only one. When a man is alive he plays the game. When he dies and comes back to visit the living, he wants to play, too. Now if there is a board for him, he will play on that. But if there is but the one, he will play with the living and that is not good." 775 524

"You know a great deal, Kasanya."

"Awa, yes, but I'm an old man already. I've had much trouble. Last year after you left the third son I made died. Now I have no one. Kunu has taken the three of them, and my wife is asleep, too." [776]

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776 186 gods do not come to them." There was in her voice contempt for women who had no gods. She was of a reddish-brown color, taller and more slender than most, and the great coils of brass about her arms and ankles told that her [301] beauty had had full recognition. These had come to her at [585] marriage, as had the small earrings of gold which the bassia had brought to her from French Guiana. With these, too, had come cloths and handkerchiefs, beads and carvings.

609 123 If white women had no gods, did they know any of the other things which women must know? Did the white [591] woman wear an apron underneath all her cloths, as women should? Were her thighs cicatrized? Did she cook for her husband, or other men, when she should be isolated in the special house provided for women's monthly visits? [841] Did she purify herself with sacred clay when she emerged from isolation in order not to spoil her husband's obias, for which contact with a woman who has her menses is the deadliest taboo? Why, having borne children, did her figure not show it?

[534] "Have you drums?" the bassia's wife asked. "Without drums, how do you pray? How do you dance?"

[535] Dancing without drums availed nothing.

"White women have no gods. The gods do not come to them. They are not troubled by the need to dance. White women do not pray," she concluded, seeing that what dancing the white woman did could only be a feeble affair.

"I will send my son to your country. The men who go to the French shore say it is good to know how to count the white man's way. My woman-child I will never send," she finished with finality.

Now it was the white woman's turn to ask a few questions, having done explaining how her boots laced, and why it was that she was dressed very much as her husband was dressed.

751 776 983 The white clay in the hair and on the face of a small child was medicine. The child's mother had washed for her god that morning. He was a god whose day for dancing was Wednesday, and now, feeling the god stir in her, she would

834 848 "Don't go off into the bush with a man. A child born to you will have a bad bush god, if you do," she added as an afterthought.

5

●123 177 In the other corner, Chief And'u, the bassia, and about half a dozen men were talking of the great book about their ancestors which the white man had.

"It is large so," said the chief to one of the older men, indicating an imaginary size which multiplied the size of the actual volume at least tenfold. "And people say it has in it pictures of the Apuku gods, small as we ourselves know them, and a picture of the evil Apuku who appear as fire in the distance. . . . Mati, white men have gone into the Kromanti houses in the country of our ancestors and have made pictures!"

"It is impossible!"

"I want to see!"

The old man said, "I will not look. Books are not for us, mati."

"But mati, the G'aman has heard, and he wants to see."

The old man shook his head. He would have nothing of pictures that figured what should never have been allowed to be photographed.

It seemed prudent to give the conversation a new turn. 137 Down river, the men had said that a man of this village had lately found a new *neku* liana. Was it so?

"The man who found it was my son," said the old man, "you should have come for the dance. You would have seen how we do things here in the bush. But pictures you could [802] not take. No, mati, if you photograph, you take the soul."

The festivities for the find had been especially joyful, he 824 explained, for the boy had only recently come by his gods, 796 and this had been yet another proof that he would serve his family capably. For though the find was his own, all [278] his relatives in the mother's line would enjoy its use. Here- [326] after, when the poison of its leaves and its slender branches

535 men's Kromanti society. The elders had decided these dances were too violent to show to the white man who was with them for the night. Whatever of the esoteric the white man was to see was for the Granman himself to decide. To introduce the drums for the secular dances, and the half-sacred awasa, would be dangerous, for once the drums were there, and the spirit seized one of the players, he would begin to call the gods. When the gods came the dancing would take place until the spirits were satisfied.

"There will be no drums," said the bassia aloud. "There is no one to play them."

No drums!

Again the whispering began. The eagerness, the energy which had seemed to float in the darkness from one to another of the waiting figures began to be dissipated. The men and women still waited, but they were listless.

533 539 The little girl sang,

"*The kogbwa drum*
Sounds Toné."

And the chorus sang,

"*Give us Toné.*"

The bassia who was master of ceremonies noticed the loss of interest with displeasure. It had not been the intention of the elders, when they had made this decision, to have it interfere with the reception of the strangers. He had counted on having spirited secular dancing.

"Friend," he said to the young obia man, "get the dancing started."

He turned again and again to the young man who was being disciplined in the way of the gods, exhorting him to beat time faster, to sing louder. And to the women he shouted, "Shake, women, shake—*chaka!*"

The dancing grew lively.

The white man had learned the words of the refrain, and [123] was singing with them. Master Nigger! here was a white man who could sing their songs. The white woman had

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been shown by the bassia's wife how to clap her hands to the rhythm of the song, and now she could not stop for an instant, though her hands ached. 535 [123]

"*Batu mau*—Clap your hands!" the bassia's wife called to her, the instant her visitor's zeal slackened. She herself was dancing in place, her infant on her back, sound asleep.

"*Chaka*—Shake!" she too began to shout, and once she was so carried away by her hand clapping that she joined the dancers, and danced facing the obia man.

Tall and slender as she was, she crouched opposite the man, her child on her back, and executed the most amazing steps. It was as though every muscle in her body had been set in motion by some invisible dynamo.

An old woman interrupted them. She stepped into the circle, and put her arm about the bassia's wife. "Adoo!" she crooned, and brought her to her feet. Another woman had done the same for the obia man.

Now one of the men who wore both a love obia and a brass ring on his great toe began a song. The melody was only a variant of the one Bayo had sung and the seketi songs we had heard at Gankwe and elsewhere. But here the recitative of the leader was longer. What he sang was not unlike one of our own ballads. He recounted the experiences of a young Saramacca man on the Marowyne River. He had met a Djuka woman, who had taken up with him for his money, and in the end she had exposed him to her people. 533 [832]

Another man sang of a war that white men had with each other. Hard times came to the Saramacca people. There was no work. Then their Granman sent a message to the white elders. The Granman told them people should live in peace together.

The bassia had no need now to spur on the dancers. The small open space was a heaving mass. Nothing seemed immobile. The stars darted, the lights of the small oil lamps held by the bystanders flickered, the very posts which held the thatch of the houses in place and ended some feet 535 533

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Chapter X

AT THE COURT OF THE GRANMAN

I

"AT BREAK of day I start for the country of the Granman. I will see you there tomorrow, about the time day meets night," And'u, chief of S'ei, had said as he left the shrine to the Great Gods. Yet it was a full day later that we next saw And'u, for the speed at which two men could send a small corial upstream was not that at which our heavily loaded boats traveled. As the first day wore on and the succeeding one brought us closer and closer to our destination, it was evident that the news of the approach of the strangers had spread.

Report said that the white man had not come to bring his gods to them. He was not buying timber, he sought for no rubber trees, he was not here to tell them to grow new crops or to work gold. There were, in the white man's country, people who wanted to learn how other people lived. In the white man's country there were people who believed that men brought from the country of the great Negro ancestors had become Indians, or whites.

Master Nigger! They, the Saramacca people, become Ingi or Bak'a!

But why did people go about learning how others lived—Indians, and coolies who were brought to work the white man's plantations when their ancestors had won their freedom, and Negroes? Did white men grow rich doing this? Would this white man put their carvings in the big

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house he told of, beside carvings of their Negro ancestors, and then ask money from people who came to see? 123

Ambe! Was that what white people did to come into money?

From the provision grounds canoes filled with women would dart toward us, and Bayo would call to us, as the women cried their greetings, "Stand up, both of you. The women want to look at you." 123 609

The women's requests were, apparently, not to be ignored. Hurriedly we would climb out from inside the tent and balance ourselves on our knees over the tarpaulin-covered load in front of the boat.

"Look! Look! . . . . There are two men! It is not true that the white man brought his woman!"

Like a master showman, Bayo would stand there in the bow, his pole-stick poised for the next stroke, all his teeth showing.

"Take off your sun helmet, white woman," he would then say.

"Mother of all Negroes!"

"By Ando!"

"Her hair is yellow! She belongs to the river gods!"

"Is it that way they live in the white man's country? Do they not know the difference between men and women, that they both dress alike?"

Again Bayo had a ready answer.

"A white woman who travels in the bush dresses like a man. So they do in the white man's land."

"Master Nigger! Men and women wearing the same clothes!"

When Bayo decided that the women's curiosity had been satisfied, he would say his goodbyes to them with a flourish and, bearing down on the top of his pole-stick, would push away.

Soon we would hear Bayo's summons again.

"Come out. People want to see you."

This time there would be both men and women in the boats which had come circling about us, and the questions, exclamations, and Bayo's replies were heard afresh.

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stopped to change their clothes, and make themselves fit for the reception by the Granman. 576

We had been warned that these preparations were not to be slighted. Those who had been to the village of the Granman told many stories of the impressiveness of the ceremonial life, and the dignity of those who were there. It was the seat of government, the home of a potentate. A visitor, whether a village chief or a man from the city, had to keep in mind that he was to appear at court. Etiquette demanded that the traveler, once arrived at the island which now hid us from the Granman and his assembled villagers, debark, remove the stains of hard traveling, and dress in a manner befitting the reception which awaited him. 576 609

But the gods had planned otherwise.

At this time of the year, though the heavy rains were over and the showers were becoming less and less frequent, it did sometimes happen that the clouds gathered at midafternoon and rain fell. To the northeast, behind us, we had seen the clouds massing, and now they hung low and glowering. 132

"It will rain," Sedefo called to us, just as we were making ready to see to a change of clothes, and an instant later the storm broke. With a kind of hurricane force which sent the branches toward the earth, and flares of lightning and crashes of thunder, the deluge was upon us. Not since our first days in the bush had we coped with a rain like this. The water poured down as though some giant hands were turning over endless vessels. Our tent seemed to have been taken as unaware as we were, for having sheltered us in many hard storms, it was now inadequate to keep out the downpour. We drew our raincoats tighter about us to keep off the water which came through the thatch.

Under the trees of the island the Bush Negroes were huddled. Their favorite top cloths were still in their baskets, safe out of the wet under the white man's tarpaulins. No chance now to put them on, or to use the oil which they had jealously saved for making their faces and 173 [302]

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123 shoulders and arms glisten, or otherwise to make themselves
[302] presentable for the reception. There was nothing to do but to keep close to a tree-trunk, water dripping from naked body and the strip of twisted loin cloth, teeth chattering in the sudden chill brought on by the storm.

The head of Sungi was suddenly thrust inside our boat-tent.

"I saw the Granman. He says the storm is passing. You are to come to him as you are. It is best so. Waiting here is cold."

Turning, he ordered the paddlers to their places, and almost before the paddles were in motion, the guns began to fire.

"The Granman knows the time it takes to give a message. The Granman knows everything," said Bayo in great
[203] admiration, as the guns saluted.

Three shots, and three more. Two shots, an interval, and another coming faintly. Then a short silence, and once more the guns, in clusters of three, but now sounding from several directions.

As we rounded the bend of the island the farther bank was alive with people. The rain had subsided to a drizzle. Across the strip of water which separated us from the shore we could see men and women and children standing about, the women with large food trays inverted over their heads to protect their finery. But the men, disdaining such aids, stood in the rain and looked on with undisguised curiosity. Boats joined ours from up and down the river. With the sound of the guns came hallooing, shrill cries which were the women's expression of enthusiasm, actual or ceremonial.

292 As we watched, several figures appeared on the high bank,
554 the others making way for them. Two of the men were not
622 dressed in the colored toga-like cloths that were worn by the others, but in coats of rich material which reached to their knees. They wore black top-hats with cockades at the side. One of these, we recognized as Chief And'u of S'ei. His coat was of deep crimson, bordered in blue, and his companion's a vivid yellow. Both of these men carried

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to him when the drums called that god, could not be held accountable for what he did while his god had him in his control. 632 614 609

No stranger, no man who came to live in his wife's village, even though he had spent a good part of his life there, took it upon himself to offer advice to his wife's family. Again and again we would hear from men and women on the river, "In our village we do it this way," or, "We only carry the corpse on the head twice. Our spirits don't like to be troubled more often," or, "Mawu as a name for the Great God is used in our village, but not everywhere on the river." 614 607 123 [778]

There was the experience with several sacred images of village gods we had bought from an upper-river village. Our paddlers refused to carry them for us from the village to the boats, and it was with marked uneasiness that they permitted us to put them into the boats.

"We do not know what these gods can do. We do not know what is hateful to them. They are the gods of another people. We won't carry them."

But with the *gomi*—the child of the village of his mother's family, it was quite otherwise. He was a member of the village, he had a voice in its governing, he knew its gods. If he belonged to the family of the chief of the clan, if, let us say, his older brother were the chief, or if he was one of several nephews of a chief who had no surviving brothers, then at the death of the chief there would be a krutu, and the men of the village would decide which one of the several men who were eligible for the office was the most capable. Though rank was hereditary there was always selection among several heirs, and again the final word rested with the people of the clan. The offices of lesser chiefs—village chiefs who were subject to the clan chief, or bassias who served the chiefs—were passed on in the same manner. 622 624 [424]

While law making was in the hands of the chiefs, or captains, and the krutu over which they presided, law enforcement was the task of the bassias. It was they who saw to it that the orders of the chiefs were carried out. When 625 [622]

643 "True, true, G'aman."
82 "Captain And'u, the gods sent the rain to cool every-
716 thing when the Bak'a came. The gods of the river carried
623 the Bak'a without mishap. We have heard of what the Bak'a has done. He has been at your country, at S'ei. He says he comes to learn. He says he does not come to buy wood or to work gold. What he says is good. Yet a full creek does not clear the bank of weeds. Tell us what the Bak'a did in your country, Captain And'u."

609 "The Bak'a came to S'ei. All that was there he looked
123 at. He walked about the village. His woman talked to our
623 women. The Bak'a spoke with our men. He asked about the obias in the krutu house. His woman asked our women about their gods. What was the name of the wife of the Gran Gadu, he wanted to know."

With every sentence, came the affirmation of the chief.

"So I know."

"So it is."

"By Ando!"

"So I heard."

And'u continued. "The Bak'a knows the land of the Negroes—*a sabi Afrika*. With him he has a great book. In it he has pictures."

"True, true."

"There are pictures of obias."

"Ya-hai!"

"There are pictures of the Kromanti houses."

"So it is!"

"There are pictures of people who have the gods."

"*Kweti-kweti*—No, no!"

"Yet pictures in S'ei the Bak'a did not make. The Bak'a said, 'If your ancestors tell you not to talk, do not talk. But when you talk, do not lie!' That which we did not wish to be done he would not do, his woman would not do."

"Gbolo!" exclaimed the Granman, "this is as I have heard. Now the Bak'a has come up the river. His woman has light hair, she is as our Toné people. The river has
[716] treated the Bak'a well. The gods of the river have let the Bak'a pass.

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Bak'a pass. Friends, the river is more than I am. . . . Let us hear what the Bak'a has done on the river. Friend Kasanya, you have traveled with the Bak'a. Speak of what he has done." 609 123 623

"It is as Captain And'u has said," Kasanya began, "what was forbidden, the Bak'a did not do."

The Granman interposed an objection.

"I sent a message to the Bak'a by the husband of my daughter. To him I said, speak to the Bak'a, say that at all villages on the Saramacca you will be received. But two villages have not walked well with the G'aman. At those you will not stop. Yet at one of them the Bak'a stopped."

"So it is, cunning master. This was how it happened. Darkness was falling. Everywhere was the big bush. A storm was on its way."

"So I know."

"There were no other villages near. The next one could only be reached after dark. There were bad rapids ahead."

"So I understand."

"The Bak'a woman was in the boat. To make camp before the storm came was not possible. We had a krutu. We spoke with the Bak'a. The Bak'a said we must go where we could find a roof."

The Granman grunted, was silent for a moment, then took up the story.

"Friends, night overtook the white man in the bush. He had a woman with him. The men said they could not make camp at night. The white man took his woman to where there was shelter. Into the village he did not go. At the first house he slept. Early in the morning he left. He does not know the river. The men brought him at dark to the forbidden village. The gods sent a great wind when the Bak'a crossed the river to show their displeasure, but the Bak'a and his woman they did not harm. The gods took it into their hands. The gods are more than I am." 623 821 776

"So it is, G'aman."

"Friends, the children of the bush know what is done in the bush. Yet a man's lips must speak for himself. Let 609 623 123

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the Bak'a himself tell why he has come the long way to the Saramacca river and what it is he seeks."

There was a general chorus of agreement, and silence awaited our accounting.

As the town man began to repeat our words to the Granman, the quiet of the house was heightened by an occasional stirring outside the paling. From where we sat, we could see brown motionless feet, which told us that there were many more than those inside, who were listening to the white man's reason for being in the bush.

Again the Granman made the traditional responses.

"So it is, white man."

"True, what you have said, bassia."

Finally our telling was at an end. Again there was a silence as we sat, tensely waiting.

The Granman again broke the silence.

"Friends, chiefs, you have heard. The white man is here. He comes to learn of our life. The gods of the river have brought him and his woman safely. The Great God sent the rain to cool the air when he reached Asindopo Lantiwe. The gods are more than I am. The river is more than I am. But the Saramacca people are also more than I am. It is you, headmen of the Saramacca people, who must speak."

"Ai, G'aman," said the man who had the stripes of white on him and who wore the many obias. "But have the ancestors spoken?"

"Truly you ask, friend," was the response. "It is well that you think of these things. In the bush, we think before we speak. Do you go aside and consider well."

Slowly the members of the krutu arose from their benches. Softly, with bent form, each passed out of the doorway. We were alone with the Granman, who waited with us for the reply of the chiefs.

5

As the elders slowly filed out of the council house, it was as though a jury were leaving the courtroom to decide a case which had been laid before it. And as we learned more,

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treated with obia. An obia man now addressed the woman who denied the charge that had been lodged against her, restating the accusation and her denial. Then he asked her once more if she were guilty, and when the answer was still "No," the test was applied.

Through the woman's tongue the quill of the feather, which had been treated with magic, was thrust. When the entire length of the feather had passed through the tongue, then it was that the proof was had. If the woman's tongue neither swelled nor showed blood, she was innocent.

But whether it be trial by ordeal or through the taking of testimony, punishment by the krutu went along with punishment by the spirits. Only incest, we learned, was not punishable by the court. That was for kunu alone to avenge.

6

Once more the krutu was in session. Where the men had "gone aside," we did not know, but while we sat in the krutu house, alone with Moana Yankuso, we heard nothing.

The Granman had spoken little. Were our hammocks tied well the night before? Were we satisfied with the arrangements he had made for the storing of our supplies?

What were the elders deciding? We could not but wonder with anxiety. Would this krutu, after the fashion of the bush, where time meant so little, come to no decision? Was the answer to be one that had been previously arranged?

Chief Sungi was the first to speak.

"G'aman, we have gone aside. Your captains and bassias have spoken together. We say, the white man has come. The white man must eat. Let all be told to bring gifts, that you may feed those who have come to you."

"So it is," was the Granman's response. "Friends, great thanks to you. What you have said is good. Let all return to their villages. Let all tell their people that the white man has come. Let all come with gifts, that we may eat."

There was a chorus of affirmations. The Granman arose.

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"White man," he said, "I have told the young men to hunt, I have told them to fish. My captains, who are here, are going to their villages. You have heard. Their women will come with rice. The young men will bring their kill. So it is in the bush. So G'aman Yankuso holds those who come to him."

As the elders, each with his word of leave taking, left the house to us, we thought of the Granman's last words and of the verdict of the krutu. We had sat long enough in this assembly to realize the circumlocution which went with all statement, and we tried to decipher the cryptic words of the chiefs. Was it a verdict at all? Or was it merely a way of refusing to come to any decision when the white man sat in the krutu which was deciding the fate of his visit? That the decision would be reflected in the attitude of the people of the village seemed reasonable to suppose. And so, drawing aside the curtain which hung over the door, we went out into the open square before our house to see what the krutu had decided.

REBEL DESTINY

787 When a male snake god came, then it was easy to know, 776 the women said. If the possessed one rolled face downward it was a male god, and he was courting the spirits of the earth, but if face upward then it was a female snake. "*Na muye opo-i-mbe gi 'a tapu*—The woman opens her womb for the sky," they said, using the precise image for one who was being wooed by the spirits who lived above.

3

● 123 When the white woman was about to enter the council house, Granman Yankuso called to her. He was standing in front of his house, surrounded by women, who were talking to him in low, excited voices.

"*Bak'a muye*—White woman," he said, looking at her searchingly, and saying nothing. "White woman," he repeated, after a short silence, "white mother, good morning. Are you awake?"

His voice sounded a little troubled, but not unfriendly. It helped the white woman to regain her self-possession.

"They sing well down below, Granman," she said, and went into the council house.

4

787 Whatever Granman Yankuso thought of the white [123] woman's having witnessed the possession of the women of his village, he did not refuse permission to her and her husband to return to the hut.

Amasina and Affi were still in the clearing, dancing to their own songs. Women came up with their children, bringing more and more calabashes of rice. Amasina took up each child in her arms, and caressed it gently, streaking it with the white clay as she did so, and singing the while,

[539]

"*I come from the river.*
You shall be cooled,
You shall be well."

Affi's moaning had become more and more faint, and her pacing, by this time, was listless. Her god would not take

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her into his power strongly enough to give her the release she craved. 787

Amasina sang,

> "*I come from the river.*
> *I tell all you people,*
> *This man, this woman*
> *Are friends.* [539]
> *They come not for evil.*
>
> *Go to the G'aman,*
> *Say to him.*
> *These people are friends,*
> *They bring us no evil.*"

Then her god, speaking through her, sang an explanation to the white people. From the river he came, bringing healing to all those who were fevered, caring for all those who were sick. Those who could, came to him, but those who could not come, he would visit and bring them healing. Now he must make the round of the village, go to the houses, and see those who were ill.

Singing, Amasina beckoned us to follow her, and as she led the way she danced in undulating steps from one end of the village to another, visiting the sick, singing the cure her god was bringing them in the words he was speaking through her.

The white people could stay with her no longer. Word came that the boat which was to take them across the river to the village of the Granman's father was ready, and they must go. The women suggested, however, that if the whites cared to make a gift to the god who had spoken so well of [123] them, it would be acceptable, and they hurried to their stores to get a gift.

As they passed the council house and turned toward the small hut behind it where their supplies were kept, they heard a new sound. It was a choking sound, torn from an unwilling throat. Seated quite alone on a low stool in front

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787 [412] of the mortar in which she had been pounding maripa nuts was the Granman's younger wife. The pestle had fallen from her shaking fingers. She gave the intruders no attention, for she, too, was possessed by her god,—by Toné, god of the river.

"*Ke-ke-ke-ke-ke-ke! Ke-ke-ke-ke-ke-ke!*" The syllables fell from her and, as the white people stood by, her shaking stopped, the sounds did not go on. Then they began again, her body racked, her voice choked. The Toné people do not speak when they are possessed, it is through sounds such as these that the god of the river makes known his wishes.

Women came running toward us. "Your boat is ready, Bak'a," they said.

787 431 •173 The whites returned with the bracelets to find that the two women to whom they brought their offerings had come as far as the Granman's quarter of the village. Affi's greeting of "Ondyi!" had died down to a whisper. Disconsolately she followed Amasina, who, in the white cloth which reached almost to her ankles, looked tall and sinuous, and moved as though there were something in the still air to send her body curving to one side and to the other.

As the possessed women and those with them entered the quarter, the elder wife of Yankuso came toward Amasina with a large calabash of rice.

"All those who have the same god come with gifts. Amasina has the strongest god of all. It is a white god," a woman explained.

[892] White was the color for the ancestors, and hers was the god of a great priestess of the family. It was the god Towenu, the great Papa god, the giver of children, the jealous one, who came to her. If he cared for his priestess too well, he allowed her no children. The mention of his name the day before had brought him, and, coming, he vouched for the friendliness of the strangers.

Amasina put her arms about the older woman as she had done to the others who came to her. She sang once more her message:

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"Wife of the G'aman, [539]
I come from the river.
Go to the G'aman
Say to him,
These strangers are friends,
They bring no evil."

It was the god speaking, and the Granman's wife received with lowered head the words spoken through the priestess.

"Ai, my master. Ai, Massa Gadu," she said.

5

The Granman's paternal village was directly across the 361
river from Asindopo Lantiwe. It was called Akisiamau, 643
literally "Took with an outstretched hand," but whether there was also some meaning in the phrase not intended for the uninitiated, we could not learn. In size it was not much larger than the Granman's village, and again and again we recognized houses which were his by the crest-like [473]
carvings on the doorposts, that reproduced the design found not only at the side of the council-house door, but at the door of all other houses at Asindopo Lantiwe which were his.

Except for several old people who sat about in the shade 123●
and waited for the strangers to come to them with their greetings, the entire village followed us as we made our way down one path and another.

"*Bak'a, Ame'ika Bak'a, Ame'ika Fandya!*—White man. American white man, American Fandya!" the children called after us, as they ran at our heels, touching our canteens, our sun helmets, and shoes.

The Granman had spoken with especial fondness of his 342
father's house, and it was there that we asked first to be 643
taken. It was not occupied, we were told, and none might enter it. Above the top crosspiece white cotton was draped. Except that its door was closed, it showed no signs of being

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"The openings in the wall there," she explained, when we asked her about the two squares cut into the wall behind the altar, "are for all things that fly. In this place they must come and go as they like. Bats come here, and insects of all kinds, and when they want to go back to the bush, they must be able to go as they like. That is the wish of the gods. So they told us long ago."

6

We were led from house to house. The gods had spoken. We were friends, and as friends who came not to harm, we were given the hospitality of friendship. There were other shrines, but we did not have to ask about them. They were pointed out to us with the other sights of the village.

The closed low hut near the Apuku shrine we had entered was to the river god Toné. It was a very small enclosure, and before it was a plant which covered the low entrance. It belonged, we were told, to an albino woman who was possessed by Toné. But she was not in the village now. Farther down the path was a larger house, another shrine. This had a piece of iron over the door and, when we asked about it, the girls who were following us ran, and the men merely said that it was the place of the Kromanti obia and passed on.

As we continued on our way, each woman was anxious not to have us slight the house her man had built her or fail to admire the carvings that were inserted into the weave of the palm walls. The huts were swept clean—the cleanliness of the entire village was even more striking than that of others we had visited—and but for a few stools, which were brought out for the strangers while they spoke with the old people who lived in the quarter, they were entirely bare. In every house, however, there was sure to be a shelf, large or small, or several shelves, on which stood prized food trays with carvings which covered both inner and outer surfaces. Combs and food stirrers were taken down and shown us, and the calabash dishes made by the women

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173 With this obia, and unafraid, Apatu went. He reached the French shore, and found work. Years later he was asked to guide an expedition against the Indians. They came to a cave. At the other end of it Indians waited with their poisoned arrows.

The French officer said to him, "Apatu, are you afraid?"

"I will go, I am not afraid of death," Apatu said to the officer.

He led the way through the cave, calling out, "Mafi, Yanku na'a, hi!"

Three times the Indians tried to shoot him, and each time they failed.

"The French officer gave Apatu a gold piece for saving his life. That was when they sent him to Pali, and it was written down that he was a great man," ended the Granman.

7

822 "Do you know what they asked me in the city when I was there?" the Granman said one day, when his elders assembled. "'Chief Yankuso,' they asked me, 'which is better, light or darkness?' I said to them, I said, 'Darkness is better. When it is day we work and we struggle. At night we go into our hammocks with our women, and we find peace.'"

He turned to us as he told the story.

"Is it not so, white man? You yourself are young."

8

● 123 177 A few days after the gods had spoken, the Granman asked us if we would that evening show the pictures of the country of the Negroes which we had brought. We had shown him earlier the simple projector, actually a flashlight with a lens attached, through which a roll of film passed to flash images, one by one, on a screen. On the film were photographs of illustrations from books on Africa.

Mechanical objects of all kinds fascinated these men of the bush, and they would ask again and again to see our flashlights or the inside of our phonograph. Though un-

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willing to touch the phonograph, they never tired of hearing about its mechanism and how it was that a voice was recorded and instantly reproduced. But the mystery of the moment was this projector.

We had delayed showing these photographs as long as we could, for what leads we could get to African survivals, we sought, for many reasons, to get singly. Not the least of these reasons was that the Bush Negro, who knew the method of krutu, did not allow himself to be impulsive in new situations, especially if they involved strangers. If something unfamiliar was presented, he wanted time to think and to krutu about it with others of his kind. Memories of the early experiences of their people seemed always to be stirring to make the most genial man, or a very pleasant old woman, fall silent and resort to the phrase, "God alone knows." Men, in particular, and often women, too, seemed to be posing to themselves a mute, anxious question: Was it well for the white people to know so much about them? Even when whites came as friends, as the gods attested, was it well to speak that fraction of their knowledge which the ancestors permitted? For generations they had lived with the feeling that their deep, deep Saramacca language was their own, its knowledge the wisdom of their own people, and here were strangers, speaking to them in their own tongue more easily as day followed day. Was it well? Men taking a white man's boat up and down the river could say what they chose, and the white man who traveled with them did not understand. What if this were to end?

We were constantly made to feel the effect of these doubts in the minds of the people.

"They say here," said Fenekonde one day, "when you get back to your white country, you will have much knowledge to profit you. The two of you will be able to talk Saramacca, and no one at all will know what you say."

Other things were said.

"At the krutu they said, these white people might have been sent by others, as soldiers with toys."

REBEL DESTINY

183 "You must have strong obia from Africa—strong snake
177 obia—for the gods to have spoken so well of you!"

But when the Granman asked, there was no refusing. That day word was sent to all in the village that the Bakra was giving a cinema show in the bush.

Long before dark the entire village had gathered in front of our doorway. The children had been around since early afternoon. Against the council-house wall we hung a white sheet, and some feet away we stood our folding table and on it the little projector. The show was about to begin.

[354] The Granman who sat a little to one side gave orders to the latecomers to extinguish the flames of their small oil lamps and their lanterns, and the large torch which he had so proudly shown that first night, and which had since illuminated the clearing nightly, was also extinguished.

The illustrations we had photographed were from volumes on the people of the West Coast of Africa—Ashanti and the Gold Coast, Dahomey, Nigeria, Benin, the Cameroons, Loango, and the Congo. Our first year's experiences among these people had taught us that it would not be well to show them too many ceremonial pictures. Photographs of sacrifices of animals other than fowls, we had felt, too, would not be wise to introduce. Such a picture as that of the Ashanti Sasabonsum, the "evil Apuku," as the Bush Negroes whom we had allowed to see the illustration named it, we had also decided should best be shown to individuals here and there. For the general showing, we relied upon pictures of cicatrizations, of hairdressing and teeth filing, of rafts floating on African lakes, of pottery making and cloth weaving, of laying fires and the doing of other household tasks, of carvings, and finally of one or two priests and priestesses in states of possession.

We waited for a signal from the Granman to begin. About [342] the dark clearing the huts, with their roof poles meeting on top like great horns, gave a strange effect to the scene, for with the moving and shifting of bare feet it seemed as though everything in that clearing strained to fall in line

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with the white curtain hanging against the wall of the council house. To one side was the image of the Sky God, tall almost as the big bush which stood about the clearing, and beside it the pole for the Earth Mother. People went from one side of the improvised screen to the other, with no mental image to tell them where they should look or what they might expect to see. Something of fear went with their expectancy. 123 177

The Granman nodded, and the pictures began to appear.

"Mati, did you see how they lay the fire?"

"Mother of all Negroes, what great breasts the women have!"

"See them getting the cassava ready! Look, they use the bark for a container!"

"Master Nigger! They know something there in the land of our ancestors. Men know how to weave cloth!"

"See the braids. They are handsome in our ancestral land. The head looks like a carved calabash!"

"Massa Nengere! That's the way to take lumber down! Not one raft at a time, or two, mati. Four at a time. They are workmen there, I tell you! Our ancestors used to say there was wealth there!"

We had usually to tell them what the picture showed, for they had not the habit of looking at these images and would stand to one side, or bend low and look up at the screen. But once we named the picture—"This is the head of a woman," or "This is timber going down to the city," or "This is a path through the bush"—then it was they who began to describe aloud what they saw, exclaiming over the resemblance to their own paths, or to their own manner of burning pots, or to their own way of preparing food.

"Mati, friends," said the Granman, "here deep in the Saramacca bush, all this has come to us. If I were a young man, I would go and see what goes on in the world. I would go to Africa. White man, how much gold does a man need to go to Africa?" After a short silence, he continued this train of thought. "What shall be done? Shall we go see the world? 177 186

REBEL DESTINY

177 186 Here is our bush. Our gods are here, and our ancestors come at our call. There is the world—*na g'on tapu*. There is the land of our old ancestors."

He stopped and covered his face with his hands, remaining deep in thought. But when he spoke again, his voice was calm.

177 123 "Mati, let us see all that the white man has brought. Here deep in the bush, all this has come to us that even children might see. Let us see all."

On the screen appeared a priest. He wore a grass skirt used in a sacred dance, a skirt like the one we had had made for us here on the river, and his face was covered, mask-like, with white clay.

"Ai, mati," exclaimed the Granman, as everyone gasped at what they saw.

The next picture showed the same priest dancing. Two men held his arms.

"When Kromanti gets a man in the ancestral country, it comes so strong that he has to be held in check, friends. So it is here, too."

9

123 So great was the fascination of the Granman and of all his people with the phonograph that many times we had occasion to feel if it were not for Apanto's curse, and the habit of elastic to stretch, and of glue to be affected by tropical heat, the machine would have overcome for us what distrust there was of our interest in their beliefs—that it might even have changed the decision of the ancestors when they were consulted by priests in Dahomey—a decision which ruled that the white man and his woman were not to be given the secrets of their worship.

[180] Whatever the ancestors had told the men who carried on their heads the sacred plank which was used for consulting the ancestral will, the attitude of the people showed that the white man could not be received in the bush without distrust. The intentions of a white man might be friendly,

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yet his findings might in time serve the enemy. We were soldiers bringing toys, as the image of the krutu had suggested. 123

Since life in the bush, for strangers like ourselves, was lived in terms of days, and each day was taken for what it might bring, we were grateful to those gods who had spoken for us, and watched the effect of the ancestral edict.

Before dawn of the day which followed the ceremony of asking the will of the ancestors, men came to counsel with the Granman, and from then onward many men were about the village. The young boys found their toy guns again, and the little girls played on the river bank. The widow who was so susceptible to evil influences no longer appeared in the central clearing with her child on her back, stamping her rice, or drying her peanuts. Her door was shut. Fenekonde was no longer about, for she had gone to the menstrual house, and Tenemi who came to sweep the council house each morning now wore a new obia on a long, twisted, white cord, hung from shoulder to side. She was polite, formal, and she worked fast.

Late that afternoon the obia man who had appeared at the first council meeting with wide stripes of clay came again, and his wife accompanied him. They were the best diviners on the river. From the corner of the council house the large mat which had been standing rolled up was carried into a closed hut, so that he might sit on it, and perform his magic to see what the future held for the destiny of the Saramacca people, and what immediate threat the white man's coming boded. Before leaving for the hut where the mat was prepared the man and woman sat with us in the council house in the company of the Granman. They apparently needed to know our individual names for their task. While we sat there, the white woman absently began to play with the obia about her neck, and this seemed a signal for the other woman to take hers into her hands and begin to mutter an invocation, for the stranger's careless playing appeared to her as the white man's way of casting a spell. 123 791 787 [285]

REBEL DESTINY

123 609 So it went. The Granman was still a considerate host, but he no longer came to regale us with stories. He was disturbed. Again and again we were assured by indirection that our own motives were not doubted. But in what seemed to them our very foolhardiness in coming that distance, and because we had showed no fear, we had proved that we were being made use of by those who would later show enmity toward them.

When men came whose allegiance would go to any man in power, himself or the next man, the Granman would exclaim with all his splendid oratory that the black man's cause never could be that of the white man. To men of his own village, like the captain who took us down the river, he gave instructions that our every wish was to be met.

It was the way of the politician—and it was more than that. He showed in his manner when he was alone with us that he was deeply puzzled. As a man who had learned to trust his judgments of people, his pride would not permit him to grant that his wits had failed him. Then, too, what he had heard from us had fired his imagination. That he was skeptical of the ancestral revelation, we do not believe, but it was possible that, with the Bush Negro concept of the world of the dead, he might have felt that the great ancestors who were consulted remembered their days of slavery, and would, therefore, never consent to the revealing of secrets to the white man.

10

123 199 It was our last night in the village of the Granman. In the council house more than thirty people were crowded, standing about the table on which we had placed the phonograph. The Granman sat in his folding chair and looked on without addressing himself to any one.

He had asked us to let all his people hear the machine. When we were gone, many people on the river would talk of it. He wanted all of his village to see how it worked.

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GRANMAN MOANA YANKUSO

"You will play everything, white man," he had told us earlier. He had been especially anxious that we play the songs we had recorded in Haiti on our way to Suriname. Often he had spoken of these songs to the chiefs at council meetings. 123 177

"White man, tell these friends the words of those songs in that foreign tongue."

He had wanted us to speak before these men the words Legba, a deity to them in the bush as he is in Haiti and in West Africa today, and Loko, and Aida Wedo, and to translate the words of the Haitian twin song we had recorded, and the one to the water god Simbi.

Now he sat in his folding chair and looked on in silence, his face thoughtful. The songs he heard moved him deeply, and his expressive face showed it.

When, in the Haitian songs, the women heard the word "Ago-e" which they recognized, they uttered a shriek. It was one of their many words for ancestors. They cried out again when they heard "Aida Wedo" pronounced, and "Loko." They, too, sang of Aida Wedo, and of Alado, and of Loko. Dan was one of their words for snake.

The white man asked permission of the Granman later to record some songs of the people of the village, and promptly Moana Yankuso addressed a man who stood by. The man was a good singer, and his seketi improvisations had made him a figure on the river. 533 186 177

"Sing for the whites, mati. Let them hear in their far country how our people sing. Let them know that we can sing, that we sing much."

The singer Mapasi sat down and began to sing. His voice was of fine quality, and he was as modest in the midst of all these women with this gift which the gods had given him, as had been the young dancer whom the Granman had summoned to dance for us. He sang in a low voice, and directly into the horn. Accompanying his singing was the hand clapping of the women, which in the small council house was deafening. His recitatives were the longest we had heard on the river, longer by far than those which had

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533 surprised us that night at S'ei, and when he paused for a
106 moment the women took up the chorus. From one song to
179 another he went, and the hand clapping grew louder, and the chorus joined in more frequently, often breaking into his recitative, so that there was harmonizing of theme and chorus.

Once or twice the Granman called for a song we had already recorded, in order to give Mapasi a rest.

"Play us something from the lower river, white man. Let them hear their own songs, too, sung by others."

When the excitement of hearing the machine reproduce the song they had just sung had grown less intense, the singers repeated the song the phonograph was reproducing for them, for to listen to music without singing was difficult for them, just as when they sang, they could not but move their feet, though there was scarcely more than room for them to stand one close to the other. But a Bush Negro needs little room for his dancing, so that as the phonograph played their songs for them, they clapped their hands and danced in place. For a short interval, at least, the existence of the whites was forgotten in their pleasure of singing with the machine.

Until late into the night we played our records for them, and they sang for us. Whatever the consequences to the frail records of soft wax, we decided to play as long as they would listen, because of something in the manner of the Granman, something of wistfulness, let us say, and something, perhaps, which went deeper yet, as he sat there—a black Hamlet following a mute soliloquy while he looked on with his clever, perplexed eyes.

"Ai, so it is," he said at last, "and now let us go and get sleep." He rose and the others followed him out of the council house.

II

123 Early the next morning, while the tent on our boat was
182 being finished, the Granman came into the council house
189 with a calabash and a buzzard's feather in his hand. He
579 came up to each of us in turn, and struck with the medicine-
602 dipped feather the tops of our heads, brushed the eyes,

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touched the palms of our hands, and struck against the calves three times. 123 782

"This is obia," he said simply, and when he was finished, he went out. 789

Our cook knew this obia. It was Opete obia, medicine bearing the name of the sacred buzzard. It was given us that we might have a good journey down the river. 574 609

"Did you see how he was careful to touch the eyes?" our cook pointed out to us. "The Opete gets the eyes when it comes to a person, just like Kromanti goes into the head, and Vodu into the belly." [MOC]

When we went out for a moment, and walked toward our storeroom, we saw the Granman splash water out of a calabash onto the floor and front wall of the house which held our supplies. Was it that our belongings might be safe on our journey down? It was no time for questions, and we asked none.

Women and children again came crowding about the white woman. Though they had been warned not to talk, there was still something of the warm feeling of earlier times which a command did not entirely destroy. Then, too, the order was that the sendoff was to lack no formality. As we stood there, a dog came running down the path. He was on his way to the river. In his mouth was a large ball of something which had been thoroughly charred. It was an offering to the river spirits, perhaps. It might have been less pleasant magic. He had been sent by men who were busy in the ancestral shrine. 123 231 782

When the white woman called attention to the dog, and asked what he held, the women recoiled with amazement that she should have seen the dog at all. Part of the magic might have been, as it was in some formulas we recorded, that he was to pass by invisible to the strangers. But this is conjecture. . . .

The moment before we went down the path to the river, Amasina came up alone, and gave us her hand. She was gracious, and completely at her ease. Whatever was said, she had faith in her god Towenu, who had vouched for our friendship. 123 609

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Chapter XV

THE ARTIST OF MA'LOBBI

I

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WE WERE recalled to the council house for a final informal krutu with Granman Yankuso and some of his elders before the more formal leave-taking on the river bank. Our boats were being loaded and soon we should be on our way down river. With the elders were the diviners, and our friend, the bassia.

The Granman opened the krutu, greeting and addressing the men who were present, until he turned to us.

"White man, you and your woman came to my village. I held you both well. Now when you are ready to go I give you my grandson for paddler, and the chief of my village for captain of your boat. That is how we do with those who come in friendship."

Through our town man, as was the way of the krutu, we spoke our acknowledgments to him, and our regrets that our visit was ending. Through our man, the last gifts to the tribal head were tendered, and through one of the elders, the ritual expression of thanks was returned us for what we had put before the Granman.

We had two favors to ask of him. For many days we had lived in this house, and had admired the fine carvings which the council house held. In our own country, when we thought of the days on the upper Saramacca River, a piece of carving from this house would give us much pleasure. But of the elaborate carvings we did not wish to

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deprive him. Might we buy, however, one of the simple benches from the shelf above the door, which the chiefs and we ourselves had used many times?

The one we took down had interested us for its possible ritual significance. On its top a single design was repeated four times. It was a representation of an axe-head, and the clan of Yankuso was the Matchau, the Axe Clan.

The Granman looked at the diviner. "*Fa fo do?*—What to do?" was his query.

The man he addressed murmured, "*T'obi*—Trouble."

But it was, after all, only a small and slightly ornamented bench.

"Take it!" the Granman said. "What else is it you ask?"

There was the apinti drum. In the house where objects of all peoples of the earth were brought for men and women to look at, there were none of the fine carvings the Bush Negroes make. When we returned, we would place beside the African and Indian objects which were there those of the Saramacca people. As yet, we had not been able to buy an apinti drum. This one was more beautiful than any we had seen. Could he not sell it to us, so that everyone might know that the finest of drums had come from the council house of Moana Yankuso, Granman of the Saramacca people?

This time he did not hesitate. He smiled, and shook his head.

"No, no, white man," he said, "this drum is not for me to sell. This one I cannot part with, not for all your goods. Down river, when you visit my villages, you can get an apinti which will be beautiful. When you come to the village of Akunkun, and you see Kasanya, ask him to find you an apinti. I will tell Captain Mataibo to leave a message at other villages that you want an apinti. This one no gold can buy."

This was not our first attempt to buy an apinti drum. Nor was it to be the last refusal.

Waiting, we sat in the council house while our supplies were being carried to the canoes and placed in them, until

REBEL DESTINY

123 Mataibo, the head of Yankuso's village, who was entrusted
623 with the safe passage of our boats, came to announce that
574 the men had done loading. Before the morning was yet
609 well advanced we left the house, and with the Granman
[554] under his umbrella, which was the highest of insignia, passed to the river bank.

Our friends were there—the bassia, and Dida, and Amasina, and the Granman's wives and his little grandson, who shouted to us, "*Waka bon, ye'e!*—Travel well, you hear!" in the best manner of his elders. Again three guns sounded, and once more we were on the river, looking up at the people of these villages of the Pikien Rio who were waving to us from the shore.

502 Going down the river was restful. The enjoyment of the easy motion of the boats was felt in the manner of the paddlers themselves. Now there was no hard poling against the heavy current. As canoes were urged on the two paddlers wielded their long blades in unison, and the dugouts swung downstream in the center of the river, where the current was heaviest. When the murmurs of the rapids ahead were heard, it was but a moment until they grew into a roar, and then, in another, we were through, the man at the front standing up for an instant so that, with a twist of his paddle, he might turn the head of the boat from any threatening rock, while the stern man did not stroke at all, but merely held the craft on the course which was marked where the water tossed itself into foam-capped waves. Sometimes, as we came to rapids where the force of the water was especially strong, or there was a sharp double curve to be negotiated, the two boats would pause for a moment while Mataibo called out to the younger men the course to follow. Then into the falls, and through them, and our bow paddler would carefully rearrange his loin cloth and sit down once more to take up his steady stroking.

123 Opposite one village Sungi came in his boat to meet us,
609 to give and receive a final gift, and say his goodbye. But
[431] it was not to the landing place of Dahomey that he took us for this interchange, but to the village of his wife, he told

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us when we asked him. At one landing place where we 123
stopped for a moment, we could hear the drums sounding 609
the rhythm to the river gods, but the drumming stopped abruptly as word went back along the path that white people had come. Men streaked with pemba came down to the river to look at the Bakra who had visited the village of their Granman.

In the boat, we missed Bayo. The grandson of the Gran- 644
man, who was our bow paddler, we had met but casually 123
before we had started. There had been none of the chances 609
for conversation that had made of Bayo a friend before he and his great-grandfather came to take us to the country of the Granman. Later we would come to know this youth for a pleasant young man, capable and quiet, who was proud to show his ability, and quick to resent the suggestions of our town man in such matters as making a shelter for the night.

"We are children of the bush!" the young man exclaimed sharply. "We know how to make this." And such a good shelter did the paddlers build that men of a near-by village, who passed, stopped and asked that it not be torn down the [485] next morning, as had to be done with shelters erected for the night on the land of a strange clan, but that we should let it stand so that others might use it.

When we asked him questions, however, or made observa- [157] tions on people who passed by in their canoes, he gave us noncommittal replies. Mataibo, the captain of our boat, was even more reserved, though he liked to twit our town man, and in an unofficial capacity would have been amusing. Conversation between the two paddlers, or between them and the two young men who were entrusted with our other boat, was in the clipped, rapid "deep-Saramacca" [197] speech which, in spite of our use of it in conversation at the Granman's village, we still found it difficult to follow when Bush Negroes spoke informally to one another.

As the day wore on, we began to get used to the rapidity 484
with which village after village was passed. Here was the landing place of the one where we had stopped so that

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484 Sedefo might greet his sister. It was almost a half-day's travel, going up river, from Asindopo Lantiwe, yet it was not quite noon, and we were passing it. Here was Hei Kununu, its steep slopes already swinging into sight as we rounded a bend of the river and came through the small rapids above the settlement, and still it seemed as though we had but begun our course down toward our base camp and the railhead. And it was still early in the afternoon when we came to Ma'lobbi.

2

462 At the landing place, women were about. Much of the work of the Bush Negro woman is at the river's edge, and for strangers like ourselves, passing in a dugout, the presence of women working on the bank was the only sign [361] that here was a landing place, and that farther inland lay a [912] village. To the river they came with their carved clothes [296] beaters, like the one we could see in the hand of the woman who greeted us here at Ma'lobbi, fashioned, as we later learned when she sold it to us, in the shape of a male vodu head on one end, and a female snake on the other. It was at the edge of the water that a woman scraped cooking pots [264] and calabash dishes with sand, and it was here, if it seemed a good day for fishing, that a woman would go wading in the water to rest a cooking pot on the river [206] bottom, and stand silently until an inquisitive school of small fish swam into it when, with a quick jerk, she would bring it up to take out what fish there were. This, aside from the use of small hooks, was the only kind of fishing a woman could do, for the fishing traps were for the use of men. But the cooking pot brought in many small fish to add flavor to a dish of rice.

● 123 609 As we walked into the village, accompanied by one of our younger paddlers, the bassia greeted us. The head of the village was waiting for us, he told us. Paddlers of small boats on their way downstream had spread the word that our visit with the Granman was drawing to an end.

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As we walked toward the chief's house we looked about us, seeing again the evidence that here at Ma'lobbi there were men who knew how to carve wood, seeing why it was that our paddlers had spoken of it as a place for fine work. 322 531

"Ai, at Ma'lobbi they are good carvers."

Here was a house with its doorposts elaborately carved; there a beautifully worked rice tray, lying where it had been left by the woman who owned it, until she should need it later in the day for winnowing her rice; farther along a great bench stood, with the designs cut through in a fluid progression over top and sides. [342]

The captain was in the lower portion of his two-story house when we entered. Several of the older men, who had been present at our earlier visit and who remembered our gifts of tobacco, came to join us, as the news of our arrival spread through the village. Soon the women were standing about, motioning to the white woman to come with them. 123 609

The house in which the captain received us was larger and more imposing than the others in the village. It was his *gudu-wosu*—his treasure house. Its lower portion, where we sat in conversation with him, was where he worked. Above, where none of his wives might enter, his wealth was stored. Here he kept the pieces he had carved, and from here drew from time to time the presents he gave his wives. Here lay the wealth which his nephews would inherit when he died. But below, in the partially open shelter, was his workshop where he fashioned rough logs into stools and paddles, combs and food stirrers, trays and canoe seats, and all manner of objects which he and his women used in their daily routine. 342 556 [408] [392]

All about the walls hung tools. There were machetes, whose sharp blades showed a reflection of fire from the sun which slanted on the wall. We had never seen so many of these bush knives on display, nor, for that matter, such an array of tools anywhere on this river. From projecting boards or nails driven into posts hung several compasses, their hinged arms sharp-pointed, so that the craftsman might describe the perfect circles on the wood he carved. 342 353 412 [413]

532 of design which only the carver himself could name, or
501 someone who knew the symbolism of the art tradition in
302 which this paddle was carved.

During our first visit to these people we had been com-
532 pletely balked by the unwillingness of the Bush Negroes to
123 discuss their carvings. In answer to our questions we got delightful evasions, but with the coming of Bayo to our base camp, carrying his crudely carved stool, we learned enough to make it clear that there was a great deal of symbolism in the carving of the Bush Negroes and, as our knowledge of these symbols increased, it became increasingly easier to get descriptions of carvings in terms of the meanings and values these held for the Bush Negroes themselves.

532 Now, sitting in the workshop of one of the finest of Saramacca carvers, the captain of Ma'lobbi, we traced those parts of the design which we knew, mentioning their significance to the men who were about.

"There are two snakes," we said, pointing to the realistically entwined bodies which formed the upper portion of the hand grip, ending at the top with recognizable heads, and with mouths held open, which supported symmetrical figures of the top of the paddle.

"Aboma snakes," one man said, verifying to himself our statement.

"These," we continued, "are the teeth of the great lizard—*bamba tande*—and this part below the hand-grip reaching part way toward the blade is a carved chain, and you call it *moni mo' muye*—money is more than woman."

The men laughed. "Awa, so it is. The man knows about Saramacca carving."

And one of them took up the explanation, pointing out the two symmetrical figures which were posed opposite each other above the mouths of the snakes. "These are monkeys. They are women monkeys. No, don't call them just keskesi, their name is makaka," he went on, giving us the name of the species, when we spoke the word for monkey. "See the ears, the heads, the breasts. Ai, I

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know you see them. They told you much on the upper river." 532

As he finished speaking, the captain returned with his wife. Excited comments greeted him. 532 123

"The white man here knows *tembe*—carving."

"He knows lizard's teeth design."

"He knew that this was the aboma snake, and the makaka."

The old man was skeptical. "*A so?* Was it true?" Let the Bakra show him.

We repeated the lesson we had just learned to the captain and his wife who owned the paddle. They listened thoughtfully. Then the woman spoke.

"White man, I have used this paddle for many years. I do not like to sell it. But you care for it. You are a man who knows carving. In your country you tell me other men know carving. They will look at it, and see it is beautiful, and they will know it is from the Saramacca. Take it, and pay me what you like." [439]

There were other carvings which we bought—a large rice-carrying tray, and some food stirrers, one of which was especially fine, made as it was of two small paddles with miniature blades, the handles joined by a wooden ring-chain, and all of this carved out of one piece of wood. 532 439

3

Few things on the river seemed to the outsiders more characteristic of the life of the Saramacca people than these carvings which were met with everywhere, however small the village, however poor the home. When the seasonal rains came, men incised their desires on wood, which later told the legend of procreation, or safety on the river, or a curse invoked against a woman if she proved unfaithful; or something of humor, such as a man bidding for a girl's favor, and she refusing him, while up above intertwined were a man and woman, symbolizing the ultimate consummation with the proper suitor. 532

REBEL DESTINY

4

532 The cult of fertility came to the Suriname bush from
831 Africa. Deepseated today in this civilization, it is not strange that it should be invoked again and again in the carvings, that men and women in sexual congress, and animals in the act of reproduction should dominate the art motifs, and in particular those carvings which men make for their women.

532 The symbolism is known to all on the river though, as we have indicated, a gifted artist might play with his medium, and even give his own name to what he had designed. Evidences of nontraditional playing with technique were, to be sure, not met with often, but one or two instances stand out. One that was especially striking was a hinged folding stool, fashioned after a bench seen in the
[532 199] city, and decorated in traditional fashion, where the problem of decorating unfamiliar surfaces was met.

Bayo could take up many of our photographs of pieces,
532 acquired during our first visit and brought here into the
173 bush to show the natives how their pieces were exhibited,
177 and describe the symbols to us which made up the carvings. There was one which interested him especially. He used to sit with the photograph in his hand, running his fingers over the glossy surface, as though he felt if he continued doing it long he would actually feel the texture of the wood which was so clearly imaged.

532 "Everything shows. Here's a crack, see?" Then his hands touched one motif after another. "This and this are women, and these are men. A man and woman to one side. and a man and woman facing them. It's like having the tray here, white man." The small designs close to the rim of the tray, facing each other, were the children to be
[845] born of these unions. "This is a boy, and this a girl. That is for both women to make twins."

We were looking over his shoulder as he explained the symbols, but still could not distinguish in the symbols to the side which represented the male child and which the female.

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313 416 533 [539] *"You have come to go, come to go far, come to go far to bring the wood to the water. But it is long, it is far, to the river. Thank you, friends."*

Then the song was taken up by the workers and, with each rhythmic measure, the great piece of lumber went farther through the jungle on its way to the river. When he had chanted for us the greeting to the men, Bayo began to sing a song relating to men's casual exploits with women and, as he finished the song, he laughed. "White [831] man, if you came with us, you would hear what songs the men make up about women!"

3

126 The phonograph had delighted Bayo from the first. When Apanto had summoned the spirit of his obia to fight the machine, Bayo had watched. When the white man's glue had repaired the broken belt, and the hot sun had made the machine "walk" once more, Bayo had approved.

"The machine is not weak," he had said. "I will sing for it."

And sing for it he did.

But the curse of Apanto still troubled the machine, for up the river and down there had been difficulty with it. Often when there was a particularly good song to be recorded, the belt would give, the machine would fail the white man. The story of the prowess of Apanto had gone up the river with the Gankwe paddlers, and when the machine stopped, heads nodded, and we would catch the word "obia" among the murmurs of the bystanders.

126 123 782 796 Bayo thought, it seemed, that the machine's proud spirit was by this time properly chastened and, since twice the machine had refused to work while he was singing into it, twice had made him stop the song and its drum accompaniment, he decided to take matters into his own hands.

"White man," said Bayo, shortly after our return from up the river, "I will help the spirit of the machine. I will

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call the great gods. Apanto's spirit is strong, but Bayo has strong gods, too."

The machine was made ready for him, and Bayo sat down on a convenient box, his head bent over the tumao drum which we had acquired and which his fingers could scarce ever be near but that they played on it.

"It is not the right drum," he said. "You should have an apinti for me to speak to the gods. But I will try it with this one. Tomorrow I will go up the river to Djamungo. I know a man who has an apinti. You will give me money, and I will buy it for you. But now I will speak on the tumao."

He began the irregular tapping which we had learned to identify as the drum language. With one hand he carried the message, while with the other he played irrelevant motifs which served to confound anyone not initiated and leave him, as it left us, who had worked out some of the general principles on which this drum language was based, utterly unable to interpret it or to tell which were the significant elements.

"The great gods will look after your machine now, if they will listen to the tumao."

The next day Bayo went upstream to get us the apinti we so desired. He was not successful, but the gods had listened to him, when he had invoked them on the tumao, for Bayo's ministrations ended all trouble with our recalcitrant phonograph. Bayo indeed had strong spirits!

As the days went on, and record after record was put on the turntable, and with its tracing of songs, or examples of Bush Negro speech, or fragments of the rhythms that called the various gods, was taken off and carefully put into its felt-lined box, Bayo visibly swelled with pride. This was his doing! With his strong spirits he had called the great gods! He was young, and he had not spoken on the proper drum, but they had listened to him! So his thoughts went, and so he would repeat them to us.

His interest in the phonograph was intensified the more he saw of it, and he sang and spoke and drummed, either

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7

787 The next day was our last among the Saramacca people. Bayo came to us early to help with the packing. He was apparently none the worse for his seizure and, as he worked, we could tell from his manner how release had come to him and how the tension we had noticed the past few days had left him.

On his body were no marks. His mouth showed no cuts where the glass was bitten off and chewed. When we told him about the glass, he knew nothing of it. Had he not known about this eating of glass, he might well have doubted our word, for when we examined his lips and palate and tongue, not even a scratch showed.

"What did you drum last night, Bayo?"

"When, before the obia came to me?"

He remembered nothing after he had leaped from the improvised apinti to run into the bush.

"Not when you drummed apinti, but when you came back here and took the tumao to the river."

"I don't remember. Did I do that?"

8

609 789 Despite the early hour we had to leave in order to catch the weekly train for the coast, the boats of our friends began to be seen off the landing place as they came to say their farewells. The good woman Tita, whom they called Mother Snake behind her back, was the first to arrive. She walked slowly up from the river bank, pipe in mouth, a pot on her head, and one in each hand. The pots held obias which, she said, were made especially for us, to give us great powers in our own land—one to keep us safe from the ghosts of those we had wronged; one to guard us against the acts of the unfriendly living; one to make all those from whom we sought advantage "love" us.

[B76] [480]

123 Sedefo's younger wife came with her child on her back to collect whatever tin cans were about, and some gift for the child when it wakened, knowing that something was

[854]

always given to children in the white man's camp. With her, too, came Sedefo's eldest son, the one who had already danced Kromanti. 173

"White man," he said in a soft confidential voice that was like his father's, "you gave the Granman gifts. Lower river chiefs are big men, too." This was a prelude to the suggestion that the Gankwe chief would not take it amiss if we sent him a pith helmet.

From the village where we had seen Bayo possessed the night before, Tenye and her two brothers, Yamati and Sabape, came to say goodbye, and with them was their "father" Semiye, Abane's brother. He was to have been "captain" of our dugout, but several days before he had told us he would be unable to go with us to the railhead. As haltingly he gave us his reasons, we wished that white men's lives were not keyed to railroad and boat and university schedules—wished, too, that it were possible to give a happier turn to the drama which bush destiny seemed ready to stage for Semiye.

Semiye was as slender and graceful as Abane, that superb dancer whom Yamati and Sabape, sons by different wives, wished so much to emulate. The passion which Abane had for dancing, Semiye knew to flare up within himself when he was at work. No man on the lower river could send a heavily loaded boat up the rapids faster than Semiye, and when he went fishing or lumbering, the catch he brought back was large, his timber rafts were valuable. He had not always felt this drive for work. When he and his village friend Abai were boys together, Abai had been the one to suggest games, to make decisions, to show courage in leading girls down side paths into the bush. When the time came for Semiye to go through the Kromanti initiation, he could not do the feats which Abai did so easily and with such bravado. Later, when the courage of a man was his, he was ashamed to ask for permission to go through the initiatory rites that were intended to test boys, and so Semiye was one of the few men on the river who was not a Kromanti man. 159

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

533 faces. The drummers stop to tune to the desired pitch, driv-
796 ing in the pegs with the back edge of a bush-knife. Then they resume, rattling out a sharply insistent tempo. Women begin to sway. Some of them start a plaintive jungle song. The drums never stop.

796 A woman disengages herself from the crowd and enters
535 the open space. She bends forward from the waist at a right angle. Her arms form a circle beyond her head, saffron palms outward. She sways from the hips, her torso contorted with sinuous suggestion. Then her feet on the bare earth rap out the tempo that the brown fingers of the men are drumming on the dried skin. The others begin patting juba.

It is a false start. The woman interrupts her dance to criticize the orchestra for not playing in her mood. The crowd is not yet possessed.

Dodo, the woman *bosseia,* or boss, goes about urging the women to begin. Meanwhile the bahkra slips through the
123 crowd pouring out drinks of high wine to add to the dark
782 hilarity of the occasion. Always before drinking they will
273 spit on the ground a libation to the gods. A mother gives the rum to her seven-year-old child, who does not flinch from the burning potion.

A new tempo. Three little girls, slim in their nudity, enter the central space. The oldest is about eleven. They stand with their backs to us and begin the *bandamba* dance. The evening is on.

Standing still in the firelight, hands behind their heads, they arch their loins and raise their buttocks up and down.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Paramaca

The small Paramacca tribe does much less in the way of
322 wood carving than do the others of the Djukas. This was evidenced by the few pieces we were able to collect and was also known to be a fact by the Aucaner Bush Negroes who accompanied us to the Paramacca district. The motifs dis-
[184] played upon the articles collected were practically identical with those found on Aucaner pieces.

123 In fairness to the Paramaccas, however, it must be mentioned from our experience among other tribes that collecting is much facilitated when one is cordially known. On a second or third expedition one is able to collect many times more specimens than upon a first introduction. The Bush Negroes are at first shy as a rule and not anxious to part with their belongings.

184 The tribes do not fraternize much with each other. Some
619 travellers report that the Aucaner and Boni tribes feel them-
609 selves superior to the others because they have less contact with the white man. If this is true, we cannot report any personal observation of it. A traveller has no more difficulty among them than among the Saramaccaner people. Some
628 ill-feeling between the Aucaners and Saramaccaners dates
609 back to the slave revolt, when the former observed their peace treaty so scrupulously as even to aid the slave-owners in re-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

754 More than one person may be involved in the black magic [695] that brings about death, and the burial ceremony may indicate several persons as guilty. This magic is similar to that employed by other primitive peoples. A spirit or soul resides [774] in each living person; if this spirit is destroyed, the person will die. A man can cause the death of his enemy by summoning the spirit out of his enemy's body with herbs and charms and incantations; the spirit can then be shot with a gun. Or else he may procure some of his enemy's nail parings or hair, or any object of close personal association. He should also know his enemy's birthday and secret name. Rites are performed and, as a result, the enemy dies. His spirit has been slain. Magic, therefore, consists of the use of rituals for the purpose of compelling supernatural powers to do one's bidding.

● 123 For this reason many natives object to being photographed. 774 The black camera, they believe, if pointed at them and 822 clicked, will draw out their souls. The person owning the camera can then mutilate or destroy their souls at will. On our first expedition among the Bush Negroes all attempts at photography were difficult. When the attempt was made to take a native's picture the black would cry out, *"No puru me!"*—"Don't draw me out!" They firmly believed that the photographer was trying to draw out their spirits for magical purposes. On the second expedition, returning to the same villages with the developed photographs, we showed them to the natives and watched their reaction. The Negroes examined the snapshots curiously, turning them around, not

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

being able to accommodate their eyes to the tiny grey perspec- 123
tives. When the significance of the chiaroscuro dawned upon 774
them, they broke into broad grins and were mightily pleased. 822
After that most of them readily consented to being photographed.

A woman was suspected of causing by witchcraft the death 683
of the late Granman, Amekti, of the Aucaner tribe. She was 766
severely beaten and was not allowed to attend the ceremony 643
of *Broko Day* (breaking day), the time when mourning is broken.

Broko Day is held four or five months after the death of 766
the Granman. Game is hunted and cassava cake prepared 643
for many days prior to the great feast. It is a time of great festivity; there is dancing, singing, and general merrymaking. At this time the *Songai,* the *Pekein play,* and the *Susa* dances are held. The participants are generously smeared with pemba dotee and they wear costumes and decorations which are not seen at any other time. Then, as many of the tribe as is possible gather in the village of the erstwhile Granman, and the feast lasts for about a week. Dancing and feasting continue night and day. At this time the ageedah drum—six to eight feet tall—is played, as well as [534]
the smaller instruments already referred to. Toward the end of the ceremony, the hair and nails of the corpse are buried, a new Granman is inaugurated, and the deceased ruler is relegated to the position of an ancestor. Prayers may then ascend heaven-ward to him.

Captain Acrowsie of the Aucaner tribe told us some in-

/1/

Introduction

114 After having left the plantation life in the colony of Surinam,
121 I went back there in the beginning of 1851 with the plan, as the
[101] result of an agreement reached by me with a Belgian firm, to send shiploads of wood to the motherland and Belgium.

[123] I undertook my journeys to the Bush Negroes for this purpose and visited most of their dwelling places, something that entailed effort and great cost, since I distributed ample presents everywhere for the purpose of thereby acquiring their confidence, which they do not readily grant to Whites.

123 At my very first encounter I took the precaution of politely
[576] greeting each one of them without distinction and shaking their
[177] hands, a practice taken over by them from the Whites in the most recent times, which assures them of a feeling of good-will such as they experience among themselves but never from a White.

[352] I spoke to them frankly and in a friendly way, sat next to them in their huts on their low stools, and partook of their meals. In short -- I lived for a while without reserve or fear among them, paying amply for everything that I enjoyed in this way or that.

[273] I also permitted them, whenever they wanted to use any of my store of beverages, such as wine, beer, brandy, and gin, to ask me for it quietly, so that I would be able to order my servants to offer them what they had requested. In addition I supplied /2/ them amply with dram (1), herbs, and lead and, in order to show

1. A kind of inland rum (sugar spirits).

generosity to the women as well, frequently gave them and the children biscuits, cake, or some coins.

[121] In the beginning they were very reserved and mistrustful, but gradually, and after some difficult years, became more open with me, so that I, adapting myself entirely to their practices, was able to carry out my plan to have the necessary wood processed by them.

/2 cont./

114 Much wood was ordered by me, and all that I received was
439 paid for according to the actual value and in accordance with a concluded agreement.

123 I lent several of them money, in spite of already having been misled and cheated by them frequently, and continued to treat them amicably, to give them articles of clothing, and, indeed, sometimes for bad wood, which they tried to force upon me among the good pieces, even though I noticed this, I nonetheless continued to pay them decently just as for good wood, whereby I made them realize that I wanted to do business in an accomodating way.

So I learned more and more of their way of life, customs, and habits, respected these in everything, and finally succeeded in leading them back from various bad habits and shortcomings and to observe a more honest way of dealing with me. I was even able to bring it about so that I enjoyed a blind trust and in return was able to give my complete trust to some.

114 Since the beginning of 1857 I have been the owner of a
439 sawmill with which the previous owner could do little or nothing because he always lacked the logs needed for the sawing of boards, whereas I, on the other hand, receive so much wood from the Bush Negroes that it is frequently too much for me.

123 Many of them who are not even my regular workmen refuse
439 to sell their wood on the plantations and bring it all the way to my sawmill located near the town, because, so they contend, they also want to share in the privileges which the other Bush Negroes enjoy in accordance with the agreement concluded with me.

123 Most of the Bush Negroes know me, if not in person, at least by name.

I have also had to promise them that I will bring up my son /3/ so that later he will be able to take my place and deal with their descendants in the same manner as I am now doing with them, while they, too, drill their children to conduct themselves toward my son as the parents do toward me. In this way they want to make any split between my family and theirs impossible, even in the future.

Djuka

/3 cont./

● 123 In connection with what I have already said concerning an agreement concluded by me with them, I regard it as not inappropriate to give here a sketch of the manner in which I was requested to enter into this agreement with them, and what happened before they came to an agreement with me in such an extraordinary manner.

After I had already dealt with them for some time in an increasingly open manner and my journeys to visit them had become more frequent, some of the chiefs confidentially notified me that, although they had already come to know me over a considerable period of time and regarded me as a good and honest man, since they had experienced better treatment from me than from many others with whom they had previously had dealings, they could nonetheless not simply assume that I would always remain the same and that possibly I had completely different intentions with regard to them which they might later regret. For this reason many of them had still been reluctant to commit themselves definitely to work for me. In order to do away completely with this mistrust among them, I continued to stay with them in the bush for a considerable time and always demonstrated that I had honest intentions with regard to them, until after a few weeks, as a result of the open-handed giving away of food and drink, I noticed that I was short of everything and was forced to send my vessel to Paramaribo in order to fetch what was needed, whereby I found myself completely alone among them.

123 675 [622] When thus, after the departure of my vessel, I spent a number of hours talking about my plans with the headman of the village, called Sparri Passi (1), in his hut, he strongly advised me

1. Sparri (a large flat fish) way.

to conclude at this time the agreement customary among them. I agreed and immediately requested him to accompany me via a bush path to the nearest village, Manjaondro (2), in order to

2. Under the manja tree.

123
675
[501]

/3 cont./

request the captain residing there, Kwassi jenni, to man all the available korjalen (3) and to send them around to the camps of

3. Small vessels made out of tree trunks.

the Bush Negroes, in order to notify all the Aukaners /Aucaners/ /4/ in that district that I, sojourning entirely by myself among them, wished to see them all together so as to have the opportunity, in the place to be determined by them and in accordance with their manner and customs, to take the oath of agreement to remain at all times faithful to one another.

Three days were spent in deliberations and consultations among various captains, council members, and elders, before I could succeed in obtaining their consent for this.

[527] Finally, however, it was decided to have the agreement ceremony take place on Friday (a day that is holy among them), when the sun reached its midday point.

On this day, around eleven o'clock in the forenoon, one of the oldest and most influential among them took a clean teacup, put in it some dram mixed with herbs, and took a few finely ground plants which he moistened with river water and squeezed over the cup.

I and seven of the most important people then had three small slashes cut into the right hand with a razor. The blood from this, having been taken up with a little flock of cotton, was also squeezed into the cup, and the cotton washed out with river water and wrung out so often that no more signs of blood showed in it. The one and the other having been thoroughly stirred in the cup, the latter was placed on a stool in the open air. At twelve o'clock exactly, a great number of men, women, and children gathered around the stool on which the cup stood, by the side of which they placed me.

Three gunshots were fired. Among all those present a profound silence reigned, whereupon the cup was offered, first to me and then to the other seven persons whose blood was mingled with mine, in order to drink a draught from the contents, whereupon it had to go around to all the men so that, however little, they would

123 /4 cont./
675 drink something from it or merely smell it; indeed! when it was empty, the remaining men who had not yet drunk from it or smelled it had to lick it.

I was then embraced by the headmen and many of the women; they flung the right arm over my left shoulder and the left arm under my right arm and rested their heads for a moment against my right cheek.

[273] After the conclusion, while much dram was drunk, general exuberant gaiety prevailed, and only then was /5/ I told that they had purposely cut me first and given me a drink first in order to ascertain whether I trusted them completely or whether, so entirely by myself, I would have been afraid to submit to their wishes and to do what they demanded of me; they assured me that if I had refused to be the first, none of them would have wanted to conclude the agreement with me.

If, therefore, I had not conducted myself as they wished, I would have missed out completely on this alliance which was so highly important and profitable for me.

466 On the following day many of them came to tell me that
313 their work places on the river Cottica supplied little of the kinds of wood that had been pointed out by me for processing, but they declared themselves ready to go and process them immediately for me on the Upper Commewijne river, where they were sure of finding richer forests.

Since the last-named river was closed to them at that time by a governmental decree, I made a request for access in the year
[361] 1854, in order to be able to work with them at this river. This was granted to me, and since then a few hundred Bush Negroes have been staying there and have laid out dwellings and croplands, while they continuously, with unexampled industry, process the wood needed by me and deliver it to the sawmill.

/18 cont./

766 times, no noticeable movement has been observed, the answer is
787 negative, and one proceeds with the corpse all the way to the end of the crowd ranged on either side. Everyone endeavors to be present on such occasions in order not to cast any blame upon himself or to arouse suspicion.

If, however, the answer is in the affirmative, then one asks whether the right person or a close relative of his is here; if the answer to this is also affirmative, one proceeds to inquire about the degree of blood relationship until one has finally discovered who the actual person is. Since this happens in the presence of so many persons as witnesses, it is regarded as valid proof, and the corpse is buried. However incomprehensible and impossible this may appear, this procedure is nonetheless actually practiced con-
[123] stantly among the Bush Negroes. I have been an eyewitness several times.

695 A few days later the person indicated, in case he was not
[693] present at the above-mentioned inquiry, is tracked down, if necessary fetched forcibly, and brought before the governor or the chief, who questions him in the presence of the captains or the council members. In case of denial, he is offered something to drink, which, however, he will not accept if he is guilty, since it has become apparent that whoever drinks it with a pounding or uneasy heart frequently manifests immediate symptoms, such as
[681] vomiting, swelling, chlorosis, and so forth. If the person has been prepared to brave this (in spite of the conviction of his misdeed), he is put to death by means of the most horrible and unheard-of tortures, whereas in the case of confession he is forced with the whip to reveal whom else he has poisoned during his life.

696 All the relatives of the poisoned person are then called in
682 order to be present at the punishment and to pull on his ears with all possible force by means of a pair of pincers, one after
[262] another. Subsequently a bowl with pinda blaf is set before him, in which a turtle must be boiled, as well as a tomtom made of ripe bananas. All this, after all, is regarded as the tastiest food. He is then /19/ again severely beaten with a whip, whereupon he must eat what has been prepared for him, and immediately afterwards

/20/

765 Thereupon follows a second, who just like the first has a calabash in hand, but this time filled with spirituous liquor, and from time to time sprinkles a few drops of it on the ground, in token of the fact that on this occasion, too, by means of drink, they think of the deceased with joy.

Then they again return to the dwelling, where all are gathered, and celebrate an enjoyable night with song and dancing until daybreak.

Chapter XII

Character, Virtues and Vices

157 The Bush Negro, as I have already said above, has a great [577] deal of respect for old age and for distinguished persons; with respect to their closest relations they are honest, which they can- [461] not pride themselves on otherwise. In their ordinary affairs they [609] are not lazy, but work tirelessly whenever it is necessary. With respect to strangers they are generous and obliging, all the more [152] when they can assume that they may claim reward. Jealousy, [784] envy, and malice are their greatest vices. Concerning many matters they have an antipathy that they call trefoe (treef). Thus, [781] for instance, one will eat something, the other not. Also they are very superstitious in small matters, to which they cling all the way down to distant generations; they call that obia (literally translated, bewitchment, magic).

262 An Auca girl who through attachment to my wife and me [123] has already lived with us in the town for fully five years, because since the death of her husband, who was one of my most trusted [589] workers, she did not want to attach herself to another, and who performed all kinds of housework for us, carries her trefoe of not eating any unscaled fish so far that she will not even cook her food on a fire where there is a pot in which an unscaled fish was previously prepared. I know another one who uses no milk and also does not eat meat of any kind (with the exception of bacon), unless it be game, and then it must be prepared by her, on the grounds that everything is prepared with butter and that butter comes from

/22 cont./

123 As a White one must enjoy great confidence among them if one wants to obtain permission to witness such solemnities. Never shall I forget the spectacle when I was present at such a festival; it took place from seven o'clock in the evening until two o'clock in the morning. During all this time I found myself in a very unpleasant state of tension. Although I found myself far from the part inhabited by us (namely the town of Paramaribo) in the deep forest alone in their midst, I was nevertheless not afraid because of my positive conviction of my influence over them. I was not at ease that night, however, and were it not for the fact that I did not want to hinder them or show them that I did not feel at ease at this solemnity, I would have departed, however eager I was to see the result of the movements. I remained, however, until all had come to an end, both for the distinction that fell to me for /23/ having been allowed to be present there and in order not to offend the trust put in me, while to myself I rejoiced at being able later to give to others the description of this solemnity.

Chapter XIV

Language, Odo, and Narratives (1)

538 1. Odo, proverb; narratives are called fori, and tales anansi-tori.

197 Their language is the Negro English customarily spoken here, but in a singsong tone with a peculiar accent.

195 As proof that during the conversation they understand you well, they constantly repeat "Yaa!"

551 When a child is born among them, aside from a general name they also give it a day name, in which for them special meanings are concealed, for instance:

114 /30 cont./
648 in hiding a significant advantage for the colony, since the lack of workers in agriculture makes itself felt with increasing urgency.

202 Accordingly they promised to satisfy my wish by putting
● [123] up the signs customary among them, which would make known to those in hiding my wishes to acquaint them with the good news.

In order to let those in hiding know that they were requested to come out of the forest, they go to work in the following manner.

202 They tie white and blue, also perhaps white and black
822 patches of cotton half an ell long and three thumbs wide in Rhineland fashion to the upper branches of the trees, starting in the deepest part of the forest and progressing to the river /31/ bank. The little flags placed highest are of a dark color, while the patches tied progressively lower toward the river are white.

Those in hiding, who stay in the district and cross through the forest to hunt, discover these signs and see by them that there is something going on; either that others in hiding want to establish contact with them or that they have to fear danger.

The manner in which the signs are attached to the trees makes them understand that if they go more deeply into the forest there will be born for them a dark and dangerous future, whereas, if they can decide to go to the river bank they can walk a white, that is, a bright path and that, following the little white flags, they will find people who either want to make common cause with them or wish to give them important information.

202 Since these persons in hiding are constantly afraid of
152 surprise attack or deception, trust in these signs is not always im-
648 mediately established and thus at first only some of them go down with cunning and caution. When they come into the more inhabited districts, they watch and investigate everything that they wish to know; frequently this investigation extends all the way to Paramaribo. Now the Bush Negroes thought that if they followed their custom in this it would be clear to them why these signs had been placed in the bush and that as a result of these they would very quickly become acquainted with the declared amnesty.

202 I must add here also that in fact many fugitives or
648 persons in hiding later came out of the forests, among whom must

/34 cont./

577 all, toward one another as fellow tribesmen they are very honest and trust one another's word. Frequently it happens that among them one family leaves the camp to go on a journey or else is absent for some other reason, and that it must leave behind unfenced the cultivated land planted with rice, tubers, bananas, bakoven, and sugar cane. But never will another of them steal any of that. And similarly their dwellings are open, since the entrance is not closed off by any door; upon their departure they leave one thing and another in it, but they will never miss any-
626 thing upon their return. Certainly contributing to this is the circumstance that in the vicinity of everybody's property there is a sign or idolatrous image, which they call obia, to which great power is ascribed, and for those who might want to commit dishonest acts, the legend can be observed, as for the European:
784 "Beware of mantraps." The fear that they have of these obias is not unjustified, for if it should happen at any time that misuse of trust took place, then the culprit, however long it takes, upon discovery will not escape the revenge of the deceived, revenge which frequently consists in the administering of secret remedies whereby terrible diseases and sufferings, if not death, come about.

152 They are very concerned about the faithfulness of their
837 wife or wives, /35/ for the Bush Negro is very jealous, whereas the wives cannot be exonerated of being susceptible to seduction. Accordingly it happens among them more than once that marital fidelity is violated.

184 Of the various tribes, the Aucaners are the most
[177] civilized, but over against that also the craftiest, which can be
[157] attributed to their more frequent intercourse with Europeans.
[161] Among their tribes they are the most powerful, and their numerical strength is estimated at 4,000 to 5,000 souls.

● 123 According to the declaration of the Bush Negroes, no White has previously enjoyed the trust and attachment that I experienced from them. However, secretively they always conduct themselves toward the Whites, with respect to me they make an exception. If there is something secret among them that I should like to know, they will, upon my request, immediately and without any diffidence communicate it to me.

/35 cont./

•123 466 Also, I am led to believe that for me they cherish a more than general respect, since already for ten years now they have been faithful workers for me, a privilege to which no inhabitant in this colony other than myself can lay claim.

123 778 [761] A family among them, whose head recently died -- according to their statements, through poisoning, which misdeed is supposed to have taken place out of envy, since I gave him preference above others, which he deserved on account of his faithfulness and industry -- has built a hut in the vicinity of its idol signs, in which they placed a crude image cut out of cedar-

[237] wood and painted with white paint. Beside that image they placed a little table and on it laid a number of quill feathers from the pouwies (1), a little bottle with black liquid, symbolizing ink,

1. A pheasant, the Crax alector L.

as well as some slips of paper. Near this little table they dug a number of steps into the ground, and at the lowermost step they made a gutter that runs in the direction of the river. Now when they have a festival with dancing and they want to pay respect to me, they place near it a number of children who constantly pour water brought in jugs, which, flowing down the steps into the gutter, streams riverward. While this ceremony takes place, songs in my honor are sung by the festive crowd.

[822] [829] Now the image, according to their conception, is supposed to be a representation of me, /36/ the white color the sign that I am a white, while the quills, paper, and ink are the attributes of the whites' higher civilization, the streaming water that I stem from the colonists who have come here from across the sea.

123 589 The wife of the headman referred to above came to me in the town shortly after the death of her husband and remained to choose my household as her permanent residence, to which I gladly consented. Faithful and considerate, she performs not only a great many household services, but even anticipates in this respect the wishes of my wife, and out of love for us refuses any monetary compensation.

/27 cont./

614 The Aw.B.2, on whom we could not get sure information because this very closed group did not cooperate willingly with [123] the inquiry, appear to be in a very similar situation, with the difference that their genealogy goes back much farther in time and they no longer remember the origin of this fraction nor the [984] circumstances which tied its fate to that of the Aw.B.1. This group apparently has a separate kunu.

613 614 582 The Awara Bakka lineage is in a special situation from the point of view of exogamy, for not only are there marriages between one fraction and another, but there are two within the same fraction and between relatively near relatives. Thus this group, [183] without openly rejecting the law of exogamy, does not attach the same importance to it as do the others.

613 The Afi lineage. This lineage was founded by Afi, wife of a man from Papaïston, who came to live with him. Like the [101] Toïna lineage, she had come from the small tribe called Bakabuchi which lived in Surinam. However, the Afi and Toïna lineages are not of the same matrilineal origin and the present members of each of the two small groups have no common worship. All of [571] them have lost every tie with their original tribe, and their social life is entirely dependent on that of the Boni group which has taken them in.

[621] Afi settled near Kormotibo. This site is abandoned by her descendants who live, most of them, in Asisi, the rest in Kormotibo.

The lineage has lost every tie with its group of origin. [619] Nevertheless, it is assumed that if one of them wanted to go back there, on proving his relationship, he would take up all his rights again and could demand a site for making his clearings.

613 621 571 /28/ The process of assimilation which took place for the AW.B.3 did not come into play for Afi's descendants with respect to the Papaïston lineage. They are regarded as a separate family group, insufficient in number to constitute a social unit and whose members are placed under the authority of the heads of the villages

/40 cont./

125 In spite of the relations of trust developed between the Boni
[123] and ourselves in the course of the work carried out together during four long missions, we were able to take this census only progressively and indirectly, by using simultaneously the following procedures:

—Study of the genealogy of the groups, going up from woman to woman up to the founding ancestress, then going back down from her. These genealogical tables, some of which extend
[166] over nine generations and include more than 160 persons, brought
[136] to light a certain number of temporarily absent people and individuals who lived away from the villages, isolated in the middle of the Creole gold miners, but continuing to make up part of their group; they also brought to light a certain number of young people and orphan children taken in by distant relatives who would not have spoken about them directly. But on this point, gaps remain;

[126] —Detailed plan of the villages and interrogation of the village heads as to the persons living in each house;

—Interrogation of the women about their dead and surviving children;

—General verification with the help of perfectly trustworthy informants who possessed a thorough knowledge of the genealogy of the groups.

The census, stopped on January 1, 1958, covered 811 per-
[162] sons of whom 667 /41/ were from the villages of the French bank and 144 from the Surinam bank (Kotika). As for the latter, we
[165] questioned them individually when they came to the French bank, especially when they came to attend the end of mourning festivities in Boniville in October, 1957. The Kotika census is less
[128] exact than that of the French villages, and in addition we were
[126] not able to make a plan of the village. For this reason we have not reproduced it in the present work, where only the corresponding genealogical table appears.

/43 cont./

114 of the true foundresses and the circumstances of the formation of
613 the lineages (invaluable information which must still have been present in the memory of the old men at the end of the last century) are lost forever.

128 In order to simplify the drawing up of the genealogical
601 tables, we have eliminated individuals deceased before adult age.

128 Names. To insure the necessary anonymity to our informants
551 without diminishing the accuracy of the statement, we have
601 changed a large part of the names. The fictitious names under
162 which individuals are designated in the genealogical tables as
[101] well as in the inventory of the population were mostly taken from the Djuka, who belong to the same cultural and linguistic group; in other cases, in order "to figure" the census we used a more complex process consisting in exchanging the names of two persons. Children younger than 15 are designated simply by an initial (1).

[648] 1. It is particularly disagreeable to the Refugee Blacks to have their children's names known by Europeans, with the exception of
[123] the doctor. All systematic questioning on this subject runs into clear hostility.

114 Despite these precautions, we recommend that travelers
609 provided with this work make no allusion in front of the Boni to the facts related in it; the Refugee Blacks are very proud and cannot allow an outsider to penetrate forthwith into their family privacy. That would provoke lively hostility toward the indiscreet person and would hinder later work.

114 The table of correspondence between true and fictitious
128 names is held at the disposal of sociologists who may wish to conduct studies on the Boni.

692 /75 cont./
685 The Djuka had killed the tapir which had sunk. Pressed for
[224] time, he had had to leave, requesting the Asisi people to look for it.

The next day Pototo and Amusupé found the animal floating
[251] between two waters. They hid it in the bush and had it smoke-
[262] dried on their own behalf. They ate it with their wives (about 100 kilos of meat).

That ended up by becoming known, and a jealous man denounced them to the grand man.

Called before the lanti kuutu, they had to apologize and were each sentenced to pay as a fine to the grand man a demijohn of 15 liters of tafia (worth about 6,000 francs) within four months.

[735] Both of them were at a loss to pay this fine, belonging to the category of ne'er-do-wells who have no regular activity and live from day to day, selling some fish or game from time to time.

[613] Amusupé appealed to Captain Konduku, head of his lineage, who agreed to pay for the tafia for him, Amusupé reimbursing him little by little.

[613] As for Pototo, the head of his lineage refused categorically
[689] to help him because he had eaten the maipouri alone without allowing his family to share it (the village people would have found it normal to profit by the crime, but they deemed it immoral that
[123] one of their relatives had deprived them of meat). After three and a half months, Pototo began to occupy himself seriously at a paid job which he had the luck to find because we needed a bossman for two weeks.

577 The Boni did nothing but laugh while telling us this story.
626 Affairs of this kind, which do not involve any suprahuman inter-
[522] vention, escape in large measure their social morality; they have a certain feeling for what should be done, but submit to it only in proportion as they fear a material and immediate sanction.

/195 cont./

794 [181] The laws of Odun. The cult of Odun (Odū) is the keystone of the social and religious structure of the Refugee Blacks. It is a very secret cult; its rites are not practiced in the presence of outsiders and all curiosity about it meets with frank hostility. The Boni, who talk rather freely about the cults of possession, [123] are mute on the subject of Odun, and one may spend years among them without even hearing this name uttered.

794 184 The worship of Odun is common to the Boni and the Saramaka (perhaps this is what explains the trustful relations which exist between the two groupings). Among the Djuka it is replaced by the worship of Gwangwêla (Grantata), which has exactly the same functions and rites.

776 Odun is not to be confused with the creator God Nana (Masa Gadu). The myths explaining the relationship of these two entities were not known by our informants, but it is clear that Odun was sent to men by Masa Gadu as legislator and judge.

671 Odun's laws have a profound originality, as much by their content as by the sanctions which accompany them. It is not excessive to speak of a religious and moral doctrine of the Refugee Blacks.

[641] These laws appear in negative form. A certain number of acts and behavior are forbidden to those who have entered the society of the Refugee Blacks by taking an oath which binds 784 them for good and all. Offenders will be punished without the direct intervention of men, by the all-powerful action of Odun, who will kill them or /196/ strike them down with sicknesses. As a general rule, Odun's punishment is death; this is what explains the fear his name inspires.

673 [754] Odun forbids:

--Sorcery, wisi, in the most general sense, that is, any magic action having as its purpose the killing, making ill, and in a general way doing harm to another person.

/298/

648 Never do they appeal to the courts to settle their differences, still less their family quarrels; never do they beg for help.

829 The Europeans' material superiority does not impress them: the whites are more able in mechanics, but they are more able in magic, that is all. The efficacy of European medicine does [758] not shake their convictions: if someone has reasons to believe himself victim of the anger of a gadu, he begins by making the sacrifices intended to appease it, then asks it for authorization to have himself cared for by the whites. Personally we have [123] never done anything to disabuse the Boni of this idea which [753] satisfies at the same time the requirements of medicine and those of social discipline, for it must not be forgotten that for them 177 sickness is punishment for an offense. Thus one sees that unless it is deliberately brought to bear against tradition and against the leaders, the influence of Europeans is without appreciable effect on the civilization of the Refugee Blacks. It is no longer the same when contacts become too frequent, tend to alter drastically the way of life, and especially when these influences become openly "civilizing."

178 The Future of the Refugee Blacks

Obliged to solve all the problems of life by their own means, the Refugee Blacks have been able to adapt with intelligence to the evolution of the modern world, and their custom has kept all its vigor and effectiveness. Their future would not 648 seem to be threatened if a wave of opinion had not come to the surface these past years, in French Guiana as well as in Surinam, to destroy their civilization, deemed primitive and barbarous, and to fuse them into the population of the coast. This result would be obtained in particular by schooling and evangelization.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

had not acted well toward the Granman. It would be best if we did not stop there. At the others the Granman could assure us hospitality. Then there was talk of hauling wood and making rafts, for our host, who knew these people well, moved safri, too, until he at last felt the moment had come to talk about buying a boat from Ajako.

When the arrangements of the sale were concluded, Ajako came back to talk with us. He had heard that we had a machine which the Kromanti spirit had broken, was it true? Did it really go again? They said the Bakra had much cunning. They said the Bakra knew African magic.

The Bakra said he knew something about Africa. The Ashanti people, for instance, were a fine people.

"*Ma na Asante, na Sa'macca sem-* . . . —But the Ashanti are Saramacca. . . . " But he would go no further, having spoken only one syllable of the word for people. He became guarded. Yes, there were some Anago people from Africa on this Saramacca River, and Dahomey, and Loango, and Fanti; the Ibo peoples were not on this river. . . . And again he would say no more. Later, when we had changed the subject, he said as if in both gratitude and explanation, "*Na sa-i-'akisi, a tranga poi*—You ask about strong things."

But he would sing into our machine, if we liked. He would sing Kromanti, if we wanted him to do so. "I won't fight your machine," he said, smiling.

"*Anabobi, Anabobi,*
Anabobi, Anabobyo,
Tata Ando.
Anabobi, Ando,
Anabobi,
Tata Adjaini,
Anabobyo
Tata Fa'aku."

"They will understand this in Africa," he said, gravely, and then he moved toward the doorway and stood there

502 rapids and large rapids. He carries loads and returns to
484 his own village. But then something happens. His boat is
996 good. He walks *kosi*—carefully—but he loses his food, or his entire load, or his boat, or even his life. Something is working against him. It might be *wisi*—bad magic; it
[054] might be kunu. If you have kunu, then your enemies can make their bad magic work against you. So it is."

"But what is kunu, Bayo?"

He hesitated.

● 124 We assured him that there was no harm in our asking.
996 We had been hearing so much about it, first about Zimbi, and how he had died from a cut with his machete. Now this machete had worked for him since he was a boy, and then he cut himself, and then, having cut himself, he became sick and died. People said down below this was kunu. What did it mean?

But he still hesitated and looked about him until at last when he spoke, he gave the answer we were coming to know so well—"*Massa Gadu sabi*—God knows"—that answer that was the signal that not alone Massa Gadu, but the one who invoked his name in protection against Bakra questions, knew the answer quite well but meant to keep his own counsel. For to talk of these matters is not good, we had been told before by Sedefo.

It was Bibifo who brought up kunu again when Bayo stepped out of the boat for an instant.

"Better not talk to Bayo about kunu, Bakra. There is a very big kunu in Bayo's family. He does not mean to lie to the Bakra when he doesn't talk, but it is better for him not to tell you about it. We Saramacca people say: 'A snake bit me. I see a worm, I am afraid.' Do not ask him more."

2

538 But the Bush Negro has many sayings, and it was a different proverb from that which Bibifo had quoted to us that guided us in our tortuous course in search of an understanding of kunu.

KUNU

"*Na wa' taki: Efi gbuli wolo, i sa si san de na ini.*—It is said: If a person stirs up a hole, he will find what is in it." 538

And so it was that very night, when we were camped on an island near the great falls, with the roar of the water sounding in our ears like the very signal drums we were told the river gods wanted sounded that the sun might come and warm and dry them after the long rains, that we learned more. Kasanya, the captain of the fourth boat, had conducted himself so unobtrusively that we barely knew he was there. He was almost as old as Bibifo, but strangely silent. He was tall and spare, with graying hair, and eyes that were rimmed with red. We had not sought him out particularly to make conversation with him because he had ugly, open sores on his body, the result of a virulent case of bush yaws, which showed when he sat paddling in his loin cloth. We had known him during our first year when he had been more willing to be friendly, more ready to talk. From him, in fact, we had learned to play one of the Bush Negro games that the ancestors had brought from Africa. 124 [177] [524]

Kasanya came over to ask us whether we had medicine for him. His head ached so until . . . he could barely see. There is that about white man's medicine in the bush, it is to be had free, and there is no harm in trying it. 123 609

"Will you make us a game board like the one we bought from your village last year, Kasanya?" we asked him.

"Yes, but you must have two of them, one flat and one curved like a boat. It is not good to have only one. When a man is alive he plays the game. When he dies and comes back to visit the living, he wants to play, too. Now if there is a board for him, he will play on that. But if there is but the one, he will play with the living and that is not good." 775 524

"You know a great deal, Kasanya."

"Awa, yes, but I'm an old man already. I've had much trouble. Last year after you left the third son I made died. Now I have no one. Kunu has taken the three of them, and my wife is asleep, too." [776]

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

and so close that our hands, moving about to find a rest, touched its top, and sounded an involuntary rhythm, was an apinti drum. We exclaimed at its beauty, for in form and carving it rivaled the one we had admired in the council house of Granman Yankuso, and we were determined to try to buy it. But we turned our conversation to other things. A stranger in this bush soon learns from the Bush Negroes to broach an important request gently, remembering the cautioning proverb spoken by the chameleon.

We talked of carving, of the white man's coming back some year when the rains were heavy to sit by and watch the men make paddles and benches, so that he might learn, as children learn.

The captain was politely skeptical. It took a Saramacca hand to do this work. But he smiled, "Ma kye, if you have the gods anything is possible."

"That's a fine paddle in the corner."

He brought it out, and we admired it. Would he sell it to us?

"You must ask its owner."

"Didn't you make it, captain?"

"Yes, but it is not mine to sell. I gave it to my wife." He would see, however, if she wanted to sell it. He would himself go and call her.

As he went, he gave us the paddle that we might examine it. We ran our hands over the smooth top, the design, the beveled blade. It was not so tall as the paddles used by the men, nor was its blade so broad as those used in steering the great boats through the rapids. In form, it was quite different from the round-bladed type used by the Indians of the region, for it was slender and came to a sharp point, and at the other end the carving formed a crutch-shaped hold into which the hand fitted.

We studied this carving. Parts of the design had meaning for us because of their realistic treatment. The motifs of others were recognizable to us from explanations we had been given of other carvings. But there were still details

/23 cont./

621 175 [166] [103] Agodé was founded by Grand Man Ochi, probably about 1895, at the time when the Boni were required by the settlement of the Lawa Dispute to evacuate the villages they were occupying on the Surinam bank. The name Boniville was given by the gold miners; it was used never at all by the Boni.

621 613 [103] The Yakubi or Kotika lineage forms the important village of Kotika (1). It is one of those which have remained best grouped.

1. This word alludes to the river where the rebellion of 1772 began.

[423] [241] [103] Its members have exclusive rights over the region included between Abunasunga Falls and their village. They have farmed there for more than a century, and this is why the region is called Abattis Kotika.

613 621 175 [648] Kotika is the oldest Boni village. It is one of those founded by the survivors of the battles against the Dutch when, about 1815, they settled again on the Lawa. Until about 1895 nearly all the Boni were grouped in one large village, each lineage occupying a different quarter. At the time of the settlement, unfavorable to France, of the Lawa Dispute (1895), the various lineages emigrated, founding especially the villages of l'Enfant Perdu, Loka, Boniville, and Papaïston. Only the members of the Kotika lineage stayed, in full agreement with the grand man, so that the ancestral land might not be completely abandoned. [648] [628] Thus the inhabitants of this village are nowadays under the authority of Surinam, without ceasing, for that reason, to be faithful to the grand man and maintaining normal relations with the other groups.

613 614 [124] The genealogies reconstituted in 1957 by systematic interrogation of the old people of the group had led to three distinct fractions which we shall call Kotika 1, 2, and 3, tracing respectively back to ancestresses named Kéneya, Amawi, and Oka.

/155 cont./

586 [163] Likewise Pééchina, about 70 years old in 1957, separated from Nachinengé (Kotika) after having spent the greatest part of her life with him and having six children by him.

In order to be able to break thus a long standing union without undergoing moral collapse, it is certainly necessary for the affectivity of each one to be entirely centered on his maternal family.

586 124 Frequency of divorce. This essential aspect of the social life of the Refugee Blacks is not easy to lay hold on by direct interrogation. The women do not willingly talk about their past unions and let go in silence the ones which remained childless. However, we were able to reconstitute with rather great certainty the past life of about a hundred women (mothers, near relatives, or wives of our most reliable informants). These men /"women" -- printing error. -- Tr./ are marked with a double asterisk ** in the population list of the villages.

586 128

[178] It is useful to classify them by age groups relating to the year of birth, for we shall see that the frequency of divorce seems to have increased with time. The groups chosen are the same as for the demographic investigation which we carried on parallel to the sociological study:

538 /267 cont./
[765] audience and to create an atmosphere of participation in the rite.

This ritual character makes it so that the Anansi Toli cannot be recited any time and in any old way. The story-teller may speak only at night, in the presence of a respondent and of an audience of at least two or three persons. A ritual formula: "dirinti" -- the response of the audience: "ndaeti," [124] [126] [76] precedes each new story. It is only with extreme repugnance that informants consent to listen to and comment in the day-time on a tale recorded on tape, particularly if their parents are still living, for it is said among the Refugee Blacks as in Black Africa that telling stories in full daylight makes one's father and mother die.

[174] [177] These tales belong to an authentically African accumulated store, practically unchanged in spite of the borrowing from the Creole Blacks of Paramaribo of several themes concerning automobiles, steamboats, etc., inserted in droll fashion into the traditional themes.

The usual hero of these tales is Anansi, the crafty one. [825] Anansi is the name of the Mygale spider (1). It is noteworthy,

[191] 1. The spider cycle is characteristic of the Akan (Agni-Baoulé-Abron) culture area. Anansi is the name of the Mygale spider among the Agni.

however, that this spider does not appear to play any special role in the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks and that no divinatory power is attributed to it. In fact, in the tales of which he is the hero, Anansi is nearly always represented as a man.

B
R /516 cont./
121 by the effect of medical care, we shall take 1 January 1950 as the
165 date of reference for the calculations of mortality among the Boni.

/517/

II. — Demography of the Boni

Census. — Estimation of Age.

B
125 Method used. The demographic study of the Boni presents the difficulties inherent in all populations without civil records:

1. Difficulty of determining the ages of individuals;
2. Difficulty of determining for each woman the deceased children in relation to the surviving ones.

B
125 We attempted to establish a local chronology by linking the
173 ages of individuals to events of known date that had stuck in their minds.

More particularly we fixed the ages of the old men from the voyage of the explorer Crevaux (1877) and from the death of the grand man Anato (1891), the ages of middle-aged persons from events which occurred between 1915 and 1924, death of the grand man Ochi (1915), end of World War I (1918), hydroplane accident at the mouth of the Inini (1921), installation of a rosewood factory (1925).

B
125 The persons born after 1930 were placed without difficulty, for we knew a certain number of them as children or adolescents in 1948.

Starting with a certain number of men whose age could be fixed with considerable accuracy, all the others, men and women,
B
829] were placed by comparison. In fact, if the Boni do not know their age, they are able to say that they are, for example, two or three years younger than so-and-so (6).

B
[755] 6. Their attention is brought to bear on these age differences because, if a group isolated in the bush is led to address a prayer to the ancestors for the curing of a sick person, this prayer has to be pronounced by the oldest person.

125 /517 cont./

We believe the ages are determined with a probable error of less than two years for persons less than 30 years old, two to three years for persons between 30 and 60 years old, and three years above 60. But this error has no systematic character, and one may assume that it is eliminated on the average, disturbing the calculations of fertility and of mortality very little.

[161] [162] Census, age pyramids. The census finished on 1 January 1958 included 811 persons, of whom 666 were from villages on the French bank and 145 on the Surinam bank (Kotika). With regard to the latter, we interrogated them individually when they came over to the French side, particularly when they came to attend the celebrations of the end of mourning at Boniville in November 1957. Temporary absentees (less than 5%) were placed by information provided by their nearest relatives. /-18/ /Diagram 1 appears here./

We estimate the omissions in the census at less than 2%. These omissions are almost exclusively a matter of adolescents and young orphans or youngsters raised by persons other than their own parents.

[167] Emigration and immigration are very slight, practically zero as far as the women are concerned. Thus the age pyramid really represents the demographic situation of the Boni and lends itself to complementary calculations of mortality.

Interrogation of the women. The women of the villages on the French bank were questioned about the children they had had and lost. An effort was made to place the dead children in relation to the survivors and in relation to the local chronology. The age of the dead ones was determined by comparison with children or adolescents living at the time of the inquiry.

For the dead adults an attempt was made to fix the year of their death in relation to the local chronology.

/518 cont./

162

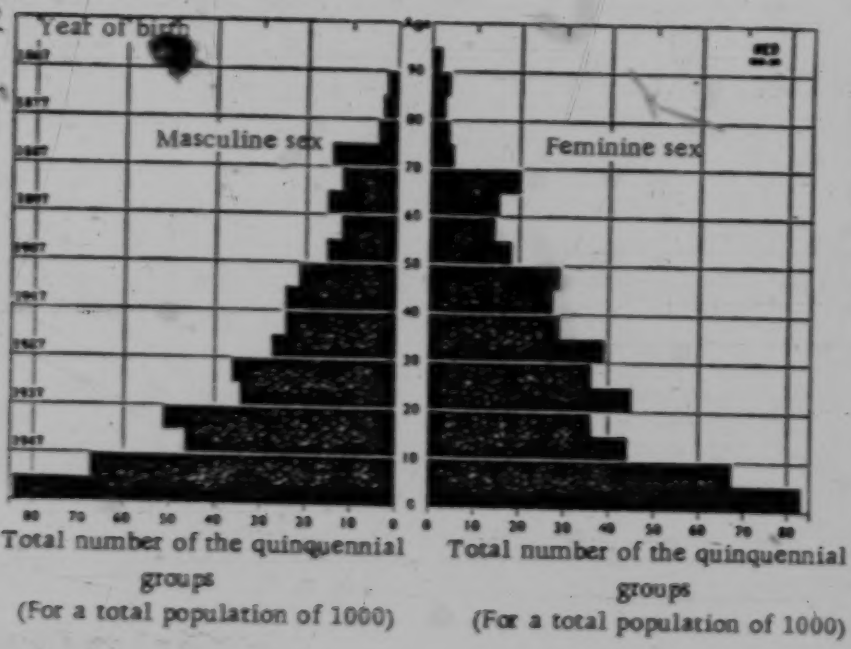

Diagram No. 1. Boni Refugee Blacks of the Upper Maroni

Age Pyramid on 1 January 1958

125 We gave up the idea of deducing the number of stillborn infants from the mortality tables, in order to facilitate comparison with the Indian populations where this distinction would not have been possible. We took account of all the children born at term.

For greater certainty we questioned the women twice at an interval of one year (end of 1956 and end of 1957). Those who gave contradictory answers were eliminated. /519/

[162] On 1 January 1958 the women from the villages on the French side born up until 1939 inclusive and married for at least one year were 216 in number, including in that number 17 women from the village of Kotika residing temporarily on the French side; 198 were questioned.

/519 cont./

125 --158 (80%) answered with good grace;

--33 (17%) answered with reticence or gave contradictory [593] answers in 1956 and 1957. Checking showed that they neglected to mention a living child, generally one of their older ones whom they were not raising themselves. In spite of the precautions taken, there are some omissions in the census of the adolescents and young people because of this (7).

> 7. On the other hand, we never ascertained any dissimulation concerning dead children. On the contrary, the Boni women speak of their deceased children with a certain indifference.

For 28 of these women we were able to reconstruct their lives with sufficient precision by interrogating contradictorily the husbands and the older brothers of the same mother. The five others were eliminated;

7 (3%) obstinately refused to answer without giving any justification for their attitude.

[484] Eighteen women could not be added, this being due to the continual moving of the Boni between their villages, their crop plantings, and their fishing places.

We took into account 7 women who died before 1957, whom we had been able to question in the preceding years.

[163] All in all, we have preserved 193 records of women having had 747 children, of whom 472 had survived as of the first of January 1958.

/37 cont./

614 An example of scission in a kin group: the separation of Dipelu II
571 between Kormotibo and Asisi. (See Dip. II genealogical table.)
578 This scission resulted from a ridiculous incident: a falling-out which occurred between ○ Alawenchi † (E19) and ○ Bongo (E6) because of a hoe which the first claimed to have been stolen from her by Bongo.

Since neither one would yield, they became really angry and fought. /38/

△ Agosa, head of the lineage, taking the part of Alawenchi, decided to secede and settle in Asisi.

○ Pilè † (F35) and ○ Sésey † (F38) who, their mother being dead, had been raised by Alawenchi, joined them and founded families in Asisi.

[621] This explains the present scission of this group and the
[184] bizarre division of its members between Kormotibo and Asisi. This scission had no result on the religious plane, unity being maintained by the pitiless tie of the kunu. Nowadays, Captain Poopu's authority is exerted normally on the fraction in Asisi. Relations between the two groups are rather good. /Figs. 5 and 6 appear here./

/39/ CHAPTER III

• 125 INVENTORY OF THE PEOPLING OF THE BONI VILLAGES

We have tried to take a complete census of the Boni of the Upper Maroni as of January 1, 1958, including for the women the statement of their successive unions and of their children living
[126] and dead. This census is associated with detailed plans of the villages and a study of the territorial implantation of kin groups.

/39 cont./

121 It seemed to us that in the present state of knowledge about the Refugee Blacks a study of limited scope but covering the totality of the population was preferable to the very intensive study of a small group; only the study of the population considered in its entirety brings out clearly its family custom, its tendencies in the matter of marriage, divorce, inheritance; it alone can lead to a precise knowledge of its demographic data so important even on the social plane.

Finally, this detailed inventory constitutes a firm base for following the evolution of the population in the future.

• 125 Taking a census of the Boni posed a problem much more difficult than for most populations without vital statistics. The 648 tribes of the Refugee Blacks enjoy in effect a statute of autonomous nations under protectorate and insist fiercely on this autonomy. The French administration has never been able to take a census of them any more than the administration of Surinam has for the Djuka and Saramaka, colliding with an ingenious ill will which defies all efforts.

It is not that they fear taxes (this is a notion practically unknown in Guiana, even on the coast (1), and the French

1. Practically, in the interior of the country, with the exception of traders who are subject to a license, nobody pays taxes and there are not even any lists of taxable people. The Creoles of the interior (principally from the British West Indies) are known only because of the fact that, as foreign subjects, they must make declarations of change of residence; French citizens are scarcely known at the administrative

/39 cont. /

648 posts except as they present themselves for recording of vital statistics or for registration on voting lists.

administration has for a long time appeared /40/ in the eyes of the inhabitants of the interior as a benevolent office); but they obey the old African maxim of never telling the whites more than half of what they know.

125 In the absence of any nominal census which could serve as a point of departure, this job presented considerable difficulties arising principally from the extreme mobility of the population:

[484] —Never is the whole population of a village assembled together simultaneously; the proportion of those absent frequently reaches 50 per cent, especially in the fine season (hunting, fishing, boating, clearings at the farming habitations, etc.);

[551] —A good many men and women have two, sometimes three, names used interchangeably. If one does not personally know a large part of the inhabitants of the villages and does not have at his disposal carefully made-up genealogical tables, it is impossible to understand anything;

115] —If the men respond in good faith, it is not the same with the women, who are inaccessible to any reasoning. Some try to cash in on the information they give, others obstinately refuse to answer;

125 —A number of adolescents and even of men between 20
591 and 35 years old have no regular hut. Each Boni, man or woman,
342 is in principle expected to build a hut in one of the "great villages." But this residence may be fictitious: It can, for example, be a tumbled-down hut which they intend to put up again some day... or the pent roof of the house of the mother or a brother, under which they install themselves on days when a ceremony causes the lineage to meet together, residing the rest of the year in a farming habitation.

/40 cont./

125 [123] In spite of the relations of trust developed between the Boni and ourselves in the course of the work carried out together during four long missions, we were able to take this census only progressively and indirectly, by using simultaneously the following procedures:

—Study of the genealogy of the groups, going up from woman to woman up to the founding ancestress, then going back down from her. These genealogical tables, some of which extend [166] over nine generations and include more than 160 persons, brought [136] to light a certain number of temporarily absent people and individuals who lived away from the villages, isolated in the middle of the Creole gold miners, but continuing to make up part of their group; they also brought to light a certain number of young people and orphan children taken in by distant relatives who would not have spoken about them directly. But on this point, gaps remain;

[126] —Detailed plan of the villages and interrogation of the village heads as to the persons living in each house;

—Interrogation of the women about their dead and surviving children;

—General verification with the help of perfectly trustworthy informants who possessed a thorough knowledge of the genealogy of the groups.

The census, stopped on January 1, 1958, covered 811 per- [162] sons of whom 667 /41/ were from the villages of the French bank and 144 from the Surinam bank (Kotika). As for the latter, we [165] questioned them individually when they came to the French bank, especially when they came to attend the end of mourning festivities in Boniville in October, 1957. The Kotika census is less [128] exact than that of the French villages, and in addition we were [126] not able to make a plan of the village. For this reason we have not reproduced it in the present work, where only the corresponding genealogical table appears.

/41 cont./

621 The principle behind the constitution of the Boni villages
613 is, as we have said, the localization of the matrilineage. Men
[591] and women live in the village of their maternal kin; the wife does not leave her village to join her husband, who comes to visit her from time to time without ceasing, himself, to live in the midst of his own lineage.

The composition of each village thus corresponds, at least in principle, to the group of living people on the genealogical table. But a certain number of exceptions are observed:

[167] -A certain number of men (about 20 out of 800 persons) have emigrated for good and can no longer be counted in the population of the villages;

[619] -On the other hand, a dozen Djuka and Saramaka married
[591] to Boni women have settled permanently in the villages and have been included in the census.

125 We have tried to estimate with as much precision as possible
128 the age of the people concerned, by means of events of known
[173] date which they remember, from the trip of the explorer Crevaux (1878) to the war 1939-45. We have established a local chronology, reproduced as an appendix at the end of the present chapter.

125 The demographic survey, which has been the subject of another publication (1), was conducted parallel with the sociological investigation.

[113] 1. "Etude démographique comparée des Noirs Réfugiés Boni et des Indiens Oayana du Haut-Maroni /Comparative Demographic Study of the Boni Refugee Blacks and the Oayana Indians of the Upper Maroni/," in Population, éditions de l'INED, 1959, No. 3. ?

? [See S. Hurault, This file-- Analyst.]

/41 cont./

125 We estimate the gaps in the census at less than 3 per cent.
[128] These gaps involve essentially the adolescents and young people orphaned or raised by others than their parents.

The adults over 35 years old were practically all known
[648] individually to us. Children under 10 years could be counted very exactly thanks to the distribution of milk carried out since 1956 by the Maripasoula medical center.

125 Classification. The classification of the population was made by
128 village of residence.
162 For each woman we have indicated her successive unions and the children who issued from them. The sign † means deceased, the sign ≠ divorce, the sign ††means that the husband is deceased but after the break-up of the union.

The listings for women preceded by an asterisk * indicate that they can be regarded as complete from the demographic point of view (children living and deceased).

A double asterisk ** indicates that the listing can in addition be regarded as complete with regard to successive marriages and divorces (2).

2. We avoided asking directly these questions to which the women replied unwillingly. The information was obtained indirectly by questioning brothers and husbands. It could be obtained complete for only about 30 per cent of the women.

/42/

125 The name of each individual is printed in boldface type
128 once where he can be considered as habitually residing.
162 Children under 15 are considered as living with the persons responsible for their education. If it was not possible to obtain accurate information about this, they are considered as living with their mother.

Each listing bears a number, for example Dju D7, making it possible to find again the individual's place in the genealogical table. In the example noted, refer to the table of the Dju lineage, line D, no. 7.

601 Genealogical tables. These are of unequal value according to the
128 age and the memory of the old people consulted. In general
[115] they go back to three generations beyond the oldest of the old men now alive.

[165] Since the Boni show remarkable longevity, and the average difference in age between two generations can be estimated at 31 years, one can assume as probable that the most distant ancestress known of each lineage was born between the middle and the end of the 18th century. For example, if we assume that
[613] Kuiuba, the ancestress of the Awara Bakka, was about 100 years old in 1956, we can take for granted that she was born about 1856 and that her great-grandmother was born about 1760.

613 The most ancient ancestress known of each lineage is certainly not the foundress. It is infinitely probable that the founding of these groups goes back to the beginning of the 18th century and that they were born on the same plantations where the ancestors of the Refugee Blacks were slaves; this would explain the names borne by the lineages, names which nearly always allude to a plantation or to a slave-owner.

601 In a general way, the memory of the Boni is very sure,
128 and the information given in the form: Ma X... begot So-and-so,

/60/

351 There are no gardens around the cabins because the con-
[134] ditions of the soil and climate render permanent cultivation
[241] impracticable. The nearest thing is a few persons planting some
banana trees around the hut at the foot of which they spread the
361 hearth ashes. As a general rule villages are closely hemmed in
137 by secondary brushwood, and people plant far from one another
311 and sometimes very far from the village.

423 If it does not admit the appropriation of land to individuals,
824 custom does admit, on the other hand, the ownership of trees.
In the villages the useful trees (coconut trees, maripa palms
/attalea excelsa/, mango trees, cashew-apple trees, etc.) all
[428] have owners. The tree is considered as personal property and is
transmitted by inheritance in the same way as a gun or a canoe.
428 The procedure employed by the Boni for the dispersion of the
824 inheritance among the members of the lineage of the dead man
613 sometimes has the effect of transmitting the ownership of a tree
to a person who is not of the village. For example, in Boniville
[222] where a fraction of the Kotika lineage lives, two caumou palms
were bequeathed a long time ago to members of the lineage living
in Kotika, who come each year to gather the fruit.

Appendix

173 Local Chronology Used for Determining Ages
[125]

1876	Death of Grand Man Atyaba.
1877	Trip of the explorer Crevaux from the Maroni to the Yari and the Amazon, in the company of Apatu, head of the Boni village.
[621] 361 1882	Apatu secedes, taking with him about 150 persons and founds the village which bears his name on the lower course of the Maroni.

55 /123 cont./
[553] and supplanting the others, but in numerous cases the names are used concurrently; in general an individual is designated among his maternal relatives by his pikin nɛm, while the people of other villages designate him by his gaã nɛm or by a cognomen. It has happened to us many a time in the course of the same conversation to hear the same individual designated by two or three different names.

[125] It goes without saying that this custom makes any census
[128] of the Refugee Blacks impracticable, for as long as one does not know individually the members of a lineage and their genealogy, it is impossible to understand anything.

Nevertheless, one must not see in this a defense reaction with respect to the European administration. The Refugee Blacks find it completely normal to have several names at a time, for they do not have the notion of the identity of a name with a person.

Thus one of our boatmen was Fintiman to his maternal relatives, Gobiyo to his father and part of his friends, Loamba to his paternal grandfather, and Nakiyu to his first wife.

55 Choice of names. Names are highly varied and their choice
553 does not follow any fixed rule; it is in the exclusive domain of fancy.

A large number are constituted of simple onomatopoeia: Tyutyu, Dada, Dodo, Dudu, etc. (which may be applied indiscriminately to man or woman). Dodo's mother explained to us the reason for her choice: dodo was the refrain of an air which often sang in her head while she was pregnant. /124/

55 Again are pointed out:
177 --More or less deformed European names: Afayèl (Rafaèl), Modèl, Pasensi (Patience), Félisi (Félix), Sophie, Toïna (Antonia). Certain names are deformed European proper names; for example: Sota for Chotard (name of an official in Saint-Laurent);

/129 cont./

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602

The conditions under which children are brought up throw a strong light on the thought of the Refugee Blacks relative to kinship and are worth a special study.

[125] In the course of an investigation carried on from October to December, 1957, we were able to record with precision under what conditions had been raised 311 persons distributed thus:

Male sex	born before 1936 (education finished). . . .	73
	born from 1936 to 1949 inclusive (education in process) (1)	88
Female sex	born before 1936 (education finished) . . .	72
	born from 1936 to 1949 inclusive (education in process)	78
	Total	311

1. Study of the case of children born after 1949 was of no interest because the definite assignment of their guardianship was not yet made at the end of the year 1957.

609 scratched like a "*tigri*"—a tiger, for this is how the Bush
123 Negroes name the jaguar. Later, when we saw him dance
115 the Tigri Kromanti dance, we witnessed one of the most realistic feline interpretations imaginable. But that is another matter.

Now Apanto was an obia man to be reckoned with, and his fellow villagers and the villagers of neighboring settlements treated him with a deference that his age alone could never have commanded. And it was this Apanto who now came up and said that he would sing the sacred Kromanti songs for our phonograph.

"You will not understand the songs. They will be in the Kromanti language," he warned us. "They are strong, and the machine must be strong to carry them."

It happens that a field phonograph is anything but strong. The mechanism is simple, since the instrument must be light enough to be carried about, and yet it often is subjected to all manner of hard usage. To this is added the
[126] hazard of the climate. The turntable is actuated by a belt running from the mechanism inside the case, and the ends of this belt are glued together. This, to be sure, we discovered later. At the moment, we met Apanto's challenge with assurance. We did not doubt that the machine was spiritually strong.

126 What he said about the Kromanti language was true.
533 The Kromanti tongo, of which we had been told during our
[197] first visit here, we were finding to be an actuality, and
539 although we took down the words as he sang them, aided in hearing them by the repetitions, their meaning was unknown to us. Some of them we learned later. Some of them we knew. "Obia" we knew concerned the spirit,
[176] the vague force known by that name, while "Amba" was a deity sacred to Saturday, and was given as a "day name"
[551] to women born on that day of the week. This, then, is what he sang:

"*Ma djeni ye-ye*
Obia kule ma djeni no-ho
Obia mo-ye

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

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WHILE THE RIVER WAS HIGH

Amba djeniyi, obia-mi yi-yi
Mo djeni-o
Mo djeni-e-ye
Obia mi-i
Man djeni no-ho
Obia mo-i
Amba djeni-e-i, obia-i-i
Man djeni no-ho, obia-i."

The music was slow and soft, and in Apanto's appealing voice the song took on a strangely moving quality. But as he sang, a stir went through the people who were listening.

"He calls his obia, ai."

"His obia will fight the spirit of the machine."

"The Bakra is cunning, but obia is strong. We shall see."

The song came to an end, the recorder was lifted. We looked at Apanto. "Will you sing another? See, the thing is not finished. There is room for more."

He looked. Yes, one could see there was room for more. Yes, he would sing more. This time the song was livelier, louder. As Apanto sang, he seemed to force the song into the horn, and this time there were no murmurs from those watching.

"*Yen-bo, yenbo,*
A yen-bo-bo no
Yen-bo, yenbo,
A yen-bo. . . . "

And with this the machine began to give way. There was a rattling sound, a scratching. The machine went more slowly, then stopped. About us the murmurs became excited. Hastily we fitted a new cylinder, hastily we tested it. It was no use. We soon found the cause. The glue had softened in the tropical dampness, and the ends had pulled loose. It was almost dark, and there was no sun to dry a newly applied coat of glue.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

126 533 123 Apanto looked at us. "The Bakra is cunning," he repeated. "But obia is stronger. In the bush obia rules. Kromanti is too strong for the spirit of the machine."

Swiftly the dark of the bush came down. The people who had been watching, listening to what had passed, were leaving to go to their villages and to spread the news of the power of obia, and how Apanto had defeated the spirit of the machine that talks back what has been said to it. And with the gathering dark, we could sense the pulse of the drums and hear a faint echo of the shrill cry of the women dancing at Gankwe for the spirit of the dead man who lay there in the house of mourning.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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had not acted well toward the Granman. It would be best if we did not stop there. At the others the Granman could assure us hospitality. Then there was talk of hauling wood and making rafts for our host, who knew these people well, moved safri, too, until he at last felt the moment had come to talk about buying a boat from Ajako.

When the arrangements of the sale were concluded, Ajako came back to talk with us. He had heard that we had a machine which the Kromanti spirit had broken, was it true? Did it really go again? They said the Bakra had much cunning. They said the Bakra knew African magic.

The Bakra said he knew something about Africa. The Ashanti people, for instance, were a fine people.

"*Ma na Asante, na Sa'macca sem-* . . . —But the Ashanti are Saramacca. . . . " But he would go no further, having spoken only one syllable of the word for people. He became guarded. Yes, there were some Anago people from Africa on this Saramacca River, and Dahomey, and Loango, and Fanti; the Ibo peoples were not on this river. . . . And again he would say no more. Later, when we had changed the subject, he said as if in both gratitude and explanation, "*Na sa-i-'akisi, a tranga poi*—You ask about strong things."

But he would sing into our machine, if we liked. He would sing Kromanti, if we wanted him to do so. "I won't fight your machine," he said, smiling.

"*Anabobi, Anabobi,*
Anabobi, Anabobyo,
Tata Ando.
Anabobi, Ando,
Anabobi,
Tata Adjaini,
Anabobyo
Tata Fa'aku."

"They will understand this in Africa," he said, gravely, and then he moved toward the doorway and stood there

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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looking out on the river. Whether it was a gesture that he 126
would sing no more, or not, we could not say, but when he 115
turned again to us he looked thoughtful. "White man, how far away is Africa? Would they kill me if I went there? Could I get a woman, if I went there?"

We sent him some food to his boat as an expression of 609
hospitality, and word came back that when we had done 576
eating, he would himself come and thank us. When he did 431
come, it was to speak his thanks and to say goodbye, and he did not come alone. With him was the young man who was his traveling companion, and this young man carried gifts to us. Bayo, who had arrived a short time before, received the gifts of fig bananas and rice for us, as was the custom of these people, for to have given or received a gift in person would have been the way of a boor, just as it would have been bad form to stand about and watch us eat.

The leave-taking ritual, as that of greeting, is as formalized as a litany and almost as solemn.

"*Adiosi, adiosio—waka bon, yere. Tan bon*—Goodbye, travel well, hear? Keep well." Ajako carefully laid away his top cloth in his woven closed basket, straightened his loin cloth, and paddled away briskly from the landing.

Later, boats pulled up bringing the Gankwe men.

"Sedefo, we have a fine boat for you. It's large, and it 501
will take a great deal of load. It's a new boat, just come 609
down from top-side."

The men busied themselves with bringing our provisions from the shelter to the landing place so that the loading might begin. A tent had been made of palm leaves for the boat in which we ourselves were traveling, so that we might be shielded from the glare of the open river, from sunstroke and the sudden tropical downpours, and the men decided to load this boat first.

Now there was a murmur among the Gankwe men. Sedefo was passing his hands over the new boat, as though it were a human form, touching its "head," running his hands over the "ribs," the "belly." Then he balanced himself in it, and shook his head.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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539 medicine he rubbed into the wound which Snake had made when he bit the Princess. In an hour the Princess was better, and soon she was well.

The King was very happy. He caught Human Being who had betrayed Hunter, and put him into the same prison where Hunter had been. But Hunter, who made the medicine, married the King's daughter, and became King of the land.

"It is ended," concluded Sedefo, "and I myself was there, and my daughter danced bandamba at the wedding!"

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When Sedefo finished, it was almost midnight. Kasanya and Asikanu had sometime before gone to their hammocks. And now Sedefo, too, rose to go.

"*D'u mundu*," he said, as he went out. "Sleep well, all."

"*Ai-yo, so s'yepi-o!*—Yes, and do you sleep well, too!" Our boys sang back their response.

Since both they and we were still wide awake, they each offered to tell a short tale. But they told many stories, for there was a quality in the deep bush that night that allowed neither them nor us, unaccustomed to the jungle as we all were, to rest.

539 126 We no longer recall the exact tales they told. But later we had opportunities to record many more than just the ones they told there in the provision ground. Many were long, longer than we can give here. Many were the same as those we heard told by the Bush Negroes but which, told at night at festivals for the dead, with all the element of dramatization that went with the telling, we could not record in our notebooks. We group some of those which, for us, hold something of the quintessence of the mind of the Suriname Negroes.

Anansi Becomes a Preacher

539 Anansi asked the King to permit him to become a preacher. The King said, let him go to church one Sunday

REBEL DESTINY

173 Alabi, as the Granman called him, was the Araby of history, the great rebel of whom Stedman, who campaigned against the Bush Negroes long ago, wrote.

"White man, Alabi did not know how to work gold, or to earn great wealth, but he had stories in his head." He had called the first black krutu. And from Alabi had come Danieh who built Gansee, which was even now one of the most populous villages on the whole river.

"Long ago in the bush here, we had men, Bak'a!"

There was G'ama' Okosu, a Nomerimi Negro, the leader of those men who had escaped to the swamps on the coast, instead of going into the bush, and whom the people were afraid to touch.

"G'ama' Okosu could change into a kwatta monkey when he liked. He could cross the river without a boat."

The Dombi Negroes had their man, too. He was Sabaku. He was leaving his people to run away from slavery. He was going into the bush. "If we do not meet again in life, we shall meet in death," he said. He had no boat in which to cross the river, so he went to Yank'o, the buzzard, and he asked him to carry him. "I have no home, O Yank'o," he said to the buzzard, "but I will get on your back, and there my home will be. You who fly high, who fly over water, and over the high bush, carry me to safety."

The Granman himself was part Dombi and part Matchau, he said.

[825] "That is why we do not shoot a buzzard. If we shoot him by accident, then we must say 'Many thanks.' "

There was Tata Wadia who opened up this bush, who was still sung about by the Negroes of the city when they invoked the Kromanti spirit.

"I have the stick which he used."

"Will you let us see it, Granman?"

"Gbolo!"

[126] "We will photograph you holding the stick, Granman, and when we show it in our country we will tell the story."

He nodded. But the photograph was never taken.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

GRANMAN MOANA YANKUSO

"You will play everything, white man," he had told us earlier. He had been especially anxious that we play the songs we had recorded in Haiti on our way to Suriname. Often he had spoken of these songs to the chiefs at council meetings. 123 177

"White man, tell these friends the words of those songs in that foreign tongue."

He had wanted us to speak before these men the words Legba, a deity to them in the bush as he is in Haiti and in West Africa today, and Loko, and Aida Wedo, and to translate the words of the Haitian twin song we had recorded, and the one to the water god Simbi.

Now he sat in his folding chair and looked on in silence, his face thoughtful. The songs he heard moved him deeply, and his expressive face showed it.

When, in the Haitian songs, the women heard the word "Ago-e" which they recognized, they uttered a shriek. It was one of their many words for ancestors. They cried out again when they heard "Aida Wedo" pronounced, and "Loko." They, too, sang of Aida Wedo, and of Alado, and of Loko. Dan was one of their words for snake.

The white man asked permission of the Granman later to record some songs of the people of the village, and promptly Moana Yankuso addressed a man who stood by. The man was a good singer, and his seketi improvisations had made him a figure on the river. 533 126 177

"Sing for the whites, mati. Let them hear in their far country how our people sing. Let them know that we can sing, that we sing much."

The singer Mapasi sat down and began to sing. His voice was of fine quality, and he was as modest in the midst of all these women with this gift which the gods had given him, as had been the young dancer whom the Granman had summoned to dance for us. He sang in a low voice, and directly into the horn. Accompanying his singing was the hand clapping of the women, which in the small council house was deafening. His recitatives were the longest we had heard on the river, longer by far than those which had

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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533 surprised us that night at S'ei, and when he paused for a
126 moment the women took up the chorus. From one song to
197 another he went, and the hand clapping grew louder, and the chorus joined in more frequently, often breaking into his recitative, so that there was harmonizing of theme and chorus.

Once or twice the Granman called for a song we had already recorded, in order to give Mapasi a rest.

"Play us something from the lower river, white man. Let them hear their own songs, too, sung by others."

When the excitement of hearing the machine reproduce the song they had just sung had grown less intense, the singers repeated the song the phonograph was reproducing for them, for to listen to music without singing was difficult for them; just as when they sang, they could not but move their feet, though there was scarcely more than room for them to stand one close to the other. But a Bush Negro needs little room for his dancing, so that as the phonograph played their songs for them, they clapped their hands and danced in place. For a short interval, at least, the existence of the whites was forgotten in their pleasure of singing with the machine.

Until late into the night we played our records for them, and they sang for us. Whatever the consequences to the frail records of soft wax, we decided to play as long as they would listen, because of something in the manner of the Granman, something of wistfulness, let us say, and something, perhaps, which went deeper yet, as he sat there—a black Hamlet following a mute soliloquy while he looked on with his clever, perplexed eyes.

"Ai, so it is," he said at last, "and now let us go and get sleep." He rose and the others followed him out of the council house.

II

123 Early the next morning, while the tent on our boat was
182 being finished, the Granman came into the council house
189 with a calabash and a buzzard's feather in his hand. He
519 came up to each of us in turn, and struck with the medicine-
600 dipped feather the tops of our heads, brushed the eyes,

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[539]

"You have come to go, come to go far, come to go far to bring the wood to the water. But it is long, it is far, to the river. Thank you, friends."

Then the song was taken up by the workers and, with each rhythmic measure, the great piece of lumber went farther through the jungle on its way to the river. When he had chanted for us the greeting to the men, Bayo began to sing a song relating to men's casual exploits with women and, as he finished the song, he laughed. "White [831] man, if you came with us, you would hear what songs the men make up about women!"

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●126 The phonograph had delighted Bayo from the first. When Apanto had summoned the spirit of his obia to fight the machine, Bayo had watched. When the white man's glue had repaired the broken belt, and the hot sun had made the machine "walk" once more, Bayo had approved.

"The machine is not weak," he had said. "I will sing for it."

And sing for it he did.

But the curse of Apanto still troubled the machine, for up the river and down there had been difficulty with it. Often when there was a particularly good song to be recorded, the belt would give, the machine would fail the white man. The story of the prowess of Apanto had gone up the river with the Gankwe paddlers, and when the machine stopped, heads nodded, and we would catch the word "obia" among the murmurs of the bystanders.

126 Bayo thought, it seemed, that the machine's proud
123 spirit was by this time properly chastened and, since twice
782 the machine had refused to work while he was singing into
776 it, twice had made him stop the song and its drum accompaniment, he decided to take matters into his own hands.

"White man," said Bayo, shortly after our return from up the river, "I will help the spirit of the machine. I will

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

call the great gods. Apanto's spirit is strong, but Bayo has strong gods, too."

The machine was made ready for him, and Bayo sat down on a convenient box, his head bent over the tumao drum which we had acquired and which his fingers could scarce ever be near but that they played on it.

"It is not the right drum," he said. "You should have an apinti for me to speak to the gods. But I will try it with this one. Tomorrow I will go up the river to Djamungo. I know a man who has an apinti. You will give me money, and I will buy it for you. But now I will speak on the tumao."

He began the irregular tapping which we had learned to identify as the drum language. With one hand he carried the message, while with the other he played irrelevant motifs which served to confound anyone not initiated and leave him, as it left us, who had worked out some of the general principles on which this drum language was based, utterly unable to interpret it or to tell which were the significant elements.

"The great gods will look after your machine now, if they will listen to the tumao."

The next day Bayo went upstream to get us the apinti we so desired. He was not successful, but the gods had listened to him, when he had invoked them on the tumao, for Bayo's ministrations ended all trouble with our recalcitrant phonograph. Bayo indeed had strong spirits!

As the days went on, and record after record was put on the turntable, and with its tracing of songs, or examples of Bush Negro speech, or fragments of the rhythms that called the various gods, was taken off and carefully put into its felt-lined box, Bayo visibly swelled with pride. This was his doing! With his strong spirits he had called the great gods! He was young, and he had not spoken on the proper drum, but they had listened to him! So his thoughts went, and so he would repeat them to us.

His interest in the phonograph was intensified the more he saw of it, and he sang and spoke and drummed, either

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

126 alone or with some friend, into the wax cylinders that
782 spoke back in such mysterious fashion. When Apanto came
776 to visit us, Bayo smiled as he saw the obia man approaching
179 from the landing place.

"His obia is strong, but mine is strong, too. Let him sing into the machine."

Apanto was visibly surprised when he saw in operation the machine his spirit had wrecked. "The machine is not weak, Apanto," we assured him. "It has its own strength, and now it has the strength your gods have given it. For in the true, true Saramacca, a great obia man spoke his message to the Great God into it, and since then it has walked well with us."

Out of the corners of our eyes, we could see Bayo's pride.

126 "Sing for us, Apanto," we urged, for he had a beautiful
533 voice. "Sing us an Apuku song."

Now Apanto sang, not once, but many times. It is true that when we asked for Apuku he sang Vodu, and when we asked for Vodu he sang Toné, and when we asked for Toné he sang Kromanti songs, and when we asked for Kromanti he sang the sacred dirges called "Papa" songs. Yet this was not otherwise than might be expected, and it was not too difficult to play the records to interested men of other villages, whose startled comments would soon tell us the kind of song he had sung.

It was another day when Apanto again sang, and some of these who had witnessed his first victory were about. One such addressed himself to Bayo, who was sitting near.

"Apanto's spirit fought the machine, and stopped it.
[776] But the machine works and sings back to Apanto. Its strength has come back to it."

"Awa, Apanto's spirit is strong," we heard Bayo reply, "but there are other strong spirits on the Saramacca."

4

307 Bayo had spent the night at Gankwe, and had returned
115 resplendent with a new hairdressing. We joked with

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

us, with its attendant bench and modeled snake, we had only heard the term. 575 346

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In the dim light of our oil lantern, we listened and wrote in our book, while our informant told us about the Kromanti Mama. 126

"You must take it down carefully," he said, "or it might harm you."

The figure on the top of the bench was named Agbo. This was the watchman, and to this figure came news of all impending evil. About the neck of the figure was a Kromanti fighting obia. A stout iron ring, with red and blue cloth tied about one-half of it, it rested near the base of the watchman. 789 798 532

The eyes of this watchman were its most arresting feature. They were represented by deep sockets, and the effect was heightened by the beak-like character of the nose. Two ears completed the head, and on the body breasts were modeled. It was the only piece of Bush Negro modeling we had ever seen. This most secret of art forms was evidently little practiced.

"The watchman sees all," said our informant, "the Kromanti Mama knows when there is something about that will harm. She tells the snake."

Coiled about its base, this snake was treated in the same realistic style. The head of the snake and its tail almost met at the side of the clay figure which it encircled.

"His name is Bimbawai," we were told.

The bench itself was not unlike the obia stools we had seen in the shrines of the gods. Its rectangular top, curving toward the center, was fastened to the two boards which formed the legs. Like other obia stools, it was difficult to tell whether, under the thick coating of white clay, the wood was carved or not. In one respect it differed from all others we had seen—the bench wore, fringe-like, a grass skirt of the kind worn by the *komfo*, the priests. This was suspended from the top of the bench, the cord going outside [359]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

Appendix A

PHONOGRAMS OF THE AUCANER BUSH NEGROES

212
126

These phonograms were collected for me by Mr. G. deBies, Dutch Government agent at Albina. They were set down by a Bush Negro named Aflakka, with the aid of an attendant Krutu or assembly. So far as is known, they are in use only among the Aucaners, and their use is limited to the older members, who employ them for purposes of sending messages over long distances. These characters are extremely difficult to collect, and Mr. deBies is to be congratulated on his efforts in this regard. The characters were redrawn for the purpose of publication by Ruth K. Kahn.

/37 cont./

614 An example of scission in a kin group: the separation of Dipelu II
571 between Kormotibo and Asisi. (See Dip. II genealogical table.)
578 This scission resulted from a ridiculous incident: a falling-out which occurred between ○ Alawenchi † (E19) and ○ Bongo (E6) because of a hoe which the first claimed to have been stolen from her by Bongo.

Since neither one would yield, they became really angry and fought. /38/

△ Agosa, head of the lineage, taking the part of Alawenchi, decided to secede and settle in Asisi.

○ Pilè † (F35) and ○ Sésey † (F38) who, their mother being dead, had been raised by Alawenchi, joined them and founded families in Asisi.

[621] This explains the present scission of this group and the
[184] bizarre division of its members between Kormotibo and Asisi. This scission had no result on the religious plane, unity being maintained by the pitiless tie of the kunu. Nowadays, Captain Poopu's authority is exerted normally on the fraction in Asisi. Relations between the two groups are rather good. /Figs. 5 and 6 appear here./

/39/ CHAPTER III

125 INVENTORY OF THE PEOPLING OF THE BONI VILLAGES

We have tried to take a complete census of the Boni of the Upper Maroni as of January 1, 1958, including for the women the statement of their successive unions and of their children living
[126] and dead. This census is associated with detailed plans of the villages and a study of the territorial implantation of kin groups.

/40 cont./

125 [123] In spite of the relations of trust developed between the Boni and ourselves in the course of the work carried out together during four long missions, we were able to take this census only progressively and indirectly, by using simultaneously the following procedures:

—Study of the genealogy of the groups, going up from woman to woman up to the founding ancestress, then going back down from her. These genealogical tables, some of which extend [166] over nine generations and include more than 160 persons, brought [736] to light a certain number of temporarily absent people and individuals who lived away from the villages, isolated in the middle of the Creole gold miners, but continuing to make up part of their group; they also brought to light a certain number of young people and orphan children taken in by distant relatives who would not have spoken about them directly. But on this point, gaps remain;

[126] —Detailed plan of the villages and interrogation of the village heads as to the persons living in each house;

—Interrogation of the women about their dead and surviving children;

—General verification with the help of perfectly trustworthy informants who possessed a thorough knowledge of the genealogy of the groups.

The census, stopped on January 1, 1958, covered 811 per- [162] sons of whom 667 /41/ were from the villages of the French bank and 144 from the Surinam bank (Kotika). As for the latter, we [765] questioned them individually when they came to the French bank, especially when they came to attend the end of mourning festivities in Boniville in October, 1957. The Kotika census is less [128] exact than that of the French villages, and in addition we were [126] not able to make a plan of the village. For this reason we have not reproduced it in the present work, where only the corresponding genealogical table appears.

/42 cont./

601 So-and-so, and So-and-so, can be regarded as sure. On the other
128 hand, we have considered that there was a break in the genealogy when, going back in time, we arrived at this single datum: Ma X... was the sister of Ma Y..., for it could be a question of kinship in the classificatory sense.

No form of birthright existing among the Boni, there is some uncertainty about the order of birth of brothers and sisters for persons long dead. We have adopted the order kept by oral tradition without trying to rectify it.

613 In many African populations a special tradition is connected
814 with perpetuating the memory of the founder, at least his name,
829 the place of his grave. With the present-day Boni absolutely nothing like this is found; they are not concerned in any way with the true foundress of their lineage; no memory, no legend, not even a name has come down to them. It even seems as though these distant ancestors interest them little because they are less able to act in behalf of their present-day descendants. Indeed, with each new generation the memory of an ancient one dies out.
173 On our first trip in 1948 we called attention, unfortunately without
[126] noting them down precisely, to /43/ very interesting oral traditions going back to the time of slavery, especially the names of the slave-owners who showed themselves to be the most cruel. In
[814] 1952 the last old man who knew them had died; the very memory of what he had said was already effaced.

829 As a matter of fact, Boni thought, strictly practical and
602 utilitarian, is concerned principally with keeping the memory of the part of the genealogy indispensable to the living to know their kinship ties. Memory of women whose posterity has died out and of men who did nothing remarkable is dead from the second generation on.

114 Since none of the travelers of the 19th century understood
613 the importance of taking genealogies, it is probable that the names

754 /241 cont./
[126] Several cases of wisi. We transcribe these affairs as they were related to us, placing ourselves in the perspective of the narrator, without making any judgment as to the nature of the facts and their probability.

N... affair. -- N..., of Kotika, was working gold with another Boni. After they had eaten /242/ together, the latter was taken with uncontrollable vomiting, then he died. His near relatives blamed N..., accusing him of wisi. In the night N... took refuge at Benzdorp and took passage on a Djuka
[167] boat which was going down the river. He settled in Paramaribo. Since then his sister T... has gone to join him. They have left the Boni for good.

P... affair. -- Toko (Dipélu II), while boating on the lower river, wagered one morning with his friend Kwami (who told us the story) to stay in a dive for the time necessary to fill a five-liter demijohn; bet taken; Toko did not come back up, he had drowned. His body was found the next day. The family
[578] blamed one P..., of Kotika village, whose wife N... had left him to marry Toko and who at the time had made threats.
[683] They insulted him, they presented Toko's decomposed body to him: "Eat him, since thou hast killed him like game." P... stubbornly denied it. The grand man commanded that he be left alone, turning him over to Odun to punish if he were guilty. As a matter of fact, some time afterward, P... died and was declared wisimã.

[464] S... affair. -- About 1955, S..., of Kotika, about 60 years old, was working with Kwau weeding the clearings of a Benzdorp Creole who raised oxen. One morning this cattle-raiser saw one of his oxen covered with blood coming from wounds which bore tooth marks and could not have been made by bats. He followed the traces of blood which led him to S...'s hammock.

/264 cont./

796 At seven o'clock, about ten men assemble at the fraga
769 tiki. They pour water first, then tafia, while uttering the
539 prayer whose whole text follows, taken from a tape recording:
[126] Fintiman (pouring the water):

"Ancestors, hail! We have come to you; it is for the new year that we have come to you! as you yourselves used to do when you were (alive). May God protect us until the new year comes back again; thus it is that you yourselves used to pour the water on behalf of the ancestors. We have come to our place of prayer to speak with you, to ask you to carry our words to God."

(The same formulas are repeated several times.)

Lébiman:

"This is the New Year's Day water. It is God's day. He has arrived. Grand man Awensay (1), (because) I have

1. Predecessor of Grand Man Difu, who died in 1936. In each village the last dead head is invoked by name in order to ask him to call the more ancient dead.

not known the more distant ancestors, it is you alone that I call; call all the others."

"It has arrived, God's day. As for the grand man himself, a slight hindrance has come to him, he could not come, but it is not that he is no longer interested in the village."

"Watch over all the people who are there... we have come to pour water on your behalf, so that you will watch over the chickens and dogs of the village (and up to the living men) (2). Protect the grand man; if misfortune was about to

2. Usual prayer formula.

538 /267 cont./
[765] audience and to create an atmosphere of participation in the rite.

This ritual character makes it so that the Anansi Toli cannot be recited any time and in any old way. The story-teller may speak only at night, in the presence of a respondent and of an audience of at least two or three persons. A ritual formula: "dirinti" -- the response of the audience: "ndaeti," [124] precedes each new story. It is only with extreme repugnance [126] that informants consent to listen to and comment in the day-[761] time on a tale recorded on tape, particularly if their parents are still living, for it is said among the Refugee Blacks as in Black Africa that telling stories in full daylight makes one's father and mother die.

[174] These tales belong to an authentically African [177] accumulated store, practically unchanged in spite of the borrowing from the Creole Blacks of Paramaribo of several themes concerning automobiles, steamboats, etc., inserted in droll fashion into the traditional themes.

The usual hero of these tales is Anansi, the crafty one. [825] Anansi is the name of the Mygale spider (1). It is noteworthy,

[171] 1. The spider cycle is characteristic of the Akan (Agni-Baoulé-Abron) culture area. Anansi is the name of the Mygale spider among the Agni.

however, that this spider does not appear to play any special role in the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks and that no divinatory power is attributed to it. In fact, in the tales of which he is the hero, Anansi is nearly always represented as a man.

/269/

538 Doubtless for the same reason, nothing is found in most of these tales which brings to mind a moral inspired by a concept of good and evil. Now it is the thief and the swindler who triumph, now they find one cleverer than they. It is easy to see that for the storyteller all that is on the same plane; he simply guided his story on what seemed to him most amusing. [522] As for the audience, it always laughs at the loser. One single tale out of 14 (No. 1) expresses a practical moral: "That is why you must not deceive people, for there are people who are cleverer than you."

Most of the tales and proverbs have already been heard many a time by the Refugee Blacks without that lessening their pleasure. More than the story itself, they appreciate the verve of the storyteller, his mimicking talent, the always new variations he knows how to give of a hackneyed theme.

538 All these tales were recorded with the tape recorder and then were studied carefully with respect to vocabulary and syntax. We have stayed very close to the actual wording and as far as possible have kept the special Aluku turns of phrase, especially African interjections which reinforce the verbs. The tedious passages which had to be summarized are put in parentheses. Tales nos. ten to 14 are summarized.

*539

Tales

1) The Bearded Rock

One day Anansi went into the bush. He walked until ... he saw a rock, a rock with a beard. He cried: "Bearded rock!"

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

occur among the Saramacca people. Nothing has been included either in descriptive detail, in the spoken or unspoken thoughts attributed to a Bush Negro, or in characterization, which has not been given us by our Bush Negro informants or has not been witnessed by ourselves. If the thoughts of Moana Yankuso or of any of the elders who figure in the book seem sophisticated when contrasted with the simplicity of the material life of the Bush Negroes, then it is because the stereotype of the childlike, carefree Negro has been so widely accepted. The subtlety and astuteness of a man like Moana Yankuso, or of Sedefo, our chief paddler and the right-hand man of Yankuso's strongest rival, or of Apanto, the sorcerer, cannot be too emphatically stated. 114 [12]

In view of the political factions on the river, and our concern lest these make capital of the fact that a village had been generous in the confidences given the whites, several villages do not appear under their own names. For Headman Moana Yankuso was an old man when we visited him, and alliances for the succession to his high office were at that time already being formed, alliances which, since his death some three years ago, have undoubtedly been consolidated and made effective for the time when his successor is to be named. Villages, therefore, are in some instances given the names of rapids in the river, and not necessarily the names of the rapids found nearest to the villages of which we are writing. In this manner we have sought to preserve the anonymity of the villages without violating the authenticity of place names. Men and women, as well, with the exception of the priestess Amasina, Moana Yankuso, his daughter Wilhelmina, the bassia of his village, Bibifo, and the Captains of Baikutu, S'ei, and Dahomey do not appear under their own names, but under other typical Saramacca Negro names. 114 128

Work of the type we have attempted cannot be accomplished without the cooperation of many persons, and we are privileged to acknowledge here our gratitude to those 000

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

GLOSSARY AND LINGUISTIC NOTES

THE language of the Saramacca Bush Negroes is called by them the *Saramacca tongo*—the Saramacca tongue. Though there are many African words in ritual and everyday speech, the Saramacca tongo is essentially Negro-Portuguese, with a sprinkling of English and Dutch words. In the city of Paramaribo the Negroes speak *taki-taki*, Negro-English, though Dutch and Portuguese words are also found. The structure of the language of both bush and coastal Negroes is essentially African, that is to say, in all the borrowings it was the word which was borrowed, while the African idiom was retained, so that it may be said that the Negroes speak African dialects translated into English or Portuguese or Dutch. Simple examples of this are such phrases as "carry come" for "bring"; "carry go" for "take away"; or "hunger kills me" for "I am hungry"; or "one time" for "immediately." 197 197

For the correspondences between the languages of the Suriname Negroes and of West Africa, we have relied on various dictionaries and grammars of West African languages, and on our own findings made during our field work on the West African coast. In writing the words of Suriname and West African languages in both the glossary and the body of this book, the vowels have the "continental" values, not those given in English. It is to be noted that diacritical marks which would be necessary to indicate the strong nasalization that characterizes Bush Negro speech have been omitted from both text and glossary, in order to simplify the writing of native terms. Finally, we must 122 128 [194]

 [p. 344 is blank]

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

Finally, we must

128 [193] explain that in rendering the plural of native words, we have not employed the terminal "-s" that makes the plural in English, for in this regard we have followed the usage of Saramacca tongo.

A

104 *a*, he, she.

Abina, an important female ancestor. The name may be a modification of *Abena*, a woman's Tuesday name (see under *Afi*). In one village on the Saramacca, a dance known only there, called the *binia*, is said to have been taught by a female ancestor during the "running away time." This fact may have bearing on its origin, as it may point to an ancestor who had come from the Benin (Nigerian) kingdom. The people of Benin are known as the *Bini*.

aboma, boa constrictor.

adiosi, goodbye. From the Portuguese.

adji-boto, a game of counters. This is played in Suriname as it is in the Caribbean, and in Africa. *Adji* is a Dahomean word. In Paramaribo, among the Awka Bush Negroes, and in the Caribbean, the Ashanti name for the game, *wari*, is employed.

Afi, "day name" for a girl born on Friday. The corresponding Friday name for a boy is *Kofi*. These day names are found in bush and town in Suriname. They are met with in Jamaica and names like *Kofi* (Cuffy), *Kwaku* (Quacoo), *Kwasi* (Quashi), are known in the United States. These day names exist among the peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa, where they are definitely associated with the soul, in the same manner as they are in Suriname.

Af'ica, Africa. This is the Saramacca pronunciation of the word. While known on the river, it is less used than the expression *neng's konde*, literally, "Negro kingdom." The word *konde* is used interchangeably for kingdom and village. The word *to*, for example, in Dahomey, is used in the same way.

Afrekete, a Saramacca goddess, whose origin is Dahomean. In Dahomey her genealogy differs from the one given in Suriname. Dahomeans say she is the daughter of *Agbe* and *Naete*, gods of the sea.

agida, the great drum of the Saramacca trio of drum types. In Paramaribo, when the earth spirits are called, a spirit named *Agida* is invoked as one of the earth pantheon.

ago, ancestors. It is said in Dahomey that among the ancient inhabitants this Saramacca meaning was known.

agosu, name given a child born feet foremost. The same name is given such children in Dahomey and in Haiti.

Akantamasu, the god of the ant hill. A Gold Coast name.

akra, see *kra*.

ambe, an exclamation said to be a contraction of the phrase "by my mother's womb."

Amusi, name of Dahomean derivation.

Anansi, spider. *Anansi* is the trickster in the cycle of stories which bear his name. The *Anansi* stories on the Gold Coast and in the New World are like the Br'er Rabbit stories in the United States. In the New World, aside from

/144 cont./

241 [177] time that the runaway slaves took these with them from the plantations then in existence.

It is therefore worthwhile in various respects to explore what is 241 being cultivated. The following summary has been put together 114 from the data of my own observations and from information pro- [128] vided by various Bush Negroes. This list is not complete; what is lacking, however, is probably of minor importance.

A. Cultivated Crops That Are Grown on the Food Grounds

244 Bitter cassava (kasàba).

[262] This is the most important crop, from which the cassava bread and kwak are made. One plants the shoots in December, but also in March and April. After 12 months the harvest begins; in case of a food shortage they are dug after only seven months. Yellow and white varieties are distinguished according to the color of the contents of the tubers. To the yellow varieties belong: witti tiki, which is kept on the grounds up to two years, blaka tiki, which stands on the grounds only one year, and taja tiki, which provides produce for a long time and is especially good for the making of kwak. To the white varieties belong: amosiang, sanang kasaba, [252] and domberi. Cassava bread is made from this. In the making of kwak all the colors are mixed together in order to obtain the desired yellow color. Each variety separately provides a less tasty product.

252 On the Marowijne one makes more kwak (kwaka) than cassava [184] bread, while on the Surinam River and the Saramacca only cassava bread /a map and Figs. 1-14 appear here/ /145/ is baked with the flour. Kwak is prepared in the following manner: The tubers, after they are peeled, are put in water in a korjaal (1) for two

1. korjaal = boat.

days and then grated. This grated cassava is then allowed to sour in a box or a korjaal; after that the grated cassava is expressed

[text continues on p. 21]

/519 cont./

128 Fertility. We have classed the women, according to the year of
163 birth, into four categories, for fertility has varied considerably in the course of time. The study has been made by five-year age-blocks. The table below /see p. 16 / shows the cumulative fertility (total of figures obtained for the various age-blocks from 15 to 50 years of age). For the women of categories three and four, the number obtained is the result of an extrapolation.

842 Among the Boni there is no custom leading to a diminution of fertility, and the voluntary restriction of births is unknown.

163 The vertical fall of fertility between categories one and
164 two results from the invasion of venereal diseases, which seems
[177] to have coincided with the period (1920) when the search for the balata brought into the interior a heavy traffic of adventurers
[831] accompanied by numerous prostitutes. The very free morals of the Boni favor the propagation of the illness, which, since that time, has not ceased its ravages, stemmed only, but not eliminated, by the medical effort of these last years.

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163

Category	Born	Cumulative Fertility	Rate of Sterility	Age when half the children were born (9)
		%	%	Years
1	1850—1895	7.30	5	31
2 3	1896—1915 1816—1925	3.83	21	27
4	1926—1938	4.52	15	27 (9)

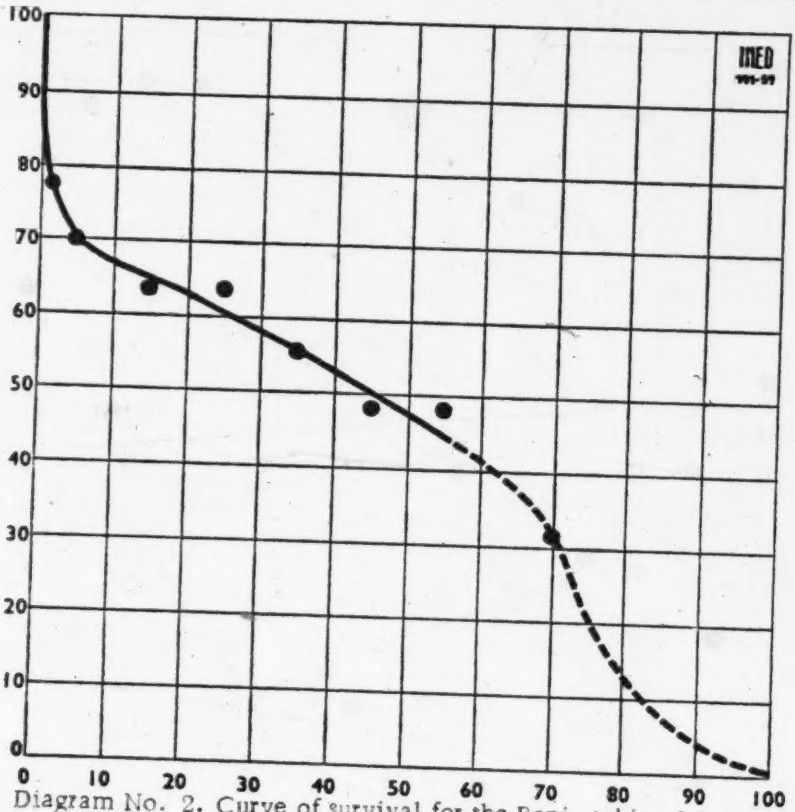

Diagram No. 2. Curve of survival for the Boni, taking 1 January 1950 as the date of reference.

163 8. In the evaluation of the net rate of reproduction (cf. p. 523), the
128 average age should be brought in; there is the danger, however, of this being overestimated as a result of errors in the ages; this is why we preferred to substitute for it the median age.

9. The calculation with regard to the women of category 4 could not, in view of their age, give precise results. We preferred to adopt the figure for the preceding category.

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165 Mortality. The principal interest of this study is to establish the
● 128 curve of survival showing, for 100 children born alive, the number surviving at one year, five years, ten years, etc., until the extinction of the group. The life expectancy at birth is given by this curve.

For the Boni, we can make this study with the assumption that the lives of the individuals stopped on the first of January 1950, the date on which one may consider that the conditions which influence mortality have changed, above all as far as the children are concerned.

The study of the mortality of the children born since the first of January 1950, dealt with in part, will furnish useful elements of comparison.

Establishment of the mortality table. Taking up again the records of 193 women whose lives are completely known to us, and including the children who died in early infancy (10), we have marked down all their children, year by year, on a table.

165 Table of Mortality Referring to 1 January 1950 (10)

Year of birth	Deceased children			Surviving on 1-1-50	Surviving / Total children	Average age on 1-1-50	Deceased between 1-1-50 & 1-1-58
	0-1 year	0-5 years	More than 5 before 1-1-50			years	
1888 – 1899 inclus.	12 (36 %)	13 (39 %)	5	16	16/33 = 48 %	50	2
1900 – 1909 inclus.	15 (28 %)	20 (37 %)	8	26	26/54 = 48 %	45	1
1910 – 1919 inclus.	21 (24 %)	30 (35 %)	8	47	47/85 = 55 %	35	1
1920 – 1929 inclus.	20 (21 %)	28 (31 %)	7	59	59/94 = 62 %	25	3
1930 – 1939 inclus.	24 (24 %)	32 (30 %)	8	66	66/106 = 63 %	15	3
1940 – 1949 inclus.	40 (23 %)	.....	1	122	122/175 = 70 %	5	8

165 10. We were particularly careful in asking about chil-
128 dren who died in early infancy, an important cause of
[856] error in populations without civil records. The age of
[862] the children at the time of death has been estimated according to the following guidelines based on the study

/521 cont./

165
128
856
862

10. (cont.)
of the development of ten children born in 1956 and 1957: sitting up, 7 months; beginning to walk, 1 year (a remarkably clear guideline among the Boni); end of weaning, 14 to 18 months. Beyond that, the ages were estimated by comparison with children living at the time of the inquiry.

165

The survival curve results directly from these values. It shows the high mortality of children (30% during the first five years).

/522/

165 It is not possible to obtain directly a value for the survival
128 rate for ages beyond 55 years, but it is possible to obtain an approximate value from the age pyramid. Calculation (11) gives: proportion surviving at the age of 70: 30%.

11. The calculation consists of comparing the lengths of the segments of the average curve of the pyramid corresponding to the ages 55 and 70, having taken into account the increase in births between 1888 and 1903, deduced from the rate of reproduction.

Table of Mortality Referring to January 1958

165

Year of birth	Deceased before 1-1-50	Deceased between 1-1-50 & 1-1-58	Surviving on 1-1-58	Proportion Surviving	Average age on 1-1-58
				%	Years
1888-1899 inclus...	18	2	14	41	65
1900-1909 inclus...	28	1	25	46	54
1910-1919 inclus...	38	1	46	54	44
1920-1929 inclus...	35	3	56	59	24
1930-1939 inclus...	40	3	64	59	24
1940-1949 inclus...	53	8	114	65	14
1950-1957 inclus....	.....	45, of which 35 under 1 year	154	77.5	4

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161 Thus during the period 1895 to 1925, the Boni population
●[128] doubled with each generation. These results are confirmed by
(173) the study of the genealogies. The present-day Boni, with the
[613] exception of about 5% of them who belong to recently founded lineages, are descended by known filiation from seven women who lived at the end of the eighteenth century.

It is possible that before the period to which this inquiry refers epidemics were produced and struck certain villages in particular, destroying entire lineages. In fact we cannot say anything certain about the evolution of the population before 1890. Let us only remember that this rate of reproduction of 200% per generation of 31 years represents the normal rate for the Refugee Blacks, in the absence of large epidemics and of venereal diseases and before any medical aid.

During the period 1925-1942, the Boni population did not vary (rate of reproduction $\frac{105}{100}$).

Since 1940, it has been increasing slightly, by 25% per 27 years, that is just under 1% per year.

163 Birth rate and mortality rate. Demographic balance. From 1
165 January 1956 to 31 December 1957, i.e., in two years, 39 children were born in the villages on the French bank (660 persons); and 21 persons died (including 5 children born during this period).

Rate of birth: 2.9% per year.

Rate of mortality: 1.6% per year.

161 Rate of increase: 1.3% per year.

The rate of increase of 1.3%, which corresponds incidentally to the theoretical calculation indicated above, is very much below that of the population of Cayenne and of the communes of
[164] the coast. If one considers that before 1920 it reached the remarkable value of 3% per year, one realizes the extent of the disaster brought about by venereal diseases.

/1/

INTRODUCTION

114 101 [122] In the course of three missions of the Institut Géographique National in 1948, 1949, and 1952, we lived in close relationship with the tribe of the Boni, who supplied us with the bearers and boat crews indispensable for travel in the country. From the first contacts, we felt a deep interest in this worthy people, made up in the 18th century of rebel slaves escaped from the plantations of Surinam.

114 [121] Taking advantage of the rare moments of respite allowed us by our work, we tried to study the various aspects of their material, social, and religious life. The men who accompanied us were for the most part young men who had only a limited understanding of the tradition of their group: in addition, the geographic work compelling constant moves in the uninhabited forest, investigator and informants were more often than not prey to worry and fatigue.

[101] [121] At the end of the mission to fix the French Guiana-Brazil boundary in January, 1957, we were able to undertake a systematic investigation based on a detailed inventory of the population of the villages.

114 101 [122] A fifth mission made under the aegis of the Institut Français d'Amérique Tropicale (IFAT) from October, 1957 to February, 1958 permitted us to fill part of the gaps in our work. Some complementary data were collected in October-November, 1958 on the occasion of another trip devoted mainly to the study of the Indians of the Upper Maroni.

128 The present work is exclusively devoted to the social life of the Boni. The information we assembled on their material life and their art, as well as their demographic situation, will be the subject of separate publications. /blank page/

/20 cont./

613 We have said that the recently founded lineages, being of
571 only very small size, cannot constitute a distinct social unit and are placed under the authority of one of the lo heads. That is not a condition imposed by force or any moral coercion whatever, but a practical social necessity. A lineage, reduced in numbers though it may be, keeps in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks imprescriptible collective rights; and if these members agree to group in a separate village and work separate soil, nobody will stand in their way.

128 Such are the elements which stand out after a first study of
613 the kin groups as it can be deduced from interrogating the heads
614 of these units. It leaves unresolved some important problems:
[115] The Boni have the idea that their kin groups are lineages
[829] in the real sense of the term. Nevertheless, questioning on genealogies does not permit all to /21/ go back to the founding ancestress. Three of them, the most important numerically, prove in this respect to be divided into several fractions. Can we be sure that these fractions are actually of the same origin and that the people concerned are not deceiving themselves in believing it? In the social structure of the Refugee Blacks are there no mechanisms leading toward assimilation, to fusion of groups of heterogeneous origin?

We cannot answer these questions directly. First of all it is indispensable to study the conception that the Boni have of kinship ties within the matrilineage. Then we shall examine the genealogical tables of the various lineages, and for those that the study of genealogies shows to be divided into several fractions, we shall study the interrelations of these fractions.

601 Kinship within the matrilineage: The kinship terms translate a
613 purely classificatory system. The principle of classificatory kinship

/23 cont. /

613 614 Not one of the members of the group could trace back to the common ancestress; yet these three fractions together behave as [601] [784] a single lineage. All its members know their mutual appellations "brother," "uncle," etc. All are subject to the same kunu.

The law of exogamy is respected within each fraction, but 613 614 there are seven cases of unions between members of different 582 183 fractions; these unions are disapproved of in principle, but they are tolerated.

Thus, on the subject of exogamy, we see the thought of the Refugee Blacks breaks away from the rigorous principle on which their social order is based. It is the actually known genealogy which counts in their eyes on this point.

613 614 In December, 1958 we were able to reconstitute the complete genealogy of the group (Fig. 4), thanks to the memories of 128 the doyenne of the group, Ma Imma, who had lived for a very [115] long time isolated in a village of the Maroni estuary. The data [601] thus reconstituted are in complete agreement with the kinship appellations among members of the various fractions. /24/

/Fig. 4 appears here. /

The case of the Kotika lineage is thus particularly interesting, for we find ourselves knowing its genealogy completely when its members know it no more than partially.

613 614 Study of this group shows that the forgetting of kinship ties [602] has no effect on the physical grouping of the lineage and its functioning as a social unit.

It has direct repercussions only on the observation of the principle of exogamy. Thus the way in which exogamy is understood and observed appears to us from now on as a secondary criterion having no certain value for the recognition of a common origin.

[621] Some Djuka and Saramaka have settled among the members of the Kotika lineage, but as individuals.

[621] The Lapé (La Paix) lineage, whose name alludes to one of the great plantations of the Cottica River in the 18th century, is

[See p. 34, Category 116 -- Analyst]

/40 cont./

125 In spite of the relations of trust developed between the Boni
[123] and ourselves in the course of the work carried out together during four long missions, we were able to take this census only progressively and indirectly, by using simultaneously the following procedures:

—Study of the genealogy of the groups, going up from woman to woman up to the founding ancestress, then going back down from her. These genealogical tables, some of which extend
[166] over nine generations and include more than 160 persons, brought
[136] to light a certain number of temporarily absent people and individuals who lived away from the villages, isolated in the middle of the Creole gold miners, but continuing to make up part of their group; they also brought to light a certain number of young people and orphan children taken in by distant relatives who would not have spoken about them directly. But on this point, gaps remain;

[126] —Detailed plan of the villages and interrogation of the village heads as to the persons living in each house;

—Interrogation of the women about their dead and surviving children;

—General verification with the help of perfectly trustworthy informants who possessed a thorough knowledge of the genealogy of the groups.

The census, stopped on January 1, 1958, covered 811 per-
[162] sons of whom 667 /41/ were from the villages of the French bank and 144 from the Surinam bank (Kotika). As for the latter, we
[165] questioned them individually when they came to the French bank, especially when they came to attend the end of mourning festivities in Boniville in October, 1957. The Kotika census is less
[128] exact than that of the French villages, and in addition we were
[126] not able to make a plan of the village. For this reason we have not reproduced it in the present work, where only the corresponding genealogical table appears.

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621 The principle behind the constitution of the Boni villages
613 is, as we have said, the localization of the matrilineage. Men
[591] and women live in the village of their maternal kin; the wife does not leave her village to join her husband, who comes to visit her from time to time without ceasing, himself, to live in the midst of his own lineage.

The composition of each village thus corresponds, at least in principle, to the group of living people on the genealogical table. But a certain number of exceptions are observed:

[167] -A certain number of men (about 20 out of 800 persons) have emigrated for good and can no longer be counted in the population of the villages;

[619] -On the other hand, a dozen Djuka and Saramaka married
[591] to Boni women have settled permanently in the villages and have been included in the census.

125 We have tried to estimate with as much precision as possible
128 the age of the people concerned, by means of events of known
[173] date which they remember, from the trip of the explorer Crevaux (1878) to the war 1939-45. We have established a local chronology, reproduced as an appendix at the end of the present chapter.

125 The demographic survey, which has been the subject of another publication (1), was conducted parallel with the sociological investigation.

[113] 1. "Etude démographique comparée des Noirs Réfugiés Boni et des Indiens Oayana du Haut-Maroni /Comparative Demographic Study of the Boni Refugee Blacks and the Oayana Indians of the Upper Maroni/," in Population, éditions de l'INED, 1959, No. 3. 2

2 [See 5: Hurault, This file-- Analyst.]

/41 cont./

125 We estimate the gaps in the census at less than 3 per cent.
[128] These gaps involve essentially the adolescents and young people orphaned or raised by others than their parents.

The adults over 35 years old were practically all known
[648] individually to us. Children under 10 years could be counted very exactly thanks to the distribution of milk carried out since 1956 by the Maripasoula medical center.

125 Classification. The classification of the population was made by
128 village of residence.
162 For each woman we have indicated her successive unions and the children who issued from them. The sign † means deceased, the sign ‡ divorce, the sign ‡† means that the husband is deceased but after the break-up of the union.

The listings for women preceded by an asterisk * indicate that they can be regarded as complete from the demographic point of view (children living and deceased).

A double asterisk ** indicates that the listing can in addition be regarded as complete with regard to successive marriages and divorces (2).

2. We avoided asking directly these questions to which the women replied unwillingly. The information was obtained indirectly by questioning brothers and husbands. It could be obtained complete for only about 30 per cent of the women.

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125 The name of each individual is printed in boldface type
128 once where he can be considered as habitually residing.
162 Children under 15 are considered as living with the persons responsible for their education. If it was not possible to obtain accurate information about this, they are considered as living with their mother.

Each listing bears a number, for example Dju D7, making it possible to find again the individual's place in the genealogical table. In the example noted, refer to the table of the Dju lineage, line D, no. 7.

601 Genealogical tables. These are of unequal value according to the
128 age and the memory of the old people consulted. In general
[115] they go back to three generations beyond the oldest of the old men now alive.

[165] Since the Boni show remarkable longevity, and the average difference in age between two generations can be estimated at 31 years, one can assume as probable that the most distant ancestress known of each lineage was born between the middle and the end of the 18th century. For example, if we assume that
[613] Kuluba, the ancestress of the Awara Bakka, was about 100 years old in 1956, we can take for granted that she was born about 1856 and that her great-grandmother was born about 1760.

613 The most ancient ancestress known of each lineage is certainly not the foundress. It is infinitely probable that the founding of these groups goes back to the beginning of the 18th century and that they were born on the same plantations where the ancestors of the Refugee Blacks were slaves; this would explain the names borne by the lineages, names which nearly always allude to a plantation or to a slave-owner.

601 In a general way, the memory of the Boni is very sure,
128 and the information given in the form: Ma X... begot So-and-so,

/42 cont./

601 So-and-so, and So-and-so, can be regarded as sure. On the other
128 hand, we have considered that there was a break in the genealogy when, going back in time, we arrived at this single datum: Ma X... was the sister of Ma Y..., for it could be a question of kinship in the classificatory sense.

No form of birthright existing among the Boni, there is some uncertainty about the order of birth of brothers and sisters for persons long dead. We have adopted the order kept by oral tradition without trying to rectify it.

613 In many African populations a special tradition is connected
814 with perpetuating the memory of the founder, at least his name,
829 the place of his grave. With the present-day Boni absolutely nothing like this is found; they are not concerned in any way with the true foundress of their lineage; no memory, no legend, not even a name has come down to them. It even seems as though these distant ancestors interest them little because they are less able to act in behalf of their present-day descendants. Indeed, with each new generation the memory of an ancient one dies out.

173 On our first trip in 1948 we called attention, unfortunately without
[126] noting them down precisely, to /43/ very interesting oral traditions going back to the time of slavery, especially the names of the slave-owners who showed themselves to be the most cruel. In
[814] 1952 the last old man who knew them had died; the very memory of what he had said was already effaced.

829 As a matter of fact, Boni thought, strictly practical and
602 utilitarian, is concerned principally with keeping the memory of the part of the genealogy indispensable to the living to know their kinship ties. Memory of women whose posterity has died out and of men who did nothing remarkable is dead from the second generation on.

114 Since none of the travelers of the 19th century understood
613 the importance of taking genealogies, it is probable that the names

/43 cont./

114 of the true foundresses and the circumstances of the formation of
613 the lineages (invaluable information which must still have been present in the memory of the old men at the end of the last century) are lost forever.

128 In order to simplify the drawing up of the genealogical
601 tables, we have eliminated individuals deceased before adult age.

128 Names. To insure the necessary anonymity to our informants
551 without diminishing the accuracy of the statement, we have
601 changed a large part of the names. The fictitious names under
162 which individuals are designated in the genealogical tables as
[101] well as in the inventory of the population were mostly taken from the Djuka, who belong to the same cultural and linguistic group; in other cases, in order "to figure" the census we used a more complex process consisting in exchanging the names of two persons. Children younger than 15 are designated simply by an initial (1).

[648] 1. It is particularly disagreeable to the Refugee Blacks to have their children's names known by Europeans, with the exception of
[123] the doctor. All systematic questioning on this subject runs into clear hostility.

114 Despite these precautions, we recommend that travelers
609 provided with this work make no allusion in front of the Boni to the facts related in it; the Refugee Blacks are very proud and cannot allow an outsider to penetrate forthwith into their family privacy. That would provoke lively hostility toward the indiscreet person and would hinder later work.

114 The table of correspondence between true and fictitious
128 names is held at the disposal of sociologists who may wish to conduct studies on the Boni.

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Kormotibo and Asisi-Dipélu Villages

Dipélu II lo

[128] [361] We did not judge ~~it~~ useful to include the plan of the habitat of this group, consisting of two hamlets which are badly kept up and in decay.

[162] As of January 1, 1958: 62 persons, of whom 31 are children and adolescents of less than 16 years.

[591] Adult inhabitants whose residence in these villages is not normal:

△ Alémin 1880 (Afi lineage)	has always lived isolated
○ Magdaléna 1912 (Afi lineage) (raising 4 children under 16)	came to live with her husband Léon (Dip. II, † in 1954); remained there afterward.
△ Doïchiman 1934 (Afi l.)	raised by his mother Magdaléna, lives near her.
△ Dokwé 1938 (Afi l.)	idem
○ Gongolon 1937 (Afi l.) (raising a child)	idem
○ Mauda 1935 (Afi l.)	idem
○ Ninga 1899 (Papaïston 2)	separated from her group after a disagreement.
△ Bénu 1928	Ninga's son, followed his mother.

Total: 8 persons raising 4 children under 16 years.

/57 cont./

613 The descendants of O Monika † were scattered among these
621 three villages. Δ Kwau, the eldest, after living at Apatu until
591 the age of 70 years, moved in 1958 to Boniville; O Djalufu lived from childhood at L'Enfant Perdu, Cécilia was raised in Boniville where she has lived since.

Again, let us cite the example of the descendants of Wétiti (Papaïston 1). Out of her 12 adult children and grandchildren living in January, 1958, seven established themselves with her in the habitation she founded on the estuary of the Maroni several hundred kilometers from Boni country, two live in Boniville (where the Papaïston lineage delegated a few of its members to live close to the grand man), three came back to live in Papaïston. In spite of this dispersion, there is perfect understanding among these brothers and sisters who remain in regular relationship.

128 Emigration; immigration; founding of new lineages. It is not
167 possible to give rigorous figures on this subject because it is very difficult to make a clear distinction between temporary and permanent emigrants. It does happen that a man /58/ who left a long time before and on whom they no longer counted comes back to take up again his place in ordinary living. It also happens that a man who left for a short trip prolongs his absence indefinitely.

167 Nevertheless, it can be asserted that long lasting emigration affects only a very small percentage of the Boni, and men almost exclusively. Out of 810 persons in the census, in registering the names of their brothers, sisters, and children, we noted only some 20 emigrants considered as permanently lost to their group, including four women.

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166 619 It is fitting to make an exception of the case of OWétiti (Papaïston) and OMa Imma (Kotika), who separated from their groups with their numerous descendants in order to found villages on the lower course of the river. These groups continue to consider themselves Boni; they are the nuclei of future villages.

For the same reasons it is difficult to get exact figures on [162] [621] immigration. About 100 Djuka and Saramaka have founded farming villages in Boni country but keep all their ties with their villages of origin; some 30 of them have married Boni women; one can estimate that some 15 have completely bound up their fate with the Boni and can be considered as integrated into the villages in which they have settled.

16 128 [562] All in all one can estimate that emigration and immigration of adult men, both very insignificant, compensate for each other; they have practically no importance on the social plane (since only the residence of the women has any influence upon the grouping of the lineages) or on the demographic plane; with the Boni the pyramid of ages constructed from the census of the villages represents very faithfully the demographic state of the population and lends itself to precise calculations of mortality (1).

1. It is not the same for the majority of African populations either because of emigration to the cities or polygamy. The presence of several average polygamists in a village is enough to render completely erroneous the counts of cross-sections by age.

166 571 591 613 The founding of new lineages results from the immigration of several Djuka women, some having come to settle permanently near their husbands, others brought up by their fathers in a Boni village. Half a dozen such cases occur in each generation, but

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571 that he can protect himself only by submitting to the law of the
626 group. In this doubtless must be seen the deep reason for the im-
156 portance attached to death and mourning, events around which is
[18] centered the activity of the usual societies and which entail a
[76] veritable mobilization.

626 It would be very difficult to condense the custom of the
971 Refugee Blacks into a rigorous code. If one wished to do it, one would have to write as Article 1: "The living will conform to the will of the gods and the ancestors as it is expressed through the mouths of those possessed and by the movements of the bearers of the dead."

613 Each one of the tribes of the Refugee Blacks is formed of a
619 certain number of matrilineages.

There is no limit on the number of these lineages, and it can be asserted that if any lineage whatever, detached from another tribe, asks to live in the midst of the Boni, it will be welcomed. From the first generation the children consider themselves as Boni.

In this regard one can cite the example of the Awara Bakka 3 lineage and that of the small lineage founded in Boniville by a Djuka woman, wife of Grand Man Ochi. All her descendants consider themselves Boni. /64/

[829] But only the great lineages which constituted the tribe at its
[643] origin are social units recognized by the grand man, and only their heads are called to be members of the council.

● 128 We shall study first the interior functioning of the lineage, then the institutions going beyond the framework of the lineages.

423 613 671 [428] /77 cont./

Land held by right of use cannot be sold nor rented, but only loaned. Neither can it be transmitted by inheritance; this would be entirely contrary to the thinking and custom of the Refugee Blacks hostile to everything that would violate the legal joint possession of the lineage. Inheritance can affect only the harvest in process [425] from clearings. Once this harvest is made, the land can be occupied by any member of the lineage, man or woman, who wishes to cultivate it; and if there is any dispute, it is obligatorily settled within the lineage; the grand man would refuse to judge it. Kinship degree /78/ does not enter in, at least in principle, since they can say to each other "brother," "uncle," or "grandfather" in the classificatory sense.

423 428 The only attenuation of the rigor of this principle provided for by custom is that upon the death of a woman, her daughters have a right of priority to utilize her lands.

423 241 128 The Refugee Blacks have a clear tendency to remain faithful all their lives to the same clearings. The study we have made of the clearings in Boni country gives poor information on the history of each clearing, for it would have been necessary to be able to consult on the spot a large number of people, which we were not able to do; nevertheless it allows us to state that in the neighborhood of the residence villages, individuals keep their right of use of a clearing for the length of their lives.

42 241 Here is for example the transmission of rights over clearings 101 to 112 /sic/ (see genealogical table of the Dju lo) (1).

1. See plate at the end of this work: Distribution of lands in the neighborhood of the principal Boni villages.

[Lands of The Awara Bakka lo (Asisi Village)]

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We were not able to carry this study out exhaustively because the great mass of lands cultivated by the Awara Bakka are situated on the Surinam bank. The clearings summarized here are grouped in a zone called Ingi Udu; they are served by two landing places or dégrads, borrowed exclusively by the Awara Bakka.

No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
61	O	Kyéti (Aw.B.1, E30); cl. cut by her brother Agibidon	1954	member of the Awara Bakka lo, 1st fraction	cut on old secondary forest
62	O	Mani (Afi lineage); clearing cut by her husband Galmo	1956	member of the Afi lineage, living in Asisi	2 years
63	O	Kyéti; clearing cut by her brother Agibidon	1956	Awara Bakka, 1st fraction, Asisi village	2 years; cut 4 times in all, the 1st about 1949 /91/
65	O	Akanté (Aw.B.3); clearing cut by her husband Poopu	1956	id. 3rd fraction	2 years

[Papaïston Village]

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
114 ○	Gou (P1, F8); clearing cut by her husband Akwali		id.	id.
115 ○	Puti (P2, F71); clearing cut by her husband Maïpa	1951	id.	cleared off for the 1st time on old secondary forest
116 ○	Héléna (P1, F2); clearing cut by her husband Baliki	1951	id.	id.

[562] These six clearings are held by women of the Papaïston lineage, in accordance with the residence principle of the Refugee Blacks.

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/96/ The Social System Illuminated by the Study of Implantation on the Soil

128 Study of the clearings in the neighborhood of the farming villages gives exact information about the structure of the kin groups which cannot be obtained by direct interrogation.

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--Transmission of rights over land within the lineage fraction having the same residence constitutes an imprescriptible legal principle, to which one refers as the conclusive argument to settle every dispute;

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182 161 241 423 613 That this system is perfectly workable has been sufficiently demonstrated by the regular expansion for two centuries of the tribes of Refugee Blacks and by the good functioning of their institutions.

182 Thus the basic instability of the Indians of Guiana cannot be attributed to the influence of the geographical environment alone. It comes essentially from social and psychological factors.

/100/ STUDY OF FARMING HABITATIONS

128 We are now going to study the functioning of the farming habitations under the same aspects:

--Structure (composition of each one, kinship ties);

--Territorial implantation: nature and extent of rights over the land;

--Functioning.

241 621 184 Not all Boni have a farming habitation; about two-thirds of them are satisfied with the lands they occupy near the residence villages.

241 621 361 162 613 The farming habitations we are going to study more especially and which are situated between the mouth of the Inini and Simayé Falls to the south, group about a hundred persons belonging to the Dju, Lapé, Awara Bakka, and Papaïston lineages. Another group of farming habitations situated a little south of Kormotibo, which we shall study briefly and only so far as their composition is concerned, bring together about 60 persons. Finally, other very dispersed farming habitations exist, belonging principally to the Kotika lineage, some in the Maripasoula region, others in the Abattis-Kotika Falls /region/.

241 184 621 [361] [162] On the whole, the Boni farming habitations cannot be compared either as to importance or stability with the Djuka farming villages which are placed at intervals on the middle course of the Maroni, grouping 3,000 to 3,500 persons: this is easy to understand: the Djuka, continually short of land, are obliged,

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[553] and supplanting the others, but in numerous cases the names are used concurrently; in general an individual is designated among his maternal relatives by his pikin nɛm, while the people of other villages designate him by his gaã nɛm or by a cognomen. It has happened to us many a time in the course of the same conversation to hear the same individual designated by two or three different names.

[125] It goes without saying that this custom makes any census
[128] of the Refugee Blacks impracticable, for as long as one does not know individually the members of a lineage and their genealogy, it is impossible to understand anything.

Nevertheless, one must not see in this a defense reaction with respect to the European administration. The Refugee Blacks find it completely normal to have several names at a time, for they do not have the notion of the identity of a name with a person.

Thus one of our boatmen was Fintiman to his maternal relatives, Gobiyo to his father and part of his friends, Loamba to his paternal grandfather, and Nakiyu to his first wife.

55 Choice of names. Names are highly varied and their choice
553 does not follow any fixed rule; it is in the exclusive domain of fancy.

A large number are constituted of simple onomatopoeia: Tyutyu, Dada, Dodo, Dudu, etc. (which may be applied indiscriminately to man or woman). Dodo's mother explained to us the reason for her choice: dodo was the refrain of an air which often sang in her head while she was pregnant. /124/

55 Again are pointed out:
177 --More or less deformed European names: Afayèl (Rafaèl), Modèl, Pasensi (Patience), Félisi (Félix), Sophie, Toïna (Antonia). Certain names are deformed European proper names; for example: Sota for Chotard (name of an official in Saint-Laurent);

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429 Until very recent times the authority of the guardian had
561 remained very strong and was prolonged very late; he had the
[861] right to strike his ward to make him obey, and he exercised his
[582] powers until the time when, judging the child's education finished, he authorized him to marry, which formerly seldom happened before 25-27 years.

Fintiman (of Boniville), about 50 years old in 1958, tells that his father, entrusted with his upbringing, did not authorize him to marry before he was completely established as a carpenter and boat-builder, at about the age of 27. Until that age he remained subject to the most tyrannical authority; his father intended especially to forbid him to go out in the evening, and in order to carry on a clandestine affair he had to use nocturnal fishing expeditions as a pretext!

429 When a boy's guardian judges his education finished, he
884 helps him to build his house and gives him tools, a trunk containing clothes, and a hammock. Henceforward the boy must make his own way in life.

429 All during his lifetime he will continue to show the greatest
576 respect to the person who raised him and often, speaking of that
601 person, he will say: "my father" or "my mother."

601 When a Refugee Black says in the course of a conversation, "My father used to do this," he often means the man who brought him up; if he wishes to speak of his true father, he will say, "My own father who made me." Likewise when he says "My
[128] grandfather," he usually means a great-uncle. This confusion
[114] makes research on family life risky as long as one does not
[593] possess any census by names; apparently it has led several authors into error, making them believe that among the Refugee Blacks the father brings up his children himself, when this is on the contrary the exception.

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586 [163] Likewise Pééchina, about 70 years old in 1957, separated from Nachinengé (Kotika) after having spent the greatest part of her life with him and having six children by him.

In order to be able to break thus a long standing union without undergoing moral collapse, it is certainly necessary for the affectivity of each one to be entirely centered on his maternal family.

586 124 Frequency of divorce. This essential aspect of the social life of the Refugee Blacks is not easy to lay hold on by direct interrogation. The women do not willingly talk about their past unions and let go in silence the ones which remained childless. However, we were able to reconstitute with rather great certainty the past life of about a hundred women (mothers, near relatives, or wives of our most reliable informants). These men /"women" -- printing error. -- Tr./ are marked with a double asterisk ** in the population list of the villages.

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[178] It is useful to classify them by age groups relating to the year of birth, for we shall see that the frequency of divorce seems to have increased with time. The groups chosen are the same as for the demographic investigation which we carried on parallel to the sociological study:

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586 The estimate of the average number of divorces for women
[128] born before 1896 is probably lower than the actual number, their first divorces not being well known to our informants. It is probably in the neighborhood of two.

586 The increase in frequency of divorces among young women
593 is striking. It is related to the weakening of the authority, very
178 strong in former times, exercised by mothers over their daughters.

Here are two examples concerning two girls we have known since their childhood.

836 Lomé (L2, F74, Boniville) born in 1938, began to cause people to talk about her in 1954. She was deflowered by N..., who did not want to marry her. Then she had relations with Asadam (K, Boniville), who did not want to marry her either. She was beaten; she continued to see him. Now this is extreme-
[558] ly shameful for a girl because it is placing herself in a state of inferiority with respect to a man, when her self-respect consists in making a contract between equals.

582 Her brother Amèmbé beat her, and she ended up by marrying Pitipiti (Aw.B.2, Asisi village), who formally asked
586 for her in marriage in 1956. This marriage lasted less than a
587 year. In 1957 Lomé divorced him to marry Djoni (Kotika village).

584 Aguba (D.u, G14), girl of Asisi-Dju village, born in 1941, had been proposed to with the customary formalities in May, 1956 by Païtiki (L2, Loka village), a young man of 18. It was
584 agreed that the engaged couple would wait two years. But
585 Païtiki did not wait and consummated the marriage clandestine-
[429] ly at the end of a few months. Lènga, Aguba's aunt and guardian, became very angry and beat her. She did not give her the pangi until May, 1957. The marriage lasted only a few
586 months. /157/ By the end of 1957 Aguba was breaking off with Païtiki and beginning openly to look for adventures.

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767 According to the moral law of the Refugee Blacks, all work must be paid for. The work of the ɔlɔmã and kisimã is no exception to the rule: the dead person must pay for what is done for him; to this end, his brothers appropriate pieces of cloth from his trunk (about 30 if the dead man was rich) and since that would not suffice, the relatives and friends of the dead man come to swell these assets by giving additional pieces of cloth.

If the dead man was very poor and no longer had cloth in good condition, the people of the lineage must give enough so that at least six may be given to the kisimã and about ten to the ɔlɔmã. If there are too few pieces of cloth for each one to be able to receive a whole one, they are cut up into small pieces, but it is absolutely indispensable for each one to be paid, even if symbolically.

764. Unfolding of the burial rites. These rites are complex, and the ceremonies in which they unfold are always very confused. Even if one is acquainted with the general idea and understands the language rather well, they are very difficult to follow. For [128] clearness in this account, we shall first give a résumé, which will be followed by observations collected in particular cases.

763 The day of the death is taken up by weeping and lamentations and the sending of messengers to the neighboring villages.

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428 178 A tendency which has appeared during recent years in connection with men consists in bequeathing during their lifetime the essential part of their property to the children they have raised.

613 [787] Inheritance of functions and powers. Upon the death of a lineage head, the yɔrka of the dead man is asked whom it wishes to see named. Then the council assembles to proceed with the nomination; it remains free in its choice, the will of the dead man beyond the grave does not have the force of law; but actually, it seems to be most often followed.

As for the function of captain which is common to all the fractions of one lo, the inheritance may pass from one fraction to another.

Ex.: for the Awara Bakka lo, the succession:
Asèmbay (Aw.B.2);
Pèèyon (Aw.B.1);
Kondoku (Aw.B.1).

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CHAPTER VII

BELIEFS

Origin of the Beliefs of the Refugee Blacks

771 128 The spiritual life of the Refugee Blacks of the Guianas is intimately bound up with their social life, and the division we are obliged to make for the sake of clearness of the account is very often arbitrary. So we shall try to point out these connections wherever they are essential.

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581 The Refugee Blacks change their attitude immediately as soon as one speaks to them about marriage. Men and women are unanimous in considering marriage as an intolerable violation of individual freedom and as a tie without purpose; they talk about it with veritable indignation, even having the feeling of an offense against morality.

Cults of Possession

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The phenomena of possession are extremely frequent
[171] among the Blacks of America (possession by saints or inspiration by the Holy Spirit among the Blacks of Brazil and the United
[171] States, voodooism in Haiti). With the Refugee Blacks they make up the very base of religious life to the point of being the normal means of communication between the gods and men; they have profound effects on all social life.

The cults of possession practiced by the Refugee Blacks of Guiana differ from those of the Blacks of Brazil and Haiti and do not appear to be directly connected with the African cults which have been described.

[128] We shall give here only very concise information about the ritual of these cults and we shall mainly try to show their place in relation to the institutions of the Refugee Blacks, and their functioning.

787 Possession is believed to be the entrance into a man of a suprahuman entity (divinity, spirit of an ancestor) which, during a variable length of time generally rather short (a few minutes to several hours), uses the body of this man and expresses itself through his mouth. They say that the man has become the horse - hasi - of the divinity. They also say: "Such-and-such a divinity entered his head." The possessed person is called
[114] gadu mã (gadu umã for a woman). This word has been translated improperly as "priest" in the first works treating of the Refugee Blacks.

787 824 /216 cont./

Aluku Name	Identification	Use
Sãŋgaafu	Costus cylindricus (zingiberaceae)	cult of the Papa gadu and of the Ampuku
Malimbelimbe	Piper sp. (?)	——
Filli (Hɔligɔɔ)	Chamaesyae sp. (?) (euphorbiaceae)	——

828 Beliefs Concerning the Human Person and Its Development
Ancestor Worship

[171] The Refugee Blacks of the various tribes have precise and identical conceptions on this subject, which are found also, more or less mixed with Christian conceptions, among the West Indian populations of African origin. For them, man is formed of three elements: the body, the yɔrka which may be translated by personality, and a higher principle called akka.

[184] It goes without saying that among the Boni, who have not elaborated these conceptions and received them from the Djuka, nobody is capable of discoursing on them. But numerous con-
[128] ceptions having to do with magic and to the relationships with the ancestors permit of rather reliable cross-checking.

774 The akka. It is not possible to translate akka (1) by soul in the

1. This word appears to be a deformation of kla (Agni-Baoulé), word to which a very comparable meaning is attached.

sense we understand it. The akka is an immortal divine element

/269/

538 Doubtless for the same reason, nothing is found in most of these tales which brings to mind a moral inspired by a concept of good and evil. Now it is the thief and the swindler who triumph, now they find one cleverer than they. It is easy to see that for the storyteller all that is on the same plane; he simply guided his story on what seemed to him most amusing. [522] As for the audience, it always laughs at the loser. One single tale out of 14 (No. 1) expresses a practical moral: "That is why you must not deceive people, for there are people who are cleverer than you."

Most of the tales and proverbs have already been heard many a time by the Refugee Blacks without that lessening their pleasure. More than the story itself, they appreciate the verve of the storyteller, his mimicking talent, the always new variations he knows how to give of a hackneyed theme.

538 All these tales were recorded with the tape recorder and [128] then were studied carefully with respect to vocabulary and syn- [126] tax. We have stayed very close to the actual wording and as far as possible have kept the special Aluku turns of phrase, especially African interjections which reinforce the verbs. The tedious passages which had to be summarized are put in parentheses. Tales nos. ten to 14 are summarized.

#539

Tales

1) The Bearded Rock

One day Anansi went into the bush. He walked until ... he saw a rock, a rock with a beard. He cried: "Bearded rock!"

/301/

APPENDIX

*162
*621
• 128

TABLE OF THE POPULATION OF THE BONI VILLAGES

as of January 1, 1958, arranged in alphabetical order

Classification. The classification of the population has been made by village of residence.

For each woman, we have indicated her successive unions and the children issuing from them. The sign † means deceased, the sign ≠, divorce. The sign ≠ † means that the husband is dead, but after the break-up of the union.

The women's listings preceded by an asterisk * indicate that the listing may be regarded as complete from the demographic point of view (children living and deceased).

A double asterisk ** indicates that the listing can in addition be regarded as complete from the point of view of successive marriages and divorces.

The name of each individual is printed in boldface once only, where he may be considered as residing habitually. The total of the names in boldface gives immediately the population figure for the village.

Children under 15 years are considered to be living with the persons responsible for their education. If details about this could not be obtained, they are considered to be living with their mothers.

Each listing bears a number, for example Dju D7, permitting one to find the place of the individual in the genealogical table. In the example indicated, reference must be made to the table of the Dju lo, line D, no. 7.

Let us recall that part of the names have been replaced, by request of those concerned, by fictitious names.

/138 cont./

241 825 particular suffers greatly from this type of ant, but maize, tajer, and bananas are also eaten. This plague is so serious that the clearing of a new ground is partially determined by the occurrence of the nests of these ants at the place. Normally these nests lie fairly far apart in the forest, but as soon as the crops of the grounds come within the domain of the ants, the nests grow rampantly. In addition, at just about planting time the ants produce numerous sexual forms, which, as a result of the cleared lands, have a favorable opportunity to swarm and found new colonies. The leaf-cutting ants are therefore "Kulturfolger" /followers of culture/.

As a result of this plague of ants, it is usually not possible for the Bush Negroes to cut extensions to the existing grounds for longer than two to three years. After all, the kapoeweri of the abandoned pieces of ground functions then as a hiding place for the younger ant-nests, and one drags, as it were, the ant plague along with one. There is no combating the ants, and through impotence the Bush Negro is forced to yield the field. This flight before the ants consists in the search for new grounds farther into the bush or, in case this is no longer possible for some reason, in the occupation of new lands elsewhere along the river.

137 136 /139/ Stahel (1) has pointed to the fact that among the Bush

[113] 1. Het Bosnegervraagstuk en het Coronieplan /The Bush Negro Question and the Coronie Plan/, Department Landbouwproefstation Surinam /Department of Agriculture Research Station, Surinam/, Report No. 9, October, 1944, 28 pp.

Negroes the older grounds change into a low second-growth, called by him "ant-kapoeweri" /ant-bush/. In effect, in many places where a dense Bush Negro population is found, such a strip of second growth occurs along the rivers. According to Stahel, this inferior bush comes

13 [114] about through the presence of the great nests of leaf-cutting ants. According to his calculation, at a density of six ant nests per hectare (a maximum which is confirmed in the vicinity of Paramaribo, but which, according to my own observations in the Bush Negro lands,

/139 cont./

13 seems too high to me), the ants can bring into the soil each year two to three tons of leaf material per hectare. As a result the soil would be so enriched with humus and, in addition, through the construction of the numerous nest corridors, receive so much extra ventilation that the oxygen content and the microbiological condition of this soil would tend to differ from the mineral soils in which the virgin forest is rooted. As proof of this, it is stated "that even the oldest ant-kapoeweri directly behind the villages shows no tendency to grow into normal high forest" (p. 13).

114 It does not seem correct to me to ascribe this kapoeweri
137 phenomenon only to the presence and the activity of the leaf-
136 cutting ants. In my opinion the ants here constitute a troublesome contributing factor, for when the virgin-forest grounds are abandoned by the population and no new food material is available to the ants while the kapoeweri gradually grows into higher forest, then the balance in the ant population re-establishes itself. This process takes place at a slow rate, depending on the local circumstances, but it leads to the re-establishment of the original situation. There is, however, one condition connected with it, namely, that the forest be left in peace for a long enough stretch.
241 Now this last is not the case for the grounds area of the Bush Negroes.
134 They return too soon (within ten years) to clear grounds again, with the consequence that the soil becomes too exhausted and the recovery of the forest becomes impossible.

171 Proof for this viewpoint is already provided by Stahel (loc.
241 cit.) in his consideration of the agriculture of the upland Indians.
137 The absence of the ant-kopoeweri there is not a matter of a lesser
[136] ant infestation, as Stahel /140/ believes -- for in places this is equally serious -- but of a less intensive use of the forest lands.
[161] The Indians are present in small numbers (a few hundred, as against
423] thousands of Bush Negroes), while only communal plots are laid out for one village, and not different ones for each family. In
361] addition, the Indians move frequently in order to find new hunting and fishing grounds.

/140 cont./

241 There is yet another factor which plays a role in the origin
134 of the grounds-kapoeweri. This is the use of fire in clearing the
137 ground. The burning of the cut forest is done at the expense of the humus on and in the soil. The fertilization with ashes that one obtains by it only partially covers this loss. Furthermore, under the influence of the fire there are great disturbances in the balance of the microflora and fauna of the soil, hindering the conversion of organic materials into inorganic compounds. Sun and rain bring changes in the structure of the scorched earth, which forms a cement-like crust and becomes sealed. Also the growing of cultivated crops, especially cassave, draws many mineral components from the soil.

● 13 It is clear that the soil needs time to recover after this disturbance of the balance. This period of time is estimated at 25-30 years. The leaf-cutting ants play a part in this; they again enrich the soil with humus by bringing great quantities of leaves into their ground nests. In addition, they ventilate the soil by digging numerous nest corridors. In this manner the ants contribute
[242] to the recovery. It is well-known, moreover, that the soil on old leaf-cutting ant nests is fertile; one likes to plant bananas on it. If we assume with Stahel that in this kapoeweri six ant nests per hectare are found, then these nests together would only have a maximum surface of one-tenth of it. This would never be able to hinder the full growth of the forest.

136 That the leaf cutting ants occupy the secondary growth, or at
137 least are present there in greater numbers than is normally the case
241 in the forest, may be a consequence of the laying out of new grounds within their domain. Because of the lack of land, the Bush Negroes are constantly trying to lay out grounds again in this forest. The ants, moreover can maintain themselves because there are various forest trees that supply the ants with sufficient leaf material.

13 Thus, because of both the decreased capacity of the soil and
311 the presence of the leaf-cutting ants, the ant-kapoeweri forms a terrain that has become unusable for present-day primitive Bush Negro agriculture./141/ And from the standpoint of forestry too the ant-kapoeweri is worthless.

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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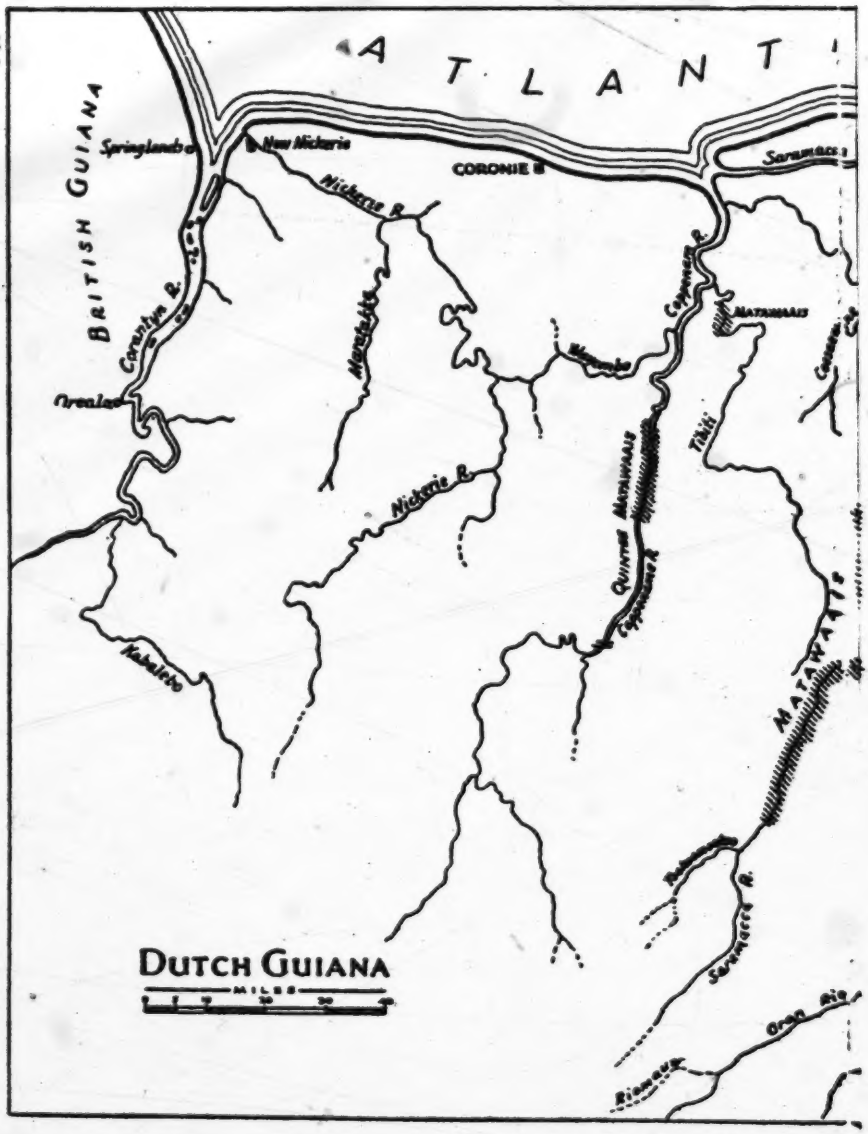

[Facing p. 100, Sec. A]

Distribution of Bush Negro Tribes
Drawn after a sketch by

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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133
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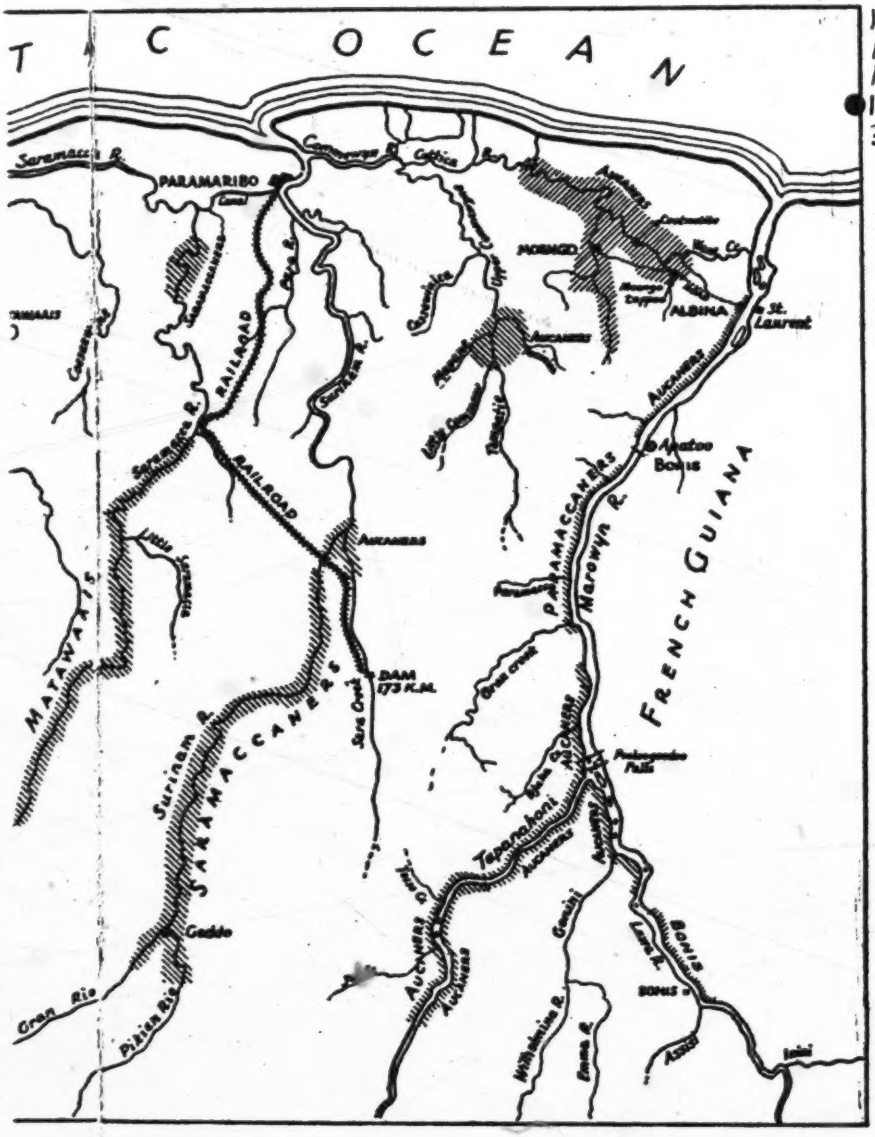

T C O C E A N
Saramacca R.
PARAMARIBO
Commewijne R.
Cottica R.
MORONOU
ALBINA
St. Laurent
Saramacca R.
RAILROAD
Suriname R.
Gaanlo
Auchanes
Aucanes
Aucanes
Auc

B
R /509 cont./
101 October 1958 – January 1959), expeditions whose principal aim
114 was the sociological study of these populations.
121

/510/

Social Structure and Way of Life

B
101 The Boni Refugee Blacks. The Boni are one of the above-mentioned
[175] tribes of the Refugee Blacks, reconstituted in the course of the eighteenth century by rebel African slaves who escaped from
B Surinam plantations (Dutch Guiana).

[131] These tribes (Saramaka, Djuka, Paramaka, Boni) live for the
[161] most part along the rivers of the interior of Surinam. They group together a total of 25,000 persons.

B
161 With very rare exceptions, the Refugee Blacks are pure Africans.
[144] These populations, vigorous and well adapted to the country, have experienced in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a remarkable demographic increase, attested to by all the authors. Descended from small rebel groups which could not have contained more than a few hundred women, they are now estimated at more than 25,000 persons.

B
162 The Boni of the Upper Maroni, the subject of the present study,
103 number approximately 800, of whom 660 are on the French bank
[161] (the villages of Boniville, l'Enfant Perdu, Loka, Asisi, Papaïston, and Kormotibo) and 140 on the Surinam bank (the village of Kotika). These villages were established long ago.

B
613 Each of them groups together a matrilineage, i.e., the
621 descendants in the uterine line of one single founding ancestress;
769 certain villages know their genealogy in its entirety back to this ancestress, who must have lived at the end of the eighteenth century. The members of the lineage are united by the cult of the
B ancestors, which binds them firmly to their natal village and to
[622] their land. The social system is based essentially on this cult,
[793] the chief of the village being above all the priest of the ancestors.

B Strictly speaking, there is no marriage, but only an acknowl-
581 edged concubinage which entails neither a contract between the

R /511 cont./

161 The Oayana of the Upper Maroni in 1958 numbered about 240,
175 of whom 70 were on the Surinam side. About 250 others lived on the
[162] Yari and the Parou in Brazil, altogether some 500 persons. They numbered about 3,000 at the time of Leblond (1788), and the explorer Coudreau around 1890 estimated them again at 1,500. All the authors of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have noticed
R their further decline, but without understanding the cause.

361 The Oayana move their villages every ten years on the aver-
433 age. No cult of the ancestors binds them to their land; they are
R only concerned about a favorable place for agriculture and fishing.

621 As far as can be judged, a village used to group together the
613 members of a matrilineage. There were two types of marriage,
582 one endogamous, between cross cousins in the classificatory sense,
591 the other exogamous; in this latter case, the man would leave his group to establish himself among the relatives of his wife;
R nowadays this principle of residence is breached by individualism.
621 Marriage and residence are entirely free. The composition of the
571 villages changes constantly; a simple dispute suffices to cause the
R departure of a faction which goes to join the neighboring village.
178 Nevertheless the social and political decadence have not had any catastrophic influence on the way of life. The Oayana remain
R firmly attached to their beliefs, their language, and their techniques.

241 The Oayana are above all agriculturalists; their very large
262 clearings are cultivated with great care and provide for them the essentials of their diet.

R
433 After agriculture, fishing is their principal resource. Hunting and gathering come next.

R
517 All this activity leaves plenty of free time for finery, dancing, and, above all, doing nothing in their hammocks.

R /512/

R Geographic environment; way of life; diet. The Upper Maroni pre-
132 sents the characteristics of the humid equatorial environment. Lo-
[131] cated at 3° 30' latitude, the country has an annual mean temperature of about 26°. The annual rainfall is about three meters, as against 3.5 meters at Cayenne.

/5/

CHAPTER I

MAN AND THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

The Country

133
[131] The Boni live along the middle course of the Lawa, principal tributary of the Maroni, above Abounasounga Falls. This region presents the same characteristics as the rest of Guiana: it is a very worn-down peneplain which, seen from the air, gives the impression of an immense plateau from which emerge every now and then isolated mountain massifs. When one travels across this peneplain, one perceives that in its detailed aspects it is very hilly everywhere; the terrain looks like an infinite covering of whitecaps of little hills as anonymous as the waves of the sea, whose always steep slopes end in swamps or pinotières drained by an infinitely complex maze of "criques" [creeks] (1); the shapes

1. In Guiana brooks and small rivers are called "criques."

and dimensions of these hills and valleys depend on the nature of the substratum, and their appearance on aerial photographs makes possible the drawing up of a concise geological map. The zones of "green rocks" are marked by much more important valleys and hills, reaching an altitude of 800 meters, with massive shapes and very steep slopes.

The other types of terrain most often lead to a very broken-up relief, the dimensions of the valleys and hills scarcely going over 300 meters, with local differences of altitude of from 50 to 100 meters.

/5 cont./

133 This extreme fragmentation of the relief must be remembered
182 as one of the ecological factors influencing the human peopling most directly; it renders the transport of heavy loads impracticable, the establishing of roads practically impossible. Men are led to
[361] settle along the rivers, which constitute the only routes of penetration toward the interior of the country.

133 All the important rivers flow into an alluvial valley whose
132 width varies from some tens of meters to a kilometer, dry during the greater part /6/ of the year, but flooded under several meters
134 of water during the great rains of May-June. This annual inunda-
241 tion makes the alluvial lands unfit for agriculture; the inhabitants of Guiana cultivate only sloping lands and even very steep slopes readily; for good drainage of the soil is indispensable for the raising of manioc whose tubers, which remain in the ground for more than a year, are threatened with rotting.

311 The cultivable zone is in fact closely limited around each village. Practically, it is limited to a strip of 1,500 to 2,000 meters along the banks of each watercourse accessible to pirogues.
[482] Transport of manioc tubers, carried on by the women several
[462] times a month, becomes impracticable if the distance to be covered with loads is greater than two kilometers at the maximum (1).

[101]
[131]
[184]

1. The Djuka, very numerous on the Tapanahoni, cultivate as far as three or four kilometers from the river; but in general, the Refugee Blacks prefer to build farming habitations at a distance of several days' by boat from their village when this gives them the possibility of farming in the neighborhood of the banks.

/8 cont./

experience of the American Indians, which seem the only utilizable ones in the interior of the country.

Thus these populations which are so varied have in large measure the same agriculture and the same food.

Basic crops are manioc, consumed in the form of couac (flour roasted and granulated) which is the base food, the Indian yam, and tubers analogous to taro (dachine, "Caribbean cabbage"). The Refugee Blacks plant mountain rice in addition. The Creoles do not plant rice but have on the other hand a greater variety of vegetables and fruits.

Men in Guiana live on the rivers; villages and cultivated lands are to be found on their banks; everywhere else one finds only the deserted forest; only Creole gold miners, constrained by their work, sometimes establish their villages far from watercourses. The Refugee Blacks, like the Indians, love the rivers where they find, along with water and light, the possibility of moving without hindrance; they are a people of canoeists; their traditions are widely influenced by life on the river, and their mode of living finds in this a deep originality.

In fact, setting aside the gold miners' villages, we can say that the populations of the Guianas living by exploitation of the natural resources of the country have a linear habitat: it can be estimated not in surface but in length, for it is limited to a band of one kilometer along each watercourse accessible to pirogues. These watercourses are limited in number, for one can take for granted that at a distance of some 20 kilometers from the source of each river, the congestion caused by fallen trees and parasitic vegetation prevents easy movement.

Actually, considering the very low density of the population, the small rivers are scarcely utilized except as fishing places.

All the rivers are interrupted by falls and rapids which render the use of large boats impossible. The pirogues of the Refugee

F 233 433 /10 cont./

Since about ten years ago Creole exploiters without any outside aid have built up a herd of several hundred head, principally with an eye to the provisioning of the mining center of Benzdorp. F [508] The existence of an airodrome and regular air connections permits envisaging the export of meat to the coast. The success of animal F 233 raising in the Upper Maroni seems to be attributable to a rainfall [132] lower in total amount than on the coastal strip but better distributed, [311] as well as to the nature of the soil. It is principally on the floodable alluvial strip bordering the river to a width of 500 to 600 meters that cattle find the most favorable conditions, taking refuge on the neighboring hills during the three weeks of annual inundation.

F Winning pastures from the forest and defending them against [461] the encroachment of the bush represents continual work, but it [464] can be carried out on the Maroni far better than on the coast, thanks to the man power of the Refugee Blacks.

F One cannot yet come to a conclusion on the profitableness [433] of this animal raising. Like many other enterprises in Guiana it [435] is handicapped by its too high cost price which prevents effective competition with imported products.

B 101 2) The populations of the Maroni, descending from rebel slaves of the 18th century, who are often called Refugee Blacks, are divided into three tribes: the Djuka, the Paramaka, and the B 197 Boni, whose customs are practically identical and whose dialects are very close. These dialects are variations of Taki-taki, vehicular language derived mainly from English, whose use was widespread in the time of slavery and which has become the national language of Surinam.

B 162 The Paramaka, 700 to 800 in number, occupy the lower part of the course of the Maroni from the first waterfall (Hermina) 131 to the junction with Béiman Creek. They are not navigators but B 433 farmers and foresters, who furnish highly prized man power for the enterprises of the Saint-Laurent region. 464

/10 cont. /

162 The Boni, about 1,000 in number, occupy the course of the
131 Lawa between Abounasounga Falls to the north and the falls of the
Litani to the south. Their "great villages," that is, their residential
36 villages, are: Agodé (Boniville), Kotika, Asisi, Loka, Papaïston,
[103] Kormotibo, Lapé, and l'Enfant Perdu. Three small villages
founded more recently are established on the lower course of the
563 Maroni. The territorial implantation of the Boni has been dis-
turbed by the settlement of Creole gold miners on their territory
178 for three quarters of a century. Their demographic situation is
mediocre and their tribal organization, compared to that of the
[181] other tribes, has lost much of its strength. However, they still
make up a human grouping full of strength and originality.

131 The Djuka, whose "great villages" are in Surinam territory
361 on the /11/ Tapanahoni, can be evaluated at 7,000 to 8,000 in
[162] total. At the height of demographic expansion, their farming
[161] villages swarm on both banks of the Maroni and on the islands,
[648] penetrating more and more deeply into the interior of French
[619] Guiana, where in places they form small temporary groupings
living in symbiosis with the Creole gold miners; the Boni recognize
their right to cross their territory but not that of establishing
villages in it.

433 For a century the economy of the Refugee Blacks has been
648 founded on a symbiosis with the Europeans and Creoles; they furnish
[464] specialized labor (construction, but above all, transport) in ex-
[465] change for relatively high wages. This economy finds itself
[178] threatened by the gradual disappearance of gold mining; there is
[166] developing a tendency toward temporary emigration to the Euro-
[182] pean work yards of Saint-Laurent analogous to that of the Saramaka
of Surinam to French Guiana. This is a serious threat to the in-
terior cohesion of the tribes.

/15/

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE BONI

Villages

[3] [361] [133] Localization. The principal Boni villages have for 150 years been grouped on the Lawa (1) upstream from Abattis-Cottica Falls.

> 1. Let us remember that the Lawa and the Tapanahoni are the streams forming the Maroni. The Lawa constitutes the border between Surinam and French Guiana.

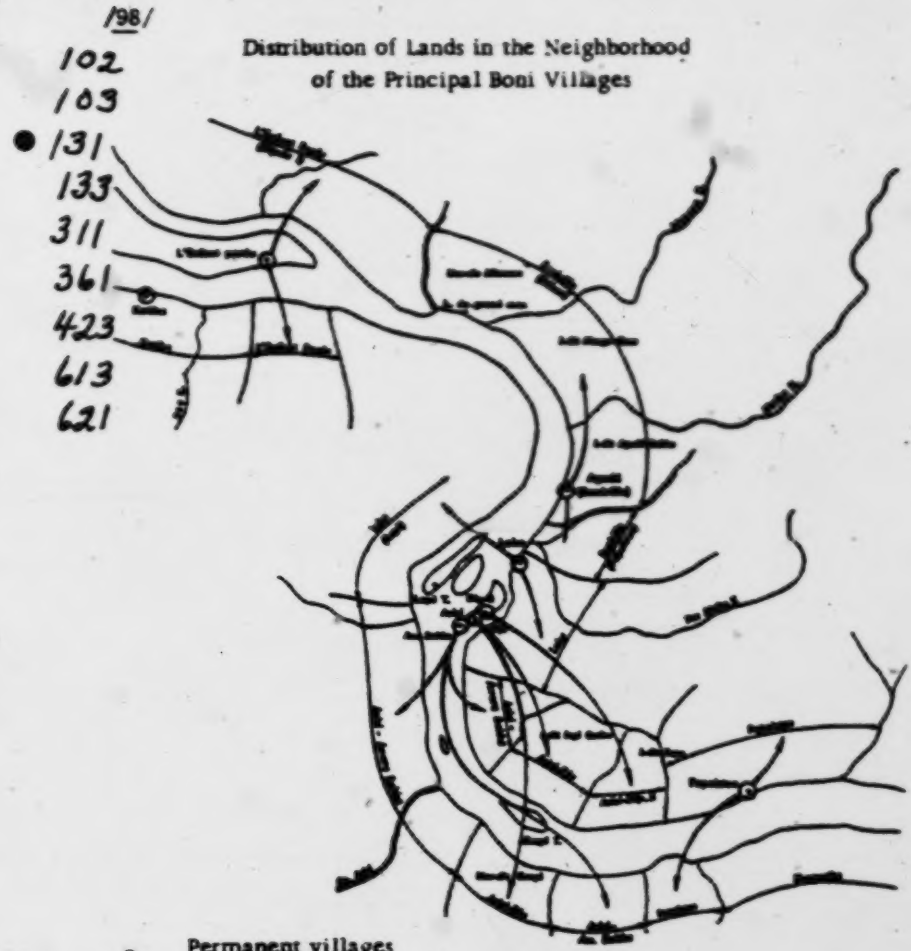
The limit of Boni country toward the south is vague. However, it is taken for granted that all the Abattis-Cottica belong [361] to the Boni. Boni farming villages and Djuka villages coexist downstream from the Abattis-Cottica as far as Abounasounga. Below Abounasounga begins Djuka country properly speaking (2).

> 2. In reality this is a zone of colonization, for the "great country" of the Djuka is the Tapanahoni. But the customary rights they possess on the Lawa lands are contested by no one.

423 643 [131] Traditionally, the Boni used to consider the whole of the upper basin of the Maroni as their domain or at the very least as territory under the authority of the grand man. Thus it was at

/98/

Distribution of Lands in the Neighborhood
of the Principal Boni Villages



Permanent villages
Boundary lines

Scale:

/K. or Cr. = Creek,
Lieu-dit = locality,
h. du grand man = habitation of the grand man,
Zone inondable = floodable zone./

Fig. 16.

6: Hurault

SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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621

A (p. 576)
B (p. 577)
C (p. 578)
D (p. 579)

Chart of Positions of End Map /facing p. 576/

6:Hurault--576 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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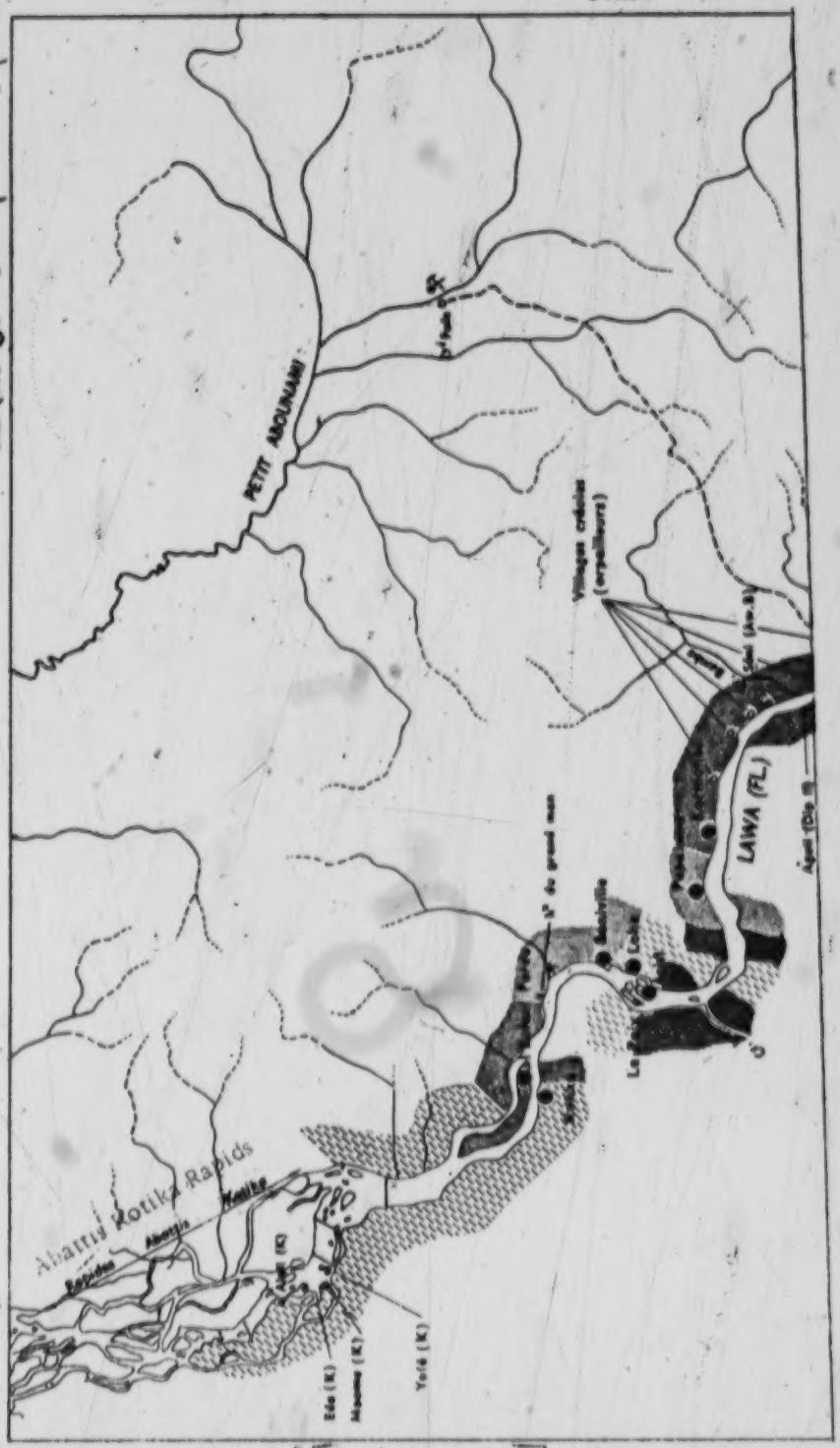

[End Map - A]

6:Hurault--577 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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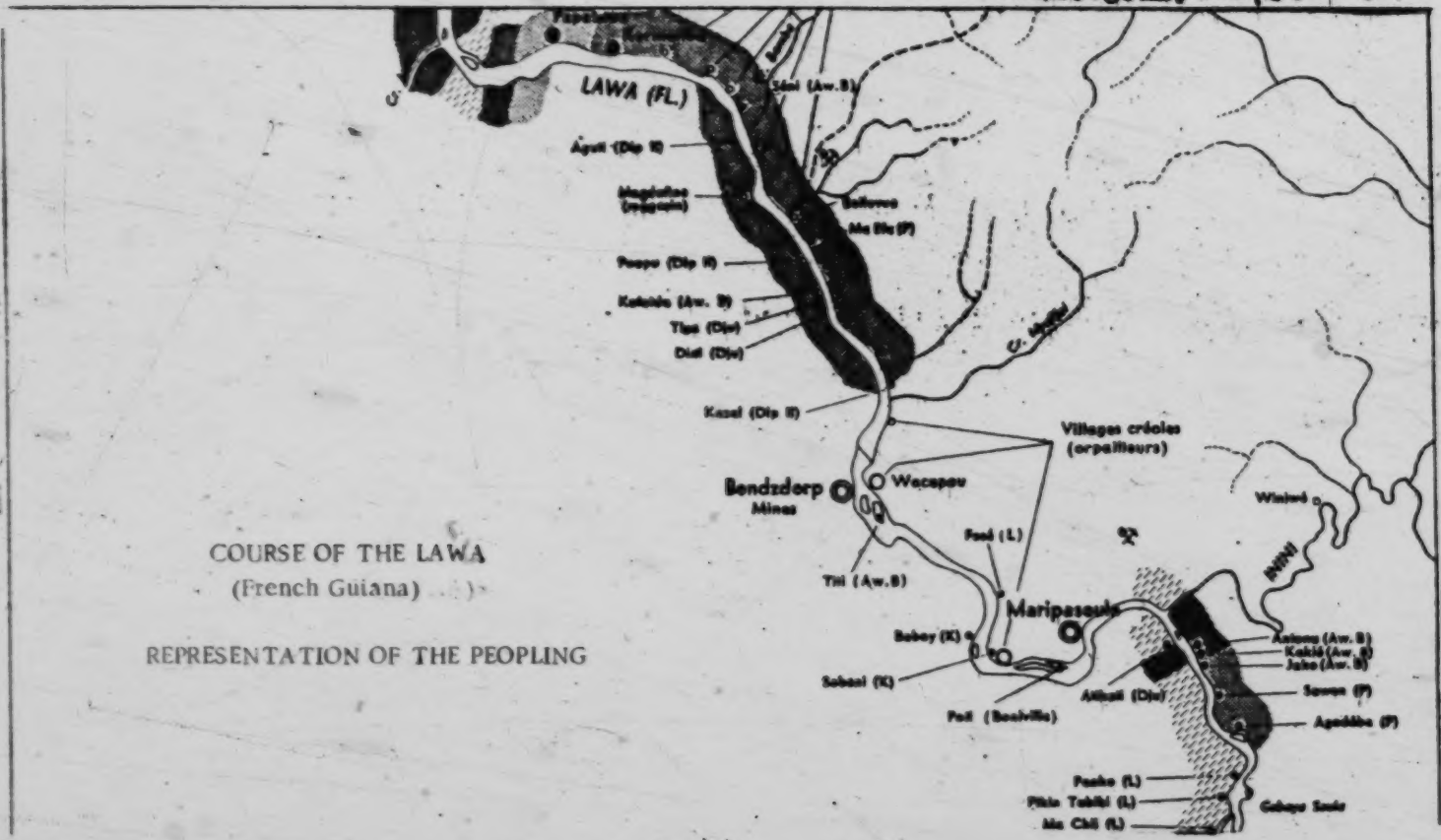

COURSE OF THE LAWA
(French Guiana)

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLING

End Map - B

6:Hurault--578 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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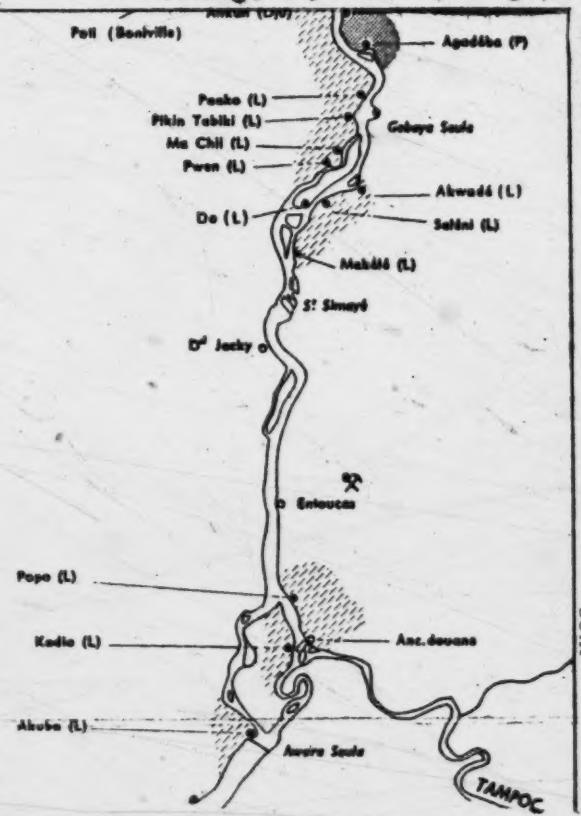
621

Villages and Farming Habitations
in 1958

- ● Boni residence villages
- • Boni farming habitations
- ○ Creole villages
- ◎ European establishments
- • Creole habitations
- ⚒ Small gold workings
- • Indian villages

Lands belonging to the Boni lineages

- (K) Kotika lo
- (Dip) Dipélu lo
- (D) Dikan lo
- (L) Lapé lo
- (Dju) Dju lo



End Map - C

6:Hurault--579 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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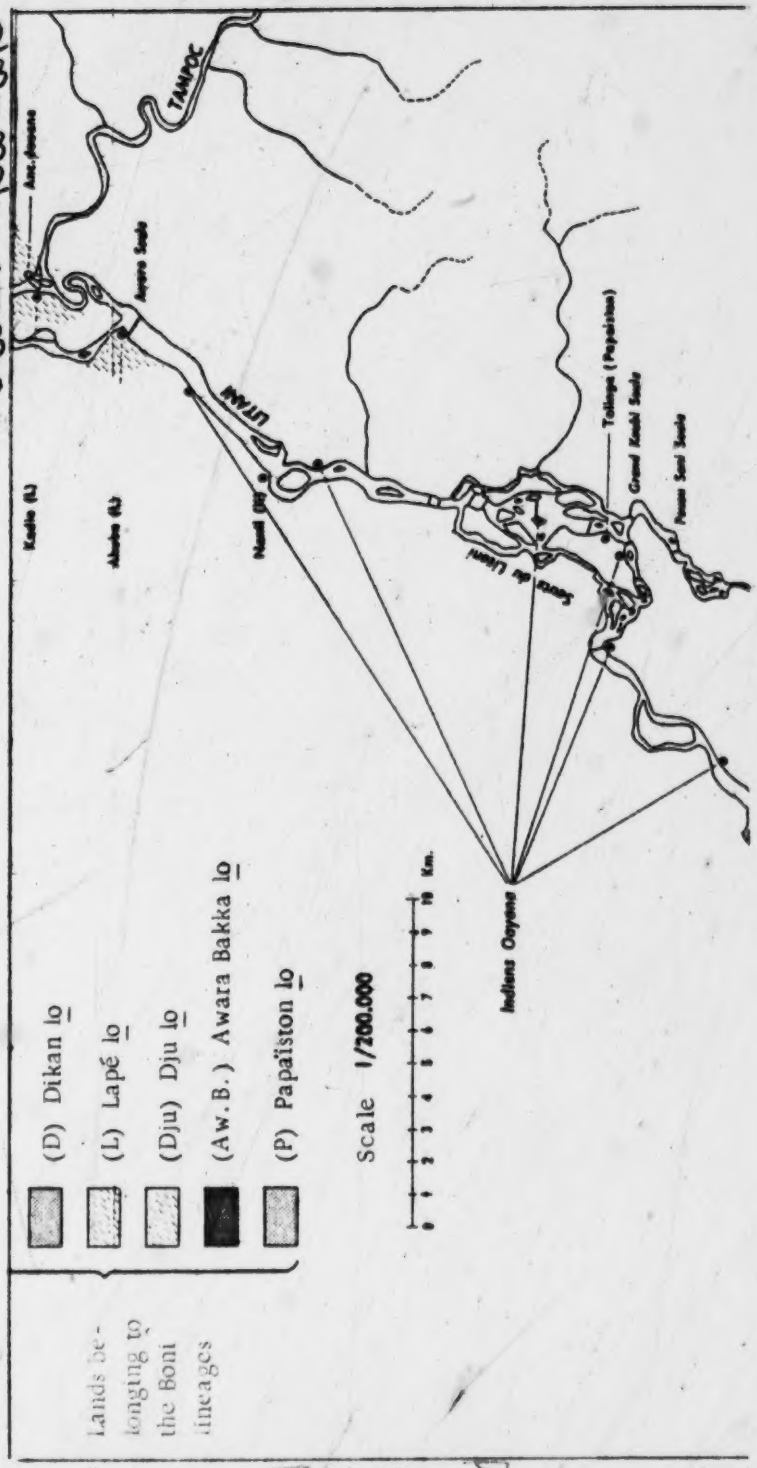

[End Map - D]

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

around, give a strong thrust with the pole-stick, and the canoe was through—a bit of child's play. 502-484 n31

We were soon again to see Sedefo's kunu strike. This time it was almost at dusk. The men, it appeared, would not be able to make the village we had planned on for the night. In half an hour it would be dark, and here we were fully two hours' fast traveling from our intended destination. Overhead clouds were coming up from the east. The sky was rapidly becoming overcast. Rain—and everywhere the impenetrable wall of green, rising dark and forbidding. To make camp where we were would have taken at least two hours, and it was growing darker and darker. The men refused to clear the underbrush in the dark.

It seemed, however, that five minutes upstream on the opposite bank and only a little to the south of where we had stopped to talk things over was a village, the name of which when we heard it we recognized as one of the two we had been asked not to visit. There was nothing to do but to brave the displeasure of the Granman and stop there; so turning we headed our boats toward the opposite shore.

In midstream a great wind came up, a wind that in suddenness and force is only met in the tropics. The men shrieked and shouted and struggled until our boats reached shore. But Sedefo's boat, which was the second, seemed to be lifted bodily out of the water. We could see a black mass being heaved up . . . the black tarpaulin was overboard going downstream, and Sedefo after it. [132]

The wind subsided as quickly as it had sprung up, and when Sedefo came back sometime later, he carried the dripping tarpaulin on his head. He did not drink the rum we gave to warm him, but poured it over his hands and his boat as an offering. [187]

The next day we talked with Bayo about kunu. 502-484 n12

"Why is it, Bayo, that Sedefo lost his food in the still water? Was it because he felt safe and didn't take care in such small rapids?"

"No," he said promptly, "that's how kunu works. A man travels on the river all his life. He goes over small

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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the uncleared bush, or the sight of a snake twined about a liana, no longer struck terror, and the flaying rains which came down so suddenly, and as suddenly were over, no longer even aroused uneasiness.

At the prow of our boat Bayo poled vigorously and continued his countless variants of the seketi song we had been hearing everywhere on the river, while Bibifo had made a refrain of our question, "How do you say this in your Saramacca language?" He would paddle in silence for a long time, only to begin muttering at the most unexpected moments, "Sa'macca tongo!" in the way of an old man who talks to himself. He would then repeat it over and over in ridicule of us, and sometimes in a singsong voice he would improvise lines about the white man who wanted to know how everything was called in the true, true Saramacca language, and how all that was told him he wrote down in a book.

"Great-grandfather," we would say to him, "why do you say this? Isn't it all right for us to want to learn how to talk to the G'aman?"

"*Kere-kere*—It's all right."

But having said this, he would engage Bayo in conversation, clipping his words, and using so much idiom and parable as utterly to confound us.

"Your language is difficult, great-grandfather."

"Ya-hai, it is meant for the people of the bush, white man," he would say with a pride we had not looked for from the mild Bibifo, who was now called Adrian. There was, it appeared, potency in the "word," and magic. The names for things, and the things themselves were one. The knowledge of Saramacca names belonged to the Saramacca people, and whether as Bibifo or Adrian, he was above all a Saramacca Negro, and a member of an important clan.

2

When we had been seven days on the river, our cook came to us and said he wanted to talk about something we had best know.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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stopped to change their clothes, and make themselves fit for the reception by the Granman. 576

We had been warned that these preparations were not to be slighted. Those who had been to the village of the Granman told many stories of the impressiveness of the ceremonial life, and the dignity of those who were there. It was the seat of government, the home of a potentate. A visitor, whether a village chief or a man from the city, had to keep in mind that he was to appear at court. Etiquette demanded that the traveler, once arrived at the island which now hid us from the Granman and his assembled villagers, debark, remove the stains of hard traveling, and dress in a manner befitting the reception which awaited him. 576 609

But the gods had planned otherwise.

At this time of the year, though the heavy rains were over and the showers were becoming less and less frequent, it did sometimes happen that the clouds gathered at midafternoon and rain fell. To the northeast, behind us, we had seen the clouds massing, and now they hung low and glowering. 132

"It will rain," Sedefo called to us, just as we were making ready to see to a change of clothes, and an instant later the storm broke. With a kind of hurricane force which sent the branches toward the earth, and flares of lightning and crashes of thunder, the deluge was upon us. Not since our first days in the bush had we coped with a rain like this. The water poured down as though some giant hands were turning over endless vessels. Our tent seemed to have been taken as unaware as we were, for having sheltered us in many hard storms, it was now inadequate to keep out the downpour. We drew our raincoats tighter about us to keep off the water which came through the thatch.

Under the trees of the island the Bush Negroes were huddled. Their favorite top cloths were still in their baskets, safe out of the wet under the white man's tarpaulins. No chance now to put them on, or to use the oil which they had jealously saved for making their faces and 123 [302]

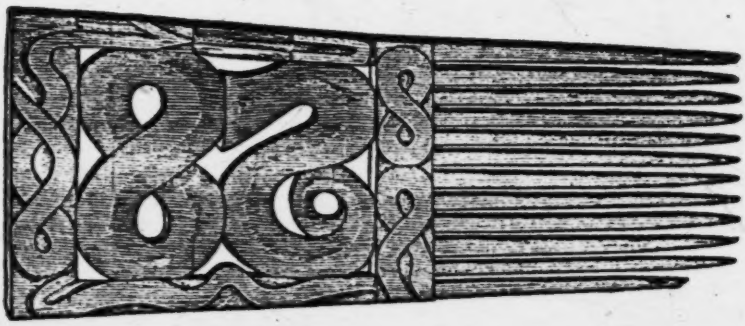
2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

562 the river—the glinting light on the black skins, shining with sweat and spray, and the veined muscles that roll and subside as the dripping pole goes down, first one end and then the other, into the yellow water. Hour after hour they strain their bodies against the bending poles. Without warning a [132] heavy tropical downpour will blanket the river with sheets of rain, but the *corials* (canoes) go on. When the rain stops the hot sun quickly dries the black skins.

137 All along the river the foliage towers upward from the 502 water's edge. Great trees rear high their masses of limbs and verdure. Going upstream the boatmen stay close to the bank, for there the current, checked by myriads of roots, is not so swift. Often the men can reach out of the corial and touch the foliage. In sharp contrast with this green is the brown colour of the muddy stream. The sunlight glares on the surface, except where the overhanging wall of trees throws a shade upon the water. The black boatmen blend in with the yellow river, the green foliage, and the metallic sky.

136 Parrots scream overhead. A pair of scarlet macaws cackle at each other. Leaping fish shimmer in the sunlight, falling back into the river with a white splash. Bats from underneath logs, disturbed by human intrusion, disappear into the bank a hundred feet ahead. The corials are eyed intently by parakeets feeding high up in the air, perched on tree limbs along the bank. Little black and white swallow-like skimmers scurry over the water just forward of the bow, which keeps pushing on through the white riffles. Huge water-fowl flap their wide wings and sail gracefully away.

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8



1 [412 532]

Chapter Four

THE DANCE

SUNDOWN on the Surinam. Women with breasts like 252
dried tobacco leaves stew hunks of red baboon over the 262
Djuka fires. The old dance gods will stir tonight. Mist is 132
drifting up from the river and blowing between the trees. Colours fade out as darkness falls. The atmosphere of the jungle closes in on us with the night.

As night falls a Bush Negro corial appears on the river. It 574
is followed by four others, all loaded with people from another village three miles downstream. The strangers have come to dance for the bahkra. We have promised them candy and high wine. The women tie bands of nuts about their 534
limbs; the dried nuts rattle.

They bring the drums, the soul of the jungle. The big tom-tom, elaborately carved on the outside, is the *apenti*, or signal drum. The smaller *nanda* and the baby *baboula* (an African

[p. 52 is blank]

1 [For caption, see category 116, p. 204.- Analyst]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

224 hardly more than shadows. We find the man unharmed,
648 excited and voluble. He encountered a puma, a large one. He fired at close range and wounded it. We see a track of blood, and instantly set out to follow it. It is too dark now; we are forced to retreat back to camp, blazing the trees along the route to find the trail in the morning.

[342] At camp the Djukas erect four uprights and a roof of palm frond, as a shield from the rain and heavy dew. Another is rigged for their own use, and the hammocks are slung underneath. Again they sit up around the campfire and tell loud stories, the same ones, probably.

000 Sitting by the campfire in the pathless interior, thinking of the hundreds of desperate and difficult miles of surrounding jungle, blue by day and black by night, in the company of a few Negroes without whom it would be impossible to return, it is difficult for anyone to escape a feeling of weakness and insignificance. One scoffs at the black man's superstitions, his amulets and guardian spirits, but in the bush at night one senses the overpowering magnitude of the fierce wilderness, one begins to understand his need for such things as a protection against the psychological powers of the darkness. We realize, of course, that there is little in the bush capable of hurting anyone, save some big cats and a few rare snakes. But, as a sceptic has said, it is not reason which governs men.

● 132 Late that night forked lightning lit up the eerie passages of the jungle. The corridors of trees were filled with wind. The branches, whipped furiously by the great volume of fast

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

moving air, roared like an open steam valve. We are rudely 132
awakened by Daniels, who shakes our hammock violently. He shouts over the uproar; everyone must leave the huts at once. A giant tree close to the windward is about to fall and might crush the huts while we sleep.

We quickly abandon the hut and are immediately drenched. Imagine such disconsolate men, staring at the moving wilderness of leaves damning all trees and all weather that takes them out of their hammocks at two o'clock in the morning, and almost reconciled to the idea of being crushed in comfortable hammocks in preference to standing out in the open, expecting a tree to fall on them anyway. But in a short time the storm subsides sufficiently to allow us to return.

The next morning we break camp and trek another day 224
back into the interior. There are no camps now, no huts of 648
any kind, no men. Only the high bush. We make an early start to look for the puma that escaped the night before. There is a bloody bed of sheltered leaves where the puma rested, but the rest of the path is obliterated by the storm.

We turn and begin the trek back.

A curious custom widely prevalent among the Bush Ne- 224
groes is that called *Dressy Dahgo,* or dressing the dog, in 831 825

/12 cont./

796 Then they call all the neighbors together to take part in the
273 festivities to be held, which consist of invoking their gods amidst continuous dancing and excessive drinking.

They begin the festivities only on a Friday and usually finish on a Sunday or Monday, depending on the larger or smaller
[147] supply of drink, so, lacking this, the festival ends. After the conclusion they are usually extremely tired and listless and give themselves up entirely to rest for at least two or three days.

It is a definite requirement at these festivities to be very amply supplied with strong drink, because one must drink without
[782] interruption in order to remain in a continuous narcosis. With each drink they first pour a little on the ground, -- so that it, too, on which they find themselves so gay, may participate in their enjoyment.

[262] The merrymakers then take care that they will by no means
[577] be lacking in fish, wild game, bacon, rice, etc., since it is a matter of honor with them to display the most lavish hospitality on such occasions.

776 The gods that they worship are:

Loango Gado,
Papa Gado,
Cromantie Gado,

/13/ names certainly derived from the various African tribes of these names.

In the first two they glorify nature and everything created, from which it therefore appears that these are merely subordinate
[787] gods of the unnamed, single great spirit. The last is above all regarded by them as the mediator who transmits their wishes to the great spirit; he is invoked especially at burial ceremonies and for consultation in connection with serious illnesses.

796 They do not have any other cult or religion, so far as I was
[771] able to discover, but only the fixed habit of still celebrating to-
[132] gether and with their chief and captains on the first Friday of the new moon in the month of October or November, after the long
[783] dry period has set in for good, a great feast that has as its goal a general atonement, to cleanse them of the misdeeds that they have committed.

/136/

121 The agriculture of the Bush Negroes, however, has become
[241] a matter which urgently demands the attention of the administration as a result of the wasteful use of land. Until now little attention has been paid to this, but if one wants to develop the interior of Surinam, this problem will also have to be looked into.

101 The data provided here throw light upon the agriculture of
121 the Paramaccaners and the Aucaners on the Marowijne and the
[103] Tapanahoni. They were gathered during the above-mentioned medical expedition and during a trip to the Tapanahoni in October, 1952. The facts thus refer primarily to the Marowijne, but in general they are certainly also valid for the other rivers along
121 which the Bush Negroes live. It is a typically Surinam problem,
648 connected with the circumstance that the Bush Negroes have worked in the deep interior in the same fashion for hundreds of years, independent of the life in the civilized coastal region and almost completely outside the sphere of interest of the government.

2. The Grounds System

241 For the planting of agricultural crops the Bush Negro lays out little so-called food grounds. One is to understand by this cleared pieces of ground in the virgin forest on which the crops
[311] are cultivated. The grounds lie along the rivers on higher flat lands, mostly terraces that are not submerged during high water or, in the absence of such terrain, on the slopes of hills. They are more or less circular and have a surface area of a half to one and a half hectares.

241 During the long dry season (October, November) the men
221 clear the grounds. Two to three weeks thereafter the forest that
● 132 has been felled is burned; the smaller branches are cleared away,
462 but the trunks are left lying. The ground is not worked. As soon as the rains of the short rainy season begin, they start to plant and sow. This planting time falls in December and January. The wives of the Bush Negroes (for only the women do the further work) now plant all kinds of crops at the same time on one and the same ground.

/145 cont./

243 Rice (alésie).

Next to cassava rice is an important auxiliary crop. One sows the rice broadcast with the hand among the other crops and tjaps (6) the seed under lightly. The sowing time falls in Decem-

6. To tjap = to loosen the ground with a hoe.

ber to February or March. In the fourth month the rice is mature. [132] The harvest time therefore falls in the long rainy season from May to July (somewhat later on the Surinam River). Only the ears are cut off, and these are dried in the sun on the grounds or in the villages. Only dry-land rice is cultivated but in many varieties, such as:

kasiwini, the best kind, with long white grains;
ajengena, with short fine grains, with pounding produces a beautiful white rice;
abalahede, with flat, round grain;
witti-alesie or paramakka-alesie, slightly colored in the ear;
lebi (redi) -- alesie, yellow as paddy, grows also in swampy places;
aloeloe or loeloe, sends out shoots quickly, has a good grain;
pindé-alesie, grain speckled on the outside;
asinkini, variety with long grain, is often planted.

/146/ Still other varieties are: rexora, saka, mabosoe, mooidà, sika-sirie, bakaté-saka, dendelei, mooimasra, wittifang, skati, blakatère, mesiti, pikienloeloe, trampoeloekoe.

[251] The Bush Negroes store the rice in the ears and thresh the paddy with the feet by treading on it after it has been dried on
252 zinc sheets or on sacks. The paddy is pounded in the matta whenever it is needed for a meal. Unpolished silver-pellicle rice /zilvervlies-rijst/ is thus eaten, and this is boiled in the usual
262 manner together with meat or fish. With a good harvest one has rice throughout the year until the following harvest, but frequently
[439] the quantity is sufficient for only a few months. In case of a shortage milled rice is purchased from the shops along the Marowijne.

R /511 cont./
161 The Oayana of the Upper Maroni in 1958 numbered about 240,
175 of whom 70 were on the Surinam side. About 250 others lived on the
[162] Yari and the Parou in Brazil, altogether some 500 persons. They
numbered about 3,000 at the time of Leblond (1788), and the ex-
plorer Coudreau around 1890 estimated them again at 1,500. All
the authors of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have noticed
R their further decline, but without understanding the cause.
361 The Oayana move their villages every ten years on the aver-
433 age. No cult of the ancestors binds them to their land; they are
R only concerned about a favorable place for agriculture and fishing.
621 As far as can be judged, a village used to group together the
613 members of a matrilineage. There were two types of marriage,
582 one endogamous; between cross cousins in the classificatory sense,
591 the other exogamous; in this latter case, the man would leave
his group to establish himself among the relatives of his wife;
R nowadays this principle of residence is breached by individualism.
621 Marriage and residence are entirely free. The composition of the
571 villages changes constantly; a simple dispute suffices to cause the
R departure of a faction which goes to join the neighboring village.
178 Nevertheless the social and political decadence have not had any
catastrophic influence on the way of life. The Oayana remain
R firmly attached to their beliefs, their language, and their techniques.
241 The Oayana are above all agriculturalists; their very large
262 clearings are cultivated with great care and provide for them the
essentials of their diet.
R After agriculture, fishing is their principal resource. Hunting
433 and gathering come next.
R All this activity leaves plenty of free time for finery, dancing,
517 and, above all, doing nothing in their hammocks.

B /512/
R Geographic environment; way of life; diet. The Upper Maroni pre-
● 132 sents the characteristics of the humid equatorial environment. Lo-
[131] cated at 3° 30' latitude, the country has an annual mean tempera-
ture of about 26°. The annual rainfall is about three meters, as
against 3.5 meters at Cayenne.

/5 cont./

133 This extreme fragmentation of the relief must be remembered
182 as one of the ecological factors influencing the human peopling most directly; it renders the transport of heavy loads impracticable, the establishing of roads practically impossible. Men are led to
[361] settle along the rivers, which constitute the only routes of penetration toward the interior of the country.

133 All the important rivers flow into an alluvial valley whose
132 width varies from some tens of meters to a kilometer, dry during the greater part /6/ of the year, but flooded under several meters
134 of water during the great rains of May-June. This annual inunda-
241 tion makes the alluvial lands unfit for agriculture; the inhabitants of Guiana cultivate only sloping lands and even very steep slopes readily; for good drainage of the soil is indispensable for the raising of manioc whose tubers, which remain in the ground for more than a year, are threatened with rotting.

311 The cultivable zone is in fact closely limited around each village. Practically, it is limited to a strip of 1,500 to 2,000 meters along the banks of each watercourse accessible to pirogues.
[482] Transport of manioc tubers, carried on by the women several
[462] times a month, becomes impracticable if the distance to be covered with loads is greater than two kilometers at the maximum (1).

[101]
[131]
[184]

1. The Djuka, very numerous on the Tapanahoni, cultivate as far as three or four kilometers from the river; but in general, the Refugee Blacks prefer to build farming habitations at a distance of several days' by boat from their village when this gives them the possibility of farming in the neighborhood of the banks.

/7 cont. /

132 [513] The climate is relatively temperate and easy for the European to stand. In the forest the thermometer does not rise to more than 28° during the hot hours, to go back down to 20° at the end of the night: everyone sleeps with a blanket, Refugee Blacks and Creoles as well as Europeans. Humidity is very great during nearly all the year; precipitation averages three meters a year or about 50 centimeters less than at Cayenne. The year is divided into two seasons: "summer" from July to December, and the rainy season the rest of the year, with a maximum of precipitation in May and June. The water level varies considerably in the course of the year (several meters). The populations of the interior, spaced out along the rivers, suit the rhythm of their lives to the height of the water; the water rules transportation, fishing, and crops; moreover, a certain number of illnesses are in close relation to the rains, in particular those which have an insect for vector.

133 182 [361] [164]

241 [134] Almost everywhere the soil is very poor in organic matter and fundamental ingredients, very waterlogged necessitating the practice of an itinerant agriculture on burned-over areas; the period of fallow ground varies from two to ten years, the optimum seeming to be about six. [136] The inhabitants of Guiana cannot allow ground to lie fallow regularly because of the ravages of the manioc ant, /8/ which is active especially in habitually cultivated zones. [134] Vain and costly efforts made by Europeans notably at Saint-Jean du Maroni about 1950, have shown that the fertility of lands not burned over is practically nil. [242] The Indians and the Refugee Blacks consider that the fertility of the soil depends exclusively on the weight of cinders laid down during the burning.

When burned-over areas are cultivated, only one harvest is obtained; but this harvest is abundant, and the soil thus utilized can be regarded as relatively fertile. The knocking down and burning do not require great labor, so that primitive agricultural methods can be considered to give a good yield. As a matter of fact, the diverse populations of Guiana, Creoles and Refugee Blacks, have entirely adopted the methods of work resulting from the millennial

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1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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(Frontispiece)

The Saramacca River below the Mamadam falls.

[Frontispiece]

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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Saramacca

is relatively small, and is localized in the interior of French Guiana, not far from the Dutch boundary. In any consideration of the Guiana Negroes, yet a fourth group must be kept in mind—that of the Negroes of the coastal region, who remained enslaved until their emancipation in 1865.

The country of the Saramacca people is reached from Paramaribo, the capital and port of the colony of Suriname (Dutch Guiana), by the weekly train which goes some ninety-five miles to Kabel, where the railway meets the river. From Kabel transportation into the far interior is by dugout canoe, owned and manned by Saramacca men. The country above Kabel, which the Saramacca people call the "big bush," is jungle. Over the watershed lie the Amazon basin and the forests of northern Brazil. Once in this region, the traveler has no contact with European civilization, though he is still under the protection of the Dutch Government.

The picture which we draw of the Saramacca people is based upon two field trips to Dutch Guiana, undertaken in the summers of 1928 and 1929. During our second trip we traversed the entire stretch of the Saramacca country from below Kabel, where the Awka villages are located, to the last native habitation on the Pikien Rio, beyond which are some fields, then uninhabitated miles of wilderness to the Brazilian border.

The ethnological work conducted among the Saramacca tribe of Bush Negroes and the Negroes of the coastal region of Suriname represents a portion of an investigation into the physical and cultural characteristics of the Negroes of the New World. This research, which is still in progress, has included field work in the United States, in Dutch Guiana, and in Africa, and some comparative study in the islands of the Caribbean. It began in 1923 with an inquiry into Negro-white crossing in the United States.[1] As the work progressed it became evident that the problem

[1] For the results of this portion of the investigation, see M. J. Herskovits, "The American Negro, a Study in Racial Crossing" (1928); and "The Anthropometry of the American Negro" (1931).

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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Chapter III

ON THE SARAMACCA RIVER

I

ON THIS, the second morning after the burial of Sedefo's brother, Bayo started downstream from the village of Djamungo before daybreak. With all the vigor of his youth and the freshness of the morning, he pushed off from shore, and with sharp, short strokes ran his canoe into midstream and through the foaming rapids below the village. In and out, and in, went the paddle, until he was past the rough water which made a tumbling fortification for his village. His eyes wandered back for an instant as he sat there, taking in at a glance the dark outlines of the two silk-cotton trees which reared themselves above the line of matted jungle, and the gleam of natural clearing on the opposite, uninhabited bank, where trees stood singly here and there above the low underbrush. "Ai-yo!" he exclaimed half aloud, thinking how well it was with his village. It was good to have been born where twin silk-cotton trees stood and across the river from where the Apuku—the little people of the bush—held council at night. It was the Apuku, to be sure, who had seen to this pleasant open place, and no man, whatever his need, would put to use this land which the gods had accommodated to their own purposes. 484

Those rapids, too, were higher than any on the lower river, he thought, as he paddled vigorously in the still water. To have thought of the rapids at all, while going [133]

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

502 other bank, and now as we reached the opposite shore, we
484 saw the small opening of a minor channel which we were to take. With astonishing nicety the tip of the juncture of the main stream and this smaller channel was reached at the same instant. Loin cloths were adjusted, and once more the pole-men took up their pole-sticks and continued the slow passage against the current.

484 The boats were now again traveling close to the bank, so that the details of the forest which fringed the river could be clearly seen. Straight from the water rose the
[133] wall of sheer green, all of a dark, almost dull purplish color—a wall of fifty, a hundred, a hundred and fifty feet and more, as the lianas dropped down from the upper branches of the great trees which gave these parasitic growths their support. Here and there we saw a brilliant wing of a bird, and a Bush Negro, ever ready to augment
[411] his meager food supply, would unlimber an ancient shotgun, steady himself, and shoot. In Sedefo's canoe, Angita, his pole-man, saw a blue and golden macaw silhouetted as it sat on a slender branch. Out came the shotgun. The macaw, startled but unhit, flew to another branch farther upstream. We crept slowly, noiselessly ahead, and when we were close by Angita shot again, and missed again. The macaw now did not trouble to fly away, and when Angita made aim once more, Sedefo stopped him.

[825] "No, mati—Let him be, friend. The gods are protecting him. Put away your gun."

Again we cut across, as we regained the wide channel, this time so that the men might speak their errand to the spirit of their great ancestor, the god of the large creek. We did not go too close, however, and all we could see was an azang again, the spiritual guard of palm fronds, and beyond the whitened trunk of a tree and a slender stick with a bit of white cotton attached to its end.

Sedefo spoke conversationally. "*Avo*—ancestor—we are
[182] going up the river. We are working for the American Bak'a. We are on our way to the G'ama's country. Grant

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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was needful, and since then he had often made prayer to his boat, and the boat had carried him safely.

But this is what happened.

On our fourth day up the river we were on our way early, because the men said the falls ahead were difficult, and they wanted to be through them before they stopped to eat. It took us more than an hour to pass the rapids, for the land rose higher and higher, and the water cascaded from one ledge to the next, often in curving channels of swift water that were too deep to allow the use of pole-sticks, and too swift for the paddles to cope with.

There were also those stretches which were without the piled rocks to give the men a footing for pulling the boats over, so that a rope had to be used, and the going was slow and treacherous. Each of the dugouts had this long rope fastened to its prow, and ahead, on the first ledge, were two or more of the men, the other end of the rope in hand, waiting for the signal to start hauling, while holding on to the sides of the boat as they swam were as many men as could be spared, so that if the rope broke, the boat would not be swept downstream, to go crashing against the rocks. These men who faced the fast water of their river, worked as though at the sight of it their Kromanti fighting spirit had entered their bodies, as if not men were there, but an impersonal force pitting itself against the force of the river. Even where the water was not too deep, and they could haul the boat, care could not be slackened for an instant—a wrong turn, and the boat would be capsized, or, what would be as serious, the impact of a rock might cut a gash in its side or bottom, filling it with water faster than they could manage to bring it to a bank. But at last the sound of the falling water was behind us, and the men, once they were in the still water again, went on with the casualness that they fell into with their river when the danger was over, and cast about for a pleasant place to stop and eat.

All at once there was a shout from behind us. Each boat echoed it shrilly. What's that? Whose boat?

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

Chapter V

THE SHRINE TO THE RIVER GODS

I

ON THE narrow strip of land below the Mamadam, our hammocks were slung between trees whose trunks leaned well over the water, so that once we stretched out on the canvas, it was like swinging over an abyss to the rhythm of water wearing down rock.

133 At one time the shrine to the gods had stood on this clearing, but boats had gone aground in the falls, and rafts which needed but little urging when the spirits were friendly were swung about in the current and lost to their kingdom at the river bottom. Even now a great log lay wedged in between rocks in the middle of the stream. The water had worn grooves into its hard surface, yet there it was, held fast against the timeless flaying of the falls.

Nor was that all. One year when the time for the new rains came, the rain did not fall. In the villages the priests climbed the ladders within the sacred enclosures and from on high poured out libations to the ancestors, beseeching them to intercede in behalf of the living. Those who had river spirits went to the waterside when the moon was dead to dance to the gods. But the drums gave back a dull sound, and the dancing was listless. Those who plunged into the river to swim against the rapids while the drums intoned the exhortations did not remain under water long, and when they came up they uttered no oracles. Many who were known to be possessed by powerful spirits paced back

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

her become pale again. This may happen to you when you get to the Mamadam." 538 776

As he spoke, he began to beat on the table the drum rhythm which calls the river god, and he sang, 776 533

> "*Today, today, O Spirit,*
> *Hard times are upon us*
> *Ingi-o.*
> *Hard times are upon us.* [539]
> *Today, today, Boyo,*
> *Hard times are upon us*
> *Ingi-e.*"

And then he sang another song, which he said had been sung at the time when black people were running away from slavery, and is still heard at dances to the spirits of the river, the *watra ingi*, as the river gods are called in the city. In it, he called on the agida, the great drum upon which, in town as in the bush, the Negroes call the river gods, and on *Kopsi*, the name of one of the spirits of the water. This time he sang,

> "*I will play the agida today,*
> *I will knock the agida today-o*
> *Kopsi will foil the magic*
> *Of the crowing cock.*
> *O, I will play the agida today,* [539]
> *I will knock the agida, today-o,*
> *Kopsi will foil the magic,*
> *Of the crowing cock.*
> *I will play the agida today.*"

3

As we gained the island where the shrine itself stood and looked about us from the high rocks of the sacred spot, there lay before us in the early morning light a scene of inexpressible beauty. At dusk the narrow strips of land which forced the river into three channels had been like dark machetes plunged into the body of the great stream. 133 [978]

REBEL DESTINY

133 But now a soft haze floated over stream and bush. To the right was the Ingi Sopi channel, dropping so sheer that not even an unloaded dugout could make its way up the rapids, not a single log of wood could be floated down. To the left was the Mamadam, a smoother, more rounded slope. It was up these falls that our boats would later be hauled.

501 484 Below us on the rocks our men were unloading the corials and carrying the provisions along the narrow trodden path to the topmost ledge of the falls, where the empty dugouts would be reloaded after they had been taken up through the streaming water.

133 Beyond lay the full stretch of the river. As far as the eye could see, there were none of the channels, none of the many islands which are met with everywhere on this river from its very headwaters to the reaches of the tidal belt near the coast. About us was a stillness which the very roar [136] of the water heightened. The parrots had long ago passed on in pairs. The butterflies would wait for the sun before they went winging from the east bank to the west. This was a moment of pure interlude. No sun, no breeze, no 000 sound, no glow. This was the moment before the fragmentary dawn would end, before the haze would lift, this the moment when night, having met day, as the Bush Negroes said, was disappearing from sight.

"It is fine here, ai!" Bayo called to us, as he walked on [482] with a large canister balanced on his head, making his way up the rocks with the sureness and ease of one who is strolling down a lane with the consciousness of a pleasant encounter at the next turning.

798 346 As soon as the mist had lifted, we walked up the rocks to the shrine. Facing us and the lower river, a tall, slender pole, weathered to a pale silver, stood higher than the roof of the shrine in front of which it was planted. At its top were the crude outlines of a head and, some three feet from its base, two side pieces were nailed to it and grounded at an angle to steady the image against the onrush of a sudden wind. A short distance from the pole was the shrine

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

Chapter IX

A NIGHT AT S'EI

I

133 137 FROM day to day the mood of the river changed, and the mood of the bush changed with it. The dankness of the river bank gave way to the smell of red, sun-scorched earth. No longer was the farther shore the forbidding wall of a great canyon. The flowering lianas, as they climbed a hundred feet and more from the roots of the trees they had enveloped, were making of it a tapestry. The blooms which showed against the masses of green seemed at first of the palest yellow with threads of white, or yellow with glints of gold in them, or the faintest of orange and violet. Later when the flaming gold, the scarlet and purple clusters appeared, they still did not mar the somber weave of the timeless pattern, for the deep note of this bush in any season is green, and no pushing, garish colors, no conceits of turning leaves or fragrant flowers can sound an echo here. As well expect the brilliantly tinted butterflies cruising from one bank to the other to make a [136] whir in their passage, as to look for it to be otherwise.

The air, however, became steadily drier, the green more varied and pleasing, and the land rising and sloping gave an occasional glimpse of a horizon. If something in the shade of the river banks still spoke of the way of the constrictor, the sudden lashing out of the tail, there was now also the pleasant consciousness of its long lethargy. The swish of wings overhead, when we walked for short intervals through

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

the uncleared bush, or the sight of a snake twined about a liana, no longer struck terror, and the flaying rains which came down so suddenly, and as suddenly were over, no longer even aroused uneasiness.

At the prow of our boat Bayo poled vigorously and continued his countless variants of the seketi song we had been hearing everywhere on the river, while Bibifo had made a refrain of our question, "How do you say this in your Saramacca language?" He would paddle in silence for a long time, only to begin muttering at the most unexpected moments, "Sa'macca tongo!" in the way of an old man who talks to himself. He would then repeat it over and over in ridicule of us, and sometimes in a singsong voice he would improvise lines about the white man who wanted to know how everything was called in the true, true Saramacca language, and how all that was told him he wrote down in a book.

"Great-grandfather," we would say to him, "why do you say this? Isn't it all right for us to want to learn how to talk to the G'aman?"

"*Kere-kere*—It's all right."

But having said this, he would engage Bayo in conversation, clipping his words, and using so much idiom and parable as utterly to confound us.

"Your language is difficult, great-grandfather."

"Ya-hai, it is meant for the people of the bush, white man," he would say with a pride we had not looked for from the mild Bibifo, who was now called Adrian. There was, it appeared, potency in the "word," and magic. The names for things, and the things themselves were one. The knowledge of Saramacca names belonged to the Saramacca people, and whether as Bibifo or Adrian, he was above all a Saramacca Negro, and a member of an important clan.

2

When we had been seven days on the river, our cook came to us and said he wanted to talk about something we had best know.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

175 Now we were in the true, true Saramacca country, the land which the Bush Negro feels to be entirely his own. White men, it is true, had been here before, but only a handful, and the gods of the river, who were powerful, saw to it that of these not many got back to the white man's land. True, true Saramacca country! Every Bush Negro we met on the lower river spoke of it with the deepest feeling.

"It is all right here," one man after another had said, "but wait until you see the upper river, the true-true Saramacca!"

It was here that the first Bush Negro villages had been built, though this seemed fabulous to the strangers who, in strong boats, guided by men who were wise in the moods and courses of the river, had had nine days of hard travel on the way. The lower-river villages began to appear only after peace had been declared and had proved lasting. Eighty-six years ago men from the upper river who lived beyond the Granman's own village, in the Grand Rio, had come down and built the village of Gansee, which was some four hours' paddling upstream from the railhead.

We spoke of this to Bibifo, who himself was born in this country.

"You may well wonder, white man."

361 103 Here was no danger of having to wrest a camp from the bush at night, when the short tropical dusk came to overtake the traveler. Villages followed close, one upon the other. Here was Ma'lobbi, where the beauty of the wood [322] carver's art had made us linger beyond the time allotted to us for making the journey from S'ei to Asindopo Lantiwe. Here was Hei Kununu—High Mountain—which rose on a [133] steep slope above the river, and was pleasant to see after the long stretches of flat plain that lay below. Semoisi, noted for its riches, was there, and Pempeh, bearing a name well known in the Ashanti country in Africa. Here villages were so close to each other that they could announce our 203 approach on the talking drums.

"What is it we hear, Bayo?" we would ask.

"They are cutting down trees, Bak'a."

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

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"In the true, true Saramacca . . . "

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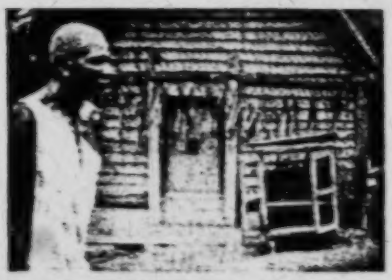

House of one recently dead.

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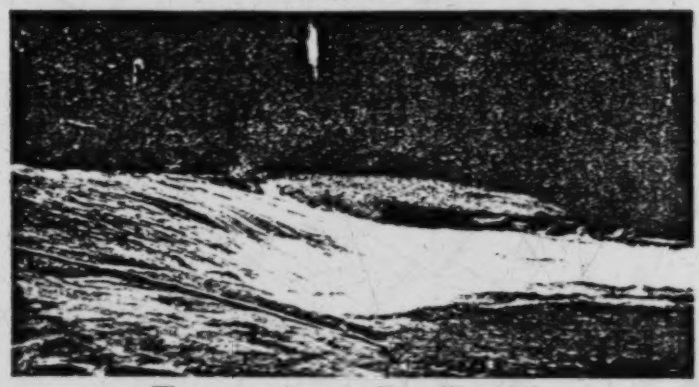


The approach to the Tapa Wata falls.

[p. 170 (A)]

(Facing page 170)

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

798 797 The other white man was the Catholic missionary who for years had been living in the Gran Rio. He was a friend of the Saramacca people, and they liked him. Now this white man wanted to see Dahomey. He said that he, too, had a strong God who protected him. He asked so many times that they at last promised to take him there. But when he got to Pempeh he fell asleep, and he slept till . . . till they reached the Granman's country. So his life was saved. The gods, knowing that he was a friend of the Saramacca people, did not want to kill him. They put him to sleep until Dahomey was well out of reach.

"And this is what happened to you, Bak'a. The gods did not want to hurt you, so you did not see."

2

• 133 Past these rapids and another stretch of rough water, and then before us lay the highest falls of the Saramacca. To the right, over a ledge of rock spreading in an unbroken sweep across its entire width poured the Gran Rio, the [361] river up which lay the villages of the Loango clan, and beyond, the untrodden jungle which barricaded the way to the country of the Indians, and the basin of the Amazon. To the left was the final bit of fast water that remained between us and the village where the Granman awaited us. We were at last in the Pikien Rio.

Here the stream narrowed, and we could see on both banks the people who were waiting to see us pass. The [574] gay colors of the women's cloths were brilliant against the background of green, and their hallooing reached our ears above the rush of the water. A canoe with several young men came alongside.

"We are here to help you with your boats. We have been sent by the Granman. Fire three shots to let him know you are in the Pikien Rio."

576 [201] We fired, and instantly there was an answering salute of three guns. With the reinforcement of paddlers, it did not take long to reach the island which separated us from the landing place of Asindopo Lantiwe. Here all strangers

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

as they stood in their breech-cloths before the people, and 68 the purchasers walked up and felt of them to try their flesh 175 and soundness. The darkies were obliged to go through every sort of motion. It seemed at times as if their arms would be pulled out of joint or their jaws cracked by some of the Dutchmen. One dame was not satisfied until she forced a wench to screech by squeezing her breast cruelly. In two days the vendue was over. The grown men fetched as high as a thousand guilders and the boys and girls and women from seven to eight hundred, which were considered good prices."

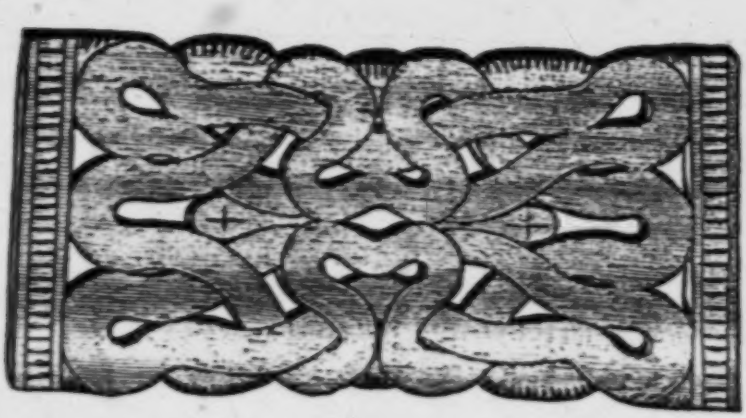
The slaves were then put to work in the sugar fields. The overseers treated them cruelly and enjoyed it, with the callousness of their century; overseers in Virginia and Jamaica were doing the same with no less zeal. The planter's lash was often "incrusted with blood."

Inevitably some Negroes tried to run away. Near by was the jungle, a refuge from the white terror. From time to time runaway blacks succeeded in escaping into the bush. There they joined other fugitives, forming small bands.

The character of the country favoured them. The undergrowth is so thick that overland travel is impossibly laborious and slow. The rivers, save for a short distance near the ocean, [153] are unnavigable because of their torrential rapids. The Surinam, up which the slave ships sailed to Paramaribo, has seldom been explored to its extreme upper reaches; it is *terra incognita* to white men.

The fugitives were quite at home in the jungle. In this

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8



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Chapter Two

UPRIVER

EIGHT miles an hour the river moves, down long 133
stretches of rapids and fast water, over great rocks in the river-bed. Any sort of outboard motor would be torn to pieces. There is nothing to do but pole upstream in dugout canoes to the Djuka country.

Bush Negro boatmen, with glossy thighs and heaving 582
backs, stand at the bows. They plant their great ten-foot poles in the river-bed and pull against them. As the motion of the boat carries them past the planted poles, they walk back along the gunwales, pushing the poles to the extreme end. They are retrieved, wheeled in a great arc, and again planted in the river-bed. This makes a rare picture in the sunlight on

1/^ [For caption, see category 27 116, p. 204. -- Analyst]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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Bush Negroes Paddling a Loaded Dug-Out Canoe Up the Rapids.
Photo by Carvid

[Facing p. 12]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

224 into the ground, becoming roots. The jungle vines, the lianas,
648 twine about the boles of palms, adding to the tangle of leaves.
137 The jungle is one immense struggle, none the less fierce because it is silent. The foliage is fighting for light and air.

224 We wade across a number of small creeks that bar our
648 path. Beautiful flat-winged butterflies hover in the hot air. The drone of other insects continues until our ears become accommodated to the sound and we no longer hear it. For five hours the trek continues.

At eleven o'clock a halt is called for lunch. The Djukas [132] drop their fifty-pound packs, under which they have trotted more easily than the white with only a gun and canteen. A little fire is started and we begin to eat. The creek beside the camp has no name; it is known only as a small tributary of the Lombe Creek. This is the occasion for a little ceremony. The stream is to be named after the first person to eat beside it, which in this case is a white man. A Bush Negro takes a mouthful of water from the creek and spits it back, motioning us to do the same. We comply. Then the Negro names the stream *"Datra Cong Creekee"*—"Doctor Kahn Creek." The others respond with solemnity, "Daso." We pass a few pleasantries and go on.

By two o'clock the fatigue is beginning to tell on the bahkra. A halt is called. The country gets higher as we leave [133] the neighbourhood of the river, but the bush does not thin out. The ground is rolling, with knolls fifty feet high. Up these the carriers scramble like goats, despite their load, but Daniels says they are going slow because of the bahkra. Be-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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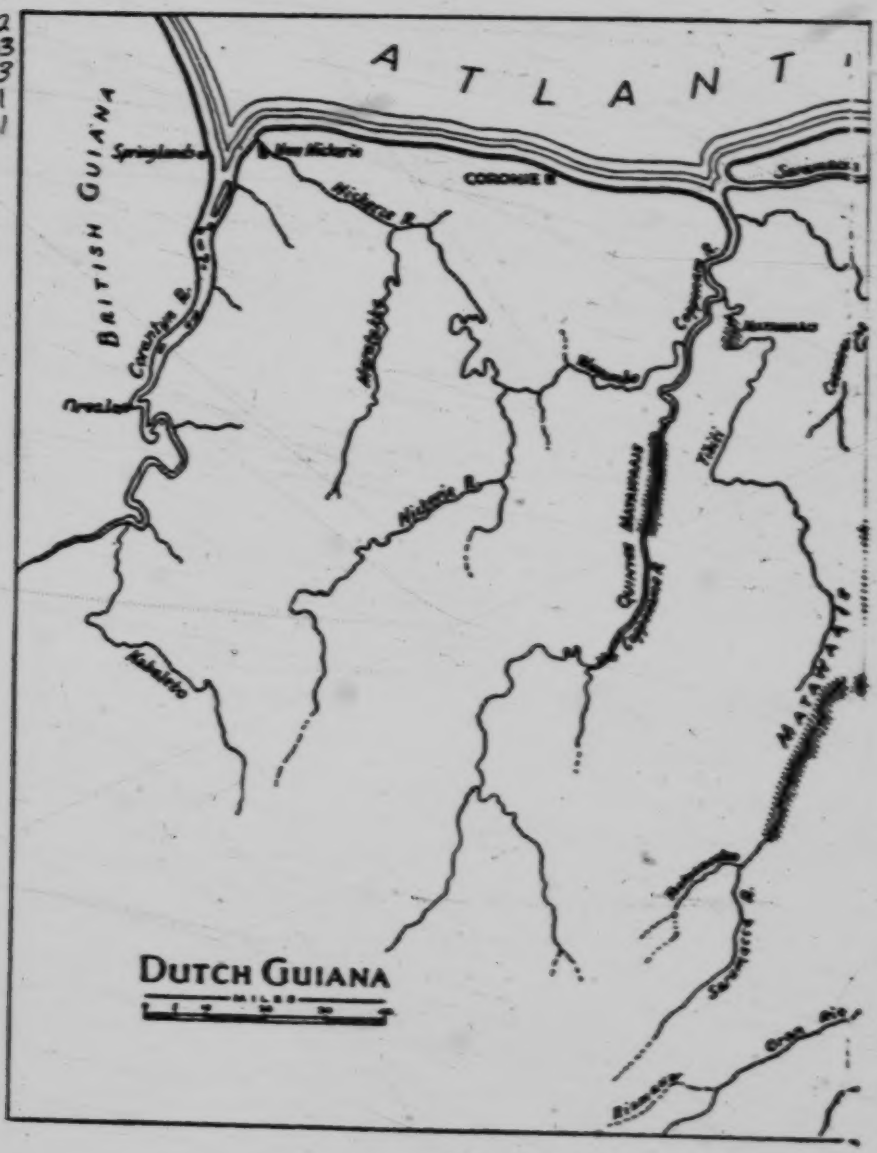

[Facing p. 100, Sec. A]

Distribution of Bush Negro Tribes
Drawn after a sketch by

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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gro Tribes in Dutch Guiana
: sketch by Rogalli

[Facing p. 100, Sec. B

/6 cont./

175 pacified Bush Negroes. From then on they received from the
648 Netherlands Government annual presents consisting of guns, herbs, lead, tobacco, rice, salt, dram, and so forth.

648 In later times, however, these were gradually decreased
829 by the government and finally completely abolished, as a result of which the Negroes no longer so willingly and without remuneration want to be of service to the government; since they believe that with the conclusion of the peace they came to an agreement with the government that on their part the Whites would no longer be hindered in anything, while they would endeavor to assist the government whenever that should be necessary, in return for which the presents mentioned above would be handed out to them annually on the part of the government. At present they complain about their treatment by the government and refuse to believe that they can and may trust the Whites.

101 The Bush Negroes are divided into four tribes: /7/

103 1st. Aucaners, who have their dwelling place, Auca, on the
133 river Marowyne; and they have their working places on the river above Cottica, where they come from the Marowyne by way of the Wanakreek. Among themselves they are called Joeka /Djuka/ and by the Whites, Aucaners, after the plantation Auca, where on 19 October 1760 peace was concluded with them.

2nd. Saramaccaners, who live on the river above Surinam, principally near the waterfall Arasoebanja near Gjengjen and Prakieki, and have their working places along the same river and in the cove /kreek," creek, cove"/ Taaiboto Kouloegrou and Kassipora. They are called Saramaccaners by the Whites, after the river of that name (where they formerly lived), and among themselves Wousie or Moejére.

3rd. Mantoewari, who have their dwelling place on the river above Saramacca and their working places along the same river on Maripaston and in the cove Mindrinetie. They are names like the Saramaccaners, since they, too, although separate, live on the same river.

/29 cont./

439 Thus it is known to me that they have gone to one or
501 another plantation in order to sell timber, which they tie to their
505 korjalen or canoes after having made it into rafts with bush ropes
[283] (tough liana stalks), and have misled the Europeans in a scandalous manner.

[284] They make their squared timber into rafts in the following manner. Four thick strong round timbers are laid crosswise and tied together, two above and two under the korjaal; the timber is pushed in between these and fastened, so that the whole thing forms a firm long rectangle with the korjaal in the middle /30/ with which they make long journeys from the upper to the lower
[283] rivers. This timber that is made into rafts and carried along by the korjaal is called kokroko; they tie light and floating wood to long beams with bush rope (called boessitetei) (1); thus tied to the

1. From the copaiva.

heavy wood they drag it along down the river.

Chapter XXI

Understanding among Themselves

114 Not long ago I found myself among them on the river
133 Upper Commewijne on the Tempati (a branch of the river named, on the left going upstream; this branch runs into the mountains, which are reported as ruddle mountains /roodenberg/.

114 Residing among them, I made many attempts to induce
648 them to track down those in hiding who did not belong to their tribes and fugitives of a later time, and to make known to them that by governmental decree in the course of the year 1863, before the emancipation, a general amnesty regarding them had been issued, so that they could return to their former dwelling places without fear of punishment. The reason that induced me to acquaint them with this was that I saw in the return of these persons

4: Geijskes--13 G. N 5 (1952) 1954 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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Survey map of the agricultural lands of the Bush Negroes of the Marowijne /Maroni/. Made from aerial photographs by the Central Bureau Luchtkaartering Paramaribo /Central Bureau for Aerial Surveying, Paramaribo/. Taken in 1947.

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[311]

Fig. 1. Ground of a Paramaccaner on a hill beside the river. For want of flat terrain, the slopes of hills are used. The surroundings are second growth. -- Marowijne near Grankreck, Oct. 1952.

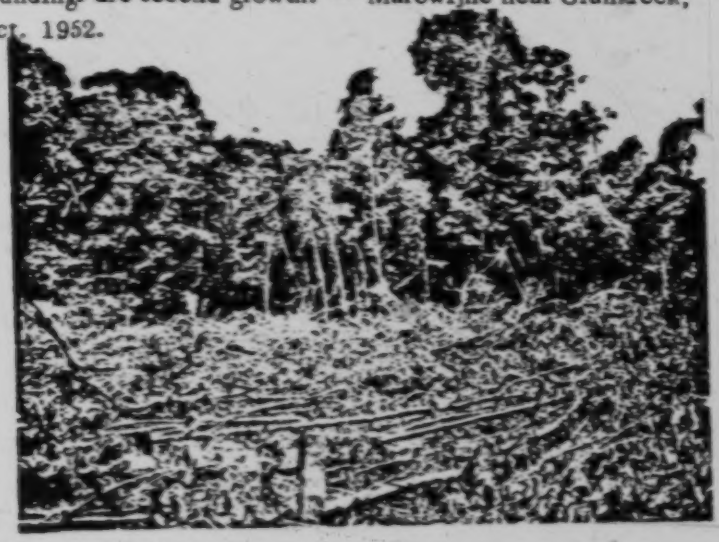

Fig. 2. Newly laid-out ground of an Aucaner, in young second growth. The slender trunks are typical. -- Tapanahoni, Saniki, Oct. 1952.

4: Geijskes--15 G,N-5 (1952) 1954 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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Fig. 3. Ground on the slopes of the Malobbi range. The surroundings are primary virgin forest; in the distance, the Lely range. -- Tapanahoni, Malobbi, Oct. 1952.

Fig. 4. Newly cleared ground along the river, on a steep slope. The danger of erosion is great. The surroundings are second growth. -- Marowijne near Grankreek, Oct. 1952.

4: Geijskes--16 G,N-5 (1952) 1954 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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Fig. 5. Virgin forest in the Malobbi range, with severe fire-scars from a food-ground (in the foreground). -- Tapanahoni, Malobbi, Oct. 1952.

Fig. 6. Food-ground on river terrace, planted for three months. In the foreground, rice and cassava, behind them maize. The surroundings are kapoeweri and, at the right, high second growth. Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, March, 1952.

/5/

CHAPTER I

MAN AND THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

The Country

133
[131] The Boni live along the middle course of the Lawa, principal tributary of the Maroni, above Abounasounga Falls. This region presents the same characteristics as the rest of Guiana: it is a very worn-down peneplain which, seen from the air, gives the impression of an immense plateau from which emerge every now and then isolated mountain massifs. When one travels across this peneplain, one perceives that in its detailed aspects it is very hilly everywhere; the terrain looks like an infinite covering of whitecaps of little hills as anonymous as the waves of the sea, whose always steep slopes end in swamps or pinotières drained by an infinitely complex maze of "criques" [creeks] (1); the shapes

1. In Guiana brooks and small rivers are called "criques."

and dimensions of these hills and valleys depend on the nature of the substratum, and their appearance on aerial photographs makes possible the drawing up of a concise geological map. The zones of "green rocks" are marked by much more important valleys and hills, reaching an altitude of 800 meters, with massive shapes and very steep slopes.

The other types of terrain most often lead to a very broken-up relief, the dimensions of the valleys and hills scarcely going over 300 meters, with local differences of altitude of from 50 to 100 meters.

/5 cont./

133 This extreme fragmentation of the relief must be remembered
182 as one of the ecological factors influencing the human peopling most directly; it renders the transport of heavy loads impracticable, the establishing of roads practically impossible. Men are led to
[361] settle along the rivers, which constitute the only routes of penetration toward the interior of the country.

133 All the important rivers flow into an alluvial valley whose
132 width varies from some tens of meters to a kilometer, dry during the greater part /6/ of the year, but flooded under several meters
134 of water during the great rains of May-June. This annual inunda-
241 tion makes the alluvial lands unfit for agriculture; the inhabitants of Guiana cultivate only sloping lands and even very steep slopes readily; for good drainage of the soil is indispensable for the raising of manioc whose tubers, which remain in the ground for more than a year, are threatened with rotting.

311 The cultivable zone is in fact closely limited around each village. Practically, it is limited to a strip of 1,500 to 2,000 meters along the banks of each watercourse accessible to pirogues.
[482] Transport of manioc tubers, carried on by the women several
[462] times a month, becomes impracticable if the distance to be covered with loads is greater than two kilometers at the maximum (1).

[101]
[131]
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1. The Djuka, very numerous on the Tapanahoni, cultivate as far as three or four kilometers from the river; but in general, the Refugee Blacks prefer to build farming habitations at a distance of several days' by boat from their village when this gives them the possibility of farming in the neighborhood of the banks.

/6 cont./

133 Flooding is very variable according to the configuration of the rivers and the nature of the terrain.

133 At the Creole village of Grigel, situated at the bottom of
361 a glove-finger loop of the Waki River, the June flooding reaches
171 a level of eight meters above the average level in the dry season; the Creole and Indian villages of the Waki are established on hills. On the contrary, along the Lawa whose course is rectilinear, the variation in level is seldom greater than four meters. The maximum water level is 50 centimeters to one meter /above/
[342] the soil of the alluvial terrace. Several of the Creole and Boni
[484] villages of the Lawa are even established at the very edge of the great river; the houses are built on piles and their occupants go home by boat during several weeks of the year. Nevertheless, most of the villages and farming habitations are outside the reach of flooding on terraces situated about five meters above the high-water mark, which are found from place to place at the edge of the river and which perhaps mark vestiges of an ancient terrace. This is notably the case with Boniville and Loka villages.

137 The whole of the territory is entirely covered by equatorial forest: a forest continuous and dense which extends over hundreds of kilometers without a village, without a clearing, without a trail.

The Guiana forest is less high than is ordinarily thought. It is an infinite succession of trees of all dimensions and of extremely varied species, among which true giants are rare; the average height of the cover is around 30 meters, and large trunks are rare.

824 The variety of species is very great; and the useful ones, few in number and dispersed, are difficult to exploit. The Refugee Blacks, who have a deep knowledge of the forest and its resources, utilize scarcely ten species out of the some 200 which they differentiate, judging the others unusable either because their

/6 cont. /

824 wood is too hard to be worked with ordinary instruments or, on the contrary, because it is too soft, too easily attacked by insects, or
311 has a tendency to rot. The zone exploitable by native procedures is limited (for the floodable zones /7/ do not allow fine woods) to the slope of the hills bordering the valley of the watercourses accessible to pirogues; beyond, the cartage of felled trunks becomes impracticable.

139 A very dense epiphytic vegetation connects the trees with
136 their upper parts; it is there that life blossoms out: flowers, birds, insects, and monkeys.

484 Progress through the forest is very arduous. The undergrowth,
480 shrubs, bushes, bound together by fine and elastic lianas, offers
[132] a constant obstacle, the machete /sabre/ must be wielded at each
[412] step. The nature of the terrain, a succession of bogs and hills
[133] with steep and slippery slopes, makes walking for heavily loaded men exhausting. On the trail one succeeds with difficulty in making more than 15 to 20 kilometers a day; in the uninhabited forest one can scarcely advance five to six kilometers a day by cutting the strict minimum as one does when hunting. The opening of a route permitting the passage of heavily laden men cannot progress more than three kilometers a day on the average.

139 The great forest offers few real dangers, but it is an environ-
182 ment profoundly hostile to man, which does not present spontaneously any food resource and allows establishment of villages and cultivated areas only at the price of great efforts.

136 One meets few animals in the interior of the forest, and the resources for hunting are very limited; on the other hand, there are few harmful animals; wild beasts are few and practically do not appear; snakes are much rarer than on the coast and represent
164 only a slight danger. The most real dangers of the forest come from the fall of branches and epiphytes, principally when it is cleared for cultivation; each year there are accidents of this kind in Boni country. Besides, work in the forest is the occasion for many wounds which tend to ulcerate.

/1 cont./

132 [513] The climate is relatively temperate and easy for the European to stand. In the forest the thermometer does not rise to more than 28° during the hot hours, to go back down to 20° at the end of the night: everyone sleeps with a blanket, Refugee Blacks and Creoles as well as Europeans. Humidity is very great during nearly all the year; precipitation averages three meters a year or about 50 centimeters less than at Cayenne. The year is divided into two seasons: "summer" from July to December, and the rainy season the rest of the year, with a maximum of precipitation in May and June. The water level varies considerably in the course of the year (several meters). The populations of the interior, spaced out along the rivers, suit the rhythm of their lives to the height of the water; the water rules transportation, fishing, and crops; moreover, a certain number of illnesses are in close relation to the rains, in particular those which have an insect for vector.

133 182 [361] [164]

241 [134] Almost everywhere the soil is very poor in organic matter and fundamental ingredients, very waterlogged necessitating the practice of an itinerant agriculture on burned-over areas; the period of fallow ground varies from two to ten years, the optimum seeming to be about six. The inhabitants of Guiana cannot allow ground to lie fallow regularly because of the ravages of the manioc ant, /8/ which is active especially in habitually cultivated zones. [136] Vain and costly efforts made by Europeans notably at Saint-Jean du Maroni about 1950, have shown that the fertility of lands not burned over is practically nil. The Indians and the Refugee Blacks consider that the fertility of the soil depends exclusively on the weight of cinders laid down during the burning.

[134] [242]

When burned-over areas are cultivated, only one harvest is obtained; but this harvest is abundant, and the soil thus utilized can be regarded as relatively fertile. The knocking down and burning do not require great labor, so that primitive agricultural methods can be considered to give a good yield. As a matter of fact, the diverse populations of Guiana, Creoles and Refugee Blacks, have entirely adopted the methods of work resulting from the millennial

241 179

/8 cont./

241 experience of the American Indians, which seem the only utilizable
179 ones in the interior of the country.

Thus these populations which are so varied have in large measure the same agriculture and the same food.

241 Basic crops are manioc, consumed in the form of couac
[262] (flour roasted and granulated) which is the base food, the Indian yam, and tubers analogous to taro (dachine, "Caribbean cabbage").
[171] The Refugee Blacks plant mountain rice in addition. The Creoles do not plant rice but have on the other hand a greater variety of vegetables and fruits.

311 Men in Guiana live on the rivers; villages and cultivated
36 lands are to be found on their banks; everywhere else one finds
182 only the deserted forest; only Creole gold miners, constrained by their work, sometimes establish their villages far from watercourses.
181 The Refugee Blacks, like the Indians, love the rivers where they
182 find, along with water and light, the possibility of moving with-
171 out hindrance; they are a people of canoeists; their traditions are widely influenced by life on the river, and their mode of living finds in this a deep originality.

131 In fact, setting aside the gold miners' villages, we can say
133 that the populations of the Guianas living by exploitation of the
182 natural resources of the country have a linear habitat: it can be
171 estimated not in surface but in length, for it is limited to a band of one kilometer along each watercourse accessible to pirogues. These watercourses are limited in number, for one can take for granted that at a distance of some 20 kilometers from the source of each river, the congestion caused by fallen trees and parasitic vegetation prevents easy movement.

[161] Actually, considering the very low density of the population,
[226] the small rivers are scarcely utilized except as fishing places.

487 All the rivers are interrupted by falls and rapids which render
501 the use of large boats impossible. The pirogues of the Refugee

/15/

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE BONI

Villages

[3] [361] [133] Localization. The principal Boni villages have for 150 years been grouped on the Lawa (1) upstream from Abattis-Cottica Falls.

> 1. Let us remember that the Lawa and the Tapanahoni are the streams forming the Maroni. The Lawa constitutes the border between Surinam and French Guiana.

The limit of Boni country toward the south is vague. However, it is taken for granted that all the Abattis-Cottica belong [361] to the Boni. Boni farming villages and Djuka villages coexist downstream from the Abattis-Cottica as far as Abounasounga. Below Abounasounga begins Djuka country properly speaking (2)

> 2. In reality this is a zone of colonization, for the "great country" of the Djuka is the Tapanahoni. But the customary rights they possess on the Lawa lands are contested by no one.

423 643 [131] Traditionally, the Boni used to consider the whole of the upper basin of the Maroni as their domain or at the very least as territory under the authority of the grand man. Thus it was at

6:Hurault--■21 K-5 (1948-1958)1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni
French Guiana SR3

B
F
101
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103
133
361

/16/

Populations of the
Maroni and Mana Basin

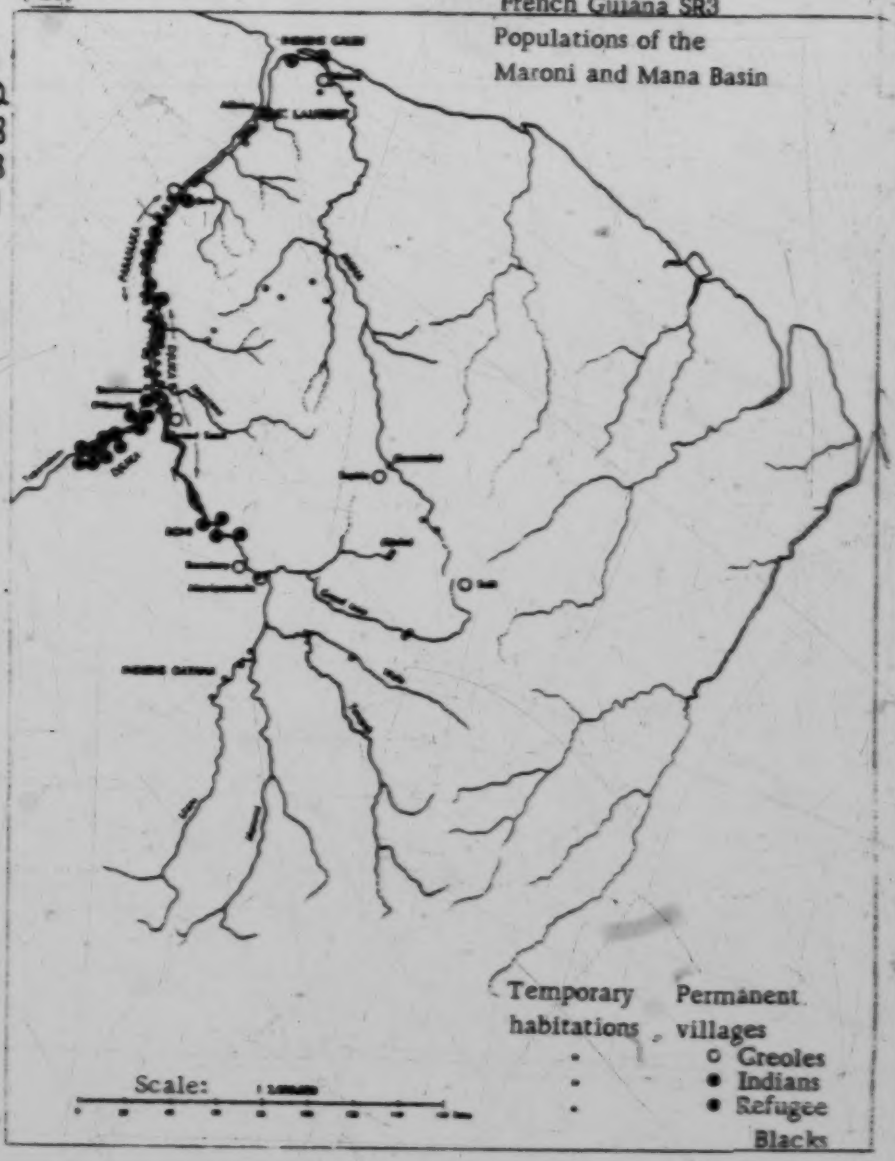

Fig. 1

133
137
342
361

Fig. 5. Boni Village

137
342
361
769
778
613

Fig. 6. The fraga
[illegible]al of the Koriks
[illegible]

/98/

102
103
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● 133
311
361
423
613
621

Distribution of Lands in the Neighborhood
of the Principal Boni Villages

● Permanent villages
— Boundary lines

Scale:

/K. or Cr. = Creek,
Lieu-dit = locality,
h. du grand man = habitation of the grand man,
Zone inondable = floodable zone./

Fig. 16.

6:Hurault--145 K-5 (1948 1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

/facing p. 100/

102
103
133
241
361

Boni Farming Habitations South of the Confluence with the Inini

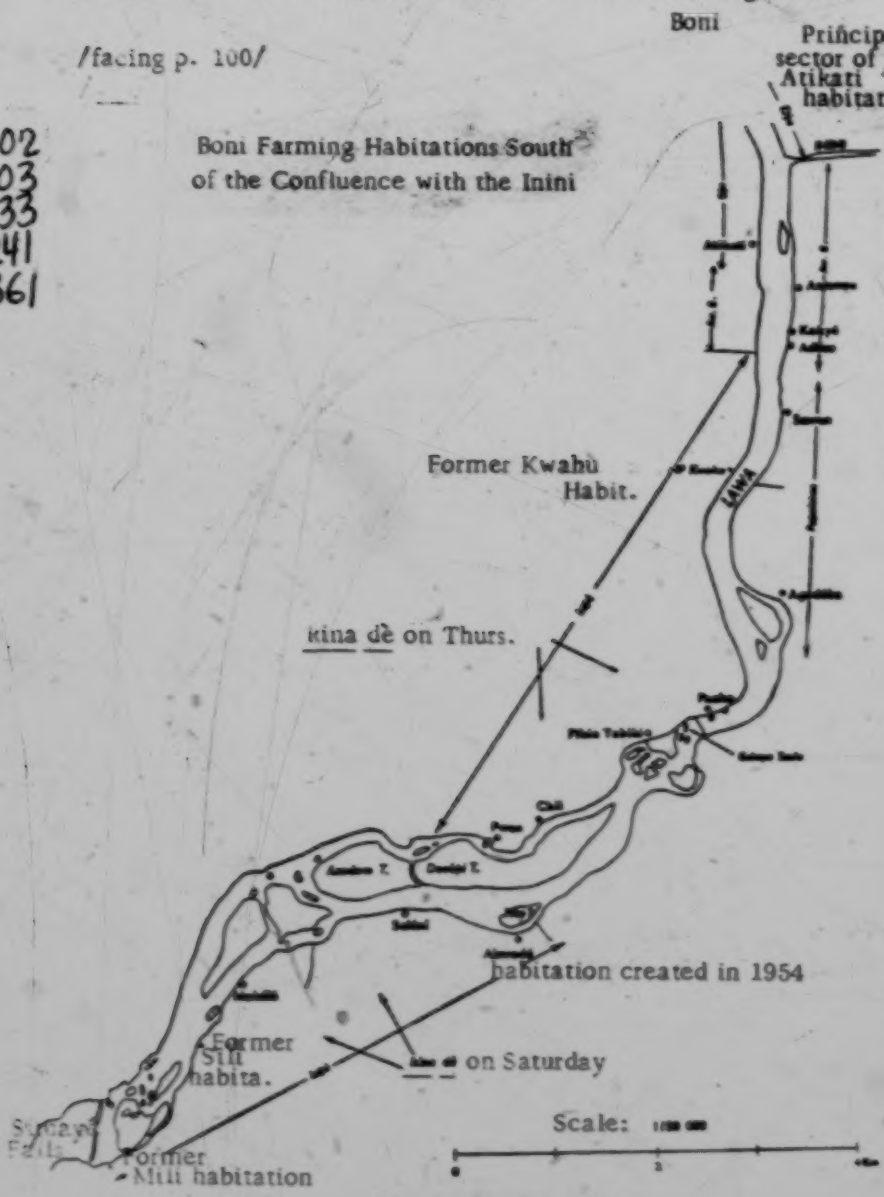


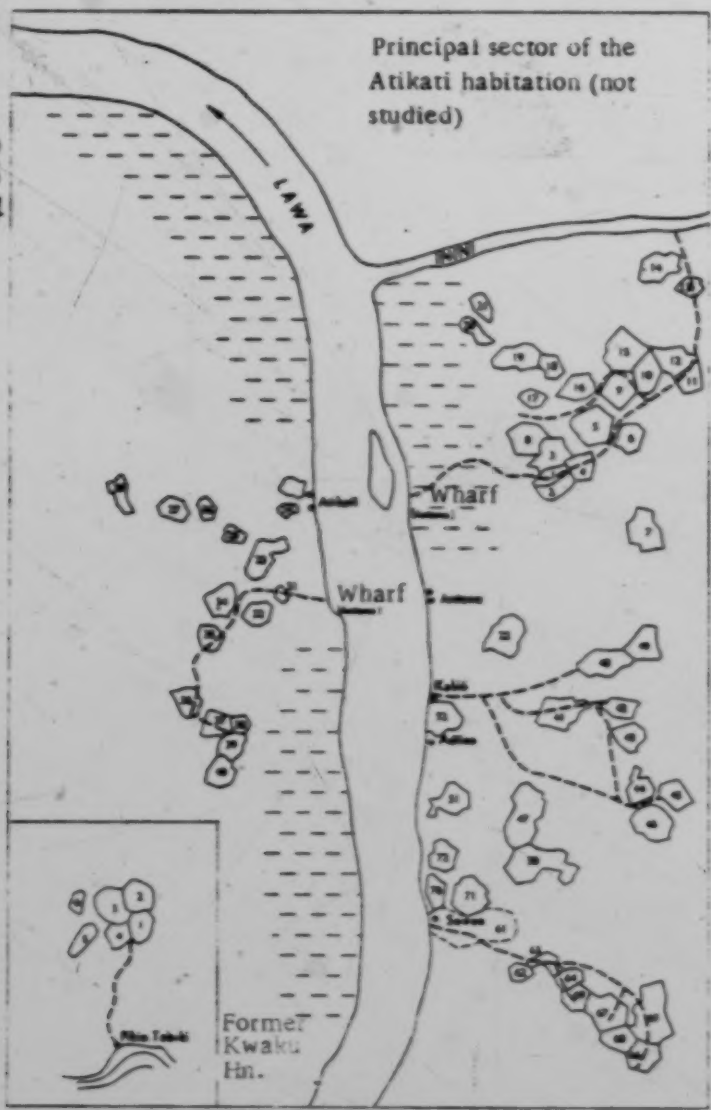
Fig. 17.

6:Hurault--158 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/facing p. 108/

102
103
133
241
361
423
613
504

Distribution of Lands among the Lineages
in the Neighborhood of the Confluence with the Inini



Scale: 1/20 000

After photographs by the 003/200 IGN mission, taken in October, 1956
• farming habitation
flooding zone
clearings studied in January, 1957

Fig. 18.

6:Hurault--166a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/facing p. 114/

/.. a/

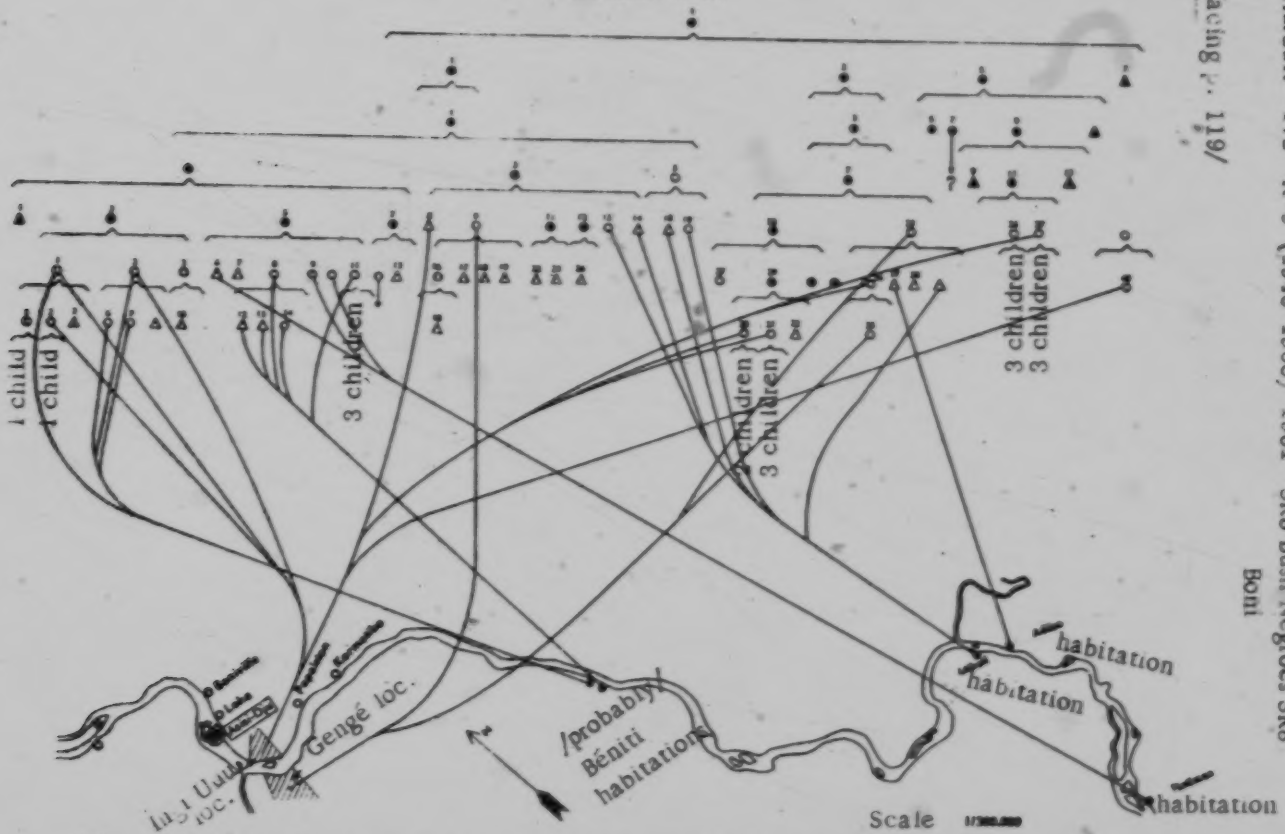
133
137
226
501

Fig. 19. Fishing à la nivrée.

102
103
●133
241
391
613
721

/facing p. 119/

Grouping of the Members of the Dju Lineage
into Sectors and Farming Habitations
October 1957



This chart shows the absence of any tendency toward the scission of the lineage into separate fractions.

Fig. 20.

6:Hurault--265a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

764
133
292
411
501

Fig. 25. The coffin is placed on board a canoe.

6:Hurault--412a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes.SR8
Boni

133
137
501
764

Fig. 29. The last trip of a dead person on the river.

102

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311

316

361

423

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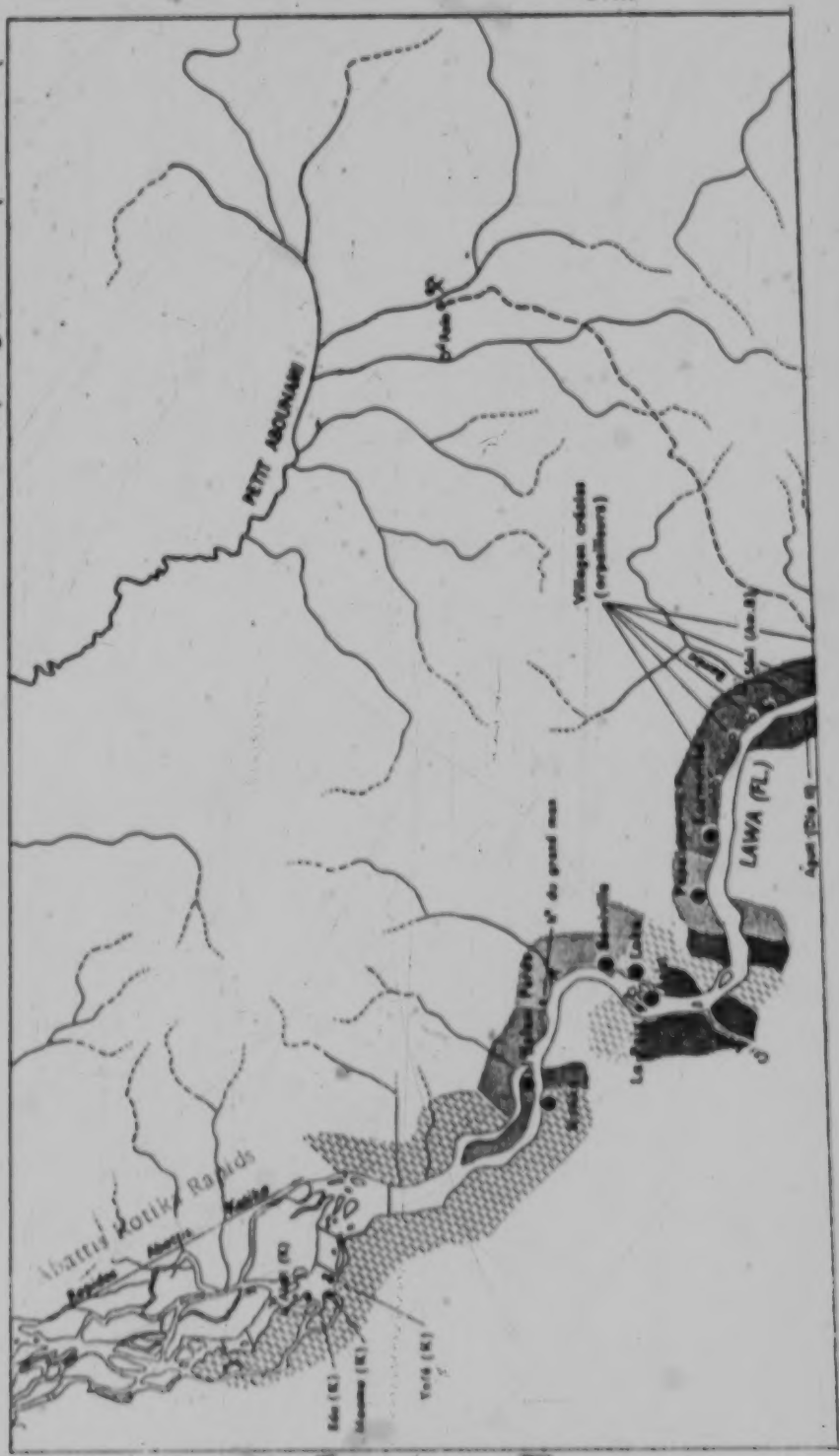
621

A (p. 576)
B (p. 577)
C (p. 578)
D (p. 579)

Chart of Positions of End Map /facing p. 576/

6:Hurault--576 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

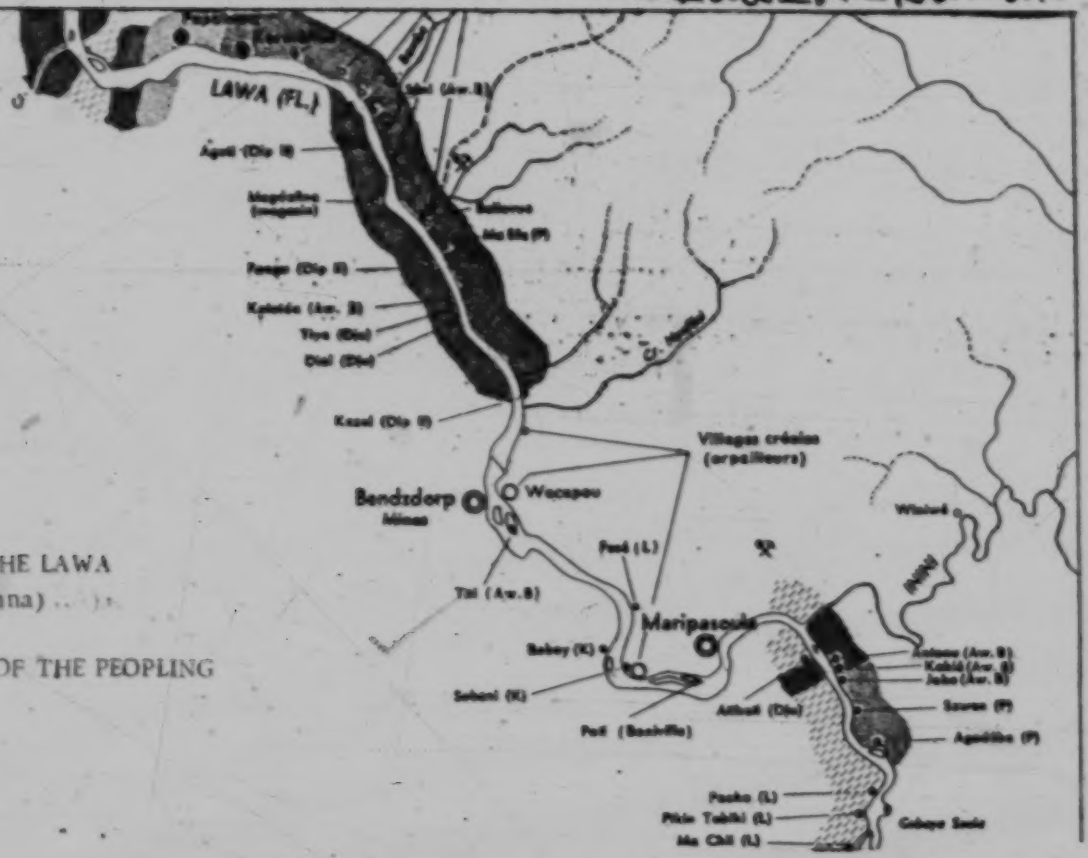
102
103
131
133
162
311
316
361
423
613
614
621



[End Map - A]

6:Hurault--577 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

102
102
131
133
162
311
316
361
423
613
614
621



COURSE OF THE LAWA
(French Guiana) . . .).

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLING

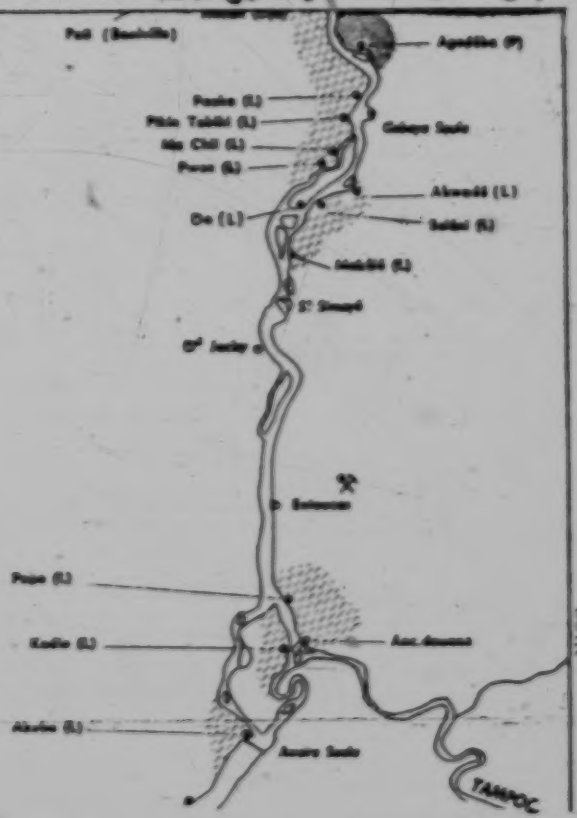
End Map - A

Villages and Farming Habitations
in 1958

- Boni residence villages
- Boni farming habitations
- Creole villages
- European establishments
- Creole habitations
- Small gold workings
- Indian villages

Lands belonging to the Boni lineages

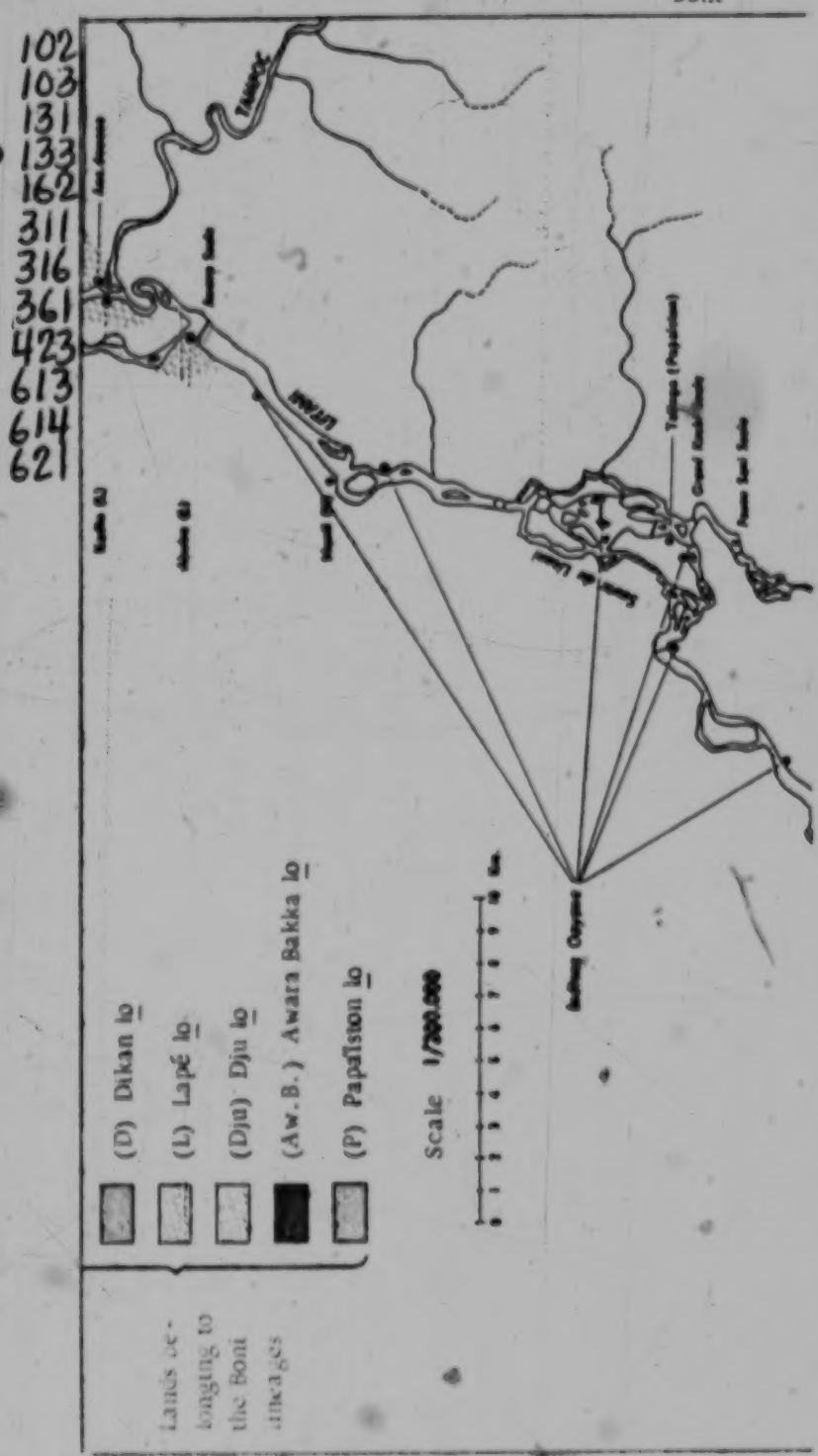
- (K) Kotika lo
- (Dip) Dipétu lo
- (D) Dikan lo
- (L) Lapé lo
- (Dju) Dju lo



6:Hurault--578 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8 Boni

Map - 5

6:Hurault--579 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni



[End Map-D]

6: Hurault

102

103

133

241

311

361

423

487

504

613

614

SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

A (p. 580)	B (p. 581)	C (p. 582)	D (p. 583)

Chart of Positions of End Plate /facing p. 580/

6:Hurault--S80 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

DIVISION OF LANDS AMONG THE LINEAGES IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF THE PRINCIPAL BONI VILLAGES

102
103
•133
241
311
361
423
489
613
614
504

Photographic montage made with the help of photographs of Field Trip 007/200 IGN Guiana
Scale 1/20 000 Taken in October, 1956

[End Plate -A]

6:Hurault--S81 K-S (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

102
103
133
241
311
361
423
487
613
614
764
504

Scale 1/30 000

[End Plate - B]

6:Hurault--582 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

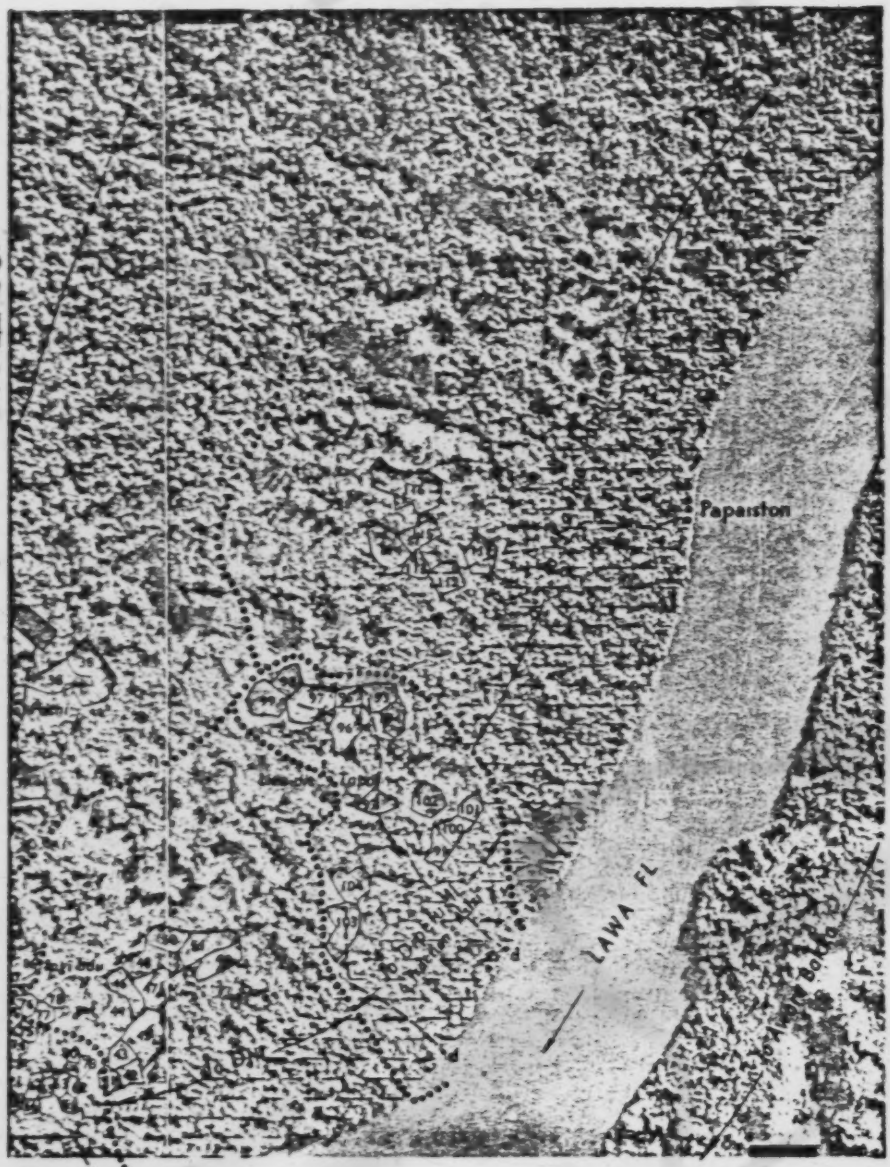
102
103
133
241
311
361
423
487
504
613
614

Scale 1/20 000

[End Plate-C]

6:Hurault--583 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8 -
Boni

102
103
133
241
311
361
423
487
504
613
614



Agodé Permanent villages
clearings
floodable zones
boundaries not known
farming habitation
dégrad (wharf)
path
approximate boundaries of agricultural land

[End Plate - D]

241 Behind each village, a quarter of a mile to five miles dis-
313 tant, are its provision grounds, which the women work. They consist of tiny patches of half an acre or more, carved out of the heart of the jungle by means of terrific labour. It
[442] takes the men weeks of work with axes and bush-knives to clear the ground. The fallen trees, some of extremely hard wood, are cut up, burnt, or carried away. The brush is cleared with a machete, or bush-knife, which Negroes call a neefee; they swing this blade with amazing force by making the wrist the centre of its arc.

462 The women, as in most primitive societies, tend to the
241 planting and harvesting of the crops. They are helped by the men of the family on some occasions, such as when the harvest is threatened by voracious parasites. The arduous labour of cultivating the stubborn earth comes so naturally to a Bush Negro woman that she is incredulous when told that elsewhere the males alone till the soil.

136 A leaf-cutting ant, *Ecodoma cephalotes,* that carries small
241 bits of leaves into its nest, preys on the cassava fields. These ants march in two parallel columns, one going to the fields and the other returning, and systematically ruin the crop. The bit of green that each ant is carrying off looks like an umbrella; hence they are called umbrella ants. They live on a fungus which they grow on the cut leaves. Large numbers of them working together can denude an entire cassava field in a comparatively short time.

134 The jungle ground is not excessively fertile, for the in-
241 cessant downpours leach out the humus, and there is not

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

sufficient time for the nitrogenous substances to be reduced 134
to fertilizing material. Because of this poverty of the ground 241
and the constant foraging of insect and bird pests—the parrot is notorious among these—the cultivation of food is difficult and laborious for the Bush Negroes and the provision ground must often be moved to a fresh site.

Their main carbohydrate staple is the manioc or bitter 244
cassava. It is a tuber-like plant that grows some three to seven feet in height, the edible portion being the underground root. The root contains the poisonous prussic acid, which must be carefully removed. Bush Negroes have been known [762
to commit suicide by drinking the juice of the cassava. The 278]
plant itself resembles the tobacco plant, but has a stalk covered with bark and large roots that look like sweet potatoes.

The roots are harvested, carefully peeled, and reduced to 252
a pulp by being rubbed on the roughened surface of an inclined board, the expelled free juices rolling down the incline into a bowl. The rest of the plant is thrown away. The pulp 252
is stuffed into a cylindrical squeezing contrivance made of 285
reed, known as the *matapee*. It resembles one of those toy finger grippers of straw that children play with. The reeds being flexible, elongating the tube by pulling at the ends reduces the diameter of it; this compresses the contents of the cylinder and squeezes out the deadly juice which then runs off into a bowl below. The matapee is a beautifully woven piece of basketry about five feet long and seven inches in diameter. The upper end is attached to the limb of a tree and a heavy stone is suspended from the lower end, the

/139 cont./

13 seems too high to me), the ants can bring into the soil each year two to three tons of leaf material per hectare. As a result the soil would be so enriched with humus and, in addition, through the construction of the numerous nest corridors, receive so much extra ventilation that the oxygen content and the microbiological condition of this soil would tend to differ from the mineral soils in which the virgin forest is rooted. As proof of this, it is stated "that even the oldest ant-kapoeweri directly behind the villages shows no tendency to grow into normal high forest" (p. 13).

114 It does not seem correct to me to ascribe this kapoeweri
137 phenomenon only to the presence and the activity of the leaf-
136 cutting ants. In my opinion the ants here constitute a troublesome contributing factor, for when the virgin-forest grounds are abandoned by the population and no new food material is available to the ants while the kapoeweri gradually grows into higher forest, then the balance in the ant population re-establishes itself. This process takes place at a slow rate, depending on the local circumstances, but it leads to the re-establishment of the original situation. There is, however, one condition connected with it, namely, that the forest be left in peace for a long enough stretch.
241 Now this last is not the case for the grounds area of the Bush Negroes.
● 134 They return too soon (within ten years) to clear grounds again, with the consequence that the soil becomes too exhausted and the recovery of the forest becomes impossible.

171 Proof for this viewpoint is already provided by Stahel (loc.
241 cit.) in his consideration of the agriculture of the upland Indians.
137 The absence of the ant-kopoeweri there is not a matter of a lesser
[136] ant infestation, as Stahel /140/ believes -- for in places this is equally serious -- but of a less intensive use of the forest lands.
[161] The Indians are present in small numbers (a few hundred, as against
423] thousands of Bush Negroes), while only communal plots are laid out for one village, and not different ones for each family. In
[361] addition, the Indians move frequently in order to find new hunting and fishing grounds.

/140 cont./

241 There is yet another factor which plays a role in the origin
134 of the grounds-kapoeweri. This is the use of fire in clearing the
137 ground. The burning of the cut forest is done at the expense of the humus on and in the soil. The fertilization with ashes that one obtains by it only partially covers this loss. Furthermore, under the influence of the fire there are great disturbances in the balance of the microflora and fauna of the soil, hindering the conversion of organic materials into inorganic compounds. Sun and rain bring changes in the structure of the scorched earth, which forms a cement-like crust and becomes sealed. Also the growing of cultivated crops, especially cassave, draws many mineral components from the soil.

13 It is clear that the soil needs time to recover after this disturbance of the balance. This period of time is estimated at 25-30 years. The leaf-cutting ants play a part in this; they again enrich the soil with humus by bringing great quantities of leaves into their ground nests. In addition, they ventilate the soil by digging numerous nest corridors. In this manner the ants contribute
[242] to the recovery. It is well-known, moreover, that the soil on old leaf-cutting ant nests is fertile; one likes to plant bananas on it. If we assume with Stahel that in this kapoeweri six ant nests per hectare are found, then these nests together would only have a maximum surface of one-tenth of it. This would never be able to hinder the full growth of the forest.

136 That the leaf cutting ants occupy the secondary growth, or at
137 least are present there in greater numbers than is normally the case
241 in the forest, may be a consequence of the laying out of new grounds within their domain. Because of the lack of land, the Bush Negroes are constantly trying to lay out grounds again in this forest. The ants, moreover can maintain themselves because there are various forest trees that supply the ants with sufficient leaf material.

13 Thus, because of both the decreased capacity of the soil and
311 the presence of the leaf-cutting ants, the ant-kapoeweri forms a terrain that has become unusable for present-day primitive Bush Negro agriculture./141/ And from the standpoint of forestry too the ant-kapoeweri is worthless.

000/141 cont. /

241 of this predatory cultivation has been reached. The nearby
423 agricultural lands are kept in use with too brief a rest period, with
[134] the result that the soil is overworked and the periodic recovery
[825] of the forest proceeds at an ever slower pace. In addition one struggles to an increasing degree with the problem /142/ of the leaf-cutting ants, which keep the easily accessible places occupied.

241 The consequence of this circumstance is that the Bush Negroes
311 are forced to make the grounds farther and farther from their vil-
[484] lages. One travels for hours up or down the river in order to
[482] reach good land. When one cannot make good use of a forest creek in order to transport the produce from the field, one is forced to carry the harvest for one or two hours through the forest to the river. The Bush Negro does not go farther than a two hours' walk (about six kilometers from the river) (see the map /see p. 13 /).

241 On the Tapanahoni one spends even days in traveling to less
311 populated areas in order to plant and to harvest. One then estab-
361 lishes so-called work camps along the river, from which one
[103] operates in the surrounding areas. This is the case, among others, between Godoholo and Granbori for people from Drietabbetje or
311 other centers. That one does not go even farther up river, all the
423 way past the last village, Granbori, has to do with a prohibition
643 by the granman of the Aucaners. That is, the latter wants to reserve the lands lying beyond this point as hunting lands and therefore will not make them available for agricultural purposes.

241 The inhabitants of the villages along the lower Tapanahoni,
311 such as Sajé, Clementi, and Malobbi, frequently lay out their food
423 grounds in the Lawa, where they can have at their disposal agri-
361 cultural lands as far as the Aboenasoengoe Falls. Farther upstream
103 on this river the Bonni or Aloekoe Negroes assert their rights.

5. Differences between Aucaners and Paramaccaners

101 The conditions given above apply in the main to the Aucaner
162 Bush Negroes of the Tapanahoni. They number today approximately
[311] 6,500 persons. The Paramaccaner Bush Negroes of the Marowijne, approximately 1,700 in number, are in somewhat more favorable

/5 cont./

133 This extreme fragmentation of the relief must be remembered
182 as one of the ecological factors influencing the human peopling most directly; it renders the transport of heavy loads impracticable, the establishing of roads practically impossible. Men are led to
[361] settle along the rivers, which constitute the only routes of penetration toward the interior of the country.

133 All the important rivers flow into an alluvial valley whose
132 width varies from some tens of meters to a kilometer, dry during the greater part /6/ of the year, but flooded under several meters
● 134 of water during the great rains of May-June. This annual inunda-
241 tion makes the alluvial lands unfit for agriculture; the inhabitants of Guiana cultivate only sloping lands and even very steep slopes readily; for good drainage of the soil is indispensable for the raising of manioc whose tubers, which remain in the ground for more than a year, are threatened with rotting.

311 The cultivable zone is in fact closely limited around each village. Practically, it is limited to a strip of 1,500 to 2,000 meters along the banks of each watercourse accessible to pirogues.
[482] Transport of manioc tubers, carried on by the women several
[462] times a month, becomes impracticable if the distance to be covered with loads is greater than two kilometers at the maximum (1).

[101]
[131]
[184]

1. The Djuka, very numerous on the Tapanahoni, cultivate as far as three or four kilometers from the river; but in general, the Refugee Blacks prefer to build farming habitations at a distance of several days' by boat from their village when this gives them the possibility of farming in the neighborhood of the banks.

/1 cont./

132 The climate is relatively temperate and easy for the European
[513] to stand. In the forest the thermometer does not rise to more than 28° during the hot hours, to go back down to 20° at the end of the night: everyone sleeps with a blanket, Refugee Blacks and Creoles as well as Europeans. Humidity is very great during nearly all the year; precipitation averages three meters a year or about 50 centimeters less than at Cayenne. The year is divided into two seasons: "summer" from July to December, and the rainy season the rest of the year, with a maximum of precipitation in
133 May and June. The water level varies considerably in the course
182 of the year (several meters). The populations of the interior,
[361] spaced out along the rivers, suit the rhythm of their lives to the
[164] height of the water; the water rules transportation, fishing, and crops; moreover, a certain number of illnesses are in close relation to the rains, in particular those which have an insect for vector.

241 Almost everywhere the soil is very poor in organic matter
[134] and fundamental ingredients, very waterlogged necessitating the practice of an itinerant agriculture on burned-over areas; the period of fallow ground varies from two to ten years, the optimum seem-
[136] ing to be about six. The inhabitants of Guiana cannot allow ground to lie fallow regularly because of the ravages of the manioc ant, /8/ which is active especially in habitually cultivated zones.
[134] Vain and costly efforts made by Europeans notably at Saint-Jean du Maroni about 1950, have shown that the fertility of lands not burned over is practically nil. The Indians and the Refugee Blacks
[242] consider that the fertility of the soil depends exclusively on the weight of cinders laid down during the burning.

When burned-over areas are cultivated, only one harvest is obtained; but this harvest is abundant, and the soil thus utilized can be regarded as relatively fertile. The knocking down and burning do not require great labor, so that primitive agricultural methods can be considered to give a good yield. As a matter of fact, the
241 diverse populations of Guiana, Creoles and Refugee Blacks, have
179 entirely adopted the methods of work resulting from the millennial

/60/

351 There are no gardens around the cabins because the con-
[134] ditions of the soil and climate render permanent cultivation
[241] impracticable. The nearest thing is a few persons planting some
banana trees around the hut at the foot of which they spread the
361 hearth ashes. As a general rule villages are closely hemmed in
137 by secondary brushwood, and people plant far from one another
311 and sometimes very far from the village.

423 If it does not admit the appropriation of land to individuals,
824 custom does admit, on the other hand, the ownership of trees.
In the villages the useful trees (coconut trees, maripa palms
/attalea excelsa/, mango trees, cashew-apple trees, etc.) all
[428] have owners. The tree is considered as personal property and is
transmitted by inheritance in the same way as a gun or a canoe.
428 The procedure employed by the Boni for the dispersion of the
824 inheritance among the members of the lineage of the dead man
613 sometimes has the effect of transmitting the ownership of a tree
[222] to a person who is not of the village. For example, in Boniville
where a fraction of the Kotika lineage lives, two caumou palms
were bequeathed a long time ago to members of the lineage living
in Kotika, who come each year to gather the fruit.

Appendix

173 [125] Local Chronology Used for Determining Ages

1876	Death of Grand Man Atyaba.
1877	Trip of the explorer Crevaux from the Maroni to the Yari and the Amazon, in the company of Apatu, head of the Boni village.
[62] [361] 1882	Apatu secedes, taking with him about 150 persons and founds the village which bears his name on the lower course of the Maroni.

6:Hurault--169 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8 Boni

[Same habitation (Pikin Tabiki)]

/116 cont./

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621
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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
3	O	Mélita; clearing cut by her husband Kwata	1955	id.	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
4	O	Mélita; cl. cut by her son Déési	1954	id.	3 years (cut for the 1st time in 1948, then in 1953 for the 2nd time
5	O	Téké; cl. cut by her husband Baïna	1951	id.	3 years (cut in 1948 for the 1st time)
6	O	Téké id.	1953	id.	cut for the 1st time

361
241
134

Farming Habitations downstream from Maripasoula

Several habitations are installed in the Kuyaku locality very fertile region giving high yields of manioc (1).

1- This fertility is explained by the nature of the subsoil (sills of dolerite).

621
241
613
423

Ownership of the land: Dipélu Il lo (Kormotibe village). Several habitations side by side:

WHILE THE RIVER WAS HIGH

The sun stood over the sacred silk-cotton tree toward the Gankwe side of the land. Across the path leading from somewhere in the back of our shelter the parasol ants, each with its strip of green many times its size, made their way toward an unknown spot where no shelter stood, and no one trod. Like a wave the wide ribbon of green rose and fell as it crossed the ridges of the pathway. In unending numbers they came, and the lizards darting in and out of the brush swerved in the direction of the shelter to avoid the marching line, so that at our feet things moved now up, now back again.

While the men were at the landing place, one of the women who was drying rice on the high flat rocks opposite our shelter paddled over in her boat, and, passing the men with a formal greeting, walked on and stopped to talk with us. She was not a young woman. Her time for childbearing was long over, her wrinkled breasts sagged almost to her waist. The cicatrized designs which once had stood out so clearly, and in her youth had been so valued, were but faintly penciled on her face and about her breasts. Had she cared, she might have reopened the cuts, might have had ashes rubbed into them to make the keloids stand out black and alive against the dark brown of her skin. But what need had a woman her age to care? What need to urge life into symbols of fertility on face and between breasts and about her navel, when her time for fruitfulness was over? Of what use to reanimate the incised scrolls between her thighs, when the legend they told in terms of reproduction was for her a dead legend?

She came toward us slowly, balancing a bottle on her head. A faded cloth covered her from waist to knee, and at her waist a bit of the kerchief necessary to the attire of the married woman, even at work, could be seen. She wore a few beads on a cord about her neck, but she had no other ornaments, for ornaments were for festive occasions, and the cloth tied about the neck and worn cape fashion was for women who had children to carry straddling their backs, and woven garters below the knee were conceits of the young.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
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but he did face about, and forgetting his seketi began to pole in earnest. 502 484

In a few moments his body glistened with the exertion, and over the circle and snake of kamemba in the small of his back the perspiration ran down in a trickle. When he had almost caught up he slackened his speed, and he and Bibifo talked about the river. Old Bibifo knew the river well. He was born beyond the Granman's country. A snake swam across the path of the boat, Bayo said. It was good luck. "See, look," he called. His eyes were sharp. The old man saw it, too, and then he called to us. There, close to the shore, a little ahead of us, a constrictor twined its tail about a liana, hanging head down, with a salamander slowly disappearing into its mouth. There was a slight jerk, the liana shook, the snake swallowed, and another bit of the salamander was out of sight. 484 [825] [777] [136]

Farther ahead we heard the report of a gun, and the crying of the mate of the wounded bird followed us for a long while. Bayo and Bibifo identified each cry, called by name the things that grew, planned about their timber rafts when they got back, until the next rapids were reached and passed and the conversation could be resumed, and then they talked about things which they did not care to have the Bakra know, and though they spoke none of the words of their ritual language, we could not understand anything they said. It was not until later that we learned to work out some of the elisions in their speech. [198]

A strip of sandy beach showed where a village stood, and as we passed it, we could see the azang, the spiritual guard of palm fronds, preventing evil spirits from entering the village. We saw also a strip of white hanging from the end of a stick which had been put up for the ancestors, and beyond, the low shelter for the roughly carved and weathered image holding an obia pot on its head. Under the azang the path stretched like a narrow ribbon which was soon lost as the walls of green converged. 778 789

"Is that another village?" we said, pointing at a pale stretch across the river. 361

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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smaller boats were to be brought up each by its own men. Each selected a place, and the shrill shouted directions could be heard above the falling water. Up, up, they came, the man at the stern holding with his stick, the man at the head up to his shoulders in water, tugging, pulling, hauling the boat over. Once Asikanu's pole slipped, and his boat swung toward a rock, but it caught again and he held it with the fierceness of a man defending himself against an enemy, and then he, too, cut across and found the firmness of the friendly sandy bottom. 502 484

But when the five boats were at last together above the falls, out came machetes to sharpen the ends of the pole-sticks, for an encounter such as they had had the moment before shredded the hard wood into fiber.

Ahead the water was still. The hard work of this day was over. The men straightened their loin cloths and again began to make their way along the banks of the river. The village where we would camp that night was somewhere before us. The sun was nearing the treetops, and the shrieking pairs of parrots were flying over us to the west, seeking their roosting places. [136]

The short dusk was upon us.

"It is not far," said Bayo, speaking of the village ahead.

"Will we get there before dark?"

"*Massa Gadu sabi*—God alone knows."

"*No fe', Bak'a*—Don't be afraid. We know the river."

The Bush Negro and his river! Seeing the prodigious strength of the men, their great knowledge of current and rocks and channels, one was not afraid. Softly the pole-sticks slid into the sand banks, softly the paddles dipped, and Bayo sang his seketi.

"N'an g'wa a Lamé
A s'ib' ko' de muye." [533] [539]

REBEL DESTINY

133 But now a soft haze floated over stream and bush. To the right was the Ingi Sopi channel, dropping so sheer that not even an unloaded dugout could make its way up the rapids, not a single log of wood could be floated down. To the left was the Mamadam, a smoother, more rounded slope. It was up these falls that our boats would later be hauled.

501 484 Below us on the rocks our men were unloading the corials and carrying the provisions along the narrow trodden path to the topmost ledge of the falls, where the empty dugouts would be reloaded after they had been taken up through the streaming water.

133 Beyond lay the full stretch of the river. As far as the eye could see, there were none of the channels, none of the many islands which are met with everywhere on this river from its very headwaters to the reaches of the tidal belt near the coast. About us was a stillness which the very roar [136] of the water heightened. The parrots had long ago passed on in pairs. The butterflies would wait for the sun before they went winging from the east bank to the west. This was a moment of pure interlude. No sun, no breeze, no 000 sound, no glow. This was the moment before the fragmentary dawn would end, before the haze would lift, this the moment when night, having met day, as the Bush Negroes said, was disappearing from sight.

"It is fine here, ai!" Bayo called to us, as he walked on [482] with a large canister balanced on his head, making his way up the rocks with the sureness and ease of one who is strolling down a lane with the consciousness of a pleasant encounter at the next turning.

798 346 As soon as the mist had lifted, we walked up the rocks to the shrine. Facing us and the lower river, a tall, slender pole, weathered to a pale silver, stood higher than the roof of the shrine in front of which it was planted. At its top were the crude outlines of a head and, some three feet from its base, two side pieces were nailed to it and grounded at an angle to steady the image against the onrush of a sudden wind. A short distance from the pole was the shrine

241 away from the river? When the big rains come, the river
361 goes up more and more. If our crops were too close to the water, then in the big rains the land would be flooded, and the crops long under water. . . . Yes, and we have to
[136] think of the ants, too. Ants, once they find their way into a field, will destroy everything. They like especially the
[137] green leaves of the young cassava plants. When the young leaves go, there is no cassava. So we move farther and farther away for our fields. Two, three years, and new fields must be cut, so that the yield might feed us all."

311 Once a field had been deserted, say, for five years, why
241 did they not reclaim it later? we enquired, for by that time the big bush would have made fertile again the soil that had been exhausted.

"In this bush we do it like that. Why, I don't know. Our ancestors found much land for us. When we want new fields, we cut farther and farther into the bush."

5

As Bayo and Angita set off for the dance at Pa'aba, Kasanya and Sedefo joined us, and we talked of crops and
[521] planting, of woman's work and man's, of good harvests and bad, and this is what was told us.

[462] Finding a new field and clearing it is a man's task. If a man is about to be married, or if the field a man's wife works has become exhausted, then he goes into the forest, near to the planting ground of his mother and to the fields of his family, and casts about for a place to clear. A field
311 must not be in a hollow, or the crops will not grow, and
241 rice needs the sun of a hill slope to thrive. Once having
776 found a spot where the drainage is good, he looks about to see if the spirits will allow its use. Patiently, painstakingly, he goes from one clump of matted vines to the next, machete in hand, searching for signs of an ant hill, or an Akatasi tree that is sacred to the gods of the ant hill, or for snakes, or a natural clearing belonging to the Apuku gods of the bush. No silk-cotton tree must be there, no loko tree wherein dwells the god of the same name so near that it

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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Chapter VIII

PARENTS, CHILDREN, AND GRANDCHILDREN

I

512 WE WERE aroused early after our night of stories. The women were moving about, getting their morning meal before daybreak came to give them light for their harvesting. There was much they had to do. Late that afternoon they would be returning to their villages, for the next day was sacred to the Earth Mother, [527] and no work could be done in the fields. Today, added to the round of harvesting were the preparations for the return to their village. The rice that had been cut during the week would have to be carried there for drying and winnowing, and yams and peanuts and beans were to be brought in.

136 Not far off, in the bush, the "baboons" were crying. We had been told how these howling monkeys lived in bands, and how they had an "old man" for leader. Their strange cries, ringing through the forest, sounded like despair made articulate. A terribly moving reiteration of four or five wailing notes went on and on, rising slowly in volume, until their cries blotted out all other sounds, and then, like a wave receding, diminishing until quiet reigned again. But when we had given up listening for its distant echo, there it was again, filling the darkness of the clearing with despair, until, at its very height, we heard the low, penetrating grunts of their "*G'aman*—Chief" and instantly all was still. They were done for the night. With daylight, they would go deeper into the bush.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SRS Bush Negroes SRS
Saramacca

Chapter IX

A NIGHT AT S'EI

I

133
137 FROM day to day the mood of the river changed, and the mood of the bush changed with it. The dankness of the river bank gave way to the smell of red, sun-scorched earth. No longer was the farther shore the forbidding wall of a great canyon. The flowering lianas, as they climbed a hundred feet and more from the roots of the trees they had enveloped, were making of it a tapestry. The blooms which showed against the masses of green seemed at first of the palest yellow with threads of white, or yellow with glints of gold in them, or the faintest of orange and violet. Later when the flaming gold, the scarlet and purple clusters appeared, they still did not mar the somber weave of the timeless pattern, for the deep note of this bush in any season is green, and no pushing, garish colors, no conceits of turning leaves or fragrant flowers can sound an echo here. As well expect the brilliantly tinted butterflies cruising from one bank to the other to make a whir in their passage, as to look for it to be otherwise. [136]

The air, however, became steadily drier, the green more varied and pleasing, and the land rising and sloping gave an occasional glimpse of a horizon. If something in the shade of the river banks still spoke of the way of the constrictor, the sudden lashing out of the tail, there was now also the pleasant consciousness of its long lethargy. The swish of wings overhead, when we walked for short intervals through

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

648 been packed in baskets and transported to a safe place. The
175 Dutch, tricked by the wily Bonny, found Cofaay bare.

Provisions being imperative, a small detachment was sent back to Paramaribo for them. The detachment was cut off by the rebels. European soldiers were spared, but every ranger was killed, since the rebels had sworn none of them should leave the bush alive.

After one or two other engagements, in which the Bush Negroes were defeated, with the help of Indian tribes, the expedition returned to Paramaribo. Both sides had fought each other to a standstill. The Europeans were weary of the hazards of the bush, of the vicious fire-ants and carnivorous
[134] mosquitoes. Above all they knew that if the Bush Negro had possessed ammunition they would never have returned.

From this point on the warfare ceased by common consent. The Bush Negroes were left alone to duplicate in the American forest their former life in Africa. The slaves who never revolted were finally emancipated in the nineteenth century, and their descendants today, still living with the whites in Paramaribo, are known as Town Negroes. The bush tribes call them *bahkra schlaff*, or "white man's slave."

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

the river—the glinting light on the black skins, shining with sweat and spray, and the veined muscles that roll and subside as the dripping pole goes down, first one end and then the other, into the yellow water. Hour after hour they strain their bodies against the bending poles. Without warning a heavy tropical downpour will blanket the river with sheets of rain, but the *corials* (canoes) go on. When the rain stops the hot sun quickly dries the black skins.

All along the river the foliage towers upward from the water's edge. Great trees rear high their masses of limbs and verdure. Going upstream the boatmen stay close to the bank, for there the current, checked by myriads of roots, is not so swift. Often the men can reach out of the corial and touch the foliage. In sharp contrast with this green is the brown colour of the muddy stream. The sunlight glares on the surface, except where the overhanging wall of trees throws a shade upon the water. The black boatmen blend in with the yellow river, the green foliage, and the metallic sky.

Parrots scream overhead. A pair of scarlet macaws cackle at each other. Leaping fish shimmer in the sunlight, falling back into the river with a white splash. Bats from underneath logs, disturbed by human intrusion, disappear into the bank a hundred feet ahead. The corials are eyed intently by parakeets feeding high up in the air, perched on tree limbs along the bank. Little black and white swallow-like skimmers scurry over the water just forward of the bow, which keeps pushing on through the white riffles. Huge water-fowl flap their wide wings and sail gracefully away.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Hot sun . . . Gush of rapid water . . . Bees and dragon-flies cruise about. . . . Rain . . . Hot sun . . . There is a crash of branches in the bush; some animal, probably a tapir. . . . Kingfishers chase each other over the yellow bosom of the river. . . . Talkee-talkee chatter. . . . The white man curses the flies. . . . That tiny speck a mile high is a vulture, wheeling without effort in great circles. . . . Rapids . . . Cloud-banks in the sky. High-lights on the river . . . Hot sun . . . Poling up the rapids . . . Grunting Negroes lean on the slick wet poles. . . . Still water . . . The paddlers step overboard to drag the boat up a difficult piece of rapid water. . . . The canoe is stuck on a rock. . . . It swings broadside to the current. . . . The river almost wins; we get away by a hair's breadth. . . . Over into the still water . . .

Moi-Man sings a Djuka song. . . . Alligators sunning on sandbanks . . . Gorgeous Morpho butterflies go by on shimmering blue wings. . . . Jewellery is made from them. . . . Showers of little white butterflies cross the stream, fluttering tirelessly. . . . A feast for the swallows . . . Spray from the fast waves . . . Wet tarpaulin over the baggage . . .

The forest is as impassable now as it was in the days of the rebellion. There is no way of penetrating the interior except by travelling up one of the great rivers of Surinam. The Bush Negroes spend much of their time on the rivers; their water-craft is exquisite. To make the laborious passage upstream the expedition is entirely dependent upon these black polers. They consent to accompany the white men—*bahkras* as they are called—with no great eagerness. The Djukas realize that

648 have a tribal language called *odo, deepee-talkee,* or *Saramacca-*
[191 *tongo* known only among themselves; they are members of
198] the Saramaccaner tribe.

Before the other corial is out of earshot, the Djukas bid us good-bye with the familiar words: *"Wakka bon na watra, bahkra!" "Gran danke, matio"*—"Many thanks, my uncle," we respond, adding the *o* sound to the last word to make it carry over the waves, as they do. To them "uncle" is the most
[576 respectful appellation that can be used, similar to our respect-
604] ful use of the word "father." For them a maternal uncle is more important than a father.

For a while now the poling continues in silence. Further on we pass a lone Djuka on the bank, skilfully setting a fish trap constructed of sticks and *lianas*. Far away upstream can be heard the muffled report of a shotgun; some black hunter is bringing in game. The angry currents slap constantly against the side of the corial. We round another bend and see ahead only more rapids, where rocks make innumerable white ripples in the muddy water.

A stop is made for lunch at one of the many islands. Bundle brings out canned food and the gipsy pot. The river looks enticing and cool. The bahkra begins taking off his clothes for a swim in the water near shore. The Negroes are abashed at his nakedness, and Bundle tactfully advises him to be more modest.

● 136 The waters in this part of the great South American rain forest are infested with the Brazilian piranha or piraya (*Serrasalmo sp.*), a species of carnivorous fish. They are small,

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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something like bass, but with undershot thick jaws and 136
heavy teeth. They run six to eight inches long and seldom weigh more than half a pound. But they travel in schools and attack simultaneously, so that any flesh in the water, human or otherwise, with a bloody surface exposed, is torn to pieces in a short time. If a bush-hog is killed and suspended in the water, the smell of blood attracts these fish; in an incredibly short space of time the carcass is wholly devoured.

The Djukas have learned to be wary of this fish. On one 136
occasion, when trading for a drum at an Aucaner village, 484
the blacks handed the drum out to the corial on a long pole, 648 502
rather than step a few feet into the water. Despite this fear, in poling upstream it is frequently necessary for the paddlers to get out of the canoe in water up to their armpits and forcibly drag it over the rocks. On such occasions their courage is immediate and unfailing. They enter the water, knowing that piraya may be present. There is no other way of getting the boats over rock-studded pieces of fast water, where paddles are useless and poles insufficient. They jump out into the river, taking the chance of having pieces of flesh excised from their limbs.

Fear of this fish prevents constant bathing in all parts of 136
the river. Now, however, after a long hot trip, the lure of a 484 648
cool bath in the fresh flowing water overcomes the bahkra's caution, but the Djukas, as soon as they have grasped the white man's intention, will not permit him to enter the water. They gesticulate violently, waving him back with rapid and excited words—no, no, he cannot go in—piraya, piraya! He is

136 484 648 almost forcibly prevented. But when the day's journey is over, and we have camped for the night in an upriver village, the paddlers will take the risk of bathing in the cool stream. Even though there are no piraya in the immediate vicinity, the bathers will not linger long.

484 648 All the long, heavy afternoon the Negroes toil slowly with the great poles. Troe stops to cut some herbs for medicine. Flagawai sharpens the end of his pole with a bush-knife to give it a better grip on the river-bed. We have never seen better paddling, not even in the Canadian woods, where the Indian guides retain the canoe-craft of the American aborigines, nor on the Mazaruni River in British Guiana, where the black diamond-seekers haul their great whaling boats over the rapids.

There is a low falls across the river. The corials have to be dragged up over the slanting slippery rocks into the higher water beyond. Everyone gets out. The boatmen quietly decide the best path; there is little hesitation and no debate. Brown hands catch hold of the gunwales and brown feet begin to strain willingly on the slick wet rocks. The lumbering boat slowly mounts the incline. Here again the white man's life is in the hands of the Negroes; if the corial were to upset, the food would be lost, and the trip would end disastrously.

437 The reply is short and spirited.

"Gimme."

Which does not have to be translated.

574 We sleep that night in the Bush Negro village. A dilapi-
609 dated hut is assigned us, the hut of a dead man. There are
136 tarantulas on the cross-poles; we are not particular. The pad-
dlers sleep elsewhere, being taken into friendly huts about the village. Except for the ghosts of the departed Bush Negroes, our hut is quite empty. The hammock is slung and the mosquito netting put in place. Mosquitoes and insect pests are not as bad in the jungle as commonly reported. They seldom caused us any discomfort. It is true that one of the boys contracted malaria during an expedition, but the parasites may have been dormant in his blood for some time previously. Our precaution against malaria was ten grains of quinine sulphate each night before retiring under the mosquito netting.

512 Far into the evening the Negroes will sit around the camp-
[521] fire and tell stories, their loud, musical Negro laughter carrying a long distance on the night air. Walking by each hut we see a tiny light flickering inside. Occasionally an infant cries. We sit before our doorway, amusing a group of chil-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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these animals. So the hunter is occasionally surprised to find 224
a big cat responding to his game call.

Far up the river, jaguars have been known to come near 224
a provision clearing and carry off an infant while the mother 136
was at work in the cassava field. The grown Djuka, however, is not afraid of these cats. The jaguar is a medium-sized feline, the third largest of the cat family, but it is essentially cowardly. If a lone Negro encounters one on a game trail, a duel commences that usually ends with the shooting of the jaguar. On one occasion we saw a hunter come back from the game trail, armed only with a machete, who had met and killed one of these cats.

There are several smaller cats in the South American jungle, ranging in size from the puma to the diminutive jaguarundi. The boa constrictor is not the menace that some travellers make it out to be. The Bush Negroes will not kill either a boa or an alligator, nor will they allow a white man to do so. If they see the white man aiming his gun at snakes, [825
they will knock up the muzzle. Such reptiles are sacred. 778
Some of the Indians of the district, on the other hand, are 262]
fond of snake meat, and hunt it regularly. But the Bush [829]
Negroes look down on them.

In setting traps the Bush Negroes exhibit the typical cun- 224
ning of jungle dwellers. They have preserved the West African types of traps. Trails on which armadillos forage are set with a shotgun, in the middle of the path. By seizing the bait the animal shoots itself.

At night on the game trail the lone hunter builds a lean-

224 648 The next day the hunters rouse early and breakfast in the freshness of the warm morning. Two of the Djukas refuse absolutely to accompany the bahkra any further. The white man, they say, goes through the jungle like a thunderstorm and brings bad luck. The prospects of getting any game with him around are exceedingly small. They get out their hunting amulets, and rub on their gun-barrels a concoction prepared by the medicine man. Daniels laughs at this, but they refuse to be teased. [789]

"You'll see!" they assert doggedly, certain of their magic.

The party splits up to go in three directions. Two bearers remain with us, one posted out ahead as a tracker, and Daniels, who brings up the rear as gun-bearer. The other two Negroes go in different directions and are immediately out of sight. We continue ahead, cutting the way through the bush—there are no trails. For two hours we tramp along without sighting game, realizing that *more things see us than ever we see*. The jungle is not teeming with game, as popularly believed. [136] There is an occasional herd of bush hogs, but in general it is necessary to hunt long and hard to bag any amount of meat. It is doubtful if a man could subsist on the food his gun brings in, not because the game is lacking but because of the difficulty of seeing it.

224 The Djukas also hunt in other ways. One device is "still hunting"—sitting motionless in a tree beside a game trail, waiting for some animal to come along underneath. The Indians' *curare* and the blow-gun which shoots the poisoned dart are not employed by the Negroes. [411] The only co-operative

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241 Behind each village, a quarter of a mile to five miles dis-
313 tant, are its provision grounds, which the women work. They consist of tiny patches of half an acre or more, carved out of the heart of the jungle by means of terrific labour. It
[442] takes the men weeks of work with axes and bush-knives to clear the ground. The fallen trees, some of extremely hard wood, are cut up, burnt, or carried away. The brush is cleared with a machete, or bush-knife, which Negroes call a neefee; they swing this blade with amazing force by making the wrist the centre of its arc.

462 The women, as in most primitive societies, tend to the
241 planting and harvesting of the crops. They are helped by the men of the family on some occasions, such as when the harvest is threatened by voracious parasites. The arduous labour of cultivating the stubborn earth comes so naturally to a Bush Negro woman that she is incredulous when told that elsewhere the males alone till the soil.

● 136 A leaf-cutting ant, *Ecodoma cephalotes,* that carries small
241 bits of leaves into its nest, preys on the cassava fields. These ants march in two parallel columns, one going to the fields and the other returning, and systematically ruin the crop. The bit of green that each ant is carrying off looks like an umbrella; hence they are called umbrella ants. They live on a fungus which they grow on the cut leaves. Large numbers of them working together can denude an entire cassava field in a comparatively short time.

134 The jungle ground is not excessively fertile, for the in-
241 cessant downpours leach out the humus, and there is not

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Rice, especially when ripening, is attacked by birds, particularly the parakeets and parrots. These can destroy an entire field in one evening. Sometimes the Djukas are forced to sit up all night with shotguns to scare them off. Weevils and plant diseases are also common. 343 136

They have large sweet potatoes, known as yams, but no white potatoes. Corn, which they call *koru;* okra, or *oko;* and peanuts (*pinda*), form a minor part of the Djuka diet. There are occasional banana and cocoanut trees, and some pineapples and breadfruit. Some few additional nuts and fruits are furnished by the jungle. Palm oil, of which they are excessively fond, is another part of the commissary. No journey is undertaken without a liberal supply. It is obtained by squeezing the nut or fruit of a species of palm, called the mareepa. To the white man it tastes like olive oil. Sugar cane is seen in a number of villages, as are domestic fowl. No cattle or swine are to be found. 262 [231]

Thus the Bush Negroes carry on with courage and extreme hardihood under the implacable necessities of life in the enemy jungle, in which the white man has never been able to make his home successfully.

A common sight along the river is a Djuka black, poised on a slippery rock in statuesque immobility, his bow flexed and arrow drawn, shooting for fish. 226 516

/138 cont./

241 825 particular suffers greatly from this type of ant, but maize, tajer, and bananas are also eaten. This plague is so serious that the clearing of a new ground is partially determined by the occurrence of the nests of these ants at the place. Normally these nests lie fairly far apart in the forest, but as soon as the crops of the grounds come within the domain of the ants, the nests grow rampantly. In addition, at just about planting time the ants produce numerous sexual forms, which, as a result of the cleared lands, have a favorable opportunity to swarm and found new colonies. The leaf-cutting ants are therefore "Kulturfolger" /followers of culture/.

As a result of this plague of ants, it is usually not possible for the Bush Negroes to cut extensions to the existing grounds for longer than two to three years. After all, the kapoeweri of the abandoned pieces of ground functions then as a hiding place for the younger ant-nests, and one drags, as it were, the ant plague along with one. There is no combating the ants, and through impotence the Bush Negro is forced to yield the field. This flight before the ants consists in the search for new grounds farther into the bush or, in case this is no longer possible for some reason, in the occupation of new lands elsewhere along the river.

137 136 /139/ Stahel (1) has pointed to the fact that among the Bush

[113] 1. Het Bosnegervraagstuk en het Coronieplan /The Bush Negro Question and the Coronie Plan/, Department Landbouwproefstation Surinam /Department of Agriculture Research Station, Surinam/, Report No. 9, October, 1944, 28 pp.

Negroes the older grounds change into a low second-growth, called by him "ant-kapoeweri" /ant-bush/. In effect, in many places where a dense Bush Negro population is found, such a strip of second growth occurs along the rivers. According to Stahel, this inferior bush comes 13 about through the presence of the great nests of leaf-cutting ants. Ac- [114] cording to his calculation, at a density of six ant nests per hectare (a maximum which is confirmed in the vicinity of Paramaribo, but which, according to my own observations in the Bush Negro lands,

/139 cont./

13 seems too high to me), the ants can bring into the soil each year two to three tons of leaf material per hectare. As a result the soil would be so enriched with humus and, in addition, through the construction of the numerous nest corridors, receive so much extra ventilation that the oxygen content and the microbiological condition of this soil would tend to differ from the mineral soils in which the virgin forest is rooted. As proof of this, it is stated "that even the oldest ant-kapoeweri directly behind the villages shows no tendency to grow into normal high forest" (p. 13).

114 It does not seem correct to me to ascribe this kapoeweri
137 phenomenon only to the presence and the activity of the leaf-
● 136 cutting ants. In my opinion the ants here constitute a troublesome contributing factor, for when the virgin-forest grounds are abandoned by the population and no new food material is available to the ants while the kapoeweri gradually grows into higher forest, then the balance in the ant population re-establishes itself. This process takes place at a slow rate, depending on the local circumstances, but it leads to the re-establishment of the original situation. There is, however, one condition connected with it, namely, that the forest be left in peace for a long enough stretch.
241 Now this last is not the case for the grounds area of the Bush Negroes.
134 They return too soon (within ten years) to clear grounds again, with the consequence that the soil becomes too exhausted and the recovery of the forest becomes impossible.

171 Proof for this viewpoint is already provided by Stahel (loc.
241 cit.) in his consideration of the agriculture of the upland Indians.
137 The absence of the ant-kopoeweri there is not a matter of a lesser
[136] ant infestation, as Stahel /140/ believes -- for in places this is equally serious -- but of a less intensive use of the forest lands.
[161] The Indians are present in small numbers (a few hundred, as against
423] thousands of Bush Negroes), while only communal plots are laid
[361] out for one village, and not different ones for each family. In addition, the Indians move frequently in order to find new hunting and fishing grounds.

/140 cont./

241 There is yet another factor which plays a role in the origin
134 of the grounds-kapoeweri. This is the use of fire in clearing the
137 ground. The burning of the cut forest is done at the expense of the humus on and in the soil. The fertilization with ashes that one obtains by it only partially covers this loss. Furthermore, under the influence of the fire there are great disturbances in the balance of the microflora and fauna of the soil, hindering the conversion of organic materials into inorganic compounds. Sun and rain bring changes in the structure of the scorched earth, which forms a cement-like crust and becomes sealed. Also the growing of cultivated crops, especially cassave, draws many mineral components from the soil.

13 It is clear that the soil needs time to recover after this disturbance of the balance. This period of time is estimated at 25-30 years. The leaf-cutting ants play a part in this; they again enrich the soil with humus by bringing great quantities of leaves into their ground nests. In addition, they ventilate the soil by digging numerous nest corridors. In this manner the ants contribute
[242] to the recovery. It is well-known, moreover, that the soil on old leaf-cutting ant nests is fertile; one likes to plant bananas on it. If we assume with Stahel that in this kapoeweri six ant nests per hectare are found, then these nests together would only have a maximum surface of one-tenth of it. This would never be able to hinder the full growth of the forest.

136 That the leaf cutting ants occupy the secondary growth, or at
137 least are present there in greater numbers than is normally the case
241 in the forest, may be a consequence of the laying out of new grounds within their domain. Because of the lack of land, the Bush Negroes are constantly trying to lay out grounds again in this forest. The ants, moreover can maintain themselves because there are various forest trees that supply the ants with sufficient leaf material.

13 Thus, because of both the decreased capacity of the soil and
311 the presence of the leaf-cutting ants, the ant-kapoeweri forms a terrain that has become unusable for present-day primitive Bush Negro agriculture./141/ And from the standpoint of forestry too the ant-kapoeweri is worthless.

/146 cont./

245 Bacoven (bakóeba, bákba).

Planted like the bananas. The growing time varies from 10 to 15 months. The banana-bacove is grown the most. The varieties are indicated with the following names:

bigibakoeba or langa-finga, banana-bacove with long fruit (Gros Michel type); produces the bunch after 10 months and this ripens in five months;

watramama-bakoeba, a kind of congo-bacove originally from French Guiana, short variety, bunch matures in three months;

koboto-bakoeba or soeknoe-finga, small yellow, sweet variety of the size of the apple bacove or smaller (missie-finga); bunch ripens in three months;

indji-bakoeba, short, thick, red variety, sweet in taste, with yellow fruit-flesh; bunch ripens in three months.

[262] The bacoven are only eaten as fresh fruit and are very popu-
[136] lar. /147/ The leaves of bananas and bacoven are sometimes severely eaten by leaf-cutting ants.

244 Tajer (tája).

One finds tajer on all grounds, standing in scattered groups. It is harvested after 8-10 months (August-October), but also continuously thereafter. There are various kinds in use:

agauw, large variety (pomtaja); tubers remain good for a long time; also found in the villages;

244 sjoe, smaller variety with yellowish tuber, tubers remain good for
262 a long time; the leaf is eaten as a vegetable;

dasini, larger variety with yellowish tubers, which is frequently planted because of its tastiness; the harvesting is done in small bits at a time, for the tubers rot quite quickly; the leaf of this too, is used as vegetable; a small variety of dasini is also called chinees taja;

wititaja, smaller variety; tubers remain good for a long time; leaf is also eaten.

252 Tajer tubers are boiled, like potatoes, frequently with fish or meat and oil, into a soup.

/147 cont./

244 Patatas (patáta).

Patatas are planted in patches; they creep with long tendrils in between everything as a weed. Even after the grounds have been abandoned, they continue to grow in the open patches. They are harvested in the long dry season, but there are also three-month varieties. There are white, red, and yellow varieties under the following names:

plata patata, white variety, frequently planted;
lebi (redi) patata, red variety, often runs wild;
abawini, yellow variety, frequently planted on grounds;
sakoela patata, yellow variety, idem.

[252] The tubers are eaten boiled, like potatoes, usually prepared with oil, or cut into little pieces and made into a soup. Rabbits [136] and pigs are likewise lovers of these tubers.

Napi (napi).

Napi is planted scattered next to sticks in order to allow the vines to climb. It is not missing on a single ground. The harvest time falls in the long dry season from September to November. There are red and white varieties, which are known by the following names:

kakaboeroe, red on the inside, with red peel;
gangasombo, white on the inside, with red peel;
witti napi, white on the inside, with yellow peel;
finga napi, purple-red variety with divided tubers;
waka waka-napi, purple-red variety, creeping, with large, long tubers.

[252] Napi is eaten boiled like a potato. Most of the varieties are used unpeeled; when they are prepared with meat, however, one removes the peel from the tubers.

/148/

Yams (yamesi).

The yam is found everywhere and is planted scattered. The harvest time is October or later. Two varieties are known:

maka yamesi, with thorns on stalk, planted with buds from the tubers;
afakõh, planted with stalk shoots.

/150 cont./

245 In more favorable places it grows fairly well. The production
[262] is moderate. The nuts are eaten fresh or, as water nuts, are
[136] emptied by drinking. Many trunks exhibit the traces of Castnia daedalus infection (Drietabbetje, Fisiti, Granbori).

Manja (majang).

[262] Grows in all villages into mighty trees and in February-March produces fruit which is especially favored for eating by the youth. Tetémanje and redbreast are the most common varieties. Abandoned villages along the rivers are frequently still typified by the manja trees.

Citrus.

Is represented by lemmetje (lemmeki), sour orange /zure oranje/ (alanja), /151/ orange /sinaasappel/ (pesina), and lemon /citroen/ (soetoen). This order roughly expresses the relative frequency. They are scattered and grow strikingly well in spite of neglect. With a little effort the planting of oranges could be ex-
[252] tended. Lemmetjes and sour oranges are frequently used to wash meat and various articles.

Guava (gobai).

[262] Stands scattered and is never lacking; the fruit is eaten especially by the youth.

Soursop (atoekoe).

[262] Occurs here and there; the fruit is eaten fresh.

Breadfruit tree (belebong, brèdebong).

[252] Is found in many villages. It is usually the chestnut-breadfruit, of which only the pips are eaten, roasted or boiled. In Langatabbetje we also saw the ordinary breadfruit.

Koesoewé (koesoewé).

249 Stands in each village, but occurs less frequently than among the Indians. The large pink blossoms and the red fruit contribute

B
R /534 cont./

14 In the whole of the Amazonian forest these facts have been
16 observed since the seventeenth century and have led to the re-
182 placement of Indians by slave manpower imported from Africa.
114 The course taken in denying the biological realities and wishing to find at any cost a purely sociological explanation has inspired in recent years an ingenious explanation by several authors:

The success of African manpower was, according to them, due to the fact that the Blacks had a civilization closer to that
B of the Europeans, whereas the Amerindians were more hunters-
R fishermen than agriculturalists.

[105] For any observer of good faith, the Indians of Guiana and
R the Blacks of the forests of the Congo and Gabon are largely
[433] on the same technological and cultural level. The Indians are
[361] certainly cultivators just as experienced as the Negroes; is one to forget that it was they who taught the rest of the world the greater part of the important tropical crops: manioc, maize, cotton, tobacco, and so many others? Hunting and fishing for them is only a secondary means of support; it is their instability,
R their lack of attachment to the soil, which may create an
[136] illusion on this point. It can be explained to a certain extent
[361] by the small size of the kinship groups; an ecological factor which does not exist in Black Africa must also be taken into account, the manioc ant, which swarms in particular in the zones habitually cultivated, promoting a seminomadism (18).

B
[136] 18. This factor plays only a secondary role, since the Refugee Blacks despite the manioc
[361] ant, maintain villages of permanent residence, only changing their crop plantings, but it is certain that it promotes the dispersion of the groups and seminomadism.

R

14 These considerations do not pretend to give a complete ex-
16 planation of the social behavior of the Indians of the Amazonian
182 forest. The biological characteristics of the group are only one of the factors of this behavior, parallel to many others, notably

/6 cont./

824 wood is too hard to be worked with ordinary instruments or, on the contrary, because it is too soft, too easily attacked by insects, or
311 has a tendency to rot. The zone exploitable by native procedures is limited (for the floodable zones /7/ do not allow fine woods) to the slope of the hills bordering the valley of the watercourses accessible to pirogues; beyond, the cartage of felled trunks becomes impracticable.

137 A very dense epiphytic vegetation connects the trees with
136 their upper parts; it is there that life blossoms out: flowers, birds, insects, and monkeys.

484 Progress through the forest is very arduous. The undergrowth,
480 shrubs, bushes, bound together by fine and elastic lianas, offers
[132] a constant obstacle, the machete /sabre/ must be wielded at each
[412] step. The nature of the terrain, a succession of bogs and hills
[133] with steep and slippery slopes, makes walking for heavily loaded men exhausting. On the trail one succeeds with difficulty in making more than 15 to 20 kilometers a day; in the uninhabited forest one can scarcely advance five to six kilometers a day by cutting the strict minimum as one does when hunting. The opening of a route permitting the passage of heavily laden men cannot progress more than three kilometers a day on the average.

137 The great forest offers few real dangers, but it is an environ-
182 ment profoundly hostile to man, which does not present spontaneously any food resource and allows establishment of villages and cultivated areas only at the price of great efforts.

136 One meets few animals in the interior of the forest, and the resources for hunting are very limited; on the other hand, there are few harmful animals; wild beasts are few and practically do not appear; snakes are much rarer than on the coast and represent
164 only a slight danger. The most real dangers of the forest come from the fall of branches and epiphytes, principally when it is cleared for cultivation; each year there are accidents of this kind in Boni country. Besides, work in the forest is the occasion for many wounds which tend to ulcerate.

/7 cont./

132 [513] The climate is relatively temperate and easy for the European to stand. In the forest the thermometer does not rise to more than 28° during the hot hours, to go back down to 20° at the end of the night: everyone sleeps with a blanket, Refugee Blacks and Creoles as well as Europeans. Humidity is very great during nearly all the year; precipitation averages three meters a year or about 50 centimeters less than at Cayenne. The year is divided into two seasons: "summer" from July to December, and the rainy season the rest of the year, with a maximum of precipitation in May and June. The water level varies considerably in the course of the year (several meters). The populations of the interior, spaced out along the rivers, suit the rhythm of their lives to the height of the water; the water rules transportation, fishing, and crops; moreover, a certain number of illnesses are in close relation to the rains, in particular those which have an insect for vector.

133 182 [361] [164]

241 [134] Almost everywhere the soil is very poor in organic matter and fundamental ingredients, very waterlogged, necessitating the practice of an itinerant agriculture on burned-over areas; the period of fallow ground varies from two to ten years, the optimum seeming to be about six. The inhabitants of Guiana cannot allow ground to lie fallow regularly because of the ravages of the manioc ant, /8/ which is active especially in habitually cultivated zones. Vain and costly efforts made by Europeans notably at Saint-Jean du Maroni about 1950, have shown that the fertility of lands not burned over is practically nil. The Indians and the Refugee Blacks consider that the fertility of the soil depends exclusively on the weight of cinders laid down during the burning.

[136] [134] [242]

When burned-over areas are cultivated, only one harvest is obtained; but this harvest is abundant, and the soil thus utilized can be regarded as relatively fertile. The knocking down and burning do not require great labor, so that primitive agricultural methods can be considered to give a good yield. As a matter of fact, the diverse populations of Guiana, Creoles and Refugee Blacks, have entirely adopted the methods of work resulting from the millennial

241 177

/82 cont./

423 311 This fact is easily observable in the neighborhood of recently created farming habitations. In the figure "Distribution of lands ... in the neighborhood of the confluence with the Inini" (see at the end of the present chapter), the lands of the Antonu habitation are clearly seen distributed along two paths, one on each bank of the river.

241 423 In the sectors near Boni residence villages, cultivated in days gone by, the main lines of these boundaries are known everywhere. Still, they are far from being as precise as in the African countries with dense population, where the absence of manioc ants allows a regular rotation of lands. In Boni country this rotation is most variable, the duration of fallow ground going from two to 20 years [136 311] and more. Vast sectors where the activity of the manioc ants suddenly becomes greater are abandoned for many years. When they are cultivated again, people no longer remember the exact boundaries of the former clearings and the new holders cut their clearings in their own way, taking care only that they remain on the lands of their lineage.

000 /83/ STUDY OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF LANDS
IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF RESIDENCE VILLAGES

Inventory of Part of the Cultivated or Fallow Plots
in January, 1957

621 [241] Study of the clearings of Agodé (Boniville). The lands adjacent to Boniville are worked in a very unsystematic fashion because of the composite character of the village population.

[613] Let us call to mind that Agodé includes fractions of six lineages:

/119 cont./

361 241 166 exhaustion of the lands does not seem to play any part: considering the sparseness of the population, one can either make new clearings out of primary forest or carry out any system of letting land lie fallow one wishes.

Most changes of location can be attributed to two causes of equal importance:

[136] [613] --The activity of the manioc ants; we have said that since about 15 years ago the principal soil of the Lapé lo, situated near Loka village, has had to be totally abandoned as a consequence of exceptional activity of manioc ants. From this resulted the creation of several farming habitations on the soil of the Lapé lo studied here;

361 241 166 578 --Personal motives, among which comes first of all disagreement among the members of a group. For example ○ Kulina and ○ Bakamaman (Boniville, Dju) made their clearings until 1950 with their mother Béniti in her farming village in Kuyaku locality (to the south of Kormotibo).

In 1950 there was a quarrel. Kulina and Baïkom have made their clearings since that time at the habitation of their father Malobi (Lapé).

[768] It happens especially that upon the death of its founder a farming habitation disappears or changes composition entirely because disagreements arise.

361 241 166 Another cause of change of location of farming habitations is change of activity of their occupants. For example, a man grows old, he no longer finds paid work, he creates a habitation in order to take up fishing (Akwadé's case). When he reaches extreme old age, he abandons his habitation to move close to his relatives (case of Samalobi, first occupant of the lands cultivated nowadays by Antonu village). /Page 120 blank/

WHILE THE RIVER WAS HIGH

The sun stood over the sacred silk-cotton tree toward the Gankwe side of the land. Across the path leading from somewhere in the back of our shelter the parasol ants, each with its strip of green many times its size, made their way toward an unknown spot where no shelter stood, and no one trod. Like a wave the wide ribbon of green rose and fell as it crossed the ridges of the pathway. In unending numbers they came, and the lizards darting in and out of the brush swerved in the direction of the shelter to avoid the marching line, so that at our feet things moved now up, now back again. 136 [137]

While the men were at the landing place, one of the women who was drying rice on the high flat rocks opposite our shelter paddled over in her boat, and, passing the men with a formal greeting, walked on and stopped to talk with us. She was not a young woman. Her time for childbearing was long over, her wrinkled breasts sagged almost to her waist. The cicatrized designs which once had stood out so clearly, and in her youth had been so valued, were but faintly penciled on her face and about her breasts. Had she cared, she might have reopened the cuts, might have had ashes rubbed into them to make the keloids stand out black and alive against the dark brown of her skin. But what need had a woman her age to care? What need to urge life into symbols of fertility on face and between breasts and about her navel, when her time for fruitfulness was over? Of what use to reanimate the incised scrolls between her thighs, when the legend they told in terms of reproduction was for her a dead legend? 888 [351] [304]

She came toward us slowly, balancing a bottle on her head. A faded cloth covered her from waist to knee, and at her waist a bit of the kerchief necessary to the attire of the married woman, even at work, could be seen. She wore a few beads on a cord about her neck, but she had no other ornaments, for ornaments were for festive occasions, and the cloth tied about the neck and worn cape fashion was for women who had children to carry straddling their backs, and woven garters below the knee were conceits of the young. 888 [480] 991 301

484 And after they had inquired of each other's health, they
576 were well past each other, making in opposite directions,
521 but continuing their colloquy.

Bayo said, "I am on my way to the Bakra's camp. I am to be one of his paddlers. Today we start up the river. He is going to the Granman's country."

"I am going to Tunkahai. My sister's son died on the Marowyne. His wife is to come out of mourning. We shall have good dancing tonight."

Bayo's boat was disappearing in the bend of the river.

"Adiosi, adiosi-o. Adiosi, adiosi-o!" he sang out his goodbye, pitching his voice so low and so well that it seemed to penetrate not only the entire river, but the very thickness of the forest which hemmed it in. The response came back to him as a faint, cadenced song.

"Ooo oo oo . . . oo!" he sang out, placing his hand against his mouth to make the sound carry. And the answering call came back true as a bird's call.

484 Now he was in the rapids again, and stood at the stern with dilated nostrils and head thrown forward. When he was through the whirling eddies and in quieter water once more, he adjusted his loin cloth carefully and sat down and
[137] began paddling. The green-heart trees were beginning to bloom. Fine trees. They belonged to another clan. He and his great-grandfather went for their timber below. There was plenty of timber in this bush of theirs. The gods of the bush were strong, and the ancestors had done well for the country. In a week these channels would be gone. Right about him everywhere jagged rocks would show. In a week, or before then, they would play the drums for the gods of the river, sounding their call to the sun to come and dry and warm them, and the sun, hearing the call, would send his fire to the river banks, and the rains would end.

Was that a boat overtaking him? The cool of the morning was a time to be about. Who was that?

"Tio, greetings," he said to the man, who seemed in a
[576] great hurry.

"Thank you, tio. . . . "

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

342
361
137

Baikutu, Chief Fandya's village.

[Facing p. 90]

(Facing page 90)

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

"I'll tell you how it is mostly," he went on, after a silence. "Sometimes a woman will lie about the father of her child. The child will grow up keeping the trefu of a strange man. But it won't be his real trefu. His mother, you see, lied about his father. In the end, if nothing is done, this child will be sick, and later he will become a leper. Only a bad woman will lie about her child's father, because only a bad woman will want to hurt her own child. It doesn't happen among the girls who wear kerchiefs and live the way the old people live. These girls dance to the spirits. They are afraid of the ancestors. They are afraid of their *akra*—their soul—and the Earth Mother. But those girls who wear hats—ai, Massa, those girls do anything!"

But here in the bush, it seemed, they had other beliefs about leprosy, he went on. Here they believed it was a kind of a spirit, too. When a leper died he was not given a good burial. No wakes were held for him. He was given no coffin. He was buried in the Bad Bush, where the sorcerers were thrown.

"When a leper dies, they don't want him to come back again. They don't treat his spirit well. They do the same with him as with a madman. They bury him with no more ceremony than a child, who came on earth, and would not stay. They say it's all because of a bad spirit, and they don't want bad spirits on earth."

4

"Why do we plant away from the village?"

It was the old woman talking, as we sat and smoked with her. The moon had come up above the maripa palm trees behind the house where the leper had been helped into his hammock, and it was pleasant out-of-doors.

"Why, you ask? Well, sometimes when the bush is burned, a wind comes up suddenly, and sends the flames, down, down, beyond the cleared ground. How would it be with a village, if we cleared our grounds too close to it, and this happened? No, Bak'a, we people of the bush know better. . . . What do you say? Why do we do our clearing

241 away from the river? When the big rains come, the river
361 goes up more and more. If our crops were too close to the water, then in the big rains the land would be flooded, and the crops long under water. . . . Yes, and we have to
[136] think of the ants, too. Ants, once they find their way into a field, will destroy everything. They like especially the
[137] green leaves of the young cassava plants. When the young leaves go, there is no cassava. So we move farther and farther away for our fields. Two, three years, and new fields must be cut, so that the yield might feed us all."

311 Once a field had been deserted, say, for five years, why
241 did they not reclaim it later? we enquired, for by that time the big bush would have made fertile again the soil that had been exhausted.

"In this bush we do it like that. Why, I don't know. Our ancestors found much land for us. When we want new fields, we cut farther and farther into the bush."

5

As Bayo and Angita set off for the dance at Pa'aba, Kasanya and Sedefo joined us, and we talked of crops and
[521] planting, of woman's work and man's, of good harvests and bad, and this is what was told us.

[462] Finding a new field and clearing it is a man's task. If a man is about to be married, or if the field a man's wife works has become exhausted, then he goes into the forest, near to the planting ground of his mother and to the fields of
311 his family, and casts about for a place to clear. A field
241 must not be in a hollow, or the crops will not grow, and
776 rice needs the sun of a hill slope to thrive. Once having found a spot where the drainage is good, he looks about to see if the spirits will allow its use. Patiently, painstakingly, he goes from one clump of matted vines to the next, machete in hand, searching for signs of an ant hill, or an Akatasi tree that is sacred to the gods of the ant hill, or for snakes, or a natural clearing belonging to the Apuku gods of the bush. No silk-cotton tree must be there, no loko tree wherein dwells the god of the same name so near that it

Chapter IX

A NIGHT AT S'EI

I

133 137 FROM day to day the mood of the river changed, and the mood of the bush changed with it. The dankness of the river bank gave way to the smell of red, sun-scorched earth. No longer was the farther shore the forbidding wall of a great canyon. The flowering lianas, as they climbed a hundred feet and more from the roots of the trees they had enveloped, were making of it a tapestry. The blooms which showed against the masses of green seemed at first of the palest yellow with threads of white, or yellow with glints of gold in them, or the faintest of orange and violet. Later when the flaming gold, the scarlet and purple clusters appeared, they still did not mar the somber weave of the timeless pattern, for the deep note of this bush in any season is green, and no pushing, garish colors, no conceits of turning leaves or fragrant flowers can sound an echo here. As well expect the brilliantly tinted butterflies cruising from one bank to the other to make a [136] whir in their passage, as to look for it to be otherwise.

The air, however, became steadily drier, the green more varied and pleasing, and the land rising and sloping gave an occasional glimpse of a horizon. If something in the shade of the river banks still spoke of the way of the constrictor, the sudden lashing out of the tail, there was now also the pleasant consciousness of its long lethargy. The swish of wings overhead, when we walked for short intervals through

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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Saramacca

the uncleared bush, or the sight of a snake twined about a liana, no longer struck terror, and the flaying rains which came down so suddenly, and as suddenly were over, no longer even aroused uneasiness.

At the prow of our boat Bayo poled vigorously and continued his countless variants of the seketi song we had been hearing everywhere on the river, while Bibifo had made a refrain of our question, "How do you say this in your Saramacca language?" He would paddle in silence for a long time, only to begin muttering at the most unexpected moments, "Sa'macca tongo!" in the way of an old man who talks to himself. He would then repeat it over and over in ridicule of us, and sometimes in a singsong voice he would improvise lines about the white man who wanted to know how everything was called in the true, true Saramacca language, and how all that was told him he wrote down in a book.

"Great-grandfather," we would say to him, "why do you say this? Isn't it all right for us to want to learn how to talk to the G'aman?"

"*Kere-kere*—It's all right."

But having said this, he would engage Bayo in conversation, clipping his words, and using so much idiom and parable as utterly to confound us.

"Your language is difficult, great-grandfather."

"Ya-hai, it is meant for the people of the bush, white man," he would say with a pride we had not looked for from the mild Bibifo, who was now called Adrian. There was, it appeared, potency in the "word," and magic. The names for things, and the things themselves were one. The knowledge of Saramacca names belonged to the Saramacca people, and whether as Bibifo or Adrian, he was above all a Saramacca Negro, and a member of an important clan.

2

When we had been seven days on the river, our cook came to us and said he wanted to talk about something we had best know.

776 bush for some months, and when he came back he did not
626 feel well, and they quarreled often. When they quarreled she
578 refused to cook for him, and so he said bad things to her.
He began to say the child was not his. Now when a father
[774] takes away his 'kra, his soul, from the child while it is in
the mother's womb, it is not good. When the child was
born, it was a very small child. Afterwards the man left
the woman. He still said the child was not his, but he used
to bring money to the woman sometimes to buy things for
the child. The neighbors said she must not take the money.
If she took it, they said, the child would die of fio-fio. But
the woman took the money. Nowadays many of them don't
believe in the old things, until they [illegible]ut. When the
child was four months old it died. Everybody knew it was
fio-fio."

He told other incidents of what happened to people who had fio-fio.

"I tell you all this because sometimes the men in the boats talk about the whites, and they think you don't understand. But you know what they say, and you are angry. If you give them a present of leaf tobacco later, or rum, then they or you may become sick. . . . The men in the bush know what to do about fio-fio, Massa, and you
[538] must learn, too. The proverb says: 'How is a boat to go, if it has no paddles?'"

3

● 137 At the entrance to the village of S'ei a gigantic silk-cotton tree stood. Its trunk was massive, and the roots which projected outwards like so many buttresses made
894 of it a great somber cathedral. The curiously twisted
776 grooves which these buttresses made were said to house many spirits, and particularly the three who lived in the kankan tree, as the natives called it. Gedeonsu, the male god, and Tinné, his wife, lived there with their child Dyombie, the most dreaded of them all. The kankan tree gods were thought of as women's gods, though a few men might be found, here and there, who would, on occasion,

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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834 848 "Don't go off into the bush with a man. A child born to you will have a bad bush god, if you do," she added as an afterthought.

5

123 177 In the other corner, Chief And'u, the bassia, and about half a dozen men were talking of the great book about their ancestors which the white man had.

"It is large so," said the chief to one of the older men, indicating an imaginary size which multiplied the size of the actual volume at least tenfold. "And people say it has in it pictures of the Apuku gods, small as we ourselves know them, and a picture of the evil Apuku who appear as fire in the distance. . . . Mati, white men have gone into the Kromanti houses in the country of our ancestors and have made pictures!"

"It is impossible!"

"I want to see!"

The old man said, "I will not look. Books are not for us, mati."

"But mati, the G'aman has heard, and he wants to see."

The old man shook his head. He would have nothing of pictures that figured what should never have been allowed to be photographed.

It seemed prudent to give the conversation a new turn. 137 Down river, the men had said that a man of this village had lately found a new *neku* liana. Was it so?

"The man who found it was my son," said the old man, "you should have come for the dance. You would have seen how we do things here in the bush. But pictures you could [802] not take. No, mati, if you photograph, you take the soul."

824 The festivities for the find had been especially joyful, he explained, for the boy had only recently come by his gods, and this had been yet another proof that he would serve his family capably. For though the find was his own, all [208] his relatives in the mother's line would enjoy its use. Here- [226] after, when the poison of its leaves and its slender branches

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

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A Saramacca elder,
who has Tiger spirit.

Bayo inspects an obia leaf.

[Facing P 332]

"OBIA COMES!"

The river had fallen. Whole stretches appeared as dry as the sandy village clearings. The green-heart trees were in full bloom, looking like giant flowering mimosas with heads lifted high above the green wall of matted bush. As we sped past the village landing of Gankwe, women washing their clothes and children at play called out a last "*Adiosio-o-o-o*," but in a moment we rounded a bend of the river and were out of sight.

Our only stop was at New Village, not far from the railroad, where the chief had promised to have an apinti for us. He was expecting us, and with him was his friend, the chief of Kadyu, whose village lay below the railhead.

"I had trouble finding a skin for the head," he said, "but one of my men shot a deer, and so I have a fine one for you. . . . And here is an obia to keep you alive on the water." He transferred the power of the obia to us, and then, as we rose to leave, he added, "When you get to your home, tell the headman of your village 'Howdo' in the name of the Chief of New Village, and his friend, the Chief of Kadyu."

9

As we floated up to the landing place where men were waiting to take our boxes to the train, we saw an hibiscus tree in bloom before the little shop kept by a British Guiana mulatto who did some trading with the Bush Negroes.

"What do you call this tree, Bayo?"

"Which one, this with the red flowers? I don't know. That's a Bak'a sani—a white man's thing."

Bakra sani!

The hibiscus tree, the mulatto who for the Bush Negro is also a Bakra, ourselves and our phonograph and flashlights—all were white men's things, intruders in his bush, strangers. Only by the grace of his powerful ancestors, and of the gods of his ancestors, might such things be allowed life and a measure of joy there, as witness the bright blossoms, the livelihood the mulatto earned, and our own good health.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

562 the river—the glinting light on the black skins, shining with sweat and spray, and the veined muscles that roll and subside as the dripping pole goes down, first one end and then the other, into the yellow water. Hour after hour they strain their bodies against the bending poles. Without warning a [132] heavy tropical downpour will blanket the river with sheets of rain, but the *corials* (canoes) go on. When the rain stops the hot sun quickly dries the black skins.

137 All along the river the foliage towers upward from the 502 water's edge. Great trees rear high their masses of limbs and verdure. Going upstream the boatmen stay close to the bank, for there the current, checked by myriads of roots, is not so swift. Often the men can reach out of the corial and touch the foliage. In sharp contrast with this green is the brown colour of the muddy stream. The sunlight glares on the surface, except where the overhanging wall of trees throws a shade upon the water. The black boatmen blend in with the yellow river, the green foliage, and the metallic sky.

136 Parrots scream overhead. A pair of scarlet macaws cackle at each other. Leaping fish shimmer in the sunlight, falling back into the river with a white splash. Bats from underneath logs, disturbed by human intrusion, disappear into the bank a hundred feet ahead. The corials are eyed intently by parakeets feeding high up in the air, perched on tree limbs along the bank. Little black and white swallow-like skimmers scurry over the water just forward of the bow, which keeps pushing on through the white riffles. Huge water-fowl flap their wide wings and sail gracefully away.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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Palm Fronds Recently Cut to be Used for Thatching a Hut.
Boni Tribe, French Guiana.

[Facing p. 50]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

The blacks admire the bahkra's shotgun and rifle—beautiful, well-oiled weapons which they love. They gaze through the barrel of the shotgun to see the clean bore, and make a comparison with their own meagre, fouled guns. They sniff at the rifle, however, because it shoots only one bullet. How can a man get game with a single ball? Explanations of the high power of the shell produce no effect upon them. 224 648

We load. Canned goods, rice, bacon, tobacco, coffee—enough for five days. The provisions are packed in the wicker rucksacks, along with hammocks. The start is made. Walking through the village, the packers exchange jests with Negro women who pause to watch us go by. The hunters are teased regarding the amount of game they will bring back. [522]

After a half-mile walk we reach the new cassava fields in back of the village at a quarter of six, as the sun is rising. The women are already at work. Beyond lies the game trail. It is simply a slight path through the jungle brush, with occasional pools of water through which we wade. Idle toucans eye us from nearby palm trees. A flurry in the bush off to the right indicates the escape of an agouti, but we are not quick enough to see it. The agouti is a kind of giant guinea pig, called by the natives *cony-cony,* meaning "cunning-cunning," because it is hard to outwit. The Bush Negroes are eager to get some of this sweet, succulent meat.

Within an hour the last cassava field is left far behind and we are in the "high bush." The tops of giant trees are lost to sight a hundred and fifty feet overhead. Their massive trunks are buttressed with branches that have grown back 224 648 137

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

224 into the ground, becoming roots. The jungle vines, the lianas,
648 twine about the boles of palms, adding to the tangle of leaves.
● 137 The jungle is one immense struggle, none the less fierce because it is silent. The foliage is fighting for light and air.

224 We wade across a number of small creeks that bar our
648 path. Beautiful flat-winged butterflies hover in the hot air. The drone of other insects continues until our ears become accommodated to the sound and we no longer hear it. For five hours the trek continues.

At eleven o'clock a halt is called for lunch. The Djukas
[482] drop their fifty-pound packs, under which they have trotted more easily than the white with only a gun and canteen. A little fire is started and we begin to eat. The creek beside the camp has no name; it is known only as a small tributary of the Lombe Creek. This is the occasion for a little ceremony. The stream is to be named after the first person to eat beside it, which in this case is a white man. A Bush Negro takes a mouthful of water from the creek and spits it back, motioning us to do the same. We comply. Then the Negro names the stream *"Datra Cong Creekee"*—"Doctor Kahn Creek." The others respond with solemnity, "Daso." We pass a few pleasantries and go on.

By two o'clock the fatigue is beginning to tell on the bahkra. A halt is called. The country gets higher as we leave
[33] the neighbourhood of the river, but the bush does not thin out. The ground is rolling, with knolls fifty feet high. Up these the carriers scramble like goats, despite their load, but Daniels says they are going slow because of the bahkra. Be-

/138 cont./

24/825 particular suffers greatly from this type of ant, but maize, tajer, and bananas are also eaten. This plague is so serious that the clearing of a new ground is partially determined by the occurrence of the nests of these ants at the place. Normally these nests lie fairly far apart in the forest, but as soon as the crops of the grounds come within the domain of the ants, the nests grow rampantly. In addition, at just about planting time the ants produce numerous sexual forms, which, as a result of the cleared lands, have a favorable opportunity to swarm and found new colonies. The leaf-cutting ants are therefore "Kulturfolger" /followers of culture/.

As a result of this plague of ants, it is usually not possible for the Bush Negroes to cut extensions to the existing grounds for longer than two to three years. After all, the kapoeweri of the abandoned pieces of ground functions then as a hiding place for the younger ant-nests, and one drags, as it were, the ant plague along with one. There is no combating the ants, and through impotence the Bush Negro is forced to yield the field. This flight before the ants consists in the search for new grounds farther into the bush or, in case this is no longer possible for some reason, in the occupation of new lands elsewhere along the river.

●137 136 /139/ Stahel (1) has pointed to the fact that among the Bush

[113] 1. Het Bosnegervraagstuk en het Coronieplan /The Bush Negro Question and the Coronie Plan/, Department Landbouwproefstation Surinam /Department of Agriculture Research Station, Surinam/, Report No. 9, October, 1944, 2[illegible]

Negroes the older grounds change into a low secon[illegible]lled by him "ant-kapoeweri" /ant-bush/. In effect, in [illegible] pla[illegible]s where a dense Bush Negro population is found, such a strip of second growth occurs along the rivers. According to Stahel, this inferior bush comes 13 about through the presence of the great nests of leaf-cutting ants. Ac- [114] cording to his calculation, at a density of six ant nests per hectare (a maximum which is confirmed in the vicinity of Paramaribo, but which, according to my own observations in the Bush Negro lands,

/139 cont./

13 seems too high to me), the ants can bring into the soil each year two to three tons of leaf material per hectare. As a result the soil would be so enriched with humus and, in addition, through the construction of the numerous nest corridors, receive so much extra ventilation that the oxygen content and the microbiological condition of this soil would tend to differ from the mineral soils in which the virgin forest is rooted. As proof of this, it is stated "that even the oldest ant-kapoeweri directly behind the villages shows no tendency to grow into normal high forest" (p. 13).

114 It does not seem correct to me to ascribe this kapoeweri
●137 phenomenon only to the presence and the activity of the leaf-
136 cutting ants. In my opinion the ants here constitute a troublesome contributing factor, for when the virgin-forest grounds are abandoned by the population and no new food material is available to the ants while the kapoeweri gradually grows into higher forest, then the balance in the ant population re-establishes itself. This process takes place at a slow rate, depending on the local circumstances, but it leads to the re-establishment of the original situation. There is, however, one condition connected with it, namely, that the forest be left in peace for a long enough stretch.
241 Now this last is not the case for the grounds area of the Bush Negroes.
134 They return too soon (within ten years) to clear grounds again, with the consequence that the soil becomes too exhausted and the recovery of the forest becomes impossible.

171 Proof for this viewpoint is already provided by Stahel (loc.
241 cit.) in his consideration of the agriculture of the upland Indians.
137 The absence of the ant-kopoeweri there is not a matter of a lesser
[136] ant infestation, as Stahel /140/ believes -- for in places this is equally serious -- but of a less intensive use of the forest lands.
[161] The Indians are present in small numbers (a few hundred, as against
[423] thousands of Bush Negroes), while only communal plots are laid out for one village, and not different ones for each family. In
[361] addition, the Indians move frequently in order to find new hunting and fishing grounds.

/140 cont./

241 There is yet another factor which plays a role in the origin
134 of the grounds-kapoeweri. This is the use of fire in clearing the
137 ground. The burning of the cut forest is done at the expense of the humus on and in the soil. The fertilization with ashes that one obtains by it only partially covers this loss. Furthermore, under the influence of the fire there are great disturbances in the balance of the microflora and fauna of the soil, hindering the conversion of organic materials into inorganic compounds. Sun and rain bring changes in the structure of the scorched earth, which forms a cement-like crust and becomes sealed. Also the growing of cultivated crops, especially cassave, draws many mineral components from the soil.

13 It is clear that the soil needs time to recover after this disturbance of the balance. This period of time is estimated at 25-30 years. The leaf-cutting ants play a part in this; they again enrich the soil with humus by bringing great quantities of leaves into their ground nests. In addition, they ventilate the soil by digging numerous nest corridors. In this manner the ants contribute
[242] to the recovery. It is well-known, moreover, that the soil on old leaf-cutting ant nests is fertile; one likes to plant bananas on it. If we assume with Stahel that in this kapoeweri six ant nests per hectare are found, then these nests together would only have a maximum surface of one-tenth of it. This would never be able to hinder the full growth of the forest.

136 That the leaf cutting ants occupy the secondary growth, or at
137 least are present there in greater numbers than is normally the case
241 in the forest, may be a consequence of the laying out of new grounds within their domain. Because of the lack of land, the Bush Negroes are constantly trying to lay out grounds again in this forest. The ants, moreover can maintain themselves because there are various forest trees that supply the ants with sufficient leaf material.

13 Thus, because of both the decreased capacity of the soil and
311 the presence of the leaf-cutting ants, the ant-kapoeweri forms a terrain that has become unusable for present-day primitive Bush Negro agriculture./141/ And from the standpoint of forestry too the ant-kapoeweri is worthless.

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Fig. 1. Ground of a Paramaccaner on a hill beside the river. For want of flat terrain, the slopes of hills are used. The surroundings are second growth. -- Marowijne near Grankreck, Oct. 1952.

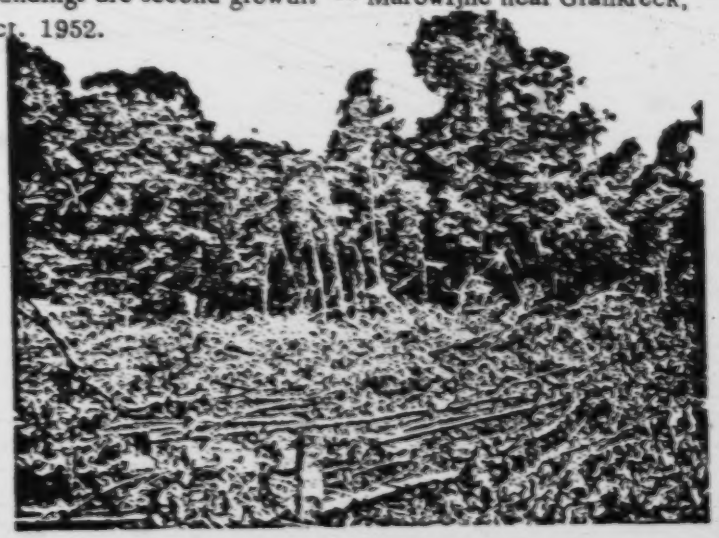

Fig. 2. Newly laid-out ground of an Aucaner, in young second growth. The slender trunks are typical. -- Tapanahoni, Saniki, Oct. 1952.

4: Geijskes--15 G,N-5 (1952) 1954 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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Fig. 3. Ground on the slopes of the Malobbi range. The surroundings are primary virgin forest; in the distance, the Lely range. -- Tapanahoni, Malobbi, Oct. 1952.

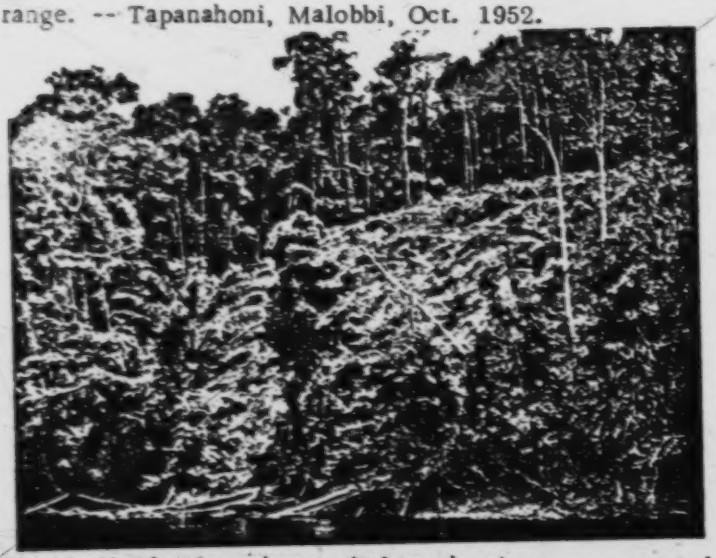

Fig. 4. Newly cleared ground along the river, on a steep slope. The danger of erosion is great. The surroundings are second growth. -- Marowijne near Grankreek, Oct. 1952.

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Fig. 5. Virgin forest in the Malobbi range, with severe fire-scars from a food-ground (in the foreground). -- Tapanahoni, Malobbi, Oct. 1952.

Fig. 6. Food-ground on river terrace, planted for three months. In the foreground, rice and cassava, behind them maize. The surroundings are kapoeweri and, at the right, high second growth Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, March, 1952.

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Fig. 7. Ten-month-old food-ground with high cassava. On the right, kapoeweri; weeds in the foreground. -- Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, Oct. 1952.

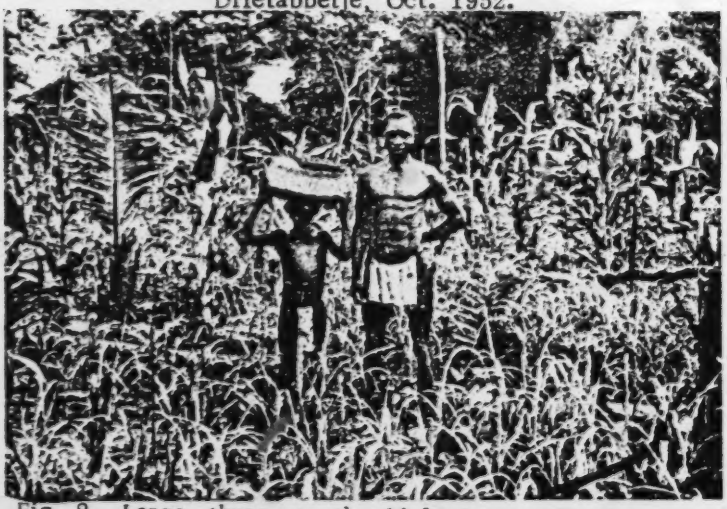

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Fig. 8. Large, three-month-old food-ground with harvestable maize and watermelons. Rice in the foreground. -- Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, March 1952.

B /512 cont./

R The region is entirely covered by equatorial forest which the
137 inhabitants clear for their crops, practicing a shifting agriculture
241 on burned-over land.

B Life is closely tied to the river, on the edge of which are
311 established villages and crops. They scarcely move except by
504 water. Everybody, man, woman, or child, has his pirogue, and
868 the children learn to paddle at the same time that they learn to
B walk.

R The principal activities of the two populations are agriculture,
433 fishing, and canoeing.

B There is scarcely any difference between the dietary resources
R of the Indians and the Boni. The principal portion is manioc,
262 eaten in the form of cassave (flat cakes cooked on a plate) or of
couac (roasted and granulated flour). Then come tubers, yams,
B dasheens, "Carib cabbage" /taro/ and sweet potatoes, bananas
[241] and plantains. The Boni in addition plant mountain rice, from
which the yield is small; in return, they eat fewer bananas.

R The protein ration is furnished essentially by fish, eaten
[226] fresh or smoked. The Indians, skillful fishermen, never lack
B them. Game furnishes a less regular, but important resource.

R Animal husbandry, confined to a few chickens raised mainly
[231] to sell, represents only an insignificant part of the diet.

[439] The fat from fish and from animals killed while hunting constitutes the principal portion of lipides. The Boni use in addition, for preparing their meals, a small quantity of maripa palm oil.

Vitamins come from fruit (papaya, pineapple, mangoes), which the Indians eat in greater abundance than the Blacks, from wild spinach, rich in Vitamin A, and palm nuts (awara and caumou),
B eaten in great abundance during the rainy season.

R Neither of the two populations is undernourished. The Indians
146 might have been so temporarily during epidemics, when the adults, having been sick for a long time, were unable to clear sufficient land. But they can supplement an inadequate harvest with a great variety of wild foods that can be gathered.

The diet seems poor in mineral elements and especially in calcium. Traces of rachitis are noticeable among some of the Indian children.

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133 Flooding is very variable according to the configuration of the rivers and the nature of the terrain.

133 At the Creole village of Grigel, situated at the bottom of
361 a glove-finger loop of the Waki River, the June flooding reaches
171 a level of eight meters above the average level in the dry season; the Creole and Indian villages of the Waki are established on hills. On the contrary, along the Lawa whose course is rectilinear, the variation in level is seldom greater than four meters. The maximum water level is 50 centimeters to one meter /above/
[342] the soil of the alluvial terrace. Several of the Creole and Boni
[484] villages of the Lawa are even established at the very edge of the great river; the houses are built on piles and their occupants go home by boat during several weeks of the year. Nevertheless, most of the villages and farming habitations are outside the reach of flooding on terraces situated about five meters above the high-water mark, which are found from place to place at the edge of the river and which perhaps mark vestiges of an ancient terrace. This is notably the case with Boniville and Loka villages.

•137 The whole of the territory is entirely covered by equatorial forest: a forest continuous and dense which extends over hundreds of kilometers without a village, without a clearing, without a trail.

The Guiana forest is less high than is ordinarily thought. It is an infinite succession of trees of all dimensions and of extremely varied species, among which true giants are rare; the average height of the cover is around 30 meters, and large trunks are rare.

824 The variety of species is very great; and the useful ones, few in number and dispersed, are difficult to exploit. The Refugee Blacks, who have a deep knowledge of the forest and its resources, utilize scarcely ten species out of the some 200 which they differentiate, judging the others unusable either because their

/6 cont. /

824 wood is too hard to be worked with ordinary instruments or, on the contrary, because it is too soft, too easily attacked by insects, or
311 has a tendency to rot. The zone exploitable by native procedures is limited (for the floodable zones /7/ do not allow fine woods) to the slope of the hills bordering the valley of the watercourses accessible to pirogues; beyond, the cartage of felled trunks becomes impracticable.

● 137 A very dense epiphytic vegetation connects the trees with
136 their upper parts; it is there that life blossoms out: flowers, birds, insects, and monkeys.

484 Progress through the forest is very arduous. The undergrowth,
487 shrubs, bushes, bound together by fine and elastic lianas, offers
[137] a constant obstacle, the machete /sabre/ must be wielded at each
[412] step. The nature of the terrain, a succession of bogs and hills
[133] with steep and slippery slopes, makes walking for heavily loaded men exhausting. On the trail one succeeds with difficulty in making more than 15 to 20 kilometers a day; in the uninhabited forest one can scarcely advance five to six kilometers a day by cutting the strict minimum as one does when hunting. The opening of a route permitting the passage of heavily laden men cannot progress more than three kilometers a day on the average.

137 The great forest offers few real dangers, but it is an environ-
182 ment profoundly hostile to man, which does not present spontaneously any food resource and allows establishment of villages and cultivated areas only at the price of great efforts.

136 One meets few animals in the interior of the forest, and the resources for hunting are very limited; on the other hand, there are few harmful animals; wild beasts are few and practically do not appear; snakes are much rarer than on the coast and represent
164 only a slight danger. The most real dangers of the forest come from the fall of branches and epiphytes, principally when it is cleared for cultivation; each year there are accidents of this kind in Boni country. Besides, work in the forest is the occasion for many wounds which tend to ulcerate.

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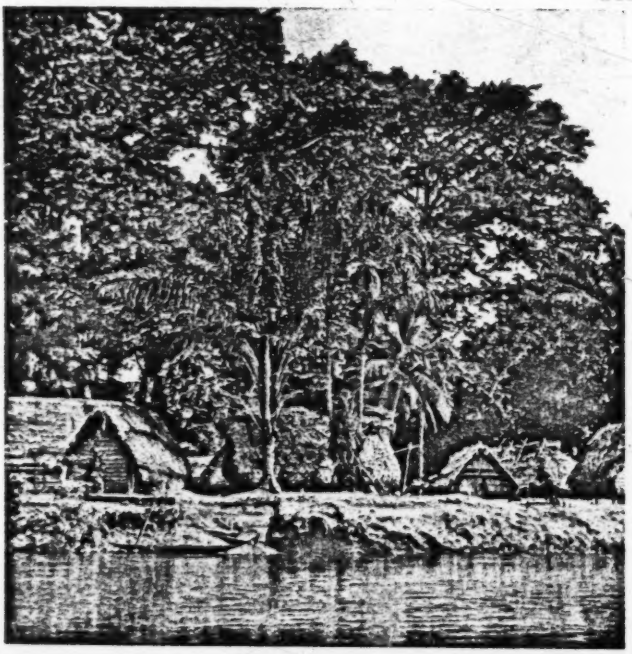

Fig. 5. Boni Village

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Fig. 6. The fraga
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351 There are no gardens around the cabins because the con-
[134] ditions of the soil and climate render permanent cultivation
[241] impracticable. The nearest thing is a few persons planting some
banana trees around the hut at the foot of which they spread the
361 hearth ashes. As a general rule villages are closely hemmed in
137 by secondary brushwood, and people plant far from one another
311 and sometimes very far from the village.

423 If it does not admit the appropriation of land to individuals,
824 custom does admit, on the other hand, the ownership of trees.
In the villages the useful trees (coconut trees, maripa palms
/attalea excelsa/, mango trees, cashew-apple trees, etc.) all
[428] have owners. The tree is considered as personal property and is
transmitted by inheritance in the same way as a gun or a canoe.
428 The procedure employed by the Boni for the dispersion of the
824 inheritance among the members of the lineage of the dead man
613 sometimes has the effect of transmitting the ownership of a tree
to a person who is not of the village. For example, in Boniville
[222] where a fraction of the Kotika lineage lives, two caumou palms
were bequeathed a long time ago to members of the lineage living
in Kotika, who come each year to gather the fruit.

Appendix

173 Local Chronology Used for Determining Ages
[125]

1876	Death of Grand Man Atyaba.
1877	Trip of the explorer Crevaux from the Maroni to the Yari and the Amazon, in the company of Apatu, head of the Boni village.
[621] 1882	Apatu secedes, taking with him about 150 persons and founds the village which bears his name on the lower course of the Maroni.
[361]	

6:Hurault--166a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/facing p. 114/

/..a/

133
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226
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Fig. 19. Fishing à la nivrée.

6:Hurault--412a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes.SR8
Boni

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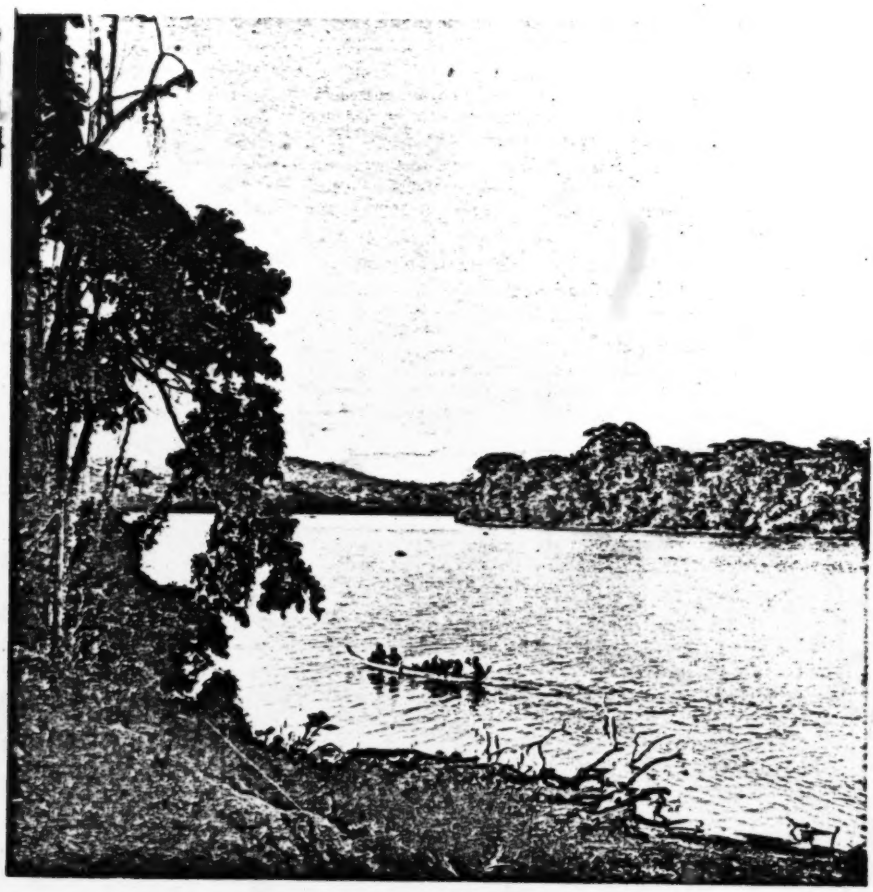

Fig. 29. The last trip of a dead person on the river.

/524 cont./

165 Factors influencing the demographic characteristics of the Boni. Life expectancy at birth for the Boni is not only 12 years higher than that of the Indians, but is also considerably higher than that of the African peoples from which they came.

This fact can be attributed to two causes:

164 1. The Boni live in a more salubrious environment than
182 the African forest and have better living conditions. It seems likely that the Guianese forest, apart from malaria, presents few causes of bad health and is relatively favorable to man; the absence of trypanosomiasis permits men /525/ to gather on the banks of the large rivers, generously exposed to the air and to the light. The small number of the Boni and their dispersion over a vast territory stands in the way of the transmission of diseases by drinking water. In fact the water is generally healthy. Dysentery and parasitosis are considerably rarer and less serious than in Africa;

14 2. The Boni are a selected population. This is a very im-
162 portant aspect of their demography.

The slaves were the object of a systematic selection; the purchasing commissions of the rich colony of Surinam allowed only individuals of good health and constitution to pass. A second selection took place at the time of the formation of the tribes of Refugee Blacks. More than from a massive rebellion the rebel groups increased in size by the addition of those who, from year to year, escaped at the peril of their lives. Without any doubt those who preferred combat to servitude were the most vigorous and bravest. Voluntary migrations have always been a factor of selection: one may suppose that a migration which took place in such circumstances was accompanied by a particularly rigorous selection which, in spite of the time which has passed (eight generations), continues to influence the physiological
[734] characteristics of the Refugee Blacks. Notably it can explain
[157] the vigorous constitution of the Boni (there are only two congenital invalids out of 810 persons) and their exceptional qualities of physical courage and initiative.

B
R
121 /533 cont./

Thus the behavior of a human group, its fate as a people, and its very existence appear to be determined to a large extent by hereditary biological characteristics. This notion was seen clearly enough at the beginning of this century, but it has never been the object of thorough studies, the conditions for an incontestable experiment not being found together. Repudiated in the name of theoretical principles by the train of thought which has animated sociology for the past several decades, it has ended up by being completely lost from sight. Present-day sociology no longer takes into consideration the biological facts peculiar to the groups which it studies; one currently speaks of cycles of civilization, of laws of social change, of acculturation, etc., as if social facts had their own life and their own evolution, independent of the supposedly identical and interchangeable people. It is as though one claimed to study the psychism of the human being without taking his body into account, denying the influence of sex, age, sickness. Some have even managed to maintain that man is in all respects the product of the society from which he comes.

B
R
161 In the case studied here the falsity of these theories is obvious.
14 If the Indians disappear wherever the Blacks establish flourishing
182 societies, it is because their biological characteristics are not suited to the conditions imposed by the geographic environment, whereas those of the Blacks are to the highest degree.

Seen from this angle, the fate of the Indians of the Amazonian
B forest becomes clear; their social behavior and in particular their
R collapse upon contact with European civilization find an explanation.
[177] /534/ The relations of the Indians with the Europeans of past
B centuries have been equally influenced by their biological charac-
R
147 teristics. Their inaptitude for prolonged effort came in part from their physical weakness. When the Blacks and the Indians of the Amazonian forest have been employed side by side for years as soldiers and porters, there can be no doubt on this point. The Black is a force of nature. The Indian of the great forest, often full of good will, is betrayed by his physical powers.

B
R /534 cont./

14 In the whole of the Amazonian forest these facts have been
16 observed since the seventeenth century and have led to the re-
182 placement of Indians by slave manpower imported from Africa.
114 The course taken in denying the biological realities and wishing to find at any cost a purely sociological explanation has inspired in recent years an ingenious explanation by several authors:

The success of African manpower was, according to them, due to the fact that the Blacks had a civilization closer to that of the Europeans, whereas the Amerindians were more hunters-fishermen than agriculturalists.

B
R [105] For any observer of good faith, the Indians of Guiana and
R the Blacks of the forests of the Congo and Gabon are largely
[433] on the same technological and cultural level. The Indians are
[361] certainly cultivators just as experienced as the Negroes; is one to forget that it was they who taught the rest of the world the greater part of the important tropical crops: manioc, maize, cotton, tobacco, and so many others? Hunting and fishing for them is only a secondary means of support; it is their instability,
R their lack of attachment to the soil, which may create an
[136] illusion on this point. It can be explained to a certain extent
[361] by the small size of the kinship groups; an ecological factor which does not exist in Black Africa must also be taken into account, the manioc ant, which swarms in particular in the zones habitually cultivated, promoting a seminomadism (18).

B
[136] 18. This factor plays only a secondary role,
[361] since the Refugee Blacks despite the manioc ant, maintain villages of permanent residence, only changing their crop plantings, but it is certain that it promotes the dispersion of the groups and seminomadism.

R
14 These considerations do not pretend to give a complete ex-
16 planation of the social behavior of the Indians of the Amazonian
182 forest. The biological characteristics of the group are only one of the factors of this behavior, parallel to many others, notably

Boni
Emerillon SQ8
Rucuyen SR12
Carib SR9
Locono SR10

C E L R /11 cont./

101 3) The autochthonous Indians are represented on the Maroni Basin by three groups:

C —The Arawak and the Kalifia (Galibi) (about 500 persons) [131] [162] [433] [177] [178] live downstream from Saint-Laurent; they live in symbiosis with the population of the city, whom they supply with fish and manioc. A century of contact with the Creole population has produced a certain alteration in their customs and traditional way of life, but the essentials of their tribal organization remain intact.

R —The Oayana /Oyana/ or Roucouyennes /Rucuyen/ (about [131] [162] [178] 250 persons) live on the Litani upstream from the Boni with whom they are in close relationship. They have not undergone any alteration in their race or their way of life.

E —The Emerillon, who belong to the Tupi-Guarani group, [131] form a small grouping on the way to extinction.

B 114 The Refugee Blacks. —Ethnic origin. No comprehensive anthropological study has as yet been undertaken on the Refugee Blacks. Not possessing the specialized knowledge necessary for tackling this study, we have left it entirely aside. Besides, we doubt that it would give important detailed information on the ethnic origin of the Refugee Blacks. Study of archive documents concerning B 175 the slave trade would certainly give more particulars; it is certain 144 from now onwards that their origin is very diverse; the slave traders [192] took on provisions principally on the coast of West Africa, but also in the Congo and in present-day Angola; the African words figuring in the present dialects come from the populations of these various regions. So it is not surprising to meet rather variable B 141 skull forms and statures among the Refugee Blacks.

The Refugee Blacks are in general of medium stature, that of the adult men being between 1 meter 60 and 1 meter 75; the average is a little below 1 meter 70.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

292
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142

A Gankwe dancer.

[Facing P. 8]

1tHerskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

765 bead was clearest in the quiet of the early morning. A stillness so pronounced that we could feel it surrounded us at the base camp, for at Gankwe the drums had been replaced in the shrines of the gods for whom they speak, and no more guns saluted the spirit of Zimbi, or warned away the evil dead with the powder which was distasteful to ghosts. Zimbi was buried, the grave diggers had bathed [183] and put on fresh loin cloths, the village had been purified, and all was still.

512 From our shelter, watching the haze lift, we could see that the river had fallen; the tangled grasses at the bank showed fully a hand's breadth of fresh brown that had the day before been under water. With the coming of the sun things began to stir. The lizards appeared, the [231] chickens came to peck at our shoes, looking for crumbs, and boats began to make shadows across the opposite bank, as the Gankwe women in their small corials went to their fields. At the bow would be a little girl, or a yet smaller [868] boy—as young as four perhaps, for the older ones went with the men to learn a man's work—helping to take the boat up the fast water. All this went on quietly, until we espied three boats running down the rapids and pivoting about in the still water toward our landing place. As they 438 came nearer, we could see that the boats carried no load, and our host, the director of the balata-collecting station, explained that these boats were new and were being taken down river for sale.

"All the large boats come from top-side," he said. "The men take them clear around to the Marowyne River by way of the canals and there carry loads in them to the stations in the interior. The Saramacca men are fine canoe-men. They like them on the Marowyne. . . . You could 439 use a large boat for your trip up river. Maybe the man will sell one."

● [142] [304] The man in charge of the little flotilla stood more than six feet tall. His face was intricately cicatrized, and he carried himself with a dignity and reserve that surpassed even the way of the village chiefs.

which went on, so that she might recount it to her father. 644
The women of the village walked "softly" with this older daughter. "Daughter of the G'aman," they called her when they addressed her, and her mildly spoken, persuasive suggestions were never ignored.

Wilhelmina, however, busied herself at her work, and if anything were asked of her, she would look up with an expression of bewilderment. Differing from other women of the village, who had come to live there after marriage and knew the speech of the less aristocratic down-river settlements, Wilhelmina had never been any distance from Asindopo Lantiwe. The other women were, therefore, constantly interpreting the questions which were being put to her.

She was dark of skin, as dark as her sister, but her face [140]
had a flush of red in it, as though she had brushed it with
the sacred red kuswe. A little above her wrists gleamed wide [301]
bands of tin. These were bracelets her husband had made
for her, and they were much prized. The brass coils which
she once wore had been filed through and removed, for [843]
when the ankles of a woman who bore children swelled,
it became necessary to be rid of these ornaments.

In a small mortar, decorated with carvings, she was [252]
pounding maripa nuts. The ends of the pestle were bordered [412]
with finely cut cross hatchings.

"Ai, we use much palm oil here," she said.

Her mother was paring cassava. At her feet were several 644
baskets and pieces of bark, shaped like miniature canoes, 252
into which she threw the peeled cassava. Near these con- [285]
tainers lay a sifter, woven of palm fiber, and a grater,
made of a thin board perhaps sixteen inches long and half
as wide, into which long slender nails had been hammered
and their points filed to a needle-like sharpness. When
the tubers were peeled, Wilhelmina began the grating, first
squatting down, then dropping to her knees, better to work.
The grated cassava was then packed into the matapi, the
cassava press which had before leaned against the house.
This matapi was of a basket-like weave, golden in color

609 mother. The woman who had made Bayo was her sister, she told us.

142 The resemblance between this woman and Bayo was marked. She had the same dark skin, the same stocky, muscular build, the broad nose, the same general cast of features we had known so well in Bayo. Similar, too, were the sharply etched scars on her face, which were so black and so prominent as to bespeak her great vitality and rugged health. There were other likenesses, we learned, and of these the most valued was the strength of their gods.

989 We had not been long in her hut before we noticed the
794 iron arm-band she wore. It was, we knew, a "*tapu*"—a
562 magical preventive which, in this instance, warned its wearer of danger, and kept her from harm in a combat. Seeing it on the arm of a woman was astonishing for many reasons. Not in all our encounters on the river had we seen a woman wearing an arm obia of iron. Iron was the sign of the Kromanti, a men's group, composed of those men
[595] who had the Kromanti spirit. It was in part warriors' secret society, and in part, when it was Obia Kromanti, the men's religious society which controlled the powerful supernatural forces of preventive and healing magic which played so prominent a part in the spiritual life of the Bush Negro. Now there were, we had been told, some women who inherited the Kromanti spirit, but these were few, and not until after their menopause could they enter a Kromanti house, and when this came they were too old to participate in the dance, but they sang the songs when the spirit came to them and did whatever else was known to the initiated of their years.

But this woman who was Bayo's mother's sister was not an old woman. As she talked to us, in fact, her breast was
[853] swung over to the side, and against her ribs was the head of the child on her back who was nursing. Yet on her arm was the fighter's "tapu," as the emblem of membership in the Kromanti group.

This was so important an anomaly that, following the etiquette of the bush, we hastened at once to talk about something else.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

"Suma de, ai," he acknowledged.

6

Bayo remained in the bush, but he did not come to the city with us, though he took us into the Awka villages as captain of our boat. While at the base camp, he busied himself with making small models of traps and snares, and whatever other examples of Bush Negro work we needed to augment our collection.

He was a poor weaver, for he was no craftsman at all. But on the river he showed almost superhuman strength, and his knowledge of obia and the gods showed his potentialities for achieving what he most desired—to become an obia man. It may well be that his great kunu had planted this ambition in him. Perhaps, if he became a renowned obia man, one of the greatest on the river, he would outwit the combined power of ancestors and gods. His physical strength was such that all seemed possible to him, and his eye was quick, his curiosity unbounded. As a child of incest, a twofold member of his clan, he had certain immunities from the gods, though his line would all the more be flayed by the punishment which his parentage had earned.

"White man," he would say to us, "the next time you come, I will go with you to Africa. By then, I shall have given my wife children, and my sister's children will be grown. I want to go to Africa to learn obia."

His young brother was not strong. Bayo allowed them to cut no kamemba on the boy, who was now almost eleven, and it was clear that he would not be able to go through the Kromanti initiation, that he would have few gods.

"What will you do then, Bayo?"

God alone knew. He did not expect that even in Africa he could learn all he needed to know to help his young brother.

"Would he go with Bibifo?" we ventured, remembering that Bibifo had become Adrian.

He laughed. The white man asked many questions.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

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A Saramacca elder,
who has Tiger spirit.

Bayo inspects an obia leaf.

[Facing P 332]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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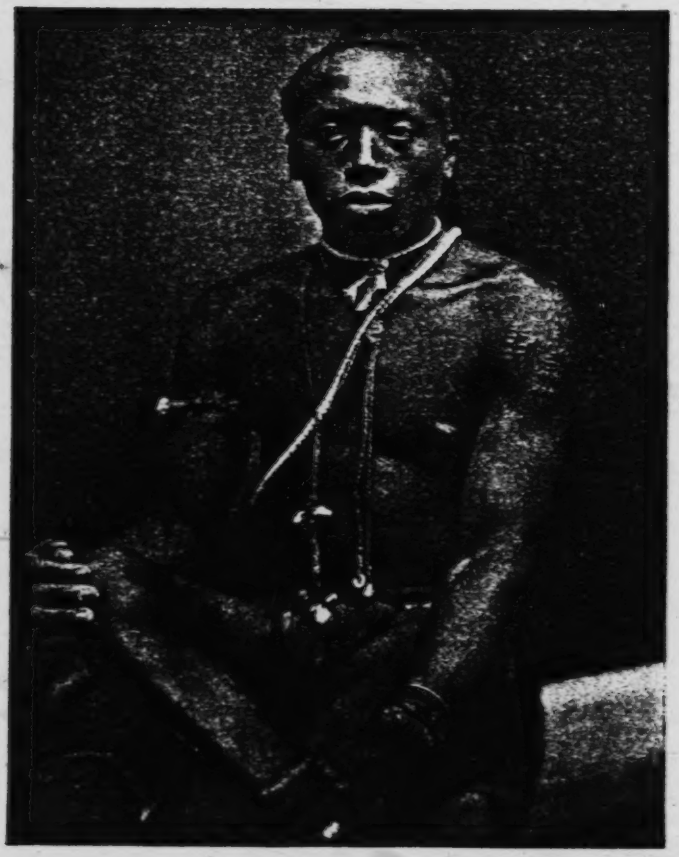

A Typical Bush Negro of the Aucaner Tribe, Lower Cottica River, Dutch Guiana. Note scar tissue decoration on arm.
Photo by Klein

[Facing p. 16]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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Aucaner Woman and Children. Upper Comotibo River, Dutch Guiana.

[Facing p. 24]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

or Waving Flag. There is also a town cook, known as Bundle. 484

It is grey on the misty river when we leave Kabel to take 648 up the journey into the interior. The corials are wet with fog.

A group of villagers stands on the bank to watch our departure. The last evidence of civilization is the corrugated iron shack which marks the terminus of the railroad. The baggage has been transferred to the canoes, and the paddlers take their places. We shove off on the tawny river. The villagers shout a farewell: *"Wakka bon na watra, bahkra."*—"Walk well on the water, white man."

Seeing these black-skinned paddlers dimly through the morning mist, one can easily imagine being on the Niger, headed into the interior of Africa. They are characteristic West African types, with broad noses, thick lips, and kinky [142] hair. There are no evidences of racial mixture, no hybrids, no mulattoes. Noticeably aristocratic in bearing, they are carefully groomed and carry themselves admirably. In parleying with the white man they show no deference, for they have no sense of inferiority. They remember the rebellion.

The corials are paddled over a short stretch of quiet water before the rapids begin. It is not long, however, before the boatmen lay down their paddles and take up the great poles. The rhythmic heaving begins. After a few miles they draw the canoes in to the bank, for no apparent reason. Their wives appear out of the bush, bringing the men some extra supplies for the journey. There is an additional loin-cloth for each [297] paddler, and two togas, worn over the shoulder. The native substitute for a valise, in which these clothes are packed to [415]

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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Bush Negro Group Showing Unfinished Dug-Out Canoe Hewn with Axe.
Photo by Curiel

[Facing p. 40]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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Bush Negroes of the Aucaner Tribe Who were Induced to Come to Paramaribo to Dance Before Colonel Lindbergh When the Air Mail Route Was Opened to Dutch Guiana

Photo Given to Dr. Kahn by American Consul to Dutch Guiana, James R. Lawton

[Facing p. 54]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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Youth of the Boni Tribe Playing Dance Music on the "Apenti" or Signal Drum. Marowyne River, French Guiana. Drum Carved from a Single Section of Tree Trunk.

Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History

[Facing p. 58]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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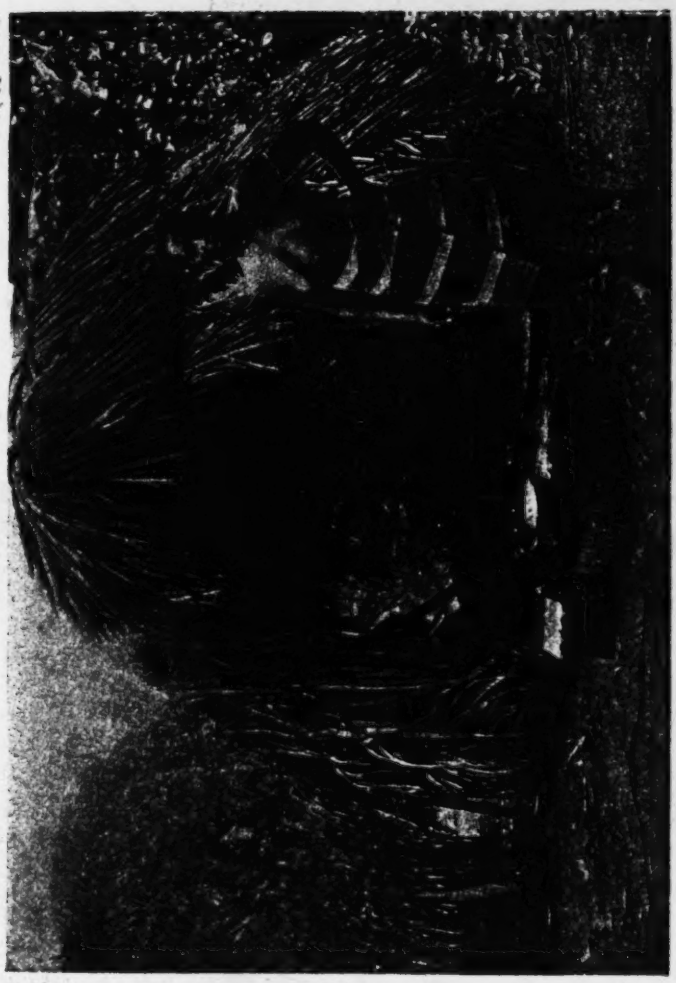

An Aucaner Mother. Note the Cassava Cakes Cooking Inside the Kitchen.
Photo by Curiel

[Facing p. 64]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

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A Family Group, Lower Saramacca River.

[Facing p. 92]

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

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Bush Negro Man of the Lower Saramacca River.

[Facing p. 94]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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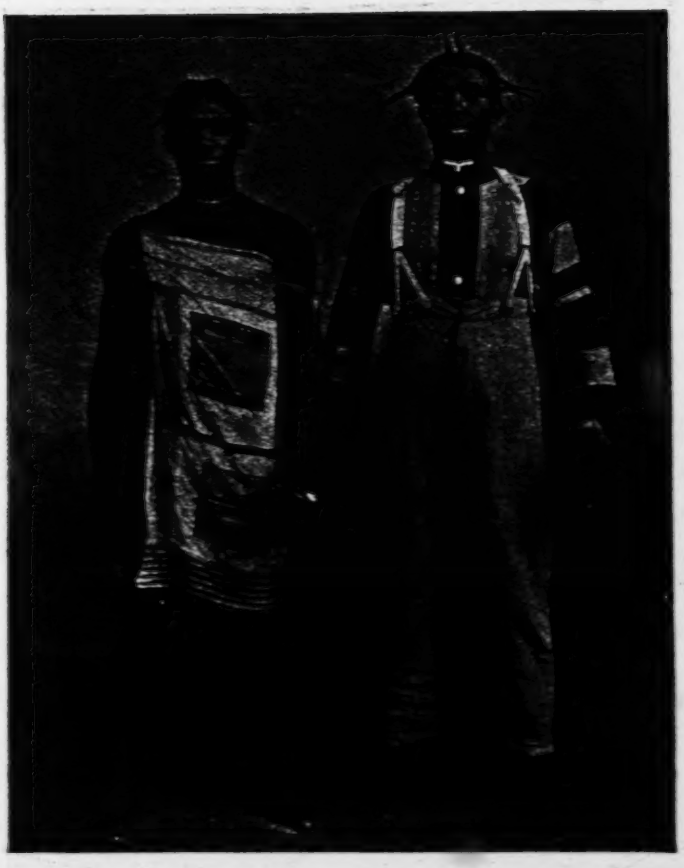

Bush Negro Men Visiting Paramaribo, the Capitol of Dutch Guiana.

Photo by Klein

[Facing p. 98]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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Granmans and Captains Assembled in Paramaribo for a Council with the Governor of Dutch Guiana.

Photo by Curiel

[Facing p. 102

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

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Bush Negroes of the Saramaccaner Tribe, Upper Surinam River.
Photo by Klein

[Facing p. 110]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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A Bush Negro Mother on the Lower Saramacca River.

[Facing p. 112]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Paramacca

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Bush Negro Men of the Paramacca Tribe, Middle Marowyne River, French Guiana. The child is being tended by its maternal uncle, who, in the social structure of these people, takes the place of the father in tending the children.

[Facing p. 120]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

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Bush Negro Women of the Saramaccaner Tribe.
Photo by Klein

[Facing p. 122]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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Bush Negro Man and Women of the Aucaner Tribe from the Tapanahoni River, Dutch Guiana. Note scar tissue decoration on face and chest of woman at left. The central figure is "Moi-Man" (Nice Fellow), one of Dr. Kahn's guides.

[Facing p. 128]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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A Bush Negro Woman of the Boni Tribe with a Carved Wooden Flail Used Instead of a Wringer, for Cloth. The right hand holds a tin containing an infusion of tobacco leaf and water.

[Facing p. 156]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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Bush Negro Men of the Aucaner Tribe. Note scar tissue decoration on faces. Cottica River, Dutch Guiana.

Photo by Klein

7/162

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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"Cow Fie" (Cow Fly), Six Feet Tall, and "Moi-Man" (Nice Fellow), Two Expert Canoemen from the Upper Tapanahoni River.
Aucaner Tribe.

[Facing p. 166]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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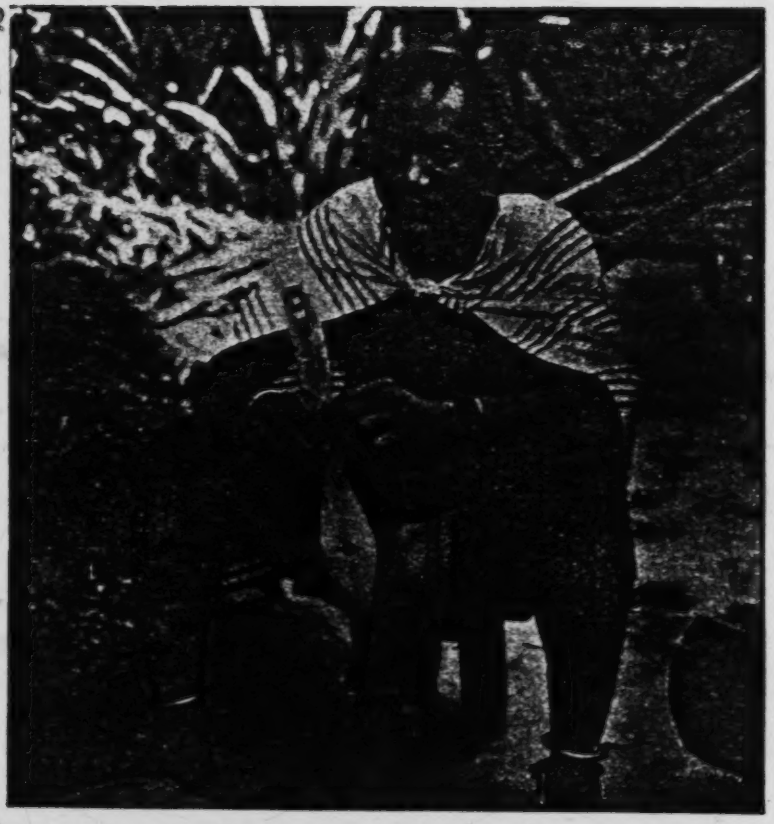
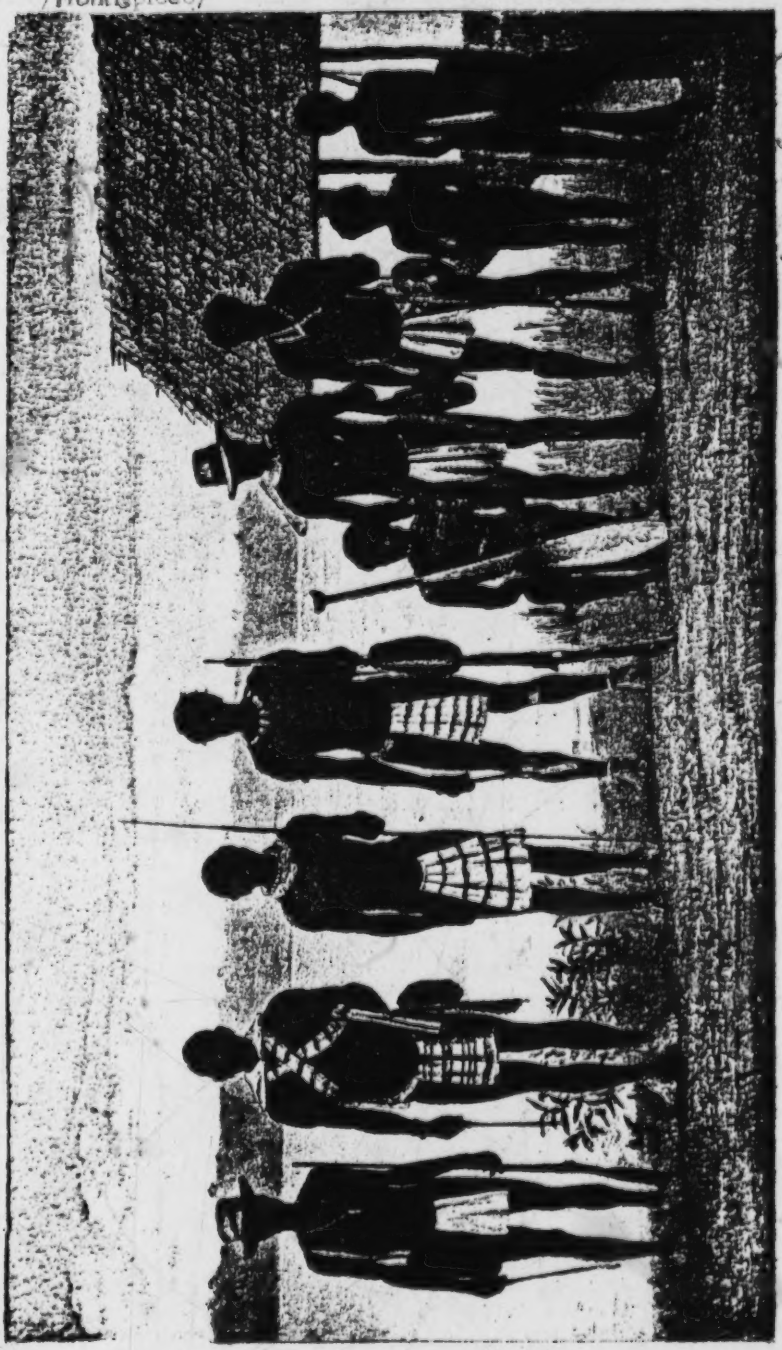


Bush Negro Man, "Amehkimoi" (Makes Nice Things), with a Carved and Inlaid Pot Stirrer Which He Has Just Completed for His Wife. *Aucaner Tribe,* Upper Cormotibo River, Dutch Guiana.

[Facing p. 172]

3: Coster--i F-5 (ca. 1857) 1866 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

/Frontispiece/



Bush Negroes in the Colony of Surinam

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Fig. 7. Ten-month-old food-ground with high cassava. On the right, kapoeweri; weeds in the foreground. -- Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, Oct. 1952.

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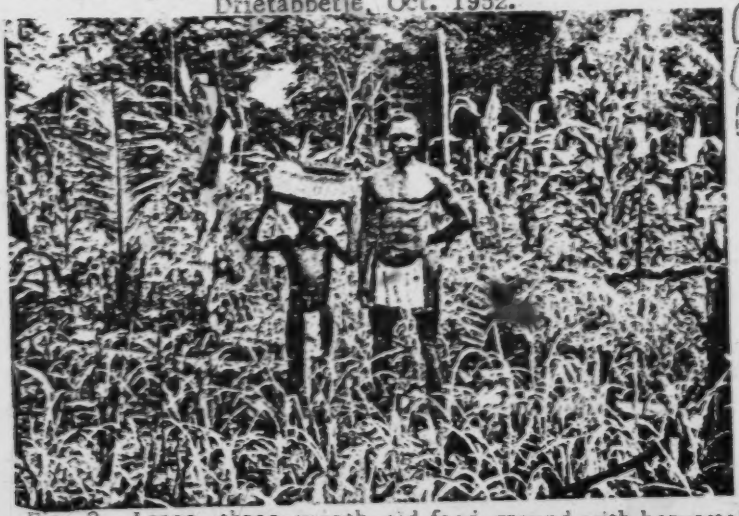

Fig. 8. Large, three-month-old food-ground with harvestable maize and watermelons. Rice in the foreground. -- Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, March 1952.

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Fig. 9. Baking cassava bread on the iron baking plate (the "pan"). -- Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, June 1952.

[142]
[291]
[412]

Fig. 10. Pounding the expressed pieces of cassava (in the pan in the foreground) to flour in a wooden mortar (the "matta") in order to bake bread with it. -- Marowijne, Albina, April 1953.

4 Geijskes--19 G,N-5 (1952) 1954 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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Fig. 11. Threshing the rice ears on a sack with the feet. -- Tapanahóni, Drietabbetje, June 1952.

[245]
[415]

Fig. 12. The fruits of the pina palm are collected in a basket; a beverage is made from the fruit-pulp. -- Marowijne, Albina, April 1953.

[272]

6:Hurault--10a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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Fig. 1. Boni type.

/11 cont./

142 Certain somatic characteristics are found frequently among them. The /12/ majority of individuals are dolichocephalic,
144 slightly platyrrhine, have thick, flattened-out lips. These characteristics bring more especially to mind the populations of the Ivory Coast and Dahomey. The human types of the Congo and Equatorial Africa in general are rarely seen among the Refugee Blacks. This is a surprising finding, given the diversity of origin
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144 Even if the Refugee Blacks do not represent one race in the rigorous sense of the term, they give, compared with the Blacks of America in general, a striking sensation of homogeneity and
175 unity. Actually, it is important to remark that they have practical-
144 ly only African blood; mulattoes were rare in Surinam plantations in the 18th century, for the documents of the time attest that most of these, more sensitive to malaria than the Blacks, were employed as workmen in Paramaribo. They must have had few chances to run away, and few of them would have been able to stand for very long the rebels' exceptionally harsh conditions of living.
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6:Hurault--107a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/facing p. 76/

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411
417
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Fig. 15. House type of the Refugee Blacks; Loabi village (Djuka of the Upper Tapanahoni).

6:Hurault--245a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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782
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Fig. 22. Offering of food to the ancestors.

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Fig. 23. Interrogation of the dead person.

c:Hurault--342a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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Fig. 26. Woman possessed by a Papa gadu god.

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Fig. 27. Dance of possession (Papa gadu worship).

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

Preface

THE pages that follow describe scenes in the lives of a Negro people living in isolation in the interior of Dutch Guiana, South America. These Negroes are the descendants of runaway slaves imported from Africa, who took refuge in the dense Guiana bush and established African villages along the rivers whose rapids are their fortifications. The end of the seventeenth century already found these Negroes in constantly growing numbers up the Suriname River, and before the middle of the next century they were sufficiently organized to make repeated raids on the plantations for guns and gunpowder, for machetes and women. Several campaigns were conducted against them, but eventually final treaties were concluded with the Dutch owners of the colony, which guaranteed them their freedom. Today when a Bush Negro drinks with a white man his toast is "Free!" 175 [144]

Three tribal groups go to make up this Bush Negro population. The Saramacca tribe, of whom we write, is found in the heart of the colony along the upper reaches of the Suriname River (called by the Bush Negroes the "Saramacca," and hence so named in this book), and farther south along the Gran Rio and the Pikien Rio. This tribe has had the least contact with outside influences, and it is the Saramacca language which differs most from that spoken by the Negroes of the coastal region. The second is the Awka tribe, found mainly along the Marowyne (Maroni) River, which forms the boundary between French and Dutch Guiana; there are in addition several Awka villages on the lower Suriname. The third tribe, the Boni, 101 619

 [p. vi is blank]

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SRB Bush Negroes SRB
Saramacca

had not acted well toward the Granman. It would be best if we did not stop there. At the others the Granman could assure us hospitality. Then there was talk of hauling wood and making rafts, for our host, who knew these people well, moved safri, too, until he at last felt the moment had come to talk about buying a boat from Ajako.

When the arrangements of the sale were concluded, Ajako came back to talk with us. He had heard that we had a machine which the Kromanti spirit had broken, was it true? Did it really go again? They said the Bakra had much cunning. They said the Bakra knew African magic.

The Bakra said he knew something about Africa. The Ashanti people, for instance, were a fine people.

"*Ma na Asante, na Sa'macca sem-* . . . —But the Ashanti are Saramacca. . . . " But he would go no further, having spoken only one syllable of the word for people. He became guarded. Yes, there were some Anago people from Africa on this Saramacca River, and Dahomey, and Loango, and Fanti; the Ibo peoples were not on this river. . . . And again he would say no more. Later, when we had changed the subject, he said as if in both gratitude and explanation, "*Na sa-i-'akisi, a tranga poi*—You ask about strong things."

But he would sing into our machine, if we liked. He would sing Kromanti, if we wanted him to do so. "I won't fight your machine," he said, smiling.

"*Anabobi, Anabobi,*
Anabobi, Anabobyo,
Tata Ando.
Anabobi, Ando,
Anabobi,
Tata Adjaini,
Anabobyo
Tata Fa'aku."

"They will understand this in Africa," he said, gravely, and then he moved toward the doorway and stood there

B
R /509 cont./
19 October 1958 – January 1959), expeditions whose principal aim
114 was the sociological study of these populations.
121

/510/

Social Structure and Way of Life

B
101 The Boni Refugee Blacks. The Boni are one of the above-mentioned
[175] tribes of the Refugee Blacks, reconstituted in the course of the eighteenth century by rebel African slaves who escaped from
B Surinam plantations (Dutch Guiana).
[131] These tribes (Saramaka, Djuka, Paramaka, Boni) live for the
[161] most part along the rivers of the interior of Surinam. They group together a total of 25,000 persons.
B
161 With very rare exceptions, the Refugee Blacks are pure Africans.
[144] These populations, vigorous and well adapted to the country, have experienced in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a remarkable demographic increase, attested to by all the authors. Descended from small rebel groups which could not have contained more than a few hundred women, they are now estimated at more than 25,000 persons.
B
162 The Boni of the Upper Maroni, the subject of the present study,
103 number approximately 800, of whom 660 are on the French bank
[161] (the villages of Boniville, l'Enfant Perdu, Loka, Asisi, Papaïston, and Kormotibo) and 140 on the Surinam bank (the village of Kotika). These villages were established long ago.
B
613 Each of them groups together a matrilineage, i.e., the
621 descendants in the uterine line of one single founding ancestress;
769 certain villages know their genealogy in its entirety back to this ancestress, who must have lived at the end of the eighteenth century. The members of the lineage are united by the cult of the
B ancestors, which binds them firmly to their natal village and to
[622] their land. The social system is based essentially on this cult,
[793] the chief of the village being above all the priest of the ancestors.
B Strictly speaking, there is no marriage, but only an acknowl-
581 edged concubinage which entails neither a contract between the

C
E
L
R
101

Boni
Emerillon SQ8
Rucuyen SR12
Carib SR9
Locono SR10

/11 cont./

3) The autochthonous Indians are represented on the Maroni Basin by three groups:

C [13] [162] [433] [177] [178]

—The Arawak and the Kalifna (Galibi) (about 500 persons) live downstream from Saint-Laurent; they live in symbiosis with the population of the city, whom they supply with fish and manioc. A century of contact with the Creole population has produced a certain alteration in their customs and traditional way of life, but the essentials of their tribal organization remain intact.

R [131] [162] [178]

—The Oayana /Oyana/ or Roucouyennes /Rucuyen/ (about 250 persons) live on the Litani upstream from the Boni with whom they are in close relationship. They have not undergone any alteration in their race or their way of life.

E [131]

—The Emerillon, who belong to the Tupi-Guarani group, form a small grouping on the way to extinction.

B 114

The Refugee Blacks. —Ethnic origin. No comprehensive anthropological study has as yet been undertaken on the Refugee Blacks. Not possessing the specialized knowledge necessary for tackling this study, we have left it entirely aside. Besides, we doubt that it would give important detailed information on the ethnic origin of the Refugee Blacks. Study of archive documents concerning the slave trade would certainly give more particulars; it is certain from now onwards that their origin is very diverse; the slave traders took on provisions principally on the coast of West Africa, but also in the Congo and in present-day Angola; the African words figuring in the present dialects come from the populations of these various regions. So it is not surprising to meet rather variable skull forms and statures among the Refugee Blacks.

B 175 144 [192]

B 141

The Refugee Blacks are in general of medium stature, that of the adult men being between 1 meter 60 and 1 meter 75; the average is a little below 1 meter 70.

/11 cont./

142 Certain somatic characteristics are found frequently among them. The /12/ majority of individuals are dolichocephalic,
144 slightly platyrrhine, have thick, flattened-out lips. These characteristics bring more especially to mind the populations of the Ivory Coast and Dahomey. The human types of the Congo and Equatorial Africa in general are rarely seen among the Refugee Blacks. This is a surprising finding, given the diversity of origin
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B 144 /12 cont./

population. This point of view is confirmed by the study of their demography which shows characteristics well marked and very different from those of the other ethnic groups, a fact illuminated by the study of pathology.

F 114 164 182 [13]

Man and the natural environment. Doctor André Sausse, studying the three populations of the Maroni (1), Refugee Blacks, Indians,

1. Doctor André Sausse: Populations primitives du Maroni /Primitive Populations of the Maroni/; Paris, Larose, 1951.

and Creoles, placed for centuries in the same geographical environment and leading very close kinds of lives, has shown that they present an entirely distinct pathology and a completely different behavior with respect to the geographic environment.

F 164 182 F 16 [177]

The autochthonous Indians have an extreme sensitivity to malaria, equal to that of Europeans; and one can believe that before the implantation of the new black and white populations they were living in a precarious equilibrium with the natural environment that the contact with Europeans broke. Extremely susceptible to lung diseases, they were decimated for centuries by epidemics of pneumonia due to microbial germs brought in with the Europeans and Blacks, without any adaptation appearing. In three centuries their number was reduced from several tens of thousands to a few hundred, without it being possible to blame any cause other than malaria and epidemics. The only ones to survive without outside help have been the groupings living in the marshy /13/ zones near the sea; for reasons not yet elucidated but which are probably related to the conditions of life of the anopheles, these zones are actually less dangerous on the whole from the point of view of malaria than the highlands (similar observations have been made in Indochina).

B /512 cont./
R
137 The region is entirely covered by equatorial forest which the
241 inhabitants clear for their crops, practicing a shifting agriculture on burned-over land.
B
R Life is closely tied to the river, on the edge of which are
311 established villages and crops. They scarcely move except by
504 water. Everybody, man, woman, or child, has his pirogue, and
868 the children learn to paddle at the same time that they learn to
B walk.
R
433 The principal activities of the two populations are agriculture,
B fishing, and canoeing.
R There is scarcely any difference between the dietary resources
262 of the Indians and the Boni. The principal portion is manioc, eaten in the form of cassave (flat cakes cooked on a plate) or of couac (roasted and granulated flour). Then come tubers, yams,
B dasheens, "Carib cabbage" /taro/ and sweet potatoes, bananas
[241] and plantains. The Boni in addition plant mountain rice, from which the yield is small; in return, they eat fewer bananas.
R The protein ration is furnished essentially by fish, eaten
[226] fresh or smoked. The Indians, skillful fishermen, never lack
B them. Game furnishes a less regular, but important resource.
R Animal husbandry, confined to a few chickens raised mainly
[231] to sell, represents only an insignificant part of the diet.
[439] The fat from fish and from animals killed while hunting constitutes the principal portion of lipides. The Boni use in addition, for preparing their meals, a small quantity of maripa palm oil.

Vitamins come from fruit (papaya, pineapple, mangoes), which the Indians eat in greater abundance than the Blacks, from wild spinach, rich in Vitamin A, and palm nuts (awara and caumou),
B eaten in great abundance during the rainy season.
R Neither of the two populations is undernourished. The Indians
146 might have been so temporarily during epidemics, when the adults, having been sick for a long time, were unable to clear sufficient land. But they can supplement an inadequate harvest with a great variety of wild foods that can be gathered.

The diet seems poor in mineral elements and especially in calcium. Traces of rachitis are noticeable among some of the Indian children.

B R 146 B R 515 B R 433 B R 461 [465] B R 177 B R 177 648 B R 105 182 164 B R 164 [114]

/513/

The scarcity of lipide foods, and, among the Boni, the low consumption of fruit might cause one to fear vitamin deficiencies. In fact, there are no signs of it.

Body hygiene is excellent; Blacks and Indians bathe several times a day and are very fastidious about their persons.

In summary, there is no appreciable difference in the customary activities, agriculture, hunting, and fishing, of the two populations. There is one in economic activity. Among the Boni, who have a greater need for imported objects, the adult men work for wages four to five months per year on the average. These jobs are very laborious and performed under bad dietary conditions, whereas the Indians rest when they are not occupied with their customary tasks, sometimes spending entire days stretched out in the hammock.

The two populations have been in close contact for a long time. The Indian villages farthest downstream have immediate contact with the first crop plantings of the Boni. Without having any tendency to merge (their characters and their customs are too different), Boni and Oayana have maintained regular relations since the end of the eighteenth century, doing a little trade in imported articles exchanged for hammocks and dogs trained for hunting. They often visit each other, and nothing stops the spread of illness from the one group to the other.

In fact, the way of life of the two groups is the same, the environmental conditions have the same influence, and the differences which are observed in the pathology can only be attributed to a different sensitivity with regard to the principal illnesses.

Pathology of the Boni. We shall briefly summarize here the observations of Dr. A. Sausse in his work Populations primitives du Maroni.

The pathology of the Boni is characterized by:

-- a resistance to malaria, which means that if the children have bad attacks an immunity will develop with age; the size of the spleen diminishes regularly from child to adult. The adults have only episodical attacks which are not serious; in particular

/12 cont./

796 Then they call all the neighbors together to take part in the
273 festivities to be held, which consist of invoking their gods amidst continuous dancing and excessive drinking.

They begin the festivities only on a Friday and usually finish on a Sunday or Monday, depending on the larger or smaller
[147] supply of drink, so, lacking this, the festival ends. After the conclusion they are usually extremely tired and listless and give themselves up entirely to rest for at least two or three days.

It is a definite requirement at these festivities to be very amply supplied with strong drink, because one must drink without
[782] interruption in order to remain in a continuous narcosis. With each drink they first pour a little on the ground, -- so that it, too, on which they find themselves so gay, may participate in their enjoyment.

[262] The merrymakers then take care that they will by no means
[577] be lacking in fish, wild game, bacon, rice, etc., since it is a matter of honor with them to display the most lavish hospitality on such occasions.

776 The gods that they worship are:

Loango Gado,
Papa Gado,
Cromantie Gado,

/13/ names certainly derived from the various African tribes of these names.

In the first two they glorify nature and everything created, from which it therefore appears that these are merely subordinate
[787] gods of the unnamed, single great spirit. The last is above all regarded by them as the mediator who transmits their wishes to the great spirit; he is invoked especially at burial ceremonies and for consultation in connection with serious illnesses.

796 They do not have any other cult or religion, so far as I was
[771] able to discover, but only the fixed habit of still celebrating to-
[132] gether and with their chief and captains on the first Friday of the new moon in the month of October or November, after the long
[783] dry period has set in for good, a great feast that has as its goal a general atonement, to cleanse them of the misdeeds that they have committed.

B
R
121 /533 cont./

Thus the behavior of a human group, its fate as a people, and its very existence appear to be determined to a large extent by hereditary biological characteristics. This notion was seen clearly enough at the beginning of this century, but it has never been the object of thorough studies, the conditions for an incontestable experiment not being found together. Repudiated in the name of theoretical principles by the train of thought which has animated sociology for the past several decades, it has ended up by being completely lost from sight. Present-day sociology no longer takes into consideration the biological facts peculiar to the groups which it studies; one currently speaks of cycles of civilization, of laws of social change, of acculturation, etc., as if social facts had their own life and their own evolution, independent of the supposedly identical and interchangeable people. It is as though one claimed to study the psychism of the human being without taking his body into account, denying the influence of sex, age, sickness. Some have even managed to maintain that man is in all respects the product of the society from which he comes.

B
R
161 In the case studied here the falsity of these theories is obvious.
14 If the Indians disappear wherever the Blacks establish flourishing
182 societies, it is because their biological characteristics are not suited to the conditions imposed by the geographic environment, whereas those of the Blacks are to the highest degree.

Seen from this angle, the fate of the Indians of the Amazonian
B forest becomes clear; their social behavior and in particular their
R collapse upon contact with European civilization find an explanation.
[177] /534/ The relations of the Indians with the Europeans of past
B centuries have been equally influenced by their biological charac-
R
147 teristics. Their inaptitude for prolonged effort came in part from their physical weakness. When the Blacks and the Indians of the Amazonian forest have been employed side by side for years as soldiers and porters, there can be no doubt on this point. The Black is a force of nature. The Indian of the great forest, often full of good will, is betrayed by his physical powers.

/207 cont./

153 The teacher has the pupil turn in a circle around the
791 mortar in which has been prepared the infusion of leaves, until
787 he is dizzy. Alternately he makes him turn and "washes" his body with the infusion. Possession occurs by itself at the end of a certain number of sessions.

[276] In the practices intended to make the gita of Kumẽnti
[171] "rise," the absorption of toxic substances enters, especially tobacco juice, method employed by the Indian medicine men. But once the reflexes are created, there is no further need for these substances; the gita appears as soon as the calling procedures are used, which are of two kinds:

--Personal procedures: The man voluntarily calls on his gita while putting on the god's costume and taking a certain posture;

--Outside procedures: The gita may be released from outside either by calling the god by name or by beating the corresponding rhythm on the drum.

787 When the pupil begins to feel the gita of Kumẽnti, that
158 is first manifested by trances. We have very often been present at these attacks, which usually come on at night in the forest, but commonly also during the day. The one possessed suddenly lets go of the objects he was holding (for example, if he was in the process of eating, he drops plate and spoon), and rushes forward running through the forest howling rhythmically as if he had become an animal. His eyes are rolled upward, he no longer is conscious of his surroundings; he is not in any way threatening; these fits are totally inoffensive in spite of their
[147] impressive aspect. One sees possessed people in this state do things which are difficult to explain, such as running in complete darkness in the most impenetrable underbrush without falling or hurting themselves, or climbing up in a few seconds on a craggy rock which would have been hard to scale in full daylight.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

314 shot enters the rubber but does not pierce it through. Little dents indicate where the shot is buried inside. With a pistol, however, the result is different. A bullet from a .38 calibre revolver goes clean through. After we have fired, a Negro detaches himself from the group and disappears in the bush. In twenty minutes he is back, bringing the bullet from the revolver. He had traced its course by broken twigs and [151] clipped branches, and finally dug it out of the side of a tree with his bush-knife—on the whole an extraordinary bit of woodcraft.

484 It is disgusting to find that we have to sleep overnight in this camp. The white man is thoroughly exhausted, able only to drop down on a log while the Negroes make camp. The bahkra's hammock is slung and a fire started. Monkey meat is the *pièce de résistance* of the evening meal.

[252 The monkey is not skinned; only the hair is scraped off. 262] Monkey skin is a jungle delicacy, but there is a humanly cadaverous look to the depilated body. Half of the meat is cut up and dumped into the stew pot together with rice and salt. [251] The other half is smoked liberally to preserve it for the morrow.

Not in the mood to take food which his stomach might reject, the bahkra dines on a can of salmon, with rice and tea on the side. The sun has hardly set when he falls gratefully into the hammock and ties the mosquito netting in place, ready for profound slumber.

521 He soon finds that sleep is out of the question. The Bush Negroes are sitting about the campfire swapping tales of

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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that we walk the Bak'a with pleasure, that he treat us well, that we walk in safety. Thank you." 484 [182]

The men in the other canoes, who had gathered about Sedefo's boat, clapped their hands, as Sedefo had done, and said "Thank you," then took up their paddles.

We had noticed that when Sedefo spoke, Bibifo's lips had moved, as though he were either repeating the prayer, or speaking his own, but when the others joined in the voiced "Gran' tangi!" he was silent.

"Did you pray, Bayo?" we asked. Yes, he had. He had prayed for us, too. Did Bibifo also pray for the white man? But before Bibifo could answer, Bayo laughed aloud.

"Bibifo is *kerki suma*—a church man. Call him Adrian, it will please him. I call him Bibifo, nothing else."

"And you, Bayo?"

"I—you will take me with you to Africa. I want to learn African obia, and come back to the Saramacca, and be a big obia man here on the river." [152]

5

Old Bibifo accepted his great-grandson's jibes with good humor. We were sorry for the old fellow who was so little at ease with the other men, and was so mercilessly twitted by the youngster in the bow. 888 572 578

If the old man were to make a suggestion to him about a channel which Bayo had decided against, then he would turn brazenly, and exclaim, "Massa cow!" This is part of the proverb which says that a man who owns the cow has the best right to say where it shall graze. If Bibifo objected when Bayo attempted to do something that seemed impossible, he would face about smilingly and say, "The power which has raised the monkey from the ground and taught it to live safely in the trees is not dead yet." [538]

"Bibifo," we said, making conversation with the old man, "Why do we go close to the shore?"

"In the center the current is swift and the river deep. When we go in the center, then we use only paddles. It is 502 484

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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"Suma de, ai," he acknowledged.

6

Bayo remained in the bush, but he did not come to the city with us, though he took us into the Awka villages as captain of our boat. While at the base camp, he busied himself with making small models of traps and snares, and whatever other examples of Bush Negro work we needed to augment our collection.

He was a poor weaver, for he was no craftsman at all. But on the river he showed almost superhuman strength and his knowledge of obia and the gods showed his potentialities for achieving what he most desired—to become an obia man. It may well be that his great kunu had planted this ambition in him. Perhaps, if he became a renowned obia man, one of the greatest on the river, he would outwit the combined power of ancestors and gods. His physical strength was such that all seemed possible to him, and his eye was quick, his curiosity unbounded. As a child of incest, a twofold member of his clan, he had certain immunities from the gods, though his line would all the more be flayed by the punishment which his parentage had earned.

"White man," he would say to us, "the next time you come, I will go with you to Africa. By then, I shall have given my wife children, and my sister's children will be grown. I want to go to Africa to learn obia."

His young brother was not strong. Bayo allowed them to cut no kamemba on the boy, who was now almost eleven, and it was clear that he would not be able to go through the Kromanti initiation, that he would have few gods.

"What will you do then, Bayo?"

God alone knew. He did not expect that even in Africa he could learn all he needed to know to help his young brother.

"Would he go with Bibifo?" we ventured, remembering that Bibifo had become Adrian.

He laughed. The white man asked many questions.

115 As we sat and talked with him, we learned much of his life. His father had died soon after he was born. His mother was still alive, but she was poor, and life was a burden to her. His shortcomings in all that required discipline and technique were directly traceable to the kunu, and so were the deaths of his father, and several of his uncles. He had been obliged to be his own master, to get his food as best he could. His gods came to him early, and long before his initiation he used to show evidence that his Tiger spirit would be strong. But it was not entirely his lack of training which was at fault. His uncle's spirits, too, were powerful in matters of obia, but they had not vouchsafed him any skill in carving or weaving.

Perhaps it was the exigencies of life as an orphan, whose family was plagued as well with the greatest kunu of all, that had given to Bayo's perceptions an amazing quickness. When people were puzzled about the nature of our work, Bayo decided that it was a type of white man's obia. The white man's desire to gain knowledge not for gold, but for its own sake, was not unlike the seeking of the good obia man who did not become rich by his labors. Later, when we spoke of what he had told us of ceremonies and ceremonial life with men who were older, men versed in the lore of their people, we were astonished at the grounding the boy had in his own civilization.

115 152 If he was boisterous, somewhat boastful with us, it was not difficult to understand the motivation. It was his urge to assert himself. But among his own people, particularly when he was with older men, he walked "softly," as he himself said. Yet men twice his age saw to it that they did not "rile" the boy.

"When Bayo gets his Tiger spirit, Bak'a, he is not the boy you know. Be on your guard. He is young, but when his Tiger spirit comes, he can kill."

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

114 prejudices about sex and marriage may become less rooted by a comparison with the customs of a primitive society.

611 The Djukas, like a number of other primitive tribes, reckon
428 descent only through the female line; property rights are transmitted through the maternal side of the house. Fatherhood is a fact of relative unimportance.

595 Polygamy is the practice. Each wife lives in a separate hut (often in a separate village), which belongs to her because her husband built it for her. A man has as many wives as he wants, or can keep. The wives get along together fairly
[152] amicably. The cancer of matrimonial jealousy characteristic of our own system, is of narrow range and effect among the Djukas.

596 The head of the family is not the father, but the mother's
604 oldest male relative—her brother or her mother's brother. *The father is technically unrelated to his children.* As a matter of biological fact, he can never be sure of his paternity, whereas maternity is never in doubt. All children belong to their mother's family, and are subject to the authority of her brother or her maternal uncle. The latter is more closely related to them than any other male.

611 A group of families related through the female line con-
614 stitute a *m'beh*, and several m'beh together make up a *lo*, or clan. These groups are all reckoned through the mother. Husband and wife may belong to different m'beh and lo, but children of the union belong only to their mother's group. At
593 first sight the father seems negligible in this arrangement,
604 but it must be remembered that he is very likely the brother

/20/

765 Thereupon follows a second, who just like the first has a calabash in hand, but this time filled with spirituous liquor, and from time to time sprinkles a few drops of it on the ground, in token of the fact that on this occasion, too, by means of drink, they think of the deceased with joy.

Then they again return to the dwelling, where all are gathered, and celebrate an enjoyable night with song and dancing until daybreak.

Chapter XII

Character, Virtues and Vices

157 The Bush Negro, as I have already said above, has a great [577] deal of respect for old age and for distinguished persons; with respect to their closest relations they are honest, which they can- [461] not pride themselves on otherwise. In their ordinary affairs they [609] are not lazy, but work tirelessly whenever it is necessary. With respect to strangers they are generous and obliging, all the more [152] when they can assume that they may claim reward. Jealousy, [784] envy, and malice are their greatest vices. Concerning many matters they have an antipathy that they call trefoe (treef). Thus, [781] for instance, one will eat something, the other not. Also they are very superstitious in small matters, to which they cling all the way down to distant generations; they call that obia (literally translated, bewitchment, magic).

262 An Auca girl who through attachment to my wife and me [123] has already lived with us in the town for fully five years, because since the death of her husband, who was one of my most trusted [589] workers, she did not want to attach herself to another, and who performed all kinds of housework for us, carries her trefoe of not eating any unscaled fish so far that she will not even cook her food on a fire where there is a pot in which an unscaled fish was previously prepared. I know another one who uses no milk and also does not eat meat of any kind (with the exception of bacon), unless it be game, and then it must be prepared by her, on the grounds that everything is prepared with butter and that butter comes from

114 /30 cont./
648 in hiding a significant advantage for the colony, since the lack of workers in agriculture makes itself felt with increasing urgency.

202 Accordingly they promised to satisfy my wish by putting
[123] up the signs customary among them, which would make known to those in hiding my wishes to acquaint them with the good news.

In order to let those in hiding know that they were requested to come out of the forest, they go to work in the following manner.

202 They tie white and blue, also perhaps white and black
822 patches of cotton half an ell long and three thumbs wide in Rhineland fashion to the upper branches of the trees, starting in the deepest part of the forest and progressing to the river /31/ bank. The little flags placed highest are of a dark color, while the patches tied progressively lower toward the river are white.

Those in hiding, who stay in the district and cross through the forest to hunt, discover these signs and see by them that there is something going on; either that others in hiding want to establish contact with them or that they have to fear danger.

The manner in which the signs are attached to the trees makes them understand that if they go more deeply into the forest there will be born for them a dark and dangerous future, whereas, if they can decide to go to the river bank they can walk a white, that is, a bright path and that, following the little white flags, they will find people who either want to make common cause with them or wish to give them important information.

202 Since these persons in hiding are constantly afraid of
152 surprise attack or deception, trust in these signs is not always im-
648 mediately established and thus at first only some of them go down with cunning and caution. When they come into the more inhabited districts, they watch and investigate everything that they wish to know; frequently this investigation extends all the way to Paramaribo. Now the Bush Negroes thought that if they followed their custom in this it would be clear to them why these signs had been placed in the bush and that as a result of these they would very quickly become acquainted with the declared amnesty.

202 I must add here also that in fact many fugitives or
648 persons in hiding later came out of the forests, among whom must

/34 cont./

577 all, toward one another as fellow tribesmen they are very honest and trust one another's word. Frequently it happens that among them one family leaves the camp to go on a journey or else is absent for some other reason, and that it must leave behind unfenced the cultivated land planted with rice, tubers, bananas, bakoven, and sugar cane. But never will another of them steal any of that. And similarly their dwellings are open, since the entrance is not closed off by any door; upon their departure they leave one thing and another in it, but they will never miss any-
626 thing upon their return. Certainly contributing to this is the circumstance that in the vicinity of everybody's property there is a sign or idolatrous image, which they call obia, to which great power is ascribed, and for those who might want to commit dishonest acts, the legend can be observed, as for the European:
784 "Beware of mantraps." The fear that they have of these obias is not unjustified, for if it should happen at any time that misuse of trust took place, then the culprit, however long it takes, upon discovery will not escape the revenge of the deceived, revenge which frequently consists in the administering of secret remedies whereby terrible diseases and sufferings, if not death, come about.

152 They are very concerned about the faithfulness of their
837 wife or wives, /35/ for the Bush Negro is very jealous, whereas the wives cannot be exonerated of being susceptible to seduction. Accordingly it happens among them more than once that marital fidelity is violated.

184 Of the various tribes, the Aucaners are the most
[177] civilized, but over against that also the craftiest, which can be
[157] attributed to their more frequent intercourse with Europeans.
[161] Among their tribes they are the most powerful, and their numerical strength is estimated at 4,000 to 5,000 souls.

123 According to the declaration of the Bush Negroes, no White has previously enjoyed the trust and attachment that I experienced from them. However, secretively they always conduct themselves toward the Whites, with respect to me they make an exception. If there is something secret among them that I should like to know, they will, upon my request, immediately and without any diffidence communicate it to me.

/128 cont./

593 One of the commonplaces of ethnographic literature is
152 the feeling of frustration that the father would experience in a
429 matrilineal system when he is separated from his children. Thoughts heard every now and then could allow one to believe in the existence of such a feeling among the Refugee Blacks. For example Baïna, of Asisi village, tells us one day with bitterness: "I have had eight children, all living, and I have been given only one to bring up." But this is only a pretense. No Refugee Black thinks seriously of bringing up the five or six children he has had in the course of his life by three or four
[464] different women. Besides, this would be materially impossible for him, considering the mode of life of the Refugee Blacks and the necessity for the adult men to move ceaselessly in search
[163] of paid work. For example, by encouraging Baïna to tell the basis for his thought, it was not difficult to understand that he would have liked to raise two or three of his eight children (born of four different women), the ones he loved for subjective reasons; the others scarcely interested him and it was all the same to him whether they were brought up here or there.

429 In reality the paternal feeling of the Refugee Blacks is a
152 rather subjective thing; raising a son or a nephew is the same in
[601] their eyes. The same paternal feeling will develop, and in both cases they will say "my son" and "my father."

593 Mothers give their children to be raised with the greatest
429 of ease, especially within the lineage.

For example Eliana (Dju, F8), about 45 years old in 1957,
[163] who had nine living children, was raising only four:

△ Alibi	1937	raised by his father Matapi (Asisi-Aw.B.);
△ Doni	1939	raised by his maternal grandmother Béniti (Dju, E5);
○ Aguba	1940	raised by Lènga (F36), Eliana's classificatory sister (tenth-degree kinship);
△ A...	1943	raised by his father Yusu (Papaïston);

/134 cont./

429 The guardian continues to have a certain power all his life over his ward become adult. He is the conciliator to whom one applies first if there is any complaint about his ward.

This power of conciliation is bequeathed by the guardian at his death, as is the guardianship itself.

593 Role of the mother. For the Refugee Blacks, the sacred tie is
613 pre-eminently the one which attaches them to their mother and
152 through her to the ancestors of the lineage. It is manifested with respect to the mother by a delicate and deep feeling of affection which applies also, less directly, to the close relatives on the maternal side and to all the members of the lineage. It is not
[601] idly that within the lineage the men call one another brothers; the obligations /135/ they have toward one another are accepted by all with joy, and each tries his best to fulfill them, for he transposes to them the sentiment of love which he feels toward his mother.

114 The term matriarchy has often been used wrongly with re-
562 gard to the Refugee Blacks, letting people believe that the woman
593 exercises authority there; this is an error, the woman does not enter their councils and from a political point of view does not exist in their eyes; the woman has influence and authority only as mother, and over her own children.

593 The mother's authority remains very great over her sons after they have become men; none of them will undertake an important enterprise or leave for a long trip without consulting his mother; if she is absolutely opposed to the project, he will scarcely dare go on with it. We heard in December, 1952 a man of 45, M..., serious and intelligent, say to us with regret: "I would certainly go with you as far as Cayenne, but my mother does not wish it."

/159 cont./

767 --The kisimã command the village during the whole
764 time the coffin is being made and can requisition anyone to
[466] help them;

--The ɔlɔmã are masters of the river while their work lasts. In particular they can requisition travelers passing through to help them, and even confiscate their provisions. This is piisi, a joke. But as Mr. W. F. Van Lier also has us observe, this custom has a deep meaning; it reminds everyone that participation in the burial of a dead person is a fundamental religious duty.

767 The organization of these customary societies is, at least
467 among the Boni, very rudimentary.

In each village there is a head of the ɔlɔmã who is acquainted with the topography of the cemetery and the rites to be carried out (hedemã fu ɔlo).

In Boniville, in 1958, this was Bukuman (Papaïston);
In Loka, Tabikiť, not replaced at the beginning of 1958;
In Asisi, Antonu (Awara Bakka).

If he is absent, someone is sent to get the head of the ɔlɔmã of another village.

Likewise, in each village there is a head of the kisimã:
In Boniville, this was Fintiman (Dju);
In Asisi, it was Boofo (Awara Bakka);
In Kormotibo, it was Aténi. /160/

764 The people willingly lend one another assistance from one
476 village to the other, with no need even to ask for help, and even if it is a question of burying a foreigner in the country, a Saramaka or a Djuka for example, who dies in Boni country.

767 For the making of the coffin it is rare not to find about 15 kisimã
46 spontaneously met together when four or five would be enough.
[152] They like this labor very much, which proceeds in an atmosphere of joyous over-excitement in the center of admiring spectators.

/163 cont./

764 given any indication whatever. Besides, how would he have
787 had time to make himself understood by two men walking at top speed, crushed by their heavy load and looking straight ahead?

This upsets all the ideas I had formed about this test. The only hypothesis that remains is that the bearers have been "tipped off" by the man who went to get them (an old man of the council). But is it possible that such a crude fraud could be current practice? The Boni are far from being stupid, they are ever suspicious /164/ and they are too talkative for such deceptions not to be laid bare by their perpetrators themselves.

Under these conditions, how can it operate--this collective suggestion which explains most of the rites of the Refugee Blacks? I can't explain it to myself.

764 Manufacture of the Coffin. The kisimã are gathered
767 around a pile of boards. They are about 15 in number,
322 commanded by Boofo, head of the kisimã of Asisi, and Aténi
[412] (Asisi-Dipélu II). A pile of boards is at their feet; some work with a small hand saw, others with an adze; the fitting is done with a machete. /Fig. 21 appears here./

They take measurements with a graver. The bottom board is cut first, then the front and back ends. The outline of the back end, in the shape of a truncated diamond, results from a rather complex construction with the compass which I have not time to report.

764 The work is done noisily in an atmosphere of crude farce.
767 The whole time it lasts, the kisimã exert veritable command
[152] over the village. The coconut trees of Kormotibo are pillaged
[262] for their benefit. The village women prepare the rice for the meal which must, according to custom, be offered to them upon finishing the coffin about noon.

/166 cont./

764 767 medium of two round logs. This ritual seems to have as its purpose restricting the defilement of death for the village.).

The body is put back down in the deepest silence, with the greatest care, into the coffin. A pillow is put under the head.

[752] Those present show no emotion. The widower, the Saramaka Gamba, who has remained seated in his hammock since morning, turning his back to his wife's body, does not stir.

The kisimã bring the edges of the pieces of cloth back over the body and put on, in addition, a few camisas of the ordinary kind. Before the upper wings of the coffin are put in place, one of them gently removes the wads of cotton which had been put in the dead woman's nostrils.

Then the upper wings of the coffin are nailed down, always according to the same rite, blows struck in cadence with pieces of wood accompanying the hammer blows.

[692] The role of the kisimã is ended; they give over the dead woman to the council, lãnti kuutu, charged with judging her.

764 787 Search for the Causes of Death. The ceremony begins about four o'clock in the greatest confusion, as is usual among the Refugee Blacks; it is impossible to understand who is really a member of the council and who is not a member, everybody talking at once.

I think I understand that the grand man has designated Captains Kondoku (Asisi-Awara Bakka) and Tafanié (Papaïston) to preside over the ceremony. In fact, it is neither the one nor the other who begins the interrogation, but a man from Papaïston village, Agodéba, a venerable old man whose torso is molded in a deplorably shoddy jersey calling to mind a rugby match.

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153 --Pupils are taught, individually or collectively, to dance
791 in the manner of the god. Indeed, each divinity has a charac-
787 teristic form of dance, which it executes sometimes by using
796 the bodies of its bearers when it comes into them. The pupil
535 must imitate as best he can the individual movements and the
[868] rhythm of this dance, while the teacher, using the appropriate drum, beats out the calling formulas.

If the god is satisfied with the student, he will be able to come into him.

791 These exercises appear to have as their goal the creation
787 in the pupils of forms of conditioned reflexes; they have nothing
785 in common with the very harsh ordeals which the medicine man
153 of the Guiana Indians imposes upon himself, and do not involve any form of asceticism. It does not seem that chastity, even temporary, is demanded of the student, any more than fasting or doing anything contrary to his inclinations.

787 The idea of a spiritual death and resurrection of the
791 possessed person, with all the ritual it entails: long reclusion of the neophytes, change of name of the one possessed, who is supposed to relearn all the activities of ordinary life, does not appear to have been kept by the Refugee Blacks. In a general
[152] way, the atmosphere of solemn seriousness, /203/ of secrecy, and of fear, which characterize the Dahomey cults of possession is not found among them.

791 These lessons are always paid for and are even very
787 expensive. Payment is made in pieces of cloth, in demijohns
435 of tafia.
[436] Having a Kumenti amounted in 1958 to at least 25,000 francs. This payment is not only compensation for the teacher;
[181] it is the mark of legitimacy. What has not been paid for is not, for the Refugee Blacks, legitimately acquired. We shall come back to this important point later.

/213 cont./

755 A stalk of sɔŋgaafu twice bent in an elbow is arranged on the ground. A cross is traced in the dirt.

Centered on the cross is placed a large basin into which is poured infusions of leaves taken from several calabashes.

The sick woman, still prostrate and groaning, is seated on a stool facing the basin. The contents of the basin are poured slowly over her body while she is massaged. It is not a question of a remedy in the literal sense of the word; the sick one is "washed" to help the god to manifest itself in her.

I notice that while going back into the hut she trembles almost no more; the attack seems to be subsiding.

In the meanwhile someone comes to call me elsewhere and I cannot come back until half an hour later. I find the sick woman standing, smeared with pɛmba, in the middle of a meditative audience. The god has descended into her and is [787] expressing itself in Papa language while she dances with slow gestures.

[753] [784] I am told that it has just given the explanation of the illness: it struck Bugi because she did not observe the kina given to all bearers of Papa gadu, to stay away from funeral ceremonies. Now, the day before yesterday, she had knowingly participated in the tukka dance around Kotoïda's coffin.

The ɔbiaman present beg the god to pardon, which it does after claiming a bottle of beer which it drinks through the mouth of its bearer.

152 164 753 784 Observation in Kormotibo, December 18, 1957.

On December 18 in the evening I find the village of Kormotibo in the clutches of terror. Several persons are sick from the effect of the kunu. Apaita, a young woman, has an enormous whitlow, following an accident; two women have been stricken with pneumonia.

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152 828 754 777 Jealousy. To speak of jealousy as a negative magic force is not to be false to the thought of the Refugee Blacks. They regard it as an attenuated force of wisi, capable of bringing misfortunes even if no sorcery has been formulated. Jealousy is 152 157 very marked in their character, associated with an individualism verging on asocial tendencies. When somebody is accused of 754 wisi, jealousy is the commonest explanation of the crimes 152 828 attributed to him; it is thought for example that a man can be jealous of his brother's growing rich to the point of making him die; that a woman may be jealous of the beauty or health of 152 her sister's children. Not laying themselves open to jealousy 156 is the constant preoccupation of the Refugee Blacks; one ob- 828 serves it in daily behavior, for example in the greetings which 576 they exchange on the river. They never say, "I am well," but: "I feel only fair." If they come back from hunting they say, "I found a little."

152 Examples are not lacking of people who avoid building 156 a fine house or buying an outboard motor in order not to give 828 cause for jealousy. This preoccupation has profound reper- [182] cussions on the material life and the economy of the Refugee [463] Blacks; it explains in particular the absence of specialized professions and trade among them.

Many aspects of the customary law of the Refugee Blacks [183] have no other function than to exorcise, if one may say so, [591] tendencies toward jealousy and selfishness which, if they were given free rein, would poison the life of the collectivity.

76 The rites of death and mourning, which we have shown 181 to constitute the pivot of the social life of the Refugee Blacks, 725 are entirely based on the idea of preserving the surviving spouse 828 from the effect of the jealousy of the deceased.

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754 Of course he was recognized as a wisimã by the first
764 adjuration made to his body carried in the papay on the heads
787 of two men: "If thou art a wisi man, do not come toward us."
The dead man drew back. /2..

[784] /243/Continuation of the interrogation showed that he had not yet killed anybody, but that he had been killed by Odun when he was preparing to kill someone of his lineage.

754 The persecutors of Agyémési, contrary to their hope, did not recover after his death from the maladies which they were attributing to his sorcery; that did not shake their conviction in
755 the least. They left for Paramaribo to have themselves treated
648 by a Creole magician (for the Surinam Creoles, who practice white magic and black magic indiscriminately, are by this fact reputed to be more expert than the Refugee Blacks in combating the effects of wisi).

954 In recounting this story to us, the grand man told us that it is always necessary to be cautious with accusations of wisi,
[762] because one can never be sure. A man unjustly accused can
[784] commit suicide and pursue his accusers with his kunu (most of the Boni state that they would do so in such a case). In former
173 times, the barbarous punishments in use in Africa were applied
683 to revealed wisimã: they were burned alive. But people tell
784 that one of them, some months afterward, undertook against his accusers' lineage a kunu which still lasts today. He had been wrongly condemned! It is through fear of the kunu more than
[178] through care for humanity, that these punishments have been abolished.

754 It certainly seems that the constant fear of the wisimã in
[152] which the Boni live is only a collective hallucination, and that rare indeed are those who dare to indulge in practices which might draw upon them such terrible social and religious sanctions. As for these practices themselves, they appear to be without any real content, and the misfortunes attributed to them are

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157 464 463 Wishing to take advantage of all the possibilities which turn up, the Refugee Blacks are led to learn simultaneously the traditional techniques of their group, boating, boat-building, felling of trees, squaring of wood, and /building/ framework. In these techniques they may be considered specialized workers.

157 812 Proud of their strength and knowledge, sure of themselves, the Refugee Blacks are never worried about the future and consider life as an exciting adventure, ceaselessly bringing new things. If the past year has been bad, the new year will be better, with God's help. Nobody doubts that he will find gainful work again.

● 152 182 Influence of jealousy: absence of specialized professions and trade. Another strong psychological tendency having a direct influence on the economy is jealousy.

152 828 556 753 799 The effect of jealousy, and the fear of jealousy, is to limit enrichment and to maintain a de facto equality: it often happens that talented people forego undertaking profitable work in order not to give occasion for the jealousy which would render their position in the village difficult and might draw misfortunes upon them; for people have the idea that jealousy draws down illnesses and calamities upon him who is the object of it and on his near relatives, by the action of a natural force, even without sorcery being formulated.

754 556 441 829 Fear of sorcery interferes in the same way; one who becomes unusually rich is almost inevitably accused of being a sorcerer and may be obliged to leave the country. Particularly vulnerable are those, very rare, who engage in trade. People do not suspect of sorcery a man who is seen to become rich by /292/ working ceaselessly. But the trader whose wealth increases without his furnishing obvious work, is quickly regarded as a "committed one," accused of having his good luck as a result of a pact with the devil.

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Relations with the Other Populations

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The tribes of Refugee Blacks do not constitute a closed world. They have lived since their formation in close symbiosis with the neighboring populations: autochthonous Indians, Europeans, and Creoles. Their traditions and their conception of life have been strongly influenced by these, not because they have lost anything of their interior unity, but because they have accepted, at least collectively, the idea that they have bonds and duties toward other men.

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Just as their economy on the material plane is based on exchange, so they consider the symbiosis of their group with the neighboring groups as the normal order of the universe. The misfortunes undergone by their ancestors have given them an extreme horror of violence; they consider peace a precious blessing common to all nations, and their moral principles which forbid harming anyone extend to all men. It is clear that these notions are less clearly understood on the individual level and that there are, as elsewhere, some thefts and abuses of trust. But, on /293/ the collective level, the relations between the Refugee Blacks and their neighbors are established on a base of trust, loyalty, and honesty not found to the same degree in Africa.

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619 [643] Relations with the other tribes. The Boni do not have any well-defined political ties with the other tribes of Refugee Blacks, but the grand men have semiofficial relations through the medium of messengers, and consult one another rather frequently.

[578] The Boni have harbored a tenacious resentment against the Djuka for having in former times allied themselves with the Dutch against them, but this resentment, chiefly collective in nature, has died down with time; it does not prevent individual relations from being cordial.

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648 It seems that in these relations, both bring more patience and tolerance to bear than toward the people of their own group. It is excessively rare to see disputes arise between Indians and Boni, when there sometimes are some within each group.

186 The feelings which the Boni have toward the Indians are complex: they feel superior in physical strength, effectiveness, and organization; they make fun of the Indians' puerile eagerness for beads and jewelry, of the begging attitude of certain 829 ones among them. But they admire them for their cleverness, their intimate knowledge of the forest, and fear them for the supernatural powers they attribute to them. Sure of themselves, fearing nothing from the bush, never getting lost, unrivalled hunters and fishermen, the Indians appear to them to be endowed with unique faculties which other men do not possess. We have happened to hear in camp reflections such as this: "It is going to rain, the Indians are making shacks."

829 The Boni feel an intense fear of Indian magic. Not one 152 of them would dare to seriously displease an Indian, and even if he feels he has been wronged, in most cases he will not dare complain (1).

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1. In the search for the magic causes of death, it happens that divination may incriminate the action of an Indian medicine man. In such a case the legal action of the Boni is extinguished, for the principle is that the Indian medicine man does not hurt anyone without a reason. It is considered that the deceased must have gravely injured him and that he deserved his fate.

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648 A picturesque incident once more showed us this attitude in the course /295/ of a circuit on the Litani in 1952. When [262] we passed through AloTaé village, our four Boni boatmen, who had killed some coumarou, had prepared a very appetizing dish for themselves; they had scarcely begun to eat when several Indians arrived unexpectedly who joined in the conversation, sat down beside them, then began to dip their spoons into the pot. Other Indians came and, continuing to talk things over deliberately and without hurrying, came and took their share of the feast. The Boni were progressively pushed back to the [152] second row and finally gave up. Three of them laughed about [829] this incident which was familiar to them; the fourth was furious but he did not dare say anything, for, said he to us, if he struck the Indians as he wanted to, he risked being bewitched.

648 In truth, what is the nature of the authority that the grand 643 man of the Boni is supposed to exercise over the Indians? Does it involve precise obligations, a tribute, vexatious measures? Not in the least: it is reduced nowadays to two things:

--The principle of the obedience of the Indian village heads to the person of the grand man;

--The interdiction of transport by boat in the Boni fashion.

One can only approve of this interdiction which protects the Indians more than it harms them. As for the personal influence of Grand Man Difu, it is extremely favorable; he has a profound knowledge of the language and customs of the Indians, toward whom he has always exhibited an interest and sympathy which are certainly sincere. When, during the ceremonies at the fraga tiki, he appeals to the ancestors to ask them to watch over the Boni, he does not fail to add: gaã yɔɔka, de mu luku de ɛ̃gi: Ancestors, watch over the Indians.

648 It is also said of the Boni that they are interested in the Indians only in order to traffic with them. Even if that were true -- we have shown how inexact this assertion was -- we should hold all the same that it is much less dangerous for the

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866 made for sale, the guardian gives him a small sum out of the
461 money gained. At 14 an adolescent begins to satisfy nearly all
434 his own needs.

For example, from June to December, 1956, Tasa (14
883 years), son of Fintiman (Boniville) had earned about 13,000
465 francs:

June	helped his father build a large boat for the administration (45 days)	6,000
October	went to Saint-Laurent as auxiliary bossman .	3,000
December	helped convoy a boat of the border-fixing mission sent back empty to Maripasoula . .	4,000
		13,000

882 His father, entrusted with his education, let him use this
868 money in his own way; he pointed out to us with pride that for the first time in 1956 his son had been able to satisfy all his own needs, but that it was important to keep him under a firm hand until he was capable of doing a man's work alone: for that, five or six years of apprenticeship would not be too much.

868 In fact, many times we had the chance to verify it, it is
561 in this prolonged apprenticeship that are developed the seriousness
[153] of mind and the technical skill so remarkable among the Refugee Blacks. At 20 years, most of them still do not know how to do
[582] anything worthwhile, and it is scarcely before 25 or 27 that they
[178] become capable of /134/ painstaking work; in this respect the present tendency of the young boys toward precocious emancipation (the marriage age of men is going down to 20 and even 18 years) runs the risk of having very unfortunate consequences for the future of the Refugee Blacks.

429 The person charged with the education of a girl exercises the powers of a mother toward her. It is she who authorizes
[582] her to marry, and by giving her the pagi, married women's garment, gives her symbolically her freedom as a woman. It is
[583] to her that the first husband pays the price of the virginity of the girl.

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789 teristic form of dance, which it executes sometimes by using
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[436] Having a Kumenti amounted in 1958 to at least 25,000 francs. This payment is not only compensation for the teacher;
[181] it is the mark of legitimacy. What has not been paid for is not, for the Refugee Blacks, legitimately acquired. We shall come back to this important point later.

/203 cont./

153 789 791 Possession begins progressively; in the beginning the divinity does not find in its bearer sufficient passivity, it does not succeed well in expressing itself through his mouth, spectators observe only incoherent gestures and hear only unintelligible stammerings. The pupil must continue his training for a long time in order to become a suitable bearer.

789 The god, when it has just entered a man, always begins by rendering homage in its language to Masa Gadu, proclaiming that it acts only in his name and by his will.

[576] [198] Then it greets those present, employing formulas which are the exact transposition into its language of the ordinary Boni formulas of politeness; that even if it is getting ready to speak to them in the harshest manner.

The god speaks then in its language, saying not very intelligible things to the audience that appear to be related to what goes on in its country, to its family (for it is believed that these lower gods have a family). Finally, it begins to speak in ordinary language in order to be understood by those present, and answers questions.

796 789 825 Various categories of gods capable of bringing on possession. The Refugee Blacks assume that four categories of lower gods exist:

The first category consists of a series of gods which present themselves to men under very different aspects but which are nevertheless felt to be of the same nature. All speak the Kumenti language, all are well disposed toward men and do not exercise against them the kunu, that is, the curse;

--The Kumenti, which have the appearance of jaguars and live in the bush;

--The Djadja, which have the appearance of ocelots;

--The Opete, which have the appearance of the urubu and which reside in the air;

/206 cont./

776 The Kumēnti. These gods are common to the Saramaka
787 (Kromenti) (1), Djuka, and Boni. The Kumēnti are considered
[184]

[174]

1. There is no doubt about the origin of this word; it is a deformation of Coromantin, name given in the 18th century to Ashanti country. The "Coromantin Negroes," reputed to be particularly intractable, played a large role in the slave revolts. The Kumenti cult of possession must originally have been a cult peculiar to the Coromantin nation.

to be benevolent gods and friends of men, so their possession is very much desired. They do not come into men spontaneously, they are obtained only by applying to a teacher. In principle
[562] only men can obtain Kumēnti, while on the other hand only women can have Bŭnzunki /sic/.

776 The Kumēnti are specialized in protection against fire
787 and against machete and gun wounds. These dangers hold the
751 largest place among the anxieties of the Refugee Blacks, who spend almost all their life in the bush and with whom nearly
[789] all sores become infected and have serious consequences. Thus the Kumēnti cult holds an important place in their magic; even someone who is not possessed will try to obtain from these gods an ɔbia that will protect him from these various dangers.

153 The instruction of the disciples of these gods takes as its
791 pattern the procedures described above, but the collective dances
787 appear to play an essential part. The teacher calls on the gods
786 by beating a special rhythm on ordinary drums (apinti) and by
[533] uttering invocations punctuated by the rattle of the saka (Indian
[534] maraka, that is, hollow calabash provided with a handle and containing seeds).

153 /206 cont./
791 containing seeds). Sometimes, when a god has entered a pupil,
787 the teacher puts the latter's passivity to the test by insulting the
786 god with the help of the drum. The Kumẽnti gets angry, breaks
[789] bottles and swallows ground glass, walks in the fire, hits himself with machete blows, all without any wound resulting, they say, on the body of its bearer.

[302] These frenzied dances, whose participants completely covered with pɛmba (white clay) are as if hallucinated, have a bizarre aspect which is perceptible to some of the Boni themselves. They do not have any secret character and constitute, [522] on the contrary, a fine spectacle for the village people. The spectators double up with laughter at the contortions and strange actions which the gods inspire in those possessed. They are [521] talked about at length /207/ afterward in the evenings, humorists imitating what they saw done there, without any fear whatever of irritating the gods.

791 Each "teacher for Kumẽnti" owns a small gadu ɔsu in
787 which are lined up the implements of the cult. One finds in
346 general in these chapels a post crudely carved in the shape of a human bust, a block of stone, jaguar skulls, some kɔkɔti (shrub stalks with a spontaneous double bend, thought to be the prop of spirits in the bush), and a saka (maraka), the whole sprinkled with white clay (pɛmba). One finds also beside the door a seat and a trough which are used for the ablutions of the pupils.

153 While bathing his body with the infusion of leaves pre-
791 pared by the teacher, the neophyte repeats, in ordinary language,
787 a series of invocations: "Come to me, enter into me. But be-
788 fore entering into me, it is necessary to teach me the things of thy country; O God, when thou art in me, may I be able to dance on broken glass without its cutting me; may I be able to dance in fire without its burning me. If tomorrow someone takes a machete to hurt me, he shall not be able to come forward. If someone takes a gun to shoot me, (his weapon) must break, must not be able to take off. If someone is sick, make an ɔbia for him, he must recover."

/207 cont./

153 The teacher has the pupil turn in a circle around the
791 mortar in which has been prepared the infusion of leaves, until
787 he is dizzy. Alternately he makes him turn and "washes" his body with the infusion. Possession occurs by itself at the end of a certain number of sessions.

276 In the practices intended to make the gita of Kumēnti
[191] "rise," the absorption of toxic substances enters, especially tobacco juice, method employed by the Indian medicine men. But once the reflexes are created, there is no further need for these substances; the gita appears as soon as the calling procedures are used, which are of two kinds:

--Personal procedures: The man voluntarily calls on his gita while putting on the gôd's costume and taking a certain posture;

--Outside procedures: The gita may be released from outside either by calling the god by name or by beating the corresponding rhythm on the drum.

787 When the pupil begins to feel the gita of Kumēnti, that
158 is first manifested by trances. We have very often been present at these attacks, which usually come on at night in the forest, but commonly also during the day. The one possessed suddenly lets go of the objects he was holding (for example, if he was in the process of eating, he drops plate and spoon), and rushes forward running through the forest howling rhythmically as if he had become an animal. His eyes are rolled upward, he no longer is conscious of his surroundings; he is not in any way threatening; these fits are totally inoffensive in spite of their
[147] impressive aspect. One sees possessed people in this state do things which are difficult to explain, such as running in complete darkness in the most impenetrable underbrush without falling or hurting themselves, or climbing up in a few seconds on a craggy rock which would have been hard to scale in full daylight.

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153 In proportion as the pupil perfects himself, the god ex-
791 presses itself more easily with the help of his body, begins to
787 do coordinated acts and to speak. They say that the gita has
[195] been "arranged" (seeka). The Kumēnti speak with a gruff, jerky voice, characteristic, which humorists love to imitate in the evenings' recitals.

In order to call on his gita voluntarily, the pupil crouches down, feet together, throwing pemba from right to left at the level of his feet and uttering the formula: "O Kumēnti, djumpo ku a mi." Then he remains immobile in this position and waits; possession takes place generally at the end of a few minutes.

776 The Kumēnti which enter thus into men are exclusively
787 male gods; it is known that they have wives because they talk about them, but they never manifest themselves.

[812] The Kumēnti are generally benevolent; still, no more than any divinity of the Refugee Blacks, do they represent a principle of goodness and justice in itself. They watch in a partial fashion over the interests of their bearers. Thus it is that A..., of the Dipélu II lo, has a Kumēnti which reacts in a violent way when it has the impression that danger threatens
[158] its bearer. It enters into him suddenly, takes a machete and storms through the village, while people prudently barricade themselves in their houses.

787 In certain circumstances, when their trances are particu-
789 larly intense, the people possessed by Kumēnti are capable, it is said, of walking in fire, dancing on broken glass, climbing thorny awara palm trees, and even having themselves struck with blows of a machete without any wound resulting from it. Professor de Goeje gives impressive personal testimony on this subject, such as the case of a possessed man who overturned a pail of boiling water on his body (1). Mr. Mathieu, Director of

1. In a note in Mr. W.F. van Lier's work, § 37.

/210 cont./

776 The Bumba gadu, other gods of the same nature and
[825] equally feared, have as bearers other categories of snakes, principally the great anaconda water snakes.

[784] The Voodū, we have said, are feared; they can exercise
[812] on a lineage the collective curse called kunu. But, no more than the Kumēnti do not represent a principle of good, they do not represent a principle of evil. Not all are so badly disposed toward men, and even if one of them is the enemy of a lineage, it is not for that reason badly disposed toward the rest of men.

787 However this may be, the cult of possession of the Papa gadu is
178 not at all in decline among the Boni. According to the cross-
[562] checking we have been able to do, of the 670 persons living on the French bank there are at least 40 to 50 who have a Papa gadu, the great majority of them old women.

787 /211/ The Voodū /sic/ are much feared, and for that very reason
784 much respected. They are oracles which are consulted very often, without consideration of the evil their kunu has done and will still do. A god which exercises the kunu but which is provisionally declared appeased may be consulted without danger; it is always assumed that in any case its bearer, if he respects its commands, has nothing to fear from it.

787 It is possible that, very unconsciously, women use the fear
562 that the Papa gadu gods inspire in order to maintain their independence and privileged position in Refugee Black society.

● 153 Instruction in possession appears to take as a pattern the
791 same principles as that which correspond to the Kumēnti. It
787 involves the teaching of the Papa language; this language ap-
[198] peared to us to be in decline; in fact, it is used only for formulas
[178] of greeting; then the possessed people vaticinate in ordinary
[515] language. Instruction in possession also involves daily ablutions
[824] with decoctions of leaves; certain of these mixtures are particularly complicated (it is said that they include more than a
[534] hundred different kinds of leaves). Instruction is essentially individual; however it also includes dances; on this occasion a

/211 cont./

153 special drum is used, about two meters long and very narrow,
791 devoid of any decoration, which is called lãŋga dɔʒ or papa
787 dɔʒ.
534 To call on her gita, the possessed woman (they are almost
787 always women) stands, puts on a piece of cloth which she always
[562] keeps nearby and always takes along with her when she travels:
this is the garment of the god; it consists of a sort of scarf
crossed in front; then she throws white clay, pemba, on her feet
from right to left and left to right while invoking the god.
Possession is almost immediate. One sees the woman's eyes
roll up and her expression become haggard. The god does not
cover himself entirely with pemba like the Kumẽnti, he makes
himself a sort of headband on the forehead with white clay.
787 He begins with an invocation to Masa Gadu said in ordinary
788 language.
539 "Masa gadu, gi mi pimisi, beka mi na pikin nẽŋge; ala-
[782] sani di mi ɔ taki, na yu mu gi mi kaakiti, beka na yu abi mi
kaakiti, da mi ɲyãfalu gi yu."
"Masa Gadu, I implore you, for I am a humble creature;
(in) all that I am going to say, it is you who will give me
strength, for my strength is in you; I shall exalt you."
787 Next come formulas of welcome to those present, which
788 are the exact translation of the formulas of greeting of everyday
[198] life, then songs, all in the Papa language. After about a quarter
of an hour, it enters a hut and sits down, answering in ordinary
language the questions of those present, always in a singing
tone.
787 Possession by Papa gadu does not have the bestial character
of possession by Kumẽnti; outside of the dances, it does not
involve brutish gestures or bizarre acts; the possessed woman
hums softly in a shrill voice, moving with graceful gestures.
[531] /212/ Sometimes she draws strange signs on the huts; the Boni
state that that is a kind of writing, that other possessed people

787 /201/
181 One also often finds as an avowed goal the idea of being useful to his lineage.

Disinterested mystical impulses appear totally absent from these cults.

787 But that is only one aspect of the phenomena of possession;
154 they really seem to be, in large measure, unconscious and involuntary. Everyone can try to obtain a gadu, but everyone
787 does not succeed; one must have a certain predisposition.
[154] "One cannot oblige a gadu to enter a man," say the Boni; it certainly seems, in fact, that in nearly half the cases possession takes place spontaneously and sometimes to the great terror of the person concerned: this is observed especially in the kunu.

[776] Mimi, a woman about 46 years old in 1958, of the Kotika lineage, was possessed by two gadu, an Ampuku and a Papa-gadu. Here is how her near relatives relate the fashion in which they came into her.

[158] About ten years before, Mimi was showing signs of mental derangement. Her mind wandered, she sometimes used to leave the village to run in the bush at random, she uttered disconnected words (1). Then she fell very ill (pleurisy?).

[828]
[171]

1. It is necessary to note on this subject the very widely held idea among the Refugee Blacks, as among the Creoles, that certain forms of mental imbalance are due to the action of an entity which is trying to manifest itself in a man and does not succeed. In order to cure this man, he must be "washed" with appropriate leaves so that the god can come to manifest itself in him; the rest of the time he will be normal.

[755]

/242 cont./

754 He accused him of being an azemã (vampire) and of drinking the ox's blood. S... answered nothing, which appeared to everyone obvious proof of his guilt. He untied his boat and went away. Since then everybody in Kotika avoids him; they abstain from accusing him personally in order not to become victims of his sorcery.

Agyémési affair. -- Agyémési, an old man of Asisi village (Awara Bakka) who died in 1953, was a solitary and morose man with odd ways. For a long time he had been accused by B... (of Loka) and by N..., a Djuka living among the Boni, of being a wisimã and of having made them sick. He had even [695] been accused before the grand man, had denied it, and the grand man according to usage had told him: "We leave to God [167] the job of punishing thee if thou art guilty." Agyémési, in order to flee his persecutors, had settled in the Indian village of Aloïké.

His accusers insisted to people of his lineage that he be brought and publicly interrogated. A... and P... were sent, who went to get him by making him believe that the council of the Awara Bakka lo, putting an end to a long dispute, had decided to name him captain as the doyen of the lo. Without [695] mistrust, he followed them to Asisi. He was received by his accusers who insulted him tumultuously, without, however, there [154] being any blows. The poor man remained speechless, which appeared to all to be the obvious proof of his guilt. He took to his bed and five days later he was dead (1).

1. The Refugee Blacks are so suggestible that the sole fact of seeing oneself cursed and abandoned by all must bring on a psychological shock capable [171] of bringing death. Similar cases have been observed in Africa.

173 /61/

1937	Mission to determine the trijunction point of the frontiers of French Guiana-Brazil-Surinam.
1939	Declaration of war.
1944-45	Not a precise point of reference. The Boni confuse the liberation of the territory with the end of the war.
1948	First I.G.N. mission.
1949	Mr. Aubert de la Rüe's mission; second I.G.N. mission.
1952	Third I.G.N. mission. /blank page/ /63/

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

571 The social institutions of the Refugee Blacks diverge noticeably from those of the African peoples from whom they issued. [561] They do not include age grades, men's societies, or initiation; [575] marriage involves neither a contract between kin groups nor [881] "dowry." [583]

In a general way these societies founded by rebel slaves who 571 had retained an extreme horror of all oppression were organized 626 so as not to have any material constraint weigh upon the individual. Their institutions are entirely founded on the idea of protection [771] against suprahuman perils; the individual remains perfectly free, and he adheres /to these institutions/ only in proportion as he is [156] conscious of these perils. The custom of the Refugee Blacks, devoid of any means of material coercion, tends to develop within the individual the feeling that he is constantly threatened,

/63 cont./

591 that he can protect himself only by submitting to the law of the
626 group. In this doubtless must be seen the deep reason for the im-
156 portance attached to death and mourning, events around which is
[8] centered the activity of the usual societies and which entail a
[767] veritable mobilization.

626 It would be very difficult to condense the custom of the
971 Refugee Blacks into a rigorous code. If one wished to do it, one would have to write as Article 1: "The living will conform to the will of the gods and the ancestors as it is expressed through the mouths of those possessed and by the movements of the bearers of the dead."

613 Each one of the tribes of the Refugee Blacks is formed of a
619 certain number of matrilineages.

There is no limit on the number of these lineages, and it can be asserted that if any lineage whatever, detached from another tribe, asks to live in the midst of the Boni, it will be welcomed. From the first generation the children consider themselves as Boni.

In this regard one can cite the example of the Awara Bakka 3 lineage and that of the small lineage founded in Boniville by a Djuka woman, wife of Grand Man Ochi. All her descendants consider themselves Boni. /64/

[829] But only the great lineages which constituted the tribe at its
[643] origin are social units recognized by the grand man, and only their heads are called to be members of the council.

128 We shall study first the interior functioning of the lineage, then the institutions going beyond the framework of the lineages.

/72 cont./

577 The morality of the Refugee Blacks knows in effect only
671 obligations of a social and religious order. As for everything con-
641 cerning material life, each one has the absolute right, one could even say the duty, to act as he sees fit, insofar as he does not wrong anyone else.

643 If the grand man gave an order obliging someone to act
671 against his own interest, for example if he wished to lower arbitrarily
641 the price of boats, this order would be lawfully void. If the grand
[756] man has very great personal influence, he can persuade the Boni that it is to their interest to obey such a prescription, but in no case can his command have the effect of imposing by force an arbitrary order foreign to the social and religious tradition; the present grand man is weak in character to boot, sensitive to the influence of the Creoles and very little given to exerting any authority.

643 In reality, the office of grand man is above all religious.
771 The grand man centralizes, if one may say so, the struggle against evil forces and watches ceaselessly over the welfare of the collectivity.

643 When a man dies, his near relatives come to report on the
764 questioning of the yɔrka. Burial cannot take place until the grand man has made sure that all the prescriptions have been filled. People come to report to him again after the burial so that he can be sure that no suprahuman danger remains.

643 The grand man has special power over the yɔrka (spirits) of
775 the dead, which the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks place on a level intermediate between the human and the divine. When one of these
[782] yɔrka exerts against a lineage a vengeance (kunu) whose malignity goes beyond habitual bounds, the grand man beseeches it to stop; they allege that things go back to normal, at least for a time.

This power attributed to the grand man invests him, in the eyes of the Boni, with a suprahuman character. It is the very foundation of his political power.

/72 cont./

643 778 241 The grand man acts as land head for the whole of the tribe. It is he who has the care of the sanctuary of mama gɔ̃ and who prays each year in the presence of a large gathering of people for the fertility of the soil.

643 793 776 782 The grand man is the priest of Odun, divinity whom the Boni regard as avenger of offenses against moral and religious law; by virtue of this, he alone is qualified to administer the oath against wiʃi (sorcery) and to implore the mercy of Odun toward those who have gone against his laws by fighting with arms.

643 156 In his religious functions this usually weak and unobtrusive man acts with sovereign authority and assurance, and we have several times seen people tremble before him.

643 681 [623] If someone has seriously transgressed the customary laws, or if he has stolen, committed adultery, given blows, poured forth serious insults or curses, the grand man inflicts on him punishment proportional to the gravity of the offense, such as making planks, /73/ a boat, pounding rice (if it is a woman). The product of the punishment is acquired by the grand man, as are the fines in money which he imposes in less serious cases.

643 685 For example in October, 1952, two adolescents of Boniville, Awétipay and Adyuka, were surprised while they were trying to break into an inhabited house; the grand man sentenced them forthwith to three days of forced labor, in the course of which he made them clean the approaches to the village and collect for his benefit wood for heating.

643 689 462 He can also punish disobedient or disrespectful young men by making them do work reserved for women, such as weeding the approaches to the village and the removal of dog droppings.

643 681 The grand man can confine a man to Boni villages by forbidding him to go beyond l'Enfant Perdu to the north and Kormotibo to the south; that is called sitafu sama (sitafu = captive). The man concerned, deprived of means of earning his living, thus becomes dependent on his family until he makes honorable amends.

/132 cont./

868 To this traditional knowledge, which remains indispensable,
[501] has been added for the past several years substantial knowledge of mechanics, because the use of outboard motors is becoming more and more common; this knowledge is transmitted in empirical fashion as it has been acquired. It must be recorded that the motors go and that they are well kept up.

86 The system of education employed by the Refugee Blacks is surely effective; their children are excessively turbulent and very difficult when they are in a group. When they are divided up individually in the midst of adults, they are placed under the best conditions for learning the techniques and traditions of their group.

429 The person charged with the education of a child does not willingly entrust him to another and takes him along whenever
513 he moves. However, by concern for propriety, the woman guardian sends the children she is raising to sleep in other houses on the days when her husband comes to visit her. Boys go to sleep at the home of a brother, an uncle, a comrade; the same for girls who have not yet reached puberty; but it is not the same for girls who have reached puberty; they are subjected to strict supervision.

648 This is one of the reasons why the Boni find it repugnant to
871 put their children in school (French school of Maripasoula,
156 Surinam school of Kotika). Without wishing to tackle here this sad problem to its fullest extent, we must state that this teaching, entirely inappropriate and dispensed by teachers who look down on the Refugee Blacks, has results nearly similar to those observed generally in Africa, the main one being to make the children strangers to their own families and misfits in their own country. There is practically no example of a case where the Boni nation has benefited from having one of its children go to school: if the child succeeds, he leaves for Paramaribo and never comes back again. If he fails, he then has much more

/132 cont./

648 difficulty in learning the techniques of his group, for the years
871 when the mind is most pliant have been lost in this regard; as
•156 for the knowledge acquired at school, it is so foreign to the life of the Refugee Blacks that at the end of a few years none of it remains except vague smatterings.

861 In general, the process of education employed among the Refugee Blacks is imitation of the adult. A child is rarely given a lesson as such. He sees something done, he tries on his own
868 initiative, and little by little he learns. For example, /133/ he sees his guardian make a boat; he is simply asked to go and get dry palm branches and to take away the chips; he hears the adults discuss the job as it goes on. At about the age of 12 or 13 he tries to make a first boat for himself with the help of an older comrade. He progressively acquires knowledge of this technique.

561 Boys begin to take part in farm work from the age of six
462 or seven, principally weeding and planting. At about ten or eleven they begin to handle the machete and help to cut through the bush; at about 12 they begin to handle the axe and learn to fell trees. At 14 or 15 they begin to make small boats. An adolescent of 16 or 17 is in general capable of cutting a clearing for his mother or sister.

429 Most often the guardian takes his role very seriously, giving
86 his main attention to teaching the child all that is necessary. If it is a woman, she asks her brothers to teach the techniques of boating and building.

866 The principle is to develop very early a sense of responsi-
461 bility in the child by making it progressively necessary for him
434 to earn his living. The guardian does not furnish pocket money,
[291] and with the exception of a hammock every other year, no manufactured objects (children under 11-12 years not being clothed, he has almost no expenses for clothing). But he gives the child progressively chances to earn money by his work. From ten years on, the child begins to render some services: for example for the construction of a boat, he helps transport the dry palm branches intended for the burning. If the boat is being

/158 cont./

156 The Boni woman, poor in emotional feelings, and jealous of her independence with respect to men, puts her pride into subsisting by her own efforts.

178 [156] The young women, even the ones with the freest habits, stay firmly attached to their village, to their plantings, and to the mode of life they received from their grandmothers. In fact, because of its structure and customs, the society of the Refugee Blacks has much less likelihood of suffering from the poisons spread by modern life than the patrilineal societies of Black Africa.

761 /159/ Death; Burial Rites

Death is for the Refugee Blacks an event of extreme gravity.

775 In order to ward off danger and permit the yɔrka of the dead person to take its place among the ancestors, the unstinting cooperation of everyone is required.

764 765 181 [621] [619] The ceremonies which have to do with death and mourning are by far the most important ones in the day-to-day life of the Refugee Blacks; for each one they represent a very heavy material load which is accepted without recriminations. It is really a veritable mobilization, which takes place within the framework of the village and not of the lineage. The apparatus set into motion is independent of the lineage, for it must function in the same way for an outsider, Djuka or Saramaka, who dies during a trip.

764 868 767 Participation in the burial rites is for all an essential religious duty. From childhood the Boni are prepared for this task and become, some of them kisimã (coffin-makers), others ɔlɔmã (grave-diggers), some others wasimã (bathers of the dead).

767 467 Kisimã and ɔlɔmã. It can be said that in each village, ɔlɔmã and kisimã constitute customary societies, provided with an organization and wielding veritable powers for the duration of their work.

/226 cont./

628 The members of the Dipélu lineage did not believe a
614 word of this affair, convinced that Kiboya, a proud and scheming
784 woman, had pretended the gita to make herself interesting.
787 Nevertheless, to bring back peace, they decided to go to Asisi
156 and to ask pardon in front of the fraga tiki, pouring tafia,
769 asking the ancestors not to take vengeance, the living being
778 reconciled.

784 /227/ (Note that in this affair, the yɔrka manifests itself in a
614 member of the lineage on which it exercises the kunu.)
775

784 Kunu of the Awara Bakka lineage. The Awara Bakka lineage
614 does not form a unit with respect to the kunu, and the situation
613 of its fractions is particularly interesting. This lineage includes:

--A principal fraction (Aw.B.1);

--A fraction whose kinship ties with the first are forgotten (Aw.B.2), whose position with respect to the kunu we have not been able to define.

--Finally, a group descended from Anèta, Djuka woman, wife of Péeyon † (Aw.B.1) settled in Asisi with her descendants in uterine line. We have called this group Aw.B.3. It has a separate kunu originating in the Djuka village of Tabiki where Anèta came from.

784 The Awara Bakka I, all living in Asisi village, had to
787 our knowledge three kunu in 1957:
776

--One exercised by a Papa gadu god, borne up to 1957
613 by O Kuluba (Aw.B.1, D1). At her death in April, 1957,
428 she bequeathed it, contrary to custom, to a person of another fraction, Summa (Aw.B.3). But the god did not ratify this legacy and, in January, 1958; it manifested itself in O Léna (Aw.B.1, F52), thus remaining in the same lineage;

/241 cont. /

152 828 754 777 Jealousy. To speak of jealousy as a negative magic force is not to be false to the thought of the Refugee Blacks. They regard it as an attenuated force of wisi, capable of bringing misfortunes even if no sorcery has been formulated. Jealousy is 152 157 very marked in their character, associated with an individualism verging on asocial tendencies. When somebody is accused of 754 wisi, jealousy is the commonest explanation of the crimes 152 828 attributed to him; it is thought for example that a man can be jealous of his brother's growing rich to the point of making him die; that a woman may be jealous of the beauty or health of 152 her sister's children. Not laying themselves open to jealousy 156 828 is the constant preoccupation of the Refugee Blacks; one observes it in daily behavior, for example in the greetings which 576 they exchange on the river. They never say, "I am well," but: "I feel only fair." If they come back from hunting they say, "I found a little."

152 156 828 Examples are not lacking of people who avoid building a fine house or buying an outboard motor in order not to give cause for jealousy. This preoccupation has profound reper- [182] [463] cussions on the material life and the economy of the Refugee Blacks; it explains in particular the absence of specialized professions and trade among them.

[183] [571] Many aspects of the customary law of the Refugee Blacks have no other function than to exorcise, if one may say so, tendencies toward jealousy and selfishness which, if they were given free rein, would poison the life of the collectivity.

76 181 725 828 The rites of death and mourning, which we have shown to constitute the pivot of the social life of the Refugee Blacks, are entirely based on the idea of preserving the surviving spouse from the effect of the jealousy of the deceased.

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175 648 727 with their allies. The sites of their villages, marked on Coudreau's map (1888) are in immediate proximity to those of former Oayana villages.

175 648 [643] relations must have been created rapidly and in a very natural fashion. The grand man of the Boni is in a way the suzerain of the Indian chiefs; this situation was not imposed by force; it results from the privileged situation of the Boni on the river, which until recent times obliged the Indians to deal through them in order to trade with the outside world.

Although the Boni took advantage of this situation in days gone by to impose arbitrary rates of exchange upon the Indians, this relation must not be imagined as the exploitation of conquered by conqueror. It is based on the absolute respect of each 648 829 group for the beliefs and social structure of the other, and an activity for each befitting its inclination. The proverb says: "To the Boni the river, to the Indians the forest." Thus it is [439] that the Boni traditionally buy arrows from the Indians, while the latter buy paddles from them; the meaning of this symobl is perfectly understood by both.

648 582 Marriages between the two groups, without being forbidden, are regarded as contrary to custom (2).

159 156 643 648 582 2. The marriage of Grand Man Awensay to an Indian woman about 1915 was inspired by complex motives. Toward the end of his life, Awensay could no longer stand the Boni, his imperious personality putting up badly with their individualism and their taste for discussion. He had established the Indian country a farming habitation in which he lived nearly all

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year; by taking an Indian woman as his wife he apparently sought to humiliate his subjects.

Awensay's children and grandchildren were all dead in 1957 except for two women, both sterile. There has been no other case of marriage between Boni and Indians.

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439 /294/ In practice, the basis for commercial exchanges is the following: the Indians furnish hammocks, and above all dogs trained for hunting, to which great value is attached. The Boni furnish boats. In days gone by they also brought imported objects, machetes, axes, and beads, but this form of trade has disappeared since the Indians have had the possibility of getting supplies from the Europeans.

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Several observers, coming after Coudreau (1890) and Grébert (1937) in particular, have expressed the opinion that these relations were founded on fear and that the Boni, utilizing mysterious means of pressure, used to oppress the Indians.

After seven missions spent in contact with both, we affirm that these assertions are without foundation. On the contrary, one can only admire the way in which these primitive groups have been able to create loyal and trusting relations with one another. The Indians and Boni who have worked with us have always shown themselves happy to be together. To realize this, it was sufficient to hear the animated conversations they used to have in the evening around the campfires about their respective families, the events which took place in their villages, fishing, or hunting.

good humor, and looked with disfavor on the friendly conversation between us. Her bad temper, we learned later, had earned for her the name of Mother Snake, given her by a witty town servant of a lumber factor. The idea of dressing our hair apparently appealed to the woman, however, for it would certainly only be a reckless white who would offer his hair for combing to a stranger, since with hair any number of supernatural things might be done. With the proper formula, a few hairs, and the required ingredients she might fashion an *opo*, let us say. Now an opo serves many purposes, but its essential quality is that it gives its owner power over the one whose essence is captured in the form of hair, or a scrap of garment, or finger nails, or whatever else had touched the person against whom one has designs. The power of the possessor of the opo is to dominate the will of the other, and its particular attribute might be to function in love, or in a court of justice, or in matters of getting employment, or of receiving gifts. But an opo would be the least dangerous consequence, for an opo is not to be conceived of as being in the category of bad magic. There is the danger of *wisi*—a word which has the double meaning of poison and black magic—and hair, or finger nails, or the menstrual cloth of a woman, or perspiration are the very best materials for working wisi.

And so the good woman, known when she was among us as Tita, and as Mother Snake otherwise, saw that we offered no cause for alarm and added her advice to Tenye's in pointing out powers which we might acquire and use to spectacular advantage in our white country.

"Yes, you must make pina bonsu," she said, adding her approval, "and then your husband will prefer you to his other wives. But if you want to keep him all to yourself, you must let us cut *kamemba*—cicatrized designs—on you. An ingi kodjo here on each cheek to begin with," turning to Tenye and smiling.

And so it was all planned. The Indian cudgel, a euphemism for the buttocks, and procreative symbols were to be

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1994
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
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Chapter XIV

GRANMAN MOANA YANKUSO

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WHATEVER the rôle of the great man in the life of a people, there are names whose very mention bring up almost full-bodied an epoch, a great dynamic sweep of human thought and activity, of achievement, and sometimes of disaster. Perhaps the great individual does not exist until the poetic vision of a people gives to the skeleton of a name the flesh of a godhead. From earliest times and from people of varying civilizations have come down tales of these godheads, created, let us say if we like, out of a psychic need in the life of human beings to exalt personality in order that, imaginatively at least, the chasm between desire and insufficiency might be spanned.

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In the council house of Granman Yankuso, as we listened to his stories, these thoughts constantly recurred to us, and it is not strange, therefore, that now as we try to collect images and impressions of the man for an objective picture of him not only as a Bush Negro but as an individual, we think of him as typifying among the Negroes of the Saramacca today such a name and such a personality.

Already Moana Yankuso was something of a myth among the people of the coastal region and among his own people.

Men on the coast said, "Granman Yankuso is a silent [159] man. You will be with him for days, and he will never utter a word."

GRANMAN MOANA YANKUSO

"Granman Yankuso is the tallest man on the river, and the darkest," they said. "He speaks little. When he is angry, his growl strikes terror in all who hear him." 643 159 157

People said, "The Granman is a clever man. You can tell him about your work in the way you would speak to your own educated men, and he will understand you."

"They will take away everything you have up there on the river."

"They will never bring you to the Granman. He will see to it."

In the villages of the Saramacca country we heard again and again proverbs he had originated, which were quoted when men told of this almost mythical personality.

"The Granman says, 'No one must die, but the burial place cannot lie idle,' " Bayo once quoted him. [538]

"What does it mean, Bayo?"

"It is deep, white man. The Granman is wise."

Kasanya once quoted another of the Granman's proverbs. "If the gods say take one step at a time, do not stand still, and take two steps the next time in anger." [538]

On this river they told us that Granman Moana Yankuso knew all that went on. It was a kind of magic he had: whatever men did anywhere, he knew.

And they said, too, that men were afraid to cross him, not alone because of his rank, but because his spirits were strong.

2.

It is difficult to be objective about Moana Yankuso. In the terms his own people use, the explanation of his personality would be the explanation given of any other. 828 643

"He has strong gods."

If we urged them to explain what were the gods of a man they were praising, they would describe the Tiger spirit the man had, and what knowledge of healing and future events his Opete obia, his buzzard spirit, gave him, and how he had come by a special obia which had passed down to him from a famous magician of the earliest times.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

willing to touch the phonograph, they never tired of hearing about its mechanism and how it was that a voice was recorded and instantly reproduced. But the mystery of the moment was this projector.

We had delayed showing these photographs as long as we could, for what leads we could get to African survivals, we sought, for many reasons, to get singly. Not the least of these reasons was that the Bush Negro, who knew the method of krutu, did not allow himself to be impulsive in new situations, especially if they involved strangers. If something unfamiliar was presented, he wanted time to think and to krutu about it with others of his kind. Memories of the early experiences of their people seemed always to be stirring to make the most genial man, or a very pleasant old woman, fall silent and resort to the phrase, "God alone knows." Men, in particular, and often women, too, seemed to be posing to themselves a mute, anxious question: Was it well for the white people to know so much about them? Even when whites came as friends, as the gods attested, was it well to speak that fraction of their knowledge which the ancestors permitted? For generations they had lived with the feeling that their deep, deep Saramacca language was their own, its knowledge the wisdom of their own people, and here were strangers, speaking to them in their own tongue more easily as day followed day. Was it well? Men taking a white man's boat up and down the river could say what they chose, and the white man who traveled with them did not understand. What if this were to end?

We were constantly made to feel the effect of these doubts in the minds of the people.

"They say here," said Fenekonde one day, "when you get back to your white country, you will have much knowledge to profit you. The two of you will be able to talk Saramacca, and no one at all will know what you say."

Other things were said.

"At the krutu they said, these white people might have been sent by others, as soldiers with toys."

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

us when we asked him. At one landing place where we 123
stopped for a moment, we could hear the drums sounding 609
the rhythm to the river gods, but the drumming stopped abruptly as word went back along the path that white people had come. Men streaked with pemba came down to the river to look at the Bakra who had visited the village of their Granman.

In the boat, we missed Bayo. The grandson of the Gran- 644
man, who was our bow paddler, we had met but casually 123
before we had started. There had been none of the chances 609
for conversation that had made of Bayo a friend before he and his great-grandfather came to take us to the country of the Granman. Later we would come to know this youth for a pleasant young man, capable and quiet, who was proud to show his ability, and quick to resent the suggestions of our town man in such matters as making a shelter for the night.

"We are children of the bush!" the young man exclaimed sharply. "We know how to make this." And such a good shelter did the paddlers build that men of a near-by village, who passed, stopped and asked that it not be torn down the [485] next morning, as had to be done with shelters erected for the night on the land of a strange clan, but that we should let it stand so that others might use it.

When we asked him questions, however, or made observa- [157] tions on people who passed by in their canoes, he gave us noncommittal replies. Mataibo, the captain of our boat, was even more reserved, though he liked to twit our town man, and in an unofficial capacity would have been amusing. Conversation between the two paddlers, or between them and the two young men who were entrusted with our other boat, was in the clipped, rapid "deep-Saramacca" [197] speech which, in spite of our use of it in conversation at the Granman's village, we still found it difficult to follow when Bush Negroes spoke informally to one another.

As the day wore on, we began to get used to the rapidity 484
with which village after village was passed. Here was the landing place of the one where we had stopped so that

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765 Thereupon follows a second, who just like the first has a calabash in hand, but this time filled with spirituous liquor, and from time to time sprinkles a few drops of it on the ground, in token of the fact that on this occasion, too, by means of drink, they think of the deceased with joy.

Then they again return to the dwelling, where all are gathered, and celebrate an enjoyable night with song and dancing until daybreak.

Chapter XII

Character, Virtues and Vices

157 The Bush Negro, as I have already said above, has a great [577] deal of respect for old age and for distinguished persons; with respect to their closest relations they are honest, which they can- [461] not pride themselves on otherwise. In their ordinary affairs they [609] are not lazy, but work tirelessly whenever it is necessary. With respect to strangers they are generous and obliging, all the more [152] when they can assume that they may claim reward. Jealousy, [784] envy, and malice are their greatest vices. Concerning many matters they have an antipathy that they call trefoe (treef). Thus, [781] for instance, one will eat something, the other not. Also they are very superstitious in small matters, to which they cling all the way down to distant generations; they call that obia (literally translated, bewitchment, magic).

262 An Auca girl who through attachment to my wife and me [123] has already lived with us in the town for fully five years, because since the death of her husband, who was one of my most trusted [589] workers, she did not want to attach herself to another, and who performed all kinds of housework for us, carries her trefoe of not eating any unscaled fish so far that she will not even cook her food on a fire where there is a pot in which an unscaled fish was previously prepared. I know another one who uses no milk and also does not eat meat of any kind (with the exception of bacon), unless it be game, and then it must be prepared by her, on the grounds that everything is prepared with butter and that butter comes from

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577 all, toward one another as fellow tribesmen they are very honest and trust one another's word. Frequently it happens that among them one family leaves the camp to go on a journey or else is absent for some other reason, and that it must leave behind unfenced the cultivated land planted with rice, tubers, bananas, bakoven, and sugar cane. But never will another of them steal any of that. And similarly their dwellings are open, since the entrance is not closed off by any door; upon their departure they leave one thing and another in it, but they will never miss any-
626 thing upon their return. Certainly contributing to this is the circumstance that in the vicinity of everybody's property there is a sign or idolatrous image, which they call obia, to which great power is ascribed, and for those who might want to commit dishonest acts, the legend can be observed, as for the European:
784 "Beware of mantraps." The fear that they have of these obias is not unjustified, for if it should happen at any time that misuse of trust took place, then the culprit, however long it takes, upon discovery will not escape the revenge of the deceived, revenge which frequently consists in the administering of secret remedies whereby terrible diseases and sufferings, if not death, come about.

152 They are very concerned about the faithfulness of their
837 wife or wives, /35/ for the Bush Negro is very jealous, whereas the wives cannot be exonerated of being susceptible to seduction. Accordingly it happens among them more than once that marital fidelity is violated.

184 Of the various tribes, the Aucaners are the most
[177] civilized, but over against that also the craftiest, which can be
[157] attributed to their more frequent intercourse with Europeans.
[161] Among their tribes they are the most powerful, and their numerical strength is estimated at 4,000 to 5,000 souls.

123 According to the declaration of the Bush Negroes, no White has previously enjoyed the trust and attachment that I experienced from them. However, secretively they always conduct themselves toward the Whites, with respect to me they make an exception. If there is something secret among them that I should like to know, they will, upon my request, immediately and without any diffidence communicate it to me.

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165 Factors influencing the demographic characteristics of the Boni. Life expectancy at birth for the Boni is not only 12 years higher than that of the Indians, but is also considerably higher than that of the African peoples from which they came.

This fact can be attributed to two causes:

164 1. The Boni live in a more salubrious environment than
182 the African forest and have better living conditions. It seems likely that the Guianese forest, apart from malaria, presents few causes of bad health and is relatively favorable to man; the absence of trypanosomiasis permits men /525/ to gather on the banks of the large rivers, generously exposed to the air and to the light. The small number of the Boni and their dispersion over a vast territory stands in the way of the transmission of diseases by drinking water. In fact the water is generally healthy. Dysentery and parasitosis are considerably rarer and less serious than in Africa;

14 2. The Boni are a selected population. This is a very im-
162 portant aspect of their demography.

The slaves were the object of a systematic selection; the purchasing commissions of the rich colony of Surinam allowed only individuals of good health and constitution to pass. A second selection took place at the time of the formation of the tribes of Refugee Blacks. More than from a massive rebellion the rebel groups increased in size by the addition of those who, from year to year, escaped at the peril of their lives. Without any doubt those who preferred combat to servitude were the most vigorous and bravest. Voluntary migrations have always been a factor of selection: one may suppose that a migration which took place in such circumstances was accompanied by a particularly rigorous selection which, in spite of the time which has passed (eight generations), continues to influence the physiological
[734] characteristics of the Refugee Blacks. Notably it can explain
[157] the vigorous constitution of the Boni (there are only two congenital invalids out of 810 persons) and their exceptional qualities of physical courage and initiative.

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562 828 [171] It is assumed once and for all that women are shrews on whom one cannot count and from whom one can get nothing. The Refugee Blacks are inexhaustible on this subject and their opinion about the women of their group is very similar to that of Africans in general: they call them ill-natured, devoid of feeling, selfish, greedy, and unfaithful.

562 571 [965] In general, women are held apart from regular social life; no form of customary society of women exists. In the mourning ceremonies, which correspond to a veritable mobilization of the village, they play no role, except to prepare the meals.

562 787 794 Yet the women play indirectly an important role in the social life by way of the cults of possession. The Papa gadu gods so formidable have women nearly exclusively as bearers, and we shall see in studying the functioning of the kunu that they are the principal actors in this. Through this activity, which is exerted in arbitrary fashion on the outskirts of the institutions of regular social life, the women maintain around themselves an atmosphere of fear; it is not impossible that the functioning of these cults is influenced by the concern of the women to maintain their privileged position in the society of the Refugee Blacks.

562 157 Many women are charitable and have a certain generosity toward the members of their family, insuring the maintenance of the old men without resources. But their benevolence is essentially subjective and extends only to a small circle of personal friends and their nearest relatives. As soon as the elders appeal to them for a question of general interest, claiming to give them orders or even advice, they meet an attitude systematically malevolent and stubborn. /70/

[613] The lineage heads avoid giving them orders directly, for they run a strong risk of getting themselves insulted, as we have observed many a time.

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6:Hurault--458 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
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CHAPTER IX

SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ECONOMY OF THE REFUGEE BLACKS. RELATIONS WITH OTHER POPULATIONS

Influence of the Social Institutions and Psychological Tendencies of the Refugee Blacks on Their Material Life and Their Economy

157 182 Certain psychological tendencies of the Refugee Blacks, in part bound up with their moral and religious conceptions and with the historical conditions under which these societies were formed, directly influence their material life in its various aspects: implantation on the ground, agriculture, paid work, trade.

The principal one of these tendencies is individualism, concern for complete material independence.

157 241 311 Influence on agriculture. We have seen that the clearings of the various households issuing from the same kin group were very rarely grouped together. On the contrary, the Refugee Blacks like to disperse their cultivated lands; even in the recently occupied zones where land is not lacking, it happens that one finds isolated clearings in the middle of primary forest more than a kilometer from the riverbank, at the mercy of predatory animals. Ecological conditions, in particular the concern with protection against the manioc-ant, do not explain this dispersion. The Boni recognize that it would be preferable, for fighting the manioc-ant, to group each year all the plantations of one lineage

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157 241 31 in a sector recognized to be undamaged. But objections immediately come to their minds: one would not feel at home, people would be jealous of one another; above all, the children would go pilfering fruit and vegetables in the clearings of other families. The Refugee Blacks are unanimous in thinking that the children of one village put together in a single place would constitute a scourge much worse than the manioc-ant, and that dispersion is the wisest solution for maintaining the peace of families.

562 241 One observes likewise that the total freedom of woman, and the custom which leaves to her /290/ the free disposal of the products of the clearing, contribute toward preventing the development of agriculture with an eye to selling. In order [592] to undertake large clearings farmed jointly by one household, it would be necessary to have very unified and stable households, which is rare.

157 476 Difficulty of grouping for common advantage. The Refugee Blacks are incapable of forming groups voluntarily to undertake the execution of a job with an eye to common advantage. The small groups which get together for fishing, working gold, etc. are formed of intimate friends or near relatives and are hardly larger than four or five persons.

157 454 The Refugee Blacks are still less capable of grouping themselves into societies looking toward future benefits. Putting a part of their resources into a common pot with that of another seems to them not only illusory but immoral. Because of this fact there exists among them no way to group financial assets, sometimes good-sized.

426 Lending without interest is practiced rather commonly, having to do with small sums between near relatives or intimate friends. If a man feels capable of earning his living by buying a motor, he will succeed rather easily in finding the necessary money by borrowing from his brothers or friends, 10,000 francs

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426 here, 5,000 there. But these loans are never large and do not constitute an effective process for grouping financial assets.

157 525 The so-called subscription societies so common in Black Africa are totally contrary to the thinking of the Refugee Blacks, in the same way as games of chance. In 1958 the Maripasoula post, on the occasion of a festival, had organized a tombola. When the principle of it was explained to the Boni, they were unanimous in thinking that the Europeans had odd amusements. Few of them agreed to buy tickets, and the ones who had not won anything left embittered, with the feeling of having been involved in an immoral operation.

157 571 High esteem attached to contracts. This inaptitude for forming groups and combining assets contributes very much toward crystallizing the society of the Refugee Blacks in its present form by opposing all large-scale initiative. On the other hand, 157 it develops the sense of personal responsibility. The Refugee 577 Blacks are especially strict with respect to money (1). 426

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1. This with regard to their mutual relations; as for debts to Europeans, they are not prompt in paying them back; but marked deception, borrowing done for the purpose of swindling, are very rare with the Refugee Blacks.

[829] Custom lays down as a strict principle that everything must be paid for. No one may live at the expense of someone else, no one may borrow without paying back. If a man died [613] before repaying a debt, the members of his lineage would club together to pay it off.

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675 461 157 The Refugee Blacks have a sense of contract to a high degree, and they bring /291/ to the execution of work to which they have committed themselves qualities of seriousness, initiative, and a sense of duty not found to the same degree in Black Africa.

157 671 571 Refusal of any lasting commitment. If the Refugee Blacks honor their contracts, they do not like to commit themselves for a long period.

This attitude results from their desire for independence, but also from the moral and religious law which governs their society.

This law forbids infringing on the liberty of persons, humiliating anyone, and doing anything which might be able to plunge him into anger or affliction. Its effect is to prevent any exploitation of the weak, any creation of a servant or proletarian caste. It even leads to the absence of any permanent subordination of one man to another.

[466] The desire for independence of the Refugee Blacks makes them unwilling to bind themselves definitively to a job, however profitable. When a man judges that he has put aside sufficient savings, he leaves the job which furnished him with these resources.

[464] This tendency makes the search for paid work much more difficult and hazardous; it happens that a man may stay for years without finding gainful work, living in straitened circumstances. But that is the price of independence, and it is accepted without hesitation.

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157 Wishing to take advantage of all the possibilities which
464 turn up, the Refugee Blacks are led to learn simultaneously the
463 traditional techniques of their group, boating, boat-building, felling of trees, squaring of wood, and /building/ framework. In these techniques they may be considered specialized workers.

157 Proud of their strength and knowledge, sure of themselves,
812 the Refugee Blacks are never worried about the future and consider life as an exciting adventure, ceaselessly bringing new things. If the past year has been bad, the new year will be better, with God's help. Nobody doubts that he will find gainful work again.

152 Influence of jealousy: absence of specialized professions and
182 trade. Another strong psychological tendency having a direct influence on the economy is jealousy.

152 The effect of jealousy, and the fear of jealousy, is to
828 limit enrichment and to maintain a de facto equality: it often
556 happens that talented people forego undertaking profitable work
753 in order not to give occasion for the jealousy which would render
777 their position in the village difficult and might draw misfortunes upon them; for people have the idea that jealousy draws down illnesses and calamities upon him who is the object of it and on his near relatives, by the action of a natural force, even without sorcery being formulated.

754 Fear of sorcery interferes in the same way; one who be-
556 comes unusually rich is almost inevitably accused of being a
441 sorcerer and may be obliged to leave the country. Particularly
829 vulnerable are those, very rare, who engage in trade. People do not suspect of sorcery a man who is seen to become rich by /292/ working ceaselessly. But the trader whose wealth increases without his furnishing obvious work, is quickly regarded as a "committed one," accused of having his good luck as a result of a pact with the devil.

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754 556 441 438 366 In that can doubtless be seen the most likely explanation of the absence, in the tribes of Refugee Blacks, of any internal trade. There are not even markets in the villages. In practice only Creole and Asian traders are patronized.

463 829 [438] The repugnance which the Refugee Blacks have for trading with one another contributes toward preventing the development of specialized professions among them. Specialization does actually exist: one man is particularly good at building boats, another is a competent carpenter, still another devotes himself mainly to fishing; but the Refugee Blacks exercise these specialties with respect to other peoples and not with respect to one another. Nobody fails to build his own boat, his house, to cut his clearings himself. If it were otherwise, classes and castes would rapidly be created, and that is precisely what the moral law of the Refugee Blacks condemns. A special effect of this conception is to preserve family custom from deteriorating, by preventing the rich from becoming great polygamists maintaining idle mistresses. We have never heard it said that a richer man paid someone to perform for him the customary work he owes to his wives, clearings, house, boat. Whatever his wealth may be, he continues to do these jobs by the sweat of his brow, and that contributes toward maintaining in its meaning and value the tacit contract concluded between husband and wife.

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182 157 433 648 Thus the geographic conditions, associated with influences of a social and psychological order, impose on the Refugee Blacks a unique economy, based on a symbiosis with the coast populations in the form of piece-work or temporary wage-earning.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

764 787 herding the children before them so that they would be upwind from the coffin and the stench of decaying flesh.

As they returned the rear bearer was relieved; the tension eased for a moment, but there was one man who did not smile. And it was whispered that he lived in the part of the village where the corpse invariably went. The scene changed slightly; Sedefo, who had stopped questioning, resumed his efforts, and five, ten, fifteen times the bearers advanced toward him and retreated from where he stood. Sometimes we caught our breath; the corpse was coming toward us; but always the bearers swerved before they reached us, going no farther than the grove of thorn palms that grew near the house of death. Then once more they broke through the ranks of questioners and, followed by the watchers, were off in the direction of the village council house and the dwelling of the chief.

The bearer who had been relieved came forward; the corpse, he said, wanted to speak; he must be allowed to carry the body again. This time there was little relief while the change was being made, for the man was possessed, and [158] the air vibrated with the intensity of the spirit which animated him. But apparently there were still difficulties. Again and again the questions were asked, again and again the bearers advanced, retreated. Sedefo kept insisting "Yu *mu* taki. You *must* speak!" and again the coffin advanced, retreated, and then once more went to our left into the village.

Clouds were rising to windward; the sun was low on the horizon. The bearers returned, advanced to the village head once, twice, again, and again, and then the coffin was placed on the ground, raised three times, and left there for a moment before others took it into the house and replaced it where it had been when we first saw it. The ceremony was over; the elders of the village went to hold council and to interpret what the dead man had said.

764 In the swift tropical dusk, Sedefo and his son came to take us back to our camp. The drummers were adjusting the drums for the night's dancing. "He spoke, ai," he told

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his hold on the *baboula*. The child is finally allowed to remain. He can keep time well enough and that is what the *baboula* is for. 533

It is now night, jungle night. The tomtoms crash out in a full-throated chorus. It is a driving, compelling rhythm of hollow sounds. The timbre is heavy, hypnotic, maddening. The drummers achieve a difference of tone by striking near the edge, which gives a shrill sound, and then returning to the centre, which booms by contrast.

The effect of the drums may be a species of hypnosis. Hypnosis can be produced experimentally by the sound of rhythmical tapping, without any condition of sleep.

The patting of the fingers on the drum-head of dried skin seems to induce in these primitives a type of hypnoid exaltation. The cause of it is the monotonous, rhythmical repetition of booming sounds. Fatigue falls away. Memories of other evenings around the jungle fires come crowding back. They imagine that Apuku seizes their bodies. Demoniacal possession is a phenomenon well known to history; here we have it in the South American bush. Here it is called *winti*. 533 158

The hypnoid stimulus—monotonous repetition—is reproduced in the other instruments that accompany the tomtoms. The first of these is the *saka-sake*, a gourd stuck on a handle and filled with pebbles. Then there is the *quaqua*, a flat board of resounding wood that is beaten with a hard paddle. Now the primitive orchestra is in full swing. [534]

By this time the crowd has arranged itself in a circle, with a bare space in the centre. The fires glow luridly on black 533 796

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Shadows roll on the brown skin and quiver with the firelight. 796

It is a vivid picture, these naked girls standing still in the 535
flickering light of the fire, making their muscles dance to the monotony of the drums. Sweat breaks out on the foreheads of the drummers and runs down their faces, dropping off their chins unnoticed. The music grows louder and louder. 796
Apuku is coming. The stalwart black with the saka-sake 535
holds it at arm's length, braces his feet apart, and delivers his 153
whole body to the rhythm. The little girls, loath to stop, are seized by their proud mothers who rush out to embrace them, cheek to cheek. Others press forward with compliments for the excited girls. There is no stopping of the drums now. Louder and faster the metre becomes, a veritable pandemonium. No conversation or restrained observation is possible, due to the noise; the psychological effect is to wipe out the inhibitions of daily life and induce a state of semi-hysterical exhilaration. The white man, forgetting civilization for a time, feels like stamping his feet and shaking himself. And over all is the insistent monotony of the drums.

A woman has attached dried rattling nuts to her ankles, [534]
and enters the clearing to be swayed by the drums. She too bends her body at a right angle, palms outward, caressing invisible curves in time with the beat of the drums. Her torso writhes, in time to the beat of the drums. She would be crying aloud, were it not for the pulsation of the drums. Two other women come out and accompany her, then another, then more, until finally eight or nine are dancing in the

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796 centre clearing, no longer caring, no longer entirely con-
535 scious, their bodies driven by the rhythm of the drums.
158 No man has yet danced. Now a young buck of nineteen jumps into the centre and begins the *awasa* dance. His movements simulate the flying of a hawk, arms out like wings, pirouetting gracefully. His bare feet stamp the earth, hard enough, it seems, to break his bones. Another man joins him, waving his arms at full length, like an eagle in flight. They chant in talkee-talkee an *awasa* song:

"Fooru mo luku bon nanga ahga."

[539] It means: The fowl must be careful of the hawk; in other words, the girls must be careful of the men. They circle from the waist like birds soaring into the blue.

796 Now a man begins dancing toward a woman. She re-
832 treats. No dancer has yet touched another, or even noticed another. But this one is making definite love advances to the woman. He mimics coitus. Coyly she evades his approaches, and will have none of his movements. They are not serious. When she definitely refuses his copulatory advances, the drums stop. He takes a drum from one of the men, puts it under his arm, and follows her, dancing around the clearing, beating out a message of love. They weave a pattern of movement, in and out, in this dance of courtship to the lone muttering tambour.

[202] There is a halt. The drummers rap out a message to other canoes coming up the river, telling them to hurry. Soon more strangers arrive for the final round.

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Then comes the *sacatee* dance, accompanied by songs of the rebellion. Ancient heroes live again. Once more raids are made on outlying plantations. The spirit of defiance that Stedman found at Boucou is still kept alive. Then come softer songs—songs of love. *"Te e durmi e songa me, grandanke,"* a girl sings plaintively. She is telling her lover, "When you sleep, dream of me, many thanks." *"Te kai me u seni neauco, becan na bonu soni e ta layme"*—"When you lead me to deceit I will not follow; such things you should not teach me."

Again the dancers find fault with the orchestra, protesting loudly. They are not satisfied with the rhythm. Abruptly the chief dancer seizes a drum and rolls out a call to Apuku, god of the forest, asking Apuku to come.

Dimly through the darkness they can feel some response. Apuku is coming. Everyone runs back a few steps and utters a slight scream. The spirit of the bush god is entering their bodies. He is welcomed with a little dance, jerkily done, in which all participate. Then comes the special Apuku dance, where writhing, circling, snaking arms simulate the twisted lianas of the jungle, which is the god's home.

Once the spirit of the bush god has entered them, they cannot stop. The drums increase their volume and tempo, until the rhythm is too rapid and intricate for white ears to follow. Now truly they are hypnotized by the feverish monotony, the shuffling beat of fingers on the drum-heads. Because of this trance, fatigue is forgotten. The little *baboula* keeps steady time, throbbing like a heart-beat. Flat hands

796 shade out strange metres on the *nanda*. There is a break; the
535 orchestra stops, and the interval is filled in with the heavy
776
158 booming of the *apenti*. Often the drummers seize a bush-
[534] knife and batter at the pegs, stretching the dried skin to the proper tone. Mist from the river has dampened their hair, unnoticed. The dance will continue until morning; they must play until the spirit of Apuku has gone.

796 Everything is set for the climax. Some are still watching
535 while the others dance. Since the old men are too dignified,
158 their places are taken by younger men from sixteen to twenty-five. There are more women dancing than men, anyhow. The white man is wondering how it is going to end. Despite the excitement there has been no orgiastic episode.

Grand finale. There is a tremendous screech from out of the blackness beyond. Three practically naked blacks come rushing up from the river, their faces and bodies daubed
[302] hideously with pemba dotee, the ceremonial white clay. One has stripes around his arms, belly, and legs, his face all white. Another's face is bisected with white and yellow pigment. The third is Adjobo, the medicine man; he has circles of clay on his forehead, cheeks, and chin, and rings around his neck. The presence of the ceremonial clay indicates the presence of a god. There is no doubt but that the hideousness of these men inspires a feeling of awe.

They burst into the circle of dancers and scatter them. Everyone retreats before them, with actual or pretended fright. The children become hysterical and cling frantically to their mothers for protection. Women in the crowd are cry-

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ing. The vibrating tomtoms are pouring out a great volume of tangled sound. The three religious dancers whirl like furies. One dances with a wicked-looking machete; he makes it whistle through the air and brings it down with all his might into the ground between two drummers. They do not budge. A second dancer dashes into the bahkra's hut with his whirling bush-knife, hacking at everything in sight. The others seize him and overpower him, not before he has damaged many things with his vicious chops.

This ominous fury characterizes the hysterical possession of the *Cromanti* dance, the wild, mad dance of the evil spirit of the *con con dree*. The crowd keep clear of the chopping knives of the possessed men. They mutter unknown incantations in *odo*, making wild turns and gyrations. One falls on his knees to eat of the earth. Another bites the door of a hut like a dog. The third frees himself from a group of the struggling men who seek to restrain him, jumps into the rapids, swims against the great rush of water with feverish strength, and finally would drown were it not that his family rescues him with a canoe. There is nothing mystical about the extreme muscular endurance of such states; it can be produced experimentally in the laboratory.

The remaining obeiah dancers have a sham battle, fencing skilfully and dangerously with their bush-knives. First they stalk an imaginary enemy with poised machetes. Their muscular torsos held in strained attention would delight a sculptor. Picture a black, arms thrown out and head thrown back, eyes closed in frenzy, tense and foaming lips laying bare his

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796 clenched teeth, stamping the earth like an animal. Then two
535 such blacks, with glazed eyes, slashing at each other with
158 yard-long knives. This is the obeiah dance. Nothing can stop it until the dancers are exhausted and drop from sheer fatigue. Then the spirit of the god has fled.

796 Until that time, protesting is useless. It is useless for the
535 bahkra to protest that he wants to go to sleep: *"Me wanny go seepy."* No attention is paid to that. It is dawn before the dancers finally stop. The visitors go down to the river to get in their corials. We light the dim path for them with a flashlight. They are grateful, and compose a little song of thanks. Even after the corials draw away from the bank, excited women get up in the boats and continue to dance, palms outward, hips high. It is no wonder that the marines in Haiti must confiscate the drums to keep the Negroes quiet. So long as the primitive holds to his intoxicating tom-toms, which manufacture courage automatically, he will never be a coward.

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825 embraced the drummers, streaking the men's heads with
796 pemba dotee. A number of women in the audience also caught the spirit. One of them began to shake and convulse; when
825 she awoke from her trance, she ran to her hut in the village.
796 Another woman began to murmur as though in a dream.
158 Still another one ran about among the assembly streaking and rubbing others with the sacred white clay. This dance continued until very late, and the whites, overcome by fatigue, were forced to retire.

The next morning at daybreak they again assembled. One of the women began to chant in a thin strange voice, and at 6 A. M. the dance started again. A couple ran dancing into the village clearing and smeared a man with pemba dotee; he also began to prance and became hysterical. This is known as *winti kiki,* or the transference of winti from one person to another. Several others, obtaining the spirit in the same way, began to dance. One man, after dancing a long while, ran around the clearing and finally fell flat on his face. He remained there until others carried him away. The man who had been playing the ageedah drum circled around with his drum between his legs like a hobby horse. Some of the women fell on their knees and continued to dance thus. One fell to the ground and beat the earth with her arms and legs. This ceremony ended at 10 A. M., after which the body of the snake, which had all this while been carefully guarded, was buried with great solemnity.

The dancing recommenced at four o'clock in the afternoon. The women went to a little Gadu house. One had a

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severe attack of winti. She fell upon her knees and appeared 825
half lame. The others lifted her up. A youth came with a 776
green stick; he bit into it and spat on the woman's calves, 158
legs, feet, and arms. After a while she was able to stand alone. This seemed to constitute the end of the dance. It had somehow become known that the Papa Gadu, the snake spirit, was angry, and this big *gadu pray* (god's spread) had been necessary in order to propitiate him.

The women who are seized with the winti sometimes mutter a few words. The others regard these as the utterances of a spirit and say: *"Ya, gadu"*—"yes, God." Upon inquiry among the women who had caught the winti spirit, Mr. de Goeje found that they all complained of feeling very dizzy or giddy when in such a trance.

Certain localities, as well as individuals, may be possessed 776
by evil spirits. The Pwaba Creek is such a place. Were a 751
Djuka to go up this creek with any clothing on, he would never come out alive. So upon entering the waters of Pwaba the Djuka strips off all his clothes. That nullifies the bad magic.

Every Bush Negro, to protect himself from all varieties 751
of black magic, wears a number of charms or amulets. He 778

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787 181 One also often finds as an avowed goal the idea of being useful to his lineage.

Disinterested mystical impulses appear totally absent from these cults.

787 154 But that is only one aspect of the phenomena of possession; they really seem to be, in large measure, unconscious and involuntary. Everyone can try to obtain a gadu, but everyone 787 791 does not succeed; one must have a certain predisposition. [154] "One cannot oblige a gadu to enter a man," say the Boni; it certainly seems, in fact, that in nearly half the cases possession takes place spontaneously and sometimes to the great terror of the person concerned: this is observed especially in the kunu.

[776] Mimi, a woman about 46 years old in 1958, of the Kotika lineage, was possessed by two gadu, an Ampuku and a Papa gadu. Here is how her near relatives relate the fashion in which they came into her.

[158] About ten years before, Mimi was showing signs of mental derangement. Her mind wandered, she sometimes used to leave the village to run in the bush at random, she uttered disconnected words (1). Then she fell very ill (pleurisy?).

[828] [171]

1. It is necessary to note on this subject the very widely held idea among the Refugee Blacks, as among the Creoles, that certain forms of mental imbalance are due to the action of an entity which is trying to manifest itself in a man and does not succeed. In order to cure this man, he must be "washed" with appropriate leaves so that the god can come to manifest itself in him; the rest of the time he will be normal.

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153 The teacher has the pupil turn in a circle around the
791 mortar in which has been prepared the infusion of leaves, until
787 he is dizzy. Alternately he makes him turn and "washes" his body with the infusion. Possession occurs by itself at the end of a certain number of sessions.

[276] In the practices intended to make the gita of Kumēnti
[171] "rise," the absorption of toxic substances enters, especially tobacco juice, method employed by the Indian medicine men. But once the reflexes are created, there is no further need for these substances; the gita appears as soon as the calling procedures are used, which are of two kinds:

--Personal procedures: The man voluntarily calls on his gita while putting on the god's costume and taking a certain posture;

--Outside procedures: The gita may be released from outside either by calling the god by name or by beating the corresponding rhythm on the drum.

787 When the pupil begins to feel the gita of Kumēnti, that
158 is first manifested by trances. We have very often been present at these attacks, which usually come on at night in the forest, but commonly also during the day. The one possessed suddenly lets go of the objects he was holding (for example, if he was in the process of eating, he drops plate and spoon), and rushes forward running through the forest howling rhythmically as if he had become an animal. His eyes are rolled upward, he no longer is conscious of his surroundings; he is not in any way threatening; these fits are totally inoffensive in spite of their
[147] impressive aspect. One sees possessed people in this state do things which are difficult to explain, such as running in complete darkness in the most impenetrable underbrush without falling or hurting themselves, or climbing up in a few seconds on a craggy rock which would have been hard to scale in full daylight.

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153 In proportion as the pupil perfects himself, the god ex-
791 presses itself more easily with the help of his body, begins to
787 do coordinated acts and to speak. They say that the gita has
[195] been "arranged" (seeka). The Kumēnti speak with a gruff, jerky voice, characteristic, which humorists love to imitate in the evenings' recitals.

In order to call on his gita voluntarily, the pupil crouches down, feet together, throwing pemba from right to left at the level of his feet and uttering the formula: "O Kumēnti, djumpo ku a mi." Then he remains immobile in this position and waits; possession takes place generally at the end of a few minutes.

776 The Kumēnti which enter thus into men are exclusively
787 male gods; it is known that they have wives [illegible]e they talk about them, but they never manifest themselves.

[812] The Kumēnti are generally benevolent; still, no more than any divinity of the Refugee Blacks, do they represent a principle of goodness and justice in itself. They watch in a partial fashion over the interests of their bearers. Thus it is that A..., of the Dipélu II lo, has a Kumēnti which reacts in a violent way when it has the impression that danger threatens
[158] its bearer. It enters into him suddenly, takes a machete and storms through the village, while people prudently barricade themselves in their houses.

787 In certain circumstances, when their trances are particu-
789 larly intense, the people possessed by Kumēnti are capable, it is said, of walking in fire, dancing on broken glass, climbing thorny awara palm trees, and even having themselves struck with blows of a machete without any wound resulting from it. Professor de Goeje gives impressive personal testimony on this subject, such as the case of a possessed man who overturned a pail of boiling water on his body (1). Mr. Mathieu, Director of

1. In a note in Mr. W.F. van Lier's work, § 37.

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Chapter XIV

GRANMAN MOANA YANKUSO

I

114 WHATEVER the rôle of the great man in the life of a people, there are names whose very mention bring up almost full-bodied an epoch, a great dynamic sweep of human thought and activity, of achievement, and sometimes of disaster. Perhaps the great individual does not exist until the poetic vision of a people gives to the skeleton of a name the flesh of a godhead. From earliest times and from people of varying civilizations have come down tales of these godheads, created, let us say if we like, out of a psychic need in the life of human beings to exalt personality in order that, imaginatively at least, the chasm between desire and insufficiency might be spanned.

643 159 In the council house of Granman Yankuso, as we listened to his stories, these thoughts constantly recurred to us, and it is not strange, therefore, that now as we try to collect images and impressions of the man for an objective picture of him not only as a Bush Negro but as an individual, we think of him as typifying among the Negroes of the Saramacca today such a name and such a personality.

Already Moana Yankuso was something of a myth among the people of the coastal region and among his own people.

Men on the coast said, "Granman Yankuso is a silent [159] man. You will be with him for days, and he will never utter a word."

GRANMAN MOANA YANKUSO

"Granman Yankuso is the tallest man on the river, and the darkest," they said. "He speaks little. When he is angry, his growl strikes terror in all who hear him." 643 159 157

People said, "The Granman is a clever man. You can tell him about your work in the way you would speak to your own educated men, and he will understand you."

"They will take away everything you have up there on the river."

"They will never bring you to the Granman. He will see to it."

In the villages of the Saramacca country we heard again and again proverbs he had originated, which were quoted when men told of this almost mythical personality.

"The Granman says, 'No one must die, but the burial place cannot lie idle,' " Bayo once quoted him. [533]

"What does it mean, Bayo?"

"It is deep, white man. The Granman is wise."

Kasanya once quoted another of the Granman's proverbs. "If the gods say take one step at a time, do not stand still, and take two steps the next time in anger." [533]

On this river they told us that Granman Moana Yankuso knew all that went on. It was a kind of magic he had: whatever men did anywhere, he knew.

And they said, too, that men were afraid to cross him, not alone because of his rank, but because his spirits were strong.

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It is difficult to be objective about Moana Yankuso. In the terms his own people use, the explanation of his personality would be the explanation given of any other. 828 643

"He has strong gods."

If we urged them to explain what were the gods of a man they were praising, they would describe the Tiger spirit the man had, and what knowledge of healing and future events his Opete obia, his buzzard spirit, gave him, and how he had come by a special obia which had passed down to him from a famous magician of the earliest times.

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643 In our own terms, if we were to picture the Granman as a
159 splendid savage, cheerful, guileless, childlike, flattered by our interest, we would be belying his gifts of sophistication, and he would thank us little for these romantic outlines which, according to the values of his own civilization, would be insulting.

829 The code of life among these people was expressed in the
538 proverb we had heard often spoken. "There are men on the
776 upper river, there are men on the lower river, too." For survival in this bush, a man needed to match his strength and his wits and his magic, his kindliness and his enmity against those of any other. And the Bush Negro is a realist, for, as we had seen, not even the gods could be depended upon to be consistent—consistently good or consistently evil. The Bush Negro's gods, like humans, often did things for unaccountable reasons, because of a momentary whim, because of a desire to try the untried.

829 It was good to be guileless, but sometimes a man had to
181 be a tiger, had to stalk his prey from behind. It was well enough to be a tiger, but sometimes a man needed the cunning of the bush hero, spider Anansi, who knew how to outwit the tiger. It was well enough to be an eagle, and be free and fly high, but sometimes a man needed the wit of the little bird konubri, who became king of all birds, because, when in the kingdom of birds there was a contest for the throne, it was he who, by perching on the back of the eagle, flew highest of all.

643 In the simplest of our own terms, Granman Moana
159 Yankuso could be said to be a superb politician. In his villages, marriage alliances were calculated with the nicety of the best statesmanship. Whatever his own views, he saw to it that he never defied the arbiters of magic or the clan of the seat of magic, the Dahomey people. Toward the women of strange villages who came to see the white man and his woman, he showed an easy gallantry, which could not have been but flattering. When addressing the women who carried children astride their backs, he would speak gently to them and call them "mother" in greeting, and

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for the young girls he had the cavalier address of "wenki," possibly the English word wench under its seventeenth century connotation of young woman.

We had, thanks to the gods, perhaps, never seen him in the rôle of tiger, unless his parting krutu with the four Gankwe men could be said to symbolize its mood, if not its manner. To suggest that any full-grown Bush Negro—a man who had Kromanti—would be incapable, when need arose, of being the tiger, would, of course, be looked upon as the deepest affront.

But Moana Yankuso was more than an astute politician. Using our own values again, we admired his vitality, his dignity, his robust imagination, his wit. Perhaps what struck us particularly about him, when we came to know him in situations with his own people, was that here was a man who in intellect and will towered so much above those who were about him that he was a lonely figure. His age had become something of a myth, too. People said he was seventy, that he was more than that, that he was scarcely sixty. We had never seen his head without the covering kerchief, so that it was difficult to form any definite impression about his years. But in strength he was still a colossus, though it was not true that he was the tallest or the strongest or the darkest man on the river. His own son-in-law, Wilhelmina's husband, was perhaps a head taller than he, as was the drummer at Akisiamau, who had played the agida for us. We had seen him, cutlass in hand, clearing a path for us through the underbrush with amazing rapidity, as the courteous gesture of a host who wanted to insure our bathing in privacy. Had the underbrush been of papier-mâché, he could not have swung his strokes more surely or more tellingly.

Above all else, however, Granman Moana Yankuso was a magnificent talker, a fine story-teller. What we give of his conversations, and what incidents we describe, may suggest something of his personality. His full story will never be written.

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REBEL DESTINY

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"Tell me this," said Granman Yankuso to us one evening when we sat alone with him in the council house, "why is it that things have changed so in the city? I am not a young man. For years I came to the city, and when I met Negro women of the town going to market or coming from market, they were dressed in full skirts. They looked well. Now the women dress in straight dresses like men. Straight up and down and short. They want to look like white people.

"Years ago when I came to the city, I used to hear Negroes laugh. It is good to hear laughter. Now they are trying to be like the whites. They do not laugh. That is not good. It would be better if white people laughed more, too.

"Why do Negroes want to turn into white people? Look, is my skin like yours? Is my daughter's hair like yours, white woman? If you put on a pangi, you will not look like my daughter. You, white man, are as tall as Captain And'u. If you put on a cloth over one shoulder, you will not look like And'u. . . .

"A man came to me in the city and said he wanted to go to Dahomey. He wore no obias. He was a white man's Negro. I said he couldn't go to Dahomey. The man said, 'Look, my skin is as black as yours.' 'Ai, but your heart isn't.'

"You know why I said it? There is your kind of magic, white man, and there is our kind of magic. White man's magic keeps men in cities, but here in the bush a man needs black man's magic to keep alive and black man's strength to go up and down the rivers.

"You white men have books. You read in books, and you know. I cannot read what men write, yet I can read in my own way. I meet a man, and I can read him. I look at him, and I know what he is thinking. Before he begins to talk, I know what he wants to say. What your ancestors knew they put down in books, and you read it. What our ancestors know, they tell us at night, they tell us in the cool of the

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morning, they tell us when we call on them. That is the black man's way. 643 159

"You white people have money, you have fine houses, you wear clothes, you can count. They tell me that you say in your books all people must be friends. But you have wars. If white people kill white people, then *mati*—friend—how will it be with black people living among the whites?" 186 178 648

Granman Yankuso rose, when he said this, and took from the chains of the suspended lamp a folded envelope. He handed it to us, and from it we took out a letter on the stationery of the League of Nations, signed by its Secretary, Sir Eric Drummond. As we were reading this, he left the council house and soon returned with a larger envelope, which he had kept uncreased, and from it brought out a photograph of the Council of the League of Nations in session. They were his proud possessions. While the World War lasted there was no work for the Bush Negroes on the river. They could not earn the money they needed to buy cloths for marrying and powder and rum for ceremonial usage. The Bush Negroes called it a "great money famine," [731] in the way of their Anansi stories which so often began with "This was a time of great famine." Through a missionary on the upper river, the Granman learned of the war, and through him later of the League, which the missionary had undoubtedly brought up as the white man's defense against the challenge of the black tribal head, who asked, "How will it be with black people living among the whites?"

It was then that the Granman through this same missionary addressed himself to the white rulers far away, telling of the fear of the blacks, and counseling them the wisdom of peace!

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In the council house Granman Moana Yankuso was host to the Gankwe men. They were there to take their leave of him before starting down river. Asikanu, the handsome brother of the Gankwe clan head, who was sent away from his village while the elders were deciding upon his adultery 643 684 574

always given to children in the white man's camp. With her, too, came Sedefo's eldest son, the one who had already danced Kromanti. 173

"White man," he said in a soft confidential voice that was like his father's, "you gave the Granman gifts. Lower river chiefs are big men, too." This was a prelude to the suggestion that the Gankwe chief would not take it amiss if we sent him a pith helmet.

From the village where we had seen Bayo possessed the night before, Tenye and her two brothers, Yamati and Sabape, came to say goodbye, and with them was their "father" Semiye, Abane's brother. He was to have been "captain" of our dugout, but several days before he had told us he would be unable to go with us to the railhead. As haltingly he gave us his reasons, we wished that white men's lives were not keyed to railroad and boat and university schedules—wished, too, that it were possible to give a happier turn to the drama which bush destiny seemed ready to stage for Semiye.

Semiye was as slender and graceful as Abane, that superb dancer whom Yamati and Sabape, sons by different wives, wished so much to emulate. The passion which Abane had for dancing, Semiye knew to flare up within himself when he was at work. No man on the lower river could send a heavily loaded boat up the rapids faster than Semiye, and when he went fishing or lumbering, the catch he brought back was large, his timber rafts were valuable. He had not always felt this drive for work. When he and his village friend Abai were boys together, Abai had been the one to suggest games, to make decisions, to show courage in leading girls down side paths into the bush. When the time came for Semiye to go through the Kromanti initiation, he could not do the feats which Abai did so easily and with such bravado. Later, when the courage of a man was his, he was ashamed to ask for permission to go through the initiatory rites that were intended to test boys, and so Semiye was one of the few men on the river who was not a Kromanti man. 159

1tHerskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

159 In spite of all this, Semiye prospered. He married first one wife and then a second, and his five children were healthy and bright. But Abai, poor fellow, had had a hard time. His wife was a scold. His small son was straight-limbed and alert, but his girl child was ailing, and three of his children had died before they could walk. These days, when a load was to be carried for some white man to the city, Semiye was the one most often hired, and, because of their friendship, he saw to it that Abai went, too. Abai, who as a youth had led in all their escapades, grew more and more silent, but when the Tiger spirit possessed him, it made him noisy and violent and caused him to run about in search of Semiye with the threat to kill him. In the village they said Abai's spirit was growing ugly; they said that Abai's Tiger spirit hated Semiye. The night before, we ourselves had heard Abai when possessed by his Tiger spirit again threaten Semiye.

For the first time in many years Semiye began to know the old fears, and because this time he had to contend with a powerful spirit, he went to Apanto, the obia man, who gave him a strong obia. Then . . . then he decided it might be best to share work with Apanto occasionally.

"And now," he said, "you know why I can't go with you. I can't go without Apanto, and you promised Bayo he would have the front paddle."

After the dance of the night before, having witnessed Bayo's Tiger spirit in action, it was all very understandable.

Thus it came about that our last hour on the river was spent like so many other hours, with our boat in the competent hands of Bayo. But this time we were not to see him at the prow of the boat, for when we had told him that Semiye could not captain it, he had exclaimed, "Ai-yo! Then I will be your captain, and the son of Sedefo will take the front paddle." So now, with farewells said and canoe loaded, the boat backed away from the familiar landing place, turned, and was off down river, Bayo at the post of command—an honor he would not soon allow his friends to forget.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Paramaca

175 Marowyne River on account of the Boni and Aucaner tribes,
361 who were long established there and who were much stronger numerically than the newly arrived Paramaccas. They finally came out of the creeks, however, and founded a village on the Dutch side of the Marowyne River near the mouth of the Paramacca Creek. The main seat of the tribe is
[103] now the village of Langa Tabiki (Long Island), which, as the name denotes, is an island in the Marowyne River. This is the village of the Granman. Beside Langa Tabiki, there is
361 the village of Amerika Condree (from a Bush Negro captain
103 called Amerika). This village is situated on the island of Boni Boro, which means the "Bonis arrived." A third important village is that of Akodo Condree, captained by one Akodo and situated on an island of the same name in the Marowyne River. There are lesser villages on the Dutch bank of the Marowyne extending just past the mouth of Gran Creek. The Paramacca village of Seeton Ponta (Pointed Stone) is situated on the French side of the Marowyne. The older villages in the Paramacca and Tempati Creeks have long since been abandoned.

115 In Seeton Ponta we had a long talk with an old Captain
159 Koffay who claims to be some eighty years of age and whose appearance certainly bears him out. He is the grandson of one of the original women slaves who escaped and aided in founding the tribe. He can remember his grandmother telling of the terrible privations of the early days when they first escaped into the jungle, how starvation nearly overtook them on a number of occasions, how they wandered for forty-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Paramacca

seven days aimlessly in the high bush, and then happened 115
upon the putrid remains of a tapir which had been killed by 159
a jaguar and which food, after they chased the vultures away, was what saved them from starvation. He said that now they call themselves Teegre Nengre (Tiger Negroes), for they believe the jaguar was ordained to save them. One day his grandmother showed him gold in a creek bed and she told him never to touch it for she had seen it make white men crazy. His grandmother was born in Dutch Guiana. She had never told him stories of Africa, but he had heard of it from the Catholic missionaries. He knew that the blacks had come from over the sea, but he had also heard that they were the original inhabitants of the jungle who had been killed off by the Indians, with the exception of a few roving bands who had joined the escaped slaves. (Slaves are known to have escaped as early as 1650 and may have formed bands, which [101]
may, in turn, have joined the Boni tribe, for the Boni today are called Aluku Nengre—Indian Negroes—by the Aucaner and Paramacca tribes.) We also heard that the term Aluku Nengre refers to Indians of the Rukuyana tribe, of which one of the women was taken by Awensai, Granman of the Boni, as one of his wives. The term seems to be used in a somewhat opprobrious way on this account.

Old Captain Koffay, clear-minded and vigorous physically, believes that the white man will some day try to re-enslave the Bush Negroes and that there will be another war between them. "Bahkra greedy," said he.

The small Paramacca tribe does much less in the way of 800

/70 cont./

159 562 613 [591] In March, 1957, Awéni, head of the Afi lineage, established in Asisi, was concerned about regrouping the members of his lineage and especially bringing back to Asisi Magdaléna (c20), a woman of about 45 years who had settled in Kormotibo near her husband L... († 1955), with her children and others whom she had raised. He went to Kormotibo and pointed out to her that since her husband was dead, she no longer had any reason to stay there and that she should come back to Asisi. Magdaléna insulted him in front of the inhabitants of the village, proclaimed that she had no orders to receive from anybody; then when he insisted, she armed herself with a stick and chased him across the village as far as the landing place. He had to re-embark precipitately to the laughter of the Kormotibo people.

Political and Legal Powers

643 613 [173] The grand man. The head of the Dikan lo fills the office of grand man of the Boni. The present grand man, Difu, was about 67 years old in 1958.

Oral tradition has kept the names of his seven predecessors:

Gongo (Dikan lo)	1810-1840	dates noted according to Coudreau
Labi (Adam?) (Dikan lo)	1840-1870	
Atyaba (Kotika lo)	1870-1876	
Anato (Kotika lo)	1876-1891	
Ochi (Dikan lo)	1891-1915	
Awensay id.	1917-1936	
Difu id.	since 1937.	

[195] According to information collected by Coudreau in 1887, Gongo was the successor to Agosu, himself successor to Boni. Upon the death of Labi, there were only women and children in the Dikan lo. The office of grand man then passed to the Kotika lo with Atyaba and Anato. It then came back to the Dikan lo with Ochi.

/151 cont./

595 Sticking to statistics, one could say that the Refugee Blacks are monogamous in the proportion of 85 per cent. But
581 it is an apparent monogamy, for unions are not stable; their
586 average duration is about ten years; in fact the Refugee Blacks are practicing polygamy over a period of time.

595 A man who takes another wife apologizes to the first and gives her a liter of tafia, asking her to live on good terms with
[586] the co-wife. A certain number of wives do not accept co-wives and get divorced.

587 Most men have had, in general, four or five wives
586 successively. Most of the time these marriages have been
163 broken by the wife. /152/

Example S... (65 years old in 1957) had at least seven wives:

-- Nanay (Dip. II)†	1 child	divorced
Baakauman (K) †	3 children	"
1 Paramaka woman	1 child dead	"
Saumè (Dip. I)	1 child	"
Paata (Boniville)	no children	"
Emma (Asisi-Aw.B.)	no children	"
Masé (K)	"	marriage extant in 1958

Kwami (50 years old in 1958) had four wives:

-- Apinda (Asisi)	no children	divorced
Saayé (Dip. I)	several children	"
Do (Lapé)	1 child dead	"
Noémi (Asisi-Aw.B.)	I child	marriage extant in 1958

159
582 Example of the family life of G... (50 years old in 1958).
About 1935 G... married M... (Kotika), a serious-minded and
159 intelligent woman who was very attached to him. Neverthe-
837 less, about the same time he had a clandestine affair with S...,
[847] classificatory sister of M..., whom he made pregnant (abortion).

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[837]
[613]

/152 cont./

Since it is forbidden to have two wives at the same time in the same lineage, that produced a scandal and his uncles had to intervene so that he would not be beaten.

After that, without leaving M..., he took officially another wife, A... (Papa'ston). They lived together nearly eight years, but A... began to deceive him while he was on a trip. The first time, he only threatened her; the third time he repudiated her.

[837]
[586]

[619] Again he officially took another wife, T..., a Djuka from the Tapanahoni.

[587] A year later A..., who wished she had him back, had her uncles intervene so that she might come back into his favor. G..., through deference to her uncles, accepted against his will.

Thus he found himself engaged in three unions, M..., A..., and T.... He thought this situation was leading him to ruin and sacrificed T... although he had no fault to find with her.

[586]

[586] Some time afterward A... began to deceive him again and he repudiated her once and for all.

Finally he took a last wife, B... (Asisi), by whom he had no children.

On each of these undertakings he had to submit to violent scenes by his first wife M..., who was very attached to him and would have liked to keep him for herself alone. Nevertheless, she never divorced him and did not provoke difficulties with her co-wives.

[842] He had a child by M... after more than 15 years of sterile marriage.

In 1958 G... was living with M... and B..., who got along well together. He was not looking for any more new adventures.

/293 cont./

175 648 727 with their allies. The sites of their villages, marked on Coudreau's map (1888) are in immediate proximity to those of former Oayana villages.

175 648 [643] relations must have been created rapidly and in a very natural fashion. The grand man of the Boni is in a way the suzerain of the Indian chiefs; this situation was not imposed by force; it results from the privileged situation of the Boni on the river, which until recent times obliged the Indians to deal through them in order to trade with the outside world.

Although the Boni took advantage of this situation in days gone by to impose arbitrary rates of exchange upon the Indians, this relation must not be imagined as the exploitation of conquered by conqueror. It is based on the absolute respect of each 648 829 group for the beliefs and social structure of the other, and an activity for each befitting its inclination. The proverb says: "To the Boni the river, to the Indians the forest." Thus it is [439] that the Boni traditionally buy arrows from the Indians, while the latter buy paddles from them; the meaning of this symobl is perfectly understood by both.

648 582 Marriages between the two groups, without being forbidden, are regarded as contrary to custom (2).

●159 156 643 648 582 2. The marriage of Grand Man Awensay to an Indian woman about 1915 was inspired by complex motives. Toward the end of his life, Awensay could no longer stand the Boni, his imperious personality putting up badly with their individualism and their taste for discussion. He had established the Indian country a farming habitation in which he lived nearly all

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year; by taking an Indian woman as his wife he apparently sought to humiliate his subjects.

Awensay's children and grandchildren were all dead in 1957 except for two women, both sterile. There has been no other case of marriage between Boni and Indians.

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439 /294/ In practice, the basis for commercial exchanges is the following: the Indians furnish hammocks, and above all dogs trained for hunting, to which great value is attached. The Boni furnish boats. In days gone by they also brought imported objects, machetes, axes, and beads, but this form of trade has disappeared since the Indians have had the possibility of getting supplies from the Europeans.

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Several observers, coming after Coudreau (1890) and Grébert (1937) in particular, have expressed the opinion that these relations were founded on fear and that the Boni, utilizing mysterious means of pressure, used to oppress the Indians.

After seven missions spent in contact with both, we affirm that these assertions are without foundation. On the contrary, one can only admire the way in which these primitive groups have been able to create loyal and trusting relations with one another. The Indians and Boni who have worked with us have always shown themselves happy to be together. To realize this, it was sufficient to hear the animated conversations they used to have in the evening around the campfires about their respective families, the events which took place in their villages, fishing, or hunting.

ER /532 cont./

16 16. (cont.)
182 frequently find Indian stone axes under 5 to
172 6 meters of alluvia.

B Here and now, the rivers populated by
16 the Refugee Blacks offer the most striking contrast to the rest of
182 the Amazon forest.

If no social or political factor hindered their development, the populations of African origin would doubtless finish by gradually replacing the other populations of Amazonia, with the exception of the Asiatics established on the coast.

E R 161 174 The factors which we have brought to light in studying the Oayana and Oyampi Indians of Guiana suffice to explain the gradual extinction of the Indians of the Amazonian forest since their first contacts with the Europeans and the Blacks; the violence of which they must have been the object from time to time, as well as wars between tribes, have played only a quite secondary role.

E R [165] It is not difficult to imagine what the demographic characteristics of the Indians of the forest might have been before the arrival of the Europeans. It may be imagined that in the absence of the epidemic lung diseases, the average life span was somewhat greater: perhaps 50% of the individuals instead of 45 reached the age of maximum fertility, and the cumulative fertility was as high as 4.5 instead of 4; due to a rather better state of general health. Under these conditions, in spite of malaria, the population would maintain itself; it could even increase slightly.

E 161 165 [758] [163] This point of view is illustrated in striking fashion by the observations made among the Oyampi Indians of Oyapok, a group which has had practically no regular medical care. In this group from October 1947 to January 1948, 57 deaths as against 60 births are noted. Out of these 57 deaths, at least 11 have been caused by epidemics of influenza or of pneumonia (17). If the Oyampi

17. From 1947 to 1959 there were three or four of these epidemics among the Oyampi, striking one or two villages each time and causing the death of some adults. This is part of the ordinary

E /532 cont./
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17. (cont.)

pathology of the Indians. The large epidemics causing numerous deaths have not reappeared for a century; they were the result of illnesses of recent introduction.

had been preserved from these illnesses, their demographic balance, in the absence of any medical help, would have been largely positive.

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R /533/
16 Biological characteristics and social behavior. In comparing the
[758] Boni Refugee Blacks and the Oayana Indians of the Upper Maroni, populations leading the same kind of life to a considerable extent, both deprived of any medical aid before 1950, we came to the following conclusions:

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16 1. The Boni Refugee Blacks showed remarkable fertility and longevity. Life expectancy at birth before 1950 reached 43 years. The average number of children per woman over 55 reached 7.9 for the period before 1920. The Boni population increased 3% per year.

These remarkable characteristics can be explained by the resistance to malaria which the African Blacks possess, and by the fact that the Refugee Blacks descended from a double selection.

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16 2. The Oayana Indians, on the contrary, show low fertility (3.7 children) and a life expectancy of only 31 years; until these last years they were dying out at a rate of approximately 0.6% per year.

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161 These conclusions are confirmed by the historic data which
175 show the Oayana regularly decreasing in number since their first contact with the Europeans, passing from 3,000 at the end of
R
[165] the eighteenth century to less than 500 in our day. The extinction of the Indians can be attributed to their great sensitivity to malaria and to pulmonary illnesses.

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R /534 cont./

14 In the whole of the Amazonian forest these facts have been
16 observed since the seventeenth century and have led to the re-
182 placement of Indians by slave manpower imported from Africa.
114 The course taken in denying the biological realities and wishing to find at any cost a purely sociological explanation has inspired in recent years an ingenious explanation by several authors:

The success of African manpower was, according to them, due to the fact that the Blacks had a civilization closer to that of the Europeans, whereas the Amerindians were more hunters-fishermen than agriculturalists.

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[105] For any observer of good faith, the Indians of Guiana and
R the Blacks of the forests of the Congo and Gabon are largely
[433] on the same technological and cultural level. The Indians are
[361] certainly cultivators just as experienced as the Negroes; is one to forget that it was they who taught the rest of the world the greater part of the important tropical crops: manioc, maize, cotton, tobacco, and so many others? Hunting and fishing for them is only a secondary means of support; it is their instability,
R their lack of attachment to the soil, which may create an
[136] illusion on this point. It can be explained to a certain extent
[361] by the small size of the kinship groups; an ecological factor which does not exist in Black Africa must also be taken into account, the manioc ant, which swarms in particular in the zones habitually cultivated, promoting a seminomadism (18).

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[136]
[361]

18. This factor plays only a secondary role, since the Refugee Blacks despite the manioc ant, maintain villages of permanent residence, only changing their crop plantings, but it is certain that it promotes the dispersion of the groups and seminomadism.

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14 These considerations do not pretend to give a complete ex-
16 planation of the social behavior of the Indians of the Amazonian
182 forest. The biological characteristics of the group are only one of the factors of this behavior, parallel to many others, notably

/58 cont./

166 619 It is fitting to make an exception of the case of OWétiti (Papaïston) and OMa Imma (Kotika), who separated from their groups with their numerous descendants in order to found villages on the lower course of the river. These groups continue to consider themselves Boni; they are the nuclei of future villages.

For the same reasons it is difficult to get exact figures on [162] [621] immigration. About 100 Djuka and Saramaka have founded farming villages in Boni country but keep all their ties with their villages of origin; some 30 of them have married Boni women; one can estimate that some 15 have completely bound up their fate with the Boni and can be considered as integrated into the villages in which they have settled.

• 16 128 [562] All in all one can estimate that emigration and immigration of adult men, both very insignificant, compensate for each other; they have practically no importance on the social plane (since only the residence of the women has any influence upon the grouping of the lineages) or on the demographic plane; with the Boni the pyramid of ages constructed from the census of the villages represents very faithfully the demographic state of the population and lends itself to precise calculations of mortality (1).

1. It is not the same for the majority of African populations either because of emigration to the cities or polygamy. The presence of several average polygamists in a village is enough to render completely erroneous the counts of cross-sections by age.

166 571 591 613 The founding of new lineages results from the immigration of several Djuka women, some having come to settle permanently near their husbands, others brought up by their fathers in a Boni village. Half a dozen such cases occur in each generation, but

/58 cont./

166 not all result in the founding of a new lineage, either because
571 the women are sterile or because only one or two surviving children
591 remain who go back to live among their maternal kin. The more
613 children a woman has, the more she tends to settle permanently with her descendants, for the group thus formed represents a force and can be self-sufficient as much on the material level as on the emotional level.

613 Four new lineages have been founded in the whole of Boni
571 country during the past 50 years: /59/
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Awara Bakka 3 (Anèta)	16 persons	on January 1, 1958
Afi	25	--
Toïna	9	--
Poti	8	--
Total....	58 persons	

Thus these new lineages represent only $\frac{58}{810}$ = 7 per cent of the Boni.

16 The immigration of women from other tribes thus remains
619 an exceptional phenomenon which has few effects on the social and demographic levels. The development of the Boni as a nation results only from the natural movement of the population. Study of the genealogies forces the conclusion that when the members of these four small lineages are eliminated, the whole of the Boni are descended from only six or seven women who lived at the end of the 18th century. Few examples of such growth are to be found.

621 Absence of division of the villages into quarters. We have
[183] seen that the custom of the Refugee Blacks is opposed to all that could alter the system of classificatory kinship and leads to the individualization of segments within the lineage. This principle
[613] is translated very clearly in the structure of the villages, where one observes no tendency at all toward division into separate quarters,

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

619 gave rise to another Bush Negro nation known as the *Boni* tribe. There are also three other tribes today of less importance: the *Matawaai* on the Upper Saramacca River, the *Quintee-Matawaai* which is a sub-tribe on the Copenam, and the *Paramacca* on the Middle Marowyne with villages on both the French and Dutch sides of the river.

619 184 [682] The tribal divisions are strictly enforced. Not only is intermarriage forbidden, but each tribe has its separate government, and each is referred to locally as a "river nation." Each tribe likewise has its own territory, and any poaching by hunters, fishers, or balata bleeders is rigorously punished. [643] The ruler of the tribe is a king, or *granman*. Among the photographs is one of old Jankoeso, the kindly shrewd ruler of the Saramaccaner nation; the Aucaner ruler, Amekti, has just died, his place probably being taken by Matodja. The Boni granman is named Awensai.

619 361 [61] The largest tribe is the Saramaccaner, with a population of about 14,000. Their village of Santi Gron (Sandy Ground), some twenty miles from Paramaribo on the Lower Saramacca River is the nearest of all Djuka villages to white civilization. But the main body of this tribe begins some ninety miles up the Surinam River from Paramaribo, and the villages are strung along the Surinam River for a hundred or more miles further on back into the interior. The names [103] of some of these villages are: Nu Condree, Lombe, Gansee, Biodoti, Adawai, De Jun, Masumba Pratti, and Dahomey, and other towns of even more picturesque appellations: Boto-Passi, Poki Gron, Granman Condree, and many more.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner
Aucaner

and does not look with favour upon the white proselytizers.

The Granman can call a meeting of his captains at any time. They must attend, even though it involves days of rigorous travel. Although the captains look up to the Granman and acknowledge him as their superior, the connexion between them is not close enough to be considered a hierarchy. The "river nations" are not monarchies in any sense. The only laws promulgated by the Granman are those that affect the entire tribe.

Neither the captains nor the Granman have any privileges or prerogatives to set them apart from the undistinguished natives; there is no leisure class. They are all dependent upon their own efforts to earn a living, and work like anyone else in the village. Rank does not make social parasites out of them, as among us. The Granman's only external distinction is that sent by the white man, the tribute from the Dutch government. The type of social organization now prevalent among the Djukas, therefore, may be described as primitive communism.

The Aucaner, second in number to the Saramaccaner, are scattered in a less compact way over the rivers and creeks of the colony toward the French Guiana line. This tribe numbers about 6000 in population.

Just below the realm of the Saramaccaner tribe, at the junction of the Sara Creek and the Surinam River (see map facing page), are some of the Aucaner villages: Koffay Camp, Lebbi Doti, Lasa Baka, Pitchong, Baku, and other settlements. There are few villages on the long Sara Creek, but

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner
Saramaccaner
Boni

619 184 In general appearance and culture the Aucaners vary little from the other large tribe, the Saramaccaners.

[531] The art motifs and their treatment as displayed on the Aucaner wood carvings as a rule differ from those of the Saramaccaners. On the other hand, some of the pieces were found to be practically identical.

The Aucaner talkee-talkee also differs from that of the Saramaccaners, the former being more like the speech of the Town Negroes. The Aucaners have no deepee-talkee or odo as have the Saramaccaners, but they have a dialect known as *Koropina* where a *p* or an *m* is spoken before the vowels in a word for the purpose of confusing strangers. A similar custom is prevalent among the Negroes of Curaçao, Dutch West Indies.

[197] [198] 191

[291] The dress of the Aucaners is the same as that of the Saramaccaners, excepting that they affect more often the breast-cloth, the *wassapangye,* and the head-cloth, the *mussu.*

Among the Aucaners the toga garment is called the *yembah,* while it is called a camissa by the Saramaccaners. The barrier of palm leaves is called *chifunga* by the Aucaners and *azang pau* by the Saramaccaners.

[262] [606] 184 The system of food taboos and general culture are the same. There is no mother-in-law taboo among either the Aucaners or the Saramaccaner tribe.

[161] 648 The Boni tribe, which consists of about 900 people, is descended from escaped slaves who crossed the Marowyne River into French Guiana and who were allowed to remain there unmolested by the French authorities. This is the only

/34 cont./

577 all, toward one another as fellow tribesmen they are very honest and trust one another's word. Frequently it happens that among them one family leaves the camp to go on a journey or else is absent for some other reason, and that it must leave behind unfenced the cultivated land planted with rice, tubers, bananas, bakoven, and sugar cane. But never will another of them steal any of that. And similarly their dwellings are open, since the entrance is not closed off by any door; upon their departure they leave one thing and another in it, but they will never miss any-
626 thing upon their return. Certainly contributing to this is the circumstance that in the vicinity of everybody's property there is a sign or idolatrous image, which they call obia, to which great power is ascribed, and for those who might want to commit dishonest acts, the legend can be observed, as for the European:
784 "Beware of mantraps." The fear that they have of these obias is not unjustified, for if it should happen at any time that misuse of trust took place, then the culprit, however long it takes, upon discovery will not escape the revenge of the deceived, revenge which frequently consists in the administering of secret remedies whereby terrible diseases and sufferings, if not death, come about.

152 They are very concerned about the faithfulness of their
837 wife or wives, /35/ for the Bush Negro is very jealous, whereas the wives cannot be exonerated of being susceptible to seduction. Accordingly it happens among them more than once that marital fidelity is violated.

184 Of the various tribes, the Aucaners are the most
[177] civilized, but over against that also the craftiest, which can be
[157] attributed to their more frequent intercourse with Europeans.
[161] Among their tribes they are the most powerful, and their numerical strength is estimated at 4,000 to 5,000 souls.

123 According to the declaration of the Bush Negroes, no White has previously enjoyed the trust and attachment that I experienced from them. However, secretively they always conduct themselves toward the Whites, with respect to me they make an exception. If there is something secret among them that I should like to know, they will, upon my request, immediately and without any diffidence communicate it to me.

/135/

Agriculture among the Bush Negroes of the Marowijne /Maroni/

by D. C. Geijskes (1)

114 1. Government biologist with the Department of Internal Affairs, Paramaribo.

1. Introduction

121 182 When one goes to the small communities of the inhabitants of the bush who live in the interior districts of Surinam, one quickly sees, upon examination, the basis on which the maintenance of such communities rests. The struggle for existence among primitive peoples covers the food supply and the resistance that can be offered against illness and pests. These two factors ultimately determine the birth surplus, which as a result expresses the possibility for survival.

121 [161] Among the Bush Negroes we see in the course of the years an increase in the population, an advance, therefore, in spite of the obstructions of nature. But this advance creates new problems. [101] It was during the Medical-Scientific Expedition to the Southern Border of Surinam, held from February to July, 1952, that, in conjunction with the medical investigation in the gathering of data about the "housekeeping" of the Bush Negroes of the Marowijne /Maroni/ and the Tapanahoni, we were struck above all by the problem of the food supply and the food itself. There is little sense in paying attention only to medical care unless at the same time attempts are made to improve the food.

433 262 An important part of the food supply is produced by agriculture. This supplies the Bush Negroes with the most, but not the best food. Next to it a number of forest products serve to provide for the need for food fats, while hunting and fishing must provide the protein.

/139 cont./

13 seems too high to me), the ants can bring into the soil each year two to three tons of leaf material per hectare. As a result the soil would be so enriched with humus and, in addition, through the construction of the numerous nest corridors, receive so much extra ventilation that the oxygen content and the microbiological condition of this soil would tend to differ from the mineral soils in which the virgin forest is rooted. As proof of this, it is stated "that even the oldest ant-kapoeweri directly behind the villages shows no tendency to grow into normal high forest" (p. 13).

114 It does not seem correct to me to ascribe this kapoeweri
137 phenomenon only to the presence and the activity of the leaf-
136 cutting ants. In my opinion the ants here constitute a troublesome contributing factor, for when the virgin-forest grounds are abandoned by the population and no new food material is available to the ants while the kapoeweri gradually grows into higher forest, then the balance in the ant population re-establishes itself. This process takes place at a slow rate, depending on the local circumstances, but it leads to the re-establishment of the original situation. There is, however, one condition connected with it, namely, that the forest be left in peace for a long enough stretch.
241 Now this last is not the case for the grounds area of the Bush Negroes.
134 They return too soon (within ten years) to clear grounds again, with the consequence that the soil becomes too exhausted and the recovery of the forest becomes impossible.

171 Proof for this viewpoint is already provided by Stahel (loc.
241 cit.) in his consideration of the agriculture of the upland Indians.
137 The absence of the ant-kopoeweri there is not a matter of a lesser
[136] ant infestation, as Stahel /140/ believes -- for in places this is equally serious -- but of a less intensive use of the forest lands.
[161] The Indians are present in small numbers (a few hundred, as against
423] thousands of Bush Negroes), while only communal plots are laid out for one village, and not different ones for each family. In
[361] addition, the Indians move frequently in order to find new hunting and fishing grounds.

/141 cont./

4. The Agrarian Law

241 There is yet another circumstance which adversely affects
423 the agriculture of the Bush Negroes. As among many primitive peoples, so also in the life of the Djoeka /Djuka/ customary law plays an important role. We have already seen that at least two grounds per year are laid out per household. In fact it comes down to this, that both the man and the woman possess a ground of their own. Now these two grounds do not lie next to each other or close to each other. On the contrary, the one ground is always hours away from the other one; it is to be found on the other side of the river or elsewhere along a forest creek. One might think that this is a kind of division of risks. In actuality it is a question of family property. The ground of the wife is cleared in the area of her family, and the ground of the man in his family complex. The grounds are thus laid out with reference to the large family and not with reference to the household. Each family has a definite area where it has the right to clear grounds. This area lies along a forest creek, or one lays out a path from the river through the forest, along which the grounds
[578] are cleared. Not infrequently, quarrels arise over the use of land by "unauthorized" persons on distinctly family land.

A Bush Negro thus cannot simply select a piece of forest for his ground wherever he pleases. He is bound by the law of family property. This applies not only to the families among themselves, but in a larger context also to the villages. Each village has its area within which the families from that village lay out grounds. Only through marriage can men lay out grounds for their wives in the area of another village.

These complications in agriculture lead to the circumstance that the hunger for land arises much sooner than would otherwise
[361] be the case. Add to this the fact that many Bush Negro villages remain in existence for a very long time, sometimes 100 years at
● [161] a stretch, in the same spot. It is therefore not surprising that through the growth in population in such centers, too, the limit of this predatory cultivation has been reached.

B
R /509 cont./
101 October 1958 – January 1959), expeditions whose principal aim
114 was the sociological study of these populations.
121

/510/

Social Structure and Way of Life

B
101/ The Boni Refugee Blacks. The Boni are one of the above-mentioned
[175] tribes of the Refugee Blacks, reconstituted in the course of the eighteenth century by rebel African slaves who escaped from
B Surinam plantations (Dutch Guiana).
[131] These tribes (Saramaka, Djuka, Paramaka, Boni) live for the
[161] most part along the rivers of the interior of Surinam. They group together a total of 25,000 persons.
B
161 With very rare exceptions, the Refugee Blacks are pure Africans.
[144] These populations, vigorous and well adapted to the country, have experienced in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a remarkable demographic increase, attested to by all the authors. Descended from small rebel groups which could not have contained more than a few hundred women, they are now estimated at more than 25,000 persons.
B
162 The Boni of the Upper Maroni, the subject of the present study,
103 number approximately 800, of whom 660 are on the French bank
[161] (the villages of Boniville, l'Enfant Perdu, Loka, Asisi, Papaïston, and Kormotibo) and 140 on the Surinam bank (the village of Kotika). These villages were established long ago.
B
613 Each of them groups together a matrilineage, i.e., the
621 descendants in the uterine line of one single founding ancestress;
769 certain villages know their genealogy in its entirety back to this ancestress, who must have lived at the end of the eighteenth century. The members of the lineage are united by the cult of the
B ancestors, which binds them firmly to their natal village and to
[622] their land. The social system is based essentially on this cult,
[793] the chief of the village being above all the priest of the ancestors.
B Strictly speaking, there is no marriage, but only an acknowl-
581 edged concubinage which entails neither a contract between the

B /513 cont./
164 the birth rate of the Boni is scarcely influenced by malaria. This is an essential difference between Blacks and Indians.

This immunity, regarded as an hereditary characteristic of the African Blacks, was well known by the Europeans of past centuries. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was thought that on account of this fact only the African Blacks could furnish a regular force in tropical countries. This is one of the principal causes of the slave trade.

/514/ -- An important impairment by skin affections. The Boni, before the creation of the Maripasoula medical center, showed many cases of pian, which attacked most of the children, leaving infirmities and widespread incapacities in certain adults.

Also observed were numerous cases of American forest cutaneous leishmaniasis (pian-bois), involving ulcers, sometimes very widespread, almost always infected, and able to lead to a terminal cachexia. Finally, 1% of the Boni manifested cases of leprosy in the course of development. The total incidence of the disease was estimated in 1957 at approximately 3%.

B
[842]
[161] -- An important invasion of venereal diseases, notably of blennorrhagia, leading to the sterility of a large number of women and stopping the demographic increase.

This aspect of the pathology seems in keeping with the very free morals of the Boni and the instability of their unions.

In 1948 the Boni attributed an important part of the infant mortality to a form of meningitis which they call "pikin nenge siki," "the sickness of the little Blacks"; the symptoms described seem to fit cerebrospinal meningitis.

R
164
114 Pathology of the Oayana Indians. Doctor Douvier, examining the Oayana in 1937, wrote: "The Indian does not show sores like the Negro; the Indian has epidemics."

Doctors who have examined the Indians of the interior in the course of recent years have made agreeing observations on their pathology, which can be summarized thus:

R
164 -- the Indians, in contrast to the Blacks, suffer severely from malaria; no immunity appears among adults, who are more severely attacked than children. The size of the spleen in most cases simply increases in the course of life.

/524/

161 Thus during the period 1895 to 1925, the Boni population
[128] doubled with each generation. These results are confirmed by
(173) the study of the genealogies. The present-day Boni, with the
[613] exception of about 5% of them who belong to recently founded lineages, are descended by known filiation from seven women who lived at the end of the eighteenth century.

It is possible that before the period to which this inquiry refers epidemics were produced and struck certain villages in particular, destroying entire lineages. In fact we cannot say anything certain about the evolution of the population before 1890. Let us only remember that this rate of reproduction of 200% per generation of 31 years represents the normal rate for the Refugee Blacks, in the absence of large epidemics and of venereal diseases and before any medical aid.

During the period 1925-1942, the Boni population did not vary (rate of reproduction $\frac{105}{100}$).

Since 1940, it has been increasing slightly, by 25% per 27 years, that is just under 1% per year.

163 Birth rate and mortality rate. Demographic balance. From 1
165 January 1956 to 31 December 1957, i.e., in two years, 39 children were born in the villages on the French bank (660 persons); and 21 persons died (including 5 children born during this period).

Rate of birth: 2.9% per year.

Rate of mortality: 1.6% per year.

161 Rate of increase: 1.3% per year.

The rate of increase of 1.3%, which corresponds incidentally to the theoretical calculation indicated above, is very much below that of the population of Cayenne and of the communes of
[164] the coast. If one considers that before 1920 it reached the remarkable value of 3% per year, one realizes the extent of the disaster brought about by venereal diseases.

5: Hurault--28KE-5 (1948-1959) 1959 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Rucuyen SR12

/529 cont./

B R 165

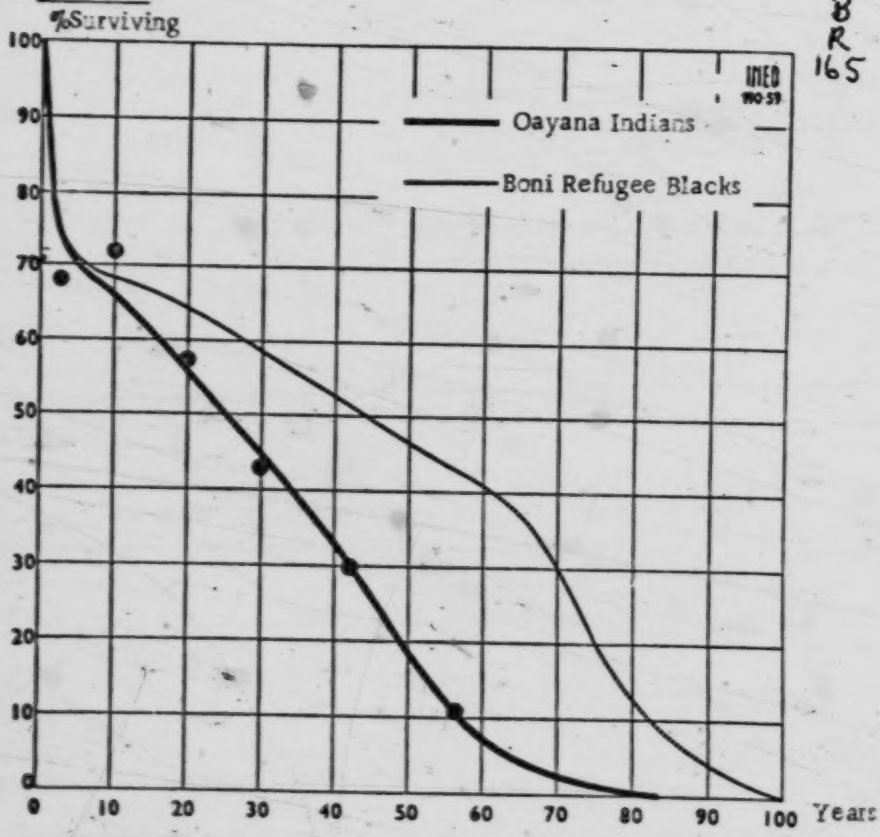

Diagram No. 5. Curve of survival for the Oayana Indians

/530/

B R 161

This rate of reproduction of 83% characterizes their behavior vis-à-vis the geographic environment modified since the arrival of the Europeans by their contribution of new microbial germs, just as 200% characterizes the behavior of the Refugee Blacks.

R 161

Before any kind of medical aid the group described here was dying out at the rate of 0.6% per year, i.e., it decreased on the average by one person every year.

This rate corresponds to the extinction of half in 103 years. It is not quite adequate to explain the reduction of the Oayana from 3,000 around 1780 to 500 in 1958. It is probable that at the moment of the first contact with the Europeans, at the end of the eighteenth century, the Oayana must have been decimated by the epidemics more severely than in our day.

R [174] [165]

B
R
121 /533 cont./

Thus the behavior of a human group, its fate as a people, and its very existence appear to be determined to a large extent by hereditary biological characteristics. This notion was seen clearly enough at the beginning of this century, but it has never been the object of thorough studies, the conditions for an incontestable experiment not being found together. Repudiated in the name of theoretical principles by the train of thought which has animated sociology for the past several decades, it has ended up by being completely lost from sight. Present-day sociology no longer takes into consideration the biological facts peculiar to the groups which it studies; one currently speaks of cycles of civilization, of laws of social change, of acculturation, etc., as if social facts had their own life and their own evolution, independent of the supposedly identical and interchangeable people. It is as though one claimed to study the psychism of the human being without taking his body into account, denying the influence of sex, age, sickness. Some have even managed to maintain that man is in all respects the product of the society from which he comes.

B
R
161 In the case studied here the falsity of these theories is obvious.
14 If the Indians disappear wherever the Blacks establish flourishing
182 societies, it is because their biological characteristics are not suited to the conditions imposed by the geographic environment, whereas those of the Blacks are to the highest degree.

Seen from this angle, the fate of the Indians of the Amazonian
B forest becomes clear; their social behavior and in particular their
R collapse upon contact with European civilization find an explanation.
[177] /534/ The relations of the Indians with the Europeans of past
B centuries have been equally influenced by their biological charac-
R
147 teristics. Their inaptitude for prolonged effort came in part from their physical weakness. When the Blacks and the Indians of the Amazonian forest have been employed side by side for years as soldiers and porters, there can be no doubt on this point. The Black is a force of nature. The Indian of the great forest, often full of good will, is betrayed by his physical powers.

/8 cont./

241 experience of the American Indians, which seem the only utilizable
177 ones in the interior of the country.

Thus these populations which are so varied have in large measure the same agriculture and the same food.

241 Basic crops are manioc, consumed in the form of couac
[262] (flour roasted and granulated) which is the base food, the Indian yam, and tubers analogous to taro (dachine, "Caribbean cabbage").
[171] The Refugee Blacks plant mountain rice in addition. The Creoles do not plant rice but have on the other hand a greater variety of vegetables and fruits.

311 Men in Guiana live on the rivers; villages and cultivated
361 lands are to be found on their banks; everywhere else one finds
182 only the deserted forest; only Creole gold miners, constrained by their work, sometimes establish their villages far from watercourses.
181 The Refugee Blacks, like the Indians, love the rivers where they
182 find, along with water and light, the possibility of moving with-
171 out hindrance; they are a people of canoeists; their traditions are widely influenced by life on the river, and their mode of living finds in this a deep originality.

131 In fact, setting aside the gold miners' villages, we can say
133 that the populations of the Guianas living by exploitation of the
182 natural resources of the country have a linear habitat: it can be
171 estimated not in surface but in length, for it is limited to a band of one kilometer along each watercourse accessible to pirogues. These watercourses are limited in number, for one can take for granted that at a distance of some 20 kilometers from the source of each river, the congestion caused by fallen trees and parasitic vegetation prevents easy movement.

[161] Actually, considering the very low density of the population,
[226] the small rivers are scarcely utilized except as fishing places.

487 All the rivers are interrupted by falls and rapids which render
501 the use of large boats impossible. The pirogues of the Refugee

/10 cont. /

162 The Boni, about 1,000 in number, occupy the course of the
131 Lawa between Abounasounga Falls to the north and the falls of the
Litani to the south. Their "great villages," that is, their residential
36 villages, are: Agodé (Boniville), Kotika, Asisi, Loka, Papaïston,
[103] Kormotibo, Lapé, and l'Enfant Perdu. Three small villages
founded more recently are established on the lower course of the
563 Maroni. The territorial implantation of the Boni has been dis-
turbed by the settlement of Creole gold miners on their territory
178 for three quarters of a century. Their demographic situation is
mediocre and their tribal organization, compared to that of the
[181] other tribes, has lost much of its strength. However, they still
make up a human grouping full of strength and originality.

131 The Djuka, whose "great villages" are in Surinam territory
361 on the /11/ Tapanahoni, can be evaluated at 7,000 to 8,000 in
[162] total. At the height of demographic expansion, their farming
[161] villages swarm on both banks of the Maroni and on the islands,
[648] penetrating more and more deeply into the interior of French
[619] Guiana, where in places they form small temporary groupings
living in symbiosis with the Creole gold miners; the Boni recognize
their right to cross their territory but not that of establishing
villages in it.

433 For a century the economy of the Refugee Blacks has been
648 founded on a symbiosis with the Europeans and Creoles; they furnish
[461] specialized labor (construction, but above all, transport) in ex-
[465] change for relatively high wages. This economy finds itself
[178] threatened by the gradual disappearance of gold mining; there is
[166] developing a tendency toward temporary emigration to the Euro-
pean work yards of Saint-Laurent analogous to that of the Saramaka
[182] of Surinam to French Guiana. This is a serious threat to the in-
terior cohesion of the tribes.

F 164 162 744 /13 cont. /
whom African blood predominates are seen; the mulattoes are in general traders, or practice small stock raising.

B 182 The Refugee Blacks are the only population of interior Guiana who can be regarded as perfectly adapted to the environment and capable of subsisting there by their own means. They

B 164 have a protection against malaria which operates thus: If the children suffer from this endemic disease, resistance appears with age, protecting adults from its attacks.

They are subject to serious skin diseases, notably to pian, but these maladies have few demographic consequences; only the

B [161] Boni are seriously attacked by venereal diseases. The Djuka are in the process of very great demographic expansion.

B 182 433 511 The strong tribal organization of these populations and their solid implantation on the ground render effective their methods of working, farming, hunting, and fishing, which assure them not only excellent provisionment but considerable means of exchange and a material standard of living superior to that of most of the populations of Africa. The techniques of the Refugee Blacks, especially as regards the squaring of wood, sawing, and building, procure for them resources comparable to those which the populations of the Ivory Coast get from coffee and cacao. /blank page/

/29 cont./

121 This is what necessitates as precise an inventory as possible of the population in its present state.

61 Matrilineal kin groups among the Djuka and Saramaka Refugee Blacks.
114 Authors who have described the social structure of the Djuka and
184 Saramaka, groupings appreciably more numerous than the Boni, have also called attention to the use of the words lo and bɛɛ, but give them a completely different meaning.

174 The organization they describe can be summarized thus:
571 Before making up tribes, the rebels lived in small groups
621 near the plantations from which they had escaped; these groups of composite origin were designated by the word lo which means: troop, band; the same word is used to designate a band of animals.

[162] These rebels used to belong to all the nations of the west
[103] coast of Africa. In spots there may have been an attempt at regroupings of elements belonging to the same nation, as proven by the village names Loango, Dahomey, among the Saramaka.
[622] But the majority of these small groups were very probably of heterogeneous origin; in each of these lo, the bravest and most capable was designated as head.

[648] After the recognition of the Djuka and Saramaka by the
[167] government of Surinam and their regrouping on the great rivers of the interior, these groups kept their unity since they had a de facto organization and leaders. They were naturally designated by the name of the plantation they had come from. We say for example Dju nẽnge for the former slaves of the Jews, Kõpani nẽnge for the former slaves of the Compagnie des Indes Orientales /East India Company/. /30/

174 In the course of the 19th century the total number of Refugee
613 Blacks increased very rapidly under the influence of a high birth
614 rate. The lineages in the proper meaning of the term bɛɛ, mean-
621 ing the descendants of the same ancestress, took on sufficient im-
571 portance to constitute distinct social units. They grouped in
1161

/99/

182 That this system is perfectly workable has been sufficiently
161 demonstrated by the regular expansion for two centuries of the
241 tribes of Refugee Blacks and by the good functioning of their
423 institutions.
613

Thus the basic instability of the Indians of Guiana cannot
182 be attributed to the influence of the geographical environment alone. It comes essentially from social and psychological factors.

/100/ STUDY OF FARMING HABITATIONS

128 We are now going to study the functioning of the farming habitations under the same aspects:

--Structure (composition of each one, kinship ties);

--Territorial implantation: nature and extent of rights over the land;

--Functioning.

241 Not all Boni have a farming habitation; about two-thirds
62 of them are satisfied with the lands they occupy near the residence
184 villages.

241 The farming habitations we are going to study more es-
62 pecially and which are situated between the mouth of the Inini
361 and Simayé Falls to the south, group about a hundred persons be-
162 longing to the Dju, Lapé, Awara Bakka, and Papaïston lineages.
613 Another group of farming habitations situated a little south of Kormotibo, which we shall study briefly and only so far as their composition is concerned, bring together about 60 persons. Finally, other very dispersed farming habitations exist, belonging principally to the Kotika lineage, some in the Maripasoula region, others in the Abattis-Kotika Falls /region/.

241 On the whole, the Boni farming habitations cannot be com-
184 pared either as to importance or stability with the Djuka farming
62 villages which are placed at intervals on the middle course of the
[361] Maroni, grouping 3,000 to 3,500 persons: this is easy to
[162] understand: the Djuka, continually short of land, are obliged,

/102 cont./

425 2) On the contrary, from the time that occupation of a region becomes habitual, even by groups of small numerical importance, people pay attention to the attribution of the lands. [361] [613] Thus it is assumed that the west bank of the Lawa south of the Atikati habitation up to Simayé Falls has belonged, since the end of the last century, to the Lapé lo, which was occupying it in 1957 by the Paako, Samo, Pwen, Saléni, and Makélé habitations.

423 613 241 361 3) Within each zone the rights remain joint and anyone of the same lo may come to settle there. Thus the farming habitations move around, but within a definite sector. Thus for example Kwaku (Lapé) abandoned in 1954 his habitation situated in the lands of the Lapé lineage (it was too damp in the rainy season, he prefers to content himself with the lands of the "great village"). He does not lose his rights because of this. If he decides eventually to come back, he will settle anywhere in the zone attributed to the Lapé lo.

182 161 241 361 425 It goes without saying that if the population were more dense, such a principle would be difficult to apply and that serious disputes would arise. But this mode of occupation of the soil is perfectly suitable, in their present situation, for the tribes of the Refugee Blacks, for it allows them to practice, with a minimum of friction, the seminomadism which the geographical environment and especially the manioc ant impose.

241 361 423 The zones occupied by the farming habitations rarely have a single holder: most often they are divided into separate sectors on different parts of the river.

504 613 361 423 Actually, as we have seen around the "great villages," each lineage possesses a certain number of "dégrads," or landing places, from which paths radiate. Each "dégrad" is rigorously reserved for the members of a lineage. The occupants of a farming village radiate from around their landing place until they

000/141 cont./
241 of this predatory cultivation has been reached. The nearby
423 agricultural lands are kept in use with too brief a rest period, with
[134] the result that the soil is overworked and the periodic recovery
[825] of the forest proceeds at an ever slower pace. In addition one
struggles to an increasing degree with the problem /142/ of the
leaf-cutting ants, which keep the easily accessible places occupied.

241 The consequence of this circumstance is that the Bush Negroes
311 are forced to make the grounds farther and farther from their vil-
[484] lages. One travels for hours up or down the river in order to
[482] reach good land. When one cannot make good use of a forest
creek in order to transport the produce from the field, one is
forced to carry the harvest for one or two hours through the forest
to the river. The Bush Negro does not go farther than a two
hours' walk (about six kilometers from the river) (see the map /see
p. 13 /).

241 On the Tapanahoni one spends even days in traveling to less
311 populated areas in order to plant and to harvest. One then estab-
361 lishes so-called work camps along the river, from which one
[103] operates in the surrounding areas. This is the case, among others,
between Godoholo and Granbori for people from Drietabbetje or
311 other centers. That one does not go even farther up river, all the
423 way past the last village, Granbori, has to do with a prohibition
643 by the granman of the Aucaners. That is, the latter wants to re-
serve the lands lying beyond this point as hunting lands and there-
fore will not make them available for agricultural purposes.

241 The inhabitants of the villages along the lower Tapanahoni,
311 such as Sajé, Clementi, and Malobbi, frequently lay out their food
423 grounds in the Lawa, where they can have at their disposal agri-
361 cultural lands as far as the Aboenasoengoe Falls. Farther upstream
103 on this river the Bonni or Aloekoe Negroes assert their rights.

5. Differences between Aucaners and Paramaccaners

101 The conditions given above apply in the main to the Aucaner
● 162 Bush Negroes of the Tapanahoni. They number today approximately
[311] 6,500 persons. The Paramaccaner Bush Negroes of the Marowijne,
approximately 1,700 in number, are in somewhat more favorable

/142 cont./

101 162 311 circumstances because with their lower population density they are less seriously in need of land. But the same fate awaits them in the near future. In addition, the cutting of the forest has more serious consequences in this region because as a result exploitable timber is lost. Along the Tapanahoni, above the greater falls, woodcutting is impossible for the time being, so that the loss of wood in these districts does not as yet play an economic role here.

6. Measures toward Improvement

433 The question now is whether the grounds-operations of the Bush Negroes must be regulated by a higher authority. My advice is: The /143/ sooner improvement can be brought about in this, the better, and for the following reasons.

[311] 1st. Because of the grounds-system practiced from olden times, the Aucaners of the Tapanahoni in particular now have such a land shortage that further growth of the population is thereby hindered.

[262] 2nd. The food supply of this Bush Negro society is precarious and one-sided; this threatens to become more and more unfavorable, with the consequence that the health situation will require more and more care.

3rd. The Bush Negroes cannot be considered capable of bringing about changes for the better in these agricultural methods by themselves.

[167] 4th. Occupying these districts becomes less and less attractive for the younger generation, whereby a spreading of the [464] population over other areas takes place. The men try to find work in the lowlands or in the concerns in French Guiana.

5th. Through the wasteful use of land the supplies of wood along the rivers are in danger of becoming lost entirely.

6th. It is to be feared that unless help is offered through government channels in time to help this bush population out of the impasse, its social and economic retrogression will soon become seriously felt.

B
R /509 cont. /
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114 was the sociological study of these populations.
121

/510/

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125 /517 cont./

We believe the ages are determined with a probable error of less than two years for persons less than 30 years old, two to three years for persons between 30 and 60 years old, and three years above 60. But this error has no systematic character, and one may assume that it is eliminated on the average, disturbing the calculations of fertility and of mortality very little.

[161] [162] Census, age pyramids. The census finished on 1 January 1958 included 811 persons, of whom 666 were from villages on the French bank and 145 on the Surinam bank (Kotika). With regard to the latter, we interrogated them individually when they came over to the French side, particularly when they came to attend the celebrations of the end of mourning at Boniville in November 1957. Temporary absentees (less than 5%) were placed by information provided by their nearest relatives. /518/ /Diagram 1 appears here./

We estimate the omissions in the census at less than 2%. These omissions are almost exclusively a matter of adolescents and young orphans or youngsters raised by persons other than their own parents.

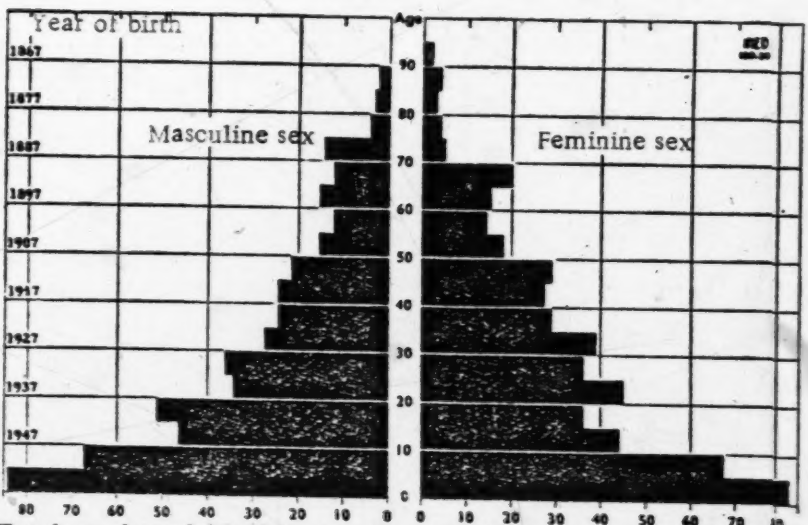
[167] Emigration and immigration are very slight, practically zero as far as the women are concerned. Thus the age pyramid really represents the demographic situation of the Boni and lends itself to complementary calculations of mortality.

Interrogation of the women. The women of the villages on the French bank were questioned about the children they had had and lost. An effort was made to place the dead children in relation to the survivors and in relation to the local chronology. The age of the dead ones was determined by comparison with children or adolescents living at the time of the inquiry.

For the dead adults an attempt was made to fix the year of their death in relation to the local chronology.

/518 cont./

162



Total number of the quinquennial groups (For a total population of 1000)

Total number of the quinquennial groups (For a total population of 1000)

Diagram No. 1. Boni Refugee Blacks of the Upper Maroni

Age Pyramid on 1 January 1958

125 We gave up the idea of deducing the number of stillborn infants from the mortality tables, in order to facilitate comparison with the Indian populations where this distinction would not have been possible. We took account of all the children born at term.

For greater certainty we questioned the women twice at an interval of one year (end of 1956 and end of 1957). Those who gave contradictory answers were eliminated. /519/

[162] On 1 January 1958 the women from the villages on the French side born up until 1939 inclusive and married for at least one year were 216 in number, including in that number 17 women from the village of Kotika residing temporarily on the French side; 198 were questioned.

/524 conr. /

165 Factors influencing the demographic characteristics of the Boni. Life expectancy at birth for the Boni is not only 12 years higher than that of the Indians, but is also considerably higher than that of the African peoples from which they came.

This fact can be attributed to two causes:

164 1. The Boni live in a more salubrious environment than
182 the African forest and have better living conditions. It seems likely that the Guianese forest, apart from malaria, presents few causes of bad health and is relatively favorable to man; the absence of trypanosomiasis permits men /525/ to gather on the banks of the large rivers, generously exposed to the air and to the light. The small number of the Boni and their dispersion over a vast territory stands in the way of the transmission of diseases by drinking water. In fact the water is generally healthy. Dysentery and parasitosis are considerably rarer and less serious than in Africa;

14 2. The Boni are a selected population. This is a very im-
● 162 portant aspect of their demography.

The slaves were the object of a systematic selection; the purchasing commissions of the rich colony of Surinam allowed only individuals of good health and constitution to pass. A second selection took place at the time of the formation of the tribes of Refugee Blacks. More than from a massive rebellion the rebel groups increased in size by the addition of those who, from year to year, escaped at the peril of their lives. Without any doubt those who preferred combat to servitude were the most vigorous and bravest. Voluntary migrations have always been a factor of selection: one may suppose that a migration which took place in such circumstances was accompanied by a particularly rigorous selection which, in spite of the time which has passed (eight generations), continues to influence the physiological
[734] characteristics of the Refugee Blacks. Notably it can explain
[157] the vigorous constitution of the Boni (there are only two congenital invalids out of 810 persons) and their exceptional qualities of physical courage and initiative.

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[For further information concerning the socio-demographic composition of each of the Boni villages, see category 116, pp. 478-539.]

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[For further information concerning the lineage/sib organization and membership of the Boni, with associated data on age, sex, and ethnic affiliations, see the genealogical charts on pp. 542-575, category 116.]

B 487 501 505 /8 cont. /The Pirogues of the Refugee Blacks, carrying a useful load of from 1,000 to 2,000 kilograms, are the normal means for provisioning the placers and European settlements of the Interior. The use of outboard motors on these small boats tends to become more general, but navigation remains difficult and dangerous and the Refugee Blacks continue to draw the essential part of their resources from these trips. /Fig. 1 appears here./

/9/ Populations

B F 162 648 The Maroni Basin is relatively populated if it is compared with the rest of Guiana. The population includes three human groups which are very different from one another and have absolutely no tendency to merge although they maintain friendly relations.

F 101 177 F 144 1) Creoles. This is the name of the colored persons who lead a life with individual characteristics and have adopted European forms of life in part, by contrast to the Refugee Blacks who live in tribes under the command of chiefs. African blood is dominant in the Creoles, especially among the gold miners.

F 131 361 161 463 In 1958 there were no more than about 800 Maroni Creoles, almost all gold miners or traders, grouped principally around the little Surinam mining center of Benzdorp; very small villages of gold miners are scattered along the principal tributaries of the Maroni, notably the Abounami, the Great and the Little Inini, the Waki.

F 167 The Maroni Creoles are nearly all foreigners, the great majority originally from the British West Indies, more specifically from Santa Lucia and Barbados; there are very few among them from the French West Indies or the Guianas.

F 197 All speak dialects with a French base, very close to one another but rather different from the very special patois of the

F 233 433 /10 cont./

Since about ten years ago Creole exploiters without any outside aid have built up a herd of several hundred head, principally with an eye to the provisioning of the mining center of Benzdorp. F [508] The existence of an airodrome and regular air connections permits envisaging the export of meat to the coast. The success of animal F 233 raising in the Upper Maroni seems to be attributable to a rainfall [132] lower in total amount than on the coastal strip but better distributed, [311] as well as to the nature of the soil. It is principally on the floodable alluvial strip bordering the river to a width of 500 to 600 meters that cattle find the most favorable conditions, taking refuge on the neighboring hills during the three weeks of annual inundation.

F [461] Winning pastures from the forest and defending them against the encroachment of the bush represents continual work, but it [464] can be carried out on the Maroni far better than on the coast, thanks to the man power of the Refugee Blacks.

F [433] One cannot yet come to a conclusion on the profitableness [435] of this animal raising. Like many other enterprises in Guiana it is handicapped by its too high cost price which prevents effective competition with imported products.

B 101 2) The populations of the Maroni, descending from rebel slaves of the 18th century, who are often called Refugee Blacks, are divided into three tribes: the Djuka, the Paramaka, and the B 197 Boni, whose customs are practically identical and whose dialects are very close. These dialects are variations of Taki-taki, vehicular language derived mainly from English, whose use was widespread in the time of slavery and which has become the national language of Surinam.

B 162 131 The Paramaka, 700 to 800 in number, occupy the lower part of the course of the Maroni from the first waterfall (Hermina) to the junction with Béiman Creek. They are not navigators but B 433 464 farmers and foresters, who furnish highly prized man power for the enterprises of the Saint-Laurent region.

/10 cont./

162 131 361 [103] 563 178 [181] The Boni, about 1,000 in number, occupy the course of the Lawa between Abounasounga Falls to the north and the falls of the Litani to the south. Their "great villages," that is, their residential villages, are: Agodé (Boniville), Kotika, Asisi, Loka, Papaïston, Kormotibo, Lapé, and l'Enfant Perdu. Three small villages founded more recently are established on the lower course of the Maroni. The territorial implantation of the Boni has been disturbed by the settlement of Creole gold miners on their territory for three quarters of a century. Their demographic situation is mediocre and their tribal organization, compared to that of the other tribes, has lost much of its strength. However, they still make up a human grouping full of strength and originality.

131 361 [162] [161] [648] [619] The Djuka, whose "great villages" are in Surinam territory on the /11/ Tapanahoni, can be evaluated at 7,000 to 8,000 in total. At the height of demographic expansion, their farming villages swarm on both banks of the Maroni and on the islands, penetrating more and more deeply into the interior of French Guiana, where in places they form small temporary groupings living in symbiosis with the Creole gold miners; the Boni recognize their right to cross their territory but not that of establishing villages in it.

433 648 [464] [465] [178] [166] [182] For a century the economy of the Refugee Blacks has been founded on a symbiosis with the Europeans and Creoles; they furnish specialized labor (construction, but above all, transport) in exchange for relatively high wages. This economy finds itself threatened by the gradual disappearance of gold mining; there is developing a tendency toward temporary emigration to the European work yards of Saint-Laurent analogous to that of the Saramaka of Surinam to French Guiana. This is a serious threat to the interior cohesion of the tribes.

/15 cont./ Thus it was at
423 the time of the Lawa gold rushes (1890) that Grand Man Anato
643 caused rent to be paid by the Creole miners who were settling in
[648] the region. But this practice, excessive when the small portion of this territory actually occupied by the Boni is considered, ended
423 up by falling into disuse. Nowadays things have fallen into the
648 opposite extreme, and the Boni find themselves having no right,
178 customary or otherwise, over the country of their ancestors; the first comer, even of the Creoles from the British West Indies, can settle anywhere, dislocating the apportionment of the land among lineages. This situation has been harmful to the life of the tribe by contributing to the scattering of the peopling. Perhaps it is not too late to remedy the situation. An /16/ /Figure 2 appears here./ /17/ African tribe cannot live wholesomely if there are no definite relationships, entailing unquestioned rights, between the group and the land.

423 The following modus vivendi has been in force for many
619 years:

a) The Djuka may circulate freely across Boni country, but
[486] they may not establish villages in it; if they wish to make clearings
[166] there, they must ask for permission from the grand man.
[226] Otherwise they have the right to fish on the Tanpok and the Waki.

423 b) The Creoles may settle anywhere and make their clear-
648 ings where the lands are not used. But that does not modify in the minds of the Boni the lineages' rights over the land; this occupation is regarded as creating no new right; for example, the Doglis habitation is built on the lands of Kormotibo village.

423 c) The Boni reserve for themselves along with the Oayana
648 Indians the exclusive right to fish on the Litani and the Maruini.
822 On these rivers the Djuka do not have the right to penetrate.
(619) The Boni may be computed at a little less than 1,000 persons
162 all told.

/17 cont. /

162 —On the Lawa a group of a little less than 680 persons is
103 settled on the French bank (villages of Agodé (Boniville), Asisi,
361 Loka, Tabiki (l'Enfant Perdu), Lapé (La Paix), and Papaïston).

—In proximity to this grouping subsists under Dutch control the village of Kotika (Cottica), grouping about 150 persons.

—In the region of Abounasounga two small groupings live in symbiosis with the Djuka. Finally, in the lower course of the Maroni exist three villages: Apatu, Ma Imma, and Wétiti. The whole represents about 150 persons.

361 These villages are stable: Kotika, Lapé, Asisi, Kormotibo
182 were already in existence at the beginning of the 19th century
[175] and their names figure in the report of the Franco-Dutch border mission of 1861; by contrast, farming habitations are moved according to the necessities of agriculture and fishing; thanks to this organization, a relatively numerous grouping can, in the interior of Guiana, in spite of conditions imposed by the geographical environment, conserve complete stability and a firm attachment
[171] to the ground. It is useful to compare this organization with the basic instability of the Indians of Guiana, for it shows very well that this instability is ascribable to psychological and sociological factors and not at all to the geographic environment.

101 The Boni designate themselves by the term Aluku nēnge. The meaning of this word is forgotten. It is possible that Aluku was the name of an ancient chief, or of the founding ancestress
[613] of a lineage. On this subject it is to be noted that the name of the most ancient ancestress known of the Dju lineage, who can be thought of as living at the end of the 18th century, was called
[175] Aluku. This name has been used since the origin of the tribe;
[103] indeed one reads in the interrogation of the woman prisoner conducted in 1847 by the French at Oyapok that her village was called Loukou (1).

/29 cont./

121 This is what necessitates as precise an inventory as possible of the population in its present state.

61 Matrilineal kin groups among the Djuka and Saramaka Refugee Blacks.
114 Authors who have described the social structure of the Djuka and
184 Saramaka, groupings appreciably more numerous than the Boni, have also called attention to the use of the words lo and bɛɛ, but give them a completely different meaning.

174 The organization they describe can be summarized thus:
571 Before making up tribes, the rebels lived in small groups
621 near the plantations from which they had escaped; these groups of composite origin were designated by the word lo which means: troop, band; the same word is used to designate a band of animals.

[162] These rebels used to belong to all the nations of the west
[103] coast of Africa. In spots there may have been an attempt at regroupings of elements belonging to the same nation, as proven by the village names Loango, Dahomey, among the Saramaka.
[622] But the majority of these small groups were very probably of heterogeneous origin; in each of these lo, the bravest and most capable was designated as head.

[648] After the recognition of the Djuka and Saramaka by the
[167] government of Surinam and their regrouping on the great rivers of the interior, these groups kept their unity since they had a de facto organization and leaders. They were naturally designated by the name of the plantation they had come from. We say for example Dju nẽnge for the former slaves of the Jews, Kõpani nẽnge for the former slaves of the Compagnie des Indes Orientales /East India Company/. /30/

174 In the course of the 19th century the total number of Refugee
613 Blacks increased very rapidly under the influence of a high birth
614 rate. The lineages in the proper meaning of the term bɛɛ, mean-
621 ing the descendants of the same ancestress, took on sufficient im-
57 portance to constitute distinct social units. They grouped in
1161

/40 cont./

125 [123] In spite of the relations of trust developed between the Boni and ourselves in the course of the work carried out together during four long missions, we were able to take this census only progressively and indirectly, by using simultaneously the following procedures:

—Study of the genealogy of the groups, going up from woman to woman up to the founding ancestress, then going back down from her. These genealogical tables, some of which extend [166] over nine generations and include more than 160 persons, brought [736] to light a certain number of temporarily absent people and individuals who lived away from the villages, isolated in the middle of the Creole gold miners, but continuing to make up part of their group; they also brought to light a certain number of young people and orphan children taken in by distant relatives who would not have spoken about them directly. But on this point, gaps remain;

[126] —Detailed plan of the villages and interrogation of the village heads as to the persons living in each house;

—Interrogation of the women about their dead and surviving children;

—General verification with the help of perfectly trustworthy informants who possessed a thorough knowledge of the genealogy of the groups.

The census, stopped on January 1, 1958, covered 811 per- [162] sons of whom 667 /41/ were from the villages of the French bank and 144 from the Surinam bank (Kotika). As for the latter, we [765] questioned them individually when they came to the French bank, especially when they came to attend the end of mourning festivities in Boniville in October, 1957. The Kotika census is less [128] exact than that of the French villages, and in addition we were [126] not able to make a plan of the village. For this reason we have not reproduced it in the present work, where only the corresponding genealogical table appears.

/41 cont./

125 We estimate the gaps in the census at less than 3 per cent.
[128] These gaps involve essentially the adolescents and young people orphaned or raised by others than their parents.

The adults over 35 years old were practically all known
[648] individually to us. Children under 10 years could be counted very exactly thanks to the distribution of milk carried out since 1956 by the Maripasoula medical center.

125 Classification. The classification of the population was made by
128 village of residence.
162 For each woman we have indicated her successive unions and the children who issued from them. The sign † means deceased, the sign ✝ divorce, the sign ✝✝ means that the husband is deceased but after the break-up of the union.

The listings for women preceded by an asterisk * indicate that they can be regarded as complete from the demographic point of view (children living and deceased).

A double asterisk ** indicates that the listing can in addition be regarded as complete with regard to successive marriages and divorces (2).

2. We avoided asking directly these questions to which the women replied unwillingly. The information was obtained indirectly by questioning brothers and husbands. It could be obtained complete for only about 30 per cent of the women.

/42/

125 The name of each individual is printed in boldface type
128 once where he can be considered as habitually residing.
162 Children under 15 are considered as living with the persons responsible for their education. If it was not possible to obtain accurate information about this, they are considered as living with their mother.

Each listing bears a number, for example Dju D7, making it possible to find again the individual's place in the genealogical table. In the example noted, refer to the table of the Dju lineage, line D, no. 7.

601 Genealogical tables. These are of unequal value according to the
128 age and the memory of the old people consulted. In general
[115] they go back to three generations beyond the oldest of the old men now alive.

[165] Since the Boni show remarkable longevity, and the average difference in age between two generations can be estimated at 31 years, one can assume as probable that the most distant ancestress known of each lineage was born between the middle and the end of the 18th century. For example, if we assume that
[613] Kuluba, the ancestress of the Awara Bakka, was about 100 years old in 1956, we can take for granted that she was born about 1856 and that her great-grandmother was born about 1760.

613 The most ancient ancestress known of each lineage is certainly not the foundress. It is infinitely probable that the founding of these groups goes back to the beginning of the 18th century and that they were born on the same plantations where the ancestors of the Refugee Blacks were slaves; this would explain the names borne by the lineages, names which nearly always allude to a plantation or to a slave-owner.

601 In a general way, the memory of the Boni is very sure,
128 and the information given in the form: Ma X... begot So-and-so,

/43 cont./

114 of the true foundresses and the circumstances of the formation of
613 the lineages (invaluable information which must still have been present in the memory of the old men at the end of the last century) are lost forever.

128 In order to simplify the drawing up of the genealogical
601 tables, we have eliminated individuals deceased before adult age.

128 Names. To insure the necessary anonymity to our informants
551 without diminishing the accuracy of the statement, we have
601 changed a large part of the names. The fictitious names under
162 which individuals are designated in the genealogical tables as
[101] well as in the inventory of the population were mostly taken from the Djuka, who belong to the same cultural and linguistic group; in other cases, in order "to figure" the census we used a more complex process consisting in exchanging the names of two persons. Children younger than 15 are designated simply by an initial (1).

[648] 1. It is particularly disagreeable to the Refugee Blacks to have their children's names known by Europeans, with the exception of
[123] the doctor. All systematic questioning on this subject runs into clear hostility.

114 Despite these precautions, we recommend that travelers
609 provided with this work make no allusion in front of the Boni to the facts related in it; the Refugee Blacks are very proud and cannot allow an outsider to penetrate forthwith into their family privacy. That would provoke lively hostility toward the indiscreet person and would hinder later work.

114 The table of correspondence between true and fictitious
128 names is held at the disposal of sociologists who may wish to conduct studies on the Boni.

/441/

BONIVILLE

Legend

●162
613
621
[643]

N°		House of		N°		House of	
1	△	Difu grand man	Dikan	31	○	Pélui	P1, F34
2	△	Dodoya	Dip. I, F82	32	△	Gonisutu (2nd house)	
3	○	Kulina	Dju, F9	33			
4	△	Fintiman	Dju, F6	34	△	Baafu	L2, E58
5	△	Klémenti	Dju, F7	35	○	Lomé	L2, F74
6	○	Eliana	Dju, F8	36	○	Térésa	L2, E57
7	○	Kulina	Dju, F9	37	△	Amakti	L2, F71
8	△	Doni	Dju, G13	38	△	Monpé	1. Poti
9	△	Lota	K3, E142	39	○	Abooméki	
9(a)	△	Booki	K3, E133	40	△	Klémenti	Dju, F7
10	○	Mimi	K3, E156	41	○	Amékiwan	1. Poti
11	○	Lémiki	K3, D130	42	○	Léya	K2, F99
12	△	Tofioto	K3, E157	43	○	Paata	1. Poti
13	△	Lébiman	K3, D132	44	○	Chima	1. Poti
14	○	Achiké	K3, E140	45	○	Lésina	K2, F69
15	○	Sooto	K3, E142	46	△	Todo	K2, F68
16	○	Maka	K3, E146	47	○	Awini	K1, E37
17	○	Marta	K3, F140	48	△	Todo	K2, F68
18	○	Waway	K3, E130	49	△	Noël	Dip. I, F83
19				50	△	Kallawa	1. Poti
20	○	Afiimgi	K3, D120	51	○	Bada	Dip. I, F1
21	○	Akyènki	K3, E144	52	△	Madéko	K2, E69
22	△	Makalanchi	K3, F130	53	○	Amanichi	Dip. I, F7
23	△	Sintamann	K3, E145	54	○	Cécilia	Dip. I, E9
24	△	Asékéyé	P1, G25	55	△	Dyakata	Dip. I, E4
25	△	Bukuman	P1, F32	56	△	Alichi	Dip. I, F5
26	○	Apinda	P1, G96	57	○	Asumé	Dip. I, F2
27	△	Gonisutu	P1, G64	58			
28	○	Alasani	P1, F34	59	○	Léya	K2, F99
29	△	Bénanu	P1, G61	60	△	Todo	K2, F68
30	△	Nanga	P1, G31				

Total on January 1, 1958: 116 persons, including 43 children and adolescents of less than 16 years.

Adult inhabitants whose residence in Boniville is not normal: none.

The members of the small Poti lineage, founded about 50 years ago by a Djuka woman, wife of grand man Ochi†, have normal residence here through their foundress. No Djuka, Saramaka, or Paramaka lives in Boniville.

/46/

l'Enfant Perdu (Tabiki) Village

•162
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Legend

N•	House of		N•	House of	
3	○ Djalufu	Dip. I, E8	25	△ Famblèn	Dip. I, E62
6	△ Kasun (usually lives in Kotika	Dip. I, E3	26	○ Asuwèntina	K2, E73
			25, 29	△ Daméni	Dip. I, E47
8	△ Biani	Dip. I, F76	30	○ Anusa	Dip. I, E48
9	○ Saumè	Dip. I, E53	31, 32	○ Towéchi	Dip. I, F64
10	△ Tabayé	Dip. I, F73			
11	○ Saumè (2nd house)		33	△ Malpa	Dip. I, F52
13	○ Abéna	Dip. I. D38	34	△ Babun (2nd house)	
14	△ Polou	Dip. I, F77	36	○ Aséli	Dip. I, F60
15	△ Toli	Dip. I, D44	37	○ Efina	Dip. I, E44
16	○ Mata	Dip. I, F80	38	○ Ansu	Dip. I, G50
17	△ Abagon	Dip. I, E35	39	○ Musinga	Dip. I, F51
19	△ Bayamati	Dip. I. E55	41	○ Apensa	Dip. I, F54
20	△ Simon	Dip. I, F78	42	○ Kodja	Dip. I, F55
21	△ Manku	Dip. I, F75	43	○ Saayé	Dip. I, F56
22	△ Bobun village head	Dip. I, D40	45	○ Péechina	Dip. I, E42

[622]

Total on January 1, 1958: 65 persons, of whom 25 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

[591] Adult inhabitants of the village whose residence is not normal:

○ Asuwèntina 1926, raised by her father Famblèn, remained in l'Enfant Perdu;

△ Yoni 1930, DJUKA, raised by his brother by the same father Tabayé in l'Enfant Perdu village, remained there afterward.

Total: 2 persons, of whom one is bringing up a child.

Loka and Lapé Tabiki Villages

[591] Adult inhabitants whose residence is normal: /Error for "not normal"? - Tr.

△ Afoondo 1935, raised by his father Koniman in Loka, stayed there

○ Baïkom 1924, raised by her father Malobi in Loka, stayed there

○ Méchi 1922, raised by her father Kodio in Loka, stayed there

○ Noko 1937, raised by Namu, sister of her father, stayed in Loka

○ Régina 1936, raised by her father Popo in Loka, stayed there

Total: 5 persons, raising 7 children or adolescents under 16 years old.

/48/

Loka and Lapé Tabiki Villages

●162
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621

Legend

Loka Village

N°	House of		
1, 4	○ Bito	L1, D2	
3	△ Télon	L1, E3	
2, 5	○ Tolti	L1, E1	
6	△ Pikinbaala	L1, E2	
7	○ Totouman	L1, F1	
8	△ Dooté	L1, E10	
9	○ Baïkom	Dju, F10	
11	△ Abété		
12	△ Malobi	Dip. I, E50	
13	○ Alapu	L1, D9	
14	○ Apiéku	L1, E7	
15	○ Yaana	L1, E39	
16	○ Madu	L1, E41	
17	△ Topo	L1, E40	
18	○ Chii	L1, D24	
19	○ Koko	L1, E42	
20	△ Ayaubédé	L1, E37	
21	○ Mayon	L1, F27	
22	○ Saléni	L1, E25	
23	○ Kayé	L1, F26	
24	△ Tingo	L1, F25	
25	○ Awenkina	L1, D23	
26	○ Paako	L1, E29	
27	○ Do	L1, F35	
28	○ Akomédi	L1, F34	
29	○ Méchi	Aw. B.1, E27	
30	○ Balansi	L1, F37	
31	○ Mémé	L1, E34	
32	○ Akuba	L1, E30	
33	△ Akwadé	L1, E22	
34	○ Ondi		
35	△ Pwen	L1, E33	
36	△ Koniman	L1, E31	
37	○ Akuba	L1, E30	
38	○ Afuyéti	L1, F38	
39	△ Afoondo	Aw. B.1, F56	
40	○ Mélita	L1, E32	
41	○ Abiaman	L1, F39	
42	○ Téké	L1, F44	
43, 44	△ Tamu	L1, F32	
45, 46	△ Fosé	L1, F33	
47	△ Somié	L1, E24	
48	△ Popo, head of the village	L1, E23	

[622] →

Lapé Tabiki Village

N°	House of	
1	○ Asamani	L1, D15
1a	Manntau	L1, E20
2	Tabiki†	
3	△ Butu	DJUKA
4	△ Sofé	L1, D13
5	○ Twa †	L1, E14
6	○ Asoïda †	L1, C11
7	○ Kama	L1, E15
8	○ Adoimba	L1, E17
9	△ Maaten	L1, E18
10	△ Tyaka	L1, D16
11	○ Yundu † 1957	L2, G60
12	○ Asakundu	L2, E55
	○ Angisa	L2, F61
13	△ Anato	L2, G61

Total on January [illegible], 1958: [illegible] persons of whom 64 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

/50/

Asisi Village--Dju Quarter

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Legend

N°	House of		N°	House of	
1	△ Fraga	Dju, F18	25	○ Paana	Dju, G2
2	△ Loko	Dju, F39	26	○ Téodora	Dju, G40
3	△ Sosoman	Dju, E14	27	○ Pikè	Dju, F28
4	△ Fraga (2nd house)		29	○ Dabisa	Dju, G45
5	△ Tyolo	Dip. II, F48	30	△ Yaka	SAR.
6 } 7 }	△ Wénu	Dju, F38	31	△ Soalufu	Dju, G42
			32	○ Aliki	Dju, E23
8	△ Koniami	Aw. B.1, G1	33	○ Maria	Dju, F11
9	○ Yéèchi	Dju, F3	34	△ Achiké	Dju, F13
10	○ Wima † 1957		35	○ Félicia	Dju, G41
13	△ Féni	Dju, G3	36	△ Bernardin	K1, D60
14	△ Adiso, village head	Dju, F37	37	△ Achiké (2nd house)	
			38	○ Dachini	Dju, F16
15	○ Pamasa	Dju, E26	39	○ Adyidya (2nd house)	
16	○ Buba	Dju, G1	40	○ Kukusa	Dju, F40
17	○ Aguba	Dju, G14	41	△ Faawé	Dju, F19
18	○ Sara	Dju, E27	42	○ Ursula	Dju, D3
20	○ Ata	Dju, F2	43	○ Wima † (2nd house)	
21	○ Adyidya	Dju, E19	44 } 45 }	○ Diana	Dju, E9
22	○ Lènga	Dju, F36			
23	○ Sara (2nd house)		46	○ Baawè	Dju, E13
24	○ Tini	Dju, F1			

Total on January 1, 1958: 67 persons of whom 24 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

[591] Adult inhabitants whose residence is not normal:

△ Koniami 1935, raised by his father among the Dju, stayed there afterward;

△ Tyolo 1919 idem

△ Yaka 1870, old Saramaka moved in with his wife Aliki;

△ Bernardin 1885, raised by his father among the Dju where he took a wife;

○ Afatia 1930, raised by her father among the Dju, stayed with her brother by the same father Féni.

Total: 5 persons, of whom one is raising a child.

6:Hurault--73 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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[622]

Asisi Village--Awara Bakka Quarter

Legend

N°		House of		N°		House of	
1	△	Amusupé 1887	Aw. B. 1, E3	30	○	Noémi	Aw. B. 1, F51
2	△	Kondoku, village head	Aw. B. 1, E22	31	△	Empalé	DJUKA
				32	△	Antonu	Aw. B. 1, E47
3	○	Kyéti	Aw. B. 1, E30	33	○	Agyasu her	
4	○	Mani	1. Afi, d12		△	Maliki, husband	L2, F64
5	○	Paniki	1. Afi, d13	34	○	Irma	Aw. B. 1, E37
6	△	Awéni	1. Afi, c12	35	○	Bugi	Aw. B. 1, F41
7	△	Agibidon	Aw. B. 1, E21	36	○	Akumuyé †	Aw. B. 1, D17
8	○	Akichi	Aw. B. 1, F27	37	○	Méédié	Aw. B. 3, F90
9	△	Boofo	Aw. B. 1, E31	38	○	Mona	Aw. B. 1, F50
10	○	Biyo	Aw. B. 1, F11	39	△	Mato	Aw. B. 1, E46
11	△	Matapi	1. Afi, c3	40	○	Chitaïna	Aw. B. 1, F43
12	△	Béti	Aw. B. 1, F37	41	○	Lébimay	Aw. B. 1, F55
13	△	Aminto	Aw. B. 3, E74	42	○	Namu	Aw. B. 1, E48
14	○	Kuluba † 1957	Aw. B. 1, D1	43	○	Léna	Aw. B. 1, E52
15	○	Fakima	Aw. B. 2, E61	44	△	Maïna	Aw. B. 1, F42
16	○	Abuyu	Aw. B. 2, E63	45	○	Lébimichi	Aw. B. 1, F27
17	○	Koluku	Aw. B. 2, E59	46	○	Amélia	Aw. B. 1, F19
18	△	Garson	Aw. B. 1, F7	47	△	Ernest	Aw. B. 1, E25
19	○	Summa	Aw. B. 3, F81	48	○	Apinda	Aw. B. 1, F16
20	○	Emma	Aw. B. 2, D25	49	△	Bésu	Aw. B. 1, F17
21	○	Titi	Aw. B. 1, E16	50	○	Kakié	Aw. B. 1, E18
22	△	Akodo	Aw. B. 2, E55	51	○	Atuku †	Aw. B. 1, E26
24	○	Saanéti	Aw. B. 2, D28	52	○	Ayékuman	Aw. B. 1, F8
25	△	Asakya	Aw. B. 2, E65	53	○	Soéfi	Aw. B. 1, F10
26	△	Kondoku (2nd house)		54	△	Dopia	Aw. B. 1, F9
27	○	Akanté	Aw. B. 3, E70	55	△	Baakaman	Aw. B. 1, F12
29	○	Kilina	Aw. B. 3, E71	56	○	Alicia	Aw. B. 1, E32

Total on January 1, 1958: 145 persons of whom 60 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

NOTA: The Awara Bakka lineage settled earliest on the island of Asisi, and when the Boni speak of Asisi village, they usually mean the quarter occupied by this lineage.

[591] Adult inhabitants of the village whose residence is not normal:

△Empalé 1905, DJUKA mother, raised by his father Pééyon in Asisi, remained there afterward;

△ Maliki 1928, raised by his father in Asisi, remained there afterward;

○ Delina 1931, DJUKA woman settled near her husband Maïna.

Total: 3 persons.

/54/

Papaïston Village

Legend

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N°		House of		N°		House of	
1	○	Bèlfi	P1, F19	18	○	Kumata	P1, G1
2	○	Oben	P1, E13	19	△	Sawen	P1, F7
3	○	Dodo	P1, F11	20	○	Emilia	P1, F3
4	△	Yusu	P1, E16	21	△	Galmo	P1, F15
5	○	Kamen	P1, E14	22	○	Hèléna	P1, F2
6	○	Agodéuman	P1, F10	23	○	Gou	P1, F8
7	○	Mili	P1, F20	24	△	Afay †	
8	○	Donasi † 1957	P1, E35	25	○	Puti	P2, F71
9	○	Asenten	P1, E10	26	○	Ondi	P1, F49
10	○	Aduudu	P1, H61	27	○	Atipay	P1, F47
11	△	Tafonié, village head	P1, E12	28	○	Dopi	P1, G40
				29	△	Agodéba	P1, E1
12	△	Tolinga	P1, E11	30	○	Toïna	1. Toïna
13	○	Efa	P1, D4	31	○	Apuulobi	1. Toïna
14	△	Aguundé	P1, F4	33	△	Apuyu	1. Toïna
15	△	Dudu	P1, F18	34	○	Bèndya	P1, F12
16	○	Kokoyo	P1, F9	35	△	Mangoto	P1, F20
17	○	Wilèlmina	P1, F1				

[622]

Total on January 1, 1958: 83 persons, of whom 36 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

No outsider to the lineage lives in the midst of the Papaïston; the members of the Toïna lineage live isolated at the southernend of the village.

/56/

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Kormotibo and Asisi-Dipélu Villages

Dipélu II lo

We did not judge it useful to include the plan of the habitat [128] of this group, consisting of two hamlets which are badly kept up [361] and in decay.

As of January 1, 1958: 62 persons, of whom 31 are children [162] and adolescents of less than 16 years.

[591] Adult inhabitants whose residence in these villages is not normal:

△ Alémin 1880 (Afi lineage)	has always lived isolated
○ Magdaléna 1912 (Afi lineage) (raising 4 children under 16)	came to live with her husband Léon (Dip. II, † in 1954); remained there afterward.
△ Doïchiman 1934 (Afi l.)	raised by his mother Magdaléna, lives near her.
△ Dokwé 1938 (Afi l.)	idem
○ Gongolon 1937 (Afi l.) (raising a child)	idem
○ Mauda 1935 (Afi l.)	idem
○ Ninga 1899 (Papaïston 2)	separated from her group after a disagreement.
△ Bénu 1928	Ninga's son, followed his mother.

Total: 8 persons raising 4 children under 16 years.

/57/

621 Structure and Composition of the Villages

The examination we have just made of the peopling of six villages shows important aspects of the social organization and material life of the Boni.

591 [613] Kin groups in the villages. We have seen that the principle of Boni residence was localization of the whole lineage, men, women, and children, which implies the absence of common household life, man and wife each living in his own village.

This principle of matrilocal residence is effectively applied in nearly all cases. In 1957, out of all the 670 persons in the villages on the French bank, only 27 adults out of 410, or six per cent, were living in the midst of their paternal relatives or had settled permanently in the village of their spouse. [162] [621]

591 613 Nowhere is seen any tendency toward patrilocal grouping; the small lineages issued in the course of the past two generations from Djuka or Bakabuchi wives who came to settle permanently near their husbands do not escape the common law. Their members follow strictly, with respect to their ancestress, the principle of matrilocal residence.

613 571 621 Another important conclusion is revealed by examination of the genealogical tables:

When a scission takes place within a lineage, scattering its members among several villages under different authorities, this scission is never complete. Lineage members feel at home as much in one as in the other of these villages and go at will from one to the other.

613 621 The Dipélu I example is particularly clear in this respect. Its members are divided among these villages: L'Enfant Perdu, Apatu, and Boniville (where this lineage occupies a quarter).

/58 cont./

166 619 It is fitting to make an exception of the case of OWétiti (Papaïston) and OMa Imma (Kotika), who separated from their groups with their numerous descendants in order to found villages on the lower course of the river. These groups continue to consider themselves Boni; they are the nuclei of future villages.

For the same reasons it is difficult to get exact figures on [162] [621] immigration. About 100 Djuka and Saramaka have founded farming villages in Boni country but keep all their ties with their villages of origin; some 30 of them have married Boni women; one can estimate that some 15 have completely bound up their fate with the Boni and can be considered as integrated into the villages in which they have settled.

16 128 [562] All in all one can estimate that emigration and immigration of adult men, both very insignificant, compensate for each other; they have practically no importance on the social plane (since only the residence of the women has any influence upon the grouping of the lineages) or on the demographic plane; with the Boni the pyramid of ages constructed from the census of the villages represents very faithfully the demographic state of the population and lends itself to precise calculations of mortality (1).

1. It is not the same for the majority of African populations either because of emigration to the cities or polygamy. The presence of several average polygamists in a village is enough to render completely erroneous the counts of cross-sections by age.

166 571 591 613 The founding of new lineages results from the immigration of several Djuka women, some having come to settle permanently near their husbands, others brought up by their fathers in a Boni village. Half a dozen such cases occur in each generation, but

/58 cont./

166 not all result in the founding of a new lineage, either because
571 the women are sterile or because only one or two surviving children
591 remain who go back to live among their maternal kin. The more
613 children a woman has, the more she tends to settle permanently with her descendants, for the group thus formed represents a force and can be self-sufficient as much on the material level as on the emotional level.

613 Four new lineages have been founded in the whole of Boni
571 country during the past 50 years: /59/
162

Awara Bakka 3 (Anèta)	16 persons	on January 1, 1958
Afi	25	--
Toïna	9	--
Poti	8	--
Total....	58 persons	

Thus these new lineages represent only $\frac{58}{810}$ = 7 per cent of the Boni.

16 The immigration of women from other tribes thus remains
619 an exceptional phenomenon which has few effects on the social and demographic levels. The development of the Boni as a nation results only from the natural movement of the population. Study of the genealogies forces the conclusion that when the members of these four small lineages are eliminated, the whole of the Boni are descended from only six or seven women who lived at the end of the 18th century. Few examples of such growth are to be found.

621 Absence of division of the villages into quarters. We have
[183] seen that the custom of the Refugee Blacks is opposed to all that could alter the system of classificatory kinship and leads to the individualization of segments within the lineage. This principle
[613] is translated very clearly in the structure of the villages, where one observes no tendency at all toward division into separate quarters.

/80/

241 Real right. The principle is that he who makes a clearing out of
423 primary forest (or old secondary forest without a known owner)
425 creates at the same time as a right of use for himself, an impre-
613 scriptible right for his lineage.

These two notions are very separate in the minds of the Refugee Blacks. The exercise of a right of use, even over a long period of time, over land already recognized as the possession of another lineage does not create any real right at all.

For example, ○ Béniti † 1953 (E5), an old woman of the Dju lo, had founded a farming habitation in the Kuyaku locality, where she worked the earth for several tens of years. But since these lands, even though unoccupied, were regarded as belonging to the Dipélu II lo (Kormotibo village), Béniti's work did not create any right at all for the Dju lo. If her daughters do not agree and if the habitation disappears, it is people of the Dipélu II lo who will be able to occupy the lands.

613 Consequences of the material scission of a lineage. When fraction
571 A' of lineage A emigrates and goes to settle on the land of another
425 village, B, which cedes a portion of land to it, the members of
423 fraction A', thus separated, keep all their rights over the land from which they originally came. But the reverse is not true: the people who remained in the village of origin of the lineage (A) have no right over the land ceded to the A' out of B's territory.

At the end of a certain time, and especially if the lineage (B) had never really occupied the land granted, it is assumed that the lineage (A') is possessor of it without restriction.

This was the case for example of the fraction of the Dipélu II who left Kormotibo village about 1930 to establish themselves in Asisi near the Awara Bakka lineage. The Awara Bakka granted them some unoccupied lands near Asisi village in the Tapo locality.
● [162] This fraction, now numbering about 30 persons, considers that it has exclusive rights over these lands where the Kormotibo people cannot come to farm, but it has lost nothing as regards its rights over Kormotibo soil.

/99/

182 That this system is perfectly workable has been sufficiently
161 demonstrated by the regular expansion for two centuries of the
241 tribes of Refugee Blacks and by the good functioning of their
423 institutions.
613

Thus the basic instability of the Indians of Guiana cannot
182 be attributed to the influence of the geographical environment alone. It comes essentially from social and psychological factors.

/100/ STUDY OF FARMING HABITATIONS

128 We are now going to study the functioning of the farming habitations under the same aspects:

--Structure (composition of each one, kinship ties);

--Territorial implantation: nature and extent of rights over the land;

--Functioning.

241 Not all Boni have a farming habitation; about two-thirds
621 of them are satisfied with the lands they occupy near the residence
184 villages.

241 The farming habitations we are going to study more es-
621 pecially and which are situated between the mouth of the Inini
361 and Simayé Falls to the south, group about a hundred persons be-
162 longing to the Dju, Lapé, Awara Bakka, and Papaïston lineages.
613 Another group of farming habitations situated a little south of Kormotibo, which we shall study briefly and only so far as their composition is concerned, bring together about 60 persons. Finally, other very dispersed farming habitations exist, belonging principally to the Kotika lineage, some in the Maripasoula region, others in the Abattis-Kotika Falls /region/.

241 On the whole, the Boni farming habitations cannot be com-
184 pared either as to importance or stability with the Djuka farming
621 villages which are placed at intervals on the middle course of the
[361] Maroni, grouping 3,000 to 3,500 persons: this is easy to
[162] understand: the Djuka, continually short of land, are obliged,

/125 cont./

553 613 [178] [162] Transmission of names. It seems that in former times children were by preference given the name of one of their classificatory uncles in the father's lineage. This custom is still clearly observable, but its practice is not general. In fact, out of about 670 persons counted in the villages on the French bank, including about 250 children younger than 14 years, there are only 64, or less than 25 per cent who bear the name of an adult living or dead. These 64 cases are divided thus:

	Mother's Lineage	Father's Lineage	Other Lineages
Name taken from among the child's classificatory brothers and sisters.	0	3	-
Name taken from among the child's classificatory uncles and aunts.	3	37	11
Name taken from among the child's "grandfathers" and "grandmothers."	2	8	

Of these 64 names, 44 /sic/ are taken from the father's lineage, only five from the mother's.

[551] This table is only good for a simple indication. In order to go farther it would have been necessary to study separately the name given by the father and that given by the mother, which we could not do (let us recall that 75 per cent of the individuals are designated by a single name; either the father and mother agreed on the same name, or one of the two names fell into disuse after the child's early years.

/145 cont./

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Women born from	Age difference between husband and wife. The sign — indicates that the husband is younger than the wife.	Average	Spread
1896 to 1915 incl.	—4/1/—1/8/2/—3/—2/7/3/22/9/—3/2/—11/19/17/11/11/21/5/3/1/1/3/2/6/20/16/—2/8/	+5.8 years	—1 to +22 years 22 out of 29 husbands are older than their wives
before 1896	2/0/3/10/—10/—5/5/—2/10/—8/8/0/5/5/.	+1.5 years	—10 to +8 years 8 out of 14 husbands are older than their wives

[587] As the man and woman advance in age, this average age difference of six years is maintained in the course of successive [162] remarriages until old age. It decreases then only by the effect of demographic factors, the proportion of women in the higher age brackets being greater and greater.

162 Out of 37 women over 60 years of age in the Boni villages on the French bank, only 14 were married; all the others had been widows or divorcees for a long time.

/151 cont./

593 Among the Refugee Blacks some very devoted couples are
[591] seen, who spend their whole lives together and who, in their old
[163] age, have completely united their destinies, living in the same house, either in the woman's village or the man's: for example, in the village of Lapé Tabiki, Butu and his wife Asamani, in 1952 aged about 70 years, together for 45 years and having had eight children. But such cases are exceptional. Besides, they
[581] are not admired and held up as an example as one might believe; this man and this woman suited each other, they remained together; if some day they no longer get along, they will divorce, that is all.

595 Polygamy. Polygamy in the African sense of the term, that is, the simultaneous maintenance of several regular households, is exceptional among the Refugee Blacks because of their mode of living:

[433] --The wife is practically entirely dependent on her hus-
[511] band; an economy based mainly on wage earning and involving a relatively high standard of living makes it impossible for most men to maintain more than one household;

[461] --Even if a man had sizable financial means at his disposal, he could scarcely maintain more than two households; for it is not acceptable, at least nowadays, for him to have done by others the customary chores: clearings, boats, house.

• 162 On January 1, 1958 out of 134 men over 20 years old in
595 the villages on the French bank, whose lives were well known to us, there were:

Men maintaining three households	1	1%
" " two households	18	13%
" " one household	104	77%
[589] Bachelors, widowers, or recent divorcés	11	8%
	134	100% /sic/

/155/cont./

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Women born from	0 Div.	1 Div.	2 Div.	3 Div.	4 Div.	Irregular Life	Total
1926 to 1935 incl.	13	8	8	0	0	2	31
1916 to 1925 incl.	9	7	10	1	0	3	30
1896 to 1915 incl.	1	12	6	3	0	1	23
before 1896	3	9	5	1	2	(?)	20
						Total....	104

/156/ Supposing that divorces are regularly spaced through the course of life, and that they cease at about the age of 65 on the average, one can arrive at an estimate of the average number of divorces in store for a Boni woman at old age.

Women born from	Average Age End 1957	Average No. Divorces	Probable No. by Age 65
1926 to 1935 incl.	27 years	0.8 in 10 years(1)	3.8
1916 to 1925	37 years	1.0 in 17 years	2.8
1896 to 1915	52 years	1.5 in 32 years	2.1
before 1896	70 years		1.5 (?)

[582]

1. The average age at marriage is 17 for this group of women, 20 for the earlier groups.

/157 cont./

586 If one considers all Boni women together without any age distinctions, one can estimate that on the average they have been divorced 2.5 times during the course of their lives between 18 and 65 years of age. The average duration of marriages (not counting unions broken by the death of one of the spouses) could be evaluated, for the period before 1950, at about 15 years. [178] It tends to decrease in proportion as a generation brought up under less strict discipline reaches adulthood (1).

1. Doctor Étienne Bois, revising in September, 1960 our card file stopped at the end of November, 1958, recorded for the villages on the French bank 28 divorces which had taken place in the course of this period of 1.8 years. [162] The number of women of marriageable age in these villages being about 160, this figure corresponds to 0.1 divorce per woman and per year, or to an average duration of unions of about 10 years.

[837] Dissoluteness of the women. It appears that most wives are faithful to their husbands for the duration of the union. But since they have the possibility of breaking this union with no need of authorization by anybody whatever, they leave their husband very readily, whether they have stopped liking him or whether they intend to marry a richer man.

/214 cont./

562 787 On the other hand, possession is much more frequent among women: it can be estimated that on the average, one adult woman out of three or four has a gadu.

162 776 787 For example in Boniville, out of 115 persons including about 70 adults, one reckons about 30 gods including 8 to 10 Papa gadu, 8 to 10 Kumẽnti, 1 Bunsunki, and 2 Ampuku.

791 787 561 562 Apprenticeship for possession can begin from adult age, but it seems /215/ that in general it is between 35 and 50 that women take heed of obtaining a gadu. Would that not be, very unconsciously, the desire to stay in the limelight and indirectly to keep a hold over men, once the age of sensual attraction is past?

787 Possession continues for life, and it is out of the question for a god to be transmitted before the death of its bearer. For example, in 1957, the centenarian grandmother in Asisi village, Kuluba, still kept her Papa gadu god. She had not participated any more in the dances of possession for long years, but her gita was always consulted.

But it can happen, if a possessed person stops taking part in dances and practicing the rites that have been shown him, that any manifestation ceases at the end of a few years.

We observed that in B... of the Dipẽlu II lo, in 1948 and 1949. He used to exhibit strong attacks of the gita of Kumẽnti. He stopped his instruction, finding that it was costing too much and was taking time. In 1952 he exhibited only latent manifestations of his gita at rare intervals. In 1956 nothing was any longer observable.

787 789 It can happen, on the other hand, that attacks of possession become so frequent and so strong that the person concerned risks losing his reason; if it concerns a god which did not come of its own initiative, one can try to expel it. In [824] order to "wash" someone free of a gita, he is made to pass between two rows of ɔbiaman who hold dry palms, pina tɔŋgo, in their hands and utter adjurations.

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648 which in Black Africa has so powerfully contributed toward the destruction of traditional structures.

[829] Truth to tell, the problem was simpler, for the conceptions of the Refugee Blacks, involving no form of oppression of individuals and assuming the right of the woman to self-determination, reduce to the vanishing point the sources of disputes between individuals and groups.

[162] In 1946 the administrative post of Maripasoula was created, near the confluence of the Lawa and the Inini. Since that time, the gendarmerie has administered to the satisfaction of all and without any incident a heterogeneous population of 2,000 persons, gold miners, Refugee Blacks, and Indians, scattered over [743] a vast territory. The medical post created at Maripasoula in 1949 is very much frequented by the Boni and performs an extremely useful function on the psychological as well as on the social level.

The relations of the various groups give rise to very small frictions, one with another, but the Refugee Blacks never give occaston for intervention in the internal affairs of their groups. [505] Respectful of the administration, they carry out punctually their commitments to their employers, insuring all the transport on the river according to a modus vivendi established for a long time (1).

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On this subject it is to be noted that disagreeable incidents occur each time the Boni deal with inexperienced travelers who do not know the customs of the river or do not wish to apply them. In a general way the Refugee Blacks, of their own accord respectful of anyone who comes to do a useful job, loathe tourists; they cannot stand being photographed or observed like queer animals.

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A (p. 576)
B (p. 577)
C (p. 578)
D (p. 579)

Chart of Positions of End Map /facing p. 576/

6:Hurault--576 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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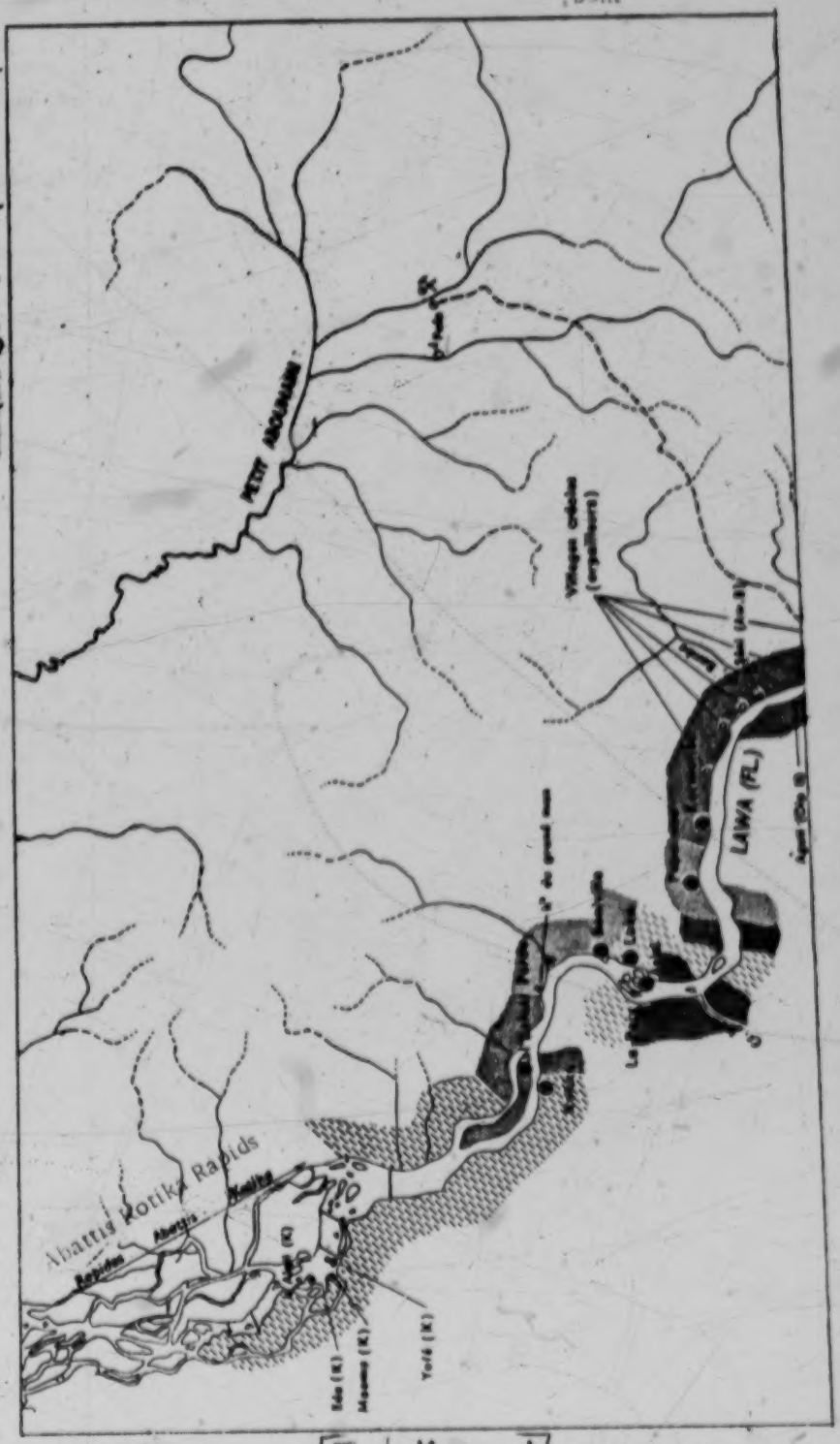

[End Map - A]

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6:Hurault--577 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

COURSE OF THE LAWA
(French Guiana)

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLING

End Map - B

E:Hurault--578 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SRB Bush Negroes SRB
Boni

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Villages and Farming Habitations
in 1958

- Boni residence villages
- Boni farming habitations
- Creole villages
- European establishments
- Creole habitations
- Small gold workings
- Indian villages

(K) Kotika lo

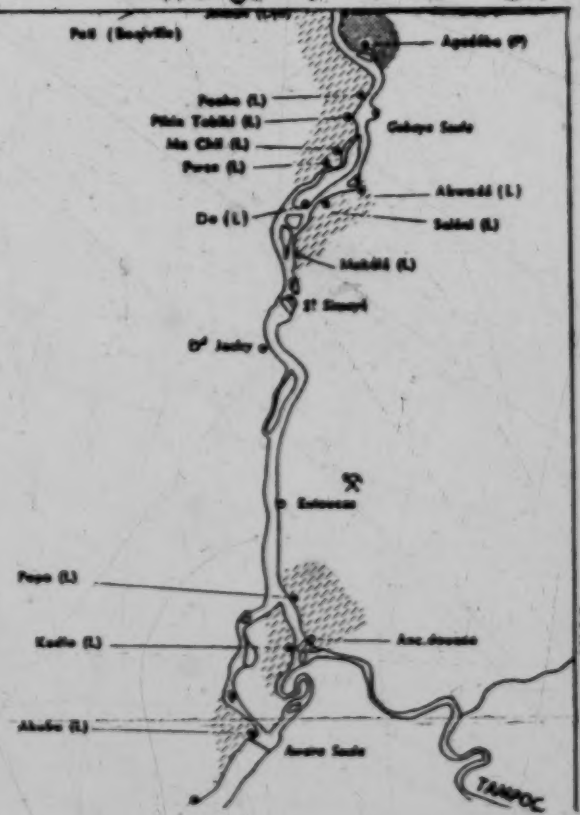
(Dip) Dipéiu lo

(D) Dikan lo

(L) Lapé lo

(Dju) Dju lo

Lands belonging to the Boni lineages



End Map - C

6:Hurault--579 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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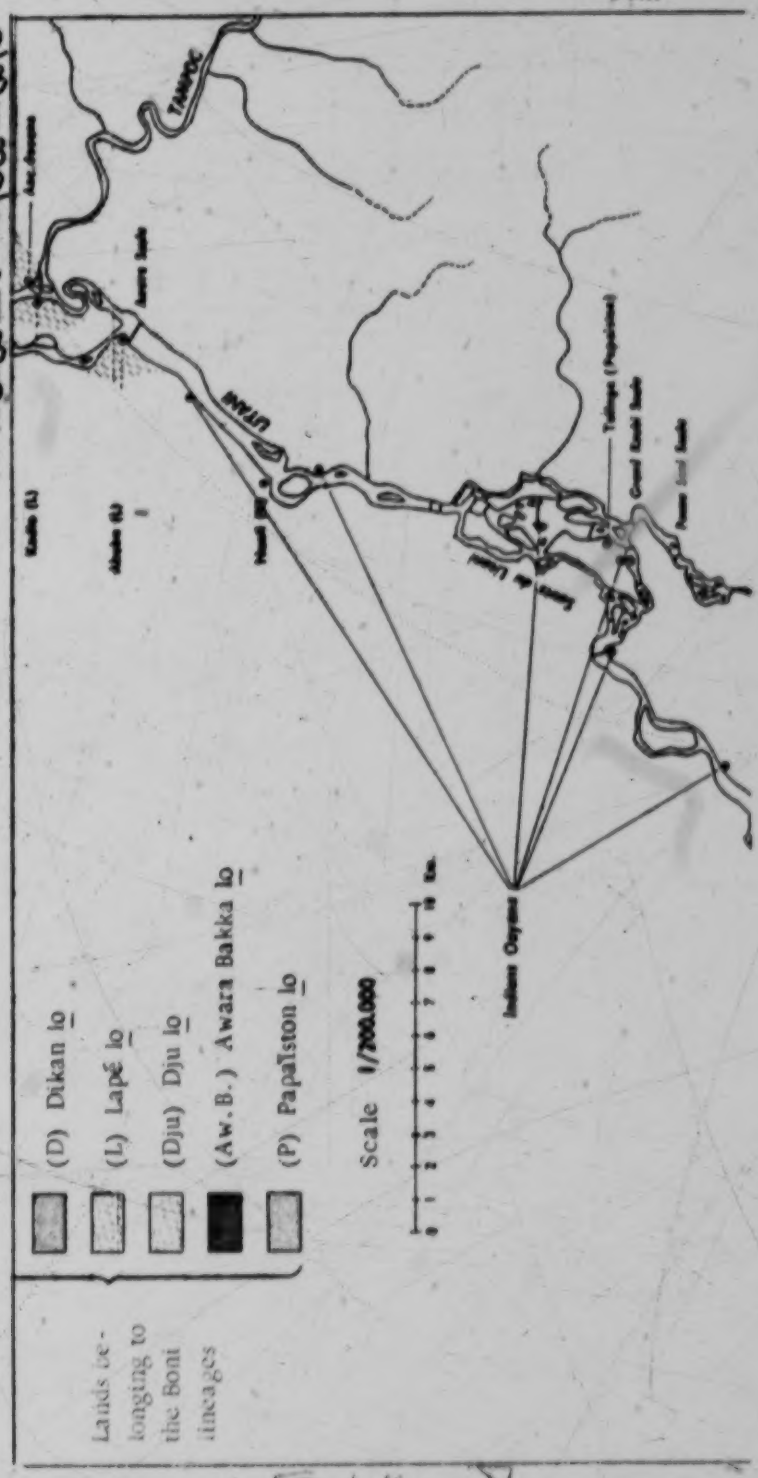

[End Map - D]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

We took particular pains to gather as much information 163
as possible on fecundity, infant mortality, and the death-rate of mothers in childbirth. Sixty women were questioned. The fecundity we found to be variable; one of the women claimed to have borne twelve children—the highest number encountered—and some had no offspring at all. The usual number of children was found to be two or three. Interestingly enough, there is a low infant mortality; that is to say, a low death-rate for infants during the first six months after birth, but a high child mortality. The higher death-rate occurs 165
among children from the ages of two to six years. There 844
seemed to be a considerable number of premature births, and deaths of mothers at the time of birth or shortly thereafter are numerous. After much questioning, we found this to be one of the grievances of the Djukas, for they consider the Dutch medical authorities could do a great deal in alleviating such a condition. The precautions surrounding the mother at the time of childbirth or shortly thereafter are very crude and they may lead to infections and end in death by puerperal sepsis. 164 844

The birth of a child is usually the occasion for some slight [352]
celebration. The umbilical cord is severed with a knife (unsterilized, of course) and buried behind the hut. The placenta is thrown into the river. *Trismus neonatorum,* a tetanus infection by way of the umbilical cord, occasionally occurs, due to the extremely unclean conditions surrounding parturition. As can be seen from the photographs, some of the Djuka children suffer from umbilical hernia, because the cord is

/519 cont./

125 --158 (80%) answered with good grace;

--33 (17%) answered with reticence or gave contradictory [593] answers in 1956 and 1957. Checking showed that they neglected to mention a living child, generally one of their older ones whom they were not raising themselves. In spite of the precautions taken, there are some omissions in the census of the adolescents and young people because of this (7).

> 7. On the other hand, we never ascertained any dissimulation concerning dead children. On the contrary, the Boni women speak of their deceased children with a certain indifference.

For 28 of these women we were able to reconstruct their lives with sufficient precision by interrogating contradictorily the husbands and the older brothers of the same mother. The five others were eliminated;

7 (3%) obstinately refused to answer without giving any justification for their attitude.

[484] Eighteen women could not be added, this being due to the continual moving of the Boni between their villages, their crop plantings, and their fishing places.

We took into account 7 women who died before 1957, whom we had been able to question in the preceding years.

[163] All in all, we have preserved 193 records of women having had 747 children, of whom 472 had survived as of the first of January 1958.

/519 cont./

128 Fertility. We have classed the women, according to the year of
● 163 birth, into four categories, for fertility has varied considerably in the course of time. The study has been made by five-year age-blocks. The table below /see p. 16 / shows the cumulative fertility (total of figures obtained for the various age-blocks from 15 to 50 years of age). For the women of categories three and four, the number obtained is the result of an extrapolation.

842 Among the Boni there is no custom leading to a diminution of fertility, and the voluntary restriction of births is unknown.

163 The vertical fall of fertility between categories one and
164 two results from the invasion of venereal diseases, which seems
[177] to have coincided with the period (1920) when the search for the balata brought into the interior a heavy traffic of adventurers
[831] accompanied by numerous prostitutes. The very free morals of the Boni favor the propagation of the illness, which, since that time, has not ceased its ravages, stemmed only, but not eliminated, by the medical effort of these last years.

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Category	Born	Cumulative Fertility	Rate of Sterility	Age when half the children were born (9)
		%	%	Years
1	1850—1895	7.30	5	31
2 3	1896—1915 1816—1925	3.83	21	27
4	1926—1938	4.52	15	27 (8)

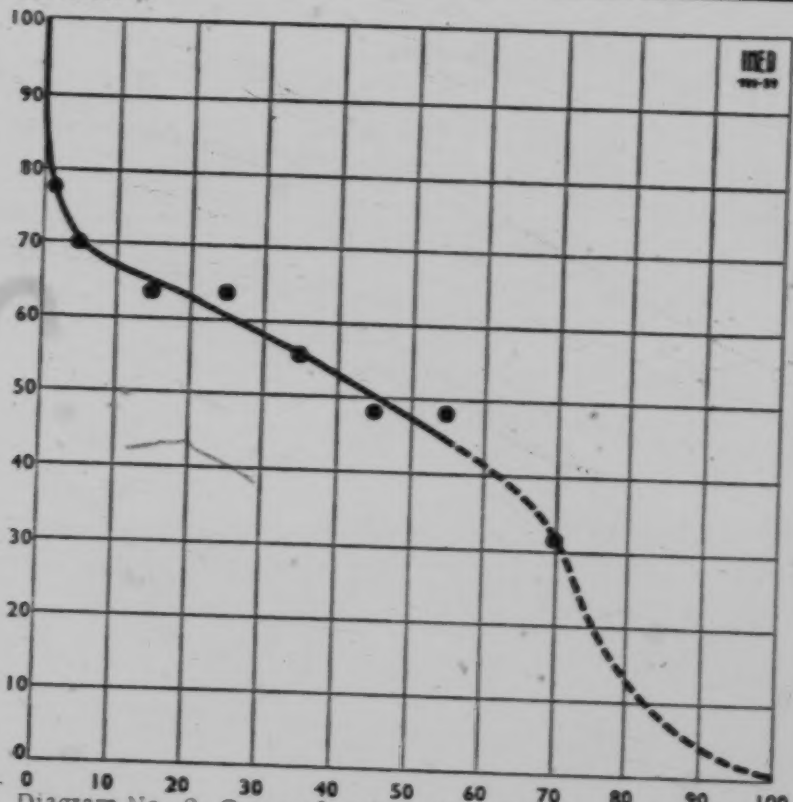

Diagram No. 2. Curve of survival for the Boni, taking 1 January 1950 as the date of reference.

163 128 8. In the evaluation of the net rate of reproduction (cf. p. 523), the average age should be brought in; there is the danger, however, of this being overestimated as a result of errors in the ages; this is why we preferred to substitute for it the median age.

9. The calculation with regard to the women of category 4 could not, in view of their age, give precise results. We preferred to adopt the figure for the preceding category.

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[For additional demographic and social information, see the "Table of the Population of the Boni Villages," on pp. 479-539, category 116. Included are data on the number of children per woman, the number of deaths by age and sex, the name of the guardian (usually, but not necessarily a parent) who was responsible for raising a particular individual, personal names of the Boni, marital residence and residence changes by specific individuals, marriage practices, including polygynous unions and secondary marriages, cases of divorce, and lineage/sib affiliations of each individual.]

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[For additional data on the number of children per woman, mortality, Boni emigrants, and the village of residence of lineage/sib members, see the genealogical charts on pp. 542-575, category 116.]

/32 cont./

601 The very rigor of this principle seems to have to lead to a
613 scission of the lineages, for one can hardly conceive that people
571 will be willing to address girls younger than themselves as "my grandmother" and show them respect; now that must necessarily
[163] be the case at the end of a certain number of generations, for as we shall see, the fecundity of Boni women sometimes lasts up to the age of 50, and there are cases where the interval between the oldest and youngest child reaches 35 years.

Nevertheless, we have not actually observed that this conception of kinship leads to scissions or even to serious clashes.

That derives from the very nature of the hierarchy and the social ties within the matrilineage; they entail a collective tutelage by one generation over the next, and in the same way a collective tutelage by the ancestors over the living. But for the same reason that every prayer, every invocation addressed individually to such-and-such an ancestor is avoided, the hierarchy of the Refugee Blacks does not give rise to relationships of authority between one man and another, which would not be tolerated. Only the hedemI, or captain, designated by the assembly of the lineage, exerts a personal authority; even so, he is careful to limit it almost exclusively to religious functions.

604 "Uncles" exert collectively an authority over the generation
613 of "nephews." They meet in council, especially on the question of marriages. They do not vote, strictly speaking, but the opposition of three or four of them prevents the carrying out of a project. There is no preponderant voice for the closest uncles (yet in practice this seems to be taken into account). But the eldest of the uncles in the classificatory sense is unanimously recognized as preponderant.

602 Existence of patrilineages. Matrilineages are not the only kin
784 groups of the Refugee Blacks. Each one receives from his father
428 a fundamental interdiction -- bwasi kina -- which he will have

/127 cont./

429 are his or not, he maintains them indirectly by maintaining
593 his wife. He has only precarious authority. Every connection
[586] with the children disappears in case of divorce.

429 Guardianship is often exercised by the maternal grand-
603 mother, by an aunt, or even by an older sister.

[604] If the maternal grandmother (or the great-grandmother if
[593] she is still living) insists on bringing up a child, the mother cannot refuse; one sees a rather large number of cases of women who have only one child and have given it to their mother to raise; it is true that since they live together, it is not a great sacrifice for the mother.

429 Thus one sees women over 70 years old, having had ten
603 children or so, bringing up three or four of their grandchildren.
888 The ancestress of Asisi village, Kuiuba († 1957), after having
[163] had 12 children, brought up about ten of her children and
[165] grandchildren during the course of her long existence; when she died in 1957 at 100 years of age, she was still raising a child, one of her great-grandsons 12 years old. Of course she had not been working any more for a long time and was fed by her family, as the child was. But it was she who held the power of guardianship over him.

429 If it is the father who is charged with the child's education,
593 he takes him into his own maternal family. His sisters will help him to bring up the child as long as he needs the presence of a woman.

From then on the father will exercise guardianship corresponding to that which the mother usually exercises under the responsibility of the uncles.

Sometimes a man is seen bringing up a daughter. Generally speaking, if a man /128/ has had three or more children by one woman, it is considered normal for him to be given one to raise, but that does not constitute a right; he cannot demand anything.

/128 cont./

593 One of the commonplaces of ethnographic literature is
152 the feeling of frustration that the father would experience in a
429 matrilineal system when he is separated from his children. Thoughts heard every now and then could allow one to believe in the existence of such a feeling among the Refugee Blacks. For example Baïna, of Asisi village, tells us one day with bitterness: "I have had eight children, all living, and I have been given only one to bring up." But this is only a pretense. No Refugee Black thinks seriously of bringing up the five or six children he has had in the course of his life by three or four
[464] different women. Besides, this would be materially impossible for him, considering the mode of life of the Refugee Blacks and the necessity for the adult men to move ceaselessly in search
[163] of paid work. For example, by encouraging Baïna to tell the basis for his thought, it was not difficult to understand that he would have liked to raise two or three of his eight children (born of four different women), the ones he loved for subjective reasons; the others scarcely interested him and it was all the same to him whether they were brought up here or there.

429 In reality the paternal feeling of the Refugee Blacks is a
152 rather subjective thing; raising a son or a nephew is the same in
[601] their eyes. The same paternal feeling will develop, and in both cases they will say "my son" and "my father."

593 Mothers give their children to be raised with the greatest
429 of ease, especially within the lineage.

For example Eliana (Dju, F8), about 45 years old in 1957,
[163] who had nine living children, was raising only four:

△ Alibi	1937	raised by his father Matapi (Asisi-Aw.B.);
△ Doni	1939	raised by his maternal grandmother Béniti (Dju, E5);
○ Aguba	1940	raised by Lènga (F36), Eliana's classificatory sister (tenth-degree kinship);
△ A...	1943	raised by his father Yusu (Papaïston);

593 /128 cont./
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○ S...	1947	raised by Kulina, Eliana's sister by the same mother (Dju, E9);
○ S...	1947	raised by her mother

and three young children raised by their mother.

[163] One sees unusual situations like that of Mimi (Boniville, Kotika), who gave her only child to her sister to raise and is bringing up another child in its place.

[163] In 1957, Téké (L1, F44, Loka village), who had seven living children, was not bringing up any of them.

△ C...	1945	raised by Mélita, Téké's mother (L1, E32);
△ A...	1947	raised by Akomédi (L1, F34), Téké's classificatory sister;
△ M...	1950	raised by Mélita;
△ C...	1952	raised by his father Baïna (Dip. II);
○ K...	1953	raised by △ Mato (Aw.B.1), her father Baïna's father;
○ F...	1956	raised by Mélita. /129/

Baïna, whom we have known for a long time, was incapable of giving the least explanation for his wife's strange behavior. Besides, he had given up a long time ago understanding the psychology of Boni women.

On the other hand, a certain number of women obstinately refuse to be separated from their children, deciding to raise them all, girls and boys, by their own means. This was the [163] case for example with Magdaléna (Kormotibo), a woman of intractable character, who raised her eight children herself at the cost of the worst difficulties. In such a case, they say of [828] the mother that she is a selfish woman and that she has a bad character, but there is no question of taking a child away from her by force. Nobody would risk that, no more her brothers or uncles than the head of the lineage. Only her mother could do it, and the women who behave thus have generally lost their mothers.

/151 cont./

593 Among the Refugee Blacks some very devoted couples are
[591] seen, who spend their whole lives together and who, in their old
[163] age, have completely united their destinies, living in the same house, either in the woman's village or the man's: for example, in the village of Lapé Tabiki, Butu and his wife Asamani, in 1952 aged about 70 years, together for 45 years and having had
[581] eight children. But such cases are exceptional. Besides, they are not admired and held up as an example as one might believe; this man and this woman suited each other, they remained together; if some day they no longer get along, they will divorce, that is all.

595 Polygamy. Polygamy in the African sense of the term, that is, the simultaneous maintenance of several regular households, is exceptional among the Refugee Blacks because of their mode of living:

[433] --The wife is practically entirely dependent on her hus-
[511] band; an economy based mainly on wage earning and involving a relatively high standard of living makes it impossible for most men to maintain more than one household;

[461] --Even if a man had sizable financial means at his disposal, he could scarcely maintain more than two households; for it is not acceptable, at least nowadays, for him to have done by others the customary chores: clearings, boats, house.

162 On January 1, 1958 out of 134 men over 20 years old in
595 the villages on the French bank, whose lives were well known to us, there were:

Men maintaining three households	1	1%
" " two households	18	13%
" " one household	104	77%
[589] Bachelors, widowers, or recent divorcés	11	8%
	134	100% /sic/

/151 cont./

595 Sticking to statistics, one could say that the Refugee Blacks are monogamous in the proportion of 85 per cent. But
581 it is an apparent monogamy, for unions are not stable; their
586 average duration [illegible] about ten years; in fact the Refugee Blacks are practicing polygamy over a period of time.

595 A man who takes another wife apologizes to the first and gives her a liter of tafia, asking her to live on good terms with
[586] the co-wife. A certain number of wives do not accept co-wives and get divorced.

587 Most men have had, in general, four or five wives
586 successively. Most of the time these marriages have been
• 163 broken by the wife. /152/

Example S... (65 years old in 1957) had at least seven wives:

-- Nanay (Dip. II)†	1 child	divorced
Baakauman (K)†	3 children	"
1 Paramaka woman	1 child dead	"
Saumè (Dip. I)	1 child	"
Paata (Boniville)	no children	"
Emma (Asisi-Aw.B.)	no children	"
Masé (K)	"	marriage extant in 1958

Kwami (50 years old in 1958) had four wives:

-- Apinda (Asisi)	no children	divorced
Saayé (Dip. I)	several children	"
Do (Lapé)	1 child dead	"
Noémi (Asisi-Aw.B.)	1 child	marriage extant in 1958

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582 Example of the family life of G... (50 years old in 1958).
About 1935 G... married M... (Kotika), a serious-minded and
159 intelligent woman who was very attached to him. Neverthe-
837 less, about the same time he had a clandestine affair with S...,
[847] classificatory sister of M..., whom he made pregnant (abortion).

/155 cont./

586 [163] Likewise Pééchina, about 70 years old in 1957, separated from Nachinengé (Kotika) after having spent the greatest part of her life with him and having six children by him.

In order to be able to break thus a long standing union without undergoing moral collapse, it is certainly necessary for the affectivity of each one to be entirely centered on his maternal family.

586 124 Frequency of divorce. This essential aspect of the social life of the Refugee Blacks is not easy to lay hold on by direct interrogation. The women do not willingly talk about their past unions and let go in silence the ones which remained childless. However, we were able to reconstitute with rather great certainty the past life of about a hundred women (mothers, near relatives, or wives of our most reliable informants). These men /"women" -- printing error. -- Tr./ are marked with a double asterisk ** in the population list of the villages.

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[178] It is useful to classify them by age groups relating to the year of birth, for we shall see that the frequency of divorce seems to have increased with time. The groups chosen are the same as for the demographic investigation which we carried on parallel to the sociological study:

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

574 609 In the doorway of one of the huts, a woman squatted over a fire, and at her feet a child sat busying itself with pushing the firewood toward the center. Our cook had planted two forked sticks in the ground, and on them had hung our lanterns, so that we could see the woman silhouetted against the fire and the naked child on the ground singing the seketi which Bayo had sung for us so many [533] times on the river. Over and over the child tried the air, her mother humming it for her softly, while from the doorway of another house a man sat watching them. We had not noticed him until the lanterns had come. The planting ground at harvest time is not a place a man frequents. He [291] was a strange figure there on his low stool, as he sat wrapped to his neck in a large striped cloth. He made not the slightest move, uttered not a single word. But for his cough, he might have been a corpse propped up in the doorway. We stood hesitating whether to cross the short distance between us and the fire to greet the woman and the man, but before we could come close enough to them to speak, we heard Bayo calling us in a voice we had never heard him use in a strange village.

"Bak'a, Bak'a. Come. They want you inside." When we were out of earshot of the woman at the fire, he said in a whisper, "Do not go over to those houses. Tomorrow when we are away from here, I will tell you why. It is for that I called you."

We had no need, however, to puzzle over Bayo's warning. [164] Our cook, who had heard the conversation of the men, told us that the man in the doorway was a leper.

753 262 "You know how it happens, Massa? Among us townspeople it is this way. A child inherits a *trefu* from his father. It is one thing, or many things, he must not eat. If he eats what he should not, then he sickens. We know a person who has eaten his trefu by the spots that come out on his skin. If a man goes on eating the things which are his trefu, then the spots become worse and worse. He becomes a leper. So that's how it is."

He did not at once answer the questions we put to him.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

856 to all the medicine we had for them—he took it upon him-
644 self to instruct them to wash the bottles carefully, as he
609 followed us to the storehouse, and to warn them that what was given was not to be taken internally.

"*A taki, a taki-e, u' no mu' bebe*—He says, he is saying, you must not drink this," he explained, with something of his mother's persuasiveness in giving instructions.

His grandmother had said one day half in jest that he would have a tiger spirit which would need to be reckoned with when he grew to manhood. He was a straight-limbed, wiry child, not troubled with the umbilical hernia so often [164] met with in children here in the bush, or with the distended "cassava belly."

The coming of the strangers had eclipsed all desire for [857] familiar diversions here. From early morning the children of the village stood about watching us, so that the brushing of teeth and the lacing of boots were carried on under excited supervision which continued day after day. But to this small grandson of Yankuso we were visitors in his quarter, and whether we were alone in the council house or were in the small house reserved for privacy, he would find his way there and stand about asking questions.

Sometimes, however, when he found us at work and saw that we did not wish to be interrupted, he would lean against the wall for a long time watching us in silence, until presently he would come to life, as it were, walk over to the table, and begin beating the Kromanti rhythm on it.

856 But he was not the only child who knew the drum
533 rhythms. In the last village in the Pikien Rio, we met a
868 two-year-old child who came to us with more than usual readiness and followed us about, his hand in ours until we came to his mother's house, where he left us to sit down on a wooden plank which lay near it. We had been in conversation with the older people and did not notice his going, until all at once we heard the slow beating of the rhythm to the Sky God. It was this child of two, drumming against the plank on which he sat.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

anything made of iron—nor can a gun shoot him, nor an arrow pierce him. If he goes through a thicket of thorns or climbs a thorny palm tree when the spirit comes to him, he is not harmed. That is Kromanti." 432 776 789

"How much does a person pay an obia man for giving a boy Kromanti?" we asked.

"It costs plenty, white man. But a good obia man never asks too much. If a man says he will give the boy Kromanti, for not too many guilders, then we know he will do it. But if a man asks forty, fifty, then we know he is not an honest man, and he is not a good man. I have heard, though, of a good obia man who took as much as twenty-four guilders, but he gave the boy a strong Kromanti spirit, and it took much time to teach him." [435]

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From time to time members of Bayo's family visited our camp. Each time we were introduced to a new brother, or father, or *suwagi*—brother-in-law. Among these visitors was a man whose name we never learned, though we had talked with him a good deal. He was, we later came to know, a man who knew obia. He was a scholar among his people, a thoughtful man who often went about alone, instead of being accompanied by a fellow clan member or a member of his family, as is customary among these people. Like Bayo, he had an incest kunu, and at his age, he had already had occasion to see what kunu planned for him. He coughed badly. When men went to cut timber, he could not go with them because of his cough and the fever which went with the cough. 791 791 164

"Have you been to a good obia man?" we asked him.

He smiled. Of what use to go from one diviner to the next, from one man who had special magic to another, when a man knew that what was troubling him was kunu? [753]

"Come to the city with us," we said, when we knew him better, "and we will take you to a doctor. He may be able to do something for you."

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

We took particular pains to gather as much information 163
as possible on fecundity, infant mortality, and the death-rate of mothers in childbirth. Sixty women were questioned. The fecundity we found to be variable; one of the women claimed to have borne twelve children—the highest number encountered—and some had no offspring at all. The usual number of children was found to be two or three. Interestingly enough, there is a low infant mortality; that is to say, a low death-rate for infants during the first six months after birth, but a high child mortality. The higher death-rate occurs 165
among children from the ages of two to six years. There 844
seemed to be a considerable number of premature births, and deaths of mothers at the time of birth or shortly thereafter are numerous. After much questioning, we found this to be one of the grievances of the Djukas, for they consider the Dutch medical authorities could do a great deal in alleviating such a condition. The precautions surrounding the mother at the time of childbirth or shortly thereafter are very crude and they may lead to infections and end in death by puerperal sepsis. 164 844

The birth of a child is usually the occasion for some slight [352]
celebration. The umbilical cord is severed with a knife (unsterilized, of course) and buried behind the hut. The placenta is thrown into the river. *Trismus neonatorum,* a tetanus infection by way of the umbilical cord, occasionally occurs, due to the extremely unclean conditions surrounding parturition. As can be seen from the photographs, some of the Djuka children suffer from umbilical hernia, because the cord is

164 844 not severed gently enough. During the nursing period it is [853] often customary for the mother to abstain from intercourse, and judging by the size of the nursing children this period may last for two years.

854 The children are carried in the West African manner, astride on their mothers' backs and held by a band of wide cloth that goes around both mother and child. This is unlike the local Indian custom, in which the squaws carry their offspring on their hips. The children are washed often, being bathed several times a day beside the river; they stand and gurgle as the water is being poured over them.

842 The number of births among the Djukas is not as great 847 as might be inferred from their promiscuity. This suggests, of course, that some means of contraception is practised. In one village on the Saramacca River a medicine man showed the bahkra a yellow berry, an infusion of which is supposed to have abortive properties; it is known among the natives of British Guiana as "Doctor Doolittle." We doubt that the infusion has any such properties as are assigned to it. We also heard that the Djukas practice mechanical abortion, but their crude instruments must make this very dangerous.

854 Excepting during the first two or three years of the children's lives, mothers actually have little to do with their care. There are usually several older children in the family, sisters, brothers, or cousins, to whom is relegated the care of the 551 younger ones. Besides their ordinary names, children are also called according to the day of the week on which they were born, such as Monday-child, Tuesday-child, and so on.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

● 164 The Djukas suffer from a number of diseases also common among white men. Yaws, a syphilis-like disease, caused by infection with *Spironema pertenue,* is frequently found among them. Individuals may be seen suffering from all three stages of it. Malaria, including the severe tropical form, is spread by the mosquitoes along the rivers. An ulcerous condition known as leishmaniasis, the result of infection by Leishman-Donovan bodies, is an ordinary occurrence, as is hookworm. The Town Negroes are occasionally infected with filariasis and schistosomyasis of the rectal type. Leprosy is present in the town of Paramaribo, but we saw none of it in the bush.

648 757 [515] [304] The Djukas do not fear to take the bahkra's medicine. The gratitude of more than one mother was earned when we gave her child castor oil. Of the principle of asepsis, naturally, the Djukas know nothing. Their incisions for making *cutty-cutty* (ornamental scars) are septic enough to give a bacteriologist nightmares.

On one occasion, snakee-kutti, the snake protector, did not work, and a Bush Negro, who had been bitten was taken to the hospital at Moengo. His leg had gone untreated for five days and was in the serious stage of gangrene. The limb was amputated by the doctor in charge and the Djuka made an uneventful recovery. He would not have been brought to the hospital by his family if there had been anything more for the Bush Negro medicine man to do. But there was not, and they went to the bahkra as the last resort to save his life.

778 756 Far up the Surinam River is the sacred medicine city of Dahomey (pronounced Daumay). Into its sacred precincts

/20 cont./

262 milk. She does eat cheese, however, saying that there is absolutely no milk in it.

/21/ Chapter XIII

Diseases, Afflictions, and so forth

• 164 The greatest affliction among them, too, is the lepra boasi (leprosy and elephantiasis Fuchs), venereal diseases, leg and body 757 pains, and sores. They cure themselves mainly with herbs, which they possess in great quantities and with which they frequently work with special success. They cut open abcesses themselves; in most cases they cup themselves, making the cups from small calabashes. [824] For many pains they rub themselves with spirits steeped in paradise seed (1) and with carapa oil, which they get from the carapa nuts (2).

1. Sem. paradisie Ningre kondre pepre from the Amomum paradise Afsel.

2. Carapa gujanens Obl.

755 In difficult cases and dangerous illnesses, however, they ask for advice from the Cromantie gado, which can only be done by means of song and dance, on which occasion a great deal is drunk. [756] A wentie man (African idol-priest or priestess) qualified for this, or an influential person, is able by means of drink, song, and dance among the others to excite himself to such an extent that in a mad way, without consciousness of what he is doing, he makes superhuman leaps, turnings, and twistings with his body, jumps and dances in the fire, until he finally falls to the ground unconscious and, rolling like a tub, foaming at the mouth, utters the most repulsive and strange sounds, which lasts until he is finally put down somewhere for dead. So long as he remains lying without any movement or sound as if in a deep sleep, one may absolutely not come near him or touch him, but must always take care to keep out of his way in his course and not to hinder him in anything.

B /513/
R The scarcity of lipide foods,and, among the Boni, the low
146 consumption of fruit might cause one to fear vitamin deficiencies.
B In fact, there are no signs of it.
R Body hygiene is excellent; Blacks and Indians bathe several
515 times a day and are very fastidious about their persons.
B In summary, there is no appreciable difference in the custom-
R ary activities, agriculture, hunting, and fishing, of the two popu-
433 lations. There is one in economic activity. Among the Boni,
B who have a greater need for imported objects, the adult men work
R for wages four to five months per year on the average. These
461 jobs are very laborious and performed under bad dietary conditions,
[465] whereas the Indians rest when they are not occupied with their
customary tasks, sometimes spending entire days stretched out
in the hammock.
B The two populations have been in close contact for a long
R time. The Indian villages farthest downstream have immediate
177 contact with the first crop plantings of the Boni. Without having
B any tendency to merge (their characters and their customs are
R too different), Boni and Oayana have maintained regular relations
177 since the end of the eighteenth century, doing a little trade in im-
648 ported articles exchanged for hammocks and dogs trained for hunt-
ing. They often visit each other, and nothing stops the spread of
illness from the one group to the other.
B In fact, the way of life of the two groups is the same, the
R environmental conditions have the same influence, and the differ-
105 ences which are observed in the pathology can only be attributed
182 to a different sensitivity with regard to the principal illnesses.
● 164

B Pathology of the Boni. We shall briefly summarize here the ob-
164 servations of Dr. A. Sausse in his work Populations primitives du
[114] Maroni.

The pathology of the Boni is characterized by:

-- a resistance to malaria, which means that if the children have bad attacks an immunity will develop with age; the size of the spleen diminishes regularly from child to adult. The adults have only episodical attacks which are not serious; in particular

B /513 cont./

164 the birth rate of the Boni is scarcely influenced by malaria. This is an essential difference between Blacks and Indians.

This immunity, regarded as an hereditary characteristic of the African Blacks, was well known by the Europeans of past centuries. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was thought that on account of this fact only the African Blacks could furnish a regular force in tropical countries. This is one of the principal causes of the slave trade.

/514/ -- An important impairment by skin affections. The Boni, before the creation of the Maripasoula medical center, showed many cases of pian, which attacked most of the children, leaving infirmities and widespread incapacities in certain adults.

Also observed were numerous cases of American forest cutaneous leishmaniasis (pian-bois), involving ulcers, sometimes very widespread, almost always infected, and able to lead to a terminal cachexia. Finally, 1% of the Boni manifested cases of leprosy in the course of development. The total incidence of the disease was estimated in 1957 at approximately 3%.

B [842] [161] -- An important invasion of venereal diseases, notably of blennorrhagia, leading to the sterility of a large number of women and stopping the demographic increase.

This aspect of the pathology seems in keeping with the very free morals of the Boni and the instability of their unions.

In 1948 the Boni attributed an important part of the infant mortality to a form of meningitis which they call "pikin nenge siki," "the sickness of the little Blacks"; the symptoms described seem to fit cerebrospinal meningitis.

R 164 114 Pathology of the Oayana Indians. Doctor Douvier, examining the Oayana in 1937, wrote: "The Indian does not show sores like the Negro; the Indian has epidemics."

Doctors who have examined the Indians of the interior in the course of recent years have made agreeing observations on their pathology, which can be summarized thus:

R 164 -- the Indians, in contrast to the Blacks, suffer severely from malaria; no immunity appears among adults, who are more severely attacked than children. The size of the spleen in most cases simply increases in the course of life.

B R The beliefs of both, attributing illnesses to
/516 cont./
743 supernatural causes, did not predispose them to turn to European
648 doctors. Moreover, the Saint-Laurent hospital was so far away
[753] (six days paddling downstream) that a seriously ill person had plenty of time to die en route. The Boni went there only as a last resource and in general at the point of death. As for the Oayana,
B R not a single one presented himself there before 1950.

744 In 1936-1939 several circuits had been made from the post
648 of La Forestière located at the mouth of the river, but no consistent
[743] medical action had been feasible. Not until 1949 was it possible to create a medical center in the country itself, at Maripasoula.
B R The populations were visited regularly, and the seriously ill could
[164] be hospitalized on the spot. At the same time systematic spraying with DDT inside all the huts, destroying the anthropophile anopheles, changed the environmental conditions considerably; if malaria has not disappeared, it has ceased, both among the
B R Indians and among the Boni children, to be the principal cause of morbidity.

743 The action of the medical center has been exercised more on
744 the Boni, who live a few hours by canoe from Maripasoula, than on
648 the Oayana. Among the latter, the principal villages are two days
[484] journey by motorboat upstream amidst difficult waterfalls; the
[753] Indians are often on the move, fishing on the upper courses of the rivers or visiting their relatives on Brazilian rivers; it has happened several times that the circuits of the doctors and medical attendants (one per trimester on the average) do not find anybody in the villages; incidentally, the Oayana tend to attribute
R all internal ailments to magical causes, consulting willingly only
[844] for wounds. They willingly accept the remedies given on the spot, but rarely take the initiative of moving a sick person to Maripasoula; the women continue to have their babies delivered
R in the villages, without any hygiene.

757 Only during the last three or four years has a change in
165 attitude been noticeable among them vis-à-vis medicine; as we
B R shall show below, no notable modification in their mortality has yet been observed as a result of this fact.

121 The principal interest of this study being to compare the
165 demographic data of two populations before they had been modified

/519 cont./

128 Fertility. We have classed the women, according to the year of
163 birth, into four categories, for fertility has varied considerably in the course of time. The study has been made by five-year age-blocks. The table below /see p. 16 / shows the cumulative fertility (total of figures obtained for the various age-blocks from 15 to 50 years of age). For the women of categories three and four, the number obtained is the result of an extrapolation.

842 Among the Boni there is no custom leading to a diminution of fertility, and the voluntary restriction of births is unknown.

163 The vertical fall of fertility between categories one and
164 two results from the invasion of venereal diseases, which seems
[177] to have coincided with the period (1920) when the search for the balata brought into the interior a heavy traffic of adventurers
[831] accompanied by numerous prostitutes. The very free morals of the Boni favor the propagation of the illness, which, since that time, has not ceased its ravages, stemmed only, but not eliminated, by the medical effort of these last years.

/524/

161 Thus during the period 1895 to 1925, the Boni population
[128] doubled with each generation. These results are confirmed by
(173) the study of the genealogies. The present-day Boni, with the
[613] exception of about 5% of them who belong to recently founded lineages, are descended by known filiation from seven women who lived at the end of the eighteenth century.

It is possible that before the period to which this inquiry refers epidemics were produced and struck certain villages in particular, destroying entire lineages. In fact we cannot say anything certain about the evolution of the population before 1890. Let us only remember that this rate of reproduction of 200% per generation of 31 years represents the normal rate for the Refugee Blacks, in the absence of large epidemics and of venereal diseases and before any medical aid.

During the period 1925-1942, the Boni population did not vary (rate of reproduction $\frac{105}{100}$).

Since 1940, it has been increasing slightly, by 25% per 27 years, that is just under 1% per year.

163 Birth rate and mortality rate. Demographic balance. From 1
165 January 1956 to 31 December 1957, i.e., in two years, 39 children were born in the villages on the French bank (660 persons), and 21 persons died (including 5 children born during this period).

Rate of birth: 2.9% per year.

Rate of mortality: 1.6% per year.

161 Rate of increase: 1.3% per year.

The rate of increase of 1.3%, which corresponds incidentally to the theoretical calculation indicated above, is very much below that of the population of Cayenne and of the communes of
[164] the coast. If one considers that before 1920 it reached the remarkable value of 3% per year, one realizes the extent of the disaster brought about by venereal diseases.

/524 cont./

165 Factors influencing the demographic characteristics of the Boni. Life expectancy at birth for the Boni is not only 12 years higher than that of the Indians, but is also considerably higher than that of the African peoples from which they came.

This fact can be attributed to two causes:

164 1. The Boni live in a more salubrious environment than
182 the African forest and have better living conditions. It seems likely that the Guianese forest, apart from malaria, presents few causes of bad health and is relatively favorable to man; the absence of trypanosomiasis permits men /525/ to gather on the banks of the large rivers, generously exposed to the air and to the light. The small number of the Boni and their dispersion over a vast territory stands in the way of the transmission of diseases by drinking water. In fact the water is generally healthy. Dysentery and parasitosis are considerably rarer and less serious than in Africa;

14 2. The Boni are a selected population. This is a very im-
162 portant aspect of their demography.

The slaves were the object of a systematic selection; the purchasing commissions of the rich colony of Surinam allowed only individuals of good health and constitution to pass. A second selection took place at the time of the formation of the tribes of Refugee Blacks. More than from a massive rebellion the rebel groups increased in size by the addition of those who, from year to year, escaped at the peril of their lives. Without any doubt those who preferred combat to servitude were the most vigorous and bravest. Voluntary migrations have always been a factor of selection: one may suppose that a migration which took place in such circumstances was accompanied by a particularly rigorous selection which, in spite of the time which has passed (eight generations), continues to influence the physiological
[734] characteristics of the Refugee Blacks. Notably it can explain
[157] the vigorous constitution of the Boni (there are only two congenital invalids out of 810 persons) and their exceptional qualities of physical courage and initiative.

/6 cont. /

824 wood is too hard to be worked with ordinary instruments or, on the contrary, because it is too soft, too easily attacked by insects, or
311 has a tendency to rot. The zone exploitable by native procedures is limited (for the floodable zones /7/ do not allow fine woods) to the slope of the hills bordering the valley of the watercourses accessible to pirogues; beyond, the cartage of felled trunks becomes impracticable.

137 A very dense epiphytic vegetation connects the trees with
136 their upper parts; it is there that life blossoms out: flowers, birds, insects, and monkeys.

484 Progress through the forest is very arduous. The undergrowth,
487 shrubs, bushes, bound together by fine and elastic lianas, offers
[132] a constant obstacle, the machete /sabre/ must be wielded at each
[412] step. The nature of the terrain, a succession of bogs and hills
[133] with steep and slippery slopes, makes walking for heavily loaded men exhausting. On the trail one succeeds with difficulty in making more than 15 to 20 kilometers a day; in the uninhabited forest one can scarcely advance five to six kilometers a day by cutting the strict minimum as one does when hunting. The opening of a route permitting the passage of heavily laden men cannot progress more than three kilometers a day on the average.

137 The great forest offers few real dangers, but it is an environ-
182 ment profoundly hostile to man, which does not present spontaneously any food resource and allows establishment of villages and cultivated areas only at the price of great efforts.

136 One meets few animals in the interior of the forest, and the resources for hunting are very limited; on the other hand, there are few harmful animals; wild beasts are few and practically do not appear; snakes are much rarer than on the coast and represent
● 164 only a slight danger. The most real dangers of the forest come from the fall of branches and epiphytes, principally when it is cleared for cultivation; each year there are accidents of this kind in Boni country. Besides, work in the forest is the occasion for many wounds which tend to ulcerate.

/1 cont. /

132 [513] The climate is relatively temperate and easy for the European to stand. In the forest the thermometer does not rise to more than 28° during the hot hours, to go back down to 20° at the end of the night: everyone sleeps with a blanket, Refugee Blacks and Creoles as well as Europeans. Humidity is very great during nearly all the year; precipitation averages three meters a year or about 50 centimeters less than at Cayenne. The year is divided into two seasons: "summer" from July to December, and the rainy season the rest of the year, with a maximum of precipitation in May and June. The water level varies considerably in the course of the year (several meters). The populations of the interior, spaced out along the rivers, suit the rhythm of their lives to the height of the water; the water rules transportation, fishing, and crops; moreover, a certain number of illnesses are in close relation to the rains, in particular those which have an insect for vector.

133 182 [361] [164]

241 [134] Almost everywhere the soil is very poor in organic matter and fundamental ingredients, very waterlogged necessitating the practice of an itinerant agriculture on burned-over areas; the period of fallow ground varies from two to ten years, the optimum seeming to be about six. The inhabitants of Guiana cannot allow ground to lie fallow regularly because of the ravages of the manioc ant, /8/ which is active especially in habitually cultivated zones. Vain and costly efforts made by Europeans notably at Saint-Jean du Maroni about 1950, have shown that the fertility of lands not burned over is practically nil. The Indians and the Refugee Blacks consider that the fertility of the soil depends exclusively on the weight of cinders laid down during the burning.

[136] [134] [242]

When burned-over areas are cultivated, only one harvest is obtained; but this harvest is abundant, and the soil thus utilized can be regarded as relatively fertile. The knocking down and burning do not require great labor, so that primitive agricultural methods can be considered to give a good yield. As a matter of fact, the diverse populations of Guiana, Creoles and Refugee Blacks, have entirely adopted the methods of work resulting from the millennial

241 177

F 164 162 744 /13 cont./

whom African blood predominates are seen; the mulattoes are in general traders, or practice small stock raising.

The Refugee Blacks are the only population of interior Guiana who can be regarded as perfectly adapted to the environment and capable of subsisting there by their own means. They have a protection against malaria which operates thus: If the children suffer from this endemic disease, resistance appears with age, protecting adults from its attacks.

B 182 B 164

They are subject to serious skin diseases, notably to pian, but these maladies have few demographic consequences; only the Boni are seriously attacked by venereal diseases. The Djuka are in the process of very great demographic expansion.

B [161]

The strong tribal organization of these populations and their solid implantation on the ground render effective their methods of working, farming, hunting, and fishing, which assure them not only excellent provisionment but considerable means of exchange and a material standard of living superior to that of most of the populations of Africa. The techniques of the Refugee Blacks, especially as regards the squaring of wood, sawing, and building, procure for them resources comparable to those which the populations of the Ivory Coast get from coffee and cacao. /blank page/

B 182 433 511

614
613 /26 cont./

[621] This village had no future. its complement did nothing but
[591] melt away for half a century, especially under the influence of
[177] venereal diseases.
[164]

Neither time nor geographical separation have brought on scission on the religious or legal planes. In this respect the members of Dipélu I and Dipélu II continue to think of one another as
[784] the same lineage. They remain subject to the same kunu.

613 The law of exogamy continues to be applied rigorously with-
614 in Dipélu I and within Dipélu II, but marriages are permitted be-
582 tween Dipélu I and II. There are no longer any social sanctions about this, and the common origin of the two groups is so remote that they scarcely think any more of applying to them the term
[784] pikadu. But such unions remain exceptional, the people concerned continuing to fear a superhuman sanction.

[621] No element of heterogeneous origin, fragment paternally related or refugee outsiders, has settled among the Dipélu.

613 The Papaïston or Kawina lineage (Papaïston village) has
[621] remained perfectly coherent and well grouped. Its members know their genealogy as far back as an ancestress named Térésa, who must have lived at the beginning of the 18th century. But there exists a small fraction, nearly extinct, which we shall designate as Papaïston 2, which presents a separate genealogy going almost
[614] as far back in time. Nobody knows the origin of this group exactly; it is regarded as connected by kinship ties to the main group, but the members of the two groups consider that they form two distinct
[784] bee. They do not have the same kunu.
[582] Marriage is not tolerated within the principal group, but it is allowed between members of the two groups.

613 Moreover, with the Papaïston lives a small group which
621 fled from Surinam about the end of the 19th century, originally
[167] of the Bakabuchi tribe. This group has no kinship tie at all with
[101] the Papaïston but has placed itself under the authority of the head

787 /212 cont./
531 can read these messages; but we have not turned up any precise evidence on this subject (1).

1. These signs are very little systematized and have no relation whatever with the symbolic designs which figure in certain rituals of possession, especially in Dahomey and Haiti. It is permitted to see in them a simple likeness.

787 The Papa gadu are chiefly consulted to ask them to re-
[255] veal the cause of misfortunes that happen. One of them is not
[253] asked to cure an illness unless the interrogation reveals that it brought it on.

776 The worship of the Papa gadu snake gods makes a strong
648 impression on the West Indian Creoles who maintain regular relations with the Refugee Blacks. Most consider it as diabolical
[782] in nature and disapprove of it, but if the presence of an "adder"
[171] (anaconda snake) is noted in a neighboring creek, and if at the same time misfortunes occur, it happens that a Creole may go to ask the Refugee Blacks to practice rites to mollify
[778] the vengeance of the god. We have happened to catch sight of, hidden in a copse behind the habitation of a gold miner, a small altar decorated with blue and red pennants, the usual place of worship of the Papa gadu.

755 Observation in Boniville, November, 1952.
An Asisi woman, Tini, comes to Boniville to consult
[787] her adoptive daughter Pamasa, about 35 years old, who is possessed by a Papa gadu named Adawa. Féni, 15 years old,
[164] Tini's son, has been sick for several days (fever, eruption all over the body). When someone comes to get us, the god has already entered into Pamasa, has sat down in a hut, and

/212 cont./

755 is answering in ordinary language the questions posed. The sick
[753] boy's mother asks the god if it is really he who made her son
[784] ill. He answers that it is he and gives two reasons: first, a
[824] week before, Féni damaged with a blow of the machete the root of a silk-cotton tree in which precisely he himself was living; moreover, his sister Pamasa was sick for 15 days, he did not go to visit her.

The mother begs the god: "Ubegi yu, yu abi leti, gi ɛŋ paadɔ̃, a 'ã be sabi bū-bū. (We beg you, you are right (but) pardon him, he had not realized well /what he did/.)"

Then the god directs a treatment: an infusion of a certain number of leaves, with which the sick boy will wash his body. It states that the sick boy will quickly get well.

Pamasa then comes back to her ordinary state. The scene has lasted about three-quarters of an hour in all.

• 164 Observation in Asisi, October, 1956.

On October 21 at 8 o'clock I am told that Bugi, a woman of about 45, is gravely ill; she suffers from violent pains in the chest and a general tremor. The sick woman is stretched out on the ground, supported by her brother and surrounded by old women who are comforting her. She appears to suffer atrociously, her body is covered with sweat, her lower limbs are agitated with an incessant trembling; she presents the symptoms of a
755 heart attack (2). In front of the house, the ɔbiaman are

2. Bugi had already been hospitalized in Maripasoula for a heart attack.

preparing a "remedy," /213/ for they suspect that this is a question of a manifestation of the Papa gadu of which Bugi is the bearer.

/213 cont./

755 A stalk of sɔŋgaafu twice bent in an elbow is arranged on the ground. A cross is traced in the dirt.

Centered on the cross is placed a large basin into which is poured infusions of leaves taken from several calabashes.

The sick woman, still prostrate and groaning, is seated on a stool facing the basin. The contents of the basin are poured slowly over her body while she is massaged. It is not a question of a remedy in the literal sense of the word; the sick one is "washed" to help the god to manifest itself in her.

I notice that while going back into the hut she trembles almost no more; the attack seems to be subsiding.

In the meanwhile someone comes to call me elsewhere and I cannot come back until half an hour later. I find the sick woman standing, smeared with pɛmba, in the middle of a meditative audience. The god has descended into her and is [787] expressing itself in Papa language while she dances with slow gestures.

[753] I am told that it has just given the explanation of the [784] illness: it struck Bugi because she did not observe the kina given to all bearers of Papa gadu, to stay away from funeral ceremonies. Now, the day before yesterday, she had knowingly participated in the tukka dance around Kotoïda's coffin.

The ɔbiaman present beg the god to pardon, which it does after claiming a bottle of beer which it drinks through the mouth of its bearer.

152 Observation in Kormotibo, December 18, 1957.

164 On December 18 in the evening I find the village of
753 Kormotibo in the clutches of terror. Several persons are sick
784 from the effect of the kunu. Apaita, a young woman, has an enormous whitlow, following an accident; two women have been stricken with pneumonia.

/249 cont./

751 [787] Possession by a Kumẽnti gives, they say, invulnerability during the time of the trance, but in his ordinary state the individual remains vulnerable (they say only that in case of danger the gita "rises" immediately).

Someone who has a man nẽŋga ɔbia has no trances of possession, but they state that he is permanently invulnerable (except for breaking of the kina). In order to obtain this ɔbia one must have himself "washed" for a very long time by an elder who knows the leaves in question. He delivers them already crushed so that no one may be able to know this secret outside of the son or nephew to whom he bequeaths it.

It is necessary to continue to be washed four times a year for 15 days each time, to keep up the force of the ɔbia.

[515] During these 15 days one bathes three times a day, in secret (in principle nobody knows that you have this ɔbia).
[834] During these periods one must have no relation with a woman, even to talk to her.

They state that someone who has a man nẽŋge ɔbia can be struck by blows of a machete and even receive a gunshot with impunity.

[173] They believe that this ɔbia, in the past called man feti ɔbia, was obtained by the ancestors at the time of the wars against the whites; still today it inspires an unshakeable confidence. /250/ In October, 1952 we saw M..., a man of 45 [164] [752] with great good sense, make a deep gash in his leg while cutting a liana, in spite of his ɔbia. Doubt did not cross his mind for a second: he told us that certainly he had unknowingly eaten something contrary to the kina of the ɔbia. Since we were working near some villages, he went immediately to find the master of the remedy to have the power restored. For nothing in the world would he have left for a long round of work in the bush with the feeling that he was at the mercy of an accident.

/273 cont./

*539 mother." Comrades, they suffered from pian (1)! All together

• [164]

1. Skin disease from which most Refugee Black children used to suffer.

they entered the ɔbia house. Again: "Whips, why are you so handsome?"

(same formula)

Viop! viop! Anansi ran, he shut the door; he said: "Let me see, whips, strike so that I may see!" viop! viop!

(Somebody in the audience) "Wénon was inside?" -- "Wénon was inside!" (laughs). The whips hit them until their skin was bloody, their pian pimples cut, so that the blood flowed over them.

(cruel laughs from the audience)

Then Anansi opened the door and they fled.

The end.

4) Anansi and the Bat

Anansi was looking for someone to go with him to a festival which was taking place in a neighboring village... because the more who come, the more they give you to eat. He asked the bat, who said to him: "I haven't been to a festival for a long time. I'll go on the day you wish." The day they had set arrived. They started out; they walked until they had arrived near the village. Anansi said: "Comrade bat, see this lebi weko (2). If I begin to shout: "My belly,

[824] [278]

2. Lebi weko: bougouni (Inga alba) tree whose bark is used in the native pharmacopoeia.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

WOMEN AT WORK

5

Tenemi made ready to carve a calabash dish. She sat down on her work stool, and on the ground beside her she put down a small knife, a piece of broken glass, and half of a calabash shell. The inner pulp had just been removed, and both the inside and outside of the gourd were of a pale green color. She had dipped it in water before she brought it here, and now with the point of her knife she deftly marked her design. The curves in the center, covering almost the entire inner surface, formed the body of a woman, she said, who was big with child. The geometric tracings in parallel narrow lines across one portion of the top was the Aboma snake, euphemistically called the G'an Tetei, the great creeper, or vine. Taking up the piece of glass, she began to scrape away carefully the soft pulp inside the outlines of her design. 322 532

In the entire village there was no woman who worked faster at carving calabash dishes than did Tenemi. In less than half an hour the dish was ready to be placed on the high platform where the maripa nuts were drying. With the sun upon it, the calabash would turn a deep cream color, but where the knife had borne down, it would show a golden brown, and where the glass had scraped away the pulp, the color would be a paler gold, so pale that it would be almost the cream of the unornamented outer surface.

"The large closed gourds are not done fast. Those are carved on the outside, and must be worked cleverly. But this does not take long. I am making this for you. When it is finished I will bring it to you. You must give it to your girl-child when she grows big." [431]

She herself had made four children, but only two of them were living. The oldest, a daughter, carried a child in her womb. Tomorrow she would come to the village, and Tenemi would bring her. 165

"She was afraid to come. Women who are with child must be very careful." [843]

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

We took particular pains to gather as much information 163
as possible on fecundity, infant mortality, and the death-rate of mothers in childbirth. Sixty women were questioned. The fecundity we found to be variable; one of the women claimed to have borne twelve children—the highest number encountered—and some had no offspring at all. The usual number of children was found to be two or three. Interestingly enough, there is a low infant mortality; that is to say, a low death-rate for infants during the first six months after birth, but a high child mortality. The higher death-rate occurs 165
among children from the ages of two to six years. There 844
seemed to be a considerable number of premature births, and deaths of mothers at the time of birth or shortly thereafter are numerous. After much questioning, we found this to be one of the grievances of the Djukas, for they consider the Dutch medical authorities could do a great deal in alleviating such a condition. The precautions surrounding the mother at the time of childbirth or shortly thereafter are very crude and they may lead to infections and end in death by puerperal sepsis. 164

The birth of a child is usually the occasion for some slight 844
celebration. The umbilical cord is severed with a knife (unsterilized, of course) and buried behind the hut. The placenta is thrown into the river. *Trismus neonatorum,* a tetanus infection by way of the umbilical cord, occasionally occurs, due to the extremely unclean conditions surrounding parturition. As can be seen from the photographs, some of the Djuka children suffer from umbilical hernia, because the cord is [852]

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/516 cont./
743 supernatural causes, did not predispose them to turn to European
648 doctors. Moreover, the Saint-Laurent hospital was so far away
[753] (six days paddling downstream) that a seriously ill person had
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with DDT inside all the huts, destroying the anthropophile
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744 the Boni, who live a few hours by canoe from Maripasoula, than on
648 the Oayana. Among the latter, the principal villages are two days
[484] journey by motorboat upstream amidst difficult waterfalls; the
[753] Indians are often on the move, fishing on the upper courses of
the rivers or visiting their relatives on Brazilian rivers; it has
happened several times that the circuits of the doctors and medi-
cal attendants (one per trimester on the average) do not find any-
body in the villages; incidentally, the Oayana tend to attribute
R all internal ailments to magical causes, consulting willingly only
[844] for wounds. They willingly accept the remedies given on the
spot, but rarely take the initiative of moving a sick person to
Maripasoula; the women continue to have their babies delivered
R in the villages, without any hygiene.

757 Only during the last three or four years has a change in
165 attitude been noticeable among them vis-à-vis medicine; as we
B shall show below, no notable modification in their mortality has
R yet been observed as a result of this fact.

121 The principal interest of this study being to compare the
165 demographic data of two populations before they had been modified

B
R /516 cont./
121 by the effect of medical care, we shall take 1 January 1950 as the
165 date of reference for the calculations of mortality among the Boni.

/517/

II. — Demography of the Boni

Census. — Estimation of Age.

B
125 Method used. The demographic study of the Boni presents the difficulties inherent in all populations without civil records:

1. Difficulty of determining the ages of individuals;
2. Difficulty of determining for each woman the deceased children in relation to the surviving ones.

B
125 We attempted to establish a local chronology by linking the
173 ages of individuals to events of known date that had stuck in their minds.

More particularly we fixed the ages of the old men from the voyage of the explorer Crevaux (1877) and from the death of the grand man Anato (1891), the ages of middle-aged persons from events which occurred between 1915 and 1924, death of the grand man Ochi (1915), end of World War I (1918), hydroplane accident at the mouth of the Inini (1921), installation of a rosewood factory (1925).

B
125 The persons born after 1930 were placed without difficulty, for we knew a certain number of them as children or adolescents in 1948.

Starting with a certain number of men whose age could be fixed with considerable accuracy, all the others, men and women,
B
[829] were placed by comparison. In fact, if the Boni do not know their age, they are able to say that they are, for example, two or three years younger than so-and-so (6).

B
[755] 6. Their attention is brought to bear on these age differences because, if a group isolated in the bush is led to address a prayer to the ancestors for the curing of a sick person, this prayer has to be pronounced by the oldest person.

/52/

165 Mortality. The principal interest of this study is to establish the
128 curve of survival showing, for 100 children born alive, the number surviving at one year, five years, ten years, etc., until the extinction of the group. The life expectancy at birth is given by this curve.

For the Boni, we can make this study with the assumption that the lives of the individuals stopped on the first of January 1950, the date on which one may consider that the conditions which influence mortality have changed, above all as far as the children are concerned.

The study of the mortality of the children born since the first of January 1950, dealt with in part, will furnish useful elements of comparison.

Establishment of the mortality table. Taking up again the records of the 193 women whose lives are completely known to us, and including the children who died in early infancy (10), we have marked down all their children, year by year, on a table.

165 Table of Mortality Referring to 1 January 1950 (10)

Year of birth	Deceased children			Surviving on 1-1-50	Surviving / Total children	Average age on 1-1-50	Deceased between 1-1-50 & 1-1-58
	0-1 year	0-5 years	More than 5 years before 1-1-50			years	
1888-1899 inclus.	12 (36 %)	13 (39 %)	5	16	16/33 = 48 %	50	2
1900-1909 inclus.	15 (28 %)	20 (37 %)	8	26	26/54 = 48 %	45	1
1910-1919 inclus.	21 (24 %)	30 (35 %)	8	47	47/85 = 55 %	35	1
1920-1929 inclus.	20 (21 %)	28 (31 %)	7	59	59/94 = 62 %	25	3
1930-1939 inclus.	24 (24 %)	32 (30 %)	8	66	66/106 = 63 %	15	3
1940-1949 inclus.	40 (23 %)	.....	1	122	122/175 = 70 %	5	8

165 10. We were particularly careful in asking about chil-
128 dren who died in early infancy, an important cause of
[856] error in populations without civil records. The age of
[862] the children at the time of death has been estimated
according to the following guidelines based on the study

/521 cont./

165 10. (cont.)
128 of the development of ten children born in
856 1956 and 1957: sitting up, 7 months; be-
862 ginning to walk, 1 year (a remarkably clear guideline among the Boni); end of weaning, 14 to 18 months. Beyond that, the ages were estimated by comparison with children living at the time of the inquiry.

165 The survival curve results directly from these values. It shows the high mortality of children (30% during the first five years).

165 /522/ It is not possible to obtain directly a value for the survival
128 rate for ages beyond 55 years, but it is possible to obtain an approximate value from the age pyramid. Calculation (11) gives: proportion surviving at the age of 70: 30%.

> 11. The calculation consists of comparing the lengths of the segments of the average curve of the pyramid corresponding to the ages 55 and 70, having taken into account the increase in births between 1888 and 1903, deduced from the rate of reproduction.

Table of Mortality Referring to January 1958

165

Year of birth	Deceased before 1-1-50	Deceased between 1-1-50 & 1-1-58	Surviving on 1-1-58	Proportion Surviving	Average age on 1-1-58
				%	Years
1888-1899 inclus...	18	2	14	41	65
1900-1909 inclus...	28	1	25	46	54
1910-1919 inclus...	38	1	46	54	44
1920-1929 inclus...	35	3	56	59	24
1930-1939 inclus...	40	3	64	59	24
1940-1949 inclus...	53	8	114	65	14
1950-1957 inclus....	.....	45, of which 35 under 1 year	154	77.5	4

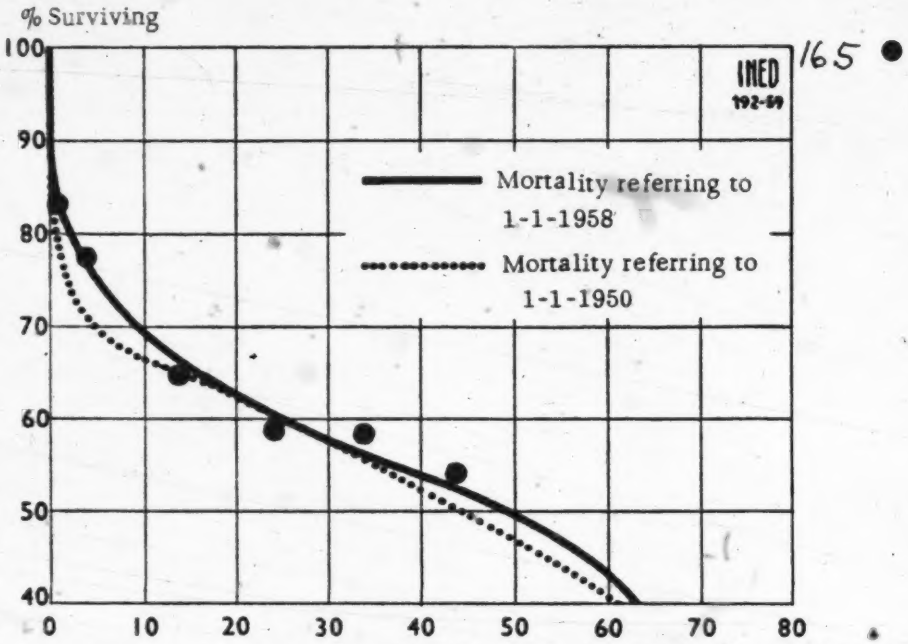
/522 cont./

165 Life expectancy at birth is about 43 years. It is a remarkably high value for peoples deprived of medical help, and notably superior to that noted in Black Africa.

[758] Evolution of mortality under the influence of medical assistance. It is interesting to show the extent to which mortality has been influenced by medical assistance since 1950. For this purpose we shall reconsider the same observations, taking into account the deaths which intervened between the first of January 1950 and the first of January 1958, the date to which we shall relate the calculations.

The survival curve obtained by stopping the calculations on the first of January 1958 differs slightly from the preceding one, which principally concerns the mortality of children. The mortality from 0 to 1 year is given by 35/199 = 17.5% instead

/523/



165

Diagram No. 3. Curve of survival for the Boni, taking 1 January 1958 as the date of reference

of 23%. The mortality from 0 to 5 years has fallen from 30% to 24%. The mortality of adults has been slightly reduced. As a whole the life expectancy of the Boni appears to have increased by approximately one year during the period considered.

Increase of population. From the survival curve it is possible for us to calculate the rate of reproduction of the population.

Women born from	Rate of reproduction	
1860 - 1895	$0.485 \times \frac{7,30}{100} \times \frac{57}{100} = \frac{201}{100}$	31 years
1895 - 1915	$0.485 \times \frac{3,80}{100} \times \frac{58}{100} = \frac{105}{100}$	27 years
1916 - 1935	$0.485 \times \frac{4,50}{100} \times \frac{59}{100} = \frac{125}{100}$	27 years

/524/

161 Thus during the period 1895 to 1925, the Boni population
[128] doubled with each generation. These results are confirmed by
(173) the study of the genealogies. The present-day Boni, with the
exception of about 5% of them who belong to recently founded
[613] lineages, are descended by known filiation from seven women
who lived at the end of the eighteenth century.

It is possible that before the period to which this inquiry refers epidemics were produced and struck certain villages in particular, destroying entire lineages. In fact we cannot say anything certain about the evolution of the population before 1890. Let us only remember that this rate of reproduction of 200% per generation of 31 years represents the normal rate for the Refugee Blacks, in the absence of large epidemics and of venereal diseases and before any medical aid.

During the period 1925-1942, the Boni population did not vary (rate of reproduction $\frac{105}{100}$).

Since 1940, it has been increasing slightly, by 25% per 27 years, that is just under 1% per year.

163 Birth rate and mortality rate. Demographic balance. From 1
● 165 January 1956 to 31 December 1957, i.e., in two years, 39 children were born in the villages on the French bank (660 persons); and 21 persons died (including 5 children born during this period).

Rate of birth: 2.9% per year.

Rate of mortality: 1.6% per year.

161 Rate of increase: 1.3% per year.

The rate of increase of 1.3%, which corresponds incidentally to the theoretical calculation indicated above, is very much below that of the population of Cayenne and of the communes of
[164] the coast. If one considers that before 1920 it reached the remarkable value of 3% per year, one realizes the extent of the disaster brought about by venereal diseases.

/524 cont./

165 Factors influencing the demographic characteristics of the Boni. Life expectancy at birth for the Boni is not only 12 years higher than that of the Indians, but is also considerably higher than that of the African peoples from which they came.

This fact can be attributed to two causes:

164 1. The Boni live in a more salubrious environment than
182 the African forest and have better living conditions. It seems li[illegible] [illegible]r the Guianese forest, apart from malaria, presents few [illegible] of bad health and is relatively favorable to man; the absence of trypanosomiasis permits men /525/ to gather on the banks of the large rivers, generously exposed to the air and to the light. The small number of the Boni and their dispersion over a vast territory stands in the way of the transmission of diseases by drinking water. In fact the water is generally healthy. Dysentery and parasitosis are considerably rarer and less serious than in Africa;

14 2. The Boni are a selected population. This is a very im-
162 portant aspect of their demography.

The slaves were the object of a systematic selection; the purchasing commissions of the rich colony of Surinam allowed only individuals of good health and constitution to pass. A second selection took place at the time of the formation of the tribes of Refugee Blacks. More than from a massive rebellion the rebel groups increased in size by the addition of those who, from year to year, escaped at the peril of their lives. Without any doubt those who preferred combat to servitude were the most vigorous and bravest. Voluntary migrations have always been a factor of selection: one may suppose that a migration which took place in such circumstances was accompanied by a particularly rigorous selection which, in spite of the time which has passed (eight generations), continues to influence the physiological
[734] characteristics of the Refugee Blacks. Notably it can explain
[157] the vigorous constitution of the Boni (there are only two congenital invalids out of 810 persons) and their exceptional qualities of physical courage and initiative.

R /528 cont./
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128

13. (cont.)
of the age pyramids relative to the ages of 28 and 56 years, taking into account the rate of reproduction of 83% per generation of 28 years.

B
R
165

It can be seen that there remain practically no survivors at 70 years of age, whereas among the Boni there still remain 30%.

Life expectancy at birth, deduced from this curve, is 31 years (Boni: 43 years.)

The mortality curve is very different from that of the Boni, showing a completely different appearance vis-à-vis the geographic environment. The mortality from 0 to 5 years appears comparable in the two populations (about 30%). But whereas among the Boni the curve shows a distinct plateau between 5 and 25 years, nothing similar is seen among the Oayana; the
R survival curve /529/ /Diagram 5 appears here/ plunges rapidly
165 without showing any plateau. The Oayana have, generally speaking, the same probability of death at every age. This high mortality of adolescents and young adults is a remarkable characteristic, clearly linked to the particular pathology of the Indians of the forest.

R
161 Rate of reproduction. The proportion surviving at 28 years of age, the age at which half of the children have been born, is about 47%.

The rate of reproduction is thus:

$$0.485 \times \frac{3.62}{100} \times \frac{47}{100} = \frac{83}{100} \text{ in 28 years.}$$

Thus 100 persons are replaced in the following generation by only 83. The whole drama of the Indians of the Guianese forest is expressed by this figure.

/529 cont./

B R 165

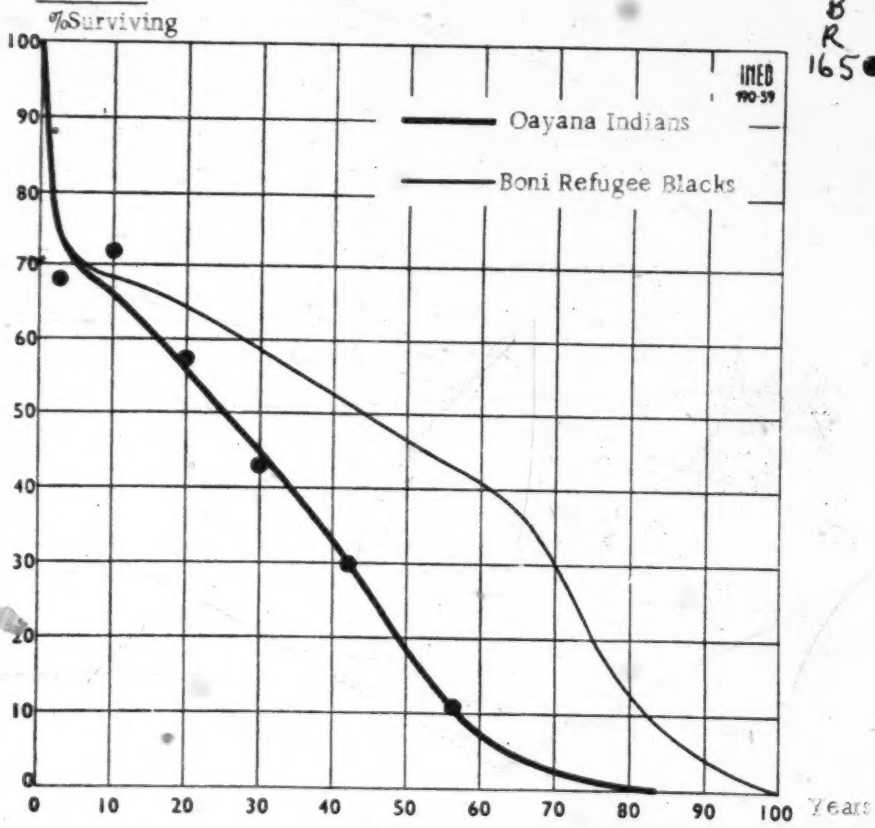

Diagram No. 5. Curve of survival for the Oayana Indians

/530/

B R 161

This rate of reproduction of 83% characterizes their behavior vis-à-vis the geographic environment modified since the arrival of the Europeans by their contribution of new microbial germs, just as 200% characterizes the behavior of the Refugee Blacks.

R 161

Before any kind of medical aid the group described here was dying out at the rate of 0.6% per year, i.e., it decreased on the average by one person every year.

This rate corresponds to the extinction of half in 103 years. It is not quite adequate to explain the reduction of the Oayana from 3,000 around 1780 to 500 in 1958. It is probable that at the moment of the first contact with the Europeans, at the end of the eighteenth century, the Oayana must have been decimated by the epidemics more severely than in our day.

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[For additional demographic and social information, see the "Table of the Population of the Boni Villages," on pp. 479-539, category 116. Included are data on the number of children per woman, the number of deaths by age and sex, the name of the guardian (usually, but not necessarily a parent) who was responsible for raising a particular individual, personal names of the Boni, marital residence and residence changes by specific individuals, marriage practices, including polygynous unions and secondary marriages, cases of divorce, and lineage/sib affiliations of each individual.]

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[For additional data on the number of children per woman, mortality, Boni emigrants, and the village of residence of lineage/sib members, see the genealogical charts on pp. 542-575, category 116.]

/42/

125 The name of each individual is printed in boldface type
128 once where he can be considered as habitually residing.
162 Children under 15 are considered as living with the persons responsible for their education. If it was not possible to obtain accurate information about this, they are considered as living with their mother.

Each listing bears a number, for example Dju D7, making it possible to find again the individual's place in the genealogical table. In the example noted, refer to the table of the Dju lineage, line D, no. 7.

601 Genealogical tables. These are of unequal value according to the
128 age and the memory of the old people consulted. In general
[115] they go back to three generations beyond the oldest of the old men now alive.

[165] Since the Boni show remarkable longevity, and the average difference in age between two generations can be estimated at 31 years, one can assume as probable that the most distant ancestress known of each lineage was born between the middle and the end of the 18th century. For example, if we assume that
[613] Kuluba, the ancestress of the Awara Bakka, was about 100 years old in 1956, we can take for granted that she was born about 1856 and that her great-grandmother was born about 1760.

613 The most ancient ancestress known of each lineage is certainly not the foundress. It is infinitely probable that the founding of these groups goes back to the beginning of the 18th century and that they were born on the same plantations where the ancestors of the Refugee Blacks were slaves; this would explain the names borne by the lineages, names which nearly always allude to a plantation or to a slave-owner.

601 In a general way, the memory of the Boni is very sure,
128 and the information given in the form: Ma X... begot So-and-so,

/70 cont./

643 613 In 1957 the Dikan lineage was practically extinct. There remained only Grand Man Difu and his elder brother Samalobi, very old.

[829] The present grand man does not know the genealogy of his lineage beyond his grandmother. /Fig. 14 appears here./ /71/

[648] At the death of Awensay it was Samalobi, eldest of Awensay's classificatory nephews, who was to be named; but the French administration thought they had to oppose it, judging him too old; he yielded with good grace.

613 [165] [554] Samalobi, the ancestor, the patriarch of the Boni, died in May, 1957 at over 100 years old. Although very weakened by his infirmities and nearly blind, he kept great prestige and no important decision was made without his consent.

173 The son of Apatu, companion of Crevaux, he had retained an exact memory of the explorer whom he had accompanied during part of his trip in 1877. It is thanks to his memories that Crevaux's prestige has remained so great on the Maroni.

643 692 578 The grand man judges without appeal disputes between members of different lineages. Truly serious affairs are extremely rare, if one keeps in mind that:

[613] [583] [586] --Disputes over the payment of dowry, paying it back in case of divorce, and the assignment of the children, which form the main part of the cases argued before ordinary African jurisdictions, do not exist among the Refugee Blacks;

643 613

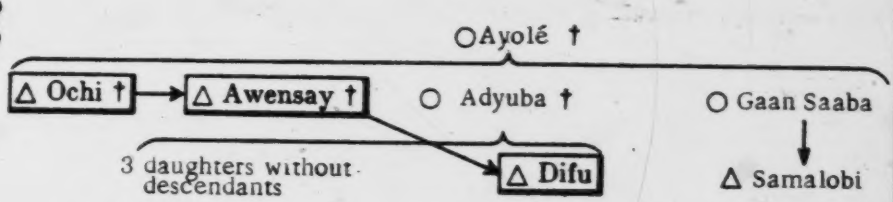

Fig. 14. Filiation of the last three grand men of the Boni.

/127 cont./

429 593 [586] are his or not, he maintains them indirectly by maintaining his wife. He has only precarious authority. Every connection with the children disappears in case of divorce.

429 603 Guardianship is often exercised by the maternal grandmother, by an aunt, or even by an older sister.

[604] [593] If the maternal grandmother (or the great-grandmother if she is still living) insists on bringing up a child, the mother cannot refuse; one sees a rather large number of cases of women who have only one child and have given it to their mother to raise; it is true that since they live together, it is not a great sacrifice for the mother.

429 603 888 [163] [165] Thus one sees women over 70 years old, having had ten children or so, bringing up three or four of their grandchildren. The ancestress of Asisi village, Kuluba († 1957), after having had 12 children, brought up about ten of her children and grandchildren during the course of her long existence; when she died in 1957 at 100 years of age, she was still raising a child, one of her great-grandsons 12 years old. Of course she had not been working any more for a long time and was fed by her family, as the child was. But it was she who held the power of guardianship over him.

429 593 If it is the father who is charged with the child's education, he takes him into his own maternal family. His sisters will help him to bring up the child as long as he needs the presence of a woman.

From then on the father will exercise guardianship corresponding to that which the mother usually exercises under the responsibility of the uncles.

Sometimes a man is seen bringing up a daughter. Generally speaking, if a man /128/ has had three or more children by one woman, it is considered normal for him to be given one to raise, but that does not constitute a right; he cannot demand anything.

/198 cont./

167 754 old woman of 90, A..., who died in Asisi in January, 1957. Having lived with Creoles in her youth, she had come back to live in her native village for at least 30 years and had never given occasion for any unfavorable remark. Nevertheless, upon her death it appeared that she had wisi.

771 829 177 Attitude toward Christianity. The Refugee Blacks, who are acquainted better than one might believe with the conceptions of the populations in the midst of whom they live, have a clear feeling of the relationship which exists between their metaphysical and moral conceptions and those of Christianity. They think they worship the same god as the Christians, in a com- [797] pletely different way but just as sound. They have no animosity whatever toward the Catholic and Protestant clergy, and most of them agree willingly to wearing crosses or medals. But they have not the least intention of abandoning their beliefs for that. They do not perceive the contradiction and do not understand that people might want to oblige them to choose.

851 171 Like the Creole gold miners, they attach great importance to baptism, considered as an obia protective against the dangers of the bush. On Christmas, 1957 they were strongly impressed 165 797 by the accidental death of a Djuka Christian living at the Kotika school. He refused to observe mourning for his wife [688] according to the custom of the Refugee Blacks, and used to go [273] to drink in the cabarets of the Creole villages. On Christmas evening, when drunk, he drowned himself. That was attributed [784] to a suprahuman punishment. We heard /199/ the following reflection on this subject: "He was baptized and he drowned himself just the same. That is therefore not worth the trouble."

61 581 571 Actually, the matrilineal structure of the Refugee Blacks and their conception of marriage form an irreducible cleavage, which appears immediately as soon as one leaves the metaphysical conceptions to pass to the plane of practical living.

754 /240 cont./
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787 will be obliged to confess: "It is I who killed So-and-So and So-and-So." They immediately inform the grand man, who
754 orders the usual procedure against wisimã: Ceremonies are
766 suspended, the body is transported by boat to a place reserved for cursed people, downstream from Boni country, and it is abandoned in the bush without being buried. Grand Man Difu is trying to modify this custom and to compel burial of wisimã in a special cemetery, but without great success up to now, it seems.

754 There is no broko dɛ. The spouse may remarry immediate-
765 ly. Since the property of the deceased are presumed to be ill-
768 gotten, inheritance is cancelled. The house is destroyed and thrown into the water, the boat abandoned to the current. Personal belongings of the deceased are turned over to the grand man who distributes them to whom he wishes.

The near relatives of persons thus designated are overcome with shame but can say nothing. Not a bit of responsibility is imputed to them.

754 How does society protect itself against the sorcery of the
775 wisimã from beyond the grave? According to Grand Man Difu,
784 this is a problem which does not come up. The wisimã has been killed by Odun as punishment for his crimes. Since every being draws its force from the divine, he has no more force, he is destroyed as a being, he is no longer anything but an empty shadow incapable of doing harm.

754 In fact, among the Refugee Blacks these trials of dead
775 people are very rare. Whereas about 15 persons die per year
782 on the average in Boni country, including about ten adults,
[165] in the last 20 years (1) only about 20 persons were revealed to be wisimã.

1. Disregarding the period 1957-1959 when a definite fresh outbreak of the fear of wisimã was observed.

/10 cont./

162 The Boni, about 1,000 in number, occupy the course of the
131 Lawa between Abounasounga Falls to the north and the falls of the
Litani to the south. Their "great villages," that is, their residential
36 villages, are: Agodé (Boniville), Kotika, Asisi, Loka, Papaïston;
[103] Kormotibo, Lapé, and l'Enfant Perdu. Three small villages
founded more recently are established on the lower course of the
563 Maroni. The territorial implantation of the Boni has been dis-
turbed by the settlement of Creole gold miners on their territory
178 for three quarters of a century. Their demographic situation is
mediocre and their tribal organization, compared to that of the
[181] other tribes, has lost much of its strength. However, they still
make up a human grouping full of strength and originality.

131 The Djuka, whose "great villages" are in Surinam territory
361 on the /11/ Tapanahoni, can be evaluated at 7,000 to 8,000 in
total. At the height of demographic expansion, their farming
[162] villages swarm on both banks of the Maroni and on the islands,
[61] penetrating more and more deeply into the interior of French
[648] Guiana, where in places they form small temporary groupings
[619] living in symbiosis with the Creole gold miners; the Boni recognize
their right to cross their territory but not that of establishing
villages in it.

433 For a century the economy of the Refugee Blacks has been
648 founded on a symbiosis with the Europeans and Creoles; they furnish
[464] specialized labor (construction, but above all, transport) in ex-
[465] change for relatively high wages. This economy finds itself
[178] threatened by the gradual disappearance of gold mining; there is
developing a tendency toward temporary emigration to the Euro-
[166] pean work yards of Saint-Laurent analogous to that of the Saramaka
[182] of Surinam to French Guiana. This is a serious threat to the in-
terior cohesion of the tribes.

/15 cont./ Thus it was at
423 the time of the Lawa gold rushes (1890) that Grand Man Anato
643 caused rent to be paid by the Creole miners who were settling in
[648] the region. But this practice, excessive when the small portion of this territory actually occupied by the Boni is considered, ended
423 up by falling into disuse. Nowadays things have fallen into the
648 opposite extreme, and the Boni find themselves having no right,
178 customary or otherwise, over the country of their ancestors; the first comer, even of the Creoles from the British West Indies, can settle anywhere, dislocating the apportionment of the land among lineages. This situation has been harmful to the life of the tribe by contributing to the scattering of the peopling. Perhaps it is not too late to remedy the situation. An /16/ /Figure 2 appears here/ /17/ African tribe cannot live wholesomely if there are no definite relationships, entailing unquestioned rights, between the group and the land.

423 The following modus vivendi has been in force for many
619 years:

a) The Djuka may circulate freely across Boni country, but
[486] they may not establish villages in it; if they wish to make clearings
[166] there, they must ask for permission from the grand man.
[226] Otherwise they have the right to fish on the Tanpok and the Waki.

423 b) The Creoles may settle anywhere and make their clear-
648 ings where the lands are not used. But that does not modify in the minds of the Boni the lineages' rights over the land; this occupation is regarded as creating no new right; for example, the Doglis habitation is built on the lands of Kormotibo village.

423 c) The Boni reserve for themselves along with the Oayana
648 Indians the exclusive right to fish on the Litani and the Maruini.
822 On these rivers the Djuka do not have the right to penetrate.
[619] The Boni may be computed at a little less than 1,000 persons
162 all told.

/23 cont./

621 175 [166] [103] Agodé was founded by Grand Man Ochi, probably about 1895, at the time when the Boni were required by the settlement of the Lawa Dispute to evacuate the villages they were occupying on the Surinam bank. The name Boniville was given by the gold miners; it was used never at all by the Boni.

621 613 [103] The Yakubi or Kotika lineage forms the important village of Kotika (1). It is one of those which have remained best grouped.

1. This word alludes to the river where the rebellion of 1772 began.

[423] [241] [103] Its members have exclusive rights over the region included between Abunasunga Falls and their village. They have farmed there for more than a century, and this is why the region is called Abattis Kotika.

613 621 175 [648] Kotika is the oldest Boni village. It is one of those founded by the survivors of the battles against the Dutch when, about 1815, they settled again on the Lawa. Until about 1895 nearly all the Boni were grouped in one large village, each lineage occupying a different quarter. At the time of the settlement, unfavorable to France, of the Lawa Dispute (1895), the various lineages emigrated, founding especially the villages of l'Enfant Perdu, Loka, Boniville, and Papaïston. Only the members of the Kotika lineage stayed, in full agreement with the grand man, so that the ancestral land might not be completely abandoned. [648] [628] Thus the inhabitants of this village are nowadays under the authority of Surinam, without ceasing, for that reason, to be faithful to the grand man and maintaining normal relations with the other groups.

613 614 [124] The genealogies reconstituted in 1957 by systematic interrogation of the old people of the group had led to three distinct fractions which we shall call Kotika 1, 2, and 3, tracing respectively back to ancestresses named Kéněya, Amawi, and Oka.

/40 cont./

125 In spite of the relations of trust developed between the Boni
[123] and ourselves in the course of the work carried out together during four long missions, we were able to take this census only progressively and indirectly, by using simultaneously the following procedures:

—Study of the genealogy of the groups, going up from woman to woman up to the founding ancestress, then going back down from her. These genealogical tables, some of which extend
[166] over nine generations and include more than 160 persons, brought
[736] to light a certain number of temporarily absent people and individuals who lived away from the villages, isolated in the middle of the Creole gold miners, but continuing to make up part of their group; they also brought to light a certain number of young people and orphan children taken in by distant relatives who would not have spoken about them directly. But on this point, gaps remain;

[126] —Detailed plan of the villages and interrogation of the village heads as to the persons living in each house;

—Interrogation of the women about their dead and surviving children;

—General verification with the help of perfectly trustworthy informants who possessed a thorough knowledge of the genealogy of the groups.

The census, stopped on January 1, 1958, covered 811 per-
[162] sons of whom 667 /41/ were from the villages of the French bank and 144 from the Surinam bank (Kotika). As for the latter, we
[765] questioned them individually when they came to the French bank, especially when they came to attend the end of mourning festivities in Boniville in October, 1957. The Kotika census is less
[128] exact than that of the French villages, and in addition we were
[126] not able to make a plan of the village. For this reason we have not reproduced it in the present work, where only the corresponding genealogical table appears.

/58 cont./

166 619 It is fitting to make an exception of the case of OWétiti (Papaïston) and OMa Imma (Kotika), who separated from their groups with their numerous descendants in order to found villages on the lower course of the river. These groups continue to consider themselves Boni; they are the nuclei of future villages.

[162] [621] For the same reasons it is difficult to get exact figures on immigration. About 100 Djuka and Saramaka have founded farming villages in Boni country but keep all their ties with their villages of origin; some 30 of them have married Boni women; one can estimate that some 15 have completely bound up their fate with the Boni and can be considered as integrated into the villages in which they have settled.

16 128 [562] All in all one can estimate that emigration and immigration of adult men, both very insignificant, compensate for each other; they have practically no importance on the social plane (since only the residence of the women has any influence upon the grouping of the lineages) or on the demographic plane; with the Boni the pyramid of ages constructed from the census of the villages represents very faithfully the demographic state of the population and lends itself to precise calculations of mortality (1).

1. It is not the same for the majority of African populations either because of emigration to the cities or polygamy. The presence of several average polygamists in a village is enough to render completely erroneous the counts of cross-sections by age.

166 571 591 613 The founding of new lineages results from the immigration of several Djuka women, some having come to settle permanently near their husbands, others brought up by their fathers in a Boni village. Half a dozen such cases occur in each generation, but

/58 cont./

166 571 591 613 not all result in the founding of a new lineage, either because the women are sterile or because only one or two surviving children remain who go back to live among their maternal kin. The more children a woman has, the more she tends to settle permanently with her descendants, for the group thus formed represents a force and can be self-sufficient as much on the material level as on the emotional level.

613 571 162 Four new lineages have been founded in the whole of Boni country during the past 50 years: /59/

Awara Bakka 3 (Anèta)	16 persons	on January 1, 1958
Afi	25	--
Toïna	9	--
Poti	8	--
Total....	58 persons	

Thus these new lineages represent only $\frac{58}{810}$ = 7 per cent of the Boni.

16 619 The immigration of women from other tribes thus remains an exceptional phenomenon which has few effects on the social and demographic levels. The development of the Boni as a nation results only from the natural movement of the population. Study of the genealogies forces the conclusion that when the members of these four small lineages are eliminated, the whole of the Boni are descended from only six or seven women who lived at the end of the 18th century. Few examples of such growth are to be found.

621 [183] Absence of division of the villages into quarters. We have seen that the custom of the Refugee Blacks is opposed to all that could alter the system of classificatory kinship and leads to the individualization of segments within the lineage. This principle [613] is translated very clearly in the structure of the villages, where one observes no tendency at all toward division into separate quarters,

6:Hurault--120 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

[Agodé bakka locality]

/84 cont. /

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423
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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
8 △	Grand Man Difu	1952	--	?
9 ○	Paata (Djuka woman settled in Boniville)	1947(?)	id.	already used by Paata about 1940
10 ○	Térésa (L2, E57) clearing cut by her sons	1953	id.	?
11 ○	Paata (see above)	1953		already used by Paata in 1950

Thus, out of this group of eleven clearings, two remain attributed to the grand man, one to a woman of the Dju lineage, two to a Djuka woman, one to a woman of the Lapé lineage, five to members of the Kotika lineage, all inhabitants of Boniville. /85/

[361]
[166]
[931]
[554]

Study of the clearings of the fraction of the Papaïston established in Boniville. This group formerly lived in Puu Mofu village at the mouth of the creek of the same name, abandoned about 1940 following an epidemic. Its settlement in Boniville is therefore recent. The oldest man in the group, Bukuman, a man of some 60 years, exerts de facto authority.

This group tends to add to its initial finage the band of land included between Boniville village and Puu Mofu Creek belonging to the Dikan lo (especially clearings Nos. 12, 13, 14).

621
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591 /117 cont./

Atikati (daughters living with their father, groups of friends having no rights over the land).

621
241
591 It seems that exceptions of this kind have always existed among the Refugee Blacks, but they are probably tending to become more numerous.

178 They do not appear to be due to a change of conception about family structure but to a development of individualistic tendencies. These groups of aberrant structure are particularly unstable.

361
241 Stability; changes of location. On this point there is no precise custom. Certain farming habitations are old, such as those of Sawen and Atikati, which certainly date from the beginning of the century. Most appear to last from five to ten years. Others, like that of Kwaku, have had only an ephemeral existence.

361
241 The changes of location of habitations which have taken place in this region since 1950 have very variable causes: /118/ /Fig. 20 appears here/ /119/

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△ Dyakata (Dip. I)	left the region to live in the lower Maroni among the Paramaka for personal reasons.
○ Chili (Dip. I)	went to settle near Maripasoula. Gave up his habitation at Simayé Falls because of manioc ants.
△ Kwaku (L)	His habitation was too damp and the activity of the manioc ants too great. Henceforth lives all year in Loka.
[226] △ Akwadé (L)	Had no habitation, created one in 1954 near Simayé Falls. Was looking for a site favorable for fishing, from which he lives almost entirely.

On the whole, it can be estimated that the average duration of a farming habitation is about ten years. In these moves,

[Text Continues on P. 173]

/119 cont./

361 241 166 exhaustion of the lands does not seem to play any part: considering the sparseness of the population, one can either make new clearings out of primary forest or carry out any system of letting land lie fallow one wishes.

Most changes of location can be attributed to two causes of equal importance:

[136] [613] --The activity of the manioc ants; we have said that since about 15 years ago the principal soil of the Lapé lo, situated near Loka village, has had to be totally abandoned as a consequence of exceptional activity of manioc ants. From this resulted the creation of several farming habitations on the soil of the Lapé lo studied here;

361 241 166 578 --Personal motives, among which comes first of all disagreement among the members of a group. For example ○ Kulina and ○ Bakamaman (Boniville, Dju) made their clearings until 1950 with their mother Béniti in her farming village in Kuyaku locality (to the south of Kormotibo).

In 1950 there was a quarrel. Kulina and Baïkom have made their clearings since that time at the habitation of their father Malobi (Lapé).

[768] It happens especially that upon the death of its founder a farming habitation disappears or changes composition entirely because disagreements arise.

361 241 166 Another cause of change of location of farming habitations is change of activity of their occupants. For example, a man grows old, he no longer finds paid work, he creates a habitation in order to take up fishing (Akwadé's case). When he reaches extreme old age, he abandons his habitation to move close to his relatives (case of Samalobi, first occupant of the lands cultivated nowadays by Antonu village). /Page 120 blank/

/142 cont./

101 162 311 circumstances because with their lower population density they are less seriously in need of land. But the same fate awaits them in the near future. In addition, the cutting of the forest has more serious consequences in this region because as a result exploitable timber is lost. Along the Tapanahoni, above the greater falls, woodcutting is impossible for the time being, so that the loss of wood in these districts does not as yet play an economic role here.

6. Measures toward Improvement

433 The question now is whether the grounds-operations of the Bush Negroes must be regulated by a higher authority. My advice is: The /143/ sooner improvement can be brought about in this, the better, and for the following reasons.

[311] 1st. Because of the grounds-system practiced from olden times, the Aucaners of the Tapanahoni in particular now have such a land shortage that further growth of the population is thereby hindered.

[262] 2nd. The food supply of this Bush Negro society is precarious and one-sided; this threatens to become more and more unfavorable, with the consequence that the health situation will require more and more care.

3rd. The Bush Negroes cannot be considered capable of bringing about changes for the better in these agricultural methods by themselves.

[167] 4th. Occupying these districts becomes less and less attractive for the younger generation, whereby a spreading of the [464] population over other areas takes place. The men try to find work in the lowlands or in the concerns in French Guiana.

5th. Through the wasteful use of land the supplies of wood along the rivers are in danger of becoming lost entirely.

6th. It is to be feared that unless help is offered through government channels in time to help this bush population out of the impasse, its social and economic retrogression will soon become seriously felt.

B /510 cont./
581 relatives, nor any power of the man over the woman, nor even
B household cohabitation. The man and the woman each reside in
591 the village of their maternal kin. The man goes to live with his
593 wife from time to time, providing her with the imported commodities that she needs, notably salt, kerosene, cloth, and utensils, and felling trees for the clearings which she will exploit
B for the benefit of the household.
586 Divorce is entirely free. Unions are not very stable, mainly on account of the woman. Numbers of women are divorced four to five times during their lives.

B The grand man, chief of the tribe, exercises over the Boni a
643 power which is more religious than political.

B The Boni are a pirogue-people. For more than a century they
433 have been living by using their canoes for the benefit of gold-seekers
178 and exploiting miners. The decline of gold extraction is depriving
[501] [167] them more and more of their traditional resources. Some of them are emigrating temporarily to the coastal lumberyards. But all of them remain faithful to their villages and to their customs.

R /511/
101 The Oayana Indians (Roucouyennes /Rucuyen/). These Indians of the
177 Caribe /Carib/ ethnic group have had only a few direct contacts
144 with European civilization and still represent without alteration the
R human type which populated Guiana before the arrival of the
161 Europeans. On encountering the Refugee Blacks, the Indians of the Guianese forest have been steadily and rapidly declining. Estimated
R at 30,000 at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Indians
101 of French Guiana are now no more than about a thousand. In
162 addition there must be included in this number 700 persons (Galibi and
131 Arawak) who have been protected by their habitat in the savannas of the coast where malaria is less deadly than in the interior.

R The accounts of travelers and the censuses made notably in
175 1730, 1759, 1787, and 1815 allow one to follow with precision
161 this destruction of the autochthonous population since the first settlement of the Europeans in Guiana (2).

2. Dr. André Sausse, op. cit., pp. 67-98.

/517 cont./

125 We believe the ages are determined with a probable error of less than two years for persons less than 30 years old, two to three years for persons between 30 and 60 years old; and three years above 60. But this error has no systematic character, and one may assume that it is eliminated on the average, disturbing the calculations of fertility and of mortality very little.

[161] Census, age pyramids. The census finished on 1 January 1958 in-
[162] cluded 811 persons, of whom 666 were from villages on the French bank and 145 on the Surinam bank (Kotika). With regard to the latter, we interrogated them individually when they came over to the French side, particularly when they came to attend the celebrations of the end of mourning at Boniville in November 1957. Temporary absentees (less than 5%) were placed by information provided by their nearest relatives. /518/ /Diagram 1 appears here./

We estimate the omissions in the census at less than 2%. These omissions are almost exclusively a matter of adolescents and young orphans or youngsters raised by persons other than their own parents.

[167] Emigration and immigration are very slight, practically zero as far as the women are concerned. Thus the age pyramid really represents the demographic situation of the Boni and lends itself to complementary calculations of mortality.

Interrogation of the women. The women of the villages on the French bank were questioned about the children they had had and lost. An effort was made to place the dead children in relation to the survivors and in relation to the local chronology. The age of the dead ones was determined by comparison with children or adolescents living at the time of the inquiry.

For the dead adults an attempt was made to fix the year of their death in relation to the local chronology.

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[For additional data on the number of children per woman, mortality, Boni emigrants, and the village of residence of lineage/sib members, see the genealogical charts on pp. 542-575, category 116.]

614
613 /26 cont./

[621] This village had no future. its complement did nothing but
[591] melt away for half a century, especially under the influence of
[177] venereal diseases.
[164]

Neither time nor geographical separation have brought on scission on the religious or legal planes. In this respect the members of Dipélu I and Dipélu II continue to think of one another as
[784] the same lineage. They remain subject to the same kunu.

613 The law of exogamy continues to be applied rigorously with-
614 in Dipélu I and within Dipélu II, but marriages are permitted be-
582 tween Dipélu I and II. There are no longer any social sanctions about this, and the common origin of the two groups is so remote that they scarcely think any more of applying to them the term pikadu. But such unions remain exceptional, the people concerned
[784] continuing to fear a superhuman sanction.

[621] No element of heterogeneous origin, fragment paternally related or refugee outsiders, has settled among the Dipélu.

613 The Papaïston or Kawina lineage (Papaïston village) has
[621] remained perfectly coherent and well grouped. Its members know their genealogy as far back as an ancestress named Térésa, who must have lived at the beginning of the 18th century. But there exists a small fraction, nearly extinct, which we shall designate as Papaïston 2, which presents a separate genealogy going almost
[614] as far back in time. Nobody knows the origin of this group exactly; it is regarded as connected by kinship ties to the main group, but the members of the two groups consider that they form two distinct
[784] bee. They do not have the same kunu.
[582]

Marriage is not tolerated within the principal group, but it is allowed between members of the two groups.

613 Moreover, with the Papaïston lives a small group which
621 fled from Surinam about the end of the 19th century, originally
[167] of the Bakabuchi tribe. This group has no kinship tie at all with
[101] the Papaïston but has placed itself under the authority of the head

/29 cont./

121 This is what necessitates as precise an inventory as possible of the population in its present state.

61 Matrilineal kin groups among the Djuka and Saramaka Refugee Blacks.

114 Authors who have described the social structure of the Djuka and
184 Saramaka, groupings appreciably more numerous than the Boni, have also called attention to the use of the words lo and bɛɛ, but give them a completely different meaning.

174 The organization they describe can be summarized thus:

571 Before making up tribes, the rebels lived in small groups
621 near the plantations from which they had escaped; these groups of composite origin were designated by the word lo which means: troop, band; the same word is used to designate a band of animals.

[162] These rebels used to belong to all the nations of the west
[103] coast of Africa. In spots there may have been an attempt at regroupings of elements belonging to the same nation, as proven by the village names Loango, Dahomey, among the Saramaka.

[622] But the majority of these small groups were very probably of heterogeneous origin; in each of these lo, the bravest and most capable was designated as head.

[648] After the recognition of the Djuka and Saramaka by the
[167] government of Surinam and their regrouping on the great rivers of the interior, these groups kept their unity since they had a de facto organization and leaders. They were naturally designated by the name of the plantation they had come from. We say for example Dju nẽnge for the former slaves of the Jews, Kɔ̃pani nẽnge for the former slaves of the Compagnie des Indes Orientales /Fast India Company/. /30/

174 In the course of the 19th century the total number of Refugee
613 Blacks increased very rapidly under the influence of a high birth
614 rate. The lineages in the proper meaning of the term bɛɛ, mean-
621 ing the descendants of the same ancestress, took on sufficient im-
571 portance to constitute distinct social units. They grouped in
(161)

/41 cont./

621 The principle behind the constitution of the Boni villages
613 is, as we have said, the localization of the matrilineage. Men
[591] and women live in the village of their maternal kin; the wife does not leave her village to join her husband, who comes to visit her from time to time without ceasing, himself, to live in the midst of his own lineage.

The composition of each village thus corresponds, at least in principle, to the group of living people on the genealogical table. But a certain number of exceptions are observed:

[167] -A certain number of men (about 20 out of 800 persons) have emigrated for good and can no longer be counted in the population of the villages;

[619] -On the other hand, a dozen Djuka and Saramaka married
[591] to Boni women have settled permanently in the villages and have been included in the census.

125 We have tried to estimate with as much precision as possible
128 the age of the people concerned, by means of events of known
[173] date which they remember, from the trip of the explorer Crevaux (1878) to the war 1939-45. We have established a local chronology, reproduced as an appendix at the end of the present chapter.

125 The demographic survey, which has been the subject of another publication (1), was conducted parallel with the sociological investigation.

[113] 1. "Etude démographique comparée des Noirs Réfugiés Boni et des Indiens Oayana du Haut-Maroni /Comparative Demographic Study of the Boni Refugee Blacks and the Oayana Indians of the Upper Maroni/," in Population, éditions de l'INED, 1959, No. 3. ?

? [See 5: Hurault, This file-- Analyst.]

/57 cont./

613 The descendants of ○Monika † were scattered among these
621 three villages. Δ Kwau, the eldest, after living at Apatu until
591 the age of 70 years, moved in 1958 to Boniville; ○Djalufu lived from childhood at L'Enfant Perdu. Cécilia was raised in Boniville where she has lived since.

Again, let us cite the example of the descendants of Wétiti (Papaïston 1). Out of her 12 adult children and grandchildren living in January, 1958, seven established themselves with her in the habitation she founded on the estuary of the Maroni several hundred kilometers from Boni country, two live in Boniville (where the Papaïston lineage delegated a few of its members to live close to the grand man), three came back to live in Papaïston. In spite of this dispersion, there is perfect understanding among these brothers and sisters who remain in regular relationship.

128 Emigration; immigration; founding of new lineages. It is not
169 possible to give rigorous figures on this subject because it is very difficult to make a clear distinction between temporary and permanent emigrants. It does happen that a man /58/ who left a long time before and on whom they no longer counted comes back to take up again his place in ordinary living. It also happens that a man who left for a short trip prolongs his absence indefinitely.

167 Nevertheless, it can be asserted that long lasting emigration affects only a very small percentage of the Boni, and men almost exclusively. Out of 810 persons in the census, in registering the names of their brothers, sisters, and children, we noted only some 20 emigrants considered as permanently lost to their group, including four women.

B S 648 S 771

/197 cont./

Odun's laws create an irreducible cleavage between the Refugee Blacks and the Creoles. The Creoles of Surinam, like the West Indian gold miners of the Maroni, profess Christianity, but they have a special conception of it, associating with Christian ideas /198/ beliefs of various origins and often magic practices. If in quasi-totality they reject magic aimed at doing harm without reason, they take very generally for granted:

--Counter sorcery inspired by vengeance;

--"Invocations" to the spirits of the dead and divers magic formulas in which it is believed one captures the vital force of these spirits in order to make practical use of it;

--Charms having the purpose of forcing the love of a person one desires.

B S 771 648

The Creoles are as attached to these conceptions as the Refugee Blacks to the laws of Odun, which are absolutely contrary to them. They have such importance in the thought of both that it would be unthinkable to make a group of Creoles and a group of Refugee Blacks live together for any appreciable length of time integrated into the same organization. Attempts made to do this, especially in Surinam, have always failed. When an economic activity engages them in the same work in the same locality, Creoles and Refugee Blacks form two separate groupings, each living according to its own law.

B 167 754 [782] [613]

If Refugee Blacks leave their group for any great length of time to settle in the midst of Creoles, if they do not come back periodically to renew the oath of Odun, it is taken for granted that they have abjured his laws and that they are suspect of wisi. It happens that people who have spent a whole portion of their lives in the midst of the Creoles come back to live in their native village because they are prey to adversity or sickness; they are always welcomed (the lineage cannot expel one of its members), but chances are great that they will be declared wisima upon their death. This was especially the case with an

/198 cont./

167 754 old woman of 90, A..., who died in Asisi in January, 1957. Having lived with Creoles in her youth, she had come back to live in her native village for at least 30 years and had never given occasion for any unfavorable remark. Nevertheless, upon her death it appeared that she had wisi.

791 829 197 Attitude toward Christianity. The Refugee Blacks, who are acquainted better than one might believe with the conceptions of the populations in the midst of whom they live, have a clear feeling of the relationship which exists between their metaphysical and moral conceptions and those of Christianity. They think they worship the same god as the Christians, in a completely different way but just as sound. They have no animosity [797] whatever toward the Catholic and Protestant clergy, and most of them agree willingly to wearing crosses or medals. But they have not the least intention of abandoning their beliefs for that. They do not perceive the contradiction and do not understand that people might want to oblige them to choose.

851 171 Like the Creole gold miners, they attach great importance to baptism, considered as an obia protective against the dangers of the bush. On Christmas, 1957 they were strongly impressed 165 797 by the accidental death of a Djuka Christian living at the Kotika school. He refused to observe mourning for his wife [688] according to the custom of the Refugee Blacks, and used to go [273] to drink in the cabarets of the Creole villages. On Christmas [784] evening, when drunk, he drowned himself. That was attributed to a suprahuman punishment. We heard /199/ the following reflection on this subject: "He was baptized and he drowned himself just the same. That is therefore not worth the trouble."

61 581 571 Actually, the matrilineal structure of the Refugee Blacks and their conception of marriage form an irreducible cleavage, which appears immediately as soon as one leaves the metaphysical conceptions to pass to the plane of practical living.

754 /241 cont./
[126] Several cases of wisi. We transcribe these affairs as they were related to us, placing ourselves in the perspective of the narrator, without making any judgment as to the nature of the facts and their probability.

N... affair. -- N..., of Kotika, was working gold with another Boni. After they had eaten /242/ together, the latter was taken with uncontrollable vomiting, then he died. His near relatives blamed N..., accusing him of wisi. In the night N... took refuge at Benzdorp and took passage on a Djuka
[167] boat which was going down the river. He settled in Paramaribo. Since then his sister T... has gone to join him. They have left the Boni for good.

P... affair. -- Toko (Dipélu II), while boating on the lower river, wagered one morning with his friend Kwami (who told us the story) to stay in a dive for the time necessary to fill a five-liter demijohn; bet taken; Toko did not come back up, he had drowned. His body was found the next day. The family
[578] blamed one P..., of Kotika village, whose wife N... had left him to marry Toko and who at the time had made threats.
[683] They insulted him, they presented Toko's decomposed body to him: "Eat him, since thou hast killed him like game." P... stubbornly denied it. The grand man commanded that he be left alone, turning him over to Odun to punish if he were guilty. As a matter of fact, some time afterward, P... died and was declared wisimã.

[464] S... affair. -- About 1955, S..., of Kotika, about 60 years old, was working with Kwau weeding the clearings of a Benzdorp Creole who raised oxen. One morning this cattle-raiser saw one of his oxen covered with blood coming from wounds which bore tooth marks and could not have been made by bats. He followed the traces of blood which led him to S...'s hammock.

/242 cont./

754 He accused him of being an azemã (vampire) and of drinking the ox's blood. S... answered nothing, which appeared to everyone obvious proof of his guilt. He untied his boat and went away. Since then everybody in Kotika avoids him; they abstain from accusing him personally in order not to become victims of his sorcery.

Agyémési affair. -- Agyémési, an old man of Asisi village (Awara Bakka) who died in 1953, was a solitary and morose man with odd ways. For a long time he had been accused by B... (of Loka) and by N..., a Djuka living among the Boni, of being a wisimã and of having made them sick. He had even [695] been accused before the grand man, had denied it, and the grand man according to usage had told him: "We leave to God the job of punishing thee if thou art guilty." Agyémési, in [167] order to flee his persecutors, had settled in the Indian village of Aloïké.

His accusers insisted to people of his lineage that he be brought and publicly interrogated. A... and P... were sent, who went to get him by making him believe that the council of the Awara Bakka lo, putting an end to a long dispute, had decided to name him captain as the doyen of the lo. Without [695] mistrust, he followed them to Asisi. He was received by his accusers who insulted him tumultuously, without, however, there [154] being any blows. The poor man remained speechless, which appeared to all to be the obvious proof of his guilt. He took to his bed and five days later he was dead (1).

1. The Refugee Blacks are so suggestible that the sole fact of seeing oneself cursed and abandoned by all must bring on a psychological shock capable [171] of bringing death. Similar cases have been observed in Africa.

/245 cont./

754 766 ground, after scattering the cloths which were covering her, and left without carrying out any rite.

"Next we went to Boniville, the grand man invoked Odun on our behalf, stating that we had only followed his laws and that he had to protect the performers of the job against any distressing consequence."

754 181 178 Development of sorcery. Since 1957 Boni country has been passing through a crisis; /246/ fear of sorcery is poisoning village life, while in 1948-50 it was a preoccupation of secondary importance.

[578] That is due to the fact that the rapid growing rich of part of the Boni aggravates jealousies and suspicions. Moreover, these affairs tend to appear in series. Since the case related above (1958), in which a woman, N..., was convicted of having paid a Creole quimboiseur to make the grand man die, an affair which strongly impressed the Boni, they tend to see wisi in all misfortunes that occur.

[169] In November, 1958 the death of a little girl of 12 of Kotika village was attributed to her uncle Mbomaolo, who had recently emigrated to Surinam and settled in a Creole village. [787] It is believed that he "committed himself," that is, that he sold his soul to the devil (1), which necessitates sacrificing one

1. This notion, which plays such a large role in West Indian beliefs, has no equivalent among the Refugee Blacks. There is no word in the Boni language for translating the term "committed." They translate thus: a e suku didibi, he seeks the devil. The Boni do not have a clear image of the devil, and this notion remains, in fact, foreign to their beliefs.

[776]

:Hurault--174 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/121/

CHAPTER VI

FAMILY CUSTOM

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105

The family custom of the Refugee Blacks presents more unity than their beliefs. Contrary to the Blacks of Brazil and Haiti, among whom the influences of Dahomey and the Yoruba country have dominated, the Refugee Blacks of Guiana have borrowed the essential part of their family custom from the Agni-Ashanti culture area. One finds again especially such characteristic traits as the prohibition of inheritance of widows, customs relating to birth, isolation of the dead in cemeteries away from habitations.

But on several essential points:

--The marriage system.

--Institutions relative to death and mourning, and the central place given to them in the whole body of customary institutions.

The Refugee Blacks have separated themselves cleanly from the conceptions of their ancestors, and the conceptions they have elaborated may be in large measure considered as an original creation.

Birth

843

Beliefs. As soon as a woman is pregnant, her husband is subject to special obligations. He may not use a shovel nor drive nails. These operations which, among the Refugee Blacks, have as their primary purpose the digging of graves and the making of coffins, might be supposed to make the child die. Neither he nor his wife may cut their hair; he is subject to food interdictions, especially the maïpouri (tapir).

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

demanded more knowledge of the sources of the slaves who compose the Negro ancestry of the American Negroes than was available. This knowledge, which historical documents do not give us, was, therefore, to be sought in a comparison of Negro cultures in the New World and in Africa. 121 114

As the research was continued, moreover, it became apparent that the scientific problem of the Negro in the New World held implications of larger significance, and that the history of the Negro in the New World has constituted a vast "laboratory" experiment in the processes of racial mixture and of cultural contacts. The Negroes who were brought to the New World came of various West African stocks, and here they mingled their blood with the English, the French, the Dutch, with the Danish, Spanish, and Portuguese who became their masters, and they absorbed in varying degrees the culture of these masters. At the same time, they came in contact with aboriginal Indian peoples with whom they also mingled. But the Negro has not only absorbed; he has also given. The conclusion, still held by many students, that the Negro slave came to this country a savage child with or without his loin cloth, and as naked culturally as he was sartorially, is one which cannot today be accepted.

At the beginning of our field work in Suriname, one of us went up the Suriname River to study the Bush Negroes, and the other remained in Paramaribo to collect folk lore from the town Negroes and to ascertain what Africanisms could be discerned in their beliefs and behavior. When we met and compared notes, some striking things came to light, for bush and town Negroes were, as the evidence in hand suggested, much more closely allied culturally than had been realized, while both were seen to have many aspects of culture that clearly link them with West African and other New World Negroes. 121

Thus, in bush and town, the Negroes hold the same concept and offer the same explanations of the soul and 176 171

PREFACE

its influence on the life of man, and both employ the word *akra* for soul, a word used on the Gold Coast of Africa exactly as it is in Guiana. The day names associated with the soul are Gold Coast day names, known in Jamaica and heard in the United States, as well. In the bush the Saramacca people are "possessed" by the gods and by *obia;* in the town the Negroes are "possessed" by *winti*, a word meaning wind, and the use of wind as a euphemism for the gods is common in Dahomey and Ashanti. Many of the gods of both bush and town are the same, and they are African gods, invoked today in Nigeria, in Dahomey, in Togo, in Ashanti, and invoked also in the islands of the Caribbean. *Nyankompon*, the Bush Negro name for the Sky God, is the Gold Coast name. The Maroons of Jamaica know this deity under the same designation. *Dagowe* is a snake god in the Suriname bush and in town—the Haitians and Dahomeans dance to the same snake god, whom they call *Dangbe*. In West Africa the silk-cotton and *loko* trees are sacred. In the Saramacca villages and in the town of Parimaribo they are sacred as well, and the names are Dahomean names, known also in Haiti. In bush and town the people dance to the river gods, as do the Negroes in Africa and the Caribbean, and the pattern of the ceremonies has been preserved in part in Negro baptismal rites in the United States. Bush and town invoke the buzzard, *Opete*, so named in Ashanti, and sacred everywhere in West Africa, and the style of dancing resembles certain of the dances of the "saints" who "shout" in the Negro Sanctified Churches of the United States.

Between bush and town there is, however, this difference—the bush is Africa of the seventeenth century. In West Africa today, for example, the roof of thatch has almost everywhere given way to the white man's metal roofing. In Dahomey, where thatch is still found, we discovered a strip of wall made of woven palm fronds, such as is found on the Saramacca, in a village which had been enslaved by the Dahomean kings in the early seventeenth century and had remained enslaved until the conquest

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

of the Dahomean kingdom by the French. All other walls are of swish. Today in West Africa the automobile and sewing machine have found their way into remote corners. But more important still than these changes wrought by European civilizations, which have made inroads chiefly on the material life of the Africans, are those resulting from intertribal wars, which followed the introduction of guns and gunpowder into Africa and which helped to establish the great West African dynasties. The result of the conquest of one native people by another was constant cultural interstimulation which made for changes in the indigenous civilizations.

In the Guiana bush, however, where these runaway Negroes and their descendants have been living, the fortunes of African kingdoms, the cultural contacts that have affected the Africans, have not touched their own tribal destinies. Neither has the civilization of the white man nor that of the Indian introduced basic changes into their manner of living or thinking.

There are no roads in the Guiana bush, and what footpaths exist to connect one village with another are difficult to follow and, moreover, are not for the stranger, whether he be white or mulatto. For such as these the highway is the river, with native paddlers alert in their surveillance of a stranger's activities. The old men on the river have made a tradition of recalling the struggle of the ancestors for freedom and survival, and it is not without significance that one of the three worst crimes among the Bush Negroes—one that ranks with incest and murder—is informing on a Negro to a white man.

In contrast with this isolation of the Bush Negroes, the Negroes of Paramaribo have known close contact with the whites, with Carib and Arawak Indians, and in more recent years with the Hindu and Javanese laborers brought to the colony. Only suggestions of the manner in which the beliefs of town and bush correspond or differ can be included here, since this account concerns itself with the Saramacca people. Yet for the understanding of this study it must be

REBEL DESTINY

764 [539] "On the sacred apinti drum we speak to the spirit; we tell it we go to dig the grave." So the drum spoke. From the shore we could see five figures in the small corial, and, as they came closer, we saw also the drum, the food the men carried, and the muddy hoe. They would do this the next day and the next, for to dig a grave takes a long time.

I

775 769 171 Although separated by many generations from their African places of origin, the Bush Negroes of Dutch Guiana have held to the traditions and beliefs of their aboriginal home. In the Suriname bush, as in Africa, the responsibility which an individual bears toward his social group does not end with death. His clan, his village, and his family look to him, when he has joined the spirits of his ancestors, to protect them against the magic of their enemies, to help them in time of drought or pestilence, and at all times to intercede for them with the gods.

As in Africa, the spirit of the dead is powerful for good or evil, and the rites of death must be carried out as tradition demands, so that the dead man may feel he has received honor among the living and proper introduction to the world of the dead. As in Africa, we found that the first care for the dead is to place the body on the central portion of a broken canoe; that rum and tobacco are included in the water with which the body is washed; that in washing the dead, the back must not be touched; that the number of those who wash the body must not be an even one—five is the number preferred, though three persons are used, and seven; that those chosen must not be young, for it takes age and the knowledge of controlling the spirits which age brings to approach the dead without suffering harm.

764 171 [801]

764 While the body lies in the open house of the dead, relatives and the village elders are in attendance on the spirit night and day. It is they who all night tell stories about the trickster, spider Anansi, to amuse the spirit, and they who play traditional games. The dances begin when

764 of him from whom it had dropped. The same belief in the
795 identification of the essence of one's being with any part of one's body which actuates so many primitive peoples, and
[171] is so characteristic of West Africa, exists among the Bush Negroes. It is for this reason that when an African or a Bush Negro dies away from home some of his hair and nail parings are sent to his native village for ceremonial burial. And it is for this reason, too, that for three mornings we saw the party of five young men go out from Gankwe to dig the grave of Sedefo's brother and heard the drum's invocation,

[539] *Osio tintin*
Osio be'e dyo.

2

776 The night was still and dark. The natives said the moon
796 was dead and this was the time for the dances to the river gods, but since there was a death in Gankwe all the gods might be danced to, for in times of important rituals, like death or the breaking of mourning or harvest festivals, it was not necessary to wait for the day sacred to each god to dance.

"They dance well at Gankwe," said our informant, as he sat by, and then after listening for a few moments he added, "They're dancing already."

We, too, walked out on the path to listen, and gradually we separated the sound of the falls above our camp from what seemed like the pulse of the night itself.

"It doesn't boom, does it?" we asked each other, remembering the accounts of impressionable travelers.

Soon Sedefo himself appeared and another, and we started for Gankwe.

"*Waka koni*, Sedefo," called our host at camp as we put off. He was evidently uneasy about us and asked the paddlers to be careful, for it is not safe on the river at night with the rapids below and the spirits that hover about.

The paddles cut the water so soundlessly that it did seem as if the spirits were carrying the boat downstream.

Bayo laughed. "All this isn't easy, white man. A line about this curve shows this to be a man-child. These are things bush people alone know." 532

The decorated rim of this tray had interested many who had seen the piece the winter before, and we had had pointed out to us what we ourselves had remarked, that the design was not continuous all around, but that it was divided into four parts, the crosshatched portion alternating with that of checkered squares. Did those have meaning? we asked Bayo.

"Ai, these belong to the women and the children. The small lines are the hair of the children, and the squares here that of the women." The brass-headed nails he touched one by one on the photograph. "The women have nice kamemba," he said, at last.

On the upper river we had acquired another tray with similar motifs, but more elaborately decorated, with carvings on the outer surface as well as the inner, and also with many more brass-headed nails. This use of nails, which was more general in the deep interior, had at first seemed an anomaly, for they must come from the white man's city, since the Bush Negro, we knew, had lost the African technique of iron working. But as we saw more deeply into their customs, we recognized that these nails studding the carvings represented a survival of the African art tradition, and it was, therefore, reasonable that in the deep interior they should be found more profusely on the carvings. [184] [177]

Human representations outlined with the realism of African masks we almost never met, and the exceptional instances suggested only resemblances. The mask itself, as far as we could learn, was not used in their dances. The men knew what masks were, but whether this knowledge came as part of their African tradition, or whether it was brought from the city and the French shore, we could not determine. The African style of depicting the human form had, however, not been entirely lost by their slave ancestors. 532 171 [535]

In this village of Ma'lobbi, where lived one of the finest carvers on the river, the carving over a doorway held us 532

532 fascinated. It showed, in its purest form, the retention of the African mask-like head. Sometimes on the prow of a boat we would see in cruder form the outlines of a mask, and once an old woman came with a food stirrer to us. Its handle ended in a knob which with a few strokes of the knife had been formed into a double representation of the human [191] head, a perfect parallel to the type of mask that is associated with the people of the Ivory Coast.

532 Aside from the decorated apinti drum, only some of the 191 workaday art forms of Africa—combs, paddles, mortars, among other such objects—were retained. For their decoration the designs that in Africa had been cut into the base of figures or about the borders of masks had been remembered and reinterpreted in terms of the ancestral cults. And from those memories the Bush Negroes had developed the unique art which is theirs.

532 Thus, in the main, the art was symbolic, and many of the 181 designs represented the urge for reproduction. Some 84 stemmed from the fertility cult, though not entirely of it. There was, for example, the double-bladed food stirrer, which was given by a man to his wife with a curse woven [626] into its curves for the woman if she committed adultery.

There were carvings that did not deal with sex at all. 532 On the lower river we sat on the shore as a canoe came up. Prow and stern were carved. On one of the seats was a representation of the head of a feline, done with the utmost realism.

"You have *tigri?*" we asked the man, as we bargained for the seats.

"I will sell you this, but do not ask me what it means."

The bird-headed paddles were also examples of this kind. [501] When laid on their sides, they showed the form of the parrot, or whatever bird they represented—the exaggerated beak, the head, the neck, the wings, and the feet. The design called *Alukutu folo*, an emblem of those who [791] could see into the future, was engraved on many benches on the upper river in particular, and these carvings were parted with only with the greatest reluctance, lest we try

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

The blacks are proud of their water skill. Upsetting a canoe 484
or drowning a passenger are disgraces that no man can ever 648
live down. But they are rare occurrences. The Indians of this 501
part of the continent, not nearly so skilful, use a different
style of canoe and paddle. Djuka paddles are hewn with a
bush-knife from a solid plank of hard wood, and finished off [322]
with an ordinary pocket-knife. The handle is frequently
pierced with delicate ornamental work, the entire piece beautifully balanced to handle easily. The men's paddles are as tall as they are, but the women's are shorter and more elaborate. Tiny ones are given children as soon as they are big enough to hold them, so that the Djuka's water skill is the result of a lifetime on the river.

All the boats are dugouts; no canvas or bark canoe would 396
last long in these rapids. They are manufactured out of big [501]
trees, which are felled and allowed to season. Then the centres are hollowed out with fire and adze; nothing is left but the shell of the trunk, with perpendicular sides and a rounded bottom. This is filled with water, into which hot rocks are dropped. The heated water softens the wood, enabling thwarts to be thrust in, forcing the gunwales apart. The ends are then symmetrically curved up and are often carved. Seats, as well as bow and stern pieces, are often carefully decorated. The entire boat has a distinct West African style. When com- 501
pleted it is from eight to forty feet long. Ours has a large [17] ●
sunshade of thatched grass near the stern, because the white 648
man is too soft to endure the sun's rays. Under the shade we have a camp-chair, a little comfort for the long trip. The

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

their arrival is frequently anticipated. But it is something of an exaggeration to say that this primitive telegraphy is so extensive and efficient as to spread news of the white man over "more than two thousand square miles of impassable land." Nothing of the sort happens. The sound of the drums will carry for about two or three miles, when the wind is in the right direction, and the drum call is relayed from town to town. Most often, however, they are not beaten at all for us, and we arrive unannounced.

At the landing we are met by Captain Abaisa, a splendidly built Djuka whose friendship was obtained on a previous trip. His powerful body is all cut up with ornamental scars, a form of personal decoration highly esteemed by the Bush Negroes. The custom is a direct heritage from West Africa, found in many parts of the Gold Coast, the Congo country, and Cameroons, but unknown among the Indians of the Guianas. Abaisa greets us cordially: *"You wicki bah?" "E-e ah, matti"* is the proper reply. This talkee-talkee greeting, the equivalent of "Did you wake well?" is chanted rather than spoken. The voice ascends sharply on the second word, the final word being drawn out in a high sustained tone. The reply means "Yes, friend."

Another form of greeting is *"Ah broko baka,"* or "The day breaks again"—in other words—we meet again; or *"Neetee kaba"*—"The night is finished."

If a person is met for the second time within a short interval, the proper thing to say is *"We meetee baka."* Still another greeting is *"Bala, (Sis, Da, Ma) odio, how fa you de*

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

415
531

Carved Calabash Gourds Used as Plates. *Saramaccaner Tribe*, Upper Surinam River.

Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History. Photo by Herbert Heller

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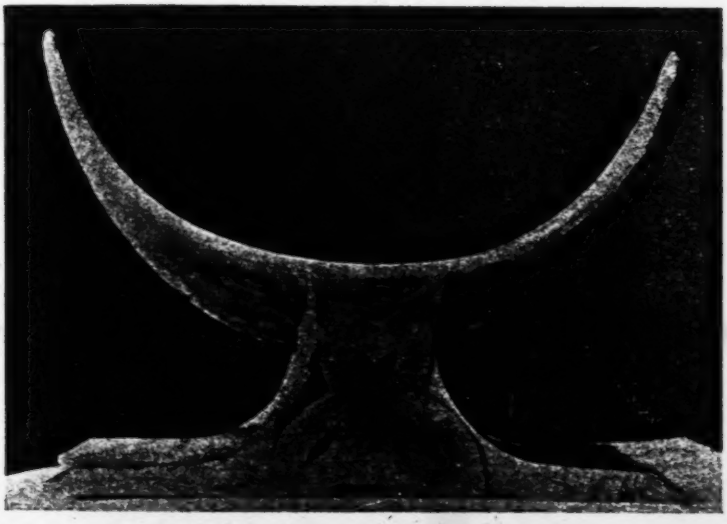


A Bush Negro Stool, Three Feet Long, Known as "Lebba Bangi" (Moon Stool), Taking Its Name from the Moon in the Crescent Phase. *Saramaccaner Tribe*. Stools of almost the identical nature are found in the Ashanti region of West Africa. This motif is probably one of the most striking West African Survivals.

Photo by Herbert Heller

[Facing p. 80]

751 calls them *obeiahs*. An obeiah is a charm or a form of magic
778 to be distinguished from a *trafer*, which is a taboo. Obeiahs may be worn in the form of bracelets or necklaces, called *boe*. Bush Negroes never start out on a hunting or river trip without a number of boe around the arm, or leg, or neck. Thus the machinations of the evil spirits are set at naught.

One boe which Abaisa made for us is formed of heavy wire wrapped with white cord and set with cowrie shells. Worn on the arm, this will make you very strong. The charm will protect you while engaged in dangerous doings, such as
[431] drinking river water after someone has been drowned in it. Abaisa made this bracelet out of friendship. It was given, not purchased; therefore the old-time gods are not offended at its being possessed by a white man.

[782] He presented it with great solemnity, taking a mouthful of rum and spitting it on the ground as a libation to the ground god, then squirting another mouthful over the bracelet. After that we all had a swallow of the same liquid and
[553] Abaisa said a prayer in deepee-talkee. A somewhat similar ceremony attended the giving of a Djuka name to the white man—*Abentee*, provider.

751 The cowrie shells with which the obeiah is set are smeared
321 with pemba dotee. The clay closes up the openings of the
778 shells, thus preventing evil spirits from entering into the interior. These cowrie shells, which decorate practically all the
[71] magic emblems of the Djukas, are commonly found among the savages of Africa, both on the East and West Coasts. They are also common in African art work, and at one time constituted a form of currency, papa moni.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

538 The Djukas possess, in common with many other primitive tribes, a number of trickster stories. They are called *anansi-tories,* and are usually concerned with the adventures of a clever spider, who outwits all the other animals. They resemble closely the Br'er Rabbit tales of the Negro of the [171] southern United States. These are West African themes, and can be found not only in the Carolinas and in Surinam, but scattered also throughout the West Indies. In the middle of the last century a collection of these stories was made among the Town Negroes of Paramaribo.

173 As most primitives possess no writing materials or technique, their knowledge is necessarily passed on by word of mouth, which imposes a severe limitation upon its possible extent. History, for the Djukas, starts with the rebellion, and of what came before they know little and care less. If they have stories of the Creation, we did not hear them. One approach to written language is in the Aucaner nation, where 212 a few rudimentary symbols are carved on paddles or other implements, a form of symbol-writing (see Appendix B). [431] The implement is given to someone as a token of affection, the symbols constituting a greeting. Some of them may be seen in the illustrations of small paddles and pot-stirrers.

202 For communicating over a long distance, the Djukas use [177] a system of drum telegraphy. This they have brought over from their West African homeland. At the town of Biodoti the news of our expedition was sent upriver by being drummed out on a tomtom. Squatting over the reverberating *apenti,* the Djuka buck rapped out the peculiar rhythm that

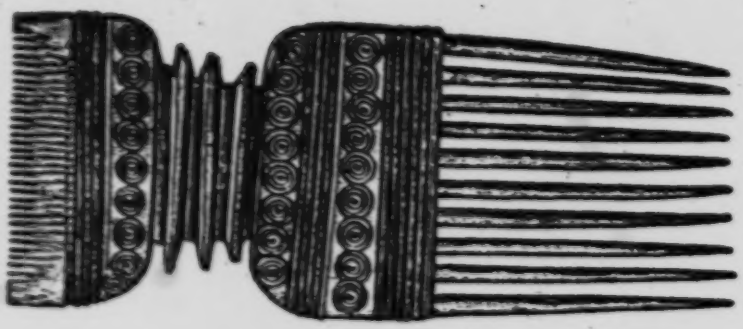
2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

202 In communicating by means of a beached canoe, instead of a series of long and short beats, the drummer will imitate the pitch and rhythm of a spoken sentence. By striking in different places along the gunwale of the boat, tones of different pitch can be obtained, which mimic the sharply modulated intonation of spoken words in talkee-talkee. The listeners match the sounds with the words that they suggest. The device is too difficult to be widely used, but seems to serve well in emergencies.

551 The method of naming people among the Djukas is extremely curious. There is a superstitious fear of mentioning certain names among them. This is very probably of African origin. In slavery days, no Negro, when passing an estate, [552] would dare to mention its name until the estate had been passed. When we went over a falls in the river, we could learn its name only after the danger spot had been passed.

For personal names the Djukas have one which everyone may use and another which depends upon the day of the week on which the individual was born. This latter can be learned only after explicit inquiry and often not at all. There is also the secret name that strangers seldom know, if ever. [171] This custom of secret names is also prevalent among the Surinam Carib Indians and other primitives.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8



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Chapter Eleven

WEST AFRICAN SURVIVALS

FROM the Moors, the Spanish and Portuguese learned of the existence of the black races inhabiting the land of Africa. Recent archæological investigations have indicated that great Negro civilizations once flourished where the Sahara Desert now stretches its interminable sands. The drying up of the country helped cause the decay of these mighty empires, and Timbuktu today is almost forgotten. The final blow to Negro culture in West Africa was administered by the slave trade, in which thirty million blacks were either exterminated or transported across the ocean. The first cargo of slaves to the New World was landed in Haiti in 1502, and from then on increasing numbers of slave ships plied the Middle Passage with their squalid freight.

The Dutch, having won their freedom from the yoke of Spain, looked with envy upon the prosperous slave trade. In

4/1 [For caption, see category 116, p. 204, — Analyst]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

The ornate combs used by the Bush Negroes are a most direct West African heritage, being found along the Upper Guinea coast, Ashanti, Cameroons, Ivory and Gold Coasts, Dahomey, Muni, and many other regions of Africa. The wooden plates and trays are likewise found among the Ewe-speaking tribes of the West Coast.

The custom of personal decoration by the cicatrization of the skin is very common throughout many parts of Africa. Captain John Stedman remarks on this strange habit in his *Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition to Surinam:* "The Loanga Negroes distinguish themselves by puncturing or marking the skin of their sides, arms, and thighs with square, elevated figures something like dice." This custom was widespread on the Slave Coast. The scar designs varied widely according to the different tribes as well as the social position and wealth of the individual. As the Indians of South America do not practise this cicatrization, it is evident that the Bush Negroes brought it over with them from their former home.

The Bush Negro coiffure, the method of arranging the hair in plaited tufts, is found also on the Gold Coast, in Cameroons, and elsewhere in Africa. The Djuka method of weaving is similar to that of the Sudan, Gold Coast, Mandingo, Ashanti, and the Ewe. The spindle used in weaving is called by an African term, *kyekye,* a Tshi word. The woven leg band, the *sepu,* is the same as the leg bands found in Cameroons and the Upper Guinea coast in general.

The method of finding out who is responsible for the

But when the necessities of life have been provided for,
417 and leisure is at hand for more beautiful and tender endeavours, the Bush Negro, seated before his evening fire, sharpens his knife and begins marking, with fine, deft lines, the graceful outlines of another paddle or comb to please his woman.

List of Carvings Shown at Chapter Openings with Explanation of Symbolism

442
352
322 Carved Bench Top, *Saramaccaner Tribe:* Eight Women Dancing
532 Around a Gadu Pole (title page)

Carved Bench Top, *Boni Tribe:* Stylization of Male and Female Figures (page 3)

Hair Comb, *Aucaner Tribe* (page 7)

Carved Pierced Bench Top, *Saramaccaner Tribe:* Two Male Figures Each Holding a Snake Aloft (page 27)

Carved Bench Top, *Saramaccaner Tribe:* Two Highly Stylized Human Figures (page 39)

Hair Comb, *Aucaner Tribe:* Male and Female Snakes (page 53)

Carved Bench Top, *Boni Tribe:* Vulva Surrounded by Phallic Symbols (page 63)

[443] Carved Inner Surface of Calabash Gourd, African Bone Motif, *Saramaccaner Tribe* (page 83)

Carved Bench Top, *Saramaccaner Tribe:* Frog Design Executed with Serpentine Technique (page 91)

Hair Comb, *Aucaner Tribe:* Vulva Motif; the triangles on the cross bar represent snake teeth (page 119)

Hair Comb, *Saramaccaner Tribe:* Male and Female Figures (page 133)

[445] Carved Outer Surface of Calabash Gourd, *Saramaccaner Tribe* (page 161)

[171] Comb from Nigeria, West Africa (page 175)

Hair Comb, *Saramaccaner Tribe* (page 193)

/139 cont./

13 seems too high to me), the ants can bring into the soil each year two to three tons of leaf material per hectare. As a result the soil would be so enriched with humus and, in addition, through the construction of the numerous nest corridors, receive so much extra ventilation that the oxygen content and the microbiological condition of this soil would tend to differ from the mineral soils in which the virgin forest is rooted. As proof of this, it is stated "that even the oldest ant-kapoeweri directly behind the villages shows no tendency to grow into normal high forest" (p. 13).

114 It does not seem correct to me to ascribe this kapoeweri
137 phenomenon only to the presence and the activity of the leaf-
136 cutting ants. In my opinion the ants here constitute a troublesome contributing factor, for when the virgin-forest grounds are abandoned by the population and no new food material is available to the ants while the kapoeweri gradually grows into higher forest, then the balance in the ant population re-establishes itself. This process takes place at a slow rate, depending on the local circumstances, but it leads to the re-establishment of the original situation. There is, however, one condition connected with it, namely, that the forest be left in peace for a long enough stretch.
241 Now this last is not the case for the grounds area of the Bush Negroes.
134 They return too soon (within ten years) to clear grounds again, with the consequence that the soil becomes too exhausted and the recovery of the forest becomes impossible.

●171 Proof for this viewpoint is already provided by Stahel (loc.
241 cit.) in his consideration of the agriculture of the upland Indians.
137 The absence of the ant-kopoeweri there is not a matter of a lesser
[136] ant infestation, as Stahel /140/ believes -- for in places this is equally serious -- but of a less intensive use of the forest lands.
[161] The Indians are present in small numbers (a few hundred, as against
423] thousands of Bush Negroes), while only communal plots are laid out for one village, and not different ones for each family. In
[361] addition, the Indians move frequently in order to find new hunting and fishing grounds.

/143 cont./

433 The solution of this problem in my opinion lies in this, that in the first place agricultural methods which are based upon a better and more economical use of the land must be practiced. It is the task of the Department of Agriculture to investigate which possibilities the lands permit and which crops can best be cultivated; it is for this reason that to these observations is added a list of crops presently in use among the Bush Negroes. A small team of young Bush Negroes will have to be trained by the Agricultural Information Service to familiarize them with the new methods.

Next to that, combating the ants will have to be seriously taken in hand in conjunction with the plans for a modified agriculture. For this, too, people from the area itself will have to receive training, and a permanent work-team will have to be formed. It is unfeasible and unnecessary to clear the entire area now in use. Insecticides such as carbon sulfate, methylbromide, and parathion -- applied with the necessary caution -- could be used with success in places.

/144/ The District Administration will also have to provide co-operation in order to find a compromise between the customary laws of the Bush Negroes and the new regulations to be introduced concerning the use of land.

7. The Cultivated Crops and Their Use

241 Although for the most part the cultivated plants are those [171] generally in use as agricultural crops in Surinam, there is still not [114] much known in detail concerning the crops that are cultivated by the Bush Negroes for their sustenance. Giving a general survey of these plants is thus necessary first of all, with a report on the way in which they are used.

[174] From a more historical point of view it is of interest to point to a number of important plants that are of African origin and have only still remained in use among the Bush Negroes, such as [177] agobo and bongila. Furthermore presumably there are still varieties of ordinary cultivated plants present here -- such as sugar cane, bacove and bananas, species of tajer and yams -- from the

/6 cont./

133 Flooding is very variable according to the configuration of the rivers and the nature of the terrain.

133 At the Creole village of Grigel, situated at the bottom of
361 a glove-finger loop of the Waki River, the June flooding reaches
● 171 a level of eight meters above the average level in the dry season; the Creole and Indian villages of the Waki are established on hills. On the contrary, along the Lawa whose course is rectilinear, the variation in level is seldom greater than four meters. The maximum water level is 50 centimeters to one meter /above/
[342] the soil of the alluvial terrace. Several of the Creole and Boni
[484] villages of the Lawa are even established at the very edge of the great river; the houses are built on piles and their occupants go home by boat during several weeks of the year. Nevertheless, most of the villages and farming habitations are outside the reach of flooding on terraces situated about five meters above the high-water mark, which are found from place to place at the edge of the river and which perhaps mark vestiges of an ancient terrace. This is notably the case with Boniville and Loka villages.

137 The whole of the territory is entirely covered by equatorial forest: a forest continuous and dense which extends over hundreds of kilometers without a village, without a clearing, without a trail.

The Guiana forest is less high than is ordinarily thought. It is an infinite succession of trees of all dimensions and of extremely varied species, among which true giants are rare; the average height of the cover is around 30 meters, and large trunks are rare.

824 The variety of species is very great; and the useful ones, few in number and dispersed, are difficult to exploit. The Refugee Blacks, who have a deep knowledge of the forest and its resources, utilize scarcely ten species out of the some 200 which they differentiate, judging the others unusable either because their

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241 experience of the American Indians, which seem the only utilizable
177 ones in the interior of the country.

Thus these populations which are so varied have in large measure the same agriculture and the same food.

241 Basic crops are manioc, consumed in the form of couac
[262] (flour roasted and granulated) which is the base food, the Indian yam, and tubers analogous to taro (dachine, "Caribbean cabbage").
[171] The Refugee Blacks plant mountain rice in addition. The Creoles do not plant rice but have on the other hand a greater variety of vegetables and fruits.

311 Men in Guiana live on the rivers; villages and cultivated
36 lands are to be found on their banks; everywhere else one finds
182 only the deserted forest; only Creole gold miners, constrained by their work, sometimes establish their villages far from watercourses.
181 The Refugee Blacks, like the Indians, love the rivers where they
182 find, along with water and light, the possibility of moving with-
171 out hindrance; they are a people of canoeists; their traditions are widely influenced by life on the river, and their mode of living finds in this a deep originality.

131 In fact, setting aside the gold miners' villages, we can say
133 that the populations of the Guianas living by exploitation of the
182 natural resources of the country have a linear habitat: it can be
171 estimated not in surface but in length, for it is limited to a band of one kilometer along each watercourse accessible to pirogues. These watercourses are limited in number, for one can take for granted that at a distance of some 20 kilometers from the source of each river, the congestion caused by fallen trees and parasitic vegetation prevents easy movement.

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[161] Actually, considering the very low density of the population,
[226] the small rivers are scarcely utilized except as fishing places.

489 All the rivers are interrupted by falls and rapids which render
501 the use of large boats impossible. The pirogues of the Refugee

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162 —On the Lawa a group of a little less than 680 persons is
103 settled on the French bank (villages of Agodé (Boniville), Asisi,
361 Loka, Tabiki (l'Enfant Perdu), Iapé (La Paix), and Papaïston).

—In proximity to this grouping subsists under Dutch control the village of Kotika (Cottica), grouping about 150 persons.

—In the region of Abounasounga two small groupings live in symbiosis with the Djuka. Finally, in the lower course of the Maroni exist three villages: Apatu, Ma Imma, and Wétiti. The whole represents about 150 persons.

361 These villages are stable: Kotika, Lapé, Asisi, Kormotibo
182 were already in existence at the beginning of the 19th century
[175] and their names figure in the report of the Franco-Dutch border mission of 1861; by contrast, farming habitations are moved according to the necessities of agriculture and fishing; thanks to this organization, a relatively numerous grouping can, in the interior of Guiana, in spite of conditions imposed by the geographical environment, conserve complete stability and a firm attachment
[171] to the ground. It is useful to compare this organization with the basic instability of the Indians of Guiana, for it shows very well that this instability is ascribable to psychological and sociological factors and not at all to the geographic environment.

101 The Boni designate themselves by the term Aluku nēnge. The meaning of this word is forgotten. It is possible that Aluku was the name of an ancient chief, or of the founding ancestress
[613] of a lineage. On this subject it is to be noted that the name of the most ancient ancestress known of the Dju lineage, who can be thought of as living at the end of the 18th century, was called
[175] Aluku. This name has been used since the origin of the tribe;
[103] indeed one reads in the interrogation of the woman prisoner conducted in 1847 by the French at Oyapok that her village was called Loukou (1).

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1. This conception of kinship is also found among the Agni of the Ivory Coast and the Fon of Dahomey; it may be widespread in Black Africa, especially in populations with matrilineal filiation.

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/22/ This conception, associated with that of the kunu, conflicts with the fractioning of lineages on the religious plane, even when a scission has taken place on the plane of residence. The rigor of the principle laid down, the quasi-mathematical transmission from one generation to the next of appellations based on rank relative to the foundress, prohibits the thought that elements foreign to the lineage can be integrated into this system by any process whatever. Nevertheless, a doubt remains as to the possibility of assimilating fragments with paternal kinship, for in paternal kinship the same principle of classificatory kinship rules, and the same appellations are used. We shall show that such a process of assimilation actually exists on the social plane, but that it is inconceivable on the religious plane, the kunu always being transmitted by the mother. /Fig. 3 appears here./

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Knowledge of genealogical ties is very variable from one lineage to another. Outside of the great splits like Dipélu I-Dipélu II, we have demonstrated that small fractions of several lineages could no longer be attached to the main trunk, the genealogical ties being irremediably lost. The people concerned had never realized this; they had never wondered about it. This was the case particularly:

—With Samma's descendants (Dipélu II, Asisi);

—With the group of Atili's descendants (Lapé, Boniville).

[178]

In both cases the split was very recent; old men dead for only a few years knew the genealogical ties now lost.

174 /30 cont./
613 1st. Lo = de facto grouping of rebels of any provenance,
614 which has in the long run split up into lineages but which remains
621 in the form of a common worship;
571 2nd. Lo = lineage, from the very beginning.
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Conceptions Relative to Kinship and Marriage

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[121] Ties between the individual and the ancestors. Before examining more deeply the social and family structure of the Refugee Blacks, it is indispensable to study what religious ties are implied between [184] the individual and the ancestors. Here one is in the presence of basic beliefs which seem identical in the various tribes of Refugee Blacks of Guiana and of which their structure is the consequence.

In the civilizations of Blacks Africa it is supposed that a [171] current of life and /31/ strength circulates from the divinity to men through the medium of the ancestors. Among the Refugee Blacks it is taken for granted that in this respect each man is bound [782] to his ancestors through the maternal line only. If he falls prey to illness, injustice, or adversity, he can call only on them in his prayer.

593 That does not mean that the tie with the father is ignored [827] or considered as having little importance; it is taken for granted, as we shall see, that in the creation of man certain psychic elements are transmitted from father to son. But the current of strength binding the individual to the ancestors does not pass through the father. One cannot pray usefully to the soul of one's dead father. [755] If I am sick and divination incriminates the action of my dead [782] father's soul, I cannot address either prayer or offering directly to him; for that I shall have recourse to one of his near relatives in the maternal line.

614 /31 cont./
769 Another very important principle in the minds of the Refugee
796 Blacks is that prayers must be collective; the principal ceremonies,
such as the New Year's prayer, must bring together, at least in
613 principle, the total lineage.

These notions certainly have influenced the custom of the
182 Refugee Blacks with respect to residence and marriage. The lineage
613 cannot allow the permanent departure of a woman from her native
614 country any more than that of a man. In the populations of Black
Africa with matrilineal filiation, this conception is reconciled
591 with the necessities of practical living in the following manner:
[171] the wife leaves her relatives to settle down with her husband, but
when her children reach adulthood they must return there. Thus
one cannot attribute to this preoccupation alone the special system
of marriage among the Refugee Blacks, which does not involve
the permanent cohabitation of man and wife. We shall see that
this system was inspired by social and psychological necessities.
But concern for the unity of the lineage, to which it corresponds
perfectly, has surely contributed to make of it a rigorous principle
of customary law.

601 Kinship within the matrilineage. The kinship terms translate a
613 purely classificatory system. It depends only on the number of
generations separating from the foundress. The sons of women
611 descended from the foundress in uterine line are regarded as mem-
bers of the matrilineage and united in the system of appellation.
The children of these men are no longer part of the matrilineage.

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562 828 [171] It is assumed once and for all that women are shrews on whom one cannot count and from whom one can get nothing. The Refugee Blacks are inexhaustible on this subject and their opinion about the women of their group is very similar to that of Africans in general: they call them ill-natured, devoid of feeling, selfish, greedy, and unfaithful.

562 571 [965] In general, women are held apart from regular social life; no form of customary society of women exists. In the mourning ceremonies, which correspond to a veritable mobilization of the village, they play no role, except to prepare the meals.

562 787 794 Yet the women play indirectly an important role in the social life by way of the cults of possession. The Papa gadu gods so formidable have women nearly exclusively as bearers, and we shall see in studying the functioning of the kunu that they are the principal actors in this. Through this activity, which is exerted in arbitrary fashion on the outskirts of the institutions of regular social life, the women maintain around themselves an atmosphere of fear; it is not impossible that the functioning of these cults is influenced by the concern of the women to maintain their privileged position in the society of the Refugee Blacks.

562 157 Many women are charitable and have a certain generosity toward the members of their family, insuring the maintenance of the old men without resources. But their benevolence is essentially subjective and extends only to a small circle of personal friends and their nearest relatives. As soon as the elders appeal to them for a question of general interest, claiming to give them orders or even advice, they meet an attitude systematically malevolent and stubborn. /70/

[613] The lineage heads avoid giving them orders directly, for they run a strong risk of getting themselves insulted, as we have observed many a time.

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423 emigrating fraction possesses exclusive rights over the /agricul-
613 tural/ land /terroir/ it forms. But it does not lose, at least in
621 principle, its rights over its original land /terroir/."

571 The study of finages gives us still more important informa-
tion concerning the exercising of rights of use:

241 /97/ Of 100 clearings examined, 81 follow the normal
423 process according to which the woman has her clearing made on
613 the land of her lineage (1). Of these 81 clearings, 14 had been
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1. For the joint sector of Boniville, the inhabitants of the village were considered as users of rights without distinction of lineage.

made under conditions not made clear, 48 had been cut by the husband, 14 by a near relative (son, brother, exceptionally brother or son-in-law), five by the woman herself.

In only five cases it is, on the contrary, the man who brings his wife onto his lineage's land.

A little more frequent is the case of a man cutting a clearing for himself on his lineage's land.

Finally, the case in which, for reasons of convenience, a member of a lineage asks to work temporarily on the land of another lineage is met twice. Thus this is an extremely unusual practice.

182 Influence of the geographical environment on the social structure.
•171 These observations are to be compared with the ones that can be
[179] made about the Oayana Indians and the Indians of Guiana in general, living near the Refugee Blacks, in the same geographical environment and almost in the same way (let us recall that the Refugee Blacks borrowed the whole of their material culture from the Indians).

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553 Let us remember simply that there is a clear tendency to choose the name from the paternal relatives of the child (1).

[197]

1. It is a general rule among the populations of Black Africa from whom the Refugee Blacks borrowed their main cultural traits, the patrilineal Fon and Yoruba as well as the matrilineal and patrilocal Agni and Ashanti. The persistence of this custom among the Refugee Blacks tends to strengthen the patrilineal and patrilocal tendencies which were persisting among them at the time when their institutions were developing.

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551 Apparently they avoid giving the name of a very old person or one recently deceased.

553 In this transmission of the name there does not seem to be anything other than a mark of affection toward a relative. No bond is created between the child and the adult whose name he bears. Obviously there is nothing in the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks which requires the perpetuation of names and their transmission from the dead to the living.

[613] When they wish to give one of their children the name of a person of another lineage, they must ask permission of this person, who does not necessarily grant it (he may fear that his name might thus be borne later by a thief or a ne'er-do-well).

If he does give his permission it does not, strictly speaking, involve any payment, but he may be offered a small gift.

[613] There is no need of any authorization to take a name borne by a person of the lineage of the child's mother or father.

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429 Recapitulation:

858 70% of the boys
613 85% of the girls are raised in the mother's lineage

27% of the boys
13% of the girls are raised in the father's lineage

3% of the boys
2% of the girls are raised by outsiders to both lineages.

429 It is important, moreover, to emphasize in what proportion
858 the children are brought up by women or men:
562

67% of the boys
86% of the girls are raised by women

33% of the boys
12% of the girls are raised by men.

429 This preponderant role of women in the education of the
562 children is one of the fundamental aspects of the social structure
571 of the Refugee Blacks. In fact, women consider that the children belong to them, and if they give some to men to bring up, it is
[171] only as many as they wish to. This conception which is found to be widespread among the Blacks of America, in the West Indies as in Guiana, explains, much more than the frequency of divorces, the impossibility for them to make up patrilineages in the absence of coercion exerted upon the women.

429 Several important pieces of information may still be drawn from these tables:

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684 This prohibition is of a purely religious nature and does
688 not entail any social sanctions; those concerned are convinced
784 that in such a case a suprahuman sanction would strike them in the form of sickness or accident.

582 Prohibitions limiting marriage. Outside of the great interdiction,
[613] pikadu, which is attached to unions within one matrilineage and one patrilineage, two prohibitions limiting marriage are found among the Refugee Blacks, which they express thus:

[595] --I cannot have two wives at the same time in the same lineage. For example I am forbidden to marry two "sisters"
[587] at the same time, but if I break with my wife, I may marry her classificatory "sister" or any other woman of the same lineage;

[835] --I may not have relations, even passing ones, with a woman who has been married to my brother by the same mother;
[587] in particular, if my brother has just died, I shall not be able to marry his widow.

The Boni are not capable of explaining the deep reasons for these interdictions, but they interpret them as purely social
[684] and not religious prohibitions. The offender is simply threatened with being beaten.

[171] The first of these rules seems very widely accepted in Black Africa, as much in patrilineal societies as in a matrilineal system.

[171] The second of these rules is characteristic in the Akan (Agni, Baoulé) culture area and shows that the family custom of the Refugee Blacks is related much more directly to that of the Agni-Ashanti group than to that of the Dahomey.

184 One can note that this rule is exactly contrary to the
587 Saramaka custom, which obliges the widow to marry one of the
114 brothers of the dead man; this custom has been interpreted by several authors as coming from imitation of the levirate of the Jews, with which certain rebels were acquainted (it is known that among the slaveowners there were many Jews).

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848 If children are born of these irregular liaisons, the mother
[784] takes care to know with certainty who the father is, for if there
[753] were any doubt, the child, respecting a kina which would not be his own, would contract leprosy. On this subject the Boni
842 have a remarkable belief: they think that it is the first man with whom a woman has had relations after the end of a menstrual period who is likely to make her pregnant.

836 These adventures always involve gifts in kind (cloth,
431 jewels); so the men who have the most success with women are always short of money.

581 A woman who has lived thus in notorious fashion has a little more difficulty than another in finding another husband, but if she is young and winsome she succeeds.

548 Prostitution as such is very rare in Boni country, and the women who give themselves over to it openly (three or four for all the villages on the French bank) have generally left the
[836] tribe to settle in the gold miners' villages. Dissoluteness is not considered dishonorable by the Refugee Blacks when it is carried on within the tribe and when it has no other purpose but pleasure; but prostitution is judged shameful.

834 Except for these few prostitutes, we have never heard it
648 said that a Boni woman had relations with a European; on this point tribal discipline is observed with extreme rigor.

581 Conclusion. The average duration of marriages, which was
[178] from 15 to 20 years for the preceding generation, tends to become shorter and can be estimated nowadays at about ten years.
[191] In spite of this evolution, the stability of marriages among the Refugee Blacks remains noticeably greater than that observed among the black populations of South America. Among them
548 is not seen the form of prostitution so widespread in South America, the supported mistress who does not work and who lives entirely at the expense of her successive lovers.

/161 cont./

764 692 This tribunal is charged with establishing the causes of death and rendering a decision on this subject which has the force of law. But it is above all charged with judging the dead person, with determining whether he has lived worthily, whether he has the right to be buried according to the rites and to be invoked as an ancestor, or whether on the contrary he was a wisimã.

[613] [643] The grand man designates one or two lineage heads to preside over the council and "command" the dead person until the burial.

The grand man designates who will lead the assemblage and will "command" the dead person until the burial.

764 692 613 This cannot be the head of the dead person's lineage, for no one can at the same time be judge and judged.

Ex.: for Bêniti (Dju) this was Popo head of the Lapé lo

for Atikati (Dju) it was Kondoku head of the Awara Bakka lo

for Kotoïda (Aw.B.) it was Tafanié head of the Papaïston lo

for Way (Dip. II) it was Tafanié --- /162/

764 787 The 2nd and 3rd days after the death are given over to the interrogation of the dead person, which on the evening of the first day had scarcely begun.

[184] The rites of this interrogation vary from one village to another; in certain villages they begin to carry the dead man even before the construction of the coffin; the questions are not asked everywhere in the same fashion.

[171] The dead person is interrogated by methods widespread in West Africa and which are related to spiritualism: the coffin is carried on the heads of two men, feet forward. The dead man is supposed to push the bearers forward to say yes, and to make them nod their heads from left to right to say no.

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764 Children are buried with the normal ceremonies only from about the age of six on. The rule is the following: A child is buried in the cemetery and broko dɛ is done for him if the next child of the same mother is beginning to walk.

766 Young children are buried without a coffin at a special site on the edge of each village; a board is simply placed on the [828] body before filling the grave. They have the idea that very [775] young children have no vital force, and that their yɔrka cannot do any harm. /Fig. 25 appears here./ /175/

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Mourning

After the burial the wives of the dead man (or the husband if it is a woman), the nearest relatives on the maternal side, as well as the children, sojourn eight days more in the mortuary shed, until the broko dɛ.

765 From then on the obligations of mourning are limited, [831] for the near relatives of the dead person, to abstaining for a [775] year from dancing, wearing jewelry or too fine clothes; it goes [171] completely otherwise for the spouse of the dead person; the Refugee Blacks indeed take for granted, like the Creoles of Surinam, the persistence of the sexual jealousy of the dead person, whose yɔrka is thought to remain in contact with the living for a year.

State of the spouse in mourning. The principle is that the surviving spouse, until the lifting of mourning, is subject to the will of the dead person. In order to materialize that in an obvious way, he cannot, during this whole period, wear his usual clothes but must dress exclusively in pieces of cloth appropriated for him from among the ones the dead person possessed, or given by the nearest maternal relatives of the dead person.

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771 171 [177] This is precisely what constitutes the great interest of the Refugee Blacks' religious forms, which one finds again, besides, in large measure, mixed with Christian ideas, among all the Blacks of South America. They seem to point out a very important common background of conceptions common to the West African civilizations.

771 174 184 It is certainly not by chance if the various tribes of Refugee Blacks have adopted such close social and religious forms. One must assume the action of several strong personalities who knew, with an almost superhuman instinct, how to sift out from the jumble of beliefs brought by the rebel slaves what was necessary to the life of the new society; but this new religion would not have taken root in forms so stable and so coherent if all had not been intimately conscious of being in agreement on a minimum of common concepts.

It is important to observe that the Refugee Blacks, who borrowed most of their techniques from the Indians and Europeans, remained rigorously faithful in their beliefs and rituals to the African substratum, from which they drew a homogeneous and [177] living whole. Although the beliefs of the Indians are known to them in their main lines, they have borrowed almost nothing from them; on the other hand, it is certain that vague Christian recollections influenced the conception they have of the supreme god, Masa Gadu, and their moral and religious law. But they have been introduced into an African system of thought, and in fact the beliefs which directly influence individual and social life come in a straight line from the African earth.

772 [171] Metaphysical conceptions. Through the rituals of the Refugee Blacks appear /193/ metaphysical conceptions very comparable to those which have been noted in the populations of West Africa.

/198 cont./

167 754 old woman of 90, A..., who died in Asisi in January, 1957. Having lived with Creoles in her youth, she had come back to live in her native village for at least 30 years and had never given occasion for any unfavorable remark. Nevertheless, upon her death it appeared that she had wisi.

771 829 177 Attitude toward Christianity. The Refugee Blacks, who are acquainted better than one might believe with the conceptions of the populations in the midst of whom they live, have a clear feeling of the relationship which exists between their metaphysical and moral conceptions and those of Christianity. They think they worship the same god as the Christians, in a completely different way but just as sound. They have no animosity [797] whatever toward the Catholic and Protestant clergy, and most of them agree willingly to wearing crosses or medals. But they have not the least intention of abandoning their beliefs for that. They do not perceive the contradiction and do not understand that people might want to oblige them to choose.

851 171 Like the Creole gold miners, they attach great importance to baptism, considered as an obia protective against the dangers of the bush. On Christmas, 1957 they were strongly impressed 165 797 by the accidental death of a Djuka Christian living at the Kotika school. He refused to observe mourning for his wife [688] according to the custom of the Refugee Blacks, and used to go [273] to drink in the cabarets of the Creole villages. On Christmas evening, when drunk, he drowned himself. That was attributed [784] to a suprahuman punishment. We heard /199/ the following reflection on this subject: "He was baptized and he drowned himself just the same. That is therefore not worth the trouble."

61 581 571 Actually, the matrilineal structure of the Refugee Blacks and their conception of marriage form an irreducible cleavage, which appears immediately as soon as one leaves the metaphysical conceptions to pass to the plane of practical living.

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581 The Refugee Blacks change their attitude immediately as soon as one speaks to them about marriage. Men and women are unanimous in considering marriage as an intolerable violation of individual freedom and as a tie without purpose; they talk about it with veritable indignation, even having the feeling of an offense against morality.

Cults of Possessión

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The phenomena of possession are extremely frequent
[171] among the Blacks of America (possession by saints or inspiration by the Holy Spirit among the Blacks of Brazil and the United
[171] States, voodooism in Haiti). With the Refugee Blacks they make up the very base of religious life to the point of being the normal means of communication between the gods and men; they have profound effects on all social life.

The cults of possession practiced by the Refugee Blacks of Guiana differ from those of the Blacks of Brazil and Haiti and do not appear to be directly connected with the African cults which have been described.

[128] We shall give here only very concise information about the ritual of these cults and we shall mainly try to show their place in relation to the institutions of the Refugee Blacks, and their functioning.

787 Possession is believed to be the entrance into a man of a suprahuman entity (divinity, spirit of an ancestor) which, during a variable length of time generally rather short (a few minutes to several hours), uses the body of this man and expresses itself through his mouth. They say that the man has become the horse - hasi - of the divinity. They also say: "Such-and-such a divinity entered his head." The possessed person is called
[114] gadu mã (gadu umã for a woman). This word has been translated improperly as "priest" in the first works treating of the Refugee Blacks.

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787 The phenomena of possession exist among other popula-
[171] tions of the Guianas and especially among the Amerindians, but among the Refugee Blacks they have special and well-defined forms.

--For the duration of possession, the ordinary consciousness of the man is totally abolished. When he comes back to himself, he no longer remembers anything and the others present
[171] have to repeat to him what the divinity revealed. This total loss of consciousness during possession appears to be a very constant phenomenon with the Blacks, in Africa as much as in
[114] America. Professor de Goeje calls attention to the fact that the Indian medicine man, on the contrary, does not lose /200/ consciousness during his trances and is supposed to receive, himself, the revelations of the spirits.

When a man is possessed by a divinity, in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks he is no longer there; what his body may do is not attributed to him at all. They say: "The gadu does this, says that, dances in such a way." If the gadu hurt someone (but that practically never happens) or broke something, its bearer would not have any responsibility.

787 --The divinity expresses itself in a language peculiar to
198 it; we shall see further on that there are four categories of divinities likely to become incarnate in men, which corresponds
[176] to four secret languages of which in practice only two are known by the Boni, at least by the oldest among them.

The bearer of the divinity, in his usual state of consciousness, knows in general this language, which he has learned from a teacher if it is a matter of a possession desired by him and obtained with the help of definite practices.

But there are also numerous cases of unprovoked possession (in the kunu especially) and people state that in this case the divinity speaks its language just as well, although its bearer has never learned it;

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181 One also often finds as an avowed goal the idea of being useful to his lineage.

Disinterested mystical impulses appear totally absent from these cults.

787 But that is only one aspect of the phenomena of possession;
154 they really seem to be, in large measure, unconscious and
involuntary. Everyone can try to obtain a gadu, but everyone
787 does not succeed; one must have a certain predisposition.
[154] "One cannot oblige a gadu to enter a man," say the Boni; it certainly seems, in fact, that in nearly half the cases possession takes place spontaneously and sometimes to the great terror of the person concerned: this is observed especially in the kunu.

[176] Mimi, a woman about 46 years old in 1958, of the Kotika lineage, was possessed by two gadu, an Ampuku and a Papa gadu. Here is how her near relatives relate the fashion in which they came into her.

[158] About ten years before, Mimi was showing signs of mental derangement. Her mind wandered, she sometimes used to leave the village to run in the bush at random, she uttered disconnected words (1). Then she fell very ill (pleurisy?).

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1. It is necessary to note on this subject the very widely held idea among the Refugee Blacks, as among the Creoles, that certain forms of mental imbalance are due to the action of an entity which is trying to manifest itself in a man and does not succeed. In order to cure this man, he must be "washed" with appropriate leaves so that the god can come to manifest itself in him; the rest of the time he will be normal.

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153 The teacher has the pupil turn in a circle around the
791 mortar in which has been prepared the infusion of leaves, until
787 he is dizzy. Alternately he makes him turn and "washes" his body with the infusion. Possession occurs by itself at the end of a certain number of sessions.

[276] In the practices intended to make the gita of Kumẽnti
[171] "rise," the absorption of toxic substances enters, especially tobacco juice, method employed by the Indian medicine men. But once the reflexes are created, there is no further need for these substances; the gita appears as soon as the calling procedures are used, which are of two kinds:

--Personal procedures: The man voluntarily calls on his gita while putting on the god's costume and taking a certain posture;

--Outside procedures: The gita may be released from outside either by calling the god by name or by beating the corresponding rhythm on the drum.

787 When the pupil begins to feel the gita of Kumẽnti, that
158 is first manifested by trances. We have very often been present at these attacks, which usually come on at night in the forest, but commonly also during the day. The one possessed suddenly lets go of the objects he was holding (for example, if he was in the process of eating, he drops plate and spoon), and rushes forward running through the forest howling rhythmically as if he had become an animal. His eyes are rolled upward, he no longer is conscious of his surroundings; he is not in any way threatening; these fits are totally inoffensive in spite of their
[147] impressive aspect. One sees possessed people in this state do things which are difficult to explain, such as running in complete darkness in the most impenetrable underbrush without falling or hurting themselves, or climbing up in a few seconds on a craggy rock which would have been hard to scale in full daylight.

776 /209 cont./

[778] wata ɲgi. Indians of the water. In certain spots, people have
[782] known since the time of the ancestors that there resides such a Bũnsuŋki, whose name they know; when they pass there, they address a prayer to it while making a sacrifice of tafia.

776 (The Bũnsuŋki must not be confused with wata mama, the
171 mama-of-the-water of the Creoles, a dreaded divinity but one which the Boni do not appear to worship. The wata mama lives at the bottom of deep holes in river beds and never allows her face to be seen; she sometimes abandons one of her long hairs on the rocks and he who finds it becomes rich).

776 /210/ The Bũnsuŋki can enter into human beings, exclusively,
787 it seems, into women. They give a different gita from those
[562] of the Kumẽnti. The possessed person dances at the edge of the water, then swims and dives for a long time. They affirm that
[789] if its possession is sufficiently intense, the genie carries the possessed woman along to the bottom of the water, where she stays for a very long time without any harm! That is supposed to have happened especially in Asisi village to a woman named Dabisa.

Possession by the Bũnsuŋki is not frequent. In 1952 it was known in Boni country in only three women.

[562] As for men, they may perceive these divinities in dreams
[788] and receive benefits from them. For that they go to the place
[782] where it resides and bathe, uttering an invocation: "O god, watch over me, protect me, come to me at night when I sleep, speak to me, act so that I may not be sick, so that I may get rich." The following night, the divinity will come in a dream, demand a sacrifice (beer in general), say that it /grants/ the prayer.

776 The Vɔɔdũ (1). These are gods much feared for their evil

1. This word is obviously a deformation of the Dahomey word vodũn.

787 /212 cont./
531 can read these messages; but we have not turned up any precise evidence on this subject (1).

1. These signs are very little systematized and have no relation whatever with the symbolic designs which figure in certain rituals of possession, especially in Dahomey and Haiti. It is permitted to see in them a simple likeness.

787 The Papa gadu are chiefly consulted to ask them to re-
[255] veal the cause of misfortunes that happen. One of them is not
[253] asked to cure an illness unless the interrogation reveals that it brought it on.

776 The worship of the Papa gadu snake gods makes a strong
648 impression on the West Indian Creoles who maintain regular relations with the Refugee Blacks. Most consider it as diabolical
[782] in nature and disapprove of it, but if the presence of an "adder"
[171] (anaconda snake) is noted in a neighboring creek, and if at the same time misfortunes occur, it happens that a Creole may go to ask the Refugee Blacks to practice rites to mollify
[778] the vengeance of the god. We have happened to catch sight of, hidden in a copse behind the habitation of a gold miner, a small altar decorated with blue and red pennants, the usual place of worship of the Papa gadu.

755 Observation in Boniville, November, 1952.
An Asisi woman, Tini, comes to Boniville to consult
[787] her adoptive daughter Pamasa, about 35 years old, who is possessed by a Papa gadu named Adawa. Féni, 15 years old,
[164] Tini's son, has been sick for several days (fever, eruption all over the body). When someone comes to get us, the god has already entered into Pamasa, has sat down in a hut, and

787 824 /216 cont./

Aluku Name	Identification	Use
Sãɔgaafu	Costus cylindricus (zingiberaceae)	cult of the Papa gadu and of the Ampuku
Malimbelimbe	Piper sp. (?)	——
Filli (Hɔligɔɔ)	Chamaesyae sp. (?) (euphorbiaceae)	——

828 Beliefs Concerning the Human Person and Its Development
Ancestor Worship

[171] The Refugee Blacks of the various tribes have precise and identical conceptions on this subject, which are found also, more or less mixed with Christian conceptions, among the West Indian populations of African origin. For them, man is formed of three elements: the body, the yɔrka which may be translated by personality, and a higher principle called akka.

[184] It goes without saying that among the Boni, who have not elaborated these conceptions and received them from the Djuka, nobody is capable of discoursing on them. But numerous con-
[128] ceptions having to do with magic and to the relationships with the ancestors permit of rather reliable cross-checking.

774 The akka. It is not possible to translate akka (1) by soul in the

1 This word appears to be a deformation of kla (Agni-Baoulé), word to which a very comparable meaning is attached.

sense we understand it. The akka is an immortal divine element

/217 cont./

274 583 If someone marries a girl, he must not only pay her
[782] mother the price of virginity but must also pay the girl's akka.
For that he offers white beads and cloth which the bride will
[784] wear, as well as sweets which will be consumed by her. If the
price of virginity were not paid, the woman's akka, humiliated,
might make her sick or kill her. /218/

774 /218/ There are seven categories of akka, masculine and
feminine, one for each day of the week.

[114] Crevaux in 1877 was able to establish the complete list(1):

[191]

1. This conception is widespread in the Agni-Ashanti culture area, among the Ewé and Mina, and as far as western Dahomey. The names reported among the Mina correspond very exactly, except for some differences in pronunciation, to the ones kept by the Boni.

[805]

	Men	Women
Sunday	Kwasi	Kwasiba
Monday	Kɔdyo	Adyuba
Tuesday	Kwami	Abeniba
Wednesday	Kwaku	Akuba
Thursday	Yao	Yaba
Friday	Kɔfi	Afiba
Saturday	Kwamina	Amba

[184] All these names are known to the Boni, but none of our
[551] informants was capable of reciting the complete list. It is
well understood that a name like Kɔfi, Kɔdio /sic/, etc. is
the akka's name and not at all the man's name (2).

/221 cont./

Relations between Gods and Men

784
613

The kunu

The kunu. The Refugee Blacks call kunu the collective curse which has weighed on a matrilineage since an ancient offense. The kunu is without time limit, without pardon, without pity, blind in the choice of its victims; in principle, it can end only with the complete extermination of the lineage. Each time [753] that adversity swoops down on one of its members in the form [761] of death, sickness, various calamities, the kunu is the most frequently obtained explanation. The instrument of this inexpiable vengeance is either a god or the yɔrka (spirit) of a dead person.

784 This notion, which occupies a central position in the
613 beliefs of the Refugee Blacks, does not appear to have been
171 borrowed directly. Most of the populations of Dahomey /222/ and the Ivory Coast take for granted the idea of arbitrary punishments exercised upon the members of the lineage by the gods or the ancestors of the group. But no population of these regions has, to our knowledge, developed so highly systematized a doctrine.

784 The conceptions developed by the Refugee Blacks,
571 divinities impelled exclusively by vengeance, and especially ancestors inexorably chastising lineages other than their own, have created new relationships among individuals and among lineages.

784 We have not been able to elucidate the origin of the word kunu. Perhaps it is a deformation of the Mina word ekunu, which means burial.

776 Three categories of divinities can pursue men with their
784 kunu, and because of this fact the Refugee Blacks feel toward
781 them an extreme terror mixed with veneration.

/224 cont./

775 A yɔrka exercising a kunu may also demand that another
784 smaller fraga tiki be erected for it beside the principal fraga
769 tiki of its lo. In the villages of the Refugee Blacks one often
778 sees these little crosses provided with white veils like the main
613 fraga tiki, planted beside it a little obliquely.

The notion of the kunu exercised by a yɔrka explains the
775 rarity of murder among the Refugee Blacks. How would you
784 dare to kill someone when, as soon as it is freed from his body,
674 his yɔrka will have full latitude to make you sick, to make
tree branches fall across your path, to cause to suffer and to
775 kill all those dear to you? If someone is blinded by hate, it
784 is the idea of suicide which will dominate him. In October,
762 1952 we were able to observe this reaction in a man who had
just been subject to a deep humiliation: "I am going to kill
my body in order to go to kill that man and his whole family,"
he said to us, prey to a fit of rage; fortunately, when the fit
had passed, he came back to a more sound outlook on things.

775 It is to be noted that a yɔrka cannot exercise a kunu
784 against its own lineage. This notion explains why, in the times
613 when they exercised absolute authority, tribal chiefs had those
696 condemned to death executed by men of the same lineage.
[171] Apparently similar practices were the rule in olden days in
several African kingdoms, which allows one to think that notions
analogous to those of the kunu may be rather widespread there.

784 Situation of the various lineages with respect to the kunu. There
613 we touch on one of the most secret aspects of the social life of
the Refugee Blacks. Years of living among them are necessary
in order to obtain precise information on the nature and the
mode of action of the kunu acting on the various lineages.

784 Nearly all the entities which now exercise their kunu on the
613 Boni have been in their lineages since a very ancient period,
428 to the point where the name of their first bearer is forgotten.
They are transmitted inexorably from generation to generation.
In the course of the ages, the kunu have accumulated, and now
certain lineages are living with four, five, or even six kunu.

/242 cont./

754 He accused him of being an azemã (vampire) and of drinking the ox's blood. S..., answered nothing, which appeared to everyone obvious proof of his guilt. He untied his boat and went away. Since then everybody in Kotika avoids him; they abstain from accusing him personally in order not to become victims of his sorcery.

Agyémési affair. -- Agyémési, an old man of Asisi village (Awara Bakka) who died in 1953, was a solitary and morose man with odd ways. For a long time he had been accused by B... (of Loka) and by N..., a Djuka living among the Boni, of being a wisimã and of having made them sick. He had even [695] been accused before the grand man, had denied it, and the grand man according to usage had told him: "We leave to God [167] the job of punishing thee if thou art guilty." Agyémési, in order to flee his persecutors, had settled in the Indian village of Aloïké.

His accusers insisted to people of his lineage that he be brought and publicly interrogated. A... and P... were sent, who went to get him by making him believe that the council of the Awara Bakka lo, putting an end to a long dispute, had decided to name him captain as the doyen of the lo. Without mistrust, he followed them to Asisi. He was received by his [695] accusers who insulted him tumultuously, without, however, there being any blows. The poor man remained speechless, which [154] appeared to all to be the obvious proof of his guilt. He took to his bed and five days later he was dead (1).

1. The Refugee Blacks are so suggestible that the sole fact of seeing oneself cursed and abandoned by all must bring on a psychological shock capable [171] of bringing death. Similar cases have been observed in Africa.

/243 cont./

754 [683] only commonplace illnesses or accidents of some sort. We have never heard poisoning, in the usual sense of the term, mentioned.

754 695 182 The wisimã trials are in our opinion the most unpleasant aspect of the civilization of the Refugee Blacks. But it must be admitted that they correspond to profound necessities. These archaic societies need an obvious materialization of the principles they have given themselves. Since evil exists, opposing itself to good, the practices of wisi and wisimã exist, and the punishment of evildoers is indispensable for the society to remain subject to the law of good.

[984] By its notion of the kunu which turns aside toward the gods the responsibility for most misfortunes, by the extreme rarity of wisimã trials, by the prudence of its judiciary action which in point of fact pursues only the dead, the society of the Refugee Blacks shows itself humane and realistic.

If one undertook with the Refugee Blacks definite action to make these practices disappear, one would risk obscuring their notion of good and evil and removing all efficacy from their customary law.

[183] The social order of the Refugee Blacks cannot be maintained if the interdiction of harming anyone and the interdiction of vengeance do not remain clearly laid down. It matters little that these acts of sorcery are without real content: It is the intention to harm which counts, with all its social and psychological consequences.

171 177 182 754 When one observes the Creole populations of the Guianas and the West Indies, even though /244/ they have been under the influence of Christianity for several centuries, one is struck by the development of sorcery and by its repercussions on the whole of social life. The teaching received at school and from the catechism, which embraces white magic and black magic in a single reprobation, has greatly contributed toward making these populations lose the principles of social morals of their ancestors without in exchange modifying their

/244 cont./

171 image of the world. Since magic practices are rejected by
177 religion, since it even denies their reality, one does not think,
182 when one finds oneself constrained to have recourse to them,
754 of transferring to them the notion of good and evil which it teaches. Black magic gets in almost inevitably because a person believes he must defend himself; then its use becomes habitual, and the two forms of magic end up by mixing together and being no longer regarded as fundamentally different from each other.

171 Cases of wisi and Boni customary law. In African villages,
754 cases of sorcery are interpreted by interminable and useless
695 discussions, wild accusations, protestations of innocence, sometimes more or less sincere confessions, oaths and legal tests with always contested results. These cases are never finished; they are in permanent evolution, sometimes for months and years. Opinion moves successively onto different hypotheses according to events which take place, seeking its way gropingly like a man lost in darkness.

754 It is clear that the first lawgivers of the Refugee Blacks,
695 by carrying judgment back to the death of those concerned and
182 by refusing the wisima any kind of pardon or compromise, tried to prevent the development of these sad crises. What is the use of discussing interminably, since there is no certain proof, and since nobody may confess? But customary law collides on this point with tendencies too deep to be entirely restrained. The laws of Ouun are not always obeyed to the letter, and it happens sometimes that the Boni lose their footing in the
[571] observance of their customary law. Then crises take place among them, as violent and confused as in the villages of Black Africa, going as far as paralyzing social life for several weeks; then peace returns for several months, sometimes for several years.

/251 cont./

464 776 decision of the god and under some pretext or other refused to resume work. In August, 1952, while we were on a work trip 751 /en mission/, an ɔbiamã made it known that an Ampuku was 791 willing to give a tapu, that is, an ɔbia of protection, against this Papa gadu. We were present at a discussion in the course [465] of which several Boni planned to take up this work again, but asking for raised wages to cover the expenses of the ɔbia (1).

[171]

1. Situations of this kind are common in the Guianan forest, even among Creoles. For difficult or unusual work, the high wages demanded serve in part to remunerate magicians.

751 These expenses amounted to about 5,000 francs per person, or:
435 --3,000 for the payment of the god, including red cloth, 791 dark-blue cloth, white beads, beer, rum, cowries; the ɔbiamã would take them to set them out in the forest.

--1,500 for payment for the work of the ɔbiamã, including a piece of canvas /toile/, beer, a container /bidon/ of powder, a chicken.

751 The remedy would consist of an infusion of leaves with which one should "wash one's body" morning and evening for the duration of the work.

As for the Creole foreman, he prudently had himself assigned to another job.

751 They have the habit of asking an Ampuku for protection 776 against a Papa gadu and conversely (we have cited an example of this above), but they do not ask a Kumẽnti for protection; the Kumẽnti occupy themselves only with illnesses.

/251 cont./

751 789 Renewal of the power of the ɔbia. The Refugee Blacks have the idea that no magic power can last if it is not renewed by formulas and offerings appealing to the god from which it came. [824] Each year, at variable dates for each ɔbia, one must renew the power of the ɔbia by dipping the support object into a maceration of certain leaves. This renewal may not take place on January 1. On that day all leaves lose their power. /252/

[768] Mr. W. F. van Lier writes that among the Djuka, objects (bracelets, etc.) serving as support for a magic remedy are thrown away upon the death of the owner for they have lost [184] all power. The Boni do not have this conception; with them, [428] these objects keep their value for the dead person's son provided that before dying he voluntarily transmitted them to him by giving him mula.

789 428 613 Transmission of ɔbia. An ɔbia is often bequeathed simultaneously to a son and to a nephew. Care is taken not to lose the ɔbia for the lineage. Thus it is that certain lineages have certain ɔbia as their specialty.

789 [171] Kãndu. The Refugee Blacks call kãndu a magic object intended to protect property (houses, harvests) against theft. This procedure is also very much used by the Creoles.

There are three common kinds of kãndu:

--Piiti tiki kãndu. It is made of a split stick stuck into the ground, in the slit of which dry banana leaves or small sticks are placed horizontally. This device originated in Dahomey.

--Sikopu kãndu. It involves a shovel stuck into the ground in front of the house (the idea of the shovel is associated with the idea of death, for this instrument is used particularly in digging graves).

--Bɔɔ kãndu, made up of a bow and arrow planted in the ground.

/254 cont./

841 Woman's magic power. The Refugee Blacks assume that a woman, during her menstrual periods, is impure and has the power to destroy the power of ɔbia. So during these periods she must withdraw into a special hut, munu ɔsu, and prepare her meals in special dishes; she may not prepare her husband's food, for by doing this she would destroy the power of his ɔbia, and must abstain from touching objects he habitually uses, particularly his gun, which would lose its good points for shooting. Even in the little farming habitations which consist of only several huts, one may be sure that one of them serves as a munu ɔsu.

841 343 462 [465] The munu ɔsu are very simple sheds built by the women themselves, using reclaimed materials taken from huts being demolished; some belong to one woman only; for others, three or four women get together. They have recourse to men only for assembling the framework, remunerating them with several cans of couac or several baskets of yams.

841 /255/ A man who has a powerful ɔbia like the man nɛ̃ŋge ɔbia must abstain from speaking to a woman who has her menses.

[751] The Boni assume there are women wicked enough to willfully hide their menses in order to destroy the power of a man's ɔbia, but he who has a good man nɛ̃ŋge ɔbia cannot be a dupe: the iron circle warns him of the danger by squeezing his arm.

184 841 68 According to Mr. W. F. van Lier, the act of willfully hiding her menses is for the Djuka one of the gravest offenses a woman can commit, and the most severe punishments are inflicted on her. It is not the same with the Boni: in such a case a woman risks only being insulted and banned.

752 834 171 Another deeply rooted belief among the Refugee Blacks, and which exists with many Creoles, is the necessity for the

752 /255 cont./
834 ɔbiaman who treats a wound made by a firearm to observe
[171] chastity during the whole duration of the treatment. It is for this reason that the Boni hesitate to have gunshot wounds cared for in hospitals.

784 Kina. The interdictions of the Refugee Blacks generally have
[262] to do with food. There are five categories of them to our knowledge:

[753] --Bwasi kina, basic kina, mark of patrilineages, the breaking of which gives leprosy;

--Akka kina, often called gadu kina, established by divination and believed to be imposed by the akka;

--Gadu kina, mark of possession by a divinity;

--Obia kina, interdiction attached to each object involving a magic power, and which must be observed for this power to last;

--Finally, local kina, particularly the kina dɛ, days of rest, going back to the idea of the day of rest of the local divinity. They observe, for example, that the Mana River has a kina dɛ on Sunday. The Saramaka observe it strictly. The Boni we took on the Mana in 1949 went to find out from the Saramaka, and asked us to stop navigation on Sunday,
[648] for this kina was very urgent. It is noteworthy however that the Boni bow in such circumstances before the will of the Europeans, as with respect to their own kina dɛ of Friday; in effect they are assuming that if they are ordered to be on duty, it is the European alone who bears the responsibility for breaking the kina.

[428] It is possible that the kina alluded to by Mr. W. F. Van
[114] Lier and which, among the Djuka, would be imposed on a
[613] whole matrilineage are also local kina; in any case no kina is transmissible through the mother, all the Refugee Blacks are explicit on that point.

/257 cont./

842 A few weeks afterward she found herself pregnant, and
996 it seemed obvious to all that this was the doing of a Wata Ingi.

845 No magic power is attributed to the tone pikin, any more than special mental or physical characteristics. But it is assumed that they are the object of a special protection, and that they cannot be harmed with impunity.

771 The sacred character of payment. Relations between the gods
789 and men always have the character of a bargain, among the
435 Refugee Blacks: an irritated divinity is never appeased by repentance or good will; it requires that it be paid; likewise, an 3bia is of value only for the person who has paid for it. Refugee Blacks will never utilize ready-made magic recipes: uttering certain words, making certain gestures; face to face with such a recipe they will ask immediately: "From what
[P/2] god does this 3bia come, and whom must one pay?" It seems that in their conception every transference of a spiritual power or a magic force disturbs something in the proper functioning of the universe; payment restores this equilibrium, it is the
[M] mark of legitimacy. Some Creoles of African ancestry transpose the same idea with respect to Christianity, and this is
/258/ why they insist so much on paying for masses and buying
759 "orisons" (1). One observes likewise that free medical care
558

1. Written prayer to which is attached protective power. This notion, borrowed from the rustic magic of 17th-century France, seems to have been introduced into Guiana by the first European colonists.

lowers the prestige of the doctor in the eyes of all.

/260 cont./

241 778 People who have no farming habitation and who farm on the outskirts of /Fig. 29 appears here/ /261/ residence villages get together in groups of three or four to establish a worship place in a copse preserved from the forest adjoining their clearings.

241 782 Cane juice, syrup, rice pounded fine but not cooked are offered.

They make this offering at the time of the plantings, saying, "Gadu, please come and eat a little, watch over us, thank you very much."

The Boni who observe the rites most faithfully renew this offering each month at the new moon.

If someone has two clearings in two different sectors, he performs the rites twice, each gɔ̃ gadu being entirely independent of the others.

241 171 On this subject one notices that the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks are much more systematized than those of the Creole populations of African origin in the West Indies. They do not think each field has an individual soul; neither do they apparently believe in the possibility of capturing the soul of the field in order to make the neighbor's field sterile out of revenge. These beliefs, which play such a large role in the popular magic of the West Indies, seem to be without exact counterpart in the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks.

241 [176] Interdictions and various rites. Cutting a clearing involves great dangers: it is necessary to avoid injuring the maleficent divinities of the bush, which have as supports well-defined plants and animals, by brutal destruction of these supports, and their wreaking inexorable revenge -- the kunu -- on the lineage of the unintentional sacrilege. It is therefore necessary to seek out these plants and animals and to carry out for each the rites recommended by the ancestors' experience without forgetting a single one. No Refugee Black would dream of

/262 cont./

824 778 789 the tree: "Ala sani di dɛ na a udu ya, da mu kumɔto, beka mi ɔ faa ɛ̃ɲ. Kɔm na a pina tɔ̃ɲgo: All things (suprahuman entities) who are in this tree, leave it, for I am going to throw it to the ground; come into this palm leaf." One takes away the palm leaf and the little flags far from there into the interior of the lands, to a spot where nobody is likely to come to fell trees, and one arranges them beside some big tree. The divinities will come and settle there. Nevertheless, it is still necessary to wait almost a month to cut the katu tree, probably to leave the maleficent influences time to dissipate.

824 778 [281] [171] The Boni are so afraid of this tree that many of them, deeming these precautions insufficient, give up the idea of cutting it down and go to establish their clearings elsewhere. The Creole gold miners of the Haut Maroni, who call it cottonwood, also attribute a maleficent influence to it and some of them do not cut it.

The Refugee Blacks fear also, but to a lesser degree, what they call kɔtkɔti, that is, the small trees of any species which, instead of having grown straight, have two angles [176] [184] in their trunk like a Z. This is a very rare anomaly. In such a shrub is hidden a maleficent entity, taku sani, capable, if a man cut the trunk unintentionally, to take revenge on him by paralyzing a limb or even the whole body in a bent position. In order to see whether or not the entity is present in the shrub, there exists, according to the Boni, a very simple means: one gently brings the finger near the bent part. If he feels his finger held there to the point where he has trouble drawing it back, the genie is present! The power of autosuggestion characteristic of the Refugee Blacks shows itself clearly here.

[189] Rites exist for rendering the kɔtkɔti harmless, for cutting them with impunity, and even for using them in magic preparations, but we do not know the details. Kɔtkɔti are among the objects usually found in the chapels (ɔbia ɔsu) of Kumẽnti; we have even happened to see one used to fasten a

538 /267 cont./
[765] audience and to create an atmosphere of participation in the rite.

This ritual character makes it so that the Anansi Toli cannot be recited any time and in any old way. The story-teller may speak only at night, in the presence of a respondent and of an audience of at least two or three persons. A ritual formula: "dirinti" -- the response of the audience: "ndaeti," [124] precedes each new story. It is only with extreme repugnance [126] that informants consent to listen to and comment in the day-[96] time on a tale recorded on tape, particularly if their parents are still living, for it is said among the Refugee Blacks as in Black Africa that telling stories in full daylight makes one's father and mother die.

[174] These tales belong to an authentically African [179] accumulated store, practically unchanged in spite of the borrowing from the Creole Blacks of Paramaribo of several themes concerning automobiles, steamboats, etc., inserted in droll fashion into the traditional themes.

The usual hero of these tales is Anansi, the crafty one. [825] Anansi is the name of the Mygale spider (1). It is noteworthy,

•[191]

1. The spider cycle is characteristic of the Akan (Agni-Baoulé-Abron) culture area. Anansi is the name of the Mygale spider among the Agni.

however, that this spider does not appear to play any special role in the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks and that no divinatory power is attributed to it. In fact, in the tales of which he is the hero, Anansi is nearly always represented as a man.

/281 cont./

*539 big boat avoided him. Anansi paddled toward it, paddled until... gbo! (collision) the small boat sank. Anansi in the water shouted: "You have drowned the king's child, give back to me, give back the king's child to me quickly, if not, Whites, who are in that ship, you and I are going to die! (1)"

1. Obvious contradiction with the beginning of the tale where it is said that in those times the country of the Whites did not exist. But none of the listeners appears to worry about it.

They stopped the big boat. They hoisted Anansi on board. They fished out the small boat, but did not find the dead child.

The Whites told him: "We do not find the king's child. What must be done to finish up this business?" He said: "Give me the big boat." They acquiesced.

He went back up the river with the big boat. He arrived at the pier of the king's village. Anansi shot off the cannon. On land, they fired the cannon too. Anansi was received triumphally, the king's daughter put a ring on his finger, and they were married. Thus it was that the king had a steamboat.

9) Pikinbaya (2)

•[171]

2. This tale is a theme of the Creole Blacks of Paramaribo.

There was a woman; she had a child whom she named Pikinbaya (3). One day she gave him food to take to the market

[551]

3. The name means "little comrade."

/299 cont./

771 The Boni, as we have shown, do not feel that they are pagans. They think they worship the same god as the Christians, in a different way but just as valid; they feel that their moral principles are not inferior to those of the Christians, that they are expressed in practice by the same prescriptions and are in fact better obeyed(2).

[828]

2. We report here faithfully the point of view of those concerned without making any judgment of its worth; let us recall that their principles of living do not assume any moral conscience in the individual and rest entirely upon the fear of material punishments in the present life. But even this base gives them great practical effectiveness.

829 Only in their conception of their kinship and the family, in the absence of family life based on the indissolubly united couple, do they recognize that they live under another law. But they do not fail to notice that the populations of the Guianas who profess Christianity hardly put it into practice in their family life: the stability of marriages is appreciably greater among the Refugee Blacks.

787 776 828 As for the cults of possession, the Boni feel that they worship de facto entities whose existence appears as tangible to them as light or weight to us. These ideas are bound up with a characteristic way of perceiving, touching deep zones of the mind which reasoning does not reach (3).

• 171 177 787

3. Actually, it is observed in Black Africa that where cults

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of possession exist, the populations are particularly impermeable to Christian influence. Apparently destroyed, these cults soon reappear in another form, sometimes in Christian guise (possession by the saints).

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Let us add that one of the great strengths of the custom of the Refugee Blacks is the privileged position it gives to the woman. Women, shielded from the direct influence of Europeans and Creoles, and besides practically inaccessible to all reasoning, are hostile to changes which would infringe on their privileges. Now it is they, in fact, who have the education of the children in their hands.

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Thus it does not appear possible to "assimilate" these populations by destroying their original culture. The attempts inspired by fanaticism for civilizing will have as their only result its impoverishment, pushing the Refugee Blacks to dissimulate their beliefs, to abandon their art, costume, songs, and dances, all that makes up their joy in living. But the social structure based on the fear of ancestors and gods could be destroyed only by violence. We may hope that nobody thinks of coming to that.

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As for us who have lived a long time in the midst of the Refugee Blacks, we feel a deep esteem for them. By their historic past, the originality of the customs they have developed, the good relations they have been able to create with the other populations, they have proved their creative abilities; they deserve to be allowed to evolve in their own way. /blank page/

away. It seemed dangerous even to notice the strip of white cotton which showed high above the falls, though the stick from which it hung we could not see. 778 784

"Human beings do not go there," Bayo had said warningly. "Human eyes must also not go there."

But the shrine at the Mamadam is a friendly place. There a man finds a moment's ease. For a brief interval, at least, the voyager upstream or down rests there to get his breath, as he makes ready for a new start. Directly below the falls is a stretch of still water, which follows upon the wearisome portage at the Musumba Prati and the struggle with the rapids just above it, while, when continuing up river, the boatmen face a succession of rapids before another stretch of quiet water is reached. It is not strange, therefore, that no man, whatever his need to make time, will fail to stop at the Mamadam long enough to make known to the Mother of the River his errand and to ask for the continuance of her protection. 778 484

This shrine is the home of the Great Mother of the inland waters, she who, above all else, had secured to the ancestors of these Bush Negroes their freedom from slavery. In the city and on the plantations of the coastal region the Negroes, under states of possession by the water gods, sing of their longing to join those at the Mamadam. 778 476

Let me die on the river, O! [533]
Let me die on the water, O! [539]
All the Ingi spirits
Are at the Mamadam,
Let me die on the river, O!

Deep in the interior, if one of the elders, let us say a man of the Dahomey clan, is alarmed at the prospect of the white man penetrating their bush, some man can be looked to, then, to say reassuringly, "Have no fear. They will not come beyond the Mamadam!"

For this river is their own. "Once, long, long ago," the legend was told us, "this river was but a creek. There were no great trees here, no rocks. There were no boats, no 173

173 clearings, no villages. Our ancestors came and made of this creek a great river. They cleared the forest and built villages. They brought their gods from Africa with them, and the gods made the trees grow, and the gods made the clayey banks so that our old women might make the black obia pots. Once, long, long ago, two boats came up, each carrying six men. These were our ancestors. It is they who made this bush. It is they who made the river from a small creek."

Here the legend ended. The glow in the speaker's eyes was gone, and the intent expression of the dark face. When we questioned further, it was as though we spoke to a wooden mask, brown, passive.

"And women?" we asked at last, hoping that the spirits might permit the speaker to tell us half of what he knew of his female ancestors. "Did no women come? How did your ancestors get women to bear for them sons and daughters to people the bush?"

"The women, Bak'a, God gave them!"

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

But Sedefo, splendid actor that he was, betrayed in no way that he was aware of his friend's discomfiture, except that his interpolations became more and more spirited, balancing in the intensity of his voice the formality of the Granman's speech. 643 689 538

"True, true!" he said, with excitement.

"By Ando, G'ama'!"

When the tale was finished, the Granman became reminiscent. In his youth he had been like the rest. What did it mean to be a man and not to assert one's manhood when a handsome woman was to be had? He was on the Marowyne then. Did they want to beat him? He had said, "Very well." As many as wished could come at him—but one at a time.

As he spoke now, he clenched his fist and struck the table with it so that the table shook and the guns which lay underneath it rattled.

He was no longer young, but his answer to people who threatened would still be the same, he continued.

"Tell them that everywhere on the river, mati," he finished with a smile, and he cleared his throat as a signal for the bassia to come and pour out drinks for his visitors, before they left his village. [504]

And how was their clan head who had been ailing? he asked, with friendly solicitude.

5

Granman Yankuso was telling about his great ancestors. 643

He looked particularly well that night. His smock-like coat was a deep blue, and over it was a print of orange and black worn toga fashion. 292

There was Bagida, one of the first to escape to the bush, and Dosi who made the Kasito clan, and Ajako who was a Matchau Negro, a man of the Granman's own clan, and it was he who had fought against the whites and had freed his people. There were Mother Bedu, and Mother Fakia, and the great Abiini family which bore Alabi, whom the peccary had helped to freedom, so that Alabi's people, the Awana Negroes, to this day did not eat pingo. 173

REBEL DESTINY

173 Alabi, as the Granman called him, was the Araby of history, the great rebel of whom Stedman, who campaigned against the Bush Negroes long ago, wrote.

"White man, Alabi did not know how to work gold, or to earn great wealth, but he had stories in his head." He had called the first black krutu. And from Alabi had come Danieh who built Gansee, which was even now one of the most populous villages on the whole river.

"Long ago in the bush here, we had men, Bak'a!"

There was G'ama' Okosu, a Nomerimi Negro, the leader of those men who had escaped to the swamps on the coast, instead of going into the bush, and whom the people were afraid to touch.

"G'ama' Okosu could change into a kwatta monkey when he liked. He could cross the river without a boat."

The Dombi Negroes had their man, too. He was Sabaku. He was leaving his people to run away from slavery. He was going into the bush. "If we do not meet again in life, we shall meet in death," he said. He had no boat in which to cross the river, so he went to Yank'o, the buzzard, and he asked him to carry him. "I have no home, O Yank'o," he said to the buzzard, "but I will get on your back, and there my home will be. You who fly high, who fly over water, and over the high bush, carry me to safety."

The Granman himself was part Dombi and part Matchau, he said.

[825] "That is why we do not shoot a buzzard. If we shoot him by accident, then we must say 'Many thanks.' "

There was Tata Wadia who opened up this bush, who was still sung about by the Negroes of the city when they invoked the Kromanti spirit.

"I have the stick which he used."

"Will you let us see it, Granman?"

"Gbolo!"

[126] "We will photograph you holding the stick, Granman, and when we show it in our country we will tell the story."

He nodded. But the photograph was never taken.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

GRANMAN MOANA YANKUSO

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The next night he told stories again. The talk was of Africa. 173

"Our first ancestor was Tata Sakotu. He came from God." Father Sakotu found himself alone in the bush. Day after day he wandered, and hunger was killing him. One day he came to a tree bearing the pongi fruit, but the fruit hung so high that he could not get it. Father Sakotu cried out to God, and said, "O God, you gave me life. Give me food that I may sustain the life you gave me." God came to him and said, he said, "Sakotu, break off a stick, and with the stick strike the branches of the tree, and the fruit will fall down." All that he knew Sakotu learned from God, and he passed it on to his children.

The Granman's story of wandering alone in the bush brought another to his mind.

"Did you ever hear about Captain Apatu?" he asked us. "He lived not so long ago. He was a man without fear. The French sent him to Pali (Paris) and wrote down in their white man's books that he was a great man. I will tell you his story."

Apatu was a Matchau Negro, a member of the Granman's own clan. He swore friendship with the Aluku people and went over to the French nationality and later tried to get the Granman's people to become French. This was how it came to pass.

"Apatu was a clever man. We say knowledge is not wisi, to want to know is not sorcery. But sometimes, when a man knows much, he has enemies, and trouble comes to him. This happened to Apatu. People on the river said he was a *wisiman*. He said to the people, when they drove him away and cursed him, he said, 'Give me one fig banana, and I will go. If I am guilty of witchcraft, let the whites catch me, and kill me.' He wore one obia on his arm which Tata Boni gave him. Tata Boni was a great obia man. He could walk on the water."

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

173 With this obia, and unafraid, Apatu went. He reached the French shore, and found work. Years later he was asked to guide an expedition against the Indians. They came to a cave. At the other end of it Indians waited with their poisoned arrows.

The French officer said to him, "Apatu, are you afraid?"

"I will go, I am not afraid of death," Apatu said to the officer.

He led the way through the cave, calling out, "Mafi, Yanku na'a, hi!"

Three times the Indians tried to shoot him, and each time they failed.

"The French officer gave Apatu a gold piece for saving his life. That was when they sent him to Pali, and it was written down that he was a great man," ended the Granman.

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822 "Do you know what they asked me in the city when I was there?" the Granman said one day, when his elders assembled. "'Chief Yankuso,' they asked me, 'which is better, light or darkness?' I said to them, I said, 'Darkness is better. When it is day we work and we struggle. At night we go into our hammocks with our women, and we find peace.'"

He turned to us as he told the story.

"Is it not so, white man? You yourself are young."

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123 A few days after the gods had spoken, the Granman asked us if we would that evening show the pictures of the country of the Negroes which we had brought. We had shown him earlier the simple projector, actually a flashlight with a lens attached, through which a roll of film passed to flash images, one by one, on a screen. On the film were photographs of illustrations from books on Africa.

Mechanical objects of all kinds fascinated these men of the bush, and they would ask again and again to see our flashlights or the inside of our phonograph. Though un-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

538 The Djukas possess, in common with many other primitive tribes, a number of trickster stories. They are called *anansi-stories,* and are usually concerned with the adventures of a clever spider, who outwits all the other animals. They resemble closely the Br'er Rabbit tales of the Negro of the [171] southern United States. These are West African themes, and can be found not only in the Carolinas and in Surinam, but scattered also throughout the West Indies. In the middle of the last century a collection of these stories was made among the Town Negroes of Paramaribo.

● 173 As most primitives possess no writing materials or technique, their knowledge is necessarily passed on by word of mouth, which imposes a severe limitation upon its possible extent. History, for the Djukas, starts with the rebellion, and of what came before they know little and care less. If they have stories of the Creation, we did not hear them. One approach to written language is in the Aucaner nation, where 212 a few rudimentary symbols are carved on paddles or other implements, a form of symbol-writing (see Appendix B). [173] The implement is given to someone as a token of affection, the symbols constituting a greeting. Some of them may be seen in the illustrations of small paddles and pot-stirrers.

202 For communicating over a long distance, the Djukas use [177] a system of drum telegraphy. This they have brought over from their West African homeland. At the town of Biodoti the news of our expedition was sent upriver by being drummed out on a tomtom. Squatting over the reverberating *apenti,* the Djuka buck rapped out the peculiar rhythm that

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by the effect of medical care, we shall take 1 January 1950 as the date of reference for the calculations of mortality among the Boni.

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II. — Demography of the Boni

Census. — Estimation of Age.

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Method used. The demographic study of the Boni presents the difficulties inherent in all populations without civil records:

1. Difficulty of determining the ages of individuals;
2. Difficulty of determining for each woman the deceased children in relation to the surviving ones.

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We attempted to establish a local chronology by linking the ages of individuals to events of known date that had stuck in their minds.

More particularly we fixed the ages of the old men from the voyage of the explorer Crevaux (1877) and from the death of the grand man Anato (1891), the ages of middle-aged persons from events which occurred between 1915 and 1924, death of the grand man Ochi (1915), end of World War I (1918), hydroplane accident at the mouth of the Inini (1921), installation of a rosewood factory (1925).

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The persons born after 1930 were placed without difficulty, for we knew a certain number of them as children or adolescents in 1948.

Starting with a certain number of men whose age could be fixed with considerable accuracy, all the others, men and women, were placed by comparison. In fact, if the Boni do not know their age, they are able to say that they are, for example, two or three years younger than so-and-so (6).

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6. Their attention is brought to bear on these age differences because, if a group isolated in the bush is led to address a prayer to the ancestors for the curing of a sick person, this prayer has to be pronounced by the oldest person.

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161 Thus during the period 1895 to 1925, the Boni population
[128] doubled with each generation. These results are confirmed by
(173) the study of the genealogies. The present-day Boni, with the
[613] exception of about 5% of them who belong to recently founded lineages, are descended by known filiation from seven women who lived at the end of the eighteenth century.

It is possible that before the period to which this inquiry refers epidemics were produced and struck certain villages in particular, destroying entire lineages. In fact we cannot say anything certain about the evolution of the population before 1890. Let us only remember that this rate of reproduction of 200% per generation of 31 years represents the normal rate for the Refugee Blacks, in the absence of large epidemics and of venereal diseases and before any medical aid.

During the period 1925-1942, the Boni population did not vary (rate of reproduction $\frac{105}{100}$).

Since 1940, it has been increasing slightly, by 25% per 27 years, that is just under 1% per year.

163 Birth rate and mortality rate. Demographic balance. From 1
165 January 1956 to 31 December 1957, i.e., in two years, 39 children were born in the villages on the French bank (660 persons); and 21 persons died (including 5 children born during this period).

Rate of birth: 2.9% per year.

Rate of mortality: 1.6% per year.

161 Rate of increase: 1.3% per year.

The rate of increase of 1.3%, which corresponds incidentally to the theoretical calculation indicated above, is very much below that of the population of Cayenne and of the communes of
[164] the coast. If one considers that before 1920 it reached the remarkable value of 3% per year, one realizes the extent of the disaster brought about by venereal diseases.

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621 The principle behind the constitution of the Boni villages
613 is, as we have said, the localization of the matrilineage. Men
[591] and women live in the village of their maternal kin; the wife does not leave her village to join her husband, who comes to visit her from time to time without ceasing, himself, to live in the midst of his own lineage.

The composition of each village thus corresponds, at least in principle, to the group of living people on the genealogical table. But a certain number of exceptions are observed:

[167] -A certain number of men (about 20 out of 800 persons) have emigrated for good and can no longer be counted in the population of the villages;

[619] -On the other hand, a dozen Djuka and Saramaka married
[591] to Boni women have settled permanently in the villages and have been included in the census.

125 We have tried to estimate with as much precision as possible
128 the age of the people concerned, by means of events of known
[173] date which they remember, from the trip of the explorer Crevaux (1878) to the war 1939-45. We have established a local chronology, reproduced as an appendix at the end of the present chapter.

125 The demographic survey, which has been the subject of another publication (1), was conducted parallel with the sociological investigation.

[113] 1. "Etude démographique comparée des Noirs Réfugiés Boni et des Indiens Oayana du Haut-Maroni /Comparative Demographic Study of the Boni Refugee Blacks and the Oayana Indians of the Upper Maroni/," in Population, éditions de l'INED, 1959, No. 3. 2

2 [See S. Hurault, This file-- Analyst.]

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601 So-and-so, and So-and-so, can be regarded as sure. On the other
128 hand, we have considered that there was a break in the genealogy when, going back in time, we arrived at this single datum: Ma X... was the sister of Ma Y..., for it could be a question of kinship in the classificatory sense.

No form of birthright existing among the Boni, there is some uncertainty about the order of birth of brothers and sisters for persons long dead. We have adopted the order kept by oral tradition without trying to rectify it.

613 In many African populations a special tradition is connected
814 with perpetuating the memory of the founder, at least his name,
829 the place of his grave. With the present-day Boni absolutely nothing like this is found; they are not concerned in any way with the true foundress of their lineage; no memory, no legend, not even a name has come down to them. It even seems as though these distant ancestors interest them little because they are less able to act in behalf of their present-day descendants. Indeed, with each new generation the memory of an ancient one dies out.

173 On our first trip in 1948 we called attention, unfortunately without
[126] noting them down precisely, to /43/ very interesting oral traditions going back to the time of slavery, especially the names of the slave-owners who showed themselves to be the most cruel. In
[814] 1952 the last old man who knew them had died; the very memory of what he had said was already effaced.

829 As a matter of fact, Boni thought, strictly practical and
602 utilitarian, is concerned principally with keeping the memory of the part of the genealogy indispensable to the living to know their kinship ties. Memory of women whose posterity has died out and of men who did nothing remarkable is dead from the second generation on.

114 Since none of the travelers of the 19th century understood
613 the importance of taking genealogies, it is probable that the names

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There are no gardens around the cabins because the conditions of the soil and climate render permanent cultivation impracticable. The nearest thing is a few persons planting some banana trees around the hut at the foot of which they spread the hearth ashes. As a general rule villages are closely hemmed in by secondary brushwood, and people plant far from one another and sometimes very far from the village.

If it does not admit the appropriation of land to individuals, custom does admit, on the other hand, the ownership of trees. In the villages the useful trees (coconut trees, maripa palms /attalea excelsa/, mango trees, cashew-apple trees, etc.) all have owners. The tree is considered as personal property and is transmitted by inheritance in the same way as a gun or a canoe. The procedure employed by the Boni for the dispersion of the inheritance among the members of the lineage of the dead man sometimes has the effect of transmitting the ownership of a tree to a person who is not of the village. For example, in Boniville where a fraction of the Kotika lineage lives, two caumou palms were bequeathed a long time ago to members of the lineage living in Kotika, who come each year to gather the fruit.

Appendix

Local Chronology Used for Determining Ages

1876	Death of Grand Man Atyaba.
1877	Trip of the explorer Crevaux from the Maroni to the Yari and the Amazon, in the company of Apatu, head of the Boni village.
1882	Apatu secedes, taking with him about 150 persons and founds the village which bears his name on the lower course of the Maroni.

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173 1891 (1) Death of Grand Man Anato.

1. The trips of the explorer Coudreau, who stayed in the Upper Maroni in 1888 and 1891, have left no memory behind.

1902 Discovery of the gold of the Inini.
1908 Death of Apatu.
1915 Death of Grand Man Ochi.
1915 (April) Death of the explorer Jean Laveau at the Grand Soula falls on the Litani.
1917 (Nov.) Nomination of Grand Man Awensay.
1918 (2) End of the "war against William." (2)

2. This date left a very precise memory, for it marked the end of a period of great misery.

1921 Creation of the short-lived "Compagnie des Transports Aériens Guyanais" /Guianan Air Transport Company/; hydroplane accident at the mouth of the Inini.

[313] 1925-26 A rosewood factory is established first in the Boni village of Kotika, then at the mouth of Coulé-Coulé Creek on the Litani.
1931 Monteux-Richard mission.
1936 Death of Grand Man Awensay.

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1937	Mission to determine the trijunction point of the frontiers of French Guiana-Brazil-Surinam.
1939	Declaration of war.
1944-45	Not a precise point of reference. The Boni confuse the liberation of the territory with the end of the war.
1948	First I.G.N. mission.
1949	Mr. Aubert de la Füe's mission; second I.G.N. mission.
1952	Third I.G.N. mission. /blank page/ /63/

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

571 The social institutions of the Refugee Blacks diverge noticeably from those of the African peoples from whom they issued. [561] They do not include age grades, men's societies, or initiation; [575] marriage involves neither a contract between kin groups nor [881] "dowry."

[583] In a general way these societies founded by rebel slaves who had retained an extreme horror of all oppression were organized 571 so as not to have any material constraint weigh upon the individual. 626 Their institutions are entirely founded on the idea of protection [791] against suprahuman perils; the individual remains perfectly free, and he adheres /to these institutions/ only in proportion as he is [156] conscious of these perils. The custom of the Refugee Blacks, devoid of any means of material coercion, tends to develop within the individual the feeling that he is constantly threatened.

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159 In March, 1957, Awéni, head of the Afi lineage, established
562 in Asisi, was concerned about regrouping the members of his
613 lineage and especially bringing back to Asisi Magdaléna (c20), a
[591] woman of about 45 years who had settled in Kormotibo near her husband L... († 1955), with her children and others whom she had raised. He went to Kormotibo and pointed out to her that since her husband was dead, she no longer had any reason to stay there and that she should come back to Asisi. Magdaléna insulted him in front of the inhabitants of the village, proclaimed that she had no orders to receive from anybody; then when he insisted, she armed herself with a stick and chased him across the village as far as the landing place. He had to re-embark precipitately to the laughter of the Kormotibo people.

Political and Legal Powers

643 The grand man. The head of the Dikan lo fills the office of grand
613 man of the Boni. The present grand man, Difu, was about 67 years old in 1958.

[193] Oral tradition has kept the names of his seven predecessors:

Gongo (Dikan lo)	1810-1840	dates noted according to Coudreau
Labi (Adam?) (Dikan lo)	1840-1870	
Atyaba (Kotika lo)	1870-1876	
Anato (Kotika lo)	1876-1891	
Ochi (Dikan lo)	1891-1915	
Awensay id.	1917-1936	
Difu id.	since 1937.	

[195] According to information collected by Coudreau in 1887, Gongo was the successor to Agosu, himself successor to Boni. Upon the death of Labi, there were only women and children in the Dikan lo. The office of grand man then passed to the Kotika lo with Atyaba and Anato. It then came back to the Dikan lo with Ochi.

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643 In 1957 the Dikan lineage was practically extinct. There
613 remained only Grand Man Difu and his elder brother Samalobi, very old.

[829] The present grand man does not know the genealogy of his lineage beyond his grandmother. /Fig. 14 appears here./ /71/

[648] At the death of Awensay it was Samalobi, eldest of Awensay's classificatory nephews, who was to be named; but the French administration thought they had to oppose it, judging him too old; he yielded with good grace.

613 Samalobi, the ancestor, the patriarch of the Boni, died
[165] in May, 1957 at over 100 years old. Although very weakened by
[554] his infirmities and nearly blind, he kept great prestige and no important decision was made without his consent.

• 173 The son of Apatu, companion of Crevaux, he had retained an exact memory of the explorer whom he had accompanied during part of his trip in 1877. It is thanks to his memories that Crevaux's prestige has remained so great on the Maroni.

643 The grand man judges without appeal disputes between
692 members of different lineages. Truly serious affairs are extremely
578 rare, if one keeps in mind that:

[613] --Disputes over the payment of dowry, paying it back in
[583] case of divorce, and the assignment of the children, which form
[586] the main part of the cases argued before ordinary African jurisdictions, do not exist among the Refugee Blacks;

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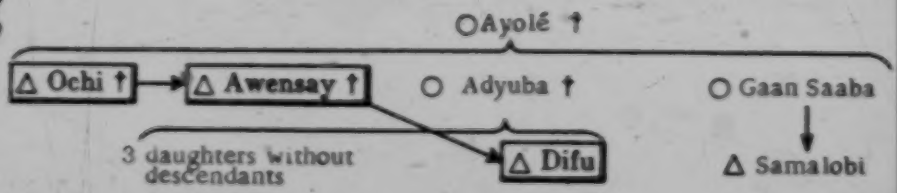

Fig. 14. Filiation of the last three grand men of the Boni.

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771 What constitutes the religion of the Refugee Blacks is a
174 synthesis of elements originating with various peoples of West Africa, especially the Ashanti, Agni, Mina, and Fon and also Congolese elements. This synthesis seems to have been born
[619] among the Saramaka, the first tribe formed at the beginning of the 18th century, and to have been adopted thereafter with modifications of detail by the Djuka, tribe created about 1760. The Boni, the last tribe formed, probably received these beliefs during the time of slavery which they spent under the tutelage
[184] of the Djuka, from 1815 to 1860. The beliefs of the Boni and those of the Djuka have an identical base; the rites and their
[178] effects on social life are exactly the same. Nevertheless, the Djuka, almost ten times more numerous, have been able to keep very differentiated conceptions and specialized cults, involving priests in the literal sense of the term.

The Boni have kept only the essentials, and many conceptions, especially the myths which serve as support for the whole tradition, are very much blurred among them.

829 The Boni like to imagine that Africans constitute only one nation, and that they have inherited in a lump the traditions and social forms of this nation. They know now (especially from having seen a good deal of the Senegalese riflemen of the 1937 French mission) that numerous tribes exist, but that has not shaken the veneration they have for Africa, source, for
178 them, of all knowledge and all strength. However, almost nothing of the culture peculiar to each one of the great tribes has reached them; no name of an African nation has remained in their memory, and /192/ none of the languages of their land of origin has been kept (1); everywhere the vehicular language

[173]

1. One observes, however, that a certain number of disconnected details of African life have come down to them by oral tradition;

178 /192 cont. /
[173] thus it is that they have kept a rather exact description of the elephant (leu) and the gorilla (malẽgwana).

[648] imposed on the slaves has prevailed. There is nothing surprising about that, since the slaveholders tried, in order to prevent revolts, to mix to the maximum the Blacks of the various tribes.

174 A certain number of men initiated in differing degrees into African cults were among the rebels. They tried to con-
177 serve and transmit these rites, which their descendants have more or less transposed or deformed (2). As far as one can

[182] 2. The single fact that the vegetation and fauna differed totally from those of Africa immediately required a modification of ritual which called for infusions of leaves of numerous plants to which definite magical properties are attributed.

[198] As far as one can judge by the secret languages attached to these cults, in which are recognized many words deformed from the ordinary language, and a few Indian words, these cults in their present state must
[178] differ appreciably from the ones which gave them birth. In fact, the only thing the Refugee Blacks have authentically kept is concepts, metaphysical and moral ideas.

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787 the Forestry Society of Saint-Laurent, told us of seeing in 1937
789 among the Paramaka a possessed man take firmly in his hands a red-hot axe-head and keep it between his two hands for an appreciable length of time.

Personally we have several times seen possessed people thrash themselves with spiny awara branches and break bottles on their heads with such violence that the pieces flew several meters; some of them were hurt, but others presented an intact epidermis.

There is no special instruction for the exercises of invulnerability. The possessed person does what he feels capable of, strikes himself progressively harder and harder, breaks bottles, etc.

It is affirmed that certain possessed people are capable of climbing the thorny awara palm trees. If the gita then abandons them, they can no longer come down. Those who know the Kumenti /sic/ language well then evoke the god by formulas so that he will come back.

787 Theoretically, if someone wrongs a man who has a
578 Kumēnti, his gita "rises" immediately. The guilty one can
[173] do no more than flee. They say that in the old days possessed people were seen /209/ to kill those who had done them wrong. No kunu can result from this if the victim is in the wrong. Nothing like this has been seen for a very long time.

The principle is that if one has nothing to reproach himself about with respect to the possessed person, one has nothing to fear from him. This is why people do not hesitate to interpose themselves between the possessed one and the object of his wrath.

[789] If two men having a Kumēnti get into an argument, their gita "rise" simultaneously and they strike each other with machete blows without, it is said, any harm resulting to either one, until someone separates them.

/242 cont. /

754 Of course he was recognized as a wisimã by the first
764 adjuration made to his body carried in the papay on the heads
787 of two men: "If thou art a wisi man, do not come toward us."
The dead man drew back. /2../

[784] /243/Continuation of the interrogation showed that he had not yet killed anybody, but that he had been killed by Odun when he was preparing to kill someone of his lineage.

754 The persecutors of Agyémési, contrary to their hope, did not recover after his death from the maladies which they were attributing to his sorcery; that did not shake their conviction in
755 the least. They left for Paramaribo to have themselves treated
648 by a Creole magician (for the Surinam Creoles, who practice white magic and black magic indiscriminately, are by this fact reputed to be more expert than the Refugee Blacks in combating the effects of wisi).

754 In recounting this story to us, the grand man told us that it is always necessary to be cautious with accusations of wisi,
[762] because one can never be sure. A man unjustly accused can
[784] commit suicide and pursue his accusers with his kunu (most of the Boni state that they would do so in such a case). In former
173 times, the barbarous punishments in use in Africa were applied
683 to revealed wisimã: they were burned alive. But people tell
784 that one of them, some months afterward, undertook against his accusers' lineage a kunu which still lasts today. He had been wrongly condemned! It is through fear of the kunu more than
[178] through care for humanity, that these punishments have been abolished.

754 It certainly seems that the constant fear of the wisimã in
[152] which the Boni live is only a collective hallucination, and that rare indeed are those who dare to indulge in practices which might draw upon them such terrible social and religious sanctions. As for these practices themselves, they appear to be without any real content, and the misfortunes attributed to them are

/249 cont./

751 [787] Possession by a Kumẽnti gives, they say, invulnerability during the time of the trance, but in his ordinary state the individual remains vulnerable (they say only that in case of danger the gita "rises" immediately).

Someone who has a man nẽŋga ɔbia has no trances of possession, but they state that he is permanently invulnerable (except for breaking of the kina). In order to obtain this ɔbia one must have himself "washed" for a very long time by an elder who knows the leaves in question. He delivers them already crushed so that no one may be able to know this secret outside of the son or nephew to whom he bequeaths it.

It is necessary to continue to be washed four times a year for 15 days each time, to keep up the force of the ɔbia.

[515] During these 15 days one bathes three times a day, in secret (in principle nobody knows that you have this ɔbia).
[834] During these periods one must have no relation with a woman, even to talk to her.

They state that someone who has a man nẽŋge ɔbia can be struck by blows of a machete and even receive a gunshot with impunity.

[173] They believe that this ɔbia, in the past called man feti ɔbia, was obtained by the ancestors at the time of the wars against the whites; still today it inspires an unshakeable confidence. /250/ In October, 1952 we saw M..., a man of 45 [164] [752] with great good sense, make a deep gash in his leg while cutting a liana, in spite of his ɔbia. Doubt did not cross his mind for a second: he told us that certainly he had unknowingly eaten something contrary to the kina of the ɔbia. Since we were working near some villages, he went immediately to find the master of the remedy to have the power restored. For nothing in the world would he have left for a long round of work in the bush with the feeling that he was at the mercy of an accident.

/296 cont./

648 So relations between the Europeans and Refugee Blacks have nothing in common with what one observes in Africa: one notes their faults without indulgence, but one admires them for their strong personality, their art, and their techniques, and one bears an esteem for them which is not feigned.

829 The Refugee Blacks feel neither hate nor jealousy toward Europeans. This /297/ may surprise one at first, for they have had to put up with cruel wars fought against them, which have left a precise memory with them; but the explanation is simple: the Boni have no hate because their life is happy, and they have no jealousy because they do not try to imitate the Europeans and are satisfied with their own civilization.

173 186 On this subject it will be noted that the Refugee Blacks recall the time of slavery without shame and without any inferiority complex; this is simply because they do not have the feeling of being the descendants of slaves; they feel themselves to be the descendants of warriors who imposed their independence by force of arms; the Djuka, exaggerating to themselves the scope of the successes won by their ancestors, even have a certain superiority complex. Proud of their ancestors, the Refugee Blacks do not feel in any way inferior to the white man and behave toward him as equal to equal.

648 084 The Boni, like the Djuka and the Saramaka in Surinam, live under a de facto regime which is equivalent to internal autonomy. This regime was instituted for the Boni from their first contact with the French administration in 1861; it has always been associated with perfect loyalty.

The French administration, which until recent times did not have any permanent establishments in the interior of the country, has never tried to interfere with the interior functioning of the tribes which went on and still goes on according to their own law. The Refugee Blacks have thus been spared that hybrid jurisdiction, applying a customary law altered by European ideas,

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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tribe of the Bush Negroes which owes allegiance to the 648
French. They have never forgiven the Dutch for their relentless pursuit back in the old rebel days. Several years ago the Dutch authorities made an effort to invite the Bonis back into Dutch territory; these overtures, however, were flatly refused.

The derivation of the word "Boni" makes for interesting 101
speculation, and three theories have been advanced to ex- 174
plain it. The first is that the word is derived from the French phrase "Bon Negre" or "Good Negroes" which the colonists of French Guiana applied to the Boni blacks because they were comparatively quiet and peaceful. It is also possible that the tribe may have been named after their famous rebel leader Bonny, who took such a formidable and prominent part in the rebellions. Thirdly, it has been considered that the name was derived from the Bonny River of West Africa, for undoubtedly some of the slaves came from that area. Although *B-o-n-i* is the official Dutch spelling of the word, when the tribesmen refer to themselves the accent is placed on the second syllable, and phonetically the word should be spelled *B-o-m-e-e* and pronounced much the same as the word *Pawnee*, the tribe of American Indians in the western United States. The Granman of this tribe, Awensai, receives his [643
annual stipend from the Governor of French Guiana at 728]
Cayenne.

The first village of the Boni, situated on the French side 361
of the Marowyne River, is that of Apatoo nestling at the foot 103
of the Armiina falls. The entire French side of the river from

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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an establishment at Curaçao, received permission to deliver 000 slaves to Surinam. In 1673 there were some 1200 African slaves in the colony as well as about 300 English colonists, and 200 Dutch, including Jews.

By this time the Negroes had already begun to desert the plantations and give trouble by raiding, burning the plantations, and murdering the inhabitants. The first village of escaped slaves was situated on the Upper Surinam River near the Bannister Creek under the leadership of a Coromantyn Negro named Iermes.

Gold Coast slaves "were usually called *Coromantis,* from the Dutch fort of Coromantyn or Koromanti near Cape Coast Castle." "The Coromanti slaves," says a historian, "on account of their disposition to rebel, were not admitted into the French or Spanish colonies and consequently found their way into the British colonies, the only market open to them. Surinam was English from 1630 to 1667, and for shorter intervals thereafter.

"These Coromanti slaves," he continues, "were distinguished from all others by their firmness, courage, and impatience of control, characteristics which caused numerous mutinies aboard the slavers, and several rebellions in the West Indies, in fact every rebellion of slaves in Jamaica." Another writer adds: "The Coromanti slaves were always the prominent or sole fighters in the slave revolts of the West Indies during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries."

As many Coromanti slaves landed in Surinam, it is proba- 174
ble that the ancestors of the present Djuka tribes included

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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174 many of these brave and hardy blacks, who rebelled in Jamaica, Haiti, and elsewhere, as well as in Surinam. This intractable and high-spirited nature still characterizes the contemporary Bush Negro, who has the same hardihood, the same impatience of control, that marked the wild Coromantis of the early revolts. They may have been slaves in fact, but they were never slaves in spirit.

The name of these fractious slaves is not unfamiliar; we have encountered it in contemporaneous Bush Negro life. [776] *Cromanti* now designates a god of the South American bush. The name has apparently travelled from one continent to another, from a Dutch slave factory of the seventeenth century to the Bush Negro villages of the twentieth. Today there are "fetishes to the bad, wild god Cromanti."

776 In the person of Cromanti, the Djukas have obviously deified their own ancestors. The bad, wild god of the bush is to be identified with the Bush Negroes' Coromantyn forbears. The dancers smeared with sacred clay, whose mad gyrations [787] with whistling bush-knives signified that they were possessed by the spirit of Cromanti, were reincarnations of the rebels of the old days. The Djukas' bad demon of the forest is an atavistic memory, personifying the spirit of the uprisings.

/143 cont./

433 The solution of this problem in my opinion lies in this, that in the first place agricultural methods which are based upon a better and more economical use of the land must be practiced. It is the task of the Department of Agriculture to investigate which possibilities the lands permit and which crops can best be cultivated; it is for this reason that to these observations is added a list of crops presently in use among the Bush Negroes. A small team of young Bush Negroes will have to be trained by the Agricultural Information Service to familiarize them with the new methods.

Next to that, combating the ants will have to be seriously taken in hand in conjunction with the plans for a modified agriculture. For this, too, people from the area itself will have to receive training, and a permanent work-team will have to be formed. It is unfeasible and unnecessary to clear the entire area now in use. Insecticides such as carbon sulfate, methylbromide, and parathion -- applied with the necessary caution -- could be used with success in places.

/144/ The District Administration will also have to provide co-operation in order to find a compromise between the customary laws of the Bush Negroes and the new regulations to be introduced concerning the use of land.

7. The Cultivated Crops and Their Use

241 Although for the most part the cultivated plants are those [171] generally in use as agricultural crops in Surinam, there is still not [114] much known in detail concerning the crops that are cultivated by the Bush Negroes for their sustenance. Giving a general survey of these plants is thus necessary first of all, with a report on the way in which they are used.

[174] From a more historical point of view it is of interest to point to a number of important plants that are of African origin and have only still remained in use among the Bush Negroes, such as [177] agobo and bongila. Furthermore presumably there are still varieties of ordinary cultivated plants present here -- such as sugar cane, bacove and bananas, species of tajer and yams -- from the

/22 cont./

613 Situation of the lineages in 1958.

[643] The Dikan lineage, whose head is the grand man of the Boni, has practically died out, since it is comprised of only Grand Man Difu; upon his death it will totally disappear (1).

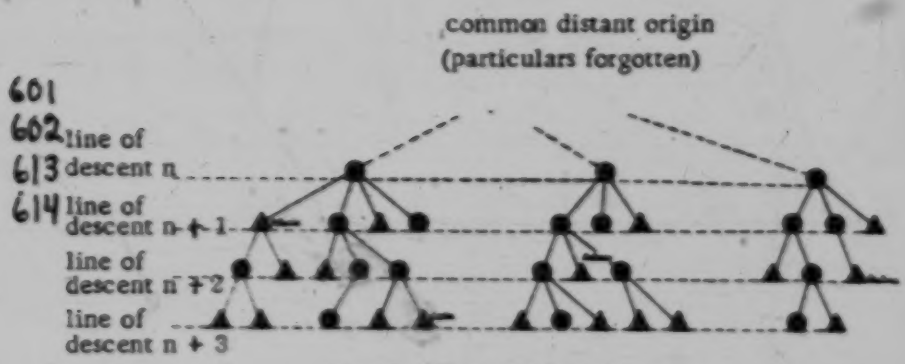

Fig. 3. Extended matrilineage.

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1. Note that a Dikan lo exists among the Djuka; the separation of the Dikan-Djuka and the Dikan-Boni is necessarily anterior to the battles of 1793, which shows the ancientness of these groups.

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For two generations the various lineages have delegated some of their members /23/ to the grand man to conserve a certain importance for his village. Thus Agodé (Boniville) now includes fragments of the Kotika, Dipélu, Lapé, Dju, and Papaliton lineages, forming that many individualized small quarters in the village.

/25 cont./

613 Among the Dju there is no fraction separated from the principal group.

[184] There is also a Dju lo among the Djuka. The word Dju alludes to the Jews, the lineage probably having been born in the plantations belonging to the Jews of Surinam.

The law of exogamy is rigorously applied within the Dju lo.

No element of heterogeneous origin is established among the Dju.

613 614 621 The Dipélu lineage was the most important in the past; from the point of view of genealogy it is split up into three groups whose members are scattered in three villages, subject to different authorities.

Genealogy		Villages
Dipélu I		l'Enfant Perdu Apatu (founded in 1882)
Dipélu II. 1st fraction Dipélu II. 2nd fraction	very recent scission	Kormotibo some elements in Asisi.

613 —Dipélu I forms a unit remarkable for the amplitude of its genealogy, completely known, which extends over eight generations and goes back to a common ancestress named Sanyan, who must have lived in the middle of the 18th century. The common [174] origin of the two groups being necessarily anterior to this ancestress, it seems logical to make it go back to the beginning of the 18th [601] century. In spite of the remoteness in time of their common origin, the members of both groups know with precision their "horizontal" kinship ties (brother, uncle, etc.), which have lost

/29 cont./

121 This is what necessitates as precise an inventory as possible of the population in its present state.

61 Matrilineal groups among the Djuka and Saramaka Refugee Blacks.
114 Authors who have described the social structure of the Djuka and
184 Saramaka, groupings appreciably more numerous than the Boni, have also called attention to the use of the words lo and bee, but give them a completely different meaning.

194 The organization they describe can be summarized thus:
571 Before making up tribes, the rebels lived in small groups
621 near the plantations from which they had escaped; these groups of composite origin were designated by the word lo which means: troop, band; the same word is used to designate a band of animals.

[162] These rebels used to belong to all the nations of the west
[103] coast of Africa. In spots there may have been an attempt at regroupings of elements belonging to the same nation, as proven by the village names Loango, Dahomey, among the Saramaka.
[622] But the majority of these small groups were very probably of heterogeneous origin; in each of these lo, the bravest and most capable was designated as head.

[648] After the recognition of the Djuka and Saramaka by the
[167] government of Surinam and their regrouping on the great rivers of the interior, these groups kept their unity since they had a de facto organization and leaders. They were naturally designated by the name of the plantation they had come from. We say for example Dju nēnge for the former slaves of the Jews, Kōpani nēnge for the former slaves of the Compagnie des Indes Orientales /East India Company/. /30/

174 In the course of the 19th century the total number of Refugee
613 Blacks increased very rapidly under the influence of a high birth
614 rate. The lineages in the proper meaning of the term bee, mean-
621 ing the descendants of the same ancestress, took on sufficient im-
57 portance to constitute distinct social units. They grouped in
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/30 cont./

174 separate villages and the more important even burst out into
613 several villages whose heads were recognized as "captains" by the
grand man and then by the government. The number of Djuka
614 captains recognized by the government of Surinam has not stopped
621 growing; it was 28 these last few years.

571 The lo no longer represented an effective social unit, but its members kept common worships. For example, it is said that
[188] the Dju nēnge go each year as a ritual to get earth from the Savanc des Juifs /Savanna of the Jews/ where their ancestors were slaves.

[114] This explanation seems probable. The kin-group is not the only social unit known to Africans; the bond between man and land has equal importance in their eyes; the fact that their fathers had lived together, that they had been buried in the same cemetery created a among the rebel slaves a de facto bond which was able to suffice, at the beginning of the rebellion, to found villages and a social organization.

[114] However, this theory cannot be entertained without reservations. It has not been possible to verify it by systematic studies, the Djuka and Saramaka having firmly opposed until now any ethnographic investigation involving the statement of genealogies and the inventory of the population of the villages.

[184] It contradicts what we have pointed out among the Boni. In that group six great lineages are counted, of which four (Dju, Kotika, La Paix, Dikan) have a name also alluding to the plantations from which their ancestors fled.

Nevertheless it is certainly a question of lineages in the proper meaning of the term, and nobody remembers that any other organization ever existed. Also, in the absence of systematic studies of the Djuka and Saramaka, the problem of the origin of
[184] their kin groups remains obscure. The future will permit verifying one or the other of the two hypotheses:

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613 1st. Lo = de facto grouping of rebels of any provenance,
614 which has in the long run split up into lineages but which remains
621 in the form of a common worship;

571 2nd. Lo = lineage, from the very beginning.
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Conceptions Relative to Kinship and Marriage

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[121] Ties between the individual and the ancestors. Before examining more deeply the social and family structure of the Refugee Blacks, it is indispensable to study what religious ties are implied between
[184] the individual and the ancestors. Here one is in the presence of basic beliefs which seem identical in the various tribes of Refugee Blacks of Guiana and of which their structure is the consequence.

In the civilizations of Blacks Africa it is supposed that a
[171] current of life and /31/ strength circulates from the divinity to men through the medium of the ancestors. Among the Refugee Blacks it is taken for granted that in this respect each man is bound
[782] to his ancestors through the maternal line only. If he falls prey to illness, injustice, or adversity, he can call only on them in his prayer.

593 That does not mean that the tie with the father is ignored
[827] or considered as having little importance; it is taken for granted, as we shall see, that in the creation of man certain psychic elements are transmitted from father to son. But the current of strength binding the individual to the ancestors does not pass through the father. One cannot pray usefully to the soul of one's dead father.
[755] If I am sick and divination incriminates the action of my dead
[782] father's soul, I cannot address either prayer or offering directly to him; for that I shall have recourse to one of his near relatives in the maternal line.

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593 This organization, compared with what is found in the greater part of Africa, is very advantageous for the wife, who [581] enjoys total independence. But against this she has great instability of unions.

581 601 The union of man and woman has so little of the character of a marriage that in the Boni language no word exists which means, strictly speaking, "husband" or "wife." They say: mi libi anga X = "I live with So-and-so.

• 174 591 How has the social and matrimonial system of the Refugee Blacks been set up? One could believe that one of the systems of Western Africa was purely and simply transposed, but this is not the case at all. In this domain as in that of beliefs, the ancestors of the Refugee Blacks elaborated an original synthesis out of numerous sources.

The African nations from which the rebels issued were certainly, in large part if not in the majority, patrilineal. This is especially the case of the Fon of Dahomey, from whom have been borrowed important cultural elements, especially the principal cults of possession. The matrilineal ones all conceded patrilocal residence, that is, the wife's leaving her village and settling in her husband's village.

[175] The 18th-century rebels, the archives attest, included a heavy percentage of "salt-water Negroes," born on African soil; such, for example, was Codio Coromantin, one of Boni's lieutenants; those who had not been born in Africa had, for the most part, been instructed in an African tradition by a father or uncle. One can be sure that once having attained freedom they sought to organize their villages according to the family custom by which they had been brought up, that is, to set up, some a patrilineal and patrilocal society, others a matrilineal society /36/ but with [643] patrilocal residence. We know for example that Boni had chosen his son Agosu as his successor.

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Family custom is a thing tenacious in other ways than a language, a technique, indeed a cult. Men cling desperately to the social and matrimonial system they have received, with the feeling that if they abandoned it their familiar universe would crumble. Do we not see nowadays in the big African cities groups completely separated geographically from their tribe of origin, subject sometimes for several generations to European influence, maintain fiercely their matrimonial system? Yet in all the tribes of Refugee Blacks patrilineal filiation prevailed nowhere at all, and patrilocal residence disappeared, it seems, rather rapidly; the problem cannot be dodged by facile explanations such as the influence of slavery or the rarity of women among the rebels (1).

[583]

1. The rebel groups were quickly balanced from a demographic point of view, for they went and carried off women from the plantations.

One must assume that fundamental reasons made the patrilineal groups less viable than the others and finally led to their dissolution. These reasons appear to be of two orders:

—The independent spirit of the African woman, concerned above all with her freedom with respect to the man;

—The moral and religious law under which the unification of the tribes of Refugee Blacks was brought about, implying rejection of any form of violence or oppression. Under this law it could no longer be a question of taking the wife away from her maternal village if she was attached to it, no more than of coercing her to make hes live in a union which had ceased to please her.

/38 cont./

174 671 The formation of patrilineages must have been hampered by numerous divorces; in addition, in case of divorce, the wife unquestionably aspired to take her children with her, not recognizing any contract between the two groups of kin which might be able to affect her free will; one can also be certain that the children, if consulted, must have followed their mother in most cases and [586] joined their maternal kin group. This tendency remains perfectly observable in our day; we shall see all its importance when we study how the children are raised and what tutelage is exercised upon them.

Now there is no patrilineage conceivable, if, in case of divorce, the children do not stay with the father. Patrilineal societies exist in which the wife is free, were it only the Peule society, where divorces are very frequent. But African custom has it that in a patrilineal system, by reason of payment of the dowry, the wife's kin lose all rights over the children. They have entered the man's kin group and his ancestral cult.

The formation of matrilineal and patrilocal groupings must also have collided with analogous difficulties, the women not willingly leaving their village of origin.

One can rather easily imagine that in the initial period of the formation of the /37/ new tribes, the different matrimonial systems coexisted; then the patrilocal groups, less viable, progressively broke up, while the present custom was being established.

175 643 This point of view is confirmed by an exact piece of information collected at the end of the 19th century by the explorer Coudreau. Upon the death of Agosu, son of Boni, it was his son Gongo who succeeded him. But after the death of Gongo, the succession went according to the matrilineal system.

583 Another important aspect of the matrimonial system of the Refugee Blacks is the absence of any compensation or payment. [591] Even if it happens that a woman leaves her lineage permanently in order to settle in her husband's village and found a family there

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621 613 Case of the village of Boniville. This village constitutes an especially interesting case, for it brings together small fractions of the various lineages permanently settled there. It helps one to [174] understand what the territorial implantation of the Refugee Blacks may have been toward the end of the 18th century at the time when their institutions were developing.

621 613 423 [643] The principle is that the Boniville lands belong to the grand man, the last representative of the Dikan lineage; he granted individually to the inhabitants of the village the right to farm his lands. These inhabitants thus hold only a right of use, and there can be no competition among them for the possession of the real [425] rights. But the principle of transmission of the right of use in the same lineage remains for each clearing taken separately. For example, Klémenti (Dju, F7), who made a clearing out of primary forest, concedes that after him his land may be occupied by any member of the Dju lineage residing in Boniville, but not by Dju lineage members living in Asisi. /81/

423 621 Few in number on a relatively extensive territorial sector, the inhabitants of Boniville have not felt the need to divide the sector granted by the grand man into precise territorial zones.

423 425 613 It is difficult to foresee what will happen after the death of Grand Man Difu when the rights of use will be transformed into real rights. It is probable that a territorial division among the fractions of the lineage established in Boniville will be imperceptibly created by the simple fact that competition will arise among them.

423 Fishing, hunting, gathering, and mineral exploitation rights. These rights are totally separate from the right to farm; in this respect the conceptions of the Refugee Blacks reveal the precariousness of the bonds between the individual and the soil, which results from ecological conditions.

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What constitutes the religion of the Refugee Blacks is a synthesis of elements originating with various peoples of West Africa, especially the Ashanti, Agni, Mina, and Fon and also Congolese elements. This synthesis seems to have been born among the Saramaka, the first tribe formed at the beginning of the 18th century, and to have been adopted thereafter with modifications of detail by the Djuka, tribe created about 1760. The Boni, the last tribe formed, probably received these beliefs during the time of slavery which they spent under the tutelage of the Djuka, from 1815 to 1860. The beliefs of the Boni and those of the Djuka have an identical base; the rites and their effects on social life are exactly the same. Nevertheless, the Djuka, almost ten times more numerous, have been able to keep very differentiated conceptions and specialized cults, involving priests in the literal sense of the term.

The Boni have kept only the essentials, and many conceptions, especially the myths which serve as support for the whole tradition, are very much blurred among them.

The Boni like to imagine that Africans constitute only one nation, and that they have inherited in a lump the traditions and social forms of this nation. They know now (especially from having seen a good deal of the Senegalese riflemen of the 1937 French mission) that numerous tribes exist, but that has not shaken the veneration they have for Africa, source, for them, of all knowledge and all strength. However, almost nothing of the culture peculiar to each one of the great tribes has reached them; no name of an African nation has remained in their memory, and /192/ none of the languages of their land of origin has been kept (1); everywhere the vehicular language

1. One observes, however, that a certain number of disconnected details of African life have come down to them by oral tradition;

178 [173] /192 cont./

thus it is that they have kept a rather exact description of the elephant (leu) and the gorilla (malẽgwana).

[648] imposed on the slaves has prevailed. There is nothing surprising about that, since the slaveholders tried, in order to prevent revolts, to mix to the maximum the Blacks of the various tribes.

174 177 A certain number of men initiated in differing degrees into African cults were among the rebels. They tried to conserve and transmit these rites, which their descendants have more or less transposed or deformed (2). As far as one can

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2. The single fact that the vegetation and fauna differed totally from those of Africa immediately required a modification of ritual which called for infusions of leaves of numerous plants to which definite magical properties are attributed.

[198] As far as one can judge by the secret languages attached to these cults, in which are recognized many words deformed from the ordinary language, and a few Indian words, these cults in their present state must [178] differ appreciably from the ones which gave them birth. In fact, the only thing the Refugee Blacks have authentically kept is concepts, metaphysical and moral ideas.

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771 171 [177] This is precisely what constitutes the great interest of the Refugee Blacks' religious forms, which one finds again, besides, in large measure, mixed with Christian ideas, among all the Blacks of South America. They seem to point out a very important common background of conceptions common to the West African civilizations.

771 174 184 It is certainly not by chance if the various tribes of Refugee Blacks have adopted such close social and religious forms. One must assume the action of several strong personalities who knew, with an almost superhuman instinct, how to sift out from the jumble of beliefs brought by the rebel slaves what was necessary to the life of the new society; but this new religion would not have taken root in forms so stable and so coherent if all had not been intimately conscious of being in agreement on a minimum of common concepts.

It is important to observe that the Refugee Blacks, who borrowed most of their techniques from the Indians and Europeans, remained rigorously faithful in their beliefs and rituals to the African substratum, from which they drew a homogeneous and [177] living whole. Although the beliefs of the Indians are known to them in their main lines, they have borrowed almost nothing from them; on the other hand, it is certain that vague Christian recollections influenced the conception they have of the supreme god, Masa Gadu, and their moral and religious law. But they have been introduced into an African system of thought, and in fact the beliefs which directly influence individual and social life come in a straight line from the African earth.

772 [171] Metaphysical conceptions. Through the rituals of the Refugee Blacks appear /193/ metaphysical conceptions very comparable to those which have been noted in the populations of West Africa.

/206 cont./

776 The Kumēnti. These gods are common to the Saramaka
787 (Kromenti) (1), Djuka, and Boni. The Kumēnti are considered
[184]

[174]

1. There is no doubt about the origin of this word; it is a deformation of Coromantin, name given in the 18th century to Ashanti country. The "Coromantin Negroes," reputed to be particularly intractable, played a large role in the slave revolts. The Kumenti cult of possession must originally have been a cult peculiar to the Coromantin nation.

to be benevolent gods and friends of men, so their possession is very much desired. They do not come into men spontaneously, they are obtained only by applying to a teacher. In principle
[562] only men can obtain Kumēnti, while on the other hand only women can have Bŭnzunki /sic/.

776 The Kumēnti are specialized in protection against fire
787 and against machete and gun wounds. These dangers hold the
751 largest place among the anxieties of the Refugee Blacks, who spend almost all their life in the bush and with whom nearly
[789] all sores become infected and have serious consequences. Thus the Kumēnti cult holds an important place in their magic; even someone who is not possessed will try to obtain from these gods an ɔbia that will protect him from these various dangers.

153 The instruction of the disciples of these gods takes as its
791 pattern the procedures described above, but the collective dances
787 appear to play an essential part. The teacher calls on the gods
786 by beating a special rhythm on ordinary drums (apinti) and by
[533] uttering invocations punctuated by the rattle of the saka (Indian
[534] maraka, that is, hollow calabash provided with a handle and containing seeds).

/248 cont./

755 823 [174] White clay, pɛmba (the word and the rite are of Congolese origin), does not undergo any special preparation. In the thought of the Refugee Blacks it has the power to fix upon a man's body the magic influence of the infusion of leaves.

791 Among the Boni, except for the cult of Odun, there are no priests, strictly speaking, invested with a function at the same time social and religious. A large number of persons 756 791 are regarded as "knowing remedies." This notion implies at once knowledge and power. In general the ɔbiamã is believed to hold only a specialized power: for example, he knows how to prepare a hunting ɔbia, or an ɔbia for protection against wisimã. This power he received from his father (as an exception, it seems, from his uncle), who instructed him, before dying, in the specialized rites it requires and transmitted his power to him by giving him mula.

To give mula to someone, one blows into his hands, one puts them on his head while uttering a formula by which one transmits to him a certain power or piece of magic knowledge.

What is the criterion of legitimacy? Who has the right to call himself an ɔbiamã? It seems that basically everything is reduced to this: the ɔbiamã has the conviction, the sensation that he holds this power; as for his clients, they believe they observe the efficacy of his ɔbia; if they stop having confidence in his remedy, they will abstain from coming to ask it of him, that is all; no social prohibition comes to limit the action of the ɔbiamã. [754] The grand man intervenes only against someone who might claim to hold remedies to harm another person or to capture his will, which would be wisi.

[888] /249/ The Boni accept the possibility of deception as regards ɔbia, especially by people who are too young, but they have the conviction that the elders (people over 55-60) possess wisdom and that one can apply to them with complete confidence.

538 /267 cont./
[765] audience and to create an atmosphere of participation in the rite.

This ritual character makes it so that the Anansi Toli cannot be recited any time and in any old way. The story-teller may speak only at night, in the presence of a respondent and of an audience of at least two or three persons. A ritual formula: "dirinti" -- the response of the audience: "ndaeti," [124] precedes each new story. It is only with extreme repugnance [126] that informants consent to listen to and comment in the day-[761] time on a tale recorded on tape, particularly if their parents are still living, for it is said among the Refugee Blacks as in Black Africa that telling stories in full daylight makes one's father and mother die.

[174] These tales belong to an authentically African accumulated store, practically unchanged in spite of the [177] borrowing from the Creole Blacks of Paramaribo of several themes concerning automobiles, steamboats, etc., inserted in droll fashion into the traditional themes.

The usual hero of these tales is Anansi, the crafty one. [825] Anansi is the name of the Mygale spider (1). It is noteworthy,

[191] 1. The spider cycle is characteristic of the Akan (Agni-Baoulé-Abron) culture area. Anansi is the name of the Mygale spider among the Agni.

however, that this spider does not appear to play any special role in the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks and that no divinatory power is attributed to it. In fact, in the tales of which he is the hero, Anansi is nearly always represented as a man.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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Saramacca

Preface

THE pages that follow describe scenes in the lives of a Negro people living in isolation in the interior of Dutch Guiana, South America. These Negroes are the descendants of runaway slaves imported from Africa, who took refuge in the dense Guiana bush and established African villages along the rivers whose rapids are their fortifications. The end of the seventeenth century already found these Negroes in constantly growing numbers up the Suriname River, and before the middle of the next century they were sufficiently organized to make repeated raids on the plantations for guns and gunpowder, for machetes and women. Several campaigns were conducted against them, but eventually final treaties were concluded with the Dutch owners of the colony, which guaranteed them their freedom. Today when a Bush Negro drinks with a white man his toast is "Free!" 175 [144]

Three tribal groups go to make up this Bush Negro population. The Saramacca tribe, of whom we write, is found in the heart of the colony along the upper reaches of the Suriname River (called by the Bush Negroes the "Saramacca," and hence so named in this book), and farther south along the Gran Rio and the Pikien Rio. This tribe has had the least contact with outside influences, and it is the Saramacca language which differs most from that spoken by the Negroes of the coastal region. The second is the Awka tribe, found mainly along the Marowyne (Maroni) River, which forms the boundary between French and Dutch Guiana; there are in addition several Awka villages on the lower Suriname. The third tribe, the Boni, 101 619

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1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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175 Now we were in the true, true Saramacca country, the land which the Bush Negro feels to be entirely his own. White men, it is true, had been here before, but only a handful, and the gods of the river, who were powerful, saw to it that of these not many got back to the white man's land. True, true Saramacca country! Every Bush Negro we met on the lower river spoke of it with the deepest feeling.

"It is all right here," one man after another had said, "but wait until you see the upper river, the true-true Saramacca!"

It was here that the first Bush Negro villages had been built, though this seemed fabulous to the strangers who, in strong boats, guided by men who were wise in the moods and courses of the river, had had nine days of hard travel on the way. The lower-river villages began to appear only after peace had been declared and had proved lasting. Eighty-six years ago men from the upper river who lived beyond the Granman's own village, in the Grand Rio, had come down and built the village of Gansee, which was some four hours' paddling upstream from the railhead.

We spoke of this to Bibifo, who himself was born in this country.

"You may well wonder, white man."

361 Here was no danger of having to wrest a camp from the
103 bush at night, when the short tropical dusk came to overtake the traveler. Villages followed close, one upon the other. Here was Ma'lobbi, where the beauty of the wood
[322] carver's art had made us linger beyond the time allotted to us for making the journey from S'ei to Asindopo Lantiwe. Here was Hei Kununu—High Mountain—which rose on a
[133] steep slope above the river, and was pleasant to see after the long stretches of flat plain that lay below. Semoisi, noted for its riches, was there, and Pempeh, bearing a name well known in the Ashanti country in Africa. Here villages
203 were so close to each other that they could announce our approach on the talking drums.

"What is it we hear, Bayo?" we would ask.

"They are cutting down trees, Bak'a."

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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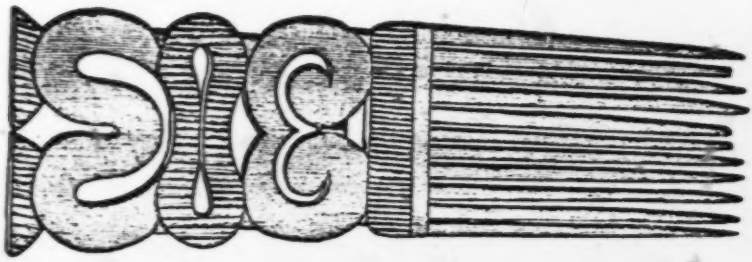
feared by all who themselves do not have Kromanti. Obia Kromanti warns and protects and heals, but its powers are only for those who belong to the Kromanti group.

Whether Kromanti is the African warrior society preserved in this bush, it is impossible to say. If this were the case, then the definite military organization of many of the West African societies should be present. The military character of any group among the Bush Negroes could not even be hinted at, of course, without the greatest caution. In their descriptions of the Kromanti, our intimates among the Bush Negroes never indicated in any way the existence of such an organization. Even leading questions brought out only unqualified denials instead of the revealing answers "I do not know," or "Massa Gadu sabi." Yet there are undoubtedly secrets which Kromanti men do not share with outsiders, and we remembered that when a Kromanti man dies, he must be "separated" from the Kromanti group just as he is "separated" from his family and from his village.

About the very meaning of the word Kromanti there can only be speculation. During the time of the slave trade, there were two ports on the Gold Coast of Africa known as Little and Great Coromantyne. From these ports came the slaves who, in the New World, were known as Coromantyne slaves. These slaves were so warlike, so prone to cause uprisings, that only English and Dutch colonies consented to buy them and in these colonies when slave rebellions broke out to alarm the white planters, they were led by the proud Coromantyne slaves.

It would not be strange, therefore, if the same term was carried over into the free civilization of this bush to typify the obia which protected and watched over the fighters who had won this freedom.

Other indications point to the same assumption. The strongest spirits of the Kromanti, those which inspire the greatest fear when they possess men of a village are Tigri and Djadja. Tigri is the jaguar, Djadja is often vaguely translated by our word "devil." If we again turn to the West African societies, we find that one of the most dreaded



[442 532]

Chapter One

THE BLACK REBELLION

A GUINEA SLAVER, tacking up to Paramaribo. In the hold lay shackled Negroes, their bare bodies glistening with sweat. "Black Ivory" they were called. 448 175

Entrapped savages from the West Coast, transported nearly three thousand miles in slaving ships to the Dutch settlement in South America. Three months at sea, and they looked like leather-covered skeletons, those who were still alive.

Packed in a small space, without enough room to lie down, the slaves were forced to take turns at stretching out on the deck to sleep. The others squatted close together, straddling the ones lying down. The night air being considered pernicious, the portholes were closed when evening came, leaving the blacks to suffocate during the fetid dark hours. Sometimes the bare planks, combined with the rolling motion of the ship, rubbed off skin and flesh, leaving patches of bone exposed. Blood and filth were strewn about in an indescrib-

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[For caption, see category 116, p. 204. -- Analyst]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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able mess. Only one in twenty survived the ordeal; the bodies of those who succumbed were dropped overboard to be covered over in a swirl of water. The ship went on.

The Surinam is a tan river. There is a sharp line where it meets the deep green of the Atlantic. Twenty miles up the winding stream is Paramaribo, the end of the voyage.

Hot wind blew the ship along, wafting away the odour of flesh. The ship turned and tacked around the broad slow bends of the river. Some of the Negroes realized that the voyage was over and became hysterical, expecting to be killed and eaten. Kidnapped from many different tribes of Africa, speaking no language but their local dialects, they had no way of knowing the fate in store for them. The cruelties of the voyage made them anticipate the worst. As a matter of fact, their immediate fate was to be sold to the planters of the Surinam, to labour on the sugar plantations of the colony. Perhaps the mangrove swamps beside the river recalled their former home.

On the western coast of Africa, between the Senegal River and the Congo country, particularly the Gulf of Guinea, lay the hunting-ground of the slave trader. Somewhere along the Ivory Coast or Gold Coast these Negroes were captured. To facilitate the handling of large numbers of slaves, forts were set up at intervals along the coast, under the command of Europeans. Here Negroes were accumulated in large pens, awaiting shipment. These "factories," as they were called, obtained the blacks by kidnapping them, or by bartering with tribes of the interior, who took them

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captive in jungle wars. A raid on an African village, for the purpose of obtaining captives to sell as slaves, is described by an eye-witness, Captain Richard Drake, an Englishman who was captured and held prisoner by a tribe in Dahomey:

"When the night was somewhat advanced, the main portion of our force set off in small parties to creep on the unsuspecting town, and in about an hour a bright flame shot up followed by a chorus of yells, cries, and groans. In a few minutes the whole valley seemed in flames. From the brow of the hill I could see the Dahoman warriors running about whirling their weapons. The naked women and children were flying in all directions and in the light from the blazing huts I could see the wretched people rushing from the flames to be received on the spear points of their enemies. It was nearly morning when the work of capture and massacre was finished. . . . When we reached our valley there was a great feast and old King Mammee sat on his pile of sheepskins and distributed feathers to the principal men, and his priests made a solemn sacrifice of two young boys to the King's fetish. The poor lads were cut to pieces with knives by the women soldiers and afterwards burned before the idol."

Massacred by enemy tribes in the interior, taken to the coast face downward in dugout canoes, thrown into slave pens where many died, then the horrible voyage down the Middle Passage on a blood-washed slaving ship, to work under the lash on the sugar plantations of Dutch Guiana,

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648 these captive Negroes experienced the lowest degree of hu-
175 man misery. They were mere beasts. Their civilizations of Songhay and the Mellestine were forgotten.

Paramaribo, where the slaves landed, was then the only city in the Dutch settlement. It resembled a little piece of Holland transplanted to South America. Settled originally by the British, it was given to Holland in 1674 in exchange for the present city of New York, which was a crafty trade. Settlers from Holland gave the colony a Dutch atmosphere that it retains to this day. On this "wild coast" were to be found women in wooden shoes and burghers with long clay pipes.

A crowd usually gathered on the wharves at Paramaribo to watch a slaver put in. Planters in enormous hats and silken shirts walked conspicuously about, anxious to obtain more man-power for their fields. The Negroes were not going to be eaten, as they feared, but perhaps that would have been preferable for some of them. A landing of slaves in Dutch Guiana, some time later, was witnessed by Captain Drake:

"The blacks were landed at once and two days later were placed on sale in the market. There was a scarcity of hands on the sugar plantations and good prices were paid for the slaves. The Dutch maids, in short green jackets and scarlet petticoats, walked around inspecting the naked Africans as if it were a common thing. The auctioneer sat on a high chair at one end of the large room and the slaves stood on a stool in front of him. He made them turn round about,

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as they stood in their breech-cloths before the people, and 648
the purchasers walked up and felt of them to try their flesh 175
and soundness. The darkies were obliged to go through every sort of motion. It seemed at times as if their arms would be pulled out of joint or their jaws cracked by some of the Dutchmen. One dame was not satisfied until she forced a wench to screech by squeezing her breast cruelly. In two days the vendue was over. The grown men fetched as high as a thousand guilders and the boys and girls and women from seven to eight hundred, which were considered good prices."

The slaves were then put to work in the sugar fields. The overseers treated them cruelly and enjoyed it, with the callousness of their century; overseers in Virginia and Jamaica were doing the same with no less zeal. The planter's lash was often "incrusted with blood."

Inevitably some Negroes tried to run away. Near by was the jungle, a refuge from the white terror. From time to time runaway blacks succeeded in escaping into the bush. There they joined other fugitives, forming small bands.

The character of the country favoured them. The undergrowth is so thick that overland travel is impossibly laborious and slow. The rivers, save for a short distance near the ocean, [133] are unnavigable because of their torrential rapids. The Surinam, up which the slave ships sailed to Paramaribo, has seldom been explored to its extreme upper reaches; it is *terra incognita* to white men.

The fugitives were quite at home in the jungle. In this

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natural sanctuary they reverted to their African habits of living and began to multiply. Recapture being impossible, their bondage to the white man was definitely over. They propagated and prospered, but they did not forget those slave days behind them. Armed with firelocks and lances they began making raids on the outlying plantations. Revenge!

Resolute bands of them would descend on a plantation and massacre the whites. After carrying off the gunpowder, firelocks, and hatchets which they badly needed, burning the mansion, and freeing the slaves, they would disappear as quickly as they had come, leaving the colonists fuming at their impotence to punish them.

By 1726, but fifty years after the Dutch acquired Surinam, there was a large body of rebel slaves living in the bush around the Saramacca River. They were intrepid and merciless raiders—where would they have learned the meaning of mercy? Two years later a small military expedition was sent out from Paramaribo against them, but it was ineffectual. Back in the bush the Negroes were more than a match for the white man.

In 1730 the colonists succeeded in capturing eleven Bush Negro rebels and killed them by slow torture. One black was hanged to a tree by an iron hook thrust through his ribs; after being suspended thus for several days he finally died. Two were burned to death over a slow fire. Six women were broken on the rack, and two girls were decapitated. The tortures were endured heroically until death brought release.

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The rebels were enraged. Their depredations became more fierce. Now a rich planter would be paddling desperately down to Paramaribo in the dark jungle night, leaving behind him a burning mansion in whose eerie light infuriated Negroes danced, triumphant over the sacking of a white man's home. Or perhaps there would be no survivor to tell of the night attack, but only some charred ruins, no less eloquent, in the morning. The colonists lived in constant terror, dreading attacks that did not come and paralysed with rage and fear over those that did.

The whites had blindly brought upon themselves the necessity, almost, of abandoning the colony. Unnecessary ill-treatment had driven the rebels to an extremity of revenge; inhuman tortures had seared in their brains a deep hatred for the masters. It is true that some of the plantation owners were as kindly disposed as the custom of the age permitted, but most of the planters ill-used their slaves. There was nothing to prevent it; the magistrates were fellow-planters, and no Negro could bring legal testimony. The black had no redress except in blood. The idea of revolt spread.

After twenty years of intermittent raiding, the colonists had had enough of it; Governor Mauricius, the head of the colony, sent a detachment of troops into the bush to find the rebels and conclude a treaty of peace, "so ardently desired." After some skirmishing they arrived at the rebel headquarters and opened negotiations with the Bush Negro chief, named Adoe. There, in 1749, a treaty was signed, the conditions of which were dictated by the rebel blacks. Chief Adoe

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was presented with a large cane bearing the arms of Surinam, and, a more material gain, he extracted from the white negotiators a promise to turn over to him a large supply of arms and ammunition, along with other presents. As a pledge of friendship, Adoe presented them with a bow and arrows. Then the troops returned to Paramaribo.

The news of the treaty was variously received. Many planters expressed satisfaction, others doubted whether peace would be lasting. Some denied the advisability of handing out to the rebels more firelocks and gunpowder. As one man expressed it: "I must indeed confess that, notwithstanding the good intentions of Governor Mauricius, nothing appears to be more dangerous than making a forced friendship with people who, by the most abject slavery and ill usage, are provoked to break their chains and shake off their yoke in pursuit of revenge and liberty, and who, by the trust which is placed in them, have it in their power to become from day to day more formidable."

The following year the promised presents were sent upstream: checked linen and salt beef, spirits and salt pork, firearms and ammunition. The caravan was intercepted by an independent band led by a rebel called Zam Zam, who carried off the stock and murdered the carriers. Chief Adoe waited for the presents which did not come, and after long waiting finally concluded that they had never been sent, that the white men had cheated him with false promises. He declared the peace broken, and resumed the raids.

Thus an accident reopened the series of terroristic scenes;

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death and destruction again spread throughout the planta-
tions. The imprudent governor was recalled to Holland, and
never returned. Six hundred Dutch troops arrived as rein-
forcements for the colony, but they could not allay the dis-
tress. Besides the Saramacca rebels, a new revolt started in
the region of the Tempati Creek, and was immediately suc-
cessful. Dutch troops sent against it were defeated repeatedly.
By 1757 the whites were again compelled to sue for peace,
and a parley was agreed to.

The colonists were represented by two commissioners, Sober and Abercrombie, who carried presents with them to the Tempati rebels under the command of Chief Araby. He represented the new generation of Bush Negroes, born not in Africa but in the South American bush and having no personal memory of the slave ships. He received the white commissioners politely, and quieted their apprehensions regarding the ensuing parley.

During the negotiations a rebel captain named Boston became irate at the commissioners' presents and wanted to know whether the Europeans thought that the Bush Negroes could live on combs and looking-glasses. He ended his oration with a demand that the two commissioners be held as hostages. Another captain, bearing the African name of an Ashanti chief, Quaco, took the opposite side and spoke in defence of the white representatives. Finally Chief Araby dictated the terms of peace, making Abercrombie draw up a list of conditions to be agreed to, and merchandise to be delivered. The Dutch government was allowed a year to

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648 175 deliberate; at the end of that time it could choose either peace or war. The Negroes were ready for either.

When a bush chief finishes speaking, all the members of the gathering nod their heads and say *"Daso,"* or "That's so." As Araby finished, there was a general murmur of *"Daso."* The parley concluded with an elaborate entertainment for the commissioners, after which they were sent back to Paramaribo, accompanied by no escort, but with these proud instructions:

"We desire you to tell your Governor and your court that in case they want to raise no new gangs of rebels they ought to take care that the planters keep a more watchful eye over their own property, and do not trust them so frequently in the hands of drunken managers and overseers, who by wrongfully and severely chastising the Negroes, debauching their wives and children, neglecting the sick, etc., are the pain of the colony and wilfully drive to the woods such members of stout active people who by their sweat earn your subsistence and without whose hands your colony must drop to nothing and to whom at last in this disgraceful manner you are glad to sue for friendship."

Suing for peace, with the Negroes they had formerly owned body and soul! There was a vast difference between these arrogant, victorious blacks and the whipped slaves still coming over the Middle Passage. These men were no longer servile; they were free.

At the conclusion of the year of grace two commissioners came up the river again, bringing with them the required

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presents; again the white man acknowledged his defeat. The 618 presents were delivered to the Bush Negroes at Joca Creek, 175 where the parley had been held, fifteen miles east of Tempati. Here at the Ouca Plantation in 1761 a treaty of twelve or fourteen articles was signed by the white commissioners and sixteen blacks. They all took the sacred oath and drank each other's blood, mixed with spring water and ceremonial clay, from a calabash cup, while the *Gadoman* or high priest "with upcast eyes and outstretched arms took heaven and earth to witness."

The multitude responded *"Daso."*

Araby delivered four of his captains as hostages to Paramaribo, where they were entertained at the Governor's table. Considering an oath sacred, the Negroes never violated the treaty. They adhered to it so strictly that, when other Negroes escaped, this tribe helped the whites recapture them, thus incurring the enmity of many of their own people.

No sooner had the treaty been signed with one tribe than a fresh rebellion broke out in another part of the colony. The next revolt, at Berbice, was unsuccessful; the Bush Negroes were defeated and their villages looted. The whites were aided in this by three tribes of native Indians, the Caribs, Acaways, and Arawaks. When the Dutch general handed some Bush Negro loot over to these Indian allies, his own troops became dissatisfied and deserted. Seventy deserters marched overland through the bush, attempting to join the Spaniards on the Orinoco River. They were intercepted and captured by a large force of rebel Negroes, who executed

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648 175 fifty of them. Shortly afterward the entire revolt was quelled, and the Negro leaders burned alive six at a time. The remaining twenty deserters from the Dutch militia were brought to Paramaribo and executed by being hanged or broken alive.

After this setback, other rebellions broke out afresh in a different section of the colony. These outbursts were known as the Cottica rebellion, and were more formidable than even the Saramacca and Tempati revolts. Pillage was extended in every direction, and the colonists at Paramaribo lived in daily terror of a massacre. By 1772 hope of maintaining the colony had almost been relinquished; the Dutch were ready to admit that the finishing blow had been given to Surinam. The planters abandoned their homes and flocked to Paramaribo for refuge. Even there they could hear at night the throbbing of Negro drums.

In a desperate effort to save the settlement, faithful slaves were manumitted and armed, to act in conjunction with the colonial troops against the rebels. To send Negro against Negro was a hazardous resolve. At the same time the Society of Surinam appealed to the Prince of Orange for aid. Two companies of mercenaries, twelve hundred strong, were dispatched to the relief of the stricken plantations.

This was perhaps "the most extraordinary expedition ever undertaken by European troops." Among the officers of the expedition was an Englishman by the name of Captain John Stedman, of Tifferton, Devonshire, a free-lance soldier of fortune, who wrote a long account of his adventure. His *Nar-*

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His Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition Against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam in Guiana on the Wild Coast of South America is a record of strange happenings that could not occur again.

Many of the soldiers died en route, so reinforcements of three hundred men were sent from Amsterdam. Two hundred and fifty of these died on the way. The remainder were prepared for active service against the rebels. Acting with them were three hundred auxiliary troops, consisting of emancipated slaves under the command of white leaders. Such Negroes, freed for the purpose of fighting, were known as "rangers." They were given trousers and scarlet caps, armed with firelock and sabre, and taught the Dutch password, *"Orange!"* to distinguish them from rebel Negroes and prevent "disagreeable mistakes" during the fighting.

Under the command of the rebel leader Baron, whose very name sufficed to cause panic in any part of the colony, the Bush Negroes had established a strong settlement between the Cottica River and the seacoast. One proud rebel town was known as *Boucou,* which means *"Dust."* It was entirely surrounded by swamp, with secret paths under water, leading to gates in the palisade wall. Before the gates Baron placed swivel guns. On the whole it had the reputation of being "no contemptible fortification." There was another camp of rebel Negroes at Lee Shore, between the Surinam and Saramacca rivers. From these armed camps they made night forays into the plantations, robbing fields and stealing women.

Against Boucou the desperate Dutch sent a detachment

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648 175 of troops under the command of Captain Mayland. They camped on the border of the swamp, finding they could not cross it. Baron raised his white flag of defiance and the militia fired many useless fusillades. They planned a siege and a bridge of boats across the marsh, but both plans were abandoned when a ranger discovered an underwater path to the fortification.

Making a feint attack by rapid firing on one side of the swamp, Mayland drew the defenders to that side. Meanwhile, the troops crossed on the opposite side, swarmed over the palisadoes without encountering opposition, and fell upon the blacks from behind. Boucou was taken in a swirl of carnage.

Most of the Bush Negroes managed to escape; finding ten or twelve rangers stuck in the swamp, they slit their throats on the way. The white men's prisoners were put to horrible deaths. Stedman describes one as hanging for three days on a hook through his ribs, trying to drink the rainwater that rolled down his chest. He was finally killed with the butt of a musket. The story also tells that another captive was being flogged near the suspended Negro. When the beaten prisoner cried out in pain, the first one taunted him with weakness, saying, *"You mong? Da boy fasee,"* which means, "Are you really a man? You act like a boy!" Other captives had wooden splinters driven under their fingernails and toenails, after which they were quartered by being tied to four horses driven in different directions. As for young women being roasted alive, says Stedman, "Nothing was

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more common in the colony." This is probably an exaggeration. 48 175

Not long after this, Captain Mayland, the victor of Boucou, was caught with his troops in an ambuscade while fording a swamp. Up to their armpits in water, the Europeans and their rangers were unable to return the rebel fire. The whole party was wiped out. A few captives were taken back to the rebel village, stripped naked, and beaten to death before the assembled population to provide an afternoon's amusement.

But the colony was saved for the whites. Cruelties continued on both sides, those of the civilized Europeans equalling those of the savage. On one plantation Stedman saw a young woman hanging to a tree, being flogged with two hundred lashes. Seeing her stripped and covered with blood, he protested mildly. Enraged that anyone should venture to come between him and his slaves, the overseer ordered the punishment doubled, and the lashes went on.

In 1775, when the revolutionary spirit was also beginning to flame in North America, the mercenaries entered the Guiana jungle against the rebels for the last time. In this detachment were two hundred European troops and a hundred rangers, commanded by a Colonel Fourgeod. The first day they travelled due east from Paramaribo, cutting their way eight miles through the bush with billhooks. The following days they continued this laborious chopping of a path, and at night campfires were forbidden lest they draw the attention of the Bush Negroes. They proceeded in three columns, guarded by flankers. After marching a week, they stumbled

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

648 upon the rebel village of *Gado Saby*. The name means "God
175 Understands." The Dutch detachment came out of the bush into an oblong rice field, where the rebels met them with an impassioned defence of the village. The black warriors fired from the ground or from behind trees. Each was supported by two others, one to take his place if he were killed and the other to drag his body away. Trusting to their *obeiahs,* or talismans, for protection against enemy bullets, the rebels exposed themselves rashly and many were killed.

The Dutch found the opposing troops manœuvred in a masterly manner. The defence of the village was admirable. The Negroes even cut down trees about the village to impede the Dutch advance. It was soon noticed that, although the Bush Negroes were firing rapidly, few Europeans were injured and none were killed. Afterward the surgeons found out why. They discovered in the wounds many pebbles, coat buttons, bits of silver, but no bullets. The rebels had none. This was all that saved the whites from extermination. The blacks surrounded them, had them at their mercy—but lacked bullets to clinch the victory.

Pressing on, the Dutch reached the town. The Negro chieftain, Captain Bonny, immediately set fire to it, and his troops retired in good order. This turned out to be a very effective stroke, for it left the whites with no shelter and little provisions. Every rebel rice field that the whites could locate had been burned, as usual.

Camped on the charred site, the rangers amused themselves by bowling with severed human heads. It was, as Sted-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

man noted, a *condree fasee*—a custom of the country. Rifles were found, all lacking flint, for which the Europeans had good reason to be thankful. In the village were found silver spoons pillaged from the estates, along with china and other ware. The rebels were observed to be healthy, and lacking nothing but bullets and flint. Their diet contained ingenious makeshifts. Salt they obtained from the ashes of a palm tree, and butter from condensing the fat of the palm tree worm.

That evening the rebels crept near the European encampment and began shouting curses, threats. All night the jungle resounded with the yells of rebels and the replies of rangers. The hatred of the revolted blacks for the loyalist rangers knew no bounds. They swore that no ranger should ever leave the bush alive. They dared the planters to enter the woods. Finding so much communication going on, Colonel Fourgeod decided to join in, and began "hallooing." He offered the rebels food, drink, and freedom if they would lay down their arms.

The reply was curt and contemptuous. They "damned him for a French bastard," saying, "We are free men. You soldiers are white slaves, hired to be shot at for fourpence a day."

Fourgeod swore to pursue Bonny to the end of the earth. The following day the troops pressed on to the next village, *Cofaay,* which signifies "Try Me." They found it deserted. Lacking ammunition, the blacks had realized the impossibility of putting up a defence. So they made a great noise in the night, under cover of which Cofaay was evacuated. While the loud shouting was going on, the food of the next village had

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

been packed in baskets and transported to a safe place. The Dutch, tricked by the wily Bonny, found Cofaay bare.

Provisions being imperative, a small detachment was sent back to Paramaribo for them. The detachment was cut off by the rebels. European soldiers were spared, but every ranger was killed, since the rebels had sworn none of them should leave the bush alive.

After one or two other engagements, in which the Bush Negroes were defeated, with the help of Indian tribes, the expedition returned to Paramaribo. Both sides had fought each other to a standstill. The Europeans were weary of the hazards of the bush, of the vicious fire-ants and carnivorous mosquitoes. Above all they knew that if the Bush Negro had possessed ammunition they would never have returned.

From this point on the warfare ceased by common consent. The Bush Negroes were left alone to duplicate in the American forest their former life in Africa. The slaves who never revolted were finally emancipated in the nineteenth century, and their descendants today, still living with the whites in Paramaribo, are known as Town Negroes. The bush tribes call them *bahkra schlaff*, or "white man's slave."

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

It may be of interest to recall the names of some of the old villages which constituted places of refuge for the escaped slaves in the early days and from which many of the forays were conducted against the white plantations. In the jungle between the Surinam and the Saramacca rivers were the following:

Villages	*Headmen or Captains*
Acoro-kriki	Aletoo
Attoma-kriki	Attama
Awara	Davo
Congo-kriki	Attoma
Doussou-kriki	Mufinga
Cabrolte	Primo
Janwiri-kriki	Kwakoo, Klaas, Pedro
La Motte	Foolon
Matawarie	Adoo
Loango	La Motte
Toofinga	Coffie
Wana	Mathysie
Pada	Pambo, Magondi, Darie, Samsam

Higher up the rivers, separated from these, were still more villages continuing right on to the Brazilian frontier, even on to the Orinoco River, where some of the escaped slaves mixed with the Indians.

The villages between the Surinam and the Marowyne rivers were the following:

To the north of Paramaribo, between the Duivelsbroek

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

648 (Devil's Pants) Swamp and the ocean was the village of
175 No Meli Mi (Don't Touch Me).
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361 On the Upper Surinam River at the source of the Surnau
621 Creek and to the north of the plantation Maasstroom there was a village called Broos Condree; on the right bank of the lower Commewyne River, the village of the Headman Kopro-Kanoo (Copper Cannon) was situated.

On the Upper Cottica were the following havens of refuge:

[622]

Villages	*Headmen or Captains*
Gado Saby	David Voro
Corsary	Pamo (Governor)
Meli Mi	Araby
Mi Sa Lasi	Boston
Tesi	Abram
Boesi Krei	Thoma
Kwami Condree	Coffie
Karoe Condree	Jan Prado
Areisi Condree	Quakoo
Boucou	Baron
Aroukou	Bonny, Joli Coeur

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni
Paramacca

façades of their huts are often elaborately carved. The drums and other Bush Negro implements take the usual West African form, but the treatment of the motifs among the Boni differs somewhat from that given by the other Bush Negro tribes. The spiral, snake, liana, and coil designs are less in evidence; the patterns are usually more angular in character than similar pieces from the Saramaccaner and Aucaner. Animal, human, and bird figures are more common in the designs of these French Guiana tribesmen, as the collection brought back for the American Museum of Natural History attests. Also, personal decoration by scar-tissue patterns seems to be less in evidence among the Boni. In all other respects, however, their culture seems identical with that of the other Djukas.

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The Paramacca tribe, now numbering about 500 in population, was founded by one man and two women, who were slaves on a plantation in the Upper Commewyne River. They escaped by way of the Tempati Creek in 1813, then travelled over the watershed to the head of the Paramacca Creek, a tributary of the Marowyne River. For a long time they built villages at the head of the Tempati Creek and later at the head of the Paramacca Creek, being afraid to go into the

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2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Paramaca

175 361 Marowyne River on account of the Boni and Aucaner tribes, who were long established there and who were much stronger numerically than the newly arrived Paramaccas. They finally came out of the creeks, however, and founded a village on the Dutch side of the Marowyne River near the mouth of the Paramacca Creek. The main seat of the tribe is [103] now the village of Langa Tabiki (Long Island), which, as the name denotes, is an island in the Marowyne River. This is the village of the Granman. Beside Langa Tabiki, there is 361 103 the village of Amerika Condree (from a Bush Negro captain called Amerika). This village is situated on the island of Boni Boro, which means the "Bonis arrived." A third important village is that of Akodo Condree, captained by one Akodo and situated on an island of the same name in the Marowyne River. There are lesser villages on the Dutch bank of the Marowyne extending just past the mouth of Gran Creek. The Paramacca village of Seeton Ponta (Pointed Stone) is situated on the French side of the Marowyne. The older villages in the Paramacca and Tempati Creeks have long since been abandoned.

115 In Seeton Ponta we had a long talk with an old Captain 159 Koffay who claims to be some eighty years of age and whose appearance certainly bears him out. He is the grandson of one of the original women slaves who escaped and aided in founding the tribe. He can remember his grandmother telling of the terrible privations of the early days when they first escaped into the jungle, how starvation nearly overtook them on a number of occasions, how they wandered for forty-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

It is impossible to trace all of the individual African tribes 175 ● from which the Djukas came. The relationships have been too much confused by the ravages of time and the depredations of the slave trade. The first slavers plied their trade along the coast, picking up a few natives here and there, but with the passing of years the growing demand for slaves rendered this practice inadequate. So the slave factories were established, and the trade extended far back into the interior of Africa. The resulting body of slaves was a conglomeration of natives from practically every tribe around the Bight of [619] Benin, the Abo, the Conia, the Blitai, Congo, Gango, Konree, Riemba, Loango, etc.

Aside from the aforementioned, Douglas enumerates the following African groups as contributing slaves to Surinam: the Calabari, Doomakookoo, Foola (or Fooloppo), Gola (or Gongola), Mende, Madingo, Papa, Pro, Temne, Tjamba, and Wan-Wie Negroes. The Negro woman, Semire, sentenced to death in 1836 for killing and eating Negro children, must have been from one of these tribes. This suggests that the practice of cannibalism was not unknown among some of them. Douglas also cites Hartsinck for other African tribes and regions whence came many of the Negro slaves of Dutch Guiana:

"The Ardras or Dongo Negroes came from a part about 000 fifty miles north-east from Ardras, and do not make the best slaves. Born in slavery and brought up for agriculture, they do not like service, but when treated well they are good slaves. The men, women, and children have for a mark some

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

006 "One may find also Abo and Papa Negroes, who are very willing when treated well; the last named have a certain poison under their nails with which they are known to poison their adversaries so that they pine away.

"The Coromantyn Negroes have a good heart but cannot stand wrongs or punishment without reason, and if this happens they take a gun or a knife to take vengeance, and if they are not successful in this they very often cut their own throats. These Negroes are very well built, they have no marks whatsoever, only a very smooth black skin.

"The Loango Negroes or Gangoo Negroes are the very worst. They are cannibals and will kill one of their own kind to feast upon when celebrating the wedding of the king. They also file their teeth so as to be able to bite off one's finger. They are hated and feared by the other tribes for their treachery and cruelty, and when these people desert they hide themselves in the bush living on all kinds of reptiles such as lizards, snakes, frogs, and other creeping reptiles."

Thus, some idea may be obtained of the varied sources whence came the ancestors of the present-day Bush Negro tribes.

175 619 Perhaps it will suffice to say that the Djukas are descended from the tribes of the Gold Coast, Ivory Coast, Slave Coast, Dahomey, Nigeria, Muni, Cameroons, Liberia, and the general adjacent equatorial interior of West Africa. Most of these natives were forest people, and after being transported across the ocean they could adapt themselves without great difficulty to the similiar jungles of Surinam.

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

From the very earliest times some of the slaves managed 175 ● to escape. They found in their new home a number of palms and plants with which they were familiar in Africa. The bush was much like the African bush. The rivers of Dutch Guiana resemble the West African watercourses. Grown men do not change their habits readily, so it was only natural that these escaped blacks should continue, so far as possible, the mode of living to which they were accustomed in Africa. Huts, paddles, clothing, ornamentation—there was no necessity for them to alter their old habits. They could build the same kind of hut, fashion the same kind of dugout canoe, hollow out tomtoms, and dance the ancient dances of the Old World. For the most part they could duplicate in the South American jungle the manners and habits of their West African birthplace.

If the Bush Negroes had remained slaves for a number of generations, it is probable that they would have adopted to a large extent the white man's culture and forgotten their own. Because of the plasticity of human nature in childhood, any race bred in captivity changes its original characteristics. Thus blood-relations of the Surinam slaves, transported to the Carolinas and Virginia, sloughed off their West African culture and became "civilized" in the white tradition. But this was not the case in Dutch Guiana. The first slaves to escape belonged to the original generation brought over on the slave ships. As the years went by they were joined by other Negroes, many of them born in Africa. A few years of enforced residence among the whites was

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

175 not sufficient to make them adopt the white man's culture.

Many of the rebels, indeed, had been born on the sugar plantations and raised in close contact with European civilization. These were probably inclined to modify in many details the West African habits of their parents. But the white man and his magic were the object of universal hatred among the blacks. They had no incentive to adopt European ways, when they were proud of their own. And when they escaped into the bush, they found a typical West African culture reconstructed in the Surinam bush by the escaped slaves who had preceded them. It was as though a section of West Africa had been picked up bodily and deposited almost intact in the South American jungle. To this day, therefore, we have many evidences of West African culture in the life of the Surinam Bush Negroes. Their entire social structure, with the exception of a few items borrowed from the [177] Indians and certain European inventions like gunpowder which were forced upon them, is analogous to that of the Old World.

178 Conditions were not the same in every particular. In 182 West Africa there is iron ore, and the art of iron working was invented and carried to a high point of perfection by the African natives. There is little iron ore in Surinam, so that the art of working it is lost to the Bush Negroes. A limited quantity of iron weapons and implements was pillaged from the plantations, and all of it was probably converted immediately into arrow-points, hatchets, and bush-knives, to carry on the guerilla warfare against the despised Europeans.

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Chapter I

S

Topographical Description of the Colony of Surinam

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[133]

Surinam, or Dutch Guiana, is bounded on the north by the Atlantic Ocean, on the east by Cayenne, or French Guiana, from which it is separated by the river Marowyne /Maroni/; to the south it loses itself in ancient, still unexplored forests up to where the Tumutumaque mountain range establishes the border with Brazil; finally, in the west it is separated by the river Corantyn /Courantyne/ from Berbice, or British Guiana.

The distance between the boundary rivers Marowyne and Corantyn is 56 and one half hours. According to the latest measurements, /6/ the location is between 54° and 57° west longitude and 2° and 6° north latitude, and the colony has an expanse of 2500 square G. M., of which scarcely 700 are as yet known.

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The name Surinam stems, according to general opinion, from an Indian tribe called Surinen which was found there at the time of discovery, but which later withdrew to the branches of the Amazon River.

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The river was never called anything other than great coma (great river) by the natives.

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The population, according to the latest reports offered to the States General, numbers 67,709 souls, as: 15,567 free, 38,042 emancipated on July 1, 1863, 8,000 Bush Negroes, 1,000 Indians, 5,000 slaves in hiding or escaped.

Chapter II

B

Origin and Settlement of the Bush Negroes

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The Bush Negroes stem from runaway slaves in former times, and later, in 1712, from the slaves who were hidden in the forests by their masters in order to escape the levy of Cassard, but did not return to their masters; after the peace that they concluded with the Whites on September 19, 1762, they received the name of

/6 cont./

175 pacified Bush Negroes. From then on they received from the
648 Netherlands Government annual presents consisting of guns, herbs, lead, tobacco, rice, salt, dram, and so forth.

648 In later times, however, these were gradually decreased
829 by the government and finally completely abolished, as a result of which the Negroes no longer so willingly and without remuneration want to be of service to the government; since they believe that with the conclusion of the peace they came to an agreement with the government that on their part the Whites would no longer be hindered in anything, while they would endeavor to assist the government whenever that should be necessary, in return for which the presents mentioned above would be handed out to them annually on the part of the government. At present they complain about their treatment by the government and refuse to believe that they can and may trust the Whites.

101 The Bush Negroes are divided into four tribes: /7/
103 1st. Aucaners, who have their dwelling place, Auca, on the
133 river Marowyne; and they have their working places on the river above Cottica, where they come from the Marowyne by way of the Wanakreek. Among themselves they are called Joeka /Djuka/ and by the Whites, Aucaners, after the plantation Auca, where on 19 October 1760 peace was concluded with them.

2nd. Saramaccaners, who live on the river above Surinam, principally near the waterfall Arasoebanja near Gjengjen and Prakieki, and have their working places along the same river and in the cove /kreek," creek, cove"/ Taaiboto Kouloegrou and Kassipora. They are called Saramaccaners by the Whites, after the river of that name (where they formerly lived), and among themselves Wousie or Moejére.

3rd. Mantoewari, who have their dwelling place on the river above Saramacca and their working places along the same river on Maripaston and in the cove Mindrinetie. They are names like the Saramaccaners, since they, too, although separate, live on the same river.

/7 cont./

101 4th. Bonnie /Boni/ Negroes, living on the river above Marowyne; until 1862 they were in a state of slavery among the Aucaners, but at that time, through the intervention of the government, they were released from it. Their name is supposed to be derived from a former runaway slave who had placed himself at their head.

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Chapter III

Government, Laws, Administration of Justice

643 Each of these tribes, except for the Bonnie Negroes, has
[292] a chief whom they call granman (governor); the uniform given to him by the government is a blue tunic with epaulets and a cocked hat with white plush.

Among the Aucaners the chief is called Byman, a cunning, courageous, and prudent man, around 63 years old.

The chief of the Saramaccaners is called Abram, an infirm old man who is very weak of character and has little influence.

The Mantoewari Negroes have a chief called Kalkoen, who, although aged and infirm, can nonetheless still be called firm of character.

631 /8/ Under their chief they have a certain number of captains and council members. The former are divided into bush captains, who take command in case of war, and into house or land cap-
[554] tains, who deal with internal matters with the chief. The token of their prestige given to them by the government consists of a large staff with a round silver ball (drum-major's stick), on which is the Netherlands coat of arms with "Je maintiendrai."

344 They have a large open shed which serves them as court and which they call kroetoehoso (probably derived from the English "courthouse").

682 Their legislation is very limited. One who kills another is punished with death; one who poisons someone suffers death by torture, provided that substantial irrefutable proof exists. (See Chapter XI below.) If the death penalty is not appropriate, the

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R /509 cont./
101 October 1958 – January 1959) expeditions whose principal aim
114 was the sociological study of these populations.
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Social Structure and Way of Life

B
101 The Boni Refugee Blacks. The Boni are one of the above-mentioned
[175] tribes of the Refugee Blacks, reconstituted in the course of the eighteenth century by rebel African slaves who escaped from
B Surinam plantations (Dutch Guiana).

[131] These tribes (Saramaka, Djuka, Paramaka, Boni) live for the
[161] most part along the rivers of the interior of Surinam. They group together a total of 25,000 persons.

B With very rare exceptions, the Refugee Blacks are pure Africans.
161 These populations, vigorous and well adapted to the country, have
[144] experienced in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a remarkable demographic increase, attested to by all the authors. Descended from small rebel groups which could not haye contained more than a few hundred women, they are now estimated at more than 25,000 persons.

B The Boni of the Upper Maroni, the subject of the present study,
162 number approximately 800, of whom 660 are on the French bank
103 (the villages of Boniville, l'Enfant Perdu, Loka, Asisi, Papaïston,
[161] and Kormotibo) and 140 on the Surinam bank (the village of Kotika). These villages were established long ago.

B Each of them groups together a matrilineage, i.e., the
613 descendants in the uterine line of one single founding ancestress;
621 certain villages know their genealogy in its entirety back to this
769 ancestress, who must have lived at the end of the eighteenth century. The members of the lineage are united by the cult of the
B ancestors, which binds them firmly to their natal village and to
[622] their land. The social system is based essentially on this cult,
[793] the chief of the village being above all the priest of the ancestors.

B Strictly speaking, there is no marriage, but only an acknowl-
581 edged concubinage which entails neither a contract between the

Boni
Emerillon SQ8
Rucuyen SR12
Carib SR9
Locono SR10

C E L R 101 /11 cont./

3) The autochthonous Indians are represented on the Maroni Basin by three groups:

C [131] [162] [433] [177] [178] —The Arawak and the Kalifia (Galibi) (about 500 persons) live downstream from Saint-Laurent; they live in symbiosis with the population of the city, whom they supply with fish and manioc. A century of contact with the Creole population has produced a certain alteration in their customs and traditional way of life, but the essentials of their tribal organization remain intact.

R [131] [162] [178] —The Oayana /Oyana/ or Roucouyennes /Rucuyen/ (about 250 persons) live on the Litani upstream from the Boni with whom they are in close relationship. They have not undergone any alteration in their race or their way of life.

E [131] —The Emerillon, who belong to the Tupi-Guarani group, form a small grouping on the way to extinction.

B 114 The Refugee Blacks. —Ethnic origin. No comprehensive anthropological study has as yet been undertaken on the Refugee Blacks. Not possessing the specialized knowledge necessary for tackling this study, we have left it entirely aside. Besides, we doubt that it would give important detailed information on the ethnic origin of the Refugee Blacks. Study of archive documents concerning the slave trade would certainly give more particulars; it is certain from now onwards that their origin is very diverse; the slave traders took on provisions principally on the coast of West Africa, but also in the Congo and in present-day Angola; the African words figuring in the present dialects come from the populations of these various regions. So it is not surprising to meet rather variable skull forms and statures among the Refugee Blacks.

B 175 144 [192] B 141

The Refugee Blacks are in general of medium stature, that of the adult men being between 1 meter 60 and 1 meter 75; the average is a little below 1 meter 70.

/11 cont./

142 Certain somatic characteristics are found frequently among them. The /12/ majority of individuals are dolichocephalic,
144 slightly platyrrhine, have thick, flattened-out lips. These characteristics bring more especially to mind the populations of the Ivory Coast and Dahomey. The human types of the Congo and Equatorial Africa in general are rarely seen among the Refugee Blacks. This is a surprising finding, given the diversity of origin
175 of the slaves imported into Surinam. The fact can be attributed to the very special conditions under which the tribes of Refugee Blacks were formed: much more than from massive revolts, they were born of kinds of "maquis," enlarged from age to age, of all those who escaped at the peril of their lives. One can think that the majority of these indomitable people must have come from the large tribes of the African west, more combative and more thoroughly organized. The archives of the colony of Surinam, like those of French Guiana, pointed out especially that the "Coromantin" Negroes (that is, it seems, the ones who came from the Ashanti country) were so intractable that they could hardly be utilized and that they were found at the origin of most of the revolts.

144 Even if the Refugee Blacks do not represent one race in the rigorous sense of the term, they give, compared with the Blacks of America in general, a striking sensation of homogeneity and
175 unity. Actually, it is important to remark that they have practical-
144 ly only African blood; mulattoes were rare in Surinam plantations in the 18th century, for the documents of the time attest that most of these, more sensitive to malaria than the Blacks, were employed as workmen in Paramaribo. They must have had few chances to run away, and few of them would have been able to stand for very long the rebels' exceptionally harsh conditions of living.
144 The Refugee Blacks, thought of as representatives of the main African Negro race, can thus be considered a homogeneous

/17 cont./

162 —On the Lawa a group of a little less than 680 persons is
103 settled on the French bank (villages of Agodé (Boniville), Asisi,
361 Loka, Tabiki (l'Enfant Perdu), Lapé (La Paix), and Papaïston).

—In proximity to this grouping subsists under Dutch control the village of Kotika (Cottica), grouping about 150 persons.

—In the region of Abounasounga two small groupings live in symbiosis with the Djuka. Finally, in the lower course of the Maroni exist three villages: Apatu, Ma Imma, and Wétiti. The whole represents about 150 persons.

361 These villages are stable: Kotika, Lapé, Asisi, Kormotibo
182 were already in existence at the beginning of the 19th century
[175] and their names figure in the report of the Franco-Dutch border mission of 1861; by contrast, farming habitations are moved according to the necessities of agriculture and fishing; thanks to this organization, a relatively numerous grouping can, in the interior of Guiana, in spite of conditions imposed by the geographical environment, conserve complete stability and a firm attachment
[171] to the ground. It is useful to compare this organization with the basic instability of the Indians of Guiana, for it shows very well that this instability is ascribable to psychological and sociological factors and not at all to the geographic environment.

101 The Boni designate themselves by the term Aluku nēnge. The meaning of this word is forgotten. It is possible that Aluku was the name of an ancient chief, or of the founding ancestress
[613] of a lineage. On this subject it is to be noted that the name of the most ancient ancestress known of the Dju lineage, who can be thought of as living at the end of the 18th century, was called
[175] Aluku. This name has been used since the origin of the tribe;
[103] indeed one reads in the interrogation of the woman prisoner conducted in 1847 by the French at Oyapok that her village was called Loukou (1).

/17 cont./

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1. Archives du Ministère de la France d'Outre-Mer, Guyane /Archives of the Ministry of Overseas France, Guiana/, A3-02.

611 /18/ Villages and Kin Groups

Among all the kinship systems which existed in the African tribes from which they issued, the Refugee Blacks came back unanimously, and from the beginning, to matrilineal filiation.

571 Their social system is symbiosis, under the authority of the
613 grand man, of a certain number of localized matrilineal kin groups.
643

613 Matrilineal kin groups of the Boni. With the Boni the basic grouping is the lineage, in the rigorous sense of the term, understanding by that all descendants in maternal line from a single ancestress.

To designate the kin groups the Boni employ almost interchangeably the words lo (troop, band) and bɛɛ, womb. In fact these expressions correspond to two variant interpretations of the same notion:

614 bɛɛ: matrilineage in the widest sense, understanding by that all persons knowing that they are issue of the same ancestress, even if the genealogical ties are forgotten, and even if these persons are scattered in several villages under different authorities;

lo: lineage fraction grouped in one village and constituting a distinct social unit.

The lineage bears a name whose origin is forgotten by present-day Boni; some of these names allude to a plantation or to a slave-owner, for example Lapé (La Paix: a plantation of the Cottica River); as for others, the name of the founding ancestress may be involved. Example: Kawina (name of the lineage constituting the village of Papaïston).

/23 cont./

621 175 [166] [103] Agodé was founded by Grand Man Ochi, probably about 1895, at the time when the Boni were required by the settlement of the Lawa Dispute to evacuate the villages they were occupying on the Surinam bank. The name Boniville was given by the gold miners; it was used never at all by the Boni.

621 613 [103] The Yakubi or Kotika lineage forms the important village of Kotika (1). It is one of those which have remained best grouped.

1. This word alludes to the river where the rebellion of 1772 began.

[423] [241] [103] Its members have exclusive rights over the region included between Abunasunga Falls and their village. They have farmed there for more than a century, and this is why the region is called Abattis Kotika.

613 621 175 [648] Kotika is the oldest Boni village. It is one of those founded by the survivors of the battles against the Dutch when, about 1815, they settled again on the Lawa. Until about 1895 nearly all the Boni were grouped in one large village, each lineage occupying a different quarter. At the time of the settlement, unfavorable to France, of the Lawa Dispute (1895), the various lineages emigrated, founding especially the villages of l'Enfant Perdu, Loka, Boniville, and Papaïston. Only the members of the Kotika lineage stayed, in full agreement with the grand man, so that the ancestral land might not be completely abandoned. [648] [628] Thus the inhabitants of this village are nowadays under the authority of Surinam, without ceasing, for that reason, to be faithful to the grand man and maintaining normal relations with the other groups.

613 614 [124] The genealogies reconstituted in 1957 by systematic interrogation of the old people of the group had led to three distinct fractions which we shall call Kotika 1, 2, and 3, tracing respectively back to ancestresses named Kéněya, Amawi, and Oka.

/35 cont./

593 This organization, compared with what is found in the greater part of Africa, is very advantageous for the wife, who [581] enjoys total independence. But against this she has great instability of unions.

581 601 The union of man and woman has so little of the character of a marriage that in the Boni language no word exists which means, strictly speaking, "husband" or "wife." They say: mi libi anga X = "I live with So-and-so.

174 591 How has the social and matrimonial system of the Refugee Blacks been set up? One could believe that one of the systems of Western Africa was purely and simply transposed, but this is not the case at all. In this domain as in that of beliefs, the ancestors of the Refugee Blacks elaborated an original synthesis out of numerous sources.

The African nations from which the rebels issued were certainly, in large part if not in the majority, patrilineal. This is especially the case of the Fon of Dahomey, from whom have been borrowed important cultural elements, especially the principal cults of possession. The matrilineal ones all conceded patrilocal residence, that is, the wife's leaving her village and settling in her husband's village.

[175] The 18th-century rebels, the archives attest, included a heavy percentage of "salt-water Negroes," born on African soil; such, for example, was Codio Coromantin, one of Boni's lieutenants; those who had not been born in Africa had, for the most part, been instructed in an African tradition by a father or uncle. One can be sure that once having attained freedom they sought to organize their villages according to the family custom by which they had been brought up, that is, to set up, some a patrilineal and patrilocal society, others a matrilineal society /36/ but with [643] patrilocal residence. We know for example that Boni had chosen his son Agosu as his successor.

/36 cont./

1714 671 The formation of patrilineages must have been hampered by numerous divorces; in addition, in case of divorce, the wife unquestionably aspired to take her children with her, not recognizing any contract between the two groups of kin which might be able to affect her free will; one can also be certain that the children, if consulted, must have followed their mother in most cases and joined their maternal kin group. This tendency remains perfectly [586] observable in our day; we shall see all its importance when we study how the children are raised and what tutelage is exercised upon them.

Now there is no patrilineage conceivable, if, in case of divorce, the children do not stay with the father. Patrilineal societies exist in which the wife is free, were it only the Peule society, where divorces are very frequent. But African custom has it that in a patrilineal system, by reason of payment of the dowry, the wife's kin lose all rights over the children. They have entered the man's kin group and his ancestral cult.

The formation of matrilineal and patrilocal groupings must also have collided with analogous difficulties, the women not willingly leaving their village of origin.

One can rather easily imagine that in the initial period of the formation of the /37/ new tribes, the different matrimonial systems coexisted; then the patrilocal groups, less viable, progressively broke up, while the present custom was being established.

175 643 This point of view is confirmed by an exact piece of information collected at the end of the 19th century by the explorer Coudreau. Upon the death of Agosu, son of Boni, it was his son Gongo who succeeded him. But after the death of Gongo, the succession went according to the matrilineal system.

583 Another important aspect of the matrimonial system of the Refugee Blacks is the absence of any compensation or payment. [591] Even if it happens that a woman leaves her lineage permanently in order to settle in her husband's village and found a family there

/70 cont./

159 562 613 [591] In March, 1957, Awéni, head of the Afi lineage, established in Asisi, was concerned about regrouping the members of his lineage and especially bringing back to Asisi Magdaléna (c20), a woman of about 45 years who had settled in Kormotibo near her husband L... († 1955), with her children and others whom she had raised. He went to Kormotibo and pointed out to her that since her husband was dead, she no longer had any reason to stay there and that she should come back to Asisi. Magdaléna insulted him in front of the inhabitants of the village, proclaimed that she had no orders to receive from anybody; then when he insisted, she armed herself with a stick and chased him across the village as far as the landing place. He had to re-embark precipitately to the laughter of the Kormotibo people.

Political and Legal Powers

643 613 [173] The grand man. The head of the Dikan lo fills the office of grand man of the Boni. The present grand man, Difu, was about 67 years old in 1958.

Oral tradition has kept the names of his seven predecessors:

Gongo (Dikan lo)	1810-1840	dates noted according to Coudreau
Labi (Adam?) (Dikan lo)	1840-1870	
Atyaba (Kotika lo)	1870-1876	
Anato (Kotika lo)	1876-1891	
Ochi (Dikan lo)	1891-1915	
Awensay id.	1917-1936	
Difu id.	since 1937.	

[195] According to information collected by Coudreau in 1887, Gongo was the successor to Agosu, himself successor to Boni. Upon the death of Labi, there were only women and children in the Dikan lo. The office of grand man then passed to the Kotika lo with Atyaba and Anato. It then came back to the Dikan lo with Ochi.

/210 cont./

776 character, touchy and vindictive. In speaking of them one
[576] says Papa gadu (papa does not mean "father"; it is a term of respect used for important personages (2)). They are believed

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2. This is the interpretation given by the Refugee Blacks. However, 18th-century documents on the origin of the slaves draw attention to the existence of an African tribe called Papa. Allusions contained in documents of the archives of Surinam, recently studied by Madame Silvia W. de Groot, would tend to identify the Papa with one of the populations of present-day Dahomey. In this hypothesis, the cult of the papa gadu would represent an archaic form of the Dahomey cult of the snake gods.

776 They are believed
[825] to have as habitual bearers the boa snakes (dagowe) (3) which

3. This word appears to be the deformation of the Dahomey word dāgbe.

are not to be confused with the great water snakes (anaconda)
[824] that the Refugee Blacks call mboma sineki. They may also reside in silk-cotton trees (kankan tree) and in the trees called katu udu (Bombax surinamiensis).

[787] The Vɔɔdū which incarnate themselves in humans may be of either sex; if a male god is concerned, it is called "tata vɔɔdū."

/293 cont./

619 829 The Saramaka are very highly esteemed everywhere, for it is unanimously assumed that their magic is stronger, their techniques more perfected, than those of the other tribes.

175 648 Relations with the Indians. The relations between the Boni and the Oayana Indians are extremely curious and interesting. They were probably established from the end of the 18th century on. Several writers have stated that Boni and Indians fought each other for a long time; the examination we made of authentic archive documents, unfortunately few in number, capable of throwing light on the history of the Maroni, does not confirm this hypothesis (1). One can think on the contrary that symbiotic

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1. The only combats pointed out took place about 1840 between the Boni and the Wayakulé "Oyaricoulets" Indians, a very primitive tribe who lived on the Oulémari and was itself at war with the Oayana.

175 648 727

The Boni were certainly already allied with the Oayana at the time of the battles on the Maroni in 1793, since after their defeat the survivors, grouped around Agosu son of Boni, took refuge on the Maruini River which they went up as far as the region of its sources, where nobody could catch up with them. Now it was precisely there that the Oayana Indians were living at the end of the 18th century. They would not have tried this maneuver if they had not had the certainty of finding refuge

/293 cont./

175 648 727 with their allies. The sites of their villages, marked on Coudreau's map (1888) are in immediate proximity to those of former Oayana villages.

175 648 [643] relations must have been created rapidly and in a very natural fashion. The grand man of the Boni is in a way the suzerain of the Indian chiefs; this situation was not imposed by force; it results from the privileged situation of the Boni on the river, which until recent times obliged the Indians to deal through them in order to trade with the outside world.

Although the Boni took advantage of this situation in days gone by to impose arbitrary rates of exchange upon the Indians, this relation must not be imagined as the exploitation of conquered by conqueror. It is based on the absolute respect of each group for the beliefs and social structure of the other, and an activity for each befitting its inclination. The proverb says: "To the Boni the river, to the Indians the forest." Thus it is that the Boni traditionally buy arrows from the Indians, while the latter buy paddles from them; the meaning of this symobl is perfectly understood by both.

648 829 [439]

648 582 Marriages between the two groups, without being forbidden, are regarded as contrary to custom (2).

159 156 643 648 582 2. The marriage of Grand Man Awensay to an Indian woman about 1915 was inspired by complex motives. Toward the end of his life, Awensay could no longer stand the Boni, his imperious personality putting up badly with their individualism and their taste for discussion. He had established the Indian country a farming habitation in which he lived nearly all

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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of the Dahomean kingdom by the French. All other walls are of swish. Today in West Africa the automobile and sewing machine have found their way into remote corners. But more important still than these changes wrought by European civilizations, which have made inroads chiefly on the material life of the Africans, are those resulting from intertribal wars, which followed the introduction of guns and gunpowder into Africa and which helped to establish the great West African dynasties. The result of the conquest of one native people by another was constant cultural interstimulation which made for changes in the indigenous civilizations.

In the Guiana bush, however, where these runaway Negroes and their descendants have been living, the fortunes of African kingdoms, the cultural contacts that have affected the Africans, have not touched their own tribal destinies. Neither has the civilization of the white man nor that of the Indian introduced basic changes into their manner of living or thinking.

There are no roads in the Guiana bush, and what footpaths exist to connect one village with another are difficult to follow and, moreover, are not for the stranger, whether he be white or mulatto. For such as these the highway is the river, with native paddlers alert in their surveillance of a stranger's activities. The old men on the river have made a tradition of recalling the struggle of the ancestors for freedom and survival, and it is not without significance that one of the three worst crimes among the Bush Negroes—one that ranks with incest and murder—is informing on a Negro to a white man.

In contrast with this isolation of the Bush Negroes, the Negroes of Paramaribo have known close contact with the whites, with Carib and Arawak Indians, and in more recent years with the Hindu and Javanese laborers brought to the colony. Only suggestions of the manner in which the beliefs of town and bush correspond or differ can be included here, since this account concerns itself with the Saramacca people. Yet for the understanding of this study it must be

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203 And did men speak into the horn, and sing? Would there be no harm to the *ak'a*—the soul?

[193] Their own trickster, Anansi, the spider, working with his fabulous cunning, could not have spun the stories about the whites faster than had the passing boats. From boat to boat, from boat to shore, from shore to village the news went. Had the white man come with guns, or had he come accompanied by many others, then, to be sure, it would have been a matter for the drums. But the vagaries of a white man coming with his wife are of no ritual concern. The drums would only sound on occasions of moment; to sum-
[534] mon the men for a council of the clan or to ask, ritually, for the health of a chief; to tell of death; or to speak to the gods themselves. But for a white man with his woman, gossip was good enough to carry the news.

609 Up and down the river, in the villages where they had visited the year before, many a woman to whom the Bakra had given a string of yellow beads, or a large glittering safety pin to put in her hair as an ornament, or, better still, a large tin can out of which her husband had fashioned a broad band to be worn on her arm, one which glistened as it reflected the pale light of the moon during a dance—such a woman heard of the coming of the Bakra with pleasure. She had them all, these gifts, safe in the carved calabash on which she had incised the sinuous lines of the snake spirit that gave her fertility, and now that the gourds were ripening once again, she would carve another to hold the new things that the whites would bring her.

The young men, too, heard of their coming with pleasure. For would not the strange ways of the Bakra and his woman give them many witty new things to put into words and sing to the traditional seketi tunes, the secular songs that they would later sing in the intervals of the religious dances? It was good to make up new words, which made a man the center of the dance. Ambe! But the women loved the man who could put clever new words to their dance songs!

The children heard the news with fear, for at four, at five, they were not too young to have learned of the enormi-

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ties of the white men of long ago and the deeds of their slave ancestors, who had won for them freedom in this bush. 609 177

But what of the old men? What of them who govern and know proverb and parable to fit all ceremonial occasions, whose word is final in clan councils? What of those who call the gods and speak to the ancestors and who, surpassing all else in wisdom, know how to control *obia*, the great healing spirit which Nyankompon, the Sky God, created after he had brought earth and water into being, so that man might live? At the landing place of the balata camp, a group of such men were gathered and stood about talking. A Loango elder who was on his way to visit his relatives at Kadyu, his lower river clan village, had espied a clansman on the shore and had come up in his boat. 648

"A man and a woman came. And they are going up the river until . . . until beyond the Mamadam and Baikutu, until . . . past the Felulasi Falls, until . . . they come to the Tapa Water and into the Pekien Rio, and until . . . they arrive at the Granman's village."

The speaker, a younger man who had come from up river to the death ceremonies at Gankwe spoke with a certain eagerness, and made of the telling a long recital, drawing out the singsong word "*te*"—until—more and more with each repetition, and in this way intensifying both the distance and the hardships in these vast and vaster stretches. 609 203 648

"Ayo! A long way. Will the Ga'ma' let them come?"

"Ya-hai, tio! You must ask, will the gods let them come!"

"Kere, kere! You must ask if the ancestors will let them come!"

"They carry no guns."

"Then they bring us their gods."

"Kweti-kweti! And that's what I don't understand. They say they come to learn."

"By Ando! But what does that mean?"

"Well, they speak the proverb down below, they say: 'It isn't for nothing that the worm crawls from side to side.'"

"Massa Neng'e, but it's true, true."

"The white man wants to get the black man's obia."

KUNU

"*Na wa' taki: Efi gbuli wolo, i sa si san de na ini.*—It is said: If a person stirs up a hole, he will find what is in it." 538

And so it was that very night, when we were camped on an island near the great falls, with the roar of the water sounding in our ears like the very signal drums we were told the river gods wanted sounded that the sun might come and warm and dry them after the long rains, that we learned more. Kasanya, the captain of the fourth boat, had conducted himself so unobtrusively that we barely knew he was there. He was almost as old as Bibifo, but strangely silent. He was tall and spare, with graying hair, and eyes that were rimmed with red. We had not sought him out particularly to make conversation with him because he had ugly, open sores on his body, the result of a virulent case of bush yaws, which showed when he sat paddling in his loin cloth. We had known him during our first year when he had been more willing to be friendly, more ready to talk. From him, in fact, we had learned to play one of the Bush Negro games that the ancestors had brought from Africa. 124 [177] [524]

Kasanya came over to ask us whether we had medicine for him. His head ached so until . . . he could barely see. There is that about white man's medicine in the bush, it is to be had free, and there is no harm in trying it. 123 609

"Will you make us a game board like the one we bought from your village last year, Kasanya?" we asked him.

"Yes, but you must have two of them, one flat and one curved like a boat. It is not good to have only one. When a man is alive he plays the game. When he dies and comes back to visit the living, he wants to play, too. Now if there is a board for him, he will play on that. But if there is but the one, he will play with the living and that is not good." 775 524

"You know a great deal, Kasanya."

"Awa, yes, but I'm an old man already. I've had much trouble. Last year after you left the third son I made died. Now I have no one. Kunu has taken the three of them, and my wife is asleep, too." [996]

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834 848 "Don't go off into the bush with a man. A child born to you will have a bad bush god, if you do," she added as an afterthought.

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123 177 In the other corner, Chief And'u, the bassia, and about half a dozen men were talking of the great book about their ancestors which the white man had.

"It is large so," said the chief to one of the older men, indicating an imaginary size which multiplied the size of the actual volume at least tenfold. "And people say it has in it pictures of the Apuku gods, small as we ourselves know them, and a picture of the evil Apuku who appear as fire in the distance. . . . Mati, white men have gone into the Kromanti houses in the country of our ancestors and have made pictures!"

"It is impossible!"

"I want to see!"

The old man said, "I will not look. Books are not for us, mati."

"But mati, the G'aman has heard, and he wants to see."

The old man shook his head. He would have nothing of pictures that figured what should never have been allowed to be photographed.

It seemed prudent to give the conversation a new turn. 137 Down river, the men had said that a man of this village had lately found a new *neku* liana. Was it so?

"The man who found it was my son," said the old man, "you should have come for the dance. You would have seen [802] how we do things here in the bush. But pictures you could not take. No, mati, if you photograph, you take the soul."

824 The festivities for the find had been especially joyful, he explained, for the boy had only recently come by his gods, and this had been yet another proof that he would serve his family capably. For though the find was his own, all [278] his relatives in the mother's line would enjoy its use. Here- [226] after, when the poison of its leaves and its slender branches

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Above the door was a shelf which did not quite reach the entire width of the wall, and on this shelf were the council benches, which the Granman supplied to the visiting chiefs. These benches were small, low, and as little ornamented with carvings as the work stools used by the women. But on the sides symbols were incised, and at least two of them we were able to identify as clan emblems. One of these had the conventionalized patterning of the hatchet, the emblem of the Granman's clan, and another a flower which is associated with the people from whose group come the principal diviners. The tops of these simple stools sometimes had inlays of dark wood, but whether their outlines were of ritualistic importance or not, no one would say.

From the beams hung several umbrellas, still inside the wrappings in which they had come from the white man's city, and a wickless metal lamp, into whose chains envelopes were inserted. These envelopes contained letters received by the Granman which awaited the coming of the missionary to be read, or letters which had already been read, and were there to add color to the official scene.

There were also other *Bakra sani*—white man's things—in the house. A canvas folding chair which filled almost an entire wall stood against the slats beside which, on the outside, were the earthen jars. This was for the Granman. He sat in it with the majesty of an emperor. No one ever approached it too closely, and we were never invited to take our ease in it when the Granman was in his own house.

In addition, there was a table in the center of the room, covered with a red and black plaid cloth from the city, and two straight-back chairs. On the table stood an alarm clock which was set for the noncommittal hour of twelve and a glass decanter filled with rum.

Chief And'u was the first to join us inside.

"It is fine here at the G'aman's."

"Yes, it is a fine house. And you, And'u, you look well in your coat. Is it when you are with the Granman that you dress so?"

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644 252 and tall as the Granman's wife herself, though in circumference no larger than the post of the house against which it leaned. The woven strands were caught together in the loops with which it was finished on top and bottom.

When it had been filled, the matapi was hung from the stub of a stout limb, and one end of an equally stout stick was inserted into the bottom loop, while the other rested on the ground. Now Wilhelmina and another woman sat down on this stick, and under the pressure exerted by their combined weight the matapi slowly contracted. A milky white fluid containing the poison which made the raw bitter cassava so deadly filtered through the woven strands, trickling into the gourd placed to receive it. Steadily the poisonous fluid was forced out until it was not long before the gourd was filled, and the cassava pressed dry. When there was much work to be done, and the white woman was not about to ask questions, the women would not waste their time sitting on the stick, but instead would suspend heavy stones from thongs tied to the bottom loop, and they were then free to be about their other tasks. Now, however, it was more amusing to sit and talk.

Whatever the method, when the meal was rid of the poison, it was worked through the sifter into a closely woven basket, and in that kneaded and made ready for baking on the large iron griddles. The use of the bitter cassava they had learned from the Indians, and the names for the sifter and the cassava press were to this day Indian, as were their weave and shape, but the griddles came from the white man's city.

[115] [111] [Ben] "We use Indian water jars, too. The red pottery we do not make. But black obia pots are Negro things. These our old women mold," said the Granman's wife.

2

644 286 As she spun cotton for the garters she would later make, the woman they called the Granman's younger wife sat and talked of working the fields. Her spindle, a small iron

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173 With this obia, and unafraid, Apatu went. He reached the French shore, and found work. Years later he was asked to guide an expedition against the Indians. They came to a cave. At the other end of it Indians waited with their poisoned arrows.

The French officer said to him, "Apatu, are you afraid?"

"I will go, I am not afraid of death," Apatu said to the officer.

He led the way through the cave, calling out, "Mafi, Yanku na'a, hi!"

Three times the Indians tried to shoot him, and each time they failed.

"The French officer gave Apatu a gold piece for saving his life. That was when they sent him to Pali, and it was written down that he was a great man," ended the Granman.

7

822 "Do you know what they asked me in the city when I was there?" the Granman said one day, when his elders assembled. "'Chief Yankuso,' they asked me, 'which is better, light or darkness?' I said to them, I said, 'Darkness is better. When it is day we work and we struggle. At night we go into our hammocks with our women, and we find peace.'"

He turned to us as he told the story.

"Is it not so, white man? You yourself are young."

8

123 A few days after the gods had spoken, the Granman asked us if we would that evening show the pictures of the country of the Negroes which we had brought. We had shown him earlier the simple projector, actually a flashlight with a lens attached, through which a roll of film passed to flash images, one by one, on a screen. On the film were photographs of illustrations from books on Africa.

Mechanical objects of all kinds fascinated these men of the bush, and they would ask again and again to see our flashlights or the inside of our phonograph. Though un-

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willing to touch the phonograph, they never tired of hearing about its mechanism and how it was that a voice was recorded and instantly reproduced. But the mystery of the moment was this projector.

We had delayed showing these photographs as long as we could, for what leads we could get to African survivals, we sought, for many reasons, to get singly. Not the least of these reasons was that the Bush Negro, who knew the method of krutu, did not allow himself to be impulsive in new situations, especially if they involved strangers. If something unfamiliar was presented, he wanted time to think and to krutu about it with others of his kind. Memories of the early experiences of their people seemed always to be stirring to make the most genial man, or a very pleasant old woman, fall silent and resort to the phrase, "God alone knows." Men, in particular, and often women, too, seemed to be posing to themselves a mute, anxious question: Was it well for the white people to know so much about them? Even when whites came as friends, as the gods attested, was it well to speak that fraction of their knowledge which the ancestors permitted? For generations they had lived with the feeling that their deep, deep Saramacca language was their own, its knowledge the wisdom of their own people, and here were strangers, speaking to them in their own tongue more easily as day followed day. Was it well? Men taking a white man's boat up and down the river could say what they chose, and the white man who traveled with them did not understand. What if this were to end?

We were constantly made to feel the effect of these doubts in the minds of the people.

"They say here," said Fenekonde one day, "when you get back to your white country, you will have much knowledge to profit you. The two of you will be able to talk Saramacca, and no one at all will know what you say."

Other things were said.

"At the krutu they said, these white people might have been sent by others, as soldiers with toys."

REBEL DESTINY

123 "You must have strong obia from Africa—strong snake
● 177 obia—for the gods to have spoken so well of you!"

But when the Granman asked, there was no refusing. That day word was sent to all in the village that the Bakra was giving a cinema show in the bush.

Long before dark the entire village had gathered in front of our doorway. The children had been around since early afternoon. Against the council-house wall we hung a white sheet, and some feet away we stood our folding table and on it the little projector. The show was about to begin.

The Granman who sat a little to one side gave orders to
[354] the latecomers to extinguish the flames of their small oil lamps and their lanterns, and the large torch which he had so proudly shown that first night, and which had since illuminated the clearing nightly, was also extinguished.

The illustrations we had photographed were from volumes on the people of the West Coast of Africa—Ashanti and the Gold Coast, Dahomey, Nigeria, Benin, the Cameroons, Loango, and the Congo. Our first year's experiences among these people had taught us that it would not be well to show them too many ceremonial pictures. Photographs of sacrifices of animals other than fowls, we had felt, too, would not be wise to introduce. Such a picture as that of the Ashanti Sasabonsum, the "evil Apuku," as the Bush Negroes whom we had allowed to see the illustration named it, we had also decided should best be shown to individuals here and there. For the general showing, we relied upon pictures of cicatrizations, of hairdressing and teeth filing, of rafts floating on African lakes, of pottery making and cloth weaving, of laying fires and the doing of other household tasks, of carvings, and finally of one or two priests and priestesses in states of possession.

We waited for a signal from the Granman to begin. About
[342] the dark clearing the huts, with their roof poles meeting on top like great horns, gave a strange effect to the scene, for with the moving and shifting of bare feet it seemed as though everything in that clearing strained to fall in line

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with the white curtain hanging against the wall of the council house. To one side was the image of the Sky God, tall almost as the big bush which stood about the clearing, and beside it the pole for the Earth Mother. People went from one side of the improvised screen to the other, with no mental image to tell them where they should look or what they might expect to see. Something of fear went with their expectancy. 123 177

The Granman nodded, and the pictures began to appear.

"Mati, did you see how they lay the fire?"

"Mother of all Negroes, what great breasts the women have!"

"See them getting the cassava ready! Look, they use the bark for a container!"

"Master Nigger! They know something there in the land of our ancestors. Men know how to weave cloth!"

"See the braids. They are handsome in our ancestral land. The head looks like a carved calabash!"

"Massa Nengere! That's the way to take lumber down! Not one raft at a time, or two, mati. Four at a time. They are workmen there, I tell you! Our ancestors used to say there was wealth there!"

We had usually to tell them what the picture showed, for they had not the habit of looking at these images and would stand to one side, or bend low and look up at the screen. But once we named the picture—"This is the head of a woman," or "This is timber going down to the city," or "This is a path through the bush"—then it was they who began to describe aloud what they saw, exclaiming over the resemblance to their own paths, or to their own manner of burning pots, or to their own way of preparing food.

"Mati, friends," said the Granman, "here deep in the Saramacca bush, all this has come to us. If I were a young man, I would go and see what goes on in the world. I would go to Africa. White man, how much gold does a man need to go to Africa?" After a short silence, he continued this train of thought. "What shall be done? Shall we go see the world? 179 186

177 186 Here is our bush. Our gods are here, and our ancestors come at our call. There is the world—*na g'on tapu*. There is the land of our old ancestors."

He stopped and covered his face with his hands, remaining deep in thought. But when he spoke again, his voice was calm.

177 123 "Mati, let us see all that the white man has brought. Here deep in the bush, all this has come to us that even children might see. Let us see all."

On the screen appeared a priest. He wore a grass skirt used in a sacred dance, a skirt like the one we had had made for us here on the river, and his face was covered, mask-like, with white clay.

"Ai, mati," exclaimed the Granman, as everyone gasped at what they saw.

The next picture showed the same priest dancing. Two men held his arms.

"When Kromanti gets a man in the ancestral country, it comes so strong that he has to be held in check, friends. So it is here, too."

9

123 So great was the fascination of the Granman and of all his people with the phonograph that many times we had occasion to feel if it were not for Apanto's curse, and the habit of elastic to stretch, and of glue to be affected by tropical heat, the machine would have overcome for us what distrust there was of our interest in their beliefs—that it might even have changed the decision of the ancestors when they were consulted by priests in Dahomey—a decision which ruled that the white man and his woman were not to be given the secrets of their worship.

[180] Whatever the ancestors had told the men who carried on their heads the sacred plank which was used for consulting the ancestral will, the attitude of the people showed that the white man could not be received in the bush without distrust. The intentions of a white man might be friendly,

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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123 609 So it went. The Granman was still a considerate host, but he no longer came to regale us with stories. He was disturbed. Again and again we were assured by indirection that our own motives were not doubted. But in what seemed to them our very foolhardiness in coming that distance, and because we had showed no fear, we had proved that we were being made use of by those who would later show enmity toward them.

When men came whose allegiance would go to any man in power, himself or the next man, the Granman would exclaim with all his splendid oratory that the black man's cause never could be that of the white man. To men of his own village, like the captain who took us down the river, he gave instructions that our every wish was to be met.

It was the way of the politician—and it was more than that. He showed in his manner when he was alone with us that he was deeply puzzled. As a man who had learned to trust his judgments of people, his pride would not permit him to grant that his wits had failed him. Then, too, what he had heard from us had fired his imagination. That he was skeptical of the ancestral revelation, we do not believe, but it was possible that, with the Bush Negro concept of the world of the dead, he might have felt that the great ancestors who were consulted remembered their days of slavery, and would, therefore, never consent to the revealing of secrets to the white man.

10

123 199 It was our last night in the village of the Granman. In the council house more than thirty people were crowded, standing about the table on which we had placed the phonograph. The Granman sat in his folding chair and looked on without addressing himself to any one.

He had asked us to let all his people hear the machine. When we were gone, many people on the river would talk of it. He wanted all of his village to see how it worked.

GRANMAN MOANA YANKUSO

"You will play everything, white man," he had told us earlier. He had been especially anxious that we play the songs we had recorded in Haiti on our way to Suriname. Often he had spoken of these songs to the chiefs at council meetings. 123 177

"White man, tell these friends the words of those songs in that foreign tongue."

He had wanted us to speak before these men the words Legba, a deity to them in the bush as he is in Haiti and in West Africa today, and Loko, and Aida Wedo, and to translate the words of the Haitian twin song we had recorded, and the one to the water god Simbi.

Now he sat in his folding chair and looked on in silence, his face thoughtful. The songs he heard moved him deeply, and his expressive face showed it.

When, in the Haitian songs, the women heard the word "Ago-e" which they recognized, they uttered a shriek. It was one of their many words for ancestors. They cried out again when they heard "Aida Wedo" pronounced, and "Loko." They, too, sang of Aida Wedo, and of Alado, and of Loko. Dan was one of their words for snake.

The white man asked permission of the Granman later to record some songs of the people of the village, and promptly Moana Yankuso addressed a man who stood by. The man was a good singer, and his seketi improvisations had made him a figure on the river. 533 126 177

"Sing for the whites, mati. Let them hear in their far country how our people sing. Let them know that we can sing, that we sing much."

The singer Mapasi sat down and began to sing. His voice was of fine quality, and he was as modest in the midst of all these women with this gift which the gods had given him, as had been the young dancer whom the Granman had summoned to dance for us. He sang in a low voice, and directly into the horn. Accompanying his singing was the hand clapping of the women, which in the small council house was deafening. His recitatives were the longest we had heard on the river, longer by far than those which had

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533 surprised us that night at S'ei, and when he paused for a
106 moment the women took up the chorus. From one song to
179 another he went, and the hand clapping grew louder, and the chorus joined in more frequently, often breaking into his recitative, so that there was harmonizing of theme and chorus.

Once or twice the Granman called for a song we had already recorded, in order to give Mapasi a rest.

"Play us something from the lower river, white man. Let them hear their own songs, too, sung by others."

When the excitement of hearing the machine reproduce the song they had just sung had grown less intense, the singers repeated the song the phonograph was reproducing for them, for to listen to music without singing was difficult for them, just as when they sang, they could not but move their feet, though there was scarcely more than room for them to stand one close to the other. But a Bush Negro needs little room for his dancing, so that as the phonograph played their songs for them, they clapped their hands and danced in place. For a short interval, at least, the existence of the whites was forgotten in their pleasure of singing with the machine.

Until late into the night we played our records for them, and they sang for us. Whatever the consequences to the frail records of soft wax, we decided to play as long as they would listen, because of something in the manner of the Granman, something of wistfulness, let us say, and something, perhaps, which went deeper yet, as he sat there—a black Hamlet following a mute soliloquy while he looked on with his clever, perplexed eyes.

"Ai, so it is," he said at last, "and now let us go and get sleep." He rose and the others followed him out of the council house.

II

123 Early the next morning, while the tent on our boat was
782 being finished, the Granman came into the council house
789 with a calabash and a buzzard's feather in his hand. He
579 came up to each of us in turn, and struck with the medicine-
609 dipped feather the tops of our heads, brushed the eyes,

353 This they had learned from the whites long ago, and
●179 now everywhere on the river compasses were seen, or
[413] carvings which showed their use. The machete, the small
412 sharp knives which lay about here on the work-table, the compass, and sand made up any Bush Negro carver's tools. But here at Ma'lobbi in this workshop of the captain were tools from the white man's city, collected by himself on his journeys down to the government office to receive his yearly allowance, or by his men who had been to the French shore and learned of the ways of the outside world. There was a plane to make the blade of a paddle smooth as the skin of a child, and there were two others in addition to this one, we were assured, in the treasure house of the upper story. Hammers, too, were useful for making boats, and even for smaller carvings like benches. There was also a bit and auger, though we were never convinced that the captain himself had ever put it to its more prosaic uses.

"I have many more up there," said the captain, pointing to the upper story. "I like them. If a man likes his tools, then they help him in his carvings. As he sees with his eyes, so they cut. I have always liked my tools, white man. I have spent much time with them."

221 A young man sat to one side shaving down a block of
322 wood with a knife which he held.

"He is not carving," the captain said, following our eyes. "He is making a piece for this," he explained, indicating a plane. "Now is not the time for carving. There is too much to be done. This is the time for cutting wood, for taking the rafts down the river, for making boats, for bleeding rubber trees for the white man, and for hunting game. When the great rains come, then men sit about and carve."

322 As he spoke our eyes traveled to the various carvings
531 which stood about the workshop. In one corner leaned a paddle which caught our attention because of its darkened color, and the patina which long use had given it, so that it seemed made of ebony. Against another wall were several
[352] stools, all richly ornamented with carvings, while beside us,

REBEL DESTINY

4

532 The cult of fertility came to the Suriname bush from
831 Africa. Deepseated today in this civilization, it is not strange that it should be invoked again and again in the carvings, that men and women in sexual congress, and animals in the act of reproduction should dominate the art motifs, and in particular those carvings which men make for their women.

532 The symbolism is known to all on the river though, as we have indicated, a gifted artist might play with his medium, and even give his own name to what he had designed. Evidences of nontraditional playing with technique were, to be sure, not met with often, but one or two instances stand out. One that was especially striking was a hinged folding stool, fashioned after a bench seen in the
[352] city, and decorated in traditional fashion, where the prob-
[199] lem of decorating unfamiliar surfaces was met.

Bayo could take up many of our photographs of pieces,
532 acquired during our first visit and brought here into the
123 bush to show the natives how their pieces were exhibited,
177 and describe the symbols to us which made up the carvings. There was one which interested him especially. He used to sit with the photograph in his hand, running his fingers over the glossy surface, as though he felt if he continued doing it long he would actually feel the texture of the wood which was so clearly imaged.

532 "Everything shows. Here's a crack, see?" Then his hands touched one motif after another. "This and this are women, and these are men. A man and woman to one side, and a man and woman facing them. It's like having the tray here, white man." The small designs close to the rim of the tray, facing each other, were the children to be
[845] born of these unions. "This is a boy, and this a girl. That is for both women to make twins."

We were looking over his shoulder as he explained the symbols, but still could not distinguish in the symbols to the side which represented the male child and which the female.

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Bayo laughed. "All this isn't easy, white man. A line about this curve shows this to be a man-child. These are things bush people alone know." 532

The decorated rim of this tray had interested many who had seen the piece the winter before, and we had had pointed out to us what we ourselves had remarked, that the design was not continuous all around, but that it was divided into four parts, the crosshatched portion alternating with that of checkered squares. Did those have meaning? we asked Bayo.

"Ai, these belong to the women and the children. The small lines are the hair of the children, and the squares here that of the women." The brass-headed nails he touched one by one on the photograph. "The women have nice kamemba," he said, at last.

On the upper river we had acquired another tray with similar motifs, but more elaborately decorated, with carvings on the outer surface as well as the inner, and also with many more brass-headed nails. This use of nails, which was more general in the deep interior, had at first seemed an anomaly, for they must come from the white man's city, since the Bush Negro, we knew, had lost the African technique of iron working. But as we saw more deeply into their customs, we recognized that these nails studding the carvings represented a survival of the African art tradition, and it was, therefore, reasonable that in the deep interior they should be found more profusely on the carvings. [184] [177]

Human representations outlined with the realism of African masks we almost never met, and the exceptional instances suggested only resemblances. The mask itself, as far as we could learn, was not used in their dances. The men knew what masks were, but whether this knowledge came as part of their African tradition, or whether it was brought from the city and the French shore, we could not determine. The African style of depicting the human form had, however, not been entirely lost by their slave ancestors. 532 171 [535]

In this village of Ma'lobbi, where lived one of the finest carvers on the river, the carving over a doorway held us 532

call the great gods. Apanto's spirit is strong, but Bayo has strong gods, too." 126 173

The machine was made ready for him, and Bayo sat down on a convenient box, his head bent over the tumao drum which we had acquired and which his fingers could scarce ever be near but that they played on it. 782 176

"It is not the right drum," he said. "You should have an apinti for me to speak to the gods. But I will try it with this one. Tomorrow I will go up the river to Djamungo. I know a man who has an apinti. You will give me money, and I will buy it for you. But now I will speak on the tumao."

He began the irregular tapping which we had learned to identify as the drum language. With one hand he carried the message, while with the other he played irrelevant motifs which served to confound anyone not initiated and leave him, as it left us, who had worked out some of the general principles on which this drum language was based, utterly unable to interpret it or to tell which were the significant elements. 202 534 782

"The great gods will look after your machine now, if they will listen to the tumao." [176]

The next day Bayo went upstream to get us the apinti we so desired. He was not successful, but the gods had listened to him, when he had invoked them on the tumao, for Bayo's ministrations ended all trouble with our recalcitrant phonograph. Bayo indeed had strong spirits! 126 782 176 177

As the days went on, and record after record was put on the turntable, and with its tracing of songs, or examples of Bush Negro speech, or fragments of the rhythms that called the various gods, was taken off and carefully put into its felt-lined box, Bayo visibly swelled with pride. This was his doing! With his strong spirits he had called the great gods! He was young, and he had not spoken on the proper drum, but they had listened to him! So his thoughts went, and so he would repeat them to us.

His interest in the phonograph was intensified the more he saw of it, and he sang and spoke and drummed, either

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alone or with some friend, into the wax cylinders that spoke back in such mysterious fashion. When Apanto came to visit us, Bayo smiled as he saw the obia man approaching from the landing place.

"His obia is strong, but mine is strong, too. Let him sing into the machine."

Apanto was visibly surprised when he saw in operation the machine his spirit had wrecked. "The machine is not weak, Apanto," we assured him. "It has its own strength, and now it has the strength your gods have given it. For in the true, true Saramacca, a great obia man spoke his message to the Great God into it, and since then it has walked well with us."

Out of the corners of our eyes, we could see Bayo's pride.

"Sing for us, Apanto," we urged, for he had a beautiful voice. "Sing us an Apuku song."

Now Apanto sang, not once, but many times. It is true that when we asked for Apuku he sang Vodu, and when we asked for Vodu he sang Toné, and when we asked for Toné he sang Kromanti songs, and when we asked for Kromanti he sang the sacred dirges called "Papa" songs. Yet this was not otherwise than might be expected, and it was not too difficult to play the records to interested men of other villages, whose startled comments would soon tell us the kind of song he had sung.

It was another day when Apanto again sang, and some of these who had witnessed his first victory were about. One such addressed himself to Bayo, who was sitting near.

"Apanto's spirit fought the machine, and stopped it. But the machine works and sings back to Apanto. Its strength has come back to it."

"Awa, Apanto's spirit is strong," we heard Bayo reply, "but there are other strong spirits on the Saramacca."

4

Bayo had spent the night at Gankwe, and had returned resplendent with a new hairdressing. We joked with

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"OBIA COMES!"

The river had fallen. Whole stretches appeared as dry as the sandy village clearings. The green-heart trees were in full bloom, looking like giant flowering mimosas with heads lifted high above the green wall of matted bush. As we sped past the village landing of Gankwe, women washing their clothes and children at play called out a last "*Adiosio-o-o-o*," but in a moment we rounded a bend of the river and were out of sight.

Our only stop was at New Village, not far from the railroad, where the chief had promised to have an apinti for us. He was expecting us, and with him was his friend, the chief of Kadyu, whose village lay below the railhead.

"I had trouble finding a skin for the head," he said, "but one of my men shot a deer, and so I have a fine one for you. . . . And here is an obia to keep you alive on the water." He transferred the power of the obia to us, and then, as we rose to leave, he added, "When you get to your home, tell the headman of your village 'Howdo' in the name of the Chief of New Village, and his friend, the Chief of Kadyu."

9

As we floated up to the landing place where men were waiting to take our boxes to the train, we saw an hibiscus tree in bloom before the little shop kept by a British Guiana mulatto who did some trading with the Bush Negroes.

"What do you call this tree, Bayo?"

"Which one, this with the red flowers? I don't know. That's a Bak'a sani—a white man's thing."

Bakra sani!

The hibiscus tree, the mulatto who for the Bush Negro is also a Bakra, ourselves and our phonograph and flashlights—all were white men's things, intruders in his bush, strangers. Only by the grace of his powerful ancestors, and of the gods of his ancestors, might such things be allowed life and a measure of joy there, as witness the bright blossoms, the livelihood the mulatto earned, and our own good health.

GLOSSARY AND LINGUISTIC NOTES

THE language of the Saramacca Bush Negroes is called by them the *Saramacca tongo*—the Saramacca tongue. Though there are many African words in ritual and everyday speech, the Saramacca tongo is essentially Negro-Portuguese, with a sprinkling of English and Dutch words. In the city of Paramaribo the Negroes speak *taki-taki*, Negro-English, though Dutch and Portuguese words are also found. The structure of the language of both bush and coastal Negroes is essentially African, that is to say, in all the borrowings it was the word which was borrowed, while the African idiom was retained, so that it may be said that the Negroes speak African dialects translated into English or Portuguese or Dutch. Simple examples of this are such phrases as "carry come" for "bring"; "carry go" for "take away"; or "hunger kills me" for "I am hungry"; or "one time" for "immediately."

For the correspondences between the languages of the Suriname Negroes and of West Africa, we have relied on various dictionaries and grammars of West African languages, and on our own findings made during our field work on the West African coast. In writing the words of Suriname and West African languages in both the glossary and the body of this book, the vowels have the "continental" values, not those given in English. It is to be noted that diacritical marks which would be necessary to indicate the strong nasalization that characterizes Bush Negro speech have been omitted from both text and glossary, in order to simplify the writing of native terms. Finally, we must

 [p. 344 is blank]

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224 to and camps before his little fire. The red monkey bands howl in the darkness, but the hunter is not afraid. The fact that a puma may be in a tree near by does not prevent him from snoring.

224 648 The Bush Negroes seldom have occasion to take a white man hunting. Because of his incompetence they are forced to hunt differently when he is along.

We are aroused at five o'clock one morning when Daniels, a "balata bleeder" from British Guiana, makes his appearance. He is a husky, powerful Negro from Demerara, a town in the adjacent colony, and one of the few men ever to obtain the confidence and friendship of the Djukas. Some years ago he saved many Bush Negroes from famine, when the cassava and rice crops had failed, by arranging, with the aid of Mynheer Alexander Wolff, for the Dutch government to give many thousands of guilders' worth of rice to feed them. Because of this, and because he speaks English perfectly and has the bahkra's point of view, no better person could possibly accompany us on the coming hunt.

[482 415] 171 The three Bush Negro bearers who go along with us carry wicker baskets of woven reed containing supplies. They are carried on the bearer's back, held in place by a band around the forehead—a device borrowed from the Indians.

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Boni

361 that point has no further permanent habitations of the Bush
103 Negroes. Past the realm of the Aucaners on the Lawa River (the confluence of which with the Tapanahoni goes to form the Marowyne) we find the continuation of the Boni tribe, consisting of the villages of Tahbiki, Pulumuffo, the seat of the Granman, Loka, Papai-Seton, Agodai, Komuntibo, Cottica (the only Boni village on Dutch territory, but whose inhabitants also owe allegiance to the French), Akuba, and the last of all the Bush Negro villages, Assisi, past the mouth of the far Assisi Creek.

177 The Bonis, although the most remote of the Bush Negroes from the plantations from which they originally escaped as slaves, have certainly succumbed the most to the influences of the white civilization. Even the village of the Saramaccaner tribe, Santi Gron, only some twenty miles from Paramaribo, maintains in true aboriginal fashion its African customs and its heathen gods.

797 The French Catholic priests have been more successful in making converts among the Boni than have the Dutch among the other tribes. In one village, however, we saw the usual heathen fetishes on full display, but we were told that they only afforded real protection to those who *believed* in them. Some of these tribesmen wear trousers and the headcloth of the French Guiana Town Negroes. We have even heard it whispered that some of the Boni own shoes, which
[689] is an unspeakable offence against the code among any of the other tribes.

000 Although the huts are of Africanesque architecture, similar

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stituted a form of currency, *papa moni*. They come originally 778 751 from the East Indies, having been brought to both Africa and [177] South America by Portuguese traders. When a savage takes a fancy to a thing, he will go to some trouble to get hold of it. Thus the tin cans of the Standard Oil Company have penetrated into almost every primitive community now known.

Projecting from the wrapped cord around Abaisa's boe is a bit of blue cloth to ward off the spirit of a dead enemy. A bit of red cloth blinds the wearer to evil sights and makes him serene. A small strand of white cloth provides protection from the bad spirits called *Bakru*. Underneath the cloth are bristles from the anteater to give strength. All these charms make the obeiah bracelet a powerful affair.

Another boe is used to foretell the future. It is similar to 778 the bracelet, but projecting from the wrapped cord is a short 787 bit of tubing. The device is suspended from a string and held motionless, the tube pointing toward the ground. When no air is stirring a question is asked concerning the future. If the pointer remains motionless the answer is "yes," but if it moves the reply is "no." In this simple way the Bush Negro acquires knowledge of coming events. Our tent boy had several questions he wanted to ask, and when they were answered he had "a peculiar feeling."

Another obeiah that we obtained is a jaguar-tooth neck- 778 lace. Strung on the same string with the pierced tooth are two little carved fetishes of Cromanti and Aflamu, crudely done. All religious articles are extremely crude in their carving, compared with the delicate tracery of Djuka implement

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197
191 Paramaribo. Outside the boundaries of Dutch Guiana it is unknown.

198
177 Talkee-talkee is a pure-vowelled pidgin language, as picturesque as the countryside itself. Its vocabulary is drawn from many tongues, although English and Dutch words preponderate. The Dutch words are either vestiges of the slave days or infiltrations from the daily speech of the present Dutch colonists. The English words may date from the British occupation of the country, which lasted, with some brief intervals, from 1630 to 1674; or they may come from the English-speaking colony on the west, brought in by British Guiana balata bleeders. As numbers of the early colonists were Jews, originally from Brazil, Spain, or Portugal, as well as from Holland, one still encounters occasional Jewish terms, like *trafer* (taboo), among the Bush Negro speech. There are also a few French words, like *bon,* which still retains its original nasalization. They come from the convict colony toward the east. A few Spanish and Portuguese words, like *balata* and *camissa,* add to the variety of tongues. And finally we recognize a certain light sprinkling of West African dialect, such as *pekein* meaning small.

When the bahkra becomes accustomed to local idioms, the learning of talkee-talkee is not difficult, and the many familiar or half-familiar phrases are of great assistance. At first glance one might expect to find the Bush Negroes speaking a language largely Dutch, but this is not the case. It is doubtful, says one commentator, whether Dutch will ever be widespread among them, because their ancestors who came from

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538 The Djukas possess, in common with many other primitive tribes, a number of trickster stories. They are called *anansi-tories,* and are usually concerned with the adventures of a clever spider, who outwits all the other animals. They resemble closely the Br'er Rabbit tales of the Negro of the [171] southern United States. These are West African themes, and can be found not only in the Carolinas and in Surinam, but scattered also throughout the West Indies. In the middle of the last century a collection of these stories was made among the Town Negroes of Paramaribo.

173 As most primitives possess no writing materials or technique, their knowledge is necessarily passed on by word of mouth, which imposes a severe limitation upon its possible extent. History, for the Djukas, starts with the rebellion, and of what came before they know little and care less. If they have stories of the Creation, we did not hear them. One approach to written language is in the Aucaner nation, where 212 a few rudimentary symbols are carved on paddles or other implements, a form of symbol-writing (see Appendix B). [431] The implement is given to someone as a token of affection, the symbols constituting a greeting. Some of them may be seen in the illustrations of small paddles and pot-stirrers.

202 For communicating over a long distance, the Djukas use [177] a system of drum telegraphy. This they have brought over from their West African homeland. At the town of Biodoti the news of our expedition was sent upriver by being drummed out on a tomtom. Squatting over the reverberating *apenti,* the Djuka buck rapped out the peculiar rhythm that

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For example, one of our Bush Negro guides is called 55/ *Moi-Man* (Nice Fellow). He is also known as Kwassi which means Saturday-child. The Bush Negro woman known as Koko was also called Akoea because she was born on a Wednesday. This method of naming children after the day in the week on which they were born seems to have been [177] brought over from the Tshi-speaking people in Africa. The similarity is easily recognized after consulting the following table, compiled by Mr. Charles de Goeje.

	Male		*Female*	
Born on	*Djuka*	*Tshi*	*Djuka*	*Tshi*
Sunday	Kwassi	Kwassi	Akwasiba	Asi or Ak-wasiba
Monday	Kodjo	Kwadjo	Adoea, or Adjoba	Adua
Tuesday	Kwamina, or Kwabina	Kobina, or Kwabina	Abena, or Akoba	Abena, or Arabat
Wednesday	Kwakoe, or Quakoe	Kwaku	Akoea	Akua
Thursday	Jaw	Know, yow, or Akhor	Jaba	Awbah, Awybah, or Yawa
Friday	Koffi, or Koffay	Kwaffi	Afida	Yah-awfua
Saturday	Kwassi	Kwassi	Amba	Amenim-wah

Some interesting, popular names for men are as follows:

Benzini, meaning benzine
Taki Laffu, laughs when he talks

Djuka Talk

Lawne	Abeyoni
Maddy	Abionie
Angasi	Samtoni
Dandilo	Samsie
Tjafaka	Saleh

A few feminine names are as follows:

Koko	Nee Nee
Amehna	Afanisi
Mehlee	Cudu
Suri	Yomeh
Widuma	Saomeh
Anitee	Tia Kabah

No stringed instruments were seen among the Bush Ne- 534
groes, although they may exist. The musical impulses of the blacks are expressed chiefly in the beating of the tomtoms. The *saka-sake,* which means "shake shake," is added to the drum ensemble to emphasize by contrast with its light pebbly sound the vast heavy tonality of the drums. The same is probably true of the *quaqua,* the board beaten with sticks. Occasionally a nose flute is seen, a direct survival of West [m]
Africa. It is a plain flute, made of a reed, but blown with the

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175 not sufficient to make them adopt the white man's culture.

Many of the rebels, indeed, had been born on the sugar plantations and raised in close contact with European civilization. These were probably inclined to modify in many details the West African habits of their parents. But the white man and his magic were the object of universal hatred among the blacks. They had no incentive to adopt European ways, when they were proud of their own. And when they escaped into the bush, they found a typical West African culture reconstructed in the Surinam bush by the escaped slaves who had preceded them. It was as though a section of West Africa had been picked up bodily and deposited almost intact in the South American jungle. To this day, therefore, we have many evidences of West African culture in the life of the Surinam Bush Negroes. Their entire social structure, with the exception of a few items borrowed from the [177] Indians and certain European inventions like gunpowder which were forced upon them, is analogous to that of the Old World.

178 Conditions were not the same in every particular. In 182 West Africa there is iron ore, and the art of iron working was invented and carried to a high point of perfection by the African natives. There is little iron ore in Surinam, so that the art of working it is lost to the Bush Negroes. A limited quantity of iron weapons and implements was pillaged from the plantations, and all of it was probably converted immediately into arrow-points, hatchets, and bush-knives, to carry on the guerilla warfare against the despised Europeans.

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Common household implements for everyday use had to be 178
made out of different material. Wood was used wherever 182
possible. So in place of iron the Bush Negroes developed an elaborate and beautiful art of carving domestic utensils. Pots are stirred with wooden paddles instead of with iron [412
ladles. Enormous wooden trays are used for carrying food. 415]
Combs, stools, beaters, and a dozen other implements all bear evidence of this extraordinary technique of wood carving, and this too is a heritage from their African ancestry.

In tracing the relationship between any two cultures, such 177
as the West African and the Bush Negro, we should always 182
bear in mind the possibility that both developed independently and that similarities between them may be due to the influence of similar environments rather than to actual culture contact. Thus, for example, while the Djuka corial is hollowed out of solid logs in a fashion similar to the West African canoe, which at once suggests borrowing, it is also true that the rapid waters of the Surinam, Marowyne, and Saramacca Rivers make any other kind of board or bark canoe impracticable. The Bush Negroes' dugout canoes may be an independent adaptation to the environment rather than a heritage from Africa.

This difficulty is a common one in anthropological speculation; examples are to be found on all hands. Thus, it has been maintained that the Reindeer Men who lived in France during the Magdalenian Age are related to the present-day Eskimo, because their bone implements and crude drawings bear certain resemblances, although the two races are

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177 separated by ten thousand years of time and two thousand
182 miles of space. It has, however, been pointed out that both peoples had to face environmental conditions that are roughly alike, and that a similar world may well have led to certain similar responses and adaptations. In Dutch Guiana, on the other hand, we do know of a direct historical connexion with Africa, so that the customs, habits, art work, social organization, and general material culture of the Bush Negroes must undoubtedly be related to the similar culture of West Africa. A great many articles in everyday use among the Djukas are of West African design. African words and African habits can readily be identified.

177 We also know that certain articles used by the Djukas are borrowings from the aboriginal Indians of the district.
[252] Thus the cassava squeezer, the *matapee*, and the whole technique of preparing cassava, the grater and sieve for the flour, are borrowed from the South American Indians. But by far the greater part of Djuka culture comes directly from the Dark Continent.

A Swedish anthropologist, Gerhard Lindblom, made a study of Bush Negro implements and wood carvings in
[322] European museums, and compared them with the implements and wood carvings from West Africa, pointing out a number of homologous forms.

[643 The Granman's throne, an intricately carved wooden stool
352] made by the Djukas, as Lindblom pointed out, is similar in construction to those owned by the headmen of the Gold Coast, Ashanti, Slave Coast, and the Niger tribes. The ornate

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The ornate combs used by the Bush Negroes are a most direct West African heritage, being found along the Upper Guinea coast, Ashanti, Cameroons, Ivory and Gold Coasts, Dahomey, Muni, and many other regions of Africa. The wooden plates and trays are likewise found among the Ewe-speaking tribes of the West Coast.

The custom of personal decoration by the cicatrization of the skin is very common throughout many parts of Africa. Captain John Stedman remarks on this strange habit in his *Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition to Surinam:* "The Loanga Negroes distinguish themselves by puncturing or marking the skin of their sides, arms, and thighs with square, elevated figures something like dice." This custom was widespread on the Slave Coast. The scar designs varied widely according to the different tribes as well as the social position and wealth of the individual. As the Indians of South America do not practise this cicatrization, it is evident that the Bush Negroes brought it over with them from their former home.

The Bush Negro coiffure, the method of arranging the hair in plaited tufts, is found also on the Gold Coast, in Cameroons, and elsewhere in Africa. The Djuka method of weaving is similar to that of the Sudan, Gold Coast, Mandingo, Ashanti, and the Ewe. The spindle used in weaving is called by an African term, *kyekye,* a Tshi word. The woven leg band, the *sepu,* is the same as the leg bands found in Cameroons and the Upper Guinea coast in general.

The method of finding out who is responsible for the

177 The method of finding out who is responsible for the
[695] death of a man is found in many parts of the West Coast. The details vary considerably, but the essential idea that death is caused by witchcraft, and that some individual is guilty, is found in West Africa as well as in South America.
[764] The method of binding the corpse on a platform, covered with blankets of weeds, comes from the Gold Coast.

177 A number of Bush Negro words are African in origin.
192 *Lo,* the Djuka word for clan, designates a village in Yoruba or Ibo. The *quaqua,* the resounding plank which accompanies the drums, is possibly a Kikongo or M'pongwe word from the Ivory Coast. *Azeman,* meaning a kind of vampire, is an Ewe and Tshi word, as well as a Bush Negro term. The fetish house, the *kifunga,* is probably derived from Bacongo, Luango, Cameroons, or Togo, and the word itself is in all likelihood a Bacongo term. *Leeba,* meaning "river," is an Ewe word. *Akra,* designating a kind of ghost, is a Tshi word. *Makuku,* designating a Bush Negro fireplace made with three lumps of clay, is a Kikongo word, and the custom itself is derived from the Yoruba, Slave Coast, the lower Niger, and the Central and East Sudan region.

177 The carved wooden locks, the quintessence of Bush Negro
[322] wood carving, are found also among the Ashanti, in Dahomey, and in the Sudan. The method of poisoning fish by
[226] beating into a stream the pulp of poisonous plants is common in South America among the Indians, but it is likewise found in West Africa among the Tshi, Yoruba, Togo, Congo, and Angolo peoples. The same is true of other Djuka fishing practices, such as the custom of fishing at night by torchlight.

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torchlight. The Djukas have a rodent trap that is a direct African survival, found on both the West and East Coasts of Africa.

Stedman mentions in his *Narrative* that the Bush Negro rebels used a kind of conch-shell trumpet to call their people to arms. The same species of trumpet is still to be found among the Djukas, and is similar in type to those found on the Gold Coast. The nose flute used by the Bush Negroes also comes from the Congo region of Africa. Wooden trumpets like those used by the Bush Negroes are found also along the Gold Coast and in the Congo country.

The drums form perhaps the clearest and most characteristic West African survival. They are not at all like the Indian drums of the same region, which are flat and more like a tambourine. The Djuka manner of constructing them from a hollowed-out log, with skin stretched over the opening and thonged over pegs, is commonly in use among innumerable African tribes. The tuning of them by hammering on the pegs, set at an angle, is also a detail from Africa. The use of drums for communication over long distances, and the development of an elaborate code of drum signals, is developed to a high degree among West African tribes. Rattray, in his study of the Ashanti people, gives an extended description of this.

The *anansi-tories*, the spider stories, ubiquitous in the West Indies, are also found among the Tshi-speaking peoples of the West Coast. The use of white clay for smearing ceremonial objects and amulets is African. The decoration of

The decoration of
177 objects with cowrie shells comes by way of Africa. The
[328] monkey dance said to be practised by the Djukas is described
[796] as similar to the gorilla dance of the West Coast. The coiled wire bracelets and anklets are of African design, and the
[301 291] general mode of dress is the same.

The Djuka attitude toward the silk-cotton tree is common among the tribes of the Guinea Coast. "Throughout West
[824] Africa from Senegal to the Niger the silk-cotton tree is regarded with reverence and believed to be the abode of a god or spirit. This general consensus of opinion is no doubt due to the stupendous size attained by some of these trees, which tower far above all others of the forest."

[524] *Adji-boto,* a game in which seeds are placed in round holes in a board, is played not only by the Bush Negroes but also by the Town Negroes of Paramaribo; it is found along the Gold Coast, Benin, Sierra Leone, West Sudan, and, in modified forms, in many other parts of Africa. The fish spear
[227] of the Djukas is found in Liberia, Mandingo, and the Gold Coast. Shooting fish with a bow and arrow is an African
[726] custom, but it is also widespread among the aboriginal Indians of South America. On the other hand, according to Dr. W. Roth of Demerara, a number of traps and hunting devices now used by the Guiana Indians are of African origin and have been borrowed from the Negroes.

[372] The Djuka fire fan, woven of split rattan, is borrowed from the Arawak Indians, but different types of the same device can be found also among the Tshi- and Ewe-speaking people and in Liberia, Cameroons, etc. The Bush Negro

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obeiahs, house gods, fetish houses, menstrual huts, and matrilineal system of inheritance are all to be found as ancient customs among the forest tribes of the West Coast. Other details, such as the use of chickens for sacrificial animals, the huts with their rectangular walls, the manufacture of butter from the palm worm, the sacredness of snakes and alligators, the use of drums for religious supplication, and the beating of them with the hand instead of with a stick as the Indians do, are also customs which are similar to West African customs and probably derived from them. The impaled turtle-shell on a staff, the badge of the witch doctor's profession, represents the symbol for the female genitalia among some West African tribes. The Bush Negroes' boats and paddles are typically African in design. The *awasa* dance of the Saramaccaners was borrowed from the Aucaners, among whom it is a direct West African survival.

From the study of these culture survivals among the Djuka tribes it can be seen that most of the jungle civilization of the Bush Negroes is derived from their West African ancestry, modified here and there by contact with the Indians of their new home. The remainder of the material culture of the Bush Negroes is borrowed from the white settlements along the coast, from which gunpowder, fish-hooks, bush-knives, and other articles filter upstream.

[p. 192 is blank]

As one woman said: "He gave me this piece when we were first married. I won't part with it now." Usually an elaborate parley is necessary. The women are undecided whether to sell or not. They laugh, giggle, put their finger coyly in their mouths, joke bashfully with bystanders, and cannot make up their minds as to the price. They never know how much to ask for a piece. Sometimes they will mention a preposterous figure, hoping like a naïve child that the strange bahkra will pay that much. But on such occasions a rebuke will make them more reasonable. Once an arrogant witch doctor intervened in a transaction with a Bush Negro woman, demanding angrily that she receive an exorbitant payment. His anger was squelched with a few sharp words, and, contrite, he sat up all night to carve an ornate implement to present to the bahkra as a peace-offering. Cunning Adjobo, the medicine man!

The Bush Negro implements are carved out of jungle wood. Some are made of lignum vitæ, the hardest wood known. A few of them are made of soft wood, light and spongy, but these are not popular. The small paddles are used for stirring in the cooking pots, and the combs are actually used for the hair. They are never worn as personal ornaments, and when not in use are hung up on the walls of the hut. The utensils are all made with common trade jackknives and compasses which are used as dividers. It is principally with these dividers that the serpentine motifs are executed. After the carving is finished the piece is smoothed off by rubbing it with matted grass and river

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number of pieces. The first of these is the snake motif. It 532
takes the form of serpentine coils and twists, fancifully involuted and superimposed. The same general design is also interpreted as a liana motif, referring to the twisted tendrils of the jungle vines, convoluted and snarled. The second most important is the chain motif, an attempt to duplicate the links of iron chains.

The vulva motif is commonly found, and is consciously employed as a love symbol. The natives have no hesitation in [832]
interpreting this design as referring to the female genitalia; it is impressed on articles as a symbol of desire. The bill-bird, or toucan, provides another motif that can be recognized on a variety of pieces. Another West African survival is the [177]
bone motif, for the human scapula is frequently seen conventionalized on calabash objects. A few of the white man's objects also furnish themes for wood carvings, such as the rifle stock.

Other motifs are entirely without symbolic intention, and 531
represent symmetry and proportion only. The cross-hatch and notch motifs are African in origin, and can be found on West African objects. Other details of execution vary widely, without especial significance. The tines of the combs may be rounded or square. The food paddles may have two handles and one blade, or two blades and one handle. The size of the pieces varies considerably, from small combs a few inches long to the great six-foot canoe paddles. Outside of the vulva [532 832]
and penis motifs there is little erotic symbolism.

A peculiarity of Aucaner wood carvings is the system of

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for benches, no pieced specimens are ever found. Because 322 532
of the practical necessity of having a large number of benches,
and the difficulty of executing both legs and seat out of a
continuous piece of wood, benches are commonly made of [352]
several pieces of wood fitted together, as can be seen in the
photographs. A number of them, however, are made from
a single piece, and this continuity is preferred by the Djukas.
The Africanesque crescent stools are carved from a single log.

Relief work is the second form of decoration. It occurs 532
in the form of high relief on the plates and trays. It can be
found to a modified degree on door-posts and other carved
objects. Ornaments in low relief are represented by the cala-
bash pieces, which are carved when green and allowed to
dry.

Branding is done with a hot knife or wire, or else the
piece may be charred by holding it in the flames. Circles
are burned into the pattern by heating empty cartridge shells
red hot and pressing them against the wood. Brass up-
holstery tacks, obtained in the white settlements of Para- [177]
maribo and Albina, are in especial favour, and some pieces
are heavily laden with these. They fit in very well with the
general spirit of Djuka art, and although the material is
anachronistic, the effect is not.

Religious carvings, unlike the practical implements, are 532
executed with a crudeness that is surprising. The fetish to 778
the god Aflamu which was brought back to the Museum is
nothing more than a rough section of pole with a crudely
hewn face and seeds for eyes. Other religious pieces are

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African comb, from the region of Nigeria, is shown on page 412 175. It can be seen that the wooden comb is not a Djuka invention, as every characteristic of the Bush Negro pieces [177] can be found on this West African piece, except the ornamental piercing.

The arts of weaving and basketry are not as highly de- 286 veloped among the Djukas as is the carving of wooden implements. The Bush Negroes do not weave the cotton cloth they wear. It is obtained, instead, by trading at the white [439] settlements. The only weaving among them consists of cotton leg and arm bands—things that do not count for much so far as industry is concerned, but which expand the wearer's ego and add enormously to his or her self-esteem. The bas- 285 ketry of the Djukas, like the weaving, is simple and compe- 415 tent. Unornamented circular baskets, varying in size from a foot to a yard in diameter, can be seen in all the villages. They are used for carrying yams, rice, and foodstuffs generally. The finest basket work does not occur in these baskets, however, but in the cassava squeezers, those elongated tubes for producing cassava flour. These are beautifully woven of uniform rattan, and decorated with darker strips to form a simple pattern near each end. The finished product is an admirable piece of work, of which the owner must indeed be proud.

Pottery is made by the Djukas for utilitarian purposes 323 only, and the solid black, absolutely undecorated clay ware has no particular element of beauty. The pots are black, stolid, and unimaginative. They are simply necessities.

But when the necessities of life have been provided for,

/1/

Introduction

114 After having left the plantation life in the colony of Surinam,
121 I went back there in the beginning of 1851 with the plan, as the
[101] result of an agreement reached by me with a Belgian firm, to send shiploads of wood to the motherland and Belgium.

[123] I undertook my journeys to the Bush Negroes for this purpose and visited most of their dwelling places, something that entailed effort and great cost, since I distributed ample presents everywhere for the purpose of thereby acquiring their confidence, which they do not readily grant to Whites.

123 At my very first encounter I took the precaution of politely
[576] greeting each one of them without distinction and shaking their
[177] hands, a practice taken over by them from the Whites in the most recent times, which assures them of a feeling of good-will such as they experience among themselves but never from a White.

[352] I spoke to them frankly and in a friendly way, sat next to them in their huts on their low stools, and partook of their meals. In short -- I lived for a while without reserve or fear among them, paying amply for everything that I enjoyed in this way or that.

[273] I also permitted them, whenever they wanted to use any of my store of beverages, such as wine, beer, brandy, and gin, to ask me for it quietly, so that I would be able to order my servants to offer them what they had requested. In addition I supplied /2/ them amply with dram (1), herbs, and lead and, in order to show

1. A kind of inland rum (sugar spirits).

generosity to the women as well, frequently gave them and the children biscuits, cake, or some coins.

[121] In the beginning they were very reserved and mistrustful, but gradually, and after some difficult years, became more open with me, so that I, adapting myself entirely to their practices, was able to carry out my plan to have the necessary wood processed by them.

/34 cont./

577 all, toward one another as fellow tribesmen they are very honest and trust one another's word. Frequently it happens that among them one family leaves the camp to go on a journey or else is absent for some other reason, and that it must leave behind unfenced the cultivated land planted with rice, tubers, bananas, bakoven, and sugar cane. But never will another of them steal any of that. And similarly their dwellings are open, since the entrance is not closed off by any door; upon their departure they leave one thing and another in it, but they will never miss any-
626 thing upon their return. Certainly contributing to this is the circumstance that in the vicinity of everybody's property there is a sign or idolatrous image, which they call obia, to which great power is ascribed, and for those who might want to commit dishonest acts, the legend can be observed, as for the European:
784 "Beware of mantraps." The fear that they have of these obias is not unjustified, for if it should happen at any time that misuse of trust took place, then the culprit, however long it takes, upon discovery will not escape the revenge of the deceived, revenge which frequently consists in the administering of secret remedies whereby terrible diseases and sufferings, if not death, come about.

152 They are very concerned about the faithfulness of their
837 wife or wives, /35/ for the Bush Negro is very jealous, whereas the wives cannot be exonerated of being susceptible to seduction. Accordingly it happens among them more than once that marital fidelity is violated.

184 Of the various tribes, the Aucaners are the most
[177] civilized, but over against that also the craftiest, which can be
[157] attributed to their more frequent intercourse with Europeans.
[161] Among their tribes they are the most powerful, and their numerical strength is estimated at 4,000 to 5,000 souls.

123 According to the declaration of the Bush Negroes, no White has previously enjoyed the trust and attachment that I experienced from them. However, secretively they always conduct themselves toward the Whites, with respect to me they make an exception. If there is something secret among them that I should like to know, they will, upon my request, immediately and without any diffidence communicate it to me.

/143 cont./

433 The solution of this problem in my opinion lies in this, that in the first place agricultural methods which are based upon a better and more economical use of the land must be practiced. It is the task of the Department of Agriculture to investigate which possibilities the lands permit and which crops can best be cultivated; it is for this reason that to these observations is added a list of crops presently in use among the Bush Negroes. A small team of young Bush Negroes will have to be trained by the Agricultural Information Service to familiarize them with the new methods.

Next to that, combating the ants will have to be seriously taken in hand in conjunction with the plans for a modified agriculture. For this, too, people from the area itself will have to receive training, and a permanent work-team will have to be formed. It is unfeasible and unnecessary to clear the entire area now in use. Insecticides such as carbon sulfate, methylbromide, and parathion -- applied with the necessary caution -- could be used with success in places.

/144/ The District Administration will also have to provide co-operation in order to find a compromise between the customary laws of the Bush Negroes and the new regulations to be introduced concerning the use of land.

7. The Cultivated Crops and Their Use

241 Although for the most part the cultivated plants are those [171] generally in use as agricultural crops in Surinam, there is still not [114] much known in detail concerning the crops that are cultivated by the Bush Negroes for their sustenance. Giving a general survey of these plants is thus necessary first of all, with a report on the way in which they are used.

[174] From a more historical point of view it is of interest to point to a number of important plants that are of African origin and have only still remained in use among the Bush Negroes, such as [177] agobo and bongila. Furthermore presumably there are still varieties of ordinary cultivated plants present here -- such as sugar cane, bacove and bananas, spe[illegible]s of tajer and yams -- from the

/144 cont./

241 [177] time that the runaway slaves took these with them from the plantations then in existence.

It is therefore worthwhile in various respects to explore what is
241 being cultivated. The following summary has been put together
114 from the data of my own observations and from information pro-
[128] vided by various Bush Negroes. This list is not complete; what is lacking, however, is probably of minor importance.

A. Cultivated Crops That Are Grown on the Food Grounds

244 Bitter cassava (kasàba).

[262] This is the most important crop, from which the cassava bread and kwak are made. One plants the shoots in December, but also in March and April. After 12 months the harvest begins; in case of a food shortage they are dug after only seven months. Yellow and white varieties are distinguished according to the color of the contents of the tubers. To the yellow varieties belong: witti tiki, which is kept on the grounds up to two years, blaka tiki, which stands on the grounds only one year, and taja tiki, which provides produce for a long time and is especially good for the making of kwak. To the white varieties belong: amosiang, sanang kasaba, [252] and domberi. Cassava bread is made from this. In the making of kwak all the colors are mixed together in order to obtain the desired yellow color. Each variety separately provides a less tasty product.

252 On the Marowijne one makes more kwak (kwaka) than cassava
[184] bread, while on the Surinam River and the Saramacca only cassava bread /a map and Figs. 1-14 appear here/ /145/ is baked with the flour. Kwak is prepared in the following manner: The tubers, after they are peeled, are put in water in a korjaal (1) for two

1. korjaal = boat.

days and then grated. This grated cassava is then allowed to sour in a box or a korjaal; after that the grated cassava is expressed

[text continues on p. 21]

/150 cont./

249 There is only one variety of tobacco in use, probably the same one that is grown by the upland Indians. The leaves are
276 hung to dry from the rafters in the dwelling huts. For use, the dried leaves are softened in a small tin with water, and the juice that is poured into the palm of the hand is sniffed up and blown out again.

Bóembie.

249 This is Tephrosia toxicaria, whose roots are used as fish
226 poison. The man-high plants are found standing scattered on the grounds, where they are sowed with the other crops. The plant has hairy leaves and blooms with pink blossoms in clusters.

One uses the dried roots in order to "ponzen" with it between stones in the dry season when the river water is low. This operation consists of crushing the roots into fibers, whereby the poison is released as a milky substance and spreads in the water. In this manner warawara in particular -- in places difficult to reach otherwise -- are captured. According to the Bush Negroes, boembie works better than nekoe (1).

1. nekoe = a liana (Lonchocarpus) which is also used as fish poison.

B. Fruit Trees, Shrubs, and the Other Plants That Are Found in the Bush Negro Villages

241 Aside from the temporary crops that are grown on the grounds, the Bush Negro also uses fruit trees and other perennial crops that
[177] are planted in and along the edge of the villages. Most of them are well-known imported plants; some palm varieties are native. Perhaps these latter were already present on the spot when the village was established, or they more or less accidentally grew up there by the use of the pits. The following varieties are noted.

Coconut (kokonóto).

245 Occurs practically everywhere in the older villages, but is usually sparse because of the constant sweeping of the ground;

B R 146 B R 515 B R 433 B R 461 [465]

/513/

The scarcity of lipide foods,and, among the Boni, the low consumption of fruit might cause one to fear vitamin deficiencies. In fact, there are no signs of it.

Body hygiene is excellent; Blacks and Indians bathe several times a day and are very fastidious about their persons.

In summary, there is no appreciable difference in the customary activities, agriculture, hunting, and fishing, of the two populations. There is one in economic activity. Among the Boni, who have a greater need for imported objects, the adult men work for wages four to five months per year on the average. These jobs are very laborious and performed under bad dietary conditions, whereas the Indians rest when they are not occupied with their customary tasks, sometimes spending entire days stretched out in the hammock.

B R 177 B R 177 648

The two populations have been in close contact for a long time. The Indian villages farthest downstream have immediate contact with the first crop plantings of the Boni. Without having any tendency to merge (their characters and their customs are too different), Boni and Oayana have maintained regular relations since the end of the eighteenth century, doing a little trade in imported articles exchanged for hammocks and dogs trained for hunting. They often visit each other, and nothing stops the spread of illness from the one group to the other.

B R 105 182 164

In fact, the way of life of the two groups is the same, the environmental conditions have the same influence, and the differences which are observed in the pathology can only be attributed to a different sensitivity with regard to the principal illnesses.

B 164 [114]

Pathology of the Boni. We shall briefly summarize here the observations of Dr. A. Sausse in his work Populations primitives du Maroni.

The pathology of the Boni is characterized by:

-- a resistance to malaria, which means that if the children have bad attacks an immunity will develop with age; the size of the spleen diminishes regularly from child to adult. The adults have only episodical attacks which are not serious; in particular

/519 cont./

128 Fertility. We have classed the women, according to the year of
163 birth, into four categories, for fertility has varied considerably in the course of time. The study has been made by five-year age-blocks. The table below /see p. 16 / shows the cumulative fertility (total of figures obtained for the various age-blocks from 15 to 50 years of age). For the women of categories three and four, the number obtained is the result of an extrapolation.

842 Among the Boni there is no custom leading to a diminution of fertility, and the voluntary restriction of births is unknown.

163 The vertical fall of fertility between categories one and
164 two results from the invasion of venereal diseases, which seems
[177] to have coincided with the period (1920) when the search for the balata brought into the interior a heavy traffic of adventurers
[831] accompanied by numerous prostitutes. The very free morals of the Boni favor the propagation of the illness, which, since that time, has not ceased its ravages, stemmed only, but not eliminated, by the medical effort of these last years.

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121 /533 cont./

Thus the behavior of a human group, its fate as a people, and its very existence appear to be determined to a large extent by hereditary biological characteristics. This notion was seen clearly enough at the beginning of this century, but it has never been the object of thorough studies, the conditions for an incontestable experiment not being found together. Repudiated in the name of theoretical principles by the train of thought which has animated sociology for the past several decades, it has ended up by being completely lost from sight. Present-day sociology no longer takes into consideration the biological facts peculiar to the groups which it studies; one currently speaks of cycles of civilization, of laws of social change, of acculturation, etc., as if social facts had their own life and their own evolution, independent of the supposedly identical and interchangeable people. It is as though one claimed to study the psychism of the human being without taking his body into account, denying the influence of sex, age, sickness. Some have even managed to maintain that man is in all respects the product of the society from which he comes.

B
R
161 In the case studied here the falsity of these theories is obvious.
14 If the Indians disappear wherever the Blacks establish flourishing
182 societies, it is because their biological characteristics are not suited to the conditions imposed by the geographic environment, whereas those of the Blacks are to the highest degree.

Seen from this angle, the fate of the Indians of the Amazonian forest becomes clear; their social behavior and in particular their collapse upon contact with European civilization find an explanation.

B
R
[177] /534/ The relations of the Indians with the Europeans of past centuries have been equally influenced by their biological characteristics. Their inaptitude for prolonged effort came in part from their physical weakness. When the Blacks and the Indians of the Amazonian forest have been employed side by side for years as soldiers and porters, there can be no doubt on this point. The Black is a force of nature. The Indian of the great forest, often full of good will, is betrayed by his physical powers.

B
R
147

/7 cont. /

132 [513] The climate is relatively temperate and easy for the European to stand. In the forest the thermometer does not rise to more than 28° during the hot hours, to go back down to 20° at the end of the night: everyone sleeps with a blanket, Refugee Blacks and Creoles as well as Europeans. Humidity is very great during nearly all the year; precipitation averages three meters a year or about 50 centimeters less than at Cayenne. The year is divided into two seasons: "summer" from July to December, and the rainy season the rest of the year, with a maximum of precipitation in May and June. 123 182 The water level varies considerably in the course of the year (several meters). The populations of the interior, [361] spaced out along the rivers, suit the rhythm of their lives to the [164] height of the water; the water rules transportation, fishing, and crops; moreover, a certain number of illnesses are in close relation to the rains, in particular those which have an insect for vector.

241 [134] Almost everywhere the soil is very poor in organic matter and fundamental ingredients, very waterlogged necessitating the practice of an itinerant agriculture on burned-over areas; the period of fallow ground varies from two to ten years, the optimum seeming [136] to be about six. The inhabitants of Guiana cannot allow ground to lie fallow regularly because of the ravages of the manioc ant, /8/ which is active especially in habitually cultivated zones. [134] Vain and costly efforts made by Europeans notably at Saint-Jean du Maroni about 1950, have shown that the fertility of lands not [242] burned over is practically nil. The Indians and the Refugee Blacks consider that the fertility of the soil depends exclusively on the weight of cinders laid down during the burning.

When burned-over areas are cultivated, only one harvest is obtained; but this harvest is abundant, and the soil thus utilized can be regarded as relatively fertile. The knocking down and burning do not require great labor, so that primitive agricultural methods can be considered to give a good yield. As a matter of fact, the 241 diverse populations of Guiana, Creoles and Refugee Blacks, have 177 entirely adopted the methods of work resulting from the millennial

/8 cont./

experience of the American Indians, which seem the only utilizable ones in the interior of the country.

Thus these populations which are so varied have in large measure the same agriculture and the same food.

Basic crops are manioc, consumed in the form of couac (flour roasted and granulated) which is the base food, the Indian yam, and tubers analogous to taro (dachine, "Caribbean cabbage"). The Refugee Blacks plant mountain rice in addition. The Creoles do not plant rice but have on the other hand a greater variety of vegetables and fruits.

Men in Guiana live on the rivers; villages and cultivated lands are to be found on their banks; everywhere else one finds only the deserted forest; only Creole gold miners, constrained by their work, sometimes establish their villages far from watercourses. The Refugee Blacks, like the Indians, love the rivers where they find, along with water and light, the possibility of moving without hindrance; they are a people of canoeists; their traditions are widely influenced by life on the river, and their mode of living finds in this a deep originality.

In fact, setting aside the gold miners' villages, we can say that the populations of the Guianas living by exploitation of the natural resources of the country have a linear habitat: it can be estimated not in surface but in length, for it is limited to a band of one kilometer along each watercourse accessible to pirogues. These watercourses are limited in number, for one can take for granted that at a distance of some 20 kilometers from the source of each river, the congestion caused by fallen trees and parasitic vegetation prevents easy movement.

Actually, considering the very low density of the population, the small rivers are scarcely utilized except as fishing places.

All the rivers are interrupted by falls and rapids which render the use of large boats impossible. The pirogues of the Refugee

613 /25 cont./
[601] nothing of their strength although they have lost all correspondence with the age of the people concerned.

614 —Dipélu II, whose members know their genealogy badly,
571 appears on the contrary to be on the way toward breaking up. The head of the Dipélu II, who bears the title of captain, resides
[578] at Kormotibo. Part of the group settled in Asisi following a disagreement, without ceasing to be under his authority.

614 One might think that the physical separation of the two
602 groups took place as a function of the genealogies, that the 2nd
571 fraction of Dipélu II emigrated as a single group to Asisi, leaving in Kormotibo the members of the 1st fraction. But this is not the case at all; examination of the genealogical table shows that the emigrant group issues as much from one as from the other; this is a very remarkable aspect of the social structure of the Refugee Blacks, which proceeds directly from their conceptions of classificatory kinship. A man is "at home" wherever his classificatory "brothers" and "uncles" live, and if a physical separation occurs in the group, preferences and personal affinities will have as much influence as closeness of kinship. /26/

613 Three generations ago, Dipélu was only one group under
614 the leadership of a single head residing in Kormotibo. The process
571 of its breaking up is a beautiful example of what Europeans produce
179 by interfering in the social life of an African tribe in order to pick out a man who appears to them more intelligent and active than the others.

[554] The companion of the explorer Crevaux, Apatu, who be-
[621] longed to this group, was on his return covered with honors, en-
[578] dowed with the title of captain and with pay; he conflicted with the legitimate head of the lo, seceded, and founded a village on the outskirts of Saint-Laurent, taking with him a fraction of the group.

614
613 /26 cont./
[621] This village had no future. its complement did nothing but
[591] melt away for half a century, especially under the influence of
[177] venereal diseases.
[164]

Neither time nor geographical separation have brought on scission on the religious or legal planes. In this respect the members of Dipélu I and Dipélu II continue to think of one another as
[784] the same lineage. They remain subject to the same kunu.

613 The law of exogamy continues to be applied rigorously with-
614 in Dipélu I and within Dipélu II, but marriages are permitted be-
582 tween Dipélu I and II. There are no longer any social sanctions about this, and the common origin of the two groups is so remote that they scarcely think any more of applying to them the term pikadu. But such unions remain exceptional, the people concerned
[784] continuing to fear a superhuman sanction.

[621] No element of heterogeneous origin, fragment paternally related or refugee outsiders, has settled among the Dipélu.

613 The Papaïston or Kawina lineage (Papaïston village) has
[621] remained perfectly coherent and well grouped. Its members know their genealogy as far back as an ancestress named Térésa, who must have lived at the beginning of the 18th century. But there exists a small fraction, nearly extinct, which we shall designate as Papaïston 2, which presents a separate genealogy going almost
[614] as far back in time. Nobody knows the origin of this group exactly; *it is regarded as connected by kinship ties to the main group*, but the members of the two groups consider that they form two distinct
[784] bes. They do not have the same kunu.
[582] Marriage is not tolerated within the principal group, but it is allowed between members of the two groups.

613 Moreover, with the Papaïston lives a small group which
621 fled from Surinam about the end of the 19th century, originally
[167] of the Bakabuchi tribe. This group has no kinship tie at all with
[101] the Papaïston but has placed itself under the authority of the head

/73 cont./

643 That happened especially to people who, summoned to work
687 in the grand man's clearings, carried out their task with ill will.

About 1950, M..., of Papaïston village, had openly revolted against the grand man whom he had refused to conduct to Saint-Laurent. The grand man sentenced him to make a large stairway of planks, from the Boniville wharf to the entrance to the village, giving him an injunction to leave the country if he refused. M... ended by yielding and executed the large stairway which can now be seen at the Boniville wharf.

643 The grand man is constantly concerned about his prestige
648 and dignity; he is almost always dressed in the European manner
292 and in ceremonies wears an impeccable white uniform; the French
177 administration gives him a relatively large salary and, when he comes to Cayenne, he is put up in the hospital in the apartments reserved for officers.

643 To greet the grand man one does not look directly at him
[576] but places himself in profile with respect to him.

The grand man has no servants (that would be contrary to
[644] the morality of the Refugee Blacks) and leads a very simple life.
[357] Still, he does not do any hard manual labor; each year he calls
[466] together a certain number of men from each lo to work in his clearings; he does not pay them, for this work is an obligation provided for by custom, but he feeds them heartily.

643 Likewise, for his traveling, he requisitions by turns as boat-
466 men two or three of his subjects. Sometimes also he requisitions women to help his wife at harvest time.

On the other hand, for all other work he may need (such as the construction of a large boat) he has to pay like everyone else and he is not given any reduction.

437 /76 cont./
829
366 No form of trade (1) is traditionally observed among them,

[556]
[444]
[197]

1. Since 1954, one of them, enriched by boat transport, set up a food business at Kotika, but this is a man more than half "creolized" and one who established himself in the midst of Creoles.

this activity being for them manifestly tied to the idea of the exploitation of others; there is not even any market in the villages.
433 Each person produces, or finds among the people of his own lineage,
439 what food he needs; as for imported objects, the Boni buy them in the course of their trips from the coast traders. That plague of
571 African societies, pseudo-trade or parasitism, is unknown to the
[735] Refugee Blacks. Just as one meets among them neither ragamuffins nor beggars, one perceives nothing nasty or low in their social relations.

In their collective life there is something aboveboard, clean, which strikes one on first meeting them and which one does not tire of admiring, the further one penetrates into the functioning of their institutions.

/96 cont./

423 emigrating fraction possesses exclusive rights over the /agricul-
613 tural/ land /terroir/ it forms. But it does not lose, at least in
621 principle, its rights over its original land /terroir/."
571 The study of finages gives us still more important informa-
tion concerning the exercising of rights of use:
241 /97/ Of 100 clearings examined, 81 follow the normal
423 process according to which the woman has her clearing made on
613 the land of her lineage (1). Of these 81 clearings, 14 had been
621

1. For the joint sector of Boniville, the inhabitants of the village were considered as users of rights without distinction of lineage.

made under conditions not made clear. 48 had been cut by the husband, 14 by a near relative (son, brother, exceptionally brother or son-in-law), five by the woman herself.

In only five cases it is, on the contrary, the man who brings his wife onto his lineage's land.

A little more frequent is the case of a man cutting a clearing for himself on his lineage's land.

Finally, the case in which, for reasons of convenience, a member of a lineage asks to work temporarily on the land of another lineage is met twice. Thus this is an extremely unusual practice.

182 Influence of the geographical environment on the social structure.
171 These observations are to be compared with the ones that can be
[177] made about the Oayana Indians and the Indians of Guiana in general, living near the Refugee Blacks, in the same geographical environment and almost in the same way (let us recall that the Refugee Blacks borrowed the whole of their material culture from the Indians).

55 /123 cont./
553 and supplanting the others, but in numerous cases the names are used concurrently; in general an individual is designated among his maternal relatives by his pikin nɛm, while the people of other villages designate him by his gaã nɛm or by a cognomen. It has happened to us many a time in the course of the same conversation to hear the same individual designated by two or three different names.

125 It goes without saying that this custom makes any census
128 of the Refugee Blacks impracticable, for as long as one does not know individually the members of a lineage and their genealogy, it is impossible to understand anything.

Nevertheless, one must not see in this a defense reaction with respect to the European administration. The Refugee Blacks find it completely normal to have several names at a time, for they do not have the notion of the identity of a name with a person.

Thus one of our boatmen was Fintiman to his maternal relatives, Gobiyo to his father and part of his friends, Loamba to his paternal grandfather, and Nakiyu to his first wife.

55 Choice of names. Names are highly varied and their choice
553 does not follow any fixed rule; it is in the exclusive domain of fancy.

A large number are constituted of simple onomatopoeia: Tyutyu, Dada, Dodo, Dudu, etc. (which may be applied indiscriminately to man or woman). Dodo's mother explained to us the reason for her choice: dodo was the refrain of an air which often sang in her head while she was pregnant. /124/

55 Again are pointed out:
177 --More or less deformed European names: Afayèl (Rafaèl), Modèl, Pasensi (Patience), Félisi (Félix), Sophie, Toïna (Antonia). Certain names are deformed European proper names; for example: Sota for Chotard (name of an official in Saint-Laurent);

/124 cont./

551 --African names (Musa, Kodyo, Kofi, Akuba, Afiba, etc.),
[177] most of them apparently coming from the west coast of Africa.

--Some Indian names: Omiikan, Païké. This last name
[553] had been given to a young man of Asisi by his great-uncle in memory of an Indian chief with whom he was very closely connected;

--Names of plants, animals, or ordinary objects, either in taki-taki or in French:

Ex.: Kapachi (armadillo), Aguti (agouti, a rodent), Babun (red monkey), Kwata (South American spider monkey), Chii (seed), Maisi (maize), Tutu (bamboo), Sépina (épinards, "spinach"), Polimichi (small portable stove), Balansi (balance), Tambour /drum/, Kédé (chest, box), Mandolina (mandolin), Kokoti (tattooing), Guunkaala (blue bead), Klarinèt (clarinet), Alapu (arrow), Bisiklèt /bicycle/, Tomobil /automobile/, etc.;

[177] --European words whose meaning is more or less understood but which sound agreeable to the ears of the Refugee Blacks:

Ex.: Manifest, Komisèr (commissioner), Nètwayé (nettoyé, "cleaned"), Machinn (machine);

551 --Kinship terms or terms of social relations, associated
601 often with a qualifier:

Ex.: Maman (mother), Baakamaman (black mother), May (mother-in-law), Pikin pay (little son-in-law), Pikin baala (little comrade), Bachi (master), Michi (young lady), Baakamichi (young black lady), etc.

551 --Expressions relating generally to the child's characteristics during its first months:

Ex.: Kundu mofu (little mouth), Kundu uman (short woman), Alébiédé (red head), Alobikyé (he likes to cry), Alobilafu (he likes to laugh), Koouman (cold woman), Amoyuman (pretty woman), Dansiuman (dancer), Hafukii (half dead), etc.;

551 --Names alluding to a virtue, but this is pure fancy;
577 we must not believe that they attempt in that way to make it enter the child. One sees Séyéuman (serious woman), Abété

/126 cont./

651 553 The only case in which custom governs the choice of name is that of twins.

Male twins are called Adam and Agosu.

Boy and girl twins are called Adam and Efa (2).

[179]

2. This is connected with a myth derived from the Biblical tradition, which we shall set forth later.

Female twins are called Chimba and Sisi.

Social Relations within the Lineage

429 604 [593] Guardianship. Until he is old enough to work, the child is placed under the responsibility of the mother and, one step farther away, that of the eldest of his classificatory uncles. To a lesser degree all the uncles have authority over the child; guardianship is collective.

The custom of the Refugee Blacks, hostile to any division of the lineage, does not recognize any right peculiar to the mother's brothers (still, in fact, they seem to be consulted by preference about matters of small importance). [584] For serious matters, such as authorizing a marriage, the classificatory uncles meet and deliberate; they do not vote, strictly speaking, but the proved opposition of three or four of them causes the project to be abandoned.

429 593 604 [836] It is to the mother that people will come to complain about the child, and not to the father. She it is who decides to refer the thing to the uncles if it is serious (example of Doni, 18 years old, who deflowered Elina, 15 years old. Elina's mother came to complain to Doni's mother. Doni's mother went to notify her older brother Fintiman, who took the matter in hand).

/186 cont./

765 In the evening the young people dance in front of the houses of several men who have given the tafia, but that no longer has the character of a ceremony. All is over at eleven o'clock in the evening.

On the sixth day, Nov. 13, at seven o'clock, the elders assemble again in front of the /187/ banana leaves where a little of the food offered the day before remains (dogs and chickens have eaten part of it).

A long palaver begins, disconnected and disconcerting, whose purpose escapes me. The clearest thing coming out of it is that the captains make known what the grand man (absent from the ceremony) told them in the morning. They thank the grand man for this festival which has gone off without any incident; they say that they can be counted on if some mourning rises in another village.

[291] [535] [177] Todo makes apologies to the grand man because the young people were dressed in a new style (large loincloths /calimbés/ reaching to the ground) and danced several Creole dances. He says to the audience that this does not conform to custom and that the true Boni dances are sɔŋgɛ, susa, awasa.

Next Fintiman pours water gently on the banana leaves, calling the dead whose mourning is being lifted. "We pour water for you, watch over the people in your family, over the grand man and over those who have worked for the mourning, that they may be in good health, that nothing bad happen to them.

We have done with you; stay where God put you."

765 775 [D68] While pronouncing these words, Fintiman breaks his dead mother's bench and dish (for the dead boys, nothing had been brought). It is a question not only of marking the break with the living but of procuring for the dead woman what will be necessary for her in the Beyond. For this purpose a paddle is also broken, which her son Klémenti prepared for her, and calabashes prepared by her daughters.

178 [173] /192 cont. /

thus it is that they have kept a rather exact description of the elephant (leu) and the gorilla (malẽngwana).

[648] imposed on the slaves has prevailed. There is nothing surprising about that, since the slaveholders tried, in order to prevent revolts, to mix to the maximum the Blacks of the various tribes.

174 A certain number of men initiated in differing degrees into African cults were among the rebels. They tried to con-
177 serve and transmit these rites, which their descendants have more or less transposed or deformed (2). As far as one can

[182]

2. The single fact that the vegetation and fauna differed totally from those of Africa immediately required a modification of ritual which called for infusions of leaves of numerous plants to which definite magical properties are attributed.

[198] As far as one can judge by the secret languages attached to these cults, in which are recognized many words deformed from the ordinary language, and a few Indian words, these cults in their present state must
[178] differ appreciably from the ones which gave them birth. In fact, the only thing the Refugee Blacks have authentically kept is concepts, metaphysical and moral ideas.

/192 cont./

771 171 [177] This is precisely what constitutes the great interest of the Refugee Blacks' religious forms, which one finds again, besides, in large measure, mixed with Christian ideas, among all the Blacks of South America. They seem to point out a very important common background of conceptions common to the West African civilizations.

771 174 184 It is certainly not by chance if the various tribes of Refugee Blacks have adopted such close social and religious forms. One must assume the action of several strong personalities who knew, with an almost superhuman instinct, how to sift out from the jumble of beliefs brought by the rebel slaves what was necessary to the life of the new society; but this new religion would not have taken root in forms so stable and so coherent if all had not been intimately conscious of being in agreement on a minimum of common concepts.

It is important to observe that the Refugee Blacks, who borrowed most of their techniques from the Indians and Europeans, remained rigorously faithful in their beliefs and rituals to the African substratum, from which they drew a homogeneous and [177] living whole. Although the beliefs of the Indians are known to them in their main lines, they have borrowed almost nothing from them; on the other hand, it is certain that vague Christian recollections influenced the conception they have of the supreme god, Masa Gadu, and their moral and religious law. But they have been introduced into an African system of thought, and in fact the beliefs which directly influence individual and social life come in a straight line from the African earth.

772 [171] Metaphysical conceptions. Through the rituals of the Refugee Blacks appear /193/ metaphysical conceptions very comparable to those which have been noted in the populations of West Africa.

/194 cont./

773 One day, the devil came in the form of the serpent dagowe. He told them: "Eat the seeds of this tree and you will know all things like God himself."

Adam allowed himself to be tempted and ate a custard apple, he had Efa eat some of it. He found this fruit good and said: "God had deceived us." His heart changed, he ceased looking at Efa as a sister and united with her. She became pregnant.

Some time afterward, God came upon the earth and saw what had happened. He said to Efa: "Thou shalt bear a child in pain." And to Adam: "Thou shalt eat only what thou hast harvested by the sweat of thy brow." He gave him a stone axe and told him: "Go on the nearby mountain; thou wilt find the seedlings of what thou wilt have to plant henceforth in order to feed thyself."

Efa had two twins whom she again called Adam and Efa, and other children. From these children all men have descended.

[777] This Biblical myth, transposed into the African way of thinking, explains the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks concerning [845] twins. It was two twins whom God created first. Twins are beloved of God and share his nature.

776 The idea most generally accepted among the Boni is that Masa Gadu is the source of force from which all living beings derive theirs; men are connected with him through their ancestors.

It happens that Masa Gadu may intervene directly in the lives of men, and in such a case he acts necessarily according to justice, without any magic whatever being able to protect the guilty one. But in most cases he does not intervene, showing himself in that way to be as arbitrary as the lower gods.

/198 cont./

167 old woman of 90, A..., who died in Asisi in January, 1957.
754 Having lived with Creoles in her youth, she had come back to live in her native village for at least 30 years and had never given occasion for any unfavorable remark. Nevertheless, upon her death it appeared that she had wisi.

771 Attitude toward Christianity. The Refugee Blacks, who are
829 acquainted better than one might believe with the conceptions of the populations in the midst of whom they live, have a clear
• 177 feeling of the relationship which exists between their metaphysical and moral conceptions and those of Christianity. They think they worship the same god as the Christians, in a com-
[797] pletely different way but just as sound. They have no animosity whatever toward the Catholic and Protestant clergy, and most of them agree willingly to wearing crosses or medals. But they have not the least intention of abandoning their beliefs for that. They do not perceive the contradiction and do not understand that people might want to oblige them to choose.

851 Like the Creole gold miners, they attach great importance
171 to baptism, considered as an obia protective against the dangers of the bush. On Christmas, 1957 they were strongly impressed
165 by the accidental death of a Djuka Christian living at the
797 Kotika school. He refused to observe mourning for his wife
[688] according to the custom of the Refugee Blacks, and used to go
[273] to drink in the cabarets of the Creole villages. On Christmas
[784] evening, when drunk, he drowned himself. That was attributed to a suprahuman punishment. We heard /199/ the following reflection on this subject: "He was baptized and he drowned himself just the same. That is therefore not worth the trouble."

61 Actually, the matrilineal structure of the Refugee Blacks
581 and their conception of marriage form an irreducible cleavage,
571 which appears immediately as soon as one leaves the metaphysical conceptions to pass to the plane of practical living.

/215 cont./

787 789 in their hands and utter adjurations. We saw this rite performed [114] in 1949 but without being able to observe the exact details.

The frequency of the phenomena of possession and the 787 importance accorded to them imprint a remarkable character 791 on the religious life of the Refugee Blacks: all these manifestations have for each one the character of obvious material fact. How, then, doubt that one lives with the gods, sees them, and [177] speaks to them? Because of this fact the society of the Refugee Blacks is utterly impermeable to European influences.

787 Some plants utilized in the rites of possession. The preparations 824 with which the possessed people "wash" their bodies consist of macerations of leaves. The plants used, which for the most part belong to the secondary flora which develops in the old clearings, are very numerous. However, some are regarded as [789] having a very unique power. The first five especially are utilized by all the Boni to "wash off the Ampuku" when they have slept a night in the bush.

Aluku Name	Identification(1)	Use
[122]	1. Identification by Mr. Hoock, botanist connected with the Institut français d'Amérique tropicale (IFAT) in Cayenne.	
Lebi katu	cotton	cult of the Ampuku
Kɔnɔpo wiwi	Ayptis atrorubens (Labiaceae)	---- /216/
Foo kākā	Tiaridium indicum (Borraginaceae)	----
Sume wiwi	Oumium sanctum (?) (Labiaceae)	----

/243 cont./

754 only commonplace illnesses or accidents of some sort. We
[683] have never heard poisoning, in the usual sense of the term, mentioned.

754 The wisimã trials are in our opinion the most unpleasant
695 aspect of the civilization of the Refugee Blacks. But it must
182 be admitted that they correspond to profound necessities. These archaic societies need an obvious materialization of the principles they have given themselves. Since evil exists, opposing itself to good, the practices of wisi and wisimã exist, and the punishment of evildoers is indispensable for the society to remain subject to the law of good.

[984] By its notion of the kunu which turns aside toward the gods the responsibility for most misfortunes, by the extreme rarity of wisimã trials, by the prudence of its judiciary action which in point of fact pursues only the dead, the society of the Refugee Blacks shows itself humane and realistic.

If one undertook with the Refugee Blacks definite action to make these practices disappear, one would risk obscuring their notion of good and evil and removing all efficacy from their customary law.

[183] The social order of the Refugee Blacks cannot be maintained if the interdiction of harming anyone and the interdiction of vengeance do not remain clearly laid down. It matters little that these acts of sorcery are without real content: It is the intention to harm which counts, with all its social and psychological consequences.

171 When one observes the Creole populations of the Guianas
● 177 and the West Indies, *even though /244/ they have been under*
182 the influence of Christianity for several centuries, one is
754 struck by the development of sorcery and by its repercussions on the whole of social life. The teaching received at school and from the catechism, which embraces white magic and black magic in a single reprobation, has greatly contributed toward making these populations lose the principles of social morals of their ancestors without in exchange modifying their

/244 cont./

171 image of the world. Since magic practices are rejected by
177 religion, since it even denies their reality, one does not think,
182 when one finds oneself constrained to have recourse to them,
754 of transferring to them the notion of good and evil which it teaches. Black magic gets in almost inevitably because a person believes he must defend himself; then its use becomes habitual, and the two forms of magic end up by mixing together and being no longer regarded as fundamentally different from each other.

171 Cases of wisi and Boni customary law. In African villages,
754 cases of sorcery are interpreted by interminable and useless
695 discussions, wild accusations, protestations of innocence, sometimes more or less sincere confessions, oaths and legal tests with always contested results. These cases are never finished; they are in permanent evolution, sometimes for months and years. Opinion moves successively onto different hypotheses according to events which take place, seeking its way gropingly like a man lost in darkness.

754 It is clear that the first lawgivers of the Refugee Blacks,
695 by carrying judgment back to the death of those concerned and
182 by refusing the wisimã any kind of pardon or compromise, tried to prevent the development of these sad crises. What is the use of discussing interminably, since there is no certain proof, and since nobody may confess? But customary law collides on this point with tendencies too deep to be entirely restrained. The laws of Odun are not always obeyed to the letter, and it happens sometimes that the Boni lose their footing in the
[57] observance of their customary law. Then crises take place among them, as violent and confused as in the villages of Black Africa, going as far as paralyzing social life for several weeks; then peace returns for several months, sometimes for several years.

/254 cont./

784 If someone realizes that he has broken his kina, he goes
756 to see, not an ɔbiaman, but the specialist-healer of leprosy
751 and asks him to treat him by way of prevention.

411 Beliefs about guns and hunting. The gun, which entered the
832 everyday life of the Refugee Blacks two centuries ago, has taken
[177] an important place in their magic. It is the symbol of virility.
[558] A Refugee Black who no longer has a gun is a man humiliated and almost dishonored. As one of them explained to us in begging us to help him replace his old gun eaten by rust: "If you cannot present yourself before the women with a machete, hunting bag on your shoulder, and gun in your hand, you are not a man."

411 This idea has been transposed onto the plane of magic
754 and they take for granted that the wisimã can, by putting evil spells on a gun, attack the owner of the weapon in his virility. It is supposed to be enough for someone to put his finger into the barrel of the gun while uttering a formula of vengeance, or even being moved by hate for the owner of the weapon, for this gun to be no longer capable of hitting the mark. So, to avoid these misfortunes, the Boni never part with their guns and never
411 lend them to anyone. If, in spite of these precautions, they
789 have the impression that a gun no longer fires so well, they will go to an ɔbiaman to have it washed of maleficent influence. There exist for that purpose several remedies all of which consist of soaking the gun for one to three days in infusions of leaves, which has the unfailing result of making it rust. We have seen a hammerless, latest model gun spoiled thus by an intelligent Boni head boatman, a clever mechanic and usually full of good sense.

224 We have never witnessed among the Boni any individual or collective hunting rites claiming to attract game or to promote meeting it (when, on the contrary, hunting piayes are extremely widespread among the Creoles).

538 /267 cont./
[765] audience and to create an atmosphere of participation in the rite.

This ritual character makes it so that the Anansi Toli cannot be recited any time and in any old way. The story-teller may speak only at night, in the presence of a respondent and of an audience of at least two or three persons. A ritual formula: "dirinti" -- the response of the audience: "ndaeti," [124] precedes each new story. It is only with extreme repugnance [126] that informants consent to listen to and comment in the day-[96] time on a tale recorded on tape, particularly if their parents are still living, for it is said among the Refugee Blacks as in Black Africa that telling stories in full daylight makes one's father and mother die.

[174] These tales belong to an authentically African accumulated store, practically unchanged in spite of the [179] borrowing from the Creole Blacks of Paramaribo of several themes concerning automobiles, steamboats, etc., inserted in droll fashion into the traditional themes.

The usual hero of these tales is Anansi, the crafty one. [825] Anansi is the name of the Mygale spider (1). It is noteworthy,

[191] 1. The spider cycle is characteristic of the Akan (Agni-Baoulé-Abron) culture area. Anansi is the name of the Mygale spider among the Agni.

however, that this spider does not appear to play any special role in the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks and that no divinatory power is attributed to it. In fact, in the tales which he is the hero, Anansi is nearly always represented as a man.

/274 cont./

*539 (He fell), he stayed there, bashed in like an old kerosene can. He didn't die of it. He came to and went away. So goes the tale.

5) Anansi, the King and the Rabbit(3).

[538]
[177]

3. The rabbit, who plays the part of the sly character in the folklore of the West Indies, does not exist in Guiana. This tale is probably the transposition of a West Indian theme.

There was a king; he reigned over a country. All the people of the king's village had the habit of going to wash in a certain pond. One day, the king went to this pond to bathe. Comrade, he saw a cack in the water! "Who relieved himself there?" "I don't know." /275/ The king called the people together. This one said: "It isn't I." That one: "It isn't I." Nobody had made that cack, but there it was.

Anansi said to the king: "Grand-man, I shall discover the guilty one." The king said: "Very well; do what thou canst do."

Anansi went away. He went and cut a tree; he made a beautiful big statue, he made it eyes, a nose, a mouth, breasts. He smeared it with birdlime, then put it in the middle of the path which went to the pond. The moon had not risen.

Comrades, the rabbit relieved himself in the pond, then he came back to the bank, for it was he who had made that cack in the water. He took to the road, a pail of water on his head. He saw a woman standing in the middle of the path. He shouted: "Ho! woman! get off the path, I don't want thee (here)." She remained immobile. He said: "Woman! I am

/292 cont./

Relations with the Other Populations

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The tribes of Refugee Blacks do not constitute a closed world. They have lived since their formation in close symbiosis with the neighboring populations: autochthonous Indians, Europeans, and Creoles. Their traditions and their conception of life have been strongly influenced by these, not because they have lost anything of their interior unity, but because they have accepted, at least collectively, the idea that they have bonds and duties toward other men.

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648 829

Just as their economy on the material plane is based on exchange, so they consider the symbiosis of their group with the neighboring groups as the normal order of the universe. The misfortunes undergone by their ancestors have given them an extreme horror of violence; they consider peace a precious blessing common to all nations, and their moral principles which forbid harming anyone extend to all men. It is clear that these notions are less clearly understood on the individual level and that there are, as elsewhere, some thefts and abuses of trust. But, on /293/ the collective level, the relations between the Refugee Blacks and their neighbors are established on a base of trust, loyalty, and honesty not found to the same degree in Africa.

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619 [643]

Relations with the other tribes. The Boni do not have any well-defined political ties with the other tribes of Refugee Blacks, but the grand men have semiofficial relations through the medium of messengers, and consult one another rather frequently.

[578]

The Boni have harbored a tenacious resentment against the Djuka for having in former times allied themselves with the Dutch against them, but this resentment, chiefly collective in nature, has died down with time; it does not prevent individual relations from being cordial.

/296 cont./

888 829 This is a point of view which has great importance in the eyes of the Boni, for whom finishing one's days at the hospice or being reduced to asking for the help of outsiders constitutes the worst downfall.

829 They fear, moreover, as we have shown, Creole magic which they liken to a form of wisi.

On the other hand, they are impressed by the attainments of the Creoles, the real spirit of initiative and the strong personality of some of them; moreover, the Boni who have been to Cayenne have noticed the solicitude of the administration with respect to the population of the communes. For all these reasons there exists among the Boni a certain body of opinion in favor of creolization. But the very unique type of life of the Boni and their desire to keep their special customs attach them to their ancestral form of life; about 1890 the explorer Coudreau, observing the same facts, was predicting imminent creolization of the Boni. In fact, this did not happen, and it is unlikely to.

829 177 178 [114]

648 464 Traditional relations with Europeans. The Refugee Blacks constitute an important element in the economic life of the Guianas; on behalf of the administration and European enterprises they perform many jobs (boating, wood-floating, tree-felling). They are not well adapted to other kinds of work, but in these activities which fit with their traditional mode of life they are equal if not superior to any labor. Very highly paid, they work with speed, effectiveness, and intelligence, exhibiting an initiative and sense of duty not commonly found in Africans(1).

648 461 [465]

[177]

1. It is to be noted that if they stop leading their traditional kind of life, for example if they settle permanently near European establishments, they rapidly lose these qualities.

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648 Never do they appeal to the courts to settle their differences, still less their family quarrels; never do they beg for help.

829 The Europeans' material superiority does not impress them: the whites are more able in mechanics, but they are more able in magic, that is all. The efficacy of European medicine does [758] not shake their convictions: if someone has reasons to believe himself victim of the anger of a gadu, he begins by making the sacrifices intended to appease it, then asks it for authorization to have himself cared for by the whites. Personally we have [123] never done anything to disabuse the Boni of this idea which [753] satisfies at the same time the requirements of medicine and those of social discipline, for it must not be forgotten that for them • 177 sickness is punishment for an offense. Thus one sees that unless it is deliberately brought to bear against tradition and against the leaders, the influence of Europeans is without appreciable effect on the civilization of the Refugee Blacks. It is no longer the same when contacts become too frequent, tend to alter drastically the way of life, and especially when these influences become openly "civilizing."

178 The Future of the Refugee Blacks

Obliged to solve all the problems of life by their own means, the Refugee Blacks have been able to adapt with intelligence to the evolution of the modern world, and their custom has kept all its vigor and effectiveness. Their future would not 648 seem to be threatened if a wave of opinion had not come to the surface these past years, in French Guiana as well as in Surinam, to destroy their civilization, deemed primitive and barbarous, and to fuse them into the population of the coast. This result would be obtained in particular by schooling and evangelization.

/298 cont./

114 Here desirous of remaining on the plane of strict scientific objectivity, we shall avoid entering the discussion of the benefit springing from this action, which, moreover, would necessitate a long development. We shall limit ourselves to showing that it appears to us to be doomed to failure.

871 --The experiment of schooling has been made for more
177 than 30 years among the Boni in the village of Kotika. Half a dozen children, doing well in their studies, left for Surinam and broke with their native group. In the others, the teaching received left only faint traces. As a matter of fact, there is no room in a normal intelligence to receive at the same time the mass of technical knowledge necessary for holding one's own in the society of the Refugee Blacks and ordinary school in-
[829] struction. One necessarily drives out the other; now the Boni are extremely fond of their free life on the great river, which assures them very satisfactory material conditions of living.

797 --Evangelization has been carried on with perseverance
177 for more than 200 years with the Refugee Blacks of Surinam.
184 It has not given appreciable results. It has been the same in French Guiana with the action carried on with the Saramaka working /299/ near the communes of the coast (1), and more

[648] 1. The Saramaka not only have no tendency to be converted, but they exert a significant influence on the population of the communes. On
[756] the Oyapok the Saramaka healer
[787] has numerous clients, and in spite of the clergy's interdiction, many women go to the possession dances of the Papa gudu serpent gods.

recently with the Boni of the Upper Maroni.

/299 cont./

771 The Boni, as we have shown, do not feel that they are pagans. They think they worship the same god as the Christians, in a different way but just as valid; they feel that their moral principles are not inferior to those of the Christians, that they are expressed in practice by the same prescriptions and are in fact better obeyed(2).

[828]

2. We report here faithfully the point of view of those concerned without making any judgment of its worth; let us recall that their principles of living do not assume any moral conscience in the individual and rest entirely upon the fear of material punishments in the present life. But even this base gives them great practical effectiveness.

829 Only in their conception of their kinship and the family, in the absence of family life based on the indissolubly united couple, do they recognize that they live under another law. But they do not fail to notice that the populations of the Guianas who profess Christianity hardly put it into practice in their family life: the stability of marriages is appreciably greater among the Refugee Blacks.

787 776 828 As for the cults of possession, the Boni feel that they worship de facto entities whose existence appears as tangible to them as light or weight to us. These ideas are bound up with a characteristic way of perceiving, touching deep zones of the mind which reasoning does not reach (3).

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3. Actually, it is observed in Black Africa that where cults

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of possession exist, the populations are particularly impermeable to Christian influence. Apparently destroyed, these cults soon reappear in another form, sometimes in Christian guise (possession by the saints).

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Let us add that one of the great strengths of the custom of the Refugee Blacks is the privileged position it gives to the woman. Women, shielded from the direct influence of Europeans and Creoles, and besides practically inaccessible to all reasoning, are hostile to changes which would infringe on their privileges. Now it is they, in fact, who have the education of the children in their hands.

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Thus it does not appear possible to "assimilate" these populations by destroying their original culture. The attempts inspired by fanaticism for civilizing will have as their only result its impoverishment, pushing the Refugee Blacks to dissimulate their beliefs, to abandon their art, costume, songs, and dances, all that makes up their joy in living. But the social structure based on the fear of ancestors and gods could be destroyed only by violence. We may hope that nobody thinks of coming to that.

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As for us who have lived a long time in the midst of the Refugee Blacks, we feel a deep esteem for them. By their historic past, the originality of the customs they have developed, the good relations they have been able to create with the other populations, they have proved their creative abilities; they deserve to be allowed to evolve in their own way. /blank page/

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

REBEL DESTINY

3

643 "Tell me this," said Granman Yankuso to us one evening
159 when we sat alone with him in the council house, "why
186 is it that things have changed so in the city? I am not a
178 young man. For years I came to the city, and when I met Negro women of the town going to market or coming from market, they were dressed in full skirts. They looked well. Now the women dress in straight dresses like men. Straight up and down and short. They want to look like white people.

"Years ago when I came to the city, I used to hear Negroes laugh. It is good to hear laughter. Now they are trying to be like the whites. They do not laugh. That is not good. It would be better if white people laughed more, too.

"Why do Negroes want to turn into white people? Look, is my skin like yours? Is my daughter's hair like yours, white woman? If you put on a pangi, you will not look like my daughter. You, white man, are as tall as Captain And'u. If you put on a cloth over one shoulder, you will not look like And'u. . . .

"A man came to me in the city and said he wanted to go to Dahomey. He wore no obias. He was a white man's Negro. I said he couldn't go to Dahomey. The man said, 'Look, my skin is as black as yours.' 'Ai, but your heart isn't.'

"You know why I said it? There is your kind of magic, white man, and there is our kind of magic. White man's magic keeps men in cities, but here in the bush a man needs black man's magic to keep alive and black man's strength to go up and down the rivers.

"You white men have books. You read in books, and you know. I cannot read what men write, yet I can read in my own way. I meet a man, and I can read him. I look at him, and I know what he is thinking. Before he begins to talk, I know what he wants to say. What your ancestors knew they put down in books, and you read it. What our ancestors know, they tell us at night, they tell us in the cool of the

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

morning, they tell us when we call on them. That is the black man's way.

"You white people have money, you have fine houses, you wear clothes, you can count. They tell me that you say in your books all people must be friends. But you have wars. If white people kill white people, then *mati*—friend—how will it be with black people living among the whites?"

Granman Yankuso rose, when he said this, and took from the chains of the suspended lamp a folded envelope. He handed it to us, and from it we took out a letter on the stationery of the League of Nations, signed by its Secretary, Sir Eric Drummond. As we were reading this, he left the council house and soon returned with a larger envelope, which he had kept uncreased, and from it brought out a photograph of the Council of the League of Nations in session. They were his proud possessions. While the World War lasted there was no work for the Bush Negroes on the river. They could not earn the money they needed to buy cloths for marrying and powder and rum for ceremonial usage. The Bush Negroes called it a "great money famine," in the way of their Anansi stories which so often began with "This was a time of great famine." Through a missionary on the upper river, the Granman learned of the war, and through him later of the League, which the missionary had undoubtedly brought up as the white man's defense against the challenge of the black tribal head, who asked, "How will it be with black people living among the whites?"

It was then that the Granman through this same missionary addressed himself to the white rulers far away, telling of the fear of the blacks, and counseling them the wisdom of peace!

4

In the council house Granman Moana Yankuso was host to the Gankwe men. They were there to take their leave of him before starting down river. Asikanu, the handsome brother of the Gankwe clan head, who was sent away from his village while the elders were deciding upon his adultery

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

175 not sufficient to make them adopt the white man's culture.

Many of the rebels, indeed, had been born on the sugar plantations and raised in close contact with European civilization. These were probably inclined to modify in many details the West African habits of their parents. But the white man and his magic were the object of universal hatred among the blacks. They had no incentive to adopt European ways, when they were proud of their own. And when they escaped into the bush, they found a typical West African culture reconstructed in the Surinam bush by the escaped slaves who had preceded them. It was as though a section of West Africa had been picked up bodily and deposited almost intact in the South American jungle. To this day, therefore, we have many evidences of West African culture in the life of the Surinam Bush Negroes. Their entire social structure, with the exception of a few items borrowed from the [177] Indians and certain European inventions like gunpowder which were forced upon them, is analogous to that of the Old World.

178 Conditions were not the same in every particular. In 182 West Africa there is iron ore, and the art of iron working was invented and carried to a high point of perfection by the African natives. There is little iron ore in Surinam, so that the art of working it is lost to the Bush Negroes. A limited quantity of iron weapons and implements was pillaged from the plantations, and all of it was probably converted immediately into arrow-points, hatchets, and bush-knives, to carry on the guerilla warfare against the despised Europeans.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Common household implements for everyday use had to be 178
made out of different material. Wood was used wherever 182
possible. So in place of iron the Bush Negroes developed an elaborate and beautiful art of carving domestic utensils. Pots are stirred with wooden paddles instead of with iron [412
ladles. Enormous wooden trays are used for carrying food. 415]
Combs, stools, beaters, and a dozen other implements all bear evidence of this extraordinary technique of wood carving, and this too is a heritage from their African ancestry.

In tracing the relationship between any two cultures, such 177
as the West African and the Bush Negro, we should always 182
bear in mind the possibility that both developed independently and that similarities between them may be due to the influence of similar environments rather than to actual culture contact. Thus, for example, while the Djuka corial is hollowed out of solid logs in a fashion similar to the West African canoe, which at once suggests borrowing, it is also true that the rapid waters of the Surinam, Marowyne, and Saramacca Rivers make any other kind of board or bark canoe impracticable. The Bush Negroes' dugout canoes may be an independent adaptation to the environment rather than a heritage from Africa.

This difficulty is a common one in anthropological speculation; examples are to be found on all hands. Thus, it has been maintained that the Reindeer Men who lived in France during the Magdalenian Age are related to the present-day Eskimo, because their bone implements and crude drawings bear certain resemblances, although the two races are

B /510 cont./
581 relatives, nor any power of the man over the woman, nor even
B household cohabitation. The man and the woman each reside in
591 the village of their maternal kin. The man goes to live with his
593 wife from time to time, providing her with the imported commodities that she needs, notably salt, kerosene, cloth, and utensils, and felling trees for the clearings which she will exploit
B for the benefit of the household.
586 Divorce is entirely free. Unions are not very stable, mainly on account of the woman. Numbers of women are divorced four to five times during their lives.

B The grand man, chief of the tribe, exercises over the Boni a
643 power which is more religious than political.

B The Boni are a pirogue-people. For more than a century they
433 have been living by using their canoes for the benefit of gold-seekers
178 and exploiting miners. The decline of gold extraction is depriving
[501] them more and more of their traditional resources. Some of them
[167] are emigrating temporarily to the coastal lumberyards. But all of them remain faithful to their villages and to their customs.

R /511/
101 The Oayana Indians (Roucouyennes /Rucuyen/). These Indians of the
177 Caribe /Carib/ ethnic group have had only a few direct contacts
144 with European civilization and still represent without alteration the
R human type which populated Guiana before the arrival of the
161 Europeans. On encountering the Refugee Blacks, the Indians of the Guianese forest have been steadily and rapidly declining. Estimated
R at 30,000 at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Indians
101 of French Guiana are now no more than about a thousand. In
162 addition there must be included in this number 700 persons (Galibi and
131 Arawak) who have been protected by their habitat in the savannas of the coast where malaria is less deadly than in the interior.

R The accounts of travelers and the censuses made notably in
175 1730, 1759, 1787, and 1815 allow one to follow with precision
161 this destruction of the autochthonous population since the first settlement of the Europeans in Guiana (2).

2. Dr. André Sausse, op. cit., pp. 67-98.

/10 cont./

162 The Boni, about 1,000 in number, occupy the course of the
131 Lawa between Abounasounga Falls to the north and the falls of the
Litani to the south. Their "great villages," that is, their residential
361 villages, are: Agodé (Boniville), Kotika, Asisi, Loka, Papaïston,
[103] Kormotibo, Lapé, and l'Enfant Perdu. Three small villages
founded more recently are established on the lower course of the
563 Maroni. The territorial implantation of the Boni has been dis-
turbed by the settlement of Creole gold miners on their territory
• 178 for three quarters of a century. Their demographic situation is
mediocre and their tribal organization, compared to that of the
[181] other tribes, has lost much of its strength. However, they still
make up a human grouping full of strength and originality.

131 The Djuka, whose "great villages" are in Surinam territory
361 on the /11/ Tapanahoni, can be evaluated at 7,000 to 8,000 in
total. At the height of demographic expansion, their farming
[162] villages swarm on both banks of the Maroni and on the islands,
[161] penetrating more and more deeply into the interior of French
[648] Guiana, where in places they form small temporary groupings
[619] living in symbiosis with the Creole gold miners; the Boni recognize
their right to cross their territory but not that of establishing
villages in it.

433 For a century the economy of the Refugee Blacks has been
648 founded on a symbiosis with the Europeans and Creoles; they furnish
[464] specialized labor (construction, but above all, transport) in ex-
[465] change for relatively high wages. This economy finds itself
[178] threatened by the gradual disappearance of gold mining; there is
developing a tendency toward temporary emigration to the Euro-
[166] pean work yards of Saint-Laurent analogous to that of the Saramaka
[182] of Surinam to French Guiana. This is a serious threat to the in-
terior cohesion of the tribes.

/15 cont./ Thus it was at
423 the time of the Lawa gold rushes (1890) that Grand Man Anato
643 caused rent to be paid by the Creole miners who were settling in
[648] the region. But this practice, excessive when the small portion of this territory actually occupied by the Boni is considered, ended
423 up by falling into disuse. Nowadays things have fallen into the
648 opposite extreme, and the Boni find themselves having no right,
178 customary or otherwise, over the country of their ancestors; the first comer, even of the Creoles from the British West Indies, can settle anywhere, dislocating the apportionment of the land among lineages. This situation has been harmful to the life of the tribe by contributing to the scattering of the peopling. Perhaps it is not too late to remedy the situation. An /16/ /Figure 2 appears here/ /17/ African tribe cannot live wholesomely if there are no definite relationships, entailing unquestioned rights, between the group and the land.

423 The following modus vivendi has been in force for many
619 years:

a) The Djuka may circulate freely across Boni country, but
[486] they may not establish villages in it; if they wish to make clearings
[166] there, they must ask for permission from the grand man.
[226] Otherwise they have the right to fish on the Tanpok and the Waki.

423 b) The Creoles may settle anywhere and make their clear-
648 ings where the lands are not used. But that does not modify in the minds of the Boni the lineages' rights over the land; this occupation is regarded as creating no new right; for example, the Doglis habitation is built on the lands of Kormotibo village.

423 c) The Boni reserve for themselves along with the Oayana
648 Indians the exclusive right to fish on the Litani and the Maruini.
822 On these rivers the Djuka do not have the right to penetrate.
(619)

The Boni may be computed at a little less than 1,000 persons
162 all told.

/18 cont./

613 [621] Six lineages (1) of ancient founding are counted among the

[178]

1. It seems that in the past there was a greater number of groups (they continue to use the expression twalɔfuyu lo, the 12 lo, to designate the Boni nation), but some have died out.

Boni; all, with one single exception, have remained effective groupings corresponding each one to a village; for these lineages the words bɛɛ and lo may be used indiscriminately. The seventh, Dipélu, is distributed in three villages under different authorities, that is, forms three lo.

[614] The lo possesses a head (hedeman or captain). The bɛɛ possesses neither head nor organization, but as we shall show, its members are united by religious ties and meet to celebrate common rites.

(See table on the following page.)

[643] The head of the Dikan lo is supreme chief -- grand man -- of the Boni.

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1. This conception of kinship is also found among the Agni of the Ivory Coast and the Fon of Dahomey; it may be widespread in Black Africa, especially in populations with matrilineal filiation.

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/22/ This conception, associated with that of the kunu, conflicts with the fractioning of lineages on the religious plane, even when a scission has taken place on the plane of residence. The rigor of the principle laid down, the quasi-mathematical transmission from one generation to the next of appellations based on rank relative to the foundress, prohibits the thought that elements foreign to the lineage can be integrated into this system by any process whatever. Nevertheless, a doubt remains as to the possibility of assimilating fragments with paternal kinship, for in paternal kinship the same principle of classificatory kinship rules, and the same appellations are used. We shall show that such a process of assimilation actually exists on the social plane, but that it is inconceivable on the religious plane, the kunu always being transmitted by the mother. /Fig. 3 appears here./

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Knowledge of genealogical ties is very variable from one lineage to another. Outside of the great splits like Dipélu I-Dipélu II, we have demonstrated that small fractions of several lineages could no longer be attached to the main trunk, the genealogical ties being irremediably lost. The people concerned had never realized this; they had never wondered about it. This was the case particularly:

—With Samma's descendants (Dipélu II, Asisi);

—With the group of Atili's descendants (Lapé, Boniville).

[178]

In both cases the split was very recent; old men dead for only a few years knew the genealogical ties now lost.

621 241 591 /117 cont./

Atikati (daughters living with their father, groups of friends having no rights over the land).

621 241 591 It seems that exceptions of this kind have always existed among the Refugee Blacks, but they are probably tending to become more numerous.

178 They do not appear to be due to a change of conception about family structure but to a development of individualistic tendencies. These groups of aberrant structure are particularly unstable.

361 241 Stability; changes of location. On this point there is no precise custom. Certain farming habitations are old, such as those of Sawen and Atikati, which certainly date from the beginning of the century. Most appear to last from five to ten years. Others, like that of Kwaku, have had only an ephemeral existence.

361 241 166 The changes of location of habitations which have taken place in this region since 1950 have very variable causes: /118/ /Fig. 20 appears here/ /119/

△ Dyakata (Dip. I)	left the region to live in the lower Maroni among the Paramaka for personal reasons.
○ Chili (Dip. I)	went to settle near Maripasoula. Gave up his habitation at Simayé Falls because of manioc ants.
△ Kwaku (L)	His habitation was too damp and the activity of the manioc ants too great. Henceforth lives all year in Loka.
[226] △ Akwadé (L)	Had no habitation, created one in 1954 near Simayé Falls. Was looking for a site favorable for fishing, from which he lives almost entirely.

On the whole, it can be estimated that the average duration of a farming habitation is about ten years. In these moves,

[Text Continues on P. 173]

/122 cont./

846 834 856 Interruption of conjugal relations after the birth. For three months after delivery the mother must stay away from men and even avoid touching them. Conjugal relations must be interrupted until the child begins to walk alone (eleven to 14 months). However, it is tolerated (but disapprovingly) that they be interrupted only for the time until the child begins to drag himself [842] on his knees /123/ (eight months). They cite the example of Baïna's wife who has puny children after pregnancies at too short intervals.

846 834 862 Actually, the interruption of conjugal relations tends to be reduced more and more, the women having condensed milk available and tending to reduce the duration of breast feeding.

178 593 Each woman acts as she wishes in this respect; the husband has no power to restrain her.

The Name

551 553 Existence of several independent names. Each Boni has two names, the gaã nɛm or big name, given by the father, and the pikin nɛm or little name, given by the mother.

These two names are given in totally independent fashion. Generally the pikin nɛm is given first; in former days they used to wait until the child was six to eight months old; nowadays it is given at the end of a few weeks. The head of the lineage does not intervene either in the choice or the giving of the name.

As a matter of fact, nearly three-quarters of the Boni are designated by one single name, either because the father and mother agreed to give the same name or because one of the two names fell into disuse.

To these two principal names may be added any number of names and cognomens given by the grandparents and later by friends or spouse; often one of the names ends by being given

/125 cont./

553 613 [178] [162] Transmission of names. It seems that in former times children were by preference given the name of one of their classificatory uncles in the father's lineage. This custom is still clearly observable, but its practice is not general. In fact, out of about 670 persons counted in the villages on the French bank, including about 250 children younger than 14 years, there are only 64, or less than 25 per cent who bear the name of an adult living or dead. These 64 cases are divided thus:

	Mother's Lineage	Father's Lineage	Other Lineages
Name taken from among the child's classificatory brothers and sisters.	0	3	
Name taken from among the child's classificatory uncles and aunts.	3	37	11
Name taken from among the child's "grandfathers" and "grandmothers."	2	8	

Of these 64 names, 44 /sic/ are taken from the father's lineage, only five from the mother's.

[551] This table is only good for a simple indication. In order to go farther it would have been necessary to study separately the name given by the father and that given by the mother, which we could not do (let us recall that 75 per cent of the individuals are designated by a single name; either the father and mother agreed on the same name, or one of the two names fell into disuse after the child's early years.

/126/

553 Let us remember simply that there is a clear tendency to choose the name from the paternal relatives of the child (1).

[191]

1. It is a general rule among the populations of Black Africa from whom the Refugee Blacks borrowed their main cultural traits, the patrilineal Fon and Yoruba as well as the matrilineal and patrilocal Agni and Ashanti. The persistence of this custom among the Refugee Blacks tends to strengthen the patrilineal and patrilocal tendencies which were persisting among them at the time when their institutions were developing.

[198]

551 Apparently they avoid giving the name of a very old person or one recently deceased.

553 In this transmission of the name there does not seem to be anything other than a mark of affection toward a relative. No bond is created between the child and the adult whose name he bears. Obviously there is nothing in the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks which requires the perpetuation of names and their transmission from the dead to the living.

[613] When they wish to give one of their children the name of a person of another lineage, they must ask permission of this person, who does not necessarily grant it (he may fear that his name might thus be borne later by a thief or a ne'er-do-well).

If he does give his permission it does not, strictly speaking, involve any payment, but he may be offered a small gift.

[613] There is no need of any authorization to take a name borne by a person of the lineage of the child's mother or father.

/131 cont./

429 1) They show the continuity and vitality of the custom of
●198 the Refugee Blacks. The proportion of boys and girls brought up by the mother, the paternal grandmother, the father, etc. is noticeably constant from one generation to the other. There is no tendency for the proportion of children raised by the father to increase; it even seems to decrease, which may be related to the increasing instability of marriages. In fact, in spite of European influences, no evolution is observed toward patrilineal structures among the Refugee Blacks.

429 2) The fact that part of the children are raised outside of
613 their own lineage has few consequences for the unity of the group;
591 for most of them, when their education is finished, come to settle down in one of the villages belonging to their lineage.

Of 88 men born before 1936, 28 were raised outside their lineage; 21 of them came back to it; only seven, or less than 8 per cent, settled down in other lineages.

Of 78 women born before 1936, 12 were raised outside their lineage, of whom only four, or 5 per cent, settled permanently outside their group.

868 Education of children. If the education of girls does not necessi-
462 tate a difficult apprenticeship, it is not the same for boys; the sum of knowledge that /132/ a Refugee Black must possess to carry out effectively the techniques of his group is considerable. In particular, he must:

--Know more than 200 kinds of trees with their uses, the way to fell them, the way to work their wood;

--Be capable of constructing boats of at least 10 kegs (1,000 kilograms of load). This technique alone requires several years of apprenticeship;

--Acquire sufficient knowledge of carpenter work to build his house and that of his wife;

--Learn how to handle boats on the river and the techniques of transport boating.

/133 cont./

866 made for sale, the guardian gives him a small sum out of the
461 money gained. At 14 an adolescent begins to satisfy nearly all
434 his own needs.

For example, from June to December, 1956, Tasa (14
883 years), son of Fintiman (Boniville) had earned about 13,000
465 francs:

June	helped his father build a large boat for the administration (45 days)	6,000
October	went to Saint-Laurent as auxiliary bossman .	3,000
December	helped convoy a boat of the border-fixing mission sent back empty to Maripasoula . . .	4,000
		13,000

882 His father, entrusted with his education, let him use this
868 money in his own way; he pointed out to us with pride that for the first time in 1956 his son had been able to satisfy all his own needs, but that it was important to keep him under a firm hand until he was capable of doing a man's work alone: for that, five or six years of apprenticeship would not be too much.

868 In fact, many times we had the chance to verify it, it is
561 in this prolonged apprenticeship that are developed the seriousness
[153] of mind and the technical skill so remarkable among the Refugee Blacks. At 20 years, most of them still do not know how to do
[582] anything worthwhile, and it is scarcely before 25 or 27 that they
[178] become capable of /134/ painstaking work; in this respect the present tendency of the young boys toward precocious emancipation (the marriage age of men is going down to 20 and even 18 years) runs the risk of having very unfortunate consequences for the future of the Refugee Blacks.

429 The person charged with the education of a girl exercises the powers of a mother toward her. It is she who authorizes
[582] her to marry, and by giving her the pangi, married women's garment, gives her symbolically her freedom as a woman. It is
[583] to her that the first husband pays the price of the virginity of the girl.

/135 cont./

593 The same year, G..., man of about 50, particularly serious and hard-working, had saved up enough to buy an outboard motor; his mother, aged near 75 years, advised him absolutely not to make this purchase, claiming that he would be the object of jealousy and was risking being the victim of evil spells; he gave up the project. He did not dare carry it out until [765] 1957 after the mourning for his mother (dead in 1955) had been lifted.

To let one's mother be in need is considered a shame; if a mother has several sons, they divide up the purchases to be made for her benefit; each year one of them will cut the clearing intended for the mother; in exchange she will furnish couac and vegetables as long as her strength will allow her to work.

591 Ordinarily each of the sons, when he becomes 20 or 25 years old, builds himself in his village a house in which he lives alone. But it often happens that a man who has reached adulthood continues to live in his mother's house; for example, in 1952 in Loka village, Ayaubédé, about 40 years of age, was living with his mother Chii.

593 As for the authority of the mother over her daughters, it is still much more strict and lasts all her life. The daughter may [582] not marry without the authorization of her mother or of her [591] female guardian if she is not brought up by her mother. The married daughter has the use of a house that her husband built for her, but this house is situated near that of her mother. Since household life is intermittent and reduced to its simplest expression, she remains under the domination of her mother until the latter's death. Especially, she cannot travel without her permission.

593 In former times the authority of mothers over daughters 178 was tyrannical; they say that one might see an octogenarian mother requisition an old man's arm to strike her sexagenarian daughter who had disobeyed her. But nowadays this authority is battered [579] down by the development of individualism. From this results a growing dissoluteness in the girls and an increasing instability of unions.

/144 cont./

584 To ask for his second wife Bugi (Aw.B.1, F41, Asisi-
602 Awara Bakka vge.) he had sent Dosu (Dip. I, E4, Boniville), his father Malobi's classificatory brother (although a very distant relative) and his younger sister by the same mother, Kulina, who made the marriage proposal to Bugi's mother and to her classificatory uncles Antonu and Mato.

582 Age of marriage. In former times there was a very precise
178 custom about this. Men were not authorized to marry before
[701] about 30 years of age, constituting until that age the immediately mobilizable armed force. Women were authorized by their mothers to marry only when they had reached complete physical development, or between 20 and 22 years. This was the safeguard of a society deprived of all medical help against obstetrical risk, particularly serious for very young women. When the fiancé had temporarily emigrated to earn his living, the marriage could be put off until the age of 25 years and more.
[184] This late marriage of girls was still met with only a few years ago among the Djuka, more faithful to custom. There was on the average five to ten years of age difference between husband and wife. /145/

For about the past ten years, under the influence of the relaxation of family discipline, the marriage age has gone down considerably, as much for the man as for the woman. Nearly all the girls married during the last two years were from 15 to 17 years old. It can be stated that the average marriage age of girls is 18 years (1).

1. We are speaking here of the age at the time of the consummation of marriage.

/145 cont./

582 Generally speaking, the custom of the Refugee Blacks used to consider as immoral the marriage of a very young girl to an old man, or of a very young boy to an adult woman. 588 The weakening of family morals is clearly demonstrated by 178 two events which happened during the summer of 1960. A boy of thirteen and a half, K... of Boniville, left his guardian to join an Assisi woman, A...., 20 years older than he and with a very bad reputation to boot; some months later his example was imitated /146/ by a boy of 14 who began living with a [684] woman of 29. Nothing like that had ever been seen, and [613] people inveighed against the scandal of it; but in both cases, guardians and lineage heads showed themselves incapable of making their authority respected by force.

882 Marriage of girls. It can still be said (although things are in [562] the process of changing rapidly) that girls, kweyi umã, occupy a place apart in the thought of the Refugee Blacks; the reprobation which embraces women does not extend to them. 882 People say that girls "have good manners," and in fact most 834 of them, although naked except for a little apron, have a re- [291] served attitude, a becoming bearing, which contrast with the attitude of the married women. To tell the truth, this virtue is not so much due to natural inclinations as to the strict [593] vigilance with which their mothers surround them. The mothers literally do not let them out of their sight and permit no man to speak to them out of their presence. "Until dawn, until the cock crows, she keeps vigil," says the song, alluding to the mother who watches over her daughter's virtue. If a girl [836] comes to lose her virginity without being properly married, [599] pɔti na ɔsu, "established in a house," it is a dishonor for her mother and her near relatives.

/147 cont./

848 If the girl is pregnant, the man may not abandon her: that would make a great to-do between the two kin groups: he must stay with her at least until the birth of the child.

883 836 178 [582] Nowadays among the Boni things tend to happen completely otherwise than custom makes provision for. The general opinion is that girls can no longer be held down, that they escape more and more from the authority of their mothers; many of them begin to run wild at about 14 or 15, and people are obliged to marry them off precipitately at 15 or 16. It is difficult to say what the proportion of these hasty marriages is, but the recriminations heard on all sides on the subject of the shamelessness of girls give the idea that it is increasing. In the [582] [848] villages on the French bank, out of nine girls married in 1958 there were only four marriages concluded according to regulations; the five others had been arranged hastily either because the girl was pregnant (two cases) or because she had laid herself open to scandal. /148/

582 Nearly all girls married between 1952 and 1956 were 15 to 17 years old.

584 This is about how things happen:

A man who is attracted by a girl tries to exchange a few [537] words with her unknown to her mother. There are special forms for these declarations. One speaks in a low voice, very fast, using special formulas. This is how one of our boatmen, one evening in October, 1952, addressed young Lomé, age 15, of Boniville village, who had gotten away from her mother on the pretext of going to get water for us.

584 539 "Woman, I love thee, I wish to live with thee, I wish to marry thee. That which God put in me I cannot take away (1).

1. Which means: I cannot change, you must take me as I am.

/150 cont./

593 Nothing marks better the small place the conjugal bond
342 has in a man's life; imagine the torture which this forced living
461 and crowding together represent for each of these women! The
[198] Boni of today, much richer than their ancestors and better equipped with tools, are singularly lazier in building houses; no longer is anyone seen to sculpture and decorate the façades lovingly; when a man, after many recriminations, decides to build a house for his wife, he is content most of the time now with a simple shelter with plaited walls, which does not require 30 days work.

595 As we have said, each man may take as many wives as he wishes, on condition that he can supply their needs; but in practice the maintenance of a household is so heavy a load that most men have only one or two wives; only one to our knowledge
593 has three. In fact, it is contrary to custom to free oneself by
[461] paying for work which one must do for one's wife. We have
[556] never heard it said that a rich man (many of them have hundreds
[454] of thousands of francs in savings) paid money in place of a piece of work, or paid someone to do it for him. The furnishing of
[439] imported objects is particularly burdensome, especially cloth, kitchen utensils (Boni women are infatuated with aluminum
[511] objects), and occasionally jewels. The Boni conceded in 1958 that the maintenance of a wife amounted to 30 to 40 thousand
[434] francs a year at least. If one considers that a hard-working man
[511] earned about 120,000 francs a year, that he spent 30 to 40
[695] thousand francs a year for himself, that he often had /151/ in addition to provide for the needs of his aged parents and share the expenses of the festivals of the lineage, one sees that he could not have more than two wives at the same time. As for
[434] less hard-working men, who have no more than 60 to 80 thousand
[511] francs a year in ready money, they have a great deal of trouble
[586] in facing the maintenance of a single household, and many divorces have no other cause.

/155 cont./

586 [163] Likewise Péechina, about 70 years old in 1957, separated from Nachinengé (Kotika) after having spent the greatest part of her life with him and having six children by him.

In order to be able to break thus a long standing union without undergoing moral collapse, it is certainly necessary for the affectivity of each one to be entirely centered on his maternal family.

586 124 Frequency of divorce. This essential aspect of the social life of the Refugee Blacks is not easy to lay hold on by direct interrogation. The women do not willingly talk about their past unions and let go in silence the ones which remained childless. However, we were able to reconstitute with rather great certainty the past life of about a hundred women (mothers, near relatives, or wives of our most reliable informants). These men /"women" -- printing error. -- Tr./ are marked with a double asterisk ** in the population list of the villages.

586 128

[178] It is useful to classify them by age groups relating to the year of birth, for we shall see that the frequency of divorce seems to have increased with time. The groups chosen are the same as for the demographic investigation which we carried on parallel to the sociological study:

/156 cont. /

586 The estimate of the average number of divorces for women
[128] born before 1896 is probably lower than the actual number, their first divorces not being well known to our informants. It is probably in the neighborhood of two.

586 The increase in frequency of divorces among young women
593 is striking. It is related to the weakening of the authority, very
178 strong in former times, exercised by mothers over their daughters.

Here are two examples concerning two girls we have known since their childhood.

836 Lomé (L2, F74, Boniville) born in 1938, began to cause people to talk about her in 1954. She was deflowered by N...., who did not want to marry her. Then she had relations with Asadam (K, Boniville), who did not want to marry her either. She was beaten; she continued to see him. Now this is extreme-
[558] ly shameful for a girl because it is placing herself in a state of inferiority with respect to a man, when her self-respect consists in making a contract between equals.

582 Her brother Amèmbé beat her, and she ended up by marrying Pitipiti (Aw.B.2, Asisi village), who formally asked
586 for her in marriage in 1956. This marriage lasted less than a
587 year. In 1957 Lomé divorced him to marry Djoni (Kotika village).

584 Aguba (D u, G14), girl of Asisi-Dju village, born in 1941, had been proposed to with the customary formalities in May, 1956 by Païtiki (L2, Loka village), a young man of 18. It was
584 agreed that the engaged couple would wait two years. But
585 Païtiki did not wait and consummated the marriage clandestine-
[429] ly at the end of a few months. Lènga, Aguba's aunt and guardian, became very angry and beat her. She did not give her the bangi until May, 1957. The marriage lasted only a few
586 months. /157/ By the end of 1957 Aguba was breaking off with Païtiki and beginning openly to look for adventures.

/157 cont./

586 If one considers all Boni women together without any age distinctions, one can estimate that on the average they have been divorced 2.5 times during the course of their lives between 18 and 65 years of age. The average duration of marriages (not counting unions broken by the death of one of the spouses) could be evaluated, for the period before 1950, at about 15 years. It tends to decrease in proportion as a generation brought up [178] under less strict discipline reaches adulthood (1).

1. Doctor Étienne Bois, revising in September, 1960 our card file stopped at the end of November, 1958, recorded for the villages on the French bank 28 divorces which had taken place in the course of this period of 1.8 years. [162] The number of women of marriageable age in these villages being about 160, this figure corresponds to 0.1 divorce per woman and per year, or to an average duration of unions of about 10 years.

[837] Dissoluteness of the women. It appears that most wives are faithful to their husbands for the duration of the union. But since they have the possibility of breaking this union with no need of authorization by anybody whatever, they leave their husband very readily, whether they have stopped liking him or whether they intend to marry a richer man.

/158 cont./

848 If children are born of these irregular liaisons, the mother
[784] takes care to know with certainty who the father is, for if there
[753] were any doubt, the child, respecting a kina which would not
be his own, would contract leprosy. On this subject the Boni
842 have a remarkable belief: they think that it is the first man
with whom a woman has had relations after the end of a menstrual
period who is likely to make her pregnant.

836 These adventures always involve gifts in kind (cloth
431 jewels); so the men who have the most success with women
are always short of money.

581 A woman who has lived thus in notorious fashion has a
little more difficulty than another in finding another husband,
but if she is young and winsome she succeeds.

548 Prostitution as such is very rare in Boni country, and the
women who give themselves over to it openly (three or four for
all the villages on the French bank) have generally left the
[836] tribe to settle in the gold miners' villages. Dissoluteness is
not considered dishonorable by the Refugee Blacks when it is
carried on within the tribe and when it has no other purpose but
pleasure; but prostitution is judged shameful.

834 Except for these few prostitutes, we have never heard it
648 said that a Boni woman had relations with a European; on this
point tribal discipline is observed with extreme rigor.

581 Conclusion. The average duration of marriages, which was
[178] from 15 to 20 years for the preceding generation, tends to be-
come shorter and can be estimated nowadays at about ten years.
[191] In spite of this evolution, the stability of marriages among the
Refugee Blacks remains noticeably greater than that observed
548 among the black populations of South America. Among them
is not seen the form of prostitution so widespread in South
America, the supported mistress who does not work and who
lives entirely at the expense of her successive lovers.

/158 cont./

156 The Boni woman, poor in emotional feelings, and jealous of her independence with respect to men, puts her pride into subsisting by her own efforts.

178 [156] The young women, even the ones with the freest habits, stay firmly attached to their village, to their plantings, and to the mode of life they received from their grandmothers. In fact, because of its structure and customs, the society of the Refugee Blacks has much less likelihood of suffering from the poisons spread by modern life than the patrilineal societies of Black Africa.

761 /159/ Death; Burial Rites

Death is for the Refugee Blacks an event of extreme gravity.

775 In order to ward off danger and permit the yɔrka of the dead person to take its place among the ancestors, the unstinting cooperation of everyone is required.

764 765 181 [621] [619] The ceremonies which have to do with death and mourning are by far the most important ones in the day-to-day life of the Refugee Blacks; for each one they represent a very heavy material load which is accepted without recriminations. It is really a veritable mobilization, which takes place within the framework of the village and not of the lineage. The apparatus set into motion is independent of the lineage, for it must function in the same way for an outsider, Djuka or Saramaka, who dies during a trip.

764 868 767 Participation in the burial rites is for all an essential religious duty. From childhood the Boni are prepared for this task and become, some of them kisimã (coffin-makers), others ɔlɔmã (grave-diggers), some others wasimã (bathers of the dead).

767 467 Kisimã and ɔlɔmã. It can be said that in each village, ɔlɔmã and kisimã constitute customary societies, provided with an organization and wielding veritable powers for the duration of their work.

/190 cont./

428 178 A tendency which has appeared during recent years in connection with men consists in bequeathing during their lifetime the essential part of their property to the children they have raised.

613 [787] Inheritance of functions and powers. Upon the death of a lineage head, the yɔrka of the dead man is asked whom it wishes to see named. Then the council assembles to proceed with the nomination; it remains free in its choice, the will of the dead man beyond the grave does not have the force of law; but actually, it seems to be most often followed.

As for the function of captain which is common to all the fractions of one lo, the inheritance may pass from one fraction to another.

Ex.: for the Awara Bakka lo, the succession:
Asèmbay (Aw.B.2);
Pèèyon (Aw.B.1);
Kondoku (Aw.B.1).

000 /191/

CHAPTER VII

BELIEFS

Origin of the Beliefs of the Refugee Blacks

791 128 The spiritual life of the Refugee Blacks of the Guianas is intimately bound up with their social life, and the division we are obliged to make for the sake of clearness of the account is very often arbitrary. So we shall try to point out these connections wherever they are essential.

/191 cont./

771 What constitutes the religion of the Refugee Blacks is a
174 synthesis of elements originating with various peoples of West Africa, especially the Ashanti, Agni, Mina, and Fon and also Congolese elements. This synthesis seems to have been born
[619] among the Saramaka, the first tribe formed at the beginning of the 18th century, and to have been adopted thereafter with modifications of detail by the Djuka, tribe created about 1760. The Boni, the last tribe formed, probably received these beliefs during the time of slavery which they spent under the tutelage
[184] of the Djuka, from 1815 to 1860. The beliefs of the Boni and those of the Djuka have an identical base; the rites and their
[178] effects on social life are exactly the same. Nevertheless, the Djuka, almost ten times more numerous, have been able to keep very differentiated conceptions and specialized cults, involving priests in the literal sense of the term.

The Boni have kept only the essentials, and many conceptions, especially the myths which serve as support for the whole tradition, are very much blurred among them.

829 The Boni like to imagine that Africans constitute only one nation, and that they have inherited in a lump the traditions and social forms of this nation. They know now (especially from having seen a good deal of the Senegalese riflemen of the 1937 French mission) that numerous tribes exist, but that has not shaken the veneration they have for Africa, source, for
178 them, of all knowledge and all strength. However, almost nothing of the culture peculiar to each one of the great tribes has reached them; no name of an African nation has remained in their memory, and /192/ none of the languages of their land of origin has been kept (1); everywhere the vehicular language

[173]

1. One observes, however, that a certain number of disconnected details of African life have come down to them by oral tradition;

178 [173] /192 cont./

thus it is that they have kept a rather exact description of the elephant (leu) and the gorilla (malẽgwana).

[648] imposed on the slaves has prevailed. There is nothing surprising about that, since the slaveholders tried, in order to prevent revolts, to mix to the maximum the Blacks of the various tribes.

174 A certain number of men initiated in differing degrees into African cults were among the rebels. They tried to con-
177 serve and transmit these rites, which their descendants have more or less transposed or deformed (2). As far as one can

[182] 2. The single fact that the vegetation and fauna differed totally from those of Africa immediately required a modification of ritual which called for infusions of leaves of numerous plants to which definite magical properties are attributed.

[198] As far as one can judge by the secret languages attached to these cults, in which are recognized many words deformed from the ordinary language, and a few Indian words, these cults in their present state must
[178] differ appreciably from the ones which gave them birth. In fact, the only thing the Refugee Blacks have authentically kept is concepts, metaphysical and moral ideas.

/209 cont./

787 If someone has a Kumẽnti, certain objects used in the
784 cult: pestle, mortar, machete, must not be raised near him. His gita "would rise" immediately. Likewise while he is eating, neither tiger n[illegible]un must be mentioned. To prevent their gita from rising, those concerned may take the precaution of putting a small piece of wood behind the ear while they eat.

787 These past years the cult of the Kumẽnti was clearly
178 declining among the Boni, as was the whole of their religious
[791] life; every one, indeed, no longer thought about anything but
[181] earning money and was always traveling in order to do this,
[484] which made difficult the indispensable meetings and dances.
[743] On the other hand, cared for effectively when they are ill in the Maripasoula hospital, the Boni feel the cult of the Kumẽnti
[755] less necessary, of which the principal social function is to cure. So, while in 1948 we used to be present very often at manifestations of the gita of Kumẽnti, in 1952 they were becoming much rarer and more secret /modest/. They were tending to fall to the level of the latent manifestations of which we shall speak further on. In 1956 we did not observe in the course of the forest
[346] work any spontaneous attack of this gita. The chapels dedicated to the Kumẽnti are scarcely maintained and are falling into ruins; such is the fate of the gods judged benevolent toward men.
[751] Nevertheless people continue to lay great store by the ɔbia of Kumẽnti, especially the man nẽɣge ɔbia which protects against the machete and the gun, and the Kumẽnti bui, ring of Kumẽnti, instrument of divination.

776 The Bũnsuɣki. The Bũnsuɣki are gods which live in the waters,
[823] by preference at the head of falls, beside rocks bearing copses of detached trees; they can also reside ordinarily in these trees themselves. They appear sometimes in dreams to men as well
[787] as to women in the aspect of Indians, more commonly Indian women with long hair. This is why they are sometimes called wata Ingi, Indians of the water.

/210 cont./

776 [825] The Bumba gadu, other gods of the same nature and equally feared, have as bearers other categories of snakes, principally the great anaconda water snakes.

[784] [812] The Vɔɔdũ, we have said, are feared; they can exercise on a lineage the collective curse called kunu. But, no more than the Kumẽnti do not represent a principle of good, they do not represent a principle of evil. Not all are so badly disposed toward men, and even if one of them is the enemy of a lineage, it is not for that reason badly disposed toward the rest of men.

787 178 [562] However this may be, the cult of possession of the Papa gadu is not at all in decline among the Boni. According to the cross-checking we have been able to do, of the 670 persons living on the French bank there are at least 40 to 50 who have a Papa gadu, the great majority of them old women.

787 784 /211/ The Voodũ /sic/ are much feared, and for that very reason much respected. They are oracles which are consulted very often, without consideration of the evil their kunu has done and will still do. A god which exercises the kunu but which is provisionally declared appeased may be consulted without danger; it is always assumed that in any case its bearer, if he respects its commands, has nothing to fear from it.

787 562 It is possible that, very unconsciously, women use the fear that the Papa gadu gods inspire in order to maintain their independence and privileged position in Refugee Black society.

153 79 787 [198] [198] [515] [824] [534] Instruction in possession appears to take as a pattern the same principles as that which correspond to the Kumẽnti. It involves the teaching of the Papa language; this language appeared to us to be in decline; in fact, it is used only for formulas of greeting; then the possessed people vaticinate in ordinary language. Instruction in possession also involves daily ablutions with decoctions of leaves; certain of these mixtures are particularly complicated (it is said that they include more than a hundred different kinds of leaves). Instruction is essentially individual; however it also includes dances; on this occasion a

/235 cont./

787 But divination is more than that; the interpretation it
626 gives of the events of daily life is the very mover of the ani-
182 mistic society; presenting calamities /236/ as the punishment
571 of offenses against customary law, it is constantly vitalizing that law, conserving its practical value and its efficacity. What it expresses is not the hidden influence of chiefs or priests -- there are in fact neither chiefs nor priests among the Boni -- but the very consensus of the group, the deep feeling it has of its unity.

787 There are two large categories of divination:

The first consists of calling on a divinity through the medium of its bearer. For that, one applies to a person (of his
[791] lineage if possible) who has a gadu. This is a service which is rarely refused. This person employs the appropriate procedure for calling his gita and enters into trances. The god speaks, the question is put to it; if it is well disposed, it may give the explanation or the advice requested. For example, one asks for advice before looking for another sector to make his clearings.

787 Suggestible as the Boni may be, they do not fail to per-
776 ceive that all the gods interrogated do not give the same directions. So they think that certain ones are stronger than others; there are people whose gita is considered to be particularly
[791] good, others whom they have stopped consulting entirely. The defunct head of Kotika village, Bayo, used to have a gita so remarkable that people would come from very far to consult it.

[829] The general opinion is, furthermore, that nowadays
[178] everything is degenerating and that good gita are no longer seen as in the olden days.

787 These consultations involve only a very modest remuner-
[791] ation, a bottle of tafia at most (1). If it is not a matter of a

1. The remuneration of the possessed person is in question; the god always demands a payment for itself, of variable size according to its whim.

/242 cont. /

754 Of course he was recognized as a wisimã by the first
764 adjuration made to his body carried in the papay on the heads
787 of two men: "If thou art a wisi man, do not come toward us."
The dead man drew back. /2..

[784] /243/Continuation of the interrogation showed that he had not yet killed anybody, but that he had been killed by Odun when he was preparing to kill someone of his lineage.

754 The persecutors of Agyémési, contrary to their hope, did not recover after his death from the maladies which they were attributing to his sorcery; that did not shake their conviction in
755 the least. They left for Paramaribo to have themselves treated
648 by a Creole magician (for the Surinam Creoles, who practice white magic and black magic indiscriminately, are by this fact reputed to be more expert than the Refugee Blacks in combating the effects of wisi).

754 In recounting this story to us, the grand man told us that it is always necessary to be cautious with accusations of wisi,
[762] because one can never be sure. A man unjustly accused can
[784] commit suicide and pursue his accusers with his kunu (most of the Boni state that they would do so in such a case). In former
173 times, the barbarous punishments in use in Africa were applied
683 to revealed wisimã: they were burned alive. But people tell
784 that one of them, some months afterward, undertook against his accusers' lineage a kunu which still lasts today. He had been wrongly condemned! It is through fear of the kunu more than
[178] through care for humanity, that these punishments have been abolished.

754 It certainly seems that the constant fear of the wisimã in
[152] which the Boni live is only a collective hallucination, and that rare indeed are those who dare to indulge in practices which might draw upon them such terrible social and religious sanctions. As for these practices themselves, they appear to be without any real content, and the misfortunes attributed to them are

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754 766 ground, after scattering the cloths which were covering her, and left without carrying out any rite.

"Next we went to Boniville, the grand man invoked Odun on our behalf, stating that we had only followed his laws and that he had to protect the performers of the job against any distressing consequence."

754 181 178 Development of sorcery. Since 1957 Boni country has been passing through a crisis; /246/ fear of sorcery is poisoning village life, while in 1948-50 it was a preoccupation of secondary importance.

[578] That is due to the fact that the rapid growing rich of part of the Boni aggravates jealousies and suspicions. Moreover, these affairs tend to appear in series. Since the case related above (1958), in which a woman, N...., was convicted of having paid a Creole quimboiseur to make the grand man die, an affair which strongly impressed the Boni, they tend to see wisi in all misfortunes that occur.

[167] In November, 1958 the death of a little girl of 12 of Kotika village was attributed to her uncle Mbomaolo, who had recently emigrated to Surinam and settled in a Creole village. [782] It is believed that he "committed himself," that is, that he sold his soul to the devil (1), which necessitates sacrificing one

1. This notion, which plays such a large role in West Indian beliefs, has no equivalent among the Refugee Blacks. There is no word in the Boni language for translating the term "committed." They translate thus: a e suku didibi, he seeks the devil. The Boni do not have a clear image of the devil, and this notion remains, in fact, foreign to their beliefs.

[776]

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of his near relatives, his sister's children being regarded as the victims most pleasing to the demon.

Although in former times one to two out of ten deaths were attributed to wisi, in 1957 and 1958 out of 14 adult deaths of which we could obtain the explanation, there were:

[184] --Four wisimã killed by Odun, including two women of over 85 who during their lifetime had never been the object of unfavorable notice;

[74] --One death by the action of a wisimã, or a total of more than a third of the deaths; out of the nine others, two were looked upon as natural deaths (dead of old age), seven were attributed to the kunu.

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The Refugee Blacks and Creole magic. Some of them go to get from the lukumã what their own social morals forbid: vengeance or success acquired at the expense of other people. They have uttered an oath that prohibits the practice of wisi: for most of them it is clear that if they paid a piayeur /magician, sorcerer/ to harm someone, it would be the same as if they performed the sorcery themselves. But others make a mental reservation on this point.

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648

In 1951, G...., of the Kotika lo, then about 20 years old, felt ill while staying at Saint Laurent. He went to find a Creole maïtif (clairvoyant) who presented him with a mirror, announcing to him that he was going to see in it the face of the one who had piayé /bewitched, cast a spell on/ him. G... saw nothing in the mirror. The maïtif was not upset at this and revealed to him that the piayeur must be someone in his wife's family. G... then recalled a dispute he had had some time previously with one of his wife's brothers and let himself be convinced: since that day he has not gotten along with his brother-in-law.

/296 cont./

888 This is a point of view which has great importance in the
829 eyes of the Boni, for whom finishing one's days at the hospice or being reduced to asking for the help of outsiders constitutes the worst downfall.

829 They fear, moreover, as we have shown, Creole magic which they liken to a form of wisi.

On the other hand, they are impressed by the attainments of the Creoles, the real spirit of initiative and the strong personality of some of them; moreover, the Boni who have been to Cayenne have noticed the solicitude of the administration
829 with respect to the population of the communes. For all these
177 reasons there exists among the Boni a certain body of opinion
178 in favor of creolization. But the very unique type of life of the
[114] Boni and their desire to keep their special customs attach them to their ancestral form of life; about 1890 the explorer Coudreau, observing the same facts, was predicting imminent creolization of the Boni. In fact, this did not happen, and it is unlikely to.

648 Traditional relations with Europeans. The Refugee Blacks con-
464 stitute an important element in the economic life of the Guianas; on behalf of the administration and European enterprises they perform many jobs (boating, wood-floating, tree-felling).
648 They are not well adapted to other kinds of work, but in these
461 activities which fit with their traditional mode of life they are
[465] equal if not superior to any labor. Very highly paid, they work with speed, effectiveness, and intelligence, exhibiting an initiative and sense of duty not commonly found in Africans(1).

[177]

1. It is to be noted that if they stop leading their traditional kind of life, for example if they settle permanently near European establishments, they rapidly lose these qualities.

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648 Never do they appeal to the courts to settle their differences, still less their family quarrels; never do they beg for help.

829 The Europeans' material superiority does not impress them: the whites are more able in mechanics, but they are more able in magic, that is all. The efficacy of European medicine does [758] not shake their convictions: if someone has reasons to believe himself victim of the anger of a gadu, he begins by making the sacrifices intended to appease it, then asks it for authorization [123] to have himself cared for by the whites. Personally we have [753] never done anything to disabuse the Boni of this idea which satisfies at the same time the requirements of medicine and those of social discipline, for it must not be forgotten that for them 177 sickness is punishment for an offense. Thus one sees that unless it is deliberately brought to bear against tradition and against the leaders, the influence of Europeans is without appreciable effect on the civilization of the Refugee Blacks. It is no longer the same when contacts become too frequent, tend to alter drastically the way of life, and especially when these influences become openly "civilizing."

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The Future of the Refugee Blacks

Obliged to solve all the problems of life by their own means, the Refugee Blacks have been able to adapt with intelligence to the evolution of the modern world, and their custom 648 has kept all its vigor and effectiveness. Their future would not seem to be threatened if a wave of opinion had not come to the surface these past years, in French Guiana as well as in Surinam, to destroy their civilization, deemed primitive and barbarous, and to fuse them into the population of the coast. This result would be obtained in particular by schooling and evangelization.

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181 ETHOS--general orientation of the culture; predominating interests, values, themes, and motivations; characterizations of the total culture (e.g., as "conservative," "competitive," "militaristic," "spirit-ridden," "Apollonian," "folk," "urban"); allegations and inferences as to national character; etc.

See also:

Cooperation and competition 47
Prevalent personality types 187
Ethics 577
General character of religion 771
Social philosophy 829

REBEL DESTINY

643 159 In our own terms, if we were to picture the Granman as a splendid savage, cheerful, guileless, childlike, flattered by our interest, we would be belying his gifts of sophistication, and he would thank us little for these romantic outlines which, according to the values of his own civilization, would be insulting.

829 538 776 The code of life among these people was expressed in the proverb we had heard often spoken. "There are men on the upper river, there are men on the lower river, too." For survival in this bush, a man needed to match his strength and his wits and his magic, his kindliness and his enmity against those of any other. And the Bush Negro is a realist, for, as we had seen, not even the gods could be depended upon to be consistent—consistently good or consistently evil. The Bush Negro's gods, like humans, often did things for unaccountable reasons, because of a momentary whim, because of a desire to try the untried.

829 181 It was good to be guileless, but sometimes a man had to be a tiger, had to stalk his prey from behind. It was well enough to be a tiger, but sometimes a man needed the cunning of the bush hero, spider Anansi, who knew how to outwit the tiger. It was well enough to be an eagle, and be free and fly high, but sometimes a man needed the wit of the little bird konubri, who became king of all birds, because, when in the kingdom of birds there was a contest for the throne, it was he who, by perching on the back of the eagle, flew highest of all.

643 159 In the simplest of our own terms, Granman Moana Yankuso could be said to be a superb politician. In his villages, marriage alliances were calculated with the nicety of the best statesmanship. Whatever his own views, he saw to it that he never defied the arbiters of magic or the clan of the seat of magic, the Dahomey people. Toward the women of strange villages who came to see the white man and his woman, he showed an easy gallantry, which could not have been but flattering. When addressing the women who carried children astride their backs, he would speak gently to them and call them "mother" in greeting, and

532 fascinated. It showed, in its purest form, the retention of the African mask-like head. Sometimes on the prow of a boat we would see in cruder form the outlines of a mask, and once an old woman came with a food stirrer to us. Its handle ended in a knob which with a few strokes of the knife had been formed into a double representation of the human [191] head, a perfect parallel to the type of mask that is associated with the people of the Ivory Coast.

532 Aside from the decorated apinti drum, only some of the 191 workaday art forms of Africa—combs, paddles, mortars, among other such objects—were retained. For their decoration the designs that in Africa had been cut into the base of figures or about the borders of masks had been remembered and reinterpreted in terms of the ancestral cults. And from those memories the Bush Negroes had developed the unique art which is theirs.

532 Thus, in the main, the art was symbolic, and many of the ● 181 designs represented the urge for reproduction. Some 84 stemmed from the fertility cult, though not entirely of it. There was, for example, the double-bladed food stirrer, which was given by a man to his wife with a curse woven [626] into its curves for the woman if she committed adultery.

532 There were carvings that did not deal with sex at all. On the lower river we sat on the shore as a canoe came up. Prow and stern were carved. On one of the seats was a representation of the head of a feline, done with the utmost realism.

"You have *tigri?*" we asked the man, as we bargained for the seats.

"I will sell you this, but do not ask me what it means."

The bird-headed paddles were also examples of this kind. [501] When laid on their sides, they showed the form of the parrot, or whatever bird they represented—the exaggerated beak, the head, the neck, the wings, and the feet. The design called *Alukutu folo*, an emblem of those who [791] could see into the future, was engraved on many benches on the upper river in particular, and these carvings were parted with only with the greatest reluctance, lest we try

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

INTRODUCTION

I FIRST met the Djukas in St. Laurent, which is the prison 114
port of French Guiana, and the centre of the penitentiary system which is popularly known as the Devil's Island Penal Colony.

The Djukas come in to St. Laurent from the jungle. They come to trade jungle rubber and timber for bright beads and gunpowder and fish-hooks and the brilliant lengths of calico [139] which they use as loin-cloths. When they have made their purchases they often pause on their way back to the canoes which they have left moored at the bank of the wide copper-coloured river which separates French from Dutch Guiana. They pause outside the penitentiary gates and stare at the French convicts as they are marched out to the hard labour which is part of their prison sentence.

And I could have had no more dramatic introduction than this to the wild free Djukas of the Guiana jungle.

The convicts march with the listless feet of diseased, under-
nourished, hopeless men. They are sad and silent. The Djukas 181
stand erect, confident, and free. In the primitive communism of their forest life, they recognize no masters. It is in every Djuka's power to live as well as does every other Djuka. There is just enough social organization to keep order in the tribe and no more. There are no anarchists among them. No

[p. viii is blank]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

181 one feels any grudge against society. There is small temptation to theft. There are, therefore, no questions of capital and labour, no leisure class, no organized industries, no exploitation either of men or of raw materials, no banks to rob, no checks to forge. Under such conditions economic crimes are practically eliminated. Man lives off the jungle and the streams which intersect it, and there are at his disposal uncounted miles of stream and of jungle. Such crimes as exist among the human inhabitants of these forests arise chiefly in quarrels over women. But where divorce is free and instantaneous, and sexual relationships are taken lightly, even the difficulties between men and women are enormously simplified.

And as these Djukas stood curiously staring outside the prison gates of St. Laurent, they seemed to me to stand in judgment. When I watched them get into their canoes and paddle upstream, returning to their green jungle fastnesses, and heard them call to one another from canoe to canoe, and heard their laughter ring out across the sunlit water, I felt that they went back to the forest, well content that their slave ancestors of two hundred years ago had fled from the white man and all his ways, back to the jungle, there to lead the primitive life of their African forbears.

I had gone to French Guiana to study the convict life of the Devil's Island Penal Colony. And when that had been completed, my husband and I made a journey through the interior of Dutch Guiana, travelling by the streams and trails used by fugitives from the French prisons. This is how we

/8 cont. /

241 experience of the American Indians, which seem the only utilizable
177 ones in the interior of the country.

Thus these populations which are so varied have in large measure the same agriculture and the same food.

241 Basic crops are manioc, consumed in the form of couac
[262] (flour roasted and granulated) which is the base food, the Indian yam, and tubers analogous to taro (dachine, "Caribbean cabbage").
[171] The Refugee Blacks plant mountain rice in addition. The Creoles do not plant rice but have on the other hand a greater variety of vegetables and fruits.

31 Men in Guiana live on the rivers; villages and cultivated
36 lands are to be found on their banks; everywhere else one finds
182 only the deserted forest; only Creole gold miners, constrained by their work, sometimes establish their villages far from watercourses.
● 181 The Refugee Blacks, like the Indians, love the rivers where they
182 find, along with water and light, the possibility of moving with-
171 out hindrance; they are a people of canoeists; their traditions are widely influenced by life on the river, and their mode of living finds in this a deep originality.

131 In fact, setting aside the gold miners' villages, we can say
133 that the populations of the Guianas living by exploitation of the
182 natural resources of the country have a linear habitat: it can be
171 estimated not in surface but in length, for it is limited to a band of one kilometer along each watercourse accessible to pirogues. These watercourses are limited in number, for one can take for granted that at a distance of some 20 kilometers from the source of each river, the congestion caused by fallen trees and parasitic vegetation prevents easy movement.

[161] Actually, considering the very low density of the population,
[226] the small rivers are scarcely utilized except as fishing places.

487 All the rivers are interrupted by falls and rapids which render
501 the use of large boats impossible. The pirogues of the Refugee

/10 cont. /

162 The Boni, about 1,000 in number, occupy the course of the
131 Lawa between Abounasounga Falls to the north and the falls of the
Litani to the south. Their "great villages," that is, their residential
36 villages, are: Agodé (Boniville), Kotika, Asisi, Loka, Papaïston,
[103] Kormotibo, Lapé, and l'Enfant Perdu. Three small villages
founded more recently are established on the lower course of the
563 Maroni. The territorial implantation of the Boni has been dis-
turbed by the settlement of Creole gold miners on their territory
178 for three quarters of a century. Their demographic situation is
mediocre and their tribal organization, compared to that of the
[181] other tribes, has lost much of its strength. However, they still
make up a human grouping full of strength and originality.

131 The Djuka, whose "great villages" are in Surinam territory
361 on the /11/ Tapanahoni, can be evaluated at 7,000 to 8,000 in
total. At the height of demographic expansion, their farming
[162] villages swarm on both banks of the Maroni and on the islands,
[61] penetrating more and more deeply into the interior of French
[648] Guiana, where in places they form small temporary groupings
[619] living in symbiosis with the Creole gold miners; the Boni recognize
their right to cross their territory but not that of establishing
villages in it.

433 For a century the economy of the Refugee Blacks has been
648 founded on a symbiosis with the Europeans and Creoles; they furnish
[464] specialized labor (construction, but above all, transport) in ex-
[465] change for relatively high wages. This economy finds itself
[178] threatened by the gradual disappearance of gold mining; there is
[166] developing a tendency toward temporary emigration to the Euro-
pean work yards of Saint-Laurent analogous to that of the Saramaka
[182] of Surinam to French Guiana. This is a serious threat to the in-
terior cohesion of the tribes.

/63 cont./

that he can protect himself only by submitting to the law of the group. In this doubtless must be seen the deep reason for the importance attached to death and mourning, events around which is centered the activity of the usual societies and which entail a veritable mobilization.

It would be very difficult to condense the custom of the Refugee Blacks into a rigorous code. If one wished to do it, one would have to write as Article 1: "The living will conform to the will of the gods and the ancestors as it is expressed through the mouths of those possessed and by the movements of the bearers of the dead."

Each one of the tribes of the Refugee Blacks is formed of a certain number of matrilineages.

There is no limit on the number of these lineages, and it can be asserted that if any lineage whatever, detached from another tribe, asks to live in the midst of the Boni, it will be welcomed. From the first generation the children consider themselves as Boni.

In this regard one can cite the example of the Awara Bakka 3 lineage and that of the small lineage founded in Boniville by a Djuka woman, wife of Grand Man Ochi. All her descendants consider themselves Boni. /64/

But only the great lineages which constituted the tribe at its origin are social units recognized by the grand man, and only their heads are called to be members of the council.

We shall study first the interior functioning of the lineage, then the institutions going beyond the framework of the lineages.

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156 The Boni woman, poor in emotional feelings, and jealous of her independence with respect to men, puts her pride into subsisting by her own efforts.

178 [156] The young women, even the ones with the freest habits, stay firmly attached to their village, to their plantings, and to the mode of life they received from their grandmothers. In fact, because of its structure and customs, the society of the Refugee Blacks has much less likelihood of suffering from the poisons spread by modern life than the patrilineal societies of Black Africa.

761 /159/ Death; Burial Rites

Death is for the Refugee Blacks an event of extreme gravity.

775 In order to ward off danger and permit the yɔrka of the dead person to take its place among the ancestors, the unstinting cooperation of everyone is required.

764 765 181 [621] [619] The ceremonies which have to do with death and mourning are by far the most important ones in the day-to-day life of the Refugee Blacks; for each one they represent a very heavy material load which is accepted without recriminations. It is really a veritable mobilization, which takes place within the framework of the village and not of the lineage. The apparatus set into motion is independent of the lineage, for it must function in the same way for an outsider, Djuka or Saramaka, who dies during a trip.

764 868 767 Participation in the burial rites is for all an essential religious duty. From childhood the Boni are prepared for this task and become, some of them kisimã (coffin-makers), others ɔlɔmã (grave-diggers), some others wasimã (bathers of the dead).

767 467 Kisimã and ɔlɔmã. It can be said that in each village, ɔlɔmã and kisimã constitute customary societies, provided with an organization and wielding veritable powers for the duration of their work.

/195 cont./

794 The laws of Odun. The cult of Odun (Odū) is the keystone of
[181] the social and religious structure of the Refugee Blacks. It is a very secret cult; its rites are not practiced in the presence of outsiders and all curiosity about it meets with frank hostility.
[123] The Boni, who talk rather freely about the cults of possession, are mute on the subject of Odun, and one may spend years among them without even hearing this name uttered.

794 The worship of Odun is common to the Boni and the
184 Saramaka (perhaps this is what explains the trustful relations which exist between the two groupings). Among the Djuka it is replaced by the worship of Gwangwéla (Grantata), which has exactly the same functions and rites.

776 Odun is not to be confused with the creator God Nana (Masa Gadu). The myths explaining the relationship of these two entities were not known by our informants, but it is clear that Odun was sent to men by Masa Gadu as legislator and judge.

671 Odun's laws have a profound originality, as much by their content as by the sanctions which accompany them. It is not excessive to speak of a religious and moral doctrine of the Refugee Blacks.

[641] These laws appear in negative form. A certain number of acts and behavior are forbidden to those who have entered the society of the Refugee Blacks by taking an oath which binds
784 them for good and all. Offenders will be punished without the direct intervention of men, by the all-powerful action of Odun, who will kill them or /196/ strike them down with sicknesses. As a general rule, Odun's punishment is death; this is what explains the fear his name inspires.

673 Odun forbids:
[754] --Sorcery, wisi, in the most general sense, that is, any magic action having as its purpose the killing, making ill, and in a general way doing harm to another person.

/200 cont./

787 --Possession is manifested by kinds of trances called gita or kɔmfo, of a varying nature according to the divinity concerned, which sometimes involve phenomena of insensibility and acts impossible to perform in a normal state;

787 --The first time the divinity enters a man, it imposes
776 a kina (interdiction) upon him which will henceforth be the
784 sign of his function. This is what is called a gadu kina. This kina varies from one divinity to another, but in principle a given divinity imposes the same kina on its divers bearers. The divinity names itself and indicates to its bearer a means of calling it back in case of need: make such-and-such gestures, scatter such-and-such a liquid or powder.

All that is recorded by those present who reveal it to the person possessed when he has come round.

It is taken for granted that the god protects its bearer as long as the latter respects the laws of its cult and observes its kina (in the opposite case the god may punish him cruelly).
787 Conversely it is assumed that the man has a certain power, a
776 certain right over the god who possesses him. They say that he
789 is the master of it, masa, word which is habitually used in the
428 sense "to be the owner of." At his death he can bequeath this god in the forms and according to the laws regulating the inheritance of property. Of course the god is capable of not ratifying this decision, and it is free to manifest itself in anyone it wishes. But they affirm that in most cases it follows docilely the choice of its bearer. We shall see that this inheritance of gods plays an essential role in the functioning of the kunu.

787 Apprenticeship for possession. What goals does a man pursue
181 who desires thus to have a gadu? Above all he seeks strength. To succeed in life, to be protected against his enemies, to be respected: Such are the goals generally pursued and openly recognized by the Refugee Blacks who "have a gadu."

/201/

787 One also often finds as an avowed goal the idea of being
•181 useful to his lineage.

Disinterested mystical impulses appear totally absent from these cults.

787 But that is only one aspect of the phenomena of possession;
154 they really seem to be, in large measure, unconscious and
involuntary. Everyone can try to obtain a gadu, but everyone
787 does not succeed; one must have a certain predisposition.
[154] "One cannot oblige a gadu to enter a man," say the Boni; it certainly seems, in fact, that in nearly half the cases possession takes place spontaneously and sometimes to the great terror of the person concerned: this is observed especially in the kunu.

[976] Mimi, a woman about 46 years old in 1958, of the Kotika lineage, was possessed by two gadu, an Ampuku and a Papa gadu. Here is how her near relatives relate the fashion in which they came into her.

[158] About ten years before, Mimi was showing signs of mental derangement. Her mind wandered, she sometimes used to leave the village to run in the bush at random, she uttered disconnected words (1). Then she fell very ill (pleurisy?).

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1. It is necessary to note on this subject the very widely held idea among the Refugee Blacks, as among the Creoles, that certain forms of mental imbalance are due to the action of an entity which is trying to manifest itself in a man and does not
[755] succeed. In order to cure this man, he must be "washed" with appropriate leaves so that the god can come to manifest itself in him; the rest of the time he will be normal.

/202 cont./

153 --Pupils are taught, individually or collectively, to dance
791 in the manner of the god. Indeed, each divinity has a charac-
787 teristic form of dance, which it executes sometimes by using
776 the bodies of its bearers when it comes into them. The pupil
535 must imitate as best he can the individual movements and the
[868] rhythm of this dance, while the teacher, using the appropriate drum, beats out the calling formulas.

If the god is satisfied with the student, he will be able to come into him.

791 These exercises appear to have as their goal the creation
787 in the pupils of forms of conditioned reflexes; they have nothing
785 in common with the very harsh ordeals which the medicine man
153 of the Guiana Indians imposes upon himself, and do not involve any form of asceticism. It does not seem that chastity, even temporary, is demanded of the student, any more than fasting or doing anything contrary to his inclinations.

787 The idea of a spiritual death and resurrection of the
791 possessed person, with all the ritual it entails: long reclusion of the neophytes, change of name of the one possessed, who is supposed to relearn all the activities of ordinary life, does not appear to have been kept by the Refugee Blacks. In a general
[152] way, the atmosphere of solemn seriousness, /203/ of secrecy, and of fear, which characterize the Dahomey cults of possession is not found among them.

791 These lessons are always paid for and are even very
787 expensive. Payment is made in pieces of cloth, in demijohns
435 of tafia.
[436] Having a Kumenti amounted in 1958 to at least 25,000 francs. This payment is not only compensation for the teacher;
[181] it is the mark of legitimacy. What has not been paid for is not, for the Refugee Blacks, legitimately acquired. We shall come back to this important point later.

/209 cont. /

787 784 If someone has a Kumẽnti, certain objects used in the cult: pestle, mortar, machete, must not be raised near him. His gita "would rise" immediately. Likewise while he is eating, neither tiger nor gun must be mentioned. To prevent their gita from rising, those concerned may take the precaution of putting a small piece of wood behind the ear while they eat.

787 178 [771] [781] [484] [743] [755] These past years the cult of the Kumẽnti was clearly declining among the Boni, as was the whole of their religious life; every one, indeed, no longer thought about anything but earning money and was always traveling in order to do this, which made difficult the indispensable meetings and dances. On the other hand, cared for effectively when they are ill in the Maripasoula hospital, the Boni feel the cult of the Kumẽnti less necessary, of which the principal social function is to cure. So, while in 1948 we used to be present very often at manifestations of the gita of Kumẽnti, in 1952 they were becoming much rarer and more secret /modest/. They were tending to fall to the level of the latent manifestations of which we shall speak further on. In 1956 we did not observe in the course of the forest [346] work any spontaneous attack of this gita. The chapels dedicated to the Kumẽnti are scarcely maintained and are falling into ruins; such is the fate of the gods judged benevolent toward men. [751] Nevertheless people continue to lay great store by the ɔbia of Kumẽnti, especially the man nẽŋge ɔbia which protects against the machete and the gun, and the Kumẽnti bui, ring of Kumẽnti, instrument of divination.

776 [823] [787] The Bũnsuŋki. The Bũnsuŋki are gods which live in the waters, by preference at the head of falls, beside rocks bearing copses of detached trees; they can also reside ordinarily in these trees themselves. They appear sometimes in dreams to men as well as to women in the aspect of Indians, more commonly Indian women with long hair. This is why they are sometimes called wata Ingi, Indians of the water.

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152 828 754 777 Jealousy. To speak of jealousy as a negative magic force is not to be false to the thought of the Refugee Blacks. They regard it as an attenuated force of wisi, capable of bringing misfortunes even if no sorcery has been formulated. Jealousy is 152 157 very marked in their character, associated with an individualism verging on asocial tendencies. When somebody is accused of 754 wisi, jealousy is the commonest explanation of the crimes 152 828 attributed to him; it is thought for example that a man can be jealous of his brother's growing rich to the point of making him die; that a woman may be jealous of the beauty or health of 152 her sister's children. Not laying themselves open to jealousy 156 is the constant preoccupation of the Refugee Blacks; one ob- 828 serves it in daily behavior, for example in the greetings which 576 they exchange on the river. They never say, "I am well," but: "I feel only fair." If they come back from hunting they say, "I found a little."

152 156 828 Examples are not lacking of people who avoid building a fine house or buying an outboard motor in order not to give cause for jealousy. This preoccupation has profound reper- [182] [463] cussions on the material life and the economy of the Refugee Blacks; it explains in particular the absence of specialized professions and trade among them.

[183] [571] Many aspects of the customary law of the Refugee Blacks have no other function than to exorcise, if one may say so, tendencies toward jealousy and selfishness which, if they were given free rein, would poison the life of the collectivity.

76 181 725 828 The rites of death and mourning, which we have shown to constitute the pivot of the social life of the Refugee Blacks, are entirely based on the idea of preserving the surviving spouse from the effect of the jealousy of the deceased.

/245 cont./

754 766 ground, after scattering the cloths which were covering her, and left without carrying out any rite.

"Next we went to Boniville, the grand man invoked Odun on our behalf, stating that we had only followed his laws and that he had to protect the performers of the job against any distressing consequence."

754 181 178 Development of sorcery. Since 1957 Boni country has been passing through a crisis; /246/ fear of sorcery is poisoning village life, while in 1948-50 it was a preoccupation of secondary importance.

[578] That is due to the fact that the rapid growing rich of part of the Boni aggravates jealousies and suspicions. Moreover, these affairs tend to appear in series. Since the case related above (1958), in which a woman, N..., was convicted of having paid a Creole quimboiseur to make the grand man die, an affair which strongly impressed the Boni, they tend to see wisi in all misfortunes that occur.

[167] In November, 1958 the death of a little girl of 12 of Kotika village was attributed to her uncle Mbomaolo, who had recently emigrated to Surinam and settled in a Creole village. [787] It is believed that he "committed himself," that is, that he sold his soul to the devil (1), which necessitates sacrificing one

1. This notion, which plays such a large role in West Indian beliefs, has no equivalent among the Refugee Blacks. There is no word in the Boni language for translating the term "committed." They translate thus: a e suku didibi, he seeks the devil. The Boni do not have a clear image of the devil, and this notion remains, in fact, foreign to their beliefs.

[776]

754 181 178 [387]

/246 cont./

of his near relatives, his sister's children being regarded as the victims most pleasing to the demon.

Although in former times one to two out of ten deaths were attributed to wisi, in 1957 and 1958 out of 14 adult deaths of which we could obtain the explanation, there were:

[784] --Four wisimã killed by Odun, including two women of over 85 who during their lifetime had never been the object of unfavorable notice;

[761] --One death by the action of a wisimã,

or a total of more than a third of the deaths; out of the nine others, two were looked upon as natural deaths (dead of old age), seven were attributed to the kunu.

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The Refugee Blacks and Creole magic. Some of them go to get from the lukumã what their own social morals forbid: vengeance or success acquired at the expense of other people. They have uttered an oath that prohibits the practice of wisi: for most of them it is clear that if they paid a piayeur /magician, sorcerer/ to harm someone, it would be the same as if they performed the sorcery themselves. But others make a mental reservation on this point.

754 755 648

In 1951, G..., of the Kotika lo, then about 20 years old, felt ill while staying at Saint Laurent. He went to find a Creole maïtif (clairvoyant) who presented him with a mirror, announcing to him that he was going to see in it the face of the one who had piayé /bewitched, cast a spell on/ him. G... saw nothing in the mirror. The maïtif was not upset at this and revealed to him that the piayeur must be someone in his wife's family. G... then recalled a dispute he had had some time previously with one of his wife's brothers and let himself be convinced: since that day he has not gotten along with his brother-in-law.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

603 were told that kambo was an abbreviated form of kambosa, and meant the woman who makes trouble.

"He is my grandson, he calls me wife, and I call him [502] husband. We joke together about everything."

Up and down the river we heard these expressions from the old men and women with whom we talked, and to them these were all-sufficient explanations of the relationship of grandparent and grandchild. This making free was a verbal give-and-take that did not stop at brusqueness or teasing. Indeed, those who indulged in this freedom might discuss with each other any phase of the sexual life. Nor did they need to resort to any evasion or circumlocution. There seemed, moreover, to be a sanction for emphasis on the obscene and the lascivious in these conversations—obscene and lascivious, that is, from the point of view of those who were themselves speaking!

603 The effect of the custom is interesting. It acts as a form of release for the young, who are held down under the strain 182 of paying respect to those who are older and of greater experience. It is a way of escape from the discipline imposed by the parents and those of their generation.

What did the Bush Negro make of it?

We talked about it with men and women of many villages, and invariably the answer was the same.

"So we live in the bush, white man, and so we do. Our ancestors did this before us. Long ago our great ancestors brought all this knowledge with them from *Neng'e Kond'e* —from the land of the Negroes."

Yet in the beliefs of these people, and in their life as they live it, there are to be found a few suggestive hints which seem to have some bearing on this custom of verbal license between grandparents and grandchildren.

603 The Bush Negro child is given many names at birth, [551] and one name is usually that of a departed ancestor, a deceased grandparent. It may be, then, that this puts the child on a plane of spiritual equality with his grandparents and with those of their generation who are related to him. There is, also, the feeling about the propriety of the mar-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

175 not sufficient to make them adopt the white man's culture.

Many of the rebels, indeed, had been born on the sugar plantations and raised in close contact with European civilization. These were probably inclined to modify in many details the West African habits of their parents. But the white man and his magic were the object of universal hatred among the blacks. They had no incentive to adopt European ways, when they were proud of their own. And when they escaped into the bush, they found a typical West African culture reconstructed in the Surinam bush by the escaped slaves who had preceded them. It was as though a section of West Africa had been picked up bodily and deposited almost intact in the South American jungle. To this day, therefore, we have many evidences of West African culture in the life of the Surinam Bush Negroes. Their entire social structure, with the exception of a few items borrowed from the [177] Indians and certain European inventions like gunpowder which were forced upon them, is analogous to that of the Old World.

178 Conditions were not the same in every particular. In ● 182 West Africa there is iron ore, and the art of iron working was invented and carried to a high point of perfection by the African natives. There is little iron ore in Surinam, so that the art of working it is lost to the Bush Negroes. A limited quantity of iron weapons and implements was pillaged from the plantations, and all of it was probably converted immediately into arrow-points, hatchets, and bush-knives, to carry on the guerilla warfare against the despised Europeans.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Common household implements for everyday use had to be 178
made out of different material. Wood was used wherever 182
possible. So in place of iron the Bush Negroes developed an elaborate and beautiful art of carving domestic utensils. Pots are stirred with wooden paddles instead of with iron [412
ladles. Enormous wooden trays are used for carrying food. 415]
Combs, stools, beaters, and a dozen other implements all bear evidence of this extraordinary technique of wood carving, and this too is a heritage from their African ancestry.

In tracing the relationship between any two cultures, such 177
as the West African and the Bush Negro, we should always 182
bear in mind the possibility that both developed independently and that similarities between them may be due to the influence of similar environments rather than to actual culture contact. Thus, for example, while the Djuka corial is hollowed out of solid logs in a fashion similar to the West African canoe, which at once suggests borrowing, it is also true that the rapid waters of the Surinam, Marowyne, and Saramacca Rivers make any other kind of board or bark canoe impracticable. The Bush Negroes' dugout canoes may be an independent adaptation to the environment rather than a heritage from Africa.

This difficulty is a common one in anthropological speculation; examples are to be found on all hands. Thus, it has been maintained that the Reindeer Men who lived in France during the Magdalenian Age are related to the present-day Eskimo, because their bone implements and crude drawings bear certain resemblances, although the two races are

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

177 separated by ten thousand years of time and two thousand
182 miles of space. It has, however, been pointed out that both peoples had to face environmental conditions that are roughly alike, and that a similar world may well have led to certain similar responses and adaptations. In Dutch Guiana, on the other hand, we do know of a direct historical connexion with Africa, so that the customs, habits, art work, social organization, and general material culture of the Bush Negroes must undoubtedly be related to the similar culture of West Africa. A great many articles in everyday use among the Djukas are of West African design. African words and African habits can readily be identified.

177 We also know that certain articles used by the Djukas are borrowings from the aboriginal Indians of the district.
[252] Thus the cassava squeezer, the *matapee*, and the whole technique of preparing cassava, the grater and sieve for the flour, are borrowed from the South American Indians. But by far the greater part of Djuka culture comes directly from the Dark Continent.

A Swedish anthropologist, Gerhard Lindblom, made a study of Bush Negro implements and wood carvings in
[322] European museums, and compared them with the implements and wood carvings from West Africa, pointing out a number of homologous forms.

[643 The Granman's throne, an intricately carved wooden stool
352] made by the Djukas, as Lindblom pointed out, is similar in construction to those owned by the headmen of the Gold Coast, Ashanti, Slave Coast, and the Niger tribes. The ornate

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Agriculture among the Bush Negroes of the Marowijne /Maroni/

by D. C. Geijskes (1)

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1. Introduction

121 When one goes to the small communities of the inhabitants
•182 of the bush who live in the interior districts of Surinam, one quickly sees, upon examination, the basis on which the maintenance of such communities rests. The struggle for existence among primitive peoples covers the food supply and the resistance that can be offered against illness and pests. These two factors ultimately determine the birth surplus, which as a result expresses the possibility for survival.

121 Among the Bush Negroes we see in the course of the years an
[161] increase in the population, an advance, therefore, in spite of the obstructions of nature. But this advance creates new problems.
[101] It was during the Medical-Scientific Expedition to the Southern Border of Surinam, held from February to July, 1952, that, in conjunction with the medical investigation in the gathering of data about the "housekeeping" of the Bush Negroes of the Marowijne /Maroni/ and the Tapanahoni, we were struck above all by the problem of the food supply and the food itself. There is little sense in paying attention only to medical care unless at the same time attempts are made to improve the food.

433 An important part of the food supply is produced by agriculture.
262 This supplies the Bush Negroes with the most, but not the best food. Next to it a number of forest products serve to provide for the need for food fats, while hunting and fishing must provide the protein.

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B R 146 The scarcity of lipide foods,and, among the Boni, the low consumption of fruit might cause one to fear vitamin deficiencies. B R 515 In fact, there are no signs of it.

Body hygiene is excellent; Blacks and Indians bathe several times a day and are very fastidious about their persons.

B R 433 In summary, there is no appreciable difference in the customary activities, agriculture, hunting, and fishing, of the two populations. B R 461 There is one in economic activity. Among the Boni, who have a greater need for imported objects, the adult men work [465] for wages four to five months per year on the average. These jobs are very laborious and performed under bad dietary conditions, whereas the Indians rest when they are not occupied with their customary tasks, sometimes spending entire days stretched out B R 177 in the hammock.

The two populations have been in close contact for a long time. B R 177 The Indian villages farthest downstream have immediate contact with the first crop plantings of the Boni. Without having 648 any tendency to merge (their characters and their customs are too different), Boni and Oayana have maintained regular relations since the end of the eighteenth century, doing a little trade in imported articles exchanged for hammocks and dogs trained for hunting. They often visit each other, and nothing stops the spread of B R 105 illness from the one group to the other.

In fact, the way of life of the two groups is the same, the 182 environmental conditions have the same influence, and the differences which are observed in the pathology can only be attributed 164 to a different sensitivity with regard to the principal illnesses.

B 164 Pathology of the Boni. We shall briefly summarize here the ob- [114] servations of Dr. A. Sausse in his work Populations primitives du Maroni.

The pathology of the Boni is characterized by:

-- a resistance to malaria, which means that if the children have bad attacks an immunity will develop with age; the size of the spleen diminishes regularly from child to adult. The adults have only episodical attacks which are not serious; in particular

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165 Factors influencing the demographic characteristics of the Boni. Life expectancy at birth for the Boni is not only 12 years higher than that of the Indians, but is also considerably higher than that of the African peoples from which they came.

This fact can be attributed to two causes:

164 1. The Boni live in a more salubrious environment than
182 the African forest and have better living conditions. It seems likely that the Guianese forest, apart from malaria, presents few causes of bad health and is relatively favorable to man; the absence of trypanosomiasis permits men /525/ to gather on the banks of the large rivers, generously exposed to the air and to the light. The small number of the Boni and their dispersion over a vast territory stands in the way of the transmission of diseases by drinking water. In fact the water is generally healthy. Dysentery and parasitosis are considerably rarer and less serious than in Africa;

14 2. The Boni are a selected population. This is a very im-
162 portant aspect of their demography.

The slaves were the object of a systematic selection; the purchasing commissions of the rich colony of Surinam allowed only individuals of good health and constitution to pass. A second selection took place at the time of the formation of the tribes of Refugee Blacks. More than from a massive rebellion the rebel groups increased in size by the addition of those who, from year to year, escaped at the peril of their lives. Without any doubt those who preferred combat to servitude were the most vigorous and bravest. Voluntary migrations have always been a factor of selection: one may suppose that a migration which took place in such circumstances was accompanied by a particularly rigorous selection which, in spite of the time which has passed (eight generations), continues to influence the physiological
[734] characteristics of the Refugee Blacks. Notably it can explain
[157] the vigorous constitution of the Boni (there are only two congenital invalids out of 810 persons) and their exceptional qualities of physical courage and initiative.

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ER /532 cont./

16 16. (cont.)
182 frequently find Indian stone axes under 5 to
172 6 meters of alluvia.

B Here and now, the rivers populated by
16 the Refugee Blacks offer the most striking contrast to the rest of
● 182 the Amazon forest.

If no social or political factor hindered their development, the populations of African origin would doubtless finish by gradually replacing the other populations of Amazonia, with the exception of the Asiatics established on the coast.

E R 161 174 The factors which we have brought to light in studying the Oayana and Oyampi Indians of Guiana suffice to explain the gradual extinction of the Indians of the Amazonian forest since their first contacts with the Europeans and the Blacks; the violence of which they must have been the object from time to time, as well as wars between tribes, have played only a quite secondary role.

It is not difficult to imagine what the demographic characteris-
E R tics of the Indians of the forest might have been before the arrival
[165] of the Europeans. It may be imagined that in the absence of the epidemic lung diseases, the average life span was somewhat greater: perhaps 50% of the individuals instead of 45 reached the age of maximum fertility, and the cumulative fertility was as high as 4.5 instead of 4, due to a rather better state of general health. Under these conditions, in spite of malaria, the popula-
E tion would maintain itself; it could even increase slightly.

161 This point of view is illustrated in striking fashion by the ob-
165 servations made among the Oyampi Indians of Oyapok, a group
[758] which has had practically no regular medical care. In this group
[163] from October 1947 to January 1948, 57 deaths as against 60 births are noted. Out of these 57 deaths, at least 11 have been caused by epidemics of influenza or of pneumonia (17). If the Oyampi

17. From 1947 to 1959 there were three or four of these epidemics among the Oyampi, striking one or two villages each time and causing the death of some adults. This is part of the ordinary

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Thus the behavior of a human group, its fate as a people, and its very existence appear to be determined to a large extent by hereditary biological characteristics. This notion was seen clearly enough at the beginning of this century, but it has never been the object of thorough studies, the conditions for an incontestable experiment not being found together. Repudiated in the name of theoretical principles by the train of thought which has animated sociology for the past several decades, it has ended up by being completely lost from sight. Present-day sociology no longer takes into consideration the biological facts peculiar to the groups which it studies; one currently speaks of cycles of civilization, of laws of social change, of acculturation, etc., as if social facts had their own life and their own evolution, independent of the supposedly identical and interchangeable people. It is as though one claimed to study the psychism of the human being without taking his body into account, denying the influence of sex, age, sickness. Some have even managed to maintain that man is in all respects the product of the society from which he comes.

B
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161 In the case studied here the falsity of these theories is obvious.
14 If the Indians disappear wherever the Blacks establish flourishing
182 societies, it is because their biological characteristics are not suited to the conditions imposed by the geographic environment, whereas those of the Blacks are to the highest degree.

Seen from this angle, the fate of the Indians of the Amazonian
B forest becomes clear; their social behavior and in particular their
R collapse upon contact with European civilization find an explanation.
[177] /534/ The relations of the Indians with the Europeans of past
B centuries have been equally influenced by their biological charac-
R
147 teristics. Their inaptitude for prolonged effort came in part from their physical weakness. When the Blacks and the Indians of the Amazonian forest have been employed side by side for years as soldiers and porters, there can be no doubt on this point. The Black is a force of nature. The Indian of the great forest, often full of good will, is betrayed by his physical powers.

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R /534 cont./

14 In the whole of the Amazonian forest these facts have been
16 observed since the seventeenth century and have led to the re-
182 placement of Indians by slave manpower imported from Africa.
114 The course taken in denying the biological realities and wishing to find at any cost a purely sociological explanation has inspired in recent years an ingenious explanation by several authors:

The success of African manpower was, according to them, due to the fact that the Blacks had a civilization closer to that of the Europeans, whereas the Amerindians were more hunters-
B fishermen than agriculturalists.
R [105] For any observer of good faith, the Indians of Guiana and
R the Blacks of the forests of the Congo and Gabon are largely
[433] on the same technological and cultural level. The Indians are
[361] certainly cultivators just as experienced as the Negroes; is one to forget that it was they who taught the rest of the world the greater part of the important tropical crops: manioc, maize, cotton, tobacco, and so many others? Hunting and fishing for them is only a secondary means of support; it is their instability,
R their lack of attachment to the soil, which may create an
[136] illusion on this point. It can be explained to a certain extent
[361] by the small size of the kinship groups; an ecological factor which does not exist in Black Africa must also be taken into account, the manioc ant, which swarms in particular in the zones habitually cultivated, promoting a seminomadism (18).

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[136] 18. This factor plays only a secondary role,
[361] since the Refugee Blacks despite the manioc ant, maintain villages of permanent residence, only changing their crop plantings, but it is certain that it promotes the dispersion of the groups and seminomadism.

R

14 These considerations do not pretend to give a complete ex-
16 planation of the social behavior of the Indians of the Amazonian
182 forest. The biological characteristics of the group are only one of the factors of this behavior, parallel to many others, notably

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133 This extreme fragmentation of the relief must be remembered
182 as one of the ecological factors influencing the human peopling most directly; it renders the transport of heavy loads impracticable, the establishing of roads practically impossible. Men are led to
[361] settle along the rivers, which constitute the only routes of penetration toward the interior of the country.

133 All the important rivers flow into an alluvial valley whose
132 width varies from some tens of meters to a kilometer, dry during the greater part /6/ of the year, but flooded under several meters
134 of water during the great rains of May-June. This annual inunda-
241 tion makes the alluvial lands unfit for agriculture; the inhabitants of Guiana cultivate only sloping lands and even very steep slopes readily; for good drainage of the soil is indispensable for the raising of manioc whose tubers, which remain in the ground for more than a year, are threatened with rotting.

311 The cultivable zone is in fact closely limited around each village. Practically, it is limited to a strip of 1,500 to 2,000 meters along the banks of each watercourse accessible to pirogues.
[482] Transport of manioc tubers, carried on by the women several
[462] times a month, becomes impracticable if the distance to be covered with loads is greater than two kilometers at the maximum (1).

[101]
[131]
[184]

1. The Djuka, very numerous on the Tapanahoni, cultivate as far as three or four kilometers from the river; but in general, the Refugee Blacks prefer to build farming habitations at a distance of several days' by boat from their village when this gives them the possibility of farming in the neighborhood of the banks.

/6 cont. /

824 wood is too hard to be worked with ordinary instruments or, on the contrary, because it is too soft, too easily attacked by insects, or
311 has a tendency to rot. The zone exploitable by native procedures is limited (for the floodable zones /7/ do not allow fine woods) to the slope of the hills bordering the valley of the watercourses accessible to pirogues; beyond, the cartage of felled trunks becomes impracticable.

137 A very dense epiphytic vegetation connects the trees with
136 their upper parts; it is there that life blossoms out: flowers, birds, insects, and monkeys.

484 Progress through the forest is very arduous. The undergrowth,
487 shrubs, bushes, bound together by fine and elastic lianas, offers
[137] a constant obstacle, the machete /sabre/ must be wielded at each
[412] step. The nature of the terrain, a succession of bogs and hills
[133] with steep and slippery slopes, makes walking for heavily loaded men exhausting. On the trail one succeeds with difficulty in making more than 15 to 20 kilometers a day; in the uninhabited forest one can scarcely advance five to six kilometers a day by cutting the strict minimum as one does when hunting. The opening of a route permitting the passage of heavily laden men cannot progress more than three kilometers a day on the average.

137 The great forest offers few real dangers, but it is an environ-
●182 ment profoundly hostile to man, which does not present spontaneously any food resource and allows establishment of villages and cultivated areas only at the price of great efforts.

136 One meets few animals in the interior of the forest, and the resources for hunting are very limited; on the other hand, there are few harmful animals; wild beasts are few and practically do not appear; snakes are much rarer than on the coast and represent
164 only a slight danger. The most real dangers of the forest come from the fall of branches and epiphytes, principally when it is cleared for cultivation; each year there are accidents of this kind in Boni country. Besides, work in the forest is the occasion for many wounds which tend to ulcerate.

/7 cont. /

132 [513] The climate is relatively temperate and easy for the European to stand. In the forest the thermometer does not rise to more than 28° during the hot hours, to go back down to 20° at the end of the night: everyone sleeps with a blanket, Refugee Blacks and Creoles as well as Europeans. Humidity is very great during nearly all the year; precipitation averages three meters a year or about 50 centimeters less than at Cayenne. The year is divided into two seasons: "summer" from July to December, and the rainy season the rest of the year, with a maximum of precipitation in May and June. The water level varies considerably in the course of the year (several meters). The populations of the interior, spaced out along the rivers, suit the rhythm of their lives to the height of the water; the water rules transportation, fishing, and crops; moreover, a certain number of illnesses are in close relation to the rains, in particular those which have an insect for vector.

133 182 [361] [164]

241 [134] Almost everywhere the soil is very poor in organic matter and fundamental ingredients, very waterlogged necessitating the practice of an itinerant agriculture on burned-over areas; the period of fallow ground varies from two to ten years, the optimum seeming to be about six. [136] The inhabitants of Guiana cannot allow ground to lie fallow regularly because of the ravages of the manioc ant, /8/ which is active especially in habitually cultivated zones. [134] Vain and costly efforts made by Europeans notably at Saint-Jean du Maroni about 1950, have shown that the fertility of lands not burned over is practically nil. [242] The Indians and the Refugee Blacks consider that the fertility of the soil depends exclusively on the weight of cinders laid down during the burning.

When burned-over areas are cultivated, only one harvest is obtained; but this harvest is abundant, and the soil thus utilized can be regarded as relatively fertile. The knocking down and burning do not require great labor, so that primitive agricultural methods can be considered to give a good yield. As a matter of fact, the diverse populations of Guiana, Creoles and Refugee Blacks, have entirely adopted the methods of work resulting from the millennial

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241 177 experience of the American Indians, which seem the only utilizable ones in the interior of the country.

Thus these populations which are so varied have in large measure the same agriculture and the same food.

241 [262] Basic crops are manioc, consumed in the form of couac (flour roasted and granulated) which is the base food, the Indian yam, and tubers analogous to taro (dachine, "Caribbean cabbage"). [171] The Refugee Blacks plant mountain rice in addition. The Creoles do not plant rice but have on the other hand a greater variety of vegetables and fruits.

31 36 182 Men in Guiana live on the rivers; villages and cultivated lands are to be found on their banks; everywhere else one finds only the deserted forest; only Creole gold miners, constrained by their work, sometimes establish their villages far from watercourses. 181 182 171 The Refugee Blacks, like the Indians, love the rivers where they find, along with water and light, the possibility of moving without hindrance; they are a people of canoeists; their traditions are widely influenced by life on the river, and their mode of living finds in this a deep originality.

13 133 182 171 In fact, setting aside the gold miners' villages, we can say that the populations of the Guianas living by exploitation of the natural resources of the country have a linear habitat: it can be estimated not in surface but in length, for it is limited to a band of one kilometer along each watercourse accessible to pirogues. These watercourses are limited in number, for one can take for granted that at a distance of some 20 kilometers from the source of each river, the congestion caused by fallen trees and parasitic vegetation prevents easy movement.

[61] [226] Actually, considering the very low density of the population, the small rivers are scarcely utilized except as fishing places.

487 501 All the rivers are interrupted by falls and rapids which render the use of large boats impossible. The pirogues of the Refugee

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162 The Boni, about 1,000 in number, occupy the course of the
131 Lawa between Abounasounga Falls to the north and the falls of the
Litani to the south. Their "great villages," that is, their residential
361 villages, are: Agodé (Boniville), Kotika, Asisi, Loka, Papaï'ston,
[103] Kormotibo, Lapé, and l'Enfant Perdu. Three small villages
founded more recently are established on the lower course of the
563 Maroni. The territorial implantation of the Boni has been dis-
turbed by the settlement of Creole gold miners on their territory
178 for three quarters of a century. Their demographic situation is
mediocre and their tribal organization, compared to that of the
[181] other tribes, has lost much of its strength. However, they still
make up a human grouping full of strength and originality.

131 The Djuka, whose "great villages" are in Surinam territory
361 on the /11/ Tapanahoni, can be evaluated at 7,000 to 8,000 in
total. At the height of demographic expansion, their farming
[162] villages swarm on both banks of the Maroni and on the islands,
[161] penetrating more and more deeply into the interior of French
[648] Guiana, where in places they form small temporary groupings
[619] living in symbiosis with the Creole gold miners; the Boni recognize
their right to cross their territory but not that of establishing
villages in it.

433 For a century the economy of the Refugee Blacks has been
648 founded on a symbiosis with the Europeans and Creoles; they furnish
[464] specialized labor (construction, but above all, transport) in ex-
[465] change for relatively high wages. This economy finds itself
[178] threatened by the gradual disappearance of gold mining; there is
[166] developing a tendency toward temporary emigration to the Euro-
pean work yards of Saint-Laurent analogous to that of the Saramaka
[182] of Surinam to French Guiana. This is a serious threat to the in-
terior cohesion of the tribes.

F 164 162 744 /13 cont./

whom African blood predominates are seen; the mulattoes are in general traders, or practice small stock raising.

B 182 The Refugee Blacks are the only population of interior Guiana who can be regarded as perfectly adapted to the environment and capable of subsisting there by their own means. They

B 164 have a protection against malaria which operates thus: If the children suffer from this endemic disease, resistance appears with age, protecting adults from its attacks.

They are subject to serious skin diseases, notably to pian,

B [161] but these maladies have few demographic consequences; only the Boni are seriously attacked by venereal diseases. The Djuka are in the process of very great demographic expansion.

B 182 433 511 The strong tribal organization of these populations and their solid implantation on the ground render effective their methods of working, farming, hunting, and fishing, which assure them not only excellent provisionment but considerable means of exchange and a material standard of living superior to that of most of the populations of Africa. The techniques of the Refugee Blacks, especially as regards the squaring of wood, sawing, and building, procure for them resources comparable to those which the populations of the Ivory Coast get from coffee and cacao. /blank page/

/17 cont. /

162 —On the Lawa a group of a little less than 680 persons is
103 settled on the French bank (villages of Agodé (Boniville), Asisi,
361 Loka, Tabiki (l'Enfant Perdu), Lapé (La Paix), and Papaïston).

—In proximity to this grouping subsists under Dutch control the village of Kotika (Cottica), grouping about 150 persons.

—In the region of Abounasounga two small groupings live in symbiosis with the Djuka. Finally, in the lower course of the Maroni exist three villages: Apatu, Ma Imma, and Wétiti. The whole represents about 150 persons.

361 These villages are stable: Kotika, Lapé, Asisi, Kormotibo
182 were already in existence at the beginning of the 19th century
[175] and their names figure in the report of the Franco-Dutch border mission of 1861; by contrast, farming habitations are moved according to the necessities of agriculture and fishing; thanks to this organization, a relatively numerous grouping can, in the interior of Guiana, in spite of conditions imposed by the geographical environment, conserve complete stability and a firm attachment
[171] to the ground. It is useful to compare this organization with the basic instability of the Indians of Guiana, for it shows very well that this instability is ascribable to psychological and sociological factors and not at all to the geographic environment.

101 The Boni designate themselves by the term Aluku nènge. The meaning of this word is forgotten. It is possible that Aluku was the name of an ancient chief, or of the founding ancestress
[613] of a lineage. On this subject it is to be noted that the name of the most ancient ancestress known of the Dju lineage, who can be thought of as living at the end of the 18th century, was called
[175] Aluku. This name has been used since the origin of the tribe;
[103] indeed one reads in the interrogation of the woman prisoner conducted in 1847 by the French at Oyapok that her village was called Loukou (1).

/28 cont./

613 although the supposed common ancestress doubtless goes back to
614 the beginning of the 18th century and for three generations they
784 have been divided among four villages situated at a week's dis-
[621] tance by boat from one another. We can, with very few chances of error, affirm that they certainly have a common matrilineal origin and that they in fact constitute one lineage.

182 On this subject let us note that geographical separation can-
619 not play the same role among the Refugee Blacks as in the African
361 tribes of cultivators. The Refugee Blacks, whose habitat is linear
[484] along the banks of the river and who, being boatmen, are continually moving, cannot be completely isolated from one another.

613 /29/ Under these conditions, how can we explain the
614 existence within certain lineages of individualized fractions subject
571 to a separate kunu, such as Papaïston 2?

One can assume that these fractions do not really have the same origin as the principal group and that they result from a process of assimilation of a paternally related fragment.

We have cited the example of Aneta's descendants (Aw.B.3). They are already integrated into the social life of the group; in two or three generations nobody will remember any longer their exact origin. But they will remain differentiated from the princi-
[784] pal fraction of the Awara Bakka because they will still be subject to the kunu of their ancestress.

121 Such are the elements we have been able to draw from a general study of kin groups among the Boni. We shall look for other data in the study of the implantation of these groups on the soil, and especially of the apportionment of lands among them; finally, we shall study family custom and especially inheritance.

A complete understanding of the kinship system and its functioning can be obtained only in the future by following the evolution of kin groups, the formation of new villages; and the designation of new headmen.

614 /31 cont./
769 Another very important principle in the minds of the Refugee
796 Blacks is that prayers must be collective; the principal ceremonies, such as the New Year's prayer, must bring together, at least in
613 principle, the total lineage.

These notions certainly have influenced the custom of the
● 182 Refugee Blacks with respect to residence and marriage. The lineage
613 cannot allow the permanent departure of a woman from her native
614 country any more than that of a man. In the populations of Black Africa with matrilineal filiation, this conception is reconciled
591 with the necessities of practical living in the following manner:
[171] the wife leaves her relatives to settle down with her husband, but when her children reach adulthood they must return there. Thus one cannot attribute to this preoccupation alone the special system of marriage among the Refugee Blacks, which does not involve the permanent cohabitation of man and wife. We shall see that this system was inspired by social and psychological necessities. But concern for the unity of the lineage, to which it corresponds perfectly, has surely contributed to make of it a rigorous principle of customary law.

601 Kinship within the matrilineage. The kinship terms translate a
613 purely classificatory system. It depends only on the number of generations separating from the foundress. The sons of women
611 descended from the foundress in uterine line are regarded as members of the matrilineage and united in the system of appellation. The children of these men are no longer part of the matrilineage.

/33 cont./

602 Patrilineal relationships have other important incidences which we shall bring to light in speaking of Boni beliefs. From the point of view of social structure, let us note:

[182] — That patrilineal relationship has no influence upon residence or organization of material living;

[582] — That the law of exogamy which it involves has only slight influence on the freedom of choice of couples; because of the relatively large number of patrilineages.

[601] As far as the ties of patrilineal kinship are known (in general people do not go beyond their grandfather), the same kinship terms are used as in the matrilineage, with the same classificatory value.

601 613 Appellations. We have seen that within the matrilineage the kinship appellations depend only on the number of generations with respect to the foundress.

Speaking familiarly, they use for addressing:

— People of the same generation, the expression	ba So-and-so... (man) sa So-and-so (woman)
— — of one generation above, the expression	tiyu, uncle tiya, aunt
— — of two generations above, the expression	papa mama.

[192] /34/ Papa does not mean father, but ancient, honorable. Likewise, mama means aged and respectable woman.

For example, to say good day they will say, according to the case, ba So-and-so, ɔdio, or tiyu, ɔdio.

[551] In speaking to people one generation below, they say mati (comrade) or call them by their name without any other appellation, which would be considered very insolent in addressing their "brothers" or "uncles."

/82/

Territorial Implantation of Lineages

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613
311 As we have shown, the Refugee Blacks are caught between contradictory imperatives:

--Their legal thought, centered on joint possession by the lineage, pushes them to distribute land among the lineages in compact blocs;

[182]
[241] --The geographic environment, and most especially the ravages of the manioc ant, obliges them to give to each individual the possibility of abruptly changing his territorial sector or to hasten the planned rhythm of his fallow fields.

The solution which has imposed itself has been to divide the lands of each lineage into a certain number of zones scattered on the two banks of the river. Instead of finding large blocks with a single holder, we are going to find sectors sometimes rather small. With that exception, the legal principles of the Refugee Blacks keep all their practical value.

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504 Each village possesses a certain number of landing places or dégrads /wharfs/, from which fan out a certain number of paths.
613 The wharf is the center of a territorial zone within which the members of the lineage fan out, pushing their clearings farther and
423 farther, until they meet the clearings created by other lineages.
[489] At this moment a boundary is in effect created, at least in some points (1).

[184]

1. Among the Djuka it happens that a wharf may be common to two lineages and that the boundary may be marked by a big road perpendicular to the river and starting from the wharf; this system corresponds to a concern for establishing more precise boundaries between groups occupying land to the maximum. It is not observed anywhere in Boni country.

/96 cont./

423 emigrating fraction possesses exclusive rights over the /agricul-
613 tural/ land /terroir/ it forms. But it does not lose, at least in
621 principle, its rights over its original land /terroir/."
571 The study of finages gives us still more important informa-
tion concerning the exercising of rights of use:

241 /97/ Of 100 clearings examined, 81 follow the normal
423 process according to which the woman has her clearing made on
613 the land of her lineage (1). Of these 81 clearings, 14 had been
621

1. For the joint sector of Boniville, the inhabitants of the village were considered as users of rights without distinction of lineage.

made under conditions not made clear, 48 had been cut by the husband, 14 by a near relative (son, brother, exceptionally brother or son-in-law), five by the woman herself.

In only five cases it is, on the contrary, the man who brings his wife onto his lineage's land.

A little more frequent is the case of a man cutting a clearing for himself on his lineage's land.

Finally, the case in which, for reasons of convenience, a member of a lineage asks to work temporarily on the land of another lineage is met twice. Thus this is an extremely unusual practice.

182 Influence of the geographical environment on the social structure.
171 These observations are to be compared with the ones that can be
[177] made about the Oayana Indians and the Indians of Guiana in general, living near the Refugee Blacks, in the same geographical environment and almost in the same way (let us recall that the Refugee Blacks borrowed the whole of their material culture from the Indians).

/97 cont./

R 105 [361] The Oayana Indians are half nomadic, moving their villages every ten years on the average. They have neither a permanent center of peopling, a place of worship, nor a cemetery; they do not have ancestor worship, at least no concept involving a precise and permanent tie between the living, the dead, and the land.

R 114 182 [136] This state of things has been attributed by several authors to the geographical environment and especially to the ravages of the manioc ant; the manioc ant, swarming particularly in formerly cultivated zones, makes nomadism advantageous. From this would have resulted a social structure and a mode of living adapted to these special conditions.

B 114 769 182 The example of the Refugee Blacks shows conspicuously that these considerations, in spite of their undeniable interest, do not constitute an explanation of general scope; for the Refugee Blacks, the only social ties conceivable flow from ancestor worship; above all the imperatives of material life the individual feels as a primordial duty the act of attaching himself to the village of his ancestors, to the land they cleared off and which remains under their protection.

B 182 241 423 613 The difficulties inherent in the geographical environment have been easily surmounted or gotten around. Rather than vast zones with one single holder, each lineage divided its finage into sectors distant from one another. If these zones become temporarily unusable, the Boni go to create farming habitations on the upper course of the river, without ceasing because of this to reside habitually in the village of their ancestors; there results from this no other constraint but losing two weeks each year in going and coming on the river.

/99/

182 That this system is perfectly workable has been sufficiently demonstrated by the regular expansion for two centuries of the tribes of Refugee Blacks and by the good functioning of their institutions.

182 Thus the basic instability of the Indians of Guiana cannot be attributed to the influence of the geographical environment alone. It comes essentially from social and psychological factors.

/100/ STUDY OF FARMING HABITATIONS

128 We are now going to study the functioning of the farming habitations under the same aspects:

--Structure (composition of each one, kinship ties);

--Territorial implantation: nature and extent of rights over the land;

--Functioning.

241 Not all Boni have a farming habitation; about two-thirds of them are satisfied with the lands they occupy near the residence villages.

241 The farming habitations we are going to study more especially and which are situated between the mouth of the Inini and Simayé Falls to the south, group about a hundred persons belonging to the Dju, Lapé, Awara Bakka, and Papaïston lineages. Another group of farming habitations situated a little south of Kormotibo, which we shall study briefly and only so far as their composition is concerned, bring together about 60 persons. Finally, other very dispersed farming habitations exist, belonging principally to the Kotika lineage, some in the Maripasoula region, others in the Abattis-Kotika Falls /region/.

241 On the whole, the Boni farming habitations cannot be compared either as to importance or stability with the Djuka farming villages which are placed at intervals on the middle course of the Maroni, grouping 3,000 to 3,500 persons: this is easy to understand: the Djuka, continually short of land, are obliged,

/100 cont. /

24 62 [184] under pain of losing their rights, to occupy the soil to the maximum. Besides, settled very far from their residence villages, they are led to creating more lasting establishments.

Among the Boni, farming habitations do not amount to much, built carelessly (to designate them one says kãpu (camp), and the groups who work there are not very stable.

423 241 [182] [184] However, the principles of establishment and functioning of farming habitations are exactly the same for the two tribes and result on the whole from the customary laws which, among the Refugee Blacks, govern the possession of land:

[425] [613] 1) When a man cuts a clearing in a zone which has never had any human establishment, he creates at the same time as a right of use for himself an imprescriptible real right for his lineage (bɛɛ) or more precisely for the fraction of the lineage living in the same village and subject to the same authority;

[428] [613] 2) This right is joint; at the death of an individual, anyone of that fraction of his lineage may occupy the lands he used to cultivate habitually. If there is a dispute, it must be settled within the framework of the lineage; /101/ /Fig. 17 appears here/ /102/

3) The extent of the zone over which this right is exercised is limited only by the zones over which other rights are exercised.

We have seen what mode of occupation of the soil resulted from these laws in the neighborhood of the "great villages." Here the distribution of lands among the farming habitations follows practically the same laws, whose effects are less rigorous, considering the very low density of occupation of the soil.

425 [361] 1) It is taken for granted that an isolated establishment in a quasi-deserted zone does not create lasting rights. If it happens to disappear, anybody may come to settle there after ascertaining from the first occupant that he no longer needs the place (such is the case with the very scattered establishments south of Simayé Falls up to Indian country; they do not create real territorial rights for the benefit of any lineage whatever.

/102 cont./

425 2) On the contrary, from the time that occupation of a region becomes habitual, even by groups of small numerical importance, people pay attention to the attribution of the lands. [361] [613] Thus it is assumed that the west bank of the Lawa south of the Atikati habitation up to Simayé Falls has belonged, since the end of the last century, to the Lapé lo, which was occupying it in 1957 by the Paako, Samo, Pwen, Saléni, and Makélé habitations.

423 613 241 361 3) Within each zone the rights remain joint and anyone of the same lo may come to settle there. Thus the farming habitations move around, but within a definite sector. Thus for example Kwaku (Lapé) abandoned in 1954 his habitation situated in the lands of the Lapé lineage (it was too damp in the rainy season, he prefers to content himself with the lands of the "great village"). He does not lose his rights because of this. If he decides eventually to come back, he will settle anywhere in the zone attributed to the Lapé lo.

182 161 241 361 425 It goes without saying that if the population were more dense, such a principle would be difficult to apply and that serious disputes would arise. But this mode of occupation of the soil is perfectly suitable, in their present situation, for the tribes of the Refugee Blacks, for it allows them to practice, with a minimum of friction, the seminomadism which the geographical environment and especially the manioc ant impose.

241 361 423 The zones occupied by the farming habitations rarely have a single holder: most often they are divided into separate sectors on different parts of the river.

504 613 361 423 Actually, as we have seen around the "great villages," each lineage possesses a certain number of "dégrads," or landing places, from which paths radiate. Each "dégrad" is rigorously reserved for the members of a lineage. The occupants of a farming village radiate from around their landing place until they

178 [173] /192 cont. /

thus it is that they have kept a rather exact description of the elephant (leu) and the gorilla (malẽgwana).

[648] imposed on the slaves has prevailed. There is nothing surprising about that, since the slaveholders tried, in order to prevent revolts, to mix to the maximum the Blacks of the various tribes.

174 A certain number of men initiated in differing degrees into African cults were among the rebels. They tried to con-
177 serve and transmit these rites, which their descendants have more or less transposed or deformed (2). As far as one can

• [182]

2. The single fact that the vegetation and fauna differed totally from those of Africa immediately required a modification of ritual which called for infusions of leaves of numerous plants to which definite magical properties are attributed.

[198] As far as one can judge by the secret languages attached to these cults, in which are recognized many words deformed from the ordinary language, and a few Indian words, these cults in their present state must
[178] differ appreciably from the ones which gave them birth. In fact, the only thing the Refugee Blacks have authentically kept is concepts, metaphysical and moral ideas.

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784 182 Finally, a fifth kunu is threatening to show itself. This is a remarkable affair which clarifies at the same time the legal and religious conceptions of the Refugee Blacks.

672 About 1918, a stupid accident which happened at Dagouédé (gun which went off by itself at the moment when it was being stowed in a boat) caused the death of a girl, Santonia, daughter of Kuluba (Aw.B.1). The unwitting perpetrator of the accident was Kwau (Dip. I, Apatu village). (692) There were people in the Awara Bakka lineage who accused him of having done it on purpose, but the grand man judged that he was innocent and the affair was shelved.

784 614 775 787 Now in April, 1957, Kiboya (Dip. II), a young woman of 25, was attacked by a fit of possession. It was Santonia's yorka which was supposed to reveal itself in her. It declared that it was going to exercise a kunu on Dipélu. It was not claiming that Kwau had killed her on purpose and even asked the Awara Bakka not to make reprisals.

628 614 Nevertheless, full of fury, a party of Awara Bakka went the next day to attack the village of L'Enfant Perdu, demolishing a certain number of huts and pursuing the inhabitants, some of whom took refuge in the water and others in the bush. There were, however, no serious blows.

The next day they went to attack Kormotibo in the same way. It is to be noted that only after that did they think of blaming Kwau, who was then living at Wacapou. But the grand man had intervened in the meantime to re-establish peace.

In both cases the façades of several shacks were smashed and two men, Bonana and Amatodja, who had run less fast than the others, were struck symbolically.

/229 cont./

784 613 [428] The kunu and Boni family life. It follows from the detailed examination we have just made of the situation of the various lineages that the transmission of the kunu within the uterine kin group is a rigorous law which suffers no exception whatever. [571] [602] The process of assimilation which permits in a certain measure, on the social plane, the integration of fragments of paternal kin (like Awara Bakka 3) into a group does not come into play here. [611] [829] Unity with respect to the kunu can therefore be regarded as a rigorous criterion of a common matrilineal origin. The Boni feel it as an obvious fact and in such a case it is the proof that comes to their minds: "We are of the same origin since we have the same kunu."

784 613 571 182 Thus the kunu appears as the principal cement of the unity of the groups. It opposes the dissociation of the lineages; this curse which weighs collectively upon a group and which can be exorcised only collectively is an iron bond which nothing can break. It obliges the Refugee Blacks to surmount their individualistic tendencies, their egoism which, if they acted freely, would soon have scattered them into a dust of [888] separate persons. In the face of adversity each one accepts with good grace obedience to the elders, who alone know how [672] to talk to the gods and appease them. Nobody ever is indignant or even surprised to be struck down for the offense of another; there is not a movement of revolt or hostility against the one who by his inattention or inconsiderateness has brought on misfortune. On this plane the members of a lineage feel like cells of a single body.

784 613 672 The collective legal responsibility of the members of a group in the domain of customary law flows from the kunu. We have observed that several times, notably at the time of the obsequies for Kotoïda (Afi lineage) in October, 1956. The president of the lãnti kuutu condemned the members of

643 /235 cont./
775 A few years ago a Kormotibo woman was thus confounded.
787 She had wanted to pretend possession by a yɔrka in order to
695 blackmail another family.

Grand Man Difu recently forbade the bequeathing of gods
784 and yɔrka exercising the kunu (1). People will wait for them
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[787]

1. Let us recall that the dead are questioned on this subject as for the apportionment of the rest of their heritage.

to manifest themselves of their own accord. That will reduce the risks of pretense.

643 The grand man's lineage does not exercise any kunu upon
613 another lineage, and no kunu is exercised upon it. For the Boni
775 this is a fundamental idea, because the grand man is precisely
784 the supreme recourse in case of persistent calamities attributed to the yɔrka of a dead person. The grand man has the power to exorcise all the dead Boni. If his lineage exercised a kunu or were victim of one, he would be judge and litigant at the same time.

When, with the death of Grand Man Difu, the Dikan lineage is extinct, and when the function passes to another lineage, consideration of the kunu exercised by the lineages upon one another will be determinative in the choice of his successor.

787 Divination; Premonition; Dreams
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● 182 Divination. It plays an essential role among the Refugee Blacks as in all animistic societies. Individuals have recourse to it to inspire all important discussions; in large measure one can say that for them it takes the place of will and conscience.

/235 cont. /

787 But divination is more than that; the interpretation it
626 gives of the events of daily life is the very mover of the ani-
182 mistic society; presenting calamities /236/ as the punishment
571 of offenses against customary law, it is constantly vitalizing that law, conserving its practical value and its efficacity. What it expresses is not the hidden influence of chiefs or priests -- there are in fact neither chiefs nor priests among the Boni -- but the very consensus of the group, the deep feeling it has of its unity.

787 There are two large categories of divination:

The first consists of calling on a divinity through the medium of its bearer. For that, one applies to a person (of his [791] lineage if possible) who has a gadu. This is a service which is rarely refused. This person employs the appropriate procedure for calling his gita and enters into trances. The god speaks, the question is put to it; if it is well disposed, it may give the explanation or the advice requested. For example, one asks for advice before looking for another sector to make his clearings.

787 Suggestible as the Boni may be, they do not fail to per-
776 ceive that all the gods interrogated do not give the same directions. So they think that certain ones are stronger than others; there are people whose gita is considered to be particularly [791] good, others whom they have stopped consulting entirely. The defunct head of Kotika village, Bayo, used to have a gita so remarkable that people would come from very far to consult it.

[829] The general opinion is, furthermore, that nowadays
[178] everything is degenerating and that good gita are no longer seen as in the olden days.

787 These consultations involve only a very modest remuner-
[791] ation, a bottle of tafia at most (1). If it is not a matter of a

1. The remuneration of the possessed person is in question; the god always demands a payment for itself, of variable size according to its whim.

/241 cont./

152 828 754 777 Jealousy. To speak of jealousy as a negative magic force is not to be false to the thought of the Refugee Blacks. They regard it as an attenuated force of wisi, capable of bringing misfortunes even if no sorcery has been formulated. Jealousy is 152 157 very marked in their character, associated with an individualism verging on asocial tendencies. When somebody is accused of 754 wisi, jealousy is the commonest explanation of the crimes 152 828 attributed to him; it is thought for example that a man can be jealous of his brother's growing rich to the point of making him die; that a woman may be jealous of the beauty or health of 152 her sister's children. Not laying themselves open to jealousy 156 828 is the constant preoccupation of the Refugee Blacks; one observes it in daily behavior, for example in the greetings which 576 they exchange on the river. They never say, "I am well," but: "I feel only fair." If they come back from hunting they say, "I found a little."

152 156 828 Examples are not lacking of people who avoid building a fine house or buying an outboard motor in order not to give cause for jealousy. This preoccupation has profound reper- [182] [463] cussions on the material life and the economy of the Refugee Blacks; it explains in particular the absence of specialized professions and trade among them.

[183] [571] Many aspects of the customary law of the Refugee Blacks have no other function than to exorcise, if one may say so, tendencies toward jealousy and selfishness which, if they were given free rein, would poison the life of the collectivity.

76 181 725 828 The rites of death and mourning, which we have shown to constitute the pivot of the social life of the Refugee Blacks, are entirely based on the idea of preserving the surviving spouse from the effect of the jealousy of the deceased.

/243 cont./

754 [683] only commonplace illnesses or accidents of some sort. We have never heard poisoning, in the usual sense of the term, mentioned.

754 695 182 The wisimã trials are in our opinion the most unpleasant aspect of the civilization of the Refugee Blacks. But it must be admitted that they correspond to profound necessities. These archaic societies need an obvious materialization of the principles they have given themselves. Since evil exists, opposing itself to good, the practices of wisi and wisimã exist, and the punishment of evildoers is indispensable for the society to remain subject to the law of good.

[184] By its notion of the kunu which turns aside toward the gods the responsibility for most misfortunes, by the extreme rarity of wisimã trials, by the prudence of its judiciary action which in point of fact pursues only the dead, the society of the Refugee Blacks shows itself humane and realistic.

If one undertook with the Refugee Blacks definite action to make these practices disappear, one would risk obscuring their notion of good and evil and removing all efficacy from their customary law.

[183] The social order of the Refugee Blacks cannot be maintained if the interdiction of harming anyone and the interdiction of vengeance do not remain clearly laid down. It matters little that these acts of sorcery are without real content: It is the intention to harm which counts, with all its social and psychological consequences.

171 177 182 754 When one observes the Creole populations of the Guianas and the West Indies, even though /244/ they have been under the influence of Christianity for several centuries, one is struck by the development of sorcery and by its repercussions on the whole of social life. The teaching received at school and from the catechism, which embraces white magic and black magic in a single reprobation, has greatly contributed toward making these populations lose the principles of social morals of their ancestors without in exchange modifying their

/244 cont./

17 image of the world. Since magic practices are rejected by
17 religion, since it even denies their reality, one does not think,
182 when one finds oneself constrained to have recourse to them,
754 of transferring to them the notion of good and evil which it teaches. Black magic gets in almost inevitably because a person believes he must defend himself; then its use becomes habitual, and the two forms of magic end up by mixing together and being no longer regarded as fundamentally different from each other.

171 Cases of wisi and Boni customary law. In African villages,
754 cases of sorcery are interpreted by interminable and useless
695 discussions, wild accusations, protestations of innocence, sometimes more or less sincere confessions, oaths and legal tests with always contested results. These cases are never finished; they are in permanent evolution, sometimes for months and years. Opinion moves successively onto different hypotheses according to events which take place, seeking its way gropingly like a man lost in darkness.

754 It is clear that the first lawgivers of the Refugee Blacks,
695 by carrying judgment back to the death of those concerned and
182 by refusing the wisimã any kind of pardon or compromise, tried to prevent the development of these sad crises. What is the use of discussing interminably, since there is no certain proof, and since nobody may confess? But customary law collides on this point with tendencies too deep to be entirely restrained. The laws of Ojun are not always obeyed to the letter, and it happens sometimes that the Boni lose their footing in the
[571] observance of their customary law. Then crises take place among them, as violent and confused as in the villages of Black Africa, going as far as paralyzing social life for several weeks; then peace returns for several months, sometimes for several years.

/256 cont./

845 961 678 613 When twins die young people almost always blame a disagreement which has arisen in the lineage. The twins did not want to live in a disunited family. The head of the lineage then exhorts his people to be reconciled with one another at any cost in order to avoid new misfortunes.(1).

[753] 1. In general they have the idea that dissensions occurring in the lineage have as a consequence illnesses or misfortunes striking the members of the lineage. [182] This notion plays a major role in the social life of the Refugee Blacks; after the kunu, it [illegible] principle cement holding [illegible] together.

845 778 One who harms a twin is sure to fall ill. Conversely, it is assumed that the twin must not abuse his power, that he must lead an upright life and avoid quarrels. He is nearer to God than other men.

They assume for example that Efa, of Papalston village, herself a twin and the mother of twins, has a very special power. Nobody would risk harming her.

[613] [774] In lineages having many twins there exists a place of worship sacred to a vital principle called Twilenge. The nature of this principle is not clear. The Boni define it as the soul of twins. Is it a matter of the first twins Adam and Eve? Or of a collective worship offered up to all deceased twins?

6:Hurault--458 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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CHAPTER IX

SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ECONOMY OF THE REFUGEE BLACKS.

RELATIONS WITH OTHER POPULATIONS

Influence of the Social Institutions and Psychological Tendencies of the Refugee Blacks on Their Material Life and Their Economy

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182 Certain psychological tendencies of the Refugee Blacks, in part bound up with their moral and religious conceptions and with the historical conditions under which these societies were formed, directly influence their material life in its various aspects: implantation on the ground, agriculture, paid work, trade.

The principal one of these tendencies is individualism, concern for complete material independence.

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311 Influence on agriculture. We have seen that the clearings of the various households issuing from the same kin group were very rarely grouped together. On the contrary, the Refugee Blacks like to disperse their cultivated lands; even in the recently occupied zones where land is not lacking, it happens that one finds isolated clearings in the middle of primary forest more than a kilometer from the riverbank, at the mercy of predatory animals. Ecological conditions, in particular the concern with protection against the manioc-ant, do not explain this dispersion. The Boni recognize that it would be preferable, for fighting the manioc-ant, to group each year all the plantations of one lineage

/291 cont./

157 Wishing to take advantage of all the possibilities which
464 turn up, the Refugee Blacks are led to learn simultaneously the
463 traditional techniques of their group, boating, boat-building, felling of trees, squaring of wood, and /building/ framework. In these techniques they may be considered specialized workers.

157 Proud of their strength and knowledge, sure of themselves,
812 the Refugee Blacks are never worried about the future and consider life as an exciting adventure, ceaselessly bringing new things. If the past year has been bad, the new year will be better, with God's help. Nobody doubts that he will find gainful work again.

152 Influence of jealousy: absence of specialized professions and
182 trade. Another strong psychological tendency having a direct influence on the economy is jealousy.

152 The effect of jealousy, and the fear of jealousy, is to
828 limit enrichment and to maintain a de facto equality: it often
556 happens that talented people forego undertaking profitable work
753 in order not to give occasion for the jealousy which would render
777 their position in the village difficult and might draw misfortunes upon them; for people have the idea that jealousy draws down illnesses and calamities upon him who is the object of it and on his near relatives, by the action of a natural force, even without sorcery being formulated.

754 Fear of sorcery interferes in the same way; one who be-
556 comes unusually rich is almost inevitably accused of being a
441 sorcerer and may be obliged to leave the country. Particularly
829 vulnerable are those, very rare, who engage in trade. People do not suspect of sorcery a man who is seen to become rich by /292/ working ceaselessly. But the trader whose wealth increases without his furnishing obvious work, is quickly regarded as a "committed one," accused of having his good luck as a result of a pact with the devil.

/292 cont./

754 556 441 438 366 In that can doubtless be seen the most likely explanation of the absence, in the tribes of Refugee Blacks, of any internal trade. There are not even markets in the villages. In practice only Creole and Asian traders are patronized.

463 829 [438] The repugnance which the Refugee Blacks have for trading with one another contributes toward preventing the development of specialized professions among them. Specialization does actually exist: one man is particularly good at building boats, another is a competent carpenter, still another devotes himself mainly to fishing; but the Refugee Blacks exercise these specialties with respect to other peoples and not with respect to one another. Nobody fails to build his own boat, his house, to cut his clearings himself. If it were otherwise, classes and castes would rapidly be created, and that is precisely what the moral law of the Refugee Blacks condemns. A special effect of this conception is to preserve family custom from deteriorating, by preventing the rich from becoming great polygamists maintaining idle mistresses. We have never heard it said that a richer man paid someone to perform for him the customary work he owes to his wives, clearings, house, boat. Whatever his wealth may be, he continues to do these jobs by the sweat of his brow, and that contributes toward maintaining in its meaning and value the tacit contract concluded between husband and wife.

463 829 593 182 461

182 157 433 648 Thus the geographic conditions, associated with influences of a social and psychological order, impose on the Refugee Blacks a unique economy, based on a symbiosis with the coast populations in the form of piece-work or temporary wage-earning.

/23 cont. /

613 614 Not one of the members of the group could trace back to the common ancestress; yet these three fractions together behave as [601] a single lineage. All its members know their mutual appellations [784] "brother," "uncle," etc. All are subject to the same kunu.

The law of exogamy is respected within each fraction, but 613 614 there are seven cases of unions between members of different 582 183 fractions; these unions are disapproved of in principle, but they are tolerated.

Thus, on the subject of exogamy, we see the thought of the Refugee Blacks breaks away from the rigorous principle on which their social order is based. It is the actually known genealogy which counts in their eyes on this point.

613 614 In December, 1958 we were able to reconstitute the complete genealogy of the group (Fig. 4), thanks to the memories of 128 the doyenne of the group, Ma Imma, who had lived for a very [115] long time isolated in a village of the Maroni estuary. The data [601] thus reconstituted are in complete agreement with the kinship appellations among members of the various fractions. /24/

/Fig. 4 appears here. /

The case of the Kotika lineage is thus particularly interesting, for we find ourselves knowing its genealogy completely when its members know it no more than partially.

613 614 Study of this group shows that the forgetting of kinship ties has no effect on the physical grouping of the lineage and its [602] functioning as a social unit.

It has direct repercussions only on the observation of the principle of exogamy. Thus the way in which exogamy is understood and observed appears to us from now on as a secondary criterion having no certain value for the recognition of a common origin.

[621] Some Djuka and Saramaka have settled among the members of the Kotika lineage, but as individuals.

[621] The Lapé (La Paix) lineage, whose name alludes to one of the great plantations of the Cottica River in the 18th century, is

[See p. 34, Category 116 -- Analyst]

/27 cont./

614 The Aw.B.2, on whom we could not get sure information
[123] because this very closed group did not cooperate willingly with the inquiry, appear to be in a very similar situation, with the difference that their genealogy goes back much farther in time and they no longer remember the origin of this fraction nor the
[184] circumstances which tied its fate to that of the Aw.B.1. This group apparently has a separate kunu.

613 The Awara Bakka lineage is in a special situation from the
614 point of view of exogamy, for not only are there marriages be-
582 tween one fraction and another, but there are two within the same
[183] fraction and between relatively near relatives. Thus this group, without openly rejecting the law of exogamy, does not attach the same importance to it as do the others.

613 The Afi lineage. This lineage was founded by Afi, wife of
[101] a man from Papaïston, who came to live with him. Like the Toïna lineage, she had come from the small tribe called Bakabuchi which lived in Surinam. However, the Afi and Toïna lineages are not of the same matrilineal origin and the present members of each of the two small groups have no common worship. All of
[571] them have lost every tie with their original tribe, and their social life is entirely dependent on that of the Boni group which has taken them in.

[621] Afi settled near Kormotibo. This site is abandoned by her descendants who live, most of them, in Asisi, the rest in Kormotibo.

The lineage has lost every tie with its group of origin.
[619] Nevertheless, it is assumed that if one of them wanted to go back there, on proving his relationship, he would take up all his rights again and could demand a site for making his clearings.

613 /28/ The process of assimilation which took place for the
621 AW.B.3 did not come into play for Afi's descendants with respect
571 to the Papaïston lineage. They are regarded as a separate family group, insufficient in number to constitute a social unit and whose members are placed under the authority of the heads of the villages

/58 cont./

166 not all result in the founding of a new lineage, either because
571 the women are sterile or because only one or two surviving children
591 remain who go back to live among their maternal kin. The more
613 children a woman has, the more she tends to settle permanently with her descendants, for the group thus formed represents a force and can be self-sufficient as much on the material level as on the emotional level.

613 Four new lineages have been founded in the whole of Boni
571 country during the past 50 years: /59/
162

Awara Bakka 3 (Anèta)	16 persons	on January 1, 1958
Afi	25	--
Toïna	9	--
Poti	8	--
Total....	58 persons	

Thus these new lineages represent only $\frac{58}{810}$ = 7 per cent of the Boni.

16 The immigration of women from other tribes thus remains
619 an exceptional phenomenon which has few effects on the social and demographic levels. The development of the Boni as a nation results only from the natural movement of the population. Study of the genealogies forces the conclusion that when the members of these four small lineages are eliminated, the whole of the Boni are descended from only six or seven women who lived at the end of the 18th century. Few examples of such growth are to be found.

621 Absence of division of the villages into quarters. We have
[183] seen that the custom of the Refugee Blacks is opposed to all that could alter the system of classificatory kinship and leads to the individualization of segments within the lineage. This principle
[613] is translated very clearly in the structure of the villages, where one observes no tendency at all toward division into separate quarters,

/65 cont./

613 It seems that they expect unanimity to occur and that
571 basically (here are found again the mental mechanisms peculiar to the Refugee Blacks), they expect it to take place by itself, to impose itself as if obvious. If nothing of the sort happens, they separate without deciding anything.

613 This public discussion of all important questions results, in
571 the thought of the Refugee Blacks, not so much from a belief in
828 the wisdom of assemblies as from fear of malevolence. If questions were debated in a small group, there would immediately be mistrustful and jealous minds who would see dark intrigues in it. The constant concern of the Refugee Blacks, when they have something important to say, is to find witnesses. That is in fact the role of the council, and it is why there is neither a lower age limit for taking part nor a precise rule governing the fashion of conducting the discussion.

613 The Captain or hedemã. The head of each of the great lineages
554 which have been part of the tribe since its origin is recognized by the grand man as hedemã or "captain" (this word had been used since the original settlement of Europeans in Guiana to designate the chiefs of Indian tribes).

[692] The captains preside over the lãnti kuutu, supreme council whose functions are principally judiciary.

No precise rule of succession exists, and the choice of the members of the lineage is entirely free with regard to kinship ties.
[693] When the old people are questioned about this, they usually answer that the successor must be chosen from among the classificatory "nephews" of the dead man, that is, from among the members of the lineage who are one more generation away from the foundress.

/65 cont./

613 554 [183] It is enough to consult the genealogical tables, on each of which we have indicated the transmission of the office of captain, to be convinced that nothing of the kind is practiced: besides, it would be impossible in fact. The council chooses from among [643] /66/ the "brothers" and the "nephews" of the deceased. If the nomination is obtained, it is valid only if the grand man does not oppose his veto. He can require that the council be begun again.

613 554 643 The grand man observes the behavior of the new head for about a year, and if he is satisfied with him, he calls him to Boniville together with the members of the lineage. He turns over to him the bench and the baton of command (waka tiki) prepared by the doyen of the lineage. He takes him by the hand and has him sit down on the bench while proclaiming him head.

613 554 This appointment is made for life; once named, a captain cannot be dismissed.

The succession of the last three captains of the Dju lo is particularly interesting (see the genealogical table of this group).

In 1948, the first time we passed through, Diolè (El) had been captain for nearly 50 years, succeeding Doomé, whose position we have not been able to place exactly in the genealogical table.

Diolè died in 1951 at about 90 years of age. At the time of the mourning his yɔrka was questioned, and it designated (through the medium of the coffin bearers) as a desirable successor one of his nephews in the classificatory sense, named Loko (F39).

[643] [685] The council which met upon the close of the mourning for Diolè, in 1952, approved the designation of Loko; but the grand man opposed this appointment because Loko had been guilty of a serious crime (aggravated theft) and had incurred a sentence.

643 692 [578] [423] /71 cont./

--Disputes over the appropriation of lands are very rare in Boni country because of the sparseness of population.

We have never seen the grand man hold anything other than audiences of conciliation relative to people who had fought or threatened each other. [183] The custom of the Refugee Blacks would indeed be difficult to fit into a code. The state of persons and social duties derive so directly from beliefs that the intervention of a judge is not indispensable for the functioning of the society.

643 423 The grand man is supposed to retain power over all the lands of Boni country which are not allocated to lineages; in particular, this is the case with the upper basin of the headstreams of the Lawa. [648] [184] It is above all by virtue of this that he is considered the suzerain of the Indians living in this territory. The same conception exists among the Djuka with respect to the headstreams of the Tapanahoni.

643 724 [226] The suzerainty of the grand man over the land and waters is marked, as in Africa, by special rights in the domain of hunting and fishing. He alone can authorize group fishing on the great river by the process of la nivrée. The same problem does not hold for hunting which is practiced in a strictly individual fashion. But it is taken for granted that if a tapir (1) is killed in Boni country,

1. The tapir is the largest animal of the bush.

the hunter must carry its head as well as a thigh to the grand man.

643 648 A certain misunderstanding reigns between the Europeans and the Boni on the subject of the duties of the grand man. The Europeans tend to believe that he commands the tribe in the way in which a colonel commands a regiment, that he can designate a certain man for a certain job, fix the price of boats, etc. The grand man tries to give satisfaction to the administration /72/ to justify the pay he draws, but he succeeds very badly in it, for in reality he possesses almost no temporal power.

/111 cont./

621 571 183 621 613 423

The composition of this village is thus entirely aberrant from the point of view of /112/ custom, and founded entirely upon personal fellow feeling. But the customary rule is none the less present in the thought of all: the founder being of the Dju lineage, the land belongs to the Dju. The fact, for example, that Bernardin (Kotika) and his daughters (Papaïston) have worked there for a very long time creates no right at all for either lineage.

[571] If dissensions occur in the group, those outside the Dju lineage must leave.

24 621 423

Listing of some clearings of the Atikati habitation (west bank).

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
23 △	Atikati (Dju, E18) for himself	1952	founder of the habitation	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1950)
24 ○	Wilèlmina (P1, F1); clearing cut by her husband Bésu	1955	Atikati's daughter, has no rights over the land	cut for the 1st time
25 ○	Wilèlmina; clearing cut by her father Atikati	1951	id.	id.

/115/

Habitations of the Lapé lo
(Paako, Samo, Chii, Pwen, Saléni)

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[613]
[423]

These habitations occupy soil belonging to the Lapé lo since the end of the 19th century.

The Kwaku habitation has been abandoned since 1943, its occupants making their clearings around Loka.

Paako habitation. The Paako habitation is occupied only by two women, Paako (L1, E29) and her daughter Dona, who have their clearings made there by their husbands.

Chii habitation. Chii (L1, D24) directs the habitation where she works with her son Topo, her daughters Yaana, Madu, and Koko. The daughters' husbands come to help at the time of the clearings.

[578] Pwen habitations. As a consequence of dissensions, Pwen (L1, E33) lives all alone in this habitation.

Saléni habitation. It is directed by Saléni, an old woman of the Lapé lo (E25), who works there with her son Tingo, her daughters Kayé and Ananta.

[613] Structure of the Samo habitation called Pikin Tabiki (Lapé lo).

Habitation occupying another portion of the Lapé lo finage. Several Lapé men and women make their clearings there:

- △ Tamu (L1, F32), who brings his wife Kaala (Dip. II) there
- △ Fosé, his brother (L1, F33)
- ○ Mélita, his classificatory aunt (L1, E32);
- ○ Téké, Mélita's daughter (L1, F44).
- ○ Akomédi, Paako's daughter (L1, F34).

[183] The husbands of Mélita, Téké, Akomédi come to work at the time of the clearings but are not part of the group.

/115 cont./.

621 183 The composition of this village therefore entirely conforms to the custom.

241 62 Activity in 1955-56:

	1956	1955
Δ Tamu	nothing (he cut in Lapé for his wife)	1 clearing for his wife
O Mélita	1 clearing by her husband Kwata (K)	id.
O Téké	1 clearing by Mélita's husband, for her husband Baïna is en mission	1 clearing by her husband /116/
Akomédi	1 clearing by her husband Todo (who cut another one in Asisi for his other wife)	

241 62 423 613 Listing of several clearings of the Samo habitation (Pikin Tabiki) (Lapé lo).

No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
1	O	Akomédi; clearing cut by her husband Todo	1956	woman of the Lapé lo	cut for the 1st time
2	O	Akomédi id.	1955	id.	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1953)

/230 cont./

784 the lineage; questioned, this god declared that it had something
787 to complain about in the bad condition of the house which the
776 members of the lineage had erected to it on its order; the roof of leaves had not been changed and it was raining through.

784 It happens also, but as an exception, that the god has
684 sanctioned an offense against morals or more precisely, against the social law, such as the breaking of an interdiction, pikadu (incest in the wider sense, an offense against exogamy). It is necessary to understand that in the thought of the Refugee Blacks, incest unleashes the existing kunu but does not create a new kunu.

In October, 1952, Dolo, a young man of 25 of the
[787] Awara Bakka lo, died almost suddenly. Divination revealed
[761] that he had been killed by the kunu (it was a Papa gadu which
[613] had intervened) in order to sanction an offense committed some time previously by another member of the lo named P.... The latter, a notoriously depraved individual, had committed incest with his own sister.

784 When the divinity has made known through the mouth
776 of its bearer the causes of its act, the assembled members of
782 the lineage implore it, ask it not to pursue its vengeance; the
[787] divinity then requires an offering: for example, if it is a Papa gadu, it will require bottles of beer, some red and white cloth which will be immersed in a given place in the river. It may also require dances in its honor, celebrated by the other possessed people in the village. If it is an Ampuku, it will demand rum, dark-blue cloth which will be exposed in a remote place in the forest. An offering of this kind represents a relatively small sum, even for the Boni (several thousand francs in 1952). The god then declares itself appeased. But it does not pardon and it will resume /231/ its vengeance
[183] at the first cause. Thus the Boni have hope only in a rigorous
776 observance of customary law and the rites. There are divinities
787 which appeared to be thus appeased for a long time and to

/241 cont. /

152 828 754 777 Jealousy. To speak of jealousy as a negative magic force is not to be false to the thought of the Refugee Blacks. They regard it as an attenuated force of wisi, capable of bringing misfortunes even if no sorcery has been formulated. Jealousy is 152 157 very marked in their character, associated with an individualism verging on asocial tendencies. When somebody is accused of 754 wisi, jealousy is the commonest explanation of the crimes 152 828 attributed to him; it is thought for example that a man can be jealous of his brother's growing rich to the point of making him die; that a woman may be jealous of the beauty or health of 152 her sister's children. Not laying themselves open to jealousy 156 is the constant preoccupation of the Refugee Blacks; one ob- 828 serves it in daily behavior, for example in the greetings which 576 they exchange on the river. They never say, "I am well," but: "I feel only fair." If they come back from hunting they say, "I found a little."

152 Examples are not lacking of people who avoid building 156 a fine house or buying an outboard motor in order not to give 828 cause for jealousy. This preoccupation has profound reper- [182] cussions on the material life and the economy of the Refugee [463] Blacks; it explains in particular the absence of specialized professions and trade among them.

Many aspects of the customary law of the Refugee Blacks [183] have no other function than to exorcise, if one may say so, [571] tendencies toward jealousy and selfishness which, if they were given free rein, would poison the life of the collectivity.

76 The rites of death and mourning, which we have shown 181 to constitute the pivot of the social life of the Refugee Blacks, 725 are entirely based on the idea of preserving the surviving spouse 828 from the effect of the jealousy of the deceased.

/243 cont./

754 [683] only commonplace illnesses or accidents of some sort. We have never heard poisoning, in the usual sense of the term, mentioned.

754 695 182 The wisimã trials are in our opinion the most unpleasant aspect of the civilization of the Refugee Blacks. But it must be admitted that they correspond to profound necessities. These archaic societies need an obvious materialization of the principles they have given themselves. Since evil exists, opposing itself to good, the practices of wisi and wisimã exist, and the punishment of evildoers is indispensable for the society to remain subject to the law of good.

[184] By its notion of the kunu which turns aside toward the gods the responsibility for most misfortunes, by the extreme rarity of wisimã trials, by the prudence of its judiciary action which in point of fact pursues only the dead, the society of the Refugee Blacks shows itself humane and realistic.

If one undertook with the Refugee Blacks definite action to make these practices disappear, one would risk obscuring their notion of good and evil and removing all efficacy from their customary law.

[183] The social order of the Refugee Blacks cannot be maintained if the interdiction of harming anyone and the interdiction of vengeance do not remain clearly laid down. It matters little that these acts of sorcery are without real content: It is the intention to harm which counts, with all its social and psychological consequences.

171 177 182 754 When one observes the Creole populations of the Guianas and the West Indies, even though /244/ they have been under the influence of Christianity for several centuries, one is struck by the development of sorcery and by its repercussions on the whole of social life. The teaching received at school and from the catechism, which embraces white magic and black magic in a single reprobation, has greatly contributed toward making these populations lose the principles of social morals of their ancestors without in exchange modifying their

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

of the Dahomean kingdom by the French. All other walls are of swish. Today in West Africa the automobile and sewing machine have found their way into remote corners. But more important still than these changes wrought by European civilizations, which have made inroads chiefly on the material life of the Africans, are those resulting from intertribal wars, which followed the introduction of guns and gunpowder into Africa and which helped to establish the great West African dynasties. The result of the conquest of one native people by another was constant cultural interstimulation which made for changes in the indigenous civilizations.

In the Guiana bush, however, where these runaway Negroes and their descendants have been living, the fortunes of African kingdoms, the cultural contacts that have affected the Africans, have not touched their own tribal destinies. Neither has the civilization of the white man nor that of the Indian introduced basic changes into their manner of living or thinking.

There are no roads in the Guiana bush, and what footpaths exist to connect one village with another are difficult to follow and, moreover, are not for the stranger, whether he be white or mulatto. For such as these the highway is the river, with native paddlers alert in their surveillance of a stranger's activities. The old men on the river have made a tradition of recalling the struggle of the ancestors for freedom and survival, and it is not without significance that one of the three worst crimes among the Bush Negroes—one that ranks with incest and murder—is informing on a Negro to a white man.

In contrast with this isolation of the Bush Negroes, the Negroes of Paramaribo have known close contact with the whites, with Carib and Arawak Indians, and in more recent years with the Hindu and Javanese laborers brought to the colony. Only suggestions of the manner in which the beliefs of town and bush correspond or differ can be included here, since this account concerns itself with the Saramacca people. Yet for the understanding of this study it must be

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

184 emphasized that whatever the differences, much of Africa remains in the coastal region. Thus, to cite an instance, at a *winti* dance in Paramaribo one night, the drummers were grumbling about the slowness with which possession was coming on. At last the priestess, possessed by *Lebba*, the Nigerian-Dahomean god of the crossroads, began to dance. Whereupon an elderly drummer flung up his hands and cried out, "Praise God, idolatry is not dead yet!" The word he used for idolatry was Dutch, and he pronounced it in Negro-English, *afkodrai*.

121 The importance of the Bush Negroes for the student of Negro cultures, then, is that they live and think today as did their ancestors who established themselves in this bush, which is to say that they live and think much as did the Negroes who were brought to other parts of the New World, and who became the ancestors of the New World Negroes of the present day.

In planning this book, therefore, it has seemed more important to stress the Bush Negro's attitudes toward his own civilization, and his own logic in explaining his customs, than to give a more conventional description of an integrated village or the tribal life of a primitive people. Such attitudes, moreover, whether analyzed among Negroes in Africa, Guiana, the Caribbean, or in the United States, can be studied most advantageously when they are juxtaposed against the factor of outsiders—in this case ourselves, a man and a woman, who came as friendly whites.

114 This book, however, is not an ethnographic treatise. The scientific discussion of these data will appear in monographic form, while the correspondences between bush and town Negroes, and between these and other Negro groups found in the New World, are included in a memoir on the folk lore of the town Negroes of Paramaribo which is now in press. The situations to which we have given emphasis are those which have a direct bearing upon the beliefs and practices of Negro peoples wherever they are found today, but they are presented as they would—and did—actually

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

Bayo laughed. "All this isn't easy, white man. A line about this curve shows this to be a man-child. These are things bush people alone know." 532

The decorated rim of this tray had interested many who had seen the piece the winter before, and we had had pointed out to us what we ourselves had remarked, that the design was not continuous all around, but that it was divided into four parts, the crosshatched portion alternating with that of checkered squares. Did those have meaning? we asked Bayo.

"Ai, these belong to the women and the children. The small lines are the hair of the children, and the squares here that of the women." The brass-headed nails he touched one by one on the photograph. "The women have nice kamemba," he said, at last.

On the upper river we had acquired another tray with similar motifs, but more elaborately decorated, with carvings on the outer surface as well as the inner, and also with many more brass-headed nails. This use of nails, which was more general in the deep interior, had at first seemed an anomaly, for they must come from the white man's city, since the Bush Negro, we knew, had lost the African technique of iron working. But as we saw more deeply into their customs, we recognized that these nails studding the carvings represented a survival of the African art tradition, and it was, therefore, reasonable that in the deep interior they should be found more profusely on the carvings. [184] [177]

Human representations outlined with the realism of African masks we almost never met, and the exceptional instances suggested only resemblances. The mask itself, as far as we could learn, was not used in their dances. The men knew what masks were, but whether this knowledge came as part of their African tradition, or whether it was brought from the city and the French shore, we could not determine. The African style of depicting the human form had, however, not been entirely lost by their slave ancestors. 532 171 [535]

In this village of Ma'lobbi, where lived one of the finest carvers on the river, the carving over a doorway held us 532

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

is used as a living-room; cooking is sometimes carried on 342
there, but more often in an open communal kitchen used by
the entire village. Some towns have several such open sheds. [343]

We enter the hut where the headman of the village lives, 648
and find him lying in his hammock. It is perhaps a bit of 609
conscious arrogance, to demonstrate his independence of the [352]
white man, that the captain does not rise to greet us. He rises,
however, to greet Abaisa.

"Well, friend, how are you?" we begin. In talkee-talkee the question runs: *"So, matti, fie you tang?"*

He replies civilly, complaining a little, perhaps. We offer him a few leaves of tobacco, always acceptable. While we parley with the chief, the men of the village are carrying our equipment up from the corials to the village. This they always do, without being asked and without being paid. Even small children take part in the portage. Nothing is ever stolen.

Quite conscious of the heat inside the dark hut, we do not 648
palaver long. Leaving the two chiefs lolling in hammocks we 184
pass out of the breast-high doorway into the clearing, and go about examining the living-quarters and the people. This is a village of the Saramaccaner tribe, descended from the Saramacca rebels of two hundred years ago. All the huts and villages of this tribe are quite similar. Among the Aucaner tribe, descended from the Ouca rebels, are villages of a different type.

One does not doubt the good intentions of the Moravian 797
Brothers and certain Catholics who have established missions at a few points on the rivers. But their evangelical efforts have

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

619 gave rise to another Bush Negro nation known as the *Boni* tribe. There are also three other tribes today of less importance: the *Matawaai* on the Upper Saramacca River, the *Quintee-Matawaai* which is a sub-tribe on the Copenam, and the *Paramacca* on the Middle Marowyne with villages on both the French and Dutch sides of the river.

619 The tribal divisions are strictly enforced. Not only is in-
● 184 termarriage forbidden, but each tribe has its separate gov-
[582] ernment, and each is referred to locally as a "river nation." Each tribe likewise has its own territory, and any poaching by hunters, fishers, or balata bleeders is rigorously punished.
[643] The ruler of the tribe is a king, or *granman*. Among the photographs is one of old Jankoeso, the kindly shrewd ruler of the Saramaccaner nation; the Aucaner ruler, Amekti, has just died, his place probably being taken by Matodja. The Boni granman is named Awensai.

619 The largest tribe is the Saramaccaner, with a population
361 of about 14,000. Their village of Santi Gron (Sandy Ground),
[161] some twenty miles from Paramaribo on the Lower Saramacca River is the nearest of all Djuka villages to white civilization. But the main body of this tribe begins some ninety miles up the Surinam River from Paramaribo, and the villages are strung along the Surinam River for a hundred or more miles further on back into the interior. The names
[103] of some of these villages are: Nu Condree, Lombe, Gansee, Biodoti, Adawai, De Jun, Masumba Pratti, and Dahomey, and other towns of even more picturesque appellations: Boto-Passi, Poki Gron, Granman Condree, and many more.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

after a day's portage from its source one may strike the 619
Tosso Creek, which brings the lower Sara Creek Aucaners 361
into the distant Tapanahoni River, where exist the main body of the Aucaner tribe. They inhabit both banks of the Tapanahoni, from its mouth where it flows into the Marowyne River to some distance beyond the far Jai Creek. The Aucaners, like the Saramaccaners, are divided into several lo or clans. The names of these are as follows: the *Missi Jon lo* and 614
Otto lo, which are the most powerful and to which belong the families of the Granmans; the *Perica lo, Pata lo M'beh lo, Ju Nengre lo, Penasi lo, N'Yafi lo, Bray lo, Compai lo, Deekah lo, La Paix lo, Ke-o Condree lo,* and *Pooloogoodoo lo.* The head of the lo is called *Papa fu ah lo,* "father for the lo."

Beside these, the Aucaners have also divided their tribe 621
into two separate parts, but they are both under the same 184
Granman. These divisions are known as the *Uppo Nengre* 361
(Upper Negro) and *Below Nengre* (Below Negro). The 616
boundary between them being the Gran Hollo (Big Hole) Falls in the Tapanahoni River. The territory of the Below Nengre begins past the mouth of the Gran Creek and extends up the Tapanahoni River to the falls above mentioned. The islands in the Marowyne belong to this division and their territory also extends to the Dutch side of the Lawa River up to Aboona Sungu Falls (a man named Aboona sank there), which forms the boundary between the Aucaners and the Boni tribe in that region. Some names of the vil- 103
lages belonging to the Below Nengre Aucaners of that dis- 361

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner
Saramaccaner
Boni

619 In general appearance and culture the Aucaners vary little
● 184 from the other large tribe, the Saramaccaners.

[531] The art motifs and their treatment as displayed on the Aucaner wood carvings as a rule differ from those of the Saramaccaners. On the other hand, some of the pieces were found to be practically identical.

The Aucaner talkee-talkee also differs from that of the Saramaccaners, the former being more like the speech of the
[197 Town Negroes. The Aucaners have no deepee-talkee or odo
198] as have the Saramaccaners, but they have a dialect known as
191] *Koropina* where a *p* or an *m* is spoken before the vowels in a word for the purpose of confusing strangers. A similar custom is prevalent among the Negroes of Curaçao, Dutch West Indies.

[291] The dress of the Aucaners is the same as that of the Saramaccaners, excepting that they affect more often the breast-cloth, the *wassapangye,* and the head-cloth, the *mussu.*

Among the Aucaners the toga garment is called the *yembah,* while it is called a camissa by the Saramaccaners. The barrier of palm leaves is called *chifunga* by the Aucaners and *azang pau* by the Saramaccaners.

[262 The system of food taboos and general culture are the
606] same. There is no mother-in-law taboo among either the
184] Aucaners or the Saramaccaner tribe.

[161] The Boni tribe, which consists of about 900 people, is de-
648 scended from escaped slaves who crossed the Marowyne River into French Guiana and who were allowed to remain there unmolested by the French authorities. This is the only

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

Although the huts are of Africanesque architecture, similar 342
to those of the Aucaner tribe, there is, at times, more wooden board in the construction and less thatch.

During the expedition of 1928 we were informed that the 316
Bonis, particularly at the village of Apatoo, were conversant 326
with the old West African method of smelting iron and manufacturing it into implements of various kinds. This claim proved to be entirely groundless. If there is any iron ore in the neighbourhood, these tribesmen do not know where it is, and most certainly do not understand how to smelt it.

It was in Africa that the art of iron working is supposed to have originated, and the iron work of West Africa, whence the Djukas came, is a thing of beauty. But the Djukas have lost this hereditary art. Among the Bonis, the work in metal seems to be limited to the soldering of copper French coins to bracelets made of iron or copper pipe, which they procure by trade or from the machinery of long abandoned French gold exploitations. They also make brass bracelets and anklets of considerable width out of brass piping obtained from a similar source. The piping is split with the sharp blade of an axe and hammered into shape with the blunt end. We were able to obtain a stiletto with an iron blade and a handle of brass riveted to it with copper, but we are under the impression that the blade, at least, is of French or Italian manufacture.

In their general habits as regards hunting, fishing, agri- 184 ●
culture, canoe building, social customs and structure, dress, 619
and so on, the Bonis are quite similar to the Aucaners. They speak a dialect of talkee-talkee which has distinct differences [191
from the Aucaner and the Saramaccaner in that it contains a 192]
good deal of French words.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

184 good deal of French patois. Most of the people also speak a
619 fluent and, at times, a good French, which they have learned from the freed convicts, the libérés, of the largest French prison colonies in Guiana at St. Laurent, situated about forty miles from the mouth of the Marowyne River. Some of the
439 Negroes of this tribe, as well as some of the Aucaners, sometimes visit St. Laurent for purposes of barter and trade. They also occasionally aid the French in transporting loads in their canoes up to the remaining placer mine.

648 These Bush Negroes have seen thousands of white convicts and libérés. They have seen white men under the most degrading conditions possible to human existence on this planet. They have seen them shot down in the street. They have seen them rummaging in cans of tropical garbage that even a dog would shun, or escaping through the jungles, simply starving, hunted animals. Their point of view in regard to this may be summarized in the answer received when the question was put to one Boni as to what he thought of the Penal Colony; he said: *"Francie mong sung go dede"*—"Frenchmen soon die."

But just across the river from St. Laurent is the little settlement of Albina and the *Doocie mong* (Dutchmen). The Dutch have armed soldiers there so that the escaping libérés cannot cross.

322 As among the other tribes, the Boni are adept in the carving of wood. They make the usual kinds of highly decorated implements, such as large combs, pot stirrers, food trays carved out of sections of a tree trunk. The door posts and façades of their hats are ofteh elaborately carved

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Paramaca

The small Paramacca tribe does much less in the way of
322 wood carving than do the others of the Djukas. This was evidenced by the few pieces we were able to collect and was also known to be a fact by the Aucaner Bush Negroes who accompanied us to the Paramacca district. The motifs displayed upon the articles collected were practically identical with those found on Aucaner pieces.

[184]

123 In fairness to the Paramaccas, however, it must be mentioned from our experience among other tribes that collecting is much facilitated when one is cordially known. On a second or third expedition one is able to collect many times more specimens than upon a first introduction. The Bush Negroes are at first shy as a rule and not anxious to part with their belongings.

184 The tribes do not fraternize much with each other. Some
619 travellers report that the Aucaner and Boni tribes feel them-
609 selves superior to the others because they have less contact with the white man. If this is true, we cannot report any personal observation of it. A traveller has no more difficulty among them than among the Saramaccaner people. Some
628 ill-feeling between the Aucaners and Saramaccaners dates
609 back to the slave revolt, when the former observed their peace treaty so scrupulously as even to aid the slave-owners in re-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

532 likewise roughly done. The reason for this seems to derive
778 from the general nature of primitive religion as it occurs among the Bush Negroes. Two explanations of this were given by native informants. If the god is a good god, and well disposed toward the black man, he doesn't care whether his fetishes are well executed or not. If he is a bad god he is going to continue to be bad, regardless of whether much time is spent on his fetishes or not. Another Bush Negro, questioned about this, said: "Me no sabby de Gadu luku"—"I don't know what God looks like." The primitive æsthetic feeling, apparently, is bound up with practical ends. There is absolutely no care or pains taken with religious objects, whereas erotic objects are finished with great skill.

322 There seems to be considerable variation between the tribes
● 184 of Djukas in the character of their art work. The Aucaner
532 wood carvings have, in general, a more refined and delicate cast than the wood carvings of their neighbours, the Saramaccaners and Boni. The differences in treatment of the motifs among the Bush Negro tribes and the general dissimilarities and likenesses of the carvings are best understood by consulting the accompanying illustrations.

412 The combs vary from two and a half inches to twenty-
322 four inches in length, and even these more immense combs see actual service. They are always made of a single piece, including the tines. For the most part they are made of harder woods, with occasional inlays. A number of them are trick pieces, with little ingenious devices that catch and hold the imagination of the primitive. For comparison, a West

/34 cont./

577 all, toward one another as fellow tribesmen they are very honest and trust one another's word. Frequently it happens that among them one family leaves the camp to go on a journey or else is absent for some other reason, and that it must leave behind unfenced the cultivated land planted with rice, tubers, bananas, bakoven, and sugar cane. But never will another of them steal any of that. And similarly their dwellings are open, since the entrance is not closed off by any door; upon their departure they leave one thing and another in it, but they will never miss any-
626 thing upon their return. Certainly contributing to this is the circumstance that in the vicinity of everybody's property there is a sign or idolatrous image, which they call obia, to which great power is ascribed, and for those who might want to commit dishonest acts, the legend can be observed, as for the European:
724 "Beware of mantraps." The fear that they have of these obias is not unjustified, for if it should happen at any time that misuse of trust took place, then the culprit, however long it takes, upon discovery will not escape the revenge of the deceived, revenge which frequently consists in the administering of secret remedies whereby terrible diseases and sufferings, if not death, come about.

152 They are very concerned about the faithfulness of their
837 wife or wives, /35/ for the Bush Negro is very jealous, whereas the wives cannot be exonerated of being susceptible to seduction. Accordingly it happens among them more than once that marital fidelity is violated.

184 Of the various tribes, the Aucaners are the most
[177] civilized, but over against that also the craftiest, which can be
[157] attributed to their more frequent intercourse with Europeans.
[161] Among their tribes they are the most powerful, and their numerical strength is estimated at 4,000 to 5,000 souls.

123 According to the declaration of the Bush Negroes, no White has previously enjoyed the trust and attachment that I experienced from them. However, secretively they always conduct themselves toward the Whites, with respect to me they make an exception. If there is something secret among them that I should like to know, they will, upon my request, immediately and without any diffidence communicate it to me.

/144 cont./

241 [177] time that the runaway slaves took these with them from the plantations then in existence.

It is therefore worthwhile in various respects to explore what is
241 114 [128] being cultivated. The following summary has been put together from the data of my own observations and from information provided by various Bush Negroes. This list is not complete; what is lacking, however, is probably of minor importance.

A. Cultivated Crops That Are Grown on the Food Grounds

244 [262] Bitter cassava (kasàba).

This is the most important crop, from which the cassava bread and kwak are made. One plants the shoots in December, but also in March and April. After 12 months the harvest begins; in case of a food shortage they are dug after only seven months. Yellow and white varieties are distinguished according to the color of the contents of the tubers. To the yellow varieties belong: witti tiki, which is kept on the grounds up to two years, blaka tiki, which stands on the grounds only one year, and taja tiki, which provides produce for a long time and is especially good for the making of kwak. To the white varieties belong: amosiang, sanang kasaba, [252] and domberi. Cassava bread is made from this. In the making of kwak all the colors are mixed together in order to obtain the desired yellow color. Each variety separately provides a less tasty product.

252 [184] On the Marowijne one makes more kwak (kwaka) than cassava bread, while on the Surinam River and the Saramacca only cassava bread /a map and Figs. 1-14 appear here/ /145/ is baked with the flour. Kwak is prepared in the following manner: The tubers, after they are peeled, are put in water in a korjaal (1) for two

1. korjaal = boat.

days and then grated. This grated cassava is then allowed to sour in a box or a korjaal; after that the grated cassava is expressed

[text continues on p. 21]

/148 cont./

244 Yam roots frequently become very large. One cuts them
252 up and boils the pieces like tajer tubers.

Maize (kaloe).

243 Maize is sowed together with other crops and provides one of the first products; the harvesting is done after three months
[184] (March). Only one variety is known. Sometimes special maize plots are laid out (Paramaccaners).

252 The young maize is eaten boiled or roasted, sometimes also pounded and boiled to a porridge (kaloepapa). A well-known delicacy is "ansowé" or "asogrie," made of roasted dry kernels finely pounded and mixed with sugar.

244 Watermelon (watramoen)

This is planted in patches everywhere on the grounds; the harvest time falls in March. There are two varieties in use:
[262] hesiskin and blakaskin, both of which provide small, oval-round, white-spotted fruit with a bland-sweet, light-pink fruit-flesh; the fruit is eaten fresh.

Pumpkin (pampoen).

One finds this plant in many places, but never in great numbers.

Only the oblong dark green variety is known; the harvest
[252] time is from April on, and a long time afterwards. The fruit is cut in pieces, boiled, and eaten.

Okra (okrò).

This crop is generally grown on the food grounds; it provides edible fruit after three months, in February and March. Three varieties are distinguished:
sebiwiki, with short fruit;
afoesibobi, with short fruit;
diatoetoe, with long fruit.

252 The young green fruit is cut into pieces and boiled to a soup, usually together with tajer, meat, and so forth.

/5 cont./

133 This extreme fragmentation of the relief must be remembered
182 as one of the ecological factors influencing the human peopling most directly; it renders the transport of heavy loads impracticable, the establishing of roads practically impossible. Men are led to
[361] settle along the rivers, which constitute the only routes of penetration toward the interior of the country.

133 All the important rivers flow into an alluvial valley whose
132 width varies from some tens of meters to a kilometer, dry during the greater part /6/ of the year, but flooded under several meters
134 of water during the great rains of May-June. This annual inunda-
241 tion makes the alluvial lands unfit for agriculture; the inhabitants of Guiana cultivate only sloping lands and even very steep slopes readily; for good drainage of the soil is indispensable for the raising of manioc whose tubers, which remain in the ground for more than a year, are threatened with rotting.

311 The cultivable zone is in fact closely limited around each village. Practically, it is limited to a strip of 1,500 to 2,000 meters along the banks of each watercourse accessible to pirogues.
[482] Transport of manioc tubers, carried on by the women several
[462] times a month, becomes impracticable if the distance to be covered with loads is greater than two kilometers at the maximum(1).

[101]
[131]
[184]

1. The Djuka, very numerous on the Tapanahoni, cultivate as far as three or four kilometers from the river; but in general, the Refugee Blacks prefer to build farming habitations at a distance of several days' by boat from their village when this gives them the possibility of farming in the neighborhood of the banks.

/22 cont./

613 Situation of the lineages in 1958.

[643] The Dikan lineage, whose head is the grand man of the Boni, has practically died out, since it is comprised of only Grand Man Difu; upon his death it will totally disappear (1).

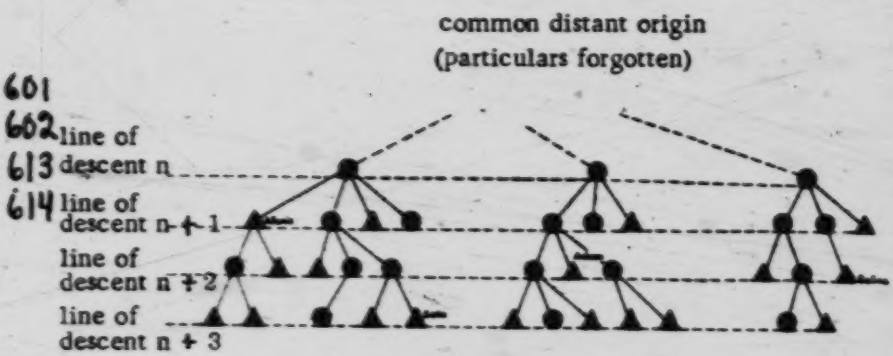

Fig. 3. Extended matrilineage.

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1. Note that a Dikan lo exists among the Djuka; the separation of the Dikan-Djuka and the Dikan-Boni is necessarily anterior to the battles of 1793, which shows the ancientness of these groups.

621
613
571

For two generations the various lineages have delegated some of their members /23/ to the grand man to conserve a certain importance for his village. Thus Agodé (Boniville) now includes fragments of the Kotika, Dipélu, Lapé, Dju, and Papaïston lineages, forming that many individualized small quarters in the village.

/24 cont./

613
614

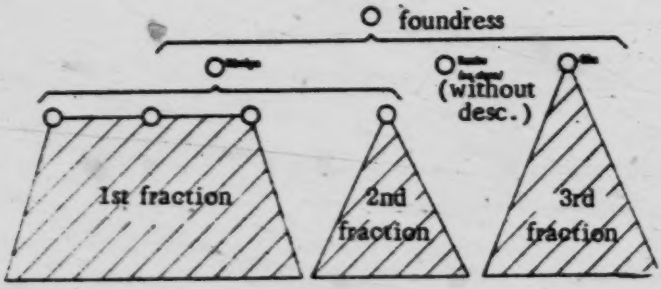

Fig. 4. Common genealogy of the three fractions of the Kotika lineage.

[621] divided between the small villages of Lapé Tabiki and Loka. It is a well-grouped lineage whose members know their genealogy perfectly as far as a common ancestress named Mata, who must have lived at the end of the 18th century; only one small group which we shall call Lapé 2 (descendants of Atili) does not know exactly the ties attaching them to the principal group. The law of exogamy is respected rigorously within this group; there is not a single case of marriage between the two fractions. The members of the two fractions consider themselves a single lineage. They have the same kunu.

[784]

[184] Note that there is a Lapé lo among the Djuka, regarded as of the same origin.

[621] No element of heterogeneous origin has settled in the villages of the Lapé lo.

613 The Dju lineage, which occupies the central part of the [361] Asisi Island, also fits the definition of kin groups among the Refugee Blacks. Its members know /25/ their entire genealogy as far back as a common ancestress named Aluku, doubtless, tracing to the middle of the 18th century.

/25 cont./

613 Among the Dju there is no fraction separated from the principal group.

[184] There is also a Dju lo among the Djuka. The word Dju alludes to the Jews, the lineage probably having been born in the plantations belonging to the Jews of Surinam.

The law of exogamy is rigorously applied within the Dju lo.

No element of heterogeneous origin is established among the Dju.

613 614 621 The Dipélu lineage was the most important in the past; from the point of view of genealogy it is split up into three groups whose members are scattered in three villages, subject to different authorities.

Genealogy		Villages
Dipélu I		l'Enfant Perdu Apatu (founded in 1882)
Dipélu II, 1st fraction Dipélu II, 2nd fraction	very recent scission	Kormotibo some elements in Asisi.

613 —Dipélu I forms a unit remarkable for the amplitude of its genealogy, completely known, which extends over eight generations and goes back to a common ancestress named Sanyan, who must have lived in the middle of the 18th century. The common [174] origin of the two groups being necessarily anterior to this ancestress, it seems logical to make it go back to the beginning of the 18th [601] century. In spite of the remoteness in time of their common origin, the members of both groups know with precision their "horizontal" kinship ties (brother, uncle, etc.), which have lost

/29 cont./

121 This is what necessitates as precise an inventory as possible of the population in its present state.

61 Matrilineal kin groups among the Djuka and Saramaka Refugee Blacks.
114 Authors who have described the social structure of the Djuka and
184 Saramaka, groupings appreciably more numerous than the Boni, have also called attention to the use of the words lo and bɛɛ, but give them a completely different meaning.

174 The organization they describe can be summarized thus:
571 Before making up tribes, the rebels lived in small groups
621 near the plantations from which they had escaped; these groups of composite origin were designated by the word lo which means: troop, band; the same word is used to designate a band of animals.

[162] These rebels used to belong to all the nations of the west
[103] coast of Africa. In spots there may have been an attempt at regroupings of elements belonging to the same nation, as proven by the village names Loango, Dahomey, among the Saramaka.
[622] But the majority of these small groups were very probably of heterogeneous origin; in each of these lo, the bravest and most capable was designated as head.

[648] After the recognition of the Djuka and Saramaka by the
[167] government of Surinam and their regrouping on the great rivers of the interior, these groups kept their unity since they had a de facto organization and leaders. They were naturally designated by the name of the plantation they had come from. We say for example Dju nẽnge for the former slaves of the Jews, Kõpani nẽnge for the former slaves of the Compagnie des Indes Orientales /East India Company/. /30/

174 In the course of the 19th century the total number of Refugee
613 Blacks increased very rapidly under the influence of a high birth
614 rate. The lineages in the proper meaning of the term bɛɛ, mean-
621 ing the descendants of the same ancestress, took on sufficient im-
571 portance to constitute distinct social units. They grouped in
161

/30 cont./

174 separate villages and the more important even burst out into
613 several villages whose heads were recognized as "captains" by the grand man and then by the government. The number of Djuka
614 captains recognized by the government of Surinam has not stopped
621 growing; it was 28 these last few years.

571 The lo no longer represented an effective social unit, but its members kept common worships. For example, it is said that
[188] the Dju nẽnge go each year as a ritual to get earth from the Savanc des Juifs /Savanna of the Jews/ where their ancestors were slaves.

[114] This explanation seems probable. The kin-group is not the only social unit known to Africans; the bond between man and land has equal importance in their eyes; the fact that their fathers had lived together, that they had been buried in the same cemetery created a among the rebel slaves a de facto bond which was able to suffice, at the beginning of the rebellion, to found villages and a social organization.

[114] However, this theory cannot be entertained without reservations. It has not been possible to verify it by systematic studies, the Djuka and Saramaka having firmly opposed until now any ethnographic investigation involving the statement of genealogies and the inventory of the population of the villages.

[184] It contradicts what we have pointed out among the Boni. In that group six great lineages are counted, of which four (Dju, Kotika, La Paix, Dikan) have a name also alluding to the plantations from which their ancestors fled.

Nevertheless it is certainly a question of lineages in the proper meaning of the term, and nobody remembers that any other organization ever existed. Also, in the absence of systematic studies of the Djuka and Saramaka, the problem of the origin of
[184] their kin groups remains obscure. The future will permit verifying one or the other of the two hypotheses:

174 /30 cont./

613 1st. Lo = de facto grouping of rebels of any provenance,
614 which has in the long run split up into lineages but which remains
621 in the form of a common worship;

571 2nd. Lo = lineage, from the very beginning.

●184

Conceptions Relative to Kinship and Marriage

769

[121] Ties between the individual and the ancestors. Before examining more deeply the social and family structure of the Refugee Blacks, it is indispensable to study what religious ties are implied between [184] the individual and the ancestors. Here one is in the presence of basic beliefs which seem identical in the various tribes of Refugee Blacks of Guiana and of which their structure is the consequence.

In the civilizations of Blacks Africa it is supposed that a [711] current of life and /31/ strength circulates from the divinity to men through the medium of the ancestors. Among the Refugee Blacks it is taken for granted that in this respect each man is bound [782] to his ancestors through the maternal line only. If he falls prey to illness, injustice, or adversity, he can call only on them in his prayer.

593 That does not mean that the tie with the father is ignored [827] or considered as having little importance; it is taken for granted, as we shall see, that in the creation of man certain psychic elements are transmitted from father to son. But the current of strength binding the individual to the ancestors does not pass through the father. One cannot pray usefully to the soul of one's dead father. [755] If I am sick and divination incriminates the action of my dead [782] father's soul, I cannot address either prayer or offering directly to him; for that I shall have recourse to one of his near relatives in the maternal line.

6:Hurault--77a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/facing p. 56/

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531

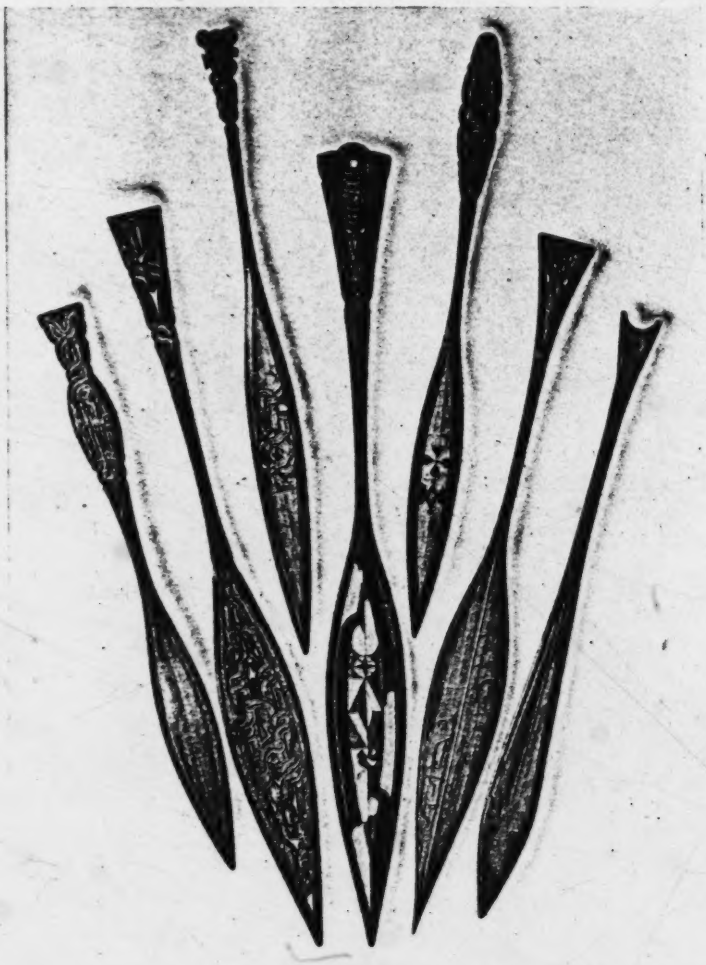

Fig. 13. Boni paddles.
At the right, for comparison, a Sarâmaka paddle.

[184]

643 /71 cont./
692
[578] --Disputes over the appropriation of lands are very rare in
[423] Boni country because of the sparseness of population.

We have never seen the grand man hold anything other than audiences of conciliation relative to people who had fought or
[183] threatened each other. The custom of the Refugee Blacks would indeed be difficult to fit into a code. The state of persons and social duties derive so directly from beliefs that the intervention of a judge is not indispensable for the functioning of the society.

643 The grand man is supposed to retain power over all the lands
423 of Boni country which are not allocated to lineages; in particular, this is the case with the upper basin of the headstreams of the Lawa.
[648] It is above all by virtue of this that he is considered the suzerain
[184] of the Indians living in this territory. The same conception exists among the Djuka with respect to the headstreams of the Tapanahoni.

643 The suzerainty of the grand man over the land and waters is
724 marked, as in Africa, by special rights in the domain of hunting
[226] and fishing. He alone can authorize group fishing on the great river by the process of la nivrée. The same problem does not hold for hunting which is practiced in a strictly individual fashion. But it is taken for granted that if a tapir (1) is killed in Boni country,

1. The tapir is the largest animal of the bush.

the hunter must carry its head as well as a thigh to the grand man.

643 A certain misunderstanding reigns between the Europeans and
648 the Boni on the subject of the duties of the grand man. The Europeans tend to believe that he commands the tribe in the way in which a colonel commands a regiment, that he can designate a certain man for a certain job, fix the price of boats, etc. The grand man tries to give satisfaction to the administration /72/ to justify the pay he draws, but he succeeds very badly in it, for in reality he possesses almost no temporal power.

/82/

Territorial Implantation of Lineages

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As we have shown, the Refugee Blacks are caught between contradictory imperatives:

--Their legal thought, centered on joint possession by the lineage, pushes them to distribute land among the lineages in compact blocs;

[182]
[241]

--The geographic environment, and most especially the ravages of the manioc ant, obliges them to give to each individual the possibility of abruptly changing his territorial sector or to hasten the planned rhythm of his fallow fields.

The solution which has imposed itself has been to divide the lands of each lineage into a certain number of zones scattered on the two banks of the river. Instead of finding large blocks with a single holder, we are going to find sectors sometimes rather small. With that exception, the legal principles of the Refugee Blacks keep all their practical value.

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[489]

Each village possesses a certain number of landing places or dégrads /wharfs/, from which fan out a certain number of paths. The wharf is the center of a territorial zone within which the members of the lineage fan out, pushing their clearings farther and farther, until they meet the clearings created by other lineages. At this moment a boundary is in effect created, at least in some points (1).

[184]

1. Among the Djuka it happens that a wharf may be common to two lineages and that the boundary may be marked by a big road perpendicular to the river and starting from the wharf; this system corresponds to a concern for establishing more precise boundaries between groups occupying land to the maximum. It is not observed anywhere in Boni country.

/99/

182 That this system is perfectly workable has been sufficiently
161 demonstrated by the regular expansion for two centuries of the
241 tribes of Refugee Blacks and by the good functioning of their
423 institutions.
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Thus the basic instability of the Indians of Guiana cannot
182 be attributed to the influence of the geographical environment alone. It comes essentially from social and psychological factors.

/100/ STUDY OF FARMING HABITATIONS

128 We are now going to study the functioning of the farming habitations under the same aspects:

--Structure (composition of each one, kinship ties);

--Territorial implantation: nature and extent of rights over the land;

--Functioning.

241 Not all Boni have a farming habitation; about two-thirds
621 of them are satisfied with the lands they occupy near the residence
184 villages.

241 The farming habitations we are going to study more es-
621 pecially and which are situated between the mouth of the Inini
361 and Simayé Falls to the south, group about a hundred persons be-
162 longing to the Dju, Lapé, Awara Bakka, and Papaïston lineages.
613 Another group of farming habitations situated a little south of Kormotibo, which we shall study briefly and only so far as their composition is concerned, bring together about 60 persons. Finally, other very dispersed farming habitations exist, belonging principally to the Kotika lineage, some in the Maripasoula region, others in the Abatris-Kotika Falls /region/.

241 On the whole, the Boni farming habitations cannot be com-
184 pared either as to importance or stability with the Djuka farming
621 villages which are placed at intervals on the middle course of the
[361] Maroni, grouping 3,000 to 3,500 persons: this is easy to
[162] understand: the Djuka, continually short of land, are obliged,

/100 cont./

241 under pain of losing their rights, to occupy the soil to the maxi-
62 mum. Besides, settled very far from their residence villages,
[184] they are led to creating more lasting establishments.

Among the Boni, farming habitations do not amount to much, built carelessly (to designate them one says kāpu (camp), and the groups who work there are not very stable.

423 However, the principles of establishment and functioning
241 of farming habitations are exactly the same for the two tribes
[182] and result on the whole from the customary laws which, among
[184] the Refugee Blacks, govern the possession of land:

[425] 1) When a man cuts a clearing in a zone which has never
[613] had any human establishment, he creates at the same time as a right of use for himself an imprescriptible real right for his lineage (bee) or more precisely for the fraction of the lineage living in the same village and subject to the same authority;

[428] 2) This right is joint; at the death of an individual, anyone
[613] of that fraction of his lineage may occupy the lands he used to cultivate habitually. If there is a dispute, it must be settled within the framework of the lineage; /101/ /Fig. 17 appears here/ /102/

3) The extent of the zone over which this right is exercised is limited only by the zones over which other rights are exercised.

We have seen what mode of occupation of the soil resulted from these laws in the neighborhood of the "great villages." Here the distribution of lands among the farming habitations follows practically the same laws, whose effects are less rigorous, considering the very low density of occupation of the soil.

425 1) It is taken for granted that an isolated establishment
in a quasi-deserted zone does not create lasting rights. If it
[361] happens to disappear, anybody may come to settle there after ascertaining from the first occupant that he no longer needs the place (such is the case with the very scattered establishments south of Simayé Falls up to Indian country; they do not create real territorial rights for the benefit of any lineage whatever.

/140/

684 This prohibition is of a purely religious nature and does
688 not entail any social sanctions; those concerned are convinced
784 that in such a case a suprahuman sanction would strike them in the form of sickness or accident.

582 Prohibitions limiting marriage. Outside of the great interdiction,
[613] pikadu, which is attached to unions within one matrilineage and one patrilineage, two prohibitions limiting marriage are found among the Refugee Blacks, which they express thus:

[595] --I cannot have two wives at the same time in the same lineage. For example I am forbidden to marry two "sisters"
[587] at the same time, but if I break with my wife, I may marry her classificatory "sister" or any other woman of the same lineage;

[835] --I may not have relations, even passing ones, with a woman who has been married to my brother by the same mother;
[587] in particular, if my brother has just died, I shall not be able to marry his widow.

The Boni are not capable of explaining the deep reasons for these interdictions, but they interpret them as purely social
[684] and not religious prohibitions. The offender is simply threatened with being beaten.

[171] The first of these rules seems very widely accepted in Black Africa, as much in patrilineal societies as in a matrilineal system.

[171] The second of these rules is characteristic in the Akan (Agni, Baoulé) culture area and shows that the family custom of the Refugee Blacks is related much more directly to that of the Agni-Ashanti group than to that of the Dahomey.

184 One can note that this rule is exactly contrary to the
587 Saramaka custom, which obliges the widow to marry one of the
114 brothers of the dead man; this custom has been interpreted by several authors as coming from imitation of the levirate of the Jews, with which certain rebels were acquainted (it is known that among the slaveowners there were many Jews).

/140 cont./

184 587 Whatever its origin, we should note that the Saramaka custom has no relation, as far as its legal content is concerned, to the levirate, nor to the inheritance of widows as it is practiced in numerous African societies. It does not correspond in any way to the transmission of a right over the widow, since this right does not exist; it probably results from the idea that the widow is better protected from the effects of the dead man's jealousy if she marries one of his brothers. Besides, she may [613] choose from among all his classificatory brothers, in the matrilineage as in the patrilineage, which assures her of a wide [586] choice. She can break this union without any compensation after some months of living together and resume complete liberty.

582 Statistics of marriages between kin groups. We have listed on the table opposite, the total unions for which we have been able to identify with certainty the kinship of the spouses, including those broken by divorce and death. Their total number is 411.

582 619 The table emphasizes the more or less great frequency of unions between /141/ /table appears here/ /142/ such-and-such kin groups, as well as the frequency of unions between Boni women and men of other tribes, DJUKA, PARAMAKA, and SARAMAKA.

Out of a total of 411 unions of Boni women one notes:

--327 with BONI (80%);
-- 50 with DJUKA (12%);
-- 21 with SARAMAKA (5%);
-- 5 with PARAMAKA (1%);
[648] -- 8 with Creoles from Surinam (2%).

The proportion of intertribal marriages (20%) is high; it results from the frequent presence on the Maroni of Djuka or Saramaka boatmen coming to carry on transport. The reciprocal is not true; marriages between Boni men and women

[Text Continues on P. 209]

/144 cont./

584 602 To ask for his second wife Bugi (Aw.B.1, F41, Asisi-Awara Bakka vge.) he had sent Dosu (Dip. I, E4, Boniville), his father Malobi's classificatory brother (although a very distant relative) and his younger sister by the same mother, Kulina, who made the marriage proposal to Bugi's mother and to her classificatory uncles Antonu and Mato.

582 178 [701] Age of marriage. In former times there was a very precise custom about this. Men were not authorized to marry before about 30 years of age, constituting until that age the immediately mobilizable armed force. Women were authorized by their mothers to marry only when they had reached complete physical development, or between 20 and 22 years. This was the safeguard of a society deprived of all medical help against obstetrical risk, particularly serious for very young women. When the fiancé had temporarily emigrated to earn his living, the marriage could be put off until the age of 25 years and more. [184] This late marriage of girls was still met with only a few years ago among the Djuka, more faithful to custom. There was on the average five to ten years of age difference between husband and wife. /145/

For about the past ten years, under the influence of the relaxation of family discipline, the marriage age has gone down considerably, as much for the man as for the woman. Nearly all the girls married during the last two years were from 15 to 17 years old. It can be stated that the average marriage age of girls is 16 years (1).

1. We are speaking here of the age at the time of the consummation of marriage.

/161 cont./

764 692 This tribunal is charged with establishing the causes of death and rendering a decision on this subject which has the force of law. But it is above all charged with judging the dead person, with determining whether he has lived worthily, whether he has the right to be buried according to the rites and to be invoked as an ancestor, or whether on the contrary he was a wisimã.

[613] [645] The grand man designates one or two lineage heads to preside over the council and "command" the dead person until the burial.

The grand man designates who will lead the assemblage and will "command" the dead person until the burial.

764 692 613 This cannot be the head of the dead person's lineage, for no one can at the same time be judge and judged.

Ex.: for Béniti (Dju) this was Popo — head of the Lapé lo
for Atikati (Dju) it was Kondoku — head of the Awara Bakka lo
for Kotoïda (Aw.B.) it was Tafanié — head of the Papaïston lo
for Way (Dip. II) it was Tafanié --- /162/

764 787 The 2nd and 3rd days after the death are given over to the interrogation of the dead person, which on the evening of the first day had scarcely begun.

[184] The rites of this interrogation vary from one village to another; in certain villages they begin to carry the dead man even before the construction of the coffin; the questions are not asked everywhere in the same fashion.

[171] The dead person is interrogated by methods widespread in West Africa and which are related to spiritualism: the coffin is carried on the heads of two men, feet forward. The dead man is supposed to push the bearers forward to say yes, and to make them nod their heads from left to right to say no.

/174 cont./

764 Cemeteries. There are two cemeteries in Boni country: one on the lands of the Dikan lineage for the people living on the French bank, the other downstream from Kotika for the inhabitants of that village. They are ordinary places which nothing indicates from the bank, for they are covered like the rest of the country by secondary forest. The dead are buried there in graves aligned parallel to the river, about seven meters apart. The dead are placed with heads turned toward the river. No separation by lineage exists within the cemetery.

The graves are not marked by any decoration, and at the end of about ten years, the mound having settled down, no trace of the burial remains.

[767] The graves are never cleaned. Only the ɔlɔmã heads, who have received special instruction, know the graves of the principal chiefs and the boundaries of the cemetery.

769 The Boni never go to the cemetery alone and do not
[754] make offerings on the graves of their near relatives. Someone
[775] who would frequent the cemetery alone would be suspected of being a wisimã seeking to capture the yɔ̃rka of a dead person.

764 Even if they are right near the villages, cemeteries are
487 never connected directly to them by paths, and the dead are transported by boat. By proceeding thus they hope to isolate the villages from evil influences.

766 If someone dies by drowning, he is buried away from the cemetery. According to Mr. W. F. van Lier, among the Djuka
[761] all drowned persons are supposed to have been victims of a
[784] kunu; the Boni do not have this conception and declare that they
[184] have lost the meaning of this custom; one notices, however, that they observe mourning for the drowned according to the usual rites.

/179 cont./

765 431 [606] Before coming out of mourning, the widow must procure for herself at the minimum the money necessary for a demijohn of tafia as a contribution to the festival of the lifting of mourning. She must make a present of several cans of couac to her husband's mother.

765 843 184 A pregnant woman undergoes mourning exactly according to the general law. The custom described by several authors for the Saramaka, according to which the pregnant woman must join one of her husband's "brothers," does not apply to the Boni.

765 888 There are some attenuations of the harshness of mourning with respect to old women. For example in 1956, Lémiki (70 years), living in Boniville, was in mourning for her husband Tabiki (Awara Bakka, but residing since childhood with the Lapé lineage in Loka /180/ where he had been raised by his [768] [602] father). Lémiki alternately spent three weeks in her house and three in her husband's. It was Asamani, Tabiki's sister by the same father, who exercised authority over her.

765 768 [613] This remarkable example shows that as regards mourning (rights and duties), the principle of residence plays an essential role. He who has been reared by his father is in this respect taken out of his lineage, which loses all rights and all control over the conduct of the mourning.

765 [775] The co-wives of a widower are subject to mourning on the same grounds as he, and for the same motive, since they are targets for the jealousy of the dead woman's yɔrka.

[768] However, they are authorized most often to live with their maternal family. When the period of dipi baaka has ended, 765 833 they may take up conjugal relations again with their husband, but at intervals of several weeks and without his being able to spend the night with one of them. Each time he must ask permission of the head of the dead woman's lineage. [613]

/191 cont./

791 What constitutes the religion of the Refugee Blacks is a
194 synthesis of elements originating with various peoples of West Africa, especially the Ashanti, Agni, Mina, and Fon and also Congolese elements. This synthesis seems to have been born
[619] among the Saramaka, the first tribe formed at the beginning of the 18th century, and to have been adopted thereafter with modifications of detail by the Djuka, tribe created about 1760. The Boni, the last tribe formed, probably received these beliefs during the time of slavery which they spent under the tutelage of the Djuka, from 1815 to 1860. The beliefs of the Boni and
[184] those of the Djuka have an identical base; the rites and their
[178] effects on social life are exactly the same. Nevertheless, the Djuka, almost ten times more numerous, have been able to keep very differentiated conceptions and specialized cults, involving priests in the literal sense of the term.

The Boni have kept only the essentials, and many conceptions, especially the myths which serve as support for the whole tradition, are very much blurred among them.

829 The Boni like to imagine that Africans constitute only one nation, and that they have inherited in a lump the traditions and social forms of this nation. They know now (especially from having seen a good deal of the Senegalese riflemen of the 1937 French mission) that numerous tribes exist, but that has not shaken the veneration they have for Africa, source, for
178 them, of all knowledge and all strength. However, almost nothing of the culture peculiar to each one of the great tribes has reached them; no name of an African nation has remained in their memory, and /192/ none of the languages of their land of origin has been kept (1); everywhere the vehicular language

[173]

1. One observes, however, that a certain number of disconnected details of African life have come down to them by oral tradition;

/192 cont./

771 171 [177] This is precisely what constitutes the great interest of the Refugee Blacks' religious forms, which one finds again, besides, in large measure, mixed with Christian ideas, among all the Blacks of South America. They seem to point out a very important common background of conceptions common to the West-African civilizations.

771 174 184 It is certainly not by chance if the various tribes of Refugee Blacks have adopted such close social and religious forms. One must assume the action of several strong personalities who knew, with an almost superhuman instinct, how to sift out from the jumble of beliefs brought by the rebel slaves what was necessary to the life of the new society; but this new religion would not have taken root in forms so stable and so coherent if all had not been intimately conscious of being in agreement on a minimum of common concepts.

It is important to observe that the Refugee Blacks, who borrowed most of their techniques from the Indians and Europeans, remained rigorously faithful in their beliefs and rituals to the African substratum, from which they drew a homogeneous and [177] living whole. Although the beliefs of the Indians are known to them in their main lines, they have borrowed almost nothing from them; on the other hand, it is certain that vague Christian recollections influenced the conception they have of the supreme god, Masa Gadu, and their moral and religious law. But they have been introduced into an African system of thought, and in fact the beliefs which directly influence individual and social life come in a straight line from the African earth.

772 [171] Metaphysical conceptions. Through the rituals of the Refugee Blacks appear /193/ metaphysical conceptions very comparable to those which have been noted in the populations of West Africa.

776 /194 cont./

[184] The great gods Gwangwéla and Gédéosu of the Djuka are not known to the Boni.

[194] Strictly speaking, no cult of Masa Gadu exists. No edifice is reserved for him, he has no priests, and no collective
776 ceremonies are conducted on his behalf. He is nevertheless
769 constantly present in the religious life of the Boni, associated with ancestor worship. Every ceremony of ancestor worship
776 includes an invocation to Masa Gadu. From time to time, for
769 specific motives such as the illness of a member of the lo,
755 people go /195/ specially to the fraga tiki to invoke Masa Gadu.
[613] The oldest man of the lo officiates, while a younger one pours
[708] a little water and tafia at the foot of the fraga tiki; the elder addresses Masa Gadu in everyday language, in simple terms, in a familiar conversational tone, asking him for the cure of illnesses or the end of calamities. Those present, seated in a semicircle, punctuate the end of the speech with some rhythmical applause, uttering the ritual formula of thanks: "Gaã tãŋgi tãŋgi fi yu, Masa Gadu."

776 Outside of these ceremonies which hardly go beyond the
782 framework of the lineage, everyone may address Masa Gadu directly by praying aloud, if, for example, he finds himself alone in the bush and prey to an illness. One never addresses Masa Gadu other than for a specific material purpose. Inner prayer for the purpose of spiritual perfection does not exist to our knowledge among the Refugee Blacks.

776 One applies directly to Masa Gadu when one believes
[755] oneself to be the victim of an iniquitous action (see curse). How-
[784] ever, although the Refugee Blacks have a very lively sense of justice, they never call Masa Gadu to witness for the cruel and arbitrary vengeances (kunu) which the lower divinities are
[812] believed to exercise on them. It is taken for granted that all these divinities do conforms to the role which Masa Gadu has assigned to them and that the suffering they inflict on men is indispensable to the proper working of the universe.

/195 cont./

794 [181] The laws of Odun. The cult of Odun (Odũ) is the keystone of the social and religious structure of the Refugee Blacks. It is a very secret cult; its rites are not practiced in the presence of outsiders and all curiosity about it meets with frank hostility. [123] The Boni, who talk rather freely about the cults of possession, are mute on the subject of Odun, and one may spend years among them without even hearing this name uttered.

794 ●184 The worship of Odun is common to the Boni and the Saramaka (perhaps this is what explains the trustful relations which exist between the two groupings). Among the Djuka it is replaced by the worship of Gwangwéla (Grantata), which has exactly the same functions and rites.

776 Odun is not to be confused with the creator God Nana (Masa Gadu). The myths explaining the relationship of these two entities were not known by our informants, but it is clear that Odun was sent to men by Masa Gadu as legislator and judge.

671 Odun's laws have a profound originality, as much by their content as by the sanctions which accompany them. It is not excessive to speak of a religious and moral doctrine of the Refugee Blacks.

[641] These laws appear in negative form. A certain number of acts and behavior are forbidden to those who have entered the society of the Refugee Blacks by taking an oath which binds 784 them for good and all. Offenders will be punished without the direct intervention of men, by the all-powerful action of Odun, who will kill them or /196/ strike them down with sicknesses. As a general rule, Odun's punishment is death; this is what explains the fear his name inspires.

673 [754] Odun forbids:

--Sorcery, wisi, in the most general sense, that is, any magic action having as its purpose the killing, making ill, and in a general way doing harm to another person.

/206 cont./

776 The Kumēnti. These gods are common to the Saramaka
787 (Kromenti) (1), Djuka, and Boni. The Kumēnti are considered
[184]

[174]

1. There is no doubt about the origin of this word; it is a deformation of Coromantin, name given in the 18th century to Ashanti country. The "Coromantin Negroes," reputed to be particularly intractable, played a large role in the slave revolts. The Kumenti cult of possession must originally have been a cult peculiar to the Coromantin nation.

to be benevolent gods and friends of men, so their possession is very much desired. They do not come into men spontaneously, they are obtained only by applying to a teacher. In principle
[562] only men can obtain Kumēnti, while on the other hand only women can have Bŭnzunki /sic/.

776 The Kumēnti are specialized in protection against fire
787 and against machete and gun wounds. These dangers hold the
751 largest place among the anxieties of the Refugee Blacks, who spend almost all their life in the bush and with whom nearly
[789] all sores become infected and have serious consequences. Thus the Kumēnti cult holds an important place in their magic; even someone who is not possessed will try to obtain from these gods an ɔbia that will protect him from these various dangers.

153 The instruction of the disciples of these gods takes as its
791 pattern the procedures described above, but the collective dances
787 appear to play an essential part. The teacher calls on the gods
786 by beating a special rhythm on ordinary drums (apinti) and by
[533] uttering invocations punctuated by the rattle of the saka (Indian
[534] maraka, that is, hollow calabash provided with a handle and containing seeds).

/214 cont./

787 their legs with this white clay; they prophesy in a singing tone, without the usual voice of their bearer's ceasing to be recognizable, expressing themselves in the Saramaka language.

796 The Ampuku have the appearance of men similar to Blacks, but unknown. They reside in the depths of the woods; some are good, others bad. One can gain their good will by [184] worshiping them, which is especially developed in Saramaka country.

796 Baliki, of Kormotibo village, tells of having been present 535 one day at a dance of the Ampuku, when he was traveling to [103] the Saramaka village of Balen.

"During the day, people went on the paths far into the bush to put down calabashes containing certain herbs. At night were seen to come out of the forest a large number of unknown men, dressed in the manner of the Saramaka. They danced all night, and at dawn left again as they had come."

776 The Ampuku gods, considered to be maleficent gods of the bush, exercise their influence on everyone. When a person [789] has slept in the bush, he "washes" himself free of Ampuku with [824] an infusion of leaves of five plants which are part of the secondary flora surrounding the villages and of which the principal plant is the sangaafu (Costus cylindricus).

791 Frequency of possession. In 1956 teachers or bas were very 787 scarce in Boni country. For the Kumenti gods, only S... (Kotika) remained; for the Papa gadu, since the death of Antinon (Dju), there remained only M... (Papaïston) and B... [619] (Asisi). People were commonly going to receive instruction from Djuka teachers in the villages of the Tapanaoni.

787 It would be a great error to believe that nearly all the 562 men have gods. On the contrary, this is an exception. According to the evaluations we were able to make, there is not more than one adult man out of six or seven who is possessed.

787 824 /216 cont./

Aluku Name	Identification	Use
Sãŋgaafu	Costus cylindricus (zingiberaceae)	cult of the Papa gadu and of the Ampuku
Malimbelimbe	Piper sp. (?)	——
Filli (Hɔligɔ̃)	Chamaesyae sp. (?) (euphorbiaceae)	——

828 Beliefs Concerning the Human Person and Its Development
Ancestor Worship

[171] The Refugee Blacks of the various tribes have precise and identical conceptions on this subject, which are found also, more or less mixed with Christian conceptions, among the West Indian populations of African origin. For them, man is formed of three elements: the body, the yɔrka which may be translated by personality, and a higher principle called akka.

[184] It goes without saying that among the Boni, who have not elaborated these conceptions and received them from the Djuka, nobody is capable of discoursing on them. But numerous con-
[128] ceptions having to do with magic and to the relationships with the ancestors permit of rather reliable cross-checking.

774 The akka. It is not possible to translate akka (1) by soul in the

1. This word appears to be a deformation of kla (Agni-Baoulé), word to which a very comparable meaning is attached.

sense we understand it. The akka is an immortal divine element

/217 cont./

794 583 If someone marries a girl, he must not only pay her mother the price of virginity but must also pay the girl's akka. [782] For that he offers white beads and cloth which the bride will wear, as well as sweets which will be consumed by her. If the [784] price of virginity were not paid, the woman's akka, humiliated, might make her sick or kill her. /218/

794 /218/ There are seven categories of akka, masculine and feminine, one for each day of the week.

[114] Crevaux in 1877 was able to establish the complete list (1):

[191] 1. This conception is widespread in the Agni-Ashanti culture area, among the Éwé and Mina, and as far as western Dahomey. The names reported among the Mina correspond very exactly, except for some differences in pronunciation, to the ones kept by the Boni.

[805]

	Men	Women
Sunday	Kwasi	Kwasiba
Monday	Kɔdyo	Adyuba
Tuesday	Kwami	Abeniba
Wednesday	Kwaku	Akuba
Thursday	Yao	Yaba
Friday	Kɔfi	Afiba
Saturday	Kwamina	Amba

[184] All these names are known to the Boni, but none of our informants was capable of reciting the complete list. It is [551] well understood that a name like Kɔfi, Kɔdio /sic/, etc. is the akka's name and not at all the man's name (2).

/218 cont./

774 551

2. Although it happens that people receive as a name an akka name, sometimes accompanied by a qualificative, such as Lébikwaku.

774 262 [551] Actually, each one knows his akka's name, which was revealed to him by his parents when he was a child; to this name is attached an akka kina or food prohibition relative to the akka. [754] Both are carefully kept secret even from near relatives and friends, for knowing them could help the wisima take possession of the akka. On this subject people often use the term gadu kina, as they say mi gadu instead of mi akka. [784] [787] This term is easily confused with the prohibition imposed on the possessed person by the god which incarnates itself in him; these are two very different notions.

[258] The akka kina is unique for each man. It is sought by the parents when the child is completely weaned. [787] They try to draw parallels between the foods he has eaten and the health disorders he may exhibit, and these suppositions are confirmed by divinatory procedures.

774 782 A man does not ordinarily pray to his akka. He addresses prayer to it only if he is sick, to ask it for protection, or before leaving on a long trip, to ask it to watch over him. If he comes back safe and sound, he thanks it by making an offering to it, in the form of a bottle of syrup (switi sopi), which he turns upside down over his head.

774 184 According to Mr. W. F. van Lier, the Djuka have the idea that the shadow (kaaka) is the visible image of the akka; the Boni do not appear to have this conception; one does not observe that they attach any importance whatever to whether a man's shadow passes over them; on the contrary, one must not step over a man lying on the ground, that might injure his akka.

/221 cont. /

775 828 [184] "My nɛ̃mseki is So-and-So." Mr. W. F. van Lier, speaking of the Djuka who have much clearer conceptions on religious questions, gives an important clarification: in 1915 Grand Man Oséisi became incarnate in a newborn baby of the tribe, nevertheless he continues to be invoked as an ancestor before the fraga tiki. It seems, then, that it is a case of certain elements of the personality which are believed to be reincarnated, and not of the yɔrka as a whole.

787 It is important to distinguish the nɛ̃mseki from possession by a yɔrka. Possession by a yɔrka is an exceptional occurrence which is manifested in the form of trances, the yɔrka speaking through the mouth of its bearer; outside of these possessions, this yɔrka is believed to reside in the abode of the ancestors.

[613] A yɔrka can reveal itself thus only in a person of its matrilineage.

775 828 The nɛ̃mseki, on the contrary, exists in all men. The ancestor who is thus partially reincarnated is generally on the paternal side, but this is not an absolute rule.

A man is not conscious of his nɛ̃mseki and is acquainted with it only because his parents have revealed it to him. This nɛ̃mseki does not manifest itself in anything in everyday life; it does not impose any kina whatever and does not ask for offerings. However, when a young child falls ill, divination may reveal that it is the doing of the nɛ̃mseki which is indignant at being misunderstood. People hurry then, always with the help of divination, to find out the name of the nɛ̃mseki, proceeding by elimination. As a general rule, they allow themselves to be guided by resemblances of physiognomy, birthmarks calling to mind, for example, certain scars of the dead ancestor.

[753] [755]

It is believed that the older a man is when he dies, the more time he will allow to elapse before being reincarnated.

/251 cont./

751 789 Renewal of the power of the ɔbia. The Refugee Blacks have the idea that no magic power can last if it is not renewed by formulas and offerings appealing to the god from which it came. [824] Each year, at variable dates for each ɔbia, one must renew the power of the ɔbia by dipping the support object into a maceration of certain leaves. This renewal may not take place on January 1. On that day all leaves lose their power. /252/

[768] Mr. W. F. van Lier writes that among the Djuka, objects (bracelets, etc.) serving as support for a magic remedy are thrown away upon the death of the owner for they have lost [184] [428] all power. The Boni do not have this conception; with them, these objects keep their value for the dead person's son provided that before dying he voluntarily transmitted them to him by giving him mula.

789 428 613 Transmission of ɔbia. An ɔbia is often bequeathed simultaneously to a son and to a nephew. Care is taken not to lose the ɔbia for the lineage. Thus it is that certain lineages have certain ɔbia as their specialty.

789 [171] Kãndu. The Refugee Blacks call kãndu a magic object intended to protect property (houses, harvests) against theft. This procedure is also very much used by the Creoles.

There are three common kinds of kãndu:

--Piiti tiki kãndu. It is made of a split stick stuck into the ground, in the slit of which dry banana leaves or small sticks are placed horizontally. This device originated in Dahomey.

--Sikopu kãndu. It involves a shovel stuck into the ground in front of the house (the idea of the shovel is associated with the idea of death, for this instrument is used particularly in digging graves).

--Bɔɔ kãndu, made up of a bow and arrow planted in the ground.

/254 cont./

841 Woman's magic power. The Refugee Blacks assume that a woman, during her menstrual periods, is impure and has the power to destroy the power of ɔbia. So during these periods she must withdraw into a special hut, munu ɔsu, and prepare her meals in special dishes; she may not prepare her husband's food, for by doing this she would destroy the power of his ɔbia, and must abstain from touching objects he habitually uses, particularly his gun, which would lose its good points for shooting. Even in the little farming habitations which consist of only several huts, one may be sure that one of them serves as a munu ɔsu.

841 343 462 [465] The munu ɔsu are very simple sheds built by the women themselves, using reclaimed materials taken from huts being demolished; some belong to one woman only; for others, three or four women get together. They have recourse to men only for assembling the framework, remunerating them with several cans of couac or several baskets of yams.

841 /255/A man who has a powerful ɔbia like the man nẽŋge ɔbia must abstain from speaking to a woman who has her menses.

[751] The Boni assume there are women wicked enough to willfully hide their menses in order to destroy the power of a man's ɔbia, but he who has a good man nẽŋge ɔbia cannot be a dupe: the iron circle warns him of the danger by squeezing his arm.

184 841 68 According to Mr. W. F. van Lier, the act of willfully hiding her menses is for the Djuka one of the gravest offenses a woman can commit, and the most severe punishments are inflicted on her. It is not the same with the Boni: in such a case a woman risks only being insulted and banned.

752 834 171 Another deeply rooted belief among the Refugee Blacks, and which exists with many Creoles, is the necessity for the

/264 cont./

796 happen to him, may it pass to one side. Thus we have come
769 to pour (the water) to beg you to protect the village. The year
539 has changed today, it is a new year. May we have money and food, we beg of you, ancestors; watch over our plantings, may they prosper, may the young women who fish at the wharf catch fish."

"All the captains pour (the water), the fiskal, the majors pour (3) for all the lineages; protect the villages."

• [184] [622]

3. Honorific titles imitated from the Djuka but which, among the Boni, do not really mean anything; the head of Kormotibo village bears the title fiskal and the one of Kotika village the title major.

Fintiman:

"The people who have pure hearts, protect them, big and small. But the people whose hearts are not good, who do evil spells to kill others and decrease the village, we do not pray for them; turn them out."

"Watch over the grand man; if something happens to him, it must not be said that we, the people who are seated there, have not prayed well. Great ancestors, we supplicate you, if we were on the point of meeting misfortune, that we may find the good."

(They begin to pour the aafta.)

/265/ "Grand Man Awensay ...." (Thanks follow for a trip which was carried out without hindrance.)

Lébiman:

"May the grand man live long with us, may misfortune not happen to him."

/296 cont./

648 So relations between the Europeans and Refugee Blacks have nothing in common with what one observes in Africa: one notes their faults without indulgence, but one admires them for their strong personality, their art, and their techniques, and one bears an esteem for them which is not feigned.

829 The Refugee Blacks feel neither hate nor jealousy toward Europeans. This /297/ may surprise one at first, for they have had to put up with cruel wars fought against them, which have left a precise memory with them; but the explanation is simple: the Boni have no hate because their life is happy, and they have no jealousy because they do not try to imitate the Europeans and are satisfied with their own civilization.

173 186 On this subject it will be noted that the Refugee Blacks recall the time of slavery without shame and without any inferiority complex; this is simply because they do not have the feeling of being the descendants of slaves; they feel themselves to be the descendants of warriors who imposed their independence by force of arms; the Djuka, exaggerating to themselves the scope of the successes won by their ancestors, even have a certain superiority complex. Proud of their ancestors, the Refugee Blacks do not feel in any way inferior to the white man and behave toward him as equal to equal.

648 [184] The Boni, like the Djuka and the Saramaka in Surinam, live under a de facto regime which is equivalent to internal autonomy. This regime was instituted for the Boni from their first contact with the French administration in 1861; it has always been associated with perfect loyalty.

The French administration, which until recent times did not have any permanent establishments in the interior of the country, has never tried to interfere with the interior functioning of the tribes which went on and still goes on according to their own law. The Refugee Blacks have thus been spared that hybrid jurisdiction, applying a customary law altered by European ideas,

/298 cont./

114 Here desirous of remaining on the plane of strict scientific objectivity, we shall avoid entering the discussion of the benefit springing from this action, which, moreover, would necessitate a long development. We shall limit ourselves to showing that it appears to us to be doomed to failure.

871 --The experiment of schooling has been made for more
177 than 30 years among the Boni in the village of Kotika. Half a dozen children, doing well in their studies, left for Surinam and broke with their native group. In the others, the teaching received left only faint traces. As a matter of fact, there is no room in a normal intelligence to receive at the same time the mass of technical knowledge necessary for holding one's own in the society of the Refugee Blacks and ordinary school in-
[829] struction. One necessarily drives out the other; now the Boni are extremely fond of their free life on the great river, which assures them very satisfactory material conditions of living.

797 --Evangelization has been carried on with perseverance
177 for more than 200 years with the Refugee Blacks of Surinam. It has not given appreciable results. It has been the same in
● /194 French Guiana with the action carried on with the Saramaka working /299/ near the communes of the coast (1), and more

[648] 1. The Saramaka not only have no tendency to be converted, but they exert a significant influence on the population of the communes. On
[756] the Oyapok the Saramaka healer
[787] has numerous clients, and in spite of the clergy's interdiction, many women go to the possession dances of the Papa gudu serpent gods.

recently with the Boni of the Upper Maroni.

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REBEL DESTINY

609 "The whites have wars against each other. . . ,"
203 "Our ancestors. . ."
648 Before the last speaker could finish, a man broke in with a prayer. His voice was conversational and sounded as though he were addressing someone present.

> "*Great Sky God,*
> *Kediamo, Kediampon,*
> *Mother of the River,*
> *Sacred ancestors,*
> *Grant that if the white man comes for evil*
> *His race end.*
> *Grant that if the white woman comes for evil*
> *Her womb wither, her line perish.*"

609 But the Loango headman shook his head and said, "The
203 gods will deal with them, have no fear. Do you remember
648 the man who was drowned at the Mamadam, and the one
776 who died way beyond the Granman's country, and that other one, the soldier? They came with evil in their hearts. The gods killed them. The gods will deal with these, too."

And another said: "Let them go up the river. The gods know all. The ancestors know all. This is our land, and our earth spirits will protect us, and they will kill our enemies. This is our river. Our river gods will protect us, and kill our enemies. This is our bush. The gods of the bush are strong. The gods of the bush know their bush children. They know their children's enemies."

Then the Loango elder spoke again: "We have the gods
[186] from Africa. They are more than all gods. The African gods know all. They will watch over us. We have the obia spirits, the African obia spirits. Mati, friends, let them go up the river. Have no fear. Our gods are with us."

The men's soft, sober voices spoke the words without emotion. Theirs were the voices of destiny. Well might the answering chorus intone the affirmations, while the colloquy went on of leader and chorus, leader and chorus, now one taking up the main theme, now another. To us the cadenced speech came floating softly on the still air.

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the uncleared bush, or the sight of a snake twined about a liana, no longer struck terror, and the flaying rains which came down so suddenly, and as suddenly were over, no longer even aroused uneasiness.

At the prow of our boat Bayo poled vigorously and continued his countless variants of the seketi song we had been hearing everywhere on the river, while Bibifo had made a refrain of our question, "How do you say this in your Saramacca language?" He would paddle in silence for a long time, only to begin muttering at the most unexpected moments, "Sa'macca tongo!" in the way of an old man who talks to himself. He would then repeat it over and over in ridicule of us, and sometimes in a singsong voice he would improvise lines about the white man who wanted to know how everything was called in the true, true Saramacca language, and how all that was told him he wrote down in a book.

"Great-grandfather," we would say to him, "why do you say this? Isn't it all right for us to want to learn how to talk to the G'aman?"

"*Kere-kere*—It's all right."

But having said this, he would engage Bayo in conversation, clipping his words, and using so much idiom and parable as utterly to confound us.

"Your language is difficult, great-grandfather."

"Ya-hai, it is meant for the people of the bush, white man," he would say with a pride we had not looked for from the mild Bibifo, who was now called Adrian. There was, it appeared, potency in the "word," and magic. The names for things, and the things themselves were one. The knowledge of Saramacca names belonged to the Saramacca people, and whether as Bibifo or Adrian, he was above all a Saramacca Negro, and a member of an important clan.

2

When we had been seven days on the river, our cook came to us and said he wanted to talk about something we had best know.

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open shelter, covered by a gabled thatch. At both sides the eaves extended several feet from the posts which supported the roof, and almost touched the ground. The floor was of red clay, hardened and smooth. There were no stools about, and no other decorations. Men summoned to a council came with their own council benches. About two of the slender posts which faced the path were obias made of twined native sisal, of narrow strips of blue and red cotton, and cowrie shells. Each differed a little from the other, and each had its own potency, but what this was, none would say. On one of the crosspieces below the eaves were large balls of hardened red clay. They had been put there by the old women to await the time for molding the clay into the obia pots, which, after they had been fired, would be blackened with the soot of rice hulls and oil and refired.

Against the crossbeams in one corner of the council house the women had gathered, and at the other end the men were seated on their stools, with Captain And'u and the bassia, the man second in command, among them. While the men were discussing the Neng'e Nana, their Negro grandfathers from Africa, the women were addressing some direct questions to the white woman.

Why was she not smoking a pipe, as fitted the position of a woman of rank who was on her way to visit the Granman? What had she done with her children when she went on this long journey which took twenty-one nights and days to reach the Suriname white man's city? Did she like her husband's other wife? Had she more children than the other wife? What rank would her sons inherit from their uncles?

"How many gods have you?" one of the younger women asked.

"I have four—three Vodu, and one Apuku," another said, as though the question had been put to her, and she could say with pride that she had three snake gods, and one bush god.

The bassia's handsome wife, who had overheard the men speak of the white man's book which showed pictures of their ancestors, said, "The whites read out of books. The

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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gods do not come to them." There was in her voice contempt for women who had no gods. She was of a reddish-brown color, taller and more slender than most, and the great coils of brass about her arms and ankles told that her beauty had had full recognition. These had come to her at marriage, as had the small earrings of gold which the bassia had brought to her from French Guiana. With these, too, had come cloths and handkerchiefs, beads and carvings.

If white women had no gods, did they know any of the other things which women must know? Did the white woman wear an apron underneath all her cloths, as women should? Were her thighs cicatrized? Did she cook for her husband, or other men, when she should be isolated in the special house provided for women's monthly visits? Did she purify herself with sacred clay when she emerged from isolation in order not to spoil her husband's obias, for which contact with a woman who has her menses is the deadliest taboo? Why, having borne children, did her figure not show it?

"Have you drums?" the bassia's wife asked. "Without drums, how do you pray? How do you dance?"

Dancing without drums availed nothing.

"White women have no gods. The gods do not come to them. They are not troubled by the need to dance. White women do not pray," she concluded, seeing that what dancing the white woman did could only be a feeble affair.

"I will send my son to your country. The men who go to the French shore say it is good to know how to count the white man's way. My woman-child I will never send," she finished with finality.

Now it was the white woman's turn to ask a few questions, having done explaining how her boots laced, and why it was that she was dressed very much as her husband was dressed.

The white clay in the hair and on the face of a small child was medicine. The child's mother had washed for her god that morning. He was a god whose day for dancing was Wednesday, and now, feeling the god stir in her, she would

774 at the time approaching a state of possession, had provoked great anger.

"If you do not know what the Dyo-dyo is, then you are not human. Then I won't talk to you. Have you never walked and felt something in back of you, yet nothing was there? Have you never had a dream?"

The Dyo-dyo was one of two souls with which each individual was born, the old woman had later been persuaded to explain, for each man had his akra, his personal soul, which if he were mindful of it, remained with him, and allowed no evil to come to him; and each man had his Dyo-dyo, his wandering soul. At death the soul which had [795] wandered came back to the body. If it were permitted to stray once more, this soul, which had been ever restless in life, would wander about troubling the living.

796 765 But now, sitting among the women in back of the Granman's shrine, it seemed again best to admit that she knew nothing of the adyo ceremony. Fortunately, there was no outburst of anger this time, for here in the true, true Saramacca country, it was soon evident that there was a pride in their magic, and their language, because these were [186] held to be uniquely their own.

"We give a big play for the breaking of mourning." All the drums were played, and the rattles sounded, and the [534] *kwakwa*—the hard-wood bench played with two sticks—was beaten.

For this important ceremony, the oldest living brother [293] of the dead man provided food and rum, and, when the time came to partake of this food, he and the *kei mundu*—the people of rank—sat about the doorway of the widow's house. She herself stood inside the house, behind the threshold, scattering food for the dead, and pouring rum on the ground. Rice and peanuts and sugar cane were thrown [269] away, but not yams or plantains, for those things were not given in their village to the ancestral spirits. As the widow "threw away" the food she wept. In the clearing those who did not eat danced adyo. In a circle, men and women danced in close file, one behind the other, each

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REBEL DESTINY

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"Tell me this," said Granman Yankuso to us one evening when we sat alone with him in the council house, "why is it that things have changed so in the city? I am not a young man. For years I came to the city, and when I met Negro women of the town going to market or coming from market, they were dressed in full skirts. They looked well. Now the women dress in straight dresses like men. Straight up and down and short. They want to look like white people.

"Years ago when I came to the city, I used to hear Negroes laugh. It is good to hear laughter. Now they are trying to be like the whites. They do not laugh. That is not good. It would be better if white people laughed more, too.

"Why do Negroes want to turn into white people? Look, is my skin like yours? Is my daughter's hair like yours, white woman? If you put on a pangi, you will not look like my daughter. You, white man, are as tall as Captain And'u. If you put on a cloth over one shoulder, you will not look like And'u. . . .

"A man came to me in the city and said he wanted to go to Dahomey. He wore no obias. He was a white man's Negro. I said he couldn't go to Dahomey. The man said, 'Look, my skin is as black as yours.' 'Ai, but your heart isn't.'

"You know why I said it? There is your kind of magic, white man, and there is our kind of magic. White man's magic keeps men in cities, but here in the bush a man needs black man's magic to keep alive and black man's strength to go up and down the rivers.

"You white men have books. You read in books, and you know. I cannot read what men write, yet I can read in my own way. I meet a man, and I can read him. I look at him, and I know what he is thinking. Before he begins to talk, I know what he wants to say. What your ancestors knew they put down in books, and you read it. What our ancestors know, they tell us at night, they tell us in the cool of the

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morning, they tell us when we call on them. That is the black man's way. 643 159

"You white people have money, you have fine houses, you wear clothes, you can count. They tell me that you say in your books all people must be friends. But you have wars. If white people kill white people, then *mati*—friend—how will it be with black people living among the whites?" 186 198 648

Granman Yankuso rose, when he said this, and took from the chains of the suspended lamp a folded envelope. He handed it to us, and from it we took out a letter on the stationery of the League of Nations, signed by its Secretary, Sir Eric Drummond. As we were reading this, he left the council house and soon returned with a larger envelope, which he had kept uncreased, and from it brought out a photograph of the Council of the League of Nations in session. They were his proud possessions. While the World War lasted there was no work for the Bush Negroes on the river. They could not earn the money they needed to buy cloths for marrying and powder and rum for ceremonial usage. The Bush Negroes called it a "great money famine," [131] in the way of their Anansi stories which so often began with "This was a time of great famine." Through a missionary on the upper river, the Granman learned of the war, and through him later of the League, which the missionary had undoubtedly brought up as the white man's defense against the challenge of the black tribal head, who asked, "How will it be with black people living among the whites?"

It was then that the Granman through this same missionary addressed himself to the white rulers far away, telling of the fear of the blacks, and counseling them the wisdom of peace!

4

In the council house Granman Moana Yankuso was host to the Gankwe men. They were there to take their leave of him before starting down river. Asikanu, the handsome brother of the Gankwe clan head, who was sent away from his village while the elders were deciding upon his adultery 643 684 574

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with the white curtain hanging against the wall of the council house. To one side was the image of the Sky God, tall almost as the big bush which stood about the clearing, and beside it the pole for the Earth Mother. People went from one side of the improvised screen to the other, with no mental image to tell them where they should look or what they might expect to see. Something of fear went with their expectancy. 123 177

The Granman nodded, and the pictures began to appear.

"Mati, did you see how they lay the fire?"

"Mother of all Negroes, what great breasts the women have!"

"See them getting the cassava ready! Look, they use the bark for a container!"

"Master Nigger! They know something there in the land of our ancestors. Men know how to weave cloth!"

"See the braids. They are handsome in our ancestral land. The head looks like a carved calabash!"

"Massa Nengere! That's the way to take lumber down! Not one raft at a time, or two, mati. Four at a time. They are workmen there, I tell you! Our ancestors used to say there was wealth there!"

We had usually to tell them what the picture showed, for they had not the habit of looking at these images and would stand to one side, or bend low and look up at the screen. But once we named the picture—"This is the head of a woman," or "This is timber going down to the city," or "This is a path through the bush"—then it was they who began to describe aloud what they saw, exclaiming over the resemblance to their own paths, or to their own manner of burning pots, or to their own way of preparing food.

"Mati, friends," said the Granman, "here deep in the Saramacca bush, all this has come to us. If I were a young man, I would go and see what goes on in the world. I would go to Africa. White man, how much gold does a man need to go to Africa?" After a short silence, he continued this train of thought. "What shall be done? Shall we go see the world? 177 186

REBEL DESTINY

177 186 Here is our bush. Our gods are here, and our ancestors come at our call. There is the world—*na g'on tapu*. There is the land of our old ancestors."

He stopped and covered his face with his hands, remaining deep in thought. But when he spoke again, his voice was calm.

177 123 "Mati, let us see all that the white man has brought. Here deep in the bush, all this has come to us that even children might see. Let us see all."

On the screen appeared a priest. He wore a grass skirt used in a sacred dance, a skirt like the one we had had made for us here on the river, and his face was covered, mask-like, with white clay.

"Ai, mati," exclaimed the Granman, as everyone gasped at what they saw.

The next picture showed the same priest dancing. Two men held his arms.

"When Kromanti gets a man in the ancestral country, it comes so strong that he has to be held in check, friends. So it is here, too."

9

123 So great was the fascination of the Granman and of all his people with the phonograph that many times we had occasion to feel if it were not for Apanto's curse, and the habit of elastic to stretch, and of glue to be affected by tropical heat, the machine would have overcome for us what distrust there was of our interest in their beliefs—that it might even have changed the decision of the ancestors when they were consulted by priests in Dahomey—a decision which ruled that the white man and his woman were not to be given the secrets of their worship.

[180] Whatever the ancestors had told the men who carried on their heads the sacred plank which was used for consulting the ancestral will, the attitude of the people showed that the white man could not be received in the bush without distrust. The intentions of a white man might be friendly,

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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happened to cover a fraction of the Djuka territory, so familiar to Dr. Kahn. 114

We lived for a time at the Djuka village of Moengo Tappo, and from there visited other villages on neighbouring rivers and creeks. And there I felt again the sharp contrast between the primitive and the civilized. Through the Djukas, I saw civilization in perspective; and especially I saw that tragic phase of it which passes through prison gates.

Djuka life makes us stop to think all over again about everything. It makes us see what we have gained, as well as what we have lost.

There is, for example, no nonsense about white superiority among the Djukas. They are proud to the point of savage arrogance. Hatred and distrust of the white man are as much a part of their inheritance as is their jungle lore. As among the Negroes of Haiti, you must win your way. But when you are finally accepted, not as a superior being, but as an equal, then how warm and charming a thing their friendship is! 109 186

The Djuka farewell to us is a beautiful memory. As we passed down the river, between walls of forest where orchids were in gorgeous blossom, the Djuka villagers came down to the water's edge to say good-bye, raising their hands high and bowing low to bring down blessings upon us. 576 114

Indirectly it was these Djukas who introduced me to Dr. Kahn. At the time that we were in the Guiana forest Dr. Kahn was in another part of the same jungle, though neither of us knew of the presence or the existence of the other. Later, after our return to New York, our common interest in the 114

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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Chapter Six

FOOD IN THE JUNGLE

THE Bush Negroes investigate our equipment with great delight, and are much amused by our table manners. They gather around and comment on the food. Often they pick up an empty can discarded by Bundle, the cook, and wrinkle their noses in disgust at the smell of it. They seem to prefer their own food. 648 186

[For caption, see category 116, p. 204. - Analyst]

/31 cont./

202 be mentioned in particular the man who caused so much of a stir,
648 Broos, chief of a camp of persons in hiding behind the plantation Rac a Rac, who came back followed by many.

I must confess that I have never seen this chief and was not involved in this event in any way; the question is, however, whether this Broos and his followers came back of their own accord, or whether they returned without fear of the Whites because of the reassuring signs set up at my request.

That the Bush Negroes attached to me complied with my request by the placing of /32/ signs is not to be doubted, but what outcome resulted from it cannot be said with certainty.

Chapter XXII

Deception Practiced toward Them

114 I said a few words in Chapter XX and earlier about the
648 deceptions that the Whites practiced with regard to the Bush Negroes. I was at first diffident about communicating the unvarnished truth about this. Since, however, this is not reported by me as being generally applicable, because, as in all things, here, too, favorable exceptions exist, I therefore regard it as my duty to make my experience known.

186 The Bush Negroes, it cannot be denied, as the result
648 of the manifold deceptions that they have experienced from the Europeans and other free inhabitants of this colony, have developed an aversion toward them. They therefore oppose deception with deception, and trick with trick.

439 It has become apparent to me that many of them, when
648 they arrive with timber rafts at the plantations in order to sell the timber, after having been deceived several times, make use of all kinds of tricks in order in their turn to deceive the Europeans. I leave now to one side the question as to which of the two parties is the principal or initiating cause and has the greater responsibility in these fraudulent transactions. When a family of Bush Negroes

/33 cont./

439 When, for instance, the Bush Negro has cut down a
437 tree deep in the forest and discovers that it is almost hollow on
313 the inside, then he works it, this defect notwithstanding, into a
186 squared log, taking care to make the visible cavities above and
below invisible by hammering wooden pins into it. After that he takes clay and mud and is able to make every trace disappear, a fraud which is thus rarely discovered before a piece is sawed off the log.

Also they practice a great deal of deception by unloading on the buyer as good stuff various qualities of timber of great and little value, but which resemble each other, for instance, by selling a low quality black kabbes (1) for brown hardwood (2),

1. Andira retusa H. B. K.

2. Andira called wassila among the Arrawakken /Arawak/ Indians.

two varieties which can be distinguished only by timber experts.

/34/ If they have worked timber that on one side is already somewhat rotten, or is worm-eaten or split, then they know how to place it in such a way in their rafts that the good side lies upward, a deception that can be discovered only when it has been hauled ashore and one becomes aware of it by turning each piece around and inspecting it carefully.

186 If it is possible to steal something from the Whites,
648 they will not fail to do so. They are also guilty of lying and give themselves the names of those who still possess the confidence of the Whites, which they can do with impunity because the similarity of their coloring and facial features makes it extremely difficult for the Whites to recognize them after an absence.

[829] This repeated trickery has accordingly made the Whites declare them to be scoundrels and liars, but the Bush Negroes, although they do not do so openly, say the same of them and
577 regard themselves as much more trustworthy and honest. That they do this with some appearance of justice cannot be denied; after

/294 cont./

648 It seems that in these relations, both bring more patience and tolerance to bear than toward the people of their own group. It is excessively rare to see disputes arise between Indians and Boni, when there sometimes are some within each group.

186 The feelings which the Boni have toward the Indians are complex: they feel superior in physical strength, effectiveness, and organization; they make fun of the Indians' puerile eagerness for beads and jewelry, of the begging attitude of certain
829 ones among them. But they admire them for their cleverness, their intimate knowledge of the forest, and fear them for the supernatural powers they attribute to them. Sure of themselves, fearing nothing from the bush, never getting lost, unrivalled hunters and fishermen, the Indians appear to them to be endowed with unique faculties which other men do not possess. We have happened to hear in camp reflections such as this: "It is going to rain, the Indians are making shacks."

829 The Boni feel an intense fear of Indian magic. Not one
152 of them would dare to seriously displease an Indian, and even if he feels he has been wronged, in most cases he will not dare complain (1).

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787
829

1. In the search for the magic causes of death, it happens that divination may incriminate the action of an Indian medicine man. In such a case the legal action of the Boni is extinguished, for the principle is that the Indian medicine man does not hurt anyone without a reason. It is considered that the deceased must have gravely injured him and that he deserved his fate.

/296 cont./

648 So relations between the Europeans and Refugee Blacks have nothing in common with what one observes in Africa: one notes their faults without indulgence, but one admires them for their strong personality, their art, and their techniques, and one bears an esteem for them which is not feigned.

829 The Refugee Blacks feel neither hate nor jealousy toward Europeans. This /297/ may surprise one at first, for they have had to put up with cruel wars fought against them, which have left a precise memory with them; but the explanation is simple: the Boni have no hate because their life is happy, and they have no jealousy because they do not try to imitate the Europeans and are satisfied with their own civilization.

173 186 On this subject it will be noted that the Refugee Blacks recall the time of slavery without shame and without any inferiority complex; this is simply because they do not have the feeling of being the descendants of slaves; they feel themselves to be the descendants of warriors who imposed their independence by force of arms; the Djuka, exaggerating to themselves the scope of the successes won by their ancestors, even have a certain superiority complex. Proud of their ancestors, the Refugee Blacks do not feel in any way inferior to the white man and behave toward him as equal to equal.

648 [184] The Boni, like the Djuka and the Saramaka in Surinam, live under a de facto regime which is equivalent to internal autonomy. This regime was instituted for the Boni from their first contact with the French administration in 1861; it has always been associated with perfect loyalty.

The French administration, which until recent times did not have any permanent establishments in the interior of the country, has never tried to interfere with the interior functioning of the tribes which went on and still goes on according to their own law. The Refugee Blacks have thus been spared that hybrid jurisdiction, applying a customary law altered by European ideas,

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

tempted it would find himself deserted by his paddlers, lug- 484
gage deposited in the bush, scrupulously intact, while his 648
paddlers went along the river warning the villages against the malicious bahkra. And there he would remain, set down in the bush, unable to get more paddlers, until hunger made him humble. In the interior there is no means of transportation, no communication, except by Djukas. So on the whole the white man is largely subject to the will of his guides, over whom he has only nominal control; it behooves him to put up with their whims, and to avoid the mistake of trying to command them.

Gradually the canoes float apart, but the talking continues. 198
A thought pops into a black head and is shouted across the 484
intervening water. Questions, answers, continue though the 648
boats are now some distance away from each other. To make their words carry far over the water, the Djukas actually lower their voices, singing out the words in a sustained, resonant tone that makes a mellow sound across the waves. This long drawn-out "Ah-e-e-e" can be heard after the other corial has passed far down the river. Out of sight around a bend, we can still hear the other Bush Negroes intoning strange words.

Not being able to follow the conversation, we ask the cook, 198
Bundle, what it's about. Bundle does not know. The Djukas 191
are not using talkee-talkee now. They are using an obscure 484
tongue. When the Bush Negroes converse with outsiders 648
they employ the talkee-talkee language which white men and Paramaribo Town Negroes can understand. But they also

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

648 have a tribal language called *odo, deepee-talkee,* or *Saramaccatongo* known only among themselves; they are members of [191 198] the Saramaccaner tribe.

Before the other corial is out of earshot, the Djukas bid us good-bye with the familiar words: *"Wakka bon na watra, bahkra!" "Gran danke, matio"*—"Many thanks, my uncle," we respond, adding the *o* sound to the last word to make it carry over the waves, as they do. To them "uncle" is the most [576 604] respectful appellation that can be used, similar to our respectful use of the word "father." For them a maternal uncle is more important than a father.

For a while now the poling continues in silence. Further on we pass a lone Djuka on the bank, skilfully setting a fish trap constructed of sticks and *lianas*. Far away upstream can be heard the muffled report of a shotgun; some black hunter is bringing in game. The angry currents slap constantly against the side of the corial. We round another bend and see ahead only more rapids, where rocks make innumerable white ripples in the muddy water.

A stop is made for lunch at one of the many islands. Bundle brings out canned food and the gipsy pot. The river looks enticing and cool. The bahkra begins taking off his clothes for a swim in the water near shore. The Negroes are abashed at his nakedness, and Bundle tactfully advises him to be more modest.

136 The waters in this part of the great South American rain forest are infested with the Brazilian piranha or piraya (*Serrasalmo sp.*), a species of carnivorous fish. They are small,

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner
Saramaccaner
Boni

619 184 In general appearance and culture the Aucaners vary little from the other large tribe, the Saramaccaners.

[531] The art motifs and their treatment as displayed on the Aucaner wood carvings as a rule differ from those of the Saramaccaners. On the other hand, some of the pieces were found to be practically identical.

The Aucaner talkee-talkee also differs from that of the Saramaccaners, the former being more like the speech of the Town Negroes. The Aucaners have no deepee-talkee or odo as have the Saramaccaners, but they have a dialect known as *Koropina* where a *p* or an *m* is spoken before the vowels in a word for the purpose of confusing strangers. A similar custom is prevalent among the Negroes of Curaçao, Dutch West Indies.

[197 198 191]

[291] The dress of the Aucaners is the same as that of the Saramaccaners, excepting that they affect more often the breast-cloth, the *wassapangye*, and the head-cloth, the *mussu*.

Among the Aucaners the toga garment is called the *yembah*, while it is called a camissa by the Saramaccaners. The barrier of palm leaves is called *chifunga* by the Aucaners and *azang pau* by the Saramaccaners.

[262 606 194] The system of food taboos and general culture are the same. There is no mother-in-law taboo among either the Aucaners or the Saramaccaner tribe.

[161] 648 The Boni tribe, which consists of about 900 people, is descended from escaped slaves who crossed the Marowyne River into French Guiana and who were allowed to remain there unmolested by the French authorities. This is the only

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

Although the huts are of Africanesque architecture, similar 342
to those of the Aucaner tribe, there is, at times, more wooden board in the construction and less thatch.

During the expedition of 1928 we were informed that the 316
Bonis, particularly at the village of Apatoo, were conversant 326
with the old West African method of smelting iron and manufacturing it into implements of various kinds. This claim proved to be entirely groundless. If there is any iron ore in the neighbourhood, these tribesmen do not know where it is, and most certainly do not understand how to smelt it.

It was in Africa that the art of iron working is supposed to have originated, and the iron work of West Africa, whence the Djukas came, is a thing of beauty. But the Djukas have lost this hereditary art. Among the Bonis, the work in metal seems to be limited to the soldering of copper French coins to bracelets made of iron or copper pipe, which they procure by trade or from the machinery of long abandoned French gold exploitations. They also make brass bracelets and anklets of considerable width out of brass piping obtained from a similar source. The piping is split with the sharp blade of an axe and hammered into shape with the blunt end. We were able to obtain a stiletto with an iron blade and a handle of brass riveted to it with copper, but we are under the impression that the blade, at least, is of French or Italian manufacture.

In their general habits as regards hunting, fishing, agri- 134
culture, canoe building, social customs and structure, dress, 149
and so on, the Bonis are quite similar to the Aucaners. They speak a dialect of talkee-talkee which has distinct differences [191
from the Aucaner and the Saramaccaner in that it contains a 197]
good deal of French words.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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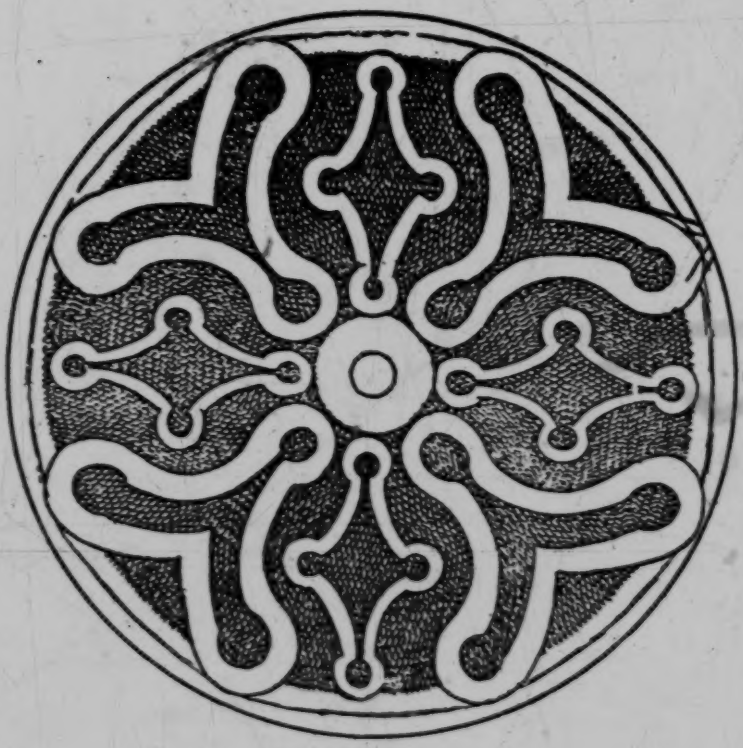

Chapter Ten

DJUKA TALK

THE Bush Negroes have two languages. The ordinary 197
tongue, phrases from which are scattered throughout 191
this book, is known as talkee-talkee. It is the common *lingua franca* of the entire colony, used not only by the Djukas, but also by some of the Indians and by the Town Negroes of

1 [For caption, see category 116, p. 204. – Analyst]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

197
191 Paramaribo. Outside the boundaries of Dutch Guiana it is unknown.

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177 Talkee-talkee is a pure-vowelled pidgin language, as picturesque as the countryside itself. Its vocabulary is drawn from many tongues, although English and Dutch words preponderate. The Dutch words are either vestiges of the slave days or infiltrations from the daily speech of the present Dutch colonists. The English words may date from the British occupation of the country, which lasted, with some brief intervals, from 1630 to 1674; or they may come from the English-speaking colony on the west, brought in by British Guiana balata bleeders. As numbers of the early colonists were Jews, originally from Brazil, Spain, or Portugal, as well as from Holland, one still encounters occasional Jewish terms, like *trafer* (taboo), among the Bush Negro speech. There are also a few French words, like *bon,* which still retains its original nasalization. They come from the convict colony toward the east. A few Spanish and Portuguese words, like *balata* and *camissa,* add to the variety of tongues. And finally we recognize a certain light sprinkling of West African dialect, such as *pekein* meaning small.

When the bahkra becomes accustomed to local idioms, the learning of talkee-talkee is not difficult, and the many familiar or half-familiar phrases are of great assistance. At first glance one might expect to find the Bush Negroes speaking a language largely Dutch, but this is not the case. It is doubtful, says one commentator, whether Dutch will ever be widespread among them, because their ancestors who came from

F 197 /9 cont./
B [191] Guiana coast which is rarely heard spoken in the interior. The Creole patois of Santa Lucia is most widespread, and it is this that the Refugee Blacks use to address Europeans.

F 175 161 [316] [314] The Creole peopling of the Maroni Basin was formerly relatively numerous and had been since an ancient era. In 1877 Crevaux already speaks of the existence in Boni country of a placer with a force of about a thousand workers. At the time of the Lawa (1887) and Inini (1902) gold rushes, as well as in the period of the exploitation of balata (1920-25), several thousand people lived on rivers now entirely deserted. A good many Creoles living nowadays by gold work have been settled there for 50 years and more. Nevertheless, the Creole population of the interior remains floating without real attachment to the country. This rises from two essential causes:

F 182 361 F [P36] —The absence of regular family life, the majority of the Creole women in the gold miners' villages being in the category of mistresses;

F [241] —The impossibility of living on agriculture in the manner of the indigenous populations because this agriculture can be conducted with a good yield only by a numerous family group. Now, few Creole women of the Maroni are willing to devote most of their time to working the land.

F 433 439 The economy of the Creoles of the interior is therefore based almost exclusively on the search for products of very high price (gold, and formerly rosewood, balata), allowing them to pay for imported food. /10/

F 316 167 Progressive exhaustion of the auriferous beds exploitable without mechanical means is gradually leading the Maroni Creoles to leave Guiana. This movement, begun about 20 years ago, continued until 1956, no form of economic life having been able to replace gold mining. In 1957 a tendency toward stabilization was observed, principally because of the recent development of cattle and sheep raising.

F 161 233

/295 cont./

648 Indians to trade with them than with the Europeans and Creoles; the Boni are a graded society in which things tend to take place according to well-defined norms. It suffices to compare the Oayana Indians, who have kept the essentials of their civilization, with the Indians of the Oyapok to be convinced that the Boni have protected the former much more than they have oppressed them.

[464] Relations with the Creoles. The Boni are in constant contact with Creole gold miners and traders, for the benefit of whom they carry out many kinds of work (boating, tree-felling, construction). Most of them speak the Creole dialect very well [191] [829] and are well informed on the Creole type of life.

On the whole, relations between the two groups are good. [829] On the Upper Maroni, it is mainly a matter of Creoles of African blood, who have come from the British West Indies, whom the Boni do not consider to be extremely different from themselves. Many have been settled there for a very long time, and individual friendships have become established; yet the two groups have not the least tendency to merge.

/296/ The Creoles have only scorn for the civilization of the Refugee Blacks, which reminds them of a detested African past. They have a feeling of superiority and do not cease exhorting the Boni to adopt their clothing and way of life.

829 The feelings that the Boni have toward the Creoles are complex; they clearly perceive that the activity of the gold miners is artificial and that isolated people are incapable of living by their own efforts in the midst of this pitiless forest. When they have become old and sick, the gold miners experience the worst distress and literally die of hunger until they are 888 evacuated to the hospice of Saint Laurent. Among the Refugee Blacks, old men are assured of a decent life in the midst of the members of their lineage, who surround them with affectionate respect.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

776 754 see the shrines to the ancestors and gods. All about were the many houses of the Granman with the elaborately carved posts figuring his emblem. Under the shade trees the widow was pounding rice. She wore old clothes, and, since she [765] would soon be out of mourning, they were almost in rags. The mourning band about her hair was also old.

The Granman's eyes must have followed ours, must have seen us study the outlines of the carving, and must have followed us to the shrines and the woman, for his voice changed, and now he repeated in a ruminating voice, "Yes, here we believe in kunu."

[192] "Ya-hai!" was the noncommittal reply from his listeners.

The Granman looked now into the faces of his trusted chiefs. He looked steadily and long, searching in the semidarkness of the house for a betraying expression, as the chiefs sat on the low stools against the farther wall, their faces averted, as was seemly.

"Well, friends, kunu has made an end of my family. Is it not so? But the clan will go on. The clan's rule is not ended. Up and down the river tell them that, friends. Kunu has brought my family to an end. With me our family rule is finished. That is right. But the clan will go on."

The customary interpolations followed each phrase. Then singly the chiefs took their leave. Rising slowly, after [576] they had received permission to depart, and with body bent, their hands touching their knees, each spoke his farewell.

In the light their ceremonially anointed bodies glistened like polished ebony. Swift and straight each made his way down the clearing and into a side path which led to the river, where the boats were fastened.

"Fine men, these," said the Granman to us after a silence. "And you, have you kunu in your country? . . . "

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776 But even after these and many more instances of kunu had come to us, and even though we had snatched a few sentences of explanation from one man and from another, the essential nature of kunu still eluded us. Was kunu, then,

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

man suing for peace, and the independence of the Djukas in 197
their forest clearings.

As odo is used whenever the Bush Negroes desire secrecy, it is often difficult for the white man to get anyone to translate it for him. That deepee-talkee varies considerably from talkee-talkee may be seen from the comparison of the following words:

	Talkee-Talkee	*Deepee-Talkee*	192 197
child	pekein	meh	
cicatrizations	cutty-cutty	cumum bah'	
chicken	fow	ganee'ah	
knife	nee'fee	fah'kah	
leaf	wee'fee	pow uh' wee	

It can be seen even from these few words that talkee-talkee is a simple, childlike speech, bearing a superficial resemblance to the baby-talk of English-speaking parents. The word for chicken, *fow*, is the English word "fowl" as any small child would be likely to pronounce it. Odo, on the other hand, is a more complicated and comprehensive language.

The English derivation of most of the following talkee- 192
talkee words is apparent:

boat: *boto*
water: *watra*
tongue: *tongo*
current: *tonga watra* (strong water)
sandy: *santi*
ground: *gron*
country: *condree*
foot: *futu*
big: *gran* (French, *grand*)

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

●192 finger: *finga*
toe: *gran finga*
ear: *yresee*
knee: *kinee*
eye: *woyo*
mouth: *buka* (Spanish, *boca*) or, *muflo, mussi*
nose: *nusee*
heart: *hatoo*
hand: *hanu*
belly: *beh*
breast: *bubbee*
hair: *oowee*
neck: *gunga*
ankle: *ago futu woyo* (the eye that keeps behind the foot)
nipple: *bubbee buka* (the mouth of the breast)
thigh: *asaqua*
buttocks: *gogo*
nails: *hunya*
teeth: *tandah* (Portuguese, *tanda*)

Other common words, some of which we have used before in phrases throughout this book, are:

canoe: *corial*
Bush Negro: *Djuka* (sometimes *Aucaner*)
wood carvings: *sanni* or *timbeh*
house: *osu* or *oso*
tobacco: *tabak*
toga: *asay sintee* or *camissa*
tapir: *bufra* (buffalo)
woman's cloth: *coyo*

The names of common Bush Negro implements are distributed about equally between odo and talkee-talkee, with a few words from the aboriginal Indian tongue:

stick or small paddle: *pow* (talkee-talkee)
paddle: *pada* (talkee-talkee)
stool: *bangki* (talkee-talkee)
bush knife: *buhfangee* (odo)
cassava squeezer: *matapee* (Indian)
fan: *wa wa'i* (Indian)

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

192

hook: *tukusi* (odo or Indian)
knee band: *sepu* (odo or Indian)
paddle for washing knee bands: *sepu pow*

In making phrases and sentences, the verbs are not conjugated at all: 193

"Anga a killa me"—"I am hungry" (Hunger is killing me).
"Me nanga me ooma wannee bahkra fu makee sweetee mufio na da meh oso"—"I and my woman want the white man to come eat (make sweet mouth) at my house."
"Bahkra go nanga leeba"—"White man goes up the river."

A few sentences of talkee-talkee follow:

Neti de cun mekki we letti fai you.	Night is coming; light us a fire.
Go sidom en fu teli me fa you nanga you matti ben waka.	Sit down, and tell me how you and your friend have travelled.
Me fredui taki you de kori you srifi.	I am afraid you are fooling yourself.
Sam you sa do nah?	What will you do now?
Wo, me sah?	Who, myself? (Who, me?)
Me no sa tan dia.	I do not want to stay here.
Me prak seri fo go na Lombe.	I think I am going to Lombe.
Suma pekein data?	Whose child is that?
You wanni screevee wan breevee fu you matti.	You want to write a letter for your friend.
You savvy talkee-talkee, massra?	Do you understand talkee-talkee, master?
Pekein so, me savvy, matti.	I understand a little, friend.
Ah go kissi fissi.	I go to catch fish.
Tamara Ah sa go honti.	Tomorrow I shall go hunting.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

177 The method of finding out who is responsible for the
[695] death of a man is found in many parts of the West Coast. The details vary considerably, but the essential idea that death is caused by witchcraft, and that some individual is guilty, is found in West Africa as well as in South America.
[764] The method of binding the corpse on a platform, covered with blankets of weeds, comes from the Gold Coast.

177 A number of Bush Negro words are African in origin.
192 *Lo,* the Djuka word for clan, designates a village in Yoruba or Ibo. The *quaqua,* the resounding plank which accompanies the drums, is possibly a Kikongo or M'pongwe word from the Ivory Coast. *Azeman,* meaning a kind of vampire, is an Ewe and Tshi word, as well as a Bush Negro term. The fetish house, the *kifunga,* is probably derived from Bacongo, Luango, Cameroons, or Togo, and the word itself is in all likelihood a Bacongo term. *Leeba,* meaning "river," is an Ewe word. *Akra,* designating a kind of ghost, is a Tshi word. *Makuku,* designating a Bush Negro fireplace made with three lumps of clay, is a Kikongo word, and the custom itself is derived from the Yoruba, Slave Coast, the lower Niger, and the Central and East Sudan region.

177 The carved wooden locks, the quintessence of Bush Negro
[322] wood carving, are found also among the Ashanti, in Dahomey, and in the Sudan. The method of poisoning fish by
[226] beating into a stream the pulp of poisonous plants is common in South America among the Indians, but it is likewise found in West Africa among the Tshi, Yoruba, Togo, Congo, and Angolo peoples. The same is true of other Djuka fishing practices, such as the custom of fishing at night by torchlight.

Boni
Emerillon SQ8
Rucuyen SR12
Carib SR9
Locono SR10

C E L R /11 cont./

101 3) The autochthonous Indians are represented on the Maroni Basin by three groups:

C —The Arawak and the Kalifia (Galibi) (about 500 persons) [13] [162] [433] [177] [178] live downstream from Saint-Laurent; they live in symbiosis with the population of the city, whom they supply with fish and manioc. A century of contact with the Creole population has produced a certain alteration in their customs and traditional way of life, but the essentials of their tribal organization remain intact.

R —The Oayana /Oyana/ or Roucouyennes /Rucuyen/ (about [131] [162] [178] 250 persons) live on the Litani upstream from the Boni with whom they are in close relationship. They have not undergone any alteration in their race or their way of life.

E —The Emerillon, who belong to the Tupi-Guarani group, [131] form a small grouping on the way to extinction.

B 114 The Refugee Blacks. —Ethnic origin. No comprehensive anthropological study has as yet been undertaken on the Refugee Blacks. Not possessing the specialized knowledge necessary for tackling this study, we have left it entirely aside. Besides, we doubt that it would give important detailed information on the ethnic origin of the Refugee Blacks. Study of archive documents concerning B 175 the slave trade would certainly give more particulars; it is certain 144 from now onwards that their origin is very diverse; the slave traders [192] took on provisions principally on the coast of West Africa, but also in the Congo and in present-day Angola; the African words figuring in the present dialects come from the populations of these various regions. So it is not surprising to meet rather variable B 141 skull forms and statures among the Refugee Blacks.

The Refugee Blacks are in general of medium stature, that of the adult men being between 1 meter 60 and 1 meter 75; the average is a little below 1 meter 70.

/33 cont./

602 Patrilineal relationships have other important incidences which we shall bring to light in speaking of Boni beliefs. From the point of view of social structure, let us note:

[182] — That patrilineal relationship has no influence upon residence or organization of material living;

[582] — That the law of exogamy which it involves has only slight influence on the freedom of choice of couples; because of the relatively large number of patrilineages.

[601] As far as the ties of patrilineal kinship are known (in general people do not go beyond their grandfather), the same kinship terms are used as in the matrilineage, with the same classificatory value.

601 613 Appellations. We have seen that within the matrilineage the kinship appellations depend only on the number of generations with respect to the foundress.

Speaking familiarly, they use for addressing:

— People of the same generation, the expression	ba So-and-so... (man) sa So-and-so (woman)
— — of one generation above, the expression	tiyu, uncle tiya, aunt
— — of two generations above, the expression	papa mama.

[192] /34/ Papa does not mean father, but ancient, honorable. Likewise, mama means aged and respectable woman.

For example, to say good day they will say, according to the case, ba So-and-so, ɔdio, or tiyu, ɔdio.

[551] In speaking to people one generation below, they say mati (comrade) or call them by their name without any other appellation, which would be considered very insolent in addressing their "brothers" or "uncles."

688 /247 cont./
689 attenuated form of wisi; in serious cases the grand man may inflict a severe punishment on the guilty ones.

789 ɔbia. The Refugee Blacks use the word ɔbia (1) to designate

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754

1. The term ɔbia is used by the Refugee Blacks when they are speaking to outsiders, to designate positive magic, but in reality this term has a very different meaning in their language. It designates any kind of magic action, negative as well as positive; likewise the term ɔbiamã has the sense of sorcerer as well as that of holder of a remedy.

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The Boni among themselves use the word deesi, remedy, instead of ɔbia. They do not use the word deesimã in place of ɔbiamã. It is said, for example, of a man who knows the rites of a cult of possession "A sabi Papa gadu sani" (he knows the things of Papa gadu).

[787]

The term gadumã designates one who is possessed of a god, and not one who knows how to bring on possession.

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In the rest of this work we shall continue, nevertheless, to use the terms ɔbia and ɔbiamã to designate positive magic, in order to facilitate collation with the English- and Dutch-language authors who have used it in this sense.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

Finally, we must

128 explain that in rendering the plural of native words, we
[193] have not employed the terminal "-s" that makes the plural in English, for in this regard we have followed the usage of Saramacca tongo.

A

104 *a*, he, she.

Abina, an important female ancestor. The name may be a modification of *Abena*, a woman's Tuesday name (see under *Afi*). In one village on the Saramacca, a dance known only there, called the *binia*, is said to have been taught by a female ancestor during the "running away time." This fact may have bearing on its origin, as it may point to an ancestor who had come from the Benin (Nigerian) kingdom. The people of Benin are known as the *Bini*.

aboma, boa constrictor.

adiosi, goodbye. From the Portuguese.

adji-boto, a game of counters. This is played in Suriname as it is in the Caribbean, and in Africa. *Adji* is a Dahomean word. In Paramaribo, among the Awka Bush Negroes, and in the Caribbean, the Ashanti name for the game, *wari*, is employed.

Afi, "day name" for a girl born on Friday. The corresponding Friday name for a boy is *Kofi*. These day names are found in bush and town in Suriname. They are met with in Jamaica and names like *Kofi* (Cuffy), *Kwaku* (Quacoo), *Kwasi* (Quashi), are known in the United States. These day names exist among the peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa, where they are definitely associated with the soul, in the same manner as they are in Suriname.

Afiica, Africa. This is the Saramacca pronunciation of the word. While known on the river, it is less used than the expression *neng'e konde*, literally, "Negro kingdom." The word *konde* is used interchangeably for kingdom and village. The word *to*, for example, in Dahomey, is used in the same way.

Afrukete, a Saramacca goddess, whose origin is Dahomean. In Dahomey her genealogy differs from the one given in Suriname. Dahomeans say she is the daughter of *Agbe* and *Naete*, gods of the sea.

agida, the great drum of the Saramacca trio of drum types. In Paramaribo, when the earth spirits are called, a spirit named *Agida* is invoked as one of the earth pantheon.

ago, ancestors. It is said in Dahomey that among the ancient inhabitants this Saramacca meaning was known.

agosu, name given a child born feet foremost. The same name is given such children in Dahomey and in Haiti.

Ahuntamasu, the god of the ant hill. A Gold Coast name.

akra, see *kra*.

ambo, an exclamation said to be a contraction of the phrase "by my mother's womb."

Amusi, name of Dahomean derivation.

Anansi, spider. *Anansi* is the trickster in the cycle of stories which bear his name. The *Anansi* stories on the Gold Coast and in the New World are like the Br'er Rabbit stories in the United States. In the New World, aside from

193 The individual words are strung together with very loose grammatical construction, varying with the idiosyncrasies of the speaker. The nouns and verbs have no regular order; instead they are twisted around for convenience and emphasis. The implied meaning is usually not difficult to grasp.

We have resorted to arbitrary spellings, as the Bush Negroes possess no written language (see Appendix A), and the phonetic transcription of their speech is a task for an expert in linguistics. A few words have conventionalized forms adopted by previous writers, such as talkee-talkee, pronounced more nearly "tahki-tahki." The names of certain villages also, have a conventional spelling because they appear in the reports of the Dutch government. Examples of these are Ganzee (Gan zay) and Lombe (Lom bay). Djuka is pronounced Djukah by the Aucaner.

197 The only difference between the Bush Negro's talkee-talkee and its use by the other natives of the colony is that the former have many words peculiar to themselves, such as the names of their gods and their implements. In addition to this common language, spoken by almost everyone in the colony, the Saramaccaners have a tribal language of their own. It is known as *deepee-talkee* (deep talk), or *odo, Saramacca tongo* or *Cromanti.*

In this language, which the Town Negroes and Indians cannot understand, is preserved a saga of the slave rebellion. It recounts the skirmishes and pitched battles, and the fate of the brave leaders who raided the plantations of the Dutch masters. It tells how they magically escaped the white man's bullets by the potency of their obeiahs. It ends with the white

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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hook: *tukusi* (odo or Indian) 192
knee band: *sepu* (odo or Indian)
paddle for washing knee bands: *sepu pow*

In making phrases and sentences, the verbs are not conjugated at all: 193

"Anga a killa me"—"I am hungry" (Hunger is killing me).
"Me nanga me ooma wannee bahkra fu makee sweetee muffo na da meh oso"—"I and my woman want the white man to come eat (make sweet mouth) at my house."
"Bahkra go nanga leeba"—"White man goes up the river."

A few sentences of talkee-talkee follow:

Neti de cun mekki we letti fai you.	Night is coming; light us a fire.
Go sidom en fu teli me fa you nanga you matti ben waka.	Sit down, and tell me how you and your friend have travelled.
Me fredui taki you de kori you srifi.	I am afraid you are fooling yourself.
Sam you sa do nah?	What will you do now?
Wo, me sah?	Who, myself? (Who, me?)
Me no sa tan dia.	I do not want to stay here.
Me prak seri fo go na Lombe.	I think I am going to Lombe.
Suma pekein data?	Whose child is that?
You wanni screevee wan breevee fu you matti.	You want to write a letter for your friend.
You savvy talkee-talkee, massra?	Do you understand talkee-talkee, master?
Pekein so, me savvy, matti.	I understand a little, friend.
Ah go kisti fisti.	I go to catch fish.
Tamara Ah sa go honti.	Tomorrow I shall go hunting.

/275 cont./

539 going to hit thee." She stayed immobile without answering. He puts the pail down on the ground, he hits her gbo! Kyin kyin! (1), his hand stays stuck fast. He says: "Art thou going

[193]

1. Interjection reinforcing the meaning of a verb expressing that something has become fastened or immobilized.

to let me go, I don't want thee (here)." He struck her with the other hand, gbo! Kyin kyin! The other hand stayed stuck. He said: "I am going to give thee a poke with my knee!" He gave her a poke with his knee, kyin kyin! The knee stayed stuck fast. He hit her with the other knee, it stayed stuck too. Thus the rabbit remained immobilized, feet in the air, until the next morning. Anansi came, he said: "Rabbit, we meet again! Ever since somebody made cack in the pond, it was thou. We meet again!"

Anansi went to the king; he said: "Grand man, I have found the one who was dirtying the water, it is the rabbit! It is he who was making cack in the water. What shall I do with him? The king said: "Anansi, do as thou wish, for that water, all the people of this country use it."

Anansi said: "Very well." He lighted a fire, he made the pitch melt which was holding the rabbit, he put the rabbit in a bag, zou! He tied the bag, kwa! Next he went and got a long iron rod; he said to the rabbit: "Dost thou see this rod? Well, I am going to heat it red hot and plunge it into thine anus up to the very end. Thou wilt not dirty the king's water any more."

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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Chapter XI

THE COUNCIL OF THE ELDERS

I

GRANMAN Yankuso's day began before the break of dawn. When the day was at its coolest men's hearts were cool, people said here on the river, and when hearts were cool they could be trusted with weighty matters. But long before men came to stand outside the Granman's house advising with him as he lay in his hammock, the women arrived to report in low monotones the happenings of the previous day, and to take orders for the one to follow.

Lying in our hammocks in the council house, separated from the speakers by the wall of palings and perhaps five feet of clearing, we could hear voices outside from a little after three in the morning, until with the coming day the soft footfalls died down and gave way to the sound of stamping mortars and the cries of children recalling their mothers from early tasks.

What was being said outside we could not hear, but as the days wore on we learned to recognize the voices of the speakers. We learned to know from the rapid, contradicting flow of words which followed upon one of the Granman's orders, that it was his principal wife who spoke, or from the halting, crooning phrases, the voice of his eldest daughter, who had mastered her father's gentlest intonations and now of a morning brought them forth as though she were speaking her lesson. We learned to know as well the range and intensity of the subdued grunts with which

194 the Granman punctuated the pauses of the men, though not often their meaning.

623 But whatever the reports of the women, and the commands given by the Granman, the word for white man interspersed all of the morning's recitals, and the questions of the Granman and the answers often came fast.

Of the men, the Granman asked little. They came up in pairs usually, and now one, now the other took up the report. Clan names were spoken, and occasionally a village name was mentioned, but on the morning preceding the council of the chiefs, only one village was discussed, and one clan. The name of the village was the forbidden one where we had stopped for the night against the Granman's orders, and the clan was that of one group of our paddlers.

2

574 Early on the morning after our arrival at Asindopo Lantiwe, our paddlers came to see us in the council house. The Granman was busy outside his own house with the chiefs who had gathered for the council meeting, and these men who, like ourselves, were strangers here, came as comrades of an adventurous journey to visit with us and talk over the impressiveness of our reception and the allure of the women of the Granman's village, who were famous everywhere on the river. It was a village where chastity among the girls was closely watched, and where its women were given in marriage to the most influential men on the river.

[831]
[582]

302
291 The men were gotten up splendidly. Their bodies glistened with oil, their cloths were made of the long strips, pieced together by their women, and of patterns which the sun's rays had had no chance to pale. Sedefo's was particularly fine, we thought, but he assured us that it did not compare with the one the river had claimed. His cloth was also made of strips, but the stitching which connected them was a lacy weave, worked in triangles, and made to resemble the vertebrae of a snake. The border was of triangular

GLOSSARY AND LINGUISTIC NOTES

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For the correspondences between the languages of the Suriname Negroes and of West Africa, we have relied on various dictionaries and grammars of West African languages, and on our own findings made during our field work on the West African coast. In writing the words of Suriname and West African languages in both the glossary and the body of this book, the vowels have the "continental" values, not those given in English. It is to be noted that diacritical marks which would be necessary to indicate the strong nasalization that characterizes Bush Negro speech have been omitted from both text and glossary, in order to simplify the writing of native terms. Finally, we must

 [p. 344 is blank]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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Equatorial Africa were accustomed to the use of many broad, 198
open vowels, and "no faucal gutturals or abruptly collocated 197
consonants" (H. H. Johnson). Talkee-talkee is fluent and
euphonious, with many haunting phrases and graceful in- [194]
volutions. The phrase that designates the spider stories, *anansi-tories*, is markedly musical; *balata bleeding*, with its succession of broad vowels, is a memorable term.

The early rebels came from many different tribes, and were thrown into contact with alien races. Some common language was a necessity; talkee-talkee is the result. But despite the importation of many foreign words, the dominating characteristic of talkee-talkee is the pure intonation of the West African tongues.

The musical effect is enhanced by the use of distinct tones, 194
and words or phrases are often sung in a sustained pitch, in a manner made familiar to Western ears by the Chinese language. The phrase that occurs on page 45, *So matti, fie you tang*, is intoned with a rising inflection, prolonged on the last word. Sharp inflections of single words are also common, such as the word for the palate, *tu-tu*. But the musical nature of talkee-talkee is most evident when the Bush Negroes are communicating across the water. We have already described how they talk from one canoe to another, across great distances, by lowering their voices and drawing out the tones resonantly. There is still ringing in our ears the long drawn-out *Ah-e-e-e* of the boatmen, sounding across the yellow waters of the Surinam.

The individual words are strung together with very loose

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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609 given to the white woman when she returned from up river,
304 yet with it all the thighs would still need to be cicatrized.

"Then," she said, speaking of the cicatrized thighs, "then he simply won't think of any one else, because among you, you will be the only one. We who all have the kamemba must see that it looks well, but you will be the only one."

3

123 The boys remained with us, amusing themselves by
609 giving us their words for the various objects about us.

The strings about their waists, which formed their only
[361] clothing, the fiber cord with the bell about Sabape's neck,
304 the word for garter, and machete, and shoes, boxes, and water jar, and all else they could see were named. A flashlight was a diamond fire, and a collapsible chair a hammock chair, and if we showed them something they had never seen it was a *Bakra sani*—a white man's thing.

Sabape spoke little, for he was a timid child and looked sluggish. He had but few cuts on his body, while Yamati, who was about the same age, had already several fully outlined designs.

"Why have you nothing about your neck, Yamati?"

"Oh, but I have. I have cuts. You can either have an obia cut, or an *obia tetai*—a string. It is to make us live. All children have it."

"And when do they start making kamemba?"

"A long time ago they start. If it doesn't hurt too much, they cut one more, and soon one more. But if it hurts too much, they wait until . . . ," he said, finishing on the
• [195] word *te* . . . in the characteristic way of the grown narrator who uses the monosyllable to intensify space and time and danger and bounty.

123 Yamati found so much delight in his rôle as teacher that
609 he became stern with us and had us say the words over again and again. There was the word for firefly which pleased him not at all. "*Mi taki, mi taki-e, azoka-nyenye*—I say, I am saying . . . " ("if you would but listen," his voice

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

534 nose instead of the mouth. The only other accompaniments of the dance are the anklets and bracelets of Kahee-seed rattles, in which the dried nuts add a sensuous, whispering sound to the lithe movements of the limbs.

195 There are three expressions used among Djukas which are equivalent to swearing among ourselves. These are: *Tinkee muffo,* stink mouth, which is the worst possible insult; and two other insulting terms of lesser degree, *T'jobo teefee,* dirty teeth, and *sika futu,* jigger foot.

/22 cont./

123 As a White one must enjoy great confidence among them if one wants to obtain permission to witness such solemnities. Never shall I forget the spectacle when I was present at such a festival; it took place from seven o'clock in the evening until two o'clock in the morning. During all this time I found myself in a very unpleasant state of tension. Although I found myself far from the part inhabited by us (namely the town of Paramaribo) in the deep forest alone in their midst, I was nevertheless not afraid because of my positive conviction of my influence over them. I was not at ease that night, however, and were it not for the fact that I did not want to hinder them or show them that I did not feel at ease at this solemnity, I would have departed, however eager I was to see the result of the movements. I remained, however, until all had come to an end, both for the distinction that fell to me for /23/ having been allowed to be present there and in order not to offend the trust put in me, while to myself I rejoiced at being able later to give to others the description of this solemnity.

Chapter XIV

Language, Odo, and Narratives (1)

538 1. Odo, proverb; narratives are called fori, and tales anansi-tori.

197 Their language is the Negro English customarily spoken here, but in a singsong tone with a peculiar accent.

195 As proof that during the conversation they understand you well, they constantly repeat "Yaa!"

551 When a child is born among them, aside from a general name they also give it a day name, in which for them special meanings are concealed, for instance:

/208/

153 In proportion as the pupil perfects himself, the god ex-
791 presses itself more easily with the help of his body, begins to
787 do coordinated acts and to speak. They say that the gita has
[195] been "arranged" (seeka). The Kumēnti speak with a gruff, jerky voice, characteristic, which humorists love to imitate in the evenings' recitals.

In order to call on his gita voluntarily, the pupil crouches down, feet together, throwing pamba from right to left at the level of his feet and uttering the formula: "O Kumēnti, djumpo ku a mi." Then he remains immobile in this position and waits; possession takes place generally at the end of a few minutes.

776 The Kumēnti which enter thus into men are exclusively
787 male gods; it is known that they have wives because they talk about them, but they never manifest themselves.

[812] The Kumēnti are generally benevolent; still, no more than any divinity of the Refugee Blacks, do they represent a principle of goodness and justice in itself. They watch in a partial fashion over the interests of their bearers. Thus it is that A..., of the Dipélu II lo, has a Kumēnti which reacts in a violent way when it has the impression that danger threatens
[158] its bearer. It enters into him suddenly, takes a machete and storms through the village, while people prudently barricade themselves in their houses.

787 In certain circumstances, when their trances are particu-
789 larly intense, the people possessed by Kumēnti are capable, it is said, of walking in fire, dancing on broken glass, climbing thorny awara palm trees, and even having themselves struck with blows of a machete without any wound resulting from it. Professor de Goeje gives impressive personal testimony on this subject, such as the case of a possessed man who overturned a pail of boiling water on his body (1). Mr. Mathieu, Director of

1. In a note in Mr. W.F. van Lier's work, § 37.

609 scratched like a "*tigri*"—a tiger, for this is how the Bush
123 Negroes name the jaguar. Later, when we saw him dance
115 the Tigri Kromanti dance, we witnessed one of the most realistic feline interpretations imaginable. But that is another matter.

Now Apanto was an obia man to be reckoned with, and his fellow villagers and the villagers of neighboring settlements treated him with a deference that his age alone could never have commanded. And it was this Apanto who now came up and said that he would sing the sacred Kromanti songs for our phonograph.

"You will not understand the songs. They will be in the Kromanti language," he warned us. "They are strong, and the machine must be strong to carry them."

It happens that a field phonograph is anything but strong. The mechanism is simple, since the instrument must be light enough to be carried about, and yet it often is subjected to all manner of hard usage. To this is added the
[126] hazard of the climate. The turntable is actuated by a belt running from the mechanism inside the case, and the ends of this belt are glued together. This, to be sure, we discovered later. At the moment, we met Apanto's challenge with assurance. We did not doubt that the machine was spiritually strong.

126 What he said about the Kromanti language was true.
533 The Kromanti tongo, of which we had been told during our
[197] first visit here, we were finding to be an actuality, and
539 although we took down the words as he sang them, aided in hearing them by the repetitions, their meaning was unknown to us. Some of them we learned later. Some of them we knew. "Obia" we knew concerned the spirit,
[176] the vague force known by that name, while "Amba" was
[551] a deity sacred to Saturday, and was given as a "day name" to women born on that day of the week. This, then, is what he sang:

"*Ma djeni ye-ye*
Obia kule ma djeni no-ho
Obia mo-ye

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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us when we asked him. At one landing place where we 183
stopped for a moment, we could hear the drums sounding 609
the rhythm to the river gods, but the drumming stopped abruptly as word went back along the path that white people had come. Men streaked with pemba came down to the river to look at the Bakra who had visited the village of their Granman.

In the boat, we missed Bayo. The grandson of the Gran- 644
man, who was our bow paddler, we had met but casually 123
before we had started. There had been none of the chances 609
for conversation that had made of Bayo a friend before he and his great-grandfather came to take us to the country of the Granman. Later we would come to know this youth for a pleasant young man, capable and quiet, who was proud to show his ability, and quick to resent the suggestions of our town man in such matters as making a shelter for the night.

"We are children of the bush!" the young man exclaimed sharply. "We know how to make this." And such a good shelter did the paddlers build that men of a near-by village, who passed, stopped and asked that it not be torn down the [485] next morning, as had to be done with shelters erected for the night on the land of a strange clan, but that we should let it stand so that others might use it.

When we asked him questions, however, or made observa- [157] tions on people who passed by in their canoes, he gave us noncommittal replies. Mataibo, the captain of our boat, was even more reserved, though he liked to twit our town man, and in an unofficial capacity would have been amusing. Conversation between the two paddlers, or between them and the two young men who were entrusted with our other boat, was in the clipped, rapid "deep-Saramacca" [197] speech which, in spite of our use of it in conversation at the Granman's village, we still found it difficult to follow when Bush Negroes spoke informally to one another.

As the day wore on, we began to get used to the rapidity 484
with which village after village was passed. Here was the landing place of the one where we had stopped so that

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 [p. 344 is blank]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner
Saramaccaner
Boni

619 184 In general appearance and culture the Aucaners vary little from the other large tribe, the Saramaccaners.

[531] The art motifs and their treatment as displayed on the Aucaner wood carvings as a rule differ from those of the Saramaccaners. On the other hand, some of the pieces were found to be practically identical.

The Aucaner talkee-talkee also differs from that of the Saramaccaners, the former being more like the speech of the [197 198 191] Town Negroes. The Aucaners have no deepee-talkee or odo as have the Saramaccaners, but they have a dialect known as *Koropina* where a *p* or an *m* is spoken before the vowels in a word for the purpose of confusing strangers. A similar custom is prevalent among the Negroes of Curaçao, Dutch West Indies.

[291] The dress of the Aucaners is the same as that of the Saramaccaners, excepting that they affect more often the breast-cloth, the *wassapangye,* and the head-cloth, the *mussu.*

Among the Aucaners the toga garment is called the *yembah,* while it is called a camissa by the Saramaccaners. The barrier of palm leaves is called *chifunga* by the Aucaners and *azang pau* by the Saramaccaners.

[262 606 194] The system of food taboos and general culture are the same. There is no mother-in-law taboo among either the Aucaners or the Saramaccaner tribe.

[161] 648 The Boni tribe, which consists of about 900 people, is descended from escaped slaves who crossed the Marowyne River into French Guiana and who were allowed to remain there unmolested by the French authorities. This is the only

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

Although the huts are of Africanesque architecture, similar 342
to those of the Aucaner tribe, there is, at times, more wooden board in the construction and less thatch.

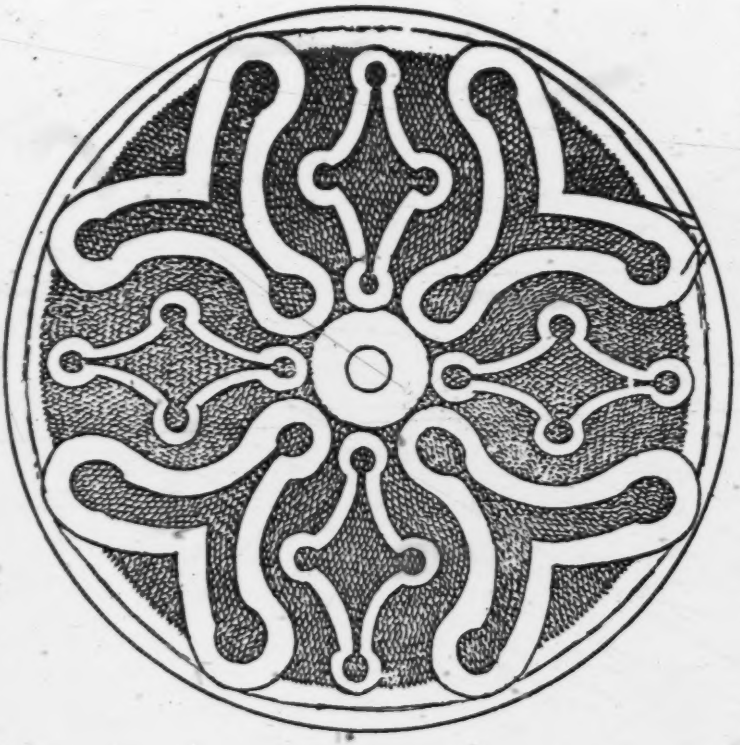
During the expedition of 1928 we were informed that the 316
Bonis, particularly at the village of Apatoo, were conversant 326
with the old West African method of smelting iron and manufacturing it into implements of various kinds. This claim proved to be entirely groundless. If there is any iron ore in the neighbourhood, these tribesmen do not know where it is, and most certainly do not understand how to smelt it.

It was in Africa that the art of iron working is supposed to have originated, and the iron work of West Africa, whence the Djukas came, is a thing of beauty. But the Djukas have lost this hereditary art. Among the Bonis, the work in metal seems to be limited to the soldering of copper French coins to bracelets made of iron or copper pipe, which they procure by trade or from the machinery of long abandoned French gold exploitations. They also make brass bracelets and anklets of considerable width out of brass piping obtained from a similar source. The piping is split with the sharp blade of an axe and hammered into shape with the blunt end. We were able to obtain a stiletto with an iron blade and a handle of brass riveted to it with copper, but we are under the impression that the blade, at least, is of French or Italian manufacture.

In their general habits as regards hunting, fishing, agri- 184
culture, canoe building, social customs and structure, dress, 619
and so on, the Bonis are quite similar to the Aucaners. They speak a dialect of talkee-talkee which has distinct differences [191
from the Aucaner and the Saramaccaner in that it contains a 192]
good deal of French patois.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

1
[415
532]



Chapter Ten

DJÚKA TALK

THE Bush Negroes have two languages. The ordinary 197 ●
tongue, phrases from which are scattered throughout 191
this book, is known as talkee-talkee. It is the common *lingua franca* of the entire colony, used not only by the Djukas, but also by some of the Indians and by the Town Negroes of

1 [For caption, see category 116, p. 204. – Analyst]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

197 Paramaribo. Outside the boundaries of Dutch Guiana it is unknown.

198 Talkee-talkee is a pure-vowelled pidgin language, as pic-
177 turesque as the countryside itself. Its vocabulary is drawn from many tongues, although English and Dutch words preponderate. The Dutch words are either vestiges of the slave days or infiltrations from the daily speech of the present Dutch colonists. The English words may date from the British occupation of the country, which lasted, with some brief intervals, from 1630 to 1674; or they may come from the English-speaking colony on the west, brought in by British Guiana balata bleeders. As numbers of the early colonists were Jews, originally from Brazil, Spain, or Portugal, as well as from Holland, one still encounters occasional Jewish terms, like *trafer* (taboo), among the Bush Negro speech. There are also a few French words, like *bon,* which still retains its original nasalization. They come from the convict colony toward the east. A few Spanish and Portuguese words, like *balata* and *camissa,* add to the variety of tongues. And finally we recognize a certain light sprinkling of West African dialect, such as *pekein* meaning small.

When the bahkra becomes accustomed to local idioms, the learning of talkee-talkee is not difficult, and the many familiar or half-familiar phrases are of great assistance. At first glance one might expect to find the Bush Negroes speaking a language largely Dutch, but this is not the case. It is doubtful, says one commentator, whether Dutch will ever be widespread among them, because their ancestors who came from

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Equatorial Africa were accustomed to the use of many broad, 198
open vowels, and "no faucal gutturals or abruptly collocated 197
consonants" (H. H. Johnson). Talkee-talkee is fluent and
euphonious, with many haunting phrases and graceful in- [194]
volutions. The phrase that designates the spider stories, *anansi-tories,* is markedly musical; *balata bleeding,* with its succession of broad vowels, is a memorable term.

The early rebels came from many different tribes, and were thrown into contact with alien races. Some common language was a necessity; talkee-talkee is the result. But despite the importation of many foreign words, the dominating characteristic of talkee-talkee is the pure intonation of the West African tongues.

The musical effect is enhanced by the use of distinct tones, 194
and words or phrases are often sung in a sustained pitch, in a manner made familiar to Western ears by the Chinese language. The phrase that occurs on page 45, *So matti, fie you tang,* is intoned with a rising inflection, prolonged on the last word. Sharp inflections of single words are also common, such as the word for the palate, *tu-tu.* But the musical nature of talkee-talkee is most evident when the Bush Negroes are communicating across the water. We have already described how they talk from one canoe to another, across great distances, by lowering their voices and drawing out the tones resonantly. There is still ringing in our ears the long drawn-out *Ah-e-e-e* of the boatmen, sounding across the yellow waters of the Surinam.

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193 The individual words are strung together with very loose grammatical construction, varying with the idiosyncrasies of the speaker. The nouns and verbs have no regular order; instead they are twisted around for convenience and emphasis. The implied meaning is usually not difficult to grasp.

We have resorted to arbitrary spellings, as the Bush Negroes possess no written language (see Appendix A), and the phonetic transcription of their speech is a task for an expert in linguistics. A few words have conventionalized forms adopted by previous writers, such as talkee-talkee, pronounced more nearly "tahki-tahki." The names of certain villages also, have a conventional spelling because they appear in the reports of the Dutch government. Examples of these are Gansee (Gan zay) and Lombe (Lom bay). Djuka is pronounced Djukah by the Aucaner.

● 197 The only difference between the Bush Negro's talkee-talkee and its use by the other natives of the colony is that the former have many words peculiar to themselves, such as the names of their gods and their implements. In addition to this common language, spoken by almost everyone in the colony, the Saramaccaners have a tribal language of their own. It is known as *deepee-talkee* (deep talk), or *odo, Saramacca tongo* or *Cromanti.*

In this language, which the Town Negroes and Indians cannot understand, is preserved a saga of the slave rebellion. It recounts the skirmishes and pitched battles, and the fate of the brave leaders who raided the plantations of the Dutch masters. It tells how they magically escaped the white man's bullets by the potency of their obeiahs. It ends with the white

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

man suing for peace, and the independence of the Djukas in 197
their forest clearings.

As odo is used whenever the Bush Negroes desire secrecy, it is often difficult for the white man to get anyone to translate it for him. That deepee-talkee varies considerably from talkee-talkee may be seen from the comparison of the following words:

	Talkee-Talkee	*Deepee-Talkee*	192 197
child	pekein	meh	
cicatrizations	cutty-cutty	cumum bah'	
chicken	fow	ganee'ah	
knife	nee'fee	fah'kah	
leaf	wee'fee	pow uh' wee	

It can be seen even from these few words that talkee-talkee is a simple, childlike speech, bearing a superficial resemblance to the baby-talk of English-speaking parents. The word for chicken, *fow*, is the English word "fowl" as any small child would be likely to pronounce it. Odo, on the other hand, is a more complicated and comprehensive language.

The English derivation of most of the following talkee- 192
talkee words is apparent:

boat: *boto*
water: *watra*
tongue: *tongo*
current: *tonga watra* (strong water)
sandy: *santi*
ground: *gron*
country: *condree*
foot: *futu*
big: *gran* (French, *grand*)

/22 cont./

123 As a White one must enjoy great confidence among them if one wants to obtain permission to witness such solemnities. Never shall I forget the spectacle when I was present at such a festival; it took place from seven o'clock in the evening until two o'clock in the morning. During all this time I found myself in a very unpleasant state of tension. Although I found myself far from the part inhabited by us (namely the town of Paramaribo) in the deep forest alone in their midst, I was nevertheless not afraid because of my positive conviction of my influence over them. I was not at ease that night, however, and were it not for the fact that I did not want to hinder them or show them that I did not feel at ease at this solemnity, I would have departed, however eager I was to see the result of the movements. I remained, however, until all had come to an end, both for the distinction that fell to me for /23/ having been allowed to be present there and in order not to offend the trust put in me, while to myself I rejoiced at being able later to give to others the description of this solemnity.

Chapter XIV

Language, Odo, and Narratives (1)

538 1. Odo, proverb; narratives are called fori, and tales anansi-tori.

197 Their language is the Negro English customarily spoken here, but in a singsong tone with a peculiar accent.

195 As proof that during the conversation they understand you well, they constantly repeat "Yaa!"

551 When a child is born among them, aside from a general name they also give it a day name, in which for them special meanings are concealed, for instance:

131

PHONETIC NOTATIONS AND TRANSCRIPTIONS IN FRENCH OF NAMES OF PLACES AND PERSONS

197 The Boni language, made up from deformed English words, presents few phonetic difficulties.

104 Notations. We have made use of the simplified international alphabet of the International African Institute of London (Westerman and Ward).

Vowels:

a forward a (French a of "natte").
a: long a, pronounced very far back, analogous to the one in English "half."
ã nasalized a, French an of "banc."
e French é of "périr."
ɛ French è of "grève."
ə nasalized e (In the Boni language there does not seem to be any central oral vowel).
ɛ̃ nasalized è, French in of "pince."
i long i, as in "île."
ɔ open o, like the one of "port."
o closed o, as in "obus."
ɔ̃ nasalized o, on of the French "bon."
u French ou of "poule."
ũ nasalized ou.

Consonants:

b, d, f, g, k, l, m, n, p, t, z are used with their ordinary value in French.
h, w, with their ordinary value in English.

F 233 433 /10 cont./

Since about ten years ago Creole exploiters without any outside aid have built up a herd of several hundred head, principally with an eye to the provisioning of the mining center of Benzdorp. F [508] The existence of an airodrome and regular air connections permits envisaging the export of meat to the coast. The success of animal F 233 raising in the Upper Maroni seems to be attributable to a rainfall [132] lower in total amount than on the coastal strip but better distributed, as well as to the nature of the soil. It is principally on the floodable [311] alluvial strip bordering the river to a width of 500 to 600 meters that cattle find the most favorable conditions, taking refuge on the neighboring hills during the three weeks of annual inundation.

F Winning pastures from the forest and defending them against [461] the encroachment of the bush represents continual work, but it [464] can be carried out on the Maroni far better than on the coast, thanks to the man power of the Refugee Blacks.

F One cannot yet come to a conclusion on the profitableness [433] of this animal raising. Like many other enterprises in Guiana it [435] is handicapped by its too high cost price which prevents effective competition with imported products.

B 101 2) The populations of the Maroni, descending from rebel slaves of the 18th century, who are often called Refugee Blacks, are divided into three tribes: the Djuka, the Paramaka, and the B Boni, whose customs are practically identical and whose dialects 197 are very close. These dialects are variations of Taki-taki, vehicular language derived mainly from English, whose use was widespread in the time of slavery and which has become the national language of Surinam.

B The Paramaka, 700 to 800 in number, occupy the lower part 162 of the course of the Maroni from the first waterfall (Hermina) 131 to the junction with Béiman Creek. They are not navigators but B farmers and foresters, who furnish highly prized man power for 433 464 the enterprises of the Saint-Laurent region.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

but he did face about, and forgetting his seketi began to pole in earnest. 502 484

In a few moments his body glistened with the exertion, and over the circle and snake of kamemba in the small of his back the perspiration ran down in a trickle. When he had almost caught up he slackened his speed, and he and Bibifo talked about the river. Old Bibifo knew the river well. He was born beyond the Granman's country. A snake swam across the path of the boat, Bayo said. It was good luck. "See, look," he called. His eyes were sharp. The old man saw it, too, and then he called to us. There, close to the shore, a little ahead of us, a constrictor twined its tail about a liana, hanging head down, with a salamander slowly disappearing into its mouth. There was a slight jerk, the liana shook, the snake swallowed, and another bit of the salamander was out of sight. 484 [825] [777] [136]

Farther ahead we heard the report of a gun, and the crying of the mate of the wounded bird followed us for a long while. Bayo and Bibifo identified each cry, called by name the things that grew, planned about their timber rafts when they got back, until the next rapids were reached and passed and the conversation could be resumed, and then they talked about things which they did not care to have the Bakra know, and though they spoke none of the words of their ritual language, we could not understand anything they said. It was not until later that we learned to work out some of the elisions in their speech. [198]

A strip of sandy beach showed where a village stood, and as we passed it, we could see the azang, the spiritual guard of palm fronds, preventing evil spirits from entering the village. We saw also a strip of white hanging from the end of a stick which had been put up for the ancestors, and beyond, the low shelter for the roughly carved and weathered image holding an obia pot on its head. Under the azang the path stretched like a narrow ribbon which was soon lost as the walls of green converged. 778 789

"Is that another village?" we said, pointing at a pale stretch across the river. 361

"OBIA COMES!"

"Put them on. See the moon? You will catch fresh colds if you sit in the moonlight with your heads uncovered." 796 [881]

So with sun helmets on our heads we sat, and, as we listened to the new rhythms of the drums, there came a shriek from the river which brought us to our feet. Those who were not dancing ran up the hill away from the drums. 781 796 796 787

"Obia! Obia comes! It is the Kromanti!" were the cries, and our cook and our town man placed themselves in line across the front of our hut, watching uneasily.

"They will destroy all you have if they get inside," they called to us, "we must try to keep them out."

Up from the river, along the path he had trodden but a while before, came a man whom we could not recognize in the disguise given him by the paint on his face. Half his face was white, half a deep red, and we later learned what we did not then know, that this was the face marking of the Djadja Kromanti and that this man was possessed by one of the two Kromanti spirits which carry danger to those who are present when the seizure comes. He advanced toward the drums, machete in hand, as though he were stalking his prey, his legs raised high at every step, trailing some enemy. At his mouth the foam was gathering, and the words he uttered were in the Kromanti tongo, the sacred speech not understood by the uninitiated. [198]

The songs changed in character, and the singers were men. The women who had not run away were dancing a quick accompaniment to the drum beats, adding their shrill voices to the singing and the intensity of the cries of the possessed man. When the possessed man reached the hut, he stopped in front of the drummers. As their rhythms poured out of the barrel-like drums, he answered stroke for stroke with shouted cries in his sacred secret language, raising his machete higher and higher, until, with a quick stroke, he slashed at two of the players who were seated side by side on a log. He missed them by what seemed a hair's breadth as his machete, whistling through the narrow space between their bodies, sank deep into the log on which they sat.

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

tempted it would find himself deserted by his paddlers, lug- 484
gage deposited in the bush, scrupulously intact, while his 648
paddlers went along the river warning the villages against the malicious bahkra. And there he would remain, set down in the bush, unable to get more paddlers, until hunger made him humble. In the interior there is no means of transportation, no communication, except by Djukas. So on the whole the white man is largely subject to the will of his guides, over whom he has only nominal control; it behooves him to put up with their whims, and to avoid the mistake of trying to command them.

Gradually the canoes float apart, but the talking continues. 198
A thought pops into a black head and is shouted across the 484
intervening water. Questions, answers, continue though the 648
boats are now some distance away from each other. To make their words carry far over the water, the Djukas actually lower their voices, singing out the words in a sustained, resonant tone that makes a mellow sound across the waves. This long drawn-out "Ah-e-e-e" can be heard after the other corial has passed far down the river. Out of sight around a bend, we can still hear the other Bush Negroes intoning strange words.

Not being able to follow the conversation, we ask the cook, 198
Bundle, what it's about. Bundle does not know. The Djukas 191
are not using talkee-talkee now. They are using an obscure 484
tongue. When the Bush Negroes converse with outsiders 648
they employ the talkee-talkee language which white men and Paramaribo Town Negroes can understand. But they also

648 have a tribal language called *odo, deepee-talkee,* or *Saramacca-*
[191 *tongo* known only among themselves; they are members of
198] the Saramaccaner tribe.

Before the other corial is out of earshot, the Djukas bid us good-bye with the familiar words: *"Wakka bon na watra, bahkra!" "Gran danke, matio"*—"Many thanks, my uncle," we respond, adding the *o* sound to the last word to make it carry over the waves, as they do. To them "uncle" is the most
[576 respectful appellation that can be used, similar to our respect-
604] ful use of the word "father." For them a maternal uncle is more important than a father.

For a while now the poling continues in silence. Further on we pass a lone Djuka on the bank, skilfully setting a fish trap constructed of sticks and *lianas.* Far away upstream can be heard the muffled report of a shotgun; some black hunter is bringing in game. The angry currents slap constantly against the side of the corial. We round another bend and see ahead only more rapids, where rocks make innumerable white ripples in the muddy water.

A stop is made for lunch at one of the many islands. Bundle brings out canned food and the gipsy pot. The river looks enticing and cool. The bahkra begins taking off his clothes for a swim in the water near shore. The Negroes are abashed at his nakedness, and Bundle tactfully advises him to be more modest.

136 The waters in this part of the great South American rain forest are infested with the Brazilian piranha or piraya (*Serrasalmo sp.*), a species of carnivorous fish. They are small,

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner
Saramaccaner
Boni

619 184 In general appearance and culture the Aucaners vary little from the other large tribe, the Saramaccaners.

[531] The art motifs and their treatment as displayed on the Aucaner wood carvings as a rule differ from those of the Saramaccaners. On the other hand, some of the pieces were found to be practically identical.

The Aucaner talkee-talkee also differs from that of the Saramaccaners, the former being more like the speech of the Town Negroes. The Aucaners have no deepee-talkee or odo as have the Saramaccaners, but they have a dialect known as *Koropina* where a *p* or an *m* is spoken before the vowels in a word for the purpose of confusing strangers. A similar custom is prevalent among the Negroes of Curaçao, Dutch West Indies.

[197 198 191]

[291] The dress of the Aucaners is the same as that of the Saramaccaners, excepting that they affect more often the breast-cloth, the *wassapangye,* and the head-cloth, the *mussu.*

Among the Aucaners the toga garment is called the *yembah,* while it is called a camissa by the Saramaccaners. The barrier of palm leaves is called *chifunga* by the Aucaners and *azang pau* by the Saramaccaners.

[262 606 184] The system of food taboos and general culture are the same. There is no mother-in-law taboo among either the Aucaners or the Saramaccaner tribe.

[161] 648 The Boni tribe, which consists of about 900 people, is descended from escaped slaves who crossed the Marowyne River into French Guiana and who were allowed to remain there unmolested by the French authorities. This is the only

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SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

197
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198
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The individual words are strung together with very loose

/68 cont./

561 The class of the young people, yuŋku sama, has definite
• 198 activities; "style," that is to say, elegance, dancing, singing; it has a special language made up from taki-taki by inversion or addition of syllables. When the language begins to be known outside the group of young people, it is abandoned and another is invented. These past years the language in vogue was akɔɔpina, of Djuka origin; it had given rise to a whole folklore of songs.

561 Two other age classes appear to be rather clearly differentiated: that of the elders /69/ - gaã sama - (older than some 50 years), whose voices are preponderant in the councils, and that of the old men - gaãndi sama - (older than 65 to 70 years).

[888] It is conceded by all that only the elders possess wisdom and knowledge, and in principle, in a discussion, the opinion of the eldest of them has the force of law.

575 Neither does one perceive among the Refugee Blacks any customary societies playing a role comparable to the men's society
571 in the Sudan for example. In a general way their social life, very individualistic in spite of appearances, knows no other organization than the one resulting from kinship ties.

767 Nevertheless, the organization of the men within each village with an eye to the mourning ceremonies can be regarded as a rough approximation to customary societies:

--Kisimã or coffin-makers;

--Olɔma or grave-diggers.

But these societies are narrowly specialized and their customary powers exist only as long as the duration of their effective work.

562 Men and women. Even within the lineage where men and women
571 call one another brother, sister, aunt ... the relations between men and women are marked by mistrust.

178 [173] /192 cont. /

thus it is that they have kept a rather exact description of the elephant (leu) and the gorilla (malẽgwana).

[648] imposed on the slaves has prevailed. There is nothing surprising about that, since the slaveholders tried, in order to prevent revolts, to mix to the maximum the Blacks of the various tribes.

174 A certain number of men initiated in differing degrees into African cults were among the rebels. They tried to con-
177 serve and transmit these rites, which their descendants have more or less transposed or deformed (2). As far as one can

[182] 2. The single fact that the vegetation and fauna differed totally from those of Africa immediately required a modification of ritual which called for infusions of leaves of numerous plants to which definite magical properties are attributed.

[198] As far as one can judge by the secret languages attached to these cults, in which are recognized many words deformed from the ordinary language, and a few Indian words, these cults in their present state must
[178] differ appreciably from the ones which gave them birth. In fact, the only thing the Refugee Blacks have authentically kept is concepts, metaphysical and moral ideas.

/199 cont./

787 [171] The phenomena of possession exist among other populations of the Guianas and especially among the Amerindians, but among the Refugee Blacks they have special and well-defined forms.

--For the duration of possession, the ordinary consciousness of the man is totally abolished. When he comes back to himself, he no longer remembers anything and the others present [171] have to repeat to him what the divinity revealed. This total loss of consciousness during possession appears to be a very constant phenomenon with the Blacks, in Africa as much as in [114] America. Professor de Goeje calls attention to the fact that the Indian medicine man, on the contrary, does not lose /200/ consciousness during his trances and is supposed to receive, himself, the revelations of the spirits.

When a man is possessed by a divinity, in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks he is no longer there; what his body may do is not attributed to him at all. They say: "The gadu does this, says that, dances in such a way." If the gadu hurt someone (but that practically never happens) or broke something, its bearer would not have any responsibility.

787 --The divinity expresses itself in a language peculiar to
• 198 it; we shall see further on that there are four categories of
[176] divinities likely to become incarnate in men, which corresponds to four secret languages of which in practice only two are known by the Boni, at least by the oldest among them.

The bearer of the divinity, in his usual state of consciousness, knows in general this language, which he has learned from a teacher if it is a matter of a possession desired by him and obtained with the help of definite practices.

But there are also numerous cases of unprovoked possession (in the kunu especially) and people state that in this case the divinity speaks its language just as well, although its bearer has never learned it;

/201 cont. /

791 teacher and who teach a small group of disciples - kineki -,
787 without distinction of villages or lineages and under their sole
[794] responsibility; each one, man or woman, is absolutely free to pursue his teaching.

/202/These teachers are not themselves possessed, but they are believed to know the processes which permit the neophyte to obtain possession with the minimum of risks. They accept the
[776] fact, however, that that involves dangers, for one cannot oblige a particular gadu to come into someone, and one may in its place obtain an undesirable gadu.

791 Procedures vary according to the categories of gadu sought.
787 But they involve three elements which are always found in one
776 form or another:

--They begin by teaching the pupil the language of the
[198] divinity, or rudiments at the very least (as we shall point out further on, these languages appear to be in decline); these lessons are private;

--On behalf of a group of pupils, the teacher prepares
[824] infusions of certain leaves which are suited to the divinity in question. It is thought that the god likes these plants and that they have the power to attract it.

In certain cults it is required of the pupil to utter at the
[788] same time formulas inviting the god to come into him. But this is not general; in the cult of the Papa gadu especially, the teachers bathe the students in the greatest silence.

791 At the end of the session, the student is often asked to
787 drink a little of the infusion. One might believe that it is a
824 matter of a process having a physical action, certain plants possibly containing hypnotic substances; but except for one aspect of the cult of the Kumēnti of which we shall speak later, this does not seem true; especially about the plants believed to attract the Papa gadu, it seems that they have received this role because of their color or odor. Our feeling is that, at least
[562] for the Papa gadu cult which appeals more especially to women, suggestion plays an essential part.

/203 cont./

153 Possession begins progressively; in the beginning the
787 divinity does not find in its bearer sufficient passivity, it does
791 not succeed well in expressing itself through his mouth, spectators observe only incoherent gestures and hear only unintelligible stammerings. The pupil must continue his training for a long time in order to become a suitable bearer.

789 The god, when it has just entered a man, always begins by rendering homage in its language to Masa Gadu, proclaiming that it acts only in his name and by his will.

[576] Then it greets those present, employing formulas which
[198] are the exact transposition into its language of the ordinary Boni formulas of politeness; that even if it is getting ready to speak to them in the harshest manner.

The god speaks then in its language, saying not very intelligible things to the audience that appear to be related to what goes on in its country, to its family (for it is believed that these lower gods have a family). Finally, it begins to speak in ordinary language in order to be understood by those present, and answers questions.

796 Various categories of gods capable of bringing on possession.
787 The Refugee Blacks assume that four categories of lower gods
825 exist:

The first category consists of a series of gods which present themselves to men under very different aspects but which are nevertheless felt to be of the same nature. All speak the Kumenti language, all are well disposed toward men and do not exercise against them the kunu, that is, the curse;

--The Kumēnti, which have the appearance of jaguars and live in the bush;

--The Djadja, which have the appearance of ocelots;

--The Opete, which have the appearance of the urubu and which reside in the air;

/203 cont./

776 --The Bũnsuɲki, which have the appearance of Indian
787 women and which reside in the waters of the rivers;
825 The second category is that of the Ampuku, much feared
[184] gods of the bush, likely to exercise the kunu against men. The
[198] Ampuku speak a language which is very well known to the Saramaka but which nobody speaks in Boni country. When they wish to be understood, they speak the ordinary Saramaka dialect. They can, it is said, /204/ be seen at night in the bush in the form of unknown men dressed in the manner of the Refugee Blacks;

The third category is that of the Vɔɔdũ or Papa gadu, gods still more feared, which become incarnate in the boa snake
[198] dagowe. They speak the Papa language;
776 Finally, much feared also are the Kãntamasu, gods of
787 the termitaries, which speak a language which nobody under-
[198] stands and use the Kumenti language to make themselves understood.

It is important to note that there is not a god Kumẽnti, a god Ampuku, etc., as there was in the pantheon of the Ancients a god Mars, a god Vulcan. For the Refugee Blacks those are generic names like Frenchman, Englishman. Questioned about a phenomenon of possession, they will answer: "It is Ampuku who makes," but in the same way they would say in front of a boat: "It is Saramaka who makes."

776 The relationships between these gods and their animal
787 form are obscure. For the Vɔɔdũ it is clear that people believe
825 they really live in the dagowe snakes, since the accidental death of one of these snakes in the burning of a clearing is considered a calamity which risks bringing a kunu. But that does not prove that a divine character is attributed to the snake itself. As for the Kumẽnti, there does not appear to be any precise bond between the genie and its jaguar appearance. If one meets a jaguar, one may fire on him all the same without inconvenience. If he is the support of a Kumẽnti, the shot will not be able to touch him, the god will not get angry about it.

/210 cont./

776 [825] The Bumba gadu, other gods of the same nature and equally feared, have as bearers other categories of snakes, principally the great anaconda water snakes.

[984] [812] The Vɔɔdū, we have said, are feared; they can exercise on a lineage the collective curse called kunu. But, no more than the Kumẽnti do not represent a principle of good, they do not represent a principle of evil. Not all are so badly disposed toward men, and even if one of them is the enemy of a lineage, it is not for that reason badly disposed toward the rest of men.

787 178 [562] However this may be, the cult of possession of the Papa gadu is not at all in decline among the Boni. According to the cross-checking we have been able to do, of the 670 persons living on the French bank there are at least 40 to 50 who have a Papa gadu, the great majority of them old women.

787 784 /211/ The Voodū /sic/ are much feared, and for that very reason much respected. They are oracles which are consulted very often, without consideration of the evil their kunu has done and will still do. A god which exercises the kunu but which is provisionally declared appeased may be consulted without danger; it is always assumed that in any case its bearer, if he respects its commands, has nothing to fear from it.

787 562 It is possible that, very unconsciously, women use the fear that the Papa gadu gods inspire in order to maintain their independence and privileged position in Refugee Black society.

153 79 787 [198] [178] [515] [824] [534] Instruction in possession appears to take as a pattern the same principles as that which correspond to the Kumẽnti. It involves the teaching of the Papa language; this language appeared to us to be in decline; in fact, it is used only for formulas of greeting; then the possessed people vaticinate in ordinary language. Instruction in possession also involves daily ablutions with decoctions of leaves; certain of these mixtures are particularly complicated (it is said that they include more than a hundred different kinds of leaves). Instruction is essentially individual; however it also includes dances; on this occasion a

/211 cont./

153 special drum is used, about two meters long and very narrow,
791 devoid of any decoration, which is called lãŋga dɔ̃ or papa
787 dɔ̃.
534 To call on her gita, the possessed woman (they are almost
787 always women) stands, puts on a piece of cloth which she always
[562] keeps nearby and always takes along with her when she travels:
this is the garment of the god; it consists of a sort of scarf
crossed in front; then she throws white clay, pemba, on her feet
from right to left and left to right while invoking the god.
Possession is almost immediate. One sees the woman's eyes
roll up and her expression become haggard. The god does not
cover himself entirely with pemba like the Kumẽnti, he makes
himself a sort of headband on the forehead with white clay.
787 He begins with an invocation to Masa Gadu said in ordinary
788 language.
539 "Masa gadu, gi mi pimisi, beka mi na pikin nẽŋge; ala
[782] sani di mi ɔ taki, na yu mu gi mi kaakiti, beka na yu abi mi
kaakiti, da mi nyãfalu gi yu."

"Masa Gadu, I implore you, for I am a humble creature;
(in) all that I am going to say, it is you who will give me
strength, for my strength is in you; I shall exalt you."

787 Next come formulas of welcome to those present, which
788 are the exact translation of the formulas of greeting of everyday
[198] life, then songs, all in the Papa language. After about a quarter
of an hour, it enters a hut and sits down, answering in ordinary
language the questions of those present, always in a singing
tone.

787 Possession by Papa gadu does not have the bestial character
of possession by Kumẽnti; outside of the dances, it does not
involve brutish gestures or bizarre acts; the possessed woman
hums softly in a shrill voice, moving with graceful gestures.
[531] /212/ Sometimes she draws strange signs on the huts; the Boni
state that that is a kind of writing, that other possessed people

/262 cont. /

824 778 door; it was a particularly feared kāndu that no thief would have dared to remove.

825 778 [776] --The Kāntamasu are the divinities, especially maleficent and hostile to men, who live in the termitaries (these are termites proper, who make their nest in the earth, and not wood lice, much more common). There is one to each termitary.

[789] After a meticulous examination of the soil of the clearing, one marks all the termitaries /263/ and sprinkles each of them with a preparation containing leaves, pink clay kukusa, and manioc juice. One adjures the genie to go away, no matter where.

It happens that in spite of all the precautions taken a termitary is forgotten. Then, several days later, one will [787] have the consternation of seeing the Kāntamasu reveal itself [784] in someone of the lineage; it announces that it is going to exercise its kunu (curse). It is temporarily appeased by offer- [782] ings of tafia, various drinks, red cloth.

776 198 787 The Kāntamasu call themselves the Akɔlo. Through the mouth of their bearers they speak a language nobody understands. However, when they wish to be understood by those present they speak Kumēnti.

755 784 Observation in Boniville, January, 1957:

A..., boatman of the border-fixing mission, asks for three days off. His wife, Masauman, has been ill for several days; divination (in this particular case the gita of a female relative in his lineage) showed that it was the doing of a Kāntamasu injured in the burning of the clearing which he himself, A..., cut for his wife in October. The Kāntamasu has not yet manifested itself directly, but a kunu threatens; to appease it he must put in action the remedy known only 000 to M..., an old man of Asīsi. He will go to the spot, following

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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have the necessary time to prepare the cassava. A man 484
cannot count on finding food to buy. Food is often scarce 961
and, especially when crops have not been good—a state of affairs these Bush Negroes know only too well—each household has need of all the food it has grown.

Asikanu, whose cassava bread was fresh, bathed in the 515
river and changed his dripping loin cloth, spreading out 484
the one he had removed so that it might dry. Bayo washed his second best cloth, for the sun was strong, and it was well to get it fresh and uncreased. So the men busied themselves getting their supplies in order for the journey which was not yet taxing, but would grow more difficult during the next few days, with heavy rapids, great distances between villages, and more exertion needed to strike a village before dark overtook them.

Even so it was time to be off, Sedefo decided, replacing 502
the cassava cakes—which in a few moments had lost their 484
mold—for the next rapids were something to be reckoned with. Again the four dugouts were on their way, and it was a brave sight to see the four pole-men swinging their long sticks with measured regularity, and the upward leaping three steps, and the down-running steps, and the seated paddlers dipping their carved blades into the water with a slight twist at the end of each stroke to counteract the effect of the push of the man at the bow, to keep the canoe headed straight into the current.

Ahead, in the leading canoe, the man at the bow waved [201] ●
his hand to us, indicating directions to our men. We could see him put the whole length of his pole in the water three times, then lay it along the gunwale of his dugout and, taking up his paddle, begin to stroke in time with the man at the stern of his boat.

"*Mfundu*," said Bayo to Bibifo. "Deep."

As we approached the deep water, Bayo with a fillip of his paddle sent our dugout heading into the stream, to be caught up by the current at the center and taken down and across by the impact of the water against the boat. The boats in front had done the same, had cut across to the

798 The other white man was the Catholic missionary who
797 for years had been living in the Gran Rio. He was a friend of the Saramacca people, and they liked him. Now this white man wanted to see Dahomey. He said that he, too, had [illegible] God who protected him. He asked so many times [illegible] at last promised to take him there. But when [illegible] 'empeh he fell asleep, and he slept till . . . till the [illegible] the Granman's country. So his life was saved. The gods, knowing that he was a friend of the Saramacca people, did not want to kill him. They put him to sleep until Dahomey was well out of reach.

"And this is what happened to you, Bak'a. The gods did not want to hurt you, so you did not see."

2

133 Past these rapids and another stretch of rough water, and then before us lay the highest falls of the Saramacca. To the right, over a ledge of rock spreading in an unbroken sweep across its entire width poured the Gran Rio, the
[361] river up which lay the villages of the Loango clan, and beyond, the untrodden jungle which barricaded the way to the country of the Indians, and the basin of the Amazon. To the left was the final bit of fast water that remained between us and the village where the Granman awaited us. We were at last in the Pikien Rio.

Here the stream narrowed, and we could see on both banks the people who were waiting to see us pass. The
[574] gay colors of the women's cloths were brilliant against the background of green, and their hallooing reached our ears above the rush of the water. A canoe with several young men came alongside.

"We are here to help you with your boats. We have been sent by the Granman. Fire three shots to let him know you are in the Pikien Rio."

576 We fired, and instantly there was an answering salute of
[201] three guns. With the reinforcement of paddlers, it did not take long to reach the island which separated us from the landing place of Asindopo Lantiwe. Here all strangers

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call the great gods. Apanto's spirit is strong, but Bayo has strong gods, too."

The machine was made ready for him, and Bayo sat down on a convenient box, his head bent over the tumao drum which we had acquired and which his fingers could scarce ever be near but that they played on it.

"It is not the right drum," he said. "You should have an apinti for me to speak to the gods. But I will try it with this one. Tomorrow I will go up the river to Djamungo. I know a man who has an apinti. You will give me money, and I will buy it for you. But now I will speak on the tumao."

He began the irregular tapping which we had learned to identify as the drum language. With one hand he carried the message, while with the other he played irrelevant motifs which served to confound anyone not initiated and leave him, as it left us, who had worked out some of the general principles on which this drum language was based, utterly unable to interpret it or to tell which were the significant elements.

"The great gods will look after your machine now, if they will listen to the tumao."

The next day Bayo went upstream to get us the apinti we so desired. He was not successful, but the gods had listened to him, when he had invoked them on the tumao, for Bayo's ministrations ended all trouble with our recalcitrant phonograph. Bayo indeed had strong spirits!

As the days went on, and record after record was put on the turntable, and with its tracing of songs, or examples of Bush Negro speech, or fragments of the rhythms that called the various gods, was taken off and carefully put into its felt-lined box, Bayo visibly swelled with pride. This was his doing! With his strong spirits he had called the great gods! He was young, and he had not spoken on the proper drum, but they had listened to him! So his thoughts went, and so he would repeat them to us.

His interest in the phonograph was intensified the more he saw of it, and he sang and spoke and drummed, either

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361 river floods periodically, and might wipe them out if they were too near, and that the Bush Negro still retains, back in his mind, a strong fear of another war with the white man. In the latter event the Djuka villages would have to be camouflaged or hidden. Often, too, the villages are to be found just above a waterfall or rapids, as another hindrance to possible invaders.

648 609 [576] At the landing we see bare-breasted Djuka women washing clothes or bathing their children. They do not evince much curiosity as we paddle up, for it is considered insolent to stare. The naked little ones are very much afraid of the white man. They scurry into the underbrush and watch us from behind trees. The older children remain and are proud of their courage. An old man is making a canoe. Most of the men are away on hunting or lumbering expeditions.

361 648 [417] Leading up to the village is a winding path, cut by the violent rain until it resembles a ravine. Sometimes the river floods the path, forming a little muddy inlet into which the canoes stick their noses. One town is perched on a high bank, reached only by a hardwood ladder twenty-five feet tall. The blacks clamber up easily, unlike the awkward white man, who has difficulty with the missing steps.

We ascend the path; the frightened children return to their play, paddling about or fishing from the moored canoes. 202 648 [534] Sometimes the bahkra's coming has been announced beforehand by a system of drum telegraphy. A certain rhythm beaten on the tomtom informs the adjacent villages that white men are coming up the river, and why. In this way

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their arrival is frequently anticipated. But it is something of an exaggeration to say that this primitive telegraphy is so extensive and efficient as to spread news of the white man over "more than two thousand square miles of impassable land." Nothing of the sort happens. The sound of the drums will carry for about two or three miles, when the wind is in the right direction, and the drum call is relayed from town to town. Most often, however, they are not beaten at all for us, and we arrive unannounced.

At the landing we are met by Captain Abaisa, a splendidly built Djuka whose friendship was obtained on a previous trip. His powerful body is all cut up with ornamental scars, a form of personal decoration highly esteemed by the Bush Negroes. The custom is a direct heritage from West Africa, found in many parts of the Gold Coast, the Congo country, and Cameroons, but unknown among the Indians of the Guianas. Abaisa greets us cordially: *"You wicki bah?" "E-e ah, matti"* is the proper reply. This talkee-talkee greeting, the equivalent of "Did you wake well?" is chanted rather than spoken. The voice ascends sharply on the second word, the final word being drawn out in a high sustained tone. The reply means "Yes, friend."

Another form of greeting is *"Ah broko baka,"* or "The day breaks again"—in other words—we meet again; or *"Neetee kaba"*—"The night is finished."

If a person is met for the second time within a short interval, the proper thing to say is *"We meetee baka."* Still another greeting is *"Bala, (Sis, Da, Ma) odio, how fa you de*

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796 centre clearing, no longer caring, no longer entirely con-
535 scious, their bodies driven by the rhythm of the drums.
158 No man has yet danced. Now a young buck of nineteen jumps into the centre and begins the *awasa* dance. His movements simulate the flying of a hawk, arms out like wings, pirouetting gracefully. His bare feet stamp the earth, hard enough, it seems, to break his bones. Another man joins him, waving his arms at full length, like an eagle in flight. They chant in talkee-talkee an *awasa* song:

"Fooru mo luku bon nanga ahga."

[539] It means: The fowl must be careful of the hawk; in other words, the girls must be careful of the men. They circle from the waist like birds soaring into the blue.

796 Now a man begins dancing toward a woman. She re-
832 treats. No dancer has yet touched another, or even noticed another. But this one is making definite love advances to the woman. He mimics coitus. Coyly she evades his approaches, and will have none of his movements. They are not serious. When she definitely refuses his copulatory advances, the drums stop. He takes a drum from one of the men, puts it under his arm, and follows her, dancing around the clearing, beating out a message of love. They weave a pattern of movement, in and out, in this dance of courtship to the lone muttering tambour.

[202] There is a halt. The drummers rap out a message to other canoes coming up the river, telling them to hurry. Soon more strangers arrive for the final round.

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their remote villages, the Bush Negroes do as they please.

The punitive powers of the white government are seldom exercised. Occasionally in Djuka land, as elsewhere, a murder occurs over some woman. Once or twice the Dutch have made an effort to arrest the criminal. But on the whole police jurisdiction is impossible, as any person familiar with the impenetrable bush and impassable rivers will easily realize. What occurs in any but the nearby villages is largely unknown.

Once the white authorities were cognizant of a murder that took place in Biodoti, one of Jankoeso's villages, and demanded the murderer for trial. With more sympathy for their own people who are criminals than for the white people who are judges, the Djukas flatly refused to give the man up. The Dutch colonial troops threw a cordon across the river just below Biodoti, refusing thoroughfare to any Bush Negro corials; this blockade would be enforced, they said, until the murderer was handed over. During the night Djuka corials leaked past the cordon; it was difficult to stop them. The Governor sent word to Jankoeso to come down to Paramaribo for an extraordinary parley. His refusal was brought by his personal messengers, his *lamba,* who are specially trained from childhood to carry long messages in their heads, keeping every word intact. The Governor informed these lamba that unless Jankoeso came willingly a detachment of troops would be sent to get him down by force.

Indignantly the Granman came, referring to himself as

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538 The Djukas possess, in common with many other primitive tribes, a number of trickster stories. They are called *anansi-tories,* and are usually concerned with the adventures of a clever spider, who outwits all the other animals. They resemble closely the Br'er Rabbit tales of the Negro of the [171] southern United States. These are West African themes, and can be found not only in the Carolinas and in Surinam, but scattered also throughout the West Indies. In the middle of the last century a collection of these stories was made among the Town Negroes of Paramaribo.

173 As most primitives possess no writing materials or technique, their knowledge is necessarily passed on by word of mouth, which imposes a severe limitation upon its possible extent. History, for the Djukas, starts with the rebellion, and of what came before they know little and care less. If they have stories of the Creation, we did not hear them. One approach to written language is in the Aucaner nation, where 212 a few rudimentary symbols are carved on paddles or other implements, a form of symbol-writing (see Appendix B). [431] The implement is given to someone as a token of affection, the symbols constituting a greeting. Some of them may be seen in the illustrations of small paddles and pot-stirrers.

202 For communicating over a long distance, the Djukas use [177] a system of drum telegraphy. This they have brought over from their West African homeland. At the town of Biodoti the news of our expedition was sent upriver by being drummed out on a tomtom. Squatting over the reverberating *apenti,* the Djuka buck rapped out the peculiar rhythm that

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signifies the coming of the white man. The tomtoms carry 202 ● as far as three miles on a clear night, and the distant listeners in the next village pick up the message and repeat it, thus relaying it on to villages further upstream. Simple messages can thus be carried for great distances by being relayed from town to town.

This method of communication is not in use all day long. The river is not constantly booming with calls. Only on particular occasions do the villages signal each other, as when some intruder makes his way up the river. Sometimes a village was warned beforehand of our arrival, but more usually our arrival took the villages by surprise. It is an exaggeration to say that the signalling announces the bahkra's coming "over more than two thousand square miles of impassable land." Drum telegraphy is more common among the Aucaners than among the other tribes.

For telegraphic purposes the rhythm is arranged in a code pattern of long and short beats. Some calls we heard were interpreted as signifying: "Call the captain," "Come at once, sick," and so on.

When no drum is available, the Bush Negroes sometimes sound out a message by pounding on the side of the beached corial with a stick tightly wrapped in rags. This produces a hollow, booming sound that carries far—an excellent substitute for the drums. This method is reminiscent of the African tomtoms of resonant boards built about a hollow centre, which boom loudly when struck with the butt of the hand.

202 In communicating by means of a beached canoe, instead of a series of long and short beats, the drummer will imitate the pitch and rhythm of a spoken sentence. By striking in different places along the gunwale of the boat, tones of different pitch can be obtained, which mimic the sharply modulated intonation of spoken words in talkee-talkee. The listeners match the sounds with the words that they suggest. The device is too difficult to be widely used, but seems to serve well in emergencies.

551 The method of naming people among the Djukas is extremely curious. There is a superstitious fear of mentioning certain names among them. This is very probably of African origin. In slavery days, no Negro, when passing an estate, [552] would dare to mention its name until the estate had been passed. When we went over a falls in the river, we could learn its name only after the danger spot had been passed.

For personal names the Djukas have one which everyone may use and another which depends upon the day of the week on which the individual was born. This latter can be learned only after explicit inquiry and often not at all. There is also the secret name that strangers seldom know, if ever. [171] This custom of secret names is also prevalent among the Surinam Carib Indians and other primitives.

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torchlight. The Djukas have a rodent trap that is a direct African survival, found on both the West and East Coasts of Africa.

Stedman mentions in his *Narrative* that the Bush Negro rebels used a kind of conch-shell trumpet to call their people to arms. The same species of trumpet is still to be found among the Djukas, and is similar in type to those found on the Gold Coast. The nose flute used by the Bush Negroes also comes from the Congo region of Africa. Wooden trumpets like those used by the Bush Negroes are found also along the Gold Coast and in the Congo country.

The drums form perhaps the clearest and most characteristic West African survival. They are not at all like the Indian drums of the same region, which are flat and more like a tambourine. The Djuka manner of constructing them from a hollowed-out log, with skin stretched over the opening and thonged over pegs, is commonly in use among innumerable African tribes. The tuning of them by hammering on the pegs, set at an angle, is also a detail from Africa. The use of drums for communication over long distances, and the development of an elaborate code of drum signals, is developed to a high degree among West African tribes. Rattray, in his study of the Ashanti people, gives an extended description of this.

The *anansi-tories,* the spider stories, ubiquitous in the West Indies, are also found among the Tshi-speaking peoples of the West Coast. The use of white clay for smearing ceremonial objects and amulets is African. The decoration of

114 /30 cont./
648 in hiding a significant advantage for the colony, since the lack of workers in agriculture makes itself felt with increasing urgency.

202 Accordingly they promised to satisfy my wish by putting
[123] up the signs customary among them, which would make known to those in hiding my wishes to acquaint them with the good news.

In order to let those in hiding know that they were requested to come out of the forest, they go to work in the following manner.

202 They tie white and blue, also perhaps white and black
822 patches of cotton half an ell long and three thumbs wide in Rhineland fashion to the upper branches of the trees, starting in the deepest part of the forest and progressing to the river /31/ bank. The little flags placed highest are of a dark color, while the patches tied progressively lower toward the river are white.

Those in hiding, who stay in the district and cross through the forest to hunt, discover these signs and see by them that there is something going on; either that others in hiding want to establish contact with them or that they have to fear danger.

The manner in which the signs are attached to the trees makes them understand that if they go more deeply into the forest there will be born for them a dark and dangerous future, whereas, if they can decide to go to the river bank they can walk a white, that is, a bright path and that, following the little white flags, they will find people who either want to make common cause with them or wish to give them important information.

202 Since these persons in hiding are constantly afraid of
152 surprise attack or deception, trust in these signs is not always im-
648 mediately established and thus at first only some of them go down with cunning and caution. When they come into the more inhabited districts, they watch and investigate everything that they wish to know; frequently this investigation extends all the way to Paramaribo. Now the Bush Negroes thought that if they followed their custom in this it would be clear to them why these signs had been placed in the bush and that as a result of these they would very quickly become acquainted with the declared amnesty.

202 I must add here also that in fact many fugitives or
648 persons in hiding later came out of the forests, among whom must

/31 cont./

202 be mentioned in particular the man who caused so much of a stir,
648 Broos, chief of a camp of persons in hiding behind the plantation Rac a Rac, who came back followed by many.

I must confess that I have never seen this chief and was not involved in this event in any way; the question is, however, whether this Broos and his followers came back of their own accord, or whether they returned without fear of the Whites because of the reassuring signs set up at my request.

That the Bush Negroes attached to me complied with my request by the placing of /32/ signs is not to be doubted, but what outcome resulted from it cannot be said with certainty.

Chapter XXII

Deception Practiced toward Them

114 I said a few words in Chapter XX and earlier about the
648 deceptions that the Whites practiced with regard to the Bush Negroes. I was at first diffident about communicating the unvarnished truth about this. Since, however, this is not reported by me as being generally applicable, because, as in all things, here, too, favorable exceptions exist, I therefore regard it as my duty to make my experience known.

186 The Bush Negroes, it cannot be denied, as the result
648 of the manifold deceptions that they have experienced from the Europeans and other free inhabitants of this colony, have developed an aversion toward them. They therefore oppose deception with deception, and trick with trick.

439 It has become apparent to me that many of them, when
648 they arrive with timber rafts at the plantations in order to sell the timber, after having been deceived several times, make use of all kinds of tricks in order in their turn to deceive the Europeans. I leave now to one side the question as to which of the two parties is the principal or initiating cause and has the greater responsibility in these fraudulent transactions. When a family of Bush Negroes

/184/

765 [535] The buchiman execute the kwadyo dance, which seems to be an African war dance; they hold a stick in front of them and make the gesture of taking aim.

That lasts about half an hour.

The guests continue to arrive individually and settle themselves around the mortuary shed, seated on their little benches.

765 202 About three o'clock the drums begin to beat again. It is Bukuman, master of the art of speaking with the drum, who strikes the summons' formulas; the others give him the cue.

The drum speaks for a long time (1). An elder translates

> 1. It is more a question of conventional formulas than a language; two different sounds can be obtained from the drum by striking respectively with the fingers and with the palm.

for me approximately: "Other villages, be still, for there is a great festival in the grand man's village."

"We who are now living, we are going to do what our ancestors taught us long ago."

765 [551] Then the dead for whom mourning will be lifted are directly addressed, being called by name if they are men; for the women like Béniti, who cannot be called directly, for women do not have a drum-name, they call one of their deceased near relatives, here Diolé †, Béniti's brother: "Tell thy sister that we are going to part company with her, for we have been in mourning for her a long time and this is the custom, such as the ancestors did before us."

[769] "Ancestors, come, come near us, we are going to pour the tafia and cane juice for you."

[202] (Libations are made within the shed.) Then the drum addresses those present:

765 /184 cont./

[202] "You who with ɔbia so that the machete will not cut you, so that the broken glass will not wound you, what are you waiting for? You remain seated, are you afraid?"

765 786 787 At these words, several of those present stand up and begin to dance, seeking the trance of possession. Some run into the village and come back running, carrying banana-tree stalks. Others drag thorny spathes of awara; two brandish an old, demolished boat.

The drum furiously beats the rhythm of Kumenti. Part of the dancers, taken hold of by a furious delirium, jump and [824] prance about. Certain ones take thorny spathes of awara (2)

2. Thorny palm (astrocaryum vulgare) whose sharp thorns nearly 10 centimeters long are particularly formidable. It is impossible to pick up an awara spathe with bare hands without hurting oneself.

under the arm or pass them around the neck.

Part of those present are taken hold of in their turn by trances, including people of mature age and serious character like Fintiman, who is carried off in a faint.

Two possessed people, a man (Ernest, Kotika) and a woman (Awini, Boniville), smeared with pɛmba, are subject to extraordinary contortions. Ernest breaks a bottle over his head with such force that the pieces fly several meters. Both /185/ dance on their knees for an appreciable length of time (but the next day Awini will come to have herself cared for). Those present manifest frenzied joy.

765 535 534 About five o'clock the sɔ̃ŋgɛ dance begins. Three apinti drums are placed at the west wall of the shed. The orchestra is completed by an old overturned boat which seven to eight men strike with sticks.

world, and they flung it at each other proudly, for it stood 991
for the experience of making their way among strangers and earning sums with which to fill a large corial, and much else.

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pleasure in imparting to these returning ones some weighty gossip.

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"Asikanu has been charged with adultery by Matafo. Asikanu's family is offering a great fine, but it is far from [684] settled yet."

All this was by way of preface. To come to the real news without casual preliminaries would have been the way of a child, but a Man Nengere, a full-grown Negro, knew better.

"Last year a white man came here with another one—a doctor. He said he would come back with his wife. He has brought his wife. He says they are going up the river. He says they are going to the Granman's country."

Up and down the great stretches of water as the boats 903
passed each other, the news was given. Word and conjecture floated down river and into the creeks, reaching even the lower river Awka villages.

"The Bakra told me Awka is an African word. There is a place in Africa called Awka, and a people in Africa called Awka people. He knows Africa!"

"Kye, ba! Kye, mati!"

Word and conjecture were carried up river in the boats which were being poled upstream against the rapids. It would be some time yet before there would be legends, and songs about the American whites who had made their way into this bush. Now there could only be talk. The Bakra had a machine which talked back to you, if you talked into its horn, and when it talked back, it said the same thing you did, sang back the same song, and if you laughed, it laughed, too.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-8 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

203 And did men speak into the horn, and sing? Would there be no harm to the *ak'a*—the soul?

[113] Their own trickster, Anansi, the spider, working with his fabulous cunning, could not have spun the stories about the whites faster than had the passing boats. From boat to boat, from boat to shore, from shore to village the news went. Had the white man come with guns, or had he come accompanied by many others, then, to be sure, it would have been a matter for the drums. But the vagaries of a white man coming with his wife are of no ritual concern. The drums would only sound on occasions of moment; to sum-
[534] mon the men for a council of the clan or to ask, ritually, for the health of a chief; to tell of death; or to speak to the gods themselves. But for a white man with his woman, gossip was good enough to carry the news.

609 Up and down the river, in the villages where they had
119 visited the year before, many a woman to whom the Bakra
648 had given a string of yellow beads, or a large glittering safety pin to put in her hair as an ornament, or, better still, a large tin can out of which her husband had fashioned a broad band to be worn on her arm, one which glistened as it reflected the pale light of the moon during a dance—such a woman heard of the coming of the Bakra with pleasure. She had them all, these gifts, safe in the carved calabash on which she had incised the sinuous lines of the snake spirit that gave her fertility, and now that the gourds were ripening once again, she would carve another to hold the new things that the whites would bring her.

The young men, too, heard of their coming with pleasure. For would not the strange ways of the Bakra and his woman give them many witty new things to put into words and sing to the traditional seketi tunes, the secular songs that they would later sing in the intervals of the religious dances? It was good to make up new words, which made a man the center of the dance. Ambe! But the women loved the man who could put clever new words to their dance songs!

The children heard the news with fear, for at four, at five, they were not too young to have learned of the enormi-

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
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ties of the white men of long ago and the deeds of their slave ancestors, who had won for them freedom in this bush. 609 177

But what of the old men? What of them who govern and know proverb and parable to fit all ceremonial occasions, whose word is final in clan councils? What of those who call the gods and speak to the ancestors and who, surpassing all else in wisdom, know how to control *obia*, the great healing spirit which Nyankompon, the Sky God, created after he had brought earth and water into being, so that man might live? At the landing place of the balata camp, a group of such men were gathered and stood about talking. A Loango elder who was on his way to visit his relatives at Kadyu, his lower river clan village, had espied a clansman on the shore and had come up in his boat. 648

"A man and a woman came. And they are going up the river until . . . until beyond the Mamadam and Baikutu, until . . . past the Felulasi Falls, until . . . they come to the Tapa Water and into the Pekien Rio, and until . . . they arrive at the Granman's village."

The speaker, a younger man who had come from up river to the death ceremonies at Gankwe spoke with a certain eagerness, and made of the telling a long recital, drawing out the singsong word "*te*"—until—more and more with each repetition, and in this way intensifying both the distance and the hardships in these vast and vaster stretches. 609 203 648

"Ayo! A long way. Will the Ga'ma' let them come?"

"Ya-hai, tio! You must ask, will the gods let them come!"

"Kere, kere! You must ask if the ancestors will let them come!"

"They carry no guns."

"Then they bring us their gods."

"Kweti-kweti! And that's what I don't understand. They say they come to learn."

"By Ando! But what does that mean?"

"Well, they speak the proverb down below, they say: 'It isn't for nothing that the worm crawls from side to side.'"

"Massa Neng'e, but it's true, true."

"The white man wants to get the black man's obia."

REBEL DESTINY

609 "The whites have wars against each other. . . ,"
203 "Our ancestors. . ."
648 Before the last speaker could finish, a man broke in with a prayer. His voice was conversational and sounded as though he were addressing someone present.

> "*Great Sky God,*
> *Kediamo, Kediampon,*
> *Mother of the River,*
> *Sacred ancestors,*
> *Grant that if the white man comes f*
> *His race end.*
> *Grant that if the white woman comes for evil*
> *Her womb wither, her line perish.*"

609 But the Loango headman shook his head and said, "The
203 gods will deal with them, have no fear. Do you remember
648 the man who was drowned at the Mamadam, and the one
776 who died way beyond the Granman's country, and that other one, the soldier? They came with evil in their hearts. The gods killed them. The gods will deal with these, too."

And another said: "Let them go up the river. The gods know all. The ancestors know all. This is our land, and our earth spirits will protect us, and they will kill our enemies. This is our river. Our river gods will protect us, and kill our enemies. This is our bush. The gods of the bush are strong. The gods of the bush know their bush children. They know their children's enemies."

Then the Loango elder spoke again: "We have the gods
[186] from Africa. They are more than all gods. The African gods know all. They will watch over us. We have the obia spirits, the African obia spirits. Mati, friends, let them go up the river. Have no fear. Our gods are with us."

The men's soft, sober voices spoke the words without emotion. Theirs were the voices of destiny. Well might the answering chorus intone the affirmations, while the colloquy went on of leader and chorus, leader and chorus, now one taking up the main theme, now another. To us the cadenced speech came floating softly on the still air.

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175 Now we were in the true, true Saramacca country, the land which the Bush Negro feels to be entirely his own. White men, it is true, had been here before, but only a handful, and the gods of the river, who were powerful, saw to it that of these not many got back to the white man's land. True, true Saramacca country! Every Bush Negro we met on the lower river spoke of it with the deepest feeling.

"It is all right here," one man after another had said, "but wait until you see the upper river, the true-true Saramacca!"

It was here that the first Bush Negro villages had been built, though this seemed fabulous to the strangers who, in strong boats, guided by men who were wise in the moods and courses of the river, had had nine days of hard travel on the way. The lower-river villages began to appear only after peace had been declared and had proved lasting. Eighty-six years ago men from the upper river who lived beyond the Granman's own village, in the Grand Rio, had come down and built the village of Gansee, which was some four hours' paddling upstream from the railhead.

We spoke of this to Bibifo, who himself was born in this country.

"You may well wonder, white man."

361 103 Here was no danger of having to wrest a camp from the bush at night, when the short tropical dusk came to overtake the traveler. Villages followed close, one upon the other. Here was Ma'lobbi, where the beauty of the wood [322] carver's art had made us linger beyond the time allotted to us for making the journey from S'ei to Asindopo Lantiwe. Here was Hei Kununu—High Mountain—which rose on a [133] steep slope above the river, and was pleasant to see after the long stretches of flat plain that lay below. Semoisi, noted for its riches, was there, and Pempeh, bearing a name well known in the Ashanti country in Africa. Here villages were so close to each other that they could announce our 203 approach on the talking drums.

"What is it we hear, Bayo?" we would ask.

"They are cutting down trees, Bak'a."

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

We would proceed a short distance, and we would ask again, "Aren't those drums speaking?" 203

"Women are pounding rice."

But when we had asked the third time, he remained silent for a while, straining for the sound as though he could barely distinguish it. "Ya-hai, it's the apinti talking."

Some distance from Godo, which is situated just below the Tapa Wata falls, a small boat came up to us, paddled by one man. Bibifo whispered to us that this was Sungi, the head of the Kasito clan, and we knew that we were somewhere in the vicinity of the sacred village of Dahomey. He had come to pilot our boats into the Pikien Rio, he explained, after the greetings were over. 502

"Farther ahead others will come to help your boats up the rapids. I am here to show you the best course through this rough water. The G'aman has sent me to you. He awaits you."

"Bayo," we said, when Chief Sungi had left us to head up our little flotilla, "show us the landing place of Dahomey when we pass it."

We knew that we could not set foot in Dahomey, for it is the seat of the Bush Negro's most potent magic. Whether there is that in the village which the white man may not see, or whether, as we had been told, the natives do not wish to tempt the fates by bringing there those who would be doomed by the magic which kills the white man if he but treads on its earth, no one could say. But we had been warned that it would be of no avail to ask to be taken to Dahomey. 778

"Did you hear us, Bayo?"

"Ai!"

When we spoke to him again about the Dahomey landing place, however, he showed great astonishment. He had pointed it out to us, he said. How was it that we now asked about it again?

"It must be that it was with you like it was with the other white man who wanted to see Dahomey," he said.

123 shoulders and arms glisten, or otherwise to make themselves
[302] presentable for the reception. There was nothing to do but to keep close to a tree-trunk, water dripping from naked body and the strip of twisted loin cloth, teeth chattering in the sudden chill brought on by the storm.

The head of Sungi was suddenly thrust inside our boat-tent.

"I saw the Granman. He says the storm is passing. You are to come to him as you are. It is best so. Waiting here is cold."

Turning, he ordered the paddlers to their places, and almost before the paddles were in motion, the guns began to fire.

"The Granman knows the time it takes to give a message. The Granman knows everything," said Bayo in great
[203] admiration, as the guns saluted.

Three shots, and three more. Two shots, an interval, and another coming faintly. Then a short silence, and once more the guns, in clusters of three, but now sounding from several directions.

As we rounded the bend of the island the farther bank was alive with people. The rain had subsided to a drizzle. Across the strip of water which separated us from the shore we could see men and women and children standing about, the women with large food trays inverted over their heads to protect their finery. But the men, disdaining such aids, stood in the rain and looked on with undisguised curiosity. Boats joined ours from up and down the river. With the sound of the guns came hallooing, shrill cries which were the women's expression of enthusiasm, actual or ceremonial.

292 As we watched, several figures appeared on the high bank,
554 the others making way for them. Two of the men were not
622 dressed in the colored toga-like cloths that were worn by the others, but in coats of rich material which reached to their knees. They wore black top-hats with cockades at the side. One of these, we recognized as Chief And'u of S'ei. His coat was of deep crimson, bordered in blue, and his companion's a vivid yellow. Both of these men carried

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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of earth which filled the rest of the hut. In the left-hand corner was a covered whitened vessel for the god called Kentina Dagowe. This Kentina Dagowe was a deity who was the offspring of the Dagowe snake, and the Apuku god of the bush whose name was Kentina. In him, as in so many other of the spirits, we found exemplified the Bush Negro's concept of the world which held that the gods mated as did humans, that all which stirred and had life came into being by such matings.

Other spirits also came to this house, the woman went on. Mundewaya, another of the bush gods, was worshiped at the white-covered pot in the opposite corner, while beside it lay the vessel to which the spirit of a third might come. This one was the most powerful of all bush gods, and his name was Danhowao. There were other objects on the platform. Two stools, daubed with sacred clay, had their place there, and in the center was an image of wood, a rounded pot set on a base that tapered from the ground toward it, and this was to the Nanai, the ancestors.

The old woman said, "For the Apuku gods, we only play the tumao drum. The Apuku are mostly women's gods, but some men have them, and the men who have them play the drums. When the god comes to you, then if you are not too old you dance. But we old women do not dance. When the god comes to me, then I begin to shake. I go into this house on the day we call him, and they play the drum. Then I talk to the god. If I have something to beg of him for myself, or for someone else, then I put the pot which belongs to him on my head, and the drum calls him. When my body begins to shake, then it is the god. He has come, and when I speak it is not I but the god speaking."

From the clearing the talk of those who had remained outside came through the thin woven walls of the shrine. From one to another we could hear the news spread that in the village of the Granman across the river the gods had spoken for the whites.

In the hut, we listened to the old woman inside whose shrine we stood.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

538 The Djukas possess, in common with many other primitive tribes, a number of trickster stories. They are called *anansi-tories,* and are usually concerned with the adventures of a clever spider, who outwits all the other animals. They resemble closely the Br'er Rabbit tales of the Negro of the [171] southern United States. These are West African themes, and can be found not only in the Carolinas and in Surinam, but scattered also throughout the West Indies. In the middle of the last century a collection of these stories was made among the Town Negroes of Paramaribo.

173 As most primitives possess no writing materials or technique, their knowledge is necessarily passed on by word of mouth, which imposes a severe limitation upon its possible extent. History, for the Djukas, starts with the rebellion, and of what came before they know little and care less. If they have stories of the Creation, we did not hear them. One approach to written language is in the Aucaner nation, where ● 212 a few rudimentary symbols are carved on paddles or other implements, a form of symbol-writing (see Appendix B). [431] The implement is given to someone as a token of affection, the symbols constituting a greeting. Some of them may be seen in the illustrations of small paddles and pot-stirrers.

202 For communicating over a long distance, the Djukas use [177] a system of drum telegraphy. This they have brought over from their West African homeland. At the town of Biodoti the news of our expedition was sent upriver by being drummed out on a tomtom. Squatting over the reverberating *apenti,* the Djuka buck rapped out the peculiar rhythm that

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner
Boni

A peculiarity of Aucaner wood carvings is the system of
532 sign language imprinted thereon. If some of the pieces are
212 examined closely, it will be seen that they have odd symbols apparently placed at random, not conforming to the general pattern of the piece. These marks represent personal messages from the giver to the recipient, special indications or signs of affection, comparable to the marks at the ends of Victorian *billets doux,* indicating the place to kiss. Conventionalized letters are known as *schriefie,* a Bush Negro word that means "writing." Animal, bird, and human figure motifs are more common among the Boni and Aucaner tribes.

322 Besides the practical implements in everyday use there are
532 a number of trick pieces apparently made for no other purpose than to show the virtuosity of the artist. Thus there are pieces where a loose bauble is placed in a cup from which it cannot be forced. Some of the stools have tiny doors which
[352] open, and some of them are folding stools which close up like camp stools, yet are made from one piece of wood. There are stirring paddles with loose rings around the handles, carved from the same piece of wood and undetachable. Some have chains of wood attached, with separate links, all from one piece of wood. The Bush Negroes are also fond of mak-
[293] ing bush-knives in wood, or ornamental swords to be worn on ceremonial occasions. Small knives ordinarily seen in metal are also carved out of wood.

There are two general types of decoration, with one or two subsidiary devices. The commonest consists of pierced ornamental work, made from a single piece of wood. Except

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

Appendix A

PHONOGRAMS OF THE AUCANER BUSH NEGROES

212
126

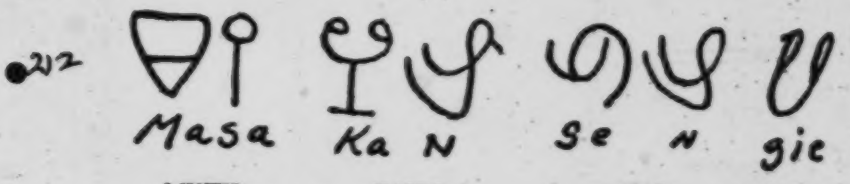
These phonograms were collected for me by Mr. G. deBies, Dutch Government agent at Albina. They were set down by a Bush Negro named Aflakka, with the aid of an attendant Krutu or assembly. So far as is known, they are in use only among the Aucaners, and their use is limited to the older members, who employ them for purposes of sending messages over long distances. These characters are extremely difficult to collect, and Mr. deBies is to be congratulated on his efforts in this regard. The characters were redrawn for the purpose of publication by Ruth K. Kahn.

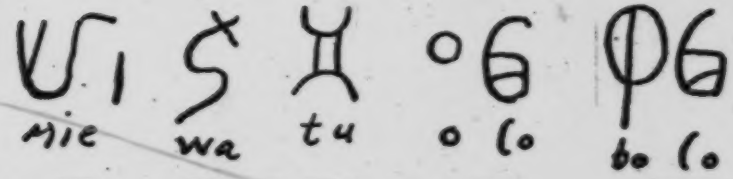
2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931

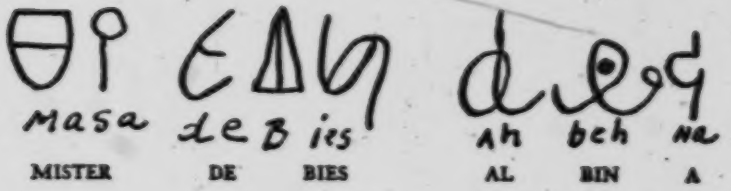
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

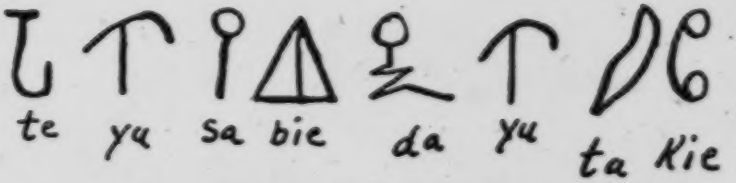
Aucaner

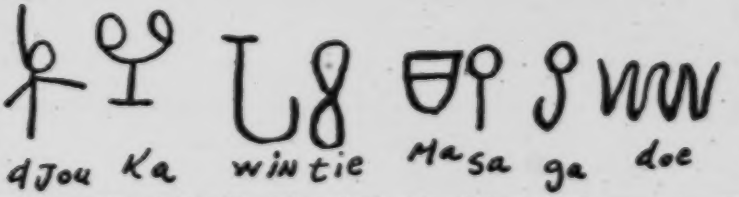
•212









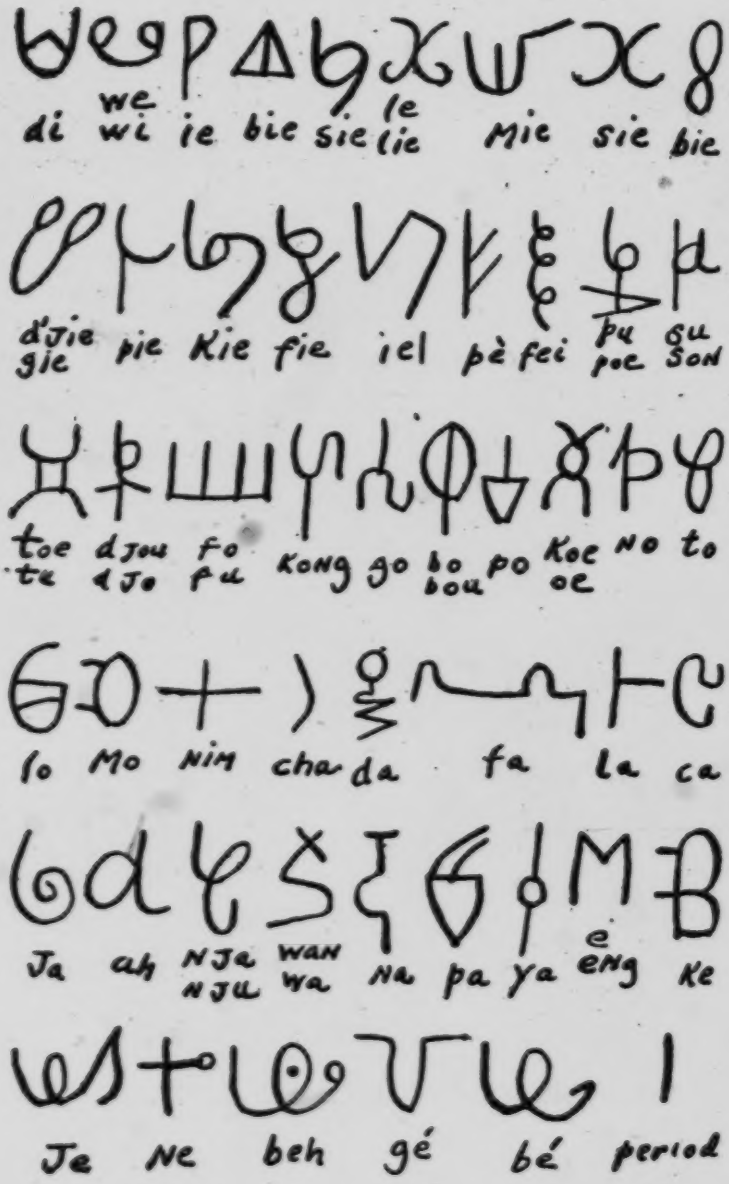


2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931

SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Aucaner

212



1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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Chapter II

WHILE THE RIVER WAS HIGH

I

501 313 NOW this was a busy time of the year, and the river so full of canoes that a man floating down a lumber raft to the railhead might expect to meet ten or twelve dugouts in a day.

● 221 Men in laden corials were returning from the French side for the harvest festivals. They had been away eighteen months or longer, and now they were coming back to burn new rice and cassava fields for their women, and to beget new children. When the harvesting was done was a fine time for love, and a woman with a child in her womb was the very luckiest for planting a field. These returning men, in the prime of life, with powerful bodies and muscles that were as so many great snakes coiling and uncoiling underneath the gleaming moist skins were deferential toward strangers. For it would have been unseemly to thrust at the first comer their adventures on the Marowyne River, and a man who was returning with many possessions had to exercise particular care that he angered neither men nor gods. Yet among themselves they could not keep from a certain amount of swagger.

"Ai ba! Ai mati!" they exclaimed to each other in reply to the most casual comment. "Indeed, brother! Yes, friend!" This was no more than the mode of address of the [576] Awka people who live along the Marowyne, but "Ai ba! Ai mati!" stood for the password of the larger outside

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

world, and they flung it at each other proudly, for it stood for the experience of making their way among strangers and earning sums with which to fill a large corial, and much else.

The men who had remained on the river found special pleasure in imparting to these returning ones some weighty gossip.

"At Gankwe they are burying Sedefo's younger brother," they said as the boats passed each other, and they went into the details of Zimbi's death and the kunu which was decimating the family.

"Asikanu has been charged with adultery by Matafo. Asikanu's family is offering a great fine, but it is far from settled yet."

All this was by way of preface. To come to the real news without casual preliminaries would have been the way of a child, but a Man Nengere, a full-grown Negro, knew better.

"Last year a white man came here with another one—a doctor. He said he would come back with his wife. He has brought his wife. He says they are going up the river. He says they are going to the Granman's country."

Up and down the great stretches of water as the boats passed each other, the news was given. Word and conjecture floated down river and into the creeks, reaching even the lower river Awka villages.

"The Bakra told me Awka is an African word. There is a place in Africa called Awka, and a people in Africa called Awka people. He knows Africa!"

"Kye, ba! Kye, mati!"

Word and conjecture were carried up river in the boats which were being poled upstream against the rapids. It would be some time yet before there would be legends, and songs about the American whites who had made their way into this bush. Now there could only be talk. The Bakra had a machine which talked back to you, if you talked into its horn, and when it talked back, it said the same thing you did, sang back the same song, and if you laughed, it laughed, too.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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Seeing him, our host gave an exclamation of pleasure. 439
"But this is Ajako, the husband of Granman Yankuso's daughter!"

"*Kuma, Bakra. Kuma, Bakra muye*—Good morning, 576
white man, good morning, white woman," he said, and our answer was, "*Ajako, kuma*—Ajako, good morning."

Had we awakened, no? This, in the Saramacca idiom, was how one asked if we were well, if we were alive, since the euphemism for death is sleep. We answered him in their patterned phrase.

"*Hafu so*," we said, using their equivalent for fairly well, only half so.

Ajako laughed. The white man had learned. "Are you no better? I hear the gods like you well," he replied.

And so the conversation went on, each giving account of himself.

Finally Ajako said, "Granman Yankuso waits for you, 648
Bakra. He sends you his greetings, and says he will welcome you in Asindopo Lantiwe, his village. You have the freedom of the river. The village chiefs know of your coming. They will receive you. The river is not too high now, for top-side the rains are at an end. Here on the lower river, too, rocks that today are under water will appear tomorrow or the next day. The water is not too high now. The Granman sends word to you that you can start."

But what of him? Would he not come with us as our chief paddler, to show us the way through the many channels? But he smiled and said he was going to the Marowyne. He could not turn back, he told us, for he had 221
the boats to sell, and money to earn there, while his wife 854
was nursing her infant. When the child was seventeen, eighteen months old, then he would be back with his wife again, cutting new fields for her, and making children. While the infant was at the breast, he would be away working.

There was more talk, leading gently—*safri*, softly, as the 648
Bush Negro himself says—to the subject of certain unfriendly villages. There were two of them up the river that

353 This they had learned from the whites long ago, and
179 now everywhere on the river compasses were seen, or
[413] carvings which showed their use. The machete, the small
412 sharp knives which lay about here on the work-table, the compass, and sand made up any Bush Negro carver's tools. But here at Ma'lobbi in this workshop of the captain were tools from the white man's city, collected by himself on his journeys down to the government office to receive his yearly allowance, or by his men who had been to the French shore and learned of the ways of the outside world. There was a plane to make the blade of a paddle smooth as the skin of a child, and there were two others in addition to this one, we were assured, in the treasure house of the upper story. Hammers, too, were useful for making boats, and even for smaller carvings like benches. There was also a bit and auger, though we were never convinced that the captain himself had ever put it to its more prosaic uses.

"I have many more up there," said the captain, pointing to the upper story. "I like them. If a man likes his tools, then they help him in his carvings. As he sees with his eyes, so they cut. I have always liked my tools, white man. I have spent much time with them."

281 A young man sat to one side shaving down a block of
322 wood with a knife which he held.

"He is not carving," the captain said, following our eyes. "He is making a piece for this," he explained, indicating a plane. "Now is not the time for carving. There is too much to be done. This is the time for cutting wood, for taking the rafts down the river, for making boats, for bleeding rubber trees for the white man, and for hunting game. When the great rains come, then men sit about and carve."

322 As he spoke our eyes traveled to the various carvings
531 which stood about the workshop. In one corner leaned a paddle which caught our attention because of its darkened color, and the patina which long use had given it, so that it
[352] seemed made of ebony. Against another wall were several stools, all richly ornamented with carvings, while beside us,

/136/

121 The agriculture of the Bush Negroes, however, has become
[241] a matter which urgently demands the attention of the administration as a result of the wasteful use of land. Until now little attention has been paid to this, but if one wants to develop the interior of Surinam, this problem will also have to be looked into.

101 The data provided here throw light upon the agriculture of
121 the Paramaccaners and the Aucaners on the Marowijne and the
[103] Tapanahoni. They were gathered during the above-mentioned medical expedition and during a trip to the Tapanahoni in October, 1952. The facts thus refer primarily to the Marowijne, but in general they are certainly also valid for the other rivers along
121 which the Bush Negroes live. It is a typically Surinam problem,
648 connected with the circumstance that the Bush Negroes have worked in the deep interior in the same fashion for hundreds of years, independent of the life in the civilized coastal region and almost completely outside the sphere of interest of the government.

2. The Grounds System

241 For the planting of agricultural crops the Bush Negro lays out little so-called food grounds. One is to understand by this cleared pieces of ground in the virgin forest on which the crops
[311] are cultivated. The grounds lie along the rivers on higher flat lands, mostly terraces that are not submerged during high water or, in the absence of such terrain, on the slopes of hills. They are more or less circular and have a surface area of a half to one and a half hectares.

241 During the long dry season (October, November) the men
● 221 clear the grounds. Two to three weeks thereafter the forest that
132 has been felled is burned; the smaller branches are cleared away,
462 but the trunks are left lying. The ground is not worked. As soon as the rains of the short rainy season begin, they start to plant and sow. This planting time falls in December and January. The wives of the Bush Negroes (for only the women do the further work) now plant all kinds of crops at the same time on one and the same ground.

/136 cont./

241 the same ground. The crops are thus scattered higgledy-piggledy
● 221 or at best are arranged in little patches. The harvest periods of these crops have a certain sequence. Two groups are to be differentiated, namely, (1st) the rapidly growing "annual" crops, and (2nd) the perennial crops, which grow more slowly.

/137/ To the first belong:

maize, is harvested after three months (in February and March);
watermelon, idem;
okra, produces edible fruit in three months (February, March) and still for a time after that;
pumpkin, gives ripe fruit in four months (April) and thereafter;
pinda /peanut/ and ogobo, blooms after three months (February, March) and supplies produce after five months (May, June);
bongila, idem;
tobacco, is ripe for picking after 4-5 months, blooms after 7 months;
rice, is ripe after 4-5 months (May-July).

To the second category belong the perennial crops:

sugar cane, is cut already after 5-6 months, but the stools are kept up to two years and longer;
cassava, the tubers are harvested after 7 months and longer;
tajer, napi, yams, and patatas, are harvested (aside from exceptions; see separate list) after 8 to 10 months (August to November), but also continuously thereafter;
pineapple, is ripe after 9 months;
bacove, ripe fruit after 10 months, the stools are kept;
bananas, harvested after 10 to 12 months continuously after that from the new stools.

241 The advantage of this method of planting is that the grounds supply something during the entire year. A disadvantage, however, is that new grounds must be laid out each year. In this manner, various grounds are always in use for a household /gezin/. In the first year the ground supplies above all the products that grow most rapidly and some perennial crops; in the second year one harvests principally cassava, bacove, bananas,

/152 cont./

245 is eaten fresh, but more frequently pounded in the matta, so
263 that the fruit flesh becomes mushy. Over this one sprinkles sugar or sugar syrup and eats it as a delicacy (awá-popo).

Pina palm (apodong).

222 In April-May supplies a marble-sized black fruit which is prepared in the manner described for koemboe. This palm variety grows in groups in swampy places in the forests.

Paramaribo, December, 1952.

/The following summary appears in English on pp. 152-153 of the original source./

SUMMARY

AGRICULTURE AS APPLIED BY THE BUSHNEGROES ALONG THE MARONI AND TAPANAHONI RIVERS

241 During the MEDICAL SCIENTIFIC EXPEDITION TO THE SOUTHERN BORDER OF SURINAM from February till July 1952, in order to get an insight into the medical problems of the interior, the opportunity was

/60/

There are no gardens around the cabins because the conditions of the soil and climate render permanent cultivation impracticable. The nearest thing is a few persons planting some banana trees around the hut at the foot of which they spread the hearth ashes. As a general rule villages are closely hemmed in by secondary brushwood, and people plant far from one another and sometimes very far from the village.

If it does not admit the appropriation of land to individuals, custom does admit, on the other hand, the ownership of trees. In the villages the useful trees (coconut trees, maripa palms /attalea excelsa/, mango trees, cashew-apple trees, etc.) all have owners. The tree is considered as personal property and is transmitted by inheritance in the same way as a gun or a canoe. The procedure employed by the Boni for the dispersion of the inheritance among the members of the lineage of the dead man sometimes has the effect of transmitting the ownership of a tree to a person who is not of the village. For example, in Boniville where a fraction of the Kotika lineage lives, two caumou palms were bequeathed a long time ago to members of the lineage living in Kotika, who come each year to gather the fruit.

Appendix

Local Chronology Used for Determining Ages

1876	Death of Grand Man Atyaba.
1877	Trip of the explorer Crevaux from the Maroni to the Yari and the Amazon, in the company of Apatu, head of the Boni village.
1882	Apatu secedes, taking with him about 150 persons and founds the village which bears his name on the lower course of the Maroni.

/81 cont./

423 The right to fish in certain rivers is held by lineages; other
222 rivers are regarded as property common to the inhabitants of a
613 village, whatever their kinship may be.
621 For example, the right to fish in Kumata Kiiki, a small
[425] creek of the Surinam bank, near the village of Kotika, is reserved for members of the Lapé lineage (the members of this lineage farmed there formerly, but they abandoned these lands, currently farmed by the Kotika people).

Maripa and Likanaon creeks, downstream from Boniville, are reserved for the inhabitants of Boniville.

Asisi Creek is reserved for the inhabitants of Asisi (Dju, Awara Bakka, and Dipélu II lineages).

423 The right to hunt cannot be reserved; everyone has the right
[224] to hunt anywhere.

The right to gather and the right to cut trees for making
[222] planks or boats is generally bound up with the right to farm.
[313] The right to collect underground products is completely
423 independent of the right to farm. For example, if someone finds
316 a seam of kaolin (pɛmba) on the lands of another lineage, he
317 exploits it freely. This aspect of the legal conceptions of the Refugee Blacks is very interesting, for it shows that even from the
423 point of view of customary law, the grand man is not entitled to
316 exercise any rights over the production of the Creole gold miners.
648 He could demand indemnities only insofar as these gold miners farm lands over which the Boni exercise customary rights. The interminable discussions which the claims of Grand Man Anato brought on at the time of the Lawa gold rush at the end of the past century would have been avoided by a better knowledge of the customary law.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

361 "This is the entrance to the farm of a Gankwe family. And there, can you see? That's a broken village. Many people died there. The others left it. This happened when Bayo was small."

4

805 "How many hours, Bakra?" Bayo asked. He could tell time by the sun and guessed almost exactly. "They are stopping on the rocks there. It's time to eat."

264 The Bush Negro usually has two meals a day, one in the early forenoon and another at night after dark when work is over. He eats little. These men were on the river with us ten or eleven hours a day, poling upstream, loading and unloading the boats where the rapids were so high that it was impossible to take the heavily loaded boats across them, and what we saw them eat was some cassava bread [267] dipped in river water to soften it, and some cold rice with a little palm oil in it. They had no time to fish, and it was a bad year for fishing, too. Of game there was little. [224] A few toucans and a monkey were all they could get along the shore—game was scarce even in the deep bush. For more than a score of decades their ancestors had been shooting game along the river, and now the animals kept away.

In the other boats Asikanu was the first served.

"Look, here is your food."

The front paddler put a calabash filled with rice and some cassava bread on the water, and the stream carried it to Asikanu.

"Did you catch it?"

"Ai."

484 261 In Sedefo's boat the cassava cakes were green with mold. One by one these disks of a finger's breadth in thickness and perhaps thirty inches in diameter were laid on the hot rocks to dry. On a trip such as this, enough must be taken to feed a man during his entire absence from home. Well in advance a man's wife, or his mother or sister, or a maternal aunt will be told of such a trip so that she may

688 Marowyne to earn money that he needed for marrying. He was in good health, and he learned about the river "*so te*—until . . . " he knew how to travel on the river safely. But after he had been away only a short time, word came to Kasanya's village that he was ill, and before he could be brought home, he died. They brought back his hair and nail clippings so that his spirit might rest among [764] his own people. They held a big *dede wosu*—wake—for him for six days in the village, with the little coffin and the offerings which were to accompany the spirit, and dancing and Anansi stories and the adji game, just as though he had died at home. There were many guns, too. Everything was done, and the spirit of the dead son was asked to help the family against the kunu which was brought to them by the deed of his mother's mother's brother.

The second son died in the bush. His own gun went off accidentally as he tripped on a hidden liana and killed him, [789] though Kasanya had provided him with all the hunting [224] obias a man would want, and he himself had a strong Kromanti spirit, so that no gun was supposed to have power to hurt him. The third was married when he died. His boat went over in the rapids. His body was never recovered.

782 "Tomorrow we shall all go and pray to the Mother of the River that she carry us well, that our journey be pleasant, that we reach the Granman's village safely. . . . There across the river is her shrine."

3

761 It soon became clear that two things dominate the fore-
776 ground of the spiritual life of the bush—death and kunu. In
688 the last analysis, however, the two are perhaps but one force, for kunu slowly, inexorably, brings death to one member after another of the offender's kin, and it is largely the dead ancestors and the gods who are responsible for the meting out of kunu, in order that the ancient traditions and beliefs may go on. And so it was that daily, and many times daily, incidents not of our special seeking arose to document our knowledge of kunu.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

115 him, and what he could get on the Marowyne in a year,
[586] it would be possible for him to see to it that his betrothed
[584] had all the gifts that a man of position gave to his woman. There were, too, other things to bear in mind. Already he had seen a girl who would make a desirable second wife, but that would require still more money.

115 "But, Bayo," we interposed, "we saw your mother at
593 Djamungo. She told us your girl will not be ready for marrying for some time."

"Did she say that? Did she tell you that I am still a child?"

"What's the matter, Bayo? Don't you like her?"

"Awa, I like her. Not too much. She likes to talk."

231 We thought it politic to give the subject a new turn.
224 Close beside Bayo lay the dog that had accompanied him the first time he came to us here, before our journey up the river. His was a curious color, a faint pinkish hue which puzzled us.

"What is the color of your dog, Bayo?"

"He is white when he does not have obia on him. He is a hunting dog. Tross is his name. He will stay with me. The obia comes off when he goes into the river."

We laughed. "Does Tross hunt in the river, Bayo?"

"No. In the bush. But if I leave him behind, he swims out to my canoe."

231 Tross was to become better known to us as the days went
789 on. He had a great affection for his master, and this feeling extended to all those who appertained to Bayo. After Bayo had attached himself to our camp, we, too, came under the aura of his dog's regard, though this may have been made the more reasonable by the fact that the netting of the mosquito guards of our hammocks appealed to Tross as a comfortable place to spend the night. He was a good watchdog, and sometimes we were awakened by his low growl, and a voice saying "*Cho!*—Be quiet!" Just now we were interested in the cord about his neck, and we asked Bayo about it.

"It is more obia. It is strong, too. Nothing happens to Tross when he goes in the bush. You will see."

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

437 sleeping in their own hammocks slung under a shed provided for the purpose by the company. The next day they make their way back up the river, in the corial which they brought down with them tied behind the raft. They bring back no money; it is useless.

262 Cassava is very filling; yams are sweet; mareepa oil gives a sense of well-being; peanuts are pleasant while palavering; a few pieces of bahkra candy are toothsome to eat, but still the pot lacks meat. A slice of the white breast of a bush turkey, the *powese,* or a piece of the carcass of a red howler, or a slice of fat meat from the tapir or bush cow, or the second joint of *mom,* the bush hen, or the sweet Djuka substitute for ham, *pingo,* the peccary—these are morsels that black men dream about.

224 789 After resting a few days, one of the blacks wishes to try out his new gunpowder, and makes preparation for a hunt. The bahkra powder is too strong for the thin walls of his [411] cheap shotgun. He dilutes it with charcoal, adding a bit of pemba dotee, the sacred white clay, to help the shot find the game. A bit of dried nekku leaf from the medicine man adds to the straightness of the aim. The gun likewise must be sprinkled with high wine, squirted from the mouth. All

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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this is bush magic. Around his neck several amulets are hung, one to enable him to find the game, another to keep him from getting lost, and the third, a small pouch of dried leaves, to make him shoot well. With these he takes the game trail behind the village, by the cassava fields where the women are working.

The trail does not last long; he begins to stalk like a black shadow through the bush. Overhead, parrots are cackling noisily, green as the jungle leaves. They eye him suspiciously as he snakes his way noiselessly through the tangled bush. In the dim blue jungle light the game is hard to see. But the Djuka, accustomed to it, approaches the tree where the parrots are. Some fly away.

Down on his haunches, like a Russian dancer, the hunter advances in a squatting position until he is directly underneath. He holds his gun at arm's length, the stock resting not on the shoulder but placed in the palm of his left hand, which is extended in front of him. This is a remnant from the old flintlock days, when the pans would occasionally flash back and burn the side of the face, unless the gun were held practically at arm's length. There is the added advantage of permitting a quicker movement of the barrel over a wide arc, especially when the hunter is crouched in this squatting position. He fires and the body of a parrot comes tumbling down through the leaves.

Accompanying the Djuka hunter is his highly prized hunting dog—a mangy little terrier. It is stained all over with a red nut-juice to lend it prowess in the pursuit of some par-

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SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

224 ticular animal. The red terrier will not hunt anything else.
231 It stands now ferociously over the body of the dead parrot, its tongue hanging out, panting.

411 Bows and arrows are as common as shotguns, and preferred by many of the black huntsmen because they make no noise, need no mansanny. The bow is fashioned from one of the South American hardwoods, letterwood or purpleheart. The shaft is tremendously resilient, and strung with [283] *singrassi* it takes a stout arm indeed to bend it. Singrassi is a species of grass which is hand-spun into tough cord, by rolling it on the flesh of the thigh. When unflexed, the carved bow is nearly six feet long.

The arrows are made from hollow reeds, and are extremely light and well balanced. Into one end of the reed a foot-long hardwood point is set, wrapped with singrassi and gummed. At the other end, the ferrule is similarly set in, the joint again being wrapped around to prevent splitting. Some arrows have metal points filed from old bush-knives. A five-foot arrow like this can be used as a little javelin for spearing small game. The Bush Negroes also use blunt arrows to stun birds.

224 A naked savage stalking through the bush, armed only with a bow and arrow, furnishes a sight of the primitive that is fast disappearing from this commonplace world. The [534 323 321] Djuka calls some of his game, principally the agoutis, by imitating their cries on a little whistle, made out of baked clay or a hollow shell. The imitation is so accurate, in the case of smaller game, as to fool even the jaguar that feeds on

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these animals. So the hunter is occasionally surprised to find 224 a big cat responding to his game call.

Far up the river, jaguars have been known to come near 224 a provision clearing and carry off an infant while the mother 136 was at work in the cassava field. The grown Djuka, however, is not afraid of these cats. The jaguar is a medium-sized feline, the third largest of the cat family, but it is essentially cowardly. If a lone Negro encounters one on a game trail, a duel commences that usually ends with the shooting of the jaguar. On one occasion we saw a hunter come back from the game trail, armed only with a machete, who had met and killed one of these cats.

There are several smaller cats in the South American jungle, ranging in size from the puma to the diminutive jaguarundi. The boa constrictor is not the menace that some travellers make it out to be. The Bush Negroes will not kill either a boa or an alligator, nor will they allow a white man to do so. If they see the white man aiming his gun at snakes, [825 they will knock up the muzzle. Such reptiles are sacred. 778 262] Some of the Indians of the district, on the other hand, are fond of snake meat, and hunt it regularly. But the Bush [829] Negroes look down on them.

In setting traps the Bush Negroes exhibit the typical cun- 224 ning of jungle dwellers. They have preserved the West African types of traps. Trails on which armadillos forage are set with a shotgun, in the middle of the path. By seizing the bait the animal shoots itself.

At night on the game trail the lone hunter builds a lean-

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224 to and camps before his little fire. The red monkey bands howl in the darkness, but the hunter is not afraid. The fact that a puma may be in a tree near by does not prevent him from snoring.

224 648 The Bush Negroes seldom have occasion to take a white man hunting. Because of his incompetence they are forced to hunt differently when he is along.

We are aroused at five o'clock one morning when Daniels, a "balata bleeder" from British Guiana, makes his appearance. He is a husky, powerful Negro from Demerara, a town in the adjacent colony, and one of the few men ever to obtain the confidence and friendship of the Djukas. Some years ago he saved many Bush Negroes from famine, when the cassava and rice crops had failed, by arranging, with the aid of Mynheer Alexander Wolff, for the Dutch government to give many thousands of guilders' worth of rice to feed them. Because of this, and because he speaks English perfectly and has the bahkra's point of view, no better person could possibly accompany us on the coming hunt.

482 415 171 The three Bush Negro bearers who go along with us carry wicker baskets of woven reed containing supplies. They are carried on the bearer's back, held in place by a band around the forehead—a device borrowed from the Indians.

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The blacks admire the bahkra's shotgun and rifle—beautiful, well-oiled weapons which they love. They gaze through the barrel of the shotgun to see the clean bore, and make a comparison with their own meagre, fouled guns. They sniff at the rifle, however, because it shoots only one bullet. How can a man get game with a single ball? Explanations of the high power of the shell produce no effect upon them. 224 648

We load. Canned goods, rice, bacon, tobacco, coffee—enough for five days. The provisions are packed in the wicker rucksacks, along with hammocks. The start is made. Walking through the village, the packers exchange jests with Negro women who pause to watch us go by. The hunters are teased regarding the amount of game they will bring back. [522]

After a half-mile walk we reach the new cassava fields in back of the village at a quarter of six, as the sun is rising. The women are already at work. Beyond lies the game trail. It is simply a slight path through the jungle brush, with occasional pools of water through which we wade. Idle toucans eye us from nearby palm trees. A flurry in the bush off to the right indicates the escape of an agouti, but we are not quick enough to see it. The agouti is a kind of giant guinea pig, called by the natives *cony-cony*, meaning "cunning-cunning," because it is hard to outwit. The Bush Negroes are eager to get some of this sweet, succulent meat.

Within an hour the last cassava field is left far behind and we are in the "high bush." The tops of giant trees are lost to sight a hundred and fifty feet overhead. Their massive trunks are buttressed with branches that have grown back 224 648 137

224 into the ground, becoming roots. The jungle vines, the lianas,
648 twine about the boles of palms, adding to the tangle of leaves.
137 The jungle is one immense struggle, none the less fierce because it is silent. The foliage is fighting for light and air.

224 We wade across a number of small creeks that bar our
648 path. Beautiful flat-winged butterflies hover in the hot air. The drone of other insects continues until our ears become accommodated to the sound and we no longer hear it. For five hours the trek continues.

At eleven o'clock a halt is called for lunch. The Djukas [482] drop their fifty-pound packs, under which they have trotted more easily than the white with only a gun and canteen. A little fire is started and we begin to eat. The creek beside the camp has no name; it is known only as a small tributary of the Lombe Creek. This is the occasion for a little ceremony. The stream is to be named after the first person to eat beside it, which in this case is a white man. A Bush Negro takes a mouthful of water from the creek and spits it back, motioning us to do the same. We comply. Then the Negro names the stream *"Datra Cong Creekee"*—"Doctor Kahn Creek." The others respond with solemnity, "Daso." We pass a few pleasantries and go on.

By two o'clock the fatigue is beginning to tell on the bahkra. A halt is called. The country gets higher as we leave [133] the neighbourhood of the river, but the bush does not thin out. The ground is rolling, with knolls fifty feet high. Up these the carriers scramble like goats, despite their load, but Daniels says they are going slow because of the bahkra. Be-

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sides the pack each carries a shotgun and a bush-knife. The latter is indispensable, for if the game falls in the brush it literally has to be cut out. There is nothing but muck underfoot, and our boots are by this time weighted down with it. We recall the adventurer Stedman going barefooted through this bush; and while preoccupied with this thought we slip on some roots and flounder in the mire.

Just where a yard-thick tree lies fallen across the path we come upon footprints. After studying them the Negroes state that a hunter passed along this trail the day before. Suddenly Daniels motions everyone to be still. He hears monkeys in the tree-tops a hundred yards ahead.

Noiselessly the packers unsling their harness and drop the baskets in the trail. Daniels and the bahkra go forward, as carefully as possible, hoping for monkey meat. It is impossible for white men to avoid making a sound in the brush; the monkeys hear it and cease their noise. They must know that something is approaching. Daniels motions us to lie down, and twenty minutes are passed perfectly immobile on the ground. We are conscious only of our own breathing and a slight movement of wind in the blue half-light of the jungle. Bodies in contact with the earth bring back the memory that we are preying animals. Civilization has not eradicated the primitive thrill of stalking meat.

There is a noise in the high branches overhead; we can see though we cannot hear the rustling where the tree-top has bent under the weight of a simian. As yet no form has been seen. There is no wind now, only an uncanny stillness. The

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224 648 rustle is heard again; there is no doubt that it is caused by the movement of a monkey. But cautiously rising up on our knees we can just make out a tiny patch of brown fur amidst the green far above. We draw a bead on the target and fire both barrels.

There is a human-like screech, and after it the crash of a body tumbling down through the branches. But it does not fall; the monkey is only wounded and catches itself halfway. Quickly Daniels fires both barrels and finishes the job. A huge black spider monkey, the *quata,* falls to the ground forty feet away, quite dead. We have fresh meat for supper.

The bearers are back on the trail, now completely out of sight. Daniels picks up the carcass of the monkey and starts to return in what we are sure is the wrong direction. Of all places to get lost, we think, none is worse than the high bush, where there is only one trail, and that cannot be found. But Daniels was too wise to trust to a sense of direction. In spite of the excitement of imminent game, coming in from the trail he had broken little twigs all along the way. By following these markers we find the way back through the trackless bush.

The bearers are still waiting on the trail, and are delighted at the sight of the monkey. One of them makes a slit in its chin and passes through it a length of singrassi, the handspun cord. The end of the string is tied around the monkey's tail, thus binding the head and the tail together. The carcass is then slung over the shoulder like a big brass horn, and we are ready to go.

224 648 The next day the hunters rouse early and breakfast in the freshness of the warm morning. Two of the Djukas refuse absolutely to accompany the bahkra any further. The white man, they say, goes through the jungle like a thunderstorm and brings bad luck. The prospects of getting any game with him around are exceedingly small. They get out their hunting amulets, and rub on their gun-barrels a concoction prepared by the medicine man. Daniels laughs at this, but they refuse to be teased. [789]

"You'll see!" they assert doggedly, certain of their magic.

The party splits up to go in three directions. Two bearers remain with us, one posted out ahead as a tracker, and Daniels, who brings up the rear as gun-bearer. The other two Negroes go in different directions and are immediately out of sight. We continue ahead, cutting the way through the bush—there are no trails. For two hours we tramp along without sighting game, realizing that *more things see us than ever we see*. The jungle is not teeming with game, as popularly believed. There is an occasional herd of bush hogs, but in general it is necessary to hunt long and hard to bag any amount of meat. It is doubtful if a man could subsist on the food his gun brings in, not because the game is lacking but because of the difficulty of seeing it. [136]

224 The Djukas also hunt in other ways. One device is "still hunting"—sitting motionless in a tree beside a game trail, waiting for some animal to come along underneath. The Indians' *curare* and the blow-gun which shoots the poisoned dart are not employed by the Negroes. The only co-operative [411]

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hunts among the Djukas occur when a tapir is sighted near the village; in which case all will go out and endeavour to surround it, and share equally in the kill. When, in dry seasons, *pingos* (bush hogs) swim the river in herds, the Bush Negroes take every available corial and paddle after them, cutting their throats, knocking them on the head, or drowning them by holding their heads under water. The result is a feast, and the excess meat is smoked. [251]

Djukas have also been known to leap from their canoes upon the backs of deer swimming the river, and thus to drown them.

Game that hears us first is gone. A herd of peccaries ahead of us hears the approach; there is a loud crash as they retreat back into the high bush. The Negro tracker finds the trail and we beat around after them for hours, but the animals have outwitted us and cannot be located.

At the end of the day the other hunters return, one of them bringing in a small anteater and a red howling monkey, while the other carries two agouti. Our own success consists of one *powese* (bush turkey) and a small armadillo, the *capusee*. These are cleaned and smoked, and camp is made for the night.

About dusk one of the men goes into the jungle. Less than fifteen minutes later we hear the distant detonation of both barrels, followed by loud yells. Instantly everyone grabs for firearms and begins running in that direction, stumbling and sliding in the jungle evening. The Bush Negroes make their way with marvellous rapidity through the moonless dusk,

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224 hardly more than shadows. We find the man unharmed,
648 excited and voluble. He encountered a puma, a large one. He fired at close range and wounded it. We see a track of blood, and instantly set out to follow it. It is too dark now; we are forced to retreat back to camp, blazing the trees along the route to find the trail in the morning.

[342] At camp the Djukas erect four uprights and a roof of palm frond, as a shield from the rain and heavy dew. Another is rigged for their own use, and the hammocks are slung underneath. Again they sit up around the campfire and tell loud stories, the same ones, probably.

000 Sitting by the campfire in the pathless interior, thinking of the hundreds of desperate and difficult miles of surrounding jungle, blue by day and black by night, in the company of a few Negroes without whom it would be impossible to return, it is difficult for anyone to escape a feeling of weakness and insignificance. One scoffs at the black man's superstitions, his amulets and guardian spirits, but in the bush at night one senses the overpowering magnitude of the fierce wilderness, one begins to understand his need for such things as a protection against the psychological powers of the darkness. We realize, of course, that there is little in the bush capable of hurting anyone, save some big cats and a few rare snakes. But, as a sceptic has said, it is not reason which governs men.

132 Late that night forked lightning lit up the eerie passages of the jungle. The corridors of trees were filled with wind. The branches, whipped furiously by the great volume of fast

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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moving air, roared like an open steam valve. We are rudely 132
awakened by Daniels, who shakes our hammock violently. He shouts over the uproar; everyone must leave the huts at once. A giant tree close to the windward is about to fall and might crush the huts while we sleep.

We quickly abandon the hut and are immediately drenched. Imagine such disconsolate men, staring at the moving wilderness of leaves damning all trees and all weather that takes them out of their hammocks at two o'clock in the morning, and almost reconciled to the idea of being crushed in comfortable hammocks in preference to standing out in the open, expecting a tree to fall on them anyway. But in a short time the storm subsides sufficiently to allow us to return.

The next morning we break camp and trek another day 224
back into the interior. There are no camps now, no huts of 648
any kind, no men. Only the high bush. We make an early start to look for the puma that escaped the night before. There is a bloody bed of sheltered leaves where the puma rested, but the rest of the path is obliterated by the storm.

We turn and begin the trek back.

A curious custom widely prevalent among the Bush Ne- 224 231
groes is that called *Dressy Dahgo,* or dressing the dog, in 825

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224 other words, preparing a dog in such a manner that it will
231 be capable of hunting a particular species of game. There are
825 several methods of accomplishing this. The Negro may grasp the animal between his knees and pour the *dressy* through the nose of the dog. This substance is composed of pieces of the animal which they desire the dog to hunt. Most commonly it is the foot; this is dried and then infused with water. The infusion is also rubbed on the dog's feet. Such preliminaries are usual in hunting peccary.

If the hunter desires to prepare his dog for pursuing the *labba,* a type of water rodent, he cuts the flesh from the nose of the labba and also from its feet, prepares an infusion with water, and then pours this through the dog's nose. Still another method is to mix the hair of the animal which is to be hunted with pepper, and then to rub the dog all over with this mixture.

A fourth way is to feed a piece of the liver of the desired animal to the dog; but it is essential that the liver be placed on a knife, allowing the dog to eat it from that.

224 There is an interesting superstition among the Djukas that
845 anyone who is related to a twin will seriously disrupt a hunting party. On one occasion a large quata, or spider monkey, was sighted by some hunters who, however, failed to bring the animal to earth after fifteen shots. Their ill-luck
to the fact that one of the huntsmen "belonged to a tw

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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torchlight. The Djukas have a rodent trap that is a direct African survival, found on both the West and East Coasts of Africa.

Stedman mentions in his *Narrative* that the Bush Negro rebels used a kind of conch-shell trumpet to call their people to arms. The same species of trumpet is still to be found among the Djukas, and is similar in type to those found on the Gold Coast. The nose flute used by the Bush Negroes also comes from the Congo region of Africa. Wooden trumpets like those used by the Bush Negroes are found also along the Gold Coast and in the Congo country.

The drums form perhaps the clearest and most characteristic West African survival. They are not at all like the Indian drums of the same region, which are flat and more like a tambourine. The Djuka manner of constructing them from a hollowed-out log, with skin stretched over the opening and thonged over pegs, is commonly in use among innumerable African tribes. The tuning of them by hammering on the pegs, set at an angle, is also a detail from Africa. The use of drums for communication over long distances, and the development of an elaborate code of drum signals, is developed to a high degree among West African tribes. Rattray, in his study of the Ashanti people, gives an extended description of this.

The *anansi-tories,* the spider stories, ubiquitous in the West Indies, are also found among the Tshi-speaking peoples of the West Coast. The use of white clay for smearing ceremonial objects and amulets is African. The decoration of

643 /71 cont./
692
[578] --Disputes over the appropriation of lands are very rare in
[423] Boni country because of the sparseness of population.

We have never seen the grand man hold anything other than audiences of conciliation relative to people who had fought or threatened each other. The custom of the Refugee Blacks would [183] indeed be difficult to fit into a code. The state of persons and social duties derive so directly from beliefs that the intervention of a judge is not indispensable for the functioning of the society.

643 The grand man is supposed to retain power over all the lands
423 of Boni country which are not allocated to lineages; in particular, this is the case with the upper basin of the headstreams of the Lawa.
[648] It is above all by virtue of this that he is considered the suzerain
[184] of the Indians living in this territory. The same conception exists among the Djuka with respect to the headstreams of the Tapanahoni.

643 The suzerainty of the grand man over the land and waters is
724 marked, as in Africa, by special rights in the domain of hunting
[226] and fishing. He alone can authorize group fishing on the great river by the process of la nivrée. The same problem does not hold for hunting which is practiced in a strictly individual fashion. But it is taken for granted that if a tapir (1) is killed in Boni country,

1. The tapir is the largest animal of the bush.

the hunter must carry its head as well as a thigh to the grand man.

643 A certain misunderstanding reigns between the Europeans and
648 the Boni on the subject of the duties of the grand man. The Europeans tend to believe that he commands the tribe in the way in which a colonel commands a regiment, that he can designate a certain man for a certain job, fix the price of boats, etc. The grand man tries to give satisfaction to the administration /72/ to justify the pay he draws, but he succeeds very badly in it, for in reality he possesses almost no temporal power.

/74 cont./

692 693 [641] An essential principle of the social life of the Refugee Blacks is that every citizen carries the law within himself. If several men are requested to arbitrate a private quarrel, it is said that they form a lãnti kuutu. But they can hand down only a sentence of conciliation. Only the general assembly convoked by the grand man has the power to impose its decision.

692 775 The ordinary role of the lãnti kuutu is to judge the dead, to make sure that they were not wisimã (sorcerers), to proceed to their interrogation in order to give the force of law to the answers, especially in what concerns inheritance.

692 693 775 The lãnti kuutu meets when a death is announced; the first to arrive go to the grand man who designates two of the captains to preside over the council this time (for all the members are equal). In fact, rare are the councils attended by all the men present in the villages. Most of the time the lãnti kuutu groups only about 30 men, mostly old men.

692 The lãnti kuutu meets very rarely to judge a living man. That has happened only three times between 1948 and 1957.

692 687 In 1948 the grand man convoked the lãnti kuutu to judge a man who, duly called as boatman to take him to Saint-Laurent, had not come. He was sentenced to make a pallisade around the grand man's habitation, which took more than a month of work. /75/

692 685 In 1953 the council met to judge Loko (Dju), who had made himself guilty of aggravated theft (simulated shipwreck to the detriment of a Benzdorp trader and resale of the merchandise), for which he had been condemned by French justice to several months in prison. Loko had to make honorable amends in the presence of the assembled members of his lineage, then he was sentenced to make 50 planks for the benefit of the grand man.

[224] [643] In August, 1957, the council met to judge Pototo (Asisi-Dju), 23 years old, and Amusupé (Asisi-Aw.B.), 70 years old, who were guilty of a grave offense: misappropriation of a tapir (malpouri) killed by a Djuka who, feeling gratitude toward the grand man, had made known his intention to offer him part of the meat.

/75 cont./

692 The Djuka had killed the tapir which had sunk. Pressed for
685 time, he had had to leave, requesting the Asisi people to look for
[224] it.

The next day Pototo and Amusupé found the animal floating
[251] between two waters. They hid it in the bush and had it smoke-
[262] dried on their own behalf. They ate it with their wives (about 100 kilos of meat).

That ended up by becoming known, and a jealous man denounced them to the grand man.

Called before the lãnti kuutu, they had to apologize and were each sentenced to pay as a fine to the grand man a demijohn of 15 liters of tafia (worth about 6,000 francs) within four months.

[735] Both of them were at a loss to pay this fine, belonging to the category of ne'er-do-wells who have no regular activity and live from day to day, selling some fish or game from time to time.

[613] Amusupé appealed to Captain Konduku, head of his lineage, who agreed to pay for the tafia for him, Amusupé reimbursing him little by little.

[613] As for Pototo, the head of his lineage refused categorically
[689] to help him because he had eaten the maïpouri alone without allowing his family to share it (the village people would have found it normal to profit by the crime, but they deemed it immoral that
[123] one of their relatives had deprived them of meat). After three and a half months, Pototo began to occupy himself seriously at a paid job which he had the luck to find because we needed a bossman for two weeks.

577 The Boni did nothing but laugh while telling us this story.
626 Affairs of this kind, which do not involve any suprahuman inter-
[522] vention, escape in large measure their social morality; they have a certain feeling for what should be done, but submit to it only in proportion as they fear a material and immediate sanction.

/81 cont./

423 The right to fish in certain rivers is held by lineages; other
226 rivers are regarded as property common to the inhabitants of a
613 village, whatever their kinship may be.
621 For example, the right to fish in Kumata Kiiki, a small
[425] creek of the Surinam bank, near the village of Kotika, is reserved for members of the Lapé lineage (the members of this lineage farmed there formerly, but they abandoned these lands, currently farmed by the Kotika people).

Maripa and Likanaon creeks, downstream from Boniville, are reserved for the inhabitants of Boniville.

Asisi Creek is reserved for the inhabitants of Asisi (Dju, Awara Bakka, and Dipélu II lineages).

423 The right to hunt cannot be reserved; everyone has the right
[224] to hunt anywhere.

The right to gather and the right to cut trees for making
[222] planks or boats is generally bound up with the right to farm.
[313] The right to collect underground products is completely
423 independent of the right to farm. For example, if someone finds
316 a seam of kaolin (pemba) on the lands of another lineage, he
317 exploits it freely. This aspect of the legal conceptions of the Refugee Blacks is very interesting, for it shows that even from the
423 point of view of customary law, the grand man is not entitled to
316 exercise any rights over the production of the Creole gold miners.
648 He could demand indemnities only insofar as these gold miners farm lands over which the Boni exercise customary rights. The interminable discussions which the claims of Grand Man Anato brought on at the time of the Lawa gold rush at the end of the past century would have been avoided by a better knowledge of the customary law.

/254 cont./

784 756 751 If someone realizes that he has broken his kina, he goes to see, not an ɔbiaman, but the specialist-healer of leprosy and asks him to treat him by way of prevention.

411 832 [177] [558] Beliefs about guns and hunting. The gun, which entered the everyday life of the Refugee Blacks two centuries ago, has taken an important place in their magic. It is the symbol of virility. A Refugee Black who no longer has a gun is a man humiliated and almost dishonored. As one of them explained to us in begging us to help him replace his old gun eaten by rust: "If you cannot present yourself before the women with a machete, hunting bag on your shoulder, and gun in your hand, you are not a man."

411 754 This idea has been transposed onto the plane of magic and they take for granted that the wisimã can, by putting evil spells on a gun, attack the owner of the weapon in his virility. It is supposed to be enough for someone to put his finger into the barrel of the gun while uttering a formula of vengeance, or even being moved by hate for the owner of the weapon, for this gun to be no longer capable of hitting the mark. So, to avoid these misfortunes, the Boni never part with their guns and never lend them to anyone. If, in spite of these precautions, they have the impression that a gun no longer fires so well, they will go to an ɔbiaman to have it washed of maleficent influence. There exist for that purpose several remedies all of which consist of soaking the gun for one to three days in infusions of leaves, which has the unfailing result of making it rust. We have seen a hammerless, latest model gun spoiled thus by an intelligent Boni head boatman, a clever mechanic and usually full of good sense.

411 789

224 We have never witnessed among the Boni any individual or collective hunting rites claiming to attract game or to promote meeting it (when, on the contrary, hunting piayes are extremely widespread among the Creoles).

KUNU

We sat one night talking about the neku vine, which is 278
used to poison the streams for fishing, and the ceremonies 226
attending the discovery of a new one, how the ownership of it is passed on in the female line, and about the songs which are sung to celebrate the finding, and the feast which is given at this time.

"Do you use this poison only to catch fish, or does it have other uses?" we asked guardedly.

"Well, sometimes people use it to commit suicide," one [762]
man said. "That is bad. Sometimes a man or a woman will do it to put a kunu on another's family." He went on to tell of a man who lately did this. He had been promised the daughter of a family in this very village when the girl was a small, small child. It happened that the girl's uncles found gold in one of the streams, for which the white man gave them much goods, and now they were big men. Since the girl's children would inherit much wealth, they wanted her to be the principal wife of a man of rank. There were messages back and forth, and council meetings, but the uncles insisted that the girl return the gifts she had received —insisted against the advice of many people. So this *kio*, [627]
this young lad, could get his revenge in no other way than by taking his own life, and sending a kunu to the family. 976
"The next time you come you will probably see the kunu 954
at work. It is always so. Of what use is wealth when the children begin to die? One year the crops are bad, and you have to buy food. One year you go from one obia man to the next to find out why your sister cannot make children. Your money goes. Kunu is a bad thing."

Another day a woman came to us with a comb to sell. 439
She had heard that we were gathering pieces to put into a large house where carvings from Africa were being shown, and she wanted us to have this comb of hers which was [584]
made as a betrothal gift by her husband who was now many years dead. It was an old comb with several broken tines and holes bored into it by insects, but the decorated end was still very beautiful, and we were eager to buy it. When we 439
asked her to explain to us the meaning of the design, she 532

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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834 848 "Don't go off into the bush with a man. A child born to you will have a bad bush god, if you do," she added as an afterthought.

5

123 177 In the other corner, Chief And'u, the bassia, and about half a dozen men were talking of the great book about their ancestors which the white man had.

"It is large so," said the chief to one of the older men, indicating an imaginary size which multiplied the size of the actual volume at least tenfold. "And people say it has in it pictures of the Apuku gods, small as we ourselves know them, and a picture of the evil Apuku who appear as fire in the distance. . . . Mati, white men have gone into the Kromanti houses in the country of our ancestors and have made pictures!"

"It is impossible!"

"I want to see!"

The old man said, "I will not look. Books are not for us, mati."

"But mati, the G'aman has heard, and he wants to see."

The old man shook his head. He would have nothing of pictures that figured what should never have been allowed to be photographed.

It seemed prudent to give the conversation a new turn. 137 Down river, the men had said that a man of this village had lately found a new *neku* liana. Was it so?

"The man who found it was my son," said the old man, "you should have come for the dance. You would have seen how we do things here in the bush. But pictures you could [882] not take. No, mati, if you photograph, you take the soul."

824 796 The festivities for the find had been especially joyful, he explained, for the boy had only recently come by his gods, and this had been yet another proof that he would serve his family capably. For though the find was his own, all [278] his relatives in the mother's line would enjoy its use. Here- [226] after, when the poison of its leaves and its slender branches

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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was wanted for killing fish in a creek, they would have their own neku.

When a man found a neku vine, he first had to cut some of it, and bring it home with him. Then he sent word to all the men of his village to come and carry the branches of the neku to the place of ceremony. He named the place and day for the pounding of the neku. The invitation was given in the name of the old men of the village, and the headman sent his bassias, those men who assist him in village affairs, with messages to neighboring settlements. When this had been done, the finder of the vine appointed five or six men of his own choice, and these were called "Bassias of Neku." It was they who had charge of the ceremonies. The night preceding the dance these men went about crying, "Tomorrow we will have neku. All must come." Again the men went to the bush where the neku vine had been found, and brought to the village some more of the vine for pounding.

Early the following morning a horn was sounded, and the men from the neighboring villages who had come for the festivities also went and cut some of the neku, and brought it to the pounding place. When the men were gathered, each took up a stick and pounded the neku. And what they crushed they put into corials filled with water. These corials were then sunk in the stream. In a short time the poisoned fish floated to the surface of the water, and all the men took up their long-handled scoops and began to fish. The bassias of neku, whom the finder of the plant had appointed for the ceremony, directed the fishing. When a quantity of fish had been caught, those who were not of the village where the owner of the vine lived gave of their catch to the finder of the neku plant, and some went to the chief of the village, and the elders, too, had a share of what the outsiders had caught, though in some villages only the owner of the vine profited by the gifts of the others. Then the men joined the women, who were dressed in their finest cloths, and the dancing began.

REBEL DESTINY

484 Sedefo might greet his sister. It was almost a half-day's travel, going up river, from Asindopo Lantiwe, yet it was not quite noon, and we were passing it. Here was Hei Kununu, its steep slopes already swinging into sight as we rounded a bend of the river and came through the small rapids above the settlement, and still it seemed as though we had but begun our course down toward our base camp and the railhead. And it was still early in the afternoon when we came to Ma'lobbi.

2

462 At the landing place, women were about. Much of the work of the Bush Negro woman is at the river's edge, and for strangers like ourselves, passing in a dugout, the presence of women working on the bank was the only sign [361] that here was a landing place, and that farther inland lay a [912] village. To the river they came with their carved clothes [296] beaters, like the one we could see in the hand of the woman who greeted us here at Ma'lobbi, fashioned, as we later learned when she sold it to us, in the shape of a male vodu head on one end, and a female snake on the other. It was at the edge of the water that a woman scraped cooking pots [264] and calabash dishes with sand, and it was here, if it seemed a good day for fishing, that a woman would go wading in the water to rest a cooking pot on the river [206] bottom, and stand silently until an inquisitive school of small fish swam into it when, with a quick jerk, she would bring it up to take out what fish there were. This, aside from the use of small hooks, was the only kind of fishing a woman could do, for the fishing traps were for the use of men. But the cooking pot brought in many small fish to add flavor to a dish of rice.

123 As we walked into the village, accompanied by one of our 609 younger paddlers, the bassia greeted us. The head of the village was waiting for us, he told us. Paddlers of small boats on their way downstream had spread the word that our visit with the Granman was drawing to an end.

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Rice, especially when ripening, is attacked by birds, particularly the parakeets and parrots. These can destroy an entire 343 field in one evening. Sometimes the Djukas are forced to sit 136 up all night with shotguns to scare them off. Weevils and plant diseases are also common.

They have large sweet potatoes, known as yams, but no 262 white potatoes. Corn, which they call *koru;* okra, or *oko;* and peanuts (*pinda*), form a minor part of the Djuka diet. There are occasional banana and cocoanut trees, and some pineapples and breadfruit. Some few additional nuts and fruits are furnished by the jungle. Palm oil, of which they are excessively fond, is another part of the commissary. No journey is undertaken without a liberal supply. It is obtained by squeezing the nut or fruit of a species of palm, called the mareepa. To the white man it tastes like olive oil. Sugar cane is seen in a number of villages, as are domestic fowl. No cattle [231] or swine are to be found.

Thus the Bush Negroes carry on with courage and extreme hardihood under the implacable necessities of life in the enemy jungle, in which the white man has never been able to make his home successfully.

A common sight along the river is a Djuka black, poised 226 on a slippery rock in statuesque immobility, his bow flexed 516 and arrow drawn, shooting for fish.

● 226 The most primitive way of fishing, among the Bush Negroes, is with the bow and arrow. It takes a steady arm and
[227 eye. The fish arrow has a barbed point, which, besides being
411] glued on the shaft with gum, is tied to the centre of the shaft by a string of singrassi. When the fisher sights along the shaft and lets fly, skilfully impaling a fish just under the surface of the water, the point of the arrow may break off, but the string retains the shaft. It threshes around in the water behind the wounded fish, marking its location.

226 The Djukas are clever folk. One species of fish, the *cumaru,*
825 feeds on the seed of a certain tree, the *walaba,* that grows by the river bank. When the seed-pod of this tree is ripe, it explodes with a loud *pop!* For the fish this sound is associated with the falling of the seed into the water. They swim toward the sound to find and eat the seed. To attract these fish the Djukas imitate with a slap of the hands the noise of the cracking pod. The cumaru draw toward the spot, where the fisher is waiting with poised arrow. The result is more fish for the evening pot.

226 The women have a way of fishing in which they knock
[227] the bottom from a bottle and put crumbs of cassava into it, up near the neck. The trap is placed beside the bank, in shallow water where it can be watched. Minnows enter the submerged bottle after the crumbs, and the waiting women snatch out the bottle before the fish can escape. These minnows belong to the Rosy Barb species, highly prized by collectors of tropical fish.

[227] Other traps are carefully constructed of bamboo slats and

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reeds, to catch the *dahgo fissee* or *snakee fissee*—in other words, the dog fish and the eel. Trapped under water, these fish are easy prey to the savage piraya, so other devices are also used. A baited hook is attached to a bankside shrub called *mucca mucca* (*Montrichardia sp.*), the stalk of which is bent over and fixed beneath the water, under a constant strain. The hold is very slight—a hair-trigger tension—so that as soon as the fish snatches the bait the slight movement frees the bent stalk, whipping the fish free of the water.

There is a plant used by the Negroes to poison fish. The juice of the *nekku* (*Longchocorpus densiflorus* or *rufescens*) has an active alkaloid principle that is stupefying in its effect. It is called *yarro conali* by the Indians. Baskets full of nekku are carried to a small creek. The Djukas sit on the bank, beating the plant into pulp with carved wooden flails. Juice from the bruised shrub poisons the water, and the fish succumb, floating belly up, so that they can be scooped out with a dip-net. Often we passed Djuka tribesmen carrying baskets of this deadly plant toward some quiet stream.

In time of drought it often happens that fish are land-locked between sandbars. It is then an easy matter to scoop them out with a dip-net. Piraya are fished for with a hook and line, with a wire leader obtained in Paramaribo. A piece of bloody meat is used as bait, and the line is trolled. As soon as a fish is felt the rod is whipped overhead, throwing the fish up on the bank. Even out of water the piraya's jaws are still dangerous and avoided.

Gill nets are useless because there are too many predatory

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226 animals in the water. The catch would be consumed before
227 it could be taken up. Besides spring-traps that snap shut when the bait is touched, cone-traps are used, similar to those of more northern waters. The fish pokes his way into a concave cone, at the end of which is an opening guarded by bristles. Going in, the bristles are easily pushed aside, but, coming out, they bar the path. Then, say the Bush Negroes, the fish speaks to the trap as follows:

"Matti, opa duro gimme"—"Friend, open the door."

But the trap replies: *"Matti, me na cong tia massra de habbe nassloto cun, dassa ope na da you"*—"Friend, I can't until master who has the key comes; he will open it for you."

262 Fish form a large part of the Djuka diet, and fishing is
264 carried on by women, men, and children indifferently. When our canoe paddlers bring in some fish, they get out their
[252 little black gipsy pot, add whole peppers, and boil the fish
263] as it is. It is then eaten like corn-on-the-cob. The head, especially, is a delicacy, the bones being crunched audibly and with gusto. The meat goes in one side of a Bush Negro mouth and the bones seem to come out the other. If a halt is called in the business of eating, it is only long enough to say: *"Fissee makee bon sweetee muffo"*—"Fish make good eating," i. e. make good sweet mouth.

177 The method of finding out who is responsible for the
[695] death of a man is found in many parts of the West Coast. The details vary considerably, but the essential idea that death is caused by witchcraft, and that some individual is guilty, is found in West Africa as well as in South America.
[764] The method of binding the corpse on a platform, covered with blankets of weeds, comes from the Gold Coast.

177 A number of Bush Negro words are African in origin.
192 *Lo,* the Djuka word for clan, designates a village in Yoruba or Ibo. The *quaqua,* the resounding plank which accompanies the drums, is possibly a Kikongo or M'pongwe word from the Ivory Coast. *Azeman,* meaning a kind of vampire, is an Ewe and Tshi word, as well as a Bush Negro term. The fetish house, the *kifunga,* is probably derived from Bacongo, Luango, Cameroons, or Togo, and the word itself is in all likelihood a Bacongo term. *Leeba,* meaning "river," is an Ewe word. *Akra,* designating a kind of ghost, is a Tshi word. *Makuku,* designating a Bush Negro fireplace made with three lumps of clay, is a Kikongo word, and the custom itself is derived from the Yoruba, Slave Coast, the lower Niger, and the Central and East Sudan region.

177 The carved wooden locks, the quintessence of Bush Negro
[322] wood carving, are found also among the Ashanti, in Dahomey, and in the Sudan. The method of poisoning fish by
[226] beating into a stream the pulp of poisonous plants is common in South America among the Indians, but it is likewise found in West Africa among the Tshi, Yoruba, Togo, Congo, and Angolo peoples. The same is true of other Djuka fishing practices, such as the custom of fishing at night by torchlight.

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The decoration of
177 objects with cowrie shells comes by way of Africa. The
[329] monkey dance said to be practised by the Djukas is described
[796] as similar to the gorilla dance of the West Coast. The coiled wire bracelets and anklets are of African design, and the
[301 291] general mode of dress is the same.

The Djuka attitude toward the silk-cotton tree is common among the tribes of the Guinea Coast. "Throughout West
[824] Africa from Senegal to the Niger the silk-cotton tree is regarded with reverence and believed to be the abode of a god or spirit. This general consensus of opinion is no doubt due to the stupendous size attained by some of these trees, which tower far above all others of the forest."

[524] *Adji-boto,* a game in which seeds are placed in round holes in a board, is played not only by the Bush Negroes but also by the Town Negroes of Paramaribo; it is found along the Gold Coast, Benin, Sierra Leone, West Sudan, and, in modified forms, in many other parts of Africa. The fish spear
[227] of the Djukas is found in Liberia, Mandingo, and the Gold Coast. Shooting fish with a bow and arrow is an African
[226] custom, but it is also widespread among the aboriginal Indians of South America. On the other hand, according to Dr. W. Roth of Demerara, a number of traps and hunting devices now used by the Guiana Indians are of African origin and have been borrowed from the Negroes.

[372] The Djuka fire fan, woven of split rattan, is borrowed from the Arawak Indians, but different types of the same device can be found also among the Tshi- and Ewe-speaking people and in Liberia, Cameroons, etc. The Bush Negro

/150 cont./

249 There is only one variety of tobacco in use, probably the same one that is grown by the upland Indians. The leaves are
276 hung to dry from the rafters in the dwelling huts. For use, the dried leaves are softened in a small tin with water, and the juice that is poured into the palm of the hand is sniffed up and blown out again.

Bóembie.

249 This is Tephrosia toxicaria, whose roots are used as fish
226 poison. The man-high plants are found standing scattered on the grounds, where they are sowed with the other crops. The plant has hairy leaves and blooms with pink blossoms in clusters.

One uses the dried roots in order to "ponzen" with it between stones in the dry season when the river water is low. This operation consists of crushing the roots into fibers, whereby the poison is released as a milky substance and spreads in the water. In this manner warawara in particular -- in places difficult to reach otherwise -- are captured. According to the Bush Negroes, boembie works better than nekoe (1).

1. nekoe = a liana (Lonchocarpus) which is also used as fish poison.

B. Fruit Trees, Shrubs, and the Other Plants That Are Found in the Bush Negro Villages

241 Aside from the temporary crops that are grown on the grounds,
[177] the Bush Negro also uses fruit trees and other perennial crops that are planted in and along the edge of the villages. Most of them are well-known imported plants; some palm varieties are native. Perhaps these latter were already present on the spot when the village was established, or they more or less accidentally grew up there by the use of the pits. The following varieties are noted.

Coconut (kokonóto).

245 Occurs practically everywhere in the older villages, but is usually sparse because of the constant sweeping of the ground;

/8 cont./

241 experience of the American Indians, which seem the only utilizable
177 ones in the interior of the country.

Thus these populations which are so varied have in large measure the same agriculture and the same food.

241 Basic crops are manioc, consumed in the form of couac
[262] (flour roasted and granulated) which is the base food, the Indian yam, and tubers analogous to taro (dachine, "Caribbean cabbage").
[171] The Refugee Blacks plant mountain rice in addition. The Creoles do not plant rice but have on the other hand a greater variety of vegetables and fruits.

31 Men in Guiana live on the rivers; villages and cultivated
36 lands are to be found on their banks; everywhere else one finds
182 only the deserted forest; only Creole gold miners, constrained by their work, sometimes establish their villages far from watercourses.
181 The Refugee Blacks, like the Indians, love the rivers where they
182 find, along with water and light, the possibility of moving with-
171 out hindrance; they are a people of canoeists; their traditions are widely influenced by life on the river, and their mode of living finds in this a deep originality.

131 In fact, setting aside the gold miners' villages, we can say
133 that the populations of the Guianas living by exploitation of the
182 natural resources of the country have a linear habitat: it can be
171 estimated not in surface but in length, for it is limited to a band of one kilometer along each watercourse accessible to pirogues. These watercourses are limited in number, for one can take for granted that at a distance of some 20 kilometers from the source of each river, the congestion caused by fallen trees and parasitic vegetation prevents easy movement.

[161] Actually, considering the very low density of the population,
[226] the small rivers are scarcely utilized except as fishing places.

487 All the rivers are interrupted by falls and rapids which render
501 the use of large boats impossible. The pirogues of the Refugee

/15 cont./ Thus it was at
423 the time of the Lawa gold rushes (1890) that Grand Man Anato
643 caused rent to be paid by the Creole miners who were settling in
[648] the region. But this practice, excessive when the small portion of this territory actually occupied by the Boni is considered, ended
423 up by falling into disuse. Nowadays things have fallen into the
648 opposite extreme, and the Boni find themselves having no right,
178 customary or otherwise, over the country of their ancestors; the first comer, even of the Creoles from the British West Indies, can settle anywhere, dislocating the apportionment of the land among lineages. This situation has been harmful to the life of the tribe by contributing to the scattering of the peopling. Perhaps it is not too late to remedy the situation. An /16/ /Figure 2 appears here/ /17/ African tribe cannot live wholesomely if there are no definite relationships, entailing unquestioned rights, between the group and the land.

423 The following modus vivendi has been in force for many
619 years:

a) The Djuka may circulate freely across Boni country, but
[486] they may not establish villages in it; if they wish to make clearings
[166] there, they must ask for permission from the grand man.
• [226] Otherwise they have the right to fish on the Tanpok and the Waki.

423 b) The Creoles may settle anywhere and make their clear-
648 ings where the lands are not used. But that does not modify in the minds of the Boni the lineages' rights over the land; this occupation is regarded as creating no new right; for example, the Doglis habitation is built on the lands of Kormotibo village.

423 c) The Boni reserve for themselves along with the Oayana
648 Indians the exclusive right to fish on the Litani and the Maruini.
822 On these rivers the Djuka do not have the right to penetrate.
(619)

The Boni may be computed at a little less than 1,000 persons
162 all told.

643 /71 cont./
692
[578] --Disputes over the appropriation of lands are very rare in
[423] Boni country because of the sparseness of population.

We have never seen the grand man hold anything other than audiences of conciliation relative to people who had fought or
[183] threatened each other. The custom of the Refugee Blacks would indeed be difficult to fit into a code. The state of persons and social duties derive so directly from beliefs that the intervention of a judge is not indispensable for the functioning of the society.

643 The grand man is supposed to retain power over all the lands
423 of Boni country which are not allocated to lineages; in particular, this is the case with the upper basin of the headstreams of the Lawa.
[648] It is above all by virtue of this that he is considered the suzerain
[184] of the Indians living in this territory. The same conception exists among the Djuka with respect to the headstreams of the Tapanahoni.

643 The suzerainty of the grand man over the land and waters is
724 marked, as in Africa, by special rights in the domain of hunting
[226] and fishing. He alone can authorize group fishing on the great river by the process of la nivrée. The same problem does not hold for hunting which is practiced in a strictly individual fashion. But it is taken for granted that if a tapir (1) is killed in Boni country,

1. The tapir is the largest animal of the bush.

the hunter must carry its head as well as a thigh to the grand man.

643 A certain misunderstanding reigns between the Europeans and
648 the Boni on the subject of the duties of the grand man. The Europeans tend to believe that he commands the tribe in the way in which a colonel commands a regiment, that he can designate a certain man for a certain job, fix the price of boats, etc. The grand man tries to give satisfaction to the administration /72/ to justify the pay he draws, but he succeeds very badly in it, for in reality he possesses almost no temporal power.

/81 cont./

423 The right to fish in certain rivers is held by lineages; other
222 rivers are regarded as property common to the inhabitants of a
613 village, whatever their kinship may be.

621 For example, the right to fish in Kumata Kiiki, a small
[425] creek of the Surinam bank, near the village of Kotika, is reserved for members of the Lapé lineage (the members of this lineage farmed there formerly, but they abandoned these lands, currently farmed by the Kotika people).

Maripa and Likanaon creeks, downstream from Boniville, are reserved for the inhabitants of Boniville.

Asisi Creek is reserved for the inhabitants of Asisi (Dju, Awara Bakka, and Dipélu II lineages).

423 The right to hunt cannot be reserved; everyone has the right
[224] to hunt anywhere.

The right to gather and the right to cut trees for making
[222] planks or boats is generally bound up with the right to farm.
[313] The right to collect underground products is completely
423 independent of the right to farm. For example, if someone finds
316 a seam of kaolin (pemba) on the lands of another lineage, he
317 exploits it freely. This aspect of the legal conceptions of the Refugee Blacks is very interesting, for it shows that even from the
423 point of view of customary law, the grand man is not entitled to
316 exercise any rights over the production of the Creole gold miners.
648 He could demand indemnities only insofar as these gold miners farm lands over which the Boni exercise customary rights. The interminable discussions which the claims of Grand Man Anato brought on at the time of the Lawa gold rush at the end of the past century would have been avoided by a better knowledge of the customary law.

6:Hurault--166a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/facing p. 114/

/.. a/

133
137
226
501

Fig. 19. Fishing à la nivrée.

621 241 591 /117 cont./

Atikati (daughters living with their father, groups of friends having no rights over the land).

621 241 591 It seems that exceptions of this kind have always existed among the Refugee Blacks, but they are probably tending to become more numerous.

178 They do not appear to be due to a change of conception about family structure but to a development of individualistic tendencies. These groups of aberrant structure are particularly unstable.

361 241 Stability; changes of location. On this point there is no precise custom. Certain farming habitations are old, such as those of Sawen and Atikati, which certainly date from the beginning of the century. Most appear to last from five to ten years. Others, like that of Kwaku, have had only an ephemeral existence.

361 241 166 The changes of location of habitations which have taken place in this region since 1950 have very variable causes: /118/ /Fig. 20 appears here/ /119/

△ Dyakata (Dip. I)	left the region to live in the lower Maroni among the Paramaka for personal reasons.
○ Chili (Dip. I)	went to settle near Maripasoula. Gave his habitation at Simayé Falls because of manioc ants.
△ Kwaku (L)	His habitation was too damp and the activity of the manioc ants too great. Henceforth lives all year in Loka.
[226] △ Akwadé (L)	Had no habitation, created one in 1954 near Simayé Falls. Was looking for a site favorable for fishing, from which he lives almost entirely.

On the whole, it can be estimated that the average duration of a farming habitation is about ten years. In these moves,

[Text Continues on P. 173]

765 /182 cont./
(which is the case here), they wait still longer in order to be able to group the lifting of mourning for several dead people from the same village in a single ceremony. The unfolding of the rites shows that much more importance is attached to Béniti than to the two young boys; in fact, the ceremony is devoted almost exclusively to her.

765 62 613 [829] The mourning-lifting ceremonies in Boniville are particularly interesting, for this village includes members of five different lineages. The distribution of functions and duties allows one to better understand the thought of the Boni relative to social organization; the principle of residence plays the determining role. The ceremony takes place in the village where the dead people lived, whatever their lineage was. The burden of organization is divided up about equally among all the inhabitants of the village. The /183/ members of the lineages of the dead people living in other villages are present at the ceremony, but their contribution is much less important.

765 [251] On November 8 (day called busimã kɔm) at noon, the festival begins with the arrival of the buchiman who, the week before, had caught and dried fish for the festival.

The buchiman are put under the authority of △Tofioto (K). They are all volunteers (one who would excuse himself from rendering this service would lay himself open to being abandoned alone on the day when he would have to bear the weight of mourning for one of his near relatives). The main weight of mourning is borne by Boniville village. The people of the principal fraction of the Dju (Asisi village) furnish a rather large contribution as regards time spent fishing but symbolic as to the furnishing of tafia and imported foods.

[226] [251] [621] [613] These buchiman had been at work since October 25, catching and salting fish:

765 /183 cont./
22C

	for Boniville	for Asisi-Dju
251 Fintiman 621 Kiémenti Doni 613 Alibi	sons and grandsons of Béniti (Dju)	3 men over 20 years old
4 young men of the Kotika lineage		4 to 5 adolescents
1 —	Dip. I —	
2 —	Lapé —	
1 —	Papaïston —	
2 —	Poti —	

They furnished a total of two weeks of work but each one collected for himself about 15 kilograms of dry fish.

765 [531] [411] The buchiman, riding in five large canoes decorated with multicolored oriflammes, approach the Boniville wharf where all the young people of the village are massed, the men armed with their guns, the women brandishing banners made of brand-new camisas. The hurrahs resound, punctuated by hundreds of shots. In an atmosphere of enthusiasm the buchiman make their entrance into the village and go to report on their mission to the council assembled under the mortuary shed. According to custom, this council is improvised at the last moment by the elders who are there, without attention to origin, and does not involve any definite authority.

Four baskets of dried fish are put down at the edge of the shed, for the mourning-lifting festival, then each one goes to get and arrange in his house a big personal basketful.

The fish intended for the festival are distributed among the women charged with preparing them.

About 2:00 P.M. the elders are assembled in the western part of the shed; in the eastern part, the near relatives of the dead for whom mourning will be lifted lament.

Several apinti drums are brought and placed laterally.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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891
231

Bayo and Tross.

227
411
891

Bow and arrow used for shooting large fish.

[Facing p. 302]

226 The most primitive way of fishing, among the Bush Negroes, is with the bow and arrow. It takes a steady arm and eye. The fish arrow has a barbed point, which, besides being [227 411] glued on the shaft with gum, is tied to the centre of the shaft by a string of singrassi. When the fisher sights along the shaft and lets fly, skilfully impaling a fish just under the surface of the water, the point of the arrow may break off, but the string retains the shaft. It threshes around in the water behind the wounded fish, marking its location.

226 825 The Djukas are clever folk. One species of fish, the *cumaru,* feeds on the seed of a certain tree, the *walaba,* that grows by the river bank. When the seed-pod of this tree is ripe, it explodes with a loud *pop!* For the fish this sound is associated with the falling of the seed into the water. They swim toward the sound to find and eat the seed. To attract these fish the Djukas imitate with a slap of the hands the noise of the cracking pod. The cumaru draw toward the spot, where the fisher is waiting with poised arrow. The result is more fish for the evening pot.

226 The women have a way of fishing in which they knock [227] the bottom from a bottle and put crumbs of cassava into it, up near the neck. The trap is placed beside the bank, in shallow water where it can be watched. Minnows enter the submerged bottle after the crumbs, and the waiting women snatch out the bottle before the fish can escape. These minnows belong to the Rosy Barb species, highly prized by collectors of tropical fish.

[227] Other traps are carefully constructed of bamboo slats and

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

reeds, to catch the *dahgo fissee* or *snakee fissee*—in other words, the dog fish and the eel. Trapped under water, these fish are easy prey to the savage piraya, so other devices are also used. A baited hook is attached to a bankside shrub called *mucca mucca* (*Montrichardia sp.*), the stalk of which is bent over and fixed beneath the water, under a constant strain. The hold is very slight—a hair-trigger tension—so that as soon as the fish snatches the bait the slight movement frees the bent stalk, whipping the fish free of the water.

There is a plant used by the Negroes to poison fish. The juice of the *nekku* (*Longchocorpus densiflorus* or *rufescens*) has an active alkaloid principle that is stupefying in its effect. It is called *yarro conali* by the Indians. Baskets full of nekku are carried to a small creek. The Djukas sit on the bank, beating the plant into pulp with carved wooden flails. Juice from the bruised shrub poisons the water, and the fish succumb, floating belly up, so that they can be scooped out with a dip-net. Often we passed Djuka tribesmen carrying baskets of this deadly plant toward some quiet stream.

In time of drought it often happens that fish are land-locked between sandbars. It is then an easy matter to scoop them out with a dip-net. Piraya are fished for with a hook and line, with a wire leader obtained in Paramaribo. A piece of bloody meat is used as bait, and the line is trolled. As soon as a fish is felt the rod is whipped overhead, throwing the fish up on the bank. Even out of water the piraya's jaws are still dangerous and avoided.

Gill nets are useless because there are too many predatory

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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226 animals in the water. The catch would be consumed before
227 it could be taken up. Besides spring-traps that snap shut when the bait is touched, cone-traps are used, similar to those of more northern waters. The fish pokes his way into a concave cone, at the end of which is an opening guarded by bristles. Going in, the bristles are easily pushed aside, but, coming out, they bar the path. Then, say the Bush Negroes, the fish speaks to the trap as follows:

"Matti, opa duro gimme"—"Friend, open the door."

But the trap replies: *"Matti, me na cong tia massra de habbe nassloto cun, dassa ope na da you"*—"Friend, I can't until master who has the key comes; he will open it for you."

262 Fish form a large part of the Djuka diet, and fishing is
264 carried on by women, men, and children indifferently. When our canoe paddlers bring in some fish, they get out their
[252 little black gipsy pot, add whole peppers, and boil the fish
263] as it is. It is then eaten like corn-on-the-cob. The head, especially, is a delicacy, the bones being crunched audibly and with gusto. The meat goes in one side of a Bush Negro mouth and the bones seem to come out the other. If a halt is called in the business of eating, it is only long enough to say: *"Fissee makee bon sweetee muffo"*—"Fish make good eating," i. e. make good sweet mouth.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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The decoration of
177 objects with cowrie shells comes by way of Africa. The
[329] monkey dance said to be practised by the Djukas is described
[796] as similar to the gorilla dance of the West Coast. The coiled wire bracelets and anklets are of African design, and the
[301 291] general mode of dress is the same.

The Djuka attitude toward the silk-cotton tree is common among the tribes of the Guinea Coast. "Throughout West
[824] Africa from Senegal to the Niger the silk-cotton tree is regarded with reverence and believed to be the abode of a god or spirit. This general consensus of opinion is no doubt due to the stupendous size attained by some of these trees, which tower far above all others of the forest."

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WHILE THE RIVER WAS HIGH

Had we provided ourselves with the necessary obias with 439
which to travel to the country of the Granman? He had 789
never been so far up the river. He would like to go there. 484
Ai-yo! He would like to go and see Dahomey, the sacred city, and look at the Tapa Wata falls, and visit the Granman's village. Did we have all our paddlers? He was strong, and he liked to make a boat walk up the rapids. He could get his father to come with him as steersman. His father had strong obias and knew the river. We could not go until the river went down, but he would stay with us here and wait, and if we wished it he would go back upstream to his village and get his father and food, and be ready for us in time. He needed the money the Bakra would pay, too, for he wanted to be married soon, and he would have to buy many things for his woman and her mother.

When he left us, he went to one of the little enclosed houses that were there for travelers, choosing the one closest to us, and built a small fire. His younger brother [231] and the white dog that came in his boat sat with him. The dog wore a cord about his neck, covered with red ochre, to keep him safe in the bush. That night as we ate we could see Bayo, his brother, and the dog squatting close to the fire and eating, too. And all the next day, and for several days to come, as we waited, Bayo was with us, talking, laughing, explaining, and making and buying obias for us to carry us safely on our journey to the Granman.

5

In the afternoon one of the political chiefs of the neigh- 609
boring Christian village came to hear our phonograph. 123
But when we asked him to sing into it, he said, "Ask me later. Now I am alone. We Saramacca people never do anything when we are alone." We had the year before acquired a powerful obia against slander and bearing false witness against us, and found the occasion useful for corroborating the invocation we had been given. The man, however, spoke with the greatest reluctance and looked

765 head was clearest in the quiet of the early morning. A stillness so pronounced that we could feel it surrounded us at the base camp, for at Gankwe the drums had been replaced in the shrines of the gods for whom they speak, and no more guns saluted the spirit of Zimbi, or warned away the evil dead with the powder which was distasteful to ghosts. Zimbi was buried, the grave diggers had bathed [783] and put on fresh loin cloths, the village had been purified, and all was still.

512 From our shelter, watching the haze lift, we could see that the river had fallen; the tangled grasses at the bank showed fully a hand's breadth of fresh brown that had the day before been under water. With the coming of the sun things began to stir. The lizards appeared, the [231] chickens came to peck at our shoes, looking for crumbs, and boats began to make shadows across the opposite bank, as the Gankwe women in their small corials went to their fields. At the bow would be a little girl, or a yet smaller [868] boy—as young as four perhaps, for the older ones went with the men to learn a man's work—helping to take the boat up the fast water. All this went on quietly, until we espied three boats running down the rapids and pivoting about in the still water toward our landing place. As they 438 came nearer, we could see that the boats carried no load, and our host, the director of the balata-collecting station, explained that these boats were new and were being taken down river for sale.

"All the large boats come from top-side," he said. "The men take them clear around to the Marowyne River by way of the canals and there carry loads in them to the stations in the interior. The Saramacca men are fine canoe-men. They like them on the Marowyne. . . . You could 439 use a large boat for your trip up river. Maybe the man will sell one."

[142] [304] The man in charge of the little flotilla stood more than six feet tall. His face was intricately cicatrized, and he carried himself with a dignity and reserve that surpassed even the way of the village chiefs.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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touched the palms of our hands, and struck against the calves three times. 123 782

"This is obia," he said simply, and when he was finished, he went out. 789

Our cook knew this obia. It was Opete obia, medicine bearing the name of the sacred buzzard. It was given us that we might have a good journey down the river. 574 609

"Did you see how he was careful to touch the eyes?" our cook pointed out to us. "The Opete gets the eyes when it comes to a person, just like Kromanti goes into the head, and Vodu into the belly." [706]

When we went out for a moment, and walked toward our storeroom, we saw the Granman splash water out of a calabash onto the floor and front wall of the house which held our supplies. Was it that our belongings might be safe on our journey down? It was no time for questions, and we asked none.

Women and children again came crowding about the white woman. Though they had been warned not to talk, there was still something of the warm feeling of earlier times which a command did not entirely destroy. Then, too, the order was that the sendoff was to lack no formality. As we stood there, a dog came running down the path. He was on his way to the river. In his mouth was a large ball of something which had been thoroughly charred. It was an offering to the river spirits, perhaps. It might have been less pleasant magic. He had been sent by men who were busy in the ancestral shrine. 123 231 782

When the white woman called attention to the dog, and asked what he held, the women recoiled with amazement that she should have seen the dog at all. Part of the magic might have been, as it was in some formulas we recorded, that he was to pass by invisible to the strangers. But this is conjecture. . . .

The moment before we went down the path to the river, Amasina came up alone, and gave us her hand. She was gracious, and completely at her ease. Whatever was said, she had faith in her god Towenu, who had vouched for our friendship. 123 609

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115 him, and what he could get on the Marowyne in a year,
[586] it would be possible for him to see to it that his betrothed
[584] had all the gifts that a man of position gave to his woman. There were, too, other things to bear in mind. Already he had seen a girl who would make a desirable second wife, but that would require still more money.

115 "But, Bayo," we interposed, "we saw your mother at
593 Djamungo. She told us your girl will not be ready for marrying for some time."

"Did she say that? Did she tell you that I am still a child?"

"What's the matter, Bayo? Don't you like her?"

"Awa, I like her. Not too much. She likes to talk."

231 We thought it politic to give the subject a new turn.
224 Close beside Bayo lay the dog that had accompanied him the first time he came to us here, before our journey up the river. His was a curious color, a faint pinkish hue which puzzled us.

"What is the color of your dog, Bayo?"

"He is white when he does not have obia on him. He is a hunting dog. Tross is his name. He will stay with me. The obia comes off when he goes into the river."

We laughed. "Does Tross hunt in the river, Bayo?"

"No. In the bush. But if I leave him behind, he swims out to my canoe."

231 Tross was to become better known to us as the days went
789 on. He had a great affection for his master, and this feeling extended to all those who appertained to Bayo. After Bayo had attached himself to our camp, we, too, came under the aura of his dog's regard, though this may have been made the more reasonable by the fact that the netting of the mosquito guards of our hammocks appealed to Tross as a comfortable place to spend the night. He was a good watchdog, and sometimes we were awakened by his low growl, and a voice saying "*Cho!*—Be quiet!" Just now we were interested in the cord about his neck, and we asked Bayo about it.

"It is more obia. It is strong, too. Nothing happens to Tross when he goes in the bush. You will see."

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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him about it as he came to take the white man through the bush trails to a neighboring village. 302 115

One of the girls who admired him had achieved this, but how she had managed to make the minute braids was difficult for us to see, for Bayo's hair the day before, long for him, had not seemed sufficiently yielding to permit of braiding. Yet here he was, his head covered with innumerable small braids which divided the white scalp into sections and showed lines where the many regular parts had been made. This made quite a new man out of Bayo. He was no longer the warrior who went without food because he was bored with the idea of preparing the food—a woman's task or, at best, that of an old man like his great-grandfather Bibifo who had cooked on the up-river trip. Now he was a dandy. [SC2] [887]

"Ai-yo!" he crowed back as we speculated on the labor that had gone into the creation. "It took her almost all the night! It is hard work."

"She must like you, Bayo."

"She likes me well, ai!"

"Are you going to have her for your third wife?"

"Who knows? But a man doesn't marry every woman who braids his hair."

Soon Bayo and the white man were off through the bush, Tross going ahead as scout. Back and across the path he would dart and for the white man, unaccustomed to the sounds of the bush, it was difficult to tell whether the rustling he heard was caused by the dog, or by the small animals stirred up from time to time. Once a snake coiled on the path moved lazily away as they approached; Tross had disturbed it, and the snake had no mind for more encounters. Once a small animal of some sort dashed across the trail ahead, the dog in close pursuit, and for some moments we could hear them tearing through the underbrush. 484 231

"Aren't you afraid that some animal will hurt Tross, Bayo?"

"He is a good dog. And I have put strong obia on him." [789]

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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Bayo and Tross.

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Bow and arrow used for shooting large fish.

[Facing p. 301]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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this is bush magic. Around his neck several amulets are hung, one to enable him to find the game, another to keep him from getting lost, and the third, a small pouch of dried leaves, to make him shoot well. With these he takes the game trail behind the village, by the cassava fields where the women are working.

The trail does not last long; he begins to stalk like a black shadow through the bush. Overhead, parrots are cackling noisily, green as the jungle leaves. They eye him suspiciously as he snakes his way noiselessly through the tangled bush. In the dim blue jungle light the game is hard to see. But the Djuka, accustomed to it, approaches the tree where the parrots are. Some fly away.

Down on his haunches, like a Russian dancer, the hunter advances in a squatting position until he is directly underneath. He holds his gun at arm's length, the stock resting not on the shoulder but placed in the palm of his left hand, which is extended in front of him. This is a remnant from the old flintlock days, when the pans would occasionally flash back and burn the side of the face, unless the gun were held practically at arm's length. There is the added advantage of permitting a quicker movement of the barrel over a wide arc, especially when the hunter is crouched in this squatting position. He fires and the body of a parrot comes tumbling down through the leaves.

Accompanying the Djuka hunter is his highly prized hunting dog—a mangy little terrier. It is stained all over with a red nut-juice to lend it prowess in the pursuit of some par-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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224 ticular animal. The red terrier will not hunt anything else.
231 It stands now ferociously over the body of the dead parrot, its tongue hanging out, panting.

411 Bows and arrows are as common as shotguns, and preferred by many of the black huntsmen because they make no noise, need no mansanny. The bow is fashioned from one of the South American hardwoods, letterwood or purpleheart. The shaft is tremendously resilient, and strung with [283] *singrassi* it takes a stout arm indeed to bend it. Singrassi is a species of grass which is hand-spun into tough cord, by rolling it on the flesh of the thigh. When unflexed, the carved bow is nearly six feet long.

The arrows are made from hollow reeds, and are extremely light and well balanced. Into one end of the reed a foot-long hardwood point is set, wrapped with singrassi and gummed. At the other end, the ferrule is similarly set in, the joint again being wrapped around to prevent splitting. Some arrows have metal points filed from old bush-knives. A five-foot arrow like this can be used as a little javelin for spearing small game. The Bush Negroes also use blunt arrows to stun birds.

224 A naked savage stalking through the bush, armed only with a bow and arrow, furnishes a sight of the primitive that is fast disappearing from this commonplace world. The [534 323 321] Djuka calls some of his game, principally the agoutis, by imitating their cries on a little whistle, made out of baked clay or a hollow shell. The imitation is so accurate, in the case of smaller game, as to fool even the jaguar that feeds on

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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moving air, roared like an open steam valve. We are rudely 132
awakened by Daniels, who shakes our hammock violently. He shouts over the uproar; everyone must leave the huts at once. A giant tree close to the windward is about to fall and might crush the huts while we sleep.

We quickly abandon the hut and are immediately drenched. Imagine such disconsolate men, staring at the moving wilderness of leaves damning all trees and all weather that takes them out of their hammocks at two o'clock in the morning, and almost reconciled to the idea of being crushed in comfortable hammocks in preference to standing out in the open, expecting a tree to fall on them anyway. But in a short time the storm subsides sufficiently to allow us to return.

The next morning we break camp and trek another day 224
back into the interior. There are no camps now, no huts of 648
any kind, no men. Only the high bush. We make an early start to look for the puma that escaped the night before. There is a bloody bed of sheltered leaves where the puma rested, but the rest of the path is obliterated by the storm.

We turn and begin the trek back.

A curious custom widely prevalent among the Bush Ne- 224 231
groes is that called *Dressy Dahgo,* or dressing the dog, in 825

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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224 other words, preparing a dog in such a manner that it will
231 be capable of hunting a particular species of game. There are
825 several methods of accomplishing this. The Negro may grasp the animal between his knees and pour the *dressy* through the nose of the dog. This substance is composed of pieces of the animal which they desire the dog to hunt. Most commonly it is the foot; this is dried and then infused with water. The infusion is also rubbed on the dog's feet. Such preliminaries are usual in hunting peccary.

If the hunter desires to prepare his dog for pursuing the *labba,* a type of water rodent, he cuts the flesh from the nose of the labba and also from its feet, prepares an infusion with water, and then pours this through the dog's nose. Still another method is to mix the hair of the animal which is to be hunted with pepper, and then to rub the dog all over with this mixture.

A fourth way is to feed a piece of the liver of the desired animal to the dog; but it is essential that the liver be placed on a knife, allowing the dog to eat it from that.

224 There is an interesting superstition among the Djukas that
845 anyone who is related to a twin will seriously disrupt a hunting party. On one occasion a large quata, or spider monkey, was sighted by some hunters who, however, failed to bring the animal to earth after fifteen shots. Their ill-luck
to the fact that one of the huntsmen "belonged to a tw

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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Rice, especially when ripening, is attacked by birds, particularly the parakeets and parrots. These can destroy an entire 343 field in one evening. Sometimes the Djukas are forced to sit 136 up all night with shotguns to scare them off. Weevils and plant diseases are also common.

They have large sweet potatoes, known as yams, but no 262 white potatoes. Corn, which they call *koru;* okra, or *oko;* and peanuts (*pinda*), form a minor part of the Djuka diet. There are occasional banana and cocoanut trees, and some pineapples and breadfruit. Some few additional nuts and fruits are furnished by the jungle. Palm oil, of which they are excessively fond, is another part of the commissary. No journey is undertaken without a liberal supply. It is obtained by squeezing the nut or fruit of a species of palm, called the mareepa. To the white man it tastes like olive oil. Sugar cane is seen in a number of villages, as are domestic fowl. No cattle [231] or swine are to be found.

Thus the Bush Negroes carry on with courage and extreme hardihood under the implacable necessities of life in the enemy jungle, in which the white man has never been able to make his home successfully.

A common sight along the river is a Djuka black, poised 226 on a slippery rock in statuesque immobility, his bow flexed 516 and arrow drawn, shooting for fish.

B /512 cont. /

R The region is entirely covered by equatorial forest which the
137 inhabitants clear for their crops, practicing a shifting agriculture
241 on burned-over land.

B Life is closely tied to the river, on the edge of which are
311 established villages and crops. They scarcely move except by
504 water. Everybody, man, woman, or child, has his pirogue, and
868 the children learn to paddle at the same time that they learn to
B walk.

R The principal activities of the two populations are agriculture,
433 fishing, and canoeing.

B There is scarcely any difference between the dietary resources
R of the Indians and the Boni. The principal portion is manioc,
262 eaten in the form of cassave (flat cakes cooked on a plate) or of couac (roasted and granulated flour). Then come tubers, yams, dasheens, "Carib cabbage" /taro/ and sweet potatoes, bananas
B and plantains. The Boni in addition plant mountain rice, from
[241] which the yield is small; in return, they eat fewer bananas.

R The protein ration is furnished essentially by fish, eaten
[226] fresh or smoked. The Indians, skillful fishermen, never lack
B them. Game furnishes a less regular, but important resource.

R Animal husbandry, confined to a few chickens raised mainly
[231] to sell, represents only an insignificant part of the diet.
[439] The fat from fish and from animals killed while hunting constitutes the principal portion of lipides. The Boni use in addition, for preparing their meals, a small quantity of maripa palm oil.

Vitamins come from fruit (papaya, pineapple, mangoes), which the Indians eat in greater abundance than the Blacks, from wild spinach, rich in Vitamin A, and palm nuts (awara and caumou),
B eaten in great abundance during the rainy season.

R Neither of the two populations is undernourished. The Indians
146 might have been so temporarily during epidemics, when the adults, having been sick for a long time, were unable to clear sufficient land. But they can supplement an inadequate harvest with a great variety of wild foods that can be gathered.

The diet seems poor in mineral elements and especially in calcium. Traces of rachitis are noticeable among some of the Indian children.

6:Hurault--107a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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Fig. 15. House type of the Refugee Blacks; Loabi village (Djuka of the Upper Tapanahoni).

/151 cont./
249 greatly to the beautification of the village. The Bush Negroes use
[232] the red dyestuff from the seeds to smear on the dogs against vermin.

Cotton (katoen).

248 One sees it standing in various places along the edges of the
283 villages and among the dwelling huts. The cotton itself is in ex-
[286] ceptional cases used by the women for spinning. Calf bands (sepoe) are made out of cotton thread after the Indian model, and sometimes hammocks also.

Coffee.

245 Is found here and there in the forest along the edge of the village (Drietabbetje, Poeketti). It is the small variety, probably
[272] Coffea arabica. The beans are used for coffee. The trees probably grew from kernels that at one time were taken by slaves from the plantations.

Calabash (kabasi).

244 Grows everywhere among the dwelling huts and in neglected corners. A distinction is made between kabasi and pikien soepoen.
[415] The wood-like pericarps of both varieties are used for all kinds of purposes, especially for utensils (bowls, spoons) and as "koej" for scooping the korjalen empty.

Kasjoen (kasoeng).

245 Occurs here and there and ordinarily does not supply much
[262] fruit; the latter is eaten fresh, the kernels sometimes roasted
[252] like pinda.

Mappa.

Probably a variety of Tabernaemontana (Apocynaceae). Not infrequently in May one sees the women returning from the grounds with pear-shaped /152/ (up to ten centimeters long) yellow fruit,
[262] which they have gathered from a small forest tree. The fruit is eaten fresh; one first taps on the rind with a piece of wood in order to concentrate the milk sap in it, peels the fruit, and the

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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obeiahs, house gods, fetish houses, menstrual huts, and matrilineal system of inheritance are all to be found as ancient customs among the forest tribes of the West Coast. Other details, such as the use of chickens for sacrificial animals, the huts with their rectangular walls, the manufacture of butter from the palm worm, the sacredness of snakes and alligators, the use of drums for religious supplication, and the beating of them with the hand instead of with a stick as the Indians do, are also customs which are similar to West African customs and probably derived from them. The impaled turtle-shell on a staff, the badge of the witch doctor's profession, represents the symbol for the female genitalia among some West African tribes. The Bush Negroes' boats and paddles are typically African in design. The *awasa* dance of the Saramaccaners was borrowed from the Aucaners, among whom it is a direct West African survival.

From the study of these culture survivals among the Djuka tribes it can be seen that most of the jungle civilization of the Bush Negroes is derived from their West African ancestry, modified here and there by contact with the Indians of their new home. The remainder of the material culture of the Bush Negroes is borrowed from the white settlements along the coast, from which gunpowder, fish-hooks, bush-knives, and other articles filter upstream.

[p. 192 is blank]

/27 cont./

301 as the European girl wears her bracelets. On their fingers they wear a number of copper rings, sometimes doubtless up to ten; the thumb is likewise generally decorated with them.

291 /28/ As a rule the men content themselves with merely
292 a simple loincloth or belt, but if they go so far as to dress up, then they wear a broad-brimmed hat which is usually painted with various colors; around the crown they wear a wide band whose ends hang far down over the brim.

301 Around their necks they frequently wear a string of tiger's
●237 teeth and the incisors and molars of wild pigs (the pakier and piengo) and of other animal species that they have caught on the hunt; they wear these same ornaments hanging from a broad band under the knee, and to them is added now and then a shell, a piece of copper, iron, lead, and so forth. Their ornaments also include parrot and West Indian raven (1) feathers and small tassels

1. Lafroe, Psittacus macao L.

made of cotton.

301 They call the last-named obias (2). Just like the women,
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2. Obia, charm. The same efficacious powers as the superstition sees in amulets and talismans are seen in this.

they wear colored cloths around the neck.

304 Like almost all tropical and African peoples, they tattoo themselves. Men, women, and children undergo this operation, and although they are set upon having this as ornamentation, they nonetheless look down upon the man decorated with many tattoos just as the European does on an effeminate dandy. There are among them those whose face and body are virtually covered with the incisions, but they are looked upon with contempt by the industrious and those most developed spiritually. They say that the former are too attached to luxury and must be lazy to waste

/35 cont./

123 466 Also, I am led to believe that for me they cherish a more than general respect, since already for ten years now they have been faithful workers for me, a privilege to which no inhabitant in this colony other than myself can lay claim.

123 778 [761] A family among them, whose head recently died -- according to their statements, through poisoning, which misdeed is supposed to have taken place out of envy, since I gave him preference above others, which he deserved on account of his faithfulness and industry -- has built a hut in the vicinity of its idol signs, in which they placed a crude image cut out of cedar-wood and painted with white paint. [237] Beside that image they placed a little table and on it laid a number of quill feathers from the pouwies (1), a little bottle with black liquid, symbolizing ink,

1. A pheasant, the Crax alector L.

as well as some slips of paper. Near this little table they dug a number of steps into the ground, and at the lowermost step they made a gutter that runs in the direction of the river. Now when they have a festival with dancing and they want to pay respect to me, they place near it a number of children who constantly pour water brought in jugs, which, flowing down the steps into the gutter, streams riverward. While this ceremony takes place, songs in my honor are sung by the festive crowd.

[822] [829] Now the image, according to their conception, is supposed to be a representation of me, /36/ the white color the sign that I am a white, while the quills, paper, and ink are the attributes of the whites' higher civilization, the streaming water that I stem from the colonists who have come here from across the sea.

123 589 The wife of the headman referred to above came to me in the town shortly after the death of her husband and remained to choose my household as her permanent residence, to which I gladly consented. Faithful and considerate, she performs not only a great many household services, but even anticipates in this respect the wishes of my wife, and out of love for us refuses any monetary compensation.

524 The man looked so moved by what he told us that we had qualms about continuing the conversation with him about his dead family, and so we asked him about the game board. "Why is it, Kasanya, that young Amnika of your [320] village said he could not make us a game board, fine carver that he is? You yourself know that the board is just a piece of wood with holes in it for the seeds. It is not beautiful; there are no decorations on it."

765 "It is because he is young. His hair isn't white like mine. 524 Making an adji board is a big thing. It's not a little thing. It is on this we play when the body of the dead lies in the house of mourning to entertain his spirit, his yorka. Only [554] an old man who has lost his wife may make a board for this game which is played for the dead."

"But suppose he did make it?"

[776] "Then he would get a kunu, Bakra," he said with an impatient cluck which was intended to deplore the white man's inability to understand simple things.

776 And so again we came to kunu, and since he himself had brought it up, we decided to stir the hole once more to see what was in it. Kasanya talked with less hesitation than we had come to expect. It is easier for an older man who has had experience with the spirits and knows their ways to talk about the supernatural. He understands what he may and may not do, and then, too, with his greater knowledge he can tell more without offending the spirits who disapprove of a man's telling too great a part of his store.

"Yes, Bakra, kunu is a difficult thing for you, a white man, to understand. But we black people know what brings kunu. Many things bring kunu. Look, I made three children. Fine men all three. One died, the second died, the third died. . . . "

688 This was his story. His wife's mother's brother brought the curse on his family. He had cut a new field, and the trees he had felled and the brush he had cut had been lying for some time, as was proper, that the dead wood might be burned off to clear the ground so that the ash might [241] enrich the soil.

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"I'll tell you how it is mostly," he went on, after a silence. "Sometimes a woman will lie about the father of her child. The child will grow up keeping the trefu of a strange man. But it won't be his real trefu. His mother, you see, lied about his father. In the end, if nothing is done, this child will be sick, and later he will become a leper. Only a bad woman will lie about her child's father, because only a bad woman will want to hurt her own child. It doesn't happen among the girls who wear kerchiefs and live the way the old people live. These girls dance to the spirits. They are afraid of the ancestors. They are afraid of their *akra*—their soul—and the Earth Mother. But those girls who wear hats—ai, Massa, those girls do anything!"

But here in the bush, it seemed, they had other beliefs about leprosy, he went on. Here they believed it was a kind of a spirit, too. When a leper died he was not given a good burial. No wakes were held for him. He was given no coffin. He was buried in the Bad Bush, where the sorcerers were thrown.

"When a leper dies, they don't want him to come back again. They don't treat his spirit well. They do the same with him as with a madman. They bury him with no more ceremony than a child, who came on earth, and would not stay. They say it's all because of a bad spirit, and they don't want bad spirits on earth."

4

"Why do we plant away from the village?"

It was the old woman talking, as we sat and smoked with her. The moon had come up above the maripa palm trees behind the house where the leper had been helped into his hammock, and it was pleasant out-of-doors.

"Why, you ask? Well, sometimes when the bush is burned, a wind comes up suddenly, and sends the flames, down, down, beyond the cleared ground. How would it be with a village, if we cleared our grounds too close to it, and this happened? No, Bak'a, we people of the bush know better. . . . What do you say? Why do we do our clearing

241 away from the river? When the big rains come, the river
361 goes up more and more. If our crops were too close to the water, then in the big rains the land would be flooded, and the crops long under water. . . . Yes, and we have to
[136] think of the ants, too. Ants, once they find their way into a field, will destroy everything. They like especially the
[137] green leaves of the young cassava plants. When the young leaves go, there is no cassava. So we move farther and farther away for our fields. Two, three years, and new fields must be cut, so that the yield might feed us all."

311 Once a field had been deserted, say, for five years, why
241 did they not reclaim it later? we enquired, for by that time the big bush would have made fertile again the soil that had been exhausted.

"In this bush we do it like that. Why, I don't know. Our ancestors found much land for us. When we want new fields, we cut farther and farther into the bush."

5

As Bayo and Angita set off for the dance at Pa'aba, Kasanya and Sedefo joined us, and we talked of crops and
[521] planting, of woman's work and man's, of good harvests and bad, and this is what was told us.

[462] Finding a new field and clearing it is a man's task. If a man is about to be married, or if the field a man's wife works has become exhausted, then he goes into the forest, near to the planting ground of his mother and to the fields of his family, and casts about for a place to clear. A field
311 must not be in a hollow, or the crops will not grow, and
241 rice needs the sun of a hill slope to thrive. Once having
716 found a spot where the drainage is good, he looks about to see if the spirits will allow its use. Patiently, painstakingly, he goes from one clump of matted vines to the next, machete in hand, searching for signs of an ant hill, or an Akatasi tree that is sacred to the gods of the ant hill, or for snakes, or a natural clearing belonging to the Apuku gods of the bush. No silk-cotton tree must be there, no loko tree wherein dwells the god of the same name so near that it

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might catch fire were a wind to come up when the underbrush is burned. If he spies a slender bent liana from which the Kromanti "Congo-bush" sticks are made, then he has to be sure to cut it down with the proper invocation, so that the spirit inside the liana will not bend him to its own shape.

Kasanya continued his explanation. "When a field is found, it is the man who clears it." A man calls on his relatives or friends to help him. The men come with their machetes, and they cut away at bushes and shrubs, they cut away the lianas which are twined about the trees, and then the trees themselves. Then they go away, leaving what they have cut to dry. "To take all this away would be too hard, and, besides, fire does the work better, and fertilizes the ground as well."

So, when the wood is dry, they come with fire, and let the fire finish the work. Then the ashes are allowed to lie for a time, for, though this clearing is done during the dry season, occasional showers can be relied upon to work the ash into the ground. Then, too, the time for planting is not yet.

"Many things we plant a little before the old year meets the new," the old woman said.

"When it is time to break the ground," Kasanya went on, "the man and the woman work together. It is then that the woman begins her work in this field. What was done before had to do with cutting timber, and our proverb says: Woodworking is not a woman's affair."

The man alone clears the ground, but the woman helps him break the earth.

"Breaking the ground is not easy," the old woman again interrupted. The matted roots have to be dug up with an iron hoe, for the Bush Negro works as his ancestors did hundreds of years ago in Africa. He has no plough, no beast of burden to help him in the fields.

When all this is done, then it is time to see to the consecration of the earth to its fertile uses. Rituals vary with each clan, and often from village to village of the same clan.

REBEL DESTINY

782 Among the people of one group, the principal ceremony
● 241 may be held in the clearing itself. The drums are brought,
535 and men and women and children pray for fertility. The beautifully carved apinti drum sounds the invocation to the Great God and to the ancestors, while the tall agida drums are brought to call the earth spirits. Two by two the men dance susa, the dance which in pantomime reproduces an ancient warrior's combat with spear and shield, the winner taking on a new combatant, until the final winner is given a wand as a reward, and gains for himself the title of "G'aman of Susa" until the next dance is held. Other dances follow. Perhaps the women now line up in two long
[585] rows facing each other, and dance bandamba, the dance
[845] which celebrates marriage and the birth of twins, and the birth of a child who is born feet foremost. The motions are the slow rhythmic manipulations of the muscles of hips and
[842] abdomen. It is a dance of fertility, danced by the very young girls as well as by those who have borne children. But the women who are past the age for dancing sit with
[888] their men, arms interlaced, swaying to the rhythms of the songs they sing. . . . There are offerings to the earth spirits, poured upon the earth out of black obia pots and
[769] calabashes, while other offerings are set upon the ground for the ancestors.

In another settlement, the ritual would be chiefly carried on in the village itself, and there might be a local dance of
[842] fertility, danced nowhere else on the river. "An old, old ancestress taught it to us," the villagers would say.

462 When it is time to plant, the woman plants with the
241 man's help.

"When I plant a new field," said the younger woman, "I
782 pray as I work."

539 And this is her prayer:

O Sky God, Mother of the Earth, Ancestors,
I am planting a field,
Make it bear;
People who come to me must eat,

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O spirits, you must help me.
Help me find food,
That I may give to those who come;
Help me find food,
That all those who come to me may eat.
I am planting pinda,
Make it come;
I am planting yams,
My yams must grow;
I am planting cassava,
Make my cassava yield;
I am planting rice,
Make it come;
Let the earth copulate well,
Let me, too, be fruitful;
Let me live by my work;
My children have gone down the river,
They have gone to the white man's country,
Let them live and be fruitful;
When they return to me,
Let them bring back possessions;
O spirits, I myself must live,
I have belongings,
Let my belongings live;
Mother of the Earth,
This new field which was found
Make it yield food for me,
Make it yield for those who come;
I have planted seed,
The seed must bear.
O Great God, Earth spirits, Ancestors,
I thank you.

6

After the planting, the life of the women is spent at the provision grounds for the greater portion of the year, for the crops must be carefully tended. The jungle is not hospitable to those who invade it, and it is only at the

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462 price of grueling effort that a living can be wrested from its
241 jealous grasp. The women in their fields care for the growing crops, hoeing the ground so that moisture and sun reach the young plants, seeing that the lianas which throw their creepers over the cleared spaces to throttle the tender shoots do not get headway, and, as each crop ripens, attending to its harvesting.

262 Yams, cassava, and nappi are roots. For their planting
243 some of the crop of the year before is preserved and cut up.
244 But rice and peanuts, or pinda, as these are called here in the bush, and maize, of which the Bush Negroes learned from the Indians, and okra grow from seeds. The rice is planted on a hillside, for the Bush Negro does not grow irrigated rice, but the dry African variety that thrives on the slopes. Cassava, okra, peppers, plantains, peanuts, beans, sugar cane—each crop is allotted its own space, until the newly cleared ground is filled. A woman usually has two fields cut for her; one is called a rice field and one a cassava field. In each, the crops which yield several harvests a year are rotated. The cassava roots take nine months at least to ripen, but it is better to leave them in the ground ten or eleven months.

"It is the time of the great harvest now," the old woman said.

243 These were busy days for the women. With their short-
244 handled knives, they cut the rice stalk by stalk and made small sheaves of the golden grain, raked over the dirt so that the peanuts might be found and gathered, chopped the ripe sugar cane with the machetes which they handled with the same sureness as did their men, and dug out the cassava roots so that they might be carried to the village
[262] and made into flour for the cassava bread which was the staple of their diet.

"The corn," she said, "is not harvested now. We cut it at a different time; and the melons ripen later, too." At other times of the year there were other harvests, but this one, of the months of July and August, was the principal one.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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rod set into a base of clay, rotated steadily as she worked. Her fingers moved fast, for she did not require too fine a thread. The raw cotton, she said, she got from a wild "cotton tree." Cotton which was picked in the fields and which grew from seeds planted in the ground, she did not know at all. Was there such cotton?

Working in the fields, she continued, was not too difficult. It was a woman's work. A woman did not mind it. From earliest childhood girls followed their mothers about, and learned how to work the fields.

"What is hard is having to cut my own field. I have no man to cut it for me. I must cut it myself."

She paused for an instant to right her thread.

"When I plant my field, and pray to the gods to make the seed grow, then I ask the Earth Mother to help me find a way to get a man to cut my field for me. 'Earth Mother,' I say, 'help me find a man to cut my field. I have great need of a man to burn my ground.' . . . "

Seeing two women approach, she said, "Fenekonde here is like myself, she too needs a man to cut her field."

But this needed explaining. Here were two women who called the Granman "husband," and who shared the difficulty of having to clear their own fields.

It was soon made apparent, however, that both of these women were only nominally wives of the Granman. They had married into his family. When kunu, however, killed one successor to his office after the other, these women were made widows. Like the widow who now worked alone before her house which fronted the clearing, where stood the shrine to the great gods and the Granman's principal houses, they had worn tattered clothes, and a twisted kerchief as a band on their heads. For five months this had lasted, and then a dance was given.

Did the white woman know about the ceremony called *pai Adyo?*

The white woman had heard the word Dyo-dyo from natives of the town many times. Once, indeed, a question about it put to an old woman, who it later developed was

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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241 313 Behind each village, a quarter of a mile to five miles distant, are its provision grounds, which the women work. They consist of tiny patches of half an acre or more, carved out of the heart of the jungle by means of terrific labour. It [442] takes the men weeks of work with axes and bush-knives to clear the ground. The fallen trees, some of extremely hard wood, are cut up, burnt, or carried away. The brush is cleared with a machete, or bush-knife, which Negroes call a neefee; they swing this blade with amazing force by making the wrist the centre of its arc.

462 241 The women, as in most primitive societies, tend to the planting and harvesting of the crops. They are helped by the men of the family on some occasions, such as when the harvest is threatened by voracious parasites. The arduous labour of cultivating the stubborn earth comes so naturally to a Bush Negro woman that she is incredulous when told that elsewhere the males alone till the soil.

136 241 A leaf-cutting ant, *Ecodoma cephalotes,* that carries small bits of leaves into its nest, preys on the cassava fields. These ants march in two parallel columns, one going to the fields and the other returning, and systematically ruin the crop. The bit of green that each ant is carrying off looks like an umbrella; hence they are called umbrella ants. They live on a fungus which they grow on the cut leaves. Large numbers of them working together can denude an entire cassava field in a comparatively short time.

134 241 The jungle ground is not excessively fertile, for the incessant downpours leach out the humus, and there is not

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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sufficient time for the nitrogenous substances to be reduced to fertilizing material. Because of this poverty of the ground and the constant foraging of insect and bird pests—the parrot is notorious among these—the cultivation of food is difficult and laborious for the Bush Negroes and the provision ground must often be moved to a fresh site.

Their main carbohydrate staple is the manioc or bitter cassava. It is a tuber-like plant that grows some three to seven feet in height, the edible portion being the underground root. The root contains the poisonous prussic acid, which must be carefully removed. Bush Negroes have been known to commit suicide by drinking the juice of the cassava. The plant itself resembles the tobacco plant, but has a stalk covered with bark and large roots that look like sweet potatoes.

The roots are harvested, carefully peeled, and reduced to a pulp by being rubbed on the roughened surface of an inclined board, the expelled free juices rolling down the incline into a bowl. The rest of the plant is thrown away. The pulp is stuffed into a cylindrical squeezing contrivance made of reed, known as the *matapee*. It resembles one of those toy finger grippers of straw that children play with. The reeds being flexible, elongating the tube by pulling at the ends reduces the diameter of it; this compresses the contents of the cylinder and squeezes out the deadly juice which then runs off into a bowl below. The matapee is a beautifully woven piece of basketry about five feet long and seven inches in diameter. The upper end is attached to the limb of a tree and a heavy stone is suspended from the lower end, the

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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Marriage requires a bride price, consisting of pieces of 583
cloth, sugar, tobacco, and some carved wooden implements, such as combs, paddles, trays. These are handed over to the bride's family as presents. Then the wife simply moves into her husband's hut, or he into hers. Despite their pre-marital 585
promiscuity, it is said that on the bridal night all the inhabitants of a Bush Negro village will gather outside the hut to hear what the husband has to say regarding the bride's virginity. If the girl is not a virgin, part of the bride price may be refunded, at the husband's discretion. The gathering on such an occasion is attended by much jocularity.

The Djuka husband builds a hut for each one of his women 593
and has another for himself, to which he may retire when- 342
ever he feels the need of bachelor seclusion. The woman 591
sleeps in her own hut, cooks, and raises her children there. The husband comes to her when he wants to, and leaves her for another wife when impulse so guides him. She seldom quarrels with the other wives, who may even live in separate villages.

Each wife has her own provision ground, where she grows 593
rice and cassava; her husband has cleared it for her. The cas- 241
sava fields are owned by individual women, but are held in 562
very loose tenure. At harvest time, or when a plague of in- [23]
sects is threatening, the women of several households work [476]
together in common.

The man's hut is called his *gudu oso,* or "treasure house." 342
It serves to impress his women with his importance and 556
wealth. They are forbidden to enter it, but, woman-like, they insist on peeping in. So he keeps many boxes and wood carv-

/11 cont./

286 garments /pandjes/ or articles of dress and other knitted goods.
[413] They also know how to make very attractive hammocks of cotton.

Chapter VII

Food, Drinks, Delicacies, and so forth.

262 [252] Their daily food is mainly rice and cassava (1) bread which

1. Sweet cassava, the farina from the root of the Janipha manihot, not to be confused with Jatropha manihot, which gives the bitter cassava, which, however much is removed by boiling and continued washing, contains a very poisonous component.

is baked on an iron plate and provides a tasty food that can be
[241] kept for a long time. During the dry season, the months of September, October, and November, the ground also supplies them with a very mealy and tasty tuber called nappi (2); throughout the year,

2. Dioscorea sativa and Dioscorea alata L.

however, they grow yams, sweet potatoes (3), tayers (4), and cassava.

3. Convolvulus batatas L. and Batatas edulis Choisy.

4. Root from Arum esculentum.

[439] They have bananas only from time to time, whenever they exchange them on plantations for squared wood, which they pur-
[433] posely work for this exchange. They know how to obtain wild game
[263] and fish in great quantities; salt is an article greatly in demand.

/136/

121 The agriculture of the Bush Negroes, however, has become
[241] a matter which urgently demands the attention of the administration as a result of the wasteful use of land. Until now little attention has been paid to this, but if one wants to develop the interior of Surinam, this problem will also have to be looked into.

101 The data provided here throw light upon the agriculture of
121 the Paramaccaners and the Aucaners on the Marowijne and the
[103] Tapanahoni. They were gathered during the above-mentioned medical expedition and during a trip to the Tapanahoni in October, 1952. The facts thus refer primarily to the Marowijne, but in general they are certainly also valid for the other rivers along
121 which the Bush Negroes live. It is a typically Surinam problem,
648 connected with the circumstance that the Bush Negroes have worked in the deep interior in the same fashion for hundreds of years, independent of the life in the civilized coastal region and almost completely outside the sphere of interest of the government.

2. The Grounds System

241 For the planting of agricultural crops the Bush Negro lays out little so-called food grounds. One is to understand by this cleared pieces of ground in the virgin forest on which the crops
[311] are cultivated. The grounds lie along the rivers on higher flat lands, mostly terraces that are not submerged during high water or, in the absence of such terrain, on the slopes of hills. They are more or less circular and have a surface area of a half to one and a half hectares.

241 During the long dry season (October, November) the men
221 clear the grounds. Two to three weeks thereafter the forest that
132 has been felled is burned; the smaller branches are cleared away,
462 but the trunks are left lying. The ground is not worked. As soon as the rains of the short rainy season begin, they start to plant and sow. This planting time falls in December and January. The wives of the Bush Negroes (for only the women do the further work) now plant all kinds of crops at the same time on one and the same ground.

/136 cont./

241 221 the same ground. The crops are thus scattered higgledy-piggledy or at best are arranged in little patches. The harvest periods of these crops have a certain sequence. Two groups are to be differentiated, namely, (1st) the rapidly growing "annual" crops, and (2nd) the perennial crops, which grow more slowly.

/137/ To the first belong:

maize, is harvested after three months (in February and March);
watermelon, idem;
okra, produces edible fruit in three months (February, March) and still for a time after that;
pumpkin, gives ripe fruit in four months (April) and thereafter;
pinda /peanut/ and ogobo, blooms after three months (February, March) and supplies produce after five months (May, June);
bongila, idem;
tobacco, is ripe for picking after 4-5 months, blooms after 7 months;
rice, is ripe after 4-5 months (May-July).

To the second category belong the perennial crops:

sugar cane, is cut already after 5-6 months, but the stools are kept up to two years and longer;
cassava, the tubers are harvested after 7 months and longer;
tajer, napi, yams, and patatas, are harvested (aside from exceptions; see separate list) after 8 to 10 months (August to November), but also continuously thereafter;
pineapple, is ripe after 9 months;
bacove, ripe fruit after 10 months, the stools are kept;
bananas, harvested after 10 to 12 months continuously after that from the new stools.

241 The advantage of this method of planting is that the grounds supply something during the entire year. A disadvantage, however, is that new grounds must be laid out each year. In this manner, various grounds are always in use for a household /gezin/. In the first year the ground supplies above all the products that grow most rapidly and some perennial crops; in the second year one harvests principally cassava, bacove, bananas,

/137 cont./

241/ and sugar cane, while in the third year some pineapples, bananas, and sugar cane are also harvested.

Thereafter one surrenders the ground to the second growth (kapoeweri) shooting up, here called "kauwé," and to the weeds, like the cutting grass "baboen nefi" (Scleria secans), which prevent further growth of the cultivated crop.

This system of clearing grounds requires much land. It is a severely predatory cultivation which can only be employed when sufficient free land is available. Only after many years can one return to the same piece of forest to lay out a new ground, depending on the recovery of the forest, more particularly on the top growth.

[592] Among the Bush Negroes of the Marowijne it is the rule that
[476] each household provide for itself. The man clears the ground with help of family /familie/ members or friends, who in return for food are taken in during this time. If the man has /138/ one wife, then ordinarily two grounds per year are cleared; if he has more than one wife, then he clears two grounds for each wife.

[622] The captain /kapitein/ of a village lays out his ground him-
[643] self, helped by his villagers. The granman /chief/, however, does not work himself, but, regardless of the number of his wives, has his family and other helpers clear grounds in return for food for the
423 workdays. The products of the grounds of a household are not joint
593 property, but rather the wife asserts her rights over the produce from one ground, while the man claims that from the other ground. Thus a distinction is made between the agrarian property of the wife and that of the husband.

3. The Plague of Ants and the Ant-bushes

241
825 In the agriculture of the Bush Negroes the plague of ants plays a significant role. The leaf-cutting or parasol ants (Atta sexdens and Atta cephalotes) are very destructive because of their attacks on the leaves in the plantings. The first-named species is the greatest evildoer in the interior districts of Surinam. Cassava in

/138 cont./

241 825 particular suffers greatly from this type of ant, but maize, tajer, and bananas are also eaten. This plague is so serious that the clearing of a new ground is partially determined by the occurrence of the nests of these ants at the place. Normally these nests lie fairly far apart in the forest, but as soon as the crops of the grounds come within the domain of the ants, the nests grow rampantly. In addition, at just about planting time the ants produce numerous sexual forms, which, as a result of the cleared lands, have a favorable opportunity to swarm and found new colonies. The leaf-cutting ants are therefore "Kulturfolger" /followers of culture/.

As a result of this plague of ants, it is usually not possible for the Bush Negroes to cut extensions to the existing grounds for longer than two to three years. After all, the kapoeweri of the abandoned pieces of ground functions then as a hiding place for the younger ant-nests, and one drags, as it were, the ant plague along with one. There is no combating the ants, and through impotence the Bush Negro is forced to yield the field. This flight before the ants consists in the search for new grounds farther into the bush or, in case this is no longer possible for some reason, in the occupation of new lands elsewhere along the river.

137 186 /139/ Stahel (1) has pointed to the fact that among the Bush

[113] 1. Het Bosnegervraagstuk en het Coronieplan /The Bush Negro Question and the Coronie Plan/, Department Landbouwproefstation Surinam /Department of Agriculture Research Station, Surinam/, Report No. 9, October, 1944, 28 pp.

Negroes the older grounds change into a low second-growth, called by him "ant-kapoeweri" /ant-bush/. In effect, in many places where a dense Bush Negro population is found, such a strip of second growth occurs along the rivers. According to Stahel, this inferior bush comes 13 about through the presence of the great nests of leaf-cutting ants. Ac- [114] cording to his calculation, at a density of six ant nests per hectare (a maximum which is confirmed in the vicinity of Paramaribo, but which, according to my own observations in the Bush Negro lands,

/139 cont./

13 seems too high to me), the ants can bring into the soil each year two to three tons of leaf material per hectare. As a result the soil would be so enriched with humus and, in addition, through the construction of the numerous nest corridors, receive so much extra ventilation that the oxygen content and the microbiological condition of this soil would tend to differ from the mineral soils in which the virgin forest is rooted. As proof of this, it is stated "that even the oldest ant-kapoeweri directly behind the villages shows no tendency to grow into normal high forest" (p. 13).

114 It does not seem correct to me to ascribe this kapoeweri
137 phenomenon only to the presence and the activity of the leaf-
136 cutting ants. In my opinion the ants here constitute a troublesome contributing factor, for when the virgin-forest grounds are abandoned by the population and no new food material is available to the ants while the kapoeweri gradually grows into higher forest, then the balance in the ant population re-establishes itself. This process takes place at a slow rate, depending on the local circumstances, but it leads to the re-establishment of the original situation. There is, however, one condition connected with it, namely, that the forest be left in peace for a long enough stretch.
●241 Now this last is not the case for the grounds area of the Bush Negroes.
134 They return too soon (within ten years) to clear grounds again, with the consequence that the soil becomes too exhausted and the recovery of the forest becomes impossible.

171 Proof for this viewpoint is already provided by Stahel (loc.
241 cit.) in his consideration of the agriculture of the upland Indians.
137 The absence of the ant-kopoeweri there is not a matter of a lesser
[136] ant infestation, as Stahel /140/ believes -- for in places this is equally serious -- but of a less intensive use of the forest lands.
[161] The Indians are present in small numbers (a few hundred, as against
423] thousands of Bush Negroes), while only communal plots are laid
[361] out for one village, and not different ones for each family. In addition, the Indians move frequently in order to find new hunting and fishing grounds.

/140 cont./

241 There is yet another factor which plays a role in the origin
134 of the grounds-kapoeweri. This is the use of fire in clearing the
137 ground. The burning of the cut forest is done at the expense of the humus on and in the soil. The fertilization with ashes that one obtains by it only partially covers this loss. Furthermore, under the influence of the fire there are great disturbances in the balance of the microflora and fauna of the soil, hindering the conversion of organic materials into inorganic compounds. Sun and rain bring changes in the structure of the scorched earth, which forms a cement-like crust and becomes sealed. Also the growing of cultivated crops, especially cassave, draws many mineral components from the soil.

13 It is clear that the soil needs time to recover after this disturbance of the balance. This period of time is estimated at 25-30 years. The leaf-cutting ants play a part in this; they again enrich the soil with humus by bringing great quantities of leaves into their ground nests. In addition, they ventilate the soil by digging numerous nest corridors. In this manner the ants contribute
[242] to the recovery. It is well-known, moreover, that the soil on old leaf-cutting ant nests is fertile; one likes to plant bananas on it. If we assume with Stahel that in this kapoeweri six ant nests per hectare are found, then these nests together would only have a maximum surface of one-tenth of it. This would never be able to hinder the full growth of the forest.

136 That the leaf cutting ants occupy the secondary growth, or at
137 least are present there in greater numbers than is normally the case
241 in the forest, may be a consequence of the laying out of new grounds within their domain. Because of the lack of land, the Bush Negroes are constantly trying to lay out grounds again in this forest. The ants, moreover can maintain themselves because there are various forest trees that supply the ants with sufficient leaf material.

13 Thus, because of both the decreased capacity of the soil and
311 the presence of the leaf-cutting ants, the ant-kapoeweri forms a terrain that has become unusable for present-day primitive Bush Negro agriculture./141/ And from the standpoint of forestry too the ant-kapoeweri is worthless.

/141 cont./

4. The Agrarian Law

241 423 There is yet another circumstance which adversely affects the agriculture of the Bush Negroes. As among many primitive peoples, so also in the life of the Djoeka /Djuka/ customary law plays an important role. We have already seen that at least two grounds per year are laid out per household. In fact it comes down to this, that both the man and the woman possess a ground of their own. Now these two grounds do not lie next to each other or close to each other. On the contrary, the one ground is always hours away from the other one; it is to be found on the other side of the river or elsewhere along a forest creek. One might think that this is a kind of division of risks. In actuality it is a question of family property. The ground of the wife is cleared in the area of her family, and the ground of the man in his family complex. The grounds are thus laid out with reference to the large family and not with reference to the household. Each family has a definite area where it has the right to clear grounds. This area lies along a forest creek, or one lays out a path from the river through the forest, along which the grounds [578] are cleared. Not infrequently, quarrels arise over the use of land by "unauthorized" persons on distinctly family land.

A Bush Negro thus cannot simply select a piece of forest for his ground wherever he pleases. He is bound by the law of family property. This applies not only to the families among themselves, but in a larger context also to the villages. Each village has its area within which the families from that village lay out grounds. Only through marriage can men lay out grounds for their wives in the area of another village.

These complications in agriculture lead to the circumstance that the hunger for land arises much sooner than would otherwise [361] be the case. Add to this the fact that many Bush Negro villages remain in existence for a very long time, sometimes 100 years at [161] a stretch, in the same spot. It is therefore not surprising that through the growth in population in such centers, too, the limit of this predatory cultivation has been reached.

000/141 cont./

241 of this predatory cultivation has been reached. The nearby
423 agricultural lands are kept in use with too brief a rest period, with
[134] the result that the soil is overworked and the periodic recovery
[825] of the forest proceeds at an ever slower pace. In addition one
struggles to an increasing degree with the problem /142/ of the
leaf-cutting ants, which keep the easily accessible places occupied.

241 The consequence of this circumstance is that the Bush Negroes
311 are forced to make the grounds farther and farther from their vil-
[484] lages. One travels for hours up or down the river in order to
[482] reach good land. When one cannot make good use of a forest
creek in order to transport the produce from the field, one is
forced to carry the harvest for one or two hours through the forest
to the river. The Bush Negro does not go farther than a two
hours' walk (about six kilometers from the river) (see the map /see
p. 13 /).

241 On the Tapanahoni one spends even days in traveling to less
311 populated areas in order to plant and to harvest. One then estab-
361 lishes so-called work camps along the river, from which one
[103] operates in the surrounding areas. This is the case, among others,
between Godoholo and Granbori for people from Drietabbetje or
311 other centers. That one does not go even farther up river, all the
423 way past the last village, Granbori, has to do with a prohibition
643 by the granman of the Aucaners. That is, the latter wants to re-
serve the lands lying beyond this point as hunting lands and there-
fore will not make them available for agricultural purposes.

244 The inhabitants of the villages along the lower Tapanahoni,
311 such as Sajé, Clementi, and Malobbi, frequently lay out their food
423 grounds in the Lawa, where they can have at their disposal agri-
361 cultural lands as far as the Aboenasoengoe Falls. Farther upstream
103 on this river the Bonni or Aloekoe Negroes assert their rights.

5. Differences between Aucaners and Paramaccaners

101 The conditions given above apply in the main to the Aucaner
162 Bush Negroes of the Tapanahoni. They number today approximately
[311] 6,500 persons. The Paramaccaner Bush Negroes of the Marowijne,
approximately 1,700 in number, are in somewhat more favorable

/143 cont./

433 The solution of this problem in my opinion lies in this, that in the first place agricultural methods which are based upon a better and more economical use of the land must be practiced. It is the task of the Department of Agriculture to investigate which possibilities the lands permit and which crops can best be cultivated; it is for this reason that to these observations is added a list of crops presently in use among the Bush Negroes. A small team of young Bush Negroes will have to be trained by the Agricultural Information Service to familiarize them with the new methods.

Next to that, combating the ants will have to be seriously taken in hand in conjunction with the plans for a modified agriculture. For this, too, people from the area itself will have to receive training, and a permanent work-team will have to be formed. It is unfeasible and unnecessary to clear the entire area now in use. Insecticides such as carbon sulfate, methylbromide, and parathion -- applied with the necessary caution -- could be used with success in places.

/144/ The District Administration will also have to provide co-operation in order to find a compromise between the customary laws of the Bush Negroes and the new regulations to be introduced concerning the use of land.

7. The Cultivated Crops and Their Use

241 Although for the most part the cultivated plants are those [171] generally in use as agricultural crops in Surinam, there is still not [114] much known in detail concerning the crops that are cultivated by the Bush Negroes for their sustenance. Giving a general survey of these plants is thus necessary first of all, with a report on the way in which they are used.

[174] From a more historical point of view it is of interest to point to a number of important plants that are of African origin and have only still remained in use among the Bush Negroes, such as [177] agobo and bongila. Furthermore presumably there are still varieties of ordinary cultivated plants present here -- such as sugar cane, bacove and bananas, species of tajer and yams -- from the

/144 cont./

241 [177] time that the runaway slaves took these with them from the plantations then in existence.

It is therefore worthwhile in various respects to explore what is
241 being cultivated. The following summary has been put together
114 from the data of my own observations and from information pro-
[128] vided by various Bush Negroes. This list is not complete; what is lacking, however, is probably of minor importance.

A. Cultivated Crops That Are Grown on the Food Grounds

244 Bitter cassava (kasàba).

[262] This is the most important crop, from which the cassava bread and kwak are made. One plants the shoots in December, but also in March and April. After 12 months the harvest begins; in case of a food shortage they are dug after only seven months. Yellow and white varieties are distinguished according to the color of the contents of the tubers. To the yellow varieties belong: witti tiki, which is kept on the grounds up to two years, blaka tiki, which stands on the grounds only one year, and taja tiki, which provides produce for a long time and is especially good for the making of kwak. To the white varieties belong: amosiang, sanang kasaba,
[252] and domberi. Cassava bread is made from this. In the making of kwak all the colors are mixed together in order to obtain the desired yellow color. Each variety separately provides a less tasty product.

252 On the Marowijne one makes more kwak (kwaka) than cassava
[184] bread, while on the Surinam River and the Saramacca only cassava bread /a map and Figs. 1-14 appear here/ /145/ is baked with the flour. Kwak is prepared in the following manner: The tubers, after they are peeled, are put in water in a korjaal (1) for two

1. korjaal = boat.

days and then grated. This grated cassava is then allowed to sour in a box or a korjaal; after that the grated cassava is expressed

[text continues on p. 21]

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[311] Fig. 1. Ground of a Paramaccaner on a hill beside the river. For want of flat terrain, the slopes of hills are used. The surroundings are second growth. -- Marowijne near Grankreck, Oct. 1952.

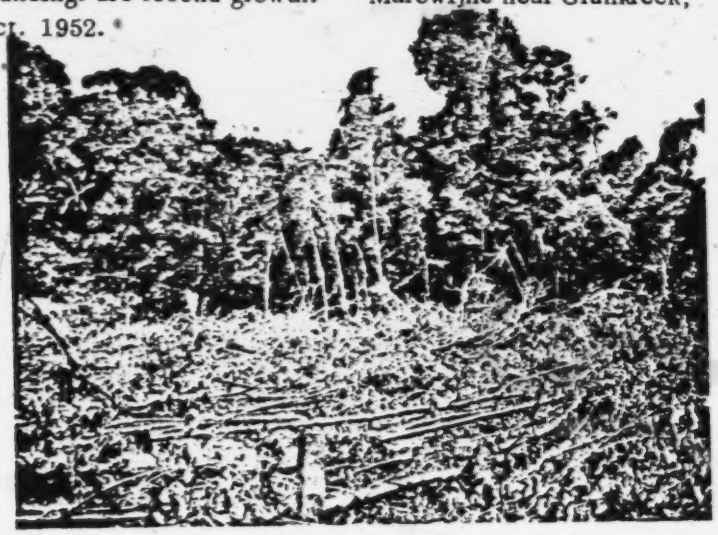

Fig. 2. Newly laid-out ground of an Aucaner, in young second growth. The slender trunks are typical. -- Tapanahoni, Saniki, Oct. 1952.

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Fig. 3. Ground on the slopes of the Malobbi range. The surroundings are primary virgin forest; in the distance, the Lely range. -- Tapanahoni, Malobbi, Oct. 1952.

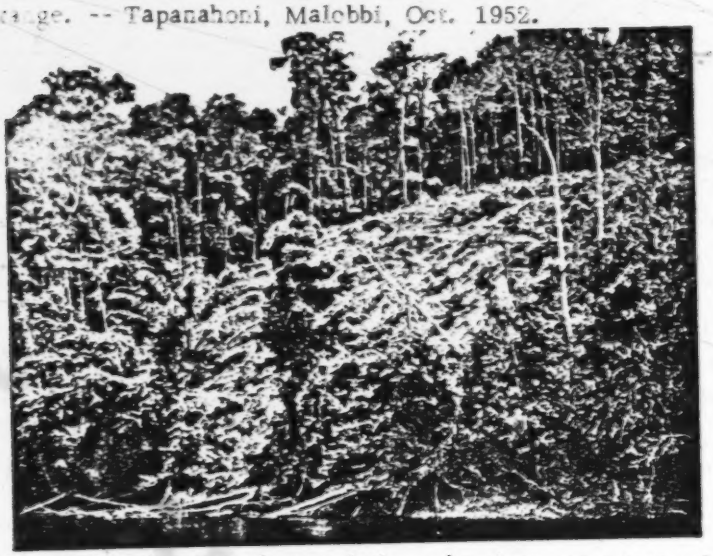

Fig. 4. Newly cleared ground along the river, on a steep slope. The danger of erosion is great. The surroundings are second growth. -- Marowijne near Gran Creek, Oct. 1952.

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Fig. 5. Virgin forest in the Malobbi range, with severe fire-scars from a food-ground (in the foreground). -- Tapanahoni, Malobbi, Oct. 1952.

Fig. 6. Food-ground on river terrace, planted for three months. In the foreground, rice and cassava, behind them maize. The surroundings are kapoeweri and, at the right, high second growth. Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, March, 1952.

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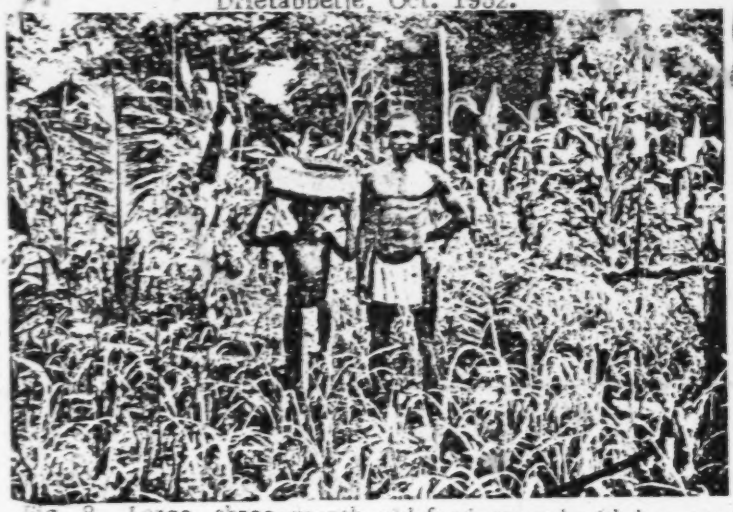
Fig. 7. Ten-month-old food-ground with high cassava. On the right, kapoeweri, weeds in the foreground. -- Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, Oct. 1952.



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[516]

Fig. 8. Large, three-month-old food-ground with harvestable maize and watermelons. Rice in the foreground. -- Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, March 1952.

/150 cont./

249 There is only one variety of tobacco in use, probably the same one that is grown by the upland Indians. The leaves are
276 hung to dry from the rafters in the dwelling huts. For use, the dried leaves are softened in a small tin with water, and the juice that is poured into the palm of the hand is sniffed up and blown out again.

Boembie.

249 This is Tephrosia toxicaria, whose roots are used as fish
226 poison. The man-high plants are found standing scattered on the grounds, where they are sowed with the other crops. The plant has hairy leaves and blooms with pink blossoms in clusters.

One uses the dried roots in order to "ponzen" with it between stones in the dry season when the river water is low. This operation consists of crushing the roots into fibers, whereby the poison is released as a milky substance and spreads in the water. In this manner warawara in particular -- in places difficult to reach otherwise -- are captured. According to the Bush Negroes, boembie works better than nekoe (1).

1. nekoe = a liana (Lonchocarpus) which is also used as fish poison.

B. Fruit Trees, Shrubs, and the Other Plants That Are Found in the Bush Negro Villages

● 241 Aside from the temporary crops that are grown on the grounds, the Bush Negro also uses fruit trees and other perennial crops that
[177] are planted in and along the edge of the villages. Most of them are well-known imported plants; some palm varieties are native. Perhaps these latter were already present on the spot when the village was established, or they more or less accidentally grew up there by the use of the pits. The following varieties are noted.

Coconut (kokondto).

245 Occurs practically everywhere in the older villages, but is usually sparse because of the constant sweeping of the ground;

/152 cont./

245 is eaten fresh, but more frequently pounded in the matta, so
263 that the fruit flesh becomes mushy. Over this one sprinkles sugar or sugar syrup and eats it as a delicacy (awá-popo).

Pina palm (apodong).

222 In April-May supplies a marble-sized black fruit which is prepared in the manner described for koemboe. This palm variety grows in groups in swampy places in the forests.

Paramaribo, December, 1952.

/The following summary appears in English on pp. 152-153 of the original source./

SUMMARY

AGRICULTURE AS APPLIED BY THE BUSHNEGROES ALONG THE MARONI AND TAPANAHONI RIVERS

241 During the MEDICAL SCIENTIFIC EXPEDITION TO THE SOUTHERN BORDER OF SURINAM from February till July 1952, in order to get an insight into the medical problems of the interior, the opportunity was

4: Geijskes--34 G,N-5 (1952) 1954 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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taken to investigate into the food supply of the Bushnegroes along the Maroni and Tapanahoni rivers. In this study agriculture, as applied by the Paramaccaner- and Aucaner Bushnegroes, and about which very little is known, is dealt with. 241

The Bushnegroes obtain their vegetable products by their system of shifting cultivation grounds, while some fruit trees are cultivated in the permanent villages. In the virgin bush they collect some palmfruits, of which they make drinks and palm oil.

The men cut and burn their grounds (each about two acres in size) during the long dry season (Sept.-Dec.). In the short rainy season following upon it (Dec.-Jan.), the women plant several crops (both annual and perennial) at the same time. Of these the harvest times differ widely, so that three months after planting time harvesting starts. Corn, ocras, peanuts, rice give their products in the first half year, while later on manioc and other tuberous plants, such as taro, yams and sweet potatoes follow. Bananas and plantains, sugarcane and pineapple are harvested in the second year.

Each plot of ground is used only for two years and after that it is given prey to the quickly overgrowing secondary vegetation. Each family usually cuts two grounds, one for the husband and one for the wife, so that with the ones cut the preceding year, each family has four grounds in use. These shifting grounds often lie far apart. This is not a division of risks, but a question of family property. The wife is allowed to cut hers only on the grounds of her people and the man to cut his only on his people's grounds. The different family-areas together form the piece of land on which a village can exercise its rights. The cultivation areas of the people of the villages along the river (see map) are assigned to the village captains by the granmans (chiefs) of the different tribes.

Much land is required by this system of shifting cultivation grounds. But owing to the curious laws of agriculture, the Bushnegro is obliged to stay within certain boundaries, which leads to exhaustion of the available soil. The use of the soil is intensified by the increase in the population, and is, besides, seriously threatened by the plague of the leafcutting ants (especially *Atta sexdens*). These ants principally occupy the secondary bush on the abandoned grounds, whence they undertake raids on the neighbouring shifting grounds. When an area is too seriously infected, the Bushnegroes avoid these ants — for lack of any remedy — and lay out new grounds in the virgin bush. As a result more and more secondary bush near the villages, occupied by leafcutting ants, becomes useless („ant-bushes").

Proposed measures to correct this bad state of affairs are: destruction of the nests of the *Atta*-ants and information on agricultural methods together with importation of other and better varieties of the crops used. In this way a more economical use of the grounds becomes possible and a greater production per acre is obtained.

A list of the crops grown by the Bushnegroes and their use is added, together with a statement of the fruit trees cultivated in the villages and of the fruits collected in the virgin bush.

B /512 cont./
R
137 The region is entirely covered by equatorial forest which the
241 inhabitants clear for their crops, practicing a shifting agriculture on burned-over land.
B
R
311 Life is closely tied to the river, on the edge of which are
504 established villages and crops. They scarcely move except by
368 water. Everybody, man, woman, or child, has his pirogue, and the children learn to paddle at the same time that they learn to walk.
B
R
433 The principal activities of the two populations are agriculture,
B fishing, and canoeing.
R
262 There is scarcely any difference between the dietary resources of the Indians and the Boni. The principal portion is manioc, eaten in the form of cassave (flat cakes cooked on a plate) or of couac (roasted and granulated flour). Then come tubers, yams, dasheens, "Carib cabbage" /taro/ and sweet potatoes, bananas
B
[241] and plantains. The Boni in addition plant mountain rice, from which the yield is small; in return, they eat fewer bananas.
R
[226] The protein ration is furnished essentially by fish, eaten fresh or smoked. The Indians, skillful fishermen, never lack them. Game furnishes a less regular, but important resource.
B
R
[231] Animal husbandry, confined to a few chickens raised mainly
[439] to sell, represents only an insignificant part of the diet.
The fat from fish and from animals killed while hunting constitutes the principal portion of lipides. The Boni use in addition, for preparing their meals, a small quantity of maripa palm oil.

Vitamins come from fruit (papaya, pineapple, mangoes), which the Indians eat in greater abundance than the Blacks, from wild spinach, rich in Vitamin A, and palm nuts (awara and caumou),
B eaten in great abundance during the rainy season.
R
146 Neither of the two populations is undernourished. The Indians might have been so temporarily during epidemics, when the adults, having been sick for a long time, were unable to clear sufficient land. But they can supplement an inadequate harvest with a great variety of wild foods that can be gathered.

The diet seems poor in mineral elements and especially in calcium. Traces of rachitis are noticeable among some of the Indian children.

/5 cont./

133 This extreme fragmentation of the relief must be remembered
182 as one of the ecological factors influencing the human peopling most directly; it renders the transport of heavy loads impracticable, the establishing of roads practically impossible. Men are led to
[361] settle along the rivers, which constitute the only routes of penetration toward the interior of the country.

133 All the important rivers flow into an alluvial valley whose
132 width varies from some tens of meters to a kilometer, dry during the greater part /6/ of the year, but flooded under several meters
134 of water during the great rains of May-June. This annual inunda-
● 241 tion makes the alluvial lands unfit for agriculture; the inhabitants of Guiana cultivate only sloping lands and even very steep slopes readily; for good drainage of the soil is indispensable for the raising of manioc whose tubers, which remain in the ground for more than a year, are threatened with rotting.

311 The cultivable zone is in fact closely limited around each village. Practically, it is limited to a strip of 1,500 to 2,000 meters along the banks of each watercourse accessible to pirogues.
[482] Transport of manioc tubers, carried on by the women several
[462] times a month, becomes impracticable if the distance to be covered with loads is greater than two kilometers at the maximum (1).

[101]
[131]
[184]

1. The Djuka, very numerous on the Tapanahoni, cultivate as far as three or four kilometers from the river; but in general, the Refugee Blacks prefer to build farming habitations at a distance of several days' by boat from their village when this gives them the possibility of farming in the neighborhood of the banks.

/7 cont. /

132 [513] The climate is relatively temperate and easy for the European to stand. In the forest the thermometer does not rise to more than 28° during the hot hours, to go back down to 20° at the end of the night: everyone sleeps with a blanket, Refugee Blacks and Creoles as well as Europeans. Humidity is very great during nearly all the year; precipitation averages three meters a year or about 50 centimeters less than at Cayenne. The year is divided into two seasons: "summer" from July to December, and the rainy season the rest of the year, with a maximum of precipitation in May and June. The water level varies considerably in the course of the year (several meters). The populations of the interior, spaced out along the rivers, suit the rhythm of their lives to the height of the water; the water rules transportation, fishing, and crops; moreover, a certain number of illnesses are in close relation to the rains, in particular those which have an insect for vector.

133 182 [361] [164]

241 [134] Almost everywhere the soil is very poor in organic matter and fundamental ingredients, very waterlogged necessitating the practice of an itinerant agriculture on burned-over areas; the period of fallow ground varies from two to ten years, the optimum seeming to be about six. The inhabitants of Guiana cannot allow ground to lie fallow regularly because of the ravages of the manioc ant, /8/ which is active especially in habitually cultivated zones. Vain and costly efforts made by Europeans notably at Saint-Jean du Maroni about 1950, have shown that the fertility of lands not burned over is practically nil. The Indians and the Refugee Blacks consider that the fertility of the soil depends exclusively on the weight of cinders laid down during the burning.

[136] [134] [242]

When burned-over areas are cultivated, only one harvest is obtained; but this harvest is abundant, and the soil thus utilized can be regarded as relatively fertile. The knocking down and burning do not require great labor, so that primitive agricultural methods can be considered to give a good yield. As a matter of fact, the diverse populations of Guiana, Creoles and Refugee Blacks, have entirely adopted the methods of work resulting from the millennial

241 197

/8 cont./

241 177 experience of the American Indians, which seem the only utilizable ones in the interior of the country.

Thus these populations which are so varied have in large measure the same agriculture and the same food.

241 [262] Basic crops are manioc, consumed in the form of couac (flour roasted and granulated) which is the base food, the Indian yam, and tubers analogous to taro (dachine, "Caribbean cabbage"). [171] The Refugee Blacks plant mountain rice in addition. The Creoles do not plant rice but have on the other hand a greater variety of vegetables and fruits.

311 36 182 Men in Guiana live on the rivers; villages and cultivated lands are to be found on their banks; everywhere else one finds only the deserted forest; only Creole gold miners, constrained by their work, sometimes establish their villages far from watercourses. 181 182 171 The Refugee Blacks, like the Indians, love the rivers where they find, along with water and light, the possibility of moving without hindrance; they are a people of canoeists; their traditions are widely influenced by life on the river, and their mode of living finds in this a deep originality.

131 133 182 171 In fact, setting aside the gold miners' villages, we can say that the populations of the Guianas living by exploitation of the natural resources of the country have a linear habitat: it can be estimated not in surface but in length, for it is limited to a band of one kilometer along each watercourse accessible to pirogues. These watercourses are limited in number, for one can take for granted that at a distance of some 20 kilometers from the source of each river, the congestion caused by fallen trees and parasitic vegetation prevents easy movement.

[161] [226] Actually, considering the very low density of the population, the small rivers are scarcely utilized except as fishing places.

487 501 All the rivers are interrupted by falls and rapids which render the use of large boats impossible. The pirogues of the Refugee

/23 cont./

621 175 [166] [103] Agodé was founded by Grand Man Ochi, probably about 1895, at the time when the Boni were required by the settlement of the Lawa Dispute to evacuate the villages they were occupying on the Surinam bank. The name Boniville was given by the gold miners; it was used never at all by the Boni.

621 613 [103] The Yakubi or Kotika lineage forms the important village of Kotika (1). It is one of those which have remained best grouped.

1. This word alludes to the river where the rebellion of 1772 began.

[423] [241] [103] Its members have exclusive rights over the region included between Abunasunga Falls and their village. They have farmed there for more than a century, and this is why the region is called Abattis Kotika.

613 621 175 [648] Kotika is the oldest Boni village. It is one of those founded by the survivors of the battles against the Dutch when, about 1815, they settled again on the Lawa. Until about 1895 nearly all the Boni were grouped in one large village, each lineage occupying a different quarter. At the time of the settlement, unfavorable to France, of the Lawa Dispute (1895), the various lineages emigrated, founding especially the villages of l'Enfant Perdu, Loka, Boniville, and Papaïston. Only the members of the Kotika lineage stayed, in full agreement with the grand man, so that the ancestral land might not be completely abandoned. [648] [628] Thus the inhabitants of this village are nowadays under the authority of Surinam, without ceasing, for that reason, to be faithful to the grand man and maintaining normal relations with the other groups.

613 614 [124] The genealogies reconstituted in 1957 by systematic interrogation of the old people of the group had led to three distinct fractions which we shall call Kotika 1, 2, and 3, tracing respectively back to ancestresses named Kénéya, Amawi, and Oka.

/60/

351 There are no gardens around the cabins because the con-
[134] ditions of the soil and climate render permanent cultivation
[241] impracticable. The nearest thing is a few persons planting some
banana trees around the hut at the foot of which they spread the
361 hearth ashes. As a general rule villages are closely hemmed in
137 by secondary brushwood, and people plant far from one another
311 and sometimes very far from the village.

423 If it does not admit the appropriation of land to individuals,
824 custom does admit, on the other hand, the ownership of trees.
In the villages the useful trees (coconut trees, maripa palms
/attalea excelsa/, mango trees, cashew-apple trees, etc.) all
[428] have owners. The tree is considered as personal property and is
transmitted by inheritance in the same way as a gun or a canoe.
428 The procedure employed by the Boni for the dispersion of the
824 inheritance among the members of the lineage of the dead man
613 sometimes has the effect of transmitting the ownership of a tree
to a person who is not of the village. For example, in Boniville
[222] where a fraction of the Kotika lineage lives, two caumou palms
were bequeathed a long time ago to members of the lineage living
in Kotika, who come each year to gather the fruit.

Appendix

173 Local Chronology Used for Determining Ages
[125]

1876 Death of Grand Man Atyaba.

1877 Trip of the explorer Crevaux from the Maroni to the Yari and the Amazon, in the company of Apatu, head of the Boni village.

[62] 1882 Apatu secedes, taking with him about 150 persons
361 and founds the village which bears his name on the lower course of the Maroni.

/68 cont./

613 624 [562] The basia are the mouthpieces of the captain, and not at all deputies having specific authority over a definite fraction of the village. There are three or four per village; in addition there are one or two women basia through whom the village head commands the work reserved for the women.

613 554 241 702 The head of the lineage possesses no religious powers over the land. The Refugee Blacks assume that the fertility of the soil depends exclusively on local divinities, to whom each one prays on his own behalf.

613 554 681 The captain, no more than the council, does not have the right to expel a member from the lineage, even for marked unworthiness. This is one of the most remarkable aspects of the legal conceptions of the Refugee Blacks, tied to the idea that a lineage represents only one single life. There again the thought of the Refugee Blacks can be regarded as the extreme opposite of the thought of the Bamiléké, with whom the head alone retains possession of the rights over the land, expulsion constituting the supreme social sanction.

881 Initiation; age classes; men's society. These African institutions seem totally unknown to the Refugee Blacks. No form of initiation of adolescents exists, and no ceremony marks collectively their entrance into social life. Circumcision and excision are not practiced. For the children, boys and girls, there are two stages: that of the first garment, which is given upon the appearance of the pubic hair, at about 12-13 years, without ceremony, and the end of education which coincides with marriage. [304] [852] [561]

561 The society of the Refugee Blacks rests however in large part on age hierarchy; strictly speaking there are no age classes involving a fixed organization, but they exist tacitly:

/72 cont./

643 778 241 The grand man acts as land head for the whole of the tribe. It is he who has the care of the sanctuary of mama gɔ̃ and who prays each year in the presence of a large gathering of people for the fertility of the soil.

643 793 776 782 The grand man is the priest of Odun, divinity whom the Boni regard as avenger of offenses against moral and religious law; by virtue of this, he alone is qualified to administer the oath against wʃi (sorcery) and to implore the mercy of Odun toward those who have gone against his laws by fighting with arms.

643 156 In his religious functions this usually weak and unobtrusive man acts with sovereign authority and assurance, and we have several times seen people tremble before him.

643 681 [673] If someone has seriously transgressed the customary laws, or if he has stolen, committed adultery, given blows, poured forth serious insults or curses, the grand man inflicts on him punishment proportional to the gravity of the offense, such as making planks, /73/ a boat, pounding rice (if it is a woman). The product of the punishment is acquired by the grand man, as are the fines in money which he imposes in less serious cases.

643 685 For example in October, 1952, two adolescents of Boniville, Awétipay and Adyuka, were surprised while they were trying to break into an inhabited house; the grand man sentenced them forthwith to three days of forced labor, in the course of which he made them clean the approaches to the village and collect for his benefit wood for heating.

643 689 462 He can also punish disobedient or disrespectful young men by making them do work reserved for women, such as weeding the approaches to the village and the removal of dog droppings.

643 681 The grand man can confine a man to Boni villages by forbidding him to go beyond l'Enfant Perdu to the north and Kormotibo to the south; that is called sitafu sama (sitafu = captive). The man concerned, deprived of means of earning his living, thus becomes dependent on his family until he makes honorable amends.

423 613 671 [428] /77 cont./

Land held by right of use cannot be sold nor rented, but only loaned. Neither can it be transmitted by inheritance; this would be entirely contrary to the thinking and custom of the Refugee Blacks, hostile to everything that would violate the legal joint possession of the lineage. Inheritance can affect only the harvest in process [425] from clearings. Once this harvest is made, the land can be occupied by any member of the lineage, man or woman, who wishes to cultivate it; and if there is any dispute, it is obligatorily settled within the lineage; the grand man would refuse to judge it. Kinship degree /78/ does not enter in, at least in principle, since they can say to each other "brother," "uncle," or "grandfather" in the classificatory sense.

423 428 The only attenuation of the rigor of this principle provided for by custom is that upon the death of a woman, her daughters have a right of priority to utilize her lands.

423 241 128 The Refugee Blacks have a clear tendency to remain faithful all their lives to the same clearings. The study we have made of the clearings in Boni country gives poor information on the history of each clearing, for it would have been necessary to be able to consult on the spot a large number of people, which we were not able to do; nevertheless it allows us to state that in the neighborhood of the residence villages, individuals keep their right of use of a clearing for the length of their lives.

42 241 Here is for example the transmission of rights over clearings 101 to 112 /sic/ (see genealogical table of the Dju lo) (1).

1. See plate at the end of this work: Distribution of lands in the neighborhood of the principal Boni villages.

/78 cont./

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Clearings Studied in January, 1957

Last user	Year	Transmission of Rights of Use
101 O Téodora (G40)	1955	occupied this land upon the death of her mother.
102 O Kukusa (F40)	1953	right created by Kukusa by clearing off an old secondary forest without a known user.
103 O Paana (G2)	1955	clearing cleared off by O Wima (E3); transmitted during her lifetime to her daughter O Tini (F1), then to O Pamasa (E26), raised by Tini. Pamasa worked it once, then gave her right to O Paana, daughter of Tiya /Tina?/.
104 O Tini (F1)	1954	right created by Tini (F1), who cleared it off for the first time (about 1920?); she has cut it three times in all; keeps her right of use.
105 O Lènga (F37) /F36?/	1954	cleared off by O Lènga for the first time (about 1920?). She has cut it 3 times in all; keeps her right of use.

/78 cont./

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Clearings Studied in January, 1957 (cont.)

Last user	Year	Transmission of Rights of Use
106 ○ /△ ?/ Féni (G3)	1954	occupied this land upon the death of △ Agoabuchi, old man of the Dju lineage (position on the genealogical table uncertain). /79/
107 ○ Tini (F1)	1955	it was △ Loka (D13) † 1951, who cleared off this land a long time ago. During his lifetime he ceded his right to ○ Tini, who cut it 2 times in all.
108 ○ Tini (F1)	1955	occupied this land upon the death of ○ Asoso (E7) † 1953, ancestress who had farmed there for a long time.
109 ○ Félicia (G41)	1954	occupied this land upon the death of ○ Anna † (E22), her grandmother.
110 ○ Téodora (G20)	1956	occupied this land upon the death of her mother Dondo † 1954, who had herself occupied it upon the death of her mother Anna (E22).

/79 cont./

42 241 Thus out of ten clearings we find only two cases where a member of the lineage gave his right of use to another during his lifetime; in four cases the right of use was taken over by a daughter upon the death of her mother; in two cases it passed to a distant relative.

241 423 425 562 Anyone, man or woman, may hold rights of use. But examination of the clearings shows that the great majority of men do not ask for any, and that nearly all the land is appropriated by women. In the example noted, out of ten clearings only one is appropriated by a man. This derives from the fact that most men are content to cut their wives' clearings on their wives' lands but do not bother to farm on their own account.

241 423 [613] Each woman holds rights of use over a certain number of clearings distributed in the different territorial zones of her lineage. It is important to have, so to say, many cords to one's bow, for it is necessary to be able, according to the activity of the manioc ants, to pass from one sector to another or on the contrary to work prematurely a clearing which one was hoping to leave fallow for several years.

241 425 [423] For example, Tini (F1) holds rights over six to seven clearings. For one (No. 104), she created the right of use on her own behalf by clearing it out of old secondary forest without any known owner. As for another (No. 107), she received it from Loka (D13), a distant relative, as a gift during his lifetime. As for the others (for example No. 106), she created the right on her own behalf by farming them first upon the death of their holder.

241 423 The right of use can be loaned, either to a member of the lineage or even to an outsider. It is specified that the loan is made for a certain number of years and that it is revocable. In such a case the donor does not lose his right of use.

/80/

241 423 425 613 Real right. The principle is that he who makes a clearing out of primary forest (or old secondary forest without a known owner) creates at the same time as a right of use for himself, an imprescriptible right for his lineage.

These two notions are very separate in the minds of the Refugee Blacks. The exercise of a right of use, even over a long period of time, over land already recognized as the possession of another lineage does not create any real right at all.

For example, ○ Béniti † 1953 (E5), an old woman of the Dju lo, had founded a farming habitation in the Kuyaku locality, where she worked the earth for several tens of years. But since these lands, even though unoccupied, were regarded as belonging to the Dipélu II lo (Kormotibo village), Béniti's work did not create any right at all for the Dju lo. If her daughters do not agree and if the habitation disappears, it is people of the Dipélu II lo who will be able to occupy the lands.

613 571 425 423 Consequences of the material scission of a lineage. When fraction A' of lineage A emigrates and goes to settle on the land of another village, B, which cedes a portion of land to it, the members of fraction A', thus separated, keep all their rights over the land from which they originally came. But the reverse is not true: the people who remained in the village of origin of the lineage (A) have no right over the land ceded to the A' out of B's territory.

At the end of a certain time, and especially if the lineage (B) had never really occupied the land granted, it is assumed that the lineage (A') is possessor of it without restriction.

This was the case for example of the fraction of the Dipélu II who left Kormotibo village about 1930 to establish themselves in Asisi near the Awara Bakka lineage. The Awara Bakka granted them some unoccupied lands near Asisi village in the Tapo locality. [162] This fraction, now numbering about 30 persons, considers that it has exclusive rights over these lands where the Kormotibo people cannot come to farm, but it has lost nothing as regards its rights over Kormotibo soil.

/82/

Territorial Implantation of Lineages

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As we have shown, the Refugee Blacks are caught between contradictory imperatives:

--Their legal thought, centered on joint possession by the lineage, pushes them to distribute land among the lineages in compact blocs;

[182]
[241]

--The geographic environment, and most especially the ravages of the manioc ant, obliges them to give to each individual the possibility of abruptly changing his territorial sector or to hasten the planned rhythm of his fallow fields.

The solution which has imposed itself has been to divide the lands of each lineage into a certain number of zones scattered on the two banks of the river. Instead of finding large blocks with a single holder, we are going to find sectors sometimes rather small. With that exception, the legal principles of the Refugee Blacks keep all their practical value.

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423
[487]

Each village possesses a certain number of landing places or dégrads /wharfs/, from which fan out a certain number of paths. The wharf is the center of a territorial zone within which the members of the lineage fan out, pushing their clearings farther and farther, until they meet the clearings created by other lineages. At this moment a boundary is in effect created, at least in some points (1).

[184]

1. Among the Djuka it happens that a wharf may be common to two lineages and that the boundary may be marked by a big road perpendicular to the river and starting from the wharf; this system corresponds to a concern for establishing more precise boundaries between groups occupying land to the maximum. It is not observed anywhere in Boni country.

/82 cont./

423 311 This fact is easily observable in the neighborhood of recently created farming habitations. In the figure "Distribution of lands ... in the neighborhood of the confluence with the Inini" (see at the end of the present chapter), the lands of the Antonu habitation are clearly seen distributed along two paths, one on each bank of the river.

241 423 In the sectors near Boni residence villages, cultivated in days gone by, the main lines of these boundaries are known everywhere. Still, they are far from being as precise as in the African countries with dense population, where the absence of manioc ants allows a regular rotation of lands. In Boni country this rotation is most variable, the duration of fallow ground going from two to 20 years [136] and more. Vast sectors where the activity of the manioc ants [311] suddenly becomes greater are abandoned for many years. When they are cultivated again, people no longer remember the exact boundaries of the former clearings and the new holders cut their clearings in their own way, taking care only that they remain on the lands of their lineage.

000 /83/ STUDY OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF LANDS
IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF RESIDENCE VILLAGES

Inventory of Part of the Cultivated or Fallow Plots
in January, 1957

62 Study of the clearings of Agodé (Boniville). The lands adjacent [241] to Boniville are worked in a very unsystematic fashion because of the composite character of the village population.

[613] Let us call to mind that Agodé includes fractions of six lineages:

/83 cont./

621 613 --The Dikan lo, lineage of the grand man, nearly extinct
--A fragment of the Kotika lo
--A fragment of the Dju lo
--A fragment of the Lapé lo
--A fragment of the Papaïston lo
--A fragment of the Dipélu I lo

621 613 423 241 The Dikan lineage holds the real rights over the whole of the lands situated on the eastern bank of the Lawa, from Puu Mofu Creek to the south up to the edge of L'Enfant Perdu village to the north.

The fragment of the Papaïston lo established in Boniville is in a special situation; it has for a long time possessed the lands situated to the south of Puu Mofu Creek up to the edge of Loka village (Lapé lo). This group has remained strongly organized and its members do not make clearings outside their zone, in which they have all the space desirable anyway.

The members of the other groups make their clearings on all [643] the surface formerly occupied by the Dikan lo. The grand man has reserved for his personal use the lands situated near Likanaon Creek, where he has built a farming habitation. The inhabitants of Boniville make their clearings on all the rest and without any definite territorial grouping.

[101] This finage (1), like the others studied in the present chapter, was

1. Finage: zone cultivated by the members of a collectivity.

visited in January, 1957, in other words shortly after the end of the land-clearing and at the beginning of the planting.

Study of some clearings of the Agodé bakka locality "behind Boniville":

abbreviations:	(K)	Kotika	(D)	Dikan	(Dip)	Dipélu
	(Dju)	Dju	(P)	Papaïston	(L)	Lapé

6:Hurault--119 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

[Agodé barka locality]

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
1 ○	Kamina (K2, E92) clearing cut by her husband	1956	lived in Boniville	4 years; last user Todo (K2, F68), in 1952
2 △	Grand Man Difu (D)	1953	--	2 years; used by the grand man in 1951
3 ○	Béniti (Dju, E5)	1951	--	cleared by Béniti about 1915, cut by her 3 times in all
4 ○	Mimi (K3, E156)	1951	--	cut on old secondary forest
5 △	Todo (K2, F68)	1951	--	2 years; already cut by Todo in 1951 and 1953
6 ○	Lèya (K2, F99); clearing cut by her husband	1956	--	6 years; clearing cut by Kanayen (Kotikalo) † in 1950
7 ○	Lésina (K2, F69) clearing cut by her husband Manku (Dip. I)	1953	--	?

6:Hurault--120 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

[Agodé bakka locality]

/84 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
8	△	Grand Man Difu	1952	--	?
9	○	Paata (Djuka woman settled in Boniville)	1947(?)	id.	already used by Paata about 1940
10	○	Térésa (L2, E57) clearing cut by her sons	1953	id.	?
11	○	Paata (see above)	1953		already used by Paata in 1950

Thus, out of this group of eleven clearings, two remain attributed to the grand man, one to a woman of the Dju lineage, two to a Djuka woman, one to a woman of the Lapé lineage, five to members of the Kotika lineage, all inhabitants of Boniville. /85/

[361]
[166]
[931]
[554]

Study of the clearings of the fraction of the Papaïston established in Boniville. This group formerly lived in Puu Mofu village at the mouth of the creek of the same name, abandoned about 1940 following an epidemic. Its settlement in Boniville is therefore recent. The oldest man in the group, Bukuman, a man of some 60 years, exerts de facto authority.

This group tends to add to its initial finage the band of land included between Boniville village and Puu Mofu Creek belonging to the Dikan lo (especially clearings Nos. 12, 13, 14).

[Papaïston fraction living in Boniville]

/85 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
12 ○	Apinda (P1, G26)	1955	member of the Papaïston fraction living in Boniville	20 years; last user Adyuba (D) † mother of the grand man
13 ○	Alasani (P1, F34)	1953	id.	20 years idem
14 ○	Lémiki (K3, E130)	1945 (?)	lives in Boniville	20 years (this clearing is not in Papaïston territory)
15 △	Bukuman (P1, F32), for his wife	1956	member of the Papaïston fraction in Boniville	20 to 25 years
16 ○	Apinda; clearing cut by her husband Amatodja	1954	id.	id.
17 ○	Alasani	1954	id.	id.

[Papaïston fraction living in Boniville]

/85 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
18	○	Térésa (L2, E57)	1955	woman of Lapé lineage living in Boniville; has worked there as an exception with Bukuman's permission	id.
18a	○	Alasani; clearing cut by her son Nanga	1956	member of the Papaïston fraction living in Boniville	id.
19	○	Pélui (P1, F33)	1954	id.	id. /86/
20	△	Bukuman, for his wife	1954	id.	id.
21	○	Pélui	1955	id.	id.
22	○	Apinda; clearing cut by her husband Amatodja	1956	member of the Papaïston fraction living in Boniville	id.

[Papaïston fraction living in Boniville]

/86 cont./

621
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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
23	O	Alasani; clearing cut by her son Nanga	1955	member of the Papaïston fraction living in Boniville	20 to 25 years
24	O	Apinda; clearing cut by her husband Amatodja	1955	id.	id.
25	△	Baafu (L2, E58), for himself	1955	man of the Lapé lineage living in Boniville. Has worked there as an exception with Bangasé's permission	id.
26	O	Pélui	1954	woman of the Papaïston lineage (Boniville)	id.
27	O	Apinda	1949	id.	id.

/86 cont./

621 Near this clearing is the limit of the lineage lands; beyond
613 are the clearings of Loka village (Lapé lineage).
423 Out of the 16 clearings examined here, 14 are occupied by
241 members of the Papaïston group at Boniville, two are held by
[562] temporary users, outsiders to the group. Out of the 16 clearings 13 are held by women and three by men.

Lands of Loka village (Lapé lo). This village, with its annex Lapé Tabiki, is the residence village of the Lapé lo. The Lapé lo, [614] whose genealogy is completely known and which remains geographically well grouped, is divided into two fractions without ceasing to constitute a lineage (bee) in the strict sense of the term. Its lands are divided into three zones:

--One on the east bank of the Maroni, behind Loka village.

/87/ --Another on the west bank (Surinam bank) opposite Lapé Tabiki, which we were not able to examine.

--Another upstream from Maripasoula, where part of the members of the lineage possess farming habitations.

[311] The first zone has been almost completely abandoned for about ten years as a consequence of an exceptional pullulation of manioc ants. We have summarized only a few relatively recent clearings there:

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
31 Δ	Akwadé (L1, E22) for himself	1948	member of the Lapé lo	cut only once on old secondary forest
32 Δ	Akwadé, for himself	1950	id.	cut twice in all by Akwadé

[Lands of Loka Village (Lapé'lo)]

/87 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
33	Δ	Akwadé	1952	id.	cut only once on old secondary forest
34	O	Awènkina (L1, D23); clearing cut by her husband	1949	id.	cut only once on old secondary forest
35	O	Awènkina id.	1936(?)	id.	cut twice in all by Awènkina
36	O	Awènkina; clearing cut by her son	1952	id.	2 years; cut in 1950 on old secondary forest
37	O	Chii (L1, D24); clearing cut by her son Ayaubédé	1952	id.	2 years; cut in 1950 by the same
38	O	Chii; clearing cut by her husband	1950	id.	cut only once on old secondary forest
38a	O	Madu (E41), Chii's daughter	1956	id.	6 years, a part of No. 38 taken up again

[Lands of Loka Village (Lapé lo)]

/88/

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
39	○	Chii; clearing cut by her son Ayaubédé	1955	id.	?
40	△	Koniman (L1, E31) for himself	1953	id.	4 years (cut by himself in 1949)

[562] Out of the eleven clearings examined here, all are farmed by members of the Lapé lo; seven are held by men and four by women.

Lands of the Dju lo (Asisi village) in the Ingi Udu locality. The Dju lo, whose genealogy is completely known, also constitutes a lineage in the strict sense of the term. It remains well grouped geographically with the exception of a small group established in Boniville close to the grand man.

The lands of the Dju lo are distributed in several zones:

--One on the east bank of the Lawa, a little downstream from Asisi, in the Ingi Udu locality;

--One on the Dutch bank opposite Gengé Tabiki;

--One upstream from Maripasoula at the confluence with the Inini, where an important farming habitation is established (Atikati village);

--Finally, several members of the group make their clearings near Kormotibo in the Kuyaku locality, on the lands of the Dipélu II lo.

Clearings summarized here all belong to the first zone.

[Lands of the Dju lo (Asisi Village) in the Ingi Udu locality]

/88 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
41	O	Téodora (Dju, G40); clearing cut by her husband	1955	member of the Dju lo, Asisi fraction	20 years
42	O	Kukusa (Dju, F40); cl. cut by her husband Bernardin	1953	id.	a very long time
43	O	Paana (Dju, G2), cut it herself (has no husband)	1955	id.	6 years /89/
44	O	Tini (Dju, F1); clearing cut by her husband	1954	id.	6 years (?); cut 3 times in all since 1920
45	O	Lènga (Dju, F36); clearing cut by her husband	1955	id.	4 years
46	O	Féni (Dju, G3), /Δ?/for his wife Abugu	1954	id.	7 years
47	O	Tini (Dju, F1); cl. cut by her husband	1955	id.	6 years (?)

[Lands of the Dju lo (Asisi Village) in the Ingi Udu locality]

/89 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
48	Tini; clearing cut by her husband	1956	member of the Dju lo, Asisi fraction	3 years
48a	Sara (Dju, E27); cl. cut by her husband	1956	id.	3 years (fraction of clearing 48)
50	Félicia (Dju, G41); clearing cut by her husband Akodo	1954	id.	?
51	Téodora; clearing cut by her husband	1956	id.	2 years
64	Abo † (E8), for himself	1956	id.	2 years
76	Ata (F2); clearing cut by her husband	1956	id.	3 years
77	idem	1955	id.	3 years

Clearings 64, 76, and 77 appear to be enclaves a little within the Awara Bakka finage. Actually, from the very fashion

/89 cont./
621 in which these finages were constituted, one must not expect to
613 find clear boundaries.
423
These 14 clearings are thus used exclusively by members
241 of the Dju lineage living in Asisi village. All but two are held
[562] by women. /90/

It is interesting to study the kinship ties of the members of the lineage making their clearings in different zones. One might actually believe that there is a tendency toward individualization of sublineages, and that the descendants of a particular woman tend to hold exclusively the use of such and such a zone.

We see here that such is not the case.

In zone 1 (studied here), make their clearings: Tini (F1), Paana (G2), Féni (G3), very close relatives, but also Lènga (F36), Kukusa (F40), and Félicia (G41), whose relationship with the first-named is as distant as possible within the lineage: Félicia and Paana for example are relatives in the 12th degree.

The same thing is observed in other zones, as we shall see in the study of farming habitations.

621 Lands of the Awara Bakka lo (Asisi village). The finage of the
613 Awara Bakka lo is particularly interesting to study, for this lo
614 has a more complex structure. Study of the genealogy shows the
423 existence of three distinct fractions, which we have designated respectively as Aw.B.1, Aw.B.2, Aw.B.3. The Aw.B.1 and 2 fractions consider themselves as the same lineage in the strict sense (bɛɛ). On the contrary, fraction 3 can be considered as a separate lineage from the point of view of legal responsibility. Moreover, the members of the small Afi lineage, living with the Awara Bakka, also constitute a separate unit from the legal point of view. It is important to study whether that carries over into their territorial implantation.

[Lands of The Awara Bakka Io (Asisi Boni Village)]

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[128]

We were not able to carry this study out exhaustively because the great mass of lands cultivated by the Awara Bakka are situated on the Surinam bank. The clearings summarized here are grouped in a zone called Ingi Udu; they are served by two landing places or dégrads, borrowed exclusively by the Awara Bakka.

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
61 O	Kyéti (Aw.B.1, E30); cl. cut by her brother Agibidon	1954	member of the Awara Bakka Io, 1st fraction	cut on old secondary forest
62 O	Mani (Afi lineage); clearing cut by her husband Galmo	1956	member of the Afi lineage, living in Asisi	2 years
63 O	Kyéti; clearing cut by her brother Agibidon	1956	Awara Bakka, 1st fraction, Asisi village	2 years; cut 4 times in all, the 1st about 1949 /91/
65 O	Akanté (Aw.B.3); clearing cut by her husband Poopu	1956	id. 3rd fraction	2 years

[Lands of The Awara Bakka lo (Asisi Village)]

/91 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
66	O	Kyéti; clearing cut by her husband Sosoman	1954	id. 1st fraction	2 years
67	O	Lébimichi (Aw. B.1, F27); clearing cut by her husband Abagon	1956	id. 1st fraction	4 years
68	O	Anèta (Aw.B.3); clearing cut by her son-in-law Kéwénu	1956	id. 3rd fraction	4 years
69	O	Agyasu (Aw.B.1, F38); clearing cut by her brother Baliki	1956	Awara Bakka, 1st fraction, Asisi vge.	4 years
70	O	Emma (Aw.B.2); clearing cut by her son Akodo	?	id. 2nd fraction	4 years
71	O	Irma (Aw.B.1, E37); clearing cut by her husband Adiiso	1956	id. 1st fraction	cut on old secondary forest

[Lands of the Awara Bakka lo (Asisi Village)]

/91 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
72	O	Emma; cl. cut by herself	1955	id. 2nd fraction	3 years
73	O	Lébimichi; clearing cut by her husband Abagon	1955	id. 1st fraction	3 years
74	O	Kilina (Aw.B.3, E71); cl. cut by her husband Amèmbě	1956	id. 4th fraction	4 years /92/
75	O	Namu (Aw.B.1, E48); cl. cut by her husband Koniman	1956	id. 1st fraction	4 years
78	Δ	Lawa (Aw.B.1, F43); for his fiancée Kula (Asisi-Dju)	1956	id. 1st fraction	?
79	O	Béma (Aw.B.3, E73); cl. cut by her husband Maïna	1956	id. 4th fraction	2 years

[Lands of the Awara Bakka lo (Asisi Village)]

/92 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
80	○	Kakyé (Aw.B.1, E19)	1956	id. 1st fraction	4 years
81	△	Antonu (Aw.B.1, E47); for himself	1952	1st fraction	?
82	△	Adam (Afi lineage, c7); for his wife Dachini (Asisi-Dju)	1954	member of the Afi lineage living in Asisi	?
83	○	Titi (Aw.B.1, E18); cl. cut by her son Dopia	1954	member of the Awara Bakka lo, 1st fraction, Asisi village	
84	○	Noémi (Aw. B.1, F51); cl. cut by her husband	1955	id. 1st fraction	2 years
85	○	Summa (Aw. B.3, F81); clearing cut by herself	1956	id. 3rd fraction	3 years
86	○	Léna (Aw.B.1, F52); clearing cut by her son	1956	id. 1st fraction	3 years

[Lands of the Awara Bakka lo (Asisi Village)]

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/92 cont./

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
87 O	Noémi; clearing cut by herself (having become a widow)	1956	id. 1st fraction	3 years /93/
88 O	Titi; clearing cut by herself	1955	id. 1st fraction	3 years
89 O	Amélia (Aw.B.1, F19); clearing cut by her husband Sindu	1959	id. 1st fraction	4 years
90 O	Titi; cl. cut by her son Dopia	1954	id. 1st fraction	5 years

[562] Of the 27 clearings examined, only two /sic/ are held by men, 26 /sic/ by women.

19 are allotted to members of the 1st fraction;
2 " " to a member of the 2nd fraction;
2 " " to members of the 3rd fraction;
4 " " to members of the Afi lineage.

Thus one can deduce from this study that there is no tendency toward the making up of separate finages by the various fractions of the Awara Bakka lo. The members of the Afi lineage living in their midst have no tendency to group their clearings, either.

In fact, the inhabitants of a village, even issuing from different lineages, possess joint rights over the lands.

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621 Lands of the Asisi fraction of the Dipélu II lo, in the Tapo
613 locality. The fraction of the Dipélu II lo which has been settled
423 in Asisi for some 30 years and which remains subject to the
241 authority of the head of the lo living in Kormotibo, groups its clearings in a zone which has been allotted to it in the Tapo locality.

No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
91	○	Chichiti (G22); clearing cut by her husband Obino	1954	member of the Dipélu II fraction established in Asisi	2 years
92	○	Lawenchi	1951	id.	cleared off for the lst time
93	△	Aténi (G20), for himself	1953	id.	id. /94/
94	△	Aténi (G20), for himself	1956	id.	id.
95	○	Kaala (G28); clearing cut by her husband Tamu	1954	id.	id.
96	○	Kaala	1951	id.	id.
97	○	Kiboya (G31); clearing cut by her husband Simon	1954	id.	3 years

[Lands of the Asisi fraction of the Dipélu II 10]

/94 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
98 △	Kopo (G32), for himself	1954	id.	cleared off for the 1st time
99 ○	Tama (G29); clearing cut by her husband Asékéyé	1954	id.	?
99a	Sésèy † (F38); clearing cut by her husband Mato	1949	id.	cleared off for the 1st time
100 ○	Tyoko (G30); clearing cut by her husband Dodo	1954	id.	2 years
101 ○	Tama; clearing cut by her husband Asékéyé	1953	id.	2 years
102 ○	Chichiti (G22); clearing cut by her husband Obino	1953	id.	cleared off for the 1st time
103 ○	Sésèy † (F38); clearing cut by her husband Mato	1951	id.	3 years

/95/

621 613 423 241 [578] Out of 14 clearings examined here, all without exception are occupied by the members of the Dipélu II fraction in Asisi. This fraction is geographically separated from the other lineages of Asisi village, and has formed a separate finage; that has to do with its relatively high effective force and the good relations among its members (the Afi lineage, with an analogous force but divided by disagreements, has not succeeded in forming a separate finage).

[562] Of 14 clearings, 13 are held by women and one by a man /sic/.

Study of several clearings of Papaïston village. The part of the Papaïston finage situated on the French bank had been abandoned for several years because of an abnormal pullulation of manioc [311] ants. In 1956-57 all the inhabitants of the village were making their clearings on the Surinam bank.

Only several clearings going back to the years 1947-50 could be identified.

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
111 O	Efa (P1, D4)	1946	member of the Papaïston lo	cleared for the 1st time on old secondary forest
112 O	Wilèlmina (P1, F1); clearing cut by her husband Bésu	1947	id.	id.
113 O	Oben (P1, E13)	1950	id.	id.

[Papaïston Village]

/95 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
114	Gou (P1, F8); clearing cut by her husband Akwali		id.	id.
115	Puti (P2, F71); clearing cut by her husband Maïpa	1951	id.	cleared off for the 1st time on old secondary forest
116	Héléna (P1, F2); clearing cut by her husband Baliki	1951	id.	id.

[62] These six clearings are held by women of the Papaïston lineage, in accordance with the residence principle of the Refugee Blacks.

000 /96/ The Social System Illuminated by the Study of Implantation on the Soil

128 Study of the clearings in the neighborhood of the farming villages gives exact information about the structure of the kin groups which cannot be obtained by direct interrogation.

423 613 621 371 --Transmission of rights over land within the lineage fractions having the same residence constitutes an imprescriptible legal principle, to which one refers as the conclusive argument to settle every dispute; -

/96 cont./

123 613 621 571 emigrating fraction possesses exclusive rights over the /agricultural/ land /terroir/ it forms. But it does not lose, at least in principle, its rights over its original land /terroir/."

The study of finages gives us still more important information concerning the exercising of rights of use:

241 423 613 621 /97/ Of 100 clearings examined, 81 follow the normal process according to which the woman has her clearing made on the land of her lineage (1). Of these 81 clearings, 14 had been

1. For the joint sector of Boniville, the inhabitants of the village were considered as users of rights without distinction of lineage.

made under conditions not made clear, 48 had been cut by the husband, 14 by a near relative (son, brother, exceptionally brother or son-in-law), five by the woman herself.

In only five cases it is, on the contrary, the man who brings his wife onto his lineage's land.

A little more frequent is the case of a man cutting a clearing for himself on his lineage's land.

Finally, the case in which, for reasons of convenience, a member of a lineage asks to work temporarily on the land of another lineage is met twice. Thus this is an extremely unusual practice.

182 171 [177] Influence of the geographical environment on the social structure. These observations are to be compared with the ones that can be made about the Oayana Indians and the Indians of Guiana in general, living near the Refugee Blacks, in the same geographical environment and almost in the same way (let us recall that the Refugee Blacks borrowed the whole of their material culture from the Indians).

/97 cont./

R 105 [361] The Oayana Indians are half nomadic, moving their villages every ten years on the average. They have neither a permanent center of peopling, a place of worship, nor a cemetery; they do not have ancestor worship, at least no concept involving a precise and permanent tie between the living, the dead, and the land.

R 114 182 [136] This state of things has been attributed by several authors to the geographical environment and especially to the ravages of the manioc ant; the manioc ant, swarming particularly in formerly cultivated zones, makes nomadism advantageous. From this would have resulted a social structure and a mode of living adapted to these special conditions.

B 114 769 182 The example of the Refugee Blacks shows conspicuously that these considerations, in spite of their un[illegible]e interest, do not constitute an explanation of general scope. For the Refugee Blacks, the only social ties conceivable flow from ancestor worship; above all the imperatives of material life the individual feels as a primordial duty the act of attaching himself to the village of his ancestors, to the land they cleared off and which remains under their protection.

B 182 241 423 613 The difficulties inherent in the geographical environment have been easily surmounted or gotten around. Rather than vast zones with one single holder, each lineage divided its finage into sectors distant from one another. If these zones become temporarily unusable, the Boni go to create farming habitations on the upper course of the river, without ceasing because of this to reside habitually in the village of their ancestors; there results from this no other constraint but losing two weeks each year in going and coming on the river.

/99/

182 That this system is perfectly workable has been sufficiently
161 demonstrated by the regular expansion for two centuries of the
241 tribes of Refugee Blacks and by the good functioning of their
423 institutions.
613

Thus the basic instability of the Indians of Guiana cannot
182 be attributed to the influence of the geographical environment alone. It comes essentially from social and psychological factors.

/100/ STUDY OF FARMING HABITATIONS

128 We are now going to study the functioning of the farming habitations under the same aspects:

--Structure (composition of each one, kinship ties);

--Territorial implantation: nature and extent of rights over the land;

--Functioning.

241 Not all Boni have a farming habitation; about two-thirds
62 of them are satisfied with the lands they occupy near the residence
184 villages.

241 The farming habitations we are going to study more es-
621 pecially and which are situated between the mouth of the Inini
361 and Simayé Falls to the south, group about a hundred persons be-
162 longing to the Dju, Lapé, Awara Bakka, and Papaïston lineages.
613 Another group of farming habitations situated a little south of Kormotibo, which we shall study briefly and only so far as their composition is concerned, bring together about 60 persons. Finally, other very dispersed farming habitations exist, belonging principally to the Kotika lineage, some in the Maripasoula region, others in the Abattis-Kotika Falls /region/.

241 On the whole, the Boni farming habitations cannot be com-
184 pared either as to importance or stability with the Djuka farming
62 villages which are placed at intervals on the middle course of the
[361] Maroni, grouping 3,000 to 3,500 persons: this is easy to
[162] understand: the Djuka, continually short of land, are obliged,

/100 cont./

241 62 [184] under pain of losing their rights, to occupy the soil to the maximum. Besides, settled very far from their residence villages, they are led to creating more lasting establishments.

Among the Boni, farming habitations do not amount to much, built carelessly (to designate them one says kāpu (camp), and the groups who work there are not very stable.

423 241 [182] [184] However, the principles of establishment and functioning of farming habitations are exactly the same for the two tribes and result on the whole from the customary laws which, among the Refugee Blacks, govern the possession of land:

[425] [613] 1) When a man cuts a clearing in a zone which has never had any human establishment, he creates at the same time as a right of use for himself an imprescriptible real right for his lineage (bɛɛ) or more precisely for the fraction of the lineage living in the same village and subject to the same authority;

[428] [613] 2) This right is joint; at the death of an individual, anyone of that fraction of his lineage may occupy the lands he used to cultivate habitually. If there is a dispute, it must be settled within the framework of the lineage; /101/ /Fig. 17 appears here/ /102/

3) The extent of the zone over which this right is exercised is limited only by the zones over which other rights are exercised.

We have seen what mode of occupation of the soil resulted from these laws in the neighborhood of the "great villages." Here the distribution of lands among the farming habitations follows practically the same laws, whose effects are less rigorous, considering the very low density of occupation of the soil.

425 [361] 1) It is taken for granted that an isolated establishment in a quasi-deserted zone does not create lasting rights. If it happens to disappear, anybody may come to settle there after ascertaining from the first occupant that he no longer needs the place (such is the case with the very scattered establishments south of Simayé Falls up to Indian country; they do not create real territorial rights for the benefit of any lineage whatever.

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Boni Farming Habitations South of the Confluence with the Inini

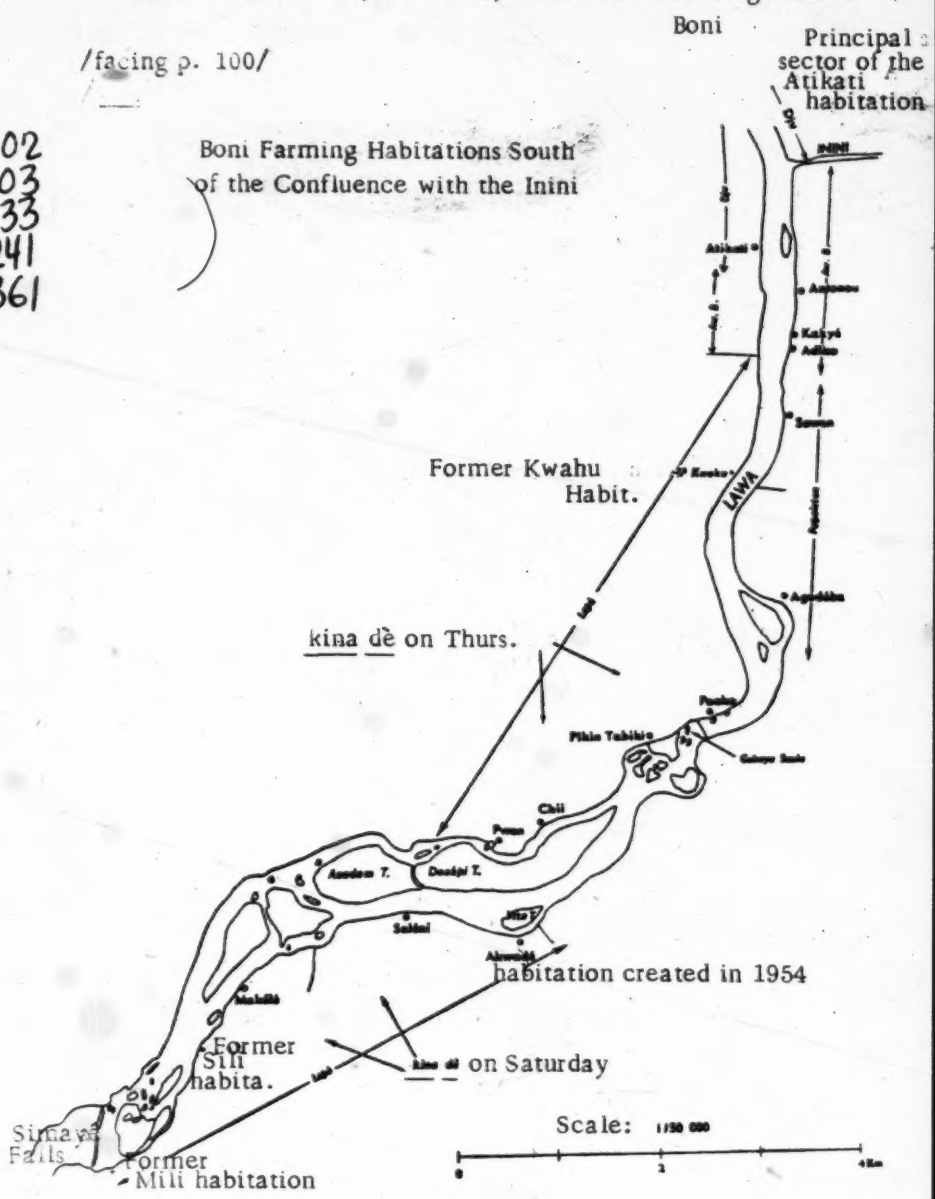

Fig. 17.

/102 cont./

425 2) On the contrary, from the time that occupation of a region becomes habitual, even by groups of small numerical importance, people pay attention to the attribution of the lands. [361] [613] Thus it is assumed that the west bank of the Lawa south of the Atikati habitation up to Simayé Falls has belonged, since the end of the last century, to the Lapé lo, which was occupying it in 1957 by the Paako, Samo, Pwen, Salêni, and Makélé habitations.

423 613 241 361 3) Within each zone the rights remain joint and anyone of the same lo may come to settle there. Thus the farming habitations move around, but within a definite sector. Thus for example Kwaku (Lapé) abandoned in 1954 his habitation situated in the lands of the Lapé lineage (it was too damp in the rainy season, he prefers to content himself with the lands of the "great village"). He does not lose his rights because of this. If he decides eventually to come back, he will settle anywhere in the zone attributed to the Lapé lo.

182 161 241 361 425 It goes without saying that if the population were more dense, such a principle would be difficult to apply and that serious disputes would arise. But this mode of occupation of the soil is perfectly suitable, in their present situation, for the tribes of the Refugee Blacks, for it allows them to practice, with a minimum of friction, the seminomadism which the geographical environment and especially the manioc ant impose.

241 361 423 The zones occupied by the farming habitations rarely have a single holder: most often they are divided into separate sectors on different parts of the river.

504 613 361 423 Actually, as we have seen around the "great villages," each lineage possesses a certain number of "dégrads," or landing places, from which paths radiate. Each "dégrad" is rigorously reserved for the members of a lineage. The occupants of a farming village radiate from around their landing place until they

361 /102 cont./
504
613 meet the clearings of the people of another lineage; a de facto
423 boundary is thus created, which is henceforth respected.

621 On the other hand, several farming villages of one lineage
241 may have their clearings totally intriqués /entangled/ (this is
613 the case, for example, with the ones of the Antonu and Adiiso
423 habitations). This conforms to the rule of joint possession of the land within the lineage.

621 Organization. The group in a farming habitation is brought to-
241 gether by mutual affinities, and has no hierarchy other than that
602 which springs from kinship ties: authority of the mother over her
592 daughters; authority of the "uncles" over the "nephews."
/103/ The grouping which conforms most to the matrilineal structure of the Refugee Blacks is made up of an old woman, her unmarried sons, her daughters and her daughters' daughters, their husbands coming to help at the time of the clearings but not belonging to the group. Often it is this old woman who directs the habitation, but often also it is an old uncle, her classificatory brother, who has worked with her for a long time. Sometimes this old woman has come to live with her daughters on the habitation founded by her husband.

103 Some of the habitations bear men's names, others women's
423 names. The name which prevails may be completely at variance
592 with the real rights exercised over the land (Ex.: name of Adiiso given to the habitation of his wife where Adiiso has no right at
[613] all). That has no great importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks, the only important thing being collective possession of the land by the lineage.

621 For groups which are relatively numerous and brought to-
241 gether more by mutual affinities than by kinship ties, the mini-
622 mum of authority necessary for good feeling and the organization of the work is brought to bear by the founder. For example,

/103 cont. /

621 Atikati exercised authority by this right over the disparate group
622 around him, and at his death he bequeathed this function to his
241 sister Adyidya.

Likewise Antonu exerts undisputed authority over three
[613] groups of the Awara Bakka lo settled at the mouth of the Inini, for it was he who took the initiative of creating an establishment at this place. If there is any dispute, it is he who will defend the rights of the Awara Bakka lineage.

622 The authority exercised by the founder of the farming habitation is not brought to bear in material living, which remains subject to the strictly individualistic principles of the Refugee Blacks. He cannot require anyone to help him make his clearings or do any work whatever on his behalf.

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Farming Habitations of the Awara Bakka lo (Antonu, Adiiso, Kakyé) in the Neighborhood of the Confluence with the Inini

621 These habitations work soil whose first user was Antonu, of
241 the Awara Bakka lo (fraction 1), which is regarded as belonging
[613] to that lineage. Antonu settled there in 1945 (he was finding that
[423] there were too many people farming the lands near Asisi).

To insure his rights, Antonu put on his land two groupings
621 whose situations are very different:
241
592 1) In his own habitation he installed his wife Asakundu, and
423 around her he made up the work group commonest among the
[476] Refugee Blacks: group formed by the mother, her sons and daughters, the daughters' husbands coming to help at the time of the /104/ clearings. But it is important to note that this group has no right at all over the land: if Antonu and his wife ever separate, the wife's group will leave the habitation.

/104 cont. /

621 2) Nearby, he set up the habitation of his sister Irma
592 married to Adiiso (Dju). This village is improperly called Adiiso,
241 but Adiiso has no right at all there. In case of breaking with his
[423] wife, he leaves the habitation.

3) Finally, Kakyé, an old woman of the Awara Bakka lineage, settled nearby with her daughters and son.

Structure and functioning of the Antonu habitation. This habitation comprised in January, 1957, disregarding children:

○ [△] Antonu (Aw. B. 1, E47);
○ Asakundu, his wife (L2, E55);
○ Kapééki (L2, F60) } Asakundu's daughters, married;
○ Angisa (L2, F61) }
△ Sindu (L2, F62), Asakundu's son;
△ Maliki (L2, F63), Asakundu's son;
○ Yundu, Kapééki's daughter, married;
△ Anato, Kapééki's son;
○ Agata, Akoni's daughter.

The wives of Maliki and Sindu who do not have any personal habitation come there to work, but they are not to be considered as members of the group. They have no hut.

Likewise, the husbands of Kapééki, Yundu, and Angisa
241 come to help temporarily at the time of the clearings.
621 Activity of the Antonu village in 1955-56:

		1956	1955
○	Asakundu	1 clearing with Antonu	1 clearing with Antonu
○	Kapééki	1 clearing with Akuba her husband (who did not make any other clearing)	idem

/104 cont. /

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	1956	1955
○ Angisa	1 clearing with her husband Ernest (who cut 2 other clearings in other sectors because he has 2 other wives)	1 clearing with Antonu
△ Sindu	1 clearing for Amélia, his wife, 1 clearing for himself	id. (2 clearings)
△ Anato	en mission; cut no clearing; his wife weeded a two-year-old clearing herself	1 clearing for his mother (had made in addition a /105/ clearing in Asisi for his wife on her family's lands)
△ Maliki	same case	nothing for his mother, 1 clearing for his wife in another habitation

Study of the clearings of the Antonu habitation:

1) West Bank:

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
[423] [613] 31 △	Antonu, for himself	1952	member of the Awara Bakka lo, founder of the habitation	2 years (cut in 1950 for the 1st time on primary forest)

[Antonu habitation]

/105 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
32	○	Angisa; clearing cut by her husband Ernest	1949	works there because her mother Asakundu is married to Antonu, but has no rights over the land	cut for the 1st time
34	○	Asakundu; clearing cut by her husband Antonu	1952	Antonu's wife	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1950)
35	○	Angisa; clearing cut by her husband Ernest	1948	like No. 32	3 years (cut for the 1st time in 1945)
36	○	Asakundu; clearing cut by her husband Antonu		like No. 34	cut for the 1st time on primary forest
37	△	Antonu, for himself	1948	like No. 31	cut for the 1st time

6:Hurault- 152 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

[Antonu habitation]

/105 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
38 △ /○/	Angisa; clearing cut by her husband Ernest	1949	like No. 32	cut for the 1st time
39 ○	Asakundu; clearing cut by her husband Antonu	1951	like No. 34	cut for the 1st time /106/
40 ○	Asakundu	1955	like No. 34	4 years (cut for the 1st time in 1951)
	2) East Bank			
1 ○	Angisa	1955	like No. 32	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1953)
2 ○	Angisa	1956	like No. 32	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1954)
3 △	Sindu, for himself	1955	Asakundu's son; same observations as No. 32, has no rights over the land	cut for the 1st time

[Antonu habitation]

/106 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
4	○	Angisa; clearing cut by her husband Ernest	1952	like No. 32	cut for the 1st time
5	○	Asakundu; clearing cut by her son Maliki		like No. 34	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
6	△	Amatodja (L2, F53), for himself		Asakundu's son; came to work there in 1953 only	
7	○	Kapééki; clearing cut by her husband Madéko	1955	Asakundu's daughter; same observations as No. 32	cut for the 1st time
8	○	Noémi (Aw.B.1, F51); cl. cut by her uncle Antonu	1952	member of the Awara Bakka lo	cut for 1st time
9	△	Antonu, for himself	1953		?

[Antonu habitation]

/106 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
10 ○	Yundu; clearing cut by her brother Agata /listed as " ○Agata, Akoni's daughter," on p. 149 -- Tr./	1953	same observations as No. 32 (daughter of Kapééki and granddaughter of Asakundu	cut for the 1st time /107/
15 ○	Kapééki; clearing cut by her husband	1954	like No. 32	cut for the 1st time
16 ○	Noémi; clearing cut by her husband Galmo	1951(?)	same observations as No. 8	cut for the 1st time
17 △	Abéni (Aw.B.1, F49)	1951	does not usually work there, but has rights over the land as a member of the Awara Bakka io	cut for the 1st time

[Antonu habitation]

/107 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
18	△	Antonu, for himself	1951	like No. 31	cut for the 1st time
19	△	Sindu	1951	cut for himself; same observations as No. 2	
20	○	Asakundu; clearing cut by her husband Antonu	1950	like No. 34	cut for the 1st time
21		Noémi; cl. cut by her husband Todo	1950 (?)	like No. 16	cut for the 1st time
22		Angisa; clearing cut by her husband Ernest	1949	same observations as No. 32	cut for the 1st time
41	○	Kapééki; clearing cut by her husband	1948	Asakundu's daughter; same observations as No. 32	cut for the 1st time
42	○	Kapééki; id.	1955	id.	id.

[Antonu habitation]

/107 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
43 ○	Yundu; clearing cut by her husband Alémin	1955	same observations as No. 10	id. /108/
44 △	Maliki, for his wife Agyasu	1954	id.	id.
45 △	Maliki, for his wife Agyasu	1954	id.	id.
46 △	id.		id.	id.
50 ○	Nella (K1, D44); clearing cut by her husband Agonichi	1936 (?)	woman working in Atikati village; had made a clearing there before Antonu's installation, then abandoned (manioc ant)	id.
51 △	Samalobi † (Dekan lo)	1920 (?)	Samalobi, first occupant of the place, had ceded all his rights to Antonu	d. /misprint for "id."?—Tr./

/108 cont./

62 592 24 423 613 602 476

Structure of the Adiiso habitation. This habitation actually belongs to Irma, Adiiso's wife, of the Awara-Bakka (1) lineage (E37), who was settled there by Antonu whose classificatory sister she is.

Working with Irma, disregarding children, are:

--Her husband Adiiso (Dju, F37);

--Her daughter Chitaïna (Aw.B.1, F43), married to Déési (L1, F45);

--Her son Lawa, unmarried;

--Her son Maïna, married.

Maïna's wife Mbéma, who has no other habitation, has her clearing made there, but she has no hut in her own right and is not a member of the group.

Activity of the habitation in 1955-56:

	1956	1955
Irma	2 clearings (both by Adiiso, who cut a 3rd in Asisi for his other wife)	1 clearing cut by her son Maïna, Adiiso being on a trip
Chitaïna	1 clearing cut by Lawa, her brother, her husband being en mission.	1 clearing cut by her husband Déési /109/
/Fig. 18 appears here./ /110/		
Maïna	1 clearing for his wife Mbéma	Maïna en mission had not been able to cut for his wife. She had weeded a two-year-old clearing with Chitaïna and Irma

:Hurault--158 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/facing p. 108/

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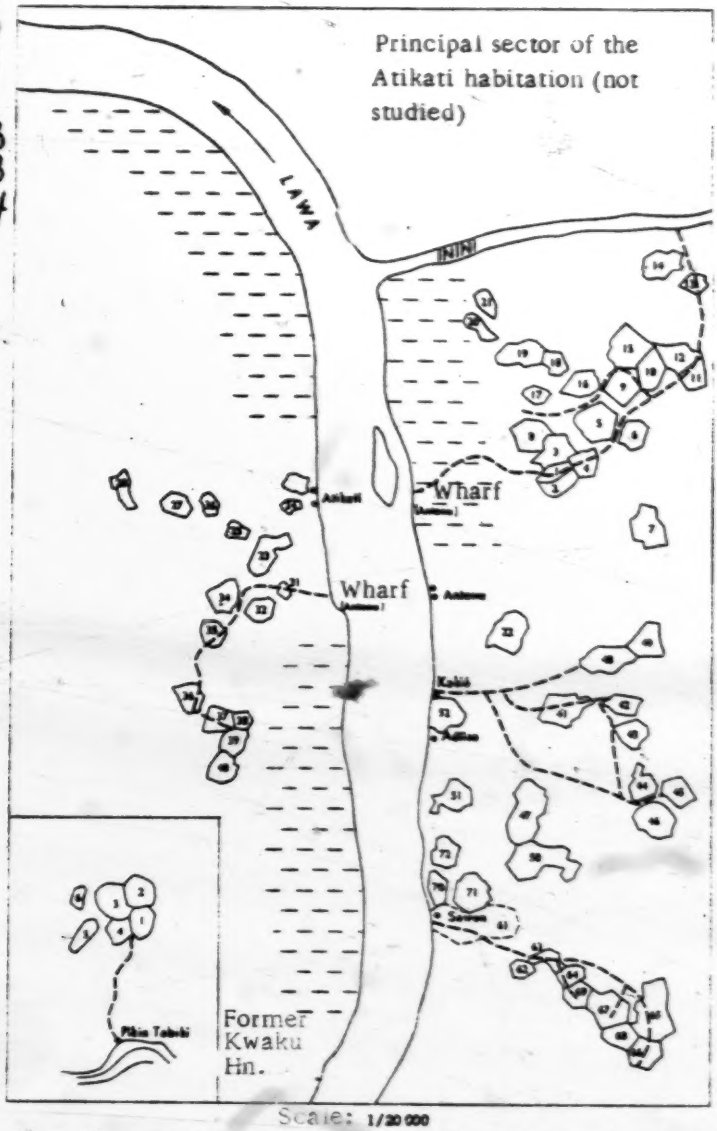
Distribution of Lands among the Lineages
in the Neighborhood of the Confluence with the Inini



Scale: 1/20 000

After photographs by the 003/200 IGN mission, taken in October, 1956

• farming habitation

flooable zone ⬡ clearings studied in January, 1957

Fig. 18.

621 /110 cont./
592 Structure of the Kakyé habitation. This habitation is directed
241 by Kakyé (Aw.B.1, E18), a widow for a long time and not re-
[589] married, working with her children.
[476] Working with her are:
--Amélia (Aw.B.1, F19), her daughter;
--Papakay (Aw.B.1, F23), her son;
--Akamina (Aw.B.1, F24), her daughter;
--Lébimichi (Aw.B.1, F27), daughter of Yochi † sister of Kakyé.

241 Listing of several clearings of the Adiiso and Kakyé habitations.
592 These clearings are totally mixed with each others' and with
621 those of the Antonu habitation, which is normal since these lands
423 all belong to the Awara Bakka lineage.
[613]

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
11 △	Bésu (Aw.B.1, F17), for himself	1954	Kakyé's son (does not work there habitually)	cut for the 1st time
12 ○	Amélia; clearing cut by her husband Sindu	1954	Kakyé's daughter	id.
13 ○	Lébimichi; clearing cut by her husband Asonson	1954	Kakyé's niece	cut for the 1st time

[Adiiso and Kakyé habitations]

/110 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
14	△	Papakay, for himself	1953	Kakyé's son	id.
47	◯	Irma; clearing cut by her husband Adiiso	1955	foundress of the Adiiso habitation	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1951)
48	○	Amèntanu; clearing cut by her husband Sindu	1953	Kakyé's daughter	cut for the 1st time /111/
49	○	Kakyé; clearing cut by her son Bésu	1953	foundress of the Kakyé habitation	id.
52	○	Kakyé; clearing cut by her son Papakay	1951	id.	cut one single time

/111 cont./

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Habitation of the Dju Lo in the Neighborhood of the Mouth of the Inini

621 241 [613] Structure of the Atikati habitation (Dju lo). Important habitation founded by Atikati, of the Dju lo, possessing an extended finage fragmented into several blocks on both banks of the Lawa.

[423] [476] This habitation has an abnormal composition, for Atikati worked there with his daughters, which is contrary to custom, and with friends.

622 Atikati directed the village with his old friend Bernardin (K1, D62), † in 1958, who was the son of a man of the Dju lo and had lived among the Dju since childhood.

621 241 613 [622] The basic group of this habitation is made up of people of the Dju lo. Since Atikati's death (1955), his sister Adyidya (Dju, E19) has directed the village.

Members of the Dju lo:

○ Adyidya
○ Baawé (Dju, E13) } both without living children
△ Loko (Dju, F39)
△ Atikati worked with his daughters and granddaughter:
○ Wilèlmina (P1, F1);
○ Kumata (P1, G1), daughter of Wilèlmina.

To this group were added in 1957:

△ Bernardin (K1, D62), raised with the Dju;
○ Asumé (Dip. I, F2), daughter of △ Bernardin and ○ Mimen †.

[423] Finally, two Kotika women married to Djuka asked for permission to settle there and have their clearings cut there. But they have no right at all over the land:

○ Nèlla (K1, D44);
Maké (K1, E35), her daughter.

/111 cont./

621 The composition of this village is thus entirely aberrant
571 from the point of view of /112/ custom, and founded entirely
183 upon personal fellow feeling. But the customary rule is none
621 the less present in the thought of all: the founder being of the
613 Dju lineage, the land belongs to the Dju. The fact, for ex-
423 ample, that Bernardin (Kotika) and his daughters (Papaïston)
have worked there for a very long time creates no right at all
for either lineage.

[571] If dissensions occur in the group, those outside the Dju lineage must leave.

● 24 621 423 Listing of some clearings of the Atikati habitation (west bank).

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
23 △	Atikati (Dju, E18) for himself	1952	founder of the habitation	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1950)
24 ○	Wilèlmina (P1, F1); clearing cut by her husband Bésu	1955	Atikati's daughter, has no rights over the land	cut for the 1st time
25 ○	Wilèlmina; clearing cut by her father Atikati	1951	id.	id.

[Atikati habitation (west bank)]

/112 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
26 Δ	Sosoman (Dju, E14)	1951	Does not usually work there but has rights over the land as a member of the Dju lineage	cut for the 1st time in 1950, part taken up again in 1955
27 ○	Héléna (P1, F2); clearing cut by her father Atikati	1955	Atikati's daughter; usually lives at the Sawen habitation; has no rights over the land	6 years; cut for the 1st time in 1949, partially taken up again in 1955
28	Adyidya; clearing cut by her husband Kwami (Djuka)	1949	woman of the Dju lineage	cut for the 1st time

[6/3]

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Habitations of the Papaïston lo in the Neighborhood of the Mouth of the Inini

621 Structure of the Sawen and Agodéba habitations (Papaïston lo).
241 Habitations occupying an extensive zone, attributed for at
613 least 60 years to the principal Papaïston lineage.
[476] Working with Sawen (P1, E7) are:
--His nieces Hélena (P1, F2) and Emilia (P1, F3);
--His nephew Aguundé (P1, F4).
Working with Agodéba (P1, E1) are:
--His sister (in the classificatory sense) Kamen (P1, E14);
--His niece (in the classificatory sense) Gou (P1, F8).
Moreover, a group is settled there centered on Toïna, Agodéba's wife, representing the last of the Bakabuchi lineage, almost extinct:

Toïna, Agodéba's wife;
/Δ/ Mangoto, Toïna's son;
Apuulobi.

[423] This group has no right over the land and would leave in the case of a break-up of the Agodéba-Toïna household.
Finally, a female friend, Puti (F71), of the almost extinct Papaïston 2 lineage.

241 Activity of the Agodéba habitation in 1955-56:
621

	1956	1955
△ Agodéba	1 clearing for his wife Toïna	id.
○ Kamen	1 clearing cut by her husband Adam who made no other	id.
○ Gou	1 clearing cut by her husband Béku	id.

/113 cont./

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	1956	1955
○ Puti	1 clearing cut by her husband Maïpa (Dip. I)	id.
△ Mangoto	1 clearing for himself (he cut another for his wife in Kormotibo)	nothing (was not yet settled there)
○ Apuulobi	nothing (had her clearing made in Papaïston)	1 clearing by her husband Aténi /114/

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Listing of the clearings of Sawen village.

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
61 △	Sawen, for himself	1920 (?)	village founder	cut for the 1st time
62 △	Sawen, for himself	1955	village founder	cut for the 1st time
63 △	Sawen, for himself	1948	id.	id.
64 △	Sawen, for himself	1946 (?)	id.	id.
65 ○	Héléna; clearing cut by her husband	1954	woman of the Papaïston lineage (Sawen's niece)	id.

/114 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
66 ○	Héléna; clearing cut by her husband	1955	id.	?
67 ○	Emilia; clearing cut by her husband Loko	1954	id.	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
68 △	Aguundé, for his mother-in-law Populu	1954	man of the Papaïston lo making on his land the clearing intended for his mother-in-law	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
69 ○	Emilia; clearing cut by her husband Loko	1955	woman of the Papaïston lo	3 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
70 ○	Emilia id.	1956	id.	cut for the 1st time
71 ○	Emilia id.	1952	id.	id.
72 ○	Emilia id.	1956	id.	id.

/115/

Habitations of the Lapé lo
(Paako, Samo, Chii, Pwen, Saléni)

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These habitations occupy soil belonging to the Lapé lo since the end of the 19th century.

The Kwaku habitation has been abandoned since 1943, its occupants making their clearings around Loka.

Paako habitation. The Paako habitation is occupied only by two women, Paako (L1, E29) and her daughter Dona, who have their clearings made there by their husbands.

Chii habitation. Chii (L1, D24) directs the habitation where she works with her son Topo, her daughters Yaana, Madu, and Koko. The daughters' husbands come to help at the time of the clearings.

[578] Pwen habitations. As a consequence of dissensions, Pwen (L1, E33) lives all alone in this habitation.

Saléni habitation. It is directed by Saléni, an old woman of the Lapé lo (E25), who works there with her son Tingo, her daughters Kayé and Ananta.

[613] Structure of the Samo habitation called Pikin Tabiki (Lapé lo).

Habitation occupying another portion of the Lapé lo finage.

Several Lapé men and women make their clearings there:

△ Tamu (L1, F32), who brings his wife Kaala (Dip, II) there
△ Fosé, his brother (L1, F33)
○ Mélita, his classificatory aunt (L1, E32);
○ Téké, Mélita's daughter (L1, F44)
○ Akomédi, Paako's daughter (L1, F34).

[183] The husbands of Mélita, Téké, Akomédi come to work at the time of the clearings but are not part of the group.

/115 cont./

621 183 The composition of this village therefore entirely conforms to the custom.

241 621 Activity in 1955-56:

	1956	1955
△ Tamu	nothing (he cut in Lapé for his wife)	1 clearing for his wife
○ Mélita	1 clearing by her husband Kwata (K)	id.
○ Téké	1 clearing by Mélita's husband, for her husband Baïna is en mission	1 clearing by her husband /116/
Akomédi	1 clearing by her husband Todo (who cut another one in Asisi for his other wife)	

241 621 423 [613] Listing of several clearings of the Samo habitation (Pikin Tabiki) (Lapé lo):

No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
1	○	Akomédi; clearing cut by her husband Todo	1956	woman of the Lapé lo	cut for the 1st time
2	○	Akomédi id.	1955	id.	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1953)

[Samo habitation (Pikin Tabiki)]

/116 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
3	O	Mélita; clearing cut by her husband Kwata	1956	id.	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
4	O	Mélita; cl. cut by her son Déési	1954	id.	3 years (cut for the 1st time in 1948, then in 1953 for the 2nd time
5	O	Téké; cl. cut by her husband Baïna	1951	id.	3 years (cut in 1948 for the 1st time)
6	O	Téké id.	1953	id.	cut for the 1st time

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Farming Habitations downstream from Maripasoula

Several habitations are installed in the Kuyaku locality very fertile region giving high yields of manioc (1).

1. This fertility is explained by the nature of the subsoil (sills of dolerite).

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Ownership of the land: Dipélu II lo (Kormotibo village). Several habitations side by side:

/116 cont./

621 ○ Nanay (Dip. II) † ; habitation disappeared at her death in
241 1953; /117/

613 ○ Béniti (Dju) † in 1955; habitation taken up again by her
423 children and grandchildren: ○ Eliana, △ Doni, ○ Kulina,
○ Maria; ○ Tini (Dju);

○ Kotoïda (Afi lineage) † ;

△ Poopu, established there for a long time. He had abandoned the site in 1948; came back in 1952.

The composition of the groups is as follows:

1) ○ Béniti † (Dju, E5): her daughters Maria, Kulina, and Eliana. Béniti's hut has been taken up again by her grandson Doni whom she brought up.

2) ○ Tini (Dju, F1); habitation grouping Tini, Ata (Dju, F2), and their daughters.

3) ○ Kotoïda † ; habitation grouping Kotoïda († Oct., 1956) (Afi lineage), her brother Kenkina, her husband Empalé, her niece Samabun.

Other habitations:

Ma Efa (Papaïston), settled on Dipélu II lo lands upstream from Kormotibo (French bank) for about 30 years. Ma Efa (P1, D4) worked with her sons.

Gengé Tabiki (Dutch bank, upstream from Asisi village); small habitation founded by ○ Aliki (Dju, E23), with Lènga ○ (Dju, F36) and ○ Diana (Dju, E9).

621 Functioning of the Farming Habitations
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Structure. Of the 13 farming habitations studied here, 12 have a structure conforming to the residence principle of the Refugee Blacks, implying the grouping of daughters and unmarried sons near the mother; only one has an abnormal structure:

621 241 591 /117 cont./

Atikati (daughters living with their father, groups of friends having no rights over the land).

621 241 591 It seems that exceptions of this kind have always existed among the Refugee Blacks, but they are probably tending to become more numerous.

178 They do not appear to be due to a change of conception about family structure but to a development of individualistic tendencies. These groups of aberrant structure are particularly unstable.

361 241 Stability; changes of location. On this point there is no precise custom. Certain farming habitations are old, such as those of Sawen and Atikati, which certainly date from the beginning of the century. Most appear to last from five to ten years. Others, like that of Kwaku, have had only an ephemeral existence.

361 241 166 The changes of location of habitations which have taken place in this region since 1950 have very variable causes: /118/ /Fig. 20 appears here/ /119/

△ Dyakata (Dip. I)	left the region to live in the lower Maroni among the Paramaka for personal reasons.
○ Chili (Dip. I)	went to settle near Maripasoula. Gave up his habitation at Simayé Falls because of manioc ants.
△ Kwaku (L)	His habitation was too damp and the activity of the manioc ants too great. Henceforth lives all year in Loka.
[226] △ Akwadé (L)	Had no habitation, created one in 1954 near Simayé Falls. Was looking for a site favorable for fishing, from which he lives almost entirely.

On the whole, it can be estimated that the average duration of a farming habitation is about ten years. In these moves,

[Text Continues on P. 173]

6:Hurault--172 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/facing p. 119/

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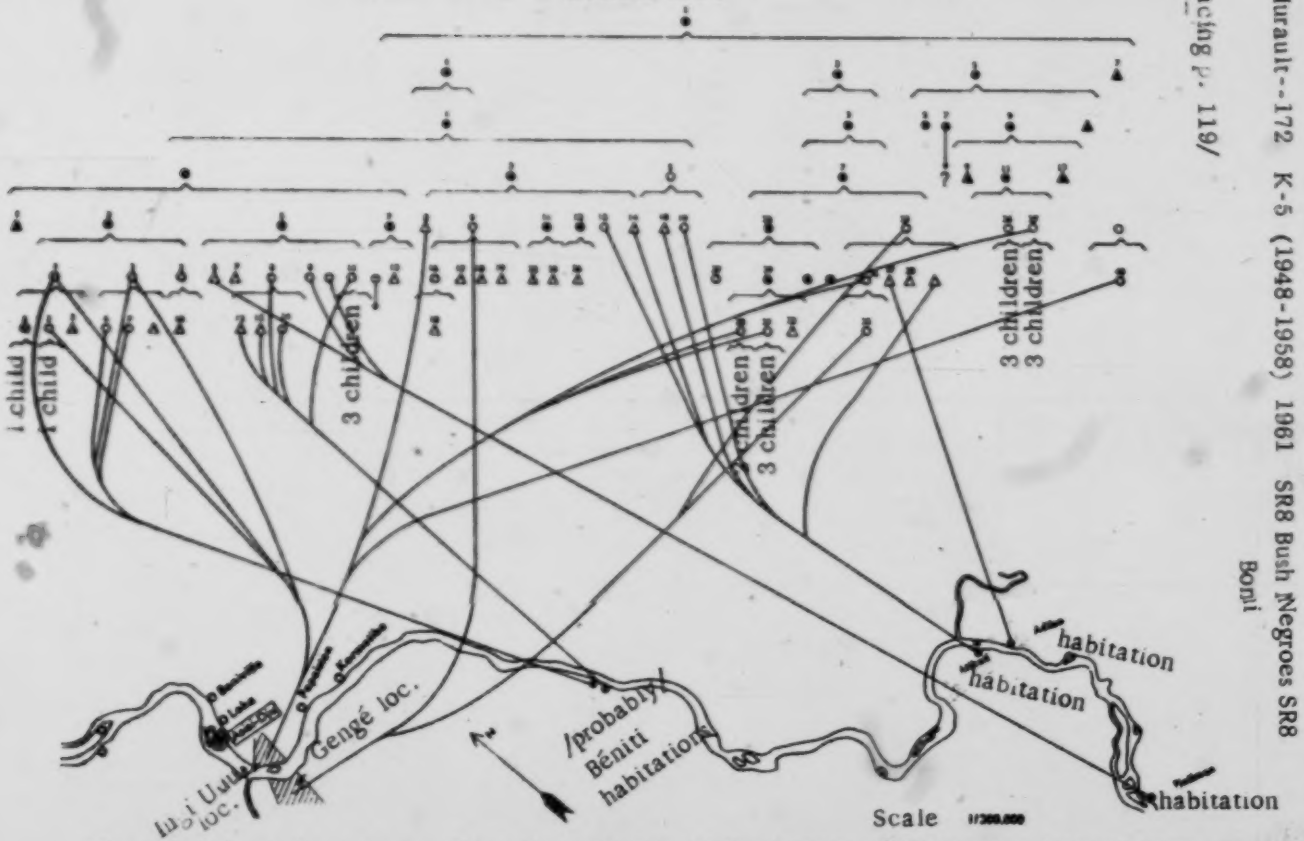
Grouping of the Members of the Dju Lineage
into Sectors and Farming Habitations
October 1957



This chart shows the absence of any tendency toward the scission of the lineage into separate fractions.

Fig. 20.

/119 cont./

361 241 166 exhaustion of the lands does not seem to play any part: considering the sparseness of the population, one can either make new clearings out of primary forest or carry out any system of letting land lie fallow one wishes.

Most changes of location can be attributed to two causes of equal importance:

[136] [613] --The activity of the manioc ants; we have said that since about 15 years ago the principal soil of the Lapé lo, situated near Loka village, has had to be totally abandoned as a consequence of exceptional activity of manioc ants. From this resulted the creation of several farming habitations on the soil of the Lapé lo studied here;

361 241 166 578 --Personal motives, among which comes first of all disagreement among the members of a group. For example ○ Kulina and ○ Bakamaman (Boniville, Dju) made their clearings until 1950 with their mother Béniti in her farming village in Kuyaku locality (to the south of Kormotibo).

In 1950 there was a quarrel. Kulina and Baïkom have made their clearings since that time at the habitation of their father Malobi (Lapé).

[768] It happens especially that upon the death of its founder a farming habitation disappears or changes composition entirely because disagreements arise.

361 24 166 Another cause of change of location of farming habitations is change of activity of their occupants. For example, a man grows old, he no longer finds paid work, he creates a habitation in order to take up fishing (Akwadé's case). When he reaches extreme old age, he abandons his habitation to move close to his relatives (case of Samalobi, first occupant of the lands cultivated nowadays by Antonu village). /Page 120 blank/

/149 cont./

592 The household. Household life is a limited association, freely
593 agreed upon by two beings who live totally independent of each other, the emotional life of each remaining almost entirely centered upon his maternal family. It entails reciprocal duties:

--For the man, to build a house for his wife in her village, to construct a new boat for her every three or four years, to cut a clearing for her each year /150/ and help in planting it, to furnish her with imported commodities, cloth, salt, kerosene, tools, which she needs, as well as game and smoke-dried fish;

--For the woman, to farm the clearing and furnish her husband when he comes to visit her with couac and the vegetables
[462] necessary for his food. (The man, used to living as a bachelor, owns his own cooking utensils and most of the time prepares his meals himself.)

This system of intermittent conjugal life seems to assure the Boni a perfect balance at the same time that it permits them
[562] to satisfy their taste for change. The men divide their life among work, visits to their different wives, hunting and fishing expeditions; their life is thus constantly renewed and they are protected against tendencies toward apathy and mental inertia.

In general, as long as the union lasts, the woman fulfills
[241] exactly her obligations; although the yield from the clearing is
[422] her property and the excess of the harvest is sold for her ex-
[434] clusive benefit, the man is assured of getting from her all the provisions he needs. On the other hand, many men, through
[591] laziness, get out of constructing a house for their wives and the latter continue to live with their mothers. In the villages on the French bank about 20 such cases were observed in 1958.
591 Several cases are even noted in which a woman, aged but still
592 having unmarried children, one or two of her daughters and their children are living together in one house. For example, in Asisi village, nine persons were living together in the very small house of their mother and grandmother Tini.

/154 cont./

586 As far as the clearing already cut and planted is concerned, if it is on the land of the wife's family, the man can demand nothing. However, some women continue to furnish couac for a year after breaking up.

If the clearing is on the husband's lands, the woman continues to farm it normally. But she is required to furnish [593] food as if there had been no rupture. This is why men who do [241] not trust their wives insist on cutting the clearing on land of their own lineage.

Many women wait to divorce their husbands until after they have cut the year's clearing! In January, 1957, upon the return of the border-fixing mission from the southern frontier, /155/ one of us heard M..., a woman of about 40, speak in these terms of her husband T..., 60 years old, who had done everything for her and still used to come to take part in laborious jobs to procure money for her: "He is getting old; I am going to have to look for another."

Observation at Maripasoula, Nov. 5, 1956.

Mutété, boatman of the Maripasoula post, laments in front of his comrades: his wife has just had him notified, without indicating any motive, that she was breaking with him. She did not even disturb herself to tell him so, and she waited until he had finished cutting the year's clearing for her! His [562] comrades once more expressed their rancor against the avarice, spitefulness, and inconstancy of Boni women, inferior beings whom they had once and for all given up trying to understand.

Among the Refugee Blacks people divorce at any age, at 70 years as well as at 18. Thus it is that Captain Diolè (+1951), head of the Dju lo, and his wife Efa, of the Papaïston lo, divorced each other about 1940 when both were approaching 70 and had remained together more than 35 years: in growing old their natures no longer hit it off.

/259 cont./

771 to the god, and their words of thanks lasted scarcely half a
[782] minute (1). At the time of our first trip on the Maruini, in

1. Yet custom expressly provides for this rite of thanking.

1948, the same scenes had unfolded, going as well as coming back.

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Rites Relative to Agriculture

These rites occupy a relatively minor place in the religious life of the Refugee Blacks, which may be attributed to the great regularity of the climate and the absence of calamities affecting the yield of crops.

[613] It does not seem, at least among the Boni, that a religious bond is assumed between the lineage and the land, and rites intended to insure the fertility of the soil are carried out by each one for himself in the neighborhood of his own field; the lineage head does not appear to play any particular role
241 in this regard. In the thought of the Boni, the fertility of the
776 soil depends upon a local divinity, to which is offered de facto worship; the temporary or permanent users of the lands situated in the domain of this god perform on their own behalf the rites of this worship without any distinction of origin, whether they are Boni, Djuka, or Saramaka.

[796] The only collective worship existing in Boni country is
[793] the worship of mama gɔ̃, of which the grand man is priest.
[643] Its rites are limited to a short annual prayer.

/259 cont./

241 776 [532] [831] [778] [643] [782] Cult of Mama gɔɔ̃. Mama gɔɔ̃, mother of the earth, is represented by a crude statue of white clay provided with enormous breasts, symbol of fecundity, which can be seen in a little hut situated on the open place of Boniville village. Each year, when the time for cutting the clearings approaches, the grand man, surrounded by many other people, prays to the god to grant fertility to the plantings. If rain does not fall, an offering of water and tafia is made and the statue is sprinkled.

811 The Boni do not appear to associate the idea of women's fecundity with that of the fertility of the soil, and we have not heard anyone say that the grand man prays on this subject.

241 776 Neither do they appear to have a very clear idea about the relationships of this worship with that of the gɔɔ̃ gadu, local gods of the soil.

796 535 787 Every three years a great possession dance takes place in Boniville on January 1, /260/ in which the Papa gadu gods dance in front of the sanctuary of Mama gɔɔ̃. We have not been able to obtain specific information on the meaning of this rite.

241 776 [784] Cult of the gɔɔ̃ gadu. It is assumed that every portion of land is under the sway of a local god, gɔɔ̃ gadu. Its power is limited only by the fertility of the soil, and he who neglects its worship cannot be attacked in his person or in his goods, but only punished by a poor harvest.

What is the nature of these gods, what is their place in the cosmogony? These are questions which not one of our informants had ever asked himself. In their minds, gɔɔ̃ gadu has a de facto existence, and is rendered de facto worship. This worship consists essentially of:

[782] --Offerings made at the moment of planting;

[527] --The observance of a local day of rest, kina dɛ, corresponding to the god's day of rest.

/260 cont./

241 776 In order to observe these rites suitably, it is important then to know in which god's domain are situated the lands one is cultivating. On the banks of the great river, the division of the lands among the gods of the soil has been well 241 776 known since the time of the ancestors. By summarizing the kina dɛ of the farming habitations, one realizes that the do- 527 main of each god is extensive; it occupies several kilometers along the banks. It is often thought (but not everywhere) that the two banks are controlled by different gods. For example:

Downstream from Boniville, right bank: Wednesday;
Toward Kormotibo, right bank: Thursday;
Toward the mouth of the Inini, both banks: Wednesday;
Toward Simayé Falls, both banks: Saturday.

On those days one may do nothing related to agriculture, and in particular one may not dig in the earth nor plant. If absolutely necessary one may go to pull up tubercules.

What one must avoid above all is handling tools which make noise and could disturb the god, except in the immediate vicinity of the water which is not under its control. However, one may shoot off a gun.

This kina dɛ is observed more strictly than Friday, the general kina dɛ in Boni country, which appears to be related to the cult of Mama gɔʒ. On those days people mend boats and especially go hunting and fishing.

241 778 Offerings are made in a purely individual and local fashion; in each farming habitation is seen at the approaches to the wharf a worship place formed by a simple meat-drying rack decorated with pennants of several colors, on which the offerings are exposed; even if this habitation combines people of diverse kin groups, there is only one place of worship.

/260 cont./

241 778 People who have no farming habitation and who farm on the outskirts of /Fig. 29 appears here/ /261/ residence villages get together in groups of three or four to establish a worship place in a copse, preserved from the forest adjoining their clearings.

241 782 Cane juice, syrup, rice pounded fine but not cooked are offered.

They make this offering at the time of the plantings, saying, "Gadu, please come and eat a little, watch over us, thank you very much."

The Boni who observe the rites most faithfully renew this offering each month at the new moon.

If someone has two clearings in two different sectors, he performs the rites twice, each gɔɔ gadu being entirely independent of the others.

241 171 On this subject one notices that the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks are much more systematized than those of the Creole populations of African origin in the West Indies. They do not think each field has an individual soul; neither do they apparently believe in the possibility of capturing the soul of the field in order to make the neighbor's field sterile out of revenge. These beliefs, which play such a large role in the popular magic of the West Indies, seem to be without exact counterpart in the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks.

241 [776] Interdictions and various rites. Cutting a clearing involves great dangers: it is necessary to avoid injuring the maleficent divinities of the bush, which have as supports well-defined plants and animals, by brutal destruction of these supports, and their wreaking inexorable revenge -- the kunu -- on the lineage of the unintentional sacrilege. It is therefore necessary to seek out these plants and animals and to carry out for each the rites recommended by the ancestors' experience without forgetting a single one. No Refugee Black would dream of

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241 neglecting these rites. Their rigorous observance has the effect of preventing farming from becoming for them a commercial activity and of keeping a religious and family feeling in it.

824 778 784 [776] --The kākāti (silk-cotton tree) is a much feared tree, for according to the elders each one of them shelters 12 categories of divinities, especially a Papa gadu and an Ampuku. So it is absolutely impossible to cut it. One must even be very careful not to injure its roots which spread far. The site of every one felled is preserved. Likewise people watch carefully so as not to injure the roots of the big silk-cotton trees often found in the villages.

824 778 776 361 Still, the fact that their site was chosen for setting up a village shows that people believe they can make an alliance with the divinities which reside in a silk-cotton tree and draw their protection upon themselves.

824 778 789 [776] --The katu tree (Bombax Surinamiensis), tree of very large size, living in symbiosis with a parasitic liana which appears to enclose it in a gigantic net, also shelters maleficent divinities (Ampuku, Papa gadu, Bumba gadu). One may cut it down after performing rites whose purpose is to transfer these divinities into another tree.

First, one must have procured from a man who possesses this remedy a pot of əbia containing an infusion of leaves in the middle of which is a bracelet of fibers. /262/ It costs [435] two liters of tafia, four liters of beverage (beer for example), one large piece of cloth, and one machete.

Having arrived at the foot of the tree, one bathes his body and machete with this infusion; one puts the fiber bracelet on one's arm. One also bathes several small sticks provided [822] with squares of white cloth (for the Papa gadu), dark blue and red (for the Ampuku), and a pinot palm (pina tɔ̃ŋgo) leaf.

One plants the sticks at the foot of the tree, one strikes the trunk with the palm leaf while invoking the divinities of

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CHAPTER IX

SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ECONOMY OF THE REFUGEE BLACKS.

RELATIONS WITH OTHER POPULATIONS

Influence of the Social Institutions and Psychological Tendencies of the Refugee Blacks on Their Material Life and Their Economy

157 182 Certain psychological tendencies of the Refugee Blacks, in part bound up with their moral and religious conceptions and with the historical conditions under which these societies were formed, directly influence their material life in its various aspects: implantation on the ground, agriculture, paid work, trade.

The principal one of these tendencies is individualism, concern for complete material independence.

157 241 311 Influence on agriculture. We have seen that the clearings of the various households issuing from the same kin group were very rarely grouped together. On the contrary, the Refugee Blacks like to disperse their cultivated lands; even in the recently occupied zones where land is not lacking, it happens that one finds isolated clearings in the middle of primary forest more than a kilometer from the riverbank, at the mercy of predatory animals. Ecological conditions, in particular the concern with protection against the manioc-ant, do not explain this dispersion. The Boni recognize that it would be preferable, for fighting the manioc-ant, to group each year all the plantations of one lineage

/289 cont./

157 in a sector recognized to be undamaged. But objections
241 immediately come to their minds: one would not feel at home,
31 people would be jealous of one another; above all, the children would go pilfering fruit and vegetables in the clearings of other families. The Refugee Blacks are unanimous in thinking that the children of one village put together in a single place would constitute a scourge much worse than the manioc-ant, and that dispersion is the wisest solution for maintaining the peace of families.

562 One observes likewise that the total freedom of woman,
241 and the custom which leaves to her /290/ the free disposal of the products of the clearing, contribute toward preventing the development of agriculture with an eye to selling. In order
[592] to undertake large clearings farmed jointly by one household, it would be necessary to have very unified and stable households, which is rare.

157 Difficulty of grouping for common advantage. The Refugee
476 Blacks are incapable of forming groups voluntarily to undertake the execution of a job with an eye to common advantage. The small groups which get together for fishing, working gold, etc. are formed of intimate friends or near relatives and are hardly larger than four or five persons.

157 The Refugee Blacks are still less capable of grouping them-
454 selves into societies looking toward future benefits. Putting a part of their resources into a common pot with that of another seems to them not only illusory but immoral. Because of this fact there exists among them no way to group financial assets, sometimes good-sized.

426 Lending without interest is practiced rather commonly, having to do with small sums between near relatives or intimate friends. If a man feels capable of earning his living by buying a motor, he will succeed rather easily in finding the necessary money by borrowing from his brothers or friends, 10,000 francs

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A (p. 580)	B (p. 581)	C (p. 582)	D (p. 583)

Chart of Positions of End Plate /facing p. 580/

DIVISION OF LANDS AMONG THE LINEAGES IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF THE PRINCIPAL BONI VILLAGES

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Photographic montage made with the help of photographs of Field Trip 007/200 IGN Guiana Scale 1/20 000 Taken in October, 1956

[Ena Plate-A]

6:Hurault--581 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

102
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133
241
311
361
423
487
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764
504

Scale 1/20 000

[End Plate - B]

6:Hurault--582 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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Scale 1 / 20 000

[End Plate - C]

102
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Agodé Permanent villages
clearings
floodable zones
boundaries not known
farming habitation
dégrad (wharf)
path
approximate boundaries of agricultural land

[End Plate - D]

/140 cont./

241 There is yet another factor which plays a role in the origin
134 of the grounds-kapoeweri. This is the use of fire in clearing the
137 ground. The burning of the cut forest is done at the expense of the humus on and in the soil. The fertilization with ashes that one obtains by it only partially covers this loss. Furthermore, under the influence of the fire there are great disturbances in the balance of the microflora and fauna of the soil, hindering the conversion of organic materials into inorganic compounds. Sun and rain bring changes in the structure of the scorched earth, which forms a cement-like crust and becomes sealed. Also the growing of cultivated crops, especially cassave, draws many mineral components from the soil.

13 It is clear that the soil needs time to recover after this disturbance of the balance. This period of time is estimated at 25-30 years. The leaf-cutting ants play a part in this; they again enrich the soil with humus by bringing great quantities of leaves into their ground nests. In addition, they ventilate the soil by digging numerous nest corridors. In this manner the ants contribute
[242] to the recovery. It is well-known, moreover, that the soil on old leaf-cutting ant nests is fertile; one likes to plant bananas on it. If we assume with Stahel that in this kapoeweri six ant nests per hectare are found, then these nests together would only have a maximum surface of one-tenth of it. This would never be able to hinder the full growth of the forest.

136 That the leaf cutting ants occupy the secondary growth, or at
137 least are present there in greater numbers than is normally the case
241 in the forest, may be a consequence of the laying out of new grounds within their domain. Because of the lack of land, the Bush Negroes are constantly trying to lay out grounds again in this forest. The ants, moreover can maintain themselves because there are various forest trees that supply the ants with sufficient leaf material.

13 Thus, because of both the decreased capacity of the soil and
311 the presence of the leaf-cutting ants, the ant-kapoeweri forms a terrain that has become unusable for present-day primitive Bush Negro agriculture./141/ And from the standpoint of forestry too the ant-kapoeweri is worthless.

/7 cont. /

132 [513] The climate is relatively temperate and easy for the European to stand. In the forest the thermometer does not rise to more than 28° during the hot hours, to go back down to 20° at the end of the night: everyone sleeps with a blanket, Refugee Blacks and Creoles as well as Europeans. Humidity is very great during nearly all the year; precipitation averages three meters a year or about 50 centimeters less than at Cayenne. The year is divided into two seasons: "summer" from July to December, and the rainy season the rest of the year, with a maximum of precipitation in May and June. The water level varies considerably in the course of the year (several meters). The populations of the interior, spaced out along the rivers, suit the rhythm of their lives to the height of the water; the water rules transportation, fishing, and crops; moreover, a certain number of illnesses are in close relation to the rains, in particular those which have an insect for vector.

133 182 [361] [164]

241 [134] Almost everywhere the soil is very poor in organic matter and fundamental ingredients, very waterlogged necessitating the practice of an itinerant agriculture on burned-over areas; the period of fallow ground varies from two to ten years, the optimum seeming to be about six. The inhabitants of Guiana cannot allow ground to lie fallow regularly because of the ravages of the manioc ant, /8/ which is active especially in habitually cultivated zones. Vain and costly efforts made by Europeans notably at Saint-Jean du Maroni about 1950, have shown that the fertility of lands not burned over is practically nil. The Indians and the Refugee Blacks consider that the fertility of the soil depends exclusively on the weight of cinders laid down during the burning.

[136] [134] [242]

When burned-over areas are cultivated, only one harvest is obtained; but this harvest is abundant, and the soil thus utilized can be regarded as relatively fertile. The knocking down and burning do not require great labor, so that primitive agricultural methods can be considered to give a good yield. As a matter of fact, the diverse populations of Guiana, Creoles and Refugee Blacks, have entirely adopted the methods of work resulting from the millennial

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462 price of grueling effort that a living can be wrested from its
241 jealous grasp. The women in their fields care for the growing crops, hoeing the ground so that moisture and sun reach the young plants, seeing that the lianas which throw their creepers over the cleared spaces to throttle the tender shoots do not get headway, and, as each crop ripens, attending to its harvesting.

262 Yams, cassava, and nappi are roots. For their planting
243 some of the crop of the year before is preserved and cut up.
244 But rice and peanuts, or pinda, as these are called here in the bush, and maize, of which the Bush Negroes learned from the Indians, and okra grow from seeds. The rice is planted on a hillside, for the Bush Negro does not grow irrigated rice, but the dry African variety that thrives on the slopes. Cassava, okra, peppers, plantains, peanuts, beans, sugar cane—each crop is allotted its own space, until the newly cleared ground is filled. A woman usually has two fields cut for her; one is called a rice field and one a cassava field. In each, the crops which yield several harvests a year are rotated. The cassava roots take nine months at least to ripen, but it is better to leave them in the ground ten or eleven months.

"It is the time of the great harvest now," the old woman said.

243 These were busy days for the women. With their short-
244 handled knives, they cut the rice stalk by stalk and made small sheaves of the golden grain, raked over the dirt so that the peanuts might be found and gathered, chopped the ripe sugar cane with the machetes which they handled with the same sureness as did their men, and dug out the cassava roots so that they might be carried to the village
[262] and made into flour for the cassava bread which was the staple of their diet.

"The corn," she said, "is not harvested now. We cut it at a different time; and the melons ripen later, too." At other times of the year there were other harvests, but this one, of the months of July and August, was the principal one.

765 And Fenekonde said, "Mourning is hard. The widow must not go to the river alone to wash. Other women must take her there. Her husband's spirit might seize her. Her [095] hair must be cut. If not, he will get her by the hair. Her clothes must be ugly. She must keep herself unclean, so that his ghost will not long for her when he sees her."

But mourning was difficult not only for a woman. A man's mourning period was no less burdensome, they added. He too wore old clothes. When he went to wash, his wife's brother took him to the river. If he had another wife, he did not go into the hammock with her, for the dead woman would be envious and would kill him.

765 843 There were times, however, when women did not go into mourning for their husbands. If a woman carried a child in her womb, then she did not put on mourning clothes at all. She did not weep, she was not allowed to show any grief. That same night the dead man's oldest living brother would come with her in the hammock. If there were no brother, another man would come, for some man had to come.

"He must come. It cannot be otherwise. She cannot go to her hammock alone. So it is every night when a woman *carries a child in her womb. A man must be with her, for* the sake of the child."

3

243 644 In the clearing the widow stood stamping rice. About her the rice hulls flew and made a half circle of gold at her dark feet. Her mortar, which was made of a hollowed-out [415] log, like a drum, was large and reached almost to her hips. On the ground was a large tray which she used for winnowing the rice. With slow, regular beats she lifted and dropped [412] the pestle, and as her body swung with its slow motion the [854] head of the sleeping child on her back rolled this way and that.

768 244 Her two small boys had gone to live in her mother's village, but this girl child remained with her. She was born

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

252 weight of which elongates the tube. In place of a stone, a stick
285 may be passed through the lower end. The Bush Negro straddles it, working the apparatus with his own weight.

252 The pulp, when dried and heated, becomes a nourishing
262 flour ready for use. There are two ways of serving it. One way is to make it into large, circular pancakes, high piles or stacks of which were carried in our corials to constitute the chief diet of the paddlers on the river trip. When they feel a pang of hunger they break off a piece of cassava from one of the large pancakes, dip it into the river to soften it, and eat it without further preparation. The other way of preparing cassava is to stew it with fish or meat. On tasting this food we found it a bland, mealy cake of not unpleasant taste. The entire technic of preparing it is borrowed from the indigenous Indians; "matapee" is an Indian word.

In a number of Bush Negro villages can be found the common Indian corn. The Negroes allow it to mature and then roast it until it is as hard as a rock, after which they shell off the grains and eat them. If the white man asks for green corn, they refuse to give it to him, saying it is unfit to eat.

● 243 Another staple of their diet is rice, or *ahleesee*. Rice of
262 the upland variety can be planted in a dry soil and flourishes like wheat or oats. When harvested, it is tied in small bundles, about a foot in diameter, and threshed. The Negroes put it in a wooden mortar made of a hollow tree trunk, and three Djuka boys stand around it with pounders, striking alternately, like three railway labourers driving one spike.
000 Rice, especially when ripening, is attacked by birds, partic-

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Fig. 11. Threshing the rice ears on a sack with the feet. -- Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, June 1952.

[245]
[415]

Fig. 12. The fruits of the pina palm are collected in a basket; a beverage is made from the fruit-pulp. -- Marowijne, Albina, April 1953.

[272]

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●243 Rice (alésie).

Next to cassava rice is an important auxiliary crop. One sows the rice broadcast with the hand among the other crops and tjaps (6) the seed under lightly. The sowing time falls in Decem-

6. To tjap = to loosen the ground with a hoe.

ber to February or March. In the fourth month the rice is mature.
[132] The harvest time therefore falls in the long rainy season from May to July (somewhat later on the Surinam River). Only the ears are cut off, and these are dried in the sun on the grounds or in the villages. Only dry-land rice is cultivated but in many varieties, such as:

kasiwini, the best kind, with long white grains;
ajengena, with short fine grains, with pounding produces a beautiful white rice;
abalahede, with flat, round grain;
witti-alesie or paramakka-alesie, slightly colored in the ear;
lebi (redi) -- alesie, yellow as paddy, grows also in swampy places;
aloeloe or loeloe, sends out shoots quickly, has a good grain;
pindé-alesie, grain speckled on the outside;
asinkini, variety with long grain, is often planted.

/146/ Still other varieties are: rexora, saka, mabosoe, mooidà, sika-sirie, bakaté-saka, dendelei, mooimasra, wittifang, skati, blakatère, mesiti, pikienloeloe, trampoeloekoe.

[251] The Bush Negroes store the rice in the ears and thresh the paddy with the feet by treading on it after it has been dried on
252 zinc sheets or on sacks. The paddy is pounded in the matta whenever it is needed for a meal. Unpolished silver-pellicle rice /zilvervlies-rijst/ is thus eaten, and this is boiled in the usual
262 manner together with meat or fish. With a good harvest one has rice throughout the year until the following harvest, but frequently
[439] the quantity is sufficient for only a few months. In case of a shortage milled rice is purchased from the shops along the Marowijne.

/146 cont./

243 During the sowing one experiences a great deal of trouble
125 from "stondoifies" (1), which eat up the seed; the maturing ears

1. stondoifies = small pigeons, literally stone pigeons.

are plundered by a species of blackbird, "andokie," grain parakeets or pikoetoes, and the little rice bird, "tie." The loss that is suffered through these birds is frequently considerable. Other pests in the rice are not further known, or mentioned.

Bananas (bána).

245 These are always planted, but, in comparison with the cassava, less frequently. One ordinarily sets the plants in the ground somewhat later than the cassava shoots, in order to let them grow at the same time. It also happens that a certain section of a ground is planted exclusively with bananas and bacoven because otherwise these hinder the other crops too much with their shade. After 10-15 months the bunches are ripe.

There are various varieties in use:

granbána, ripe five months after the appearance of the bunch, fruit long;

oemanbána, ripe three months after the appearance of the bunch; fruit long;

patamacca-bána, idem; fruit short and somewhat sour in taste;

doengoe, , idem; fruit long; frequently with twin fingers;

kodjakondre, idem; fruit short.

252 The bananas are boiled as "green bananas" or, as ripe bananas, are first boiled and then pounded fine into "tomtom." Ripe bananas are also pounded uncooked, then mixed with cassava flour, and baked into a "koekoe."

/148 cont./

244 Yam roots frequently become very large. One cuts them
252 up and boils the pieces like tajer tubers.

Maize (kaloe).

243 Maize is sowed together with other crops and provides one of the first products; the harvesting is done after three months
[184] (March). Only one variety is known. Sometimes special maize plots are laid out (Paramaccaners).

252 The young maize is eaten boiled or roasted, sometimes also pounded and boiled to a porridge (kaloepapa). A well-known delicacy is "ansowé" or "asogrie," made of roasted dry kernels finely pounded and mixed with sugar.

244 Watermelon (watramoen)

This is planted in patches everywhere on the grounds; the harvest time falls in March. There are two varieties in use:
[262] hesiskin and blakaskin, both of which provide small, oval-round, white-spotted fruit with a bland-sweet, light-pink fruit-flesh; the fruit is eaten fresh.

Pumpkin (pampoen).

One finds this plant in many places, but never in great numbers.

Only the oblong dark green variety is known; the harvest
[252] time is from April on, and a long time afterwards. The fruit is cut in pieces, boiled, and eaten.

Okra (okrò).

This crop is generally grown on the food grounds; it provides edible fruit after three months, in February and March. Three varieties are distinguished:
sebiwiki, with short fruit;
afoesibobi, with short fruit;
diatoetoe, with long fruit.

252 The young green fruit is cut into pieces and boiled to a soup, usually together with tajer, meat, and so forth.

462 price of grueling effort that a living can be wrested from its
241 jealous grasp. The women in their fields care for the growing crops, hoeing the ground so that moisture and sun reach the young plants, seeing that the lianas which throw their creepers over the cleared spaces to throttle the tender shoots do not get headway, and, as each crop ripens, attending to its harvesting.

262 Yams, cassava, and nappi are roots. For their planting
243 some of the crop of the year before is preserved and cut up.
244 But rice and peanuts, or pinda, as these are called here in the bush, and maize, of which the Bush Negroes learned from the Indians, and okra grow from seeds. The rice is planted on a hillside, for the Bush Negro does not grow irrigated rice, but the dry African variety that thrives on the slopes. Cassava, okra, peppers, plantains, peanuts, beans, sugar cane—each crop is allotted its own space, until the newly cleared ground is filled. A woman usually has two fields cut for her; one is called a rice field and one a cassava field. In each, the crops which yield several harvests a year are rotated. The cassava roots take nine months at least to ripen, but it is better to leave them in the ground ten or eleven months.

"It is the time of the great harvest now," the old woman said.

243 These were busy days for the women. With their short-
244 handled knives, they cut the rice stalk by stalk and made small sheaves of the golden grain, raked over the dirt so that the peanuts might be found and gathered, chopped the ripe sugar cane with the machetes which they handled with the same sureness as did their men, and dug out the cassava roots so that they might be carried to the village
[262] and made into flour for the cassava bread which was the staple of their diet.

"The corn," she said, "is not harvested now. We cut it at a different time; and the melons ripen later, too." At other times of the year there were other harvests, but this one, of the months of July and August, was the principal one.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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sufficient time for the nitrogenous substances to be reduced to fertilizing material. Because of this poverty of the ground and the constant foraging of insect and bird pests—the parrot is notorious among these—the cultivation of food is difficult and laborious for the Bush Negroes and the provision ground must often be moved to a fresh site.

Their main carbohydrate staple is the manioc or bitter cassava. It is a tuber-like plant that grows some three to seven feet in height, the edible portion being the underground root. The root contains the poisonous prussic acid, which must be carefully removed. Bush Negroes have been known to commit suicide by drinking the juice of the cassava. The plant itself resembles the tobacco plant, but has a stalk covered with bark and large roots that look like sweet potatoes.

The roots are harvested, carefully peeled, and reduced to a pulp by being rubbed on the roughened surface of an inclined board, the expelled free juices rolling down the incline into a bowl. The rest of the plant is thrown away. The pulp is stuffed into a cylindrical squeezing contrivance made of reed, known as the *matapee*. It resembles one of those toy finger grippers of straw that children play with. The reeds being flexible, elongating the tube by pulling at the ends reduces the diameter of it; this compresses the contents of the cylinder and squeezes out the deadly juice which then runs off into a bowl below. The matapee is a beautifully woven piece of basketry about five feet long and seven inches in diameter. The upper end is attached to the limb of a tree and a heavy stone is suspended from the lower end, the

/144 cont./

241 [177] time that the runaway slaves took these with them from the plantations then in existence.

It is therefore worthwhile in various respects to explore what is 241 being cultivated. The following summary has been put together 114 from the data of my own observations and from information pro- [128] vided by various Bush Negroes. This list is not complete; what is lacking, however, is probably of minor importance.

A. Cultivated Crops That Are Grown on the Food Grounds

244 Bitter cassava (kasàba).

[262] This is the most important crop, from which the cassava bread and kwak are made. One plants the shoots in December, but also in March and April. After 12 months the harvest begins; in case of a food shortage they are dug after only seven months. Yellow and white varieties are distinguished according to the color of the contents of the tubers. To the yellow varieties belong: witti tiki, which is kept on the grounds up to two years, blaka tiki, which stands on the grounds only one year, and taja tiki, which provides produce for a long time and is especially good for the making of kwak. To the white varieties belong: amosiang, sanang kasaba, [252] and domberi. Cassava bread is made from this. In the making of kwak all the colors are mixed together in order to obtain the desired yellow color. Each variety separately provides a less tasty product.

252 On the Marowijne one makes more kwak (kwaka) than cassava [184] bread, while on the Surinam River and the Saramacca only cassava bread /a map and Figs. 1-14 appear here/ /145/ is baked with the flour. Kwak is prepared in the following manner: The tubers, after they are peeled, are put in water in a korjaal (1) for two

1. korjaal = boat.

days and then grated. This grated cassava is then allowed to sour in a box or a korjaal; after that the grated cassava is expressed

[text continues on p. 21]

/145 cont./

252 with the matapi (2) and subsequently baked on the baking plate (pan),

2. matapi = long tube of plaiting with which one expresses the juice and the water out of the grated cassava.

during which the granular mass is constantly stirred. The kwak [251] ultimately consists of dry yellow grains. One can keep kwak in good condition longer than bread. It is softened with water and eaten with some sugar (if available).

A less-used product is "afringi." For this one grates freshly peeled cassava, then expresses the grated cassava in the matapi, and dries the meal on the fire or in the sun. Subsequently one pounds this meal in the matta (3) and then kneads it with water

3. matta = large wooden mortar.

into little balls. These are boiled together with fish or meat into a soup. One calls this soup "afringi," which literally means "to throw," presumably because one throws the little balls into the pot. The same product is called "apitie" on the Surinam River.

●244 Sweet cassava (kasàba-swieti) is little planted; the tubers are [262] harvested after three months and eaten boiled.

[252] The most important pests in the cassava are: leaf-cutting [825] ants, which cut off the leaves; deer, which eat the young tips and also bite off the stalks; tapirs, which consume the stalks and leaves and also trample many; koni-konis (4), which dig

4. koni-koni = Surinam rabbit.

out and gnaw the tubers; pingos and pakieras (5), which root the

5. pingo and pakiera = wild pigs.

tubers out of the ground and consume them.

/146 cont./

245 Bacoven (bakõeba, bákba).

Planted like the bananas. The growing time varies from 10 to 15 months. The banana-bacove is grown the most. The varieties are indicated with the following names:

bigibakoeba or langa-finga, banana-bacove with long fruit (Gros Michel type); produces the bunch after 10 months and this ripens in five months;

watramama-bakoeba, a kind of congo-bacove originally from French Guiana, short variety, bunch matures in three months;

koboto-bakoeba or soeknoe-finga, small yellow, sweet variety of the size of the apple bacove or smaller (missie-finga); bunch ripens in three months;

indji-bakoeba, short, thick, red variety, sweet in taste, with yellow fruit-flesh; bunch ripens in three months.

[262] The bacoven are only eaten as fresh fruit and are very popu-
[136] lar. /147/ The leaves of bananas and bacoven are sometimes severely eaten by leaf-cutting ants.

244 Tajer (tája).

One finds tajer on all grounds, standing in scattered groups. It is harvested after 8-10 months (August-October), but also continuously thereafter. There are various kinds in use:

agauw, large variety (pomtaja); tubers remain good for a long time; also found in the villages;

244 sjoe, smaller variety with yellowish tuber, tubers remain good for
262 a long time; the leaf is eate[illegible] a vegetable;

dasini, larger variety with yellowish tubers, which is frequently planted because of its tastiness; the harvesting is done in small bits at a time, for the tubers rot quite quickly; the leaf of this too, is used as vegetable; a small variety of dasini is also called chinees taja;

wititaja, smaller variety; tubers remain good for a long time; leaf is also eaten.

252 Tajer tubers are boiled, like potatoes, frequently with fish or meat and oil, into a soup.

/147 cont./

244 Patatas (patâta).

Patatas are planted in patches; they creep with long tendrils in between everything as a weed. Even after the grounds have been abandoned, they continue to grow in the open patches. They are harvested in the long dry season, but there are also three-month varieties. There are white, red, and yellow varieties under the following names:

plata patata, white variety, frequently planted;
lebi (redi) patata, red variety, often runs wild;
abawini, yellow variety, frequently planted on grounds;
sakoela patata, yellow variety, idem.

[252] The tubers are eaten boiled, like potatoes, usually prepared
[136] with oil, or cut into little pieces and made into a soup. Rabbits and pigs are likewise lovers of these tubers.

Napi (napi).

Napi is planted scattered next to sticks in order to allow the vines to climb. It is not missing on a single ground. The harvest time falls in the long dry season from September to November. There are red and white varieties, which are known by the following names:

kakaboeroe, red on the inside, with red peel;
gangasombo, white on the inside, with red peel;
witti napi, white on the inside, with yellow peel;
finga napi, purple-red variety with divided tubers;
waka waka-napi, purple-red variety, creeping, with large, long tubers.

[252] Napi is eaten boiled like a potato. Most of the varieties are used unpeeled; when they are prepared with meat, however, one removes the peel from the tubers.

/148/

Yams (yamesi).

The yam is found everywhere and is planted scattered. The harvest time is October or later. Two varieties are known:

maka-yamesi, with thorns on stalk, planted with buds from the tubers;
afakõh, planted with stalk shoots.

/148 cont./

244 Yam roots frequently become very large. One cuts them
252 up and boils the pieces like tajer tubers.

Maize (kaloe).

243 Maize is sowed together with other crops and provides one of the first products; the harvesting is done after three months
[184] (March). Only one variety is known. Sometimes special maize plots are laid out (Paramaccaners).

252 The young maize is eaten boiled or roasted, sometimes also pounded and boiled to a porridge (kaloepapa). A well-known delicacy is "ansowé" or "asogrie," made of roasted dry kernels finely pounded and mixed with sugar.

244 Watermelon (watramoen)

This is planted in patches everywhere on the grounds; the harvest time falls in March. There are two varieties in use:
[262] hesiskin and blakaskin, both of which provide small, oval-round, white-spotted fruit with a bland-sweet, light-pink fruit-flesh; the fruit is eaten fresh.

Pumpkin (pampoen).

One finds this plant in many places, but never in great numbers.

Only the oblong dark green variety is known; the harvest
[252] time is from April on, and a long time afterwards. The fruit is cut in pieces, boiled, and eaten.

Okra (okrò).

This crop is generally grown on the food grounds; it provides edible fruit after three months, in February and March. Three varieties are distinguished:
sebiwiki, with short fruit;
afoesibobi, with short fruit;
diatoetoe, with long fruit.

252 The young green fruit is cut into pieces and boiled to a soup, usually together with tajer, meat, and so forth.

/148 cont./

244 Pinda /peanuts/ (pienda) and djoekapinda /Djuka peanuts/ (agobo).
Both are planted in patches on the grounds and not infrequently also in the villages; they bloom in March and are harvested after the rice, in June and July. The quantities that are harvested are small and amount to one or two kerosene-tins per person. Only one variety is known of both the ordinary pinda and the djoekapinda.

[252] One boils the pinda into a soup or makes peanut butter by roasting it and then pounding it in the matta. The Saramaccaners call the djoekapinda "gobogobo."

/149/Bongila.
This is related to abongra (Sesamum) with white blossoms and with flat white seeds in long capsules. It is quite often sowed broadcast among other plants, and the stalks with the capsules are harvested in June. Only one variety is known.

252 The ripe seeds, flat and white, after having first been dried in a pan on the fire, are pounded in a matta. Then one adds some salt and uses this product like peanut butter on cassava bread.
[244] It is tasty and nutritious. On the Surinam River this plant is called "waja" and the seeds are baked with the cassava flour in the bread. Like abongra, this plant is probably also of African origin.

Beans (pesi).
244 These are used very little. String beans /kousebandjes/ -- runner beans with long thin pods -- are known, and a variety
[262] with white blossoms which makes pods 20 centimeters long. Other varieties of beans are not grown, although the Bush Negroes very much like to eat pesi varieties.

249 Sugar cane (keeng or sigáloe).
This is nowhere lacking, and aside from the grounds it is also planted in the villages. With bananas it remains standing for years on the abandoned grounds and is also cut there. Three varieties are distinguished:
[262] abaiboesi, red and black marked stalks; only eaten fresh;

/151 cont./
249 greatly to the beautification of the village. The Bush Negroes use
[232] the red dyestuff from the seeds to smear on the dogs against vermin.

Cotton (katoen).

248 One sees it standing in various places along the edges of the
283 villages and among the dwelling huts. The cotton itself is in ex-
[286] ceptional cases used by the women for spinning. Calf bands (sepoe) are made out of cotton thread after the Indian model, and sometimes hammocks also.

Coffee.

245 Is found here and there in the forest along the edge of the village (Drietabbetje, Poeketti). It is the small variety, probably
[272] Coffea arabica. The beans are used for coffee. The trees probably grew from kernels that at one time were taken by slaves from the plantations.

Calabash (kabasi).

244 Grows everywhere among the dwelling huts and in neglected corners. A distinction is made between kabasi and pikien soepoen.
[415] The wood-like pericarps of both varieties are used for all kinds of purposes, especially for utensils (bowls, spoons) and as "koej" for scooping the korjalen empty.

Kasjoen (kasoeng).

245 Occurs here and there and ordinarily does not supply much
[262] fruit; the latter is eaten fresh; the kernels sometimes roasted
[252] like pinda.

Mappa.

Probably a variety of Tabernaemontana (Apocynaceae). Not infrequently in May one sees the women returning from the grounds with pear-shaped /152/ (up to ten centimeters long) yellow fruit,
[262] which they have gathered from a small forest tree. The fruit is eaten fresh; one first taps on the rind with a piece of wood in order to concentrate the milk sap in it, peels the fruit, and the

/152 cont./
245 white cucumber-like fruit flesh is eaten. The taste is refreshingly
262 tart.

249 Ricinus /castor-oil plant/ (karapata).
789 Is to be found in all villages and especially on refuse heaps.
302 The leaf is used for obia, the oil from the kernels as a hair oil.

Pepper (pépré).
244 Grows as a small shrub near the houses or along the edge of
[252] the village. The variety with small red fruit occurs especially frequently. The fruit is eaten boiled in meat soup.

Koemboe (komoe).
245 Stands in individual specimens in and along the villages and
[252] in the forest. The kernels of this palm are gladly eaten, softened with warm water and pounded into koemboe soup. The fruit is ripe in February-May. A large variety is patawah.

Maripa (maïpa).
[262] Absent in not a single village. The fruit provides a white,
[252] fatty fruit-flesh that is eaten fresh (May). The pits are dried and pounded to pieces with a stone in order to obtain the three kernels. After having dried these (in the sun), one boils from them a food oil.

Awarra palms (awá).
[263] Stand in little groups in each Bush Negro village. The orange fruit, which is ripe in February-March, sometimes also in June

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Fig. 11. Threshing the rice ears on a sack with the feet. -- Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, June 1952.

[245]
[415]

Fig. 12. The fruits of the pina palm are collected in a basket; a beverage is made from the fruit-pulp. -- Marowijne, Albina, April 1953.

[272]

/146 cont./

243 During the sowing one experiences a great deal of trouble
125 from "stondoifies" (1), which eat up the seed; the maturing ears

1. stondoifies = small pigeons, literally stone pigeons.

are plundered by a species of blackbird, "andokie," grain parakeets or pikoetoes, and the little rice bird, "tie." The loss that is suffered through these birds is frequently considerable. Other pests in the rice are not further known, or mentioned.

Bananas (bâna).

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There are various varieties in use:

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patamacca-bâna, idem; fruit short and somewhat sour in taste;

doengoe, idem; fruit long; frequently with twin fingers;

kodjakondre, idem; fruit short.

252 The bananas are boiled as "green bananas" or, as ripe bananas, are first boiled and then pounded fine into "tomtom." Ripe bananas are also pounded uncooked, then mixed with cassava flour, and baked into a "koekoe."

/146 cont./

245 Bacoven (bakóeba, bákba).

Planted like the bananas. The growing time varies from 10 to 15 months. The banana-bacove is grown the most. The varieties are indicated with the following names:

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watramama-bakoeba, a kind of congo-bacove originally from French Guiana, short variety, bunch matures in three months;

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indji-bakoeba, short, thick, red variety, sweet in taste, with yellow fruit-flesh; bunch ripens in three months.

[262] The bacoven are only eaten as fresh fruit and are very popu-
[136] lar. /147/ The leaves of bananas and bacoven are sometimes severely eaten by leaf-cutting ants.

244 Tajer (tája).

One finds tajer on all grounds, standing in scattered groups. It is harvested after 8-10 months (August-October), but also continuously thereafter. There are various kinds in use:

agauw, large variety (pomtaja); tubers remain good for a long time; also found in the villages;

244 sjoe, smaller variety with yellowish tuber, tubers remain good for
262 a long time; the leaf is eaten as a vegetable;

dasini, larger variety with yellowish tubers, which is frequently planted because of its tastiness; the harvesting is done in small bits at a time, for the tubers rot quite quickly; the leaf of this too, is used as vegetable; a small variety of dasini is also called chinees taja;

wititaja, smaller variety; tubers remain good for a long time; leaf is also eaten.

252 Tajer tubers are boiled, like potatoes, frequently with fish or meat and oil, into a soup.

/149 cont./

249 pikien keeng, small variety with thin stalks; is not cut with a
[789] cutter but broken off by hand; obia (1) is made from it;

1. obia = spirit medicine.

[262] switi-keeng, the ordinary variety which is most used: the stalks
[263] are eaten fresh (chewed) or the juice is expressed with the wooden
sugar-press (ma) and boiled down to a syrup (lika) which is used
[407] in coffee or in crushed awarra (2).

2. awarra = prickly palm which supplies edible fruit.

273 For festivals one cuts the stalks in pieces and allows the juice to be extracted from them in water in a short korjaal (komata). This water is later heated in a pot and fermented into an alcoholic beverage (djojo).

● 245 Pineapple (nanási).

This is regularly grown, the shoots standing scattered on the grounds; after one year the plants produce fruit. Two varieties are distinguished:

bigi nanasi, a white variety;

indji nanasi, likewise a white variety, but sweeter.

[262] The fruit is eaten fresh. Together with sugar cane and bananas, pineapples continue to grow for a long time on the old grounds.

Papaya (papái).

Few papayas stand on the grounds, but many along the edges of the villages, where they grow into long tall trees.

[262] A long red variety is called bobi papai; a short yellow variety,
[252] papai. The fruit is eaten fresh, sometimes also boiled green.

/150/ Tobacco (tabáka).

249 Tobacco is cultivated on a modest scale in various places. The leaves are ripe for picking after 4-5 months (April to May); the man-high plant blooms after seven months with small, pink blossoms.

/150 cont./

249 There is only one variety of tobacco in use, probably the same one that is grown by the upland Indians. The leaves are hung to dry from the rafters in the dwelling huts. For use, the 276 dried leaves are softened in a small tin with water, and the juice that is poured into the palm of the hand is sniffed up and blown out again.

Bóembie.

249 This is Tephrosia toxicaria, whose roots are used as fish 226 poison. The man-high plants are found standing scattered on the grounds, where they are sowed with the other crops. The plant has hairy leaves and blooms with pink blossoms in clusters.

One uses the dried roots in order to "ponzen" with it between stones in the dry season when the river water is low. This operation consists of crushing the roots into fibers, whereby the poison is released as a milky substance and spreads in the water. In this manner warawara in particular -- in places difficult to reach otherwise -- are captured. According to the Bush Negroes, boembie works better than nekoe (1).

1. nekoe = a liana (Lonchocarpus) which is also used as fish poison.

B. Fruit Trees, Shrubs, and the Other Plants That Are Found in the Bush Negro Villages

241 Aside from the temporary crops that are grown on the grounds, the Bush Negro also uses fruit trees and other perennial crops that [177] are planted in and along the edge of the villages. Most of them are well-known imported plants; some palm varieties are native. Perhaps these latter were already present on the spot when the village was established, or they more or less accidentally grew up there by the use of the pits. The following varieties are noted.

Coconut (kokonóto).

● 245 Occurs practically everywhere in the older villages, but is usually sparse because of the constant sweeping of the ground;

/150 cont./

245 in more favorable places it grows fairly well. The production
[262] is moderate. The nuts are eaten fresh or, as water nuts, are
[136] emptied by drinking. Many trunks exhibit the traces of Castnia daedalus infection (Drietabbetje, Fisiti, Granbori).

Manja (majang).

[262] Grows in all villages into mighty trees and in February-March produces fruit which is especially favored for eating by the youth. Tetémanje and redbreast are the most common varieties. Abandoned villages along the rivers are frequently still typified by the manja trees.

Citrus.

Is represented by lemmetje (lemmeki), sour orange /zure oranje/ (alanja), /151/ orange /sinaasappel/ (pesina), and lemon /citroen/ (soetoen). This order roughly expresses the relative frequency. They are scattered and grow strikingly well in spite of neglect. With a little effort the planting of oranges could be ex-
[252] tended. Lemmetjes and sour oranges are frequently used to wash meat and various articles.

Guava (gobai).

[262] Stands scattered and is never lacking; the fruit is eaten especially by the youth.

Soursop (atoekoe).

[262] Occurs here and there; the fruit is eaten fresh.

Breadfruit tree (belebong, brèdebong).

[252] Is found in many villages. It is usually the chestnut-breadfruit, of which only the pips are eaten, roasted or boiled. In Langatabbetje we also saw the ordinary breadfruit.

Koesoewé (koesoewé).

249 Stands in each village, but occurs less frequently than among the Indians. The large pink blossoms and the red fruit contribute

/151 cont./

249 [232] greatly to the beautification of the village. The Bush Negroes use the red dyestuff from the seeds to smear on the dogs against vermin.

Cotton (katoen).

248 283 [286] One sees it standing in various places along the edges of the villages and among the dwelling huts. The cotton itself is in exceptional cases used by the women for spinning. Calf bands (sepoe) are made out of cotton thread after the Indian model, and sometimes hammocks also.

Coffee.

245 [272] Is found here and there in the forest along the edge of the village (Drietabbetje, Poeketti). It is the small variety, probably Coffea arabica. The beans are used for coffee. The trees probably grew from kernels that at one time were taken by slaves from the plantations.

Calabash (kabasi).

244 [415] Grows everywhere among the dwelling huts and in neglected corners. A distinction is made between kabasi and pikien soepoen. The wood-like pericarps of both varieties are used for all kinds of purposes, especially for utensils (bowls, spoons) and as "koej" for scooping the korjalen empty.

Kasjoen (kasoeng).

245 [262] [252] Occurs here and there and ordinarily does not supply much fruit; the latter is eaten fresh, the kernels sometimes roasted like pinda.

Mappa.

Probably a variety of Tabernaemontana (Apocynaceae). Not infrequently in May one sees the women returning from the grounds with pear-shaped /152/ (up to ten centimeters long) yellow fruit, [262] which they have gathered from a small forest tree. The fruit is eaten fresh; one first taps on the rind with a piece of wood in order to concentrate the milk sap in it, peels the fruit, and the

/15½ cont./

245 white cucumber-like fruit flesh is eaten. The taste is refreshingly
262 tart.

249 Ricinus /castor-oil plant/ (karapata).

789 Is to be found in all villages and especially on refuse heaps.
302 The leaf is used for obia, the oil from the kernels as a hair oil.

Pepper (pēprē).

244 Grows as a small shrub near the houses or along the edge of
[252] the village. The variety with small red fruit occurs especially frequently. The fruit is eaten boiled in meat soup.

Koemboe (komoe).

245 Stands in individual specimens in and along the villages and
[252] in the forest. The kernels of this palm are gladly eaten, softened with warm water and pounded into koemboe soup. The fruit is ripe in February-May. A large variety is patawah.

Maripa (maīpa).

[262] Absent in not a single village. The fruit provides a white,
[252] fatty fruit-flesh that is eaten fresh (May). The pits are dried and pounded to pieces with a stone in order to obtain the three kernels. After having dried these (in the sun), one boils from them a food oil.

Awarra palms (awá).

[263] Stand in little groups in each Bush Negro village. The orange fruit, which is ripe in February-March, sometimes also in June

/152 cont./

245 is eaten fresh, but more frequently pounded in the matta, so
263 that the fruit flesh becomes mushy. Over this one sprinkles sugar or sugar syrup and eats it as a delicacy (awá-popo).

Pina palm (apodong).

222 In April-May supplies a marble-sized black fruit which is prepared in the manner described for koemboe. This palm variety grows in groups in swampy places in the forests.

Paramaribo, December, 1952.

/The following summary appears in English on pp. 152-153 of the original source./

SUMMARY

AGRICULTURE AS APPLIED BY THE BUSHNEGROES ALONG THE MARONI AND TAPANAHONI RIVERS

241 During the MEDICAL SCIENTIFIC EXPEDITION TO THE SOUTHERN BORDER OF SURINAM from February till July 1952, in order to get an insight into the medical problems of the interior, the opportunity was

/151 cont./
249 greatly to the beautification of the village. The Bush Negroes use
[232] the red dyestuff from the seeds to smear on the dogs against vermin.

Cotton (katoen).

248 One sees it standing in various places along the edges of the
283 villages and among the dwelling huts. The cotton itself is in ex-
[286] ceptional cases used by the women for spinning. Calf bands (sepoe) are made out of cotton thread after the Indian model, and sometimes hammocks also.

Coffee.

245 Is found here and there in the forest along the edge of the village (Drietabbetje, Poeketti). It is the small variety, probably
[272] Coffea arabica. The beans are used for coffee. The trees probably grew from kernels that at one time were taken by slaves from the plantations.

Calabash (kabasi).

244 Grows everywhere among the dwelling huts and in neglected corners. A distinction is made between kabasi and pikien soepoen.
[415] The wood-like pericarps of both varieties are used for all kinds of purposes, especially for utensils (bowls, spoons) and as "koej" for scooping the korjalen empty.

Kasjoen (kasoeng).

245 Occurs here and there and ordinarily does not supply much
[262] fruit; the latter is eaten fresh, the kernels sometimes roasted
[252] like pinda.

Mappa.

Probably a variety of Tabernaemontana (Apocynaceae). Not infrequently in May one sees the women returning from the grounds with pear-shaped /152/ (up to ten centimeters long) yellow fruit,
[262] which they have gathered from a small forest tree. The fruit is eaten fresh; one first taps on the rind with a piece of wood in order to concentrate the milk sap in it, peels the fruit, and the

/148 cont./

244 Pinda /peanuts/ (pienda) and djoekapinda /Djuka peanuts/ (agobo).

Both are planted in patches on the grounds and not infrequently also in the villages; they bloom in March and are harvested after the rice, in June and July. The quantities that are harvested are small and amount to one or two kerosene-tins per person. Only one variety is known of both the ordinary pinda and the djoekapinda.

[252] One boils the pinda into a soup or makes peanut butter by roasting it and then pounding it in the matta. The Saramaccaners call the djoekapinda "gobogobo."

/149/Bongila.

This is related to abongra (Sesamum) with white blossoms and with flat white seeds in long capsules. It is quite often sowed broadcast among other plants, and the stalks with the capsules are harvested in June. Only one variety is known.

252 The ripe seeds, flat and white, after having first been dried in a pan on the fire, are pounded in a matta. Then one adds some salt and uses this product like peanut butter on cassava bread.

[244] It is tasty and nutritious. On the Surinam River this plant is called "waja" and the seeds are baked with the cassava flour in the bread. Like abongra, this plant is probably also of African origin.

Beans (pesi).

244 These are used very little. String beans /kousebandjes/ -- runner beans with long thin pods -- are known, and a variety

[262] with white blossoms which makes pods 20 centimeters long. Other varieties of beans are not grown, although the Bush Negroes very much like to eat pesi varieties.

● 249 Sugar cane (keeng or sigáloe).

This is nowhere lacking, and aside from the grounds it is also planted in the villages. With bananas it remains standing for years on the abandoned grounds and is also cut there. Three varieties are distinguished:

[262] abaiboesi, red and black marked stalks; only eaten fresh;

/149 cont./

249 pikien keeng, small variety with thin stalks; is not cut with a
[789] cutter but broken off by hand; obia (1) is made from it;

1. obia = spirit medicine.

[262] switi-keeng, the ordinary variety which is most used: the stalks
[263] are eaten fresh (chewed) or the juice is expressed with the wooden
sugar-press (ma) and boiled down to a syrup (lika) which is used
[407] in coffee or in crushed awarra (2).

2. awarra = prickly palm which supplies edible fruit.

273 For festivals one cuts the stalks in pieces and allows the juice to be extracted from them in water in a short korjaal (komata). This water is later heated in a pot and fermented into an alcoholic beverage (djojo).

245 Pineapple (nanási).

This is regularly grown, the shoots standing scattered on the grounds; after one year the plants produce fruit. Two varieties are distinguished:

bigi nanasi, a white variety;

indji nanasi, likewise a white variety, but sweeter.

[262] The fruit is eaten fresh. Together with sugar cane and bananas, pineapples continue to grow for a long time on the old grounds.

Papaya (papái).

Few papayas stand on the grounds, but many along the edges of the villages, where they grow into long tall trees.

[262] A long red variety is called bobi papai; a short yellow variety,
[252] papai. The fruit is eaten fresh, sometimes also boiled green.

/150/ Tobacco (tabáka).

249 Tobacco is cultivated on a modest scale in various places. The leaves are ripe for picking after 4-5 months (April to May); the man-high plant blooms after seven months with small, pink blossoms.

/150 cont./

●249 There is only one variety of tobacco in use, probably the same one that is grown by the upland Indians. The leaves are
276 hung to dry from the rafters in the dwelling huts. For use, the dried leaves are softened in a small tin with water, and the juice that is poured into the palm of the hand is sniffed up and blown out again.

Bóembie.

249 This is Tephrosia toxicaria, whose roots are used as fish
226 poison. The man-high plants are found standing scattered on the grounds, where they are sowed with the other crops. The plant has hairy leaves and blooms with pink blossoms in clusters.

One uses the dried roots in order to "ponzen" with it between stones in the dry season when the river water is low. This operation consists of crushing the roots into fibers, whereby the poison is released as a milky substance and spreads in the water. In this manner warawara in particular -- in places difficult to reach otherwise -- are captured. According to the Bush Negroes, boembie works better than nekoe (1).

1. nekoe = a liana (Lonchocarpus) which is also used as fish poison.

B. Fruit Trees, Shrubs, and the Other Plants That Are Found in the Bush Negro Villages

241 Aside from the temporary crops that are grown on the grounds, the Bush Negro also uses fruit trees and other perennial crops that
[177] are planted in and along the edge of the villages. Most of them are well-known imported plants; some palm varieties are native. Perhaps these latter were already present on the spot when the village was established, or they more or less accidentally grew up there by the use of the pits. The following varieties are noted.

Coconut (kokonóto).

245 Occurs practically everywhere in the older villages, but is usually sparse because of the constant sweeping of the ground;

/151 cont./

249 greatly to the beautification of the village. The Bush Negroes use
[232] the red dyestuff from the seeds to smear on the dogs against vermin.

Cotton (katoen).

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283 villages and among the dwelling huts. The cotton itself is in ex-
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Awarra palms (awá).
[263] Stand in little groups in each Bush Negro village. The orange fruit, which is ripe in February-March, sometimes also in June

WHILE THE RIVER WAS HIGH

The sun stood over the sacred silk-cotton tree toward the Gankwe side of the land. Across the path leading from somewhere in the back of our shelter the parasol ants, each with its strip of green many times its size, made their way toward an unknown spot where no shelter stood, and no one trod. Like a wave the wide ribbon of green rose and fell as it crossed the ridges of the pathway. In unending numbers they came, and the lizards darting in and out of the brush swerved in the direction of the shelter to avoid the marching line, so that at our feet things moved now up, now back again.

While the men were at the landing place, one of the women who was drying rice on the high flat rocks opposite our shelter paddled over in her boat, and, passing the men with a formal greeting, walked on and stopped to talk with us. She was not a young woman. Her time for childbearing was long over, her wrinkled breasts sagged almost to her waist. The cicatrized designs which once had stood out so clearly, and in her youth had been so valued, were but faintly penciled on her face and about her breasts. Had she cared, she might have reopened the cuts, might have had ashes rubbed into them to make the keloids stand out black and alive against the dark brown of her skin. But what need had a woman her age to care? What need to urge life into symbols of fertility on face and between breasts and about her navel, when her time for fruitfulness was over? Of what use to reanimate the incised scrolls between her thighs, when the legend they told in terms of reproduction was for her a dead legend?

She came toward us slowly, balancing a bottle on her head. A faded cloth covered her from waist to knee, and at her waist a bit of the kerchief necessary to the attire of the married woman, even at work, could be seen. She wore a few beads on a cord about her neck, but she had no other ornaments, for ornaments were for festive occasions, and the cloth tied about the neck and worn cape fashion was for women who had children to carry straddling their backs, and woven garters below the knee were conceits of the young.

THE PROVISION GROUND

It is told that this practice of isolating the provision 251
ground was a heritage of the days when the ancestors were escaping from slavery, for then the whites were at war with them, and villages had often to be deserted. But to desert a village was one thing. What local spirits were there could be urged by the proper magical invocations to follow to another site. Men did not, after all, derive their food supply from a village. It was the provision ground upon which life depended. The provision ground had at all costs to be saved. Access to it was, therefore, made difficult. [487]
Trails were never clearly marked, and were often marked to mislead the invading enemy. The river bank was allowed to give no hint of shielding, behind the thicket, a clearing where crops grew to feed the warriors and their families. When a village was destroyed by the enemy, the Bush Negroes fell back on their fields and maintained life. To this day, it is said, this practice holds, for though hostilities ended more than a hundred years ago, the planting grounds are rarely found close to a village.

Walking behind Kasanya in the darkness which gave to 361
each down-hanging vine the outlines of the great aboma [825]
snake, held sacred in this bush, we fell to wondering whether in this, as in so many instances, the accounting for current beliefs, in terms of the experience of slavery alone, would prove inadequate.

"We have arrived, Bak'a," said Kasanya, interrupting our speculations. His eyes were sharper than ours, for not even when he spoke did we see the widening of the path and the clearing beyond. Yet fewer than a hundred additional paces found us facing four small huts scattered about a sandy open place, and a woman who was on her way from one house to another turned toward us. She listened to what Kasanya said, with her head slightly averted, pulling at her pipe all the while.

"Ai, they can stay," she said, pointing to the largest of the four houses. "As many of you as can, sleep there. The house next to it is for provisions. We have not much to offer here."

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

village. A household was not confined to one building only, but few who were not men of rank and means had more than three. One was for the woman and her children, another for storing the crops, and the third was the man's treasure house, where women might not come. It was like the matter of wives. Only men of position could afford more than one. But if a man had two wives and both lived in his village, then perhaps five huts would bear a design identified with him on the carved side posts which outlined the low doorway. This design would recur in the various carvings he had made for his women—it was his crest. And though a man from another village, who was not related to him, might like it, and liking it copy it, this practice would be socially frowned upon.

A village quarter, however, did not contain only dwelling places, and storehouses, and men's treasure houses. Certain families also had in their part of the village an enclosed shrine for the family gods. If in a given family a powerful Vodu, or snake god, had come to an ancestress and had in a dream, or in a seizure, or through a revelation made to an obia man, chosen her as his *'asi*—his priestess or medium—then with this disclosure came the instructions for the place of locating a house of worship to that Vodu, and the type of house it was to be. Such a shrine, once erected, would be kept in the quarter, and worshiped by the members of that family. Sometimes in front of a dwelling hut, a low enclosure, the size of a small kennel, would stand a little to the side of the door. This was a house to Toné, the river spirit. In one such house lived a woman who had a great Toné god. She had the gift of prophecy. When the men gathered for a council meeting in the village of the Granman, then she, too, would sometimes be bidden to come and sit with the men, though, being a woman, she could never speak at council meetings.

"Touch her skin," the other women said, pointing out this albino woman, "and you will have your desires fulfilled."

In each quarter, too, there was an open house where the women did their cooking, and perhaps a platform or two,

343 where, in the proper season, maripa nuts and rice were
951 dried.

One quarter differed very little from another, except
361 that in one there might grow the plant which yielded the
778 red and black beans used for the sacred rattles, and for playing the game of adji, which entertained the spirit of the dead while the body lay in state. Instead of a house to the family gods, there might be found a mound of earth in front of one doorway, with an axe-head lying upon it as a shrine for a man's spirit, or a low forked stick sunk into the ground, holding a pot with water and weeds in it for the curing powers of its obia.

361 A village of any size had also a quarter in which stood the
344 communal buildings. The council house which might also serve on occasion as the house for the dead was there. The menstrual house for the women, a small building which was recognized by a broken calabash, or a porcelain pot brought from the white man's city, lying outside the entrance, stood a little to the side. The Kromanti house, and perhaps an enclosed shelter for the bush gods who shared the shrine with the snake deities, was also located somewhere near the open communal shrine. A village wherein lived the clan
361 head contained in addition a house for the ancestral spirits
346 of the clan. This was called a *Fa'aka-pau wosu*, literally a
[614] flagpole house, a euphemism for the shrine to the ancestors
769 for whom white cotton was put up on sticks. In this Fa'aka-
787 pau wosu prayers were offered up for all the important ventures of the clan, and in time of stress a priest would come there with sacrifices, to bid one of the ancestors to enter his body and give him sight. When seizure came on, such a priest prophesied. Sometimes the ancestors were consulted in the same manner as that in which the will of the dead was ascertained. Men would take up a sacred plank and carry it in a state of possession; the elders would put questions to the ancestor who had been called. The
[787] answers were construed as favorable or unfavorable according to the way the plank tipped.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

314 shot enters the rubber but does not pierce it through. Little dents indicate where the shot is buried inside. With a pistol, however, the result is different. A bullet from a .38 calibre revolver goes clean through. After we have fired, a Negro detaches himself from the group and disappears in the bush. In twenty minutes he is back, bringing the bullet from the revolver. He had traced its course by broken twigs and [151] clipped branches, and finally dug it out of the side of a tree with his bush-knife—on the whole an extraordinary bit of woodcraft.

484 It is disgusting to find that we have to sleep overnight in this camp. The white man is thoroughly exhausted, able only to drop down on a log while the Negroes make camp. The bahkra's hammock is slung and a fire started. Monkey meat is the *pièce de résistance* of the evening meal.

[252 The monkey is not skinned; only the hair is scraped off. 262] Monkey skin is a jungle delicacy, but there is a humanly cadaverous look to the depilated body. Half of the meat is cut up and dumped into the stew pot together with rice and salt. [251] The other half is smoked liberally to preserve it for the morrow.

Not in the mood to take food which his stomach might reject, the bahkra dines on a can of salmon, with rice and tea on the side. The sun has hardly set when he falls gratefully into the hammock and ties the mosquito netting in place, ready for profound slumber.

521 He soon finds that sleep is out of the question. The Bush Negroes are sitting about the campfire swapping tales of

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hunts among the Djukas occur when a tapir is sighted near the village; in which case all will go out and endeavour to surround it, and share equally in the kill. When, in dry seasons, *pingos* (bush hogs) swim the river in herds, the Bush Negroes take every available corial and paddle after them, cutting their throats, knocking them on the head, or drowning them by holding their heads under water. The result is a feast, and the excess meat is smoked.

Djukas have also been known to leap from their canoes upon the backs of deer swimming the river, and thus to drown them.

Game that hears us first is gone. A herd of peccaries ahead of us hears the approach; there is a loud crash as they retreat back into the high bush. The Negro tracker finds the trail and we beat around after them for hours, but the animals have outwitted us and cannot be located.

At the end of the day the other hunters return, one of them bringing in a small anteater and a red howling monkey, while the other carries two agouti. Our own success consists of one *powese* (bush turkey) and a small armadillo, the *capusee*. These are cleaned and smoked, and camp is made for the night.

About dusk one of the men goes into the jungle. Less than fifteen minutes later we hear the distant detonation of both barrels, followed by loud yells. Instantly everyone grabs for firearms and begins running in that direction, stumbling and sliding in the jungle evening. The Bush Negroes make their way with marvellous rapidity through the moonless dusk,

354 /9 cont./
[372] they do not like to be without it; at least they do not like to
[353] sleep without a fire. Their weapons hang above their sleeping
[513] place, which is a hammock, in which man and wife sometimes lie together. Rarely do more than one man and one woman with their
342 small children live in a single hut.

296 Their articles of clothing, as well as other small belongings,
• 251 are kept in pagalen, a kind of plaited basketwork, while they keep
415 water, strong drinks, sugar juice, rice, salt, and so forth in
824 calabashes and godos (2).

2. Both hollowed-out fruit rinds of the Crescentia cagete L. and the Cucurbita lagenaria L., plants from the family of the Cucurbitaceae.

415 Some of them have cedarwood clothes-chests, which must be specially mounted with a great deal of copper; one also sometimes finds liqueur cellars with gilded bottles.

353 For the rest everything is left out in the open in the hut.

264 Often many men come together in one hut for their meals and eat out of one large bowl or calabash. The women withdraw after having placed on very low tables several calabashes or bowls of food for their husbands in the circle in which they are seated, never forgetting to add a large calabash with clean water for washing the hands before and after the meal. The women gather in another hut in order to consume what they kept out for themselves beforehand and what has been left by their husbands.

[888] If an aged person or a highly placed person is in their midst,
[554] he is offered the calabash of food first, so that he may take from it what he wants and eat it by himself from an ordinary plate, although seated in the circle, /10/ while the others partake of their meal from the large bowl. In general they talk with one another during the meal, the highly placed person also taking part in the conversation.

/145 cont./
252 with the matapi (2) and subsequently baked on the baking plate (pan),

2. matapi = long tube of plaiting with which one expresses the juice and the water out of the grated cassava.

during which the granular mass is constantly stirred. The kwak
[251] ultimately consists of dry yellow grains. One can keep kwak in good condition longer than bread. It is softened with water and eaten with some sugar (if available).

A less-used product is "afringi." For this one grates freshly peeled cassava, then expresses the grated cassava in the matapi, and dries the meal on the fire or in the sun. Subsequently one pounds this meal in the matta (3) and then kneads it with water

3. matta = large wooden mortar.

into little balls. These are boiled together with fish or meat into a soup. One calls this soup "afringi," which literally means "to throw," presumably because one throws the little balls into the pot. The same product is called "apitie" on the Surinam River.

244 Sweet cassava (kasàba-swieti) is little planted; the tubers are
[262] harvested after three months and eaten boiled.

[252] The most important pests in the cassava are: leaf-cutting
[825] ants, which cut off the leaves; deer, which eat the young tips and also bite off the stalks; tapirs, which consume the stalks and leaves and also trample many; koni-konis (4), which dig

4. koni-koni = Surinam rabbit.

out and gnaw the tubers; pingos and pakieras (5), which root the

5. pingo and pakiera = wild pigs.

tubers out of the ground and consume them.

/145 cont./

243 Rice (alésie).

Next to cassava rice is an important auxiliary crop. One sows the rice broadcast with the hand among the other crops and tjaps (6) the seed under lightly. The sowing time falls in December to February or March. In the fourth month the rice is mature.

6. To tjap = to loosen the ground with a hoe.

[132] The harvest time therefore falls in the long rainy season from May to July (somewhat later on the Surinam River). Only the ears are cut off, and these are dried in the sun on the grounds or in the villages. Only dry-land rice is cultivated but in many varieties, such as:

kasiwini, the best kind, with long white grains;
ajengena, with short fine grains, with pounding produces a beautiful white rice;
abalahede, with flat, round grain;
witti-alesie or paramakka-alesie, slightly colored in the ear;
lebi (redi) -- alesie, yellow as paddy, grows also in swampy places;
aloeloe or loeloe, sends out shoots quickly, has a good grain;
pindé-alesie, grain speckled on the outside;
asinkini, variety with long grain, is often planted.

/146/ Still other varieties are: rexora, saka, mabosoe, mooidà, sika-sirie, bakaté-saka, dendelei, mooimasra, wittifang, skati, blakatère, mesiti, pikienloeloe, trampoeloekoe.

•[251] The Bush Negroes store the rice in the ears and thresh the paddy with the feet by treading on it after it has been dried on
252 zinc sheets or on sacks. The paddy is pounded in the matta whenever it is needed for a meal. Unpolished silver-pellicle rice /zilvervlies-rijst/ is thus eaten, and this is boiled in the usual
262 manner together with meat or fish. With a good harvest one has rice throughout the year until the following harvest, but frequently
[439] the quantity is sufficient for only a few months. In case of a shortage milled rice is purchased from the shops along the Marowijne.

/75 cont./

692 685 [224] The Djuka had killed the tapir which had sunk. Pressed for time, he had had to leave, requesting the Asisi people to look for it.

The next day Pototo and Amusupé found the animal floating [251] between two waters. They hid it in the bush and had it smoke-[262] dried on their own behalf. They ate it with their wives (about 100 kilos of meat).

That ended up by becoming known, and a jealous man denounced them to the grand man.

Called before the lanti kuuru, they had to apologize and were each sentenced to pay as a fine to the grand man a demijohn of 15 liters of tafia (worth about 6,000 francs) within four months.

[735] Both of them were at a loss to pay this fine, belonging to the category of ne'er-do-wells who have no regular activity and live from day to day, selling some fish or game from time to time.

[613] Amusupé appealed to Captain Konduku, head of his lineage, who agreed to pay for the tafia for him, Amusupé reimbursing him little by little.

[613] As for Pototo, the head of his lineage refused categorically [689] to help him because he had eaten the maïpouri alone without allowing his family to share it (the village people would have found it normal to profit by the crime, but they deemed it immoral that [123] one of their relatives had deprived them of meat). After three and a half months, Pototo began to occupy himself seriously at a paid job which he had the luck to find because we needed a bossman for two weeks.

577 626 [522] The Boni did nothing but laugh while telling us this story. Affairs of this kind, which do not involve any suprahuman intervention, escape in large measure their social morality; they have a certain feeling for what should be done, but submit to it only in proportion as they fear a material and immediate sanction.

765 /182 cont./
(which is the case here), they wait still longer in order to be able to group the lifting of mourning for several dead people from the same village in a single ceremony. The unfolding of the rites shows that much more importance is attached to Béniti than to the two young boys; in fact, the ceremony is devoted almost exclusively to her.

765 [621] 613 [829] The mourning-lifting ceremonies in Boniville are particularly interesting, for this village includes members of five different lineages. The distribution of functions and duties allows one to better understand the thought of the Boni relative to social organization; the principle of residence plays the determining role. The ceremony takes place in the village where the dead people lived, whatever their lineage was. The burden of organization is divided up about equally among all the inhabitants of the village. The /183/ members of the lineages of the dead people living in other villages are present at the ceremony, but their contribution is much less important.

765 [251] On November 8 (day called busimã kɔm) at noon, the festival begins with the arrival of the buchiman who, the week before, had caught and dried fish for the festival.

The buchiman are put under the authority of ⌊Tofioto (K). They are all volunteers (one who would excuse himself from rendering this service would lay himself open to being abandoned alone on the day when he would have to bear the weight of mourning for one of his near relatives). The main weight of mourning is borne by Boniville village. The people of the principal fraction of the Dju (Asisi village) furnish a rather large contribution as regards time spent fishing but symbolic as to the furnishing of tafia and imported foods.

[226] [251] [621] [613] These buchiman had been at work since October 25, catching and salting fish:

765 /183 cont./
22C

	for Boniville	for Asisi-Dju
251 Fintiman, 621 Kiémenti, Doni, 613 Alibi	sons and grandsons of Béniti (Dju)	3 men over 20 years old
4 young men of the Kotika lineage		4 to 5 adolescents
1 —	Dip. I —	
2 —	Lapé —	
1 —	Papaïston —	
2 —	Poti —	

They furnished a total of two weeks of work but each one collected for himself about 15 kilograms of dry fish.

765 [531] [411] The buchiman, riding in five large canoes decorated with multicolored oriflammes, approach the Boniville wharf where all the young people of the village are massed, the men armed with their guns, the women brandishing banners made of brand-new camisas. The hurrahs resound, punctuated by hundreds of shots. In an atmosphere of enthusiasm the buchiman make their entrance into the village and go to report on their mission to the council assembled under the mortuary shed. According to custom, this council is improvised at the last moment by the elders who are there, without attention to origin, and does not involve any definite authority.

Four baskets of dried fish are put down at the edge of the shed, for the mourning-lifting festival, then each one goes to get and arrange in his house a big personal basketful.

The fish intended for the festival are distributed among the women charged with preparing them.

About 2:00 P.M. the elders are assembled in the western part of the shed; in the eastern part, the near relatives of the dead for whom mourning will be lifted lament.

Several apinti drums are brought and placed laterally.

THE PROVISION GROUND

It is the woman's task, then, to see to the food which the Earth Mother yields, while the men are busy hauling lumber and making boats, hunting and fishing, and carrying the white man's loads to the city. In the leisure of the rainy season, while the women cut up the trade cotton cloth into long, narrow strips and sew them into cloths of traditional design, the men are at work carving fine things out of wood. 462 [294]

When the big rains come a man might busy himself carving doorposts for his new house, or he might make a paddle to put away in his personal treasure house, so that, when he is ready to take a second wife, he might have the proper gifts to make her. Another might be making a small canoe paddle for his first daughter. She is four, perhaps, and already is of help to her mother in the field, carrying water from the river in a small Indian jar. Soon she will be strong enough to have the cutting of the kamemba begin—a few slashes about the navel at first . . . He will cover the surface of the paddle with beautiful traceries, each design a meaningful symbol, and to add to its beauty he will darken it with a mixture of oil and charred rice hulls. When it is finished it will be of a reddish-brown color, slender, and smooth to the touch of his fingers as the skin of his woman-child. Combs, food stirrers, trays, stools, peanut pounding boards, and, if a man likes, mortar and pestle—all these are carved when the rains are heavy and there is no work to be done on the river or in the bush. 462 322 [584] [857] [532]

So the work is divided. A man does a man's work—wood, iron, hunting the game animals of the bush, and catching fish in traps, making baskets of wood fiber—all that is a man's affair he does. And the woman, tending the fields and cooking for her family, pounding palm nuts in her mortar to make palm oil, grating the bitter cassava to make flour free from the poison that is in the roots, caring for her house and carving calabash dishes with the symbols of men and women and fertility—woman does what it is woman's lot to do. 462 [252]

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

which went on, so that she might recount it to her father. 644
The women of the village walked "softly" with this older daughter. "Daughter of the G'aman," they called her when they addressed her, and her mildly spoken, persuasive suggestions were never ignored.

Wilhelmina, however, busied herself at her work, and if anything were asked of her, she would look up with an expression of bewilderment. Differing from other women of the village, who had come to live there after marriage and knew the speech of the less aristocratic down-river settlements, Wilhelmina had never been any distance from Asindopo Lantiwe. The other women were, therefore, constantly interpreting the questions which were being put to her.

She was dark of skin, as dark as her sister, but her face [142]
had a flush of red in it, as though she had brushed it with
the sacred red kuswe. A little above her wrists gleamed wide [301]
bands of tin. These were bracelets her husband had made
for her, and they were much prized. The brass coils which
she once wore had been filed through and removed, for [843]
when the ankles of a woman who bore children swelled,
it became necessary to be rid of these ornaments.

In a small mortar, decorated with carvings, she was [252]
pounding maripa nuts. The ends of the pestle were bordered [412]
with finely cut cross hatchings.

"Ai, we use much palm oil here," she said.

Her mother was paring cassava. At her feet were several 644 252
baskets and pieces of bark, shaped like miniature canoes,
into which she threw the peeled cassava. Near these con- [285]
tainers lay a sifter, woven of palm fiber, and a grater,
made of a thin board perhaps sixteen inches long and half as wide, into which long slender nails had been hammered and their points filed to a needle-like sharpness. When the tubers were peeled, Wilhelmina began the grating, first squatting down, then dropping to her knees, better to work. The grated cassava was then packed into the matapi, the cassava press which had before leaned against the house. This matapi was of a basket-like weave, golden in color

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

644 252 and tall as the Granman's wife herself, though in circumference no larger than the post of the house against which it leaned. The woven strands were caught together in the loops with which it was finished on top and bottom.

When it had been filled, the matapi was hung from the stub of a stout limb, and one end of an equally stout stick was inserted into the bottom loop, while the other rested on the ground. Now Wilhelmina and another woman sat down on this stick, and under the pressure exerted by their combined weight the matapi slowly contracted. A milky white fluid containing the poison which made the raw bitter cassava so deadly filtered through the woven strands, trickling into the gourd placed to receive it. Steadily the poisonous fluid was forced out until it was not long before the gourd was filled, and the cassava pressed dry. When there was much work to be done, and the white woman was not about to ask questions, the women would not waste their time sitting on the stick, but instead would suspend heavy stones from thongs tied to the bottom loop, and they were then free to be about their other tasks. Now, however, it was more amusing to sit and talk.

Whatever the method, when the meal was rid of the poison, it was worked through the sifter into a closely woven basket, and in that kneaded and made ready for baking on the large iron griddles. The use of the bitter cassava [111] they had learned from the Indians, and the names for the sifter and the cassava press were to this day Indian, as were their weave and shape, but the griddles came from the white man's city.

[415] [111] [80] "We use Indian water jars, too. The red pottery we do not make. But black obia pots are Negro things. These our old women mold," said the Granman's wife.

2

644 286 As she spun cotton for the garters she would later make, the woman they called the Granman's younger wife sat and talked of working the fields. Her spindle, a small iron

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

man noted, a *condree fasee*—a custom of the country. Rifles were found, all lacking flint, for which the Europeans had good reason to be thankful. In the village were found silver spoons pillaged from the estates, along with china and other ware. The rebels were observed to be healthy, and lacking nothing but bullets and flint. Their diet contained ingenious makeshifts. Salt they obtained from the ashes of a palm tree, and butter from condensing the fat of the palm tree worm.

That evening the rebels crept near the European encampment and began shouting curses, threats. All night the jungle resounded with the yells of rebels and the replies of rangers. The hatred of the revolted blacks for the loyalist rangers knew no bounds. They swore that no ranger should ever leave the bush alive. They dared the planters to enter the woods. Finding so much communication going on, Colonel Fourgeod decided to join in, and began "hallooing." He offered the rebels food, drink, and freedom if they would lay down their arms.

The reply was curt and contemptuous. They "damned him for a French bastard," saying, "We are free men. You soldiers are white slaves, hired to be shot at for fourpence a day."

Fourgeod swore to pursue Bonny to the end of the earth. The following day the troops pressed on to the next village, *Cofaay,* which signifies "Try Me." They found it deserted. Lacking ammunition, the blacks had realized the impossibility of putting up a defence. So they made a great noise in the night, under cover of which Cofaay was evacuated. While the loud shouting was going on, the food of the next village had

1 [412 532]

Chapter Four

THE DANCE

SUNDOWN on the Surinam. Women with breasts like 252
dried tobacco leaves stew hunks of red baboon over the 262
Djuka fires. The old dance gods will stir tonight. Mist is 132
drifting up from the river and blowing between the trees. Colours fade out as darkness falls. The atmosphere of the jungle closes in on us with the night.

As night falls a Bush Negro corial appears on the river. It 574
is followed by four others, all loaded with people from another village three miles downstream. The strangers have come to dance for the bahkra. We have promised them candy and high wine. The women tie bands of nuts about their 534
limbs; the dried nuts rattle.

They bring the drums, the soul of the jungle. The big tom-tom, elaborately carved on the outside, is the *apenti*, or signal drum. The smaller *nanda* and the baby *baboula* (an African

[p. 52 is blank]

1 [For caption, see category 116, p. 204:- Analyst]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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314 shot enters the rubber but does not pierce it through. Little dents indicate where the shot is buried inside. With a pistol, however, the result is different. A bullet from a .38 calibre revolver goes clean through. After we have fired, a Negro detaches himself from the group and disappears in the bush. In twenty minutes he is back, bringing the bullet from the revolver. He had traced its course by broken twigs and [151] clipped branches, and finally dug it out of the side of a tree with his bush-knife—on the whole an extraordinary bit of woodcraft.

484 It is disgusting to find that we have to sleep overnight in this camp. The white man is thoroughly exhausted, able only to drop down on a log while the Negroes make camp. The bahkra's hammock is slung and a fire started. Monkey meat is the *pièce de résistance* of the evening meal.

● [252 The monkey is not skinned; only the hair is scraped off. 262] Monkey skin is a jungle delicacy, but there is a humanly cadaverous look to the depilated body. Half of the meat is cut up and dumped into the stew pot together with rice and salt. [251] The other half is smoked liberally to preserve it for the morrow.

Not in the mood to take food which his stomach might reject, the bahkra dines on a can of salmon, with rice and tea on the side. The sun has hardly set when he falls gratefully into the hammock and ties the mosquito netting in place, ready for profound slumber.

521 He soon finds that sleep is out of the question. The Bush Negroes are sitting about the campfire swapping tales of

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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sufficient time for the nitrogenous substances to be reduced to fertilizing material. Because of this poverty of the ground and the constant foraging of insect and bird pests—the parrot is notorious among these—the cultivation of food is difficult and laborious for the Bush Negroes and the provision ground must often be moved to a fresh site.

Their main carbohydrate staple is the manioc or bitter cassava. It is a tuber-like plant that grows some three to seven feet in height, the edible portion being the underground root. The root contains the poisonous prussic acid, which must be carefully removed. Bush Negroes have been known to commit suicide by drinking the juice of the cassava. The plant itself resembles the tobacco plant, but has a stalk covered with bark and large roots that look like sweet potatoes.

The roots are harvested, carefully peeled, and reduced to a pulp by being rubbed on the roughened surface of an inclined board, the expelled free juices rolling down the incline into a bowl. The rest of the plant is thrown away. The pulp is stuffed into a cylindrical squeezing contrivance made of reed, known as the *matapee*. It resembles one of those toy finger grippers of straw that children play with. The reeds being flexible, elongating the tube by pulling at the ends reduces the diameter of it; this compresses the contents of the cylinder and squeezes out the deadly juice which then runs off into a bowl below. The matapee is a beautifully woven piece of basketry about five feet long and seven inches in diameter. The upper end is attached to the limb of a tree and a heavy stone is suspended from the lower end, the

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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weight of which elongates the tube. In place of a stone, a stick may be passed through the lower end. The Bush Negro straddles it, working the apparatus with his own weight.

The pulp, when dried and heated, becomes a nourishing flour ready for use. There are two ways of serving it. One way is to make it into large, circular pancakes, high piles or stacks of which were carried in our corials to constitute the chief diet of the paddlers on the river trip. When they feel a pang of hunger they break off a piece of cassava from one of the large pancakes, dip it into the river to soften it, and eat it without further preparation. The other way of preparing cassava is to stew it with fish or meat. On tasting this food we found it a bland, mealy cake of not unpleasant taste. The entire technic of preparing it is borrowed from the indigenous Indians; "matapee" is an Indian word.

In a number of Bush Negro villages can be found the common Indian corn. The Negroes allow it to mature and then roast it until it is as hard as a rock, after which they shell off the grains and eat them. If the white man asks for green corn, they refuse to give it to him, saying it is unfit to eat.

Another staple of their diet is rice, or *ahleesee*. Rice of the upland variety can be planted in a dry soil and flourishes like wheat or oats. When harvested, it is tied in small bundles, about a foot in diameter, and threshed. The Negroes put it in a wooden mortar made of a hollow tree trunk, and three Djuka boys stand around it with pounders, striking alternately, like three railway labourers driving one spike. Rice, especially when ripening, is attacked by birds, partic-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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226 animals in the water. The catch would be consumed before
227 it could be taken up. Besides spring-traps that snap shut when the bait is touched, cone-traps are used, similar to those of more northern waters. The fish pokes his way into a concave cone, at the end of which is an opening guarded by bristles. Going in, the bristles are easily pushed aside, but, coming out, they bar the path. Then, say the Bush Negroes, the fish speaks to the trap as follows:

"Matti, opa duro gimme"—"Friend, open the door."

But the trap replies: *"Matti, me na cong tia massra de habbe nassloto cun, dassa ope na da you"*—"Friend, I can't until-master who has the key comes; he will open it for you."

262 Fish form a large part of the Djuka diet, and fishing is
264 carried on by women, men, and children indifferently. When our canoe paddlers bring in some fish, they get out their
[252 little black gipsy pot, add whole peppers, and boil the fish
263] as it is. It is then eaten like corn-on-the-cob. The head, especially, is a delicacy, the bones being crunched audibly and with gusto. The meat goes in one side of a Bush Negro mouth and the bones seem to come out the other. If a halt is called in the business of eating, it is only long enough to say: *"Fissee makee bon sweetee muffo"*—"Fish make good eating," i. e. make good sweet mouth.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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177 separated by ten thousand years of time and two thousand
182 miles of space. It has, however, been pointed out that both peoples had to face environmental conditions that are roughly alike, and that a similar world may well have led to certain similar responses and adaptations. In Dutch Guiana, on the other hand, we do know of a direct historical connexion with Africa, so that the customs, habits, art work, social organization, and general material culture of the Bush Negroes must undoubtedly be related to the similar culture of West Africa. A great many articles in everyday use among the Djukas are of West African design. African words and African habits can readily be identified.

177 We also know that certain articles used by the Djukas are borrowings from the aboriginal Indians of the district.
[252] Thus the cassava squeezer, the *matapee*, and the whole technique of preparing cassava, the grater and sieve for the flour, are borrowed from the South American Indians. But by far the greater part of Djuka culture comes directly from the Dark Continent.

A Swedish anthropologist, Gerhard Lindblom, made a study of Bush Negro implements and wood carvings in
[322] European museums, and compared them with the implements and wood carvings from West Africa, pointing out a number of homologous forms.

[643 The Granman's throne, an intricately carved wooden stool
352] made by the Djukas, as Lindblom pointed out, is similar in construction to those owned by the headmen of the Gold Coast, Ashanti, Slave Coast, and the Niger tribes. The ornate

/11 cont./

286 garments /pandjes/ or articles of dress and other knitted goods.
[413] They also know how to make very attractive hammocks of cotton.

Chapter VII

Food, Drinks, Delicacies, and so forth.

262 Their daily food is mainly rice and cassava (1) bread which
[252]

1. Sweet cassava, the farina from the root of the Janipha manihot, not to be confused with Jatropha manihot, which gives the bitter cassava, which, however much is removed by boiling and continued washing, contains a very poisonous component.

is baked on an iron plate and provides a tasty food that can be
[241] kept for a long time. During the dry season, the months of September, October, and November, the ground also supplies them with a very mealy and tasty tuber called nappi (2); throughout the year,

2. Dioscorea sativa and Dioscorea alata L.

however, they grow yams, sweet potatoes (3), tayers (4), and cassava.

3. Convolvulus batatas L. and Batatas edulis Choisy.

4. Root from Arum esculentum.

[439] They have bananas only from time to time, whenever they exchange them on plantations for squared wood, which they pur-
[433] posely work for this exchange. They know how to obtain wild game
[263] and fish in great quantities; salt is an article greatly in demand.

/11 cont./

252 They always prepare their food with much native pepper (5)

5. All Capsicum species.

and in their soup or blaf cook various forest greens (6), which they

6. Kraroe, kalalve from the Amarantus oleraceus, taja leaves from an Arum species.

then eat with finely pounded bananas (called afoefoe) or else with cassava bread or rice dipped into it.

412 They make their spoons from a long strip of the calabash rind.

262 They are great lovers of pinda (7), a kind of groundnut, from

7. Arachis hypogoea L.

which they make various delicacies.

[439] They are particularly fond of bacon and buy it whenever they are in town, salted and smoked; they frequently take barrels of it with them into the bush and are very sparing with it.

/12/ They buy flour or meal only when they have had a bad rice harvest.

273 As drink they use rum or dram, and sometimes they make

[439] from the juice of the sugar cane, which they acquire on plantations, a kind of fermented drink which they use especially at festivals. They prefer gin and beer to wine, of which they are no great lovers. The women are very fond of liqueur.

276 Many men and women smoke American tobacco in short clay pipes. The taking of snuff is a passionate habit among some.

Chapter VIII

Festivals, Games, Gods

796

273 They do not have fixed times for the veneration of their gods, and they do this only then when they are amply supplied with strong drink and want to have a gay time for three or four days.

/15 cont./

585 white cotton sleeping blanket, various colored cloths and pantjes,
[583] some earthenware, such as bowls and plates, iron pots and pans, and the like, while he is obligated on the occasion to provide for an ample supply of strong drink and sugar wine.

They do not have festivities, games, or dancing in connection with their marriages.

586 If a marriage is dissolved, then each of the two parties again goes to his own family; in case those concerned in it and the elders disapprove of this, however, it happens that man and wife are forced to continue to live with each other, especially when there are no substantial reasons and grievances.

593 The man is obligated to provide his wife or his wives with food, clothing, and ornaments; she, to follow the man everywhere, to cook for him, to wash, and to take care of the housekeeping.

264 The wives are neat in an exemplary fashion; plates, bowls,
● 252 and pans are always kept extremely clean, and they also see to it that everything is extremely clean in connection with cooking.

841 If they find themselves in a period of menstruation, they
302 indicate this immediately to the husband by withdrawing from his dwelling and staying in seclusion with other women; they neither cook nor do the least thing for him in this state, do not even come within sight of him, and remain secluded to the end; when they have cleaned and dressed themselves, they decorate their shoulders and arms with white stripes as a token /16/ that they have again
[386] returned to their normal state. The stripes are made by mixing
[824] pounded adroe (1) with ground chalk and water.

1. A tuberous root-stalk from the Cyperus rotundus L.

Sometimes they also smear the forehead and the neck in this way and appear thus before their husbands.

841 During their seclusion another woman, who is a member of
571 the family or possibly a female friend, daily prepares and brings the
252 food, which, however, is at the expense of the secluded wife. They perform this service for each other mutually.

/144 cont./
241 time that the runaway slaves took these with them from the plan-
[177] tations then in existence.

It is therefore worthwhile in various respects to explore what is
241 being cultivated. The following summary has been put together
114 from the data of my own observations and from information pro-
[128] vided by various Bush Negroes. This list is not complete; what is lacking, however, is probably of minor importance.

A. Cultivated Crops That Are Grown on the Food Grounds

244 Bitter cassava (kasàba).
[262] This is the most important crop, from which the cassava bread and kwak are made. One plants the shoots in December, but also in March and April. After 12 months the harvest begins; in case of a food shortage they are dug after only seven months. Yellow and white varieties are distinguished according to the color of the contents of the tubers. To the yellow varieties belong: witti tiki, which is kept on the grounds up to two years, blaka tiki, which stands on the grounds only one year, and taja tiki, which provides produce for a long time and is especially good for the making of kwak. To the white varieties belong: amosiang, sanang kasaba,
[252] and domberi. Cassava bread is made from this. In the making of kwak all the colors are mixed together in order to obtain the desired yellow color. Each variety separately provides a less tasty product.

252 On the Marowijne one makes more kwak (kwaka) than cassava
[184] bread, while on the Surinam River and the Saramacca only cassava bread /a map and Figs. 1-14 appear here/ /145/ is baked with the flour. Kwak is prepared in the following manner: The tubers, after they are peeled, are put in water in a korjaal (1) for two

1. korjaal = boat.

days and then grated. This grated cassava is then allowed to sour in a box or a korjaal; after that the grated cassava is expressed

[text continues on p. 21]

• 252
516

Fig. 9. Baking cassava bread on the iron baking plate (the "pan"). -- Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, June 1952.

[142]
[291]
[412]

Fig. 10. Pounding the expressed pieces of cassava (in the pan in the foreground) to flour in a wooden mortar (the "matta") in order to bake bread with it. -- Marowijne, Albina, April 1953.

4: Geijskes--20 G,N-5 (1952)1954 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

252
415
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291

Fig. 13. The pitting of the maripa palm, from which the kernels (lying on a plate on a kerosene tin), after drying in the sun, are used for boiling edible oil out of them. -- Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, June 1952.

Fig. 14. Winnowing rice with the "kède," after it has been pounded in a matta. -- Tapanahoni, Granbori, May 1952.

/145 cont./

252 with the matapi (2) and subsequently baked on the baking plate (pan),

2. matapi = long tube of plaiting with which one expresses the juice and the water out of the grated cassava.

during which the granular mass is constantly stirred. The kwak [251] ultimately consists of dry yellow grains. One can keep kwak in good condition longer than bread. It is softened with water and eaten with some sugar (if available).

A less-used product is "afringi." For this one grates freshly peeled cassava, then expresses the grated cassava in the matapi, and dries the meal on the fire or in the sun. Subsequently one pounds this meal in the matta (3) and then kneads it with water

3. matta = large wooden mortar.

into little balls. These are boiled together with fish or meat into a soup. One calls this soup "afringi," which literally means "to throw," presumably because one throws the little balls into the pot. The same product is called "apitie" on the Surinam River.

244 Sweet cassava (kasàba-swieti) is little planted; the tubers are [262] harvested after three months and eaten boiled.

[252] The most important pests in the cassava are: leaf-cutting [825] ants, which cut off the leaves; deer, which eat the young tips and also bite off the stalks; tapirs, which consume the stalks and leaves and also trample many; koni-konis (4), which dig

4. koni-koni = Surinam rabbit.

out and gnaw the tubers; pingos and pakieras (5), which root the

5. pingo and pakiera = wild pigs.

tubers out of the ground and consume them.

/145 cont./

243 Rice (alésie).

Next to cassava rice is an important auxiliary crop. One sows the rice broadcast with the hand among the other crops and tjaps (6) the seed under lightly. The sowing time falls in Decem-

6. To tjap = to loosen the ground with a hoe.

ber to February or March. In the fourth month the rice is mature.
[132] The harvest time therefore falls in the long rainy season from May to July (somewhat later on the Surinam River). Only the ears are cut off, and these are dried in the sun on the grounds or in the villages. Only dry-land rice is cultivated but in many varieties, such as:

kasiwini, the best kind, with long white grains;
ajengena, with short fine grains, with pounding produces a beautiful white rice;
abalahede, with flat, round grain;
witti-alesie or paramakka-alesie, slightly colored in the ear;
lebi (redi) -- alesie, yellow as paddy, grows also in swampy places;
aloeloe or loeloe, sends out shoots quickly, has a good grain;
pindé-alesie, grain speckled on the outside;
asinkini, variety with long grain, is often planted.

/146/ Still other varieties are: rexora, saka, mabosoe, mooidà, sika-sirie, bakaté-saka, dendelei, mooimasra, wittifang, skati, blakatère, mesiti, pikienloeloe, mampoeloekoe.

[251] The Bush Negroes store the rice in the ears and thresh the paddy with the feet by treading on it after it has been dried on
●252 zinc sheets or on sacks. The paddy is pounded in the matta whenever it is needed for a meal. Unpolished silver-pellicle rice /zilvervlies-rijst/ is thus eaten, and this is boiled in the usual
262 manner together with meat or fish. With a good harvest one has rice throughout the year until the following harvest, but frequently
[439] the quantity is sufficient for only a few months. In case of a shortage milled rice is purchased from the shops along the Marowijne.

/146 cont./

243 During the sowing one experiences a great deal of trouble
825 from "stondoifies" (1), which eat up the seed; the maturing ears

1. stondoifies = small pigeons, literally stone pigeons.

are plundered by a species of blackbird, "andokie," grain parakeets or pikoetoes, and the little rice bird, "tie." The loss that is suffered through these birds is frequently considerable. Other pests in the rice are not further known, or mentioned.

Bananas (bána).

245 These are always planted, but, in comparison with the cassava, less frequently. One ordinarily sets the plants in the ground somewhat later than the cassava shoots, in order to let them grow at the same time. It also happens that a certain section of a ground is planted exclusively with bananas and bacoven because otherwise these hinder the other crops too much with their shade. After 10-15 months the bunches are ripe.

There are various varieties in use:

granbána, ripe five months after the appearance of the bunch, fruit long;
oemanbána, ripe three months after the appearance of the bunch; fruit long;
patamacca-bána, idem; fruit short and somewhat sour in taste;
doengoe, idem; fruit long; frequently with twin fingers;
kodjakondre, idem; fruit short.

●252 The bananas are boiled as "green bananas" or, as ripe bananas, are first boiled and then pounded fine into "tomtom." Ripe bananas are also pounded uncooked, then mixed with cassava flour, and baked into a "koekoe."

/146 cont./

245 Bacoven (bakóeba, bákba).

Planted like the bananas. The growing time varies from 10 to 15 months. The banana-bacove is grown the most. The varieties are indicated with the following names:

bigibakoeba or langa-finga, banana-bacove with long fruit (Gros Michel type); produces the bunch after 10 months and this ripens in five months;

watramama-bakoeba, a kind of congo-bacove originally from French Guiana, short variety, bunch matures in three months;

koboto-bakoeba or soeknoe-finga, small yellow, sweet variety of the size of the apple bacove or smaller (missie-finga); bunch ripens in three months;

indji-bakoeba, short, thick, red variety, sweet in taste, with yellow fruit-flesh; bunch ripens in three months.

[262] The bacoven are only eaten as fresh fruit and are very popu-
[131] lar. /147/ The leaves of bananas and bacoven are sometimes severely eaten by leaf-cutting ants.

244 Tajer (tája).

One finds tajer on all grounds, standing in scattered groups. It is harvested after 8-10 months (August-October), but also continuously thereafter. There are various kinds in use:

agauw, large variety (pomtaja); tubers remain good for a long time; also found in the villages;

244 sjoe, smaller variety with yellowish tuber, tubers remain good for
262 a long time; the leaf is eaten as a vegetable;

dasini, larger variety with yellowish tubers, which is frequently planted because of its tastiness; the harvesting is done in small bits at a time, for the tubers rot quite quickly; the leaf of this too, is used as vegetable; a small variety of dasini is also called chinees taja;

wititaja, smaller variety; tubers remain good for a long time; leaf is also eaten.

252 Tajer tubers are boiled, like potatoes, frequently with fish or meat and oil, into a soup.

/147 cont./

244 Patatas (patáta).

Patatas are planted in patches; they creep with long tendrils in between everything as a weed. Even after the grounds have been abandoned, they continue to grow in the open patches. They are harvested in the long dry season, but there are also three-month varieties. There are white, red, and yellow varieties under the following names:

plata patata, white variety, frequently planted;
lebi (redi) patata, red variety, often runs wild;
abawini, yellow variety, frequently planted on grounds;
sakoela patata, yellow variety, idem.

[252] The tubers are eaten boiled, like potatoes, usually prepared with oil, or cut into little pieces and made into a soup. Rabbits [136] and pigs are likewise lovers of these tubers.

Napi (napi).

Napi is planted scattered next to sticks in order to allow the vines to climb. It is not missing on a single ground. The harvest time falls in the long dry season from September to November. There are red and white varieties, which are known by the following names:

kakaboeroe, red on the inside, with red peel;
gangasombo, white on the inside, with red peel;
witti napi, white on the inside, with yellow peel;
finga napi, purple-red variety with divided tubers;
waka waka-napi, purple-red variety, creeping, with large, long tubers.

[252] Napi is eaten boiled like a potato. Most of the varieties are used unpeeled; when they are prepared with meat, however, one removes the peel from the tubers.

/148/

Yams (yamesi).

The yam is found everywhere and is planted scattered. The harvest time is October or later. Two varieties are known:

maka yamesi, with thorns on stalk, planted with buds from the tubers;
afakõn, planted with stalk shoots.

/148 cont./

244 Yam roots frequently become very large. One cuts them
●252 up and boils the pieces like tajer tubers.

Maize (kaloe).

243 Maize is sowed together with other crops and provides one of the first products; the harvesting is done after three months
[184] (March). Only one variety is known. Sometimes special maize plots are laid out (Paramaccaners).

252 The young maize is eaten boiled or roasted, sometimes also pounded and boiled to a porridge (kaloepapa). A well-known delicacy is "ansowé" or "asogrie," made of roasted dry kernels finely pounded and mixed with sugar.

244 Watermelon (watramoen)

This is planted in patches everywhere on the grounds; the harvest time falls in March. There are two varieties in use:
[262] hesiskin and blakaskin, both of which provide small, oval-round, white-spotted fruit with a bland-sweet, light-pink fruit-flesh; the fruit is eaten fresh.

Pumpkin (pampoen).

One finds this plant in many places, but never in great numbers.

Only the oblong dark green variety is known; the harvest
[252] time is from April on, and a long time afterwards. The fruit is cut in pieces, boiled, and eaten.

Okra (okrò).

This crop is generally grown on the food grounds; it provides edible fruit after three months, in February and March. Three varieties are distinguished:
sebiwiki, with short fruit;
afoesibobi, with short fruit;
diatoetoe, with long fruit.

252 The young green fruit is cut into pieces and boiled to a soup, usually together with tajer, meat, and so forth.

/148 cont./

244 Pinda /peanuts/ (pienda) and djoekapinda /Djuka peanuts/ (agobo).

Both are planted in patches on the grounds and not infrequently also in the villages; they bloom in March and are harvested after the rice, in June and July. The quantities that are harvested are small and amount to one or two kerosene-tins per person. Only one variety is known of both the ordinary pinda and the djoekapinda.

[252] One boils the pinda into a soup or makes peanut butter by roasting it and then pounding it in the matta. The Saramaccaners call the djoekapinda "gobogobo."

/149/Bongila.

This is related to abongra (Sesamum) with white blossoms and with flat white seeds in long capsules. It is quite often sowed broadcast among other plants, and the stalks with the capsules are harvested in June. Only one variety is known.

252 The ripe seeds, flat and white, after having first been dried in a pan on the fire, are pounded in a matta. Then one adds some salt and uses this product like peanut butter on cassava bread. [244] It is tasty and nutritious. On the Surinam River this plant is called "waja" and the seeds are baked with the cassava flour in the bread. Like abongra, this plant is probably also of African origin.

Beans (pesi).

244 These are used very little. String beans /kousebandjes/ -- runner beans with long thin pods -- are known, and a variety [262] with white blossoms which makes pods 20 centimeters long. Other varieties of beans are not grown, although the Bush Negroes very much like to eat pesi varieties.

249 Sugar cane (keeng or sigáloe).

This is nowhere lacking, and aside from the grounds it is also planted in the villages. With bananas it remains standing for years on the abandoned grounds and is also cut there. Three varieties are distinguished:

[262] abaiboesi, red and black marked stalks; only eaten fresh;

/149 cont./

249 pikien keeng, small variety with thin stalks; is not cut with a
[789] cutter but broken off by hand; obia (1) is made from it;

1. obia = spirit medicine.

[262] switi-keeng, the ordinary variety which is most used: the stalks
[263] are eaten fresh (chewed) or the juice is expressed with the wooden
sugar-press (ma) and boiled down to a syrup (lika) which is used
[407] in coffee or in crushed awarra (2).

2. awarra = prickly palm which supplies edible fruit.

273 For festivals one cuts the stalks in pieces and allows the juice to be extracted from them in water in a short korjaal (komata). This water is later heated in a pot and fermented into an alcoholic beverage (djojo).

245 Pineapple (nanási).

This is regularly grown, the shoots standing scattered on the grounds; after one year the plants produce fruit. Two varieties are distinguished:

bigi nanasi, a white variety;

indji nanasi, likewise a white variety, but sweeter.

[262] The fruit is eaten fresh. Together with sugar cane and bananas, pineapples continue to grow for a long time on the old grounds.

Papaya (papái).

Few papayas stand on the grounds, but many along the edges of the villages, where they grow into long tall trees.

[262] A long red variety is called bobi papai; a short yellow variety,
[252] papai. The fruit is eaten fresh, sometimes also boiled green.

/150/ Tobacco (tabáka).

249 Tobacco is cultivated on a modest scale in various places. The leaves are ripe for picking after 4-5 months (April to May); the man-high plant blooms after seven months with small, pink blossoms.

/150 cont./

245 in more favorable places it grows fairly well. The production
[262] is moderate. The nuts are eaten fresh or, as water nuts, are
[136] emptied by drinking. Many trunks exhibit the traces of Castnia daedalus infection (Drietabbetje, Fisiti, Granbori).

Manja (majang).

[262] Grows in all villages into mighty trees and in February-March produces fruit which is especially favored for eating by the youth. Tetémanje and redbreast are the most common varieties. Abandoned villages along the rivers are frequently still typified by the manja trees.

Citrus.

Is represented by lemmetje (lemmeki), sour orange /zure oranje/ (alanja), /151/ orange /sinaasappel/ (pesina), and lemon /citroen/ (soetoen). This order roughly expresses the relative frequency. They are scattered and grow strikingly well in spite of neglect. With a little effort the planting of oranges could be ex-
[252] tended. Lemmetjes and sour oranges are frequently used to wash meat and various articles.

Guava (gobai).

[262] Stands scattered and is never lacking; the fruit is eaten especially by the youth.

Soursop (atoekoe).

[262] Occurs here and there; the fruit is eaten fresh.

Breadfruit tree (belebong, brèdebong).

[252] Is found in many villages. It is usually the chestnut-breadfruit, of which only the pips are eaten, roasted or boiled. In Langatabbetje we also saw the ordinary breadfruit.

Koesoewé (koesoewé).

249 Stands in each village, but occurs less frequently than among the Indians. The large pink blossoms and the red fruit contribute

/151 cont./

249 greatly to the beautification of the village. The Bush Negroes use
[232] the red dyestuff from the seeds to smear on the dogs against vermin.

Cotton (katoen).

248 One sees it standing in various places along the edges of the
283 villages and among the dwelling huts. The cotton itself is in ex-
[286] ceptional cases used by the women for spinning. Calf bands (sepoe) are made out of cotton thread after the Indian model, and sometimes hammocks also.

Coffee.

245 Is found here and there in the forest along the edge of the village (Drietabbetje, Poeketti). It is the small variety, probably
[272] Coffea arabica. The beans are used for coffee. The trees probably grew from kernels that at one time were taken by slaves from the plantations.

Calabash (kabasi).

244 Grows everywhere among the dwelling huts and in neglected corners. A distinction is made between kabasi and pikien soepoen.
[415] The wood-like pericarps of both varieties are used for all kinds of purposes, especially for utensils (bowls, spoons) and as "koej" for scooping the korjalen empty.

Kasjoen (kasoeng).

245 Occurs here and there and ordinarily does not supply much
[262] fruit; the latter is eaten fresh, the kernels sometimes roasted
[252] like pinda.

Mappa.

Probably a variety of Tabernaemontana (Apocynaceae). Not infrequently in May one sees the women returning from the grounds with pear-shaped /152/ (up to ten centimeters long) yellow fruit,
[262] which they have gathered from a small forest tree. The fruit is eaten fresh; one first taps on the rind with a piece of wood in order to concentrate the milk sap in it, peels the fruit, and the

/152 cont./
245 white cucumber-like fruit flesh is eaten. The taste is refreshingly
262 tart.

249 Ricinus /castor-oil plant/ (karapata).
789 Is to be found in all villages and especially on refuse heaps.
302 The leaf is used for obia, the oil from the kernels as a hair oil.

Pepper (pépré).
244 Grows as a small shrub near the houses or along the edge of
[252] the village. The variety with small red fruit occurs especially frequently. The fruit is eaten boiled in meat soup.

Koemboe (komoe).
245 Stands in individual specimens in and along the villages and
[252] in the forest. The kernels of this palm are gladly eaten, softened with warm water and pounded into koemboe soup. The fruit is ripe in February-May. A large variety is patawah.

Maripa (maïpa).
[262] Absent in not a single village. The fruit provides a white,
[252] fatty fruit-flesh that is eaten fresh (May). The pits are dried and pounded to pieces with a stone in order to obtain the three kernels. After having dried these (in the sun), one boils from them a food oil.

Awarra palms (awá).
[263] Stand in little groups in each Bush Negro village. The orange fruit, which is ripe in February-March, sometimes also in June

361 "This is the entrance to the farm of a Gankwe family. And there, can you see? That's a broken village. Many people died there. The others left it. This happened when Bayo was small."

4

805 "How many hours, Bakra?" Bayo asked. He could tell time by the sun and guessed almost exactly. "They are stopping on the rocks there. It's time to eat."

264 The Bush Negro usually has two meals a day, one in the early forenoon and another at night after dark when work is over. He eats little. These men were on the river with us ten or eleven hours a day, poling upstream, loading and unloading the boats where the rapids were so high that it was impossible to take the heavily loaded boats across them, and what we saw them eat was some cassava bread [262] dipped in river water to soften it, and some cold rice with a little palm oil in it. They had no time to fish, and it was a bad year for fishing, too. Of game there was little. [224] A few toucans and a monkey were all they could get along the shore—game was scarce even in the deep bush. For more than a score of decades their ancestors had been shooting game along the river, and now the animals kept away.

In the other boats Asikanu was the first served.

"Look, here is your food."

The front paddler put a calabash filled with rice and some cassava bread on the water, and the stream carried it to Asikanu.

"Did you catch it?"

"Ai."

484 In Sedefo's boat the cassava cakes were green with mold. 261 One by one these disks of a finger's breadth in thickness and perhaps thirty inches in diameter were laid on the hot rocks to dry. On a trip such as this, enough must be taken to feed a man during his entire absence from home. Well in advance a man's wife, or his mother or sister, or a maternal aunt will be told of such a trip so that she may

have the necessary time to prepare the cassava. A man 484
cannot count on finding food to buy. Food is often scarce 561
and, especially when crops have not been good—a state of affairs these Bush Negroes know only too well—each household has need of all the food it has grown.

Asikanu, whose cassava bread was fresh, bathed in the 515
river and changed his dripping loin cloth, spreading out 484
the one he had removed so that it might dry. Bayo washed his second best cloth, for the sun was strong, and it was well to get it fresh and uncreased. So the men busied themselves getting their supplies in order for the journey which was not yet taxing, but would grow more difficult during the next few days, with heavy rapids, great distances between villages, and more exertion needed to strike a village before dark overtook them.

Even so it was time to be off, Sedefo decided, replacing 502
the cassava cakes—which in a few moments had lost their 484
mold—for the next rapids were something to be reckoned with. Again the four dugouts were on their way, and it was a brave sight to see the four pole-men swinging their long sticks with measured regularity, and the upward leaping three steps, and the down-running steps, and the seated paddlers dipping their carved blades into the water with a slight twist at the end of each stroke to counteract the effect of the push of the man at the bow, to keep the canoe headed straight into the current.

Ahead, in the leading canoe, the man at the bow waved [201]
his hand to us, indicating directions to our men. We could see him put the whole length of his pole in the water three times, then lay it along the gunwale of his dugout and, taking up his paddle, begin to stroke in time with the man at the stern of his boat.

"*Mfundu*," said Bayo to Bibifo. "Deep."

As we approached the deep water, Bayo with a fillip of his paddle sent our dugout heading into the stream, to be caught up by the current at the center and taken down and across by the impact of the water against the boat. The boats in front had done the same, had cut across to the

484 recognized the coat of a village chief, and by the size of the
[501] boat he knew that it belonged to the upper river, far, far beyond the stretches he had yet penetrated.

He spoke the greeting in the faintest of whispers, out of
576 deference to a man of age and rank, and stopped his boat,
484 for this village belonged to his own clan, and it was here that he would get from his mother's sister the cassava
[262] bread which she had got ready for his journey up river. He got out of his boat gently; decorum demanded that he subdue his energy before the man of position. His palms rested on his knees for an instant, as he stood slightly
[516] inclined before the older man, and what questions he answered, he did in speech which was punctuated with the ceremonial stammering demanded by the occasion. He had put his toga-like cloth over him and stood hesitating whether or not to take his paddle to the village with him, for he was so well known here that this settlement was almost as familiar to him as his own. But at last he leaned down and took up his paddle. This mature formality, in a village where he was still often looked upon as a boy, was prompted perhaps by this meeting with the chief, or by the new feeling of confidence he had, since he was taking the Bakra's boat up the river. But here he was, going up the embankment with the firm, slow step of the stranger.

484 The old chief had already started, having first made his
180 sacrifice of rum to the spirit of his boat by squirting it over
[501] the finely carved head which appeared in relief on the
622 prow. And now, as he guided his canoe with the sure strokes
539 of his large steering paddle, he sang his prayer.

"*Kediamo, Kediampon,*
Mother of the River,
Sacred ancestors, and my a'ka,
I am taking this journey down the river,
I am going to the city,
Grant that I travel in safety,
Grant that the trip be joyous,
Grant that I meet with friends,

ON THE SARAMACCA RIVER

484
782
622
539

Grant that I walk with strangers in friendship,
Grant that the white man deal fairly with me.
Great Sky God,
Mother of the River,
Sacred ancestors,
I thank you."

Before the sound of the old chief's voice had died away, 484
Bayo was on the bank again with the great disks of cassava bread in his arms. He covered them carefully and was on his way. His aunt had provided nicely for him. She had given him a large bottle of palm oil as well, and now, if he could but shoot a monkey or a macaw while going up the river, he [262] would have excellent food. The Bakra would be certain to have a drink or two for his paddlers, and some leaf tobacco; and, though he himself was not old enough to snuff tobacco, he would save it for a gift to the father of his betrothed.

He went back to his seketi.

"*Ma, a Lamé*
A sib' ko' de muye."

On the bank of the next village several women were at work washing clothes. Were they young? Ah, but he must hurry. Twice he had been overtaken.

"Tia, odi! tia, odi! tia, odi!" He spoke to each of the three women separately and finished his "Adiosi" with an extra flourish, for he knew as he paddled away that the circle of cicatrized kamemba and the snake incised in the small of his back below it would gleam in the sun and look alive to the women who watched him make off.

That Lamé obia was a powerful thing!

2

At Gankwe they had been up all night, for yesterday was 765
the eighth day after death, and that night the ceremony of B'oko Dei had to be cared for—until night met day, the villagers said, there would be Anansi stories, and then, after the dawn, the elders would hold council, for one's

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REBEL DESTINY

574 609 In the doorway of one of the huts, a woman squatted over a fire, and at her feet a child sat busying itself with pushing the firewood toward the center. Our cook had planted two forked sticks in the ground, and on them had hung our lanterns, so that we could see the woman silhouetted against the fire and the naked child on the ground singing the seketi which Bayo had sung for us so many [533] times on the river. Over and over the child tried the air, her mother humming it for her softly, while from the doorway of another house a man sat watching them. We had not noticed him until the lanterns had come. The planting [291] ground at harvest time is not a place a man frequents. He was a strange figure there on his low stool, as he sat wrapped to his neck in a large striped cloth. He made not the slightest move, uttered not a single word. But for his cough, he might have been a corpse propped up in the doorway. We stood hesitating whether to cross the short distance between us and the fire to greet the woman and the man, but before we could come close enough to them to speak, we heard Bayo calling us in a voice we had never heard him use in a strange village.

"Bak'a, Bak'a. Come. They want you inside." When we were out of earshot of the woman at the fire, he said in a whisper, "Do not go over to those houses. Tomorrow when we are away from here, I will tell you why. It is for that I called you."

We had no need, however, to puzzle over Bayo's warning. [164] Our cook, who had heard the conversation of the men, told us that the man in the doorway was a leper.

753 "You know how it happens, Massa? Among us towns-
262 people it is this way. A child inherits a *trefu* from his father. It is one thing, or many things, he must not eat. If he eats what he should not, then he sickens. We know a person who has eaten his trefu by the spots that come out on his skin. If a man goes on eating the things which are his trefu, then the spots become worse and worse. He becomes a leper. So that's how it is."

He did not at once answer the questions we put to him.

THE PROVISION GROUND

"I'll tell you how it is mostly," he went on, after a silence. "Sometimes a woman will lie about the father of her child. The child will grow up keeping the trefu of a strange man. But it won't be his real trefu. His mother, you see, lied about his father. In the end, if nothing is done, this child will be sick, and later he will become a leper. Only a bad woman will lie about her child's father, because only a bad woman will want to hurt her own child. It doesn't happen among the girls who wear kerchiefs and live the way the old people live. These girls dance to the spirits. They are afraid of the ancestors. They are afraid of their *akra*—their soul—and the Earth Mother. But those girls who wear hats—ai, Massa, those girls do anything!"

But here in the bush, it seemed, they had other beliefs about leprosy, he went on. Here they believed it was a kind of a spirit, too. When a leper died he was not given a good burial. No wakes were held for him. He was given no coffin. He was buried in the Bad Bush, where the sorcerers were thrown.

"When a leper dies, they don't want him to come back again. They don't treat his spirit well. They do the same with him as with a madman. They bury him with no more ceremony than a child, who came on earth, and would not stay. They say it's all because of a bad spirit, and they don't want bad spirits on earth."

4

"Why do we plant away from the village?"

It was the old woman talking, as we sat and smoked with her. The moon had come up above the maripa palm trees behind the house where the leper had been helped into his hammock, and it was pleasant out-of-doors.

"Why, you ask? Well, sometimes when the bush is burned, a wind comes up suddenly, and sends the flames, down, down, beyond the cleared ground. How would it be with a village, if we cleared our grounds too close to it, and this happened? No, Bak'a, we people of the bush know better. . . . What do you say? Why do we do our clearing

462 price of grueling effort that a living can be wrested from its
241 jealous grasp. The women in their fields care for the growing crops, hoeing the ground so that moisture and sun reach the young plants, seeing that the lianas which throw their creepers over the cleared spaces to throttle the tender shoots do not get headway, and, as each crop ripens, attending to its harvesting.

262 Yams, cassava, and nappi are roots. For their planting
243 some of the crop of the year before is preserved and cut up.
244 But rice and peanuts, or pinda, as these are called here in the bush, and maize, of which the Bush Negroes learned from the Indians, and okra grow from seeds. The rice is planted on a hillside, for the Bush Negro does not grow irrigated rice, but the dry African variety that thrives on the slopes. Cassava, okra, peppers, plantains, peanuts, beans, sugar cane—each crop is allotted its own space, until the newly cleared ground is filled. A woman usually has two fields cut for her; one is called a rice field and one a cassava field. In each, the crops which yield several harvests a year are rotated. The cassava roots take nine months at least to ripen, but it is better to leave them in the ground ten or eleven months.

"It is the time of the great harvest now," the old woman said.

243 These were busy days for the women. With their short-
244 handled knives, they cut the rice stalk by stalk and made small sheaves of the golden grain, raked over the dirt so that the peanuts might be found and gathered, chopped the ripe sugar cane with the machetes which they handled with the same sureness as did their men, and dug out the cassava roots so that they might be carried to the village
[262] and made into flour for the cassava bread which was the staple of their diet.

"The corn," she said, "is not harvested now. We cut it at a different time; and the melons ripen later, too." At other times of the year there were other harvests, but this one, of the months of July and August, was the principal one.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

593 778 place was pointed out to us. The carved representation of the human face of the image was worked more carefully than is ordinarily done. Here the white clay was applied more thickly. The white cloth hanging from its stick was larger than we had ever seen before, the offerings of food and bottles and calabashes more numerous than at other ancestral shrines.

"This is where the yorka of the father of the Granman comes," we were told.

But why the father? What of the mother, the parent to whom the Granman was related? This village did not even belong to the Matchau clan to which he himself belonged. Yet with the pride that this was the shrine to the spirit of the Granman's father went a realization of its importance. Here was something outside the legal order, something which transcended the facts of descent and the theory of relationship. It was becoming ever more evident that in this "matriarchate" the father did count.

6

424 776 The inheritance of the father's kunu was one instance where the father needed to be taken very much into account. "If this man's children should take some of his goods," they had said, pointing at things we could see through the slats of the dead man's treasure house in the village of Opoku, "they will get his kunu, too. No man wants that."

784 262 Then there was the *trefu*, or *tchina*—taboo—as it was called in the bush, of which our cook had told us. Every individual in the bush had his tchina. Everyone knew the things he must not eat, or must not do. One man had to abstain from eating *anumara*, the great fish of the river. Another might never sleep in the open without a roof over his head. Should he find himself out in the bush with night coming, he must stop early enough to erect a small shelter and thatch it that his head might be covered when he slept. Bayo, we soon learned, might not eat food out of the cooking pot, and Sedefo could not bathe in a creek. Kasanya

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

did not eat deer's meat, or his brother-in-law the meat of the bush-hog. 784 262

There are many kinds of tchina. There are the obia tchina. A man wearing or carrying with him a charm—an obia—will have several prohibitions imposed on him. If these are observed, the potency of the magic in the object given him will remain, but if they are violated, it will become a worthless ornament. When an obia is bought, its maker will take the hands of the man for whom he has made it in his, and pass his own lightly over them, blowing softly, so that the power of the spirit he had called upon when making it may enter into the man for whom the obia was made. Then the obia man will lean over and whisper, that no one might overhear, "When you wear this, do not get into a boat backwards," or, perhaps, "Never eat crab meat while you have this about your neck," or "Do not eat cassava and rice out of the same calabash." 789 784 [262]

But with the personal tchina it is otherwise. At birth each individual falls heir to a number of taboos. They come to him from his father. When a woman is with child she observes her husband's taboos as well as her own, for the child might otherwise be harmed in the womb by being nurtured on what is hateful to his father, and therefore to himself, since his father's taboos are his own. Male and female children take these tchina from the father. Their mother's tchina are no concern of theirs. Those which she observes had come to her from her own father. What makes the father ill will make the children ill, too. This holds for their entire lives, and the male children transmit their tchina from generation to generation. 784 424 [843]

A simple instance of this is the one which happened at our base camp when Bayo, who we knew could not eat out of a cooking pot, came one day to ask us for a dish. "My father forgot his eating dish. Will you let him use one of yours? He cannot eat out of a cooking pot."

When one man says of another, therefore, "He has the same tchina I have," he is saying that the two of them are related in the father's line. [602]

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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get the tchina which, if we do not break them, will let us stay healthy. Both our parents care for us." 593 424 604

He thought for a moment, and then, with a laugh, he wondered as Awingu had wondered that early morning at the planting ground.

"Is it not so in your country, Bak'a," he said, "that you ask me so often about these things?"

8

"Massa cow," we heard Bayo call out again and again to his great-grandfather Bibifo, when he wanted to indicate to the old man that he knew what he was about. Bibifo accepted the reproof with unvarying meekness and good humor. 603 888

This relationship between them puzzled us. Yet the other men, overhearing Bayo's brusque words to Bibifo, made nothing of it. Before strangers, Bayo was subdued, shy. He stuttered ceremonially when he addressed a man of rank. He pitched his voice only a little above a whisper when he was in a strange village. Toward Kasanya and Sedefo and Asikanu he was respectful, and showed reserve. When he wanted his hair trimmed he came to Angita for help, or, better still, to the young man at the prow of Kasanya's boat who, like Kasanya, was of his own clan. [576]

The old man was not a forceful fellow. That was, perhaps, the reason, we thought at first. Then we wondered if it was not because Bibifo had become Adrian, and no longer wore obias to carry him well on the water—because he had forsaken the old gods. But the other men treated Bibifo with the respect due an old man. When Kasanya killed a monkey, and his own pole-man could not share it with him because he was a twin and twins did not eat monkey, he turned to Bibifo with the pole-man's portion, and not to Sedefo, or to Asikanu, who was the brother of a clan head, and himself a possible successor to his brother's chieftainship. 845 262

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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774 at the time approaching a state of possession, had provoked great anger.

"If you do not know what the Dyo-dyo is, then you are not human. Then I won't talk to you. Have you never walked and felt something in back of you, yet nothing was there? Have you never had a dream?"

The Dyo-dyo was one of two souls with which each individual was born, the old woman had later been persuaded to explain, for each man had his akra, his personal soul, which if he were mindful of it, remained with him, and allowed no evil to come to him; and each man had his Dyo-dyo, his wandering soul. At death the soul which had [795] wandered came back to the body. If it were permitted to stray once more, this soul, which had been ever restless in life, would wander about troubling the living.

796 But now, sitting among the women in back of the Gran-
765 man's shrine, it seemed again best to admit that she knew nothing of the adyo ceremony. Fortunately, there was no outburst of anger this time, for here in the true, true Saramacca country, it was soon evident that there was a [186] pride in their magic, and their language, because these were held to be uniquely their own.

"We give a big play for the breaking of mourning." All [534] the drums were played, and the rattles sounded, and the *kwakwa*—the hard-wood bench played with two sticks—was beaten.

For this important ceremony, the oldest living brother [293] of the dead man provided food and rum, and, when the time came to partake of this food, he and the *hei mundu*—the people of rank—sat about the doorway of the widow's house. She herself stood inside the house, behind the threshold, scattering food for the dead, and pouring rum on the ground. Rice and peanuts and sugar cane were thrown • [262] away, but not yams or plantains, for those things were not given in their village to the ancestral spirits. As the widow "threw away" the food she wept. In the clearing those who did not eat danced adyo. In a circle, men and women danced in close file, one behind the other, each

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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magic on their owners. And there was the Gankwe woman who brought us a paddle representing the bird she called the *apassa*. 532

"We Gankwe people do not eat the apassa," she had whispered to us when we bought the paddle. [262]

5

In the house of the captain of Ma'lobbi we sat and talked of the carvings of the Saramacca people, and as we talked, they brought us some of the things the men of the village had carved.

"Do all men carve?" we asked the chief.

"Not everyone has the spirit. But every young man tries. If a man is good at hunting, or on the river, then perhaps he can get the things he needs to give his wife from others for what he can give the carver. But it is better that he do these things for his wife himself. The women like it better." 463

Not everyone could make a boat, he said, nor was everyone able to carve the *pau pau dindu*, the intricate "wood within wood" motifs that made a strip go like a twisted snake in and out, in and out, through a design. And not everyone could make a drum. Like that apinti he had there. 463 532

It was the opening for which we had been waiting. 532

We had been admiring this drum since we had come into his house, we said. We remembered it from the first time on our way up river. It was as fine as any we had seen. Had he made it himself? 534 432 439

He smiled his appreciation.

"It is a fine apinti, ai," agreed several of the men sitting about.

An apinti was one of the things we wanted to take to show the white man. This one, especially, we would like to buy. Would he sell it?

He looked at us for a moment, and then gently shook his head. "To make an apinti is not a small thing. Not everyone can make an apinti. I have worked on it for a long time, and it is not yet finished. This drum I will not sell."

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115 584 Bayo knew the bush as he knew the river. At one point he stopped and, clipping off a long, slender branch with his bush knife, he trimmed it and began to strike at a palm tree. He was after maripa nuts, and soon they began to [242] pelt the ground. Their pink, slightly astringent meat was highly prized by the Bush Negroes as a delicacy, and the white man also found them good. Both munched them as they walked farther into the bush. It was a good time to speak of Bayo's marriage.

"Your mother said you needed to work hard before marrying."

"Ai."

"Is it money you need?"

"Much money, and goods besides."

"What will your girl do with all this money, and all of these goods?"

"They are not all for her. She would have me without them. It is her mother who must get things, too."

That Bayo was attractive to women, we had often seen, but that his betrothed would have him without the wealth demanded for her by right of whatever position her family held, seemed doubtful. However, this was not the time to argue the point.

"Your girl is still young. Do girls her age know enough to choose a man?"

The question brought us to the story of how Bayo became betrothed.

His girl, he told us, was of good family. She had lived in his village, because her mother at marriage had come to live with her husband at Djamungo, but a few years after Bayo had become betrothed to the girl, his mother's sister took her away to the family seat up the river.

"Do you care for your girl, Bayo?"

"*M'an sabi, Bak'a*—I do not know. We shall see how we [831] get on. But her family is good, and they are looking after her chastity, as families who have position do."

"What if you don't get on after you are married?"

586 "We will separate. She will go back to her own family. Sometimes, if a man doesn't like a woman too much, and

584 This was a disgrace. A man was not looked upon as a good suitor by other girls when this happened to him. Everyone said he was worthless. It often came to pass that such a man could not get a woman to marry him. Not [587] even a widow whose husband had left no brothers, and who had to cut her own field, would consent to live with him.

Sometimes it happened, too, that the man's family did not approve of the girl. When she came to help his mother, they saw that she was lazy and inept, that she would never be able to feed herself and her husband and her children with what crops she raised, that whatever handiwork she touched, she could achieve nothing pleasing. If that happened, then his family met in krutu, and a decision was reached to break off the match. When that was done, the man often had to forfeit the gifts he had made the girl and her mother, but when the woman's family turned the man down, then they came with all the gifts he had given, and often an additional offering as well for what labor he had done for her family.

"With me it is not so. My family likes my girl, and hers likes me."

585 When the gifts were accumulated and the houses and boats and fields provided, then, if the girl was ripe for marrying, the marriage day was set, and on that day the girl was brought to the house where she would live. Both families were gathered in the village, and the uncles and old women addressed themselves to the young couple, admonishing them to live well together, and to observe the traditional ways.

[262] At night while the villagers danced bandamba, and feasted on the rum and salt beef and other delicacies which the man and his family had provided, the couple were led to the house which had been newly built for them, though sometimes they were taken to the house of one of the old people of the man's great family. In Bayo's village, the girl first was conducted to the house by a sister who helped her make the preparations for the night. They tied the hammock and then water was brought. This done, the man

of the white man and blew on it, drawing both his hands lightly over the hands which held the obia. When he had done this, he whispered its tchina. 789 439 778

"Do not let the obia come near a menstruating woman, and do not eat the meat of the crab." [841] [262]

Types of obias varied. Some were of fiber twisted into a cord and woven into bands to fit an arm or a leg, some were worn around the neck, and ended with a few cowries and a bell or a black sack with cowries sewn on them or some bristles and a brilliant bit of a parrot's feather. There were also the plain bands of iron, the Kromanti obias worn by men.

One of the most interesting obias was the coffin obia. It was not to be worn casually, as were all the others we had heretofore acquired. When our cook saw this one he paled.

"Mi Gado," he cried, and then turned to the English at his command to give us a warning which would not be understood by those who stood near. "What you got there? Put that away! You wan' fo' die?" Nor would he come near it until it was well out of sight.

It was, we saw, best hidden, if we wanted to continue our course up the river.

The man who had sold it had himself impressed us with its potency. "This obia is strong. . . . Look, it is made of cedar, the same wood from which we make the big coffins, and it is wrapped in the cloth we use to cover the coffin in which the dead man lies. Now that you have the power which is in the obia, I can tell you that the black on it is the soot from the fire, the white is pemba, and the inside ring is woven from the maripa palm. It will carry you well on the river. Nothing can harm you when you already carry your coffin with you." [764]

The logic of his last remark was not so convincing to the whites as it was to the obia man, but it seemed unwise to question him about it.

"To keep it strong, you must spray it with rum twice a month. When the moon is full you must do it, and again

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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man noted, a *condree fasee*—a custom of the country. Rifles were found, all lacking flint, for which the Europeans had good reason to be thankful. In the village were found silver spoons pillaged from the estates, along with china and other ware. The rebels were observed to be healthy, and lacking nothing but bullets and flint. Their diet contained ingenious makeshifts. Salt they obtained from the ashes of a palm tree, and butter from condensing the fat of the palm tree worm.

That evening the rebels crept near the European encampment and began shouting curses, threats. All night the jungle resounded with the yells of rebels and the replies of rangers. The hatred of the revolted blacks for the loyalist rangers knew no bounds. They swore that no ranger should ever leave the bush alive. They dared the planters to enter the woods. Finding so much communication going on, Colonel Fourgeod decided to join in, and began "hallooing." He offered the rebels food, drink, and freedom if they would lay down their arms.

The reply was curt and contemptuous. They "damned him for a French bastard," saying, "We are free men. You soldiers are white slaves, hired to be shot at for fourpence a day."

Fourgeod swore to pursue Bonny to the end of the earth. The following day the troops pressed on to the next village, *Cofaay,* which signifies "Try Me." They found it deserted. Lacking ammunition, the blacks had realized the impossibility of putting up a defence. So they made a great noise in the night, under cover of which Cofaay was evacuated. While the loud shouting was going on, the food of the next village had

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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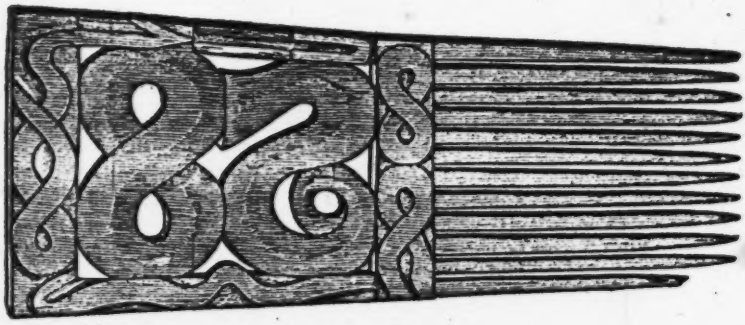

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[412
532]

Chapter Four

THE DANCE

SUNDOWN on the Surinam. Women with breasts like 252
dried tobacco leaves stew hunks of red baboon over the 262
Djuka fires. The old dance gods will stir tonight. Mist is 132
drifting up from the river and blowing between the trees. Colours fade out as darkness falls. The atmosphere of the jungle closes in on us with the night.

As night falls a Bush Negro corial appears on the river. It 574
is followed by four others, all loaded with people from another village three miles downstream. The strangers have come to dance for the bahkra. We have promised them candy and high wine. The women tie bands of nuts about their 534
limbs; the dried nuts rattle.

They bring the drums, the soul of the jungle. The big tom-tom, elaborately carved on the outside, is the *apenti,* or signal drum. The smaller *nanda* and the baby *baboula* (an African

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1 [For caption, see category 116, p. 204:- Analyst]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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437 sleeping in their own hammocks slung under a shed provided for the purpose by the company. The next day they make their way back up the river, in the corial which they brought down with them tied behind the raft. They bring back no money; it is useless.

262 Cassava is very filling; yams are sweet; mareepa oil gives a sense of well-being; peanuts are pleasant while palavering; a few pieces of bahkra candy are toothsome to eat, but still the pot lacks meat. A slice of the white breast of a bush turkey, the *powese,* or a piece of the carcass of a red howler, or a slice of fat meat from the tapir or bush cow, or the second joint of *mom,* the bush hen, or the sweet Djuka substitute for ham, *pingo,* the peccary—these are morsels that black men dream about.

224 789 After resting a few days, one of the blacks wishes to try out his new gunpowder, and makes preparation for a hunt. The bahkra powder is too strong for the thin walls of his [411] cheap shotgun. He dilutes it with charcoal, adding a bit of pemba dotee, the sacred white clay, to help the shot find the game. A bit of dried nekku leaf from the medicine man adds to the straightness of the aim. The gun likewise must be sprinkled with high wine, squirted from the mouth. All

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these animals. So the hunter is occasionally surprised to find 224
a big cat responding to his game call.

Far up the river, jaguars have been known to come near 224
a provision clearing and carry off an infant while the mother 136
was at work in the cassava field. The grown Djuka, however, is not afraid of these cats. The jaguar is a medium-sized feline, the third largest of the cat family, but it is essentially cowardly. If a lone Negro encounters one on a game trail, a duel commences that usually ends with the shooting of the jaguar. On one occasion we saw a hunter come back from the game trail, armed only with a machete, who had met and killed one of these cats.

There are several smaller cats in the South American jungle, ranging in size from the puma to the diminutive jaguarundi. The boa constrictor is not the menace that some travellers make it out to be. The Bush Negroes will not kill either a boa or an alligator, nor will they allow a white man to do so. If they see the white man aiming his gun at snakes, [825
they will knock up the muzzle. Such reptiles are sacred. [778
Some of the Indians of the district, on the other hand, are 262
fond of snake meat, and hunt it regularly. But the Bush [829
Negroes look down on them.

In setting traps the Bush Negroes exhibit the typical cun- 224
ning of jungle dwellers. They have preserved the West African types of traps. Trails on which armadillos forage are set with a shotgun, in the middle of the path. By seizing the bait the animal shoots itself.

At night on the game trail the lone hunter builds a lean-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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314 shot enters the rubber but does not pierce it through. Little dents indicate where the shot is buried inside. With a pistol, however, the result is different. A bullet from a .38 calibre revolver goes clean through. After we have fired, a Negro detaches himself from the group and disappears in the bush. In twenty minutes he is back, bringing the bullet from the revolver. He had traced its course by broken twigs and [151] clipped branches, and finally dug it out of the side of a tree with his bush-knife—on the whole an extraordinary bit of woodcraft.

484 It is disgusting to find that we have to sleep overnight in this camp. The white man is thoroughly exhausted, able only to drop down on a log while the Negroes make camp. The bahkra's hammock is slung and a fire started. Monkey meat is the *pièce de résistance* of the evening meal.

[252 The monkey is not skinned; only the hair is scraped off. [262] Monkey skin is a jungle delicacy, but there is a humanly cadaverous look to the depilated body. Half of the meat is cut up and dumped into the stew pot together with rice and salt. [251] The other half is smoked liberally to preserve it for the morrow.

Not in the mood to take food which his stomach might reject, the bahkra dines on a can of salmon, with rice and tea on the side. The sun has hardly set when he falls gratefully into the hammock and ties the mosquito netting in place, ready for profound slumber.

521 He soon finds that sleep is out of the question. The Bush Negroes are sitting about the campfire swapping tales of

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weight of which elongates the tube. In place of a stone, a stick may be passed through the lower end. The Bush Negro straddles it, working the apparatus with his own weight.

The pulp, when dried and heated, becomes a nourishing flour ready for use. There are two ways of serving it. One way is to make it into large, circular pancakes, high piles or stacks of which were carried in our corials to constitute the chief diet of the paddlers on the river trip. When they feel a pang of hunger they break off a piece of cassava from one of the large pancakes, dip it into the river to soften it, and eat it without further preparation. The other way of preparing cassava is to stew it with fish or meat. On tasting this food we found it a bland, mealy cake of not unpleasant taste. The entire technic of preparing it is borrowed from the indigenous Indians; "matapee" is an Indian word.

In a number of Bush Negro villages can be found the common Indian corn. The Negroes allow it to mature and then roast it until it is as hard as a rock, after which they shell off the grains and eat them. If the white man asks for green corn, they refuse to give it to him, saying it is unfit to eat.

Another staple of their diet is rice, or *ahleesee*. Rice of the upland variety can be planted in a dry soil and flourishes like wheat or oats. When harvested, it is tied in small bundles, about a foot in diameter, and threshed. The Negroes put it in a wooden mortar made of a hollow tree trunk, and three Djuka boys stand around it with pounders, striking alternately, like three railway labourers driving one spike. Rice, especially when ripening, is attacked by birds, partic-

Rice, especially when ripening, is attacked by birds, particularly the parakeets and parrots. These can destroy an entire 343 field in one evening. Sometimes the Djukas are forced to sit 136 up all night with shotguns to scare them off. Weevils and plant diseases are also common.

They have large sweet potatoes, known as yams, but no 262 white potatoes. Corn, which they call *koru;* okra, or *oko;* and peanuts (*pinda*), form a minor part of the Djuka diet. There are occasional banana and cocoanut trees, and some pineapples and breadfruit. Some few additional nuts and fruits are furnished by the jungle. Palm oil, of which they are excessively fond, is another part of the commissary. No journey is undertaken without a liberal supply. It is obtained by squeezing the nut or fruit of a species of palm, called the mareepa. To the white man it tastes like olive oil. Sugar cane is seen in a number of villages, as are domestic fowl. No cattle [231] or swine are to be found.

Thus the Bush Negroes carry on with courage and extreme hardihood under the implacable necessities of life in the enemy jungle, in which the white man has never been able to make his home successfully.

A common sight along the river is a Djuka black, poised 226 on a slippery rock in statuesque immobility, his bow flexed 516 and arrow drawn, shooting for fish.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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226 animals in the water. The catch would be consumed before
227 it could be taken up. Besides spring-traps that snap shut when the bait is touched, cone-traps are used, similar to those of more northern waters. The fish pokes his way into a concave cone, at the end of which is an opening guarded by bristles. Going in, the bristles are easily pushed aside, but, coming out, they bar the path. Then, say the Bush Negroes, the fish speaks to the trap as follows:

"Matti, opa duro gimme"—"Friend, open the door."

But the trap replies: *"Matti, me na cong tia massra de habbe nassloto cun, dassa ope na da you"*—"Friend, I can't until master who has the key comes; he will open it for you."

262 Fish form a large part of the Djuka diet, and fishing is
264 carried on by women, men, and children indifferently. When our canoe paddlers bring in some fish, they get out their
[252 little black gipsy pot, add whole peppers, and boil the fish
263] as it is. It is then eaten like corn-on-the-cob. The head, especially, is a delicacy, the bones being crunched audibly and with gusto. The meat goes in one side of a Bush Negro mouth and the bones seem to come out the other. If a halt is called in the business of eating, it is only long enough to say: *"Fissee makee bon sweetee muffo"*—"Fish make good eating," i. e. make good sweet mouth.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner
Saramaccaner
Boni

619 184 In general appearance and culture the Aucaners vary little from the other large tribe, the Saramaccaners.

[531] The art motifs and their treatment as displayed on the Aucaner wood carvings as a rule differ from those of the Saramaccaners. On the other hand, some of the pieces were found to be practically identical.

The Aucaner talkee-talkee also differs from that of the Saramaccaners, the former being more like the speech of the Town Negroes. The Aucaners have no deepee-talkee or odo as have the Saramaccaners, but they have a dialect known as *Koropina* where a *p* or an *m* is spoken before the vowels in a word for the purpose of confusing strangers. A similar custom is prevalent among the Negroes of Curaçao, Dutch West Indies.

[197 198 191]

[291] The dress of the Aucaners is the same as that of the Saramaccaners, excepting that they affect more often the breast-cloth, the *wassapangye,* and the head-cloth, the *mussu.*

Among the Aucaners the toga garment is called the *yembah,* while it is called a camissa by the Saramaccaners. The barrier of palm leaves is called *chifunga* by the Aucaners and *azang pau* by the Saramaccaners.

[262 606 194] The system of food taboos and general culture are the same. There is no mother-in-law taboo among either the Aucaners or the Saramaccaner tribe.

[161] 648 The Boni tribe, which consists of about 900 people, is descended from escaped slaves who crossed the Marowyne River into French Guiana and who were allowed to remain there unmolested by the French authorities. This is the only

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784 These food trafers are sometimes chosen by the individual,
262 and are acquired also by inheritance. A certain Bush Negro
[424 got his trafer in this way: His grandmother had a vision,
787] called *papa winti,* and she informed her grandson that she had been possessed. This made him feel the spirit of Cromanti. In that bad state he got the *idée fixe* that shooting a turtle would be reprehensible and dangerous. This animal then became his tabooed food, and for the rest of his life it is trafer so far as he is concerned.

797 So far only a slight attempt has been made to Christianize the Djukas. The Catholics and Moravian Brothers have established mission stations at a few points along the rivers. Their efforts at conversion appear on the whole to be unsuccessful. The Bush Negroes are converted in small numbers and very superficially; in moments of stress they will revert back to their jungle deities. The whole spirit of Christian customs is foreign to their mode of life. They have the Gran
776 Gadu, an adequate enough image of divine power. Their
782 prayers are sometimes said directly to him, or they pray to their ancestors to intercede with the Gran Gadu for aid. Sometimes the prayer is said by being beaten out on the tom-
[778] tom, for the tomtom is sacred, and the throbs of the great

/11 cont./

286 garments /pandjes/ or articles of dress and other knitted goods.
[413] They also know how to make very attractive hammocks of cotton.

Chapter VII

Food, Drinks, Delicacies, and so forth.

262 [252] Their daily food is mainly rice and cassava (1) bread which

1. Sweet cassava, the farina from the root of the Janipha manihot, not to be confused with Jatropha manihot, which gives the bitter cassava, which, however much is removed by boiling and continued washing, contains a very poisonous component.

is baked on an iron plate and provides a tasty food that can be
[241] kept for a long time. During the dry season, the months of September, October, and November, the ground also supplies them with a very mealy and tasty tuber called nappi (2); throughout the year,

2. Dioscorea sativa and Dioscorea alata L.

however, they grow yams, sweet potatoes (3), tayers (4), and cassava.

3. Convolvulus batatas L. and Batatas edulis Choisy.

4. Root from Arum esculentum.

[439] They have bananas only from time to time, whenever they exchange them on plantations for squared wood, which they pur-
[433] posely work for this exchange. They know how to obtain wild game
[263] and fish in great quantities; salt is an article greatly in demand.

/11 cont./

252 They always prepare their food with much native pepper (5)

5. All Capsicum species.

and in their soup or blaf cook various forest greens (6), which they

6. Kraroe, kalalve from the Amarantus oleraceus, taja leaves from an Arum species.

then eat with finely pounded bananas (called afoefoe) or else with cassava bread or rice dipped into it.

412 They make their spoons from a long strip of the calabash rind.

262 They are great lovers of pinda (7), a kind of groundnut, from

7. Arachis hypogoea L.

which they make various delicacies.

[439] They are particularly fond of bacon and buy it whenever they are in town, salted and smoked; they frequently take barrels of it with them into the bush and are very sparing with it.

/12/ They buy flour or meal only when they have had a bad rice harvest.

273 As drink they use rum or dram, and sometimes they make

[439] from the juice of the sugar cane, which they acquire on plantations, a kind of fermented drink which they use especially at festivals. They prefer gin and beer to wine, of which they are no great lovers. The women are very fond of liqueur.

276 Many men and women smoke American tobacco in short clay pipes. The taking of snuff is a passionate habit among some.

Chapter VIII

Festivals, Games, Gods

796

273 They do not have fixed times for the veneration of their gods, and they do this only then when they are amply supplied with strong drink and want to have a gay time for three or four days.

/12 cont./

796 Then they call all the neighbors together to take part in the
273 festivities to be held, which consist of invoking their gods amidst continuous dancing and excessive drinking.

They begin the festivities only on a Friday and usually finish on a Sunday or Monday, depending on the larger or smaller
[147] supply of drink, so, lacking this, the festival ends. After the conclusion they are usually extremely tired and listless and give themselves up entirely to rest for at least two or three days.

It is a definite requirement at these festivities to be very amply supplied with strong drink, because one must drink without
[782] interruption in order to remain in a continuous narcosis. With each drink they first pour a little on the ground, -- so that it, too, on which they find themselves so gay, may participate in their enjoyment.

[262] The merrymakers then take care that they will by no means
[577] be lacking in fish, wild game, bacon, rice, etc., since it is a matter of honor with them to display the most lavish hospitality on such occasions.

776 The gods that they worship are:

Loango Gado,
Papa Gado,
Cromantie Gado,

/13/ names certainly derived from the various African tribes of these names.

In the first two they glorify nature and everything created, from which it therefore appears that these are merely subordinate
[787] gods of the unnamed, single great spirit. The last is above all regarded by them as the mediator who transmits their wishes to the great spirit; he is invoked especially at burial ceremonies and for consultation in connection with serious illnesses.

796 They do not have any other cult or religion, so far as I was
[771] able to discover, but only the fixed habit of still celebrating to-
[132] gether and with their chief and captains on the first Friday of the new moon in the month of October or November, after the long
[783] dry period has set in for good, a great feast that has as its goal a general atonement, to cleanse them of the misdeeds that they have committed.

/18 cont./

766 times, no noticeable movement has been observed, the answer is
787 negative, and one proceeds with the corpse all the way to the end of the crowd ranged on either side. Everyone endeavors to be present on such occasions in order not to cast any blame upon himself or to arouse suspicion.

If, however, the answer is in the affirmative, then one asks whether the right person or a close relative of his is here; if the answer to this is also affirmative, one proceeds to inquire about the degree of blood relationship until one has finally discovered who the actual person is. Since this happens in the presence of so many persons as witnesses, it is regarded as valid proof, and the corpse is buried. However incomprehensible and impossible this may appear, this procedure is nonetheless actually practiced con-
[123] stantly among the Bush Negroes. I have been an eyewitness several times.

695 A few days later the person indicated, in case he was not
[693] present at the above-mentioned inquiry, is tracked down, if necessary fetched forcibly, and brought before the governor or the chief, who questions him in the presence of the captains or the council members. In case of denial, he is offered something to drink, which, however, he will not accept if he is guilty, since it has become apparent that whoever drinks it with a pounding or uneasy heart frequently manifests immediate symptoms, such as
[681] vomiting, swelling, chlorosis, and so forth. If the person has been prepared to brave this (in spite of the conviction of his misdeed), he is put to death by means of the most horrible and unheard-of tortures, whereas in the case of confession he is forced with the whip to reveal whom else he has poisoned during his life.

696 All the relatives of the poisoned person are then called in
682 order to be present at the punishment and to pull on his ears with all possible force by means of a pair of pincers, one after
[262] another. Subsequently a bowl with pinda blaf is set before him, in which a turtle must be boiled, as well as a tomtom made of ripe bananas. All this, after all, is regarded as the tastiest food. He is then /19/ again severely beaten with a whip, whereupon he must eat what has been prepared for him, and immediately afterwards

/20/

765 Thereupon follows a second, who just like the first has a calabash in hand, but this time filled with spirituous liquor, and from time to time sprinkles a few drops of it on the ground, in token of the fact that on this occasion, too, by means of drink, they think of the deceased with joy.

Then they again return to the dwelling, where all are gathered, and celebrate an enjoyable night with song and dancing until daybreak.

Chapter XII

Character, Virtues and Vices

157 The Bush Negro, as I have already said above, has a great [577] deal of respect for old age and for distinguished persons; with respect to their closest relations they are honest, which they can- [461] not pride themselves on otherwise. In their ordinary affairs they [609] are not lazy, but work tirelessly whenever it is necessary. With respect to strangers they are generous and obliging, all the more [152] when they can assume that they may claim reward. Jealousy, [784] envy, and malice are their greatest vices. Concerning many matters they have an antipathy that they call trefoe (treef). Thus, [781] for instance, one will eat something, the other not. Also they are very superstitious in small matters, to which they cling all the way down to distant generations; they call that obia (literally translated, bewitchment, magic).

● 252 An Auca girl who through attachment to my wife and me [123] has already lived with us in the town for fully five years, because since the death of her husband, who was one of my most trusted [589] workers, she did not want to attach herself to another, and who performed all kinds of housework for us, carries her trefoe of not eating any unscaled fish so far that she will not even cook her food on a fire where there is a pot in which an unscaled fish was previously prepared. I know another one who uses no milk and also does not eat meat of any kind (with the exception of bacon), unless it be game, and then it must be prepared by her, on the grounds that everything is prepared with butter and that butter comes from

/20 cont./

262 milk. She does eat cheese, however, saying that there is absolutely no milk in it.

/21/ Chapter XIII

Diseases, Afflictions, and so forth

164 The greatest affliction among them, too, is the lepra boasi (leprosy and elephantiasis Fuchs), venereal diseases, leg and body 757 pains, and sores. They cure themselves mainly with herbs, which they possess in great quantities and with which they frequently work with special success. They cut open abcesses themselves; in most cases they cup themselves, making the cups from small calabashes. [824] For many pains they rub themselves with spirits steeped in paradise seed (1) and with carapa oil, which they get from the carapa nuts (2).

1. Sem. paradisie Ningre kondre pepre from the Amomum paradise Afsel.

2. Carapa gujanens Obl.

755 In difficult cases and dangerous illnesses, however, they ask for advice from the Cromantie gado, which can only be done by means of song and dance, on which occasion a great deal is drunk. [756] A wentie man (African idol-priest or priestess) qualified for this, or an influential person, is able by means of drink, song, and dance among the others to excite himself to such an extent that in a mad way, without consciousness of what he is doing, he makes superhuman leaps, turnings, and twistings with his body, jumps and dances in the fire, until he finally falls to the ground unconscious and, rolling like a tub, foaming at the mouth, utters the most repulsive and strange sounds, which lasts until he is finally put down somewhere for dead. So long as he remains lying without any movement or sound as if in a deep sleep, one may absolutely not come near him or touch him, but must always take care to keep out of his way in his course and not to hinder him in anything.

/1[illegible]5/

[illegible]culture among the Bush Negroes of the Marowijne /Maroni/

by D. C. Geijskes (1)

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1. Introduction

121
882 When one goes to the small communities of the inhabitants of the bush who live in the interior districts of Surinam, one quickly sees, upon examination, the basis on which the maintenance of such communities rests. The struggle for existence among primitive peoples covers the food supply and the resistance that can be offered against illness and pests. These two factors ultimately determine the birth surplus, which as a result expresses the possibility for survival.

121
[161] Among the Bush Negroes we see in the course of the years an increase in the population, an advance, therefore, in spite of the obstructions of nature. But this advance creates new problems.
[101] It was during the Medical-Scientific Expedition to the Southern Border of Surinam, held from February to July, 1952, that, in conjunction with the medical investigation in the gathering of data about the "housekeeping" of the Bush Negroes of the Marowijne /Maroni/ and the Tapanahoni, we were struck above all by the problem of the food supply and the food itself. There is little sense in paying attention only to medical care unless at the same time attempts are made to improve the food.

433
262 An important part of the food supply is produced by agriculture. This supplies the Bush Negroes with the most, but not the best food. Next to it a number of forest products serve to provide for the need for food fats, while hunting and fishing must provide the protein.

/142 cont./

101 162 311 circumstances because with their lower population density they are less seriously in need of land. But the same fate awaits them in the near future. In addition, the cutting of the forest has more serious consequences in this region because as a result exploitable timber is lost. Along the Tapanahoni, above the greater falls, woodcutting is impossible for the time being, so that the loss of wood in these districts does not as yet play an economic role here.

6. Measures toward Improvement

433 The question now is whether the grounds-operations of the Bush Negroes must be regulated by a higher authority. My advice is: The /143/ sooner improvement can be brought about in this, the better, and for the following reasons.

[311] 1st. Because of the grounds-system pr[illegible] from olden times, the Aucaners of the Tapanahoni in particular now have such a land shortage that further growth of the population is thereby hindered.

[262] 2nd. The food supply of this Bush Negro society is precarious and one-sided; this threatens to become more and more unfavorable, with the consequence that the health situation will require more and more care.

3rd. The Bush Negroes cannot be considered capable of bringing about changes for the better in these agricultural methods by themselves.

[167] 4th. Occupying these districts becomes less and less attractive for the younger generation, whereby a spreading of the [464] population over other areas takes place. The men try to find work in the lowlands or in the concerns in French Guiana.

5th. Through the wasteful use of land the supplies of wood along the rivers are in danger of becoming lost entirely.

6th. It is to be feared that unless help is offered through government channels in time to help this bush population out of the impasse, its social and economic retrogression will soon become seriously felt.

/144 cont./

241 time that the runaway slaves took these with them from the plan-
[177] tations then in existence.

It is therefore worthwhile in various respects to explore what is
241 being cultivated. The following summary has been put together
114 from the data of my own observations and from information pro-
[128] vided by various Bush Negroes. This list is not complete; what is lacking, however, is probably of minor importance.

A. Cultivated Crops That Are Grown on the Food Grounds

244 Bitter cassava (kasàba).

[262] This is the most important crop, from which the cassava bread and kwak are made. One plants the shoots in December, but also in March and April. After 12 months the harvest begins; in case of a food shortage they are dug after only seven months. Yellow and white varieties are distinguished according to the color of the contents of the tubers. To the yellow varieties belong: witti tiki, which is kept on the grounds up to two years, blaka tiki, which stands on the grounds only one year, and taja tiki, which provides produce for a long time and is especially good for the making of kwak. To the white varieties belong: amosiang, sanang kasaba,
[252] and domberi. Cassava bread is made from this. In the making of kwak all the colors are mixed together in order to obtain the desired yellow color. Each variety separately provides a less tasty product.

252 On the Marowijne one makes more kwak (kwaka) than cassava
[184] bread, while on the Surinam River and the Saramacca only cassava bread /a map and Figs. 1-14 appear here/ /145/ is baked with the flour. Kwak is prepared in the following manner: The tubers, after they are peeled, are put in water in a korjaal (1) for two

1. korjaal = boat.

days and then grated. This grated cassava is then allowed to sour in a box or a korjaal; after that the grated cassava is expressed

[text continues on p. 21]

/145 cont./

252 with the matapi (2) and subsequently baked on the baking plate (pan),

2. matapi = long tube of plaiting with which one expresses the juice and the water out of the grated cassava.

during which the granular mass is constantly stirred. The kwak [251] ultimately consists of dry yellow grains. One can keep kwak in good condition longer than bread. It is softened with water and eaten with some sugar (if available).

A less-used product is "afringi." For this one grates freshly peeled cassava, then expresses the grated cassava in the matapi, and dries the meal on the fire or in the sun. Subsequently one pounds this meal in the matta (3) and then kneads it with water

3. matta = large wooden mortar.

into little balls. These are boiled together with fish or meat into a soup. One calls this soup "afringi," which literally means "to throw," presumably because one throws the little balls into the pot. The same product is called "apitie" on the Surinam River.

244 Sweet cassava (kasàba-swieti) is little planted; the tubers are [262] harvested after three months and eaten boiled.

[252] The most important pests in the cassava are: leaf-cutting [825] ants, which cut off the leaves; deer, which eat the young tips and also bite off the stalks; tapirs, which consume the stalks and leaves and also trample many; koni-konis (4), which dig

4. koni-koni = Surinam rabbit.

out and gnaw the tubers; pingos and pakieras (5), which root the

5. pingo and pakiera = wild pigs.

tubers out of the ground and consume them.

/145 cont./

243 Rice (alésie).

Next to cassava rice is an important auxiliary crop. One sows the rice broadcast with the hand among the other crops and tjaps (6) the seed under lightly. The sowing time falls in December to February or March. In the fourth month the rice is mature. [132] The harvest time therefore falls in the long rainy season from May to July (somewhat later on the Surinam River). Only the ears are cut off, and these are dried in the sun on the grounds or in the villages. Only dry-land rice is cultivated but in many varieties, such as:

6. To tjap = to loosen the ground with a hoe.

kasiwini, the best kind, with long white grains;
ajengena, with short fine grains, with pounding produces a beautiful white rice;
abalahede, with flat, round grain;
witti-alesie or paramakka-alesie, slightly colored in the ear;
lebi (redi) -- alesie, yellow as paddy, grows also in swampy places;
aloeloe or loeloe, sends out shoots quickly, has a good grain;
pindé-alesie, grain speckled on the outside;
asinkini, variety with long grain, is often planted.

/146/ Still other varieties are: rexora, saka, mabosoe, mooidà, sika-sirie, bakaté-saka, dendelei, mooimasra, wittifang, skati, blakatère, mesiti, pikienloeloe, trampoeloekoe.

[251] The Bush Negroes store the rice in the ears and thresh the paddy with the feet by treading on it after it has been dried on 252 zinc sheets or on sacks. The paddy is pounded in the matta whenever it is needed for a meal. Unpolished silver-pellicle rice /zilvervlies-rijst/ is thus eaten, and this is boiled in the usual 262 manner together with meat or fish. With a good harvest one has rice throughout the year until the following harvest, but frequently [439] the quantity is sufficient for only a few months. In case of a shortage milled rice is purchased from the shops along the Marowijne.

/146 cont./

245 Bacoven (bakõeba, bákba).

Planted like the bananas. The growing time varies from 10 to 15 months. The banana-bacove is grown the most. The varieties are indicated with the following names:

bigibakoeba or langa-finga, banana-bacove with long fruit (Gros Michel type); produces the bunch after 10 months and this ripens in five months;

watramama-bakoeba, a kind of congo-bacove originally from French Guiana, short variety, bunch matures in three months;

koboto-bakoeba or soeknoe-finga, small yellow, sweet variety of the size of the apple bacove or smaller (missie-finga); bunch ripens in three months;

indji-bakoeba, short, thick, red variety, sweet in taste, with yellow fruit-flesh; bunch ripens in three months.

[262] The bacoven are only eaten as fresh fruit and are very popu-
[136] lar. /147/ The leaves of bananas and bacoven are sometimes severely eaten by leaf-cutting ants.

244 Tajer (tája).

One finds tajer on all grounds, standing in scattered groups. It is harvested after 8-10 months (August-October), but also continuously thereafter. There are various kinds in use:

agauw, large variety (pomtaja); tubers remain good for a long time; also found in the villages;

244 sjoe, smaller variety with yellowish tuber, tubers remain good for
262 a long time; the leaf is eaten as a vegetable;

dasini, larger variety with yellowish tubers, which is frequently planted because of its tastiness; the harvesting is done in small bits at a time, for the tubers rot quite quickly; the leaf of this too, is used as vegetable; a small variety of dasini is also called chinees taja;

wititaja, smaller variety; tubers remain good for a long time; leaf is also eaten.

252 Tajer tubers are boiled, like potatoes, frequently with fish or meat and oil, into a soup.

/148 cont./

244 Yam roots frequently become very large. One cuts them
252 up and boils the pieces like tajer tubers.

Maize (kaloe).

243 Maize is sowed together with other crops and provides one of the first products; the harvesting is done after three months
[184] (March). Only one variety is known. Sometimes special maize plots are laid out (Paramaccaners).

252 The young maize is eaten boiled or roasted, sometimes also pounded and boiled to a porridge (kaloepapa). A well-known delicacy is "ansowé" or "asogrie," made of roasted dry kernels finely pounded and mixed with sugar.

244 Watermelon (watramoen)

This is planted in patches everywhere on the grounds; the harvest time falls in March. There are two varieties in use:
[262] hesiskin and blakaskin, both of which provide small, oval-round, white-spotted fruit with a bland-sweet, light-pink fruit-flesh; the fruit is eaten fresh.

Pumpkin (pampoen).

One finds this plant in many places, but never in great numbers.

Only the oblong dark green variety is known; the harvest
[252] time is from April on, and a long time afterwards. The fruit is cut in pieces, boiled, and eaten.

Okra (okrò).

This crop is generally grown on the food grounds; it provides edible fruit after three months, in February and March. Three varieties are distinguished:
sebiwiki, with short fruit;
afoesibobi, with short fruit;
diatoetoe, with long fruit.

252 The young green fruit is cut into pieces and boiled to a soup, usually together with tajer, meat, and so forth.

/148 cont./

244 Pinda /peanuts/ (pienda) and djoekapinda /Djuka peanuts/ (agobo).

Both are planted in patches on the grounds and not infrequently also in the villages; they bloom in March and are harvested after the rice, in June and July. The quantities that are harvested are small and amount to one or two kerosene-tins per person. Only one variety is known of both the ordinary pinda and the djoekapinda.

[252] One boils the pinda into a soup or makes peanut butter by roasting it and then pounding it in the matta. The Saramaccaners call the djoekapinda "gobogobo."

/149/Bongila.

This is related to abongra (Sesamum) with white blossoms and with flat white seeds in long capsules. It is quite often sowed broadcast among other plants, and the stalks with the capsules are harvested in June. Only one variety is known.

252 The ripe seeds, flat and white, after having first been dried in a pan on the fire, are pounded in a matta. Then one adds some salt and uses this product like peanut butter on cassava bread. [244] It is tasty and nutritious. On the Surinam River this plant is called "waja" and the seeds are baked with the cassava flour in the bread. Like abongra, this plant is probably also of African origin.

Beans (pesi).

244 These are used very little. String beans /kousebandjes/ -- runner beans with long thin pods -- are known, and a variety [262] with white blossoms which makes pods 20 centimeters long. Other varieties of beans are not grown, although the Bush Negroes very much like to eat pesi varieties.

249 Sugar cane (keeng or sigáloe).

This is nowhere lacking, and aside from the grounds it is also planted in the villages. With bananas it remains standing for years on the abandoned grounds and is also cut there. Three varieties are distinguished:

[262] abaiboesi, red and black marked stalks; only eaten fresh;

/149 cont./

249 pikien keeng, small variety with thin stalks; is not cut with a
[789] cutter but broken off by hand; obia (1) is made from it;

1. obia = spirit medicine.

[262] switi-keeng, the ordinary variety which is most used: the stalks
[263] are eaten fresh (chewed) or the juice is expressed with the wooden sugar-press (ma) and boiled down to a syrup (lika) which is used
[407] in coffee or in crushed awarra (2).

2. awarra = prickly palm which supplies edible fruit.

273 For festivals one cuts the stalks in pieces and allows the juice to be extracted from them in water in a short korjaal (komata). This water is later heated in a pot and fermented into an alcoholic beverage (djojo).

245 Pineapple (nanási).

This is regularly grown, the shoots standing scattered on the grounds; after one year the plants produce fruit. Two varieties are distinguished:

bigi nanasi, a white variety;

indji nanasi, likewise a white variety, but sweeter.

[262] The fruit is eaten fresh. Together with sugar cane and bananas, pineapples continue to grow for a long time on the old grounds.

Papaya (papái).

Few papayas stand on the grounds, but many along the edges of the villages, where they grow into long tall trees.

[262] A long red variety is called bobi papai; a short yellow variety,
[252] papai. The fruit is eaten fresh, sometimes also boiled green.

/150/ Tobacco (tabáka).

249 Tobacco is cultivated on a modest scale in various places. The leaves are ripe for picking after 4-5 months (April to May); the man-high plant blooms after seven months with small, pink blossoms.

/150 cont./
245 in more favorable places it grows fairly well. The production
[262] is moderate. The nuts are eaten fresh or, as water nuts, are
[136] emptied by drinking. Many trunks exhibit the traces of Castnia daedalus infection (Drietabbetje, Fisiti, Granbori).

Manja (majang).

[262] Grows in all villages into mighty trees and in February-March produces fruit which is especially favored for eating by the youth. Tetémanje and redbreast are the most common varieties. Abandoned villages along the rivers are frequently still typified by the manja trees.

Citrus.

Is represented by lemmetje (lemmeki), sour orange /zure oranje/ (alanja), /151/ orange /sinaasappel/ (pesina), and lemon /citroen/ (soetoen). This order roughly expresses the relative frequency. They are scattered and grow strikingly well in spite of neglect. With a little effort the planting of oranges could be ex-
[252] tended. Lemmetjes and sour oranges are frequently used to wash meat and various articles.

Guava (gobai).

[262] Stands scattered and is never lacking; the fruit is eaten especially by the youth.

Soursop (atoekoe).

[262] Occurs here and there; the fruit is eaten fresh.

Breadfruit tree (belebong, brèdebong).

[252] Is found in many villages. It is usually the chestnut-breadfruit, of which only the pips are eaten, roasted or boiled. In Langatabbetje we also saw the ordinary breadfruit.

Koesoewé (koesoewé).

249 Stands in each village, but occurs less frequently than among the Indians. The large pink blossoms and the red fruit contribute

/151 cont./
249 greatly to the beautification of the village. The Bush Negroes use
[232] the red dyestuff from the seeds to smear on the dogs against vermin.

Cotton (katoen).

248 One sees it standing in various places along the edges of the
283 villages and among the dwelling huts. The cotton itself is in ex-
[286] ceptional cases used by the women for spinning. Calf bands (sepoe) are made out of cotton thread after the Indian model, and sometimes hammocks also.

Coffee.

245 Is found here and there in the forest along the edge of the village (Drietabbetje, Poeketti). It is the small variety, probably
[272] Coffea arabica. The beans are used for coffee. The trees probably grew from kernels that at one time were taken by slaves from the plantations.

Calabash (kabasi).

244 Grows everywhere among the dwelling huts and in neglected corners. A distinction is made between kabasi and pikien soepoen.
[415] The wood-like pericarps of both varieties are used for all kinds of purposes, especially for utensils (bowls, spoons) and as "koej" for scooping the korjalen empty.

Kasjoen (kasoeng).

245 Occurs here and there and ordinarily does not supply much
[262] fruit; the latter is eaten fresh, the kernels sometimes roasted like pinda.
[252]

Mappa.

Probably a variety of Tabernaemontana (Apocynaceae). Not infrequently in May one sees the women returning from the grounds with pear-shaped /152/ (up to ten centimeters long) yellow fruit,
[262] which they have gathered from a small forest tree. The fruit is eaten fresh; one first taps on the rind with a piece of wood in order to concentrate the milk sap in it, peels the fruit, and the

/152 cont./
245 white cucumber-like fruit flesh is eaten. The taste is refreshingly
262 tart.

249 Ricinus /castor-oil plant/ (karapata).
789 Is to be found in all villages and especially on refuse heaps.
302 The leaf is used for obia, the oil from the kernels as a hair oil.

Pepper (pépré).
244 Grows as a small shrub near the houses or along the edge of
[252] the village. The variety with small red fruit occurs especially frequently. The fruit is eaten boiled in meat soup.

Koemboe (komoe).
245 Stands in individual specimens in and along the villages and
[252] in the forest. The kernels of this palm are gladly eaten, softened with warm water and pounded into koemboe soup. The fruit is ripe in February-May. A large variety is patawah.

Maripa (maïpa).
[262] Absent in not a single village. The fruit provides a white,
[252] fatty fruit-flesh that is eaten fresh (May). The pits are dried and pounded to pieces with a stone in order to obtain the three kernels. After having dried these (in the sun), one boils from them a food oil.

Awarra palms (awá).
[263] Stand in little groups in each Bush Negro village. The orange fruit, which is ripe in February-March, sometimes also in June

B /512 cont./

R The region is entirely covered by equatorial forest which the
137 inhabitants clear for their crops, practicing a shifting agriculture
241 on burned-over land.

B Life is closely tied to the river, on the edge of which are
311 established villages and crops. They scarcely move except by
504 water. Everybody, man, woman, or child, has his pirogue, and
868 the children learn to paddle at the same time that they learn to
B walk.

R The principal activities of the two populations are agriculture,
433 fishing, and canoeing.

B There is scarcely any difference between the dietary resources
R of the Indians and the Boni. The principal portion is manioc,
● 262 eaten in the form of cassave (flat cakes cooked on a plate) or of
couac (roasted and granulated flour). Then come tubers, yams,
B dasheens, "Carib cabbage" /taro/ and sweet potatoes, bananas
[241] and plantains. The Boni in addition plant mountain rice, from
which the yield is small; in return, they eat fewer bananas.

R The protein ration is furnished essentially by fish, eaten
[226] fresh or smoked. The Indians, skillful fishermen, never lack
B them. Game furnishes a less regular, but important resource.

R Animal husbandry, confined to a few chickens raised mainly
[231] to sell, represents only an insignificant part of the diet.
[439] The fat from fish and from animals killed while hunting constitutes the principal portion of lipides. The Boni use in addition, for preparing their meals, a small quantity of maripa palm oil.

Vitamins come from fruit (papaya, pineapple, mangoes), which the Indians eat in greater abundance than the Blacks, from wild spinach, rich in Vitamin A, and palm nuts (awara and caumou),
B eaten in great abundance during the rainy season.

R Neither of the two populations is undernourished. The Indians
146 might have been so temporarily during epidemics, when the adults, having been sick for a long time, were unable to clear sufficient land. But they can supplement an inadequate harvest with a great variety of wild foods that can be gathered.

The diet seems poor in mineral elements and especially in calcium. Traces of rachitis are noticeable among some of the Indian children.

/8 cont./

24 177 experience of the American Indians, which seem the only utilizable ones in the interior of the country.

Thus these populations which are so varied have in large measure the same agriculture and the same food.

24 [182] Basic crops are manioc, consumed in the form of couac (flour roasted and granulated) which is the base food, the Indian yam, and tubers analogous to taro (dachine, "Caribbean cabbage"). [171] The Refugee Blacks plant mountain rice in addition. The Creoles do not plant rice but have on the other hand a greater variety of vegetables and fruits.

31 36 182 Men in Guiana live on the rivers; villages and cultivated lands are to be found on their banks; everywhere else one finds only the deserted forest; only Creole gold miners, constrained by their work, sometimes establish their villages far from watercourses. 181 182 171 The Refugee Blacks, like the Indians, love the rivers where they find, along with water and light, the possibility of moving without hindrance; they are a people of canoeists; their traditions are widely influenced by life on the river, and their mode of living finds in this a deep originality.

131 133 182 171 In fact, setting aside the gold miners' villages, we can say that the populations of the Guianas living by exploitation of the natural resources of the country have a linear habitat: it can be estimated not in surface but in length, for it is limited to a band of one kilometer along each watercourse accessible to pirogues. These watercourses are limited in number, for one can take for granted that at a distance of some 20 kilometers from the source of each river, the congestion caused by fallen trees and parasitic vegetation prevents easy movement.

[161] [226] Actually, considering the very low density of the population, the small rivers are scarcely utilized except as fishing places.

487 501 All the rivers are interrupted by falls and rapids which render the use of large boats impossible. The pirogues of the Refugee

/32 cont./

602 784 428 [163] to observe all his life and which he himself will transmit to his children. It is unanimously believed that breaking this interdiction causes leprosy (bwasi).

This interdiction is never transmitted by women. It is transmitted from father to son /33/ or daughter. The son will observe it and transmit it; the daughter will observe it during her lifetime, but she will not transmit it.

602 784 The existence of the bwasi kina divides the Boni into de facto groupings which can be considered as patrilineages. These patrilineages have no name, no head, no organization; their members are dispersed among the various matrilineages and most of them do not know who the others are.

They exist nevertheless and extend throughout all the tribes of Refugee Blacks.

[582] Their importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks comes from the fact that they involve a law of exogamy: a man and a woman who have the same bwasi kina cannot marry; that would be pikadu, incest in the broad sense, an offense against exogamy, as much as the union of two members of the same matrilineage.

[262] [578] It is difficult to estimate the number of these patrilineages, which seems to us to be at least 20 among the Boni; actually, the Boni do not willingly tell their bwasi kina, for fear that one of their enemies might mix into their food a fragment of the interdicted food in order to harm them; besides, they do not know their paternal relations beyond their grandfather. Reconstitution of patrilineages by interrogation seems therefore to be illusory.

602 784 262 The bwasi kina we have been able to find out about are all about food. They involve the cayman, the "tiger," the tortoise, the white hen, the pian (awali), the eel. The cayman is often given in addition to another animal. But it is inaccurate to say that the Refugee Blacks have a general interdiction against the cayman.

/75 cont./

692 The Djuka had killed the tapir which had sunk. Pressed for
685 time, he had had to leave, requesting the Asisi people to look for
[224] it.

The next day Pototo and Amusupé found the animal floating
[251] between two waters. They hid it in the bush and had it smoke-
[262] dried on their own behalf. They ate it with their wives (about 100 kilos of meat).

That ended up by becoming known, and a jealous man denounced them to the grand man.

Called before the lanti kuutu, they had to apologize and were each sentenced to pay as a fine to the grand man a demijohn of 15 liters of tafia (worth about 6,000 francs) within four months.

[735] Both of them were at a loss to pay this fine, belonging to the category of ne'er-do-wells who have no regular activity and live from day to day, selling some fish or game from time to time.

[613] Amusupé appealed to Captain Konduku, head of his lineage, who agreed to pay for the tafia for him, Amusupé reimbursing him little by little.

[613] As for Pototo, the head of his lineage refused categorically
[689] to help him because he had eaten the maïpouri alone without allowing his family to share it (the village people would have found it normal to profit by the crime, but they deemed it immoral that
[123] one of their relatives had deprived them of meat). After three and a half months, Pototo began to occupy himself seriously at a paid job which he had the luck to find because we needed a bossman for two weeks.

577 The Boni did nothing but laugh while telling us this story.
626 Affairs of this kind, which do not involve any suprahuman inter-
[522] vention, escape in large measure their social morality; they have a certain feeling for what should be done, but submit to it only in proportion as they fear a material and immediate sanction.

/163 cont./

764 given any indication whatever. Besides, how would he have
787 had time to make himself understood by two men walking at top speed, crushed by their heavy load and looking straight ahead?

This upsets all the ideas I had formed about this test. The only hypothesis that remains is that the bearers have been "tipped off" by the man who went to get them (an old man of the council). But is it possible that such a crude fraud could be current practice? The Boni are far from being stupid, they are ever suspicious /164/ and they are too talkative for such deceptions not to be laid bare by their perpetrators themselves.

Under these conditions, how can it operate--this collective suggestion which explains most of the rites of the Refugee Blacks? I can't explain it to myself.

764 Manufacture of the Coffin. The kisimã are gathered
767 around a pile of boards. They are about 15 in number,
322 commanded by Boofo, head of the kisimã of Asisi, and Aténi
[412] (Asisi-Dipélu II). A pile of boards is at their feet; some work with a small hand saw, others with an adze; the fitting is done with a machete. /Fig. 21 appears here./

They take measurements with a graver. The bottom board is cut first, then the front and back ends. The outline of the back end, in the shape of a truncated diamond, results from a rather complex construction with the compass which I have not time to report.

764 The work is done noisily in an atmosphere of crude farce.
767 The whole time it lasts, the kisimã exert veritable command
[152] over the village. The coconut trees of Kormotibo are pillaged
[262] for their benefit. The village women prepare the rice for the meal which must, according to custom, be offered to them upon finishing the coffin about noon.

/180 cont./

765 are divided up equally among all the inhabitants of the village. But if the dead person had near relatives in the village, children, nephews, or brothers, it is they who stand the main burden.

[613] Members of the dead peron's lineage who are settled in other villages contribute equaly to the expenses and the organizing of the festival, but in a symbolic fashion. /181/

[623] A council (kuutu) of the village inhabitants sets the date; during the two weeks preceding each one is busy. The women 765 hull and winnow rice, prepare great quantities of couac and 262 sugar-cane juice. The busimã scour the bush and have meat and fish smoked. Each one, according to his means, buys tafia, sugar, chocolate, and other articles of food liked by the Refugee Blacks.

765 The celebration of the rites occupies a whole week. This 775 is because, the Refugee Blacks think the influence of the dead person can be eliminated only progressively by the repetition of the rite of separation.

The first day, the yɔrka of the dead person whose mourning is going to be lifted is called by formulas beaten on the [535] apinti drum. Then possession dances take place.

765 The second day is reserved for the material preparation for the ceremonies to follow.

[613] The third day, the spouse in mourning, if there is one, is conducted by the members of the dead person's lineage under [822] the mortuary shed. He is dressed in red and is congratulated for having kept the mourning well. Then he is led to the river, [783] and old women of the dead person's lineage begin to bathe him [775] while adjuring the yɔrka to part company with him.

The fourth day at nightfall, all those present assemble at the mortuary shed. They recite tales (Anãsi tɔli), [538] improvisations (mato), and riddles (ɔdo). This phase of the [781] festival has as its object the concentrating of the attention of the hearers; it creates a warm, collective atmosphere which impregnates those present, bringing to them intense and highly colored emotions.

/185 cont./

765 538 About eight o'clock in the evening, people assemble around the mortuary shed where the drummers and mato (Anansi Toli) storytellers sit. Amèmbé, of Loka village, begins to tell a story which is scarcely listened to, the audience remaining noisy and distracted. The respondents punctuate his discourse with approbations: "hiya ba! na so!" At several [522] passages of the story (when Anansi has succeeded in deceiving his victim), the audience shakes with laughter, the drums beat, the storyteller and his respondents sing and dance. Little by little the audience warms up, participates intensely in the story.

Another tale follows, told by Adiiso, head of the Dju [535] lineage (Asisi). The audience is overexcited, the interludes of dancing become more and more numerous and longer, everybody, men, women, and children take part in it.

765 About eleven o'clock the dances are going to begin in the order susa, sɔ̃ŋgɛ, awasa; at six /186/ o'clock in the morn- [535] ing the next day the awasa dances are carried on. Part of those present go down to the wharf to go home, showing no apparent fatigue.

Fifth day, Nov. 12. Nothing happens in the morning. The people take some rest.

At 3:00 P.M. the young men go around dressed up to the nines; people visit each other from one house to the other, they drink and sing.

765 262 264 About 3:30 the basia circulate in the village, calling the women to bring the ceremonial meal. Tables are set out under the shed. The women each bring a big bowl or basin of cooked rice (about two kilograms of rice). Some add a bowl of sauce or cooked fish. No meat.

The basia lay out all that on the tables. There are about 30 bowls or basins (which represents a handsome effort, the rice harvest having been bad), about 50 bottles of soda, several boxes of pastries /biscuits/ and Dutch cheeses.

/218 cont./

774 551

2. Although it happens that people receive as a name an akka name, sometimes accompanied by a qualificative, such as Lébikwaku.

774 262 [551] Actually, each one knows his akka's name, which was revealed to him by his parents when he was a child; to this name is attached an akka kina or food prohibition relative to the akka. [754] Both are carefully kept secret even from near relatives and friends, for knowing them could help the wisimã take possession of the akka. On this subject people often use the term gadu kina, as they say mi gadu instead of mi akka. [784] [787] This term is easily confused with the prohibition imposed on the possessed person by the god which incarnates itself in him; these are two very different notions.

[258] The akka kina is unique for each man. It is sought by the parents when the child is completely weaned. [787] They try to draw parallels between the foods he has eaten and the health disorders he may exhibit, and these suppositions are confirmed by divinatory procedures.

774 782 A man does not ordinarily pray to his akka. He addresses prayer to it only if he is sick, to ask it for protection, or before leaving on a long trip, to ask it to watch over him. If he comes back safe and sound, he thanks it by making an offering to it, in the form of a bottle of syrup (switi sopi), which he turns upside down over his head.

774 184 According to Mr. W. F. van Lier, the Djuka have the idea that the shadow (kaaka) is the visible image of the akka; the Boni do not appear to have this conception; one does not observe that they attach any importance whatever to whether a man's shadow passes over them; on the contrary, one must not step over a man lying on the ground, that might injure his akka.

752 /255 cont./
834 ɔbiaman who treats a wound made by a firearm to observe
[171] chastity during the whole duration of the treatment. It is for this reason that the Boni hesitate to have gunshot wounds cared for in hospitals.

784 Kina. The interdictions of the Refugee Blacks generally have
[262] to do with food. There are five categories of them to our knowledge:

[753] --Bwasi kina, basic kina, mark of patrilineages, the breaking of which gives leprosy;

--Akka kina, often called gadu kina, established by divination and believed to be imposed by the akka;

--Gadu kina, mark of possession by a divinity;

--Obia kina, interdiction attached to each object involving a magic power, and which must be observed for this power to last;

--Finally, local kina, particularly the kina dɛ, days of rest, going back to the idea of the day of rest of the local divinity. They observe, for example, that the Mana River has a kina dɛ on Sunday. The Saramaka observe it strictly. The Boni we took on the Mana in 1949 went to find out from the Saramaka, and asked us to stop navigation on Sunday,
[648] for this kina was very urgent. It is noteworthy however that the Boni bow in such circumstances before the will of the Europeans, as with respect to their own kina dɛ of Friday; in effect they are assuming that if they are ordered to be on duty, it is the European alone who bears the responsibility for breaking the kina.

[428] It is possible that the kina alluded to by Mr. W. F. Van
[114] Lier and which, among the Djuka, would be imposed on a
[613] whole matrilineage are also local kina; in any case no kina is transmissible through the mother, all the Refugee Blacks are explicit on that point.

/255 cont./

784 262 A... of the Dju lo, about 28 years old in 1958, must observe six kina:

--The cayman and the jaguar as bwasi kina.

--The otter (yundu) as akka kina. /256/

These three kina have been imposed on him since his first years, but the meaning of them was explained to him only later on.

[751] --The eel (mãnsi) was imposed on him as a kina by his father when the latter gave him a man nẽŋge ɔbia, ɔbia of protection against machete or gun, materialized by an iron bracelet.

[841] [834] To this ɔbia is attached another kina. A... must not speak to a woman having her menstrual period.

[751] [787] --Finally, the crab (kaabu), kina attached to an ɔbia of which the man concerned only spoke with reticence, probably a Kumẽnti bui (bracelet of Kumẽnti, instrument of divination).

A... has no gadu kina in the strict sense of the term.

There exists no food kina common to all the Boni; the cayman is generally forbidden to them as bwasi kina, associated with another animal; but this is not absolute; we know at least one Boni who has not received this kina.

If someone has broken a kina inadvertently, he can have himself cleansed of this offense by ɔbiaman. But if he broke it willfully, he cannot escape the punishment attached to the offense.

845 828 Beliefs about twins. They have the idea that twins and children who follow twins are of a nature different from other men, participating in a divine principle.

[755] Twins cannot live (since they do not belong to ordinary humanity) if they are not treated with a special remedy known only to certain lineages especially rich in twins.

/294 cont./

648 A picturesque incident once more showed us this attitude in the course /295/ of a circuit on the Litani in 1952. When [262] we passed through AloTké village, our four Boni boatmen, who had killed some coumarou, had prepared a very appetizing dish for themselves; they had scarcely begun to eat when several Indians arrived unexpectedly who joined in the conversation, sat down beside them, then began to dip their spoons into the pot. Other Indians came and, continuing to talk things over deliberately and without hurrying, came and took their share of the feast. The Boni were progressively pushed back to the [152] second row and finally gave up. Three of them laughed about [829] this incident which was familiar to them; the fourth was furious but he did not dare say anything, for, said he to us, if he struck the Indians as he wanted to, he risked being bewitched.

648 In truth, what is the nature of the authority that the grand 643 man of the Boni is supposed to exercise over the Indians? Does it involve precise obligations, a tribute, vexatious measures? Not in the least: it is reduced nowadays to two things:

--The principle of the obedience of the Indian village heads to the person of the grand man;

--The interdiction of transport by boat in the Boni fashion.

One can only approve of this interdiction which protects the Indians more than it harms them. As for the personal influence of Grand Man Difu, it is extremely favorable; he has a profound knowledge of the language and customs of the Indians, toward whom he has always exhibited an interest and sympathy which are certainly sincere. When, during the ceremonies at the fraga tiki, he appeals to the ancestors to ask them to watch over the Boni, he does not fail to add: gaã yɔɔka, de mu luku de Ingi: Ancestors, watch over the Indians.

648 It is also said of the Boni that they are interested in the Indians only in order to traffic with them. Even if that were true -- we have shown how inexact this assertion was -- we should hold all the same that it is much less dangerous for the

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man noted, a *condree fasee*—a custom of the country. Rifles were found, all lacking flint, for which the Europeans had good reason to be thankful. In the village were found silver spoons pillaged from the estates, along with china and other ware. The rebels were observed to be healthy, and lacking nothing but bullets and flint. Their diet contained ingenious makeshifts. Salt they obtained from the ashes of a palm tree, and butter from condensing the fat of the palm tree worm.

That evening the rebels crept near the European encampment and began shouting curses, threats. All night the jungle resounded with the yells of rebels and the replies of rangers. The hatred of the revolted blacks for the loyalist rangers knew no bounds. They swore that no ranger should ever leave the bush alive. They dared the planters to enter the woods. Finding so much communication going on, Colonel Fourgeod decided to join in, and began "hallooing." He offered the rebels food, drink, and freedom if they would lay down their arms.

The reply was curt and contemptuous. They "damned him for a French bastard," saying, "We are free men. You soldiers are white slaves, hired to be shot at for fourpence a day."

Fourgeod swore to pursue Bonny to the end of the earth. The following day the troops pressed on to the next village, *Cofaay,* which signifies "Try Me." They found it deserted. Lacking ammunition, the blacks had realized the impossibility of putting up a defence. So they made a great noise in the night, under cover of which Cofaay was evacuated. While the loud shouting was going on, the food of the next village had

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226 animals in the water. The catch would be consumed before
227 it could be taken up. Besides spring-traps that snap shut when the bait is touched, cone-traps are used, similar to those of more northern waters. The fish pokes his way into a concave cone, at the end of which is an opening guarded by bristles. Going in, the bristles are easily pushed aside, but, coming out, they bar the path. Then, say the Bush Negroes, the fish speaks to the trap as follows:

"Matti, opa duro gimme"—"Friend, open the door."

But the trap replies: *"Matti, me na cong tia massra de habbe nassloto cun, dassa ope na da you"*—"Friend, I can't until master who has the key comes; he will open it for you."

262 Fish form a large part of the Djuka diet, and fishing is
264 carried on by women, men, and children indifferently. When our canoe paddlers bring in some fish, they get out their
[252 little black gipsy pot, add whole peppers, and boil the fish
263] as it is. It is then eaten like corn-on-the-cob. The head, especially, is a delicacy, the bones being crunched audibly and with gusto. The meat goes in one side of a Bush Negro mouth and the bones seem to come out the other. If a halt is called in the business of eating, it is only long enough to say: *"Fissee makee bon sweetee muffo"*—"Fish make good eating," i. e. make good sweet mouth.

/11 cont./

286 garments /pandjes/ or articles of dress and other knitted goods.
[413] They also know how to make very attractive hammocks of cotton.

Chapter VII

Food, Drinks, Delicacies, and so forth.

262 [252] Their daily food is mainly rice and cassava (1) bread which

1. Sweet cassava, the farina from the root of the Janipha manihot, not to be confused with Jatropha manihot, which gives the bitter cassava, which, however much is removed by boiling and continued washing, contains a very poisonous component.

is baked on an iron plate and provides a tasty food that can be
[241] kept for a long time. During the dry season, the months of September, October, and November, the ground also supplies them with a very mealy and tasty tuber called nappi (2); throughout the year,

2. Dioscorea sativa and Dioscorea alata L.

however, they grow yams, sweet potatoes (3), tayers (4), and cassava.

3. Convolvulus batatas L. and Batatas edulis Choisy.

4. Root from Arum esculentum.

[439] They have bananas only from time to time, whenever they exchange them on plantations for squared wood, which they pur-
[433] posely work for this exchange. They know how to obtain wild game
[263] and fish in great quantities; salt is an article greatly in demand.

/149 cont./

249 pikien keeng, small variety with thin stalks; is not cut with a
[789] cutter but broken off by hand; obia (1) is made from it;

1. obia = spirit medicine.

[262] switi-keeng, the ordinary variety which is most used: the stalks
[263] are eaten fresh (chewed) or the juice is expressed with the wooden
sugar-press (ma) and boiled down to a syrup (lika) which is used
[407] in coffee or in crushed awarra (2).

2. awarra = prickly palm which supplies edible fruit.

273 For festivals one cuts the stalks in pieces and allows the juice to be extracted from them in water in a short korjaal (komata). This water is later heated in a pot and fermented into an alcoholic beverage (djojo).

245 Pineapple (nanási).

This is regularly grown, the shoots standing scattered on the grounds; after one year the plants produce fruit. Two varieties are distinguished:

bigi nanasi, a white variety;

indji nanasi, likewise a white variety, but sweeter.

[262] The fruit is eaten fresh. Together with sugar cane and bananas, pineapples continue to grow for a long time on the old grounds.

Papaya (papái).

Few papayas stand on the grounds, but many along the edges of the villages, where they grow into long tall trees.

[262] A long red variety is called bobi papai; a short yellow variety,
[252] papai. The fruit is eaten fresh, sometimes also boiled green.

/150/ Tobacco (tabáka).

249 Tobacco is cultivated on a modest scale in various places. The leaves are ripe for picking after 4-5 months (April to May); the man-high plant blooms after seven months with small, pink blossoms.

/152 cont./
245 white cucumber-like fruit flesh is eaten. The taste is refreshingly
262 tart.

249 Ricinus /castor-oil plant/ (karapata).
789 Is to be found in all villages and especially on refuse heaps.
302 The leaf is used for obia, the oil from the kernels as a hair oil.

Pepper (pépré).
244 Grows as a small shrub near the houses or along the edge of
[252] the village. The variety with small red fruit occurs especially frequently. The fruit is eaten boiled in meat soup.

Koemboe (komoe).
245 Stands in individual specimens in and along the villages and
[252] in the forest. The kernels of this palm are gladly eaten, softened with warm water and pounded into koemboe soup. The fruit is ripe in February-May. A large variety is patawah.

Maripa (maïpa).
[262] Absent in not a single village. The fruit provides a white,
[252] fatty fruit-flesh that is eaten fresh (May). The pits are dried and pounded to pieces with a stone in order to obtain the three kernels. After having dried these (in the sun), one boils from them a food oil.

Awarra palms (awá).
[263] Stand in little groups in each Bush Negro village. The orange fruit, which is ripe in February-March, sometimes also in June

/152 cont./

245 is eaten fresh, but more frequently pounded in the matta, so
●263 that the fruit flesh becomes mushy. Over this one sprinkles sugar or sugar syrup and eats it as a delicacy (awá-popo).

Pina palm (apodong).

222 In April-May supplies a marble-sized black fruit which is prepared in the manner described for koemboe. This palm variety grows in groups in swampy places in the forests.

Paramaribo, December, 1952.

/The following summary appears in English on pp. 152-153 of the original source./

SUMMARY

AGRICULTURE AS APPLIED BY THE BUSHNEGROES ALONG THE MARONI AND TAPANAHONI RIVERS

241 During the MEDICAL SCIENTIFIC EXPEDITION TO THE SOUTHERN BORDER OF SURINAM from February till July 1952, in order to get an insight into the medical problems of the interior, the opportunity was

361 "This is the entrance to the farm of a Gankwe family. And there, can you see? That's a broken village. Many people died there. The others left it. This happened when Bayo was small."

4

805 "How many hours, Bakra?" Bayo asked. He could tell time by the sun and guessed almost exactly. "They are stopping on the rocks there. It's time to eat."

● 264 The Bush Negro usually has two meals a day, one in the early forenoon and another at night after dark when work is over. He eats little. These men were on the river with us ten or eleven hours a day, poling upstream, loading and unloading the boats where the rapids were so high that it was impossible to take the heavily loaded boats across them, and what we saw them eat was some cassava bread [26] dipped in river water to soften it, and some cold rice with a little palm oil in it. They had no time to fish, and it was a bad year for fishing, too. Of game there was little. [224] A few toucans and a monkey were all they could get along the shore—game was scarce even in the deep bush. For more than a score of decades their ancestors had been shooting game along the river, and now the animals kept away.

In the other boats Asikanu was the first served.

"Look, here is your food."

The front paddler put a calabash filled with rice and some cassava bread on the water, and the stream carried it to Asikanu.

"Did you catch it?"

"Ai."

484 26 In Sedefo's boat the cassava cakes were green with mold. One by one these disks of a finger's breadth in thickness and perhaps thirty inches in diameter were laid on the hot rocks to dry. On a trip such as this, enough must be taken to feed a man during his entire absence from home. Well in advance a man's wife, or his mother or sister, or a maternal aunt will be told of such a trip so that she may

REBEL DESTINY

484 Sedefo might greet his sister. It was almost a half-day's travel, going up river, from Asindopo Lantiwe, yet it was not quite noon, and we were passing it. Here was Hei Kununu, its steep slopes already swinging into sight as we rounded a bend of the river and came through the small rapids above the settlement, and still it seemed as though we had but begun our course down toward our base camp and the railhead. And it was still early in the afternoon when we came to Ma'lobbi.

2

462 At the landing place, women were about. Much of the work of the Bush Negro woman is at the river's edge, and for strangers like ourselves, passing in a dugout, the presence of women working on the bank was the only sign [361] that here was a landing place, and that farther inland lay a [512] village. To the river they came with their carved clothes [296] beaters, like the one we could see in the hand of the woman who greeted us here at Ma'lobbi, fashioned, as we later learned when she sold it to us, in the shape of a male vodu head on one end, and a female snake on the other. It was at the edge of the water that a woman scraped cooking pots [264] and calabash dishes with sand, and it was here, if it seemed a good day for fishing, that a woman would go wading in the water to rest a cooking pot on the river [226] bottom, and stand silently until an inquisitive school of small fish swam into it when, with a quick jerk, she would bring it up to take out what fish there were. This, aside from the use of small hooks, was the only kind of fishing a woman could do, for the fishing traps were for the use of men. But the cooking pot brought in many small fish to add flavor to a dish of rice.

123 As we walked into the village, accompanied by one of our 609 younger paddlers, the bassia greeted us. The head of the village was waiting for us, he told us. Paddlers of small boats on their way downstream had spread the word that our visit with the Granman was drawing to an end.

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226 animals in the water. The catch would be consumed before
227 it could be taken up. Besides spring-traps that snap shut when the bait is touched, cone-traps are used, similar to those of more northern waters. The fish pokes his way into a concave cone, at the end of which is an opening guarded by bristles. Going in, the bristles are easily pushed aside, but, coming out, they bar the path. Then, say the Bush Negroes, the fish speaks to the trap as follows:

"Matti, opa duro gimme"—"Friend, open the door."

But the trap replies: *"Matti, me na cong tia massra de habbe nassloto cun, dassa ope na da you"*—"Friend, I can't until master who has the key comes; he will open it for you."

262 Fish form a large part of the Djuka diet, and fishing is
264 carried on by women, men, and children indifferently. When our canoe paddlers bring in some fish, they get out their
[252 little black gipsy pot, add whole peppers, and boil the fish
263] as it is. It is then eaten like corn-on-the-cob. The head, especially, is a delicacy, the bones being crunched audibly and with gusto. The meat goes in one side of a Bush Negro mouth and the bones seem to come out the other. If a halt is called in the business of eating, it is only long enough to say: *"Fissee makee bon sweetee muffo"*—"Fish make good eating," i. e. make good sweet mouth.

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sand. A few chisels and carpenter's tools can occasionally 322
be found. Where compasses or dividers cannot be obtained, a nail and piece of string are often used to execute the involved serpentine patterns.

Bush Negro sanni is not used for trading purposes. A 438
few pieces find their way down to the coast, of course, but 322
they are never articles of commerce among the Djukas. In some villages, and particularly among the Paramacca tribe, it is practically impossible to obtain many carvings. But the willingness to part with these objects naturally varies with the village and the individual. Being known to the natives greatly facilitates trade.

One outstanding feature of this work is the complete 322
absence of colour. The finished piece shows the natural hue 532
of the wood, and rarely anything more. An occasional variation is obtained by inlaying with racuda wood, brownheart, or purpleheart, but tints and dyes are seldom applied. A different shade is also obtained once in a while by branding or burning the wood with a hot iron. The Aucaners, who paint red and black devices on their large canoe paddles, represent exceptions to the general rule of showing only the natural wood shades.

Nearly all the pieces are utilitarian in origin and purpose, 412
but some of them are so highly carved as to be of little [531
practical use. These are much prized as gift pieces. The 415]
trays are actually used to carry food on, and also for winnowing rice. The stirring paddles dip into the food pot every evening. After being used they are washed with river water and [244]
hung up on a peg.

354 /9 cont./
[372] they do not like to be without it; at least they do not like to
[353] sleep without a fire. Their weapons hang above their sleeping
[513] place, which is a hammock, in which man and wife sometimes lie together. Rarely do more than one man and one woman with their
342 small children live in a single hut.

296 Their articles of clothing, as well as other small belongings,
251 are kept in pagalen, a kind of plaited basketwork, while they keep
415 water, strong drinks, sugar juice, rice, salt, and so forth in
824 calabashes and godos (2).

2. Both hollowed-out fruit rinds of the Crescentia cagete L. and the Cucurbita lagenaria L., plants from the family of the Cucurbitaceae.

415 Some of them have cedarwood clothes-chests, which must be specially mounted with a great deal of copper; one also sometimes finds liqueur cellars with gilded bottles.

353 For the rest everything is left out in the open in the hut.

264 Often many men come together in one hut for their meals and eat out of one large bowl or calabash. The women withdraw after having placed on very low tables several calabashes or bowls of food for their husbands in the circle in which they are seated, never forgetting to add a large calabash with clean water for washing the hands before and after the meal. The women gather in another hut in order to consume what they kept out for themselves beforehand and what has been left by their husbands.

[888] If an aged person or a highly placed person is in their midst,
[554] he is offered the calabash of food first, so that he may take from it what he wants and eat it by himself from an ordinary plate, although seated in the circle, /10/ while the others partake of their meal from the large bowl. In general they talk with one another during the meal, the highly placed person also taking part in the conversation.

/15 cont./

585 white cotton sleeping blanket, various colored cloths and pantjes,
[583] some earthenware, such as bowls and plates, iron pots and pans, and the like, while he is obligated on the occasion to provide for an ample supply of strong drink and sugar wine.

They do not have festivities, games, or dancing in connection with their marriages.

586 If a marriage is dissolved, then each of the two parties again goes to his own family; in case those concerned in it and the elders disapprove of this, however, it happens that man and wife are forced to continue to live with each other, especially when there are no substantial reasons and grievances.

573 The man is obligated to provide his wife or his wives with food, clothing, and ornaments; she, to follow the man everywhere, to cook for him, to wash, and to take care of the housekeeping.

264 The wives are neat in an exemplary fashion; plates, bowls,
252 and pans are always kept extremely clean, and they also see to it that everything is extremely clean in connection with cooking.

841 If they find themselves in a period of menstruation, they
302 indicate this immediately to the husband by withdrawing from his dwelling and staying in seclusion with other women; they neither cook nor do the least thing for him in this state, do not even come within sight of him, and remain secluded to the end; when they have cleaned and dressed themselves, they decorate their shoulders and arms with white stripes as a token /16/ that they have again
[386] returned to their normal state. The stripes are made by mixing
[824] pounded adroe (1) with ground chalk and water.

1. A tuberous root-stalk from the Cyperus rotundus L.

Sometimes they also smear the forehead and the neck in this way and appear thus before their husbands.

841 During their seclusion another woman, who is a member of
571 the family or possibly a female friend, daily prepares and brings the
252 food, which, however, is at the expense of the secluded wife. They perform this service for each other mutually.

/185 cont./

765 538 About eight o'clock in the evening, people assemble around the mortuary shed where the drummers and mato (Anansi Toli) storytellers sit. Amèmbé, of Loka village, begins to tell a story which is scarcely listened to, the audience remaining noisy and distracted. The respondents punctuate his discourse with approbations: "hiya ba! na so!" At several [522] passages of the story (when Anansi has succeeded in deceiving his victim), the audience shakes with laughter, the drums beat, the storyteller and his respondents sing and dance. Little by little the audience warms up, participates intensely in the story.

Another tale follows, told by Adiiso, head of the Dju lineage (Asisi). The audience is overexcited, the interludes [535] of dancing become more and more numerous and longer, everybody, men, women, and children take part in it.

About eleven o'clock the dances are going to begin in 765 the order susa, sɔŋgɛ, awasa; at six /186/ o'clock in the morn- [535] ing the next day the awasa dances are carried on. Part of those present go down to the wharf to go home, showing no apparent fatigue.

Fifth day, Nov. 12. Nothing happens in the morning. The people take some rest.

At 3:00 P.M. the young men go around dressed up to the nines; people visit each other from one house to the other, they drink and sing.

765 262 264 About 3:30 the basia circulate in the village, calling the women to bring the ceremonial meal. Tables are set out under the shed. The women each bring a big bowl or basin of cooked rice (about two kilograms of rice). Some add a bowl of sauce or cooked fish. No meat.

The basia lay out all that on the tables. There are about 30 bowls or basins (which represents a handsome effort, the rice harvest having been bad), about 50 bottles of soda, several boxes of pastries /biscuits/ and Dutch cheeses.

/186 cont./

765 •264 [613] Fintiman directs the ceremony. He divides all these dishes without distinction of origin into several lots, one for each lineage.

[515] All the guests go down to the wharf to wash in the river, then put on new clothes before participating in the ceremonial meal.

[613] The people of each lineage go to eat on their side; a bowl is carried to the people in mourning, like Alémin, who remain confined at home. But the near relatives of the three dead for whom mourning is going to be lifted take part in the ceremony.

765 About four o'clock the women are seen to appear again, carrying a small bowl of rice accompanied by a little fish and peanut sauce. They put them down on the ground at the edge of the mortuary shed.

Banana leaves are arranged at the edge of the shed (north wall, on the side facing the river).

The elders, seated on their little benches, gather together in a half circle. Fintiman and Bukuman take a little from each bowl, spread it out on the banana leaves. They call by name the dead for whom mourning is being lifted, Béniti and the young boys Tito and G...., speaking to them in a familiar conversational tone as if to living people whom one invited to eat.

Several persons come to eat a little of the food.

At 5:00 P.M. Fintiman has five small boys of five to seven years line up, each provided with a basin, in front of the food spread out on the ground. At a given signal they rush forward, each one carrying away what he could cover with his a basin. They leave a little of it, which will stay there all night. The next day the left-overs from the buffet prepared for the living will be added to it.

/271 cont./

*539 rice-straw broom (2). If you rub me with it, I lose my

[264]
[824]

2. The Refugee Blacks have the practice of using lemon juice for scouring dishes.

power."

He said: "That's good; please agree to come into my ɔbia house, so that I may frustrate my wife Wénon and my children. They tire me." It said: "Very well, I shall go with you." He walked, he put it on his head. His belly was full, comrades, his intestines were full. He walked until he arrived at the outskirts of the village. He shouted: "All the people of the village, shut yourselves up, I am carrying my ɔbia to my ɔbia house." They said: "What art thou saying?" He repeated: "I am carrying my ɔbia pot to my ɔbia house." Gban! Gban! The people slammed the doors of their houses, gban!

Anansi walked to his ɔbia house, opened the door, he hung up the frying-pan in a corner.

That day he did not eat in Wénon's house. Wénon cooked spinach for him. He said: "My belly is full." He waited until midnight, then he went out. He said to the frying-pan: "Frying-pan, why are you beautiful thus?" It said: "I am beautiful, but I am not beautiful for nothing." He said: "Show me so that I may see."

It began to fry for him as much food as he could eat. /272/ /272/ One of his children named Akpwatitikwati said (to his brother) Asingébélé: "We are cleverer than Anansi. I am going to keep an eye on my father until I surprise him." Then he began to watch him and surprised him. He saw and cried: "So that's how he did it."

Anansi said he was going hunting; then he went away to hunt. (Immediately) the children came; they said: "Frying-pan..." ... (same formulas).

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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keep them dry, is a carved calabash gourd, with a tight-fitting waterproof cover made from another gourd. These are stored away amidship, along with high piles of cassava cakes and jugs of mareepa oil, the native soft drink. The women also add to the cargo a small gipsy cooking-pot and an unclean shotgun.

There is much talkee-talkee during the loading. After the lapse of some time a second start is made, and the poling begins again. After hours on the river, around bend after bend, and through innumerable passages of rapid and rough water, we encounter a Bush Negro corial coming downstream. In it are two paddlers, and a woman with a little boy. Immediately the Djukas bring the boats together for a gossip and palaver. The strangers pay little attention to the bahkra, except a curt nod in answer to his greeting. But they ask the paddlers all about the white man, who he is, where he is going, and where he comes from. Flagawai replies in detail, and for his part asks news of the upper river. The strangers have come from a distant, picturesquely named village many days up the Surinam River, Futu No Habbe Ackaba, "The Foot That Has No Resting-Place." This signifies the long journey required to reach it, but the phrase might be taken as symbolical of the many enforced journeyings of the Negro race.

The powwow continues for some time. Our restless hints pass unnoticed. Unlike other natives, who can be commanded and beaten, the Djukas are independent; to give them orders is out of the question. The traveller who at-

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[243]

Fig. 11. Threshing the rice ears on a sack with the feet. -- Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, June 1952.

[245]
[415]

Fig. 12. The fruits of the pina palm are collected in a basket; a beverage is made from the fruit-pulp. -- Marowijne, Albina, April 1953.

[272]

/151 cont./
249 greatly to the beautification of the village. The Bush Negroes use
[232] the red dyestuff from the seeds to smear on the dogs against vermin.

Cotton (katoen).

248 One sees it standing in various places along the edges of the
283 villages and among the dwelling huts. The cotton itself is in ex-
[286] ceptional cases used by the women for spinning. Calf bands (sepoe) are made out of cotton thread after the Indian model, and sometimes hammocks also.

Coffee.

245 Is found here and there in the forest along the edge of the village (Drietabbetje, Poeketti). It is the small variety, probably
[272] Coffea arabica. The beans are used for coffee. The trees prob-- ably grew from kernels that at one time were taken by slaves from the plantations.

Calabash (kabasi).

244 Grows everywhere among the dwelling huts and in neglected corners. A distinction is made between kabasi and pikien soepoen.
[415] The wood-like pericarps of both varieties are used for all kinds of purposes, especially for utensils (bowls, spoons) and as "koej" for scooping the korjalen empty.

Kasjoen (kasoeng).

245 Occurs here and there and ordinarily does not supply much
[262] fruit; the latter is eaten fresh, the kernels sometimes roasted
[252] like pinda.

Mappa.

Probably a variety of Tabernaemontana (Apocynaceae). Not infrequently in May one sees the women returning from the grounds with pear-shaped /152/ (up to ten centimeters long) yellow fruit,
[262] which they have gathered from a small forest tree. The fruit is eaten fresh; one first taps on the rind with a piece of wood in order to concentrate the milk sap in it, peels the fruit, and the

/220 cont./

769 Beside the principal fraga tiki one sometimes sees sticks
778 bearing fragments of white cloth; they have been planted in honor of those ancestors who have demanded it.

The ceremonies at the fraga tiki have a very simple
769 character; prayers are said in the ordinary language and often
778 have the character of an intimate conversation. In the absence
782 of the head of the lineage, an old man pronounces them; while he speaks, an assistant makes the offering of water and tafia. Pouring water on the ground is a rite having as its purpose entering into contact with the ancestors: it is seen performed in funeral ceremonies, before beginning the interrogation of the yǫrka. The tafia is an offering in the literal sense of the term; at the time of the principal prayers being addressed to the ancestors, the offering of tafia is preceded by an offering of cane
[272] juice, kyẽǫ wata. Cane juice was the beverage on feast days in the times when the ancestors, at war with the Europeans, were bereft of tafia.

The prayer formulas most commonly used ask the ancestors to intercede with Masa gadu on behalf of their descendants: "Ancestors, watch over us, protect us, pray to Masa gadu for us so that...."

769 Possession by a yǫrka. It is taken for granted that the yǫrka of
an ancestor can enter into a member of his matrilineage and
787 reveal itself in the course of attacks of possession. This is a very
613 rare phenomenon. In 1958, in all the Boni country, only about ten people were known who bore thus the yǫorka of an ancestor. These attacks come on spontaneously, no cult having their provocation as its purpose. We were present in December, 1956 at one of these attacks in a young woman from Papaïston, Mili, about 20 years old. Since the day before, the yǫrka of an ancestor of the lineage dead for two generations had manifested itself in her intermittently; these attacks lasted several minutes;

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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AT THE COURT OF THE GRANMAN

Now it was the Granman's turn to supply the interpolations, while Kasanya and Bibifo reported. 622 576 574

"Yes, so it is. So I know it to be myself. So I have heard," he spoke when they paused.

But when the ceremonial greetings were over, and the conversation turned to down-river affairs, the Granman leaned forward in his chair and talked with the men informally. They were all clan members, or men belonging to clans whose allegiance to the Granman's rule was undoubted, and they talked over many things in the way men do when they meet with their own kind. 622 643 521 [614]

The room was growing darker. Yankuso called through the slatted wall against which he was leaning, and the young man who had fired the guns entered.

"Bassia, it is getting late. We must leave this house to the white man. These men with me are my friends. They must drink before they leave."

The bassia took the decanter from the table, and from the shelf underneath it, where we could dimly see shells and containers of shot, he took several small glasses. Before taking the glass to his lips, each man poured some of the liquor on the ground as a libation to the Earth Mother, and, as each drank, he turned to Yankuso and asked if he might leave. 576 273

"*Mi da permissi*—I grant you permission," he said to each.

When we had finished our meal, it was already dark. At the door of his own house, Granman Yankuso was sitting on a low stool.

"I have something for you," he said, disappearing inside his house. When he came out, he held in his hand some black object, which we were unable to identify. "You have fire?" he asked, as he suspended this object from a tree which grew between his house and the one in which we were staying. 354 574

"There was a white Hollander here who brought this to me. He went from here farther into the bush. He never came out. Light is a good thing at night. When visitors

641 over whom it was exercised. When the ancestors of the Bush Negroes were brought to New World slavery, what [567] measure of acquiescence they showed was due to the fact that slavery was not an unfamiliar tradition to them. They knew of the war captive, or the man convicted of a serious crime, who was a slave to one of their own kind. But the experience of the white man's slavery was a crucible in which the ownership of man by man, and the unquestioning obedience which men owed to those of higher rank, were destroyed, leaving only the ideal of the life of free men. "Free!" was the way in which one Bush Negro toasted another, or a white man, when he drank with him. A "*Man* [203] *Nengere*," an adult Negro was, above all, a free man, and 621 it was as a freeman that he was governed, for though villages had chiefs, and there were bassias who were subordinate to chiefs, and though above the village chiefs were clan chiefs, and over them all the Granman, yet the final word rested with the members of each subsidiary body, and not with its leader.

624 Every village had its officials, and its medium for discus-
622 sions. Every clan had its head, and its old men, who, [614] sounding out the will of the clan members, consulted with that head when questions were to be decided. For the decisions affecting the entire Saramacca River, there were [643] the Granman and his krutu, before whom questions of [692] larger policy or disputes between villages were brought.

Perhaps most impressive of all was the measure of auton-
632 omy which each village had. A village, or certainly a group
614 of neighboring villages belonging to the same clan, formed
609 a small kingdom. A Bush Negro of another village who came to visit, came as any stranger, paddle in hand, his top cloth covering his loin cloth. When he found himself in a strange village on a night when a dance was being given, he did not join the dancers until after much urging by a native of that village, and then he danced little, and if he were a particularly fine dancer, he took care not to flaunt his superior gifts. The exception to this, to be sure, were the sacred dances, when a stranger, whose god came

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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774 at the time approaching a state of possession, had provoked great anger.

"If you do not know what the Dyo-dyo is, then you are not human. Then I won't talk to you. Have you never walked and felt something in back of you, yet nothing was there? Have you never had a dream?"

The Dyo-dyo was one of two souls with which each individual was born, the old woman had later been persuaded to explain, for each man had his akra, his personal soul, which if he were mindful of it, remained with him, and allowed no evil to come to him; and each man had his Dyo-dyo, his wandering soul. At death the soul which had [795] wandered came back to the body. If it were permitted to stray once more, this soul, which had been ever restless in life, would wander about troubling the living.

796 But now, sitting among the women in back of the Gran-
765 man's shrine, it seemed again best to admit that she knew nothing of the adyo ceremony. Fortunately, there was no outburst of anger this time, for here in the true, true Saramacca country, it was soon evident that there was a pride in their magic, and their language, because these were [186] held to be uniquely their own.

"We give a big play for the breaking of mourning." All [534] the drums were played, and the rattles sounded, and the *kwakwa*—the hard-wood bench played with two sticks—was beaten.

For this important ceremony, the oldest living brother [293] of the dead man provided food and rum, and, when the time came to partake of this food, he and the *kei mundu*—the people of rank—sat about the doorway of the widow's house. She herself stood inside the house, behind the threshold, scattering food for the dead, and pouring rum on the ground. Rice and peanuts and sugar cane were thrown [262] away, but not yams or plantains, for those things were not given in their village to the ancestral spirits. As the widow "threw away" the food she wept. In the clearing those who did not eat danced adyo. In a circle, men and women danced in close file, one behind the other, each

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796 796 781 787 Other cries now came to us, and from the bush a second possessed man burst into the clearing. He, too, had a machete, and he made straight for our hut. But obia did not prompt him to insist on entering, and he came close to us, gibbering in our faces, and then, stepping high as had the other, went his way to slash at our washbasins, sending one of them, that we treasure as a memory of that night's adventure, hurtling into the bush with a deep dent in its side.

From the river came renewed shouts, and some of the men dashed to the bank to jump into a canoe and paddle into the rapids, so that they might watch the possessed man who had leaped into the river to pit his strength against the fast water. On and on he swam upstream in the foaming water, as from the bank we watched his progress uneasily in the clear light of the moon. Finally obia left him, and the men in the boat seized his inert form and brought him back to shore.

796 787 When we returned to our hut, we found several others possessed. Obia had claimed six or seven, some with faces painted half white, half red, as was that of the first man, others with faces whitened, while still others had white faces with black markings. These last had Tigri, and the white was for Opete. Those who danced for the buzzard had no machetes, but went about in a circle, moving with bodies bent forward from their waists and with arms thrown back in imitation of the bird from which their spirit took its name.

One man with the Tigri face-painting took away the apinti from the drummer and placing it in the center of the clearing leaned over it and began drumming faster rhythms. Now indeed obia itself was drumming.

796 273 Long before this, we had observed the amenities of the occasion. As hosts, our duty was to provide the ceremonial rum with which the spirits needed to be regaled, and our cook, holding the bottle of rum for us, filled and refilled the small glass which we offered to men and women. Some did not drink at all but poured part of the rum on the

ground, rubbing the remainder over arms and upper body. 796 Some took a sip and, like the others, poured the rest as a 373 libation to the Earth Mother. Few drank more than a little, and only the men had as much as half of the small wine glass we were using.

The bassia of Gankwe came to us. "Do not be afraid. Obia has come strong, but we have prepared for it. The men will not hurt people."

Led by him, we passed from one dancer to the next, giving to this one a sip, to that one a taste. But there was one elderly man who would not drink.

"Not until I get obia," he said, "and obia does not come to me tonight."

Not all the possessed men were slashing about with 796 cutlasses. One man pulled up grass, eating part and throw- 797 ing the rest over his head. Another in the strength of his possession uprooted large clumps of brush, and one broke off a liana of some size and wrapped it about his body, and danced with it.

Songs, dancing men, dancing women, machetes flashing in the moonlight . . . and over all the beat of the drum. This was the dance of the Kromanti obia.

Now the man who had refused a drink came up. He was trembling.

"Obia comes!" he cried. "Give me rum!"

As he tossed off the drink, he dashed toward the possessed men. In his hand was a rattle, the first we had seen at this [534] dance. The rattle is sacred to the Kromanti, and possession can be brought on by shaking it even when there are no drums. As he danced, he supplemented the rhythm of the drums with his rattle, and his dancing surpassed in its fury that of all the others. Men kept out of his way as he dashed back and forth in his contortions, and he continued his gyrations as those with painted faces, whom obia was releasing, began to feel exhaustion.

The drums never stopped. As long as obia remained unsatisfied, they would need to play on and on. While the drummers beat the Kromanti rhythms, and the man with

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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533 faces. The drummers stop to tune to the desired pitch, driv-
796 ing in the pegs with the back edge of a bush-knife. Then they resume, rattling out a sharply insistent tempo. Women begin to sway. Some of them start a plaintive jungle song. The drums never stop.

796 A woman disengages herself from the crowd and enters
535 the open space. She bends forward from the waist at a right angle. Her arms form a circle beyond her head, saffron palms outward. She sways from the hips, her torso contorted with sinuous suggestion. Then her feet on the bare earth rap out the tempo that the brown fingers of the men are drumming on the dried skin. The others begin patting juba.

It is a false start. The woman interrupts her dance to criticize the orchestra for not playing in her mood. The crowd is not yet possessed.

Dodo, the woman *bosseia*, or boss, goes about urging the women to begin. Meanwhile the bahkra slips through the
[123 crowd pouring out drinks of high wine to add to the dark
712 hilarity of the occasion. Always before drinking they will
273] spit on the ground a libation to the gods. A mother gives the rum to her seven-year-old child, who does not flinch from the burning potion.

A new tempo. Three little girls, slim in their nudity, enter the central space. The oldest is about eleven. They stand with their backs to us and begin the *bandamba* dance. The evening is on.

Standing still in the firelight, hands behind their heads, they arch their loins and raise their buttocks up and down.

3: Coster--1 F-5 (ca. 1857) 1866 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Djuka

/1/

Introduction

114 After having left the plantation life in the colony of Surinam,
121 I went back there in the beginning of 1851 with the plan, as the
[101] result of an agreement reached by me with a Belgian firm, to send shiploads of wood to the motherland and Belgium.

[123] I undertook my journeys to the Bush Negroes for this purpose and visited most of their dwelling places, something that entailed effort and great cost, since I distributed ample presents everywhere for the purpose of thereby acquiring their confidence, which they do not readily grant to Whites.

123 At my very first encounter I took the precaution of politely
[576] greeting each one of them without distinction and shaking their
[177] hands, a practice taken over by them from the Whites in the most recent times, which assures them of a feeling of good-will such as they experience among themselves but never from a White.

[352] I spoke to them frankly and in a friendly way, sat next to them in their huts on their low stools, and partook of their meals. In short -- I lived for a while without reserve or fear among them, paying amply for everything that I enjoyed in this way or that.

[273] I also permitted them, whenever they wanted to use any of my store of beverages, such as wine, beer, brandy, and gin, to ask me for it quietly, so that I would be able to order my servants to offer them what they had requested. In addition I supplied /2/ them amply with dram (1), herbs, and lead and, in order to show

1. A kind of inland rum (sugar spirits).

generosity to the women as well, frequently gave them and the children biscuits, cake, or some coins.

[121] In the beginning they were very reserved and mistrustful, but gradually, and after some difficult years, became more open with me, so that I, adapting myself entirely to their practices, was able to carry out my plan to have the necessary wood processed by them.

123 /4 cont./
675 drink something from it or merely smell it; indeed! when it was empty, the remaining men who had not yet drunk from it or smelled it had to lick it.

I was then embraced by the headmen and many of the women; they flung the right arm over my left shoulder and the left arm under my right arm and rested their heads for a moment against my right cheek.

[273] After the conclusion, while much dram was drunk, general exuberant gaiety prevailed, and only then was /5/ I told that they had purposely cut me first and given me a drink first in order to ascertain whether I trusted them completely or whether, so entirely by myself; I would have been afraid to submit to their wishes and to do what they demanded of me; they assured me that if I had refused to be the first, none of them would have wanted to conclude the agreement with me.

If, therefore, I had not conducted myself as they wished, I would have missed out completely on this alliance which was so highly important and profitable for me.

466 On the following day many of them came to tell me that
313 their work places on the river Cottica supplied little of the kinds of wood that had been pointed out by me for processing, but they declared themselves ready to go and process them immediately for me on the Upper Commewijne river, where they were sure of finding richer forests.

Since the last-named river was closed to them at that time by a governmental decree, I made a request for access in the year
[361] 1854, in order to be able to work with them at this river. This was granted to me, and since then a few hundred Bush Negroes have been staying there and have laid out dwellings and croplands, while they continuously, with unexampled industry, process the wood needed by me and deliver it to the sawmill.

/11 cont./

252 They always prepare their food with much native pepper (5)

5. All Capsicum species.

and in their soup or blaf cook various forest greens (6), which they

6. Kraroe, kalalve from the Amarantus oleraceus, taja leaves from an Arum species.

then eat with finely pounded bananas (called afoefoe) or else with cassava bread or rice dipped into it.

412 They make their spoons from a long strip of the calabash rind.

262 They are great lovers of pinda (7), a kind of groundnut, from

7. Arachis hypogoea L.

which they make various delicacies.

[439] They are particularly fond of bacon and buy it whenever they are in town, salted and smoked; they frequently take barrels of it with them into the bush and are very sparing with it.

/12/ They buy flour or meal only when they have had a bad rice harvest.

273 As drink they use rum or dram, and sometimes they make

[439] from the juice of the sugar cane, which they acquire on plantations, a kind of fermented drink which they use especially at festivals. They prefer gin and beer to wine, of which they are no great lovers. The women are very fond of liqueur.

276 Many men and women smoke American tobacco in short clay pipes. The taking of snuff is a passionate habit among some.

Chapter VIII

Festivals, Games, Gods

796

273 They do not have fixed times for the veneration of their gods, and they do this only then when they are amply supplied with strong drink and want to have a gay time for three or four days.

/12 cont./

796 Then they call all the neighbors together to take part in the
● 273 festivities to be held, which consist of invoking their gods amidst continuous dancing and excessive drinking.

They begin the festivities only on a Friday and usually finish on a Sunday or Monday, depending on the larger or smaller
[147] supply of drink, so, lacking this, the festival ends. After the conclusion they are usually extremely tired and listless and give themselves up entirely to rest for at least two or three days.

It is a definite requirement at these festivities to be very amply supplied with strong drink, because one must drink without
[782] interruption in order to remain in a continuous narcosis. With each drink they first pour a little on the ground, -- so that it, too, on which they find themselves so gay, may participate in their enjoyment.

[262] The merrymakers then take care that they will by no means
[577] be lacking in fish, wild game, bacon, rice, etc., since it is a matter of honor with them to display the most lavish hospitality on such occasions.

776 The gods that they worship are:

Loango Gado,
Papa Gado,
Cromantie Gado,

/13/ names certainly derived from the various African tribes of these names.

In the first two they glorify nature and everything created, from which it therefore appears that these are merely subordinate
[787] gods of the unnamed, single great spirit. The last is above all regarded by them as the mediator who transmits their wishes to the great spirit; he is invoked especially at burial ceremonies and for consultation in connection with serious illnesses.

796 They do not have any other cult or religion, so far as I was
[771] able to discover, but only the fixed habit of still celebrating to-
[132] gether and with their chief and captains on the first Friday of the new moon in the month of October or November, after the long
[783] dry period has set in for good, a great feast that has as its goal a general atonement, to cleanse them of the misdeeds that they have

Continued.

/24 cont./

Chapter XVI

Manner of Traveling, and so forth

484 Their manner of traveling is very simple. Usually wife and children accompany them; very rarely do they go alone. They never take along more food provisions than they consider to be strictly necessary, in order not to have any burden of great baggage, for which their small, narrow vessels made out of a tree trunk are in any case little suited.

484 As primitive people they are able to withstand deprivations
411 very well, but nonetheless they always take care to be armed when they go traveling. These hunting and war weapons consist of gun, powder, lead, bow and arrows, as well as a machete and an ax.

484 Frequently they can continue on these journeys in a small,
505 narrow corjaal (canoe) for weeks on end; there is, of course, a
[501] great lack of comforts, but they are contented to long as they
[372] merely have a little place in the corjaal where they can maintain a flaming fire, which serves for the preparation of foods and because the Negro generally finds in it a, for him, pleasant sociability. Their journeys are not of great significance; they never extend across the sea, which is the case among the various Indian tribes.

/25/

Chapter XVII

Manner of Waging War, Ceremonies in connection with Concluding Peace and Alliance

721 War is rarely waged by or among them, but when it does take place, their conflict bears the character of a thirst for revenge, treachery, and hatred.

728 At the conclusion of peace, the subject party pledges itself to satisfy the demands of the victors, provided these are mutually
[273] judged as fair. As part of the ceremonies observed on this occasion there is also a large consumption of dram.

/149 cont./

249 pikien keeng, small variety with thin stalks; is not cut with a
[719] cutter but broken off by hand; obia (1) is made from it:

1. obia = spirit medicine.

[262] switi-keeng, the ordinary variety which is most used; the stalks
[263] are eaten fresh (chewed) or the juice is expressed with the wooden
sugar-press (ma) and boiled down to a syrup (lika) which is used
[407] in coffee or in crushed awarra (2).

2. awarra = prickly palm which supplies edible fruit.

● 273 For festivals one cuts the stalks in pieces and allows the juice to be extracted from them in water in a short korjaal (komata). This water is later heated in a pot and fermented into an alcoholic beverage (djojo).

275 Pineapple (nanási).

This is regularly grown, the shoots standing scattered on the grounds; after one year the plants produce fruit. Two varieties are distinguished:

bigi nanasi, a white variety;

indji nanasi, likewise a white variety, but sweeter.

[262] The fruit is eaten fresh. Together with sugar cane and bananas, pineapples continue to grow for a long time on the old grounds.

Papaya (papái).

Few papayas stand on the grounds, but many along the edges of the villages, where they grow into long tall trees.

[262] A long red variety is called bobi papai; a short yellow variety,
[252] papai. The fruit is eaten fresh, sometimes also boiled green.

/150/ Tobacco (tabáka).

249 Tobacco is cultivated on a modest scale in various places. The leaves are ripe for picking after 4-5 months (April to May); the man-high plant blooms after seven months with small, pink blossoms.

/171 cont./

764 Work is then resumed. Those present who are not ɔlɔmɛ̃, including me, are invited to throw several shovels of earth. On top of the mound are placed the papay and the objects used in the mourning, topped by the dead woman's bench. Then those present go away without haste and wash at the wharf. Several shots are again fired while the canoes go away.

The graves are spaced about 10 meters apart. The dead are not grouped by lineages; the cemetery is extended as needed, and the dead person is put in the first available spot. Thus Kotolda (Awara Bakka) is placed beside Asolda (Lapé), a hundred-year-old woman dead a few months before.

They show me the graves of village heads I have known, Diolé († in 1951), Atikati († in 1953). The mounds are already half settled down, the brush on them is as much as a meter high.

[969] One of my boatmen pours a little tafia on his mother's grave which is at the edge /172/ of the path. None of those present leaves the group to go to the grave of his relatives.

Thanking Ceremonies. On the twenty-third at eight [692] o'clock, the ɛlɛti kuutu is convened and sits at the edge of the mortuary shed.

The ɔlɔmɛ̃ and in a general way those who have worked [969] on behalf of the dead person (only about ten remain, the others have left to work) are seated opposite the men of the dead woman's lineage.

It is always Tafanié who speaks. Béna (Dju), seated before the ɔlɔmɛ̃, turned toward the speaker, plays the role of respondent. Tafanié thanks all those who have worked on behalf of the dead person, detailing at length the various jobs, then citing their various lineages; he repeats the same thing in several ways and his speech is interminable. Sometimes he [293] [415] interrupts himself to put in a good joke or drink a bumper of tafia. A 15-liter demijohn is seen circulating inside the shed.

/185 cont./

765 [535] The figures are almost similar to those of the awasa dance, except that the dancers move forward stamping with the left foot.

[533] Songs follow, but entirely covered by the drum and without great musical interest.

Second day, Nov. 9. Day called pun de ("a day is withdrawn"). No rite is performed on that day. Each one is busy with his occupations. The women pound and winnow rice.

Third day, Nov. 10. Day called lolo mata "the pestles are rolled." That day they carry to the edge of the mortuary shed pestles, wood for heating, and everything necessary for the preparation of the next day's food (1).

> 1. When there is a spouse in mourning, it is on that day that he is brought to the mortuary shed by the dead person's lineage, congratulated, and clothed in new garments red in color.

Fourth day, Nov. 11. Day called poti ala uni ta a loky zu ("to put all things into the mortuary shed").

About two o'clock the young men who have been to cut wood for heating come back in boats decorated with pennons, in the midst of hurrahs and shouts.

At three o'clock the basia circulate in the village, calling the women who appear from all sides carrying heavy baskets of cassava.

The provisions prepared for the festival are brought to the edge of the shed. Many of those present have brought a bottle [293] of tafia. The basia collect all the tafia in large demijohns. In all there will be six demijohns of 15 liters of tafia and as much cane juice.

/188 cont. /

765 431 Nearly half of the tafia was brought to the mortuary shed to serve for the dances, the other half was distributed to visitors in the course of calls of personal interest that they were coming to make on the village people at home.

Bénitti's three sons-in-law each gave three liters of tafia.

[613] The Boniville men belonging to other lineages each gave one liter, except the two principal basia (assistants to the grand man for the internal running of the village), Todo and Tofiom, who gave two liters each. Besides, each one kept one or two liters to offer to callers at their homes.

[613] As for the men of the Dju lo of Asisi, they brought one liter each, including the head of the lineage.

All the Boniville women and all the women of Asisi-Dja brought their contributions in the form of food.

In all about 150 adult visitors came.

765 293 One can estimate that about 200 liters of tafia were drunk, or a little more than a liter per person, which, for five days of festivities, is not enormous.

But since some drink very little, one can estimate that those most given to drunkenness drank up to three and four liters.

Inheritance

428 613 The custom of the Refugee Blacks, hostile to all that might divide the matrilineage, cannot accept the notion of a single heir entering into possession of all the property of the dead person and replacing him in his functions. This idea of the only heir considered as a substitute for the dead person, as it exists among the Bamiléké, which tends toward the individualization of one line within the lineage, can be regarded as the extreme opposite of the thought of the Refugee Blacks.

/198 cont./

167 794 old woman of 90, A...., who died in Asisi in January, 1957. Having lived with Creoles in her youth, she had come back to live in her native village for at least 30 years and had never given occasion for any unfavorable remark. Nevertheless, upon her death it appeared that she had wisi.

791 829 197 Attitude toward Christianity. The Refugee Blacks, who are acquainted better than one might believe with the conceptions of the populations in the midst of whom they live, have a clear feeling of the relationship which exists between their metaphysical and moral conceptions and those of Christianity. They think they worship the same god as the Christians, in a completely different way but just as sound. [797] They have no animosity whatever toward the Catholic and Protestant clergy, and most of them agree willingly to wearing crosses or medals. But they have not the least intention of abandoning their beliefs for that. They do not perceive the contradiction and do not understand that people might want to oblige them to choose.

851 171 Like the Creole gold miners, they attach great importance to baptism, considered as an obia protective against the dangers of the bush. On Christmas, 1957 they were strongly impressed 165 797 by the accidental death of a Djuka Christian living at the Kotika school. He refused to observe mourning for his wife [688] according to the custom of the Refugee Blacks, and used to go to drink in the cabarets of the Creole villages. On Christmas [273] evening, when drunk, he drowned himself. That was attributed [784] to a suprahuman punishment. We heard /199/ the following reflection on this subject: "He was baptized and he drowned himself just the same. That is therefore not worth the trouble."

61 581 571 Actually, the matrilineal structure of the Refugee Blacks and their conception of marriage form an irreducible cleavage, which appears immediately as soon as one leaves the metaphysical conceptions to pass to the plane of practical living.

/205 cont./

346 794 787 613 The objects placed in these chapels are simply the clothing, beverage, and tools of the gods when they come to visit men; they correspond nearly to what the Refugee Blacks leave in a farming habitation where they go to work regularly. For example, in the Papa gadu ɔsu of the Awara Bakka quarter of [273] Asisi, which serves for about 15 gods, each one has a definite place on the shelves to lay out especially the scarf which serves it as a garment and a bottle of beer (a bottle is always kept in readiness by the bearer of the god) (1).

1. The Papa gadu do not like tafia. If the usual bearer of one of these gods has drunk tafia, it cannot come into him.

[534] They still stow the Papa dɔɔ̃ drum in this chapel. This drum, like the chapel itself, is believed to belong to the Papa gadu god which first came into a member of the lineage to exercise the kunu. In the example mentioned of the Awara [428] /206/ Bakka lo of Asisi, in 1957 it was the centenarian grandmother Kuluba who had borne this god since her youth, having herself received it, by several successive transmissions, from a distant ancestress.

[621] In villages like Boniville and Papalston where fragments of lineage of entirely different origins coexist, each has its own organization.

For example in Boniville there is a Papa gadu ɔsu for the fragment of the Lapé lineage (it belongs to Térésa whose god exercises the kunu on this lineage). The fragment of the lineage has another.

In Papalston the Tolna (Bakabuchi) lineage, reduced to half a dozen persons, has a Papa gadu ɔsu of its own.

888 young. Once she, too, had liked to have her calf look round and full.

[432] [576] "Will you exchange this bottle of palm oil for tobacco?" she asked, showing her empty clay pipe.

She came in, saying she would like to rest, and began unfastening her top tunic so that she might make a pad of [584] it on which to sit down on the ground, for the earth spirits forbid women who had reached puberty to sit upon the bare earth. In her second tunic, somewhat fresher than the top one, she stood hesitating, looking about her for a place to sit down, until we brought her a carved stool we had bought the day before. Instead of putting on the top pangi again, she used it to cover her knees.

[576] "*Bak'a muye,*" she said, "white woman, you ought to cover your knees, too, when you sit."

And sitting there, examining us and our belongings, she muttered her comments about our appearance and dress as she smoked, and muttering she swayed slightly, until the swaying rhythm seemed to bring a melody into her head, and she began to sing.

[533] "*The American Bak'a*
Have come from far,
American koni
Has brought them
To the Saramacca River,
To the Saramacca people;
They must not sicken
They must not die."

While the men on the shore talked and called upon their gods to keep them free, the woman rocked and sang this invocation for our safety, forgetting for the moment that we were whites, whom the ancestors hated.

"You have so much wealth," she said to the white man, looking about her at our provision boxes, "you must have many wives."

And back again she went to her song, repeating the words over and over, until seeing people approach she rose slowly and went back to the river where her rice was drying.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

7

The next day was our last among the Saramacca people. Bayo came to us early to help with the packing. He was apparently none the worse for his seizure and, as he worked, we could tell from his manner how release had come to him and how the tension we had noticed the past few days had left him.

On his body were no marks. His mouth showed no cuts where the glass was bitten off and chewed. When we told him about the glass, he knew nothing of it. Had he not known about this eating of glass, he might well have doubted our word, for when we examined his lips and palate and tongue, not even a scratch showed.

"What did you drum last night, Bayo?"

"When, before the obia came to me?"

He remembered nothing after he had leaped from the improvised apinti to run into the bush.

"Not when you drummed apinti, but when you came back here and took the tumao to the river."

"I don't remember. Did I do that?"

8

Despite the early hour we had to leave in order to catch the weekly train for the coast, the boats of our friends began to be seen off the landing place as they came to say their farewells. The good woman Tita, whom they called Mother Snake behind her back, was the first to arrive. She walked slowly up from the river bank, pipe in mouth, a pot on her head, and one in each hand. The pots held obias which, she said, were made especially for us, to give us great powers in our own land—one to keep us safe from the ghosts of those we had wronged; one to guard us against the acts of the unfriendly living; one to make all those from whom we sought advantage "love" us.

Sedefo's younger wife came with her child on her back to collect whatever tin cans were about, and some gift for the child when it wakened, knowing that something was

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Before starting, the Djukas take a sniff of tobacco. They 276 prefer snuffing it to smoking. They suck up their wide brown nostrils a dark liquid made from tobacco leaf soaked in water, to which a little wood-ash has been added. Each man carries a small supply, in a calabash gourd or tiny tin can. Before taking a sniff they put their fingers in the gourd and knead the leaf to get out all the juice. Then a little is poured out in the palm of the hand and snuffed up. They make a wry face at it, shaking their heads violently and spitting.

They pass it to the bahkra with a sly smile.

"Wannee?"

"No, no, no. *Me dissee no lubee; gran dankel*" which means, "I don't like this; many thanks!"

Late in the afternoon we come upon the camp of some 314 balata bleeders. It is deserted. There is an unforgettable sour stench from the last fermenting sap. For a while it is sickening and overwhelms every other odour. The balata bleeders are usually British Guiana Negroes, or Djukas trained by them, who go through the jungle tapping the sap from wild rubber trees. They produce sheets of a crude rubber, known as balata, which are traded in the white settlements of Demerara or Paramaribo. The chief industries of the bush country are balata bleeding, lumbering, and washing for gold. [313 314] All of them are carried on exclusively by Negroes.

A few sheets of balata, about a half-inch thick, are hanging from poles. The Djukas assert that the shotguns of the white man cannot shoot through the stiff rubber. We stand off about fifty feet and bang away. Strangely enough, the

/11 cont./

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5. All Capsicum species.

and in their soup or blaf cook various forest greens (6), which they

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Chapter VIII

Festivals, Games, Gods

796
273 They do not have fixed times for the veneration of their gods, and they do this only then when they are amply supplied with strong drink and want to have a gay time for three or four days.

/150 cont./

249 There is only one variety of tobacco in use, probably the same one that is grown by the upland Indians. The leaves are hung to dry from the rafters in the dwelling huts. For use, the 276 dried leaves are softened in a small tin with water, and the juice that is poured into the palm of the hand is sniffed up and blown out again.

Bóembie.

249 This is Tephrosia toxicaria, whose roots are used as fish 226 poison. The man-high plants are found standing scattered on the grounds, where they are sowed with the other crops. The plant has hairy leaves and blooms with pink blossoms in clusters.

One uses the dried roots in order to "ponzen" with it between stones in the dry season when the river water is low. This operation consists of crushing the roots into fibers, whereby the poison is released as a milky substance and spreads in the water. In this manner warawara in particular -- in places difficult to reach otherwise -- are captured. According to the Bush Negroes, boembie works better than nekoe (1).

1. nekoe = a liana (Lonchocarpus) which is also used as fish poison.

B. Fruit Trees, Shrubs, and the Other Plants That Are Found in the Bush Negro Villages

241 Aside from the temporary crops that are grown on the grounds, the Bush Negro also uses fruit trees and other perennial crops that [177] are planted in and along the edge of the villages. Most of them are well-known imported plants; some palm varieties are native. Perhaps these latter were already present on the spot when the village was established, or they more or less accidentally grew up there by the use of the pits. The following varieties are noted.

Coconut (kokonóto).

245 Occurs practically everywhere in the older villages, but is usually sparse because of the constant sweeping of the ground;

/207 cont./

153 The teacher has the pupil turn in a circle around the
79] mortar in which has been prepared the infusion of leaves, until
787 he is dizzy. Alternately he makes him turn and "washes" his body with the infusion. Possession occurs by itself at the end of a certain number of sessions.

[276] In the practices intended to make the gita of Kumēnti
[191] "rise," the absorption of toxic substances enters, especially tobacco juice, method employed by the Indian medicine men. But once the reflexes are created, there is no further need for these substances; the gita appears as soon as the calling procedures are used, which are of two kinds:

--Personal procedures: The man voluntarily calls on his gita while putting on the god's costume and taking a certain posture;

--Outside procedures: The gita may be released from outside either by calling the god by name or by beating the corresponding rhythm on the drum.

787 When the pupil begins to feel the gita of Kumēnti, that
158 is first manifested by trances. We have very often been present at these attacks, which usually come on at night in the forest, but commonly also during the day. The one possessed suddenly lets go of the objects he was holding (for example, if he was in the process of eating, he drops plate and spoon), and rushes forward running through the forest howling rhythmically as if he had become an animal. His eyes are rolled upward, he no longer is conscious of his surroundings; he is not in any way threatening; these fits are totally inoffensive in spite of their
[147] impressive aspect. One sees possessed people in this state do things which are difficult to explain, such as running in complete darkness in the most impenetrable underbrush without falling or hurting themselves, or climbing up in a few seconds on a craggy rock which would have been hard to scale in full daylight.

Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1929-1930) 1854
Bush Negroes
Saramacca

KUNU

We sat one night talking about the neku vine, which is used to poison the streams for fishing, and the ceremonies attending the discovery of a new one, how the ownership of it is passed on in the female line, and about the songs which are sung to celebrate the finding, and the feast which is given at this time.

"Do you use this poison only to catch fish, or does it have other uses?" we asked guardedly.

"Well, sometimes people use it to commit suicide," one man said. "That is bad. Sometimes a man or a woman will do it to put a kunu on another's family." He went on to tell of a man who lately did this. He had been promised the daughter of a family in this very village when the girl was a small, small child. It happened that the girl's uncles found gold in one of the streams, for which the white man gave them much goods, and now they were big men. Since the girl's children would inherit much wealth, they wanted her to be the principal wife of a man of rank. There were messages back and forth, and council meetings, but the uncles insisted that the girl return the gifts she had received —insisted against the advice of many people. So this *kio*, this young lad, could get his revenge in no other way than by taking his own life, and sending a kunu to the family. "The next time you come you will probably see the kunu at work. It is always so. Of what use is wealth when the children begin to die? One year the crops are bad, and you have to buy food. One year you go from one obia man to the next to find out why your sister cannot make children. Your money goes. Kunu is a bad thing."

Another day a woman came to us with a comb to sell. She had heard that we were gathering pieces to put into a large house where carvings from Africa were being shown, and she wanted us to have this comb of hers which was made as a betrothal gift by her husband who was now many years dead. It was an old comb with several broken tines and holes bored into it by insects, but the decorated end was still very beautiful, and we were eager to buy it. When we asked her to explain to us the meaning of the design, she

834 848 "Don't go off into the bush with a man. A child born to you will have a bad bush god, if you do," she added as an afterthought.

§

123 199 In the other corner, Chief And'u, the basia, and about half a dozen men were talking of the great book about their ancestors which the white man had.

"It is large so," said the chief to one of the older men, indicating an imaginary size which multiplied the size of the actual volume at least tenfold. "And people say it has in it pictures of the Apuku gods, small as we ourselves know them, and a picture of the evil Apuku who appear as fire in the distance. . . . Mati, white men have gone into the Kromanti houses in the country of our ancestors and have made pictures!"

"It is impossible!"

"I want to see!"

The old man said, "I will not look. Books are not for us, mati."

"But mati, the G'aman has heard, and he wants to see."

The old man shook his head. He would have nothing of pictures that figured what should never have been allowed to be photographed.

It seemed prudent to give the conversation a new turn. 137 Down river, the men had said that a man of this village had lately found a new sebu liana. Was it so?

"The man who found it was my son," said the old man, "you should have come for the dance. You would have seen how we do things here in the bush. But pictures you could [illegible] not take. No, mati, if you photograph, you take the soul."

The festivities for the find had been especially joyful, he 824 explained, for the boy had only recently come by his gods, 99 and this had been yet another proof that he would serve his family capably. For though the find was his own, all his relatives in the mother's line would enjoy its use. Here- [illegible] after, when the poison of its leaves and its slender branches

was wanted for killing fish in a creek, they would have their own neku.

When a man found a neku vine, he first had to cut some of it, and bring it home with him. Then he sent word to all the men of his village to come and carry the branches of the neku to the place of ceremony. He named the place and day for the pounding of the neku. The invitation was given in the name of the old men of the village, and the headman sent his bassias, those men who assist him in village affairs, with messages to neighboring settlements. When this had been done, the finder of the vine appointed five or six men of his own choice, and these were called "Bassias of Neku." It was they who had charge of the ceremonies. The night preceding the dance these men went about crying, "Tomorrow we will have neku. All must come." Again the men went to the bush where the neku vine had been found, and brought to the village some more of the vine for pounding.

Early the following morning a horn was sounded, and the men from the neighboring villages who had come for the festivities also went and cut some of the neku, and brought it to the pounding place. When the men were gathered, each took up a stick and pounded the neku. And what they crushed they put into corials filled with water. These corials were then sunk in the stream. In a short time the poisoned fish floated to the surface of the water, and all the men took up their long-handled scoops and began to fish. The bassias of neku, whom the finder of the plant had appointed for the ceremony, directed the fishing. When a quantity of fish had been caught, those who were not of the village where the owner of the vine lived gave of their catch to the finder of the neku plant, and some went to the chief of the village, and the elders, too, had a share of what the outsiders had caught, though in some villages only the owner of the vine profited by the gifts of the others. Then the men joined the women, who were dressed in their finest cloths, and the dancing began.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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304 the first cuts had been made on their faces long before they reached adolescence. When a girl began her monthly visits to the house which stood alone to one side of the road, directly opposite the shrine to the great gods, then it was time for the important cuts on the thighs, and it was the old women who made the cuts. But the reopening of old cuts, like the braiding of the hair, was a task the girls did for each other with enjoyment. It was with no small pride that they talked of their ornamental cuts.

The older girl held in her hand a razor from the white man's city. It was not very sharp, and the tropical dampness had spotted it with rust. Beside her was an old calabash holding charred rice hulls which had the moment before been rubbed into a powder, and a cloth whose color was rapidly being lost in the blood which flowed from the wounds which she cut.

Before proceeding with the cutting, the older girl would look critically at the girl on whom she was working, narrowing her eyes quite in the manner of an aesthete who was evaluating each detail. Then, with a firm grip on her razor, she would take an old scar between two fingers, and cut into it. Scar after scar she reopened, as the girls talked and laughed, until when she had made perhaps ten cuts, she would stop to staunch the blood and to survey her handiwork.

When the facial cuts were all open, it was time to rub [278] the powder from the freshly charred rice hulls into the wounds.

"She will be handsome, ai-yo!" said the girl as she finished, and she dropped the smaller cloth back into another calabash which held water. With this moist cloth dipped into the black powder, she rubbed the black on the face of the seated girl. Now when the scar healed, each of the keloids would show black and prominent against the brown of the skin.

"Mine have been reopened four times," said the girl whose face had been treated, as she rose to make way for the next one. "The cuts heal fast."

and it was they who in dream or vision, or in a state of possession, instructed living men in the ways of yet greater and greater obia. But there were those who held that obia ranked after the greatest of the deities, that obia surpassed the power of the ancestors, for obia knew how to make "*yorka tapu*"—preventives against troublesome ghosts, and obia men could summon the dead to enter the body of a living man to make revelations.

Whatever the position of obia in the supernatural world, its place on earth was to serve man, for of all living beings, man alone knew obia.

2 -

What were the manifestations of obia in the life of the Bush Negro as we found them?

A black pot with its magic powers was an obia pot, the charm worn about the neck was called an obia, the medicines we gave the natives for their eyes or their cuts were called white man's obia, and their own mixture of weeds steeped in water, which stood in the burning sun gathering a green scum until it should be ready for use, was also obia. Young Yamati who had danced sura for us did not have a cord about his neck, but, he had assured us, he had obia for long life as did his partner Sabape, though his own could not be seen, since it consisted of several obia cuts made shortly after birth, which served instead of the cord. The strings about the waists of children were obias. The slight cuts to be noticed on men's arms, on thighs, below the knee, below the shoulder blades were obia cuts, too.

Nor was that all.

Bayo had said to us, "When obia comes a man does bad things. He destroys. When mise comes, it is ugly sometimes."

It was obia, too—Apanto's obia—which had stopped our phonograph, and obia again, invoked this time by Bayo, which had strengthened the spirit of the machine.

We talked about obia to an elder, a village head, from one of the down-river settlements, which was not, however,

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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sufficient time for the nitrogenous substances to be reduced to fertilizing material. Because of this poverty of the ground and the constant foraging of insect and bird pests—the parrot is notorious among these—the cultivation of food is difficult and laborious for the Bush Negroes and the provision ground must often be moved to a fresh site.

Their main carbohydrate staple is the manioc or bitter cassava. It is a tuber-like plant that grows some three to seven feet in height, the edible portion being the underground root. The root contains the poisonous prussic acid, which must be carefully removed. Bush Negroes have been known to commit suicide by drinking the juice of the cassava. The plant itself resembles the tobacco plant, but has a stalk covered with bark and large roots that look like sweet potatoes.

The roots are harvested, carefully peeled, and reduced to a pulp by being rubbed on the roughened surface of an inclined board, the expelled free juices rolling down the incline into a bowl. The rest of the plant is thrown away. The pulp is stuffed into a cylindrical squeezing contrivance made of reed, known as the *matapee*. It resembles one of those toy finger grippers of straw that children play with. The reeds being flexible, elongating the tube by pulling at the ends reduces the diameter of it; this compresses the contents of the cylinder and squeezes out the deadly juice which then runs off into a bowl below. The matapee is a beautifully woven piece of basketry about five feet long and seven inches in diameter. The upper end is attached to the limb of a tree and a heavy stone is suspended from the lower end, the

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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reeds, to catch the *dakgo fisee* or *maker fisee*—in other 226
words, the dog fish and the eel. Trapped under water, these 227
fish are easy prey to the savage piraya, so other devices are also used. A baited hook is attached to a bankside shrub called *mucra mucra* (*Montrichardia sp.*), the stalk of which is bent over and fixed beneath the water, under a constant strain. The hold is very slight—a hair-trigger tension—so that as soon as the fish snatches the bait the slight movement frees the bent stalk, whipping the fish free of the water.

There is a plant used by the Negroes to poison fish. The 226
juice of the *nekku* (*Longchocarpus densiflorus* or *rufescens*) 228
has an active alkaloid principle that is stupefying in its effect. It is called *yarro canali* by the Indians. Baskets full of nekku are carried to a small creek. The Djukas sit on the bank, beating the plant into pulp with carved wooden flails. Juice from the bruised shrub poisons the water, and the fish succumb, floating belly up, so that they can be scooped out with a dip-net. Often we passed Djuka tribesmen carrying baskets of this deadly plant toward some quiet stream.

In time of drought it often happens that fish are land- 226
locked between sandbars. It is then an easy matter to scoop 227
them out with a dip-net. Piraya are fished for with a hook and line, with a wire leader obtained in Paramaribo. A piece of bloody meat is used as bait, and the line is trolled. As soon as a fish is felt the rod is whipped overhead, throwing the fish up on the bank. Even out of water the piraya's jaws are still dangerous and avoided.

Gill nets are useless because there are too many predatory

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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drums carry farther toward heaven than the talkee-talkee of a lone supplicant.

It is not easy to distinguish between the primitive's magic and his medicine. In the village organization a distinction is sometimes made between the *medicine man*, who is concerned with remedies for sickness, and the *obeiah priest*, whose business is charms and rituals. There are two or three obeiah priests to each village. Their profession is the propitiation of spirits, that is, magic and religion. The magic of the obeiah men is largely secret. Once we arrived at a village while a ritual of some nature was going on. Pots were stewing in the centre of the clearing, while obeiah men were moving around them. One held a rattle, which he shook monotonously. The buhkra was asked to leave. It was magic in the making.

The Bush Negroes possess an extensive system of primitive medicine. Various roots, herbs, and nuts are gathered in the jungle, and their use is mingled with various superstitions. The witch doctor or medicine man who prepares infusions from these herbs holds no exalted position in the esteem of the villagers; he is simply following a particular profession to which no special prestige is attached. He may, however, be an obeiah priest in addition to being a medicine man.

He prepares several kinds of medicine, among them the *snaker-kutti*, or snake-bite cure. It cures the bites of all reptiles and makes the person immune from future attack. Snaker-kutti is made in this way: a venomous snake is killed and the head and the tail-end are cut from the body; the tail

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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756 is placed in the mouth of the snake and the whole is roasted
787 over a slow fire, along with certain herbs. Incantations ac-
● 278 company the business. After the materials are thoroughly charred they are reduced to a homogeneous powder, which is administered in two ways: first, internally, and second, by making a small incision in the arm and rubbing some of the powder into the wound. At first we were inclined to think that some of the venom might remain in the poison glands of the reptile's head, and so act as an antigen to set up a real immunity. But the heat of the roasting fire would probably destroy any such toxin remaining, leaving the resultant powder non-antigenic.

Even in Paramaribo enthusiastic accounts of the marvellous powers of 'makee-kutti are common. It is supposed by some to have the power of making snakes turn and flee. Being curious we tried it ourselves, but noticed no effects.

778 Some doctors are skilled in the preparation of a certain
787 strength-giving concoction especially in demand by Bush Negroes before a fight. If by the following day the combat has not taken place, the man who swallowed the medicine must get it out of his system by hacking viciously at a tree with his bush-knife; otherwise he will become ill.

According to Abuisa, men who drink this magic potion sometimes become so strong that with one blow of the machete they can make all the leaves of a tree fall off.

Bathing is another way of acquiring extraordinary strength. Three baths in water infused with *bimde* leaves will give a man the power to pick a red-hot axe-head out of the midst

612 /8 cont./
[672] culprit is condemned to find the requital in his offspring. His
[567] children, children's children, and great-grandchildren must render slave services for the family of the person poisoned.

692 Moreover, they usually act in accordance with the judgment and the decision of their elders or council members. Most punish-
681 ments consist of whip lashes.

Chapter IV

Weapons

411 These consist of rifles, machetes, bow and arrow, and lances.
● 278 In some cases they also use a kind of cudgel (1). The most dangerous
682

1. An Indian weapon called apoetoe.

one that they possess, however, is an assortment of vegetable poisons with which they can secretly strike their enemies and whose effects manifest themselves slowly, but are usually lethal. They not only mix these with one food or another, or in snuff or tobacco, but in the case of some can merely bring them in contact with a part of the body and thereby produce to the most infectious results.

/9/

Chapter V

Dwellings, Practices, Customs, Housekeeping

342 Their huts are constructed low above the ground from un-
129 worked round wood, covered with pina, the leaves of a palm species (1), and surrounded by palisade pales.

1. Euterpe oleracea Mart.

352 The couches and sleeping places within are also made of paling.

358 Inside the hut is found the hearth or place for the fire, on
372 which they cook and in which they constantly maintain a fire for

/273 cont./

539 mother." Comrades, they suffered from pian (1)! All together

(164)

1. Skin disease from which most Refugee Black children used to suffer.

they entered the Obia house. Again: "Whips, why are you so handsome?"

(same formula)

Viop! viop! Anansi ran, he shut the door; he said: "Let me see, whips, strike so that I may see!" viop! viop!

(Somebody in the audience) "Wénon was inside?" -- "Wénon was inside!" (laughs). The whips hit them until their skin was bloody, their pian pimples cut, so that the blood flowed over them.

(cruel laughs from the audience)

Then Anansi opened the door and they fled.

The end.

4) Anansi and the Bat

Anansi was looking for someone to go with him to a festival which was taking place in a neighboring village... because the more who come, the more they give you to eat. He asked the bat, who said to him: "I haven't been to a festival for a long time. I'll go on the day you wish." The day they had set arrived. They started out; they walked until they had arrived near the village. Anansi said: "Comrade bat, see this lebi weko (2). If I begin to shout: "My belly,

(124)
(278)

2. Lebi weko: bougoumi (Inga alba) tree whose bark is used in the native pharmacopoeia.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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224 ticular animal. The red terrier will not hunt anything else.
231 It stands now ferociously over the body of the dead parrot, its tongue hanging out, panting.

411 Bows and arrows are as common as shotguns, and preferred by many of the black huntsmen because they make no noise, need no mansanny. The bow is fashioned from one of the South American hardwoods, letterwood or purpleheart. The shaft is tremendously resilient, and strung with [363] *singrassi* it takes a stout arm indeed to bend it. Singrassi is a species of grass which is hand-spun into tough cord, by rolling it on the flesh of the thigh. When unflexed, the carved bow is nearly six feet long.

The arrows are made from hollow reeds, and are extremely light and well balanced. Into one end of the reed a foot-long hardwood point is set, wrapped with singrassi and gummed. At the other end, the ferrule is similarly set in, the joint again being wrapped around to prevent splitting. Some arrows have metal points filed from old bush-knives. A five-foot arrow like this can be used as a little javelin for spearing small game. The Bush Negroes also use blunt arrows to stun birds.

224 A naked savage stalking through the bush, armed only with a bow and arrow, furnishes a sight of the primitive that is fast disappearing from this commonplace world. The [576 323 321] Djuka calls some of his game, principally the agouti, by imitating their cries on a little whistle, made out of baked clay or a hollow shell. The imitation is so accurate, in the case of smaller game, as to fool even the jaguar that feeds on

/10 cont./

574 The politeness shown toward a guest springs from the idea that unknowingly one of them might easily take the very piece that the important person wished to have, and although no comment would be made on this, it could nonetheless happen that this would trouble the guest for whom they cherish special respect, 818 or that he would thereby consider himself insulted. It is particularly to old age that they pay great respect.

Chapter VI

Household and Agricultural Implements

412 The Bush Negroes mainly use adzes in order to hew their [322] corjalen or canoes out of trees partially burned out beforehand; [124] furthermore, they use planes and chisels in order to work their [531] (usually cedarwood) (1) stools and pareli or paddles (2). They are

1. Cedrela odorata L.

2. Hand oar.

especially fond of having these carved with many figures. For them the machete is an indispensable tool that they always carry around and use as a chopping knife, sword, and knife, indeed, even to cut splinters or thorns out of the foot with the tip. They use field axes or hatchets to cut down the bush in order to lay out their small cultivation grounds and to work the wood that they float by rafts and sell.

562 The women possess, aside from a machete or knife, also 412 mamocks with which they keep their lands and the place near the [124] dwelling neat; they make brooms from the pina palm racemes or [413] from rice ears bound in sheaves. They like to have scissors, needles, and pins, while for knitting they use a pointed and bent nail.

413 They spin their sewing thread from cotton with a certain [283] tool which they call kéké; they also have a round, wooden tool [286] called sepee, with which they very nicely and sturdily /11/ make

/29 cont./

439 Thus it is known to me that they have gone to one or
501 another plantation in order to sell timber, which they tie to their
505 korjalen or canoes after having made it into rafts with bush ropes
[283] (tough liana stalks), and have misled the Europeans in a scandalous manner.

[284] They make their squared timber into rafts in the following manner. Four thick strong round timbers are laid crosswise and tied together, two above and two under the korjaal; the timber is pushed in between these and fastened, so that the whole thing forms a firm long rectangle with the korjaal in the middle /30/ with which they make long journeys from the upper to the lower
[283] rivers. This timber that is made into rafts and carried along by the korjaal is called kokroko; they tie light and floating wood to long beams with bush rope (called boesitetei) (1); thus tied to the

1. From the copaiva.

heavy wood they drag it along down the river.

Chapter XXI

Understanding among Themselves

114 Not long ago I found myself among them on the river
153 Upper Commewijne on the Tempati (a branch of the river named, on the left going upstream; this branch runs into the mountains, which are reported as ruddle mountains /roodenberg/.

114 Residing among them, I made many attempts to induce
648 them to track down those in hiding who did not belong to their tribes and fugitives of a later time, and to make known to them that by governmental decree in the course of the year 1863, before the emancipation, a general amnesty regarding them had been issued, so that they could return to their former dwelling places without fear of punishment. The reason that induced me to acquaint them with this was that I saw in the return of these persons

/151 cont./

249 greatly to the beautification of the village. The Bush Negroes use
[232] the red dyestuff from the seeds to smear on the dogs against vermin.

Cotton (katoen).

248 One sees it standing in various places along the edges of the
• 283 villages and among the dwelling huts. The cotton itself is in ex-
[286] ceptional cases used by the women for spinning. Calf bands (sepoe) are made out of cotton thread after the Indian model, and sometimes hammocks also.

Coffee.

245 It found here and there in the forest along the edge of the village (Drietabbetje, Poeketti). It is the small variety, probably
[272] Coffea arabica. The beans are used for coffee. The trees probably grew from kernels that at one time were taken by slaves from the plantations.

Calabash (kabasi).

244 Grows everywhere among the dwelling huts and in neglected corners. A distinction is made between kabasi and pikien soepoen.
[415] The wood-like pericarps of both varieties are used for all kinds of purposes, especially for utensils (bowls, spoons) and as "hoef" for scooping the kerjalen empty.

•

Kasjoen (kasoeng).

245 Occurs here and there and ordinarily does not supply much
[262] fruit; the latter is eaten fresh, the kernels sometimes roasted
[252] like pinda.

Mappa.

Probably a variety of Tabernaemontana (Apocynaceae). Not infrequently in May one sees the women returning from the grounds with pear-shaped /152/ (up to ten centimeters long) yellow fruit,
[262] which they have gathered from a small forest tree. The fruit is eaten fresh; one first taps on the rind with a piece of wood in order to concentrate the milk sap in it, peels the fruit, and the

/29 cont./

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which went on, so that she might recount it to her father. The women of the village walked "softly" with this older daughter. "Daughter of the G'aman," they called her when they addressed her, and her mildly spoken, persuasive suggestions were never ignored.

Wilhelmina, however, busied herself at her work, and if anything were asked of her, she would look up with an expression of bewilderment. Differing from other women of the village, who had come to live there after marriage and knew the speech of the less aristocratic down-river settlements, Wilhelmina had never been any distance from Asindopo Lantiwe. The other women were, therefore, constantly interpreting the questions which were being put to her.

She was dark of skin, as dark as her sister, but her face had a flush of red in it, as though she had brushed it with the sacred red kuawe. A little above her wrists gleamed wide bands of tin. These were bracelets her husband had made for her, and they were much prized. The brass coils which she once wore had been filed through and removed, for when the ankles of a woman who bore children swelled, it became necessary to be rid of these ornaments.

In a small mortar, decorated with carvings, she was pounding maripa nuts. The ends of the pestle were bordered with finely cut cross hatchings.

"Ai, we use much palm oil here," she said.

Her mother was paring cassava. At her feet were several baskets and pieces of bark, shaped like miniature canoes, into which she threw the peeled cassava. Near these containers lay a sifter, woven of palm fiber, and a grater, made of a thin board perhaps sixteen inches long and half as wide, into which long slender nails had been hammered and their points filed to a needle-like sharpness. When the tubers were peeled, Wilhelmina began the grating, first squatting down, then dropping to her knees, better to work. The grated cassava was then packed into the matapi, the cassava press which had before leaned against the house. This matapi was of a basket-like weave, golden in color

yet his findings might in time serve the enemy. We were soldiers bringing toys, as the image of the krutu had suggested. 123

Since life in the bush, for strangers like ourselves, was lived in terms of days, and each day was taken for what it might bring, we were grateful to those gods who had spoken for us, and watched the effect of the ancestral edict.

Before dawn of the day which followed the ceremony of asking the will of the ancestors, men came to counsel with the Granman, and from then onward many men were about the village. The young boys found their toy guns again, and the little girls played on the river bank. The widow who was so susceptible to evil influences no longer appeared in the central clearing with her child on her back, stamping her rice, or drying her peanuts. Her door was shut. Fenekonde was no longer about, for she had gone to the menstrual house, and Tenemi who came to sweep the council house each morning now wore a new obia on a long, twisted, white cord, hung from shoulder to side. She was polite, formal, and she worked fast.

Late that afternoon the obia man who had appeared at the first council meeting with wide stripes of clay came again, and his wife accompanied him. They were the best diviners on the river. From the corner of the council house the large mat which had been standing rolled up was carried into a closed hut, so that he might sit on it, and perform his magic to see what the future held for the destiny of the Saramacca people, and what immediate threat the white man's coming boded. Before leaving for the hut where the mat was prepared the man and woman sat with us in the council house in the company of the Granman. They apparently needed to know our individual names for their task. While we sat there, the white woman absently began to play with the obia about her neck, and this seemed a signal for the other woman to take hers into her hands and begin to mutter an invocation, for the stranger's careless playing appeared to her as the white man's way of casting a spell. 123 991 989 [265]

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sufficient time for the nitrogenous substances to be reduced to fertilizing material. Because of this poverty of the ground and the constant foraging of insect and bird pests—the parrot is notorious among these—the cultivation of food is difficult and laborious for the Bush Negroes and the provision ground must often be moved to a fresh site.

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weight of which elongates the tube. In place of a stone, a stick may be passed through the lower end. The Bush Negro straddles it, working the apparatus with his own weight.

The pulp, when dried and heated, becomes a nourishing flour ready for use. There are two ways of serving it. One way is to make it into large, circular pancakes, high piles or stacks of which were carried in our corials to constitute the chief diet of the paddlers on the river trip. When they feel a pang of hunger they break off a piece of cassava from one of the large pancakes, dip it into the river to soften it, and eat it without further preparation. The other way of preparing cassava is to stew it with fish or meat. On tasting this food we found it a bland, mealy cake of not unpleasant taste. The entire technic of preparing it is borrowed from the indigenous Indians; "matapee" is an Indian word.

In a number of Bush Negro villages can be found the common Indian corn. The Negroes allow it to mature and then roast it until it is as hard as a rock, after which they shell off the grains and eat them. If the white man asks for green corn, they refuse to give it to him, saying it is unfit to eat.

Another staple of their diet is rice, or *aldrere*. Rice of the upland variety can be planted in a dry soil and flourishes like wheat or oats. When harvested, it is tied in small bundles, about a foot in diameter, and threshed. The Negroes put it in a wooden mortar made of a hollow tree trunk, and three Djuka boys stand around it with pounders, striking alternately, like three railway labourers driving one spike. Rice, especially when ripening, is attacked by birds, partic-

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African comb, from the region of Nigeria, is shown on page 175. It can be seen that the wooden comb is not a Djuka invention, as every characteristic of the Bush Negro pieces can be found on this West African piece, except the ornamental piercing.

The arts of weaving and basketry are not as highly developed among the Djukas as is the carving of wooden implements. The Bush Negroes do not weave the cotton cloth they wear. It is obtained, instead, by trading at the white settlements. The only weaving among them consists of cotton leg and arm bands—things that do not count for much so far as industry is concerned, but which expand the wearer's ego and add enormously to his or her self-esteem. The basketry of the Djukas, like the weaving, is simple and competent. Unornamented circular baskets, varying in size from a foot to a yard in diameter, can be seen in all the villages. They are used for carrying yams, rice, and foodstuffs generally. The finest basket work does not occur in these baskets, however, but in the cassava squeezers, those elongated tubes for producing cassava flour. These are beautifully woven of uniform rattan, and decorated with darker strips to form a simple pattern near each end. The finished product is an admirable piece of work, of which the owner must indeed be proud.

Pottery is made by the Djukas for utilitarian purposes only, and the solid black, absolutely undecorated clay ware has no particular element of beauty. The pots are black, stolid, and unimaginative. They are simply necessities.

But when the necessities of life have been provided for,

644 250 and tall as the Granman's wife herself, though in circumference no larger than the post of the house against which it leaned. The woven strands were caught together in the loops with which it was finished on top and bottom.

When it had been filled, the matapi was hung from the stub of a stout limb, and one end of an equally stout stick was inserted into the bottom loop, while the other rested on the ground. Now Wilhelmina and another woman sat down on this stick, and under the pressure exerted by their combined weight the matapi slowly contracted. A milky white fluid containing the poison which made the raw bitter cassava so deadly filtered through the woven strands, trickling into the gourd placed to receive it. Steadily the poisonous fluid was forced out until it was not long before the gourd was filled, and the cassava pressed dry. When there was much work to be done, and the white woman was not about to ask questions, the women would not waste their time sitting on the stick, but instead would suspend heavy stones from thongs tied to the bottom loop, and they were then free to be about their other tasks. Now, however, it was more amusing to sit and talk.

Whatever the method, when the meal was rid of the poison, it was worked through the sifter into a closely woven basket, and in that kneaded and made ready for baking on the large iron griddles. The use of the bitter cassava they had learned from the Indians, and the names for the sifter and the cassava press were to this day Indian, as were their weave and shape, but the griddles came from the white man's city. [119]

[315] [119] [80] "We use Indian water jars, too. The red pottery we do not make. But black obia pots are Negro things. These our old women mold," said the Granman's wife.

2

644 286 As she spun cotton for the garters she would later make, the woman they called the Granman's younger wife sat and talked of working the fields. Her spindle, a small iron

In Herskovits & Herskovits F-6 (1929-1930) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Saramacca

rod set into a base of clay, rotated steadily as she worked. Her fingers moved fast, for she did not require too fine a thread. The raw cotton, she said, she got from a wild "cotton tree." Cotton which was picked in the fields and which grew from seeds planted in the ground, she did not know at all. Was there such cotton?

Working in the fields, she continued, was not too difficult. It was a woman's work. A woman did not mind it. From earliest childhood girls followed their mothers about, and learned how to work the fields.

"What is hard is having to cut my own field. I have no man to cut it for me. I must cut it myself."

She paused for an instant to right her thread.

"When I plant my field, and pray to the gods to make the seed grow, then I ask the Earth Mother to help me find a way to get a man to cut my field for me. 'Earth Mother,' I say, 'help me find a man to cut my field. I have great need of a man to burn my ground.' . . . "

Seeing two women approach, she said, "Fenekonde here is like myself, she too needs a man to cut her field."

But this needed explaining. Here were two women who called the Granman "husband," and who shared the difficulty of having to clear their own fields.

It was soon made apparent, however, that both of these women were only nominally wives of the Granman. They had married into his family. When kunu, however, killed one successor to his office after the other, these women were made widows. Like the widow who now worked alone before her house which fronted the clearing, where stood the shrine to the great gods and the Granman's principal houses, they had worn tattered clothes, and a twisted kerchief as a band on their heads. For five months this had lasted, and then a dance was given.

Did the white woman know about the ceremony called *pai Adyo*?

The white woman had heard the word Dyo-dyo from natives of the town many times. Once, indeed, a question about it put to an old woman, who it later developed was

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

The ornate combs used by the Bush Negroes are a most direct West African heritage, being found along the Upper Guinea coast, Ashanti, Cameroons, Ivory and Gold Coasts, Dahomey, Mumi, and many other regions of Africa. The wooden plates and trays are likewise found among the Ewe-speaking tribes of the West Coast.

The custom of personal decoration by the cicatrization of the skin is very common throughout many parts of Africa. Captain John Stedman remarks on this strange habit in his *Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition to Surinam*: "The Loango Negroes distinguish themselves by puncturing or marking the skin of their sides, arms, and thighs with square, elevated figures something like dice." This custom was widespread on the Slave Coast. The scar designs varied widely according to the different tribes as well as the social position and wealth of the individual. As the Indians of South America do not practise this cicatrization, it is evident that the Bush Negroes brought it over with them from their former home.

The Bush Negro coiffure, the method of arranging the hair in plaited tufts, is found also on the Gold Coast, in Cameroons, and elsewhere in Africa. The Djuka method of weaving is similar to that of the Sudan, Gold Coast, Mandingo, Ashanti, and the Ewe. The spindle used in weaving is called by an African term, *kyekye*, a Tshi word. The woven leg band, the *sepu*, is the same as the leg bands found in Cameroons and the Upper Guinea coast in general.

The method of finding out who is responsible for the

2:Kahn D-S (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

African comb, from the region of Nigeria, is shown on page 412 175. It can be seen that the wooden comb is not a Djuka invention, as every characteristic of the Bush Negro pieces [171] can be found on this West African piece, except the ornamental piercing.

The arts of weaving and basketry are not as highly de- 286 veloped among the Djukas as is the carving of wooden implements. The Bush Negroes do not weave the cotton cloth they wear. It is obtained, instead, by trading at the white [238] settlements. The only weaving among them consists of cotton leg and arm bands—things that do not count for much so far as industry is concerned, but which expand the wearer's ego and add enormously to his or her self-esteem. The bas- 285 ketry of the Djukas, like the weaving, is simple and compe- 465 tent. Unornamented circular baskets, varying in size from a foot to a yard in diameter, can be seen in all the villages. They are used for carrying yams, rice, and foodstuffs generally. The finest basket work does not occur in these baskets, however, but in the cassava squeezers, those elongated tubes for producing cassava flour. These are beautifully woven of uniform rattan, and decorated with darker strips to form a simple pattern near each end. The finished product is an admirable piece of work, of which the owner must indeed be proud.

Pottery is made by the Djukas for utilitarian purposes 323 only, and the solid black, absolutely undecorated clay ware has no particular element of beauty. The pots are black, stolid, and unimaginative. They are simply necessities.

But when the necessities of life have been provided for, 427

/10 cont./

574 The politeness shown toward a guest springs from the idea that unknowingly one of them might easily take the very piece that the important person wished to have, and although no comment would be made on this, it could nonetheless happen that this would trouble the guest for whom they cherish special respect,
888 or that he would thereby consider himself insulted. It is particularly to old age that they pay great respect.

Chapter VI

Household and Agricultural Implements

412 The Bush Negroes mainly use adzes in order to hew their
[322] corjalen or canoes out of trees partially burned out beforehand;
[124] furthermore, they use planes and chisels in order to work their
[531] (usually cedarwood) (1) stools and pareh or paddles (2). They are

1. Cedrela odorata L.

2. Hand oar.

especially fond of having these carved with many figures. For them the machete is an indispensable tool that they always carry around and use as a chopping knife, sword, and knife, indeed, even to cut splinters or thorns out of the foot with the tip. They use field axes or hatchets to cut down the bush in order to lay out their small cultivation grounds and to work the wood that they float by rafts and sell.

562 The women possess, aside from a machete or knife, also
412 mattocks with which they keep their lands and the place near the
[124] dwelling neat; they make brooms from the pina palm racemes or
[413] from rice ears bound in sheaves. They like to have scissors, needles, and pins, while for knitting they use a pointed and bent nail.

413 They spin their sewing thread from cotton with a certain
[283] tool which they call kéké; they also have a round, wooden tool
[286] called sepoe, with which they very nicely and sturdily /11/ make

/11 cont./

286 [413] garments /pandjen/ or articles of dress and other knitted goods. They also know how to make very attractive hammocks of cotton.

Chapter VII

Food, Drinks, Delicacies, and so forth.

262 [252] Their daily food is mainly rice and cassava (1) bread which

1. Sweet cassava, the farina from the root of the Janipha manihot, not to be confused with Jatropha manihot, which gives the bitter cassava, which, however much is removed by boiling and continued washing, contains a very poisonous component.

is baked on an iron plate and provides a tasty food that can be [241] kept for a long time. During the dry season, the months of September, October, and November, the ground also supplies them with a very mealy and tasty tuber called napal (2); throughout the year,

2. Dioscorea sativa and Dioscorea alata L.

however, they grow yams, sweet potatoes (3), tayers (4), and cassava.

3. Convolvulus batatas L. and Batatas edulis Choisy.

4. Root from Arum esculentum.

[439] They have bananas only from time to time, whenever they exchange them on plantations for squared wood, which they pur- [432] posely work for this exchange. They know how to obtain wild game [265] and fish in great quantities; salt is an article greatly in demand.

/151 cont./
249 greatly to the beautification of the village. The Bush Negroes use
[232] the red dyestuff from the seeds to smear on the dogs against vermin.

Cotton (katoen).

248 One sees it standing in various places along the edges of the
233 villages and among the dwelling hum. The cotton itself is in ex-
[234] ceptional cases used by the women for spinning. Calf bands
(wapor) are made out of cotton thread after the Indian model, and
sometimes hammocks also.

Coffee.

245 Is found here and there in the forest along the edge of the
[272] village (Driestabbetje, Poeketti). It is the small variety, probably
Coffea arabica. The beans are used for coffee. The trees prob-
ably grew from kernels that at one time were taken by slaves from
the plantations.

Calebash (lobasi).

244 Grows everywhere among the dwelling hum and in neglected
corners. A distinction is made between lobasi and pikien wanpoen.
[415] The wood-like pericarps of both varieties are used for all kinds
of purposes, especially for utensils (bowls, spoons) and as "hoe"
for scooping the kanjalebi empty.

Karjoes (kasoeng).

245 Occurs here and there and ordinarily does not supply much
[262] fruit; the latter is eaten fresh, the kernels sometimes roasted
[252] like pinda.

Mappa.

Probably a variety of Tabernaemontana (Apocynaceae). Not infrequently in May one sees the women returning from the grounds with pear-shaped /152/ (up to ten centimeters long) yellow fruit,
[262] which they have gathered from a small forest tree. The fruit is eaten fresh: one first taps on the rind with a piece of wood in order to concentrate the milk sap in it, peels the fruit, and the

Village elders on a ceremonial visit.

[Facing P. 24]

WHILE THE RIVER WAS HIGH

The sun stood over the sacred silk-cotton tree toward the Gankwe side of the land. Across the path leading from somewhere in the back of our shelter the parasol ants, each with its strip of green many times its size, made their way toward an unknown spot where no shelter stood, and no one trod. Like a wave the wide ribbon of green rose and fell as it crossed the ridges of the pathway. In unending numbers they came, and the lizards darting in and out of the brush swerved in the direction of the shelter to avoid the marching line, so that at our feet things moved now up, now back again. [36] [31]

While the men were at the landing place, one of the women who was drying rice on the high flat rocks opposite our shelter paddled over in her boat, and, passing the men with a formal greeting, walked on and stopped to talk with us. She was not a young woman. Her time for childbearing was long over, her wrinkled breasts sagged almost to her waist. The cicatrized designs which once had stood out so clearly, and in her youth had been so valued, were but faintly penciled on her face and about her breasts. Had she cared, she might have reopened the cuts, might have had ashes rubbed into them to make the keloids stand out black and alive against the dark brown of her skin. But what need had a woman her age to care? What need to urge life into symbols of fertility on face and between breasts and about her navel, when her time for fruitfulness was over? Of what use to reanimate the incised scrolls between her thighs, when the legend they told in terms of reproduction was for her a dead legend? [338] [29] [304]

She came toward us slowly, balancing a bottle on her head. A faded cloth covered her from waist to knee, and at her waist a bit of the kerchief necessary to the attire of the married woman, even at work, could be seen. She wore a few beads on a cord about her neck, but she had no other ornaments, for ornaments were for festive occasions, and the cloth tied about the neck and worn cape fashion was for women who had children to carry straddling their backs, and woven garters below the knee were conceits of the young. [338] [48] [291] [301]

given to the white woman when she returned from up river, yet with it all the thighs would still need to be cicatrized.

"Then," she said, speaking of the cicatrized thighs, "then he simply won't think of any one else, because among you, you will be the only one. We who all have the kamemba must see that it looks well, but you will be the only one."

3

The boys remained with us, amusing themselves by giving us their words for the various objects about us.

The strings about their waists, which formed their only clothing, the fiber cord with the bell about Sabape's neck, the word for garter, and machete, and shoes, boxes, and water jar, and all *else* they could see were named. A flashlight was a diamond fire, and a collapsible chair a hammock chair, and if we showed them something they had never seen it was *a Bakwa seei*—a white man's thing.

Sabape spoke little, for he was a timid child and looked sluggish. He had but few cuts on his body, while Yamati, who was about the same age, had already several fully outlined designs.

"Why have you nothing about your neck, Yamati?"

"Oh, but I have. I have cuts. You can either have an obia cut, or an *obia seei*—a string. It is to make us live. All children have it."

"And when do they start making kamemba?"

"A long time ago they start. If it doesn't hurt too much, they cut one more, and soon one more. But if it hurts too much, they wait until . . . ," he said, finishing on the word *te* . . . in the characteristic way of the grown narrator who uses the monosyllable to intensify space and time and danger and bounty.

Yamati found so much delight in his role as teacher that he became stern with us and had us say the words over again and again. There was the word for firefly which pleased him not at all. "*Mi taki, mi taki-o, mako-oyeye*—I say, I am saying . . . " ("if you would but listen," his voice

In the rapids

[25]

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REBEL DESTINY

It was Sedefo's boat, there in the distance, tilted to one side in what looked to us like still water. The other canoes turned and paddled furiously to reach him, but he had righted his boat before they could come alongside him, and was off down the river to recover what he had lost. The water had claimed the basket back of the tarpaulin-covered load, and a carved paddle which had slipped off when the canoe tilted. The basket belonged to Sedefo. It held his food for the journey up river and the downgoing. The paddle was also his—the finest he had—and had been intended for ceremonial usage when he called as spokesman for us on village heads asking for a night's hospitality, and particularly at the Grassman's village, and still later on the way home, when he brought political messages in behalf of his clan to friendly clans along the way he passed. He also lost his best cloth; it was not just a piece of striped cotton a man bought in the white man's store; it had been patiently and dexterously pieced together from many pieces of cloth, plain and striped, in a pattern which was known to the ancestors. His young second wife had made it for him. Her first child was an infant at her breast. When she heard about this, she would think of Sedefo's kuno, and be afraid. Was it so big a kuno that it would punish a child of his wife's family, too?

[091]

This is what the men said while the boats waited for Sedefo to return from his vain search down the rapids. The men had not expected him to recover the things lost. When kuno took, there was nothing that could be done. And it was kuno. The *Bakra-zani*—the white man's things—had remained in the boat unharmed! We looked at the few rocks against which the boat had crashed. They showed plainly above the water, and the current about them made so small a break in the still water that the spirit of this ruffled pool had never disclosed its name, had never before received notice. The three other canoes had gone through without even the grunts from the paddlers which came when the going was hard, for all that was necessary was to go straight for the rocks, let the current swing the boat

[096]

In Wanderlust & Wanderwise 3-5 (1959-1959) 1994
[illegible]
Sacramento

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Just above the Mamaliton.

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Detail of boat—feline head on crosspiece.

[Facing P. 84]

In the doorway of one of the huts, a woman squatted over a fire, and at her feet a child sat busying itself with pushing the firewood toward the center. Our cook had planted two forked sticks in the ground, and on them had hung our lanterns, so that we could see the woman silhouetted against the fire and the naked child on the ground singing the *seketi* which Bayo had sung for us so many times on the river. Over and over the child tried the air, her mother humming it for her softly, while from the doorway of another house a man sat watching them. We had not noticed him until the lanterns had come. The planting ground at harvest time is not a place a man frequents. He was a strange figure there on his low stool, ashe cut wrapped to his neck in a large striped cloth. He made not the slightest move, uttered not a single word. But for his cough, he might have been a corpse propped up in the doorway. We stood hesitating whether to cross the short distance between us and the fire to greet the woman and the man, but before we could come close enough to them to speak, we heard Bayo calling us in a voice we had never heard him use in a strange village.

"Bob's, Bob's. Come. They want you inside." When we were out of earshot of the woman at the fire, he said in a whisper, "Do not go over to those houses. Tomorrow when we are away from here, I will tell you why. It is for that I called you."

We had no need, however, to puzzle over Bayo's warning. Our cook, who had heard the conversation of the men, told us that the man in the doorway was a leper.

"You know how it happens, Massa? Among us town-people it is this way. A child inherits a *trefu* from his father. It is one thing, or many things, he must not eat. If he eats what he should not, then he sickens. We know a person who has eaten his trefu by the spots that come out on his skin. If a man goes on eating the things which are his trefu, then the spots become worse and worse. He becomes a leper. So that's how it is."

He did not at once answer the questions we put to him.

gods do not come to them." There was in her voice contempt for women who had no gods. She was of a reddish-brown color, taller and more slender than most, and the great coils of brass about her arms and ankles told that her beauty had had full recognition. These had come to her at marriage, as had the small earrings of gold which the bonnie had brought to her from French Guiana. With these, too, had come cloths and handkerchiefs, beads and carvings.

If white women had no gods, did they know any of the other things which women must know? Did the white woman wear an apron underneath all her clothes, as women should? Were her thighs cicatrized? Did she cook for her husband, or other men, when she should be isolated in the special house provided for women's monthly visits? Did she purify herself with sacred clay when she emerged from isolation in order not to spoil her husband's chiaa, for which contact with a woman who has her menses is the deadliest taboo? Why, having borne children, did her figure not show it?

"Have you drums?" the bonnie's wife asked. "Without drums, how do you pray? How do you dance?"

Dancing without drums availed nothing.

"White women have no gods. The gods do not come to them. They are not troubled by the need to dance. White women do not pray," she concluded, seeing that what dancing the white woman did could only be a feeble affair.

"I will send my son to your country. The men who go to the French shore say it is good to know how to count the white man's way. My woman-child I will never send," she finished with finality.

Now it was the white woman's turn to ask a few questions, having done explaining how her boots laced, and why it was that she was dressed very much as her husband was dressed.

The white clay in the hair and on the face of a small child was medicine. The child's mother had washed for her god that morning. He was a god whose day for dancing was Wednesday, and now, feeling the god stir in her, she would

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"In the true, true Sorcerers . . . "

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House of our recently dead.

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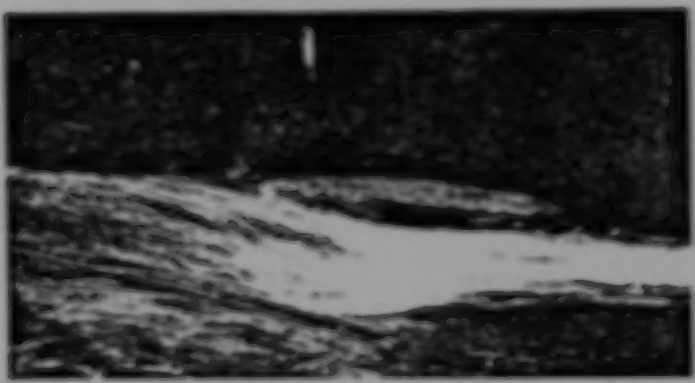

The approach to the Tapa Waca falls.

[p. 170 (A)]

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

574 there not only to tender the courtesy due the guests of the
576 tribal head, but to see that no such mishap occurred to
609 them.
643 When we had both gained the ascent, he turned to the Granman.

"Headman Yankuso, the Bak'a is before you."

As though just become aware of us, Yankuso fixed us with his eyes, fastening his glance on each in turn.

"Odi, white man. White woman, odi!"

A great figure of a man he was, as he stood there. Tall and massive of build, he towered over those who surrounded
● [291] him. Barefooted like the rest, there was that in his bearing which was the way of a man who was accustomed to obedience, whose word was final. He was pure Negro. His skin was dark. In his features there was no hint that the lineage of this ruler held any of the blood of the white masters, nor that his ancestors numbered among them Indians who had given way before his invading forbears. His face was impassive, yet underneath the outward immobility was an alertness which the glistening, oil-anointed skin made the more alive. His speech was measured, his words articulated with studied emphasis, which gave to each of them the value of a completed image.

"*Bari*—Cry out!" he called to the women in his vibrant voice. "Halloo, give the welcome of the bush to the people who came."

Amid the renewed cries which his command brought, we turned from the river bank and walked slowly up the path toward the village, past the silk-cotton tree, past the shrine to the ancestors, until we reached an open place on which fronted half a dozen thatched buildings.

"This is my house, white man," he said, pointing to it. "I will put you near me. I will put you in the council house."

4

344 The council house at Asindopo Lantiwe—the village of Asin, the seat of government—was unlike any we had seen.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

574 For a few moments there was a rapid interchange between him and the old man in the yellow coat.

"The down-river men who have brought the white man," the Granman continued his cadenced speech, "will be housed in the village. The four Gankwe men will put up their hammocks in one house. The other four will be put up in my quarter. So it is. So I care. . . . "

"Yes, wise man."

"Gbolo!"

622 554 The ceremonial introductions followed, and each chief was praised for his special services to the Granman. The man in the yellow coat was of the Oyo people, a son of a great line, held high in the esteem of men and gods. Sungi was a man who knew much of the white man's wisdom. He had been to the French shore, and knew the French tongue, he knew about white man's medicine, but, friends, he was a child of the bush! And'u was a beloved chief, an honest man, a man to send on missions of trust. The bassia was a clever man, one of the men of And'u's village. The gods loved him, for what his hands touched turned to wealth. He was a good man. He was a friend.

A low cough was heard outside. Slowly the cloth was raised, and crouching into the hut came Kasanya and Bibifo. They were carefully dressed, and each wore a kerchief drawn tightly about his head. These they wore by right of age.

622 506 The bassia, lowest in rank, was greeted first, and then each chief in his turn, until the Granman was reached.

574 "Greetings, G'aman."

"Thank you, friends," came the vibrant answer.

This began the colloquy of inquiry about each other's well-being, which here at court had a longer ritual than anywhere on the river. It was a prelude of measured song which introduced all speech between strangers. Bibifo began timidly and did not show himself equal to the many variations which Kasanya had introduced with ease.

"Friends, I am glad you came. You must tell me what is happening in your villages."

194 the Granman punctuated the pauses of the men, though not often their meaning.

623 But whatever the reports of the women, and the commands given by the Granman, the word for white man interspersed all of the morning's recitals, and the questions of the Granman and the answers often came fast.

Of the men, the Granman asked little. They came up in pairs usually, and now one, now the other took up the report. Clan names were spoken, and occasionally a village name was mentioned, but on the morning preceding the council of the chiefs, only one village was discussed, and one clan. The name of the village was the forbidden one where we had stopped for the night against the Granman's orders, and the clan was that of one group of our paddlers.

2

574 Early on the morning after our arrival at Asindopo Lantiwe, our paddlers came to see us in the council house. The Granman was busy outside his own house with the chiefs who had gathered for the council meeting, and these men who, like ourselves, were strangers here, came as comrades of an adventurous journey to visit with us and talk over the impressiveness of our reception and the allure of the women of the Granman's village, who were famous everywhere on the river. It was a village where chastity among the girls was closely watched, and where its women were given in marriage to the most influential men on the river.

[831]
[582]

302 The men were gotten up splendidly. Their bodies glistened with oil, their cloths were made of the long strips, pieced together by their women, and of patterns which the sun's rays had had no chance to pale. Sedefo's was particularly fine, we thought, but he assured us that it did not compare with the one the river had claimed. His cloth was also made of strips, but the stitching which connected them was a lacy weave, worked in triangles, and made to resemble the vertebrae of a snake. The border was of triangular

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pieces of red and blue cloth worked with this thread, so that again the white vertebrae showed. Bayo and Angita wore their beads, and each had a garter below the knee of the right leg. Their garters were white in color, but of a whiteness which only new, unwashed cotton has. They were about an inch and a half wide and were so tight that the muscle of the calf bulged prominently. On their upper arms were Kromanti rings of iron which, by contracting, warned the men of impending danger. In addition, Sedefo and Angita wore the bell obia of the Gankwe people, and Bayo his love obia which had come from Lamé.

"When do you go, Sedefo?"

"When the G'aman speaks. When we finish a piece of work, then we do not want to be paid at once. We do not leave at once. It would be as if we had not gone together in pleasure and wanted to be away as soon as possible. With the white man it is one thing. In the bush we do not do it so. Here in the G'aman's village, we do as we do with our own people in the bush," he paused for an instant, and looked about toward the clearing outside the palings. "There is another thing. In the G'aman's village, men cannot leave until the G'aman gives permission. When the G'aman is ready, he will call us. We will speak together. Then we will speak with him again. Then we will ask to go."

Bayo had been looking about the council house with an interest which was not unmixed with awe at the Granman's possessions, and he spoke in whispers.

"Ai, when the G'aman gives permission, then we go."

As he spoke, the cloth over the doorway was gently thrust aside. Bassia Anaisi of the Granman's village entered. He was the man who had fired the saluting gun the day of our arrival and who had at the Granman's call come to serve the visiting chiefs with rum. He now greeted each in turn but did not take down a bench. For a moment he stood there, head lowered out of deference to the character of the place where he was, then he coughed slightly and, turning to us, said, "The G'aman is ready for you. The chiefs are here."

623 Our paddlers rose at once and left the council house. A
643 moment later And'u entered, followed by a group of elders
[291] with closely drawn kerchiefs covering their heads. Among these only Kasanya and Bibifo were known to us. Kasanya brought his bench close to ours and moved it yet closer, with a gesture of the head that he wanted to continue the intimacy of our ten days' journey together.

"White man," he said, leaning over and whispering, "call your man from the city. At a krutu a man has someone to speak for him. So we do here."

576 And so, we soon saw, it was. Address in the council of the
623 Saramacca people was always by indirection. If the Gran-
643 man wished to speak to one of his chiefs, then he gave his message through another chief, though the man for whom the words were intended might be closer to him or more clearly in view.

643 Others came in, until the room was half filled when the
623 Granman entered. Today he wore a printed red and black
[292] loose coat of knee length, and over it the ceremonial cloth
302 worn by men here in the bush, so that where other men's
291 bare shoulders showed was the sleeve of his coat. On his head were both kerchief and sun helmet. The men were anointed with oil, and many of them wore the jaguar's tooth obia. The last to enter was a man who was well past middle age, and he was followed by the young *obiaman* from S'ei. Both of these men wore the cloths required of men when not at work, but they were not so uncreased, or so new. Nor were their bodies bright with oil. The older man had several broad stripes of white clay from wrist to shoulder of his right arm, and from knee to pelvis on the inner left thigh. Slung from one shoulder and reaching across to the opposite thigh was a white obia made of native fiber, and on his neck were several others. To these
[289] obias were added iron bands on his arms, while below his right knee and at the ankle of his right foot were other obias made of fiber and twisted black thread.

623 The men we knew greeted us as they took down their benches and found places against the wall farthest from the

"It hurts, doesn't it?"

"*Ma kye!* It is beautiful. The men like it too much," said the girls in a chorus, laughing at the suggestion that the pain of the cuts would deter them from having them made. 304

Sometimes, of course, the older girl admitted, the wounds did become ugly. There was the girl from Godo, whose suitor had kept bringing her more gifts because she was growing handsomer and handsomer. She was all but ready for marrying, when one of her thighs became infected after the cuts. The wounds were so ugly that she could not even wear the tunics of the grown girl. The family was sacrificing [710] to all the spirits of the earth, begging them to heal the wounds.

7

These days there were many visitors in the Granman's village. There was the girl the Granman had summoned to dance for his guests. She had, perhaps, that very summer got her cloths, and her reputation as the best dancer on the river had won for her a suitor who gave her many armlets [301] and anklets. Her voice was fresh and flutelike in quality, [533] and so fine that when she sang she placed a folded cloth over her mouth, or danced with her head low. This was the way of modesty before people, and humility before the gods. [576] 535 574

The women said, "Her spirits dance well," when they watched her.

There was the large girl from a village down river who came almost daily. She had the body of a woman, yet she went about unclothed, and sometimes she appeared only with a string about her waist. 882 291

"She is ready for *pangi*—cloths—ai," the women said, "but her people do not want to give them to her yet."

They would not explain, however, why the attire of a grown woman was denied her. We could only conjecture about it. Perhaps she had no suitor. The man to whom she had been promised might have died. There might be other reasons.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

887 "Perhaps the women were wrong. She may not be a
891 woman yet."

"*Ma kye!*" Angita exclaimed. It seemed he knew better.

And there was the woman Amasina. She wore as many armlets and anklets of brass as the shy dancer, as many as the wife of the bassia of S'ei, whom the gods had prospered. Her cloths were of the finest, and in colors which were most often of yellow and blue stripes, with a thread of black interwoven, and another of twisted red and white. She was good-looking, but in her manner there was no smoldering challenge and no undue reserve. With ease she went from one group to another, and the women treated her neither with too much familiarity nor with restraint.

609 Amasina felt at ease, too, with the white people. In the bush they had an explanation for this feeling of well-being with strangers. If a man and a woman were both born on
581 the same day, they did not get on very well together, for they were both apt to have the same powers to grasp things which came within the province of the gods who also had come into the world on that day. Such a man and woman would at once perceive each other's mistakes or would be given to speaking continual warnings to each other. But there were days which were especially congenial affinities for marriages, and even friendships. These, we were led to see, were days which represented a male and female deity in the Bush Negro pantheon, whose mating had brought well-being to themselves and the living world.

"You and Amasina like each other, ai," they said in the village, and this friendship had a sequel of importance for us.

776 One late afternoon we were sitting with the women talking about the gods. Dida said the white on her body was for her god Kesekia. Chief And'u had washed her for her god when he was here in the village, and tomorrow she would dance. Kesekia, she said, was a Vodu god, who had come to her from the French shore. When he came to her, he spoke tongues; he knew French.

796 "Tomorrow they will play the agida drum, and I will put
776 a kerchief on my head tied so," she said, showing how she

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

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Bayo and Tross.

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Bow and arrow used for shooting large fish.

[Facing p. 302]

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

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A Saramacca elder, who has Tiger spirit.

Bayo inspects an obia leaf.

[Facing P. 332]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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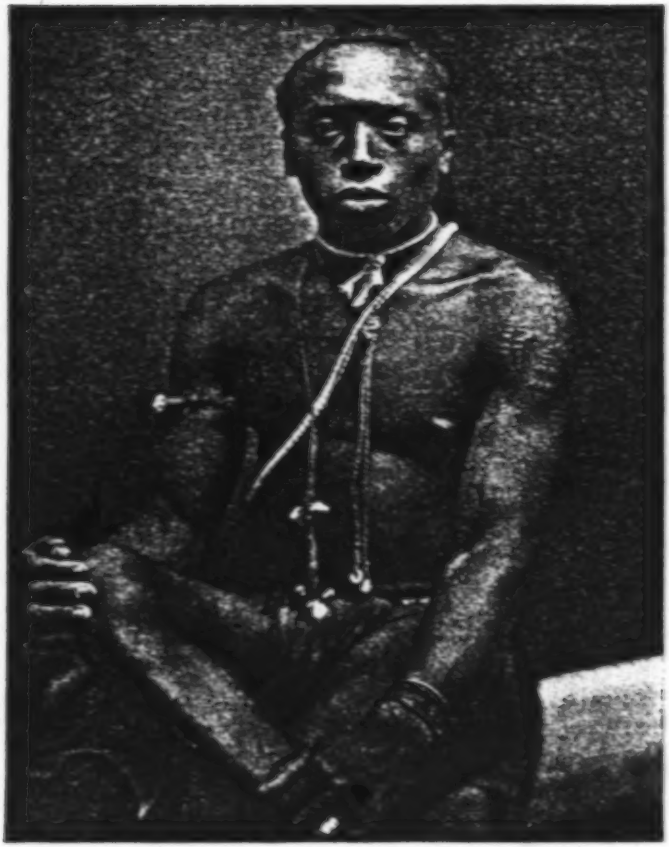

A Typical Bush Negro of the Aucaner Tribe, Lower Cottica River, Dutch Guiana. Note scar tissue decoration on arm.

Photo by Klein

[Facing p. 16]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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Aucaner Woman and Children, Upper Comotibo River, Dutch Guiana.

[Facing p. 24]

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

or Waving Flag. There is also a town cook, known as Bundle. 484

It is grey on the misty river when we leave Kabel to take 485 up the journey into the interior. The corials are wet with fog.

A group of villagers stands on the bank to watch our departure. The last evidence of civilization is the corrugated iron shack which marks the terminus of the railroad. The baggage has been transferred to the canoes, and the paddlers take their places. We shove off on the tawny river. The villagers shout a farewell: "*Wakka bon na watra, bahkra.*"—"Walk well on the water, white man."

Seeing these black-skinned paddlers dimly through the morning mist, one can easily imagine being on the Niger, headed into the interior of Africa. They are characteristic West African types, with broad noses, thick lips, and kinky [142] hair. There are no evidences of racial mixture, no hybrids, no mulattoes. Noticeably aristocratic in bearing, they are carefully groomed and carry themselves admirably. In parleying with the white man they show no deference, for they have no sense of inferiority. They remember the rebellion.

The corials are paddled over a short stretch of quiet water before the rapids begin. It is not long, however, before the boatmen lay down their paddles and take up the great poles. The rhythmic heaving begins. After a few miles they draw the canoes in to the bank, for no apparent reason. Their wives appear out of the bush, bringing the men some extra supplies for the journey. There is an additional loin-cloth for each [297] ● paddler, and two togas, worn over the shoulder. The native substitute for a valise, in which these clothes are packed to [415]

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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Bush Negro Group Showing Unfinished Dug-Out Canoe Hewn with Axe.
Photo by Curiel

[Facing p. 46]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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Clearing in a Bush Negro Village, Upper Surinam River.

[Facing p. 44]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

done no little harm. Bush Negroes are not converted to Christianity except in a most superficial way; in moments of stress they quickly revert to the jungle gods. The mission stations incongruously bring into the South American bush not only the God of Israel but also his tribal taboos concerning clothing. The missionaries censure the idea of nakedness, despite the fact that the wearing of clothing produces a higher death-rate among the Christianized Negroes. If a black, drenched in the torrents of frequent rain, is dressed only in a scanty loin-cloth, the sun soon dries and warms his skin. If, on the other hand, he is swathed in flimsy cotton cloth that becomes soaked with water, there is an evaporation and radiation of heat from his body which leaves him chilled and cold. He is then an easy prey to pneumonia or tropical malaria, since his lowered resistance may permit the dormant parasites already present in the blood to proliferate. Thus, imported ideas of sin raise the pneumonia and malaria death-rate.

Bush Negro clothing is simple and effective. While working on the river the men wear only a short loin-cloth, consisting of a small piece of gaudily striped cotton goods. It is held in place by a string of plaited grass, called *cumu* grass. On full-dress occasions the Bush Negro dons another garment, a toga thrown over one shoulder and caught with a knot. The *camissa,* as it is called, is usually of variegated squares and bits of bright cotton sewn together. The brilliant hues against the black skins of the natives make a study in colourful contrast.

The women wear either one or two garments. The com-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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Interior of a Bush Negro Village on the Cottica River, Dutch Guiana. *Aucaner Tribe.*
Photo by Klein

[Facing p. 46]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

monest is a simple piece of cloth wrapped around the torso, 291 ●
from the breast to the knee. Sometimes the breasts are left bare; sometimes they are covered. This is a matter of individual taste, and has no ceremonial significance. Over this lower garment another cloth is sometimes thrown, and clasped at the shoulder. Near the mission stations, of course, and on visits to Paramaribo, much more clothing is used.

The Bush Negroes are not allowed to appear in loin-cloths on the street when they come down to visit Paramaribo, except on the river's side where they land in their canoes. They must have a pair of trousers for any further promenading. There is no objection to the upper parts of the man's body being bared; but the women may not walk about the streets of the capital with their breasts exposed.

If a Bush Negro is not fortunate enough to own a pair of trousers, he may rent one for ten Dutch cents a day (four cents in American money) from small shopkeepers who have their stores near the bank of the river. The traded cloth is fashioned into rough but brilliant trousers for the men, and crude bodices for the women. Even a straw hat may occasionally be seen. In the more remote villages, on the other hand, the women often wear only a short bit of cloth before their genitalia. Most of the children of both sexes wear no clothing until a few years before puberty. About the age of ten they are dressed in their first cloths. For the boy this is a ceremonial [352]
occasion, but the girls quietly begin clothing themselves without notice being taken of the event.

In addition to these garments, the Bush Negro indulges in 301

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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Palm Fronds Recently Cut to be Used for Thatching a Hut.
Boni Tribe, French Guiana.

[Facing p. 50]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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Bush Negroes of the Aucaner Tribe Who were Induced to Come to Paramaribo to Dance Before Colonel Lindbergh When the Air Mail Route Was Opened to Dutch Guiana

Photo Given to Dr. Kahn by American Consul to Dutch Guiana, James B. Lawton

[Facing p. 54]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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An Aucaner Mother. Note the Cassava Cakes Cooking Inside the Kitchen.
Photo by Curiel

[Facing p.64]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

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A Family Group, Lower Saramacca River.

[Facing p. 92]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

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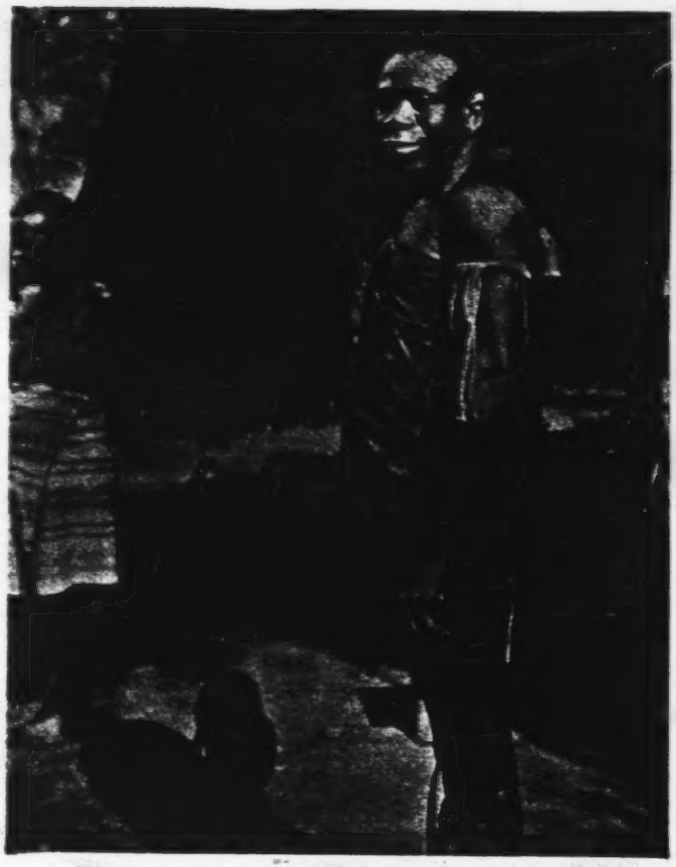

Bush Negro Man of the Lower Saramacca River.

[Facing p. 94]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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Bush Negro Men Visiting Paramaribo, the Capitol of Dutch Guiana.

Photo by Klein

[Facing p. 98]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner
Saramaccaner
Boni

619 184 In general appearance and culture the Aucaners vary little from the other large tribe, the Saramaccaners.

[531] The art motifs and their treatment as displayed on the Aucaner wood carvings as a rule differ from those of the Saramaccaners. On the other hand, some of the pieces were found to be practically identical.

The Aucaner talkee-talkee also differs from that of the Saramaccaners, the former being more like the speech of the Town Negroes. The Aucaners have no deepee-talkee or odo as have the Saramaccaners, but they have a dialect known as *Koropina* where a *p* or an *m* is spoken before the vowels in a word for the purpose of confusing strangers. A similar custom is prevalent among the Negroes of Curaçao, Dutch West Indies.

[197 198 191]

[291] The dress of the Aucaners is the same as that of the Saramaccaners, excepting that they affect more often the breast-cloth, the *wassapangye,* and the head-cloth, the *mussu.*

Among the Aucaners the toga garment is called the *yembah,* while it is called a camissa by the Saramaccaners. The barrier of palm leaves is called *chifunga* by the Aucaners and *azang pau* by the Saramaccaners.

[262 606 184] The system of food taboos and general culture are the same. There is no mother-in-law taboo among either the Aucaners or the Saramaccaner tribe.

[161] 648 The Boni tribe, which consists of about 900 people, is descended from escaped slaves who crossed the Marowyne River into French Guiana and who were allowed to remain there unmolested by the French authorities. This is the only

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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An Aid to Busy Mothers.

[Facing p. 108]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

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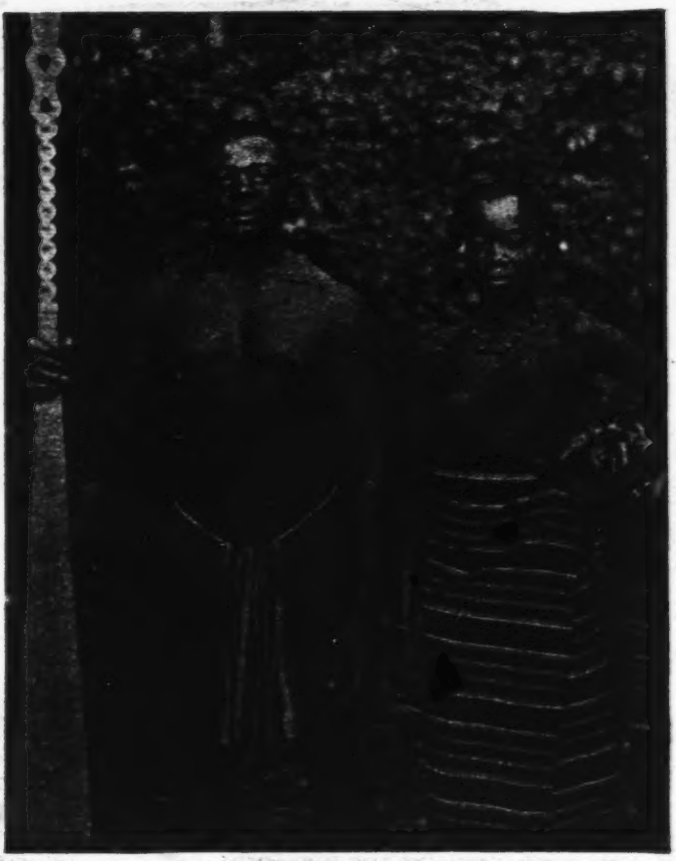

Bush Negroes of the Saramaccaner Tribe, Upper Surinam River.
Photo by Klein

[Facing p. 110]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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A Bush Negro Mother on the Lower Saramacca River.

[Facing p. 112]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Paramacca

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Bush Negro Men of the Paramacca Tribe, Middle Marowyne River, French Guiana. The child is being tended by its maternal uncle, who, in the social structure of these people, takes the place of the father in tending the children.

[Facing p. 120]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

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Bush Negro Women of the Saramaccaner Tribe.
Photo by Klein

[Facing p. 122]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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Bush Negro Man and Women of the Aucaner Tribe from the Tapanahoni River, Dutch Guiana. Note scar tissue decoration on face and chest of woman at left. The central figure is "Moi-Man" (Nice Fellow), one of Dr. Kahn's guides.

[Facing p. 128]

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

were born, such as Monday-child, Tuesday-child, and so on. 000

The boys of about seven to ten years of age form themselves into groups and play at hunting or fishing, or canter in and out of the village. There seems to be very little organized game playing among the children. For that matter the adults have no organized games aside from that of gambling with the *adji-boto* board. The little girls play at house making, or follow pursuits of a less arduous nature than do the boys, and to them in particular is given the care of the young children, although the boys often do their share in this matter. The arts of hunting, fishing, canoe work, and jungle craft in general are usually taught the boy by his maternal uncle, or by some other male relative of his mother's family, and less often by his actual father. At irregular intervals there are canoe races, and the young men indulge in wrestling as a pastime. 857 [525] [868 604] [526]

We know of no initiatory rites for ceremonially admitting children into the tribe at puberty. Among the Aucaners, however, the boy does undergo a slight ceremonial to indicate that he is at last a full-fledged adult. Most of the children of both sexes are entirely nude, and no notice is taken of the fact. At about the age of ten the boy begins wearing around his waist a string of singrassi, in anticipation of a loin-cloth. When the maternal uncle judges that the boy is old enough, he stands the boy up before the entire village, assembled for the purpose, and gives him a loin-cloth and camissa. But first the uncle rips off any cloth that happens to be on the boy's body and draws attention to his nudity. Everyone is told to 881 [291]

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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A Bush Negro Woman of the Boni Tribe with a Carved Wooden Flail Used Instead of a Wringer, for Cloth. The right hand holds a tin containing an infusion of tobacco leaf and water.

[Facing p. 156]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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Bush Negro Men of the Aucaner Tribe. Note scar tissue decoration on faces. Cottica River, Dutch Guiana.

Photo by Klein

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2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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"Cow Fie" (Cow Fly), Six Feet Tall, and "Moi-Man" (Nice Fellow), Two Expert Canoemen from the Upper Tapanahoni River.
Aucaner Tribe.

[Facing p. 166]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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Bush Negro Man, "Amehkimoi" (Makes Nice Things), with a Carved and Inlaid Pot Stirrer Which He Has Just Completed for His Wife. *Aucaner Tribe,* Upper Cormotibo River, Dutch Guiana.

[Facing p. 172]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

The decoration of
177 objects with cowrie shells comes by way of Africa. The
[328] monkey dance said to be practised by the Djukas is described
[796] as similar to the gorilla dance of the West Coast. The coiled
wire bracelets and anklets are of African design, and the
[301 291] general mode of dress is the same.

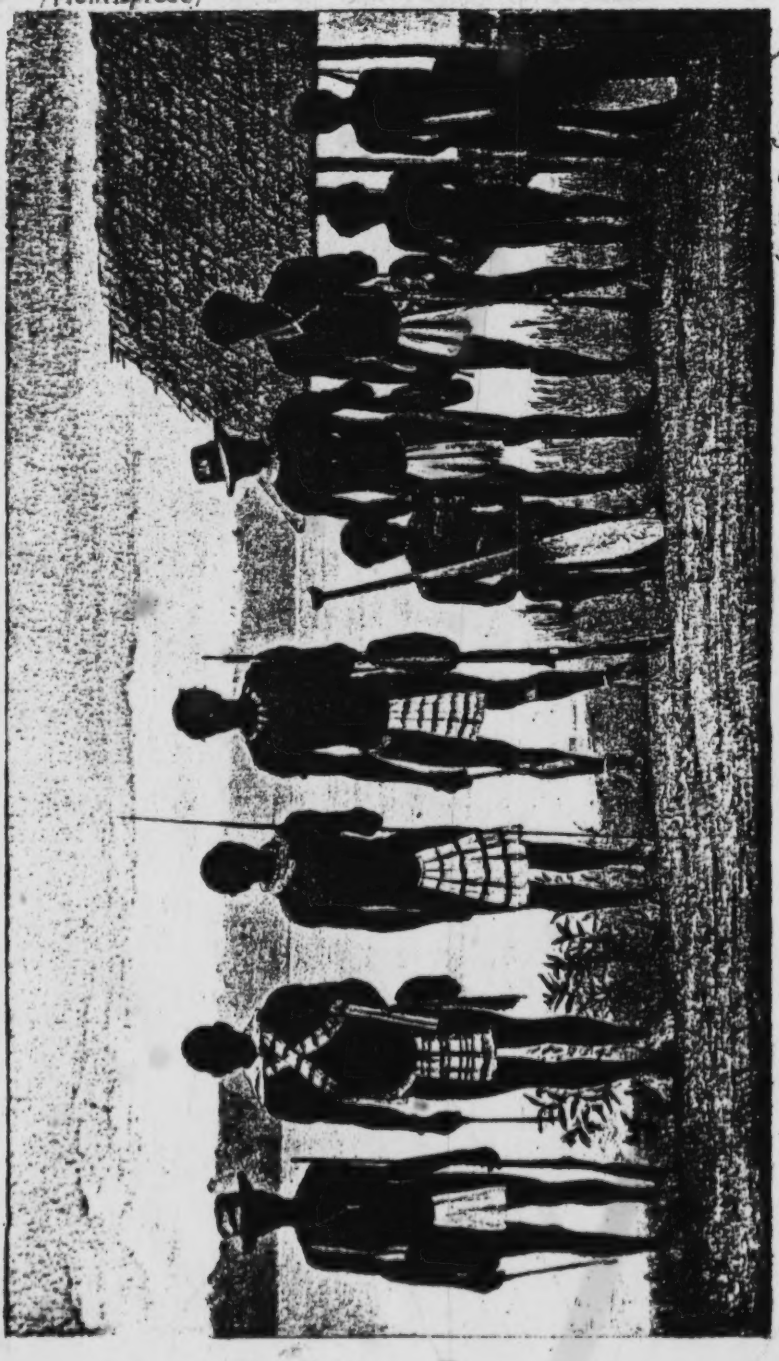
The Djuka attitude toward the silk-cotton tree is common among the tribes of the Guinea Coast. "Throughout West
[824] Africa from Senegal to the Niger the silk-cotton tree is regarded with reverence and believed to be the abode of a god or spirit. This general consensus of opinion is no doubt due to the stupendous size attained by some of these trees, which tower far above all others of the forest."

[524] *Adji-boto,* a game in which seeds are placed in round holes in a board, is played not only by the Bush Negroes but also by the Town Negroes of Paramaribo; it is found along the Gold Coast, Benin, Sierra Leone, West Sudan, and, in modified forms, in many other parts of Africa. The fish spear
[227] of the Djukas is found in Liberia, Mandingo, and the Gold Coast. Shooting fish with a bow and arrow is an African
[226] custom, but it is also widespread among the aboriginal Indians of South America. On the other hand, according to Dr. W. Roth of Demerara, a number of traps and hunting devices now used by the Guiana Indians are of African origin and have been borrowed from the Negroes.

[372] The Djuka fire fan, woven of split rattan, is borrowed from the Arawak Indians, but different types of the same device can be found also among the Tshi- and Ewe-speaking people and in Liberia, Cameroons, etc. The Bush Negro

3: Coster--i F-5 (ca. 1857) 1866 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

/Frontispiece/



Bush Negroes in the Colony of Surinam

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/27/
534 holds out the longest and is the fastest and most accurate performer
535 of the specific steps for this is cheered as the winner.

Banja or baljaar is one of the true African dances. This name is also given to the African guitar, a musical instrument formerly generally known in the colony, but now totally vanished. This dance is performed to the beat of the two drums and the
[824] kwakwa stool. For this dance the women provide themselves with a saka-saka, a toy having the shape of a great rattle and made from a calabash filled with corals or pits of the Canna indica and Canna lutea, also called viengoe by them. They turn and shake this saka-saka according to the beat of the song taken up by them, which produces a peculiarly strange sound.

Chapter XIX

Clothing, Ornaments, Tattooing

• 291 Their clothing is very simple. The women ordinarily wear merely a piece of colored linen or cotton strip, called bont, two ells long and one and a quarter ells wide. They wrap this around their middle and allow it to hang down below the knee joints, calling it pangi. This undergarment of the Negro women is thus named
301] after pano (Spanish) and pagne (French). As a rule they have the upper body bare, while around the neck, the wrists, and the ankles
302 they wear strings of coral, which greatly take their fancy. They usually plait the head hair into a large number of small braids and bind the ends of these with white cotton threads. Some of them wear their hair combed out, as a result of which their heads,
301 seen from a distance, resemble large mop-heads. They are very fond of blood corals, which are greatly valued among them for ornamentation.

[292] When they celebrate a festival, they also wear a large number of colored cloths of cotton or muslin around the neck, and further adorn themselves with copper and iron rings around the wrists, among which there are strings of coral in the same manner

/27 cont./

301 as the European girl wears her bracelets. On their fingers they wear a number of copper rings, sometimes doubtless up to ten; the thumb is likewise generally decorated with them.

291 /28/ As a rule the men content themselves with merely
292 a simple loincloth or belt, but if they go so far as to dress up, then they wear a broad-brimmed hat which is usually painted with various colors; around the crown they wear a wide band whose ends hang far down over the brim.

301 Around their necks they frequently wear a string of tiger's
237 teeth and the incisors and molars of wild pigs (the pakier and piengo) and of other animal species that they have caught on the hunt; they wear these same ornaments hanging from a broad band under the knee, and to them is added now and then a shell, a piece of copper, iron, lead, and so forth. Their ornaments also include parrot and West Indian raven (1) feathers and small tassels

1. Lafroe, Psittacus macao L.

made of cotton.

301 They call the last-named obias (2). Just like the women,
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2. Obia, charm. The same efficacious powers as the superstition sees in amulets and talismans are seen in this.

they wear colored cloths around the neck.

304 Like almost all tropical and African peoples, they tattoo themselves. Men, women, and children undergo this operation, and although they are set upon having this as ornamentation, they nonetheless look down upon the man decorated with many tattoos just as the European does on an effeminate dandy. There are among them those whose face and body are virtually covered with the incisions, but they are looked upon with contempt by the industrious and those most developed spiritually. They say that the former are too attached to luxury and must be lazy to waste

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Fig. 7. Ten-month-old food-ground with high cassava. On the right, kapoeweri; weeds in the foreground. -- Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, Oct. 1952.

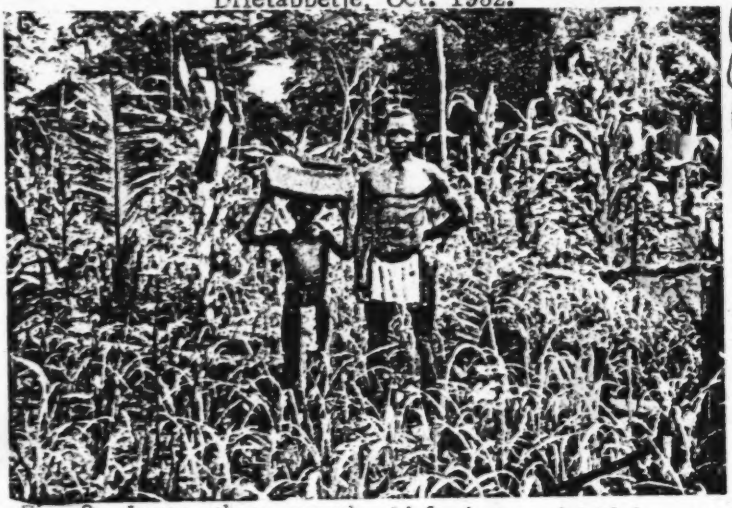

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Fig. 8. Large, three-month-old food-ground with harvestable maize and watermelons. Rice in the foreground. -- Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, March 1952.

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Fig. 9. Baking cassava bread on the iron baking plate (the "pan"). -- Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, June 1952.

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Fig. 10. Pounding the expressed pieces of cassava (in the pan in the foreground) to flour in a wooden mortar (the "matta") in order to bake bread with it. -- Marowijne, Albina, April 1953.

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Fig. 11. Threshing the rice ears on a sack with the feet. -- Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, June 1952.

[245]
[415]

Fig. 12. The fruits of the pina palm are collected in a basket; a beverage is made from the fruit-pulp. -- Marowijne, Albina, April 1953.

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Fig. 13. The pitting of the maripa palm, from which the kernels (lying on a plate on a kerosene tin), after drying in the sun, are used for boiling edible oil out of them. -- Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, June 1952.

Fig. 14. Winnowing rice with the "kède," after it has been pounded in a matta. -- Tapanahoni, Granbori, May 1952.

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Fig. 1. Boni type.

6:Hurault--107a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/facing p. 76/

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Fig. 15. House type of the Refugee Blacks; Loabi village (Djuka of the Upper Tapanahoni).

/132 cont./

648 difficulty in learning the techniques of his group, for the years
871 when the mind is most pliant have been lost in this regard; as
156 for the knowledge acquired at school, it is so foreign to the life of the Refugee Blacks that at the end of a few years none of it remains except vague smatterings.

861 In general, the process of education employed among the Refugee Blacks is imitation of the adult. A child is rarely given a lesson as such. He sees something done, he tries on his own
868 initiative, and little by little he learns. For example, /133/ he sees his guardian make a boat; he is simply asked to go and get dry palm branches and to take away the chips; he hears the adults discuss the job as it goes on. At about the age of 12 or 13 he tries to make a first boat for himself with the help of an older comrade. He progressively acquires knowledge of this technique.

561 Boys begin to take part in farm work from the age of six
462 or seven, principally weeding and planting. At about ten or eleven they begin to handle the machete and help to cut through the bush; at about 12 they begin to handle the axe and learn to fell trees. At 14 or 15 they begin to make small boats. An adolescent of 16 or 17 is in general capable of cutting a clearing for his mother or sister.

429 Most often the guardian takes his role very seriously, giving
86 his main attention to teaching the child all that is necessary. If it is a woman, she asks her brothers to teach the techniques of boating and building.

866 The principle is to develop very early a sense of responsi-
461 bility in the child by making it progressively necessary for him
434 to earn his living. The guardian does not furnish pocket money,
[291] and with the exception of a hammock every other year, no manufactured objects (children under 11-12 years not being clothed, he has almost no expenses for clothing). But he gives the child progressively chances to earn money by his work. From ten years on, the child begins to render some services: for example for the construction of a boat, he helps transport the dry palm branches intended for the burning. If the boat is being

/145 cont./

582 Generally speaking, the custom of the Refugee Blacks used to consider as immoral the marriage of a very young girl to an old man, or of a very young boy to an adult woman.
588 178 The weakening of family morals is clearly demonstrated by two events which happened during the summer of 1960. A boy of thirteen and a half, K... of Boniville, left his guardian to join an Assisi woman, A...., 20 years older than he and with a very bad reputation to boot; some months later his example was imitated /146/ by a boy of 14 who began living with a
[684] woman of 29. Nothing like that had ever been seen, and
[613] people inveighed against the scandal of it; but in both cases, guardians and lineage heads showed themselves incapable of making their authority respected by force.

882 Marriage of girls. It can still be said (although things are in
[562] the process of changing rapidly) that girls, kweyi umã, occupy a place apart in the thought of the Refugee Blacks; the reprobation which embraces women does not extend to them.
882 834 People say that girls "have good manners," and in fact most of them, although naked except for a little apron, have a re-
[291] served attitude, a becoming bearing, which contrast with the attitude of the married women. To tell the truth, this virtue is not so much due to natural inclinations as to the strict
[593] vigilance with which their mothers surround them. The mothers literally do not let them out of their sight and permit no man to speak to them out of their presence. "Until dawn, until the cock crows, she keeps vigil," says the song, alluding to the mother who watches over her daughter's virtue. If a girl
[836] comes to lose her virginity without being properly married,
[597] pɔti na ɔsu, "established in a house," it is a dishonor for her mother and her near relatives.

6:Hurault--245a K-5 (1948-1958) 1951 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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Fig. 22. Offering of food to the ancestors.

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Fig. 23. Interrogation of the dead person.

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765 In the evening the young people dance in front of the houses of several men who have given the tafia, but that no longer has the character of a ceremony. All is over at eleven o'clock in the evening.

On the sixth day, Nov. 13, at seven o'clock, the elders assemble again in front of the /187/ banana leaves where a little of the food offered the day before remains (dogs and chickens have eaten part of it).

A long palaver begins, disconnected and disconcerting, whose purpose escapes me. The clearest thing coming out of it is that the captains make known what the grand man (absent from the ceremony) told them in the morning. They thank the grand man for this festival which has gone off without any incident; they say that they can be counted on if some mourning rises in another village.

[291] [535] [177] Todo makes apologies to the grand man because the young people were dressed in a new style (large loincloths /calimbés/ reaching to the ground) and danced several Creole dances. He says to the audience that this does not conform to custom and that the true Boni dances are sɔ̃ŋgɛ, susa, awasa.

Next Fintiman pours water gently on the banana leaves, calling the dead whose mourning is being lifted. "We pour water for you, watch over the people in your family, over the grand man and over those who have worked for the mourning, that they may be in good health, that nothing bad happen to them.

We have done with you; stay where God put you."

765 775 [768] While pronouncing these words, Fintiman breaks his dead mother's bench and dish (for the dead boys, nothing had been brought). It is a question not only of marking the break with the living but of procuring for the dead woman what will be necessary for her in the Beyond. For this purpose a paddle is also broken, which her son Klémenti prepared for her, and calabashes prepared by her daughters.

/22.8/

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Fig. 26. Woman possessed by a Papa gadu god.

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Fig. 27. Dance of possession (Papa gadu worship).

609 people kept their distance, and among them some pithy proverbs were spoken to bear upon the shortcomings of the white man. One or two of them turned to repeat to the dead what had been said, and there was great laughter. Sedefo [775] came to assure us that the dead man liked it very much. For the dead, it appeared, were especially susceptible to humor and to exceptional occasions.

764 About us, or edging their way toward us, were the 298 younger men in their ceremonial dress, the toga-like cloth covering their bodies, but leaving one shoulder bared for respect, and the women in their knee-length *pangi*, or [301] cloths, hanging from the waist, and their shining brass rings reaching from wrist to elbow and from ankle halfway up to the knee. Among the dancers, but standing somewhat [534] aloof, could be seen a man or woman with seed rattles about the ankles. These were the fine dancers. Of them our informant had spoken when he said, "They dance well at Gankwe."

764 Carved stools were placed for us facing the coffin a little [358] to the left of the singers, where we could best see the danc- 533 ing. One or two lanterns were moved to give us better light. The drummers, who had not left their places, took up the rhythm again—one of the women had us know that the spirit of the dead man had communicated to the spirits of the drummers that he wanted to see the dancing resumed. The singing began—a woman's falsetto voice and a chorus; the hand clapping of the singers and bystanders emphasized the basic rhythm. It was slow at first, then quickened, and the dancing became more animated.

"They dance seketi," whispered our friends. "Later they will dance awasa."

764 The dancing was confined to a comparatively small space. 535 It began with a barely perceptible motion of the feet of the dancers to the rhythm of the drums and the hand clapping. Then the feet began to execute figures in place, without leaving the ground, the arms hanging loosely at the side. This was continued for some time, until, arms flexed and held rigid at the elbow, and knees bent but rigid, too, the

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

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A Gankwe dancer.

[Facing P. 8]

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

764 gratulate the dancer, while another had taken her place
535 in the dance, only to be brought to herself again when her dancing had become so abandoned that there was danger of falling or tripping. For it is always a bad thing for one's
[994] *akra*—soul—to fall from exhaustion or even to trip while dancing, and it would have been especially dangerous to have fallen with the spirit of the dead so close.

As time passed, figures were seen edging away into the darkness. The knot of dancers thinned. Now there were
[997] but two young women dancing. They wore identical cloths of a new material, a pattern resembling the cloth over the coffin. They were related to the dead man. When all were wearied, they had to go on dancing. . . . Dawn would not be long in coming.

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764 We knew that it would not be long before the spirit of the
775 dead would be called upon to tell his family, fellow villagers,
761 and clansmen how death had come upon him. For, in the Guiana bush, except for the very old, there is little natural dying. The deceased has been killed either by the gods whom he has offended or by the black magic of a powerful enemy, and it is of this which he must tell before his burial. When Sedefo came to our camp the next afternoon, we asked him about the "carrying of the corpse," as the ceremony is called. We told him that his people in Africa—for the Bush Negroes know that their origins are African—also asked the spirit of the dead why death had come upon him, and we plied him with questions. What would they do to be sure the answer was right? Who would ask the questions? When would they establish the facts of the killing? And might we come and see?

There would be no trouble, he told us amiably enough. The spirits of the dead liked attention, and for the *Bakra*—the white man—to come so often to his brother's bier was a compliment. We could return with him, but we must make haste—and it was evident that important ceremonies were about to take place.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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THE PROVISION GROUND

We watched Sedefo and his pole-man adjust their ceremonial top cloths, and, paddles in hand, start up the path, as we joined Kasanya and the other men who were examining the boats. Kasanya, an excellent woodworker himself, ran his hands over the sides of the dugouts much as though he were touching things which held life inside them. 396 [292]

"There is much work making a boat. One the size of this needs cunning. It isn't anybody can do it. First the bark is cut away. Then you outline a space here on top, and with your machete you cut away inside. When you have done this, it is only the beginning."

He led us to just such a log, and then to another on which burning had been done. "You can only burn very little at a time, and you must fire carefully, carefully. You make a small fire and char the wood—you make a fire, and quench it, make a fire and quench it. So it is done. Then you take wet leaves and put them into the boat, and on the leaves you place live coals so that the steam can soften the grain of the wood. When the wood is softened, it can be forced into shape. Sticks are wedged in to make the opening hold. Slowly the log begins to have the lines of a boat."

But all this we were made to see called for the most exacting patience as well as skill, for any misjudged pressure might split the wood.

"Many moons come up and die before a log is fashioned into a boat, and even then, there is still the carving to be done on stern and prow; the crosspieces to be put in, the sides built up. It is not a thing a child undertakes, Bak'a."

Now Bayo, who had listened attentively to Kasanya's explanation of how boats were made, found a pretext to bring us back to the water, and soon he took up the talk of boats.

"Boats are like people. See, this we call a head. At the other end are the buttocks. Here are the ribs, here inside the belly. The crosspieces are the knees. Feet? Ma' Neng'e! What would a boat want with feet?" 501

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
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183 shoulders and arms glisten, or otherwise to make themselves
[302] presentable for the reception. There was nothing to do but to keep close to a tree-trunk, water dripping from naked body and the strip of twisted loin cloth, teeth chattering in the sudden chill brought on by the storm.

The head of Sungi was suddenly thrust inside our boat-tent.

"I saw the Granman. He says the storm is passing. You are to come to him as you are. It is best so. Waiting here is cold."

Turning, he ordered the paddlers to their places, and almost before the paddles were in motion, the guns began to fire.

"The Granman knows the time it takes to give a message. The Granman knows everything," said Bayo in great
[203] admiration, as the guns saluted.

Three shots, and three more. Two shots, an interval, and another coming faintly. Then a short silence, and once more the guns, in clusters of three, but now sounding from several directions.

As we rounded the bend of the island the farther bank was alive with people. The rain had subsided to a drizzle. Across the strip of water which separated us from the shore we could see men and women and children standing about, the women with large food trays inverted over their heads to protect their finery. But the men, disdaining such aids, stood in the rain and looked on with undisguised curiosity. Boats joined ours from up and down the river. With the sound of the guns came hallooing, shrill cries which were the women's expression of enthusiasm, actual or ceremonial.

● 292 As we watched, several figures appeared on the high bank,
554 the others making way for them. Two of the men were not
622 dressed in the colored toga-like cloths that were worn by the others, but in coats of rich material which reached to their knees. They wore black top-hats with cockades at the side. One of these, we recognized as Chief And'u of S'ei. His coat was of deep crimson, bordered in blue, and his companion's a vivid yellow. Both of these men carried

Both of These men Carried
long wands of office, of black wood topped with silver 292
knobs. About their necks were heavy silver chains, and 554
from each chain was suspended a large silver crescent. 293

Another man stood near them to one side. He wore a long coat of white edged with scarlet and blue. He carried 554
no stick, and wore no insignia. On his head, over a white 643
kerchief wound tightly about the head and caught up in the back, was a white sun helmet. Above his head, held by one of the younger men who accompanied him, was an umbrella, the highest emblem of rank. It betokened that this man was Moana Yankuso, Granman of the Saramacca people.

3

Kasanya was first out of the boat when the dugouts 622
were brought to shore, and after him came Bibifo. Sedefo 574
and Asikanu remained with the younger men, waiting for 576
the Granman to indicate that he wished to receive them. [554]
Only men of rank and elderly members of his own clan would go at this time to speak to the headman, who stood there watching the boats.

"We came, G'aman," we heard Kasanya say, "and we brought the Bak'a." Two or three low-voiced sentences followed, and then the conversation was terminated by the elderly functionary in the yellow coat, who came down to our boat.

"I greet you in the name of the G'aman, Bak'a," he announced. "The G'aman himself awaits you. Come with me."

As we stepped out of the boat, the hallooing of the women 574
and the shouts of the children, which had stopped when the 576
paddlers addressed the Granman, began once again, and, 609
as an underlying voice, the salutes from the shotgun were 643
to be heard. The old man, shifting his wand of office to his left hand, now carefully helped first the one, then the other out of the boat and, offering his arm to each in turn, led us to the top of the steep rise, until we were face to face with the Granman. It would have been unlucky had we lost our footing at this moment of welcome. This chieftain was

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

AT THE COURT OF THE GRANMAN

Above the door was a shelf which did not quite reach the entire width of the wall, and on this shelf were the council benches, which the Granman supplied to the visiting chiefs. These benches were small, low, and as little ornamented with carvings as the work stools used by the women. But on the sides symbols were incised, and at least two of them we were able to identify as clan emblems. One of these had the conventionalized patterning of the hatchet, the emblem of the Granman's clan, and another a flower which is associated with the people from whose group come the principal diviners. The tops of these simple stools sometimes had inlays of dark wood, but whether their outlines were of ritualistic importance or not, no one would say.

From the beams hung several umbrellas, still inside the wrappings in which they had come from the white man's city, and a wickless metal lamp, into whose chains envelopes were inserted. These envelopes contained letters received by the Granman which awaited the coming of the missionary to be read, or letters which had already been read, and were there to add color to the official scene.

There were also other *Bakra sani*—white man's things—in the house. A canvas folding chair which filled almost an entire wall stood against the slats beside which, on the outside, were the earthen jars. This was for the Granman. He sat in it with the majesty of an emperor. No one ever approached it too closely, and we were never invited to take our ease in it when the Granman was in his own house.

In addition, there was a table in the center of the room, covered with a red and black plaid cloth from the city, and two straight-back chairs. On the table stood an alarm clock which was set for the noncommittal hour of twelve and a glass decanter filled with rum.

Chief And'u was the first to join us inside.

"It is fine here at the G'aman's."

"Yes, it is a fine house. And you, And'u, you look well in your coat. Is it when you are with the Granman that you dress so?"

622 292 "It is the coat of a chief. All chiefs wear these coats At the G'aman's we wear the best we have."

[293] We looked at his silver-topped wand of office. "Do all chiefs carry these?" we asked.

"Not every chief has a stick like mine. And all chiefs do not have one of these." He pointed to the crescent of silver which hung from a chain about his neck.

"It is beautiful."

"Ya-hai. And it's old."

Embossed on the silver plaque were the arms of Holland, richly worked.

622 648 293 643 "After the time of running away, when the fighting was over between our ancestors and the whites, these were given to us, and the wands of office. But not all chiefs have their wands from the white man. Some have the ones we call 'free sticks.' A man who has a 'free stick' is not a chief for the white man, but we know that he is a chief."

He added that the whites had made an agreement with the escaped Negroes that if they would no longer raid the plantations and carry away slaves with them they would be considered free men in their bush, under the white man's government. Since that time the Bush Negro Granman and certain of the village chiefs had had official recognition, and as a token of this each of them had been given a uniform, a [292] high hat, a crescent with the arms of Holland worked on it, a silver-headed staff, and an annual stipend.

"The chiefs who have 'free sticks,' the white man does not pay."

576 As we spoke of these things, we were interrupted from time to time by the noiseless brushing aside of the cloth which hung above the door, and the entrance of one of our men, or a man of the Granman's village, who brought in our canisters and hammocks. With not even a glance in our direction, they would leave as noiselessly and return to the river. Through the slatted side walls we could hear the sounds of such activity as we had not thought possible in the tropics.

623 Our paddlers rose at once and left the council house. A
643 moment later And'u entered, followed by a group of elders
[291] with closely drawn kerchiefs covering their heads. Among these only Kasanya and Bibifo were known to us. Kasanya brought his bench close to ours and moved it yet closer, with a gesture of the head that he wanted to continue the intimacy of our ten days' journey together.

"White man," he said, leaning over and whispering, "call your man from the city. At a krutu a man has someone to speak for him. So we do here."

576 And so, we soon saw, it was. Address in the council of the
623 Saramacca people was always by indirection. If the Gran-
643 man wished to speak to one of his chiefs, then he gave his message through another chief, though the man for whom the words were intended might be closer to him or more clearly in view.

643 Others came in, until the room was half filled when the
623 Granman entered. Today he wore a printed red and black
[292] loose coat of knee length, and over it the ceremonial cloth
302 worn by men here in the bush, so that where other men's
291 bare shoulders showed was the sleeve of his coat. On his head were both kerchief and sun helmet. The men were anointed with oil, and many of them wore the jaguar's tooth obia. The last to enter was a man who was well past middle age, and he was followed by the young *obiaman* from S'ei. Both of these men wore the cloths required of men when not at work, but they were not so uncreased, or so new. Nor were their bodies bright with oil. The older man had several broad stripes of white clay from wrist to shoulder of his right arm, and from knee to pelvis on the inner left thigh. Slung from one shoulder and reaching across to the opposite thigh was a white obia made of native fiber, and on his neck were several others. To these
[289] obias were added iron bands on his arms, while below his right knee and at the ankle of his right foot were other obias made of fiber and twisted black thread.

623 The men we knew greeted us as they took down their benches and found places against the wall farthest from the

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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But Sedefo, splendid actor that he was, betrayed in no way that he was aware of his friend's discomfiture, except that his interpolations became more and more spirited, balancing in the intensity of his voice the formality of the Granman's speech. 643 684 538

"True, true!" he said, with excitement.

"By Ando, G'ama'!"

When the tale was finished, the Granman became reminiscent. In his youth he had been like the rest. What did it mean to be a man and not to assert one's manhood when a handsome woman was to be had? He was on the Marowyne then. Did they want to beat him? He had said, "Very well." As many as wished could come at him—but one at a time.

As he spoke now, he clenched his fist and struck the table with it so that the table shook and the guns which lay underneath it rattled.

He was no longer young, but his answer to people who threatened would still be the same, he continued.

"Tell them that everywhere on the river, mati," he finished with a smile, and he cleared his throat as a signal for the bassia to come and pour out drinks for his visitors, before they left his village. [594]

And how was their clan head who had been ailing? he asked, with friendly solicitude.

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Granman Yankuso was telling about his great ancestors. 643

He looked particularly well that night. His smock-like coat was a deep blue, and over it was a print of orange and black worn toga fashion. 292

There was Bagida, one of the first to escape to the bush, and Dosi who made the Kasito clan, and Ajako who was a Matchau Negro, a man of the Granman's own clan, and it was he who had fought against the whites and had freed his people. There were Mother Bedu, and Mother Fakia, and the great Abini family which bore Alabi, whom the peccary had helped to freedom, so that Alabi's people, the Awana Negroes, to this day did not eat pingo. 173

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
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houses would have to be built—one in his village where they would live, and one in the provision ground for his wife to sleep in when she worked in the field.

"Must you yourself build the house, Bayo?"

"My family will help me. Making a house is hard work, too, and a man must have clever fingers for weaving the walls."

There would have to be stools, and several well-ornamented combs. A clothes beater would have to be provided for the bride, and a peanut pounding board, and one mortar and pestle at least, and food stirrers and rice trays. A cassava squeezer would have to be woven, and a sifter and grater for the roots that were made into bread. And baskets, too, he would have to weave.

"This is not all. This is only what I must make. Other things I must buy for her."

He would have to provide cloths when the wedding day came, and cloths for his mother-in-law, too. The small kerchiefs which were folded in triangular shape and were worn about the waist as the sign that a woman was married he would also have to furnish, and two large cloths, each the size of three tunics. He would have to buy an iron cooking pot, and some small fishhooks with lines, and some cups from the white man's city. He was going to give his girl a pair of earrings, and a string of beads. Then there would have to be the hammock.

Bayo laughed, "For a marriage, there must be a hammock."

There were other things he was going to buy for his girl. Brass arm and leg ornaments he would buy, since his girl was already a fine dancer.

And when all these things were bought and given, then it was time for the marriage.

"But it doesn't always happen that the marriage takes place," said Bayo. "Sometimes the girl's people do not like what the man has done. They have another krutu, and decide the man should not marry into their family."

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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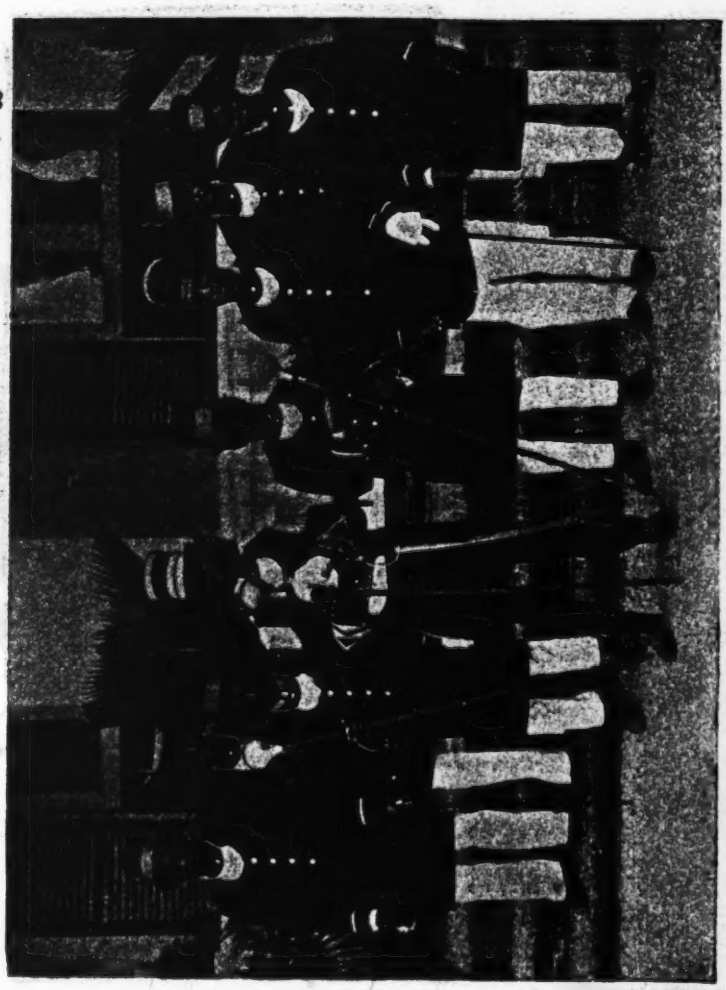

Granmans and Captains Assembled in Paramaribo for a Council with the Governor of Dutch Guiana.
Photo by Curiel

[Facing p. 102

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

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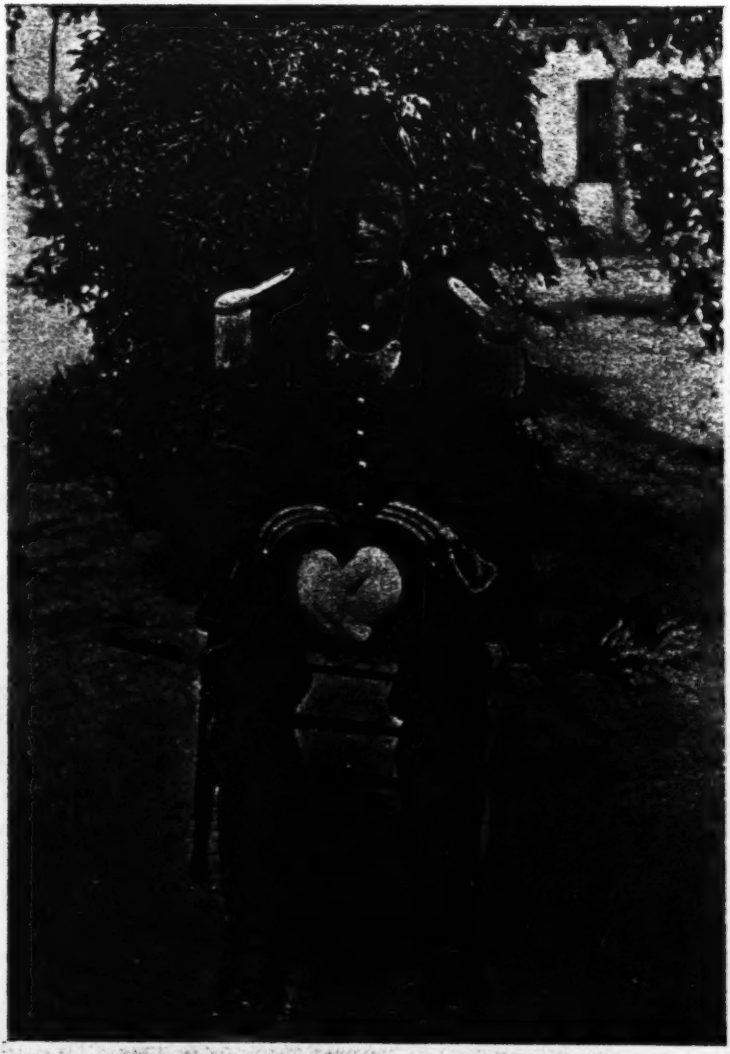

Jankoeso, Granman or King of the Saramaccaner Tribe, in Town for a Parley with the Governor.

Photo by Curiel

[Facing p. 106]

/7 cont./

101 4th. Bonnie /Boni/ Negroes, living on the river above Marowyne;
[175] until 1862 they were in a state of slavery among the
[567] Aucaners, but at that time, through the intervention of the government, they were released from it. Their name is supposed to be derived from a former runaway slave who had placed himself at their head.

Chapter III

Government, Laws, Administration of Justice

643 Each of these tribes, except for the Bonnie Negroes, has
[292] a chief whom they call granman (governor); the uniform given to him by the government is a blue tunic with epaulets and a cocked hat with white plush.

Among the Aucaners the chief is called Byman, a cunning, courageous, and prudent man, around 63 years old.

The chief of the Saramaccaners is called Abram, an infirm old man who is very weak of character and has little influence.

The Mantoewari Negroes have a chief called Kalkoen, who, although aged and infirm, can nonetheless still be called firm of character.

631 /8/ Under their chief they have a certain number of captains and council members. The former are divided into bush captains, who take command in case of war, and into house or land cap-
[554] tains, who deal with internal matters with the chief. The token of their prestige given to them by the government consists of a large staff with a round silver ball (drum-major's stick), on which is the Netherlands coat of arms with "Je maintiendrai."

344 They have a large open shed which serves them as court and which they call kroetoehoso (probably derived from the English "courthouse").

622 Their legislation is very limited. One who kills another is punished with death; one who poisons someone suffers death by torture, provided that substantial irrefutable proof exists. (See Chapter XI below.) If the death penalty is not appropriate, the

/27/
534 holds out the longest and is the fastest and most accurate performer
535 of the specific steps for this is cheered as the winner.

Banja or baljaar is one of the true African dances. This name is also given to the African guitar, a musical instrument formerly generally known in the colony, but now totally vanished. This dance is performed to the beat of the two drums and the
[824] kwakwa stool. For this dance the women provide themselves with a saka-saka, a toy having the shape of a great rattle and made from a calabash filled with corals or pits of the Canna indica and Canna lutea, also called viengoe by them. They turn and shake this saka-saka according to the beat of the song taken up by them, which produces a peculiarly strange sound.

Chapter XIX

Clothing, Ornaments, Tattooing

291 Their clothing is very simple. The women ordinarily wear merely a piece of colored linen or cotton strip, called bont, two ells long and one and a quarter ells wide. They wrap this around their middle and allow it to hang down below the knee joints, calling it pangi. This undergarment of the Negro women is thus named
301] after pano (Spanish) and pagne (French). As a rule they have the upper body bare, while around the neck, the wrists, and the ankles
302 they wear strings of coral, which greatly take their fancy. They usually plait the head hair into a large number of small braids and bind the ends of these with white cotton threads. Some of them wear their hair combed out, as a result of which their heads,
301 seen from a distance, resemble large mop-heads. They are very fond of blood corals, which are greatly valued among them for ornamentation.

[292] When they celebrate a festival, they also wear a large number of colored cloths of cotton or muslin around the neck, and further adorn themselves with copper and iron rings around the wrists, among which there are strings of coral in the same manner

/27 cont./

301 as the European girl wears her bracelets. On their fingers they wear a number of copper rings, sometimes doubtless up to ten; the thumb is likewise generally decorated with them.

291 /28/ As a rule the men content themselves with merely
292 a simple loincloth or belt, but if they go so far as to dress up, then they wear a broad-brimmed hat which is usually painted with various colors; around the crown they wear a wide band whose ends hang far down over the brim.

301 Around their necks they frequently wear a string of tiger's
237 teeth and the incisors and molars of wild pigs (the pakier and piengo) and of other animal species that they have caught on the hunt; they wear these same ornaments hanging from a broad band under the knee, and to them is added now and then a shell, a piece of copper, iron, lead, and so forth. Their ornaments also include parrot and West Indian raven (1) feathers and small tassels

1. Lafroe, Psittacus macao L.

made of cotton.

301 They call the last-named obias (2). Just like the women,
751
292

2. Obia, charm. The same efficacious powers as the superstition sees in amulets and talismans are seen in this.

they wear colored cloths around the neck.

304 Like almost all tropical and African peoples, they tattoo themselves. Men, women, and children undergo this operation, and although they are set upon having this as ornamentation, they nonetheless look down upon the man decorated with many tattoos just as the European does on an effeminate dandy. There are among them those whose face and body are virtually covered with the incisions, but they are looked upon with contempt by the industrious and those most developed spiritually. They say that the former are too attached to luxury and must be lazy to waste

/73 cont./

643 That happened especially to people who, summoned to work
687 in the grand man's clearings, carried out their task with ill will.

About 1950, M..., of Papaïston village, had openly revolted against the grand man whom he had refused to conduct to Saint-Laurent. The grand man sentenced him to make a large stairway of planks, from the Boniville wharf to the entrance to the village, giving him an injunction to leave the country if he refused. M... ended by yielding and executed the large stairway which can now be seen at the Boniville wharf.

643 The grand man is constantly concerned about his prestige
648 and dignity; he is almost always dressed in the European manner
292 and in ceremonies wears an impeccable white uniform; the French
177 administration gives him a relatively large salary and, when he comes to Cayenne, he is put up in the hospital in the apartments reserved for officers.

643 To greet the grand man one does not look directly at him
[576] but places himself in profile with respect to him.

The grand man has no servants (that would be contrary to
[644] the morality of the Refugee Blacks) and leads a very simple life.
[357] Still, he does not do any hard manual labor; each year he calls
[466] together a certain number of men from each lo to work in his clearings; he does not pay them, for this work is an obligation provided for by custom, but he feeds them heartily.

643 Likewise, for his traveling, he requisitions by turns as boat-
466 men two or three of his subjects. Sometimes also he requisitions women to help his wife at harvest time.

On the other hand, for all other work he may need (such as the construction of a large boat) he has to pay like everyone else and he is not given any reduction.

6:Huraulr--245a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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415
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Fig. 22. Offering of food to the ancestors.

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482

Fig. 23. Interrogation of the dead person.

764 /165 cont. / There may be 126 Camisas (1) and
767
[439]

1. Pieces of cotton goods about 1.10 x 0.75 meters. These cloths are manufactured in Holland especially for the Refugee Black clientele.

15 large pieces of cloth. About 30 camisas have been taken from the dead woman's trunk; the others have been given by the people present, the near relatives each giving several, the other relatives only one.

Their work finished, the kisimã burn the shavings and
[783] scraps of board. They pass their tools through a flame to purify them of the stains of death. /166/

About 3:00 P.M. the coffin is brought into the mortuary shed by the kisimã. The kisimã, who have complete charge of this phase of the obsequies, count the pieces of cloth and divide them up. One part will be used for their pay, others for the pay of the gravediggers. Fifteen pieces of cloth and about
[765] ten ordinary camisas will be placed in the coffin. The rest will be used for clothing the widower who, during the whole period of mourning, will thus remain symbolically dependent upon the dead person; if there are any left over, they are distributed to the members of the dead person's lineage.

Placing in the Coffin. About three o'clock four of the
[292] kisimã take their places beside the coffin; they gird their loins with a camisa as the Refugee Blacks always do before carrying out a religious act. In the greatest silence they spread out the 15 large pieces of cloth inside the coffin, allowing them to fall to the ground at right and left. Next, two of them lift up the body while the others slip the coffin underneath (for the whole duration of the burial ceremonies, the body must remain at the exact place where it was put down. The coffin does not rest directly on the ground but is put on a mat through the

/166 cont./

764 The coffin is placed at the edge of the mortuary shed,
787 the front turned toward the spectators. Agodéba sits down before the front of the coffin. According to ceremony, he enters into contact with the /167/ yɔrka of the dead woman by pouring water on the ground before the coffin and calling her by
764 name. He says the same sentences several times in different
787 forms: "Thou hast lived here ... thou hast had children in this
761 village; now death has killed thee. Thou must tell us who killed thee."

[292] Two men, B... (L'Enfant Perdu, Dipélu I) and A... (Asisi-Awara Bakka) come forward, gird their loins with a camisa, and, aided by several others, lift the coffin. B..., who is of the dead woman's lineage, takes the forward position.

For about ten minutes the two bearers try to put themselves into a state of passivity permitting them to receive fitly the promptings of the dead woman; no question whatever is asked. They are seen to make contradictory movements, to go forward tilting the coffin from left to right, which means yes and no at the same time. Sometimes a sudden impulse appears to draw them far from the spectators, they are seen going from hut to hut, wheeling around, going away again.

Finally they come back. Agodéba asks: "Is it a god who struck thee down?" The answer seems to be yes. "Is it a Papa gadu, an Ampuku, a Kãntasasu?" Contradictory answers, the people present lean toward the negative.

Agodéba continues: "Is it a yɔrka who killed thee?" Confused and contradictory movements of the coffin. Agodéba begins again: "Is it a god?" Someone among those present shouts: "Don't you see that she meant yes, speaking of the yɔrka? Agodéba gets angry, takes his hat, and leaves the meeting. General hubbub. Half an hour of words, broken by various movements and sham exits, is required in order to bring him to take his place again.

6:Hurault--265a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/7 a/

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Fig. 25. The coffin is placed on board a canoe.

Both of these men carried
long wands of office, of black wood topped with silver knobs. About their necks were heavy silver chains, and from each chain was suspended a large silver crescent. 292 554 622 [293]

Another man stood near them to one side. He wore a long coat of white edged with scarlet and blue. He carried no stick, and wore no insignia. On his head, over a white kerchief wound tightly about the head and caught up in the back, was a white sun helmet. Above his head, held by one of the younger men who accompanied him, was an umbrella, the highest emblem of rank. It betokened that this man was Moana Yankuso, Granman of the Saramacca people. 554 643

3

Kasanya was first out of the boat when the dugouts were brought to shore, and after him came Bibito. Sedeto and Asikanu remained with the younger men, waiting for the Granman to indicate that he wished to receive them. Only men of rank and elderly members of his own clan would go at this time to speak to the headman, who stood there watching the boats. 622 574 576 [554]

"We came, G'aman," we heard Kasanya say, "and we brought the Bak'a." Two or three low-voiced sentences followed, and then the conversation was terminated by the elderly functionary in the yellow coat, who came down to our boat.

"I greet you in the name of the G'aman, Bak'a," he announced. "The G'aman himself awaits you. Come with me."

As we stepped out of the boat, the hallooing of the women and the shouts of the children, which had stopped when the paddlers addressed the Granman, began once again, and, as an underlying voice, the salutes from the shotgun were to be heard. The old man, shifting his wand of office to his left hand, now carefully helped first the one, then the other out of the boat and, offering his arm to each in turn, led us to the top of the steep rise, until we were face to face with the Granman. It would have been unlucky had we lost our footing at this moment of welcome. This chieftain was 574 576 609 643

622 292 "It is the coat of a chief. All chiefs wear these coats At the G'aman's we wear the best we have."

[293] We looked at his silver-topped wand of office. "Do all chiefs carry these?" we asked.

"Not every chief has a stick like mine. And all chiefs do not have one of these." He pointed to the crescent of silver which hung from a chain about his neck.

"It is beautiful."

"Ya-hai. And it's old."

Embossed on the silver plaque were the arms of Holland, richly worked.

622 648 293 643 "After the time of running away, when the fighting was over between our ancestors and the whites, these were given to us, and the wands of office. But not all chiefs have their wands from the white man. Some have the ones we call 'free sticks.' A man who has a 'free stick' is not a chief for the white man, but we know that he is a chief."

He added that the whites had made an agreement with the escaped Negroes that if they would no longer raid the plantations and carry away slaves with them they would be considered free men in their bush, under the white man's government. Since that time the Bush Negro Granman and certain of the village chiefs had had official recognition, and as a token of this each of them had been given a uniform, a [292] high hat, a crescent with the arms of Holland worked on it, a silver-headed staff, and an annual stipend.

"The chiefs who have 'free sticks,' the white man does not pay."

576 As we spoke of these things, we were interrupted from time to time by the noiseless brushing aside of the cloth which hung above the door, and the entrance of one of our men, or a man of the Granman's village, who brought in our canisters and hammocks. With not even a glance in our direction, they would leave as noiselessly and return to the river. Through the slatted side walls we could hear the sounds of such activity as we had not thought possible in the tropics.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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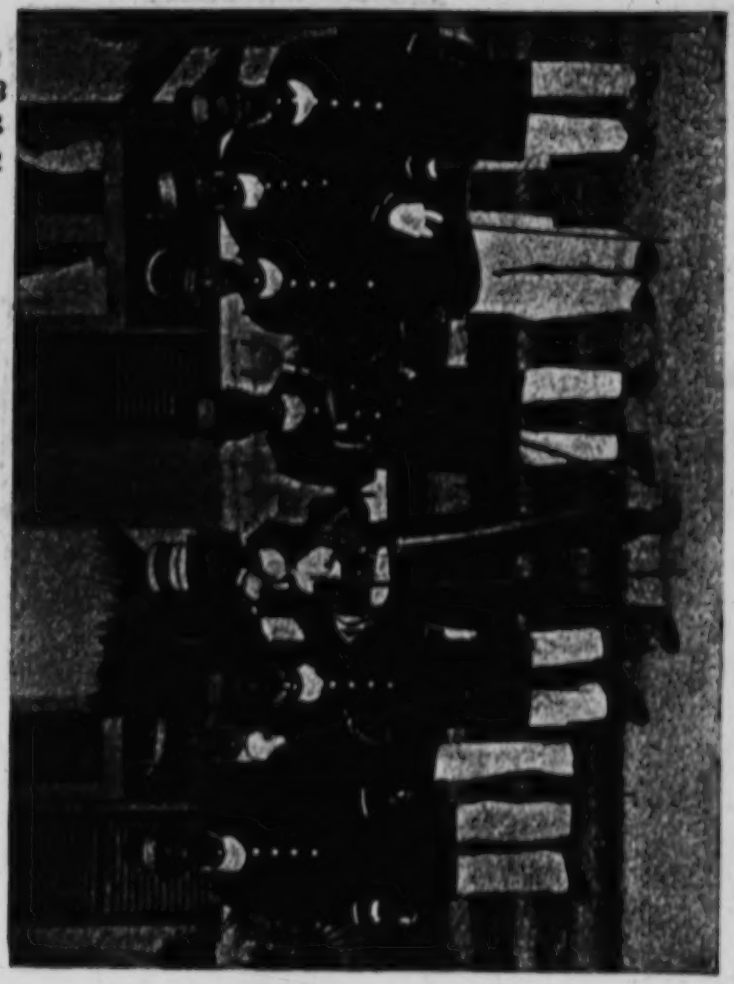

Granmans and Captains Assembled in Paramaribo for a Council with the Governor of Dutch Guiana.
Photo by Carid

[Facing p. 102

A peculiarity of Aucaner wood carvings is the system of
532 sign language imprinted thereon. If some of the pieces are
212 examined closely, it will be seen that they have odd symbols apparently placed at random, not conforming to the general pattern of the piece. These marks represent personal messages from the giver to the recipient, special indications or signs of affection, comparable to the marks at the ends of Victorian *billets doux,* indicating the place to kiss. Conventionalized letters are known as *schriefie,* a Bush Negro word that means "writing." Animal, bird, and human figure motifs are more common among the Boni and Aucaner tribes.

322 Besides the practical implements in everyday use there are
532 a number of trick pieces apparently made for no other purpose than to show the virtuosity of the artist. Thus there are pieces where a loose bauble is placed in a cup from which it cannot be forced. Some of the stools have tiny doors which
[352] open, and some of them are folding stools which close up like camp stools, yet are made from one piece of wood. There are stirring paddles with loose rings around the handles, carved from the same piece of wood and undetachable. Some have chains of wood attached, with separate links, all from one piece of wood. The Bush Negroes are also fond of mak-
● [243] ing bush-knives in wood, or ornamental swords to be worn on ceremonial occasions. Small knives ordinarily seen in metal are also carved out of wood.

There are two general types of decoration, with one or two subsidiary devices. The commonest consists of pierced ornamental work, made from a single piece of wood. Except

THE PROVISION GROUND

It is the woman's task, then, to see to the food which the Earth Mother yields, while the men are busy hauling lumber and making boats, hunting and fishing, and carrying the white man's loads to the city. In the leisure of the rainy season, while the women cut up the trade cotton cloth into long, narrow strips and sew them into cloths of traditional design, the men are at work carving fine things out of wood. 462 [294]

When the big rains come a man might busy himself carving doorposts for his new house, or he might make a paddle to put away in his personal treasure house, so that, when he is ready to take a second wife, he might have the proper gifts to make her. Another might be making a small canoe paddle for his first daughter. She is four, perhaps, and already is of help to her mother in the field, carrying water from the river in a small Indian jar. Soon she will be strong enough to have the cutting of the kamemba begin—a few slashes about the navel at first . . . He will cover the surface of the paddle with beautiful traceries, each design a meaningful symbol, and to add to its beauty he will darken it with a mixture of oil and charred rice hulls. When it is finished it will be of a reddish-brown color, slender, and smooth to the touch of his fingers as the skin of his woman-child. Combs, food stirrers, trays, stools, peanut pounding boards, and, if a man likes, mortar and pestle—all these are carved when the rains are heavy and there is no work to be done on the river or in the bush. 462 322 [584] [857] [532]

So the work is divided. A man does a man's work—wood, iron, hunting the game animals of the bush, and catching fish in traps, making baskets of wood fiber—all that is a man's affair he does. And the woman, tending the fields and cooking for her family, pounding palm nuts in her mortar to make palm oil, grating the bitter cassava to make flour free from the poison that is in the roots, caring for her house and carving calabash dishes with the symbols of men and women and fertility—woman does what it is woman's lot to do. 462 [252]

DEATH AT GANKWE

And so once more we were in Sedefo's canoe running the rapids, and once more we pulled up at the landing place. 764

It was quiet enough there, and no one passing would have noticed anything out of the ordinary in the behavior of the one or two women washing clothes at the riverside, or of the children playing about in the water. Again we climbed the path to the village, this time to the delighted shrieks of the children, whose cries brought others, until we were surrounded by a fearless, clamoring group, shouting, calling after us, "Bak'a, Ame'ica' Bak'a!" Sedefo took us to his house, where we met the senior of his two wives, and turned us over to a young man, who had played one of the drums in the ceremony of the evening before, to show us the village. This was the routine of courtesy due any visitor. Nothing more tangible than a slight reserve marked the tension which made this village different from what it would have been on any midafternoon. [296] [595] [574]

In front of the house of mourning all was quiet. Three elderly men sat on their low stools, talking in low tones. They greeted us as we passed but neither engaged us in conversation nor offered us a seat. Inside the house the small fire still smoldered, and, where the hammock had been, now crouched, soundlessly, an old woman who, we later learned, was the dead man's maternal aunt. We were struck with the number of houses that had symbols of spiritual protection over their doors—*obias*, they are called—magically treated to keep the spirits of death from harming the occupants. As we passed one doorway, a woman holding a baby hastily threw a covering over its head, but not before we saw that it had special markings of sacred white clay on its face. The child was under treatment for some illness, and the mother, in these days when spiritual danger stalked about, could take no chances of the Bakra's magic obstructing the cure. [798] [755]

On the other side of the village, farthest away from the house of death, life flowed on yet more evenly. But as we looked about, our guide stiffened, and soon we too caught the sound of the drums which rapidly became louder. He

REBEL DESTINY

484 Sedefo might greet his sister. It was almost a half-day's travel, going up river, from Asindopo Lantiwe, yet it was not quite noon, and we were passing it. Here was Hei Kununu, its steep slopes already swinging into sight as we rounded a bend of the river and came through the small rapids above the settlement, and still it seemed as though we had but begun our course down toward our base camp and the railhead. And it was still early in the afternoon when we came to Ma'lobbi.

2

462 At the landing place, women were about. Much of the work of the Bush Negro woman is at the river's edge, and for strangers like ourselves, passing in a dugout, the presence of women working on the bank was the only sign [361] that here was a landing place, and that farther inland lay a [912] village. To the river they came with their carved clothes beaters, like the one we could see in the hand of the woman [296] who greeted us here at Ma'lobbi, fashioned, as we later learned when she sold it to us, in the shape of a male vodu head on one end, and a female snake on the other. It was at the edge of the water that a woman scraped cooking pots [264] and calabash dishes with sand, and it was here, if it seemed a good day for fishing, that a woman would go wading in the water to rest a cooking pot on the river [226] bottom, and stand silently until an inquisitive school of small fish swam into it when, with a quick jerk, she would bring it up to take out what fish there were. This, aside from the use of small hooks, was the only kind of fishing a woman could do, for the fishing traps were for the use of men. But the cooking pot brought in many small fish to add flavor to a dish of rice.

123 As we walked into the village, accompanied by one of our 609 younger paddlers, the bassia greeted us. The head of the village was waiting for us, he told us. Paddlers of small boats on their way downstream had spread the word that our visit with the Granman was drawing to an end.

354 /9 cont./
[372] they do not like to be without it; at least they do not like to
[353] sleep without a fire. Their weapons hang above their sleeping
[513] place, which is a hammock, in which man and wife sometimes lie together. Rarely do more than one man and one woman with their
342 small children live in a single hut.

296 Their articles of clothing, as well as other small belongings,
251 are kept in pagalen, a kind of plaited basketwork, while they keep
415 water, strong drinks, sugar juice, rice, salt, and so forth in
824 calabashes and godos (2).

2. Both hollowed-out fruit rinds of the Crescentia cagete L. and the Cucurbita lagenaria L., plants from the family of the Cucurbitaceae.

415 Some of them have cedarwood clothes-chests, which must be specially mounted with a great deal of copper; one also sometimes finds liqueur cellars with gilded bottles.

353 For the rest everything is left out in the open in the hut.

264 Often many men come together in one hut for their meals and eat out of one large bowl or calabash. The women withdraw after having placed on very low tables several calabashes or bowls of food for their husbands in the circle in which they are seated, never forgetting to add a large calabash with clean water for washing the hands before and after the meal. The women gather in another hut in order to consume what they kept out for themselves beforehand and what has been left by their husbands.

[888] If an aged person or a highly placed person is in their midst,
[554] he is offered the calabash of food first, so that he may take from it what he wants and eat it by himself from an ordinary plate, although seated in the circle, /10/ while the others partake of their meal from the large bowl. In general they talk with one another during the meal, the highly placed person also taking part in the conversation.

REBEL DESTINY

609 people kept their distance, and among them some pithy proverbs were spoken to bear upon the shortcomings of the white man. One or two of them turned to repeat to the dead what had been said, and there was great laughter. Sedefo [775] came to assure us that the dead man liked it very much. For the dead, it appeared, were especially susceptible to humor and to exceptional occasions.

764 298 About us, or edging their way toward us, were the younger men in their ceremonial dress, the toga-like cloth covering their bodies, but leaving one shoulder bared for respect, and the women in their knee-length *pangi*, or [301] cloths, hanging from the waist, and their shining brass rings reaching from wrist to elbow and from ankle halfway up to the knee. Among the dancers, but standing somewhat [534] aloof, could be seen a man or woman with seed rattles about the ankles. These were the fine dancers. Of them our informant had spoken when he said, "They dance well at Gankwe."

764 [350] 533 Carved stools were placed for us facing the coffin a little to the left of the singers, where we could best see the dancing. One or two lanterns were moved to give us better light. The drummers, who had not left their places, took up the rhythm again—one of the women had us know that the spirit of the dead man had communicated to the spirits of the drummers that he wanted to see the dancing resumed. The singing began—a woman's falsetto voice and a chorus; the hand clapping of the singers and bystanders emphasized the basic rhythm. It was slow at first, then quickened, and the dancing became more animated.

"They dance seketi," whispered our friends. "Later they will dance awasa."

764 535 The dancing was confined to a comparatively small space. It began with a barely perceptible motion of the feet of the dancers to the rhythm of the drums and the hand clapping. Then the feet began to execute figures in place, without leaving the ground, the arms hanging loosely at the side. This was continued for some time, until, arms flexed and held rigid at the elbow, and knees bent but rigid, too, the

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

292
301
142

A Gankwe dancer.

[Facing P. 8]

WHILE THE RIVER WAS HIGH

The sun stood over the sacred silk-cotton tree toward the Gankwe side of the land. Across the path leading from somewhere in the back of our shelter the parasol ants, each with its strip of green many times its size, made their way toward an unknown spot where no shelter stood, and no one trod. Like a wave the wide ribbon of green rose and fell as it crossed the ridges of the pathway. In unending numbers they came, and the lizards darting in and out of the brush swerved in the direction of the shelter to avoid the marching line, so that at our feet things moved now up, now back again. 136 [137]

While the men were at the landing place, one of the women who was drying rice on the high flat rocks opposite our shelter paddled over in her boat, and, passing the men with a formal greeting, walked on and stopped to talk with us. She was not a young woman. Her time for childbearing was long over, her wrinkled breasts sagged almost to her waist. The cicatrized designs which once had stood out so clearly, and in her youth had been so valued, were but faintly penciled on her face and about her breasts. Had she cared, she might have reopened the cuts, might have had ashes rubbed into them to make the keloids stand out black and alive against the dark brown of her skin. But what need had a woman her age to care? What need to urge life into symbols of fertility on face and between breasts and about her navel, when her time for fruitfulness was over? Of what use to reanimate the incised scrolls between her thighs, when the legend they told in terms of reproduction was for her a dead legend? 888 [351] [304]

She came toward us slowly, balancing a bottle on her head. A faded cloth covered her from waist to knee, and at her waist a bit of the kerchief necessary to the attire of the married woman, even at work, could be seen. She wore a few beads on a cord about her neck, but she had no other ornaments, for ornaments were for festive occasions, and the cloth tied about the neck and worn cape fashion was for women who had children to carry straddling their backs, and woven garters below the knee were conceits of the young. 888 [480] 291 301

996 186 gods do not come to them." There was in her voice contempt for women who had no gods. She was of a reddish-brown color, taller and more slender than most, and the great coils of brass about her arms and ankles told that her [301] beauty had had full recognition. These had come to her at [585] marriage, as had the small earrings of gold which the bassia had brought to her from French Guiana. With these, too, had come cloths and handkerchiefs, beads and carvings.

609 123 If white women had no gods, did they know any of the other things which women must know? Did the white [291] woman wear an apron underneath all her cloths, as women should? Were her thighs cicatrized? Did she cook for her husband, or other men, when she should be isolated in the special house provided for women's monthly visits? [841] Did she purify herself with sacred clay when she emerged from isolation in order not to spoil her husband's obias, for which contact with a woman who has her menses is the deadliest taboo? Why, having borne children, did her figure not show it?

[534] "Have you drums?" the bassia's wife asked. "Without drums, how do you pray? How do you dance?"

[535] Dancing without drums availed nothing.

"White women have no gods. The gods do not come to them. They are not troubled by the need to dance. White women do not pray," she concluded, seeing that what dancing the white woman did could only be a feeble affair.

"I will send my son to your country. The men who go to the French shore say it is good to know how to count the white man's way. My woman-child I will never send," she finished with finality.

Now it was the white woman's turn to ask a few questions, having done explaining how her boots laced, and why it was that she was dressed very much as her husband was dressed.

751 996 183 The white clay in the hair and on the face of a small child was medicine. The child's mother had washed for her god that morning. He was a god whose day for dancing was Wednesday, and now, feeling the god stir in her, she would

A NIGHT AT S'EI

A girl of ten or eleven led the chorus. She had a string 535
about her waist, and the strip of cloth that was tied about 533
her neck as a ceremonial garment hung down cape fashion. About her navel and on her face the cicatrized patterns had been completed. Her voice was the shrill voice of a child, and the answering chorus was as shrill.

"Chaka, chaka!" called the bassia who was directing 535
the dance. He was demanding those movements which bring into play the muscles of the hips.

The women waited. They had come in all their finery, their tunics of the newest cloth, their coils of brass bracelets and anklets made to gleam by rubbing with sand, their [301] ●
skins dark and glistening with the oil rubbed into them for [302]
the ceremonial occasion. Those whose hair was worn in braids had redressed it that day. About their necks were beads. Their cloths were fastened tightly about them, so that their figures showed plainly.

The men, also in their best, waited with them. The iron 535
Kromanti obias on their upper arms fitted tightly, and 789
showed the great muscles above and below them. Those who wore beads had two or three strands of yellow and red intertwined, the small beads worn by men, small almost [301]
as okra seeds. One or two wore love obias—cowrie shells [832]
sewed on a band of white cotton, and then dipped into water which was thickened with white clay. One or two wore a small black bell-shaped obia—half the size of their thumbs—on a black string, and with swagger had swung it about so that it hung at the back. There were obias below the knee, and obias which were great brass rings for the big toe of the right foot. But one or two of the old men, and the young man who was in training for an obia man, wore a jaguar tooth on a string of native twining.

Drums . . . drums. Would there be drums? 535

The word was whispered from one to the other, and passed like a wave over the waiting figures.

But there would be no drums. This was the day when [MC]
two gods might come. The god of the ant hill, for which men and women might dance, and the buzzard god of the men's Kromanti society.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

which went on, so that she might recount it to her father. 644 The women of the village walked "softly" with this older daughter. "Daughter of the G'aman," they called her when they addressed her, and her mildly spoken, persuasive suggestions were never ignored.

Wilhelmina, however, busied herself at her work, and if anything were asked of her, she would look up with an expression of bewilderment. Differing from other women of the village, who had come to live there after marriage and knew the speech of the less aristocratic down-river settlements, Wilhelmina had never been any distance from Asindopo Lantiwe. The other women were, therefore, constantly interpreting the questions which were being put to her.

She was dark of skin, as dark as her sister, but her face [142] had a flush of red in it, as though she had brushed it with the sacred red kuswe. A little above her wrists gleamed wide [301] bands of tin. These were bracelets her husband had made for her, and they were much prized. The brass coils which she once wore had been filed through and removed, for [843] when the ankles of a woman who bore children swelled, it became necessary to be rid of these ornaments.

In a small mortar, decorated with carvings, she was [252] pounding maripa nuts. The ends of the pestle were bordered [412] with finely cut cross hatchings.

"Ai, we use much palm oil here," she said.

Her mother was paring cassava. At her feet were several 644 baskets and pieces of bark, shaped like miniature canoes, 252 into which she threw the peeled cassava. Near these con- [285] tainers lay a sifter, woven of palm fiber, and a grater, made of a thin board perhaps sixteen inches long and half as wide, into which long slender nails had been hammered and their points filed to a needle-like sharpness. When the tubers were peeled, Wilhelmina began the grating, first squatting down, then dropping to her knees, better to work. The grated cassava was then packed into the matapi, the cassava press which had before leaned against the house. This matapi was of a basket-like weave, golden in color

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

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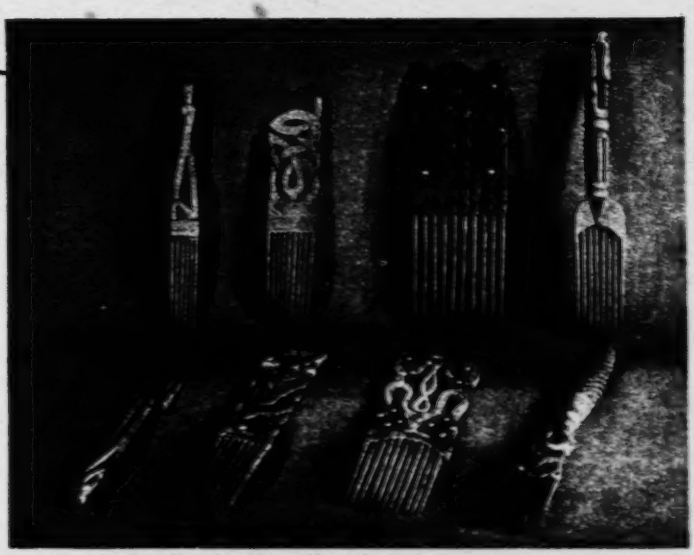

Combs, the gifts of men to women.

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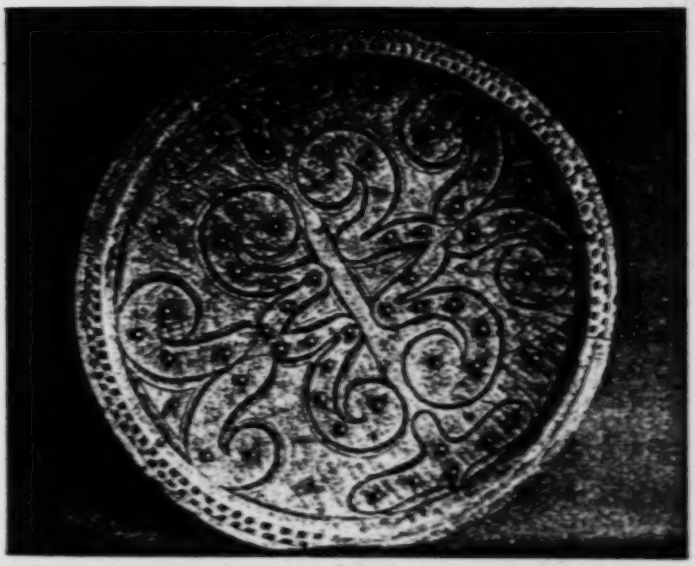

A tray for winnowing rice. (Symbolism on pages 282–283.)

[Facing p. 214]

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

"It hurts, doesn't it?"

"*Ma kye!* It is beautiful. The men like it too much," said the girls in a chorus, laughing at the suggestion that the pain of the cuts would deter them from having them made.

Sometimes, of course, the older girl admitted, the wounds did become ugly. There was the girl from Godo, whose suitor had kept bringing her more gifts because she was growing handsomer and handsomer. She was all but ready for marrying, when one of her thighs became infected after the cuts. The wounds were so ugly that she could not even wear the tunics of the grown girl. The family was sacrificing to all the spirits of the earth, begging them to heal the wounds.

7

These days there were many visitors in the Granman's village. There was the girl the Granman had summoned to dance for his guests. She had, perhaps, that very summer got her cloths, and her reputation as the best dancer on the river had won for her a suitor who gave her many armlets and anklets. Her voice was fresh and flutelike in quality, and so fine that when she sang she placed a folded cloth over her mouth, or danced with her head low. This was the way of modesty before people, and humility before the gods.

The women said, "Her spirits dance well," when they watched her.

There was the large girl from a village down river who came almost daily. She had the body of a woman, yet she went about unclothed, and sometimes she appeared only with a string about her waist.

"She is ready for *pangi*—cloths—ai," the women said, "but her people do not want to give them to her yet."

They would not explain, however, why the attire of a grown woman was denied her. We could only conjecture about it. Perhaps she had no suitor. The man to whom she had been promised might have died. There might be other reasons.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

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Carvings the women were eager to have admired: comb; clothes beater; tray.

[Facing P. 239]

(Facing page 240)

REBEL DESTINY

531 The greater part of these carvings men made for women,
431 and it was a rare woman who did not take pride in the excellence of the carvings given her, though often it must have been the pride in something which had traditional value, for it would be false to assume that among any people are all men equally endowed with creativeness and all women with sensitive appreciation of what is created.

462 As among so many peoples, two or three types of art
530 were to be found. There was the same sex division in the
302 art of these people as existed in all other aspects of life, and the men were the wood carvers. The sharpest division in the art of the men was that between the secular and the religious. The religious art was crude. A block of wood, roughly shaped, with several cuts to indicate a face, perhaps a break in the line to represent the neck, and a few more strokes in the wood to differentiate the upper part of the woman's body, and there stood an ancestral image, or a village god. Often white clay was added to this, and sometimes alternate stripes of white and red, or white, red, and black, but when seen on a village path underneath a low open shelter, what color there once was had become
[178] weathered to a dull gray. The sacred art also included the
[189] charms called obias, worn on the neck, and about the upper
[301] arm, or wrist, or below the knee, or at the ankle. Many of these made pleasing ornaments. The white fiber dipped in red clay became a deep golden brown as the sun paled the crimson, and there would be the added color of a finger's length of blue and orange parrot feather, fastened inside the woven fiber square, and extending below the fringe of the weave. Into this woven square cowries might be sewn, two facing each other, or three, or four.

532 There was also the art of modeling, but this was so secret and so specialized that we were assured that not even all Bush Negroes knew of its existence, and modeled objects appeared only in the most important of the shrines.

With the religious art might also perhaps be grouped the red and white striped crooked sticks of the Kromanti

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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A Typical Bush Negro of the Aucaner Tribe, Lower Cottica River, Dutch Guiana. Note scar tissue decoration on arm.

Photo by Klein

[Facing p. 16]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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Aucaner Woman and Children. Upper Coesotibo River, Dutch Guiana.

[Facing p. 24]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

monest is a simple piece of cloth wrapped around the torso, 291
from the breast to the knee. Sometimes the breasts are left bare; sometimes they are covered. This is a matter of individual taste, and has no ceremonial significance. Over this lower garment another cloth is sometimes thrown, and clasped at the shoulder. Near the mission stations, of course, and on visits to Paramaribo, much more clothing is used.

The Bush Negroes are not allowed to appear in loin-cloths on the street when they come down to visit Paramaribo, except on the river's side where they land in their canoes. They must have a pair of trousers for any further promenading. There is no objection to the upper parts of the man's body being bared; but the women may not walk about the streets of the capital with their breasts exposed.

If a Bush Negro is not fortunate enough to own a pair of trousers, he may rent one for ten Dutch cents a day (four cents in American money) from small shopkeepers who have their stores near the bank of the river. The traded cloth is fashioned into rough but brilliant trousers for the men, and crude bodices for the women. Even a straw hat may occasionally be seen. In the more remote villages, on the other hand, the women often wear only a short bit of cloth before their genitalia. Most of the children of both sexes wear no clothing until a few years before puberty. About the age of ten they are dressed in their first cloths. For the boy this is a ceremonial [352]
occasion, but the girls quietly begin clothing themselves without notice being taken of the event.

In addition to these garments, the Bush Negro indulges in 301

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

301 his much-loved ornamentation. Leg-bands of cotton cloth are frequently worn by both sexes, and where wire can be secured it is fashioned into arm or leg coils and paraded proudly.
751 Many necklaces and bracelets are used because they con-
778 stitute magic amulets against evil spirits. Our own bracelets and necklaces can probably be traced back to this same origin.
302 The hair is another means of personal decoration, and therefore it is always dressed with deliberation. Carefully made partings divide the black skull into geometrical designs.
534 Despite the scanty nature of their clothing, the Djukas are quite modest, and never expose themselves. If a bahkra does, they avert their heads. It is a curious reflection on civilized morality that the almost naked blacks possess a large amount of dignified restraint, while the uncomfortably clothed white man is shameless in his nudity.

322 Here and there inside the dark huts can be seen bits of ex-
531 traordinary wood carving. These are not crude utensils; every stirring-paddle or comb is a work of art worthy of a place in a museum, designed and executed in a way that is
537 far from "primitive." The only way to acquire these objects is to bargain for them in Dutch money or tobacco, or cheap knick-knacks. Among the more distant villages money is use-

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

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Bush Negro Man of the Lower Saramacca River.

[Facing p. 94]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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Bush Negro Men Visiting Paramaribo, the Capitol of Dutch Guiana.

Photo by Klein

[Facing p. 98]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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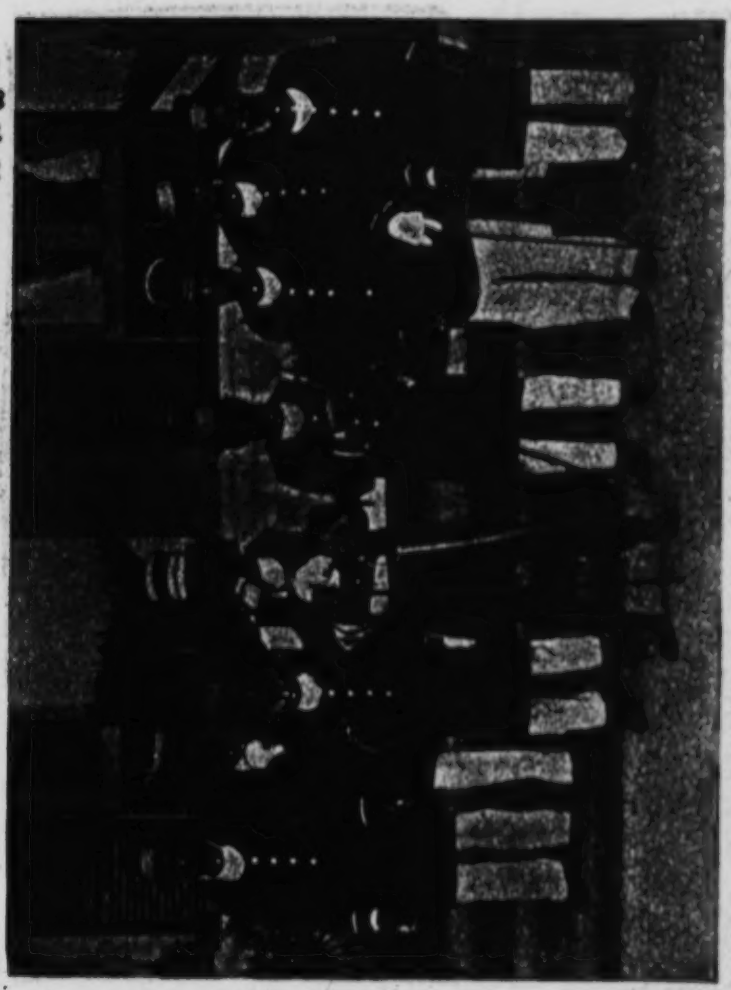

Granmans and Captains Assembled in Paramaribo for a Council with the Governor of Dutch Guiana.
Photo by Curiel

[Facing p. 102

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

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Jankoeso, Granman or King of the Saramaccaner Tribe, in Town for a Parley with the Governor.

Photo by Curiel

[Facing p. 106]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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An Aid to Busy Mothers.

[Facing p. 108]

Z:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

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Bush Negroes of the Saramaccaner Tribe, Upper Surinam River.

Photo by Klein

[Facing p. 110]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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A Bush Negro Mother on the Lower Saramacca River.

[Facing p. 112]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

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Bush Negro Women of the Saramaccaner Tribe.
Photo by Klein

[Facing p. 122]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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Bush Negro Man and Women of the Aucaner Tribe from the Tapanahoni River, Dutch Guiana. Note scar tissue decoration on face and chest of woman at left. The central figure is "Moi-Man" (Nice Fellow), one of Dr. Kahn's guides.

[Facing p. 128]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
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A Bush Negro Woman of the Boni Tribe with a Carved Wooden Flail Used Instead of a Wringer, for Cloth. The right hand holds a tin containing an infusion of tobacco leaf and water.

[Facing p. 156]

2: Kaho D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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Bush Negro Men of the Aucaner Tribe. Note scar tissue decoration on faces. Cottica River, Dutch Guiana.

Photo by Klein

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2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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"Cow Fie" (Cow Fly), Six Feet Tall, and "Moi-Man" (Nice Fellow), Two Expert Canoemen from the Upper Tapanahoni River. *Aucaner Tribe.*

[Facing p. 166]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

The decoration of objects with cowrie shells comes by way of Africa. The [324] monkey dance said to be practised by the Djukas is described [796] as similar to the gorilla dance of the West Coast. The coiled wire bracelets and anklets are of African design, and the [301 291] general mode of dress is the same.

The Djuka attitude toward the silk-cotton tree is common among the tribes of the Guinea Coast. "Throughout West [324] Africa from Senegal to the Niger the silk-cotton tree is regarded with reverence and believed to be the abode of a god or spirit. This general consensus of opinion is no doubt due to the stupendous size attained by some of these trees, which tower far above all others of the forest."

[524] *Adji-boto*, a game in which seeds are placed in round holes in a board, is played not only by the Bush Negroes but also by the Town Negroes of Paramaribo; it is found along the Gold Coast, Benin, Sierra Leone, West Sudan, and, in modified forms, in many other parts of Africa. The fish spear [227] of the Djukas is found in Liberia, Mandingo, and the Gold Coast. Shooting fish with a bow and arrow is an African [224] custom, but it is also widespread among the aboriginal Indians of South America. On the other hand, according to Dr. W. Roth of Demerara, a number of traps and hunting devices now used by the Guiana Indians are of African origin and have been borrowed from the Negroes.

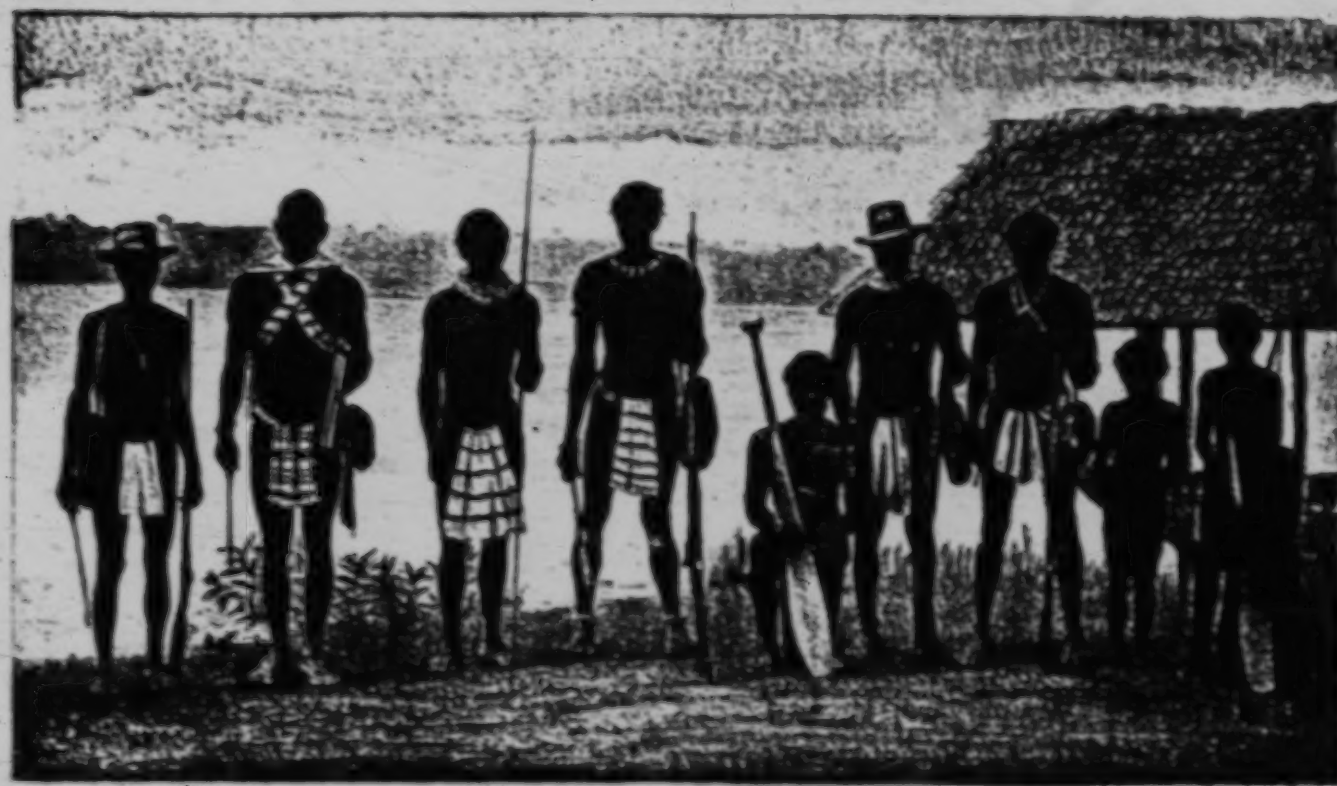
[379] The Djuka fire fan, woven of split rattan, is borrowed from the Arawak Indians, but different types of the same device can be found also among the Tshi- and Ewe-speaking people and in Liberia, Cameroons, etc. The Bush Negro

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

As one woman said: "He gave me this piece when we were first married. I won't part with it now." Usually an elaborate parley is necessary. The women are undecided whether to sell or not. They laugh, giggle, put their finger coyly in their mouths, joke bashfully with bystanders, and cannot make up their minds as to the price. They never know how much to ask for a piece. Sometimes they will mention a preposterous figure, hoping like a naïve child that the strange bahkra will pay that much. But on such occasions a rebuke will make them more reasonable. Once an arrogant witch doctor intervened in a transaction with a Bush Negro woman, demanding angrily that she receive an exorbitant payment. His anger was squelched with a few sharp words, and, contrite, he sat up all night to carve an ornate implement to present to the bahkra as a peace-offering. Cunning Adjobo, the medicine man!

The Bush Negro implements are carved out of jungle wood. Some are made of lignum vitæ, the hardest wood known. A few of them are made of soft wood, light and spongy, but these are not popular. The small paddles are used for stirring in the cooking pots, and the combs are actually used for the hair. They are never worn as personal ornaments, and when not in use are hung up on the walls of the hut. The utensils are all made with common trade jackknives and compasses which are used as dividers. It is principally with these dividers that the serpentine motifs are executed. After the carving is finished the piece is smoothed off by rubbing it with matted grass and river

3, Cutler--4 F-5 (ca. 1857) 1866 SRB Bush Negroes SRB



Bush Negroes in the Colony of Surinam

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534 holds out the longest and is the fastest and most accurate performer
535 of the specific steps for this is cheered as the winner.

Banja or baljaar is one of the true African dances. This name is also given to the African guitar, a musical instrument formerly generally known in the colony, but now totally vanished. This dance is performed to the beat of the two drums and the
[224] kwakwa stool. For this dance the women provide themselves with a saka-saka, a toy having the shape of a great rattle and made from a calabash filled with corals or pits of the Canna indica and Canna lutea, also called viengoe by them. They turn and shake this saka-saka according to the beat of the song taken up by them, which produces a peculiarly strange sound.

Chapter XIX

Clothing, Ornaments, Tattooing

291 Their clothing is very simple. The women ordinarily wear merely a piece of colored linen or cotton strip, called bont, two ells long and one and a quarter ells wide. They wrap this around their middle and allow it to hang down below the knee joints, calling it
pangi. This undergarment of the Negro women is thus named
•301] after pano (Spanish) and pagne (French). As a rule they have the upper body bare, while around the neck, the wrists, and the ankles
302 they wear strings of coral, which greatly take their fancy. They usually plait the head hair into a large number of small braids and bind the ends of these with white cotton threads. Some of them wear their hair combed out, as a result of which their heads,
301 seen from a distance, resemble large mop-heads. They are very fond of blood corals, which are greatly valued among them for ornamentation.

[292] When they celebrate a festival, they also wear a large number of colored cloths of cotton or muslin around the neck, and further adorn themselves with copper and iron rings around the wrists, among which there are strings of coral in the same manner

/27 cont./

301 as the European girl wears her bracelets. On their fingers they wear a number of copper rings, sometimes doubtless up to ten; the thumb is likewise generally decorated with them.

291 /28/ As a rule the men content themselves with merely
292 a simple loincloth or belt, but if they go so far as to dress up, then they wear a broad-brimmed hat which is usually painted with various colors; around the crown they wear a wide band whose ends hang far down over the brim.

301 Around their necks they frequently wear a string of tiger's
237 teeth and the incisors and molars of wild pigs (the pakier and piengo) and of other animal species that they have caught on the hunt; they wear these same ornaments hanging from a broad band under the knee, and to them is added now and then a shell, a piece of copper, iron, lead, and so forth. Their ornaments also include parrot and West Indian raven (1) feathers and small tassels

1. Lafroe, Psittacus macao L.

made of cotton.

301. They call the last-named obias (2). Just like the women,
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2. Obia, charm. The same efficacious powers as the superstition sees in amulets and talismans are seen in this.

they wear colored cloths around the neck.

304 Like almost all tropical and African peoples, they tattoo themselves. Men, women, and children undergo this operation, and although they are set upon having this as ornamentation, they nonetheless look down upon the man decorated with many tattoos just as the European does on an effeminate dandy. There are among them those whose face and body are virtually covered with the incisions, but they are looked upon with contempt by the industrious and those most developed spiritually. They say that the former are too attached to luxury and must be lazy to waste

6:Hurault--Ga K-S (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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Fig. 1. Boni type.

6:Hurault--342a K-S (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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Fig. 26. Woman possessed by a Papa gadu god.

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Fig. 27. Dance of possession (Papa gadu worship).

609 123 ago, so long that no one knew just when it happened, instructed that no one might impart to another, a stranger, more than half of what he knew. Moreover, no young person dared to speak at all of the supernatural, and such matters as inheritance were regulated by the laws of the gods and ancestors, who punished infractions with the scourge of kunu—a term we were to hear so much in this Suriname bush.

302 Tenye's head as we looked down upon it was a mound of wool, with little braids, each no more than an inch or an inch and a half long, fastened by a bit of black thread, each braid pointing upwards. This was called "tatąfi," we knew, and to change the subject we talked about the styles of [855] hairdressing. A child's hair usually was closely cropped, and the heads of both Yamati and Sabape looked as smooth as blackened gourds. Tenye's hair had been cut but a little while ago, a moon perhaps, when the braids had grown so long that it had been too much bother even to make the hair look well in the fashion of what was called the coiled head, or the earth furrow style. Both of these types of hairdressing consisted of braids which diverged from the center in many rows, appearing at the outer edge at intervals of one inch, or slightly more. These ends were caught up and rebraided around the head, to form either the one coil of "lollo 'ede," or the several coils of "gon wi." There were also the single long braids—the "pitto"—and the "pina bonsu" way of hair combing, where the head when properly dressed makes a design of narrow strips of scalp showing between flat ribbons of braids, which look like so many snake vertebrae, radiating from the middle of the head outwards.

"When you come back from up river, I will dress your hair," said Tenye to both of us. "You," she said, pointing, "will become an obia man in your white country, and you will look so well that your husband won't ever remember to go to his other wives."

302 954 But now Tenye's maternal aunt who had approached unobserved came to call the children away. She was not in

good humor, and looked with disfavor on the friendly conversation between us. Her bad temper, we learned later, had earned for her the name of Mother Snake, given her by a witty town servant of a lumber factor. The idea of dressing our hair apparently appealed to the woman, however, for it would certainly only be a reckless white who would offer his hair for combing to a stranger, since with hair any number of supernatural things might be done. With the proper formula, a few hairs, and the required ingredients she might fashion an *opo*, let us say. Now an opo serves many purposes, but its essential quality is that it gives its owner power over the one whose essence is captured in the form of hair, or a scrap of garment, or finger nails, or whatever else had touched the person against whom one has designs. The power of the possessor of the opo is to dominate the will of the other, and its particular attribute might be to function in love, or in a court of justice, or in matters of getting employment, or of receiving gifts. But an opo would be the least dangerous consequence, for an opo is not to be conceived of as being in the category of bad magic. There is the danger of *wisi*—a word which has the double meaning of poison and black magic—and hair, or finger nails, or the menstrual cloth of a woman, or perspiration are the very best materials for working wisi.

And so the good woman, known when she was among us as Tita, and as Mother Snake otherwise, saw that we offered no cause for alarm and added her advice to Tenye's in pointing out powers which we might acquire and use to spectacular advantage in our white country.

"Yes, you must make pina bonsu," she said, adding her approval, "and then your husband will prefer you to his other wives. But if you want to keep him all to yourself, you must let us cut *kamemba*—cicatrized designs—on you. An ingi kodjo here on each cheek to begin with," turning to Tenye and smiling.

And so it was all planned. The Indian cudgel, a euphemism for the buttocks, and procreative symbols were to be

here at the Mamadam, and later he would bathe with this that he might be purified. Meanwhile Sedefo and Asikasu, each in his turn, addressed the Mother of the River, each speaking his errand and asking that his journey be prospered.

Bayo came up alone when the loading was quite finished. He sat down on a crosspiece of the shrine to one side of the flat rock, poured some of the contents of the bottle on the stone, and, taking up one of the egg-shaped pieces of pemba, he rubbed it between his fingers and touched the moist stone with his whitened hands. Now with his fingers he streaked his upper arm, just below the shoulders and over the muscles which played to the swinging of the pole-stick, and then his chest and knees.

"Mother of the River, give us a safe journey. Carry the white man and his woman without sickness. I thank you."

Later, when we were about to make off, he turned to us with his ready laugh. "You will walk well, Ba'ka. I have a strong spirit. I said things to the Mother of the River under my breath which you did not hear. The Mother of the River will look after you."

"What is this log, Bayo, right here on top of the falls? Why has no one claimed it?" we asked, pointing to the log of purple-heart close by, which we had noticed lying across the Mamadam.

"When it was sent down, something happened to turn it sidewise, and it was caught so. No one will touch it. It must be that the gods wanted it for themselves."

4

There are many shrines on the river. At the G'an Creek a man would speak his prayer from a distance, call the creek "ancestor," state his errand, and continue his journey. Far up the stream, where the juncture of the Pikien Rio and the Grand Rio forms the river which the Bush Negroes call the Saramacca, is the Tapa Wata shrine. There, our men said, we would do well to avoid looking, though our boat rested across the river more than a quarter of a mile

Jt Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SRS Bush Negroes SRS
Saramacca

A NIGHT AT S'EI

As we made a tour of the village, we discussed all this with the chief and his bassia, and with the other men who accompanied us. When we reached the open place sacred to the great gods, we stopped. The shrine was a fenced-in space, perhaps eight or nine feet long and almost as wide. Inside was a slender pole, with a head carved on its top, and a cotton tunic about its middle, and this was the wife of the Great God, the chief said. The ladder with the platform on it, on which stood a bottle, was the shrine of the great Sky God. At the base of the image with the tunic were several bottles, some white clay, and a few empty glasses, and everywhere were sticks with cloth on them, many with the cloth in tatters. Where the cotton had altogether rotted away, the stick alone remained.

"Let us go in," said the chief to the men.

With the chief came a young man whose hair was braided, and who wore several obias on neck and arms. He was training to become an obia man. The bassia signaled us to follow, but the others remained outside.

The young man took up a bottle and poured some of its contents into an earthen jar, and from the jar he poured out a libation to the Earth Mother. The captain prayed, explaining that we were white people on our way to the Granman, that he was leaving in the morning to notify the Granman of our approach. Would the gods take him and us in safety, and would they see to it that all we saw should be seen with the eyes of friendship? Then he prayed for a child in the village who was ill, and for his people, and for the clan of the Granman, the Matchau lo, and for his own family. After each prayer he paused, and those outside the paling clapped their hands and sang out, "Great thanks."

Before the chief's prayer was finished, an old man came by with a bush knife in his belt, and his gun. He was just then returning from the hunt, and he stopped to thank the great gods for the kill he had made. He spoke in a whisper, but his intonation was as conversational as the chief's had been.

A NIGHT AT S'EI

A girl of ten or eleven led the chorus. She had a string 535
about her waist, and the strip of cloth that was tied about 533
her neck as a ceremonial garment hung down cape fashion. About her navel and on her face the cicatrized patterns had been completed. Her voice was the shrill voice of a child, and the answering chorus was as shrill.

"Chaka, chaka!" called the bassia who was directing 535
the dance. He was demanding those movements which bring into play the muscles of the hips.

The women waited. They had come in all their finery, their tunics of the newest cloth, their coils of brass bracelets and anklets made to gleam by rubbing with sand, their [301]
skins dark and glistening with the oil rubbed into them for [302]
the ceremonial occasion. Those whose hair was worn in braids had redressed it that day. About their necks were beads. Their cloths were fastened tightly about them, so that their figures showed plainly.

The men, also in their best, waited with them. The iron 535
Kromanti obias on their upper arms fitted tightly, and 789
showed the great muscles above and below them. Those who wore beads had two or three strands of yellow and red intertwined, the small beads worn by men, small almost [301]
as okra seeds. One or two wore love obias—cowrie shells [302]
sewed on a band of white cotton, and then dipped into water which was thickened with white clay. One or two wore a small black bell-shaped obia—half the size of their thumbs—on a black string, and with swagger had swung it about so that it hung at the back. There were obias below the knee, and obias which were great brass rings for the big toe of the right foot. But one or two of the old men, and the young man who was in training for an obia man, wore a jaguar tooth on a string of native twining.

Drums . . . drums. Would there be drums? 535

The word was whispered from one to the other, and passed like a wave over the waiting figures.

But there would be no drums. This was the day when [MK]
two gods might come. The god of the ant hill, for which men and women might dance, and the buzzard god of the men's Kromanti Society.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-6 (1929-1930) 1934
SRS Bush Negroes SRS
Saramacca

stopped to change their clothes, and make themselves fit 576
for the reception by the Granman.

We had been warned that these preparations were not to 576
be slighted. Those who had been to the village of the Gran- 609
man told many stories of the impressiveness of the ceremonial life, and the dignity of those who were there. It was the seat of government, the home of a potentate. A visitor, whether a village chief or a man from the city, had to keep in mind that he was to appear at court. Etiquette demanded that the traveler, once arrived at the island which now hid us from the Granman and his assembled villagers, debark, remove the stains of hard traveling, and dress in a manner befitting the reception which awaited him.

But the gods had planned otherwise.

At this time of the year, though the heavy rains were 132
over and the showers were becoming less and less frequent, it did sometimes happen that the clouds gathered at midafternoon and rain fell. To the northeast, behind us, we had seen the clouds massing, and now they hung low and glowering.

"It will rain," Sedefo called to us, just as we were making ready to see to a change of clothes, and an instant later the storm broke. With a kind of hurricane force which sent the branches toward the earth, and flares of lightning and crashes of thunder, the deluge was upon us. Not since our first days in the bush had we coped with a rain like this. The water poured down as though some giant hands were turning over endless vessels. Our tent seemed to have been taken as unaware as we were, for having sheltered us in many hard storms, it was now inadequate to keep out the downpour. We drew our raincoats tighter about us to keep off the water which came through the thatch.

Under the trees of the island the Bush Negroes were 123
huddled. Their favorite top cloths were still in their baskets, safe out of the wet under the white man's tarpaulins. No chance now to put them on, or to use the oil [302]
which they had jealously saved for making their faces and

Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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123 shoulders and arms glisten, or otherwise to make themselves
[302] presentable for the reception. There was nothing to do but to keep close to a tree-trunk, water dripping from naked body and the strip of twisted loin cloth, teeth chattering in the sudden chill brought on by the storm.

The head of Sungi was suddenly thrust inside our boat-tent.

"I saw the Granman. He says the storm is passing. You are to come to him as you are. It is best so. Waiting here is cold."

Turning, he ordered the paddlers to their places, and almost before the paddles were in motion, the guns began to fire.

"The Granman knows the time it takes to give a message. The Granman knows everything," said Bayo in great
[303] admiration, as the guns saluted.

Three shots, and three more. Two shots, an interval, and another coming faintly. Then a short silence, and once more the guns, in clusters of three, but now sounding from several directions.

As we rounded the bend of the island the farther bank was alive with people. The rain had subsided to a drizzle. Across the strip of water which separated us from the shore we could see men and women and children standing about, the women with large food trays inverted over their heads to protect their finery. But the men, disdaining such aids, stood in the rain and looked on with undisguised curiosity. Boats joined ours from up and down the river. With the sound of the guns came hallooing, shrill cries which were the women's expression of enthusiasm, actual or ceremonial.

As we watched, several figures appeared on the high bank,
291 554 622 the others making way for them. Two of the men were not dressed in the colored toga-like cloths that were worn by the others, but in coats of rich material which reached to their knees. They wore black top-hats with cockades at the side. One of these, we recognized as Chief And'u of S'ei. His coat was of deep crimson, bordered in blue, and his companion's a vivid yellow. Both of these men carried

194 the Granman punctuated the pauses of the men, though not often their meaning.

623 But whatever the reports of the women, and the commands given by the Granman, the word for white man interspersed all of the morning's recitals, and the questions of the Granman and the answers often came fast.

Of the men, the Granman asked little. They came up in pairs usually, and now one, now the other took up the report. Clan names were spoken, and occasionally a village name was mentioned, but on the morning preceding the council of the chiefs, only one village was discussed, and one clan. The name of the village was the forbidden one where we had stopped for the night against the Granman's orders, and the clan was that of one group of our paddlers.

2

574 Early on the morning after our arrival at Asindopo Lantiwe, our paddlers came to see us in the council house. The Granman was busy outside his own house with the chiefs who had gathered for the council meeting, and these men who, like ourselves, were strangers here, came as comrades of an adventurous journey to visit with us and talk over the impressiveness of our reception and the allure of the women of the Granman's village, who were famous everywhere on the river. It was a village where chastity among the girls was closely watched, and where its women were given in marriage to the most influential men on the river.

[834] [812]

● 302 291 The men were gotten up splendidly. Their bodies glistened with oil, their cloths were made of the long strips, pieced together by their women, and of patterns which the sun's rays had had no chance to pale. Sedefo's was particularly fine, we thought, but he assured us that it did not compare with the one the river had claimed. His cloth was also made of strips, but the stitching which connected them was a lacy weave, worked in triangles, and made to resemble the vertebrae of a snake. The border was of triangular

3: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1929-1930) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Saramacca

pieces of red and blue cloth worked with this thread, so that again the white vertebrae showed. Bayo and Angita wore their beads, and each had a garter below the knee of the right leg. Their garters were white in color, but of a whiteness which only new, unwashed cotton has. They were about an inch and a half wide and were so tight that the muscle of the calf bulged prominently. On their upper arms were Kromanti rings of iron which, by contracting, warned the men of impending danger. In addition, Sedefo and Angita wore the bell obia of the Gankwe people, and Bayo his love obia which had come from Lamé.

"When do you go, Sedefo?"

"When the G'aman speaks. When we finish a piece of work, then we do not want to be paid at once. We do not leave at once. It would be as if we had not gone together in pleasure and wanted to be away as soon as possible. With the white man it is one thing. In the bush we do not do it so. Here in the G'aman's village, we do as we do with our own people in the bush," he paused for an instant, and looked about toward the clearing outside the palings. "There is another thing. In the G'aman's village, men cannot leave until the G'aman gives permission. When the G'aman is ready, he will call us. We will speak together. Then we will speak with him again. Then we will ask to go."

Bayo had been looking about the council house with an interest which was not unmixed with awe at the Granman's possessions, and he spoke in whispers.

"Ai, when the G'aman gives permission, then we go."

As he spoke, the cloth over the doorway was gently thrust aside. Bassia Anaisi of the Granman's village entered. He was the man who had fired the saluting gun the day of our arrival and who had at the Granman's call come to serve the visiting chiefs with rum. He now greeted each in turn but did not take down a bench. For a moment he stood there, head lowered out of deference to the character of the place where he was, then he coughed slightly and, turning to us, said, "The G'aman is ready for you. The chiefs are here."

REBEL DESTINY

623 Our paddlers rose at once and left the council house. A
643 moment later And'u entered, followed by a group of elders
[391] with closely drawn kerchiefs covering their heads. Among these only Kasanya and Bibifo were known to us. Kasanya brought his bench close to ours and moved it yet closer, with a gesture of the head that he wanted to continue the intimacy of our ten days' journey together.

"White man," he said, leaning over and whispering, "call your man from the city. At a krutu a man has someone to speak for him. So we do here."

576 And so, we soon saw, it was. Address in the council of the
623 Saramacca people was always by indirection. If the Gran-
643 man wished to speak to one of his chiefs, then he gave his message through another chief, though the man for whom the words were intended might be closer to him or more clearly in view.

643 Others came in, until the room was half filled when the
623 Granman entered. Today he wore a printed red and black
[392] loose coat of knee length, and over it the ceremonial cloth
302 worn by men here in the bush, so that where other men's
391 bare shoulders showed was the sleeve of his coat. On his head were both kerchief and sun helmet. The men were anointed with oil, and many of them wore the jaguar's tooth obia. The last to enter was a man who was well past middle age, and he was followed by the young *obiaman* from S'ei. Both of these men wore the cloths required of men when not at work, but they were not so uncreased, or so new. Nor were their bodies bright with oil. The older man had several broad stripes of white clay from wrist to shoulder of his right arm, and from knee to pelvis on the inner left thigh. Slung from one shoulder and reaching across to the opposite thigh was a white obia made of native fiber, and on his neck were several others. To these
[393] obias were added iron bands on his arms, while below his right knee and at the ankle of his right foot were other obias made of fiber and twisted black thread.

623 The men we knew greeted us as they took down their benches and found places against the wall farthest from the

THE GODS SPEAK

"Yes, move closer."

The white woman now went toward the open door, and through it saw a little of the inside of the house. Like all Bush Negro houses, it had no windows of any kind, and what light there was came from this low open doorway. Near the door sat the woman who belonged to the family of the Granman. In her hand she held an egg-shaped piece of clay which she rubbed between her hands to the rhythm of her song, and at intervals lifted first one hand, then the other, rubbing the white clay on her face and arms. The thin layer of white over the dark of her skin gave to her appearance in the dark house a strange color. She swayed on her low bench as she sang, her body curving from her hips first to one side, then to the other.

"Ondyi, ondyi," she sang over and over, and with the quickening of voice, she called "bonsu."

This word "Ondyi," the women explained, when they urged the stranger to greet the god as was fitting, was the greeting of the deity, the god's way of saying their everyday word "Odi."

The eyes of the woman at the door were half-closed as she sang, and she seemed dispirited, though with the quickened swaying she did rouse herself for an instant. She had no kerchief on her head, and none about her breasts.

"Her god hasn't got her very hard," the women said. "Go inside, perhaps when you speak with him, he will begin to stir. They want you to come in."

Into the house the white woman brought her bench, and sat down close to the possessed woman at the door. When she became accustomed to the darkness of the house, she saw a pair of eyes fixed on her from the farthest wall. The figure against this wall was so much the color of the house itself that it was not until a few moments had passed that the crouching form of an old woman was distinguishable. The old woman sat motionless, her eyes fastened on the stranger.

The white woman freed herself from the intent stare of the old woman against the wall only when a sudden

Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1929-1930) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Saramacca

alone or with some friend, into the wax cylinders that spoke back in such mysterious fashion. When Apanto came to visit us, Bayo smiled as he saw the obia man approaching from the landing place.

"His obia is strong, but mine is strong, too. Let him sing into the machine."

Apanto was visibly surprised when he saw in operation the machine his spirit had wrecked. "The machine is not weak, Apanto," we assured him. "It has its own strength, and now it has the strength your gods have given it. For in the true, true Saramacca, a great obia man spoke his message to the Great God into it, and since then it has walked well with us."

Out of the corners of our eyes, we could see Bayo's pride.

"Sing for us, Apanto," we urged, for he had a beautiful voice. "Sing us an Apuku song."

Now Apanto sang, not once, but many times. It is true that when we asked for Apuku he sang Vodu, and when we asked for Vodu he sang Toné, and when we asked for Toné he sang Kromanti songs, and when we asked for Kromanti he sang the sacred dirges called "Papa" songs. Yet this was not otherwise than might be expected, and it was not too difficult to play the records to interested men of other villages, whose startled comments would soon tell us the kind of song he had sung.

It was another day when Apanto again sang, and some of these who had witnessed his first victory were about. One such addressed himself to Bayo, who was sitting near.

"Apanto's spirit fought the machine, and stopped it. But the machine works and sings back to Apanto. Its strength has come back to it."

"Awa, Apanto's spirit is strong," we heard Bayo reply, "but there are other strong spirits on the Saramacca."

4

Bayo had spent the night at Gankwe, and had returned resplendent with a new hairdressing. We joked with

Jr Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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him about it as he came to take the white man through the bush trails to a neighboring village. 302 115

One of the girls who admired him had achieved this, but how she had managed to make the minute braids was difficult for us to see, for Bayo's hair the day before, long for him, had not seemed sufficiently yielding to permit of braiding. Yet here he was, his head covered with innumerable small braids which divided the white scalp into sections and showed lines where the many regular parts had been made. This made quite a new man out of Bayo. He was no longer the warrior who went without food because he was bored with the idea of preparing the food—a woman's task or, at best, that of an old man like his great-grandfather Bibífo who had cooked on the up-river trip. Now he was a dandy. [SCD 387]

"Ai-yo!" he crowed back as we speculated on the labor that had gone into the creation. "It took her almost all the night! It is hard work."

"She must like you, Bayo."

"She likes me well, ai!"

"Are you going to have her for your third wife?"

"Who knows? But a man doesn't marry every woman who braids his hair."

Soon Bayo and the white man were off through the bush, Tross going ahead as scout. Back and across the path he would dart and for the white man, unaccustomed to the sounds of the bush, it was difficult to tell whether the rustling he heard was caused by the dog, or by the small animals stirred up from time to time. Once a snake coiled on the path moved lazily away as they approached; Tross had disturbed it, and the snake had no mind for more encounters. Once a small animal of some sort dashed across the trail ahead, the dog in close pursuit, and for some moments we could hear them tearing through the underbrush. 484 231

"Aren't you afraid that some animal will hurt Tross, Bayo?"

"He is a good dog. And I have put strong obia on him." [789]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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Aucaner Woman and Children. Upper Cottiho River, Dutch Guiana.

[Facing p. 24]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

301 his much-loved ornamentation. Leg-bands of cotton cloth are frequently worn by both sexes, and where wire can be secured it is fashioned into arm or leg coils and paraded proudly.
[751 Many necklaces and bracelets are used because they con-
778] stitute magic amulets against evil spirits. Our own bracelets and necklaces can probably be traced back to this same origin.
302 The hair is another means of personal decoration, and therefore it is always dressed with deliberation. Carefully made partings divide the black skull into geometrical designs.
834 Despite the scanty nature of their clothing, the Djukas are quite modest, and never expose themselves. If a bahkra does, they avert their heads. It is a curious reflection on civilized morality that the almost naked blacks possess a large amount of dignified restraint, while the uncomfortably clothed white man is shameless in his nudity.

322 Here and there inside the dark huts can be seen bits of ex-
531 traordinary wood carving. These are not crude utensils; every stirring-paddle or comb is a work of art worthy of a place in a museum, designed and executed in a way that is
487 far from "primitive." The only way to acquire these objects is to bargain for them in Dutch money or tobacco, or cheap knick-knacks. Among the more distant villages money is use-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

796 shade out strange metres on the *nanda*. There is a break; the
535 orchestra stops, and the interval is filled in with the heavy
776 booming of the *apenti*. Often the drummers seize a bush-
158 knife and batter at the pegs, stretching the dried skin to the
[534] proper tone. Mist from the river has dampened their hair, unnoticed. The dance will continue until morning; they must play until the spirit of Apuku has gone.

796 Everything is set for the climax. Some are still watching
535 while the others dance. Since the old men are too dignified,
158 their places are taken by younger men from sixteen to twenty-five. There are more women dancing than men, anyhow. The white man is wondering how it is going to end. Despite the excitement there has been no orgiastic episode.

Grand finale. There is a tremendous screech from out of the blackness beyond. Three practically naked blacks come rushing up from the river, their faces and bodies daubed
[302] hideously with pemba dotee, the ceremonial white clay. One has stripes around his arms, belly, and legs, his face all white. Another's face is bisected with white and yellow pigment. The third is Adjobo, the medicine man; he has circles of clay on his forehead, cheeks, and chin, and rings around his neck. The presence of the ceremonial clay indicates the presence of a god. There is no doubt but that the hideousness of these men inspires a feeling of awe.

They burst into the circle of dancers and scatter them. Everyone retreats before them, with actual or pretended fright. The children become hysterical and cling frantically to their mothers for protection. Women in the crowd are cry-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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Bush Negro Men Visiting Paramaribo, the Capitol of Dutch Guiana.

Photo by Klein

[Facing p. 98]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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Bush Negro Man and Women of the Aucaner Tribe from the Tapanahoni River, Dutch Guiana. Note scar tissue decoration on face and chest of woman at left. The central figure is "Moi-Man" (Nice Fellow), one of Dr. Kahn's guides.

[Facing p. 128]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Ancaner

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Bush Negro Man of the Ancaner Tribe. Note scar tissue decoration on faces. Cottica River, Dutch Guiana.
Photo by Klein

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2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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"Cow Fie" (Cow Fly), Six Feet Tall, and "Moi-Man" (Nice Fellow), Two Expert Canoemen from the Upper Tapanahoni River. *Aucaner Tribe.*

[Facing p. 166]

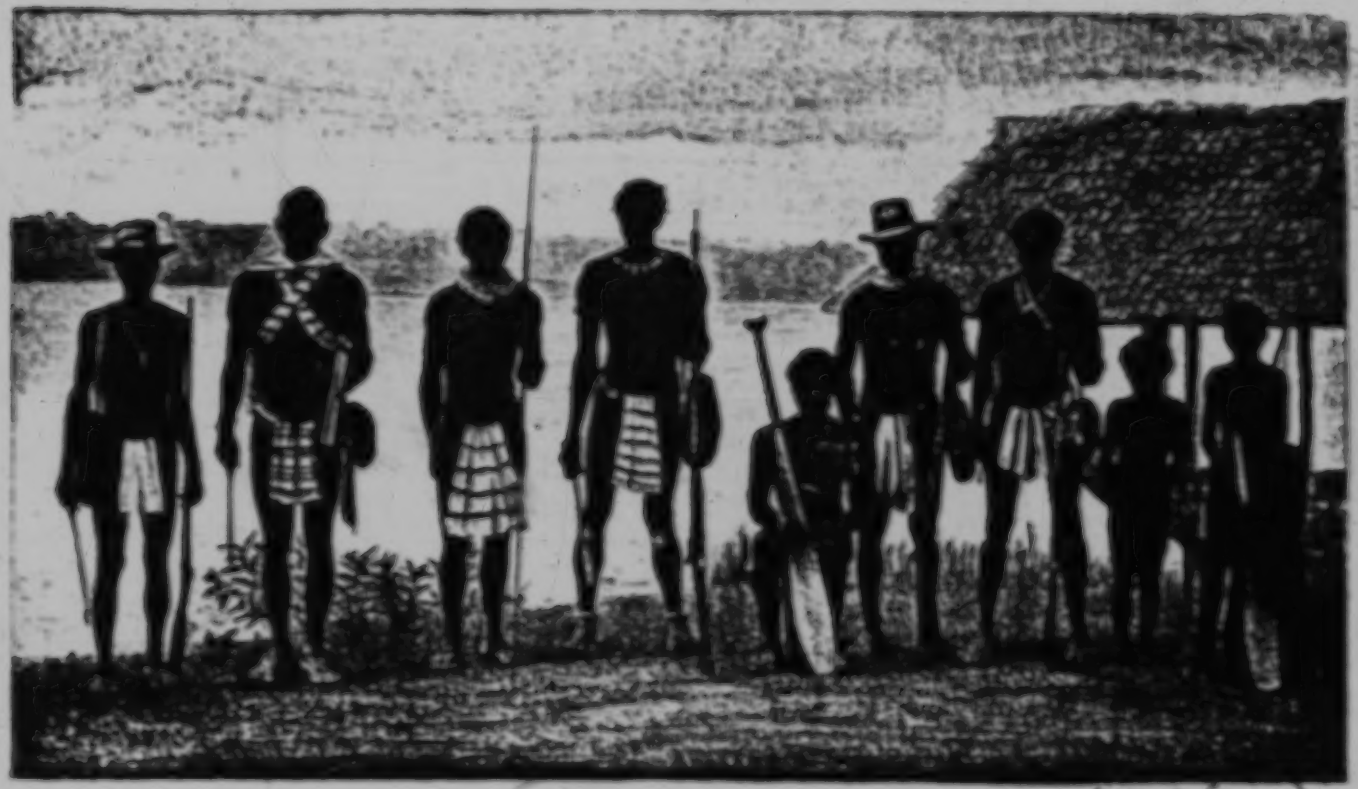
2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

The ornate combs used by the Bush Negroes are a most direct West African heritage, being found along the Upper Guinea coast, Ashanti, Cameroons, Ivory and Gold Coasts, Dahomey, Muni, and many other regions of Africa. The wooden plates and trays are likewise found among the Ewe-speaking tribes of the West Coast.

The custom of personal decoration by the cicatrization of the skin is very common throughout many parts of Africa. Captain John Stedman remarks on this strange habit in his *Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition to Surinam:* "The Loanga Negroes distinguish themselves by puncturing or marking the skin of their sides, arms, and thighs with square, elevated figures something like dice." This custom was widespread on the Slave Coast. The scar designs varied widely according to the different tribes as well as the social position and wealth of the individual. As the Indians of South America do not practise this cicatrization, it is evident that the Bush Negroes brought it over with them from their former home.

The Bush Negro coiffure, the method of arranging the hair in plaited tufts, is found also on the Gold Coast, in Cameroons, and elsewhere in Africa. The Djuka method of weaving is similar to that of the Sudan, Gold Coast, Mandingo, Ashanti, and the Ewe. The spindle used in weaving is called by an African term, *kyekye*, a Tshi word. The woven leg band, the *sepu*, is the same as the leg bands found in Cameroons and the Upper Guinea coast in general.

The method of finding out who is responsible for the



Bush Negroes in the Colony of Surinam

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/15 cont./

585 white cotton sleeping blanket, various colored cloths and pantjes,
[583] some earthenware, such as bowls and plates, iron pots and pans,
and the like, while he is obligated on the occasion to provide for
an ample supply of strong drink and sugar wine.

They do not have festivities, games, or dancing in connection with their marriages.

586 If a marriage is dimolved, then each of the two parties again goes to his own family; in case those concerned in it and the elders disapprove of this, however, it happens that man and wife are forced to continue to live with each other, especially when there are no substantial reasons and grievances.

593 The man is obligated to provide his wife or his wives with food, clothing, and ornaments; she, to follow the man everywhere, to cook for him, to wash, and to take care of the housekeeping.

264 The wives are neat in an exemplary fashion; plates, bowls,
252 and pans are always kept extremely clean, and they also see to it that everything is extremely clean in connection with cooking.

841 If they find themselves in a period of menstruation, they
302 indicate this immediately to the husband by withdrawing from his dwelling and staying in seclusion with other women; they neither cook nor do the least thing for him in this state, do not even come within sight of him, and remain secluded to the end; when they have cleaned and dressed themselves, they decorate their shoulders and arms with white stripes as a token /16/ that they have again
[386] returned to their normal state. The stripes are made by mixing
[824] pounded adroe (1) with ground chalk and water.

1. A tuberous root-stalk from the Cyperus rotundus L.

Sometimes they also smear the forehead and the neck in this way and appear thus before their husbands.

841 During their seclusion another woman, who is a member of
571 the family or possibly a female friend, daily prepares and brings the
252 food, which, however, is at the expense of the secluded wife. They perform this service for each other mutually.

/27/

534 holds out the longest and is the fastest and most accurate performer
535 of the specific steps for this is cheered as the winner.

Banja or baljaar is one of the true African dances. This name is also given to the African guitar, a musical instrument formerly generally known in the colony, but now totally vanished. This dance is performed to the beat of the two drums and the
[224] kwakwa stool. For this dance the women provide themselves with a saka-saka, a toy having the shape of a great rattle and made from a calabash filled with corals or pits of the Canna indica and Canna lutea, also called viengoe by them. They turn and shake this saka-saka according to the beat of the song taken up by them, which produces a peculiarly strange sound.

Chapter XIX

Clothing, Ornaments, Tattooing

291 Their clothing is very simple. The women ordinarily wear merely a piece of colored linen or cotton strip, called bont, two ells long and one and a quarter ells wide. They wrap this around their middle and allow it to hang down below the knee joints, calling it pangi. This undergarment of the Negro women is thus named
301] after pano (Spanish) and pagne (French). As a rule they have the upper body bare, while around the neck, the wrists, and the ankles
• 302 they wear strings of coral, which greatly take their fancy. They usually plait the head hair into a large number of small braids and bind the ends of these with white cotton threads. Some of them wear their hair combed out, as a result of which their heads,
301 seen from a distance, resemble large mop-heads. They are very fond of blood corals, which are greatly valued among them for ornamentation.

[292] When they celebrate a festival, they also wear a large number of colored cloths of cotton or muslin around the neck, and further adorn themselves with copper and iron rings around the wrists, among which there are strings of coral in the same manner

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Fig. 11. Threshing the rice ears on a sack with the feet. -- Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, June 1952.

[245]
[415]

Fig. 12. The fruits of the pina palm are collected in a basket; a beverage is made from the fruit-pulp. -- Marowijne, Albina, April 1953.

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/152 cont./
245 white cucumber-like fruit flesh is eaten. The taste is refreshingly
262 tart.

249 Ricinus /castor-oil plant/ (kanpata).
789 It to be found in all villages and especially on refuse heaps.
302 The leaf is used for obia, the oil from the kernels as a hair oil.

Pepper (pépré).
244 Grows as a small shrub near the houses or along the edge of
[252] the village. The variety with small red fruit occurs especially frequently. The fruit is eaten boiled in meat soup.

Koemboe (komoe).
245 Stands in individual specimens in and along the villages and
[252] in the forest. The kernels of this palm are gladly eaten, softened with warm water and pounded into koemboe soup. The fruit is ripe in February-May. A large variety is patawah.

Maripa (malpa).
[262] Absent in not a single village. The fruit provides a white,
[252] fatty fruit-flesh that is eaten fresh (May). The pits are dried and pounded to pieces with a stone in order to obtain the three kernels. After having dried these (in the sun), one boils from them a food oil.

Awarra palms (awá).
[263] Stand in little groups in each Bush Negro village. The orange fruit, which is ripe in February-March, sometimes also in June

Schwartz K-S (1948-1958) 1961 SRB Bush Negroes SRB
Boni

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Fig. 1. Boni type.

Gilfurault--107a K-S (1948-1958) 1961 SRB Bush Negroes SRB
Boni

/facing p. 76/

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Fig. 15.— House type of the Refugee Blacks; Loabi village (Djuka of the Upper Tapanahoni).

/206 cont./

153 containing seeds). Sometimes, when a god has entered a pupil,
791 the teacher puts the latter's passivity to the test by insulting the
787 god with the help of the drum. The Kumfuti gets angry, breaks
782 bottles and swallows ground glass, walks in the fire, hits him-
[789] self with machete blows, all without any wound resulting, they say, on the body of its bearer.

[302] These frenzied dances, whose participants completely covered with pemba (white clay) are as if hallucinated, have a bizarre aspect which is perceptible to some of the host themselves. They do not have any secret character and constitute, [522] on the contrary, a fine spectacle for the village people. The spectators double up with laughter at the contortions and strange [521] actions which the gods inspire in those possessed. They are talked about at length /207/ afterward in the evenings, humorists imitating what they saw done there, without any fear whatever of irritating the gods.

791 Each "teacher for Kumfuti" owns a small gadu ɔsu in
787 which are lined up the implements of the cult. One finds in
346 general in these chapels a post crudely carved in the shape of a human bust, a block of stone, jaguar skulls, some kakɔti (shrub stalks with a spontaneous double bend, thought to be the prop of spirits in the bush), and a saka (maraka), the whole sprinkled with white clay (pemba). One finds also beside the door a seat and a trough which are used for the ablutions of the pupils.

153 While bathing his body with the infusion of leaves pre-
791 pared by the teacher, the neophyte repeats, in ordinary language,
787 a series of invocations: "Come to me, enter into me. But be-
788 fore entering into me, it is necessary to teach me the things of thy country; O God, when thou art in me, may I be able to dance on broken glass without its cutting me; may I be able to dance in fire without its burning me. If tomorrow someone takes a machete to hurt me, he shall not be able to come forward. If someone takes a gun to shoot me, (his weapon) must break, must not be able to take off. If someone is sick, make an ɔbua for him, he must recover."

Gitumann--342a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 588 Bush Negroes 588
Boni

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Fig. 26. Woman possessed by a Papa gado god.

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Fig. 27. Dance of possession (Papa gado worship).

WHILE THE RIVER WAS HIGH

The sun stood over the sacred silk-cotton tree toward the 136
Gankwe side of the land. Across the path leading from [137]
somewhere in the back of our shelter the parasol ants, each with its strip of green many times its size, made their way toward an unknown spot where no shelter stood, and no one trod. Like a wave the wide ribbon of green rose and fell as it crossed the ridges of the pathway. In unending numbers they came, and the lizards darting in and out of the brush swerved in the direction of the shelter to avoid the marching line, so that at our feet things moved now up, now back again.

While the men were at the landing place, one of the 888
women who was drying rice on the high flat rocks opposite [351]
our shelter paddled over in her boat, and, passing the men with a formal greeting, walked on and stopped to talk with us. She was not a young woman. Her time for childbearing was long over, her wrinkled breasts sagged almost to her [304]
waist. The cicatrized designs which once had stood out so clearly, and in her youth had been so valued, were but faintly penciled on her face and about her breasts. Had she cared, she might have reopened the cuts, might have had ashes rubbed into them to make the keloids stand out black and alive against the dark brown of her skin. But what need had a woman her age to care? What need to urge life into symbols of fertility on face and between breasts and about her navel, when her time for fruitfulness was over? Of what use to reanimate the incised scrolls between her thighs, when the legend they told in terms of reproduction was for her a dead legend?

She came toward us slowly, balancing a bottle on her 888
head. A faded cloth covered her from waist to knee, and at [482]
her waist a bit of the kerchief necessary to the attire of the 291
married woman, even at work, could be seen. She wore a 301
few beads on a cord about her neck, but she had no other ornaments, for ornaments were for festive occasions, and the cloth tied about the neck and worn cape fashion was for women who had children to carry straddling their backs, and woven garters below the knee were conceits of the young.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

good humor, and looked with disfavor on the friendly conversation between us. Her bad temper, we learned later, had earned for her the name of Mother Snake, given her by a witty town servant of a lumber factor. The idea of dressing our hair apparently appealed to the woman, however, for it would certainly only be a reckless white who would offer his hair for combing to a stranger, since with hair any number of supernatural things might be done. With the proper formula, a few hairs, and the required ingredients she might fashion an *opo*, let us say. Now an opo serves many purposes, but its essential quality is that it gives its owner power over the one whose essence is captured in the form of hair, or a scrap of garment, or finger nails, or whatever else had touched the person against whom one has designs. The power of the possessor of the opo is to dominate the will of the other, and its particular attribute might be to function in love, or in a court of justice, or in matters of getting employment, or of receiving gifts. But an opo would be the least dangerous consequence, for an opo is not to be conceived of as being in the category of bad magic. There is the danger of *wisi*—a word which has the double meaning of poison and black magic—and hair, or finger nails, or the menstrual cloth of a woman, or perspiration are the very best materials for working wisi.

And so the good woman, known when she was among us as Tita, and as Mother Snake otherwise, saw that we offered no cause for alarm and added her advice to Tenye's in pointing out powers which we might acquire and use to spectacular advantage in our white country.

"Yes, you must make pina bonsu," she said, adding her approval, "and then your husband will prefer you to his other wives. But if you want to keep him all to yourself, you must let us cut *kamemba*—cicatrized designs—on you. An ingi kodjo here on each cheek to begin with," turning to Tenye and smiling.

And so it was all planned. The Indian cudgel, a euphemism for the buttocks, and procreative symbols were to be

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

609 given to the white woman when she returned from up river,
304 yet with it all the thighs would still need to be cicatrized.

"Then," she said, speaking of the cicatrized thighs, "then he simply won't think of any one else, because among you, you will be the only one. We who all have the kamemba must see that it looks well, but you will be the only one."

3

183 The boys remained with us, amusing themselves by
609 giving us their words for the various objects about us.

[291] The strings about their waists, which formed their only
304 clothing, the fiber cord with the bell about Sabape's neck, the word for garter, and machete, and shoes, boxes, and water jar, and all else they could see were named. A flashlight was a diamond fire, and a collapsible chair a hammock chair, and if we showed them something they had never seen it was a *Bakra sani*—a white man's thing.

Sabape spoke little, for he was a timid child and looked sluggish. He had but few cuts on his body, while Yamati, who was about the same age, had already several fully outlined designs.

"Why have you nothing about your neck, Yamati?"

"Oh, but I have. I have cuts. You can either have an obia cut, or an *obia tetai*—a string. It is to make us live. All children have it."

"And when do they start making kamemba?"

"A long time ago they start. If it doesn't hurt too much, they cut one more, and soon one more. But if it hurts too much, they wait until . . . ," he said, finishing on the
[195] word *te* . . . in the characteristic way of the grown narrator who uses the monosyllable to intensify space and time and danger and bounty.

183 Yamati found so much delight in his rôle as teacher that
609 he became stern with us and had us say the words over again and again. There was the word for firefly which pleased him not at all. "*Mi taki, mi taki-e, azoka-nyenye*—I say, I am saying . . . " ("if you would but listen," his voice

765 head was clearest in the quiet of the early morning. A stillness so pronounced that we could feel it surrounded us at the base camp, for at Gankwe the drums had been replaced in the shrines of the gods for whom they speak, and no more guns saluted the spirit of Zimbi, or warned away the evil dead with the powder which was distasteful to ghosts. Zimbi was buried, the grave diggers had bathed [183] and put on fresh loin cloths, the village had been purified, and all was still.

512 From our shelter, watching the haze lift, we could see that the river had fallen; the tangled grasses at the bank showed fully a hand's breadth of fresh brown that had the day before been under water. With the coming of the sun things began to stir. The lizards appeared, the [231] chickens came to peck at our shoes, looking for crumbs, and boats began to make shadows across the opposite bank, as the Gankwe women in their small corials went to their fields. At the bow would be a little girl, or a yet smaller [868] boy—as young as four perhaps, for the older ones went with the men to learn a man's work—helping to take the boat up the fast water. All this went on quietly, until we espied three boats running down the rapids and pivoting about in the still water toward our landing place. As they 438 came nearer, we could see that the boats carried no load, and our host, the director of the balata-collecting station, explained that these boats were new and were being taken down river for sale.

"All the large boats come from top-side," he said. "The men take them clear around to the Marowyne River by way of the canals and there carry loads in them to the stations in the interior. The Saramacca men are fine canoe-men. They like them on the Marowyne. . . . You could 439 use a large boat for your trip up river. Maybe the man will sell one."

[142] [304] The man in charge of the little flotilla stood more than six feet tall. His face was intricately cicatrized, and he carried himself with a dignity and reserve that surpassed even the way of the village chiefs.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

name which was kept secret and never spoken except in 551
states of possession or when the obia man called on a person's spirit. For girls, Amba for a Saturday child, Affi for one born on Friday, Adjuba for Wednesday; and for the boys some of the names were Kwaku, for Monday, Yao for Thursday, Kofi for Friday, and Kwasi for Sunday. Then there was the name which the father gave, and after that any of the family who cared added a name and made the child a present.

From the day it was born until it was at least two years 853
old a child fed at its mother's breast. For twelve moons 846
and five more of this time the woman could not go to the hammock with a man. It was then that her husband went to the distant French shore to work or to the railhead. But after seventeen months of nursing were past, he came back. 844

"If a child is made before a woman gets back her men- [842]
strual flow, then it is a god. It is Kesefu. A child born feet [845]
first some call Agosu, and some Asaeng. The child born after twins we call Dosu, and twins are Hohobi. Now it is in your book. You will give those names to your children, and your sister's children. No one will know at all what names these are. No one will be able to harm them."

6

In the quarter immediately adjoining that of the Gran- 585
man there was great activity. Six or seven men and boys 476
were at work on a new house, for the youngest daughter of the family was ready for marrying, and now the men were helping her suitor to build a house for her in her village.

From the same quarter, behind a house which stood in 304
the shade, came the laughter of young girls. We made our way past the house and saw four girls ranging in age from thirteen to sixteen seated on a log. One of these held her head back, and an older girl was bending over her. They called to us as we passed.

"We are cutting kamemba. Do you want some cuts, too?"

These were not new cuts which were being made, for with perhaps one exception, the girls were all nubile, and

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

304 the first cuts had been made on their faces long before they reached adolescence. When a girl began her monthly visits to the house which stood alone to one side of the road, directly opposite the shrine to the great gods, then it was time for the important cuts on the thighs, and it was the old women who made the cuts. But the reopening of old cuts, like the braiding of the hair, was a task the girls did for each other with enjoyment. It was with no small pride that they talked of their ornamental cuts.

The older girl held in her hand a razor from the white man's city. It was not very sharp, and the tropical dampness had spotted it with rust. Beside her was an old calabash holding charred rice hulls which had the moment before been rubbed into a powder, and a cloth whose color was rapidly being lost in the blood which flowed from the wounds which she cut.

Before proceeding with the cutting, the older girl would look critically at the girl on whom she was working, narrowing her eyes quite in the manner of an aesthete who was evaluating each detail. Then, with a firm grip on her razor, she would take an old scar between two fingers, and cut into it. Scar after scar she reopened, as the girls talked and laughed, until when she had made perhaps ten cuts, she would stop to staunch the blood and to survey her handiwork.

When the facial cuts were all open, it was time to rub [278] the powder from the freshly charred rice hulls into the wounds.

"She will be handsome, ai-yo!" said the girl as she finished, and she dropped the smaller cloth back into another calabash which held water. With this moist cloth dipped into the black powder, she rubbed the black on the face of the seated girl. Now when the scar healed, each of the keloids would show black and prominent against the brown of the skin.

"Mine have been reopened four times," said the girl whose face had been treated, as she rose to make way for the next one. "The cuts heal fast."

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

"It hurts, doesn't it?"

"*Ma kye!* It is beautiful. The men like it too much," said the girls in a chorus, laughing at the suggestion that the pain of the cuts would deter them from having them made.

Sometimes, of course, the older girl admitted, the wounds did become ugly. There was the girl from Godo, whose suitor had kept bringing her more gifts because she was growing handsomer and handsomer. She was all but ready for marrying, when one of her thighs became infected after the cuts. The wounds were so ugly that she could not even wear the tunics of the grown girl. The family was sacrificing to all the spirits of the earth, begging them to heal the wounds.

7

These days there were many visitors in the Granman's village. There was the girl the Granman had summoned to dance for his guests. She had, perhaps, that very summer got her cloths, and her reputation as the best dancer on the river had won for her a suitor who gave her many armlets and anklets. Her voice was fresh and flutelike in quality, and so fine that when she sang she placed a folded cloth over her mouth, or danced with her head low. This was the way of modesty before people, and humility before the gods.

The women said, "Her spirits dance well," when they watched her.

There was the large girl from a village down river who came almost daily. She had the body of a woman, yet she went about unclothed, and sometimes she appeared only with a string about her waist.

"She is ready for *pangi*—cloths—ai," the women said, "but her people do not want to give them to her yet."

They would not explain, however, why the attire of a grown woman was denied her. We could only conjecture about it. Perhaps she had no suitor. The man to whom she had been promised might have died. There might be other reasons.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

"Suma de, ai," he acknowledged.

6

Bayo remained in the bush, but he did not come to the city with us, though he took us into the Awka villages as captain of our boat. While at the base camp, he busied himself with making small models of traps and snares, and whatever other examples of Bush Negro work we needed to augment our collection.

He was a poor weaver, for he was no craftsman at all. But on the river he showed almost superhuman strength, and his knowledge of obia and the gods showed his potentialities for achieving what he most desired—to become an obia man. It may well be that his great kunu had planted this ambition in him. Perhaps, if he became a renowned obia man, one of the greatest on the river, he would outwit the combined power of ancestors and gods. His physical strength was such that all seemed possible to him, and his eye was quick, his curiosity unbounded. As a child of incest, a twofold member of his clan, he had certain immunities from the gods, though his line would all the more be flayed by the punishment which his parentage had earned.

"White man," he would say to us, "the next time you come, I will go with you to Africa. By then, I shall have given my wife children, and my sister's children will be grown. I want to go to Africa to learn obia."

His young brother was not strong. Bayo allowed them to cut no kamemba on the boy, who was now almost eleven, and it was clear that he would not be able to go through the Kromanti initiation, that he would have few gods.

"What will you do then, Bayo?"

God alone knew. He did not expect that even in Africa he could learn all he needed to know to help his young brother.

"Would he go with Bibifo?" we ventured, remembering that Bibifo had become Adrian.

He laughed. The white man asked many questions.

SARAMACCA OBIA

and it was they who in dream or vision, or in a state of possession, instructed living men in the ways of yet greater and greater obia. But there were those who held that obia ranked after the greatest of the deities, that obia surpassed the power of the ancestors, for obia knew how to make "*yorka tapu*"—preventives against troublesome ghosts, and obia men could summon the dead to enter the body of a living man to make revelations.

Whatever the position of obia in the supernatural world, its place on earth was to serve man, for of all living beings, man alone knew obia.

2

What were the manifestations of obia in the life of the Bush Negro as we found them?

A black pot with its magic powers was an obia pot, the charm worn about the neck was called an obia, the medicines we gave the natives for their eyes or their cuts were called white man's obia, and their own mixture of weeds steeped in water, which stood in the burning sun gathering a green scum until it should be ready for use, was also obia. Young Yamati who had danced susa for us did not have a cord about his neck, but, he had assured us, he had obia for long life as did his partner Sabape, though his own could not be seen, since it consisted of several obia cuts made shortly after birth, which served instead of the cord. The strings about the waists of children were obias. The slight cuts to be noticed on men's arms, on thighs, below the knee, below the shoulder blades were obia cuts, too.

Nor was that all.

Bayo had said to us, "When obia comes a man does bad things. He destroys. When mine comes, it is ugly sometimes."

It was obia, too—Apanto's obia—which had stopped our phonograph, and obia again, invoked this time by Bayo, which had strengthened the spirit of the machine.

We talked about obia to an elder, a village head, from one of the down-river settlements, which was not, however,

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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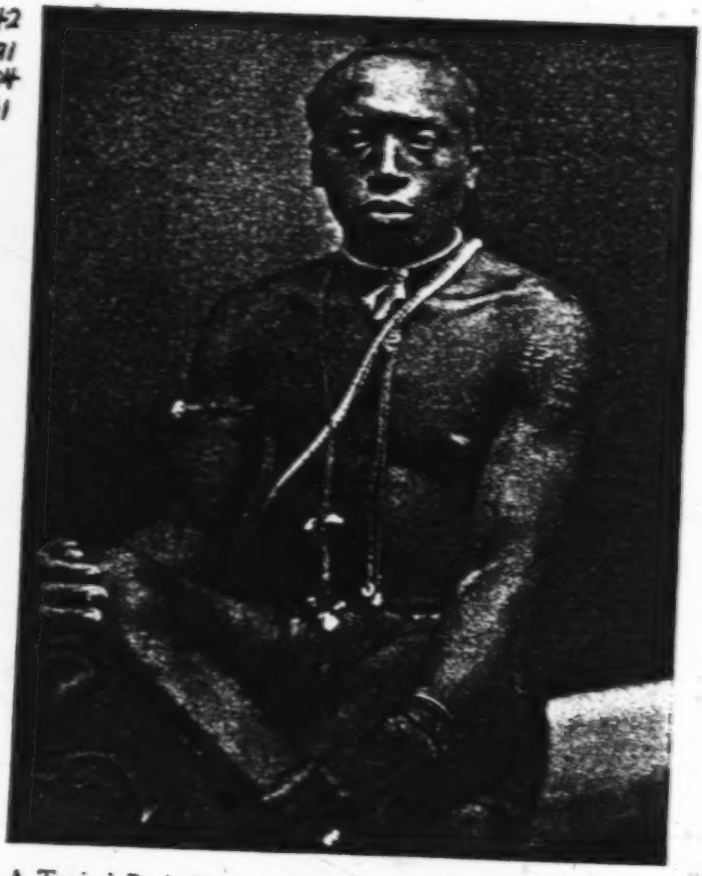

A Typical Bush Negro of the Aucaner Tribe, Lower Cottica River, Dutch Guiana. Note scar tissue decoration on arm.

Photo by Klein

[Facing p. 16]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Surinaccaner

their arrival is frequently anticipated. But it is something of an exaggeration to say that this primitive telegraphy is so extensive and efficient as to spread news of the white man over "more than two thousand square miles of impassable land." Nothing of the sort happens. The sound of the drums will carry for about two or three miles, when the wind is in the right direction, and the drum call is relayed from town to town. Most often, however, they are not beaten at all for us, and we arrive unannounced.

At the landing we are met by Captain Abaisa, a splendidly built Djuka whose friendship was obtained on a previous trip. His powerful body is all cut up with ornamental scars, a form of personal decoration highly esteemed by the Bush Negroes. The custom is a direct heritage from West Africa, found in many parts of the Gold Coast, the Congo country, and Cameroons, but unknown among the Indians of the Guianas. Abaisa greets us cordially: *"You wicki bah?" "E-e ah, matti"* is the proper reply. This talkee-talkee greeting, the equivalent of "Did you wake well?" is chanted rather than spoken. The voice ascends sharply on the second word, the final word being drawn out in a high sustained tone. The reply means "Yes, friend."

Another form of greeting is *"Ah broko baka,"* or "The day breaks again"—in other words—we meet again; or *"Neetee kaba"*—"The night is finished."

If a person is met for the second time within a short interval, the proper thing to say is *"We meetee baka."* Still another greeting is *"Bala, (Sis, Da, Ma) odio, how fa you de*

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni
Paramacca

façades of their huts are often elaborately carved. The drums and other Bush Negro implements take the usual West African form, but the treatment of the motifs among the Boni differs somewhat from that given by the other Bush Negro tribes. The spiral, snake, liana, and coil designs are less in evidence; the patterns are usually more angular in character than similar pieces from the Saramaccaner and Aucaner. Animal, human, and bird figures are more common in the designs of these French Guiana tribesmen, as the collection brought back for the American Museum of Natural History attests. Also, personal decoration by scar-tissue patterns seems to be less in evidence among the Boni. In all other respects, however, their culture seems identical with that of the other Djukas.

The Paramacca tribe, now numbering about 500 in population, was founded by one man and two women, who were slaves on a plantation in the Upper Commewyne River. They escaped by way of the Tempati Creek in 1813, then travelled over the watershed to the head of the Paramacca Creek, a tributary of the Marowyne River. For a long time they built villages at the head of the Tempati Creek and later at the head of the Paramacca Creek, being afraid to go into the

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

164 The Djukas suffer from a number of diseases also common among white men. Yaws, a syphilis-like disease, caused by infection with *Spironema pertenue,* is frequently found among them. Individuals may be seen suffering from all three stages of it. Malaria, including the severe tropical form, is spread by the mosquitoes along the rivers. An ulcerous condition known as leishmaniasis, the result of infection by Leishman-Donovan bodies, is an ordinary occurrence, as is hookworm. The Town Negroes are occasionally infected with filariasis and schistosomyasis of the rectal type. Leprosy is present in the town of Paramaribo, but we saw none of it in the bush.

648 757 [515] [304] The Djukas do not fear to take the bahkra's medicine. The gratitude of more than one mother was earned when we gave her child castor oil. Of the principle of asepsis, naturally, the Djukas know nothing. Their incisions for making *cutty-cutty* (ornamental scars) are septic enough to give a bacteriologist nightmares.

On one occasion, snakee-kutti, the snake protector, did not work, and a Bush Negro, who had been bitten was taken to the hospital at Moengo. His leg had gone untreated for five days and was in the serious stage of gangrene. The limb was amputated by the doctor in charge and the Djuka made an uneventful recovery. He would not have been brought to the hospital by his family if there had been anything more for the Bush Negro medicine man to do. But there was not, and they went to the bahkra as the last resort to save his life.

778 756 Far up the Surinam River is the sacred medicine city of Dahomey (pronounced Daumay). Into its sacred precincts

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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Bush Negro Men of the Aucaner Tribe. Note scar tissue decoration on faces. Cottica River, Dutch Guiana.

Photo by Klein

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2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

The ornate combs used by the Bush Negroes are a most direct West African heritage, being found along the Upper Guinea coast, Ashanti, Cameroons, Ivory and Gold Coasts, Dahomey, Muni, and many other regions of Africa. The wooden plates and trays are likewise found among the Ewe-speaking tribes of the West Coast.

The custom of personal decoration by the cicatrization of the skin is very common throughout many parts of Africa. Captain John Stedman remarks on this strange habit in his *Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition to Surinam:* "The Loanga Negroes distinguish themselves by puncturing or marking the skin of their sides, arms, and thighs with square, elevated figures something like dice." This custom was widespread on the Slave Coast. The scar designs varied widely according to the different tribes as well as the social position and wealth of the individual. As the Indians of South America do not practise this cicatrization, it is evident that the Bush Negroes brought it over with them from their former home.

The Bush Negro coiffure, the method of arranging the hair in plaited tufts, is found also on the Gold Coast, in Cameroons, and elsewhere in Africa. The Djuka method of weaving is similar to that of the Sudan, Gold Coast, Mandingo, Ashanti, and the Ewe. The spindle used in weaving is called by an African term, *kyekye,* a Tshi word. The woven leg band, the *sepu,* is the same as the leg bands found in Cameroons and the Upper Guinea coast in general.

The method of finding out who is responsible for the

/27 cont./

301 as the European girl wears her bracelets. On their fingers they wear a number of copper rings, sometimes doubtless up to ten; the thumb is likewise generally decorated with them.

291 /28/ As a rule the men content themselves with merely
292 a simple loincloth or belt, but if they go so far as to dress up, then they wear a broad-brimmed hat which is usually painted with various colors; around the crown they wear a wide band whose ends hang far down over the brim.

301 Around their necks they frequently wear a string of tiger's
237 teeth and the incisors and molars of wild pigs (the pakier and piengo) and of other animal species that they have caught on the hunt; they wear these same ornaments hanging from a broad band under the knee, and to them is added now and then a shell, a piece of copper, iron, lead, and so forth. Their ornaments also include parrot and West Indian raven (1) feathers and small tassels

1. Lafroe, Psittacus macao L.

made of cotton.

301 They call the last-named obias (2). Just like the women,
751
292

2. Obia, charm. The same efficacious powers as the superstition sees in amulets and talismans are seen in this.

they wear colored cloths around the neck.

304 Like almost all tropical and African peoples, they tattoo themselves. Men, women, and children undergo this operation, and although they are set upon having this as ornamentation, they nonetheless look down upon the man decorated with many tattoos just as the European does on an effeminate dandy. There are among them those whose face and body are virtually covered with the incisions, but they are looked upon with contempt by the industrious and those most developed spiritually. They say that the former are too attached to luxury and must be lazy to waste

/28 cont./

304 so much time on the desire for this kind of ostentation. When the incisions become faint through time and the growing of the skin, they are raised again by renewed carving.

/29/

Chapter XX

The Attitude toward Europeans and the Latter's Treatment of Them

461 The Bush Negroes begin to think of work when they have
313 little strong drink, powder, and lead left on hand; they leave their
439 camp and go to the work places where they are accustomed to felling trees and working these into squared timber, which they then tie together into rafts and float down the rivers in order to sell it on the plantations and at Paramaribo.

439 Some among them, especially the Saramaccaners, bring korjalen, pinda nuts (1), and groundnuts and Tonka beans (2) to

1. Arachis hypogoea L.

2. The fruit of the Dipteryx.

439 the part of the colony inhabited by Europeans; they usually exchange
648 all this for strong drink. It is to be lamented that their trade with the Whites is frequently linked with unpleasantnesses. Generally the latter treat them with contempt. This takes place all too frequently on the plantations in particular, whereby naturally fear and dissatisfaction arise among the Bush Negroes against the Whites; it is therefore not surprising that, after having been repeatedly cheated out of their fair rights, driven by suspicion and a desire for revenge, they in turn frequently try to deceive the Europeans.

In order to make clear their attitude toward the Europeans, I shall cite some proceedings which became known to me in earlier years and which even now have not completely ceased in the colony.

/68 cont./

613 624 [562] The basia are the mouthpieces of the captain, and not at all deputies having specific authority over a definite fraction of the village. There are three or four per village; in addition there are one or two women basia through whom the village head commands the work reserved for the women.

613 554 241 242 The head of the lineage possesses no religious powers over the land. The Refugee Blacks assume that the fertility of the soil depends exclusively on local divinities, to whom each one prays on his own behalf.

613 554 681 The captain, no more than the council, does not have the right to expel a member from the lineage, even for marked unworthiness. This is one of the most remarkable aspects of the legal conceptions of the Refugee Blacks, tied to the idea that a lineage represents only one single life. There again the thought of the Refugee Blacks can be regarded as the extreme opposite of the thought of the Bamiléké, with whom the head alone retains possession of the rights over the land, expulsion constituting the supreme social sanction.

881 Initiation; age classes; men's society. These African institutions seem totally unknown to the Refugee Blacks. No form of initiation of adolescents exists, and no ceremony marks collectively their entrance into social life. Circumcision and excision are not practiced. For the children, boys and girls, there are two stages: that of the first garment, which is given upon the appearance of the pubic hair, at about 12-13 years, without ceremony, and the end of education which coincides with marriage.

[304] [852] [561]

561 The society of the Refugee Blacks rests however in large part on age hierarchy; strictly speaking there are no age classes involving a fixed organization, but they exist tacitly:

241 361 away from the river? When the big rains come, the river goes up more and more. If our crops were too close to the water, then in the big rains the land would be flooded, and the crops long under water. . . . Yes, and we have to [136] think of the ants, too. Ants, once they find their way into a field, will destroy everything. They like especially the [137] green leaves of the young cassava plants. When the young leaves go, there is no cassava. So we move farther and farther away for our fields. Two, three years, and new fields must be cut, so that the yield might feed us all."

311 241 Once a field had been deserted, say, for five years, why did they not reclaim it later? we enquired, for by that time the big bush would have made fertile again the soil that had been exhausted.

"In this bush we do it like that. Why, I don't know. Our ancestors found much land for us. When we want new fields, we cut farther and farther into the bush."

5

As Bayo and Angita set off for the dance at Pa'aba, Kasanya and Sedefo joined us, and we talked of crops and [521] planting, of woman's work and man's, of good harvests and bad, and this is what was told us.

[462] Finding a new field and clearing it is a man's task. If a man is about to be married, or if the field a man's wife works has become exhausted, then he goes into the forest, near to the planting ground of his mother and to the fields of his family, and casts about for a place to clear. A field 311 must not be in a hollow, or the crops will not grow, and 241 rice needs the sun of a hill slope to thrive. Once having 711 found a spot where the drainage is good, he looks about to see if the spirits will allow its use. Patiently, painstakingly, he goes from one clump of matted vines to the next, machete in hand, searching for signs of an ant hill, or an Akatasi tree that is sacred to the gods of the ant hill, or for snakes, or a natural clearing belonging to the Apuku gods of the bush. No silk-cotton tree must be there, no loko tree wherein dwells the god of the same name so near that it

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

might catch fire were a wind to come up when the underbrush is burned. If he spies a slender bent liana from which the Kromanti "Congo-bush" sticks are made, then he has to be sure to cut it down with the proper invocation, so that the spirit inside the liana will not bend him to its own shape.

Kasanya continued his explanation. "When a field is found, it is the man who clears it." A man calls on his relatives or friends to help him. The men come with their machetes, and they cut away at bushes and shrubs, they cut away the lianas which are twined about the trees, and then the trees themselves. Then they go away, leaving what they have cut to dry. "To take all this away would be too hard, and, besides, fire does the work better, and fertilizes the ground as well."

So, when the wood is dry, they come with fire, and let the fire finish the work. Then the ashes are allowed to lie for a time, for, though this clearing is done during the dry season, occasional showers can be relied upon to work the ash into the ground. Then, too, the time for planting is not yet.

"Many things we plant a little before the old year meets the new," the old woman said.

"When it is time to break the ground," Kasanya went on, "the man and the woman work together. It is then that the woman begins her work in this field. What was done before had to do with cutting timber, and our proverb says: Woodworking is not a woman's affair."

The man alone clears the ground, but the woman helps him break the earth.

"Breaking the ground is not easy," the old woman again interrupted. The matted roots have to be dug up with an iron hoe, for the Bush Negro works as his ancestors did hundreds of years ago in Africa. He has no plough, no beast of burden to help him in the fields.

When all this is done, then it is time to see to the consecration of the earth to its fertile uses. Rituals vary with each clan, and often from village to village of the same clan.

/136/

121 The agriculture of the Bush Negroes, however, has become
[241] a matter which urgently demands the attention of the administration as a result of the wasteful use of land. Until now little attention has been paid to this, but if one wants to develop the interior of Surinam, this problem will also have to be looked into.

101 The data provided here throw light upon the agriculture of
121 the Paramaccaners and the Aucaners on the Marowijne and the
[103] Tapanahoni. They were gathered during the above-mentioned medical expedition and during a trip to the Tapanahoni in October, 1952. The facts thus refer primarily to the Marowijne, but in general they are certainly also valid for the other rivers along
121 which the Bush Negroes live. It is a typically Surinam problem,
648 connected with the circumstance that the Bush Negroes have worked in the deep interior in the same fashion for hundreds of years, independent of the life in the civilized coastal region and almost completely outside the sphere of interest of the government.

2. The Grounds System

241 For the planting of agricultural crops the Bush Negro lays out little so-called food grounds. One is to understand by this cleared pieces of ground in the virgin forest on which the crops
[311] are cultivated. The grounds lie along the rivers on higher flat lands, mostly terraces that are not submerged during high water or, in the absence of such terrain, on the slopes of hills. They are more or less circular and have a surface area of a half to one and a half hectares.

241 During the long dry season (October, November) the men
221 clear the grounds. Two to three weeks thereafter the forest that
132 has been felled is burned, the smaller branches are cleared away,
462 but the trunks are left lying. The ground is not worked. As soon as the rains of the short rainy season begin, they start to plant and sow. This planting time falls in December and January. The wives of the Bush Negroes (for only the women do the further work) now plant all kinds of crops at the same time on one and the same ground.

/140 cont./

241 There is yet another factor which plays a role in the origin
134 of the grounds-kapoeweri. This is the use of fire in clearing the
137 ground. The burning of the cut forest is done at the expense of the humus on and in the soil. The fertilization with ashes that one obtains by it only partially covers this loss. Furthermore, under the influence of the fire there are great disturbances in the balance of the microflora and fauna of the soil, hindering the conversion of organic materials into inorganic compounds. Sun and rain bring changes in the structure of the scorched earth, which forms a cement-like crust and becomes sealed. Also the growing of cultivated crops, especially cassave, draws many mineral components from the soil.

13 It is clear that the soil needs time to recover after this disturbance of the balance. This period of time is estimated at 25-30 years. The leaf-cutting ants play a part in this; they again enrich the soil with humus by bringing great quantities of leaves into their ground nests. In addition, they ventilate the soil by digging numerous nest corridors. In this manner the ants contribute
[242] to the recovery. It is well-known, moreover, that the soil on old leaf-cutting ant nests is fertile; one likes to plant bananas on it. If we assume with Stahel that in this kapoeweri six ant nests per hectare are found, then these nests together would only have a maximum surface of one-tenth of it. This would never be able to hinder the full growth of the forest.

136 That the leaf cutting ants occupy the secondary growth, or at
137 least are present there in greater numbers than is normally the case
241 in the forest, may be a consequence of the laying out of new grounds within their domain. Because of the lack of land, the Bush Negroes are constantly trying to lay out grounds again in this forest. The ants, moreover can maintain themselves because there are various forest trees that supply the ants with sufficient leaf material.

13 Thus, because of both the decreased capacity of the soil and
311 the presence of the leaf-cutting ants, the ant-kapoeweri forms a terrain that has become unusable for present-day primitive Bush Negro agriculture./141/ And from the standpoint of forestry too the ant-kapoeweri is worthless.

000/141 cont./
241 of this predatory cultivation has been reached. The nearby
423 agricultural lands are kept in use with too brief a rest period, with
[134] the result that the soil is overworked and the periodic recovery
[825] of the forest proceeds at an ever slower pace. In addition one struggles to an increasing degree with the problem /142/ of the leaf-cutting ants, which keep the easily accessible places occupied.

241 The consequence of this circumstance is that the Bush Negroes
311 are forced to make the grounds farther and farther from their vil-
[484] lages. One travels for hours up or down the river in order to
[482] reach good land. When one cannot make good use of a forest creek in order to transport the produce from the field, one is forced to carry the harvest for one or two hours through the forest to the river. The Bush Negro does not go farther than a two hours' walk (about six kilometers from the river) (see the map /see p. 13 /).

241 On the Tapanahoni one spends even days in traveling to less
311 populated areas in order to plant and to harvest. One then estab-
361 lishes so-called work camps along the river, from which one
[103] operates in the surrounding areas. This is the case, among others, between Godoholo and Granbori for people from Drietabbetje or
311 other centers. That one does not go even farther up river, all the
423 way past the last village, Granbori, has to do with a prohibition
643 by the granman of the Aucaners. That is, the latter wants to reserve the lands lying beyond this point as hunting lands and therefore will not make them available for agricultural purposes.

241 The inhabitants of the villages along the lower Tapanahoni,
311 such as Sajé, Clementi, and Malobbi, frequently lay out their food
423 grounds in the Lawa, where they can have at their disposal agri-
361 cultural lands as far as the Aboenasoengoe Falls. Farther upstream
103 on this river the Bonni or Aloekoe Negroes assert their rights.

5. Differences between Aucaners and Paramaccaners

101 The conditions given above apply in the main to the Aucaner
162 Bush Negroes of the Tapanahoni. They number today approximately
[311] 6,500 persons. The Paramaccaner Bush Negroes of the Marowijne, approximately 1,700 in number, are in somewhat more favorable

/142 cont./

101 162 circumstances because with their lower population density they
311 are less seriously in need of land. But the same fate awaits them in the near future. In addition, the cutting of the forest has more serious consequences in this region because as a result exploitable timber is lost. Along the Tapanahoni, above the greater falls, woodcutting is impossible for the time being, so that the loss of wood in these districts does not as yet play an economic role here.

6. Measures toward Improvement

433 The question now is whether the grounds-operations of the Bush Negroes must be regulated by a higher authority. My advice is: The /143/ sooner improvement can be brought about in this, the better, and for the following reasons.

[311] 1st. Because of the grounds-system practiced from olden times, the Aucaners of the Tapanahoni in particular now have such a land shortage that further growth of the population is thereby hindered.

[262] 2nd. The food supply of this Bush Negro society is precarious and one-sided; this threatens to become more and more unfavorable, with the consequence that the health situation will require more and more care.

3rd. The Bush Negroes cannot be considered capable of bringing about changes for the better in these agricultural methods by themselves.

[167] 4th. Occupying these districts becomes less and less attractive for the younger generation, whereby a spreading of the
[464] population over other areas takes place. The men try to find work in the lowlands or in the concerns in French Guiana.

5th. Through the wasteful use of land the supplies of wood along the rivers are in danger of becoming lost entirely.

6th. It is to be feared that unless help is offered through government channels in time to help this bush population out of the impasse, its social and economic retrogression will soon become seriously felt.

4: Geijskes--13 G, N 5 (1952) 1954 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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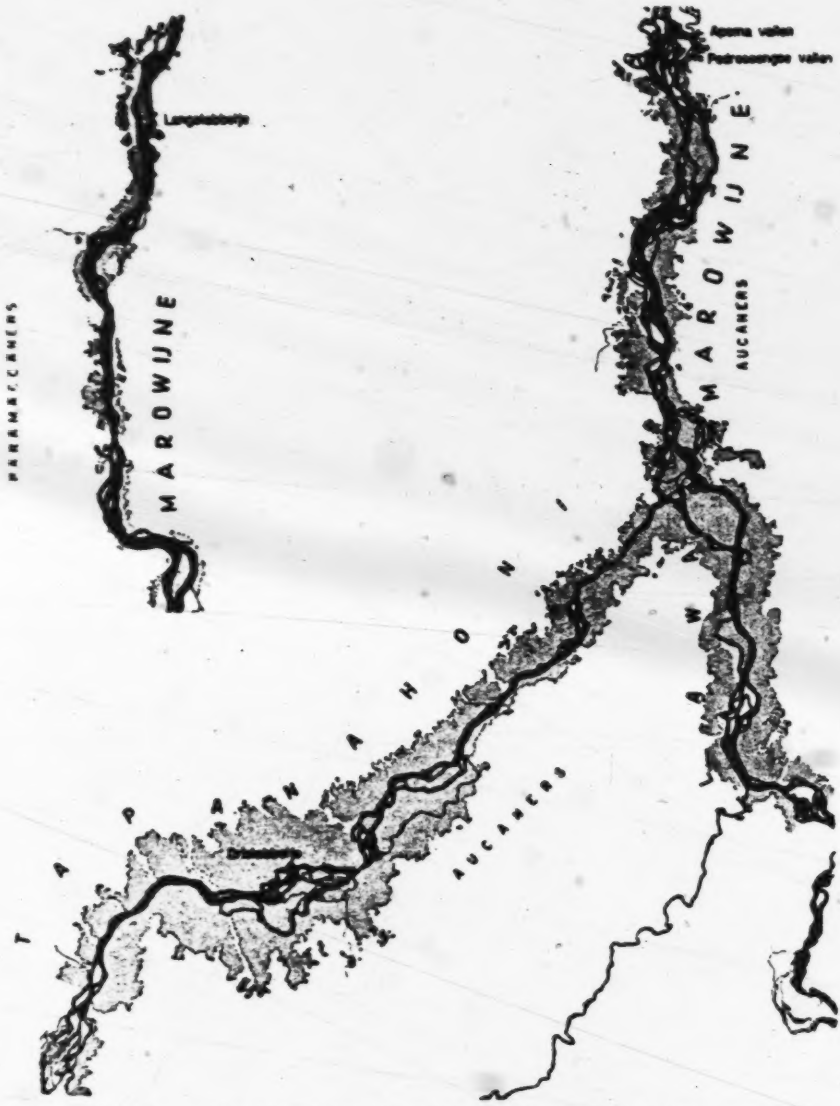

Survey map of the agricultural lands of the Bush Negroes of the Marowijne /Maroni/. Made from aerial photographs by the Central Bureau Luchtkaartering Paramaribo /Central Bureau for Aerial Surveying, Paramaribo/. Taken in 1947.

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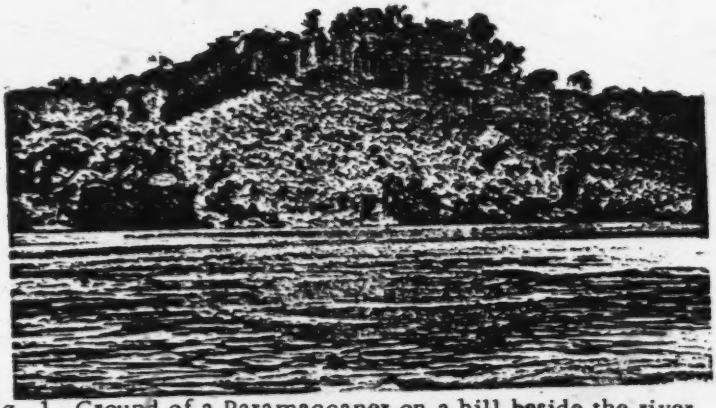

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Fig. 1. Ground of a Paramaccaner on a hill beside the river. For want of flat terrain, the slopes of hills are used. The surroundings are second growth. -- Marowijne near Grankreck, Oct. 1952.

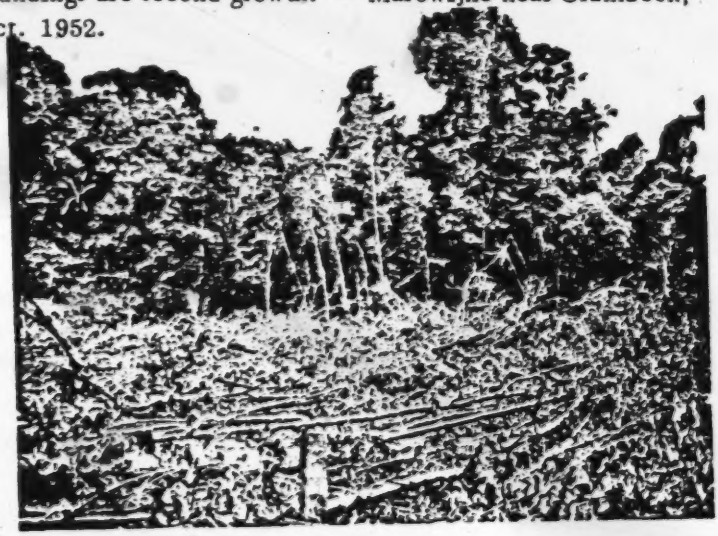

Fig. 2. Newly laid-out ground of an Aucaner, in young second growth. The slender trunks are typical. -- Tapanahoni, Saniki, Oct. 1952.

B /512 cont./

R The region is entirely covered by equatorial forest which the
137 inhabitants clear for their crops, practicing a shifting agriculture
241 on burned-over land.

B Life is closely tied to the river, on the edge of which are
311 established villages and crops. They scarcely move except by
504 water. Everybody, man, woman, or child, has his pirogue, and
868 the children learn to paddle at the same time that they learn to
B walk.

R The principal activities of the two populations are agriculture,
433 fishing, and canoeing.

B There is scarcely any difference between the dietary resources
R of the Indians and the Boni. The principal portion is manioc,
262 eaten in the form of cassave (flat cakes cooked on a plate) or of couac (roasted and granulated flour). Then come tubers, yams, dasheens, "Carib cabbage" /taro/ and sweet potatoes, bananas
B and plantains. The Boni in addition plant mountain rice, from
[241] which the yield is small; in return, they eat fewer bananas.

R The protein ration is furnished essentially by fish, eaten
[226] fresh or smoked. The Indians, skillful fishermen, never lack
B them. Game furnishes a less regular, but important resource.

R Animal husbandry, confined to a few chickens raised mainly
[231] to sell, represents only an insignificant part of the diet.

[439] The fat from fish and from animals killed while hunting constitutes the principal portion of lipides. The Boni use in addition, for preparing their meals, a small quantity of maripa palm oil.

Vitamins come from fruit (papaya, pineapple, mangoes), which the Indians eat in greater abundance than the Blacks, from wild spinach, rich in Vitamin A, and palm nuts (awara and caumou),
B eaten in great abundance during the rainy season.

R Neither of the two populations is undernourished. The Indians
146 might have been so temporarily during epidemics, when the adults, having been sick for a long time, were unable to clear sufficient land. But they can supplement an inadequate harvest with a great variety of wild foods that can be gathered.

The diet seems poor in mineral elements and especially in calcium. Traces of rachitis are noticeable among some of the Indian children.

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133 This extreme fragmentation of the relief must be remembered
182 as one of the ecological factors influencing the human peopling most directly; it renders the transport of heavy loads impracticable, the establishing of roads practically impossible. Men are led to
[361] settle along the rivers, which constitute the only routes of penetration toward the interior of the country.

133 All the important rivers flow into an alluvial valley whose
132 width varies from some tens of meters to a kilometer, dry during the greater part /6/ of the year, but flooded under several meters
134 of water during the great rains of May-June. This annual inunda-
241 tion makes the alluvial lands unfit for agriculture; the inhabitants of Guiana cultivate only sloping lands and even very steep slopes readily; for good drainage of the soil is indispensable for the raising of manioc whose tubers, which remain in the ground for more than a year, are threatened with rotting.

311 The cultivable zone is in fact closely limited around each village. Practically, it is limited to a strip of 1,500 to 2,000 meters along the banks of each watercourse accessible to pirogues.
[482] Transport of manioc tubers, carried on by the women several
[462] times a month, becomes impracticable if the distance to be covered with loads is greater than two kilometers at the maximum (1).

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1. The Djuka, very numerous on the Tapanahoni, cultivate as far as three or four kilometers from the river; but in general, the Refugee Blacks prefer to build farming habitations at a distance of several days' by boat from their village when this gives them the possibility of farming in the neighborhood of the banks.

/6 cont. /

824 wood is too hard to be worked with ordinary instruments or, on the contrary, because it is too soft, too easily attacked by insects, or
311 has a tendency to rot. The zone exploitable by native procedures is limited (for the floodable zones /7/ do not allow fine woods) to the slope of the hills bordering the valley of the watercourses accessible to pirogues; beyond, the cartage of felled trunks becomes impracticable.

137 A very dense epiphytic vegetation connects the trees with
136 their upper parts; it is there that life blossoms out: flowers, birds, insects, and monkeys.

484 Progress through the forest is very arduous. The undergrowth,
487 shrubs, bushes, bound together by fine and elastic lianas, offers
[137] a constant obstacle, the machete /sabre/ must be wielded at each
[412] step. The nature of the terrain, a succession of bogs and hills
[133] with steep and slippery slopes, makes walking for heavily loaded men exhausting. On the trail one succeeds with difficulty in making more than 15 to 20 kilometers a day; in the uninhabited forest one can scarcely advance five to six kilometers a day by cutting the strict minimum as one does when hunting. The opening of a route permitting the passage of heavily laden men cannot progress more than three kilometers a day on the average.

137 The great forest offers few real dangers, but it is an environ-
182 ment profoundly hostile to man, which does not present spontaneously any food resource and allows establishment of villages and cultivated areas only at the price of great efforts.

136 One meets few animals in the interior of the forest, and the resources for hunting are very limited; on the other hand, there are few harmful animals; wild beasts are few and practically do not appear; snakes are much rarer than on the coast and represent
164 only a slight danger. The most real dangers of the forest come from the fall of branches and epiphytes, principally when it is cleared for cultivation; each year there are accidents of this kind in Boni country. Besides, work in the forest is the occasion for many wounds which tend to ulcerate.

/8 cont./

experience of the American Indians, which seem the only utilizable ones in the interior of the country.

Thus these populations which are so varied have in large measure the same agriculture and the same food.

Basic crops are manioc, consumed in the form of couac (flour roasted and granulated) which is the base food, the Indian yam, and tubers analogous to taro (dachine, "Caribbean cabbage"). The Refugee Blacks plant mountain rice in addition. The Creoles do not plant rice but have on the other hand a greater variety of vegetables and fruits.

Men in Guiana live on the rivers; villages and cultivated lands are to be found on their banks; everywhere else one finds only the deserted forest; only Creole gold miners, constrained by their work, sometimes establish their villages far from watercourses. The Refugee Blacks, like the Indians, love the rivers where they find, along with water and light, the possibility of moving without hindrance; they are a people of canoeists; their traditions are widely influenced by life on the river, and their mode of living finds in this a deep originality.

In fact, setting aside the gold miners' villages, we can say that the populations of the Guianas living by exploitation of the natural resources of the country have a linear habitat: it can be estimated not in surface but in length, for it is limited to a band of one kilometer along each watercourse accessible to pirogues. These watercourses are limited in number, for one can take for granted that at a distance of some 20 kilometers from the source of each river, the congestion caused by fallen trees and parasitic vegetation prevents easy movement.

Actually, considering the very low density of the population, the small rivers are scarcely utilized except as fishing places.

All the rivers are interrupted by falls and rapids which render the use of large boats impossible. The pirogues of the Refugee

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There are no gardens around the cabins because the conditions of the soil and climate render permanent cultivation impracticable. The nearest thing is a few persons planting some banana trees around the hut at the foot of which they spread the hearth ashes. As a general rule villages are closely hemmed in by secondary brushwood, and people plant far from one another and sometimes very far from the village.

If it does not admit the appropriation of land to individuals, custom does admit, on the other hand, the ownership of trees. In the villages the useful trees (coconut trees, maripa palms /attalea excelsa/, mango trees, cashew-apple trees, etc.) all have owners. The tree is considered as personal property and is transmitted by inheritance in the same way as a gun or a canoe. The procedure employed by the Boni for the dispersion of the inheritance among the members of the lineage of the dead man sometimes has the effect of transmitting the ownership of a tree to a person who is not of the village. For example, in Boniville where a fraction of the Kotika lineage lives, two caumou palms were bequeathed a long time ago to members of the lineage living in Kotika, who come each year to gather the fruit.

Appendix

Local Chronology Used for Determining Ages

1876	Death of Grand Man Atyaba.
1877	Trip of the explorer Crevaux from the Maroni to the Yari and the Amazon, in the company of Apatu, head of the Boni village.
1882	Apatu secedes, taking with him about 150 persons and founds the village which bears his name on the lower course of the Maroni.

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Territorial Implantation of Lineages

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As we have shown, the Refugee Blacks are caught between contradictory imperatives:

--Their legal thought, centered on joint possession by the lineage, pushes them to distribute land among the lineages in compact blocs;

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[241]

--The geographic environment, and most especially the ravages of the manioc ant, obliges them to give to each individual the possibility of abruptly changing his territorial sector or to hasten the planned rhythm of his fallow fields.

The solution which has imposed itself has been to divide the lands of each lineage into a certain number of zones scattered on the two banks of the river. Instead of finding large blocks with a single holder, we are going to find sectors sometimes rather small. With that exception, the legal principles of the Refugee Blacks keep all their practical value.

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Each village possesses a certain number of landing places or dégrads /wharfs/, from which fan out a certain number of paths. The wharf is the center of a territorial zone within which the members of the lineage fan out, pushing their clearings farther and farther, until they meet the clearings created by other lineages. At this moment a boundary is in effect created, at least in some points (1).

[184]

1. Among the Djuka it happens that a wharf may be common to two lineages and that the boundary may be marked by a big road perpendicular to the river and starting from the wharf; this system corresponds to a concern for establishing more precise boundaries between groups occupying land to the maximum. It is not observed anywhere in Boni country.

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423 This fact is easily observable in the neighborhood of recently
•311 created farming habitations. In the figure "Distribution of lands ... in the neighborhood of the confluence with the Inini" (see at the end of the present chapter), the lands of the Antonu habitation are clearly seen distributed along two paths, one on each bank of the river.

241 In the sectors near Boni residence villages, cultivated in days
423 gone by, the main lines of these boundaries are known everywhere. Still, they are far from being as precise as in the African countries with dense population, where the absence of manioc ants allows a regular rotation of lands. In Boni country this rotation is most variable, the duration of fallow ground going from two to 20 years
[136] and more. Vast sectors where the activity of the manioc ants
[311] suddenly becomes greater are abandoned for many years. When they are cultivated again, people no longer remember the exact boundaries of the former clearings and the new holders cut their clearings in their own way, taking care only that they remain on the lands of their lineage.

000 /83/ STUDY OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF LANDS
IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF RESIDENCE VILLAGES

Inventory of Part of the Cultivated or Fallow Plots
in January, 1957

621 Study of the clearings of Agodé (Boniville). The lands adjacent
[241] to Boniville are worked in a very unsystematic fashion because of the composite character of the village population.

[613] Let us call to mind that Agodé includes fractions of six lineages:

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621 Near this clearing is the limit of the lineage lands; beyond
613 are the clearings of Loka village (Lapé lineage).
423 Out of the 16 clearings examined here, 14 are occupied by
241 members of the Papaïston group at Boniville, two are held by
[562] temporary users, outsiders to the group. Out of the 16 clearings 13 are held by women and three by men.

Lands of Loka village (Lapé lo). This village, with its annex Lapé Tabiki, is the residence village of the Lapé lo. The Lapé lo,
[614] whose genealogy is completely known and which remains geographically well grouped, is divided into two fractions without ceasing to constitute a lineage (bee) in the strict sense of the term. Its lands are divided into three zones:

--One on the east bank of the Maroni, behind Loka village.
/87/ --Another on the west bank (Surinam bank) opposite Lapé Tabiki, which we were not able to examine,

--Another upstream from Maripasoula, where part of the members of the lineage possess farming habitations.

[311] The first zone has been almost completely abandoned for about ten years as a consequence of an exceptional pullulation of manioc ants. We have summarized only a few relatively recent clearings there:

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
31 Δ	Akwadé (L1, E22) for himself	1948	member of the Lapé lo	cut only once on old secondary forest
32 Δ	Akwadé, for himself	1950	id.	cut twice in all by Akwadé

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621 613 423 241 Out of 14 clearings examined here, all without exception are occupied by the members of the Dipélu II fraction in Asisi. This fraction is geographically separated from the other lineages of Asisi village, and has formed a separate finage; that has to do [578] with its relatively high effective force and the good relations among its members (the Afi lineage, with an analogous force but divided by disagreements, has not succeeded in forming a separate finage).

[562] Of 14 clearings, 13 are held by women and one by a man /sic/.

Study of several clearings of Papaïston village. The part of the Papaïston finage situated on the French bank had been abandoned for several years because of an abnormal pullulation of manioc ● [311] ants. In 1956-57 all the inhabitants of the village were making their clearings on the Surinam bank.

Only several clearings going back to the years 1947-50 could be identified.

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
111 O	Efa (P1, D4)	1946	member of the Papaïston lo	cleared for the 1st time on old secondary forest
112 O	Wilèlmina (P1, F1); clearing cut by her husband Bésu	1947	id.	id.
113 O	Oben (P1, E13)	1950	id.	id.

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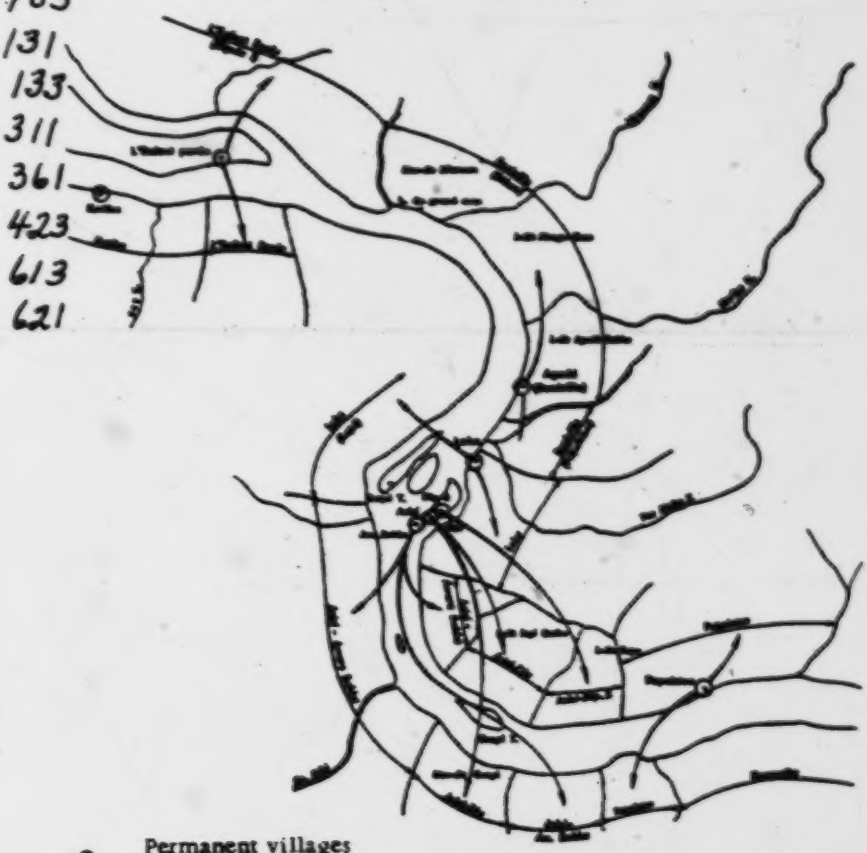
Distribution of Lands in the Neighborhood
of the Principal Boni Villages



Permanent villages
Boundary lines

Scale:

/K. or Cr. = Creek,
Lieu-dit = locality,
h. du grand man = habitation of the grand man,
Zone inondable = floodable zone./

Fig. 16.

6:Huzault--458 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

CHAPTER IX

SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ECONOMY OF THE REFUGEE BLACKS.

RELATIONS WITH OTHER POPULATIONS

Influence of the Social Institutions and Psychological Tendencies of the Refugee Blacks on Their Material Life and Their Economy

157 182 Certain psychological tendencies of the Refugee Blacks, in part bound up with their moral and religious conceptions and with the historical conditions under which these societies were formed, directly influence their material life in its various aspects: implantation on the ground, agriculture, paid work, trade.

The principal one of these tendencies is individualism, concern for complete material independence.

157 241 311 Influence on agriculture. We have seen that the clearings of the various households issuing from the same kin group were very rarely grouped together. On the contrary, the Refugee Blacks like to disperse their cultivated lands; even in the recently occupied zones where land is not lacking, it happens that one finds isolated clearings in the middle of primary forest more than a kilometer from the riverbank, at the mercy of predatory animals. Ecological conditions, in particular the concern with protection against the manioc-ant, do not explain this dispersion. The Boni recognize that it would be preferable, for fighting the manioc-ant, to group each year all the plantations of one lineage

/289 cont./

157 241 31 in a sector recognized to be undamaged. But objections immediately come to their minds; one would not feel at home, people would be jealous of one another; above all, the children would go pilfering fruit and vegetables in the clearings of other families. The Refugee Blacks are unanimous in thinking that the children of one village put together in a single place would constitute a scourge much worse than the manioc-ant, and that dispersion is the wisest solution for maintaining the peace of families.

562 241 One observes likewise that the total freedom of woman, and the custom which leaves to her /290/ the free disposal of the products of the clearing, contribute toward preventing the development of agriculture with an eye to selling. In order [592] to undertake large clearings farmed jointly by one household, it would be necessary to have very unified and stable households, which is rare.

157 476 Difficulty of grouping for common advantage. The Refugee Blacks are incapable of forming groups voluntarily to undertake the execution of a job with an eye to common advantage. The small groups which get together for fishing, working gold, etc. are formed of intimate friends or near relatives and are hardly larger than four or five persons.

157 454 The Refugee Blacks are still less capable of grouping themselves into societies looking toward future benefits. Putting a part of their resources into a common pot with that of another seems to them not only illusory but immoral. Because of this fact there exists among them no way to group financial assets, sometimes good-sized.

426 Lending without interest is practiced rather commonly, having to do with small sums between near relatives or intimate friends. If a man feels capable of earning his living by buying a motor, he will succeed rather easily in finding the necessary money by borrowing from his brothers or friends. 10,000 francs

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423
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621

A (p. 576)
B (p. 577)
C (p. 578)
D (p. 579)

Chart of Positions of End Map /facing p. 576/

6:Hurault--576 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

102
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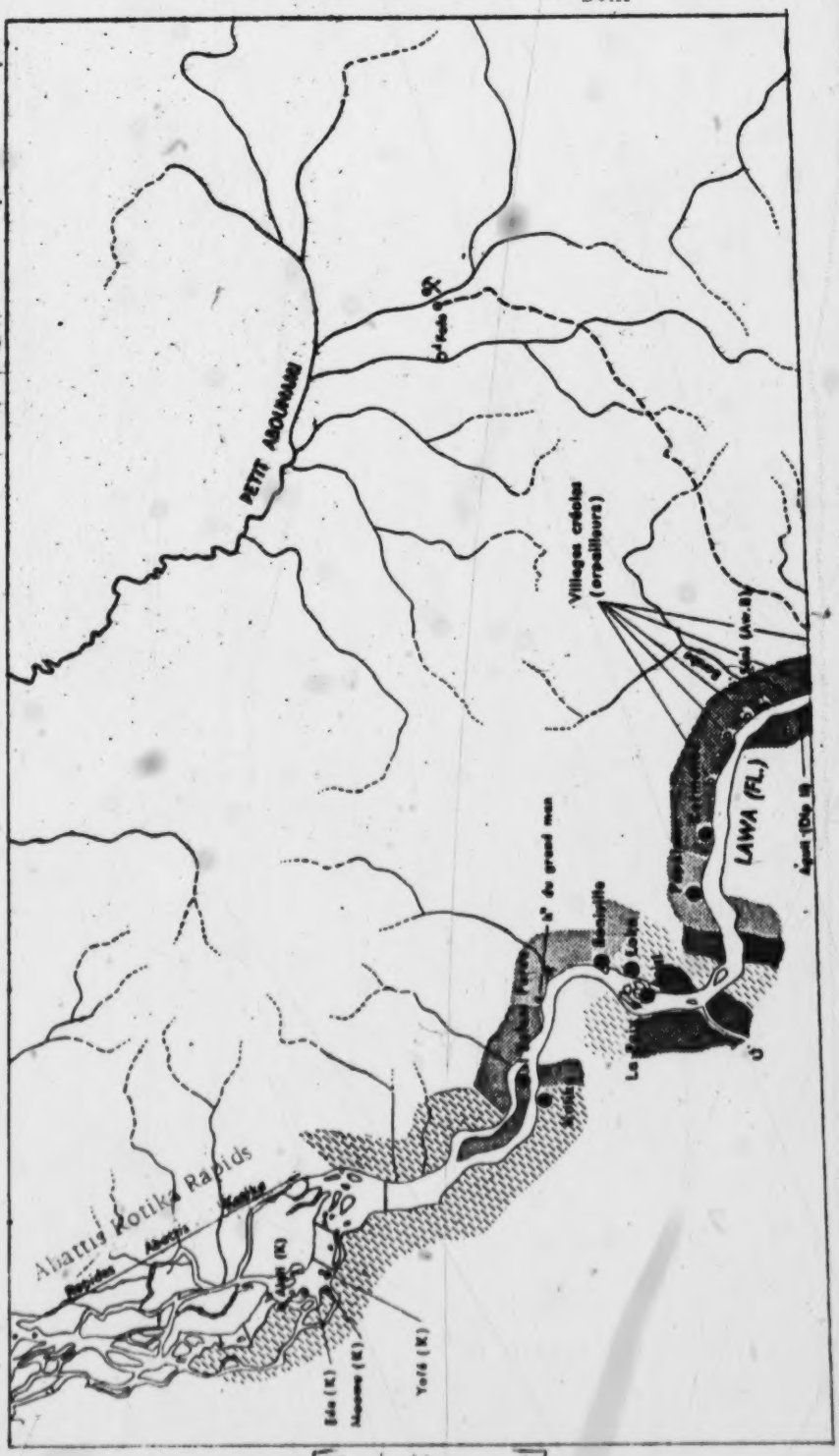
621



[End Map - A]

6:Hurault--577 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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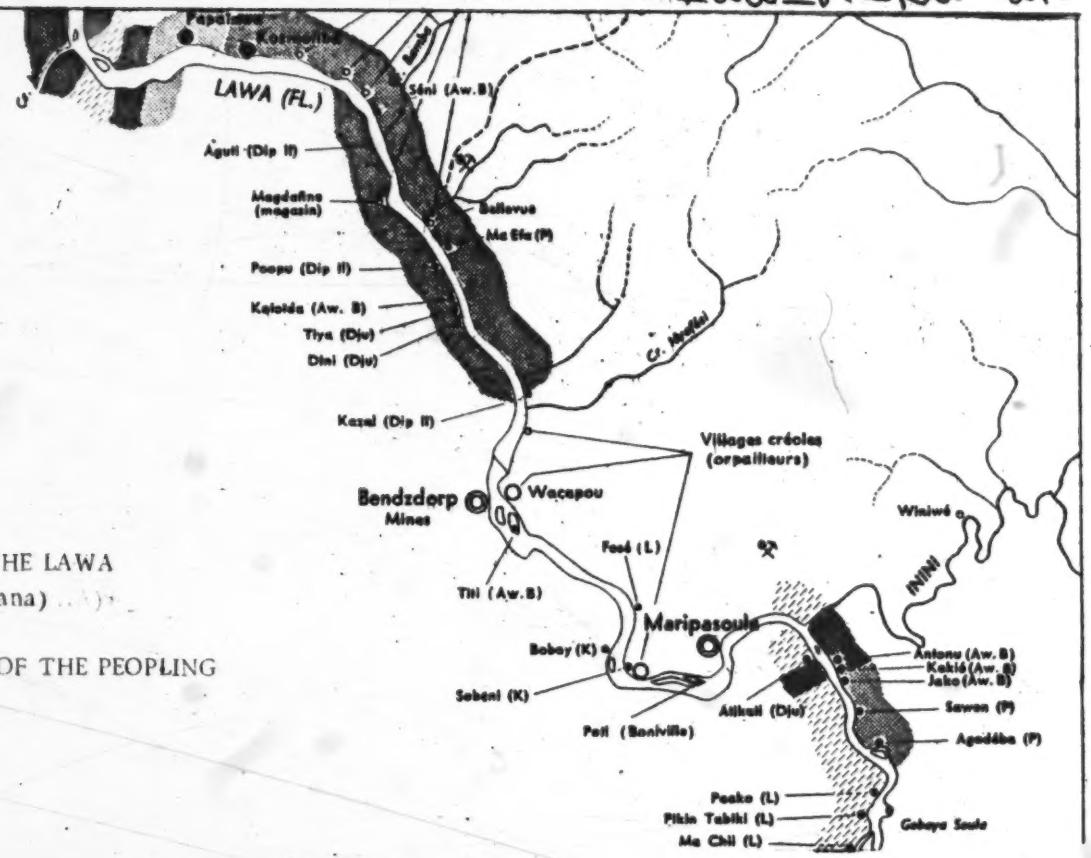
621



COURSE OF THE LAWA
(French Guiana)

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLING

[End Map - B]

6:Hurault--578 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8 Boni

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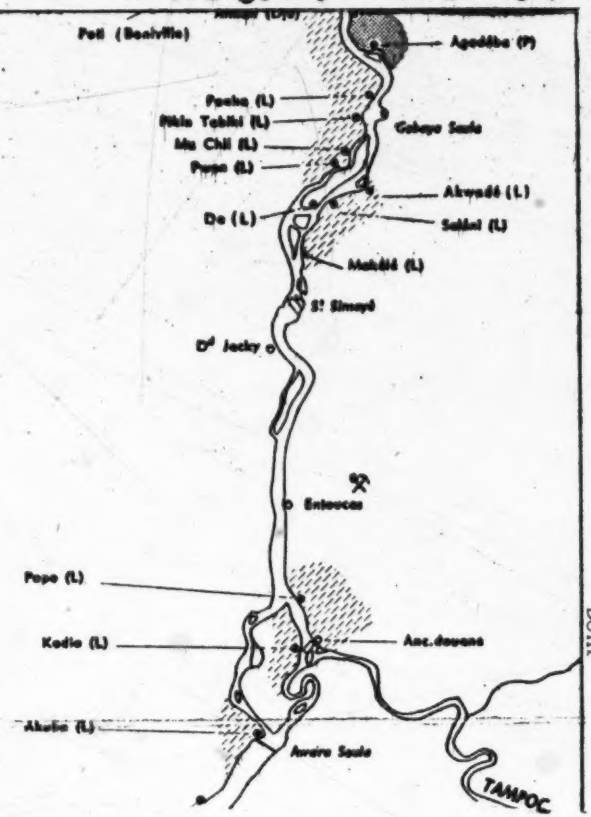
621

Villages and Farming Habitations
in 1958

- ● Boni residence villages
- • Boni farming habitations
- ○ Creole villages
- ◯ European establishments
- • Creole habitations
- ⚒ Small gold workings
- • Indian villages

Lands belonging to the Boni lineages

- (K) Kotika lo
- (Dip) Dipélu lo
- (D) Dikan lo
- (L) Lapé lo
- (Dju) Dju lo



Eng Map - D

6:Hurault--579 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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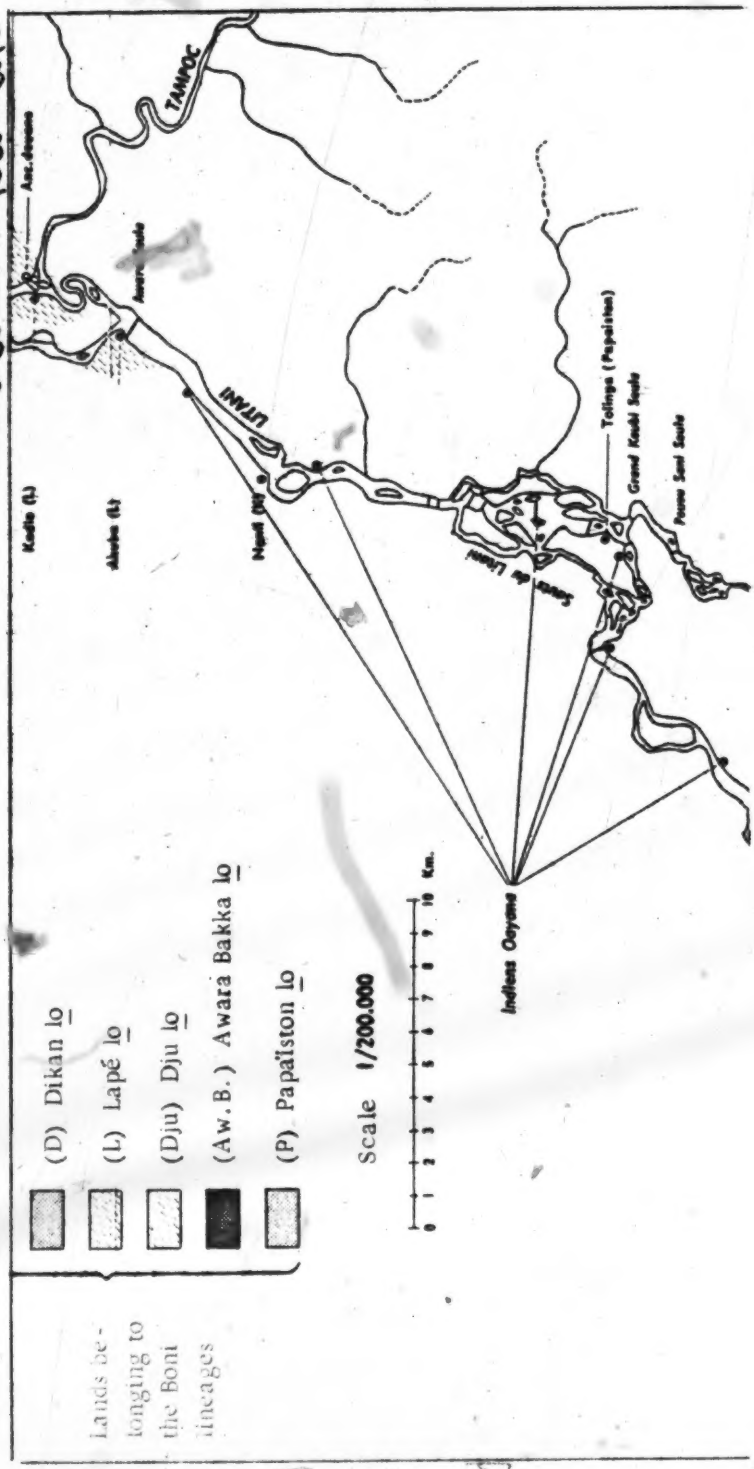

[End Map - D]

102

103

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241

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A (p. 580)	B (p. 581)	C (p. 582)	D (p. 583)

Chart of Positions of End Plate /facing p. 580/

6:Hurault--580 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

DIVISION OF LANDS AMONG THE LINEAGES IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF THE PRINCIPAL BONI VILLAGES

102
103
133
241
• 311
361
423
489
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614
504

Photographic montage made with the help of photographs of Field Trip 007/200 IGN Guiana
Scale 1/20 000 Taken in October, 1956

[End Plate-A]

6:Hurault--581 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

102
103
133
241
• 311
361
423
487
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614
764
504

Scale 1/20 000

[End Plate - B]

6:Hurault--582 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

102
103
133
241
311
361
423
487
504
613
614

Scale 1 / 20 000

[End Plate - C]

:Hurault--583 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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423
487
504
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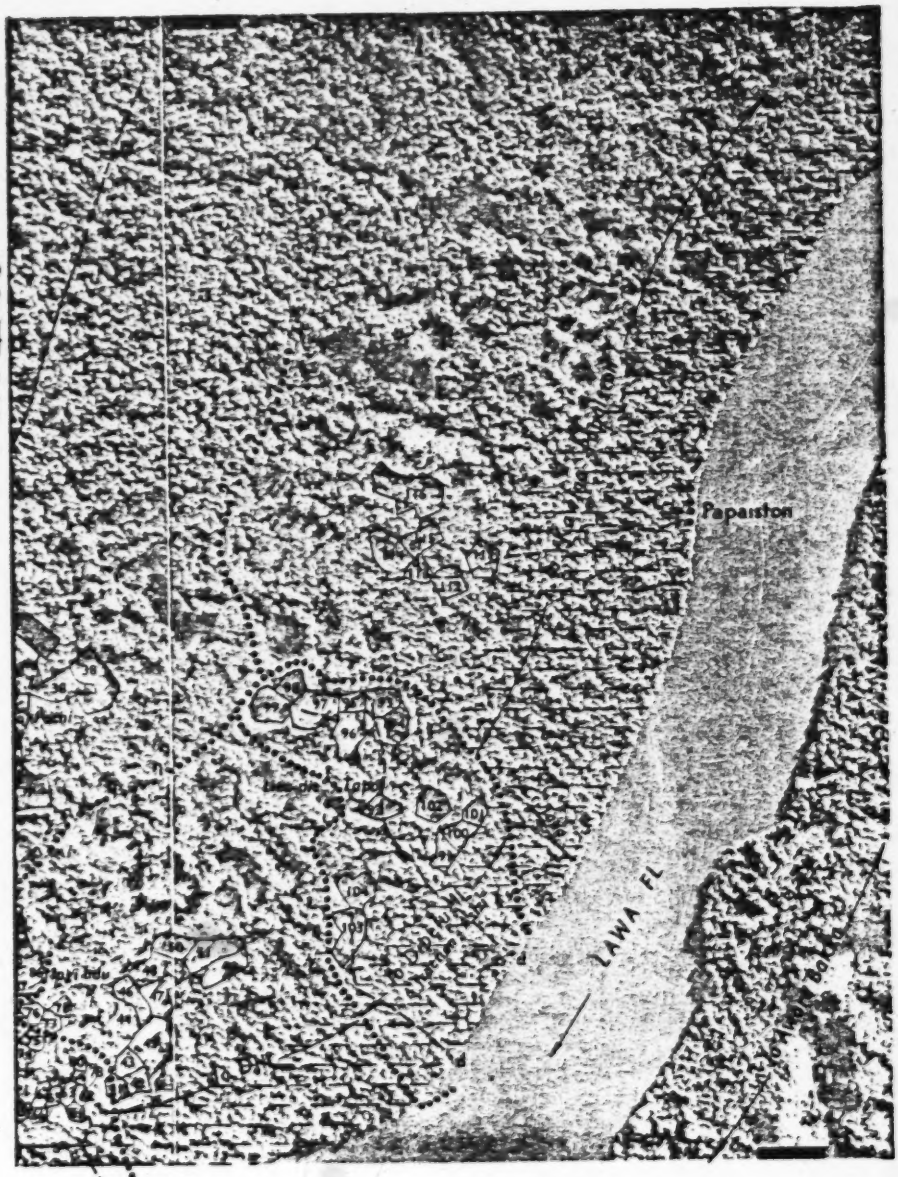
614



Agodé Permanent villages
clearings
floodable zones
boundaries not known
farming habitation
dégrad (wharf)
path
approximate boundaries of agricultural land

[End Plate - D]

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

Chapter II

WHILE THE RIVER WAS HIGH

I

501 313 NOW this was a busy time of the year, and the river so full of canoes that a man floating down a lumber raft to the railhead might expect to meet ten or twelve dugouts in a day.

221 Men in laden corials were returning from the French side for the harvest festivals. They had been away eighteen months or longer, and now they were coming back to burn new rice and cassava fields for their women, and to beget new children. When the harvesting was done was a fine time for love, and a woman with a child in her womb was the very luckiest for planting a field. These returning men, in the prime of life, with powerful bodies and muscles that were as so many great snakes coiling and uncoiling underneath the gleaming moist skins were deferential toward strangers. For it would have been unseemly to thrust at the first comer their adventures on the Marowyne River, and a man who was returning with many possessions had to exercise particular care that he angered neither men nor gods. Yet among themselves they could not keep from a certain amount of swagger.

"Ai ba! Ai mati!" they exclaimed to each other in reply to the most casual comment. "Indeed, brother! Yes, friend!" This was no more than the mode of address of the [576] Awka people who live along the Marowyne, but "Ai ba! Ai mati!" stood for the password of the larger outside

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

THE COUNCIL OF THE ELDERS

"Kodo!" 623

"Another letter has come, Bak'a. Will you read that one, too?" 648

This was a communication written by a lumber factor down the river. One of the villages, it seemed, was in dispute with another over timber rights. The case was laid before the Granman by the factor, who asked that the controversy be settled promptly, since the dispute was keeping the men of both villages from cutting the lumber which had been promised him. 692 643 648 578 313 623

Yankuso now spoke again: "You have heard the message, friends. The man who buys timber asks that I settle this dispute between two of our clans. Their villages are far from here. The clans of the Saramacca people can settle their own disputes."

"Gbolo!"

"So I say, friends. I can look at the cows, but from a distance I cannot tell how many there are. It is not for us here to decide this."

"*Kweti, kweti!*—No, no!"

"It is true, friends, as the Saramacca people say, 'The G'aman's breasts are for all his children.' But it is not my children who have come to me. Bak'a," he said, suddenly turning to us, "later you will write for me to this man who buys lumber. Tell him that for the sake of sweet soup a man eats sour dumplings. So I say."

The Granman looked about him. The heat of midday filled the darkness of the council house, and old Bibifo had dozed off. The gaze of the chief fixed him.

"Mati!" he said, when Bibifo stirred. "Sleep is death!"

Slowly the Granman's eyes circled the room until they came to us.

"The Bak'a has come," he repeated, with his slow intonation, every syllable clearly enunciated. "When the Bak'a came, the rain fell. From Asindopo Lantiwe we shot guns of welcome, from Abenda Konde guns were shot. In the heavens, the gods spoke them welcome. There was thunder." 643 574 821 623

BAYO, THE PLAYBOY

The conversation turned to the lumbering Bayo had been doing. He had been helping some of the Gankwe men bring to the river the wood they had felled. To cut down a tree was not hard work, Bayo told us. It was, however, no easy matter to bring the trunks to the water. For in the tropical jungle timber does not grow in the convenient "stands" known to the northern forests. The searcher for rare woods will find a single purple-heart tree here, and there, some distance away, a brown-heart or one of the other trees for which the white man is willing to pay well. With machete or axe the tree is felled and stripped of its bark, and squared into a great long timber. The under part of each end is shaped so that as it goes down the river it will not split against the rocks it strikes. 313

Going back from the river bank are to be seen openings in the bush and these lead to places where trees have been cut. At short intervals lengths of branches are laid across them. It is over these that the timber is hauled to the river —over these main lumber ways, and over the smaller ones that must be cut deep in the bush from every felled tree to these principal paths.

Bayo had been hauling lumber. Cut and dressed, the paths made ready, the logs had been taken to the river. The Gankwe men had summoned their friends and the men of neighboring villages to help them. The weight of the hard wood is such that it takes great strength to haul the squared logs over the paths. Bayo had gone with the men into the forest, and there they had spent more than a week, eating of the rice and cassava of the men whose lumber they were hauling, and having a pleasant time of it, with joking and horseplay. 313 496

"When we haul the wood, we sing *so te* . . . until . . . " he said, prolonging his last syllables in the characteristic way. 313 496 533

The one whose logs were being brought to the water opened the singing by first speaking his thanks in a formal chant to those who had come to help him.

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406
533
[539]

REBEL DESTINY

"You have come to go, come to go far, come to go far to bring the wood to the water. But it is long, it is far, to the river. Thank you, friends."

Then the song was taken up by the workers and, with each rhythmic measure, the great piece of lumber went farther through the jungle on its way to the river. When he had chanted for us the greeting to the men, Bayo began to sing a song relating to men's casual exploits with women and, as he finished the song, he laughed. "White [831] man, if you came with us, you would hear what songs the men make up about women!"

3

126 The phonograph had delighted Bayo from the first. When Apanto had summoned the spirit of his obia to fight the machine, Bayo had watched. When the white man's glue had repaired the broken belt, and the hot sun had made the machine "walk" once more, Bayo had approved.

"The machine is not weak," he had said. "I will sing for it."

And sing for it he did.

But the curse of Apanto still troubled the machine, for up the river and down there had been difficulty with it. Often when there was a particularly good song to be recorded, the belt would give, the machine would fail the white man. The story of the prowess of Apanto had gone up the river with the Gankwe paddlers, and when the machine stopped, heads nodded, and we would catch the word "obia" among the murmurs of the bystanders.

126 Bayo thought, it seemed, that the machine's proud
123 spirit was by this time properly chastened and, since twice
782 the machine had refused to work while he was singing into
716 it, twice had made him stop the song and its drum accompaniment, he decided to take matters into his own hands.

"White man," said Bayo, shortly after our return from up the river, "I will help the spirit of the machine. I will

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

1 A [352 322 522]

Chapter Five

THE GAME TRAIL

ON the rivers we frequently encounter Djukas going 313 downstream to Paramaribo or Albina on lumber rafts. The big logs are fastened together with lianas, twined about stakes driven into holes, and lashed to stout cross-pieces. Three paddlers stand upright on this raft and take it down the river like a canoe.

The lumber is arduously cut, the great trees being felled [412] and chopped square with axes. A tree cut in the jungle will not fall to earth; the surrounding growth holds it upright. Therefore, days are spent in clearing a space of ground where the tree may come down. The vines and lianas must be cut away, and the vast buttressing roots severed. The tree is brought down in this clearing, hewn of its branches, and dragged into the water. Hardwood is too heavy to float, so

1 A [For caption, see category 116, p. 204. - Analyst]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

313 hardwood trunks must be fastened between soft logs to keep them up.

At times the river drops in sheer falls. There is only one point at which the rafts can go down without jamming on the rocks; but here the men cannot go over with them, for the drop is too great. They steer for this point, keeping the logs in the centre of the current. To go over would mean being crushed to death. Moving at a high rate of speed, the men stay with the raft until the last possible minute, and then jump for some jutting rock. The raft crashes over the falls. Then the paddlers make their way from rock to rock, along the crest of the falls, back to the shore, and go down to recover the logs.

313 437 The Djukas sell the lumber that they bring downstream; it takes three days of palaver to reach an agreement on the price. They bargain quite as shrewdly as the lumber trader. Now their pouches of canvas, waterproofed with wild rubber, are heavy with many silver banknoto, or half-guilder pieces. Not as many as they expected, perhaps, but enough for their purposes.

They walk curiously about Paramaribo. The streets are crowded with a bizarre rabble, giving this little Dutch town the rare charm of the exotic. A more interesting place would be difficult to find in this modern age. Its wharves are reminders of the coming of the old slaving ships, and its white houses recall the plantations of the past. Town Negroes clatter by, some in wooden shoes brought from the Zuyder Zee countryside to this distant clime. Behind them come

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Before starting, the Djukas take a sniff of tobacco. They 276
prefer snuffing it to smoking. They suck up their wide brown nostrils a dark liquid made from tobacco leaf soaked in water, to which a little wood-ash has been added. Each man carries a small supply, in a calabash gourd or tiny tin can. Before taking a sniff they put their fingers in the gourd and knead the leaf to get out all the juice. Then a little is poured out in the palm of the hand and snuffed up. They make a wry face at it, shaking their heads violently and spitting.

They pass it to the bahkra with a sly smile.

"Wannee?"

"No, no, no. *Me dissee no lubee; gran dankel!*" which means, "I don't like this; many thanks!"

Late in the afternoon we come upon the camp of some 314
balata bleeders. It is deserted. There is an unforgettable sour stench from the last fermenting sap. For a while it is sickening and overwhelms every other odour. The balata bleeders are usually British Guiana Negroes, or Djukas trained by them, who go through the jungle tapping the sap from wild rubber trees. They produce sheets of a crude rubber, known as balata, which are traded in the white settlements of Demerara or Paramaribo. The chief industries of the bush country are balata bleeding, lumbering, and washing for gold. [313 316] All of them are carried on exclusively by Negroes.

A few sheets of balata, about a half-inch thick, are hanging from poles. The Djukas assert that the shotguns of the white man cannot shoot through the stiff rubber. We stand off about fifty feet and bang away. Strangely enough, the

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

241 Behind each village, a quarter of a mile to five miles dis-
313 tant, are its provision grounds, which the women work. They consist of tiny patches of half an acre or more, carved out of the heart of the jungle by means of terrific labour. It
[442] takes the men weeks of work with axes and bush-knives to clear the ground. The fallen trees, some of extremely hard wood, are cut up, burnt, or carried away. The brush is cleared with a machete, or bush-knife, which Negroes call a neefee; they swing this blade with amazing force by making the wrist the centre of its arc.

462 The women, as in most primitive societies, tend to the
241 planting and harvesting of the crops. They are helped by the men of the family on some occasions, such as when the harvest is threatened by voracious parasites. The arduous labour of cultivating the stubborn earth comes so naturally to a Bush Negro woman that she is incredulous when told that elsewhere the males alone till the soil.

136 A leaf-cutting ant, *Ecodoma cephalotes,* that carries small
241 bits of leaves into its nest, preys on the cassava fields. These ants march in two parallel columns, one going to the fields and the other returning, and systematically ruin the crop. The bit of green that each ant is carrying off looks like an umbrella; hence they are called umbrella ants. They live on a fungus which they grow on the cut leaves. Large numbers of them working together can denude an entire cassava field in a comparatively short time.

134 The jungle ground is not excessively fertile, for the in-
241 cessant downpours leach out the humus, and there is not

123 /4 cont./
675 drink something from it or merely smell it; indeed! when it was empty, the remaining men who had not yet drunk from it or smelled it had to lick it.

I was then embraced by the headmen and many of the women; they flung the right arm over my left shoulder and the left arm under my right arm and rested their heads for a moment against my right cheek.

[273] After the conclusion, while much dram was drunk, general exuberant gaiety prevailed, and only then was /5/ I told that they had purposely cut me first and given me a drink first in order to ascertain whether I trusted them completely or whether, so entirely by myself; I would have been afraid to submit to their wishes and to do what they demanded of me; they assured me that if I had refused to be the first, none of them would have wanted to conclude the agreement with me.

If, therefore, I had not conducted myself as they wished, I would have missed out completely on this alliance which was so highly important and profitable for me.

466 On the following day many of them came to tell me that
● 313 their work places on the river Cottica supplied little of the kinds of wood that had been pointed out by me for processing, but they declared themselves ready to go and process them immediately for me on the Upper Commewijne river, where they were sure of finding richer forests.

Since the last-named river was closed to them at that time by a governmental decree, I made a request for access in the year
[361] 1854, in order to be able to work with them at this river. This was granted to me, and since then a few hundred Bush Negroes have been staying there and have laid out dwellings and croplands, while they continuously, with unexampled industry, process the wood needed by me and deliver it to the sawmill.

/28 cont./

304 so much time on the desire for this kind of ostentation. When the incisions become faint through time and the growing of the skin, they are raised again by renewed carving.

/29/ Chapter XX

The Attitude toward Europeans and the Latter's Treatment of Them

461 The Bush Negroes begin to think of work when they have
● 313 little strong drink, powder, and lead left on hand; they leave their
439 camp and go to the work places where they are accustomed to felling trees and working these into squared timber, which they then tie together into rafts and float down the rivers in order to sell it on the plantations and at Paramaribo.

439 Some among them, especially the Saramaccaners, bring korjalen, pinda nuts (1), and groundnuts and Tonka beans (2) to

1. Arachis hypogoea L.

2. The fruit of the Dipteryx.

439 the part of the colony inhabited by Europeans; they usually exchange
648 all this for strong drink. It is to be lamented that their trade with the Whites is frequently linked with unpleasantnesses. Generally the latter treat them with contempt. This takes place all too frequently on the plantations in particular, whereby naturally fear and dissatisfaction arise among the Bush Negroes against the Whites; it is therefore not surprising that, after having been repeatedly cheated out of their fair rights, driven by suspicion and a desire for revenge, they in turn frequently try to deceive the Europeans.

In order to make clear their attitude toward the Europeans, I shall cite some proceedings which became known to me in earlier years and which even now have not completely ceased in the colony,

/33 cont./

439 When, for instance, the Bush Negro has cut down a
437 tree deep in the forest and discovers that it is almost hollow on
the inside, then he works it, this defect notwithstanding, into a
● 313 squared log, taking care to make the visible cavities above and
186 below invisible by hammering wooden pins into it. After that he takes clay and mud and is able to make every trace disappear, a fraud which is thus rarely discovered before a piece is sawed off the log.

Also they practice a great deal of deception by unloading on the buyer as good stuff various qualities of timber of great and little value, but which resemble each other, for instance, by selling a low quality black kabbes (1) for brown hardwood (2),

1. Andira retusa H. B. K.

2. Andira called wassila among the Arrawakken /Arawak/ Indians.

two varieties which can be distinguished only by timber experts.

/34/ If they have worked timber that on one side is already somewhat rotten, or is worm-eaten or split, then they know how to place it in such a way in their rafts that the good side lies upward, a deception that can be discovered only when it has been hauled ashore and one becomes aware of it by turning each piece around and inspecting it carefully.

186 If it is possible to steal something from the Whites,
648 they will not fail to do so. They are also guilty of lying and give themselves the names of those who still possess the confidence of the Whites, which they can do with impunity because the similarity of their coloring and facial features makes it extremely difficult for the Whites to recognize them after an absence.

[829] This repeated trickery has accordingly made the Whites declare them to be scoundrels and liars, but the Bush Negroes, although they do not do so openly, say the same of them and
577 regard themselves as much more trustworthy and honest. That they do this with some appearance of justice cannot be denied; after

/60 cont./

173 1891 (1) Death of Grand Man Anato.

1. The trips of the explorer Coudreau, who stayed in the Upper Maroni in 1888 and 1891, have left no memory behind.

1902 Discovery of the gold of the Inini.
1908 Death of Apatu.
1915 Death of Grand Man Ochi.
1915 (April) Death of the explorer Jean Laveau at the Grand Soula falls on the Litani.
1917 (Nov.) Nomination of Grand Man Awensay.
1918 (2) End of the "war against William." (2)

2. This date left a very precise memory, for it marked the end of a period of great misery.

1921 Creation of the short-lived "Compagnie des Transports Aériens Guyanais" /Guianan Air Transport Company/; hydroplane accident at the mouth of the Inini.

[313] 1925-26 A rosewood factory is established first in the Boni village of Kotika, then at the mouth of Coulé-Coulé Creek on the Litani.
1931 Monteux-Richard mission.
1936 Death of Grand Man Awensay.

/81 cont./

423 The right to fish in certain rivers is held by lineages; other
222 rivers are regarded as property common to the inhabitants of a
613 village, whatever their kinship may be.
621 For example, the right to fish in Kumata Kiiki, a small
[425] creek of the Surinam bank, near the village of Kotika, is reserved for members of the Lapé lineage (the members of this lineage farmed there formerly, but they abandoned these lands, currently farmed by the Kotika people).

Maripa and Likanaon creeks, downstream from Boniville, are reserved for the inhabitants of Boniville.

Asisi Creek is reserved for the inhabitants of Asisi (Dju, Awara Bakka, and Dipélu II lineages).

423 The right to hunt cannot be reserved; everyone has the right
[224] to hunt anywhere.

[222] The right to gather and the right to cut trees for making
[313] planks or boats is generally bound up with the right to farm.

The right to collect underground products is completely
423 independent of the right to farm. For example, if someone finds
316 a seam of kaolin (pɛmba) on the lands of another lineage, he
317 exploits it freely. This aspect of the legal conceptions of the Refugee Blacks is very interesting, for it shows that even from the
423 point of view of customary law, the grand man is not entitled to
316 exercise any rights over the production of the Creole gold miners.
648 He could demand indemnities only insofar as these gold miners farm lands over which the Boni exercise customary rights. The interminable discussions which the claims of Grand Man Anato brought on at the time of the Lawa gold rush at the end of the past century would have been avoided by a better knowledge of the customary law.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Before starting, the Djukas take a sniff of tobacco. They 276
prefer snuffing it to smoking. They suck up their wide brown nostrils a dark liquid made from tobacco leaf soaked in water, to which a little wood-ash has been added. Each man carries a small supply, in a calabash gourd or tiny tin can. Before taking a sniff they put their fingers in the gourd and knead the leaf to get out all the juice. Then a little is poured out in the palm of the hand and snuffed up. They make a wry face at it, shaking their heads violently and spitting.

They pass it to the bahkra with a sly smile.

"Wannee?"

"No, no, no. *Me dissee no lubee; gran dankel!*" which means, "I don't like this; many thanks!"

Late in the afternoon we come upon the camp of some 314 ●
balata bleeders. It is deserted. There is an unforgettable sour stench from the last fermenting sap. For a while it is sickening and overwhelms every other odour. The balata bleeders are usually British Guiana Negroes, or Djukas trained by them, who go through the jungle tapping the sap from wild rubber trees. They produce sheets of a crude rubber, known as balata, which are traded in the white settlements of Demerara or Paramaribo. The chief industries of the bush country are balata bleeding, lumbering, and washing for gold. [313 316]
All of them are carried on exclusively by Negroes.

A few sheets of balata, about a half-inch thick, are hanging from poles. The Djukas assert that the shotguns of the white man cannot shoot through the stiff rubber. We stand off about fifty feet and bang away. Strangely enough, the

314 shot enters the rubber but does not pierce it through. Little dents indicate where the shot is buried inside. With a pistol, however, the result is different. A bullet from a .38 calibre revolver goes clean through. After we have fired, a Negro detaches himself from the group and disappears in the bush. In twenty minutes he is back, bringing the bullet from the revolver. He had traced its course by broken twigs and [151] clipped branches, and finally dug it out of the side of a tree with his bush-knife—on the whole an extraordinary bit of woodcraft.

484 It is disgusting to find that we have to sleep overnight in this camp. The white man is thoroughly exhausted, able only to drop down on a log while the Negroes make camp. The bahkra's hammock is slung and a fire started. Monkey meat is the *pièce de résistance* of the evening meal.

[252 The monkey is not skinned; only the hair is scraped off. 262] Monkey skin is a jungle delicacy, but there is a humanly cadaverous look to the depilated body. Half of the meat is cut up and dumped into the stew pot together with rice and salt. [251] The other half is smoked liberally to preserve it for the morrow.

Not in the mood to take food which his stomach might reject, the bahkra dines on a can of salmon, with rice and tea on the side. The sun has hardly set when he falls gratefully into the hammock and ties the mosquito netting in place, ready for profound slumber.

521 He soon finds that sleep is out of the question. The Bush Negroes are sitting about the campfire swapping tales of

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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balata bleeders. It is deserted. There is an unforgettable sour stench from the last fermenting sap. For a while it is sickening and overwhelms every other odour. The balata bleeders are usually British Guiana Negroes, or Djukas trained by them, who go through the jungle tapping the sap from wild rubber trees. They produce sheets of a crude rubber, known as balata, which are traded in the white settlements of Demerara or Paramaribo. The chief industries of the bush coun- [313
try are balata bleeding, lumbering, and washing for gold. 316]
All of them are carried on exclusively by Negroes.

A few sheets of balata, about a half-inch thick, are hanging from poles. The Djukas assert that the shotguns of the white man cannot shoot through the stiff rubber. We stand off about fifty feet and bang away. Strangely enough, the

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

Although the huts are of Africanesque architecture, similar 342
to those of the Aucaner tribe, there is, at times, more wooden board in the construction and less thatch.

During the expedition of 1928 we were informed that the 316
Bonis, particularly at the village of Apatoo, were conversant 326
with the old West African method of smelting iron and manufacturing it into implements of various kinds. This claim proved to be entirely groundless. If there is any iron ore in the neighbourhood, these tribesmen do not know where it is, and most certainly do not understand how to smelt it.

It was in Africa that the art of iron working is supposed to have originated, and the iron work of West Africa, whence the Djukas came, is a thing of beauty. But the Djukas have lost this hereditary art. Among the Bonis, the work in metal seems to be limited to the soldering of copper French coins to bracelets made of iron or copper pipe, which they procure by trade or from the machinery of long abandoned French gold exploitations. They also make brass bracelets and anklets of considerable width out of brass piping obtained from a similar source. The piping is split with the sharp blade of an axe and hammered into shape with the blunt end. We were able to obtain a stiletto with an iron blade and a handle of brass riveted to it with copper, but we are under the impression that the blade, at least, is of French or Italian manufacture.

In their general habits as regards hunting, fishing, agri- 184
culture, canoe building, social customs and structure, dress, 619
and so on, the Bonis are quite similar to the Aucaners. They speak a dialect of talkee-talkee which has distinct differences [191
from the Aucaner and the Saramaccaner in that it contains a 192]
good deal of French words.

/81 cont./

423 The right to fish in certain rivers is held by lineages; other
222 rivers are regarded as property common to the inhabitants of a
613 village, whatever their kinship may be.

621 For example, the right to fish in Kumata Kiiki, a small
[425] creek of the Surinam bank, near the village of Kotika, is reserved for members of the Lapé lineage (the members of this lineage farmed there formerly, but they abandoned these lands, currently farmed by the Kotika people).

Maripa and Likanaon creeks, downstream from Boniville, are reserved for the inhabitants of Boniville.

Asisi Creek is reserved for the inhabitants of Asisi (Dju, Awara Bakka, and Dipélu II lineages).

423 The right to hunt cannot be reserved; everyone has the right
[224] to hunt anywhere.

The right to gather and the right to cut trees for making
[222] planks or boats is generally bound up with the right to farm.
[313]

The right to collect underground products is completely
423 independent of the right to farm. For example, if someone finds
316 a seam of kaolin (pemba) on the lands of another lineage, he
317 exploits it freely. This aspect of the legal conceptions of the Refugee Blacks is very interesting, for it shows that even from the
423 point of view of customary law, the grand man is not entitled to
316 exercise any rights over the production of the Creole gold miners.
648 He could demand indemnities only insofar as these gold miners farm lands over which the Boni exercise customary rights. The interminable discussions which the claims of Grand Man Anato brought on at the time of the Lawa gold rush at the end of the past century would have been avoided by a better knowledge of the customary law.

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A (p. 576)
B (p. 577)
C (p. 578)
D (p. 579)

Chart of Positions of End Map /facing p. 576/

Gilfurault--576 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 BushNegroes SR8
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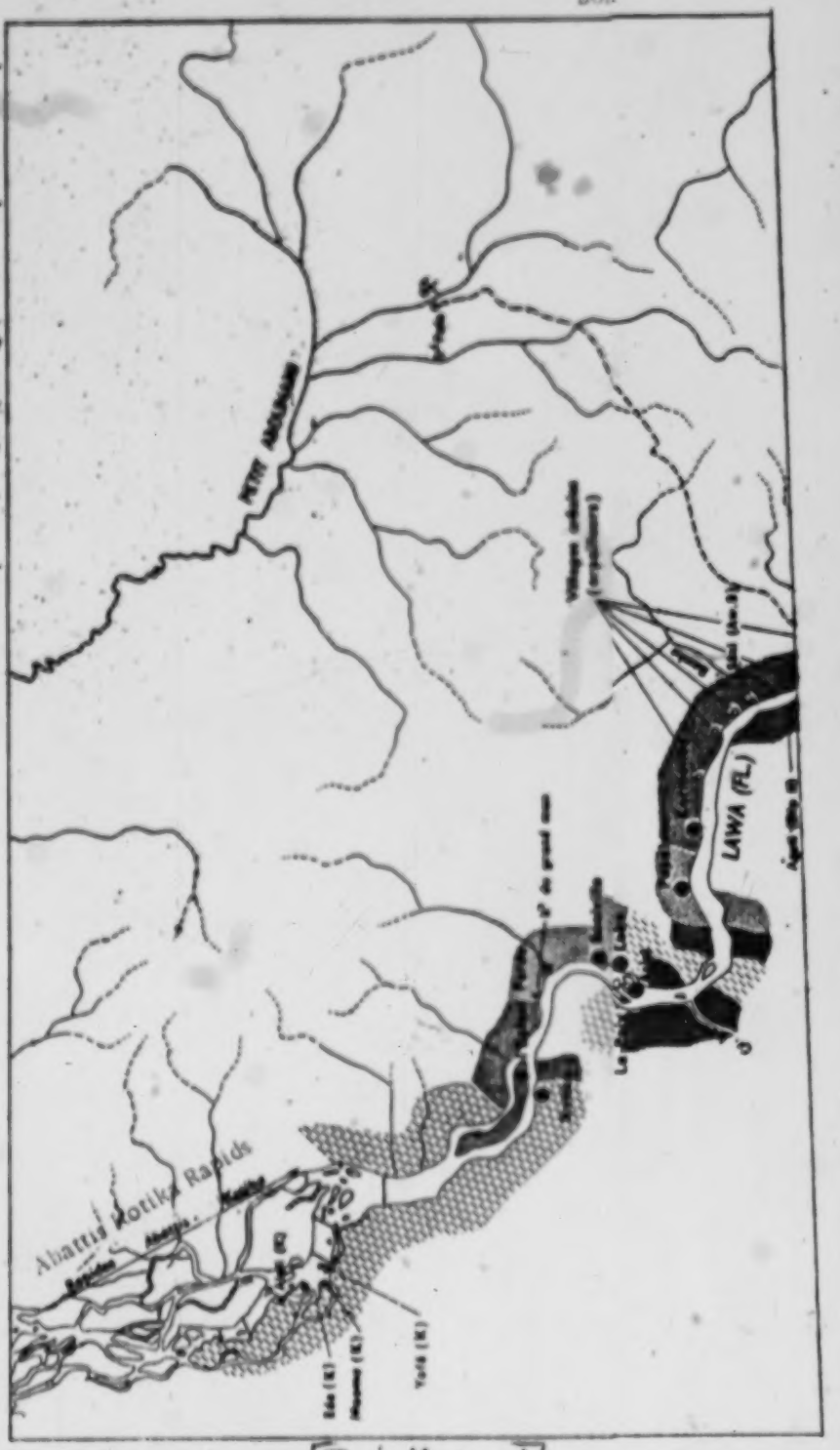

[End Map - A]

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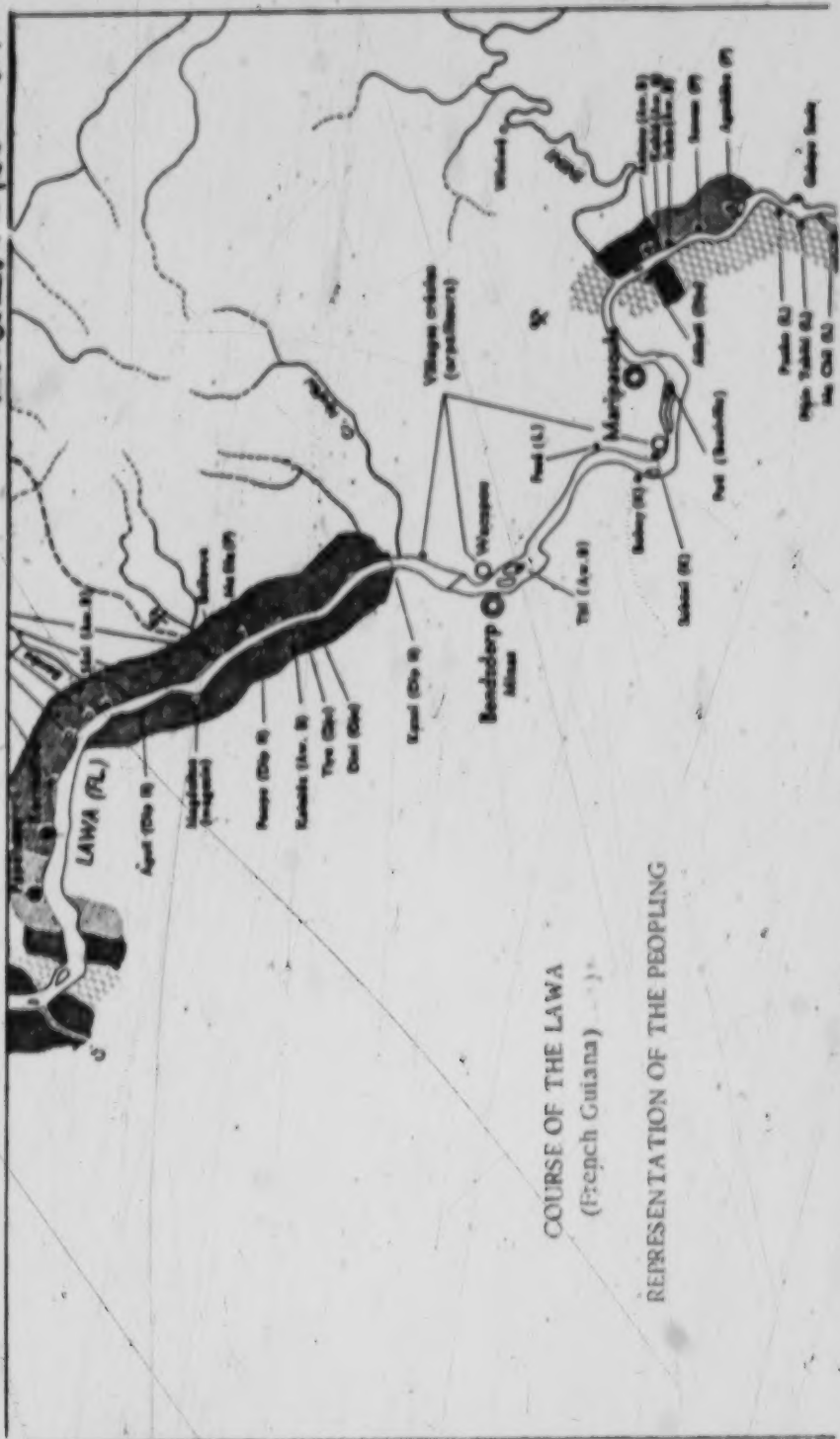

COURSE OF THE LAWA
(French Guiana)

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLING

[End Map - A]

6:Hurault-- 578 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8 Boni

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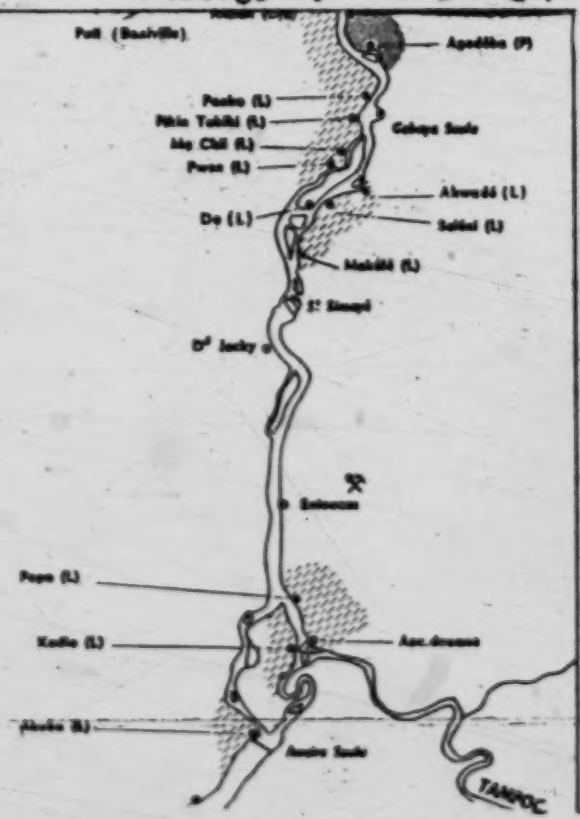
Villages and Farming Habitations
in 1958

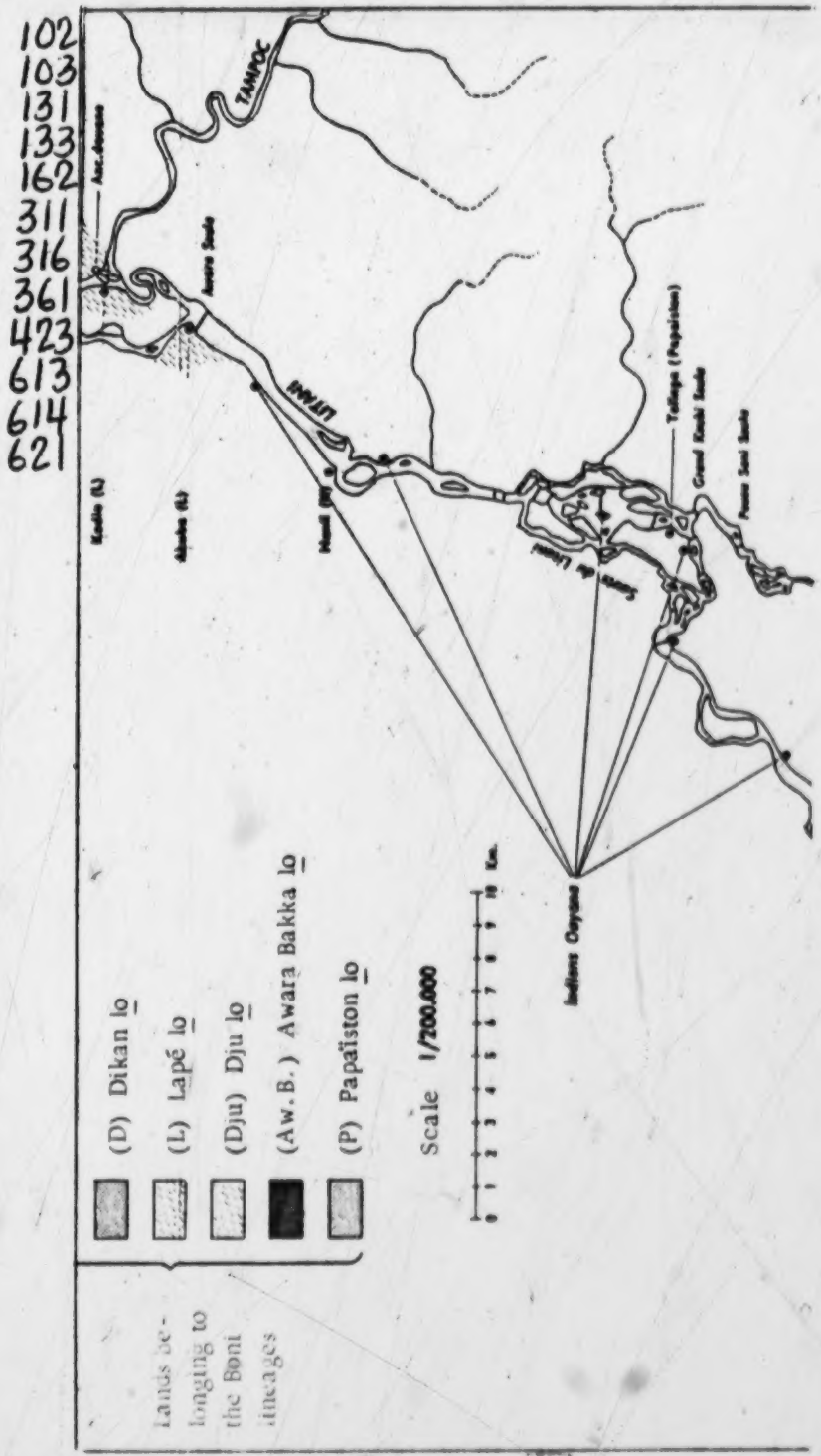
- Boni residence villages
- Boni farming habitations
- Creole villages
- European establishments
- Creole habitations
- Small gold workings
- Indian villages

Lands belonging to the Boni lineages

- (K) Kotika lo
- (Dip) Dipéiu lo
- (D) Dikan lo
- (L) Lapé lo
- (Dju) Dju lo



End Map - C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TAMPOC
Aucaners Banda
Kaabo (K)
Abaka (A)
Indians Oayapoc
Tolingo (Papaïston)
Grand Boshi Banda
Petites Saut Banda
Lands belonging to the Boni lineages
(D) Dikan lo
(L) Lapé lo
(Dju) Dju lo
(Aw.B.) Awara Bakka lo
(P) Papaïston lo
Scale 1/200.000
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Km.

[End Map - D]

/81 cont./

423 The right to fish in certain rivers is held by lineages; other
222 rivers are regarded as property common to the inhabitants of a
613 village, whatever their kinship may be.

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[425] creek of the Surinam bank, near the village of Kotika, is reserved for members of the Lapé lineage (the members of this lineage farmed there formerly, but they abandoned these lands, currently farmed by the Kotika people).

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423 independent of the right to farm. For example, if someone finds
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317 exploits it freely. This aspect of the legal conceptions of the Refugee Blacks is very interesting, for it shows that even from the
423 point of view of customary law, the grand man is not entitled to
316 exercise any rights over the production of the Creole gold miners.
648 He could demand indemnities only insofar as these gold miners farm lands over which the Boni exercise customary rights. The interminable discussions which the claims of Grand Man Anato brought on at the time of the Lawa gold rush at the end of the past century would have been avoided by a better knowledge of the customary law.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

224 ticular animal. The red terrier will not hunt anything else.
231 It stands now ferociously over the body of the dead parrot, its tongue hanging out, panting.

411 Bows and arrows are as common as shotguns, and preferred by many of the black huntsmen because they make no noise, need no mansanny. The bow is fashioned from one of the South American hardwoods, letterwood or purpleheart. The shaft is tremendously resilient, and strung with [283] *singrassi* it takes a stout arm indeed to bend it. Singrassi is a species of grass which is hand-spun into tough cord, by rolling it on the flesh of the thigh. When unflexed, the carved bow is nearly six feet long.

The arrows are made from hollow reeds, and are extremely light and well balanced. Into one end of the reed a foot-long hardwood point is set, wrapped with singrassi and gummed. At the other end, the ferrule is similarly set in, the joint again being wrapped around to prevent splitting. Some arrows have metal points filed from old bush-knives. A five-foot arrow like this can be used as a little javelin for spearing small game. The Bush Negroes also use blunt arrows to stun birds.

224 A naked savage stalking through the bush, armed only with a bow and arrow, furnishes a sight of the primitive that is fast disappearing from this commonplace world. The [534 323 321] Djuka calls some of his game, principally the agoutis, by imitating their cries on a little whistle, made out of baked clay or a hollow shell. The imitation is so accurate, in the case of smaller game, as to fool even the jaguar that feeds on

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

751 calls them *obeiahs*. An obeiah is a charm or a form of magic
778 to be distinguished from a *trafer*, which is a taboo. Obeiahs may be worn in the form of bracelets or necklaces, called *boe*. Bush Negroes never start out on a hunting or river trip without a number of boe around the arm, or leg, or neck. Thus the machinations of the evil spirits are set at naught.

One boe which Abaisa made for us is formed of heavy wire wrapped with white cord and set with cowrie shells. Worn on the arm, this will make you very strong. The charm will protect you while engaged in dangerous doings, such as
[431] drinking river water after someone has been drowned in it. Abaisa made this bracelet out of friendship. It was given, not purchased; therefore the old-time gods are not offended at its being possessed by a white man.

[792] He presented it with great solemnity, taking a mouthful of rum and spitting it on the ground as a libation to the ground god, then squirting another mouthful over the bracelet. After that we all had a swallow of the same liquid and
[553] Abaisa said a prayer in deepee-talkee. A somewhat similar ceremony attended the giving of a Djuka name to the white man—*Abentee*, provider.

751 The cowrie shells with which the obeiah is set are smeared
321 with pemba dotee. The clay closes up the openings of the
778 shells, thus preventing evil spirits from entering into the interior. These cowrie shells, which decorate practically all the
[71] magic emblems of the Djukas, are commonly found among the savages of Africa, both on the East and West Coasts. They are also common in African art work, and at one time constituted a form of currency, papa mini.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

The decoration of
177 objects with cowrie shells comes by way of Africa. The
[328] monkey dance said to be practised by the Djukas is described
[796] as similar to the gorilla dance of the West Coast. The coiled wire bracelets and anklets are of African design, and the
[301 291] general mode of dress is the same.

The Djuka attitude toward the silk-cotton tree is common among the tribes of the Guinea Coast. "Throughout West
[824] Africa from Senegal to the Niger the silk-cotton tree is regarded with reverence and believed to be the abode of a god or spirit. This general consensus of opinion is no doubt due to the stupendous size attained by some of these trees, which tower far above all others of the forest."

[524] *Adji-boto,* a game in which seeds are placed in round holes in a board, is played not only by the Bush Negroes but also by the Town Negroes of Paramaribo; it is found along the Gold Coast, Benin, Sierra Leone, West Sudan, and, in modified forms, in many other parts of Africa. The fish spear
[227] of the Djukas is found in Liberia, Mandingo, and the Gold Coast. Shooting fish with a bow and arrow is an African
[226] custom, but it is also widespread among the aboriginal Indians of South America. On the other hand, according to Dr. W. Roth of Demerara, a number of traps and hunting devices now used by the Guiana Indians are of African origin and have been borrowed from the Negroes.

[372] The Djuka fire fan, woven of split rattan, is borrowed from the Arawak Indians, but different types of the same device can be found also among the Tshi- and Ewe-speaking people and in Liberia, Cameroons, etc. The Bush Negro

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

439 "I heard that you are buying things we make, as you did last year in my village. I have come with balata from my uncle, and I brought a stool to sell. Would you like to see it?"

And so Bayo brought us his stool. It was not well carved. Indeed, compared with even the least skilled carvings on benches and combs and trays and food-stirring paddles, the workmanship was crude. But one does not refuse a proffered article bruskly, and we sat down to talk with him about it.

531 322 It was Bayo who gave us our first insight into the meaning of Bush Negro designs, gave us our first information about this, as about so many other customs and practices. What is carved on the wood which the men work with such care has significance, and carries meaningful symbols which the Bush Negro is unwilling to reveal. That there might be symbolism in the art we had before suspected, but usually, when we asked, we heard the skillful evasions of which the Bush Negro is master. He did not know. Only the carver himself could say, but the carver was away or long dead. Or we would hear that it was carving, that it was carved to beautify it, that it was of an in-and-out design. Or, with carefully pointing finger that indicated the ornamentation, the Bush Negro would say, "This is wood."

531 So we talked to Bayo about his stool, expecting to hear one of the usual replies. But this time and without any urging we heard what we had so long wondered about. "Look," he said, tracing out the lines of the interwoven pattern, "this is a man, this a woman. This is her head, those her breasts, this her womb. Here are his head, his arms, his legs. We call this *womi-ko-muye*—man-and-woman. Here are the children which they will make," and his hands traced another series of designs on the top of the stool.

439 989 We bought his stool, and he stayed and talked of many things. Did we want to buy an *obia*—a charm? One day he would like to become an obia man. Already he could make obias which protect the wearer when he walks on the water.

REBEL DESTINY

524 The man looked so moved by what he told us that we had qualms about continuing the conversation with him about his dead family, and so we asked him about the game board. "Why is it, Kasanya, that young Amnika of your village said he could not make us a game board, fine carver [322] that he is? You yourself know that the board is just a piece of wood with holes in it for the seeds. It is not beautiful; there are no decorations on it."

765 "It is because he is young. His hair isn't white like mine. 524 Making an adji board is a big thing. It's not a little thing. It is on this we play when the body of the dead lies in the house of mourning to entertain his spirit, his yorka. Only [554] an old man who has lost his wife may make a board for this game which is played for the dead."

"But suppose he did make it?"

[176] "Then he would get a kunu, Bakra," he said with an impatient cluck which was intended to deplore the white man's inability to understand simple things.

776 And so again we came to kunu, and since he himself had brought it up, we decided to stir the hole once more to see what was in it. Kasanya talked with less hesitation than we had come to expect. It is easier for an older man who has had experience with the spirits and knows their ways to talk about the supernatural. He understands what he may and may not do, and then, too, with his greater knowledge he can tell more without offending the spirits who disapprove of a man's telling too great a part of his store.

"Yes, Bakra, kunu is a difficult thing for you, a white man, to understand. But we black people know what brings kunu. Many things bring kunu. Look, I made three children. Fine men all three. One died, the second died, the third died. . . . "

688 This was his story. His wife's mother's brother brought the curse on his family. He had cut a new field, and the trees he had felled and the brush he had cut had been lying for some time, as was proper, that the dead wood might [241] be burned off to clear the ground so that the ash might enrich the soil.

THE PROVISION GROUND

It is the woman's task, then, to see to the food which the Earth Mother yields, while the men are busy hauling lumber and making boats, hunting and fishing, and carrying the white man's loads to the city. In the leisure of the rainy season, while the women cut up the trade cotton cloth into long, narrow strips and sew them into cloths of traditional design, the men are at work carving fine things out of wood. 462 [294]

When the big rains come a man might busy himself carving doorposts for his new house, or he might make a paddle to put away in his personal treasure house, so that, when he is ready to take a second wife, he might have the proper gifts to make her. Another might be making a small canoe paddle for his first daughter. She is four, perhaps, and already is of help to her mother in the field, carrying water from the river in a small Indian jar. Soon she will be strong enough to have the cutting of the kamemba begin—a few slashes about the navel at first . . . He will cover the surface of the paddle with beautiful traceries, each design a meaningful symbol, and to add to its beauty he will darken it with a mixture of oil and charred rice hulls. When it is finished it will be of a reddish-brown color, slender, and smooth to the touch of his fingers as the skin of his woman-child. Combs, food stirrers, trays, stools, peanut pounding boards, and, if a man likes, mortar and pestle—all these are carved when the rains are heavy and there is no work to be done on the river or in the bush. 462 322 [584] [857] [532]

So the work is divided. A man does a man's work—wood, iron, hunting the game animals of the bush, and catching fish in traps, making baskets of wood fiber—all that is a man's affair he does. And the woman, tending the fields and cooking for her family, pounding palm nuts in her mortar to make palm oil, grating the bitter cassava to make flour free from the poison that is in the roots, caring for her house and carving calabash dishes with the symbols of men and women and fertility—woman does what it is woman's lot to do. 462 [252]

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

175 Now we were in the true, true Saramacca country, the land which the Bush Negro feels to be entirely his own. White men, it is true, had been here before, but only a handful, and the gods of the river, who were powerful, saw to it that of these not many got back to the white man's land. True, true Saramacca country! Every Bush Negro we met on the lower river spoke of it with the deepest feeling.

"It is all right here," one man after another had said, "but wait until you see the upper river, the true-true Saramacca!"

It was here that the first Bush Negro villages had been built, though this seemed fabulous to the strangers who, in strong boats, guided by men who were wise in the moods and courses of the river, had had nine days of hard travel on the way. The lower-river villages began to appear only after peace had been declared and had proved lasting. Eighty-six years ago men from the upper river who lived beyond the Granman's own village, in the Grand Rio, had come down and built the village of Gansee, which was some four hours' paddling upstream from the railhead.

We spoke of this to Bibifo, who himself was born in this country.

"You may well wonder, white man."

361 Here was no danger of having to wrest a camp from the
103 bush at night, when the short tropical dusk came to overtake the traveler. Villages followed close, one upon the other. Here was Ma'lobbi, where the beauty of the wood
● [322] carver's art had made us linger beyond the time allotted to us for making the journey from S'ei to Asindopo Lantiwe. Here was Hei Kununu—High Mountain—which rose on a
[133] steep slope above the river, and was pleasant to see after the long stretches of flat plain that lay below. Semoisi, noted for its riches, was there, and Pempeh, bearing a name well known in the Ashanti country in Africa. Here villages
20 were so close to each other that they could announce our approach on the talking drums.

"What is it we hear, Bayo?" we would ask.

"They are cutting down trees, Bak'a."

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

WOMEN AT WORK

5

Tenemi made ready to carve a calabash dish. She sat down on her work stool, and on the ground beside her she put down a small knife, a piece of broken glass, and half of a calabash shell. The inner pulp had just been removed, and both the inside and outside of the gourd were of a pale green color. She had dipped it in water before she brought it here, and now with the point of her knife she deftly marked her design. The curves in the center, covering almost the entire inner surface, formed the body of a woman, she said, who was big with child. The geometric tracings in parallel narrow lines across one portion of the top was the Aboma snake, euphemistically called the G'an Tetei, the great creeper, or vine. Taking up the piece of glass, she began to scrape away carefully the soft pulp inside the outlines of her design. 322 532

In the entire village there was no woman who worked faster at carving calabash dishes than did Tenemi. In less than half an hour the dish was ready to be placed on the high platform where the maripa nuts were drying. With the sun upon it, the calabash would turn a deep cream color, but where the knife had borne down, it would show a golden brown, and where the glass had scraped away the pulp, the color would be a paler gold, so pale that it would be almost the cream of the unornamented outer surface.

"The large closed gourds are not done fast. Those are carved on the outside, and must be worked cleverly. But this does not take long. I am making this for you. When it is finished I will bring it to you. You must give it to your girl-child when she grows big." [431]

She herself had made four children, but only two of them were living. The oldest, a daughter, carried a child in her womb. Tomorrow she would come to the village, and Tenemi would bring her. 165

"She was afraid to come. Women who are with child must be very careful." [843]

11 Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SRS Bush Negroes SRS
Saramacca

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Ceremonial benches incised with symbols of fertility and magic.

[Facing p. 272]

(Facing page 272)

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

As we walked toward the chief's house we looked about us, seeing again the evidence that here at Ma'lobbi there were men who knew how to carve wood, seeing why it was that our paddlers had spoken of it as a place for fine work. 372 531

"Ai, at Ma'lobbi they are good carvers."

Here was a house with its doorposts elaborately carved; there a beautifully worked rice tray, lying where it had been left by the woman who owned it, until she should need it later in the day for winnowing her rice; farther along a great bench stood, with the designs cut through in a fluid progression over top and sides. [342]

The captain was in the lower portion of his two-story house when we entered. Several of the older men, who had been present at our earlier visit and who remembered our gifts of tobacco, came to join us, as the news of our arrival spread through the village. Soon the women were standing about, motioning to the white woman to come with them. 123 609

The house in which the captain received us was larger and more imposing than the others in the village. It was his *gudu-wosu*—his treasure house. Its lower portion, where we sat in conversation with him, was where he worked. Above, where none of his wives might enter, his wealth was stored. Here he kept the pieces he had carved, and from here drew from time to time the presents he gave his wives. Here lay the wealth which his nephews would inherit when he died. But below, in the partially open shelter, was his workshop where he fashioned rough logs into stools and paddles, combs and food stirrers, trays and canoe seats, and all manner of objects which he and his women used in their daily routine. 342 556 [408] [392]

All about the walls hung tools. There were machetes, whose sharp blades showed a reflection of fire from the sun which slanted on the wall. We had never seen so many of these bush knives on display, nor, for that matter, such an array of tools anywhere on this river. From projecting boards or nails driven into posts hung several compasses, their hinged arms sharp-pointed, so that the craftsman might describe the perfect circles on the wood he carved. 342 353 412 [413]

353 This they had learned from the whites long ago, and
179 now everywhere on the river compasses were seen, or
[413] carvings which showed their use. The machete, the small
412 sharp knives which lay about here on the work-table, the compass, and sand made up any Bush Negro carver's tools. But here at Ma'lobbi in this workshop of the captain were tools from the white man's city, collected by himself on his journeys down to the government office to receive his yearly allowance, or by his men who had been to the French shore and learned of the ways of the outside world. There was a plane to make the blade of a paddle smooth as the skin of a child, and there were two others in addition to this one, we were assured, in the treasure house of the upper story. Hammers, too, were useful for making boats, and even for smaller carvings like benches. There was also a bit and auger, though we were never convinced that the captain himself had ever put it to its more prosaic uses.

"I have many more up there," said the captain, pointing to the upper story. "I like them. If a man likes his tools, then they help him in his carvings. As he sees with his eyes, so they cut. I have always liked my tools, white man. I have spent much time with them."

281 A young man sat to one side shaving down a block of
322 wood with a knife which he held.

"He is not carving," the captain said, following our eyes. "He is making a piece for this," he explained, indicating a plane. "Now is not the time for carving. There is too much to be done. This is the time for cutting wood, for taking the rafts down the river, for making boats, for bleeding rubber trees for the white man, and for hunting game. When the great rains come, then men sit about and carve."

322 As he spoke our eyes traveled to the various carvings
531 which stood about the workshop. In one corner leaned a paddle which caught our attention because of its darkened color, and the patina which long use had given it, so that it seemed made of ebony. Against another wall were several
[350] stools, all richly ornamented with carvings, while beside us,

and so close that our hands, moving about to find a rest, touched its top, and sounded an involuntary rhythm, was an apinti drum. We exclaimed at its beauty, for in form and carving it rivaled the one we had admired in the council house of Granman Yankuso, and we were determined to try to buy it. But we turned our conversation to other things. A stranger in this bush soon learns from the Bush Negroes to broach an important request gently, remembering the cautioning proverb spoken by the chameleon.

We talked of carving, of the white man's coming back some year when the rains were heavy to sit by and watch the men make paddles and benches, so that he might learn, as children learn.

The captain was politely skeptical. It took a Saramacca hand to do this work. But he smiled, "Ma kye, if you have the gods anything is possible."

"That's a fine paddle in the corner."

He brought it out, and we admired it. Would he sell it to us?

"You must ask its owner."

"Didn't you make it, captain?"

"Yes, but it is not mine to sell. I gave it to my wife." He would see, however, if she wanted to sell it. He would himself go and call her.

As he went, he gave us the paddle that we might examine it. We ran our hands over the smooth top, the design, the beveled blade. It was not so tall as the paddles used by the men, nor was its blade so broad as those used in steering the great boats through the rapids. In form, it was quite different from the round-bladed type used by the Indians of the region, for it was slender and came to a sharp point, and at the other end the carving formed a crutch-shaped hold into which the hand fitted.

We studied this carving. Parts of the design had meaning for us because of their realistic treatment. The motifs of others were recognizable to us from explanations we had been given of other carvings. But there were still details

of design which only the carver himself could name, or someone who knew the symbolism of the art tradition in which this paddle was carved.

During our first visit to these people we had been completely balked by the unwillingness of the Bush Negroes to discuss their carvings. In answer to our questions we got delightful evasions, but with the coming of Bayo to our base camp, carrying his crudely carved stool, we learned enough to make it clear that there was a great deal of symbolism in the carving of the Bush Negroes and, as our knowledge of these symbols increased, it became increasingly easier to get descriptions of carvings in terms of the meanings and values these held for the Bush Negroes themselves.

Now, sitting in the workshop of one of the finest of Saramacca carvers, the captain of Ma'lobbi, we traced those parts of the design which we knew, mentioning their significance to the men who were about.

"There are two snakes," we said, pointing to the realistically entwined bodies which formed the upper portion of the hand grip, ending at the top with recognizable heads, and with mouths held open, which supported symmetrical figures of the top of the paddle.

"Aboma snakes," one man said, verifying to himself our statement.

"These," we continued, "are the teeth of the great lizard—*bamba tande*—and this part below the hand-grip reaching part way toward the blade is a carved chain, and you call it *moni mo' maye*—money is more than woman."

The men laughed. "Awa, so it is. The man knows about Saramacca carving."

And one of them took up the explanation, pointing out the two symmetrical figures which were posed opposite each other above the mouths of the snakes. "These are monkeys. They are women monkeys. No, don't call them just keakesi, their name is makaka," he went on, giving us the name of the species, when we spoke the word for monkey. "See the ears, the heads, the breasts. Ai, I

REBEL DESTINY

531 The greater part of these carvings men made for women,
431 and it was a rare woman who did not take pride in the excellence of the carvings given her, though often it must have been the pride in something which had traditional value, for it would be false to assume that among any people are all men equally endowed with creativeness and all women with sensitive appreciation of what is created.

462 As among so many peoples, two or three types of art
530 were to be found. There was the same sex division in the
302 art of these people as existed in all other aspects of life, and the men were the wood carvers. The sharpest division in the art of the men was that between the secular and the religious. The religious art was crude. A block of wood, roughly shaped, with several cuts to indicate a face, perhaps a break in the line to represent the neck, and a few more strokes in the wood to differentiate the upper part of the woman's body, and there stood an ancestral image, or a village god. Often white clay was added to this, and sometimes alternate stripes of white and red, or white, red, and black, but when seen on a village path underneath a low open shelter, what color there once was had become
[308] weathered to a dull gray. The sacred art also included the
[289] charms called obias, worn on the neck, and about the upper
[301] arm, or wrist, or below the knee, or at the ankle. Many of these made pleasing ornaments. The white fiber dipped in red clay became a deep golden brown as the sun paled the crimson, and there would be the added color of a finger's length of blue and orange parrot feather, fastened inside the woven fiber square, and extending below the fringe of the weave. Into this woven square cowries might be sewn, two facing each other, or three, or four.

532 There was also the art of modeling, but this was so secret and so specialized that we were assured that not even all Bush Negroes knew of its existence, and modeled objects appeared only in the most important of the shrines.

With the religious art might also perhaps be grouped the red and white striped crooked sticks of the Kromanti

REBEL DESTINY

We redoubled our urging.

"White man, do you know what it is to make an apinti—an obia drum?"

A man had to have the proper spirit before he might address the god of the tree from which the drum was to be made. When he had felled the tree, he cut off from the trunk the part he wanted to use and took it to his village. Over it he had to pour the blood of a cock which he sacrificed that the gods might come when the drum called them. The maker had also to provide sweet rum and cassava and eggs. The cassava was eaten by the people, but the eggs were for the spirit of the drum, and only half the sweet rum was drunk—the rest was poured over the wood. When the body of the new drum had been fashioned, the people gathered and sang, but they did not dance, for the head yet remained to be made. A pingo, or a deer, might furnish the skin, but these animals were shot where they had been tracked in the bush, and not offered to the drum. Only chickens were given it. And when the drum was complete, then the maker sang his song alone.

"But the drum is not finished yet. It can be played on, for it has a head, and its spirit has been satisfied. But the carving is not yet done. I have worked on it a long time," he repeated. "I want them to play it for my spirit when I am dead."

A silence fell as he finished. There was nothing more to be said.

"White man, we have sat together in pleasure. You have come to the true, true Saramacca from far away. You have bought the carvings of my people. The apinti drum I cannot sell you. But this stool you like I want you to have."

He took up one of the round-topped benches, with carefully worked sides, and four purple-heart inlays on top, each in the shape of a fowl.

"Take it with you to your white man's country. When you show it, write on a paper that the captain of Ma'lobbi made it."

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

DJUKA

The Bush Negroes of Dutch Guiana

BY MORTON C. KAHN

[352 532 372] 1 A

With an introduction
by Blair Niles and a foreword by Clark Wissler

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[Title Page]

[P iii]
[PP. i-ii CONTAIN NO TEXT]
1 A [For caption, set category 116, p. 204]

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IN NORTH-EASTERN South America, more precisely in the hinterland of Dutch Guiana, there is a unique civilization little known to the white men of this continent. We know much of the strange life of the Congo and of the fascinating customs peculiar to the inhabitants of the Malay jungles, for a number of explorers have brought from the Eastern tropics the interesting accounts of their experiences. But of the Surinam Bush Negro, Djuka, as he calls himself, who nearly two hundred years ago fought his way out of slavery, of the survival of his African customs in the jungles of South America, little has been told. 114 101

The flush tides of imperialism have passed over these people, leaving them practically unaltered and unknown, unique among the Negro peoples of the world. They still maintain the life of jungle dwellers of the immemorial past.

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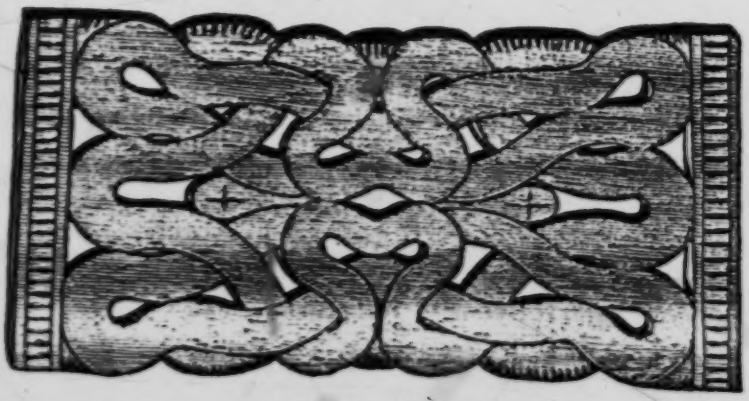
1/2 [For caption, see category 16, p.204.--Analyst]

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8



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Chapter Two

UPRIVER

EIGHT miles an hour the river moves, down long 133
stretches of rapids and fast water, over great rocks in the river-bed. Any sort of outboard motor would be torn to pieces. There is nothing to do but pole upstream in dugout canoes to the Djuka country.

Bush Negro boatmen, with glossy thighs and heaving 502
backs, stand at the bows. They plant their great ten-foot poles in the river-bed and pull against them. As the motion of the boat carries them past the planted poles, they walk back along the gunwales, pushing the poles to the extreme end. They are retrieved, wheeled in a great arc, and again planted in the river-bed. This makes a rare picture in the sunlight on

1 [For caption, see category 27 16, p. 204. -- Analyst]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

The blacks are proud of their water skill. Upsetting a canoe 484
or drowning a passenger are disgraces that no man can ever 648
live down. But they are rare occurrences. The Indians of this 501
part of the continent, not nearly so skilful, use a different
style of canoe and paddle. Djuka paddles are hewn with a
bush-knife from a solid plank of hard wood, and finished off [322]
with an ordinary pocket-knife. The handle is frequently
pierced with delicate ornamental work, the entire piece beautifully balanced to handle easily. The men's paddles are as tall as they are, but the women's are shorter and more elaborate. Tiny ones are given children as soon as they are big enough to hold them, so that the Djuka's water skill is the result of a lifetime on the river.

All the boats are dugouts; no canvas or bark canoe would 396
last long in these rapids. They are manufactured out of big [501]
trees, which are felled and allowed to season. Then the centres are hollowed out with fire and adze; nothing is left but the shell of the trunk, with perpendicular sides and a rounded bottom. This is filled with water, into which hot rocks are dropped. The heated water softens the wood, enabling thwarts to be thrust in, forcing the gunwales apart. The ends are then symmetrically curved up and are often carved. Seats, as well as bow and stern pieces, are often carefully decorated. The entire boat has a distinct West African style. When com- 501
pleted it is from eight to forty feet long. Ours has a large [17]
sunshade of thatched grass near the stern, because the white 648
man is too soft to endure the sun's rays. Under the shade we have a camp-chair, a little comfort for the long trip. The

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Surmaccaner

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Chapter Three

THE JUNGLE CLEARING

THE first indication of a village is a group of empty canoes made fast on the shore. Behind them, a short distance inland, is the village of Lombe, the first real Bush Negro town at which we stop on the Surinam River. 361

Villages are seldom situated on the river-bank, but a quarter to a half mile inland. The reasons for this are that the

1/A [For caption, see category 116, p. 204 - Analyst]

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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361 the trading-post, are so large as to have street-like roads extending across them. Others like Nu have only eight or nine huts.

342 The walls and roofs of the dwellings are made of grasses and reeds, intricately woven into a herring-bone pattern that can be seen in the photographs. So tightly are they woven that the jungle rain does not penetrate. The uprights are hewn out of tree trunks, and those that form the doorway are [322] often deeply carved. So great is the decorative spirit of these people that every common utensil is carved until it becomes a work of art.

The roofs extend far beyond the walls, so that the projecting part throws a shadow on the walls, which lowers the temperature inside. In front, the roof extends a yard or more to form a shade in which the blacks may palaver. In front of the huts, always, babies are grubbing about in the dirt and yelling prodigiously.

Here and there are slightly dilapidated huts. They belong [768] to people now dead. No one will live in them or venture to repair the ruin of time. Neglected, they sink into decay. The [756] witch doctor's hut is also a bit frowzy; it seems to be a badge of his profession, like the sugar cane planted alongside his doorway or the turtle-shell impaled on a staff near by. All three are symbols of his calling.

352 A wall of woven mat divides some of the huts into two [353] rooms, the back room being used for sleeping. The men have hand-made hammocks of woven cotton or grass. Their wives 342 are provided with sleeping-mats on the floor. The front room

301 his much-loved ornamentation. Leg-bands of cotton cloth are frequently worn by both sexes, and where wire can be secured it is fashioned into arm or leg coils and paraded proudly.
[751 Many necklaces and bracelets are used because they con-
778] stitute magic amulets against evil spirits. Our own bracelets and necklaces can probably be traced back to this same origin.
302 The hair is another means of personal decoration, and therefore it is always dressed with deliberation. Carefully made partings divide the black skull into geometrical designs.
834 Despite the scanty nature of their clothing, the Djukas are quite modest, and never expose themselves. If a bahkra does, they avert their heads. It is a curious reflection on civilized morality that the almost naked blacks possess a large amount of dignified restraint, while the uncomfortably clothed white man is shameless in his nudity.

322 Here and there inside the dark huts can be seen bits of ex-
531 traordinary wood carving. These are not crude utensils; every stirring-paddle or comb is a work of art worthy of a place in a museum, designed and executed in a way that is
487 far from "primitive." The only way to acquire these objects is to bargain for them in Dutch money or tobacco, or cheap knick-knacks. Among the more distant villages money is use-

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

1/n [352 322 532]

Chapter Five

THE GAME TRAIL

ON the rivers we frequently encounter Djukas going 313
downstream to Paramaribo or Albina on lumber rafts. The big logs are fastened together with lianas, twined about stakes driven into holes, and lashed to stout cross-pieces. Three paddlers stand upright on this raft and take it down the river like a canoe.

The lumber is arduously cut, the great trees being felled [412]
and chopped square with axes. A tree cut in the jungle will not fall to earth; the surrounding growth holds it upright. Therefore, days are spent in clearing a space of ground where the tree may come down. The vines and lianas must be cut away, and the vast buttressing roots severed. The tree is brought down in this clearing, hewn of its branches, and dragged into the water. Hardwood is too heavy to float, so

1/n [For caption, see category 116, p. 204. - Analyst]

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

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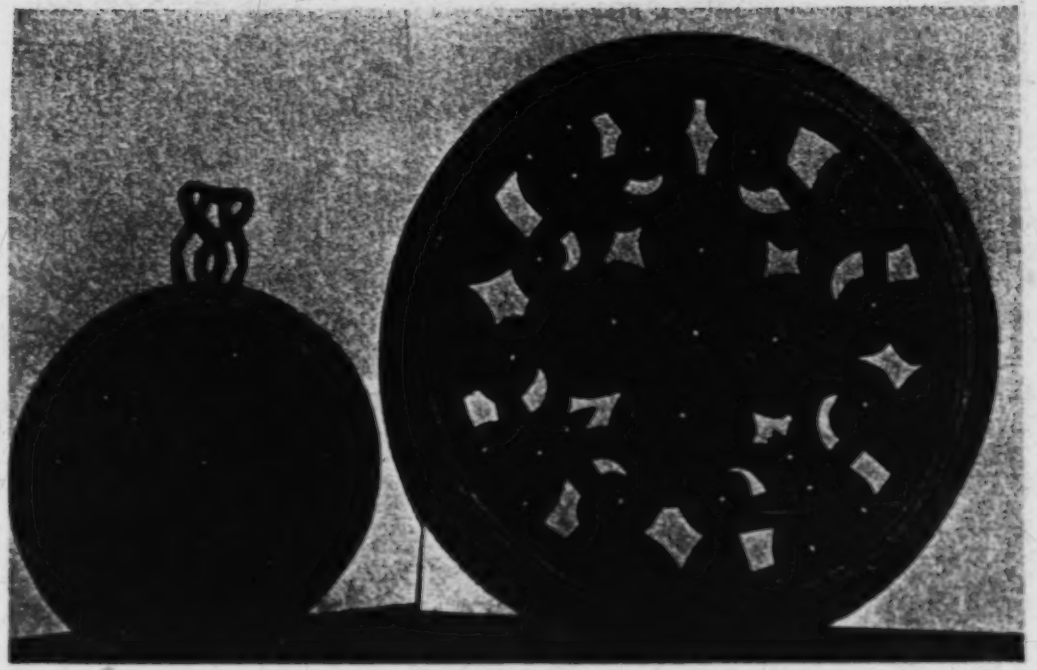

Carved Wooden Trays for Carrying Food. *Saramaccaner Tribe*, Upper Surinam River.
The Central Figure on the Smaller Tray is That of a Dancing Woman.
Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History

[Facing p. 76]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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Chapter Seven

THE ORGANIZATION OF LIFE

THERE are six tribes of Bush Negroes. These tribal divisions date back to the black rebellion in the eighteenth century. Bands of rebels fled into the bush together, and remained together within their jungle home. In Stedman's narrative of the revolt we read of a punitive expedition being sent out against the bands living along the "Serimaca" and Upper Copenam Rivers. After years of incessant warfare, a treaty of peace was concluded in 1749 with the "Serimaca rebels." The descendants of this group are known today as the *Saramaccaner* tribe. Another outbreak of rebels occurred in the Tempati Creek district; they won their freedom in 1761 by a treaty signed at the Ouca Plantation, from which they came to be called *Aucaners*. A third band of rebels, under the command of the famous Chief Bonny, probably

[For caption, see category 116, p. 204. — Analyst]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

good deal of French patois. Most of the people also speak a fluent and, at times, a good French, which they have learned from the freed convicts, the libérés, of the largest French prison colonies in Guiana at St. Laurent, situated about forty miles from the mouth of the Marowyne River. Some of the Negroes of this tribe, as well as some of the Aucaners, sometimes visit St. Laurent for purposes of barter and trade. They also occasionally aid the French in transporting loads in their canoes up to the remaining placer mine.

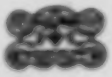
These Bush Negroes have seen thousands of white convicts and libérés. They have seen white men under the most degrading conditions possible to human existence on this planet. They have seen them shot down in the street. They have seen them rummaging in cans of tropical garbage that even a dog would shun, or escaping through the jungles, simply starving, hunted animals. Their point of view in regard to this may be summarized in the answer received when the question was put to one Boni as to what he thought of the Penal Colony; he said: *"Francie mong sung go dede"*—"Frenchmen soon die."

But just across the river from St. Laurent is the little settlement of Albina and the *Doocie mong* (Dutchmen). The Dutch have armed soldiers there so that the escaping libérés cannot cross.

322 As among the other tribes, the Boni are adept in the carving of wood. They make the usual kinds of highly decorated implements, such as large combs, pot stirrers, food trays carved out of sections of a tree trunk. The door posts and gables of their huts are often elaborately carved

The small Paramaccan tribe does much less in the way of
122 wood carving than do the others of the Djukas. This was evidenced by the few pieces we were able to collect and was also known to be a fact by the Aucaner Bush Negroes who accompanied us to the Paramacca district. The motifs displayed upon the articles collected were practically identical with those found on Aucaner pieces.

123 In fairness to the Paramaccas, however, it must be mentioned from our experience among other tribes that collecting is much facilitated when one is cordially known. On a second or third expedition one is able to collect many times more specimens than upon a first introduction. The Bush Negroes are at first shy as a rule and not anxious to part with their belongings.



124 The tribes do not fraternize much with each other. Some
619 travellers report that the Aucaner and Boni tribes feel them-
609 selves superior to the others because they have less contact with the white man. If this is true, we cannot report any personal observation of it. A traveller has no more difficulty among them than among the Saramaccaner people. Some
628 ill-feeling between the Aucaners and Saramaccaners dates
609 back to the slave revolt, when the former observed their peace treaty so scrupulously as even to aid the slave-owners in re-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Chapter Eight

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

THE Bush Negro family is not a family in our sense of the word. In the Surinam jungle the Djuka family is polygamous and matrilineal. The unit of society is the hut, where the mother and her children live.

In order to understand the marriage customs of the Bush Negro tribes it is first necessary to forget for the time being the system of patriarchal family life under which the white men of our age live. One unconsciously takes the customs of one's own society as a norm, and passes moral judgment on exotic customs by their deviation from that norm. This habit of thinking must be avoided as far as possible in considering a primitive society, though it is difficult even for an agile mind to make dispassionately the transition from one culture in which the father is dominant, to another, in which his position is not important. On the other hand, many of our

[For caption, see Herskovits, p. 204. — Analyst]

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2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

It is indulged in as naturally as the other bodily functions.

"Marriage" is a convenient term for describing cohabitation among the Djukas, but it must be remembered that to them marriage is a purely economic institution. There is little ceremony. No one objects to getting married, because divorce is instantaneous and easy. The bonds of marriage are loose, and adultery, to use our harsh term, is customary.

Courting consists in presenting the prospective bride with elaborate wood carvings of useful implements. This wood carving has been developed by the Djukas to a high point of artistic perfection, as can be seen from the illustrative specimens, of which more will be said later. The approaching marriage is not looked upon as a departure from the maternal group; it is simply an arrangement for providing the man with a cook and the woman with children. The marriage of a captain or a Granman differs in no wise from any other; no especial care is taken of his bride.

We encountered two varieties of the process of choosing a husband. In the first, the girl has little to say, her husband being selected for her by her parents. In the second and more frequent practice the woman marries the man of her own choice, the parents making sure that the intended husband is a good provider. But since every Djuka buck is trained to the jungle crafts from childhood, this requirement can almost be taken for granted.

The husband marries frequently. He may marry outside of his village, or outside of his lo, but never outside of the tribe. Marriage requires a bride price, consisting of pieces of

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

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Combs and Pot Stirrers with Chains. Each is Carved from One Piece of Wood. *Saramaccaner Tribe*, Upper Surinam River.

Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History. Photo by Herbert Heller

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2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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Saramaccaner

Chapter Nine

MEDICINE AND MAGIC

NO one in Djuka land dies a natural death. Death is caused by witchcraft. At Santi Gron on the Saramacca River, preparations are being made for a burial. The whole village is excited. The women wailing are the relatives of the dead man. Children are crying because they see others crying. Unseen drums throb dully, making the hot air pulsate. The corpse lies in an open shed with only three walls—a death house (*dede oso*). Two girls of fifteen or sixteen are fanning it steadily to keep the flies away. The man died more than a week ago; all this time the body had been lying on a platform out in the tropical heat to decompose.

It is black magic that kills. Therefore the Bush Negroes make an effort to find out who made the magic that killed this man. An ancient ritual is employed. Three to ten days the corpse is left unburied, and in the humid heat the flesh undergoes a partial liquefaction. The putrescent fluid is gathered in a calabash cup and carried around from door to door.

[For caption, see category 116.1 p. 204.—Analyst]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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Carved Wooden Board for Washing Presents.
Kahn-Cooper Collection, American Museum of Natural History

[Facing p. 176]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

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Snake Motif Bench Top or "Obeiah Bangi" (Sacred Bench) Carved from a Single Piece. *Saramaccaner Tribe.* On other benches and trays and similar pieces of wood carving the coil and serpentine motifs are often executed in such a way as to form figures of men and women.

Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History

[Facing p. 178]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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Open Work Bench Top Carved from a Single Piece, Human Foot Motif. *Aucaner Tribe.*
Kahn-Cresspe Collection, American Museum of Natural History

[Facing p. 182]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
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Carved Wooden Comb of the Boni Tribe, French Guiana. The central cross is a symbol of a woman surrounded by four phallic symbols in the form of curved arrows.
Katz-Gropper Collection, American Museum of Natural History

[Facing p. 184]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

separated by ten thousand years of time and two thousand miles of space. It has, however, been pointed out that both peoples had to face environmental conditions that are roughly alike, and that a similar world may well have led to certain similar responses and adaptations. In Dutch Guiana, on the other hand, we do know of a direct historical connexion with Africa, so that the customs, habits, art work, social organization, and general material culture of the Bush Negroes must undoubtedly be related to the similar culture of West Africa. A great many articles in everyday use among the Djukas are of West African design. African words and African habits can readily be identified.

We also know that certain articles used by the Djukas are borrowings from the aboriginal Indians of the district. Thus the cassava squeezer, the *matapee*, and the whole technique of preparing cassava, the grater and sieve for the flour, are borrowed from the South American Indians. But by far the greater part of Djuka culture comes directly from the Dark Continent.

A Swedish anthropologist, Gerhard Lindblom, made a study of Bush Negro implements and wood carvings in European museums, and compared them with the implements and wood carvings from West Africa, pointing out a number of homologous forms.

The Granman's throne, an intricately carved wooden stool made by the Djukas, as Lindblom pointed out, is similar in construction to those owned by the headmen of the Gold Coast, Ashanti, Slave Coast, and the Niger tribes. The ornate

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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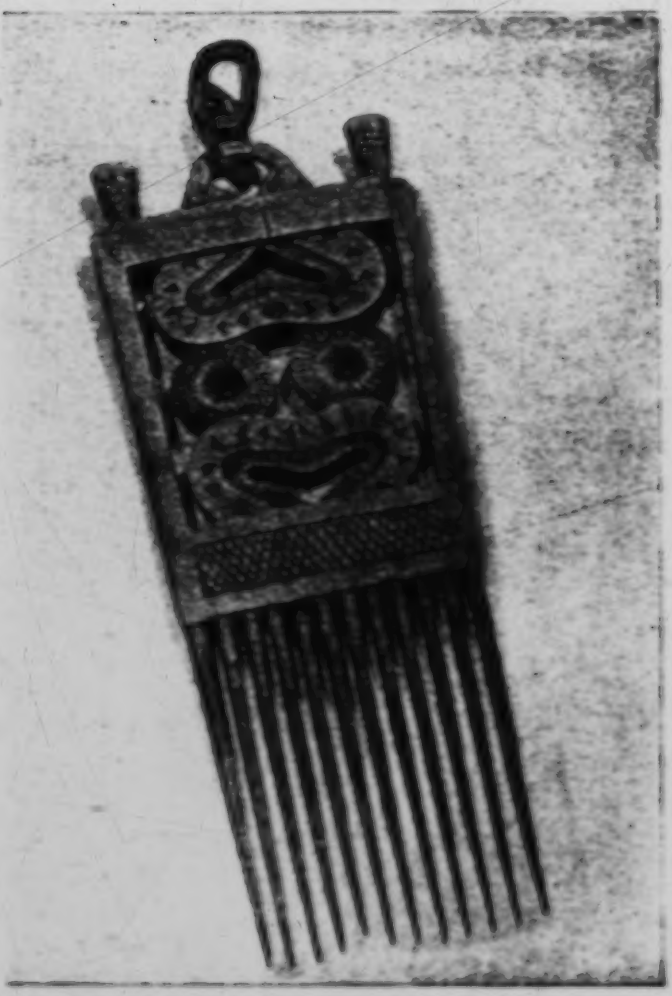

Carved Wooden Comb, Human Face Motif. Boni Tribe.
Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History

[Facing p. 188]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

177 The method of finding out who is responsible for the
[498] death of a man is found in many parts of the West Coast. The details vary considerably, but the essential idea that death is caused by witchcraft, and that some individual is guilty, is found in West Africa as well as in South America.
[764] The method of binding the corpse on a platform, covered with blankets of weeds, comes from the Gold Coast.

177 A number of Bush Negro words are African in origin.
192 *Lo*, the Djuka word for clan, designates a village in Yoruba or Ibo. The *quaqua*, the resounding plank which accompanies the drums, is possibly a Kikongo or M'pongwe word from the Ivory Coast. *Azeman*, meaning a kind of vampire, is an Ewe and Tshi word, as well as a Bush Negro term. The fetish house, the *kifunga*, is probably derived from Bacongo, Luango, Cameroons, or Togo, and the word itself is in all likelihood a Bacongo term. *Leeba*, meaning "river," is an Ewe word. *Akra*, designating a kind of ghost, is a Tshi word. *Makuku*, designating a Bush Negro fireplace made with three lumps of clay, is a Kikongo word, and the custom itself is derived from the Yoruba, Slave Coast, the lower Niger, and the Central and East Sudan region.

177 The carved wooden locks, the quintessence of Bush Negro
[323] wood carving, are found also among the Ashanti, in Dahomey, and in the Sudan. The method of poisoning fish by
[224] beating into a stream the pulp of poisonous plants is common in South America among the Indians, but it is likewise found in West Africa among the Tshi, Yoruba, Togo, Congo, and Angolo peoples. The same is true of other Djuka fishing practices, such as the custom of fishing at night by torchlight.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Chapter Twelve

PRIMITIVE ART

THE sense of beauty is not absent in the jungle. The 517
Djukas have definite æsthetic feelings and in their wood carving they have a well-developed and conventionalized art form. Art is highly socialized and universally appreciated among them. There are definite artistic conventions and common conventionalized forms.

Among ourselves the production of artistic objects is confined to a small group of especially gifted individuals, whereas among the Bush Negroes it is a regular part in the life of proportionately many more individuals. Common objects of everyday use, which among ourselves are designed for utility alone, are developed by the Bush Negroes into elaborate objects of art. They represent one of the most characteristic features of any Bush Negro village. One is sure to find in every village the carved plates and long-tined combs and pierced decorations that constitute the art of the Bush Negroes.

[For caption, see category 114, p. 204. – Analyst]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

531 In the combs, paddles, and other pieces of wood carv-
322 ing illustrated in this book, the most casual observer will discern a great beauty of form and design. The sense of line, the feeling for balance, combined with elaborate conception and execution, compare well with the productions of the highly sophisticated artists of our urban civilization. All of the wood carvings, collectively known as *sanni* or *timbeh*, follow certain traditional patterns. The individual motifs, however, are products of the individual imagination, and, judging by the variety and originality of the designs shown herewith, that imagination is evidently quite fertile.

[462] All the carving is done by men. There is a ceremonial significance to this. These wooden pieces are tokens of love.

Love in the jungle is not the etherealized sentiment portrayed by Victorian novelists. When a man and woman
[431] want each other the satisfaction of their desire is easy and immediate. The people are largely promiscuous among themselves. Under such conditions the existence of romantic sentiments is an impossibility.

822 Individual preference does, of course, exist, and this im-
322 plies courtship. A man may want a woman who does not
431 want him, and this implies wooing. The wooing consists in presenting the woman with specimens of sanni. Thus, every piece of wood carving is a token of love and affection, presented by a Bush Negro to his woman. The woman who accepts sanni from a suitor accepts his love along with it. The man naturally stores up a quantity of sanni in expecta-

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tion of falling in love, and the woman is inordinately proud of her pieces of wood since each one betokens the affection of a male. A great part of the love-life among the Djukas is wrapped up in these carved household implements.

Those unfortunate natives who are not clever at handling a knife must trade fish or game or some other personal possession for sanni produced by a more deft handicraftsman. Almost any Bush Negro can hunt, fish, and care for a wife, but a man's value is enhanced in the eyes of the woman when he can carve artistically. The women appreciate him and the men respect him. Wood carving, therefore, is assiduously cultivated by the Bush Negroes from early childhood.

As sanni is a prized commodity everywhere, exchangeable for female favours, a great deal of time is spent on each individual piece. A single comb may take weeks to carve. The women are very good judges of sanni, and can tell a good piece at a glance. With such a critical audience, the Djuka artist is careful of his skill, and few awkward or ill-formed designs are seen. Boys between the ages of eight and ten years may be proficient carvers, and critical elders preside over their work, ready to point out any minute mistake. The father or uncle who is expert with the knife will train his son or nephew in the same tradition, so that certain families are known for their beautiful work.

This erotic significance of the wood carvings makes them difficult to obtain. The woman who sells one is not parting with a domestic utensil so much as with a treasured memento. Sentimental attachments are bound to appear. As

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As one woman said: "He gave me this piece when we were first married. I won't part with it now." Usually an elaborate parley is necessary. The women are undecided whether to sell or not. They laugh, giggle, put their finger coyly in their mouths, joke bashfully with bystanders, and cannot make up their minds as to the price. They never know how much to ask for a piece. Sometimes they will mention a preposterous figure, hoping like a naïve child that the strange bahkra will pay that much. But on such occasions a rebuke will make them more reasonable. Once an arrogant witch doctor intervened in a transaction with a Bush Negro woman, demanding angrily that she receive an exorbitant payment. His anger was squelched with a few sharp words, and, contrite, he sat up all night to carve an ornate implement to present to the bahkra as a peace-offering. Cunning Adjobo, the medicine man!

The Bush Negro implements are carved out of jungle wood. Some are made of lignum vitæ, the hardest wood known. A few of them are made of soft wood, light and spongy, but these are not popular. The small paddles are used for stirring in the cooking pots, and the combs are actually used for the hair. They are never worn as personal ornaments, and when not in use are hung up on the walls of the hut. The utensils are all made with common trade jackknives and compasses which are used as dividers. It is principally with these dividers that the serpentine mafifi are executed. After the carving is finished the piece is smoothed off by rubbing it with matted grass and river

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sand. A few chisels and carpenter's tools can occasionally 322 ●
be found. Where compasses or dividers cannot be obtained, a nail and piece of string are often used to execute the involved serpentine patterns.

Bush Negro sanni is not used for trading purposes. A 438
few pieces find their way down to the coast, of course, but 322
they are never articles of commerce among the Djukas. In some villages, and particularly among the Paramacca tribe, it is practically impossible to obtain many carvings. But the willingness to part with these objects naturally varies with the village and the individual. Being known to the natives greatly facilitates trade.

One outstanding feature of this work is the complete 322
absence of colour. The finished piece shows the natural hue 532
of the wood, and rarely anything more. An occasional variation is obtained by inlaying with racuda wood, brownheart, or purpleheart, but tints and dyes are seldom applied. A different shade is also obtained once in a while by branding or burning the wood with a hot iron. The Aucaners, who paint red and black devices on their large canoe paddles, represent exceptions to the general rule of showing only the natural wood shades.

Nearly all the pieces are utilitarian in origin and purpose, 412
but some of them are so highly carved as to be of little [431
practical use. These are much prized as gift pieces. The 415]
trays are actually used to carry food on, and also for winnowing rice. The stirring paddles dip into the food pot every evening. After being used they are washed with river water and [244]
hung up on a peg.

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SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner
Boni

A peculiarity of Aucaner and carving is the system of
532 sign language imprinted thereon. If some of the pieces are
212 examined closely, it will be seen that they have odd symbols apparently placed at random, not conforming to the general pattern of the piece. These marks represent personal messages from the giver to the recipient, special indications or signs of affection, comparable to the marks at the ends of Victorian *billets doux*, indicating the place to kiss. Conventionalized letters are known as *schriefie*, a Bush Negro word that means "writing." Animal, bird, and human figure motifs are more common among the Boni and Aucaner tribes.

322 Besides the practical implements in everyday use there are
532 a number of trick pieces apparently made for no other purpose than to show the virtuosity of the artist. Thus there are pieces where a loose bauble is placed in a cup from which it cannot be forced. Some of the stools have tiny doors which
[352] open, and some of them are folding stools which close up like camp stools, yet are made from one piece of wood. There are stirring paddles with loose rings around the handles, carved from the same piece of wood and undetachable. Some have chains of wood attached, with separate links, all from one piece of wood. The Bush Negroes are also fond of mak-
[243] ing bush-knives in wood, or ornamental swords to be worn on ceremonial occasions. Small knives ordinarily seen in metal are also carved out of wood.

There are two general types of decoration, with one or two subsidiary devices. The commonest consists of pierced ornamental work, made from a single piece of wood. Except

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for benches, no pieced specimens are ever found. Because of the practical necessity of having a large number of benches, and the difficulty of executing both legs and seat out of a continuous piece of wood, benches are commonly made of several pieces of wood fitted together, as can be seen in the photographs. A number of them, however, are made from a single piece, and this continuity is preferred by the Djukas. The Africanesque crescent stools are carved from a single log.

Relief work is the second form of decoration. It occurs in the form of high relief on the plates and trays. It can be found to a modified degree on door-posts and other carved objects. Ornaments in low relief are represented by the calabash pieces, which are carved when green and allowed to dry.

Branding is done with a hot knife or wire, or else the piece may be charred by holding it in the flames. Circles are burned into the pattern by heating empty cartridge shells red hot and pressing them against the wood. Brass upholstery tacks, obtained in the white settlements of Paramaribo and Albina, are in especial favour, and some pieces are heavily laden with these. They fit in very well with the general spirit of Djuka art, and although the material is anachronistic, the effect is not.

Religious carvings, unlike the practical implements, are executed with a crudeness that is surprising. The fetish to the god Aflamu which was brought back to the Museum is nothing more than a rough section of pole with a crudely hewn face and seeds for eyes. Other religious pieces are

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532 likewise roughly done. The reason for this seems to derive
778 from the general nature of primitive religion as it occurs among the Bush Negroes. Two explanations of this were given by native informants. If the god is a good god, and well disposed toward the black man, he doesn't care whether his fetishes are well executed or not. If he is a bad god he is going to continue to be bad, regardless of whether much time is spent on his fetishes or not. Another Bush Negro, questioned about this, said: "Me no sabby de Gadu luku"—"I don't know what God looks like." The primitive æsthetic feeling, apparently, is bound up with practical ends. There is absolutely no care or pains taken with religious objects, whereas erotic objects are finished with great skill.

322 There seems to be considerable variation between the tribes
189 of Djukas in the character of their art work. The Aucaner
532 wood carvings have, in general, a more refined and delicate cast than the wood carvings of their neighbours, the Saramaccaners and Boni. The differences in treatment of the motifs among the Bush Negro tribes and the general dissimilarities and likenesses of the carvings are best understood by consulting the accompanying illustrations.

412 The combs vary from two and a half inches to twenty-
322 four inches in length, and even these more immense combs see actual service. They are always made of a single piece, including the tines. For the most part they are made of harder woods, with occasional inlays. A number of them are trick pieces, with little ingenious devices that catch and hold the imagination of the primitive. For comparison, a West

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African comb, from the region of Nigeria, is shown on page 175. It can be seen that the wooden comb is not a Djuka invention, as every characteristic of the Bush Negro pieces can be found on this West African piece, except the ornamental piercing.

The arts of weaving and basketry are not as highly developed among the Djukas as is the carving of wooden implements. The Bush Negroes do not weave the cotton cloth they wear. It is obtained, instead, by trading at the white settlements. The only weaving among them consists of cotton leg and arm bands—things that do not count for much so far as industry is concerned, but which expand the wearer's ego and add enormously to his or her self-esteem. The basketry of the Djukas, like the weaving, is simple and competent. Unornamented circular baskets, varying in size from a foot to a yard in diameter, can be seen in all the villages. They are used for carrying yams, rice, and foodstuffs generally. The finest basket work does not occur in these baskets, however, but in the cassava squeezers, those elongated tubes for producing cassava flour. These are beautifully woven of uniform rattan, and decorated with darker strips to form a simple pattern near each end. The finished product is an admirable piece of work, of which the owner must indeed be proud.

Pottery is made by the Djukas for utilitarian purposes only, and the solid black, absolutely undecorated clay ware has no particular element of beauty. The pots are black, stolid, and unimaginative. They are simply necessities.

But when the necessities of life have been provided for,

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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But when the necessities of life have been provided for,
417 and leisure is at hand for more beautiful and tender endeavours, the Bush Negro, seated before his evening fire, sharpens his knife and begins marking, with fine, deft lines, the graceful outlines of another paddle or comb to please his woman.

List of Carvings Shown at Chapter Openings with Explanation of Symbolism

412
352
322 Carved Bench Top, *Saramaccaner Tribe:* Eight Women Dancing Around a Gadu Pole (title page)
532

Carved Bench Top, *Boni Tribe:* Stylization of Male and Female Figures (page 3)

Hair Comb, *Aucaner Tribe* (page 7)

Carved Pierced Bench Top, *Saramaccaner Tribe:* Two Male Figures Each Holding a Snake Aloft (page 27)

Carved Bench Top, *Saramaccaner Tribe:* Two Highly Stylized Human Figures (page 39)

Hair Comb, *Aucaner Tribe:* Male and Female Snakes (page 53)

Carved Bench Top, *Boni Tribe:* Vulva Surrounded by Phallic Symbols (page 63)

[4 5] Carved Inner Surface of Calabash Gourd, African Bone Motif, *Saramaccaner Tribe* (page 83)

Carved Bench Top, *Saramaccaner Tribe:* Frog Design Executed with Serpentine Technique (page 91)

Hair Comb, *Aucaner Tribe:* Vulva Motif; the triangles on the cross bar represent snake teeth (page 119)

Hair Comb, *Saramaccaner Tribe:* Male and Female Figures (page 133)

[4 5] Carved Outer Surface of Calabash Gourd, *Saramaccaner Tribe* (page 161)

[7] Comb from Nigeria, West Africa (page 175)

Hair Comb, *Saramaccaner Tribe* (page 193)

/10 cont./

574 The politeness shown toward a guest springs from the idea that unknowingly one of them might easily take the very piece that the important person wished to have, and although no comment would be made on this, it could nonetheless happen that this would trouble the guest for whom they cherish special respect, 888 or that he would thereby consider himself insulted. It is particularly to old age that they pay great respect.

Chapter VI

Household and Agricultural Implements

412 The Bush Negroes mainly use adzes in order to hew their [322] corjalen or canoes out of trees partially burned out beforehand; [824] furthermore, they use planes and chisels in order to work their [531] (usually cedarwood) (1) stools and parels or paddles (2). They are

1. Cedrela odorata L.

2. Hand oar.

especially fond of having these carved with many figures. For them the machete is an indispensable tool that they always carry around and use as a chopping knife, sword, and knife, indeed, even to cut splinters or thorns out of the foot with the tip. They use field axes or hatchets to cut down the bush in order to lay out their small cultivation grounds and to work the wood that they float by rafts and sell.

562 The women possess, aside from a machete or knife, also 412 mattocks with which they keep their lands and the place near the [824] dwelling neat; they make brooms from the pina palm racemes or [413] from rice ears bound in sheaves. They like to have scissors, needles, and pins, while for knitting they use a pointed and bent nail.

413 They spin their sewing thread from cotton with a certain [283] tool which they call kéké; they also have a round, wooden tool [286] called sepoe, with which they very nicely and sturdily /11/ make

/163 cont. /

764 given any indication whatever. Besides, how would he have
787 had time to make himself understood by two men walking at top speed, crushed by their heavy load and looking straight ahead?

This upsets all the ideas I had formed about this test. The only hypothesis that remains is that the bearers have been "tipped off" by the man who went to get them (an old man of the council). But is it possible that such a crude fraud could be current practice? The Boni are far from being stupid, they are ever suspicious /164/ and they are too talkative for such deceptions not to be laid bare by their perpetrators themselves.

Under these conditions, how can it operate--this collective suggestion which explains most of the rites of the Refugee Blacks? I can't explain it to myself.

764 Manufacture of the Coffin. The kisimɛ̃ are gathered
769 around a pile of boards. They are about 15 in number,
322 commanded by Boofo, head of the kisimɛ̃ of Asisi, and Aténi
[412] (Asisi-Dipélu II). A pile of boards is at their feet; some work with a small hand saw, others with an adze; the fitting is done with a machete. /Fig. 21 appears here./

They take measurements with a graver. The bottom board is cut first, then the front and back ends. The outline of the back end, in the shape of a truncated diamond, results from a rather complex construction with the compass which I have not time to report.

764 The work is done noisily in an atmosphere of crude farce.
769 The whole time it lasts, the kisimɛ̃ exert veritable command
[152] over the village. The coconut trees of Kormotibo are pillaged
[262] for their benefit. The village women prepare the rice for the meal which must, according to custom, be offered to them upon finishing the coffin about noon.

/164 cont./

764 I see the head of the kisimã make ready the fitting of the
769 lower lateral wings. Without nailing it, he places the back end
322 on the bottom plank, giving it the proper inclination. They put

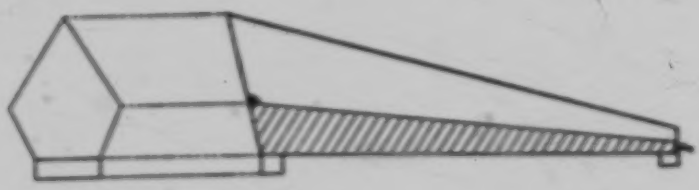

Fig. 21. A Boni coffin.

in place the board which is to serve as a wing. An elastic string smeared with soot is stretched between a_1 and a_2; they pinch it in the middle and in falling back it traces the line a_1a_2 on the wing.

(412) The cutting out of the wing is done with a saw and the fitting with the machete, then with a plane.

About 11 o'clock they begin to nail the wings. According to the rites, several kisimã accompany in cadence the noise of the hammer blows by hitting the coffin with pieces of wood. Why this ceremony? None of the kisimã can explain it. Perhaps it would be considered dangerous for one man to carry out alone one of the operations relating most directly to death.

764 While the kisimã work, Way's friends and relatives do not stop /165/ arriving; their boats jam the wharf. The people wend their way toward the mortuary shed, men on one side, women on the other. It is the women who bring pieces of cloth (including those given by their brothers and husbands); the men carry tafia in bottles.

Upon arriving the women sit down, cover their faces and lament a few minutes, then sit down with the others in front of the mortuary shed. On the other side of the shed the men are seated, immobile on their small benches. An elder busies himself

they told us, though never willing to name the villages 778
where they stood, whose walls were most elaborately 346
ornamented with symbols marked in red and black and [531]
white, the three sacred colors which appeared on the stools and which the men used for painting their faces and bodies for the dances. On the upper river we had been told that these shrines were in the villages below, and on the lower river it was always intimated that it was up above where the great shrines stood. We had been told of stools which were whitened with sacred pemba, and blackened with soot in the *Fa'aka Pau* houses—the houses of the ancestral spirits—and of the covered whitened vessels which were in the Vodu and Apuku houses, the shrines for the bush and snake deities, placed there for the spirits when they chose to animate them.

So we found it in this house dedicated to the spirits of the bush.

The hut was narrow and long, with walls of woven palm, and a floor made of hard smooth clay into which bare feet had nevertheless worn grooves. To one side of the door stood a drum of the type called *tumao*—the long drum. It was cylindrical, and narrowed but slightly toward the [534] bottom. White clay had once covered it, but now there were irregular lines of white marking the cracks in the wood.

On the other side of the door, against the same wall, lay several large balls of clay. These the old woman was keeping for the obia pots she would make from time to time. Among 887 the Negroes of the town as well as in the bush, these black 778 pots, made by women of the bush, were held to have great 323 magical potency.

"I never make too many pots at once," the old woman said. "I make them for myself as I need them and for the young people of the family." A woman who had not passed her period of childbearing could not make them. "Obia pots are things for old, old women. I cannot tell you about making them."

Leaving these lumps of clay, the woman led us farther 778 into the enclosure, until we stood in front of a raised altar 346

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SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

224 ticular animal. The red terrier will not hunt anything else.
231 It stands now ferociously over the body of the dead parrot, its tongue hanging out, panting.

411 Bows and arrows are as common as shotguns, and preferred by many of the black huntsmen because they make no noise, need no munnanny. The bow is fashioned from one of the South American hardwoods, letterwood or purpleheart. The shaft is tremendously resilient, and strung with [343] *singrasi* it takes a stout arm indeed to bend it. Singrasi is a species of grass which is hand-spun into tough cord, by rolling it on the flesh of the thigh. When unstrung, the curved bow is nearly six feet long.

The arrows are made from hollow reeds, and are extremely light and well balanced. Into one end of the reed a foot-long hardwood point is set, wrapped with singrasi and gummed. At the other end, the ferrule is similarly set in, the joint again being wrapped around to prevent splitting. Some arrows have metal points filed from old bush-knives. A five-foot arrow like this can be used as a little javelin for spearing small game. The Bush Negroes also use blunt arrows to stun birds.

224 A naked savage stalking through the bush, armed only with a bow and arrow, furnishes a sight of the primitive that is fast disappearing from this commonplace world. The [534 323 321] Djuka calls some of his game, principally the agoutis, by imitating their cries on a little whistle, made out of baked clay or a hollow shell. The imitation is so accurate, in the case of smaller game, as to fool even the jaguar that feeds on

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Although the huts are of Arawakan architecture, similar 342
to those of the Aucaner tribe, there is, at times, more wooden board in the construction and less thatch.

During the expedition of 1928 we were informed that the 316
Bonis, particularly at the village of Apatoo, were conversant 326
with the old West African method of smelting iron and manufacturing it into implements of various kinds. This claim proved to be entirely groundless. If there is any iron ore in the neighbourhood, these tribesmen do not know where it is, and most certainly do not understand how to smelt it.

It was in Africa that the art of iron working is supposed to have originated, and the iron work of West Africa, whence the Djukas came, is a thing of beauty. But the Djukas have lost this hereditary art. Among the Bonis, the work in metal seems to be limited to the soldering of copper French coins to bracelets made of iron or copper pipe, which they procure by trade or from the machinery of long abandoned French gold exploitations. They also make brass bracelets and anklets of considerable width out of brass piping obtained from a similar source. The piping is split with the sharp blade of an axe and hammered into shape with the blunt end. We were able to obtain a stiletto with an iron blade and a handle of brass riveted to it with copper, but we are under the impression that the blade, at least, is of French or Italian manufacture.

In their general habits as regards hunting, fishing, agri- 139
culture, canoe building, social customs and structure, dress, 149
and so on, the Bonis are quite similar to the Aucaners. They speak a dialect of talkee-talkee which has distinct differences [141
from the Aucaner and the Saramaccaner in that it contains a 147]
good deal of French words.

PREFACE

its influence on the life of man, and both employ the word *ákra* for soul, a word used on the Gold Coast of Africa exactly as it is in Guiana. The day names associated with the soul are Gold Coast day names, known in Jamaica and heard in the United States, as well. In the bush the Saramacca people are "possessed" by the gods and by *obia*; in the town the Negroes are "possessed" by *winti*, a word meaning wind, and the use of wind as a euphemism for the gods is common in Dahomey and Ashanti. Many of the gods of both bush and town are the same, and they are African gods, invoked today in Nigeria, in Dahomey, in Togo, in Ashanti, and invoked also in the islands of the Caribbean. *Nyankompon*, the Bush Negro name for the Sky God, is the Gold Coast name. The Maroons of Jamaica know this deity under the same designation. *Dagowe* is a snake god in the Suriname bush and in town—the Haitians and Dahomeans dance to the same snake god, whom they call *Dangbe*. In West Africa the silk-cotton and *loko* trees are sacred. In the Saramacca villages and in the town of Parimaribo they are sacred as well, and the names are Dahomean names, known also in Haiti. In bush and town the people dance to the river gods, as do the Negroes in Africa and the Caribbean, and the pattern of the ceremonies has been preserved in part in Negro baptismal rites in the United States. Bush and town invoke the buzzard, *Opete*, so named in Ashanti, and sacred everywhere in West Africa, and the style of dancing resembles certain of the dances of the "saints" who "shout" in the Negro Sanctified Churches of the United States.

Between bush and town there is, however, this difference—the bush is Africa of the seventeenth century. In West Africa today, for example, the roof of thatch has almost everywhere given way to the white man's metal roofing. In Dahomey, where thatch is still found, we discovered a strip of wall made of woven palm fronds, such as is found on the Saramacca, in a village which had been enslaved by the Dahomean kings in the early seventeenth century and had remained enslaved until the conquest

of the Dahomean kingdom by the French. All other walls are of swish. Today in West Africa the automobile and sewing machine have found their way into remote corners. But more important still than these changes wrought by European civilizations, which have made inroads chiefly on the material life of the Africans, are those resulting from intertribal wars, which followed the introduction of guns and gunpowder into Africa and which helped to establish the great West African dynasties. The result of the conquest of one native people by another was constant cultural interstimulation which made for changes in the indigenous civilizations.

In the Guiana bush, however, where these runaway Negroes and their descendants have been living, the fortunes of African kingdoms, the cultural contacts that have affected the Africans, have not touched their own tribal destinies. Neither has the civilization of the white man nor that of the Indian introduced basic changes into their manner of living or thinking.

There are no roads in the Guiana bush, and what footpaths exist to connect one village with another are difficult to follow and, moreover, are not for the stranger, whether he be white or mulatto. For such as these the highway is the river, with native paddlers alert in their surveillance of a stranger's activities. The old men on the river have made a tradition of recalling the struggle of the ancestors for freedom and survival, and it is not without significance that one of the three worst crimes among the Bush Negroes—one that ranks with incest and murder—is informing on a Negro to a white man.

In contrast with this isolation of the Bush Negroes, the Negroes of Paramaribo have known close contact with the whites, with Carib and Arawak Indians, and in more recent years with the Hindu and Javanese laborers brought to the colony. Only suggestions of the manner in which the beliefs of town and bush correspond or differ can be included here, since this account concerns itself with the Saramacca people. Yet for the understanding of this study it must be

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Village elders on a ceremonial visit.

[Facing p. 24]

said, "It is not a woman and a snake, as you might imagine from this," and she indicated one or two lines of the design. "We do not carve the snake in my family. We have a *ichina*—a taboo—against carving snakes, for snakes are our kunu. . . . Years ago my brother went to the French shore and worked for a white man. The white man asked him to kill a snake, and he was afraid, but the white man laughed at him, and because he had a weak ak'a, because his soul was not strong, he killed the snake. If he had told us about it and had sent a piece of the snake, we would have held a burial, as would have been right. But he did not do as he should have done, and so now the snake is not a good spirit for us. We must give it offerings, and dance kunu. It is bad to have a weak soul. My brother did a bad thing, and now I and all my children, and my daughters' children, and their daughters' children on and on will have this kunu."

Farther up the river, in the deep interior, we stopped at the village of Opoku. As we walked to the house of the village head to give him our greetings, we noticed an unusually large house. It was a *lido-mozu*, a house with an upper story, more substantially built than any we passed, and ornamented with elaborate carvings, as were all personal houses of the men. The owner of it, we heard, had been dead eight months. Four more would need to go by before it could be entered. It had been owned by a powerful man, and his belongings were many. We could see some of them through the openings between the slats which formed its walls—an apinti drum, magnificently carved, tall earthen demijohns of rum, boxes, the edge of a metal canister and a lamp. Inside there were guns, and machetes, and native carved paddles, and implements.

Our men joked about the contents of the demijohns as they passed, speculating on the strength of the rum when the containers were opened, and when we asked about the house later—whether, for instance, we could not buy the drum, we were told that the twelve-month interval between a man's dying and the dividing of his property was not yet passed. When the time came, his brothers and sisters

1) Herskovits & Herskovits E-3 (1929-1929) 1934
UCB Bancroft Library
Sacramento

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Balkuta, Chief Fandiya's village.

[Facing p. 90]

342
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Dwelling houses.

Carved door of a man's house (right).

A *gada* *morw*—man's personal house.

[Facing P. 130]

In Memoriam & Memoriam 2-4 (1929-1930) 1934
[illegible]
Sacramento

family. The children of the second wife belong to the family of the second wife. A woman calls her husband's other wife by the name of kamboss. Do you know what kamboss means?" he asked, laughing. "*Kamboss*—the woman who makes trouble for me. So, you see, we people of the bush learned from our ancestors to give each wife her own house, where she might live with her own children."

But not alone the woman needed to have a house of her own. The man, too, built a house for himself. In it he stored his possessions. It was his sanctuary. No woman might enter it. On the carving of its door, a man lavished all his love of ornamentation, all his artistry.

"A man likes to have his own house for his possessions," explained Kasanya. "If he is a rich man, it is better that his wives do not know how much he has. You know what women are. They always ask for presents. But if a man is not rich, then it is better still that his wives do not know it. If they know, they will make life hard for him with nagging. They will talk of leaving him. And all the village will know, too."

In this house, then, which a man built for his wife, the children were reared. Sometimes, it is true, if the harvests were poor or the father had met with ill luck, the mother's brothers would come for the children, for children are the ones to carry on the line. It is through them that clan rank and material goods are inherited.

But if all went well with the father, then the attachments of the household were the closest, and they continued even after death. For the household was not entirely disrupted after the death of a parent. Unless the one who died had been a sorcerer, a leper, or a madman, the house where he lived was not torn down.

"When a man dies," Kasanya said, "the wife goes on living in the house, once it has been purified. If a woman dies, then the man keeps on living there."

"What of the children?" we asked. "What becomes of them?"

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

782 "Tonight there will be dancing for you," And'u said, when we left the shrine. "I will go and pray again before the dance, and then I will go to my hammock early, for I leave at sunrise. We will meet again at the G'aman's."

The bassia's wife followed us to our house.

[562] "You are a woman, yet you went inside the shrine. Maybe you do have gods, white woman. When you go in again will you pray to the Earth Mother for the woman Kupa, who is my sister? Twice she bore girl children, and both sleep. Now she is with child again. She wears many obias [842] about her neck, and daily she washes with white clay. She is the woman with the wooden obia doll hanging between her breasts. No, not the one who has the small black sack about her neck. Any woman who is with child wears that. You will know her when you see her. She is beautiful."

7

535 The dance was held in the bassia's quarter, in front of one of his houses. The bassia was a man of wealth. He had three wives, while the chief had but two. Whether one of the three was only nominally his wife and had come to him at the death of a brother, we were unable to learn, but that his means were large was apparent. The house where his [342] personal possessions were stored was built high on posts. A house so raised stood out from those about it and bore the same name as the moon. Underneath it, in the shelter made by the posts, lay a partly made drum, some carved wooden implements, and carpenter's tools. There was also a forked stick in the ground upon which rested a black obia pot with water and weeds in it.

535 The children began the dancing.

533

Ayo, ayo
Ayo, ayei,
Agida comes,
[539] *Ayo, ayo,*
Earth spirits come,
Ayo, ayei.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

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"In the true, true Saramacca . . ."

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House of one recently dead.

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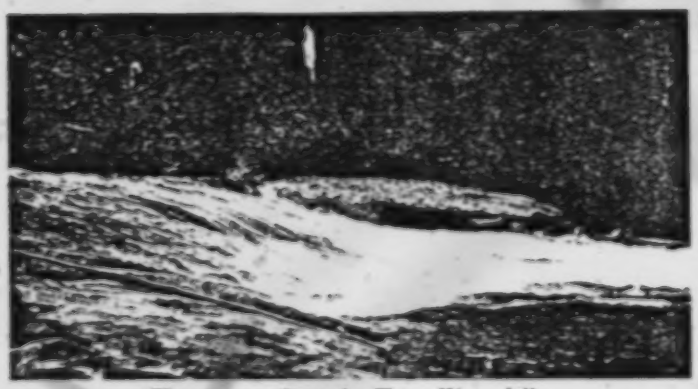

The approach to the Tapa Wata falls.

[p. 170 (A)]

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

"Yes, move closer."

The white woman now went toward the open door, and through it saw a little of the inside of the house. Like all Bush Negro houses, it had no windows of any kind, and what light there was came from this low open doorway. Near the door sat the woman who belonged to the family of the Granman. In her hand she held an egg-shaped piece of clay which she rubbed between her hands to the rhythm of her song, and at intervals lifted first one hand, then the other, rubbing the white clay on her face and arms. The thin layer of white over the dark of her skin gave to her appearance in the dark house a strange color. She swayed on her low bench as she sang, her body curving from her hips first to one side, then to the other.

"Ondyi, ondyi," she sang over and over, and with the quickening of voice, she called "bonsu."

This word "Ondyi," the women explained, when they urged the stranger to greet the god as was fitting, was the greeting of the deity, the god's way of saying their everyday word "Odi."

The eyes of the woman at the door were half-closed as she sang, and she seemed dispirited, though with the quickened swaying she did rouse herself for an instant. She had no kerchief on her head, and none about her breasts.

"Her god hasn't got her very hard," the women said. "Go inside, perhaps when you speak with him, he will begin to stir. They want you to come in."

Into the house the white woman brought her bench, and sat down close to the possessed woman at the door. When she became accustomed to the darkness of the house, she saw a pair of eyes fixed on her from the farthest wall. The figure against this wall was so much the color of the house itself that it was not until a few moments had passed that the crouching form of an old woman was distinguishable. The old woman sat motionless, her eyes fastened on the stranger.

The white woman freed herself from the intent stare of the old woman against the wall only when a sudden

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"Wife of the G'aman, [539]
I come from the river.
Go to the G'aman
Say to him,
These strangers are friends,
They bring no evil."

It was the god speaking, and the Granman's wife received with lowered head the words spoken through the priestess.

"Ai, my master. Ai, Massa Gadu," she said.

5

The Granman's paternal village was directly across the river from Asindopo Lantiwe. It was called Akisiamau, literally "Took with an outstretched hand," but whether there was also some meaning in the phrase not intended for the uninitiated, we could not learn. In size it was not much larger than the Granman's village, and again and again we recognized houses which were his by the crest-like carvings on the doorposts, that reproduced the design found not only at the side of the council-house door, but at the door of all other houses at Asindopo Lantiwe which were his. 361 643 [423]

Except for several old people who sat about in the shade and waited for the strangers to come to them with their greetings, the entire village followed us as we made our way down one path and another. 123

"Bak'a, Ame'ika Bak'a, Ame'ika Fandya!—White man. American white man, American Fandya!" the children called after us, as they ran at our heels, touching our canteens, our sun helmets, and shoes.

The Granman had spoken with especial fondness of his father's house, and it was there that we asked first to be taken. It was not occupied, we were told, and none might enter it. Above the top crosspiece white cotton was draped. Except that its door was closed, it showed no signs of being 342 643

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342 643 uninhabited. Its posts and walls and thatch were in excellent condition, and there was not even the weather-beaten appearance about it of a house which had been closed for some time. Nor had it the kandu, the spiritual lock of unoccupied houses.

778 346 To one side of this house was the open shrine to the great gods, the pole to the Sky God, the smaller one with a checked tunic across the middle of it for the Earth Mother. But there was also a figure of wood with a broad white cloth hung from it like a flag, and this, the villagers said, was the image of the Granman's father. When the dead man's spirit came to the village, it was this image he animated. In times of need and on days fixed by ritual, it was to this image that prayers and food were brought.

Some distance from this shrine, standing close to the uncleared bush, was a house that had been deserted. Half of it the great bush had already reclaimed. The thatch of the roof and one entire side wall had altogether disappeared, and in place of these were garlands of leafy vines, so closely interwoven and so brilliantly green in the sun as to give to the asymmetrical mass of weathered grayish palm, and the strangling green, a strange beauty. Not quite two years ago it had been abandoned, and soon it would be completely lost to the bush.

But the villagers looked the other way when we photographed it.

A little to one side of the house with the doorposts which showed the Granman's crests was a smaller hut, before whose door stretched a magic azang of palm fronds that marked it as a shrine.

[789]

[796] "This house is for the Apuku gods," said an old woman who heard our inquiry. "It belongs to me. It was built when my god told me to make it."

And without hesitation she led the way under the palm fronds through the opening.

This was the first time we had been permitted to enter a closed shrine. We had had descriptions of shrines from men with whom we had talked of the gods. There were some,

REBEL DESTINY

123 "You must have strong obia from Africa—strong snake
117 obia—for the gods to have spoken so well of you!"

But when the Granman asked, there was no refusing. That day word was sent to all in the village that the Bakra was giving a cinema show in the bush.

Long before dark the entire village had gathered in front of our doorway. The children had been around since early afternoon. Against the council-house wall we hung a white sheet, and some feet away we stood our folding table and on it the little projector. The show was about to begin.

[354] The Granman who sat a little to one side gave orders to the latecomers to extinguish the flames of their small oil lamps and their lanterns, and the large torch which he had so proudly shown that first night, and which had since illuminated the clearing nightly, was also extinguished.

The illustrations we had photographed were from volumes on the people of the West Coast of Africa—Ashanti and the Gold Coast, Dahomey, Nigeria, Benin, the Cameroons, Loango, and the Congo. Our first year's experiences among these people had taught us that it would not be well to show them too many ceremonial pictures. Photographs of sacrifices of animals other than fowls, we had felt, too, would not be wise to introduce. Such a picture as that of the Ashanti Sasabonsum, the "evil Apuku," as the Bush Negroes whom we had allowed to see the illustration named it, we had also decided should best be shown to individuals here and there. For the general showing, we relied upon pictures of cicatrizations, of hairdressing and teeth filing, of rafts floating on African lakes, of pottery making and cloth weaving, of laying fires and the doing of other household tasks, of carvings, and finally of one or two priests and priestesses in states of possession.

We waited for a signal from the Granman to begin. About
[342] the dark clearing the huts, with their roof poles meeting on top like great horns, gave a strange effect to the scene, for with the moving and shifting of bare feet it seemed as though everything in that clearing strained to fall in line

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

THE ARTIST OF MA'LOBBI

As we walked toward the chief's house we looked about us, seeing again the evidence that here at Ma'lobbi there were men who knew how to carve wood, seeing why it was that our paddlers had spoken of it as a place for fine work. 322 531

"Ai, at Ma'lobbi they are good carvers."

Here was a house with its doorposts elaborately carved; there a beautifully worked rice tray, lying where it had been left by the woman who owned it, until she should need it later in the day for winnowing her rice; farther along a great bench stood, with the designs cut through in a fluid progression over top and sides. [342]

The captain was in the lower portion of his two-story house when we entered. Several of the older men, who had been present at our earlier visit and who remembered our gifts of tobacco, came to join us, as the news of our arrival spread through the village. Soon the women were standing about, motioning to the white woman to come with them. 123 609

The house in which the captain received us was larger and more imposing than the others in the village. It was his *gudu-wosu*—his treasure house. Its lower portion, where we sat in conversation with him, was where he worked. Above, where none of his wives might enter, his wealth was stored. Here he kept the pieces he had carved, and from here drew from time to time the presents he gave his wives. Here lay the wealth which his nephews would inherit when he died. But below, in the partially open shelter, was his workshop where he fashioned rough logs into stools and paddles, combs and food stirrers, trays and canoe seats, and all manner of objects which he and his women used in their daily routine. 342 556 [408] [322]

All about the walls hung tools. There were machetes, whose sharp blades showed a reflection of fire from the sun which slanted on the wall. We had never seen so many of these bush knives on display, nor, for that matter, such an array of tools anywhere on this river. From projecting boards or nails driven into posts hung several compasses, their hinged arms sharp-pointed, so that the craftsman might describe the perfect circles on the wood he carved. 342 353 412 [413]

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

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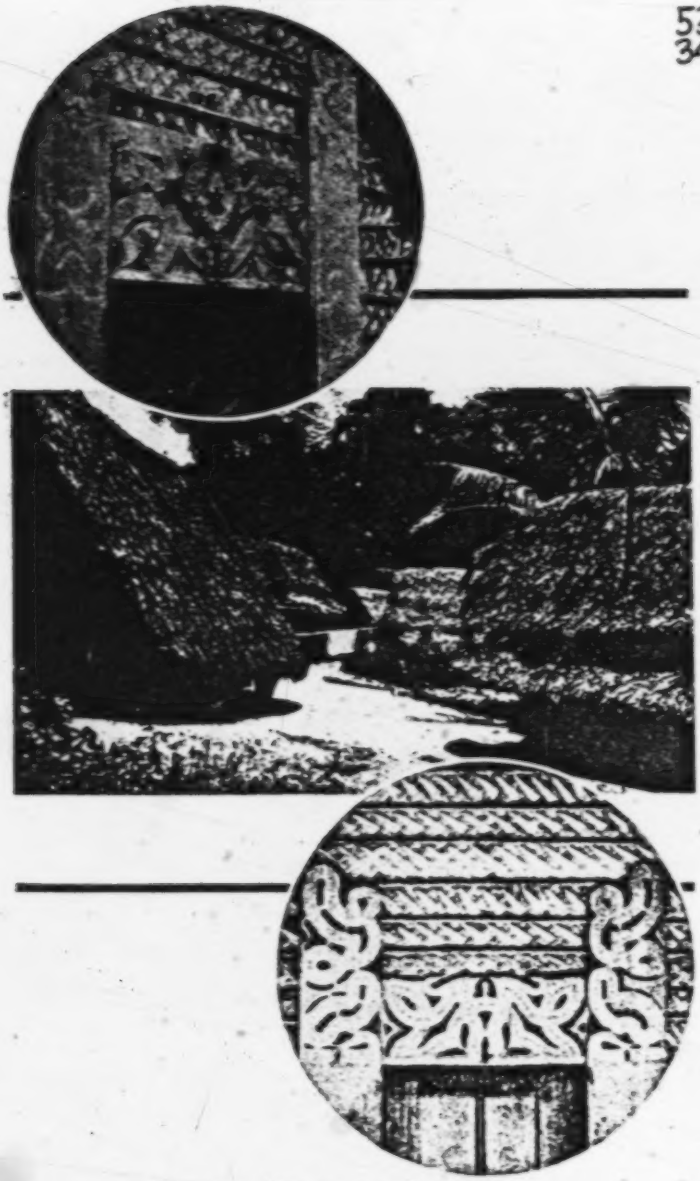

Houses and house posts in Ma'lobbi.

[Facing P. 284]

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

houses would have to be built—one in his village where they would live, and one in the provision ground for his wife to sleep in when she worked in the field.

"Must you yourself build the house, Bayo?"

"My family will help me. Making a house is hard work, too, and a man must have clever fingers for weaving the walls."

There would have to be stools, and several well-ornamented combs. A clothes beater would have to be provided for the bride, and a peanut pounding board, and one mortar and pestle at least, and food stirrers and rice trays. A cassava squeezer would have to be woven, and a sifter and grater for the roots that were made into bread. And baskets, too, he would have to weave.

"This is not all. This is only what I must make. Other things I must buy for her."

He would have to provide cloths when the wedding day came, and cloths for his mother-in-law, too. The small kerchiefs which were folded in triangular shape and were worn about the waist as the sign that a woman was married he would also have to furnish, and two large cloths, each the size of three tunics. He would have to buy an iron cooking pot, and some small fishhooks with lines, and some cups from the white man's city. He was going to give his girl a pair of earrings, and a string of beads. Then there would have to be the hammock.

Bayo laughed, "For a marriage, there must be a hammock."

There were other things he was going to buy for his girl. Brass arm and leg ornaments he would buy, since his girl was already a fine dancer.

And when all these things were bought and given, then it was time for the marriage.

"But it doesn't always happen that the marriage takes place," said Bayo. "Sometimes the girl's people do not like what the man has done. They have another krutu, and decide the man should not marry into their family."

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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The First Glimpse of a Bush Negro Village on the Upper Surinam River.

[Facing p. 32]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

361 the trading-post, are so large as to have street-like roads extending across them. Others like Nu have only eight or nine huts.

342 The walls and roofs of the dwellings are made of grasses and reeds, intricately woven into a herring-bone pattern that can be seen in the photographs. So tightly are they woven that the jungle rain does not penetrate. The uprights are hewn out of tree trunks, and those that form the doorway are [322] often deeply carved. So great is the decorative spirit of these people that every common utensil is carved until it becomes a work of art.

The roofs extend far beyond the walls, so that the projecting part throws a shadow on the walls, which lowers the temperature inside. In front, the roof extends a yard or more to form a shade in which the blacks may palaver. In front of the huts, always, babies are grubbing about in the dirt and yelling prodigiously.

Here and there are slightly dilapidated huts. They belong [768] to people now dead. No one will live in them or venture to repair the ruin of time. Neglected, they sink into decay. The [756] witch doctor's hut is also a bit frowzy; it seems to be a badge of his profession, like the sugar cane planted alongside his doorway or the turtle-shell impaled on a staff near by. All three are symbols of his calling.

352 A wall of woven mat divides some of the huts into two [353] rooms, the back room being used for sleeping. The men have hand-made hammocks of woven cotton or grass. Their wives 342 are provided with sleeping-mats on the floor. The front room

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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Clearing in a Bush Negro Village, Upper Surinam River.

[Facing p. 44]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

is used as a living-room; cooking is sometimes carried on 342
there, but more often in an open communal kitchen used by
the entire village. Some towns have several such open sheds. [343]

We enter the hut where the headman of the village lives, 648
and find him lying in his hammock. It is perhaps a bit of 609
conscious arrogance, to demonstrate his independence of the [352]
white man, that the captain does not rise to greet us. He rises,
however, to greet Abaisa.

"Well, friend, how are you?" we begin. In talkee-talkee the question runs: *"So, matti, fie you tang?"*

He replies civilly, complaining a little, perhaps. We offer him a few leaves of tobacco, always acceptable. While we parley with the chief, the men of the village are carrying our equipment up from the corials to the village. This they always do, without being asked and without being paid. Even small children take part in the portage. Nothing is ever stolen.

Quite conscious of the heat inside the dark hut, we do not 648
palaver long. Leaving the two chiefs lolling in hammocks we 184
pass out of the breast-high doorway into the clearing, and go about examining the living-quarters and the people. This is a village of the Saramaccaner tribe, descended from the Saramacca rebels of two hundred years ago. All the huts and villages of this tribe are quite similar. Among the Aucaner tribe, descended from the Ouca rebels, are villages of a different type.

One does not doubt the good intentions of the Moravian 797
Brothers and certain Catholics who have established missions at a few points on the rivers. But their evangelical efforts have

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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Interior of a Bush Negro Village on the Cottica River, Dutch Guiana. *Aucaner Tribe.*
Photo by Klein

[Facing p. 46]

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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Palm Fronds Recently Cut to be Used for Thatching a Hut.
Boni Tribe, French Guiana.

[Facing p. 50]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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An Aucaner Mother. Note the Cassava Cakes Cooking Inside the Kitchen.
Photo by Curtel

[Facing p. 64]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

224 hardly more than shadows. We find the man unharmed,
648 excited and voluble. He encountered a puma, a large one. He fired at close range and wounded it. We see a track of blood, and instantly set out to follow it. It is too dark now; we are forced to retreat back to camp, blazing the trees along the route to find the trail in the morning.

[342] At camp the Djukas erect four uprights and a roof of palm frond, as a shield from the rain and heavy dew. Another is rigged for their own use, and the hammocks are slung underneath. Again they sit up around the campfire and tell loud stories, the same ones, probably.

Sitting by the campfire in the pathless interior, thinking of the hundreds of desperate and difficult miles of surrounding jungle, blue by day and black by night, in the company of a few Negroes without whom it would be impossible to return, it is difficult for anyone to escape a feeling of weakness and insignificance. One scoffs at the black man's superstitions, his amulets and guardian spirits, but in the bush at night one senses the overpowering magnitude of the fierce wilderness, one begins to understand his need for such things as a protection against the psychological powers of the darkness. We realize, of course, that there is little in the bush capable of hurting anyone, save some big cats and a few rare snakes. But, as a sceptic has said, it is not reason which governs men.

132 Late that night forked lightning lit up the eerie passages of the jungle. The corridors of trees were filled with wind. The branches, whipped furiously by the great volume of fast

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

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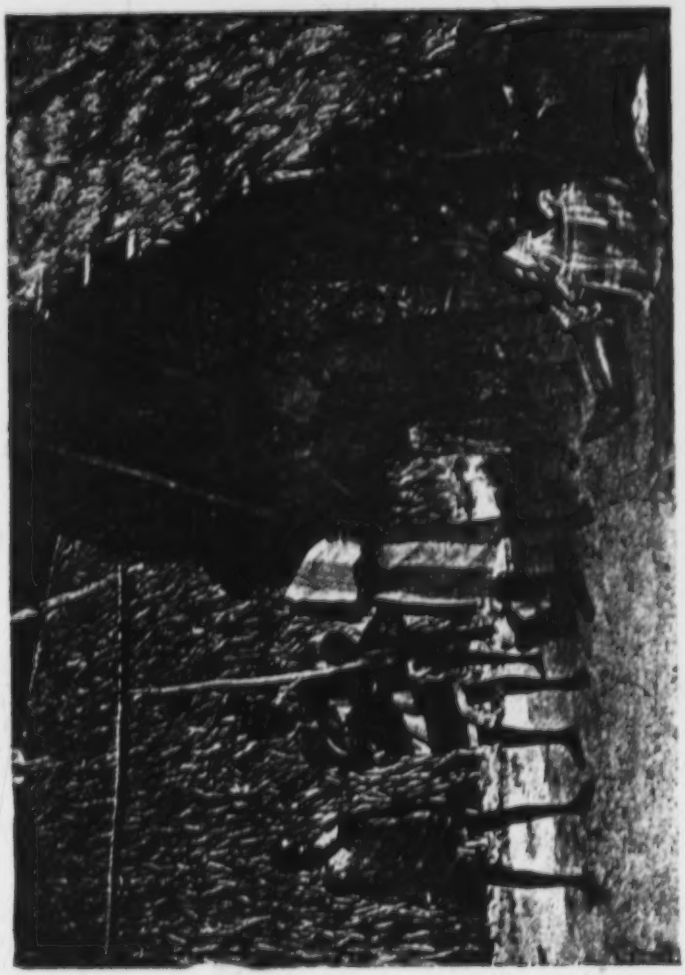

A Family Group, Lower Saramacca River.

[Facing p. 92]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

Although the huts are of Africanesque architecture, similar 342
to those of the Aucaner tribe, there is, at times, more wooden board in the construction and less thatch.

During the expedition of 1928 we were informed that the 316
Bonis, particularly at the village of Apatoo, were conversant 326
with the old West African method of smelting iron and manufacturing it into implements of various kinds. This claim proved to be entirely groundless. If there is any iron ore in the neighbourhood, these tribesmen do not know where it is, and most certainly do not understand how to smelt it.

It was in Africa that the art of iron working is supposed to have originated, and the iron work of West Africa, whence the Djukas came, is a thing of beauty. But the Djukas have lost this hereditary art. Among the Bonis, the work in metal seems to be limited to the soldering of copper French coins to bracelets made of iron or copper pipe, which they procure by trade or from the machinery of long abandoned French gold exploitations. They also make brass bracelets and anklets of considerable width out of brass piping obtained from a similar source. The piping is split with the sharp blade of an axe and hammered into shape with the blunt end. We were able to obtain a stiletto with an iron blade and a handle of brass riveted to it with copper, but we are under the impression that the blade, at least, is of French or Italian manufacture.

In their general habits as regards hunting, fishing, agri- 184
culture, canoe building, social customs and structure, dress, 619
and so on, the Bonis are quite similar to the Aucaners. They speak a dialect of talkee-talkee which has distinct differences [191
from the Aucaner and the Saramaccaner in that it contains a 192]
good deal of French words.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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A Bush Negro Mother on the Lower Saramacca River.

[Facing p. 112]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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Marriage requires a bride price, consisting of pieces of 583
cloth, sugar, tobacco, and some carved wooden implements, such as combs, paddles, trays. These are handed over to the bride's family as presents. Then the wife simply moves into her husband's hut, or he into hers. Despite their pre-marital 585
promiscuity, it is said that on the bridal night all the inhabitants of a Bush Negro village will gather outside the hut to hear what the husband has to say regarding the bride's virginity. If the girl is not a virgin, part of the bride price may be refunded, at the husband's discretion. The gathering on such an occasion is attended by much jocularity.

The Djuka husband builds a hut for each one of his women 593
and has another for himself, to which he may retire when- 342
ever he feels the need of bachelor seclusion. The woman 591
sleeps in her own hut, cooks, and raises her children there. The husband comes to her when he wants to, and leaves her for another wife when impulse so guides him. She seldom quarrels with the other wives, who may even live in separate villages.

Each wife has her own provision ground, where she grows 593
rice and cassava; her husband has cleared it for her. The cas- 241
562
sava fields are owned by individual women, but are held in [423]
very loose tenure. At harvest time, or when a plague of insects is threatening, the women of several households work [476]
together in common.

The man's hut is called his *gudu oso,* or "treasure house." 342
It serves to impress his women with his importance and 556
wealth. They are forbidden to enter it, but, woman-like, they insist on peeping in. So he keeps many boxes and wood carv-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

342 ings inside, to give the idea of affluence. The women looking
556 into the dim interior are awed by the numerous boxes. They are usually empty, however.

837 When men go away on hunting or fishing trips, adultery
684 frequently occurs. If it is discovered by the husband's family, they seize the wife and beat her. Her own family rushes to her aid, and a general mêlée ensues. The village is soon in
[622] an uproar, and to the captain belongs the unpleasant and thankless task of stopping the fight. There is considerable excitement for a few minutes. Many a hot listless evening is provided with a momentary thrill because someone's wife has been careless. After the mêlée the wife is usually forgiven, and the village returns to its normal routine.

586 Divorce is easy. A married woman merely informs the bosseia and captain, and moves out of her husband's hut, going back to her parents or to her lover. Even this formality may be dispensed with if she simply locks the door and refuses to let her husband enter. There is an heroic simplicity to this procedure. The husband may do the same, divorcing any one of his wives without assigning any reason for his action. The parting—we hesitate to distinguish it as a divorce—is usually on the woman's initiative; men leave their wives not so often as their wives leave them. Usually a husband will endure a wife until domestic dissension makes his life unbearable. Among women the motives for divorce vary; a husband's impotence is a very adequate reason, for of all masculine virtues the Djuka women esteem virility the most. Impotence seems to be common among primitive peoples after

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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A Witch Doctor's House, Upper Surinam River. The sugar-cane stalks and the turtle shell impaled on a staff are badges of this profession.

[Facing p. 136]

682 /8 cont./

[672] culprit is condemned to find the requital in his offspring. His
[567] children, children's children, and great-grandchildren must render slave services for the family of the person poisoned.

692 Moreover, they usually act in accordance with the judgment and the decision of their elders or council members. Most punish-
681 ments consist of whip lashes.

Chapter IV

Weapons

411 These consist of rifles, machetes, bow and arrow, and lances.
278 In some cases they also use a kind of cudgel (1). The most dangerous
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1. An Indian weapon called apoetoe.

one that they possess, however, is an assortment of vegetable poisons with which they can secretly strike their enemies and whose effects manifest themselves slowly, but are usually lethal. They not only mix these with one food or another, or in snuff or tobacco, but in the case of some can merely bring them in contact with a part of the body and thereby produce to the most infectious results.

/9/

Chapter V

Dwellings, Practices, Customs, Housekeeping

342 Their huts are constructed low above the ground from un-
824 worked round wood, covered with pina, the leaves of a palm species (1), and surrounded by palisade pales.

1. Euterpe oleracea Mart.

352 The couches and sleeping places within are also made of paling.

354 Inside the hut is found the hearth or place for the fire, on
372 which they cook and in which they constantly maintain a fire for

354 /9 cont./
[372] they do not like to be without it; at least they do not like to
[353] sleep without a fire. Their weapons hang above their sleeping
[513] place, which is a hammock, in which man and wife sometimes lie together. Rarely do more than one man and one woman with their
342 small children live in a single hut.

296 Their articles of clothing, as well as other small belongings,
251 are kept in pagalen, a kind of plaited basketwork, while they keep
415 water, strong drinks, sugar juice, rice, salt, and so forth in
824 calabashes and godos (2).

2. Both hollowed-out fruit rinds of the Crescentia cagete L. and the Cucurbita lagenaria L., plants from the family of the Cucurbitaceae.

415 Some of them have cedarwood clothes-chests, which must be specially mounted with a great deal of copper; one also sometimes finds liqueur cellars with gilded bottles.

353 For the rest everything is left out in the open in the hut.

264 Often many men come together in one hut for their meals and eat out of one large bowl or calabash. The women withdraw after having placed on very low tables several calabashes or bowls of food for their husbands in the circle in which they are seated, never forgetting to add a large calabash with clean water for washing the hands before and after the meal. The women gather in another hut in order to consume what they kept out for themselves beforehand and what has been left by their husbands.

[888] If an aged person or a highly placed person is in their midst,
[554] he is offered the calabash of food first, so that he may take from it what he wants and eat it by himself from an ordinary plate, although seated in the circle, /10/ while the others partake of their meal from the large bowl. In general they talk with one another during the meal, the highly placed person also taking part in the conversation.

/6 cont./

133 Flooding is very variable according to the configuration of the rivers and the nature of the terrain.

133 At the Creole village of Grigel, situated at the bottom of
361 a glove-finger loop of the Waki River, the June flooding reaches
171 a level of eight meters above the average level in the dry season; the Creole and Indian villages of the Waki are established on hills. On the contrary, along the Lawa whose course is rectilinear, the variation in level is seldom greater than four meters. The maximum water level is 50 centimeters to one meter /above/
[342] the soil of the alluvial terrace. Several of the Creole and Boni
[484] villages of the Lawa are even established at the very edge of the great river; the houses are built on piles and their occupants go home by boat during several weeks of the year. Nevertheless, most of the villages and farming habitations are outside the reach of flooding on terraces situated about five meters above the high-water mark, which are found from place to place at the edge of the river and which perhaps mark vestiges of an ancient terrace. This is notably the case with Boniville and Loka villages.

137 The whole of the territory is entirely covered by equatorial forest: a forest continuous and dense which extends over hundreds of kilometers without a village, without a clearing, without a trail.

The Guiana forest is less high than is ordinarily thought. It is an infinite succession of trees of all dimensions and of extremely varied species, among which true giants are rare; the average height of the cover is around 30 meters, and large trunks are rare.

824 The variety of species is very great; and the useful ones, few in number and dispersed, are difficult to exploit. The Refugee Blacks, who have a deep knowledge of the forest and its resources, utilize scarcely ten species out of the some 200 which they differentiate, judging the others unusable either because their

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Fig. 5. Boni Village

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Fig. 6. The fraga
[illegible]ki of the Kotika
[illegible]

/39 cont./

648 posts except as they present themselves for recording of vital statistics or for registration on voting lists.

administration has for a long time appeared /40/ in the eyes of the inhabitants of the interior as a benevolent office); but they obey the old African maxim of never telling the whites more than half of what they know.

125 In the absence of any nominal census which could serve as a point of departure, this job presented considerable difficulties arising principally from the extreme mobility of the population:

[484] —Never is the whole population of a village assembled together simultaneously; the proportion of those absent frequently reaches 50 per cent, especially in the fine season (hunting, fishing, boating, clearings at the farming habitations, etc.);

[551] —A good many men and women have two, sometimes three, names used interchangeably. If one does not personally know a large part of the inhabitants of the villages and does not have at his disposal carefully made-up genealogical tables, it is impossible to understand anything;

[115] —If the men respond in good faith, it is not the same with the women, who are inaccessible to any reasoning. Some try to cash in on the information they give, others obstinately refuse to answer;

125 —A number of adolescents and even of men between 20
591 and 35 years old have no regular hut. Each Boni, man or woman,
342 is in principle expected to build a hut in one of the "great villages." But this residence may be fictitious: It can, for example, be a tumbled-down hut which they intend to put up again some day... or the pent roof of the house of the mother or a brother, under which they install themselves on days when a ceremony causes the lineage to meet together, residing the rest of the year in a farming habitation.

6:Hurault--107a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/facing p. 76/

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Fig. 15. House type of the Refugee Blacks; Loabi village (Djuka of the Upper Tapanahoni).

/150 cont./

593 Nothing marks better the small place the conjugal bond
342 has in a man's life; imagine the torture which this forced living
461 and crowding together represent for each of these women! The
[198] Boni of today, much richer than their ancestors and better equipped with tools, are singularly lazier in building houses; no longer is anyone seen to sculpture and decorate the façades lovingly; when a man, after many recriminations, decides to build a house for his wife, he is content most of the time now with a simple shelter with plaited walls, which does not require 30 days work.

595 As we have said, each man may take as many wives as he wishes, on condition that he can supply their needs; but in practice the maintenance of a household is so heavy a load that most men have only one or two wives; only one to our knowledge
593 has three. In fact, it is contrary to custom to free oneself by
[461] paying for work which one must do for one's wife. We have
[556] never heard it said that a rich man (many of them have hundreds
[454] of thousands of francs in savings) paid money in place of a piece of work, or paid someone to do it for him. The furnishing of
[439] imported objects is particularly burdensome, especially cloth, kitchen utensils (Boni women are infatuated with aluminum
[511] objects), and occasionally jewels. The Boni conceded in 1958 that the maintenance of a wife amounted to 30 to 40 thousand
[434] francs a year at least. If one considers that a hard-working man
[511] earned about 120,000 francs a year, that he spent 30 to 40
[595] thousand francs a year for himself, that he often had /151/ in addition to provide for the needs of his aged parents and share the expenses of the festivals of the lineage, one sees that he could not have more than two wives at the same time. As for
[434] less hard-working men, who have no more than 60 to 80 thousand
[511] francs a year in ready money, they have a great deal of trouble
[586] in facing the maintenance of a single household, and many divorces have no other cause.

e:Hurault--342a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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Fig. 26. Woman possessed by a Papa gadu god.

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Fig. 27. Dance of possession (Papa gadu worship).

/272 cont./

*539 It began to fry for them. It fried until... they went to get their other brothers and their mother Wénon. They arrived, carrying calabashes and all sorts of receptacles; comrades, they put in them meat, fritters, all kinds of food. They loaded themselves up with all these things to the very limit.

They said: "Stop." It stopped, gban! Comrades, they climbed up to the attic (1); they lifted up the bunches of rice,

• [342]

1. Meaning by that the roof of huts, separated by a ceiling of planks.

they slipped all that underneath, zou! They hid these things so that Anansi might not see them, until they were finished. There! They went, took some lemon, took a brush. They cried: "We are going to teach Anansi a lesson today, we are tired of hearing him say that he does not want to eat spinach, we are going to make him see!" And so they did. They poured the lemon juice, tollo! They rubbed the (frying-pan) with rice straw (2). It is done! They hung it up again.

2. It is necessary to understand that it was through malevolence and not inadvertence that Anansi's wife and children destroyed the power of the frying-pan.

They went away until dinner time. Anansi came. Wénon had cooked spinach with rice: "Brother Anansi, since thou art already here, come, take something to eat; we have not found much that was good." He said: "Sister, I am still not eating. My belly is not open. While I was walking in the

village. A household was not confined to one building only, but few who were not men of rank and means had more than three. One was for the woman and her children, another for storing the crops, and the third was the man's treasure house, where women might not come. It was like the matter of wives. Only men of position could afford more than one. But if a man had two wives and both lived in his village, then perhaps five huts would bear a design identified with him on the carved side posts which outlined the low doorway. This design would recur in the various carvings he had made for his women—it was his crest. And though a man from another village, who was not related to him, might like it, and liking it copy it, this practice would be socially frowned upon.

A village quarter, however, did not contain only dwelling places, and storehouses, and men's treasure houses. Certain families also had in their part of the village an enclosed shrine for the family gods. If in a given family a powerful Vodu, or snake god, had come to an ancestress and had in a dream, or in a seizure, or through a revelation made to an obia man, chosen her as his *'asi*—his priestess or medium—then with this disclosure came the instructions for the place of locating a house of worship to that Vodu, and the type of house it was to be. Such a shrine, once erected, would be kept in the quarter, and worshiped by the members of that family. Sometimes in front of a dwelling hut, a low enclosure, the size of a small kennel, would stand a little to the side of the door. This was a house to Toné, the river spirit. In one such house lived a woman who had a great Toné god. She had the gift of prophecy. When the men gathered for a council meeting in the village of the Granman, then she, too, would sometimes be bidden to come and sit with the men, though, being a woman, she could never speak at council meetings.

"Touch her skin," the other women said, pointing out this albino woman, "and you will have your desires fulfilled."

In each quarter, too, there was an open house where the women did their cooking, and perhaps a platform or two,

343 where, in the proper season, maripa nuts and rice were dried.

One quarter differed very little from another, except that in one there might grow the plant which yielded the red and black beans used for the sacred rattles, and for playing the game of adji, which entertained the spirit of the dead while the body lay in state. Instead of a house to the family gods, there might be found a mound of earth in front of one doorway, with an axe-head lying upon it as a shrine for a man's spirit, or a low forked stick sunk into the ground, holding a pot with water and weeds in it for the curing powers of its obia.

A village of any size had also a quarter in which stood the communal buildings. The council house which might also serve on occasion as the house for the dead was there. The menstrual house for the women, a small building which was recognized by a broken calabash, or a porcelain pot brought from the white man's city, lying outside the entrance, stood a little to the side. The Kromanti house, and perhaps an enclosed shelter for the bush gods who shared the shrine with the snake deities, was also located somewhere near the open communal shrine. A village wherein lived the clan head contained in addition a house for the ancestral spirits of the clan. This was called a *Fa'aka-pau wosu*, literally a flagpole house, a euphemism for the shrine to the ancestors for whom white cotton was put up on sticks. In this Fa'aka-pau wosu prayers were offered up for all the important ventures of the clan, and in time of stress a priest would come there with sacrifices, to bid one of the ancestors to enter his body and give him sight. When seizure came on, such a priest prophesied. Sometimes the ancestors were consulted in the same manner as that in which the will of the dead was ascertained. Men would take up a sacred plank and carry it in a state of possession; the elders would put questions to the ancestor who had been called. The answers were construed as favorable or unfavorable according to the way the plank tipped.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

cloths, their hair disheveled, their faces without the glint 787
which the oil gave to their dark skins, and their eyes without the touch of dark flame which the gleaming skins brought out. One of these women stood leaning against a doorpost trembling. Her hands were clenched, and her mouth moved without pause, and without sound.

"She hears the agida?"

"Ai. She wants to dance, but she can't. Her god is troubling her."

The white woman must not stop with them longer, and she must not come closer, the two women who stood beside their quivering companion called out at once, for the obia which she wore about her neck would be contaminated if brought too close to them, and its power to protect the wearer against danger would leave it at once.

"Do not come too close. Tomorrow I will return to my house, and after I have bathed and washed in pemba, I will be clean again, and then I will come to see you," the younger of the two women said.

The other said, "When you go there," and she pointed toward the woman's path, "do not go by the way of the broken calabashes. That is the unclean way. It is the path [841]
for the women who stay in this house."

Down the clearing the white woman continued until, 343
when she turned, the open cooking shelter of Bassia Anaisi's quarter faced her. The floor of the shelter was of red clay, raised well above the clearing itself. A woman was laying a fire there, putting down the long sticks one end close to the other in the center, so that they radiated outwards in what seemed a perfect circle. Her child, who was fitted out with obias on neck and wrists and right ankle, sat [524]
near by watching her, and playing with a gourd doll.

The voice of the agida had a moment before died down, 533
and now a song reached the white woman. It came not from across the river, but from somewhere directly behind the houses grouped about the clearing beyond the cooking shelter. The song was a repetition of several melodic phrases, sung in varying rhythms, so that it had a disturb-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

is used as a living-room; cooking is sometimes carried on 342
there, but more often in an open communal kitchen used by
the entire village. Some towns have several such open sheds. [343]

We enter the hut where the headman of the village lives, 648
and find him lying in his hammock. It is perhaps a bit of 609
conscious arrogance, to demonstrate his independence of the [352]
white man, that the captain does not rise to greet us. He rises,
however, to greet Abaisa.

"Well, friend, how are you?" we begin. In talkee-talkee
the question runs: *"So, matti, fie you tang?"*

He replies civilly, complaining a little, perhaps. We offer
him a few leaves of tobacco, always acceptable. While we
parley with the chief, the men of the village are carrying our
equipment up from the corials to the village. This they always
do, without being asked and without being paid. Even small
children take part in the portage. Nothing is ever stolen.

Quite conscious of the heat inside the dark hut, we do not 648
palaver long. Leaving the two chiefs lolling in hammocks we 184
pass out of the breast-high doorway into the clearing, and go
about examining the living-quarters and the people. This is a
village of the Saramaccaner tribe, descended from the Sara-
macca rebels of two hundred years ago. All the huts and vil-
lages of this tribe are quite similar. Among the Aucaner tribe,
descended from the Ouca rebels, are villages of a different
type.

One does not doubt the good intentions of the Moravian 797
Brothers and certain Catholics who have established missions
at a few points on the rivers. But their evangelical efforts have

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Rice, especially when ripening, is attacked by birds, particularly the parakeets and parrots. These can destroy an entire 343 field in one evening. Sometimes the Djukas are forced to sit 136 up all night with shotguns to scare them off. Weevils and plant diseases are also common.

They have large sweet potatoes, known as yams, but no 262 white potatoes. Corn, which they call *koru;* okra, or *oko;* and peanuts (*pinda*), form a minor part of the Djuka diet. There are occasional banana and cocoanut trees, and some pineapples and breadfruit. Some few additional nuts and fruits are furnished by the jungle. Palm oil, of which they are excessively fond, is another part of the commissary. No journey is undertaken without a liberal supply. It is obtained by squeezing the nut or fruit of a species of palm, called the mareepa. To the white man it tastes like olive oil. Sugar cane is seen in a number of villages, as are domestic fowl. No cattle [231] or swine are to be found.

Thus the Bush Negroes carry on with courage and extreme hardihood under the implacable necessities of life in the enemy jungle, in which the white man has never been able to make his home successfully.

A common sight along the river is a Djuka black, poised 226 on a slippery rock in statuesque immobility, his bow flexed 516 and arrow drawn, shooting for fish.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

obeiahs, house gods, fetish houses, menstrual huts, and matrilineal system of inheritance are all to be found as ancient customs among the forest tribes of the West Coast. Other details, such as the use of chickens for sacrificial animals, the huts with their rectangular walls, the manufacture of butter from the palm worm, the sacredness of snakes and alligators, the use of drums for religious supplication, and the beating of them with the hand instead of with a stick as the Indians do, are also customs which are similar to West African customs and probably derived from them. The impaled turtle-shell on a staff, the badge of the witch doctor's profession, represents the symbol for the female genitalia among some West African tribes. The Bush Negroes' boats and paddles are typically African in design. The *awasa* dance of the Saramaccaners was borrowed from the Aucaners, among whom it is a direct West African survival.

From the study of these culture survivals among the Djuka tribes it can be seen that most of the jungle civilization of the Bush Negroes is derived from their West African ancestry, modified here and there by contact with the Indians of their new home. The remainder of the material culture of the Bush Negroes is borrowed from the white settlements along the coast, from which gunpowder, fish-hooks, bush-knives, and other articles filter upstream.

[p. 192 is blank]

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[For information on various types of buildings and other physical structures or facilities present in each of the Boni villages, see the village plans on pp. 66, 68, 70, 72, 74, and 76, category 116. Included are data on the occurrence of menstrual huts (munu), kitchens, granaries, and sundry other outbuildings, religious structures (gadu), mortuary sheds, boatbuilding yards, guest houses for visitors, wharfs, fraga tiki (i.e. lineage ancestor cult shrines and objects), and useful trees within the village area which are personally owned.]

/254 cont./

841 Woman's magic power. The Refugee Blacks assume that a woman, during her menstrual periods, is impure and has the power to destroy the power of ɔbia. So during these periods she must withdraw into a special hut, munu ɔsu, and prepare her meals in special dishes; she may not prepare her husband's food, for by doing this she would destroy the power of his ɔbia, and must abstain from touching objects he habitually uses, particularly his gun, which would lose its good points for shooting. Even in the little farming habitations which consist of only several huts, one may be sure that one of them serves as a munu ɔsu.

841 343 462 [465] The munu ɔsu are very simple sheds built by the women themselves, using reclaimed materials taken from huts being demolished; some belong to one woman only; for others, three or four women get together. They have recourse to men only for assembling the framework, remunerating them with several cans of couac or several baskets of yams.

841 /255/ A man who has a powerful ɔbia like the man nẽŋge ɔbia must abstain from speaking to a woman who has her menses.

[751] The Boni assume there are women wicked enough to willfully hide their menses in order to destroy the power of a man's ɔbia, but he who has a good man nẽŋge ɔbia cannot be a dupe: the iron circle warns him of the danger by squeezing his arm.

184 841 68 According to Mr. W. F. van Lier, the act of willfully hiding her menses is for the Djuka one of the gravest offenses a woman can commit, and the most severe punishments are inflicted on her. It is not the same with the Boni: in such a case a woman risks only being insulted and banned.

752 834 171 Another deeply rooted belief among the Refugee Blacks, and which exists with many Creoles, is the necessity for the

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

796 This ritual might have brought Gedeonsu, or Tinné—
776 whoever was called. The two could not, however, be taken
824 at the same time, for one of them had to be left to care for the child Dyombie. If two of the kankan tree gods were wanted, then mother and child, or father and child, would be sought.

824 "The kankan tree spirits are not bad, but people fear
776 them. They are not as bad as the Akatasi gods."

The Akatasi gods were those which animated the kato liana, and were related to the gods of the ant hill. This kato bush was a terrible parasite which, getting its strangle hold on a tree, would rise higher than the tree itself and at last kill it.

The silk-cotton, however, was a friendly tree and cruel only when its spirits were tampered with by those who did not know how to control the gods. When the ancestors came into this river, which "in early days was only a creek," it was they who had sought out these trees, and had made their villages where they stood. Now the trees had become great, and the villages were great.

Here was the silk-cotton tree at S'ei, one of the greatest of all. Its roots made ridges in the path to the village. Under the spiritual guard they spread, and to the large oval of wood fixed on a wooden base which stood a short distance from it, and to the low shelter where, on the head of a crudely carved image, rested a whitened covered pot, and farther to the mound of earth on which stood offerings. Farther still the roots followed the path, and into the village itself, until, perhaps half a mile from the tree, they reached the Kromanti house and the village council house and the home of the chief. It was as though these roots were the arteries which fed strength to the Kromanti spirits dwelling there, and as if they brought the wisdom of the ancestors to the shelter where the men of the village gathered to hear and try cases, to discuss the will of men and gods as they touched upon the well-being of the people.

● 344 Upon our arrival we were bidden to the council house, where men and women were waiting about. This was an

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 19[illegible]
SR8 [illegible]sh Negroes SR8
Saramacca

open shelter, covered by a gabled thatch. At both sides the eaves extended several feet from the posts which supported the roof, and almost touched the ground. The floor was of red clay, hardened and smooth. There were no stools about, and no other decorations. Men summoned to a council came with their own council benches. About two of the slender posts which faced the path were obias made of twined native sisal, of narrow strips of blue and red cotton, and cowrie shells. Each differed a little from the other, and each had its own potency, but what this was, none would say. On one of the crosspieces below the eaves were large balls of hardened red clay. They had been put there by the old women to await the time for molding the clay into the obia pots, which, after they had been fired, would be blackened with the soot of rice hulls and oil and refired.

Against the crossbeams in one corner of the council house the women had gathered, and at the other end the men were seated on their stools, with Captain And'u and the bassia, the man second in command, among them. While the men were discussing the Neng'e Nana, their Negro grandfathers from Africa, the women were addressing some direct questions to the white woman.

Why was she not smoking a pipe, as fitted the position of a woman of rank who was on her way to visit the Granman? What had she done with her children when she went on this long journey which took twenty-one nights and days to reach the Suriname white man's city? Did she like her husband's other wife? Had she more children than the other wife? What rank would her sons inherit from their uncles?

"How many gods have you?" one of the younger women asked.

"I have four—three Vodu, and one Apuku," another said, as though the question had been put to her, and she could say with pride that she had three snake gods, and one bush god.

The bassia's handsome wife, who had overheard the men speak of the white man's book which showed pictures of their ancestors, said, "The whites read out of books. The

where, in the proper season, maripa nuts and rice were dried.

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1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

574 there not only to tender the courtesy due the guests of the
576 tribal head, but to see that no such mishap occurred to
609 them.
643 When we had both gained the ascent, he turned to the Granman.

"Headman Yankuso, the Bak'a is before you."

As though just become aware of us, Yankuso fixed us with his eyes, fastening his glance on each in turn.

"Odi, white man. White woman, odi!"

A great figure of a man he was, as he stood there. Tall and massive of build, he towered over those who surrounded
[291] him. Barefooted like the rest, there was [illegible] his bearing which was the way of a man who was accustomed to obedience, whose word was final. He was pure Negro. His skin was dark. In his features there was no hint that the lineage of this ruler held any of the blood of the white masters, nor that his ancestors numbered among them Indians who had given way before his invading forbears. His face was impassive, yet underneath the outward immobility was an alertness which the glistening, oil-anointed skin made the more alive. His speech was measured, his words articulated with studied emphasis, which gave to each of them the value of a completed image.

"*Bari*—Cry out!" he called to the women in his vibrant voice. "Halloo, give the welcome of the bush to the people who came."

Amid the renewed cries which his command brought, we turned from the river bank and walked slowly up the path toward the village, past the silk-cotton tree, past the shrine to the ancestors, until we reached an open place on which fronted half a dozen thatched buildings.

"This is my house, white man," he said, pointing to it. "I will put you near me. I will put you in the council house."

4

●344 The council house at Asindopo Lantiwe—the village of Asin, the seat of government—was unlike any we had seen.

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Two of its walls were of the plaited palm fronds which were entwined into so pleasant a pattern on the houses of the Bush Negroes. The side walls, however, were carpentered of slats which formed a paling, and over this the slanting roof hung. Through the spaces between the slats we could see the brown feet of the passing villagers, an occasional flare of a gay tunic, or a corner of a man's cloth. Occasionally the big eyes of a child who had wandered over to the paling peered through, to see what was happening inside. Through the slats of the wall nearest to the Granman's house we saw tall earthen jars resting on a plank. There were perhaps four of them, all of varying sizes, and these held creek and river water to which the magic properties of weeds and incantations had been added. 344 353 [915]

The purposes of these slats were manifold. Not everyone could sit within the council house when the tribal chiefs gathered. Only those whose rank qualified them appeared inside when court was held. But to those sitting quietly outside those palings which formed the side walls of the house, what was spoken inside was clearly audible, and it was thus that many listened for the decisions which they awaited. Then, too, since this was an enclosed council house and when the door was open a plaid cloth hung over the doorway to insure privacy, the only light which penetrated came through these openings in the side walls. The eaves hung low, barring much of the light that might have come through the palings, and this allowed but the grayest flicker even at midday and brought into the council house the atmosphere which symbolized to them the cool of morning. The word "cool" was their image for peace, and health, and fairness, and deliberation, and justice. Inside the council house, then, was a light which "cooled the heart," for heart and head are synonymous to the Bush Negro when he speaks of emotional states. 344 623 [554] [827]

It was not a large house, and it appeared smaller because of the many furnishings that were in it. Against the wall facing the door a number of magnificently carved benches lay on their sides, one on top of the other, there obviously 344 352

344 to be admired for their artistry, but there also for ceremo-
352 nial purposes which were never divulged. When one of these benches was later taken down to show the magic of paper which, placed on the top of a carving and rubbed with black crayon, reproduced the design beneath, the Granman looked startled, and then ordered that it be replaced. Nor were other rubbings allowed.

531 On both sides of these massed benches were many objects
352 which could barely be distinguished in the half darkness of the house. There were guns and canisters, there were a few native brooms, and several wrapped parcels.
[534] There was also an apinti drum on which the gods were
[998] addressed. Not even at Ma'lobbi, where the chief, a famous carver, showed us many remarkable products of his art, did we see designs worked with the fine, sure lines or the beauty of individual motifs such as were traced on this apinti. The carving was in relief and covered the entire surface of the drum, which stood about three feet high, curving outwards from the top, and resting on a narrow circular base which raised its body about six inches from the ground. It was covered with a deerskin that use and exposure to the atmosphere had stained unevenly to shades of amber.

344 Facing these carvings was the door which, itself of
776 wood, swung on wooden hinges of native fashioning. In
532 relief appeared the Earth Mother, and surrounding her were the symbols of fertility. No man, not even the Granman himself, dared speak her name in this council house. At
[695] trials, when oaths were taken, she might be appealed to, but to call her idly would bring down her wrath on the Granman's clan, and, perhaps not stopping there, since the council house was of all the clans, she would revenge herself upon all the people of the Saramacca River. The carving was more beautiful than on the apinti which stood against the opposite wall. The greatest artist on the river had made it.

"That man had the gods, ya-hai," the men said, when we talked of the Granman's carvings.

AT THE COURT OF THE GRANMAN

Above the door was a shelf which did not quite reach the entire width of the wall, and on this shelf were the council benches, which the Granman supplied to the visiting chiefs. These benches were small, low, and as little ornamented with carvings as the work stools used by the women. But on the sides symbols were incised, and at least two of them we were able to identify as clan emblems. One of these had the conventionalized patterning of the hatchet, the emblem of the Granman's clan, and another a flower which is associated with the people from whose group come the principal diviners. The tops of these simple stools sometimes had inlays of dark wood, but whether their outlines were of ritualistic importance or not, no one would say.

From the beams hung several umbrellas, still inside the wrappings in which they had come from the white man's city, and a wickless metal lamp, into whose chains envelopes were inserted. These envelopes contained letters received by the Granman which awaited the coming of the missionary to be read, or letters which had already been read, and were there to add color to the official scene.

There were also other *Bakra sani*—white man's things—in the house. A canvas folding chair which filled almost an entire wall stood against the slats beside which, on the outside, were the earthen jars. This was for the Granman. He sat in it with the majesty of an emperor. No one ever approached it too closely, and we were never invited to take our ease in it when the Granman was in his own house.

In addition, there was a table in the center of the room, covered with a red and black plaid cloth from the city, and two straight-back chairs. On the table stood an alarm clock which was set for the noncommittal hour of twelve and a glass decanter filled with rum.

Chief And'u was the first to join us inside.

"It is fine here at the G'aman's."

"Yes, it is a fine house. And you, And'u, you look well in your coat. Is it when you are with the Granman that you dress so?"

/7 cont./

101 [175] [567] 4th. Bonnie /Boni/ Negroes, living on the river above Marowyne; until 1862 they were in a state of slavery among the Aucaners, but at that time, through the intervention of the government, they were released from it. Their name is supposed to be derived from a former runaway slave who had placed himself at their head.

Chapter III

Government, Laws, Administration of Justice

643 [292] Each of these tribes, except for the Bonnie Negroes, has a chief whom they call granman (governor); the uniform given to him by the government is a blue tunic with epaulets and a cocked hat with white plush.

Among the Aucaners the chief is called Byman, a cunning, courageous, and prudent man, around 63 years old.

The chief of the Saramaccaners is called Abram, an infirm old man who is very weak of character and has little influence.

The Mantoewari Negroes have a chief called Kalkoen, who, although aged and infirm, can nonetheless still be called firm of character.

631 /8/ Under their chief they have a certain number of captains and council members. The former are divided into bush captains, who take command in case of war, and into house or land cap- [554] tains, who deal with internal matters with the chief. The token of their prestige given to them by the government consists of a large staff with a round silver ball (drum-major's stick), on which is the Netherlands coat of arms with "Je maintiendrai."

344 They have a large open shed which serves them as court and which they call kroetoehoso (probably derived from the English "courthouse").

682 Their legislation is very limited. One who kills another is punished with death; one who poisons someone suffers death by torture, provided that substantial irrefutable proof exists. (See Chapter XI below.) If the death penalty is not appropriate, the

/25 cont./

928 The peace conditions are determined in a large building
695 (shed). This shed is entirely open, they call it their court of
[344] justice, derived from kroetoe hoso or piketti (1). When they find

1. Piketti, place where the execution of the punishment takes place.

themselves there, whether this takes place after the conclusion of an internecine battle, or between spouses, members of a family, or former friends, the heads of the parties gather in the shed referred to and choose their places in the upper part of the building. Subsequently those concerned in this matter place themselves in the vicinity of the heads, and around these all those present who make up the public.

When all have been placed, one of the heads takes a cup (as a rule a calabash) filled with dram or still unfermented sugar
[769] cane. He scatters a few drops of this on the ground in various places
[782] in the shed, which signifies that their ancestors, who also once sat on this spot and passed judgment, are to be called up in the memory of all, and that the deceased, by having this offering presented to them first, have had respect paid to them.

Once this solemnity has been carried out, the cup goes around to each one, and each of those present takes a small draught from it. After it has been emptied, and none of them has refrained from drinking from it, the peace is regarded as concluded; all feuds are forgiven, and the enmity has ceased to exist.

Should it happen that one of those present refuses to drink, then he must publicly give the reason for his refusal, and then it may sometimes happen that the considerations concerning the quarrel start anew.

[693] /26/ Then the elders or council members ordinarily withdraw from the shed and leave behind only their granman (1).

1. Head or governor.

Those who have withdrawn divide themselves into different groups and consult with one another, make the matter clear and

REBEL DESTINY

133 But now a soft haze floated over stream and bush. To the right was the Ingi Sopi channel, dropping so sheer that not even an unloaded dugout could make its way up the rapids, not a single log of wood could be floated down. To the left was the Mamadam, a smoother, more rounded slope. It was up these falls that our boats would later be hauled.

501 484 Below us on the rocks our men were unloading the corials and carrying the provisions along the narrow trodden path to the topmost ledge of the falls, where the empty dugouts would be reloaded after they had been taken up through the streaming water.

133 Beyond lay the full stretch of the river. As far as the eye could see, there were none of the channels, none of the many islands which are met with everywhere on this river from its very headwaters to the reaches of the tidal belt near the coast. About us was a stillness which the very roar [136] of the water heightened. The parrots had long ago passed on in pairs. The butterflies would wait for the sun before they went winging from the east bank to the west. This was a moment of pure interlude. No sun, no breeze, no 000 sound, no glow. This was the moment before the fragmentary dawn would end, before the haze would lift, this the moment when night, having met day, as the Bush Negroes said, was disappearing from sight.

"It is fine here, ai!" Bayo called to us, as he walked on [482] with a large canister balanced on his head, making his way up the rocks with the sureness and ease of one who is strolling down a lane with the consciousness of a pleasant encounter at the next turning.

798 346 As soon as the mist had lifted, we walked up the rocks to the shrine. Facing us and the lower river, a tall, slender pole, weathered to a pale silver, stood higher than the roof of the shrine in front of which it was planted. At its top were the crude outlines of a head and, some three feet from its base, two side pieces were nailed to it and grounded at an angle to steady the image against the onrush of a sudden wind. A short distance from the pole was the shrine

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itself, an open shelter under a thatched roof resting on four posts. Inside it, upon the ground, lay a flat stone whitened with sacred clay, and on this a bottle stood. Directly behind the stone was the altar, a low table on which lay several egg-shaped pieces of the sacred pemba—the white clay—and some egg-shaped stones which had come from the bed of the river. A circle of iron, perhaps two fingers' breadth in thickness and having a diameter of ten or twelve inches, rested on the ground under the altar. A stick had been planted to face the thicket of wild pineapple that made a wall at the back, and from it hung a strip of white cotton for the ancestors. To the left of this was a simply carved stool, the tracery of its design become all but indistinguishable under the coat of white clay which covered it. Several bottles lay at the foot of this stool.

"Ya-hai, mati, you are praying to the Mother of the River. It is well," said Kasanya, as he came up to us with his pole-man and the men from Gankwe and interrupted our scrutiny of the shrine.

Followed by Sedefo and Asikanu, he entered the shrine, while the others stood with us outside the railing which connected at sides and back the posts upon which the roof rested. Kasanya called on the Sky God first. "*G'an gadu*," he began, "Mother of the River, Ancestors, grant that we travel safely. Grant that we bring the white man safely to the country of the Granman. Grant that the white man pay us well. I thank you."

As he finished, the listening men clapped their hands in unison, and spoke in chorus, "Great thanks!" Some distance away, down the slope which dropped to the river, was Bibifo, who wanted to be called Adrian. He did not come too near the shrine, but there he was, halfway up, with head bent, his lips moving as he muttered a prayer of his own.

Now Sedefo came forward, and Kasanya left the shrine and disappeared behind the pineapple bushes. When he came back he held leaves in his hand, which he said were sacred. He would crush them and put them in water dipped

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778
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Shrine of the Apuku gods.

Kromanti Mama.

Village guardians.

[Facing P. 158]

where, in the proper season, maripa nuts and rice were dried.

One quarter differed very little from another, except that in one there might grow the plant which yielded the red and black beans used for the sacred rattles, and for playing the game of adji, which entertained the spirit of the dead while the body lay in state. Instead of a house to the family gods, there might be found a mound of earth in front of one doorway, with an axe-head lying upon it as a shrine for a man's spirit, or a low forked stick sunk into the ground, holding a pot with water and weeds in it for the curing powers of its obia.

A village of any size had also a quarter in which stood the communal buildings. The council house which might also serve on occasion as the house for the dead was there. The menstrual house for the women, a small building which was recognized by a broken calabash, or a porcelain pot brought from the white man's city, lying outside the entrance, stood a little to the side. The Kromanti house, and perhaps an enclosed shelter for the bush gods who shared the shrine with the snake deities, was also located somewhere near the open communal shrine. A village wherein lived the clan head contained in addition a house for the ancestral spirits of the clan. This was called a *Fa'aka-pau wosu*, literally a flagpole house, a euphemism for the shrine to the ancestors for whom white cotton was put up on sticks. In this Fa'aka-pau wosu prayers were offered up for all the important ventures of the clan, and in time of stress a priest would come there with sacrifices, to bid one of the ancestors to enter his body and give him sight. When seizure came on, such a priest prophesied. Sometimes the ancestors were consulted in the same manner as that in which the will of the dead was ascertained. Men would take up a sacred plank and carry it in a state of possession; the elders would put questions to the ancestor who had been called. The answers were construed as favorable or unfavorable according to the way the plank tipped.

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342 643 uninhabited. Its posts and walls and thatch were in excellent condition, and there was not even the weather-beaten appearance about it of a house which had been closed for some time. Nor had it the kandu, the spiritual lock of unoccupied houses.

778 346 To one side of this house was the open shrine to the great gods, the pole to the Sky God, the smaller one with a checked tunic across the middle of it for the Earth Mother. But there was also a figure of wood with a broad white cloth hung from it like a flag, and this, the villagers said, was the image of the Granman's father. When the dead man's spirit came to the village, it was this image he animated. In times of need and on days fixed by ritual, it was to this image that prayers and food were brought.

Some distance from this shrine, standing close to the uncleared bush, was a house that had been deserted. Half of it the great bush had already reclaimed. The thatch of the roof and one entire side wall had altogether disappeared, and in place of these were garlands of leafy vines, so closely interwoven and so brilliantly green in the sun as to give to the asymmetrical mass of weathered grayish palm, and the strangling green, a strange beauty. Not quite two years ago it had been abandoned, and soon it would be completely lost to the bush.

But the villagers looked the other way when we photographed it.

A little to one side of the house with the doorposts which showed the Granman's crests was a smaller hut, before whose door stretched a magic azang of palm fronds that marked it as a shrine. [789]

"This house is for the Apuku gods," said an old woman who heard our inquiry. "It belongs to me. It was built when my god told me to make it." [796]

And without hesitation she led the way under the palm fronds through the opening.

This was the first time we had been permitted to enter a closed shrine. We had had descriptions of shrines from men with whom we had talked of the gods. There were some,

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they told us, though never willing to name the villages where they stood, whose walls were most elaborately ornamented with symbols marked in red and black and white, the three sacred colors which appeared on the stools and which the men used for painting their faces and bodies for the dances. On the upper river we had been told that these shrines were in the villages below, and on the lower river it was always intimated that it was up above where the great shrines stood. We had been told of stools which were whitened with sacred pemba, and blackened with soot in the *Fa'aka Pau* houses—the houses of the ancestral spirits—and of the covered whitened vessels which were in the Vodu and Apuku houses, the shrines for the bush and snake deities, placed there for the spirits when they chose to animate them.

So we found it in this house dedicated to the spirits of the bush.

The hut was narrow and long, with walls of woven palm, and a floor made of hard smooth clay into which bare feet had nevertheless worn grooves. To one side of the door stood a drum of the type called *tumao*—the long drum. It was cylindrical, and narrowed but slightly toward the bottom. White clay had once covered it, but now there were irregular lines of white marking the cracks in the wood.

On the other side of the door, against the same wall, lay several large balls of clay. These the old woman was keeping for the obia pots she would make from time to time. Among the Negroes of the town as well as in the bush, these black pots, made by women of the bush, were held to have great magical potency.

"I never make too many pots at once," the old woman said. "I make them for myself as I need them and for the young people of the family." A woman who had not passed her period of childbearing could not make them. "Obia pots are things for old, old women. I cannot tell you about making them."

Leaving these lumps of clay, the woman led us farther into the enclosure, until we stood in front of a raised altar

of earth which filled the rest of the hut. In the left-hand corner was a covered whitened vessel for the god called Kentina Dagowe. This Kentina Dagowe was a deity who was the offspring of the Dagowe snake, and the Apuku god of the bush whose name was Kentina. In him, as in so many other of the spirits, we found exemplified the Bush Negro's concept of the world which held that the gods mated as did humans, that all which stirred and had life came into being by such matings.

Other spirits also came to this house, the woman went on. Mundewaya, another of the bush gods, was worshiped at the white-covered pot in the opposite corner, while beside it lay the vessel to which the spirit of a third might come. This one was the most powerful of all bush gods, and his name was Danhowao. There were other objects on the platform. Two stools, daubed with sacred clay, had their place there, and in the center was an image of wood, a rounded pot set on a base that tapered from the ground toward it, and this was to the Nanai, the ancestors.

The old woman said, "For the Apuku gods, we only play the tumao drum. The Apuku are mostly women's gods, but some men have them, and the men who have them play the drums. When the god comes to you, then if you are not too old you dance. But we old women do not dance. When the god comes to me, then I begin to shake. I go into this house on the day we call him, and they play the drum. Then I talk to the god. If I have something to beg of him for myself, or for someone else, then I put the pot which belongs to him on my head, and the drum calls him. When my body begins to shake, then it is the god. He has come, and when I speak it is not I but the god speaking."

From the clearing the talk of those who had remained outside came through the thin woven walls of the shrine. From one to another we could hear the news spread that in the village of the Granman across the river the gods had spoken for the whites.

In the hut, we listened to the old woman inside whose shrine we stood.

"The openings in the wall there," she explained, when we asked her about the two squares cut into the wall behind the altar, "are for all things that fly. In this place they must come and go as they like. Bats come here, and insects of all kinds, and when they want to go back to the bush, they must be able to go as they like. That is the wish of the gods. So they told us long ago."

6

We were led from house to house. The gods had spoken. We were friends, and as friends who came not to harm, we were given the hospitality of friendship. There were other shrines, but we did not have to ask about them. They were pointed out to us with the other sights of the village.

The closed low hut near the Apuku shrine we had entered was to the river god Toné. It was a very small enclosure, and before it was a plant which covered the low entrance. It belonged, we were told, to an albino woman who was possessed by Toné. But she was not in the village now. Farther down the path was a larger house, another shrine. This had a piece of iron over the door and, when we asked about it, the girls who were following us ran, and the men merely said that it was the place of the Kromanti obia and passed on.

As we continued on our way, each woman was anxious not to have us slight the house her man had built her or fail to admire the carvings that were inserted into the weave of the palm walls. The huts were swept clean—the cleanliness of the entire village was even more striking than that of others we had visited—and but for a few stools, which were brought out for the strangers while they spoke with the old people who lived in the quarter, they were entirely bare. In every house, however, there was sure to be a shelf, large or small, or several shelves, on which stood prized food trays with carvings which covered both inner and outer surfaces. Combs and food stirrers were taken down and shown us, and the calabash dishes made by the women

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353 themselves, and the blade-like pieces of gourd which they
531 used for spoons, and which bore the same symbols as the
415 dishes.

"Our men make fine things here in the true, true
462 Saramacca," Dida said when we entered her quarter, and
531 sat in her house. "Look at the carvings I have."

Her body was still white with pemba. Her manner was still a little vague.

"Did you dance this morning?"

"Ai."

"We heard the agida drum play when we were in the
776 council house of the Granman."

"Ai, Kesekia is a big god. When he comes, his voice is
787 strong."

But she showed no willingness to talk, and we could tell by the repeated twitching of her body that she had still to dance to her god. Leaving her we continued up the path toward houses we had not yet visited. The white man, with a man who was guiding him and the bassia from Asindopo Lantiwe, walked ahead, while the children crowded about the white woman who was giving them safety pins which they at once put in their hair.

"There is the Vodu house," said the man who acted as
778 guide, and he led the way through the low doorway into
346 the hut.

Inside, though smaller than the shrine to the gods of the bush, it differed from it but little. It had the same clay floor, the same raised altar on which stood stools washed in white clay, and several covered, whitened vessels, an image, and the round balls of clay.

"May I go closer and look at the image there?"

"Yes, go."

[352] The stools resembled those in ordinary use, but whatever design they may have had was obscured by the white clay which covered them. The vessels were not unlike those in
[415] the other shrine we had visited or those which rested on the heads of village gods which stood under low, roofed-over shelters on the main village paths. Turning, the white man

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stepped from the raised platform ready to leave, when he noticed a drum which stood in a corner near the door of the hut, and reached almost to the thatch. 778 346

We had seen many agida drums during our stay in the Saramacca country. Some of them had been half as tall as a man—a round hollowed trunk of a tree, with wooden pegs in the side on which the drumhead was fastened. The agida had no elaborate tuning device such as the other drums carried, and on it was neither the beautiful carving with which the apinti was decorated, nor the white pembadoti of the tumao. The agida was the deep bass voice of every trio of drums which played for the sacred dances, and whatever other rhythms were struck on it, its steady note set the beat about which the more incidental rhythms played. We had been told what seemed fabulous tales of the size of some of these agida drums, but not until we saw the drum which stood in the corner of this shrine to the snake gods did we realize how large they might be. 778 534

The white man glanced about him. The rest of the party had not yet caught up. In the dimness of the shrine there were only the three men. He stepped up to the enormous drum.

"May I tap it?" he asked.

Reaching up, his arm outstretched above his head, he stood on tip-toe before his fingers found the taut head and gently drummed a rhythm there.

"It is large. It must have a deep voice."

"It is a big drum. Would you like to hear it? The man who plays it is near by."

Now there were four in the hut. The drummer spoke.

"Do you want to hear the drum, white man? I will play it if you are not afraid. But if I play, I will call the god, and when I call him he will come. Shall I play the drum?" 778 533 776

The white man asked that the god be called.

The bassia beckoned to the white woman to come, and signed to the others to remain outside. Framed in the low doorway, shutting out the glare of the sun-swept clearing, were the crouching bodies of women and children who

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776 575 of the secret societies which flourish there is the Leopard Society, and this African feline is not very different from the one which gives its name to the Tigri obia. Other societies which chastise and protect have often been designated as "devil" societies.

789 776 575 Kromanti is feared, then, because of the kind of preventive it is. The man to whom this obia comes cannot be harmed by bullets shot from guns, by glass, by swords that cut, or by thorns which lacerate. Such a man is protected in combat from the weapons of his enemies and from thorny barricades that might be raised against his attack. It is protection for the warriors, and when it comes, the warriors who have the obia do not hesitate to test their immunity and to try that of others. A friendly, unassertive man seized by the Tiger Kromanti is in the grip of a power which transforms him into a tiger. When obia comes in the sacred dances, it is Kromanti obia. The Bush Negroes do not dance for the healing, protecting spirit that is obia in general. It is too remote. But when they dance and Kromanti comes, the women often flee, and the men who do not have Kromanti discreetly disappear. Only those who have Kromanti have nothing to fear from the attacks of their fellows, for they are protected by the power common to them all—the power of being unharmed by machetes or guns.

575 346 What is inside the Kromanti obia houses we cannot say, for we were never permitted to enter them. When we recognized their presence in villages we visited, the fact that they were Kromanti houses was acknowledged, but we were never allowed even to inspect the outside closely, and we were never accorded permission to photograph one of these shrines.

From our informants we learned that inside these houses there are paintings on the walls in black and red, the Kromanti colors, and in the white of the sacred pemba. There were, we were told, whitened benches that had about their tops the grass skirt of a kind worn by the obia man when he danced.

In the Kromanti house, too, was the Kromanti Mama. But until our friend brought us the one he had made for

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us, with its attendant bench and modeled snake, we had only heard the term. 575 346

3

In the dim light of our oil lantern, we listened and wrote in our book, while our informant told us about the Kromanti Mama. 126

"You must take it down carefully," he said, "or it might harm you."

The figure on the top of the bench was named Agbo. This was the watchman, and to this figure came news of all impending evil. About the neck of the figure was a Kromanti fighting obia. A stout iron ring, with red and blue cloth tied about one-half of it, it rested near the base of the watchman. 789 778 532

The eyes of this watchman were its most arresting feature. They were represented by deep sockets, and the effect was heightened by the beak-like character of the nose. Two ears completed the head, and on the body breasts were modeled. It was the only piece of Bush Negro modeling we had ever seen. This most secret of art forms was evidently little practiced.

"The watchman sees all," said our informant, "the Kromanti Mama knows when there is something about that will harm. She tells the snake."

Coiled about its base, this snake was treated in the same realistic style. The head of the snake and its tail almost met at the side of the clay figure which it encircled.

"His name is Bimbawai," we were told.

The bench itself was not unlike the obia stools we had seen in the shrines of the gods. Its rectangular top, curving toward the center, was fastened to the two boards which formed the legs. Like other obia stools, it was difficult to tell whether, under the thick coating of white clay, the wood was carved or not. In one respect it differed from all others we had seen—the bench wore, fringe-like, a grass skirt of the kind worn by the *komfo*, the priests. This was suspended from the top of the bench, the cord going outside [352]

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[For information on various types of buildings and other physical structures or facilities present in each of the Boni villages, see the village plans on pp. 66, 68, 70, 72, 74, and 76, category 116. Included are data on the occurrence of menstrual huts (munu), kitchens, granaries, and sundry other outbuildings, religious structures (gadu), mortuary sheds, boatbuilding yards, guest houses for visitors, wharfs, fraga tiki (i.e. lineage ancestor cult shrines and objects), and useful trees within the village area which are personally owned.]

/196 cont./

784 Odun's punishment is not regarded as immediate. It may be delayed for a certain number of years for reasons known to him alone, but it will necessarily take place.

683 783 Violence can be pardoned if the guilty one repents and makes an offering. The reparative offering (for example, if someone has threatened his adversary with a machete or has struck him to the point of making blood flow) is a demijohn of tafia or a certain quantity of tobacco leaves displayed in Odun's chapel.

754 784 But there is no pardon for the wisimã. Even if men pardon, Odun remains pitiless. Thus nobody can admit being guilty of wisi, for there is no possible reparation; besides, no one would dare beg for Odun's mercy on behalf of a wisimã, for this would be to associate oneself with him and expose oneself to being struck by the god in the same way.

[683] [766] The wisimã will be killed by Odun, and men will have to share in the punishing by refusing the body burial in the cemetery and by going to throw it in the bush. If they /197/ refused to obey this law, Odun would consider that they denied his doctrine and would strike them down either in person or by killing any member of the guilty lineage.

Thus, when in 1952 an old woman named A... of the Lapé lineage, who had settled in the Creole village Hermina, died, it appeared that she had wisi; but since she had been living among the Creoles, her near relatives did not dare intervene, and she was buried in the Hermina cemetery. Several [613] years passed without incident, then misfortunes cropped up; deaths which took place in the lineage, especially that of P... (1955) and T... (1957), and an accident that happened to a child in 1958, were recognized as punishments carried out by Odun upon the Lapé lineage.

• 346 The place of worship of Odun is a tiny chapel near the grand man's house. It contains only a post crudely carved in the shape of a bust, without any decoration.

787 /201 cont./
791 The elders then consulted the oracles and perceived that Mimi
776 was victim of an Ampuku named Maogan which for a very long
[613] time had been pursuing the Kotika lineage with its vengeance
[784] (kunu). In order to protect herself, she sought to have herself given a more powerful god, and she became the pupil of an obiaman specialist in the cult of the Papa gadu. In this way she
[782] had a Papa gadu named Ayaémé, divinity of beneficent character to which, in difficult cases, her family applies in order
[346] to obtain advice, protection, and remedies. She had a little hut built beside her house, where the god goes to rest when it has finished each of its trips to the country of men. Ayaémé
[784] imposed on Mimi its kina which concerns a fish. But even with all this she was not rid of her kunu of the Ampuku; and one day, something it had not yet done, the latter revealed itself in her
[784] and spoke through her mouth. It announced that it would con-
[782] tinue to exercise its kunu against the Kotika lineage. They appeased it by sacrifices of red cloth and beer; since then, it seems calm and in rather good humor. It comes into Mimi from time to time and speaks in Saramaka language. They are very afraid of it, but they do not hesitate to question it and ask it for
[784] remedies, which it sometimes indicates. It laid on Mimi three gadu kina concerning the acouchy, the agami, and the armadillo.

791 Organization of the cults of possession. Strictly speaking, no
787 religious brotherhoods exist in Boni country; there are only
794 teachers - bas(2) - who have received their power from another

2. It does not seem advisable to translate this word by "priest." In the minds of the Refugee Blacks, this is a matter of a teacher teaching pupils; they use the same word to designate a European or Creole schoolmaster.

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776 613 428 [787] Still, they assume that the gods that have entered a matrilineage tend to be transmitted within this group. If, for example, a woman is possessed by a Papa gadu, at her death she must bequeath it in the same way as her property, and she can bequeath it only to someone of her lineage.

We have seen in studying the transmission of the god of Kotoïda († 1956), that only the women of the Afi lineage to which she belonged could inherit.

776 613 784 Even if the god is not bequeathed, which sometimes happens, if it exercises the kunu, it will manifest itself sooner or later in a member of the lineage. But long years may pass before it shows itself. This conception is absolutely clear to the Refugee Blacks, and furthermore, if it did not exist, the idea of the kunu would be without support. People have therefore wrongly believed in a transmission of gods from father to son. [114] [428]

346 787 794 613 Material organization of cults. A material organization of the cults of possession exists within the limits of the localized lineage (lo). This organization is completely independent of the apprenticeship of these cults. It permits the members of the lineage to easily practice cults they have received anywhere, on their own responsiblity.

In each lo there exists in general one single chapel (obia ɔsu) for all the divinities of the same category.

For example in the Awara Bakka lo quarter in Asisi (140 persons), for about 15 women having a Papa gadu, there exists only a single one. There is an obia ɔsu for the Ampuku (three or four possessed persons) and another for the Kumẽnti (about ten possessed people).

The chapel of the Papa gadu is placed under the responsibility of the head of the lo. On this subject it is to be noted that the individualized lineages Aw.B.3 and Afi, which however have separate gods, are included in this organization.

/205 cont./

346 794 787 613 The objects placed in these chapels are simply the clothing, beverage, and tools of the gods when they come to visit men; they correspond nearly to what the Refugee Blacks leave in a farming habitation where they go to work regularly. For example, in the Papa gadu ɔsu of the Awara Bakka quarter of [293] Asisi, which serves for about 15 gods, each one has a definite place on the shelves to lay out especially the scarf which serves it as a garment and a bottle of beer (a bottle is always kept in readiness by the bearer of the god) (1).

1. The Papa gadu do not like tafia. If the usual bearer of one of these gods has drunk tafia, it cannot come into him.

[534] They still stow the Papa dɔ̃ drum in this chapel. This drum, like the chapel itself, is believed to belong to the Papa gadu god which first came into a member of the lineage to exercise the kunu. In the example mentioned of the Awara [428] /206/ Bakka lo of Asisi, in 1957 it was the centenarian grandmother Kuluba who had borne this god since her youth, having herself received it, by several successive transmissions, from a distant ancestress.

[621] In villages like Boniville and Papaïston where fragments of lineage of entirely different origins coexist, each has its own organization.

For example in Boniville there is a Papa gadu ɔsu for the fragment of the Lapé lineage (it belongs to Térésa whose god exercises the kunu on this lineage). The fragment of the lineage has another.

In Papaïston the Toïna (Bakabuchi) lineage, reduced to half a dozen persons, has a Papa gadu ɔsu of its own.

/206 cont./

153 791 787 786 [789] containing seeds). Sometimes, when a god has entered a pupil, the teacher puts the latter's passivity to the test by insulting the god with the help of the drum. The Kumẽnti gets angry, breaks bottles and swallows ground glass, walks in the fire, hits himself with machete blows, all without any wound resulting, they say, on the body of its bearer.

[302] These frenzied dances, whose participants completely covered with pɛmba (white clay) are as if hallucinated, have a bizarre aspect which is perceptible to some of the Boni themselves. They do not have any secret character and constitute, [522] on the contrary, a fine spectacle for the village people. The spectators double up with laughter at the contortions and strange actions which the gods inspire in those possessed. They are [521] talked about at length /207/ afterward in the evenings, humorists imitating what they saw done there, without any fear whatever of irritating the gods.

791 787 346 Each "teacher for Kumẽnti" owns a small gadu ɔsu in which are lined up the implements of the cult. One finds in general in these chapels a post crudely carved in the shape of a human bust, a block of stone, jaguar skulls, some kɔkɔti (shrub stalks with a spontaneous double bend, thought to be the prop of spirits in the bush), and a saka (maraka), the whole sprinkled with white clay (pɛmba). One finds also beside the door a seat and a trough which are used for the ablutions of the pupils.

153 791 787 788 While bathing his body with the infusion of leaves prepared by the teacher, the neophyte repeats, in ordinary language, a series of invocations: "Come to me, enter into me. But before entering into me, it is necessary to teach me the things of thy country; O God, when thou art in me, may I be able to dance on broken glass without its cutting me; may I be able to dance in fire without its burning me. If tomorrow someone takes a machete to hurt me, he shall not be able to come forward. If someone takes a gun to shoot me, (his weapon) must break, must not be able to take off. If someone is sick, make an ɔbia for him, he must recover."

/209 cont. /

787 784 If someone has a Kumẽnti, certain objects used in the cult: pestle, mortar, machete, must not be raised near him. His gita "would rise" immediately. Likewise while he is eating, neither tiger nor gun must be mentioned. To prevent their gita from rising, those concerned may take the precaution of putting a small piece of wood behind the ear while they eat.

787 178 [771] [781] [484] [743] [755] These past years the cult of the Kumẽnti was clearly declining among the Boni, as was the whole of their religious life; every one, indeed, no longer thought about anything but earning money and was always traveling in order to do this, which made difficult the indispensable meetings and dances. On the other hand, cared for effectively when they are ill in the Maripasoula hospital, the Boni feel the cult of the Kumẽnti less necessary, of which the principal social function is to cure. So, while in 1948 we used to be present very often at manifestations of the gita of Kumẽnti, in 1952 they were becoming much rarer and more secret /modest/. They were tending to fall to the level of the latent manifestations of which we shall speak further on. In 1956 we did not observe in the course of the forest [346] work any spontaneous attack of this gita. The chapels dedicated to the Kumẽnti are scarcely maintained and are falling into ruins; such is the fate of the gods judged benevolent toward men. [751] Nevertheless people continue to lay great store by the ɔbia of Kumẽnti, especially the man nẽŋge ɔbia which protects against the machete and the gun, and the Kumẽnti bui, ring of Kumẽnti, instrument of divination.

776 [823] [787] The Bũnsuŋki. The Bũnsuŋki are gods which live in the waters, by preference at the head of falls, beside rocks bearing copses of detached trees; they can also reside ordinarily in these trees themselves. They appear sometimes in dreams to men as well as to women in the aspect of Indians, more commonly Indian women with long hair. This is why they are sometimes called wata Ingi, Indians of the water.

/60/

351 There are no gardens around the cabins because the con-
[134] ditions of the soil and climate render permanent cultivation
[241] impracticable. The nearest thing is a few persons planting some
banana trees around the hut at the foot of which they spread the
361 hearth ashes. As a general rule villages are closely hemmed in
137 by secondary brushwood, and people plant far from one another
311 and sometimes very far from the village.

423 If it does not admit the appropriation of land to individuals,
824 custom does admit, on the other hand, the ownership of trees.
In the villages the useful trees (coconut trees, maripa palms
/attalea excelsa/, mango trees, cashew-apple trees, etc.) all
[428] have owners. The tree is considered as personal property and is
transmitted by inheritance in the same way as a gun or a canoe.
428 The procedure employed by the Boni for the dispersion of the
824 inheritance among the members of the lineage of the dead man
613 sometimes has the effect of transmitting the ownership of a tree
to a person who is not of the village. For example, in Boniville
[222] where a fraction of the Kotika lineage lives, two caumou palms
were bequeathed a long time ago to members of the lineage living
in Kotika, who come each year to gather the fruit.

Appendix

173 Local Chronology Used for Determining Ages
[125]

1876	Death of Grand Man Atyaba.
1877	Trip of the explorer Crevaux from the Maroni to the Yari and the Amazon, in the company of Apatu, head of the Boni village.
[621] 361 1882	Apatu secedes, taking with him about 150 persons and founds the village which bears his name on the lower course of the Maroni.

REBEL DESTINY

609 people kept their distance, and among them some pithy proverbs were spoken to bear upon the shortcomings of the white man. One or two of them turned to repeat to the dead what had been said, and there was great laughter. Sedefo [775] came to assure us that the dead man liked it very much. For the dead, it appeared, were especially susceptible to humor and to exceptional occasions.

764 About us, or edging their way toward us, were the 298 younger men in their ceremonial dress, the toga-like cloth covering their bodies, but leaving one shoulder bared for respect, and the women in their knee-length *pangi*, or [301] cloths, hanging from the waist, and their shining brass rings reaching from wrist to elbow and from ankle halfway up to the knee. Among the dancers, but standing somewhat [534] aloof, could be seen a man or woman with seed rattles about the ankles. These were the fine dancers. Of them our informant had spoken when he said, "They dance well at Gankwe."

764 Carved stools were placed for us facing the coffin a little 350 to the left of the singers, where we could best see the dancing. 533 One or two lanterns were moved to give us better light. The drummers, who had not left their places, took up the rhythm again—one of the women had us know that the spirit of the dead man had communicated to the spirits of the drummers that he wanted to see the dancing resumed. The singing began—a woman's falsetto voice and a chorus; the hand clapping of the singers and bystanders emphasized the basic rhythm. It was slow at first, then quickened, and the dancing became more animated.

"They dance seketi," whispered our friends. "Later they will dance awasa."

764 The dancing was confined to a comparatively small space. 535 It began with a barely perceptible motion of the feet of the dancers to the rhythm of the drums and the hand clapping. Then the feet began to execute figures in place, without leaving the ground, the arms hanging loosely at the side. This was continued for some time, until, arms flexed and held rigid at the elbow, and knees bent but rigid, too, the

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itself, an open shelter under a thatched roof resting on four posts. Inside it, upon the ground, lay a flat stone whitened with sacred clay, and on this a bottle stood. Directly behind the stone was the altar, a low table on which lay several egg-shaped pieces of the sacred pemba—the white clay—and some egg-shaped stones which had come from the bed of the river. A circle of iron, perhaps two fingers' breadth in thickness and having a diameter of ten or twelve inches, rested on the ground under the altar. A stick had been planted to face the thicket of wild pineapple that made a wall at the back, and from it hung a strip of white cotton for the ancestors. To the left of this was a simply carved stool, the tracery of its design become all but indistinguishable under the coat of white clay which covered it. Several bottles lay at the foot of this stool.

"Ya-lal, mati, you are praying to the Mother of the River. It is well," said Kasanya, as he came up to us with his pole-man and the men from Gankwe and interrupted our scrutiny of the shrine.

Followed by Sedefo and Asikanu, he entered the shrine, while the others stood with us outside the railing which connected at sides and back the posts upon which the roof rested. Kasanya called on the Sky God first. "*G'an gadu*," he began, "Mother of the River, Ancestors, grant that we travel safely. Grant that we bring the white man safely to the country of the Granman. Grant that the white man pay us well. I thank you."

As he finished, the listening men clapped their hands in unison, and spoke in chorus, "Great thanks!" Some distance away, down the slope which dropped to the river, was Bibifo, who wanted to be called Adrian. He did not come too near the shrine, but there he was, halfway up, with head bent, his lips moving as he muttered a prayer of his own.

Now Sedefo came forward, and Kasanya left the shrine and disappeared behind the pineapple bushes. When he came back he held leaves in his hand, which he said were sacred. He would crush them and put them in water dipped

AT THE COURT OF THE GRANMAN

Two of its walls were of the plaited palm fronds which were 344
entwined into so pleasant a pattern on the houses of the 353
Bush Negroes. The side walls, however, were carpentered of slats which formed a paling, and over this the slanting roof hung. Through the spaces between the slats we could see the brown feet of the passing villagers, an occasional flare of a gay tunic, or a corner of a man's cloth. Occasionally the big eyes of a child who had wandered over to the paling peered through, to see what was happening inside. Through the slats of the wall nearest to the Granman's house we saw tall earthen jars resting on a plank. There [815]
were perhaps four of them, all of varying sizes, and these held creek and river water to which the magic properties of weeds and incantations had been added.

The purposes of these slats were manifold. Not everyone 344
could sit within the council house when the tribal chiefs 623
gathered. Only those whose rank qualified them appeared [554]
inside when court was held. But to those sitting quietly outside those palings which formed the side walls of the house, what was spoken inside was clearly audible, and it was thus that many listened for the decisions which they awaited. Then, too, since this was an enclosed council house and when the door was open a plaid cloth hung over the doorway to insure privacy, the only light which penetrated came through these openings in the side walls. The eaves hung low, barring much of the light that might have come through the palings, and this allowed but the grayest flicker even at midday and brought into the council house the atmosphere which symbolized to them the cool of morning. The word "cool" was their image for peace, and health, and fairness, and deliberation, and justice. Inside the council house, then, was a light which "cooled the [827]
heart," for heart and head are synonymous to the Bush Negro when he speaks of emotional states.

It was not a large house, and it appeared smaller because 344
of the many furnishings that were in it. Against the wall 352
facing the door a number of magnificently carved benches lay on their sides, one on top of the other, there obviously

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344 to be admired for their artistry, but there also for ceremo-
352 nial purposes which were never divulged. When one of these benches was later taken down to show the magic of paper which, placed on the top of a carving and rubbed with black crayon, reproduced the design beneath, the Granman looked startled, and then ordered that it be replaced. Nor were other rubbings allowed.

531 On both sides of these massed benches were many objects
352 which could barely be distinguished in the half darkness of the house. There were guns and canisters, there were a few native brooms, and several wrapped parcels.
[534 There was also an apinti drum on which the gods were
118] addressed. Not even at Ma'lobbi, where the chief, a famous carver, showed us many remarkable products of his art, did we see designs worked with the fine, sure lines or the beauty of individual motifs such as were traced on this apinti. The carving was in relief and covered the entire surface of the drum, which stood about three feet high, curving outwards from the top, and resting on a narrow circular base which raised its body about six inches from the ground. It was covered with a deerskin that use and exposure to the atmosphere had stained unevenly to shades of amber.

344 Facing these carvings was the door which, itself of
116 wood, swung on wooden hinges of native fashioning. In
532 relief appeared the Earth Mother, and surrounding her were the symbols of fertility. No man, not even the Granman himself, dared speak her name in this council house. At
[695 trials, when oaths were taken, she might be appealed to, but to call her idly would bring down her wrath on the Granman's clan, and, perhaps not stopping there, since the council house was of all the clans, she would revenge herself upon all the people of the Saramacca River. The carving was more beautiful than on the apinti which stood against the opposite wall. The greatest artist on the river had made it.

"That man had the gods, ya-hai," the men said, when we talked of the Granman's carvings.

AT THE COURT OF THE GRANMAN

Above the door was a shelf which did not quite reach the entire width of the wall, and on this shelf were the council benches, which the Granman supplied to the visiting chiefs. These benches were small, low, and as little ornamented with carvings as the work stools used by the women. But on the sides symbols were incised, and at least two of them we were able to identify as clan emblems. One of these had the conventionalized patterning of the hatchet, the emblem of the Granman's clan, and another a flower which is associated with the people from whose group come the principal diviners. The tops of these simple stools sometimes had inlays of dark wood, but whether their outlines were of ritualistic importance or not, no one would say. 344 352 [532]

From the beams hung several umbrellas, still inside the wrappings in which they had come from the white man's city, and a wickless metal lamp, into whose chains envelopes were inserted. These envelopes contained letters received by the Granman which awaited the coming of the missionary to be read, or letters which had already been read, and were there to add color to the official scene. 344 353 344 352 177

There were also other *Bakra sani*—white man's things—in the house. A canvas folding chair which filled almost an entire wall stood against the slats beside which, on the outside, were the earthen jars. This was for the Granman. He sat in it with the majesty of an emperor. No one ever approached it too closely, and we were never invited to take our ease in it when the Granman was in his own house. 643

In addition, there was a table in the center of the room, covered with a red and black plaid cloth from the city, and two straight-back chairs. On the table stood an alarm clock which was set for the noncommittal hour of twelve and a glass decanter filled with rum. [352]

Chief And'u was the first to join us inside.

"It is fine here at the G'aman's."

"Yes, it is a fine house. And you, And'u, you look well in your coat. Is it when you are with the Granman that you dress so?" 622 992

THE GODS SPEAK

"The openings in the wall there," she explained, when we asked her about the two squares cut into the wall behind the altar, "are for all things that fly. In this place they must come and go as they like. Bats come here, and insects of all kinds, and when they want to go back to the bush, they must be able to go as they like. That is the wish of the gods. So they told us long ago."

6

We were led from house to house. The gods had spoken. We were friends, and as friends who came not to harm, we were given the hospitality of friendship. There were other shrines, but we did not have to ask about them. They were pointed out to us with the other sights of the village.

The closed low hut near the Apuku shrine we had entered was to the river god Toné. It was a very small enclosure, and before it was a plant which covered the low entrance. It belonged, we were told, to an albino woman who was possessed by Toné. But she was not in the village now. Farther down the path was a larger house, another shrine. This had a piece of iron over the door and, when we asked about it, the girls who were following us ran, and the men merely said that it was the place of the Kromanti obia and passed on.

As we continued on our way, each woman was anxious not to have us slight the house her man had built her or fail to admire the carvings that were inserted into the weave of the palm walls. The huts were swept clean—the cleanliness of the entire village was even more striking than that of others we had visited—and but for a few stools, which were brought out for the strangers while they spoke with the old people who lived in the quarter, they were entirely bare. In every house, however, there was sure to be a shelf, large or small, or several shelves, on which stood prized food trays with carvings which covered both inner and outer surfaces. Combs and food stirrers were taken down and shown us, and the calabash dishes made by the women

353 themselves, and the blade-like pieces of gourd which they
531 used for spoons, and which bore the same symbols as the
415 dishes.

"Our men make fine things here in the true, true
462 Saramacca," Dida said when we entered her quarter, and
531 sat in her house. "Look at the carvings I have."

Her body was still white with pemba. Her manner was still a little vague.

"Did you dance this morning?"

"Ai."

"We heard the agida drum play when we were in the
776 council house of the Granman."

"Ai, Kesekia is a big god. When he comes, his voice is
787 strong."

But she showed no willingness to talk, and we could tell by the repeated twitching of her body that she had still to dance to her god. Leaving her we continued up the path toward houses we had not yet visited. The white man, with a man who was guiding him and the bassia from Asindopo Lantiwe, walked ahead, while the children crowded about the white woman who was giving them safety pins which they at once put in their hair.

"There is the Vodu house," said the man who acted as
778 guide, and he led the way through the low doorway into
346 the hut.

Inside, though smaller than the shrine to the gods of the bush, it differed from it but little. It had the same clay floor, the same raised altar on which stood stools washed in white clay, and several covered, whitened vessels, an image, and the round balls of clay.

"May I go closer and look at the image there?"

"Yes, go."

[352] The stools resembled those in ordinary use, but whatever design they may have had was obscured by the white clay which covered them. The vessels were not unlike those in
[415] the other shrine we had visited or those which rested on the heads of village gods which stood under low, roofed-over shelters on the main village paths. Turning, the white man

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Ceremonial benches incised with symbols of fertility and magic.

[Facing p. 272]

REBEL DESTINY

353 This they had learned from the whites long ago, and
119 now everywhere on the river compasses were seen, or
[413] carvings which showed their use. The machete, the small
412 sharp knives which lay about here on the work-table, the compass, and sand made up any Bush Negro carver's tools. But here at Ma'lobbi in this workshop of the captain were tools from the white man's city, collected by himself on his journeys down to the government office to receive his yearly allowance, or by his men who had been to the French shore and learned of the ways of the outside world. There was a plane to make the blade of a paddle smooth as the skin of a child, and there were two others in addition to this one, we were assured, in the treasure house of the upper story. Hammers, too, were useful for making boats, and even for smaller carvings like benches. There was also a bit and auger, though we were never convinced that the captain himself had ever put it to its more prosaic uses.

"I have many more up there," said the captain, pointing to the upper story. "I like them. If a man likes his tools, then they help him in his carvings. As he sees with his eyes, so they cut. I have always liked my tools, white man. I have spent much time with them."

221 A young man sat to one side shaving down a block of
322 wood with a knife which he held.

"He is not carving," the captain said, following our eyes. "He is making a piece for this," he explained, indicating a plane. "Now is not the time for carving. There is too much to be done. This is the time for cutting wood, for taking the rafts down the river, for making boats, for bleeding rubber trees for the white man, and for hunting game. When the great rains come, then men sit about and carve."

322 As he spoke our eyes traveled to the various carvings
531 which stood about the workshop. In one corner leaned a paddle which caught our attention because of its darkened color, and the patina which long use had given it, so that it seemed made of ebony. Against another wall were several
● [352] stools, all richly ornamented with carvings, while beside us,

REBEL DESTINY

4

532 The cult of fertility came to the Suriname bush from
831 Africa. Deepseated today in this civilization, it is not strange that it should be invoked again and again in the carvings, that men and women in sexual congress, and animals in the act of reproduction should dominate the art motifs, and in particular those carvings which men make for their women.

532 The symbolism is known to all on the river though, as we have indicated, a gifted artist might play with his medium, and even give his own name to what he had designed. Evidences of nontraditional playing with technique were, to be sure, not met with often, but one or two instances stand out. One that was especially striking was a hinged folding stool, fashioned after a bench seen in the
[352 199] city, and decorated in traditional fashion, where the problem of decorating unfamiliar surfaces was met.

532 Bayo could take up many of our photographs of pieces, acquired during our first visit and brought here into the
123 bush to show the natives how their pieces were exhibited,
177 and describe the symbols to us which made up the carvings. There was one which interested him especially. He used to sit with the photograph in his hand, running his fingers over the glossy surface, as though he felt if he continued doing it long he would actually feel the texture of the wood which was so clearly imaged.

532 "Everything shows. Here's a crack, see?" Then his hands touched one motif after another. "This and this are women, and these are men. A man and woman to one side, and a man and woman facing them. It's like having the tray here, white man." The small designs close to the rim of the tray, facing each other, were the children to be
[845] born of these unions. "This is a boy, and this a girl. That is for both women to make twins."

We were looking over his shoulder as he explained the symbols, but still could not distinguish in the symbols to the side which represented the male child and which the female.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

us, with its attendant bench and modeled snake, we had only heard the term. 575 342

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In the dim light of our oil lantern, we listened and wrote in our book, while our informant told us about the Kromanti Mama. 126

"You must take it down carefully," he said, "or it might harm you."

The figure on the top of the bench was named Agbo. This was the watchman, and to this figure came news of all impending evil. About the neck of the figure was a Kromanti fighting obia. A stout iron ring, with red and blue cloth tied about one-half of it, it rested near the base of the watchman. 789 798 532

The eyes of this watchman were its most arresting feature. They were represented by deep sockets, and the effect was heightened by the beak-like character of the nose. Two ears completed the head, and on the body breasts were modeled. It was the only piece of Bush Negro modeling we had ever seen. This most secret of art forms was evidently little practiced.

"The watchman sees all," said our informant, "the Kromanti Mama knows when there is something about that will harm. She tells the snake."

Coiled about its base, this snake was treated in the same realistic style. The head of the snake and its tail almost met at the side of the clay figure which it encircled.

"His name is Bimbawai," we were told.

The bench itself was not unlike the obia stools we had seen in the shrines of the gods. Its rectangular top, curving toward the center, was fastened to the two boards which formed the legs. Like other obia stools, it was difficult to tell whether, under the thick coating of white clay, the wood was carved or not. In one respect it differed from all others we had seen—the bench wore, fringe-like, a grass skirt of the kind worn by the *komfo*, the priests. This was suspended from the top of the bench, the cord going outside [359]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

DJUKA

The Bush Negroes of Dutch Guiana

BY MORTON C. KAHN

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[352
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With an introduction
by Blair Niles and a foreword by Clark Wissler

THE VIKING PRESS
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[Title Page]

[P.iii]
[PP. i-ii Contain no Text]
1
A [For caption, set category 116, p. 204]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

[352 1/1
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IN NORTH-EASTERN South America, more precisely in the hinterland of Dutch Guiana, there is a unique civilization little known to the white men of this continent. We know much of the strange life of the Congo and of the fascinating customs peculiar to the inhabitants of the Malay jungles, for a number of explorers have brought from the Eastern tropics the interesting accounts of their experiences. But of the Surinam Bush Negro, Djuka, as he calls himself, who nearly two hundred years ago fought his way out of slavery, of the survival of his African customs in the jungles of South America, little has been told. 114 101

The flush tides of imperialism have passed over these people, leaving them practically unaltered and unknown, unique among the Negro peoples of the world. They still maintain the life of jungle dwellers of the immemorial past.

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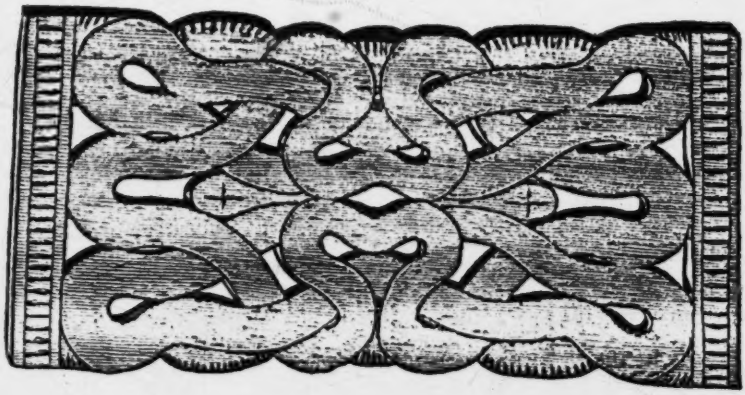
1/1 [For caption, see category 116, p.204.--Analyst]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8



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Chapter Two

UPRIVER

EIGHT miles an hour the river moves, down long 133
stretches of rapids and fast water, over great rocks in the river-bed. Any sort of outboard motor would be torn to pieces. There is nothing to do but pole upstream in dugout canoes to the Djuka country.

Bush Negro boatmen, with glossy thighs and heaving 502
backs, stand at the bows. They plant their great ten-foot poles in the river-bed and pull against them. As the motion of the boat carries them past the planted poles, they walk back along the gunwales, pushing the poles to the extreme end. They are retrieved, wheeled in a great arc, and again planted in the river-bed. This makes a rare picture in the sunlight on

1 [For caption, see category 27 116, p.204.-- Analyst]

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Surmacaner

1 [352 322 532]

Chapter Three

THE JUNGLE CLEARING

THE first indication of a village is a group of empty canoes made fast on the shore. Behind them, a short distance inland, is the village of Lombe, the first real Bush Negro town at which we stop on the Surinam River. 361

Villages are seldom situated on the river-bank, but a quarter to a half mile inland. The reasons for this are that the

1 [For caption, see category 116, p. 204 - Analyst]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

361 the trading-post, are so large as to have street-like roads extending across them. Others like Nu have only eight or nine huts.

342 The walls and roofs of the dwellings are made of grasses and reeds, intricately woven into a herring-bone pattern that can be seen in the photographs. So tightly are they woven that the jungle rain does not penetrate. The uprights are hewn out of tree trunks, and those that form the doorway are [322] often deeply carved. So great is the decorative spirit of these people that every common utensil is carved until it becomes a work of art.

The roofs extend far beyond the walls, so that the projecting part throws a shadow on the walls, which lowers the temperature inside. In front, the roof extends a yard or more to form a shade in which the blacks may palaver. In front of the huts, always, babies are grubbing about in the dirt and yelling prodigiously.

Here and there are slightly dilapidated huts. They belong [768] to people now dead. No one will live in them or venture to repair the ruin of time. Neglected, they sink into decay. The [756] witch doctor's hut is also a bit frowzy; it seems to be a badge of his profession, like the sugar cane planted alongside his doorway or the turtle-shell impaled on a staff near by. All three are symbols of his calling.

● 352 A wall of woven mat divides some of the huts into two [353] rooms, the back room being used for sleeping. The men have hand-made hammocks of woven cotton or grass. Their wives 342 are provided with sleeping-mats on the floor. The front room

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

is used as a living-room; cooking is sometimes carried on 342
there, but more often in an open communal kitchen used by
the entire village. Some towns have several such open sheds. [343]

We enter the hut where the headman of the village lives, 648
and find him lying in his hammock. It is perhaps a bit of 609
conscious arrogance, to demonstrate his independence of the [352]
white man, that the captain does not rise to greet us. He rises,
however, to greet Abaisa.

"Well, friend, how are you?" we begin. In talkee-talkee
the question runs: *"So, matti, fie you tang?"*

He replies civilly, complaining a little, perhaps. We offer
him a few leaves of tobacco, always acceptable. While we
parley with the chief, the men of the village are carrying our
equipment up from the corials to the village. This they always
do, without being asked and without being paid. Even small
children take part in the portage. Nothing is ever stolen.

Quite conscious of the heat inside the dark hut, we do not 648
palaver long. Leaving the two chiefs lolling in hammocks we 184
pass out of the breast-high doorway into the clearing, and go
about examining the living-quarters and the people. This is a
village of the Saramaccaner tribe, descended from the Sara-
macca rebels of two hundred years ago. All the huts and vil-
lages of this tribe are quite similar. Among the Aucaner tribe,
descended from the Ouca rebels, are villages of a different
type.

One does not doubt the good intentions of the Moravian 797
Brothers and certain Catholics who have established missions
at a few points on the rivers. But their evangelical efforts have

1 ^ [352 322 532]

Chapter Five

THE GAME TRAIL

ON the rivers we frequently encounter Djukas going 313 downstream to Paramaribo or Albina on lumber rafts. The big logs are fastened together with lianas, twined about stakes driven into holes, and lashed to stout cross-pieces. Three paddlers stand upright on this raft and take it down the river like a canoe.

The lumber is arduously cut, the great trees being felled [412] and chopped square with axes. A tree cut in the jungle will not fall to earth; the surrounding growth holds it upright. Therefore, days are spent in clearing a space of ground where the tree may come down. The vines and lianas must be cut away, and the vast buttressing roots severed. The tree is brought down in this clearing, hewn of its branches, and dragged into the water. Hardwood is too heavy to float, so

1 ^ [For caption, see category 116, p. 204. - Analyst]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

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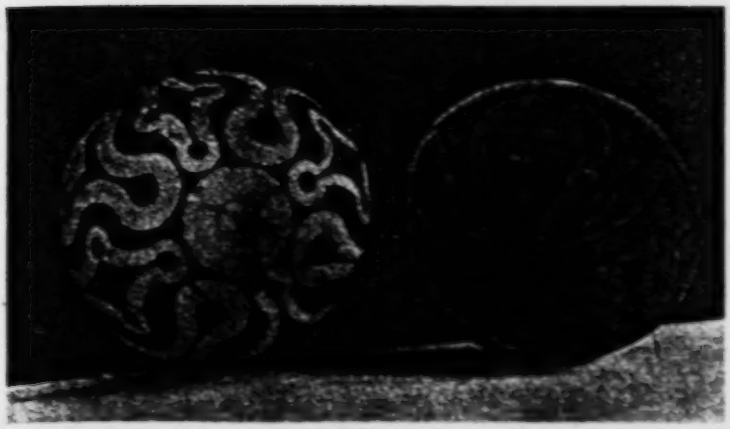

Carved Calabash Gourds Used as Plates. *Saramaccaner Tribe*, Upper Surinam River.

Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History. Photo by Herbert Heller

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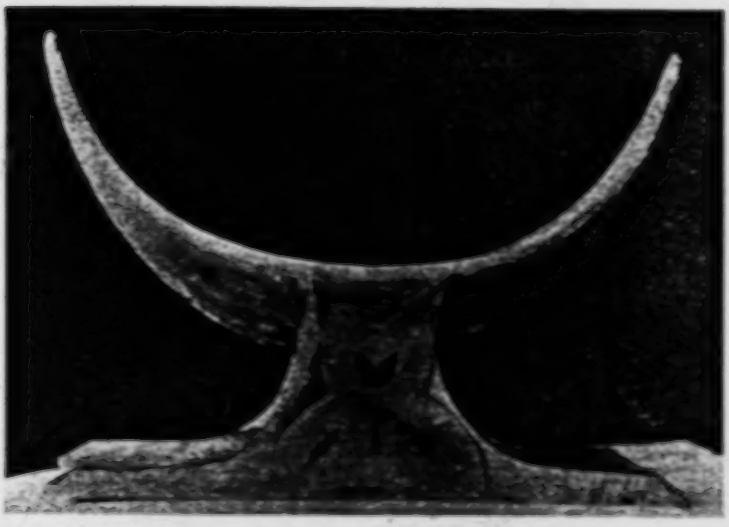

A Bush Negro Stool, Three Feet Long, Known as "Lebba Bangi" (Moon Stool), Taking Its Name from the Moon in the Crescent Phase. *Saramaccaner Tribe*. Stools of almost the identical nature are found in the Ashanti region of West Africa. This motif is probably one of the most striking West African Survivals.

Photo by Herbert Heller

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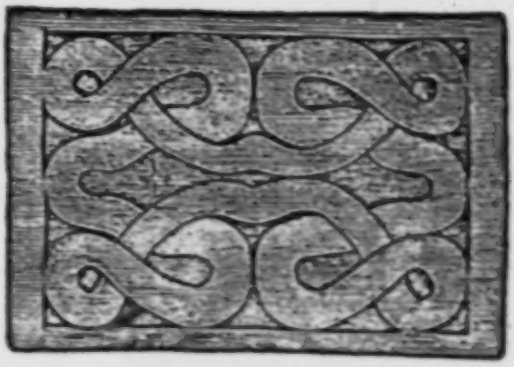
2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8



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Chapter Seven

THE ORGANIZATION OF LIFE

THERE are six tribes of Bush Negroes. These tribal divisions date back to the black rebellion in the eighteenth century. Bands of rebels fled into the bush together, and remained together within their jungle home. In Stedman's narrative of the revolt we read of a punitive expedition being sent out against the bands living along the "Serimaca" and Upper Copenam Rivers. After years of incessant warfare, a treaty of peace was concluded in 1749 with the "Serimaca rebels." The descendants of this group are known today as the *Saramaccaner* tribe. Another outbreak of rebels occurred in the Tempati Creek district; they won their freedom in 1761 by a treaty signed at the Ouca Plantation, from which they came to be called *Aucaners*. A third band of rebels, under the command of the famous Chief Bonny, probably 619

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A [For caption, see category 116, p. 204. — Analyst]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

622 623 352 The bosseia meet under a separate shed, specially built for this purpose. The captain has a "throne," which is an ornately carved stool. The one belonging to the captain of the village of Lombe was purchased and brought back to the American Museum of Natural History. The members of the bosseia, too, have ceremonial seats, with elaborately pierced carving, typically West African in design. When the occasion arises, a meeting is held and the council is seated about on these ceremonial benches to hold palaver.

622 623 692 [537] The business is brought up. Perhaps it is a domestic quarrel—two men over one woman. The offended party rises and begins exercising the Bush Negro's traditional privilege of unlimited and vociferous oratory. He details his wrongs. Grand gestures accompany the sonorous flow of words. The interested members of the village sit at a respectful distance from the captain and bosseia, and listen to the harangue. When other speakers have had their say, any inhabitant of the village may get up and give his or her opinion. Proudly the captain exercises his judicial talent, and the decision is handed down. It is not questioned.

622 623 562 The women members of the bosseia have as much power as the men. It is chiefly the women who see that the ancestral and village customs are enforced. They are the guardians of the ancient traditions and customs of the race. To them, also, belongs the duty of keeping the village clean. If the [364] town needs a general cleaning, the women bosseia go about from hut to hut, telling the women to get together and perform the task.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

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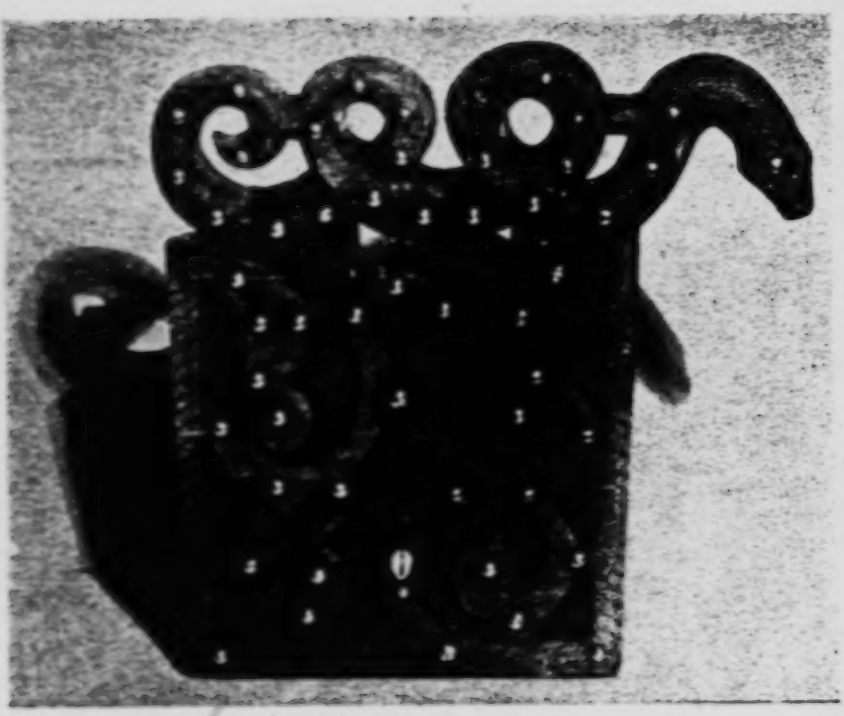

Snake Motif Bench Top or "Obeiah Bangi" (Sacred Bench) Carved from a Single Piece. *Saramaccaner Tribe.* On other benches and trays and similar pieces of wood carving the coil and serpentine motifs are often executed in such a way as to form figures of men and women.

Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History

[Facing p. 178]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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Open Work Bench Top Carved from a Single Piece, Human Face Motif. *Aucaner Tribe.*
Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History

[Facing p. 182]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

177 separated by ten thousand years of time and two thousand
182 miles of space. It has, however, been pointed out that both peoples had to face environmental conditions that are roughly alike, and that a similar world may well have led to certain similar responses and adaptations. In Dutch Guiana, on the other hand, we do know of a direct historical connexion with Africa, so that the customs, habits, art work, social organization, and general material culture of the Bush Negroes must undoubtedly be related to the similar culture of West Africa. A great many articles in everyday use among the Djukas are of West African design. African words and African habits can readily be identified.

177 We also know that certain articles used by the Djukas are borrowings from the aboriginal Indians of the district.
[352] Thus the cassava squeezer, the *matapre*, and the whole technique of preparing cassava, the grater and sieve for the flour, are borrowed from the South American Indians. But by far the greater part of Djuka culture comes directly from the Dark Continent.

A Swedish anthropologist, Gerhard Lindblom, made a study of Bush Negro implements and wood carvings in
[322] European museums, and compared them with the implements and wood carvings from West Africa, pointing out a number of homologous forms.

[443 The Granman's throne, an intricately carved wooden stool
352] made by the Djukas, as Lindblom pointed out, is similar in construction to those owned by the headmen of the Gold Coast, Ashanti, Slave Coast, and the Niger tribes. The ornate

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

412 hung up on a peg. The canoe paddles are actually employed
[501] every day on the river, and the flails beat the day's wash of soiled togas and coyos.

352 Since it is taboo to sit on the ground, a large number of
[784] stools are made, pierced and decorated, with now and then a tiny cabinet inside them. Wooden locks that actually work
[414] are seen on the doors, especially in Aucaner villages, guarding the treasures inside. These are West African survivals; the same type of device can be found in several parts of the Old Continent. They are huge affairs often two feet in length. Door sills and door posts, bows and sterns of canoes,
532 canoe seats and calabash gourds (occasionally decorated by a woman) are all embellished with ornamentation of great intricacy. It is amazing that these designs could be wrought without preliminary designing, which would seem to be necessary, but so far as we were able to observe there is no conscious planning before the carving begins.

The symbolism employed in these pieces of sanni is limited to a few conventionalized motifs. Moreover, there is a variation in the symbolism peculiar to the individual artist, which is not comprehensible solely from an examination of the piece itself. Unless one can locate the original carver, it is impossible, for the most part, to be certain what the symbols mean. The same motif will be differently interpreted by different natives, and often has no objective meaning. It is therefore impossible to undertake an elaborate interpretation of Djuka symbolism.

There are a few outstanding designs found on a large

A peculiarity of Aucaner wood carvings is the system of
532 sign language imprinted thereon. If some of the pieces are
212 examined closely, it will be seen that they have odd symbols apparently placed at random, not conforming to the general pattern of the piece. These marks represent personal messages from the giver to the recipient, special indications or signs of affection, comparable to the marks at the ends of Victorian *billets doux,* indicating the place to kiss. Conventionalized letters are known as *schriefie,* a Bush Negro word that means "writing." Animal, bird, and human figure motifs are more common among the Boni and Aucaner tribes.

322 Besides the practical implements in everyday use there are
532 a number of trick pieces apparently made for no other purpose than to show the virtuosity of the artist. Thus there are pieces where a loose bauble is placed in a cup from which it cannot be forced. Some of the stools have tiny doors which
[352] open, and some of them are folding stools which close up like camp stools, yet are made from one piece of wood. There are stirring paddles with loose rings around the handles, carved from the same piece of wood and undetachable. Some have chains of wood attached, with separate links, all from one piece of wood. The Bush Negroes are also fond of mak-
[293] ing bush-knives in wood, or ornamental swords to be worn on ceremonial occasions. Small knives ordinarily seen in metal are also carved out of wood.

There are two general types of decoration, with one or two subsidiary devices. The commonest consists of pierced ornamental work, made from a single piece of wood. Except

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

for benches, no pieced specimens are ever found. Because 322 532
of the practical necessity of having a large number of benches, and the difficulty of executing both legs and seat out of a continuous piece of wood, benches are commonly made of [352] ●
several pieces of wood fitted together, as can be seen in the photographs. A number of them, however, are made from a single piece, and this continuity is preferred by the Djukas. The Africanesque crescent stools are carved from a single log.

Relief work is the second form of decoration. It occurs 532
in the form of high relief on the plates and trays. It can be found to a modified degree on door-posts and other carved objects. Ornaments in low relief are represented by the calabash pieces, which are carved when green and allowed to dry.

Branding is done with a hot knife or wire, or else the piece may be charred by holding it in the flames. Circles are burned into the pattern by heating empty cartridge shells red hot and pressing them against the wood. Brass upholstery tacks, obtained in the white settlements of Para- [177]
maribo and Albina, are in especial favour, and some pieces are heavily laden with these. They fit in very well with the general spirit of Djuka art, and although the material is anachronistic, the effect is not.

Religious carvings, unlike the practical implements, are 532
executed with a crudeness that is surprising. The fetish to 778
the god Aflamu which was brought back to the Museum is nothing more than a rough section of pole with a crudely hewn face and seeds for eyes. Other religious pieces are

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

But when the necessities of life have been provided for,
417 and leisure is at hand for more beautiful and tender endeavours, the Bush Negro, seated before his evening fire, sharpens his knife and begins marking, with fine, deft lines, the graceful outlines of another paddle or comb to please his woman.

412 LIST OF CARVINGS SHOWN AT CHAPTER OPENINGS
● 352 WITH EXPLANATION OF SYMBOLISM

322 Carved Bench Top, *Saramaccaner Tribe:* Eight Women Dancing
532 Around a Gadu Pole (title page)

Carved Bench Top, *Boni Tribe:* Stylization of Male and Female Figures (page 3)

Hair Comb, *Aucaner Tribe* (page 7)

Carved Pierced Bench Top, *Saramaccaner Tribe:* Two Male Figures Each Holding a Snake Aloft (page 27)

Carved Bench Top, *Saramaccaner Tribe:* Two Highly Stylized Human Figures (page 39)

Hair Comb, *Aucaner Tribe:* Male and Female Snakes (page 53)

Carved Bench Top, *Boni Tribe:* Vulva Surrounded by Phallic Symbols (page 63)

[415] Carved Inner Surface of Calabash Gourd, African Bone Motif, *Saramaccaner Tribe* (page 83)

Carved Bench Top, *Saramaccaner Tribe:* Frog Design Executed with Serpentine Technique (page 91)

Hair Comb, *Aucaner Tribe:* Vulva Motif; the triangles on the cross bar represent snake teeth (page 119)

Hair Comb, *Saramaccaner Tribe:* Male and Female Figures (page 133)

[415] Carved Outer Surface of Calabash Gourd, *Saramaccaner Tribe* (page 161)

[71] Comb from Nigeria, West Africa (page 175)

Hair Comb, *Saramaccaner Tribe* (page 193)

3: Coster--1 F-5 (ca. 1857) 1866 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Djuka

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Introduction

114 After having left the plantation life in the colony of Surinam,
121 I went back there in the beginning of 1851 with the plan, as the
[101] result of an agreement reached by me with a Belgian firm, to send shiploads of wood to the motherland and Belgium.

[123] I undertook my journeys to the Bush Negroes for this purpose and visited most of their dwelling places, something that entailed effort and great cost, since I distributed ample presents everywhere for the purpose of thereby acquiring their confidence, which they do not readily grant to Whites.

123 At my very first encounter I took the precaution of politely
[576] greeting each one of them without distinction and shaking their
[177] hands, a practice taken over by them from the Whites in the most recent times, which assures them of a feeling of good-will such as they experience among themselves but never from a White.

[352] I spoke to them frankly and in a friendly way, sat next to them in their huts on their low stools, and partook of their meals. In short -- I lived for a while without reserve or fear among them, paying amply for everything that I enjoyed in this way or that.

[273] I also permitted them, whenever they wanted to use any of my store of beverages, such as wine, beer, brandy, and gin, to ask me for it quietly, so that I would be able to order my servants to offer them what they had requested. In addition I supplied /2/ them amply with dram (1), herbs, and lead and, in order to show

1. A kind of inland rum (sugar spirits).

generosity to the women as well, frequently gave them and the children biscuits, cake, or some coins.

[121] In the beginning they were very reserved and mistrustful, but gradually, and after some difficult years, became more open with me, so that I, adapting myself entirely to their practices, was able to carry out my plan to have the necessary wood processed by them.

682 /8 cont./
[672] culprit is condemned to find the requital in his offspring. His
[567] children, children's children, and great-grandchildren must render slave services for the family of the person poisoned.

692 Moreover, they usually act in accordance with the judgment and the decision of their elders or council members. Most punish-
681 ments consist of whip lashes.

Chapter IV

Weapons

411 These consist of rifles, machetes, bow and arrow, and lances.
278 In some cases they also use a kind of cudgel (1). The most dangerous
682

1. An Indian weapon called apoetoe.

one that they possess, however, is an assortment of vegetable poisons with which they can secretly strike their enemies and whose effects manifest themselves slowly, but are usually lethal. They not only mix these with one food or another, or in snuff or tobacco, but in the case of some can merely bring them in contact with a part of the body and thereby produce to the most infectious results.

/9/

Chapter V

Dwellings, Practices, Customs, Housekeeping

342 Their huts are constructed low above the ground from un-
824 worked round wood, covered with pina, the leaves of a palm species (1), and surrounded by palisade pales.

1. Euterpe oleracea Mart.

352 The couches and sleeping places within are also made of paling.

354 Inside the hut is found the hearth or place for the fire, on
372 which they cook and in which they constantly maintain a fire for

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

Two of its walls were of the plaited palm fronds which were entwined into so pleasant a pattern on the houses of the Bush Negroes. The side walls, however, were carpentered of slats which formed a paling, and over this the slanting roof hung. Through the spaces between the slats we could see the brown feet of the passing villagers, an occasional flare of a gay tunic, or a corner of a man's cloth. Occasionally the big eyes of a child who had wandered over to the paling peered through, to see what was happening inside. Through the slats of the wall nearest to the Granman's house we saw tall earthen jars resting on a plank. There were perhaps four of them, all of varying sizes, and these held creek and river water to which the magic properties of weeds and incantations had been added. 344 353 [915]

The purposes of these slats were manifold Not everyone could sit within the council house when the tribal chiefs gathered. Only those whose rank qualified them appeared inside when court was held. But to those sitting quietly outside those palings which formed the side walls of the house, what was spoken inside was clearly audible, and it was thus that many listened for the decisions which they awaited. Then, too, since this was an enclosed council house and when the door was open a plaid cloth hung over the doorway to insure privacy, the only light which penetrated came through these openings in the side walls. The eaves hung low, barring much of the light that might have come through the palings, and this alowed but the grayest flicker even at midday and brought into the council house the atmosphere which symbolized to them the cool of morning. The word "cool" was their image for peace, and health, and fairness, and deliberation, and justice. Inside the council house, then, was a light which "cooled the heart," for heart and head are synonymous to the Bush Negro when he speaks of emotional states. 344 623 [554] [827]

It was not a large house, and it appeared smaller because of the many furnishings that were in it. Against the wall facing the door a number of magnificently carved benches lay on their sides, one on top of the other, there obviously 344 352

AT THE COURT OF THE GRANMAN

Above the door was a shelf which did not quite reach the entire width of the wall, and on this shelf were the council benches, which the Granman supplied to the visiting chiefs. These benches were small, low, and as little ornamented with carvings as the work stools used by the women. But on the sides symbols were incised, and at least two of them we were able to identify as clan emblems. One of these had the conventionalized patterning of the hatchet, the emblem of the Granman's clan, and another a flower which is associated with the people from whose group come the principal diviners. The tops of these simple stools sometimes had inlays of dark wood, but whether their outlines were of ritualistic importance or not, no one would say.

From the beams hung several umbrellas, still inside the wrappings in which they had come from the white man's city, and a wickless metal lamp, into whose chains envelopes were inserted. These envelopes contained letters received by the Granman which awaited the coming of the missionary to be read, or letters which had already been read, and were there to add color to the official scene.

There were also other *Bakra sani*—white man's things—in the house. A canvas folding chair which filled almost an entire wall stood against the slats beside which, on the outside, were the earthen jars. This was for the Granman. He sat in it with the majesty of an emperor. No one ever approached it too closely, and we were never invited to take our ease in it when the Granman was in his own house.

In addition, there was a table in the center of the room, covered with a red and black plaid cloth from the city, and two straight-back chairs. On the table stood an alarm clock which was set for the noncommittal hour of twelve and a glass decanter filled with rum.

Chief And'u was the first to join us inside.

"It is fine here at the G'aman's."

"Yes, it is a fine house. And you, And'u, you look well in your coat. Is it when you are with the Granman that you dress so?"

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

"The openings in the wall there," she explained, when we asked her about the two squares cut into the wall behind the altar, "are for all things that fly. In this place they must come and go as they like. Bats come here, and insects of all kinds, and when they want to go back to the bush, they must be able to go as they like. That is the wish of the gods. So they told us long ago."

6

We were led from house to house. The gods had spoken. We were friends, and as friends who came not to harm, we were given the hospitality of friendship. There were other shrines, but we did not have to ask about them. They were pointed out to us with the other sights of the village.

The closed low hut near the Apuku shrine we had entered was to the river god Toné. It was a very small enclosure, and before it was a plant which covered the low entrance. It belonged, we were told, to an albino woman who was possessed by Toné. But she was not in the village now. Farther down the path was a larger house, another shrine. This had a piece of iron over the door and, when we asked about it, the girls who were following us ran, and the men merely said that it was the place of the Kromanti obia and passed on.

As we continued on our way, each woman was anxious not to have us slight the house her man had built her or fail to admire the carvings that were inserted into the weave of the palm walls. The huts were swept clean—the cleanliness of the entire village was even more striking than that of others we had visited—and but for a few stools, which were brought out for the strangers while they spoke with the old people who lived in the quarter, they were entirely bare. In every house, however, there was sure to be a shelf, large or small, or several shelves, on which stood prized food trays with carvings which covered both inner and outer surfaces. Combs and food stirrers were taken down and shown us, and the calabash dishes made by the women

353 themselves, and the blade-like pieces of gourd which they
531 used for spoons, and which bore the same symbols as the
415 dishes.

"Our men make fine things here in the true, true
462 Saramacca," Dida said when we entered her quarter, and
531 sat in her house. "Look at the carvings I have."

Her body was still white with pemba. Her manner was still a little vague.

"Did you dance this morning?"

"Ai."

"We heard the agida drum play when we were in the
776 council house of the Granman."

"Ai, Kesekia is a big god. When he comes, his voice is
787 strong."

But she showed no willingness to talk, and we could tell by the repeated twitching of her body that she had still to dance to her god. Leaving her we continued up the path toward houses we had not yet visited. The white man, with a man who was guiding him and the bassia from Asindopo Lantiwe, walked ahead, while the children crowded about the white woman who was giving them safety pins which they at once put in their hair.

"There is the Vodu house," said the man who acted as
778 guide, and he led the way through the low doorway into
346 the hut.

Inside, though smaller than the shrine to the gods of the bush, it differed from it but little. It had the same clay floor, the same raised altar on which stood stools washed in white clay, and several covered, whitened vessels, an image, and the round balls of clay.

"May I go closer and look at the image there?"

"Yes, go."

[352] The stools resembled those in ordinary use, but whatever design they may have had was obscured by the white clay which covered them. The vessels were not unlike those in
[415] the other shrine we had visited or those which rested on the heads of village gods which stood under low, roofed-over shelters on the main village paths. Turning, the white man

THE ARTIST OF MA'LOBBI

As we walked toward the chief's house we looked about us, seeing again the evidence that here at Ma'lobbi there were men who knew how to carve wood, seeing why it was that our paddlers had spoken of it as a place for fine work. 322 531

"Ai, at Ma'lobbi they are good carvers."

Here was a house with its doorposts elaborately carved; there a beautifully worked rice tray, lying where it had been left by the woman who owned it, until she should need it later in the day for winnowing her rice; farther along a great bench stood, with the designs cut through in a fluid progression over top and sides. [342]

The captain was in the lower portion of his two-story house when we entered. Several of the older men, who had been present at our earlier visit and who remembered our gifts of tobacco, came to join us, as the news of our arrival spread through the village. Soon the women were standing about, motioning to the white woman to come with them. 123 609

The house in which the captain received us was larger and more imposing than the others in the village. It was his *gudu-wosu*—his treasure house. Its lower portion, where we sat in conversation with him, was where he worked. Above, where none of his wives might enter, his wealth was stored. Here he kept the pieces he had carved, and from here drew from time to time the presents he gave his wives. Here lay the wealth which his nephews would inherit when he died. But below, in the partially open shelter, was his workshop where he fashioned rough logs into stools and paddles, combs and food stirrers, trays and canoe seats, and all manner of objects which he and his women used in their daily routine. 342 556 [408] [302]

All about the walls hung tools. There were machetes, whose sharp blades showed a reflection of fire from the sun which slanted on the wall. We had never seen so many of these bush knives on display, nor, for that matter, such an array of tools anywhere on this river. From projecting boards or nails driven into posts hung several compasses, their hinged arms sharp-pointed, so that the craftsman might describe the perfect circles on the wood he carved. 342 353 412 [413]

REBEL DESTINY

353 This they had learned from the whites long ago, and
179 now everywhere on the river compasses were seen, or
[413] carvings which showed their use. The machete, the small
412 sharp knives which lay about here on the work-table, the compass, and sand made up any Bush Negro carver's tools. But here at Ma'lobbi in this workshop of the captain were tools from the white man's city, collected by himself on his journeys down to the government office to receive his yearly allowance, or by his men who had been to the French shore and learned of the ways of the outside world. There was a plane to make the blade of a paddle smooth as the skin of a child, and there were two others in addition to this one, we were assured, in the treasure house of the upper story. Hammers, too, were useful for making boats, and even for smaller carvings like benches. There was also a bit and auger, though we were never convinced that the captain himself had ever put it to its more prosaic uses.

"I have many more up there," said the captain, pointing to the upper story. "I like them. If a man likes his tools, then they help him in his carvings. As he sees with his eyes, so they cut. I have always liked my tools, white man. I have spent much time with them."

281 A young man sat to one side shaving down a block of
322 wood with a knife which he held.

"He is not carving," the captain said, following our eyes. "He is making a piece for this," he explained, indicating a plane. "Now is not the time for carving. There is too much to be done. This is the time for cutting wood, for making the rafts down the river, for making boats, for bleeding rubber trees for the white man, and for hunting game. When the great rains come, then men sit about and carve."

322 As he spoke our eyes traveled to the various carvings
531 which stood about the workshop. In one corner leaned a paddle which caught our attention because of its darkened color, and the patina which long use had given it, so that it seemed made of ebony. Against another wall were several
[352] stools, all richly ornamented with carvings, while beside us,

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

the trading-post, are so large as to have street-like roads extending across them. Others like Nu have only eight or nine huts.

The walls and roofs of the dwellings are made of grasses and reeds, intricately woven into a herring-bone pattern that can be seen in the photographs. So tightly are they woven that the jungle rain does not penetrate. The uprights are hewn out of tree trunks, and those that form the doorway are often deeply carved. So great is the decorative spirit of these people that every common utensil is carved until it becomes a work of art.

The roofs extend far beyond the walls, so that the projecting part throws a shadow on the walls, which lowers the temperature inside. In front, the roof extends a yard or more to form a shade in which the blacks may palaver. In front of the huts, always, babies are grubbing about in the dirt and yelling prodigiously.

Here and there are slightly dilapidated huts. They belong to people now dead. No one will live in them or venture to repair the ruin of time. Neglected, they sink into decay. The witch doctor's hut is also a bit frowzy; it seems to be a badge of his profession, like the sugar cane planted alongside his doorway or the turtle-shell impaled on a staff near by. All three are symbols of his calling.

A wall of woven mat divides some of the huts into two rooms, the back room being used for sleeping. The men have hand-made hammocks of woven cotton or grass. Their wives are provided with sleeping-mats on the floor. The front room

354 /9 cont./
[372] they do not like to be without it; at least they do not like to
[353] sleep without a fire. Their weapons hang above their sleeping
[513] place, which is a hammock, in which man and wife sometimes lie together. Rarely do more than one man and one woman with their
342 small children live in a single hut.

296 Their articles of clothing, as well as other small belongings,
251 are kept in pagalen, a kind of plaited basketwork, while they keep
415 water, strong drink, sugar juice, rice, salt, and so forth in
424 calabashes and godos (2).

2. Both hollowed-out fruit rinds of the Crescentia cagete L. and the Cucurbita lagenaria L., plants from the family of the Cucurbitaceae.

415 Some of them have cedarwood clothes-chests, which must be specially mounted with a great deal of copper; one also sometimes finds liqueur cellars with gilded bottles.

353 For the rest everything is left out in the open in the hut.

264 Often many men come together in one hut for their meals and eat out of one large bowl or calabash. The women withdraw after having placed on very low tables several calabashes or bowls of food for their husbands in the circle in which they are seated, never forgetting to add a large calabash with clean water for washing the hands before and after the meal. The women gather in another hut in order to consume what they kept out for themselves beforehand and what has been left by their husbands.

[888] If an aged person or a highly placed person is in their midst,
[554] he is offered the calabash of food first, so that he may take from it what he wants and eat it by himself from an ordinary plate, although seated in the circle, /10/ while the others partake of their meal from the large bowl. In general they talk with one another during the meal, the highly placed person also taking part in the conversation.

6:Hurault--107a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
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/facing p. 76/

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Fig. 15. House type of the Refugee Blacks; Loabi village (Djuka of the Upper Tapanahoni).

A NIGHT AT S'EI

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[539]

" . . . *It is late,*
Soon night will meet day . . . "

they chanted, as others joined them. Dancing to the slow rhythm of the singers, lamps in hand, all took up the song, until the bassia's wife led the way down the path. In a few moments the flicker of the oil lamps radiated in many directions, and the quieted dancers followed by their families went home singing. [35A]

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaca

AT THE COURT OF THE GRANMAN

Now it was the Granman's turn to supply the interpolations, while Kasanya and Bibifo reported. 622 576 574

"Yes, so it is. So I know it to be myself. So I have heard," he spoke when they paused.

But when the ceremonial greetings were over, and the conversation turned to down-river affairs, the Granman leaned forward in his chair and talked with the men informally. They were all clan members, or men belonging to clans whose allegiance to the Granman's rule was undoubted, and they talked over many things in the way men do when they meet with their own kind. 622 543 521 [614]

The room was growing darker. Yankuso called through the slatted wall against which he was leaning, and the young man who had fired the guns entered.

"Bassia, it is getting late. We must leave this house to the white man. These men with me are my friends. They must drink before they leave."

The bassia took the decanter from the table, and from the shelf underneath it, where we could dimly see shells and containers of shot, he took several small glasses. Before taking the glass to his lips, each man poured some of the liquor on the ground as a libation to the Earth Mother, and, as each drank, he turned to Yankuso and asked if he might leave. 576 873

"*Mi da permissi*—I grant you permission," he said to each.

When we had finished our meal, it was already dark. At the door of his own house, Granman Yankuso was sitting on a low stool.

"I have something for you," he said, disappearing inside his house. When he came out, he held in his hand some black object, which we were unable to identify. "You have fire?" he asked, as he suspended this object from a tree which grew between his house and the one in which we were staying. 354 574

"There was a white Hollander here who brought this to me. He went from here farther into the bush. He never came out. Light is a good thing at night. When visitors

Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
Bush Negroes
Saramacca

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come, I bring the lamp out. This is a big fire. In the village of my father, across the river, they can see it."

The blazing light made the night seem darker.

"Bak'a," the Granman went on. "For many days you and your woman have been on the river. You are tired. Tomorrow, when you have slept, you will be refreshed. Tomorrow my chiefs will be here. You will tell us why you have come, what you want to do."

He turned toward his house.

"Du mundu, Bak'a," he said. "Let all sleep well."

REBEL DESTINY

123 "You must have strong obia from Africa—strong snake
119 obia—for the gods to have spoken so well of you!"

But when the Granman asked, there was no refusing. That day word was sent to all in the village that the Bakra was giving a cinema show in the bush.

Long before dark the entire village had gathered in front of our doorway. The children had been around since early afternoon. Against the council-house wall we hung a white sheet, and some feet away we stood our folding table and on it the little projector. The show was about to begin.

[354] The Granman who sat a little to one side gave orders to the latecomers to extinguish the flames of their small oil lamps and their lanterns, and the large torch which he had so proudly shown that first night, and which had since illuminated the clearing nightly, was also extinguished.

The illustrations we had photographed were from volumes on the people of the West Coast of Africa—Ashanti and the Gold Coast, Dahomey, Nigeria, Benin, the Cameroons, Loango, and the Congo. Our first year's experiences among these people had taught us that it would not be well to show them too many ceremonial pictures. Photographs of sacrifices of animals other than fowls, we had felt, too, would not be wise to introduce. Such a picture as that of the Ashanti Sasabonsum, the "evil Apuku," as the Bush Negroes whom we had allowed to see the illustration named it, we had also decided should best be shown to individuals here and there. For the general showing, we relied upon pictures of cicatrizations, of hairdressing and teeth filing, of rafts floating on African lakes, of pottery making and cloth weaving, of laying fires and the doing of other household tasks, of carvings, and finally of one or two priests and priestesses in states of possession.

We waited for a signal from the Granman to begin. About
[342] the dark clearing the huts, with their roof poles meeting on top like great horns, gave a strange effect to the scene, for with the moving and shifting of bare feet it seemed as though everything in that clearing strained to fall in line

612 /8 cont./

[672] culprit is condemned to find the requital in his offspring. His
[567] children, children's children, and great-grandchildren must render slave services for the family of the person poisoned.

692 Moreover, they usually act in accordance with the judgment and the decision of their elders or council members. Most punish-
681 ments consist of whip lashes.

Chapter IV

Weapons

411 These consist of rifles, machetes, bow and arrow, and lances.
278 In some cases they also use a kind of cudgel (1). The most dangerous
682

1. An Indian weapon called apoetoe.

one that they possess, however, is an assortment of vegetable poisons with which they can secretly strike their enemies and whose effects manifest themselves slowly, but are usually lethal. They not only mix these with one food or another, or in snuff or tobacco, but in the case of some can merely bring them in contact with a part of the body and thereby produce to the most infectious results.

/9/

Chapter V

Dwellings, Practices, Customs, Housekeeping

342 Their huts are constructed low above the ground from un-
824 worked round wood, covered with pina, the leaves of a palm species (1), and surrounded by palisade pales.

1. Euterpe oleracea Mart.

352 The couches and sleeping places within are also made of paling.

354 Inside the hut is found the hearth or place for the fire, on
372 which they cook and in which they constantly maintain a fire for

354 /9 cont./
[372] they do not like to be without it; at least they do not like to
[353] sleep without a fire. Their weapons hang above their sleeping
[513] place, which is a hammock, in which man and wife sometimes lie together. Rarely do more than one man and one woman with their
342 small children live in a single hut.

296 Their articles of clothing, as well as other small belongings,
251 are kept in pagalen, a kind of plaited basketwork, while they keep
415 water, strong drinks, sugar juice, rice, salt, and so forth in
824 calabashes and godos (2).

2. Both hollowed-out fruit rinds of the Crescentia cagete L. and the Cucurbita lagenaria L., plants from the family of the Cucurbitaceae.

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1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-8 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

"The openings in the wall there," she explained, when we asked her about the two squares cut into the wall behind the altar, "are for all things that fly. In this place they must come and go as they like. Bats come here, and insects of all kinds, and when they want to go back to the bush, they must be able to go as they like. That is the wish of the gods. So they told us long ago."

6

We were led from house to house. The gods had spoken. We were friends, and as friends who came not to harm, we were given the hospitality of friendship. There were other shrines, but we did not have to ask about them. They were pointed out to us with the other sights of the village.

The closed low hut near the Apuku shrine we had entered was to the river god Toné. It was a very small enclosure, and before it was a plant which covered the low entrance. It belonged, we were told, to an albino woman who was possessed by Toné. But she was not in the village now. Farther down the path was a larger house, another shrine. This had a piece of iron over the door and, when we asked about it, the girls who were following us ran, and the men merely said that it was the place of the Kromanti obia and passed on.

As we continued on our way, each woman was anxious not to have us slight the house her man had built her or fail to admire the carvings that were inserted into the weave of the palm walls. The huts were swept clean—the cleanliness of the entire village was even more striking than that of others we had visited—and but for a few stools, which were brought out for the strangers while they spoke with the old people who lived in the quarter, they were entirely bare. In every house, however, there was sure to be a shelf, large or small, or several shelves, on which stood prized food trays with carvings which covered both inner and outer surfaces. Combs and food stirrers were taken down and shown us, and the calabash dishes made by the women

/73 cont./

643 That happened especially to people who, summoned to work
687 in the grand man's clearings, carried out their task with ill will.

About 1950, M...., of Papaïston village, had openly revolted against the grand man whom he had refused to conduct to Saint-Laurent. The grand man sentenced him to make a large stairway of planks, from the Boniville wharf to the entrance to the village, giving him an injunction to leave the country if he refused. M.... ended by yielding and executed the large stairway which can now be seen at the Boniville wharf.

643 The grand man is constantly concerned about his prestige
648 and dignity; he is almost always dressed in the European manner
292 and in ceremonies wears an impeccable white uniform; the French
199 administration gives him a relatively large salary and, when he comes to Cayenne, he is put up in the hospital in the apartments reserved for officers.

643 To greet the grand man one does not look directly at him
[576] but places himself in profile with respect to him.

[644] The grand man has no servants (that would be contrary to the morality of the Refugee Blacks) and leads a very simple life.
[357] Still, he does not do any hard manual labor; each year he calls
[466] together a certain number of men from each lo to work in his clearings; he does not pay them, for this work is an obligation provided for by custom, but he feeds them heartily.

643 Likewise, for his traveling, he requisitions by turns as boat-
466 men two or three of his subjects. Sometimes also he requisitions women to help his wife at harvest time.

On the other hand, for all other work he may need (such as the construction of a large boat) he has to pay like everyone else and he is not given any reduction.

/75 cont./

571 In fact, the society of the Refugee Blacks has not elaborated
971 true political institutions; it is essentially a grouping for collective
692 defense against suprahuman perils. The council, like the grand man, has power and authority only insofar as it remains closely bound to this function.

511 Absence of subordination. Among the Refugee Blacks no privileged
[565] class exists, /76/ and they all face life on a footing of rigorous equality; all receive the same education, must cultivate the soil,
[854] build their boats and houses, and live by paid work. The differences in standard of living observed from one to another stem basically from intelligence and work; and that, in spite of the belief in the possibility of getting rich by sorcery, is clearly understood by all.

565 Although the Boni willingly engage in paid work for one
[465] another in transportation by boat, there exists no tendency toward the formation of a class of rich people and one of wage-earners.
571 No servants exist among them, and one observes in their mutual
461 relations no exploitation of the weak. Neither does one observe that
[357] a rich man tries to have done by another, for pay, the customary
[462] jobs he must carry out for the benefit of his wife (clearings, building of boats). This would be looked on with great disfavor. The grand
[643] man himself, if his grandson is not there to help him, goes himself to draw water from the river and he does it ostensibly, even though he has a constant concern for his prestige.

829 The misfortunes undergone by their ancestors are certainly at the base of this conception; for they have inspired in the Refugee Blacks a particular sense of human dignity which is not found to the same degree in Africa.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

but he did face about, and forgetting his seketi began to pole in earnest. 502 484

In a few moments his body glistened with the exertion, and over the circle and snake of kamemba in the small of his back the perspiration ran down in a trickle. When he had almost caught up he slackened his speed, and he and Bibifo talked about the river. Old Bibifo knew the river well. He was born beyond the Granman's country. A snake swam across the path of the boat, Bayo said. It was good luck. "See, look," he called. His eyes were sharp. The old man saw it, too, and then he called to us. There, close to the shore, a little ahead of us, a constrictor twined its tail about a liana, hanging head down, with a salamander slowly disappearing into its mouth. There was a slight jerk, the liana shook, the snake swallowed, and another bit of the salamander was out of sight. 484 [875] [717] [136]

Farther ahead we heard the report of a gun, and the crying of the mate of the wounded bird followed us for a long while. Bayo and Bibifo identified each cry, called by name the things that grew, planned about their timber rafts when they got back, until the next rapids were reached and passed and the conversation could be resumed, and then they talked about things which they did not care to have the Bakra know, and though they spoke none of the words of their ritual language, we could not understand anything they said. It was not until later that we learned to work out some of the elisions in their speech. [98]

A strip of sandy beach showed where a village stood, and as we passed it, we could see the azang, the spiritual guard of palm fronds, preventing evil spirits from entering the village. We saw also a strip of white hanging from the end of a stick which had been put up for the ancestors, and beyond, the low shelter for the roughly carved and weathered image holding an obia pot on its head. Under the azang the path stretched like a narrow ribbon which was soon lost as the walls of green converged. 718 789

"Is that another village?" we said, pointing at a pale stretch across the river. 361

•361 "This is the entrance to the farm of a Gankwe family. And there, can you see? That's a broken village. Many people died there. The others left it. This happened when Bayo was small."

4

805 "How many hours, Bakra?" Bayo asked. He could tell time by the sun and guessed almost exactly. "They are stopping on the rocks there. It's time to eat."

264 The Bush Negro usually has two meals a day, one in the early forenoon and another at night after dark when work is over. He eats little. These men were on the river with us ten or eleven hours a day, poling upstream, loading and unloading the boats where the rapids were so high that it was impossible to take the heavily loaded boats across them, and what we saw them eat was some cassava bread [262] dipped in river water to soften it, and some cold rice with a little palm oil in it. They had no time to fish, and it was a bad year for fishing, too. Of game there was little. [224] A few toucans and a monkey were all they could get along the shore—game was scarce even in the deep bush. For more than a score of decades their ancestors had been shooting game along the river, and now the animals kept away.

In the other boats Asikanu was the first served.

"Look, here is your food."

The front paddler put a calabash filled with rice and some cassava bread on the water, and the stream carried it to Asikanu.

"Did you catch it?"

"Ai."

484 In Sedefo's boat the cassava cakes were green with mold. 26 One by one these disks of a finger's breadth in thickness and perhaps thirty inches in diameter were laid on the hot rocks to dry. On a trip such as this, enough must be taken to feed a man during his entire absence from home. Well in advance a man's wife, or his mother or sister, or a maternal aunt will be told of such a trip so that she may

REBEL DESTINY

574 609 In his own house, Fandya continued to urge our staying. "Ame'ika Fandya," he said—the year before he had given his own name to the white man—"remain with us tonight and tomorrow. I am an old man. I would like to know that you saw a dance in my village. When you go to the Neng'e country, I would like you to say that Captain Fandya knew how to treat a stranger who came as a friend. Last year when you were here you said you would come with your wife. You have come. Your wife has come. Last year you came, and since then all has gone well in our village. Today there are not many people about. The women are [462] away in the fields harvesting the rice; the men are in the bush hauling lumber. But tomorrow night the women will come in from the planting grounds, because the day after they may not work in the fields, and tomorrow, too, the men will come. Stay and see our dances."

And the bassia, the man second in command, said, [789] "Mati, last year I took an obia against the evil eye from my own door and gave it to you to hang over yours, that enemies entering your house might not bring in with them bad magic. All has gone well with you. Stay. The gods have shown they favor our friendship."

2

361 The will of the Gankwe men had, however, prevailed, and we reached the village of Pa'aba that day in good time. It was one of the largest on the river. In front of the azang 501 which guarded the road new boats lay on their sides, and farther up the path were others in the making, some black inside with charring, others huge hollowed-out logs, like gigantic drums, waiting for the hand that would set their pulses beating. These boats were as large as any we had seen on the river, as large as the boat Sedefo had rejected because it rolled and he had to think of his kunu.

[556] Kasanya said, "This is a prosperous village. They make the best boats on the river here."

And Bayo said, "Ai, this village has strong men."

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Saramacca

349
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Baikato, Chief Fandya's village.

[Facing p. 90]

THE PROVISION GROUND

It is told that this practice of isolating the provision ground was a heritage of the days when the ancestors were escaping from slavery, for then the whites were at war with them, and villages had often to be deserted. But to desert a village was one thing. What local spirits were there could be urged by the proper magical invocations to follow to another site. Men did not, after all, derive their food supply from a village. It was the provision ground upon which life depended. The provision ground had at all costs to be saved. Access to it was, therefore, made difficult. Trails were never clearly marked, and were often marked to mislead the invading enemy. The river bank was allowed to give no hint of shielding, behind the thicket, a clearing where crops grew to feed the warriors and their families. When a village was destroyed by the enemy, the Bush Negroes fell back on their fields and maintained life. To this day, it is said, this practice holds, for though hostilities ended more than a hundred years ago, the planting grounds are rarely found close to a village. 251 [487]

Walking behind Kasanya in the darkness which gave to each down-hanging vine the outlines of the great aboma snake, held sacred in this bush, we fell to wondering whether in this, as in so many instances, the accounting for current beliefs, in terms of the experience of slavery alone, would prove inadequate. 361 [B25]

"We have arrived, Bak'a," said Kasanya, interrupting our speculations. His eyes were sharper than ours, for not even when he spoke did we see the widening of the path and the clearing beyond. Yet fewer than a hundred additional paces found us facing four small huts scattered about a sandy open place, and a woman who was on her way from one house to another turned toward us. She listened to what Kasanya said, with her head slightly averted, pulling at her pipe all the while.

"Ai, they can stay," she said, pointing to the largest of the four houses. "As many of you as can, sleep there. The house next to it is for provisions. We have not much to offer here."

"I'll tell you how it is mostly," he went on, after a silence. "Sometimes a woman will lie about the father of her child. The child will grow up keeping the trefu of a strange man. But it won't be his real trefu. His mother, you see, lied about his father. In the end, if nothing is done, this child will be sick, and later he will become a leper. Only a bad woman will lie about her child's father, because only a bad woman will want to hurt her own child. It doesn't happen among the girls who wear kerchiefs and live the way the old people live. These girls dance to the spirits. They are afraid of the ancestors. They are afraid of their *abra*—their soul—and the Earth Mother. But those girls who wear hats—ai, Massa, those girls do anything!"

But here in the bush, it seemed, they had other beliefs about leprosy, he went on. Here they believed it was a kind of a spirit, too. When a leper died he was not given a good burial. No wakes were held for him. He was given no coffin. He was buried in the Bad Bush, where the sorcerers were thrown.

"When a leper dies, they don't want him to come back again. They don't treat his spirit well. They do the same with him as with a madman. They bury him with no more ceremony than a child, who came on earth, and would not stay. They say it's all because of a bad spirit, and they don't want bad spirits on earth."

4

"Why do we plant away from the village?"

It was the old woman talking, as we sat and smoked with her. The moon had come up above the maripa palm trees behind the house where the leper had been helped into his hammock, and it was pleasant out-of-doors.

"Why, you ask? Well, sometimes when the bush is burned, a wind comes up suddenly, and sends the flames, down, down, beyond the cleared ground. How would it be with a village, if we cleared our grounds too close to it, and this happened? No, Bak'a, we people of the bush know better. . . . What do you say? Why do we do our clearing

REBEL DESTINY

241 away from the river? When the big rains come, the river
361 goes up more and more. If our crops were too close to the water, then in the big rains the land would be flooded, and the crops long under water. . . . Yes, and we have to
[36] think of the ants, too. Ants, once they find their way into a field, will destroy everything. They like especially the
[37] green leaves of the young cassava plants. When the young leaves go, there is no cassava. So we move farther and farther away for our fields. Two, three years, and new fields must be cut, so that the yield might feed us all."

311 Once a field had been deserted, say, for five years, why
341 did they not reclaim it later? we enquired, for by that time the big bush would have made fertile again the soil that had been exhausted.

"In this bush we do it like that. Why, I don't know. Our ancestors found much land for us. When we want new fields, we cut farther and farther into the bush."

5

As Bayo and Angita set off for the dance at Pa'abo, Kasanya and Sedefo joined us, and we talked of crops and
[521] planting, of woman's work and man's, of good harvests and bad, and this is what was told us.

[362] Finding a new field and clearing it is a man's task. If a man is about to be married, or if the field a man's wife works has become exhausted, then he goes into the forest, near to the planting ground of his mother and to the fields of his family, and casts about for a place to clear. A field
311 must not be in a hollow, or the crops will not grow, and
341 rice needs the sun of a hill slope to thrive. Once having
711 found a spot where the drainage is good, he looks about to see if the spirits will allow its use. Patiently, painstakingly, he goes from one clump of matted vines to the next, machete in hand, searching for signs of an ant hill, or an Akatasi tree that is sacred to the gods of the ant hill, or for snakes, or a natural clearing belonging to the Apuku gods of the bush. No silk-cotton tree must be there, no loko tree wherein dwells the god of the same flame so near that it

Later, through the gathering darkness, the people of the neighboring villages went home, paddling their boats which were loaded down with the fish that had been netted. And from this time on, everyone knew that this neku vine was the property of him who had found it, and of his family, down through his mother's line, forever.

"Ai, mati, you would have seen something, if you had got here for the neku dance!"

6

Like any other Bush Negro village, S'ti was a series of sandy clearings about which were grouped huts of woven palm fronds and palm thatch. All about was the big bush. The trails which led from the village were each guarded by a magically treated palm atang, and shrines to the ancestral spirits who saw to it that evil was kept away. Where the several paths led, a stranger was not encouraged to discover. Down one, women were to be seen disappearing in the morning with trays on their heads, their infants astride their backs, held inside the folds of a cloth which was fastened high above their breasts, and caught up again below them. In many upper river villages, this path led to the fields, some distance away. Others were the way to shrines, erected to those spirits which must be worshiped outside the village. Another path might lead to a brook, which the villagers held sacred. There were trails, too, which connected neighboring villages, and led perhaps farther yet, but for the stranger, the highway was the river, and no matter how short the distance between one settlement and another, he was not invited to make his way through the bush.

"You do not want to go through the bush, white man. In the bush are evil spirits," we heard many times.

A village clearing was divided into quarters. Each quarter was inhabited by one of the *mbe*, or extended families, and the quarter bore its name. It was composed of several households—five or six or more, depending upon the size of the

village. A household was not confined to one building only, but few who were not men of rank and means had more than three. One was for the woman and her children, another for storing the crops, and the third was the man's treasure house, where women might not come. It was like the matter of wives. Only men of position could afford more than one. But if a man had two wives and both lived in his village, then perhaps five huts would bear a design identified with him on the carved side posts which outlined the low doorway. This design would recur in the various carvings he had made for his women—it was his crest. And though a man from another village, who was not related to him, might like it, and liking it copy it, this practice would be socially frowned upon.

A village quarter, however, did not contain only dwelling places, and storehouses, and men's treasure houses. Certain families also had in their part of the village an enclosed shrine for the family gods. If in a given family a powerful Vodu, or snake god, had come to an ancestress and had in a dream, or in a seizure, or through a revelation made to an obia man, chosen her as his *'asi*—his priestess or medium—then with this disclosure came the instructions for the place of locating a house of worship to that Vodu, and the type of house it was to be. Such a shrine, once erected, would be kept in the quarter, and worshiped by the members of that family. Sometimes in front of a dwelling hut, a low enclosure, the size of a small kennel, would stand a little to the side of the door. This was a house to Toné, the river spirit. In one such house lived a woman who had a great Toné god. She had the gift of prophecy. When the men gathered for a council meeting in the village of the Granman, then she, too, would sometimes be bidden to come and sit with the men, though, being a woman, she could never speak at council meetings.

"Touch her skin," the other women said, pointing out this albino woman, "and you will have your desires fulfilled."

In each quarter, too, there was an open house where the women did their cooking, and perhaps a platform or two,

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SRS Bush Negroes SRS
Saramacca

where, in the proper season, maripa nuts and rice were dried.

One quarter differed very little from another, except that in one there might grow the plant which yielded the red and black beans used for the sacred rattles, and for playing the game of adji, which entertained the spirit of the dead while the body lay in state. Instead of a house to the family gods, there might be found a mound of earth in front of one doorway, with an axe-head lying upon it as a shrine for a man's spirit, or a low forked stick sunk into the ground, holding a pot with water and weeds in it for the curing powers of its obia.

A village of any size had also a quarter in which stood the communal buildings. The council house which might also serve on occasion as the house for the dead was there. The menstrual house for the women, a small building which was recognized by a broken calabash, or a porcelain pot brought from the white man's city, lying outside the entrance, stood a little to the side. The Kromanti house, and perhaps an enclosed shelter for the bush gods who shared the shrine with the snake deities, was also located somewhere near the open communal shrine. A village wherein lived the clan head contained in addition a house for the ancestral spirits of the clan. This was called a *Fa'aka-pau wosu*, literally a flagpole house, a euphemism for the shrine to the ancestors for whom white cotton was put up on sticks. In this Fa'aka-pau wosu prayers were offered up for all the important ventures of the clan, and in time of stress a priest would come there with sacrifices, to bid one of the ancestors to enter his body and give him sight. When seizure came on, such a priest prophesied. Sometimes the ancestors were consulted in the same manner as that in which the will of the dead was ascertained. Men would take up a sacred plank and carry it in a state of possession; the elders would put questions to the ancestor who had been called. The answers were construed as favorable or unfavorable according to the way the plank tipped.

REBEL DESTINY

175 Now we were in the true, true Saramacca country, the land which the Bush Negro feels to be entirely his own. White men, it is true, had been here before, but only a handful, and the gods of the river, who were powerful, saw to it that of these not many got back to the white man's land. True, true Saramacca country! Every Bush Negro we met on the lower river spoke of it with the deepest feeling.

"It is all right here," one man after another had said, "but wait until you see the upper river, the true-true Saramacca!"

It was here that the first Bush Negro villages had been built, though this seemed fabulous to the strangers who, in strong boats, guided by men who were wise in the moods and courses of the river, had had nine days of hard travel on the way. The lower-river villages began to appear only after peace had been declared and had proved lasting. Eighty-six years ago men from the upper river who lived beyond the Granman's own village, in the Grand Rio, had come down and built the village of Gansee, which was some four hours' paddling upstream from the railhead.

We spoke of this to Bibifo, who himself was born in this country.

"You may well wonder, white man."

361 103 Here was no danger of having to wrest a camp from the bush at night, when the short tropical dusk came to overtake the traveler. Villages followed close, one upon the other. Here was Ma'lobbi, where the beauty of the wood [322] carver's art had made us linger beyond the time allotted to us for making the journey from S'ei to Asindopo Lantiwe. Here was Hei Kununu—High Mountain—which rose on a [133] steep slope above the river, and was pleasant to see after the long stretches of flat plain that lay below. Semoisi, noted for its riches, was there, and Pempeh, bearing a name well known in the Ashanti country in Africa. Here villages 205 were so close to each other that they could announce our approach on the talking drums.

"What is it we hear, Bayo?" we would ask.

"They are cutting down trees, Bak'a."

798 The other white man was the Catholic missionary who
799 for years had been living in the Gran Rio. He was a friend of the Saramacca people, and they liked him. Now this white man wanted to see Dahomey. He said that he, too, had a strong God who protected him. He asked so many times that they at last promised to take him there. But when he got to Pempeh he fell asleep, and he slept till . . . till they reached the Granman's country. So his life was saved. The gods, knowing that he was a friend of the Saramacca people, did not want to kill him. They put him to sleep until Dahomey was well out of reach.

"And this is what happened to you, Bak'a. The gods did not want to hurt you, so you did not see."

2

133 Past these rapids and another stretch of rough water, and then before us lay the highest falls of the Saramacca. To the right, over a ledge of rock spreading in an unbroken sweep across its entire width poured the Gran Rio, the
[361] river up which lay the villages of the Loango clan, and beyond, the untrodden jungle which barricaded the way to the country of the Indians, and the basin of the Amazon. To the left was the final bit of fast water that remained between us and the village where the Granman awaited us. We were at last in the Pikien Rio.

Here the stream narrowed, and we could see on both banks the people who were waiting to see us pass. The
[574] gay colors of the women's cloths were brilliant against the background of green, and their hallooing reached our ears above the rush of the water. A canoe with several young men came alongside.

"We are here to help you with your boats. We have been sent by the Granman. Fire three shots to let him know you are in the Pikien Rio."

576 We fired, and instantly there was an answering salute of
[201] three guns. With the reinforcement of paddlers, it did not take long to reach the island which separated us from the landing place of Asindopo Lantiwe. Here all strangers

THE GODS SPEAK

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[539]

"Wife of the G'aman,
I come from the river.
Go to the G'aman
Say to him,
These strangers are friends,
They bring no evil."

It was the god speaking, and the Granman's wife received with lowered head the words spoken through the priestess.

"Ai, my master. Ai, Massa Gadu," she said.

5

The Granman's paternal village was directly across the river from Asindopo Lantiwe. It was called Akisiamau, literally "Took with an outstretched hand," but whether there was also some meaning in the phrase not intended for the uninitiated, we could not learn. In size it was not much larger than the Granman's village, and again and again we recognized houses which were his by the crest-like carvings on the doorposts, that reproduced the design found not only at the side of the council-house door, but at the door of all other houses at Asindopo Lantiwe which were his. 361 643 [423]

Except for several old people who sat about in the shade and waited for the strangers to come to them with their greetings, the entire village followed us as we made our way down one path and another. 123

"Bak'a, Ame'ika Bak'a, Ame'ika Fandya!—White man. American white man, American Fandya!" the children called after us, as they ran at our heels, touching our canteens, our sun helmets, and shoes.

The Granman had spoken with especial fondness of his father's house, and it was there that we asked first to be taken. It was not occupied, we were told, and none might enter it. Above the top crosspiece white cotton was draped. Except that its door was closed, it showed no signs of being 342 643

REBEL DESTINY

Se'defo might greet his sister. It was almost a half-day's travel, going up river, from Asindopo Lantiwe, yet it was not quite noon, and we were passing it. Here was Hei Kununu, its steep slopes already swinging into sight as we rounded a bend of the river and came through the small rapids above the settlement, and still it seemed as though we had but begun our course down toward our base camp and the railhead. And it was still early in the afternoon when we came to Ma'lobbi.

2

At the landing place, women were about. Much of the work of the Bush Negro woman is at the river's edge, and for strangers like ourselves, passing in a dugout, the presence of women working on the bank was the only sign that here was a landing place, and that farther inland lay a village. To the river they came with their carved clothes beaters, like the one we could see in the hand of the woman who greeted us here at Ma'lobbi, fashioned, as we later learned when she sold it to us, in the shape of a male vodu head on one end, and a female snake on the other. It was at the edge of the water that a woman scraped cooking pots and calabash dishes with sand, and it was here, if it seemed a good day for fishing, that a woman would go wading in the water to rest a cooking pot on the river bottom, and stand silently until an inquisitive school of small fish swam into it when, with a quick jerk, she would bring it up to take out what fish there were. This, aside from the use of small hooks, was the only kind of fishing a woman could do, for the fishing traps were for the use of men. But the cooking pot brought in many small fish to add flavor to a dish of rice.

As we walked into the village, accompanied by one of our younger paddlers, the bassia greeted us. The head of the village was waiting for us, he told us. Paddlers of small boats on their way downstream had spread the word that our visit with the Granman was drawing to an end.

Chapter XVI

BAYO, THE PLAYBOY

1

IT HAD been a day of hard travel, down the Mamadam, through the Musumba Prati, and down the long wearying stretch of quiet water until we reached the Tita Buka Falls. The memory of the up-river passage of these troubled stretches had not yet worn down sufficiently to allow of contemplating the downgoing without a measure of strain, but our anxiety turned to astonishment when the paddlers, skirting above the thunder of the water, steered the boats into a barely visible channel down which we floated by easy stages.

"Mati-o," said chief Mataibo to the young men, when we had made the singularly fine passage, "the gods are taking them with pleasure. We must do the same!"

Passing the Gran' Creek he prayed from midstream, calling on the spirit of the creek, whom he addressed as ancestor, to give us long life in our white man's country.

Now we were here at Djamungo, at Bayo's village where, if he were only there, we should be seeing a fine dance, and where, what at the moment was far more important for us, many sacred objects awaited us. Djamungo was a village about whose magic other villages on the river were uneasy.

"Bayo is at Gankwe waiting for you. He is helping the men haul lumber, but when he hears you are back, he will come," said a woman who came up saying she was his

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

It may be of interest to recall the names of some of the old villages which constituted places of refuge for the escaped slaves in the early days and from which many of the forays were conducted against the white plantations. In the jungle between the Surinam and the Saramacca rivers were the following:

Villages	*Headmen or Captains*
Acoro-kriki	Alemao
Amoma-kriki	Amama
Awara	Davo
Congo-kriki	Amoma
Doussou-kriki	Mufinga
Cabrolse	Primo
Janwiri-kriki	Kwakoo, Klaas, Pedro
La Motte	Foolon
Matawarie	Adoo
Loango	La Motte
Toofinga	Coffie
Wana	Mathysie
Pada	Pambo, Magondi, Durie, Somaam

Higher up the rivers, separated from these, were still more villages continuing right on to the Brazilian frontier, even on to the Orinoco River, where some of the escaped slaves mixed with the Indians.

The villages between the Surinam and the Marowyne rivers were the following:

To the north of Paramaribo, between the Duivelsbroek

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

648 (Devil's Pants) Swamp and the ocean was the village of
175 No Meli Mi (Don't Touch Me).
183
341 On the Upper Surinam River at the source of the Surnau
621 Creek and to the north of the plantation Maasstroom there was a village called Broos Condree; on the right bank of the lower Commewyne River, the village of the Headman Kopro-Kanoo (Copper Cannon) was situated.

On the Upper Cottica were the following havens of refuge:

Villages	*Headmen or Captains*
Gado Saby	David Voro
Corsary	Pamo (Governor)
Meli Mi	Araby
Mi Sa Lasi	Boston
Tesi	Abram
Boesi Krei	Thoma
Kwami Condree	Coffie
Karoe Condree	Jan Prado
Areisi Condree	Quakoo
Boucou	Baron
Aroukou	Bonny, Joli Coeur

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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The First Glimpse of a Bush Negro Village on the Upper Suriname River.

[Facing p. 32]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1911
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Surinam Center

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Chapter Three

THE JUNGLE CLEARING

THE first indication of a village is a group of empty canoes made fast on the shore. Behind them, a short distance inland, is the village of Lombe, the first real Bush Negro town at which we stop on the Suriname River.

Villages are seldom situated on the river bank, but a quarter to a half mile inland. The reasons for this are that the

[For caption, see category 16, p. 204 - Analyst]

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

361 river floods periodically, and might wipe them out if they were too near, and that the Bush Negro still retains, back in his mind, a strong fear of another war with the white man. In the latter event the Djuka villages would have to be camouflaged or hidden. Often, too, the villages are to be found just above a waterfall or rapids, as another hindrance to possible invaders.

608 609 [57] At the landing we see bare-breasted Djuka women washing clothes or bathing their children. They do not evince much curiosity as we paddle up, for it is considered insolent to stare. The naked little ones are very much afraid of the white man. They scurry into the underbrush and watch us from behind trees. The older children remain and are proud of their courage. An old man is making a canoe. Most of the men are away on hunting or lumbering expeditions.

361 646 [41] Leading up to the village is a winding path, cut by the violent rain until it resembles a ravine. Sometimes the river floods the path, forming a little muddy inlet into which the canoes stick their noses. One town is perched on a high bank, reached only by a hardwood ladder twenty-five feet tall. The blacks clamber up easily, unlike the awkward white man, who has difficulty with the missing steps.

We ascend the path; the frightened children return to their play, paddling about or fishing from the moored canoes. 202 646 [534] Sometimes the bahkra's coming has been announced beforehand by a system of drum telegraphy. A certain rhythm beaten on the tomtom informs the adjacent villages that white men are coming up the river, and why. In this way

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

more villages in this way; carrying his paddle before him, as 648 576
a symbol of voyaging, he approaches the barrier or azang pau, halts before it, and clears his throat loudly. The rest remain some thirty feet behind. Someone comes out of the huts and inquires what is wanted.

One of the objects of the expedition being the acquisition of specimens of Bush Negro art objects, this is usually explained at the very beginning to prevent any misunderstanding. The following dialogue is typical:

"*Bakkrê wanny timbeh* (or *tanni*)"—"White man wants wood carvings."

Gannily, the black replies: "*Me no habbe fu selli*"—"I don't have any to sell."

Moi-Man, accepting this verdict, explains further: "*Bakkra wanny luku, wan pekein*"—"White man wants to look around, wants to see inside a bit."

"*Ah bon,*" the Negro replies, meaning: "It's good." He returns to his hut.

The parley formally concluded, the paddler turns around 361
and motions us to come up the trail into the village. The towns usually consist of a clearing a few hundred feet across, beyond which is the overhanging green wall of trees. Scattered about the clearing in no particular order are numerous huts, with an occasional palm or breadfruit tree beside them. The rest of the concourse is bare clay. Sometimes there is a flower garden in the centre. Here and there are tiny *God* [778]
houses, where the fetishes stand.

The villages vary greatly in size. Some, like Gansee, near

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

the trading-post, are so large as to have street-like roads extending across them. Others like Nu have only eight or nine huts.

The walls and roofs of the dwellings are made of grasses and reeds, intricately woven into a herring-bone pattern that can be seen in the photographs. So tightly are they woven that the jungle rain does not penetrate. The uprights are hewn out of tree trunks, and those that form the doorway are often deeply carved. So great is the decorative spirit of these people that every common utensil is carved until it becomes a work of art.

The roofs extend far beyond the walls, so that the projecting part throws a shadow on the walls, which lowers the temperature inside. In front, the roof extends a yard or more to form a shade in which the blacks may palaver. In front of the huts, always, babies are grubbing about in the dirt and yelling prodigiously.

Here and there are slightly dilapidated huts. They belong to people now dead. No one will live in them or venture to repair the ruin of time. Neglected, they sink into decay. The witch doctor's hut is also a bit frowzy; it seems to be a badge of his profession, like the sugar cane planted alongside his doorway or the turtle-shell impaled on a staff near by. All three are symbols of his calling.

A wall of woven mat divides some of the huts into two rooms, the back room being used for sleeping. The men have hand-made hammocks of woven cotton or grass. Their wives are provided with sleeping-mats on the floor. The front room

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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Interior of a Bush Negro Village on the Cottica River, Dutch Guiana. *Aucaner Tribe.*
Photo by Elias

[Facing p. 46]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

6/9 gave rise to another Bush Negro nation known as the *Boni* tribe. There are also three other tribes today of less importance: the *Matawai* on the Upper Saramacca River, the *Quinter-Matawai* which is a sub-tribe on the Copenam, and the *Paramacca* on the Middle Marowyne with villages on both the French and Dutch sides of the river.

6/9 The tribal divisions are strictly enforced. Not only is in-
19+ termarriage forbidden, but each tribe has its separate gov-
[p.8] ernment, and each is referred to locally as a "river nation." Each tribe likewise has its own territory, and any poaching by hunters, fishers, or balata bleeders is rigorously punished.
[143] The ruler of the tribe is a king, or *granman*. Among the photographs is one of old Jankoeso, the kindly shrewd ruler of the Saramaccaner nation; the Aucaner ruler, Amekni, has just died, his place probably being taken by Matodja. The Boni granman is named Awensai.

6/9 The largest tribe is the Saramaccaner, with a population
● 361 of about 14,000. Their village of Santi Gron (Sandy Ground),
[143] some twenty miles from Paramaribo on the Lower Saramacca River is the nearest of all Djuka villages to white civilization. But the main body of this tribe begins some ninety miles up the Surinam River from Paramaribo, and the villages are strung along the Surinam River for a hundred or more miles further on back into the interior. The names
[143] of some of these villages are: Nu Condree, Lombe, Gansee, Biodoti, Adawai, De Jun, Masumba Pratti, and Dahomey, and other towns of even more picturesque appellations: Boto-Passi, Poki Gron, Granman Condree, and many more.

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SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

There are also a few villages, belonging to this tribe, situated 619
on the lower Saramacca River, like Santi Gron, Toti Camp, 361
and Maka-Creeker. On the distant Surinam is located the poetically named village of Futu No Habbe Ackaba, The Foot That Has No Resting Place.

Every tribe is divided into several clans, or *lo*, and these lo 621
are subdivided into groups of families, called *m'beh*, relation- 614
ship being counted through the female line. These groupings 613
are direct survivals of the slave days, descendants of groups of fugitives who fled into the bush together. Among the Saramaccaners there is the *Abaisa lo* of which our friend Abaisa is the chief. Another lo is called the *Inge Peeree lo*, meaning "piece of Indian clan," referring to the marriage of a lone Indian squaw with a rebel slave, back in the old days. There is the *Compawyi Neugre lo*, or "Company Negro clan" of blacks descended from the slaves who escaped from the Dutch West India Company. The *Dahomey lo* is a group of families especially skilled in the art of healing broken [759]
bones. Then there is a priesthood clan, the *Domini lo*, descended from the slaves of a plantation owner named Levy. Among the other lo are: *Matchow* (meaning axe), *Vondrake* (from a Dutch family named Van Drachte), *Baison Neugre*, *Luwangu*, *Nasi*, *Betu*, *Cumu*, *Quama*, *Papoto*, and the *Awakna lo* at Gansee.

At a strategic location on the Little Surinam River, the 361
Pekein Rio, dwells the Granman Jankoeso. His village is ten days up the river from Gansee. It is situated in this inaccessible spot, on an especially fierce and rapid tributary, pur-

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SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

361 posely to make the village as hard to reach as possible, to protect it from white invaders. From long experience the [648] Djukas mistrust all white men.

643 In Jankoeso is lodged the general authority over the Saramaccaner tribe and the territory in which they live. He has forbidden the intrusion of any visitors unless they are announced several days beforehand, by messenger.

[428] All the Granmans receive their title by matrilineal inheritance, and cannot be deposed. When one dies he is succeeded by his oldest sister's oldest male child, while his own sons never, under any circumstances, succeed him to the kingship. If there is no such person as his oldest sister's senior male child, then the succession passes on to the oldest male child of the nearest female relative. If the line dies out, and no [666 relatives are eligible, the successor is elected by popular vote 622] from among the captains of the river villages, but this seldom occurs. On such an occasion there may be a struggle between different lo, playing politics to get into power. Otherwise inheritance is strictly through the female line.

649 The Dutch government exerts only a nominal control over the Bush Negro tribes of the interior. Once every year the river Granmans come down the broad river highways to Paramaribo for a parley with the Governor of Surinam. After a ten-day canoe trip downstream, Jankoeso finds a train waiting for him at Kabel, to bring him ceremonially the rest of the way. The other rulers must come all the way by corial. On their long and often hazardous journey they are accompanied by their most powerful captains. The Gran-

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SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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[Facing p. 100, Sec. A]

Distribution of Bush Negro Tribes
Drawn after a sketch by

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

gro Tribes in Dutch Guiana
sketch by Rugeli

[Facing p. 100, Sec. B

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Saramaccaner
Aucaner

and does not look with favour upon the white proselytizers.

The Granman can call a meeting of his captains at any time. They must attend, even though it involves days of rigorous travel. Although the captains look up to the Granman and acknowledge him as their superior, the connexion between them is not close enough to be considered a hierarchy. The "river nations" are not monarchies in any sense. The only laws promulgated by the Granman are those that affect the entire tribe.

Neither the captains nor the Granman have any privileges or prerogatives to set them apart from the undistinguished natives; there is no leisure class. They are all dependent upon their own efforts to earn a living, and work like anyone else in the village. Rank does not make social parasites out of them, as among us. The Granman's only external distinction is that sent by the white man, the tribute from the Dutch government. The type of social organization now prevalent among the Djukas, therefore, may be described as primitive communism.

The Aucaner, second in number to the Saramaccaner, are scattered in a less compact way over the rivers and creeks of the colony toward the French Guiana line. This tribe numbers about 6000 in population.

Just below the realm of the Saramaccaner tribe, at the junction of the Sara Creek and the Surinam River (see map facing page), are some of the Aucaner villages: Koffay Camp, Lebbi Doti, Lasa Baka, Pitchong, Baku, and other settlements. There are few villages on the long Sara Creek, but

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SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

after a day's portage from its source one may strike the 619
Tosso Creek, which brings the lower Sara Creek Aucaners 361
into the distant Tapanahoni River, where exist the main body of the Aucaner tribe. They inhabit both banks of the Tapanahoni, from its mouth where it flows into the Marowyne River to some distance beyond the far Jai Creek. The Aucaners, like the Saramaccaners, are divided into several lo or clans. The names of these are as follows: the *Missi Jon lo* and 614
Otto lo, which are the most powerful and to which belong the families of the Granmans; the *Perica lo, Pata lo M'beh lo, Ju Nengre lo, Penasi lo, N'Yafi lo, Bray lo, Compai lo, Deekah lo, La Paix lo, Ke-o Condree lo,* and *Pooloogoodoo lo.* The head of the lo is called *Papa fu ah lo,* "father for the lo."

Beside these, the Aucaners have also divided their tribe 621
into two separate parts, but they are both under the same 184
Granman. These divisions are known as the *Uppo Nengre* 361
(Upper Negro) and *Below Nengre* (Below Negro). The 616
boundary between them being the Gran Hollo (Big Hole) Falls in the Tapanahoni River. The territory of the Below Nengre begins past the mouth of the Gran Creek and extends up the Tapanahoni River to the falls above mentioned. The islands in the Marowyne belong to this division and their territory also extends to the Dutch side of the Lawa River up to Aboona Sungu Falls (a man named Aboona sank there), which forms the boundary between the Aucaners and the Boni tribe in that region. Some names of the vil- 103
lages belonging to the Below Nengre Aucaners of that dis- 361

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

103 trict are as follows: Londo, Adjuba, Poko, Apah-gee, Bahnda,
361 Apindah, Capusee Tabiki (Armadillo Island), Purigoodoo, Ki-u, Behnanoo, One Finga, Nikerie, Manlobbi, Fahndahki, Clementi, Moompasa, Saaje, Bow-wee, Chung-Chung; and there are many others.

At and above the Gran Hollo Falls in the far Tapanahoni, we have the villages of the Uppo Nengre Aucaners: Sangamasusa, Peekehtee, One-Watra-Ah-Bah, Moi-Talkee, Sribawatra, Yowsa, Meinsie, Dree Tabiki (the seat of the late Granman Amekti, and the seat of the probable new Granman, Matodja, whose mother was the sister of Amekti). Other villages of the Uppo Nengre are Polocaba, Pekein Condree (Little Country), Lohabie, Tombeh-do-me (What Ails Me), E'Sai, Gado Hollo (God's Hole), Ahkay Kuna, and Gran Borree, the last village, beyond which is nothing but the impenetrable bush for hundreds of miles, and no habitation save a few scattered villages of the all-but unknown Indians of that region.

361 On the Dutch side of the Marowyne River there are also Aucaner villages of the Below Nengre extending from just below Albina, the small Dutch settlement, where the Aucaner village of Captain Acrowsie is situated, to just opposite the Boni village of Apatoo. The settlements in this area are:
[103] Papa Acroi Condree, Papa Blah Condree, Amon Yeh Condree, Tindalee, Swampu Condree, and Mahyoto.

In the region of the Upper Commewyne River and on the banks of the Mapane, Peninica, Little Commewyne, and Tempati Creeks are also Aucaner villages. These villages are

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SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

the closest of the tribe to Paramaribo, some ninety miles distant. Some of them are called Nengre Condree Pepper, Gado Dri, Jaffa, Mus Mussi (Little Mouth). 361

On the Upper and Lower Cottica and Cormotibo Rivers, as well as on the Wane Creek which flows into the Marowyne River close to its mouth, and in the region of the Patamacca Creek, are more Aucaner villages:

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103

Upper Cottica, near Moengo
- Damtoppo (Top of Dam)
- Ferenkie (in the small Indufindu Creek)
- Peto Undro (in the Rikanau Creek)

Patamacca Creek
- Ifilaholo (He Filled the Hole)
- Lassa Undro
- Teme Koo
- Tanta Joe

Cormotibo River
- Toocopie
- Pekein Adjuma Condree
- Moengo Toppo (Top of Mountain)

Wane Creek (tributary of Cormotibo)
- Sebesay Condree
- Kopro Campa (Copper Camp)

Lower Cottica River
- Kumaku Dotee (Ant Hill)
- Langa Huku (Long Hook)
- Pekein Santi (Little Sand)
- Pina T'jari Me (Need Brought Me Here)
- Agiti Undro (Get Below)
- Wan Hatti (One Hat)

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

tribe of the Bush Negroes which owes allegiance to the 648
French. They have never forgiven the Dutch for their relentless pursuit back in the old rebel days. Several years ago the Dutch authorities made an effort to invite the Bonis back into Dutch territory; these overtures, however, were flatly refused.

The derivation of the word "Boni" makes for interesting 101
speculation, and three theories have been advanced to ex- 174
plain it. The first is that the word is derived from the French phrase "Bon Negre" or "Good Negroes" which the colonists of French Guiana applied to the Boni blacks because they were comparatively quiet and peaceful. It is also possible that the tribe may have been named after their famous rebel leader Bonny, who took such a formidable and prominent part in the rebellions. Thirdly, it has been considered that the name was derived from the Bonny River of West Africa, for undoubtedly some of the slaves came from that area. Although *B-o-n-i* is the official Dutch spelling of the word, when the tribesmen refer to themselves the accent is placed on the second syllable, and phonetically the word should be spelled *B-o-n-e-e* and pronounced much the same as the word *Pawnee,* the tribe of American Indians in the western United States. The Granman of this tribe, Awensai, receives his [643
annual stipend from the Governor of French Guiana at 728]
Cayenne.

The first village of the Boni, situated on the French side 361 ●
of the Marowyne River, is that of Apatoo nestling at the foot 103
of the Armina falls. The entire French side of the river from

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

361 that point has no further permanent habitations of the Bush
103 Negroes. Past the realm of the Aucaners on the Lawa River (the confluence of which with the Tapanahoni goes to form the Marowyne) we find the continuation of the Boni tribe, consisting of the villages of Tahbiki, Pulumuffo, the seat of the Granman, Loka, Papai-Seton, Agodai, Komuntibo, Cottica (the only Boni village on Dutch territory, but whose inhabitants also owe allegiance to the French), Akuba, and the last of all the Bush Negro villages, Assisi, past the mouth of the far Assisi Creek.

177 The Bonis, although the most remote of the Bush Negroes from the plantations from which they originally escaped as slaves, have certainly succumbed the most to the influences of the white civilization. Even the village of the Saramaccaner tribe, Santi Gron, only some twenty miles from Paramaribo, maintains in true aboriginal fashion its African customs and its heathen gods.

797 The French Catholic priests have been more successful in making converts among the Boni than have the Dutch among the other tribes. In one village, however, we saw the usual heathen fetishes on full display, but we were told that they only afforded real protection to those who *believed* in them. Some of these tribesmen wear trousers and the headcloth of the French Guiana Town Negroes. We have even heard it whispered that some of the Boni own shoes, which
[689] is an unspeakable offence against the code among any of the other tribes.

Although the huts are of Africanesque architecture, similar

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni
Paramacca

façades of their huts are often elaborately carved. The drums and other Bush Negro implements take the usual West African form, but the treatment of the motifs among the Boni differs somewhat from that given by the other Bush Negro tribes. The spiral, snake, liana, and coil designs are less in evidence; the patterns are usually more angular in character than similar pieces from the Saramaccaner and Aucaner. Animal, human, and bird figures are more common in the designs of these French Guiana tribesmen, as the collection brought back for the American Museum of Natural History attests. Also, personal decoration by scar-tissue patterns seems to be less in evidence among the Boni. In all other respects, however, their culture seems identical with that of the other Djukas.

The Paramacca tribe, now numbering about 500 in population, was founded by one man and two women, who were slaves on a plantation in the Upper Commewyne River. They escaped by way of the Tempati Creek in 1813, then travelled over the watershed to the head of the Paramacca Creek, a tributary of the Marowyne River. For a long time they built villages at the head of the Tempati Creek and later at the head of the Paramacca Creek, being afraid to go into the

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Paramaca

175 Marowyne River on account of the Boni and Aucaner tribes,
361 who were long established there and who were much stronger numerically than the newly arrived Paramaccas. They finally came out of the creeks, however, and founded a village on the Dutch side of the Marowyne River near the mouth of the Paramacca Creek. The main seat of the tribe is
[103] now the village of Langa Tabiki (Long Island), which, as the name denotes, is an island in the Marowyne River. This is the village of the Granman. Beside Langa Tabiki, there is
361 the village of Amerika Condree (from a Bush Negro captain
103 called Amerika). This village is situated on the island of Boni Boro, which means the "Bonis arrived." A third important village is that of Akodo Condree, captained by one Akodo and situated on an island of the same name in the Marowyne River. There are lesser villages on the Dutch bank of the Marowyne extending just past the mouth of Gran Creek. The Paramacca village of Seeton Ponta (Pointed Stone) is situated on the French side of the Marowyne. The older villages in the Paramacca and Tempati Creeks have long since been abandoned.

115 In Seeton Ponta we had a long talk with an old Captain
159 Koffay who claims to be some eighty years of age and whose appearance certainly bears him out. He is the grandson of one of the original women slaves who escaped and aided in founding the tribe. He can remember his grandmother telling of the terrible privations of the early days when they first escaped into the jungle, how starvation nearly overtook them on a number of occasions, how they wandered for forty-

123 /4 cont./
675 drink something from it or merely smell it; indeed! when it was empty, the remaining men who had not yet drunk from it or smelled it had to lick it.

I was then embraced by the headmen and many of the women; they flung the right arm over my left shoulder and the left arm under my right arm and rested their heads for a moment against my right cheek.

[273] After the conclusion, while much dram was drunk, general exuberant gaiety prevailed, and only then was /5/ I told that they had purposely cut me first and given me a drink first in order to ascertain whether I trusted them completely or whether, so entirely by myself; I would have been afraid to submit to their wishes and to do what they demanded of me; they assured me that if I had refused to be the first, none of them would have wanted to conclude the agreement with me.

If, therefore, I had not conducted myself as they wished, I would have missed out completely on this alliance which was so highly important and profitable for me.

466 On the following day many of them came to tell me that
313 their work places on the river Cottica supplied little of the kinds of wood that had been pointed out by me for processing, but they declared themselves ready to go and process them immediately for me on the Upper Commewijne river, where they were sure of finding richer forests.

Since the last-named river was closed to them at that time by a governmental decree, I made a request for access in the year
[361] 1854, in order to be able to work with them at this river. This was granted to me, and since then a few hundred Bush Negroes have been staying there and have laid out dwellings and croplands, while they continuously, with unexampled industry, process the wood needed by me and deliver it to the sawmill.

/139 cont./

13 seems too high to me), the ants can bring into the soil each year two to three tons of leaf material per hectare. As a result the soil would be so enriched with humus and, in addition, through the construction of the numerous nest corridors, receive so much extra ventilation that the oxygen content and the microbiological condition of this soil would tend to differ from the mineral soils in which the virgin forest is rooted. As proof of this, it is stated "that even the oldest ant-kapoeweri directly behind the villages shows no tendency to grow into normal high forest" (p. 13).

114 It does not seem correct to me to ascribe this kapoeweri
137 phenomenon only to the presence and the activity of the leaf-
136 cutting ants. In my opinion the ants here constitute a troublesome contributing factor, for when the virgin-forest grounds are abandoned by the population and no new food material is available to the ants while the kapoeweri gradually grows into higher forest, then the balance in the ant population re-establishes itself. This process takes place at a slow rate, depending on the local circumstances, but it leads to the re-establishment of the original situation. There is, however, one condition connected with it, namely, that the forest be left in peace for a long enough stretch.
241 Now this last is not the case for the grounds area of the Bush Negroes.
134 They return too soon (within ten years) to clear grounds again, with the consequence that the soil becomes too exhausted and the recovery of the forest becomes impossible.

171 Proof for this viewpoint is already provided by Stahel (loc.
241 cit.) in his consideration of the agriculture of the upland Indians.
137 The absence of the ant-kopoeweri there is not a matter of a lesser
[136] ant infestation, as Stahel /140/ believes -- for in places this is equally serious -- but of a less intensive use of the forest lands.
[161] The Indians are present in small numbers (a few hundred, as against
423] thousands of Bush Negroes), while only communal plots are laid out for one village, and not different ones for each family. In
[361] addition, the Indians move frequently in order to find new hunting and fishing grounds.

/141 cont./

4. The Agrarian Law

241 There is yet another circumstance which adversely affects
423 the agriculture of the Bush Negroes. As among many primitive peoples, so also in the life of the Djoeka /Djuka/ customary law plays an important role. We have already seen that at least two grounds per year are laid out per household. In fact it comes down to this, that both the man and the woman possess a ground of their own. Now these two grounds do not lie next to each other or close to each other. On the contrary, the one ground is always hours away from the other one; it is to be found on the other side of the river or elsewhere along a forest creek. One might think that this is a kind of division of risks. In actuality it is a question of family property. The ground of the wife is cleared in the area of her family, and the ground of the man in his family complex. The grounds are thus laid out with reference to the large family and not with reference to the household. Each family has a definite area where it has the right to clear grounds. This area lies along a forest creek, or one lays out a path from the river through the forest, along which the grounds
[578] are cleared. Not infrequently, quarrels arise over the use of land by "unauthorized" persons on distinctly family land.

A Bush Negro thus cannot simply select a piece of forest for his ground wherever he pleases. He is bound by the law of family property. This applies not only to the families among themselves, but in a larger context also to the villages. Each village has its area within which the families from that village lay out grounds. Only through marriage can men lay out grounds for their wives in the area of another village.

These complications in agriculture lead to the circumstance that the hunger for land arises much sooner than would otherwise
[361] be the case. Add to this the fact that many Bush Negro villages remain in existence for a very long time, sometimes 100 years at
[161] a stretch, in the same spot. It is therefore not surprising that through the growth in population in such centers, too, the limit of this predatory cultivation has been reached.

/141 cont./

241 of this predatory cultivation has been reached. The nearby
423 agricultural lands are kept in use with too brief a rest period, with
[134] the result that the soil is overworked and the periodic recovery
[125] of the forest proceeds at an ever slower pace. In addition one struggles to an increasing degree with the problem /142/ of the leaf-cutting ants, which keep the easily accessible places occupied.

241 The consequence of this circumstance is that the Bush Negroes
311 are forced to make the grounds farther and farther from their vil-
[484] lages. One travels for hours up or down the river in order to
[482] reach good land. When one cannot make good use of a forest creek in order to transport the produce from the field, one is forced to carry the harvest for one or two hours through the forest to the river. The Bush Negro does not go farther than a two hours' walk (about six kilometers from the river) (see the map /see p. 13 /).

241 On the Tapanahoni one spends even days in traveling to less
311 populated areas in order to plant and to harvest. One then estab-
361 lishes so-called work camps along the river, from which one
[103] operates in the surrounding areas. This is the case, among others, between Godoholo and Granbori for people from Drietabbetje or
311 other centers. That one does not go even farther up river, all the
423 way past the last village, Granbori, has to do with a prohibition
643 by the granman of the Aucaners. That is, the latter wants to reserve the lands lying beyond this point as hunting lands and therefore will not make them available for agricultural purposes.

241 The inhabitants of the villages along the lower Tapanahoni,
311 such as Sajé, Clementi, and Malobbi, frequently lay out their food
423 grounds in the Lawa, where they can have at their disposal agri-
361 cultural lands as far as the Aboenasoengoe Falls. Farther upstream
103 on this river the Bonni or Aloekoe Negroes assert their rights.

5. Differences between Aucaners and Paramaccaners

101 The conditions given above apply in the main to the Aucaner
162 Bush Negroes of the Tapanahoni. They number today approximately
[311] 6,500 persons. The Paramaccaner Bush Negroes of the Marowijne, approximately 1,700 in number, are in somewhat more favorable

B
R /534 cont./

14 In the whole of the Amazonian forest these facts have been
16 observed since the seventeenth century and have led to the re-
182 placement of Indians by slave manpower imported from Africa.
114 The course taken in denying the biological realities and wishing to find at any cost a purely sociological explanation has inspired in recent years an ingenious explanation by several authors:

The success of African manpower was, according to them, due to the fact that the Blacks had a civilization closer to that of the Europeans, whereas the Amerindians were more hunters-
B fishermen than agriculturalists.
R [105] For any observer of good faith, the Indians of Guiana and
R the Blacks of the forests of the Congo and Gabon are largely
[433] on the same technological and cultural level. The Indians are
[361] certainly cultivators just as experienced as the Negroes; is one to forget that it was they who taught the rest of the world the greater part of the important tropical crops: manioc, maize, cotton, tobacco, and so many others? Hunting and fishing for them is only a secondary means of support; it is their instability,
R their lack of attachment to the soil, which may create an
[136] illusion on this point. It can be explained to a certain extent
[361] by the small size of the kinship groups; an ecological factor which does not exist in Black Africa must also be taken into account, the manioc ant, which swarms in particular in the zones habitually cultivated, promoting a seminomadism (18).

B
[136] 18. This factor plays only a secondary role,
[361] since the Refugee Blacks despite the manioc ant, maintain villages of permanent residence, only changing their crop plantings, but it is certain that it promotes the dispersion of the groups and seminomadism.

R
14 These considerations do not pretend to give a complete ex-
16 planation of the social behavior of the Indians of the Amazonian
122 forest. The biological characteristics of the group are only one of the factors of this behavior, parallel to many others, notably

/5 cont./

133 This extreme fragmentation of the relief must be remembered
182 as one of the ecological factors influencing the human peopling most directly; it renders the transport of heavy loads impracticable, the establishing of roads practically impossible. Men are led to
[361] settle along the rivers, which constitute the only routes of penetration toward the interior of the country.

133 All the important rivers flow into an alluvial valley whose
132 width varies from some tens of meters to a kilometer, dry during the greater part /6/ of the year, but flooded under several meters
134 of water during the great rains of May-June. This annual inunda-
241 tion makes the alluvial lands unfit for agriculture; the inhabitants of Guiana cultivate only sloping lands and even very steep slopes readily; for good drainage of the soil is indispensable for the raising of manioc whose tubers, which remain in the ground for more than a year, are threatened with rotting.

311 The cultivable zone is in fact closely limited around each village. Practically, it is limited to a strip of 1,500 to 2,000 meters along the banks of each watercourse accessible to pirogues.
[482] Transport of manioc tubers, carried on by the women several
[462] times a month, becomes impracticable if the distance to be covered with loads is greater than two kilometers at the maximum(1).

[101]
[131]
[184]

1. The Djuka, very numerous on the Tapanahoni, cultivate as far as three or four kilometers from the river; but in general, the Refugee Blacks prefer to build farming habitations at a distance of several days' by boat from their village when this gives them the possibility of farming in the neighborhood of the banks.

/6 cont./

133 Flooding is very variable according to the configuration of the rivers and the nature of the terrain.

133 At the Creole village of Grigel, situated at the bottom of
361 a glove-finger loop of the Waki River, the June flooding reaches
171 a level of eight meters above the average level in the dry season; the Creole and Indian villages of the Waki are established on hills. On the contrary, along the Lawa whose course is rectilinear, the variation in level is seldom greater than four meters. The maximum water level is 50 centimeters to one meter /above/
[342] the soil of the alluvial terrace. Several of the Creole and Boni
[404] villages of the Lawa are even established at the very edge of the great river; the houses are built on piles and their occupants go home by boat during several weeks of the year. Nevertheless, most of the villages and farming habitations are outside the reach of flooding on terraces situated about five meters above the high-water mark, which are found from place to place at the edge of the river and which perhaps mark vestiges of an ancient terrace. This is notably the case with Boniville and Loka villages.

139 The whole of the territory is entirely covered by equatorial forest: a forest continuous and dense which extends over hundreds of kilometers without a village, without a clearing, without a trail.

The Guiana forest is less high than is ordinarily thought. It is an infinite succession of trees of all dimensions and of extremely varied species, among which true giants are rare; the average height of the cover is around 30 meters, and large trunks are rare.

824 The variety of species is very great; and the useful ones, few in number and dispersed, are difficult to exploit. The Refugee Blacks, who have a deep knowledge of the forest and its resources, utilize scarcely ten species out of the some 200 which they differentiate, judging the others unusable either because their

/1 cont./

132 [513] The climate is relatively temperate and easy for the European to stand. In the forest the thermometer does not rise to more than 28° during the hot hours, to go back down to 21° at the end of the night: everyone sleeps with a blanket, Refugee Blacks and Creoles as well as Europeans. Humidity is very great during nearly all the year; precipitation averages three meters a year or about 50 centimeters less than at Cayenne. The year is divided into two seasons: "summer" from July to December, and the rainy season the rest of the year, with a maximum of precipitation in May and June. The water level varies considerably in the course of the year (several meters). The populations of the interior, spaced out along the rivers, suit the rhythm of their lives to the height of the water; the water rules transportation, fishing, and crops; moreover, a certain number of illnesses are in close relation to the rains, in particular those which have an insect for vector.

133 182 [361] [164]

241 [134] Almost everywhere the soil is very poor in organic matter and fundamental ingredients, very waterlogged necessitating the practice of an itinerant agriculture on burned-over areas; the period of fallow ground varies from two to ten years, the optimum seeming to be about six. The inhabitants of Guiana cannot allow ground to lie fallow regularly because of the ravages of the manioc ant, /3/ which is active especially in habitually cultivated zones. Vain and costly efforts made by Europeans notably at Saint-Jean du Maroni about 1950, have shown that the fertility of lands not burned over is practically nil. The Indians and the Refugee Blacks consider that the fertility of the soil depends exclusively on the weight of cinders laid down during the burning.

[136] [134] [242]

When burned-over areas are cultivated, only one harvest is obtained; but this harvest is abundant, and the soil thus utilized can be regarded as relatively fertile. The knocking down and burning do not require great labor, so that primitive agricultural methods can be considered to give a good yield. As a matter of fact, the diverse populations of Guiana, Creoles and Refugee Blacks, have entirely adopted the methods of work resulting from the millennial

241 199

/8 cont. /

experience of the American Indians, which seem the only utilizable ones in the interior of the country.

Thus these populations which are so varied have in large measure the same agriculture and the same food.

Basic crops are manioc, consumed in the form of couac (flour roasted and granulated) which is the base food, the Indian yam, and tubers analogous to taro (dachine, "Caribbean cabbage"). The Refugee Blacks plant mountain rice in addition. The Creoles do not plant rice but have on the other hand a greater variety of vegetables and fruits.

Men in Guiana live on the rivers; villages and cultivated lands are to be found on their banks; everywhere else one finds only the deserted forest; only Creole gold miners, constrained by their work, sometimes establish their villages far from watercourses. The Refugee Blacks, like the Indians, love the rivers where they find, along with water and light, the possibility of moving without hindrance; they are a people of canoeists; their traditions are widely influenced by life on the river, and their mode of living finds in this a deep originality.

In fact, setting aside the gold miners' villages, we can say that the populations of the Guianas living by exploitation of the natural resources of the country have a linear habitat: it can be estimated not in surface but in length, for it is limited to a band of one kilometer along each watercourse accessible to pirogues. These watercourses are limited in number, for one can take for granted that at a distance of some 20 kilometers from the source of each river, the congestion caused by fallen trees and parasitic vegetation prevents easy movement.

Actually, considering the very low density of the population, the small rivers are scarcely utilized except as fishing places.

All the rivers are interrupted by falls and rapids which render the use of large boats impossible. The pirogues of the Refugee

/10 cont./

162 The Boni, about 1,000 in number, occupy the course of the
131 Lawa between Abounasounga Falls to the north and the falls of the
Litani to the south. Their "great villages," that is, their residential
• 361 villages, are: Agodé (Boniville), Kotika, Asisi, Loka, Papaïston,
[103] Kormotibo, Lapé, and l'Enfant Perdu. Three small villages
founded more recently are established on the lower course of the
563 Maroni. The territorial implantation of the Boni has been dis-
turbed by the settlement of Creole gold miners on their territory
178 for three quarters of a century. Their demographic situation is
mediocre and their tribal organization, compared to that of the
[181] other tribes, has lost much of its strength. However, they still
make up a human grouping full of strength and originality.

131 The Djuka, whose "great villages" are in Surinam territory
361 on the /11/ Tapanahoni, can be evaluated at 7,000 to 8,000 in
total. At the height of demographic expansion, their farming
[162] villages swarm on both banks of the Maroni and on the islands,
[61] penetrating more and more deeply into the interior of French
[648] Guiana, where in places they form small temporary groupings
[619] living in symbiosis with the Creole gold miners; the Boni recognize
their right to cross their territory but not that of establishing
villages in it.

433 For a century the economy of the Refugee Blacks has been
648 founded on a symbiosis with the Europeans and Creoles; they furnish
[464] specialized labor (construction, but above all, transport) in ex-
[465] change for relatively high wages. This economy finds itself
[178] threatened by the gradual disappearance of gold mining; there is
[166] developing a tendency toward temporary emigration to the Euro-
pean work yards of Saint-Laurent analogous to that of the Saramaka
[182] of Surinam to French Guiana. This is a serious threat to the in-
terior cohesion of the tribes.

/15/

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE BONI

Villages

[3] [361] [133] Localization. The principal Boni villages have for 150 years been grouped on the Lawa (1) upstream from Abattis-Cottica Falls.

> 1. Let us remember that the Lawa and the Tapanahoni are the streams forming the Maroni. The Lawa constitutes the border between Surinam and French Guiana.

The limit of Boni country toward the south is vague. However, it is taken for granted that all the Abattis-Cottica belong [361] to the Boni. Boni farming villages and Djuka villages coexist downstream from the Abattis-Cottica as far as Abounasounga. Below Abounasounga begins Djuka country properly speaking (2).

> 2. In reality this is a zone of colonization, for the "great country" of the Djuka is the Tapanahoni. But the customary rights they possess on the Lawa lands are contested by no one.

423 [43] [131] Traditionally, the Boni used to consider the whole of the upper basin of the Maroni as their domain or at the very least as territory under the authority of the grand man. Thus it was at

6:Hurault--21 K-5 (1948-1958)1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8 ●
Boni
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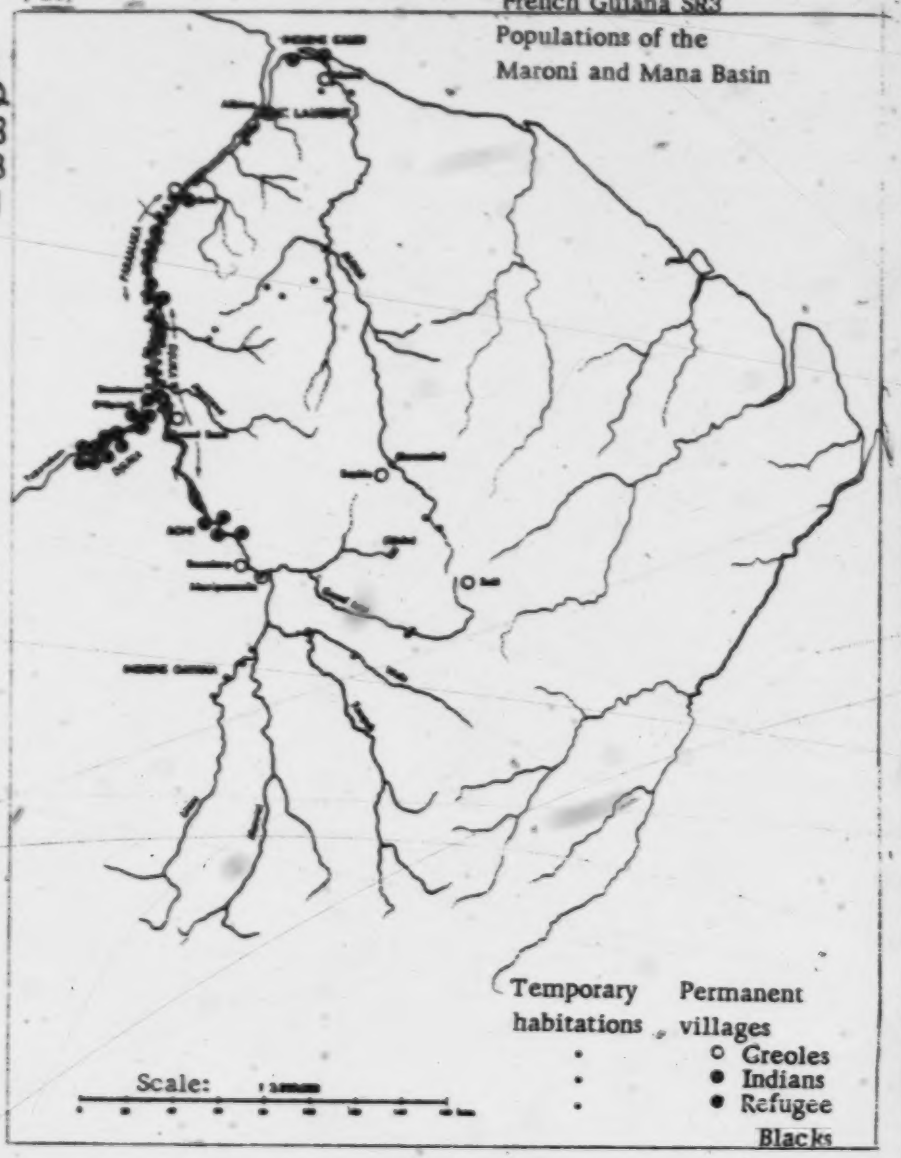

Fig. 2

/17 cont. /

162 —On the Lawa a group of a little less than 680 persons is
103 settled on the French bank (villages of Agodé (Boniville), Asisi,
•361 Loka, Tabiki (l'Enfant Perdu), Lapé (La Paix), and Papaïston).

—In proximity to this grouping subsists under Dutch control the village of Kotika (Cottica), grouping about 150 persons.

—In the region of Abounasounga two small groupings live in symbiosis with the Djuka. Finally, in the lower course of the Maroni exist three villages: Apatu, Ma Imma, and Wétiti. The whole represents about 150 persons.

361 These villages are stable: Kotika, Lapé, Asisi, Kormotibo
182 were already in existence at the beginning of the 19th century
[175] and their names figure in the report of the Franco-Dutch border mission of 1861; by contrast, farming habitations are moved according to the necessities of agriculture and fishing; thanks to this organization, a relatively numerous grouping can, in the interior of Guiana, in spite of conditions imposed by the geographical environment, conserve complete stability and a firm attachment
[171] to the ground. It is useful to compare this organization with the basic instability of the Indians of Guiana, for it shows very well that this instability is ascribable to psychological and sociological factors and not at all to the geographic environment.

101 The Boni designate themselves by the term Aluku nēnge. The meaning of this word is forgotten. It is possible that Aluku was the name of an ancient chief, or of the founding ancestress
[613] of a lineage. On this subject it is to be noted that the name of the most ancient ancestress known of the Dju lineage, who can be thought of as living at the end of the 18th century, was called
[175] Aluku. This name has been used since the origin of the tribe;
[103] indeed one reads in the interrogation of the woman prisoner conducted in 1847 by the French at Oyapok that her village was called Loukou (1).

/19 cont./

613 621 571 The principle of localization of matrilineal kin groups, each in a separate village, continues respected. However, as in all African populations, the actual structure is noticeably different from the theoretical organization:

1st. Fragments of paternal kin groups, as well as several small groups of heterogeneous origin, insufficient in number to form a separate unit, have been agglomerated with the lo. Such is the case for example of the Toïna lineage, a small group which fled from Surinam at the end of the 19th century and agglomerated with the Papaïston lo;

[578] 2nd. Scissions have been produced within the lo as a result of disagreements. A group issuing from the Papaïston lo founded Wétiti village in the Lower Maroni beside Apatu. A group issuing from the Kotika lo founded Ma Imma village in the same region. Finally, from the Dipélu II lo a group separated which settled in Asisi. Asisi village is thus in fact nowadays the juxtaposition of three villages: Asisi-Dju, Asisi-Awara Bakka, Asisi-Dipélu II, each having its organization and its separate territory.

[829] These scissions have no appreciable repercussions on the social life of the Boni, for the groups thus separated from the lo, in addition to being very small in numbers, are not recognized by [769] the grand man as distinct social units. They remain subject to the head of the lo to which ancestor worship attaches them.

361 613 621 Besides the residence villages, a certain number of Boni have personal farming habitations distributed on the lands of their lineage along both banks of the river and on the islands. These habitations designated by the word kāpu, camp, have no permanent character; their existence does not violate the principle of localization of the lineage; each Boni is obliged at least in principle to build a house in his native village and to live in it part of the year. [769] The village of origin of each /20/ lineage is called "great village": [778] it is there that the members of the group meet to pray to the ancestors in front of the fraga tiki.

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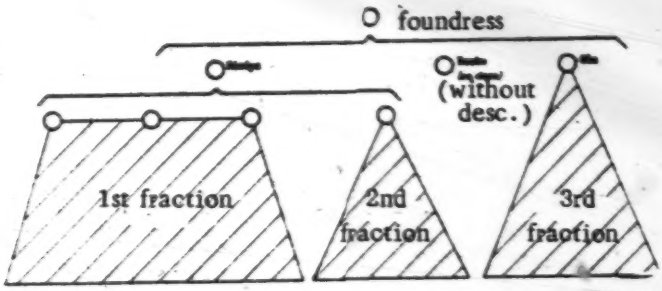

Fig. 4. Common genealogy of the three fractions of the Kotika lineage.

[621] divided between the small villages of Lapé Tabiki and Loka. It is a well-grouped lineage whose members know their genealogy perfectly as far as a common ancestress named Mata, who must have lived at the end of the 18th century; only one small group which we shall call Lapé 2 (descendants of Atili) does not know exactly the ties attaching them to the principal group. The law of exogamy is respected rigorously within this group; there is not a single case of marriage between the two fractions. The members of the two fractions consider themselves a single lineage.

[784] They have the same kunu.

[184] Note that there is a Lapé lo among the Djuka, regarded as of the same origin.

[621] No element of heterogeneous origin has settled in the villages of the Lapé lo.

613 The Dju lineage, which occupies the central part of the
[361] Asisi Island, also fits the definition of kin groups among the Refugee Blacks. Its members know /25/ their entire genealogy as far back as a common ancestress named Aluku, doubtless, tracing to the middle of the 18th century.

/28 cont./

613 although the supposed common ancestress doubtless goes back to
614 the beginning of the 18th century and for three generations they
784 have been divided among four villages situated at a week's dis-
[621] tance by boat from one another. We can, with very few chances of error, affirm that they certainly have a common matrilineal origin and that they in fact constitute one lineage.

182 On this subject let us note that geographical separation can-
619 not play the same role among the Refugee Blacks as in the African tribes of cultivators. The Refugee Blacks, whose habitat is linear
[361] along the banks of the river and who, being boatmen, are con-
[484] tinually moving, cannot be completely isolated from one another.

613 /29/ Under these conditions, how can we explain the
614 existence within certain lineages of individualized fractions subject
571 to a separate kunu, such as Papaïston 2?

One can assume that these fractions do not really have the same origin as the principal group and that they result from a process of assimilation of a paternally related fragment.

We have cited the example of Aneta's descendants (Aw.B.3). They are already integrated into the social life of the group; in two or three generations nobody will remember any longer their exact origin. But they will remain differentiated from the princi-
[784] pal fraction of the Awara Bakka because they will still be subject to the kunu of their ancestress.

121 Such are the elements we have been able to draw from a general study of kin groups among the Boni. We shall look for other data in the study of the implantation of these groups on the soil, and especially of the apportionment of lands among them; finally, we shall study family custom and especially inheritance.

A complete understanding of the kinship system and its functioning can be obtained only in the future by following the evolution of kin groups, the formation of new villages; and the designation of new headmen.

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Fig. 5. Boni Village

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Fig. 6. The fragatiki of the Kotikalo.

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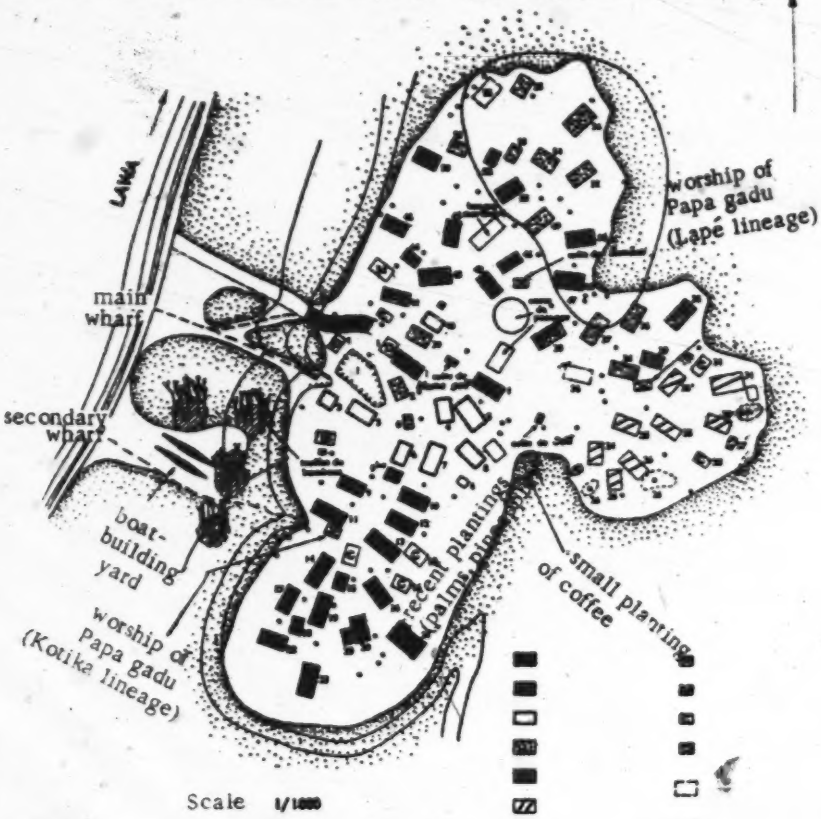
Agodé Village
(Boniville)
in Oct. 1957
Dikan Lineage
and Fractions of the Kotika, Dipelu I, Lapé, Papaïston, Dju Lineages



Scale 1/1000

/touffes de bambous = clumps of bamboo;
culte de = worship of;
cases de passage = guest houses;
hangar mortuaire = mortuary shed/

/see symbols on p. 66a/

Fig. 7.

/45 cont./

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/The symbols below refer to Fig. 7 on p. 66./

lineages

- Dikan
- Kotika
- Dju
- Dipelu
- Lapé
- Papaïston
- Poti (Djuka origin)

- chapels (gadu ɔ/u)
- Munu ɔ/u (1)
- kitchens
- various outbuildings (granaries, etc.)
- building in ruins
- single trees
- clump of banana trees
- clump of pinot palms /ouassi/

(1) Houses to which women retire during their menstrual periods

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l'Enfant Perdu Village
(Dipelu I lo)
in 1957

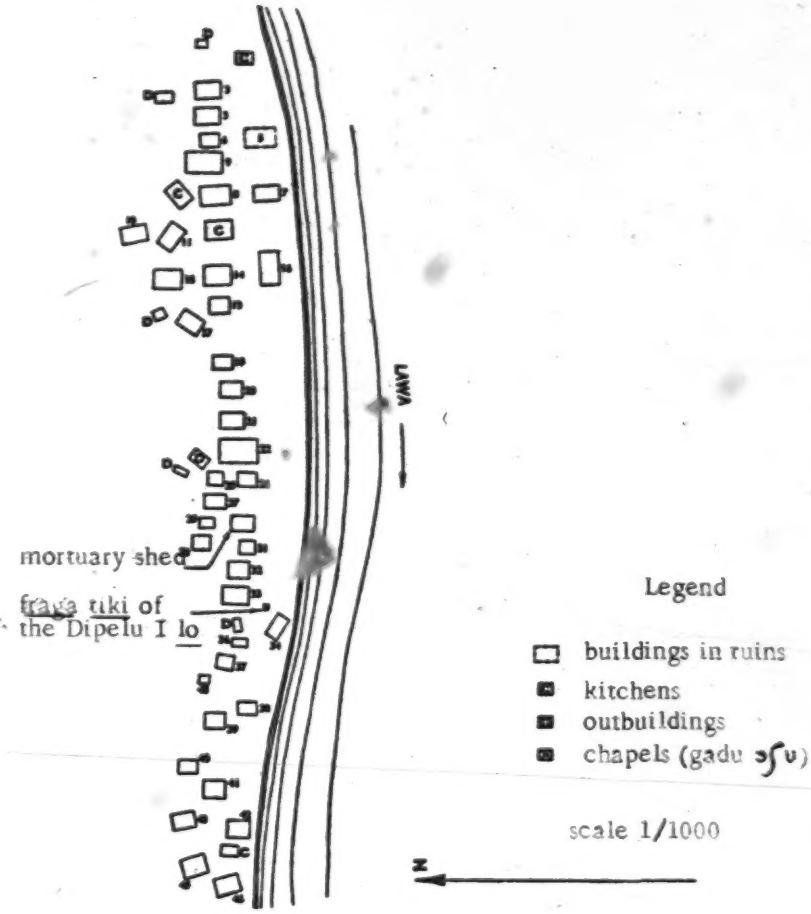

Fig. 8.

6:Hurault--70 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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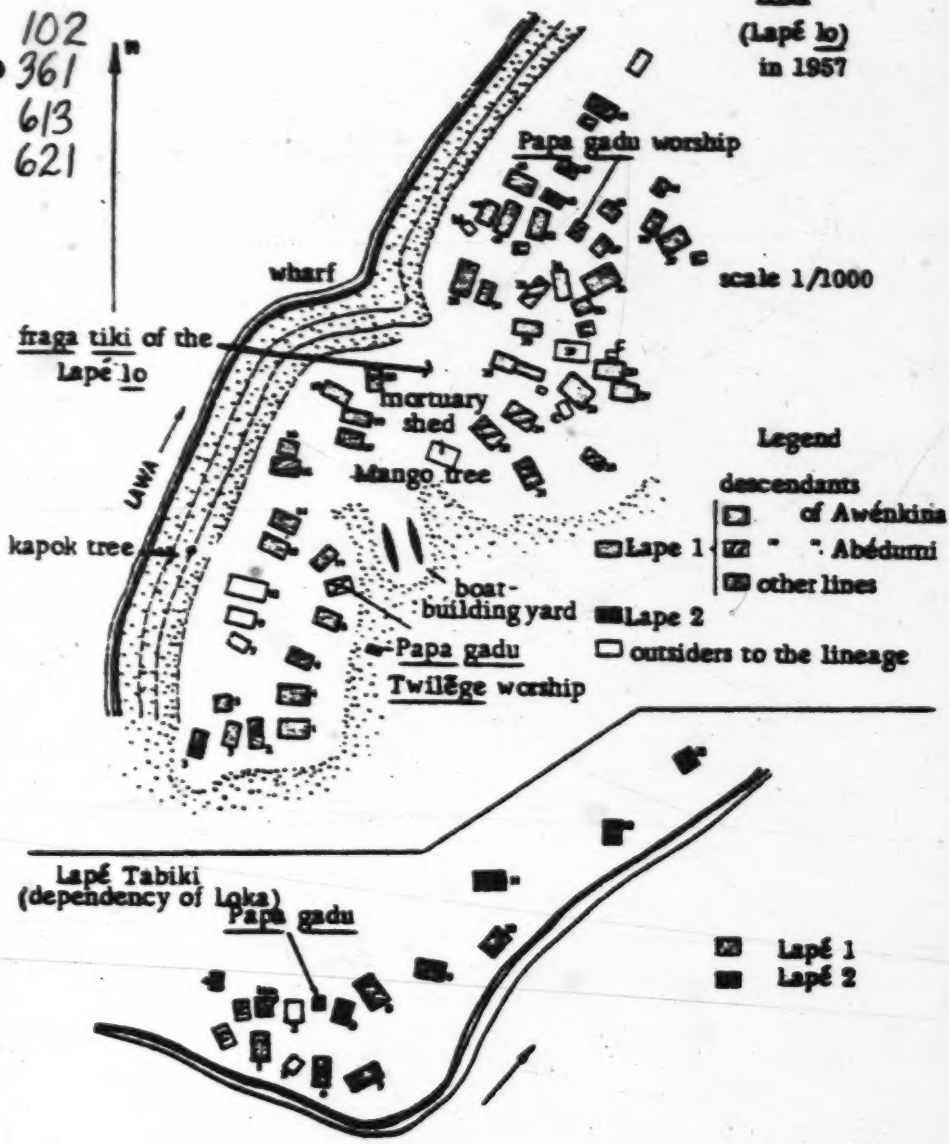

Fig. 9.

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Asisi
Dju Quarter
(Dju lo)
in 1957

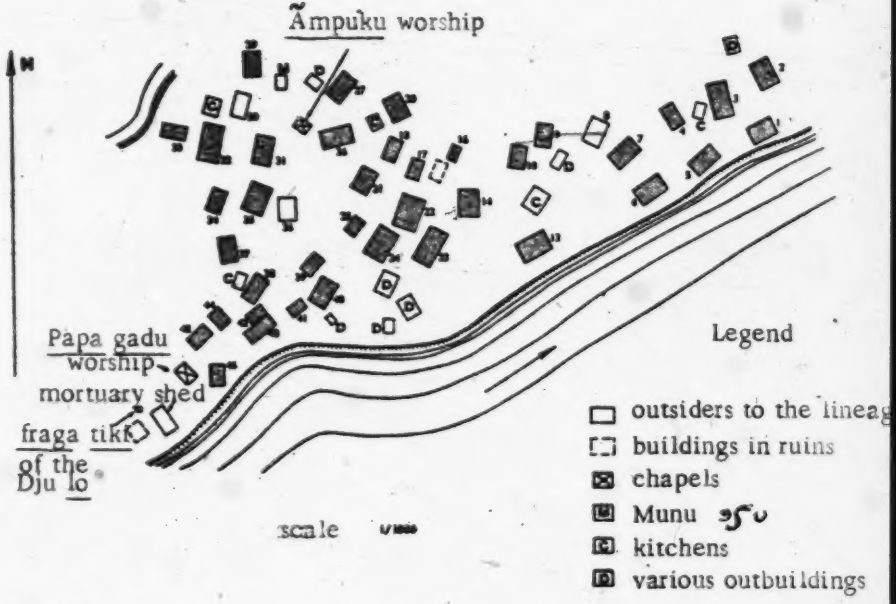

Fig. 10.

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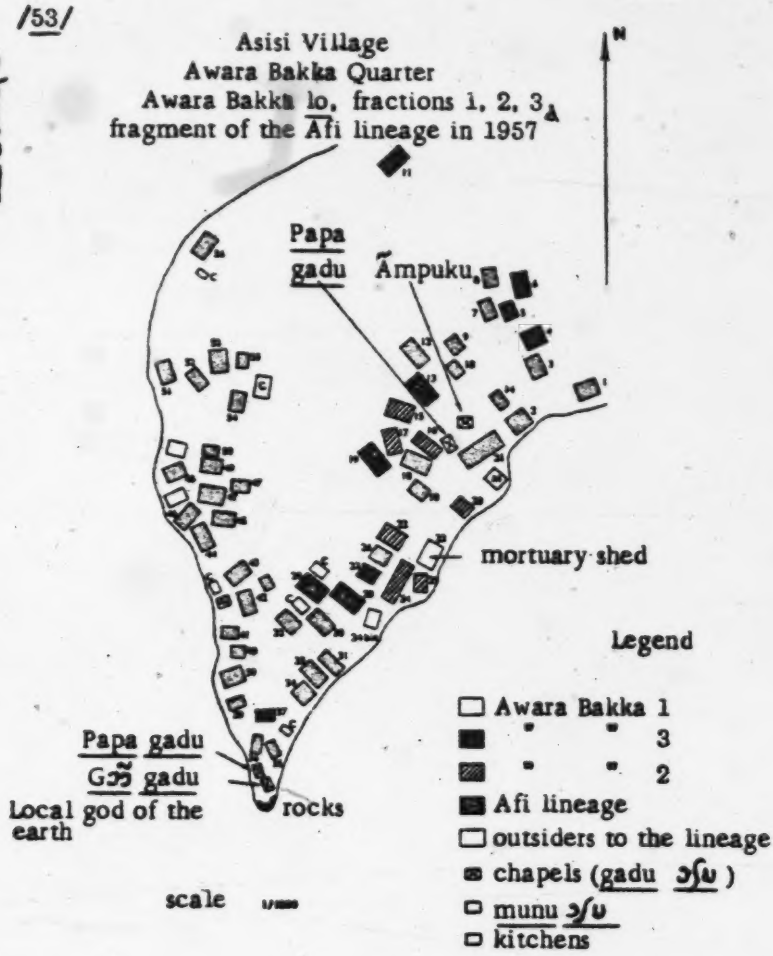

Fig. 11.

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Papaïston Village
in Oct. 1957
Kawina or Papaïston lineage,
fragment of the Toïna (Bakabuchi) lineage

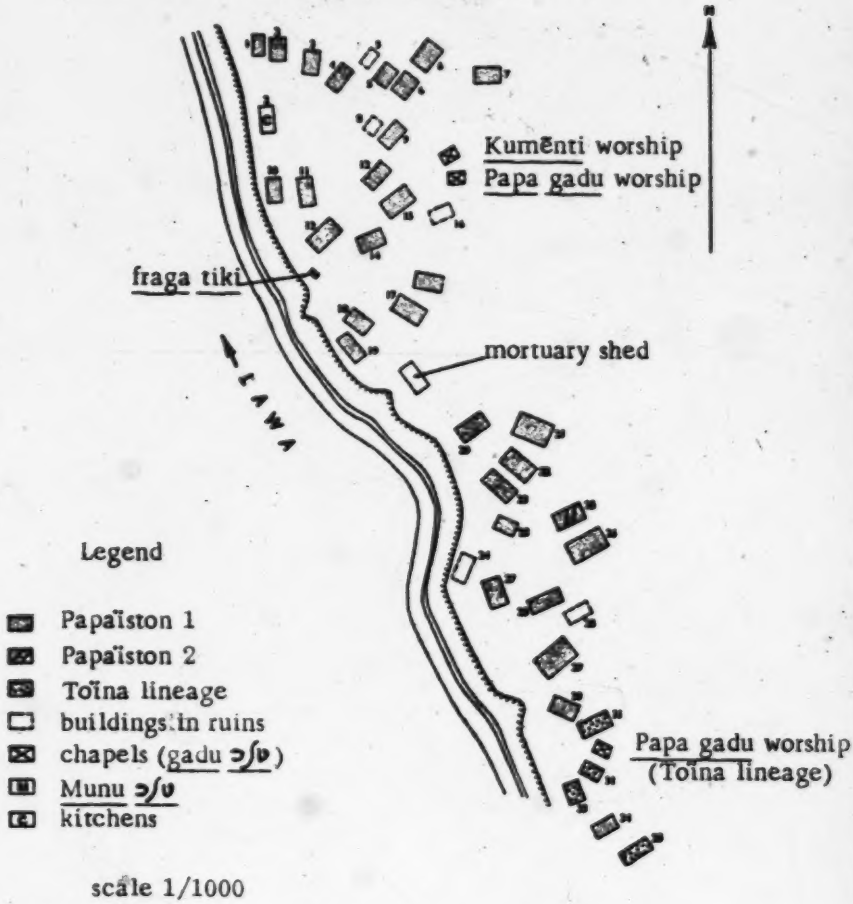

Fig. 12.

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Kormotibo and Asisi-Dipélu Villages

Dipélu II lo

We did not judge it useful to include the plan of the habitat [128] of this group, consisting of two hamlets which are badly kept up [361] and in decay.

As of January 1, 1958: 62 persons, of whom 31 are children [162] and adolescents of less than 16 years.

[591] Adult inhabitants whose residence in these villages is not normal:

△ Alémin 1880 (Afi lineage)	has always lived isolated
○ Magdaléna 1912 (Afi lineage) (raising 4 children under 16)	came to live with her husband Léon (Dip. II, † in 1954); remained there afterward.
△ Doïchiman 1934 (Afi l.)	raised by his mother Magdaléna, lives near her.
△ Dokwé 1938 (Afi l.)	idem
○ Gongolon 1937 (Afi l.) (raising a child)	idem
○ Mauda 1935 (Afi l.)	idem
○ Ninga 1899 (Papaïston 2)	separated from her group after a disagreement.
△ Bénu 1928	Ninga's son, followed his mother.

Total: 8 persons raising 4 children under 16 years.

/60/

There are no gardens around the cabins because the conditions of the soil and climate render permanent cultivation impracticable. The nearest thing is a few persons planting some banana trees around the hut at the foot of which they spread the hearth ashes. As a general rule villages are closely hemmed in by secondary brushwood, and people plant far from one another and sometimes very far from the village.

If it does not admit the appropriation of land to individuals, custom does admit, on the other hand, the ownership of trees. In the villages the useful trees (coconut trees, maripa palms /attalea excelsa/, mango trees, cashew-apple trees, etc.) all have owners. The tree is considered as personal property and is transmitted by inheritance in the same way as a gun or a canoe. The procedure employed by the Boni for the dispersion of the inheritance among the members of the lineage of the dead man sometimes has the effect of transmitting the ownership of a tree to a person who is not of the village. For example, in Boniville where a fraction of the Kotika lineage lives, two caumou palms were bequeathed a long time ago to members of the lineage living in Kotika, who come each year to gather the fruit.

Appendix

Local Chronology Used for Determining Ages

1876	Death of Grand Man Atyaba.
1877	Trip of the explorer Crevaux from the Maroni to the Yari and the Amazon, in the company of Apatu, head of the Boni village.
1882	Apatu secedes, taking with him about 150 persons and founds the village which bears his name on the lower course of the Maroni.

[Agodé bakka locality]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
8	△	Grand Man Difu	1952	--	?
9	○	Paata (Djuka woman settled in Boniville)	1947(?)	id.	already used by Paata about 1940
10	○	Térésa (L2, E57) clearing cut by her sons	1953	id.	?
11	○	Paata (see above)	1953		already used by Paata in 1950

Thus, out of this group of eleven clearings, two remain attributed to the grand man, one to a woman of the Dju lineage, two to a Djuka woman, one to a woman of the Lapé lineage, five to members of the Kotika lineage, all inhabitants of Boniville. /85/

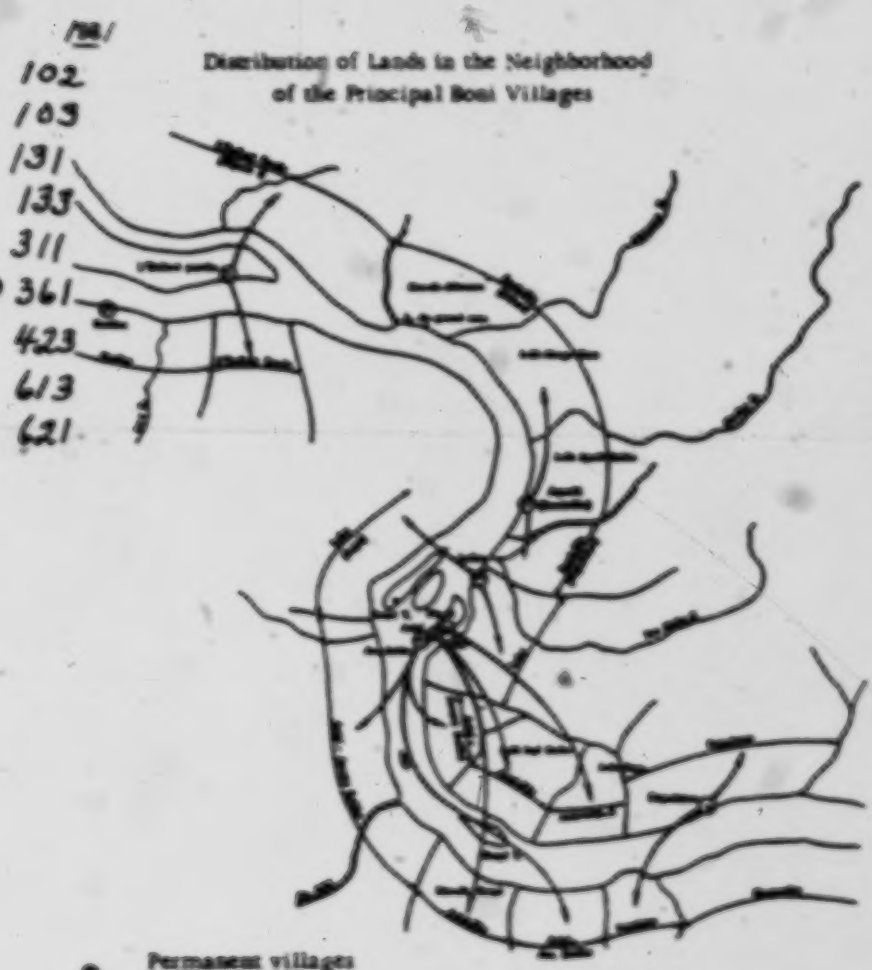
[361] [166] [931] [554] Study of the clearings of the fraction of the Papaïston established in Boniville. This group formerly lived in Puu Mofu village at the mouth of the creek of the same name, abandoned about 1940 following an epidemic. Its settlement in Boniville is therefore recent. The oldest man in the group, Bukuman, a man of some 60 years, exerts de facto authority.

This group tends to add to its initial finage the band of land included between Boniville village and Puu Mofu Creek belonging to the Dikan io (especially clearings Nos. 12, 13, 14).

Gottsault--142 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SRB Bush Negroes SRB
Boni

/98/

Distribution of Lands in the Neighborhood
of the Principal Boni Villages



● Permanent villages
___ Boundary lines

Scale:

/K. or Cr. = Creek,
Lieu-dit = locality,
h. du grand man = habitation of the grand man,
Zone inondable = floodable zone./

Fig. 18.

/99/

182 That this system is perfectly viable has been sufficiently
161 demonstrated by the regular expansion for two centuries of the
241 tribes of Refugee Blacks and by the good functioning of their
423 institutions.
613

Thus the basic instability of the Indians of Guiana cannot
182 be attributed to the influence of the geographical environment alone. It comes essentially from social and psychological factors.

/100/ STUDY OF FARMING HABITATIONS

128 We are now going to study the functioning of the farming habitations under the same aspects:

--Structure (composition of each one, kinship ties):

--Territorial implantation: nature and extent of rights over the land:

--Functioning.

241 Not all Boni have a farming habitation; about two-thirds
62 of them are satisfied with the lands they occupy near the residence
184 villages.

241 The farming habitations we are going to study more es-
621 pecially and which are situated between the mouth of the Inini
361 and Simayé Falls to the south, group about a hundred persons be-
162 longing to the Dju, Lapé, Awara Bakka, and Papaïton lineages.
613 Another group of farming habitations situated a little south of Kormoribo, which we shall study briefly and only so far as their composition is concerned, bring together about 60 persons. Finally, other very dispersed farming habitations exist, belonging principally to the Kotika lineage, some in the Maripasoula region, others in the Abattis-Kotika Falls /region/.

241 On the whole, the Boni farming habitations cannot be com-
184 pared either as to importance or stability with the Djuka farming
62 villages which are placed at intervals on the middle course of the
[361] Maroni, grouping 3,000 to 3,500 persons: this is easy to
[162] understand: the Djuka, continually short of land, are obliged,

/100 cont./

24 62 [184] under pain of losing their rights, to occupy the soil to the maximum. Besides, settled very far from their residence villages, they are led to creating more lasting establishments.

Among the Boni, farming habitations do not amount to much, built carelessly (to designate them one says kãpu (camp), and the groups who work there are not very stable.

423 241 [182 184] However, the principles of establishment and functioning of farming habitations are exactly the same for the two tribes and result on the whole from the customary laws which, among the Refugee Blacks, govern the possession of land:

[425 613] 1) When a man cuts a clearing in a zone which has never had any human establishment, he creates at the same time as a right of use for himself an imprescriptible real right for his lineage (bee) or more precisely for the fraction of the lineage living in the same village and subject to the same authority;

[428 613] 2) This right is joint; at the death of an individual, anyone of that fraction of his lineage may occupy the lands he used to cultivate habitually. If there is a dispute, it must be settled within the framework of the lineage; /101/ /Fig. 17 appears here/ /102/

3) The extent of the zone over which this right is exercised is limited only by the zones over which other rights are exercised.

We have seen what mode of occupation of the soil resulted from these laws in the neighborhood of the "great villages." Here the distribution of lands among the farming habitations follows practically the same laws, whose effects are less rigorous, considering the very low density of occupation of the soil.

425 [361] 1) It is taken for granted that an isolated establishment in a quasi-deserted zone does not create lasting rights. If it happens to disappear, anybody may come to settle there after ascertaining from the first occupant that he no longer needs the place (such is the case with the very scattered establishments south of Simayé Falls up to Indian country; they do not create real territorial rights for the benefit of any lineage whatever.

6:Hurault--145 K-5 (1948 1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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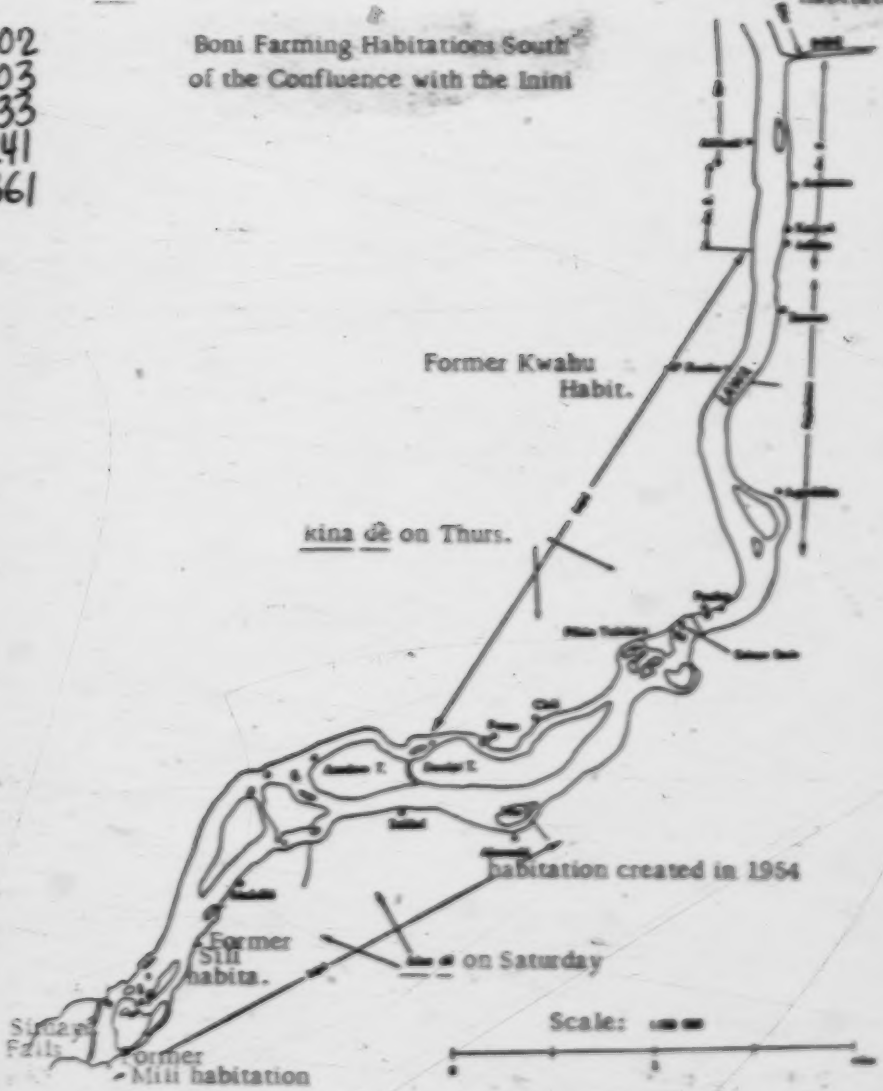

Fig. 17.

/102 cont./

425 2) On the contrary, from the time that occupation of a region becomes habitual, even by groups of small numerical importance, people pay attention to the attribution of the lands. [361] [613] Thus it is assumed that the west bank of the Lawa south of the Atikati habitation up to Simayé Falls has belonged, since the end of the last century, to the Lapé lo, which was occupying it in 1957 by the Paako, Samo, Pwen, Saléni, and Makélé habitations.

423 613 241 361 3) Within each zone the rights remain joint and anyone of the same lo may come to settle there. Thus the farming habitations move around, but within a definite sector. Thus for example Kwaku (Lapé) abandoned in 1954 his habitation situated in the lands of the Lapé lineage (it was too damp in the rainy season, he prefers to connect himself with the lands of the "great village"). He does not lose his rights because of this. If he decides eventually to come back, he will settle anywhere in the zone attributed to the Lapé lo.

182 161 241 361 425 It goes without saying that if the population were more dense, such a principle would be difficult to apply and that serious disputes would arise. But this mode of occupation of the soil is perfectly suitable, in their present situation, for the tribes of the Refugee Blacks, for it allows them to practice, with a minimum of friction, the seminomadism which the geographical environment and especially the manioc ant impose.

241 361 423 The zones occupied by the farming habitations rarely have a single holder: most often they are divided into separate sectors on different parts of the river.

504 613 361 423 Actually, as we have seen around the "great villages," each lineage possesses a certain number of "dégrads," or landing places, from which paths radiate. Each "dégrad" is rigorously reserved for the members of a lineage. The occupants of a farming village radiate from around their landing place until they

361
504 /102 cont./
613 meet the clearings of the people of another lineage; a de facto
423 boundary is thus created, which is henceforth respected.

621 On the other hand, several farming villages of one lineage
241 may have their clearings totally intriqués /entangled/ (this is
613 the case, for example, with the ones of the Antonu and Adiiso
423 habitations). This conforms to the rule of joint possession of the land within the lineage.

621 Organization. The group in a farming habitation is brought to-
241 gether by mutual affinities, and has no hierarchy other than that
602 which springs from kinship ties: authority of the mother over her
592 daughters; authority of the "uncles" over the "nephews."
/103/ The grouping which conforms most to the matrilineal structure of the Refugee Blacks is made up of an old woman, her unmarried sons, her daughters and her daughters' daughters, their husbands coming to help at the time of the clearings but not belonging to the group. Often it is this old woman who directs the habitation, but often also it is an old uncle, her classificatory brother, who has worked with her for a long time. Sometimes this old woman has come to live with her daughters on the habitation founded by her husband.

103 Some of the habitations bear men's names, others women's
423 names. The name which prevails may be completely at variance
592 with the real rights exercised over the land (Ex.: name of Adiiso given to the habitation of his wife where Adiiso has no right at
[613] all). That has no great importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks, the only important thing being collective possession of the land by the lineage.

621 For groups which are relatively numerous and brought to-
241 gether more by mutual affinities than by kinship ties, the mini-
622 mum of authority necessary for good feeling and the organization of the work is brought to bear by the founder. For example,

/103 cont./

621 Atikati exercised authority by this right over the disparate group
622 around him, and at his death he bequeathed this function to his
241 sister Adyidya.

Likewise Antonu exerts undisputed authority over three
[613] groups of the Awara Bakka lo settled at the mouth of the Inini, for it was he who took the initiative of creating an establishment at this place. If there is any dispute, it is he who will defend the rights of the Awara Bakka lineage.

622 The authority exercised by the founder of the farming habitation is not brought to bear in material living, which remains subject to the strictly individualistic principles of the Refugee Blacks. He cannot require anyone to help him make his clearings or do any work whatever on his behalf.

Farming Habitations of the Awara Bakka lo
(Antonu, Adiiso, Kakyé)
in the Neighborhood of the Confluence with the Inini

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621 These habitations work soil whose first user was Antonu, of
241 the Awara Bakka lo (fraction 1), which is regarded as belonging
[613] to that lineage. Antonu settled there in 1945 (he was finding that
[423] there were too many people farming the lands near Asisi).

To insure his rights, Antonu put on his land two groupings
621 whose situations are very different:
241 1) In his own habitation he installed his wife Asakundu, and
592 around her he made up the work group commonest among the
423 Refugee Blacks: group formed by the mother, her sons and
[476] daughters, the daughters' husbands coming to help at the time of the /104/ clearings. But it is important to note that this group has no right at all over the land: if Antonu and his wife ever separate, the wife's group will leave the habitation.

c:Hurault--158 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/facing p. 108/

102
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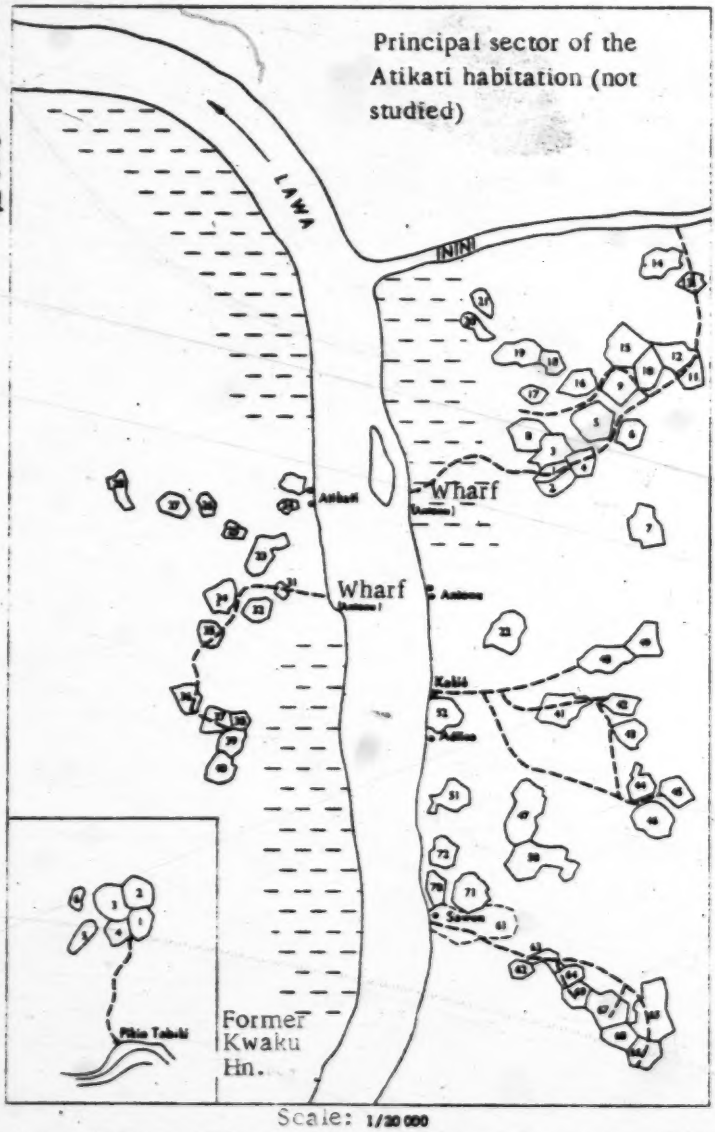
Distribution of Lands among the Lineages
in the Neighborhood of the Confluence with the Inini



Scale: 1/20 000

After photographs by the 003/200 IGN mission, taken in October, 1956

farming habitation

floodable zone

clearings studied in January, 1957

Fig. 18.

/111 cont./

361 241 613

Habitation of the Dju Lo in the Neighborhood of the Mouth of the Inini

621 241 [613] [423] [476] Structure of the Atikati habitation (Dju lo). Important habitation founded by Atikati, of the Dju lo, possessing an extended finage fragmented into several blocks on both banks of the Lawa.

This habitation has an abnormal composition, for Atikati worked there with his daughters, which is contrary to custom, and with friends.

622 Atikati directed the village with his old friend Bernardin (K1, D62), † in 1958, who was the son of a man of the Dju lo and had lived among the Dju since childhood.

621 241 613 [622] The basic group of this habitation is made up of people of the Dju lo. Since Atikati's death (1955), his sister Adyidya (Dju, E19) has directed the village.

Members of the Dju lo:

○ Adyidya
○ Baawé (Dju, E13) } both without living children
△ Loko (Dju, F39)
△ Atikati worked with his daughters and granddaughter:
○ Wilèlmina (P1, F1);
○ Kumata (P1, G1), daughter of Wilèlmina.

To this group were added in 1957:

△ Bernardin (K1, D62), raised with the Dju;
○ Asumé (Dip. I, F2), daughter of △ Bernardin and ○ Mimen †.

[423] Finally, two Kotika women married to Djuka asked for permission to settle there and have their clearings cut there. But they have no right at all over the land:

○ Nèlla (K1, D44);
Maké (K1, E35), her daughter.

361 /113/
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Habitations of the Papaïston lo in the Neighborhood of the Mouth of the Inini

621 Structure of the Sawen and Agodéba habitations (Papaïston lo).
241 Habitations occupying an extensive zone, attributed for at
613 least 60 years to the principal Papaïston lineage.
[476] Working with Sawen (P1, E7) are:
--His nieces Héléna (P1, F2) and Emilia (P1, F3);
--His nephew Aguundé (P1, F4).
Working with Agodéba (P1, E1) are:
--His sister (in the classificatory sense) Kamen (P1, E14);
--His niece (in the classificatory sense) Gou (P1, F8).
Moreover, a group is settled there centered on Toïna, Agodéba's wife, representing the last of the Bakabuchi lineage, almost extinct:

△ Toïna, Agodéba's wife;
/△/ Mangoto, Toïna's son;
Apuulobi.

[423] This group has no right over the land and would leave in the case of a break-up of the Agodéba-Toïna household.
Finally, a female friend, Puti (F71), of the almost extinct Papaïston 2 lineage.

241 Activity of the Agodéba habitation in 1955-56:
621

	1956	1955
△ Agodéba	1 clearing for his wife Toïna	id.
○ Kamen	1 clearing cut by her husband Adam who made no other	id.
○ Gou	1 clearing cut by her husband Béku	id.

[Samo habitation (Pikin Tabiki)]

/116 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
3	○	Mélita; clearing cut by her husband Kwata	1955	id.	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
4	○	Mélita; cl. cut by her son Déési	1954	id.	3 years (cut for the 1st time in 1948, then in 1953 for the 2nd time
5	○	Téké; cl. cut by her husband Baïna	1951	id.	3 years (cut in 1948 for the 1st time)
6	○	Téké id.	1953	id.	cut for the 1st time

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Farming Habitations downstream from Maripasoula

Several habitations are installed in the Kuyaku locality, very fertile region giving high yields of manioc (1).

1. This fertility is explained by the nature of the subsoil (sills of dolerite).

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Ownership of the land: Dipélu II lo (Kormoribo village). Several habitations side by side:

621 241 591 /117 cont./

Atikati (daughters living with their father, groups of friends having no rights over the land).

621 241 591 It seems that exceptions of this kind have always existed among the Refugee Blacks, but they are probably tending to become more numerous.

178 They do not appear to be due to a change of conception about family structure but to a development of individualistic tendencies. These groups of aberrant structure are particularly unstable.

361 241 Stability; changes of location. On this point there is no precise custom. Certain farming habitations are old, such as those of Sawen and Atikati, which certainly date from the beginning of the century. Most appear to last from five to ten years. Others, like that of Kwaku, have had only an ephemeral existence.

361 241 166 The changes of location of habitations which have taken place in this region since 1950 have very variable causes: /118/ /Fig. 20 appears here/ /119/

△ Dyakata (Dip. I)	left the region to live in the lower Maroni among the Paramaka for personal reasons.
○ Chili (Dip. I)	went to settle near Maripasoula. Gave up his habitation at Simayé Falls because of manioc ants.
△ Kwaku (L)	His habitation was too damp and the activity of the manioc ants too great. Henceforth lives all year in Loka.
[226] △ Akwadé (L)	Had no habitation, created one in 1954 near Simayé Falls. Was looking for a site favorable for fishing, from which he lives almost entirely.

On the whole, it can be estimated that the average duration of a farming habitation is about ten years. In these moves,

[Text Continues on P. 173]

6:Hurault--172 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/facing p. 119/

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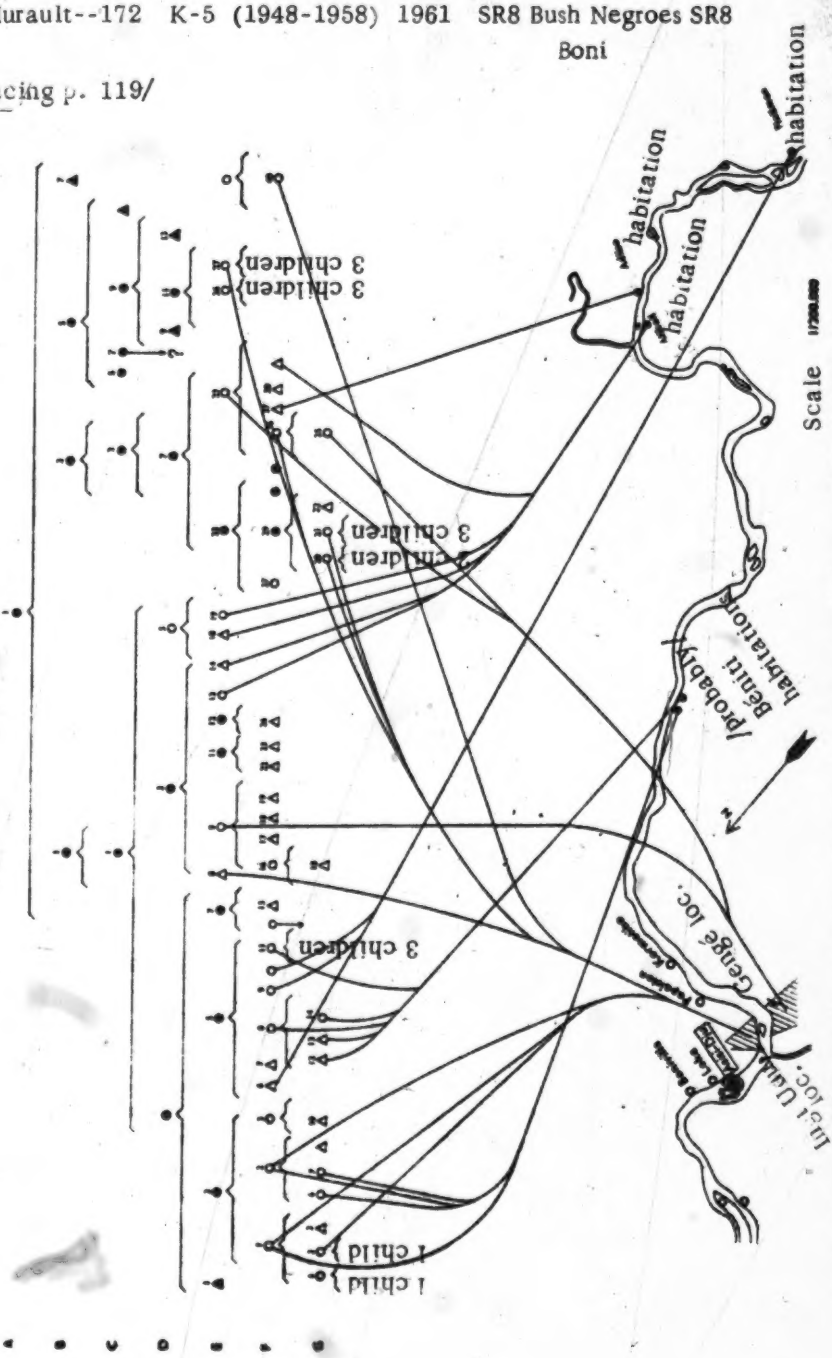
Grouping of the Members of the Dju Lineage
into Sectors and Farming Habitations
October 1957



This chart shows the absence of any tendency toward the scission of the lineage into separate
fractions.

Fig. 20.

/119 cont./

361 241 166 exhaustion of the lands does not seem to play any part: considering the sparseness of the population, one can either make new clearings out of primary forest or carry out any system of letting land lie fallow one wishes.

Most changes of location can be attributed to two causes of equal importance:

[136] [613] --The activity of the manioc ants; we have said that since about 15 years ago the principal soil of the Lapé lo, situated near Loka village, has had to be totally abandoned as a consequence of exceptional activity of manioc ants. From this resulted the creation of several farming habitations on the soil of the Lapé lo studied here;

361 241 166 578 --Personal motives, among which comes first of all disagreement among the members of a group. For example ○ Kulina and ○ Bakamaman (Boniville, Dju) made their clearings until 1950 with their mother Béniti in her farming village in Kuyaku locality (to the south of Kormotibo).

In 1950 there was a quarrel. Kulina and Baïkom have made their clearings since that time at the habitation of their father Malobi (Lapé).

[768] It happens especially that upon the death of its founder a farming habitation disappears or changes composition entirely because disagreements arise.

361 241 166 Another cause of change of location of farming habitations is change of activity of their occupants. For example, a man grows old, he no longer finds paid work, he creates a habitation in order to take up fishing (Akwadé's case). When he reaches extreme old age, he abandons his habitation to move close to his relatives (case of Samalobi, first occupant of the lands cultivated nowadays by Antonu village). /Page 120 blank/

/223 cont./

784 begin his instruction in order to become a suitable bearer. (If
613 this procedure were not carried out, the god would not cease
428 its kunu at all, and the possibility of entering into contact with it and appeasing it would be lost. Besides, sooner or later it would come back into a member of the lineage.)

784 The kunu strikes without regard to kinship ties, even if
613 kinship between the bearer of the god and the supposed victim
[602] is very distant. Ex.: The Papa gadu of Donasi (Papaïston lo) struck a young woman, Gou, with illness in January, 1957.
[782] Donasi and Gou are only relatives in the ninth degree. The
[361] members of the entire Papaïston lineage assembled to supplicate the god: even people of Wétiti village in the lower Maroni came.

775 The kunu exercised by the yɔrka of a dead person has a
784 special importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks, for it has
613 profound repercussions on the relations among the lineages.

In principle, the yɔrka exercising a kunu has as bearer
[428] a living member of its own lineage, who will bequeath it at his death. But it is also possible that the yɔrka may take as bearer a member of the lineage upon which it exercises the kunu.

In both cases, the rite to appease the yɔrka is the same;
[782] the yɔrka can be invoked effectively only by the members of its own lineage, since one can pray (at least in principle) only to one's own maternal ancestors.

When matrilineage A is struck by the kunu exercised by a yɔrka of matrilineage B, its members thereupon go to consult the elders of matrilineage A /sic/ and ask them to try to calm
[769] the anger of their ancestor. The members of lineage A assemble
[778] around the fraga tiki of lineage B, in back of the elders of this
[787] lineage, in the presence of the bearer of the yɔrka, who calls on his gita, goes into trances and prophesying. The yɔrka
[782] usually asks for an offering of cane juice and tafia, which is made at the foot of the /224/ fraga tiki by the elders of lineage B (for the rite to be efficacious, the offering must have been furnished by lineage A).

/261 cont./

241 neglecting these rites. Their rigorous observance has the effect of preventing farming from becoming for them a commercial activity and of keeping a religious and family feeling in it.

824 778 784 [776] --The kākāti (silk-cotton tree) is a much feared tree, for according to the elders each one of them shelters 12 categories of divinities, especially a Papa gadu and an Ampuku. So it is absolutely impossible to cut it. One must even be very careful not to injure its roots which spread far. The site of every one felled is preserved. Likewise people watch carefully so as not to injure the roots of the big silk-cotton trees often found in the villages.

824 778 776 361 Still, the fact that their site was chosen for setting up a village shows that people believe they can make an alliance with the divinities which reside in a silk-cotton tree and draw their protection upon themselves.

824 778 789 [776] --The katu tree (Bombax Surinamiensis), tree of very large size, living in symbiosis with a parasitic liana which appears to enclose it in a gigantic net, also shelters maleficent divinities (Ampuku, Papa gadu, Bumba gadu). One may cut it down after performing rites whose purpose is to transfer these divinities into another tree.

First, one must have procured from a man who possesses this remedy a pot of ɔbia containing an infusion of leaves in the middle of which is a bracelet of fibers. /262/ It costs [435] two liters of tafia, four liters of beverage (beer for example), one large piece of cloth, and one machete.

Having arrived at the foot of the tree, one bathes his body and machete with this infusion; one puts the fiber bracelet on one's arm. One also bathes several small sticks provided [822] with squares of white cloth (for the Papa gadu), dark blue and red (for the Ampuku), and a pinot palm (pina tɔŋgo) leaf.

One plants the sticks at the foot of the tree, one strikes the trunk with the palm leaf while invoking the divinities of

*539 /283 cont. /
kept village), more overrun by the bush than Puu Mofu (2).

• [361]

2. Village abandoned and overrun by the bush south of Boniville.

Pikinbaya no longer had anything to wear but an old rice sack, for it was that pot which used to make the village rich.

The parrot said: "I would gladly go to look for the pot, but I have no teeth." The rat said: "If I had had wings, I would have gone to look for the pot." The parrot said to him: "Come on my back." He jumped on the parrot's back. He flew, flew... until... he alighted on the big mast of the boat, kpwala! The rat reached the iron case. He gnawed it, kwokwo! burst it, took the pot, pa! At the moment when people were beginning to notice the parrot's presence, he flew away, flew, as far as... Pikinbaya's village.

There is Pikinbaya, rich again.

The king's eldest daughter arrived at her father's village. The king came with his automobile to get his daughter and the trunk. They arrived at the palace, he opened the trunk: nothing! He said: "That astounds me. But I must find that pot which makes Pikinbaya rich, I must know where it is." The king had three daughters. He said: "I am going to send the second to him; she will succeed in finding that object."

(The same scene is repeated. The daughter succeeds in seizing the pot which she puts into an iron casket, enclosed in an iron case. The parrot and the rat go and win it back, but the rat breaks one of his incisors.)

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A (p. 576)
B (p. 577)
C (p. 578)
D (p. 579)

Chart of Positions of End Map /facing p. 576/

Stilloraulf--576 K-8 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Bond

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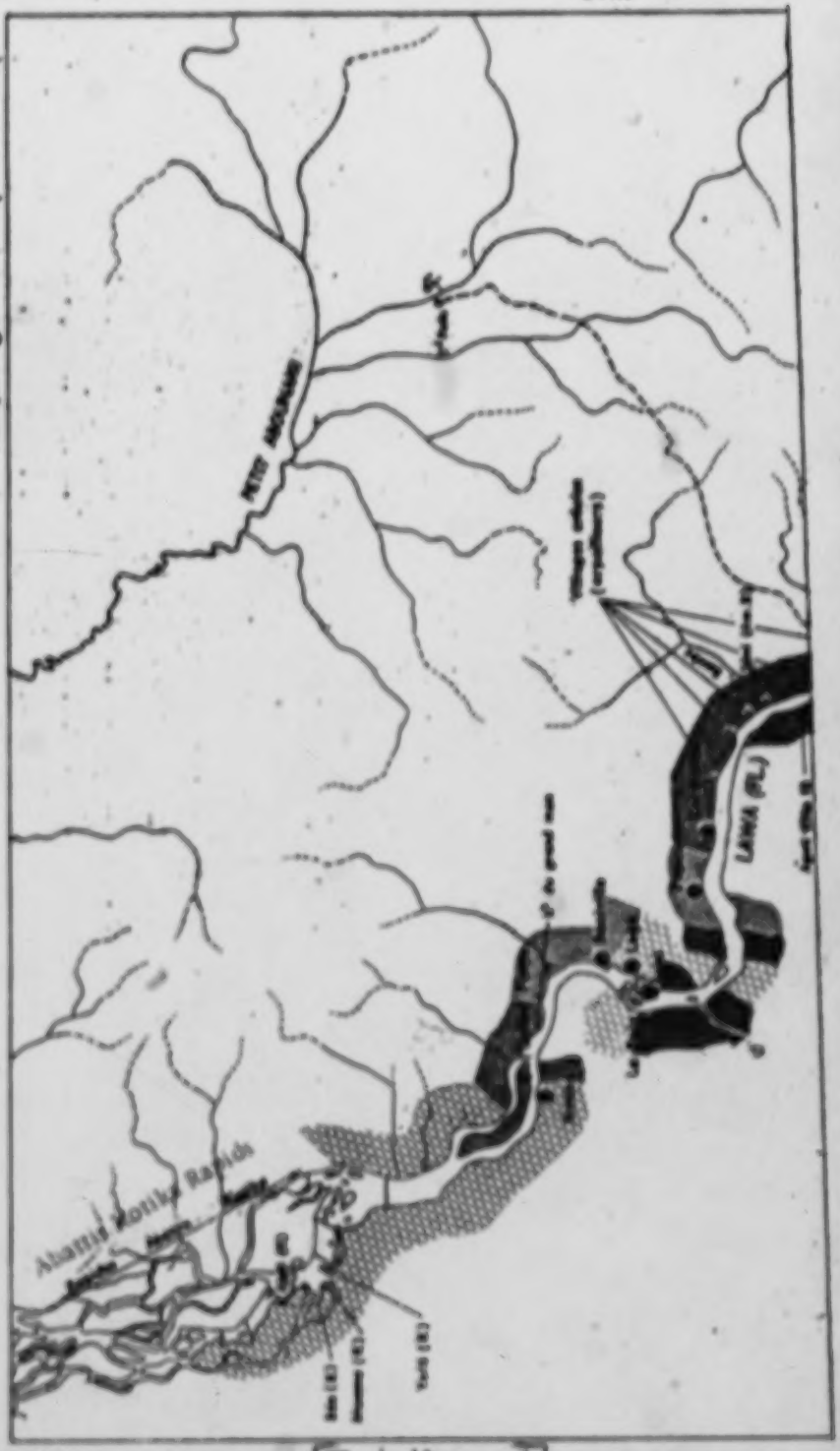

[End Map - A]

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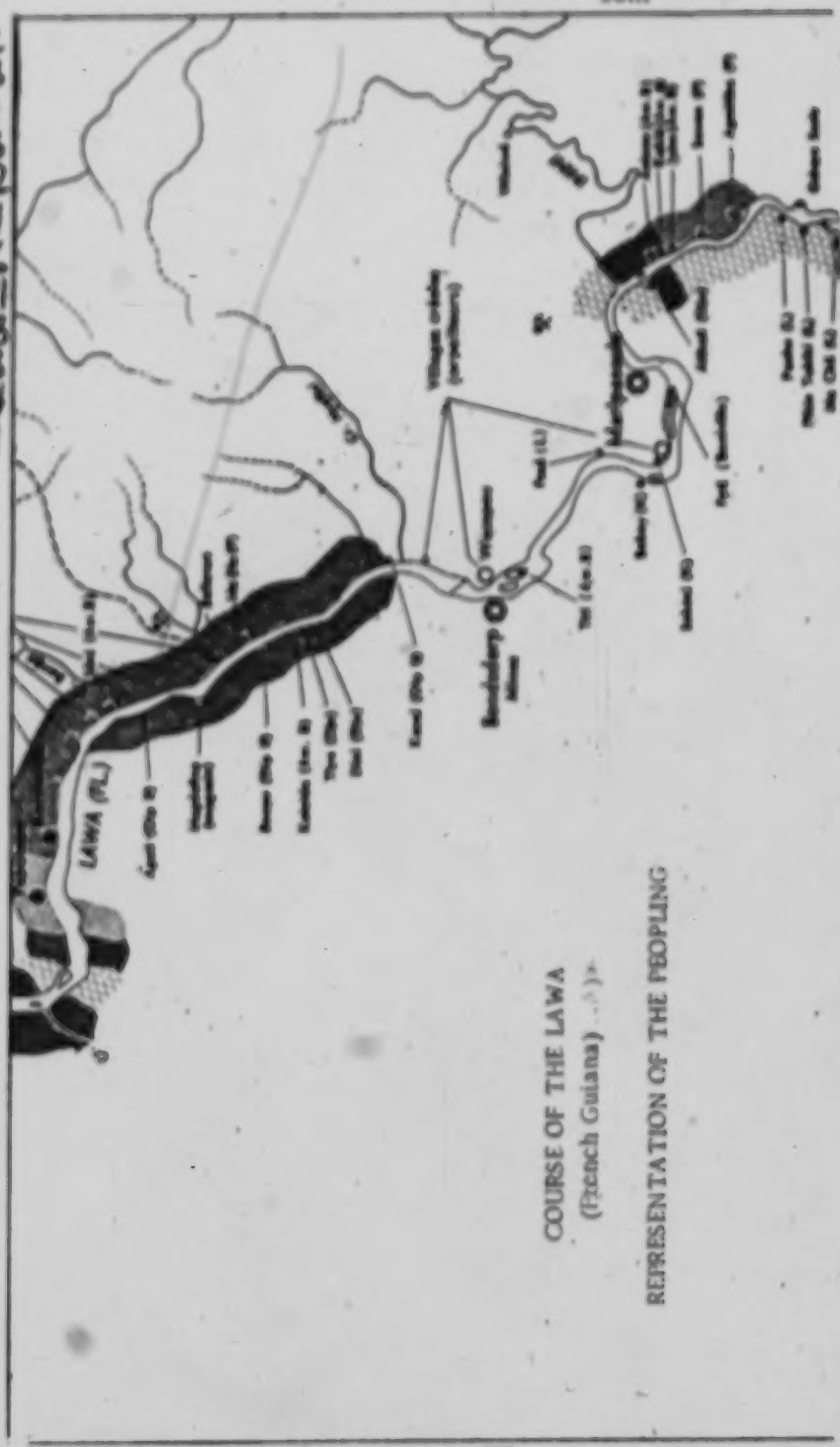


COURSE OF THE LAWA
(French Guiana)

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLING

[End Map - B]

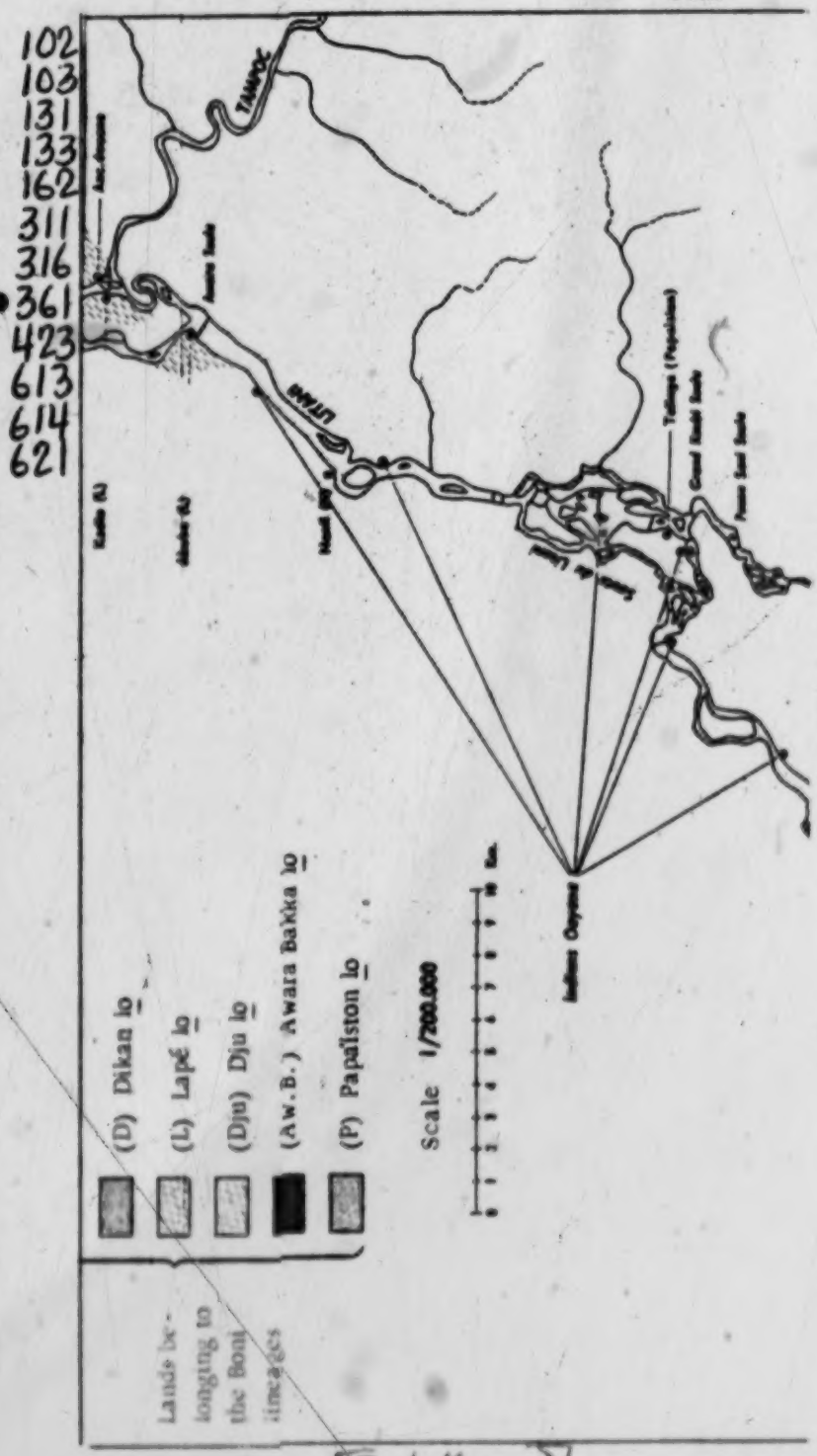
Villages and Farming Habitations
in 1958

- Boni residence villages
- Boni farming habitations
- Creole villages
- European establishments
- Creole habitations
- Small gold workings
- Indian villages

Lands belonging to the Boni lineages

- (K) Kotika lo
- (Dip) Dipéiu lo
- (D) Dikan lo
- (L) Lapé lo
- (Dju) Dju lo

End Map - 2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TAMPOC
Lands belonging to the Boni lineages
(D) Dikan lo
(L) Lapé lo
(Dju) Dju lo
(Aw.B.) Awara Bakka lo
(P) Papaïston lo
Scale 1/200.000

[End Map - D]

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A (p. 580)	B (p. 581)	C (p. 582)	D (p. 583)

Chart of Positions of End Plate /facing p. 580/

6:Hurault--580 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

DIVISION OF LANDS AMONG THE LINEAGES IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF THE PRINCIPAL BONI VILLAGES

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• 361
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489
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614
504

Photographic montage made with the help of photographs of Field Trip 007/200 IGN Guiana
Scale 1/20 000 Taken in October, 1956

[End Plate -A]

6:Hurault--581 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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• 361
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504

Scale 1/20 000

[End Plate - B]

6:Hurault--582 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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423
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504
613
614

Scale 1/20 000

[End Plate-C]

C:Hurault--583 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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423
487
504
613
614

Agodé Permanent villages
clearings
floodable zones
boundaries not known
farming habitation
dégrad (wharf)
path
approximate boundaries of agricultural land

[End Plate - D]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

622 623 352 The bosseia meet under a separate shed, specially built for this purpose. The captain has a "throne," which is an ornately carved stool. The one belonging to the captain of the village of Lombe was purchased and brought back to the American Museum of Natural History. The members of the bosseia, too, have ceremonial seats, with elaborately pierced carving, typically West African in design. When the occasion arises, a meeting is held and the council is seated about on these ceremonial benches to hold palaver.

622 623 692 [537] The business is brought up. Perhaps it is a domestic quarrel—two men over one woman. The offended party rises and begins exercising the Bush Negro's traditional privilege of unlimited and vociferous oratory. He details his wrongs. Grand gestures accompany the sonorous flow of words. The interested members of the village sit at a respectful distance from the captain and bosseia, and listen to the harangue. When other speakers have had their say, any inhabitant of the village may get up and give his or her opinion. Proudly the captain exercises his judicial talent, and the decision is handed down. It is not questioned.

622 623 562 The women members of the bosseia have as much power as the men. It is chiefly the women who see that the ancestral and village customs are enforced. They are the guardians of the ancient traditions and customs of the race. To them, also, belongs the duty of keeping the village clean. If the [364] town needs a general cleaning, the women bosseia go about from hut to hut, telling the women to get together and perform the task.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

and pageantry. Now it is only a name. But the name has been 778
carried overseas to the South American bush, and persists there long after its origin has been forgotten.

As has already been noted, the villages are universally 364
clean and sanitary. There is no filth or debris scattered about. The garbage is disposed of by being thrown into the river at a point below the village. A small amount of it is fed to the chickens, which we found in practically every Bush Negro village. Feces are disposed of in small outhouses made of leaves placed on bypaths some four hundred yards from the village clearing. When these become seriously polluted, they are removed to another location. Some villages have no outhouses.

Bathing is indulged in frequently by all of the Bush Ne- 515
groes. There are few who do not bathe in the river two or three times a day. No bodily odour could be detected on them, except one of perspiration, when the men poled their canoes for long distances and did not have time to bathe at their accustomed hours.

Sometimes as a punishment a woman may be condemned 681
to act as scavenger for the village for as long as two years; it is then her duty to be continually cleaning up the village.

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[556]
[444]
[177]

/76 cont./

No form of trade (1) is traditionally observed among them,

1. Since 1954, one of them, enriched by boat transport, set up a food business at Kotika, but this is a man more than half "creolized" and one who established himself in the midst of Creoles.

this activity being for them manifestly tied to the idea of the exploitation of others; there is not even any market in the villages. Each person produces, or finds among the people of his own lineage, what food he needs; as for imported objects, the Boni buy them in the course of their trips from the coast traders. That plague of African societies, pseudo-trade or parasitism, is unknown to the Refugee Blacks. Just as one meets among them neither ragamuffins nor beggars, one perceives nothing nasty or low in their social relations.

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[735]

In their collective life there is something aboveboard, clean, which strikes one on first meeting them and which one does not tire of admiring, the further one penetrates into the functioning of their institutions.

/292 cont./

754 556 441 438 366 In that can doubtless be seen the most likely explanation of the absence, in the tribes of Refugee Blacks, of any internal trade. There are not even markets in the villages. In practice only Creole and Asian traders are patronized.

463 829 [438] The repugnance which the Refugee Blacks have for trading with one another contributes toward preventing the development of specialized professions among them. Specialization does actually exist: one man is particularly good at building boats, another is a competent carpenter, still another devotes himself mainly to fishing; but the Refugee Blacks exercise these specialties with respect to other peoples and not with respect to one another. Nobody fails to build his own boat, his house, to cut his clearings himself. If it were otherwise, classes and castes would rapidly be created, and that is precisely what the moral law of the Refugee Blacks condemns. A special effect of this conception is to preserve family custom from deteriorating, by preventing the rich from becoming great polygamists maintaining idle mistresses. We have never heard it said that a richer man paid someone to perform for him the customary work he owes to his wives, clearings, house, boat. Whatever his wealth may be, he continues to do these jobs by the sweat of his brow, and that contributes toward maintaining in its meaning and value the tacit contract concluded between husband and wife.

463 829 593 182 461

182 157 433 648 Thus the geographic conditions, associated with influences of a social and psychological order, impose on the Refugee Blacks a unique economy, based on a symbiosis with the coast populations in the form of piece-work or temporary wage-earning.

533 ing quality as it continued slowly and yet more slowly for a time, then quickened sharply at irregular intervals.

533 "Who is singing?"

"The gods," said the woman at the fire, without pausing to look up as she fanned the small flame with a woven fiber fan.

"Whose gods?"

"Amasina's, and the god of a woman of the G'aman's family. She got back from the menstrual house last night, and this morning when Amasina got her god, she got one, too."

"May I go and listen to the singing?"

"Yes."

But before the white woman had walked ten paces, she came face to face with Bassia Anaisi.

"I am going to your quarter, Bassia. The woman at the fire said I might go and listen to the singing. Is it all right?"

"Yes, go."

In a few seconds she came to a house before which several women were gathered. Outside its doorway calabashes stood in a curving line across the entire stretch of front wall, some filled with a dark liquid and others with rice, while directly in front of the door itself a dark uncorked bottle had been placed.

Down several paths came women, each with a calabash in her hand, and each as she reached the line of calabashes placed hers beside the others, and went into the house. The women entered singly and remained there but an instant, emerging with lines of white over their arms and bodies. What had taken place in the house while they were there it was impossible to tell, for the singing had continued without interruption.

Two voices were heard now. The voice which had carried across the clearing still intoned the word "Ondyi," while the other chanted in a soft and beautiful voice words which came without pause or harshness, except for a strange hissing sound which issued from somewhere inside the house.

"May I come closer?"

The decoration of
177 objects with cowrie shells comes by way of Africa. The
[324] monkey dance said to be practised by the Djukas is described
[744] as similar to the gorilla dance of the West Coast. The coiled
wire bracelets and anklets are of African design, and the
[301] general mode of dress is the same.
284

The Djuka attitude toward the silk-cotton tree is common among the tribes of the Guinea Coast. "Throughout West
[328] Africa from Senegal to the Niger the silk-cotton tree is regarded with reverence and believed to be the abode of a god or spirit. This general consensus of opinion is no doubt due to the magnificent size attained by some of these trees, which tower far above all others of the forest."

[329] *Adji-boto*, a game in which seeds are placed in round holes in a board, is played not only by the Bush Negroes but also by the Town Negroes of Paramaribo; it is found along the Gold Coast, Benin, Sierra Leone, West Sudan, and, in modified forms, in many other parts of Africa. The fish spear
[327] of the Djukas is found in Liberia, Mandingo, and the Gold Coast. Shooting fish with a bow and arrow is an African
[224] custom, but it is also widespread among the aboriginal Indians of South America. On the other hand, according to Dr. W. Roth of Demerara, a number of traps and hunting devices now used by the Guiana Indians are of African origin and have been borrowed from the Negroes.

● [375] The Djuka fire fan, woven of split rattan, is borrowed from the Arawak Indians, but different types of the same device can be found also among the Tshi- and Ewe-speaking people and in Liberia, Cameroons, etc. The Bush Negro

612 /8 cont./
[672] culprit is condemned to find the requital in his offspring. His
[567] children, children's children, and great-grandchildren must render slave services for the family of the person poisoned.

692 Moreover, they usually act in accordance with the judgment and the decision of their elders or council members. Most punish-
681 ments consist of whip lashes.

Chapter IV

Weapons

411 These consist of rifles, machetes, bow and arrow, and lances.
278 In some cases they also use a kind of cudgel (1). The most dangerous
682

1. An Indian weapon called apoeiro.

one that they possess, however, is an assortment of vegetable poisons with which they can secretly strike their enemies and whose effects manifest themselves slowly, but are usually lethal. They not only mix these with one food or another, or in snuff or tobacco, but in the case of some can merely bring them in contact with a part of the body and thereby produce to the most infectious results.

/9/

Chapter V

Dwellings, Practices, Customs, Housekeeping

342 Their huts are constructed low above the ground from un-
828 worked round wood, covered with pina, the leaves of a palm species (1), and surrounded by palisade pales.

1. Euterpe oleracea Mart.

352 The couches and sleeping places within are also made of paling.

354 Inside the hut is found the hearth or place for the fire, on
372 which they cook and in which they constantly maintain a fire for

354 /9 cont./
[372] they do not like to be without it; at least they do not like to
[353] sleep without a fire. Their weapons hang above their sleeping
[513] place, which is a hammock, in which man and wife sometimes lie together. Rarely do more than one man and one woman with their
342 small children live in a single hut.

Their articles of clothing, as well as other small belongings,
296 are kept in pagalen, a kind of plaited basketwork, while they keep
251 water, strong drinks, sugar juice, rice, salt, and so forth in
415 calabashes and godos (2).
124

2. Both hollowed-out fruit rinds of the Crescentia cagete L. and the Cucurbita lagenaria L., plants from the family of the Cucurbitaceae.

415 Some of them have cedarwood clothes-chests, which must be specially mounted with a great deal of copper; one also sometimes finds liqueur cellars with gilded bottles.

353 For the rest everything is left out in the open in the hut.

Often many men come together in one hut for their meals
264 and eat out of one large bowl or calabash. The women withdraw after having placed on very low tables several calabashes or bowls of food for their husbands in the circle in which they are seated, never forgetting to add a large calabash with clean water for washing the hands before and after the meal. The women gather in another hut in order to consume what they kept out for themselves beforehand and what has been left by their husbands.

[888] If an aged person or a highly placed person is in their midst,
[554] he is offered the calabash of food first, so that he may take from it what he wants and eat it by himself from an ordinary plate, although seated in the circle, /10/ while the others partake of their meal from the large bowl. In general they talk with one another during the meal, the highly placed person also taking part in the conversation.

/24 cont./

Chapter XVI

Manner of Traveling, and so forth

484 Their manner of traveling is very simple. Usually wife and children accompany them; very rarely do they go alone. They never take along more food provisions than they consider to be strictly necessary, in order not to have any burden of great baggage, for which their small, narrow vessels made out of a tree trunk are in any case little suited.

484 As primitive people they are able to withstand deprivations
411 very well, but nonetheless they always take care to be armed when they go traveling. These hunting and war weapons consist of guns, powder, lead, bow and arrows, as well as a machete and an ax.

484 Frequently they can continue on these journeys in a small,
505 narrow corjaal (canoe) for weeks on end; there is, of course, a
[501] great lack of comforts, but they are contented so long as they merely have a little place in the corjaal where they can maintain
[372] a flaming fire, which serves for the preparation of foods and because the Negro generally finds in it a, for him, pleasant sociability. Their journeys are not of great significance; they never extend across the sea, which is the case among the various Indian tribes.

/25/

Chapter XVII

Manner of Waging War, Ceremonies in connection with Concluding Peace and Alliance

721 War is rarely waged by or among them, but when it does take place, their conflict bears the character of a thirst for revenge, treachery, and hatred.

728 At the conclusion of peace, the subject party pledges itself to satisfy the demands of the victors, provided these are mutually
[273] judged as fair. As part of the ceremonies observed on this occasion there is also a large consumption of dram.

/15 cont./

585 white cotton sleeping blanket, various colored cloths and pantjes,
[583] some earthenware, such as bowls and plates, iron pots and pans, and the like, while he is obligated on the occasion to provide for an ample supply of strong drink and sugar wine.

They do not have festivities, games, or dancing in connection with their marriages.

586 If a marriage is dissolved, then each of the two parties again goes to his own family; in case those concerned in it and the elders disapprove of this, however, it happens that man and wife are forced to continue to live with each other, especially when there are no substantial reasons and grievances.

593 The man is obligated to provide his wife or his wives with food, clothing, and ornaments; she, to follow the man everywhere, to cook for him, to wash, and to take care of the housekeeping.

264 The wives are neat in an exemplary fashion; plates, bowls,
252 and pans are always kept extremely clean, and they also see to it that everything is extremely clean in connection with cooking.

841 If they find themselves in a period of menstruation, they
302 indicate this immediately to the husband by withdrawing from his dwelling and staying in seclusion with other women; they neither cook nor do the least thing for him in this state, do not even come within sight of him, and remain secluded to the end; when they have cleaned and dressed themselves, they decorate their shoulders and arms with white stripes as a token /16/ that they have again
[384] returned to their normal state. The stripes are made by mixing
[824] pounded adroe (1) with ground chalk and water.

1. A tuberous root-stalk from the Cyperus rotundus L.

Sometimes they also smear the forehead and the neck in this way and appear thus before their husbands.

841 During their seclusion another woman, who is a member of
571 the family or possibly a female friend, daily prepares and brings the
252 food, which, however, is at the expense of the secluded wife. They perform this service for each other mutually.

THE PROVISION GROUND

We watched Sedefo and his pole-man adjust their ceremonial top cloths, and, paddles in hand, start up the path, as we joined Kasanya and the other men who were examining the boats. Kasanya, an excellent woodworker himself, ran his hands over the sides of the dugouts much as though he were touching things which held life inside them. 396 [292]

"There is much work making a boat. One the size of this needs cunning. It isn't anybody can do it. First the bark is cut away. Then you outline a space here on top, and with your machete you cut away inside. When you have done this, it is only the beginning."

He led us to just such a log, and then to another on which burning had been done. "You can only burn very little at a time, and you must fire carefully, carefully. You make a small fire and char the wood—you make a fire, and quench it, make a fire and quench it. So it is done. Then you take wet leaves and put them into the boat, and on the leaves you place live coals so that the steam can soften the grain of the wood. When the wood is softened, it can be forced into shape. Sticks are wedged in to make the opening hold. Slowly the log begins to have the lines of a boat."

But all this we were made to see called for the most exacting patience as well as skill, for any misjudged pressure might split the wood.

"Many moons come up and die before a log is fashioned into a boat, and even then, there is still the carving to be done on stern and prow; the crosspieces to be put in, the sides built up. It is not a thing a child undertakes, Bak'a."

Now Bayo, who had listened attentively to Kasanya's explanation of how boats were made, found a pretext to bring us back to the water, and soon he took up the talk of boats.

"Boats are like people. See, this we call a head. At the other end are the buttocks. Here are the ribs, here inside the belly. The crosspieces are the knees. Feet? Ma' Neng'e! What would a boat want with feet?" 501

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

The blacks are proud of their water skill. Upsetting a canoe 484
or drowning a passenger are disgraces that no man can ever 648
live down. But they are rare occurrences. The Indians of this 501
part of the continent, not nearly so skilful, use a different
style of canoe and paddle. Djuka paddles are hewn with a
bush-knife from a solid plank of hard wood, and finished off [322]
with an ordinary pocket-knife. The handle is frequently
pierced with delicate ornamental work, the entire piece beautifully balanced to handle easily. The men's paddles are as
tall as they are, but the women's are shorter and more elaborate. Tiny ones are given children as soon as they are big
enough to hold them, so that the Djuka's water skill is the
result of a lifetime on the river.

All the boats are dugouts; no canvas or bark canoe would 396
last long in these rapids. They are manufactured out of big [501]
trees, which are felled and allowed to season. Then the centres
are hollowed out with fire and adze; nothing is left but the
shell of the trunk, with perpendicular sides and a rounded
bottom. This is filled with water, into which hot rocks are
dropped. The heated water softens the wood, enabling
thwarts to be thrust in, forcing the gunwales apart. The ends
are then symmetrically curved up and are often carved. Seats,
as well as bow and stern piece, are often carefully decorated.
The entire boat has a distinct West African style. When com- 501
pleted it is from eight to forty feet long. Ours has a large [17]
sunshade of thatched grass near the stern, because the white 648
man is too soft to endure the sun's rays. Under the shade we
have a camp-chair, a little comfort for the long trip. The

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[For information on various types of buildings and other physical structures or facilities present in each of the Boni villages, see the village plans on pp. 66, 68, 70, 72, 74, and 76, category 116. Included are data on the occurrence of menstrual huts (munu), kitchens, granaries, and sundry other outbuildings, religious structures (gadu), mortuary sheds, boatbuilding yards, guest houses for visitors, wharfs, fraga tiki (i.e. lineage ancestor cult shrines and objects), and useful trees within the village area which are personally owned.]

/250 cont./

789 396 There exist special ɔbia for the building of boats. The opening of the hull in the fire, a delicate operation, sometimes fails. To insure its success everyone possesses a personal recipe inherited from his father or uncle. It does not call by name and directly upon the action of a god; the Boni do not have a clear idea about the origin or the nature of these rites. It is a matter of a maceration of two or three kinds of leaves, generally belonging to the secondary flora which surrounds the villages, and they vary from one man to another. One pours this maceration over the overturned boat before the burning is begun, while saying: "The boat must not split, it must open well."

832 [673] The laws of Odun forbid the use of charms aimed at forcing the love of a woman one desires; that would infringe on a person's freedom, therefore wisi. It is very /251/ possible however that certain people go to get charms of this kind from Creole magicians. But they take for granted, on the other hand, the ɔbia believed to permit men who have little success with women to have more in the future.

951 789 There does not seem to be any hierarchy of ɔbia nor is one category of ɔbia believed to be stronger by nature than another; in fact, the Refugee Blacks are seen to go readily to ask one divinity for an ɔbia in order to protect themselves from another. Here is an example:

464 [648] In 1951 the administration had a systematic cleaning of the Petit Inini River begun, in order to rid its course of innumerable pieces of fallen wood which were making the use of motors on boats difficult. A team of Boni were employed in this work under the direction of a Creole foreman. While the [776] work was being done, a Papa gadu "came into the head" of an [787] old woman named M... of the Awara Bakka lo. It revealed that it was opposed to this work, for it lived in exactly this 464 place and the noise of the motors bothered it. Upon their return 776 to Boni country, the men charged with this work learned the

/149 cont./

249 pikien keeng, small variety with thin stalks; is not cut with a
[789] cutter but broken off by hand; obia (1) is made from it;

1. obia = spirit medicine.

[262] switi-keeng, the ordinary variety which is most used: the stalks
[263] are eaten fresh (chewed) or the juice is expressed with the wooden
sugar-press (ma) and boiled down to a syrup (ika) which is used
● [407] in coffee or in crushed awarra (2).

2. awarra = prickly palm which supplies edible fruit.

273 For festivals one cuts the stalks in pieces and allows the juice to be extracted from them in water in a short korjaal (komata). This water is later heated in a pot and fermented into an alcoholic beverage (djojo).

245 Pineapple (nanási).

This is regularly grown, the shoots standing scattered on the grounds; after one year the plants produce fruit. Two varieties are distinguished:

bigi nanasi, a white variety;

indji nanasi, likewise a white variety, but sweeter.

[262] The fruit is eaten fresh. Together with sugar cane and bananas, pineapples continue to grow for a long time on the old grounds.

Papaya (papái).

Few papayas stand on the grounds, but many along the edges of the villages, where they grow into long tall trees.

[262] A long red variety is called bobi papai; a short yellow variety,
[252] papai. The fruit is eaten fresh, sometimes also boiled green.

/150/ Tobacco (tabáka).

249 Tobacco is cultivated on a modest scale in various places. The leaves are ripe for picking after 4-5 months (April to May); the man-high plant blooms after seven months with small, pink blossoms.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

502 other bank, and now as we reached the opposite shore, we
484 saw the small opening of a minor channel which we were to take. With astonishing nicety the tip of the juncture of the main stream and this smaller channel was reached at the same instant. Loin cloths were adjusted, and once more the pole-men took up their pole-sticks and continued the slow passage against the current.

484 The boats were now again traveling close to the bank, so that the details of the forest which fringed the river could be clearly seen. Straight from the water rose the
[133] wall of sheer green, all of a dark, almost dull purplish color—a wall of fifty, a hundred, a hundred and fifty feet and more, as the lianas dropped down from the upper branches of the great trees which gave these parasitic growths their support. Here and there we saw a brilliant wing of a bird, and a Bush Negro, ever ready to augment
[411] his meager food supply, would unlimber an ancient shotgun, steady himself, and shoot. In Sedefo's canoe, Angita, his pole-man, saw a blue and golden macaw silhouetted as it sat on a slender branch. Out came the shotgun. The macaw, startled but unhit, flew to another branch farther upstream. We crept slowly, noiselessly ahead, and when we were close by Angita shot again, and missed again. The macaw now did not trouble to fly away, and when Angita made aim once more, Sedefo stopped him.

[825] "No, mati—Let him be, friend. The gods are protecting him. Put away your gun."

Again we cut across, as we regained the wide channel, this time so that the men might speak their errand to the spirit of their great ancestor, the god of the large creek. We did not go too close, however, and all we could see was an azang again, the spiritual guard of palm fronds, and beyond the whitened trunk of a tree and a slender stick with a bit of white cotton attached to its end.

Sedefo spoke conversationally. "*Avo*—ancestor—we are
[782] going up the river. We are working for the American Bak'a. We are on our way to the G'ama's country. Grant

A NIGHT AT S'EI

As we made a tour of the village, we discussed all this 778
with the chief and his bassia, and with the other men who 776
accompanied us. When we reached the open place sacred to the great gods, we stopped. The shrine was a fenced-in space, perhaps eight or nine feet long and almost as wide. Inside was a slender pole, with a head carved on its top, and a cotton tunic about its middle, and this was the wife of the Great God, the chief said. The ladder with the platform on it, on which stood a bottle, was the shrine of the great Sky God. At the base of the image with the tunic were several bottles, some white clay, and a few empty glasses, and everywhere were sticks with cloth on them, many with the cloth in tatters. Where the cotton had altogether rotted away, the stick alone remained.

"Let us go in," said the chief to the men.

With the chief came a young man whose hair was braided, 791
and who wore several obias on neck and arms. He was [302]
training to become an obia man. The bassia signaled us to follow, but the others remained outside.

The young man took up a bottle and poured some of its 782
contents into an earthen jar, and from the jar he poured out a libation to the Earth Mother. The captain prayed, explaining that we were white people on our way to the Granman, that he was leaving in the morning to notify the Granman of our approach. Would the gods take him and us in safety, and would they see to it that all we saw should be seen with the eyes of friendship? Then he prayed for a child in the village who was ill, and for his people, and for the clan of the Granman, the Matchau lo, and for his own family. After each prayer he paused, and those outside the paling clapped their hands and sang out, "Great thanks."

Before the chief's prayer was finished, an old man came [411]
by with a bush knife in his belt, and his gun. He was just then returning from the hunt, and he stopped to thank the great gods for the kill he had made. He spoke in a whisper, but his intonation was as conversational as the chief's had been.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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Bayo and Tross.

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Bow and arrow used for shooting large fish.

[Facing p. 307]

(Facing page 306)

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

barefooted sinuous Javanese in their *sarongs* and *splendangs* of batik. Some stores in the town are kept by Chinese. Hindus in cloth turbans, and their wives with jewelled rings through their noses, rub elbows with juffrows from Amsterdam. Here and there a copper-coloured Carib Indian adds to the strangeness of the street scene.

The Javanese are brought over in boat-loads, indentured for five years to pay their passage. After this they may return to the tea fields of Java if they like, or remain in Surinam to cultivate a piece of land which is given them. East Indians were formerly brought over in large numbers from India, but the British put a stop to this importation in both British and Dutch Guiana. The Chinese bring themselves. The only race in the colony never transported is the Indian, indigenous to the country. All these races keep the dress and, where possible, the habits of their native land. They do not mingle with each other, and seldom intermarry. The one language common to all is talkee-talkee.

There is one civic privilege accorded the Bush Negro in Paramaribo. He may camp for the night behind the store that he trades with during the day. The Bush Negroes always stop at the hardware store, run by the Moravian Brothers, to buy some bottle-shaped flasks of good *mansanny* (gunpowder). Along with the powder they purchase empty shotgun shells, that they themselves will fill. A number of other purchases are made: shot, percussion caps, tobacco, salt, cloth, an iron implement, and perhaps a mirror. When night falls, the Djukas return to the hardware store and camp behind it,

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

437 sleeping in their own hammocks slung under a shed provided for the purpose by the company. The next day they make their way back up the river, in the corial which they brought down with them tied behind the raft. They bring back no money; it is useless.

262 Cassava is very filling; yams are sweet; mareepa oil gives a sense of well-being; peanuts are pleasant while palavering; a few pieces of bahkra candy are toothsome to eat, but still the pot lacks meat. A slice of the white breast of a bush turkey, the *powesa*, or a piece of the carcass of a red howler, or a slice of fat meat from the tapir or bush cow, or the second joint of *mom*, the bush hen, or the sweet Djuka substitute for ham, *pingo*, the peccary—these are morsels that black men dream about.

226 After resting a few days, one of the blacks wishes to try
789 out his new gunpowder, and makes preparation for a hunt. The bahkra powder is too strong for the thin walls of his
[41] cheap shotgun. He dilutes it with charcoal, adding a bit of pemba dotee, the sacred white clay, to help the shot find the game. A bit of dried nekku leaf from the medicine man adds to the straightness of the aim. The gun likewise must be sprinkled with high wine, squirted from the mouth. All

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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ticular animal. The red terrier will not hunt anything else. It stands now ferociously over the body of the dead parrot, its tongue hanging out, panting.

Bows and arrows are as common as shotguns, and preferred by many of the black huntsmen because they make no noise, need no munitions. The bow is fashioned from one of the South American hardwoods, letterwood or purpleheart. The shaft is tremendously resilient, and strung with *singrassi* it takes a stout arm indeed to bend it. Singrassi is a species of grass which is hand-spun into tough cord, by rolling it on the flesh of the thigh. When unfeared, the carved bow is nearly six feet long.

The arrows are made from hollow reeds, and are extremely light and well balanced. Into one end of the reed a foot-long hardwood point is set, wrapped with singrassi and gummed. At the other end, the ferrule is similarly set in, the joint again being wrapped around to prevent splitting. Some arrows have metal points filed from old bush-knives. A five-foot arrow like this can be used as a little javelin for spearing small game. The Bush Negroes also use blunt arrows to stun birds.

A naked savage stalking through the bush, armed only with a bow and arrow, furnishes a sight of the primitive that is fast disappearing from this commonplace world. The Djuka calls some of his game, principally the agouti, by imitating their cries on a little whistle, made out of baked clay or a hollow shell. The imitation is so accurate, in the case of smaller game, as to fool even the jaguar that feeds on

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

The next day the hunters rouse early and breakfast in the freshness of the warm morning. Two of the Djukas refuse absolutely to accompany the bahkra any further. The white man, they say, goes through the jungle like a thunderstorm and brings bad luck. The prospects of getting any game with him around are exceedingly small. They get out their hunting amulets, and rub on their gun-barrels a concoction prepared by the medicine man. Daniels laughs at this, but they refuse to be teased.

"You'll see!" they assert doggedly, certain of their magic.

The party splits up to go in three directions. Two bearers remain with us, one posted out ahead as a tracker, and Daniels, who brings up the rear as gun-bearer. The other two Negroes go in different directions and are immediately out of sight. We continue ahead, cutting the way through the bush—there are no trails. For two hours we tramp along without sighting game, realizing that *more things see us than ever we see*. The jungle is not teeming with game, as popularly believed. There is an occasional herd of bush hogs, but in general it is necessary to hunt long and hard to bag any amount of meat. It is doubtful if a man could subsist on the food his gun brings in, not because the game is lacking but because of the difficulty of seeing it.

The Djukas also hunt in other ways. One device is "still hunting"—sitting motionless in a tree beside a game trail, waiting for some animal to come along underneath. The Indians' *curare* and the blow-gun which shoots the poisoned dart are not employed by the Negroes. The only co-operative

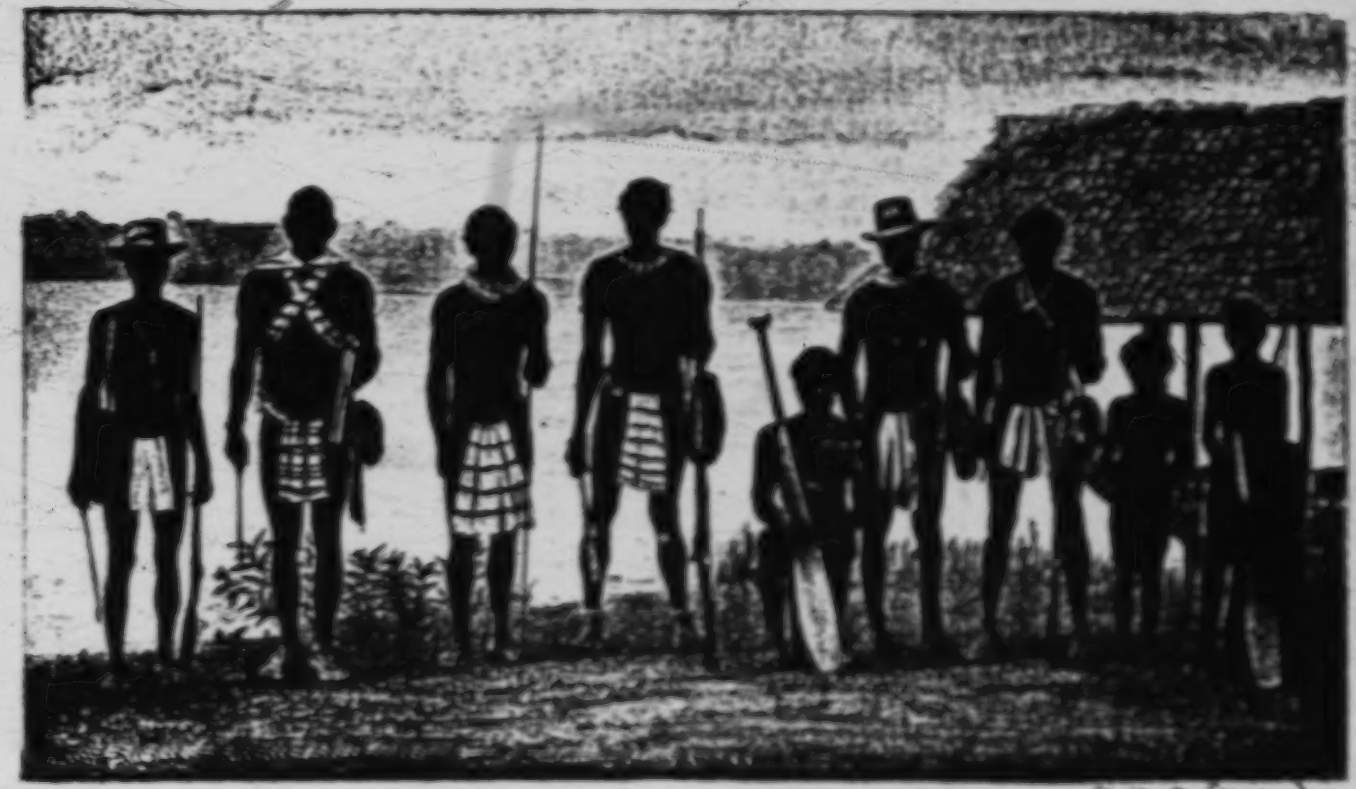
2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

226 The most primitive way of fishing, among the Bush Negroes, is with the bow and arrow. It takes a steady arm and
[227 eye. The fish arrow has a barbed point, which, besides being
418] glued on the shaft with gum, is tied to the centre of the shaft by a string of singrassi. When the fisher sights along the shaft and lets fly, skilfully impaling a fish just under the surface of the water, the point of the arrow may break off, but the string retains the shaft. It threshes around in the water behind the wounded fish, marking its location.

226 The Djukas are clever folk. One species of fish, the *cumaru*,
225 feeds on the seed of a certain tree, the *walaba*, that grows by the river bank. When the seed-pod of this tree is ripe, it explodes with a loud *pop!* For the fish this sound is associated with the falling of the seed into the water. They swim toward the sound to find and eat the seed. To attract these fish the Djukas imitate with a slap of the hands the noise of the cracking pod. The cumaru draw toward the spot, where the fisher is waiting with poised arrow. The result is more fish for the evening pot.

226 The women have a way of fishing in which they knock
[227] the bottom from a bottle and put crumbs of cassava into it, up near the neck. The trap is placed beside the bank, in shallow water where it can be watched. Minnows enter the submerged bottle after the crumbs, and the waiting women snatch out the bottle before the fish can escape. These minnows belong to the Rosy Barb species, highly prized by collectors of tropical fish.

[227] Other traps are carefully constructed of bamboo slats and



Bush Negroes in the Colony of Surinam

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[672] culprit is condemned to find the requital in his offspring. His
[567] children, children's children, and great-grandchildren must render slave services for the family of the person poisoned.

692 Moreover, they usually act in accordance with the judgment and the decision of their elders or council members. Most punish-
681 ments consist of whip lashes.

Chapter IV

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1. An Indian weapon called apoetoe.

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1. Euterpe oleracea Mart.

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Chapter XVI

Manner of Traveling, and so forth

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Chapter XVII

Manner of Waging War, Ceremonies in connection with Concluding Peace and Alliance

721 War is rarely waged by or among them, but when it does take place, their conflict bears the character of a thirst for revenge, treachery, and hatred.

728 At the conclusion of peace, the subject party pledges itself to satisfy the demands of the victors, provided these are mutually
[273] judged as fair. As part of the ceremonies observed on this occasion there is also a large consumption of dram.

6:Hurault--107a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SRB Bush Negroes SRB
Boni

/facing p. 76/

142
291
302
342
353
231
411
417
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Fig. 15. House type of the Refugee Blacks; Loabi village (Djuka of the Upper Tapanahoni).

6:Hurault--265a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SRS Bush Negroes SRS
Boni

764
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292
411
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Fig. 25. The coffin is placed on board a canoe.

765 /183 cont./
22C
251
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613

	for Boniville	for Asizi-Dju
Fintiman Kuémenti Doni Alibi	sons and grandsons of Béniti (Dju)	3 men over 20 years old
4 young men of the Kotika lineage		4 to 5 adolescents
1 —	Dip. I —	
2 —	Lapé —	
1 —	Papaïston —	
2 —	Poti —	

They furnished a total of two weeks of work but each one collected for himself about 15 kilograms of dry fish.

765 [531] [41]

The buchiman, riding in five large canoes decorated with multicolored oriflammes, approach the Boniville wharf where all the young people of the village are massed, the men armed with their guns, the women brandishing banners made of brand-new camisas. The hurrahs resound, punctuated by hundreds of shots. In an atmosphere of enthusiasm the buchiman make their entrance into the village and go to report on their mission to the council assembled under the mortuary shed. According to custom, this council is improvised at the last moment by the elders who are there, without attention to origin, and does not involve any definite authority.

Four baskets of dried fish are put down at the edge of the shed, for the mourning-lifting festival, then each one goes to get and arrange in his house a big personal basketful.

The fish intended for the festival are distributed among the women charged with preparing them.

About 2:00 P.M. the elders are assembled in the western part of the shed; in the eastern part, the near relatives of the dead for whom mourning will be lifted lament.

Several apinti drums are brought and placed laterally.

/250 cont./

751 Next in the preoccupations of the Refugee Blacks come the ɔbia called tapu, that is to say, protection. There exist numerous kinds adapted to the various dangers of a supernatural order (protection against other divinities, against the maleficent entities of the bush, against the wisimã).

[776] [754] The Ampuku are generally asked for tapu against the wisimã. We saw a remarkable one in front of the house of F... (Dju). Its owner was not a little proud of it and he talked about it to us freely.

751 The ɔbia, placed at ground level in front of the door,
778 was composed of a crude representation in clay of a head in
[532] which appeared two wide-open eyes: in front of it were planted in the ground three plant clusters including a planting of groundnuts and one of maize; the whole was topped by a small basket containing an egg. It was necessary to water the ɔbia with a certain infusion of leaves at regular intervals to restore its force.

751 This ɔbia insured infallible protection against wisimã; in fact,
754 none of them would have been able to cross the threshold without stubbing his toe on the door frame in spite of all his precautions; F... stated that his ɔbia constituted by this fact an effective means of detection of wisimã, for it was enough for him to invite suspects to enter his hut, to know what to think; the wisimã refused, for fear of thus being given away in the eyes of all; one could thus at least pin down suspicions.

751 Other ɔbia are called sama mɔfu tetɛy (ɔbia against
[411] "people's mouths," that is, people's jealousy). They are nearly always seen on fine guns; they have a cord to hold them made of mɔriti palm fibers, to which two cowries are fastened.

755 The ɔbia intended to treat diseases generally have for support a calabash containing the infusion of leaves and a ball of pɛmba (kaolin). The person concerned sprinkles himself several times a day with this liquid.

/254 cont./

784 756 751 If someone realizes that he has broken his kina, he goes to see, not an ɔbiaman, but the specialist-healer of leprosy and asks him to treat him by way of prevention.

411 832 [177] [558] Beliefs about guns and hunting. The gun, which entered the everyday life of the Refugee Blacks two centuries ago, has taken an important place in their magic. It is the symbol of virility. A Refugee Black who no longer has a gun is a man humiliated and almost dishonored. As one of them explained to us in begging us to help him replace his old gun eaten by rust: "If you cannot present yourself before the women with a machete, hunting bag on your shoulder, and gun in your hand, you are not a man."

411 754 This idea has been transposed onto the plane of magic and they take for granted that the wisimã can, by putting evil spells on a gun, attack the owner of the weapon in his virility. It is supposed to be enough for someone to put his finger into the barrel of the gun while uttering a formula of vengeance, or even being moved by hate for the owner of the weapon, for this gun to be no longer capable of hitting the mark. So, to avoid these misfortunes, the Boni never part with their guns and never lend them to anyone. If, in spite of these precautions, they have the impression that a gun no longer fires so well, they will go to an ɔbiaman to have it washed of maleficent influence. There exist for that purpose several remedies all of which consist of soaking the gun for one to three days in infusions of leaves, which has the unfailing result of making it rust. We have seen a hammerless, latest model gun spoiled thus by an intelligent Boni head boatman, a clever mechanic and usually full of good sense.

411 789

224 We have never witnessed among the Boni any individual or collective hunting rites claiming to attract game or to promote meeting it (when, on the contrary, hunting piayes are extremely widespread among the Creoles).

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 195
SR8 Bsh Negroes SR8
Sarmacca

might catch fire were a wind to come up whn the under- 311
brush is burned. If he spies a slender bent lian from which 241
the Kromanti "Congo-bush" sticks are mad, then he has 476
to be sure to cut it down with the proper ivocation, so that the spirit inside the liana will not bed him to its own shape.

Kasanya continued his explanation. "Wen a field is 241
found, it is the man who clears it." A ma calls on his 476
relatives or friends to help him. The men cme with their [462]
machetes, and they cut away at bushes an shrubs, they cut away the lianas which are twined abouthe trees, and then the trees themselves. Then they goaway, leaving what they have cut to dry. "To take all tis away would be too hard, and, besides, fire does the wrk better, and fertilizes the ground as well."

So, when the wood is dry, they come wh fire, and let the fire finish the work. Then the ashes ar allowed to lie for a time, for, though this clearing is dondurin the dry season, occasional showers can be relied upn to work the ash into the ground. Then, too, the timefor planting is not yet.

"Many things we plant a little before thold year meets the new," the old woman said.

"When it is time to break the ground,'Kasanya went 462
on, "the man and the woman work togethe It is then that 241
the woman begins her work in this field. Vhat was done before had to do with cutting timber, ad our proverb says: Woodworking is not a woman's affir."

The man alone clears the ground, but the oman helps him break the earth.

"Breaking the ground is not easy," the old woman again interrupted. The matted roots have to be dug up with an iron hoe, for the Bush Negro works as his ancestors did [412] hundreds of years ago in Africa. He has no plough, no beast of burden to help him in the fields.

When all this is done, then it is time to see to the conse- 241
cration of the earth to its fertile uses. Rituals vary with each clan, and often from village to village of the same clan.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

which went on, so that she might recount it to her father. 644
The women of the village walked "softly" with this older daughter. "Daughter of the G'aman," they called her when they addressed her, and her mildly spoken, persuasive suggestions were never ignored.

Wilhelmina, however, busied herself at her work, and if anything were asked of her, she would look up with an expression of bewilderment. Differing from other women of the village, who had come to live there after marriage and knew the speech of the less aristocratic down-river settlements, Wilhelmina had never been any distance from Asindopo Lantiwe. The other women were, therefore, constantly interpreting the questions which were being put to her.

She was dark of skin, as dark as her sister, but her face [142]
had a flush of red in it, as though she had brushed it with
the sacred red kuswe. A little above her wrists gleamed wide [301]
bands of tin. These were bracelets her husband had made
for her, and they were much prized. The brass coils which
she once wore had been filed through and removed, for [843]
when the ankles of a woman who bore children swelled,
it became necessary to be rid of these ornaments.

In a small mortar, decorated with carvings, she was [252]
pounding maripa nuts. The ends of the pestle were bordered [415]
with finely cut cross hatchings.

"Ai, we use much palm oil here," she said.

Her mother was paring cassava. At her feet were several 644
baskets and pieces of bark, shaped like miniature canoes, 252
into which she threw the peeled cassava. Near these con- [285]
tainers lay a sifter, woven of palm fiber, and a grater,
made of a thin board perhaps sixteen inches long and half
as wide, into which long slender nails had been hammered
and their points filed to a needle-like sharpness. When
the tubers were peeled, Wilhelmina began the grating, first
squatting down, then dropping to her knees, better to work.
The grated cassava was then packed into the matapi, the
cassava press which had before leaned against the house.
This matapi was of a basket-like weave, golden in color

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

765 And Fenekonde said, "Mourning is hard. The widow must not go to the river alone to wash. Other women must take her there. Her husband's spirit might seize her. Her [805] hair must be cut. If not, he will get her by the hair. Her clothes must be ugly. She must keep herself unclean, so that his ghost will not long for her when he sees her."

But mourning was difficult not only for a woman. A man's mourning period was no less burdensome, they added. He too wore old clothes. When he went to wash, his wife's brother took him to the river. If he had another wife, he did not go into the hammock with her, for the dead woman would be envious and would kill him.

765 There were times, however, when women did not go into 893 mourning for their husbands. If a woman carried a child in her womb, then she did not put on mourning clothes at all. She did not weep, she was not allowed to show any grief. That same night the dead man's oldest living brother would come with her in the hammock. If there were no brother, another man would come, for some man had to come.

"He must come. It cannot be otherwise. She cannot go to her hammock alone. So it is every night when a woman carries a child in her womb. A man must be with her, for the sake of the child."

3

243 In the clearing the widow stood stamping rice. About 644 her the rice hulls flew and made a half circle of gold at her dark feet. Her mortar, which was made of a hollowed-out [815] log, like a drum, was large and reached almost to her hips. On the ground was a large tray which she used for winnowing the rice. With slow, regular beats she lifted and dropped [812] the pestle, and as her body swung with its slow motion the [859] head of the sleeping child on her back rolled this way and that.

768 Her two small boys had gone to live in her mother's 244 village, but this girl child remained with her. She was born

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

WOMEN AT WORK

"Before she begs the gods, she is seated on a mat, or on cloths. Over her head a white cloth is thrown. The woman who is there to look after the coming of the child takes a calabash with water. Then she throws the water on the ground where the woman is seated. She begs the great gods, and the ancestors, and the woman's soul, and the woman's gods. 844 78

"When the pains come, she ties a cloth about her belly tight, tight, until it hurts. The woman who helps her gives her some water if she wants it, and she presses down on the belly and makes the cloth tighter and tighter, until the child comes. The cord is cut with a knife." 844

The knife was the same as the kind they used for cicatrizing, and the after-birth was buried behind the house, in a small hole into which food and a piece of the sacred sangrafu wood was thrown. [112]

"The child is washed, and then *pemba*—kaolin—is put on its forehead, and after that the mother and the child bathe every day and then wash in pemba. Sometimes a moon comes and wanes, and another comes, and the mother still puts the white on herself and on her child." [751]

But if the birth proved to be difficult, then the husband was told, and he besought his own ancestors and his own gods to help his woman and child. 845

"If the child doesn't come, then it's a bad spirit. Then they call the obia man."

When a woman had difficulty, everybody was troubled about it. If a woman had been unfaithful to her husband and had not confessed it, it would be that which would be killing the child in her womb, and killing her as well. Sometimes it was *wisi*—black magic—and everybody wondered who had sent it to their village. Sometimes it was a god who was envious. [754]

"If it is a god, then, when the woman is strong again, she goes to a more powerful god and buys from him the next child to come into her womb. The strong god sees to it that the jealous one finds no way to harm the child." 845 718 845

What happened when a child was born dead? [764]

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
123 Bush Negroes 123
Saramacca

787 of the mortar in which she had been pounding maripa nuts
[412] was the Granman's younger wife. The pestle had fallen from her shaking fingers. She gave the intruders no attention, for she, too, was possessed by her god,—by Tonê, god of the river.

"*Ko-ko-ko-ko-ko-ko! Ko-ko-ko-ko-ko-ko!*" The syllables fell from her and, as the white people stood by, her shaking stopped, the sounds did not go on. Then they began again, her body racked, her voice choked. The Tonê people do not speak when they are possessed, it is through sounds such as these that the god of the river makes known his wishes.

Women came running toward us. "Your boat is ready, Bak'a," they said.

787 The whites returned with the bracelets to find that the
431 two women to whom they brought their offerings had come
123 as far as the Granman's quarter of the village. Afi's greeting of "Ondyi!" had died down to a whisper. Disconsolately she followed Amasina, who, in the white cloth which reached almost to her ankles, looked tall and sinuous, and moved as though there were something in the still air to send her body curving to one side and to the other.

As the possessed women and those with them entered the quarter, the elder wife of Yankuso came toward Amasina with a large calabash of rice.

"All those who have the same god come with gifts. Amasina has the strongest god of all. It is a white god," a woman explained.

[800] White was the color for the ancestors, and hers was the god of a great priestess of the family. It was the god Towenu, the great Papa god, the giver of children, the jealous one, who came to her. If he cared for his priestess too well, he allowed her no children. The mention of his name the day before had brought him, and, coming, he vouched for the friendliness of the strangers.

Amasina put her arms about the older woman as she had done to the others who came to her. She sang once more her message:

Li Hendrerita & Hendrerita E-6 (1959-1960) 1934
Old Bush Negroes Old
Surinamese

Carvings the women were eager to have shaved: comb, clothes beater, tray.

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[Facing P. 239]

(Facing page 239)

REBEL DESTINY

Sedefo might greet his sister. It was almost a half-day's travel, going up river, from Asindopo Lantiwa, yet it was not quite noon, and we were passing it. Here was Hei Kununa, its steep slopes already swinging into sight as we rounded a bend of the river and came through the small rapids above the settlement, and still it seemed as though we had but begun our course down toward our base camp and the railhead. And it was still early in the afternoon when we came to Ma'lobbi.

2

At the landing place, women were about. Much of the work of the Bush Negro woman is at the river's edge, and for strangers like ourselves, passing in a dugout, the presence of women working on the bank was the only sign that here was a landing place, and that farther inland lay a village. To the river they came with their carved clothes beaters, like the one we could see in the hand of the woman who greeted us here at Ma'lobbi, fashioned, as we later learned when she sold it to us, in the shape of a male wada head on one end, and a female snake on the other. It was at the edge of the water that a woman scraped cooking pots and calabash dishes with sand, and it was here, if it seemed a good day for fishing, that a woman would go wading in the water to rest a cooking pot on the river bottom, and stand silently until an inquisitive school of small fish swam into it where, with a quick jerk, she would bring it up to take out what fish there were. This, aside from the use of small hooks, was the only kind of fishing a woman could do, for the fishing traps were for the use of men. But the cooking pot brought in many small fish to add flavor to a dish of rice.

As we walked into the village, accompanied by one of our younger paddlers, the bassia greeted us. The head of the village was waiting for us, he told us. Paddlers of small boats on their way downstream had spread the word that our visit with the Grassman was drawing to an end.

THE ARTIST OF MA'LOBBI

As we walked toward the chief's house we looked about us, seeing again the evidence that here at Ma'lobbi there were men who knew how to carve wood, seeing why it was that our paddlers had spoken of it as a place for fine work. 382 531

"Ai, at Ma'lobbi they are good carvers."

Here was a house with its doorposts elaborately carved; there a beautifully worked rice tray, lying where it had been left by the woman who owned it, until she should need it later in the day for winnowing her rice; farther along a great bench stood, with the designs cut through in a fluid progression over top and sides. [342]

The captain was in the lower portion of his two-story house when we entered. Several of the older men, who had been present at our earlier visit and who remembered our gifts of tobacco, came to join us, as the news of our arrival spread through the village. Soon the women were standing about, motioning to the white woman to come with them. 133 604

The house in which the captain received us was larger and more imposing than the others in the village. It was his *gado-once*—his treasure house. Its lower portion, where we sat in conversation with him, was where he worked. Above, where none of his wives might enter, his wealth was stored. Here he kept the pieces he had carved, and from here drew from time to time the presents he gave his wives. Here lay the wealth which his nephews would inherit when he died. But below, in the partially open shelter, was his workshop where he fashioned rough logs into stools and paddles, combs and food stirrers, trays and canoe seats, and all manner of objects which he and his women used in their daily routine. 342 556 [308] [302]

All about the walls hung tools. There were machetes, whose sharp blades showed a reflection of fire from the sun which *danced on the wall. We had never seen so many of* these bush knives on display, nor, for that matter, such an array of tools anywhere on this river. From projecting boards or nails driven into posts hung several compasses, their hinged arms sharp-pointed, so that the craftsman might describe the perfect circles on the wood he carved. 342 353 112 [413]

REBEL DESTINY

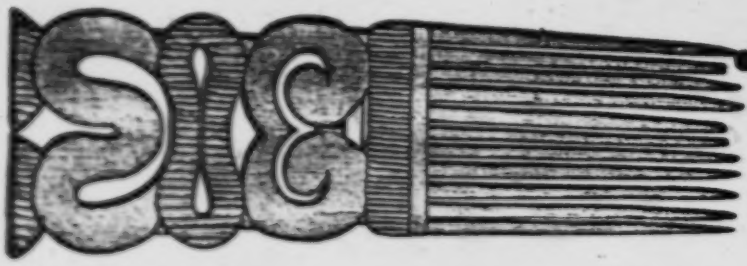
This they had learned from the whites long ago, and now everywhere on the river compasses were seen, or carvings which showed their use. The machete, the small sharp knives which lay about here on the work-table, the compass, and sand made up any Bush Negro carver's tools. But here at Ma'lobbi in this workshop of the captain were tools from the white man's city, collected by himself on his journeys down to the government office to receive his yearly allowance, or by his men who had been to the French shore and learned of the ways of the outside world. There was a plane to make the blade of a paddle smooth as the skin of a child, and there were two others in addition to this one, we were assured, in the treasure house of the upper story. Hammers, too, were useful for making boats, and even for smaller carvings like benches. There was also a bit and auger, though we were never convinced that the captain himself had ever put it to its more prosaic uses.

"I have many more up there," said the captain, pointing to the upper story. "I like them. If a man likes his tools, then they help him in his carvings. As he sees with his eyes, so they cut. I have always liked my tools, white man. I have spent much time with them."

A young man sat to one side shaving down a block of wood with a knife which he held.

"He is not carving," the captain said, following our eyes. "He is making a piece for this," he explained, indicating a plane. "Now is not the time for carving. There is too much to be done. This is the time for cutting wood, for taking the rafts down the river, for making boats, for bleeding rubber trees for the white man, and for hunting game. When the great rains come, then men sit about and carve."

As he spoke our eyes traveled to the various carvings which stood about the workshop. In one corner leaned a paddle which caught our attention because of its darkened color, and the patina which long use had given it, so that it seemed made of ebony. Against another wall were several stools, all richly ornamented with carvings, while beside us,



[442 532] 1

Chapter One

THE BLACK REBELLION

A GUINEA SLAVER, tacking up to Paramaribo. In the hold lay shackled Negroes, their bare bodies glistening with sweat. "Black Ivory" they were called. 448 175

Entrapped savages from the West Coast, transported nearly three thousand miles in slaving ships to the Dutch settlement in South America. Three months at sea, and they looked like leather-covered skeletons, those who were still alive.

Packed in a small space, without enough room to lie down, the slaves were forced to take turns at stretching out on the deck to sleep. The others squatted close together, straddling the ones lying down. The night air being considered pernicious, the portholes were closed when evening came, leaving the blacks to suffocate during the fetid dark hours. Sometimes the bare planks, combined with the rolling motion of the ship, rubbed off skin and flesh, leaving patches of bone exposed. Blood and filth were strewn about in an indescrib-

[P.6 is blank]

1 [For caption, see category 116, p. 204. -- Analyst]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Chapter Four

THE DANCE

SUNDOWN on the Surinam. Women with breasts like dried tobacco leaves stew hunks of red baboon over the Djuka fires. The old dance gods will stir tonight. Mist is drifting up from the river and blowing between the trees. Colours fade out as darkness falls. The atmosphere of the jungle closes in on us with the night.

As night falls a Bush Negro corial appears on the river. It is followed by four others, all loaded with people from another village three miles downstream. The strangers have come to dance for the bahkra. We have promised them candy and high wine. The women tie bands of nuts about their limbs; the dried nuts rattle.

They bring the drums, the soul of the jungle. The big tom-tom, elaborately carved on the outside, is the *apenti*, or signal drum. The smaller *nanda* and the baby *baboula* (an African

[p. 52 is blank]

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Chapter Five

THE GAME TRAIL

ON the rivers we frequently encounter Djukas going 313 downstream to Paramaribo or Albina on lumber rafts. The big logs are fastened together with lianas, twined about stakes driven into holes, and lashed to stout cross-pieces. Three paddlers stand upright on this raft and take it down the river like a canoe.

The lumber is arduously cut, the great trees being felled [314] and chopped square with axes. A tree cut in the jungle will not fall to earth; the surrounding growth holds it upright. Therefore, days are spent in clearing a space of ground where the tree may come down. The vines and lianas must be cut away, and the vast buttressing roots severed. The tree is brought down in this clearing, hewn of its branches, and dragged into the water. Hardwood is too heavy to float, so

[For caption, see category 11, p. 200, Analysis]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

§41 Behind each village, a quarter of a mile to five miles dis-
313 tant, are its provision grounds, which the women work. They consist of tiny patches of half an acre or more, carved out of the heart of the jungle by means of terrific labour. It
[312] takes the men weeks of work with axes and bush-knives to clear the ground. The fallen trees, some of extremely hard wood, are cut up, burnt, or carried away. The brush is cleared with a machete, or bush-knife, which Negroes call a neefee; they swing this blade with amazing force by making the wrist the centre of its arc.

§42 The women, as in most primitive societies, tend to the
294 planting and harvesting of the crops. They are helped by the men of the family on some occasions, such as when the harvest is threatened by voracious parasites. The arduous labour of cultivating the stubborn earth comes so naturally to a Bush Negro woman that she is incredulous when told that elsewhere the males alone till the soil.

136 A leaf-cutting ant, *Ecodoma cephalotes*, that carries small
294 bits of leaves into its nest, preys on the cassava fields. These ants march in two parallel columns, one going to the fields and the other returning, and systematically ruin the crop. The bit of green that each ant is carrying off looks like an umbrella; hence they are called umbrella ants. They live on a fungus which they grow on the cut leaves. Large numbers of them working together can denude an entire cassava field in a comparatively short time.

134 The jungle ground is not excessively fertile, for the in-
294 cessant downpours leach out the humus, and there is not

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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Plate and Spoon of Carved Calabash Gourd, Aucaner Tribe.
Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History

[Facing p. 88]

Chapter Eight

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

THE Bush Negro family is not a family in our sense of the word. In the Surinam jungle the Djuka family is polygamous and matrilineal. The unit of society is the hut, where the mother and her children live.

In order to understand the marriage customs of the Bush Negro tribes it is first necessary to forget for the time being the system of patriarchal family life under which the white men of our age live. One unconsciously takes the customs of one's own society as a norm, and passes moral judgment on exotic customs by their deviation from that norm. This habit of thinking must be avoided as far as possible in considering a primitive society, though it is difficult even for an agile mind to make dispassionately the transition from one culture in which the father is dominant, to another, in which his position is not important. On the other hand, many of our

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2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

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Combs and Pot Stirrers with Chains. Each is Carved from One Piece of Wood. *Saramaccaner Tribe*, Upper Surinam River.

Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History.
Photo by Herbert Haller

[Facing p. 120]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

Chapter Nine

MEDICINE AND MAGIC

NO one in Djuka land dies a natural death. Death is caused by witchcraft. At Santi Gron on the Saramacca River, preparations are being made for a burial. The whole village is excited. The women wailing are the relatives of the dead man. Children are crying because they see others crying. Unseen drums throb dully, making the hot air pulsate. The corpse lies in an open shed with only three walls—a death house (*dede oso*). Two girls of fifteen or sixteen are fanning it steadily to keep the flies away. The man died more than a week ago; all this time the body had been lying on a platform out in the tropical heat to decompose.

It is black magic that kills. Therefore the Bush Negroes make an effort to find out who made the magic that killed this man. An ancient ritual is employed. Three to ten days the corpse is left unburied, and in the humid heat the flesh undergoes a partial liquefaction. The putrescent fluid is gathered in a calabash cup and carried around from door to door.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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301
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A Bush Negro Woman of the Boni Tribe with a Carved Wooden Flail Used Instead of a Wringer, for Cloth. The right hand holds a tin containing an infusion of tobacco leaf and water.

[Facing p. 156]

Z: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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412
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516

Bush Negro Man, "Amehkimmi" (Makes Nice Things), with a Carved and Inlaid Pot Stirrer Which He Has Just Completed for His Wife. *Aucaner Tribe*, Upper Cottica River, Dutch Guiana.

[facing p. 172]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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Carved Wooden Band for Marking Persons.
Kahn Collection, American Museum of Natural History

[Facing p. 176]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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412
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Carved Wooden Comb of the Boni Tribe, French Guiana. The central cross is a symbol of a woman accompanied by four phallic symbols in the form of carved arrows.
Kahn design Collection, American Museum of Natural History

[Facing p. 184]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Common household implements for everyday use had to be /78
made out of different material. Wood was used wherever /82
possible. So in place of iron the Bush Negroes developed an elaborate and beautiful art of carving domestic utensils. Pots are stirred with wooden paddles instead of with iron [9/2
ladles. Enormous wooden trays are used for carrying food. 11]
Combs, stools, beaters, and a dozen other implements all bear evidence of this extraordinary technique of wood carving, and this too is a heritage from their African ancestry.

In tracing the relationship between any two cultures, such /77
as the West African and the Bush Negro, we should always /82
bear in mind the possibility that both developed independently and that similarities between them may be due to the influence of similar environments rather than to actual culture contact. Thus, for example, while the Djuka corial is hollowed out of solid logs in a fashion similar to the West African canoe, which at once suggests borrowing, it is also true that the rapid waters of the Surinam, Marowyne, and Saramacca Rivers make any other kind of board or bark canoe impracticable. The Bush Negroes' dugout canoes may be an independent adaptation to the environment rather than a heritage from Africa.

This difficulty is a common one in anthropological speculation; examples are to be found on all hands. Thus, it has been maintained that the Reindeer Men who lived in France during the Magdalenian Age are related to the present-day Eskimo, because their bone implements and crude drawings bear certain resemblances, although the two races are

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

The wooden combs used by the Bush Negroes are a most direct West African heritage, being found along the Upper Guinea coast, Ashanti, Cameroons, Ivory and Gold Coasts, Dahomey, Muni, and many other regions of Africa. The wooden plates and trays are likewise found among the Ewe-speaking tribes of the West Coast.

The custom of personal decoration by the cicatrization of the skin is very common throughout many parts of Africa. Captain John Stedman remarks on this strange habit in his *Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition to Surinam*: "The Loango Negroes distinguish themselves by puncturing or marking the skin of their sides, arms, and thighs with square, elevated figures something like dice." This custom was widespread on the Slave Coast. The scar designs varied widely according to the different tribes as well as the social position and wealth of the individual. As the Indians of South America do not practise this cicatrization, it is evident that the Bush Negroes brought it over with them from their former home.

The Bush Negro coiffure, the method of arranging the hair in plaited tufts, is found also on the Gold Coast, in Cameroons, and elsewhere in Africa. The Djuka method of weaving is similar to that of the Sudan, Gold Coast, Mandingo, Ashanti, and the Ewe. The spindle used in weaving is called by an African term, *kyekye*, a Tshi word. The woven leg band, the *ayw*, is the same as the leg bands found in Cameroons and the Upper Guinea coast in general.

The method of finding out who is responsible for the

Z:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
[illegible]

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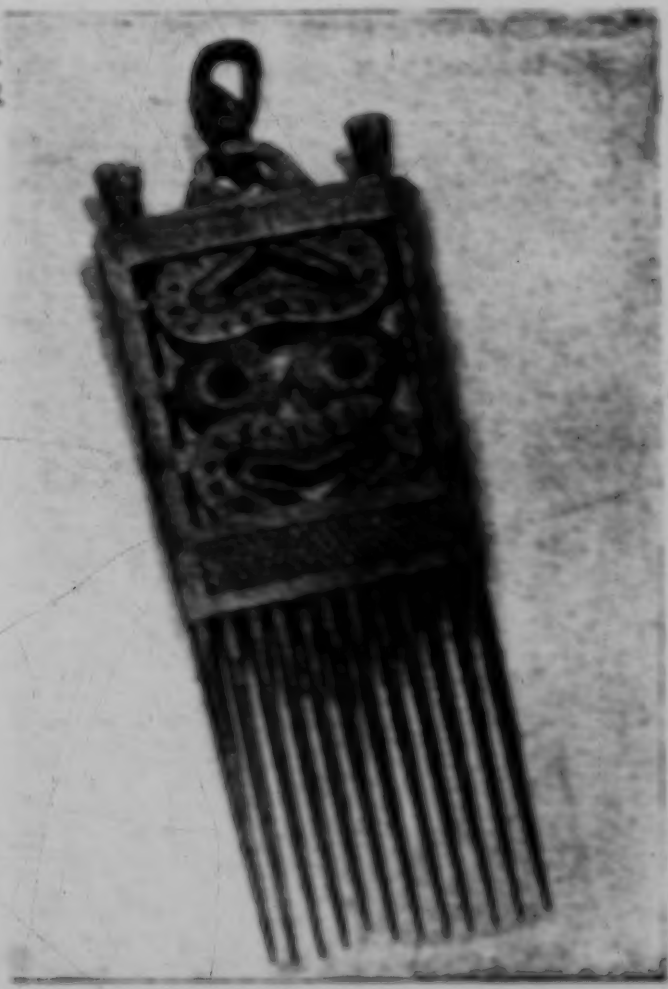
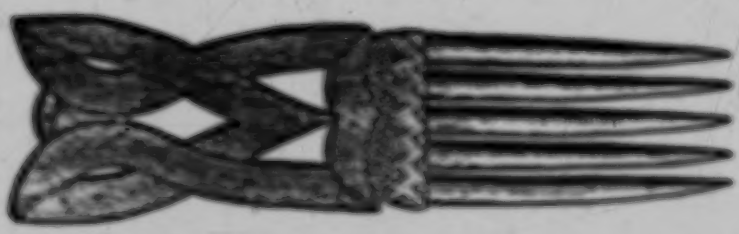


Carved Wooden Comb, Human Face Motif. Boni Tribe.
Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History

[Facing p. 188]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8



Chapter Twelve

PRIMITIVE ART

THE sense of beauty is not absent in the jungle. The Djukas have definite aesthetic feelings and in their wood carving they have a well-developed and conventionalized art form. Art is highly socialized and universally appreciated among them. There are definite artistic conventions and common conventionalized forms. [17]

Among ourselves the production of artistic objects is confined to a small group of especially gifted individuals, whereas among the Bush Negroes it is a regular part in the life of proportionately many more individuals. Common objects of everyday use, which among ourselves are designed for utility alone, are developed by the Bush Negroes into elaborate objects of art. They represent one of the most characteristic features of any Bush Negro village. One is sure to find in every village the carved plates and long-tined combs and pierced decorations that constitute the art of the Bush Negroes.

[17] [For caption, see category 116, p. 210.—Analyst]

Z:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

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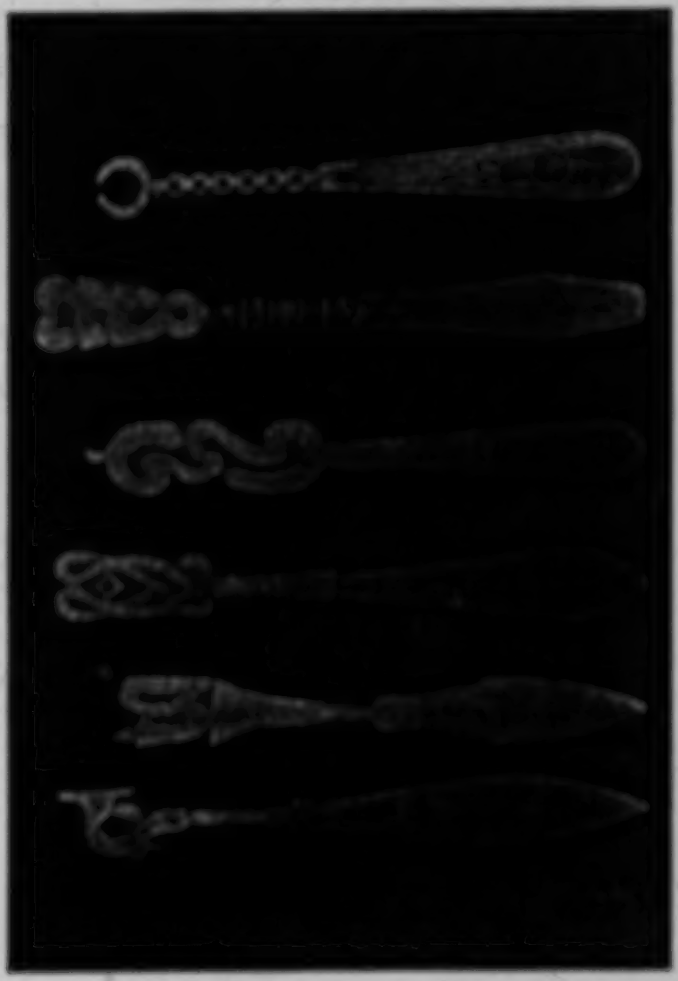
S31



Pin Billets, Saramaccaner Tribe.
Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History

[Facing p.194]

one woman said: "He gave me this piece when we were first married. I won't part with it now." Usually an elaborate parley is necessary. The women are undecided whether to sell or not. They laugh, giggle, put their finger coyly in their mouths, joke bashfully with bystanders, and cannot make up their minds as to the price. They never know how much to ask for a piece. Sometimes they will mention a preposterous figure, hoping like a naïve child that the strange bahkra will pay that much. But on such occasions a rebuke will make them more reasonable. Once an arrogant witch doctor intervened in a transaction with a Bush Negro woman, demanding angrily that she receive an exorbitant payment. His anger was squelched with a few sharp words, and, contrite, he sat up all night to carve an ornate implement to present to the bahkra as a peace-offering. Cunning Adjobo, the medicine man!

The Bush Negro implements are carved out of jungle wood. Some are made of lignum vitæ, the hardest wood known. A few of them are made of soft wood, light and spongy, but these are not popular. The small paddles are used for stirring in the cooking pots, and the combs are actually used for the hair. They are never worn as personal ornaments, and when not in use are hung up on the walls of the hut. The utensils are all made with common trade jackknives and compasses which are used as dividers. It is principally with these dividers that the serpentine motifs are executed. After the carving is finished the piece is smoothed off by rubbing it with matted grass and river

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

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Pot Stirrers and Canoe Paddle Handle.
Saramaccaner Tribe.

[Facing p. 196 (A)]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni
Aucaner
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Clothes Beater and Food Paddle. *Boni Tribe.*

Ceremonial Sword and Pot Stirrer. *Aucaner Tribe.*

[Facing p. 196 (2)]

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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Pot Stirrers. Stylized human figure and snake motifs.
Aucaner Tribe.

[Facing p. 196 (c)]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

sand. A few chisels and carpenter's tools can occasionally 322
be found. Where compasses or dividers cannot be obtained, a nail and piece of string are often used to execute the involved serpentine patterns.

Bush Negro sassi is not used for trading purposes. A 321
few pieces find their way down to the coast, of course, but 322
they are never articles of commerce among the Djukas. In some villages, and particularly among the Paramacca tribe, it is practically impossible to obtain many carvings. But the willingness to part with these objects naturally varies with the village and the individual. Being known to the natives greatly facilitates trade.

One outstanding feature of this work is the complete 322
absence of colour. The finished piece shows the natural hue 332
of the wood, and rarely anything more. An occasional variation is obtained by inlaying with racuda wood, brownheart, or purpleheart, but tints and dyes are seldom applied. A different shade is also obtained once in a while by branding or burning the wood with a hot iron. The Aucaners, who paint red and black devices on their large canoe paddles, represent exceptions to the general rule of showing only the natural wood shades.

Nearly all the pieces are utilitarian in origin and purpose, 412
but some of them are so highly carved as to be of little [431
practical use. These are much prized as gift pieces. The 415]
trays are actually used to carry food on, and also for winnowing rice. The stirring paddles dip into the food pot every evening. After being used they are washed with river water and [264]
hung up on a peg.

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner
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SR

Pot Stirrer and Hair Combs. The comb in the centre is three feet long. *Aucaner Tribe.*

[Facing p. 197]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

412 hung up on a peg. The canoe paddles are actually employed
[801] every day on the river, and the flails beat the day's wash of soiled togas and copus.

352 Since it is taboo to sit on the ground, a large number of
[759] stools are made, pierced and decorated, with now and then a tiny cabinet inside them. Wooden locks that actually work
[414] are seen on the doors, especially in Aucaner villages, guarding the treasures inside. These are West African survivals; the same type of device can be found in several parts of the Old Continent. They are huge affairs often two feet in length. Door sills and door posts, bows and sterns of canoes,
532 canoe seats and calabash gourds (occasionally decorated by a woman) are all embellished with ornamentation of great intricacy. It is amazing that these designs could be wrought without preliminary designing, which would seem to be necessary, but so far as we were able to observe there is no conscious planning before the carving begins.

The symbolism employed in these pieces of sanni is limited to a few conventionalized motifs. Moreover, there is a variation in the symbolism peculiar to the individual artist, which is not comprehensible solely from an examination of the piece itself. Unless one can locate the original carver, it is impossible, for the most part, to be certain what the symbols mean. The same motif will be differently interpreted by different natives, and often has no objective meaning. It is therefore impossible to undertake an elaborate interpretation of Djuka symbolism.

There are a few outstanding designs found on a large

Z: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Pot Stirrer and Hair Comb.
Sibemaccaner Tribe.

Pot Stirrer.
Aucaner Tribe.

[Facing p. 198]

532 likewise roughly done. The reason for this seems to derive
778 from the general nature of primitive religion as it occurs among the Bush Negroes. Two explanations of this were given by native informants. If the god is a good god, and well disposed toward the black man, he doesn't care whether his fetishes are well executed or not. If he is a bad god he is going to continue to be bad, regardless of whether much time is spent on his fetishes or not. Another Bush Negro, questioned about this, said: "Me no sabby de Gadu luku"—"I don't know what God looks like." The primitive aesthetic feeling, apparently, is bound up with practical ends. There is absolutely no care or pains taken with religious objects, whereas erotic objects are finished with great skill.

222 There seems to be considerable variation between the tribes
189 of Djukas in the character of their art work. The Aucaner
532 wood carvings have, in general, a more refined and delicate cast than the wood carvings of their neighbours, the Saramaccaners and Boni. The differences in treatment of the motifs among the Bush Negro tribes and the general dissimilarities and likenesses of the carvings are best understood by consulting the accompanying illustrations.

412 The combs vary from two and a half inches to twenty-
322 four inches in length, and even these more immense combs see actual service. They are always made of a single piece, including the tines. For the most part they are made of harder woods, with occasional inlays. A number of them are trick pieces, with little ingenious devices that catch and hold the imagination of the primitive. For comparison, a West

2:Kaha D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

African comb, from the region of Nigeria, is shown on page 175. It can be seen that the wooden comb is not a Djuka invention, as every characteristic of the Bush Negro pieces can be found on this West African piece, except the ornamental piercing.

The arts of weaving and basketry are not as highly developed among the Djukas as is the carving of wooden implements. The Bush Negroes do not weave the cotton cloth they wear. It is obtained, instead, by trading at the white settlements. The only weaving among them consists of cotton leg and arm bands—things that do not count for much so far as industry is concerned, but which expand the wearer's ego and add enormously to his or her self-esteem. The basketry of the Djukas, like the weaving, is simple and competent. Unornamented circular baskets, varying in size from a foot to a yard in diameter, can be seen in all the villages. They are used for carrying yams, rice, and foodstuffs generally. The finest basket work does not occur in these baskets, however, but in the cassava squeezers, those elongated tubes for producing cassava flour. These are beautifully woven of uniform rattan, and decorated with darker strips to form a simple pattern near each end. The finished product is an admirable piece of work, of which the owner must indeed be proud.

Pottery is made by the Djukas for utilitarian purposes only, and the solid black, absolutely undecorated clay ware has no particular element of beauty. The pots are black, stolid, and unimaginative. They are simply necessities.

But when the necessities of life have been provided for,

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

9.5 when the necessities of life have been provided for,
417 and leisure is at hand for more beautiful and tender endeavours, the Bush Negro, seated before his evening fire, sharpens his knife and begins marking, with fine, deft lines, the graceful outlines of another paddle or comb to please his woman.

9.5 LIST OF CARVINGS SHOWN AT CHAPTER OPENINGS
350 WITH EXPLANATION OF SYMBOLISM

322 Carved Bench Top, *Saramaccaner Tribe*: Eight Women Dancing
532 Around a Gado Pole (title page)

Carved Bench Top, *Boni Tribe*: Stylization of Male and Female Figures (page 3)

Hair Comb, *Aucaner Tribe* (page 7)

Carved Pierced Bench Top, *Saramaccaner Tribe*: Two Male Figures Each Holding a Snake Aloft (page 27)

Carved Bench Top, *Saramaccaner Tribe*: Two Highly Stylized Human Figures (page 39)

Hair Comb, *Aucaner Tribe*: Male and Female Snakes (page 53)

Carved Bench Top, *Boni Tribe*: Vulva Surrounded by Phallic Symbols (page 63)

[Fig 5] Carved Inner Surface of Calabash Gourd, African Bone Motif, *Saramaccaner Tribe* (page 83)

Carved Bench Top, *Saramaccaner Tribe*: Frog Design Executed with Serpentine Technique (page 91)

Hair Comb, *Aucaner Tribe*: Vulva Motif; the triangles on the cross bar represent snake teeth (page 119)

Hair Comb, *Saramaccaner Tribe*: Male and Female Figures (page 133)

[Fig 6] Carved Outer Surface of Calabash Gourd, *Saramaccaner Tribe* (page 161)

[Fig 7] Comb from Nigeria, West Africa (page 175)

Hair Comb, *Saramaccaner Tribe* (page 193)

/10 cont./

574 The politeness shown toward a guest springs from the idea that unknowingly one of them might easily take the very piece that the important person wished to have, and although no comment would be made on this it could nonetheless happen that this would trouble the guest for whom they cherish special respect, 818 or that he would thereby consider himself insulted. It is particularly to old age that they pay great respect.

Chapter VI

Household and Agricultural Implements

412 [322] [424] [531] The Bush Negroes mainly use adzes in order to hew their corjalen or canoes out of trees partially burned out beforehand; furthermore, they use plane and chisels in order to work their (usually cedarwood) (1) stools and pareis or paddles (2). They are

1. Cedrela odorata L.

2. Hand oar.

especially fond of having these carved with many figures. For them the machete is an indispensable tool that they always carry around and use as a chopping knife, sword, and knife, indeed, even to cut splinters or thorns out of the foot with the tip. They use field axes or hatchets to cut down the bush in order to lay out their small cultivation grounds and to work the wood that they float by rafts and sell.

562 412 [324] [413] The women possess, aside from a machete or knife, also mattocks with which they keep their lands and the place near the dwelling neat; they make brooms from the pina palm raceme or from rice ears bound in sheaves. They like to have scissors, needles, and pins, while for knitting they use a pointed and bent nail.

413 [283] [286] They spin their sewing thread from cotton with a certain tool which they call keké; they also have a round, wooden tool called sepoe, with which they very nicely and sturdily /11/ make

/11 cont./

252 They always prepare their food with much native pepper (5)

5. All Capsicum species.

and in their soup or blaf cook various forest greens (6), which they

6. Kranow, kalalwe from the Amaranthus cimicatus, taja leaves from an Arum species.

then eat with finely pounded bananas (called afowfow) or else with cassava bread or rice dipped into it.

412 They make their spoons from a long strip of the calabash rind.
262 They are great lovers of pinda (7), a kind of groundnut, from

7. Arachis hypogaea L.

which they make various delicacies.

[459] They are particularly fond of bacon and buy it whenever they are in town, salted and smoked; they frequently take barrels of it with them into the bush and are very sparing with it.

/12/ They buy flour or meal only when they have had a bad rice harvest.

273 As drink they use rum or dram, and sometimes they make
[439] from the juice of the sugar cane, which they acquire on plantations, a kind of fermented drink which they use especially at festivals. They prefer gin and beer to wine, of which they are no great lovers. The women are very fond of liqueur.

276 Many men and women smoke American tobacco in short clay pipes. The taking of snuff is a passionate habit among some.

Chapter VIII

Festivals, Games, Gods

796
273 They do not have fixed times for the veneration of their gods, and they do this only then when they are amply supplied with strong drink and want to have a gay time for three or four days.

4. Geiphem--18 G,N-5 (1952) 1954 583 Buth Negroes 583

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Fig. 9. Baking cassava bread on the iron baking plate (the "pan"). -- Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, June 1952.

(192)
(291)
(412)

Fig. 10. Pounding the expressed pieces of cassava (in the pan in the foreground) to flour in a wooden mortar (the "matta") in order to bake bread with it. -- Marowijne, Albina, April 1952.

/78 cont./

wood is too hard to be worked with ordinary instruments or, on the contrary, because it is too soft, too easily attacked by insects, or has a tendency to rot. The more exploitable by native procedures is limited (for the flexible moves /?/ do not allow fine woods) to the slope of the hills bordering the valley of the watercourses accessible to pirogues; beyond, the carriage of felled trunks becomes impracticable.

A very dense epiphytic vegetation connects the trees with their upper parts; it is there that life blossoms out: flowers, birds, insects, and monkeys.

Progress through the forest is very arduous. The undergrowth, shrubs, bushes, bound together by fine and elastic lianas, offers a constant obstacle, the machete /kabe/ must be wielded at each step. The nature of the terrain, a succession of bogs and hills with steep and slippery slopes, makes walking for heavily loaded men exhausting. On the trail one succeeds with difficulty in making more than 15 to 20 kilometers a day; in the uninhabited forest one can scarcely advance five to six kilometers a day by cutting the strict minimum as one does when hunting. The opening of a route permitting the passage of heavily laden men cannot progress more than three kilometers a day on the average.

The great forest offers few real dangers, but it is an environment profoundly hostile to man, which does not present spontaneously any food resource and allows establishment of villages and cultivated areas only at the price of great efforts.

One meets few animals in the interior of the forest, and the resources for hunting are very limited; on the other hand, there are few harmful animals; wild beasts are few and practically do not appear; snakes are much rarer than on the coast and represent only a slight danger. The most real dangers of the forest come from the fall of branches and epiphytes, principally when it is cleared for cultivation; each year there are accidents of this kind in Boni country. Besides, work in the forest is the occasion for many wounds which tend to ulcerate.

/163 cont. /

764 789 given any indication whatever. Besides, how would he have had time to make himself understood by two men walking at top speed, crushed by their heavy load and looking straight ahead?

This upsets all the ideas I had formed about this test. The only hypothesis that remains is that the bearers have been "tipped off" by the man who went to get them (an old man of the council). But is it possible that such a crude fraud could be current practice? The Suni are far from being stupid, they are ever suspicious /166/ and they are too talkative for such deceptions not to be laid bare by their perpetrators themselves.

Under these conditions, how can it operate--this collective suggestion which explains most of the rites of the Refugee Blacks? I can't explain it to myself.

764 769 322 [412] Manufacture of the Coffin. The kisimã are gathered around a pile of boards. They are about 15 in number, commanded by Boofo, head of the kisimã of Assi, and Aténi (Assi-Dupélu II). A pile of boards is at their feet; some work with a small hand saw, others with an adze; the fitting is done with a machete. /Fig. 21 appears here. /

They take measurements with a graver. The bottom board is cut first, then the front and back ends. The outline of the back end, in the shape of a truncated diamond, results from a rather complex construction with the compass which I have not time to report.

764 769 [152] [262] The work is done noisily in an atmosphere of crude farce. The whole time it lasts, the kisimã exert veritable command over the village. The coconut trees of Kumotibo are pillaged for their benefit. The village women prepare the rice for the meal which must, according to custom, be offered to them upon finishing the coffin about noon.

/164 cont. /

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I see the head of the kisimã make ready the fitting of the lower lateral wings. Without nailing it, he places the back end on the bottom plank, giving it the proper inclination. They put

Fig. 21. A Boni coffin.

in place the board which is to serve as a wing. An elastic string smeared with soot is stretched between a_1 and a_2; they pinch it in the middle and in falling back it traces the line a_1a_2 on the wing.

(112) The cutting out of the wing is done with a saw and the fitting with the machete, then with a plane.

About 11 o'clock they begin to nail the wings. According to the rites, several kisimã accompany in cadence the noise of the hammer blows by hitting the coffin with pieces of wood. Why this ceremony? None of the kisimã can explain it. Perhaps it would be considered dangerous for one man to carry out alone one of the operations relating most directly to death.

764 While the kisimã work, Way's friends and relatives do not stop /165/ arriving; their boats jam the wharf. The people wend their way toward the mortuary shed, men on one side, women on the other. It is the women who bring pieces of cloth (including those given by their brothers and husbands); the men carry tafia in bottles.

Upon arriving the women sit down, cover their faces and lament a few minutes, then sit down with the others in front of the mortuary shed. On the other side of the shed the men are seated, immobile on their small benches. An elder busies himself

Then, when we had cast the taint of death in the flowing river, we turned and once more climbed the path to the village.

The muffled sound of a gunshot came to us as we sat in the hut of the headman, speaking of the funeral. "Another child gone," he said, "Soon he will be safe in the earth."

We had not been permitted to go across the river to witness the burial. "It is a dangerous place for those who do not know it," the headman said. "*Ogi*—evil things—are there, bad spirits who harm those who are not prepared, and we do not want evil to come to you. Several years ago there was a Bakra here when we buried another Gankwe man. He asked to go, and we granted him his wish. But the spirits of the bad bush across the river harmed him and he died, and now his ghost plagues us."

A second shot told us that the bearers had reached the grave after their march through the deep bush where living man seldom came. They had sung the *papa zingi*—the dirges—which are intoned as the dead is borne to the grave. Once arrived there and the invocations pronounced, the salute fired, and the gods propitiated, two men would descend into the deep hole there to lift down the coffin and place it in the tunnel-like excavation dug under the undisturbed earth to the side of the large opening; would place it so that the falling earth might not disturb the spirit of the dead.

A third shot.

The body was in the grave. The heaping of earth, with the burial hoe, with feet, and with fingers, back into the hole that had been so laboriously dug had commenced. The sun was getting low and darkness comes early in the big bush.

Now the last shot told us of the final ceremony. The food that had been brought for the last offering was being placed on the mound of heaped-up earth. The strip of white cloth to the spirit was being pushed into the ground on its stick. The burial party was backing away from the grave, slowly, slowly, so that the spirit would not be alarmed, so that it

THE ARTIST OF MA'LOBBI

As we walked toward the chief's house we looked about 322
us, seeing again the evidence that here at Ma'lobbi there 531
were men who knew how to carve wood, seeing why it was that our paddlers had spoken of it as a place for fine work.

"Ai, at Ma'lobbi they are good carvers."

Here was a house with its doorposts elaborately carved; [342]
there a beautifully worked rice tray, lying where it had been left by the woman who owned it, until she should need it later in the day for winnowing her rice; farther along a great bench stood, with the designs cut through in a fluid progression over top and sides.

The captain was in the lower portion of his two-story 123
house when we entered. Several of the older men, who had 609
been present at our earlier visit and who remembered our gifts of tobacco, came to join us, as the news of our arrival spread through the village. Soon the women were standing about, motioning to the white woman to come with them.

The house in which the captain received us was larger and 342
more imposing than the others in the village. It was his 556
gudu-wosu—his treasure house. Its lower portion, where we sat in conversation with him, was where he worked. Above, where none of his wives might enter, his wealth was stored. Here he kept the pieces he had carved, and from here drew from time to time the presents he gave his wives. Here [408]
lay the wealth which his nephews would inherit when he [302]
died. But below, in the partially open shelter, was his workshop where he fashioned rough logs into stools and paddles, combs and food stirrers, trays and canoe seats, and all manner of objects which he and his women used in their daily routine.

All about the walls hung tools. There were machetes, 342
whose sharp blades showed a reflection of fire from the sun 353
which slanted on the wall. We had never seen so many of 412
these bush knives on display, nor, for that matter, such an array of tools anywhere on this river. From projecting boards or nails driven into posts hung several compasses, their hinged arms sharp-pointed, so that the craftsman [413]
might describe the perfect circles on the wood he carved.

REBEL DESTINY

353 This they had learned from the whites long ago, and
119 now everywhere on the river compasses were seen, or
[413] carvings which showed their use. The machete, the small
412 sharp knives which lay about here on the work-table, the compass, and sand made up any Bush Negro carver's tools. But here at Ma'lobbi in this workshop of the captain were tools from the white man's city, collected by himself on his journeys down to the government office to receive his yearly allowance, or by his men who had been to the French shore and learned of the ways of the outside world. There was a plane to make the blade of a paddle smooth as the skin of a child, and there were two others in addition to this one, we were assured, in the treasure house of the upper story. Hammers, too, were useful for making boats, and even for smaller carvings like benches. There was also a bit and auger, though we were never convinced that the captain himself had ever put it to its more prosaic uses.

"I have many more up there," said the captain, pointing to the upper story. "I like them. If a man likes his tools, then they help him in his carvings. As he sees with his eyes, so they cut. I have always liked my tools, white man. I have spent much time with them."

321 A young man sat to one side shaving down a block of
322 wood with a knife which he held.

"He is not carving," the captain said, following our eyes. "He is making a piece for this," he explained, indicating a plane. "Now is not the time for carving. There is too much to be done. This is the time for cutting wood, for taking the rafts down the river, for making boats, for bleeding rubber trees for the white man, and for hunting game. When the great rains come, then men sit about and carve."

322 As he spoke our eyes traveled to the various carvings
531 which stood about the workshop. In one corner leaned a paddle which caught our attention because of its darkened color, and the patina which long use had given it, so that it seemed made of ebony. Against another wall were several
[350] stools, all richly ornamented with carvings, while beside us,

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

432 person, to act for her. But always hers was the final word,
562 and often that word when the time came for us to carry
439 away the piece was "No."

"It was made for me by my husband when I was a young girl. Now he sleeps, he is no more. I want to have it," was a statement which ended all bargaining.

Sometimes even after we had paid the woman, and stored the piece away, she returned with the moist coins in her hand, asking for the carved implement.

"Before some man from here will go to the city to buy me a pangi, I may lose the money, or he may lose it on the way. But if the clothes beater is here, I can use it and look at it. I want to keep it."

● 413 One vivid incident of bargaining concerned a peanut
532 pounding board which had belonged to the sister of Bassia
439 Anaisi. We were sitting and talking with him and his grandmother, when our eyes rested on his sister's house. From a projection hung a strikingly beautiful piece of carving. The rectangular portion of the board on which the peanuts were crushed was bordered on top and bottom with filigreed carving. It was made of brown-heart wood with inlays of purple-heart. Bassia Anaisi's sister supplemented our guesses of what the designs meant. The top represented a woman's head and headdress. The small brass nails, which made a glistening line in the center of the upper curve, were the cicatrizations on the woman's face.

"Look," said the woman, "she is a woman, but a woman hawk. Here is her neck, and the small cut-out circles here are her breasts, those curves at both ends are the wings. The very small nails are the cicatrizations on the thighs. She is a woman, and she has made herself beautiful. This large rounded portion is her belly, and the smaller one underneath is the *gonu mofo*—the gun's mouth," the last being their image for the vagina. Meeting this from the bottom curving upwards was a half-circle, which represented the male member. At the other end was more embellishment. In the center was a double curve to symbolize the first phase of the moon. Below were two "*Ingi Kodyo*,"

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
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Indian cudgels, a figure of speech for the buttocks, in this instance those of the woman, and again the male representation. This was edged with a border of deep curves which the woman said was mere ornamentation—scrolls. On another pounding board, however, of this village, a similar border was said to represent the boa constrictor. This board stood on two legs, each the width of the board and about two inches high, and worked in the same cut-through scroll design. 413 532 439

When we suggested that we might care to acquire the board, the woman became apprehensive. She took up the board, and excusing herself, disappeared with it inside her hut. 532 439 439

"No, no," she called from the house, when her brother went to tell her of the offer we had made for it. "I don't want money for it. I like it. I will not sell it."

The sum we offered was modest enough, but not inconsiderable for this deep interior. We increased it, then doubled our original offer. There was still no wavering on the woman's part, but the offer began to interest her family. Such wealth should not be refused. Bassia Anaisi began to urge her in our behalf.

"With this money you can buy from the white man's city a hammock, and several fine cloths. You should not refuse this."

The old woman took up the discussion, then another sister, and a brother. At last the bassia took us aside, and asked us to leave his sister alone with them.

"We will have a krutu, and tomorrow you will hear. She is foolish not to sell. But she cares for the board. It is good, too, when a woman loves what her man has carved for her. We will krutu about it, and you shall hear."

Three days passed before the woman's permission was given to dispose of the piece.

"When they see this, your people will know our men can carve!" she exclaimed in a voice which held as much regret as pride.

/10 cont./

574 The politeness shown toward a guest springs from the idea that unknowingly one of them might easily take the very piece that the important person wished to have, and although no comment would be made on this, it could nonetheless happen that this would trouble the guest for whom they cherish special respect,
888 or that he would thereby consider himself insulted. It is particularly to old age that they pay great respect.

Chapter VI

Household and Agricultural Implements

412 The Bush Negroes mainly use adzes in order to hew their
[322] corjalen or canoes out of trees partially burned out beforehand;
[824] furthermore, they use planes and chisels in order to work their
[531] (usually cedarwood) (1) stools and parels or paddles (2). They are

1. Cedrela odorata L.

2. Hand oar.

especially fond of having these carved with many figures. For them the machete is an indispensable tool that they always carry around and use as a chopping knife, sword, and knife, indeed, even to cut splinters or thorns out of the foot with the tip. They use field axes or hatchets to cut down the bush in order to lay out their small cultivation grounds and to work the wood that they float by rafts and sell.

562 The women possess, aside from a machete or knife, also
412 mattocks with which they keep their lands and the place near the
[824] dwelling neat; they make brooms from the pina palm racemes or
[413] from rice ears bound in sheaves. They like to have scissors, needles, and pins, while for knitting they use a pointed and bent nail.

413 They spin their sewing thread from cotton with a certain
[283] tool which they call kéké; they also have a round, wooden tool
[286] called sepoe, with which they very nicely and sturdily /11/ make

/11 cont./

286 garments /pandjes/ or articles of dress and other knitted goods.
[413] They also know how to make very attractive hammocks of cotton.

Chapter VII

Food, Drinks, Delicacies, and so forth.

262 [252] Their daily food is mainly rice and cassava (1) bread which

1. Sweet cassava, the farina from the root of the Janipha manihot, not to be confused with Jatropha manihot, which gives the bitter cassava, which, however much is removed by boiling and continued washing, contains a very poisonous component.

is baked on an iron plate and provides a tasty food that can be
[241] kept for a long time. During the dry season, the months of September, October, and November, the ground also supplies them with a very mealy and tasty tuber called nappi (2); throughout the year,

2. Dioscorea sativa and Dioscorea alata L.

however, they grow yams, sweet potatoes (3), tayers (4), and cassava.

3. Convolvulus batatas L. and Batatas edulis Choisy.

4. Root from Arum esculentum.

[439] They have bananas only from time to time, whenever they exchange them on plantations for squared wood, which they pur-
[433] posely work for this exchange. They know how to obtain wild game
[263] and fish in great quantities; salt is an article greatly in demand.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

412 [501] hung up on a peg. The canoe paddles are actually employed every day on the river, and the flails beat the day's wash of soiled togas and coyos.

352 [784] Since it is taboo to sit on the ground, a large number of stools are made, pierced and decorated, with now and then a tiny cabinet inside them. Wooden locks that actually work [414] are seen on the doors, especially in Aucaner villages, guarding the treasures inside. These are West African survivals; the same type of device can be found in several parts of the Old Continent. They are huge affairs often two feet in length. Door sills and door posts, bows and sterns of canoes, 532 canoe seats and calabash gourds (occasionally decorated by a woman) are all embellished with ornamentation of great intricacy. It is amazing that these designs could be wrought without preliminary designing, which would seem to be necessary, but so far as we were able to observe there is no conscious planning before the carving begins.

The symbolism employed in these pieces of sanni is limited to a few conventionalized motifs. Moreover, there is a variation in the symbolism peculiar to the individual artist, which is not comprehensible solely from an examination of the piece itself. Unless one can locate the original carver, it is impossible, for the most part, to be certain what the symbols mean. The same motif will be differently interpreted by different natives, and often has no objective meaning. It is therefore impossible to undertake an elaborate interpretation of Djuka symbolism.

There are a few outstanding designs found on a large

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
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Two of its walls were of the plaited palm fronds which were entwined into so pleasant a pattern on the houses of the Bush Negroes. The side walls, however, were carpentered of slats which formed a paling, and over this the slanting roof hung. Through the spaces between the slats we could see the brown feet of the passing villagers, an occasional flare of a gay tunic, or a corner of a man's cloth. Occasionally the big eyes of a child who had wandered over to the paling peered through, to see what was happening inside. Through the slats of the wall nearest to the Granman's house we saw tall earthen jars resting on a plank. There were perhaps four of them, all of varying sizes, and these held creek and river water to which the magic properties of weeds and incantations had been added. 344 353 [415]

The purposes of these slats were manifold. Not everyone could sit within the council house when the tribal chiefs gathered. Only those whose rank qualified them appeared inside when court was held. But to those sitting quietly outside those palings which formed the side walls of the house, what was spoken inside was clearly audible, and it was thus that many listened for the decisions which they awaited. Then, too, since this was an enclosed council house and when the door was open a plaid cloth hung over the doorway to insure privacy, the only light which penetrated came through these openings in the side walls. The eaves hung low, barring much of the light that might have come through the palings, and this allowed but the grayest flicker even at midday and brought into the council house the atmosphere which symbolized to them the cool of morning. The word "cool" was their image for peace, and health, and fairness, and deliberation, and justice. Inside the council house, then, was a light which "cooled the heart," for heart and head are synonymous to the Bush Negro when he speaks of emotional states. 344 223 [554] [827]

It was not a large house, and it appeared smaller because of the many furnishings that were in it. Against the wall facing the door a number of magnificently carved benches lay on their sides, one on top of the other, there obviously 344 352

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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644 252 and tall as the Granman's wife herself, though in circumference no larger than the post of the house against which it leaned. The woven strands were caught together in the loops with which it was finished on top and bottom.

When it had been filled, the matapi was hung from the stub of a stout limb, and one end of an equally stout stick was inserted into the bottom loop, while the other rested on the ground. Now Wilhelmina and another woman sat down on this stick, and under the pressure exerted by their combined weight the matapi slowly contracted. A milky white fluid containing the poison which made the raw bitter cassava so deadly filtered through the woven strands, trickling into the gourd placed to receive it. Steadily the poisonous fluid was forced out until it was not long before the gourd was filled, and the cassava pressed dry. When there was much work to be done, and the white woman was not about to ask questions, the women would not waste their time sitting on the stick, but instead would suspend heavy stones from thongs tied to the bottom loop, and they were then free to be about their other tasks. Now, however, it was more amusing to sit and talk.

Whatever the method, when the meal was rid of the poison, it was worked through the sifter into a closely woven basket, and in that kneaded and made ready for baking on the large iron griddles. The use of the bitter cassava [111] they had learned from the Indians, and the names for the sifter and the cassava press were to this day Indian, as were their weave and shape, but the griddles came from the white man's city.

[115] [111] [80] "We use Indian water jars, too. The red pottery we do not make. But black obia pots are Negro things. These our old women mold," said the Granman's wife.

2

644 286 As she spun cotton for the garters she would later make, the woman they called the Granman's younger wife sat and talked of working the fields. Her spindle, a small iron

765 And Fenekonde said, "Mourning is hard. The widow must not go to the river alone to wash. Other women must take her there. Her husband's spirit might seize her. Her [003] hair must be cut. If not, he will get her by the hair. Her clothes must be ugly. She must keep herself unclean, so that his ghost will not long for her when he sees her."

But mourning was difficult not only for a woman. A man's mourning period was no less burdensome, they added. He too wore old clothes. When he went to wash, his wife's brother took him to the river. If he had another wife, he did not go into the hammock with her, for the dead woman would be envious and would kill him.

765 There were times, however, when women did not go into 893 mourning for their husbands. If a woman carried a child in her womb, then she did not put on mourning clothes at all. She did not weep, she was not allowed to show any grief. That same night the dead man's oldest living brother would come with her in the hammock. If there were no brother, another man would come, for some man had to come.

"He must come. It cannot be otherwise. She cannot go to her hammock alone. So it is every night when a woman carries a child in her womb. A man must be with her, for the sake of the child."

3

243 In the clearing the widow stood stamping rice. About 644 her the rice hulls flew and made a half circle of gold at her dark feet. Her mortar, which was made of a hollowed-out [415] log, like a drum, was large and reached almost to her hips. On the ground was a large tray which she used for winnowing the rice. With slow, regular beats she lifted and dropped [412] the pestle, and as her body swung with its slow motion the [854] head of the sleeping child on her back rolled this way and that.

768 Her two small boys had gone to live in her mother's 644 village, but this girl child remained with her. She was born

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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Combs, the gifts of men to women.

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A tray for winnowing rice. (Symbolism on pages 282–283.)

[Facing p. 214]

11 Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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Carvings the women were eager to have admired: comb; clothes beater; tray.

[Facing P. 239]

THE GODS SPEAK

"The openings in the wall there," she explained, when we asked her about the two squares cut into the wall behind the altar, "are for all things that fly. In this place they must come and go as they like. Bats come here, and insects of all kinds, and when they want to go back to the bush, they must be able to go as they like. That is the wish of the gods. So they told us long ago."

6

We were led from house to house. The gods had spoken. We were friends, and as friends who came not to harm, we were given the hospitality of friendship. There were other shrines, but we did not have to ask about them. They were pointed out to us with the other sights of the village.

The closed low hut near the Apuku shrine we had entered was to the river god Toné. It was a very small enclosure, and before it was a plant which covered the low entrance. It belonged, we were told, to an albino woman who was possessed by Toné. But she was not in the village now. Farther down the path was a larger house, another shrine. This had a piece of iron over the door and, when we asked about it, the girls who were following us ran, and the men merely said that it was the place of the Kromanti obia and passed on.

As we continued on our way, each woman was anxious not to have us slight the house her man had built her or fail to admire the carvings that were inserted into the weave of the palm walls. The huts were swept clean—the cleanliness of the entire village was even more striking than that of others we had visited—and but for a few stools, which were brought out for the strangers while they spoke with the old people who lived in the quarter, they were entirely bare. In every house, however, there was sure to be a shelf, large or small, or several shelves, on which stood prized food trays with carvings which covered both inner and outer surfaces. Combs and food stirrers were taken down and shown us, and the calabash dishes made by the women

353 themselves, and the blade-like pieces of gourd which they
531 used for spoons, and which bore the same symbols as the
415 dishes.

"Our men make fine things here in the true, true
462 Saramacca," Dida said when we entered her quarter, and
531 sat in her house. "Look at the carvings I have."

Her body was still white with pemba. Her manner was still a little vague.

"Did you dance this morning?"

"Ai."

"We heard the agida drum play when we were in the
776 council house of the Granman."

787 "Ai, Kesekia is a big god. When he comes, his voice is strong."

But she showed no willingness to talk, and we could tell by the repeated twitching of her body that she had still to dance to her god. Leaving her we continued up the path toward houses we had not yet visited. The white man, with a man who was guiding him and the bassia from Asindopo Lantiwe, walked ahead, while the children crowded about the white woman who was giving them safety pins which they at once put in their hair.

"There is the Vodu house," said the man who acted as
798 guide, and he led the way through the low doorway into
346 the hut.

Inside, though smaller than the shrine to the gods of the bush, it differed from it but little. It had the same clay floor, the same raised altar on which stood stools washed in white clay, and several covered, whitened vessels, an image, and the round balls of clay.

"May I go closer and look at the image there?"

"Yes, go."

[350] The stools resembled those in ordinary use, but whatever design they may have had was obscured by the white clay which covered them. The vessels were not unlike those in
[415] the other shrine we had visited or those which rested on the heads of village gods which stood under low, roofed-over shelters on the main village paths. Turning, the white man

SARAMACCA OBIA

and it was they who in dream or vision, or in a state of possession, instructed living men in the ways of yet greater and greater obia. But there were those who held that obia ranked after the greatest of the deities, that obia surpassed the power of the ancestors, for obia knew how to make "*yorka sapu*"—preventives against troublesome ghosts, and obia men could summon the dead to enter the body of a living man to make revelations.

Whatever the position of obia in the supernatural world, its place on earth was to serve man, for of all living beings, man alone knew obia.

2

What were the manifestations of obia in the life of the Bush Negro as we found them?

A black pot with its magic powers was an obia pot, the charm worn about the neck was called an obia, the medicines we gave the natives for their eyes or their cuts were called white man's obia, and their own mixture of weeds steeped in water, which stood in the burning sun gathering a green scum until it should be ready for use, was also obia. Young Yamati who had danced susa for us did not have a cord about his neck, but, he had assured us, he had obia for long life as did his partner Sabape, though his own could not be seen, since it consisted of several obia cuts made shortly after birth, which served instead of the cord. The strings about the waists of children were obias. The slight cuts to be noticed on men's arms, on thighs, below the knee, below the shoulder blades were obia cuts, too.

Nor was that all.

Bayo had said to us, "When obia comes a man does bad things. He destroys. When mine comes, it is ugly sometimes."

It was obia, too—Apanto's obia—which had stopped our phonograph, and obia again, invoked this time by Bayo, which had strengthened the spirit of the machine.

We talked about obia to an elder, a village head, from one of the down-river settlements, which was not, however,

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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or Waving Flag. There is also a town cook, known as Bundle. 488

It is grey on the misty river when we leave Kabel to take 488 up the journey into the interior. The corials are wet with fog.

A group of villagers stands on the bank to watch our departure. The last evidence of civilization is the corrugated iron shack which marks the terminus of the railroad. The baggage has been transferred to the canoes, and the paddlers take their places. We shove off on the tawny river. The villagers shout a farewell: "*Wakka bon na watra, bakkra.*"—"Walk well on the water, white man."

Seeing these black-skinned paddlers dimly through the morning mist, one can easily imagine being on the Niger, headed into the interior of Africa. They are characteristic West African types, with broad noses, thick lips, and kinky [142] hair. There are no evidences of racial mixture, no hybrids, no mulattoes. Noticeably aristocratic in bearing, they are carefully groomed and carry themselves admirably. In parleying with the white man they show no deference, for they have no sense of inferiority. They remember the rebellion.

The corials are paddled over a short stretch of quiet water before the rapids begin. It is not long, however, before the boatmen lay down their paddles and take up the great poles. The rhythmic heaving begins. After a few miles they draw the canoes in to the bank, for no apparent reason. Their wives appear out of the bush, bringing the men some extra supplies for the journey. There is an additional loin-cloth for each [491] paddler, and two togas, worn over the shoulder. The native substitute for a valise, in which these clothes are packed to [415]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

keep them dry, is a carved calabash gourd, with a tight-fitting waterproof cover made from another gourd. These are stored away amidship, along with high piles of cassava cakes and jugs of mareepa oil, the native soft drink. The women also add to the cargo a small gipsy cooking-pot and an unclean shotgun.

There is much talkee-talkee during the loading. After the lapse of some time a second start is made, and the poling begins again. After hours on the river, around bend after bend, and through innumerable passages of rapid and rough water, we encounter a Bush Negro corial coming downstream. In it are two paddlers, and a woman with a little boy. Immediately the Djukas bring the boats together for a gossip and palaver. The strangers pay little attention to the bahkra, except a curt nod in answer to his greeting. But they ask the paddlers all about the white man, who he is, where he is going, and where he comes from. Flagawai replies in detail, and for his part asks news of the upper river. The strangers have come from a distant, picturesquely named village many days up the Surinam River, Futu No Habbe Ackaba, "The Foot That Has No Resting-Place." This signifies the long journey required to reach it, but the phrase might be taken as symbolical of the many enforced journeyings of the Negro race.

The powwow continues for some time. Our restless hints pass unnoticed. Unlike other natives, who can be commanded and beaten, the Djukas are independent; to give them orders is out of the question. The traveller who at-

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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Clearing in a Bush Negro Village, Upper Surinam River.

[Facing p. 44]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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Aucaner

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An Aucaner Mother. Note the Cassava Cakes Cooking Inside the Kitchen.
Photo by Carid.

[Facing p. 64]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

224 to and camps before his little fire. The red monkey bands howl in the darkness, but the hunter is not afraid. The fact that a puma may be in a tree near by does not prevent him from snoring.

224 648 The Bush Negroes seldom have occasion to take a white man hunting. Because of his incompetence they are forced to hunt differently when he is along.

We are aroused at five o'clock one morning when Daniels, a "balata bleeder" from British Guiana, makes his appearance. He is a husky, powerful Negro from Demerara, a town in the adjacent colony, and one of the few men ever to obtain the confidence and friendship of the Djukas. Some years ago he saved many Bush Negroes from famine, when the cassava and rice crops had failed, by arranging, with the aid of Mynheer Alexander Wolff, for the Dutch government to give many thousands of guilders' worth of rice to feed them. Because of this, and because he speaks English perfectly and has the bahkra's point of view, no better person could possibly accompany us on the coming hunt.

482 415 177 The three Bush Negro bearers who go along with us carry wicker baskets of woven reed containing supplies. They are carried on the bearer's back, held in place by a band around the forehead—a device borrowed from the Indians.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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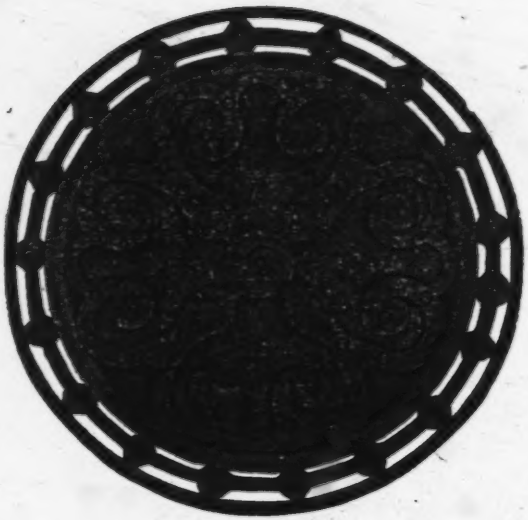

Tray Three Feet in Diameter Carved from a Single Section of Tree Trunk. *Boni Tribe,* French Guiana. Four Stylized Human Figures Showing Arms and Trunk.
Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History

[Facing p. 72]

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

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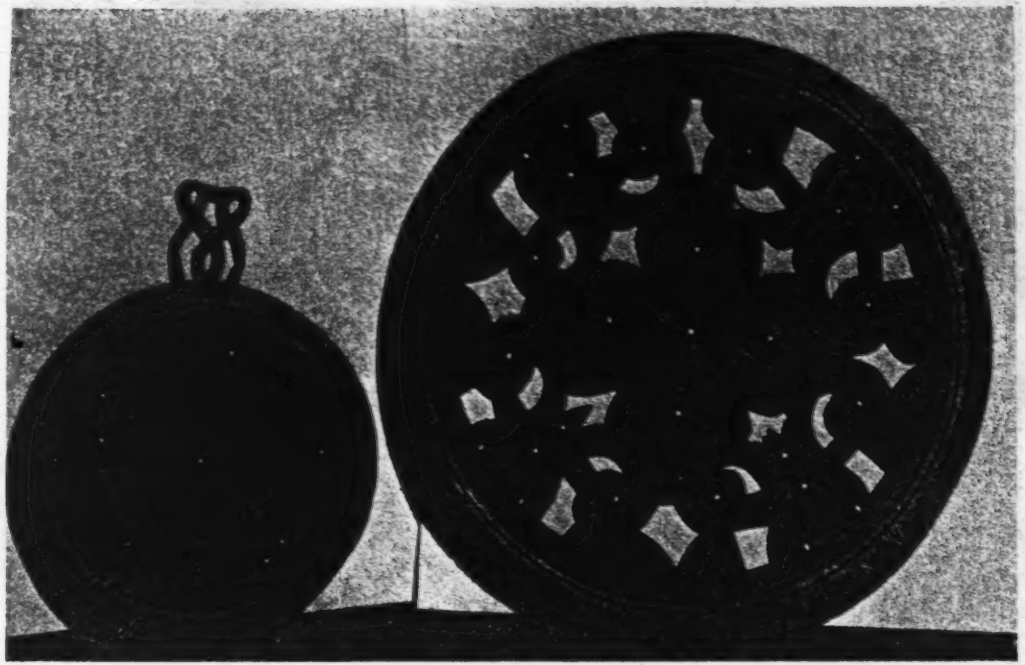

Carved Wooden Trays for Carrying Food. *Saramaccaner Tribe,* Upper Surinam River.
The Central Figure on the Smaller Tray is That of a Dancing Woman.
Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History

[Facing p. 76]

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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Saramaccaner

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Carved Calabash Gourds Used as Plates. *Saramaccaner Tribe,* Upper Surinam River.

Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History. Photo by Herbert Heller

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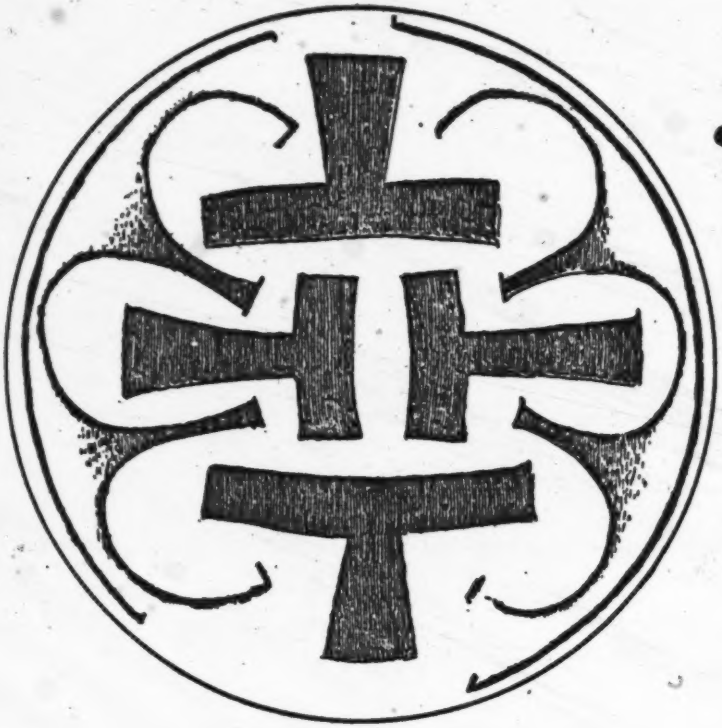
A Bush Negro Stool, Three Feet Long, Known as "Lebba Bangi" (Moon Stool), Taking Its Name from the Moon in the Crescent Phase. *Saramaccaner Tribe.* Stools of almost the identical nature are found in the Ashanti region of West Africa. This motif is probably one of the most striking West African Survivals.

Photo by Herbert Heller

[Facing p. 80]

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8



[1/1 415 532]

Chapter Six

FOOD IN THE JUNGLE

THE Bush Negroes investigate our equipment with great delight, and are much amused by our table manners. They gather around and comment on the food. Often they pick up an empty can discarded by Bundle, the cook, and wrinkle their noses in disgust at the smell of it. They seem to prefer their own food. 648 186

1/1 [For caption, see category 116, p. 204. – Analyst]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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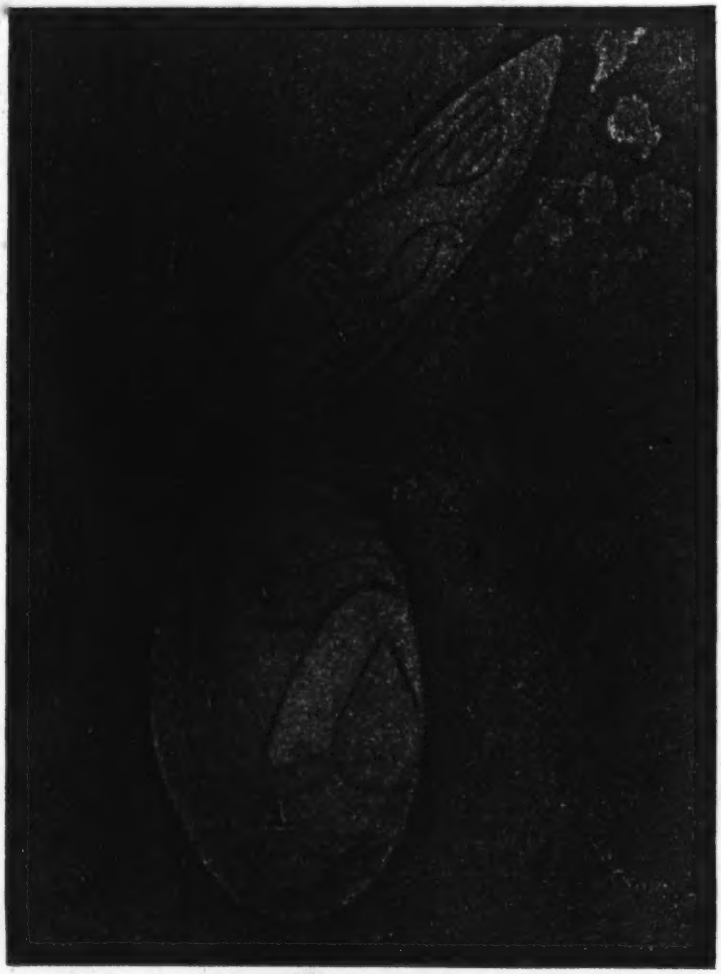

Plate and Spoon of Carved Calabash Gourd. *Aucaner Tribe.*
Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History

[Facing p. 88]

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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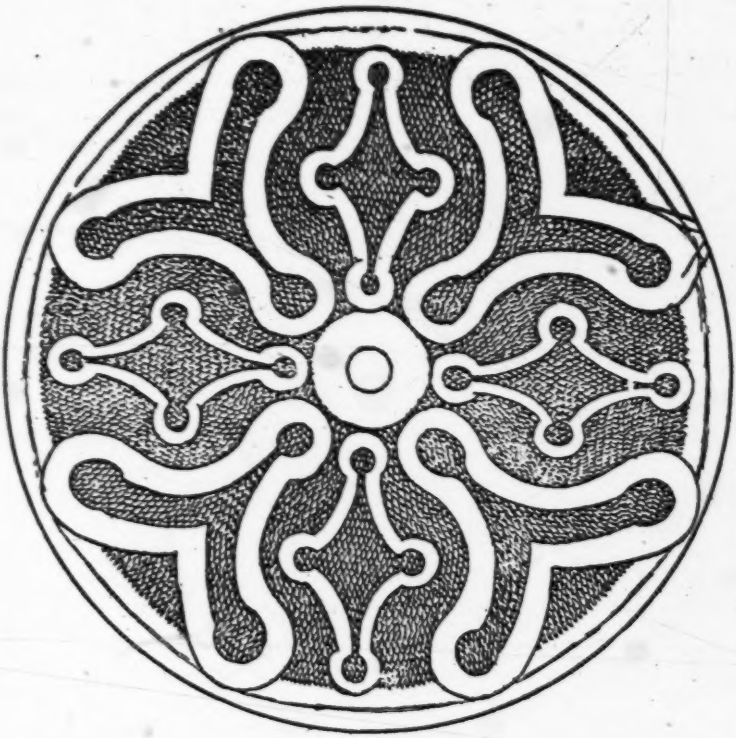
[#15 532]



Chapter Ten

DJUKA TALK

THE Bush Negroes have two languages. The ordinary 197
tongue, phrases from which are scattered throughout 191
this book, is known as talkee-talkee. It is the common *lingua franca* of the entire colony, used not only by the Djukas, but also by some of the Indians and by the Town Negroes of

1/1 [For caption, see category 116, p. 204. – Analyst]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Common household implements for everyday use had to be 178
made out of different material. Wood was used wherever 182
possible. So in place of iron the Bush Negroes developed an elaborate and beautiful art of carving domestic utensils. Pots are stirred with wooden paddles instead of with iron [412
ladles. Enormous wooden trays are used for carrying food. 415]
Combs, stools, beaters, and a dozen other implements all bear evidence of this extraordinary technique of wood carving, and this too is a heritage from their African ancestry.

In tracing the relationship between any two cultures, such 177
as the West African and the Bush Negro, we should always 182
bear in mind the possibility that both developed independently and that similarities between them may be due to the influence of similar environments rather than to actual culture contact. Thus, for example, while the Djuka corial is hollowed out of solid logs in a fashion similar to the West African canoe, which at once suggests borrowing, it is also true that the rapid waters of the Surinam, Marowyne, and Saramacca Rivers make any other kind of board or bark canoe impracticable. The Bush Negroes' dugout canoes may be an independent adaptation to the environment rather than a heritage from Africa.

This difficulty is a common one in anthropological speculation; examples are to be found on all hands. Thus, it has been maintained that the Reindeer Men who lived in France during the Magdalenian Age are related to the present-day Eskimo, because their bone implements and crude drawings bear certain resemblances, although the two races are

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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The ornate combs used by the Bush Negroes are a most direct West African heritage, being found along the Upper Guinea coast, Ashanti, Cameroons, Ivory and Gold Coasts, Dahomey, Muni, and many other regions of Africa. The wooden plates and trays are likewise found among the Ewe-speaking tribes of the West Coast.

The custom of personal decoration by the cicatrization of the skin is very common throughout many parts of Africa. Captain John Stedman remarks on this strange habit in his *Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition to Surinam:* "The Loanga Negroes distinguish themselves by puncturing or marking the skin of their sides, arms, and thighs with square, elevated figures something like dice." This custom was widespread on the Slave Coast. The scar designs varied widely according to the different tribes as well as the social position and wealth of the individual. As the Indians of South America do not practise this cicatrization, it is evident that the Bush Negroes brought it over with them from their former home.

The Bush Negro coiffure, the method of arranging the hair in plaited tufts, is found also on the Gold Coast, in Cameroons, and elsewhere in Africa. The Djuka method of weaving is similar to that of the Sudan, Gold Coast, Mandingo, Ashanti, and the Ewe. The spindle used in weaving is called by an African term, *kyekye,* a Tshi word. The woven leg band, the *sepu,* is the same as the leg bands found in Cameroons and the Upper Guinea coast in general.

The method of finding out who is responsible for the

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

sand. A few chisels and carpenter's tools can occasionally 322
be found. Where compasses or dividers cannot be obtained, a nail and piece of string are often used to execute the involved serpentine patterns.

Bush Negro sanni is not used for trading purposes. A 438
few pieces find their way down to the coast, of course, but 322
they are never articles of commerce among the Djukas. In some villages, and particularly among the Paramacca tribe, it is practically impossible to obtain many carvings. But the willingness to part with these objects naturally varies with the village and the individual. Being known to the natives greatly facilitates trade.

One outstanding feature of this work is the complete 322
absence of colour. The finished piece shows the natural hue 532
of the wood, and rarely anything more. An occasional variation is obtained by inlaying with racuda wood, brownheart, or purpleheart, but tints and dyes are seldom applied. A different shade is also obtained once in a while by branding or burning the wood with a hot iron. The Aucaners, who paint red and black devices on their large canoe paddles, represent exceptions to the general rule of showing only the natural wood shades.

Nearly all the pieces are utilitarian in origin and purpose, 412
but some of them are so highly carved as to be of little [431
practical use. These are much prized as gift pieces. The 415]
trays are actually used to carry food on, and also for winnowing rice. The stirring paddles dip into the food pot every evening. After being used they are washed with river water and [264]
hung up on a peg.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

African comb, from the region of Nigeria, is shown on page 175. It can be seen that the wooden comb is not a Djuka invention, as every characteristic of the Bush Negro pieces can be found on this West African piece, except the ornamental piercing.

The arts of weaving and basketry are not as highly developed among the Djukas as is the carving of wooden implements. The Bush Negroes do not weave the cotton cloth they wear. It is obtained, instead, by trading at the white settlements. The only weaving among them consists of cotton leg and arm bands—things that do not count for much so far as industry is concerned, but which expand the wearer's ego and add enormously to his or her self-esteem. The basketry of the Djukas, like the weaving, is simple and competent. Unornamented circular baskets, varying in size from a foot to a yard in diameter, can be seen in all the villages. They are used for carrying yam., rice, and foodstuffs generally. The finest basket work does not occur in these baskets, however, but in the cassava squeezers, those elongated tubes for producing cassava flour. These are beautifully woven of uniform rattan, and decorated with darker strips to form a simple pattern near each end. The finished product is an admirable piece of work, of which the owner must indeed be proud.

Pottery is made by the Djukas for utilitarian purposes only, and the solid black, absolutely undecorated clay ware has no particular element of beauty. The pots are black, stolid, and unimaginative. They are simply necessities.

But when the necessities of life have been provided for,

But when the necessities of life have been provided for,
417 and leisure is at hand for more beautiful and tender endeavours, the Bush Negro, seated before his evening fire, sharpens his knife and begins marking, with fine, deft lines, the graceful outlines of another paddle or comb to please his woman.

412 LIST OF CARVINGS SHOWN AT CHAPTER OPENINGS
352 WITH EXPLANATION OF SYMBOLISM

322 Carved Bench Top, *Saramaccaner Tribe:* Eight Women Dancing
532 Around a Gadu Pole (title page)

Carved Bench Top, *Boni Tribe:* Stylization of Male and Female Figures (page 3)

Hair Comb, *Aucaner Tribe* (page 7)

Carved Pierced Bench Top, *Saramaccaner Tribe:* Two Male Figures Each Holding a Snake Aloft (page 27)

Carved Bench Top, *Saramaccaner Tribe:* Two Highly Stylized Human Figures (page 39)

Hair Comb, *Aucaner Tribe:* Male and Female Snakes (page 53)

Carved Bench Top, *Boni Tribe:* Vulva Surrounded by Phallic Symbols (page 63)

[415] Carved Inner Surface of Calabash Gourd, African Bone Motif, *Saramaccaner Tribe* (page 83)

Carved Bench Top, *Saramaccaner Tribe:* Frog Design Executed with Serpentine Technique (page 91)

Hair Comb, *Aucaner Tribe:* Vulva Motif; the triangles on the cross bar represent snake teeth (page 119)

Hair Comb, *Saramaccaner Tribe:* Male and Female Figures (page 133)

[415] Carved Outer Surface of Calabash Gourd, *Saramaccaner Tribe* (page 161)

[171] Comb from Nigeria, West Africa (page 175)

Hair Comb, *Saramaccaner Tribe* (page 193)

354 /9 cont./
[372] they do not like to be without it; at least they do not like to
[353] sleep without a fire. Their weapons hang above their sleeping
[513] place, which is a hammock, in which man and wife sometimes lie together. Rarely do more than one man and one woman with their
342 small children live in a single hut.

Their articles of clothing, as well as other small belongings,
296 are kept in pagalen, a kind of plaited basketwork, while they keep
251 water, strong drinks, sugar juice, rice, salt, and so forth in
415 calabashes and godos (2).
824

2. Both hollowed-out fruit rinds of the Crescentia cagete L. and the Cucurbita lagenaria L., plants from the family of the Cucurbitaceae.

415 Some of them have cedarwood clothes-chests, which must be specially mounted with a great deal of copper; one also sometimes finds liqueur cellars with gilded bottles.

353 For the rest everything is left out in the open in the hut.

Often many men come together in one hut for their meals
264 and eat out of one large bowl or calabash. The women withdraw after having placed on very low tables several calabashes or bowls of food for their husbands in the circle in which they are seated, never forgetting to add a large calabash with clean water for washing the hands before and after the meal. The women gather in another hut in order to consume what they kept out for themselves beforehand and what has been left by their husbands.

[888] If an aged person or a highly placed person is in their midst,
[554] he is offered the calabash of food first, so that he may take from it what he wants and eat it by himself from an ordinary plate, although seated in the circle, /10/ while the others partake of their meal from the large bowl. In general they talk with one another during the meal, the highly placed person also taking part in the conversation.

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[243]

Fig. 11. Threshing the rice ears on a sack with the feet. -- Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, June 1952.

[245]
[415]

Fig. 12. The fruits of the pina palm are collected in a basket; a beverage is made from the fruit-pulp. -- Marowijne, Albina, April 1953. [272]

4: Geijkes--20 G,N-S (1952)1954 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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Fig. 13. The pitting of the maripa palm, from which the kernels (lying on a plate on a kerosene tin), after drying in the sun, are used for boiling edible oil out of them. -- Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, June 1952.

Fig. 14. Winnowing rice with the "kede," after it has been pounded in a matta. -- Tapanahoni, Granboxi, May 1952.

/151 cont./

249 greatly to the beautification of the village. The Bush Negroes use
[232] the red dyestuff from the seeds to smear on the dogs against vermin.

Cotton (katoen).

248 One sees it standing in various places along the edges of the
283 villages and among the dwelling huts. The cotton itself is in ex-
[286] ceptional cases used by the women for spinning. Calf bands (sepoe) are made out of cotton thread after the Indian model, and sometimes hammocks also.

Coffee.

245 Is found here and there in the forest along the edge of the village (Drietabbetje, Poeketti). It is the small variety, probably
[272] Coffea arabica. The beans are used for coffee. The trees probably grew from kernels that at one time were taken by slaves from the plantations.

Calabash (kabasi).

244 Grows everywhere among the dwelling huts and in neglected corners. A distinction is made between kabasi and pikien soepoen.
[415] The wood-like pericarps of both varieties are used for all kinds of purposes, especially for utensils (bowls, spoons) and as "koej" for scooping the korjalen empty.

Kasjoen (kasoeng).

245 Occurs here and there and ordinarily does not supply much
[262] fruit; the latter is eaten fresh, the kernels sometimes roasted
[252] like pinda.

Mappa.

Probably a variety of Tabernaemontana (Apocynaceae). Not infrequently in May one sees the women returning from the grounds with pear-shaped /152/ (up to ten centimeters long) yellow fruit,
[262] which they have gathered from a small forest tree. The fruit is eaten fresh; one first taps on the rind with a piece of wood in order to concentrate the milk sap in it, peels the fruit, and the

6:Hurault--245a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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Fig. 22. Offering of food to the ancestors.

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Fig. 23. Interrogation of the dead person.

/171 cont. /

764 Work is then resumed. Those present who are not ɔlɔmɛ̃, including me, are invited to throw several shovels of earth. On top of the mound are placed the papay and the objects used in the mourning, topped by the dead woman's bench. Then those present go away without haste and wash at the wharf. Several shots are again fired while the canoes go away.

The graves are spaced about 10 meters apart. The dead are not grouped by lineages; the cemetery is extended as needed, and the dead person is put in the first available spot. Thus Kondida (Awara Bakka) is placed beside Asoïda (Lapé), a hundred-year-old woman dead a few months before.

They show me the graves of village heads I have known, Diolé († in 1951), Atikati († in 1953). The mounds are already half settled down, the brush on them is as much as a meter high.

[969] One of my boatmen pours a little tafia on his mother's grave which is at the edge /172/ of the path. None of those present leaves the group to go to the grave of his relatives.

Thanking Ceremonies. On the twenty-third at eight [692] o'clock, the ifinti kuutu is convened and sits at the edge of the mortuary shed.

[969] The ɔlɔmɛ̃ and in a general way those who have worked on behalf of the dead person (only about ten remain, the others have left to work) are seated opposite the men of the dead woman's lineage.

It is always Tafanié who speaks. Béna (Dju), seated before the ɔlɔmɛ̃, turned toward the speaker, plays the role of respondent. Tafanié thanks all those who have worked on behalf of the dead person, detailing at length the various jobs, then citing their various lineages; he repeats the same thing in several ways and his speech is interminable. Sometimes he [293] interrupts himself to put in a good joke or drink a bumper of [415] tafia. A 15-liter demijohn is seen circulating inside the shed.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

361 river floods periodically, and might wipe them out if they were too near, and that the Bush Negro still retains, back in his mind, a strong fear of another war with the white man. In the latter event the Djuka villages would have to be camouflaged or hidden. Often, too, the villages are to be found just above a waterfall or rapids, as another hindrance to possible invaders.

648 609 [576] At the landing we see bare-breasted Djuka women washing clothes or bathing their children. They do not evince much curiosity as we paddle up, for it is considered insolent to stare. The naked little ones are very much afraid of the white man. They scurry into the underbrush and watch us from behind trees. The older children remain and are proud of their courage. An old man is making a canoe. Most of the men are away on hunting or lumbering expeditions.

361 648 [417] Leading up to the village is a winding path, cut by the violent rain until it resembles a ravine. Sometimes the river floods the path, forming a little muddy inlet into which the canoes stick their noses. One town is perched on a high bank, reached only by a hardwood ladder twenty-five feet tall. The blacks clamber up easily, unlike the awkward white man, who has difficulty with the missing steps.

We ascend the path; the frightened children return to their play, paddling about or fishing from the moored canoes. 202 648 [534] Sometimes the bahkra's coming has been announced beforehand by a system of drum telegraphy. A certain rhythm beaten on the tomtom informs the adjacent villages that white men are coming up the river, and why. In this way

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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Interior of a Bush Negro Village on the Cottica River, Dutch Guiana. *Aucaner Tribe.*
Photo by Klein

[Facing p. 46]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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●44.7
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The Azang Pau. Phantom Barrier Over Paths Leading to Village. Upper Surinam River.

[Facing p. 144]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

But when the necessities of life have been provided for,
447 and leisure is at hand for more beautiful and tender endeavours, the Bush Negro, seated before his evening fire, sharpens his knife and begins marking, with fine, deft lines, the graceful outlines of another paddle or comb to please his woman.

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6:Hurault--107a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/facing p. 76/
/i a/

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302
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Fig. 15. House type of the Refugee Blacks; Loabi village (Djuka of the Upper Tapanahoni).

/253 cont./

751 Tyifunga (1). This is the name of the magic enclosures made
417
[824]

1. They also use the word azãg, borrowed from the Fon of Dahomey.

of shoots /"tongues"/ of pinot palm, pina tõngo, attached to a string, with which on certain occasions a village is completely surrounded. These enclosures are thought to bar the passage of the evil spirits of the bush (taku sani); they are put up especially in the case of an epidemic, as well as before the great festivals which attract a crowd of persons among whom wisimã can slip
789 in. After putting the enclosure in place, people arrange themselves in a line at one end of the village and move along slowly so as to sweep its whole surface, firing guns, making all the noise possible by striking metallic objects and striking the ground with reeds to expel the evil spirits. This is what is called naki tyifunga. The elders repeat the formula: "U naki tyifunga fu ɔgi na: mu ku a so (We strike tyifunga so that the evil (spirits) may not be able to come to earth)."

751 417 The magic fence is then left in place until it is rotten.

753 76 Beliefs about leprosy. Lepers are buried at the limits of the cemetery, but they are not considered cursed, and mourning for them is carried out normally.

753 784 /254/ They take for granted that if someone is attacked by leprosy, it is because he has "broken" his bwasi kina. They think that an enemy can, because of ill will, hide a bit of the forbidden fare in the food. This is why the Boni do not willingly tell one another their interdictions.

/278 cont./

*539 so that the people will see you." She answered: "It is I who will drag you as far as the bush." They discussed it to the insult stage, and wagered. They agreed to set Sunday as the test time; she should pull the end of a rope going out from the village. She said: "Very well." -- "I am proud of my ancestors, Bush-Mama. You will not drag me into the bush, I am the one who will drag you inside the village."

Then he came back to the village and went to the river. He rushed into the water, dyou! he went up to the Water-Mama. He said to her: "Will you have a tug-of-war against me? The Water-Mama answered: "It is I who will drag you in the river." Anansi said: "I am sure to drag you up on land so that the people will see how you look." Again they wagered and set Sunday as the test day. He said: "Very well, on the day set I shall come into the water to hold out the end of a rope to you." The Water-Mama said: "Very well. I shall stay there to take the end of the rope." We shall see who is a man and who is not."

He went back to his village. Saturday afternoon he set up a tyifunga (2) enclosure around the village, as far as the river

[751]
[824]
[417]
[783]

2. Magic enclosure made of pinot palm leaves strung on a cord, to which is attributed the power to stop bad influences. After putting up the enclosure they purify the village by cleaning it completely.

and as far as the bush behind the village. He cleaned the village completely. He cut a long and strong rope, he went to slip one end of it into the river, he went to put the other in the bush.

On Sunday the Bush-Mama and the Water-Mama came and each pulled on an end of the rope. Anansi himself was not

423 613 671 /77 cont./

Land held by right of use cannot be sold nor rented, but only loaned. Neither can it be transmitted by inheritance; this would [428] be entirely contrary to the thinking and custom of the Refugee Blacks, hostile to everything that would violate the legal joint possession of the lineage. Inheritance can affect only the harvest in process from clearings. Once this harvest is made, the land can be [425] occupied by any member of the lineage, man or woman, who wishes to cultivate it; and if there is any dispute, it is obligatorily settled within the lineage; the grand man would refuse to judge it. Kinship degree /78/ does not enter in, at least in principle, since they can say to each other "brother," "uncle," or "grandfather" in the classificatory sense.

423 428 The only attenuation of the rigor of this principle provided for by custom is that upon the death of a woman, her daughters have a right of priority to utilize her lands.

423 241 128 The Refugee Blacks have a clear tendency to remain faithful all their lives to the same clearings. The study we have made of the clearings in Boni country gives poor information on the history of each clearing, for it would have been necessary to be able to consult on the spot a large number of people, which we were not able to do; nevertheless it allows us to state that in the neighborhood of the residence villages, individuals keep their right of use of a clearing for the length of their lives.

42 241 Here is for example the transmission of rights over clearings 101 to 112 /sic/ (see genealogical table of the Dju lo) (1).

1. See plate at the end of this work: Distribution of lands in the neighborhood of the principal Boni villages.

/78 cont./

42
241

Clearings Studied in January, 1957

Last user	Year	Transmission of Rights of Use
101 O Téodora (G40)	1955	occupied this land upon the death of her mother.
102 O Kukusa (F40)	1953	right created by Kukusa by clearing off an old secondary forest without a known user.
103 O Paana (G2)	1955	clearing cleared off by O Wima (E3); transmitted during her lifetime to her daughter O Tini (F1), then to O Pamasa (E26), raised by Tini. Pamasa worked it once, then gave her right to O Paana, daughter of Tiya /Tina?/.
104 O Tini (F1)	1954	right created by Tini (F1), who cleared it off for the first time (about 1920?); she has cut it three times in all; keeps her right of use.
105 O Lènga (F37) /F36?/	1954	cleared off by O Lènga for the first time (about 1920?). She has cut it 3 times in all; keeps her right of use.

/78 cont./

42
241

Clearings Studied in January, 1957 (cont.)

Last user	Year	Transmission of Rights of Use
106 O /△ ?/ Féni (G3)	1954	occupied this land upon the death of △ Agoabuchi, old man of the Dju lineage (position on the genealogical table uncertain). /79/
107 O Tini (F1)	1955	it was △ Loka (D13) † 1951, who cleared off this land a long time ago. During his lifetime he ceded his right to O Tini, who cut it 2 times in all.
108 O Tini (F1)	1955	occupied this land upon the death of O Asoso (E7) † 1953, ancestress who had farmed there for a long time.
109 O Félicia (G41)	1954	occupied this land upon the death of O Anna † (E22), her grandmother.
110 O Téodora (G20)	1956	occupied this land upon the death of her mother Dondo † 1954, who had herself occupied it upon the death of her mother Anna (E22).

/79 cont./

42 241 Thus out of ten clearings we find only two cases where a member of the lineage gave his right of use to another during his lifetime; in four cases the right of use was taken over by a daughter upon the death of her mother; in two cases it passed to a distant relative.

241 423 425 562 Anyone, man or woman, may hold rights of use. But examination of the clearings shows that the great majority of men do not ask for any, and that nearly all the land is appropriated by women. In the example noted, out of ten clearings only one is appropriated by a man. This derives from the fact that most men are content to cut their wives' clearings on their wives' lands but do not bother to farm on their own account.

241 423 [613] Each woman holds rights of use over a certain number of clearings distributed in the different territorial zones of her lineage. It is important to have, so to say, many cords to one's bow, for it is necessary to be able, according to the activity of the manioc ants, to pass from one sector to another or on the contrary to work prematurely a clearing which one was hoping to leave fallow for several years.

241 425 [423] For example, Tini (F1) holds rights over six to seven clearings. For one (No. 104), she created the right of use on her own behalf by clearing it out of old secondary forest without any known owner. As for another (No. 107), she received it from Loka (D13), a distant relative, as a gift during his lifetime. As for the others (for example No. 106), she created the right on her own behalf by farming them first upon the death of their holder.

241 423 The right of use can be loaned, either to a member of the lineage or even to an outsider. It is specified that the loan is made for a certain number of years and that it is revocable. In such a case the donor does not lose his right of use. /80/

/149 cont./

592 The household. Household life is a limited association, freely
593 agreed upon by two beings who live totally independent of each other, the emotional life of each remaining almost entirely centered upon his maternal family. It entails reciprocal duties:

--For the man, to build a house for his wife in her village, to construct a new boat for her every three or four years, to cut a clearing for her each year /150/ and help in planting it, to furnish her with imported commodities, cloth, salt, kerosene, tools, which she needs, as well as game and smoke-dried fish;

--For the woman, to farm the clearing and furnish her husband when he comes to visit her with couac and the vegetables
[462] necessary for his food. (The man, used to living as a bachelor, owns his own cooking utensils and most of the time prepares his meals himself.)

This system of intermittent conjugal life seems to assure the Boni a perfect balance at the same time that it permits them
[562] to satisfy their taste for change. The men divide their life among work, visits to their different wives, hunting and fishing expeditions; their life is thus constantly renewed and they are protected against tendencies toward apathy and mental inertia.

In general, as long as the union lasts, the woman fulfills
[241] exactly her obligations; although the yield from the clearing is
[422] her property and the excess of the harvest is sold for her ex-
[434] clusive benefit, the man is assured of getting from her all the
[591] provisions he needs. On the other hand, many men, through laziness, get out of constructing a house for their wives and the latter continue to live with their mothers. In the villages on the French bank about 20 such cases were observed in 1958.
591/ Several cases are even noted in which a woman, aged but still
592 having unmarried children, one or two of her daughters and their children are living together in one house. For example, in Asisi village, nine persons were living together in the very small house of their mother and grandmother Tini.

Ii Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Saramacca

family. The children of the second wife belong to the family of the second wife. A woman calls her husband's other wife by the name of kamboea. Do you know what kamboea means?" he asked, laughing. "*Kamboea*—the woman who makes trouble for me. So, you see, we people of the bush learned from our ancestors to give each wife her own house, where she might live with her own children."

But not alone the woman needed to have a house of her own. The man, too, built a house for himself. In it he stored his possessions. It was his sanctuary. No woman might enter it. On the carving of its door, a man lavished all his love of ornamentation, all his artistry.

"A man likes to have his own house for his possessions," explained Kasanya. "If he is a rich man, it is better that his wives do not know how much he has. You know what women are. They always ask for presents. But if a man is not rich, then it is better still that his wives do not know it. If they know, they will make life hard for him with nagging. They will talk of leaving him. And all the village will know, too."

In this house, then, which a man built for his wife, the children were reared. Sometimes, it is true, if the harvests were poor or the father had met with ill luck, the mother's brothers would come for the children, for children are the ones to carry on the line. It is through them that clan rank and material goods are inherited.

But if all went well with the father, then the attachments of the household were the closest, and they continued even after death. For the household was not entirely disrupted after the death of a parent. Unless the one who died had been a sorcerer, a leper, or a madman, the house where he lived was not torn down.

"When a man dies," Kasanya said, "the wife goes on living in the house, once it has been purified. If a woman dies, then the man keeps on living there."

"What of the children?" we asked. "What becomes of them?"

824 796 Later, through the gathering darkness, the people of the neighboring villages went home, paddling their boats which were loaded down with the fish that had been netted. And from this time on, everyone knew that this neku vine was [423] the property of him who had found it, and of his family, [428] down through his mother's line, forever.

"Ai, mati, you would have seen something, if you had got here for the neku dance!"

6

361 Like any other Bush Negro village, S'ei was a series of sandy clearings about which were grouped huts of woven palm fronds and palm thatch. All about was the big bush. [487] The trails which led from the village were each guarded [489] by a magically treated palm azang, and shrines to the ancestral spirits who saw to it that evil was kept away. Where the several paths led, a stranger was not encouraged to discover. Down one, women were to be seen disappearing [482] in the morning with trays on their heads, their infants astride their backs, held inside the folds of a cloth which was fastened high above their breasts, and caught up again below them. In many upper river villages, this path led to the fields, some distance away. Others were the way to [478] shrines, erected to those spirits which must be worshiped outside the village. Another path might lead to a brook, which the villagers held sacred. There were trails, too, which connected neighboring villages, and led perhaps farther yet, but for the stranger, the highway was the river, [486] and no matter how short the distance between one settlement and another, he was not invited to make his way through the bush.

"You do not want to go through the bush, white man. In the bush are evil spirits," we heard many times.

A village clearing was divided into quarters. Each quarter was inhabited by one of the *mbi*, or extended families, and 361 the quarter bore its name. It was composed of several house- 592 holds—five or six or more, depending upon the size of the

village. A household was not confined to one building only, but few who were not men of rank and means had more than three. One was for the woman and her children, another for storing the crops, and the third was the man's treasure house, where women might not come. It was like the matter of wives. Only men of position could afford more than one. But if a man had two wives and both lived in his village, then perhaps five huts would bear a design identified with him on the carved side posts which outlined the low doorway. This design would recur in the various carvings he had made for his women—it was his crest. And though a man from another village, who was not related to him, might like it, and liking it copy it, this practice would be socially frowned upon.

A village quarter, however, did not contain only dwelling places, and storehouses, and men's treasure houses. Certain families also had in their part of the village an enclosed shrine for the family gods. If in a given family a powerful Vodu, or snake god, had come to an ancestress and had in a dream, or in a seizure, or through a revelation made to an obia man, chosen her as his *'asi*—his priestess or medium—then with this disclosure came the instructions for the place of locating a house of worship to that Vodu, and the type of house it was to be. Such a shrine, once erected, would be kept in the quarter, and worshiped by the members of that family. Sometimes in front of a dwelling hut, a low enclosure, the size of a small kennel, would stand a little to the side of the door. This was a house to Toné, the river spirit. In one such house lived a woman who had a great Toné god. She had the gift of prophecy. When the men gathered for a council meeting in the village of the Granman, then she, too, would sometimes be bidden to come and sit with the men, though, being a woman, she could never speak at council meetings.

"Touch her skin," the other women said, pointing out this albino woman, "and you will have your desires fulfilled."

In each quarter, too, there was an open house where the women did their cooking, and perhaps a platform or two,

614 clan names. He went to his mother's brother, and asked for the origin of his own clan, and the relationship that existed between the lo to which he belonged and the others.

"It is for the old men to know," his uncle replied. "When you are old, you will know these things."

"But you must tell me. It is my right," the young man insisted.

"It will be your right," the older man corrected him.

And there the matter rested. But from one, and from another, we gathered the clan names. One village belonged to one clan, its obia was confided to us, and at another village we learned the name of still another clan. So the list of names slowly grew—ten, twelve, thirteen, fourteen. But some clans were paired in a fashion we could not fathom, and when the clans are grouped so as to express the tribe as a whole, the expression that is used is that of "the twelve lo."

614 423 The clan we found to be rooted deep in the land. Each clan had its own territory, and in the region it controlled only the men of the clan might fish in the creeks or fell the hardwood trees which the white man in the city bought. All of the up-river clans had land on the lower river near the railhead, and an important down-river clan, like that of the Gankwe people, had land deep in the interior. Whether fear of invasion, on the one hand, or the need to have their own strongholds in the event of factional disputes, on the other, dictated this division of the land, it was, of course, impossible to determine. Yet it was unquestionably useful for a clan to have representation up and down the river in this fashion. Thus a man, as he traveled up or down the river, would be sure of at least one or two places where he might count on receiving the welcome due him as one who is at home among those who have come from the same "old mother," and where he might feel spiritually safe among people of his own blood, and among the same gods as those of his own village.

631 619 Village, clan, and above these the tribe. So it was that the political order of the Bush Negro was integrated. Tribal

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

 787

"Wife of the G'aman, [539]
I come from the river.
Go to the G'aman
Say to him,
These strangers are friends,
They bring no evil."

It was the god speaking, and the Granman's wife received with lowered head the words spoken through the priestess.

"Ai, my master. Ai, Massa Gadu," she said.

5

The Granman's paternal village was directly across the river from Asindopo Lantiwe. It was called Akisiamau, literally "Took with an outstretched hand," but whether there was also some meaning in the phrase not intended for the uninitiated, we could not learn. In size it was not much larger than the Granman's village, and again and again we recognized houses which were his by the crest-like carvings on the doorposts, that reproduced the design found not only at the side of the council-house door, but at the door of all other houses at Asindopo Lantiwe which were his. 361 643 [423]

Except for several old people who sat about in the shade and waited for the strangers to come to them with their greetings, the entire village followed us as we made our way down one path and another. 123

"*Bak'a, Ame'ika Bak'a, Ame'ika Fandya!*—White man. American white man, American Fandya!" the children called after us, as they ran at our heels, touching our canteens, our sun helmets, and shoes.

The Granman had spoken with especial fondness of his father's house, and it was there that we asked first to be taken. It was not occupied, we were told, and none might enter it. Above the top crosspiece white cotton was draped. Except that its door was closed, it showed no signs of being 342 643

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Marriage requires a bride price, consisting of pieces of cloth, sugar, tobacco, and some carved wooden implements, such as combs, paddles, trays. These are handed over to the bride's family as presents. Then the wife simply moves into her husband's hut, or he into hers. Despite their pre-marital promiscuity, it is said that on the bridal night all the inhabitants of a Bush Negro village will gather outside the hut to hear what the husband has to say regarding the bride's virginity. If the girl is not a virgin, part of the bride price may be refunded, at the husband's discretion. The gathering on such an occasion is attended by much jocularity.

The Djuka husband builds a hut for each one of his women and has another for himself, to which he may retire whenever he feels the need of bachelor seclusion. The woman sleeps in her own hut, cooks, and raises her children there. The husband comes to her when he wants to, and leaves her for another wife when impulse so guides him. She seldom quarrels with the other wives, who may even live in separate villages.

Each wife has her own provision ground, where she grows rice and cassava; her husband has cleared it for her. The cassava fields are owned by individual women, but are held in very loose tenure. At harvest time, or when a plague of insects is threatening, the women of several households work together in common.

The man's hut is called his *gudu oso,* or "treasure house." It serves to impress his women with his importance and wealth. They are forbidden to enter it, but, woman-like, they insist on peeping in. So he keeps many boxes and wood carv-

/137 cont./

241 and sugar cane, while in the third year some pineapples, bananas, and sugar cane are also harvested.

Thereafter one surrenders the ground to the second growth (kapoeweri) shooting up, here called "kauwé," and to the weeds, like the cutting grass "baboen nefi" (Scleria secans), which prevent further growth of the cultivated crop.

This system of clearing grounds requires much land. It is a severely predatory cultivation which can only be employed when sufficient free land is available. Only after many years can one return to the same piece of forest to lay out a new ground, depending on the recovery of the forest, more particularly on the top growth.

[592] Among the Bush Negroes of the Marowijne it is the rule that
[476] each household provide for itself. The man clears the ground with help of family /familie/ members or friends, who in return for food are taken in during this time. If the man has /138/ one wife, then ordinarily two grounds per year are cleared; if he has more than one wife, then he clears two grounds for each wife.

[622] The captain /kapitein/ of a village lays out his ground him-
[643] self, helped by his villagers. The granman /chief/, however, does not work himself, but, regardless of the number of his wives, has his family and other helpers clear grounds in return for food for the
●423 workdays. The products of the grounds of a household are not joint
593 property, but rather the wife asserts her rights over the produce from one ground, while the man claims that from the other ground. Thus a distinction is made between the agrarian property of the wife and that of the husband.

3. The Plague of Ants and the Ant-bushes

241
825 In the agriculture of the Bush Negroes the plague of ants plays a significant role. The leaf-cutting or parasol ants (Atta sexdens and Atta cephalotes) are very destructive because of their attacks on the leaves in the plantings. The first-named species is the greatest evildoer in the interior districts of Surinam. Cassava in

/139 cont./

13 seems too high to me), the ants can bring into the soil each year two to three tons of leaf material per hectare. As a result the soil would be so enriched with humus and, in addition, through the construction of the numerous nest corridors, receive so much extra ventilation that the oxygen content and the microbiological condition of this soil would tend to differ from the mineral soils in which the virgin forest is rooted. As proof of this, it is stated "that even the oldest ant-kapoeweri directly behind the villages shows no tendency to grow into normal high forest" (p. 13).

114 It does not seem correct to me to ascribe this kapoeweri
137 phenomenon only to the presence and the activity of the leaf-
136 cutting ants. In my opinion the ants here constitute a troublesome contributing factor, for when the virgin-forest grounds are abandoned by the population and no new food material is available to the ants while the kapoeweri gradually grows into higher forest, then the balance in the ant population re-establishes itself. This process takes place at a slow rate, depending on the local circumstances, but it leads to the re-establishment of the original situation. There is, however, one condition connected with it, namely, that the forest be left in peace for a long enough stretch.
241 Now this last is not the case for the grounds area of the Bush Negroes.
134 They return too soon (within ten years) to clear grounds again, with the consequence that the soil becomes too exhausted and the recovery of the forest becomes impossible.

171 Proof for this viewpoint is already provided by Stahel (loc.
241 cit.) in his consideration of the agriculture of the upland Indians.
137 The absence of the ant-kopoeweri there is not a matter of a lesser
[136] ant infestation, as Stahel /140/ believes -- for in places this is equally serious -- but of a less intensive use of the forest lands.
[161] The Indians are present in small numbers (a few hundred, as against
[423] thousands of Bush Negroes), while only communal plots are laid
[361] out for one village, and not different ones for each family. In addition, the Indians move frequently in order to find new hunting and fishing grounds.

/141 cont./

4. The Agrarian Law

241 There is yet another circumstance which adversely affects
423 the agriculture of the Bush Negroes. As among many primitive peoples, so also in the life of the Djoeka /Djuka/ customary law plays an important role. We have already seen that at least two grounds per year are laid out per household. In fact it comes down to this, that both the man and the woman possess a ground of their own. Now these two grounds do not lie next to each other or close to each other. On the contrary, the one ground is always hours away from the other one; it is to be found on the other side of the river or elsewhere along a forest creek. One might think that this is a kind of division of risks. In actuality it is a question of family property. The ground of the wife is cleared in the area of her family, and the ground of the man in his family complex. The grounds are thus laid out with reference to the large family and not with reference to the household. Each family has a definite area where it has the right to clear grounds. This area lies along a forest creek, or one lays out a path from the river through the forest, along which the grounds
[578] are cleared. Not infrequently, quarrels arise over the use of land by "unauthorized" persons on distinctly family land.

A Bush Negro thus cannot simply select a piece of forest for his ground wherever he pleases. He is bound by the law of family property. This applies not only to the families among themselves, but in a larger context also to the villages. Each village has its area within which the families from that village lay out grounds. Only through marriage can men lay out grounds for their wives in the area of another village.

These complications in agriculture lead to the circumstance that the hunger for land arises much sooner than would otherwise
[361] be the case. Add to this the fact that many Bush Negro villages remain in existence for a very long time, sometimes 100 years at
[161] a stretch, in the same spot. It is therefore not surprising that through the growth in population in such centers, too, the limit of this predatory cultivation has been reached.

000/141 cont./
241 of this predatory cultivation has been reached. The nearby
423 agricultural lands are kept in use with too brief a rest period, with
[134] the result that the soil is overworked and the periodic recovery
[825] of the forest proceeds at an ever slower pace. In addition one struggles to an increasing degree with the problem /142/ of the leaf-cutting ants, which keep the easily accessible places occupied.

241 The consequence of this circumstance is that the Bush Negroes
311 are forced to make the grounds farther and farther from their vil-
[484] lages. One travels for hours up or down the river in order to
[482] reach good land. When one cannot make good use of a forest creek in order to transport the produce from the field, one is forced to carry the harvest for one or two hours through the forest to the river. The Bush Negro does not go farther than a two hours' walk (about six kilometers from the river) (see the map /see p. 13 /).

241 On the Tapanahoni one spends even days in traveling to less
311 populated areas in order to plant and to harvest. One then estab-
361 lishes so-called work camps along the river, from which one
[103] operates in the surrounding areas. This is the case, among others, between Godoholo and Granbori for people from Drietabbetje or
311 other centers. That one does not go even farther up river, all the
423 way past the last village, Granbori, has to do with a prohibition
643 by the granman of the Aucaners. That is, the latter wants to reserve the lands lying beyond this point as hunting lands and therefore will not make them available for agricultural purposes.

241 The inhabitants of the villages along the lower Tapanahoni,
311 such as Sajé, Clementi, and Malobbi, frequently lay out their food
423 grounds in the Lawa, where they can have at their disposal agri-
361 cultural lands as far as the Aboenasoengoe Falls. Farther upstream
103 on this river the Bonni or Aloekoe Negroes assert their rights.

5. Differences between Aucaners and Paramaccaners

101 The conditions given above apply in the main to the Aucaner
162 Bush Negroes of the Tapanahoni. They number today approximately
[311] 6,500 persons. The Paramaccaner Bush Negroes of the Marowijne, approximately 1,700 in number, are in somewhat more favorable

/15/

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE BONI

Villages

[3] [361] [133] Localization. The principal Boni villages have for 150 years been grouped on the Lawa (1) upstream from Abattis-Cottica Falls.

> 1. Let us remember that the Lawa and the Tapanahoni are the streams forming the Maroni. The Lawa constitutes the border between Surinam and French Guiana.

The limit of Boni country toward the south is vague. However, it is taken for granted that all the Abattis-Cottica belong [361] to the Boni. Boni farming villages and Djuka villages coexist downstream from the Abattis-Cottica as far as Abounasounga. Below Abounasounga begins Djuka country properly speaking (2).

> 2. In reality this is a zone of colonization, for the "great country" of the Djuka is the Tapanahoni. But the customary rights they possess on the Lawa lands are contested by no one.

423 643 [131] Traditionally, the Boni used to consider the whole of the upper basin of the Maroni as their domain or at the very least as territory under the authority of the grand man. Thus it was at

/15 cont./ Thus it was at
423 the time of the Lawa gold rushes (1890) that Grand Man Anato
643 caused rent to be paid by the Creole miners who were settling in
[648] the region. But this practice, excessive when the small portion of this territory actually occupied by the Boni is considered, ended
423 up by falling into disuse. Nowadays things have fallen into the
648 opposite extreme, and the Boni find themselves having no right,
178 customary or otherwise, over the country of their ancestors; the first comer, even of the Creoles from the British West Indies, can settle anywhere, dislocating the apportionment of the land among lineages. This situation has been harmful to the life of the tribe by contributing to the scattering of the peopling. Perhaps it is not too late to remedy the situation. An /16/ /Figure 2 appears here/ /17/ African tribe cannot live wholesomely if there are no definite relationships, entailing unquestioned rights, between the group and the land.

423 The following modus vivendi has been in force for many
619 years:

a) The Djuka may circulate freely across Boni country, but
[486] they may not establish villages in it; if they wish to make clearings
[166] there, they must ask for permission from the grand man.
[226] Otherwise they have the right to fish on the Tanpok and the Waki.

423 b) The Creoles may settle anywhere and make their clear-
648 ings where the lands are not used. But that does not modify in the minds of the Boni the lineages' rights over the land; this occupation is regarded as creating no new right; for example, the Doglis habitation is built on the lands of Kormotibo village.

423 c) The Boni reserve for themselves along with the Oayana
648 Indians the exclusive right to fish on the Litani and the Maruini.
822 On these rivers the Djuka do not have the right to penetrate.
[619] The Boni may be computed at a little less than 1,000 persons
162 all told.

/23 cont./

621 175 [166] [103] Agodé was founded by Grand Man Ochi, probably about 1895, at the time when the Boni were required by the settlement of the Lawa Dispute to evacuate the villages they were occupying on the Surinam bank. The name Boniville was given by the gold miners; it was used never at all by the Boni.

621 613 [103] The Yakubi or Kotika lineage forms the important village of Kotika (1). It is one of those which have remained best grouped.

1. This word alludes to the river where the rebellion of 1772 began.

[423] [241] [103] Its members have exclusive rights over the region included between Abunasunga Falls and their village. They have farmed there for more than a century, and this is why the region is called Abattis Kotika.

613 621 175 [648] Kotika is the oldest Boni village. It is one of those founded by the survivors of the battles against the Dutch when, about 1815, they settled again on the Lawa. Until about 1895 nearly all the Boni were grouped in one large village, each lineage occupying a different quarter. At the time of the settlement, unfavorable to France, of the Lawa Dispute (1895), the various lineages emigrated, founding especially the villages of l'Enfant Perdu, Loka, Boniville, and Papaïston. Only the members of the Kotika lineage stayed, in full agreement with the grand man, so that the ancestral land might not be completely abandoned. [648] [628] Thus the inhabitants of this village are nowadays under the authority of Surinam, without ceasing, for that reason, to be faithful to the grand man and maintaining normal relations with the other groups.

613 614 [124] The genealogies reconstituted in 1957 by systematic interrogation of the old people of the group had led to three distinct fractions which we shall call Kotika 1, 2, and 3, tracing respectively back to ancestresses named Kénéya, Amawi, and Oka.

/60/

There are no gardens around the cabins because the conditions of the soil and climate render permanent cultivation impracticable. The nearest thing is a few persons planting some banana trees around the hut at the foot of which they spread the hearth ashes. As a general rule villages are closely hemmed in by secondary brushwood, and people plant far from one another and sometimes very far from the village.

If it does not admit the appropriation of land to individuals, custom does admit, on the other hand, the ownership of trees. In the villages the useful trees (coconut trees, maripa palms /attalea excelsa/, mango trees, cashew-apple trees, etc.) all have owners. The tree is considered as personal property and is transmitted by inheritance in the same way as a gun or a canoe. The procedure employed by the Boni for the dispersion of the inheritance among the members of the lineage of the dead man sometimes has the effect of transmitting the ownership of a tree to a person who is not of the village. For example, in Boniville where a fraction of the Kotika lineage lives, two caumou palms were bequeathed a long time ago to members of the lineage living in Kotika, who come each year to gather the fruit.

Appendix

Local Chronology Used for Determining Ages

1876 Death of Grand Man Atyaba.

1877 Trip of the explorer Crevaux from the Maroni to the Yari and the Amazon, in the company of Apatu, head of the Boni village.

1882 Apatu secedes, taking with him about 150 persons and founds the village which bears his name on the lower course of the Maroni.

/67 cont./

613 554 692 [642] 2) He exerts an extended judiciary power, for it is taken for granted that the legal and political power of the tribe cannot intervene in affairs between members of the same lineage, even murder, for it can be said that in the custom of the Refugee Blacks the lineage represents only one single life.

It is obligatory that the following be settled within the framework of the lineage:

[754] --Accusations of murder by sorcery where victim and supposed murderer are both members of the lineage;

[423] --Arguments over lands within the zones effectively [578] possessed by the lineage.

613 554 692 577 The way in which the captain exercises his functions as judge is hard to know, because for the Refugee Blacks it is extremely shameful to reveal the dissensions within one's own lineage. And as for those of other lineages, if one succeeds in becoming acquainted with them, one scarcely dares talk about it for if that came to be known you could smart for it.

613 466 554 Lineage heads have a certain authority on the material level; they designate the men charged with doing the work ordered by the administration, but truth to tell, it is above all a question of choosing from among volunteers, for it is profitable work. They might not succeed in imposing clearly unpopular orders.

613 554 624 The captain designates a certain number of supervisors or basia to help him. Their /68/ role consists in watching over the cleanliness of the village, in making all the material arrangements relative to dances and burials, in calling together those concerned to the meetings of the council.

613 571 The lo constitutes a unit from the spiritual point of view, but it is important to notice that it does not involve any collective organization on the material level. In this domain the wildest individualism reigns; there are no tools for collective use, and people get together to make their clearings only if they want to.

643 692 [578] [423] /71 cont./.

--Disputes over the appropriation of lands are very rare in Boni country because of the sparseness of population.

We have never seen the grand man hold anything other than audiences of conciliation relative to people who had fought or threatened each other. [183] The custom of the Refugee Blacks would indeed be difficult to fit into a code. The state of persons and social duties derive so directly from beliefs that the intervention of a judge is not indispensable for the functioning of the society.

643 423 The grand man is supposed to retain power over all the lands of Boni country which are not allocated to lineages; in particular, this is the case with the upper basin of the headstreams of the Lawa. [648] [184] It is above all by virtue of this that he is considered the suzerain of the Indians living in this territory. The same conception exists among the Djuka with respect to the headstreams of the Tapanahoni.

643 724 [226] The suzerainty of the grand man over the land and waters is marked, as in Africa, by special rights in the domain of hunting and fishing. He alone can authorize group fishing on the great river by the process of la nivrée. The same problem does not hold for hunting which is practiced in a strictly individual fashion. But it is taken for granted that if a tapir (1) is killed in Boni country,

1. The tapir is the largest animal of the bush.

the hunter must carry its head as well as a thigh to the grand man.

643 648 A certain misunderstanding reigns between the Europeans and the Boni on the subject of the duties of the grand man. The Europeans tend to believe that he commands the tribe in the way in which a colonel commands a regiment, that he can designate a certain man for a certain job, fix the price of boats, etc. The grand man tries to give satisfaction to the administration /72/ to justify the pay he draws, but he succeeds very badly in it, for in reality he possesses almost no temporal power.

/77/

CHAPTER V

000

STUDY OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF LANDS AMONG THE LINEAGES (1)

[114]

1. Part written with the cooperation of Mr. P. Frenay, assistant technical geographer.

Appropriation of Land in the Customary Law of the Refugee Blacks

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The fundamental principle of the customary law of the Refugee Blacks as far as land is concerned is that only the lineage can retain real rights. The individual can hold only a right of use, which disappears at his death.

This right concerns exclusively the working of the land for plantings and does not extend, as we shall see further on, to hunting and gathering.

Each lineage possesses recognized rights over certain portions of land, more or less well delimited according to the density of the population, but known by all and giving no occasion (at least in Boni country) for any dispute.

Right of use. Within these zones there is joint possession of the rights among all the members of the lineage; each one has rights of use over a certain number of "clearings" which he habitually uses in turn to make his plantings.

The right of use can be given away: for example, if someone thinks he will no longer need a clearing he was habitually cultivating, he gives the right to utilize it to another member of the lineage.

423 613 671 [428] /77 cont./

Land held by right of use cannot be sold nor rented, but only loaned. Neither can it be transmitted by inheritance; this would be entirely contrary to the thinking and custom of the Refugee Blacks, hostile to everything that would violate the legal joint possession of the lineage. Inheritance can affect only the harvest in process [425] from clearings. Once this harvest is made, the land can be occupied by any member of the lineage, man or woman, who wishes to cultivate it; and if there is any dispute, it is obligatorily settled within the lineage; the grand man would refuse to judge it. Kinship degree /78/ does not enter in, at least in principle, since they can say to each other "brother," "uncle," or "grandfather" in the classificatory sense.

423 428 The only attenuation of the rigor of this principle provided for by custom is that upon the death of a woman, her daughters have a right of priority to utilize her lands.

423 241 128 The Refugee Blacks have a clear tendency to remain faithful all their lives to the same clearings. The study we have made of the clearings in Boni country gives poor information on the history of each clearing, for it would have been necessary to be able to consult on the spot a large number of people, which we were not able to do; nevertheless it allows us to state that in the neighborhood of the residence villages, individuals keep their right of use of a clearing for the length of their lives.

42 241 Here is for example the transmission of rights over clearings 101 to 112 /sic/ (see genealogical table of the Dju lo) (1).

1. See plate at the end of this work: Distribution of lands in the neighborhood of the principal Boni villages.

/79 cont./

42 241 Thus out of ten clearings we find only two cases where a member of the lineage gave his right of use to another during his lifetime; in four cases the right of use was taken over by a daughter upon the death of her mother; in two cases it passed to a distant relative.

241 423 425 562 Anyone, man or woman, may hold rights of use. But examination of the clearings shows that the great majority of men do not ask for any, and that nearly all the land is appropriated by women. In the example noted, out of ten clearings only one is appropriated by a man. This derives from the fact that most men are content to cut their wives' clearings on their wives' lands but do not bother to farm on their own account.

241 423 [613] Each woman holds rights of use over a certain number of clearings distributed in the different territorial zones of her lineage. It is important to have, so to say, many cords to one's bow, for it is necessary to be able, according to the activity of the manioc ants, to pass from one sector to another or on the contrary to work prematurely a clearing which one was hoping to leave fallow for several years.

241 425 [423] For example, Tini (F1) holds rights over six to seven clearings. For one (No. 104), she created the right of use on her own behalf by clearing it out of old secondary forest without any known owner. As for another (No. 107), she received it from Loka (D13), a distant relative, as a gift during his lifetime. As for the others (for example No. 106), she created the right on her own behalf by farming them first upon the death of their holder.

241 423 The right of use can be loaned, either to a member of the lineage or even to an outsider. It is specified that the loan is made for a certain number of years and that it is revocable. In such a case the donor does not lose his right of use. /next

/80/

241 Real right. The principle is that he who makes a clearing out of
423 primary forest (or old secondary forest without a known owner)
425 creates at the same time as a right of use for himself, an impre-
613 scriptible right for his lineage.

These two notions are very separate in the minds of the Refugee Blacks. The exercise of a right of use, even over a long period of time, over land already recognized as the possession of another lineage does not create any real right at all.

For example, ○ Béniti † 1963 (ES), an old woman of the Dju lo, had founded a farming habitation in the Kuyaku locality, where she worked the earth for several tens of years. But since these lands, even though unoccupied, were regarded as belonging to the Dipélu II lo (Kormotibo village), Béniti's work did not create any right at all for the Dju lo. If her daughters do not agree and if the habitation disappears, it is people of the Dipélu II lo who will be able to occupy the lands.

613 Consequences of the material scission of a lineage. When fraction
571 A' of lineage A emigrates and goes to settle on the land of another
425 village, B, which cedes a portion of land to it, the members of
423 fraction A', thus separated, keep all their rights over the land from which they originally came. But the reverse is not true: the people who remained in the village of origin of the lineage (A) have no right over the land ceded to the A' out of B's territory.

At the end of a certain time, and especially if the lineage (B) had never really occupied the land granted, it is assumed that the lineage (A') is possessor of it without restriction.

This was the case for example of the fraction of the Dipélu II who left Kormotibo village about 1930 to establish themselves in Asisi near the Awara Bakka lineage. The Awara Bakka granted them some unoccupied lands near Asisi village in the Tapo locality.
(162) This fraction, now numbering about 30 persons, considers that it has exclusive rights over these lands where the Kormotibo people cannot come to farm, but it has lost nothing as regards its rights over Kormotibo soil.

/80 cont./

621 613 [174] Case of the village of Boniville. This village constitutes an especially interesting case, for it brings together small fractions of the various lineages permanently settled there. It helps one to understand what the territorial implantation of the Refugee Blacks may have been toward the end of the 18th century at the time when their institutions were developing.

621 613 423 [243] [425] The principle is that the Boniville lands belong to the grand man, the last representative of the Dikan lineage; he granted individually to the inhabitants of the village the right to farm his lands. These inhabitants thus hold only a right of use, and there can be no competition among them for the possession of the real rights. But the principle of transmission of the right of use in the same lineage remains for each clearing taken separately. For example, Klémenti (Dju, F7), who made a clearing out of primary forest, concedes that after him his land may be occupied by any member of the Dju lineage residing in Boniville, but not by Dju lineage members living in Asisi. /81/

423 621 Few in number on a relatively extensive territorial sector, the inhabitants of Boniville have not felt the need to divide the sector granted by the grand man into precise territorial zones.

423 425 613 It is difficult to foresee what will happen after the death of Grand Man Difu when the rights of use will be transformed into real rights. It is probable that a territorial division among the fractions of the lineage established in Boniville will be imperceptibly created by the simple fact that competition will arise among them.

423 Fishing, hunting, gathering, and mineral exploitation rights. These rights are totally separate from the right to farm; in this respect the conceptions of the Refugee Blacks reveal the precariousness of the bonds between the individual and the soil, which results from ecological conditions.

/31 cont./

423 The right to fish in certain rivers is held by lineages; other
222 rivers are regarded as property common to the inhabitants of a
613 village, whatever their kinship may be.

621 For example, the right to fish in Kumata Kiiki, a small
[426] creek of the Surinam bank, near the village of Kotika, is reserved for members of the Lapé lineage (the members of this lineage farmed there formerly, but they abandoned these lands, currently farmed by the Kotika people).

Maripa and Likanaon creeks, downstream from Boniville, are reserved for the inhabitants of Boniville.

Asisi Creek is reserved for the inhabitants of Asisi (Dju, Awara Bakka, and Dipéla II lineages).

423 The right to hunt cannot be reserved; everyone has the right
[224] to hunt anywhere.

The right to gather and the right to cut trees for making
[222] planks or boats is generally bound up with the right to farm.
[313]

The right to collect underground products is completely
423 independent of the right to farm. For example, if someone finds
316 a seam of kaolin (pémba) on the lands of another lineage, he
317 exploits it freely. This aspect of the legal conceptions of the Refugee Blacks is very interesting, for it shows that even from the
423 point of view of customary law, the grand man is not entitled to
316 exercise any rights over the production of the Creole gold miners.
648 He could demand indemnities only insofar as these gold miners farm lands over which the Boni exercise customary rights. The interminable discussions which the claims of Grand Man Anato brought on at the time of the Lawa gold rush at the end of the past century would have been avoided by a better knowledge of the customary law.

/82/

Territorial Implantation of Lineages

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As we have shown, the Refugee Blacks are caught between contradictory imperatives:

--Their legal thought, centered on joint possession by the lineage, pushes them to distribute land among the lineages in compact blocs;

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[241]

--The geographic environment, and most especially the ravages of the manioc ant, obliges them to give to each individual the possibility of abruptly changing his territorial sector or to hasten the planned rhythm of his fallow fields.

The solution which has imposed itself has been to divide the lands of each lineage into a certain number of zones scattered on the two banks of the river. Instead of finding large blocks with a single holder, we are going to find sectors sometimes rather small. With that exception, the legal principles of the Refugee Blacks keep all their practical value.

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Each village possesses a certain number of landing places or dégrads /wharfs/, from which fan out a certain number of paths. The wharf is the center of a territorial zone within which the members of the lineage fan out, pushing their clearings farther and farther, until they meet the clearings created by other lineages. At this moment a boundary is in effect created, at least in some points (1).

[184]

1. Among the Djuka it happens that a wharf may be common to two lineages and that the boundary may be marked by a big road perpendicular to the river and starting from the wharf; this system corresponds to a concern for establishing more precise boundaries between groups occupying land to the maximum. It is not observed anywhere in Boni country.

/82 cont./

423 311 This fact is easily observable in the neighborhood of recently created farming habitations. In the figure "Distribution of lands ... in the neighborhood of the confluence with the Inini" (see at the end of the present chapter), the lands of the Antonu habitation are clearly seen distributed along two paths, one on each bank of the river.

241 423 In the sectors near Boni residence villages, cultivated in days gone by, the main lines of these boundaries are known everywhere. Still, they are far from being as precise as in the African countries with dense population, where the absence of manioc ants allows a regular rotation of lands. In Boni country this rotation is most variable, the duration of fallow ground going from two to 20 years [136] [311] and more. Vast sectors where the activity of the manioc ants suddenly becomes greater are abandoned for many years. When they are cultivated again, people no longer remember the exact boundaries of the former clearings and the new holders cut their clearings in their own way, taking care only that they remain on the lands of their lineage.

000 /83/ STUDY OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF LANDS
IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF RESIDENCE VILLAGES

Inventory of Part of the Cultivated or Fallow Plots
in January, 1957

621 [241] Study of the clearings of Agodé (Boniville). The lands adjacent to Boniville are worked in a very unsystematic fashion because of the composite character of the village population.

[613] Let us call to mind that Agodé includes fractions of six lineages:

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--The Dikan lo, lineage of the grand man, nearly extinct
--A fragment of the Kotika lo
--A fragment of the Dju lo
--A fragment of the Lapé lo
--A fragment of the Papalston lo
--A fragment of the Dipélu I lo

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The Dikan lineage holds the real rights over the whole of the lands situated on the eastern bank of the Lawa, from Puu Mofu Creek to the south up to the edge of L'Enfant Perdu village to the north.

The fragment of the Papalston lo established in Boniville is in a special situation; it has for a long time possessed the lands situated to the south of Puu Mofu Creek up to the edge of Loka village (Lapé lo). This group has remained strongly organized and its members do not make clearings outside their zone, in which they have all the space desirable anyway.

The members of the other groups make their clearings on all the surface formerly occupied by the Dikan lo. The grand man has reserved for his personal use the lands situated near Likanaon Creek, where he has built a farming habitation. The inhabitants of Boniville make their clearings on all the rest and without any definite territorial grouping.

[643]

[101] This finage (1), like the others studied in the present chapter, was

1. Finage: zone cultivated by the members of a collectivity.

visited in January, 1957, in other words shortly after the end of the land-clearing and at the beginning of the planting.

Study of some clearings of the Agodé bakka locality "behind Boniville":

abbreviations:	(K)	Kotika	(D)	Dikan	(Dip)	Dipélu
	(Dju)	Dju	(P)	Papalston	(L)	Lapé

6:Hurault--119 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

[Agodé bakka locality]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
1	○	Kamina (K2, E92) clearing cut by her husband	1956	lived in Boniville	4 years; last user Todo (K2, F68), in 1952
2	△	Grand Man Difu (D)	1953	--	2 years; used by the grand man in 1951
3	○	Béniti (Dju, E5)	1951	--	cleared by Béniti about 1915, cut by her 3 times in all
4	○	Mimi (K3, E156)	1951	--	cut on old secondary forest
5	△	Todo (K2, F68)	1951	--	2 years; already cut by Todo in 1951 and 1953
6	○	Lèya (K2, F99); clearing cut by her husband	1956	--	6 years; clearing cut by Kanayen (Kotika lo) † in 1950
7	○	Lésina (K2, F69) clearing cut by her husband Manku (Dip, I)	1953	--	?

[Agodé bakka locality]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
8	△	Grand Man Difu	1952	--	?
9	○	Paata (Djuka woman settled in Boniville)	1947(?)	id.	already used by Paata about 1940
10	○	Térésa (L2, E57) clearing cut by her sons	1953	id.	?
11	○	Paata (see above)	1953		already used by Paata in 1950

Thus, out of this group of eleven clearings, two remain attributed to the grand man, one to a woman of the Dju lineage, two to a Djuka woman, one to a woman of the Lapé lineage, five to members of the Kotika lineage, all inhabitants of Boniville. /85/

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[066]
[931]
[554]

Study of the clearings of the fraction of the Papaïston established in Boniville. This group formerly lived in Puu Mofu village at the mouth of the creek of the same name, abandoned about 1940 following an epidemic. Its settlement in Boniville is therefore recent. The oldest man in the group, Bukuman, a man of some 60 years, exerts de facto authority.

This group tends to add to its initial finage the band of land included between Boniville village and Puu Mofu Creek belonging to the Dikan io (especially clearings Nos. 12, 13, 14).

[Papaïston fraction living in Boniville]

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
12 ○	Apinda (P1, G26)	1955	member of the Papaïston fraction living in Boniville	20 years; last user Adyuba (D) † mother of the grand man
13 ○	Alasani (P1, F34)	1953	id.	20 years idem
14 ○	Lémiki (K3, E130)	1945 (?)	lives in Boniville	20 years (this clearing is not in Papaïston territory)
15 △	Bukuman (P1, F32), for his wife	1956	member of the Papaïston fraction in Boniville	20 to 25 years
16 ○	Apinda; clearing cut by her husband Amatodja	1954	id.	id.
17 ○	Alasani	1954	id.	id.

[Papaïston fraction living in Boniville]

/85 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
18	○	Térésa (L2, E57)	1955	woman of Lapé lineage living in Boniville; has worked there as an exception with Bukuman's permission	id.
18a	○	Alasani; clearing cut by her son Nanga	1956	member of the Papaïston fraction living in Boniville	id.
19	○	Pélui (P1, F33)	1954	id.	id. /86/
20	△	Bukuman, for his wife	1954	id.	id.
21	○	Pélui	1955	id.	id.
22	○	Apinda; clearing cut by her husband Amatodja	1956	member of the Papaïston fraction living in Boniville	id.

[Papaïston fraction living in Boniville]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
23	O	Alasani; clearing cut by her son Nanga	1955	member of the Papaïston fraction living in Boniville	20 to 25 years
24	O	Apinda; clearing cut by her husband Amatodja	1955	id.	id.
25	△	Baafu (L2, E58), for himself	1955	man of the Lapé lineage living in Boniville. Has worked there as an exception with Bangasé's permission	id.
26	O	Pélui	1954	woman of the Papaïston lineage (Boniville)	id.
27	O	Apinda	1949	id.	id.

/86 cont./

621 Near this clearing is the limit of the lineage lands; beyond
613 are the clearings of Loka village (Lapé lineage).
423 Out of the 16 clearings examined here, 14 are occupied by
241 members of the Papaïston group at Boniville, two are held by
[562] temporary users, outsiders to the group. Out of the 16 clearings
13 are held by women and three by men.

Lands of Loka village (Lapé lo). This village, with its annex
Lapé Tabiki, is the residence village of the Lapé lo. The Lapé lo,
[614] whose genealogy is completely known and which remains geographically well grouped, is divided into two fractions without ceasing to constitute a lineage (bee) in the strict sense of the term. Its lands are divided into three zones:

--One on the east bank of the Maroni, behind Loka village.
/87/ --Another on the west bank (Surinam bank) opposite Lapé Tabiki, which we were not able to examine.

--Another upstream from Maripasoula, where part of the members of the lineage possess farming habitations.

[311] The first zone has been almost completely abandoned for about ten years as a consequence of an exceptional pullulation of manioc ants. We have summarized only a few relatively recent clearings there:

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
31 Δ	Akwadé (L1, E22) for himself	1948	member of the Lapé lo	cut only once on old secondary forest
32 Δ	Akwadé, for himself	1950	id.	cut twice in all by Akwadé

[Lands of Loka Village (Lapé'lo)]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
33	Δ	Akwadé	1952	id.	cut only once on old secondary forest
34	O	Awènkina (L1, D23); clearing cut by her husband	1949	id.	cut only once on old secondary forest
35	O	Awènkina id.	1936(?)	id.	cut twice in all by Awènkina
36	O	Awènkina; clearing cut by her son	1952	id.	2 years; cut in 1950 on old secondary forest
37	O	Chii (L1, D24); clearing cut by her son Ayaubédé	1952	id.	2 years; cut in 1950 by the same
38	O	Chii; clearing cut by her husband	1950	id.	cut only once on old secondary forest
38a	O	Madu (E41), Chii's daughter	1956	id.	6 years, a part of No. 38 taken up again

[lands of Loka Village (Lapé lo)]

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No.		Last Usef	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
39	○	Chii; clearing cut by her son Ayaubédé	1955	id.	?
40	△	Koniman (L1, E31) for himself	1953	id.	4 years (cut by himself in 1949)

[562] Out of the eleven clearings examined here, all are farmed by members of the Lapé lo; seven are held by men and four by women.

Lands of the Dju lo (Asisi village) in the Ingi Udu locality. The Dju lo, whose genealogy is completely known, also constitutes a lineage in the strict sense of the term. It remains well grouped geographically with the exception of a small group established in Boniville close to the grand man.

The lands of the Dju lo are distributed in several zones:

--One on the east bank of the Lawa, a little downstream from Asisi, in the Ingi Udu locality;

--One on the Dutch bank opposite Gengé Tabiki;

--One upstream from Maripasoula at the confluence with the Inini, where an important farming habitation is established (Atikati village);

--Finally, several members of the group make their clearings near Kormotibo in the Kuyaku locality, on the lands of the Dipélu II lo.

Clearings summarized here all belong to the first zone.

[Lands of the Dju lo (Asisi Village) in the Ingi Udu locality]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
41	O	Téodora (Dju, G40); clearing cut by her husband	1955	member of the Dju lo, Asisi fraction	20 years
42	O	Kukusa (Dju, F40); cl. cut by her husband Bernardin	1953	id.	a very long time
43	O	Paana (Dju, G2), cut it herself (has no husband)	1955	id.	6 years /89/
44	O	Tini (Dju, F1); clearing cut by her husband	1954	id.	6 years (?); cut 3 times in all since 1920
45	O	Lènga (Dju, F36); clearing cut by her husband	1955	id.	4 years
46	O	Féni (Dju, G3), /Δ?/for his wife Abugu	1954	id.	7 years
47	O	Tini (Dju, F1); cl. cut by her husband	1955	id.	6 years (?)

[Lands of the Dju lo (Asisi Village) in the Ingi Udu locality]

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
48	Tint; clearing cut by her husband	1956	member of the Dju lo, Asisi fraction	3 years
48a	Sara (Dju, E27); cl. cut by her husband	1956	id.	3 years (fraction of clearing 48)
50	Félicia (Dju, G41); clearing cut by her husband Akodo	1954	id.	?
51	Téodora; clearing cut by her husband	1956	id.	2 years
64	Abo† (E8), for himself	1956	id.	2 years
76	Ata (F2); clearing cut by her husband	1956	id.	3 years
77	idem	1955	id.	3 years

Clearings 64, 76, and 77 appear to be enclaves a little within the Awara Bakka finage. Actually, from the very fashion

/89 cont./
621 in which these finages were constituted, one must not expect to
613 find clear boundaries.
423 These 14 clearings are thus used exclusively by members
241 of the Dju lineage living in Asisi village. All but two are held
[562] by women. /90/

It is interesting to study the kinship ties of the members of the lineage making their clearings in different zones. One might actually believe that there is a tendency toward individualization of sublineages, and that the descendants of a particular woman tend to hold exclusively the use of such and such a zone.

We see here that such is not the case.

In zone 1 (studied here), make their clearings: Tini (F1), Paana (G2), Féni (G3), very close relatives, but also Lènga (F36), Kukusa (F40), and Félicia (G41), whose relationship with the first-named is as distant as possible within the lineage: Félicia and Paana for example are relatives in the 12th degree.

The same thing is observed in other zones, as we shall see in the study of farming habitations.

621 Lands of the Awara Bakka lo (Asisi village). The finage of the
613 Awara Bakka lo is particularly interesting to study, for this lo
614 has a more complex structure. Study of the genealogy shows the
423 existence of three distinct fractions, which we have designated respectively as Aw.B.1, Aw.B.2, Aw.B.3. The Aw.B.1 and 2 fractions consider themselves as the same lineage in the strict sense (bee). On the contrary, fraction 3 can be considered as a separate lineage from the point of view of legal responsibility. Moreover, the members of the small Afi lineage, living with the Awara Bakka, also constitute a separate unit from the legal point of view. It is important to study whether that carries over into their territorial implantation.

[Lands of The Awara Bakka lo (Asisi Boni Village)]

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We were not able to carry this study out exhaustively because the great mass of lands cultivated by the Awara Bakka are situated on the Surinam bank. The clearings summarized here are grouped in a zone called Ingi Udu; they are served by two landing places or dégrads, borrowed exclusively by the Awara Bakka.

No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
61	O	Kyéti (Aw.B.1, E30); cl. cut by her brother Agibidon	1954	member of the Awara Bakka lo, 1st fraction	cut on old secondary forest
62	O	Mani (Afi lineage); clearing cut by her husband Galmo	1956	member of the Afi lineage, living in Asisi	2 years
63	O	Kyéti; clearing cut by her brother Agibidon	1956	Awara Bakka, 1st fraction, Asisi village	2 years; cut 4 times in all, the 1st about 1949 /91/
65	O	Akanté (Aw.B.3); clearing cut by her husband Poopu	1956	id. 3rd fraction	2 years

[Lands of the Awara Bakka lo (Asisi Village)]

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
66 O	Kyéti; clearing cut by her husband Sosoman	1954	id. 1st fraction	2 years
67 O	Lébimichi (Aw. B.1, F27); clearing cut by her husband Abagon	1956	id. 1st fraction	4 years
68 O	Anèta (Aw.B.3); clearing cut by her son-in-law Kéwénu	1956	id. 3rd fraction	4 years
69 O	Agyasu (Aw.B.1, F38); clearing cut by her brother Baliki	1956	Awara Bakka, 1st fraction, Asisi vge.	4 years
70 O	Emma (Aw.B.2); clearing cut by her son Akodo	?	id. 2nd fraction	4 years
71 O	Irma (Aw.B.1, E37); clearing cut by her husband Adiiso	1956	id. 1st fraction	cut on old secondary forest

[Lands of the Awara Bakka lo (Asisi Village)]

/91 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
72	O	Emma; cl. cut by herself	1955	id. 2nd fraction	3 years
73	O	Lébimichi; clearing cut by her husband Abagon	1955	id. 1st fraction	3 years
74	O	Kilina (Aw.B.3, E71); cl. cut by her husband Amèmbě	1956	id. 4th fraction	4 years
75	O	Namu (Aw.B.1, E48); cl. cut by her husband Koniman	1956	id. 1st fraction	4 years
78	Δ	Lawa (Aw.B.1, F43); for his fiancée Kula (Asisi-Dju)	1956	id. 1st fraction	?
79	O	Béma (Aw.B.3, E73); cl. cut by her husband Maïna	1956	id. 4th fraction	2 years

/92/

[Lands of the Awara Bakka lo (Asisi Village)]

/92 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
80	○	Kakyé (Aw.B.1, E19)	1956	id. 1st fraction	4 years
81	△	Antonu (Aw.B.1, E47); for himself	1952	1st fraction	?
82	△	Adam (Afi lineage, c7); for his wife Dachini (Asisi-Dju)	1954	member of the Afi lineage living in Asisi	?
83	○	Titi (Aw.B.1, E16); cl. cut by her son Dopia	1954	member of the Awara Bakka lo, 1st fraction, Asisi village	
84	○	Noémi (Aw. B.1, F51); cl. cut by her husband	1955	id. 1st fraction	2 years
85	○	Summa (Aw. B.3, F81); clearing cut by herself	1956	id. 3rd fraction	3 years
86	○	Léna (Aw.B.1, F52); clearing cut by her son	1956	id. 1st fraction	3 years

[Lands of the Awara Bakka lo (Asisi Village)]

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/92 cont./

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
87 O	Noémi; clearing cut by herself (having become a widow)	1956	id. 1st fraction	3 years /93/
88 O	Titi; clearing cut by herself	1955	id. 1st fraction	3 years
89 O	Amélia (Aw.B.1, F19); clearing cut by her husband Sindu	1959	id. 1st fraction	4 years
90 O	Titi; cl. cut by her son Dopia	1954	id. 1st fraction	5 years

[562] Of the 27 clearings examined, only two /sic/ are held by men, 25 /sic/ by women.

19 are allotted to members of the 1st fraction;
2 " " to a member of the 2nd fraction;
2 " " to members of the 3rd fraction;
4 " " to members of the Afi lineage.

Thus one can deduce from this study that there is no tendency toward the making up of separate finages by the various fractions of the Awara Bakka lo. The members of the Afi lineage living in their midst have no tendency to group their clearings, either.

In fact, the inhabitants of a village, even issuing from different lineages, possess joint rights over the lands.

/93 cont./

/2/ Lands of the Asisi fraction of the Dipélu II lo, in the Tapo
/3/ locality. The fraction of the Dipélu II lo which has been settled
/23 in Asisi for some 30 years and which remains subject to the
/24/ authority of the head of the lo living in Kormotibo, groups its clearings in a zone which has been allotted to it in the Tapo locality.

No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
91	○	Chichiti (G22); clearing cut by her husband Obino	1954	member of the Dipélu II fraction established in Asisi	2 years
92	○	Lawenchi	1951	id.	cleared off for the 1st time
93	△	Aréni (G20), for himself	1953	id.	id. /94/
94	△	Aréni (G20), for himself	1956	id.	id.
95	○	Kaala (G28); clearing cut by her husband Tamu	1954	id.	id.
96	○	Kaala	1951	id.	id.
97	○	Kiboya (G31); clearing cut by her husband Simon	1954	id.	3 years

[Lands of the Asisi fraction of the Dipélu II 10]

/94 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
98	△	Kopo (G32), for himself	1954	id.	cleared off for the 1st time
99	○	Tama (G29); clearing cut by her husband Asékéyé	1954	id.	?
99a		Sésèy † (F38); clearing cut by her husband Mano	1949	id.	cleared off for the 1st time
100	○	Tyoko (G30); clearing cut by her husband Dodo	1954	id.	2 years
101	○	Tama; clearing cut by her husband Asékéyé	1953	id.	2 years
102	○	Chichiti (G22); clearing cut by her husband Obino	1953	id.	cleared off for the 1st time
103	○	Sésèy † (F38); clearing cut by her husband Mano	1951	id.	3 years

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Out of 14 clearings examined here, all without exception are occupied by the members of the Dipélu II fraction in Asisi. This fraction is geographically separated from the other lineages of Asisi village, and has formed a separate finage; that has to do with its relatively high effective force and the good relations among its members (the Afi lineage, with an analogous force but divided by disagreements, has not succeeded in forming a separate finage).

[978]

Of 14 clearings, 13 are held by women and one by a man /sic/.

[562]

Study of several clearings of Papaïston village. The part of the Papaïston finage situated on the French bank had been abandoned for several years because of an abnormal pullulation of manioc ants. In 1956-57 all the inhabitants of the village were making their clearings on the Surinam bank.

[311]

Only several clearings going back to the years 1947-50 could be identified.

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
111 O	Efa (P1, D4)	1946	member of the Papa-ïston lo	cleared for the 1st time on old secondary forest
112 O	Wilhelmina (P1, F1); clearing cut by her husband Bésu	1947	id.	id.
113 O	Oben (P1, E13)	1950	id.	id.

[Papaïston Village]

/95 cont./

621
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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
114	Gou (P1, F8); clearing cut by her husband Akwali		id.	id.
115	Puti (P2, F71); clearing cut by her husband Maïpa	1951	id.	cleared off for the 1st time on old secondary forest
116	Hélène (P1, F2); clearing cut by her husband Baliki	1951	id.	id.

[562] These six clearings are held by women of the Papaïston lineage, in accordance with the residence principle of the Refugee Blacks.

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/96/ The Social System Illuminated by the Study of Implantation on the Soil

128 Study of the clearings in the neighborhood of the farming villages gives exact information about the structure of the kin groups which cannot be obtained by direct interrogation.

423 --Transmission of rights over land within the lineage fraction having the same residence constitutes an imprescriptible legal
613 principle, to which one refers as the conclusive argument to
621 settle every dispute;
377

P96 cont./

423 613 621 --The principle of matrilocal grouping is effectively applied in nearly all cases. The matrilineages have almost all formed, according to this principle, separate finages, on which their rights are well established; most of these lands appear to be of old formation;

423 613 621 511 --The lineage fractions which have separated themselves geographically from their original grouping have formed finages over which their members exercise exclusive rights. For example, out of the lands of the Dipélu II fraction settled in Asisi not a single case is reported of use by members of the main fraction of the lineage living in Kormotibo;

--The inhabitants of a village subject to one authority possess collective rights over the lands of that village and form a de facto community, even if they belong to different lineages. We have found two characteristic examples of this, Boniville and Asisi-Awara Bakka; by coming to live in a village and subjecting oneself to the authority of the head, one enters ipso facto into this community.

This custom is in contradiction with the principle of the exclusive rights of the lineage over the soil, but the contradiction is more apparent than real; it makes possible the integration, into a collectivity, of detached persons and small fractions incapable of forming a separate village.

The actual situation thus created is not at all permanent. If a lineage fraction wishes to separate itself either as a consequence of a disagreement or simply because its numbers have grown sufficiently, it always has the right to do so.

The fundamental principles of the basic rights of the Boni can thus be summarized thus:

"Rights over the soil are joint within the fraction of a lineage whose members live in the same village and are subject to the same authority; any scission of a lineage which has to do with the residence village entails a scission of rights over lands. The

/96 cont./
emigrating fraction possesses exclusive rights over the /agricultural/ land /hinoir/ it forms. But it does not lose, at least in principle, its rights over its original land /hinoir/."

The study of finages gives us still more important information concerning the exercising of rights of use:

/97/ Of 100 clearings examined, 81 follow the normal process according to which the woman has her clearing made on the land of her lineage (1). Of these 81 clearings, 14 had been

1. For the joint sector of Boniville, the inhabitants of the village were considered as users of rights without distinction of lineage.

made under conditions not made clear, 48 had been cut by the husband, 14 by a near relative (son, brother, exceptionally brother or son-in-law), five by the woman herself.

In only five cases it is, on the contrary, the man who brings his wife onto his lineage's land.

A little more frequent is the case of a man cutting a clearing for himself on his lineage's land.

Finally, the case in which, for reasons of convenience, a member of a lineage asks to work temporarily on the land of another lineage is met twice. Thus this is an extremely unusual practice.

Influence of the geographical environment on the social structure. These observations are to be compared with the ones that can be made about the Cayana Indians and the Indians of Guiana in general, living near the Refugee Blacks, in the same geographical environment and almost in the same way (let us recall that the Refugee Blacks borrowed the whole of their material culture from the Indians).

/97 cont./

R 105 [361] The Oayana Indians are half nomadic, moving their villages every ten years on the average. They have neither a permanent center of peopling, a place of worship, nor a cemetery; they do not have ancestor worship, at least no concept involving a precise and permanent tie between the living, the dead, and the land.

R 114 182 [136] This state of things has been attributed by several authors to the geographical environment and especially to the ravages of the manioc ant; the manioc ant, swarming particularly in formerly cultivated zones, makes nomadism advantageous. From this would have resulted a social structure and a mode of living adapted to these special conditions.

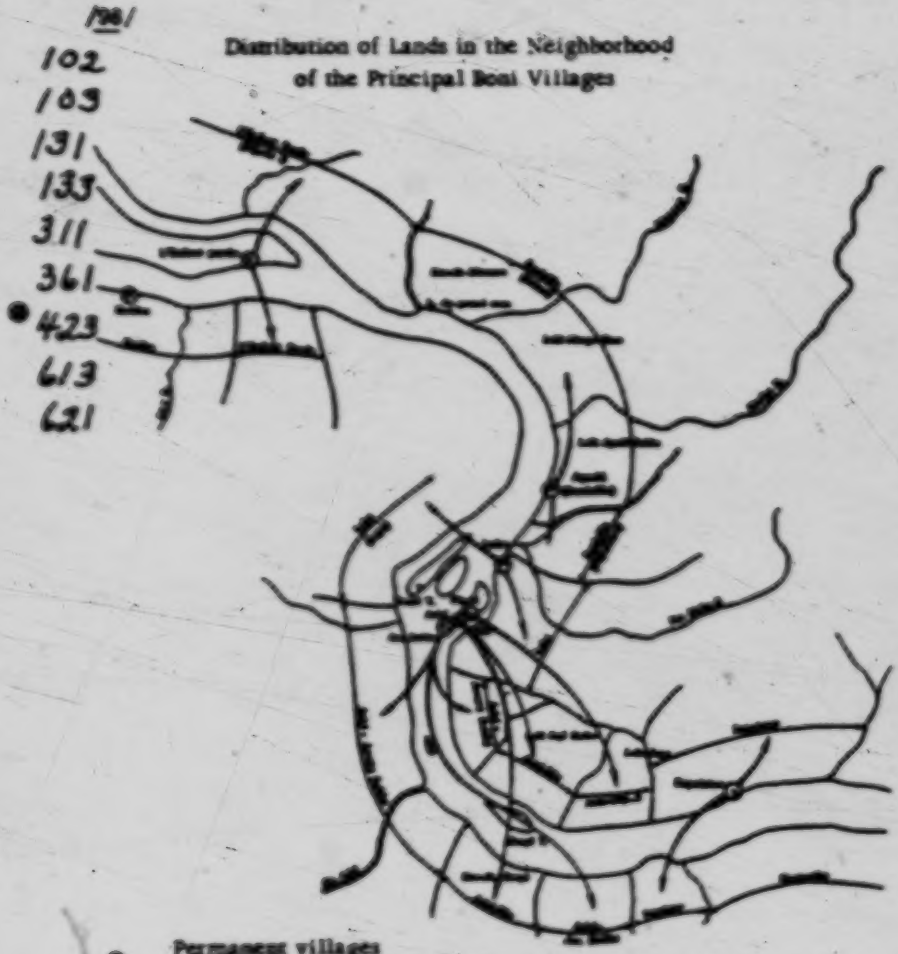
B 114 769 182 The example of the Refugee Blacks shows conspicuously that these considerations, in spite of their undeniable interest, do not constitute an explanation of general scope: for the Refugee Blacks, the only social ties conceivable flow from ancestor worship: above all the imperatives of material life the individual feels as a primordial duty the act of attaching himself to the village of his ancestors, to the land they cleared off and which remains under their protection.

B 182 241 423 613 The difficulties inherent in the geographical environment have been easily surmounted or gotten around. Rather than vast zones with one single holder, each lineage divided its finage into sectors distant from one another. If these zones become temporarily unusable, the Boni go to create farming habitations on the upper course of the river, without ceasing because of this to reside habitually in the village of their ancestors; there results from this no other constraint but losing two weeks each year in going and coming on the river.

6:Hurault--142 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/98/

Distribution of Lands in the Neighborhood
of the Principal Boni Villages



● Permanent villages
___ Boundary lines

Scale:

/K. or Cr. = Creek.
Lieu-dit = locality.
h. du grand man = habitation of the grand man.
Zone inondable = floodable zone./

Fig. 18.

/99/

182 That this system is perfectly workable has been sufficiently
161 demonstrated by the regular expansion for two centuries of the
241 tribes of Refugee Blacks and by the good functioning of their
423 institutions.
613

Thus the basic instability of the Indians of Guiana cannot
182 be attributed to the influence of the geographical environment alone. It comes essentially from social and psychological factors.

/100/ STUDY OF FARMING HABITATIONS

128 We are now going to study the functioning of the farming habitations under the same aspects:

--Structure (composition of each one, kinship ties);

--Territorial implantation: nature and extent of rights over the land;

--Functioning.

241 Not all Boni have a farming habitation; about two-thirds
62 of them are satisfied with the lands they occupy near the residence
184 villages.

241 The farming habitations we are going to study more especially and which are situated between the mouth of the Inini
621 and Simayé Falls to the south, group about a hundred persons be-
361 longing to the Dju, Lapé, Awara Bakka, and Papaïton lineages.
162 Another group of farming habitations situated a little south of
613 Kormotibo, which we shall study briefly and only so far as their composition is concerned, bring together about 60 persons. Finally, other very dispersed farming habitations exist, belonging principally to the Kotika lineage, some in the Mariparoula region, others in the Abattis-Kotika Falls /region/.

241 On the whole, the Boni farming habitations cannot be com-
184 pared either as to importance or stability with the Djuka farming
62 villages which are placed at intervals on the middle course of the
[361] Maroni, grouping 3,000 to 3,500 persons: this is easy to
[162] understand: the Djuka, continually short of land, are obliged,

/100 cont. /

241 62 [184] under pain of losing their rights, to occupy the soil to the maximum. Besides, settled very far from their residence villages, they are led to creating more lasting establishments.

Among the Boni, farming habitations do not amount to much, built carelessly (to designate them one says kĩpu (camp), and the groups who work there are not very stable.

423 241 [182] [184] However, the principles of establishment and functioning of farming habitations are exactly the same for the two tribes and result on the whole from the customary laws which, among the Refugee Blacks, govern the possession of land:

[425] [613] 1) When a man cuts a clearing in a zone which has never had any human establishment, he creates at the same time as a right of use for himself an imprescriptible real right for his lineage (bee) or more precisely for the fraction of the lineage living in the same village and subject to the same authority;

[428] [613] 2) This right is joint; at the death of an individual, anyone of that fraction of his lineage may occupy the lands he used to cultivate habitually. If there is a dispute, it must be settled within the framework of the lineage; /101/ /Fig. 17 appears here/ /102/

3) The extent of the zone over which this right is exercised is limited only by the zones over which other rights are exercised.

We have seen what mode of occupation of the soil resulted from these laws in the neighborhood of the "great villages." Here the distribution of lands among the farming habitations follows practically the same laws, whose effects are less rigorous, considering the very low density of occupation of the soil.

425 [361] 1) It is taken for granted that an isolated establishment in a quasi-deserted zone does not create lasting rights. If it happens to disappear, anybody may come to settle there after ascertaining from the first occupant that he no longer needs the place (such is the case with the very scattered establishments south of Simayé Falls up to Indian country; they do not create real territorial rights for the benefit of any lineage whatever.

/102 cont./

425 2) On the contrary, from the time that occupation of a region becomes habitual, even by groups of small numerical importance, people pay attention to the attribution of the lands. [361] [613] Thus it is assumed that the west bank of the Lawa south of the Atikati habitation up to Simayé Falls has belonged, since the end of the last century, to the Lapé lo, which was occupying it in 1957 by the Paako, Samo, Pwen, Saléni, and Makélé habitations.

423 613 241 361 3) Within each zone the rights remain joint and anyone of the same lo may come to settle there. Thus the farming habitations move around, but within a definite sector. Thus for example Kwaku (Lapé) abandoned in 1954 his habitation situated in the lands of the Lapé lineage (it was too damp in the rainy season, he prefers to content himself with the lands of the "great village"). He does not lose his rights because of this. If he decides eventually to come back, he will settle anywhere in the zone attributed to the Lapé lo.

182 161 241 361 425 It goes without saying that if the population were more dense, such a principle would be difficult to apply and that serious disputes would arise. But this mode of occupation of the soil is perfectly suitable, in their present situation, for the tribes of the Refugee Blacks, for it allows them to practice, with a minimum of friction, the seminomadism which the geographical environment and especially the manioc ant impose.

241 361 423 The zones occupied by the farming habitations rarely have a single holder: most often they are divided into separate sectors on different parts of the river.

504 613 361 423 Actually, as we have seen around the "great villages," each lineage possesses a certain number of "dégrads," or landing places, from which paths radiate. Each "dégrad" is rigorously reserved for the members of a lineage. The occupants of a farming village radiate from around their landing place until they

361
504 /102 cont./
613 meet the clearings of the people of another lineage; a de facto
423 boundary is thus created, which is henceforth respected.

621 On the other hand, several farming villages of one lineage
241 may have their clearings totally intriqués /entangled/ (this is
613 the case, for example, with the ones of the Antonu and Adiiso
423 habitations). This conforms to the rule of joint possession of the land within the lineage.

621 Organization. The group in a farming habitation is brought to-
241 gether by mutual affinities, and has no hierarchy other than that
602 which springs from kinship ties: authority of the mother over her
592 daughters; authority of the "uncles" over the "nephews."
/103/ The grouping which conforms most to the matrilineal structure of the Refugee Blacks is made up of an old woman, her unmarried sons, her daughters and her daughters' daughters, their husbands coming to help at the time of the clearings but not belonging to the group. Often it is this old woman who directs the habitation, but often also it is an old uncle, her classificatory brother, who has worked with her for a long time. Sometimes this old woman has come to live with her daughters on the habitation founded by her husband.

103 Some of the habitations bear men's names, others women's
423 names. The name which prevails may be completely at variance
592 with the real rights exercised over the land (Ex.: name of Adiiso given to the habitation of his wife where Adiiso has no right at
[613] all). That has no great importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks, the only important thing being collective possession of the land by the lineage.

621 For groups which are relatively numerous and brought to-
241 gether more by mutual affinities than by kinship ties, the mini-
622 mum of authority necessary for good feeling and the organization of the work is brought to bear by the founder. For example,

/103 cont. /

621 Atikati exercised authority by this right over the disparate group
622 around him, and at his death he bequeathed this function to his
241 sister Adyidya.

Likewise Antonu exerts undisputed authority over three
[613] groups of the Awara Bakka lo settled at the mouth of the Inini, for it was he who took the initiative of creating an establishment at this place. If there is any dispute, it is he who will defend the rights of the Awara Bakka lineage.

622 The authority exercised by the founder of the farming habitation is not brought to bear in material living, which remains subject to the strictly individualistic principles of the Refugee Blacks. He cannot require anyone to help him make his clearings or do any work whatever on his behalf.

361 Farming Habitations of the Awara Bakka lo
241 (Antonu, Adiiso, Kakyé)
613 in the Neighborhood of the Confluence with the Inini

621 These habitations work soil whose first user was Antonu, of
241 the Awara Bakka lo (fraction 1), which is regarded as belonging
[613] to that lineage. Antonu settled there in 1945 (he was finding that
[423] there were too many people farming the lands near Asisi).

To insure his rights, Antonu put on his land two groupings
621 whose situations are very different:
241 1) In his own habitation he installed his wife Asakundu, and
592 around her he made up the work group commonest among the
423 Refugee Blacks: group formed by the mother, her sons and
[476] daughters, the daughters' husbands coming to help at the time of the /104/ clearings. But it is important to note that this group has no right at all over the land: if Antonu and his wife ever separate, the wife's group will leave the habitation.

/104 cont. /

621 2) Nearby, he set up the habitation of his sister Irma
592 married to Adiiso (Dju). This village is improperly called Adiiso,
241 but Adiiso has no right at all there. In case of breaking with his
[423] wife, he leaves the habitation.

3) Finally, Kakyé, an old woman of the Awara Bakka lineage, settled nearby with her daughters and son.

Structure and functioning of the Antonu habitaton. This habitation comprised in January, 1957, disregarding children:

○ [△] Antonu (Aw. B. 1, E47);
○ Asakundu, his wife (L2, E55);
○ Kapééki (L2, F60) } Asakundu's daughters, married;
○ Angisa (L2, F61) }
△ Sindu (L2, F62), Asakundu's son;
△ Maliki (L2, F63), Asakundu's son;
○ Yundu, Kapééki's daughter, married;
△ Anato, Kapééki's son;
○ Agata, Akoni's daughter.

The wives of Maliki and Sindu who do not have any personal habitation come there to work, but they are not to be considered as members of the group. They have no hut.

Likewise, the husbands of Kapééki, Yundu, and Angisa
241 come to help temporarily at the time of the clearings.
621 Activity of the Antonu village in 1955-56:

		1956	1955
○	Asakundu	1 clearing with Antonu	1 clearing with Antonu
○	Kapééki	1 clearing with Akuba her husband (who did not make any other clearing)	idem

/104 cont. /

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	1956	1955
○ Angisa	1 clearing with her husband Ernest (who cut 2 other clearings in other sectors because he has 2 other wives)	1 clearing with Antonu
△ Sindu	1 clearing for Amélia, his wife, 1 clearing for himself	id. (2 clearings)
△ Anato	en mission; cut no clearing; his wife weeded a two-year-old clearing herself	1 clearing for his mother (had made in addition a /105/ clearing in Asisi for his wife on her family's lands)
△ Maliki	same case	nothing for his mother, 1 clearing for his wife in another habitation

Study of the clearings of the Antonu habitation:

1) West Bank:

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
[423] [613] 31 △	Antonu, for himself	1952	member of the Awara Bakka lo, founder of the habitation	2 years (cut in 1950 for the 1st time on primary forest)

[Antonu habitation]

/105 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
32	○	Angisa; clearing cut by her husband Ernest	1949	works there because her mother Asakundu is married to Antonu, but has no rights over the land	cut for the 1st time
34	○	Asakundu; clearing cut by her husband Antonu	1952	Antonu's wife	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1950)
35	○	Angisa; clearing cut by her husband Ernest	1948	like No. 32	3 years (cut for the 1st time in 1945)
36	○	Asakundu; clearing cut by her husband Antonu		like No. 34	cut for the 1st time on primary forest
37	△	Antonu, for himself	1948	like No. 31	cut for the 1st time

[Antonu habitation]

/105 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
38 △ /O/	Angisa; clearing cut by her husband Ernest	1949	like No. 32	cut for the 1st time
39 ○	Asakundu; clearing cut by her husband Antonu	1951	like No. 34	cut for the 1st time /106/
40 ○	Asakundu	1955	like No. 34	4 years (cut for the 1st time in 1951)
	2) East Bank			
1 ○	Angisa	1955	like No. 32	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1953)
2 ○	Angisa	1956	like No. 32	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1954)
3 △	Sindu, for himself	1955	Asakundu's son; same observations as No. 32, has no rights over the land	cut for the 1st time

[Antonu habitation]

/106 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
4	○	Angisa; clearing cut by her husband Ernest	1952	like No. 32	cut for the 1st time
5	○	Asakundu; clearing cut by her son Maliki		like No. 34	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
6	△	Amatodja (L2, F53), for himself		Asakundu's son; came to work there in 1953 only	
7	○	Kapééki; clearing cut by her husband Maséko	1955	Asakundu's daughter; same observations as No. 32	cut for the 1st time
8	○	Noémi (Aw.B.1, F51); cl. cut by her uncle Antonu	1952	member of the Awara Bakka lo	cut for 1st time
9	△	Antonu, for himself	1953		?

[Antonu habitation]

/106 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
10 ○	Yundu; clearing cut by her brother Agata /listed as "○Agata, Akoni's daughter," on p. 149 – Tr./	1953	same observations as No. 32 (daughter of Kapééki and granddaughter of Asakundu	cut for the 1st time /107/
15 ○	Kapééki; clearing cut by her husband	1954	like No. 32	cut for the 1st time
16 ○	Noémi; clearing cut by her husband Galmo	1951(?)	same observations as No. 8	cut for the 1st time
17 △	Abémi (Aw.B.I, F49)	1951	does not usually work there, but has rights over the land as a member of the Awaza Bakka lo.	cut for the 1st time

[Antonu habitation]

/107 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
18	△	Antonu, for himself	1951	like No. 31	cut for the 1st time
19	△	Sindu	1951	cut for himself; same observations as No. 2	
20	○	Asakundu; clearing cut by her husband Antonu	1950	like No. 34	cut for the 1st time
21		Noémi; cl. cut by her husband Tomo	1950 (?)	like No. 16	cut for the 1st time
22		Angina; clearing cut by her husband Ernest	1949	same observations as No. 32	cut for the 1st time
41	○	Kapééki; clearing cut by her husband	1948	Asakundu's daughter; same observations as No. 32	cut for the 1st time
42	○	Kapééki; id.	1955	id.	id.

[Antonu habitation]

/107 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
43 ○	Tundu; clearing cut by her husband Alfonin	1955	same observations as No. 10	id. /108/
44 △	Malikí, for his wife Agyau	1954	id.	id.
45 △	Malikí, for his wife Agyau	1954	id.	id.
46 △	id.		id.	id.
50 ○	Nella (K1, D44); clearing cut by her husband Agosichi	1936 (?)	woman working in Atikati village; had made a clearing there before Antonu's installation, then abandoned (mention ant)	id.
51 △	Samalobi † (Dikan in)	1920 (?)	Samalobi, first occupant of the place, had ceded all his rights to Antonu	d. /migrat for *id. *9--Tr./

/108 cont./

Structure of the Adiso habitation. This habitation actually belongs to Irma, Adiso's wife, of the Awara-Bakka (I) lineage (E37), who was settled there by Antoni whose classificatory sister she is.

Working with Irma, disregarding children, are:

--Her husband Adiso (Dyu, F37);

--Her daughter Chicalna (Aw. B. 1, F43), married to Déési (LI, F45);

--Her son Lawa, unmarried;

--Her son Mélna, married.

Mélna's wife Mbéma, who has no other habitation, has her clearing made there, but she has no hut in her own right and is not a member of the group.

Activity of the habitation in 1955-56:

	1956	1955
Irma	2 clearings (both by Adiso, who cut a 3rd in Asisi for his other wife)	1 clearing cut by her son Mélna, Adiso being on a trip
Chicalna	1 clearing cut by Lawa, her brother, her husband being en mission.	1 clearing cut by her husband Déési /109/
/Fig. 18 appears here./ /110/		
Mélna	1 clearing for his wife Mbéma	Mélna en mission had not been able to cut for his wife. She had weeded a two-year-old clearing with Chicalna and Irma

Lithault--158 K-6 (1948-1958) 1961 SRB Bush Negroes SRB
Boni

/facing p. 108/

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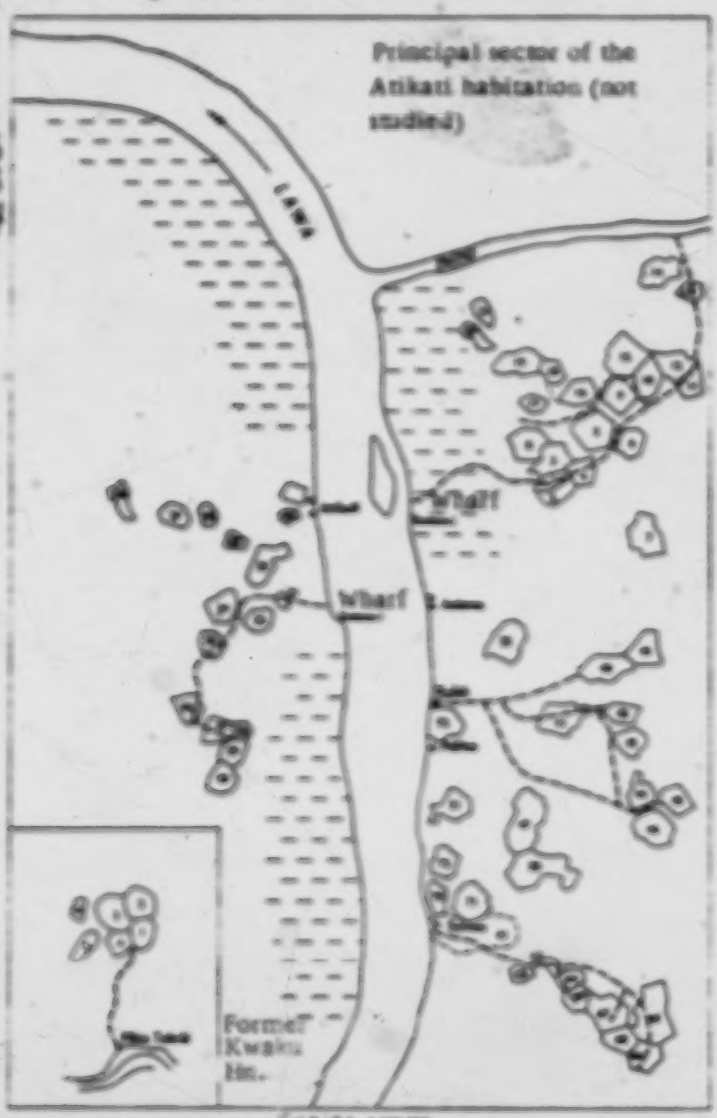
Distribution of Lands among the Lineages
in the Neighborhood of the Confluence with the Inini



Scale: 1/[illegible]

Aerial photographs by the 003/200 IGN mission, taken in October, 1956

• farming habitation

flooded zone

clearings studied in January, 1957

Fig. 18.

621 592 241 [559] [476]

/110 cont./

Structure of the Kakyé habitation. This habitation is directed by Kakyé (Aw.B.1, E18), a widow for a long time and not remarried, working with her children.

Working with her are:

--Amélia (Aw.B.1, F19), her daughter;

--Papakay (Aw.B.1, F23), her son;

--Akamina (Aw.B.1, F24), her daughter;

--Lébimichi (Aw.B.1, F27), daughter of Yochi † sister of Kakyé.

241 592 621 423 [613]

Listing of several clearings of the Adiiso and Kakyé habitations. These clearings are totally mixed with each others' and with those of the Antonu habitation, which is normal since these lands all belong to the Awara Bakka lineage.

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
11 △	Bésu (Aw.B.1, F17), for himself	1954	Kakyé's son (does not work there habitually)	cut for the 1st time
12 ○	Amélia; clearing cut by her husband Sindu	1954	Kakyé's daughter	id.
13 ○	Lébimichi; clearing cut by her husband Asonson	1954	Kakyé's niece	cut for the 1st time

[Adiiso and Kakyé habitations]

/110 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
14 △	Papakay, for himself	1953	Kakyé's son	id.
47 ○	Irma; clearing cut by her husband Adiiso	1955	foundress of the Adiiso habitation	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1951)
48 ○	Amèntanu; clearing cut by her husband Sindu	1953	Kakyé's daughter	cut for the 1st time /111/
49 ○	Kakyé; clearing cut by her son Bésu	1953	foundress of the Kakyé habitation	id.
52 ○	Kakyé; clearing cut by her son Papakay	1951	id.	cut one single time

/121 cont./

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Habitation of the Dju Lo
in the Neighborhood of the Mouth of the Inini

621 Structure of the Atikati habitation (Dju lo). Important habitation
241 founded by Atikati, of the Dju lo, possessing an extended fringe
[613] fragmented into several blocks on both banks of the Lawa.

[423] This habitation has an abnormal composition, for Atikati
[476] worked there with his daughters, which is contrary to custom, and with friends.

622 Atikati directed the village with his old friend Bernardin (K1. D62), † in 1958, who was the son of a man of the Dju lo and had lived among the Dju since childhood.

621 The Saut group of this habitation is made up of people
241 of the Dju lo. Since Atikati's death (1955), his sister Adyidya
613 (Dju. E19) has directed the village.
[622] Members of the Dju lo:

○ Adyidya
○ Bawé (Dju. E13) } both without living children
△ Loko (Dju. F39)
△ Atikati worked with his daughters and granddaughter:
○ Wiñimma (P1. F1);
○ Kumata (P1. G1), daughter of Wiñimma.

To this group were added in 1957:

△ Bernardin (K1. D62), raised with the Dju;
○ Atumé (Dip. L. F2), daughter of △ Bernardin and ○ Mimen †.

[423] Finally, two Kotika women married to Djuka asked for permission to settle there and have their clearings cut there. But they have no right at all over the land:

○ Nilla (K1. D44);
Mawé (K1. E35), her daughter.

/111 cont./

621 591 183 The composition of this village is thus entirely aberrant from the point of view of /112/ custom, and founded entirely upon personal fellow feeling. But the customary rule is none the less present in the thought of all: the founder being of the Dju lineage, the land belongs to the Dju. The fact, for example, that Bernardin (Kotika) and his daughters (Papaïnon) have worked there for a very long time creates no right at all for either lineage.

621 613 423

[571] If dissensions occur in the group, those outside the Dju lineage must leave.

24 621 423 Listing of some clearings of the Atikati habitation (west bank).

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
23 △	Atikati (Dju, E18) for himself	1952	founder of the habitation	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1950)
24 ○	Wiàkimina (P1, F1); clearing cut by her husband Béïu	1955	Atikati's daughter, has no rights over the land	cut for the 1st time
25 ○	Wiàkimina; clearing cut by her father Atikati	1951	id.	id.

[Atikati habitation (west bank)]

/112 cont./

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[1/3]

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
26 △	Sooman (Dju. E14)	1951	Does not usually work there but has rights over the land as a member of the Dju lineage	cut for the 1st time in 1950, part taken up again in 1955
27 ○	Hélène (P1. P2); clearing cut by her father Atikati	1955	Atikati's daughter; usually lives at the Sawen habitation; has no rights over the land	6 years; cut for the 1st time in 1949, partially taken up again in 1955
28	Adyidya; clearing cut by her husband Kwami (Djuka)	1949	woman of the Dju lineage	cut for the 1st time

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/113/

Habitations of the Papaïston Io in the Neighborhood of the Mouth of the Imini

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Structure of the Sawen and Agodéba habitations (Papaïston Io).

Habitations occupying an extensive zone, attributed for at least 60 years to the principal Papaïston lineage.

Working with Sawen (P1. E7) are:

--His nieces Hélène (P1. F2) and Emilia (P1. F3);

--His nephew Agoundé (P1. F4).

Working with Agodéba (P1. E1) are:

--His sister (in the classificatory sense) Kamen (P1. E14);

--His niece (in the classificatory sense) Gou (P1. F8).

Moreover, a group is settled there centered on Tolna, Agodéba's wife, representing the last of the Bakabuchi lineage, almost extinct:

△ Tolna, Agodéba's wife;

/△/ Mangoto, Tolna's son;

Agoudéba.

[423] This group has no right over the land and would leave in the case of a break-up of the Agodéba-Tolna household.

Finally, a female friend, Puti (F71), of the almost extinct Papaïston 2 lineage.

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- Activity of the Agodéba habitation in 1955-56:

	1956	1955
△ Agodéba	1 clearing for his wife Tolna	id.
○ Kamen	1 clearing cut by her husband Adam who made no other	id.
○ Gou	1 clearing cut by her husband Bléu	id.

/113 cont./

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	1956	1955
○ Puti	1 clearing cut by her husband Malpa (Dip. I)	id.
△ Mangoto	1 clearing for himself (he cut another for his wife in Kormotibo)	nothing (was not yet settled there)
○ Apuukobi	nothing (had her clearing made in Papaïsmon)	1 clearing by her husband Asém /114/

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Listing of the clearings of Sawen village.

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
01 △	Sawen, for himself	1950 (?)	village founder	cut for the 1st time
02 △	Sawen, for himself	1955	village founder	cut for the 1st time
03 △	Sawen, for himself	1948	id.	id.
04 △	Sawen, for himself	1946 (?)	id.	id.
05 ○	Hélène; clearing cut by her husband	1954	woman of the Papaïsmon lineage (Sawen's niece)	id.

/114 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
66	Hélène; clearing cut by her husband	1955	id.	?
67	Emilia; clearing cut by her husband Loko	1954	id.	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
68	Agundé, for his mother-in-law Popula	1954	man of the Papelsnon lo making on his land the clearing intended for his mother-in-law	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
69	Emilia; clearing cut by her husband Loko	1955	woman of the Papelsnon lo	3 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
70	Emilia id.	1956	id.	Cut for the 1st time
71	Emilia id.	1952	id.	id.
72	Emilia id.	1956	id.	id.

/116/

Habitations of the Lapé lo
(Paako, Samo, Chii, Pwen, Saléni)

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These habitations occupy soil belonging to the Lapé lo since the end of the 19th century.

The Kwaku habitation has been abandoned since 1943, its occupants making their clearings around Loka.

Paako habitation. The Paako habitation is occupied only by two women, Paako (L1, E29) and her daughter Doos, who have their clearings made there by their husbands.

Chii habitation. Chii (L1, D64) directs the habitation where she works with her son Topo, her daughters Yaana, Madu, and Koko. The daughters' husbands come to help at the time of the clearings.

[578] Pwen habitations. As a consequence of dissensions, Pwen (L1, E33) lives all alone in this habitation.

Saléni habitation. It is directed by Saléni, an old woman of the Lapé lo (E25), who works there with her son Tingo, her daughters Kayé and Anasta.

[43] Structure of the Samo habitation called Pikin Tabiki (Lapé lo).

Habitation occupying another portion of the Lapé lo finage. Several Lapé men and women make their clearings there:

△ Tamo (L1, F32), who brings his wife Kaala (Dip. II) there
△ Foné, his brother (L1, F33)
○ Méiiso, his classificatory sister (L1, E32);
○ Téné, Méiiso's daughter (L1, F44)
○ Anomédi, Pikiko's daughter (L1, F34).

[49] The husbands of Méiiso, Téné, Anomédi come to work at the time of the clearings but are not part of the group.

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183

/115 cont./

The composition of this village therefore entirely conforms to the custom.

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Activity in 1955-56:

	1956	1955
△ Tamu	nothing (he cut in Lapé for his wife)	1 clearing for his wife
○ Mélita	1 clearing by her husband Kwata (K)	id.
○ Téké	1 clearing by Mélita's husband, for her husband Bélna is en mission	1 clearing by her husband /116/
Akoméda	1 clearing by her husband Todo (who cut another one in Assi for his other wife)	

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Listing of several clearings of the Samo habitation (Pikin Tabiki) (Lapé lo).

No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
1	○	Akoméda; clearing cut by her husband Todo	1956	woman of the Lapé lo	cut for the 1st time
2	○	Akoméda id.	1955	id.	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1953)

6.Hurault--169 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

[Same habitation (P.Kin Tabiki.)]

/118 cont./

241
621
423

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
3	Mélita; clearing cut by her husband Kwata	1955	id.	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
4	Mélita; cl. cut by her son Défat	1954	id.	3 years (cut for the 1st time in 1948, then in 1951 for the 2nd time
5	Téké; cl. cut by her husband Salea	1951	id.	3 years (cut in 1948 for the 1st time)
6	Téké id.	1953	id.	cut for the 1st time

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Farming Habitations downstream from Maripasoula

Several habitations are installed in the Kuyalu locality very fertile region giving high yields of manioc (1).

1. This fertility is explained by the nature of the subsoil (bits of dolerite).

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Ownership of the land. Dipdlu II is Pamacche village. Several habitations side by side:

/116 cont./

621 241 ○ Nanay (Dip. II) † ; habitation disappeared at her death in 1953; /117/

613 ● 423 ○ Béniti (Dju) † in 1955; habitation taken up again by her children and grandchildren: ○ Eliana. △ Doni. ○ Kulina. ○ Maria; ○ Tini (Dju);

○ Kouïda (Afi lineage) † ;

△ Poopu, established there for a long time. He had abandoned the site in 1948; came back in 1952.

The composition of the groups is as follows:

1) ○ Béniti † (Dju. E5): her daughters Maria, Kulina, and Eliana. Béniti's hut has been taken up again by her grandson Doni whom she brought up.

2) ○ Tini (Dju. F1): habitation grouping Tini, Ata (Dju. F2), and their daughters.

3) ○ Kouïda † : habitation grouping Kouïda († Oct., 1956) (Afi lineage), her brother Kenkim, her husband Empaïé, her niece Samabun.

Other habitations:

Ma Efa (Papaïnon), settled on Diéïu II in lands upstream from Kormotibo (French bank) for about 30 years. Ma Efa (P1. D4) worked with her sons.

Gengé Tabiki (Dutch bank, upstream from Asini village): small habitation founded by ○ Aliki (Dju. E23), with Ilonga ○ (Dju. F38) and ○ Diana (Dju. E9).

621 241 591

Functioning of the Farming Habitations

Structure. Of the 13 farming habitations studied here, 12 have a structure conforming to the residence principle of the Refugee Blacks, implying the grouping of daughters and unmarried sons near the mother; only one has an abnormal structure:

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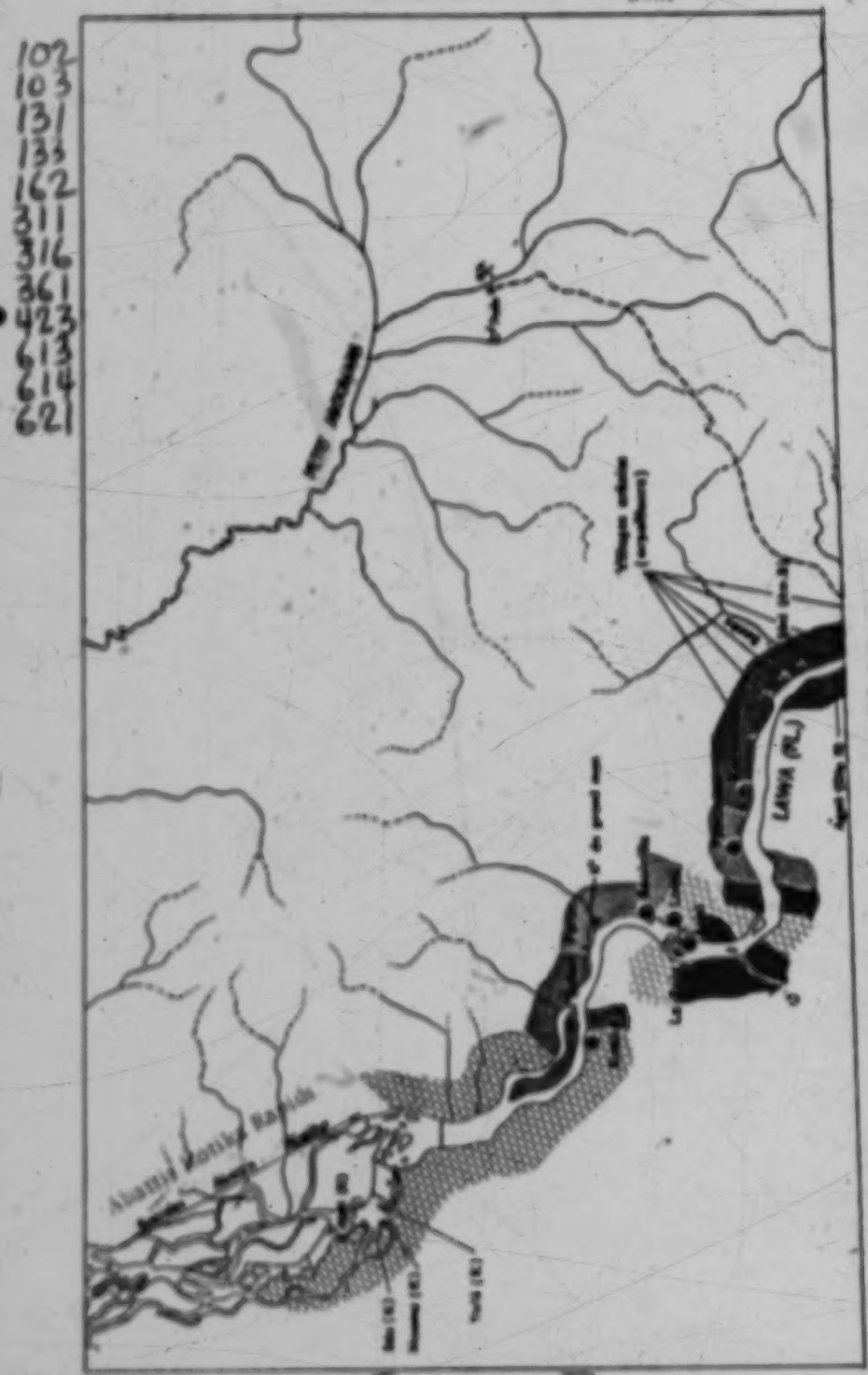
A (p. 576)
B (p. 577)
C (p. 578)
D (p. 579)

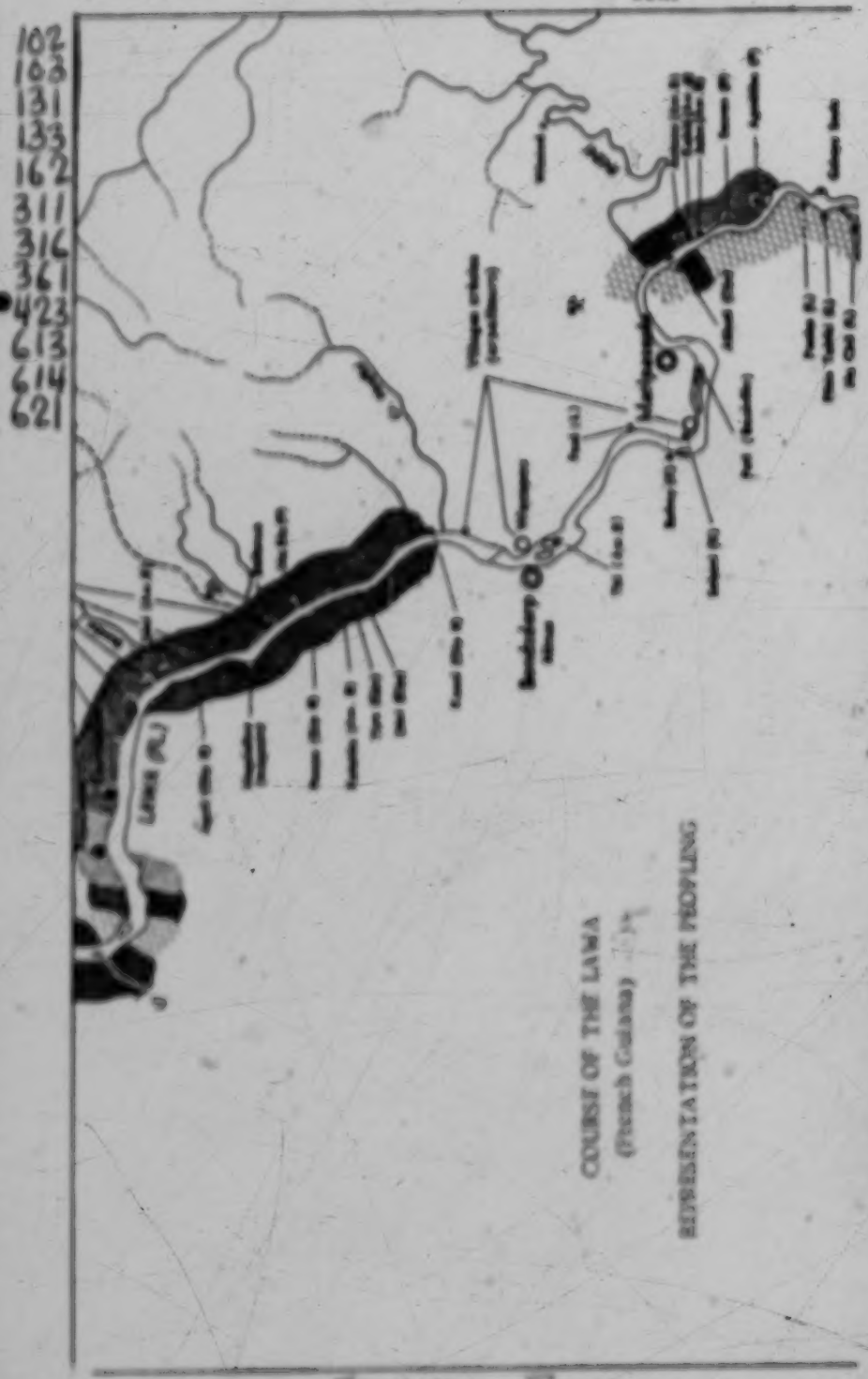
Chart of Positions of End Map /facing p. 576/

Collmbault--576 K-5 (1949-1958) 1961 SRS Bush Negroes SRS
Bonl



End Map - A

Gilliusaii--577 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SRB Bush Negroes SRB
Boni

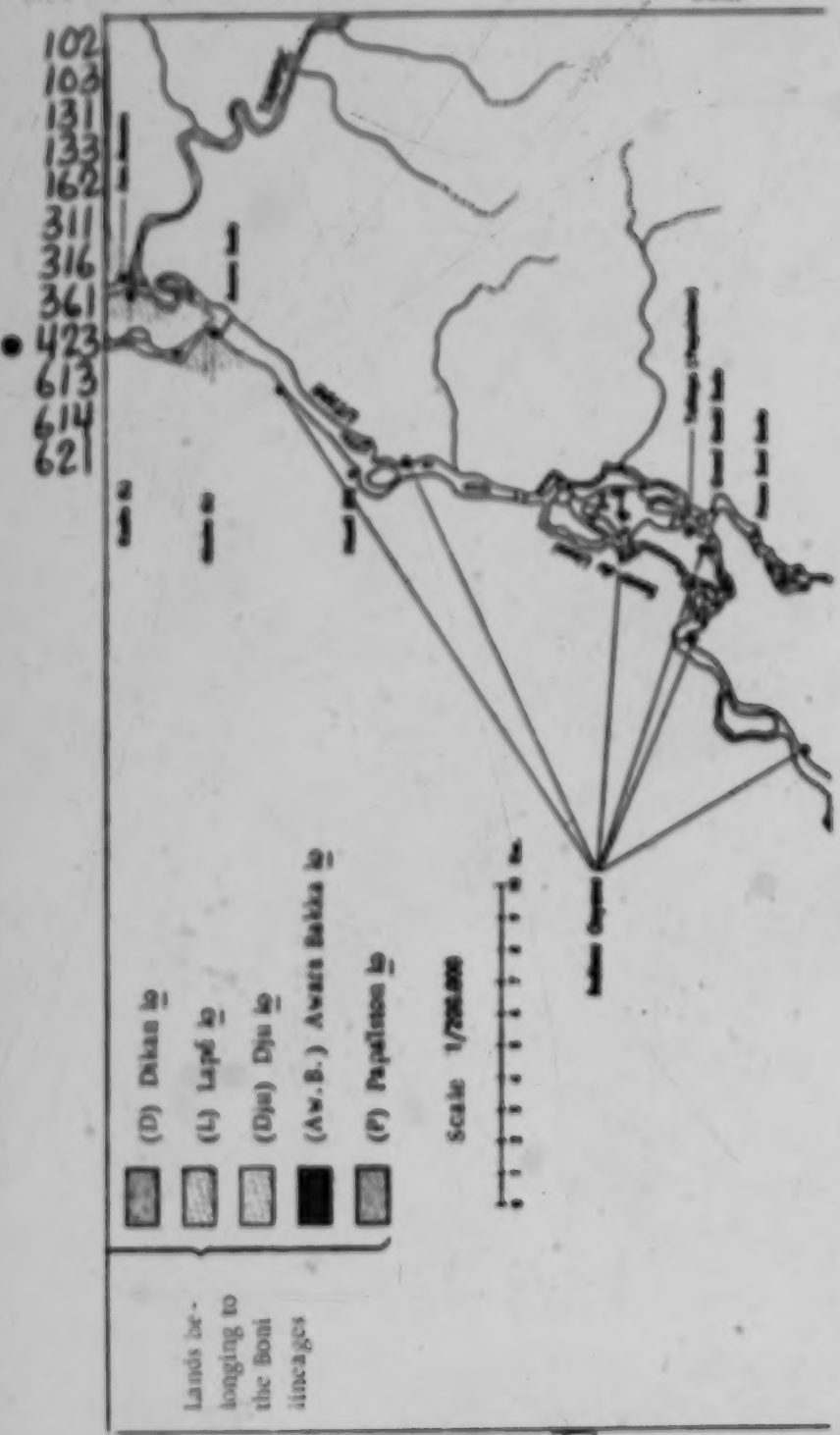


[End Map - A]

Villages and Electrical Substations
in 1960
Block headquarter villages
Block electrical substations
Other villages
Tuxpoxan substations
Other substations
Small gold workings
Indian villages
(X) Kaniha Ip
(Tuf) Tufkim Ip
(T) Tukam Ip
(L) Lungfi Ip
(Tlu) Tlum Ip
Lambda Ex-
tension of
the Block
Electrical
Substations
Chhimtuipui - 570 K-5 (1948-1950) 1961 GSI Bush Negroes 1/8
Bush
1025
1035
1055
1255
1625
311
3316
3611
4323
6133
6134
6211

End Map - 2

Gilbreault--570 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SRS Bush Negroes SRS
Boni



[End Map - D]

102

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423

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614

A (p. 580)	B (p. 581)	C (p. 582)	D (p. 583)

Chart of Positions of End Plate /facing p. 580/

DIVISION OF LANDS AMONG THE LINEAGES IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF THE PRINCIPAL BONI VILLAGES

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361
423
419
613
614
504

Photographic montage made with the help of photographs of Field Trip 007/200 IGN Guiana
Scale 1/20 000 Taken in October, 1956

[End Plate -A]

Gilmanskii--SRS K-5 (1960-1966) 1061 SRS Bush Negroes 1962
Bush

102
103
133
241
311
361
• 423
489
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614
[illegible]
509

Scale 1:[illegible]

[End Plate - B]

6:Marsh--582 K-5 (1948-1956) 1961 988 Bush Steganes 588

Bunji

102
103
133
241
311
361
423
487
504
613
614

Scale 1/30000

[End Plate - C]

Intermediate--502 K-5 (1949-1958) 1961 502 Bush Sergeant 502
Bush

162
103
133
241
311
361
423
487
504
613
614

- Agodé permanent villages
- clearings
- podzolic zone
- boundaries not known
- farming habitation
- dégrad (wharf)
- path
- approximate boundaries of agricultural land

[End Plate - D]

place was pointed out to us. The carved representation of the human face of the image was worked more carefully than is ordinarily done. Here the white clay was applied more thickly. The white cloth hanging from its stick was larger than we had ever seen before, the offerings of food and bottles and calabashes more numerous than at other ancestral shrines.

"This is where the *yorka* of the father of the Grassman comes," we were told.

But why the father? What of the mother, the parent to whom the Grassman was related? This village did not even belong to the Matchou clan to which he himself belonged. Yet with the pride that this was the shrine to the spirit of the Grassman's father went a realization of its importance. Here was something outside the legal order, something which transcended the facts of descent and the theory of relationship. It was becoming ever more evident that in this "matriarchate" the father did count.

6

The inheritance of the father's *kuou* was one instance where the father needed to be taken very much into account. "If this man's children should take some of his goods," they had said, pointing at things we could see through the slats of the dead man's treasure house in the village of Opoku, "they will get his *kuou*, too. No man wants that."

Then there was the *trofu*, or *tchina*—taboo—as it was called in the bush, of which our cook had told us. Every individual in the bush had his tchina. Everyone knew the things he must not eat, or must not do. One man had to abstain from eating *anamara*, the great fish of the river. Another might never sleep in the open without a roof over his head. Should he find himself out in the bush with night coming, he must stop early enough to erect a small shelter and thatch it that his head might be covered when he slept. Bayo, we soon learned, might not eat food out of the cooking pot, and Sedefo could not bathe in a creek. Kasanya

did not eat deer's meat, or his brother-in-law the meat of the bush-hog.

There are many kinds of tchina. There are the obia tchina. A man wearing or carrying with him a charm—an obia—will have several prohibitions imposed on him. If these are observed, the potency of the magic in the object given him will remain, but if they are violated, it will become a worthless ornament. When an obia is bought, its maker will take the hands of the man for whom he has made it in his, and pass his own lightly over them, blowing softly, so that the power of the spirit he had called upon when making it may enter into the man for whom the obia was made. Then the obia man will lean over and whisper, that no one might overhear, "When you wear this, do not get into a boat backwards," or, perhaps, "Never eat crab meat while you have this about your neck," or "Do not eat cassava and rice out of the same calabash."

But with the personal tchina it is otherwise. At birth each individual falls heir to a number of taboos. They come to him from his father. When a woman is with child she observes her husband's taboos as well as her own, for the child might otherwise be harmed in the womb by being nurtured on what is hateful to his father, and therefore to himself, since his father's taboos are his own. Male and female children take these tchina from the father. Their mother's tchina are no concern of theirs. Those which she observes had come to her from her own father. What makes the father ill will make the children ill, too. This holds for their entire lives, and the male children transmit their tchina from generation to generation.

A simple instance of this is the one which happened at our base camp when Bayo, who we knew could not eat out of a cooking pot, came one day to ask us for a dish. "My father forgot his eating dish. Will you let him use one of yours? He cannot eat out of a cooking pot."

When one man says of another, therefore, "He has the same tchina I have," he is saying that the two of them are related in the father's line.

"Yes," the man went on, "and there was much trouble." The men who had been punished incited their entire clan to come to their aid in an attack on the clan villages of those who had chastised them. "But now they are at peace." Those who were beaten were of his own clan, he said.

"And did you win your fight? What happened after that?"

"I did not go with the men. The land where the trees stood belonged to my father's clan, and my father's people I would not fight."

"What did you do?"

"I tried to make peace between them. That is what a man does when his father's clan and his mother's clan have trouble. But I was too young to speak in the big krutu—the assembly of the chiefs—so it was the elders of the Nyamfai people who brought them together, and settled the matter."

There was a point which we wanted cleared up. What was the attitude of the group toward a man who did not enter into a fight which concerned his own clan?

"Did no one say you ought to fight, too?" we asked, explaining our question to the man several times.

"No, why should they? A man can't fight against his father's people. Everybody knows that."

"But what *if* you did?"

"The gods would turn against my side."

After our return down river, when we again sat in the hut of the headman of the Gankwe clan, we turned to him with some questions about the family, and he gave us the following summary.

"From our mother we get our *is*, our clan, and our *nke*, our great family. Our mother's brothers are those we must obey. They correct us when we do wrong. They tell us what is good. In our mother's village is our true home, and from there we are buried when we die. But our father is our friend. He gives us his advice. From him we get many of the gods we dance to when we are men, and from him we

get the whina which, if we do not heal them, will let us stay healthy. Both our parents care for us"

He thought for a moment, and then, with a laugh, he wondered as Awinga had wondered that early morning at the planting ground.

"Is it not so in your country, Bik'a," he said, "that you ask me so often about these things?"

8

"Mama cow," we heard Bayo cal out again and again to his great-grandfather Bibifo, whenhe wanted to indicate to the old man that he knew what he was about. Bibifo accepted the reproof with unvarying meekness and good humor.

This relationship between them puzzled us. Yet the other men, overbearing Bayo's brusque words to Bibifo, made nothing of it. Before strangers, Bayo was subdued, shy. He stuttered ceremonially when he addressed a man of rank. He pitched his voice only a little above a whisper when he was in a strange village. Toward Kasanya and Sedefo and Asikanu he was respectful, and showed reserve. When he wanted his hair trimmed it came to Angita for help, or, better still, to the young man at the prow of Kasanya's boat who, like Kasanya, was of his own clan.

The old man was not a forceful fellow. That was, perhaps, the reason, we thought at first. Then we wondered if it was not because Bibifo had become Adrian, and no longer wore obias to carry him well on the water—because he had forsaken the old gods. But the other men treated Bibifo with the respect due an old man. When Kasanya killed a monkey, and his own pole-man could not share it with him because he was a twin and twins did not eat monkey, he turned to Bibifo with the pole-man's portion, and not to Sedefo, or to Asikanu, who was the brother of a clan head, and himself a possible successor to his brother's chieftainship.

to him when the drums called that god, could not be held accountable for what he did while his god had him in his control.

No stranger, no man who came to live in his wife's village, even though he had spent a good part of his life there, took it upon himself to offer advice to his wife's family. Again and again we would hear from men and women on the river, "In our village we do it this way," or, "We only carry the corpse on the head twice. Our spirits don't like to be troubled more often," or, "Mawu as a name for the Great God is used in our village, but not everywhere on the river."

There was the experience with several sacred images of village gods we had bought from an upper-river village. Our paddlers refused to carry them for us from the village to the boats, and it was with marked uneasiness that they permitted us to put them into the boats.

"We do not know what these gods can do. We do not know what is hateful to them. They are the gods of another people. We won't carry them."

But with the *gowi*—the child of the village of his mother's family, it was quite otherwise. He was a member of the village, he had a voice in its governing, he knew its gods. If he belonged to the family of the chief of the clan, if, let us say, his older brother were the chief, or if he was one of several nephews of a chief who had no surviving brothers, then at the death of the chief there would be a krutu, and the men of the village would decide which one of the several men who were eligible for the office was the most capable. Though rank was hereditary there was always selection among several heirs, and again the final word rested with the people of the clan. The offices of lesser chiefs—village chiefs who were subject to the clan chief, or bassias who served the chiefs—were passed on in the same manner.

While law making was in the hands of the chiefs, or captains, and the krutu over which they presided, law enforcement was the task of the bassias. It was they who saw to it that the orders of the chiefs were carried out. When

So it was with each god, until the boy was ready to be initiated into the Kromanti Society.

"There are many, many kruru, white man, for a boy has much to learn."

When those who directed the kruru were satisfied that the boy had learned how to serve the gods he had been given, that he knew their powers, and those things which were hateful to them and would incur their displeasure, then a dance was held for him so that he might demonstrate before the assembled festive villagers that he was ready for manhood.

"We give a big play for a boy who gets his gods for the first time. When the gods come to him at this dance at the bidding of the drum, and he dances hard, then his family is pleased. When a boy dances, then we know what is in him. We know whether his gods are strong, whether he is to be feared."

Once the father had transferred his gods to his son, he did not dance much himself. He might continue to play the drum at sacred dances, but dancing and drumming were for the younger men. His son's worship of the gods through the dance released the father for the study of obia. With the governing elders, the father took up his rôle as a clan member who sought the will of the ancestors when new tasks were to be undertaken.

"What happens if the father has few gods to give his son?" we asked.

"Then his mother's eldest brother gives his to the boy."

"What if the boy's uncle has none to give?"

That happened so seldom that he could not remember such an instance, but he had heard it said that this had occurred once or twice.

"A man must have gods to help him live. If his family can give him none, then they buy gods for him. Sometimes there are gods in the family that are not too strong, and they want the boy to have strong gods. They go to a man who knows about such things and who himself has strong gods and buy a god for the boy from him."

A man who wished to buy a god for his son went to a renowned obia man and agreed to pay him a certain sum of money if, at the end of the period of training, the god came to the boy.

"When the obia man says the boy is ready, they give a dance. At this dance, the drum is played for the god, and the boy must dance. If the god comes to him, then the obia man gets his money, but if the god does not come, then he does not get what was promised him, because they had made an agreement for a god, and no god came."

The training was not very difficult—it was not like the training for becoming an obia man. A boy was given obia water to wash in. Every eight days the water in the obia pot was changed, and this bathing continued for three moons. When the ritual of purification was over, he was taught the drum rhythms of the god, the invocations which the drum sounded, and the spoken invocations. Songs, and make-up for the dancing, and the dancing itself he was taught, and when he might call upon the god, and what he must do when the god comes, and what offerings the god was to receive. If the god spoke "tongues," he was also instructed in the appropriate language. There were the words of the mocking little Apuku gods and the sounds which only Tonê people made, and there was the "Kromanti tongo."

"Can all the gods be bought?" we asked.

"Kweti, kweti!" he shook his head in emphatic denial. "The river gods cannot be bought. You are born a Tonê man or woman, or the Tonê god comes to you from your family. But all the Vodu gods you can buy; and the god Bongo, the alligator; and the ant hill gods and the gods of the kankan tree, and the Apuku bush gods." He paused for an instant, as if he were considering something. "And men buy Kromanti for their sons, if they have none to give them. Almost every man in the bush has Kromanti. If he hasn't it, then he tries to buy it for his sons. A man needs Kromanti. When he has the Kromanti spirit, fire cannot hurt him, nor glass, nor anything that cuts—

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

[774] These food trafers are sometimes chosen by the individual,
[262] and are acquired also by inheritance. A certain Bush Negro
[775] got his trafer in this way: His grandmother had a vision,
[775] called *papa winti*, and she informed her grandson that she had been possessed. This made him feel the spirit of Crowanti. In that bad state he got the *idée fixe* that shooting a turtle would be reprehensible and dangerous. This animal then became his tabooed food, and for the rest of his life it is trafer so far as he is concerned.

[777] So far only a slight attempt has been made to Christianize the Djukas. The Catholics and Moravian Brothers have established mission stations at a few points along the rivers. Their efforts at conversion appear on the whole to be unsuccessful. The Bush Negroes are converted in small numbers and very superficially; in moments of stress they will revert back to their jungle deities. The whole spirit of Christian customs is foreign to their mode of life. They have the Gran
[778] Gadu, an adequate enough image of divine power. Their
[782] prayers are sometimes said directly to him, or they pray to their ancestors to intercede with the Gran Gadu for aid. Sometimes the prayer is said by being beaten out on the tom-
[778] tom, for the tomtom is sacred, and the throbs of the great

/168 cont./

764 co-wife, on the contrary, are completely veiled and show by their state of prostration the keenest sorrow. Each of them is assisted by a female relative who supports them when they have to move somewhere else, for they are supposed to be too overcome to move alone.

764 The interrogation as to the causes of death has already
787 taken place the day before, but Tafanid proclaims, in front of
761 me, the result of it to the latest arrivals: the deceased was struck down by a yaka which pursues the lineage with its kunu. She had already received several warnings in the form of illness; the yaka had demanded a payment which she and her near relatives had neglected to furnish. Impossible to learn anything further before being able to interrogate this yaka, whose habitual bearer has left for Saint-Laurent. It is necessary to wait for his return in order to mollify the yaka's anger.

764 About ten o'clock the members of the lifini kunu go to-
769 ward the fraga tiki of the Awara Bakka lo, in front of which they
778 all sit down on their stools. I notice that not a single man of
[613] the dead person's lineage appears in the front row. In it I recognize Popo (Lapé), Poopu (Dipélu II, Kormotibo), Tafanid (Papaïston). The one who is speaking is a foreigner passing through, a very aged and respected Djuka.

[782] The elders invoke Masa Gadu and the ancestors in general, asking them to protect them from adversity in the future; then the offering of water and tafia takes place (no cane juice). I notice that a little is poured on each of the secondary fraga tiki erected for the sake of each one of the ancestors who pursue another lineage with their kunu. That lasts about a quarter of an hour.

764 Next someone goes to ask the deceased to whom she
787 bequeaths the Papa gadu god which manifested itself in her;
776 for the gods are bequeathed like the rest of the inheritance,
428 even if those concerned are divinities which exercise that kunu
424

/168 cont./
against the lineage. The god confirms this legacy or not; in general it follows, they say, the wishes of its bearer and manifests itself some time afterward in the designated heir.

The coffin is placed on the heads of two men. Tafanié puts the questions with authority. He begins first by making sure of the passivity of the bearers, invites the dead woman to push their heads forward to say yes, to give them an impulse from right to left to say no.

The coffin advances and draws back several times; its weight is at the limit of what the two men can support. Two secondary bear[illegible] help the rear bearer, preventing the coffin from falling.

[613]
[621]

1. /Footnote at bottom of p. 168; no reference to it on the page/ Let us recall that this lineage, too few in numbers to constitute a separate social unit, lives with the Awala Bakka, with whom it has no connection through kinship or alliance.

The dead woman suddenly leads her bearers across the village. We see it come back /169/ a quarter of an hour afterward, accompanied by a woman of about 35 years, Moni, in front of whom it stopped.

Tafanié asks whether it wishes to leave its god to her; the dead woman confirms. Upon the statement of this legacy Moni's face reflects no gladness at all, nor any fear.

They explain to me that the designated heiress can in no way refuse this legacy. She must immediately begin her instruction given by a teacher, in order to become a suitable bearer. The expenses of her instruction are borne by her lineage.

613 /59 cont./
621 except in villages like Boniville where the issue of several lineages coexist. The rule is that in the homogeneous villages the mem-
[591] bers of the lineage are entirely free to build their houses anywhere. One observes only a certain tendency of children to group themselves around their mother as far as places are available (see especially in the village of Loka the intermingling of the homes of the descendants of Adédumi, Awɛ̄nkina, and other ancestresses belonging to the same lineage).

In villages like Asisi-Awara Bakka, where are grouped the members of a lo including individualized fractions, it is the same.

These fractions have no tendency whatever to form separate quarters (see in the plan of Asisi the intermingling of the homes of the Aw.B.1, 2, 3) any more than they tend to group their clearings in a separate area.

The Boni are apt to say: "Barriers must not be raised between brothers."

621 In a general way, examination of the village plans shows
425 that the Boni build their houses to suit themselves without any privileged orientation and without grouping or isolating them in any special way. Any member of the lineage may build on a site left free (for example, the site of an old hut after the death of its owner, when it has been adjudged to be too ruined to be possi-
[622] ble to give as a legacy). He must only have the authorization of the head of the village and also the assent of the neighbors, whom he must not disturb. Since the houses occupy only a small amount of space and most of them have no outbuildings (kitchen
[578] or granary), this assent is very easily given. We have never heard it said that people argued about a site.

423 /77 cont./
613
671 Land held by right of use cannot be sold nor rented, but only
[428] loaned. Neither can it be transmitted by inheritance; this would be entirely contrary to the thinking and custom of the Refugee Blacks, hostile to everything that would violate the legal joint possession of the lineage. Inheritance can affect only the harvest in process
[425] from clearings. Once this harvest is made, the land can be occupied by any member of the lineage, man or woman, who wishes to cultivate it; and if there is any dispute, it is obligatorily settled within the lineage; the grand man would refuse to judge it. Kinship degree /78/ does not enter in, at least in principle, since they can say to each other "brother," "uncle," or "grandfather" in the classificatory sense.

423 The only attenuation of the rigor of this principle provided
428 for by custom is that upon the death of a woman, her daughters have a right of priority to utilize her lands.

423 The Refugee Blacks have a clear tendency to remain faithful
241 all their lives to the same clearings. The study we have made of
128 the clearings in Boni country gives poor information on the history of each clearing, for it would have been necessary to be able to consult on the spot a large number of people, which we were not able to do; nevertheless it allows us to state that in the neighborhood of the residence villages, individuals keep their right of use of a clearing for the length of their lives.

42 Here is for example the transmission of rights over clearings
241 101 to 112 /sic/ (see genealogical table of the Dju lo) (1).

1. See plate at the end of this work: Distribution of lands in the neighborhood of the principal Boni villages.

/79 cont./

42 241 Thus out of ten clearings we find only two cases where a member of the lineage gave his right of use to another during his lifetime; in four cases the right of use was taken over by a daughter upon the death of her mother; in two cases it passed to a distant relative.

241 423 425 562 Anyone, man or woman, may hold rights of use. But examination of the clearings shows that the great majority of men do not ask for any, and that nearly all the land is appropriated by women. In the example noted, out of ten clearings only one is appropriated by a man. This derives from the fact that most men are content to cut their wives' clearings on their wives' lands but do not bother to farm on their own account.

241 423 [613] Each woman holds rights of use over a certain number of clearings distributed in the different territorial zones of her lineage. It is important to have, so to say, many cords to one's bow, for it is necessary to be able, according to the activity of the manioc ants, to pass from one sector to another or on the contrary to work prematurely a clearing which one was hoping to leave fallow for several years.

241 425 [423] For example, Tini (F1) holds rights over six to seven clearings. For one (No. 104), she created the right of use on her own behalf by clearing it out of old secondary forest without any known owner. As for another (No. 107), she received it from Loka (D13), a distant relative, as a gift during his lifetime. As for the others (for example No. 106), she created the right on her own behalf by farming them first upon the death of their holder.

241 423 The right of use can be loaned, either to a member of the lineage or even to an outsider. It is specified that the loan is made for a certain number of years and that it is revocable. In such a case the donor does not lose his right of use.

/80/

241 Real right. The principle is that he who makes a clearing out of
423 primary forest (or old secondary forest without a known owner)
425 creates at the same time as a right of use for himself, an impre-
613 scriptible right for his lineage.

These two notions are very separate in the minds of the Refugee Blacks. The exercise of a right of use, even over a long period of time, over land already recognized as the possession of another lineage does not create any real right at all.

For example, ○ Béniti † 1953 (E5), an old woman of the Dju lo, had founded a farming habitation in the Kuyaku locality, where she worked the earth for several tens of years. But since these lands, even though unoccupied, were regarded as belonging to the Dipélu II lo (Kormotibo village), Béniti's work did not create any right at all for the Dju lo. If her daughters do not agree and if the habitation disappears, it is people of the Dipélu II lo who will be able to occupy the lands.

613 Consequences of the material scission of a lineage. When fraction
571 A' of lineage A emigrates and goes to settle on the land of another
425 village, B, which cedes a portion of land to it, the members of
423 fraction A', thus separated, keep all their rights over the land from which they originally came. But the reverse is not true: the people who remained in the village of origin of the lineage (A) have no right over the land ceded to the A' out of B's territory.

At the end of a certain time, and especially if the lineage (B) had never really occupied the land granted, it is assumed that the lineage (A') is possessor of it without restriction.

This was the case for example of the fraction of the Dipélu II who left Kormotibo village about 1930 to establish themselves in Asisi near the Awara Bakka lineage. The Awara Bakka granted them some unoccupied lands near Asisi village in the Tapo locality.
(162) This fraction, now numbering about 30 persons, considers that it has exclusive rights over these lands where the Kormotibo people cannot come to farm, but it has lost nothing as regards its rights over Kormotibo soil.

/80 cont./

621 613 [174] Case of the village of Boniville. This village constitutes an especially interesting case, for it brings together small fractions of the various lineages permanently settled there. It helps one to understand what the territorial implantation of the Refugee Blacks may have been toward the end of the 18th century at the time when their institutions were developing.

621 613 423 [643] [425] The principle is that the Boniville lands belong to the grand man, the last representative of the Dikan lineage; he granted individually to the inhabitants of the village the right to farm his lands. These inhabitants thus hold only a right of use, and there can be no competition among them for the possession of the real rights. But the principle of transmission of the right of use in the same lineage remains for each clearing taken separately. For example, Klémenti (Dju, F7), who made a clearing out of primary forest, concedes that after him his land may be occupied by any member of the Dju lineage residing in Boniville, but not by Dju lineage members living in Asisi. /81/

423 621 Few in number on a relatively extensive territorial sector, the inhabitants of Boniville have not felt the need to divide the sector granted by the grand man into precise territorial zones. 423 425 613 It is difficult to foresee what will happen after the death of Grand Man Difu when the rights of use will be transformed into real rights. It is probable that a territorial division among the fractions of the lineage established in Boniville will be imperceptibly created by the simple fact that competition will arise among them.

423 Fishing, hunting, gathering, and mineral exploitation rights. These rights are totally separate from the right to farm; in this respect the conceptions of the Refugee Blacks reveal the precariousness of the bonds between the individual and the soil, which results from ecological conditions.

/81 cont./

423 The right to fish in certain rivers is held by lineages; other
222 rivers are regarded as property common to the inhabitants of a
613 village, whatever their kinship may be.

621 For example, the right to fish in Kumata Kiiki, a small
[425] creek of the Surinam bank, near the village of Kotika, is reserved for members of the Lapé lineage (the members of this lineage farmed there formerly, but they abandoned these lands, currently farmed by the Kotika people).

Maripa and Likanaon creeks, downstream from Boniville, are reserved for the inhabitants of Boniville.

Asisi Creek is reserved for the inhabitants of Asisi (Dju, Awara Bakka, and Dipélu II lineages).

423 The right to hunt cannot be reserved; everyone has the right
[224] to hunt anywhere.

The right to gather and the right to cut trees for making
[222] planks or boats is generally bound up with the right to farm.
[313]

The right to collect underground products is completely
423 independent of the right to farm. For example, if someone finds
316 a seam of kaolin (pémba) on the lands of another lineage, he
317 exploits it freely. This aspect of the legal conceptions of the Refugee Blacks is very interesting, for it shows that even from the
423 point of view of customary law, the grand man is not entitled to
316 exercise any rights over the production of the Creole gold miners.
648 He could demand indemnities only insofar as these gold miners farm lands over which the Boni exercise customary rights. The interminable discussions which the claims of Grand Man Anato brought on at the time of the Lawa gold rush at the end of the past century would have been avoided by a better knowledge of the customary law.

/100 cont./

24 62 [184] under pain of losing their rights, to occupy the soil to the maximum. Besides, settled very far from their residence villages, they are led to creating more lasting establishments.

Among the Boni, farming habitations do not amount to much, built carelessly (to designate them one says kāpu (camp), and the groups who work there are not very stable.

423 241 [182] [184] However, the principles of establishment and functioning of farming habitations are exactly the same for the two tribes and result on the whole from the customary laws which, among the Refugee Blacks, govern the possession of land:

[425] [613] 1) When a man cuts a clearing in a zone which has never had any human establishment, he creates at the same time as a right of use for himself an imprescriptible real right for his lineage (bee) or more precisely for the fraction of the lineage living in the same village and subject to the same authority;

[428] [613] 2) This right is joint; at the death of an individual, anyone of that fraction of his lineage may occupy the lands he used to cultivate habitually. If there is a dispute, it must be settled within the framework of the lineage; /101/ /Fig. 17 appears here/ /102/

3) The extent of the zone over which this right is exercised is limited only by the zones over which other rights are exercised.

We have seen what mode of occupation of the soil resulted from these laws in the neighborhood of the "great villages." Here the distribution of lands among the farming habitations follows practically the same laws, whose effects are less rigorous, considering the very low density of occupation of the soil.

425 [361] 1) It is taken for granted that an isolated establishment in a quasi-deserted zone does not create lasting rights. If it happens to disappear, anybody may come to settle there after ascertaining from the first occupant that he no longer needs the place (such is the case with the very scattered establishments south of Simayé Falls up to Indian country; they do not create real territorial rights for the benefit of any lineage whatever.

/102 cont./

425 2) On the contrary, from the time that occupation of a region becomes habitual, even by groups of small numerical importance, people pay attention to the attribution of the lands. [361] [613] Thus it is assumed that the west bank of the Lawa south of the Atikati habitation up to Simayé Falls has belonged, since the end of the last century, to the Lapé lo, which was occupying it in 1957 by the Paako, Samo, Pwen, Saléni, and Makélé habitations.

423 613 241 361 3) Within each zone the rights remain joint and anyone of the same lo may come to settle there. Thus the farming habitations move around, but within a definite sector. Thus for example Kwaku (Lapé) abandoned in 1954 his habitation situated in the lands of the Lapé lineage (it was too damp in the rainy season, he prefers to content himself with the lands of the "great village"). He does not lose his rights because of this. If he decides eventually to come back, he will settle anywhere in the zone attributed to the Lapé lo.

182 161 241 361 425 It goes without saying that if the population were more dense, such a principle would be difficult to apply and that serious disputes would arise. But this mode of occupation of the soil is perfectly suitable, in their present situation, for the tribes of the Refugee Blacks, for it allows them to practice, with a minimum of friction, the seminomadism which the geographical environment and especially the manioc ant impose.

241 361 423 The zones occupied by the farming habitations rarely have a single holder: most often they are divided into separate sectors on different parts of the river.

504 613 361 423 Actually, as we have seen around the "great villages," each lineage possesses a certain number of "dégrads," or landing places, from which paths radiate. Each "dégrad" is rigorously reserved for the members of a lineage. The occupants of a farming village radiate from around their landing place until they

"OBIA COMESI"

"Do not take too much rum," he said. "When there is much to drink, obia does not come." 76A 796

The bottle ready, we waited. Eight, half-past, nine o'clock. When we had decided they were not coming for us, the sharp bark of Tross signaled the approach of a man up the path from the river bank. As he came into the circle of light, we recognized Apanto.

"Everything is ready, Bak'a," he said. "Come."

It was not an important village, this one across the river from our camp. It was smaller and had much less power than Gankwe, the seat of a clan head. But enough men had assembled for the ceremonies to make a dance, and the women were standing about waiting as we came from the river through the palm-frond guard. The moon was again up, but moving clouds hid it from view or covered it with a haze which dimmed its brilliance. A few houses fronted on the little clearing where the dance was to be held, and here and there some oil lanterns had been placed.

Not everything, we soon learned, was ready, for drums were lacking. They had an agida, but the two others which were needed were not there. Poor villages very often had to borrow their drums from other settlements. The dancers stood about waiting. [92L]

We offered the tumao we had acquired, and Bayo returned to our camp for it. A large tin basin, turned upside down, gave the same metallic tenor voice as the apinti, and so with the makeshift orchestra the dancing began, two younger boys playing the kwakwa. 76A 53A

For a time it seemed as though we were only to see seketi. The children had had no opportunity at all to perform, and they stood about watching, while their elders danced the social dance we had seen so often. There was a tall man from a friendly village farther down the river whose dancing that night stood out. The careful awkwardness of his legs as he danced facing us, the carefully timed movements of arms and body showed us that in seketi, too, as the proverb ran, there were truly men on the lower river, as there were on the upper. 76A 796

/289 cont./

157 241 31 in a sector recognized to be undamaged. But objections immediately come to their minds: one would not feel at home, people would be jealous of one another; above all, the children would go pilfering fruit and vegetables in the clearings of other families. The Refugee Blacks are unanimous in thinking that the children of one village put together in a single place would constitute a scourge much worse than the manioc-ant, and that dispersion is the wisest solution for maintaining the peace of families.

562 241 One observes likewise that the total freedom of woman, and the custom which leaves to her /290/ the free disposal of the products of the clearing, contribute toward preventing the development of agriculture with an eye to selling. In order [592] to undertake large clearings farmed jointly by one household, it would be necessary to have very unified and stable households, which is rare.

157 476 Difficulty of grouping for common advantage. The Refugee Blacks are incapable of forming groups voluntarily to undertake the execution of a job with an eye to common advantage. The small groups which get together for fishing, working gold, etc. are formed of intimate friends or near relatives and are hardly larger than four or five persons.

157 454 The Refugee Blacks are still less capable of grouping themselves into societies looking toward future benefits. Putting a part of their resources into a common pot with that of another seems to them not only illusory but immoral. Because of this fact there exists among them no way to group financial assets, sometimes good-sized.

• 426 Lending without interest is practiced rather commonly, having to do with small sums between near relatives or intimate friends. If a man feels capable of earning his living by buying a motor, he will succeed rather easily in finding the necessary money by borrowing from his brothers or friends. 10,000 francs

/290 cont./

426 here, 5,000 there. But these loans are never large and do not constitute an effective process for grouping financial assets.

159 525 The so-called subscription societies so common in Black Africa are totally contrary to the thinking of the Refugee Blacks, in the same way as games of chance. In 1958 the Maripasoula post, on the occasion of a festival, had organized a tombola. When the principle of it was explained to the Boni, they were unanimous in thinking that the Europeans had odd amusements. Few of them agreed to buy tickets, and the ones who had not won anything left embittered, with the feeling of having been involved in an immoral operation.

157 571 High esteem attached to contracts. This inaptitude for forming groups and combining assets contributes very much toward crystallizing the society of the Refugee Blacks in its present form by opposing all large-scale initiative. On the other hand, 157 577 it develops the sense of personal responsibility. The Refugee Blacks are especially strict with respect to money (1). 426

[448]

1. This with regard to their mutual relations; as for debts to Europeans, they are not prompt in paying them back; but marked deception, borrowing done for the purpose of swindling, are very rare with the Refugee Blacks.

[829] Custom lays down as a strict principle that everything must be paid for. No one may live at the expense of someone else, no one may borrow without paying back. If a man died [613] before repaying a debt, the members of his lineage would club together to pay it off.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

when the time came, his brothers and sisters
and sisters' children would gather to divide what wealth 428
there was. The greatest share would, of course, go to the 168
brother who would marry the widow, but all the others [587]
would get something.

"And his children, the children he made, would they get anything?"

"Why no, the children he made are his wife's children. They belong to the family of his wife!"

"But suppose he cared for them very much. . . ."

"Then he might have made them some presents now and then when he was alive, but even then some people say it is better not to give them too much. When a man dies his possessions go to his family. If this man's children, who really belong to his wife, were to take things now, they would get a kunu for it, and they might get another kunu which the father had, for if they got his possessions, his kunu would go to them, too, and there would perhaps be one in their own family that had come to them through their mother. No man or woman wants this."

It is kunu, then, which sees to it that the tribal law of succession and inheritance through the female line is not [611] violated.

4

There was the case of Asikanu, our paddler, who was the 115
brother of the head of an important clan, which gave us still another instance of the workings of kunu. Asikanu was, in his own right, not a negligible figure. When his brother died, it might be he who would succeed to the headship of the clan. When the other paddlers wanted things of us, they would come to ask in his name. "It is not a small thing when Asikanu asks," they would say. "He is a big man; he is the brother of our chief. You must not refuse him."

Asikanu had a way with the women, although it would 684
have been best if at least one of them had resisted him. She was married, and, when her husband discovered her infidelity, she went to Asikanu. Now this was as it should

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Kasanya glanced at the boy, who showed by his manner his eagerness to accompany his father, and then at his sister. "How will it be with you, sister, if Adyabu goes? Do you want him to go with Misomba?" 593 607

"Yes," she replied. "Misomba will care for him. Let him go."

The three older people talked over the details of the trip down the river, until it was made clear to all that Adyabu would share whatever money his father might receive for the lumber.

"You will treat him well, brother-in-law," said Kasanya, with a smile, "for in a few years his girl will be ripe for marrying, and he will need money for a fine wedding."

That night we talked this over with Kasanya.

"Why must a man ask another if he may take his own son with him on a journey? Is a man not to be trusted to take care of a boy he himself has made?"

"You do not understand, Bak'a. It is not that we don't trust Misomba," he replied. "He has lived with my sister for many years. She is his first wife, and my family have always liked him. When my sister's eldest daughter was asked in marriage by a man of this village, and our great family came together here to consider whether we should promise her to him or not, we asked Misomba to give us his advice. Misomba does not have a bold face. He did not speak until after much urging. To ask a man's advice about what does not concern his own family is a great honor. But we did this, and when he spoke, we found that what he said was good. So, you see, it is not that we do not trust Misomba." [554]

We encouraged him to explain further.

"Adyabu is not his heir. He is the child of my sister and belongs to my family. I am the one to say what he is to do and what he is not to do, because I am the oldest living brother. Adyabu does not belong to Misomba's family. He is of my blood. When I die, he will inherit my possessions. When Misomba dies, his possessions will go to his own 604 428

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SS Bush Negroes SS
Saramacca

604 428 brothers and to his sisters' children. That is how we live here in the bush. That is how we do."

4

591 When a man marries, he either arranges to take his wife to live in his own village—his mother's village—or to stay in that of his wife. Whether he chooses the one village or the other, he has to build a house there for her, and this becomes her *wosu*, her household. If he wishes, he may build two houses, one in his own village, and one in the village of his wife. Kasanya's younger brother built two houses for his first wife. One was on the lower river, next to Kasanya's own house, and the other we would reach after two days' further travel up the river.

Yet the man, explained Kasanya, if the couple were living in the village of the wife, or the woman, if their house was in his village, was not entirely at home. In one's own village a person was a *gomi*, a child of the "ground." He belonged there. But when living in another's village, even though it was that of a husband or wife, one was a [609] *wakama'*, a stranger, and if a man of the village but uttered this word "wakama'" to such an individual, the outsider had to take up his belongings and leave at once. Were the [688] stranger, in turn, to speak aloud the word "gomi," disaster would follow, for the earth spirits, having been disturbed, would be sure to take their toll.

594 The *wosu*—the household—is the unit of family life, whether, in its physical location, it is in one village or two villages. In it a woman lives with her husband, and here the 596 children are reared. After the wosu comes the larger family unit, the *mbr*, composed of those who have come from the common womb of a more remote ancestress, while several of [614] these larger or extended families form a clan.

"If a man has more than one wife," said Kasanya, "then 595 he makes more than one house. A man never puts two wives in the same house. It would not be good. Each woman has her own house, where she lives with her children. It must be so. The children of the first wife belong to her

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family. The children of the second wife belong to the 595
family of the second wife. A woman calls her husband's other wife by the name of kamboea. Do you know what kamboea means?" he asked, laughing. "*Kamboea*—the woman who makes trouble for me. So, you see, we people of the bush learned from our ancestors to give each wife her own house, where she might live with her own children."

But not alone the woman needed to have a house of her 347
own. The man, too, built a house for himself. In it he stored 423
his possessions. It was his sanctuary. No woman might enter it. On the carving of its door, a man lavished all his [531]
love of ornamentation, all his artistry.

"A man likes to have his own house for his possessions," explained Kasanya. "If he is a rich man, it is better that his wives do not know how much he has. You know what women are. They always ask for presents. But if a man is not rich, then it is better still that his wives do not know it. If they know, they will make life hard for him with nagging. They will talk of leaving him. And all the village will know, too."

In this house, then, which a man built for his wife, the 592
children were reared. Sometimes, it is true, if the harvests 604
were poor or the father had met with ill luck, the mother's [858]
brothers would come for the children, for children are the [428]
ones to carry on the line. It is through them that clan rank and material goods are inherited.

But if all went well with the father, then the attachments 597
of the household were the closest, and they continued even 768
after death. For the household was not entirely disrupted after the death of a parent. Unless the one who died had been a sorcerer, a leper, or a madman, the house where he lived was not torn down.

"When a man dies," Kasanya said, "the wife goes on 768
living in the house, once it has been purified. If a woman dies, then the man keeps on living there."

"What of the children?" we asked. "What becomes of them?"

REBEL DESTINY

824 796 Later, through the gathering darkness, the people of the neighboring villages went home, paddling their boats which were loaded down with the fish that had been netted. And from this time on, everyone knew that this neku vine was [493] the property of him who had found it, and of his family, [495] down through his mother's line, forever.

"Ai, mati, you would have seen something, if you had got here for the neku dance!"

6

361 Like any other Bush Negro village, S'ei was a series of sandy clearings about which were grouped huts of woven palm fronds and palm thatch. All about was the big bush. [487] The trails which led from the village were each guarded [789] by a magically treated palm azang, and shrines to the ancestral spirits who saw to it that evil was kept away. Where the several paths led, a stranger was not encouraged to discover. Down one, women were to be seen disappearing [882] in the morning with trays on their heads, their infants astride their backs, held inside the folds of a cloth which was fastened high above their breasts, and caught up again below them. In many upper river villages, this path led to the fields, some distance away. Others were the way to [778] shrines, erected to those spirits which must be worshiped outside the village. Another path might lead to a brook, which the villagers held sacred. There were trails, too, which connected neighboring villages, and led perhaps farther yet, but for the stranger, the highway was the river, and no matter how short the distance between one settle- [886] ment and another, he was not invited to make his way through the bush.

"You do not want to go through the bush, white man. In the bush are evil spirits," we heard many times.

A village clearing was divided into quarters. Each quarter was inhabited by one of the *mbe*, or extended families, and 361 the quarter bore its name. It was composed of several house- 592 holds—five or six or more, depending upon the size of the

THE ARTIST OF MA'LOBBI

As we walked toward the chief's house we looked about us, seeing again the evidence that here at Ma'lobbi there were men who knew how to carve wood, seeing why it was that our paddlers had spoken of it as a place for fine work. 322 531

"Ai, at Ma'lobbi they are good carvers."

Here was a house with its doorposts elaborately carved; there a beautifully worked rice tray, lying where it had been left by the woman who owned it, until she should need it later in the day for winnowing her rice; farther along a great bench stood, with the designs cut through in a fluid progression over top and sides. [342]

The captain was in the lower portion of his two-story house when we entered. Several of the older men, who had been present at our earlier visit and who remembered our gifts of tobacco, came to join us, as the news of our arrival spread through the village. Soon the women were standing about, motioning to the white woman to come with them. 123 609

The house in which the captain received us was larger and more imposing than the others in the village. It was his *gadu-wosu*—his treasure house. Its lower portion, where we sat in conversation with him, was where he worked. Above, where none of his wives might enter, his wealth was stored. Here he kept the pieces he had carved, and from here drew from time to time the presents he gave his wives. Here lay the wealth which his nephews would inherit when he died. But below, in the partially open shelter, was his workshop where he fashioned rough logs into stools and paddles, combs and food stirrers, trays and canoe seats, and all manner of objects which he and his women used in their daily routine. 342 556 [408] [302]

All about the walls hung tools. There were machetes, whose sharp blades showed a reflection of fire from the sun which slanted on the wall. We had never seen so many of these bush knives on display, nor, for that matter, such an array of tools anywhere on this river. From projecting boards or nails driven into posts hung several compasses, their hinged arms sharp-pointed, so that the craftsman might describe the perfect circles on the wood he carved. 342 353 412 [413]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

361 posely to make the village as hard to reach as possible, to protect it from white invaders. From long experience the [648] Djukas mistrust all white men.

643 In Jankoeso is lodged the general authority over the Saramaccaner tribe and the territory in which they live. He has forbidden the intrusion of any visitors unless they are announced several days beforehand, by messenger.

[628] All the Granmans receive their title by matrilineal inheritance, and cannot be deposed. When one dies he is succeeded by his oldest sister's oldest male child, while his own sons never, under any circumstances, succeed him to the kingship. If there is no such person as his oldest sister's senior male child, then the succession passes on to the oldest male child of the nearest female relative. If the line dies out, and no [666 relatives are eligible, the successor is elected by popular vote 622] from among the captains of the river villages, but this seldom occurs. On such an occasion there may be a struggle between different lo, playing politics to get into power. Otherwise inheritance is strictly through the female line.

649 The Dutch government exerts only a nominal control over the Bush Negro tribes of the interior. Once every year the river Granmans come down the broad river highways to Paramaribo for a parley with the Governor of Surinam. After a ten-day canoe trip downstream, Jankoeso finds a train waiting for him at Kabel, to bring him ceremonially the rest of the way. The other rulers must come all the way by corial. On their long and often hazardous journey they are accompanied by their most powerful captains. The Gran-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

114 prejudices about sex and marriage may become less rooted by a comparison with the customs of a primitive society.

611 The Djukas, like a number of other primitive tribes, reckon
428 descent only through the female line; property rights are transmitted through the maternal side of the house. Fatherhood is a fact of relative unimportance.

595 Polygamy is the practice. Each wife lives in a separate hut (often in a separate village), which belongs to her because her husband built it for her. A man has as many wives as he wants, or can keep. The wives get along together fairly [152] amicably. The cancer of matrimonial jealousy characteristic of our own system, is of narrow range and effect among the Djukas.

596 The head of the family is not the father, but the mother's
604 oldest male relative—her brother or her mother's brother. *The father is technically unrelated to his children.* As a matter of biological fact, he can never be sure of his paternity, whereas maternity is never in doubt. All children belong to their mother's family, and are subject to the authority of her brother or her maternal uncle. The latter is more closely related to them than any other male.

611 A group of families related through the female line con-
614 stitute a *m'beh,* and several m'beh together make up a *lo,* or clan. These groups are all reckoned through the mother. Husband and wife may belong to different m'beh and lo, but children of the union belong only to their mother's group. At
593 first sight the father seems negligible in this arrangement,
604 but it must be remembered that he is very likely the brother

/32 cont./

601 The very rigor of this principle seems to have to lead to a
613 scission of the lineages, for one can hardly conceive that people
571 will be willing to address girls younger than themselves as "my
[163] grandmother" and show them respect; now that must necessarily be the case at the end of a certain number of generations, for as we shall see, the fecundity of Boni women sometimes lasts up to the age of 50, and there are cases where the interval between the oldest and youngest child reaches 35 years.

Nevertheless, we have not actually observed that this conception of kinship leads to scissions or even to serious clashes.

That derives from the very nature of the hierarchy and the social ties within the matrilineage; they entail a collective tutelage by one generation over the next, and in the same way a collective tutelage by the ancestors over the living. But for the same reason that every prayer, every invocation addressed individually to such-and-such an ancestor is avoided, the hierarchy of the Refugee Blacks does not give rise to relationships of authority between one man and another, which would not be tolerated. Only the hedemi, or captain, designated by the assembly of the lineage, exerts a personal authority; even so, he is careful to limit it almost exclusively to religious functions.

604 "Uncles" exert collectively an authority over the generation
613 of "nephews." They meet in council, especially on the question of marriages. They do not vote, strictly speaking, but the opposition of three or four of them prevents the carrying out of a project. There is no preponderant voice for the closest uncles (yet in practice this seems to be taken into account). But the eldest of the uncles in the classificatory sense is unanimously recognized as preponderant.

602 Existence of patrilineages. Matrilineages are not the only kin
784 groups of the Refugee Blacks. Each one receives from his father
• 428 a fundamental interdiction -- bwasi kina -- which he will have

/32 cont./

602 784 to observe all his life and which he himself will transmit to his children. It is unanimously believed that breaking this interdiction causes leprosy (bwasi).

This interdiction is never transmitted by women. It is transmitted from father to son /33/ or daughter. The son will observe it and transmit it; the daughter will observe it during her lifetime, but she will not transmit it.

602 784 The existence of the bwasi kina divides the Boni into de facto groupings which can be considered as patrilineages. These patrilineages have no name, no head, no organization; their members are dispersed among the various matrilineages and most of them do not know who the others are.

They exist nevertheless and extend throughout all the tribes of Refugee Blacks.

[582] Their importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks comes from the fact that they involve a law of exogamy: a man and a woman who have the same bwasi kina cannot marry; that would be pikadu, incest in the broad sense, an offense against exogamy, as much as the union of two members of the same matrilineage.

[262] [578] It is difficult to estimate the number of these patrilineages, which seems to us to be at least 20 among the Boni; actually, the Boni do not willingly tell their bwasi kina, for fear that one of their enemies might mix into their food a fragment of the interdicted food in order to harm them; besides, they do not know their paternal relations beyond their grandfather. Reconstitution of patrilineages by interrogation seems therefore to be illusory.

602 784 262 The bwasi kina we have been able to find out about are all about food. They involve the cayman, the "tiger," the tortoise, the white hen, the pian (awali), the eel. The cayman is often given in addition to another animal. But it is inaccurate to say that the Refugee Blacks have a general interdiction against the cayman.

/60/

351 There are no gardens around the cabins because the con-
[134] ditions of the soil and climate render permanent cultivation
[241] impracticable. The nearest thing is a few persons planting some
banana trees around the hut at the foot of which they spread the
361 hearth ashes. As a general rule villages are closely hemmed in
137 by secondary brushwood, and people plant far from one another
31 and sometimes very far from the village.

423 If it does not admit the appropriation of land to individuals,
824 custom does admit, on the other hand, the ownership of trees.
In the villages the useful trees (coconut trees, maripa palms
/attalea excelsa/, mango trees, cashew-apple trees, etc.) all
[428] have owners. The tree is considered as personal property and is
transmitted by inheritance in the same way as a gun or a canoe.
428 The procedure employed by the Boni for the dispersion of the
824 inheritance among the members of the lineage of the dead man
613 sometimes has the effect of transmitting the ownership of a tree
to a person who is not of the village. For example, in Boniville
[222] where a fraction of the Kotika lineage lives, two caumou palms
were bequeathed a long time ago to members of the lineage living
in Kotika, who come each year to gather the fruit.

Appendix

173 Local Chronology Used for Determining Ages
[125]

1876 Death of Grand Man Atyaba.

1877 Trip of the explorer Crevaux from the Maroni to the Yari and the Amazon, in the company of Apatu, head of the Boni village.

[621] 1882 Apatu secedes, taking with him about 150 persons
361 and founds the village which bears his name on the lower course of the Maroni.

423 613 671 [428] /77 cont./

Land held by right of use cannot be sold nor rented, but only loaned. Neither can it be transmitted by inheritance; this would be entirely contrary to the thinking and custom of the Refugee Blacks, hostile to everything that would violate the legal joint possession of the lineage. Inheritance can affect only the harvest in process [425] from clearings. Once this harvest is made, the land can be occupied by any member of the lineage, man or woman, who wishes to cultivate it; and if there is any dispute, it is obligatorily settled within the lineage; the grand man would refuse to judge it. Kinship degree /78/ does not enter in, at least in principle, since they can say to each other "brother," "uncle," or "grandfather" in the classificatory sense.

423 428 The only attenuation of the rigor of this principle provided for by custom is that upon the death of a woman, her daughters have a right of priority to utilize her lands.

423 241 128 The Refugee Blacks have a clear tendency to remain faithful all their lives to the same clearings. The study we have made of the clearings in Boni country gives poor information on the history of each clearing, for it would have been necessary to be able to consult on the spot a large number of people, which we were not able to do; nevertheless it allows us to state that in the neighborhood of the residence villages, individuals keep their right of use of a clearing for the length of their lives.

42 241 Here is for example the transmission of rights over clearings 101 to 112 /sic/ (see genealogical table of the Dju lo) (1).

1. See plate at the end of this work: Distribution of lands in the neighborhood of the principal Boni villages.

/100 cont. /

241 62 [184] under pain of losing their rights, to occupy the soil to the maximum. Besides, settled very far from their residence villages, they are led to creating more lasting establishments.

Among the Boni, farming habitations do not amount to much, built carelessly (to designate them one says kāpu (camp), and the groups who work there are not very stable.

423 241 [182] [184] However, the principles of establishment and functioning of farming habitations are exactly the same for the two tribes and result on the whole from the customary laws which, among the Refugee Blacks, govern the possession of land:

[425] [613] 1) When a man cuts a clearing in a zone which has never had any human establishment, he creates at the same time as a right of use for himself an imprescriptible real right for his lineage (bɛɛ) or more precisely for the fraction of the lineage living in the same village and subject to the same authority;

[428] [613] 2) This right is joint; at the death of an individual, anyone of that fraction of his lineage may occupy the lands he used to cultivate habitually. If there is a dispute, it must be settled within the framework of the lineage; /101/ /Fig. 17 appears here/ /102/

3) The extent of the zone over which this right is exercised is limited only by the zones over which other rights are exercised.

We have seen what mode of occupation of the soil resulted from these laws in the neighborhood of the "great villages." Here the distribution of lands among the farming habitations follows practically the same laws, whose effects are less rigorous, considering the very low density of occupation of the soil.

425 [361] 1) It is taken for granted that an isolated establishment in a quasi-deserted zone does not create lasting rights. If it happens to disappear, anybody may come to settle there after ascertaining from the first occupant that he no longer needs the place (such is the case with the very scattered establishments south of Simayé Falls up to Indian country; they do not create real territorial rights for the benefit of any lineage whatever.

/135 cont./

593 428 The nature of the relations with the mother is shown by the custom of inheritance. /136/ If a man dies while his mother is still living, his belongings return to her. She may keep them or divide them among the members of the lineage.

593 Role of the father. The father has no power over the children, but in general he is respected by them and his sons make no important decision without asking for his opinion.

In the very frequent case where the guardianship of the children is entrusted to the mother, the father exercises a de facto authority as long as the family group lasts. But in case of its break-up he loses any right over the children.

In general the father loves his children very much, but in the way Europeans love their nephews, he avoids taking a hand too closely in their education, which is the responsibility of the uncles, who might invite him not to busy himself with family affairs.

593 429 591 But if the father has received the guardianship of one or several children, the situation is completely different. If the family group breaks up, he takes them along with him. Besides, as a general rule, even if he gets along well with his wife, he settles in his own village the children whose guardianship has been entrusted to him, close to his maternal family; henceforth it is he who will provide entirely not only for their maintenance but for their food; except for periods when the husband spends some time with them near his wife, the latter no longer has to feed them.

593 429 If the father has received the guardianship of a child, he can in turn delegate it under his responsibility to someone of his lineage. We have noted several examples of this practice. For example Afoondo (Aw.B.1, F56), about 23 years old in 1957, had been entrusted to his father Koniman (Lapé), who had himself turned him over to his own mother Awènkina.

/136 cont./

593 429 769 The fact that some children are under the guardianship of their father changes nothing about their position with respect to ancestor worship and does not entail any payment or compen-
591 sation whatever on the part of the father. When the child has grown up he will be able to come back to live in his maternal kin group (which he does most often) or stay in his father's village. On this point there is no precise customary obligation.

593 884 The father plays an important role with respect to the children when they reach manhood; he procures their ɔbia for them and transmits the knowledge and magical powers which he himself received from his father.

429 428 Inheritance of guardianship. At the death of the guardian, his office is bequeathed in the same way as his goods and according to the same principle of dispersion of the inheritance. If he was raising several children, the guardianship of each one will be bequeathed individually.

For example Béniti († 1944) was raising ○K... 1944, daughter of her daughter Baïkom, and ○W... 1942, daughter of her son Fintiman and a woman of Papaïston village. She bequeathed the first to her daughter Kulina, the second to her daughter Baïkom settled in Loka village. W... thus found herself taken to a village which was neither that of her maternal nor her paternal relatives. Such cases are not rare. The child's uncles, who in principle could take back the guardianship, never seem to oppose, in practice, its being bequeathed. /137/

The spiritual power kept by the guardian over his ward after he becomes adult is bequeathed in the same manner. Thus, in the preceding example, Béniti († 1955) /sic/ bequeathed the spiritual tutelage she was keeping over each one of her adult sons and daughters whom she had raised herself, in part to outsiders to her lineage.

/137 cont./

429
428 She bequeathed thus her guardianship over Fintiman (46 years) to the grand man
over Klémenti (43 years) to Samalobi, the grand man's brother
over ○ Kulina (38 years) to Samalobi
over ○ Eliana (40 years) to the grand man.

But she bequeathed nothing concerning her last two children, ○ Baïkom (35 years) and ○ Maria (28) respectively brought up by △ Malobi, Béniti's husband, and by ○ Aliki, an old woman of the Dju lineage. It will behoove these two persons to bequeath, at their death, the spiritual tutelage over the girls they have raised.

Marriage

581

It is for lack of a more appropriate word that we use the word "marriage" with respect to the Refugee Blacks; the word concubinage is unpleasant to use; nevertheless it fits better what the union of a man and woman represents in the thought of the Refugee Blacks as in their social life.

In the organization we have just described no stable and permanent tie between a man and woman is implied.

831 Actually the Refugee Blacks, with rare exceptions, appear to be incapable of associating a strong and lasting emotional tie with sexual union. They are unstable in this respect, always in search of new adventures and not settling on any one. Their unions are more inspired by material concern (getting the

764 /162 cont./
787 business of the tribunal. The people of the dead person's lineage
761 will have to settle that among themselves after the obsequies.
[784] The role of the tribunal is to make official the cause of death and give it the force of law.

764 Then the inheritance is taken up in the presence of the
787 near relatives of the dead man. The questions are asked suc-
428 cessively: "To whom dost thou leave thy boat...?" "To whom dost thou leave thy gun (1)...?" The coffin moves each time

> 1. That, unless the dead man has, before his death, in front of witnesses, formally indicated the apportionment of his belongings; in such a case, questions are asked only for the objects whose attribution had not been clearly specified.

toward one of the people present. /Figs. 22 and 23 appear here/

764 /163/ At the end of the third day after the death the
[789] burial is prepared; the dead person is asked from daybreak on whether he is ready for that; if not it can be postponed until the next day.

[767] The ɔlɔnã have been working at the cemetery since the
[827] beginning of the day. They are young and strong men who have to work slowly, for not a drop of sweat may fall into the grave or their akka would risk remaining prisoner in it.

About 4:00 P.M. the bearers promenade the dead person one last time in the village for a supreme adieu. The near
[534] relatives go to the wharf. The dead man is hoisted into a canoe
[975] while the apinti drum calls his yɔrka so that it will not remain in the village.

/168 cont./

764 co-wife, on the contrary, are completely veiled and show by their state of prostration the keenest sorrow. Each of them is assisted by a female relative who supports them when they have to move somewhere else, for they are supposed to be too overcome to move alone.

764 The interrogation as to the causes of death has already
787 taken place the day before, but Tafanié proclaims, in front of
761 me, the result of it to the latest arrivals: the deceased was struck down by a yɔrka which pursues the lineage with its kunu. She had already received several warnings in the form of illness; the yɔrka had demanded a payment which she and her near relatives had neglected to furnish. Impossible to learn anything further before being able to interrogate this yɔrka, whose habitual bearer has left for Saint-Laurent. It is necessary to wait for his return in order to mollify the yɔrka's anger.

764 About ten o'clock the members of the lãnti kuutu go to-
769 ward the fraga tiki of the Awara Bakka lo, in front of which they
778 all sit down on their stools. I notice that not a single man of the dead person's lineage appears in the front row. In it I
[613] recognize Popo (Lapé), Poopu (Dipélu II, Kormotibo), Tafanié (Papaïston). The one who is speaking is a foreigner passing through, a very aged and respected Djuka.

[782] The elders invoke Masa Gadu and the ancestors in general, asking them to protect them from adversity in the future; then the offering of water and tafia takes place (no cane juice). I notice that a little is poured on each of the secondary fraga tiki erected for the sake of each one of the ancestors who pursue another lineage with their kunu. That lasts about a quarter of an hour.

764 Next someone goes to ask the deceased to whom she
787 bequeaths the Papa gadu god which manifested itself in her;
776 for the gods are bequeathed like the rest of the inheritance,
428 even if those concerned are divinities which exercise the kunu
424

/168 cont./

764 787 796 428 424

against the lineage. The god ratifies this legacy or not; in general it follows, they say, the wishes of its bearer and manifests itself some time afterward in the designated heir.

The coffin is placed on the heads of two men: Tafanié puts the questions with authority. He begins first by making sure of the passivity of the bearers, invites the dead woman to push their heads forward to say yes, to give them an impulse from right to left to say no.

The coffin advances and draws back several times; its weight is at the limit of what the two men can support. Two secondary bearers help the rear bearer, preventing the coffin from falling.

[613] [621]

1. /Footnote at bottom of p. 168; no reference to it on the page/ Let us recall that this lineage, too few in numbers to constitute a separate social unit, lives with the Awara Bakka, with whom it has no connection through kinship or alliance.

The dead woman suddenly leads her bearers across the village. We see it come back /169/ a quarter of an hour afterward, accompanied by a woman of about 35 years, Moni, in front of whom it stopped.

Tafanié asks whether it wishes to leave its god to her; the dead woman confirms. Upon the statement of this legacy Moni's face reflects no gladness at all, nor any fear.

They explain to me that the designated heiress can in no way refuse this legacy. She must immediately begin her instruction given by a teacher, in order to become a suitable bearer. The expenses of her instruction are borne by her lineage.

764 /169 cont./
787 They will be paid when the gita has been "arranged," that is,
776 has lost the bestial character of the beginning and when the god
428 can express itself in intelligible fashion.

There and then they busy themselves with transferring
764 the god out of the body of the deceased. An ɔbiaman well
787 known in the cult of the Papa gadu, Goutu (Dju) and his pupil
789 Balan (Aw.B.) come with calabashes containing infusions of leaves. Four or five women having a Papa gadu come and line up behind them. The heiress, with an extremely vexed air, takes her place among them, clothed with the emblems of the god of the dead woman; they are going to call their gods who will dance in honor of Kotoïda's god.

The ɔbiaman and his pupil for several minutes trickle the infusion of herbs over the coffin, using packets of herbs like sponges, then they "wash" the women, including the postulant; he gives them the rest of the calabash to drink. One of the women, Samabun, falls immediately to the ground, attacked by the lowest form of possession: she drags herself on her belly like a snake (these are the first forms of the gita when it has not yet been "arranged." In her case that has lasted four years, contrary to what ordinarily happens. The scene was certainly anticipated, for she had put on European panties. The other women also drink but are not possessed; they leave to dress for dancing.

[534] The agida drum taken out of the god's chapel begins to beat, accompanied by two apinti.

The female bearers of Papa gadu arrive at the sound of the agida, smeared with pemba and carrying /wearing?--Tr./ the insignia of the god. Six come in all. They are not in a state of possession; only two will reach it. The first possessed woman keeps crawling on the ground, gropingly approaching the drum which she embraces, lying on her back. It is torn away from her. The ɔbiaman continue to come to "wash"

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789
[535]

/169 cont./
her from time to time in order to help the god to manifest itself. The crowd presses around the women dancers who execute the greatest variety of figures. At times they embrace each other two by two in the Boni manner. The onlookers jump for joy.

The scene lasts about half an hour, then, at the signal given by one of them, the possessed ones scatter and begin to run through the village: this is the moment for the gods to pay the musicians. Each person rushes to hide his belongings, for the gods will steal anything in the village without anyone being able to prevent them: this is their way of paying.

Soon the possessed women come back, putting down at the feet of the musicians a heap of incongruous objects: /170/ calabashes, cloth, paddles, etc., which their owners come to recover by means of bottles of beer and eggs. Then the women who were truly possessed come back to their normal state and all go home.

This dance was not a success; those present think that it is because the women bearers had drunk tafia, which the Papa gadu detest.

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787
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Inheritance. The dead woman is asked to whom she bequeaths her clearings. She answers: "To her family," this being understood because the bearers move parallel to the people present without designating anybody. Under these conditions the property must be distributed (Kotoïda having no children) among her classificatory nephews. Actually, the plantations still farmable will go to Samabun, her sister's daughter.

[591]

Inheritance of the house does not come up, for the dead woman lived in her husband Empalé's house.

The boat is left to Samabun.

Held back are the personal objects, money, jewelry, fabrics. When the mourning is lifted, the eldest of the surviving brothers or sisters in the classificatory sense will make the distribution among the near relatives.

/170 cont./

428 613 It is very clear in Kotoïda's case that the inheriting is within the matrilineage in the strict sense, bɛɛ. Only the members of the Afi lineage to which she belonged can profit by it.

764 Burial. About 2:00 P.M. the women of the lineage who had been preparing the food for the ɔlɔmã since morning leave by canoe in the direction of the cemetery.

At three o'clock the last preparations begin. The occupants of the mortuary shed, completely veiled and supported by their near relatives, go to take up positions at the wharf for the last farewells (for they will not go to the cemetery).

The coffin is carried through the village one last time. This is the farewell of the dead woman to her family. The objects used in mourning are carefully collected, the earth of the shed floor raked up wherever the sanies of the cadaver might have fallen, and the whole put on the papay which is placed on the mortuary bark.

[775] At three o'clock an apinti drum is placed on the wharf to call the dead person (it is obviously a question of preventing the yɔrka from remaining in the village). The dead person turns up at the wharf. The coffin passes over a freshly cut banana-tree trunk placed at the limit of the village and of the beach. This is the symbolic passing of the dead person out of the world of the living. It is put on the canoe while the lamentations of the near relatives resound. The scene is not lacking in grandeur.

[783] The canoe draws slowly away, the drummer in the bow, while the spectators go down in a long procession to wash themselves free of the defilement of death.

[167] At four o'clock they arrive at the cemetery. The bearers of the dead person who have taken places in the canoe pass their burden to the ɔlɔmã who have come to the edge of the river. This to mark the fact that /171/ the ɔlɔmã are in authority at the cemetery. The bearers will only be present at the ceremony.

/188 cont./

765 431 Nearly half of the tafia was brought to the mortuary shed to serve for the dances, the other half was distributed to visitors in the course of calls of personal interest that they were coming to make on the village people at home.

Béniti's three sons-in-law each gave three liters of tafia.

[613] The Boniville men belonging to other lineages each gave one liter, except the two principal basia (assistants to the grand man for the internal running of the village), Todo and Tofioto, who gave two liters each. Besides, each one kept one or two liters to offer to callers at their homes.

[613] As for the men of the Dju lo of Asisi, they brought one liter each, including the head of the lineage.

All the Boniville women and all the women of Asisi-Dju brought their contributions in the form of food.

In all about 150 adult visitors came.

765 273 One can estimate that about 200 liters of tafia were drunk, or a little more than a liter per person, which, for five days of festivities, is not enormous.

But since some drink very little, one can estimate that those most given to drunkenness drank up to three and four liters.

Inheritance

• 428 613 The custom of the Refugee Blacks, hostile to all that might divide the matrilineage, cannot accept the notion of a single heir entering into possession of all the property of the dead person and replacing him in his functions. This idea of the only heir considered as a substitute for the dead person, as it exists among the Bamiléké, which leads toward the individualization of one line within the lineage, can be regarded as the extreme opposite of the thought of the Refugee Blacks.

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428 [413] In the custom of the Refugee Blacks, the inheritance must be dispersed among the members of the dead person's matrilineage in the strict sense (bu.e) and his children.

/189/ The custom of numerous African societies has it that the men inherit from men and the women from women. This notion is totally contrary to the legal thought of the Refugee Blacks. A house, an object, a boat, may pass from a man to a woman or conversely. It is the same with the lower gods with which the dead person might have been possessed.

428 789 964 If the dead person has not indicated before his death, in front of witnesses, the distribution of his property, the same divinatory procedure is used as for the determination of the causes of death: the coffin being carried on the heads of two men, in front of it are lined up the members of the dead person's matrilineage in the restricted sense and his children. The president of the lifuti kuutu asks: "To whom dost thou leave thy house?" The coffin moves toward one of those present, then: "To whom dost thou leave thy boat?" "To whom dost thou leave thy gun?" "To whom dost thou leave thy clearings being harvested?"

428 The partial heirs thus designated may enter immediately into possession of their legacies.

428 965 Reserved are what the Boni call the "equipment" of the dead person, that is, his personal belongings, linen, money, which will be divided up after the lifting of mourning.

The customary rule is the following:

[602] For the duration of the mourning, these objects shut up in a trunk are put under the care of the eldest child if a woman was concerned, of the eldest classificatory nephew if a man was concerned. After the lifting of mourning, the distribution is made by the dead person's mother, if she is still alive, if not by the eldest of the classificatory uncles or aunts, and if they all are dead, by the eldest of the surviving classificatory brothers or sisters of the dead person.

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428 Example: When △ Atikati (Dju, E18) died in 1953, about 75 years old, his house went to his sister Adyidya (E19), his gun to Kéwému (G10), his boat to his classificatory sister Aliki (E23), aged 85.

[602] Upon the lifting of mourning for Atikati, it was Aliki, by reason of being the eldest of the surviving classificatory sisters, who distributed his personal belongings and his money; for example, an iron bracelet went to Sosoman (E14) (1).

1. See the genealogical table of the Dju lineage.

428 613 602 By seeing the division of this inheritance on the genealogical table, one realizes that classificatory kinship is not a useless word and that in fact, within the matrilineage (beg), the division is made strictly at random, without consideration of sex, age, or proximity of kinship, which is strictly normal, given the divinatory procedure used.

428 228 602 An analogous conclusion comes out of the study of the inheritance of gods; the Papa gadu god of the ancestress ○Sapiké (D5) passed into Pamasa (E26), her kin in the seventh degree. Likewise the god Ampuku of △ Agoabuchi, passing from a man to a woman, went /190/ to Dabas (G45), his kin in the tenth degree at least (Agoabuchi could not be placed with certainty on the genealogical table). The Kumẽntu god of △ Antinon (D9) went to Achiké (F13).

428 Study of the inheritance of houses leads to analogous conclusions.

The only case where a certain systematization is seen to appear is that of inheriting from women having adult children. It seems (but this is not a legal principle) that these children receive the essential part of the inheritance.

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428 178 A tendency which has appeared during recent years in connection with men consists in bequeathing during their lifetime the essential part of their property to the children they have raised.

613 [1787] Inheritance of functions and powers. Upon the death of a lineage head, the yɔrka of the dead man is asked whom it wishes to see named. Then the council assembles to proceed with the nomination; it remains free in its choice, the will of the dead man beyond the grave does not have the force of law; but actually, it seems to be most often followed.

As for the function of captain which is common to all the fractions of one lo, the inheritance may pass from one fraction to another.

Ex.: for the Awara Bakka lo, the succession:
Asèmbay (Aw.B.2);
Pèèyon (Aw.B.1);
Kondoku (Aw.B.1).

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CHAPTER VII

BELIEFS

Origin of the Beliefs of the Refugee Blacks

771 128 The spiritual life of the Refugee Blacks of the Guianas is intimately bound up with their social life, and the division we are obliged to make for the sake of clearness of the account is very often arbitrary. So we shall try to point out these connections wherever they are essential.

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787 --Possession is manifested by kinds of trances called gita or kɔmfo, of a varying nature according to the divinity concerned, which sometimes involve phenomena of insensibility and acts impossible to perform in a normal state;

787 --The first time the divinity enters a man, it imposes
786 a kina (interdiction) upon him which will henceforth be the
784 sign of his function. This is what is called a gadu kina. This kina varies from one divinity to another, but in principle a given divinity imposes the same kina on its divers bearers. The divinity names itself and indicates to its bearer a means of calling it back in case of need: make such-and-such gestures, scatter such-and-such a liquid or powder.

All that is recorded by those present who reveal it to the person possessed when he has come round.

It is taken for granted that the god protects its bearer as long as the latter respects the laws of its cult and observes its kina (in the opposite case the god may punish him cruelly).
787 Conversely it is assumed that the man has a certain power, a
786 certain right over the god who possesses him. They say that he
789 is the master of it, masa, word which is habitually used in the sense "to be the owner of." At his death he can bequeath this
428 god in the forms and according to the laws regulating the inheritance of property. Of course the god is capable of not ratifying this decision, and it is free to manifest itself in anyone it wishes. But they affirm that in most cases it follows docilely the choice of its bearer. We shall see that this inheritance of gods plays an essential role in the functioning of the kunu.

787 Apprenticeship for possession. What goals does a man pursue
181 who desires thus to have a gadu? Above all he seeks strength. To succeed in life, to be protected against his enemies, to be respected: Such are the goals generally pursued and openly recognized by the Refugee Blacks who "have a gadu."

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776 613 428 [787] Still, they assume that the gods that have entered a matrilineage tend to be transmitted within this group. If, for example, a woman is possessed by a Papa gadu, at her death she must bequeath it in the same way as her property, and she can bequeath it only to someone of her lineage.

We have seen in studying the transmission of the god of Kotolda († 1956), that only the women of the Afi lineage to which she belonged could inherit.

776 613 984 Even if the god is not bequeathed, which sometimes happens, if it exercises the kunu, it will manifest itself sooner or later in a member of the lineage. But long years may pass before it shows itself. This conception is absolutely clear to the Refugee Blacks, and furthermore, if it did not exist, the idea of the kunu would be without support. People have therefore wrongly believed in a transmission of gods from father to son. [114] [428]

346 787 794 613 Material organization of cults. A material organization of the cults of possession exists within the limits of the localized lineage (lo). This organization is completely independent of the apprenticeship of these cults. It permits the members of the lineage to easily practice cults they have received anywhere, on their own responsiblity.

In each lo there exists in general one single chapel (obia ɔsu) for all the divinities of the same category.

For example in the Awara Bakka lo quarter in Asisi (140 persons), for about 15 women having a Papa gadu, there exists only a single one. There is an obia ɔsu for the Ampuku (three or four possessed persons) and another for the Kumẽnti (about ten possessed people).

The chapel of the Papa gadu is placed under the responsibility of the head of the lo. On this subject it is to be noted that the individualized lineages Aw.B.3 and Afi, which however have separate gods, are included in this organization.

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346 794 787 613 The objects placed in these chapels are simply the clothing, beverage, and tools of the gods when they come to visit men; they correspond nearly to what the Refugee Blacks leave in a farming habitation where they go to work regularly. For example, in the Papa gadu ɔsu of the Awara Bakka quarter of [273] Asisi, which serves for about 15 gods, each one has a definite place on the shelves to lay out especially the scarf which serves it as a garment and a bottle of beer (a bottle is always kept in readiness by the bearer of the god) (1).

1. The Papa gadu do not like tafia. If the usual bearer of one of these gods has drunk tafia, it cannot come into him.

[534] They still stow the Papa dɔɔ drum in this chapel. This drum, like the chapel itself, is believed to belong to the Papa gadu god which first came into a member of the lineage to exercise the kunu. In the example mentioned of the Awara [428] /206/ Bakka lo of Asisi, in 1957 it was the centenarian grandmother Kuluba who had borne this god since her youth, having herself received it, by several successive transmissions, from a distant ancestress.

[621] In villages like Boniville and Papaïston where fragments of lineage of entirely different origins coexist, each has its own organization.

For example in Boniville there is a Papa gadu ɔsu for the fragment of the Lapé lineage (it belongs to Térésa whose god exercises the kunu on this lineage). The fragment of the lineage has another.

In Papaïston the Tolna (Bakabuchi) lineage, reduced to half a dozen persons, has a Papa gadu ɔsu of its own.

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114 784 The various works treating of the Refugee Blacks point out well the importance of the kunu, but it seems to us that the functioning of this institution (for in fact a social institution is certainly concerned here) has not been clearly understood.

784 613 A kunu is attached to a matrilineage in the literal sense (b64). It extends obligatorily to all the members of the matrilineage and can strike only them.

For example, my kunu can strike my sister's son but not my wife nor my children (they are subject to the kunu of their own lineage). /223/

[782] The kunu, striking the lineage as a whole, can be appeased only by prayers uniting (at least in principle) the whole lineage. That is the respect in which the kunu may be defined [571] as a social institution, for it is, we shall see, the principal cement holding the groups together.

The unleashing of a kunu does not necessarily and immediately follow the destruction of a termitary or the death of a dagowe snake. The god thus offended avenges itself by making a certain number of members of the lineage sick and 784 by causing limited misfortunes to happen. When things are 613 at that point the kunu can still be exorcised by prayers and 782 offerings. In 1957 the beginning of a kunu was manifesting itself thus in the Awara Bakka lineage of Asisi; very frightened, the members of the lineage made offerings and prayers to exorcise it.

784 613 But if the lineage people neglect the warnings of the god, if through laziness or selfishness too great a number of them [693] are absent from the collective prayers and do not take part in [761] the offerings, prayers and offerings will be refused and the god will kill one of them. From then on the kunu is unleashed and can no longer leave the lineage. Its involuntary bearer [728] will have to bequeath it upon his death to a member of the lineage, who cannot refuse this legacy and must immediately

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784 begin his instruction in order to become a suitable bearer. (If
613 this procedure were not carried out, the god would not cease
428 its kunu at all, and the possibility of entering into contact with it and appeasing it would be lost. Besides, sooner or later it would come back into a member of the lineage.)

784 The kunu strikes without regard to kinship ties, even if
613 kinship between the bearer of the god and the supposed victim
[602] is very distant. Ex.: The Papa gadu of Donasi (Papaïston lo) struck a young woman, Gou, with illness in January, 1957. Donasi and Gou are only relatives in the ninth degree. The
[782] members of the entire Papaïston lineage assembled to supplicate
[361] the god: even people of Wétiti village in the lower Maroni came.

775 The kunu exercised by the yɔrka of a dead person has a
784 special importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks, for it has
613 profound repercussions on the relations among the lineages.

In principle, the yɔrka exercising a kunu has as bearer
[428] a living member of its own lineage, who will bequeath it at his death. But it is also possible that the yɔrka may take as bearer a member of the lineage upon which it exercises the kunu.

In both cases, the rite to appease the yɔrka is the same;
[782] the yɔrka can be invoked effectively only by the members of its own lineage, since one can pray (at least in principle) only to one's own maternal ancestors.

When matrilineage A is struck by the kunu exercised by a yɔrka of matrilineage B, its members thereupon go to consult the elders of matrilineage A /sic/ and ask them to try to calm
[769] the anger of their ancestor. The members of lineage A assemble
[778] around the fraga tiki of lineage B, in back of the elders of this
[787] lineage, in the presence of the bearer of the yɔrka, who calls on his gita, goes into trances and prophesying. The yɔrka
[782] usually asks for an offering of cane juice and tafia, which is made at the foot of the /224/ fraga tiki by the elders of lineage B (for the rite to be efficacious, the offering must have been furnished by lineage A).

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775 A yɔrka exercising a kunu may also demand that another
784 smaller fraga tiki be erected for it beside the principal fraga
769 tiki of its lo. In the villages of the Refugee Blacks one often
778 sees these little crosses provided with white veils like the main
613 fraga tiki, planted beside it a little obliquely.

The notion of the kunu exercised by a yɔrka explains the
775 rarity of murder among the Refugee Blacks. How would you
784 dare to kill someone when, as soon as it is freed from his body,
674 his yɔrka will have full latitude to make you sick, to make tree branches fall across your path, to cause to suffer and to
775 kill all those dear to you? If someone is blinded by hate, it
784 is the idea of suicide which will dominate him. In October,
762 1952 we were able to observe this reaction in a man who had just been subject to a deep humiliation: "I am going to kill my body in order to go to kill that man and his whole family," he said to us, prey to a fit of rage; fortunately, when the fit had passed, he came back to a more sound outlook on things.

775 It is to be noted that a yɔrka cannot exercise a kunu
784 against its own lineage. This notion explains why, in the times
613 when they exercised absolute authority, tribal chiefs had those
696 condemned to death executed by men of the same lineage.
[171] Apparently similar practices were the rule in olden days in several African kingdoms, which allows one to think that notions analogous to those of the kunu may be rather widespread there.

784 Situation of the various lineages with respect to the kunu. There
613 we touch on one of the most secret aspects of the social life of the Refugee Blacks. Years of living among them are necessary in order to obtain precise information on the nature and the mode of action of the kunu acting on the various lineages.

784 Nearly all the entities which now exercise their kunu on the
613 Boni have been in their lineages since a very ancient period,
● 428 to the point where the name of their first bearer is forgotten. They are transmitted inexorably from generation to generation. In the course of the ages, the kunu have accumulated, and now certain lineages are living with four, five, or even six kunu.

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628 The members of the Dipélu lineage did not believe a
614 word of this affair, convinced that Kiboya, a proud and scheming
784 woman, had pretended the gita to make herself interesting.
787 Nevertheless, to bring back peace, they decided to go to Asisi
156 and to ask pardon in front of the fraga tiki, pouring tafia,
769 asking the ancestors not to take vengeance, the living being
778 reconciled. /227/

784 /227/ (Note that in this affair, the yɔrka manifests itself in a
614 member of the lineage on which it exercises the kunu.)
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784 Kunu of the Awara Bakka lineage. The Awara Bakka lineage
614 does not form a unit with respect to the kunu, and the situation
613 of its fractions is particularly interesting. This lineage includes:

--A principal fraction (Aw.B.1);

--A fraction whose kinship ties with the first are forgotten (Aw.B.2), whose position with respect to the kunu we have not been able to define.

--Finally, a group descended from Anèta, Djuka woman, wife of Péeyon † (Aw.B.1) settled in Asisi with her descendants in uterine line. We have called this group Aw.B.3. It has a separate kunu originating in the Djuka village of Tabiki where Anèta came from.

784 The Awara Bakka I, all living in Asisi village, had to
787 our knowledge three kunu in 1957:

776 --One exercised by a Papa gadu god, borne up to 1957
613 by O Kuluba (Aw.B.1, D1). At her death in April, 1957,
428 she bequeathed it, contrary to custom, to a person of another fraction, Summa (Aw.B.3). But the god did not ratify this legacy and, in January, 1958; it manifested itself in O Léna (Aw.B.1, F52), thus remaining in the same lineage;

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784 613 [428] The kunu and Boni family life. It follows from the detailed examination we have just made of the situation of the various lineages that the transmission of the kunu within the uterine kin group is a rigorous law which suffers no exception whatever. [571] [602] The process of assimilation which permits in a certain measure, on the social plane, the integration of fragments of paternal kin (like Awara Bakka 3) into a group does not come into play here. [611] [829] Unity with respect to the kunu can therefore be regarded as a rigorous criterion of a common matrilineal origin. The Boni feel it as an obvious fact and in such a case it is the proof that comes to their minds: "We are of the same origin since we have the same kunu."

784 613 571 182 Thus the kunu appears as the principal cement of the unity of the groups. It opposes the dissociation of the lineages; this curse which weighs collectively upon a group and which can be exorcised only collectively is an iron bond which nothing can break. It obliges the Refugee Blacks to surmount their individualistic tendencies, their egoism which, if they acted freely, would soon have scattered them into a dust of [888] separate persons. In the face of adversity each one accepts with good grace obedience to the elders, who alone know how to talk to the gods and appease them. [672] Nobody ever is indignant or even surprised to be struck down for the offense of another; there is not a movement of revolt or hostility against the one who by his inattention or inconsiderateness has brought on misfortune. On this plane the members of a lineage feel like cells of a single body.

784 613 672 The collective legal responsibility of the members of a group in the domain of customary law flows from the kunu. We have observed that several times, notably at the time of the obsequies for Kotoïda (Afi lineage) in October, 1956. The president of the lãnti kuutu condemned the members of

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75 784 776 It is important not to confuse the kunu with the sufferings which other divinities can arbitrarily make men undergo. The kunu has a systematic character. But a divinity theoretically beneficent, and which has come into a man after being called on, may also from time to time bring misfortunes if such is its whim of the moment.

752 776 784 In 1949, G... (Dju) was busy cooking a crab in the house of his mother D... A machete which was fastened to the wall suddenly detached itself and wounded him in the right hand. Now his mother had an Ampuku which had imposed [787] the crab on her as kina. This Ampuku, immediately called [428] on, revealed that it really was it which had struck G..., for it did not like to see D...'s son eat crab (note that G... was not at all held to the observance of this kina, for no kina is transmitted from mother to son).

784 775 613 769 Neither must the kunu exercised by a yɔrka be confused with the vengeance that a dead person can exercise against the members of his own lineage in order to punish them for having neglected their duties.

Punishment inflicted by an ancestor of the lineage seems for the Boni to be a notion distinct from that of the kunu. Vengeance exercised by a yɔrka upon its own lineage is regarded as exceptional and devoid of the inexorable and definitive character of the kunu, but they assume it to be [762] possible. They cited to us the case of Yali (Loka), who committed suicide when accused of sorcery by the people [753] of his lineage. Since then, his yɔrka has caused sicknesses [761] and deaths in his own village.

776 784 613 [761] Conversely, a god which exercises the kunu upon a lineage may in certain cases intervene in favor of this lineage if such is its whim of the moment. Thus the death of Diamanti (Aw.B.2, Asisi village, † in 1955) is attributed to the god which exercises the kunu on the village of L'Enfant Perdu and whose bearer was Pééchina. Diamanti had wronged someone of this village and the god had intervened against her.

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775 A few years ago a Kormotibo woman was thus confounded.
787 She had wanted to pretend possession by a yɔrka in order to
695 blackmail another family.

Grand Man Difu recently forbade the bequeathing of gods
784 and yɔrka exercising the kunu (1). People will wait for them
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1. Let us recall that the dead are questioned on this subject as for the apportionment of the rest of their heritage.

to manifest themselves of their own accord. That will reduce the risks of pretense.

643 The grand man's lineage does not exercise any kunu upon
613 another lineage, and no kunu is exercised upon it. For the Boni
775 this is a fundamental idea, because the grand man is precisely
784 the supreme recourse in case of persistent calamities attributed to the yɔrka of a dead person. The grand man has the power to exorcise all the dead Boni. If his lineage exercised a kunu or were victim of one, he would be judge and litigant at the same time.

When, with the death of Grand Man Difu, the Dikan lineage is extinct, and when the function passes to another lineage, consideration of the kunu exercised by the lineages upon one another will be determinative in the choice of his successor.

Divination; Premonition; Dreams

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182 Divination. It plays an essential role among the Refugee Blacks as in all animistic societies. Individuals have recourse to it to inspire all important discussions; in large measure one can say that for them it takes the place of will and conscience.

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787 very serious question, the asker contents himself with going to interrogate a divinity in which he has confidence. If, when put to the test, the advice turns out to be bad, he goes to consult others and if he obtains the same advice from two different directions, he stops there. If not, he appeals to the elders of [888] his village to bring into play the processes of divination which [791] they alone know.

A second category of divinatory procedures consists in the [428] use of "remedies," whose origin is unknown and which are transmitted like a personal belonging.

The process reputed to be the surest, in which everybody [824] has confidence, is called pusu. The instrument is composed simply of a rope made of fibers of the Mauritia (2) palm tree

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2. Palm tree which grows in the coastal savannas and whose fibers are bought from the Galibi Indians. The word pusu, like gita, kandu, mula, is of Congolese origin. In Kikongo, mpuusu = raffia palm tree.

which has been dipped in an infusion of herbs; it is stretched horizontally between two stakes. The elder brings near it a machete blade heated red-hot, at the same time asking the question. If the answer is positive, the rope is cut when the iron has scarcely touched it. If the answer is no, they state that the red-hot iron remains in contact with the rope for an appreciable length of time without the rope's being cut.

They will say for example: ɛfu na Ampuku siki X, a how a 'ã mu do: fosi a kɔti: If it is an Ampuku which is making X sick, the machete must cut (the rope) before (even) reaching it.

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751 789 Renewal of the power of the ɔbia. The Refugee Blacks have the idea that no magic power can last if it is not renewed by formulas and offerings appealing to the god from which it came. [824] Each year, at variable dates for each ɔbia, one must renew the power of the ɔbia by dipping the support object into a maceration of certain leaves. This renewal may not take place on January 1. On that day all leaves lose their power. /252/

[768] Mr. W. F. van Lier writes that among the Djuka, objects (bracelets, etc.) serving as support for a magic remedy are thrown away upon the death of the owner for they have lost [184] all power. The Boni do not have this conception; with them, [428] these objects keep their value for the dead person's son provided that before dying he voluntarily transmitted them to him by giving him mula.

789 428 613 Transmission of ɔbia. An ɔbia is often bequeathed simultaneously to a son and to a nephew. Care is taken not to lose the ɔbia for the lineage. Thus it is that certain lineages have certain ɔbia as their specialty.

789 [171] Kãndu. The Refugee Blacks call kãndu a magic object intended to protect property (houses, harvests) against theft. This procedure is also very much used by the Creoles.

There are three common kinds of kãndu:

--Piiti tiki kãndu. It is made of a split stick stuck into the ground, in the slit of which dry banana leaves or small sticks are placed horizontally. This device originated in Dahomey.

--Sikopu kãndu. It involves a shovel stuck into the ground in front of the house (the idea of the shovel is associated with the idea of death, for this instrument is used particularly in digging graves).

--Bɔɔ kãndu, made up of a bow and arrow planted in the ground.

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789 The one who installs a kãndu utters the formula: mi poti yu ya, ɛfu a sama kɔm fu fufu mi sani, yu mu siki ẽn (I put thee here; if someone comes to steal my belongings, thou must make him sick).

[784] If someone goes beyond /ĩɪ/ and commits a theft, he will be struck sooner or later with various sicknesses.

According to the conceptions of the Refugee Blacks, the kãndu is blind and strikes as well the friend who came to take objects because he received previous authorization to do it. So, many forego placing kãndu, as with us, people hesitate to set wolf-traps for fear of causing accidents.

789 784 428 However, the kãndu does not act upon the people who have the same basic interdiction (bwasi kina) as the one who placed it. This conception shows that these interdictions transmitted from father to children really are the mark of true patrilineages.

694 789 754 In fact, we have ascertained several times, there are burglaries in Boni country in spite of the kãndu and people do not succeed in uncovering the burglars; it is infinitely probable that one must not see in this the stamp of freethinkers who do not believe in sorcery; these are people who have obtained from a wisimã a talisman of black magic stronger than the kãndu! At least this is the explanation their victims give.

789 751 One can lift a kãndu on behalf of any man, whom one wants, for example, to send to get an object which one has forgotten; for that it is sufficient to give him mula: one blows into one's hands and lays them on the man's head, saying: mi puu a kãndu gi yu, a 'ã mu du a sani ãŋga yu: I withdraw the kãndu for thee, it must not do anything to thee. /253/

Mula can be given retroactively: If someone perceives that he has inadvertently incurred the chastisement of a kãndu, he has several days to be able to ask for mula from the owner, for the action of the kãndu is slow.

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834 ɔbiaman who treats a wound made by a firearm to observe
[171] chastity during the whole duration of the treatment. It is for this reason that the Boni hesitate to have gunshot wounds cared for in hospitals.

784 Kina. The interdictions of the Refugee Blacks generally have
[262] to do with food. There are five categories of them to our knowledge:

[753] --Bwasi kina, basic kina, mark of patrilineages, the breaking of which gives leprosy;

--Akka kina, often called gadu kina, established by divination and believed to be imposed by the akka;

--Gadu kina, mark of possession by a divinity;

--Obia kina, interdiction attached to each object involving a magic power, and which must be observed for this power to last;

--Finally, local kina, particularly the kina dɛ, days of rest, going back to the idea of the day of rest of the local divinity. They observe, for example, that the Mana River has a kina dɛ on Sunday. The Saramaka observe it strictly. The Boni we took on the Mana in 1949 went to find out from the Saramaka, and asked us to stop navigation on Sunday,
[648] for this kina was very urgent. It is noteworthy however that the Boni bow in such circumstances before the will of the Europeans, as with respect to their own kina dɛ of Friday; in effect they are assuming that if they are ordered to be on duty, it is the European alone who bears the responsibility for breaking the kina.

[428] It is possible that the kina alluded to by Mr. W. F. Van
[114] Lier and which, among the Djuka, would be imposed on a
[613] whole matrilineage are also local kina; in any case no kina is transmissible through the mother, all the Refugee Blacks are explicit on that point.

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[For additional demographic and social information, see the "Table of the Population of the Boni Villages," on pp. 479-539, category 116. Included are data on the number of children per woman, the number of deaths by age and sex, the name of the guardian (usually, but not necessarily a parent) who was responsible for raising a particular individual, personal names of the Boni, marital residence and residence changes by specific individuals, marriage practices, including polygynous unions and secondary marriages, cases of divorce, and lineage/sib affiliations of each individual.]

/126 cont./

651 553 The only case in which custom governs the choice of name is that of twins.

Male twins are called Adam and Agosu.

Boy and girl twins are called Adam and Efa (2).

[197]

2. This is connected with a myth derived from the Biblical tradition, which we shall set forth later.

Female twins are called Chimba and Sisi.

Social Relations within the Lineage

429 604 [593] Guardianship. Until he is old enough to work, the child is placed under the responsibility of the mother and, one step farther away, that of the eldest of his classificatory uncles. To a lesser degree all the uncles have authority over the child; guardianship is collective.

The custom of the Refugee Blacks, hostile to any division of the lineage, does not recognize any right peculiar to the mother's brothers (still, in fact, they seem to be consulted by preference about matters of small importance). [584] For serious matters, such as authorizing a marriage, the classificatory uncles meet and deliberate; they do not vote, strictly speaking, but the proved opposition of three or four of them causes the project to be abandoned.

429 593 604 [836] It is to the mother that people will come to complain about the child, and not to the father. She it is who decides to refer the thing to the uncles if it is serious (example of Doni, 18 years old, who deflowered Elina, 15 years old. Elina's mother came to complain to Doni's mother. Doni's mother went to notify her older brother Fintiman, who took the matter in hand).

/126 cont./

429 604 It is necessary to distinguish this principal guardianship, which is imprescriptible, from the secondary guardianship delegated by the uncles to the man or woman charged with bringing up the child. /127/

429 593 604 [858] Designation of the guardian. When a child reaches five or six years, the mother and the uncles decide who will be charged with his education and will become his guardian. The thought of the Refugee Blacks is that a child is much better educated if he is isolated and placed directly under the responsibility of an adult.

429 593 604 603 In order to decide who will bring up the child, they do not have a general meeting of the lineage. Everything is arranged among the mother and her brothers proper, the maternal grandmother, and the great-grandmother if she is still living. The child's classificatory uncles are consulted only if there are no uncles in the ordinary sense. Grandmothers have a preponderant influence in this decision as they do in all that concerns the child during his early years. The uncles' influence increases as the child advances in age.

429 There is no precise rule for the devolution of this guardianship, and nobody can take advantage of a right over the child.

[604] The guardian, male or female, carries out the responsibility of the education, but he can make no decision without asking the opinion of the uncles, whose decision is final. The guardianship can always be withdrawn.

This guardianship is exercised by one single person, man or woman.

429 593 It is very often the mother. In a large number of cases the mother raises her children, boys and girls, alone, with the cooperation of her husband, who often is not the father. Actually the husband has no rights over them. Whether the children

/127 cont./

429 593 [586] are his or not, he maintains them indirectly by maintaining his wife. He has only precarious authority. Every connection with the children disappears in case of divorce.

429 603 [604] [593] Guardianship is often exercised by the maternal grandmother, by an aunt, or even by an older sister.

If the maternal grandmother (or the great-grandmother if she is still living) insists on bringing up a child, the mother cannot refuse; one sees a rather large number of cases of women who have only one child and have given it to their mother to raise; it is true that since they live together, it is not a great sacrifice for the mother.

429 603 886 [163] [165] Thus one sees women over 70 years old, having had ten children or so, bringing up three or four of their grandchildren. The ancestress of Asisi village, Kuluba († 1957), after having had 12 children, brought up about ten of her children and grandchildren during the course of her long existence; when she died in 1957 at 100 years of age, she was still raising a child, one of her great-grandsons 12 years old. Of course she had not been working any more for a long time and was fed by her family, as the child was. But it was she who held the power of guardianship over him.

429 593 If it is the father who is charged with the child's education, he takes him into his own maternal family. His sisters will help him to bring up the child as long as he needs the presence of a woman.

From then on the father will exercise guardianship corresponding to that which the mother usually exercises under the responsibility of the uncles.

Sometimes a man is seen bringing up a daughter. Generally speaking, if a man /128/ has had three or more children by one woman, it is considered normal for him to be given one to raise, but that does not constitute a right; he cannot demand anything.

/128 cont./

593 152 429 One of the commonplaces of ethnographic literature is the feeling of frustration that the father would experience in a matrilineal system when he is separated from his children. Thoughts heard every now and then could allow one to believe in the existence of such a feeling among the Refugee Blacks. For example Baïna, of Asisi village, tells us one day with bitterness: "I have had eight children, all living, and I have been given only one to bring up." But this is only a pretense. No Refugee Black thinks seriously of bringing up the five or six children he has had in the course of his life by three or four [469] different women. Besides, this would be materially impossible for him, considering the mode of life of the Refugee Blacks and the necessity for the adult men to move ceaselessly in search [163] of paid work. For example, by encouraging Baïna to tell the basis for his thought, it was not difficult to understand that he would have liked to raise two or three of his eight children (born of four different women), the ones he loved for subjective reasons; the others scarcely interested him and it was all the same to him whether they were brought up here or there.

429 152 [601] In reality the paternal feeling of the Refugee Blacks is a rather subjective thing; raising a son or a nephew is the same in their eyes. The same paternal feeling will develop, and in both cases they will say "my son" and "my father."

593 429 Mothers give their children to be raised with the greatest of ease, especially within the lineage.

[163] For example Eliana (Dju, F8), about 45 years old in 1957, who had nine living children, was raising only four:

△ Alibi	1937	raised by his father Matapi (Asisi-Aw.B.);
△ Doni	1939	raised by his maternal grandmother Bémiti (Dju, E5);
○ Agaba	1940	raised by Lènga (F36), Eliana's classificatory sister (tenth-degree kinship);
△ A...	1943	raised by his father Tusu (Papalaton);

593 /128 cont./
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○ S...	1947	raised by Kulina, Eliana's sister by the same mother (Dju. E9);
○ S...	1947	raised by her mother

and three young children raised by their mother.

[163] One sees unusual situations like that of Mimi (Boniville, Kotika), who gave her only child to her sister to raise and is bringing up another child in its place.

[163] In 1957, Téké (Ll. F44, Loka village), who had seven living children, was not bringing up any of them.

△ C...	1945	raised by Mélita, Téké's mother (Ll. E32);
△ A...	1947	raised by Akomédi (Ll. F34), Téké's classificatory sister;
△ M...	1950	raised by Mélita;
△ C...	1952	raised by his father Balna (Dip. II);
○ K...	1953	raised by △ Mato (Aw.B.1), her father Balna's father;
○ F...	1956	raised by Mélita. /129/

Balna, whom we have known for a long time, was incapable of giving the least explanation for his wife's strange behavior. Besides, he had given up a long time ago understanding the psychology of Boni women.

On the other hand, a certain number of women obstinately refuse to be separated from their children, deciding to raise
[163] them all, girls and boys, by their own means. This was the case for example with Magdaléna (Kormotibo), a woman of intractable character, who raised her eight children herself at
[828] the cost of the worst difficulties. In such a case, they say of the mother that she is a selfish woman and that she has a bad character, but there is no question of taking a child away from her by force. Nobody would risk that, no more her brothers or uncles than the head of the lineage. Only her mother could do it, and the women who behave thus have generally lost their mothers.

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The conditions under which children are brought up throw a strong light on the thought of the Refugee Blacks relative to kinship and are worth a special study.

[125] In the course of an investigation carried on from October to December, 1957, we were able to record with precision under what conditions had been raised 311 persons distributed thus:

Male sex	born before 1936 (education finished). . . .	73
	born from 1936 to 1949 inclusive (education in process) (1)	88
Female sex	born before 1936 (education finished) . . .	72
	born from 1936 to 1949 inclusive (education in process)	78
	Total	311

1. Study of the case of children born after 1949 was of no interest because the definite assignment of their guardianship was not yet made at the end of the year 1957.

1:Hurault--189 K-6 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8 Boni

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/129 cont./

Raised by:	Male Sex			Female Sex		
	born before 1936	from 1936 to 1949	average	born before 1936	from 1936 to 1949	average
Mother	together 50%	42%	55%	52.5%	together 69%	56%	68%	68.5%
Maternal grandmother		13%				12%		
A woman of the maternal lineage . . .	8%	12%	10%	13%	15%	14%
A man of the maternal lineage . . .	9%	4%	6.5%	2%	3%	2.5%
Father	27%	18%	22.5%	13%	6%	9.5%
Father's mother . . .	2%	3%	2.5%	0%	3%	1.5%
A person of the paternal lineage . .	1%	3%	2%	1%	3%	2%
An outsider to both lineages	2%	4%	3%	1%	3%	2%

6:Hurault--190 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
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Raised by

Table I.- Men born before 1936

Mother	Maternal Grand-mother	A Woman Of the Mother's Lineage	A Man of the Mother's Lineage	Father	Father's Mother	A Person of the Father's Lineage	An Out-sider to Both Lineages

/131/

429 Recapitulation:

858 70% of the boys
613 85% of the girls are raised in the mother's lineage

27% of the boys
13% of the girls are raised in the father's lineage

3% of the boys
2% of the girls are raised by outsiders to both lineages.

429 It is important, moreover, to emphasize in what proportion
858 the children are brought up by women or men:
562

67% of the boys
86% of the girls are raised by women

33% of the boys
12% of the girls are raised by men.

429 This preponderant role of women in the education of the
562 children is one of the fundamental aspects of the social structure
571 of the Refugee Blacks. In fact, women consider that the children
belong to them, and if they give some to men to bring up, it is
[171] only as many as they wish to. This conception which is found to
be widespread among the Blacks of America, in the West Indies
as in Guiana, explains, much more than the frequency of di-
vorces, the impossibility for them to make up patrilineages in
the absence of coercion exerted upon the women.

429 Several important pieces of information may still be drawn
from these tables:

/131 cont./

429 198 1) They show the continuity and vitality of the custom of the Refugee Blacks. The proportion of boys and girls brought up by the mother, the paternal grandmother, the father, etc. is noticeably constant from one generation to the other. There is no tendency for the proportion of children raised by the father to increase; it even seems to decrease, which may be related to the increasing instability of marriages. In fact, in spite of European influences, no evolution is observed toward patrilineal structures among the Refugee Blacks.

429 613 591 2) The fact that part of the children are raised outside of their own lineage has few consequences for the unity of the group; for most of them, when their education is finished, come to settle down in one of the villages belonging to their lineage.

Of 88 men born before 1936, 28 were raised outside their lineage; 21 of them came back to it; only seven, or less than 8 per cent, settled down in other lineages.

Of 78 women born before 1936, 12 were raised outside their lineage, of whom only four, or 5 per cent, settled permanently outside their group.

868 462 Education of children. If the education of girls does not necessitate a difficult apprenticeship, it is not the same for boys; the sum of knowledge that /132/ a Refugee Black must possess to carry out effectively the techniques of his group is considerable. In particular, he must:

--Know more than 200 kinds of trees with their uses, the way to fell them, the way to work their wood;

--Be capable of constructing boats of at least 10 kegs (1,000 kilograms of load). This technique alone requires several years of apprenticeship;

--Acquire sufficient knowledge of carpenter work to build his house and that of his wife;

--Learn how to handle boats on the river and the techniques of transport boating.

/132 cont./

868 To this traditional knowledge, which remains indispensable,
[501] has been added for the past several years substantial knowledge of mechanics, because the use of outboard motors is becoming more and more common; this knowledge is transmitted in empirical fashion as it has been acquired. It must be recorded that the motors go and that they are well kept up.

86 The system of education employed by the Refugee Blacks is surely effective; their children are excessively turbulent and very difficult when they are in a group. When they are divided up individually in the midst of adults, they are placed under the best conditions for learning the techniques and traditions of their group.

429 The person charged with the education of a child does not willingly entrust him to another and takes him along whenever
513 he moves. However, by concern for propriety, the woman guardian sends the children she is raising to sleep in other houses on the days when her husband comes to visit her. Boys go to sleep at the home of a brother, an uncle, a comrade; the same for girls who have not yet reached puberty; but it is not the same for girls who have reached puberty; they are subjected to strict supervision.

648 This is one of the reasons why the Boni find it repugnant to
871 put their children in school (French school of Maripasoula,
156 Surinam school of Kotika). Without wishing to tackle here this sad problem to its fullest extent, we must state that this teaching, entirely inappropriate and dispensed by teachers who look down on the Refugee Blacks, has results nearly similar to those observed generally in Africa, the main one being to make the children strangers to their own families and misfits in their own country. There is practically no example of a case where the Boni nation has benefited from having one of its children go to school: if the child succeeds, he leaves for Paramaribo and never comes back again. If he fails, he then has much more

/132 cont./

648 difficulty in learning the techniques of his group, for the years
871 when the mind is most pliant have been lost in this regard; as
156 for the knowledge acquired at school, it is so foreign to the life of the Refugee Blacks that at the end of a few years none of it remains except vague smatterings.

861 In general, the process of education employed among the Refugee Blacks is imitation of the adult. A child is rarely given a lesson as such. He sees something done, he tries on his own
868 initiative, and little by little he learns. For example, /133/ he sees his guardian make a boat; he is simply asked to go and get dry palm branches and to take away the chips; he hears the adults discuss the job as it goes on. At about the age of 12 or 13 he tries to make a first boat for himself with the help of an older comrade. He progressively acquires knowledge of this technique.

561 Boys begin to take part in farm work from the age of six
462 or seven, principally weeding and planting. At about ten or eleven they begin to handle the machete and help to cut through the bush; at about 12 they begin to handle the axe and learn to fell trees. At 14 or 15 they begin to make small boats. An adolescent of 16 or 17 is in general capable of cutting a clearing for his mother or sister.

429 Most often the guardian takes his role very seriously, giving
86 his main attention to teaching the child all that is necessary. If it is a woman, she asks her brothers to teach the techniques of boating and building.

866 The principle is to develop very early a sense of responsi-
461 bility in the child by making it progressively necessary for him
434 to earn his living. The guardian does not furnish pocket money,
[291] and with the exception of a hammock every other year, no manufactured objects (children under 11-12 years not being clothed, he has almost no expenses for clothing). But he gives the child progressively chances to earn money by his work. From ten years on, the child begins to render some services: for example for the construction of a boat, he helps transport the dry palm branches intended for the burning. If the boat is being

/133 cont./

866 made for sale, the guardian gives him a small sum out of the
461 money gained. At 14 an adolescent begins to satisfy nearly all
434 his own needs.

For example, from June to December, 1956, Tasa (14
883 years), son of Fintiman (Boniville) had earned about 13,000
465 francs:

June	helped his father build a large boat for the administration (45 days)	6,000
October	went to Saint-Laurent as auxiliary bossman .	3,000
December	helped convoy a boat of the border-fixing mission sent back empty to Maripasoula . .	4,000
		13,000

882 His father, entrusted with his education, let him use this
868 money in his own way; he pointed out to us with pride that for the first time in 1956 his son had been able to satisfy all his own needs, but that it was important to keep him under a firm hand until he was capable of doing a man's work alone: for that, five or six years of apprenticeship would not be too much.

868 In fact, many times we had the chance to verify it, it is
561 in this prolonged apprenticeship that are developed the seriousness
[153] of mind and the technical skill so remarkable among the Refugee Blacks. At 20 years, most of them still do not know how to do
[582] anything worthwhile, and it is scarcely before 25 or 27 that they
[178] become capable of /134/ painstaking work; in this respect the present tendency of the young boys toward precocious emancipation (the marriage age of men is going down to 20 and even 18 years) runs the risk of having very unfortunate consequences for the future of the Refugee Blacks.

429 The person charged with the education of a girl exercises the powers of a mother toward her. It is she who authorizes
[582] her to marry, and by giving her the pãngi, married women's garment, gives her symbolically her freedom as a woman. It is
[583] to her that the first husband pays the price of the virginity of the girl.

/134 cont./

429 561 [861] [582] Until very recent times the authority of the guardian had remained very strong and was prolonged very late; he had the right to strike his ward to make him obey, and he exercised his powers until the time when, judging the child's education finished, he authorized him to marry, which formerly seldom happened before 25-27 years.

Fintiman (of Boniville), about 50 years old in 1958, tells that his father, entrusted with his upbringing, did not authorize him to marry before he was completely established as a carpenter and boat-builder, at about the age of 27. Until that age he remained subject to the most tyrannical authority; his father intended especially to forbid him to go out in the evening, and in order to carry on a clandestine affair he had to use nocturnal fishing expeditions as a pretext!

429 884 When a boy's guardian judges his education finished, he helps him to build his house and gives him tools, a trunk containing clothes, and a hammock. Henceforward the boy must make his own way in life.

429 576 601 All during his lifetime he will continue to show the greatest respect to the person who raised him and often, speaking of that person, he will say: "my father" or "my mother."

601 When a Refugee Black says in the course of a conversation, "My father used to do this," he often means the man who brought him up; if he wishes to speak of his true father, he will say, "My own father who made me." Likewise when he says "My grandfather," he usually means a great-uncle. This confusion makes research on family life risky as long as one does not possess any census by names; apparently it has led several authors into error, making them believe that among the Refugee Blacks the father brings up his children himself, when this is on the contrary the exception.

[128] [114] [593]

/134 cont./

429 The guardian continues to have a certain power all his life over his ward become adult. He is the conciliator to whom one applies first if there is any complaint about his ward.

This power of conciliation is bequeathed by the guardian at his death, as is the guardianship itself.

593 613 152 Role of the mother. For the Refugee Blacks, the sacred tie is pre-eminently the one which attaches them to their mother and through her to the ancestors of the lineage. It is manifested with respect to the mother by a delicate and deep feeling of affection which applies also, less directly, to the close relatives on the maternal side and to all the members of the lineage. It is not [601] idly that within the lineage the men call one another brothers; the obligations /135/ they have toward one another are accepted by all with joy, and each tries his best to fulfill them, for he transposes to them the sentiment of love which he feels toward his mother.

114 562 593 The term matriarchy has often been used wrongly with regard to the Refugee Blacks, letting people believe that the woman exercises authority there; this is an error, the woman does not enter their councils and from a political point of view does not exist in their eyes; the woman has influence and authority only as mother, and over her own children.

593 The mother's authority remains very great over her sons after they have become men; none of them will undertake an important enterprise or leave for a long trip without consulting his mother; if she is absolutely opposed to the project, he will scarcely dare go on with it. We heard in December, 1952 a man of 45, M..., serious and intelligent, say to us with regret: "I would certainly go with you as far as Cayenne, but my mother does not wish it."

/135 cont./

593 428 The nature of the relations with the mother is shown by the custom of inheritance. /136/ If a man dies while his mother is still living, his belongings return to her. She may keep them or divide them among the members of the lineage.

593 Role of the father. The father has no power over the children, but in general he is respected by them and his sons make no important decision without asking for his opinion.

In the very frequent case where the guardianship of the children is entrusted to the mother, the father exercises a de facto authority as long as the family group lasts. But in case of its break-up he loses any right over the children.

In general the father loves his children very much, but in the way Europeans love their nephews, he avoids taking a hand too closely in their education, which is the responsibility of the uncles, who might invite him not to busy himself with family affairs.

593 429 591 But if the father has received the guardianship of one or several children, the situation is completely different. If the family group breaks up, he takes them along with him. Besides, as a general rule, even if he gets along well with his wife, he settles in his own village the children whose guardianship has been entrusted to him, close to his maternal family; henceforth it is he who will provide entirely not only for their maintenance but for their food; except for periods when the husband spends some time with them near his wife, the latter no longer has to feed them.

593 429 If the father has received the guardianship of a child, he can in turn delegate it under his responsibility to someone of his lineage. We have noted several examples of this practice. For example Afoondo (Aw.B.1, F56), about 23 years old in 1957, had been entrusted to his father Koniman (Lapé), who had himself turned him over to his own mother Awènkina.

/136 cont./

593 The fact that some children are under the guardianship
429 of their father changes nothing about their position with respect
769 to ancestor worship and does not entail any payment or compen-
591 sation whatever on the part of the father. When the child has grown up he will be able to come back to live in his maternal kin group (which he does most often) or stay in his father's village. On this point there is no precise customary obligation.

593 The father plays an important role with respect to the
884 children when they reach manhood; he procures their ɔbia for them and transmits the knowledge and magical powers which he himself received from his father.

429 Inheritance of guardianship. At the death of the guardian, his
428 office is bequeathed in the same way as his goods and according to the same principle of dispersion of the inheritance. If he was raising several children, the guardianship of each one will be bequeathed individually.

For example Béniti († 1944) was raising ○K... 1944, daughter of her daughter Baïkom, and ○W... 1942, daughter of her son Fintiman and a woman of Papaïston village. She bequeathed the first to her daughter Kulina, the second to her daughter Baïkom settled in Loka village. W... thus found herself taken to a village which was neither that of her maternal nor her paternal relatives. Such cases are not rare. The child's uncles, who in principle could take back the guardianship, never seem to oppose, in practice, its being bequeathed. /137/

The spiritual power kept by the guardian over his ward after he becomes adult is bequeathed in the same manner. Thus, in the preceding example, Béniti († 1955) /sic/ bequeathed the spiritual tutelage she was keeping over each one of her adult sons and daughters whom she had raised herself, in part to outsiders to her lineage.

/137 cont./

429 428 She bequeathed thus her guardianship over Fintiman (46 years) to the grand man
over Klémenti (43 years) to Samalobi, the grand man's brother
over ○ Kulina (38 years) to Samalobi
over ○ Eliana (40 years) to the grand man.

But she bequeathed nothing concerning her last two children, ○ Baïkom (35 years) and ○ Maria (28) respectively brought up by △ Malobi, Béniti's husband, and by ○ Aliki, an old woman of the Dju lineage. It will behoove these two persons to bequeath, at their death, the spiritual tutelage over the girls they have raised.

Marriage

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It is for lack of a more appropriate word that we use the word "marriage" with respect to the Refugee Blacks; the word concubinage is unpleasant to use; nevertheless it fits better what the union of a man and woman represents in the thought of the Refugee Blacks as in their social life.

In the organization we have just described no stable and permanent tie between a man and woman is implied.

831 Actually the Refugee Blacks, with rare exceptions, appear to be incapable of associating a strong and lasting emotional tie with sexual union. They are unstable in this respect, always in search of new adventures and not settling on any one. Their unions are more inspired by material concern (getting the

/143 cont./

585 613 The head of the lineage calls a classificatory sister of the girl. He takes her by the hand and leads her to the suitor's envoy, saying: "I give thee this woman."

Then he calls a classificatory brother of the girl. He leads him to the suitor's envoy, saying: "I give thee this man."

This second part of the ceremony is purely symbolic; there is no question at all that this man and this woman are marrying. Its purpose seems to be to show the perfect equality of the man and the woman in the marriage.

[969] The words pronounced in the invocation to the ancestors are: "We give (this) woman to (this) man; may they live together, may they not be sick, may they have children, children who live."

[584] There is no need for the assent of the woman's father.

585 If it is a question of the first marriage of a young girl, the fiancé comes, aided by his friends, to build her a house. [583] He builds her a boat and buys for her what is necessary for domestic life. When the person who is bringing up the girl [429] judges the time to be ripe, she gives her the pãŋgi, garment of married women, authorizing thus the consummation of the marriage.

[613] [969] The husband who built the house asks the elders of his wife's lineage to come in front of the house to throw tafia, to ask the ancestors that the couple be fecund and live a long time in this house.

584 613 Here, for example, is how the marriage proposal to Chitaïna (Aw.B.1, F43, Asisi village) by Déési (L1, F45, Loka village) proceeded in 1948.

To represent him Déési had sent his classificatory brother Tamu /144/ (L1, F32), older than he by about 15 years, and his classificatory aunt, Yaana (L1, E39). (See the genealogical table of the Lapé lineage.)

/147 cont./

583 A girl's marriage does not involve any dowry in the African sense of the term, but it involves payment of the price of virginity to the mother. This payment is made after consummation of the marriage (or after defloration if there has been a clandestine union). It consists of seven pieces of cloth, a demijohn of tafia, and various imported objects (the whole representing in 1958 about 8,000 francs, which is relatively small for the Refugee Blacks). It really has to do with the price of virginity, for nothing is paid back if there is a break-up. The man moreover gives the girl white beads /possibly "pearls" --Tr./, red cloth, and sweetmeats which constitute the payment of her akka.

[429] The price of virginity is paid to the person who has raised the girl, even if it is a man. This person divides it equally with the mother or, if the latter is dead, with the mother's sisters.

For example, for O Baïkom (D,u, F10), brought up by her father Malobi in Loka village, her husband Moomu (Kotika) paid the price of virginity to Malobi who shared it with his wife Béniti.

[604] [613] No payment is made to the uncles or to the head of the lineage.

836 [597] The fact that a girl may carry on a clandestine affair and be deflowered without having been properly proposed to is considered a shame for the mother; but if the seducer confesses and pays the price of virginity, honor is restored.

Defloration does not necessarily entail marriage, for the seducer does not always intend to take on the maintenance of a household.

If the girl is deflowered too young, her mother does not give her the pãŋgi and continues to forbid her to have sexual relations, for she fears that she may become pregnant. Now for 848 a girl, becoming pregnant without having concluded a contract 558 of maintenance with a man is an extreme shame, for that means she is not worth anything.

/156 cont./

586 The estimate of the average number of divorces for women
[128] born before 1896 is probably lower than the actual number, their first divorces not being well known to our informants. It is probably in the neighborhood of two.

586 The increase in frequency of divorces among young women
593 is striking. It is related to the weakening of the authority, very
178 strong in former times, exercised by mothers over their daughters.

Here are two examples concerning two girls we have known since their childhood.

836 Lomé (L2, F74, Boniville) born in 1938, began to cause people to talk about her in 1954. She was deflowered by N..., who did not want to marry her. Then she had relations with Asadam (K, Boniville), who did not want to marry her either. She was beaten; she continued to see him. Now this is extreme-
[558] ly shameful for a girl because it is placing herself in a state of inferiority with respect to a man, when her self-respect consists in making a contract between equals.

582 Her brother Amèmbé beat her, and she ended up by marrying Pitipiti (Aw.B.2, Asisi village), who formally asked for her in marriage in 1956. This marriage lasted less than a
586 year. In 1957 Lomé divorced him to marry Djoni (Kotika
587 village).

584 Aguba (Dju, G14), girl of Asisi-Dju village, born in 1941, had been proposed to with the customary formalities in May, 1956 by Païtiki (L2, Loka village), a young man of 18. It was
584 agreed that the engaged couple would wait two years. But
585 Païtiki did not wait and consummated the marriage clandestine-
[429] ly at the end of a few months. Lènga, Aguba's aunt and guardian, became very angry and beat her. She did not give her the pangi until May, 1957. The marriage lasted only a few
586 months. /157/ By the end of 1957 Aguba was breaking off with Païtiki and beginning openly to look for adventures.

/157 cont./

589 A woman who has just been divorced does not remarry
[589] immediately. Several months, sometimes a year or more, may go by between two unions, a period during which she thinks only of "living it up," indulging in all the adventures she wishes. This attitude is considered normal, and the elders have nothing to say to her provided that she does not fall into pikadu, or cause any scandal, and that the period does not last too long.

[586] We have cited the example of Aguba, a pretty girl of 18, who at the end of 1957 had just broken with her husband Faifiki /sic/ after only one year of living together. She was living with Lènga who brought her up; she was cutting a small clearing herself. Beyond that, she had no other concern but to indulge in all the adventures she liked. Men used to come to solicit
[836] her favors discreetly, each one reserving his day. From one she would ask for a camisa, from another, soap, kerosene, etc.

[429] Her guardian Lènga used to press her to take another husband, but she could not forbid her to live thus, having given with the pilagi her freedom as a woman.

[587] She contracted a new marriage in May or June, 1958 after leading an irregular life for more than six months.

836 As a matter of fact, things go on with great discretion. A man is notified in secret by his sister or /female/ cousin that such-and-such a woman noticed him during a dance, that she will await him at her home on such-and-such a night. At night on the river, one perceives boats which pass close to the shore,
[504] advancing silently. In each village there are secondary landings which allow nocturnal visitors to arrive at night without being noticed and to leave again before dawn. /158/

[684] If a woman lacks this discretion and if her life is openly dissolute, her mother will beat her and the head of the lineage will inflict punishments on her, but she will not be sent away; in no case can anyone be expelled from his natal village.

looking out on the river. Whether it was a gesture that he would sing no more, or not, we could not say, but when he turned again to us he looked thoughtful. "White man, how far away is Africa? Would they kill me if I went there? Could I get a woman, if I went there?" 196 115

We sent him some food to his boat as an expression of hospitality, and word came back that when we had done eating, he would himself come and thank us. When he did come, it was to speak his thanks and to say goodbye, and he did not come alone. With him was the young man who was his traveling companion, and this young man carried gifts to us. Bayo, who had arrived a short time before, received the gifts of fig bananas and rice for us, as was the custom of these people, for to have given or received a gift in person would have been the way of a boor, just as it would have been bad form to stand about and watch us eat. 609 576 431

The leave-taking ritual, as that of greeting, is as formalized as a litany and almost as solemn.

"*Adiasi, adiasio—waka bon, yere. Tan bon*—Goodbye, travel well, hear? Keep well." Ajako carefully laid away his top cloth in his woven closed basket, straightened his loin cloth, and paddled away briskly from the landing.

Later, boats pulled up bringing the Gankwe men.

"Sedefo, we have a fine boat for you. It's large, and it will take a great deal of load. It's a new boat, just come down from top-side." 501 609

The men busied themselves with bringing our provisions from the shelter to the landing place so that the loading might begin. A tent had been made of palm leaves for the boat in which we ourselves were traveling, so that we might be shielded from the glare of the open river, from sunstroke and the sudden tropical downpours, and the men decided to load this boat first.

Now there was a murmur among the Gankwe men. Sedefo was passing his hands over the new boat, as though it were a human form, touching its "head," running his hands over the "ribs," the "belly." Then he balanced himself in it, and shook his head.

In Herskovits & Herskovits E-6 (1928-1929) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Saramacca

PARENTS, CHILDREN, AND GRANDCHILDREN

This was not the only instance of our meeting an individual who liked to stay in her father's village. There was the girl Takuda. Her mother was of the Kasito clan, and her house was in Dahomey, its principal settlement. She was not happy among her mother's people, and when we met her, she was living with her father's family. 593

"Does her mother's family not want her with them?" we asked a friend with whom we were discussing her.

He shrugged his shoulders. "Should not a child live in her father's home if she wants to?" he answered simply. "A father likes his children, and they like him, too."

Nor was it strange. To the child, the father was a man of the older generation to whom he could come for sympathy. He rarely corrected, for this was the task of the mother and her family. Often it was he who intervened with the older people in behalf of a son who wished to do something which his maternal family opposed. If a father gave small gifts to his children, they were looked upon truly as gifts. The ritual obligations of gift-giving chiefly lay with the mother's side. [431]

But there was more than just the affection for a boon companion which children felt for their fathers. There was pride in the father, pride in his achievements, and identification with his village.

When the Granman told us he was arranging for us to visit the village across the river from his own, he said, "Today you will see my father's house. Let them shoot guns so that I may know when you arrive in my father's village. They will show you everything. It is a fine village," he ended, with pride. "It is my father's country."

The last phrase was a refrain which ran through our entire visit there.

"This is the village of the Granman's father," we heard, again and again. "This is the house of the father of the Granman," one said, and another, "This is where the father of the Granman would sit in krutu." This person and that were introduced as belonging to the family of the father of the Granman. The climax came when we were shown the shrine to the ancestors. An especially elaborate [498]

WOMEN AT WORK

5

Tenemi made ready to carve a calabash dish. She sat down on her work stool, and on the ground beside her she put down a small knife, a piece of broken glass, and half of a calabash shell. The inner pulp had just been removed, and both the inside and outside of the gourd were of a pale green color. She had dipped it in water before she brought it here, and now with the point of her knife she deftly marked her design. The curves in the center, covering almost the entire inner surface, formed the body of a woman, she said, who was big with child. The geometric tracings in parallel narrow lines across one portion of the top was the Aboma snake, euphemistically called the G'an Tetei, the great creeper, or vine. Taking up the piece of glass, she began to scrape away carefully the soft pulp inside the outlines of her design. 322 532

In the entire village there was no woman who worked faster at carving calabash dishes than did Tenemi. In less than half an hour the dish was ready to be placed on the high platform where the maripa nuts were drying. With the sun upon it, the calabash would turn a deep cream color, but where the knife had borne down, it would show a golden brown, and where the glass had scraped away the pulp, the color would be a paler gold, so pale that it would be almost the cream of the unornamented outer surface.

"The large closed gourds are not done fast. Those are carved on the outside, and must be worked cleverly. But this does not take long. I am making this for you. When it is finished I will bring it to you. You must give it to your girl-child when she grows big." [431]

She herself had made four children, but only two of them were living. The oldest, a daughter, carried a child in her womb. Tomorrow she would come to the village, and Tenemi would bring her. 165

"She was afraid to come. Women who are with child must be very careful." [843]

HHerskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
Bush Negroes
Saramacca

84 85 It appeared that nothing in a woman's life was so dreaded as childbearing, nothing more coveted than fertility, and no time so difficult and so anxious as when a woman was rearing her children.

787 584 "The day before a girl marries she prays all day to her gods," said Dida, who with Fenekonde and several other women had joined us. "I begged my god Kesekia and gave him rice and rum. All day they played the agida. I begged [842] him not to hate my husband. I begged him to give us children."

843 [831] 751 789 When a woman conceived, her husband made her many obias, and especially a black sack obia with four cowries sewed on it, to keep her safe on the paths which led from village to village, and from village to her field. The fear of the power of bad magic at this time was so great that, if we but looked at one of the pregnant women, or let our eyes rest on the several obias she wore, she grew nervous, covered them with both her hands, and disappeared in fear that the very power of our glance might weaken the potency of the charms. She did not believe in the white man's magic, but she was not in a condition to wish to put it to a test.

844 782 "When her time comes, a woman sees to it that she is in her own village," said Fenekonde. "It is not good to give birth in the bush, or on the river."

This had almost happened to Wilhelmina with her last child. She was on the river alone in a boat. Chief Sungi of Dahomey met her and called on his gods to delay the coming of the child until he brought her home. He had strong obia, and so the misfortune was averted.

When the woman felt the first labor-pains, she prayed to the gods, and to her personal spirits. On the great Sky God she called, and the Earth Mother; on her ak'a, her soul; on the Yorka, the ancestors; and then she prayed to her personal gods, and particularly to whatever snake gods she might have, for some of these were known to be jealous of a coming child. But none of the gods dared be slighted.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1929-1929) 1934
SSS Bush Negroes SSS
Saramacca

of the mortar in which she had been pounding maripa nuts was the Granman's younger wife. The pestle had fallen from her shaking fingers. She gave the intruders no attention, for she, too, was possessed by her god,—by Tonê, god of the river.

"*Ko-ko-ko-ko-ko-ko! Ko-ko-ko-ko-ko-ko!*" The syllables fell from her and, as the white people stood by, her shaking stopped, the sounds did not go on. Then they began again, her body racked, her voice choked. The Tonê people do not speak when they are possessed, it is through sounds such as these that the god of the river makes known his wishes.

Women came running toward us. "Your boat is ready, Bak'a," they said.

The whites returned with the bracelets to find that the two women to whom they brought their offerings had come as far as the Granman's quarter of the village. Affi's greeting of "Ondyi!" had died down to a whisper. Disconsolately she followed Amasina, who, in the white cloth which reached almost to her ankles, looked tall and sinuous, and moved as though there were something in the still air to send her body curving to one side and to the other.

As the possessed women and those with them entered the quarter, the elder wife of Yankuso came toward Amasina with a large calabash of rice.

"All those who have the same god come with gifts. Amasina has the strongest god of all. It is a white god," a woman explained.

White was the color for the ancestors, and hers was the god of a great priestess of the family. It was the god Towenu, the great Papa god, the giver of children, the jealous one, who came to her. If he cared for his priestess too well, he allowed her no children. The mention of his name the day before had brought him, and, coming, he vouched for the friendliness of the strangers.

Amasina put her arms about the older woman as she had done to the others who came to her. She sang once more her message:

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Saramacca

123 623 574 609 [554] Mataibo, the head of Yankuso's village, who was entrusted with the safe passage of our boats, came to announce that the men had done loading. Before the morning was yet well advanced we left the house, and with the Granman under his umbrella, which was the highest of insignia, passed to the river bank.

Our friends were there—the bassia, and Dida, and Amasina, and the Granman's wives and his little grandson, who shouted to us, "*Waka bon, ye'e!*—Travel well, you hear!" in the best manner of his elders. Again three guns sounded, and once more we were on the river, looking up at the people of these villages of the Pikien Rio who were waving to us from the shore.

502 Going down the river was restful. The enjoyment of the easy motion of the boats was felt in the manner of the paddlers themselves. Now there was no hard poling against the heavy current. As canoes were urged on the two paddlers wielded their long blades in unison, and the dugouts swung downstream in the center of the river, where the current was heaviest. When the murmurs of the rapids ahead were heard, it was but a moment until they grew into a roar, and then, in another, we were through, the man at the front standing up for an instant so that, with a twist of his paddle, he might turn the head of the boat from any threatening rock, while the stern man did not stroke at all, but merely held the craft on the course which was marked where the water tossed itself into foam-capped waves. Sometimes, as we came to rapids where the force of the water was especially strong, or there was a sharp double curve to be negotiated, the two boats would pause for a moment while Mataibo called out to the younger men the course to follow. Then into the falls, and through them, and our bow paddler would carefully rearrange his loin cloth and sit down once more to take up his steady stroking.

123 608 [531] Opposite one village Sungi came in his boat to meet us, to give and receive a final gift, and say his goodbye. But it was not to the landing place of Dahomey that he took us for this interchange, but to the village of his wife, he told

REBEL DESTINY

531 The greater part of these carvings men made for women,
431 and it was a rare woman who did not take pride in the excellence of the carvings given her, though often it must have been the pride in something which had traditional value, for it would be false to assume that among any people are all men equally endowed with creativeness and all women with sensitive appreciation of what is created.

462 As among so many peoples, two or three types of art
530 were to be found. There was the same sex division in the
302 art of these people as existed in all other aspects of life, and the men were the wood carvers. The sharpest division in the art of the men was that between the secular and the religious. The religious art was crude. A block of wood, roughly shaped, with several cuts to indicate a face, perhaps a break in the line to represent the neck, and a few more strokes in the wood to differentiate the upper part of the woman's body, and there stood an ancestral image, or a village god. Often white clay was added to this, and sometimes alternate stripes of white and red, or white, red, and black, but when seen on a village path underneath a low open shelter, what color there once was had become
[308] weathered to a dull gray. The sacred art also included the
[309] charms called obias, worn on the neck, and about the upper
[301] arm, or wrist, or below the knee, or at the ankle. Many of these made pleasing ornaments. The white fiber dipped in red clay became a deep golden brown as the sun paled the crimson, and there would be the added color of a finger's length of blue and orange parrot feather, fastened inside the woven fiber square, and extending below the fringe of the weave. Into this woven square cowries might be sewn, two facing each other, or three, or four.

532 There was also the art of modeling, but this was so secret and so specialized that we were assured that not even all Bush Negroes knew of its existence, and modeled objects appeared only in the most important of the shrines.

With the religious art might also perhaps be grouped the red and white striped crooked sticks of the Kromanti

REBEL DESTINY

We redoubled our urging.

"White man, do you know what it is to make an apinti—an obia drum?"

A man had to have the proper spirit before he might address the god of the tree from which the drum was to be made. When he had felled the tree, he cut off from the trunk the part he wanted to use and took it to his village. Over it he had to pour the blood of a cock which he sacrificed that the gods might come when the drum called them. The maker had also to provide sweet rum and cassava and eggs. The cassava was eaten by the people, but the eggs were for the spirit of the drum, and only half the sweet rum was drunk—the rest was poured over the wood. When the body of the new drum had been fashioned, the people gathered and sang, but they did not dance, for the head yet remained to be made. A pingo, or a deer, might furnish the skin, but these animals were shot where they had been tracked in the bush, and not offered to the drum. Only chickens were given it. And when the drum was complete, then the maker sang his song alone.

"But the drum is not finished yet. It can be played on, for it has a head, and its spirit has been satisfied. But the carving is not yet done. I have worked on it a long time," he repeated. "I want them to play it for my spirit when I am dead."

A silence fell as he finished. There was nothing more to be said.

"White man, we have sat together in pleasure. You have come to the true, true Saramacca from far away. You have bought the carvings of my people. The apinti drum I cannot sell you. But this stool you like I want you to have."

He took up one of the round-topped benches, with carefully worked sides, and four purple-heart inlays on top, each in the shape of a fowl.

"Take it with you to your white man's country. When you show it, write on a paper that the captain of Ma'lobbi made it."

"OBIA COMES!"

The river had fallen. Whole stretches appeared as dry as the sandy village clearings. The green-heart trees were in full bloom, looking like giant flowering mimosas with heads lifted high above the green wall of matted bush. As we sped past the village landing of Gankwe, women washing their clothes and children at play called out a last "*Adiosio-o-o-o*," but in a moment we rounded a bend of the river and were out of sight.

Our only stop was at New Village, not far from the railroad, where the chief had promised to have an apinti for us. He was expecting us, and with him was his friend, the chief of Kadyu, whose village lay below the railhead.

"I had trouble finding a skin for the head," he said, "but one of my men shot a deer, and so I have a fine one for you. . . . And here is an obia to keep you alive on the water." He transferred the power of the obia to us, and then, as we rose to leave, he added, "When you get to your home, tell the headman of your village 'Howdo' in the name of the Chief of New Village, and his friend, the Chief of Kadyu."

9

As we floated up to the landing place where men were waiting to take our boxes to the train, we saw an hibiscus tree in bloom before the little shop kept by a British Guiana mulatto who did some trading with the Bush Negroes.

"What do you call this tree, Bayo?"

"Which one, this with the red flowers? I don't know. That's a Bak'a sani—a white man's thing."

Bakra sani!

The hibiscus tree, the mulatto who for the Bush Negro is also a Bakra, ourselves and our phonograph and flashlights—all were white men's things, intruders in his bush, strangers. Only by the grace of his powerful ancestors, and of the gods of his ancestors, might such things be allowed life and a measure of joy there, as witness the bright blossoms, the livelihood the mulatto earned, and our own good health.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

768 Upon the father's decease, his property does not descend to his children, but reverts to his wives, sisters, mother, or brothers. As the wives may be living in different villages, each wife inherits only that property which happens to be in her village. If the man has no wife in a certain village where there are maternal relatives, they inherit all his property within that village. This pertains more to personal than to real property, as the latter tends to be communally held.

648 833 One thing more must be said regarding the sex life of the Djukas. The white men seldom receive overtures from Bush Negro women. It is, of course, taboo for Djuka women to have intercourse with white men, Indians, Town Negroes, balata bleeders, or anyone except her own tribesmen, among whom she is promiscuous. One Djuka woman, running her hand over the skin of a white arm and shoulder, shuddered in repulsion. When asked why, she said that she did not care for white-skinned men. We, however, were marked out for special feminine favour. We received from a woman the gift [431] of a bracelet of delicately filed iron wire, because, as she said, our eyes put her in mind of those of her dead husband.

751 calls them *obeiahs*. An obeiah is a charm or a form of magic
778 to be distinguished from a *trafer*, which is a taboo. Obeiahs may be worn in the form of bracelets or necklaces, called *boe*. Bush Negroes never start out on a hunting or river trip without a number of boe around the arm, or leg, or neck. Thus the machinations of the evil spirits are set at naught.

One boe which Abaisa made for us is formed of heavy wire wrapped with white cord and set with cowrie shells. Worn on the arm, this will make you very strong. The charm will protect you while engaged in dangerous doings, such as
[431] drinking river water after someone has been drowned in it. Abaisa made this bracelet out of friendship. It was given, not purchased; therefore the old-time gods are not offended at its being possessed by a white man.

[782] He presented it with great solemnity, taking a mouthful of rum and spitting it on the ground as a libation to the ground god, then squirting another mouthful over the bracelet. After that we all had a swallow of the same liquid and
[553] Abaisa said a prayer in deepee-talkee. A somewhat similar ceremony attended the giving of a Djuka name to the white man—*Abentee*, provider.

751 The cowrie shells with which the obeiah is set are smeared
321 with pemba dotee. The clay closes up the openings of the
778 shells, thus preventing evil spirits from entering into the interior. These cowrie shells, which decorate practically all the
[7] magic emblems of the Djukas, are commonly found among the savages of Africa, both on the East and West Coasts. They are also common in African art work, and at one time constituted a form of currency, papa moni.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

538 The Djukas possess, in common with many other primitive tribes, a number of trickster stories. They are called *anansi-tories,* and are usually concerned with the adventures of a clever spider, who outwits all the other animals. They resemble closely the Br'er Rabbit tales of the Negro of the [171] southern United States. These are West African themes, and can be found not only in the Carolinas and in Surinam, but scattered also throughout the West Indies. In the middle of the last century a collection of these stories was made among the Town Negroes of Paramaribo.

173 As most primitives possess no writing materials or technique, their knowledge is necessarily passed on by word of mouth, which imposes a severe limitation upon its possible extent. History, for the Djukas, starts with the rebellion, and of what came before they know little and care less. If they have stories of the Creation, we did not hear them. One approach to written language is in the Aucaner nation, where 212 a few rudimentary symbols are carved on paddles or other implements, a form of symbol-writing (see Appendix B). [431] The implement is given to someone as a token of affection, the symbols constituting a greeting. Some of them may be seen in the illustrations of small paddles and pot-stirrers.

202 For communicating over a long distance, the Djukas use [177] a system of drum telegraphy. This they have brought over from their West African homeland. At the town of Biodoti the news of our expedition was sent upriver by being drummed out on a tomtom. Squatting over the reverberating *apenti,* the Djuka buck rapped out the peculiar rhythm that

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

531 In the combs, paddles, and other pieces of wood carv-
322 ing illustrated in this book, the most casual observer will discern a great beauty of form and design. The sense of line, the feeling for balance, combined with elaborate conception and execution, compare well with the productions of the highly sophisticated artists of our urban civilization. All of the wood carvings, collectively known as *sanni* or *timbeh,* follow certain traditional patterns. The individual motifs, however, are products of the individual imagination, and, judging by the variety and originality of the designs shown herewith, that imagination is evidently quite fertile.

[462] All the carving is done by men. There is a ceremonial significance to this. These wooden pieces are tokens of love.

Love in the jungle is not the etherealized sentiment portrayed by Victorian novelists. When a man and woman
[831] want each other the satisfaction of their desire is easy and immediate. The people are largely promiscuous among themselves. Under such conditions the existence of romantic sentiments is an impossibility.

832 Individual preference does, of course, exist, and this im-
322 plies courtship. A man may want a woman who does not
431 want him, and this implies wooing. The wooing consists in presenting the woman with specimens of sanni. Thus, every piece of wood carving is a token of love and affection, presented by a Bush Negro to his woman. The woman who accepts sanni from a suitor accepts his love along with it. The man naturally stores up a quantity of sanni in expecta-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

tion of falling in love, and the woman is inordinately proud of her pieces of wood since each one betokens the affection of a male. A great part of the love-life among the Djukas is wrapped up in these carved household implements.

Those unfortunate natives who are not clever at handling a knife must trade fish or game or some other personal possession for sanni produced by a more deft handicraftsman. Almost any Bush Negro can hunt, fish, and care for a wife, but a man's value is enhanced in the eyes of the woman when he can carve artistically. The women appreciate him and the men respect him. Wood carving, therefore, is assiduously cultivated by the Bush Negroes from early childhood.

As sanni is a prized commodity everywhere, exchangeable for female favours, a great deal of time is spent on each individual piece. A single comb may take weeks to carve. The women are very good judges of sanni, and can tell a good piece at a glance. With such a critical audience, the Djuka artist is careful of his skill, and few awkward or ill-formed designs are seen. Boys between the ages of eight and ten years may be proficient carvers, and critical elders preside over their work, ready to point out any minute mistake. The father or uncle who is expert with the knife will train his son or nephew in the same tradition, so that certain families are known for their beautiful work.

This erotic significance of the wood carvings makes them difficult to obtain. The woman who sells one is not parting with a domestic utensil so much as with a treasured memento. Sentimental attachments are bound to appear. As

sand. A few chisels and carpenter's tools can occasionally 322
be found. Where compasses or dividers cannot be obtained, a nail and piece of string are often used to execute the involved serpentine patterns.

Bush Negro sanni is not used for trading purposes. A 438
few pieces find their way down to the coast, of course, but 322
they are never articles of commerce among the Djukas. In some villages, and particularly among the Paramacca tribe, it is practically impossible to obtain many carvings. But the willingness to part with these objects naturally varies with the village and the individual. Being known to the natives greatly facilitates trade.

One outstanding feature of this work is the complete 322
absence of colour. The finished piece shows the natural hue 532
of the wood, and rarely anything more. An occasional variation is obtained by inlaying with racuda wood, brownheart, or purpleheart, but tints and dyes are seldom applied. A different shade is also obtained once in a while by branding or burning the wood with a hot iron. The Aucaners, who paint red and black devices on their large canoe paddles, represent exceptions to the general rule of showing only the natural wood shades.

Nearly all the pieces are utilitarian in origin and purpose, 412
but some of them are so highly carved as to be of little [431]
practical use. These are much prized as gift pieces. The 415]
trays are actually used to carry food on, and also for winnowing rice. The stirring paddles dip into the food pot every evening. After being used they are washed with river water and [264]
hung up on a peg.

/14 cont./

584 and, once this has been promised, she does indeed continue to be regarded specifically as the betrothed of the person who made the request. As soon as she is marriageable, she is handed over to her man with or without her consent, and it may be regarded as a rare case when such a promise is broken.

[431] The man to whom she is promised sometimes does not see his future wife before the occasion of her betrothal, but usually he is concerned with her upbringing and from time to time gives her presents consisting of money, pantjes, and corals.

[591] Some take the girl promised to them even when she is only three or four years old in order to rear her further.

[672] The promising of newborn girls takes place for the most part [682] when there are obligations between parents, as was reported in Chapter III, and in the case of enslavement which is done to one [567] family by another in case of poisoning, and so forth.

586 It is an everyday occurrence that a woman leaves her husband or a man his wife for another.

595 Polygyny is much practiced, and among my workers I know several who have three or four wives, most of whom are very young. Some, however, have only one wife.

It is noteworthy that all the wives sleep with the man in one hut, while in addition he perhaps keeps with him a girl whom he [513] is bringing up to be his wife. One wife will be /15/ with him in the hammock and lies with her feet at the head end of the man and the latter in turn with his feet at the head end of the women, while the other women sleep in their hammocks.

[484] If a Bush Negro goes out, be it to celebrate a festival or in order to float wood to the town, he takes all his wives with him; only in case of illness do they remain behind.

His wives get money separately, and therefore they must also separately provide for his food, so that one cooks the food in the morning, another at midday, another in the evening, etc. [578] This way of life and their jealous nature frequently bring about household quarrels that rarely end in any way other than bloody fights.

585 Upon the conclusion of a marriage the man is obligated to 583 give the parents of the girl as a marriage portion a long, broad,

/144 cont./

584 613 The envoys, after making it known the evening before that they were coming, presented themselves at 10 o'clock in the morning in Asisi-Awara Bakka village. Present were Irma, Chitaïna's mother; Alémin (Aw.B.1, E40), actual uncle; Antonu (Aw.B.1, E47), one of the oldest of the classificatory uncles; Namu (Aw.B.1, E48), classificatory aunt; and the girl's brothers and sisters by the same mother.

Tamu took the floor, unfolding Déési's merits and stating that he had serious intentions. The eldest of the uncles declared 585 613 acceptance. Chitaïna having fled according to custom, he took her young sister Boomi, who was only five years old, by the hand and led her to Tamu, saying, "I give thee this woman." Then he took Abéni, Chitaïna's older brother, by the hand and led him to Yaana, saying, "I give thee this man."

[769] Next, tafia was poured on the ground while the ancestors were invoked in favor of the /new/ household.

The liter of tafia brought by Déési was shared symbolically in the evening among all the village inhabitants including the Afi lineage there.

585 431 For the installation of the household, since there was no more room near Irma's house to build another, the latter gave one of the two houses she possessed.

584 602 [595] Here is still another example concerning the two wives of Fintiman (Dju, F6, Boniville village).

For his first wife Mimi (K3, E156, Boniville) he sent his brother and sister by the same mother, Klémenti and Eliana, who approached Mimi's mother and her classificatory uncle Lébiman.

Fintiman had previously made sure of the agreement of his own father Malobi (Dip. I, E50), who had brought him up, of his mother Béniti, and of his uncle Diolè (Dju, E1), the eldest of the classificatory uncles.

/146 cont./

882 Whereas little girls before puberty are left free to come
[858] and go, older girls are the object of constant surveillance.
They are always under the surveillance of one of their near
[883] relatives specifically designated. If they have permission to
go dancing in another village, they must present themselves
upon arrival to an uncle, an aunt, an older brother who will
watch over them all evening.

Sometimes they build for a girl a little house where she
sleeps alone ... but she is double-locked into it for the night.

At nightfall, when their mothers are busy with the prepa-
[883] ration of the meal, the girls are sent to get water or to angle
for fish; there is wavering in the surveillance, and seducers
know how to profit by it.

[593] Until recent times girls were held by their mothers in
[584] the bonds of a strict authority, and although engaged very
[582] young, they were not authorized to marry before reaching
complete physical development.

584 It often used to happen that a girl might be promised by
her mother to a man from her first years (they still say, although
that is no longer practiced, pɔti mɔfu na umã, "to put his
mouth on a girl," meaning by that to have received a promise
of marriage). This plan always used to remain subject to the
girl's assent when she grew up and did not constitute a contract,
strictly speaking; it did not involve any payment or compensa-
[593] tion whatever. A girl could not be obligated to a marriage
which was absolutely displeasing to her, but the mother's
authority was great enough to make these marriages come about
in most cases.

If a girl had not been promised, the young man who
[431] wanted to marry her used to try to attract her attention during
a dance and to exchange a few words with her. /147/ Later he
would give her a paddle bearing symbols of fecundity and the
representation of a house and a boat. If the girl accepted the
paddle, he could propose to her officially.

/153 cont./

684 with repudiation in case of a second offense. The rule is to
586 repudiate her, under pain of ridicule.
[626]

In 1951 G..., of Kotika village, was informed that his
837 wife A..., of Asisi village, 25 years old, was deceiving him
with a boy of the same age named K.... The first time he
684 encountered K in a village he took issue with him; K... confessed without difficulty. G... delivered a strong punch which threw him to the ground, and that was all. He did not ad-
[586] minister any punishment to his wife but immediately let her know that he was repudiating her. Some time after, K...
[576] asked to be reconciled with him. He asked his pardon and
[431] gave him a bottle of tafia (this is obligatory for reconciliation). Since, the two men have again been friends.

It also happens that the grand man levies a more or less stiff fine on the guilty man.

837 According to the elders, adultery was rare in former
[586] times. If a woman was tired of her husband, she divorced him openly, but she did not deceive him. Nowadays it seems to be rather frequent.

586 Divorce. The Refugee Blacks divorce each other as easily as they join together; in general it is the woman who decides to break up the union because she finds her husband too poor, too lazy, or simply because she wants to change. /154/

In the case of divorce the woman keeps all that her husband has given to her or made for her (utensils, house, boat), but of course the man keeps all his own belongings; this rupture changes nothing about the possession of property since no object was owned jointly.

581 The rule is the following: at the time of the marriage the man puts down symbolically several personal objects (fabrics, utensils) in the woman's home. As long as these objects are in her home the marriage remains in force, the wife is held to fidelity or at the very least, if there is adultery, it is regarded as such and entails the sanction related above.

/158 cont./

848 If children are born of these irregular liaisons, the mother
[784] takes care to know with certainty who the father is, for if there
[753] were any doubt, the child, respecting a kina which would not
be his own, would contract leprosy. On this subject the Boni
842 have a remarkable belief: they think that it is the first man
with whom a woman has had relations after the end of a menstrual
period who is likely to make her pregnant.

836 These adventures always involve gifts in kind (cloth,
431 jewels); so the men who have the most success with women
are always short of money.

581 A woman who has lived thus in notorious fashion has a
little more difficulty than another in finding another husband,
but if she is young and winsome she succeeds.

548 Prostitution as such is very rare in Boni country, and the
women who give themselves over to it openly (three or four for
all the villages on the French bank) have generally left the
[836] tribe to settle in the gold miners' villages. Dissoluteness is
not considered dishonorable by the Refugee Blacks when it is
carried on within the tribe and when it has no other purpose but
pleasure; but prostitution is judged shameful.

834 Except for these few prostitutes, we have never heard it
648 said that a Boni woman had relations with a European; on this
point tribal discipline is observed with extreme rigor.

581 Conclusion. The average duration of marriages, which was
[178] from 15 to 20 years for the preceding generation, tends to be-
come shorter and can be estimated nowadays at about ten years.
[191] In spite of this evolution, the stability of marriages among the
Refugee Blacks remains noticeably greater than that observed
548 among the black populations of South America. Among them
is not seen the form of prostitution so widespread in South
America, the supported mistress who does not work and who
lives entirely at the expense of her successive lovers.

/179 cont./

765 After three months, an offering is made at the fraga tiki
[769] of the dead person's lineage, setting forth how much her spouse
[778] has respected her memory and asking permission to lighten the
[613] manifestations of his sorrow. The mourning is then lightened, but the man in mourning continues to wear a bandeau around his head or at the very least an old beret.

765 During the first months the man in mourning has no other
461 responsibility than to hunt and fish at the order of the dead
[613] woman's lineage. He does his own cooking with the food given to him; he cuts a clearing for his mother-in-law or another woman of the deceased's relatives, who will farm it with him.
[431] Next, he receives the order to go and earn the money necessary for the sizable contribution he must bring to the festival of the lifting of mourning. During the entire duration of the mourning he must report on his work and moves.

765 When the end of mourning approaches, he must do a job
[606] for the benefit of his mother-in-law, generally redoing the roof of her house or building a boat for her.

These arrangements do not involve any material sanction
[624] whatever. Like the rest of the social life of the Refugee Blacks, they rest entirely upon fear of a suprahuman sanction.

[589] After the lifting of mourning, the person in mourning may remarry without further delay.

765 State of widows and co-wives of a widower. The state of a
768 woman in mourning is practically identical to that of a widower.
[562] She lives for the duration of mourning in her deceased husband's house under the surveillance of his near relatives on the maternal
[613] side. The dead man's lineage lends her all the objects she
[439] needs and furnishes the imported commodities (salt, kerosene, soap) that she uses. On the other hand, she may freely use the produce of the clearing that her husband had cut for her, since it is taken for granted that these products are the exclusive property of the wife.

/179 cont./

965 431 Before coming out of mourning, the widow must procure for herself at the minimum the money necessary for a demijohn of tafia as a contribution to the festival of the lifting of mourning. She must make a present of several cans of couac to her husband's mother. [206]

965 843 184 A pregnant woman undergoes mourning exactly according to the general law. The custom described by several authors for the Saramaka, according to which the pregnant woman must join one of her husband's "brothers," does not apply to the Boni.

965 888 There are some attenuations of the harshness of mourning with respect to old women. For example in 1956, Lémiki (70 years), living in Boniville, was in mourning for her husband Tabiki (Awara Bakka, but residing since childhood with the Lapé lineage in Loka /180/ where he had been raised by his father). Lémiki alternately spent three weeks in her house and three in her husband's. It was Asamani, Tabiki's sister by the same father, who exercised authority over her. [968] [602]

965 968 This remarkable example shows that as regards mourning (rights and duties), the principle of residence plays an essential role. He who has been reared by his father is in this respect taken out of his lineage, which loses all rights and all control over the conduct of the mourning. [613]

965 [995] The co-wives of a widower are subject to mourning on the same grounds as he, and for the same motive, since they are targets for the jealousy of the dead woman's yorka.

[968] However, they are authorized most often to live with their maternal family. When the period of dipi baaka has ended, 965 833 they may take up conjugal relations again with their husband, but at intervals of several weeks and without his being able to spend the night with one of them. Each time he must ask permission of the head of the dead woman's lineage. [613]

/182 cont./

965 Then they address the dead person in the name of the people of his village: "We have done with thee, stay there where God has placed thee."

The spouse in mourning is again bathed in the river by old women who have themselves gone through mourning.

[969] [975] Then they address the yaka of the ancestors and the entities of the Beyond who are imagined to have come in a crowd: "Ala sani di kom ya, yu mu luku ala Ɛŋga bɛ; u kaba Ɛŋga yu; yu sa: waka ala peesi; (Each one of the beings who have come, be benevolent toward us all; we have finished with thee, thou canst go anywhere)."

On the seventh day most of those present begin to leave. An intimate ceremony brings the dead person's near relatives together in the very house where he died. They weep and lament one last time. Then a last offering of food is made in the same house, and they repeat the adjuration: "We have done with thee; stay where God has placed thee."

[968] [613] [431] The eighth day, the spouse whose mourning has just been lifted is conducted solemnly back to his village by the people of the dead person's lineage. He is congratulated, he offers food and drink to all those present. What he might have had left of savings disappears on this occasion.

He must sleep three nights in his village, still without being able to have relations with a woman. When this time limit has gone by, he comes to give back the red clothes which the dead person's lineage had lent to him. Only then is he free.

[114] Notes taken in Boniville in November, 1957 on the occasion of the lifting of mourning for Béniti. This festival is given for the lifting of mourning for ○ Béniti (Dyu, E5, living in Boniville, † in 1955 at 75), of △ Tito (Kotika, Boniville, † in 1955 at 15), and of △ G...., boy of ten, son of a woman of the village of L'Enfant Perdu (Dip. I), dead in Boniville where he was reared by Téréza. The festival is given more than two years after death. Sometimes, when there is no spouse subjected to mourning

/187 cont./

765 Since there is no spouse in mourning (Béniti had been divorced for a long time), the ceremony stops there.

Then those present scatter in the village, go to dance, eat, and drink at one another's houses. They have the satisfied air of people who have just done an important job successfully.

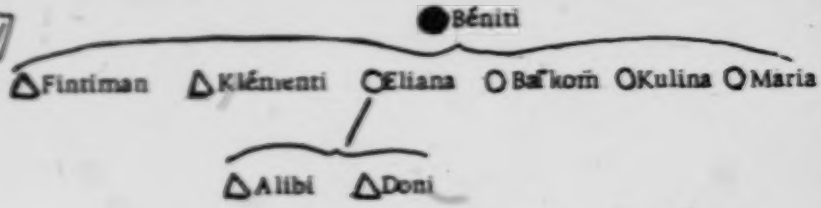
[602] On the seventh day an intimate ceremony brings together Béniti's children and grandchildren in her daughter Kulina's house, where she died. After an offering of food, they weep and lament a last time. Then Fintiman, her elder son, repeats the formula of separation:

"We have done with you; stay where God has put you."

Lifting of mourning for Béniti. Division of expenditures. Béniti belonged to the fraction of the Dju lineage settled in [613] Boniville; the principal weight of the mourning therefore had [621] to be borne by that fraction, the other (the one in Asisi) bringing a symbolic contribution.

Béniti left two sons and two adult grandsons:

[601]



/188/ Actually the elder son Fintiman paid half the expense himself, the younger son being ill and without regular [431] resources. No contribution in money is asked of the women, who must, on the other hand, draw substantial amounts from their rice stock.

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/188 cont./

	Fintiman	Kiémenti	Alibi	Doni
20-liter demijohns of tafia .	4 = 14,800 fr	1 = 3,700 fr	1 = 3,700 fr	1 = 3,700 fr
Cases of soda (1,000 fr.) . .	4 = 4,000 fr	3 = 3,000 fr	1 = 1,000 fr	1 = 1,000 fr
Dutch cheeses	1 = 1,000	nothing	nothing	nothing
Boxes biscuits	2 = 1,800	—	—	—
Sugar, kilograms	10 = 1,000	—	—	—
Sugar cane	3,000	—	—	—
	25,600 fr	6,700 fr	4,700 fr	4,700 fr

/188 cont./

765 431 Nearly half of the tafia was brought to the mormary shed to serve for the dances, the other half was distributed to visitors in the course of calls of personal interest that they were coming to make on the village people at home.

Bâmiti's three sons-in-law each gave three liters of tafia.

[213] The Boniville men belonging to other lineages each gave one liter, except the two principal basia (assistants to the grand man for the internal running of the village), Todo and Tofiow, who gave two liters each. Besides, each one kept one or two liters to offer to callers at their homes.

[213] As for the men of the Dju lo of Asiai, they brought one liter each, including the head of the lineage.

All the Boniville women and all the women of Asai-Dju brought their contributions in the form of food.

In all about 150 adult visitors came.

765 293 One can estimate that about 200 liters of tafia were drunk, or a little more than a liter per person, which, for five days of festivities, is not enormous.

But since some drink very little, one can estimate that those most given to drunkenness drank up to three and four liters.

Inheritance

428 613 The custom of the Refugee Blacks, hostile to all that might divide the matrilineage, cannot accept the notion of a single heir entering into possession of all the property of the dead person and replacing him in his functions. This idea of the only heir considered as a substitute for the dead person, as it exists among the Bamiléké, which leads toward the individualization of one line within the lineage, can be regarded as the extreme opposite of the thought of the Refugee Blacks.

/258 cont./

461 On the material plane the same conception explains
829 the high importance attached to fair payment for work done,
● 431 the holy fury which takes possession of Refugee Blacks who consider themselves wronged; it also explains why they can interpret a free gift only as a mark of weakness except in exceptional cases (present given by a high official on the occasion
431 of a visit). A gift which does not have the character of an ex-
829 change has no spiritual value for them; it brings only scorn and near hostility, for they feel that the object has not been legitimately acquired and that they are not in tune with their moral law.

Local Divinities

776
823 The Refugee Blacks assume the existence of local divinities exercising a de facto power on such-and-such a portion of the country. Since their very special mode of life leads them to circulate almost exclusively along rivers, with them this idea has been transposed into a double notion: the divinities of the rivers and the gods of the soil. In their minds those are two entirely separate conceptions: the power of the god of the soil stops at the edge of the water and conversely.

De facto worship is rendered the divinities of the river according to the rites set by the first users of the river. In practice, worship is rendered only to the divinities of dangerous rivers where accidents are frequent. People do not bother with the others.

These gods are designased indiscriminately by the words gadu and uani (thing, being), indicating that their nature is not known.

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be possessed by them. Between the roots of the tree offerings were placed—two or three bottles on their sides, or a calabash filled with sacred clay. 824 776

When the time came to dance to the gods of the kankan tree, a tunic of cotton was placed about its trunk. While the drums spoke to the gods, white clay was spread over the bark, a chicken was killed, and its blood allowed to spray the tree and drip into a calabash placed on the ground to receive it. Eggs inside obia pots were put beside the tree, and bottles filled with sweet liquor and the juice of sugar cane. All about its wide trunk the dancers swayed and leaped, each dancing to her own spirit until, at the height of their ecstasy, there were a few among them who would climb the great tree itself, and dance on its branches. The drums continued until the frenzy ebbed. Had they stopped sooner, those in the tree could not have remained there safely or in safety have descended to the ground. 824 776 776

At other times, women came to Gedeonsu to ask him for children, and those who were troubled by his spirit brought offerings, though the great dances were held when the old year came to an end, and the big offerings were then made. [842] [782]

"If a man were to cut down a kankan tree, Gedeonsu would cut off his foot. I myself saw it happen," said a man to us at S'ei. "And his sister got the god." [688]

The kankan tree gods could be bought, too. A woman who wanted fertility would seek to buy Gedeonsu. Others might wish to have Tinné. Only an individual who had a spirit which gave him the right to make obias and call the gods could get the spirit for one who wished to buy it. Such a man would take an obia pot, fill it with water and place inside it cowrie shells which had not been cleansed. After speaking his invocation, he would add a sacred white stone, called an obia stone, and with a calabash in one hand and a bell in the other, he would go to the tree and address the spirits as he rang the bell. When the water became ruffled, it was a sign that the god had entered it. Quickly he would cover the calabash with a cloth and take it away with him. [842] [432] 791 824 776 776

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society, the "Congo" sticks, as they were called here, or the "fighting" sticks. 532

The carvings, however, which we were admiring in the house of the captain of Ma'lobbi were for secular use. The Bush Negro craftsman brought to the ornamenting [501] of his paddles and his canoe seats, to his house posts, and particularly to the door of his treasure house, to his women's combs, and trays, and food stirrers, and clothes beaters all the traditional skill and patience. But the exceptional carver brought also the cunning in his fingers which his gods had given to him and only to few others on the river. Such a man was the captain of Ma'lobbi. Into the traditional designs such a man wove lines for the love of seeing them grow under his hand, for there were always single motifs which the people versed in the symbolism of the art would describe as "beautiful," as having no meaning. Yet with few exceptions the massing of outlines in a unified design bore on fertility. Men and women alone or together, and male and female animals were represented in all but occasional pieces.

The Bush Negro artist was a man of consequence on the 532 river. His companions admired his skill, and the young 554 women were proud to have his handiwork. If he showed 584 his gifts early, he was at an advantage in courting a girl of an influential family. The girl's mother, who shared in the gifts of her daughter's suitor, might be willing to overlook other less advantageous traits in the man or in his family, while the girl's uncles would not be loath to have such a man in their family to teach his art to his sons, who would be their successors.

On several occasions we were permitted to see how very 432 deeply this appreciation of fine carving went. As in the 562 instance of the paddle we had acquired from the wife of 439 the captain of Ma'lobbi, it had happened often that the consent of the woman to sell a given piece was necessary before any trading could take place. Sometimes we traded directly with the woman, sometimes she asked her husband, or her brother, or her son, as the more worldly

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432 562 439 person, to act for her. But always hers was the final word, and often that word when the time came for us to carry away the piece was "No."

"It was made for me by my husband when I was a young girl. Now he sleeps, he is no more. I want to have it," was a statement which ended all bargaining.

Sometimes even after we had paid the woman, and stored the piece away, she returned with the moist coins in her hand, asking for the carved implement.

"Before some man from here will go to the city to buy me a pangi, I may lose the money, or he may lose it on the way. But if the clothes beater is here, I can use it and look at it. I want to keep it."

413 532 439 One vivid incident of bargaining concerned a peanut pounding board which had belonged to the sister of Bassia Anaisi. We were sitting and talking with him and his grandmother, when our eyes rested on his sister's house. From a projection hung a strikingly beautiful piece of carving. The rectangular portion of the board on which the peanuts were crushed was bordered on top and bottom with filigreed carving. It was made of brown-heart wood with inlays of purple-heart. Bassia Anaisi's sister supplemented our guesses of what the designs meant. The top represented a woman's head and headdress. The small brass nails, which made a glistening line in the center of the upper curve, were the cicatrizations on the woman's face.

"Look," said the woman, "she is a woman, but a woman hawk. Here is her neck, and the small cut-out circles here are her breasts, those curves at both ends are the wings. The very small nails are the cicatrizations on the thighs. She is a woman, and she has made herself beautiful. This large rounded portion is her belly, and the smaller one underneath is the *gonu mofo*—the gun's mouth," the last being their image for the vagina. Meeting this from the bottom curving upwards was a half-circle, which represented the male member. At the other end was more embellishment. In the center was a double curve to symbolize the first phase of the moon. Below were two "*Ingi Kodyo*,"

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Indian cudgels, a figure of speech for the buttocks, in this instance those of the woman, and again the male representation. This was edged with a border of deep curves which the woman said was mere ornamentation—scrolls. On another pounding board, however, of this village, a similar border was said to represent the boa constrictor. This board stood on two legs, each the width of the board and about two inches high, and worked in the same cut-through scroll design.

When we suggested that we might care to acquire the board, the woman became apprehensive. She took up the board, and excusing herself, disappeared with it inside her hut.

"No, no," she called from the house, when her brother went to tell her of the offer we had made for it. "I don't want money for it. I like it. I will not sell it."

The sum we offered was modest enough, but not inconsiderable for this deep interior. We increased it, then doubled our original offer. There was still no wavering on the woman's part, but the offer began to interest her family. Such wealth should not be refused. Bassia Anaisi began to urge her in our behalf.

"With this money you can buy from the white man's city a hammock, and several fine cloths. You should not refuse this."

The old woman took up the discussion, then another sister, and a brother. At last the bassia took us aside, and asked us to leave his sister alone with them.

"We will have a krutu, and tomorrow you will hear. She is foolish not to sell. But she cares for the board. It is good, too, when a woman loves what her man has carved for her. We will krutu about it, and you shall hear."

Three days passed before the woman's permission was given to dispose of the piece.

"When they see this, your people will know our men can carve!" she exclaimed in a voice which held as much regret as pride.

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magic on their owners. And there was the Gankwe woman who brought us a paddle representing the bird she called the *apassa*. 532

"We Gankwe people do not eat the apassa," she had whispered to us when we bought the paddle. [262]

5

In the house of the captain of Ma'lobbi we sat and talked of the carvings of the Saramacca people, and as we talked, they brought us some of the things the men of the village had carved.

"Do all men carve?" we asked the chief.

"Not everyone has the spirit. But every young man tries. If a man is good at hunting, or on the river, then perhaps he can get the things he needs to give his wife from others for what he can give the carver. But it is better that he do these things for his wife himself. The women like it better." 463

Not everyone could make a boat, he said, nor was everyone able to carve the *pau pau dindu*, the intricate "wood within wood" motifs that made a strip go like a twisted snake in and out, in and out, through a design. And not everyone could make a drum. Like that apinti he had there. 463 532

It was the opening for which we had been waiting. 532

We had been admiring this drum since we had come into his house, we said. We remembered it from the first time on our way up river. It was as fine as any we had seen. Had he made it himself? 534 432 439

He smiled his appreciation.

"It is a fine apinti, ai," agreed several of the men sitting about.

An apinti was one of the things we wanted to take to show the white man. This one, especially, we would like to buy. Would he sell it?

He looked at us for a moment, and then gently shook his head. "To make an apinti is not a small thing. Not everyone can make an apinti. I have worked on it for a long time, and it is not yet finished. This drum I will not sell."

REBEL DESTINY

We redoubled our urging.

"White man, do you know what it is to make an apinti—an obia drum?"

A man had to have the proper spirit before he might address the god of the tree from which the drum was to be made. When he had felled the tree, he cut off from the trunk the part he wanted to use and took it to his village. Over it he had to pour the blood of a cock which he sacrificed that the gods might come when the drum called them. The maker had also to provide sweet rum and cassava and eggs. The cassava was eaten by the people, but the eggs were for the spirit of the drum, and only half the sweet rum was drunk—the rest was poured over the wood. When the body of the new drum had been fashioned, the people gathered and sang, but they did not dance, for the head yet remained to be made. A pingo, or a deer, might furnish the skin, but these animals were shot where they had been tracked in the bush, and not offered to the drum. Only chickens were given it. And when the drum was complete, then the maker sang his song alone.

"But the drum is not finished yet. It can be played on, for it has a head, and its spirit has been satisfied. But the carving is not yet done. I have worked on it a long time," he repeated. "I want them to play it for my spirit when I am dead."

A silence fell as he finished. There was nothing more to be said.

"White man, we have sat together in pleasure. You have come to the true, true Saramacca from far away. You have bought the carvings of my people. The apinti drum I cannot sell you. But this stool you like I want you to have."

He took up one of the round-topped benches, with carefully worked sides, and four purple-heart inlays on top, each in the shape of a fowl.

"Take it with you to your white man's country. When you show it, write on a paper that the captain of Ma'lobbi made it."

REBEL DESTINY

115 "So we see from the Kromanti obia on your arm." Was
716 she, a woman, possessed of the war-like Kromanti spirit?
789 we asked her.

"It is as you see. I am a woman, and I have Kromanti—and it's strong Kromanti."

"We had not heard of women your age getting Kromanti."

"Ai, there are not many, but when my spirit comes, I dance heavy. I dance like the men."

We must have appeared unconvinced, for she became more emphatic.

"What they do in other villages, white man, I do not know. But I have Kromanti, and when the drums speak here at Djamungo I, too, come."

She rose and went into the inner chamber of the house, where the hammocks were hung, and brought out several objects wrapped in old cloth.

432 "Bayo said I should have obias for you when you came.
439 He said you would pay well for obias. I have these for
789 you."

The trading commenced. There were two small images—"*gadus*" they were called, both crudely carved. One was called Winti Nyamusi. It was a spirit which gave children to women.

789 "When I come to ask for children, then I take sweet
842 rum in my mouth, and I spray the gadu, then I say, '*Naymusi, da wa' buno mi'i*—O Spirit Naymusi! Give me a fine child.' Then the child will come."

What was the other image, the larger one, with anteater's bristles inserted at sides and top?

"That is a Kromanti obia. It is the Opete spirit, the buz-
789 zard. When you take it with you, you must speak to it so.
789 You must say, 'Obia-o, I am carrying you away with me. You must look after me, you must see that my life is spared, O great spirit.' Then you must spray it with rum, but not the sweet rum, not for Kromanti."

789 There were other obias she had for us, some to be worn about the neck, and others to be worn below the knee.

SARAMACCA OBIA

So it was with each god, until the boy was ready to be initiated into the Kromanti Society. 881 869

"There are many, many krutu, white man, for a boy has much to learn." 776

When those who directed the krutu were satisfied that the boy had learned how to serve the gods he had been given, that he knew their powers, and those things which were hateful to them and would incur their displeasure, then a dance was held for him so that he might demonstrate before the assembled festive villagers that he was ready for manhood.

"We give a big play for a boy who gets his gods for the first time. When the gods come to him at this dance at the bidding of the drum, and he dances hard, then his family is pleased. When a boy dances, then we know what is in him. We know whether his gods are strong, whether he is to be feared."

Once the father had transferred his gods to his son, he did not dance much himself. He might continue to play the drum at sacred dances, but dancing and drumming were for the younger men. His son's worship of the gods through the dance released the father for the study of obia. With the governing elders, the father took up his rôle as a clan member who sought the will of the ancestors when new tasks were to be undertaken. 886 869 776 [535] [533]

"What happens if the father has few gods to give his son?" we asked.

"Then his mother's eldest brother gives his to the boy." [604]

"What if the boy's uncle has none to give?"

That happened so seldom that he could not remember such an instance, but he had heard it said that this had occurred once or twice.

"A man must have gods to help him live. If his family can give him none, then they buy gods for him. Sometimes there are gods in the family that are not too strong, and they want the boy to have strong gods. They go to a man who knows about such things and who himself has strong gods and buy a god for the boy from him." 432 776 424

REBEL DESTINY

776 A man who wished to buy a god for his son went to a
● 432 renowned obia man and agreed to pay him a certain sum
424 of money if, at the end of the period of training, the god came to the boy.

"When the obia man says the boy is ready, they give a
[987] dance. At this dance, the drum is played for the god, and the boy must dance. If the god comes to him, then the obia man gets his money, but if the god does not come, then he does not get what was promised him, because they had made an agreement for a god, and no god came."

881 The training was not very difficult—it was not like the
869 training for becoming an obia man. A boy was given obia
776 water to wash in. Every eight days the water in the obia pot was changed, and this bathing continued for three
[983] moons. When the ritual of purification was over, he was taught the drum rhythms of the god, the invocations which the drum sounded, and the spoken invocations. Songs, and make-up for the dancing, and the dancing itself he was taught, and when he might call upon the god, and what he must do when the god comes, and what offerings the god was to receive. If the god spoke "tongues," he was also instructed in the appropriate language. There were the words of the mocking little Apuku gods and the sounds which only Toné people made, and there was the "Kromanti tongo."

"Can all the gods be bought?" we asked.

432 "Kweti, kweti!" he shook his head in emphatic denial.
776 "The river gods cannot be bought. You are born a Toné
989 man or woman, or the Toné god comes to you from your family. But all the Vodu gods you can buy; and the god Bongo, the alligator; and the ant hill gods and the gods of the kankan tree, and the Apuku bush gods." He paused for an instant, as if he were considering something. "And men buy Kromanti for their sons, if they have none to give them. Almost every man in the bush has Kromanti. If he hasn't it, then he tries to buy it for his sons. A man needs Kromanti. When he has the Kromanti spirit, fire cannot hurt him, nor glass, nor anything that cuts—

anything made of iron—nor can a gun shoot him, nor an 432
arrow pierce him. If he goes through a thicket of thorns 796
or climbs a thorny palm tree when the spirit comes to him, 789
he is not harmed. That is Kromanti."

"How much does a person pay an obia man for giving a boy Kromanti?" we asked.

"It costs plenty, white man. But a good obia man never [435]
asks too much. If a man says he will give the boy Kromanti, for not too many guilders, then we know he will do it. But if a man asks forty, fifty, then we know he is not an honest man, and he is not a good man. I have heard, though, of a good obia man who took as much as twenty-four guilders, but he gave the boy a strong Kromanti spirit, and it took much time to teach him."

3

From time to time members of Bayo's family visited 791
our camp. Each time we were introduced to a new brother, or father, or *zawagi*—brother-in-law. Among these visitors was a man whose name we never learned, though we had talked with him a good deal. He was, we later came to know, a man who knew obia. He was a scholar among his people, a thoughtful man who often went about alone, instead of being accompanied by a fellow clan member or a member of his family, as is customary among these people. *Like Bayo, he had an incest kunu,* and at his age, he had already had occasion to see what kunu planned for 791
him. He coughed badly. When men went to cut timber, 164
he could not go with them because of his cough and the fever which went with the cough.

"Have you been to a good obia man?" we asked him.

He smiled. Of what use to go from one diviner to the next, from one man who had special magic to another, when a [753]
man knew that what was troubling him was kunu?

"Come to the city with us," we said, when we knew him better, "and we will take you to a doctor. He may be able to do something for you."

/11 cont./

286 garments /pandjes/ or articles of dress and other knitted goods.
[413] They also know how to make very attractive hammocks of cotton.

Chapter VII

Food, Drinks, Delicacies, and so forth.

262 [252] Their daily food is mainly rice and camava (1) bread which

1. Sweet camava, the farina from the root of the Janipha manihot, not to be confused with Jatropha manihot, which gives the bitter camava, which, however much is removed by boiling and continued washing, contains a very poisonous component.

is baked on an iron plate and provides a tasty food that can be
[241] kept for a long time. During the dry season, the months of September, October, and November, the ground also supplies them with a very mealy and tasty tuber called nappi (2); throughout the year,

2. Dioscorea sativa and Dioscorea alata L.

however, they grow yams, sweet potatoes (3), tayers (4), and camava.

3. Convolvulus batatas L. and Batatas edulis Choisy.

4. Root from Arum esculentum.

[439] They have bananas only from time to time, whenever they exchange them on plantations for squared wood, which they pur-
● [432] posely work for this exchange. They know how to obtain wild game
[265] and fish in great quantities; salt is an article greatly in demand.

/135/

Agriculture among the Bush Negroes of the Marowijne /Maroni/

by D. C. Geijskes (1)

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1. Introduction

When one goes to the small communities of the inhabitants of the bush who live in the interior districts of Surinam, one quickly sees, upon examination, the basis on which the maintenance of such communities rests. The struggle for existence among primitive peoples covers the food supply and the resistance that can be offered against illness and pests. These two factors ultimately determine the birth surplus, which as a result expresses the possibility for survival.

Among the Bush Negroes we see in the course of the years an increase in the population, an advance, therefore, in spite of the obstructions of nature. But this advance creates new problems. It was during the Medical-Scientific Expedition to the Southern Border of Surinam, held from February to July, 1952, that, in conjunction with the medical investigation in the gathering of data about the "housekeeping" of the Bush Negroes of the Marowijne /Maroni/ and the Tapanahoni, we were struck above all by the problem of the food supply and the food itself. There is little sense in paying attention only to medical care unless at the same time attempts are made to improve the food.

An important part of the food supply is produced by agriculture. This supplies the Bush Negroes with the most, but not the best food. Next to it a number of forest products serve to provide for the need for food fats, while hunting and fishing must provide the protein.

/142 cont./
101 circumstances because with their lower population density they
162 are less seriously in need of land. But the same fate awaits them
311 in the near future. In addition, the cutting of the forest has more serious consequences in this region because as a result exploitable timber is lost. Along the Tapanahoni, above the greater falls, woodcutting is impossible for the time being, so that the loss of wood in these districts does not as yet play an economic role here.

6. Measures toward Improvement

●433 The question now is whether the ground-operations of the Bush Negroes must be regulated by a higher authority. My advice is: The /143/ sooner improvement can be brought about in this, the better, and for the following reasons.

[320] 1st. Because of the ground-system practiced from olden times, the Aucaners of the Tapanahoni in particular now have such a land shortage that further growth of the population is thereby hindered.

[262] 2nd. The food supply of this Bush Negro society is precarious and one-sided; this threatens to become more and more unfavorable, with the consequence that the health situation will require more and more care.

3rd. The Bush Negroes cannot be considered capable of bringing about changes for the better in these agricultural methods by themselves.

[167] 4th. Occupying these districts becomes less and less attractive for the younger generation, whereby a spreading of the
[464] population over other areas takes place. The men try to find work in the lowlands or in the concerns in French Guiana.

5th. Through the wasteful use of land the supplies of wood along the rivers are in danger of becoming lost entirely.

6th. It is to be feared that unless help is offered through government channels in time to help this bush population out of the impasse, its social and economic retrogression will soon become seriously felt.

/143 cont./

433 The solution of this problem in my opinion lies in this, that in the first place agricultural methods which are based upon a better and more economical use of the land must be practiced. It is the task of the Department of Agriculture to investigate which possibilities the lands permit and which crops can best be cultivated; it is for this reason that to these observations is added a list of crops presently in use among the Bush Negroes. A small team of young Bush Negroes will have to be trained by the Agricultural Information Service to familiarize them with the new methods.

Next to that, combating the ants will have to be seriously taken in hand in conjunction with the plans for a modified agriculture. For this, too, people from the area itself will have to receive training, and a permanent work-team will have to be formed. It is unfeasible and unnecessary to clear the entire area now in use. Insecticides such as carbon sulfate, methylbromide, and parathion -- applied with the necessary caution -- could be used with success in places.

/144/ The District Administration will also have to provide co-operation in order to find a compromise between the customary laws of the Bush Negroes and the new regulations to be introduced concerning the use of land.

7. The Cultivated Crops and Their Use

241 Although for the most part the cultivated plants are those
[171] generally in use as agricultural crops in Surinam, there is still not
[114] much known in detail concerning the crops that are cultivated by the Bush Negroes for their sustenance. Giving a general survey of these plants is thus necessary first of all, with a report on the way in which they are used.

[174] From a more historical point of view it is of interest to point to a number of important plants that are of African origin and have only still remained in use among the Bush Negroes, such as
[177] agobo and bongila. Furthermore presumably there are still varieties of ordinary cultivated plants present here -- such as sugar cane, bacove and bananas, species of tajer and yams -- from the

B /510 cont./
591 relatives, nor any power of the man over the woman, nor even
B household cohabitation. The man and the woman each reside in
591 the village of their maternal kin. The man goes to live with his
593 wife from time to time, providing her with the imported commodities that she needs, notably salt, kerosene, cloth, and utensils, and felling trees for the clearings which she will exploit
B for the benefit of the household.
586 Divorce is entirely free. Unions are not very stable, mainly on account of the woman. Numbers of women are divorced four to five times during their lives.

B The grand man, chief of the tribe, exercises over the Boni a
643 power which is more religious than political.

B The Boni are a pirogue-people. For more than a century they
433 have been living by using their canoes for the benefit of gold-seekers
178 and exploiting miners. The decline of gold extraction is depriving
[501] [167] them more and more of their traditional resources. Some of them are emigrating temporarily to the coastal lumberyards. But all of them remain faithful to their villages and to their customs.

/511/
R The Oayana Indians (Roucouyennes /Rucuyen/). These Indians of the
101 Caribe /Carib/ ethnic group have had only a few direct contacts
177 with European civilization and still represent without alteration the
144 human type which populated Guiana before the arrival of the
R Europeans. On encountering the Refugee Blacks, the Indians of the
161 Guianese forest have been steadily and rapidly declining. Estimated
R at 30,000 at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Indians
101 of French Guiana are now no more than about a thousand. In
162 addition there must be included in this number 700 persons (Galibi and
131 Arawak) who have been protected by their habitat in the savannas of the coast where malaria is less deadly than in the interior.

R The accounts of travelers and the censuses made notably in
175 1730, 1759, 1787, and 1815 allow one to follow with precision
161 this destruction of the autochthonous population since the first settlement of the Europeans in Guiana (2).

2. Dr. André Sausse, op. cit., pp. 67-98.

B R 137 241 /512 cont./

The region is entirely covered by equatorial forest which the inhabitants clear for their crops, practicing a shifting agriculture on burned-over land.

B R 311 504 368

Life is closely tied to the river, on the edge of which are established villages and crops. They scarcely move except by water. Everybody, man, woman, or child, has his pirogue, and the children learn to paddle at the same time that they learn to walk.

B R ● 433

The principal activities of the two populations are agriculture, fishing, and canoeing.

B R 262

There is scarcely any difference between the dietary resources of the Indians and the Boni. The principal portion is manioc, eaten in the form of cassave (flat cakes cooked on a plate) or of couac (roasted and granulated flour). Then come tubers, yams, dasheens, "Carib cabbage" /taro/ and sweet potatoes, bananas and plantains. The Boni in addition plant mountain rice, from which the yield is small; in return, they eat fewer bananas.

B [241] R [226]

The protein ration is furnished essentially by fish, eaten fresh or smoked. The Indians, skillful fishermen, never lack them. Game furnishes a less regular, but important resource.

B R [231] [439]

Animal husbandry, confined to a few chickens raised mainly to sell, represents only an insignificant part of the diet.

The fat from fish and from animals killed while hunting constitutes the principal portion of lipides. The Boni use in addition, for preparing their meals, a small quantity of mariba palm oil.

Vitamins come from fruit (papaya, pineapple, mangoes), which the Indians eat in greater abundance than the Blacks, from wild spinach, rich in Vitamin A, and palm nuts (awara and caumou), eaten in great abundance during the rainy season.

B R 146

Neither of the two populations is undernourished. The Indians might have been so temporarily during epidemics, when the adults, having been sick for a long time, were unable to clear sufficient land. But they can supplement an inadequate harvest with a great variety of wild foods that can be gathered.

The diet seems poor in mineral elements and especially in calcium. Traces of rachitis are noticeable among some of the Indian children.

/513/

B R 146 The scarcity of lipide foods, and, among the Boni, the low consumption of fruit might cause one to fear vitamin deficiencies. B R 575 In fact, there are no signs of it.

Body hygiene is excellent: Blacks and Indians bathe several times a day and are very fastidious about their persons.

B R 433 In summary, there is no appreciable difference in the customary activities, agriculture, hunting, and fishing, of the two populations. There is one in economic activity. Among the Boni, B R 461 [465] who have a greater need for imported objects, the adult men work for wages four to five months per year on the average. These jobs are very laborious and performed under bad dietary conditions, whereas the Indians rest when they are not occupied with their customary tasks, sometimes spending entire days stretched out in the hammock.

B R 177 The two populations have been in close contact for a long time. The Indian villages farthest downstream have immediate B R 177 contact with the first crop plantings of the Boni. Without having 648 any tendency to merge (their characters and their customs are too different), Boni and Oayana have maintained regular relations since the end of the eighteenth century, doing a little trade in imported articles exchanged for hammocks and dogs trained for hunting. They often visit each other, and nothing stops the spread of illness from the one group to the other.

B R 105 In fact, the way of life of the two groups is the same, the 182 environmental conditions have the same influence, and the differ- 164 ences which are observed in the pathology can only be attributed to a different sensitivity with regard to the principal illnesses.

B 164 Pathology of the Boni. We shall briefly summarize here the ob- [114] servations of Dr. A. Sausse in his work Populations primitives du Maroni.

The pathology of the Boni is characterized by:

-- a resistance to malaria, which means that if the children have had attacks an immunity will develop with age; the size of the spleen diminishes regularly from child to adult. The adults have only episodical attacks which are not serious; in particular

F /10 cont./
233 Since about ten years ago Creole exploiters without any
433 outside aid have built up a herd of several hundred head, principal-
F ly with an eye to the provisioning of the mining center of Benzdorp.
[508] The existence of an airodrome and regular air connections permits
F envisaging the export of meat to the coast. The success of animal
233 raising in the Upper Maroni seems to be attributable to a rainfall
[132] lower in total amount than on the coastal strip but better distributed,
[311] as well as to the nature of the soil. It is principally on the floodable alluvial strip bordering the river to a width of 500 to 600 meters that cattle find the most favorable conditions, taking refuge on the neighboring hills during the three weeks of annual inundation.

F Winning pastures from the forest and defending them against
[461] the encroachment of the bush represents continual work, but it
[464] can be carried out on the Maroni far better than on the coast, thanks to the man power of the Refugee Blacks.

F One cannot yet come to a conclusion on the profitableness
[433] of this animal raising. Like many other enterprises in Guiana it
[435] is handicapped by its too high cost price which prevents effective competition with imported products.

B 2) The populations of the Maroni, descending from rebel
101 slaves of the 18th century, who are often called Refugee Blacks, are divided into three tribes: the Djuka, the Paramaka, and the
B Boni, whose customs are practically identical and whose dialects
197 are very close. These dialects are variations of Taki-taki, vehicular language derived mainly from English, whose use was widespread in the time of slavery and which has become the national language of Surinam.

B The Paramaka, 700 to 800 in number, occupy the lower part
162 of the course of the Maroni from the first waterfall (Hermina)
131 to the junction with Béiman Creek. They are not navigators but
B farmers and foresters, who furnish highly prized man power for
433 the enterprises of the Saint-Laurent region.
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/10 cont./

162 The Boni, about 1,000 in number, occupy the course of the
131 Lawa between Abounasounga Falls to the north and the falls of the
Litani to the south. Their "great villages," that is, their residential
361 villages, are: Agodé (Boniville), Kotika, Asisi, Loka, Papal'ston,
[103] Kormotibo, Lapé, and l'Enfant Perdu. Three small villages
founded more recently are established on the lower course of the
563 Maroni. The territorial implanzation of the Boni has been dis-
turbed by the settlement of Creole gold miners on their territory
178 for three quarters of a century. Their demographic situation is
mediocre and their tribal organization, compared to that of the
[181] other tribes, has lost much of its strength. However, they still
make up a human grouping full of strength and originality.

131 The Djuka, whose "great villages" are in Surinam territory
361 on the /11/ Tapanahoni, can be evaluated at 7,000 to 8,000 in
[162] total. At the height of demographic expansion, their farming
[161] villages swarm on both banks of the Maroni and on the islands,
[648] penetrating more and more deeply into the interior of French
[649] Guiana, where in places they form small temporary groupings
living in symbiotis with the Creole gold miners; the Boni recognize
their right to cross their territory but not that of establishing
villages in it.

433 For a century the economy of the Refugee Blacks has been
[48] founded on a symbiosis with the Europeans and Creoles; they furnish
[44] specialized labor (construction, but above all, transport) in ex-
[464] change for relatively high wages. This economy finds itself
[465] threatened by the gradual disappearance of gold mining; there is
[178] developing a tendency toward temporary emigration to the Euro-
[166] pean work yards of Saint-Laurent analogous to that of the Saramaka
[182] of Surinam to French Guiana. This is a serious threat to the in-
terior cohesion of the tribes.

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whom African blood predominates are seen; the mulattoes are in general traders, or practice small stock raising.

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The Refugee Blacks are the only population of interior Guiana who can be regarded as perfectly adapted to the environment and capable of subsisting there by their own means. They

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have a protection against malaria which operates thus: If the children suffer from this endemic disease, resistance appears with age, protecting adults from its attacks.

They are subject to serious skin diseases, notably to pian, but these maladies have few demographic consequences; only the

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Boni are seriously attacked by venereal diseases. The Djuka are in the process of very great demographic expansion.

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The strong tribal organization of these populations and their solid implantation on the ground render effective their methods of working, farming, hunting, and fishing, which assure them not only excellent provisionment but considerable means of exchange and a material standard of living superior to that of most of the populations of Africa. The techniques of the Refugee Blacks, especially as regards the squaring of wood, sawing, and building, procure for them resources comparable to those which the populations of the Ivory Coast get from coffee and cacao. /blank page/

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No form of trade (1) is traditionally observed among them,

1. Since 1954, one of them, enriched by boat transport, set up a food business at Kotika, but this is a man more than half "creolized" and one who established himself in the midst of Creoles.

this activity being for them manifestly tied to the idea of the exploitation of others; there is not even any market in the villages.
433 Each person produces, or finds among the people of his own lineage,
439 what food he needs; as for imported objects, the Boni buy them in the course of their trips from the coast traders. That plague of
571 African societies, pseudo-trade or parasitism, is unknown to the
[935] Refugee Blacks. Just as one meets among them neither ragamuffins nor beggars, one perceives nothing nasty or low in their social relations.

In their collective life there is something aboveboard, clean, which strikes one on first meeting them and which one does not tire of admiring, the further one penetrates into the functioning of their institutions.

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593 Among the Refugee Blacks some very devoted couples are
[591] seen, who spend their whole lives together and who, in their old
[163] age, have completely united their destinies, living in the same house, either in the woman's village or the man's: for example, in the village of Lapé Tabiki, Butu and his wife Asamani, in 1952 aged about 70 years, together for 45 years and having had eight children. But such cases are exceptional. Besides, they
[581] are not admired and held up as an example as one might believe; this man and this woman suited each other, they remained together; if some day they no longer get along, they will divorce, that is all.

595 Polygamy. Polygamy in the African sense of the term, that is, the simultaneous maintenance of several regular households, is exceptional among the Refugee Blacks because of their mode of living:

[433] --The wife is practically entirely dependent on her hus-
[511] band; an economy based mainly on wage earning and involving a relatively high standard of living makes it impossible for most men to maintain more than one household;

[461] --Even if a man had sizable financial means at his disposal, he could scarcely maintain more than two households; for it is not acceptable, at least nowadays, for him to have done by others the customary chores: clearings, boats, house.

168 On January 1, 1958 out of 134 men over 20 years old in
595 the villages on the French bank, whose lives were well known to us, there were:

Men maintaining three households	1	1%
" " two households	18	13%
" " one household	104	77%
[589] Bachelors, widowers, or recent divorcés	11	8%
	134	100% /sic/

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754 556 441 438 366 In that can doubtless be seen the most likely explanation of the absence, in the tribes of Refugee Blacks, of any internal trade. There are not even markets in the villages. In practice only Creole and Asian traders are patronized.

463 829 [438] The repugnance which the Refugee Blacks have for trading with one another contributes toward preventing the development of specialized professions among them. Specialization does actually exist: one man is particularly good at building boats, another is a competent carpenter, still another devotes himself mainly to fishing; but the Refugee Blacks exercise these specialties with respect to other peoples and not with respect to one another. Nobody fails to build his own boat, his house, to cut his clearings himself. If it were otherwise, classes and castes would rapidly be created, and that is precisely what the moral law of the Refugee Blacks condemns. A special effect 463 829 593 182 461 of this conception is to preserve family custom from deteriorating, by preventing the rich from becoming great polygamists maintaining idle mistresses. We have never heard it said that a richer man paid someone to perform for him the customary work he owes to his wives, clearings, house, boat. Whatever his wealth may be, he continues to do these jobs by the sweat of his brow, and that contributes toward maintaining in its meaning and value the tacit contract concluded between husband and wife.

182 159 433 648 Thus the geographic conditions, associated with influences of a social and psychological order, impose on the Refugee Blacks a unique economy, based on a symbiosis with the coast populations in the form of piece-work or temporary wage-earning.

/132 cont./

648 difficulty in learning the techniques of his group, for the years
891 when the mind is most pliant have been lost in this regard; as
156 for the knowledge acquired at school, it is so foreign to the life of the Refugee Blacks that at the end of a few years none of it remains except vague smatterings.

861 In general, the process of education employed among the Refugee Blacks is imitation of the adult. A child is rarely given a lesson as such. He sees something done, he tries on his own
868 initiative, and little by little he learns. For example, /133/ he sees his guardian make a boat; he is simply asked to go and get dry palm branches and to take away the chips; he hears the adults discuss the job as it goes on. At about the age of 12 or 13 he tries to make a first boat for himself with the help of an older comrade. He progressively acquires knowledge of this technique.

561 Boys begin to take part in farm work from the age of six
462 or seven, principally weeding and planting. At about ten or eleven they begin to handle the machete and help to cut through the bush; at about 12 they begin to handle the axe and learn to fell trees. At 14 or 15 they begin to make small boats. An adolescent of 16 or 17 is in general capable of cutting a clearing for his mother or sister.

429 Most often the guardian takes his role very seriously, giving
86 his main attention to teaching the child all that is necessary. If it is a woman, she asks her brothers to teach the techniques of boating and building.

866 The principle is to develop very early a sense of responsi-
461 bility in the child by making it progressively necessary for him
434 to earn his living. The guardian does not furnish pocket money,
[291] and with the exception of a hammock every other year, no manufactured objects (children under 11-12 years not being clothed, he has almost no expenses for clothing). But he gives the child progressively chances to earn money by his work. From ten years on, the child begins to render some services; for example for the construction of a boat, he helps transport the dry palm branches intended for the burning. If the boat is being

/133 cont./

866 made for sale, the guardian gives him a small sum out of the
461 money gained. At 14 an adolescent begins to satisfy nearly all
434 his own needs.

For example, from June to December, 1956, Tasa (14
883 years), son of Fintiman (Boniville) had earned about 13,000
465 francs:

June	helped his father build a large boat for the administration (45 days)	6,000
October	went to Saint-Laurent as auxiliary bousman .	3,000
December	helped convoy a boat of the border-fixing mission sent back empty to Maripasoula . .	4,000
		13,000

882 His father, entrusted with his education, let him use this
868 money in his own way; he pointed out to us with pride that for the first time in 1956 his son had been able to satisfy all his own needs, but that it was important to keep him under a firm hand until he was capable of doing a man's work alone: for that, five or six years of apprenticeship would not be too much.

868 In fact, many times we had the chance to verify it, it is
561 in this prolonged apprenticeship that are developed the seriousness
[65] of mind and the technical skill so remarkable among the Refugee Blacks. At 20 years, most of them still do not know how to do
[582] anything worthwhile, and it is scarcely before 25 or 27 that they
[178] become capable of /134/ painstaking work; in this respect the present tendency of the young boys toward precocious emancipation (the marriage age of men is going down to 20 and even 18 years) runs the risk of having very unfortunate consequences for the future of the Refugee Blacks.

429 The person charged with the education of a girl exercises
the powers of a mother toward her. It is she who authorizes
[582] her to marry, and by giving her the *pagi*, married women's
garment, gives her symbolically her freedom as a woman. It is
[583] to her that the first husband pays the price of the virginity of the girl.

/149 cont./

S92 The household. Household life is a limited association, freely
S93 agreed upon by two beings who live totally independent of each other, the emotional life of each remaining almost entirely centered upon his maternal family. It entails reciprocal duties:

--For the man, to build a house for his wife in her village, to construct a new boat for her every three or four years, to cut a clearing for her each year /150/ and help in planting it, to furnish her with imported commodities, cloth, salt, kerosene, tools, which she needs, as well as game and smoke-dried fish;

--For the woman, to farm the clearing and furnish her husband when he comes to visit her with couac and the vegetables
[462] necessary for his food. (The man, used to living as a bachelor, owns his own cooking utensils and most of the time prepares his meals himself.)

This system of intermittent conjugal life seems to assure the Boni a perfect balance at the same time that it permits them
[569] to satisfy their taste for change. The men divide their life among work, visits to their different wives, hunting and fishing expeditions; their life is thus constantly renewed and they are protected against tendencies toward apathy and mental inertia.

In general, as long as the union lasts, the woman fulfills
[241] exactly her obligations; although the yield from the clearing is
[422] her property and the excess of the harvest is sold for her ex-
[434] clusive benefit, the man is assured of getting from her all the
[591] provisions he needs. On the other hand, many men, through laziness, get out of constructing a house for their wives and the latter continue to live with their mothers. In the villages on the French bank about 20 such cases were observed in 1958.

S91/ Several cases are even noted in which a woman, aged but still
S92 having unmarried children, one or two of her daughters and their children are living together in one house. For example, in Asini village, nine persons were living together in the very small house of their mother and grandmother Tini.

/150 cont./

593 Nothing marks better the small place the conjugal bond
342 has in a man's life; imagine the torture which this forced living
461 and crowding together represent for each of these women! The
[198] Boni of today, much richer than their ancestors and better equipped with tools, are singularly lazier in building houses; no longer is anyone seen to sculpture and decorate the façades lovingly; when a man, after many recriminations, decides to build a house for his wife, he is content most of the time now with a simple shelter with plaited walls, which does not require 30 days work.

595 As we have said, each man may take as many wives as he wishes, on condition that he can supply their needs; but in practice the maintenance of a household is so heavy a load that most men have only one or two wives; only one to our knowledge
593 has three. In fact, it is contrary to custom to free oneself by
[461] paying for work which one must do for one's wife. We have
[556] never heard it said that a rich man (many of them have hundreds
[454] of thousands of francs in savings) paid money in place of a piece of work, or paid someone to do it for him. The furnishing of
[439] imported objects is particularly burdensome, especially cloth, kitchen utensils (Boni women are infatuated with aluminum
[511] objects), and occasionally jewels. The Boni conceded in 1958 that the maintenance of a wife amounted to 30 to 40 thousand
[434] francs a year at least. If one considers that a hard-working man
[511] earned about 120,000 francs a year, that he spent 30 to 40
[695] thousand francs a year for himself, that he often had /151/ in addition to provide for the needs of his aged parents and share the expenses of the festivals of the lineage, one sees that he could not have more than two wives at the same time. As for
[434] less hard-working men, who have no more than 40 to 80 thousand
[511] francs a year in ready money, they have a great deal of trouble
[586] in facing the maintenance of a single household, and many divorces have no other cause.

/240 cont./

754 be wisimã. We were able to draw up the list of these from
775 information from diverse sources which agreed very well.
717 In nearly every case persons were concerned who had already been accused, during their lifetime, of being wisimã; and on whom suspicions had been directed either by reason of their solitary life and irascible character or as a consequence of a series of coincidences.

754 In general, they tend to accuse of wisi any individual
828 who systematically isolates himself, shows ill will in the observation of customary law, or shows himself particularly selfish, irascible, or jealous.

754 /241/ They tend also to suspect those who in their youth had
648 abandoned the tribe for years to settle among the Creoles, and those who frequent the Creoles of the region, known as quimboiseurs, or who go too often to Saint Laurent or Paramaribo to consult lukumã (clairvoyant) (1).

1. Consulting a clairvoyant is not contrary to the laws of Odun. Infringement of these laws begins when one claims to act upon other people.

754 Also deemed suspect of wisi is anyone who gets rich too
• 834 quickly or shows an immoderate love of money. A hard-
828 working man who earns his living in broad daylight is never accused of wisi. But the one who engages in trade is suspect. It is thought, for example, that G.... who furnished a shop and earns much money, is a "pledged man." It is said also of F.... a fishing contractor particularly greedy for profit. But neither has been accused openly.

anything made of iron—nor can a gun shoot him, nor an arrow pierce him. If he goes through a thicket of thorns or climbs a thorny palm tree when the spirit comes to him, he is not harmed. That is Kromanti."

"How much does a person pay an obia man for giving a boy Kromanti?" we asked.

"It costs plenty, white man. But a good obia man never asks too much. If a man says he will give the boy Kromanti, for not too many guilders, then we know he will do it. But if a man asks forty, fifty, then we know he is not an honest man, and he is not a good man. I have heard, though, of a good obia man who took as much as twenty-four guilders, but he gave the boy a strong Kromanti spirit, and it took much time to teach him."

3

From time to time members of Bayo's family visited our camp. Each time we were introduced to a new brother, or father, or *swagi*—brother-in-law. Among these visitors was a man whose name we never learned, though we had talked with him a good deal. He was, we later came to know, a man who knew obia. He was a scholar among his people, a thoughtful man who often went about alone, instead of being accompanied by a fellow clan member or a member of his family, as is customary among these people. Like Bayo, he had an incest kunu, and at his age, he had already had occasion to see what kunu planned for him. He coughed badly. When men went to cut timber, he could not go with them because of his cough and the fever which went with the cough.

"Have you been to a good obia man?" we asked him.

He smiled. Of what use to go from one diviner to the next, from one man who had special magic to another, when a man knew that what was troubling him was kunu?

"Come to the city with us," we said, when we knew him better, "and we will take you to a doctor. He may be able to do something for you."

/188 cont./

	Fintiman	Kéfemeni	Aïdli	Doui
[illegible] of tafia	4 = 14,800 fr	1 = 3,700 fr	1 = 3,700 fr	1 = 3,700 fr
Cases of soap (1,000 fr.)	4 = 4,000 fr	3 = 3,000 fr	1 = 1,000 fr	1 = 1,000 fr
[illegible]	1 = 1,000	nothing	nothing	nothing
Some biscuits	2 = 1,800	—	—	—
Sugar, kilograms	10 = 1,000	—	—	—
Sugar cane	2,000	—	—	—
	25,600 fr	6,700 fr	4,700 fr	4,700 fr

965
435
191

/202 cont./

153 --Pupils are taught, individually or collectively, to dance
791 in the manner of the god. Indeed, each divinity has a charac-
789 teristic form of dance, which it executes sometimes by using
796 the bodies of its bearers when it comes into them. The pupil
536 must imitate as best he can the individual movements and the
[868] rhythm of this dance, while the teacher, using the appropriate drum, beats out the calling formulas.

If the god is satisfied with the student, he will be able to come into him.

791 These exercises appear to have as their goal the creation
789 in the pupils of forms of conditioned reflexes; they have nothing
785 in common with the very harsh ordeals which the medicine man
153 of the Guiana Indians imposes upon himself, and do not involve any form of asceticism. It does not seem that chastity, even temporary, is demanded of the student, any more than fasting or doing anything contrary to his inclinations.

789 The idea of a spiritual death and resurrection of the
791 possessed person, with all the ritual it entails: long reclusion of the neophytes, change of name of the one possessed, who is supposed to relearn all the activities of ordinary life, does not appear to have been kept by the Refugee Blacks. In a general
[152] way, the atmosphere of solemn seriousness, /203/ of secrecy, and of fear, which characterize the Dahomey cults of possession is not found among them.

791 These lessons are always paid for and are even very
789 expensive. Payment is made in pieces of cloth, in demijohns
435 of tafia.
[436] Having a Kumfogo amounted in 1958 to at least 25,000 francs. This payment is not only compensation for the teacher; it is the mark of legitimacy. What has not been paid for is not,
[181] for the Refugee Blacks, legitimately acquired. We shall come back to this important point later.

/251 cont./

464 decision of the god and under some pretext or other refused to
776 resume work. In August, 1952, while we were on a work trip
/en mission/, an ɔbiamɛ̃ made it known that an Ampuku was
751 willing to give a tapu, that is, an ɔbia of protection, against
771 this Papa gadu. We were present at a discussion in the course
[465] of which several Boni planned to take up this work again, but
asking for raised wages to cover the expenses of the ɔbia (1).

[171]

1. Situations of this kind are common in the Guianan forest, even among Creoles. For difficult or unusual work, the high wages demanded serve in part to remunerate magicians.

751 These expenses amounted to about 5,000 francs per person, or:
435 --3,000 for the payment of the god, including red cloth,
771 dark-blue cloth, white beads, beer, rum, cowries; the ɔbiamɛ̃
would take them to set them out in the forest.

--1,500 for payment for the work of the ɔbiamɛ̃, including a piece of canvas /toile/, beer, a container /bidon/ of powder, a chicken.

751 The remedy would consist of an infusion of leaves with which one should "wash one's body" morning and evening for the duration of the work.

As for the Creole foreman, he prudently had himself assigned to another job.

751 They have the habit of asking an Ampuku for protection
776 against a Papa gadu and conversely (we have cited an example of this above), but they do not ask a Kumɛ̃ati for protection; the Kumɛ̃ati occupy themselves only with illnesses.

/257 cont./

A few weeks afterward she found herself pregnant, and it seemed obvious to all that this was the doing of a Wata Ingi.

No magic power is attributed to the tone pikin, any more than special mental or physical characteristics. But it is assumed that they are the object of a special protection, and that they cannot be harmed with impunity.

The sacred character of payment. Relations between the gods and men always have the character of a bargain, among the Refugee Blacks: an irritated divinity is never appeased by repentance or good will; it requires that it be paid; likewise, an 3bia is of value only for the person who has paid for it. Refugee Blacks will never utilize ready-made magic recipes: uttering certain words, making certain gestures; face to face with such a recipe they will ask immediately: "From what god does this 3bia come, and whom must one pay?" It seems that in their conception every transference of a spiritual power or a magic force disturbs something in the proper functioning of the universe; payment restores this equilibrium, it is the mark of legitimacy. Some Creoles of African ancestry transpose the same idea with respect to Christianity, and this is /258/ why they insist so much on paying for masses and buying "orisons" (1). One observes likewise that free medical care

1. Written prayer to which is attached protective power. This notion, borrowed from the rustic magic of 17th-century France, seems to have been introduced into Guiana by the first European colonists.

lowers the prestige of the doctor in the eyes of all.

/261 cont./

241 neglecting these rites. Their rigorous observance has the effect of preventing farming from becoming for them a commercial activity and of keeping a religious and family feeling in it.

824 778 784 [776] --The kikiti (silk-cotton tree) is a much feared tree, for according to the elders each one of them shelters 12 categories of divinities, especially a Papa gadu and an Ampuku. So it is absolutely impossible to cut it. One must even be very careful not to injure its roots which spread far. The site of every one felled is preserved. Likewise people watch carefully so as not to injure the roots of the big silk-cotton trees often found in the villages.

824 778 776 361 Still, the fact that their site was chosen for setting up a village shows that people believe they can make an alliance with the divinities which reside in a silk-cotton tree and draw their protection upon themselves.

824 778 789 [776] --The katu tree (Bombax Surinamiensis), tree of very large size, living in symbiosis with a parasitic liana which appears to enclose it in a gigantic net, also shelters maleficent divinities (Ampuku, Papa gadu, Bumba gadu). One may cut it down after performing rites whose purpose is to transfer these divinities into another tree.

First, one must have procured from a man who possesses this remedy a pot of ɔbia containing an infusion of leaves in the middle of which is a bracelet of fibers. /262/ It costs [835] two liters of tafia, four liters of beverage (beer for example), one large piece of cloth, and one machete.

Having arrived at the foot of the tree, one bathes his body and machete with this infusion; one puts the fiber bracelet on one's arm. One also bathes several small sticks provided [822] with squares of white cloth (for the Papa gadu), dark blue and red (for the Ampuku), and a pinot palm (pina tɔgo) leaf.

One plants the sticks at the foot of the tree, one strikes the trunk with the palm leaf while invoking the divinities of

/202 cont./

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789 teristic form of dance, which it executes sometimes by using
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Herskovits & Herskovits 2-6 (1929-1929) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Saramacca

[518] young. Once she, too, had liked to have her calf look round and full.

[431] [516] "Will you exchange this bottle of palm oil for tobacco?" she asked, showing her empty clay pipe.

She came in, saying she would like to rest, and began unfastening her top tunic so that she might make a pad of it on which to sit down on the ground, for the earth spirits [514] forbid women who had reached puberty to sit upon the bare earth. In her second tunic, somewhat fresher than the top one, she stood hesitating, looking about her for a place to sit down, until we brought her a carved stool we had bought the day before. Instead of putting on the top pangi again, she used it to cover her knees.

[576] "*Bak'a mayo,*" she said, "white woman, you ought to cover your knees, too, when you sit."

And sitting there, examining us and our belongings, she muttered her comments about our appearance and dress as she smoked, and muttering she swayed slightly, until the swaying rhythm seemed to bring a melody into her head, and she began to sing.

[533] "*The American Bak'a*
Have come from far,
American kuni
Has brought them
To the Saramacca River,
To the Saramacca people;
They must not sicken
They must not die."

While the men on the shore talked and called upon their gods to keep them free, the woman rocked and sang this invocation for our safety, forgetting for the moment that we were whites, whom the ancestors hated.

"You have so much wealth," she said to the white man, looking about her at our provision boxes, "you must have many wives."

And back again she went to her song, repeating the words over and over, until seeing people approach she rose slowly and went back to the river where her rice was drying.

516 kunu, which must kill his children. Was it safe to mention it? A chance question was asked.

"Nothing will happen to my children, Bal'a. They will belong to my wife's family. It is my sister's children that things will happen to."

[604]

Bayo paused for a moment on the path, and stood in thought. Was it that he wished to be entirely honest with his friend? Was it that to confess the truth was too difficult for him? Whatever the reason, his next remark indicated a compromise.

"Nothing will happen to my children. Those of my younger brother will die, but not mine."

The conversation came back to the less painful subject of betrothal. Whatever the reason for accepting this boy whose kunu brought such supernatural risk, the match had apparently been satisfactory to the family of the girl, and they had sent word that the marriage would not displease them.

584

"Now I am earning the money I need, and later I will make the things I must give my girl and her family."

There was, first of all, the work to be done for Bayo's prospective mother-in-law. He might have to help her with repairs on her house, or assist her in clearing a field. Before he was married he would have to go into the bush and cut the two fields for his wife, one for rice and one for cassava, which a married woman must have, and in addition he would have to cut an extra field for the mother of his wife.

583

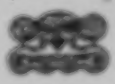
"I must do it so they can be sure that I am strong, and can take care of their girl when I marry her. But I will not have any trouble!"

Before that, however, Bayo would have to see to the carvings which a man had to have for marrying.

"I do not like to carve. But I have friends who will carve for me while I go hunting for them!" That was the way to solve such difficulties. When the carvings were assembled he would have to make a boat for his girl. Bayo was not yet certain, but he thought that another boat would have to be made for his mother-in-law. Then

[439]

301 his much-loved ornamentation. Leg-bands of cotton cloth are frequently worn by both sexes, and where wire can be secured it is fashioned into arm or leg coils and paraded proudly.
731 Many necklaces and bracelets are used because they con-
778 stitute magic amulets against evil spirits. Our own bracelets and necklaces can probably be traced back to this same origin.
302 The hair is another means of personal decoration, and therefore it is always dressed with deliberation. Carefully made partings divide the black skull into geometrical designs.
534 Despite the scanty nature of their clothing, the Djukas are quite modest, and never expose themselves. If a bahkra does, they avert their heads. It is a curious reflection on civilized morality that the almost naked blacks possess a large amount of dignified restraint, while the uncomfortably clothed white man is thameless in his nudity.



322 Here and there inside the dark huts can be seen bits of ex-
531 traordinary wood carving. These are not crude utensils; every stirring-paddle or comb is a work of art worthy of a place in a museum, designed and executed in a way that is
487 far from "primitive." The only way to acquire these objects is to bargain for them in Dutch money or tobacco, or cheap knick-knacks. Among the more distant villages money is use-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

less. Blue beads are very effective in bargaining, for blue is the Djuka's favourite colour. Ear-rings are also good, but not perfume; they prefer the acrid odour of insecticides.

The Djukas bargain shrewdly, and are greedy in exactly the sense that children are. The trading begins in the dark interior of a hut, where a Bush Negro lolls in his hammock.

We say: *"Me wanny buy timdek"*—"I want to buy wooden pieces."

The Negro's common reply is that he has none to part with: *"Me no hebbe, mauwa."* The word *mauwa* is a corruption of "master," a vestige of the slave days.

We point to a pierced and inlaid stool and say *"How many?"* meaning, how much does he want for it.

"Me no wanny fu selly"—"I don't want to sell it."

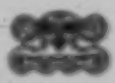
To show him we mean business, a concrete offer is made, *"Me gon gibbe siza banknoto"*—"I'm going to give six banknoto."

The bargaining is in silver half-guilder pieces, called *banknoto*. The Djukas do not understand large sums of money, except when counted in half-guilder pieces.

If he refuses six coins, we offer seven, eight, nine, and throw in the added temptation of some tobacco leaves. To each of these offers he shakes his head in negation, saying doggedly, "No, no."

Finally, in a tone of voice that indicates we are amazed at our own generosity, we say: *"Me gon gibbe tena banknoto, nanga twee weefee tabak"*—"I'm going to give ten banknoto, as well as three leaves of tobacco."

437 The reply is short and spirited.
"*Gimme.*"
Which does not have to be translated.



579 We sleep that night in the Bush Negro village. A dilapi-
609 dated hut is assigned us, the hut of a dead man. There are
136 tarantulas on the cross-poles; we are not particular. The pad-
dlers sleep elsewhere, being taken into friendly huts about the village. Except for the ghosts of the departed Bush Negroes, our hut is quite empty. The hammock is slung and the mosquito netting put in place. Mosquitoes and insect pests are not as bad in the jungle as commonly reported. They seldom caused us any discomfort. It is true that one of the boys contracted malaria during an expedition, but the parasites may have been dormant in his blood for some time previously. Our precaution against malaria was ten grains of quinine sulphate each night before retiring under the mosquito netting.

512 Far into the evening the Negroes will sit around the camp-
[521] fire and tell stories, their loud, musical Negro laughter carrying a long distance on the night air. Walking by each hut we see a tiny light flickering inside. Occasionally an infant cries. We sit before our doorway, amusing a group of chil-

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hardwood trunks must be fastened between soft logs to keep them up.

At times the river drops in sheer falls. There is only one point at which the rafts can go down without jamming on the rocks; but here the men cannot go over with them, for the drop is too great. They steer for this point, keeping the logs in the centre of the current. To go over would mean being crushed to death. Moving at a high rate of speed, the men stay with the raft until the last possible minute, and then jump for some jutting rock. The raft crashes over the falls. Then the paddlers make their way from rock to rock, along the crest of the falls, back to the shore, and go down to recover the logs.

The Djukas sell the lumber that they bring downstream; it takes three days of palaver to reach an agreement on the price. They bargain quite as shrewdly as the lumber trader. Now their pouches of canvas, waterproofed with wild rubber, are heavy with many silver banknote, or half-guilder pieces. Not as many as they expected, perhaps, but enough for their purposes.

They walk curiously about Paramaribo. The streets are crowded with a bizarre rabble, giving this little Dutch town the rare charm of the exotic. A more interesting place would be difficult to find in this modern age. Its wharves are reminders of the coming of the old slaving ships, and its white houses recall the plantations of the past. Town Negroes clatter by, some in wooden shoes brought from the Zuyder Zee countryside to this distant clime. Behind them come

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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barefooted sinuous Javanese in their *sarongs and splendangs* of batik. Some stores in the town are kept by Chinese. Hindus in cloth turbans, and their wives with jewelled rings through their noses, rub elbows with juffrows from Amsterdam. Here and there a copper-coloured Carib Indian adds to the strangeness of the street scene.

The Javanese are brought over in boat-loads, indentured for five years to pay their passage. After this they may return to the tea fields of Java if they like, or remain in Surinam to cultivate a piece of land which is given them. East Indians were formerly brought over in large numbers from India, but the British put a stop to this importation in both British and Dutch Guiana. The Chinese bring themselves. The only race in the colony never transported is the Indian, indigenous to the country. All these races keep the dress and, where possible, the habits of their native land. They do not mingle with each other, and seldom intermarry. The one language common to all is talkee-talkee.

There is one civic privilege accorded the Bush Negro in 477 ●
Paramaribo. He may camp for the night behind the store that he trades with during the day. The Bush Negroes always stop at the hardware store, run by the Moravian Brothers, to buy some bottle-shaped flasks of good *manzanny* (gunpowder). Along with the powder they purchase empty shot- [61]
gun shells, that they themselves will fill. A number of other purchases are made: shot, percussion caps, tobacco, salt, cloth, an iron implement, and perhaps a mirror. When night falls, the Djukas return to the hardware store and camp behind it,

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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637 sleeping in their own hammocks slung under a shed provided for the purpose by the company. The next day they make their way back up the river, in the corial which they brought down with them tied behind the raft. They bring back no money; it is useless.

242 Cassava is very filling; yams are sweet; mareepa oil gives a sense of well-being; peanuts are pleasant while palavering; a few pieces of bahkra candy are toothsome to eat, but still the pot lacks meat. A slice of the white breast of a bush turkey, the *powese*, or a piece of the carcass of a red howler, or a slice of fat meat from the tapir or bush cow, or the second joint of *moon*, the bush hen, or the sweet Djuka substitute for ham, *pingo*, the peccary—these are morsels that black men dream about.

226 After resting a few days, one of the blacks wishes to try
789 out his new gunpowder, and makes preparation for a hunt.
The bahkra powder is too strong for the thin walls of his
[41] cheap shotgun. He dilutes it with charcoal, adding a bit of pemba dotee, the sacred white clay, to help the shot find the game. A bit of dried nekku leaf from the medicine man adds to the straightness of the aim. The gun likewise must be sprinkled with high wine, squirted from the mouth. All

/32 cont./ Like a family of Bush Negroes

439 lands at a plantation with rafts of timber, the man goes on land,
437 but according to old plantation custom, may not go farther than up to the residence of the overseer, who inquires about the species and the prices per foot (the prices vary a great deal depending on quality and thickness). As a rule he is not satisfied with the asking price and bargains until the seller contents himself with 40 cents for timber of 64.

When the sale has been concluded, the overseer permits the timber raft to be brought into the plantation creek, which is then subsequently, after the conclusion of the work in the fields, hauled to shore in the evening with the help of the Negroes of the plantation.

The following morning the timber is inspected and measured, and ordinarily, no matter how good the timber is or how fully it /33/ agrees with the description given by the seller, many faults are found, and the original offer is brought down to 32 or 24 cents a foot.

What must the poor Bush Negro do now? To take the timber back is difficult, a sheer impossibility, for, since he is ordinarily there with his wife and a few children, they are too few in number to haul the large pieces 25 to 40 feet long and 7/7 to 10/10 thumbs wide from the shore into the water again. He is thus entirely dependent upon the good will and the help of the overseer and the field workers of the plantation. To leave it there is equally difficult, for quite possibly, if he returns with some of his fellow tribesmen to help, he is not permitted to haul the timber off. He thus accepts the low offer. But with that the deceptions are not yet at an end. The agreement now being concluded for good, the measuring is done next, and it is truly not an unusual phenomenon that a measure of six feet, which the Bush Negro is told has a length of only five feet, is used for this purpose.

These frauds of a more or less punishable sort, alas, take place all too frequently, and during my five years of plantation life I was an eyewitness to them several times. Is it thus to be wondered at that these people, after having been repeatedly defrauded, should likewise try to do so to the Whites,

/30 cont./

439 When, for instance, the Bush Negro has cut down a
437 tree deep in the forest and discovers that it is almost hollow on
3/3 the inside, then he works it, this defect notwithstanding, into a
186 squared log, taking care to make the visible cavities above and below invisible by hammering wooden pins into it. After that he takes clay and mud and is able to make every trace disappear, a fraud which is thus rarely discovered before a piece is sawed off the log.

Also they practice a great deal of deception by unloading on the buyer as good stuff various qualities of timber of great and little value, but which resemble each other, for instance, by selling a low quality black kabbes (1) for brown hardwood (2),

1. Andira retusa H. B. K.

2. Andira called wawila among the Arawakkem /Arawak/ Indians.

6 two varieties which can be distinguished only by timber experts.

/34/ If they have worked timber that on one side is already somewhat rotten, or is worm-eaten or split, then they know how to place it in such a way in their rafts that the good side lies upward, a deception that can be discovered only when it has been hauled ashore and one becomes aware of it by turning each piece around and inspecting it carefully.

BC If it is possible to steal something from the Whites,
648 they will not fail to do so. They are also guilty of lying and give themselves the names of those who still possess the confidence of the Whites, which they can do with impunity because the similarity of their coloring and facial features makes it extremely difficult for the Whites to recognize them after an absence.

[829] This repeated trickery has accordingly made the Whites declare them to be scoundrels and liars, but the Bush Negroes, although they do not do so openly, say the same of them and
577 regard themselves as much more trustworthy and honest. That they do this with some appearance of justice cannot be denied; after

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/76 cont./

No form of trade (1) is traditionally observed among them.

1. Since 1954, one of them, enriched by boat transport, set up a food business at Kartika, but this is a man more than half "creolized" and one who established himself in the midst of Creoles.

this activity being for them manifestly tied to the idea of the exploitation of others; there is not even any market in the villages. Each person produces, or finds among the people of his own lineage, what food he needs; as for imported objects, the Boni buy them in the course of their trips from the coast traders. That plague of African societies, pseudo-trade or parasitism, is unknown to the Refugee Blacks. Just as one meets among them neither ragamuffins nor beggars, one perceives nothing nasty or low in their social relations.

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[135]

In their collective life there is something aboveboard, clean, which strikes one on first meeting them and which one does not tire of admiring, the further one penetrates into the functioning of their institutions.

/76a

965 head was clearest in the quiet of the early morning. A stillness so pronounced that we could feel it surrounded us at the base camp, for at Gankwe the drums had been replaced in the shrines of the gods for whom they speak, and no more guns saluted the spirit of Zimbi, or warned away the evil dead with the powder which was distasteful to ghosts. Zimbi was buried, the grave diggers had bathed [183] and put on fresh loin cloths, the village had been purified, and all was still.

512 From our shelter, watching the haze lift, we could see that the river had fallen; the tangled grasses at the bank showed fully a hand's breadth of fresh brown that had the day before been under water. With the coming of the sun things began to stir. The lizards appeared, the [231] chickens came to peck at our shoes, looking for crumbs, and boats began to make shadows across the opposite bank, as the Gankwe women in their small corials went to their fields. At the bow would be a little girl, or a yet smaller [148] boy—as young as four perhaps, for the older ones went with the men to learn a man's work—helping to take the boat up the fast water. All this went on quietly, until we espied three boats running down the rapids and pivoting about in the still water toward our landing place. As they • 438 came nearer, we could see that the boats carried no load, and our host, the director of the balata-collecting station, explained that these boats were new and were being taken down river for sale.

"All the large boats come from top-side," he said. "The men take them clear around to the Marowyne River by way of the canals and there carry loads in them to the stations in the interior. The Saramacca men are fine canoe-men. They like them on the Marowyne. . . . You could 439 use a large boat for your trip up river. Maybe the man will sell one."

[142] [304] The man in charge of the little flotilla stood more than six feet tall. His face was intricately cicatrized, and he carried himself with a dignity and reserve that surpassed even the way of the village chiefs.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

tion of falling in love, and the woman is inordinately proud 332
of her pieces of wood since each one betokens the affection 332
of a male. A great part of the love-life among the Djukas 481
is wrapped up in these carved household implements.

These unfortunate natives who are not clever at handling 532
a knife must trade fish or game or some other personal pos- 332
session for sanni produced by a more deft handicraftsman. 565
Almost any Bush Negro can hunt, fish, and care for a wife, but a man's value is enhanced in the eyes of the woman when he can carve artistically. The women appreciate him and the men respect him. Wood carving, therefore, is assiduously cultivated by the Bush Negroes from early childhood.

As sanni is a prized commodity everywhere, exchangeable 532
for female favours, a great deal of time is spent on each 322
individual piece. A single comb may take weeks to carve. The women are very good judges of sanni, and can tell a good piece at a glance. With such a critical audience, the Djuka artist is careful of his skill, and few awkward or ill-formed designs are seen. Boys between the ages of eight and ten years may be proficient carvers, and critical elders preside over their work, ready to point out any minute mistake. The father or uncle who is expert with the knife will train his son or nephew in the same tradition, so that certain families are known for their beautiful work.

This erotic significance of the wood carvings makes them difficult to obtain. The woman who sells one is not parting 932
with a domestic utensil so much as with a treasured memento. Sentimental attachments are bound to appear. As

sand. A few chisels and carpenter's tools can occasionally 322
be found. Where compasses or dividers cannot be obtained, a nail and piece of string are often used to execute the involved serpentine patterns.

Bush Negro sanni is not used for trading purposes. A 438
few pieces find their way down to the coast, of course, but 322
they are never articles of commerce among the Djukas. In some villages, and particularly among the Paramacca tribe, it is practically impossible to obtain many carvings. But the willingness to part with these objects naturally varies with the village and the individual. Being known to the natives greatly facilitates trade.

One outstanding feature of this work is the complete 322
absence of colour. The finished piece shows the natural hue 532
of the wood, and rarely anything more. An occasional variation is obtained by inlaying with racuda wood, brownheart, or purpleheart, but tints and dyes are seldom applied. A different shade is also obtained once in a while by branding or burning the wood with a hot iron. The Aucaners, who paint red and black devices on their large canoe paddles, represent exceptions to the general rule of showing only the natural wood shades.

Nearly all the pieces are utilitarian in origin and purpose, 412
but some of them are so highly carved as to be of little [431
practical use. These are much prized as gift pieces. The 415]
trays are actually used to carry food on, and also for winnowing rice. The stirring paddles dip into the food pot every evening. After being used they are washed with river water and [264]
hang up on a peg.

/292 cont./

754 556 441 438 366 In that can doubtless be seen the most likely explanation of the absence, in the tribes of Refugee Blacks, of any internal trade. There are not even markets in the villages. In practice only Creole and Asian traders are patronized.

463 829 [438] The repugnance which the Refugee Blacks have for trading with one another contributes toward preventing the development of specialized professions among them. Specialization does actually exist: one man is particularly good at building boats, another is a competent carpenter, still another devotes himself mainly to fishing; but the Refugee Blacks exercise these specialties with respect to other peoples and not with respect to one another. Nobody fails to build his own boat, his house, to cut his clearings himself. If it were otherwise, classes and castes would rapidly be created, and that is precisely what the moral law of the Refugee Blacks condemns. A special effect of this conception is to preserve family custom from deteriorating, by preventing the rich from becoming great polygamists maintaining idle mistresses. We have never heard it said that a richer man paid someone to perform for him the customary work he owes to his wives, clearings, house, boat. Whatever his wealth may be, he continues to do these jobs by the sweat of his brow, and that contributes toward maintaining in its meaning and value the tacit contract concluded between husband and wife.

463 829 593 182 461

182 157 433 648 Thus the geographic conditions, associated with influences of a social and psychological order, impose on the Refugee Blacks a unique economy, based on a symbiosis with the coast populations in the form of piece-work or temporary wage-earning.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

implied), and he repeated the word over and over, until this led us to talk about singing, and at last we had them consent to dance susa for us. It had to be done very quietly, in the slight clearing in back of the shelter. Susa is an African dance. It is danced by men only, in pairs, and is something of a game. The one who wins "kills" his opponent. The earth spirits are said especially to like it, and it is danced in the fields or in the villages for them. 123 609 535

There they stood, Yamati and Sabape, facing each other, their enlarged navels almost touching. One agreed to be "in," and one "out," and as they began, their jaws came forward in a patterned, pugnacious way, and their arms moved to reproduce in pantomime shield and spear, while the feet crossed and recrossed. 535 524

Kesi-kesi g'a S'sa
Zond'o linga
Linga-li

[533]

The monkeys
Go to dance susa
Without rings.

Huh, huh, huh!

They sang the song over and over again, panting at the end of each verse to dramatize combat.

"I killed him," said Yamati. He had won, and they began again. If the one who had agreed to be "in" had his foot on the outside as they clashed, then he lost—he was killed.

4

As they were dancing, we noticed a young man we had never seen before. He was standing watching the youngsters at their play, smiling as though he enjoyed their contest. He was very dark, even for a Bush Negro, short and stocky, with unusual muscular development of arm and chest and thigh. His age, one would judge, was nineteen or twenty. He turned his smile on us when he realized we were noticing him. 439

REBEL DESTINY

439 "I heard that you are buying things we make, as you did last year in my village. I have come with balata from my uncle, and I brought a stool to sell. Would you like to see it?"

And so Bayo brought us his stool. It was not well carved. Indeed, compared with even the least skilled carvings on benches and combs and trays and food-stirring paddles, the workmanship was crude. But one does not refuse a proffered article bruskly, and we sat down to talk with him about it.

531 322 It was Bayo who gave us our first insight into the meaning of Bush Negro designs, gave us our first information about this, as about so many other customs and practices. What is carved on the wood which the men work with such care has significance, and carries meaningful symbols which the Bush Negro is unwilling to reveal. That there might be symbolism in the art we had before suspected, but usually, when we asked, we heard the skillful evasions of which the Bush Negro is master. He did not know. Only the carver himself could say, but the carver was away or long dead. Or we would hear that it was carving, that it was carved to beautify it, that it was of an in-and-out design. Or, with carefully pointing finger that indicated the ornamentation, the Bush Negro would say, "This is wood."

531 So we talked to Bayo about his stool, expecting to hear one of the usual replies. But this time and without any urging we heard what we had so long wondered about. "Look," he said, tracing out the lines of the interwoven pattern, "this is a man, this a woman. This is her head, those her breasts, this her womb. Here are his head, his arms, his legs. We call this *womi-ko-mayr*—man-and-woman. Here are the children which they will make," and his hands traced another series of designs on the top of the stool.

439 989 We bought his stool, and he stayed and talked of many things. Did we want to buy an *obia*—a charm? One day he would like to become an obia man. Already he could make obias which protect the wearer when he walks on the water.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

WHILE THE RIVER WAS HIGH

Had we provided ourselves with the necessary obias with which to travel to the country of the Granman? He had never been so far up the river. He would like to go there. Ai-yo! He would like to go and see Dahomey, the sacred city, and look at the Tapa Wata falls, and visit the Granman's village. Did we have all our paddlers? He was strong, and he liked to make a boat walk up the rapids. He could get his father to come with him as steersman. His father had strong obias and knew the river. We could not go until the river went down, but he would stay with us here and wait, and if we wished it he would go back upstream to his village and get his father and food, and be ready for us in time. He needed the money the Bakra would pay, too, for he wanted to be married soon, and he would have to buy many things for his woman and her mother. 439 789 484

When he left us, he went to one of the little enclosed houses that were there for travelers, choosing the one closest to us, and built a small fire. His younger brother and the white dog that came in his boat sat with him. The dog wore a cord about his neck, covered with red ochre, to keep him safe in the bush. That night as we ate we could see Bayo, his brother, and the dog squatting close to the fire and eating, too. And all the next day, and for several days to come, as we waited, Bayo was with us, talking, laughing, explaining, and making and buying obias for us to carry us safely on our journey to the Granman. [231]

5

In the afternoon one of the political chiefs of the neighboring Christian village came to hear our phonograph. But when we asked him to sing into it, he said, "Ask me later. Now I am alone. We Saramacca people never do anything when we are alone." We had the year before acquired a powerful obia against slander and bearing false witness against us, and found the occasion useful for corroborating the invocation we had been given. The man, however, spoke with the greatest reluctance and looked 609 123

765 head was clearest in the quiet of the early morning. A stillness so pronounced that we could feel it surrounded us at the base camp, for at Gankwe the drums had been replaced in the shrines of the gods for whom they speak, and no more guns saluted the spirit of Zimbi, or warned away the evil dead with the powder which was distasteful to ghosts. Zimbi was buried, the grave diggers had bathed [783] and put on fresh loin cloths, the village had been purified, and all was still.

512 From our shelter, watching the haze lift, we could see that the river had fallen; the tangled grasses at the bank showed fully a hand's breadth of fresh brown that had the day before been under water. With the coming of the sun things began to stir. The lizards appeared, the [231] chickens came to peck at our shoes, looking for crumbs, and boats began to make shadows across the opposite bank, as the Gankwe women in their small corials went to their fields. At the bow would be a little girl, or a yet smaller [868] boy—as young as four perhaps, for the older ones went with the men to learn a man's work—helping to take the boat up the fast water. All this went on quietly, until we espied three boats running down the rapids and pivoting about in the still water toward our landing place. As they 438 came nearer, we could see that the boats carried no load, and our host, the director of the balata-collecting station, explained that these boats were new and were being taken down river for sale.

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Seeing him, our host gave an exclamation of pleasure. "But this is Ajako, the husband of Granman Yankuso's daughter!" 439

"*Kuma, Bakra. Kuma, Bakra muye*—Good morning, white man, good morning, white woman," he said, and our answer was, "*Ajako, kuma*—Ajako, good morning." 576

Had we awakened, no? This, in the Saramacca idiom, was how one asked if we were well, if we were alive, since the euphemism for death is sleep. We answered him in their patterned phrase.

"*Hafu so*," we said, using their equivalent for fairly well, only half so.

Ajako laughed. The white man had learned. "Are you no better? I hear the gods like you well," he replied.

And so the conversation went on, each giving account of himself.

Finally Ajako said, "Granman Yankuso waits for you, Bakra. He sends you his greetings, and says he will welcome you in Asindopo Lantiwe, his village. You have the freedom of the river. The village chiefs know of your coming. They will receive you. The river is not too high now, for top-side the rains are at an end. Here on the lower river, too, rocks that today are under water will appear tomorrow or the next day. The water is not too high now. The Granman sends word to you that you can start." 648

But what of him? Would he not come with us as our chief paddler, to show us the way through the many channels? But he smiled and said he was going to the Marowyne. He could not turn back, he told us, for he had the boats to sell, and money to earn there, while his wife was nursing her infant. When the child was seventeen, eighteen months old, then he would be back with his wife again, cutting new fields for her, and making children. While the infant was at the breast, he would be away working. 221 854

There was more talk, leading gently—*safri*, softly, as the Bush Negro himself says—to the subject of certain unfriendly villages. There were two of them up the river that 648

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

had not acted well toward the Granman. It would be best if we did not stop there. At the others the Granman could assure us hospitality. Then there was talk of hauling wood and making rafts, for our host, who knew these people well, moved safri, too, until he at last felt the moment had come to talk about buying a boat from Ajako.

When the arrangements of the sale were concluded, Ajako came back to talk with us. He had heard that we had a machine which the Kromanti spirit had broken, was it true? Did it really go again? They said the Bakra had much cunning. They said the Bakra knew African magic.

The Bakra said he knew something about Africa. The Ashanti people, for instance, were a fine people.

"*Ma na Asante, na Sa'macca sem-* . . . —But the Ashanti are Saramacca. . . . " But he would go no further, having spoken only one syllable of the word for people. He became guarded. Yes, there were some Anago people from Africa on this Saramacca River, and Dahomey, and Loango, and Fanti; the Ibo peoples were not on this river. . . . And again he would say no more. Later, when we had changed the subject, he said as if in both gratitude and explanation, "*Na sa-i-'akisi, a tranga poi*—You ask about strong things."

But he would sing into our machine, if we liked. He would sing Kromanti, if we wanted him to do so. "I won't fight your machine," he said, smiling.

"*Anabobi, Anabobi,*
Anabobi, Anabobyo,
Tata Ando.
Anabobi, Ando,
Anabobi,
Tata Adjaini,
Anabobyo
Tata Fa'aku."

"They will understand this in Africa," he said, gravely, and then he moved toward the doorway and stood there

KUNU

We sat one night talking about the neku vine, which is 378 used to poison the streams for fishing, and the ceremonies 226 attending the discovery of a new one, how the ownership of it is passed on in the female line, and about the songs which are sung to celebrate the finding, and the feast which is given at this time.

"Do you use this poison only to catch fish, or does it have other uses?" we asked guardedly.

"Well, sometimes people use it to commit suicide," one man said. "That is bad. Sometimes a man or a woman will [762] do it to put a kunu on another's family." He went on to tell of a man who lately did this. He had been promised the daughter of a family in this very village when the girl was a small, small child. It happened that the girl's uncles found gold in one of the streams, for which the white man gave them much goods, and now they were big men. Since the girl's children would inherit much wealth, they wanted her to be the principal wife of a man of rank. There were messages back and forth, and council meetings, but the uncles insisted that the girl return the gifts she had received —insisted against the advice of many people. So this *kio*, this young lad, could get his revenge in no other way than [627] by taking his own life, and sending a kunu to the family. 776 "The next time you come you will probably see the kunu 754 at work. It is always so. Of what use is wealth when the children begin to die? One year the crops are bad, and you have to buy food. One year you go from one obia man to the next to find out why your sister cannot make children. Your money goes. Kunu is a bad thing."

Another day a woman came to us with a comb to sell. 439 ● She had heard that we were gathering pieces to put into a large house where carvings from Africa were being shown, and she wanted us to have this comb of hers which was [584] made as a betrothal gift by her husband who was now many years dead. It was an old comb with several broken tines and holes bored into it by insects, but the decorated end was still very beautiful, and we were eager to buy it. When we 439 asked her to explain to us the meaning of the design, she 532

said, "It is not a woman and a snake, as you might imagine from this," and she indicated one or two lines of the design. "We do not carve the snake in my family. We have a *tchina*—a taboo—against carving snakes, for snakes are our kunu. . . . Years ago my brother went to the French shore and worked for a white man. The white man asked him to kill a snake, and he was afraid, but the white man laughed at him, and because he had a weak ak'a, because his soul was not strong, he killed the snake. If he had told us about it and had sent a piece of the snake, we would have held a burial, as would have been right. But he did not do as he should have done, and so now the snake is not a good spirit for us. We must give it offerings, and dance kunu. It is bad to have a weak soul. My brother did a bad thing, and now I and all my children, and my daughters' children, and their daughters' children on and on will have this kunu."

Farther up the river, in the deep interior, we stopped at the village of Opoku. As we walked to the house of the village head to give him our greetings, we noticed an unusually large house. It was a *liba-wosu*, a house with an upper story, more substantially built than any we passed, and ornamented with elaborate carvings, as were all personal houses of the men. The owner of it, we heard, had been dead eight months. Four more would need to go by before it could be entered. It had been owned by a powerful man, and his belongings were many. We could see some of them through the openings between the slats which formed its walls—an apinti drum, magnificently carved, tall earthen demijohns of rum, boxes, the edge of a metal canister and a lamp. Inside there were guns, and machetes, and native carved paddles, and implements.

Our men joked about the contents of the demijohns as they passed, speculating on the strength of the rum when the containers were opened, and when we asked about the house later—whether, for instance, we could not buy the drum, we were told that the twelve-month interval between a man's dying and the dividing of his property was not yet passed. When the time came, his brothers and sisters

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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Saramacca

THE COUNCIL OF THE ELDERS

"*We go asei,*" we would be told when the question arose how far we would travel on any given day, or when we urged a reluctant man to sell a ceremonial bench with which he was loath to part. When the answer came back, it came as a unanimous decision of those most concerned. The members of his family had talked over their need for money and weighed that against his personal love for the object he had carved, and most often the decision was against his disposing of it. He cared for it, that meant it pleased his ak'a, his soul, and of what worth was money when it was a question of displeasing his soul, which might begin to trouble him? 623 439

"Bak'a, if we cut off our heads and sell them, then if we buy hats, where will we put them?"

So it was in krutu. The lanti, the people, discussed what the bassia had said, as they went apart in small groups. From time to time, a bassia would be called to join one group and then another. What did the chief have in mind when he said this, or that? What did the old men think the consequence would be of the action under discussion? Was it desirable for the village to take a slight, and do nothing at this time? Was it necessary to arrange a compromise, instead of taking the matter into their own hands and beating the members of the offending clan? 623

After this discussion, each group came back to the assembly united in its stand. If all the groups were agreed, the matter was ended, and the wisdom of the chief and his councilors prevailed. If all disagreed, then it would have been temerity indeed for a chief to attempt to impose his will against the massed dissent. But if there was a lack of agreement, then the long debates would commence. Man after man would summon all his oratory to the argument, and for hours the various factions would speak. In the end, the will of the group would be swayed one way or the other, and a decision reached. 623 622

But this was only the procedure in the lowest assembly—that of the village. As men grew older and their sons and 623 614

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

and so close that our hands, moving about to find a rest, touched its top, and sounded an involuntary rhythm, was an apinti drum. We exclaimed at its beauty, for in form and carving it rivaled the one we had admired in the council house of Granman Yankuso, and we were determined to try to buy it. But we turned our conversation to other things. A stranger in this bush soon learns from the Bush Negroes to broach an important request gently, remembering the cautioning proverb spoken by the chameleon.

We talked of carving, of the white man's coming back some year when the rains were heavy to sit by and watch the men make paddles and benches, so that he might learn, as children learn.

The captain was politely skeptical. It took a Saramacca hand to do this work. But he smiled, "Ma kye, if you have the gods anything is possible."

"That's a fine paddle in the corner."

He brought it out, and we admired it. Would he sell it to us?

"You must ask its owner."

"Didn't you make it, captain?"

"Yes, but it is not mine to sell. I gave it to my wife." He would see, however, if she wanted to sell it. He would himself go and call her.

As he went, he gave us the paddle that we might examine it. We ran our hands over the smooth top, the design, the beveled blade. It was not so tall as the paddles used by the men, nor was its blade so broad as those used in steering the great boats through the rapids. In form, it was quite different from the round-bladed type used by the Indians of the region, for it was slender and came to a sharp point, and at the other end the carving formed a crutch-shaped hold into which the hand fitted.

We studied this carving. Parts of the design had meaning for us because of their realistic treatment. The motifs of others were recognizable to us from explanations we had been given of other carvings. But there were still details

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know you see them. They told you much on the upper river." 532

As he finished speaking, the captain returned with his wife. Excited comments greeted him. 532 123

"The white man here knows *tembe*—carving."

"He knows lizard's teeth design."

"He knew that this was the aboma snake, and the makaka."

The old man was skeptical. "*A so?* Was it true?" Let the Bakra show him.

We repeated the lesson we had just learned to the captain and his wife who owned the paddle. They listened thoughtfully. Then the woman spoke.

"White man, I have used this paddle for many years. I do not like to sell it. But you care for it. You are a man who knows carving. In your country you tell me other men know carving. They will look at it, and see it is beautiful, and they will know it is from the Saramacca. Take it, and pay me what you like." [439]

There were other carvings which we bought—a large rice-carrying tray, and some food stirrers, one of which was especially fine, made as it was of two small paddles with miniature blades, the handles joined by a wooden ring-chain, and all of this carved out of one piece of wood. 532 439

3

Few things on the river seemed to the outsiders more characteristic of the life of the Saramacca people than these carvings which were met with everywhere, however small the village, however poor the home. When the seasonal rains came, men incised their desires on wood, which later told the legend of procreation, or safety on the river, or a curse invoked against a woman if she proved unfaithful; or something of humor, such as a man bidding for a girl's favor, and she refusing him, while up above intertwined were a man and woman, symbolizing the ultimate consummation with the proper suitor. 532

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society, the "Congo" sticks, as they were called here, or the "fighting" sticks. 532

The carvings, however, which we were admiring in the house of the captain of Ma'lobbi were for secular use. The Bush Negro craftsman brought to the ornamenting of his paddles and his canoe seats, to his house posts, and particularly to the door of his treasure house, to his women's combs, and trays, and food stirrers, and clothes beaters all the traditional skill and patience. But the exceptional carver brought also the cunning in his fingers which his gods had given to him and only to few others on the river. Such a man was the captain of Ma'lobbi. Into the traditional designs such a man wove lines for the love of seeing them grow under his hand, for there were always single motifs which the people versed in the symbolism of the art would describe as "beautiful," as having no meaning. Yet with few exceptions the massing of outlines in a unified design bore on fertility. Men and women alone or together, and male and female animals were represented in all but occasional pieces. [501]

The Bush Negro artist was a man of consequence on the river. His companions admired his skill, and the young women were proud to have his handiwork. If he showed his gifts early, he was at an advantage in courting a girl of an influential family. The girl's mother, who shared in the gifts of her daughter's suitor, might be willing to overlook other less advantageous traits in the man or in his family, while the girl's uncles would not be loath to have such a man in their family to teach his art to his sons, who would be their successors. 532 554 584

On several occasions we were permitted to see how very deeply this appreciation of fine carving went. As in the instance of the paddle we had acquired from the wife of the captain of Ma'lobbi, it had happened often that the consent of the woman to sell a given piece was necessary before any trading could take place. Sometimes we traded directly with the woman, sometimes she asked her husband, or her brother, or her son, as the more worldly 432 562 439

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432 person, to act for her. But always hers was the final word,
562 and often that word when the time came for us to carry
439 away the piece was "No."

"It was made for me by my husband when I was a young girl. Now he sleeps, he is no more. I want to have it," was a statement which ended all bargaining.

Sometimes even after we had paid the woman, and stored the piece away, she returned with the moist coins in her hand, asking for the carved implement.

"Before some man from here will go to the city to buy me a pangi, I may lose the money, or he may lose it on the way. But if the clothes beater is here, I can use it and look at it. I want to keep it."

413 One vivid incident of bargaining concerned a peanut
532 pounding board which had belonged to the sister of Bassia
439 Anaisi. We were sitting and talking with him and his grandmother, when our eyes rested on his sister's house. From a projection hung a strikingly beautiful piece of carving. The rectangular portion of the board on which the peanuts were crushed was bordered on top and bottom with filigreed carving. It was made of brown-heart wood with inlays of purple-heart. Bassia Anaisi's sister supplemented our guesses of what the designs meant. The top represented a woman's head and headdress. The small brass nails, which made a glistening line in the center of the upper curve, were the cicatrizations on the woman's face.

"Look," said the woman, "she is a woman, but a woman hawk. Here is her neck, and the small cut-out circles here are her breasts, those curves at both ends are the wings. The very small nails are the cicatrizations on the thighs. She is a woman, and she has made herself beautiful. This large rounded portion is her belly, and the smaller one underneath is the *gonu mofo*—the gun's mouth," the last being their image for the vagina. Meeting this from the bottom curving upwards was a half-circle, which represented the male member. At the other end was more embellishment. In the center was a double curve to symbolize the first phase of the moon. Below were two "*Ingi Kodyo*,"

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Indian cudgels, a figure of speech for the buttocks, in this 413
instance those of the woman, and again the male representa- 532
tion. This was edged with a border of deep curves which 439
the woman said was mere ornamentation—scrolls. On another pounding board, however, of this village, a similar border was said to represent the boa constrictor. This board stood on two legs, each the width of the board and about two inches high, and worked in the same cut-through scroll design.

When we suggested that we might care to acquire the 532
board, the woman became apprehensive. She took up the 432
board, and excusing herself, disappeared with it inside her 439
hut.

"No, no," she called from the house, when her brother went to tell her of the offer we had made for it. "I don't want money for it. I like it. I will not sell it."

The sum we offered was modest enough, but not inconsiderable for this deep interior. We increased it, then doubled our original offer. There was still no wavering on the woman's part, but the offer began to interest her family. Such wealth should not be refused. Bassia Anaisi began to urge her in our behalf.

"With this money you can buy from the white man's city a hammock, and several fine cloths. You should not refuse this."

The old woman took up the discussion, then another sister, and a brother. At last the bassia took us aside, and asked us to leave his sister alone with them.

"We will have a krutu, and tomorrow you will hear. She is foolish not to sell. But she cares for the board. It is good, too, when a woman loves what her man has carved for her. We will krutu about it, and you shall hear."

Three days passed before the woman's permission was given to dispose of the piece.

"When they see this, your people will know our men can carve!" she exclaimed in a voice which held as much regret as pride.

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magic on their owners. And there was the Gankwe woman who brought us a paddle representing the bird she called the *apassa*. 532

"We Gankwe people do not eat the apassa," she had whispered to us when we bought the paddle. [262]

5

In the house of the captain of Ma'lobbi we sat and talked of the carvings of the Saramacca people, and as we talked, they brought us some of the things the men of the village had carved.

"Do all men carve?" we asked the chief.

"Not everyone has the spirit. But every young man tries. If a man is good at hunting, or on the river, then perhaps he can get the things he needs to give his wife from others for what he can give the carver. But it is better that he do these things for his wife himself. The women like it better." 463

Not everyone could make a boat, he said, nor was everyone able to carve the *pau pau dindu*, the intricate "wood within wood" motifs that made a strip go like a twisted snake in and out, in and out, through a design. And not everyone could make a drum. Like that apinti he had there. 463 532

It was the opening for which we had been waiting. 532

We had been admiring this drum since we had come into his house, we said. We remembered it from the first time on our way up river. It was as fine as any we had seen. Had he made it himself? 584 432 439

He smiled his appreciation.

"It is a fine apinti, ai," agreed several of the men sitting about.

An apinti was one of the things we wanted to take to show the white man. This one, especially, we would like to buy. Would he sell it?

He looked at us for a moment, and then gently shook his head. "To make an apinti is not a small thing. Not everyone can make an apinti. I have worked on it for a long time, and it is not yet finished. This drum I will not sell."

REBEL DESTINY

We redoubled our urging.

"White man, do you know what it is to make an spinti—an obia drum?"

A man had to have the proper spirit before he might address the god of the tree from which the drum was to be made. When he had felled the tree, he cut off from the trunk the part he wanted to use and took it to his village. Over it he had to pour the blood of a cock which he sacrificed that the gods might come when the drum called them. The maker had also to provide sweet rum and cassava and eggs. The cassava was eaten by the people, but the eggs were for the spirit of the drum, and only half the sweet rum was drunk—the rest was poured over the wood. When the body of the new drum had been fashioned, the people gathered and sang, but they did not dance, for the head yet remained to be made. A pingo, or a deer, might furnish the skin, but these animals were shot where they had been tracked in the bush, and not offered to the drum. Only chickens were given it. And when the drum was complete, then the maker sang his song alone.

"But the drum is not finished yet. It can be played on, for it has a head, and its spirit has been satisfied. But the carving is not yet done. I have worked on it a long time," he repeated. "I want them to play it for my spirit when I am dead."

A silence fell as he finished. There was nothing more to be said.

"White man, we have sat together in pleasure. You have come to the true, true Saramacca from far away. You have bought the carvings of my people. The spinti drum I cannot sell you. But this stool you like I want you to have."

He took up one of the round-topped benches, with carefully worked sides, and four purple-heart inlays on top, each in the shape of a fowl.

"Take it with you to your white man's country. When you show it, write on a paper that the captain of Ma'lobbi made it."

115 "So we see from the Kromanti obia on your arm." Was
776 she, a woman, possessed of the war-like Kromanti spirit?
789 we asked her.

"It is as you see. I am a woman, and I have Kromanti—and it's strong Kromanti."

"We had not heard of women your age getting Kromanti."

"Ai, there are not many, but when my spirit comes, I dance heavy. I dance like the men."

We must have appeared unconvinced, for she became more emphatic.

"What they do in other villages, white man, I do not know. But I have Kromanti, and when the drums speak here at Djamungo I, too, come."

She rose and went into the inner chamber of the house, where the hammocks were hung, and brought out several objects wrapped in old cloth.

432 "Bayo said I should have obias for you when you came.
439 He said you would pay well for obias. I have these for
789 you."

The trading commenced. There were two small images—"*gadus*" they were called, both crudely carved. One was called Winti Nyamusi. It was a spirit which gave children to women.

781 "When I come to ask for children, then I take sweet
842 rum in my mouth, and I spray the gadu, then I say, '*Naymusi, da wa' buno mi'i*—O Spirit Naymusi! Give me a fine child.' Then the child will come."

What was the other image, the larger one, with anteater's bristles inserted at sides and top?

"That is a Kromanti obia. It is the Opete spirit, the buzzard. When you take it with you, you must speak to it so.
789 You must say, 'Obia-o, I am carrying you away with me.
789 You must look after me, you must see that my life is spared, O great spirit.' Then you must spray it with rum, but not the sweet rum, not for Kromanti."

789 There were other obias she had for us, some to be worn about the neck, and others to be worn below the knee.

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756 and how to cure fever, and fio-fio. He is shown how to make
791 obia medicine for lesions of the skin, and for colds, and for
868 diseases of children. He is taught the protective obias for
881 the woman who conceives, and those which help conception, the obias which keep people safe on the river, and those which guard them in the bush against enemy spirits.

It may be, too, that during this first period of training, the initiate is shown how to trap and treat the snakes from which the snake "cuttee" is made. This cure for snake bite is famous in Suriname among Bush Negroes and whites alike, but the secret of preparing the cuttee is known to the Bush Negroes alone.

While the young man is in training, he may not go with
[784] a woman, and there are many more prohibitions which he must observe.

"Not all men can become obia men."

"Does a man need obia in order to have Kromanti?" we asked.

"To have Obia Kromanti, yes. . . . Now do not ask about Kromanti, white man," said Bayo's uncle with a smile. "Only a Kromanti man knows about Kromanti. Do not ask, because I cannot tell you."

5

789 Men and women constantly drifted to our base camp with
439 carvings for our collection. Many brought us obias. Some
778 of these obias they took from their persons and sold to us, but others were newly made for us, for some of those they themselves wore, they would not part with, whatever the inducement.

"Why do you want my obia, white man?" a Bush Negro asked one day. "Do you want an obia to carry you well to your country? I will make one for you, but do not ask for mine. Mine has kept me in good health. I cannot give away an obia which has served me well. The spirits would be angered."

He returned after a day with one which resembled his own, and as he gave it, he placed it on the upturned palms

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of the white man and blew on it, drawing both his hands lightly over the hands which held the obia. When he had done this, he whispered its tchina.

"Do not let the obia come near a menstruating woman, and do not eat the meat of the crab."

Types of obias varied. Some were of fiber twisted into a cord and woven into bands to fit an arm or a leg, some were worn around the neck, and ended with a few cowries and a bell or a black sack with cowries sewn on them or some bristles and a brilliant bit of a parrot's feather. There were also the plain bands of iron, the Kromanti obias worn by men.

One of the most interesting obias was the coffin obia. It was not to be worn casually, as were all the others we had heretofore acquired. When our cook saw this one he paled.

"Mi Gado," he cried, and then turned to the English at his command to give us a warning which would not be understood by those who stood near. "What you got there? Put that away! You wan' fo' die?" Nor would he come near it until it was well out of sight.

It was, we saw, best hidden, if we wanted to continue our course up the river.

The man who had sold it had himself impressed us with its potency. "This obia is strong. . . . Look, it is made of cedar, the same wood from which we make the big coffins, and it is wrapped in the cloth we use to cover the coffin in which the dead man lies. Now that you have the power which is in the obia, I can tell you that the black on it is the soot from the fire, the white is pemba, and the inside ring is woven from the maripa palm. It will carry you well on the river. Nothing can harm you when you already carry your coffin with you."

The logic of his last remark was not so convincing to the whites as it was to the obia man, but it seemed unwise to question him about it.

"To keep it strong, you must spray it with rum twice a month. When the moon is full you must do it, and again

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789 before the new moon comes, and when you do this, you
798 must say,
439

"*Obia-o,*
Your spirit must stay,
[539] *Your power must not leave this.*
Do not go elsewhere,
Do not become defiled."

789 There was the obia on which Bayo had lavished all the
798 magic he could command so that his friends might be safe in the bush. From the sacred grass known as *s'a*—the same grass from which the woven ceremonial dancing skirts are made here on the river—he made several long lengths of twine. These he wove into a square which later became the pendant of this neck obia. On this, as a base, he sewed two cowries facing each other, and in the middle of the fringed border of this pendant he fastened a bit of a macaw's feather, blue and orange in color.

The twisted cord about the neck had several knots in it where the cord met the pendant. Tying is the symbol of attaching, of binding, so that if an invocation was uttered in the making of these knots, and the twine was then drawn taut, the power was certain to be lodged inside the knots. Then, too, knots form links, and links, whether they be in a metal chain or in fiber or wood, symbolize union, and any object or ornament with links is, therefore, much valued in bush and in town. A linked chain is a favorite
[705] gift to please the akra, the soul, among the coastal Negroes. A woman who wishes to attach her man to her will rise at
[832] night noiselessly and will knot a hair from the man's head three times, speaking her invocation. In the bush few obias are found which do not have several knots in them.

In his exuberance Bayo placed so many prohibitions on this finely woven obia, that we asked him if he could not nullify some of them.

"For very strong obias, we have many tchina. It is best
789 so, because no one who wants to harm you will guess all of them and so succeed in robbing the obia of its power.

789 the space where the snake was modeled, but never touching
798 it.
532 The man who was explaining the bench to us pointed once more to the snake. "It is not always lifeless as you see it here," he said.

When the snake came to life, trouble was brewing. It turned red, the color of blood, and all who came into the Kromanti house and saw it were warned of danger.

"How does the snake know when to come to life?"

[894] "It is Agbo, the guard, who tells the snake. When she tells him there is trouble, he turns red, and then we know."

Immunity as well as knowledge was afforded by the magical powers of this stool and its snake and the Kromanti Mama.

"A man who has Kromanti sits down on the stool, and puts Agbo on his head, and when he has done that, nothing can harm him."

[989] Thus is safety attained. But this only comes if the image has been propitiated by the Kromanti men. Rum, not of the sweet kind, must be offered it and prayers transmitted to its spirit on the drum which Kromanti recognizes—the apinti. If this is done, the Kromanti Mama will not lose its power, and the snake will continue to turn the warning color when danger threatens, and the bench will give protection to the men who have the Kromanti obia.

4

796 Not long after we had entered the bush we saw our first Kromanti dance. The people of several neighboring villages came to our base camp to dance for us. They asked, "Will you be afraid if the dancing brings Kromanti?" We told them we should welcome whatever spirits came.

Late that afternoon canoes brought people to our encampment for the festivities. Some, with an eye to trade, [939] had brought carvings and obias, and, as we sat and talked with them about what should be given for the pieces they offered us, we could watch the dance outside our open hut.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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INTRODUCTION

I FIRST met the Djukas in St. Laurent, which is the prison 114
port of French Guiana, and the centre of the penitentiary system which is popularly known as the Devil's Island Penal Colony.

The Djukas come in to St. Laurent from the jungle. They come to trade jungle rubber and timber for bright beads and gunpowder and fish-hooks and the brilliant lengths of calico [139] which they use as loin-cloths. When they have made their purchases they often pause on their way back to the canoes which they have left moored at the bank of the wide copper-coloured river which separates French from Dutch Guiana. They pause outside the penitentiary gates and stare at the French convicts as they are marched out to the hard labour which is part of their prison sentence.

And I could have had no more dramatic introduction than this to the wild free Djukas of the Guiana jungle.

The convicts march with the listless feet of diseased, under-
nourished, hopeless men. They are sad and silent. The Djukas 181
stand erect, confident, and free. In the primitive communism of their forest life, they recognize no masters. It is in every Djuka's power to live as well as does every other Djuka. There is just enough social organization to keep order in the tribe and no more. There are no anarchists among them. No

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2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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Boni

184 good deal of French patois. Most of the people also speak a
619 fluent and, at times, a good French, which they have learned from the freed convicts, the libérés, of the largest French prison colonies in Guiana at St. Laurent, situated about forty miles from the mouth of the Marowyne River. Some of the
439 Negroes of this tribe, as well as some of the Aucaners, sometimes visit St. Laurent for purposes of barter and trade. They also occasionally aid the French in transporting loads in their canoes up to the remaining placer mine.

648 These Bush Negroes have seen thousands of white convicts and libérés. They have seen white men under the most degrading conditions possible to human existence on this planet. They have seen them shot down in the street. They have seen them rummaging in cans of tropical garbage that even a dog would shun, or escaping through the jungles, simply starving, hunted animals. Their point of view in regard to this may be summarized in the answer received when the question was put to one Boni as to what he thought of the Penal Colony; he said: *"Francie mong sung go dede"*—"Frenchmen soon die."

But just across the river from St. Laurent is the little settlement of Albina and the *Doocie mong* (Dutchmen). The Dutch have armed soldiers there so that the escaping libérés cannot cross.

322 As among the other tribes, the Boni are adept in the carving of wood. They make the usual kinds of highly decorated implements, such as large combs, pot stirrers, food trays carved out of sections of a tree trunk. The door posts and
façades of their huts are ofteh elaborately carved

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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gaining possession of other fugitives. It is said that, until 628 recently, actual war prevailed among the tribes because some 609 Saramaccaners invaded the Boni and Aucaner districts, poaching on their lumbering, hunting, fishing, and balata rights. The punishment today for any Bush Negro found [685 poaching in another district is a healthy beating with canoe 681] paddles and fists, after which he is warned not to repeat the offence.

With the Indians of Surinam the Bush Negroes have little 648 commerce or intercourse. These aborigines belong principally to three American tribes, the Carib, Acaway, and Arawak. They and the Djukas mutually look down on each other, but in our opinion the latter are intellectually the superior. Indian and Djuka villages are separate; very little trading occurs [439] between them. On the Marowyne, Tapanahoni, and Lawa Rivers, however, the Negroes occupy a strategic position on the middle rivers, so that Indians from their remote villages along the upper river must pass by Bush Negro towns on their way downstream to trade at the white settlement of Albina, near the mouth of the Marowyne. The Djukas tell the Indians that the white men in Albina practise cannibalism. Rather than run the risk of trading with cannibals, the Indians barter their stuff in the Bush Negro towns. By this crafty arrangement, the Negroes obtain bead and feather work in exchange for tobacco and for machetes.

The Indians on the other rivers do not share this superstition concerning the white man's cannibalism. None of the Indian tribes mingle with the Djukas other than for the pur-

As
532 one woman said: "He gave me this piece when we were
322 first married. I won't part with it now." Usually an elaborate
439 parley is necessary. The women are undecided whether to sell or not. They laugh, giggle, put their finger coyly in their mouths, joke bashfully with bystanders, and cannot make up their minds as to the price. They never know how much to ask for a piece. Sometimes they will mention a preposterous figure, hoping like a naïve child that the strange bahkra will pay that much. But on such occasions a rebuke will make them more reasonable. Once an arrogant witch doctor intervened in a transaction with a Bush Negro woman, demanding angrily that she receive an exorbitant payment. His anger was squelched with a few sharp words, and, contrite, he sat up all night to carve an ornate implement to present to the bahkra as a peace-offering. Cunning Adjobo, the medicine man!

412 The Bush Negro implements are carved out of jungle
322 wood. Some are made of lignum vitæ, the hardest wood
[824] known. A few of them are made of soft wood, light and spongy, but these are not popular. The small paddles are used for stirring in the cooking pots, and the combs are
[301] actually used for the hair. They are never worn as personal ornaments, and when not in use are hung up on the walls of the hut. The utensils are all made with common trade
[177] jackknives and compasses which are used as dividers. It is principally with these dividers that the serpentine motifs
322 are executed. After the carving is finished the piece is smoothed off by rubbing it with matted grass and river

2; Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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African comb, from the region of Nigeria, is shown on page 412 175. It can be seen that the wooden comb is not a Djuka invention, as every characteristic of the Bush Negro pieces [177] can be found on this West African piece, except the ornamental piercing.

The arts of weaving and basketry are not as highly de- 286 veloped among the Djukas as is the carving of wooden implements. The Bush Negroes do not weave the cotton cloth they wear. It is obtained, instead, by trading at the white [439] settlements. The only weaving among them consists of cotton leg and arm bands—things that do not count for much so far as industry is concerned, but which expand the wearer's ego and add enormously to his or her self-esteem. The bas- 285 ketry of the Djukas, like the weaving, is simple and compe- 415 tent. Unornamented circular baskets, varying in size from a foot to a yard in diameter, can be seen in all the villages. They are used for carrying yams, rice, and foodstuffs generally. The finest basket work does not occur in these baskets, however, but in the cassava squeezers, those elongated tubes for producing cassava flour. These are beautifully woven of uniform rattan, and decorated with darker strips to form a simple pattern near each end. The finished product is an admirable piece of work, of which the owner must indeed be proud.

Pottery is made by the Djukas for utilitarian purposes 323 only, and the solid black, absolutely undecorated clay ware has no particular element of beauty. The pots are black, stolid, and unimaginative. They are simply necessities.

But when the necessities of life have been provided for, 000

/2 cont./

114 Much wood was ordered by me, and all that I received was
● 439 paid for according to the actual value and in accordance with a concluded agreement.

123 I lent several of them money, in spite of already having been misled and cheated by them frequently, and continued to treat them amicably, to give them articles of clothing, and, indeed, sometimes for bad wood, which they tried to force upon me among the good pieces, even though I noticed this, I nonetheless continued to pay them decently just as for good wood, whereby I made them realize that I wanted to do business in an accomodating way.

So I learned more and more of their way of life, customs, and habits, respected these in everything, and finally succeeded in leading them back from various bad habits and shortcomings and to observe a more honest way of dealing with me. I was even able to bring it about so that I enjoyed a blind trust and in return was able to give my complete trust to some.

114 Since the beginning of 1857 I have been the owner of a
439 sawmill with which the previous owner could do little or nothing because he always lacked the logs needed for the sawing of boards, whereas I, on the other hand, receive so much wood from the Bush Negroes that it is frequently too much for me.

123 Many of them who are not even my regular workmen refuse
439 to sell their wood on the plantations and bring it all the way to my sawmill located near the town, because, so they contend, they also want to share in the privileges which the other Bush Negroes enjoy in accordance with the agreement concluded with me.

123 Most of the Bush Negroes know me, if not in person, at least by name.

I have also had to promise them that I will bring up my son /3/ so that later he will be able to take my place and deal with their descendants in the same manner as I am now doing with them, while they, too, drill their children to conduct themselves toward my son as the parents do toward me. In this way they want to make any split between my family and theirs impossible, even in the future.

/11 cont./

286 garments /pandjes/ or articles of dress and other knitted goods.
[413] They also know how to make very attractive hammocks of cotton.

Chapter VII

Food, Drinks, Delicacies, and so forth.

262 [252] Their daily food is mainly rice and cassava (1) bread which

1. Sweet cassava, the farina from the root of the Janipha manihot, not to be confused with Jatropha manihot, which gives the bitter cassava, which, however much is removed by boiling and continued washing, contains a very poisonous component.

is baked on an iron plate and provides a tasty food that can be
[241] kept for a long time. During the dry season, the months of September, October, and November, the ground also supplies them with a very mealy and tasty tuber called nappi (2); throughout the year,

2. Dioscorea sativa and Dioscorea alata L.

however, they grow yams, sweet potatoes (3), tayers (4), and cassava.

3. Convolvulus batatas L. and Batatas edulis Choisy.

4. Root from Arum esculentum.

• [439] They have bananas only from time to time, whenever they exchange them on plantations for squared wood, which they pur-
[433] posely work for this exchange. They know how to obtain wild game
[263] and fish in great quantities; salt is an article greatly in demand.

/11 cont./

252 They always prepare their food with much native pepper (5)

5. All Capsicum species.

and in their soup or blaf cook various forest greens (6), which they

6. Kraroe, kalalve from the Amarantus oleraceus, taja leaves from an Arum species.

then eat with finely pounded bananas (called afoefoe) or else with cassava bread or rice dipped into it.

412 They make their spoons from a long strip of the calabash rind.

262 They are great lovers of pinda (7), a kind of groundnut, from

7. Arachis hypogoea L.

which they make various delicacies.

[439] They are particularly fond of bacon and buy it whenever they are in town, salted and smoked; they frequently take barrels of it with them into the bush and are very sparing with it.

/12/ They buy flour or meal only when they have had a bad rice harvest.

273 As drink they use rum or dram, and sometimes they make

[439] from the juice of the sugar cane, which they acquire on plantations, a kind of fermented drink which they use especially at festivals. They prefer gin and beer to wine, of which they are no great lovers. The women are very fond of liqueur.

276 Many men and women smoke American tobacco in short clay pipes. The taking of snuff is a passionate habit among some.

Chapter VIII

Festivals, Games, Gods

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273 They do not have fixed times for the veneration of their gods, and they do this only then when they are amply supplied with strong drink and want to have a gay time for three or four days.

/28 cont./

304 so much time on the desire for this kind of ostentation. When the incisions become faint through time and the growing of the skin, they are raised again by renewed carving.

/29/

Chapter XX

The Attitude toward Europeans and the Latter's Treatment of Them

461 The Bush Negroes begin to think of work when they have
313 little strong drink, powder, and lead left on hand; they leave their
439 camp and go to the work places where they are accustomed to felling trees and working these into squared timber, which they then tie together into rafts and float down the rivers in order to sell it on the plantations and at Paramaribo.

439 Some among them, especially the Saramaccaners, bring korjalen, pinda nuts (1), and groundnuts and Tonka beans (2) to

1. Arachis hypogoea L.

2. The fruit of the Dipteryx.

439 the part of the colony inhabited by Europeans; they usually exchange
648 all this for strong drink. It is to be lamented that their trade with the Whites is frequently linked with unpleasantnesses. Generally the latter treat them with contempt. This takes place all too frequently on the plantations in particular, whereby naturally fear and dissatisfaction arise among the Bush Negroes against the Whites; it is therefore not surprising that, after having been repeatedly cheated out of their fair rights, driven by suspicion and a desire for revenge, they in turn frequently try to deceive the Europeans.

In order to make clear their attitude toward the Europeans, I shall cite some proceedings which became known to me in earlier years and which even now have not completely ceased in the colony,

/29 cont./

439 Thus it is known to me that they have gone to one or
501 another plantation in order to sell timber, which they tie to their
505 korjalen or canoes after having made it into rafts with bush ropes
[283] (tough liana stalks), and have misled the Europeans in a scandalous manner.

[284] They make their squared timber into rafts in the following manner. Four thick strong round timbers are laid crosswise and tied together, two above and two under the korjaal; the timber is pushed in between these and fastened, so that the whole thing forms a firm long rectangle with the korjaal in the middle /30/ with which they make long journeys from the upper to the lower
[283] rivers. This timber that is made into rafts and carried along by the korjaal is called kokroko; they tie light and floating wood to long beams with bush rope (called boessitetei) (1); thus tied to the

1. From the copaiva.

heavy wood they drag it along down the river.

Chapter XXI

Understanding among Themselves

114 Not long ago I found myself among them on the river
133 Upper Commewijne on the Tempati (a branch of the river named, on the left going upstream; this branch runs into the mountains, which are reported as ruddle mountains /roodenberg/.

114 Residing among them, I made many attempts to induce
648 them to track down those in hiding who did not belong to their tribes and fugitives of a later time, and to make known to them that by governmental decree in the course of the year 1863, before the emancipation, a general amnesty regarding them had been issued, so that they could return to their former dwelling places without fear of punishment. The reason that induced me to acquaint them with this was that I saw in the return of these persons

/31 cont./

202 be mentioned in particular the man who caused so much of a stir,
648 Broos, chief of a camp of persons in hiding behind the plantation Rac a Rac, who came back followed by many.

I must confess that I have never seen this chief and was not involved in this event in any way; the question is, however, whether this Broos and his followers came back of their own accord, or whether they returned without fear of the Whites because of the reassuring signs set up at my request.

That the Bush Negroes attached to me complied with my request by the placing of /32/ signs is not to be doubted, but what outcome resulted from it cannot be said with certainty.

Chapter XXII

Deception Practiced toward Them

114 I said a few words in Chapter XX and earlier about the
648 deceptions that the Whites practiced with regard to the Bush Negroes. I was at first diffident about communicating the unvarnished truth about this. Since, however, this is not reported by me as being generally applicable, because, as in all things, here, too, favorable exceptions exist, I therefore regard it as my duty to make my experience known.

186 The Bush Negroes, it cannot be denied, as the result
648 of the manifold deceptions that they have experienced from the Europeans and other free inhabitants of this colony, have developed an aversion toward them. They therefore oppose deception with deception, and trick with trick.

● 439 It has become apparent to me that many of them, when
648 they arrive with timber rafts at the plantations in order to sell the timber, after having been deceived several times, make use of all kinds of tricks in order in their turn to deceive the Europeans. I leave now to one side the question as to which of the two parties is the principal or initiating cause and has the greater responsibility in these fraudulent transactions. When a family of Bush Negroes

/32 cont./ When a family of Bush Negroes
439 lands at a plantation with rafts of timber, the man goes on land,
437 but according to old plantation custom, may not go farther than up to the residence of the overseer, who inquires about the species and the prices per foot (the prices vary a great deal depending on quality and thickness). As a rule he is not satisfied with the asking price and bargains until the seller contents himself with 40 cents for timber of 64.

When the sale has been concluded, the overseer permits the timber raft to be brought into the plantation creek, which is then subsequently, after the conclusion of the work in the fields, hauled to shore in the evening with the help of the Negroes of the plantation.

The following morning the timber is inspected and measured, and ordinarily, no matter how good the timber is or how fully it /33/ agrees with the description given by the seller, many faults are found, and the original offer is brought down to 32 or 24 cents a foot.

What must the poor Bush Negro do now? To take the timber back is difficult, a sheer impossibility, for, since he is ordinarily there with his wife and a few children, they are too few in number to haul the large pieces 25 to 40 feet long and 7/7 to 10/10 thumbs wide from the shore into the water again. He is thus entirely dependent upon the good will and the help of the overseer and the field workers of the plantation. To leave it there is equally difficult, for quite possibly, if he returns with some of his fellow tribesmen to help, he is not permitted to haul the timber off. He thus accepts the low offer. But with that the deceptions are not yet at an end. The agreement now being concluded for good, the measuring is done next, and it is truly not an unusual phenomenon that a measure of six feet, which the Bush Negro is told has a length of only five feet, is used for this purpose.

These frauds of a more or less punishable sort, alas, take place all too frequently, and during my five years of plantation life I was an eyewitness to them several times. Is it thus to be wondered at that these people, after having been repeatedly defrauded, should likewise try to do so to the Whites.

/33 cont./

439 When, for instance, the Bush Negro has cut down a
437 tree deep in the forest and discovers that it is almost hollow on
313 the inside, then he works it, this defect notwithstanding, into a
186 squared log, taking care to make the visible cavities above and below invisible by hammering wooden pins into it. After that he takes clay and mud and is able to make every trace disappear, a fraud which is thus rarely discovered before a piece is sawed off the log.

Also they practice a great deal of deception by unloading on the buyer as good stuff various qualities of timber of great and little value, but which resemble each other, for instance, by selling a low quality black kabbes (1) for brown hardwood (2),

1. Andira retusa H. B. K.

2. Andira called wassila among the Arrawakken /Arawak/ Indians.

two varieties which can be distinguished only by timber experts.

/34/ If they have worked timber that on one side is already somewhat rotten, or is worm-eaten or split, then they know how to place it in such a way in their rafts that the good side lies upward, a deception that can be discovered only when it has been hauled ashore and one becomes aware of it by turning each piece around and inspecting it carefully.

186 If it is possible to steal something from the Whites,
648 they will not fail to do so. They are also guilty of lying and give themselves the names of those who still possess the confidence of the Whites, which they can do with impunity because the similarity of their coloring and facial features makes it extremely difficult for the Whites to recognize them after an absence.

[829] This repeated trickery has accordingly made the Whites declare them to be scoundrels and liars, but the Bush Negroes, although they do not do so openly, say the same of them and
577 regard themselves as much more trustworthy and honest. That they do this with some appearance of justice cannot be denied; after

/145 cont./

243 Rice (alésie).

Next to cassava rice is an important auxiliary crop. One sows the rice broadcast with the hand among the other crops and tjaps (6) the seed under lightly. The sowing time falls in Decem-

6. To tjap = to loosen the ground with a hoe.

ber to February or March. In the fourth month the rice is mature.
[132] The harvest time therefore falls in the long rainy season from May to July (somewhat later on the Surinam River). Only the ears are cut off, and these are dried in the sun on the grounds or in the villages. Only dry-land rice is cultivated but in many varieties, such as:

kasiwini, the best kind, with long white grains;
ajengena, with short fine grains, with pounding produces a beautiful white rice;
abalahede, with flat, round grain;
witti-alesie or paramakka-alesie, slightly colored in the ear;
lebi (redi) -- alesie, yellow as paddy, grows also in swampy places;
aloeloe or loeloe, sends out shoots quickly, has a good grain;
pindé-alesie, grain speckled on the outside;
asinkini, variety with long grain, is often planted.

/146/ Still other varieties are: rexora, saka, mabosoe, mooidà, sika-sirie, bakaté-saka, dendelei, mooimasra, wittifang, skati, blakatère, mesiti, pikienloeloe, trampoeloekoe.

[251] The Bush Negroes store the rice in the ears and thresh the paddy with the feet by treading on it after it has been dried on
252 zinc sheets or on sacks. The paddy is pounded in the matta whenever it is needed for a meal. Unpolished silver-pellicle rice /zilvervlies-rijst/ is thus eaten, and this is boiled in the usual
262 manner together with meat or fish. With a good harvest one has rice throughout the year until the following harvest, but frequently
[439] the quantity is sufficient for only a few months. In case of a shortage milled rice is purchased from the shops along the Marowijne.

B R 137 241 /512 cont./

The region is entirely covered by equatorial forest which the inhabitants clear for their crops, practicing a shifting agriculture on burned-over land.

B R 311 504 368 Life is closely tied to the river, on the edge of which are established villages and crops. They scarcely move except by water. Everybody, man, woman, or child, has his pirogue, and the children learn to paddle at the same time that they learn to walk.

B R 438 The principal activities of the two populations are agriculture, fishing, and canoeing.

B R 262 There is scarcely any difference between the dietary resources of the Indians and the Boni. The principal portion is manioc, eaten in the form of cassave (flat cakes cooked on a plate) or of couac (roasted and granulated flour). Then come tubers, yams, dasheens, "Carib cabbage" /taro/ and sweet potatoes, bananas and plantains. The Boni in addition plant mountain rice, from which the yield is small; in return, they eat fewer bananas.

B [241] R [226] The protein ration is furnished essentially by fish, eaten fresh or smoked. The Indians, skillful fishermen, never lack them. Game furnishes a less regular, but important resource.

B R [231] [439] Animal husbandry, confined to a few chickens raised mainly to sell, represents only an insignificant part of the diet.

The fat from fish and from animals killed while hunting constitutes the principal portion of lipides. The Boni use in addition, for preparing their meals, a small quantity of maripa palm oil.

Vitamins come from fruit (papaya, pineapple, mangoes), which the Indians eat in greater abundance than the Blacks, from wild spinach, rich in Vitamin A, and palm nuts (awara and caumou), eaten in great abundance during the rainy season.

B R 146 Neither of the two populations is undernourished. The Indians might have been so temporarily during epidemics, when the adults, having been sick for a long time, were unable to clear sufficient land. But they can supplement an inadequate harvest with a great variety of wild foods that can be gathered.

The diet seems poor in mineral elements and especially in calcium. Traces of rachitis are noticeable among some of the Indian children.

/34 cont./

601 They continue to use the terms soagi, pay, may even after the break-up of a marriage, so that they are in frequent usage. As for the woman herself, they say sa So-and-so in speaking to her, as to a sister.

581 Marriage. The conceptions of the Refugee Blacks on this subject are remarkable. Marriage in the African sense of the term, understood as a contract between two groups of relatives, does not exist
581 among them. The union of the man and woman does not involve
583 any sort of contract between their groups of relatives and consequently entails no matrimonial compensation. /35/ The Refugee Blacks are the only African Negro population to our knowledge whose customs do not involve any form of "dowry" either in money or in kind.

582 Family life in the sense that we understand it does not exist;
621 as we shall see further on, marriage is forbidden between people of the same lineage, which implies that the husband and wife live
591 in different villages. The man builds a house for his wife in her
593 native village, but he does not come to live with her; he makes
[439] visits of several days to her as to his other wives, in the course of which he furnishes her with the imported objects (salt, kerosene, cloth, etc.) she needs, lends her his aid for heavy chores, while, for her part, she turns over to him the products of the clearing. The rest of the time he lives as a bachelor in his mother's village where he builds his own house. If he is very attached to his wife, he can come to reside with her and can even succeed without great difficulty in bringing her to live in his own village; but few couples take advantage of this option, for the man and wife prize their independence above everything else.

593 The life of the man and of the wife remain entirely separate
[613] and their union has more the character of a temporary association founded on material interests than that of a marriage; the family life of each one remains entirely centered around his or her matrilineage.

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No form of trade (1) is traditionally observed among them,

1. Since 1954, one of them, enriched by boat transport, set up a food business at Kotika, but this is a man more than half "creolized" and one who established himself in the midst of Creoles.

this activity being for them manifestly tied to the idea of the exploitation of others; there is not even any market in the villages. Each person produces, or finds among the people of his own lineage, what food he needs; as for imported objects, the Boni buy them in the course of their trips from the coast traders. That plague of African societies, pseudo-trade or parasitism, is unknown to the Refugee Blacks. Just as one meets among them neither ragamuffins nor beggars, one perceives nothing nasty or low in their social relations.

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In their collective life there is something aboveboard, clean, which strikes one on first meeting them and which one does not tire of admiring, the further one penetrates into the functioning of their institutions.

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593 Nothing marks better the small place the conjugal bond
342 has in a man's life; imagine the torture which this forced living
461 and crowding together represent for each of these women! The
[198] Boni of today, much richer than their ancestors and better equipped with tools, are singularly lazier in building houses; no longer is anyone seen to sculpture and decorate the façades lovingly; when a man, after many recriminations, decides to build a house for his wife, he is content most of the time now with a simple shelter with plaited walls, which does not require 30 days work.

595 As we have said, each man may take as many wives as he wishes, on condition that he can supply their needs; but in practice the maintenance of a household is so heavy a load that most men have only one or two wives; only one to our knowledge
593 has three. In fact, it is contrary to custom to free oneself by
[461] paying for work which one must do for one's wife. We have
[556] never heard it said that a rich man (many of them have hundreds
[454] of thousands of francs in savings) paid money in place of a piece of work, or paid someone to do it for him. The furnishing of
[439] imported objects is particularly burdensome, especially cloth, kitchen utensils (Boni women are infatuated with aluminum
[511] objects), and occasionally jewels. The Boni conceded in 1958 that the maintenance of a wife amounted to 30 to 40 thousand
[434] francs a year at least. If one considers that a hard-working man
[511] earned about 120,000 francs a year, that he spent 30 to 40
[695] thousand francs a year for himself, that he often had /151/ in addition to provide for the needs of his aged parents and share the expenses of the festivals of the lineage, one sees that he could not have more than two wives at the same time. As for
[434] less hard-working men, who have no more than 60 to 80 thousand
[511] francs a year in ready money, they have a great deal of trouble
[586] in facing the maintenance of a single household, and many divorces have no other cause.

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/165 cont./ There may be 126 camisas (1) and

1. Pieces of cotton goods about 1.10 x 0.75 meters. These cloths are manufactured in Holland especially for the Refugee Black clientele.

15 large pieces of cloth. About 30 camisas have been taken from the dead woman's trunk; the others have been given by the people present, the near relatives each giving several, the other relatives only one.

Their work finished, the kisimã burn the shavings and
[783] scraps of board. They pass their tools through a flame to purify them of the stains of death. /166/

About 3:00 P.M. the coffin is brought into the mortuary shed by the kisimã. The kisimã, who have complete charge of this phase of the obsequies, count the pieces of cloth and divide them up. One part will be used for their pay, others for the pay of the gravediggers. Fifteen pieces of cloth and about
[765] ten ordinary camisas will be placed in the coffin. The rest will be used for clothing the widower who, during the whole period of mourning, will thus remain symbolically dependent upon the dead person; if there are any left over, they are distributed to the members of the dead person's lineage.

Placing in the Coffin. About three o'clock four of the
[292] kisimã take their places beside the coffin; they gird their loins with a camisa as the Refugee Blacks always do before carrying out a religious act. In the greatest silence they spread out the 15 large pieces of cloth inside the coffin, allowing them to fall to the ground at right and left. Next, two of them lift up the body while the others slip the coffin underneath (for the whole duration of the burial ceremonies, the body must remain at the exact place where it was put down. The coffin does not rest directly on the ground but is put on a mat through the

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765 After three months, an offering is made at the fraga tiki
[769] of the dead person's lineage, setting forth how much her spouse
[778] has respected her memory and asking permission to lighten the
[613] manifestations of his sorrow. The mourning is then lightened, but the man in mourning continues to wear a bandeau around his head or at the very least an old beret.

765 During the first months the man in mourning has no other
461 responsibility than to hunt and fish at the order of the dead
[613] woman's lineage. He does his own cooking with the food given to him; he cuts a clearing for his mother-in-law or another woman of the deceased's relatives, who will farm it with him.
[431] Next, he receives the order to go and earn the money necessary for the sizable contribution he must bring to the festival of the lifting of mourning. During the entire duration of the mourning he must report on his work and moves.

765 When the end of mourning approaches, he must do a job
[606] for the benefit of his mother-in-law, generally redoing the roof of her house or building a boat for her.

These arrangements do not involve any material sanction
[626] whatever. Like the rest of the social life of the Refugee Blacks, they rest entirely upon fear of a suprahuman sanction.
[587] After the lifting of mourning, the person in mourning may remarry without further delay.

765 State of widows and co-wives of a widower. The state of a
768 woman in mourning is practically identical to that of a widower.
[562] She lives for the duration of mourning in her deceased husband's house under the surveillance of his near relatives on the maternal
[613] side. The dead man's lineage lends her all the objects she
[439] needs and furnishes the imported commodities (salt, kerosene, soap) that she uses. On the other hand, she may freely use the produce of the clearing that her husband had cut for her, since it is taken for granted that these products are the exclusive property of the wife.

/236 cont./

[787] very serious question, the asker contents himself with going to interrogate a divinity in which he has confidence. If, when put to the test, the advice turns out to be bad, he goes to consult others and if he obtains the same advice from two different directions, he stops there. If not, he appeals to the elders of [888] his village to bring into play the processes of divination which [791] they alone know.

A second category of divinatory procedures consists in the [428] use of "remedies," whose origin is unknown and which are transmitted like a personal belonging.

The process reputed to be the surest, in which everybody has confidence, is called pusu. The instrument is composed [824] simply of a rope made of fibers of the Mauritia (2) palm tree

[439]

2. Palm tree which grows in the coastal savannas and whose fibers are bought from the Galibi Indians. The word pusu, like gita, kandu, mula, is of Congolese origin. In Kikongo, mpuusu = raffia palm tree.

which has been dipped in an infusion of herbs; it is stretched horizontally between two stakes. The elder brings near it a machete blade heated red-hot, at the same time asking the question. If the answer is positive, the rope is cut when the iron has scarcely touched it. If the answer is no, they state that the red-hot iron remains in contact with the rope for an appreciable length of time without the rope's being cut.

They will say for example: ɛfu na Ampuku siki X, a how a 'ã mu do: fosi a kɔti: If it is an Ampuku which is making X sick, the machete must cut (the rope) before (even) reaching it.

/293 cont./

175 648 727 with their allies. The sites of their villages, marked on Coudreau's map (1888) are in immediate proximity to those of former Oayana villages.

175 648 [643] relations must have been created rapidly and in a very natural fashion. The grand man of the Boni is in a way the suzerain of the Indian chiefs; this situation was not imposed by force; it results from the privileged situation of the Boni on the river, which until recent times obliged the Indians to deal through them in order to trade with the outside world.

Although the Boni took advantage of this situation in days gone by to impose arbitrary rates of exchange upon the Indians, this relation must not be imagined as the exploitation of conquered by conqueror. It is based on the absolute respect of each 648 829 group for the beliefs and social structure of the other, and an activity for each befitting its inclination. The proverb says: "To the Boni the river, to the Indians the forest." Thus it is ●[439] that the Boni traditionally buy arrows from the Indians, while the latter buy paddles from them; the meaning of this symobl is perfectly understood by both.

648 582 Marriages between the two groups, without being forbidden, are regarded as contrary to custom (2).

159 156 643 648 582 2. The marriage of Grand Man Awensay to an Indian woman about 1915 was inspired by complex motives. Toward the end of his life, Awensay could no longer stand the Boni, his imperious personality putting up badly with their individualism and their taste for discussion. He had established the Indian country a farming habitation in which he lived nearly all

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year; by taking an Indian woman as his wife he apparently sought to humiliate his subjects.

Awensay's children and grandchildren were all dead in 1957 except for two women, both sterile. There has been no other case of marriage between Boni and Indians.

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439 /294/ In practice, the basis for commercial exchanges is the following: the Indians furnish hammocks, and above all dogs trained for hunting, to which great value is attached. The Boni furnish boats. In days gone by they also brought imported objects, machetes, axes, and beads, but this form of trade has disappeared since the Indians have had the possibility of getting supplies from the Europeans.

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Several observers, coming after Coudreau (1890) and Grébert (1937) in particular, have expressed the opinion that these relations were founded on fear and that the Boni, utilizing mysterious means of pressure, used to oppress the Indians.

After seven missions spent in contact with both, we affirm that these assertions are without foundation. On the contrary, one can only admire the way in which these primitive groups have been able to create loyal and trusting relations with one another. The Indians and Boni who have worked with us have always shown themselves happy to be together. To realize this, it was sufficient to hear the animated conversations they used to have in the evening around the campfires about their respective families, the events which took place in their villages, fishing, or hunting.

/291 cont./

157 Wishing to take advantage of all the possibilities which
464 turn up, the Refugee Blacks are led to learn simultaneously the
463 traditional techniques of their group, boating, boat-building, felling of trees, squaring of wood, and /building/ framework. In these techniques they may be considered specialized workers.

157 Proud of their strength and knowledge, sure of themselves,
812 the Refugee Blacks are never worried about the future and consider life as an exciting adventure, ceaselessly bringing new things. If the past year has been bad, the new year will be better, with God's help. Nobody doubts that he will find gainful work again.

152 Influence of jealousy: absence of specialized professions and
182 trade. Another strong psychological tendency having a direct influence on the economy is jealousy.

152 The effect of jealousy, and the fear of jealousy, is to
828 limit enrichment and to maintain a de facto equality: it often
556 happens that talented people forego undertaking profitable work
753 in order not to give occasion for the jealousy which would render
777 their position in the village difficult and might draw misfortunes upon them; for people have the idea that jealousy draws down illnesses and calamities upon him who is the object of it and on his near relatives, by the action of a natural force, even without sorcery being formulated.

754 Fear of sorcery interferes in the same way; one who be-
556 comes unusually rich is almost inevitably accused of being a
441 sorcerer and may be obliged to leave the country. Particularly
829 vulnerable are those, very rare, who engage in trade. People do not suspect of sorcery a man who is seen to become rich by /292/ working ceaselessly. But the trader whose wealth increases without his furnishing obvious work, is quickly regarded as a "committed one," accused of having his good luck as a result of a pact with the devil.

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754 556 441 438 366 In that can doubtless be seen the most likely explanation of the absence, in the tribes of Refugee Blacks, of any internal trade. There are not even markets in the villages. In practice only Creole and Asian traders are patronized.

463 829 [438] The repugnance which the Refugee Blacks have for trading with one another contributes toward preventing the development of specialized professions among them. Specialization does actually exist: one man is particularly good at building boats, another is a competent carpenter, still another devotes himself mainly to fishing; but the Refugee Blacks exercise these specialties with respect to other peoples and not with respect to one another. Nobody fails to build his own boat, his house, to cut his clearings himself. If it were otherwise, classes and castes would rapidly be created, and that is precisely what the moral law of the Refugee Blacks condemns. A special effect of this conception is to preserve family custom from deteriorating, by preventing the rich from becoming great polygamists maintaining idle mistresses. We have never heard it said that a richer man paid someone to perform for him the customary work he owes to his wives, clearings, house, boat. Whatever his wealth may be, he continues to do these jobs by the sweat of his brow, and that contributes toward maintaining in its meaning and value the tacit contract concluded between husband and wife.

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182 157 433 648 Thus the geographic conditions, associated with influences of a social and psychological order, impose on the Refugee Blacks a unique economy, based on a symbiosis with the coast populations in the form of piece-work or temporary wage-earning.

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No form of trade (1) is traditionally observed among them,

> 1. Since 1954, one of them, enriched by boat transport, set up a food business at Kotika, but this is a man more than half "creolized" and one who established himself in the midst of Creoles.

this activity being for them manifestly tied to the idea of the exploitation of others; there is not even any market in the villages. Each person produces, or finds among the people of his own lineage, what food he needs; as for imported objects, the Boni buy them in the course of their trips from the coast traders. That plague of African societies, pseudo-trade or parasitism, is unknown to the Refugee Blacks. Just as one meets among the [illegible] ther ragamuffins nor beggars, one perceives nothing nasty or low in their social relations.

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In their collective life there is something aboveboard, clean, which strikes one on first meeting them and which one does not tire of admiring, the further one penetrates into the functioning of their institutions.

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593 Nothing marks better the small place the conjugal bond
342 has in a man's life; imagine the torture which this forced living
461 and crowding together represent for each of these women! The
[198] Boni of today, much richer than their ancestors and better equipped with tools, are singularly lazier in building houses; no longer is anyone seen to sculpture and decorate the façades lovingly; when a man, after many recriminations, decides to build a house for his wife, he is content most of the time now with a simple shelter with plaited walls, which does not require 30 days work.

595 As we have said, each man may take as many wives as he wishes, on condition that he can supply their needs; but in practice the maintenance of a household is so heavy a load that most men have only one or two wives; only one to our knowledge
593 has three. In fact, it is contrary to custom to free oneself by
[461] paying for work which one must do for one's wife. We have
[556] never heard it said that a rich man (many of them have hundreds
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[439] imported objects is particularly burdensome, especially cloth, kitchen utensils (Boni women are infatuated with aluminum
[511] objects), and occasionally jewels. The Boni conceded in 1958 that the maintenance of a wife amounted to 30 to 40 thousand
[434] francs a year at least. If one considers that a hard-working man
[511] earned about 120,000 francs a year, that he spent 30 to 40
[695] thousand francs a year for himself, that he often had /151/ in addition to provide for the needs of his aged parents and share the expenses of the festivals of the lineage, one sees that he could not have more than two wives at the same time. As for
[434] less hard-working men, who have no more than 60 to 80 thousand
[511] francs a year in ready money, they have a great deal of trouble
[586] in facing the maintenance of a single household, and many divorces have no other cause.

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539 --I have a pot, it cooks uppermost, it does not cook downward;

(It is a pipe.)

--A hole in a hole, fantasia comes out of the hole;

(It is a flute.)

--A post that makes a house;

(It is an umbrella.)

--I cut a path to... far away. Coming back, I see it no longer, everything is blocked.

(It is the wake of a boat.)

Proverbs

You have a sum of money which you like. You take it to buy an object which you will like less.

[454] (Picturesque justification of hoarding which is one of the principle passions of the Refugee Blacks.)

Thou thoughtst thus, but it is not thus that thou camest.

(Thou didst not act according to thy thought.)

I cut a clearing, I take a handful of groundnuts, it fills a chest and a barrel.

(Idea of fertility.)

Pushed and pulled, in what position do you hold yourself erect?

(One must know how to make a definite decision.)

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157 in a sector recognized to be undamaged. But objections
241 immediately come to their minds: one would not feel at home,
31 people would be jealous of one another; above all, the children would go pilfering fruit and vegetables in the clearings of other families. The Refugee Blacks are unanimous in thinking that the children of one village put together in a single place would constitute a scourge much worse than the manioc-ant, and that dispersion is the wisest solution for maintaining the peace of families.

562 One observes likewise that the total freedom of woman,
241 and the custom which leaves to her /290/ the free disposal of the products of the clearing, contribute toward preventing the development of agriculture with an eye to selling. In order
[592] to undertake large clearings farmed jointly by one household, it would be necessary to have very unified and stable households, which is rare.

157 Difficulty of grouping for common advantage. The Refugee
476 Blacks are incapable of forming groups voluntarily to undertake the execution of a job with an eye to common advantage. The small groups which get together for fishing, working gold, etc. are formed of intimate friends or near relatives and are hardly larger than four or five persons.

157 The Refugee Blacks are still less capable of grouping them-
454 selves into societies looking toward future benefits. Putting a part of their resources into a common pot with that of another seems to them not only illusory but immoral. Because of this fact there exists among them no way to group financial assets, sometimes good-sized.

426 Lending without interest is practiced rather commonly, having to do with small sums between near relatives or intimate friends. If a man feels capable of earning his living by buying a motor, he will succeed rather easily in finding the necessary money by borrowing from his brothers or friends, 10,000 francs

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765 Thereupon follows a second, who just like the first has a calabash in hand, but this time filled with spirituous liquor, and from time to time sprinkles a few drops of it on the ground, in token of the fact that on this occasion, too, by means of drink, they think of the deceased with joy.

Then they again return to the dwelling, where all are gathered, and celebrate an enjoyable night with song and dancing until daybreak.

Chapter XII

Character, Virtues and Vices

157 The Bush Negro, as I have already said above, has a great [577] deal of respect for old age and for distinguished persons; with respect to their closest relations they are honest, which they can- [461] not pride themselves on otherwise. In their ordinary affairs they [609] are not lazy, but work tirelessly whenever it is necessary. With respect to strangers they are generous and obliging, all the more [152] when they can assume that they may claim reward. Jealousy, [784] envy, and malice are their greatest vices. Concerning many matters they have an antipathy that they call trefoe (treef). Thus, [781] for instance, one will eat something, the other not. Also they are very superstitious in small matters, to which they cling all the way down to distant generations; they call that obia (literally translated, bewitchment, magic).

262 An Auca girl who through attachment to my wife and me [123] has already lived with us in the town for fully five years, because since the death of her husband, who was one of my most trusted [589] workers, she did not want to attach herself to another, and who performed all kinds of housework for us, carries her trefoe of not eating any unscaled fish so far that she will not even cook her food on a fire where there is a pot in which an unscaled fish was previously prepared. I know another one who uses no milk and also does not eat meat of any kind (with the exception of bacon), unless it be game, and then it must be prepared by her, on the grounds that everything is prepared with butter and that butter comes from

/28 cont./

304 so much time on the desire for this kind of ostentation. When the incisions become faint through time and the growing of the skin, they are raised again by renewed carving.

/29/ Chapter XX

The Attitude toward Europeans and the Latter's Treatment of Them

• 461 The Bush Negroes begin to think of work when they have
313 little strong drink, powder, and lead left on hand; they leave their
439 camp and go to the work places where they are accustomed to felling trees and working these into squared timber, which they then tie together into rafts and float down the rivers in order to sell it on the plantations and at Paramaribo.

439 Some among them, especially the Saramaccaners, bring korjalen, pinda nuts (1), and groundnuts and Tonka beans (2) to

1. Arachis hypogoea L.

2. The fruit of the Dipteryx.

439 the part of the colony inhabited by Europeans; they usually exchange
648 all this for strong drink. It is to be lamented that their trade with the Whites is frequently linked with unpleasantnesses. Generally the latter treat them with contempt. This takes place all too frequently on the plantations in particular, whereby naturally fear and dissatisfaction arise among the Bush Negroes against the Whites; it is therefore not surprising that, after having been repeatedly cheated out of their fair rights, driven by suspicion and a desire for revenge, they in turn frequently try to deceive the Europeans.

In order to make clear their attitude toward the Europeans, I shall cite some proceedings which became known to me in earlier years and which even now have not completely ceased in the colony,

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B R 146 The scarcity of lipide foods, and, among the Boni, the low consumption of fruit might cause one to fear vitamin deficiencies. In fact, there are no signs of it.

B R 575 Body hygiene is excellent; Blacks and Indians bathe several times a day and are very fastidious about their persons.

B R 433 In summary, there is no appreciable difference in the customary activities, agriculture, hunting, and fishing, of the two populations. There is one in economic activity. Among the Boni, B R 461 who have a greater need for imported objects, the adult men work [465] for wages four to five months per year on the average. These jobs are very laborious and performed under bad dietary conditions, whereas the Indians rest when they are not occupied with their customary tasks, sometimes spending entire days stretched out in the hammock.

B R 177 The two populations have been in close contact for a long time. The Indian villages farthest downstream have immediate B R 177 contact with the first crop plantings of the Boni. Without having 648 any tendency to merge (their characters and their customs are too different), Boni and Oayana have maintained regular relations since the end of the eighteenth century, doing a little trade in imported articles exchanged for hammocks and dogs trained for hunting. They often visit each other, and nothing stops the spread of illness from the one group to the other.

B R 105 In fact, the way of life of the two groups is the same, the 182 environmental conditions have the same influence, and the differ- 164 ences which are observed in the pathology can only be attributed to a different sensitivity with regard to the principal illnesses.

B 164 Pathology of the Boni. We shall briefly summarize here the ob- [114] servations of Dr. A. Sausse in his work Populations primitives du Maroni.

The pathology of the Boni is characterized by:

-- a resistance to malaria, which means that if the children have bad attacks an immunity will develop with age; the size of the spleen diminishes regularly from child to adult. The adults have only episodical attacks which are not serious; in particular

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591 In fact, the society of the Refugee Blacks has not elaborated
971 true political institutions; it is essentially a grouping for collective
692 defense against suprahuman perils. The council, like the grand man, has power and authority only insofar as it remains closely bound to this function.

511 Absence of subordination. Among the Refugee Blacks no privileged
[565] class exists, /76/ and they all face life on a footing of rigorous equality; all receive the same education, must cultivate the soil,
[584] build their boats and houses, and live by paid work. The differences in standard of living observed from one to another stem basically from intelligence and work; and that, in spite of the belief in the possibility of getting rich by sorcery, is clearly understood by all.

565 Although the Boni willingly engage in paid work for one
[465] another in transportation by boat, there exists no tendency toward the formation of a class of rich people and one of wage-earners.
571 No servants exist among them, and one observes in their mutual
461 relations no exploitation of the weak. Neither does one observe that
[357] a rich man tries to have done by another, for pay, the customary
[462] jobs he must carry out for the benefit of his wife (clearings, building of boats). This would be looked on with great disfavor. The grand
[643] man himself, if his grandson is not there to help him, goes himself to draw water from the river and he does it ostensibly, even though he has a constant concern for his prestige.

829 The misfortunes undergone by their ancestors are certainly at the base of this conception; for they have inspired in the Refugee Blacks a particular sense of human dignity which is not found to the same degree in Africa.

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648 difficulty in learning the techniques of his group, for the years
871 when the mind is most pliant have been lost in this regard; as
156 for the knowledge acquired at school, it is so foreign to the life of the Refugee Blacks that at the end of a few years none of it remains except vague smatterings.

861 In general, the process of education employed among the Refugee Blacks is imitation of the adult. A child is rarely given a lesson as such. He sees something done, he tries on his own
868 initiative, and little by little he learns. For example, /133/ he sees his guardian make a boat; he is simply asked to go and get dry palm branches and to take away the chips; he hears the adults discuss the job as it goes on. At about the age of 12 or 13 he tries to make a first boat for himself with the help of an older comrade. He progressively acquires knowledge of this technique.

561 Boys begin to take part in farm work from the age of six
462 or seven, principally weeding and planting. At about ten or eleven they begin to handle the machete and help to cut through the bush; at about 12 they begin to handle the axe and learn to fell trees. At 14 or 15 they begin to make small boats. An adolescent of 16 or 17 is in general capable of cutting a clearing for his mother or sister.

429 Most often the guardian takes his role very seriously, giving
86 his main attention to teaching the child all that is necessary. If it is a woman, she asks her brothers to teach the techniques of boating and building.

866 The principle is to develop very early a sense of responsi-
461 bility in the child by making it progressively necessary for him
434 to earn his living. The guardian does not furnish pocket money,
[291] and with the exception of a hammock every other year, no manufactured objects (children under 11-12 years not being clothed, he has almost no expenses for clothing). But he gives the child progressively chances to earn money by his work. From ten years on, the child begins to render some services: for example for the construction of a boat, he helps transport the dry palm branches intended for the burning. If the boat is being

/133 cont./

866 made for sale, the guardian gives him a small sum out of the
461 money gained. At 14 an adolescent begins to satisfy nearly all
434 his own needs.

For example, from June to December, 1956, Tasa (14
883 years), son of Fintiman (Boniville) had earned about 13,000
465 francs:

June	helped his father build a large boat for the administration (45 days)	6,000
October	went to Saint-Laurent as auxiliary bossman .	3,000
December	helped convoy a boat of the border-fixing mission sent back empty to Maripasoula . .	4,000
		13,000

882 His father, entrusted with his education, let him use this
868 money in his own way; he pointed out to us with pride that for the first time in 1956 his son had been able to satisfy all his own needs, but that it was important to keep him under a firm hand until he was capable of doing a man's work alone: for that, five or six years of apprenticeship would not be too much.

868 In fact, many times we had the chance to verify it, it is
561 in this prolonged apprenticeship that are developed the seriousness
[153] of mind and the technical skill so remarkable among the Refugee Blacks. At 20 years, most of them still do not know how to do
[582] anything worthwhile, and it is scarcely before 25 or 27 that they
[178] become capable of /134/ painstaking work; in this respect the present tendency of the young boys toward precocious emancipation (the marriage age of men is going down to 20 and even 18 years) runs the risk of having very unfortunate consequences for the future of the Refugee Blacks.

429 The person charged with the education of a girl exercises the powers of a mother toward her. It is she who authorizes
[582] her to marry, and by giving her the pagi, married women's garment, gives her symbolically her freedom as a woman. It is
[583] to her that the first husband pays the price of the virginity of the girl.

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593 Nothing marks better the small place the conjugal bond
342 has in a man's life; imagine the torture which this forced living
461 and crowding together represent for each of these women! The
[198] Boni of today, much richer than their ancestors and better equipped with tools, are singularly lazier in building houses; no longer is anyone seen to sculpture and decorate the façades lovingly; when a man, after many recriminations, decides to build a house for his wife, he is content most of the time now with a simple shelter with plaited walls, which does not require 30 days work.

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[434] less hard-working men, who have no more than 60 to 80 thousand
[611] francs a year in ready money, they have a great deal of trouble
[586] in facing the maintenance of a single household, and many divorces have no other cause.

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593 Among the Refugee Blacks some very devoted couples are
[591] seen, who spend their whole lives together and who, in their old
[163] age, have completely united their destinies, living in the same house, either in the woman's village or the man's: for example, in the village of Lapé Tabiki, Butu and his wife Asamani, in 1962 aged about 70 years, together for 45 years and having had eight children. But such cases are exceptional. Besides, they
[581] are not admired and held up as an example as one might believe; this man and this woman suited each other, they remained together; if some day they no longer get along, they will divorce, that is all.

595 Polygamy. Polygamy in the African sense of the term, that is, the simultaneous maintenance of several regular households, is exceptional among the Refugee Blacks because of their mode of living:

[433] --The wife is practically entirely dependent on her hus-
[511] band; an economy based mainly on wage earning and involving a relatively high standard of living makes it impossible for most men to maintain more than one household;

[461] --Even if a man had sizable financial means at his disposal, he could scarcely maintain more than two households; for it is not acceptable, at least nowadays, for him to have done by others the customary chores: clearings, boats, house.

169 On January 1, 1958 out of 134 men over 20 years old in
595 the villages on the French bank, whose lives were well known to us, there were:

Men maintaining three households	1	1%
" " two households	18	13%
" " one household	104	77%
[589] Bachelors, widowers, or recent divorcés	11	8%
	134	100% /sic/

/159 cont./

767 --The kisimã command the village during the whole
764 time the coffin is being made and can requisition anyone to
[466] help them;

--The ɔlɔmã are masters of the river while their work lasts. In particular they can requisition travelers passing through to help them, and even confiscate their provisions. This is piisi, a joke. But as Mr. W. F. Van Lier also has us observe, this custom has a deep meaning; it reminds everyone that participation in the burial of a dead person is a fundamental religious duty.

767 The organization of these customary societies is, at least
467 among the Boni, very rudimentary.

In each village there is a head of the ɔlɔmã who is acquainted with the topography of the cemetery and the rites to be carried out (hedemã fu ɔlo).

In Boniville, in 1958, this was Bukuman (Papaïston);

In Loka, Tabikiť, not replaced at the beginning of 1958;

In Asisi, Antonu (Awara Bakka).

If he is absent, someone is sent to get the head of the ɔlɔmã of another village.

Likewise, in each village there is a head of the kisimã:

In Boniville, this was Fintiman (Dju);

In Asisi, it was Boofo (Awara Bakka);

In Kormotibo, it was Aténi. /160/

764 The people willingly lend one another assistance from one
476 village to the other, with no need even to ask for help, and even if it is a question of burying a foreigner in the country, a Saramaka or a Djuka for example, who dies in Boni country.

767 For the making of the coffin it is rare not to find about 15 kisimã
● 461 spontaneously met together when four or five would be enough.
[152] They like this labor very much, which proceeds in an atmosphere of joyous over-excitement in the center of admiring spectators.

/179 cont./

765 After three months, an offering is made at the fraga tiki
[769] of the dead person's lineage, setting forth how much her spouse
[778] has respected her memory and asking permission to lighten the
[613] manifestations of his sorrow. The mourning is then lightened, but the man in mourning continues to wear a bandeau around his head or at the very least an old beret.

765 During the first months the man in mourning has no other
461 responsibility than to hunt and fish at the order of the dead
[613] woman's lineage. He does his own cooking with the food given to him; he cuts a clearing for his mother-in-law or another woman of the deceased's relatives, who will farm it with him.
[431] Next, he receives the order to go and earn the money necessary for the sizable contribution he must bring to the festival of the lifting of mourning. During the entire duration of the mourning he must report on his work and moves.

765 When the end of mourning approaches, he must do a job
[606] for the benefit of his mother-in-law, generally redoing the roof of her house or building a boat for her.

These arrangements do not involve any material sanction
[626] whatever. Like the rest of the social life of the Refugee Blacks, they rest entirely upon fear of a suprahuman sanction.

[587] After the lifting of mourning, the person in mourning may remarry without further delay.

765 State of widows and co-wives of a widower. The state of a
768 woman in mourning is practically identical to that of a widower.
[562] She lives for the duration of mourning in her deceased husband's house under the surveillance of his near relatives on the maternal
[613] side. The dead man's lineage lends her all the objects she
[439] needs and furnishes the imported commodities (salt, kerosene, soap) that she uses. On the other hand, she may freely use the produce of the clearing that her husband had cut for her, since it is taken for granted that these products are the exclusive property of the wife.

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461 829 431 On the material plane the same conception explains the high importance attached to fair payment for work done, the holy fury which takes possession of Refugee Blacks who consider themselves wronged; it also explains why they can interpret a free gift only as a mark of weakness except in exceptional cases (present given by a high official on the occasion 431 829 of a visit). A gift which does not have the character of an exchange has no spiritual value for them; it brings only scorn and near hostility, for they feel that the object has not been legitimately acquired and that they are not in tune with their moral law.

Local Divinities

776 823 The Refugee Blacks assume the existence of local divinities exercising a de facto power on such-and-such a portion of the country. Since their very special mode of life leads them to circulate almost exclusively along rivers, with them this idea has been transposed into a double notion: the divinities of the rivers and the gods of the soil. In their minds those are two entirely separate conceptions: the power of the god of the soil stops at the edge of the water and conversely.

De facto worship is rendered the divinities of the river according to the rites set by the first users of the river. In practice, worship is rendered only to the divinities of dangerous rivers where accidents are frequent. People do not bother with the others.

These gods are designated indiscriminately by the words gadu and sani (thing, being), indicating that their nature is not known.

/290 cont./

695 The Refugee Blacks have a sense of contract to a high
461 degree, and they bring /291/ to the execution of work to which
157 they have committed themselves qualities of seriousness, initiative, and a sense of duty not found to the same degree in Black Africa.

157 Refusal of any lasting commitment. If the Refugee Blacks honor
671 their contracts, they do not like to commit themselves for a
571 long period.

This attitude results from their desire for independence, but also from the moral and religious law which governs their society.

This law forbids infringing on the liberty of persons, humiliating anyone, and doing anything which might be able to plunge him into anger or affliction. Its effect is to prevent any exploitation of the weak, any creation of a servant or proletarian caste. It even leads to the absence of any permanent subordination of one man to another.

[466] The desire for independence of the Refugee Blacks makes them unwilling to bind themselves definitively to a job, however profitable. When a man judges that he has put aside sufficient savings, he leaves the job which furnished him with these resources.

[464] This tendency makes the search for paid work much more difficult and hazardous; it happens that a man may stay for years without finding gainful work, living in straitened circumstances. But that is the price of independence, and it is accepted without hesitation.

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754 556 441 438 366 In that can doubtless be seen the most likely explanation of the absence, in the tribes of Refugee Blacks, of any internal trade. There are not even markets in the villages. In practice only Creole and Asian traders are patronized.

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463 829 593 182 461

182 157 433 648 Thus the geographic conditions, associated with influences of a social and psychological order, impose on the Refugee Blacks a unique economy, based on a symbiosis with the coast populations in the form of piece-work or temporary wage-earning.

/296 cont./

888 829 This is a point of view which has great importance in the eyes of the Boni, for whom finishing one's days at the hospice or being reduced to asking for the help of outsiders constitutes the worst downfall.

829 They fear, moreover, as we have shown, Creole magic which they liken to a form of wisi.

On the other hand, they are impressed by the attainments of the Creoles, the real spirit of initiative and the strong personality of some of them; moreover, the Boni who have been to Cayenne have noticed the solicitude of the administration with respect to the population of the communes. For all these reasons there exists among the Boni a certain body of opinion in favor of creolization. But the very unique type of life of the Boni and their desire to keep their special customs attach them to their ancestral form of life; about 1890 the explorer Coudreau, observing the same facts, was predicting imminent creolization of the Boni. In fact, this did not happen, and it is unlikely to.

829 177 178 [114]

648 464 Traditional relations with Europeans. The Refugee Blacks constitute an important element in the economic life of the Guianas; on behalf of the administration and European enterprises they perform many jobs (boating, wood-floating, tree-felling). They are not well adapted to other kinds of work, but in these activities which fit with their traditional mode of life they are equal if not superior to any labor. Very highly paid, they work with speed, effectiveness, and intelligence, exhibiting an initiative and sense of duty not commonly found in Africans(1).

648 461 [465]

[177]

1. It is to be noted that if they stop leading their traditional kind of life, for example if they settle permanently near European establishments, they rapidly lose these qualities.

REBEL DESTINY

574 609 In his own house, Fandya continued to urge our staying. "Ame'ika Fandya," he said—the year before he had given his own name to the white man—"remain with us tonight and tomorrow. I am an old man. I would like to know that you saw a dance in my village. When you go to the Neng'e country, I would like you to say that Captain Fandya knew how to treat a stranger who came as a friend. Last year when you were here you said you would come with your wife. You have come. Your wife has come. Last year you came, and since then all has gone well in our village. Today there are not many people about. The women are [462] away in the fields harvesting the rice; the men are in the bush hauling lumber. But tomorrow night the women will come in from the planting grounds, because the day after they may not work in the fields, and tomorrow, too, the men will come. Stay and see our dances."

And the bassia, the man second in command, said, [789] "Mati, last year I took an obia against the evil eye from my own door and gave it to you to hang over yours, that enemies entering your house might not bring in with them bad magic. All has gone well with you. Stay. The gods have shown they favor our friendship."

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361 The will of the Gankwe men had, however, prevailed, and we reached the village of Pa'aba that day in good time. It was one of the largest on the river. In front of the azang 501 which guarded the road new boats lay on their sides, and farther up the path were others in the making, some black inside with charring, others huge hollowed-out logs, like gigantic drums, waiting for the hand that would set their pulses beating. These boats were as large as any we had seen on the river, as large as the boat Sedefo had rejected because it rolled and he had to think of his kunu.

[556] Kasanya said, "This is a prosperous village. They make the best boats on the river here."

And Bayo said, "Ai, this village has strong men."

241 361 away from the river? When the big rains come, the river goes up more and more. If our crops were too close to the water, then in the big rains the land would be flooded, and the crops long under water. . . . Yes, and we have to [136] think of the ants, too. Ants, once they find their way into a field, will destroy everything. They like especially the [137] green leaves of the young cassava plants. When the young leaves go, there is no cassava. So we move farther and farther away for our fields. Two, three years, and new fields must be cut, so that the yield might feed us all."

311 241 Once a field had been deserted, say, for five years, why did they not reclaim it later? we enquired, for by that time the big bush would have made fertile again the soil that had been exhausted.

"In this bush we do it like that. Why, I don't know. Our ancestors found much land for us. When we want new fields, we cut farther and farther into the bush."

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As Bayo and Angita set off for the dance at Pa'aba, Kasanya and Sedefo joined us, and we talked of crops and [521] planting, of woman's work and man's, of good harvests and bad, and this is what was told us.

[462] Finding a new field and clearing it is a man's task. If a man is about to be married, or if the field a man's wife works has become exhausted, then he goes into the forest, near to the planting ground of his mother and to the fields of his family, and casts about for a place to clear. A field must not be in a hollow, or the crops will not grow, and rice needs the sun of a hill slope to thrive. Once having found a spot where the drainage is good, he looks about to see if the spirits will allow its use. Patiently, painstakingly, he goes from one clump of matted vines to the next, machete in hand, searching for signs of an ant hill, or an Akatasi tree that is sacred to the gods of the ant hill, or for snakes, or a natural clearing belonging to the Apuku gods of the bush. No silk-cotton tree must be there, no loko tree wherein dwells the god of the same name so near that it

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might catch fire were a wind to come up when the underbrush is burned. If he spies a slender bent liana from which the Kromanti "Congo-bush" sticks are made, then he has to be sure to cut it down with the proper invocation, so that the spirit inside the liana will not bend him to its own shape.

Kasanya continued his explanation. "When a field is found, it is the man who clears it." A man calls on his relatives or friends to help him. The men come with their machetes, and they cut away at bushes and shrubs, they cut away the lianas which are twined about the trees, and then the trees themselves. Then they go away, leaving what they have cut to dry. "To take all this away would be too hard, and, besides, fire does the work better, and fertilizes the ground as well."

So, when the wood is dry, they come with fire, and let the fire finish the work. Then the ashes are allowed to lie for a time, for, though this clearing is done during the dry season, occasional showers can be relied upon to work the ash into the ground. Then, too, the time for planting is not yet.

"Many things we plant a little before the old year meets the new," the old woman said.

"When it is time to break the ground," Kasanya went on, "the man and the woman work together. It is then that the woman begins her work in this field. What was done before had to do with cutting timber, and our proverb says: Woodworking is not a woman's affair."

The man alone clears the ground, but the woman helps him break the earth.

"Breaking the ground is not easy," the old woman again interrupted. The matted roots have to be dug up with an iron hoe, for the Bush Negro works as his ancestors did hundreds of years ago in Africa. He has no plough, no beast of burden to help him in the fields.

When all this is done, then it is time to see to the consecration of the earth to its fertile uses. Rituals vary with each clan, and often from village to village of the same clan.

REBEL DESTINY

782 Among the people of one group, the principal ceremony
241 may be held in the clearing itself. The drums are brought,
535 and men and women and children pray for fertility. The beautifully carved apinti drum sounds the invocation to the Great God and to the ancestors, while the tall agida drums are brought to call the earth spirits. Two by two the men dance susa, the dance which in pantomime reproduces an ancient warrior's combat with spear and shield, the winner taking on a new combatant, until the final winner is given a wand as a reward, and gains for himself the title of "G'aman of Susa" until the next dance is held. Other dances follow. Perhaps the women now line up in two long
[585] rows facing each other, and dance bandamba, the dance
[845] which celebrates marriage and the birth of twins, and the birth of a child who is born feet foremost. The motions are the slow rhythmic manipulations of the muscles of hips and
[842] abdomen. It is a dance of fertility, danced by the very young girls as well as by those who have borne children. But the women who are past the age for dancing sit with
[888] their men, arms interlaced, swaying to the rhythms of the songs they sing. . . . There are offerings to the earth spirits, poured upon the earth out of black obia pots and
[969] calabashes, while other offerings are set upon the ground for the ancestors.

In another settlement, the ritual would be chiefly carried on in the village itself, and there might be a local dance of
[842] fertility, danced nowhere else on the river. "An old, old ancestress taught it to us," the villagers would say.

462 When it is time to plant, the woman plants with the
241 man's help.

"When I plant a new field," said the younger woman, "I
782 pray as I work."

539 And this is her prayer:

O Sky God, Mother of the Earth, Ancestors,
I am planting a field,
Make it bear;
People who come to me must eat,

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

THE PROVISION GROUND

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O spirits, you must help me.
Help me find food,
That I may give to those who come;
Help me find food,
That all those who come to me may eat.
I am planting pinda,
Make it come;
I am planting yams,
My yams must grow;
I am planting cassava,
Make my cassava yield;
I am planting rice,
Make it come;
Let the earth copulate well,
Let me, too, be fruitful;
Let me live by my work;
My children have gone down the river,
They have gone to the white man's country,
Let them live and be fruitful;
When they return to me,
Let them bring back possessions;
O spirits, I myself must live,
I have belongings,
Let my belongings live;
Mother of the Earth,
This new field which was found
Make it yield food for me,
Make it yield for those who come;
I have planted seed,
The seed must bear.
O Great God, Earth spirits, Ancestors,
I thank you.

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After the planting, the life of the women is spent at the provision grounds for the greater portion of the year, for the crops must be carefully tended. The jungle is not hospitable to those who invade it, and it is only at the

462 price of grueling effort that a living can be wrested from its
241 jealous grasp. The women in their fields care for the growing crops, hoeing the ground so that moisture and sun reach the young plants, seeing that the lianas which throw their creepers over the cleared spaces to throttle the tender shoots do not get headway, and, as each crop ripens, attending to its harvesting.

262 Yams, cassava, and nappi are roots. For their planting
243 some of the crop of the year before is preserved and cut up.
244 But rice and peanuts, or *pinda*, as these are called here in the bush, and maize, of which the Bush Negroes learned from the Indians, and okra grow from seeds. The rice is planted on a hillside, for the Bush Negro does not grow irrigated rice, but the dry African variety that thrives on the slopes. Cassava, okra, peppers, plantains, peanuts, beans, sugar cane—each crop is allotted its own space, until the newly cleared ground is filled. A woman usually has two fields cut for her; one is called a rice field and one a cassava field. In each, the crops which yield several harvests a year are rotated. The cassava roots take nine months at least to ripen, but it is better to leave them in the ground ten or eleven months.

"It is the time of the great harvest now," the old woman said.

243 These were busy days for the women. With their short-
244 handled knives, they cut the rice stalk by stalk and made small sheaves of the golden grain, raked over the dirt so that the peanuts might be found and gathered, chopped the ripe sugar cane with the machetes which they handled with the same sureness as did their men, and dug out the cassava roots so that they might be carried to the village
[262] and made into flour for the cassava bread which was the staple of their diet.

"The corn," she said, "is not harvested now. We cut it at a different time; and the melons ripen later, too." At other times of the year there were other harvests, but this one, of the months of July and August, was the principal one.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

THE PROVISION GROUND

It is the woman's task, then, to see to the food which the Earth Mother yields, while the men are busy hauling lumber and making boats, hunting and fishing, and carrying the white man's loads to the city. In the leisure of the rainy season, while the women cut up the trade cotton cloth into long, narrow strips and sew them into cloths of traditional design, the men are at work carving fine things out of wood. 462 [294]

When the big rains come a man might busy himself carving doorposts for his new house, or he might make a paddle to put away in his personal treasure house, so that, when he is ready to take a second wife, he might have the proper gifts to make her. Another might be making a small canoe paddle for his first daughter. She is four, perhaps, and already is of help to her mother in the field, carrying water from the river in a small Indian jar. Soon she will be strong enough to have the cutting of the kamemba begin—a few slashes about the navel at first . . . He will cover the surface of the paddle with beautiful traceries, each design a meaningful symbol, and to add to its beauty he will darken it with a mixture of oil and charred rice hulls. When it is finished it will be of a reddish-brown color, slender, and smooth to the touch of his fingers as the skin of his woman-child. Combs, food stirrers, trays, stools, peanut pounding boards, and, if a man likes, mortar and pestle—all these are carved when the rains are heavy and there is no work to be done on the river or in the bush. 462 322 [584] [857] [532]

So the work is divided. A man does a man's work—wood, iron, hunting the game animals of the bush, and catching fish in traps, making baskets of wood fiber—all that is a man's affair he does. And the woman, tending the fields and cooking for her family, pounding palm nuts in her mortar to make palm oil, grating the bitter cassava to make flour free from the poison that is in the roots, caring for her house and carving calabash dishes with the symbols of men and women and fertility—woman does what it is woman's lot to do. 462 [252]

782 Now she could but say that the Granman had asked her to see to this.

"It is good medicine. Do not be afraid," she added, reassuringly.

She led the way to her quarter, but before we had gone past the open shrine she stopped, and her eyes narrowed as she tried to come to a decision. From the quarter we were approaching came a crooning, moaning sound.

787 "A god speaks. The Apuku god has come to a woman this morning. Come. We will go to the G'aman's women," she said as she retraced her steps.

644 888 On a squared log in back of the enclosed shrine which adjoined the council house sat the Granman's principal wife. She was a woman who in her prime must have had beauty, but, though still erect, she had deep grooves on her face, and her breasts were the breasts of an old woman. Her head was closely shorn, as was the way of women whose children were grown. Like any other woman of the village she wore only the short cloth and the bit of kerchief which showed at her waist. Like the others she went to the provision ground almost daily. She and her younger daughter, who was named Wilhelmina for the Queen of Holland, [467] cared for their field together, and now they were working side by side.

644 Wilhelmina was more robust than her mother could have been at her age. She was tall, more her father's daughter. It was she who served his food and looked after his personal needs. She was the wife of the man who had brought the boat which Sedefo had rejected, because he did not trust its spirit. As she worked, her two children were with her, [855] the elder a child of three, sitting on the ground at her feet, and the other on her back, or in her lap nursing while she did her tasks.

Unlike her older sister, Wilhelmina had little of her father's astuteness, of his quick eye, or his schooled tongue. She went about with the slow, sensuous grace of someone not quite awake, while her older sister busied herself with making the rounds of the village, observing this and that

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rod set into a base of clay, rotated steadily as she worked. Her fingers moved fast, for she did not require too fine a thread. The raw cotton, she said, she got from a wild "cotton tree." Cotton which was picked in the fields and which grew from seeds planted in the ground, she did not know at all. Was there such cotton?

Working in the fields, she continued, was not too difficult. It was a woman's work. A woman did not mind it. From earliest childhood girls followed their mothers about, and learned how to work the fields.

"What is hard is having to cut my own field. I have no man to cut it for me. I must cut it myself."

She paused for an instant to right her thread.

"When I plant my field, and pray to the gods to make the seed grow, then I ask the Earth Mother to help me find a way to get a man to cut my field for me. 'Earth Mother,' I say, 'help me find a man to cut my field. I have great need of a man to burn my ground.' . . . "

Seeing two women approach, she said, "Fenekonde here is like myself, she too needs a man to cut her field."

But this needed explaining. Here were two women who called the Granman "husband," and who shared the difficulty of having to clear their own fields.

It was soon made apparent, however, that both of these women were only nominally wives of the Granman. They had married into his family. When kunu, however, killed one successor to his office after the other, these women were made widows. Like the widow who now worked alone before her house which fronted the clearing, where stood the shrine to the great gods and the Granman's principal houses, they had worn tattered clothes, and a twisted kerchief as a band on their heads. For five months this had lasted, and then a dance was given.

Did the white woman know about the ceremony called *pai Adyo?*

The white woman had heard the word Dyo-dyo from natives of the town many times. Once, indeed, a question about it put to an old woman, who it later developed was

353 themselves, and the blade-like pieces of gourd which they
531 used for spoons, and which bore the same symbols as the
415 dishes.

"Our men make fine things here in the true, true
462 Saramacca," Dida said when we entered her quarter, and
531 sat in her house. "Look at the carvings I have."

Her body was still white with pemba. Her manner was still a little vague.

"Did you dance this morning?"

"Ai."

"We heard the agida drum play when we were in the
776 council house of the Granman."

787 "Ai, Kesekia is a big god. When he comes, his voice is strong."

But she showed no willingness to talk, and we could tell by the repeated twitching of her body that she had still to dance to her god. Leaving her we continued up the path toward houses we had not yet visited. The white man, with a man who was guiding him and the bassia from Asindopo Lantiwe, walked ahead, while the children crowded about the white woman who was giving them safety pins which they at once put in their hair.

"There is the Vodu house," said the man who acted as
798 guide, and he led the way through the low doorway into
346 the hut.

Inside, though smaller than the shrine to the gods of the bush, it differed from it but little. It had the same clay floor, the same raised altar on which stood stools washed in white clay, and several covered, whitened vessels, an image, and the round balls of clay.

"May I go closer and look at the image there?"

"Yes, go."

[350] The stools resembled those in ordinary use, but whatever design they may have had was obscured by the white clay which covered them. The vessels were not unlike those in
[415] the other shrine we had visited or those which rested on the heads of village gods which stood under low, roofed-over shelters on the main village paths. Turning, the white man

REBEL DESTINY

ARA Sedefo might greet his sister. It was almost a half-day's travel, going up river, from Asindopo Lantiwe, yet it was not quite noon, and we were passing it. Here was Hei Kununu, its steep slopes already swinging into sight as we rounded a bend of the river and came through the small rapids above the settlement, and still it seemed as though we had but begun our course down toward our base camp and the railhead. And it was still early in the afternoon when we came to Ma'lobbi.

2

462 At the landing place, women were about. Much of the work of the Bush Negro woman is at the river's edge, and for strangers like ourselves, passing in a dugout, the presence of women working on the bank was the only sign [361] that here was a landing place, and that farther inland lay a [312] village. To the river they came with their carved clothes [296] beaters, like the one we could see in the hand of the woman who greeted us here at Ma'lobbi, fashioned, as we later learned when she sold it to us, in the shape of a male vodu head on one end, and a female snake on the other. It was at the edge of the water that a woman scraped cooking pots [264] and calabash dishes with sand, and it was here, if it seemed a good day for fishing, that a woman would go wading in the water to rest a cooking pot on the river [226] bottom, and stand silently until an inquisitive school of small fish swam into it when, with a quick jerk, she would bring it up to take out what fish there were. This, aside from the use of small hooks, was the only kind of fishing a woman could do, for the fishing traps were for the use of men. But the cooking pot brought in many small fish to add flavor to a dish of rice.

123 As we walked into the village, accompanied by one of our 609 younger paddlers, the bassia greeted us. The head of the village was waiting for us, he told us. Paddlers of small boats on their way downstream had spread the word that our visit with the Granman was drawing to an end.

531 The greater part of these carvings men made for women,
431 and it was a rare woman who did not take pride in the excellence of the carvings given her, though often it must have been the pride in something which had traditional value, for it would be false to assume that among any people are all men equally endowed with creativeness and all women with sensitive appreciation of what is created.

462 As among so many peoples, two or three types of art
530 were to be found. There was the same sex division in the
302 art of these people as existed in all other aspects of life, and the men were the wood carvers. The sharpest division in the art of the men was that between the secular and the religious. The religious art was crude. A block of wood, roughly shaped, with several cuts to indicate a face, perhaps a break in the line to represent the neck, and a few more strokes in the wood to differentiate the upper part of the woman's body, and there stood an ancestral image, or a village god. Often white clay was added to this, and sometimes alternate stripes of white and red, or white, red, and black, but when seen on a village path underneath a low open shelter, what color there once was had become
[1178] weathered to a dull gray. The sacred art also included the
[1189] charms called obias, worn on the neck, and about the upper
[1301] arm, or wrist, or below the knee, or at the ankle. Many of these made pleasing ornaments. The white fiber dipped in red clay became a deep golden brown as the sun paled the crimson, and there would be the added color of a finger's length of blue and orange parrot feather, fastened inside the woven fiber square, and extending below the fringe of the weave. Into this woven square cowries might be sewn, two facing each other, or three, or four.

532 There was also the art of modeling, but this was so secret and so specialized that we were assured that not even all Bush Negroes knew of its existence, and modeled objects appeared only in the most important of the shrines.

With the religious art might also perhaps be grouped the red and white striped crooked sticks of the Kromanti

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BAYO, THE PLAYBOY

"Bayo has asked me to find a strong *arumani* for you," she said, naming the obia she held with the word for such magically endowed properties used by the Ashanti today, on the West Coast of Africa. In rapid succession she gave us the African words of the Kromanti designation for the white clay, for the ancestral pot, and for several other ceremonial objects we discussed with her. 989

"Did you make these for us?"

"Ah, no. Women do not make obias. My brother made them for you." [862] [863]

The next morning when we were leaving Djamungo she came to the landing place with us. In our hands were the images we had bought. The young paddlers looked on them with fear. On no account would they even come too close to us who carried them. It was not the image, nor the external properties of a sacred object which disclosed its power, but rather the magic that had been called to reside in it, and the strength of the gods of him who had been instrumental in bringing the magic to the figure of wood, the brass bell, the cowrie shells, the ant-eater's bristles, or whatever else was used.

"Tell them in your village," Bayo's mother's sister called after us, "that here at Djamungo the Kromanti spirit does not come to men only. When women get Kromanti, they, too, can fight."

2

We had not been back at our base camp for more than a day when Bayo came up the path calling the greeting of a comrade. Had we fared well with the Granman? 574 609

He had, he told with pride, seen all those things a man who went on so long a journey should see, and he had been to Lamé again, where there were strong obias and where the women knew how to love. Now he would remain with us until we left the bush, and he might even decide to go with us to the city, and from there to the French shore, where there was money to be got. What with the money he had earned for timber, and the money we had given 115 556

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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houses would have to be built—one in his village where they would live, and one in the provision ground for his wife to sleep in when she worked in the field.

"Must you yourself build the house, Bayo?"

"My family will help me. Making a house is hard work, too, and a man must have clever fingers for weaving the walls."

There would have to be stools, and several well-ornamented combs. A clothes beater would have to be provided for the bride, and a peanut pounding board, and one mortar and pestle at least, and food stirrers and rice trays. A cassava squeezer would have to be woven, and a sifter and grater for the roots that were made into bread. And baskets, too, he would have to weave.

"This is not all. This is only what I must make. Other things I must buy for her."

He would have to provide cloths when the wedding day came, and cloths for his mother-in-law, too. The small kerchiefs which were folded in triangular shape and were worn about the waist as the sign that a woman was married he would also have to furnish, and two large cloths, each the size of three tunics. He would have to buy an iron cooking pot, and some small fishhooks with lines, and some cups from the white man's city. He was going to give his girl a pair of earrings, and a string of beads. Then there would have to be the hammock.

Bayo laughed, "For a marriage, there must be a hammock."

There were other things he was going to buy for his girl. Brass arm and leg ornaments he would buy, since his girl was already a fine dancer.

And when all these things were bought and given, then it was time for the marriage.

"But it doesn't always happen that the marriage takes place," said Bayo. "Sometimes the girl's people do not like what the man has done. They have another krutu, and decide the man should not marry into their family."

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

241 Behind each village, a quarter of a mile to five miles dis-
313 tant, are its provision grounds, which the women work. They consist of tiny patches of half an acre or more, carved out of the heart of the jungle by means of terrific labour. It
[442] takes the men weeks of work with axes and bush-knives to clear the ground. The fallen trees, some of extremely hard wood, are cut up, burnt, or carried away. The brush is cleared with a machete, or bush-knife, which Negroes call a neefee; they swing this blade with amazing force by making the wrist the centre of its arc.

462 The women, as in most primitive societies, tend to the
241 planting and harvesting of the crops. They are helped by the men of the family on some occasions, such as when the harvest is threatened by voracious parasites. The arduous labour of cultivating the stubborn earth comes so naturally to a Bush Negro woman that she is incredulous when told that elsewhere the males alone till the soil.

136 A leaf-cutting ant, *Ecodoma cephalotes,* that carries small
241 bits of leaves into its nest, preys on the cassava fields. These ants march in two parallel columns, one going to the fields and the other returning, and systematically ruin the crop. The bit of green that each ant is carrying off looks like an umbrella; hence they are called umbrella ants. They live on a fungus which they grow on the cut leaves. Large numbers of them working together can denude an entire cassava field in a comparatively short time.

134 The jungle ground is not excessively fertile, for the in-
241 cessant downpours leach out the humus, and there is not

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

531 In the combs, paddles, and other pieces of wood carv-
322 ing illustrated in this book, the most casual observer will discern a great beauty of form and design. The sense of line, the feeling for balance, combined with elaborate conception and execution, compare well with the productions of the highly sophisticated artists of our urban civilization. All of the wood carvings, collectively known as *sanni* or *timbeh,* follow certain traditional patterns. The individual motifs, however, are products of the individual imagination, and, judging by the variety and originality of the designs shown herewith, that imagination is evidently quite fertile.

[462] All the carving is done by men. There is a ceremonial significance to this. These wooden pieces are tokens of love.

Love in the jungle is not the etherealized sentiment portrayed by Victorian novelists. When a man and woman
[331] want each other the satisfaction of their desire is easy and immediate. The people are largely promiscuous among themselves. Under such conditions the existence of romantic sentiments is an impossibility.

822 Individual preference does, of course, exist, and this im-
322 plies courtship. A man may want a woman who does not
431 want him, and this implies wooing. The wooing consists in presenting the woman with specimens of sanni. Thus, every piece of wood carving is a token of love and affection, presented by a Bush Negro to his woman. The woman who accepts sanni from a suitor accepts his love along with it. The man naturally stores up a quantity of sanni in expecta-

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121 The agriculture of the Bush Negroes, however, has become
[241] a matter which urgently demands the attention of the administration as a result of the wasteful use of land. Until now little attention has been paid to this, but if one wants to develop the interior of Surinam, this problem will also have to be looked into.

101 The data provided here throw light upon the agriculture of
121 the Paramaccaners and the Aucaners on the Marowijne and the
[103] Tapanahoni. They were gathered during the above-mentioned medical expedition and during a trip to the Tapanahoni in October, 1952. The facts thus refer primarily to the Marowijne, but in general they are certainly also valid for the other rivers along
121 which the Bush Negroes live. It is a typically Surinam problem,
648 connected with the circumstance that the Bush Negroes have worked in the deep interior in the same fashion for hundreds of years, independent of the life in the civilized coastal region and almost completely outside the sphere of interest of the government.

2. The Grounds System

241 For the planting of agricultural crops the Bush Negro lays out little so-called food grounds. One is to understand by this cleared pieces of ground in the virgin forest on which the crops
[311] are cultivated. The grounds lie along the rivers on higher flat lands, mostly terraces that are not submerged during high water or, in the absence of such terrain, on the slopes of hills. They are more or less circular and have a surface area of a half to one and a half hectares.

241 During the long dry season (October, November) the men
221 clear the grounds. Two to three weeks thereafter the forest that
132 has been felled is burned; the smaller branches are cleared away,
● 462 but the trunks are left lying. The ground is not worked. As soon as the rains of the short rainy season begin, they start to plant and sow. This planting time falls in December and January. The wives of the Bush Negroes (for only the women do the further work) now plant all kinds of crops at the same time on one and the same ground.

/5 cont./

133 This extreme fragmentation of the relief must be remembered
182 as one of the ecological factors influencing the human peopling most directly; it renders the transport of heavy loads impracticable, the establishing of roads practically impossible. Men are led to
[361] settle along the rivers, which constitute the only routes of penetration toward the interior of the country.

133 All the important rivers flow into an alluvial valley whose
132 width varies from some tens of meters to a kilometer, dry during the greater part /6/ of the year, but flooded under several meters
134 of water during the great rains of May-June. This annual inunda-
241 tion makes the alluvial lands unfit for agriculture; the inhabitants of Guiana cultivate only sloping lands and even very steep slopes readily; for good drainage of the soil is indispensable for the raising of manioc whose tubers, which remain in the ground for more than a year, are threatened with rotting.

311 The cultivable zone is in fact closely limited around each village. Practically, it is limited to a strip of 1,500 to 2,000 meters along the banks of each watercourse accessible to pirogues.
[482] Transport of manioc tubers, carried on by the women several
[462] times a month, becomes impracticable if the distance to be covered with loads is greater than two kilometers at the maximum (1).

[101]
[131]
[184]

1. The Djuka, very numerous on the Tapanahoni, cultivate as far as three or four kilometers from the river; but in general, the Refugee Blacks prefer to build farming habitations at a distance of several days' by boat from their village when this gives them the possibility of farming in the neighborhood of the banks.

/72 cont./

643 The grand man acts as land head for the whole of the tribe.
778 It is he who has the care of the sanctuary of mama gɔ̃ and who
241 prays each year in the presence of a large gathering of people for the fertility of the soil.

643 The grand man is the priest of Odun, divinity whom the Boni
793 regard as avenger of offenses against moral and religious law; by
776 virtue of this, he alone is qualified to administer the oath against
782 wiʃi (sorcery) and to implore the mercy of Odun toward those who have gone against his laws by fighting with arms.

643 In his religious functions this usually weak and unobtrusive
156 man acts with sovereign authority and assurance, and we have several times seen people tremble before him.

643 If someone has seriously transgressed the customary laws, or
681 if he has stolen, committed adultery, given blows, poured forth
[673] serious insults or curses, the grand man inflicts on him punishment proportional to the gravity of the offense, such as making planks, /73/ a boat, pounding rice (if it is a woman). The product of the punishment is acquired by the grand man, as are the fines in money which he imposes in less serious cases.

643 For example in October, 1952, two adolescents of Boniville,
685 Awétipay and Adyuka, were surprised while they were trying to break into an inhabited house; the grand man sentenced them forthwith to three days of forced labor, in the course of which he made them clean the approaches to the village and collect for his benefit wood for heating.

643 He can also punish disobedient or disrespectful young men
689 by making them do work reserved for women, such as weeding
462 the approaches to the village and the removal of dog droppings.

643 The grand man can confine a man to Boni villages by for-
681 bidding him to go beyond l'Enfant Perdu to the north and Kormotibo to the south; that is called sitafu sama (sitafu = captive). The man concerned, deprived of means of earning his living, thus becomes dependent on his family until he makes honorable amends.

/75 cont./

571 In fact, the society of the Refugee Blacks has not elaborated
77 true political institutions; it is essentially a grouping for collective
692 defense against suprahuman perils. The council, like the grand man, has power and authority only insofar as it remains closely bound to this function.

511 Absence of subordination. Among the Refugee Blacks no privileged
[565] class exists, /76/ and they all face life on a footing of rigorous equality; all receive the same education, must cultivate the soil,
[754] build their boats and houses, and live by paid work. The differences in standard of living observed from one to another stem basically from intelligence and work; and that, in spite of the belief in the possibility of getting rich by sorcery, is clearly understood by all.

565 Although the Boni willingly engage in paid work for one
[465] another in transportation by boat, there exists no tendency toward the formation of a class of rich people and one of wage-earners.
571 No servants exist among them, and one observes in their mutual
461 relations no exploitation of the weak. Neither does one observe that
[357] a rich man tries to have done by another, for pay, the customary
[462] jobs he must carry out for the benefit of his wife (clearings, building of boats). This would be looked on with great disfavor. The grand
[643] man himself, if his grandson is not there to help him, goes himself to draw water from the river and he does it ostensibly, even though he has a constant concern for his prestige.

829 The misfortunes undergone by their ancestors are certainly at the base of this conception; for they have inspired in the Refugee Blacks a particular sense of human dignity which is not found to the same degree in Africa.

/131 cont./

429 198 1) They show the continuity and vitality of the custom of the Refugee Blacks. The proportion of boys and girls brought up by the mother, the paternal grandmother, the father, etc. is noticeably constant from one generation to the other. There is no tendency for the proportion of children raised by the father to increase; it even seems to decrease, which may be related to the increasing instability of marriages. In fact, in spite of European influences, no evolution is observed toward patrilineal structures among the Refugee Blacks.

429 613 591 2) The fact that part of the children are raised outside of their own lineage has few consequences for the unity of the group; for most of them, when their education is finished, come to settle down in one of the villages belonging to their lineage.

Of 88 men born before 1936, 28 were raised outside their lineage; 21 of them came back to it; only seven, or less than 8 per cent, settled down in other lineages.

Of 78 women born before 1936, 12 were raised outside their lineage, of whom only four, or 5 per cent, settled permanently outside their group.

868 462 Education of children. If the education of girls does not necessitate a difficult apprenticeship, it is not the same for boys; the sum of knowledge that /132/ a Refugee Black must possess to carry out effectively the techniques of his group is considerable. In particular, he must:

--Know more than 200 kinds of trees with their uses, the way to fell them, the way to work their wood;

--Be capable of constructing boats of at least 10 kegs (1,000 kilograms of load). This technique alone requires several years of apprenticeship;

--Acquire sufficient knowledge of carpenter work to build his house and that of his wife;

--Learn how to handle boats on the river and the techniques of transport boating.

/132 cont./

648 difficulty in learning the techniques of his group, for the years
871 when the mind is most pliant have been lost in this regard; as
156 for the knowledge acquired at school, it is so foreign to the life of the Refugee Blacks that at the end of a few years none of it remains except vague smatterings.

861 In general, the process of education employed among the Refugee Blacks is imitation of the adult. A child is rarely given a lesson as such. He sees something done, he tries on his own
868 initiative, and little by little he learns. For example, /133/ he sees his guardian make a boat; he is simply asked to go and get dry palm branches and to take away the chips; he hears the adults discuss the job as it goes on. At about the age of 12 or 13 he tries to make a first boat for himself with the help of an older comrade. He progressively acquires knowledge of this technique.

561 Boys begin to take part in farm work from the age of six
462 or seven, principally weeding and planting. At about ten or eleven they begin to handle the machete and help to cut through the bush; at about 12 they begin to handle the axe and learn to fell trees. At 14 or 15 they begin to make small boats. An adolescent of 16 or 17 is in general capable of cutting a clearing for his mother or sister.

429 Most often the guardian takes his role very seriously, giving
86 his main attention to teaching the child all that is necessary. If it is a woman, she asks her brothers to teach the techniques of boating and building.

866 The principle is to develop very early a sense of responsi-
461 bility in the child by making it progressively necessary for him
434 to earn his living. The guardian does not furnish pocket money,
[291] and with the exception of a hammock every other year, no manufactured objects (children under 11-12 years not being clothed, he has almost no expenses for clothing). But he gives the child progressively chances to earn money by his work. From ten years on, the child begins to render some services: for example for the construction of a boat, he helps transport the dry palm branches intended for the burning. If the boat is being

/149 cont./

592 The household. Household life is a limited association, freely
593 agreed upon by two beings who live totally independent of each other, the emotional life of each remaining almost entirely centered upon his maternal family. It entails reciprocal duties:

--For the man, to build a house for his wife in her village, to construct a new boat for her every three or four years, to cut a clearing for her each year /150/ and help in planting it, to furnish her with imported commodities, cloth, salt, kerosene, tools, which she needs, as well as game and smoke-dried fish;

--For the woman, to farm the clearing and furnish her husband when he comes to visit her with couac and the vegetables
[462] necessary for his food. (The man, used to living as a bachelor, owns his own cooking utensils and most of the time prepares his meals himself.)

This system of intermittent conjugal life seems to assure the Boni a perfect balance at the same time that it permits them
[562] to satisfy their taste for change. The men divide their life among work, visits to their different wives, hunting and fishing expeditions; their life is thus constantly renewed and they are protected against tendencies toward apathy and mental inertia.

In general, as long as the union lasts, the woman fulfills
[241] exactly her obligations; although the yield from the clearing is
[422] her property and the excess of the harvest is sold for her ex-
[434] clusive benefit, the man is assured of getting from her all the provisions he needs. On the other hand, many men, through
[591] laziness, get out of constructing a house for their wives and the latter continue to live with their mothers. In the villages on the French bank about 20 such cases were observed in 1958.
591/ Several cases are even noted in which a woman, aged but still
592 having unmarried children, one or two of her daughters and their children are living together in one house. For example, in Asisi village, nine persons were living together in the very small house of their mother and grandmother Tini.

/254 cont./

841 Woman's magic power. The Refugee Blacks assume that a woman, during her menstrual periods, is impure and has the power to destroy the power of ɔbia. So during these periods she must withdraw into a special hut, munu ɔsu, and prepare her meals in special dishes; she may not prepare her husband's food, for by doing this she would destroy the power of his ɔbia, and must abstain from touching objects he habitually uses, particularly his gun, which would lose its good points for shooting. Even in the little farming habitations which consist of only several huts, one may be sure that one of them serves as a munu ɔsu.

841 343 462 [465] The munu ɔsu are very simple sheds built by the women themselves, using reclaimed materials taken from huts being demolished; some belong to one woman only; for others, three or four women get together. They have recourse to men only for assembling the framework, remunerating them with several cans of couac or several baskets of yams.

841 /255/A man who has a powerful ɔbia like the man nɛ̃ŋge ɔbia must abstain from speaking to a woman who has her menses.

[751] The Boni assume there are women wicked enough to willfully hide their menses in order to destroy the power of a man's ɔbia, but he who has a good man nɛ̃ŋge ɔbia cannot be a dupe: the iron circle warns him of the danger by squeezing his arm.

184 841 68 According to Mr. W. F. van Lier, the act of willfully hiding her menses is for the Djuka one of the gravest offenses a woman can commit, and the most severe punishments are inflicted on her. It is not the same with the Boni: in such a case a woman risks only being insulted and banned.

752 834 171 Another deeply rooted belief among the Refugee Blacks, and which exists with many Creoles, is the necessity for the

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

magic on their owners. And there was the Gankwe woman who brought us a paddle representing the bird she called the *apassa*. 532

"We Gankwe people do not eat the apassa," she had whispered to us when we bought the paddle. [262]

5

In the house of the captain of Ma'lobbi we sat and talked of the carvings of the Saramacca people, and as we talked, they brought us some of the things the men of the village had carved.

"Do all men carve?" we asked the chief.

"Not everyone has the spirit. But every young man tries. If a man is good at hunting, or on the river, then perhaps he can get the things he needs to give his wife from others for what he can give the carver. But it is better that he do these things for his wife himself. The women like it better." 463

Not everyone could make a boat, he said, nor was everyone able to carve the *pau pau dindu*, the intricate "wood within wood" motifs that made a strip go like a twisted snake in and out, in and out, through a design. And not everyone could make a drum. Like that apinti he had there. 463 532

It was the opening for which we had been waiting. 532

We had been admiring this drum since we had come into his house, we said. We remembered it from the first time on our way up river. It was as fine as any we had seen. Had he made it himself? 534 432 439

He smiled his appreciation.

"It is a fine apinti, ai," agreed several of the men sitting about.

An apinti was one of the things we wanted to take to show the white man. This one, especially, we would like to buy. Would he sell it?

He looked at us for a moment, and then gently shook his head. "To make an apinti is not a small thing. Not everyone can make an apinti. I have worked on it for a long time, and it is not yet finished. This drum I will not sell."

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

755 the cock is able to stand up and crow the patient is said to be cured.

787 The killing of the white rooster and inspection of its bladder are performed also in order to foretell the future in other than healing situations. There are several methods of prophesying. In one of them a plank is supported on the heads of two men, and on it are placed various little bundles. A third man stands before the plank and asks questions while the men bearing the plank jump up and down. The Gadu (the spirit in the bundles) is supposed to reply with a yes or no, as indicated by the way the bundles on the plank move. The questions are put metaphorically and in such a way as to exclude the possibility of the plank bearers deliberately influencing the answers. After one man has asked several questions, the bearers run with the plank to another part of the village where further questions are put to it. The carrying of this plank seems to be the prerogative of certain individuals, and only certain others understand the making of the bundles and the correct placing of them.

778 Not even Mynheer Wolff, who has lived among the Bush Negroes for many years and undoubtedly commands their profound respect, has been permitted to enter Dahomey. The headman or captain of Dahomey, interestingly enough, is named Songai. There is a district on the West Coast of Africa still known today as Songhay. The name is the remnant of a great Negro empire that once flourished in North-West Africa, near the Sahara Desert. This empire is thought to have had universities and astronomical observatories, wealth

/241 cont./

152 828 754 777 Jealousy. To speak of jealousy as a negative magic force is not to be false to the thought of the Refugee Blacks. They regard it as an attenuated force of wisi, capable of bringing misfortunes even if no sorcery has been formulated. Jealousy is 152 157 very marked in their character, associated with an individualism verging on asocial tendencies. When somebody is accused of 754 wisi, jealousy is the commonest explanation of the crimes 152 828 attributed to him; it is thought for example that a man can be jealous of his brother's growing rich to the point of making him die; that a woman may be jealous of the beauty or health of 152 her sister's children. Not laying themselves open to jealousy 156 is the constant preoccupation of the Refugee Blacks; one ob- 828 serves it in daily behavior, for example in the greetings which 576 they exchange on the river. They never say, "I am well," but: "I feel only fair." If they come back from hunting they say, "I found a little."

152 Examples are not lacking of people who avoid building 156 a fine house or buying an outboard motor in order not to give 828 cause for jealousy. This preoccupation has profound reper- [182] cussions on the material life and the economy of the Refugee [463] Blacks; it explains in particular the absence of specialized professions and trade among them.

Many aspects of the customary law of the Refugee Blacks [183] have no other function than to exorcise, if one may say so, [571] tendencies toward jealousy and selfishness which, if they were given free rein, would poison the life of the collectivity.

76 The rites of death and mourning, which we have shown 181 to constitute the pivot of the social life of the Refugee Blacks, 725 are entirely based on the idea of preserving the surviving spouse 828 from the effect of the jealousy of the deceased.

/291 cont./

159 464 463 Wishing to take advantage of all the possibilities which turn up, the Refugee Blacks are led to learn simultaneously the traditional techniques of their group, boating, boat-building, felling of trees, squaring of wood, and /building/ framework. In these techniques they may be considered specialized workers.

157 812 Proud of their strength and knowledge, sure of themselves, the Refugee Blacks are never worried about the future and consider life as an exciting adventure, ceaselessly bringing new things. If the past year has been bad, the new year will be better, with God's help. Nobody doubts that he will find gainful work again.

152 182 Influence of jealousy: absence of specialized professions and trade. Another strong psychological tendency having a direct influence on the economy is jealousy.

152 828 556 953 999 The effect of jealousy, and the fear of jealousy, is to limit enrichment and to maintain a de facto equality: it often happens that talented people forego undertaking profitable work in order not to give occasion for the jealousy which would render their position in the village difficult and might draw misfortunes upon them; for people have the idea that jealousy draws down illnesses and calamities upon him who is the object of it and on his near relatives, by the action of a natural force, even without sorcery being formulated.

754 556 441 829 Fear of sorcery interferes in the same way; one who becomes unusually rich is almost inevitably accused of being a sorcerer and may be obliged to leave the country. Particularly vulnerable are those, very rare, who engage in trade. People do not suspect of sorcery a man who is seen to become rich by /292/ working ceaselessly. But the trader whose wealth increases without his furnishing obvious work, is quickly regarded as a "committed one," accused of having his good luck as a result of a pact with the devil.

/292 cont./

754 556 441 438 366 In that can doubtless be seen the most likely explanation of the absence, in the tribes of Refugee Blacks, of any internal trade. There are not even markets in the villages. In practice only Creole and Asian traders are patronized.

463 829 [438] The repugnance which the Refugee Blacks have for trading with one another contributes toward preventing the development of specialized professions among them. Specialization does actually exist: one man is particularly good at building boats, another is a competent carpenter, still another devotes himself mainly to fishing; but the Refugee Blacks exercise these specialties with respect to other peoples and not with respect to one another. Nobody fails to build his own boat, his house, to cut his clearings himself. If it were otherwise, classes and castes would rapidly be created, and that is precisely what the moral law of the Refugee Blacks condemns. A special effect of this conception is to preserve family custom from deteriorating, by preventing the rich from becoming great polygamists maintaining idle mistresses. We have never heard it said that a richer man paid someone to perform for him the customary work he owes to his wives, clearings, house, boat. Whatever his wealth may be, he continues to do these jobs by the sweat of his brow, and that contributes toward maintaining in its meaning and value the tacit contract concluded between husband and wife.

463 829 593 182 461

182 159 433 648 Thus the geographic conditions, associated with influences of a social and psychological order, impose on the Refugee Blacks a unique economy, based on a symbiosis with the coast populations in the form of piece-work or temporary wage-earning.

/142 cont./

101 162 311 circumstances because with their lower population density they are less seriously in need of land. But the same fate awaits them in the near future. In addition, the cutting of the forest has more serious consequences in this region because as a result exploitable timber is lost. Along the Tapanahoni, above the greater falls, woodcutting is impossible for the time being, so that the loss of wood in these districts does not as yet play an economic role here.

6. Measures toward Improvement

433 The question now is whether the grounds-operations of the Bush Negroes must be regulated by a higher authority. My advice is: The /143/ sooner improvement can be brought about in this, the better, and for the following reasons.

[311] 1st. Because of the grounds-system practiced from olden times, the Aucaners of the Tapanahoni in particular now have such a land shortage that further growth of the population is thereby hindered.

[262] 2nd. The food supply of this Bush Negro society is precarious and one-sided; this threatens to become more and more unfavorable, with the consequence that the health situation will require more and more care.

3rd. The Bush Negroes cannot be considered capable of bringing about changes for the better in these agricultural methods by themselves.

[167] 4th. Occupying these districts becomes less and less attractive for the younger generation, whereby a spreading of the [464] population over other areas takes place. The men try to find work in the lowlands or in the concerns in French Guiana.

5th. Through the wasteful use of land the supplies of wood along the rivers are in danger of becoming lost entirely.

6th. It is to be feared that unless help is offered through government channels in time to help this bush population out of the impasse, its social and economic retrogression will soon become seriously felt.

F /10 cont./
233 Since about ten years ago Creole exploiters without any
433 outside aid have built up a herd of several hundred head, principally with an eye to the provisioning of the mining center of Benzdorp.
F The existence of an airodrome and regular air connections permits
[508] envisaging the export of meat to the coast. The success of animal
F raising in the Upper Maroni seems to be attributable to a rainfall
233 lower in total amount than on the coastal strip but better distributed,
[132] as well as to the nature of the soil. It is principally on the floodable
[311] alluvial strip bordering the river to a width of 500 to 600 meters that cattle find the most favorable conditions, taking refuge on the neighboring hills during the three weeks of annual inundation.

F Winning pastures from the forest and defending them against
[461] the encroachment of the bush represents continual work, but it
[464] can be carried out on the Maroni far better than on the coast, thanks to the man power of the Refugee Blacks.

F One cannot yet come to a conclusion on the profitableness
[433] of this animal raising. Like many other enterprises in Guiana it
[435] is handicapped by its too high cost price which prevents effective competition with imported products.

B 2) The populations of the Maroni, descending from rebel
101 slaves of the 18th century, who are often called Refugee Blacks, are divided into three tribes: the Djuka, the Paramaka, and the
B Boni, whose customs are practically identical and whose dialects
197 are very close. These dialects are variations of Taki-taki, vehicular language derived mainly from English, whose use was widespread in the time of slavery and which has become the national language of Surinam.

B The Paramaka, 700 to 800 in number, occupy the lower part
162 of the course of the Maroni from the first waterfall (Hermina)
131 to the junction with Béiman Creek. They are not navigators but
B farmers and foresters, who furnish highly prized man power for
433 the enterprises of the Saint-Laurent region.
• 464

/10 cont./

162 The Boni, about 1,000 in number, occupy the course of the
131 Lawa between Abounasounga Falls to the north and the falls of the
Litani to the south. Their "great villages," that is, their residential
36 villages, are: Agodé (Boniville), Kotika, Asisi, Loka, Papal'sion,
[103] Kormotibo, Lapé, and l'Enfant Perdu. Three small villages
founded more recently are established on the lower course of the
563 Maroni. The territorial implantation of the Boni has been dis-
turbed by the settlement of Creole gold miners on their territory
178 for three quarters of a century. Their demographic situation is
mediocre and their tribal organization, compared to that of the
[111] other tribes, has lost much of its strength. However, they still
make up a human grouping full of strength and originality.

131 The Djuka, whose "great villages" are in Surinam territory
361 on the /11/ Tapanahoni, can be evaluated at 7,000 to 8,000 in
[162] total. At the height of demographic expansion, their farming
[61] villages swarm on both banks of the Maroni and on the islands,
[648] penetrating more and more deeply into the interior of French
[619] Guiana, where in places they form small temporary groupings
living in symbiosis with the Creole gold miners; the Boni recognize
their right to cross their territory but not that of establishing
villages in it.

433 For a century the economy of the Refugee Blacks has been
648 founded on a symbiosis with the Europeans and Creoles; they furnish
[464] specialized labor (construction, but above all, transport) in ex-
[465] change for relatively high wages. This economy finds itself
[178] threatened by the gradual disappearance of gold mining; there is
[166] developing a tendency toward temporary emigration to the Euro-
[182] pean work yards of Saint-Laurent analogous to that of the Saramaka
of Surinam to French Guiana. This is a serious threat to the in-
terior cohesion of the tribes.

/128 cont./

593 152 429 One of the commonplaces of ethnographic literature is the feeling of frustration that the father would experience in a matrilineal system when he is separated from his children. Thoughts heard every now and then could allow one to believe in the existence of such a feeling among the Refugee Blacks. For example Balna, of Asisi village, tells us one day with bitterness: "I have had eight children, all living..and I have been given only one to bring up." But this is only a pretense. No Refugee Black thinks seriously of bringing up the five or six children he has had in the course of his life by three or four [468] different women. Besides, this would be materially impossible for him, considering the mode of life of the Refugee Blacks and the necessity for the adult men to move ceaselessly in search [163] of paid work. For example, by encouraging Balna to tell the basis for his thought, it was not difficult to understand that he would have liked to raise two or three of his eight children (born of four different women), the ones he loved for subjective reasons; the others scarcely interested him and it was all the same to him whether they were brought up here or there.

429 152 601 In reality the paternal feeling of the Refugee Blacks is a rather subjective thing; raising a son or a nephew is the same in their eyes. The same paternal feeling will develop, and in both cases they will say "my son" and "my father."

593 429 Mothers give their children to be raised with the greatest of ease, especially within the lineage.

[163] For example Eliana (Dju, F8), about 45 years old in 1957, who had nine living children, was raising only four:

△ Atibi	1937	raised by his father Matapi (Asisi-Aw.B.);
△ Doni	1939	raised by his maternal grandmother Béniti (Dju, E5);
○ Aguba	1940	raised by Lènga (F36), Eliana's classificatory sister (tenth-degree kinship);
△ A...	1943	raised by his father Yusu (Papalston);

754 /241 cont. /
[126] Several cases of wisi. We transcribe these affairs as they were related to us, placing ourselves in the perspective of the narrator, without making any judgment as to the nature of the facts and their probability.

N... affair. -- N...., of Kotika, was working gold with another Boni. After they had eaten /242/ together, the latter was taken with uncontrollable vomiting, then he died. His near relatives blamed N..., accusing him of wisi. In the night N... took refuge at Benzdorp and took passage on a Djuka
[167] boat which was going down the river. He settled in Paramaribo. Since then his sister T... has gone to join him. They have left the Boni for good.

P... affair. -- Toko (Dipélu II), while boating on the lower river, wagered one morning with his friend Kwami (who told us the story) to stay in a dive for the time necessary to fill a five-liter demijohn; bet taken; Toko did not come back up, he had drowned. His body was found the next day. The family
[578] blamed one P...., of Kotika village, whose wife N..., had left him to marry Toko and who at the time had made threats.
[683] They insulted him, they presented Toko's decomposed body to him: "Eat him, since thou hast killed him like game." P... stubbornly denied it. The grand man commanded that he be left alone, turning him over to Odun to punish if he were guilty. As a matter of fact, some time afterward, P... died and was declared wisimi.

[464] S... affair. -- About 1955, S...., of Kotika, about 60 years old, was working with Kwau weeding the clearings of a Benzdorp Creole who raised oxen. One morning this cattle-raiser saw one of his oxen covered with blood coming from wounds which bore tooth marks and could not have been made by bats. He followed the traces of blood which led him to S...'s hammock.

/250 cont./

789 396 There exist special ɔbia for the building of boats. The opening of the hull in the fire, a delicate operation, sometimes fails. To insure its success everyone possesses a personal recipe inherited from his father or uncle. It does not call by name and directly upon the action of a god; the Boni do not have a clear idea about the origin or the nature of these rites. It is a matter of a maceration of two or three kinds of leaves, generally belonging to the secondary flora which surrounds the villages, and they vary from one man to another. One pours this maceration over the overturned boat before the burning is begun, while saying: "The boat must not split, it must open well."

832 [673] The laws of Odun forbid the use of charms aimed at forcing the love of a woman one desires; that would infringe on a person's freedom, therefore wisi. It is very /251/ possible however that certain people go to get charms of this kind from Creole magicians. But they take for granted, on the other hand, the ɔbia believed to permit men who have little success with women to have more in the future.

951 789 There does not seem to be any hierarchy of ɔbia nor is one category of ɔbia believed to be stronger by nature than another; in fact, the Refugee Blacks are seen to go readily to ask one divinity for an ɔbia in order to protect themselves from another. Here is an example:

464 [648] In 1951 the administration had a systematic cleaning of the Petit Inini River begun, in order to rid its course of innumerable pieces of fallen wood which were making the use of motors on boats difficult. A team of Boni were employed in this work under the direction of a Creole foreman. While the [776] work was being done, a Papa gadu "came into the head" of an [787] old woman named M... of the Awara Bakka lo. It revealed that it was opposed to this work, for it lived in exactly this 464 place and the noise of the motors bothered it. Upon their return 776 to Boni country, the men charged with this work learned the

/251 cont./

464 776 decision of the god and under some pretext or other refused to resume work. In August, 1952, while we were on a work trip 751 /en mission/, an ɔbiamɛ̃ made it known that an Ampuku was 791 willing to give a tapu, that is, an ɔbia of protection, against this Papa gadu. We were present at a discussion in the course [465] of which several Boni planned to take up this work again, but asking for raised wages to cover the expenses of the ɔbia (1).

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/290 cont./

695 The Refugee Blacks have a sense of contract to a high
461 degree, and they bring /291/ to the execution of work to which
157 they have committed themselves qualities of seriousness, initiative, and a sense of duty not found to the same degree in Black Africa.

157 Refusal of any lasting commitment. If the Refugee Blacks honor
671 their contracts, they do not like to commit themselves for a
571 long period.

This attitude results from their desire for independence, but also from the moral and religious law which governs their society.

This law forbids infringing on the liberty of persons, humiliating anyone, and doing anything which might be able to plunge him into anger or affliction. Its effect is to prevent any exploitation of the weak, any creation of a servant or proletarian caste. It even leads to the absence of any permanent subordination of one man to another.

[466] The desire for independence of the Refugee Blacks makes them unwilling to bind themselves definitively to a job, however profitable. When a man judges that he has put aside sufficient savings, he leaves the job which furnished him with these resources.

[464] This tendency makes the search for paid work much more difficult and hazardous; it happens that a man may stay for years without finding gainful work, living in straitened circumstances. But that is the price of independence, and it is accepted without hesitation.

/291 cont./

157 Wishing to take advantage of all the possibilities which
464 turn up, the Refugee Blacks are led to learn simultaneously the
463 traditional techniques of their group, boating, boat-building, felling of trees, squaring of wood, and /building/ framework. In these techniques they may be considered specialized workers.

157 Proud of their strength and knowledge, sure of themselves,
812 the Refugee Blacks are never worried about the future and consider life as an exciting adventure, ceaselessly bringing new things. If the past year has been bad, the new year will be better, with God's help. Nobody doubts that he will find gainful work again.

152 Influence of jealousy: absence of specialized professions and
182 trade. Another strong psychological tendency having a direct influence on the economy is jealousy.

152 The effect of jealousy, and the fear of jealousy, is to
828 limit enrichment and to maintain a de facto equality: it often
556 happens that talented people forego undertaking profitable work
753 in order not to give occasion for the jealousy which would render
797 their position in the village difficult and might draw misfortunes upon them; for people have the idea that jealousy draws down illnesses and calamities upon him who is the object of it and on his near relatives, by the action of a natural force, even without sorcery being formulated.

754 Fear of sorcery interferes in the same way; one who be-
556 comes unusually rich is almost inevitably accused of being a
441 sorcerer and may be obliged to leave the country. Particularly
829 vulnerable are those, very rare, who engage in trade. People do not suspect of sorcery a man who is seen to become rich by /292/ working ceaselessly. But the trader whose wealth increases without his furnishing obvious work, is quickly regarded as a "committed one," accused of having his good luck as a result of a pact with the devil.

/295 cont./

648 Indians to trade with them than with the Europeans and Creoles; the Boni are a graded society in which things tend to take place according to well-defined norms. It suffices to compare the Oayana Indians, who have kept the essentials of their civilization, with the Indians of the Oyapok to be convinced that the Boni have protected the former much more than they have oppressed them.

[464] Relations with the Creoles. The Boni are in constant contact with Creole gold miners and traders, for the benefit of whom they carry out many kinds of work (boating, tree-felling, construction). Most of them speak the Creole dialect very well and are well informed on the Creole type of life.

[191] [829]

On the whole, relations between the two groups are good. On the Upper Maroni, it is mainly a matter of Creoles of African blood, who have come from the British West Indies, whom the Boni do not consider to be extremely different from themselves. Many have been settled there for a very long time, and individual friendships have become established; yet the two groups have not the least tendency to merge.

[829]

/296/ The Creoles have only scorn for the civilization of the Refugee Blacks, which reminds them of a detested African past. They have a feeling of superiority and do not cease exhorting the Boni to adopt their clothing and way of life.

829 The feelings that the Boni have toward the Creoles are complex; they clearly perceive that the activity of the gold miners is artificial and that isolated people are incapable of living by their own efforts in the midst of this pitiless forest. When they have become old and sick, the gold miners experience the worst distress and literally die of hunger until they are evacuated to the hospice of Saint Laurent. Among the Refugee Blacks, old men are assured of a decent life in the midst of the members of their lineage, who surround them with affectionate respect.

888

/296 cont./

888 829 This is a point of view which has great importance in the eyes of the Boni, for whom finishing one's days at the hospice or being reduced to asking for the help of outsiders constitutes the worst downfall.

829 They fear, moreover, as we have shown, Creole magic which they liken to a form of wisi.

On the other hand, they are impressed by the attainments of the Creoles, the real spirit of initiative and the strong personality of some of them; moreover, the Boni who have been to Cayenne have noticed the solicitude of the administration with respect to the population of the communes. For all these reasons there exists among the Boni a certain body of opinion in favor of creolization. But the very unique type of life of the Boni and their desire to keep their special customs attach them to their ancestral form of life; about 1890 the explorer Coudreau, observing the same facts, was predicting imminent creolization of the Boni. In fact, this did not happen, and it is unlikely to.

829 177 178 [114]

648 464 Traditional relations with Europeans. The Refugee Blacks constitute an important element in the economic life of the Guianas; on behalf of the administration and European enterprises they perform many jobs (boating, wood-floating, tree-felling). They are not well adapted to other kinds of work, but in these activities which fit with their traditional mode of life they are equal if not superior to any labor. Very highly paid, they work with speed, effectiveness, and intelligence, exhibiting an initiative and sense of duty not commonly found in Africans(1).

648 461 [465]

[177]

1. It is to be noted that if they stop leading their traditional kind of life, for example if they settle permanently near European establishments, they rapidly lose these qualities.

/513/

The scarcity of lipide foods, and, among the Boni, the low consumption of fruit might cause one to fear vitamin deficiencies. In fact, there are no signs of it.

Body hygiene is excellent; Blacks and Indians bathe several times a day and are very fastidious about their persons.

In summary, there is no appreciable difference in the customary activities, agriculture, hunting, and fishing, of the two populations. There is one in economic activity. Among the Boni, who have a greater need for imported objects, the adult men work for wages four to five months per year on the average. These jobs are very laborious and performed under bad dietary conditions, whereas the Indians rest when they are not occupied with their customary tasks, sometimes spending entire days stretched out in the hammock.

The two populations have been in close contact for a long time. The Indian villages farthest downstream have immediate contact with the first crop plantings of the Boni. Without having any tendency to merge (their characters and their customs are too different), Boni and Oayana have maintained regular relations since the end of the eighteenth century, doing a little trade in imported articles exchanged for hammocks and dogs trained for hunting. They often visit each other, and nothing stops the spread of illness from the one group to the other.

In fact, the way of life of the two groups is the same, the environmental conditions have the same influence, and the differences which are observed in the pathology can only be attributed to a different sensitivity with regard to the principal illnesses.

Pathology of the Boni. We shall briefly summarize here the observations of Dr. A. Sausse in his work Populations primitives du Maroni.

The pathology of the Boni is characterized by:

-- a resistance to malaria, which means that if the children have bad attacks an immunity will develop with age; the size of the spleen diminishes regularly from child to adult. The adults have only episodical attacks which are not serious; in particular

/10 cont./

162 The Boni, about 1,000 in number, occupy the course of the
131 Lawa between Abounasounga Falls to the north and the falls of the
Litani to the south. Their "great villages," that is, their residential
361 villages, are: Agodé (Boniville), Kotika, Asisi, Loka, Papal'ston,
[103] Kormotibo, Lapé, and l'Enfant Perdu. Three small villages
founded more recently are established on the lower course of the
563 Maroni. The territorial implantation of the Boni has been dis-
turbed by the settlement of Creole gold miners on their territory
178 for three quarters of a century. Their demographic situation is
mediocre and their tribal organization, compared to that of the
[181] other tribes, has lost much of its strength. However, they still
make up a human grouping full of strength and originality.

131 The Djuka, whose "great villages" are in Surinam territory
361 on the /11/ Tapanahoni, can be evaluated at 7,000 to 8,000 in
total. At the height of demographic expansion, their farming
[162] villages swarm on both banks of the Maroni and on the islands,
[161] penetrating more and more deeply into the interior of French
[648] Guiana, where in places they form small temporary groupings
[619] living in symbiosis with the Creole gold miners; the Boni recognize
their right to cross their territory but not that of establishing
villages in it.

433 For a century the economy of the Refugee Blacks has been
648 founded on a symbiosis with the Europeans and Creoles; they furnish
[464] specialized labor (construction, but above all, transport) in ex-
[465] change for relatively high wages. This economy finds itself
[178] threatened by the gradual disappearance of gold mining; there is
[166] developing a tendency toward temporary emigration to the Euro-
[182] pean work yards of Saint-Laurent analogous to that of the Saramaka
of Surinam to French Guiana. This is a serious threat to the in-
terior cohesion of the tribes.

/75 cont./

571 In fact, the society of the Refugee Blacks has not elaborated
971 true political institutions; it is essentially a grouping for collective
692 defense against suprahuman perils. The council, like the grand man, has power and authority only insofar as it remains closely bound to this function.

511 Absence of subordination. Among the Refugee Blacks no privileged
[565] class exists, /76/ and they all face life on a footing of rigorous equality; all receive the same education, must cultivate the soil,
[154] build their boats and houses, and live by paid work. The differences in standard of living observed from one to another stem basically from intelligence and work; and that, in spite of the belief in the possibility of getting rich by sorcery, is clearly understood by all.

565 Although the Boni willingly engage in paid work for one
[465] another in transportation by boat, there exists no tendency toward the formation of a class of rich people and one of wage-earners.
571 No servants exist among them, and one observes in their mutual
461 relations no exploitation of the weak. Neither does one observe that
[357] a rich man tries to have done by another, for pay, the customary
[462] jobs he must carry out for the benefit of his wife (clearings, building of boats). This would be looked on with great disfavor. The grand
[643] man himself, if his grandson is not there to help him, goes himself to draw water from the river and he does it ostensibly, even though he has a constant concern for his prestige.

829 The misfortunes undergone by their ancestors are certainly at the base of this conception; for they have inspired in the Refugee Blacks a particular sense of human dignity which is not found to the same degree in Africa.

/122 cont./

845 [621] Observation at Maripasoula, November 3, 1956. The wife of Baïna, boatman of the border-fixing mission, gave birth at Pikin Tabiki, small farming village where she works with her mother and the latter's husband. Baïna went to be present at the delivery.

It was very long and dramatic. According to Baïna, an ɔgi sani had entered the child's body, making him stiff and impossible to extract. As a last resort they called a neighbor, T.... known for having a good gita. He called his gadu who revealed an efficacious remedy, since after the body of the sick woman was bathed with the prescribed leaves, the delivery ended successfully.

846 [515] Since we were leaving on our trip, it remained to find someone to take his place in fulfilling one of the husband's duties: cutting the supply of wood for heating the water necessary for the hot douches /showers?/ the mother was going to be given several times a day for about three months. He made an agreement [465] for that with Kwata, his mother-in-law's husband, to whom he will pay about 1,000 francs.

851 613 [603] Presentation of the child. On the eighth day the maternal grandmother (or great-grandmother if she is still living) takes the child and gives it to another ancestress of the same lineage, stationed in front of the house. The latter presents it to the family. Then [769] the head of the lineage, without taking the child, goes to the [778] fraga tiki to make an offering of tafia, asking the ancestors to [782] protect it.

For example, for the birth of A... (Lapé Tabiki village), son of O Yundu (L2, G60), it was Asakundu, grandmother of Yundu and great-grandmother of the child, who came to take him in the house and gave him over to her sister Térésa (L2, E57) to present him to the family (see genealogical table of the Lapé lineage, fraction 2).

/133 cont./

866 461 434 made for sale, the guardian gives him a small sum out of the money gained. At 14 an adolescent begins to satisfy nearly all his own needs.

For example, from June to December, 1956, Tasa (14 883 465 years), son of Fintiman (Boniville) had earned about 13,000 francs:

June	helped his father build a large boat for the administration (45 days)	6,000
October	went to Saint-Laurent as auxiliary bowman .	3,000
December	helped convoy a boat of the border-fixing mission sent back empty to Maripasoula . .	4,000
		13,000

882 868 His father, entrusted with his education, let him use this money in his own way; he pointed out to us with pride that for the first time in 1956 his son had been able to satisfy all his own needs, but that it was important to keep him under a firm hand until he was capable of doing a man's work alone: for that, five or six years of apprenticeship would not be too much.

868 561 [153] In fact, many times we had the chance to verify it, it is in this prolonged apprenticeship that are developed the seriousness of mind and the technical skill so remarkable among the Refugee Blacks. At 20 years, most of them still do not know how to do [582] [198] anything worthwhile, and it is scarcely before 25 or 27 that they become capable of /134/ painstaking work; in this respect the present tendency of the young boys toward precocious emancipation (the marriage age of men is going down to 20 and even 18 years) runs the risk of having very unfortunate consequences for the future of the Refugee Blacks.

429 The person charged with the education of a girl exercises the powers of a mother toward her. It is she who authorizes [582] her to marry, and by giving her the pagi, married women's garment, gives her symbolically her freedom as a woman. It is [583] to her that the first husband pays the price of the virginity of the girl.

/251 cont./

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/254 cont./

841 Woman's magic power. The Refugee Blacks assume that a woman, during her menstrual periods, is impure and has the power to destroy the power of obia. So during these periods she must withdraw into a special hut, mumu ɔɛu, and prepare her meals in special dishes; she may not prepare her husband's food, for by doing this she would destroy the power of his ɔbia, and must abstain from touching objects he habitually uses, particularly his gun, which would lose its good points for shooting. Even in the little farming habitations which consist of only several huts, one may be sure that one of them serves as a mumu ɔɛu.

841 The mumu ɔɛu are very simple sheds built by the women
841 themselves, using reclaimed materials taken from huts being
142 demolished; some belong to one woman only; for others, three
[145] or four women get together. They have recourse to men only for assembling the framework, remunerating them with several cans of couac or several baskets of yams.

841 /255/ A man who has a powerful ɔbia like the man ufuge ɔbia must abstain from speaking to a woman who has her menses.

[151] The Boni assume there are women wicked enough to willfully hide their menses in order to destroy the power of a man's ɔbia, but he who has a good man ufuge ɔbia cannot be a dupe: the iron circle warns him of the danger by squeezing his arm.

184 According to Mr. W. F. van Lier, the act of willfully
841 hiding her menses is for the Djuka one of the gravest offenses
68 a woman can commit, and the most severe punishments are inflicted on her. It is not the same with the Boni: in such a case a woman risks only being insulted and hunted.

792 Another deeply rooted belief among the Refugee Blacks,
834 and which exists with many Creoles, is the necessity for the
191

/296 cont./

888 888 829 This is a point of view which has great importance in the eyes of the Boni, for whom finishing one's days at the hospice or being reduced to asking for the help of outsiders constitutes the worst downfall.

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[199]

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123 /4 cont./
675 drink something from it or merely smell it; indeed! when it was empty, the remaining men who had not yet drunk from it or smelled it had to lick it.

I was then embraced by the headmen and many of the women; they flung the right arm over my left shoulder and the left arm under my right arm and rested their heads for a moment against my right cheek.

[273] After the conclusion, while much dram was drunk, general exuberant gaiety prevailed, and only then was /5/ I told that they had purposely cut me first and given me a drink first in order to ascertain whether I trusted them completely or whether, so entirely by myself, I would have been afraid to submit to their wishes and to do what they demanded of me; they assured me that if I had refused to be the first, none of them would have wanted to conclude the agreement with me.

If, therefore, I had not conducted myself as they wished, I would have missed out completely on this alliance which was so highly important and profitable for me.

466 On the following day many of them came to tell me that
513 their work places on the river Cottica supplied little of the kinds of wood that had been pointed out by me for processing, but they declared themselves ready to go and process them immediately for me on the Upper Commewijne river, where they were sure of finding richer forests.

Since the last-named river was closed to them at that time by a governmental decree, I made a request for access in the year [361] 1854, in order to be able to work with them at this river. This was granted to me, and since then a few hundred Bush Negroes have been staying there and have laid out dwellings and croplands, while they continuously, with unexampled industry, process the wood needed by me and deliver it to the sawmill.

/35 cont./

123 466 Also, I am led to believe that for me they cherish a more than general respect, since already for ten years now they have been faithful workers for me, a privilege to which no inhabitant in this colony other than myself can lay claim.

123 778 [761] A family among them, whose head recently died -- according to their statements, through poisoning, which misdeed is supposed to have taken place out of envy, since I gave him preference above others, which he deserved on account of his faithfulness and industry -- has built a hut in the vicinity of its idol signs, in which they placed a crude image cut out of cedar-wood and painted with white paint. Beside that image they placed a little table and on it laid a number of quill feathers from the pouwies (1), a little bottle with black liquid, symbolizing ink,

[237]

1. A pheasant, the Crax alector L.

as well as some slips of paper. Near this little table they dug a number of steps into the ground, and at the lowermost step they made a gutter that runs in the direction of the river. Now when they have a festival with dancing and they want to pay respect to me, they place near it a number of children who constantly pour water brought in jugs, which, flowing down the steps into the gutter, streams riverward. While this ceremony takes place, songs in my honor are sung by the festive crowd.

[822] [829] Now the image, according to their conception, is supposed to be a representation of me, /36/ the white color the sign that I am a White, while the quills, paper, and ink are the attributes of the Whites' higher civilization, the streaming water that I stem from the colonists who have come here from across the sea.

123 589 The wife of the headman referred to above came to me in the town shortly after the death of her husband and remained to choose my household as her permanent residence, to which I gladly consented. Faithful and considerate, she performs not only a great many household services, but even anticipates in this respect the wishes of my wife, and out of love for us refuses any monetary compensation.

/67 cont./

613 554 692 [542] 2) He exerts an extended judiciary power, for it is taken for granted that the legal and political power of the tribe cannot intervene in affairs between members of the same lineage, even murder, for it can be said that in the custom of the Refugee Blacks the lineage represents only one single life.

It is obligatory that the following be settled within the framework of the lineage:

[284] --Accusations of murder by sorcery where victim and supposed murderer are both members of the lineage;

[423] --Arguments over lands within the zones effectively [578] possessed by the lineage.

613 554 692 577 The way in which the captain exercises his functions as judge is hard to know, because for the Refugee Blacks it is extremely shameful to reveal the dimensions within one's own lineage. And as for those of other lineages, if one succeeds in becoming acquainted with them, one scarcely dares talk about it for if that came to be known you could smart for it.

613 442 554 Lineage heads have a certain authority on the material level; they designate the men charged with doing the work ordered by the administration, but truth to tell, it is above all a question of choosing from among volunteers, for it is profitable work. They might not succeed in imposing clearly unpopular orders.

613 554 624 The captain designates a certain number of supervisors or basia to help him. Their /68/ role consists in watching over the cleanliness of the village, in making all the material arrangements relative to dances and burials, in calling together those concerned to the meetings of the council.

613 571 The lo constitutes a unit from the spiritual point of view, but it is important to notice that it does not involve any collective organization on the material level. In this domain the wildest individualism reigns; there are no tools for collective use, and people get together to make their clearings only if they want to.

/73 cont./

643 That happened especially to people who, summoned to work,
687 in the grand man's clearings, carried out their task with ill will.

About 1950, M...., of Papaïston village, had openly revolted against the grand man whom he had refused to conduct to Saint-Laurent. The grand man sentenced him to make a large stairway of planks, from the Boniville wharf to the entrance to the village, giving him an injunction to leave the country if he refused. M... ended by yielding and executed the large stairway which can now be seen at the Boniville wharf.

643 The grand man is constantly concerned about his prestige
648 and dignity; he is almost always dressed in the European manner
292 and in ceremonies wears an impeccable white uniform; the French
197 administration gives him a relatively large salary and, when he comes to Cayenne, he is put up in the hospital in the apartments reserved for officers.

643 To greet the grand man one does not look directly at him
[576] but places himself in profile with respect to him.

[644] The grand man has no servants (that would be contrary to
[357] the morality of the Refugee Blacks) and leads a very simple life.
[466] Still, he does not do any hard manual labor; each year he calls together a certain number of men from each lo to work in his clearings; he does not pay them, for this work is an obligation provided for by custom, but he feeds them heartily.

643 Likewise, for his traveling, he requisitions by turns as boat-
466 men two or three of his subjects. Sometimes also he requisitions women to help his wife at harvest time.

On the other hand, for all other work he may need (such as the construction of a large boat) he has to pay like everyone else and he is not given any reduction.

/159 cont./

767 764 [466]

--The kisimɛ̃ command the village during the whole time the coffin is being made and can requisition anyone to help them;

--The ɔlɔmɛ̃ are masters of the river while their work lasts. In particular they can requisition travelers passing through to help them, and even confiscate their provisions. This is piisi, a joke. But as Mr. W. F. Van Lier also has us observe, this custom has a deep meaning; it reminds everyone that participation in the burial of a dead person is a fundamental religious duty.

767 467

The organization of these customary societies is, at least among the Boni, very rudimentary.

In each village there is a head of the ɔlɔmɛ̃ who is acquainted with the topography of the cemetery and the rites to be carried out (hedemɛ̃ fu ɔlo).

In Boniville, in 1958, this was Bukuman (Papaïston);
In Loka, Tabikiť, not replaced at the beginning of 1958;
In Asisi, Antonu (Awara Bakka).

If he is absent, someone is sent to get the head of the ɔlɔmɛ̃ of another village.

Likewise, in each village there is a head of the kisimɛ̃:
In Boniville, this was Fintiman (Dju);
In Asisi, it was Boofo (Awara Bakka);
In Kormotibo, it was Aténi. /160/

764 .476

The people willingly lend one another assistance from one village to the other, with no need even to ask for help, and even if it is a question of burying a foreigner in the country, a Saramaka or a Djuka for example, who dies in Boni country.

767 46 [152]

For the making of the coffin it is rare not to find about 15 kisimɛ̃ spontaneously met together when four or five would be enough. They like this labor very much, which proceeds in an atmosphere of joyous over-excitement in the center of admiring spectators.

/290 cont./

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571 long period.

This attitude results from their desire for independence, but also from the moral and religious law which governs their society.

This law forbids infringing on the liberty of persons, humiliating anyone, and doing anything which might be able to plunge him into anger or affliction. Its effect is to prevent any exploitation of the weak, any creation of a servant or proletarian caste. It even leads to the absence of any permanent subordination of one man to another.

[466] The desire for independence of the Refugee Blacks makes them unwilling to bind themselves definitively to a job, however profitable. When a man judges that he has put aside sufficient savings, he leaves the job which furnished him with these resources.

[464] This tendency makes the search for paid work much more difficult and hazardous; it happens that a man may stay for years without finding gainful work, living in straitened circumstances. But that is the price of independence, and it is accepted without hesitation.

/158 cont./

156 The Boni woman, poor in emotional feelings, and jealous of her independence with respect to men, puts her pride into subsisting by her own efforts.

178 [156] The young women, even the ones with the freest habits, stay firmly attached to their village, to their plantings, and to the mode of life they received from their grandmothers. In fact, because of its structure and customs, the society of the Refugee Blacks has much less likelihood of suffering from the poisons spread by modern life than the patrilineal societies of Black Africa.

761 /159/ Death; Burial Rites

Death is for the Refugee Blacks an event of extreme gravity.

795 In order to ward off danger and permit the yɔrka of the dead person to take its place among the ancestors, the unstinting cooperation of everyone is required.

764 765 181 [621] [619] The ceremonies which have to do with death and mourning are by far the most important ones in the day-to-day life of the Refugee Blacks; for each one they represent a very heavy material load which is accepted without recriminations. It is really a veritable mobilization, which takes place within the framework of the village and not of the lineage. The apparatus set into motion is independent of the lineage, for it must function in the same way for an outsider, Djuka or Saramaka, who dies during a trip.

764 868 767 Participation in the burial rites is for all an essential religious duty. From childhood the Boni are prepared for this task and become, some of them kisimɛ̃ (coffin-makers), others ɔlɔmɛ̃ (grave-diggers), some others wasimɛ̃ (bathers of the dead).

768 487 Kisimɛ̃ and ɔlɔmɛ̃. It can be said that in each village, ɔlɔmɛ̃ and kisimɛ̃ constitute customary societies, provided with an organization and wielding veritable powers for the duration of their work.

/159 cont./

767 --The kisimɛ̃ command the village during the whole
764 time the coffin is being made and can requisition anyone to
[466] help them;

--The ɔlɔmɛ̃ are masters of the river while their work lasts. In particular they can requisition travelers passing through to help them, and even confiscate their provisions. This is ptisi, a joke. But as Mr. W. F. Van Lier also has us observe, this custom has a deep meaning; it reminds everyone that participation in the burial of a dead person is a fundamental religious duty.

767 The organization of these customary societies is, at least
467 among the Boni, very rudimentary.

In each village there is a head of the ɔlɔmɛ̃ who is acquainted with the topography of the cemetery and the rites to be carried out (bedemɛ̃ fu ɔlo).

In Boniville, in 1958, this was Bukuman (Papaïston);
In Loka, Tabikiɽ, not replaced at the beginning of 1958;
In Asisi, Antonu (Awara Bakka).

If he is absent, someone is sent to get the head of the ɔlɔmɛ̃ of another village.

Likewise, in each village there is a head of the kisimɛ̃:
In Boniville, this was Fintiman (Dju);
In Asisi, it was Boofo (Awara Bakka);
In Kormotibo, it was Aténi. /160/

764 The people willingly lend one another assistance from one
476 village to the other, with no need even to ask for help, and even if it is a question of burying a foreigner in the country, a Saramaka or a Djuka for example, who dies in Boni country.
767 For the making of the coffin it is rare not to find about 15 kisimɛ̃
467 spontaneously met together when four or five would be enough.
[152] They like this labor very much, which proceeds in an atmosphere of joyous over-excitement in the center of admiring spectators.

Ii Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SRS Bush Negroes SRS
Saramacca

might catch fire were a wind to come up when the underbrush is burned. If he spies a slender bent liana from which the Kromanti "Congo-bush" sticks are made, then he has to be sure to cut it down with the proper invocation, so that the spirit inside the liana will not bend him to its own shape.

Kasanya continued his explanation. "When a field is found, it is the man who clears it." A man calls on his relatives or friends to help him. The men come with their machetes, and they cut away at bushes and shrubs, they cut away the lianas which are twined about the trees, and then the trees themselves. Then they go away, leaving what they have cut to dry. "To take all this away would be too hard, and, besides, fire does the work better, and fertilizes the ground as well."

So, when the wood is dry, they come with fire, and let the fire finish the work. Then the ashes are allowed to lie for a time, for, though this clearing is done during the dry season, occasional showers can be relied upon to work the ash into the ground. Then, too, the time for planting is not yet.

"Many things we plant a little before the old year meets the new," the old woman said.

"When it is time to break the ground," Kasanya went on, "the man and the woman work together. It is then that the woman begins her work in this field. What was done before had to do with cutting timber, and our proverb says: Woodworking is not a woman's affair."

The man alone clears the ground, but the woman helps him break the earth.

"Breaking the ground is not easy," the old woman again interrupted. The matted roots have to be dug up with an iron hoe, for the Bush Negro works as his ancestors did hundreds of years ago in Africa. He has no plough, no beast of burden to help him in the fields.

When all this is done, then it is time to see to the consecration of the earth to its fertile uses. Rituals vary with each clan, and often from village to village of the same clan.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SRS Bush Negroes SRS
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name which was kept secret and never spoken except in 551
states of possession or when the obia man called on a person's spirit. For girls, Amba for a Saturday child, Affi for one born on Friday, Adjuba for Wednesday; and for the boys some of the names were Kwaku, for Monday, Yao for Thursday, Kofi for Friday, and Kwasi for Sunday. Then there was the name which the father gave, and after that any of the family who cared added a name and made the child a present.

From the day it was born until it was at least two years 853
old a child fed at its mother's breast. For twelve moons 846
and five more of this time the woman could not go to the hammock with a man. It was then that her husband went to the distant French shore to work or to the railhead. But after seventeen months of nursing were past, he came back. 844

"If a child is made before a woman gets back her men- [842]
strual flow, then it is a god. It is Kesefu. A child born feet [845]
first some call Agosu, and some Asaeng. The child born after twins we call Dosu, and twins are Hohobi. Now it is in your book. You will give those names to your children, and your sister's children. No one will know at all what names these are. No one will be able to harm them."

6

In the quarter immediately adjoining that of the Gran- 585
man there was great activity. Six or seven men and boys 476
were at work on a new house, for the youngest daughter of the family was ready for marrying, and now the men were helping her suitor to build a house for her in her village.

From the same quarter, behind a house which stood in 804
the shade, came the laughter of young girls. We made our way past the house and saw four girls ranging in age from thirteen to sixteen seated on a log. One of these held her head back, and an older girl was bending over her. They called to us as we passed.

"We are cutting kamemba. Do you want some cuts, too?"

These were not new cuts which were being made, for with perhaps one exception, the girls were all nubile, and

Ii Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

BAYO, THE PLAYBOY

The conversation turned to the lumbering Bayo had been doing. He had been helping some of the Gankwe men bring to the river the wood they had felled. To cut down a tree was not hard work, Bayo told us. It was, however, no easy matter to bring the trunks to the water. For in the tropical jungle timber does not grow in the convenient "stands" known to the northern forests. The searcher for rare woods will find a single purple-heart tree here, and there, some distance away, a brown-heart or one of the other trees for which the white man is willing to pay well. With machete or axe the tree is felled and stripped of its bark, and squared into a great long timber. The under part of each end is shaped so that as it goes down the river it will not split against the rocks it strikes. 313

Going back from the river bank are to be seen openings in the bush and these lead to places where trees have been cut. At short intervals lengths of branches are laid across them. It is over these that the timber is hauled to the river —over these main lumber ways, and over the smaller ones that must be cut deep in the bush from every felled tree to these principal paths.

Bayo had been hauling lumber. Cut and dressed, the paths made ready, the logs had been taken to the river. The Gankwe men had summoned their friends and the men of neighboring villages to help them. The weight of the hard wood is such that it takes great strength to haul the squared logs over the paths. Bayo had gone with the men into the forest, and there they had spent more than a week, eating of the rice and cassava of the men whose lumber they were hauling, and having a pleasant time of it, with joking and horseplay. 313 496

"When we haul the wood, we sing *so ie* . . . until . . . " he said, prolonging his last syllables in the characteristic way. 313 496 533

The one whose logs were being brought to the water opened the singing by first speaking his thanks in a formal chant to those who had come to help him.

REBEL DESTINY

313 406 533 [539] *"You have come to go, come to go far, come to go far to bring the wood to the water. But it is long, it is far, to the river. Thank you, friends."*

Then the song was taken up by the workers and, with each rhythmic measure, the great piece of lumber went farther through the jungle on its way to the river. When he had chanted for us the greeting to the men, Bayo began to sing a song relating to men's casual exploits with women and, as he finished the song, he laughed. "White [834] man, if you came with us, you would hear what songs the men make up about women!"

3

126 The phonograph had delighted Bayo from the first. When Apanto had summoned the spirit of his obia to fight the machine, Bayo had watched. When the white man's glue had repaired the broken belt, and the hot sun had made the machine "walk" once more, Bayo had approved.

"The machine is not weak," he had said. "I will sing for it."

And sing for it he did.

But the curse of Apanto still troubled the machine, for up the river and down there had been difficulty with it. Often when there was a particularly good song to be recorded, the belt would give, the machine would fail the white man. The story of the prowess of Apanto had gone up the river with the Gankwe paddlers, and when the machine stopped, heads nodded, and we would catch the word "obia" among the murmurs of the bystanders.

126 Bayo thought, it seemed, that the machine's proud 133 spirit was by this time properly chastened and, since twice 123 the machine had refused to work while he was singing into 133 it, twice had made him stop the song and its drum accom- 136 paniment, he decided to take matters into his own hands.

"White man," said Bayo, shortly after our return from up the river, "I will help the spirit of the machine. I will

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

houses would have to be built—one in his village where they would live, and one in the provision ground for his wife to sleep in when she worked in the field.

"Must you yourself build the house, Bayo?"

"My family will help me. Making a house is hard work, too, and a man must have clever fingers for weaving the walls."

There would have to be stools, and several well-ornamented combs. A clothes beater would have to be provided for the bride, and a peanut pounding board, and one mortar and pestle at least, and food stirrers and rice trays. A cassava squeezer would have to be woven, and a sifter and grater for the roots that were made into bread. And baskets, too, he would have to weave.

"This is not all. This is only what I must make. Other things I must buy for her."

He would have to provide cloths when the wedding day came, and cloths for his mother-in-law, too. The small kerchiefs which were folded in triangular shape and were worn about the waist as the sign that a woman was married he would also have to furnish, and two large cloths, each the size of three tunics. He would have to buy an iron cooking pot, and some small fishhooks with lines, and some cups from the white man's city. He was going to give his girl a pair of earrings, and a string of beads. Then there would have to be the hammock.

Bayo laughed, "For a marriage, there must be a hammock."

There were other things he was going to buy for his girl. Brass arm and leg ornaments he would buy, since his girl was already a fine dancer.

And when all these things were bought and given, then it was time for the marriage.

"But it doesn't always happen that the marriage takes place," said Bayo. "Sometimes the girl's people do not like what the man has done. They have another krutu, and decide the man should not marry into their family."

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Marriage requires a bride price, consisting of pieces of cloth, sugar, tobacco, and some carved wooden implements, such as combs, paddles, trays. These are handed over to the bride's family as presents. Then the wife simply moves into her husband's hut, or he into hers. Despite their pre-marital promiscuity, it is said that on the bridal night all the inhabitants of a Bush Negro village will gather outside the hut to hear what the husband has to say regarding the bride's virginity. If the girl is not a virgin, part of the bride price may be refunded, at the husband's discretion. The gathering on such an occasion is attended by much jocularity.

The Djuka husband builds a hut for each one of his women and has another for himself, to which he may retire whenever he feels the need of bachelor seclusion. The woman sleeps in her own hut, cooks, and raises her children there. The husband comes to her when he wants to, and leaves her for another wife when impulse so guides him. She seldom quarrels with the other wives, who may even live in separate villages.

Each wife has her own provision ground, where she grows rice and cassava; her husband has cleared it for her. The cassava fields are owned by individual women, but are held in very loose tenure. At harvest time, or when a plague of insects is threatening, the women of several households work together in common.

The man's hut is called his *gudu oso*, or "treasure house." It serves to impress his women with his importance and wealth. They are forbidden to enter it, but, woman-like, they insist on peeping in. So he keeps many boxes and wood carv-

/137 cont./

241 and sugar cane, while in the third year some pineapples, bananas, and sugar cane are also harvested.

Thereafter one surrenders the ground to the second growth (kapoeweri) shooting up, here called "kauwé," and to the weeds, like the cutting grass "baboen nefi" (Scleria secans), which prevent further growth of the cultivated crop.

This system of clearing grounds requires much land. It is a severely predatory cultivation which can only be employed when sufficient free land is available. Only after many years can one return to the same piece of forest to lay out a new ground, depending on the recovery of the forest, more particularly on the top growth.

[592] Among the Bush Negroes of the Marowijne it is the rule that
[476] each household provide for itself. The man clears the ground with help of family /familie/ members or friends, who in return for food are taken in during this time. If the man has /138/ one wife, then ordinarily two grounds per year are cleared; if he has more than one wife, then he clears two grounds for each wife.

[622] The captain /kapitein/ of a village lays out his ground him-
[643] self, helped by his villagers. The granman /chief/, however, does not work himself, but, regardless of the number of his wives, has his family and other helpers clear grounds in return for food for the
423 workdays. The products of the grounds of a household are not joint
593 property, but rather the wife asserts her rights over the produce from one ground, while the man claims that from the other ground. Thus a distinction is made between the agrarian property of the wife and that of the husband.

3. The Plague of Ants and the Ant-hulles

241
825 In the agriculture of the Bush Negroes the plague of ants plays a significant role. The leaf-cutting or parasol ants (Atta sexdens and Atta cephalotes) are very destructive because of their attacks on the leaves in the plantings. The first-named species is the greatest evildoer in the interior districts of Surinam. Cassava is

/103 cont. /

621 Atikati exercised authority by this right over the disparate group
622 around him, and at his death he bequeathed this function to his
241 sister Adyidya.

Likewise Amonu exerts undisputed authority over three
[613] groups of the Awara Bakka lo settled at the mouth of the Inini,
for it was he who took the initiative of creating an establishment
at this place. If there is any dispute, it is he who will defend
the rights of the Awara Bakka lineage.

622 The authority exercised by the founder of the farming
habitation is not brought to bear in material living, which re-
mains subject to the strictly individualistic principles of the
Refugee Blacks. He cannot require anyone to help him make his
clearings or do any work whatever on his behalf.

321
241 Farming Habitations of the Awara Bakka lo
(Amonu, Adiao, Kaiyé)
613 in the Neighborhood of the Confluence with the Inini

621 These habitations work soil whose first user was Amonu, of
241 the Awara Bakka lo (fraction 1), which is regarded as belonging
613 to that lineage. Amonu settled there in 1945 (he was finding that
[423] there were too many people farming the lands near Aini).

To insure his rights, Amonu put on his land two groupings
621 whose situations are very different:
241
240 1) In his own habitation he installed his wife Asakundu, and
423 around her he made up the work group commonest among the
[496] Refugee Blacks: group formed by the mother, her sons and
daughters, the daughters' husbands coming to help at the time of
the /104/ clearings. But it is important to note that this group
has no right at all over the land: if Amonu and his wife ever
separate, the wife's group will leave the habitation.

/108 cont./

Structure of the Adiiso habitation. This habitation actually belongs to Irma, Adiiso's wife, of the Awara-Bakka (1) lineage (E37), who was settled there by Antonu whose classificatory sister she is.

Working with Irma, disregarding children, are:

--Her husband Adiiso (Dju., F37);

--Her daughter Chitaïna (Aw.B.1, F43), married to Déési (L1, F45);

--Her son Lawa, unmarried;

--Her son Maïna, married.

Maïna's wife Mbéma, who has no other habitation, has her clearing made there, but she has no hut in her own right and is not a member of the group.

Activity of the habitation in 1955-56:

	1956	1955
Irma	2 clearings (both by Adiiso, who cut a 3rd in Asiti for his other wife)	1 clearing cut by her son Maïna, Adiiso being on a trip
Chitaïna	1 clearing cut by Lawa, her brother, her husband being en mission	1 clearing cut by her husband Déési /109/
/Fig. 18 appears here./ /110/		
Maïna	1 clearing for his wife Mbéma	Maïna en mission had not been able to cut for his wife. She had weeded a two-year-old clearing with Chitaïna and Irma

621 592 241 [589] [496]

/110 cont./

Structure of the Kakyé habitation. This habitation is directed by Kakyé (Aw.B.1, F18), a widow for a long time and not remarried, working with her children.

Working with her are:

--Amélia (Aw.B.1, F19), her daughter;

--Papakay (Aw.B.1, F23), her son;

--Akamina (Aw.B.1, F24), her daughter;

--Lébimichi (Aw.B.1, F27), daughter of Yochi† sister of Kakyé.

241 592 621 423 [613]

Listing of several clearings of the Adiko and Kakyé habitations. These clearings are totally mixed with each others' and with those of the Antonu habitation, which is normal since these lands belong to the Awara Bakka lineage.

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
12 △	Déku (Aw.B.1, F17), for himself	1954	Kakyé's son (does not work there habitually)	cut for the 1st time
12 ⬚	Amélia; clearing cut by her husband Sindu	1954	Kakyé's daughter	id.
13 ○	Lébimichi; clearing cut by her husband Antonu	1954	Kakyé's niece	cut for the 1st time

/111 cont./

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241
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Habitation of the Dju Lo
in the Neighborhood of the Mouth of the Inini

621 Structure of the Atikati habitation (Dju lo). Important habitation
241 founded by Atikati, of the Dju lo, possessing an extended finage
[613] fragmented into several blocks on both banks of the Lawa.

[423] This habitation has an abnormal composition, for Atikati
[496] worked there with his daughters, which is contrary to custom,
and with friends.

622 Atikati directed the village with his old friend Bernardin (K1, D62), † in 1958, who was the son of a man of the Dju lo and had lived among the Dju since childhood.

621 The basic group of this habitation is made up of people
241 of the Dju lo. Since Atikati's death (1955), his sister Adyidya
613 (Dju, E19) has directed the village.
[622]

Members of the Dju lo:

○ Adyidya
○ Baawé (Dju, E13) } both without living children
△ Loko (Dju, F39)
△ Atikati worked with his daughters and granddaughter:
○ Wilèlmina (P1, F1);
○ Kumata (P1, G1), daughter of Wilèlmina.

To this group were added in 1957:

△ Bernardin (K1, D62), raised with the Dju;
○ Asumé (Dip, I, F2), daughter of △ Bernardin and ○ Mimen †.

[423] Finally, two Kotika women married to Djuka asked for permission to settle there and have their clearings cut there. But they have no right at all over the land:

○ Nèlla (K1, D44);
Maaé (K1, E35), her daughter.

361 /113/
241
613

Habitations of the Papaïston lo in the Neighborhood of the Mouth of the Inini

621 Structure of the Sawen and Agodéba habitations (Papaïston lo).
241 Habitations occupying an extensive zone, attributed for at
613 least 60 years to the principal Papaïston lineage.
[476] Working with Sawen (P1, E7) are:
--His nieces Héléna (P1, F2) and Emilia (P1, F3);
--His nephew Aguundé (P1, F4).
Working with Agodéba (P1, E1) are:
--His sister (in the classificatory sense) Kamen (P1, E14);
--His niece (in the classificatory sense) Gou (P1, F8).
Moreover, a group is settled there centered on Toïna, Agodéba's wife, representing the last of the Bakabuchi lineage, almost extinct:

△ Toïna, Agodéba's wife;
/△/ Mangoto, Toïna's son;
Apuuloot.

[423] This group has no right over the land and would leave in the case of a break-up of the Agodéba-Toïna household.
Finally, a female friend, Puti (F71), of the almost extinct Papaïston 2 lineage.

241 Activity of the Agodéba habitation in 1955-56:
621

	1956	1955
△ Agodéba	1 clearing for his wife Toïna	id.
○ Kamen	1 clearing cut by her husband Adam who made no other	id.
○ Gou	1 clearing cut by her husband Béku	id.

/159 cont./

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[152] They like this labor very much, which proceeds in an atmosphere of joyous over-excitement in the center of admiring spectators.

/289 cont./

157 241 31 in a sector recognized to be undamaged. But objections immediately come to their minds: one would not feel at home, people would be jealous of one another; above all, the children would go pilfering fruit and vegetables in the clearings of other families. The Refugee Blacks are unanimous in thinking that the children of one village put together in a single place would constitute a scourge much worse than the manioc-ant, and that dispersion is the wisest solution for maintaining the peace of families.

562 241 One observes likewise that the total freedom of woman, and the custom which leaves to her /290/ the free disposal of the products of the clearing, contribute toward preventing the development of agriculture with an eye to selling. In order [592] to undertake large clearings farmed jointly by one household, it would be necessary to have very unified and stable households, which is rare.

157 476 Difficulty of grouping for common advantage. The Refugee Blacks are incapable of forming groups voluntarily to undertake the execution of a job with an eye to common advantage. The small groups which get together for fishing, working gold, etc. are formed of intimate friends or near relatives and are hardly larger than four or five persons.

157 454 The Refugee Blacks are still less capable of grouping themselves into societies looking toward future benefits. Putting a part of their resources into a common pot with that of another seems to them not only illusory but immoral. Because of this fact there exists among them no way to group financial assets, sometimes good-sized.

426 Lending without interest is practiced rather commonly, having to do with small sums between near relatives or intimate friends. If a man feels capable of earning his living by buying a motor, he will succeed rather easily in finding the necessary money by borrowing from his brothers or friends, 10,000 francs

WHILE THE RIVER WAS HIGH

The sun stood over the sacred silk-cotton tree toward the Gankwe side of the land. Across the path leading from somewhere in the back of our shelter the parasol ants, each with its strip of green many times its size, made their way toward an unknown spot where no shelter stood, and no one trod. Like a wave the wide ribbon of green rose and fell as it crossed the ridges of the pathway. In unending numbers they came, and the lizards darting in and out of the brush swerved in the direction of the shelter to avoid the marching line, so that at our feet things moved now up, now back again. 36 [39]

While the men were at the landing place, one of the women who was drying rice on the high flat rocks opposite our shelter paddled over in her boat, and, passing the men with a formal greeting, walked on and stopped to talk with us. She was not a young woman. Her time for childbearing was long over, her wrinkled breasts sagged almost to her waist. The cicatrized designs which once had stood out so clearly, and in her youth had been so valued, were but faintly penciled on her face and about her breasts. Had she cared, she might have reopened the cuts, might have had ashes rubbed into them to make the keloids stand out black and alive against the dark brown of her skin. But what need had a woman her age to care? What need to urge life into symbols of fertility on face and between breasts and about her navel, when her time for fruitfulness was over? Of what use to reanimate the incised scrolls between her thighs, when the legend they told in terms of reproduction was for her a dead legend? 888 [35] [304]

She came toward us slowly, balancing a bottle on her head. A faded cloth covered her from waist to knee, and at her waist a bit of the kerchief necessary to the attire of the married woman, even at work, could be seen. She wore a few beads on a cord about her neck, but she had no other ornaments, for ornaments were for festive occasions, and the cloth tied about the neck and worn cape fashion was for women who had children to carry straddling their backs, and woven garters below the knee were conceits of the young. 888 [480] 391 301

REBEL DESTINY

133 But now a soft haze floated over stream and bush. To the right was the Ingi Sopi channel, dropping so sheer that not even an unloaded dugout could make its way up the rapids, not a single log of wood could be floated down. To the left was the Mamadam, a smoother, more rounded slope. It was up these falls that our boats would later be hauled.

501 484 Below us on the rocks our men were unloading the corials and carrying the provisions along the narrow trodden path to the topmost ledge of the falls, where the empty dugouts would be reloaded after they had been taken up through the streaming water.

133 Beyond lay the full stretch of the river. As far as the eye could see, there were none of the channels, none of the many islands which are met with everywhere on this river from its very headwaters to the reaches of the tidal belt near the coast. About us was a stillness which the very roar [134] of the water heightened. The parrots had long ago passed on in pairs. The butterflies would wait for the sun before they went winging from the east bank to the west. This was a moment of pure interlude. No sun, no breeze, no 000 sound, no glow. This was the moment before the fragmentary dawn would end, before the haze would lift, this the moment when night, having met day, as the Bush Negroes said, was disappearing from sight.

"It is fine here, ai!" Bayo called to us, as he walked on [482] with a large canister balanced on his head, making his way up the rocks with the sureness and ease of one who is strolling down a lane with the consciousness of a pleasant encounter at the next turning.

798 346 As soon as the mist had lifted, we walked up the rocks to the shrine. Facing us and the lower river, a tall, slender pole, weathered to a pale silver, stood higher than the roof of the shrine in front of which it was planted. At its top were the crude outlines of a head and, some three feet from its base, two side pieces were nailed to it and grounded at an angle to steady the image against the onrush of a sudden wind. A short distance from the pole was the shrine

Later, through the gathering darkness, the people of the neighboring villages went home, paddling their boats which were loaded down with the fish that had been netted. And from this time on, everyone knew that this seku vine was the property of him who had found it, and of his family, down through his mother's line, forever.

"Ai, mati, you would have seen something, if you had got here for the seku dance!"

6

Like any other Bush Negro village, S'ei was a series of sandy clearings about which were grouped huts of woven palm fronds and palm thatch. All about was the big bush. The trails which led from the village were each guarded by a magically treated palm azang, and shrines to the ancestral spirits who saw to it that evil was kept away. Where the several paths led, a stranger was not encouraged to discover. Down one, women were to be seen disappearing in the morning with trays on their heads, their infants astride their backs, held inside the folds of a cloth which was fastened high above their breasts, and caught up again below them. In many upper river villages, this path led to the fields, some distance away. Others were the way to shrines, erected to those spirits which must be worshiped outside the village. Another path might lead to a brook, which the villagers held sacred. There were trails, too, which connected neighboring villages, and led perhaps farther yet, but for the stranger, the highway was the river, and no matter how short the distance between one settlement and another, he was not invited to make his way through the bush.

"You do not want to go through the bush, white man. In the bush are evil spirits," we heard many times.

A village clearing was divided into quarters. Each quarter was inhabited by one of the *mdv*, or extended families, and the quarter bore its name. It was composed of several households—five or six or more, depending upon the size of the

REBEL DESTINY

7

The next day was our last among the Saramacca people. Bayo came to us early to help with the packing. He was apparently none the worse for his seizure and, as he worked, we could tell from his manner how release had come to him and how the tension we had noticed the past few days had left him.

On his body were no marks. His mouth showed no cuts where the glass was bitten off and chewed. When we told him about the glass, he knew nothing of it. Had he not known about this eating of glass, he might well have doubted our word, for when we examined his lips and palate and tongue, not even a scratch showed.

"What did you drum last night, Bayo?"

"When, before the obia came to me?"

He remembered nothing after he had leaped from the improvised apinti to run into the bush.

"Not when you drummed apinti, but when you came back here and took the tumao to the river."

"I don't remember. Did I do that?"

8

Despite the early hour we had to leave in order to catch the weekly train for the coast, the boats of our friends began to be seen off the landing place as they came to say their farewells. The good woman Tita, whom they called Mother Snake behind her back, was the first to arrive. She walked slowly up from the river bank, pipe in mouth, a pot on her head, and one in each hand. The pots held obias which, she said, were made especially for us, to give us great powers in our own land—one to keep us safe from the ghosts of those we had wronged; one to guard us against the acts of the unfriendly living; one to make all those from whom we sought advantage "love" us.

Sedefo's younger wife came with her child on her back to collect whatever tin cans were about, and some gift for the child when it wakened, knowing that something was

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

to and camps before his little fire. The red monkey bands howl in the darkness, but the hunter is not afraid. The fact that a puma may be in a tree near by does not prevent him from snoring.

The Bush Negroes seldom have occasion to take a white man hunting. Because of his incompetence they are forced to hunt differently when he is along.

We are aroused at five o'clock one morning when Daniels, a "balata bleeder" from British Guiana, makes his appearance. He is a husky, powerful Negro from Demerara, a town in the adjacent colony, and one of the few men ever to obtain the confidence and friendship of the Djukas. Some years ago he saved many Bush Negroes from famine, when the cassava and rice crops had failed, by arranging, with the aid of Mynheer Alexander Wolff, for the Dutch government to give many thousands of guilders' worth of rice to feed them. Because of this, and because he speaks English perfectly and has the bohkra's point of view, no better person could possibly accompany us on the coming hunt.

The three Bush Negro bearers who go along with us carry wicker baskets of woven reed containing supplies. They are carried on the bearer's back, held in place by a band around the forehead—a device borrowed from the Indians.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

224 into the ground, becoming roots. The jungle vines, the lianas,
648 twine about the boles of palms, adding to the tangle of leaves.
137 The jungle is one immense struggle, none the less fierce because it is silent. The foliage is fighting for light and air.

224 We wade across a number of small creeks that bar our
648 path. Beautiful flat-winged butterflies hover in the hot air. The drone of other insects continues until our ears become accommodated to the sound and we no longer hear it. For five hours the trek continues.

At eleven o'clock a halt is called for lunch. The Djukas
[44] drop their fifty-pound packs, under which they have trotted more easily than the white with only a gun and canteen. A little fire is started and we begin to eat. The creek beside the camp has no name; it is known only as a small tributary of the Lombe Creek. This is the occasion for a little ceremony. The stream is to be named after the first person to eat beside it, which in this case is a white man. A Bush Negro takes a mouthful of water from the creek and spits it back, motioning us to do the same. We comply. Then the Negro names the stream "*Datra Cong Creekee*"—"Doctor Kahn Creek." The others respond with solemnity, "Daso." We pass a few pleasantries and go on.

By two o'clock the fatigue is beginning to tell on the bahkra. A halt is called. The country gets higher as we leave
[53] the neighbourhood of the river, but the bush does not thin out. The ground is rolling, with knolls fifty feet high. Up these the carriers scramble like goats, despite their load, but Daniels says they are going slow because of the bahkra. Be-

/141 cont./
of this predatory cultivation has been reached. The nearby agricultural lands are kept in use with too brief a rest period, with the result that the soil is overworked and the periodic recovery of the forest proceeds at an ever slower pace. In addition one struggles to an increasing degree with the problem /142/ of the leaf-cutting ants, which keep the easily accessible places occupied.

The consequence of this circumstance is that the Bush Negroes are forced to make the grounds farther and farther from their villages. One travels for hours up or down the river in order to reach good land. When one cannot make good use of a forest creek in order to transport the produce from the field, one is forced to carry the harvest for one or two hours through the forest to the river. The Bush Negro does not go farther than a two hours' walk (about six kilometers from the river) (see the map /see p. 13 /).

On the Tapanahoni one spends even days in traveling to less populated areas in order to plant and to harvest. One then establishes so-called work camps along the river, from which one operates in the surrounding areas. This is the case, among others, between Godoholo and Granbori for people from Drietabbetje or other centers. That one does not go even farther up river, all the way past the last village, Granbori, has to do with a prohibition by the gaaman of the Aucaners. That is, the latter wants to reserve the lands lying beyond this point as hunting lands and therefore will not make them available for agricultural purposes.

The inhabitants of the villages along the lower Tapanahoni, such as Sajé, Clementi, and Malobbi, frequently lay out their food grounds in the Lawa, where they can have at their disposal agricultural lands as far as the Aboenasoengoe Falls. Farther upstream on this river the Bonni or Aloekoe Negroes assert their rights.

5. Differences between Aucaners and Paramaccaners

The conditions given above apply in the main to the Aucaner Bush Negroes of the Tapanahoni. They number today approximately 6,500 persons. The Paramaccaner Bush Negroes of the Marowijne, approximately 1,700 in number, are in somewhat more favorable

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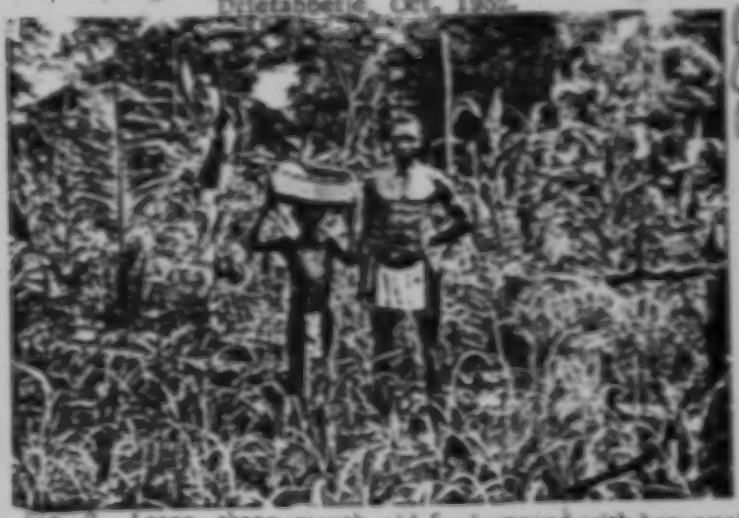
Fig. 7. Ten-month-old food-ground with high cassava. On the right, hapaswani, weeds in the foreground. -- Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, Oct. 1952.



[142]
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[482]
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Fig. 8. Large, three-month-old food-ground with harvestable maize and watermelons. Rice in the foreground. -- Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, March 1952.

/5 cont./

133 This extreme fragmentation of the relief must be remembered
182 as one of the ecological factors influencing the human peopling most directly; it renders the transport of heavy loads impracticable, the establishing of roads practically impossible. Men are led to
[361] settle along the rivers, which constitute the only routes of penetration toward the interior of the country.

133 All the important rivers flow into an alluvial valley whose
132 width varies from some tens of meters to a kilometer, dry during the greater part /6/ of the year, but flooded under several meters
134 of water during the great rains of May-June. This annual inunda-
241 tion makes the alluvial lands unfit for agriculture; the inhabitants of Guiana cultivate only sloping lands and even very steep slopes readily; for good drainage of the soil is indispensable for the raising of manioc whose tubers, which remain in the ground for more than a year, are threatened with rotting.

311 The cultivable zone is in fact closely limited around each village. Practically, it is limited to a strip of 1,500 to 2,000 meters along the banks of each watercourse accessible to pirogues.
[482] Transport of manioc tubers, carried on by the women several
[462] times a month, becomes impracticable if the distance to be covered with loads is greater than two kilometers at the maximum (1).

[101]
[131]
[184]

1. The Djuka, very numerous on the Tapanahoni, cultivate as far as three or four kilometers from the river; but in general, the Refugee Blacks prefer to build farming habitations at a distance of several days' by boat from their village when this gives them the possibility of farming in the neighborhood of the banks.

Gilmault--245. K 5 (1948-1968) 19.1 58s Bah Negro: 598 Boni

969
982
415
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Fig. 22. Offering of food to the ancestors.

964
989
142
292
516
482

Fig. 23. Interrogation of the dead person.

WHILE THE RIVER WAS HIGH

Had we provided ourselves with the necessary obias with which to travel to the country of the Granman? He had never been so far up the river. He would like to go there. Ai-yo! He would like to go and see Dahomey, the sacred city, and look at the Tapa Wata falls, and visit the Granman's village. Did we have all our paddlers? He was strong, and he liked to make a boat walk up the rapids. He could get his father to come with him as steersman. His father had strong obias and knew the river. We could not go until the river went down, but he would stay with us here and wait, and if we wished it he would go back upstream to his village and get his father and food, and be ready for us in time. He needed the money the Bakra would pay, too, for he wanted to be married soon, and he would have to buy many things for his woman and her mother.

When he left us, he went to one of the little enclosed houses that were there for travelers, choosing the one closest to us, and built a small fire. His younger brother and the white dog that came in his boat sat with him. The dog wore a cord about his neck, covered with red ochre, to keep him safe in the bush. That night as we ate we could see Bayo, his brother, and the dog squatting close to the fire and eating, too. And all the next day, and for several days to come, as we waited, Bayo was with us, talking, laughing, explaining, and making and buying obias for us to carry us safely on our journey to the Granman.

5

In the afternoon one of the political chiefs of the neighboring Christian village came to hear our phonograph. But when we asked him to sing into it, he said, "Ask me later. Now I am alone. We Saramacca people never do anything when we are alone." We had the year before acquired a powerful obia against slander and bearing false witness against us, and found the occasion useful for corroborating the invocation we had been given. The man, however, spoke with the greatest reluctance and looked

In Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Saramacca

Chapter III

ON THE SARAMACCA RIVER

1

ON THIS, the second morning after the burial of Sedefo's brother, Bayo started downstream from the village of Djamungo before daybreak. With all the vigor of his youth and the freshness of the morning, he pushed off from shore, and with sharp, short strokes ran his canoe into midstream and through the foaming rapids below the village. In and out, and in, went the paddle, until he was past the rough water which made a tumbling fortification for his village. His eyes wandered back for an instant as he sat there, taking in at a glance the dark outlines of the two silk-cotton trees which reared themselves above the line of matted jungle, and the gleam of natural clearing on the opposite, uninhabited bank, where trees stood singly here and there above the low underbrush. "Ai-yo!" he exclaimed half aloud, thinking how well it was with his village. It was good to have been born where twin silk-cotton trees stood and across the river from where the Apuku—the little people of the bush—held council at night. It was the Apuku, to be sure, who had seen to this pleasant open place, and no man, whatever his need, would put to use this land which the gods had accommodated to their own purposes.

Those rapids, too, were higher than any on the lower river, he thought, as he paddled vigorously in the still water. To have thought of the rapids at all, while going

through them, would have meant courting the displeasure of the spirit which animated the troubled stretch, and would have been dangerous. He was a Man Nengere and knew all this well, for was he not ready to marry Dida any time now? He would have to wait as yet, but perhaps during the next planting her breasts would come, and then in a month, two, three, she would be ready to marry. He was, in fact, in the mood even to cast about for a second wife, though his marrying her would have to wait many years. All that would come, for what with the money he already had earned, and the sums he would get for the wood he might bring down the river later, and this money the Bakra would give him, he would have enough to pay for the hammock, the cloth pangi, the handkerchiefs, the bracelets and beads, and whatever else a man needed to give to his woman and her mother for a fine marriage.

Going through this stretch of still water, which Bayo always found dull, he thought of this and that, for there was no work for his muscles but the monotony of the dip and stroke of the paddle. Going upstream it was different. There the challenge of the slipping pole-stick against submerged slime-covered rocks made a man prove himself. It spoke to the warrior blood in him, which found no outlet in these quiet times. But this was only idling, and his mind found pleasure in wandering, especially if it happened, as now, to be dark enough to make it worthless for him to look about for the things that grew and stirred in the bush.

Yes, it would be almost three hours before the sun was high, and when it stood there—he indicated the place in the heavens to himself with his eye—he might be loading the Bakra's boats to go up river, for word had come from top-side that the Mamadam would be safe in a few days, and now if the Granman meant for the Bakra to get to the upper river, he would be sending word down almost any time. And he, Bayo, was ready for the journey. Here in the blue canister, which he had bought in the city on the Queen's last birthday with part of the money he had

get for the timber he and his great-grandfather had floated down the river, he had two fine cloths. One was older and was intended for visiting the villages on the way, and the new one was for the Granman's village. For this occasion, too, he was saving a pair of newly woven garters, though he would wear the two strands of small coral and yellow beads in some of the villages on the way. At Lamé, for instance.

Ai-yo! He would see to it that he looked well at Lamé, for Lamé had handsome women, and at Lamé the women knew how to love. His own powerful love obia had come from Lamé, and there it was in his canister and there beside it was a potent fighting obia which his uncle, who was surpassed by few on the river in the strength of his obia spirits, had made for him. Some day, when Bayo was older, he, too, would know all these secrets, for his uncle had given him some of his gods, and at dances he already showed that he had a strong spirit. Until that time came, he had the obia from Lamé to win for him the love of his fellow men, and should it not avail against the magic of some early fellow who wished him ill, then he had the other which would serve him in trouble. And on his upper arm was his Kromanti obia—the magically potent iron band—which, by tightening, would warn him when trouble was impending. That was the way to go through life—a man asked the gods to help him meet whatever might come, the good spirits with good, and the bad with yet greater evil.

Up above, whirling past him in the pale dawn, the parrots flew, making a screeching chorus in the stillness, and rousing him to the murmur of the next rapids which he was approaching.

What was that? A boat. Going downstream, he was soon alongside it.

"*Tio*, greetings," he called to the man, speaking in the subdued ceremonial voice.

"Thank you, tio," answered the older man, for he addressed a stranger.

484 And after they had inquired of each other's health, they
576 were well past each other, making in opposite directions,
521 but continuing their colloquy.

Bayo said, "I am on my way to the Bakra's camp. I am to be one of his paddlers. Today we start up the river. He is going to the Granman's country."

"I am going to Tunkahai. My sister's son died on the Marowyne. His wife is to come out of mourning. We shall have good dancing tonight."

Bayo's boat was disappearing in the bend of the river.

"Adiosi, adiosi-o. Adiosi, adiosi-o!" he sang out his goodbye, pitching his voice so low and so well that it seemed to penetrate not only the entire river, but the very thickness of the forest which hemmed it in. The response came back to him as a faint, cadenced song.

"Ooo oo oo . . . oo!" he sang out, placing his hand against his mouth to make the sound carry. And the answering call came back true as a bird's call.

484 Now he was in the rapids again, and stood at the stern with dilated nostrils and head thrown forward. When he was through the whirling eddies and in quieter water once more, he adjusted his loin cloth carefully and sat down and
[139] began paddling. The green-heart trees were beginning to bloom. Fine trees. They belonged to another clan. He and his great-grandfather went for their timber below. There was plenty of timber in this bush of theirs. The gods of the bush were strong, and the ancestors had done well for the country. In a week these channels would be gone. Right about him everywhere jagged rocks would show. In a week, or before then, they would play the drums for the gods of the river, sounding their call to the sun to come and dry and warm them, and the sun, hearing the call, would send his fire to the river banks, and the rains would end.

Was that a boat overtaking him? The cool of the morning was a time to be about. Who was that?

"Tio, greetings," he said to the man, who seemed in a
[596] great hurry.

"Thank you, tio. . . ."

Ah, but they knew each other. 484

Bayo began paddling faster to keep up with him.

"There is to be a council meeting at Gankwe. I had to hurry away last night, and I must get back there in time. We must have permission from the spirit of the dead man to go back to work, and Sedefo has to find out if he can start up the river, and if he does go, we must all pray to the ancestors because four men will be going from Gankwe, and the *Gran Sembe*—the village elders—have things to decide . . . " 623 775 [782]

Now, fearing that he might have said too much, he doubled his speed, and Bayo understood that the other preferred to be alone. They belonged to different clans, Bayo to the same as the headman of the tribe, and the Gankwe people to another. Gankwe was sending important men to take the Bakra up the river. The chief's own brother, Asikanu, was to go, although it was said he was being sent out of the way while his adultery case was being settled. There had been talk about this case up and down the river. The Gankwe clan head had given a chief's sanctuary to the offender because he was his own brother, people said. Well, if the injured husband committed suicide as he threatened, and sent a kunu to the family of the brother, and even the village and clan, it would be an ugly thing. But so it was with trouble about women. It was as they said, [684] [778]

"*Sleep is death*
Woman kills man." [538]

He half chanted the proverb and smiled, for he looked forward to his trip up the river with an eye to a visit in Lamé, where the women knew how to love. And he began singing the seketi song which he liked so well. Both the melody and the words were old, but he sang the refrain as if it were quite his own—whatever hardships there were on the river, at Lamé one slept with the women! 831

At the village of Akunkun an old man and a boy of about nine were at the landing place ready to start. Bayo 484

1tHerskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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484 recognized the coat of a village chief, and by the size of the
[501] boat he knew that it belonged to the upper river, far, far beyond the stretches he had yet penetrated.

He spoke the greeting in the faintest of whispers, out of
576 deference to a man of age and rank, and stopped his boat,
484 for this village belonged to his own clan, and it was here that he would get from his mother's sister the cassava
[662] bread which she had got ready for his journey up river. He got out of his boat gently; decorum demanded that he subdue his energy before the man of position. His palms rested on his knees for an instant, as he stood slightly
[516] inclined before the older man, and what questions he answered, he did in speech which was punctuated with the ceremonial stammering demanded by the occasion. He had put his toga-like cloth over him and stood hesitating whether or not to take his paddle to the village with him, for he was so well known here that this settlement was almost as familiar to him as his own. But at last he leaned down and took up his paddle. This mature formality, in a village where he was still often looked upon as a boy, was prompted perhaps by this meeting with the chief, or by the new feeling of confidence he had, since he was taking the Bakra's boat up the river. But here he was, going up the embankment with the firm, slow step of the stranger.

484 The old chief had already started, having first made his
980 sacrifice of rum to the spirit of his boat by squirting it over
[501] the finely carved head which appeared in relief on the
622 prow. And now, as he guided his canoe with the sure strokes
539 of his large steering paddle, he sang his prayer.

"*Kediamo, Kediampon,*
Mother of the River,
Sacred ancestors, and my a'ka,
I am taking this journey down the river,
I am going to the city,
Grant that I travel in safety,
Grant that the trip be joyous,
Grant that I meet with friends,

ON THE SARAMACCA RIVER

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Grant that I walk with strangers in friendship,
Grant that the white man deal fairly with me.
Great Sky God,
Mother of the River,
Sacred ancestors,
I thank you."

Before the sound of the old chief's voice had died away, 484
Bayo was on the bank again with the great disks of cassava bread in his arms. He covered them carefully and was on his way. His aunt had provided nicely for him. She had given him a large bottle of palm oil as well, and now, if he could but shoot a monkey or a macaw while going up the river, he [962]
would have excellent food. The Bakra would be certain to have a drink or two for his paddlers, and some leaf tobacco; and, though he himself was not old enough to snuff tobacco, he would save it for a gift to the father of his betrothed.

He went back to his seketi.

"Ma, a Lamé
A sib' ko' de muye."

On the bank of the next village several women were at work washing clothes. Were they young? Ah, but he must hurry. Twice he had been overtaken.

"Tia, odi! tia, odi! tia, odi!" He spoke to each of the three women separately and finished his "Adiosi" with an extra flourish, for he knew as he paddled away that the circle of cicatrized kamemba and the snake incised in the small of his back below it would gleam in the sun and look alive to the women who watched him make off.

That Lamé obia was a powerful thing!

2

At Gankwe they had been up all night, for yesterday was 765
the eighth day after death, and that night the ceremony of B'oko Dei had to be cared for—until night met day, the villagers said, there would be Anansi stories, and then, after the dawn, the elders would hold council, for one's

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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501 609 "It is not good," he said aloud to us. "Its balance is not right. Look, it rolls . . . and besides, I have a kunu. I will go up in my own boat."

And so it was. Sedefo took his own boat up river, and another Gankwe boat was obtained, and there were four boats instead of three, and eight paddlers instead of six.

"Ya-hai! Kunu is costly for the white man as well as the black," Bayo said to Bibifo, his great-grandfather, for it was not his father, nor his grandfather, as he had later promised, who appeared to steer the boat in which Bayo was taking the Bakra and his woman up the river.

3

502 484 Bayo was at his best on the river. He loved it, and it treated him well. In the prow of the boat, swinging his pole-stick hand over hand, he steadily urged the boat upstream against the current, and sang as he poled.

[533] [539]

"*A-yai-yo,*
A-yai-yea,
Money is finished in Suriname
Lower Cayenna took it!
A-yai-yo,
A-yai-yea."

[533] Over and over he repeated the seketi, with tantalizing variations in rhythm and melody on the traditional air, to which he knew so many sets of words. In and out went the pole-stick. In, until it struck the sand with a soft caressing glide, then a hard push, and three short steps back along the boat until Bayo's hand reached the upper end of the wood, and a final thrust, then pull, and over, and in, and once again the three short steps.

The other boats had got ahead. In the distance close to the bank they followed one another.

"*Mbwogu, mbwogu*—Hurry!" said old Bibifo in back.

Bayo turned and grinned. "*Ai, mbwogu, mati, mbwogu*—Yes, hurry, friend, hurry," he twitted his great-grandfather,

but he did face about, and forgetting his seketi began to pole in earnest. 502 484

In a few moments his body glistened with the exertion, and over the circle and snake of kamemba in the small of his back the perspiration ran down in a trickle. When he had almost caught up he slackened his speed, and he and Bibifo talked about the river. Old Bibifo knew the river well. He was born beyond the Granman's country. A snake swam across the path of the boat, Bayo said. It was good luck. "See, look," he called. His eyes were sharp. The old man saw it, too, and then he called to us. There, close to the shore, a little ahead of us, a constrictor twined its tail about a liana, hanging head down, with a salamander slowly disappearing into its mouth. There was a slight jerk, the liana shook, the snake swallowed, and another bit of the salamander was out of sight. 484 [875] [777] [136]

Farther ahead we heard the report of a gun, and the crying of the mate of the wounded bird followed us for a long while. Bayo and Bibifo identified each cry, called by name the things that grew, planned about their timber rafts when they got back, until the next rapids were reached and passed and the conversation could be resumed, and then they talked about things which they did not care to have the Bakra know, and though they spoke none of the words of their ritual language, we could not understand anything they said. It was not until later that we learned to work out some of the elisions in their speech. [198]

A strip of sandy beach showed where a village stood, and as we passed it, we could see the azang, the spiritual guard of palm fronds, preventing evil spirits from entering the village. We saw also a strip of white hanging from the end of a stick which had been put up for the ancestors, and beyond, the low shelter for the roughly carved and weathered image holding an obia pot on its head. Under the azang the path stretched like a narrow ribbon which was soon lost as the walls of green converged. 778 789

"Is that another village?" we said, pointing at a pale stretch across the river. 361

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361 "This is the entrance to the farm of a Gankwe family. And there, can you see? That's a broken village. Many people died there. The others left it. This happened when Bayo was small."

4

805 "How many hours, Bakra?" Bayo asked. He could tell time by the sun and guessed almost exactly. "They are stopping on the rocks there. It's time to eat."

264 The Bush Negro usually has two meals a day, one in the early forenoon and another at night after dark when work is over. He eats little. These men were on the river with us ten or eleven hours a day, poling upstream, loading and unloading the boats where the rapids were so high that it was impossible to take the heavily loaded boats across them, and what we saw them eat was some cassava bread [262] dipped in river water to soften it, and some cold rice with a little palm oil in it. They had no time to fish, and it was a bad year for fishing, too. Of game there was little. [224] A few toucans and a monkey were all they could get along the shore—game was scarce even in the deep bush. For more than a score of decades their ancestors had been shooting game along the river, and now the animals kept away.

In the other boats Asikanu was the first served.

"Look, here is your food."

The front paddler put a calabash filled with rice and some cassava bread on the water, and the stream carried it to Asikanu.

"Did you catch it?"

"Ai."

484 In Sedefo's boat the cassava cakes were green with mold. 261 One by one these disks of a finger's breadth in thickness and perhaps thirty inches in diameter were laid on the hot rocks to dry. On a trip such as this, enough must be taken to feed a man during his entire absence from home. Well in advance a man's wife, or his mother or sister, or a maternal aunt will be told of such a trip so that she may

have the necessary time to prepare the cassava. A man cannot count on finding food to buy. Food is often scarce and, especially when crops have not been good—a state of affairs these Bush Negroes know only too well—each household has need of all the food it has grown. 484 061

Asikanu, whose cassava bread was fresh, bathed in the river and changed his dripping loin cloth, spreading out the one he had removed so that it might dry. Bayo washed his second best cloth, for the sun was strong, and it was well to get it fresh and uncreased. So the men busied themselves getting their supplies in order for the journey which was not yet taxing, but would grow more difficult during the next few days, with heavy rapids, great distances between villages, and more exertion needed to strike a village before dark overtook them. 515 484

Even so it was time to be off, Sedefo decided, replacing the cassava cakes—which in a few moments had lost their mold—for the next rapids were something to be reckoned with. Again the four dugouts were on their way, and it was a brave sight to see the four pole-men swinging their long sticks with measured regularity, and the upward leaping three steps, and the down-running steps, and the seated paddlers dipping their carved blades into the water with a slight twist at the end of each stroke to counteract the effect of the push of the man at the bow, to keep the canoe headed straight into the current. 502 484

Ahead, in the leading canoe, the man at the bow waved his hand to us, indicating directions to our men. We could see him put the whole length of his pole in the water three times, then lay it along the gunwale of his dugout and, taking up his paddle, begin to stroke in time with the man at the stern of his boat. [20]

"*Mfundu*," said Bayo to Bibifo. "Deep."

As we approached the deep water, Bayo with a fillip of his paddle sent our dugout heading into the stream, to be caught up by the current at the center and taken down and across by the impact of the water against the boat. The boats in front had done the same, had cut across to the

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502 other bank, and now as we reached the opposite shore, we
484 saw the small opening of a minor channel which we were to take. With astonishing nicety the tip of the juncture of the main stream and this smaller channel was reached at the same instant. Loin cloths were adjusted, and once more the pole-men took up their pole-sticks and continued the slow passage against the current.

484 The boats were now again traveling close to the bank, so that the details of the forest which fringed the river could be clearly seen. Straight from the water rose the [133] wall of sheer green, all of a dark, almost dull purplish color—a wall of fifty, a hundred, a hundred and fifty feet and more, as the lianas dropped down from the upper branches of the great trees which gave these parasitic growths their support. Here and there we saw a brilliant wing of a bird, and a Bush Negro, ever ready to augment [411] his meager food supply, would unlimber an ancient shotgun, steady himself, and shoot. In Sedefo's canoe, Angita, his pole-man, saw a blue and golden macaw silhouetted as it sat on a slender branch. Out came the shotgun. The macaw, startled but unhit, flew to another branch farther upstream. We crept slowly, noiselessly ahead, and when we were close by Angita shot again, and missed again. The macaw now did not trouble to fly away, and when Angita made aim once more, Sedefo stopped him.

[825] "No, mati—Let him be, friend. The gods are protecting him. Put away your gun."

Again we cut across, as we regained the wide channel, this time so that the men might speak their errand to the spirit of their great ancestor, the god of the large creek. We did not go too close, however, and all we could see was an azang again, the spiritual guard of palm fronds, and beyond the whitened trunk of a tree and a slender stick with a bit of white cotton attached to its end.

Sedefo spoke conversationally. "*Avo*—ancestor—we are [982] going up the river. We are working for the American Bak'a. We are on our way to the G'ama's country. Grant

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that we walk the Bak'a with pleasure, that he treat us well, that we walk in safety. Thank you." 484 [182]

The men in the other canoes, who had gathered about Sedefo's boat, clapped their hands, as Sedefo had done, and said "Thank you," then took up their paddles.

We had noticed that when Sedefo spoke, Bibifo's lips had moved, as though he were either repeating the prayer, or speaking his own, but when the others joined in the voiced "Gran' tangi!" he was silent.

"Did you pray, Bayo?" we asked. Yes, he had. He had prayed for us, too. Did Bibifo also pray for the white man? But before Bibifo could answer, Bayo laughed aloud.

"Bibifo is *kerki suma*—a church man. Call him Adrian, it will please him. I call him Bibifo, nothing else."

"And you, Bayo?"

"I—you will take me with you to Africa. I want to learn African obia, and come back to the Saramacca, and be a big obia man here on the river." [152]

5

Old Bibifo accepted his great-grandson's jibes with good humor. We were sorry for the old fellow who was so little at ease with the other men, and was so mercilessly twitted by the youngster in the bow. 888 522 578

If the old man were to make a suggestion to him about a channel which Bayo had decided against, then he would turn brazenly, and exclaim, "Massa cow!" This is part of the proverb which says that a man who owns the cow has the best right to say where it shall graze. If Bibifo objected when Bayo attempted to do something that seemed impossible, he would face about smilingly and say, "The power which has raised the monkey from the ground and taught it to live safely in the trees is not dead yet." [538]

"Bibifo," we said, making conversation with the old man, "Why do we go close to the shore?"

"In the center the current is swift and the river deep. When we go in the center, then we use only paddles. It is 502 484

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too deep for the pole-stick. When we go in the center, it is slow. . . . *Koti go!*—Cut across!" he shouted in his shrill voice, as our boat and the others after us veered over to the other side of the stream where the current was less strong.

"How do you know just where these places are?" we asked. "There are so many channels, so many islands. How can you tell?"

"*Ma, kye!* What would you? I belong to this bush. An old man knows his river."

Steadily the boats went ahead in this long, quiet stretch. For fully half an hour the men worked in silence, doggedly going upstream close to the bank, until under the shade of a tree they saw a boat resting.

"Tio, odi! Tio, odi!" Each of our men addressed the two in the boat.

"Tangi, tio! Tio, odi," they answered each one, until finally they said, "Odi, Bak'a," greeting the stranger last, as was the custom.

Our men explained, "We are going to the Saramacca country, up the river to the Granman. We are carrying the Bakra to the Granman. They belong to America country. They traveled in a fire ship for twenty-one nights and days to come to the Saramacca. Twenty-one nights and days, mati, without resting. *G'an sundyi*—A great state of affairs."

The man said, "We come from the Marowyne. The river is high. The next rapids are difficult. Let us travel together."

And so we were five canoes. Ahead, we could already hear the dull murmur which would soon crescendo to the final roar. This was the water pouring over the first rocks in the distance.

"What rapids are these?"

"We must not talk about this here. Wait until we pass them. If we speak the name, the spirit will come, and he will be angry. The boat might go over. We might lose part of our load."

Now we came closer to the line of white, which rose higher and higher. Except for the bits of white foam like

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saliva coming downstream, the water below the rapids gave in its calmness little hint of the turbulence beyond. The boats gathered for a discussion. 502 484

"This is the best place."

"No, here."

"There, to the side."

The bow men had jumped out and were reconnoitering, shouting at each other from their respective rocks. At last the strangers' ideas prevailed. At the side was best, there, close to the shore, but an overhanging branch or two would have to be struck off. Bayo swam back to our boat to get his machete and, wading up the stream along the bank, slashed at the obstruction. He struck again, and the limb bent, struck once more, and down it fell, coming toward us with lightning rapidity as it was caught by the full force of the current.

"Look out, look out!" Sedefo shouted, as the jagged point made for the boat of the strangers. But the men had already perceived the danger to their canoe, and one of them had jumped into the water and caught at some twigs, diverting the main branch so that it only grazed the side.

Now all was clear, and they were ready to start. The heaviest boat, that of the strangers, would be the first to go. Both the men in it took up poles and, with a firm shove, their boat was in the thick of it.

"Ha'i! ha'i!" they cried, and first the prow man would force the boat slowly forward, and then would hold the advantage he had gained while the pole-man in the stern caught his stick in the rocky bottom and pushed with a force that bent the strong wood.

Our men stood by, ready to help.

"The boat is slipping!" Sedefo cried.

And it was true. Into the roaring water jumped Bayo and Angita, and swam out to reach the boat which was losing more and more ground and might at any instant crash downwards. Balancing themselves on the slippery rocks, half wading, half swimming, they grasped its sides and pulled in unison with the pole-man's urging "*Hali!*

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hali, ha!—Haul! haul, brother!" Now they had stopped its backward motion. "Hali!" Now the boat gained headway. "Hali!" And this time the prow tilted clear over the top of the rapids and, with another push and another, it was in the still water above.

Three men and not two returned to take our boat, for we were next, being next heaviest, and only one man was needed to keep the boat that had been through the dangerous stretch in its place in the quiet water. In climbed Bayo, and Sedefo took the old man's position. Into the water jumped the other two, this time swimming through the fast water farther away from shore to where some rocks projected from the white foam. For Sedefo had different ideas about the best passage. We were, in fact, to try to make it where the force of the water was greatest, near the center of the stream.

"*Koti go! Okai no mo, okai no mo!*—Cut across! Cut over more, more!" shouted Sedefo as we headed across and down the river toward a partly submerged rock.

"Massa Nengere, 'kai no mo!"

"Kai, kai, mati!"

With a grunt, he pushed in his pole-stick just as we reached it, holding fast as the boat swung about, and Bayo once more dug among the rocks on the bottom to obtain a fresh grip.

"*Okai, okai!*—Turn, turn!" he shouted above the noise of the water. The cries were frantic, but Sedefo knew the river too well for it to trick him, and as the head of the boat was about to be caught and swirled broadside against another rock, the first of the men from the other boats caught it and righted it about. It was as he had planned.

"Hali!" and, with four pairs of strong arms tugging, we could feel the pull as the boat went forward amid the white-capped water. "Hali!" and the quiet of the river above the falls could be seen just beyond the prow. "Hali!" and we, too, were in still water.

The old man again took his place in our boat, and Sedefo went back to bring his own dugout through. The three

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smaller boats were to be brought up each by its own men. Each selected a place, and the shrill shouted directions could be heard above the falling water. Up, up, they came, the man at the stern holding with his stick, the man at the head up to his shoulders in water, tugging, pulling, hauling the boat over. Once Asikanu's pole slipped, and his boat swung toward a rock, but it caught again and he held it with the fierceness of a man defending himself against an enemy, and then he, too, cut across and found the firmness of the friendly sandy bottom. 502-484

But when the five boats were at last together above the falls, out came machetes to sharpen the ends of the pole-sticks, for an encounter such as they had had the moment before shredded the hard wood into fiber.

Ahead the water was still. The hard work of this day was over. The men straightened their loin cloths and again began to make their way along the banks of the river. The village where we would camp that night was somewhere before us. The sun was nearing the treetops, and the shrieking pairs of parrots were flying over us to the west, seeking their roosting places. [136]

The short dusk was upon us.

"It is not far," said Bayo, speaking of the village ahead.

"Will we get there before dark?"

"*Massa Gadu sabi*—God alone knows."

"*No fe', Bak'a*—Don't be afraid. We know the river."

The Bush Negro and his river! Seeing the prodigious strength of the men, their great knowledge of current and rocks and channels, one was not afraid. Softly the pole-sticks slid into the sand banks, softly the paddles dipped, and Bayo sang his seketi. [533] [534]

"*N'an g'wa a Lamé*
A s'ib' ko' de muye."

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was needful, and since then he had often made prayer to his boat, and the boat had carried him safely.

But this is what happened.

On our fourth day up the river we were on our way early, because the men said the falls ahead were difficult, and they wanted to be through them before they stopped to eat. It took us more than an hour to pass the rapids, for the land rose higher and higher, and the water cascaded from one ledge to the next, often in curving channels of swift water that were too deep to allow the use of pole-sticks, and too swift for the paddles to cope with.

There were also those stretches which were without the piled rocks to give the men a footing for pulling the boats over, so that a rope had to be used, and the going was slow and treacherous. Each of the dugouts had this long rope fastened to its prow, and ahead, on the first ledge, were two or more of the men, the other end of the rope in hand, waiting for the signal to start hauling, while holding on to the sides of the boat as they swam were as many men as could be spared, so that if the rope broke, the boat would not be swept downstream, to go crashing against the rocks. These men who faced the fast water of their river, worked as though at the sight of it their Kromanti fighting spirit had entered their bodies, as if not men were there, but an impersonal force pitting itself against the force of the river. Even where the water was not too deep, and they could haul the boat, care could not be slackened for an instant—a wrong turn, and the boat would be capsized, or, what would be as serious, the impact of a rock might cut a gash in its side or bottom, filling it with water faster than they could manage to bring it to a bank. But at last the sound of the falling water was behind us, and the men, once they were in the still water again, went on with the casualness that they fell into with their river when the danger was over, and cast about for a pleasant place to stop and eat.

All at once there was a shout from behind us. Each boat echoed it shrilly. What's that? Whose boat?

REBEL DESTINY

502 484 731

It was Sedefo's boat, there in the distance, tilted to one side in what looked to us like still water. The other canoes turned and paddled furiously to reach him, but he had righted his boat before they could come alongside him, and was off down the river to recover what he had lost. The water had claimed the basket back of the tarpaulin-covered load, and a carved paddle which had slipped off when the canoe tilted. The basket belonged to Sedefo. It held his food for the journey up river and the downgoing. The paddle was also his—the finest he had—and had been intended for ceremonial usage when he called as spokesman for us on village heads asking for a night's hospitality, and particularly at the Granman's village, and still later on the way home, when he brought political messages in behalf of his clan to friendly clans along the way he passed. He also lost his best cloth; it was not just a piece of striped cotton a man bought in the white man's store; it had been patiently and dexterously pieced together from many pieces [291] of cloth, plain and striped, in a pattern which was known to the ancestors. His young second wife had made it for him. Her first child was an infant at her breast. When she heard about this, she would think of Sedefo's kunu, and be afraid. Was it so big a kunu that it would punish a child of his wife's family, too?

This is what the men said while the boats waited for Sedefo to return from his vain search down the rapids. The [996] men had not expected him to recover the things lost. When kunu took, there was nothing that could be done. And it was kunu. The *Bakra-sani*—the white man's things—had remained in the boat unharmed! We looked at the few rocks against which the boat had crashed. They showed plainly above the water, and the current about them made so small a break in the still water that the spirit of this ruffled piece had never disclosed its name, had never before received notice. The three other canoes had gone through without even the grunts from the paddlers which came when the going was hard, for all that was necessary was to go straight for the rocks, let the current swing the boat

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around, give a strong thrust with the pole-stick, and the canoe was through—a bit of child's play. 502 484 n31

We were soon again to see Sedefo's kunu strike. This time it was almost at dusk. The men, it appeared, would not be able to make the village we had planned on for the night. In half an hour it would be dark, and here we were fully two hours' fast traveling from our intended destination. Overhead clouds were coming up from the east. The sky was rapidly becoming overcast. Rain—and everywhere the impenetrable wall of green, rising dark and forbidding. To make camp where we were would have taken at least two hours, and it was growing darker and darker. The men refused to clear the underbrush in the dark.

It seemed, however, that five minutes upstream on the opposite bank and only a little to the south of where we had stopped to talk things over was a village, the name of which when we heard it we recognized as one of the two we had been asked not to visit. There was nothing to do but to brave the displeasure of the Granman and stop there; so turning we headed our boats toward the opposite shore.

In midstream a great wind came up, a wind that in suddenness and force is only met in the tropics. The men shrieked and shouted and struggled until our boats reached shore. But Sedefo's boat, which was the second, seemed to be lifted bodily out of the water. We could see a black mass being heaved up . . . the black tarpaulin was overboard going downstream, and Sedefo after it. [132]

The wind subsided as quickly as it had sprung up, and when Sedefo came back sometime later, he carried the dripping tarpaulin on his head. He did not drink the rum we gave to warm him, but poured it over his hands and his boat as an offering. [133]

The next day we talked with Bayo about kunu. 502 484 n32

"Why is it, Bayo, that Sedefo lost his food in the still water? Was it because he felt safe and didn't take care in such small rapids?"

"No," he said promptly, "that's how kunu works. A man travels on the river all his life. He goes over small

502 rapids and large rapids. He carries loads and returns to
484 his own village. But then something happens. His boat is
996 good. He walks *kosi*—carefully—but he loses his food, or his entire load, or his boat, or even his life. Something is working against him. It might be *wisi*—bad magic; it
USA might be kunu. If you have kunu, then your enemies can make their bad magic work against you. So it is."

"But what is kunu, Bayo?"

He hesitated.

124 We assured him that there was no harm in our asking.
996 We had been hearing so much about it, first about Zimbi, and how he had died from a cut with his machete. Now this machete had worked for him since he was a boy, and then he cut himself, and then, having cut himself, he became sick and died. People said down below this was kunu. What did it mean?

But he still hesitated and looked about him until at last when he spoke, he gave the answer we were coming to know so well—"*Massa Gadu sabi*—God knows"—that answer that was the signal that not alone Massa Gadu, but the one who invoked his name in protection against Bakra questions, knew the answer quite well but meant to keep his own counsel. For to talk of these matters is not good, we had been told before by Sedefo.

It was Bibifo who brought up kunu again when Bayo stepped out of the boat for an instant.

"Better not talk to Bayo about kunu, Bakra. There is a very big kunu in Bayo's family. He does not mean to lie to the Bakra when he doesn't talk, but it is better for him not to tell you about it. We Saramacca people say: 'A snake bit me. I see a worm, I am afraid.' Do not ask him more."

2

538 But the Bush Negro has many sayings, and it was a different proverb from that which Bibifo had quoted to us that guided us in our tortuous course in search of an understanding of kunu.

REBEL DESTINY

133 But now a soft haze floated over stream and bush. To the right was the Ingi Sopi channel, dropping so sheer that not even an unloaded dugout could make its way up the rapids, not a single log of wood could be floated down. To the left was the Mamadam, a smoother, more rounded slope. It was up these falls that our boats would later be hauled.

501 484 Below us on the rocks our men were unloading the corials and carrying the provisions along the narrow trodden path to the topmost ledge of the falls, where the empty dugouts would be reloaded after they had been taken up through the streaming water.

133 Beyond lay the full stretch of the river. As far as the eye could see, there were none of the channels, none of the many islands which are met with everywhere on this river from its very headwaters to the reaches of the tidal belt near the coast. About us was a stillness which the very roar [134] of the water heightened. The parrots had long ago passed on in pairs. The butterflies would wait for the sun before they went winging from the east bank to the west. This was a moment of pure interlude. No sun, no breeze, no 000 sound, no glow. This was the moment before the fragmentary dawn would end, before the haze would lift, this the moment when night, having met day, as the Bush Negroes said, was disappearing from sight.

"It is fine here, ai!" Bayo called to us, as he walked on [482] with a large canister balanced on his head, making his way up the rocks with the sureness and ease of one who is strolling down a lane with the consciousness of a pleasant encounter at the next turning.

798 346 As soon as the mist had lifted, we walked up the rocks to the shrine. Facing us and the lower river, a tall, slender pole, weathered to a pale silver, stood higher than the roof of the shrine in front of which it was planted. At its top were the crude outlines of a head and, some three feet from its base, two side pieces were nailed to it and grounded at an angle to steady the image against the onrush of a sudden wind. A short distance from the pole was the shrine

away. It seemed dangerous even to notice the strip of white cotton which showed high above the falls, though the stick from which it hung we could not see. 778 784

"Human beings do not go there," Bayo had said warningly. "Human eyes must also not go there."

But the shrine at the Mamadam is a friendly place. There a man finds a moment's ease. For a brief interval, at least, the voyager upstream or down rests there to get his breath, as he makes ready for a new start. Directly below the falls is a stretch of still water, which follows upon the wearisome portage at the Musumba Prati and the struggle with the rapids just above it, while, when continuing up river, the boatmen face a succession of rapids before another stretch of quiet water is reached. It is not strange, therefore, that no man, whatever his need to make time, will fail to stop at the Mamadam long enough to make known to the Mother of the River his errand and to ask for the continuance of her protection. 778 484

This shrine is the home of the Great Mother of the inland waters, she who, above all else, had secured to the ancestors of these Bush Negroes their freedom from slavery. In the city and on the plantations of the coastal region the Negroes, under states of possession by the water gods, sing of their longing to join those at the Mamadam. 778 772

Let me die on the river, O! [533]
Let me die on the water, O! [539]
All the Ingi spirits
Are at the Mamadam,
Let me die on the river, O!

Deep in the interior, if one of the elders, let us say a man of the Dahomey clan, is alarmed at the prospect of the white man penetrating their bush, some man can be looked to, then, to say reassuringly, "Have no fear. They will not come beyond the Mamadam!"

For this river is their own. "Once, long, long ago," the legend was told us, "this river was but a creek. There were no great trees here, no rocks. There were no boats, no 173

REBEL DESTINY

484 574 But Bayo's pleasant story came to an abrupt end. Down toward the bank came Sedefo and his companion, motioning the men to join him. They all gathered in front of the guard of palm fronds, and began to discuss something in low voices, while from the village came the staccato rhythms [776] [782] to the Sky God and to the Kromanti spirits in tones at first soft, but swelling and quickening as they continued.

Sedefo came up to us at last and said, "I will tell you something, but you must not think the people of Pa'aba are unfriendly. I will tell you this. Let us go on and make camp farther up the river. There is a provision ground not too far away. We will make it in time."

780 574 In the boat Bayo told us that many were possessed in the village, and since here at Pa'aba they danced Kromanti strong, the men did not think it safe to bring us to the village. The year before Kasanya had spent a trying night here. Two or three of the men had found guns and had gone tearing about the village, so that not alone had the women shut themselves up in their huts, as they often did at Kromanti dances, but the men, too, had had to go in hiding.

"That is why we are going on. But I have a strong Kromanti spirit myself. I will go back to Pa'aba tonight and watch the men dance," he said with a laugh.

3

574 [488] It was already quite dark when we made the planting ground. Up a narrow footpath we followed Kasanya.

"*Koni, koni*—Take care, don't trip at night," he kept calling to us. "*Mbwogu*—Hurry," he urged, though we needed no urging to keep close behind him in this narrow dark shaft which cut the greater darkness of the bush in two.

Bibifo would sleep in our boat to watch the provisions, Kasanya explained as he led the way, for the clearing was so far from shore that it was not wise to leave the boats unwatched.

"It is far," he said. "Grounds are cleared that way—not too near a village, not too near the shore."

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

us when we asked him. At one landing place where we 183
stopped for a moment, we could hear the drums sounding 609
the rhythm to the river gods, but the drumming stopped abruptly as word went back along the path that white people had come. Men streaked with pemba came down to the river to look at the Bakra who had visited the village of their Granman.

In the boat, we missed Bayo. The grandson of the Gran- 644
man, who was our bow paddler, we had met but casually 123
before we had started. There had been none of the chances 609
for conversation that had made of Bayo a friend before he and his great-grandfather came to take us to the country of the Granman. Later we would come to know this youth for a pleasant young man, capable and quiet, who was proud to show his ability, and quick to resent the suggestions of our town man in such matters as making a shelter for the night.

"We are children of the bush!" the young man exclaimed sharply. "We know how to make this." And such a good shelter did the paddlers build that men of a near-by village, who passed, stopped and asked that it not be torn down the [485] next morning, as had to be done with shelters erected for the night on the land of a strange clan, but that we should let it stand so that others might use it.

When we asked him questions, however, or made observa- [157] tions on people who passed by in their canoes, he gave us noncommittal replies. Mataibo, the captain of our boat, was even more reserved, though he liked to twit our town man, and in an unofficial capacity would have been amusing. Conversation between the two paddlers, or between them and the two young men who were entrusted with our other boat, was in the clipped, rapid "deep-Saramacca" [197] speech which, in spite of our use of it in conversation at the Granman's village, we still found it difficult to follow when Bush Negroes spoke informally to one another.

As the day wore on, we began to get used to the rapidity 484 ●
with which village after village was passed. Here was the landing place of the one where we had stopped so that

REBEL DESTINY

Sedefo might greet his sister. It was almost a half-day's travel, going up river, from Asindopo Lantiwe, yet it was not quite noon, and we were passing it. Here was Hei Kununu, its steep slopes already swinging into sight as we rounded a bend of the river and came through the small rapids above the settlement, and still it seemed as though we had but begun our course down toward our base camp and the railhead. And it was still early in the afternoon when we came to Ma'lobbi.

2

At the landing place, women were about. Much of the work of the Bush Negro woman is at the river's edge, and for strangers like ourselves, passing in a dugout, the presence of women working on the bank was the only sign that here was a landing place, and that farther inland lay a village. To the river they came with their carved clothes beaters, like the one we could see in the hand of the woman who greeted us here at Ma'lobbi, fashioned, as we later learned when she sold it to us, in the shape of a male vodu head on one end, and a female snake on the other. It was at the edge of the water that a woman scraped cooking pots and calabash dishes with sand, and it was here, if it seemed a good day for fishing, that a woman would go wading in the water to rest a cooking pot on the river bottom, and stand silently until an inquisitive school of small fish swam into it when, with a quick jerk, she would bring it up to take out what fish there were. This, aside from the use of small hooks, was the only kind of fishing a woman could do, for the fishing traps were for the use of men. But the cooking pot brought in many small fish to add flavor to a dish of rice.

As we walked into the village, accompanied by one of our younger paddlers, the bassia greeted us. The head of the village was waiting for us, he told us. Paddlers of small boats on their way downstream had spread the word that our visit with the Granman was drawing to an end.

Chapter XVI

BAYO, THE PLAYBOY

1

IT HAD been a day of hard travel down the Mamadam, through the Musumba Prati, and down the long wearying stretch of quiet water until we reached the Tita Buka Falls. The memory of the up-river passage of these troubled stretches had not yet worn down sufficiently to allow of contemplating the downgoing without a measure of strain, but our anxiety turned to astonishment when the paddlers, skirting above the thunder of the water, steered the boats into a barely visible channel down which we floated by easy stages. 507 484

"Mati-o," said chief Mataibo to the young men, when we had made the singularly fine passage, "the gods are taking them with pleasure. We must do the same!"

Passing the Gran' Creek he prayed from midstream, calling on the spirit of the creek, whom he addressed as ancestor, to give us long life in our white man's country. 782

Now we were here at Djamungo, at Bayo's village where, if he were only there, we should be seeing a fine dance, and where, what at the moment was far more important for us, many sacred objects awaited us. Djamungo was a village about whose magic other villages on the river were uneasy. 789 361

"Bayo is at Gankwe waiting for you. He is helping the men haul lumber, but when he hears you are back, he will come," said a woman who came up saying she was his 609

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

him about it as he came to take the white man through the bush trails to a neighboring village. 302 115

One of the girls who admired him had achieved this, but how she had managed to make the minute braids was difficult for us to see, for Bayo's hair the day before, long for him, had not seemed sufficiently yielding to permit of braiding. Yet here he was, his head covered with innumerable small braids which divided the white scalp into sections and showed lines where the many regular parts had been made. This made quite a new man out of Bayo. He was no longer the warrior who went without food because he was bored with the idea of preparing the food—a woman's task or, at best, that of an old man like his great-grandfather Bibifo who had cooked on the up-river trip. Now he was a dandy. [5C2 88M]

"Ai-yo!" he crowed back as we speculated on the labor that had gone into the creation. "It took her almost all the night! It is hard work."

"She must like you, Bayo."

"She likes me well, ai!"

"Are you going to have her for your third wife?"

"Who knows? But a man doesn't marry every woman who braids his hair."

Soon Bayo and the white man were off through the bush, Tross going ahead as scout. Back and across the path he would dart and for the white man, unaccustomed to the sounds of the bush, it was difficult to tell whether the rustling he heard was caused by the dog, or by the small animals stirred up from time to time. Once a snake coiled on the path moved lazily away as they approached; Tross had disturbed it, and the snake had no mind for more encounters. Once a small animal of some sort dashed across the trail ahead, the dog in close pursuit, and for some moments we could hear them tearing through the underbrush. 484 231

"Aren't you afraid that some animal will hurt Tross, Bayo?"

"He is a good dog. And I have put strong obia on him." [789]

"OBIA COMES!"

The river had fallen. Whole stretches appeared as dry as the sandy village clearings. The green-heart trees were in full bloom, looking like giant flowering mimosas with heads lifted high above the green wall of matted bush. As we sped past the village landing of Ginkwe, women washing their clothes and children at pay called out a last "*Adiosio-o-o-o*," but in a moment we rounded a bend of the river and were out of sight.

Our only stop was at New Village, not far from the railroad, where the chief had promised to have an apinti for us. He was expecting us, and with him was his friend, the chief of Kadyu, whose village lay below the railhead.

"I had trouble finding a skin for the head," he said, "but one of my men shot a deer, and so I have a fine one for you. . . . And here is an obia to keep you alive on the water." He transferred the power of the obia to us, and then, as we rose to leave, he added, "When you get to your home, tell the headman of your village 'Howdo' in the name of the Chief of New Village, and his friend, the Chief of Kadyu."

9

As we floated up to the landing place where men were waiting to take our boxes to the train, we saw an hibiscus tree in bloom before the little shop kept by a British Guiana mulatto who did some trading with the Bush Negroes.

"What do you call this tree, Bayo?"

"Which one, this with the red flowers? I don't know. That's a Bak'a sani—a white man's thing."

Bakra sani!

The hibiscus tree, the mulatto who for the Bush Negro is also a Bakra, ourselves and our phonograph and flashlights—all were white men's things, intruders in his bush, strangers. Only by the grace of his powerful ancestors, and of the gods of his ancestors, might such things be allowed life and a measure of joy there, as witness the bright blossoms, the livelihood the mulatto earned, and our own good health.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Hot sun . . . Gush of rapid water . . . Bees and dragon- 434
flies cruise about. . . . Rain . . . Hot sun . . . There is a crash of branches in the bush; some animal, probably a tapir. . . . Kingfishers chase each other over the yellow bosom of [136]
the river. . . . Talkee-talkee chatter. . . . The white man curses the flies. . . . That tiny speck a mile high is a vulture, wheeling without effort in great circles. . . . Rapids . . . Cloud-banks in the sky. High-lights on the river . . . Hot sun . . . Poling up the rapids . . . Grunting Negroes lean on the slick wet poles. . . . Still water . . . The paddlers step overboard to drag the boat up a difficult piece of rapid water. . . . The canoe is stuck on a rock. . . . It swings broadside to the current. . . . The river almost wins; we get away by a hair's breadth. . . . Over into the still water . . .

Moi-Man sings a Djuka song. . . . Alligators sunning on [136]
sandbanks . . . Gorgeous Morpho butterflies go by on shimmering blue wings. . . . Jewellery is made from them. . . . Showers of little white butterflies cross the stream, fluttering tirelessly. . . . A feast for the swallows . . . Spray from the fast waves . . . Wet tarpaulin over the baggage . . .

The forest is as impassable now as it was in the days of the rebellion. There is no way of penetrating the interior except by travelling up one of the great rivers of Surinam. The Bush [487
Negroes spend much of their time on the rivers; their water- 491]
craft is exquisite. To make the laborious passage upstream the expedition is entirely dependent upon these black polers. They consent to accompany the white men—*bahkras* as they are called—with no great eagerness. The Djukas realize that

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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they must tolerate a certain amount of intrusion, and negotiations for canoes and paddlers can be made for occasional journeys upstream.

The Bush Negroes sometimes come down to Paramaribo, but on the whole they have no desire for contact with white civilization. At one or two points along the lower rivers trading-posts have been set up by the Surinam Balata Company. The post near Kabel, on the Surinam River, is connected with Paramaribo by a small railroad, the only one in the colony. Once a week a tiny locomotive hauls some wooden coaches up to Kabel, a journey of nine hours. For a few miles the train passes through cleared plantation lands before plunging into the bush, the engine making as much as twenty miles an hour when it is going well. A few Hindu and Indian villages are scattered along the route. When the train stops at Republiek, swarms of Hindu fruit dealers attack the passengers: Carib Indians, coloured like ripe mangoes, can be seen holding themselves proudly aloof from such merchants. A little further on the *pork-knockers* detrain. They are freelance blacks, seeking a fortune by washing for gold in the yellow waters which roll down from the foothills of the distant mountains.

Here, at Kabel, one river trip begins. The trading factor, Mr. Alexander Wolff, had negotiated with the Bush Negroes for two forty-foot dugouts, capable of carrying a thousand pounds of luggage and equipment, and had secured four Bush Negro paddlers. One is named Quacoe, the famous name of the Tempati rebel, and another is called Flagawai,

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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or Waving Flag. There is also a town cook, known as Bundle. 484

It is grey on the misty river when we leave Kabel to take 648 up the journey into the interior. The corials are wet with fog.

A group of villagers stands on the bank to watch our departure. The last evidence of civilization is the corrugated iron shack which marks the terminus of the railroad. The baggage has been transferred to the canoes, and the paddlers take their places. We shove off on the tawny river. The villagers shout a farewell: *"Wakka bon na watra, bahkra."*—"Walk well on the water, white man."

Seeing these black-skinned paddlers dimly through the morning mist, one can easily imagine being on the Niger, headed into the interior of Africa. They are characteristic West African types, with broad noses, thick lips, and kinky [142] hair. There are no evidences of racial mixture, no hybrids, no mulattoes. Noticeably aristocratic in bearing, they are carefully groomed and carry themselves admirably. In parleying with the white man they show no deference, for they have no sense of inferiority. They remember the rebellion.

The corials are paddled over a short stretch of quiet water before the rapids begin. It is not long, however, before the boatmen lay down their paddles and take up the great poles. The rhythmic heaving begins. After a few miles they draw the canoes in to the bank, for no apparent reason. Their wives appear out of the bush, bringing the men some extra supplies for the journey. There is an additional loin-cloth for each [297] paddler, and two togas, worn over the shoulder. The native substitute for a valise, in which these clothes are packed to [415]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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484 keep them dry, is a carved calabash gourd, with a tight-
648 fitting waterproof cover made from another gourd. These
[415] are stored away amidship, along with high piles of cassava
[272] cakes and jugs of mareepa oil, the native soft drink. The women also add to the cargo a small gipsy cooking-pot and an unclean shotgun.

There is much talkee-talkee during the loading. After the lapse of some time a second start is made, and the poling begins again. After hours on the river, around bend after bend, and through innumerable passages of rapid and rough water, we encounter a Bush Negro corial coming downstream. In it are two paddlers, and a woman with a little boy. Immediately the Djukas bring the boats together for a gossip and palaver. The strangers pay little attention to the bahkra, except a curt nod in answer to his greeting. But they ask the paddlers all about the white man, who he is, where he is going, and where he comes from. Flagawai replies in detail, and for his part asks news of the upper river. The strangers have come from a distant, picturesquely named village many days up the Surinam River, Futu No Habbe Ackaba, "The Foot That Has No Resting-Place." This signifies the long journey required to reach it, but the phrase might be taken as symbolical of the many enforced journeyings of the Negro race.

The powwow continues for some time. Our restless hints pass unnoticed. Unlike other natives, who can be commanded and beaten, the Djukas are independent; to give them orders is out of the question. The traveller who at-

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tempted it would find himself deserted by his paddlers, lug- 484
gage deposited in the bush, scrupulously intact, while his 648
paddlers went along the river warning the villages against the malicious bahkra. And there he would remain, set down in the bush, unable to get more paddlers, until hunger made him humble. In the interior there is no means of transportation, no communication, except by Djukas. So on the whole the white man is largely subject to the will of his guides, over whom he has only nominal control; it behooves him to put up with their whims, and to avoid the mistake of trying to command them.

Gradually the canoes float apart, but the talking continues. 198
A thought pops into a black head and is shouted across the 484
intervening water. Questions, answers, continue though the 648
boats are now some distance away from each other. To make their words carry far over the water, the Djukas actually lower their voices, singing out the words in a sustained, resonant tone that makes a mellow sound across the waves. This long drawn-out "Ah-e-e-e" can be heard after the other corial has passed far down the river. Out of sight around a bend, we can still hear the other Bush Negroes intoning strange words.

Not being able to follow the conversation, we ask the cook, 198
Bundle, what it's about. Bundle does not know. The Djukas 191
are not using talkee-talkee now. They are using an obscure 484
tongue. When the Bush Negroes converse with outsiders 648
they employ the talkee-talkee language which white men and Paramaribo Town Negroes can understand. But they also

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648 have a tribal language called *odo, deepee-talkee,* or *Saramacca-*
[191 *tongo* known only among themselves; they are members of
198] the Saramaccaner tribe.

Before the other corial is out of earshot, the Djukas bid us good-bye with the familiar words: *"Wakka bon na watra, bahkra!" "Gran danke, matio"*—"Many thanks, my uncle," we respond, adding the *o* sound to the last word to make it carry over the waves, as they do. To them "uncle" is the most
[576 respectful appellation that can be used, similar to our respect-
604] ful use of the word "father." For them a maternal uncle is more important than a father.

For a while now the poling continues in silence. Further on we pass a lone Djuka on the bank, skilfully setting a fish trap constructed of sticks and *lianas*. Far away upstream can be heard the muffled report of a shotgun; some black hunter is bringing in game. The angry currents slap constantly against the side of the corial. We round another bend and see ahead only more rapids, where rocks make innumerable white ripples in the muddy water.

A stop is made for lunch at one of the many islands. Bundle brings out canned food and the gipsy pot. The river looks enticing and cool. The bahkra begins taking off his clothes for a swim in the water near shore. The Negroes are abashed at his nakedness, and Bundle tactfully advises him to be more modest.

136 The waters in this part of the great South American rain forest are infested with the Brazilian piranha or piraya (*Serrasalmo sp.*), a species of carnivorous fish. They are small,

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

something like bass, but with undershot thick jaws and 136
heavy teeth. They run six to eight inches long and seldom weigh more than half a pound. But they travel in schools and attack simultaneously, so that any flesh in the water, human or otherwise, with a bloody surface exposed, is torn to pieces in a short time. If a bush-hog is killed and suspended in the water, the smell of blood attracts these fish; in an incredibly short space of time the carcass is wholly devoured.

The Djukas have learned to be wary of this fish. On one 136 484 648 502
occasion, when trading for a drum at an Aucaner village, the blacks handed the drum out to the corial on a long pole, rather than step a few feet into the water. Despite this fear, in poling upstream it is frequently necessary for the paddlers to get out of the canoe in water up to their armpits and forcibly drag it over the rocks. On such occasions their courage is immediate and unfailing. They enter the water, knowing that piraya may be present. There is no other way of getting the boats over rock-studded pieces of fast water, where paddles are useless and poles insufficient. They jump out into the river, taking the chance of having pieces of flesh excised from their limbs.

Fear of this fish prevents constant bathing in all parts of 136 484 648
the river. Now, however, after a long hot trip, the lure of a cool bath in the fresh flowing water overcomes the bahkra's caution, but the Djukas, as soon as they have grasped the white man's intention, will not permit him to enter the water. They gesticulate violently, waving him back with rapid and excited words—no, no, he cannot go in—piraya, piraya! He is

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136 almost forcibly prevented. But when the day's journey is over,
484 and we have camped for the night in an upriver village, the
648 paddlers will take the risk of bathing in the cool stream. Even though there are no piraya in the immediate vicinity, the bathers will not linger long.

484 All the long, heavy afternoon the Negroes toil slowly with
648 the great poles. Troe stops to cut some herbs for medicine. Flagawai sharpens the end of his pole with a bush-knife to give it a better grip on the river-bed. We have never seen better paddling, not even in the Canadian woods, where the Indian guides retain the canoe-craft of the American aborigines, nor on the Mazaruni River in British Guiana, where the black diamond-seekers haul their great whaling boats over the rapids.

There is a low falls across the river. The corials have to be dragged up over the slanting slippery rocks into the higher water beyond. Everyone gets out. The boatmen quietly decide the best path; there is little hesitation and no debate. Brown hands catch hold of the gunwales and brown feet begin to strain willingly on the slick wet rocks. The lumbering boat slowly mounts the incline. Here again the white man's life is in the hands of the Negroes; if the corial were to upset, the food would be lost, and the trip would end disastrously.

The blacks are proud of their water skill. Upsetting a canoe 484 or drowning a passenger are disgraces that no man can ever 648 live down. But they are rare occurrences. The Indians of this 501 part of the continent, not nearly so skilful, use a different style of canoe and paddle. Djuka paddles are hewn with a bush-knife from a solid plank of hard wood, and finished off [322] with an ordinary pocket-knife. The handle is frequently pierced with delicate ornamental work, the entire piece beautifully balanced to handle easily. The men's paddles are as tall as they are, but the women's are shorter and more elaborate. Tiny ones are given children as soon as they are big enough to hold them, so that the Djuka's water skill is the result of a lifetime on the river.

All the boats are dugouts; no canvas or bark canoe would 396 last long in these rapids. They are manufactured out of big [501] trees, which are felled and allowed to season. Then the centres are hollowed out with fire and adze; nothing is left but the shell of the trunk, with perpendicular sides and a rounded bottom. This is filled with water, into which hot rocks are dropped. The heated water softens the wood, enabling thwarts to be thrust in, forcing the gunwales apart. The ends are then symmetrically curved up and are often carved. Seats, as well as bow and stern pieces, are often carefully decorated. The entire boat has a distinct West African style. When com- 501 pleted it is from eight to forty feet long. Ours has a large [17] sunshade of thatched grass near the stern, because the white 648 man is too soft to endure the sun's rays. Under the shade we have a camp-chair; a little comfort for the long trip. The

314 shot enters the rubber but does not pierce it through. Little dents indicate where the shot is buried inside. With a pistol, however, the result is different. A bullet from a .38 calibre revolver goes clean through. After we have fired, a Negro detaches himself from the group and disappears in the bush. In twenty minutes he is back, bringing the bullet from the revolver. He had traced its course by broken twigs and [151] clipped branches, and finally dug it out of the side of a tree with his bush-knife—on the whole an extraordinary bit of woodcraft.

484 It is disgusting to find that we have to sleep overnight in this camp. The white man is thoroughly exhausted, able only to drop down on a log while the Negroes make camp. The bahkra's hammock is slung and a fire started. Monkey meat is the *pièce de résistance* of the evening meal.

[252 The monkey is not skinned; only the hair is scraped off. 262] Monkey skin is a jungle delicacy, but there is a humanly cadaverous look to the depilated body. Half of the meat is cut up and dumped into the stew pot together with rice and salt. [251] The other half is smoked liberally to preserve it for the morrow.

Not in the mood to take food which his stomach might reject, the bahkra dines on a can of salmon, with rice and tea on the side. The sun has hardly set when he falls gratefully into the hammock and ties the mosquito netting in place, ready for profound slumber.

521 He soon finds that sleep is out of the question. The Bush Negroes are sitting about the campfire swapping tales of

/14 cont./

584 and, once this has been promised, she does indeed continue to be regarded specifically as the betrothed of the person who made the request. As soon as she is marriageable, she is handed over to her man with or without her consent, and it may be regarded as a rare case when such a promise is broken.

[431] The man to whom she is promised sometimes does not see his future wife before the occasion of her betrothal, but usually he is concerned with her upbringing and from time to time gives her presents consisting of money, pantjes, and corals.

[591] Some take the girl promised to them even when she is only three or four years old in order to rear her further.

[672] The promising of newborn girls takes place for the most part [682] when there are obligations between parents, as was reported in Chapter III, and in the case of enslavement which is done to one [567] family by another in case of poisoning, and so forth.

586 It is an everyday occurrence that a woman leaves her husband or a man his wife for another.

595 Polygyny is much practiced, and among my workers I know several who have three or four wives, most of whom are very young. Some, however, have only one wife.

It is noteworthy that all the wives sleep with the man in one hut, while in addition he perhaps keeps with him a girl whom he [513] is bringing up to be his wife. One wife will be /15/ with him in the hammock and lies with her feet at the head end of the man and the latter in turn with his feet at the head end of the women, while the other women sleep in their hammocks.

[484] If a Bush Negro goes out, be it to celebrate a festival or in order to float wood to the town, he takes all his wives with him; only in case of illness do they remain behind.

His wives get money separately, and therefore they must also separately provide for his food, so that one cooks the food in the morning, another at midday, a third in the evening, etc. [578] This way of life and their jealous nature frequently bring about household quarrels that rarely end in any way other than bloody fights.

585 Upon the conclusion of a marriage the man is obligated to 583 give the parents of the girl as a marriage portion a long, broad,

/24 cont./

Chapter XVI

Manner of Traveling, and so forth

484 Their manner of traveling is very simple. Usually wife and children accompany them; very rarely do they go alone. They never take along more food provisions than they consider to be strictly necessary, in order not to have any burden of great baggage, for which their small, narrow vessels made out of a tree trunk are in any case little suited.

484 411 As primitive people they are able to withstand deprivations very well, but nonetheless they always take care to be armed when they go traveling. These hunting and war weapons consist of guns, powder, lead, bow and arrows, as well as a machete and an ax.

484 505 [501] [372] Frequently they can continue on these journeys in a small, narrow corjaal (canoe) for weeks on end; there is, of course, a great lack of comforts, but they are contented so long as they merely have a little place in the corjaal where they can maintain a flaming fire, which serves for the preparation of foods and because the Negro generally finds in it a, for him, pleasant sociability. Their journeys are not of great significance; they never extend across the sea, which is the case among the various Indian tribes.

/25/

Chapter XVII

Manner of Waging War, Ceremonies in connection with Concluding Peace and Alliance

721 War is rarely waged by or among them, but when it does take place, their conflict bears the character of a thirst for revenge, treachery, and hatred.

728 [273] At the conclusion of peace, the subject party pledges itself to satisfy the demands of the victors, provided these are mutually judged as fair. As part of the ceremonies observed on this occasion there is also a large consumption of dram.

/141 cont./

of this predatory cultivation has been reached. The nearby agricultural lands are kept in use with too brief a rest period, with the result that the soil is overworked and the periodic recovery of the forest proceeds at an ever slower pace. In addition one struggles to an increasing degree with the problem /142/ of the leaf-cutting ants, which keep the easily accessible places occupied.

The consequence of this circumstance is that the Bush Negroes are forced to make the grounds farther and farther from their villages. One travels for hours up or down the river in order to reach good land. When one cannot make good use of a forest creek in order to transport the produce from the field, one is forced to carry the harvest for one or two hours through the forest to the river. The Bush Negro does not go farther than a two hours' walk (about six kilometers from the river) (see the map /see p. 13 /).

On the Tapanahoni one spends even days in traveling to less populated areas in order to plant and to harvest. One then establishes so-called work camps along the river, from which one operates in the surrounding areas. This is the case, among others, between Godoholo and Granbori for people from Drietabbetje or other centers. That one does not go even farther up river, all the way past the last village, Granbori, has to do with a prohibition by the granman of the Aucaners. That is, the latter wants to reserve the lands lying beyond this point as hunting lands and therefore will not make them available for agricultural purposes.

The inhabitants of the villages along the lower Tapanahoni, such as Sajé, Clementi, and Malobbi, frequently lay out their food grounds in the Lawa, where they can have at their disposal agricultural lands as far as the Aboenasoengoe Falls. Farther upstream on this river the Bonni or Aloekoe Negroes assert their rights.

5. Differences between Aucaners and Paramaccaners

The conditions given above apply in the main to the Aucaner Bush Negroes of the Tapanahoni. They number today approximately 6,500 persons. The Paramaccaner Bush Negroes of the Marowijne, approximately 1,700 in number, are in somewhat more favorable

The beliefs of both, attributing illnesses to
/516 cont./

743 supernatural causes, did not predispose them to turn to European
648 doctors. Moreover, the Saint-Laurent hospital was so far away
[753] (six days paddling downstream) that a seriously ill person had
plenty of time to die en route. The Boni went there only as a last
resource and in general at the point of death. As for the Oayana,
not a single one presented himself there before 1950.

744 In 1936-1939 several circuits had been made from the post
648 of La Forestière located at the mouth of the river, but no consistent
[743] medical action had been feasible. Not until 1949 was it possible
to create a medical center in the country itself, at Maripasoula.
The populations were visited regularly, and the seriously ill could
[164] be hospitalized on the spot. At the same time systematic spraying
with DDT inside all the huts, destroying the anthropophile
anopheles, changed the environmental conditions considerably;
if malaria has not disappeared, it has ceased, both among the
Indians and among the Boni children, to be the principal cause of
morbidity.

743 The action of the medical center has been exercised more on
744 the Boni, who live a few hours by canoe from Maripasoula, than on
648 the Oayana. Among the latter, the principal villages are two days
[484] journey by motorboat upstream amidst difficult waterfalls; the
[753] Indians are often on the move, fishing on the upper courses of
the rivers or visiting their relatives on Brazilian rivers; it has
happened several times that the circuits of the doctors and medi-
cal attendants (one per trimester on the average) do not find any-
body in the villages; incidentally, the Oayana tend to attribute
all internal ailments to magical causes, consulting willingly only
[844] for wounds. They willingly accept the remedies given on the
spot, but rarely take the initiative of moving a sick person to
Maripasoula; the women continue to have their babies delivered
in the villages, without any hygiene.

757 Only during the last three or four years has a change in
165 attitude been noticeable among them vis-à-vis medicine; as we
shall show below, no notable modification in their mortality has
yet been observed as a result of this fact.

121 The principal interest of this study being to compare the
165 demographic data of two populations before they had been modified

/519 cont./

125 --158 (80%) answered with good grace;

--33 (17%) answered with reticence or gave contradictory answers in 1956 and 1957. Checking showed that they neglected to mention a living child, generally one of their older ones whom they were not raising themselves. In spite of the precautions taken, there are some omissions in the census of the adolescents and young people because of this (7).

[573]

> 7. On the other hand, we never ascertained any dissimulation concerning dead children. On the contrary, the Boni women speak of their deceased children with a certain indifference.

For 28 of these women we were able to reconstruct their lives with sufficient precision by interrogating contradictorily the husbands and the older brothers of the same mother. The five others were eliminated;

7 (3%) obstinately refused to answer without giving any justification for their attitude.

[484] Eighteen women could not be added, this being due to the continual moving of the Boni between their villages, their crop plantings, and their fishing places.

We took into account 7 women who died before 1957, whom we had been able to question in the preceding years.

[163] All in all, we have preserved 193 records of women having had 747 children, of whom 472 had survived as of the first of January 1958.

/6 cont./

133 Flooding is very variable according to the configuration of the rivers and the nature of the terrain.

133 At the Creole village of Grigel, situated at the bottom of
361 a glove-finger loop of the Waki River, the June flooding reaches
171 a level of eight meters above the average level in the dry season; the Creole and Indian villages of the Waki are established on hills. On the contrary, along the Lawa whose course is rectilinear, the variation in level is seldom greater than four meters. The maximum water level is 50 centimeters to one meter /above/
[342] the soil of the alluvial terrace. Several of the Creole and Boni
[484] villages of the Lawa are even established at the very edge of the great river; the houses are built on piles and their occupants go home by boat during several weeks of the year. Nevertheless, most of the villages and farming habitations are outside the reach of flooding on terraces situated about five meters above the high-water mark, which are found from place to place at the edge of the river and which perhaps mark vestiges of an ancient terrace. This is notably the case with Boniville and Loka villages.

139 The whole of the territory is entirely covered by equatorial forest: a forest continuous and dense which extends over hundreds of kilometers without a village, without a clearing, without a trail.

The Guiana forest is less high than is ordinarily thought. It is an infinite succession of trees of all dimensions and of extremely varied species, among which true giants are rare; the average height of the cover is around 30 meters, and large trunks are rare.

824 The variety of species is very great; and the useful ones, few in number and dispersed, are difficult to exploit. The Refugee Blacks, who have a deep knowledge of the forest and its resources, utilize scarcely ten species out of the some 200 which they differentiate, judging the others unusable either because their

/6 cont. /

824 wood is too hard to be worked with ordinary instruments or, on the contrary, because it is too soft, too easily attacked by insects, or
311 has a tendency to rot. The zone exploitable by native procedures is limited (for the floodable zones /1/ do not allow fine woods) to the slope of the hills bordering the valley of the watercourses accessible to pirogues; beyond, the cartage of felled trunks becomes impracticable.

130 A very dense epiphytic vegetation connects the trees with
136 their upper parts; it is there that life blossoms out: flowers, birds, insects, and monkeys.

● 484 Progress through the forest is very arduous. The undergrowth,
488 shrubs, bushes, bound together by fine and elastic lianas, offers
[132] a constant obstacle, the machete /sabre/ must be wielded at each
[412] step. The nature of the terrain, a succession of bogs and hills
[133] with steep and slippery slopes, makes walking for heavily loaded men exhausting. On the trail one succeeds with difficulty in making more than 15 to 20 kilometers a day; in the uninhabited forest one can scarcely advance five to six kilometers a day by cutting the strict minimum as one does when hunting. The opening of a route permitting the passage of heavily laden men cannot progress more than three kilometers a day on the average.

130 The great forest offers few real dangers, but it is an environ-
182 ment profoundly hostile to man, which does not present spontaneously any food resource and allows establishment of villages and cultivated areas only at the price of great efforts.

136 One meets few animals in the interior of the forest, and the resources for hunting are very limited; on the other hand, there are few harmful animals; wild beasts are few and practically do not appear; snakes are much rarer than on the coast and represent
164 only a slight danger. The most real dangers of the forest come from the fall of branches and epiphytes, principally when it is cleared for cultivation; each year there are accidents of this kind in Boni country. Besides, work in the forest is the occasion for many wounds which tend to ulcerate.

/28 cont./

613 although the supposed common ancestress doubtless goes back to
614 the beginning of the 18th century and for three generations they
784 have been divided among four villages situated at a week's dis-
[621] tance by boat from one another. We can, with very few chances of error, affirm that they certainly have a common matrilineal origin and that they in fact constitute one lineage.

182 On this subject let us note that geographical separation can-
619 not play the same role among the Refugee Blacks as in the African
[361] tribes of cultivators. The Refugee Blacks, whose habitat is linear
[409] along the banks of the river and who, being boatmen, are continually moving, cannot be completely isolated from one another.

613 /29/ Under these conditions, how can we explain the
614 existence within certain lineages of individualized fractions subject
571 to a separate kunu, such as Papaïston 2?

One can assume that these fractions do not really have the same origin as the principal group and that they result from a process of assimilation of a paternally related fragment.

We have cited the example of Aneta's descendants (Aw.B.3). They are already integrated into the social life of the group; in two or three generations nobody will remember any longer their exact origin. But they will remain differentiated from the princi-
[784] pal fraction of the Awara Bakka because they will still be subject to the kunu of their ancestress.

121 Such are the elements we have been able to draw from a general study of kin groups among the Boni. We shall look for other data in the study of the implantation of these groups on the soil, and especially of the apportionment of lands among them; finally, we shall study family custom and especially inheritance.

A complete understanding of the kinship system and its functioning can be obtained only in the future by following the evolution of kin groups, the formation of new villages; and the designation of new headmen.

/39 cont./

648

posts except as they present themselves for recording of vital statistics or for registration on voting lists.

administration has for a long time appeared /40/ in the eyes of the inhabitants of the interior as a benevolent office); but they obey the old African maxim of never telling the whites more than half of what they know.

125 In the absence of any nominal census which could serve as a point of departure, this job presented considerable difficulties arising principally from the extreme mobility of the population:

[484] —Never is the whole population of a village assembled together simultaneously; the proportion of those absent frequently reaches 50 per cent, especially in the fine season (hunting, fishing, boating, clearings at the farming habitations, etc.);

[551] —A good many men and women have two, sometimes three, names used interchangeably. If one does not personally know a large part of the inhabitants of the villages and does not have at his disposal carefully made-up genealogical tables, it is impossible to understand anything;

[115] —If the men respond in good faith, it is not the same with the women, who are inaccessible to any reasoning. Some try to cash in on the information they give, others obstinately refuse to answer;

125 591 342 —A number of adolescents and even of men between 20 and 35 years old have no regular hut. Each Boni, man or woman, is in principle expected to build a hut in one of the "great villages." But this residence may be fictitious: It can, for example, be a tumbled-down hut which they intend to put up again some day... or the pent roof of the house of the mother or a brother, under which they install themselves on days when a ceremony causes the lineage to meet together, residing the rest of the year in a farming habitation.

/209 cont. /

787 784 If someone has a Kumẽnti, certain objects used in the cult: pestle, mortar, machete, must not be raised near him. His gita "would rise" immediately. Likewise while he is eating, neither tiger nor gun must be mentioned. To prevent their gita from rising, those concerned may take the precaution of putting a small piece of wood behind the ear while they eat.

787 178 [771] [781] [484] [743] [755] These past years the cult of the Kumẽnti was clearly declining among the Boni, as was the whole of their religious life; every one, indeed, no longer thought about anything but earning money and was always traveling in order to do this, which made difficult the indispensable meetings and dances. On the other hand, cared for effectively when they are ill in the Maripasoula hospital, the Boni feel the cult of the Kumẽnti less necessary, of which the principal social function is to cure. So, while in 1948 we used to be present very often at manifestations of the gita of Kumẽnti, in 1952 they were becoming much rarer and more secret /modest/. They were tending to fall to the level of the latent manifestations of which we shall speak further on. In 1956 we did not observe in the course of the forest [346] work any spontaneous attack of this gita. The chapels dedicated to the Kumẽnti are scarcely maintained and are falling into ruins; such is the fate of the gods judged benevolent toward men. [751] Nevertheless people continue to lay great store by the ɔbia of Kumẽnti, especially the man nẽŋge ɔbia which protects against the machete and the gun, and the Kumẽnti bui, ring of Kumẽnti, instrument of divination.

776 [823] [787] The Bũnsuŋki. The Bũnsuŋki are gods which live in the waters, by preference at the head of falls, beside rocks bearing copses of detached trees; they can also reside ordinarily in these trees themselves. They appear sometimes in dreams to men as well as to women in the aspect of Indians, more commonly Indian women with long hair. This is why they are sometimes called wata Iŋgi, Indians of the water.

/225 cont. /

784 613 780 562 One sees from this example how the influence of women, exerted in arbitrary fashion, in a domain placed outside of custom and ordinary social life, weighs on the life of the group.

784 614 571 Kunu of the Dipélu lineage. The situation of the Dipélu lineage with respect to the kunu is particularly interesting. Although split for perhaps 100 years into two separate groups, Dipélu I (L'Enfant Perdu and Apatu villages) and Dipélu II (Kormotibo and Asisi-Dip. II villages), this group still constitutes an undivided unit with respect to the kunu. Neither time nor [484] distance (it takes more than a week of traveling to make the round trip between L'Enfant Perdu and Apatu) has been able to break it up. The Apatu people come very often (at least some [755] of them) to be present at the collective prayers which take place at L'Enfant Perdu to appease a kunu in order to cure a sick person.

784 614 776 The oldest kunu ("since Africa") is that of a Papa gadu god whose bearer was ○ Dika (Dip. I, D10, † 1951) and which passed after her death into ○ Péechina (Dip. I, E42, L'Enfant [780] Perdu village). This kunu strikes indiscriminately the people of L'Enfant Perdu, Apatu, Kormotibo, Asisi-Dip. II, and the Dipélu fraction residing in Boniville. To it, these past years, [761] have been attributed the death of ○ Way (Dip. I, E6, living [753] in Boniville), the illness of △ Akwali (Dip. II, F7, Kormotibo village) and of ○ Bongo (same village).

784 775 614 Another very old kunu is the one exercised by the yɔrka of a Surinam Creole who had settled with the Dipélu people a very long time ago. He was suspected of sorcery and killed. [683] Since then his yɔrka comes back regularly to exterminate the Dipélu.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

us when we asked him. At one landing place where we 123
stopped for a moment, we could hear the drums sounding 609
the rhythm to the river gods, but the drumming stopped abruptly as word went back along the path that white people had come. Men streaked with pemba came down to the river to look at the Bakra who had visited the village of their Granman.

In the boat, we missed Bayo. The grandson of the Gran- 644
man, who was our bow paddler, we had met but casually 123
before we had started. There had been none of the chances 609
for conversation that had made of Bayo a friend before he and his great-grandfather came to take us to the country of the Granman. Later we would come to know this youth for a pleasant young man, capable and quiet, who was proud to show his ability, and quick to resent the suggestions of our town man in such matters as making a shelter for the night.

"We are children of the bush!" the young man exclaimed sharply. "We know how to make this." And such a good shelter did the paddlers build that men of a near-by village, who passed, stopped and asked that it not be torn down the [485] next morning, as had to be done with shelters erected for the night on the land of a strange clan, but that we should let it stand so that others might use it.

When we asked him questions, however, or made observa- [157] tions on people who passed by in their canoes, he gave us noncommittal replies. Mataibo, the captain of our boat, was even more reserved, though he liked to twit our town man, and in an unofficial capacity would have been amusing. Conversation between the two paddlers, or between them and the two young men who were entrusted with our other boat, was in the clipped, rapid "deep-Saramacca" [197] speech which, in spite of our use of it in conversation at the Granman's village, we still found it difficult to follow when Bush Negroes spoke informally to one another.

As the day wore on, we began to get used to the rapidity 484
with which village after village was passed. Here was the landing place of the one where we had stopped so that

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[For information on various types of buildings and other physical structures or facilities present in each of the Boni villages, see the village plans on pp. 66, 68, 70, 72, 74, and 76, category 116. Included are data on the occurrence of menstrual huts (munu), kitchens, granaries, and sundry other outbuildings, religious structures (gadu), mortuary sheds, boatbuilding yards, guest houses for visitors, wharfs, fraga tiki (i.e. lineage ancestor cult shrines and objects), and useful trees within the village area which are personally owned.]

824 796 Later, through the gathering darkness, the people of the neighboring villages went home, paddling their boats which were loaded down with the fish that had been netted. And from this time on, everyone knew that this neku vine was [423] the property of him who had found it, and of his family, [428] down through his mother's line, forever.

"Ai, mati, you would have seen something, if you had got here for the neku dance!"

6

361 Like any other Bush Negro village, S'ei was a series of sandy clearings about which were grouped huts of woven palm fronds and palm thatch. All about was the big bush. [487] The trails which led from the village were each guarded [789] by a magically treated palm azang, and shrines to the ancestral spirits who saw to it that evil was kept away. Where the several paths led, a stranger was not encouraged to discover. Down one, women were to be seen disappearing [482] in the morning with trays on their heads, their infants astride their backs, held inside the folds of a cloth which was fastened high above their breasts, and caught up again below them. In many upper river villages, this path led to the fields, some distance away. Others were the way to [778] shrines, erected to those spirits which must be worshiped outside the village. Another path might lead to a brook, which the villagers held sacred. There were trails, too, which connected neighboring villages, and led perhaps farther yet, but for the stranger, the highway was the river, and no matter how short the distance between one settle- [486] ment and another, he was not invited to make his way through the bush.

"You do not want to go through the bush, white man. In the bush are evil spirits," we heard many times.

A village clearing was divided into quarters. Each quarter was inhabited by one of the *mbe*, or extended families, and 361 the quarter bore its name. It was composed of several house- 592 holds—five or six or more, depending upon the size of the

/15 cont./ Thus it was at
423 the time of the Lawa gold rushes (1890) that Grand Man Anato
643 caused rent to be paid by the Creole miners who were settling in
[648] the region. But this practice, excessive when the small portion
of this territory actually occupied by the Boni is considered, ended
423 up by falling into disuse. Nowadays things have fallen into the
648 opposite extreme, and the Boni find themselves having no right,
178 customary or otherwise, over the country of their ancestors; the
first comer, even of the Creoles from the British West Indies, can
settle anywhere, dislocating the apportionment of the land among
lineages. This situation has been harmful to the life of the tribe
by contributing to the scattering of the peopling. Perhaps it is
not too late to remedy the situation. An /16/ /Figure 2 appears
here/ /17/ African tribe cannot live wholesomely if there are no
definite relationships, entailing unquestioned rights, between the
group and the land.

423 The following modus vivendi has been in force for many
619 years:

a) The Djuka may circulate freely across Boni country, but
[486] they may not establish villages in it; if they wish to make clearings
[166] there, they must ask for permission from the grand man.
[226] Otherwise they have the right to fish on the Tanpok and the
Waki.

423 b) The Creoles may settle anywhere and make their clear-
648 ings where the lands are not used. But that does not modify in
the minds of the Boni the lineages' rights over the land; this
occupation is regarded as creating no new right; for example, the
Doglis habitation is built on the lands of Kormotibo village.

423 c) The Boni reserve for themselves along with the Oayana
648 Indians the exclusive right to fish on the Litani and the Maruini.
822 On these rivers the Djuka do not have the right to penetrate.
(619) The Boni may be computed at a little less than 1,000 persons
162 all told.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

PREFACE

is relatively small, and is localized in the interior of French Guiana, not far from the Dutch boundary. In any consideration of the Guiana Negroes, yet a fourth group must be kept in mind—that of the Negroes of the coastal region, who remained enslaved until their emancipation in 1865.

The country of the Saramacca people is reached from Paramaribo, the capital and port of the colony of Suriname (Dutch Guiana), by the weekly train which goes some ninety-five miles to Kabel, where the railway meets the river. From Kabel transportation into the far interior is by dugout canoe, owned and manned by Saramacca men. The country above Kabel, which the Saramacca people call the "big bush," is jungle. Over the watershed lie the Amazon basin and the forests of northern Brazil. Once in this region, the traveler has no contact with European civilization, though he is still under the protection of the Dutch Government.

The picture which we draw of the Saramacca people is based upon two field trips to Dutch Guiana, undertaken in the summers of 1928 and 1929. During our second trip we traversed the entire stretch of the Saramacca country from below Kabel, where the Awka villages are located, to the last native habitation on the Pikien Rio, beyond which are some fields, then uninhabitated miles of wilderness to the Brazilian border.

The ethnological work conducted among the Saramacca tribe of Bush Negroes and the Negroes of the coastal region of Suriname represents a portion of an investigation into the physical and cultural characteristics of the Negroes of the New World. This research, which is still in progress, has included field work in the United States, in Dutch Guiana, and in Africa, and some comparative study in the islands of the Caribbean. It began in 1923 with an inquiry into Negro-white crossing in the United States.[1] As the work progressed it became evident that the problem

[1] For the results of this portion of the investigation, see M. J. Herskovits, "The American Negro, a Study in Racial Crossing" (1928); and "The Anthropometry of the American Negro" (1931).

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

of the Dahomean kingdom by the French. All other walls are of swish. Today in West Africa the automobile and sewing machine have found their way into remote corners. But more important still than these changes wrought by European civilizations, which have made inroads chiefly on the material life of the Africans, are those resulting from intertribal wars, which followed the introduction of guns and gunpowder into Africa and which helped to establish the great West African dynasties. The result of the conquest of one native people by another was constant cultural interstimulation which made for changes in the indigenous civilizations.

In the Guiana bush, however, where these runaway Negroes and their descendants have been living, the fortunes of African kingdoms, the cultural contacts that have affected the Africans, have not touched their own tribal destinies. Neither has the civilization of the white man nor that of the Indian introduced basic changes into their manner of living or thinking.

There are no roads in the Guiana bush, and what footpaths exist to connect one village with another are difficult to follow and, moreover, are not for the stranger, whether he be white or mulatto. For such as these the highway is the river, with native paddlers alert in their surveillance of a stranger's activities. The old men on the river have made a tradition of recalling the struggle of the ancestors for freedom and survival, and it is not without significance that one of the three worst crimes among the Bush Negroes—one that ranks with incest and murder—is informing on a Negro to a white man.

In contrast with this isolation of the Bush Negroes, the Negroes of Paramaribo have known close contact with the whites, with Carib and Arawak Indians, and in more recent years with the Hindu and Javanese laborers brought to the colony. Only suggestions of the manner in which the beliefs of town and bush correspond or differ can be included here, since this account concerns itself with the Saramacca people. Yet for the understanding of this study it must be

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1834
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

But Bayo's pleasant story came to an abrupt end. Down toward the bank came Sedefo and his companion, motioning the men to join him. They all gathered in front of the guard of palm fronds, and began to discuss something in low voices, while from the village came the staccato rhythms to the Sky God and to the Kromanti spirits in tones at first soft, but swelling and quickening as they continued.

Sedefo came up to us at last and said, "I will tell you something, but you must not think the people of Pa'aba are unfriendly. I will tell you this. Let us go on and make camp farther up the river. There is a provision ground not too far away. We will make it in time."

In the boat Bayo told us that many were possessed in the village, and since here at Pa'aba they danced Kromanti strong, the men did not think it safe to bring us to the village. The year before Kasanya had spent a trying night here. Two or three of the men had found guns and had gone tearing about the village, so that not alone had the women shut themselves up in their huts, as they often did at Kromanti dances, but the men, too, had had to go in hiding.

"That is why we are going on. But I have a strong Kromanti spirit myself. I will go back to Pa'aba tonight and watch the men dance," he said with a laugh.

3

It was already quite dark when we made the planting ground. Up a narrow footpath we followed Kasanya.

"*Koni, koni*—Take care, don't trip at night," he kept calling to us. "*Mbwogu*—Hurry," he urged, though we needed no urging to keep close behind him in this narrow dark shaft which cut the greater darkness of the bush in two.

Bibifo would sleep in our boat to watch the provisions, Kasanya explained as he led the way, for the clearing was so far from shore that it was not wise to leave the boats unwatched.

"It is far," he said. "Grounds are cleared that way—not too near a village, not too near the shore."

THE PROVISION GROUND

It is told that this practice of isolating the provision 251
ground was a heritage of the days when the ancestors were escaping from slavery, for then the whites were at war with them, and villages had often to be deserted. But to desert a village was one thing. What local spirits were there could be urged by the proper magical invocations to follow to another site. Men did not, after all, derive their food supply from a village. It was the provision ground upon which life depended. The provision ground had at all costs to be saved. Access to it was, therefore, made difficult. [487]
Trails were never clearly marked, and were often marked to mislead the invading enemy. The river bank was allowed to give no hint of shielding, behind the thicket, a clearing where crops grew to feed the warriors and their families. When a village was destroyed by the enemy, the Bush Negroes fell back on their fields and maintained life. To this day, it is said, this practice holds, for though hostilities ended more than a hundred years ago, the planting grounds are rarely found close to a village.

Walking behind Kasanya in the darkness which gave to 361
each down-hanging vine the outlines of the great aboma [325]
snake, held sacred in this bush, we fell to wondering whether in this, as in so many instances, the accounting for current beliefs, in terms of the experience of slavery alone, would prove inadequate.

"We have arrived, Bak'a," said Kasanya, interrupting our speculations. His eyes were sharper than ours, for not even when he spoke did we see the widening of the path and the clearing beyond. Yet fewer than a hundred additional paces found us facing four small huts scattered about a sandy open place, and a woman who was on her way from one house to another turned toward us. She listened to what Kasanya said, with her head slightly averted, pulling at her pipe all the while.

"Ai, they can stay," she said, pointing to the largest of the four houses. "As many of you as can, sleep there. The house next to it is for provisions. We have not much to offer here."

REBEL DESTINY

824 796 Later, through the gathering darkness, the people of the neighboring villages went home, paddling their boats which were loaded down with the fish that had been netted. And from this time on, everyone knew that this neku vine was [493] the property of him who had found it, and of his family, [488] down through his mother's line, forever.

"Ai, mati, you would have seen something, if you had got here for the neku dance!"

6

361 Like any other Bush Negro village, S'ei was a series of sandy clearings about which were grouped huts of woven palm fronds and palm thatch. All about was the big bush. [487] The trails which led from the village were each guarded [489] by a magically treated palm azang, and shrines to the ancestral spirits who saw to it that evil was kept away. Where the several paths led, a stranger was not encouraged to discover. Down one, women were to be seen disappearing [492] in the morning with trays on their heads, their infants astride their backs, held inside the folds of a cloth which was fastened high above their breasts, and caught up again below them. In many upper river villages, this path led to the fields, some distance away. Others were the way to [478] shrines, erected to those spirits which must be worshiped outside the village. Another path might lead to a brook, which the villagers held sacred. There were trails, too, which connected neighboring villages, and led perhaps farther yet, but for the stranger, the highway was the river, and no matter how short the distance between one settle- [486] ment and another, he was not invited to make his way through the bush.

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A village clearing was divided into quarters. Each quarter was inhabited by one of the *mãe*, or extended families, and 361 the quarter bore its name. It was composed of several house- 592 holds—five or six or more, depending upon the size of the

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Hot sun . . . Gush of rapid water . . . Bees and dragon- [134-
flies cruise about. . . . Rain . . . Hot sun . . . There is a
crash of branches in the bush; some animal, probably a tapir.
. . . Kingfishers chase each other over the yellow bosom of [134]
the river. . . . Talkee-talkee chatter. . . . The white man
curses the flies. . . . That tiny speck a mile high is a vulture,
wheeling without effort in great circles. . . . Rapids . . .
Cloud-banks in the sky. High-lights on the river . . . Hot
sun . . . Poling up the rapids . . . Grunting Negroes lean
on the slick wet poles. . . . Still water . . . The paddlers
step overboard to drag the boat up a difficult piece of rapid
water. . . . The canoe is stuck on a rock. . . . It swings broad-
side to the current. . . . The river almost wins; we get away
by a hair's breadth. . . . Over into the still water . . .

Moi-Man sings a Djuka song. . . . Alligators sunning on [135]
sandbanks . . . Gorgeous Morpho butterflies go by on shim-
mering blue wings. . . . Jewellery is made from them.
. . . Showers of little white butterflies cross the stream, flut-
tering tirelessly. . . . A feast for the swallows . . . Spray
from the fast waves . . . Wet tarpaulin over the baggage . . .

The forest is as impassable now as it was in the days of the
rebellion. There is no way of penetrating the interior except
by travelling up one of the great rivers of Surinam. The Bush [137 ●
Negroes spend much of their time on the rivers; their water- 44]
craft is exquisite. To make the laborious passage upstream
the expedition is entirely dependent upon these black polers.
They consent to accompany the white men—*bakkras* as they
are called—with no great eagerness. The Djukas realize that

/6 cont./

824 wood is too hard to be worked with ordinary instruments or, on the contrary, because it is too soft, too easily attacked by insects, or
311 has a tendency to rot. The zone exploitable by native procedures is limited (for the floodable zones /1/ do not allow fine woods) to the slope of the hills bordering the valley of the watercourses accessible to pirogues; beyond, the cartage of felled trunks becomes impracticable.

139 A very dense epiphytic vegetation connects the trees with
136 their upper parts; it is there that life blossoms out: flowers, birds, insects, and monkeys.

484 Progress through the forest is very arduous. The undergrowth,
483 shrubs, bushes, bound together by fine and elastic lianas, offers
137 a constant obstacle, the machete /sabre/ must be wielded at each
412 step. The nature of the terrain, a succession of bogs and hills
133 with steep and slippery slopes, makes walking for heavily loaded men exhausting. On the trail one succeeds with difficulty in making more than 15 to 20 kilometers a day; in the uninhabited forest one can scarcely advance five to six kilometers a day by cutting the strict minimum as one does when hunting. The opening of a route permitting the passage of heavily laden men cannot progress more than three kilometers a day on the average.

137 The great forest offers few real dangers, but it is an environ-
182 ment profoundly hostile to man, which does not present spontaneously any food resource and allows establishment of villages and cultivated areas only at the price of great efforts.

136 One meets few animals in the interior of the forest, and the resources for hunting are very limited; on the other hand, there are few harmful animals; wild beasts are few and practically do not appear; snakes are much rarer than on the coast and represent
164 only a slight danger. The most real dangers of the forest come from the fall of branches and epiphytes, principally when it is cleared for cultivation; each year there are accidents of this kind in Boni country. Besides, work in the forest is the occasion for many wounds which tend to ulcerate.

/8 cont./

241 experience of the American Indians, which seem the only utilizable
179 ones in the interior of the country.

Thus these populations which are so varied have in large measure the same agriculture and the same food.

241 Basic crops are manioc, consumed in the form of couac
[242] (flour roasted and granulated) which is the base food, the Indian yam, and tubers analogous to taro (dachine, "Caribbean cabbage").
[171] The Refugee Blacks plant mountain rice in addition. The Creoles do not plant rice but have on the other hand a greater variety of vegetables and fruits.

311 Men in Guiana live on the rivers; villages and cultivated
36 lands are to be found on their banks; everywhere else one finds
182 only the deserted forest; only Creole gold miners, constrained by their work, sometimes establish their villages far from watercourses.
181 The Refugee Blacks, like the Indians, love the rivers where they
182 find, along with water and light, the possibility of moving with-
171 out hindrance; they are a people of canoeists; their traditions are widely influenced by life on the river, and their mode of living finds in this a deep originality.

131 In fact, setting aside the gold miners' villages, we can say
133 that the populations of the Guianas living by exploitation of the
182 natural resources of the country have a linear habitat: it can be
171 estimated not in surface but in length, for it is limited to a band of one kilometer along each watercourse accessible to pirogues. These watercourses are limited in number, for one can take for granted that at a distance of some 20 kilometers from the source of each river, the congestion caused by fallen trees and parasitic vegetation prevents easy movement.

[161] Actually, considering the very low density of the population,
[226] the small rivers are scarcely utilized except as fishing places.

489 All the rivers are interrupted by falls and rapids which render
501 the use of large boats impossible. The pirogues of the Refugee

B /8 cont./ The Pirogues of the Refugee
487 Blacks, carrying a useful load of from 1,000 to 2,000 kilograms,
501 are the normal means for provisioning the placers and European
505 settlements of the Interior. The use of outboard motors on these small boats tends to become more general, but navigation remains difficult and dangerous and the Refugee Blacks continue to draw the essential part of their resources from these trips. /Fig. 1 appears here./

/9/ Populations

B
F
162 The Maroni Basin is relatively populated if it is compared
648 with the rest of Guiana. The population includes three human groups which are very different from one another and have absolutely no tendency to merge although they maintain friendly relations.

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101 1) Creoles. This is the name of the colored persons who
177 lead a life with individual characteristics and have adopted European forms of life in part, by contrast to the Refugee Blacks who live in tribes under the command of chiefs. African blood
F
144 is dominant in the Creoles, especially among the gold miners.

In 1958 there were no more than about 800 Maroni Creoles,
F
131 almost all gold miners or traders, grouped principally around the
361 little Surinam mining center of Benzdorp; very small villages of
161 gold miners are scattered along the principal tributaries of the
463 Maroni, notably the Abounami, the Great and the Little Inini, the Waki.

F
167 The Maroni Creoles are nearly all foreigners, the great majority originally from the British West Indies, more specifically from Santa Lucia and Barbados; there are very few among them
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197 from the French West Indies or the Guianas.

All speak dialects with a French base, very close to one another but rather different from the very special patois of the

/82/

Territorial Implantation of Lineages

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As we have shown, the Refugee Blacks are caught between contradictory imperatives:

--Their legal thought, centered on joint possession by the lineage, pushes them to distribute land among the lineages in compact blocs;

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[241]

--The geographic environment, and most especially the ravages of the manioc ant, obliges them to give to each individual the possibility of abruptly changing his territorial sector or to hasten the planned rhythm of his fallow fields.

The solution which has imposed itself has been to divide the lands of each lineage into a certain number of zones scattered on the two banks of the river. Instead of finding large blocks with a single holder, we are going to find sectors sometimes rather small. With that exception, the legal principles of the Refugee Blacks keep all their practical value.

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Each village possesses a certain number of landing places or dégrads /wharfs/, from which fan out a certain number of paths. The wharf is the center of a territorial zone within which the members of the lineage fan out, pushing their clearings farther and farther, until they meet the clearings created by other lineages. At this moment a boundary is in effect created, at least in some points (1).

[184]

1. Among the Djuka it happens that a wharf may be common to two lineages and that the boundary may be marked by a big road perpendicular to the river and starting from the wharf; this system corresponds to a concern for establishing more precise boundaries between groups occupying land to the maximum. It is not observed anywhere in Boni country.

/174 cont./

764 Cemeteries. There are two cemeteries in Boni country: one on the lands of the Dikan lineage for the people living on the French bank, the other downstream from Kotika for the inhabitants of that village. They are ordinary places which nothing indicates from the bank, for they are covered like the rest of the country by secondary forest. The dead are buried there in graves aligned parallel to the river, about seven meters apart. The dead are placed with heads turned toward the river. No separation by lineage exists within the cemetery.

The graves are not marked by any decoration, and at the end of about ten years, the mound having settled down, no trace of the burial remains.

[767] The graves are never cleaned. Only the ɔlɔmã heads, who have received special instruction, know the graves of the principal chiefs and the boundaries of the cemetery.

769 The Boni never go to the cemetery alone and do not [754] make offerings on the graves of their near relatives. Someone [775] who would frequent the cemetery alone would be suspected of being a wisimã seeking to capture the yɔrka of a dead person.

764 Even if they are right near the villages, cemeteries are ● 487 never connected directly to them by paths, and the dead are transported by boat. By proceeding thus they hope to isolate the villages from evil influences.

766 If someone dies by drowning, he is buried away from the cemetery. According to Mr. W. F. van Lier, among the Djuka [761] all drowned persons are supposed to have been victims of a [784] kunu; the Boni do not have this conception and declare that they [184] have lost the meaning of this custom; one notices, however, that they observe mourning for the drowned according to the usual rites.

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A (p. 580)	B (p. 581)	C (p. 582)	D (p. 583)

Chart of Positions of End Plate /facing p. 580/

DIVISION OF LANDS AMONG THE LINEAGES IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF THE PRINCIPAL BONI VILLAGES

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Photographic montage made with the help of photographs of Field Trip 007/200 IGN Guiana
Scale 1/20 000 Taken in October, 1956

[End Plate -A]

6:Hurault--581 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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Scale 1/30 000

[End Plate - B]

6:Hurault--582 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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Scale 1/20 000

[End Plate-C]

6:Hurault--583 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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Agodé Permanent villages
clearings
floodable zones
boundaries not known
farming habitation
dégrad (wharf)
path
approximate boundaries of agricultural land

[End Plate-D]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Hot sun . . . Gush of rapid water . . . Bees and dragon- #34
flies cruise about. . . . Rain . . . Hot sun . . . There is a crash of branches in the bush; some animal, probably a tapir. . . . Kingfishers chase each other over the yellow bosom of [136]
the river. . . . Talkee-talkee chatter. . . . The white man curses the flies. . . . That tiny speck a mile high is a vulture, wheeling without effort in great circles. . . . Rapids . . . Cloud-banks in the sky. High-lights on the river . . . Hot sun . . . Poling up the rapids . . . Grunting Negroes lean on the slick wet poles. . . . Still water . . . The paddlers step overboard to drag the boat up a difficult piece of rapid water. . . . The canoe is stuck on a rock. . . . It swings broadside to the current. . . . The river almost wins; we get away by a hair's breadth. . . . Over into the still water . . .

Moi-Man sings a Djuka song. . . . Alligators sunning on [136]
sandbanks . . . Gorgeous Morpho butterflies go by on shimmering blue wings. . . . Jewellery is made from them. . . . Showers of little white butterflies cross the stream, fluttering tirelessly. . . . A feast for the swallows . . . Spray from the fast waves . . . Wet tarpaulin over the baggage . . .

The forest is as impassable now as it was in the days of the rebellion. There is no way of penetrating the interior except by travelling up one of the great rivers of Surinam. The Bush [#87
Negroes spend much of their time on the rivers; their water- 491]
craft is exquisite. To make the laborious passage upstream the expedition is entirely dependent upon these black polers. They consent to accompany the white men—*bahkras* as they are called—with no great eagerness. The Djukas realize that

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

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(Frontispiece)

The Saramacca River below the Mamadam falls.

[Frontispiece]

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

Chapter II

WHILE THE RIVER WAS HIGH

I

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NOW this was a busy time of the year, and the river so full of canoes that a man floating down a lumber raft to the railhead might expect to meet ten or twelve dugouts in a day.

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Men in laden corials were returning from the French side for the harvest festivals. They had been away eighteen months or longer, and now they were coming back to burn new rice and cassava fields for their women, and to beget new children. When the harvesting was done was a fine time for love, and a woman with a child in her womb was the very luckiest for planting a field. These returning men, in the prime of life, with powerful bodies and muscles that were as so many great snakes coiling and uncoiling underneath the gleaming moist skins were deferential toward strangers. For it would have been unseemly to thrust at the first comer their adventures on the Marowyne River, and a man who was returning with many possessions had to exercise particular care that he angered neither men nor gods. Yet among themselves they could not keep from a certain amount of swagger.

"Ai ba! Ai mati!" they exclaimed to each other in reply to the most casual comment. "Indeed, brother! Yes, friend!" This was no more than the mode of address of the [576] Awka people who live along the Marowyne, but "Ai ba! Ai mati!" stood for the password of the larger outside

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

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Village elders on a ceremonial visit.

[Facing p. 24]

484 recognized the coat of a village chief, and by the size of the
[501] boat he knew that it belonged to the upper river, far, far beyond the stretches he had yet penetrated.

He spoke the greeting in the faintest of whispers, out of
576 deference to a man of age and rank, and stopped his boat,
484 for this village belonged to his own clan, and it was here that he would get from his mother's sister the cassava
[969] bread which she had got ready for his journey up river. He got out of his boat gently; decorum demanded that he subdue his energy before the man of position. His palms rested on his knees for an instant, as he stood slightly
[516] inclined before the older man, and what questions he answered, he did in speech which was punctuated with the ceremonial stammering demanded by the occasion. He had put his toga-like cloth over him and stood hesitating whether or not to take his paddle to the village with him, for he was so well known here that this settlement was almost as familiar to him as his own. But at last he leaned down and took up his paddle. This mature formality, in a village where he was still often looked upon as a boy, was prompted perhaps by this meeting with the chief, or by the new feeling of confidence he had, since he was taking the Bakra's boat up the river. But here he was, going up the embankment with the firm, slow step of the stranger.

484 The old chief had already started, having first made his
980 sacrifice of rum to the spirit of his boat by squirting it over
[501] the finely carved head which appeared in relief on the
622 prow. And now, as he guided his canoe with the sure strokes
539 of his large steering paddle, he sang his prayer.

> "*Kediamo, Kediampon,*
> *Mother of the River,*
> *Sacred ancestors, and my a'ka,*
> *I am taking this journey down the river,*
> *I am going to the city,*
> *Grant that I travel in safety,*
> *Grant that the trip be joyous,*
> *Grant that I meet with friends,*

Jr Herskovits & Herskovits 2-5 (1933-1935) 1234
[illegible] Dark Negroes [illegible]
Saramacca

looking out on the river. Whether it was a gesture that he would sing no more, or not, we could not say, but when he turned again to us he looked thoughtful. "White man, how far away is Africa? Would they kill me if I went there? Could I get a woman, if I went there?" 126 115

We sent him some food to his boat as an expression of hospitality, and word came back that when we had done eating, he would himself come and thank us. When he did come, it was to speak his thanks and to say goodbye, and he did not come alone. With him was the young man who was his traveling companion, and this young man carried gifts to us. Bayo, who had arrived a short time before, received the gifts of fig bananas and rice for us, as was the custom of these people, for to have given or received a gift in person would have been the way of a boor, just as it would have been bad form to stand about and watch us eat. 609 576 431

The leave-taking ritual, as that of greeting, is as formalized as a litany and almost as solemn.

"*Adiosi, adiosio—waka bon, yere. Tan bon*—Goodbye, travel well, hear? Keep well." Ajako carefully laid away his top cloth in his woven closed basket, straightened his loin cloth, and paddled away briskly from the landing.

Later, boats pulled up bringing the Gankwe men.

"Sedefo, we have a fine boat for you. It's large, and it will take a great deal of load. It's a new boat, just come down from top-side." 501 609

The men busied themselves with bringing our provisions from the shelter to the landing place so that the loading might begin. A tent had been made of palm leaves for the boat in which we ourselves were traveling, so that we might be shielded from the glare of the open river, from sunstroke and the sudden tropical downpours, and the men decided to load this boat first.

Now there was a murmur among the Gankwe men. Sedefo was passing his hands over the new boat, as though it were a human form, touching its "head," running his hands over the "ribs," the "belly." Then he balanced himself in it, and shook his head.

501 609 "It is not good," he said aloud to us. "Its balance is not right. Look, it rolls . . . and besides, I have a kuau. I will go up in my own boat."

And so it was. Sedefo took his own boat up river, and another Gankwe boat was obtained, and there were four boats instead of three, and eight paddlers instead of six.

"Ya-hail Kuau is costly for the white man as well as the black," Bayo said to Bibifo, his great-grandfather, for it was not his father, nor his grandfather, as he had later promised, who appeared to steer the boat in which Bayo was taking the Bakra and his woman up the river.

3

502 484 Bayo was at his best on the river. He loved it, and it treated him well. In the prow of the boat, swinging his pole-stick hand over hand, he steadily urged the boat upstream against the current, and sang as he poled.

[533] 534

"A-yai-yo,
A-yai-yea,
Money is finished in Suriname
Lower Cayenna took it!
A-yai-yo,
A-yai-yea."

[533] Over and over he repeated the seketi, with tantalizing variations in rhythm and melody on the traditional air, to which he knew so many sets of words. In and out went the pole-stick. In, until it struck the sand with a soft caressing glide, then a hard push, and three short steps back along the boat until Bayo's hand reached the upper end of the wood, and a final thrust, then pull, and over, and in, and once again the three short steps.

The other boats had got ahead. In the distance close to the bank they followed one another.

"*Mbwogu, mbwogu*—Hurry!" said old Bibifo in back.

Bayo turned and grinned. "*Ai, mbwogu, mati, mbwogu*—Yes, hurry, friend, hurry," he twitted his great-grandfather,

3: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
Bush Negroes
Saramaca

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In the rapids.

[Facing P. 58]

Chapter IV

KUNU

I

EVENTS on the river, as it turned out, showed Sedefo's fears of the large boat that rolled, and of his kunu, only too well grounded. It was to him that there occurred the only mishaps of the entire up-river journey. That what happened proved to be no more serious was, according to the general understanding of our men, to be credited to that personal boat of Sedefo's, whose spirit he had tried on many journeys, and had propitiated with offerings of sacred rum and prayer.

It was also whispered among our men that the Bakra's magic from Africa—a wholly imaginary thing, but which explained to the Bush Negroes our ability to do or withstand things that were not expected of us—had something to do with it, too. For kunu was kunu, and the one in Sedefo's family had shown its hand but too many times of late. Had not the family lost another man only a few months earlier? Had not Zimbi just been buried? And Zimbi's wife, dead less than a year before.

Thanks, then, to his boat, Sedefo's life had been spared. It was not for nothing that he had taken every care when making this boat, that before he had felled the log out of which he had made it, he had addressed himself to the spirit of the tree, explaining that he had need of its wood for a boat, that he would therefore cut it down. He had rendered his thanks for the spirit's permission, as

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

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was needful, and since then he had often made prayer to his boat, and the boat had carried him safely.

But this is what happened.

On our fourth day up the river we were on our way early, because the men said the falls ahead were difficult, and they wanted to be through them before they stopped to eat. It took us more than an hour to pass the rapids, for the land rose higher and higher, and the water cascaded from one ledge to the next, often in curving channels of swift water that were too deep to allow the use of pole-sticks, and too swift for the paddles to cope with.

There were also those stretches which were without the piled rocks to give the men a footing for pulling the boats over, so that a rope had to be used, and the going was slow and treacherous. Each of the dugouts had this long rope fastened to its prow, and ahead, on the first ledge, were two or more of the men, the other end of the rope in hand, waiting for the signal to start hauling, while holding on to the sides of the boat as they swam were as many men as could be spared, so that if the rope broke, the boat would not be swept downstream, to go crashing against the rocks. These men who faced the fast water of their river, worked as though at the sight of it their Kromanti fighting spirit had entered their bodies, as if not men were there, but an impersonal force pitting itself against the force of the river. Even where the water was not too deep, and they could haul the boat, care could not be slackened for an instant—a wrong turn, and the boat would be capsized, or, what would be as serious, the impact of a rock might cut a gash in its side or bottom, filling it with water faster than they could manage to bring it to a bank. But at last the sound of the falling water was behind us, and the men, once they were in the still water again, went on with the casualness that they fell into with their river when the danger was over, and cast about for a pleasant place to stop and eat.

All at once there was a shout from behind us. Each boat echoed it shrilly. What's that? Whose boat?

133 But now a soft haze floated over stream and bush. To the right was the Ingi Sopi channel, dropping so sheer that not even an unloaded dugout could make its way up the rapids, not a single log of wood could be floated down. To the left was the Mamadam, a smoother, more rounded slope. It was up these falls that our boats would later be hauled.

501 484 Below us on the rocks our men were unloading the corials and carrying the provisions along the narrow trodden path to the topmost ledge of the falls, where the empty dugouts would be reloaded after they had been taken up through the streaming water.

133 Beyond lay the full stretch of the river. As far as the eye could see, there were none of the channels, none of the many islands which are met with everywhere on this river from its very headwaters to the reaches of the tidal belt near the coast. About us was a stillness which the very roar [136] of the water heightened. The parrots had long ago passed on in pairs. The butterflies would wait for the sun before they went winging from the east bank to the west. This was a moment of pure interlude. No sun, no breeze, no 000 sound, no glow. This was the moment before the fragmentary dawn would end, before the haze would lift, this the moment when night, having met day, as the Bush Negroes said, was disappearing from sight.

"It is fine here, ai!" Bayo called to us, as he walked on [482] with a large canister balanced on his head, making his way up the rocks with the sureness and ease of one who is strolling down a lane with the consciousness of a pleasant encounter at the next turning.

798 346 As soon as the mist had lifted, we walked up the rocks to the shrine. Facing us and the lower river, a tall, slender pole, weathered to a pale silver, stood higher than the roof of the shrine in front of which it was planted. At its top were the crude outlines of a head and, some three feet from its base, two side pieces were nailed to it and grounded at an angle to steady the image against the onrush of a sudden wind. A short distance from the pole was the shrine

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

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Just above the Mamadam.

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Detail of boat—feline head on crosspiece.

[Facing P. 84]

REBEL DESTINY

574 609 In his own house, Fandya continued to urge our staying. "Ame'ika Fandya," he said—the year before he had given his own name to the white man—"remain with us tonight and tomorrow. I am an old man. I would like to know that you saw a dance in my village. When you go to the Neng'e country, I would like you to say that Captain Fandya knew how to treat a stranger who came as a friend. Last year when you were here you said you would come with your wife. You have come. Your wife has come. Last year you came, and since then all has gone well in our village. Today there are not many people about. The women are [462] away in the fields harvesting the rice; the men are in the bush hauling lumber. But tomorrow night the women will come in from the planting grounds, because the day after they may not work in the fields, and tomorrow, too, the men will come. Stay and see our dances."

And the bassia, the man second in command, said, [789] "Mati, last year I took an obia against the evil eye from my own door and gave it to you to hang over yours, that enemies entering your house might not bring in with them bad magic. All has gone well with you. Stay. The gods have shown they favor our friendship."

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361 The will of the Gankwe men had, however, prevailed, and we reached the village of Pa'aba that day in good time. It was one of the largest on the river. In front of the azang ●501 which guarded the road new boats lay on their sides, and farther up the path were others in the making, some black inside with charring, others huge hollowed-out logs, like gigantic drums, waiting for the hand that would set their pulses beating. These boats were as large as any we had seen on the river, as large as the boat Sedefo had rejected because it rolled and he had to think of his kunu.

[556] Kasanya said, "This is a prosperous village. They make the best boats on the river here."

And Bayo said, "Ai, this village has strong men."

THE PROVISION GROUND

We watched Sedefo and his pole-man adjust their ceremonial top cloths, and, paddles in hand, start up the path, as we joined Kasanya and the other men who were examining the boats. Kasanya, an excellent woodworker himself, ran his hands over the sides of the dugouts much as though he were touching things which held life inside them. 396 [292]

"There is much work making a boat. One the size of this needs cunning. It isn't anybody can do it. First the bark is cut away. Then you outline a space here on top, and with your machete you cut away inside. When you have done this, it is only the beginning."

He led us to just such a log, and then to another on which burning had been done. "You can only burn very little at a time, and you must fire carefully, carefully. You make a small fire and char the wood—you make a fire, and quench it, make a fire and quench it. So it is done. Then you take wet leaves and put them into the boat, and on the leaves you place live coals so that the steam can soften the grain of the wood. When the wood is softened, it can be forced into shape. Sticks are wedged in to make the opening hold. Slowly the log begins to have the lines of a boat."

But all this we were made to see called for the most exacting patience as well as skill, for any misjudged pressure might split the wood.

"Many moons come up and die before a log is fashioned into a boat, and even then, there is still the carving to be done on stern and prow; the crosspieces to be put in, the sides built up. It is not a thing a child undertakes, Bak'a."

Now Bayo, who had listened attentively to Kasanya's explanation of how boats were made, found a pretext to bring us back to the water, and soon he took up the talk of boats.

"Boats are like people. See, this we call a head. At the other end are the buttocks. Here are the ribs, here inside the belly. The crosspieces are the knees. Feet? Ma' Neng'e! What would a boat want with feet?" 501

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

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"In the true, true Saramacca . . . "

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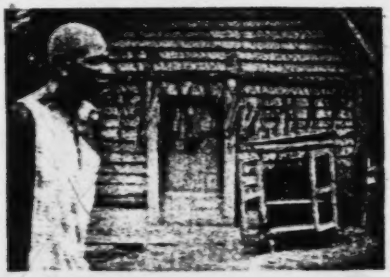

House of one recently dead.

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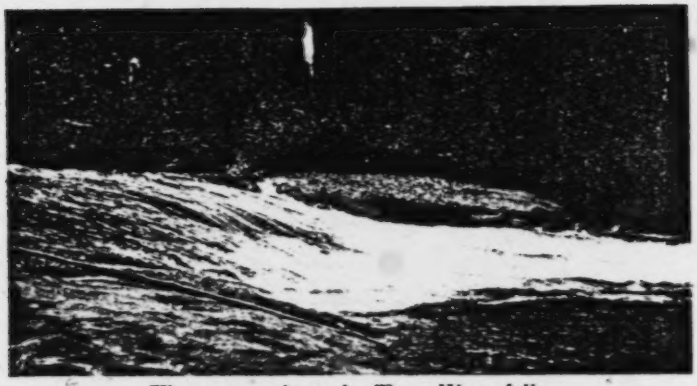

The approach to the Tapa Wata falls.

[p. 170 (A)]

[Facing page 170]

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

and so close that our hands, moving about to find a rest, touched its top, and sounded an involuntary rhythm, was an apinti drum. We exclaimed at its beauty, for in form and carving it rivaled the one we had admired in the council house of Granman Yankuso, and we were determined to try to buy it. But we turned our conversation to other things. A stranger in this bush soon learns from the Bush Negroes to broach an important request gently, remembering the cautioning proverb spoken by the chameleon.

We talked of carving, of the white man's coming back some year when the rains were heavy to sit by and watch the men make paddles and benches, so that he might learn, as children learn.

The captain was politely skeptical. It took a Saramacca hand to do this work. But he smiled, "Ma kye, if you have the gods anything is possible."

"That's a fine paddle in the corner."

He brought it out, and we admired it. Would he sell it to us?

"You must ask its owner."

"Didn't you make it, captain?"

"Yes, but it is not mine to sell. I gave it to my wife." He would see, however, if she wanted to sell it. He would himself go and call her.

As he went, he gave us the paddle that we might examine it. We ran our hands over the smooth top, the design, the beveled blade. It was not so tall as the paddles used by the men, nor was its blade so broad as those used in steering the great boats through the rapids. In form, it was quite different from the round-bladed type used by the Indians of the region, for it was slender and came to a sharp point, and at the other end the carving formed a crutch-shaped hold into which the hand fitted.

We studied this carving. Parts of the design had meaning for us because of their realistic treatment. The motifs of others were recognizable to us from explanations we had been given of other carvings. But there were still details

1tHerskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

532 of design which only the carver himself could name, or
501 someone who knew the symbolism of the art tradition in
302 which this paddle was carved.

During our first visit to these people we had been com-
539 pletely balked by the unwillingness of the Bush Negroes to
123 discuss their carvings. In answer to our questions we got delightful evasions, but with the coming of Bayo to our base camp, carrying his crudely carved stool, we learned enough to make it clear that there was a great deal of symbolism in the carving of the Bush Negroes and, as our knowledge of these symbols increased, it became increasingly easier to get descriptions of carvings in terms of the meanings and values these held for the Bush Negroes themselves.

532 Now, sitting in the workshop of one of the finest of Saramacca carvers, the captain of Ma'lobbi, we traced those parts of the design which we knew, mentioning their significance to the men who were about.

"There are two snakes," we said, pointing to the realistically entwined bodies which formed the upper portion of the hand grip, ending at the top with recognizable heads, and with mouths held open, which supported symmetrical figures of the top of the paddle.

"Aboma snakes," one man said, verifying to himself our statement.

"These," we continued, "are the teeth of the great lizard—*bamba tande*—and this part below the hand-grip reaching part way toward the blade is a carved chain, and you call it *moni mo' muye*—money is more than woman."

The men laughed. "Awa, so it is. The man knows about Saramacca carving."

And one of them took up the explanation, pointing out the two symmetrical figures which were posed opposite each other above the mouths of the snakes. "These are monkeys. They are women monkeys. No, don't call them just keskesi, their name is makaka," he went on, giving us the name of the species, when we spoke the word for monkey. "See the ears, the heads, the breasts. Ai, I

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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Saramacca

society, the "Congo" sticks, as they were called here, or the "fighting" sticks. 532

The carvings, however, which we were admiring in the house of the captain of Ma'lobbi were for secular use. The Bush Negro craftsman brought to the ornamenting of his paddles and his canoe seats, to his house posts, and particularly to the door of his treasure house, to his women's combs, and trays, and food stirrers, and clothes beaters all the traditional skill and patience. But the exceptional carver brought also the cunning in his fingers which his gods had given to him and only to few others on the river. Such a man was the captain of Ma'lobbi. Into the traditional designs such a man wove lines for the love of seeing them grow under his hand, for there were always single motifs which the people versed in the symbolism of the art would describe as "beautiful," as having no meaning. Yet with few exceptions the massing of outlines in a unified design bore on fertility. Men and women alone or together, and male and female animals were represented in all but occasional pieces. [501]

The Bush Negro artist was a man of consequence on the river. His companions admired his skill, and the young women were proud to have his handiwork. If he showed his gifts early, he was at an advantage in courting a girl of an influential family. The girl's mother, who shared in the gifts of her daughter's suitor, might be willing to overlook other less advantageous traits in the man or in his family, while the girl's uncles would not be loath to have such a man in their family to teach his art to his sons, who would be their successors. 532 554 584

On several occasions we were permitted to see how very deeply this appreciation of fine carving went. As in the instance of the paddle we had acquired from the wife of the captain of Ma'lobbi, it had happened often that the consent of the woman to sell a given piece was necessary before any trading could take place. Sometimes we traded directly with the woman, sometimes she asked her husband, or her brother, or her son, as the more worldly 432 562 439

532 fascinated. It showed, in its purest form, the retention of the African mask-like head. Sometimes on the prow of a boat we would see in cruder form the outlines of a mask, and once an old woman came with a food stirrer to us. Its handle ended in a knob which with a few strokes of the knife had been formed into a double representation of the human [171] head, a perfect parallel to the type of mask that is associated with the people of the Ivory Coast.

532 Aside from the decorated apinti drum, only some of the 171 workaday art forms of Africa—combs, paddles, mortars, among other such objects—were retained. For their decoration the designs that in Africa had been cut into the base of figures or about the borders of masks had been remembered and reinterpreted in terms of the ancestral cults. And from those memories the Bush Negroes had developed the unique art which is theirs.

532 Thus, in the main, the art was symbolic, and many of the 181 designs represented the urge for reproduction. Some 84 stemmed from the fertility cult, though not entirely of it. There was, for example, the double-bladed food stirrer, which was given by a man to his wife with a curse woven [626] into its curves for the woman if she committed adultery.

532 There were carvings that did not deal with sex at all. On the lower river we sat on the shore as a canoe came up. Prow and stern were carved. On one of the seats was a representation of the head of a feline, done with the utmost realism.

"You have *tigri*?" we asked the man, as we bargained for the seats.

"I will sell you this, but do not ask me what it means."

[501] The bird-headed paddles were also examples of this kind. When laid on their sides, they showed the form of the parrot, or whatever bird they represented—the exaggerated beak, the head, the neck, the wings, and the feet. The design called *Alukutu Solo*, an emblem of those who [791] could see into the future, was engraved on many benches on the upper river in particular, and these carvings were parted with only with the greatest reluctance, lest we try

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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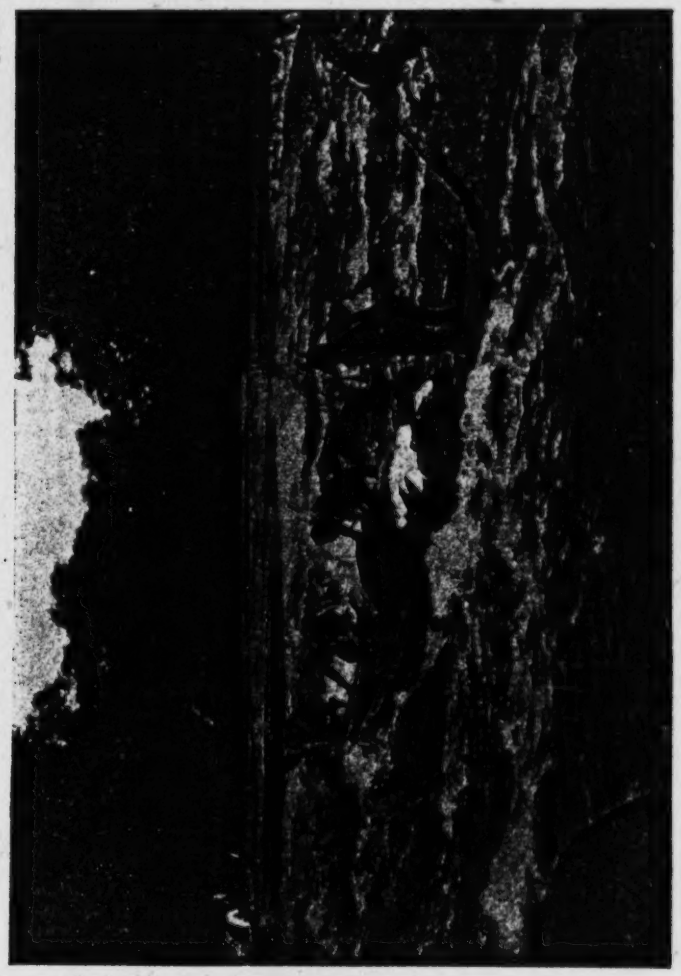

Bush Negroes Paddling a Loaded Dug-Out Canoe Up the Rapids.
Photo by Curiel

[Facing p. 12]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

The blacks are proud of their water skill. Upsetting a canoe 484 or drowning a passenger are disgraces that no man can ever 648 live down. But they are rare occurrences. The Indians of this 501 part of the continent, not nearly so skilful, use a different style of canoe and paddle. Djuka paddles are hewn with a bush-knife from a solid plank of hard wood, and finished off [322] with an ordinary pocket-knife. The handle is frequently pierced with delicate ornamental work, the entire piece beautifully balanced to handle easily. The men's paddles are as tall as they are, but the women's are shorter and more elaborate. Tiny ones are given children as soon as they are big enough to hold them, so that the Djuka's water skill is the result of a lifetime on the river.

All the boats are dugouts; no canvas or bark canoe would 396 last long in these rapids. They are manufactured out of big [501] trees, which are felled and allowed to season. Then the centres are hollowed out with fire and adze; nothing is left but the shell of the trunk, with perpendicular sides and a rounded bottom. This is filled with water, into which hot rocks are dropped. The heated water softens the wood, enabling thwarts to be thrust in, forcing the gunwales apart. The ends are then symmetrically curved up and are often carved. Seats, as well as bow and stern pieces, are often carefully decorated. The entire boat has a distinct West African style. When com- 501 pleted it is from eight to forty feet long. Ours has a large [17] sunshade of thatched grass near the stern, because the white 648 man is too soft to endure the sun's rays. Under the shade we have a camp-chair, a little comfort for the long trip. The

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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other canoe is entirely open, the Negroes being more hardy than we.

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Stealing a corial is to the Bush Negro what stealing a horse was to the early plainsmen of the American frontier: a capital crime. So much of the Bush Negro life is on the water that no man can get along without a canoe for any length of time. There are only hunting trails through the jungle, and traffic by preference goes along the river. In spite of the luxuriant jungle, a man left in the bush without food is liable to starve, as a frontiersman left on the plains without a mount was considered to be as good as dead.

Next to Dutch Guiana is French Guiana, a penal colony. Here large numbers of convicts are imprisoned. There are also men known as *libérés*—exiles who are at liberty within the colony, but forbidden to leave it. Many succeed in escaping desperately into the bush. They must obtain canoes, for travelling any distance overland is practically impossible, due to the heavy growth. If the fugitive cannot purchase one at the Negro villages, the only alternative is to steal it. Such thieves are pursued relentlessly by the Djukas, and killed on sight. Bloody tales are told in Paramaribo of hand-to-hand struggles to horrid deaths, between black man and convict fighting for life, in the dim blue light of the jungle day, in the unknown interior of Surinam.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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Bush Negro Group Showing Unfinished Dug-Out Canoe Hewn with Axe.
Photo by Gadal

[Facing p. 40]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

obeiahs, house gods, fetish houses, menstrual huts, and matrilineal system of inheritance are all to be found as ancient customs among the forest tribes of the West Coast. Other details, such as the use of chickens for sacrificial animals, the huts with their rectangular walls, the manufacture of butter from the palm worm, the sacredness of snakes and alligators, the use of drums for religious supplication, and the beating of them with the hand instead of with a stick as the Indians do, are also customs which are similar to West African customs and probably derived from them. The impaled turtle-shell on a staff, the badge of the witch doctor's profession, represents the symbol for the female genitalia among some West African tribes. The Bush Negroes' boats and paddles are typically African in design. The *awasa* dance of the Saramaccaners was borrowed from the Aucaners, among whom it is a direct West African survival.

From the study of these culture survivals among the Djuka tribes it can be seen that most of the jungle civilization of the Bush Negroes is derived from their West African ancestry, modified here and there by contact with the Indians of their new home. The remainder of the material culture of the Bush Negroes is borrowed from the white settlements along the coast, from which gunpowder, fish-hooks, bush-knives, and other articles filter upstream.

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2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

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Pot Stirrers and Canoe Paddle Handle.
Saramaccaner Tribe.

[Facing p. 196 (A)]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

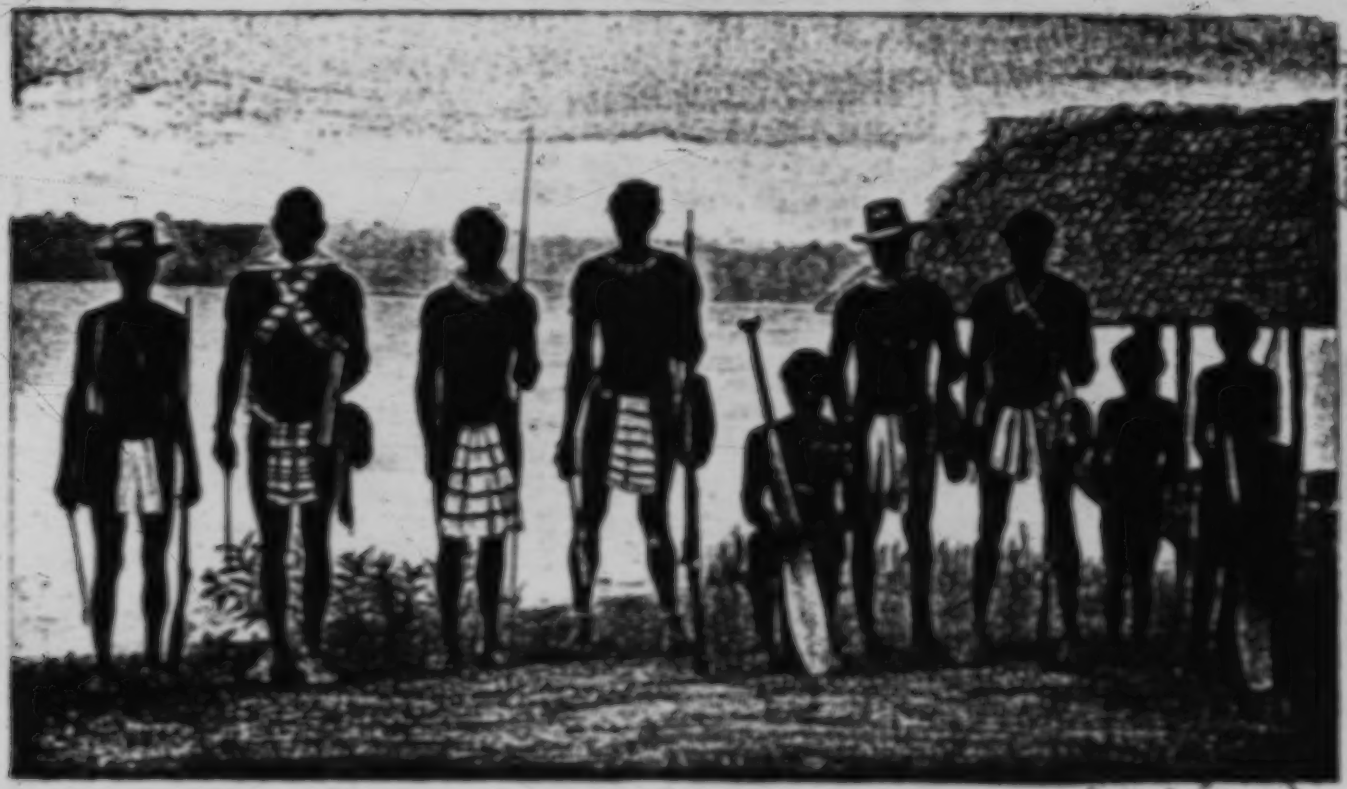
412 hung up on a peg. The canoe paddles are actually employed
[501] every day on the river, and the flails beat the day's wash of soiled togas and coyos.

352 Since it is taboo to sit on the ground, a large number of
[784] stools are made, pierced and decorated, with now and then a tiny cabinet inside them. Wooden locks that actually work
[414] are seen on the doors, especially in Aucaner villages, guarding the treasures inside. These are West African survivals; the same type of device can be found in several parts of the Old Continent. They are huge affairs often two feet in length. Door sills and door posts, bows and sterns of canoes,
532 canoe seats and calabash gourds (occasionally decorated by a woman) are all embellished with ornamentation of great intricacy. It is amazing that these designs could be wrought without preliminary designing, which would seem to be necessary, but so far as we were able to observe there is no conscious planning before the carving begins.

The symbolism employed in these pieces of sanni is limited to a few conventionalized motifs. Moreover, there is a variation in the symbolism peculiar to the individual artist, which is not comprehensible solely from an examination of the piece itself. Unless one can locate the original carver, it is impossible, for the most part, to be certain what the symbols mean. The same motif will be differently interpreted by different natives, and often has no objective meaning. It is therefore impossible to undertake an elaborate interpretation of Djuka symbolism.

There are a few outstanding designs found on a large

B. Carter - I P-5 (ca. 1857)-1866 SRB Bush Negroes SRB



Bush Negroes in the Colony of Surinam

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request the captain residing there, Kwasi jenni, to man all the available korjalen (3) and to send them around to the camps of

3. Small vessels made out of tree trunks.

the Bush Negroes, in order to notify all the Aukaners /Aucaners/ /4/ in that district that I, sojourning entirely by myself among them, wished to see them all together so as to have the opportunity, in the place to be determined by them and in accordance with their manner and customs, to take the oath of agreement to remain at all times faithful to one another.

Three days were spent in deliberations and consultations among various captains, council members, and elders, before I could succeed in obtaining their consent for this.

[527]

Finally, however, it was decided to have the agreement ceremony take place on Friday (a day that is holy among them), when the sun reached its midday point.

On this day, around eleven o'clock in the forenoon, one of the oldest and most influential among them took a clean teacup, put in it some dram mixed with herbs, and took a few finely ground plants which he moistened with river water and squeezed over the cup.

I and seven of the most important people then had three small slashes cut into the right hand with a razor. The blood from this, having been taken up with a little flock of cotton, was also squeezed into the cup, and the cotton washed out with river water and wrung out so often that no more signs of blood showed in it. The one and the other having been thoroughly stirred in the cup, the latter was placed on a stool in the open air. At twelve o'clock exactly, a great number of men, women, and children gathered around the stool on which the cup stood, by the side of which they placed me.

Three gunshots were fired. Among all those present a profound silence reigned, whereupon the cup was offered, first to me and then to the other seven persons whose blood was mingled with mine, in order to drink a draught from the contents, whereupon it had to go around to all the men so that, however little, they would

/24 cont./

Chapter XVI

Manner of Traveling, and so forth

484 Their manner of traveling is very simple. Usually wife and children accompany them; very rarely do they go alone. They never take along more food provisions than they consider to be strictly necessary, in order not to have any burden of great baggage, for which their small, narrow vessels made out of a tree trunk are in any case little suited.

484 As primitive people they are able to withstand deprivations
411 very well, but nonetheless they always take care to be armed when they go traveling. These hunting and war weapons consist of guns, powder, lead, bow and arrows, as well as a machete and an ax.

484 Frequently they can continue on these journeys in a small,
505 narrow corjaal (canoe) for weeks on end; there is, of course, a
[501] great lack of comforts, but they are contented so long as they
[372] merely have a little place in the corjaal where they can maintain a flaming fire, which serves for the preparation of foods and because the Negro generally finds in it a, for him, pleasant sociability. Their journeys are not of great significance; they never extend across the sea, which is the case among the various Indian tribes.

/25/

Chapter XVII

Manner of Waging War, Ceremonies in connection with Concluding Peace and Alliance

721 War is rarely waged by or among them, but when it does take place, their conflict bears the character of a thirst for revenge, treachery, and hatred.

728 At the conclusion of peace, the subject party pledges itself to satisfy the demands of the victors, provided these are mutually
[273] judged as fair. As part of the ceremonies observed on this occasion there is also a large consumption of dram.

/29 cont./

439 Thus it is known to me that they have gone to one or
501 another plantation in order to sell timber, which they tie to their
505 korjalen or canoes after having made it into rafts with bush ropes
[283] (tough liana stalks), and have misled the Europeans in a scandalous manner.

[284] They make their squared timber into rafts in the following manner. Four thick strong round timbers are laid crosswise and tied together, two above and two under the korjaal; the timber is pushed in between these and fastened, so that the whole thing forms a firm long rectangle with the korjaal in the middle /30/ with which they make long journeys from the upper to the lower
[283] rivers. This timber that is made into rafts and carried along by the korjaal is called kokroko; they tie light and floating wood to long beams with bush rope (called boessitetei) (1); thus tied to the

1. From the copaiva.

heavy wood they drag it along down the river.

Chapter XXI

Understanding among Themselves

114 Not long ago I found myself among them on the river
133 Upper Commewijne on the Tempati (a branch of the river named, on the left going upstream; this branch runs into the mountains, which are reported as ruddle mountains /roodenberg/.

114 Residing among them, I made many attempts to induce
648 them to track down those in hiding who did not belong to their tribes and fugitives of a later time, and to make known to them that by governmental decree in the course of the year 1863, before the emancipation, a general amnesty regarding them had been issued, so that they could return to their former dwelling places without fear of punishment. The reason that induced me to acquaint them with this was that I saw in the return of these persons

B /510 cont./
581 relatives, nor any power of the man over the woman, nor even
B household cohabitation. The man and the woman each reside in
591 the village of their maternal kin. The man goes to live with his
593 wife from time to time, providing her with the imported commodities that she needs, notably salt, kerosene, cloth, and utensils, and felling trees for the clearings which she will exploit
B for the benefit of the household.
586 Divorce is entirely free. Unions are not very stable, mainly on account of the woman. Numbers of women are divorced four to five times during their lives.
B The grand man, chief of the tribe, exercises over the Boni a
643 power which is more religious than political.
B The Boni are a pirogue-people. For more than a century they
433 have been living by using their canoes for the benefit of gold-seekers
178 and exploiting miners. The decline of gold extraction is depriving
[501] [167] them more and more of their traditional resources. Some of them are emigrating temporarily to the coastal lumberyards. But all of them remain faithful to their villages and to their customs.

R /511/
101 The Oayana Indians (Roucouyennes /Rucuyen/). These Indians of the
177 Carlbe /Carib/ ethnic group have had only a few direct contacts
144 with European civilization and still represent without alteration the
R human type which populated Guiana before the arrival of the
161 Europeans. On encountering the Refugee Blacks, the Indians of the Guianese forest have been steadily and rapidly declining. Estimated
R at 30,000 at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Indians
101 of French Guiana are now no more than about a thousand. In
162 addition there must be included in this number 700 persons (Galibi and
131 Arawak) who have been protected by their habitat in the savannas of the coast where malaria is less deadly than in the interior.
R The accounts of travelers and the censuses made notably in
175 1730, 1759, 1787, and 1815 allow one to follow with precision
161 this destruction of the autochthonous population since the first settlement of the Europeans in Guiana (2).

2. Dr. André Sausse, op. cit., pp. 67-98.

/8 cont./

241 experience of the American Indians, which seem the only utilizable
177 ones in the interior of the country.

Thus these populations which are so varied have in large measure the same agriculture and the same food.

241 Basic crops are manioc, consumed in the form of couac
[262] (flour roasted and granulated) which is the base food, the Indian yam, and tubers analogous to taro (dachine, "Caribbean cabbage").
[171] The Refugee Blacks plant mountain rice in addition. The Creoles do not plant rice but have on the other hand a greater variety of vegetables and fruits.

311 Men in Guiana live on the rivers; villages and cultivated
36 lands are to be found on their banks; everywhere else one finds
182 only the deserted forest; only Creole gold miners, constrained by their work, sometimes establish their villages far from watercourses.
181 The Refugee Blacks, like the Indians, love the rivers where they
182 find, along with water and light, the possibility of moving with-
171 out hindrance; they are a people of canoeists; their traditions are widely influenced by life on the river, and their mode of living finds in this a deep originality.

131 In fact, setting aside the gold miners' villages, we can say
133 that the populations of the Guianas living by exploitation of the
182 natural resources of the country have a linear habitat: it can be
171 estimated not in surface but in length, for it is limited to a band of one kilometer along each watercourse accessible to pirogues. These watercourses are limited in number, for one can take for granted that at a distance of some 20 kilometers from the source of each river, the congestion caused by fallen trees and parasitic vegetation prevents easy movement.

[161] Actually, considering the very low density of the population,
[226] the small rivers are scarcely utilized except as fishing places.

487 All the rivers are interrupted by falls and rapids which render
501 the use of large boats impossible. The pirogues of the Refugee

B 487 501 505 /8 cont./ The Pirogues of the Refugee Blacks, carrying a useful load of from 1,000 to 2,000 kilograms, are the normal means for provisioning the placers and European settlements of the Interior. The use of outboard motors on these small boats tends to become more general, but navigation remains difficult and dangerous and the Refugee Blacks continue to draw the essential part of their resources from these trips. /Fig. 1 appears here./

/9/ Populations

B F 162 648 The Maroni Basin is relatively populated if it is compared with the rest of Guiana. The population includes three human groups which are very different from one another and have absolutely no tendency to merge although they maintain friendly relations.

F 101 177 F 144 1) Creoles. This is the name of the colored persons who lead a life with individual characteristics and have adopted European forms of life in part, by contrast to the Refugee Blacks who live in tribes under the command of chiefs. African blood is dominant in the Creoles, especially among the gold miners.

F 131 361 161 463 In 1958 there were no more than about 800 Maroni Creoles, almost all gold miners or traders, grouped principally around the little Surinam mining center of Benzdorp; very small villages of gold miners are scattered along the principal tributaries of the Maroni, notably the Abounami, the Great and the Little Inini, the Waki.

F 167 The Maroni Creoles are nearly all foreigners, the great majority originally from the British West Indies, more specifically from Santa Lucia and Barbados; there are very few among them from the French West Indies or the Guianas.

F 197 All speak dialects with a French base, very close to one another but rather different from the very special patois of the

6:Hurault--10a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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Fig. 1. Boni type.

6:Hurault--77a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/facing p. 56/

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Fig. 13. Boni paddles.
At the right, for comparison, a Saramaka paddle.

[184]

6:Hurault--166a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/facing p. 114/

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Fig. 19. Fishing à la nivrée.

/132 cont./

868 To this traditional knowledge, which remains indispensable,
[501] has been added for the past several years substantial knowledge of mechanics, because the use of outboard motors is becoming more and more common; this knowledge is transmitted in empirical fashion as it has been acquired. It must be recorded that the motors go and that they are well kept up.

86 The system of education employed by the Refugee Blacks is surely effective; their children are excessively turbulent and very difficult when they are in a group. When they are divided up individually in the midst of adults, they are placed under the best conditions for learning the techniques and traditions of their group.

429 The person charged with the education of a child does not willingly entrust him to another and takes him along whenever
513 he moves. However, by concern for propriety, the woman guardian sends the children she is raising to sleep in other houses on the days when her husband comes to visit her. Boys go to sleep at the home of a brother, an uncle, a comrade; the same for girls who have not yet reached puberty; but it is not the same for girls who have reached puberty; they are subjected to strict supervision.

648 This is one of the reasons why the Boni find it repugnant to
871 put their children in school (French school of Maripasoula,
156 Surinam school of Kotika). Without wishing to tackle here this sad problem to its fullest extent, we must state that this teaching, entirely inappropriate and dispensed by teachers who look down on the Refugee Blacks, has results nearly similar to those observed generally in Africa, the main one being to make the children strangers to their own families and misfits in their own country. There is practically no example of a case where the Boni nation has benefited from having one of its children go to school: if the child succeeds, he leaves for Paramaribo and never comes back again. If he fails, he then has much more

6:Hurault--265a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/I.a/

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Fig. 25. The coffin is placed on board a canoe.

6:Hurault--412a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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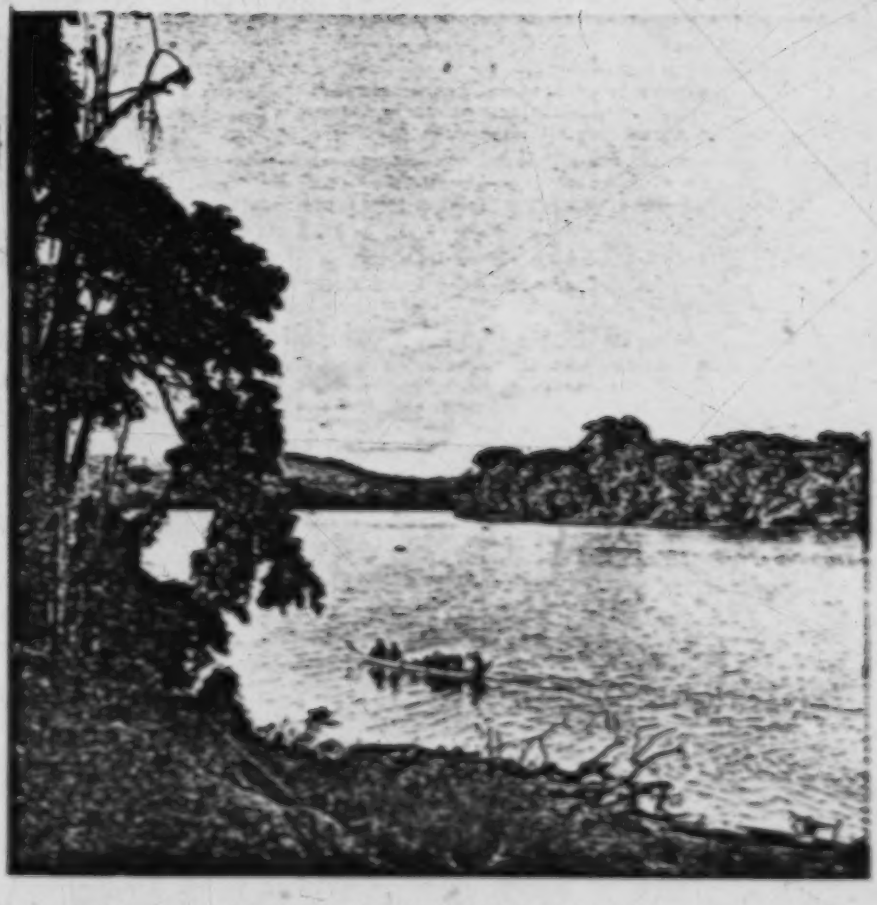

Fig. 29. The last trip of a dead person on the river.

501 609 "It is not good," he said aloud to us. "Its balance is not right. Look, it rolls . . . and besides, I have a kuna. I will go up in my own boat."

And so it was. Sedefo took his own boat up river, and another Gankwe boat was obtained, and there were four boats instead of three, and eight paddlers instead of six.

"Ya-hai! Kuna is costly for the white man as well as the black," Bayo said to Bibilo, his great-grandfather, for it was not his father, nor his grandfather, as he had later promised, who appeared to steer the boat in which Bayo was taking the Bakra and his woman up the river.

3

• 508 484 Bayo was at his best on the river. He loved it, and it treated him well. In the prow of the boat, swinging his pole-stick hand over hand, he steadily urged the boat upstream against the current, and sang as he poled.

533 534

"A-yai-yo,
A-yai-yo,
Money is finished in Surinam;
Lower Cayenne took it!
A-yai-yo,
A-yai-yo."

Over and over he repeated the seketi, with tantalizing
[533] variations in rhythm and melody on the traditional air, to which he knew so many sets of words. In and out went the pole-stick. In, until it struck the sand with a soft caressing glide, then a hard push, and three shortlittlesteps back, along the boat until Bayo's hand reached the upper end of the wood, and a final thrust, then pull, and over, and in, and once again the three short steps.

The other boats had got ahead. In the distance close to the bank they followed one another.

"*Mbengu, mbengu*—Hurry!" said old Bibilo in back.

Bayo turned and grinned. "*Ai, mbengu, mati, mbengu*—Yes, hurry, friend, hurry," he twitted his great-grandfather,

Li Herskovits & Herskovits E-6 (1929-1930) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Saramacca

but he did face about, and forgetting his seketi began to poke in earnest.

In a few moments his body glistened with the exertion, and over the circle and snake of kamemba in the small of his back the perspiration ran down in a trickle. When he had almost caught up he slackened his speed, and he and Bibilo talked about the river. Old Bibilo knew the river well. He was born beyond the Granman's country. A snake swam across the path of the boat, Boyo said. It was good luck. "See, look," he called. His eyes were sharp. The old man saw it, too, and then he called to us. There, close to the shore, a little ahead of us, a constrictor twined its tail about a liana, hanging head down, with a salamander slowly disappearing into its mouth. There was a slight jerk, the liana shook, the snake swallowed, and another bit of the salamander was out of sight.

Farther ahead we heard the report of a gun, and the crying of the mate of the wounded bird followed us for a long while. Boyo and Bibilo identified each cry, called by name the things that grew, planned about their timber rafts when they got back, until the next rapids were reached and passed and the conversation could be resumed, and then they talked about things which they did not care to have the Bakra know, and though they spoke none of the words of their ritual language, we could not understand anything they said. It was not until later that we learned to work out some of the elisions in their speech.

A strip of sandy beach showed where a village stood, and as we passed it, we could see the anang, the spiritual guard of palm fronds, preventing evil spirits from entering the village. We saw also a strip of white hanging from the end of a stick which had been put up for the ancestors, and beyond, the low shelter for the roughly carved and weathered image holding an obia pot on its head. Under the anang the path stretched like a narrow ribbon which was soon lost as the walls of green converged.

"Is that another village?" we said, pointing at a pale stretch across the river.

have the necessary time to prepare the cassava. A man cannot count on finding food to buy. Food is often scarce and, especially when crops have not been good—a state of affairs these Bush Negroes know only too well—each household has need of all the food it has grown.

Anikanu, whose cassava bread was fresh, bathed in the river and changed his dripping loin cloth, spreading out the one he had removed so that it might dry. Bayo washed his second best cloth, for the sun was strong, and it was well to get it fresh and uncreased. So the men busied themselves getting their supplies in order for the journey which was not yet taxing, but would grow more difficult during the next few days, with heavy rapids, great distances between villages, and more exertion needed to strike a village before dark overtook them.

Even so it was time to be off, Sedelo decided, replacing the cassava cakes—which in a few moments had lost their mold—for the next rapids were something to be reckoned with. Again the four dugouts were on their way, and it was a brave sight to see the four pole-men swinging their long sticks with measured regularity, and the upward leaping three steps, and the down-running steps, and the seated paddlers dipping their carved blades into the water with a slight twist at the end of each stroke to counteract the effect of the push of the man at the bow, to keep the canoe headed straight into the current.

Ahead, in the leading canoe, the man at the bow waved his hand to us, indicating directions to our men. We could see him put the whole length of his pole in the water three times, then lay it along the gunwale of his dugout and, taking up his paddle, begin to stroke in time with the man at the stern of his boat.

"*Mfanda*," said Bayo to Bihifo. "Deep."

As we approached the deep water, Bayo with a flip of his paddle sent our dugout heading into the stream, to be caught up by the current at the center and taken down and across by the impact of the water against the boat. The boats in front had done the same, had cut across to the

other bank, and now as we reached the opposite shore, we saw the small opening of a minor channel which we were to take. With astonishing nicety the tip of the juncture of the main stream and this smaller channel was reached at the same instant. Loin cloths were adjusted, and once more the pole-men took up their pole-sticks and continued the slow passage against the current.

The boats were now again traveling close to the bank, so that the details of the forest which fringed the river could be clearly seen. Straight from the water rose the wall of sheer green, all of a dark, almost dull purplish color—a wall of fifty, a hundred, a hundred and fifty feet and more, as the lianas dropped down from the upper branches of the great trees which gave these parasitic growths their support. Here and there we saw a brilliant wing of a bird, and a Bush Negro, ever ready to augment his meager food supply, would unlimber an ancient shotgun, steady himself, and shoot. In Sedefo's canoe, Angita, his pole-man, saw a blue and golden macaw silhouetted as it sat on a slender branch. Out came the shotgun. The macaw, startled but unhit, flew to another branch farther upstream. We crept slowly, noiselessly ahead, and when we were close by Angita shot again, and missed again. The macaw now did not trouble to fly away, and when Angita made aim once more, Sedefo stopped him.

"No, mati—Let him be, friend. The gods are protecting him. Put away your gun."

Again we cut across, as we regained the wide channel, this time so that the men might speak their errand to the spirit of their great ancestor, the god of the large creek. We did not go too close, however, and all we could see was an asang again, the spiritual guard of palm fronds, and beyond the whitened trunk of a tree and a slender stick with a bit of white cotton attached to its end.

Sedefo spoke conversationally. "*Aso*—ancestor—we are going up the river. We are working for the American Bak'a. We are on our way to the G'ama's country. Grant

that we walk the Bak's with pleasure, that he treat us well, that we walk in safety. Thank you." 484 [482]

The men in the other canoes, who had gathered about Sedefo's boat, clapped their hands, as Sedefo had done, and said "Thank you," then took up their paddles.

We had noticed that when Sedefo spoke, Bibifo's lips had moved, as though he were either repeating the prayer, or speaking his own, but when the others joined in the voiced "Gran' tangi!" he was silent.

"Did you pray, Bayo?" we asked. Yes, he had. He had prayed for us, too. Did Bibifo also pray for the white man? But before Bibifo could answer, Bayo laughed aloud.

"Bibifo is *kerki sumo*—a church man. Call him Adrian, it will please him. I call him Bibifo, nothing else."

"And you, Bayo?"

"I—you will take me with you to Africa. I want to learn African obia, and come back to the Saramacca, and be a big obia man here on the river." [152]

5

Old Bibifo accepted his great-grandson's jibes with good humor. We were sorry for the old fellow who was so little at ease with the other men, and was so mercilessly twitted by the youngster in the bow. 888 522 578

If the old man were to make a suggestion to him about a channel which Bayo had decided against, then he would turn brazenly, and exclaim, "Massa cow!" This is part of the proverb which says that a man who owns the cow has the best right to say where it shall graze. If Bibifo objected when Bayo attempted to do something that seemed impossible, he would face about smilingly and say, "The power which has raised the monkey from the ground and taught it to live safely in the trees is not dead yet." [538]

"Bibifo," we said, making conversation with the old man, "Why do we go close to the shore?"

"In the center the current is swift and the river deep. When we go in the center, then we use only paddles. It is 502 484

507 too deep for the pole-stick. When we go in the center, it is
488 slow. . . . *Koti ga!*—Cut across!" he shouted in his shrill voice, as our boat and the others after us veered over to the other side of the stream where the current was less strong.

"How do you know just where these places are?" we asked. "There are so many channels, so many islands. How can you tell?"

"*Ma, kye!* What would you? I belong to this bush. An old man knows his river."

Steadily the boats went ahead in this long, quiet stretch. For fully half an hour the men worked in silence, doggedly going upstream close to the bank, until under the shade of a tree they saw a boat resting.

"Tio, odi! Tio, odi!" Each of our men addressed the two in the boat.

[576 "Tangi, tio! Tio, odi," they answered each one, until
609] finally they said, "Odi, Bak'a," greeting the stranger last, as was the custom.

Our men explained, "We are going to the Saramacca country, up the river to the Granman. We are carrying the Bakra to the Granman. They belong to America country. They traveled in a fire ship for twenty-one nights and days to come to the Saramacca. Twenty-one nights and days, mati, without resting. *G'an sundyi*—A great state of affairs."

The man said, "We come from the Marowyne. The river is high. The next rapids are difficult. Let us travel together."

And so we were five canoes. Ahead, we could already hear the dull murmur which would soon crescendo to the final roar. This was the water pouring over the first rocks in the distance.

"What rapids are these?"

[823 "We must not talk about this here. Wait until we pass
796] them. If we speak the name, the spirit will come, and he will be angry. The boat might go over. We might lose part of our load."

Now we came closer to the line of white, which rose higher and higher. Except for the bits of white foam like

In Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Saramacca

saliva coming downstream, the water below the rapids gave in its calmness little hint of the turbulence beyond. The boats gathered for a discussion. 502 484

"This is the best place."

"No, here."

"There, to the side."

The bow men had jumped out and were reconnoitering, shouting at each other from their respective rocks. At last the strangers' ideas prevailed. At the side was best, there, close to the shore, but an overhanging branch or two would have to be struck off. Bayo swam back to our boat to get his machete and, wading up the stream along the bank, slashed at the obstruction. He struck again, and the limb bent, struck once more, and down it fell, coming toward us with lightning rapidity as it was caught by the full force of the current.

"Look out, look out!" Sedefo shouted, as the jagged point made for the boat of the strangers. But the men had already perceived the danger to their canoe, and one of them had jumped into the water and caught at some twigs, diverting the main branch so that it only grazed the side.

Now all was clear, and they were ready to start. The heaviest boat, that of the strangers, would be the first to go. Both the men in it took up poles and, with a firm shove, their boat was in the thick of it.

"Ha'i! ha'i!" they cried, and first the prow man would force the boat slowly forward, and then would hold the advantage he had gained while the pole-man in the stern caught his stick in the rocky bottom and pushed with a force that bent the strong wood.

Our men stood by, ready to help.

"The boat is slipping!" Sedefo cried.

And it was true. Into the roaring water jumped Bayo and Angita, and swam out to reach the boat which was losing more and more ground and might at any instant crash downwards. Balancing themselves on the slippery rocks, half wading, half swimming, they grasped its sides and pulled in unison with the pole-man's urging "*Hali!*

Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1931-1932) 1856
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Saramaca

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hali, hal—Haul! haul, brother!" Now they had stopped its backward motion. "Hali!" Now the boat gained headway. "Hali!" And this time the prow tilted clear over the top of the rapids and, with another push and another, it was in the still water above.

Three men and not two returned to take our boat, for we were next, being next heaviest, and only one man was needed to keep the boat that had been through the dangerous stretch in its place in the quiet water. In climbed Bayo, and Sedefo took the old man's position. Into the water jumped the other two, this time swimming through the fast water farther away from shore to where some rocks projected from the white foam. For Sedefo had different ideas about the best passage. We were, in fact, to try to make it where the force of the water was greatest, near the center of the stream.

"*Koti go! Okai no mo, okai no mo!*—Cut across! Cut over more, more!" shouted Sedefo as we headed across and down the river toward a partly submerged rock.

"Massa Nengere, 'kai no mo!"

"Kai, kai, mati!"

With a grunt, he pushed in his pole-stick just as we reached it, holding fast as the boat swung about, and Bayo once more dug among the rocks on the bottom to obtain a fresh grip.

"*Okai, okai!*—Turn, turn!" he shouted above the noise of the water. The cries were frantic, but Sedefo knew the river too well for it to trick him, and as the head of the boat was about to be caught and swirled broadside against another rock, the first of the men from the other boats caught it and righted it about. It was as he had planned.

"Hali!" and, with four pairs of strong arms tugging, we could feel the pull as the boat went forward amid the white-capped water. "Hali!" and the quiet of the river above the falls could be seen just beyond the prow. "Hali!" and we, too, were in still water.

The old man again took his place in our boat, and Sedefo went back to bring his own dugout through. The three

smaller boats were to be brought up each by its own men. Each selected a place, and the shrill shouted directions could be heard above the falling water. Up, up, they came, the man at the stern holding with his stick, the man at the head up to his shoulders in water, tugging, pulling, hauling the boat over. Once Asikanu's pole slipped, and his boat swung toward a rock, but it caught again and he held it with the fierceness of a man defending himself against an enemy, and then he, too, cut across and found the firmness of the friendly sandy bottom. 508 484

But when the five boats were at last together above the falls, out came machetes to sharpen the ends of the pole-sticks, for an encounter such as they had had the moment before shredded the hard wood into fiber.

Ahead the water was still. The hard work of this day was over. The men straightened their loin cloths and again began to make their way along the banks of the river. The village where we would camp that night was somewhere before us. The sun was nearing the treetops, and the shrieking pairs of parrots were flying over us to the west, seeking their roosting places. [134]

The short dusk was upon us.

"It is not far," said Bayo, speaking of the village ahead.

"Will we get there before dark?"

"*Massa Gadu sabi*—God alone knows."

"*No fé, Bab'a*—Don't be afraid. We know the river."

The Bush Negro and his river! Seeing the prodigious strength of the men, their great knowledge of current and rocks and channels, one was not afraid. Softly the pole-sticks slid into the sand banks, softly the paddles dipped, and Bayo sang his seketi.

"*N'an g'wa a Lawd*
A f'ŭ' ka' de waye." [533] [534]

M. Herskovits & Herskovits E-8 (1928-1929) 1934
Bush Negroes
Saramacca

was needful, and since then he had often made prayer to his boat, and the boat had carried him safely.

But this is what happened.

On our fourth day up the river we were on our way early, because the men said the falls ahead were difficult, and they wanted to be through them before they stopped to eat. It took us more than an hour to pass the rapids, for the land rose higher and higher, and the water cascaded from one ledge to the next, often in curving channels of swift water that were too deep to allow the use of pole-sticks, and too swift for the paddles to cope with.

There were also those stretches which were without the piled rocks to give the men a footing for pulling the boats over, so that a rope had to be used, and the going was slow and treacherous. Each of the dugouts had this long rope fastened to its prow, and ahead, on the first ledge, were two or more of the men, the other end of the rope in hand, waiting for the signal to start hauling, while holding on to the sides of the boat as they swam were as many men as could be spared, so that if the rope broke, the boat would not be swept downstream, to go crashing against the rocks. These men who faced the fast water of their river, worked as though at the sight of it their Kromanti fighting spirit had entered their bodies, as if not men were there, but an impersonal force pitting itself against the force of the river. Even where the water was not too deep, and they could haul the boat, care could not be slackened for an instant—a wrong turn, and the boat would be capsized, or, what would be as serious, the impact of a rock might cut a gash in its side or bottom, filling it with water faster than they could manage to bring it to a bank. But at last the sound of the falling water was behind us, and the men, once they were in the still water again, went on with the casualness that they fell into with their river when the danger was over, and cast about for a pleasant place to stop and eat.

All at once there was a shout from behind us. Each boat echoed it shrilly. What's that? Whose boat?

Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1929-1930) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Saramaca

502 484 131 It was Sedefo's boat, there in the distance, tilted to one side in what looked to us like still water. The other canoes turned and paddled furiously to reach him, but he had righted his boat before they could come alongside him, and was off down the river to recover what he had lost. The water had claimed the basket back of the tarpaulin-covered load, and a carved paddle which had slipped off when the canoe tilted. The basket belonged to Sedefo. It held his food for the journey up river and the downgoing. The paddle was also his—the finest he had—and had been intended for ceremonial usage when he called as spokesman for us on village heads asking for a night's hospitality, and particularly at the Granman's village, and still later on the way home, when he brought political messages in behalf of his clan to friendly clans along the way he passed. He also lost his best cloth; it was not just a piece of striped cotton a man bought in the white man's store; it had been patiently and dexterously pieced together from many pieces [291] of cloth, plain and striped, in a pattern which was known to the ancestors. His young second wife had made it for him. Her first child was an infant at her breast. When she heard about this, she would think of Sedefo's kunu, and be afraid. Was it so big a kunu that it would punish a child of his wife's family, too?

This is what the men said while the boats waited for Sedefo to return from his vain search down the rapids. The [996] men had not expected him to recover the things lost. When kunu took, there was nothing that could be done. And it was kunu. The *Bakra-sani*—the white man's things—had remained in the boat unharmed! We looked at the few rocks against which the boat had crashed. They showed plainly above the water, and the current about them made so small a break in the still water that the spirit of this ruffled piece had never disclosed its name, had never before received notice. The three other canoes had gone through without even the grunts from the paddlers which came when the going was hard, for all that was necessary was to go straight for the rocks, let the current swing the boat

M Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1834
Bush Negroes
Saramacca

around, give a strong thrust with the pole-stick, and the canoe was through—a bit of child's play.

We were soon again to see Sedefo's kunu strike. This time it was almost at dusk. The men, it appeared, would not be able to make the village we had planned on for the night. In half an hour it would be dark, and here we were fully two hours' fast traveling from our intended destination. Overhead clouds were coming up from the east. The sky was rapidly becoming overcast. Rain—and everywhere the impenetrable wall of green, rising dark and forbidding. To make camp where we were would have taken at least two hours, and it was growing darker and darker. The men refused to clear the underbrush in the dark.

It seemed, however, that five minutes upstream on the opposite bank and only a little to the south of where we had stopped to talk things over was a village, the name of which when we heard it we recognized as one of the two we had been asked not to visit. There was nothing to do but to brave the displeasure of the Granman and stop there; so turning we headed our boats toward the opposite shore.

In midstream a great wind came up, a wind that in suddenness and force is only met in the tropics. The men shrieked and shouted and struggled until our boats reached shore. But Sedefo's boat, which was the second, seemed to be lifted bodily out of the water. We could see a black mass being heaved up . . . the black tarpaulin was overboard going downstream, and Sedefo after it.

The wind subsided as quickly as it had sprung up, and when Sedefo came back sometime later, he carried the dripping tarpaulin on his head. He did not drink the rum we gave to warm him, but poured it over his hands and his boat as an offering.

The next day we talked with Bayo about kunu.

"Why is it, Bayo, that Sedefo lost his food in the still water? Was it because he felt safe and didn't take care in such small rapids?"

"No," he said promptly, "that's how kunu works. A man travels on the river all his life. He goes over small

rapids and large rapids. He carries loads and returns to his own village. But then something happens. His boat is good. He walks *kowi*—carefully—but he loses his food, or his entire load, or his boat, or even his life. Something is working against him. It might be *wisi*—bad magic; it might be kunu. If you have kunu, then your enemies can make their bad magic work against you. So it is."

"But what is kunu, Bayo?"

He hesitated.

We assured him that there was no harm in our asking. We had been hearing so much about it, first about Zimbi, and how he had died from a cut with his machete. Now this machete had worked for him since he was a boy, and then he cut himself, and then, having cut himself, he became sick and died. People said down below this was kunu. What did it mean?

But he still hesitated and looked about him until at last when he spoke, he gave the answer we were coming to know so well—"*Massa Gadu tabi*—God knows"—that answer that was the signal that not alone Massa Gadu, but the one who invoked his name in protection against Bakra questions, knew the answer quite well but meant to keep his own counsel. For to talk of these matters is not good, we had been told before by Sedefo.

It was Bibifo who brought up kunu again when Bayo stepped out of the boat for an instant.

"Better not talk to Bayo about kunu, Bakra. There is a very big kunu in Bayo's family. He does not mean to lie to the Bakra when he doesn't talk, but it is better for him not to tell you about it. We Saramacca people say: 'A snake bit me. I see a worm, I am afraid.' Do not ask him more."

2

But the Bush Negro has many sayings, and it was a different proverb from that which Bibifo had quoted to us that guided us in our tortuous course in search of an understanding of kunu.

Ii Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Saramacca

We would proceed a short distance, and we would ask again, "Aren't those drums speaking?" 503

"Women are pounding rice."

But when we had asked the third time, he remained silent for a while, straining for the sound as though he could barely distinguish it. "Ya-hai, it's the spinti talking."

Some distance from Godo, which is situated just below the Tapa Wata falls, a small boat came up to us, paddled by one man. Bibifo whispered to us that this was Sungi, the head of the Kasito clan, and we knew that we were somewhere in the vicinity of the sacred village of Dahomey. He had come to pilot our boats into the Pikien Rio, he explained, after the greetings were over: 502

"Farther ahead others will come to help your boats up the rapids. I am here to show you the best course through this rough water. The G'aman has sent me to you. He awaits you."

"Bayo," we said, when Chief Sungi had left us to head up our little flotilla, "show us the landing place of Dahomey when we pass it."

We knew that we could not set foot in Dahomey, for it is the seat of the Bush Negro's most potent magic. Whether there is that in the village which the white man may not see, or whether, as we had been told, the natives do not wish to tempt the fates by bringing there those who would be doomed by the magic which kills the white man if he but treads on its earth, no one could say. But we had been warned that it would be of no avail to ask to be taken to Dahomey. 778

"Did you hear us, Bayo?"

"Ali!"

When we spoke to him again about the Dahomey landing place, however, he showed great astonishment. He had pointed it out to us, he said. How was it that we now asked about it again?

"It must be that it was with you like it was with the other white man who wanted to see Dahomey," he said.

Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Saramaca

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Mataibo, the head of Yankuso's village, who was entrusted with the safe passage of our boats, came to announce that the men had done loading. Before the morning was yet well advanced we left the house, and with the Granman under his umbrella, which was the highest of insignia, passed to the river bank.

Our friends were there—the bassia, and Dida, and Amasina, and the Granman's wives and his little grandson, who shouted to us, "*Waka ben, ye'e!*—Travel well, you hear!" in the best manner of his elders. Again three guns sounded, and once more we were on the river, looking up at the people of these villages of the Pikien Rio who were waving to us from the shore.

502

Going down the river was restful. The enjoyment of the easy motion of the boats was felt in the manner of the paddlers themselves. Now there was no hard poling against the heavy current. As canoes were urged on the two paddlers wielded their long blades in unison, and the dugouts swung downstream in the center of the river, where the current was heaviest. When the murmurs of the rapids ahead were heard, it was but a moment until they grew into a roar, and then, in another, we were through, the man at the front standing up for an instant so that, with a twist of his paddle, he might turn the head of the boat from any threatening rock, while the stern man did not stroke at all, but merely held the craft on the course which was marked where the water tossed itself into foam-capped waves. Sometimes, as we came to rapids where the force of the water was especially strong, or there was a sharp double curve to be negotiated, the two boats would pause for a moment while Mataibo called out to the younger men the course to follow. Then into the falls, and through them, and our bow paddler would carefully rearrange his loin cloth and sit down once more to take up his steady stroking.

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Opposite one village Sungi came in his boat to meet us, to give and receive a final gift, and say his goodbye. But it was not to the landing place of Dahomey that he took us for this interchange, but to the village of his wife, he told

Chapter XVI

BAYO, THE PLAYBOY

1

IT HAD been a day of hard travel, down the Mamadam, through the Musumba Prati, and down the long wearying stretch of quiet water until we reached the Tita Buka Falls. The memory of the up-river passage of these troubled stretches had not yet worn down sufficiently to allow of contemplating the downgoing without a measure of strain, but our anxiety turned to astonishment when the paddlers, skirting above the thunder of the water, steered the boats into a barely visible channel down which we floated by easy stages.

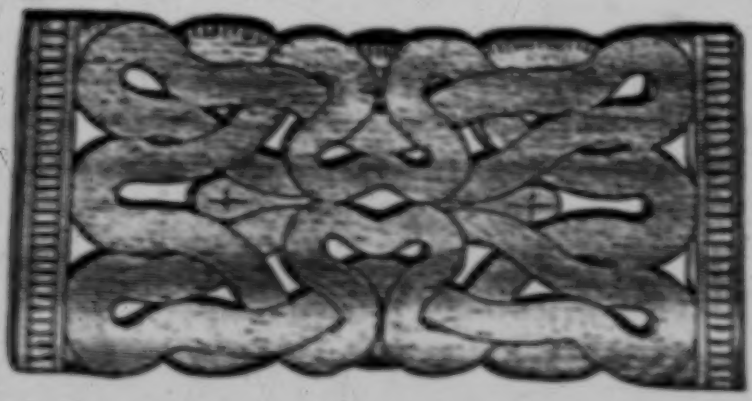
"Mati-o," said chief Mataibo to the young men, when we had made the singularly fine passage, "the gods are taking them with pleasure. We must do the same!"

Passing the Gran' Creek he prayed from midstream, calling on the spirit of the creek, whom he addressed as ancestor, to give us long life in our white man's country.

Now we were here at Djamungo, at Bayo's village where, if he were only there, we should be seeing a fine dance, and where, what at the moment was far more important for us, many sacred objects awaited us. Djamungo was a village about whose magic other villages on the river were uneasy.

"Bayo is at Gankwe waiting for you. He is helping the men haul lumber, but when he hears you are back, he will come," said a woman who came up saying she was his

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8



Chapter Two

UPRIVER

EIGHT miles an hour the river moves, down long 153
stretches of rapids and fast water, over great rocks in the river-bed. Any sort of outboard motor would be torn to pieces. There is nothing to do but pole upstream in dugout canoes to the Djuka country.

Bush Negro boatmen, with glossy thighs and heaving 502
backs, stand at the bows. They plant their great ten-foot poles in the river-bed and pull against them. As the motion of the boat carries them past the planted poles, they walk back along the gunwales, pushing the poles to the extreme end. They are retrieved, wheeled in a great arc, and again planted in the river-bed. This makes a rare picture in the sunlight on

[for caption, see category 27 ib, p.200.-- Analyst]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

● 542 the river—the glinting light on the black skins, shining with sweat and spray, and the veined muscles that roll and subside as the dripping pole goes down, first one end and then the other, into the yellow water. Hour after hour they strain their bodies against the bending poles. Without warning a [32] heavy tropical downpour will blanket the river with sheets of rain, but the *corials* (canoes) go on. When the rain stops the hot sun quickly dries the black skins.

[37] All along the river the foliage towers upward from the 502 water's edge. Great trees rear high their masses of limbs and verdure. Going upstream the boatmen stay close to the bank, for there the current, checked by myriads of roots, is not so swift. Often the men can reach out of the corial and touch the foliage. In sharp contrast with this green is the brown colour of the muddy stream. The sunlight glares on the surface, except where the overhanging wall of trees throws a shade upon the water. The black boatmen blend in with the yellow river, the green foliage, and the metallic sky.

186 Parrots scream overhead. A pair of scarlet macaws cackle at each other. Leaping fish shimmer in the sunlight, falling back into the river with a white splash. Bats from underneath logs, disturbed by human intrusion, disappear into the bank a hundred feet ahead. The corials are eyed intently by parakeets feeding high up in the air, perched on tree limbs along the bank. Little black and white swallow-like skimmers scurry over the water just forward of the bow, which keeps pushing on through the white riffles. Huge water-fowl flap their wide wings and sail gracefully away.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

something like bass, but with undershot thick jaws and heavy teeth. They run six to eight inches long and seldom weigh more than half a pound. But they travel in schools and attack simultaneously, so that any flesh in the water, human or otherwise, with a bloody surface exposed, is torn to pieces in a short time. If a bush-hog is killed and suspended in the water, the smell of blood attracts these fish; in an incredibly short space of time the carcass is wholly devoured.

The Djukas have learned to be wary of this fish. On one occasion, when trading for a drum at an Aucaner village, the blacks handed the drum out to the corial on a long pole, rather than step a few feet into the water. Despite this fear, in poling upstream it is frequently necessary for the paddlers to get out of the canoe in water up to their armpits and forcibly drag it over the rocks. On such occasions their courage is immediate and unfailing. They enter the water, knowing that piraya may be present. There is no other way of getting the boats over rock-studded pieces of fast water, where paddles are useless and poles insufficient. They jump out into the river, taking the chance of having pieces of flesh excised from their limbs.

Fear of this fish prevents constant bathing in all parts of the river. Now, however, after a long hot trip, the lure of a cool bath in the fresh flowing water overcomes the bahkra's caution, but the Djukas, as soon as they have grasped the white man's intention, will not permit him to enter the water. They gesticulate violently, waving him back with rapid and excited words—no, no, he cannot go in—piraya, piraya! He is

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The region is entirely covered by equatorial forest which the inhabitants clear for their crops, practicing a shifting agriculture on burned-over land.

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Life is closely tied to the river, on the edge of which are established villages and crops. They scarcely move except by water. Everybody, man, woman, or child, has his pirogue, and the children learn to paddle at the same time that they learn to walk.

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The principal activities of the two populations are agriculture, fishing, and canoeing.

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There is scarcely any difference between the dietary resources of the Indians and the Boni. The principal portion is manioc, eaten in the form of camave (flat cakes cooked on a plane) or of couac (roasted and granulated flour). Then come tubers, yams, dasheens, "Carib cabbage" /taro/ and sweet potatoes, bananas and plantains. The Boni in addition plant mountain rice, from which the yield is small; in return, they eat fewer bananas.

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The protein ration is furnished essentially by fish, eaten fresh or smoked. The Indians, skillful fishermen, never lack them. Game furnishes a less regular, but important resource.

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Animal husbandry, confined to a few chickens raised mainly to sell, represents only an insignificant part of the diet.

The fat from fish and from animals killed while hunting constitutes the principal portion of lipides. The Boni use in addition, for preparing their meals, a small quantity of mariga palm oil.

Vitamins come from fruit (papaya, pineapple, mangoes), which the Indians eat in greater abundance than the Blacks, from wild spinach, rich in Vitamin A, and palm nuts (awara and coumou), eaten in great abundance during the rainy season.

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Neither of the two populations is undernourished. The Indians might have been so temporarily during epidemics, when the adults, having been sick for a long time, were unable to clear sufficient land. But they can supplement an inadequate harvest with a great variety of wild foods that can be gathered.

The diet seems poor in mineral elements and especially in calcium. Traces of rachitis are noticeable among some of the Indian children.

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[For information on various types of buildings and other physical structures or facilities present in each of the Boni villages, see the village plans on pp. 66, 68, 70, 72, 74, and 76, category 116. Included are data on the occurrence of menstrual huts (mama), kitchens, granaries, and sundry other outbuildings, religious structures (gadu), mortuary sheds, boatbuilding yards, guest houses for visitors, wharfs, fuga tiki (i.e. lineage ancestor cult shrines and objects), and useful trees within the village area which are personally owned.]

/82/

Territorial Implantation of Lineages

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As we have shown, the Refugee Blacks are caught between contradictory imperatives:

--Their legal thought, centered on joint possession by the lineage, pushes them to distribute land among the lineages in compact blocs;

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--The geographic environment, and most especially the ravages of the manioc ant, obliges them to give to each individual the possibility of abruptly changing his territorial sector or to hasten the planned rhythm of his fallow fields.

The solution which has imposed itself has been to divide the lands of each lineage into a certain number of zones scattered on the two banks of the river. Instead of finding large blocks with a single holder, we are going to find sectors sometimes rather small. With that exception, the legal principles of the Refugee Blacks keep all their practical value.

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Each village possesses a certain number of landing places or *aligrab* /wharfs/, from which fan out a certain number of paths. The wharf is the center of a territorial zone within which the members of the lineage fan out, pushing their clearings farther and farther, until they meet the clearings created by other lineages. At this moment a boundary is in effect created, at least in some points (1).

[504]

1. Among the Djuka it happens that a wharf may be common to two lineages and that the boundary may be marked by a big road perpendicular to the river and starting from the wharf; this system corresponds to a concern for establishing more precise boundaries between groups occupying land to the maximum. It is not observed anywhere in Boni country.

/583 cont./

425 2) On the contrary, from the time that occupation of a region becomes habitual, even by groups of small numerical importance, people pay attention to the attribution of the lands. [361] Thus it is assumed that the west bank of the Lawa south of the [613] Aziliati habitation up to Sinnayé Falls has belonged, since the end of the last century, to the Lapé lo, which was occupying it in 1897 by the Faako, Sanno, Pwan, Saléai, and Bisédé habitations.

425 613 241 361 3) Within each zone the rights remain joint and anyone of the zone lo may come to settle there. Thus the farming habitations move around, but within a definite sector. Thus for example Kwaku (Lapé) abandoned in 1954 his habitation situated in the lands of the Lapé lineage (it was too damp in the rainy season. he prefers to connect himself with the lands of the "great village"). He does not lose his rights because of this. If he decides eventually to come back, he will settle anywhere in the zone attributed to the Lapé lo.

182 161 241 361 425 It goes without saying that if the population were more dense, such a principle would be difficult to apply and that serious disputes would arise. But this mode of occupation of the soil is perfectly suitable, in their present situation, for the tribes of the Saliques Blacks, for it allows them to practice, with a minimum of friction, the semi-nomadism which the geographical environment and especially the marshes set imposes.

241 361 425 The zones occupied by the farming habitations rarely have a single holder: most often they are divided into separate sectors on different parts of the river.

Actually, as we have seen around the "great villages," 806 each lineage possesses a certain number of "dégrés," or landing 613 places, from which paths radiate. Each "dégré" is rigorously 361 reserve, for the members of a lineage. The occupants of a 425 farming village radiate from around their landing place until they

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613 meet the clearings of the people of another lineage; a de facto
423 boundary is thus created, which is henceforth respected.

621 On the other hand, several farming villages of one lineage
241 may have their clearings totally intriqués /entangled/ (this is
613 the case, for example, with the ones of the Antonu and Adiiso
423 habitations). This conforms to the rule of joint possession of the land within the lineage.

621 Organization. The group in a farming habitation is brought to-
241 gether by mutual affinities, and has no hierarchy other than that
602 which springs from kinship ties: authority of the mother over her
572 daughters; authority of the "uncles" over the "nephews."
/103/ The grouping which conforms most to the matrilineal structure of the Refugee Blacks is made up of an old woman, her unmarried sons, her daughters and her daughters' daughters, their husbands coming to help at the time of the clearings but not belonging to the group. Often it is this old woman who directs the habitation, but often also it is an old uncle, her classificatory brother, who has worked with her for a long time. Sometimes this old woman has come to live with her daughters on the habitation founded by her husband.

103 Some of the habitations bear men's names, others women's
423 names. The name which prevails may be completely at variance
572 with the real rights exercised over the land (Ex.: name of Adiiso given to the habitation of his wife where Adiiso has no right at
[613] all). That has no great importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks, the only important thing being collective possession of the land by the lineage.

621 For groups which are relatively numerous and brought to-
241 gether more by mutual affinities than by kinship ties, the mini-
622 mum of authority necessary for good feeling and the organization of the work is brought to bear by the founder. For example,

6:Hurault--158 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/facing p. 108/

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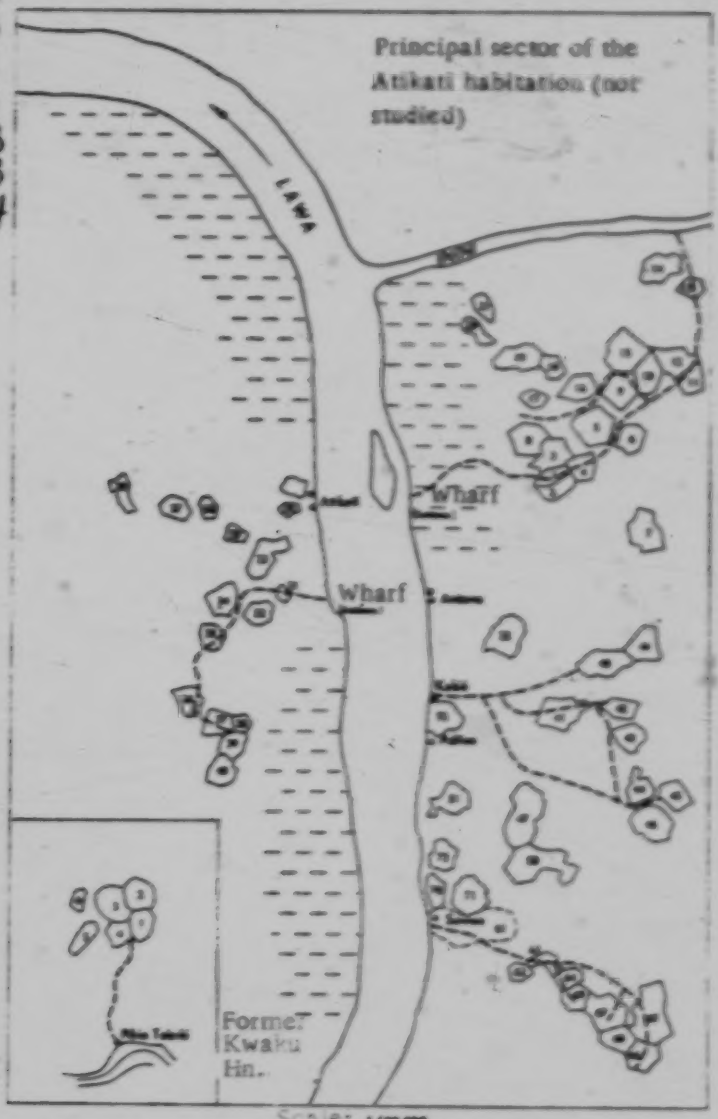
Distribution of Lands among the Lineages
in the Neighborhood of the Confluence with the Inini



Scale: 1/20 000

After photographs by the 003/200 IGN mission, taken in October, 1956

• farming habitation

floodable zone ⬡ clearings studied in January, 1957

Fig. 18.

/157 cont./

589 [589] A woman who has just been divorced does not remarry immediately. Several months, sometimes a year or more, may go by between two unions, a period during which she thinks only of "living it up," indulging in all the adventures she wishes. This attitude is considered normal, and the elders have nothing to say to her provided that she does not fall into pikadu, or cause any scandal, and that the period does not last too long.

[586] We have cited the example of Agube, a pretty girl of 18, who at the end of 1957 had just broken with her husband Faifiki /sic/ after only one year of living together. She was living with Lenga who brought her up; she was cutting a small clearing herself. Beyond that, she had no other concern but to indulge in all the adventures she liked. Men used to come to solicit [836] her favors discreetly, each one reserving his day. From one she would ask for a camise, from another, soap, kerosene, etc.

[429] Her guardian Lenga used to press her to take another husband, but she could not forbid her to live thus, having given with the pilgi her freedom as a woman.

[587] She contracted a new marriage in May or June, 1958 after leading an irregular life for more than six months.

836 As a matter of fact, things go on with great discretion. A man is notified in secret by his sister or /female/ cousin that such-and-such a woman noticed him during a dance, that she will await him at her home on such-and-such a night. At night on the river, one perceives boats which pass close to the shore, [504] advancing silently. In each village there are secondary landings which allow nocturnal visitors to arrive at night without being noticed and to leave again before dawn. /158/

[684] If a woman lacks this discretion and if her life is openly dissolute, her mother will beat her and the head of the lineage will inflict punishments on her, but she will not be sent away; in no case can anyone be expelled from his natal village.

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A (p. 580)	B (p. 581)	C (p. 582)	D (p. 583)

Chart of Positions of End Plate /facing p. 580/

DIVISION OF LANDS AMONG THE LINEAGES IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF THE PRINCIPAL BONI VILLAGES

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Photographic montage made with the help of photographs of Field Trip 007/200 BGN Guiana
Scale: 1/20 000 Taken in October, 1956

[End Plate -A]

Gilmanwalt--SPR K-0 (1940-1950) 1961 SRB Bush Negroes 1962
Boat

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Scale 1:[illegible]

[End Plate - B]

Gilbeault--592 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 588 Bush Negroes 588
Bpal

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Scale 1/50000

[End Plate-C]

Schwaab--SB X-5 (1945-1946) 1961 SBB Bush Negroes SBB
Boni

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- Good Permanent villages
- clearings
- floodable zones
- boundaries not known
- farming habitation
- d'ôrad (wharf)
- path
- approximate boundaries of agricultural land

[End Plate - D]

/24 cont./

Chapter XVI

Manner of Traveling, and so forth

484 Their manner of traveling is very simple. Usually wife and children accompany them; very rarely do they go alone. They never take along more food provisions than they consider to be strictly necessary, in order not to have any burden of great baggage, for which their small, narrow vessels made out of a tree trunk are in any case little suited.

484 As primitive people they are able to withstand deprivations
411 very well, but nonetheless they always take care to be armed when they go traveling. These hunting and war weapons consist of gun, powder, lead, bow and arrows, as well as a machete and an ax.

484 Frequently they can continue on these journeys in a small,
505 narrow corjaal (canoe) for weeks on end; there is, of course, a
[501] great lack of comforts, but they are contented so long as they
[372] merely have a little place in the corjaal where they can maintain a flaming fire, which serves for the preparation of foods and because the Negro generally finds in it a, for him, pleasant sociability. Their journeys are not of great significance; they never extend across the sea, which is the case among the various Indian tribes.

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Chapter XVII

Manner of Waging War, Ceremonies in connection with Concluding Peace and Alliance

721 War is rarely waged by or among them, but when it does take place, their conflict bears the character of a thirst for revenge, treachery, and hatred.

728 At the conclusion of peace, the subject party pledges itself to satisfy the demands of the victors, provided these are mutually
[273] judged as fair. As part of the ceremonies observed on this occasion there is also a large consumption of dram.

/29 cont./

439 Thus it is known to me that they have gone to one or another plantation in order to sell timber, which they tie to their korjalen or canoes after having made it into rafts with bush ropes (tough liana stalks), and have misled the Europeans in a scandalous manner.

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[284] They make their squared timber into rafts in the following manner. Four thick strong round timbers are laid crosswise and tied together, two above and two under the korjaal; the timber is pushed in between these and fastened, so that the whole thing forms a firm long rectangle with the korjaal in the middle /30/ with which they make long journeys from the upper to the lower rivers. This timber that is made into rafts and carried along by the korjaal is called kokroko; they tie light and floating wood to long beams with bush rope (called boemmeti) (1), that tied to the

[283]

1. From the copaiva.

heavy wood they drag it along down the river.

Chapter XII

Understanding among Themselves

114 133 Not long ago I found myself among them on the river Upper Commewijne on the Tempati (a branch of the river named, on the left going upstream; this branch runs into the mountains, which are reported as ruddle mountains /roodenberg/.

114 648 Residing among them, I made many attempts to induce them to track down those in hiding who did not belong to their tribes and fugitives of a later time, and to make known to them that by governmental decree in the course of the year 1863, before the emancipation, a general amnesty regarding them had been issued, so that they could return to their former dwelling places without fear of punishment. The reason that induced me to acquaint them with this was that I saw in the return of these persons

/8 cont./ The Pirogues of the Refugee

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Blacks, carrying a useful load of from 1,000 to 2,000 kilograms, are the normal means for provisioning the placers and European settlements of the interior. The use of outboard motors on these small boats tends to become more general, but navigation remains difficult and dangerous and the Refugee Blacks continue to draw the essential part of their resources from these trips. /Fig. 1 appears here./

/9/ Populations

B F 162 648

The Maroni Basin is relatively populated if it is compared with the rest of Guiana. The population includes three human groups which are very different from one another and have absolutely no tendency to merge although they maintain friendly relations.

F 101 199

1) Creoles. This is the name of the colored persons who lead a life with individual characteristics and have adopted European forms of life in part, by contrast to the Refugee Blacks who live in tribes under the command of chiefs. African blood is dominant in the Creoles, especially among the gold miners.

F 144

In 1958 there were no more than about 800 Maroni Creoles, almost all gold miners or traders, grouped principally around the little Surinam mining center of Benzdorp; very small villages of gold miners are scattered along the principal tributaries of the Maroni, notably the Abouzami, the Great and the Little Inini, the Wakí.

F 131 361 161 K3

F 169

The Maroni Creoles are nearly all foreigners, the great majority originally from the British West Indies, more specifically from Santa Lucia and Barbados; there are very few among them from the French West Indies or the Guianas.

F 197

All speak dialects with a French base, very close to one another but rather different from the very special patois of the

/297 cont./

648 which in Black Africa has so powerfully contributed toward the destruction of traditional structures.

[829] Truth to tell, the problem was simpler, for the conceptions of the Refugee Blacks, involving no form of oppression of individuals and assuming the right of the woman to self-determination, reduce to the vanishing point the sources of disputes between individuals and groups.

[162] In 1946 the administrative post of Maripasoula was created, near the confluence of the Lawa and the Inini. Since that time, the gendarmerie has administered to the satisfaction of all and without any incident a heterogeneous population of 2,000 persons, gold miners, Refugee Blacks, and Indians, scattered over a vast territory. The medical post created at Maripasoula in 1949 is very much frequented by the Boni and performs an extremely useful function on the psychological as well as on the social level.

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The relations of the various groups give rise to very small frictions, one with another, but the Refugee Blacks never give occasion for intervention in the internal affairs of their groups. Respectful of the administration, they carry out punctually their commitments to their employers, insuring all the transport on the river according to a modus vivendi established for a long time (1).

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On this subject it is to be noted that disagreeable incidents occur each time the Boni deal with inexperienced travelers who do not know the customs of the river or do not wish to apply them. In a general way the Refugee Blacks, of their own accord respectful of anyone who comes to do a useful job, loathe tourists; they cannot stand being photographed or observed like queer animals.

d Bureau--18 K-5 (1948-1958) 1061 SR3 Bush Negroes SR3
Boni
French Guiana SR3

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/19 cont./

whom African blood predominates are seen; the mulattoes are in general traders, or practice small stock raising.

The Refugee Blacks are the only population of interior Guiana who can be regarded as perfectly adapted to the environment and capable of subsisting there by their own means. They have a protection against malaria which operates thus: If the children suffer from this endemic disease, resistance appears with age, protecting adults from its attacks.

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They are subject to serious skin diseases, notably to pian, but these maladies have few demographic consequences; only the Boni are seriously attacked by venereal diseases. The Djuka are in the process of very great demographic expansion.

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The strong tribal organization of these populations and their solid implantation on the ground render effective their methods of working, farming, hunting, and fishing, which assure them not only excellent provisionment but considerable means of exchange and a material standard of living superior to that of most of the populations of Africa. The techniques of the Refugee Blacks, especially as regards the squaring of wood, sawing, and building, procure for them resources comparable to those which the populations of the Ivory Coast get from coffee and cacao. /blank page/

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R2
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/75 cont./

591 In fact, the society of the Refugee Blacks has not elaborated
992 true political institutions; it is essentially a grouping for collective
692 defense against suprahuman peril. The council, like the grand
man, has power and authority only insofar as it remains closely
bound to this function.

511 Absence of subordination. Among the Refugee Blacks no privileged
[546] class exists. /76/ and they all face life on a footing of rigorous
equality; all receive the same education, must cultivate the soil,
[554] build their boats and houses, and live by paid work. The differences
in standard of living observed from one to another stem basically
from intelligence and work; and that, in spite of the belief in the
possibility of getting rich by sorcery, is clearly understood by all.

565 Although the Boni willingly engage in paid work for one
[465] another in transportation by boat, there exists no tendency toward
the formation of a class of rich people and one of wage-earners.
571 No servants exist among them, and one observes in their mutual
461 relations no exploitation of the weak. Neither does one observe that
[359] a rich man tries to have done by another, for pay, the customary
[462] jobs he must carry out for the benefit of his wife (clearings, building
of boats). This would be looked on with great disfavor. The grand
[643] man himself, if his grandson is not there to help him, goes himself
to draw water from the river and he does it ostensibly, even though
he has a constant concern for his prestige.

829 The misfortunes undergone by their ancestors are certainly
at the base of this conception; for they have inspired in the Refugee
Blacks a particular sense of human dignity which is not found to the
same degree in Africa.

/120 cont./

593 Nothing marks better the small place the conjugal bond
349 has in a man's life; imagine the torture which this forced living
461 and crowding together represent for each of these women! The
[198] Boni of today, much richer than their ancestors and better
equipped with tools, are singularly lazier in building houses;
no longer is anyone seen to sculpture and decorate the façades
lovingly; when a man, after many recriminations, decides to
build a house for his wife, he is content most of the time now
with a simple shelter with plaited walls, which does not require
30 days work.

595 As we have said, each man may take as many wives as
he wishes, on condition that he can supply their needs; but in
practice the maintenance of a household is so heavy a load that
most men have only one or two wives; only one to our knowledge
593 has three. In fact, it is contrary to custom to free oneself by
461 paying for work which one must do for one's wife. We have
556 never heard it said that a rich man (many of them have hundreds
[454] of thousands of francs in savings) paid money in place of a piece
of work, or paid someone to do it for him. The furnishing of
[439] imported objects is particularly burdensome, especially cloth,
kitchen utensils (Boni women are infatuated with aluminum
[511] objects), and occasionally jewels. The Boni conceded in 1956
that the maintenance of a wife amounted to 30 to 40 thousand
[434] francs a year at least. If one considers that a hard-working man
511 earned about 120,000 francs a year, that he spent 30 to 40
[695] thousand francs a year for himself, that he often had /151/ in
addition to provide for the needs of his aged parents and share
the expenses of the festivals of the lineage, one sees that he
could not have more than two wives at the same time. As for
[434] less hard-working men, who have no more than 40 to 80 thousand
511 francs a year in ready money, they have a great deal of trouble
[586] in facing the maintenance of a single household, and many
divorces have no other cause.

/111 cont./

593 Among the Refugee Blacks some very devoted couples are seen, who spend their whole lives together and who, in their old age, have completely united their destinies. Living in the same house, either in the woman's village or the man's: for example, in the village of Lapé Tabiri, Buru and his wife Asumani. In 1952 aged about 70 years, together for 45 years and having had eight children. But such cases are exceptional. Besides, they are not admired and held up as an example as one might believe; this man and this woman suited each other, they remained together; if some day they no longer get along, they will divorce, that is all.

595 Polygamy. Polygamy in the African sense of the term, that is, the simultaneous maintenance of several regular households, is exceptional among the Refugee Blacks because of their mode of living:

--The wife is practically entirely dependent on her husband; an economy based mainly on wage earning and involving a relatively high standard of living makes it impossible for most men to maintain more than one household;

--Even if a man had sizable financial means at his disposal, he could scarcely maintain more than two households, for it is not acceptable, at least nowadays, for him to have done by others the customary chores: clearings, bears, house.

168 595 On January 1, 1958 out of 134 men over 30 years old in the villages on the French bank, whose lives were well known to us, there were:

Men maintaining three households	1	1%
" " two households	18	13%
" " one household	104	77%
Bachelors, widowers, or recent divorcés	11	8%
	134	100% /sic/

1tHerskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

765 head was clearest in the quiet of the early morning. A stillness so pronounced that we could feel it surrounded us at the base camp, for at Gankwe the drums had been replaced in the shrines of the gods for whom they speak, and no more guns saluted the spirit of Zimbi, or warned away the evil dead with the powder which was distasteful to ghosts. Zimbi was buried, the grave diggers had bathed [983] and put on fresh loin cloths, the village had been purified, and all was still.

512 From our shelter, watching the haze lift, we could see that the river had fallen; the tangled grasses at the bank showed fully a hand's breadth of fresh brown that had the day before been under water. With the coming of the sun things began to stir. The lizards appeared, the [231] chickens came to peck at our shoes, looking for crumbs, and boats began to make shadows across the opposite bank, as the Gankwe women in their small corials went to their fields. At the bow would be a little girl, or a yet smaller [868] boy—as young as four perhaps, for the older ones went with the men to learn a man's work—helping to take the boat up the fast water. All this went on quietly, until we espied three boats running down the rapids and pivoting about in the still water toward our landing place. As they 438 came nearer, we could see that the boats carried no load, and our host, the director of the balata-collecting station, explained that these boats were new and were being taken down river for sale.

"All the large boats come from top-side," he said. "The men take them clear around to the Marowyne River by way of the canals and there carry loads in them to the stations in the interior. The Saramacca men are fine canoe-men. They like them on the Marowyne. . . . You could 439 use a large boat for your trip up river. Maybe the man will sell one."

[142] [204] The man in charge of the little flotilla stood more than six feet tall. His face was intricately cicatrized, and he carried himself with a dignity and reserve that surpassed even the way of the village chiefs.

Chapter VIII

PARENTS, CHILDREN, AND GRANDCHILDREN

I

512 WE WERE aroused early after our night of stories. The women were moving about, getting their morning meal before daybreak came to give them light for their harvesting. There was much they had to do. Late that afternoon they would be returning to their villages, for the next day was sacred to the Earth Mother, [529] and no work could be done in the fields. Today, added to the round of harvesting were the preparations for the return to their village. The rice that had been cut during the week would have to be carried there for drying and winnowing, and yams and peanuts and beans were to be brought in.

136 Not far off, in the bush, the "baboons" were crying. We had been told how these howling monkeys lived in bands, and how they had an "old man" for leader. Their strange cries, ringing through the forest, sounded like despair made articulate. A terribly moving reiteration of four or five wailing notes went on and on, rising slowly in volume, until their cries blotted out all other sounds, and then, like a wave receding, diminishing until quiet reigned again. But when we had given up listening for its distant echo, there it was again, filling the darkness of the clearing with despair, until, at its very height, we heard the low, penetrating grunts of their "*G'aman*—Chief" and instantly all was still. They were done for the night. With daylight, they would go deeper into the bush.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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Chapter XI

THE COUNCIL OF THE ELDERS

I

GRANMAN Yankuso's day began before the break of dawn. When the day was at its coolest men's hearts were cool, people said here on the river, and when hearts were cool they could be trusted with weighty matters. But long before men came to stand outside the Granman's house advising with him as he lay in his hammock, the women arrived to report in low monotones the happenings of the previous day, and to take orders for the one to follow.

Lying in our hammocks in the council house, separated from the speakers by the wall of palings and perhaps five feet of clearing, we could hear voices outside from a little after three in the morning, until with the coming day the soft footfalls died down and gave way to the sound of stamping mortars and the cries of children recalling their mothers from early tasks.

What was being said outside we could not hear, but as the days wore on we learned to recognize the voices of the speakers. We learned to know from the rapid, contradicting flow of words which followed upon one of the Granman's orders, that it was his principal wife who spoke, or from the halting, crooning phrases, the voice of his eldest daughter, who had mastered her father's gentlest intonations and now of a morning brought them forth as though she were speaking her lesson. We learned to know as well the range and intensity of the subdued grunts with which

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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437 The reply is short and spirited.

"Gimme."

Which does not have to be translated.

574 We sleep that night in the Bush Negro village. A dilapi-
609 dated hut is assigned us, the hut of a dead man. There are
136 tarantulas on the cross-poles; we are not particular. The paddlers sleep elsewhere, being taken into friendly huts about the village. Except for the ghosts of the departed Bush Negroes, our hut is quite empty. The hammock is slung and the mosquito netting put in place. Mosquitoes and insect pests are not as bad in the jungle as commonly reported. They seldom caused us any discomfort. It is true that one of the boys contracted malaria during an expedition, but the parasites may have been dormant in his blood for some time previously. Our precaution against malaria was ten grains of quinine sulphate each night before retiring under the mosquito netting.

512 Far into the evening the Negroes will sit around the camp-
[521] fire and tell stories, their loud, musical Negro laughter carrying a long distance on the night air. Walking by each hut we see a tiny light flickering inside. Occasionally an infant cries. We sit before our doorway, amusing a group of chil-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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dren with an electric flashlight, throwing the beam upward 5/2
into the leaves. At night the atmosphere of the jungle comes close and penetrates everything. We think of the long distance back to white civilization. There comes a song out of the darkness. Near by is a young man carving a token for his woman. The females are busy about the cooking fires. The men are telling stories. For a long time after we have entered the hut and stretched out in the hammocks the hearty black laughter of the bucks keeps us awake. Then all noises cease. For one accustomed to the clang of cities, the silence is audible.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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Other evil spirits are *Bakru, Yorkas* (a Carib word), *Aze-man,* and *Lybba.* The Bakru are very ugly. A Negro picked up a crying child and sat him on his shoulders. His companion noticed the child's eyes and said: "That is a Bakru." The Negro dashed the child down. The child was instantly transformed into an ape and said: "I missed you that time, but next time I'll get you." The Bakru may also take the form of little mannikins with large heads.

Yorkas are ghosts. They are very similar to our conception of haunting spooks. They may be the ghosts of dead people, more especially of dead enemies who have returned to do harm.

The Azeman are the most awful of all spirits. They leave their skins every night and travel about in the form of persons without any skin. Consequently they are an ugly, bleeding sight. At dawn they assume their covering. But if the skin is found and salt placed around it, it shrinks so that it becomes too small for the Azeman to get back into. This causes them to vanish. Another method of getting rid of the Azeman is to scatter rice about. They dislike rice very much and stop to pick the grains up out of the way. In their preoccupation they do not notice the coming of dawn, which is very harmful to them.

The Lybba are spirits or ghosts similar to the Yorka.

A sleeping Bush Negro must be waked with care, as his personal spirit, the soul, or kra, may not be able to get back in time if he is too suddenly aroused.

The Djukas may be possessed by almost any spirit. During

354 /9 cont./
[372] they do not like to be without it; at least they do not like to
[353] sleep without a fire. Their weapons hang above their sleeping
[513] place, which is a hammock, in which man and wife sometimes lie together. Rarely do more than one man and one woman with their
342 small children live in a single hut.

296 Their articles of clothing, as well as other small belongings,
251 are kept in pagalen, a kind of plaited basketwork, while they keep
415 water, strong drinks, sugar juice, rice, salt, and so forth in
824 calabashes and godos (2).

2. Both hollowed-out fruit rinds of the Crescentia cagete L. and the Cucurbita lagenaria L., plants from the family of the Cucurbitaceae.

415 Some of them have cedarwood clothes-chests, which must be specially mounted with a great deal of copper; one also sometimes finds liqueur cellars with gilded bottles.

353 For the rest everything is left out in the open in the hut.

264 Often many men come together in one hut for their meals and eat out of one large bowl or calabash. The women withdraw after having placed on very low tables several calabashes or bowls of food for their husbands in the circle in which they are seated, never forgetting to add a large calabash with clean water for washing the hands before and after the meal. The women gather in another hut in order to consume what they kept out for themselves beforehand and what has been left by their husbands.

[888] If an aged person or a highly placed person is in their midst,
[554] he is offered the calabash of food first, so that he may take from it what he wants and eat it by himself from an ordinary plate, although seated in the circle, /10/ while the others partake of their meal from the large bowl. In general they talk with one another during the meal, the highly placed person also taking part in the conversation.

/14 cont./

584 and, once this has been promised, she does indeed continue to be regarded specifically as the betrothed of the person who made the request. As soon as she is marriageable, she is handed over to her man with or without her consent, and it may be regarded as a rare case when such a promise is broken.

[431] The man to whom she is promised sometimes does not see his future wife before the occasion of her betrothal, but usually he is concerned with her upbringing and from time to time gives her presents consisting of money, pantjes, and corals.

[591] Some take the girl promised to them even when she is only three or four years old in order to rear her further.

[672] The promising of newborn girls takes place for the most part [682] when there are obligations between parents, as was reported in Chapter III, and in the case of enslavement which is done to one [567] family by another in case of poisoning, and so forth.

586 It is an everyday occurrence that a woman leaves her husband or a man his wife for another.

595 Polygyny is much practiced, and among my workers I know several who have three or four wives, most of whom are very young. Some, however, have only one wife.

It is noteworthy that all the wives sleep with the man in one hut, while in addition he perhaps keeps with him a girl whom he [513] is bringing up to be his wife. One wife will be /15/ with him in the hammock and lies with her feet at the head end of the man and the latter in turn with his feet at the head end of the women, while the other women sleep in their hammocks.

[484] If a Bush Negro goes out, be it to celebrate a festival or in order to float wood to the town, he takes all his wives with him; only in case of illness do they remain behind.

His wives get money separately, and therefore they must also separately provide for his food, so that one cooks the food in the morning, another at midday, a third in the evening, etc. [578] This way of life and their jealous nature frequently bring about household quarrels that rarely end in any way other than bloody fights.

585 Upon the conclusion of a marriage the man is obligated to 583 give the parents of the girl as a marriage portion a long, broad,

/1 cont./

132 The climate is relatively temperate and easy for the European
[513] to stand. In the forest the thermometer does not rise to more than 28° during the hot hours, to go back down to 20° at the end of the night: everyone sleeps with a blanket, Refugee Blacks and Creoles as well as Europeans. Humidity is very great during nearly all the year; precipitation averages three meters a year or about 50 centimeters less than at Cayenne. The year is divided into two seasons: "summer" from July to December, and the rainy season the rest of the year, with a maximum of precipitation in
133 May and June. The water level varies considerably in the course
182 of the year (several meters). The populations of the interior,
[361] spaced out along the rivers, suit the rhythm of their lives to the
[164] height of the water; the water rules transportation, fishing, and crops; moreover, a certain number of illnesses are in close relation to the rains, in particular those which have an insect for vector.

241 Almost everywhere the soil is very poor in organic matter
[134] and fundamental ingredients, very waterlogged necessitating the practice of an itinerant agriculture on burned-over areas; the period of fallow ground varies from two to ten years, the optimum seem-
[136] ing to be about six. The inhabitants of Guiana cannot allow ground to lie fallow regularly because of the ravages of the manioc ant, /8/ which is active especially in habitually cultivated zones.
[134] Vain and costly efforts made by Europeans notably at Saint-Jean du Maroni about 1950, have shown that the fertility of lands not
[242] burned over is practically nil. The Indians and the Refugee Blacks consider that the fertility of the soil depends exclusively on the weight of cinders laid down during the burning.

When burned-over areas are cultivated, only one harvest is obtained; but this harvest is abundant, and the soil thus utilized can be regarded as relatively fertile. The knocking down and burning do not require great labor, so that primitive agricultural methods
241 can be considered to give a good yield. As a matter of fact, the
177 diverse populations of Guiana, Creoles and Refugee Blacks, have entirely adopted the methods of work resulting from the millennial

/132 cont./

868 [501] To this traditional knowledge, which remains indispensable, has been added for the past several years substantial knowledge of mechanics, because the use of outboard motors is becoming more and more common; this knowledge is transmitted in empirical fashion as it has been acquired. It must be recorded that the motors go and that they are well kept up.

86 The system of education employed by the Refugee Blacks is surely effective; their children are excessively turbulent and very difficult when they are in a group. When they are divided up individually in the midst of adults, they are placed under the best conditions for learning the techniques and traditions of their group.

429 The person charged with the education of a child does not willingly entrust him to another and takes him along whenever 513 she moves. However, by concern for propriety, the woman guardian sends the children she is raising to sleep in other houses on the days when her husband comes to visit her. Boys go to sleep at the home of a brother, an uncle, a comrade; the same for girls who have not yet reached puberty; but it is not the same for girls who have reached puberty; they are subjected to strict supervision.

648 871 156 This is one of the reasons why the Boni find it repugnant to put their children in school (French school of Maripasoula, Surinam school of Kotika). Without wishing to tackle here this sad problem to its fullest extent, we must state that this teaching, entirely inappropriate and dispensed by teachers who look down on the Refugee Blacks, has results nearly similar to those observed generally in Africa, the main one being to make the children strangers to their own families and misfits in their own country. There is practically no example of a case where the Boni nation has benefited from having one of its children go to school: if the child succeeds, he leaves for Paramaribo and never comes back again. If he fails, he then has much more

606 /152 cont./
Relations between husband and mother-in-law. As is commonly observed in Africa, the husband has the duty to respect his mother-in-law, to have a reserved attitude toward her. /153/ A curious custom exists on this subject among the Refugee Blacks: If he inadvertently arrives at the village wharf at the moment when she is bathing, he must pay her compensation in the form of a camisa. This is a reciprocal obligation.

[513] He may sleep under the same roof as she when the village is crowded, but not habitually.

606 607 On the other hand, the custom of the Refugee Blacks differs sharply from African customs on one important point: it does not call for any material obligation toward the mother-in-law or the wife's brothers. The husband is not at all required to give them presents or to contribute toward their maintenance. In fact, the wife gives her mother part of what her husband gives her.

684 Adultery. The custom of the Refugee Blacks concerning adultery is extremely curious. The outraged husband has the right to inflict a public punishment on the lover, which he must stand without defending himself. In the absence of the husband his brother is qualified to strike in his place. This punishment must take place in a village in the presence of witnesses capable of intervening if the punishment goes beyond accepted limits.

Only bare fists may be used.

A man can always escape too brutal a punishment by taking refuge in the water. His adversary may not follow him into it under pain of a severe punishment by the grand man. He can also take refuge in the bush.

[672] The husband's honor being thus publicly restored, the row is over; in such cases some men are seen to beat the wife in addition, but this is not the general case; the true custom does not call for the wife to be beaten because she is considered irresponsible. She can? either be repudiated or threatened

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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have the necessary time to prepare the cassava. A man 484
cannot count on finding food to buy. Food is often scarce 861
and, especially when crops have not been good—a state of affairs these Bush Negroes know only too well—each household has need of all the food it has grown.

Asikanu, whose cassava bread was fresh, bathed in the 515
river and changed his dripping loin cloth, spreading out 484
the one he had removed so that it might dry. Bayo washed his second best cloth, for the sun was strong, and it was well to get it fresh and uncreased. So the men busied themselves getting their supplies in order for the journey which was not yet taxing, but would grow more difficult during the next few days, with heavy rapids, great distances between villages, and more exertion needed to strike a village before dark overtook them.

Even so it was time to be off, Sedefo decided, replacing 502
the cassava cakes—which in a few moments had lost their 484
mold—for the next rapids were something to be reckoned with. Again the four dugouts were on their way, and it was a brave sight to see the four pole-men swinging their long sticks with measured regularity, and the upward leaping three steps, and the down-running steps, and the seated paddlers dipping their carved blades into the water with a slight twist at the end of each stroke to counteract the effect of the push of the man at the bow, to keep the canoe headed straight into the current.

Ahead, in the leading canoe, the man at the bow waved [201]
his hand to us, indicating directions to our men. We could see him put the whole length of his pole in the water three times, then lay it along the gunwale of his dugout and, taking up his paddle, begin to stroke in time with the man at the stern of his boat.

"*Mfundu*," said Bayo to Bibifo. "Deep."

As we approached the deep water, Bayo with a fillip of his paddle sent our dugout heading into the stream, to be caught up by the current at the center and taken down and across by the impact of the water against the boat. The boats in front had done the same, had cut across to the

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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of a burning fire without being harmed. Bathing every day for nine days in water in which rusty scrap iron and peanut husks have been boiled renders a man impervious to the cut of a knife and his flesh capable of turning any blade. Stomach-ache is treated by drinking an infusion from the hollow handle of a dance rattle. Especially potent in all magic preparations are the bristles of *tamanua*, the anteater. *Obeiah watra*, another infusion, is drunk by men before going into the bush, to give them luck and strength. It is also possible to acquire strength or other virtues by rubbing one's body with the putrescent fluid gathered from the corpse of a dead man who possessed those qualities.

If a person should find fecal material in front of his hut or rotten eggs along the trail in such position as to make it likely for him to step upon it, it is certain that this material was placed there by a member of the community who is attempting to *wissi* or bewitch him. Anyone who removes this matter is liable to insanity.

Minor cuts and wounds may be treated with the bark of the *aproconyo* tree. This is ground up and mixed with the brew prepared from the leaves known as *pekein fol caca* (little rooster).

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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164 The Djukas suffer from a number of diseases also common among white men. Yaws, a syphilis-like disease, caused by infection with *Spironema pertenue*, is frequently found among them. Individuals may be seen suffering from all three stages of it. Malaria, including the severe tropical form, is spread by the mosquitoes along the rivers. An ulcerous condition known as leishmaniasis, the result of infection by Leishman-Donovan bodies, is an ordinary occurrence, as is hookworm. The Town Negroes are occasionally infected with filariasis and schistosomyasis of the rectal type. Leprosy is present in the town of Paramaribo, but we saw none of it in the bush.

646 757 [515] [304] The Djukas do not fear to take the bahkra's medicine. The gratitude of more than one mother was earned when we gave her child castor oil. Of the principle of asepsis, naturally, the Djukas know nothing. Their incisions for making *cutty-cutty* (ornamental scars) are septic enough to give a bacteriologist nightmares.

On one occasion, snakee-kutti, the snake protector, did not work, and a Bush Negro, who had been bitten was taken to the hospital at Moengo. His leg had gone untreated for five days and was in the serious stage of gangrene. The limb was amputated by the doctor in charge and the Djuka made an uneventful recovery. He would not have been brought to the hospital by his family if there had been anything more for the Bush Negro medicine man to do. But there was not, and they went to the bahkra as the last resort to save his life.

778 756 Far up the Surinam River is the sacred medicine city of Dahomey (pronounced Daumay). Into its sacred precincts

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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and pageantry. Now it is only a name. But the name has been 778
carried overseas to the South American bush, and persists
there long after its origin has been forgotten.

As has already been noted, the villages are universally 364
clean and sanitary. There is no filth or debris scattered about.
The garbage is disposed of by being thrown into the river
at a point below the village. A small amount of it is fed to
the chickens, which we found in practically every Bush
Negro village. Feces are disposed of in small outhouses made
of leaves placed on bypaths some four hundred yards from
the village clearing. When these become seriously polluted,
they are removed to another location. Some villages have no
outhouses.

Bathing is indulged in frequently by all of the Bush Ne- 515
groes. There are few who do not bathe in the river two or
three times a day. No bodily odour could be detected on
them, except one of perspiration, when the men poled their
canoes for long distances and did not have time to bathe at
their accustomed hours.

Sometimes as a punishment a woman may be condemned 681
to act as scavenger for the village for as long as two years;
it is then her duty to be continually cleaning up the village.

/16 cont./

868 The children learn their dances and games at a very early
858 age and are always present at the festivals.

867 From earliest youth on they are taught to respect and
689 venerate older persons; offenses against this obligatory respect are severely punished.

868 The boys in particular are taken along to the forest at an early age and remain there in connection with the processing of wood or other operations, as well as for hunting and fishing, and very quickly learn to swim.

515 Men, women, and children bathe separately in the river every day.

Chapter XI

Burial Services and Other Ceremonies

764 They celebrate the burial services with great solemnity. If one of them dies in Auca, that is, their land, then the corpse is cleaned, the nails are cut, and it is placed in a coffin, in which various and especially costly articles of clothing of the deceased are placed and to which all the relatives also add a new piece of cloth (usually blankets and pantjes) as remembrances, a farewell token on which much value is placed. Hence they always take care to have a sufficient stock of new and unused cloths.

Ordinarily the corpse lies in the open coffin for one day before the interment takes place, in order to bid it farewell. The relatives then sit around the coffin and weep ceaselessly /17/ in a mostly singsong manner peculiar to them, in which the visitors also join from time to time.

765 After the interment the closest blood relatives proceed to hold the days of mourning on a mat spread out on the ground for
[538] eight days. During this time they weep loudly by turns, at the same time making the strangest gestures, while day and night, generally by turns, little stories with many allusions, and always ending with a moral solution, are told.

/513/

B R 146 The scarcity of lipide foods, and, among the Boni, the low consumption of fruit might cause one to fear vitamin deficiencies. B R 575 In fact, there are no signs of it.

Body hygiene is excellent; Blacks and Indians bathe several times a day and are very fastidious about their persons.

B R 433 In summary, there is no appreciable difference in the customary activities, agriculture, hunting, and fishing, of the two populations. There is one in economic activity. Among the Boni, who have a greater need for imported objects, the adult men work B R 461 [465] for wages four to five months per year on the average. These jobs are very laborious and performed under bad dietary conditions, whereas the Indians rest when they are not occupied with their customary tasks, sometimes spending entire days stretched out in the hammock.

B R 177 The two populations have been in close contact for a long time. The Indian villages farthest downstream have immediate B R 177 contact with the first crop plantings of the Boni. Without having any tendency to merge (their characters and their customs are too different), Boni and Oayana have maintained regular relations since the end of the eighteenth century, doing a little trade in imported articles exchanged for hammocks and dogs trained for hunting. They often visit each other, and nothing stops the spread of illness from the one group to the other.

B R 105 In fact, the way of life of the two groups is the same, the environmental conditions have the same influence, and the differences which are observed in the pathology can only be attributed to a different sensitivity with regard to the principal illnesses.

B 164 [114] Pathology of the Boni. We shall briefly summarize here the observations of Dr. A. Sausse in his work Populations primitives du Maroni.

The pathology of the Boni is characterized by:

-- a resistance to malaria, which means that if the children have had attacks an immunity will develop with age; the size of the spleen diminishes regularly from child to adult. The adults have only episodical attacks which are not serious; in particular

/122 cont./

845 [621] Observation at Maripasoula, November 3, 1956. The wife of Baïna, boatman of the border-fixing mission, gave birth at Pikin Tabiki, small farming village where she works with her mother and the latter's husband. Baïna went to be present at the delivery.

It was very long and dramatic. According to Baïna, an Ogi sani had entered the child's body, making him stiff and impossible to extract. As a last resort they called a neighbor, T.... known for having a good gita. He called his gadu who revealed an efficacious remedy, since after the body of the sick woman was bathed with the prescribed leaves, the delivery ended successfully.

846 [515] Since we were leaving on our trip, it remained to find someone to take his place in fulfilling one of the husband's duties: cutting the supply of wood for heating the water necessary for the hot douches /showers?/ the mother was going to be given several times a day for about three months. He made an agreement for that with Kwata, his mother-in-law's husband, to whom he will pay about 1,000 francs. [465]

851 613 [603] Presentation of the child. On the eighth day the maternal grandmother (or great-grandmother if she is still living) takes the child and gives it to another ancestress of the same lineage, stationed in front of the house. The latter presents it to the family. Then the head of the lineage, without taking the child, goes to the fraga tiki to make an offering of tafia, asking the ancestors to protect it. [769] [778] [782]

For example, for the birth of A... (Lapé Tabiki village), son of O Yundu (L2, G60), it was Asakundu, grandmother of Yundu and great-grandmother of the child, who came to take him in the house and gave him over to her sister Térésa (L2, E57) to present him to the family (see genealogical table of the Lapé lineage, fraction 2).

/18o cont./

765 264 [613] Fintiman directs the ceremony. He divides all these dishes without distinction of origin into several lots, one for each lineage.

[515] All the guests go down to the wharf to wash in the river, then put on new clothes before participating in the ceremonial meal.

[613] The people of each lineage go to eat on their side; a bowl is carried to the people in mourning, like Alémin, who remain confined at home. But the near relatives of the three dead for whom mourning is going to be lifted take part in the ceremony.

765 About four o'clock the women are seen to appear again, carrying a small bowl of rice accompanied by a little fish and peanut sauce. They put them down on the ground at the edge of the mortuary shed.

Banana leaves are arranged at the edge of the shed (north wall, on the side facing the river).

The elders, seated on their little benches, gather together in a half circle. Fintiman and Bukuman take a little from each bowl, spread it out on the banana leaves. They call by name the dead for whom mourning is being lifted, Béniti and the young boys Tito and G..., speaking to them in a familiar conversational tone as if to living people whom one invited to eat.

Several persons come to eat a little of the food.

At 5:00 P.M. Fintiman has five small boys of five to seven years line up, each provided with a basin, in front of the food spread out on the ground. At a given signal they rush forward, each one carrying away what he could cover with his basin. They leave a little of it, which will stay there all night. The next day the left-overs from the buffet prepared for the living will be added to it.

/210 cont./

776 [825] The Bumba gadu, other gods of the same nature and equally feared, have as bearers other categories of snakes, principally the great anaconda water snakes.

[984] [812] The Vɔɔdũ, we have said, are feared; they can exercise on a lineage the collective curse called kunu. But, no more than the Kumẽnti do not represent a principle of good, they do not represent a principle of evil. Not all are so badly disposed toward men, and even if one of them is the enemy of a lineage, it is not for that reason badly disposed toward the rest of men.

787 178 [562] However this may be, the cult of possession of the Papa gadu is not at all in decline among the Boni. According to the cross-checking we have been able to do, of the 670 persons living on the French bank there are at least 40 to 50 who have a Papa gadu, the great majority of them old women.

787 784 /211/ The Voodũ /sic/ are much feared, and for that very reason much respected. They are oracles which are consulted very often, without consideration of the evil their kunu has done and will still do. A god which exercises the kunu but which is provisionally declared appeased may be consulted without danger; it is always assumed that in any case its bearer, if he respects its commands, has nothing to fear from it.

787 562 It is possible that, very unconsciously, women use the fear that the Papa gadu gods inspire in order to maintain their independence and privileged position in Refugee Black society.

153 791 787 [198] [178] [515] [824] [534] Instruction in possession appears to take as a pattern the same principles as that which correspond to the Kumẽnti. It involves the teaching of the Papa language; this language appeared to us to be in decline; in fact, it is used only for formulas of greeting; then the possessed people vaticinate in ordinary language. Instruction in possession also involves daily ablutions with decoctions of leaves; certain of these mixtures are particularly complicated (it is said that they include more than a hundred different kinds of leaves). Instruction is essentially individual; however it also includes dances; on this occasion a

/249 cont./

751 [787] Possession by a Kumẽnti gives, they say, invulnerability during the time of the trance, but in his ordinary state the individual remains vulnerable (they say only that in case of danger the gita "rises" immediately).

Someone who has a man nẽŋga ɔbia has no trances of possession, but they state that he is permanently invulnerable (except for breaking of the kina). In order to obtain this ɔbia one must have himself "washed" for a very long time by an elder who knows the leaves in question. He delivers them already crushed so that no one may be able to know this secret outside of the son or nephew to whom he bequeaths it.

It is necessary to continue to be washed four times a year for 15 days each time, to keep up the force of the ɔbia.

[515] During these 15 days one bathes three times a day, in secret (in principle nobody knows that you have this ɔbia). [834] During these periods one must have no relation with a woman, even to talk to her.

They state that someone who has a man nẽŋge ɔbia can be struck by blows of a machete and even receive a gunshot with impunity.

[173] They believe that this ɔbia, in the past called man feti ɔbia, was obtained by the ancestors at the time of the wars against the whites; still today it inspires an unshakeable confidence. /250/ In October, 1952 we saw M..., a man of 45 [164] [752] with great good sense, make a deep gash in his leg while cutting a liana, in spite of his ɔbia. Doubt did not cross his mind for a second: he told us that certainly he had unknowingly eaten something contrary to the kina of the ɔbia. Since we were working near some villages, he went immediately to find the master of the remedy to have the power restored. For nothing in the world would he have left for a long round of work in the bush with the feeling that he was at the mercy of an accident.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

484 recognized the coat of a village chief, and by the size of the
[501] boat he knew that it belonged to the upper river, far, far beyond the stretches he had yet penetrated.

He spoke the greeting in the faintest of whispers, out of
576 deference to a man of age and rank, and stopped his boat,
484 for this village belonged to his own clan, and it was here that he would get from his mother's sister the cassava
[262] bread which she had got ready for his journey up river. He got out of his boat gently; decorum demanded that he subdue his energy before the man of position. His palms rested on his knees for an instant, as he stood slightly
[516] inclined before the older man, and what questions he answered, he did in speech which was punctuated with the ceremonial stammering demanded by the occasion. He had put his toga-like cloth over him and stood hesitating whether or not to take his paddle to the village with him, for he was so well known here that this settlement was almost as familiar to him as his own. But at last he leaned down and took up his paddle. This mature formality, in a village where he was still often looked upon as a boy, was prompted perhaps by this meeting with the chief, or by the new feeling of confidence he had, since he was taking the Bakra's boat up the river. But here he was, going up the embankment with the firm, slow step of the stranger.

484 The old chief had already started, having first made his
180 sacrifice of rum to the spirit of his boat by squirting it over
[501] the finely carved head which appeared in relief on the
622 prow. And now, as he guided his canoe with the sure strokes
539 of his large steering paddle, he sang his prayer.

"*Kediamo, Kediampon,*
Mother of the River,
Sacred ancestors, and my a'ka,
I am taking this journey down the river,
I am going to the city,
Grant that I travel in safety,
Grant that the trip be joyous,
Grant that I meet with friends,

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Rice, especially when ripening, is attacked by birds, particularly the parakeets and parrots. These can destroy an entire 343 field in one evening. Sometimes the Djukas are forced to sit 136 up all night with shotguns to scare them off. Weevils and plant diseases are also common.

They have large sweet potatoes, known as yams, but no 262 white potatoes. Corn, which they call *kom;* okra, or *oko;* and peanuts (*pinda*), form a minor part of the Djuka diet. There are occasional banana and cocoanut trees, and some pineapples and breadfruit. Some few additional nuts and fruits are furnished by the jungle. Palm oil, of which they are excessively fond, is another part of the commissary. No journey is undertaken without a liberal supply. It is obtained by squeezing the nut or fruit of a species of palm, called the mareepa. To the white man it tastes like olive oil. Sugar cane is seen in a number of villages, as are domestic fowl. No cattle [231] or swine are to be found.

Thus the Bush Negroes carry on with courage and extreme hardihood under the implacable necessities of life in the enemy jungle, in which the white man has never been able to make his home successfully.

A common sight along the river is a Djuka black, poised 226 on a slippery rock in statuesque immobility, his bow flexed 516 and arrow drawn, shooting for fish.

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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"Cow Fie" (Cow Fly), Six Feet Tall, and "Moi-Man" (Nice Fellow), Two Expert Canoemen from the Upper Tapanahoni River.
Aucaner Tribe.

[Facing p. 166]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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Bush Negro Man, "Amehkimoi" (Makes Nice Things), with a Carved and Inlaid Pot Stirrer Which He Has Just Completed for His Wife. *Aucaner Tribe,* Upper Cormotibo River, Dutch Guiana.

[Facing p. 172]

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Fig. 7. Ten-month-old food-ground with high cassava. On the right, kapoeweri; weeds in the foreground. -- Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, Oct. 1952.

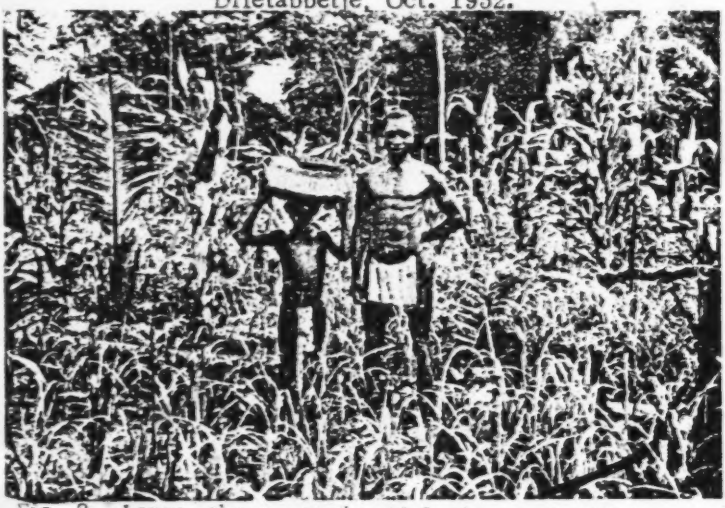

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Fig. 8. Large, three-month-old food-ground with harvestable maize and watermelons. Rice in the foreground. -- Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, March 1952.

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Fig. 9. Baking cassava bread on the iron baking plate (the "pan"). -- Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, June 1952.

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Fig. 10. Pounding the expressed pieces of cassava (in the pan in the foreground) to flour in a wooden mortar (the "matta") in order to bake bread with it. -- Marowijne, Albina, April 1953.

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Fig. 11. Threshing the rice ears on a sack with the feet. -- Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, June 1952.

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Fig. 12. The fruits of the pina palm are collected in a basket; a beverage is made from the fruit-pulp. -- Marowijne, Albina, April 1953. [272]

4: Geijskes--20 G,N-5 (1952)1954 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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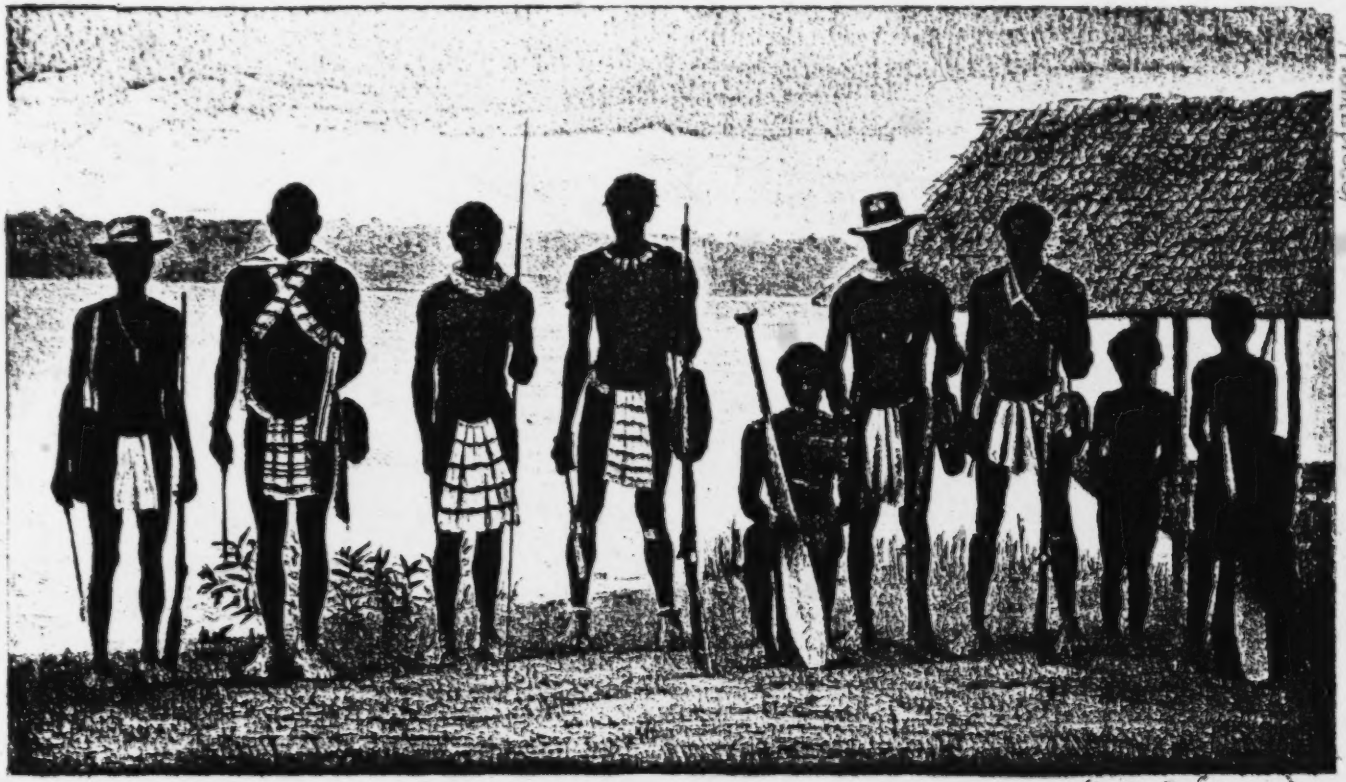
Fig. 13. The pitting of the maripa palm, from which the kernels (lying on a plate on a kerosene tin), after drying in the sun, are used for boiling edible oil out of them. -- Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, June 1952.

Fig. 14. Winnowing rice with the "kède," after it has been pounded in a matta. -- Tapanahoni, Granbori, May 1952.

3. Cosler--[illegible] R-5 (ca. 1857) 1866 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Frontispiece



Bush Negroes in the Colony of Surinam

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6:Hurault--10a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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Fig. 1. Boni type.

6:Hurault--245a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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Fig. 22. Offering of food to the ancestors.

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Fig. 23. Interrogation of the dead person.

Chapter Twelve

PRIMITIVE ART

THE sense of beauty is not absent in the jungle. The Djukas have definite æsthetic feelings and in their wood carving they have a well-developed and conventionalized art form. Art is highly socialized and universally appreciated among them. There are definite artistic conventions and common conventionalized forms. 517

Among ourselves the production of artistic objects is confined to a small group of especially gifted individuals, whereas among the Bush Negroes it is a regular part in the life of proportionately many more individuals. Common objects of everyday use, which among ourselves are designed for utility alone, are developed by the Bush Negroes into elaborate objects of art. They represent one of the most characteristic features of any Bush Negro village. One is sure to find in every village the carved plates and long-tined combs and pierced decorations that constitute the art of the Bush Negroes.

[For caption, see category 116, p. 204. — Analyst]

world, and they flung it at each other proudly, for it stood for the experience of making their way among strangers and earning sums with which to fill a large corial, and much else.

The men who had remained on the river found special pleasure in imparting to these returning ones some weighty gossip.

"At Gankwe they are burying Sedefo's younger brother," they said as the boats passed each other, and they went into the details of Zimbi's death and the kunu which was decimating the family.

"Asikanu has been charged with adultery by Matafo. Asikanu's family is offering a great fine, but it is far from settled yet."

All this was by way of preface. To come to the real news without casual preliminaries would have been the way of a child, but a Man Nengere, a full-grown Negro, knew better.

"Last year a white man came here with another one—a doctor. He said he would come back with his wife. He has brought his wife. He says they are going up the river. He says they are going to the Granman's country."

Up and down the great stretches of water as the boats passed each other, the news was given. Word and conjecture floated down river and into the creeks, reaching even the lower river Awka villages.

"The Bakra told me Awka is an African word. There is a place in Africa called Awka, and a people in Africa called Awka people. He knows Africa!"

"Kye, ba! Kye, mati!"

Word and conjecture were carried up river in the boats which were being poled upstream against the rapids. It would be some time yet before there would be legends, and songs about the American whites who had made their way into this bush. Now there could only be talk. The Bakra had a machine which talked back to you, if you talked into its horn, and when it talked back, it said the same thing you did, sang back the same song, and if you laughed, it laughed, too.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

484 And after they had inquired of each other's health, they
576 were well past each other, making in opposite directions,
521 but continuing their colloquy.

Bayo said, "I am on my way to the Bakra's camp. I am to be one of his paddlers. Today we start up the river. He is going to the Granman's country."

"I am going to Tunkahai. My sister's son died on the Marowyne. His wife is to come out of mourning. We shall have good dancing tonight."

Bayo's boat was disappearing in the bend of the river.

"Adiosi, adiosi-o. Adiosi, adiosi-o!" he sang out his goodbye, pitching his voice so low and so well that it seemed to penetrate not only the entire river, but the very thickness of the forest which hemmed it in. The response came back to him as a faint, cadenced song.

"Ooo oo oo . . . oo!" he sang out, placing his hand against his mouth to make the sound carry. And the answering call came back true as a bird's call.

484 Now he was in the rapids again, and stood at the stern with dilated nostrils and head thrown forward. When he was through the whirling eddies and in quieter water once more, he adjusted his loin cloth carefully and sat down and
[137] began paddling. The green-heart trees were beginning to bloom. Fine trees. They belonged to another clan. He and his great-grandfather went for their timber below. There was plenty of timber in this bush of theirs. The gods of the bush were strong, and the ancestors had done well for the country. In a week these channels would be gone. Right about him everywhere jagged rocks would show. In a week, or before then, they would play the drums for the gods of the river, sounding their call to the sun to come and dry and warm them, and the sun, hearing the call, would send his fire to the river banks, and the rains would end.

Was that a boat overtaking him? The cool of the morning was a time to be about. Who was that?

"Tio, greetings," he said to the man, who seemed in a
[576] great hurry.

"Thank you, tio. . . ."

241 361 away from the river? When the big rains come, the river goes up more and more. If our crops were too close to the water, then in the big rains the land would be flooded, and the crops long under water. . . . Yes, and we have to [136] think of the ants, too. Ants, once they find their way into a field, will destroy everything. They like especially the [137] green leaves of the young cassava plants. When the young leaves go, there is no cassava. So we move farther and farther away for our fields. Two, three years, and new fields must be cut, so that the yield might feed us all."

311 241 Once a field had been deserted, say, for five years, why did they not reclaim it later? we enquired, for by that time the big bush would have made fertile again the soil that had been exhausted.

"In this bush we do it like that. Why, I don't know. Our ancestors found much land for us. When we want new fields, we cut farther and farther into the bush."

5

As Bayo and Angita set off for the dance at Pa'aba, Kasanya and Sedefo joined us, and we talked of crops and [521] planting, of woman's work and man's, of good harvests and bad, and this is what was told us.

[462] Finding a new field and clearing it is a man's task. If a man is about to be married, or if the field a man's wife works has become exhausted, then he goes into the forest, near to the planting ground of his mother and to the fields of his family, and casts about for a place to clear. A field must not be in a hollow, or the crops will not grow, and rice needs the sun of a hill slope to thrive. Once having found a spot where the drainage is good, he looks about to see if the spirits will allow its use. Patiently, painstakingly, he goes from one clump of matted vines to the next, machete in hand, searching for signs of an ant hill, or an Akatasi tree that is sacred to the gods of the ant hill, or for snakes, or a natural clearing belonging to the Apuku gods of the bush. No silk-cotton tree must be there, no loko tree wherein dwells the god of the same name so near that it

311 241 77

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

AT THE COURT OF THE GRANMAN

Now it was the Granman's turn to supply the interpolations, while Kasanya and Bibifo reported. 622 576 579

"Yes, so it is. So I know it to be myself. So I have heard," he spoke when they paused.

But when the ceremonial greetings were over, and the conversation turned to down-river affairs, the Granman leaned forward in his chair and talked with the men informally. They were all clan members, or men belonging to clans whose allegiance to the Granman's rule was undoubted, and they talked over many things in the way men do when they meet with their own kind. 622 623 521 [614]

The room was growing darker. Yankuso called through the slatted wall against which he was leaning, and the young man who had fired the guns entered.

"Bassia, it is getting late. We must leave this house to the white man. These men with me are my friends. They must drink before they leave."

The bassia took the decanter from the table, and from the shelf underneath it, where we could dimly see shells and containers of shot, he took several small glasses. Before taking the glass to his lips, each man poured some of the liquor on the ground as a libation to the Earth Mother, and, as each drank, he turned to Yankuso and asked if he might leave. 576 573

"*Mi da permissi*—I grant you permission," he said to each.

When we had finished our meal, it was already dark. At the door of his own house, Granman Yankuso was sitting on a low stool.

"I have something for you," he said, disappearing inside his house. When he came out, he held in his hand some black object, which we were unable to identify. "You have fire?" he asked, as he suspended this object from a tree which grew between his house and the one in which we were staying. 354 579

"There was a white Hollander here who brought this to me. He went from here farther into the bush. He never came out. Light is a good thing at night. When visitors

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

437 The reply is short and spirited.

"Gimme."

Which does not have to be translated.

574 We sleep that night in the Bush Negro village. A dilapi-
609 dated hut is assigned us, the hut of a dead man. There are
136 tarantulas on the cross-poles; we are not particular. The paddlers sleep elsewhere, being taken into friendly huts about the village. Except for the ghosts of the departed Bush Negroes, our hut is quite empty. The hammock is slung and the mosquito netting put in place. Mosquitoes and insect pests are not as bad in the jungle as commonly reported. They seldom caused us any discomfort. It is true that one of the boys contracted malaria during an expedition, but the parasites may have been dormant in his blood for some time previously. Our precaution against malaria was ten grains of quinine sulphate each night before retiring under the mosquito netting.

512 Far into the evening the Negroes will sit around the camp-
[521] fire and tell stories, their loud, musical Negro laughter carrying a long distance on the night air. Walking by each hut we see a tiny light flickering inside. Occasionally an infant cries. We sit before our doorway, amusing a group of chil-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

314 shot enters the rubber but does not pierce it through. Little dents indicate where the shot is buried inside. With a pistol, however, the result is different. A bullet from a .38 calibre revolver goes clean through. After we have fired, a Negro detaches himself from the group and disappears in the bush. In twenty minutes he is back, bringing the bullet from the revolver. He had traced its course by broken twigs and [151] clipped branches, and finally dug it out of the side of a tree with his bush-knife—on the whole an extraordinary bit of woodcraft.

484 It is disgusting to find that we have to sleep overnight in this camp. The white man is thoroughly exhausted, able only to drop down on a log while the Negroes make camp. The bahkra's hammock is slung and a fire started. Monkey meat is the *pièce de résistance* of the evening meal.

[252 The monkey is not skinned; only the hair is scraped off. 262] Monkey skin is a jungle delicacy, but there is a humanly cadaverous look to the depilated body. Half of the meat is cut up and dumped into the stew pot together with rice and salt. [251] The other half is smoked liberally to preserve it for the morrow.

Not in the mood to take food which his stomach might reject, the bahkra dines on a can of salmon, with rice and tea on the side. The sun has hardly set when he falls gratefully into the hammock and ties the mosquito netting in place, ready for profound slumber.

521 He soon finds that sleep is out of the question. The Bush Negroes are sitting about the campfire swapping tales of

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

former hunts. What a noise they make! At the crucial point 521
of the story they imitate the explosion of the gun.

Excitedly: *"Me luku, me see one biggie teegre* (jaguar). *Me makke gunu go BOOM!"*

After shouting this last with the greatest volume that his throat is capable of producing, the narrator imitates the sound of the dead body crashing through the branches to the ground. All the thrill of the day's hunt is not merely remembered, it is re-lived in realistic detail. The snarl of the wounded cat, the gasping, baby-like cry of the wounded platyrrhine, bring forth appreciative laughter from the intent audience. Soon the next man tells his story; the bond of sympathy is so close that they all go BOOM together. One jungle inhabitant has triumphed over another, in memory.

While we curse in our efforts to sleep there comes through 533
the darkness a Djuka folk-song. It conveys the pointed moral of a man who thought himself very clever, but despite that he is now sleeping at the bottom of the river:

Cony mong,
Cony mong,
Dede na leeba.

or, "Cunning man, cunning man, dead in the river." At least, we reflect, with the sardonic grimness of tortured insomnia, he is now able to sleep.

/206 cont./
153 containing seeds). Sometimes, when a god has entered a pupil,
791 the teacher puts the latter's passivity to the test by insulting the
787 god with the help of the drum. The Kumẽnti gets angry, breaks
786 bottles and swallows ground glass, walks in the fire, hits him-
[789] self with machete blows, all without any wound resulting, they say, on the body of its bearer.

[302] These frenzied dances, whose participants completely covered with pɛmba (white clay) are as if hallucinated, have a bizarre aspect which is perceptible to some of the Boni themselves. They do not have any secret character and constitute,
[522] on the contrary, a fine spectacle for the village people. The spectators double up with laughter at the contortions and strange actions which the gods inspire in those possessed. They are
[521] talked about at length /207/ afterward in the evenings, humorists imitating what they saw done there, without any fear whatever of irritating the gods.

791 Each "teacher for Kumẽnti" owns a small gadu ɔsu in
787 which are lined up the implements of the cult. One finds in
346 general in these chapels a post crudely carved in the shape of a human bust, a block of stone, jaguar skulls, some kɔkɔti (shrub stalks with a spontaneous double bend, thought to be the prop of spirits in the bush), and a saka (maraka), the whole sprinkled with white clay (pɛmba). One finds also beside the door a seat and a trough which are used for the ablutions of the pupils.

153 While bathing his body with the infusion of leaves pre-
791 pared by the teacher, the neophyte repeats, in ordinary language,
787 a series of invocations: "Come to me, enter into me. But be-
788 fore entering into me, it is necessary to teach me the things of thy country; O God, when thou art in me, may I be able to dance on broken glass without its cutting me; may I be able to dance in fire without its burning me. If tomorrow someone takes a machete to hurt me, he shall not be able to come forward. If someone takes a gun to shoot me, (his weapon) must break, must not be able to take off. If someone is sick, make an ɔbia for him, he must recover."

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

that we walk the Bak'a with pleasure, that he treat us well, that we walk in safety. Thank you." 484 [782]

The men in the other canoes, who had gathered about Sedefo's boat, clapped their hands, as Sedefo had done, and said "Thank you," then took up their paddles.

We had noticed that when Sedefo spoke, Bibifo's lips had moved, as though he were either repeating the prayer, or speaking his own, but when the others joined in the voiced "Gran' tangi!" he was silent.

"Did you pray, Bayo?" we asked. Yes, he had. He had prayed for us, too. Did Bibifo also pray for the white man? But before Bibifo could answer, Bayo laughed aloud.

"Bibifo is *kerki suma*—a church man. Call him Adrian, it will please him. I call him Bibifo, nothing else."

"And you, Bayo?"

"I—you will take me with you to Africa. I want to learn African obia, and come back to the Saramacca, and be a big obia-man here on the river." [152]

5

Old Bibifo accepted his great-grandson's jibes with good humor. We were sorry for the old fellow who was so little at ease with the other men, and was so mercilessly twitted by the youngster in the bow. 888 522 578

If the old man were to make a suggestion to him about a channel which Bayo had decided against, then he would turn brazenly, and exclaim, "Massa cow!" This is part of the proverb which says that a man who owns the cow has the best right to say where it shall graze. If Bibifo objected when Bayo attempted to do something that seemed impossible, he would face about smilingly and say, "The power which has raised the monkey from the ground and taught it to live safely in the trees is not dead yet." [538]

"Bibifo," we said, making conversation with the old man, "Why do we go close to the shore?"

"In the center the current is swift and the river deep. When we go in the center, then we use only paddles. It is 502 484

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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603 were told that kambo was an abbreviated form of kambosa, and meant the woman who makes trouble.

"He is my grandson, he calls me wife, and I call him [522] husband. We joke together about everything."

Up and down the river we heard these expressions from the old men and women with whom we talked, and to them these were all-sufficient explanations of the relationship of grandparent and grandchild. This making free was a verbal give-and-take that did not stop at brusqueness or teasing. Indeed, those who indulged in this freedom might discuss with each other any phase of the sexual life. Nor did they need to resort to any evasion or circumlocution. There seemed, moreover, to be a sanction for emphasis on the obscene and the lascivious in these conversations—obscene and lascivious, that is, from the point of view of those who were themselves speaking!

603 The effect of the custom is interesting. It acts as a form 187 of release for the young, who are held down under the strain of paying respect to those who are older and of greater experience. It is a way of escape from the discipline imposed by the parents and those of their generation.

What did the Bush Negro make of it?

We talked about it with men and women of many villages, and invariably the answer was the same.

"So we live in the bush, white man, and so we do. Our ancestors did this before us. Long ago our great ancestors brought all this knowledge with them from *Neng'e Kond'e* —from the land of the Negroes."

Yet in the beliefs of these people, and in their life as they live it, there are to be found a few suggestive hints which seem to have some bearing on this custom of verbal license between grandparents and grandchildren.

603 The Bush Negro child is given many names at birth, [551] and one name is usually that of a departed ancestor, a deceased grandparent. It may be, then, that this puts the child on a plane of spiritual equality with his grandparents and with those of their generation who are related to him. There is, also, the feeling about the propriety of the mar-

2:Kahn 5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

The blacks admire the bahkra's shotgun and rifle—beautiful, well-oiled weapons which they love. They gaze through the barrel of the shotgun to see the clean bore, and make a comparison with their own meagre, fouled guns. They sniff at the rifle, however, because it shoots only one bullet. How can a man get game with a single ball? Explanations of the high power of the shell produce no effect upon them. 224 648

We load. Canned goods, rice, bacon, tobacco, coffee—enough for five days. The provisions are packed in the wicker rucksacks, along with hammocks. The start is made. Walking through the village, the packers exchange jests with Negro women who pause to watch us go by. The hunters are teased regarding the amount of game they will bring back. [522]

After a half-mile walk we reach the new cassava fields in back of the village at a quarter of six, as the sun is rising. The women are already at work. Beyond lies the game trail. It is simply a slight path through the jungle brush, with occasional pools of water through which we wade. Idle toucans eye us from nearby palm trees. A flurry in the bush off to the right indicates the escape of an agouti, but we are not quick enough to see it. The agouti is a kind of giant guinea pig, called by the natives *cony-cony,* meaning "cunning-cunning," because it is hard to outwit. The Bush Negroes are eager to get some of this sweet, succulent meat.

Within an hour the last cassava field is left far behind and we are in the "high bush." The tops of giant trees are lost to sight a hundred and fifty feet overhead. Their massive trunks are buttressed with branches that have grown back 224 648 137

/75 cont./

692 685 [224] The Djuka had killed the tapir which had sunk. Pressed for time, he had had to leave, requesting the Asisi people to look for it.

The next day Pototo and Amusupé found the animal floating [251] between two waters. They hid it in the bush and had it smoke-dried on their own behalf. They ate it with their wives (about 100 [262] kilos of meat).

That ended up by becoming known, and a jealous man denounced them to the grand man.

Called before the lãnti kuutu, they had to apologize and were each sentenced to pay as a fine to the grand man a demijohn of 15 liters of tafia (worth about 6,000 francs) within four months.

[735] Both of them were at a loss to pay this fine, belonging to the category of ne'er-do-wells who have no regular activity and live from day to day, selling some fish or game from time to time.

[613] Amusupé appealed to Captain Konduku, head of his lineage, who agreed to pay for the tafia for him, Amusupé reimbursing him little by little.

[613] As for Pototo, the head of his lineage refused categorically [689] to help him because he had eaten the maïpouri alone without allowing his family to share it (the village people would have found it normal to profit by the crime, but they deemed it immoral that [123] one of their relatives had deprived them of meat). After three and a half months, Pototo began to occupy himself seriously at a paid job which he had the luck to find because we needed a bossman for two weeks.

577 626 [522] The Boni did nothing but laugh while telling us this story. Affairs of this kind, which do not involve any suprahuman intervention, escape in large measure their social morality; they have a certain feeling for what should be done, but submit to it only in proportion as they fear a material and immediate sanction.

/124 cont./

551 [577] (the best), Poyman (strong man), etc.; along the same line names are often given such as Goutu uman (golden woman);

--Often, finally, the name is the contraction of a short

551 522 sentence expressing a joke or a ridiculous association of ideas:

Agimianèm (give me a name), Nâfiimoo (it is no longer for you), Afumidichi (that one is for me), Sanidialobi (thing he likes), Agoabuchi (he goes into the bush), etc.

Woochia is the contraction of sa u ɔ si ya? (what shall we see there?), expressing the surprise of a woman who was seeing herself pregnant for the first time after 15 years of sterile marriage.

/125/ In this kind of name, in several cases it is a question of a joke with respect to the child, for which he will have to suffer all his life.

Ex.: Amoyanéti (he is pretty in the night), name given to a child who was very ugly.

Poété (convict) is the pikin nɛm of B..., a man about 42 years old in 1957; he never clearly understood why his mother had given him that name which he could not get rid of, his comrades taking malicious pleasure in calling him by his pikin nɛm.

This bad joke had so much success that it was put into circulation two more times: in Boni country there are now two Poété and a /female/ Poétéuman!

551 553 This example, associated with many others, shows the casualness with which the Refugee Blacks choose their children's

[522] names. We have been present several times at discussions concerning the choice of these names; they proceed in an atmosphere of crude farce. B..., with whom we have just been concerned, who had had to suffer from the name his mother had given him, called one of his nephews Canada because it is the country in which are manufactured Evinrude motors which he admired very much.

/185 cont./

765 538 About eight o'clock in the evening, people assemble around the mortuary shed where the drummers and mato (Anansi Toli) storytellers sit. Amèmbé, of Loka village, begins to tell a story which is scarcely listened to, the audience remaining noisy and distracted. The respondents punctuate his discourse with approbations: "hiya ba! na so!" At several [522] passages of the story (when Anansi has succeeded in deceiving his victim), the audience shakes with laughter, the drums beat, the storyteller and his respondents sing and dance. Little by little the audience warms up, participates intensely in the story.

Another tale follows, told by Adiiso, head of the Dju lineage (Asisi). The audience is overexcited, the interludes [535] of dancing become more and more numerous and longer, everybody, men, women, and children take part in it.

765 About eleven o'clock the dances are going to begin in the order susa, sɔ̃ŋgɛ, awasa; at six /186/ o'clock in the morn- [535] ing the next day the awasa dances are carried on. Part of those present go down to the wharf to go home, showing no apparent fatigue.

Fifth day, Nov. 12. Nothing happens in the morning. The people take some rest.

At 3:00 P.M. the young men go around dressed up to the nines; people visit each other from one house to the other, they drink and sing.

765 About 3:30 the basia circulate in the village, calling the 262 women to bring the ceremonial meal. Tables are set out under 264 the shed. The women each bring a big bowl or basin of cooked rice (about two kilograms of rice). Some add a bowl of sauce or cooked fish. No meat.

The basia lay out all that on the tables. There are about 30 bowls or basins (which represents a handsome effort, the rice harvest having been bad), about 50 bottles of soda, several boxes of pastries /biscuits/ and Dutch cheeses.

/206 cont./

153 containing seeds). Sometimes, when a god has entered a pupil,
791 the teacher puts the latter's passivity to the test by insulting the
787 god with the help of the drum. The Kumẽnti gets angry, breaks
786 bottles and swallows ground glass, walks in the fire, hits him-
[789] self with machete blows, all without any wound resulting, they say, on the body of its bearer.

[302] These frenzied dances, whose participants completely covered with pɛmba (white clay) are as if hallucinated, have a bizarre aspect which is perceptible to some of the Boni themselves. They do not have any secret character and constitute,
[522] on the contrary, a fine spectacle for the village people. The spectators double up with laughter at the contortions and strange actions which the gods inspire in those possessed. They are
[521] talked about at length /207/ afterward in the evenings, humorists imitating what they saw done there, without any fear whatever of irritating the gods.

791 Each "teacher for Kumẽnti" owns a small gadu ɔsu in
787 which are lined up the implements of the cult. One finds in
346 general in these chapels a post crudely carved in the shape of a human bust, a block of stone, jaguar skulls, some kɔkɔti (shrub stalks with a spontaneous double bend, thought to be the prop of spirits in the bush), and a saka (maraka), the whole sprinkled with white clay (pɛmba). One finds also beside the door a seat and a trough which are used for the ablutions of the pupils.

153 While bathing his body with the infusion of leaves pre-
791 pared by the teacher, the neophyte repeats, in ordinary language,
787 a series of invocations: "Come to me, enter into me. But be-
788 fore entering into me, it is necessary to teach me the things of thy country; O God, when thou art in me, may I be able to dance on broken glass without its cutting me; may I be able to dance in fire without its burning me. If tomorrow someone takes a machete to hurt me, he shall not be able to come forward. If someone takes a gun to shoot me, (his weapon) must break, must not be able to take off. If someone is sick, make an ɔbia for him, he must recover."

/269/

538 Doubtless for the same reason, nothing is found in most of these tales which brings to mind a moral inspired by a concept of good and evil. Now it is the thief and the swindler who triumph, now they find one cleverer than they. It is easy to see that for the storyteller all that is on the same plane; he simply guided his story on what seemed to him most amusing. [522] As for the audience, it always laughs at the loser. One single tale out of 14 (No. 1) expresses a practical moral: "That is why you must not deceive people, for there are people who are cleverer than you."

Most of the tales and proverbs have already been heard many a time by the Refugee Blacks without that lessening their pleasure. More than the story itself, they appreciate the verve of the storyteller, his mimicking talent, the always new variations he knows how to give of a hackneyed theme.

538 All these tales were recorded with the tape recorder and then were studied carefully with respect to vocabulary and syntax. We have stayed very close to the actual wording and as far as possible have kept the special Aluku turns of phrase, especially African interjections which reinforce the verbs. The tedious passages which had to be summarized are put in parentheses. Tales nos. ten to 14 are summarized.

*539

Tales

1) The Bearded Rock

One day Anansi went into the bush. He walked until ... he saw a rock, a rock with a beard. He cried: "Bearded rock!"

*539 /285 cont./

12) The Brother, the Sister, and the King (summarized)

There was a brother and sister. They were in the greatest poverty. They went through the country looking for work, until they arrived at the king's home. The king told them: "You are looking for something to live on; I wish to see a little elephant, I have never yet been able to see one. Find one and bring it to me, I shall reward you."

Then the brother said to the sister: "I am going to cover thee with cloth, hide thy head, fasten a rope around thy waist."

This he did, and they went on the road to the king's house.

She turned her back to the king and while her brother held her at the end of a rope, danced, as I shall show you.

• [522] (The narrator executes a burlesque dance, bent over double, his back turned toward the spectators who shake with laughter.)

Then the king said: "I don't need to see the front of the elephant, he is too ugly."

/286/ 13) Anansi and the Toclo Partridge

The toclo partridge had made a large clearing. Since she used to go to it by flying, she had made no path for going there. One day Anansi passed by, he saw this clearing in the middle of the uninhabited forest, without any road leading to it. He said; "It is God who has made this clearing for me," and he marked out a wide path from the clearing to his house. The partridge arrived unexpectedly and said to him: "It was I who made this clearing." Anansi said to her: "I do not believe you; if it had been you who made the clearing, there would be a road."

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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implied), and he repeated the word over and over, until this led us to talk about singing, and at last we had them consent to dance susa for us. It had to be done very quietly, in the slight clearing in back of the shelter. Susa is an African dance. It is danced by men only, in pairs, and is something of a game. The one who wins "kills" his opponent. The earth spirits are said especially to like it, and it is danced in the fields or in the villages for them.

There they stood, Yamati and Sabape, facing each other, their enlarged navels almost touching. One agreed to be "in," and one "out," and as they began, their jaws came forward in a patterned, pugnacious way, and their arms moved to reproduce in pantomime shield and spear, while the feet crossed and recrossed.

Kesi-kesi g'a S'sa
Zond'o linga
Linga-li

The monkeys
Go to dance susa
Without rings.

Huh, huh, huh!

They sang the song over and over again, panting at the end of each verse to dramatize combat.

"I killed him," said Yamati. He had won, and they began again. If the one who had agreed to be "in" had his foot on the outside as they clashed, then he lost—he was killed.

4

As they were dancing, we noticed a young man we had never seen before. He was standing watching the youngsters at their play, smiling as though he enjoyed their contest. He was very dark, even for a Bush Negro, short and stocky, with unusual muscular development of arm and chest and thigh. His age, one would judge, was nineteen or twenty. He turned his smile on us when he realized we were noticing him.

KUNU

"*Na ma' taki: Efi gbuli wolo, i sa ri san de na isi.*—It is said: If a person stirs up a hole, he will find what is in it." 558

And so it was that very night, when we were camped on an island near the great falls, with the roar of the water sounding in our ears like the very signal drums we were told the river gods wanted sounded that the sun might come and warm and dry them after the long rains, that we learned more. Kasanya, the captain of the fourth boat, had conducted himself so unobtrusively that we barely knew he was there. He was almost as old as Bibifo, but strangely silent. He was tall and spare, with graying hair, and eyes that were rimmed with red. We had not sought him out particularly to make conversation with him because he had ugly, open sores on his body, the result of a virulent case of bush yaws, which showed when he sat paddling in his loin cloth. We had known him during our first year when he had been more willing to be friendly, more ready to talk. From him, in fact, we had learned to play one of the Bush Negro games that the ancestors had brought from Africa. 124 [177] [524]

Kasanya came over to ask us whether we had medicine for him. His head ached so until . . . he could barely see. There is that about white man's medicine in the bush, it is to be had free, and there is no harm in trying it. 123 60?

"Will you make us a game board like the one we bought from your village last year, Kasanya?" we asked him.

"Yes, but you must have two of them, one flat and one curved like a boat. It is not good to have only one. When a man is alive he plays the game. When he dies and comes back to visit the living, he wants to play, too. Now if there is a board for him, he will play on that. But if there is but the one, he will play with the living and that is not good." 115 524

"You know a great deal, Kasanya."

"Awa, yes, but I'm an old man already. I've had much trouble. Last year after you left the third son I made died. Now I have no one. Kunu has taken the three of them, and my wife is asleep, too." [114]

The man looked so moved by what he told us that we had qualms about continuing the conversation with him about his dead family, and so we asked him about the game board. "Why is it, Kasanya, that young Amnika of your village said he could not make us a game board, fine carver that he is? You yourself know that the board is just a piece of wood with holes in it for the seeds. It is not beautiful; there are no decorations on it."

"It is because he is young. His hair isn't white like mine. Making an adji board is a big thing. It's not a little thing. It is on this we play when the body of the dead lies in the house of mourning to entertain his spirit, his yorka. Only an old man who has lost his wife may make a board for this game which is played for the dead."

"But suppose he did make it?"

"Then he would get a kunu, Bakra," he said with an impatient cluck which was intended to deplore the white man's inability to understand simple things.

And so again we came to kunu, and since he himself had brought it up, we decided to stir the hole once more to see what was in it. Kasanya talked with less hesitation than we had come to expect. It is easier for an older man who has had experience with the spirits and knows their ways to talk about the supernatural. He understands what he may and may not do, and then, too, with his greater knowledge he can tell more without offending the spirits who disapprove of a man's telling too great a part of his store.

"Yes, Bakra, kunu is a difficult thing for you, a white man, to understand. But we black people know what brings kunu. Many things bring kunu. Look, I made three children. Fine men all three. One died, the second died, the third died. . . ."

This was his story. His wife's mother's brother brought the curse on his family. He had cut a new field, and the trees he had felled and the brush he had cut had been lying for some time, as was proper, that the dead wood might be burned off to clear the ground so that the ash might enrich the soil.

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more than a year before her father's death and therefore had not saved her mother from mourning.

"My sons are big so," she showed, pointing to the mortar, "and already my brother takes them with him down the river, and when they are with him he tells them about the creeks and the trees, and where the villages are which are friendly to our people. But when they come here to see me, then they play. They have play guns and play arrows which they make themselves. Into the uncleared bush they shoot them until I call them away to eat. Here I have no man from whom they can learn. Here they only play."

But boys liked to be with men. When the rains came, her brother would let them sit by when he carved, and, seeing him work, they would take up a knife and begin whittling. That was how boys learned to do men's work.

Women children played with "gosai." She put down her pestle, and felt about in her cloth where the child slept, and brought out a gourd, resembling in size a small cucumber. It had beads on top for eyes and a few deft cuts to indicate nose and mouth, while above the eyes was crosshatching for the hair. Until girls were old enough to be of use in the fields, they sat about in the clearing playing with these dolls.

"When they are four and five, then they like to work."

There was, of course, dancing. All dances were opened by the children, and at six and seven the girls knew seketi and awasa, and bandamba, and the boys danced susa.

"Do you dance susa?" we asked the Granman's five-year-old grandson, who was standing with us beside the widow.

"Ai," he said, but once our attention was turned to him he said also, "White man, the children say you carry money in this." He touched a water canteen which hung from the stranger's belt. "I know it is water."

He knew also that shaving cream was soap, and not white people's sacred clay, and now as women came with bottles for the white man's obia water—a name they gave

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cloths, their hair disheveled, their faces without the glint which the oil gave to their dark skins, and their eyes without the touch of dark flame which the gleaming skins brought out. One of these women stood leaning against a doorpost trembling. Her hands were clenched, and her mouth moved without pause, and without sound. 787

"She hears the agida?"

"Ai. She wants to dance, but she can't. Her god is troubling her."

The white woman must not stop with them longer, and she must not come closer, the two women who stood beside their quivering companion called out at once, for the obia which she wore about her neck would be contaminated if brought too close to them, and its power to protect the wearer against danger would leave it at once.

"Do not come too close. Tomorrow I will return to my house, and after I have bathed and washed in pemba, I will be clean again, and then I will come to see you," the younger of the two women said.

The other said, "When you go there," and she pointed toward the woman's path, "do not go by the way of the broken calabashes. That is the unclean way. It is the path [341] for the women who stay in this house."

Down the clearing the white woman continued until, 343 when she turned, the open cooking shelter of Bassia Anaisi's quarter faced her. The floor of the shelter was of red clay, raised well above the clearing itself. A woman was laying a fire there, putting down the long sticks one end close to the other in the center, so that they radiated outwards in what seemed a perfect circle. Her child, who was fitted out with obias on neck and wrists and right ankle, sat [524] near by watching her, and playing with a gourd doll.

The voice of the agida had a moment before died down, 533 and now a song reached the white woman. It came not from across the river, but from somewhere directly behind the houses grouped about the clearing beyond the cooking shelter. The song was a repetition of several melodic phrases, sung in varying rhythms, so that it had a disturb-

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"About half of them, I guess," he said.

5

When we returned to camp, Kasanya waited for us. He had come with the game boards he had promised to make for us, the adji game which was played in the house of death, and which the fine carver in Kasanya's village could not make because he was young, and a man needed to have a wife under the sod before he was fitted to make it.

Kasanya had taught the white man to play the game the year before, and though the white man had had much practice in playing it at home, Kasanya won one game after the other with ease.

With the white woman he would not play, nor would any other man—not even Bayo who showed so much indulgence toward the strangers. It was this way, Kasanya explained. A man knew that a woman could not beat him at the game, much less a woman who did not have the cunning of their bush, and would not, therefore, be expected to excel in what pertained to the life of the bush. But if the gods became capricious and allowed the white woman to win, then it would be more than a man could bear to be twitted up and down the river about it. Songs would be made up about it, and stories and proverbs. Master Nigger! A man would be a fool to risk it.

When Kasanya had gone, Bayo came back from Gankwe where, it seemed, his errands now took him daily. The sun was still high enough so that a game might be played before the hovering ghosts who in life had enjoyed the game would take their places beside the players, and play unseen at this game board with the living.

"Do you play adji, Bayo?"

"*Awa! Suma no de!*—Sure! No one better!"

But it soon appeared that Bayo had brought too much self-confidence with him from Gankwe. He was promptly beaten, and beaten again.

"*Suma de, Bayo!*—Someone better!"

The boy grinned. "*Suma de, a,*" he acknowledged.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930)-1931
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The decoration of
177 objects with cowrie shells comes by way of Africa. The
[328] monkey dance said to be practised by the Djukas is described
[796] as similar to the gorilla dance of the West Coast. The coiled wire bracelets and anklets are of African design, and the
[301 291] general mode of dress is the same.

The Djuka attitude toward the silk-cotton tree is common among the tribes of the Guinea Coast. "Throughout West
[824] Africa from Senegal to the Niger the silk-cotton tree is regarded with reverence and believed to be the abode of a god or spirit. This general consensus of opinion is no doubt due to the stupendous size attained by some of these trees, which tower far above all others of the forest."

[524] *Adji-boto,* a game in which seeds are placed in round holes in a board, is played not only by the Bush Negroes but also by the Town Negroes of Paramaribo; it is found along the Gold Coast, Benin, Sierra Leone, West Sudan, and, in modified forms, in many other parts of Africa. The fish spear
[227] of the Djukas is found in Liberia, Mandingo, and the Gold Coast. Shooting fish with a bow and arrow is an African
[726] custom, but it is also widespread among the aboriginal Indians of South America. On the other hand, according to Dr. W. Roth of Demerara, a number of traps and hunting devices now used by the Guiana Indians are of African origin and have been borrowed from the Negroes.

[372] The Djuka fire fan, woven of split rattan, is borrowed from the Arawak Indians, but different types of the same device can be found also among the Tshi- and Ewe-speaking people and in Liberia, Cameroons, etc. The Bush Negro

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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were born, such as Monday-child, Tuesday-child, and so on. 000

The boys of about seven to ten years of age form them- 857
selves into groups and play at hunting or fishing, or canter in and out of the village. There seems to be very little organized game playing among the children. For that matter [525]
the adults have no organized games aside from that of gambling with the *adji-boto* board. The little girls play at house making, or follow pursuits of a less arduous nature than do the boys, and to them in particular is given the care of the young children, although the boys often do their share in this matter. The arts of hunting, fishing, canoe work, and [868
jungle craft in general are usually taught the boy by his ma- 604]
ternal uncle, or by some other male relative of his mother's family, and less often by his actual father. At irregular intervals there are canoe races, and the young men indulge in [526]
wrestling as a pastime.

We know of no initiatory rites for ceremonially admitting 881
children into the tribe at puberty. Among the Aucaners, however, the boy does undergo a slight ceremonial to indicate that he is at last a full-fledged adult. Most of the children of both sexes are entirely nude, and no notice is taken of the [291]
fact. At about the age of ten the boy begins wearing around his waist a string of singrassi, in anticipation of a loin-cloth. When the maternal uncle judges that the boy is old enough, he stands the boy up before the entire village, assembled for the purpose, and gives him a loin-cloth and camissa. But first the uncle rips off any cloth that happens to be on the boy's body and draws attention to his nudity. Everyone is told to

/290 cont./

426 here, 5,000 there. But these loans are never large and do not constitute an effective process for grouping financial assets.

157 525 The so-called subscription societies so common in Black Africa are totally contrary to the thinking of the Refugee Blacks, in the same way as games of chance. In 1958 the Maripasoula post, on the occasion of a festival, had organized a tombola. When the principle of it was explained to the Boni, they were unanimous in thinking that the Europeans had odd amusements. Few of them agreed to buy tickets, and the ones who had not won anything left embittered, with the feeling of having been involved in an immoral operation.

157 571 High esteem attached to contracts. This inaptitude for forming groups and combining assets contributes very much toward crystallizing the society of the Refugee Blacks in its present form by opposing all large-scale initiative. On the other hand, 157 577 it develops the sense of personal responsibility. The Refugee 426 Blacks are especially strict with respect to money (1).

[648]

1. This with regard to their mutual relations; as for debts to Europeans, they are not prompt in paying them back; but marked deception, borrowing done for the purpose of swindling, are very rare with the Refugee Blacks.

[829] Custom lays down as a strict principle that everything must be paid for. No one may live at the expense of someone [613] else, no one may borrow without paying back. If a man died before repaying a debt, the members of his lineage would club together to pay it off.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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Chapter VIII

PARENTS, CHILDREN, AND GRANDCHILDREN

I

512 WE WERE aroused early after our night of stories. The women were moving about, getting their morning meal before daybreak came to give them light for their harvesting. There was much they had to do. Late that afternoon they would be returning to their villages, for the next day was sacred to the Earth Mother, [527] and no work could be done in the fields. Today, added to the round of harvesting were the preparations for the return to their village. The rice that had been cut during the week would have to be carried there for drying and winnowing, and yams and peanuts and beans were to be brought in.

136 Not far off, in the bush, the "baboons" were crying. We had been told how these howling monkeys lived in bands, and how they had an "old man" for leader. Their strange cries, ringing through the forest, sounded like despair made articulate. A terribly moving reiteration of four or five wailing notes went on and on, rising slowly in volume, until their cries blotted out all other sounds, and then, like a wave receding, diminishing until quiet reigned again. But when we had given up listening for its distant echo, there it was again, filling the darkness of the clearing with despair, until, at its very height, we heard the low, penetrating grunts of their "*G'aman*—Chief" and instantly all was still. They were done for the night. With daylight, they would go deeper into the bush.

123
675
[501]

/3 cont./

request the captain residing there, Kwassi jenni, to man all the available korjalen (3) and to send them around to the camps of

3. Small vessels made out of tree trunks.

the Bush Negroes, in order to notify all the Aukaners /Aucaners/ /4/ in that district that I, sojourning entirely by myself among them, wished to see them all together so as to have the opportunity, in the place to be determined by them and in accordance with their manner and customs, to take the oath of agreement to remain at all times faithful to one another.

Three days were spent in deliberations and consultations among various captains, council members, and elders, before I could succeed in obtaining their consent for this.

[527] Finally, however, it was decided to have the agreement ceremony take place on Friday (a day that is holy among them), when the sun reached its midday point.

On this day, around eleven o'clock in the forenoon, one of the oldest and most influential among them took a clean teacup, put in it some dram mixed with herbs, and took a few finely ground plants which he moistened with river water and squeezed over the cup.

I and seven of the most important people then had three small slashes cut into the right hand with a razor. The blood from this, having been taken up with a little flock of cotton, was also squeezed into the cup, and the cotton washed out with river water and wrung out so often that no more signs of blood showed in it. The one and the other having been thoroughly stirred in the cup, the latter was placed on a stool in the open air. At twelve o'clock exactly, a great number of men, women, and children gathered around the stool on which the cup stood, by the side of which they placed me.

Three gunshots were fired. Among all those present a profound silence reigned, whereupon the cup was offered, first to me and then to the other seven persons whose blood was mingled with mine, in order to drink a draught from the contents, whereupon it had to go around to all the men so that, however little, they would

/259 cont./

241 776 [532] [831] [778] [643] [782] Cult of Mama gɔ̃. Mama gɔ̃, mother of the earth, is represented by a crude statue of white clay provided with enormous breasts, symbol of fecundity, which can be seen in a little hut situated on the open place of Boniville village. Each year, when the time for cutting the clearings approaches, the grand man, surrounded by many other people, prays to the god to grant fertility to the plantings. If rain does not fall, an offering of water and tafia is made and the statue is sprinkled.

811 The Boni do not appear to associate the idea of women's fecundity with that of the fertility of the soil, and we have not heard anyone say that the grand man prays on this subject.

241 776 Neither do they appear to have a very clear idea about the relationships of this worship with that of the gɔ̃ gadu, local gods of the soil.

796 535 787 Every three years a great possession dance takes place in Boniville on January 1, /260/ in which the Papa gadu gods dance in front of the sanctuary of Mama gɔ̃. We have not been able to obtain specific information on the meaning of this rite.

241 776 [784] Cult of the gɔ̃ gadu. It is assumed that every portion of land is under the sway of a local god, gɔ̃ gadu. Its power is limited only by the fertility of the soil, and he who neglects its worship cannot be attacked in his person or in his goods, but only punished by a poor harvest.

What is the nature of these gods, what is their place in the cosmogony? These are questions which not one of our informants had ever asked himself. In their minds, gɔ̃ gadu has a de facto existence, and is rendered de facto worship. This worship consists essentially of:

[782] --Offerings made at the moment of planting;

[527] --The observance of a local day of rest, kina dɛ, corresponding to the god's day of rest.

/260 cont./

241 776 In order to observe these rites suitably, it is important then to know in which god's domain are situated the lands one is cultivating. On the banks of the great river, the division of the lands among the gods of the soil has been well
241 776 known since the time of the ancestors. By summarizing the kina dɛ of the farming habitations, one realizes that the do-
527 main of each god is extensive; it occupies several kilometers along the banks. It is often thought (but not everywhere) that the two banks are controlled by different gods. For example:

Downstream from Boniville, right bank: Wednesday;
Toward Kormotibo, right bank: Thursday;
Toward the mouth of the Inini, both banks: Wednesday;
Toward Simayé Falls, both banks: Saturday.

On those days one may do nothing related to agriculture, and in particular one may not dig in the earth nor plant. If absolutely necessary one may go to pull up tubercules.

What one must avoid above all is handling tools which make noise and could disturb the god, except in the immediate vicinity of the water which is not under its control. However, one may shoot off a gun.

This kina dɛ is observed more strictly than Friday, the general kina dɛ in Boni country, which appears to be related to the cult of Mama gɔʒ. On those days people mend boats and especially go hunting and fishing.

241 778 Offerings are made in a purely individual and local fashion; in each farming habitation is seen at the approaches to the wharf a worship place formed by a simple meat-drying rack decorated with pennants of several colors, on which the offerings are exposed; even if this habitation combines people of diverse kin groups, there is only one place of worship.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

439 "I heard that you are buying things we make, as you did last year in my village. I have come with balata from my uncle, and I brought a stool to sell. Would you like to see it?"

And so Bayo brought us his stool. It was not well carved. Indeed, compared with even the least skilled carvings on benches and combs and trays and food-stirring paddles, the workmanship was crude. But one does not refuse a proffered article bruskly, and we sat down to talk with him about it.

531 322 It was Bayo who gave us our first insight into the meaning of Bush Negro designs, gave us our first information about this, as about so many other customs and practices. What is carved on the wood which the men work with such care has significance, and carries meaningful symbols which the Bush Negro is unwilling to reveal. That there might be symbolism in the art we had before suspected, but usually, when we asked, we heard the skillful evasions of which the Bush Negro is master. He did not know. Only the carver himself could say, but the carver was away or long dead. Or we would hear that it was carving, that it was carved to beautify it, that it was of an in-and-out design. Or, with carefully pointing finger that indicated the ornamentation, the Bush Negro would say, "This is wood."

531 So we talked to Bayo about his stool, expecting to hear one of the usual replies. But this time and without any urging we heard what we had so long wondered about. "Look," he said, tracing out the lines of the interwoven pattern, "this is a man, this a woman. This is her head, those her breasts, this her womb. Here are his head, his arms, his legs. We call this *womi-ko-muye*—man-and-woman. Here are the children which they will make," and his hands traced another series of designs on the top of the stool.

439 789 We bought his stool, and he stayed and talked of many things. Did we want to buy an *obia*—a charm? One day he would like to become an obia man. Already he could make obias which protect the wearer when he walks on the water.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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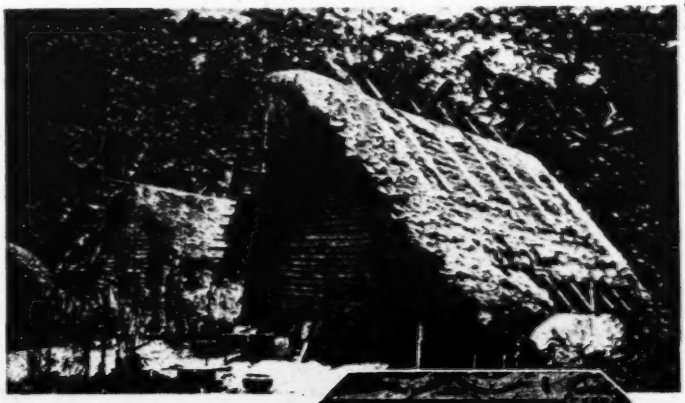
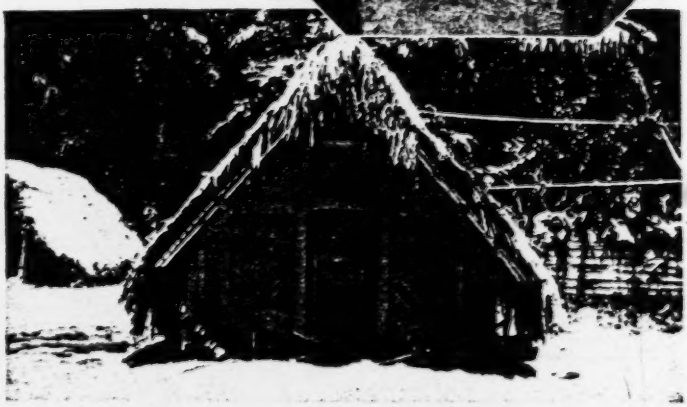


Dwelling houses.

Carved door of a man's house (*right*).



A *gudu wosu*—man's personal house.

[Facing P. 130]

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

family. The children of the second wife belong to the 595
family of the second wife. A woman calls her husband's other wife by the name of kamboso. Do you know what kamboso means?" he asked, laughing. "*Kamboso*—the woman who makes trouble for me. So, you see, we people of the bush learned from our ancestors to give each wife her own house, where she might live with her own children."

But not alone the woman needed to have a house of her 347
own. The man, too, built a house for himself. In it he stored 423
his possessions. It was his sanctuary. No woman might enter it. On the carving of its door, a man lavished all his [531]
love of ornamentation, all his artistry.

"A man likes to have his own house for his possessions," explained Kasanya. "If he is a rich man, it is better that his wives do not know how much he has. You know what women are. They always ask for presents. But if a man is not rich, then it is better still that his wives do not know it. If they know, they will make life hard for him with nagging. They will talk of leaving him. And all the village will know, too."

In this house, then, which a man built for his wife, the 592
children were reared. Sometimes, it is true, if the harvests 604
were poor or the father had met with ill luck, the mother's [858]
brothers would come for the children, for children are the
ones to carry on the line. It is through them that clan rank [928]
and material goods are inherited.

But if all went well with the father, then the attachments 592
of the household were the closest, and they continued even 768
after death. For the household was not entirely disrupted after the death of a parent. Unless the one who died had been a sorcerer, a leper, or a madman, the house where he lived was not torn down.

"When a man dies," Kasanya said, "the wife goes on 768
living in the house, once it has been purified. If a woman dies, then the man keeps on living there."

"What of the children?" we asked. "What becomes of them?"

11 Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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Saramacca

village. A household was not confined to one building only, but few who were not men of rank and means had more than three. One was for the woman and her children, another for storing the crops, and the third was the man's treasure house, where women might not come. It was like the matter of wives. Only men of position could afford more than one. But if a man had two wives and both lived in his village, then perhaps five huts would bear a design identified with him on the carved side posts which outlined the low doorway. This design would recur in the various carvings he had made for his women—it was his crest. And though a man from another village, who was not related to him, might like it, and liking it copy it, this practice would be socially frowned upon.

A village quarter, however, did not contain only dwelling places, and storehouses, and men's treasure houses. Certain families also had in their part of the village an enclosed shrine for the family gods. If in a given family a powerful Vodu, or snake god, had come to an ancestress and had in a dream, or in a seizure, or through a revelation made to an obia man, chosen her as his *'asi*—his priestess or medium—then with this disclosure came the instructions for the place of locating a house of worship to that Vodu, and the type of house it was to be. Such a shrine, once erected, would be kept in the quarter, and worshiped by the members of that family. Sometimes in front of a dwelling hut, a low enclosure, the size of a small kennel, would stand a little to the side of the door. This was a house to Toné, the river spirit. In one such house lived a woman who had a great Toné god. She had the gift of prophecy. When the men gathered for a council meeting in the village of the Granman, then she, too, would sometimes be bidden to come and sit with the men, though, being a woman, she could never speak at council meetings.

"Touch her skin," the other women said, pointing out this albino woman, "and you will have your desires fulfilled."

In each quarter, too, there was an open house where the women did their cooking, and perhaps a platform or two,

344 to be admired for their artistry, but there also for ceremo-
352 nial purposes which were never divulged. When one of these benches was later taken down to show the magic of paper which, placed on the top of a carving and rubbed with black crayon, reproduced the design beneath, the Granman looked startled, and then ordered that it be replaced. Nor were other rubbings allowed.

●531 On both sides of these massed benches were many objects
352 which could barely be distinguished in the half darkness of the house. There were guns and canisters, there were a few native brooms, and several wrapped parcels.
[559] There was also an apinti drum on which the gods were
[MB] addressed. Not even at Ma'lobbi, where the chief, a famous carver, showed us many remarkable products of his art, did we see designs worked with the fine, sure lines or the beauty of individual motifs such as were traced on this apinti. The carving was in relief and covered the entire surface of the drum, which stood about three feet high, curving outwards from the top, and resting on a narrow circular base which raised its body about six inches from the ground. It was covered with a deerskin that use and exposure to the atmosphere had stained unevenly to shades of amber.

344 Facing these carvings was the door which, itself of
MB wood, swung on wooden hinges of native fashioning. In
530 relief appeared the Earth Mother, and surrounding her were the symbols of fertility. No man, not even the Granman
[695] himself, dared speak her name in this council house. At trials, when oaths were taken, she might be appealed to, but to call her idly would bring down her wrath on the Granman's clan, and, perhaps not stopping there, since the council house was of all the clans, she would revenge herself upon all the people of the Saramacca River. The carving was more beautiful than on the apinti which stood against the opposite wall. The greatest artist on the river had made it.

"That man had the gods, ya-hai," the men said, when we talked of the Granman's carvings.

they told us, though never willing to name the villages where they stood, whose walls were most elaborately ornamented with symbols marked in red and black and white, the three sacred colors which appeared on the stools and which the men used for painting their faces and bodies for the dances. On the upper river we had been told that these shrines were in the villages below, and on the lower river it was always intimated that it was up above where the great shrines stood. We had been told of stools which were whitened with sacred pemba, and blackened with soot in the *Fa'aka Pen* houses—the houses of the ancestral spirits—and of the covered whitened vessels which were in the Vodu and Aguku houses, the shrines for the bush and snake deities, placed there for the spirits when they chose to animate them.

So we found it in this house dedicated to the spirits of the bush.

The hut was narrow and long, with walls of woven palm, and a floor made of hard smooth clay into which bare feet had nevertheless worn grooves. To one side of the door stood a drum of the type called *tumao*—the long drum. It was cylindrical, and narrowed but slightly toward the bottom. White clay had once covered it, but now there were irregular lines of white marking the cracks in the wood.

On the other side of the door, against the same wall, lay several large balls of clay. These the old woman was keeping for the obia pots she would make from time to time. Among the Negroes of the town as well as in the bush, these black pots, made by women of the bush, were held to have great magical potency.

"I never make too many pots at once," the old woman said. "I make them for myself as I need them and for the young people of the family." A woman who had not passed her period of childbearing could not make them. "Obia pots are things for old, old women. I cannot tell you about making them."

Leaving these lumps of clay, the woman led us farther into the enclosure, until we stood in front of a raised altar

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"The openings in the wall there," she explained, when we asked her about the two squares cut into the wall behind the altar, "are for all things that fly. In this place they must come and go as they like. Bats come here, and insects of all kinds, and when they want to go back to the bush, they must be able to go as they like. That is the wish of the gods. So they told us long ago."

6

We were led from house to house. The gods had spoken. We were friends, and as friends who came not to harm, we were given the hospitality of friendship. There were other shrines, but we did not have to ask about them. They were pointed out to us with the other sights of the village.

The closed low hut near the Apuku shrine we had entered was to the river god Toné. It was a very small enclosure, and before it was a plant which covered the low entrance. It belonged, we were told, to an albino woman who was possessed by Toné. But she was not in the village now. Farther down the path was a larger house, another shrine. This had a piece of iron over the door and, when we asked about it, the girls who were following us ran, and the men merely said that it was the place of the Kromanti obia and passed on.

As we continued on our way, each woman was anxious not to have us slight the house her man had built her or fail to admire the carvings that were inserted into the weave of the palm walls. The huts were swept clean—the cleanliness of the entire village was even more striking than that of others we had visited—and but for a few stools, which were brought out for the strangers while they spoke with the old people who lived in the quarter, they were entirely bare. In every house, however, there was sure to be a shelf, large or small, or several shelves, on which stood prized food trays with carvings which covered both inner and outer surfaces. Combs and food stirrers were taken down and shown us, and the calabash dishes made by the women

353 themselves, and the blade-like pieces of gourd which they
531 used for spoons, and which bore the same symbols as the
415 dishes.

"Our men make fine things here in the true, true
462 Saramacca," Dida said when we entered her quarter, and
531 sat in her house. "Look at the carvings I have."

Her body was still white with pemba. Her manner was still a little vague.

"Did you dance this morning?"

"Ai."

"We heard the agida drum play when we were in the
776 council house of the Granman."

"Ai, Kesekia is a big god. When he comes, his voice is
787 strong."

But she showed no willingness to talk, and we could tell by the repeated twitching of her body that she had still to dance to her god. Leaving her we continued up the path toward houses we had not yet visited. The white man, with a man who was guiding him and the bassia from Asindopo Lantiwe, walked ahead, while the children crowded about the white woman who was giving them safety pins which they at once put in their hair.

"There is the Vodu house," said the man who acted as
778 guide, and he led the way through the low doorway into
346 the hut.

Inside, though smaller than the shrine to the gods of the bush, it differed from it but little. It had the same clay floor, the same raised altar on which stood stools washed in white clay, and several covered, whitened vessels, an image, and the round balls of clay.

"May I go closer and look at the image there?"

"Yes, go."

[352] The stools resembled those in ordinary use, but whatever design they may have had was obscured by the white clay which covered them. The vessels were not unlike those in
[415] the other shrine we had visited or those which rested on the heads of village gods which stood under low, roofed-over shelters on the main village paths. Turning, the white man

THE ARTIST OF MA'LOBBI

As we walked toward the chief's house we looked about us, seeing again the evidence that here at Ma'lobbi there were men who knew how to carve wood, seeing why it was that our paddlers had spoken of it as a place for fine work. 322 531

"Ai, at Ma'lobbi they are good carvers."

Here was a house with its doorposts elaborately carved; there a beautifully worked rice tray, lying where it had been left by the woman who owned it, until she should need it later in the day for winnowing her rice; farther along a great bench stood, with the designs cut through in a fluid progression over top and sides. [342]

The captain was in the lower portion of his two-story house when we entered. Several of the older men, who had been present at our earlier visit and who remembered our gifts of tobacco, came to join us, as the news of our arrival spread through the village. Soon the women were standing about, motioning to the white woman to come with them. 123 609

The house in which the captain received us was larger and more imposing than the others in the village. It was his *gada-sora*—his treasure house. Its lower portion, where we sat in conversation with him, was where he worked. Above, where none of his wives might enter, his wealth was stored. Here he kept the pieces he had carved, and from here drew from time to time the presents he gave his wives. Here lay the wealth which his nephews would inherit when he died. But below, in the partially open shelter, was his workshop where he fashioned rough logs into stools and paddles, combs and food stirrers, trays and canoe seats, and all manner of objects which he and his women used in their daily routine. 342 556 [408] [302]

All about the walls hung tools. There were machètes, whose sharp blades showed a reflection of fire from the sun which slanted on the wall. We had never seen so many of these bush knives on display, nor, for that matter, such an array of tools anywhere on this river. From projecting boards or nails driven into posts hung several compasses, their hinged arms sharp-pointed, so that the craftsman might describe the perfect circles on the wood he carved. 342 353 412 [413]

REBEL DESTINY

353 This they had learned from the whites long ago, and
179 now everywhere on the river compasses were seen, or
413 carvings which showed their use. The machete, the small
412 sharp knives which lay about here on the work-table, the compass, and sand made up any Bush Negro carver's tools. But here at Ma'lobbi in this workshop of the captain were tools from the white man's city, collected by himself on his journeys down to the government office to receive his yearly allowance, or by his men who had been to the French shore and learned of the ways of the outside world. There was a plane to make the blade of a paddle smooth as the skin of a child, and there were two others in addition to this one, we were assured, in the treasure house of the upper story. Hammers, too, were useful for making boats, and even for smaller carvings like benches. There was also a bit and auger, though we were never convinced that the captain himself had ever put it to its more prosaic uses.

"I have many more up there," said the captain, pointing to the upper story. "I like them. If a man likes his tools, then they help him in his carvings. As he sees with his eyes, so they cut. I have always liked my tools, white man. I have spent much time with them."

291 A young man sat to one side shaving down a block of
382 wood with a knife which he held.

"He is not carving," the captain said, following our eyes. "He is making a piece for this," he explained, indicating a plane. "Now is not the time for carving. There is too much to be done. This is the time for cutting wood, for taking the rafts down the river, for making boats, for bleeding rubber trees for the white man, and for hunting game. When the great rains come, then men sit about and carve."

322 As he spoke our eyes traveled to the various carvings
531 which stood about the workshop. In one corner leaned a paddle which caught our attention because of its darkened color, and the patina which long use had given it, so that it
[350] seemed made of ebony. Against another wall were several stools, all richly ornamented with carvings, while beside us,

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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and so close that our hands, moving about to find a rest, touched its top, and sounded an involuntary rhythm, was an apinti drum. We exclaimed at its beauty, for in form and carving it rivaled the one we had admired in the council house of Granman Yankuso, and we were determined to try to buy it. But we turned our conversation to other things. A stranger in this bush soon learns from the Bush Negroes to broach an important request gently, remembering the cautioning proverb spoken by the chameleon.

We talked of carving, of the white man's coming back some year when the rains were heavy to sit by and watch the men make paddles and benches, so that he might learn, as children learn.

The captain was politely skeptical. It took a Saramacca hand to do this work. But he smiled, "Ma kye, if you have the gods anything is possible."

"That's a fine paddle in the corner."

He brought it out, and we admired it. Would he sell it to us?

"You must ask its owner."

"Didn't you make it, captain?"

"Yes, but it is not mine to sell. I gave it to my wife." He would see, however, if she wanted to sell it. He would himself go and call her.

As he went, he gave us the paddle that we might examine it. We ran our hands over the smooth top, the design, the beveled blade. It was not so tall as the paddles used by the men, nor was its blade so broad as those used in steering the great boats through the rapids. In form, it was quite different from the round-bladed type used by the Indians of the region, for it was slender and came to a sharp point, and at the other end the carving formed a crutch-shaped hold into which the hand fitted.

We studied this carving. Parts of the design had meaning for us because of their realistic treatment. The motifs of others were recognizable to us from explanations we had been given of other carvings. But there were still details

531 The greater part of these carvings men made for women,
431 and it was a rare woman who did not take pride in the excellence of the carvings given her, though often it must have been the pride in something which had traditional value, for it would be false to assume that among any people are all men equally endowed with creativeness and all women with sensitive appreciation of what is created.

462 As among so many peoples, two or three types of art
530 were to be found. There was the same sex division in the
300 art of these people as existed in all other aspects of life, and the men were the wood carvers. The sharpest division in the art of the men was that between the secular and the religious. The religious art was crude. A block of wood, roughly shaped, with several cuts to indicate a face, perhaps a break in the line to represent the neck, and a few more strokes in the wood to differentiate the upper part of the woman's body, and there stood an ancestral image, or a village god. Often white clay was added to this, and sometimes alternate stripes of white and red, or white, red, and black, but when seen on a village path underneath a low open shelter, what color there once was had become
[178] weathered to a dull gray. The sacred art also included the
[189] charms called obias, worn on the neck, and about the upper
[301] arm, or wrist, or below the knee, or at the ankle. Many of these made pleasing ornaments. The white fiber dipped in red clay became a deep golden brown as the sun paled the crimson, and there would be the added color of a finger's length of blue and orange parrot feather, fastened inside the woven fiber square, and extending below the fringe of the weave. Into this woven square cowries might be sewn, two facing each other, or three, or four.

532 There was also the art of modeling, but this was so secret and so specialized that we were assured that not even all Bush Negroes knew of its existence, and modeled objects appeared only in the most important of the shrines.

With the religious art might also perhaps be grouped the red and white striped crooked sticks of the Kromanti

301 his much-loved ornamentation. Leg-bands of cotton cloth are frequently worn by both sexes, and where wire can be secured it is fashioned into arm or leg coils and paraded proudly.
[751 Many necklaces and bracelets are used because they con-
778] stitute magic amulets against evil spirits. Our own bracelets and necklaces can probably be traced back to this same origin.
302 The hair is another means of personal decoration, and therefore it is always dressed with deliberation. Carefully made partings divide the black skull into geometrical designs.
834 Despite the scanty nature of their clothing, the Djukas are quite modest, and never expose themselves. If a bahkra does, they avert their heads. It is a curious reflection on civilized morality that the almost naked blacks possess a large amount of dignified restraint, while the uncomfortably clothed white man is shameless in his nudity.

322 Here and there inside the dark huts can be seen bits of ex-
531 traordinary wood carving. These are not crude utensils; every stirring-paddle or comb is a work of art worthy of a place in a museum, designed and executed in a way that is
437 far from "primitive." The only way to acquire these objects is to bargain for them in Dutch money or tobacco, or cheap knick-knacks. Among the more distant villages money is use-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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Youth of the Boni Tribe Playing Dance Music on the "Apenti" or Signal Drum. Marowyne River, French Guiana. Drum Carved from a Single Section of Tree Trunk.

Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History

[Facing p. 58]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Paramacca

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Drums from the Paramacca Tribe. The larger one is the Nanda, the small one the Baboula.

Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History

[Facing p.60]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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An Aucaner Mother. Note the Cassava Cakes Cooking Inside the Kitchen.

Photo by Curiel

[Facing p. 64]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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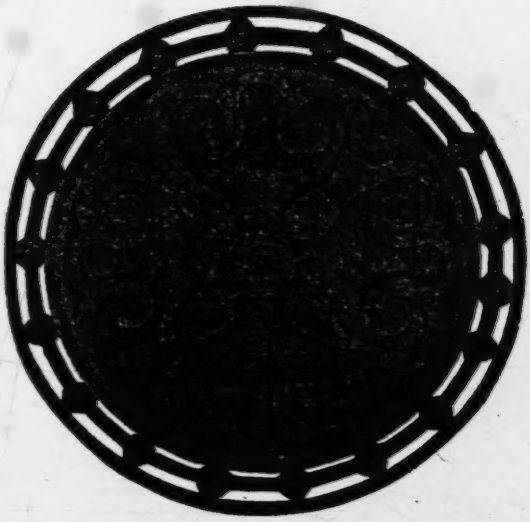

Tray Three Feet in Diameter Carved from a Single Section of Tree Trunk. *Boni Tribe,* French Guiana. Four Stylized Human Figures Showing Arms and Trunk.
Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History

[Facing p. 72]

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
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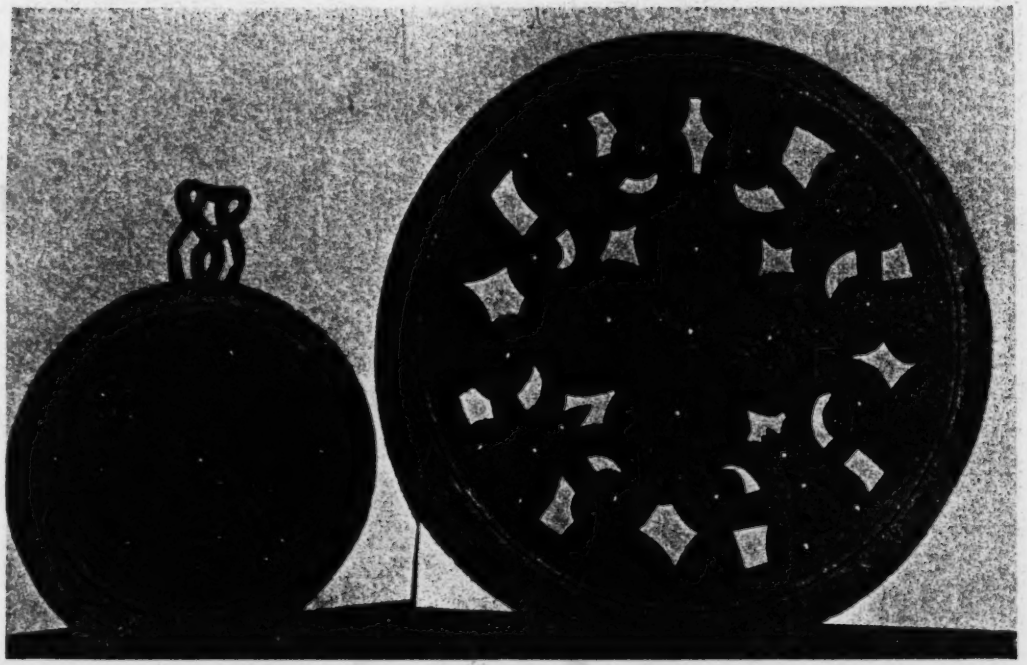

Carved Wooden Trays for Carrying Food. *Saramaccaner Tribe,* Upper Surinam River.
The Central Figure on the Smaller Tray is That of a Dancing Woman.
Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History

[Facing p. 76]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

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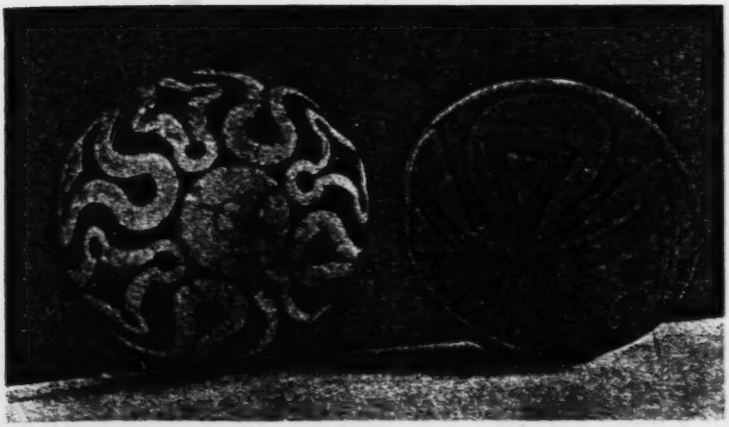

Carved Calabash Gourds Used as Plates. *Saramaccaner Tribe*, Upper Surinam River.

Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History. Photo by Herbert Heller

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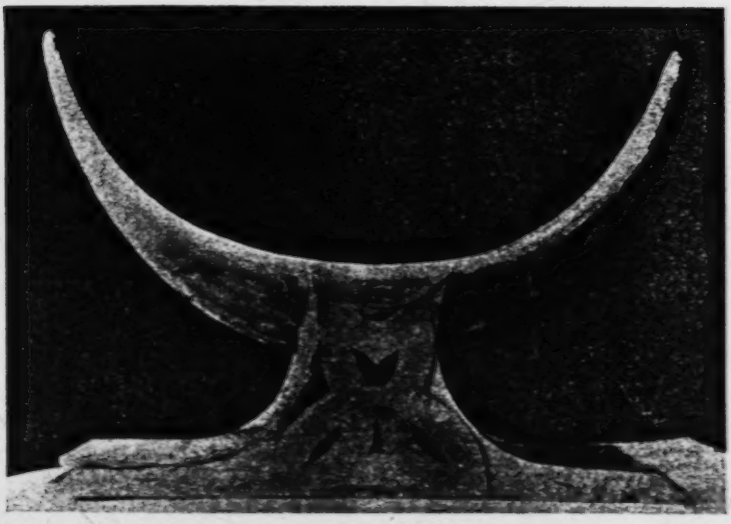

A Bush Negro Stool, Three Feet Long, Known as "Lebba Bangi" (Moon Stool), Taking Its Name from the Moon in the Crescent Phase. *Saramaccaner Tribe*. Stools of almost the identical nature are found in the Ashanti region of West Africa. This motif is probably one of the most striking West African Survivals.

Photo by Herbert Heller

[Facing p. 80]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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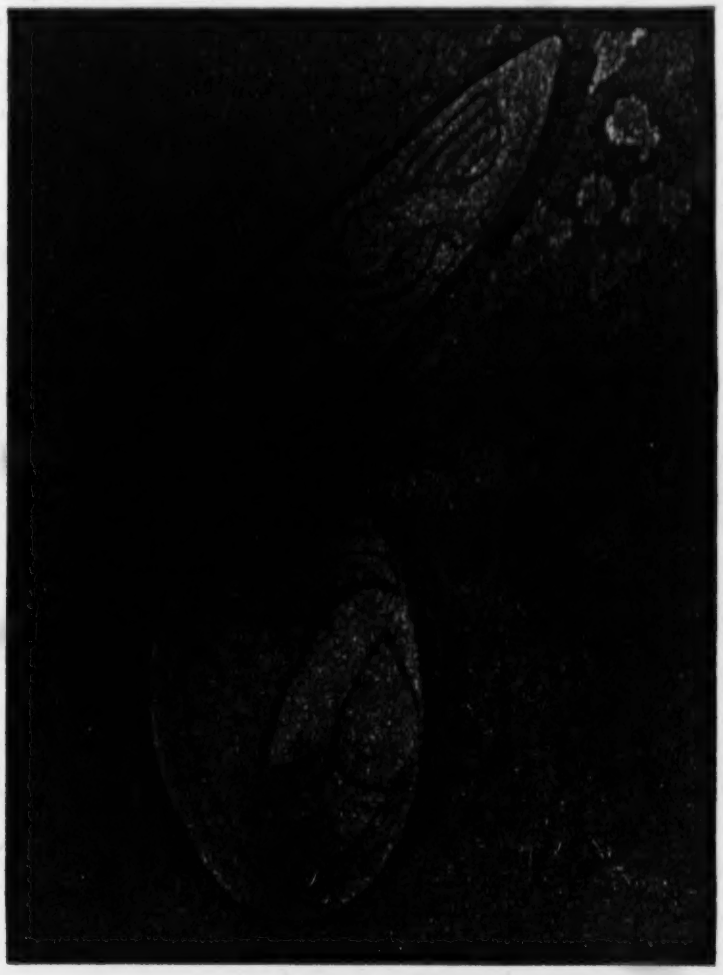

Plate and Spoon of Carved Calabash Gourd. *Aucaner Tribe.*
Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History

[Facing p. 88]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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Bush Negro Men Visiting Paramaribo, the Capital of Dutch Guiana.

Photo by Klein

[Facing p. 98]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner
Saramaccaner
Boni

619 184 In general appearance and culture the Aucaners vary little from the other large tribe, the Saramaccaners.

[531] The art motifs and their treatment as displayed on the Aucaner wood carvings as a rule differ from those of the Saramaccaners. On the other hand, some of the pieces were found to be practically identical.

The Aucaner talkee-talkee also differs from that of the Saramaccaners, the former being more like the speech of the Town Negroes. The Aucaners have no deepee-talkee or odo as have the Saramaccaners, but they have a dialect known as *Koropina* where a *p* or an *m* is spoken before the vowels in a word for the purpose of confusing strangers. A similar custom is prevalent among the Negroes of Curaçao, Dutch West Indies.

[197 195 191]

[591] The dress of the Aucaners is the same as that of the Saramaccaners, excepting that they affect more often the breast-cloth, the *wutsepangye*, and the head-cloth, the *mutu*.

Among the Aucaners the toga garment is called the *yembak*, while it is called a camisa by the Saramaccaners. The barrier of palm leaves is called *chifunga* by the Aucaners and *ezang paw* by the Saramaccaners.

[262 606 189] The system of food taboos and general culture are the same. There is no mother-in-law taboo among either the Aucaners or the Saramaccaner tribe.

[161] 648 The Boni tribe, which consists of about 900 people, is descended from escaped slaves who crossed the Marowyne River into French Guiana and who were allowed to remain there unmolested by the French authorities. This is the only

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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An Aid to Busy Mothers.

[Facing p. 105]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

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Bush Negroes of the Saramaccaner Tribe, Upper Surinam River.

Photo by Klein

[Facing p. 110]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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A Bush Negro Mother on the Lower Saramacca River.

[Facing p. 112]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Surinaccaner

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Bush Negro Women of the Saramaccaner Tribe.
Photo by Klein

[Facing p. 122]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

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Combs and Pot Stirrers with Chains. Each is Carved from One Piece of Wood. *Saramaccaner Tribe*, Upper Surinam River.

Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History.
Photo by Herbert Hollze

[Facing p. 124]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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Bush Negro Man and Women of the Aucaner Tribe from the Tapanahoni River, Dutch Guiana. Note scar tissue decoration on face and chest of woman at left. The central figure is "Moi-Man" (Nice Fellow), one of Dr. Kahn's guides.

[Facing p. 128]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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A Bush Negro Woman of the Boni Tribe with a Carved Wooden Flail Used Instead of a Wringer, for Cloth. The right hand holds a tin containing an infusion of tobacco leaf and water.

[Facing p. 156]

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2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

Bush Negro Men of the Aucaner Tribe. Note scar tissue decoration on faces. Cottica River, Dutch Guiana.

Photo by Klein

7/162

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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"Cow Fie" (Cow Fly), Six Feet Tall, and "Moi-Man" (Nice Fellow), Two Expert Canoemen from the Upper Tapanahoni River.
Aucaner Tribe.

[Facing p. 166]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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Bush Negro Man, "Amehkimoi" (Makes Nice Things), with a Carved and Inlaid Pot Stirrer Which He Has Just Completed for His Wife. *Aucáner Tribe,* Upper Cormotibo River, Dutch Guiana.

[Facing p. 172]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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Carved Woden Board for Mashing Peanuts.
Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History

[Facing p. 176]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

531 In the combs, paddles, and other pieces of wood carv-
322 ing illustrated in this book, the most casual observer will discern a great beauty of form and design. The sense of line, the feeling for balance, combined with elaborate conception and execution, compare well with the productions of the highly sophisticated artists of our urban civilization. All of the wood carvings, collectively known as *sanni* or *timbeh,* follow certain traditional patterns. The individual motifs, however, are products of the individual imagination, and, judging by the variety and originality of the designs shown herewith, that imagination is evidently quite fertile.

[462] All the carving is done by men. There is a ceremonial significance to this. These wooden pieces are tokens of love.

Love in the jungle is not the etherealized sentiment portrayed by Victorian novelists. When a man and woman
[531] want each other the satisfaction of their desire is easy and immediate. The people are largely promiscuous among themselves. Under such conditions the existence of romantic sentiments is an impossibility.

822 Individual preference does, of course, exist, and this im-
322 plies courtship. A man may want a woman who does not
431 want him, and this implies wooing. The wooing consists in presenting the woman with specimens of sanni. Thus, every piece of wood carving is a token of love and affection, presented by a Bush Negro to his woman. The woman who accepts sanni from a suitor accepts his love along with it. The man naturally stores up a quantity of sanni in expecta-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

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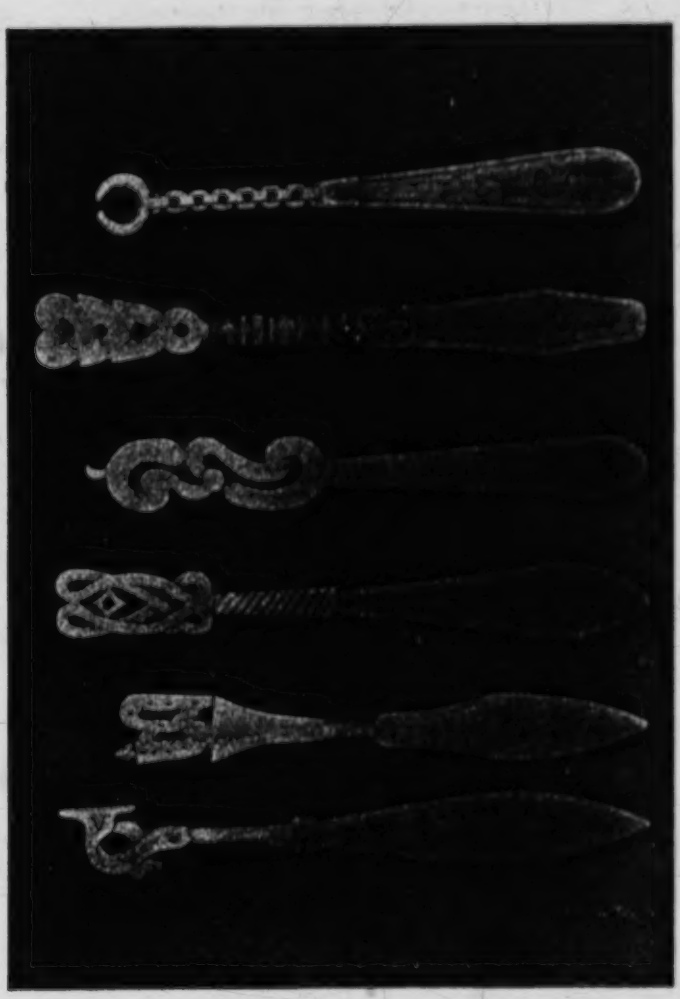

Pot Stirrers. *Saramaccaner Tribe.*
Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History

[Facing p. 194]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

number of pieces. The first of these is the snake motif. It 532
takes the form of serpentine coils and twists, fancifully involuted and superimposed. The same general design is also interpreted as a liana motif, referring to the twisted tendrils of the jungle vines, convoluted and snarled. The second most important is the chain motif, an attempt to duplicate the links of iron chains.

The vulva motif is commonly found, and is consciously employed as a love symbol. The natives have no hesitation in [533]
interpreting this design as referring to the female genitalia; it is impressed on articles as a symbol of desire. The bill-bird, or toucan, provides another motif that can be recognized on a variety of pieces. Another West African survival is the [171]
bone motif, for the human scapula is frequently seen conventionalized on calabash objects. A few of the white man's objects also furnish themes for wood carvings, such as the rifle stock.

Other motifs are entirely without symbolic intention, and 531
represent symmetry and proportion only. The cross-hatch and notch motifs are African in origin, and can be found on West African objects. Other details of execution vary widely, without especial significance. The tines of the combs may be rounded or square. The food paddles may have two handles and one blade, or two blades and one handle. The size of the pieces varies considerably, from small combs a few inches long to the great six-foot canoe paddles. Outside of the vulva [532]
and penis motifs there is little erotic symbolism. 532

A peculiarity of Aucaner wood carvings is the system of

/10 cont./

574 The politeness shown toward a guest springs from the idea that unknowingly one of them might easily take the very piece that the important person wished to have, and although no comment would be made on this, it could nonetheless happen that this would trouble the guest for whom they cherish special respect, 818 or that he would thereby consider himself insulted. It is particularly to old age that they pay great respect.

Chapter VI

Household and Agricultural Implements

412 The Bush Negroes mainly use adzes in order to hew their [322] corjalen or canoes out of trees partially burned out beforehand; [824] furthermore, they use planes and chisels in order to work their [531] (usually cedarwood) (1) stools and pareh or paddles (2). They are

1. Cedrela odorata L.

2. Hand oar.

especially fond of having these carved with many figures. For them the machete is an indispensable tool that they always carry around and use as a chopping knife, sword, and knife, indeed, even to cut splinters or thorns out of the foot with the tip. They use field axes or hatchets to cut down the bush in order to lay out their small cultivation grounds and to work the wood that they float by rafts and sell.

562 The women possess, aside from a machete or knife, also 412 mattocks with which they keep their lands and the place near the [824] dwelling neat; they make brooms from the pina palm racemes or [413] from rice ears bound in sheaves. They like to have scissors, needles, and pins, while for knitting they use a pointed and bent nail.

413 They spin their sewing thread from cotton with a certain [283] tool which they call keké; they also have a round, wooden tool [286] called sepoe, with which they very nicely and sturdily /11/ make

6:Huault--TTa K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SRB Bush Negroes SRB
Boni

/facing p. 56/

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Fig. 13. Boni paddles.

[194]

At the right, for comparison, a Saramaka paddle --

6:Herault--107a K-5 (1946-1958) 1961 SRS Bush Negroes SRS
Boni

/facing p. 76/

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Fig. 15. House type of the Refugee Blacks; Loabi village (Dooka of the Upper Tapicashoni).

ZLS 222 251 621 613

/183 cont./

	for Bonville	for Asisi-Dju
Fintiman, Kélément, Doni, Aibi	sons and grandsons of Bénéti (Dju)	3 men over 20 years old
4 young men of the Kotika lineage		4 to 5 adolescents
1 —	Dip. I —	
2 —	Lapé —	
1 —	Papéisson —	
2 —	Poti —	

They furnished a total of two weeks of work but each one collected for himself about 15 kilograms of dry fish.

ZLS 531 411

The buchiman, riding in five large canoes decorated with multicolored oriflammes, approach the Bonville wharf where all the young people of the village are massed, the men armed with their guns, the women brandishing banners made of brand-new cannas. The hurrahs resound, punctuated by hundreds of shots. In an atmosphere of enthusiasm the buchiman make their entrance into the village and go to report on their mission to the council assembled under the mortuary shed. According to custom, this council is improvised at the last moment by the elders who are there, without attention to origin, and does not involve any definite authority.

Four baskets of dried fish are put down at the edge of the shed, for the mourning-lifting festival, then each one goes to get and arrange in his house a big personal basketful.

The fish intended for the festival are distributed among the women charged with preparing them.

About 2:00 P.M. the elders are assembled in the western part of the shed; in the eastern part, the near relatives of the dead for whom mourning will be lifted lament.

Several apinti drums are brought and placed laterally.

/211 cont./

153 special drum is used, about two meters long and very narrow,
791 devoid of any decoration, which is called lɛ̃ŋga dɔ̃ or papa
787 dɔ̃.
534 To call on her gita, the possessed woman (they are almost
787 always women) stands, puts on a piece of cloth which she always
[562] keeps nearby and always takes along with her when she travels:
this is the garment of the god; it consists of a sort of scarf
crossed in front; then she throws white clay, pemba, on her feet
from right to left and left to right while invoking the god.
Possession is almost immediate. One sees the woman's eyes
roll up and her expression become haggard. The god does not
cover himself entirely with pemba like the Kumẽnti, he makes
himself a sort of headband on the forehead with white clay.
787 He begins with an invocation to Masa Gadu said in ordinary
788 language.
639 "Masa gadu, gi mi pimisi, beka mi na pikin nẽŋge; ala
[782] sani di mi ɔ taki, na yu mu gi mi kaakiti, beka na yu abi mi
kaakiti, da mi yɛ̃falu gi yu."

"Masa Gadu, I implore you, for I am a humble creature;
(in) all that I am going to say, it is you who will give me
strength, for my strength is in you; I shall exalt you."

787 Next come formulas of welcome to those present, which
788 are the exact translation of the formulas of greeting of everyday
[148] life, then songs, all in the Papa language. After about a quarter
of an hour, it enters a hut and sits down, answering in ordinary
language the questions of those present, always in a singing
tone.

787 Possession by Papa gadu does not have the bestial character
of possession by Kumẽnti; outside of the dances, it does not
involve brutish gestures or bizarre acts; the possessed woman
hums softly in a shrill voice, moving with graceful gestures.
[531] /212/ Sometimes she draws strange signs on the huts; the Boni
state that that is a kind of writing, that other possessed people

787 /212 cont./
531 can read these messages; but we have not turned up any precise evidence on this subject (1).

1. These signs are very little systematized and have no relation whatever with the symbolic designs which figure in certain rituals of possession, especially in Dahomey and Haiti. It is permitted to see in them a simple likeness.

787 The Papa gadu are chiefly consulted to ask them to re-
[255] veal the cause of misfortunes that happen. One of them is not
[253] asked to cure an illness unless the interrogation reveals that it brought it on.

776 The worship of the Papa gadu snake gods makes a strong
648 impression on the West Indian Creoles who maintain regular relations with the Refugee Blacks. Most consider it as diabolical
[782] in nature and disapprove of it, but if the presence of an "adder"
[171] (anaconda snake) is noted in a neighboring creek, and if at the same time misfortunes occur, it happens that a Creole may go to ask the Refugee Blacks to practice rites to mollify
[778] the vengeance of the god. We have happened to catch sight of, hidden in a copse behind the habitation of a gold miner, a small altar decorated with blue and red pennants, the usual place of worship of the Papa gadu.

755 Observation in Boniville, November, 1952.
An Asisi woman, Tini, comes to Boniville to consult
[787] her adoptive daughter Pamasa, about 35 years old, who is possessed by a Papa gadu named Adawa. Féni, 15 years old,
[164] Tini's son, has been sick for several days (fever, eruption all over the body). When someone comes to get us, the god has already entered into Pamasa, has sat down in a hut, and

KUNU

We sat one night talking about the neku vine, which is used to poison the streams for fishing, and the ceremonies attending the discovery of a new one, how the ownership of it is passed on in the female line, and about the songs which are sung to celebrate the finding, and the feast which is given at this time.

"Do you use this poison only to catch fish, or does it have other uses?" we asked guardedly.

"Well, sometimes people use it to commit suicide," one man said. "That is bad. Sometimes a man or a woman will do it to put a kunu on another's family." He went on to tell of a man who lately did this. He had been promised the daughter of a family in this very village when the girl was a small, small child. It happened that the girl's uncles found gold in one of the streams, for which the white man gave them much goods, and now they were big men. Since the girl's children would inherit much wealth, they wanted her to be the principal wife of a man of rank. There were messages back and forth, and council meetings, but the uncles insisted that the girl return the gifts she had received —insisted against the advice of many people. So this *bio*, this young lad, could get his revenge in no other way than by taking his own life, and sending a kunu to the family. "The next time you come you will probably see the kunu at work. It is always so. Of what use is wealth when the children begin to die? One year the crops are bad, and you have to buy food. One year you go from one obia man to the next to find out why your sister cannot make children. Your money goes. Kunu is a bad thing."

Another day a woman came to us with a comb to sell. She had heard that we were gathering pieces to put into a large house where carvings from Africa were being shown, and she wanted us to have this comb of hers which was made as a betrothal gift by her husband who was now many years dead. It was an old comb with several broken tines and holes bored into it by insects, but the decorated end was still very beautiful, and we were eager to buy it. When we asked her to explain to us the meaning of the design, she

REBEL DESTINY

said, "It is not a woman and a snake, as you might imagine from this," and she indicated one or two lines of the design. "We do not carve the snake in my family. We have a *tchina*—a taboo—against carving snakes, for snakes are our kunu. . . . Years ago my brother went to the French shore and worked for a white man. The white man asked him to kill a snake, and he was afraid, but the white man laughed at him, and because he had a weak ak'a, because his soul was not strong, he killed the snake. If he had told us about it and had sent a piece of the snake, we would have held a burial, as would have been right. But he did not do as he should have done, and so now the snake is not a good spirit for us. We must give it offerings, and dance kunu. It is bad to have a weak soul. My brother did a bad thing, and now I and all my children, and my daughters' children, and their daughters' children on and on will have this kunu."

Farther up the river, in the deep interior, we stopped at the village of Opoku. As we walked to the house of the village head to give him our greetings, we noticed an unusually large house. It was a *lika-wosu*, a house with an upper story, more substantially built than any we passed, and ornamented with elaborate carvings, as were all personal houses of the men. The owner of it, we heard, had been dead eight months. Four more would need to go by before it could be entered. It had been owned by a powerful man, and his belongings were many. We could see some of them through the openings between the slats which formed its walls—an apinti drum, magnificently carved, tall earthen demijohns of rum, boxes, the edge of a metal canister and a lamp. Inside there were guns, and machetes, and native carved paddles, and implements.

Our men joked about the contents of the demijohns as they passed, speculating on the strength of the rum when the containers were opened, and when we asked about the house later—whether, for instance, we could not buy the drum, we were told that the twelve-month interval between a man's dying and the dividing of his property was not yet passed. When the time came, his brothers and sisters

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SRS Bush Negroes SRS
Saramacca

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Just above the Mamadam.

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Detail of boat—feline head on crosspiece.

[Facing P. 84]

THE PROVISION GROUND

It is the woman's task, then, to see to the food which the Earth Mother yields, while the men are busy hauling lumber and making boats, hunting and fishing, and carrying the white man's loads to the city. In the leisure of the rainy season, while the women cut up the trade cotton cloth into long, narrow strips and sew them into cloths of traditional design, the men are at work carving fine things out of wood. 462 [294]

When the big rains come a man might busy himself carving doorposts for his new house, or he might make a paddle to put away in his personal treasure house, so that, when he is ready to take a second wife, he might have the proper gifts to make her. Another might be making a small canoe paddle for his first daughter. She is four, perhaps, and already is of help to her mother in the field, carrying water from the river in a small Indian jar. Soon she will be strong enough to have the cutting of the kamemba begin—a few slashes about the navel at first . . . He will cover the surface of the paddle with beautiful traceries, each design a meaningful symbol, and to add to its beauty he will darken it with a mixture of oil and charred rice hulls. When it is finished it will be of a reddish-brown color, slender, and smooth to the touch of his fingers as the skin of his woman-child. Combs, food stirrers, trays, stools, peanut pounding boards, and, if a man likes, mortar and pestle—all these are carved when the rains are heavy and there is no work to be done on the river or in the bush. 462 392 [584] [357] [532]

So the work is divided. A man does a man's work—wood, iron, hunting the game animals of the bush, and catching fish in traps, making baskets of wood fiber—all that is a man's affair he does. And the woman, tending the fields and cooking for her family, pounding palm nuts in her mortar to make palm oil, grating the bitter cassava to make flour free from the poison that is in the roots, caring for her house and carving calabash dishes with the symbols of men and women and fertility—woman does what it is woman's lot to do. 462 [362]

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
Bush Negroes
Saramacca

968 "If it is the man who is dead, then the woman takes her
975 girl children to live with her, but her sons she sends away to live elsewhere. A man's spirit will not harm his daughters. He loves them. But his sons, he will kill. . . . When a woman dies, then it is the sons that the man will keep with him in the house, and the daughters must go away. The yorka of a woman will protect her sons, but she will destroy the daughters when she visits the place where she once lived."

5

602 To her child the Bush Negro mother gives at birth
851 membership in all her own blood groups. The child is of her *wosu*, or household. He belongs to her *mbi*, or great family, which is an aggregate of many households. He is a member of her *lo*, or clan, which is composed of a number of great families, and which holds political sway over a given portion of the land. The tie of all these groupings is a blood
613 tie, a common female ancestress who lived long ago, or several women, daughters of the same mother, who had been the first to live with the runaway ancestors here in the bush, or several women who came from one people in Africa, and were the first to bear children to the rebels in the jungle. Every legal, every economic implication which this tradition of descent and inheritance through the female line might hold, is faithfully adhered to.

611 The mother does indeed count, as the tales told us in the
513 city insisted. But what of the father?

That the Bush Negro understands fully the rôle that
842 both father and mother play in the procreation of the
532 young was everywhere apparent. The wood carving which a father made for his young daughter had designs on it of the kind which bore the general designation "*wowi ko' waye*—man and woman." Whatever the traceries on the carvings given by a man to his woman during courtship, or after marriage, whatever animals might be represented, the essential symbolism was that of fertility, and the

11 Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SRB Bush Negroes SRB
Saramacca

figures of a male and a female in congress were often introduced into the design. 842 532

The ignorance of the physical rôle of the male parent, said to exist among other primitive peoples with a similar linkage of relatives on the mother's side, is not found among the Suriname Negroes. At a religious ceremony in which townspeople alone were dancing, a woman turned to us, and said, "Now they are dancing Afrekete. When *Ma Aise*—an Earth goddess—and *Pa Lebba*—he who guards the crossroads—make a child, it is called Afrekete." Similar genealogies of spirits were vouchsafed us by Bush Negroes as well, and always, there was the male god as well as the female, and always the recognition that both made the spirit which was their offspring. 842

These are examples derived from the art of the people, from their ritual, and from the concepts they have of the forces that actuate the universe. There also were many incidents to show the attitude of fathers and children toward each other in the everyday run of life. 593

Awingu did not hesitate when he answered that the child who was with him belonged to his wife. But he added that it was he who made him, and his affection for the little boy, and the child's fondness for him was apparent even to the casual onlooker. Kasanya, in talking to us about the kunu of his wife's family which had destroyed his sons, mourned them as a father. He had made them, and he had taught them to run the rapids, and to carve. He had given them his own gods to protect them, he told us when recounting the tragedy of the kunu which killed them. Misomba, the brother-in-law of Kasanya, had made Adyabu. There was no ambiguity about who the boy's father was. The boy was Kasanya's heir, but he was Misomba's son. Sedefo had brought the child to his brother Zimbi's coffin, saying, "I bring you your child. Try to protect him. . . ."

There was the matter of slipping. It is dangerous to slip. Losing one's step may bring the soul to the ground in an unguarded moment, where the earth spirits, or what 914 916

1tHerskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

344 to be admired for their artistry, but there also for ceremo-
352 nial purposes which were never divulged. When one of these benches was later taken down to show the magic of paper which, placed on the top of a carving and rubbed with black crayon, reproduced the design beneath, the Granman looked startled, and then ordered that it be replaced. Nor were other rubbings allowed.

531 On both sides of these massed benches were many objects
352 which could barely be distinguished in the half darkness of the house. There were guns and canisters, there were a few native brooms, and several wrapped parcels.
[534] There was also an apinti drum on which the gods were
[118] addressed. Not even at Ma'lobbi, where the chief, a famous carver, showed us many remarkable products of his art, did we see designs worked with the fine, sure lines or the beauty of individual motifs such as were traced on this apinti. The carving was in relief and covered the entire surface of the drum, which stood about three feet high, curving outwards from the top, and resting on a narrow circular base which raised its body about six inches from the ground. It was covered with a deerskin that use and exposure to the atmosphere had stained unevenly to shades of amber.

344 Facing these carvings was the door which, itself of
[118] wood, swung on wooden hinges of native fashioning. In
● 532 relief appeared the Earth Mother, and surrounding her were the symbols of fertility. No man, not even the Granman
[649] himself, dared speak her name in this council house. At trials, when oaths were taken, she might be appealed to, but to call her idly would bring down her wrath on the Granman's clan, and, perhaps not stopping there, since the council house was of all the clans, she would revenge herself upon all the people of the Saramacca River. The carving was more beautiful than on the apinti which stood against the opposite wall. The greatest artist on the river had made it.

"That man had the gods, ya-hai," the men said, when we talked of the Granman's carvings.

AT THE COURT OF THE GRANMAN

Above the door was a shelf which did not quite reach the entire width of the wall, and on this shelf were the council benches, which the Granman supplied to the visiting chiefs. These benches were small, low, and as little ornamented with carvings as the work stools used by the women. But on the sides symbols were incised, and at least two of them we were able to identify as clan emblems. One of these had the conventionalized patterning of the hatchet, the emblem of the Granman's clan, and another a flower which is associated with the people from whose group come the principal diviners. The tops of these simple stools sometimes had inlays of dark wood, but whether their outlines were of ritualistic importance or not, no one would say.

From the beams hung several umbrellas, still inside the wrappings in which they had come from the white man's city, and a wickless metal lamp, into whose chains envelopes were inserted. These envelopes contained letters received by the Granman which awaited the coming of the missionary to be read, or letters which had already been read, and were there to add color to the official scene.

There were also other *Bakra sani*—white man's things—in the house. A canvas folding chair which filled almost an entire wall stood against the slats beside which, on the outside, were the earthen jars. This was for the Granman. He sat in it with the majesty of an emperor. No one ever approached it too closely, and we were never invited to take our ease in it when the Granman was in his own house.

In addition, there was a table in the center of the room, covered with a red and black plaid cloth from the city, and two straight-back chairs. On the table stood an alarm clock which was set for the noncommittal hour of twelve and a glass decanter filled with rum.

Chief And'u was the first to join us inside.

"It is fine here at the G'aman's."

"Yes, it is a fine house. And you, And'u, you look well in your coat. Is it when you are with the Granman that you dress so?"

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
Sib Bush Negroes SRS
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Combs, the gifts of men to women.

415
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A tray for winnowing rice. (Symbolism on pages 282-283.)

[facing p. 314]

WOMEN AT WORK

5

Tenemi made ready to carve a calabash dish. She sat down on her work stool, and on the ground beside her she put down a small knife, a piece of broken glass, and half of a calabash shell. The inner pulp had just been removed, and both the inside and outside of the gourd were of a pale green color. She had dipped it in water before she brought it here, and now with the point of her knife she deftly marked her design. The curves in the center, covering almost the entire inner surface, formed the body of a woman, she said, who was big with child. The geometric tracings in parallel narrow lines across one portion of the top was the Aboma snake, euphemistically called the G'an Tetei, the great creeper, or vine. Taking up the piece of glass, she began to scrape away carefully the soft pulp inside the outlines of her design. 322 532

In the entire village there was no woman who worked faster at carving calabash dishes than did Tenemi. In less than half an hour the dish was ready to be placed on the high platform where the maripa nuts were drying. With the sun upon it, the calabash would turn a deep cream color, but where the knife had borne down, it would show a golden brown, and where the glass had scraped away the pulp, the color would be a paler gold, so pale that it would be almost the cream of the unornamented outer surface.

"The large closed gourds are not done fast. Those are carved on the outside, and must be worked cleverly. But this does not take long. I am making this for you. When it is finished I will bring it to you. You must give it to your girl-child when she grows big." [431]

She herself had made four children, but only two of them were living. The oldest, a daughter, carried a child in her womb. Tomorrow she would come to the village, and Tenemi would bring her. 165

"She was afraid to come. Women who are with child must be very careful." [343]

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SRB Bush Negroes SRB
Saramacca

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Carvings the women were eager to have admired: comb; clothes beater; tray.

[Facing P. 239]

(Facing page 239)

1: Herskovits & Herskovits.E-S (1930-1939) 1936
Old Bush Negroes 360
Sacoidocca

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Ceremonial benches inlaid with symbols of fertility and magic.

[Facing p. 272]

(Facing page 272)

1: Herskovits & Herskovits F-4 (1929-1930) 1934
Bush Negroes
Saramacca

and so close that our hands, moving about to find a rest, touched its top, and sounded an involuntary rhythm, was an apinti drum. We exclaimed at its beauty, for in form and carving it rivaled the one we had admired in the council house of Granman Yankuso, and we were determined to try to buy it. But we turned our conversation to other things. A stranger in this bush soon learns from the Bush Negroes to broach an important request gently, remembering the cautioning proverb spoken by the chameleon.

We talked of carving, of the white man's coming back some year when the rains were heavy to sit by and watch the men make paddles and benches, so that he might learn, as children learn.

The captain was politely skeptical. It took a Saramacca hand to do this work. But he smiled, "Ma kye, if you have the gods anything is possible."

"That's a fine paddle in the corner."

He brought it out, and we admired it. Would he sell it to us?

"You must ask its owner."

"Didn't you make it, captain?"

"Yes, but it is not mine to sell. I gave it to my wife." He would see, however, if she wanted to sell it. He would himself go and call her.

As he went, he gave us the paddle that we might examine it. We ran our hands over the smooth top, the design, the beveled blade. It was not so tall as the paddles used by the men, nor was its blade so broad as those used in steering the great boats through the rapids. In form, it was quite different from the round-bladed type used by the Indians of the region, for it was slender and came to a sharp point, and at the other end the carving formed a crutch-shaped hold into which the hand fitted.

We studied this carving. Parts of the design had meaning for us because of their realistic treatment. The motifs of others were recognizable to us from explanations we had been given of other carvings. But there were still details

539 of design which only the carver himself could name, or
501 someone who knew the symbolism of the art tradition in
502 which this paddle was carved.

During our first visit to these people we had been completely balked by the unwillingness of the Bush Negroes to
539 discuss their carvings. In answer to our questions we got
183 delightful evasions, but with the coming of Bayo to our base camp, carrying his crudely carved stool, we learned enough to make it clear that there was a great deal of symbolism in the carving of the Bush Negroes and, as our knowledge of these symbols increased, it became increasingly easier to get descriptions of carvings in terms of the meanings and values these held for the Bush Negroes themselves.

539 Now, sitting in the workshop of one of the finest of Saramacca carvers, the captain of Ma'lobbi, we traced those parts of the design which we knew, mentioning their significance to the men who were about.

"There are two snakes," we said, pointing to the realistically entwined bodies which formed the upper portion of the hand grip, ending at the top with recognizable heads, and with mouths held open, which supported symmetrical figures of the top of the paddle.

"Abuma snakes," one man said, verifying to himself our statement.

"These," we continued, "are the teeth of the great lizard—*dawda tende*—and this part below the hand-grip reaching part way toward the blade is a carved chain, and you call it *mosi wo' waye*—money is more than women."

The men laughed. "Awa, so it is. The man knows about Saramacca carving."

And one of them took up the explanation, pointing out the two symmetrical figures which were posed opposite each other above the mouths of the snakes. "These are monkeys. They are women monkeys. No, don't call them just keskesi, their name is makaka," he went on, giving us the name of the species, when we spoke the word for monkey. "See the ears, the heads, the breasts. Ai, I

In Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1929-1930) 1934
[illegible]
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know you see them. They told you much on the upper river."

As he finished speaking, the captain returned with his wife. Excited comments greeted him.

"The white man here knows *tewle*—carving."

"He knows lizard's teeth design."

"He knew that this was the aboma snake, and the mahoka."

The old man was skeptical. "*A so?* Was it true?" Let the Bakra show him.

We repeated the lesson we had just learned to the captain and his wife who owned the paddle. They listened thoughtfully. Then the woman spoke.

"White man, I have used this paddle for many years. I do not like to sell it. But you care for it. You are a man who knows carving. In your country you tell me other men know carving. They will look at it, and see it is beautiful, and they will know it is from the Saramacca. Take it, and pay me what you like."

There were other carvings which we bought—a large rice-carrying tray, and some food stirrers, one of which was especially fine, made as it was of two small paddles with miniature blades, the handles joined by a wooden ring-chain, and all of this carved out of one piece of wood.

3

Few things on the river seemed to the outsiders more characteristic of the life of the Saramacca people than these carvings which were met with everywhere, however small the village, however poor the home. When the seasonal rains came, men incised their desires on wood, which later told the legend of procreation, or safety on the river, or a curse invoked against a woman if she proved unfaithful; or something of humor, such as a man bidding for a girl's favor, and she refusing him, while up above intertwined were a man and woman, symbolizing the ultimate consummation with the proper suitor.

REBEL DESTINY

The greater part of these carvings men made for women, and it was a rare woman who did not take pride in the excellence of the carvings given her, though often it must have been the pride in something which had traditional value, for it would be false to assume that among any people are all men equally endowed with creativeness and all women with sensitive appreciation of what is created.

As among so many peoples, two or three types of art were to be found. There was the same sex division in the art of these people as existed in all other aspects of life, and the men were the wood carvers. The sharpest division in the art of the men was that between the secular and the religious. The religious art was crude. A block of wood, roughly shaped, with several cuts to indicate a face, perhaps a break in the line to represent the neck, and a few more strokes in the wood to differentiate the upper part of the woman's body, and there stood an ancestral image, or a village god. Often white clay was added to this, and sometimes alternate stripes of white and red, or white, red, and black, but when seen on a village path underneath a low open shelter, what color there once was had become weathered to a dull gray. The sacred art also included the charms called obias, worn on the neck, and about the upper arm, or wrist, or below the knee, or at the ankle. Many of these made pleasing ornaments. The white fiber dipped in red clay became a deep golden brown as the sun paled the crimson, and there would be the added color of a finger's length of blue and orange parrot feather, fastened inside the woven fiber square, and extending below the fringe of the weave. Into this woven square cowries might be sewn, two facing each other, or three, or four.

There was also the art of modeling, but this was so secret and so specialized that we were assured that not even all Bush Negroes knew of its existence, and modeled objects appeared only in the most important of the shrines.

With the religious art might also perhaps be grouped the red and white striped crooked sticks of the Kromanti

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

society, the "Congo" sticks, as they were called here, or the "fighting" sticks. 532

The carvings, however, which we were admiring in the house of the captain of Ma'lobbi were for secular use. The Bush Negro craftsman brought to the ornamenting of his paddles and his canoe seats, to his house posts, and particularly to the door of his treasure house, to his women's combs, and trays, and food stirrers, and clothes beaters all the traditional skill and patience. But the exceptional carver brought also the cunning in his fingers which his gods had given to him and only to few others on the river. Such a man was the captain of Ma'lobbi. Into the traditional designs such a man wove lines for the love of seeing them grow under his hand, for there were always single motifs which the people versed in the symbolism of the art would describe as "beautiful," as having no meaning. Yet with few exceptions the massing of outlines in a unified design bore on fertility. Men and women alone or together, and male and female animals were represented in all but occasional pieces. [501]

The Bush Negro artist was a man of consequence on the river. His companions admired his skill, and the young women were proud to have his handiwork. If he showed his gifts early, he was at an advantage in courting a girl of an influential family. The girl's mother, who shared in the gifts of her daughter's suitor, might be willing to overlook other less advantageous traits in the man or in his family, while the girl's uncles would not be loath to have such a man in their family to teach his art to his sons, who would be their successors. 532 554 584

On several occasions we were permitted to see how very deeply this appreciation of fine carving went. As in the instance of the paddle we had acquired from the wife of the captain of Ma'lobbi, it had happened often that the consent of the woman to sell a given piece was necessary before any trading could take place. Sometimes we traded directly with the woman, sometimes she asked her husband, or her brother, or her son, as the more worldly 432 562 439

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432 person, to act for her. But always hers was the final word,
562 and often that word when the time came for us to carry
439 away the piece was "No."

"It was made for me by my husband when I was a young girl. Now he sleeps, he is no more. I want to have it," was a statement which ended all bargaining.

Sometimes even after we had paid the woman, and stored the piece away, she returned with the moist coins in her hand, asking for the carved implement.

"Before some man from here will go to the city to buy me a pangi, I may lose the money, or he may lose it on the way. But if the clothes beater is here, I can use it and look at it. I want to keep it."

413 One vivid incident of bargaining concerned a peanut
● 532 pounding board which had belonged to the sister of Bassia
439 Anaisi. We were sitting and talking with him and his grandmother, when our eyes rested on his sister's house. From a projection hung a strikingly beautiful piece of carving. The rectangular portion of the board on which the peanuts were crushed was bordered on top and bottom with filigreed carving. It was made of brown-heart wood with inlays of purple-heart. Bassia Anaisi's sister supplemented our guesses of what the designs meant. The top represented a woman's head and headdress. The small brass nails, which made a glistening line in the center of the upper curve, were the cicatrizations on the woman's face.

"Look," said the woman, "she is a woman, but a woman hawk. Here is her neck, and the small cut-out circles here are her breasts, those curves at both ends are the wings. The very small nails are the cicatrizations on the thighs. She is a woman, and she has made herself beautiful. This large rounded portion is her belly, and the smaller one underneath is the *gonu mofo*—the gun's mouth," the last being their image for the vagina. Meeting this from the bottom curving upwards was a half-circle, which represented the male member. At the other end was more embellishment. In the center was a double curve to symbolize the first phase of the moon. Below were two "*Ingi Kodyo*,"

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[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Saramacca

Indian cudgels, a figure of speech for the buttocks, in this instance those of the woman, and again the male representation. This was edged with a border of deep curves which the woman said was mere ornamentation—scrolls. On another pounding board, however, of this village, a similar border was said to represent the boa constrictor. This board stood on two legs, each the width of the board and about two inches high, and worked in the same cut-through scroll design.

When we suggested that we might care to acquire the board, the woman became apprehensive. She took up the board, and excusing herself, disappeared with it inside her hut.

"No, no," she called from the house, when her brother went to tell her of the offer we had made for it. "I don't want money for it. I like it. I will not sell it."

The sum we offered was modest enough, but not inconsiderable for this deep interior. We increased it, then doubled our original offer. There was still no wavering on the woman's part, but the offer began to interest her family. Such wealth should not be refused. Bassia Anaisi began to urge her in our behalf.

"With this money you can buy from the white man's city a hammock, and several fine cloths. You should not refuse this."

The old woman took up the discussion, then another sister, and a brother. At last the bassia took us aside, and asked us to leave his sister alone with them.

"We will have a krutu, and tomorrow you will hear. She is foolish not to sell. But she cares for the board. It is good, too, when a woman loves what her man has carved for her. We will krutu about it, and you shall hear."

Three days passed before the woman's permission was given to dispose of the piece.

"When they see this, your people will know our men can carve!" she exclaimed in a voice which held as much regret as pride.

REBEL DESTINY

4

The cult of fertility came to the Suriname bush from Africa. Deepseated today in this civilization, it is not strange that it should be invoked again and again in the carvings, that men and women in sexual congress, and animals in the act of reproduction should dominate the art motifs, and in particular those carvings which men make for their women.

The symbolism is known to all on the river though, as we have indicated, a gifted artist might play with his medium, and even give his own name to what he had designed. Evidences of nontraditional playing with technique were, to be sure, not met with often, but one or two instances stand out. One that was especially striking was a hinged folding stool, fashioned after a bench seen in the city, and decorated in traditional fashion, where the problem of decorating unfamiliar surfaces was met.

Bayo could take up many of our photographs of pieces, acquired during our first visit and brought here into the bush to show the natives how their pieces were exhibited, and describe the symbols to us which made up the carvings. There was one which interested him especially. He used to sit with the photograph in his hand, running his fingers over the glossy surface, as though he felt if he continued doing it long he would actually feel the texture of the wood which was so clearly imaged.

"Everything shows. Here's a crack, see!" Then his hands touched one motif after another. "This and this are women, and these are men. A man and woman to one side, and a man and woman facing them. It's like having the tray here, white man." The small designs close to the rim of the tray, facing each other, were the children to be born of these unions. "This is a boy, and this a girl. That is for both women to make twins."

We were looking over his shoulder as he explained the symbols, but still could not distinguish in the symbols to the side which represented the male child and which the female.

THE ARTIST OF MA'LOBBI

Bayo laughed. "All this isn't easy, white man. A line about this curve shows this to be a man-child. These are things bush people alone know." 530

The decorated rim of this tray had interested many who had seen the piece the winter before, and we had had pointed out to us what we ourselves had remarked, that the design was not continuous all around, but that it was divided into four parts, the crosshatched portion alternating with that of checkered squares. Did those have meaning? we asked Bayo.

"Ai, these belong to the women and the children. The small lines are the hair of the children, and the squares here that of the women." The brass-headed nails he touched one by one on the photograph. "The women have nice kamemba," he said, at last.

On the upper river we had acquired another tray with similar motifs, but more elaborately decorated, with carvings on the outer surface as well as the inner, and also with many more brass-headed nails. This use of nails, which was more general in the deep interior, had at first seemed an anomaly, for they must come from the white man's city, since the Bush Negro, we knew, had lost the African technique of iron working. But as we saw more deeply into their customs, we recognized that these nails studding the carvings represented a survival of the African art tradition, and it was, therefore, reasonable that in the deep interior they should be found more profusely on the carvings. [184] [19]

Human representations outlined with the realism of African masks we almost never met, and the exceptional instances suggested only resemblances. The mask itself, as far as we could learn, was not used in their dances. The men knew what masks were, but whether this knowledge came as part of their African tradition, or whether it was brought from the city and the French shore, we could not determine. The African style of depicting the human form had, however, not been entirely lost by their slave ancestors. In this village of Ma'lobbi, where lived one of the finest carvers on the river, the carving over a doorway held us 532 [19] [535] 532

539 fascinated. It showed, in its purest form, the retention of the African mask-like head. Sometimes on the prow of a boat we would see in cruder form the outlines of a mask, and once an old woman came with a food stirrer to us. Its handle ended in a knob which with a few strokes of the knife had been formed into a double representation of the human [191] head, a perfect parallel to the type of mask that is associated with the people of the Ivory Coast.

539 191 Aside from the decorated apinti drum, only some of the workaday art forms of Africa—combs, paddles, mortars, among other such objects—were retained. For their decoration the designs that in Africa had been cut into the base of figures or about the borders of masks had been remembered and reinterpreted in terms of the ancestral cults. And from those memories the Bush Negroes had developed the unique art which is theirs.

539 181 84 Thus, in the main, the art was symbolic, and many of the designs represented the urge for reproduction. Some stemmed from the fertility cult, though not entirely of it. There was, for example, the double-bladed food stirrer, which was given by a man to his wife with a curse woven [236] into its curves for the woman if she committed adultery.

539 There were carvings that did not deal with sex at all. On the lower river we sat on the shore as a canoe came up. Prow and stern were carved. On one of the seats was a representation of the head of a feline, done with the utmost realism.

"You have *tigri*?" we asked the man, as we bargained for the seats.

"I will sell you this, but do not ask me what it means."

The bird-headed paddles were also examples of this kind. [501] When laid on their sides, they showed the form of the parrot, or whatever bird they represented—the exaggerated beak, the head, the neck, the wings, and the feet. The design called *Alukutu folo*, an emblem of those who [191] could see into the future, was engraved on many benches on the upper river in particular, and these carvings were parted with only with the greatest reluctance, lest we try

[illegible]

Houses and house posts in Ma'lobbi.

[Facing P. 284]

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magic on their owners. And there was the Gankwe woman who brought us a paddle representing the bird she called the *apassa*.

"We Gankwe people do not eat the apassa," she had whispered to us when we bought the paddle.

5

In the house of the captain of Ma'lobbi we sat and talked of the carvings of the Saramacca people, and as we talked, they brought us some of the things the men of the village had carved.

"Do all men carve?" we asked the chief.

"Not everyone has the spirit. But every young man tries. If a man is good at hunting, or on the river, then perhaps he can get the things he needs to give his wife from others for what he can give the carver. But it is better that he do these things for his wife himself. The women like it better."

Not everyone could make a boat, he said, nor was everyone able to carve the *pau pau dindu*, the intricate "wood within wood" motifs that made a strip go like a twisted snake in and out, in and out, through a design. And not everyone could make a drum. Like that apinti he had there.

It was the opening for which we had been waiting.

We had been admiring this drum since we had come into his house, we said. We remembered it from the first time on our way up river. It was as fine as any we had seen. Had he made it himself?

He smiled his appreciation.

"It is a fine apinti, ai," agreed several of the men sitting about.

An apinti was one of the things we wanted to take to show the white man. This one, especially, we would like to buy. Would he sell it?

He looked at us for a moment, and then gently shook his head. "To make an apinti is not a small thing. Not everyone can make an apinti. I have worked on it for a long time, and it is not yet finished. This drum I will not sell."

We redoubled our urging.

"White man, do you know what it is to make an apinti—an obia drum?"

A man had to have the proper spirit before he might address the god of the tree from which the drum was to be made. When he had felled the tree, he cut off from the trunk the part he wanted to use and took it to his village. Over it he had to pour the blood of a cock which he sacrificed that the gods might come when the drum called them. The maker had also to provide sweet rum and cassava and eggs. The cassava was eaten by the people, but the eggs were for the spirit of the drum, and only half the sweet rum was drunk—the rest was poured over the wood. When the body of the new drum had been fashioned, the people gathered and sang, but they did not dance, for the head yet remained to be made. A pingo, or a deer, might furnish the skin, but these animals were shot where they had been tracked in the bush, and not offered to the drum. Only chickens were given it. And when the drum was complete, then the maker sang his song alone.

"But the drum is not finished yet. It can be played on, for it has a head, and its spirit has been satisfied. But the carving is not yet done. I have worked on it a long time," he repeated. "I want them to play it for my spirit when I am dead."

A silence fell as he finished. There was nothing more to be said.

"White man, we have sat together in pleasure. You have come to the true, true Saramacca from far away. You have bought the carvings of my people. The apinti drum I cannot sell you. But this stool you like I want you to have."

He took up one of the round-topped benches, with carefully worked sides, and four purple-heart inlays on top, each in the shape of a fowl.

"Take it with you to your white man's country. When you show it, write on a paper that the captain of Ma'lobbi made it."

us, with its attendant bench and modeled snake, we had only heard the term.

3

In the dim light of our oil lanterns, we listened and wrote in our book, while our informant told us about the Kromanti Mama.

"You must take it down carefully," he said, "or it might harm you."

The figure on the top of the bench was named Agbo. This was the watchman, and to this figure came news of all impending evil. About the neck of the figure was a Kromanti fighting obia. A stout iron ring, with red and blue cloth tied about one-half of it, it rested near the base of the watchman.

The eyes of this watchman were its most arresting feature. They were represented by deep sockets, and the effect was heightened by the beak-like character of the nose. Two ears completed the head, and on the body breasts were modeled. It was the only piece of Bush Negro modeling we had ever seen. This most secret of art forms was evidently little practiced.

"The watchman sees all," said our informant, "the Kromanti Mama knows when there is something about that will harm. She tells the snake."

Coiled about its base, this snake was treated in the same realistic style. The head of the snake and its tail almost met at the side of the clay figure which it encircled.

"His name is Bimbawai," we were told.

The bench itself was not unlike the obia stools we had seen in the shrines of the gods. Its rectangular top, curving toward the center, was fastened to the two boards which formed the legs. Like other obia stools, it was difficult to tell whether, under the thick coating of white clay, the wood was carved or not. In one respect it differed from all others we had seen—the bench wore, fringe-like, a grass skirt of the kind worn by the *komfo*, the priests. This was suspended from the top of the bench, the cord going outside

the space where the snake was modeled, but never touching it.

The man who was explaining the bench to us pointed once more to the snake. "It is not always lifeless as you see it here," he said.

When the snake came to life, trouble was brewing. It turned red, the color of blood, and all who came into the Kromanti house and saw it were warned of danger.

"How does the snake know when to come to life?"

"It is Agbo, the guard, who tells the snake. When she tells him there is trouble, he turns red, and then we know."

Immunity as well as knowledge was afforded by the magical powers of this stool and its snake and the Kromanti Mama.

"A man who has Kromanti sits down on the stool, and puts Agbo on his head, and when he has done that, nothing can harm him."

Thus is safety attained. But this only comes if the image has been propitiated by the Kromanti men. Rum, not of the sweet kind, must be offered it and prayers transmitted to its spirit on the drum which Kromanti recognizes—the apinti. If this is done, the Kromanti Mama will not lose its power, and the snake will continue to turn the warning color when danger threatens, and the bench will give protection to the men who have the Kromanti obia.

4

Not long after we had entered the bush we saw our first Kromanti dance. The people of several neighboring villages came to our base camp to dance for us. They asked, "Will you be afraid if the dancing brings Kromanti?" We told them we should welcome whatever spirits came.

Late that afternoon canoes brought people to our encampment for the festivities. Some, with an eye to trade, had brought carvings and obias, and, as we sat and talked with them about what should be given for the pieces they offered us, we could watch the dance outside our open hut.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR: Bush Negroes SR8

DJUKA

The Bush Negroes of Dutch Guiana

BY MORTON C. KAHN

With an introduction
by Blair Niles and a foreword by Clark Wissler

THE VIKING PRESS
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[Title Page]

[P iii]
[PP. i-ii CONTAIN NO TEXT]
1 A [For caption, see category illi; p. 204]

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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532]

IN NORTH-EASTERN South America, more precisely in the hinterland of Dutch Guiana, there is a unique civilization little known to the white men of this continent. We know much of the strange life of the Congo and of the fascinating customs peculiar to the inhabitants of the Malay jungles, for a number of explorers have brought from the Eastern tropics the interesting accounts of their experiences. But of the Surinam Bush Negro, Djuka, as he calls himself, who nearly two hundred years ago fought his way out of slavery, of the survival of his African customs in the jungles of South America, little has been told. 114 181

The flush tides of imperialism have passed over these people, leaving them practically unaltered and unknown, unique among the Negro peoples of the world. They still maintain the life of jungle dwellers of the immemorial past.

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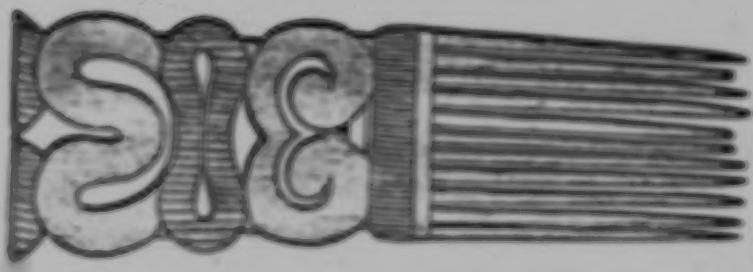
[For caption, see category 16, p.204.--Analyst] 4

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8



[1/2 532]

Chapter One

THE BLACK REBELLION

A GUINEA SLAVER, tacking up to Paramaribo. In the hold lay shackled Negroes, their bare bodies glistening with sweat. "Black Ivory" they were called. 175

Entrapped savages from the West Coast, transported nearly three thousand miles in slaving ships to the Dutch settlement in South America. Three months at sea, and they looked like leather-covered skeletons, those who were still alive.

Packed in a small space, without enough room to lie down, the slaves were forced to take turns at stretching out on the deck to sleep. The others squatted close together, straddling the ones lying down. The night air being considered pernicious, the portholes were closed when evening came, leaving the blacks to suffocate during the fetid dark hours. Sometimes the bare planks, combined with the rolling motion of the ship, rubbed off skin and flesh, leaving patches of bone exposed. Blood and filth were strewn about in an indescrib-

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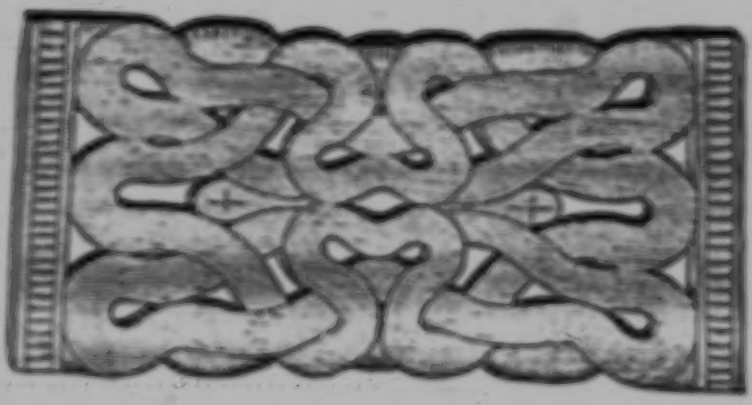
1/A [For caption, see category 116, p. 204. -- Analyst]



Chapter Two

UPRIVER

EIGHT miles an hour the river moves, down long 133
stretches of rapids and fast water, over great rocks in the river-bed. Any sort of outboard motor would be torn to pieces. There is nothing to do but pole upstream in dugout canoes to the Djuka country.

Bush Negro boatmen, with glossy thighs and heaving 502
backs, stand at the bows. They plant their great ten-foot poles in the river-bed and pull against them. As the motion of the boat carries them past the planted poles, they walk back along the gunwales, pushing the poles to the extreme end. They are retrieved, wheeled in a great arc, and again planted in the river-bed. This makes a rare picture in the sunlight on

[For caption, see category 16, p.204.-- Analyst]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

● 532

Bush Top Carved from a Single Piece of Wood: Human Face Mask. Aucaner Tribe, San Cook District. This specimen shows striking West African characteristics.
Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History

[Facing p. 28]

2:Kahn D-S (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Chapter Three

THE JUNGLE CLEARING

THE first indication of a village is a group of empty canoes made fast on the shore. Behind them, a short distance inland, is the village of Lombe, the first real Bush Negro town at which we stop on the Surinam River.

Villages are seldom situated on the river-bank, but a quarter to a half mile inland. The reasons for this are that the

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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Chapter Four

THE DANCE

SUNDOWN on the Suriname. Women with breasts like 252
dried tobacco leaves stew hunks of red baboon over the 362
Djuka fires. The old dance gods will stir tonight. Mist is 132
drifting up from the river and blowing between the trees. Colours fade out as darkness falls. The atmosphere of the jungle closes in on us with the night.

As night falls a Bush Negro corial appears on the river. It 574
is followed by four others, all loaded with people from another village three miles downstream. The strangers have come to dance for the bahkra. We have promised them candy and high wine. The women tie bands of nuts about their 534
limbs; the dried nuts rattle.

They bring the drums, the soul of the jungle. The big tom-tom, elaborately carved on the outside, is the *apenti*, or signal drum. The smaller *nanda* and the baby *baboula* (an African

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1 [for caption, see category 116, p. 204: Analyst]

[352 322 532]

Chapter Five

THE GAME TRAIL

ON the rivers we frequently encounter Djukas going 313 downstream to Paramaribo or Albina on lumber rafts. The big logs are fastened together with lianas, twined about stakes driven into holes, and lashed to stout cross-pieces. Three paddlers stand upright on this raft and take it down the river like a canoe.

The lumber is arduously cut, the great trees being felled [412] and chopped square with axes. A tree cut in the jungle will not fall to earth; the surrounding growth holds it upright. Therefore, days are spent in clearing a space of ground where the tree may come down. The vines and lianas must be cut away, and the vast buttressing roots severed. The tree is brought down in this clearing, hewn of its branches, and dragged into the water. Hardwood is too heavy to float, so

[For caption, see category 116, p. 204. - Analyst]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

[415 532]

Chapter Six

FOOD IN THE JUNGLE

THE Bush Negroes investigate our equipment with great delight, and are much amused by our table manners. They gather around and comment on the food. Often they pick up an empty can discarded by Bundle, the cook, and wrinkle their noses in disgust at the smell of it. They seem to prefer their own food. 643 186

[For caption, see category 116, p. 204. – Analyst]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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Chapter Seven

THE ORGANIZATION OF LIFE

THERE are six tribes of Bush Negroes. These tribal divisions date back to the black rebellion in the eighteenth century. Bands of rebels fled into the bush together, and remained together within their jungle home. In Stedman's narrative of the revolt we read of a punitive expedition being sent out against the bands living along the "Serimaca" and Upper Copenam Rivers. After years of incessant warfare, a treaty of peace was concluded in 1749 with the "Serimaca rebels." The descendants of this group are known today as the *Saramaccaner* tribe. Another outbreak of rebels occurred in the Tempati Creek district; they won their freedom in 1761 by a treaty signed at the Ouca Plantation, from which they came to be called *Aucaners*. A third band of rebels, under the command of the famous Chief Bonny, probably 619

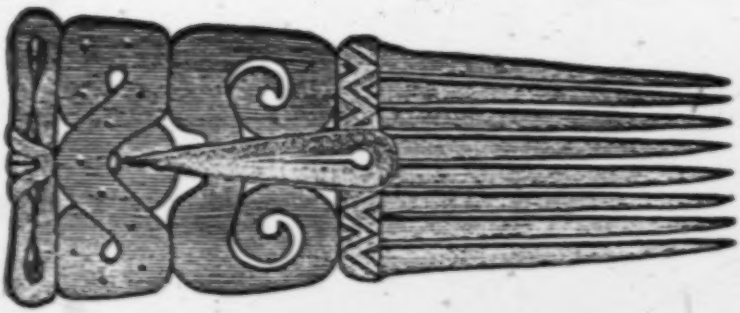
1/A [For caption, see category 116, p.204.—Analyst]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni
Paramacca

façades of their huts are often elaborately carved. The drums and other Bush Negro implements take the usual West African form, but the treatment of the motifs among the Boni differs somewhat from that given by the other Bush Negro tribes. The spiral, snake, liana, and coil designs are less in evidence; the patterns are usually more angular in character than similar pieces from the Saramaccaner and Aucaner. Animal, human, and bird figures are more common in the designs of these French Guiana tribesmen, as the collection brought back for the American Museum of Natural History attests. Also, personal decoration by scar-tissue patterns seems to be less in evidence among the Boni. In all other respects, however, their culture seems identical with that of the other Djukas.

The Paramacca tribe, now numbering about 500 in population, was founded by one man and two women, who were slaves on a plantation in the Upper Commewyne River. They escaped by way of the Tempati Creek in 1813, then travelled over the watershed to the head of the Paramacca Creek, a tributary of the Marowyne River. For a long time they built villages at the head of the Tempati Creek and later at the head of the Paramacca Creek, being afraid to go into the

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8



1 [112 322 532]

Chapter Eight

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

THE Bush Negro family is not a family in our sense of the word. In the Surinam jungle the Djuka family is polygamous and matrilineal. The unit of society is the hut, where the mother and her children live. 594 595 611

In order to understand the marriage customs of the Bush Negro tribes it is first necessary to forget for the time being the system of patriarchal family life under which the white men of our age live. One unconsciously takes the customs of one's own society as a norm, and passes moral judgment on exotic customs by their deviation from that norm. This habit of thinking must be avoided as far as possible in considering a primitive society, though it is difficult even for an agile mind to make dispassionately the transition from one culture in which the father is dominant, to another, in which his position is not important. On the other hand, many of our 114

[For caption, see Category 116, p. 204. — Analyst]

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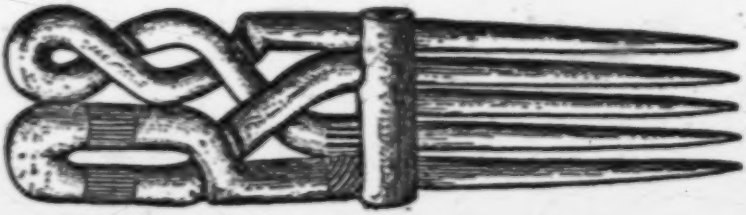
2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner



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Chapter Nine

MEDICINE AND MAGIC

NO one in Djuka land dies a natural death. Death is caused by witchcraft. At Santi Gron on the Saramacca River, preparations are being made for a burial. The whole village is excited. The women wailing are the relatives of the dead man. Children are crying because they see others crying. Unseen drums throb dully, making the hot air pulsate. The corpse lies in an open shed with only three walls—a death house (*dede oso*). Two girls of fifteen or sixteen are fanning it steadily to keep the flies away. The man died more than a week ago; all this time the body had been lying on a platform out in the tropical heat to decompose. 754 764

It is black magic that kills. Therefore the Bush Negroes make an effort to find out who made the magic that killed this man. An ancient ritual is employed. Three to ten days the corpse is left unburied, and in the humid heat the flesh undergoes a partial liquefaction. The putrescent fluid is gathered in a calabash cup and carried around from door to door. 754 695 787

[For caption, see category 1161 p. 204.—Analyst]

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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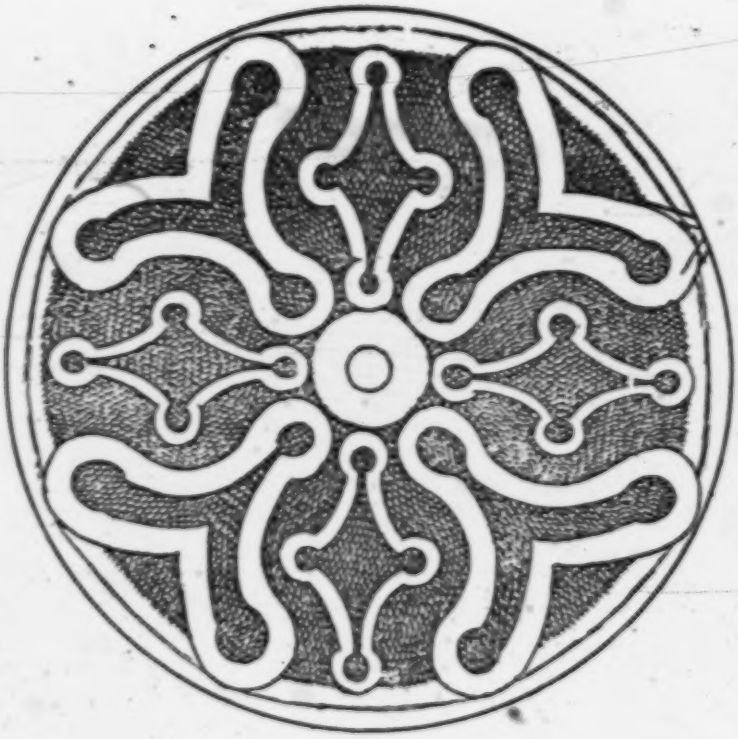

Chapter Ten

DJUKA TALK

THE Bush Negroes have two languages. The ordinary 197
tongue, phrases from which are scattered throughout 191
this book, is known as talkee-talkee. It is the common *lingua franca* of the entire colony, used not only by the Djukas, but also by some of the Indians and by the Town Negroes of

1/n [For caption, see category 116, p. 204. – Analyst]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
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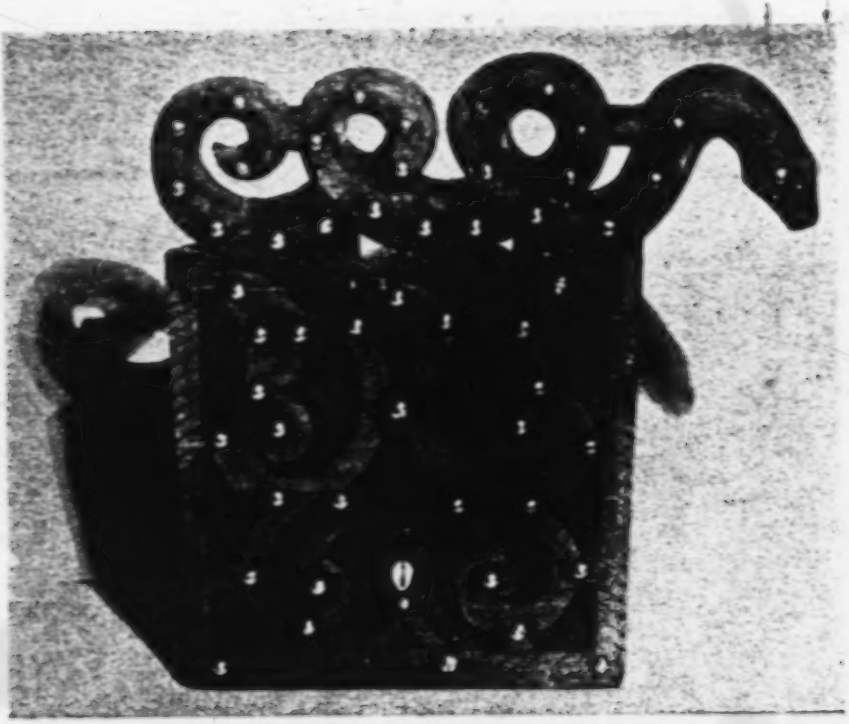

Snake Motif Bench Top or "Obeiah Bangi" (Sacred Bench) Carved from a Single Piece. *Saramaccaner Tribe*. On other benches and trays and similar pieces of wood carving the coil and serpentine motifs are often executed in such a way as to form figures of men and women.

Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History

[Facing p. 178]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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Open Work Bench Top Carved from a Single Piece, Human Face Motif. *Aucaner Tribe.*
Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History

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2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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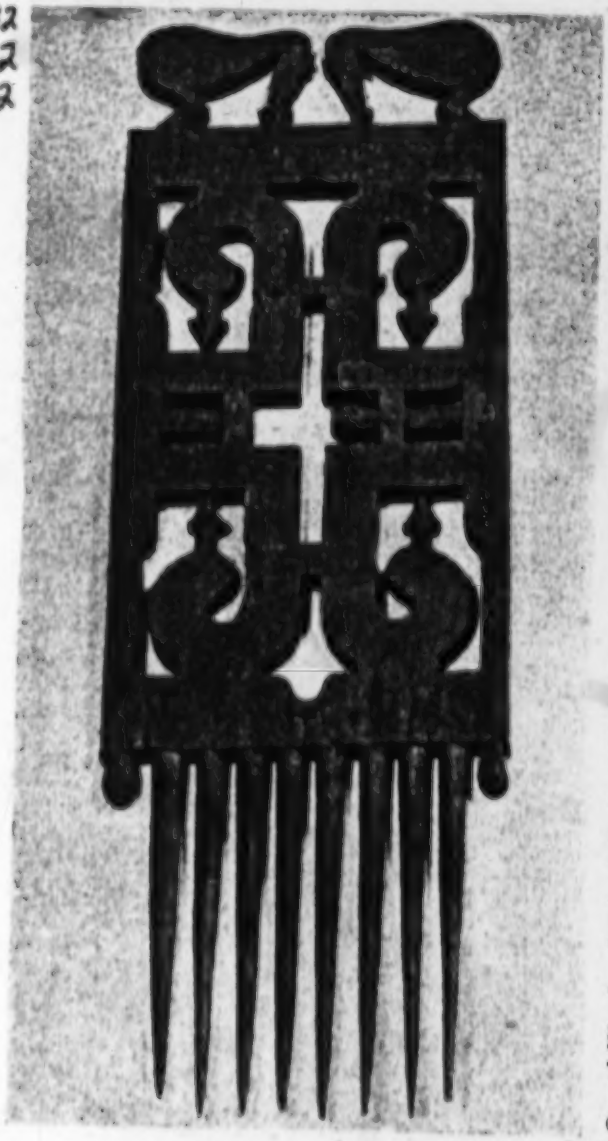

Carved Wooden Comb of the Boni Tribe, French Guiana. The central cross is a symbol of a woman surrounded by four phallic symbols in the form of curved arrows.
Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History

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2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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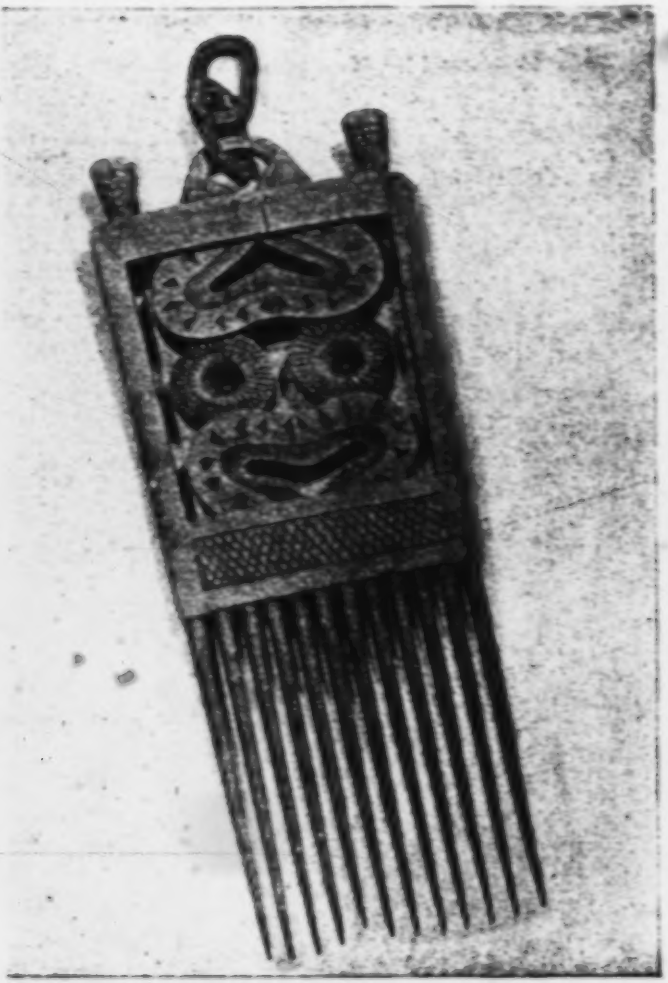
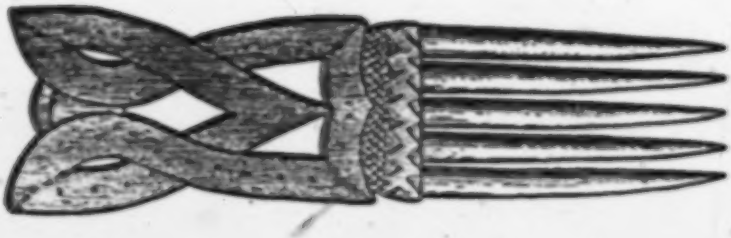


Carved Wooden Comb, Human Face Motif. *Boni Tribe.*
Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History

[Facing p. 188]



Chapter Twelve

PRIMITIVE ART

THE sense of beauty is not absent in the jungle. The 517
Djukas have definite æsthetic feelings and in their wood carving they have a well-developed and conventionalized art form. Art is highly socialized and universally appreciated among them. There are definite artistic conventions and common conventionalized forms.

Among ourselves the production of artistic objects is confined to a small group of especially gifted individuals, whereas among the Bush Negroes it is a regular part in the life of proportionately many more individuals. Common objects of everyday use, which among ourselves are designed for utility alone, are developed by the Bush Negroes into elaborate objects of art. They represent one of the most characteristic features of any Bush Negro village. One is sure to find in every village the carved plates and long-tined combs and pierced decorations that constitute the art of the Bush Negroes.

[For caption, see category 116, p.204.—Analyst]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

tion of falling in love, and the woman is inordinately proud of her pieces of wood since each one betokens the affection of a male. A great part of the love-life among the Djukas is wrapped up in these carved household implements.

Those unfortunate natives who are not clever at handling a knife must trade fish or game or some other personal possession for sanni produced by a more deft handicraftsman. Almost any Bush Negro can hunt, fish, and care for a wife, but a man's value is enhanced in the eyes of the woman when he can carve artistically. The women appreciate him and the men respect him. Wood carving, therefore, is assiduously cultivated by the Bush Negroes from early childhood.

As sanni is a prized commodity everywhere, exchangeable for female favours, a great deal of time is spent on each individual piece. A single comb may take weeks to carve. The women are very good judges of sanni, and can tell a good piece at a glance. With such a critical audience, the Djuka artist is careful of his skill, and few awkward or ill-formed designs are seen. Boys between the ages of eight and ten years may be proficient carvers, and critical elders preside over their work, ready to point out any minute mistake. The father or uncle who is expert with the knife will train his son or nephew in the same tradition, so that certain families are known for their beautiful work.

This erotic significance of the wood carvings makes them difficult to obtain. The woman who sells one is not parting with a domestic utensil so much as with a treasured memento. Sentimental attachments are bound to appear. As

As
532 one woman said: "He gave me this piece when we were
322 first married. I won't part with it now." Usually an elaborate
439 parley is necessary. The women are undecided whether to sell or not. They laugh, giggle, put their finger coyly in their mouths, joke bashfully with bystanders, and cannot make up their minds as to the price. They never know how much to ask for a piece. Sometimes they will mention a preposterous figure, hoping like a naïve child that the strange bahkra will pay that much. But on such occasions a rebuke will make them more reasonable. Once an arrogant witch doctor intervened in a transaction with a Bush Negro woman, demanding angrily that she receive an exorbitant payment. His anger was squelched with a few sharp words, and, contrite, he sat up all night to carve an ornate implement to present to the bahkra as a peace-offering. Cunning Adjobo, the medicine man!

412 The Bush Negro implements are carved out of jungle
322 wood. Some are made of lignum vitæ, the hardest wood
[304] known. A few of them are made of soft wood, light and spongy, but these are not popular. The small paddles are used for stirring in the cooking pots, and the combs are
[301] actually used for the hair. They are never worn as personal ornaments, and when not in use are hung up on the walls of the hut. The utensils are all made with common trade
[77] jackknives and compasses which are used as dividers. It is principally with these dividers that the serpentine motifs
322 are executed. After the carving is finished the piece is smoothed off by rubbing it with matted grass and river

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

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Pot Stirrers and Canoe Paddle Handle.
Saramaccaner Tribe.

[Facing p. 196 (A)]

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni
Aucamer

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Clothes Beater and Food Paddle. *Boni Tribe.*

Ceremonial Sword and Pot Stirrer. *Aucamer Tribe.*

[Facing p. 196 (R)]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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Pot Stirrers. Stylized human figure and snake motifs.
Aucaner Tribe.

[Facing p. 196 (c)]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

sand. A few chisels and carpenter's tools can occasionally 322
be found. Where compasses or dividers cannot be obtained, a nail and piece of string are often used to execute the involved serpentine patterns.

Bush Negro sanni is not used for trading purposes. A 438
few pieces find their way down to the coast, of course, but 322
they are never articles of commerce among the Djukas. In some villages, and particularly among the Paramacca tribe, it is practically impossible to obtain many carvings. But the willingness to part with these objects naturally varies with the village and the individual. Being known to the natives greatly facilitates trade.

One outstanding feature of this work is the complete 322
absence of colour. The finished piece shows the natural hue 532
of the wood, and rarely anything more. An occasional variation is obtained by inlaying with racuda wood, brownheart, or purpleheart, but tints and dyes are seldom applied. A different shade is also obtained once in a while by branding or burning the wood with a hot iron. The Aucaners, who paint red and black devices on their large canoe paddles, represent exceptions to the general rule of showing only the natural wood shades.

Nearly all the pieces are utilitarian in origin and purpose, 412
but some of them are so highly carved as to be of little [431
practical use. These are much prized as gift pieces. The 415]
trays are actually used to carry food on, and also for winnowing rice. The stirring paddles dip into the food pot every evening. After being used they are washed with river water and [264]
hang up on a peg.

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

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Pot Stirrer and Hair Combs. The comb in the centre is three feet long. *Aucaner Tribe.*

[Facing p. 197]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

412 hung up on a peg. The canoe paddles are actually employed
[501] every day on the river, and the flails beat the day's wash of soiled togas and coyos.

352 Since it is taboo to sit on the ground, a large number of
[784] stools are made, pierced and decorated, with now and then a tiny cabinet inside them. Wooden locks that actually work
[414] are seen on the doors, especially in Aucaner villages, guarding the treasures inside. These are West African survivals; the same type of device can be found in several parts of the Old Continent. They are huge affairs often two feet in length. Door sills and door posts, bows and sterns of canoes,
● 532 canoe seats and calabash gourds (occasionally decorated by a woman) are all embellished with ornamentation of great intricacy. It is amazing that these designs could be wrought without preliminary designing, which would seem to be necessary, but so far as we were able to observe there is no conscious planning before the carving begins.

The symbolism employed in these pieces of sanni is limited to a few conventionalized motifs. Moreover, there is a variation in the symbolism peculiar to the individual artist, which is not comprehensible solely from an examination of the piece itself. Unless one can locate the original carver, it is impossible, for the most part, to be certain what the symbols mean. The same motif will be differently interpreted by different natives, and often has no objective meaning. It is therefore impossible to undertake an elaborate interpretation of Djuka symbolism.

There are a few outstanding designs found on a large

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931

SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Saramaccaner
Aucaner

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Pot Stirrer and Hair Comb.
Saramaccaner Tribe.

Pot Stirrer.
Aucaner Tribe.

[Facing p. 198]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

number of pieces. The first of these is the snake motif. It 532
takes the form of serpentine coils and twists, fancifully involuted and superimposed. The same general design is also interpreted as a liana motif, referring to the twisted tendrils of the jungle vines, convoluted and snarled. The second most important is the chain motif, an attempt to duplicate the links of iron chains.

The vulva motif is commonly found, and is consciously employed as a love symbol. The natives have no hesitation in [832]
interpreting this design as referring to the female genitalia; it is impressed on articles as a symbol of desire. The bill-bird, or toucan, provides another motif that can be recognized on a variety of pieces. Another West African survival is the [177]
bone motif, for the human scapula is frequently seen conventionalized on calabash objects. A few of the white man's objects also furnish themes for wood carvings, such as the rifle stock.

Other motifs are entirely without symbolic intention, and 531
represent symmetry and proportion only. The cross-hatch and notch motifs are African in origin, and can be found on West African objects. Other details of execution vary widely, without especial significance. The tines of the combs may be rounded or square. The food paddles may have two handles and one blade, or two blades and one handle. The size of the pieces varies considerably, from small combs a few inches long to the great six-foot canoe paddles. Outside of the vulva [532 832]
and penis motifs there is little erotic symbolism.

A peculiarity of Aucaner wood carvings is the system of

A peculiarity of Aucaner wood carvings is the system of
532 sign language imprinted thereon. If some of the pieces are
212 examined closely, it will be seen that they have odd symbols apparently placed at random, not conforming to the general pattern of the piece. These marks represent personal messages from the giver to the recipient, special indications or signs of affection, comparable to the marks at the ends of Victorian *billets doux,* indicating the place to kiss. Conventionalized letters are known as *schriefie,* a Bush Negro word that means "writing." Animal, bird, and human figure motifs are more common among the Boni and Aucaner tribes.

322 Besides the practical implements in everyday use there are
532 a number of trick pieces apparently made for no other purpose than to show the virtuosity of the artist. Thus there are pieces where a loose bauble is placed in a cup from which it cannot be forced. Some of the stools have tiny doors which
[352] open, and some of them are folding stools which close up like camp stools, yet are made from one piece of wood. There are stirring paddles with loose rings around the handles, carved from the same piece of wood and undetachable. Some have chains of wood attached, with separate links, all from one piece of wood. The Bush Negroes are also fond of mak-
[293] ing bush-knives in wood, or ornamental swords to be worn on ceremonial occasions. Small knives ordinarily seen in metal are also carved out of wood.

There are two general types of decoration, with one or two subsidiary devices. The commonest consists of pierced ornamental work, made from a single piece of wood. Except

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

for benches, no pieced specimens are ever found. Because 322 532
of the practical necessity of having a large number of benches, and the difficulty of executing both legs and seat out of a continuous piece of wood, benches are commonly made of [352]
several pieces of wood fitted together, as can be seen in the photographs. A number of them, however, are made from a single piece, and this continuity is preferred by the Djukas. The Africanesque crescent stools are carved from a single log.

Relief work is the second form of decoration. It occurs 532
in the form of high relief on the plates and trays. It can be found to a modified degree on door-posts and other carved objects. Ornaments in low relief are represented by the calabash pieces, which are carved when green and allowed to dry.

Branding is done with a hot knife or wire, or else the piece may be charred by holding it in the flames. Circles are burned into the pattern by heating empty cartridge shells red hot and pressing them against the wood. Brass upholstery tacks, obtained in the white settlements of Para- [177]
maribo and Albina, are in especial favour, and some pieces are heavily laden with these. They fit in very well with the general spirit of Djuka art, and although the material is anachronistic, the effect is not.

Religious carvings, unlike the practical implements, are 532
executed with a crudeness that is surprising. The fetish to 778
the god Aflamu which was brought back to the Museum is nothing more than a rough section of pole with a crudely hewn face and seeds for eyes. Other religious pieces are

532 likewise roughly done. The reason for this seems to derive
778 from the general nature of primitive religion as it occurs among the Bush Negroes. Two explanations of this were given by native informants. If the god is a good god, and well disposed toward the black man, he doesn't care whether his fetishes are well executed or not. If he is a bad god he is going to continue to be bad, regardless of whether much time is spent on his fetishes or not. Another Bush Negro, questioned about this, said: "Me no sabby de Gadu luku"—"I don't know what God looks like." The primitive æsthetic feeling, apparently, is bound up with practical ends. There is absolutely no care or pains taken with religious objects, whereas erotic objects are finished with great skill.

322 There seems to be considerable variation between the tribes
184 of Djukas in the character of their art work. The Aucaner
532 wood carvings have, in general, a more refined and delicate cast than the wood carvings of their neighbours, the Saramaccaners and Boni. The differences in treatment of the motifs among the Bush Negro tribes and the general dissimilarities and likenesses of the carvings are best understood by consulting the accompanying illustrations.

412 The combs vary from two and a half inches to twenty-
322 four inches in length, and even these more immense combs see actual service. They are always made of a single piece, including the tines. For the most part they are made of harder woods, with occasional inlays. A number of them are trick pieces, with little ingenious devices that catch and hold the imagination of the primitive. For comparison, a West

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SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

But when the necessities of life have been provided for,
417 and leisure is at hand for more beautiful and tender endeavours, the Bush Negro, seated before his evening fire, sharpens his knife and begins marking, with fine, deft lines, the graceful outlines of another paddle or comb to please his woman.

412 352 322 532

List of Carvings Shown at Chapter Openings with Explanation of Symbolism

Carved Bench Top, *Saramaccaner Tribe:* Eight Women Dancing Around a Gadu Pole (title page)

Carved Bench Top, *Boni Tribe:* Stylization of Male and Female Figures (page 3)

Hair Comb, *Aucaner Tribe* (page 7)

Carved Pierced Bench Top, *Saramaccaner Tribe:* Two Male Figures Each Holding a Snake Aloft (page 27)

Carved Bench Top, *Saramaccaner Tribe:* Two Highly Stylized Human Figures (page 39)

Hair Comb, *Aucaner Tribe:* Male and Female Snakes (page 53)

Carved Bench Top, *Boni Tribe:* Vulva Surrounded by Phallic Symbols (page 63)

[415] Carved Inner Surface of Calabash Gourd, African Bone Motif, *Saramaccaner Tribe* (page 83)

Carved Bench Top, *Saramaccaner Tribe:* Frog Design Executed with Serpentine Technique (page 91)

Hair Comb, *Aucaner Tribe:* Vulva Motif; the triangles on the cross bar represent snake teeth (page 119)

Hair Comb, *Saramaccaner Tribe:* Male and Female Figures (page 133)

[415] Carved Outer Surface of Calabash Gourd, *Saramaccaner Tribe* (page 161)

[171] Comb from Nigeria, West Africa (page 175)

Hair Comb, *Saramaccaner Tribe* (page 193)

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Appendix B

SYMBOLS IN DJUKA CARVINGS

In the work of the Djukas sexual symbols are frequent. These symbols must not be taken to indicate preoccupation with lascivious interests, for they are not always even representations of coitus or of sexual desire on the part of the male donor of the carved wooden piece upon which the symbols occur. They are sometimes expressions, through conventional and decorative signs, of the entire fertility cult, embracing the Earth Mother (Mama fu a gron) and kindred spirits. The figures marked with the letter P are taken from an article by Jonkheer Van Panhuys (see bibliography).

532

[114]

[P. 208 is blank]

● 532

Explanation of Symbols

1 P A bird

2 P Monkey head

3 P An electric eel

4 P Snakes

5 P A star with two tails, symbolic of a comet

6 P A parrot tongue

7 P A parrot tongue

8 P Snakes

9 P Two chickens

10 P Anchor and two fowl

11 P Interpreted as birds in a furious battle, but possibly the symbol of a phallus

12 That the carved symbols on the gift piece are true in conveying their message of desire

13 P Bird killing a snake

14 P A centipede

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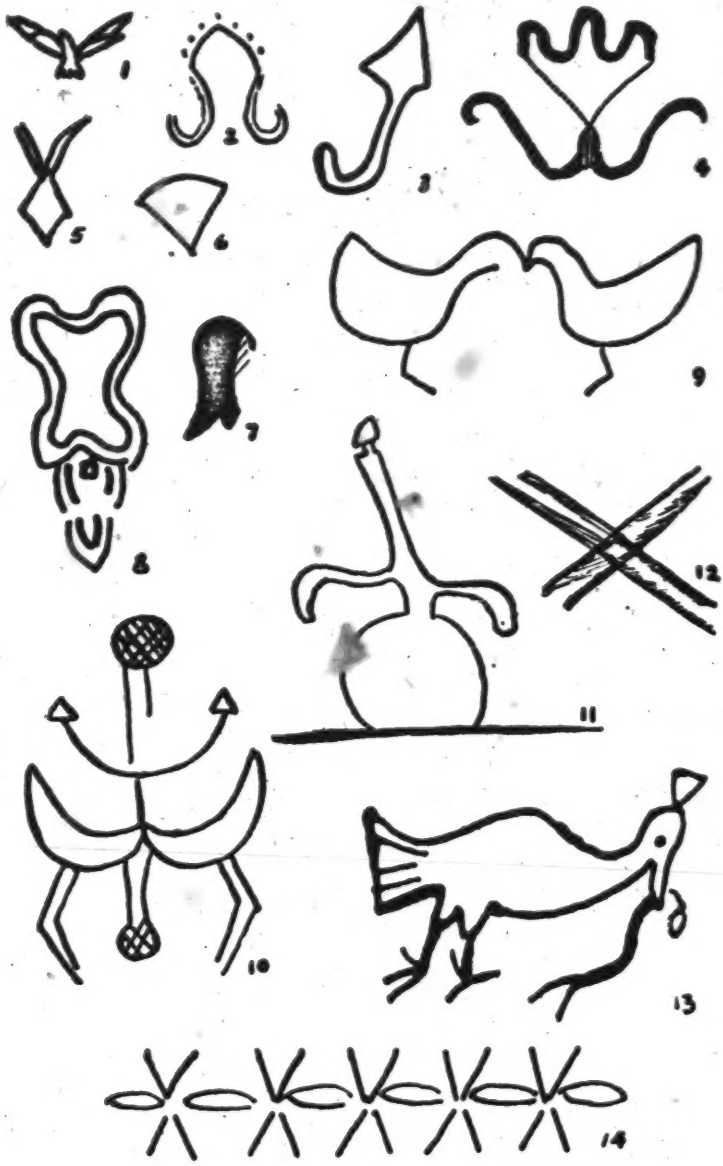

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Explanation of Symbols

● 532

15 P A water fowl

16 P Figure of a man

17 P Figure of a man

18 P A human figure

19 P Human figure

20 P A human figure

21 P A human figure

22 P A human figure

23 P Symbol of a man

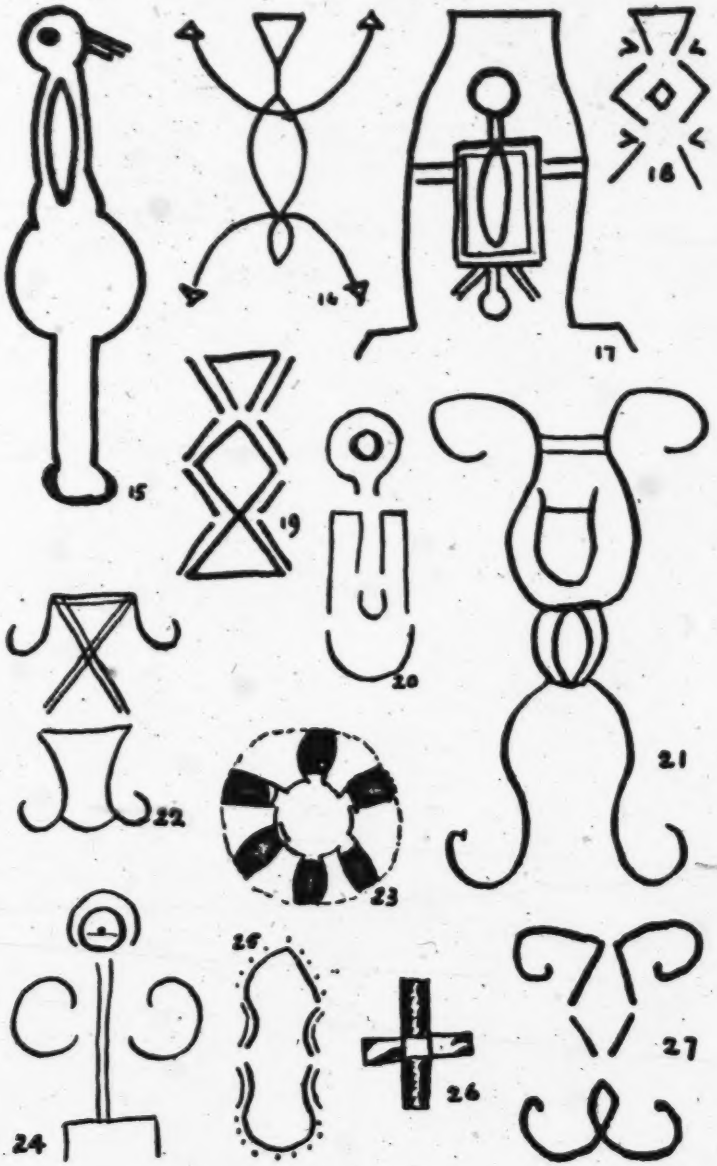
24 P A human figure

25 P A woman

26 A symbol of a woman

27 P Symbolized woman

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8



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Explanation of Symbols

●532

28 Symbol of a woman in the form of a duck

29 P A European woman

30 P Figure of a woman

31 Figure of a woman

32 P Symbolized woman

33 P A woman

34 P A human head

35 P Human head?

36 P Human head with feathers

37 A coffin. "His desire will last until death"

38 Two coffins. A hope that his loved one will lie with him in the same grave

39 A symbol of affection

40 P A man running with a snake on his head

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

532

Explanation of Symbols

•532

41 P Tattoo marks simulating a dancing man

42 P Bush Negro hut upside down

43 An affectionate greeting

44 An affectionate greeting

45 A curse upon anyone who states that the carving is not a good one

46 Curse motif, as 45

47 P Man with two fingers and two toes (webbed) symbol of a water spirit

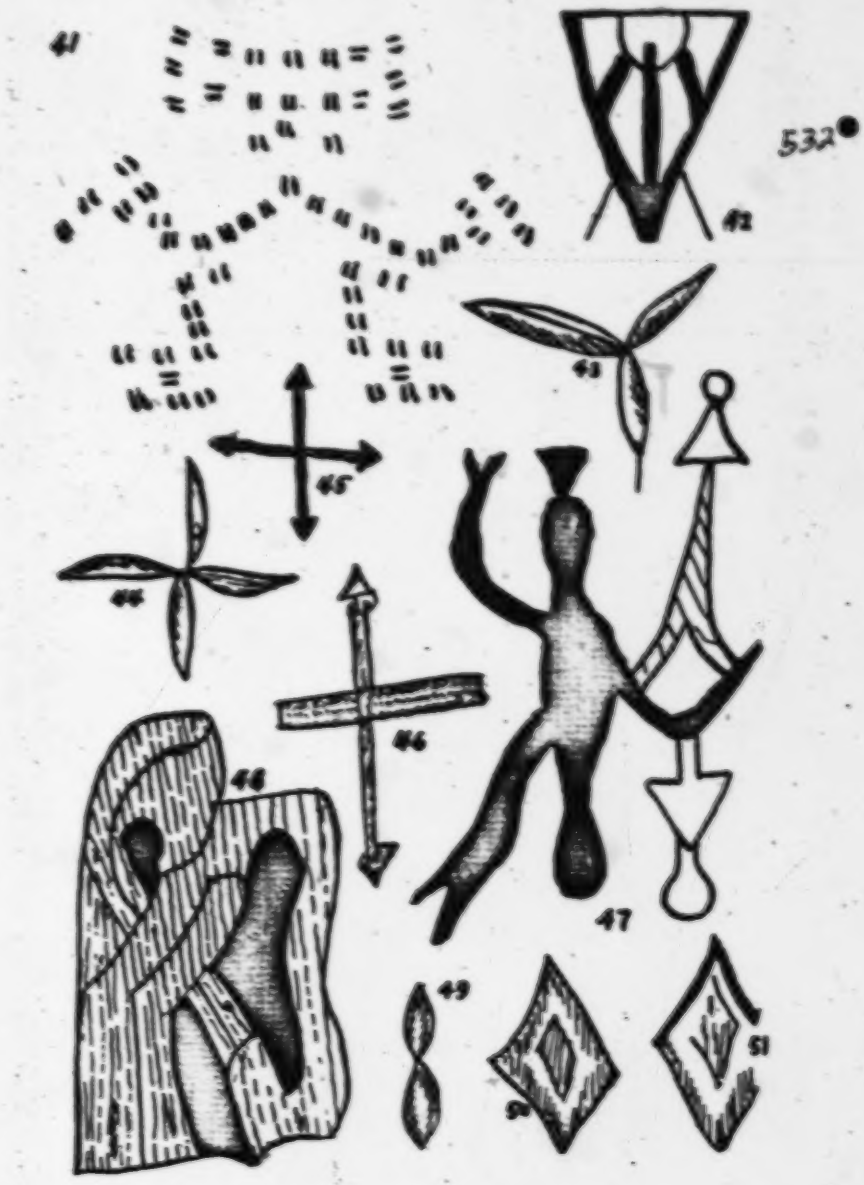
48 Symbol of a man and woman engaged in the act of coitus

49 Vulva symbol

50 Vulva symbol; Desire

51 Vulva symbol

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8



2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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Explanation of Symbols

•532

52 A human face with vulva motifs; a woman

53 Vulva motif

54 P Man without a head giving forth his sex energy, here represented by a ball and arrow

55 Symbol of a woman being held with an arrow (penis) and therefore unable to escape

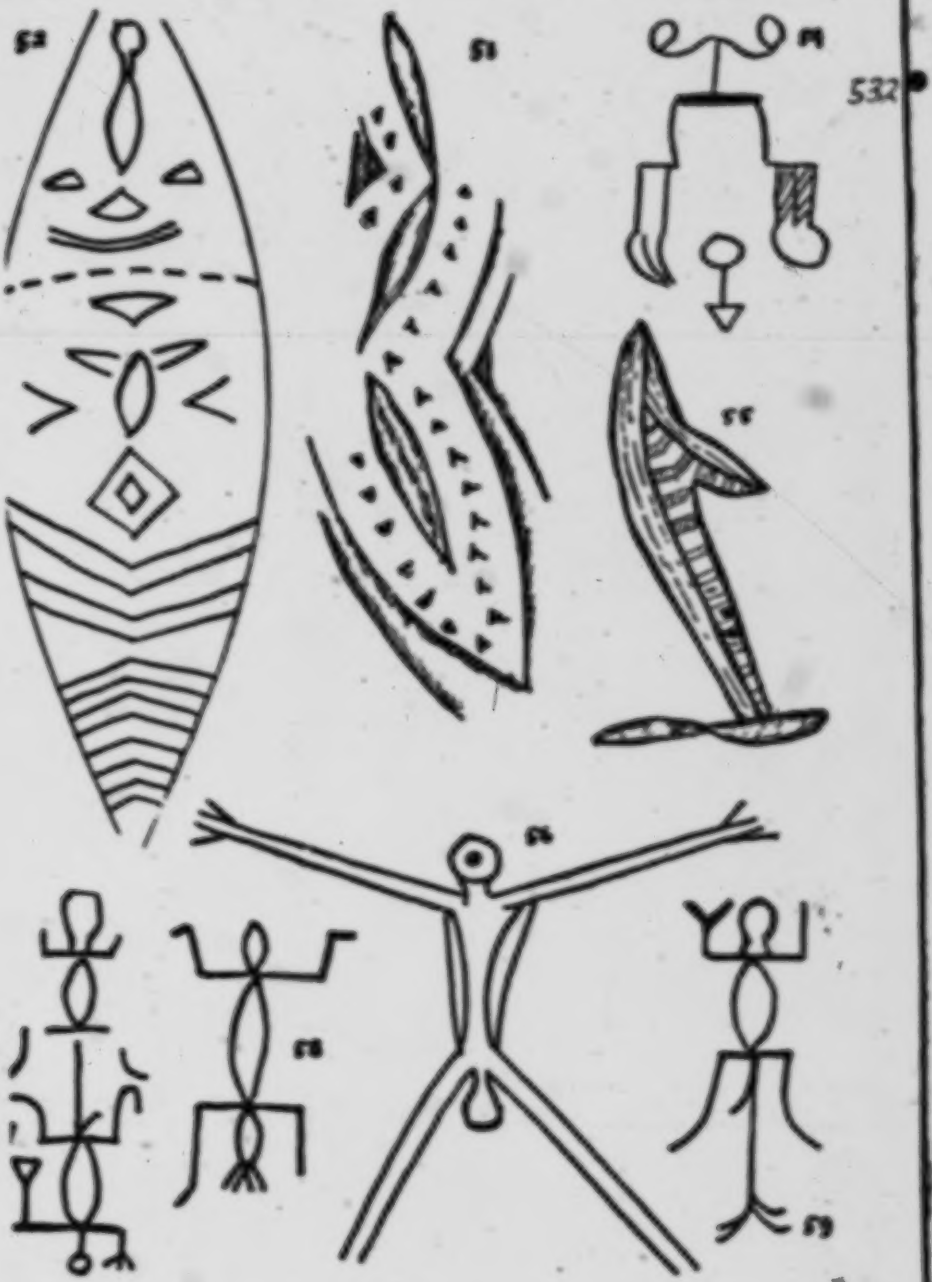
56 Symbol of a man about to engage in the act of coitus

57 P Man and woman in the act of coitus

58 P Figure of a man in the act of coitus

59 P Woman in the act of coitus receiving a phallus

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8



/250 cont./

751 Next in the preoccupations of the Refugee Blacks come the ɔbia called tapu, that is to say, protection. There exist numerous kinds adapted to the various dangers of a supernatural order (protection against other divinities, against the maleficent entities of the bush, against the wisimɛ̃).

[796] [754] The Ampuku are generally asked for tapu against the wisimɛ̃. We saw a remarkable one in front of the house of F... (Dju). Its owner was not a little proud of it and he talked about it to us freely.

751 798 [532] The ɔbia, placed at ground level in front of the door, was composed of a crude representation in clay of a head in which appeared two wide-open eyes: in front of it were planted in the ground three plant clusters including a planting of groundnuts and one of maize; the whole was topped by a small basket containing an egg. It was necessary to water the ɔbia with a certain infusion of leaves at regular intervals to restore its force.

751 754 This ɔbia insured infallible protection against wisimɛ̃; in fact, none of them would have been able to cross the threshold without stubbing his toe on the door frame in spite of all his precautions; F... stated that his ɔbia constituted by this fact an effective means of detection of wisimɛ̃, for it was enough for him to invite suspects to enter his hut, to know what to think; the wisimɛ̃ refused, for fear of thus being given away in the eyes of all; one could thus at least pin down suspicions.

751 [411] Other ɔbia are called sama mɔ̃fu tetɛ̃y (ɔbia against "people's mouths," that is, people's jealousy). They are nearly always seen on fine guns; they have a cord to hold them made of moriti palm fibers, to which two cowries are fastened.

755 The ɔbia intended to treat diseases generally have for support a calabash containing the infusion of leaves and a ball of pɛmba (kaolin). The person concerned sprinkles himself several times a day with this liquid.

/259 cont./

241 776 [532] [831] [778] [243] [782] Cult of Mama gɔ̃. Mama gɔ̃, mother of the earth, is represented by a crude statue of white clay provided with enormous breasts, symbol of fecundity, which can be seen in a little hut situated on the open place of Boniville village. Each year, when the time for cutting the clearings approaches, the grand man, surrounded by many other people, prays to the god to grant fertility to the plantings. If rain does not fall, an offering of water and tafia is made and the statue is sprinkled.

811 The Boni do not appear to associate the idea of women's fecundity with that of the fertility of the soil, and we have not heard anyone say that the grand man prays on this subject.

241 776 Neither do they appear to have a very clear idea about the relationships of this worship with that of the gɔ̃ gadu, local gods of the soil.

796 535 787 Every three years a great possession dance takes place in Boniville on January 1. /260/ in which the Papa gadu gods dance in front of the sanctuary of Mama gɔ̃. We have not been able to obtain specific information on the meaning of this rite.

241 776 [784] Cult of the gɔ̃ gadu. It is assumed that every portion of land is under the sway of a local god, gɔ̃ gadu. Its power is limited only by the fertility of the soil, and he who neglects its worship cannot be attacked in his person or in his goods, but only punished by a poor harvest.

What is the nature of these gods, what is their place in the cosmogony? These are questions which not one of our informants had ever asked himself. In their minds, gɔ̃ gadu has a de facto existence, and is rendered de facto worship. This worship consists essentially of:

[782] --Offerings made at the moment of planting;

[527] --The observance of a local day of rest, kina dɛ, corresponding to the god's day of rest.

609 people kept their distance, and among them some pithy proverbs were spoken to bear upon the shortcomings of the white man. One or two of them turned to repeat to the dead what had been said, and there was great laughter. Sedefo [775] came to assure us that the dead man liked it very much. For the dead, it appeared, were especially susceptible to humor and to exceptional occasions.

964 About us, or edging their way toward us, were the 298 younger men in their ceremonial dress, the toga-like cloth covering their bodies, but leaving one shoulder bared for respect, and the women in their knee-length *pangi*, or [301] cloths, hanging from the waist, and their shining brass rings reaching from wrist to elbow and from ankle halfway up to the knee. Among the dancers, but standing somewhat [534] aloof, could be seen a man or woman with seed rattles about the ankles. These were the fine dancers. Of them our informant had spoken when he said, "They dance well at Gankwe."

964 Carved stools were placed for us facing the coffin a little [350] to the left of the singers, where we could best see the danc- 533 ing. One or two lanterns were moved to give us better light. The drummers, who had not left their places, took up the rhythm again—one of the women had us know that the spirit of the dead man had communicated to the spirits of the drummers that he wanted to see the dancing resumed. The singing began—a woman's falsetto voice and a chorus; the hand clapping of the singers and bystanders emphasized the basic rhythm. It was slow at first, then quickened, and the dancing became more animated.

"They dance seketi," whispered our friends. "Later they will dance awasa."

964 The dancing was confined to a comparatively small space. 535 It began with a barely perceptible motion of the feet of the dancers to the rhythm of the drums and the hand clapping. Then the feet began to execute figures in place, without leaving the ground, the arms hanging loosely at the side. This was continued for some time, until, arms flexed and held rigid at the elbow, and knees bent but rigid, too, the

DEATH AT GANKWE

intricate steps began. The movement of the feet, angular 764
and precise, was reiterated by the outstretched palms, 535
while all the muscles of the hips took up the rhythm. Now
one of the men with the seed rattles at his feet danced facing [534]
a woman who also had these rattles, and the dance became
theirs with a chorus of dancers moving more and more to
the side, keeping the rhythm with the feet. The drums beat
faster, the hand clapping became louder. Those two
balanced their bodies as they bent their knees lower and
lower, all the while executing the figures with feet, arms,
and hips, and how unaware they seemed of the audience!
And even of each other, for what awareness there was to
quicken the pulse of the dancing was more than one man's
awareness of one woman. It might have been a dance to
Asaase—the great Earth Mother—but it was, in fact,
dancing for the dead, for the two would turn again and
again to face the coffin, as the others had done, except
during the intervals when they recalled the white man and
woman in back, and turned to dance to us and our
flashlights.

Seketi, awasa. . . . The dances changed, and the songs,
and the drum rhythms changed, too. The children at our
feet had fallen asleep and lay doubled over, their heads
resting upon their toes. More men joined the dancers. It
was long past midnight. The women who had infants on
their backs moved away silently in the direction of their
huts, but when an elderly woman tried to go, too, she was
reprimanded and sat down again.

There was another leader for the singing, and another.
A man's falsetto was heard in a long recitative that preceded [533]
the dancing to the massed voices of the chorus. He faced
now the dead, now us, as he improvised. Once more it was
gay.

The dancing became more and more spirited, but when a
dancer had continued in the circle for some time, an older
woman coming forward from among the bystanders would
put her arm about her and exclaim the singsong, "*Adoo!*
. . . *Adoo!* . . . *Adoo!*" Others came forward to con-

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888 young. Once she, too, had liked to have her calf look round and full.

[437] [876] "Will you exchange this bottle of palm oil for tobacco?" she asked, showing her empty clay pipe.

She came in, saying she would like to rest, and began unfastening her top tunic so that she might make a pad of it on which to sit down on the ground, for the earth spirits [784] forbid women who had reached puberty to sit upon the bare earth. In her second tunic, somewhat fresher than the top one, she stood hesitating, looking about her for a place to sit down, until we brought her a carved stool we had bought the day before. Instead of putting on the top pangi again, she used it to cover her knees.

[576] "*Bak'a muye*," she said, "white woman, you ought to cover your knees, too, when you sit."

And sitting there, examining us and our belongings, she muttered her comments about our appearance and dress as she smoked, and muttering she swayed slightly, until the swaying rhythm seemed to bring a melody into her head, and she began to sing.

[533]

"*The American Bak'a*
Have come from far,
American koni
Has brought them
To the Saramacca River,
To the Saramacca people;
They must not sicken
They must not die."

While the men on the shore talked and called upon their gods to keep them free, the woman rocked and sang this invocation for our safety, forgetting for the moment that we were whites, whom the ancestors hated.

"You have so much wealth," she said to the white man, looking about her at our provision boxes, "you must have many wives."

And back again she went to her song, repeating the words over and over, until seeing people approach she rose slowly and went back to the river where her rice was drying.

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implied), and he repeated the word over and over, until this led us to talk about singing, and at last we had them consent to dance susa for us. It had to be done very quietly, in the slight clearing in back of the shelter. Susa is an African dance. It is danced by men only, in pairs, and is something of a game. The one who wins "kills" his opponent. The earth spirits are said especially to like it, and it is danced in the fields or in the villages for them. 123 609 535

There they stood, Yamati and Sabape, facing each other, their enlarged navels almost touching. One agreed to be "in," and one "out," and as they began, their jaws came forward in a patterned, pugnacious way, and their arms moved to reproduce in pantomime shield and spear, while the feet crossed and recrossed. 535 524

Kesi-kesi g'a S'sa
Zond'o linga
Linga-li

[533]

The monkeys
Go to dance susa
Without rings.

Huh, huh, huh!

They sang the song over and over again, panting at the end of each verse to dramatize combat.

"I killed him," said Yamati. He had won, and they began again. If the one who had agreed to be "in" had his foot on the outside as they clashed, then he lost—he was killed.

4

As they were dancing, we noticed a young man we had never seen before. He was standing watching the youngsters at their play, smiling as though he enjoyed their contest. He was very dark, even for a Bush Negro, short and stocky, with unusual muscular development of arm and chest and thigh. His age, one would judge, was nineteen or twenty. He turned his smile on us when he realized we were noticing him. 439

609 scratched like a "*tigri*"—a tiger, for this is how the Bush
123 Negroes name the jaguar. Later, when we saw him dance
115 the Tigri Kromanti dance, we witnessed one of the most realistic feline interpretations imaginable. But that is another matter.

Now Apanto was an obia man to be reckoned with, and his fellow villagers and the villagers of neighboring settlements treated him with a deference that his age alone could never have commanded. And it was this Apanto who now came up and said that he would sing the sacred Kromanti songs for our phonograph.

"You will not understand the songs. They will be in the Kromanti language," he warned us. "They are strong, and the machine must be strong to carry them."

It happens that a field phonograph is anything but strong. The mechanism is simple, since the instrument must be light enough to be carried about, and yet it often is subjected to all manner of hard usage. To this is added the
[126] hazard of the climate. The turntable is actuated by a belt running from the mechanism inside the case, and the ends of this belt are glued together. This, to be sure, we discovered later. At the moment, we met Apanto's challenge with assurance. We did not doubt that the machine was spiritually strong.

126 What he said about the Kromanti language was true.
533 The Kromanti tongo, of which we had been told during our
[197] first visit here, we were finding to be an actuality, and
539 although we took down the words as he sang them, aided in hearing them by the repetitions, their meaning was unknown to us. Some of them we learned later. Some of them we knew. "Obia" we knew concerned the spirit,
[176] the vague force known by that name, while "Amba" was a deity sacred to Saturday, and was given as a "day name"
[551] to women born on that day of the week. This, then, is what he sang:

"*Ma djeni ye-ye*
Obia kule ma djeni no-ho
Obia mo-ye

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126
533
539

WHILE THE RIVER WAS HIGH

Amba djeniyi, obia-mi yi-yi
Mo djeni-o
Mo djeni-e-ye
Obia mi-i
Man djeni no-ho
Obia mo-i
Amba djeni-e-i, obia-i-i
Man djeni no-ho, obia-i."

The music was slow and soft, and in Apanto's appealing voice the song took on a strangely moving quality. But as he sang, a stir went through the people who were listening.

"He calls his obia, ai."

"His obia will fight the spirit of the machine."

"The Bakra is cunning, but obia is strong. We shall see."

The song came to an end, the recorder was lifted. We looked at Apanto. "Will you sing another? See, the thing is not finished. There is room for more."

He looked. Yes, one could see there was room for more. Yes, he would sing more. This time the song was livelier, louder. As Apanto sang, he seemed to force the song into the horn, and this time there were no murmurs from those watching.

"*Yen-bo, yenbo,*
A yen-bo-bo no
Yen-bo, yenbo,
A yen-bo. . . . "

And with this the machine began to give way. There was a rattling sound, a scratching. The machine went more slowly, then stopped. About us the murmurs became excited. Hastily we fitted a new cylinder, hastily we tested it. It was no use. We soon found the cause. The glue had softened in the tropical dampness, and the ends had pulled loose. It was almost dark, and there was no sun to dry a newly applied coat of glue.

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126 Apanto looked at us. "The Bakra is cunning," he
533 repeated. "But obia is stronger. In the bush obia rules.
123 Kromanti is too strong for the spirit of the machine."

Swiftly the dark of the bush came down. The people who had been watching, listening to what had passed, were leaving to go to their villages and to spread the news of the power of obia, and how Apanto had defeated the spirit of the machine that talks back what has been said to it. And with the gathering dark, we could sense the pulse of the drums and hear a faint echo of the shrill cry of the women dancing at Gankwe for the spirit of the dead man who lay there in the house of mourning.

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had not acted well toward the Granman. It would be best if we did not stop there. At the others the Granman could assure us hospitality. Then there was talk of hauling wood and making rafts, for our host, who knew these people well, moved safri, too, until he at last felt the moment had come to talk about buying a boat from Ajako.

When the arrangements of the sale were concluded, Ajako came back to talk with us. He had heard that we had a machine which the Kromanti spirit had broken, was it true? Did it really go again? They said the Bakra had much cunning. They said the Bakra knew African magic.

The Bakra said he knew something about Africa. The Ashanti people, for instance, were a fine people.

"*Ma na Asante, na Sa'macca sem-* . . . —But the Ashanti are Saramacca. . . . " But he would go no further, having spoken only one syllable of the word for people. He became guarded. Yes, there were some Anago people from Africa on this Saramacca River, and Dahomey, and Loango, and Fanti; the Ibo peoples were not on this river. . . . And again he would say no more. Later, when we had changed the subject, he said as if in both gratitude and explanation, "*Na sa-i-'akisi, a tranga poi*—You ask about strong things."

But he would sing into our machine, if we liked. He would sing Kromanti, if we wanted him to do so. "I won't fight your machine," he said, smiling.

"*Anabobi, Anabobi,*
Anabobi, Anabobyo,
Tata Ando.
Anabobi, Ando,
Anabobi,
Tata Adjaini,
Anabobyo
Tata Fa'aku."

"They will understand this in Africa," he said, gravely, and then he moved toward the doorway and stood there

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501 609 "It is not good," he said aloud to us. "Its balance is not right. Look, it rolls . . . and besides, I have a kunu. I will go up in my own boat."

And so it was. Sedefo took his own boat up river, and another Gankwe boat was obtained, and there were four boats instead of three, and eight paddlers instead of six.

"Ya-hai! Kunu is costly for the white man as well as the black," Bayo said to Bibifo, his great-grandfather, for it was not his father, nor his grandfather, as he had later promised, who appeared to steer the boat in which Bayo was taking the Bakra and his woman up the river.

3

502 484 Bayo was at his best on the river. He loved it, and it treated him well. In the prow of the boat, swinging his pole-stick hand over hand, he steadily urged the boat upstream against the current, and sang as he poled.

[533] [539]

"*A-yai-yo,*
A-yai-yea,
Money is finished in Suriname
Lower Cayenna took it!
A-yai-yo,
A-yai-yea."

[533] Over and over he repeated the seketi, with tantalizing variations in rhythm and melody on the traditional air, to which he knew so many sets of words. In and out went the pole-stick. In, until it struck the sand with a soft caressing glide, then a hard push, and three short steps back along the boat until Bayo's hand reached the upper end of the wood, and a final thrust, then pull, and over, and in, and once again the three short steps.

The other boats had got ahead. In the distance close to the bank they followed one another.

"*Mbwogu, mbwogu*—Hurry!" said old Bibifo in back.

Bayo turned and grinned. "*Ai, mbwogu, mati, mbwogu*—Yes, hurry, friend, hurry," he twitted his great-grandfather,

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smaller boats were to be brought up each by its own men. Each selected a place, and the shrill shouted directions could be heard above the falling water. Up, up, they came, the man at the stern holding with his stick, the man at the head up to his shoulders in water, tugging, pulling, hauling the boat over. Once Asikanu's pole slipped, and his boat swung toward a rock, but it caught again and he held it with the fierceness of a man defending himself against an enemy, and then he, too, cut across and found the firmness of the friendly sandy bottom. 502 484

But when the five boats were at last together above the falls, out came machetes to sharpen the ends of the pole-sticks, for an encounter such as they had had the moment before shredded the hard wood into fiber.

Ahead the water was still. The hard work of the day was over. The men straightened their loin cloths and again began to make their way along the banks of the river. The village where we would camp that night was somewhere before us. The sun was nearing the treetops, and the shrieking pairs of parrots were flying over us to the west, seeking their roosting places. [136]

The short dusk was upon us.

"It is not far," said Bayo, speaking of the village ahead.

"Will we get there before dark?"

"*Massa Gadu sabi*—God alone knows."

"*No fe', Bak'a*—Don't be afraid. We know the river."

The Bush Negro and his river! Seeing the prodigious strength of the men, their great knowledge of current and rocks and channels, one was not afraid. Softly the pole-sticks slid into the sand banks, softly the paddles dipped, and Bayo sang his seketi. [533] [539]

"*N'an g'wa a Lamé*
A s'ib' ko' de muye."

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her become pale again. This may happen to you when you get to the Mamadam." 538 776

As he spoke, he began to beat on the table the drum rhythm which calls the river god, and he sang, 776 533

"*Today, today, O Spirit,*
Hard times are upon us
Ingi-o.
Hard times are upon us. [539]
Today, today, Boyo,
Hard times are upon us
Ingi-e."

And then he sang another song, which he said had been sung at the time when black people were running away from slavery, and is still heard at dances to the spirits of the river, the *watra ingi*, as the river gods are called in the city. In it, he called on the agida, the great drum upon which, in town as in the bush, the Negroes call the river gods, and on *Kopsi*, the name of one of the spirits of the water. This time he sang,

"*I will play the agida today,*
I will knock the agida today-o
Kopsi will foil the magic
Of the crowing cock.
O, I will play the agida today, [539]
I will knock the agida, today-o,
Kopsi will foil the magic,
Of the crowing cock.
I will play the agida today."

3

As we gained the island where the shrine itself stood and looked about us from the high rocks of the sacred spot, there lay before us in the early morning light a scene of inexpressible beauty. At dusk the narrow strips of land which forced the river into three channels had been like dark machetes plunged into the body of the great stream. 133 [778]

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away. It seemed dangerous even to notice the strip of white cotton which showed high above the falls, though the stick from which it hung we could not see. 778 784

"Human beings do not go there," Bayo had said warningly. "Human eyes must also not go there."

But the shrine at the Mamadam is a friendly place. There a man finds a moment's ease. For a brief interval, at least, the voyager upstream or down rests there to get his breath, as he makes ready for a new start. Directly below the falls is a stretch of still water, which follows upon the wearisome portage at the Musumba Prati and the struggle with the rapids just above it, while, when continuing up river, the boatmen face a succession of rapids before another stretch of quiet water is reached. It is not strange, therefore, that no man, whatever his need to make time, will fail to stop at the Mamadam long enough to make known to the Mother of the River his errand and to ask for the continuance of her protection. 778 484

This shrine is the home of the Great Mother of the inland waters, she who, above all else, had secured to the ancestors of these Bush Negroes their freedom from slavery. In the city and on the plantations of the coastal region the Negroes, under states of possession by the water gods, sing of their longing to join those at the Mamadam. 778 976

Let me die on the river, O!
Let me die on the water, O!
All the Ingi spirits
Are at the Mamadam,
Let me die on the river, O! [533] [539]

Deep in the interior, if one of the elders, let us say a man of the Dahomey clan, is alarmed at the prospect of the white man penetrating their bush, some man can be looked to, then, to say reassuringly, "Have no fear. They will not come beyond the Mamadam!"

For this river is their own. "Once, long, long ago," the legend was told us, "this river was but a creek. There were no great trees here, no rocks. There were no boats, no 173

REBEL DESTINY

574 609 In the doorway of one of the huts, a woman squatted over a fire, and at her feet a child sat busying itself with pushing the firewood toward the center. Our cook had planted two forked sticks in the ground, and on them had hung our lanterns, so that we could see the woman silhouetted against the fire and the naked child on the ground singing the seketi which Bayo had sung for us so many [533] times on the river. Over and over the child tried the air, her mother humming it for her softly, while from the doorway of another house a man sat watching them. We had not noticed him until the lanterns had come. The planting [291] ground at harvest time is not a place a man frequents. He was a strange figure there on his low stool, as he sat wrapped to his neck in a large striped cloth. He made not the slightest move, uttered not a single word. But for his cough, he might have been a corpse propped up in the doorway. We stood hesitating whether to cross the short distance between us and the fire to greet the woman and the man, but before we could come close enough to them to speak, we heard Bayo calling us in a voice we had never heard him use in a strange village.

"Bak'a, Bak'a. Come. They want you inside." When we were out of earshot of the woman at the fire, he said in a whisper, "Do not go over to those houses. Tomorrow when we are away from here, I will tell you why. It is for that I called you."

We had no need, however, to puzzle over Bayo's warning. [164] Our cook, who had heard the conversation of the men, told us that the man in the doorway was a leper.

753 262 "You know how it happens, Massa? Among us townspeople it is this way. A child inherits a *trefu* from his father. It is one thing, or many things, he must not eat. If he eats what he should not, then he sickens. We know a person who has eaten his trefu by the spots that come out on his skin. If a man goes on eating the things which are his trefu, then the spots become worse and worse. He becomes a leper. So that's how it is."

He did not at once answer the questions we put to him.

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But Sedefo was still not impressed. 538

"We bush people have our own ways. How will it be with a long story, if the proper songs are not sung?"

So the discussion went on between Sedefo and the town boys, until among them they had gone over all the many details of how stories must be told. There was the interchange between the teller and his audience at the very beginning. Openings might differ. Here in the bush, one way was for the teller to cry "Mato!" and someone in his audience to call back "Tongoni!" What did this mean? It was a way to begin. That is how it was done long ago in the land of the Negroes. Did we not know that? Or the teller might begin with "Hireti!" and then the answer would be "Daieti!" But often, as well, the opening might be "Kri! Kra!" Sometimes, though now it was most often a way of beginning stories for children, the tale would be started with "Er tin tin," and the answer to this "Tin tin tin," in the manner of "Once upon a time."

What really mattered, however, was the way in which the intervals in the story-telling were dramatized. After the speaker had started his tale and had carried it to some incident where he paused for a moment, he would be interrupted by a call from someone in his audience, "Kri, kra!" His answer would come promptly, "What have you to say?"

"I myself was there," would be the response, and this would draw its question.

"What did you see?"

At this point, the person who had interrupted would 538
begin a song, and its chorus would be taken up by all who 533
were listening. And when it was ended, the leader of the song would shout, "Go on with your story, my man!"

Now the telling would be resumed, but only for two or three minutes, when again a voice would call out, "Bato! I was there, too!" And without further colloquy another song would begin. This was the way stories should be told, and when people knew what they were about, then they might change the words of old songs and make up new ones

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538 to fit the story that was being recited, or they knew the
533 songs that, as long as anyone could remember, had been sung at given intervals in a particular tale, and which themselves carried the action forward.

538 But Sedefo and our boys spoke not only of how a tale is opened and carried forward, but of the many ways of bringing a story to a close. A song might furnish a proper ending, or a proverb. "The reward for goodness is the cudgel," they agreed, might well end some of the stories about Anansi's exploits, or, "When you wish to eat with the devil, you must have a long fork." Or, "He who doesn't believe a lie, won't believe the truth," would sometimes be fitting, and "All showing of teeth isn't a grin." There was also the ending in which the teller vouched for his participation in the concluding events of his tale, as when he would say, "Bato! I myself sat with the King at his feast!"

But now our cook, whose patience was tried by this discussion, began to riddle.

"Mato!"

"Tongoni!"

"You have three things in your house," he started, looking about him at Sedefo and us, and at Kasanya, who had fallen asleep, and Asikanu, who sat in the doorway watching the younger woman. "One of them longs for daybreak. One of them longs for night. One of them longs for the world to come to an end. *Suma sa puru?*—Who will pull the riddle?"

Asikanu finally broke the silence.

"The first is a bed. It longs for daylight. The second is a stool. It is tired. It longs for night to come that it may rest. The third is a clock. It is weary of life. It wishes the world would come to an end."

And so a beginning was made. Sedefo turned to the cook.

"Friend," he said, "You tell a story. And then I will tell one for the Bak'a."

Our cook began: "Kri! Kra! All men in their places!"

Back came the answer, "Will it go?"

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"It will go! . . . Ananai and Dew were great friends. 539
The two worked together, each helping the other. So they lived.

"Well, now, they each planted a field of corn. But the corn belonging to Dew was finer than Ananai's, and Ananai was envious. He wished that he had the field which belonged to Dew. So he said to Dew, he said: 'Your corn is fine, but mine is finer. If mine were like yours, I should cut it, so that it might come up better.'

"But Ananai was lying. When you cut corn, it will not grow again. He was deceiving Dew."

Now came the voice of our town man, as he offered the first "cut" to the story: "Bato! I was there!"

"What have you to say?"

With this came the song. The one that he chose was in 539
the Kromanti language, and later he told us it was a komfo 533
song, one which taking its name from the African Ashanti word for priest, calls on the Ashanti earth spirits to bring the singer a magic wand which, when touching his head, will make him possessed by the earth gods. And as leader, he began:

Asanti boyo
Da mi widya
Akolo!

The others responded in chorus

Akolo, Akolo, Abanu ba.

Singer and chorus repeated verse and refrain, until our boy shouted, "Go on with your story, man!"

"And so, my friends, Dew cut his corn.

"But in the afternoon, when people passed, they saw that the corn had been cut. And they asked one another: 'What made Dew cut his corn? It was such fine corn.' Dew said it was Ananai who had made him do it. Then the people told him it would not grow again.

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"And Dew said to them, he said, 'Well, all right. He tricked me with corn, but I am going to trick him with his mother.'"

Now came another interruption: "Bato! I was there!" and this time the song that cut the story was one of the spirit Sofia Bada. He is strong, and to dance for him is "heavy," a priestess of the city had told us. The words that were sung were a challenge sung by this warrior spirit of Allada, one of the ancient West African kingdoms.

Come try me
I am the man.
Come feel me,
I am the man
I am Sofia Bada
The strong man in Allada
Come try me,
I am a man.

"Let the story go on," said the singer.

"The story will go on. . . . So Dew worked hard until he had enough to buy himself a scythe, a hoe, an axe, and all manner of implements and clothes. And then he worked some more until he had put by some money.

"Then he went to his mother, and he said, 'Well, mother, I am going to do this. I am going to say that you are dead. You must hide upstairs, and I will set to work to make a coffin and to arrange for the burial.'

"And he did that. He sent word to all the animals that his mother died. And all the animals came together for the burial, and with them came Anansi.

"Now, Dew had it all arranged. He hid his mother underneath the plank on which the coffin rested, and placed beside her all the things that he had bought. He knew how greedy Anansi was.

"And so, before they were ready to take up the coffin, he began to wail, 'Ai, mother, see how you leave me. Not even an axe have you left for your son. Your son has not a single tool.'

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"As he said this, all the things began to come out from under the plank. Ananai picked them up, and wished his own mother would die at once so that he might have these, too. Dew went on crying. He now begged his mother for some money. His mother flung the money at him. And so the burial went off well, and the mourners went their way. 539 533

"But now, day after day, Ananai and his mother quarreled. Ananai said, 'Why cannot death come to you as it did to Dew's mother!' Then one day he and his mother quarreled again, and in his anger he took up a stick and struck her, killing her."

Again there was the voice: "Bato! I myself was there!"

And the song was taken up:

A fine man is Amusi
A fine man.
If you believe in God
You must believe in Amusi.

"Ananai now did just as Dew had done. He fixed the plank properly, and began to weep just as Dew had wept, but nothing at all came of it. So they buried his mother.

"A week later, Dew had his mother come to the field, and when Ananai saw Dew's mother, he said: 'Friend Dew, isn't that your mother I see there?'

"He said, 'Yes, it is my mother. You deceived me about my corn. Now I have tricked you with your mother.'

"And so Dew's mother was alive, but Ananai's mother was dead. It is ended."

2

Now Asikanu spoke. "Mato!"

"Tongoni!" 539

"I go into the bush to hunt. I greet the living, but they do not answer me. I greet the dead, and they speak."

This time Kasanya, who had sat dozing on his stool, heard and knew the answer.

A NIGHT AT S'EI

the uncleared bush, or the sight of a snake twined about a liana, no longer struck terror, and the flaying rains which came down so suddenly, and as suddenly were over, no longer even aroused uneasiness.

At the prow of our boat Bayo poled vigorously and continued his countless variants of the seketi song we had been hearing everywhere on the river, while Bibifo had made a refrain of our question, "How do you say this in your Saramacca language?" He would paddle in silence for a long time, only to begin muttering at the most unexpected moments, "Sa'macca tongo!" in the way of an old man who talks to himself. He would then repeat it over and over in ridicule of us, and sometimes in a singsong voice he would improvise lines about the white man who wanted to know how everything was called in the true, true Saramacca language, and how all that was told him he wrote down in a book.

"Great-grandfather," we would say to him, "why do you say this? Isn't it all right for us to want to learn how to talk to the G'aman?"

"*Kere-kere*—It's all right."

But having said this, he would engage Bayo in conversation, clipping his words, and using so much idiom and parable as utterly to confound us.

"Your language is difficult, great-grandfather."

"Ya-hai, it is meant for the people of the bush, white man," he would say with a pride we had not looked for from the mild Bibifo, who was now called Adrian. There was, it appeared, potency in the "word," and magic. The names for things, and the things themselves were one. The knowledge of Saramacca names belonged to the Saramacca people, and whether as Bibifo or Adrian, he was above all a Saramacca Negro, and a member of an important clan.

3

When we had been seven days on the river, our cook came to us and said he wanted to talk about something we had best know.

782 "Tonight there will be dancing for you," And'u said, when we left the shrine. "I will go and pray again before the dance, and then I will go to my hammock early, for I leave at sunrise. We will meet again at the G'aman's."

The bassia's wife followed us to our house.

[542] "You are a woman, yet you went inside the shrine. Maybe you do have gods, white woman. When you go in again will you pray to the Earth Mother for the woman Kupa, who is my sister? Twice she bore girl children, and both sleep. Now she is with child again. She wears many obias [543] about her neck, and daily she washes with white clay. She is the woman with the wooden obia doll hanging between her breasts. No, not the one who has the small black sack about her neck. Any woman who is with child wears that. You will know her when you see her. She is beautiful."

7

535 The dance was held in the bassia's quarter, in front of one of his houses. The bassia was a man of wealth. He had three wives, while the chief had but two. Whether one of the three was only nominally his wife and had come to him at the death of a brother, we were unable to learn, but that his means were large was apparent. The house where his [342] personal possessions were stored was built high on posts. A house so raised stood out from those about it and bore the same name as the moon. Underneath it, in the shelter made by the posts, lay a partly made drum, some carved wooden implements, and carpenter's tools. There was also a forked stick in the ground upon which rested a black obia pot with water and weeds in it.

535 The children began the dancing.

533 *Ayo, ayo*
Ayo, ayei,
Agida comes,
[539] *Ayo, ayo,*
Earth spirits come,
Ayo, ayei.

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A girl of ten or eleven led the chorus. She had a string 535
about her waist, and the strip of cloth that was tied about 533
her neck as a ceremonial garment hung down cape fashion. About her navel and on her face the cicatrized patterns had been completed. Her voice was the shrill voice of a child, and the answering chorus was as shrill.

"Chaka, chaka!" called the bassia who was directing 535
the dance. He was demanding those movements which bring into play the muscles of the hips.

The women waited. They had come in all their finery, their tunics of the newest cloth, their coils of brass bracelets and anklets made to gleam by rubbing with sand, their [301]
skins dark and glistening with the oil rubbed into them for [302]
the ceremonial occasion. Those whose hair was worn in braids had redressed it that day. About their necks were beads. Their cloths were fastened tightly about them, so that their figures showed plainly.

The men, also in their best, waited with them. The iron 535
Kromanti obias on their upper arms fitted tightly, and 789
showed the great muscles above and below them. Those who wore beads had two or three strands of yellow and red intertwined, the small beads worn by men, small almost [301]
as okra seeds. One or two wore love obias—cowrie shells [832]
sewed on a band of white cotton, and then dipped into water which was thickened with white clay. One or two wore a small black bell-shaped obia—half the size of their thumbs—on a black string, and with swagger had swung it about so that it hung at the back. There were obias below the knee, and obias which were great brass rings for the big toe of the right foot. But one or two of the old men, and the young man who was in training for an obia man, wore a jaguar tooth on a string of native twining.

Drums . . . drums. Would there be drums? 535

The word was whispered from one to the other, and passed like a wave over the waiting figures.

But there would be no drums. This was the day when [MC]
two gods might come. The god of the ant hill, for which men and women might dance, and the buzzard god of the men's Kromanti society.

535 men's Kromanti society. The elders had decided these dances were too violent to show to the white man who was with them for the night. Whatever of the esoteric the white man was to see was for the Granman himself to decide. To introduce the drums for the secular dances, and the half-sacred awasa, would be dangerous, for once the drums were there, and the spirit seized one of the players, he would begin to call the gods. When the gods came the dancing would take place until the spirits were satisfied.

"There will be no drums," said the bassia aloud. "There is no one to play them."

No drums!

Again the whispering began. The eagerness, the energy which had seemed to float in the darkness from one to another of the waiting figures began to be dissipated. The men and women still waited, but they were listless.

[533] [539] The little girl sang,

"The kogbwa drum
Sounds Tonk."

And the chorus sang,

"Give us Tonk."

The bassia who was master of ceremonies noticed the loss of interest with displeasure. It had not been the intention of the elders, when they had made this decision, to have it interfere with the reception of the strangers. He had counted on having spirited secular dancing.

"Friend," he said to the young obia man, "get the dancing started."

He turned again and again to the young man who was being disciplined in the way of the gods, exhorting him to beat time faster, to sing louder. And to the women he shouted, "Shake, women, shake—*chaka!*"

The dancing grew lively.

The white man had learned the words of the refrain, and [23] was singing with them. Master Nigger! here was a white man who could sing their songs. The white woman had

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been shown by the bassia's wife how to clap her hands to the rhythm of the song, and now she could not stop for an instant, though her hands ached. 535 [123]

"*Batu mau*—Clap your hands!" the bassia's wife called to her, the instant her visitor's zeal slackened. She herself was dancing in place, her infant on her back, sound asleep.

"*Chaka*—Shake!" she too began to shout, and once she was so carried away by her hand clapping that she joined the dancers, and danced facing the obia man.

Tall and slender as she was, she crouched opposite the man, her child on her back, and executed the most amazing steps. It was as though every muscle in her body had been set in motion by some invisible dynamo.

An old woman interrupted them. She stepped into the circle, and put her arm about the bassia's wife. "Adoo!" she crooned, and brought her to her feet. Another woman had done the same for the obia man.

Now one of the men who wore both a love obia and a brass ring on his great toe began a song. The melody was only a variant of the one Bayo had sung and the seketi songs we had heard at Gankwe and elsewhere. But here the recitative of the leader was longer. What he sang was not unlike one of our own ballads. He recounted the experiences of a young Saramacca man on the Marowyne River. He had met a Djuka woman, who had taken up with him for his money, and in the end she had exposed him to her people. 533 [832]

Another man sang of a war that white men had with each other. Hard times came to the Saramacca people. There was no work. Then their Granman sent a message to the white elders. The Granman told them people should live in peace together.

The bassia had no need now to spur on the dancers. The small open space was a heaving mass. Nothing seemed immobile. The stars darted, the lights of the small oil lamps held by the bystanders flickered, the very posts which held the thatch of the houses in place and ended some feet 535 533

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535 above the roof, like great horns, appeared to sway now to
533 one side, now to the other.

The hand clapping grew louder and faster, and faster still. *The rhythm changed. Now the dancers were in pairs, feet* interlocking and raised from the ground, while they danced each on one foot. It was one form of the *banya* dance. This was what was danced to the ancestors before the opening of sacred dances.

The bassia stirred uneasily and soon sought out the young obia man who was standing by. They whispered together for a few moments, and then the bassia spoke aloud.

"It is late, friends. Day will soon be coming. Let us end the dancing. Let us go to our houses."

He turned and whispered to his wife, who came forward with a smoking oil lamp in her hand. Like a knife she thrust herself straight between the pairs of interlocked figures, and began singing a slow moving song.

[539]

It is late,
Soon night will meet day,
Let us go to our hammocks,
Let us go to our homes,
Let the gods go to their homes.

In and out she went, separating the rows of figures, and her beautiful voice cast a spell over the dancers. With feet flexed, they stood poised to go on with their dance, yet did not move. The hand clapping stopped, and the singing. There was but the voice of the bassia's wife, who cut her way through the massed body of dancers, her sleeping child on her back, her oil lamp held before her, as she walked, arm outstretched. The dancers gave way before the flame in the small lamp, but still they stood there, their faces disturbed. It was as though food had been brought to whet their appetites and was as quickly snatched away.

At last a dancer reached for a lamp which was held by an old woman, and then another woman reached for hers.

A NIGHT AT S'EI

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[539]

" . . . *It is late,*
Soon night will meet day . . . "

they chanted, as others joined them. Dancing to the slow rhythm of the singers, lamps in hand, all took up the song, until the bassia's wife led the way down the path. In a few moments the flicker of the oil lamps radiated in many directions, and the quieted dancers followed by their families went home singing. [35A]

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856 to all the medicine we had for them—he took it upon him-
644 self to instruct them to wash the bottles carefully, as he
609 followed us to the storehouse, and to warn them that what was given was not to be taken internally.

"*A taki, a taki-e, u' no mu' bebe*—He says, he is saying, you must not drink this," he explained, with something of his mother's persuasiveness in giving instructions.

His grandmother had said one day half in jest that he would have a tiger spirit which would need to be reckoned with when he grew to manhood. He was a straight-limbed, wiry child, not troubled with the umbilical hernia so often
[164] met with in children here in the bush, or with the distended "cassava belly."

The coming of the strangers had eclipsed all desire for
[857] familiar diversions here. From early morning the children of the village stood about watching us, so that the brushing of teeth and the lacing of boots were carried on under excited supervision which continued day after day. But to this small grandson of Yankuso we were visitors in his quarter, and whether we were alone in the council house or were in the small house reserved for privacy, he would find his way there and stand about asking questions.

Sometimes, however, when he found us at work and saw that we did not wish to be interrupted, he would lean against the wall for a long time watching us in silence, until presently he would come to life, as it were, walk over to the table, and begin beating the Kromanti rhythm on it.

856 But he was not the only child who knew the drum
● 533 rhythms. In the last village in the Pikien Rio, we met a
868 two-year-old child who came to us with more than usual readiness and followed us about, his hand in ours until we came to his mother's house, where he left us to sit down on a wooden plank which lay near it. We had been in conversation with the older people and did not notice his going, until all at once we heard the slow beating of the rhythm to the Sky God. It was this child of two, drumming against the plank on which he sat.

WOMEN AT WORK

"*A naki apinti, ai!*—He is playing the apinti," his father said, laughing, and a woman who stood by said that when he grew up he would have an important god. It would be a good god, too, and it might be a great Komfo—a priest reincarnated in him. 856 533 868

Among the little girls who were with us most often, and now stood by with Yankuso's grandson, were the two daughters of Dida, the wife of Chief And'u of S'ei, who went about the Granman's village with white on her face and body. The little girls were also washed in the white clay, and there was white in the wool of their hair. They had the quick, startled movements of their mother, and one of them in particular was a nervous child, shy and easily frightened. She never came too close to the strangers, and, for a time, if they but caught her eye, she would begin to tremble with fear. 857 [609]

"Your daughters are handsome, Dida."

"Ai, they come from a good line," she said, laughing. 776 868

The Granman's younger wife said, "They will have many gods when they are big. They will have them from their mother, and theirs will be stronger yet. They are twins." [845]

It was possible, she explained, by looking at a child to know if it would have the gods of the family. Sometimes the gods took a dislike to a child and refused to give it of their wisdom or protection, and sometimes the gods liked it so well that they gave it many gifts—the gift of a fine singing voice, the ability to dance better than others, and the good fortune to be liked.

"Until they are grown, the gods do not trouble them much," she added, "but we in the bush know a child who will have important gods, and we know if the gods will be kindly."

"Do you mean you know because of kunu?"

"*Ma kye*, all gods do not come from kunu."

4

One day when sitting among the women, the talk was of twins. 845

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845 "The next time you come to the Saramacca country, you must have twins here," the women said, laughing, "then you will see what a play we give for them. And for a child born after twins, and for a child who is born feet foremost."

The last, however, was not good, and they were really not in earnest, they explained, in wishing that type of childbirth upon the stranger.

"Such a child has a bad spirit. The mother almost always dies when giving birth."

"Is there no obia to save her?"

"The gods can save the mother if they wish. . . ."

There were special songs for twins which were sung when bandamba was danced. Several of the women, and Dida among them, began to sing them. The songs praised the generative powers of the man and woman who had "made" twins. As the women began their songs, they rose from their work and danced, for just as they could not
533 remember the words of a song apart from its melody, so
535 they could not sing the melody without the accompany-
845 ing dance movements which went with it. Words and melody and movements of the body were all part of the image evoked by the word "bandamba." With arms firmly planted on their hips, and feet slightly apart for balancing, the slow rhythmic play of abdomen, hips, and buttocks went on and on.

But as they sang and danced, the Granman's younger wife suddenly remembered that their voices must carry to the council house, and abruptly the women stopped, covering their faces.

"We're ashamed," Dida explained.

"But the men see you dance bandamba when you give your plays for twins, and the child after twins, and for marriages?"

"Yes, but then it's singing and dancing at a play."

When an occasion called for these songs and dances, it was quite another matter, she implied.

"It is not good to do this for sport."

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"It hurts, doesn't it?"

"*Ma kye!* It is beautiful. The men like it too much," said the girls in a chorus, laughing at the suggestion that the pain of the cuts would deter them from having them made.

Sometimes, of course, the older girl admitted, the wounds did become ugly. There was the girl from Godo, whose suitor had kept bringing her more gifts because she was growing handsomer and handsomer. She was all but ready for marrying, when one of her thighs became infected after the cuts. The wounds were so ugly that she could not even wear the tunics of the grown girl. The family was sacrificing to all the spirits of the earth, begging them to heal the wounds.

7

These days there were many visitors in the Granman's village. There was the girl the Granman had summoned to dance for his guests. She had, perhaps, that very summer got her cloths, and her reputation as the best dancer on the river had won for her a suitor who gave her many armlets and anklets. Her voice was fresh and flutelike in quality, and so fine that when she sang she placed a folded cloth over her mouth, or danced with her head low. This was the way of modesty before people, and humility before the gods.

The women said, "Her spirits dance well," when they watched her.

There was the large girl from a village down river who came almost daily. She had the body of a woman, yet she went about unclothed, and sometimes she appeared only with a string about her waist.

"She is ready for *pangi*—cloths—ai," the women said, "but her people do not want to give them to her yet."

They would not explain, however, why the attire of a grown woman was denied her. We could only conjecture about it. Perhaps she had no suitor. The man to whom she had been promised might have died. There might be other reasons.

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cloths, their hair disheveled, their faces without the glint 787
which the oil gave to their dark skins, and their eyes without the touch of dark flame which the gleaming skins brought out. One of these women stood leaning against a doorpost trembling. Her hands were clenched, and her mouth moved without pause, and without sound.

"She hears the agida?"

"Ai. She wants to dance, but she can't. Her god is troubling her."

The white woman must not stop with them longer, and she must not come closer, the two women who stood beside their quivering companion called out at once, for the obia which she wore about her neck would be contaminated if brought too close to them, and its power to protect the wearer against danger would leave it at once.

"Do not come too close. Tomorrow I will return to my house, and after I have bathed and washed in pemba, I will be clean again, and then I will come to see you," the younger of the two women said.

The other said, "When you go there," and she pointed toward the woman's path, "do not go by the way of the broken calabashes. That is the unclean way. It is the path [841]
for the women who stay in this house."

Down the clearing the white woman continued until, 343
when she turned, the open cooking shelter of Bassia Anaisi's quarter faced her. The floor of the shelter was of red clay, raised well above the clearing itself. A woman was laying a fire there, putting down the long sticks one end close to the other in the center, so that they radiated outwards in what seemed a perfect circle. Her child, who was fitted out with obias on neck and wrists and right ankle, sat [524]
near by watching her, and playing with a gourd doll.

The voice of the agida had a moment before died down, 533
and now a song reached the white woman. It came not from across the river, but from somewhere directly behind the houses grouped about the clearing beyond the cooking shelter. The song was a repetition of several melodic phrases, sung in varying rhythms, so that it had a disturb-

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533 ing quality as it continued slowly and yet more slowly for a time, then quickened sharply at irregular intervals.

533 776 [372]

"Who is singing?"

"The gods," said the woman at the fire, without pausing to look up as she fanned the small flame with a woven fiber fan.

"Whose gods?"

"Amasina's, and the god of a woman of the G'aman's family. She got back from the menstrual house last night, and this morning when Amasina got her god, she got one, too."

"May I go and listen to the singing?"

"Yes."

But before the white woman had walked ten paces, she came face to face with Bassia Anaisi.

"I am going to your quarter, Bassia. The woman at the fire said I might go and listen to the singing. Is it all right?"

"Yes, go."

In a few seconds she came to a house before which several women were gathered. Outside its doorway calabashes stood in a curving line across the entire stretch of front wall, some filled with a dark liquid and others with rice, while directly in front of the door itself a dark uncorked bottle had been placed.

Down several paths came women, each with a calabash in her hand, and each as she reached the line of calabashes placed hers beside the others, and went into the house. The women entered singly and remained there but an instant, emerging with lines of white over their arms and bodies. What had taken place in the house while they were there it was impossible to tell, for the singing had continued without interruption.

Two voices were heard now. The voice which had carried across the clearing still intoned the word "Ondyi," while the other chanted in a soft and beautiful voice words which came without pause or harshness, except for a strange hissing sound which issued from somewhere inside the house.

"May I come closer?"

THE GODS SPEAK

"Yes, move closer."

The white woman now went toward the open door, and through it saw a little of the inside of the house. Like all Bush Negro houses, it had no windows of any kind, and what light there was came from this low open doorway. Near the door sat the woman who belonged to the family of the Granman. In her hand she held an egg-shaped piece of clay which she rubbed between her hands to the rhythm of her song, and at intervals lifted first one hand, then the other, rubbing the white clay on her face and arms. The thin layer of white over the dark of her skin gave to her appearance in the dark house a strange color. She swayed on her low bench as she sang, her body curving from her hips first to one side, then to the other.

"Ondyi, ondyi," she sang over and over, and with the quickening of voice, she called "bonsu."

This word "Ondyi," the women explained, when they urged the stranger to greet the god as was fitting, was the greeting of the deity, the god's way of saying their everyday word "Odi."

The eyes of the woman at the door were half-closed as she sang, and she seemed dispirited, though with the quickened swaying she did rouse herself for an instant. She had no kerchief on her head, and none about her breasts.

"Her god hasn't got her very hard," the women said. "Go inside, perhaps when you speak with him, he will begin to stir. They want you to come in."

Into the house the white woman brought her bench, and sat down close to the possessed woman at the door. When she became accustomed to the darkness of the house, she saw a pair of eyes fixed on her from the farthest wall. The figure against this wall was so much the color of the house itself that it was not until a few moments had passed that the crouching form of an old woman was distinguishable. The old woman sat motionless, her eyes fastened on the stranger.

The white woman freed herself from the intent stare of the old woman against the wall only when a sudden

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[539]

Woman, I care for you,
I will be your god."

There was consternation among the women who stood outside listening. The Akantamasu god was one of the strongest on the river. He ranked only slightly under the great obia spirits, which the Sky God when creating the world had sent as wisdom for the living to combat the capricious lesser gods, and humans who were dominated by evil spirits. Differing from the obia spirits, however, who befriended the living, and brought healing to them, the Akantamasu god was an avenger, surpassed alone by the yorka, the ghosts, who avenged by killing instantly when they chose, while the Akantamasu god killed more slowly.

But there was concern for the possessed woman, as well. She had spoken the name Affi, her day name, the name [551] which summoned her soul. When not in a state of possession, she would never have spoken it before a stranger, except in a whisper to an obia man who came to cure her, or to a diviner to whom she came to ask why her soul was troubled.

Presently the white figure rose, breaking the tension, and, chanting, went from the hut into the clearing. Affi and the white woman followed. In the light of the clearing, a faint resemblance could be seen in the grace of the body of the figure in white to the pleasant Amasina. Of the brown of her skin, only the ankles and feet showed.

Both of the possessed women began pacing back and forth in the clearing, in time to the rhythm of their songs, but while Amasina danced with an easy stride, Affi shook and quivered and moaned.

"When the gods come, we do not speak. We sing. The speech of the gods is song. So it is," one woman whispered. [533]

Another said, indicating Affi, "Her god troubles her. She gave you a strong god. Are you afraid?"

"When the god comes to you, you will speak tongues. Now you have two gods. When Kesekia comes to you, you will sing Kesekia songs, you will dance to him."

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stepped from the raised platform ready to leave, when he noticed a drum which stood in a corner near the door of the hut, and reached almost to the thatch. 778 346

We had seen many agida drums during our stay in the Saramacca country. Some of them had been half as tall as a man—a round hollowed trunk of a tree, with wooden pegs in the side on which the drumhead was fastened. The agida had no elaborate tuning device such as the other drums carried, and on it was neither the beautiful carving with which the apinti was decorated, nor the white pembadoti of the tumao. The agida was the deep bass voice of every trio of drums which played for the sacred dances, and whatever other rhythms were struck on it, its steady note set the beat about which the more incidental rhythms played. We had been told what seemed fabulous tales of the size of some of these agida drums, but not until we saw the drum which stood in the corner of this shrine to the snake gods did we realize how large they might be. 778 534

The white man glanced about him. The rest of the party had not yet caught up. In the dimness of the shrine there were only the three men. He stepped up to the enormous drum.

"May I tap it?" he asked.

Reaching up, his arm outstretched above his head, he stood on tip-toe before his fingers found the taut head and gently drummed a rhythm there.

"It is large. It must have a deep voice."

"It is a big drum. Would you like to hear it? The man who plays it is near by."

Now there were four in the hut. The drummer spoke. 778

"Do you want to hear the drum, white man? I will play it if you are not afraid. But if I play, I will call the god, and when I call him he will come. Shall I play the drum?" 533 776

The white man asked that the god be called.

The bassia beckoned to the white woman to come, and signed to the others to remain outside. Framed in the low doorway, shutting out the glare of the sun-swept clearing, were the crouching bodies of women and children who

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798 peered into the inner darkness, the whites of their eyes
533 moving with the movements of the strangers.
776 Gently the drummer laid the great cylinder of wood flat on the ground, and from the thatch took down a hard-wood stick, dark and smooth with use. The drum filled more than half of the wall near which it lay. Stooping, the drummer began to call the Vodu gods. It was the rhythm we had heard from across the river early in the morning. The drumming had sounded low and distant then, but in this small enclosure the volume of sound was deafening. It seemed to be pushing against the yielding woven walls, pushing outwards and up.

The rhythm was disturbingly irregular. There was, in the sense of the steady rhythms of the dances, no rhythm at all, and this uncertainty of beat added to the volume of sound racked the listeners. When we thought we heard a repetition of an interval, a sudden change in tempo brought us up with a start. On and on the man struck the drumhead, sounding the heavy beats with the stick, while with his free hand he kept up a running fire of obbligato to the message for the god.

The heads in the doorway began to move nervously this way and that as the message to the god continued, when suddenly they disappeared behind someone who was coming at a run. A moment later Dida was in the hut.

787 She was again possessed. Her body shook with the intensity with which she experienced her god, and her eyes glowed with a steady fire. Back and forth she paced, and when the drum had sounded, she addressed herself to it, listening for its voice and answering, listening again and answering in tones which grew more and more harsh. Then she turned to us, and began to chant

[539]

"I am the god Kesekia
From back of the prison,
From the French shore,
I come.
I am the god Kesekia."

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Once more she resumed her frenzied pacing, and from time to time as the drum spoke she whirled about and replied. Now and again she would repeat the phrases which the bassia said was the French snake god speaking—"Ti donc!" "Kesifo, kesifo!" "Ti donc!" 787

"Speak to the god," said the bassia. "Speak to him in the French tongue. He will answer you."

In spite of the bassia's urging, we stood silent, for it was crowded in the little hut, and Dida's god was not as genial a one as was Amasina's. Her body shook and quivered, her pupils were dilated, her voice became harsher as she turned to us with her hissing cries.

"Ti donc!

"Kesifo!

"Ti donc!"

For a moment, the god had done speaking on the drum. Gently the stick tapped against the wood, and the drummer's left hand was quiet. Then once more the roaring note began, and as the heads disappeared from the doorway, a second form shot inside.

A young woman entered. She had no white on her body, as had Dida, nor was there any kerchief on her head or about her breasts. When the drum sounded she had been in her house seeing to her small infant, but hearing the agida speak the words of the Vodu god, she could not hold back longer, for her god came into her and sent her to the shrine.

Now there were two who paced inside the enclosure, calling their answers to the drumbeats, until once more the steady tapping of the stick on the wood took the place of the strokes on the drumhead, and the second woman sang: 787 539

"*Maumbe-wa,*
Maumbe-o,
Father Manga
Father Maumbe.
God Maumbe-wo
God Malimbe, Dagowe.
Tutu calls, ye-o

[533]

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[533]

Tutu calls, ye-o.
God is there in the river alone,
God Tutu calls,
Ye-o, yo."

787 So the young woman sang as she paced, her body twitching and quivering, while Dida repeated her exclamations. The man again took up his invocation to the gods, then resumed the soft tapping against the wood.

He said to us as he tapped, "My own god is Agida Wenowa. She is a Vodu god, and when I dance I put a parrot feather in my hair. When I play the agida, then all Vodu gods come. The agida is the drum for the Vodu gods."

As he spoke to the slow beating, yet two more figures came crowding in. We had been so intent on the two possessed women and on what the drummer was telling that, not until these new arrivals were at our side, did we notice them. One of them was Affi, the other Amasina. They were as we had left them, Amasina still in her white tunic and kerchiefs, her face and upper body yet more thickly coated with white so that only the eyes were alive, Affi still a grayish color, still anguished.

"We heard the voice of the god. We came."

But there was no longer room in the small shrine for the women to dance. The beating of the stick became fainter and fainter; the drummer no longer touched the skin which topped the drum. Fainter and fainter still came the beat, until the young woman who stood there without white on her body shook herself, as though she were coming awake. For a moment, all was quiet.

"He is gone."

"The god is gone."

"He has released her."

The drummer put back his stick. Slowly he lifted the drum; gently he stood the agida upright in its corner.

7

776
609 In the Granman's council house, voices of people standing outside reached us. From one to another the news was told.

GRANMAN MOANA YANKUSO

"You will play everything, white man," he had told us earlier. He had been especially anxious that we play the songs we had recorded in Haiti on our way to Suriname. Often he had spoken of these songs to the chiefs at council meetings. 123 177

"White man, tell these friends the words of those songs in that foreign tongue."

He had wanted us to speak before these men the words Legba, a deity to them in the bush as he is in Haiti and in West Africa today, and Loko, and Aida Wedo, and to translate the words of the Haitian twin song we had recorded, and the one to the water god Simbi.

Now he sat in his folding chair and looked on in silence, his face thoughtful. The songs he heard moved him deeply, and his expressive face showed it.

When, in the Haitian songs, the women heard the word "Ago-e" which they recognized, they uttered a shriek. It was one of their many words for ancestors. They cried out again when they heard "Aida Wedo" pronounced, and "Loko." They, too, sang of Aida Wedo, and of Alado, and of Loko. Dan was one of their words for snake.

The white man asked permission of the Granman later to record some songs of the people of the village, and promptly Moana Yankuso addressed a man who stood by. The man was a good singer, and his seketi improvisations had made him a figure on the river. 533 186 177

"Sing for the whites, mati. Let them hear in their far country how our people sing. Let them know that we can sing, that we sing much."

The singer Mapasi sat down and began to sing. His voice was of fine quality, and he was as modest in the midst of all these women with this gift which the gods had given him, as had been the young dancer whom the Granman had summoned to dance for us. He sang in a low voice, and directly into the horn. Accompanying his singing was the hand clapping of the women, which in the small council house was deafening. His recitatives were the longest we had heard on the river, longer by far than those which had

533 surprised us that night at S'ei, and when he paused for a
106 moment the women took up the chorus. From one song to
199 another he went, and the hand clapping grew louder, and the chorus joined in more frequently, often breaking into his recitative, so that there was harmonizing of theme and chorus.

Once or twice the Granman called for a song we had already recorded, in order to give Mapasi a rest.

"Play us something from the lower river, white man. Let them hear their own songs, too, sung by others."

When the excitement of hearing the machine reproduce the song they had just sung had grown less intense, the singers repeated the song the phonograph was reproducing for them, for to listen to music without singing was difficult for them, just as when they sang, they could not but move their feet, though there was scarcely more than room for them to stand one close to the other. But a Bush Negro needs little room for his dancing, so that as the phonograph played their songs for them, they clapped their hands and danced in place. For a short interval, at least, the existence of the whites was forgotten in their pleasure of singing with the machine.

Until late into the night we played our records for them, and they sang for us. Whatever the consequences to the frail records of soft wax, we decided to play as long as they would listen, because of something in the manner of the Granman, something of wistfulness, let us say, and something, perhaps, which went deeper yet, as he sat there—a black Hamlet following a mute soliloquy while he looked on with his clever, perplexed eyes.

"Ai, so it is," he said at last, "and now let us go and get sleep." He rose and the others followed him out of the council house.

II

123 Early the next morning, while the tent on our boat was
182 being finished, the Granman came into the council house
189 with a calabash and a buzzard's feather in his hand. He
579 came up to each of us in turn, and struck with the medicine-
602 dipped feather the tops of our heads, brushed the eyes,

BAYO, THE PLAYBOY

The conversation turned to the lumbering Bayo had been doing. He had been helping some of the Gankwe men bring to the river the wood they had felled. To cut down a tree was not hard work, Bayo told us. It was, however, no easy matter to bring the trunks to the water. For in the tropical jungle timber does not grow in the convenient "stands" known to the northern forests. The searcher for rare woods will find a single purple-heart tree here, and there, some distance away, a brown-heart or one of the other trees for which the white man is willing to pay well. With machete or axe the tree is felled and stripped of its bark, and squared into a great long timber. The under part of each end is shaped so that as it goes down the river it will not spin against the rocks it strikes. 313

Going back from the river bank are to be seen openings in the bush and these lead to places where trees have been cut. At short intervals lengths of branches are laid across them. It is over these that the timber is hauled to the river —over these main lumber ways, and over the smaller ones that must be cut deep in the bush from every felled tree to these principal paths.

Bayo had been hauling lumber. Cut and dressed, the paths made ready, the logs had been taken to the river. The Gankwe men had summoned their friends and the men of neighboring villages to help them. The weight of the hard wood is such that it takes great strength to haul the squared logs over the paths. Bayo had gone with the men into the forest, and there they had spent more than a week, eating of the rice and cassava of the men whose lumber they were hauling, and having a pleasant time of it, with joking and horseplay. 313 496

"When we haul the wood, we sing *so te* . . . until . . . " he said, prolonging his last syllables in the characteristic way. 313 496 533

The one whose logs were being brought to the water opened the singing by first speaking his thanks in a formal chant to those who had come to help him.

REBEL DESTINY

"You have come to go, come to go far, come to go far to bring the wood to the water. But it is long, it is far, to the river. Thank you, friends."

Then the song was taken up by the workers and, with each rhythmic measure, the great piece of lumber went farther through the jungle on its way to the river. When he had chanted for us the greeting to the men, Bayo began to sing a song relating to men's casual exploits with women and, as he finished the song, he laughed. "White man, if you came with us, you would hear what songs the men make up about women!"

3

The phonograph had delighted Bayo from the first. When Apanto had summoned the spirit of his obia to fight the machine, Bayo had watched. When the white man's glue had repaired the broken belt, and the hot sun had made the machine "walk" once more, Bayo had approved.

"The machine is not weak," he had said. "I will sing for it."

And sing for it he did.

But the curse of Apanto still troubled the machine, for up the river and down there had been difficulty with it. Often when there was a particularly good song to be recorded, the belt would give, the machine would fail the white man. The story of the prowess of Apanto had gone up the river with the Gankwe paddlers, and when the machine stopped, heads nodded, and we would catch the word "obia" among the murmurs of the bystanders.

Bayo thought, it seemed, that the machine's proud spirit was by this time properly chastened and, since twice the machine had refused to work while he was singing into it, twice had made him stop the song and its drum accompaniment, he decided to take matters into his own hands.

"White man," said Bayo, shortly after our return from up the river, "I will help the spirit of the machine. I will

126 alone or with some friend, into the wax cylinders that
782 spoke back in such mysterious fashion. When Apanto came
796 to visit us, Bayo smiled as he saw the obia man approaching
199 from the landing place.

"His obia is strong, but mine is strong, too. Let him sing into the machine."

Apanto was visibly surprised when he saw in operation the machine his spirit had wrecked. "The machine is not weak, Apanto," we assured him. "It has its own strength, and now it has the strength your gods have given it. For in the true, true Saramacca, a great obia man spoke his message to the Great God into it, and since then it has walked well with us."

Out of the corners of our eyes, we could see Bayo's pride.

126 "Sing for us, Apanto," we urged, for he had a beautiful
533 voice. "Sing us an Apuku song."

Now Apanto sang, not once, but many times. It is true that when we asked for Apuku he sang Vodu, and when we asked for Vodu he sang Toné, and when we asked for Toné he sang Kromanti songs, and when we asked for Kromanti he sang the sacred dirges called "Papa" songs. Yet this was not otherwise than might be expected, and it was not too difficult to play the records to interested men of other villages, whose startled comments would soon tell us the kind of song he had sung.

It was another day when Apanto again sang, and some of these who had witnessed his first victory were about. One such addressed himself to Bayo, who was sitting near.

"Apanto's spirit fought the machine, and stopped it.
[196] But the machine works and sings back to Apanto. Its strength has come back to it."

"Awa, Apanto's spirit is strong," we heard Bayo reply, "but there are other strong spirits on the Saramacca."

4

302 Bayo had spent the night at Gankwe, and had returned
115 resplendent with a new hairdressing. We joked with

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Chapter XVII

SARAMACCA OBIA

I

NO WORD of African origin which has survived in the New World has taken on such grim meaning as has the word *obia* in many of the islands of the Caribbean. No Negro there will speak of it, and its practices and properties are secret. When obia strikes in the islands, it is usually a matter for the government, and the forms its vengeance knows too often take a grisly turn. [789] [99]

In the life of the Bush Negro, however, obia is everywhere, and its name the commonest of bywords, for among the Suriname Negroes obia is not black magic, or witchcraft, or sorcery. Black magic [in the Suriname bush is *wisi*, and wisi is never confounded in the Bush Negro's mind with obia. [754]

"Obia is good. Obia heals," they say in Suriname.

"Obia warns, obia protects."

"Obia protects a man against the force of a bullet, the thrust of an iron weapon, the dangers of fire."

"You want to know what obia is, Massa?" our cook asked one day. "We have this *komfo singi*—this priest's song: [533] [534]

> "*I am no master,*
> *And I am no slave,*
> *Yet when the masters come,*
> *They carry water for me.*"

SARAMACCA OBIA

So it was with each god, until the boy was ready to be initiated into the Kromanti Society. 881 869

"There are many, many krutu, white man, for a boy has much to learn." 776

When those who directed the krutu were satisfied that the boy had learned how to serve the gods he had been given, that he knew their powers, and those things which were hateful to them and would incur their displeasure, then a dance was held for him so that he might demonstrate before the assembled festive villagers that he was ready for manhood.

"We give a big play for a boy who gets his gods for the first time. When the gods come to him at this dance at the bidding of the drum, and he dances hard, then his family is pleased. When a boy dances, then we know what is in him. We know whether his gods are strong, whether he is to be feared."

Once the father had transferred his gods to his son, he did not dance much himself. He might continue to play the drum at sacred dances, but dancing and drumming were for the younger men. His son's worship of the gods through the dance released the father for the study of obia. With the governing elders, the father took up his rôle as a clan member who sought the will of the ancestors when new tasks were to be undertaken. 886 869 776 [535] [534]

"What happens if the father has few gods to give his son?" we asked.

"Then his mother's eldest brother gives his to the boy." [604]

"What if the boy's uncle has none to give?"

That happened so seldom that he could not remember such an instance, but he had heard it said that this had occurred once or twice.

"A man must have gods to help him live. If his family can give him none, then they buy gods for him. Sometimes there are gods in the family that are not too strong, and they want the boy to have strong gods. They go to a man who knows about such things and who himself has strong gods and buy a god for the boy from him." 437 776 434

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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his rattle danced his dance, the moon sank behind the screen of branches.

It was late. Slowly the last dancer came out of his orgy of possession. One by one the drums stopped until, for a moment, all was quiet. Then, taking the apinti drum up the path beyond our clearing, one of the drummers drummed an invocation to the spirits that had come.

We trained our flashlights on the path which led to the river, lighting the way of the dancers to their waiting boats, while they sang for us the seketi song we had heard the night of Zimbi's funeral.

Thank you, thank you, white man,
For coming to the Saramacca River,
For bringing us your diamond fire,
To light the darkness of our path.

5

At the village opposite our base camp, a girl had died shortly before our return from up river. The eighth night after the death was to be commemorated with the usual dancing of "eighth-day night," and with the ceremony of throwing away food for the spirit of the dead.

"Come tonight and we will dance for you," the men of the village said. It was agreed that they should come for us when they were through with the ceremony for throwing away the food, for the bereaved family would not look kindly upon the intrusion of the whites at the ceremony.

As we waited for the messenger, Bayo prowled about uneasily. He had been nervous for the past few days. His spirits had been troubling him, and he said he needed to dance. It was some time since he had danced, and his spirits were vexed with him for this neglect.

"If they dance Kromanti, I will dance, too," he said.

We talked with him of the rum we would have to take. The strength in which it was distilled made it necessary to cut it with water. Bayo watched us as we took out one bottle, prepared the rum, and then took up another. His hand interposed.

"OBIA COMESI"

764
533
539

Opete kwasi Adjaini-o
Opete kwasi Adjaini-obia-o
Opete kwasi
Tide Adjaini-a weti kwao, kwao, kwao, kwao.

The chorus repeated,

Opete kwaso, Adjaini-o-yi
Opete kwaso, Adjaini-o-yo
Opete kwaso, Adjaini-o-kumani!

They were becoming more and more agitated. The rattles sounded a faster tempo, the drums beat louder, and the music swung into another song.

Amanu Djadja-o
O-o-o-o-o-o
Amanu Djadja-o
O ye-e-e
Kuma, luku, mowa,
O-e Mama-e
O-o-o-o-o - o - o . . .

This was a song of greeting for the Djadja spirit. Bayo still urged the rhythms out of the improvised apinti which he was playing. The drummers were calling all the Kromanti spirits, the buzzard called Opete, the jaguar, Tigri, and Djadja, the "devil." Would they come? 764 533

The question was answered soon enough. Out of the forest into the clearing ran one whose obia had come to him. It was Opete obia and, in his strength of possession, he had torn off two branches from a palm tree in the bush. These he held under his arms, so that, as he pranced about in his dance, he impersonated the awkwardness of the great carrion bird which gave its name to his obia. The tufts of palm leaves projecting from behind his flexed arms were wings. He leaped as in flight, then with startling rapidity he began turning round and round to the flapping of his wings. 787

Apanto suddenly seized a stick we held and, whirling it about our heads, was off to his dance, joining the six or 787 796

534 word meaning "to make a hollow sound") are dance drums. Each is made from a short section of hollowed-out log. Long pegs are driven into the outside, around the circumference, close to one end. Animal skin, with brown hair still clinging in places, is stretched across the opening, and thonged over the pegs. The pegs are set at an angle, so that driving them further in stretches the skin more tightly, tuning the drum. Some villages possess drums six to eight feet long. They are called *ageedah.*

● 533 A young boy of fourteen or fifteen flippantly beats a few notes on one of the tomtoms. He puts it between his squatting legs and bends over it, striking the resonant skin with the flat of his fingers, using both hands to produce a rhythmical pattern. He holds his wrists loose, like a virtuoso. To set the drum on the earth while playing it would close up the open end, keeping the vibrations inside, and produce a flat sound. The drum is held by the squatting black at an angle with the ground, the pulsating tambour making an insidious beat that produces strange effects. The moment the sound of the tomtom reverberates through the jungle evening, the atmosphere seems to change.

The crowd is shy at first. There is still a little sun in the air. Darkness is necessary if the ancient gods are to possess us. A child of eleven squats beside a drum and places it between his knees. His creditable tempo arouses the envy of his playmates looking on. Three men arrange themselves for the coming dance, one with the *apenti,* one with the *nanda,* while the third wrestles with the little boy who will not relinquish

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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his hold on the *baboula*. The child is finally allowed to remain. He can keep time well enough and that is what the *baboula* is for. 533

It is now night, jungle night. The tomtoms crash out in a full-throated chorus. It is a driving, compelling rhythm of hollow sounds. The timbre is heavy, hypnotic, maddening. The drummers achieve a difference of tone by striking near the edge, which gives a shrill sound, and then returning to the centre, which booms by contrast.

The effect of the drums may be a species of hypnosis. Hypnosis can be produced experimentally by the sound of rhythmical tapping, without any condition of sleep.

The patting of the fingers on the drum-head of dried skin seems to induce in these primitives a type of hypnoid exaltation. The cause of it is the monotonous, rhythmical repetition of booming sounds. Fatigue falls away. Memories of other evenings around the jungle fires come crowding back. They imagine that Apuku seizes their bodies. Demoniacal possession is a phenomenon well known to history; here we have it in the South American bush. Here it is called *winti*. 533 158

The hypnoid stimulus—monotonous repetition—is reproduced in the other instruments that accompany the tomtoms. The first of these is the *saka-sake*, a gourd stuck on a handle and filled with pebbles. Then there is the *quaqua*, a flat board of resounding wood that is beaten with a hard paddle. Now the primitive orchestra is in full swing. [534]

By this time the crowd has arranged itself in a circle, with a bare space in the centre. The fires glow luridly on black 533 796

533 faces. The drummers stop to tune to the desired pitch, driv-
796 ing in the pegs with the back edge of a bush-knife. Then they resume, rattling out a sharply insistent tempo. Women begin to sway. Some of them start a plaintive jungle song. The drums never stop.

796 A woman disengages herself from the crowd and enters
535 the open space. She bends forward from the waist at a right angle. Her arms form a circle beyond her head, saffron palms outward. She sways from the hips, her torso contorted with sinuous suggestion. Then her feet on the bare earth rap out the tempo that the brown fingers of the men are drumming on the dried skin. The others begin patting juba.

It is a false start. The woman interrupts her dance to criticize the orchestra for not playing in her mood. The crowd is not yet possessed.

Dodo, the woman *bosseia,* or boss, goes about urging the women to begin. Meanwhile the bahkra slips through the
[123 crowd pouring out drinks of high wine to add to the dark
782 hilarity of the occasion. Always before drinking they will
273] spit on the ground a libation to the gods. A mother gives the rum to her seven-year-old child, who does not flinch from the burning potion.

A new tempo. Three little girls, slim in their nudity, enter the central space. The oldest is about eleven. They stand with their backs to us and begin the *bandamba* dance. The evening is on.

Standing still in the firelight, hands behind their heads, they arch their loins and raise their buttocks up and down.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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Then comes the *sacatee* dance, accompanied by songs of the rebellion. Ancient heroes live again. Once more raids are made on outlying plantations. The spirit of defiance that Stedman found at Boucou is still kept alive. Then come softer songs—songs of love. *"Te e durmi e songa me, grandanke,"* a girl sings plaintively. She is telling her lover, "When you sleep, dream of me, many thanks." *"Te kai me u seni neauco, becan na bonu soni e ta layme"*—"When you lead me to deceit I will not follow; such things you should not teach me."

Again the dancers find fault with the orchestra, protesting loudly. They are not satisfied with the rhythm. Abruptly the chief dancer seizes a drum and rolls out a call to Apuku, god of the forest, asking Apuku to come.

Dimly through the darkness they can feel some response. Apuku is coming. Everyone runs back a few steps and utters a slight scream. The spirit of the bush god is entering their bodies. He is welcomed with a little dance, jerkily done, in which all participate. Then comes the special Apuku dance, where writhing, circling, snaking arms simulate the twisted lianas of the jungle, which is the god's home.

Once the spirit of the bush god has entered them, they cannot stop. The drums increase their volume and tempo, until the rhythm is too rapid and intricate for white ears to follow. Now truly they are hypnotized by the feverish monotony, the shuffling beat of fingers on the drum-heads. Because of this trance, fatigue is forgotten. The little *baboula* keeps steady time, throbbing like a heart-beat. Flat hands

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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former hunts. What a noise they make! At the crucial point 521
of the story they imitate the explosion of the gun.

Excitedly: *"Me luku, me see one biggie teegre* (jaguar). *Me makke gunu go BOOM!"*

After shouting this last with the greatest volume that his throat is capable of producing, the narrator imitates the sound of the dead body crashing through the branches to the ground. All the thrill of the day's hunt is not merely remembered, it is re-lived in realistic detail. The snarl of the wounded cat, the gasping, baby-like cry of the wounded platyrrhine, bring forth appreciative laughter from the intent audience. Soon the next man tells his story; the bond of sympathy is so close that they all go BOOM together. One jungle inhabitant has triumphed over another, in memory.

While we curse in our efforts to sleep there comes through 533
the darkness a Djuka folk-song. It conveys the pointed moral of a man who thought himself very clever, but despite that he is now sleeping at the bottom of the river:

Cony mong,
Cony mong,
Dede na leeba.

or, "Cunning man, cunning man, dead in the river." At least, we reflect, with the sardonic grimness of tortured insomnia, he is now able to sleep.

/26 cont./

728 communicate to one another their opinions, in what way they
695 wish to see the points of difference resolved. If they are agreed concerning these, then they return to the chief in the shed and the discussion of the matter takes place anew, until finally agreement exists. During this consultation of the elders or council
[562] members a solemn seriousness prevails among them. Women are sometimes admitted to these conferences, but never have a voice, and come merely to listen and to see.

After the matter has been settled to the satisfaction of all parties, the cup once more makes several rounds among those present, and thereafter everyone goes silently and quietly to his camp or dwelling.

Chapter XVIII

Music, Musical Instruments

533 Their music is very simple and monotonous; one makes use of it, to the accompaniment of song and dance, at festivals and cult ceremonies.

534 The instruments are variously used and doubtless according to the type of event. Thus the so-called long drum, called agida (2), is played at cult ceremonies; on other occasions one

2. Papáá drum.

uses the small or apientie drum. Furthermore they have an instrument called kwakwa stool by them, a stool or board of very hard wood on which one beats with two sticks.

534 When they dance the papaá-wenti, an African idol dance,
535 they use the agida drum. For the songé, or ordinary dance, they play the small drum or apienti.

They dance the soessa to the beat of the small drum and with the kwakwa stool; in executing the last-named dance a great deal of competition prevails among the dancers, and the one who

/161 cont./

764 The dead person's spouse, his nearest relatives, and his children come and hang their hammocks inside the kreyɔsu, where they will live until broko dɛ (eighth day after the death).

[533] [535] The village people begin the tukka songs and dance, which will last part of the night, while the friends and near relatives of the dead man lament seated, head covered with a cloth.

[824] The first day after the death, as soon as it is morning, the kisimã arrive, and begin to make the coffin, using mahogany boards always kept on hand, thanks to the head of the village.

[613] The women of the dead man's lineage prepare a meal which is offered to the kisimã about 1:00 P.M. at the end of their work.

While the coffin is being made, the dead man's friends and distant relatives arrive in crowds from the neighboring villages, bringing tafia and cloth as offerings. Two kisimã lay these pieces of cloth one by one on the body saying, "So-and-so buries you."

[767] These pieces of cloth are divided up; about 15 are put into the coffin by the kisimã, part of the rest serve as pay for the kisimã, part as pay for the ɔlɔmã; another part, finally, is used for dressing the widower and his co-wives (or the widow), showing thus that during the whole mourning period they live dependent on the dead person.

Then the kisimã close the coffin without any other rites taking place. The late arrivers who bring more cloths knock the coffin saying, "I bury you," and put them down on the ground.

[692] The work of the kisimã is over; they bring the body outside the kreyɔsu, in front of which has assembled the council called lãnti kuutu, which constitutes the judicial apparatus of the Boni.

/181 cont./

765 Next come the dances, always in the order sɔnge, susa,
535 awasa, the rhythms given on the apinti drum. These are not
533 possession dances and do not appear in themselves to have a religious meaning; all involve choruses in which the singers do not accompany themselves on any instrument at all; these songs have no other meaning than to exalt life; the Refugee Blacks find their best artistic expression in them. Many of them demonstrate dazzling imagination; the subjects are extremely varied, and every year new ones are created. But there is a certain number of "classics" which reappear in each festival. Let us mention: "The man who calls his dog lost in the woods"; "The song of the Balen River"; "The woman who watches over her daughter," etc. These songs are very beautiful, and in the great mourning festivals it is difficult to hear them without emotion. Songs and dances follow one another without interruption until the sun's return. This is what is called broko dɛ, "break a day." This ritual, which has a key value in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks, appears to be the affirmation by the group of the triumph of life over death.

765 The fifth day, a kind of buffet is served to the guests
[769] under the mortuary shed. In the afternoon there is the offering of food to the ancestors, tɔwɛ nyã; this rite is a communion between the dead and the living.

[769] On the morning of the sixth day, the ceremony ends with the offering of water, celebrated not at the fraga tiki but at the edge of the shed, in honor of the ancestors. They invoke one
[775] last time /182/ the ɔɔrka of the dead man (or the dead woman), while asking it to separate from his spouse for good and to leave her in peace! "U puu a umã a baaka; yu ãŋga umã yu paati tidɛ, na: mu siki, na: wã sani mu du ɛ̃ŋ, a mu dɛ bũ. (We lift the mourning of (this) woman; thou and the woman, you separate from each other today; she must not be sick, nothing must happen to her, she must [illegible] well)."

/185 cont./

765 The figures are almost similar to those of the awasa dance,
[535] except that the dancers move forward stamping with the left foot.

[533] Songs follow, but entirely covered by the drum and without great musical interest.

Second day, Nov. 9. Day called puu dɛ ("a day is withdrawn"). No rite is performed on that day. Each one is busy with his occupations. The women pound and winnow rice.

Third day, Nov. 10. Day called lolo mata "the pestles are rolled." That day they carry to the edge of the mortuary shed pestles, wood for heating, and everything necessary for the preparation of the next day's food (1).

1. When there is a spouse in mourning, it is on that day that he is brought to the mortuary shed by the dead person's lineage, congratulated, and clothed in new garments red in color.

Fourth day, Nov. 11. Day called poti ala sani na a krɛy ɔsu ("to put all things into the mortuary shed").

About two o'clock the young men who have been to cut wood for heating come back in boats decorated with pennons, in the midst of hurrahs and shots.

At three o'clock the basia circulate in the village, calling the women who appear from all sides carrying heavy baskets of cassava.

The provisions prepared for the festival are brought to the
[293] edge of the shed. Many of those present have brought a bottle of tafia. The basia collect all the tafia in large demijohns. In all there will be six demijohns of 15 liters of tafia and as much cane juice.

/206 cont./

776 787 [184] The Kumēnti. These gods are common to the Saramaka (Kromenti) (1), Djuka, and Boni. The Kumēnti are considered

[174] 1. There is no doubt about the origin of this word; it is a deformation of Coromantin, name given in the 18th century to Ashanti country. The "Coromantin Negroes," reputed to be particularly intractable, played a large role in the slave revolts. The Kumenti cult of possession must originally have been a cult peculiar to the Coromantin nation.

to be benevolent gods and friends of men, so their possession is very much desired. They do not come into men spontaneously, they are obtained only by applying to a teacher. In principle [562] only men can obtain Kumēnti, while on the other hand only women can have Bŭnzunki /sic/.

776 787 751 The Kumēnti are specialized in protection against fire and against machete and gun wounds. These dangers hold the largest place among the anxieties of the Refugee Blacks, who spend almost all their life in the bush and with whom nearly [789] all sores become infected and have serious consequences. Thus the Kumēnti cult holds an important place in their magic; even someone who is not possessed will try to obtain from these gods an ɔbia that will protect him from these various dangers.

153 791 787 786 The instruction of the disciples of these gods takes as its pattern the procedures described above, but the collective dances appear to play an essential part. The teacher calls on the gods by beating a special rhythm on ordinary drums (apinti) and by [533] uttering invocations punctuated by the rattle of the saka (Indian [534] maraka, that is, hollow calabash provided with a handle and containing seeds).

609 people kept their distance, and among them some pithy proverbs were spoken to bear upon the shortcomings of the white man. One or two of them turned to repeat to the dead what had been said, and there was great laughter. Sedefo [775] came to assure us that the dead man liked it very much. For the dead, it appeared, were especially susceptible to humor and to exceptional occasions.

764 292 About us, or edging their way toward us, were the younger men in their ceremonial dress, the toga-like cloth covering their bodies, but leaving one shoulder bared for respect, and the women in their knee-length *pangi*, or [301] cloths, hanging from the waist, and their shining brass rings reaching from wrist to elbow and from ankle halfway up to the knee. Among the dancers, but standing somewhat [534] aloof, could be seen a man or woman with seed rattles about the ankles. These were the fine dancers. Of them our informant had spoken when he said, "They dance well at Gankwe."

764 [350] 533 Carved stools were placed for us facing the coffin a little to the left of the singers, where we could best see the dancing. One or two lanterns were moved to give us better light. The drummers, who had not left their places, took up the rhythm again—one of the women had us know that the spirit of the dead man had communicated to the spirits of the drummers that he wanted to see the dancing resumed. The singing began—a woman's falsetto voice and a chorus; the hand clapping of the singers and bystanders emphasized the basic rhythm. It was slow at first, then quickened, and the dancing became more animated.

"They dance seketi," whispered our friends. "Later they will dance awasa."

764 535 The dancing was confined to a comparatively small space. It began with a barely perceptible motion of the feet of the dancers to the rhythm of the drums and the hand clapping. Then the feet began to execute figures in place, without leaving the ground, the arms hanging loosely at the side. This was continued for some time, until, arms flexed and held rigid at the elbow, and knees bent but rigid, too, the

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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intricate steps began. The movement of the feet, angular 764
and precise, was reiterated by the outstretched palms, 535
while all the muscles of the hips took up the rhythm. Now
one of the men with the seed rattles at his feet danced facing [534]
a woman who also had these rattles, and the dance became
theirs with a chorus of dancers moving more and more to
the side, keeping the rhythm with the feet. The drums beat
faster, the hand clapping became louder. Those two
balanced their bodies as they bent their knees lower and
lower, all the while executing the figures with feet, arms,
and hips, and how unaware they seemed of the audience!
And even of each other, for what awareness there was to
quicken the pulse of the dancing was more than one man's
awareness of one woman. It might have been a dance to
Asaase—the great Earth Mother—but it was, in fact,
dancing for the dead, for the two would turn again and
again to face the coffin, as the others had done, except
during the intervals when they recalled the white man and
woman in back, and turned to dance to us and our
flashlights.

Seketi, awasa. . . . The dances changed, and the songs,
and the drum rhythms changed, too. The children at our
feet had fallen asleep and lay doubled over, their heads
resting upon their toes. More men joined the dancers. It
was long past midnight. The women who had infants on
their backs moved away silently in the direction of their
huts, but when an elderly woman tried to go, too, she was
reprimanded and sat down again.

There was another leader for the singing, and another.
A man's falsetto was heard in a long recitative that preceded [533]
the dancing to the massed voices of the chorus. He faced
now the dead, now us, as he improvised. Once more it was
gay.

The dancing became more and more spirited, but when a
dancer had continued in the circle for some time, an older
woman coming forward from among the bystanders would
put her arm about her and exclaim the singsong, "*Adoo!*
. . . *Adoo!* . . . *Adoo!*" Others came forward to con-

903 And did men speak into the horn, and sing? Would there be no harm to the *ai'e*—the soul?

[993] Their own trickster, Anansi, the spider, working with his fabulous cunning, could not have spun the stories about the whites faster than had the passing boats. From boat to boat, from boat to shore, from shore to village the news went. Had the white man come with guns, or had he come accompanied by many others, then, to be sure, it would have been a matter for the drums. But the vagaries of a white man coming with his wife are of no ritual concern. The drums would only sound on occasions of moment; to summon the men for a council of the clan or to ask, ritually, for the health of a chief; to tell of death; or to speak to the gods themselves. But for a white man with his woman, gossip was good enough to carry the news.

[534]

609 199 648 Up and down the river, in the villages where they had visited the year before, many a woman to whom the Bakra had given a string of yellow beads, or a large glittering safety pin to put in her hair as an ornament, or, better still, a large tin can out of which her husband had fashioned a broad band to be worn on her arm, one which glistened as it reflected the pale light of the moon during a dance—such a woman heard of the coming of the Bakra with pleasure. She had them all, these gifts, safe in the carved calabash on which she had incised the sinuous lines of the snake spirit that gave her fertility, and now that the gourds were ripening once again, she would carve another to hold the new things that the whites would bring her.

The young men, too, heard of their coming with pleasure. For would not the strange ways of the Bakra and his woman give them many witty new things to put into words and sing to the traditional seketi tunes, the secular songs that they would later sing in the intervals of the religious dances? It was good to make up new words, which made a man the center of the dance. Ambe! But the women loved the man who could put clever new words to their dance songs!

The children heard the news with fear, for at four, at five, they were not too young to have learned of the enormi-

gods do not come to them." There was in her voice contempt for women who had no gods. She was of a reddish-brown color, taller and more slender than most, and the great coils of brass about her arms and ankles told that her beauty had had full recognition. These had come to her at marriage, as had the small earrings of gold which the bassia had brought to her from French Guiana. With these, too, had come cloths and handkerchiefs, beads and carvings.

If white women had no gods, did they know any of the other things which women must know? Did the white woman wear an apron underneath all her cloths, as women should? Were her thighs cicatrized? Did she cook for her husband, or other men, when she should be isolated in the special house provided for women's monthly visits? Did she purify herself with sacred clay when she emerged from isolation in order not to spoil her husband's obias, for which contact with a woman who has her menses is the deadliest taboo? Why, having borne children, did her figure not show it?

"Have you drums?" the bassia's wife asked. "Without drums, how do you pray? How do you dance?"

Dancing without drums availed nothing.

"White women have no gods. The gods do not come to them. They are not troubled by the need to dance. White women do not pray," she concluded, seeing that what dancing the white woman did could only be a feeble affair.

"I will send my son to your country. The men who go to the French shore say it is good to know how to count the white man's way. My woman-child I will never send," she finished with finality.

Now it was the white woman's turn to ask a few questions, having done explaining how her boots laced, and why it was that she was dressed very much as her husband was dressed.

The white clay in the hair and on the face of a small child was medicine. The child's mother had washed for her god that morning. He was a god whose day for dancing was Wednesday, and now, feeling the god stir in her, she would

344 to be admired for their artistry, but there also for ceremo-
352 nial purposes which were never divulged. When one of these benches was later taken down to show the magic of paper which, placed on the top of a carving and rubbed with black crayon, reproduced the design beneath, the Granman looked startled, and then ordered that it be replaced. Nor were other rubbings allowed.

531 On both sides of these massed benches were many objects
352 which could barely be distinguished in the half darkness of the house. There were guns and canisters, there were a few native brooms, and several wrapped parcels. There was also an apinti drum on which the gods were addressed. Not even at Ma'lobbi, where the chief, a famous carver, showed us many remarkable products of his art, did we see designs worked with the fine, sure lines or the beauty of individual motifs such as were traced on this apinti. The carving was in relief and covered the entire surface of the drum, which stood about three feet high, curving outwards from the top, and resting on a narrow circular base which raised its body about six inches from the ground. It was covered with a deerskin that use and exposure to the atmosphere had stained unevenly to shades of amber.

344 Facing these carvings was the door which, itself of
352 wood, swung on wooden hinges of native fashioning. In relief appeared the Earth Mother, and surrounding her were the symbols of fertility. No man, not even the Granman himself, dared speak her name in this council house. At trials, when oaths were taken, she might be appealed to, but to call her idly would bring down her wrath on the Granman's clan, and, perhaps not stopping there, since the council house was of all the clans, she would revenge herself upon all the people of the Saramacca River. The carving was more beautiful than on the apinti which stood against the opposite wall. The greatest artist on the river had made it.

"That man had the gods, ya-hai," the men said, when we talked of the Granman's carvings.

774 at the time approaching a state of possession, had provoked great anger.

"If you do not know what the Dyo-dyo is, then you are not human. Then I won't talk to you. Have you never walked and felt something in back of you, yet nothing was there? Have you never had a dream?"

The Dyo-dyo was one of two souls with which each individual was born, the old woman had later been persuaded to explain, for each man had his akra, his personal soul, which if he were mindful of it, remained with him, and allowed no evil to come to him; and each man had his Dyo-dyo, his wandering soul. At death the soul which had [795] wandered came back to the body. If it were permitted to stray once more, this soul, which had been ever restless in life, would wander about troubling the living.

796 765 But now, sitting among the women in back of the Granman's shrine, it seemed again best to admit that she knew nothing of the adyo ceremony. Fortunately, there was no outburst of anger this time, for here in the true, true Saramacca country, it was soon evident that there was a [186] pride in their magic, and their language, because these were held to be uniquely their own.

"We give a big play for the breaking of mourning." All [534] the drums were played, and the rattles sounded, and the *kwakwa*—the hard-wood bench played with two sticks—was beaten.

For this important ceremony, the oldest living brother [293] of the dead man provided food and rum, and, when the time came to partake of this food, he and the *kri mundu*—the people of rank—sat about the doorway of the widow's house. She herself stood inside the house, behind the threshold, scattering food for the dead, and pouring rum on the [262] ground. Rice and peanuts and sugar cane were thrown away, but not yams or plantains, for those things were not given in their village to the ancestral spirits. As the widow "threw away" the food she wept. In the clearing those who did not eat danced adyo. In a circle, men and women danced in close file, one behind the other, each

they told us, though never willing to name the villages where they stood, whose walls were most elaborately ornamented with symbols marked in red and black and white, the three sacred colors which appeared on the stools and which the men used for painting their faces and bodies for the dances. On the upper river we had been told that these shrines were in the villages below, and on the lower river it was always intimated that it was up above where the great shrines stood. We had been told of stools which were whitened with sacred pemba, and blackened with soot in the *Fa'aka Pau* houses—the houses of the ancestral spirits—and of the covered whitened vessels which were in the Vodu and Apuku houses, the shrines for the bush and snake deities, placed there for the spirits when they chose to animate them.

So we found it in this house dedicated to the spirits of the bush.

The hut was narrow and long, with walls of woven palm, and a floor made of hard smooth clay into which bare feet had nevertheless worn grooves. To one side of the door stood a drum of the type called *tumao*—the long drum. It was cylindrical, and narrowed but slightly toward the bottom. White clay had once covered it, but now there were irregular lines of white marking the cracks in the wood.

On the other side of the door, against the same wall, lay several large balls of clay. These the old woman was keeping for the obia pots she would make from time to time. Among the Negroes of the town as well as in the bush, these black pots, made by women of the bush, were held to have great magical potency.

"I never make too many pots at once," the old woman said. "I make them for myself as I need them and for the young people of the family." A woman who had not passed her period of childbearing could not make them. "Obia pots are things for old, old women. I cannot tell you about making them."

Leaving these lumps of clay, the woman led us farther into the enclosure, until we stood in front of a raised altar

J. Herskovits & Herskovits E-4 (1928-1929) 1934
SRS Bush Negroes SRS
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stepped from the raised platform ready to leave, when he noticed a drum which stood in a corner near the door of the hut, and reached almost to the thatch.

We had seen many agida drums during our stay in the Saramacca country. Some of them had been half as tall as a man—a round hollowed trunk of a tree, with wooden pegs in the side on which the drumhead was fastened. The agida had no elaborate tuning device such as the other drums carried, and on it was neither the beautiful carving with which the apinti was decorated, nor the white pembadoti of the tumao. The agida was the deep bass voice of every trio of drums which played for the sacred dances, and whatever other rhythms were struck on it, its steady note set the beat about which the more incidental rhythms played. We had been told what seemed fabulous tales of the size of some of these agida drums, but not until we saw the drum which stood in the corner of this shrine to the snake gods did we realize how large they might be.

The white man glanced about him. The rest of the party had not yet caught up. In the dimness of the shrine there were only the three men. He stepped up to the enormous drum.

"May I tap it?" he asked.

Reaching up, his arm outstretched above his head, he stood on tip-toe before his fingers found the taut head and gently drummed a rhythm there.

"It is large. It must have a deep voice."

"It is a big drum. Would you like to hear it? The man who plays it is near by."

Now there were four in the hut. The drummer spoke.

"Do you want to hear the drum, white man? I will play it if you are not afraid. But if I play, I will call the god, and when I call him he will come. Shall I play the drum?"

The white man asked that the god be called.

The bassia beckoned to the white woman to come, and signed to the others to remain outside. Framed in the low doorway, shutting out the glare of the sun-swept clearing, were the crouching bodies of women and children who

and so close that our hands, moving about to find a rest, touched its top, and sounded an involuntary rhythm, was an apinti drum. We exclaimed at its beauty, for in form and carving it rivaled the one we had admired in the council house of Granman Yankuso, and we were determined to try to buy it. But we turned our conversation to other things. A stranger in this bush soon learns from the Bush Negroes to broach an important request gently, remembering the cautioning proverb spoken by the chameleon.

We talked of carving, of the white man's coming back some year when the rains were heavy to sit by and watch the men make paddles and benches, so that he might learn, as children learn.

The captain was politely skeptical. It took a Saramacca hand to do this work. But he smiled, "Ma kye, if you have the gods anything is possible."

"That's a fine paddle in the corner."

He brought it out, and we admired it. Would he sell it to us?

"You must ask its owner."

"Didn't you make it, captain?"

"Yes, but it is not mine to sell. I gave it to my wife." He would see, however, if she wanted to sell it. He would himself go and call her.

As he went, he gave us the paddle that we might examine it. We ran our hands over the smooth top, the design, the beveled blade. It was not so tall as the paddles used by the men, nor was its blade so broad as those used in steering the great boats through the rapids. In form, it was quite different from the round-bladed type used by the Indians of the region, for it was slender and came to a sharp point, and at the other end the carving formed a crutch-shaped hold into which the hand fitted.

We studied this carving. Parts of the design had meaning for us because of their realistic treatment. The motifs of others were recognizable to us from explanations we had been given of other carvings. But there were still details

magic on their owners. And there was the Gankwe woman who brought us a paddle representing the bird she called the *apassa*. 532

"We Gankwe people do not eat the apassa," she had whispered to us when we bought the paddle. [262]

5

In the house of the captain of Ma'lobbi we sat and talked of the carvings of the Saramacca people, and as we talked, they brought us some of the things the men of the village had carved.

"Do all men carve?" we asked the chief.

"Not everyone has the spirit. But every young man tries. If a man is good at hunting, or on the river, then perhaps he can get the things he needs to give his wife from others for what he can give the carver. But it is better that he do these things for his wife himself. The women like it better." 463

Not everyone could make a boat, he said, nor was everyone able to carve the *pau pau dinda*, the intricate "wood within wood" motifs that made a strip go like a twisted snake in and out, in and out, through a design. And not everyone could make a drum. Like that apinti he had there. 463 532

It was the opening for which we had been waiting. 532

We had been admiring this drum since we had come into his house, we said. We remembered it from the first time on our way up river. It was as fine as any we had seen. Had he made it himself? 584 432 439

He smiled his appreciation.

"It is a fine apinti, ai," agreed several of the men sitting about.

An apinti was one of the things we wanted to take to show the white man. This one, especially, we would like to buy. Would he sell it?

He looked at us for a moment, and then gently shook his head. "To make an apinti is not a small thing. Not everyone can make an apinti. I have worked on it for a long time, and it is not yet finished. This drum I will not sell."

REBEL DESTINY

We redoubled our urging.

"White man, do you know what it is to make an apinti—an obia drum?"

A man had to have the proper spirit before he might address the god of the tree from which the drum was to be made. When he had felled the tree, he cut off from the trunk the part he wanted to use and took it to his village. Over it he had to pour the blood of a cock which he sacrificed that the gods might come when the drum called them. The maker had also to provide sweet rum and cassava and eggs. The cassava was eaten by the people, but the eggs were for the spirit of the drum, and only half the sweet rum was drunk—the rest was poured over the wood. When the body of the new drum had been fashioned, the people gathered and sang, but they did not dance, for the head yet remained to be made. A pingo, or a deer, might furnish the skin, but these animals were shot where they had been tracked in the bush, and not offered to the drum. Only chickens were given it. And when the drum was complete, then the maker sang his song alone.

"But the drum is not finished yet. It can be played on, for it has a head, and its spirit has been satisfied. But the carving is not yet done. I have worked on it a long time," he repeated. "I want them to play it for my spirit when I am dead."

A silence fell as he finished. There was nothing more to be said.

"White man, we have sat together in pleasure. You have come to the true, true Saramacca from far away. You have bought the carvings of my people. The apinti drum I cannot sell you. But this stool you like I want you to have."

He took up one of the round-topped benches, with carefully worked sides, and four purple-heart inlays on top, each in the shape of a fowl.

"Take it with you to your white man's country. When you show it, write on a paper that the captain of Ma'lobbi made it."

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

call the great gods. Apanto's spirit is strong, but Bayo has strong gods, too."

The machine was made ready for him, and Bayo sat down on a convenient box, his head bent over the tumao drum which we had acquired and which his fingers could scarce ever be near but that they played on it.

"It is not the right drum," he said. "You should have an apinti for me to speak to the gods. But I will try it with this one. Tomorrow I will go up the river to Djamungo. I know a man who has an apinti. You will give me money, and I will buy it for you. But now I will speak on the tumao."

He began the irregular tapping which we had learned to identify as the drum language. With one hand he carried the message, while with the other he played irrelevant motifs which served to confound anyone not initiated and leave him, as it left us, who had worked out some of the general principles on which this drum language was based, utterly unable to interpret it or to tell which were the significant elements.

"The great gods will look after your machine now, if they will listen to the tumao."

The next day Bayo went upstream to get us the apinti we so desired. He was not successful, but the gods had listened to him, when he had invoked them on the tumao, for Bayo's ministrations ended all trouble with our recalcitrant phonograph. Bayo indeed had strong spirits!

As the days went on, and record after record was put on the turntable, and with its tracing of songs, or examples of Bush Negro speech, or fragments of the rhythms that called the various gods, was taken off and carefully put into its felt-lined box, Bayo visibly swelled with pride. This was his doing! With his strong spirits he had called the great gods! He was young, and he had not spoken on the proper drum, but they had listened to him! So his thoughts went, and so he would repeat them to us.

His interest in the phonograph was intensified the more he saw of it, and he sang and spoke and drummed, either

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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796 in the cords, was recognizable as a more able musician, a more experienced drummer.

Now the beat changed once more, and there were no more young dancers to be seen. They were dancing awasa, preparing for the spirits to come, so that during the long preparation the fury with which obia would burst upon them would be eased. In this awasa dance, the dancers patterned the massed movements after the solo and response of the song to which the dance was carried on.

Our paddler, Angita, acted as soloist against a chorus of women. The seed rattles on his ankles clashed at the [534] proper intervals of the music, adding a new sound to the combined notes of the drums and the monotonous pounding of the kwakwa. Forward he danced as he sang his solo, and the line of women opposite him retreated as he advanced. Then, as they sang the refrain, he danced backwards, as the women came closer toward him.

His rhythmic control surpassed any dancing we had seen on the river—never since have we seen a dancer who exhibited such perfect coordination of feet and muscles of the body as did Angita. This time there was no interruption, for he danced on until, voluntarily relinquishing his place, it was taken by another man, taller and more lean, who began a new awasa refrain, as he continued the dance. Occasionally a woman, brass on her wrists and at ankles, stepped from the line of women, and the dance became a wooing, the man advancing, the woman retreating, luring him on.

A new note sounded in the drums. In front of the hut where we were sitting, the drumming beat upon our ears with the persistence of the flaying tropical rain. This new note soon superseded the other. Obia was being called by the drummers—and obia came.

The light of the crescent moon threw into paler shadow the oil lamps in the clearing. Overhead, screening the starlit sky, branches hung from the trees of the big bush. Our cook came up with our sun helmets.

"What are these for?"

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

ground, rubbing the remainder over arms and upper body. 796
Some took a sip and, like the others, poured the rest as a 273
libation to the Earth Mother. Few drank more than a little, and only the men had as much as half of the small wine glass we were using.

The bassia of Gankwe came to us. "Do not be afraid. Obia has come strong, but we have prepared for it. The men will not hurt people."

Led by him, we passed from one dancer to the next, giving to this one a sip, to that one a taste. But there was one elderly man who would not drink.

"Not until I get obia," he said, "and obia does not come to me tonight."

Not all the possessed men were slashing about with 796
cutlasses. One man pulled up grass, eating part and throw- 787
ing the rest over his head. Another in the strength of his possession uprooted large clumps of brush, and one broke off a liana of some size and wrapped it about his body, and danced with it.

Songs, dancing men, dancing women, machetes flashing in the moonlight . . . and over all the beat of the drum. This was the dance of the Kromanti obia.

Now the man who had refused a drink came up. He was trembling.

"Obia comes!" he cried. "Give me rum!"

As he tossed off the drink, he dashed toward the possessed men. In his hand was a rattle, the first we had seen at this [534] dance. The rattle is sacred to the Kromanti, and possession can be brought on by shaking it even when there are no drums. As he danced, he supplemented the rhythm of the drums with his rattle, and his dancing surpassed in its fury that of all the others. Men kept out of his way as he dashed back and forth in his contortions, and he continued his gyrations as those with painted faces, whom obia was releasing, began to feel exhaustion.

The drums never stopped. As long as obia remained unsatisfied, they would need to play on and on. While the drummers beat the Kromanti rhythms, and the man with

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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"OBIA COMES!"

"Do not take too much rum," he said. "When there is much to drink, obia does not come." 764 796

The bottle ready, we waited. Eight, half-past, nine o'clock. When we had decided they were not coming for us, the sharp bark of Tross signaled the approach of a man up the path from the river bank. As he came into the circle of light, we recognized Apanto.

"Everything is ready, Bak'a," he said. "Come."

It was not an important village, this one across the river from our camp. It was smaller and had much less power than Gankwe, the seat of a clan head. But enough men had assembled for the ceremonies to make a dance, and the women were standing about waiting as we came from the river through the palm-frond guard. The moon was again up, but moving clouds hid it from view or covered it with a haze which dimmed its brilliance. A few houses fronted on the little clearing where the dance was to be held, and here and there some oil lanterns had been placed.

Not everything, we soon learned, was ready, for drums were lacking. They had an agida, but the two others which were needed were not there. Poor villages very often had to borrow their drums from other settlements. The dancers stood about waiting. [906]

We offered the tumao we had acquired, and Bayo returned to our camp for it. A large tin basin, turned upside down, gave the same metallic tenor voice as the apinti, and so with the makeshift orchestra the dancing began, two younger boys playing the kwakwa. 764 534

For a time it seemed as though we were only to see seketi. The children had had no opportunity at all to perform, and they stood about watching, while their elders danced the social dance we had seen so often. There was a tall man from a friendly village farther down the river whose dancing that night stood out. The careful awkwardness of his legs as he danced facing us, the carefully timed movements of arms and body showed us that in seketi, too, as the proverb ran, there were truly men on the lower river, as there were on the upper. 764 796

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramiccanor

361 river floods periodically, and might wipe them out if they were too near, and that the Bush Negro still retains, back in his mind, a strong fear of another war with the white man. In the latter event the Djuka villages would have to be camouflaged or hidden. Often, too, the villages are to be found just above a waterfall or rapids, as another hindrance to possible invaders.

648 609 [57] At the landing we see bare-breasted Djuka women washing clothes or bathing their children. They do not evince much curiosity as we paddle up, for it is considered insolent to stare. The naked little ones are very much afraid of the white man. They scurry into the underbrush and watch us from behind trees. The older children remain and are proud of their courage. An old man is making a canoe. Most of the men are away on hunting or lumbering expeditions.

361 648 [417] Leading up to the village is a winding path, cut by the violent rain until it resembles a ravine. Sometimes the river floods the path, forming a little muddy inlet into which the canoes stick their noses. One town is perched on a high bank, reached only by a hardwood ladder twenty-five feet tall. The blacks clamber up easily, unlike the awkward white man, who has difficulty with the missing steps.

We ascend the path; the frightened children return to their play, paddling about or fishing from the moored canoes. 202 648 [534] Sometimes the bahkra's coming has been announced beforehand by a system of drum telegraphy. A certain rhythm beaten on the tomtom informs the adjacent villages that white men are coming up the river, and why. In this way

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

1 [412 532]

Chapter Four

THE DANCE

SUNDOWN on the Surinam. Women with breasts like 252
dried tobacco leaves stew hunks of red baboon over the 262
Djuka fires. The old dance gods will stir tonight. Mist is 132
drifting up from the river and blowing between the trees. Colours fade out as darkness falls. The atmosphere of the jungle closes in on us with the night.

As night falls a Bush Negro corial appears on the river. It 574
is followed by four others, all loaded with people from another village three miles downstream. The strangers have come to dance for the bahkra. We have promised them candy and high wine. The women tie bands of nuts about their 534
limbs; the dried nuts rattle.

They bring the drums, the soul of the jungle. The big tom-tom, elaborately carved on the outside, is the *apenti*, or signal drum. The smaller *nanda* and the baby *babosla* (an African

[p. 52 is blank]

1 [For caption, see category 116, p. 204.- Analyst]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

534 word meaning "to make a hollow sound") are dance drums. Each is made from a short section of hollowed-out log. Long pegs are driven into the outside, around the circumference, close to one end. Animal skin, with brown hair still clinging in places, is stretched across the opening, and thonged over the pegs. The pegs are set at an angle, so that driving them further in stretches the skin more tightly, tuning the drum. Some villages possess drums six to eight feet long. They are called *ageedah*.

533 A young boy of fourteen or fifteen flippantly beats a few notes on one of the tomtoms. He puts it between his squatting legs and bends over it, striking the resonant skin with the flat of his fingers, using both hands to produce a rhythmical pattern. He holds his wrists loose, like a virtuoso. To set the drum on the earth while playing it would close up the open end, keeping the vibrations inside, and produce a flat sound. The drum is held by the squatting black at an angle with the ground, the pulsating tambour making an insidious beat that produces strange effects. The moment the sound of the tomtom reverberates through the jungle evening, the atmosphere seems to change.

The crowd is shy at first. There is still a little sun in the air. Darkness is necessary if the ancient gods are to possess us. A child of eleven squats beside a drum and places it between his knees. His creditable tempo arouses the envy of his playmates looking on. Three men arrange themselves for the coming dance, one with the *apenti*, one with the *nanda*, while the third wrestles with the little boy who will not relinquish

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

his hold on the *baboula*. The child is finally allowed to remain. He can keep time well enough and that is what the *baboula* is for. 533

It is now night, jungle night. The tomtoms crash out in a full-throated chorus. It is a driving, compelling rhythm of hollow sounds. The timbre is heavy, hypnotic, maddening. The drummers achieve a difference of tone by striking near the edge, which gives a shrill sound, and then returning to the centre, which booms by contrast.

The effect of the drums may be a species of hypnosis. Hypnosis can be produced experimentally by the sound of rhythmical tapping, without any condition of sleep.

The patting of the fingers on the drum-head of dried skin seems to induce in these primitives a type of hypnoid exaltation. The cause of it is the monotonous, rhythmical repetition of booming sounds. Fatigue falls away. Memories of other evenings around the jungle fires come crowding back. They imagine that Apuku seizes their bodies. Demoniacal possession is a phenomenon well known to history; here we have it in the South American bush. Here it is called *winti*. 533 158

The hypnoid stimulus—monotonous repetition—is reproduced in the other instruments that accompany the tomtoms. The first of these is the *saka-sake*, a gourd stuck on a handle and filled with pebbles. Then there is the *quaqua*, a flat board of resounding wood that is beaten with a hard paddle. Now the primitive orchestra is in full swing. [534]

By this time the crowd has arranged itself in a circle, with a bare space in the centre. The fires glow luridly on black 533 796

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Shadows roll on the brown skin and quiver with the firelight. 796

It is a vivid picture, these naked girls standing still in the 535 flickering light of the fire, making their muscles dance to the monotony of the drums. Sweat breaks out on the foreheads of the drummers and runs down their faces, dropping off their chins unnoticed. The music grows louder and louder. 796 Apuku is coming. The stalwart black with the saka-sake 535 holds it at arm's length, braces his feet apart, and delivers his 153 whole body to the rhythm. The little girls, loath to stop, are seized by their proud mothers who rush out to embrace them, cheek to cheek. Others press forward with compliments for the excited girls. There is no stopping of the drums now. Louder and faster the metre becomes, a veritable pandemonium. No conversation or restrained observation is possible, due to the noise; the psychological effect is to wipe out the inhibitions of daily life and induce a state of semi-hysterical exhilaration. The white man, forgetting civilization for a time, feels like stamping his feet and shaking himself. And over all is the insistent monotony of the drums.

A woman has attached dried rattling nuts to her ankles, [534] and enters the clearing to be swayed by the drums. She too bends her body at a right angle, palms outward, caressing invisible curves in time with the beat of the drums. Her torso writhes, in time to the beat of the drums. She would be crying aloud, were it not for the pulsation of the drums. Two other women come out and accompany her, then another, then more, until finally eight or nine are dancing in the

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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Youth of the Boni Tribe Playing Dance Music on the "Apenti" or Signal Drum. Marowyne River, French Guiana. Drum Carved from a Single Section of Tree Trunk.

Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History

[Facing p. 58]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

796 shade out strange metres on the *nanda*. There is a break; the
535 orchestra stops, and the interval is filled in with the heavy
776 booming of the *apenti*. Often the drummers seize a bush-
158 knife and batter at the pegs, stretching the dried skin to the
[396] proper tone. Mist from the river has dampened their hair, unnoticed. The dance will continue until morning; they must play until the spirit of Apuku has gone.

796 Everything is set for the climax. Some are still watching
535 while the others dance. Since the old men are too dignified,
158 their places are taken by younger men from sixteen to twenty-five. There are more women dancing than men, anyhow. The white man is wondering how it is going to end. Despite the excitement there has been no orgiastic episode.

Grand finale. There is a tremendous screech from out of the blackness beyond. Three practically naked blacks come rushing up from the river, their faces and bodies daubed
[382] hideously with pemba dotee, the ceremonial white clay. One has stripes around his arms, belly, and legs, his face all white. Another's face is bisected with white and yellow pigment. The third is Adjobo, the medicine man; he has circles of clay on his forehead, cheeks, and chin, and rings around his neck. The presence of the ceremonial clay indicates the presence of a god. There is no doubt but that the hideousness of these men inspires a feeling of awe.

They burst into the circle of dancers and scatter them. Everyone [illegible] before them, with actual or pretended fright. The children become hysterical and cling frantically to their mothers for protection. Women in the crowd are cry-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Paramacca

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Drums from the Paramaca Tribe. The larger one is the Ninde, the small one the Bebinde.

Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History

[Facing p.60]

ticular animal. The red terrier will not hunt anything else. It stands now ferociously over the body of the dead parrot, its tongue hanging out, panting.

Bows and arrows are as common as shotguns, and preferred by many of the black huntsmen because they make no noise, need no munitions. The bow is fashioned from one of the South American hardwoods, letterwood or purpleheart. The shaft is tremendously resilient, and strung with *singrasi* it takes a stout arm indeed to bend it. Singrasi is a species of grass which is hand-spun into tough cord, by rolling it on the flesh of the thigh. When unfleared, the curved bow is nearly six feet long.

The arrows are made from hollow reeds, and are extremely light and well balanced. Into one end of the reed a foot-long hardwood point is set, wrapped with singrasi and gummed. At the other end, the ferrule is similarly set in, the joint again being wrapped around to prevent splitting. Some arrows have metal points filed from old bush-knives. A five-foot arrow like this can be used as a little javelin for spearing small game. The Bush Negroes also use blunt arrows to stun birds.

A naked savage stalking through the bush, armed only with a bow and arrow, furnishes a sight of the primitive that is fast disappearing from this commonplace world. The Djuka calls some of his game, principally the agouti, by imitating their cries on a little whistle, made out of baked clay or a hollow shell. The imitation is so accurate, in the case of smaller game, as to fool even the jaguar that feeds on

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

being able to accommodate their eyes to the tiny grey perspec- 123
tives. When the significance of the chiaroscuro dawned upon 774
them, they broke into broad grins and were mightily pleased. 822
After that most of them readily consented to being photographed.

A woman was suspected of causing by witchcraft the death 683
of the late Granman, Amekti, of the Aucaner tribe. She was 766
severely beaten and was not allowed to attend the ceremony 643
of *Broko Day* (breaking day), the time when mourning is broken.

Broko Day is held four or five months after the death of 766
the Granman. Game is hunted and cassava cake prepared 643
for many days prior to the great feast. It is a time of great festivity; there is dancing, singing, and general merry-making. At this time the *Songai*, the *Pekein play*, and the *Sasa* dances are held. The participants are generously smeared with pemba dotee and they wear costumes and decorations which are not seen at any other time. Then, as many of the tribe as is possible gather in the village of the erstwhile Granman, and the feast lasts for about a week. Dancing and feasting continue night and day. At this time the agendah drum—six to eight feet tall—is played, as well as [534] the smaller instruments already referred to. Toward the end of the ceremony, the hair and nails of the corpse are buried, a new Granman is inaugurated, and the deceased ruler is relegated to the position of an ancestor. Prayers may then ascend heaven-ward to him.

Captain Acrowsie of the Aucaner tribe told us some in-

Djuka Talk

Lawne	Abeyoni
Maddy	Abionie
Angasi	Samtoni
Dandilo	Samsie
Tjafaka	Saleh

A few feminine names are as follows:

Koko	Nee Nee
Amehna	Afanisi
Mehlee	Cudu
Suri	Yomeh
Widuma	Saomeh
Anitee	Tia Kabah

No stringed instruments were seen among the Bush Negroes, although they may exist. The musical impulses of the blacks are expressed chiefly in the beating of the tomtoms. The *saka-sake*, which means "shake shake," is added to the drum ensemble to emphasize by contrast with its light pebbly sound the vast heavy tonality of the drums. The same is probably true of the *quaqua*, the board beaten with sticks. Occasionally a nose flute is seen, a direct survival of West Africa. It is a plain flute, made of a reed, but blown with the

No. 534 [77]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

534 nose instead of the mouth. The only other accompaniments of the dance are the anklets and bracelets of Kabee-seed rattles, in which the dried nuts add a sensuous, whispering sound to the lithe movements of the limbs.

535 There are three expressions used among Djukas which are equivalent to swearing among ourselves. These are: *Tinkee mafo*, stink mouth, which is the worst possible insult; and two other insulting terms of lesser degree, *T'jobo teefee*, dirty teeth, and *sika fatu*, jigger foot.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

torchlight. The Djukas have a rodent trap that is a direct African survival, found on both the West and East Coasts of Africa.

Stedman mentions in his *Narrative* that the Bush Negro rebels used a kind of conch-shell trumpet to call their people to arms. The same species of trumpet is still to be found among the Djukas, and is similar in type to those found on the Gold Coast. The nose flute used by the Bush Negroes also comes from the Congo region of Africa. Wooden trumpets like those used by the Bush Negroes are found also along the Gold Coast and in the Congo country.

The drums form perhaps the clearest and most characteristic West African survival. They are not at all like the Indian drums of the same region, which are flat and more like a tambourine. The Djuka manner of constructing them from a hollowed-out log, with skin stretched over the opening and thonged over pegs, is commonly in use among innumerable African tribes. The tuning of them by hammering on the pegs, set at an angle, is also a detail from Africa. The use of drums for communication over long distances, and the developement of an elaborate code of drum signals, is developed to a high degree among West African tribes. Rattray, in his study of the Ashanti people, gives an extended description of this.

The *anansi-stories*, the spider stories, ubiquitous in the West Indies, are also found among the Tshi-speaking peoples of the West Coast. The use of white clay for smearing ceremonial objects and amulets is African. The decoration of

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

obeiahs, house gods, fetish houses, menstrual huts, and matrilineal system of inheritance are all to be found as ancient customs among the forest tribes of the West Coast. Other details, such as the use of chickens for sacrificial animals, the huts with their rectangular walls, the manufacture of butter from the palm worm, the sacredness of snakes and alligators, the use of drums for religious supplication, and the beating of them with the hand instead of with a stick as the Indians do, are also customs which are similar to West African customs and probably derived from them. The impaled turtle-shell on a staff, the badge of the witch doctor's profession, represents the symbol for the female genitalia among some West African tribes. The Bush Negroes' boats and paddles are typically African in design. The *awasa* dance of the Saramaccaners was borrowed from the Ancaners, among whom it is a direct West African survival.

From the study of these culture survivals among the Djuka tribes it can be seen that most of the jungle civilization of the Bush Negroes is derived from their West African ancestry, modified here and there by contact with the Indians of their new home. The remainder of the material culture of the Bush Negroes is borrowed from the white settlements along the coast, from which gunpowder, fish-hooks, bush-knives, and other articles filter upstream.

[p.192 is blank]

/26 cont./

728 communicate to one another their opinions, in what way they
695 wish to see the points of difference resolved. If they are agreed concerning these, then they return to the chief in the shed and the discussion of the matter takes place anew, until finally agreement exists. During this consultation of the elders or council
[562] members a solemn seriousness prevails among them. Women are sometimes admitted to these conferences, but never have a voice, and come merely to listen and to see.

After the matter has been settled to the satisfaction of all parties, the cup once more makes several rounds among those present, and thereafter everyone goes silently and quietly to his camp or dwelling.

Chapter XVIII

Music, Musical Instruments

533 Their music is very simple and monotonous; one makes use of it, to the accompaniment of song and dance, at festivals and cult ceremonies.

534 The instruments are variously used and doubtless according to the type of event. Thus the so-called long drum, called agida (2), is played at cult ceremonies; on other occasions one

2. Papáá drum.

uses the small or apientie drum. Furthermore they have an instrument called kwakwa stool by them, a stool or board of very hard wood on which one beats with two sticks.

534 When they dance the papaá-wenti, an African idol dance,
535 they use the agida drum. For the songé, or ordinary dance, they play the small drum or apienti.

They dance the soema to the beat of the small drum and with the kwakwa stool; in executing the last-named dance a great deal of competition prevails among the dancers, and the one who

1271
•534 holds out the longest and is the fastest and most accurate performer
535 of the specific steps for this is cheered as the winner.

Banja or baljaar is one of the true African dances. This name is also given to the African guitar, a musical instrument formerly generally known in the colony, but now totally vanished. This dance is performed to the beat of the two drums and the
[224] kwakwa stool. For this dance the women provide themselves with a saka-saka, a toy having the shape of a great rattle and made from a calabash filled with corals or pits of the Canna indica and Canna lutea, also called viengoe by them. They turn and shake this saka-saka according to the beat of the song taken up by them, which produces a peculiarly strange sound.

Chapter XIX

Clothing, Ornaments, Tattooing

291 Their clothing is very simple. The women ordinarily wear merely a piece of colored linen or cotton strip, called hont, two ells long and one and a quarter ells wide. They wrap this around their middle and allow it to hang down below the knee joints, calling it
301] pangi. This undergarment of the Negro women is thus named after pano (Spanish) and pagne (French). As a rule they have the upper body bare, while around the neck, the wrists, and the ankles
302 they wear strings of coral, which greatly take their fancy. They usually plait the head hair into a large number of small braids and bind the ends of these with white cotton threads. Some of them wear their hair combed out, as a result of which their heads,
301 seen from a distance, resemble large mop-heads. They are very fond of blood corals, which are greatly valued among them for ornamentation.

[292] When they celebrate a festival, they also wear a large number of colored cloths of cotton or muslin around the neck, and further adorn themselves with copper and iron rings around the wrists, among which there are strings of coral in the same manner

764 /162 cont./
787 business of the tribunal. The people of the dead person's lineage
761 will have to settle that among themselves after the obsequies.
[784] The role of the tribunal is to make official the cause of death and give it the force of law.

764 Then the inheritance is taken up in the presence of the
787 near relatives of the dead man. The questions are asked suc-
428 cessively: "To whom dost thou leave thy boat...?" "To whom dost thou leave thy gun (1)...?" The coffin moves each time

1. That, unless the dead man has, before his death, in front of witnesses, formally indicated the apportionment of his belongings; in such a case, questions are asked only for the objects whose attribution had not been clearly specified.

toward one of the people present. /Figs. 22 and 23 appear here/

704 /163/ At the end of the third day after the death the
[789] burial is prepared; the dead person is asked from daybreak on whether he is ready for that; if not it can be postponed until the next day.

[162] The *kpuli* have been working at the cemetery since the
[827] beginning of the day. They are young and strong men who have to work slowly, for not a drop of sweat may fall into the grave or their *asua* would risk remaining prisoner in it.

About 4:00 P.M. the bearers promenade the dead person one last time in the village for a supreme adieu. The near
[534] relatives go to the wharf. The dead man is hoisted into a canoe
[895] while the *apinti* drum calls his *yaka* so that it will not remain in the village.

764 /169 cont./
787 They will be paid when the gita has been "arranged," that is,
786 has lost the bestial character of the beginning and when the god
428 can express itself in intelligible fashion.

764 There and then they busy themselves with transferring
787 the god out of the body of the deceased. An sbiaman well
789 known in the cult of the Papa gadu, Goutu (Dju) and his pupil
Balan (Aw.B.) come with calabashes containing infusions of leaves. Four or five women having a Papa gadu come and line up behind them. The heiress, with an extremely vexed air, takes her place among them, clothed with the emblems of the god of the dead woman; they are going to call their gods who will dance in honor of Kotoïda's god.

The sbiaman and his pupil for several minutes trickle the infusion of herbs over the coffin, using packets of herbs like sponges, then they "wash" the women, including the postulant; he gives them the rest of the calabash to drink. One of the women, Samabun, falls immediately to the ground, attacked by the lowest form of possession: she drags herself on her belly like a snake (these are the first forms of the gita when it has not yet been "arranged." In her case that has lasted four years, contrary to what ordinarily happens. The scene was certainly anticipated, for she had put on European panties. The other women also drink but are not possessed; they leave to dress for dancing.

[534] The agida drum taken out of the god's chapel begins to beat, accompanied by two apinti.

The female bearers of Papa gadu arrive at the sound of the agida, smeared with pamba and carrying /wearing?--Tr./ the insignia of the god. Six come in all. They are not in a state of possession; only two will reach it. The first possessed woman keeps crawling on the ground, gropingly approaching the drum which she embraces, lying on her back. It is torn away from her. The sbiaman continue to come to "wash"

765 /184 cont./

[202] "You who with obia so that the machete will not cut you, so that the broken glass will not wound you, what are you waiting for? You remain seated, are you afraid?"

765 At these words, several of those present stand up and
786 begin to dance, seeking the trance of possession. Some run
787 into the village and come back running, carrying banana-tree stalks. Others drag thorny spathes of awara; two brandish an old, demolished boat.

The drum furiously beats the rhythm of Kumenti. Part of the dancers, taken hold of by a furious delirium, jump and [824] prance about. Certain ones take thorny spathes of awara (2)

2. Thorny palm (astrocaryum vulgare) whose sharp thorns nearly 10 centimeters long are particularly formidable. It is impossible to pick up an awara spathe with bare hands without hurting oneself.

under the arm or pass them around the neck.

Part of those present are taken hold of in their turn by trances, including people of mature age and serious character like Fisiman, who is carried off in a faint.

Two possessed people, a man (Ernest, Kotika) and a woman (Awini, Bonville), smeared with pemba, are subject to extraordinary contortions. Ernest breaks a bottle over his head with such force that the pieces fly several meters. Both /185/ dance on their knees for an appreciable length of time (but the next day Awini will come to have herself cared for). Those present manifest frenzied joy.

765 About five o'clock the [illegible] dance begins. Three apinti
535 drums are placed at the west wall of the shed. The orchestra
534 is completed by an old overturned boat which seven to eight men strike with oars.

/205 cont./

346 794 787 613 The objects placed in these chapels are simply the clothing, beverage, and tools of the gods when they come to visit men; they correspond nearly to what the Refugee Blacks leave in a farming habitation where they go to work regularly. For example, in the Papa gadu ɔsu of the Awara Bakka quarter of [293] Asisi, which serves for about 15 gods, each one has a definite place on the shelves to lay out especially the scarf which serves it as a garment and a bottle of beer (a bottle is always kept in readiness by the bearer of the god) (1).

1. The Papa gadu do not like tafia. If the usual bearer of one of these gods has drunk tafia, it cannot come into him.

[534] They still stow the Papa dɔ́ drum in this chapel. This drum, like the chapel itself, is believed to belong to the Papa gadu god which first came into a member of the lineage to exercise the kunu. In the example mentioned of the Awara [428] /206/ Bakka lo of Asisi, in 1957 it was the centenarian grandmother Kulusa who had borne this god since her youth, having herself received it, by several successive transmissions, from a distant ancestress.

[621] In villages like Boniville and Papaïston where fragments of lineage of entirely different origins coexist, each has its own organization.

For example in Boniville there is a Papa gadu ɔsu for the fragment of the Lapé lineage (it belongs to Téréna whose god exercises the kunu on this lineage). The fragment of the lineage has another.

In Papaïston the Tolma (Bakabuchi) lineage, reduced to half a dozen persons, has a Papa gadu ɔsu of its own.

/208 cont./

776 The Kumẽnti. These gods are common to the Saramaka
787 (Kromenti) (1), Djuka, and Boni. The Kumẽnti are considered
[184]

[174]

1. There is no doubt about the origin of this word; it is a deformation of Coromantin, name given in the 18th century to Ashanti country. The "Coromantin Negroes," reputed to be particularly intractable, played a large role in the slave revolts. The Kumenti cult of possession must originally have been a cult peculiar to the Coromantin nation.

to be benevolent gods and friends of men, so their possession is very much desired. They do not come into men spontaneously, they are obtained only by applying to a teacher. In principle
[562] only men can obtain Kumẽnti, while on the other hand only women can have Bõnzuñki /utc/.

776 The Kumẽnti are specialized in protection against fire
787 and against machete and gun wounds. These dangers hold the
751 largest place among the anxieties of the Refugee Blacks, who spend almost all their life in the bush and with whom nearly
[789] all sores become infected and have serious consequences. Thus the Kumẽnti cult holds an important place in their magic; even someone who is not possessed will try to obtain from these gods an ɔbia that will protect him from these various dangers.

153 The instruction of the disciples of these gods takes as its
791 pattern the procedures described above, but the collective dances
787 appear to play an essential part. The teacher calls on the gods
786 by beating a special rhythm on ordinary drums (apinti) and by
[533] uttering invocations punctuated by the rattle of the saka (Indian
[534] maraka, that is, hollow calabash provided with a handle and containing seeds).

/210 cont./

976 [825] The Bumba gadu, other gods of the same nature and equally feared, have as bearers other categories of snakes, principally the great anaconda water snakes.

[984] [812] The Vodii, we have said, are feared; they can exercise on a lineage the collective curse called kunu. But, no more than the Kumenti do not represent a principle of good, they do not represent a principle of evil. Not all are so badly disposed toward men, and even if one of them is the enemy of a lineage, it is not for that reason badly disposed toward the rest of men.

987 198 [562] However this may be, the cult of possession of the Papa gadu is not at all in decline among the Boni. According to the cross-checking we have been able to do, of the 670 persons living on the French bank there are at least 40 to 50 who have a Papa gadu, the great majority of them old women.

987 984 /211/ The Voodii /sic/ are much feared, and for that very reason much respected. They are oracles which are consulted very often, without consideration of the evil their kunu has done and will still do. A god which exercises the kunu but which is provisionally declared appeased may be consulted without danger; it is always assumed that in any case its bearer, if he respects its commands, has nothing to fear from it.

989 562 It is possible that, very unconsciously, women use the fear that the Papa gadu gods inspire in order to maintain their independence and privileged position in Refugee Black society.

153 99 989 [196] [178] [545] [824] [534] Instruction in possession appears to take as a pattern the same principles as that which correspond to the Kumenti. It involves the teaching of the Papa language; this language appeared to us to be in decline; in fact, it is used only for formulas of greeting; then the possessed people vaticinate in ordinary language. Instruction in possession also involves daily ablutions with decoctions of leaves; certain of these mixtures are particularly complicated (it is said that they include more than a hundred different kinds of leaves). Instruction is essentially individual; however it also includes dances; on this occasion a

/211 cont./

153 special drum is used, about two meters long and very narrow,
791 devoid of any decoration, which is called Mbaga dɔ̃ or papa
789 dɔ̃.
534

To call on her gita, the possessed woman (they are almost
787 always women) stands, puts on a piece of cloth which she always
[562] keeps nearby and always takes along with her when she travels:
this is the garment of the god; it consists of a sort of scarf
crossed in front; then she throws white clay, pemba, on her feet
from right to left and left to right while invoking the god.
Possession is almost immediate. One sees the woman's eyes
roll up and her expression become haggard. The god does not
cover himself entirely with pemba like the Kumfuti, he makes
himself a sort of headband on the forehead with white clay.
787 He begins with an invocation to Masa Gadu said in ordinary
788 language.
639
[782]

"Masa gadu, gi mi pimiti, beka mi na pikin nfage; ala
sani di mi ɔ taki, na yu mu gi mi kaakiti, beka na yu abi mi
kaakiti, da mi yɔffaɔ gi yu."

"Masa Gadu, I implore you, for I am a humble creature;
(in) all that I am going to say, it is you who will give me
strength, for my strength is in you; I shall exalt you."

787 Next come formulas of welcome to those present, which
788 are the exact translation of the formulas of greeting of everyday
[141] life, then songs, all in the Papa language. After about a quarter
of an hour, it enters a hut and sits down, answering in ordinary
language the questions of those present, always in a singing
tone.

787 Possession by Papa gadu does not have the bestial character
of possession by Kumfuti; outside of the dances, it does not
involve brutish gestures or bizarre acts; the possessed woman
hums softly in a shrill voice, moving with graceful gestures.
[531] /212/ Sometimes she draws strange signs on the hut; the Boni
state that that is a kind of writing, that other possessed people

c:hurault--342a K-S (1948-1958) 1961 SRS Bush Negroes SRS
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Fig. 26. Woman possessed by a Papa gado god.

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Fig. 27. Dance of possession (Papa gado worship).

SiNordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
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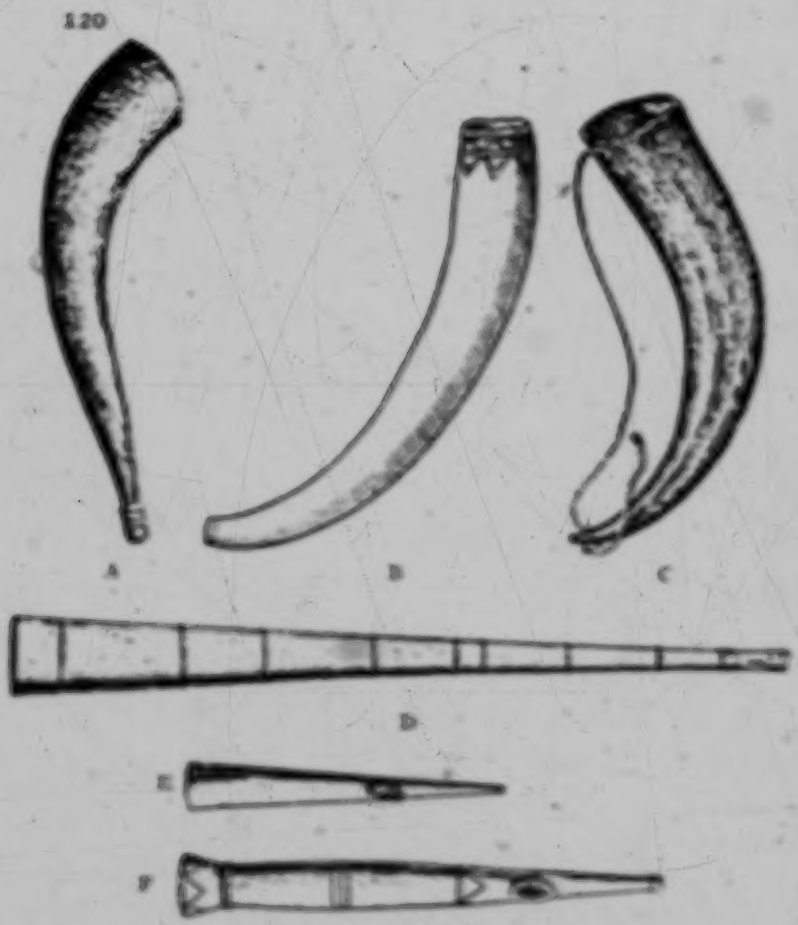

Fig. 37. A. End-blown trumpet made of cowhorn. Chiriguano. R. M. E. 40. 1/4.

B. End-blown trumpet made from a calebash. Chiriguano. R. M. E. 310. 1/4.

C. Side-blown trumpet made of cowhorn. British Guiana. Collection of LINDEWALDT—TRUPER. G. M. 11. 1. 30. 1/4.

D. Side-blown trumpet made of wood. Paramaribo(?). Brazil. R. M.

E. Side-blown trumpet made of tin-plate. Bush-negroes. Surinam. Collection of BARON NORDENSKIÖLD. R. M. E. 109. 1/4.

F. Side-blown trumpet made of wood. Bushnegroes. Surinam. Collection of NORDENSKIÖLD. R. M. E. 69. 1/4.

people kept their distance, and among them some pithy proverbs were spoken to bear upon the shortcomings of the white man. One or two of them turned to repeat to the dead what had been said, and there was great laughter. Sedefo came to assure us that the dead man liked it very much. For the dead, it appeared, were especially susceptible to humor and to exceptional occasions.

About us, or edging their way toward us, were the younger men in their ceremonial dress, the toga-like cloth covering their bodies, but leaving one shoulder bared for respect, and the women in their knee-length *pangi*, or cloths, hanging from the waist, and their shining brass rings reaching from wrist to elbow and from ankle halfway up to the knee. Among the dancers, but standing somewhat aloof, could be seen a man or woman with seed rattles about the ankles. These were the fine dancers. Of them our informant had spoken when he said, "They dance well at Gankwe."

Carved stools were placed for us facing the coffin a little to the left of the singers, where we could best see the dancing. One or two lanterns were moved to give us better light. The drummers, who had not left their places, took up the rhythm again—one of the women had us know that the spirit of the dead man had communicated to the spirits of the drummers that he wanted to see the dancing resumed. The singing began—a woman's falsetto voice and a chorus; the hand clapping of the singers and bystanders emphasized the basic rhythm. It was slow at first, then quickened, and the dancing became more animated.

"They dance *seketi*," whispered our friends. "Later they will dance *awusa*."

The dancing was confined to a comparatively small space. It began with a barely perceptible motion of the feet of the dancers to the rhythm of the drums and the hand clapping. Then the feet began to execute figures in place, without leaving the ground, the arms hanging loosely at the side. This was continued for some time, until, arms flexed and held rigid at the elbow, and knees bent but rigid, too, the

DEATH AT GANEWE

intricate steps began. The movement of the feet, angular and precise, was reiterated by the outstretched palms, while all the muscles of the hips took up the rhythm. Now one of the men with the seed rattles at his feet danced facing a woman who also had these rattles, and the dance became theirs with a chorus of dancers moving more and more to the side, keeping the rhythm with the feet. The drums beat faster, the hand clapping became louder. Those two balanced their bodies as they bent their knees lower and lower, all the while executing the figures with feet, arms, and hips, and how unaware they seemed of the audience! And even of each other, for what awareness there was to quicken the pulse of the dancing was more than one man's awareness of one woman. It might have been a dance to Asaase—the great Earth Mother—but it was, in fact, dancing for the dead, for the two would turn again and again to face the coffin, as the others had done, except during the intervals when they recalled the white man and woman in back, and turned to dance to us and our flashlights. 964 535 [534]

Seketi, awasa. . . . The dances changed, and the songs, and the drum rhythms changed, too. The children at our feet had fallen asleep and lay doubled over, their heads resting upon their toes. More men joined the dancers. It was long past midnight. The women who had infants on their backs moved away silently in the direction of their huts, but when an elderly woman tried to go, too, she was reprimanded and sat down again.

There was another leader for the singing, and another. A man's falsetto was heard in a long recitative that preceded the dancing to the massed voices of the chorus. He faced now the dead, now us, as he improvised. Once more it was gay. [533]

The dancing became more and more spirited, but when a dancer had continued in the circle for some time, an older woman coming forward from among the bystanders would put her arm about her and exclaim the singsong, "*Adoi!* . . . *Adoi!* . . . *Adoi!*" Others came forward to con-

Herskovits & Herskovits E-4 (1928-1929) 1934
Bush Negroes
Saramaca

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gratulate the dancer, while another had taken her place in the dance, only to be brought to herself again when her dancing had become so abandoned that there was danger of falling or tripping. For it is always a bad thing for one's *akra*—soul—to fall from exhaustion or even to trip while dancing, and it would have been especially dangerous to have fallen with the spirit of the dead so close.

[114]

As time passed, figures were seen edging away into the darkness. The knot of dancers thinned. Now there were but two young women dancing. They wore identical cloths of a new material, a pattern resembling the cloth over the coffin. They were related to the dead man. When all were wearied, they had to go on dancing. . . . Dawn would not be long in coming.

[112]

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We knew that it would not be long before the spirit of the dead would be called upon to tell his family, fellow villagers, and clansmen how death had come upon him. For, in the Guiana bush, except for the very old, there is little natural dying. The deceased has been killed either by the gods whom he has offended or by the black magic of a powerful enemy, and it is of this which he must tell before his burial. When Sedefo came to our camp the next afternoon, we asked him about the "carrying of the corpse," as the ceremony is called. We told him that his people in Africa—for the Bush Negroes know that their origins are African—also asked the spirit of the dead why death had come upon him, and we plied him with questions. What would they do to be sure the answer was right? Who would ask the questions? When would they establish the facts of the killing? And might we come and see?

There would be no trouble, he told us amiably enough. The spirits of the dead liked attention, and for the *Bakra*—the white man—to come so often to his brother's bier was a compliment. We could return with him, but we must make haste—and it was evident that important ceremonies were about to take place.

WHILE THE RIVER WAS HIGH

implied), and he repeated the word over and over, until this led us to talk about singing, and at last we had them consent to dance suss for us. It had to be done very quietly, in the slight clearing in back of the shelter. Suss is an African dance. It is danced by men only, in pairs, and is something of a game. The one who wins "kills" his opponent. The earth spirits are said especially to like it, and it is danced in the fields or in the villages for them.

There they stood, Yamati and Sabape, facing each other, their enlarged navels almost touching. One agreed to be "in," and one "out," and as they began, their jaws came forward in a patterned, pugnacious way, and their arms moved to reproduce in pantomime shield and spear, while the feet crossed and recrossed.

Keri-keri g'a S'ra
Zond'o linga
Linga-li

The monkeys
Go to dance suss
Without rings.

Huk, huk, huk!

They sang the song over and over again, panting at the end of each verse to dramatize combat.

"I killed him," said Yamati. He had won, and they began again. If the one who had agreed to be "in" had his foot on the outside as they clashed, then he lost—he was killed.

4

As they were dancing, we noticed a young man we had never seen before. He was standing watching the youngsters at their play, smiling as though he enjoyed their contest. He was very dark, even for a Bush Negro, short and stocky, with unusual muscular development of arm and chest and thigh. His age, one would judge, was nineteen or twenty. He turned his smile on us when he realized we were noticing him.

if it was smaller still it would plague the members of the 776
family with sickness, or bad luck, or it might make them poor and send all kinds of trouble to them.

"Kunu," he went on, "attacks the family of the offender, but almost never the person who has done the evil thing himself. That would be too easy. If I wanted very much to do something I should not do, then I might be willing to take death in the end. But to punish my whole family until it is ended—that is too much."

"But what is kunu?" we asked.

"Kunu is a spirit. We dance to it and serve it with offer- 776
ings. It is not the same in every village, but in our village 782
we dance kunu in this way. If we dance it during the next 796
moon, then we dance one day only, and two months later we dance kunu again. Then we wait eleven months and dance again. We do this every year in the same way."

"Is this enough to keep kunu away? Would it not be better to dance more often?"

"It would do no good at all to dance kunu more often. The spirits would only be angry if they were disturbed all the time. If you have kunu, you have it," we heard again.

But why, we asked, were not people careful? Why, if they knew that kunu was hard, did they not walk more softly still, so that they might avoid this trouble?

"Ma, kye! There are always things happening, people always do things they shouldn't."

"Then life is hard for you Saramacca people," we said. "You must always think of kunu."

Our seriousness amused him. It was, after all, this way 776
with kunu. When you had it, you did what you could. If a wrong was done, then it had to be paid for. But the Bakra should not think that the Saramacca people weren't happy. There were good spirits, too. While some spirits punish, others protect.

"Have you seen our women dance, Bakra? A Saramacca 535
woman's foot can do things, mati. Have you seen them dance bandamba? Have you seen them *chaka*—shake?" he said, laughing, and turning to the men about him, he added, "We will show them how our women dance—and our men!"

REBEL DESTINY

782 Among the people of one group, the principal ceremony
291 may be held in the clearing itself. The drums are brought,
535 and men and women and children pray for fertility. The beautifully carved apinti drum sounds the invocation to the Great God and to the ancestors, while the tall agida drums are brought to call the earth spirits. Two by two the men dance susa, the dance which in pantomime reproduces an ancient warrior's combat with spear and shield, the winner taking on a new combatant, until the final winner is given a wand as a reward, and gains for himself the title of "G'aman of Susa" until the next dance is held. Other dances follow. Perhaps the women now line up in two long
[585] rows facing each other, and dance bandamba, the dance
[845] which celebrates marriage and the birth of twins, and the birth of a child who is born feet foremost. The motions are the slow rhythmic manipulations of the muscles of hips and
[842] abdomen. It is a dance of fertility, danced by the very young girls as well as by those who have borne children. But the women who are past the age for dancing sit with
[888] their men, arms interlaced, swaying to the rhythms of the songs they sing. . . . There are offerings to the earth spirits, poured upon the earth out of black obia pots and
[n69] calabashes, while other offerings are set upon the ground for the ancestors.

In another settlement, the ritual would be chiefly carried on in the village itself, and there might be a local dance of
[842] fertility, danced nowhere else on the river. "An old, old ancestress taught it to us," the villagers would say.

462 When it is time to plant, the woman plants with the
291 man's help.

"When I plant a new field," said the younger woman, "I
782 pray as I work."

539 And this is her prayer:

O Sky God, Mother of the Earth, Ancestors,
I am planting a field,
Make it bear;
People who come to me must eat,

996 gods do not come to them." There was in her voice con-
186 tempt for women who had no gods. She was of a reddish-brown color, taller and more slender than most, and the great coils of brass about her arms and ankles told that her
[301] beauty had had full recognition. These had come to her at
[585] marriage, as had the small earrings of gold which the bassia had brought to her from French Guiana. With these, too, had come cloths and handkerchiefs, beads and carvings.

689 If white women had no gods, did they know any of the
923 other things which women must know? Did the white
[591] woman wear an apron underneath all her cloths, as women should? Were her thighs cicatrized? Did she cook for her husband, or other men, when she should be isolated in the special house provided for women's monthly visits?
[841] Did she purify herself with sacred clay when she emerged from isolation in order not to spoil her husband's obias, for which contact with a woman who has her menses is the deadliest taboo? Why, having borne children, did her figure not show it?

[534] "Have you drums?" the bassia's wife asked. "Without drums, how do you pray? How do you dance?"

[535] Dancing without drums availed nothing.

"White women have no gods. The gods do not come to them. They are not troubled by the need to dance. White women do not pray," she concluded, seeing that what dancing the white woman did could only be a feeble affair.

"I will send my son to your country. The men who go to the French shore say it is good to know how to count the white man's way. My woman-child I will never send," she finished with finality.

Now it was the white woman's turn to ask a few questions, having done explaining how her boots laced, and why it was that she was dressed very much as her husband was dressed.

951 The white clay in the hair and on the face of a small
996 child was medicine. The child's mother had washed for her
983 god that morning. He was a god whose day for dancing was Wednesday, and now, feeling the god stir in her, she would

Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1929-1930) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Surinam

"Tonight there will be dancing for you," Anf'u said, when we left the shrine. "I will go and pray again before the dance, and then I will go to my hammock early, for I leave at sunrise. We will meet again at the G'aman's."

The bassia's wife followed us to our house.

"You are a woman, yet you went inside the shrine. Maybe you do have gods, white woman. When you go in again will you pray to the Earth Mother for the woman Kupa, who is my sister? Twice she bore girl children, and both sleep. Now she is with child again. She wears many obias about her neck, and daily she washes with white clay. She is the woman with the wooden obia doll hanging between her breasts. No, not the one who has the small black sack about her neck. Any woman who is with child wears that. You will know her when you see her. She is beautiful."

7

The dance was held in the bassia's quarter, in front of one of his houses. The bassia was a man of wealth. He had three wives, while the chief had but two. Whether one of the three was only nominally his wife and had come to him at the death of a brother, we were unable to learn, but that his means were large was apparent. The house where his personal possessions were stored was built high on posts. A house so raised stood out from those about it and bore the same name as the moon. Underneath it, in the shelter made by the posts, lay a partly made drum, some carved wooden implements, and carpenter's tools. There was also a forked stick in the ground upon which rested a black obia pot with water and weeds in it.

The children began the dancing.

Ayo, ayo
Ayo, ayei,
Agida comes,
Ayo, ayo,
Earth spirits come,
Ayo, ayei.

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SRS Bush Negroes SRS
Saramaccas

A NIGHT AT S'EI

A girl of ten or eleven led the chorus. She had a string about her waist, and the strip of cloth that was tied about her neck as a ceremonial garment hung down cape fashion. About her navel and on her face the cicatrized patterns had been completed. Her voice was the shrill voice of a child, and the answering chorus was as shrill. 535 533

"Chaka, chaka!" called the bassia who was directing the dance. He was demanding those movements which bring into play the muscles of the hips. 535

The women waited. They had come in all their finery, their tunics of the newest cloth, their coils of brass bracelets and anklets made to gleam by rubbing with sand, their skins dark and glistening with the oil rubbed into them for the ceremonial occasion. Those whose hair was worn in braids had redressed it that day. About their necks were beads. Their cloths were fastened tightly about them, so that their figures showed plainly. [301] [302]

The men, also in their best, waited with them. The iron Kromanti obias on their upper arms fitted tightly, and showed the great muscles above and below them. Those who wore beads had two or three strands of yellow and red intertwined, the small beads worn by men, small almost as okra seeds. One or two wore love obias—cowrie shells sewed on a band of white cotton, and then dipped into water which was thickened with white clay. One or two wore a small black bell-shaped obia—half the size of their thumbs—on a black string, and with swagger had swung it about so that it hung at the back. There were obias below the knee, and obias which were great brass rings for the big toe of the right foot. But one or two of the old men, and the young man who was in training for an obia man, wore a jaguar tooth on a string of native twining. 535 [301] [302]

Drums . . . drums. Would there be drums? 535

The word was whispered from one to the other, and passed like a wave over the waiting figures.

But there would be no drums. This was the day when two gods might come. The god of the ant hill, for which men and women might dance, and the buzzard god of the men's Kromanti society. [176]

•535 mtu's Kromanti society. The elders had decided these dances were too violent to show to the white man who was with them for the night. Whatever of the esoteric the white man was to see was for the Granman himself to decide. To introduce the drums for the secular dances, and the half-sacred awasa, would be dangerous, for once the drums were there, and the spirit seized one of the players, he would begin to call the gods. When the gods came the dancing would take place until the spirits were satisfied.

"There will be no drums," said the bassia aloud. "There is no one to play them."

No drums!

Again the whispering began. The eagerness, the energy which had seemed to float in the darkness from one to another of the waiting figures began to be dissipated. The men and women still waited, but they were listless.

[533] [534] The little girl sang,

"The bogbwa drum
Sounds Tond."

And the chorus sang,

"Give us Tond."

The bassia who was master of ceremonies noticed the loss of interest with displeasure. It had not been the intention of the elders, when they had made this decision, to have it interfere with the reception of the strangers. He had counted on having spirited secular dancing.

"Friend," he said to the young obia man, "get the dancing started."

He turned again and again to the young man who was being disciplined in the way of the gods, exhorting him to beat time faster, to sing louder. And to the women he shouted, "Shake, women, shake—*chaka!*"

The dancing grew lively.

The white man had learned the words of the refrain, and [23] was singing with them. Master Nigger! here was a white man who could sing their songs. The white woman had

been shown by the bassia's wife how to clap her hands to the rhythm of the song, and now she could not stop for an instant, though her hands ached.

"*Baro maw*—Clap your hands!" the bassia's wife called to her, the instant her visitor's zeal slackened. She herself was dancing in place, her infant on her back, sound asleep.

"*Chaka*—Shake!" she too began to shout, and once she was so carried away by her hand clapping that she joined the dancers, and danced facing the obia man.

Tall and slender as she was, she crouched opposite the man, her child on her back, and executed the most amazing steps. It was as though every muscle in her body had been set in motion by some invisible dynamo.

An old woman interrupted them. She stepped into the circle, and put her arm about the bassia's wife. "Adoo!" she crooned, and brought her to her feet. Another woman had done the same for the obia man.

Now one of the men who wore both a love obia and a brass ring on his great toe began a song. The melody was only a variant of the one Bayo had sung and the sekrti songs we had heard at Gankwe and elsewhere. But here the recitative of the leader was longer. What he sang was not unlike one of our own ballads. He recounted the experiences of a young Saramacca man on the Marowyne River. He had met a Djuka woman, who had taken up with him for his money, and in the end she had exposed him to her people.

Another man sang of a war that white men had with each other. Hard times came to the Saramacca people. There was no work. Then their Granman sent a message to the white elders. The Granman told them people should live in peace together.

The bassia had no need now to spur on the dancers. The small open space was a heaving mass. Nothing seemed immobile. The stars darted, the lights of the small oil lamps held by the bystanders flickered, the very posts which held the thatch of the houses in place and ended some feet

above the roof, like great horns, appeared to sway now to one side, now to the other.

The hand clapping grew louder and faster, and faster still. The rhythm changed. Now the dancers were in pairs, feet interlocking and raised from the ground, while they danced each on one foot. It was one form of the *dawya* dance. This was what was danced to the ancestors before the opening of sacred dances.

The bassia stirred uneasily and soon sought out the young obia man who was standing by. They whispered together for a few moments, and then the bassia spoke aloud.

"It is late, friends. Day will soon be coming. Let us end the dancing. Let us go to our houses."

He turned and whispered to his wife, who came forward with a smoking oil lamp in her hand. Like a knife she thrust herself straight between the pairs of interlocked figures, and began singing a slow moving song.

It is late,
Soon night will meet day,
Let us go to our hammocks,
Let us go to our homes,
Let the gods go to their homes.

In and out she went, separating the rows of figures, and her beautiful voice cast a spell over the dancers. With feet flexed, they stood poised to go on with their dance, yet did not move. The hand clapping stopped, and the singing. There was but the voice of the bassia's wife, who cut her way through the massed body of dancers, her sleeping child on her back, her oil lamp held before her, as she walked, arm outstretched. The dancers gave way before the flame in the small lamp, but still they stood there, their faces disturbed. It was as though food had been brought to whet their appetites and was as quickly snatched away.

At last a dancer reached for a lamp which was held by an old woman, and then another woman reached for hers.

A NIGHT AT S'EI

" . . . *It is late,*
Slow night will meet day . . . "

they chanted, as others joined them. Dancing to the slow rhythm of the singers, lamps in hand, all took up the song, until the bassia's wife led the way down the path. In a few moments the flicker of the oil lamps radiated in many directions, and the quieted dancers followed by their families went home singing.

[illegible] & [illegible] E-6 ([illegible]) 1634
[illegible] Bell Magnum [illegible]
Sacramento

more than a year before her father's death and therefore had not saved her mother from mourning.

"My sons are big so," she showed, pointing to the mortar, "and already my brother takes them with him down the river, and when they are with him he tells them about the creeks and the trees, and where the villages are which are friendly to our people. But when they come here to see me, then they play. They have play guns and play arrows which they make themselves. Into the uncleared bush they shoot them until I call them away to eat. Here I have no man from whom they can learn. Here they only play."

But boys liked to be with men. When the rains came, her brother would let them sit by when he carved, and, seeing him work, they would take up a knife and begin whittling. That was how boys learned to do men's work.

Women children played with "gossi." She put down her pestle, and felt about in her cloth where the child slept, and brought out a gourd, resembling in size a small cucumber. It had beads on top for eyes and a few deft cuts to indicate nose and mouth, while above the eyes was crosshatching for the hair. Until girls were old enough to be of use in the fields, they sat about in the clearing playing with these dolls.

"When they are four and five, then they like to work."

There was, of course, dancing. All dances were opened by the children, and at six and seven the girls knew seketi and awasa, and bandamba, and the boys danced susa.

"Do you dance susa?" we asked the Granman's five-year-old grandson, who was standing with us beside the widow.

"Ai," he said, but once our attention was turned to him he said also, "White man, the children say you carry money in this." He touched a water canteen which hung from the stranger's belt. "I know it is water."

He knew also that shaving cream was soap, and not white people's sacred clay, and now as women came with bottles for the white man's obia water—a name they gave

845 "The next time you come to the Saramacca country, you must have twins here," the women said, laughing, "then you will see what a play we give for them. And for a child born after twins, and for a child who is born feet foremost."

The last, however, was not good, and they were really not in earnest, they explained, in wishing that type of childbirth upon the stranger.

"Such a child has a bad spirit. The mother almost always dies when giving birth."

"Is there no obia to save her?"

"The gods can save the mother if they wish. . . . "

There were special songs for twins which were sung when bandamba was danced. Several of the women, and Dida among them, began to sing them. The songs praised the generative powers of the man and woman who had "made" twins. As the women began their songs, they rose from their work and danced, for just as they could not remember the words of a song apart from its melody, so they could not sing the melody without the accompanying dance movements which went with it. Words and melody and movements of the body were all part of the image evoked by the word "bandamba." With arms firmly planted on their hips, and feet slightly apart for balancing, the slow rhythmic play of abdomen, hips, and buttocks went on and on.

533 535 845

But as they sang and danced, the Granman's younger wife suddenly remembered that their voices must carry to the council house, and abruptly the women stopped, covering their faces.

"We're ashamed," Dida explained.

"But the men see you dance bandamba when you give your plays for twins, and the child after twins, and for marriages?"

"Yes, but then it's singing and dancing at a play."

When an occasion called for these songs and dances, it was quite another matter, she implied.

"It is not good to do this for sport."

"It hurts, doesn't it?"

"*Ma kyé!* It is beautiful. The men like it too much," said the girls in a chorus, laughing at the suggestion that the pain of the cuts would deter them from having them made.

Sometimes, of course, the older girl admitted, the wounds did become ugly. There was the girl from Godo, whose suitor had kept bringing her more gifts because she was growing handsomer and handsomer. She was all but ready for marrying, when one of her thighs became infected after the cuts. The wounds were so ugly that she could not even wear the tunics of the grown girl. The family was sacrificing to all the spirits of the earth, begging them to heal the wounds.

7

These days there were many visitors in the Granman's village. There was the girl the Granman had summoned to dance for his guests. She had, perhaps, that very summer got her cloths, and her reputation as the best dancer on the river had won for her a suitor who gave her many armlets and anklets. Her voice was fresh and flutelike in quality, and so fine that when she sang she placed a folded cloth over her mouth, or danced with her head low. This was the way of modesty before people, and humility before the gods.

The women said, "Her spirits dance well," when they watched her.

There was the large girl from a village down river who came almost daily. She had the body of a woman, yet she went about unclothed, and sometimes she appeared only with a string about her waist.

"She is ready for *pangi*—cloths—*ai*," the women said, "but her people do not want to give them to her yet."

They would not explain, however, why the attire of a grown woman was denied her. We could only conjecture about it. Perhaps she had no suitor. The man to whom she had been promised might have died. There might be other reasons.

Bayo laughed. "All this isn't easy, white man. A line about this curve shows this to be a man-child. These are things bush people alone know."

The decorated rim of this tray had interested many who had seen the piece the winter before, and we had had pointed out to us what we ourselves had remarked, that the design was not continuous all around, but that it was divided into four parts, the crosshatched portion alternating with that of checkered squares. Did those have meaning? we asked Bayo.

"Ai, these belong to the women and the children. The small lines are the hair of the children, and the squares here that of the women." The brass-headed nails he touched one by one on the photograph. "The women have nice kamemba," he said, at last.

On the upper river we had acquired another tray with similar motifs, but more elaborately decorated, with carvings on the outer surface as well as the inner, and also with many more brass-headed nails. This use of nails, which was more general in the deep interior, had at first seemed as anomaly, for they must come from the white man's city, since the Bush Negro, we knew, had lost the African technique of iron working. But as we saw more deeply into their customs, we recognized that these nails studding the carvings represented a survival of the African art tradition, and it was, therefore, reasonable that in the deep interior they should be found more profusely on the carvings.

Human representations outlined with the realism of African masks we almost never met, and the exceptional instances suggested only resemblances. The mask itself, as far as we could learn, was not used in their dances. The men knew what masks were, but whether this knowledge came as part of their African tradition, or whether it was brought from the city and the French shore, we could not determine. The African style of depicting the human form had, however, not been entirely lost by their slave ancestors. In this village of Ma'lobbi, where lived one of the finest carvers on the river, the carving over a doorway held us

In Harskovits & Harskovits 2-5 (1931-1933) 1934
[illegible]
Harskovits

So it was with each god, until the boy was ready to be initiated into the Kromanti Society.

"There are many, many kruto, white man, for a boy has much to learn."

When those who directed the kruto were satisfied that the boy had learned how to serve the gods he had been given, that he knew their powers, and those things which were hateful to them and would incur their displeasure, then a dance was held for him so that he might demonstrate before the assembled festive villagers that he was ready for manhood.

"We give a big play for a boy who gets his gods for the first time. When the gods come to him at this dance at the biddling of the drum, and he dances hard, then his family is pleased. When a boy dances, then we know what is in him. We know whether his gods are strong, whether he is to be feared."

Once the father had transferred his gods to his son, he did not dance much himself. He might continue to play the drum at sacred dances, but dancing and drumming were for the younger men. His son's worship of the gods through the dance released the father for the study of obia. With the governing elders, the father took up his pike as a clan member who sought the will of the ancestors when new tasks were to be undertaken.

"What happens if the father has few gods to give his son?" we asked.

"Then his mother's eldest brother gives his to the boy."

"What if the boy's uncle has none to give?"

That happened so seldom that he could not remember such an instance, but he had heard it said that this had occurred once or twice.

"A man must have gods to help him live. If his family can give him none, then they buy gods for him. Sometimes there are gods in the family that are not too strong, and they want the boy to have strong gods. They go to a man who knows about such things and who himself has strong gods and buy a god for the boy from him."

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

§35 faces. The drummers stop to tune to the desired pitch, driv-
796 ing in the pegs with the back edge of a bush-knife. Then they resume, rattling out a sharply insistent tempo. Women begin to sway. Some of them start a plaintive jungle song. The drums never stop.

796 A woman disengages herself from the crowd and enters
§35 the open space. She bends forward from the waist at a right angle. Her arms form a circle beyond her head, saffron palms outward. She sways from the hips, her torso contorted with sinuous suggestion. Then her feet on the bare earth rap out the tempo that the brown fingers of the men are drumming on the dried skin. The others begin patting juba.

It is a false start. The woman interrupts her dance to criticize the orchestra for not playing in her mood. The crowd is not yet possessed.

Dodo, the woman *baseria*, or boss, goes about urging the women to begin. Meanwhile the bubkra slips through the
[127 crowd pouring out drinks of high wine to add to the dark
796 hilarity of the occasion. Always before drinking they will
275] spit on the ground a libation to the gods. A mother gives the rum to her seven-year-old child, who does not flinch from the burning potion.

A new tempo. Three little girls, slim in their nudity, enter the central space. The oldest is about eleven. They stand with their backs to us and begin the *bandamba* dance. The evening is on.

Standing still in the firelight, hands behind their heads, they arch their loins and raise their buttocks up and down.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Shadows roll on the brown skin and quiver with the firelight. 796

It is a vivid picture, these naked girls standing still in the 535
flickering light of the fire, making their muscles dance to the monotony of the drums. Sweat breaks out on the foreheads of the drummers and runs down their faces, dropping off their chins unnoticed. The music grows louder and louder. 796
Apuku is coming. The stalwart black with the uka-uke 535
holds it at arm's length, braces his feet apart, and delivers his 153
whole body to the rhythm. The little girls, loath to stop, are seized by their proud mothers who rush out to embrace them, cheek to cheek. Others press forward with compliments for the excited girls. There is no stopping of the drums now. Louder and faster the metre becomes, a veritable pandemonium. No conversation or restrained observation is possible, due to the noise; the psychological effect is to wipe out the inhibitions of daily life and induce a state of semi-hysterical exhilaration. The white man, forgetting civilization for a time, feels like stamping his feet and shaking himself. And over all is the insistent monotony of the drums.

A woman has attached dried rattling nuts to her ankles, [334]
and enters the clearing to be swayed by the drums. She too bends her body at a right angle, palms outward, caressing invisible curves in time with the beat of the drums. Her torso writhes, in time to the beat of the drums. She would be crying aloud, were it not for the pulsation of the drums. Two other women come out and accompany her, then another, then more, until finally eight or nine are dancing in the

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

796 centre clearing, no longer caring, no longer entirely con-
535 scious, their bodies driven by the rhythm of the drums.
158

No man has yet danced. Now a young buck of nineteen jumps into the centre and begins the *awasa* dance. His movements simulate the flying of a hawk, arms out like wings, pirouetting gracefully. His bare feet stamp the earth, hard enough, it seems, to break his bones. Another man joins him, waving his arms at full length, like an eagle in flight. They chant in talkee-talkee an *awasa* song:

"Foowa mo luku bon nangu alga."

[301] It means: The fowl must be careful of the hawk; in other words, the girls must be careful of the men. They circle from the waist like birds soaring into the blue.

796 Now a man begins dancing toward a woman. She re-
132 treats. No dancer has yet touched another, or even noticed another. But this one is making definite love advances to the woman. He mimics coitus. Coyly she evades his approaches, and will have none of his movements. They are not serious. When she definitely refuses his copulatory advances, the drums stop. He takes a drum from one of the men, puts it under his arm, and follows her, dancing around the clearing, beating out a message of love. They weave a pattern of movement, in and out, in this dance of courtship to the lone muttering tambour.

[302] There is a halt. The drummers rap out a message to other canoes coming up the river, telling them to hurry. Soon more strangers arrive for the final round.

Then comes the *awaiter* dance, accompanied by songs of 796
the rebellion. Ancient heroes live again. Once more raids are 535
made on outlying plantations. The spirit of defiance that Stedman found at Boucou is still kept alive. Then come softer songs—songs of love. *"Te e dwemi e songs me, gran-dankje,"* a girl sings plaintively. She is telling her lover, "When you sleep, dream of me, many thanks." *"Te kai me* [p.35]
u ami nowoto, bewan na bonu soni e tu leyma"—"When you lead me to deceit I will not follow; such things you should not teach me."

Again the dancers find fault with the orchestra, protesting loudly. They are not satisfied with the rhythm. Abruptly the chief dancer seizes a drum and rolls out a call to Apuku, god of the forest, asking Apuku to come.

Dimly through the darkness they can feel some response. 796
Apuku is coming. Everyone runs back a few steps and utters 535
a slight scream. The spirit of the bush god is entering their 774
bodies. He is welcomed with a little dance, jerkily done, in 159
which all participate. Then comes the special Apuku dance, where writhing, circling, snaking arms simulate the twisted lianas of the jungle, which is the god's home.

Once the spirit of the bush god has entered them, they cannot stop. The drums increase their volume and tempo, until the rhythm is too rapid and intricate for white ears to follow. Now truly they are hypnotized by the feverish monotony, the shuffling beat of fingers on the drum-heads. Because of this trance, fatigue is forgotten. The little *baboula* keeps steady time, throbbing like a heart-beat. Flat hands

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

79¼ shade out strange metres on the *sanda*. There is a break; the
● 525 orchestra stops, and the interval is filled in with the heavy
776 booming of the *apesai*. Often the drummers seize a bush-
158 knife and batter at the pegs, stretching the dried skin to the
[326] proper tone. Mist from the river has dampened their hair, unnoticed. The dance will continue until morning; they must play until the spirit of Apoku has gone.

79¼ Everything is set for the climax. Some are still watching
525 while the others dance. Since the old men are too dignified,
158 their places are taken by younger men from sixteen to twenty-five. There are more women dancing than men, anyhow. The white man is wondering how it is going to end. Despite the excitement there has been no orgiastic episode.

Grand finale. There is a tremendous screech from out of the blackness beyond. Three practically naked blacks come rushing up from the river, their faces and bodies daubed
[327] hideously with pombu doter, the ceremonial white clay. One has stripes around his arms, belly, and legs, his face all white. Another's face is bisected with white and yellow pigment. The third is Adjobo, the medicine man; he has circles of clay on his forehead, cheeks, and chin, and rings around his neck. The presence of the ceremonial clay indicates the presence of a god. There is no doubt but that the hideousness of these men inspires a feeling of awe.

They burst into the circle of dancers and scatter them. Everyone retreats before them, with actual or pretended fright. The children become hysterical and cling frantically to their mothers for protection. Women in the crowd are cry-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

ing. The vibrating tomtoms are pouring out a great volume of tangled sound. The three religious dancers whirl like furies. One dances with a wicked-looking machete; he makes it whistle through the air and brings it down with all his might into the ground between two drummers. They do not budge. A second dancer dashes into the bahkra's hut with his whirling bush-knife, hacking at everything in sight. The others seize him and overpower him, not before he has damaged many things with his vicious chops.

This ominous fury characterizes the hysterical possession of the *Cromanti* dance, the wild, mad dance of the evil spirit of the *con con dree*. The crowd keep clear of the chopping knives of the possessed men. They mutter unknown incantations in *odo*, making wild turns and gyrations. One falls on his knees to eat of the earth. Another bites the door of a hut like a dog. The third frees himself from a group of the struggling men who seek to restrain him, jumps into the rapids, swims against the great rush of water with feverish strength, and finally would drown were it not that his family rescues him with a canoe. There is nothing mystical about the extreme muscular endurance of such states; it can be produced experimentally in the laboratory.

The remaining obeiah dancers have a sham battle, fencing skilfully and dangerously with their bush-knives. First they stalk an imaginary enemy with poised machetes. Their muscular torsos held in strained attention would delight a sculptor. Picture a black, arms thrown out and head thrown back, eyes closed in frenzy, tense and foaming lips laying bare his

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

796 clenched teeth, stamping the earth like an animal. Then two
● 535 such blacks, with glazed eyes, slashing at each other with
158 yard-long knives. This is the obeiah dance. Nothing can stop it until the dancers are exhausted and drop from sheer fatigue. Then the spirit of the god has fled.

796 Until that time, protesting is useless. It is useless for the
535 bahkra to protest that he wants to go to sleep: "*Me wanny go seepy.*" No attention is paid to that. It is dawn before the dancers finally stop. The visitors go down to the river to get in their corials. We light the dim path for them with a flashlight. They are grateful, and compose a little song of thanks. Even after the corials draw away from the bank, excited women get up in the boats and continue to dance, palms outward, hips high. It is no wonder that the marines in Haiti must confiscate the drums to keep the Negroes quiet. So long as the primitive holds to his intoxicating tom-toms, which manufacture courage automatically, he will never be a coward.

2:Kâhn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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the age of about thirty-five. Another motive for separation is 586
a husband's inadequacy as a hunter, fisher, and provider. Or the woman may simply be bored with him and like some other man better. The husband is liable to be teased a bit by his friends, but after a few days he forgets and marries again.

Open licentiousness or sexual suggestiveness is never seen 634
in public. The personal modesty of the Djukas has already been noted. Exposure of themselves, or public intercourse, such as is common in some tribes in Africa, never occurs. After the dances, for instance, no open promiscuousness occurred. There is one orgiastic dance known as the *ogalusa,* [786 535]
which means "mating like loose hogs."

Two aphrodisiacs are used liberally by the natives. One is 832
prepared by infusing the bark of a bush vine called *debbil dour* with water or weak alcohol. The liquid when drunk is supposed to give an erection of several hours' duration. Some of it was brought back by the expedition and tried on laboratory animals, with no effect. It is well known, however, that witch doctors will substitute other roots or herbs when giving their medicines to white men.

Another aphrodisiac that we found used among the Aucaners is the seed of the mucca-mucca plant, which grows on the banks of most of the rivers of the colonies. The seed is mashed into fragments and then inserted into the urethra. This acts as a tremendous irritant and is supposed to bring about erections of long duration. If used frequently, a persistent and disagreeable type of urethritis is produced.

At the hospital near the mines of the Surinam Bauxite

/26 cont./

728 communicate to one another their opinions, in what way they
695 wish to see the points of difference resolved. If they are agreed concerning these, then they return to the chief in the shed and the discussion of the matter takes place anew, until finally agreement exists. During this consultation of the elders or council
[562] members a solemn seriousness prevails among them. Women are sometimes admitted to these conferences, but never have a voice, and come merely to listen and to see.

After the matter has been settled to the satisfaction of all parties, the cup once more makes several rounds among those present, and thereafter everyone goes silently and quietly to his camp or dwelling.

Chapter XVIII

Music, Musical Instruments

533 Their music is very simple and monotonous; one makes use of it, to the accompaniment of song and dance, at festivals and cult ceremonies.

534 The instruments are variously used and doubtless according to the type of event. Thus the so-called long drum, called agida (2), is played at cult ceremonies; on other occasions one

2. Papáá drum.

uses the small or apientie drum. Furthermore they have an instrument called kwakwa stool by them, a stool or board of very hard wood on which one beats with two sticks.

534 When they dance the papáá-wenti, an African idol dance,
535 they use the agida drum. For the songé, or ordinary dance, they play the small drum or apienti.

They dance the soessa to the beat of the small drum and with the kwakwa stool; in executing the last-named dance a great deal of competition prevails among the dancers, and the one who

/27/
534 holds out the longest and is the fastest and most accurate performer
●535 of the specific steps for this is cheered as the winner.

Banja or baljaar is one of the true African dances. This name is also given to the African guitar, a musical instrument formerly generally known in the colony, but now totally vanished. This dance is performed to the beat of the two drums and the
[224] kwakwa stool. For this dance the women provide themselves with a saka-saka, a toy having the shape of a great rattle and made from a calabash filled with corals or pits of the Canna indica and Canna lutea, also called viengoe by them. They turn and shake this saka-saka according to the beat of the song taken up by them, which produces a peculiarly strange sound.

Chapter XIX

Clothing, Ornaments, Tattooing

291 Their clothing is very simple. The women ordinarily wear merely a piece of colored linen or cotton strip, called bont, two ells long and one and a quarter ells wide. They wrap this around their middle and allow it to hang down below the knee joints, calling it pangi. This undergarment of the Negro women is thus named
301] after pano (Spanish) and pagne (French). As a rule they have the upper body bare, while around the neck, the wrists, and the ankles
302 they wear strings of coral, which greatly take their fancy. They usually plait the head hair into a large number of small braids and bind the ends of these with white cotton threads. Some of them wear their hair combed out, as a result of which their heads,
301 seen from a distance, resemble large mop-heads. They are very fond of blood corals, which are greatly valued among them for ornamentation.

[292] When they celebrate a festival, they also wear a large number of colored cloths of cotton or muslin around the neck, and further adorn themselves with copper and iron rings around the wrists, among which there are strings of coral in the same manner

/161 cont./

764 The dead person's spouse, his nearest relatives, and his children come and hang their hammocks inside the krɛyɔsu, where they will live until broko dɛ (eighth day after the death).

[533] [535] The village people begin the tukka songs and dance, which will last part of the night, while the friends and near relatives of the dead man lament seated, head covered with a cloth.

[824] The first day after the death, as soon as it is morning, the kisimã arrive, and begin to make the coffin, using mahogany boards always kept on hand, thanks to the head of the village.

[613] The women of the dead man's lineage prepare a meal which is offered to the kisimã about 1:00 P.M. at the end of their work.

While the coffin is being made, the dead man's friends and distant relatives arrive in crowds from the neighboring villages, bringing tafia and cloth as offerings. Two kisimã lay these pieces of cloth one by one on the body saying, "So-and-so buries you."

[767] These pieces of cloth are divided up; about 15 are put into the coffin by the kisimã, part of the rest serve as pay for the kisimã, part as pay for the ɔlɔmã; another part, finally, is used for dressing the widower and his co-wives (or the widow), showing thus that during the whole mourning period they live dependent on the dead person.

Then the kisimã close the coffin without any other rites taking place. The late arrivers who bring more cloths knock the coffin saying, "I bury you," and put them down on the ground.

[692] The work of the kisimã is over; they bring the body outside the krɛyɔsu, in front of which has assembled the council called lãnti kuutu, which constitutes the judicial apparatus of the Boni.

764 /169 cont./
787 her from time to time in order to help the god to manifest itself.
789 The crowd presses around the women dancers who execute the
[586] greatest variety of figures. At times they embrace each other two by two in the Boni manner. The onlookers jump for joy.

The scene lasts about half an hour, then, at the signal given by one of them, the possessed ones scatter and begin to run through the village: this is the moment for the gods to pay the musicians. Each person rushes to hide his belongings, for the gods will steal anything in the village without anyone being able to prevent them: this is their way of paying.

Soon the possessed women come back, putting down at the feet of the musicians a heap of incongruous objects: /170/ calabashes, cloth, paddles, etc., which their owners come to recover by means of bottles of beer and eggs. Then the women who were truly possessed come back to their normal state and all go home.

This dance was not a success; those present think that it is because the women bearers had drunk tafia, which the Papa gadu detest.

764 Inheritance. The dead woman is asked to whom she be-
787 queaths her clearings. She answers: "To her family," this be-
428 ing understood because the bearers move parallel to the people present without designating anybody. Under these conditions the property must be distributed (Kotoïda having no children) among her classificatory nephews. Actually, the plantations still farmable will go to Samabun, her sister's daughter.

[591] Inheritance of the house does not come up, for the dead woman lived in her husband Empalé's house.

The boat is left to Samabun.

Held back are the personal objects, money, jewelry, fabrics. When the mourning is lifted, the eldest of the surviving brothers or sisters in the classificatory sense will make the distribution among the near relatives.

/173 cont./

764 Broko dɛ. The eighth day after death, a ceremony called broko dɛ takes place, not to be confused with the lifting of mourning. This ceremony marks the end of the burial rites proper; when it is ended, the dead person can no longer be questioned directly; the period of mourning begins.

[613] It is a very simple ceremony which attracts few people and happens almost entirely within the lineage.

[538] At nightfall they begin to relate Anansi toli, those traditional tales which make the audience vibrate together and [535] create a special atmosphere. Then come the sɔ̃nge, susa, and awasa dances which last all night.

764 769 The next day each one busies himself at small jobs in the village while the women prepare the meal. This is the ceremony called towɛ nyɪ̃, which takes place at the edge of the mortuary shed about four o'clock in the afternoon. Each woman of the lineage brings a large bowl of rice and a small bowl containing either a piece of meat cooked in sauce or some fish. The oldest man of the lineage has large banana leaves spread out on the ground at the edge of the shed; he takes a little of each dish and puts it down on the leaves, while at the same time addressing the ancestors in ordinary language in the tone of an intimate conversation: "Dead of the family, come, come to eat today."

That lasts perhaps a quarter of an hour, while those present are seated, immobile and meditative. The ancestors are supposed to eat the spiritual part of the food -- kaaka fu nyɪ̃.

Then the elders line up at the edge of the shed five or six small children of about ten years, each one of whom holds a basin upside down. A man keeps them in line /174/ with the aid of a long stick. Then, at a signal, he lifts the stick and the children dash headlong with laughs and shouts toward the ancestors' portion, each one carrying away all he could cover [613] with his basin. The ceremony terminates with a joyful meal eaten together by the whole lineage, symbol of the communion between the dead and the living.

/180 cont./

765 are divided up equally among all the inhabitants of the village. But if the dead person had near relatives in the village, children, nephews, or brothers, it is they who stand the main burden.

[613] Members of the dead person's lineage who are settled in other villages contribute equally to the expenses and the organizing of the festival, but in a symbolic fashion. /181/

[123] A council (kuutu) of the village inhabitants sets the date; during the two weeks preceding each one is busy. The women 765 hull and winnow rice, prepare great quantities of couac and 262 sugar-cane juice. The busimã scour the bush and have meat and fish smoked. Each one, according to his means, buys tafia, sugar, chocolate, and other articles of food liked by the Refugee Blacks.

765 The celebration of the rites occupies a whole week. This 775 is because, the Refugee Blacks think the influence of the dead person can be eliminated only progressively by the repetition of the rite of separation.

The first day, the yɔrka of the dead person whose mourning is going to be lifted is called by formulas beaten on the [535] apinti drum. Then possession dances take place.

765 The second day is reserved for the material preparation for the ceremonies to follow.

[613] The third day, the spouse in mourning, if there is one, is conducted by the members of the dead person's lineage under [822] the mortuary shed. He is dressed in red and is congratulated for having kept the mourning well. Then he is led to the river, [783] and old women of the dead person's lineage begin to bathe him [775] while adjuring the yɔrka to part company with him.

The fourth day at nightfall, all those present assemble at the mortuary shed. They recite tales (Anãsi tɔli), [538] improvisations (mato), and riddles (ɔdo). This phase of the [781] festival has as its object the concentrating of the attention of the hearers; it creates a warm, collective atmosphere which impregnates those present, bringing to them intense and highly colored emotions.

/181 cont./

765 Next come the dances, always in the order sɔ̃nge, susa,
535 awasa, the rhythms given on the apinti drum. These are not
533 possession dances and do not appear in themselves to have a religious meaning; all involve choruses in which the singers do not accompany themselves on any instrument at all; these songs have no other meaning than to exalt life; the Refugee Blacks find their best artistic expression in them. Many of them demonstrate dazzling imagination; the subjects are extremely varied, and every year new ones are created. But there is a certain number of "classics" which reappear in each festival. Let us mention: "The man who calls his dog lost in the woods"; "The song of the Balen River"; "The woman who watches over her daughter," etc. These songs are very beautiful, and in the great mourning festivals it is difficult to hear them without emotion. Songs and dances follow one another without interruption until the sun's return. This is what is called broko dɛ, "break a day." This ritual, which has a key value in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks, appears to be the affirmation by the group of the triumph of life over death.

765 The fifth day, a kind of buffet is served to the guests
[769] under the mortuary shed. In the afternoon there is the offering of food to the ancestors, tɔwɛ nyã; this rite is a communion between the dead and the living.

[769] On the morning of the sixth day, the ceremony ends with the offering of water, celebrated not at the fraga tiki but at the edge of the shed, in honor of the ancestors. They invoke one
[775] last time /182/ the yɔrka of the dead man (or the dead woman), while asking it to separate from his spouse for good and to leave her in peace! "U puu a umã a baaka; yu ãŋga umã yu paati tidɛ, na/ mu siki, na: wã sani mu du ɛŋ, a mu dɛ bũ. (We lift the mourning of (this) woman; thou and the woman, you separate from each other today; she must not be sick, nothing must happen to her, she must be well)."

/184/

765 [535] The buchiman execute the kwadyo dance, which seems to be an African war dance; they hold a stick in front of them and make the gesture of taking aim.

That lasts about half an hour.

The guests continue to arrive individually and settle themselves around the mortuary shed, seated on their little benches.

765 202 About three o'clock the drums begin to beat again. It is Bukuman, master of the art of speaking with the drum, who strikes the summons' formulas; the others give him the cue.

The drum speaks for a long time (1). An elder translates

1. It is more a question of conventional formulas than a language; two different sounds can be obtained from the drum by striking respectively with the fingers and with the palm.

for me approximately: "Other villages, be still, for there is a great festival in the grand man's village."

"We who are now living, we are going to do what our ancestors taught us long ago."

765 [551] Then the dead for whom mourning will be lifted are directly addressed, being called by name if they are men; for the women like Béniti, who cannot be called directly, for women do not have a drum-name, they call one of their deceased near relatives, here Diolé †, Béniti's brother: "Tell thy sister that we are going to part company with her, for we have been in mourning for her a long time and this is the custom, such as the ancestors did before us."

[969] "Ancestors, come, come near us, we are going to pour the tafia and cane juice for you."

[202] (Libations are made within the shed.) Then the drum addresses those present:

765 /184 cont./
[202] "You who with obia so that the machete will not cut you, so that the broken glass will not wound you, what are you waiting for? You remain seated, are you afraid?"

765 At these words, several of those present stand up and
786 begin to dance, seeking the trance of possession. Some run
787 into the village and come back running, carrying banana-tree stalks. Others drag thorny spathes of awara; two brandish an old, demolished boat.

The drum furiously beats the rhythm of Kumenti. Part of the dancers, taken hold of by a furious delirium, jump and
[824] prance about. Certain ones take thorny spathes of awara (2)

> 2. Thorny palm (astrocaryum vulgare) whose sharp thorns nearly 10 centimeters long are particularly formidable. It is impossible to pick up an awara spathe with bare hands without hurting oneself.

under the arm or pass them around the neck.

Part of those present are taken hold of in their turn by trances, including people of mature age and serious character like Fintiman, who is carried off in a faint.

Two possessed people, a man (Ernest, Kotika) and a woman (Awini, Boniville), smeared with pemba, are subject to extraordinary contortions. Ernest breaks a bottle over his head with such force that the pieces fly several meters. Both /185/ dance on their knees for an appreciable length of time (but the next day Awini will come to have herself cared for). Those present manifest frenzied joy.

765 About five o'clock the sango dance begins. Three apinti
• 535 drums are placed at the west wall of the shed. The orchestra
534 is completed by an old overturned boat which seven to eight men strike with sticks.

/185 cont./

765 [535] The figures are almost similar to those of the awasa dance, except that the dancers move forward stamping with the left foot.

[533] Songs follow, but entirely covered by the drum and without great musical interest.

Second day, Nov. 9. Day called puu de ("a day is withdrawn"). No rite is performed on that day. Each one is busy with his occupations. The women pound and winnow rice.

Third day, Nov. 10. Day called lolo mata "the pestles are rolled." That day they carry to the edge of the mortuary shed pestles, wood for heating, and everything necessary for the preparation of the next day's food (1).

> 1. When there is a spouse in mourning, it is on that day that he is brought to the mortuary shed by the dead person's lineage, congratulated, and clothed in new garments red in color.

Fourth day, Nov. 11. Day called poti ala sani na a kay pu ("to put all things into the mortuary shed").

About two o'clock the young men who have been to cut wood for heating come back in boats decorated with pennons, in the midst of hurrahs and shots.

At three o'clock the basia circulate in the village, calling the women who appear from all sides carrying heavy baskets of cassava.

The provisions prepared for the festival are brought to the edge of the shed. Many of those present have brought a bottle [293] of tafia. The basia collect all the tafia in large demijohns. In all there will be six demijohns of 15 liters of tafia and as much cane juice.

/185 cont./

765 538 About eight o'clock in the evening, people assemble around the mortuary shed where the drummers and mato (Anansi Toli) storytellers sit. Amèmbé, of Loka village, begins to tell a story which is scarcely listened to, the audience remaining noisy and distracted. The respondents punctuate his discourse with approbations: "hiya ba! na so!" At several [522] passages of the story (when Anansi has succeeded in deceiving his victim), the audience shakes with laughter, the drums beat, the storyteller and his respondents sing and dance. Little by little the audience warms up, participates intensely in the story.

Another tale follows, told by Adiiso, head of the Dju lineage (Asiii). The audience is overexcited, the interludes [535] of dancing become more and more numerous and longer, everybody, men, women, and children take part in it.

About eleven o'clock the dances are going to begin in 765 the order susa, sange, awasa; at six /186/ o'clock in the morn- [535] ing the next day the awasa dances are carried on. Part of those present go down to the wharf to go home, showing no apparent fatigue.

Fifth day, Nov. 12. Nothing happens in the morning. The people take some rest.

At 3:00 P.M. the young men go around dressed up to the nines; people visit each other from one house to the other, they drink and sing.

765 About 3:30 the basia circulate in the village, calling the 262 women to bring the ceremonial meal. Tables are set out under 264 the shed. The women each bring a big bowl or basin of cooked rice (about two kilograms of rice). Some add a bowl of sauce or cooked fish. No meat.

The basia lay out all that on the tables. There are about 30 bowls or basins (which represents a handsome effort, the rice harvest having been bad), about 50 bottles of soda, several boxes of pastries /biscuits/ and Dutch cheeses.

/186 cont./

765 In the evening the young people dance in front of the houses of several men who have given the tafia, but that no longer has the character of a ceremony. All is over at eleven o'clock in the evening.

On the sixth day, Nov. 13, at seven o'clock, the elders assemble again in front of the /187/ banana leaves where a little of the food offered the day before remains (dogs and chickens have eaten part of it).

A long palaver begins, disconnected and disconcerting, whose purpose escapes me. The clearest thing coming out of it is that the captains make known what the grand man (absent from the ceremony) told them in the morning. They thank the grand man for this festival which has gone off without any incident; they say that they can be counted on if some mourning rises in another village.

[291] [535] [177] Todo makes apologies to the grand man because the young people were dressed in a new style (large loincloths /calimbés/ reaching to the ground) and danced several Creole dances. He says to the audience that this does not conform to custom and that the true Boni dances are sɔ̃gɔ, susa, awasa.

Next Fintiman pours water gently on the banana leaves, calling the dead whose mourning is being lifted. "We pour water for you, watch over the people in your family, over the grand man and over those who have worked for the mourning, that they may be in good health, that nothing bad happen to them.

We have done with you; stay where God put you."

765 While pronouncing these words, Fintiman breaks his dead mother's bench and dish (for the dead boys, nothing had been 775 brought). It is a question not only of marking the break with [768] the living but of procuring for the dead woman what will be necessary for her in the Beyond. For this purpose a paddle is also broken, which her son Klémenti prepared for her, and calabashes prepared by her daughters.

/202 cont./

153 --Pupils are taught, individually or collectively, to dance
791 in the manner of the god. Indeed, each divinity has a charac-
789 teristic form of dance, which it executes sometimes by using
796 the bodies of its bearers when it comes into them. The pupil
535 must imitate as best he can the individual movements and the
[868] rhythm of this dance, while the teacher, using the appropriate drum, beats out the calling formulas.

If the god is satisfied with the student, he will be able to come into him.

791 These exercises appear to have as their goal the creation
787 in the pupils of forms of conditioned reflexes; they have nothing
785 in common with the very harsh ordeals which the medicine man
153 of the Guiana Indians imposes upon himself, and do not involve any form of asceticism. It does not seem that chastity, even temporary, is demanded of the student, any more than fasting or doing anything contrary to his inclinations.

787 The idea of a spiritual death and resurrection of the
791 possessed person, with all the ritual it entails: long reclusion of the neophytes, change of name of the one possessed, who is supposed to relearn all the activities of ordinary life, does not appear to have been kept by the Refugee Blacks. In a general
[152] way, the atmosphere of solemn seriousness, /203/ of secrecy, and of fear, which characterize the Dahomey cults of possession is not found among them.

791 These lessons are always paid for and are even very
789 expensive. Payment is made in pieces of cloth, in demijohns
435 of tafia.
[436] Having a Kumenti amounted in 1958 to at least 25,000 francs. This payment is not only compensation for the teacher;
[181] it is the mark of legitimacy. What has not been paid for is not, for the Refugee Blacks, legitimately acquired. We shall come back to this important point later.

/214 cont./

787 their legs with this white clay; they prophesy in a singing tone, without the usual voice of their beater's ceasing to be recognizable, expressing themselves in the Saramaka language.

796 The Ampuku have the appearance of men similar to Blacks, but unknown. They reside in the depths of the woods; [84] some are good, others bad. One can gain their good will by worshiping them, which is especially developed in Saramaka country.

796 Baliki, of Kormotibo village, tells of having been present 535 one day at a dance of the Ampuku, when he was traveling to [103] the Saramaka village of Balen.

"During the day, people went on the paths far into the bush to put down calabashes containing certain herbs. At night were seen to come out of the forest a large number of unknown men, dressed in the manner of the Saramaka. They danced all night, and at dawn left again as they had come."

796 The Ampuku gods, considered to be maleficent gods of the bush, exercise their influence on everyone. When a person [789] has slept in the bush, he "washes" himself free of Ampuku with [824] an infusion of leaves of five plants which are part of the secondary flora surrounding the villages and of which the principal plant is the sangaafu (Costus cylindricus).

791 Frequency of possession. In 1956 teachers or bas were very 787 scarce in Boni country. For the Kumenti gods, only S... (Kotika) remained; for the Papa gadu, since the death of Antinon (Dju), there remained only M... (Papalston) and B... [619] (Asisi). People were commonly going to receive instruction from Djuka teachers in the villages of the Tapanaoni.

787 It would be a great error to believe that nearly all the 562 men have gods. On the contrary, this is an exception. According to the evaluations we were able to make, there is not more than one adult man out of six or seven who is possessed.

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Boni

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Fig. 26. Woman possessed by a Papa gadu god.

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Fig. 27. Dance of possession (Papa gadu worship).

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751 This worship is celebrated each time there is occasion to protect newborn babies. They are washed with a certain decoction of leaves.

845 Every four or five years on the average a big dance takes
535 place, then the father and mother of twins and the twins
751 themselves are washed in order to maintain their powers and keep them in good health.

[784] If these dances are not held, dead twins will show their
[753] anger by making living twins and parents of twins sick.

845 Lineages that do not have twins do not practice these
613 rites. If twins are born to them, they will apply at the place
798 of worship of another lineage.

Papalston and Lapé have this cult particularly highly developed.

842 Tone pikin. It is assumed that a woman may be made pregnant
796 by a river god, either a Papa gadu snake god or by the Wata lagi, which look like Indians. Children thus conceived are called tone pikin.

A.... of Papalston, had cut a clearing opposite a remarkable white rock called Weti sti, where she used to moor her boat. She had not had any children for several years
[787] and she became pregnant. When her daughter was born a
[798] possessed person revealed that she was born of a Papa gadu
[782] snake god which lived there: since then her parents /relatives/ go regularly to this rock to make offerings.

About 1910 Alama (Kormotibo) had followed her husband to a shipyard on the lower river; one day while walking in the forest she met an Indian having the appearance of a Galibi Indian, who was carrying a newborn baby. She stopped and admired the baby. The Indian said to her: "Do you wish to raise him?" She acquiesced. He said: "We shall see each other again"; then he went away so quickly that she had the impression that he had disappeared on the spot.

/259 cont./

241 Cult of Mama gɔ̃. Mama gɔ̃, mother of the earth, is represented by a crude statue of white clay provided with enormous breasts, symbol of fecundity, which can be seen in a little hut situated on the open place of Boniville village. Each year, when the time for cutting the clearings approaches, the grand man, surrounded by many other people, prays to the god to grant fertility to the plantings. If rain does not fall, an offering of water and tafia is made and the statue is sprinkled.

811 The Boni do not appear to associate the idea of women's fecundity with that of the fertility of the soil, and we have not heard anyone say that the grand man prays on this subject.

241 Neither do they appear to have a very clear idea about the relationships of this worship with that of the gɔ̃ gadu, local gods of the soil.

Every three years a great possession dance takes place in Boniville on January 1. /260/ in which the Papa gadu gods dance in front of the sanctuary of Mama gɔ̃. We have not been able to obtain specific information on the meaning of this rite.

241 Cult of the gɔ̃ gadu. It is assumed that every portion of land is under the sway of a local god, gɔ̃ gadu. Its power is limited only by the fertility of the soil, and he who neglects its worship cannot be attacked in his person or in his goods, but only punished by a poor harvest.

What is the nature of these gods, what is their place in the cosmogony? These are questions which not one of our informants had ever asked himself. In their minds, gɔ̃ gadu has a de facto existence, and is rendered de facto worship. This worship consists essentially of:

--Offerings made at the moment of planting;

--The observance of a local day of rest, kina dɛ, corresponding to the god's day of rest.

765 /263 cont./ He will go to the spot, following
782 at a good distance M..., bearer of the remedy, with which he will sprinkle the surface of the clearing, and of offering objects. When the offering has been made, they will wait some time to see whether Masauman is better and if she is, they will deem the god appeased.

The Yali Festival

796
[805] The Refugee Blacks, who do not count the days that elapse, contenting themselves with lunations in order to follow the course of the year, make inquiries from Europeans and Creoles to set the time for the Yali festival which marks the new year. Everyone accumulates provisions, especially tortoise meat, varied drinks, and many firecrackers.

On the evening of December 31 each one dances in his own village.

The festival lasts all night, tafia gushes forth, firecrackers go off everywhere.

[787] At the end of the night several gods "rise" in the heads of their bearers, at least of those who are not completely drunk.

[535] During the day dances resume intermittently in the order awasa, sɔŋgɛ, susa. It is customary for the people of one lineage to go to dance in the village of another, then they
[574] invite them back. People make many individual visits. Some have set up in front of their hut a sort of small buffet on which they have arranged about ten glasses, five to six liters of tafia, four or five bottles of beer, lemonade, and syrup.

Observation in Boniville, January 1, 1958:

The grand man, who scarcely leaves his habitation downstream from Boniville any more, did not /264/ put himself out. He delegated his functions to Lébiman and Pintiman, men about 50 years old, belonging to the fraction of the Kotika and Dju lineages residing in Boniville.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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622 623 352 The bosseia meet under a separate shed, specially built for this purpose. The captain has a "throne," which is an ornately carved stool. The one belonging to the captain of the village of Lombe was purchased and brought back to the American Museum of Natural History. The members of the bosseia, too, have ceremonial seats, with elaborately pierced carving, typically West African in design. When the occasion arises, a meeting is held and the council is seated about on these ceremonial benches to hold palaver.

622 623 692 [537] The business is brought up. Perhaps it is a domestic quarrel—two men over one woman. The offended party rises and begins exercising the Bush Negro's traditional privilege of unlimited and vociferous oratory. He details his wrongs. Grand gestures accompany the sonorous flow of words. The interested members of the village sit at a respectful distance from the captain and bosseia, and listen to the harangue. When other speakers have had their say, any inhabitant of the village may get up and give his or her opinion. Proudly the captain exercises his judicial talent, and the decision is handed down. It is not questioned.

622 623 562 [364] The women members of the bosseia have as much power as the men. It is chiefly the women who see that the ancestral and village customs are enforced. They are the guardians of the ancient traditions and customs of the race. To them, also, belongs the duty of keeping the village clean. If the town needs a general cleaning, the women bosseia go about from hut to hut, telling the women to get together and perform the task.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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When there is a conflict between villages over their hunting and fishing territories, the captains and bosseias of each town meet on some neutral ground and arbitrate the matter. Then, indeed, the parley becomes wordy and rhetorical. Each cause is championed with long speeches, setting forth oratorically the rights and conditions involved. But once an agreement is arrived at, the matter is closed.

Local disputes, excluding those over women, are not nearly so common or so serious as they are among civilized white men. There is a minimum of quarrelling among the Djukas; they get along together in an almost idyllic way. Wherever there are women, there will, of course, be quarrelling, for, in the words of Confucius, "Disorder does not come from heaven, but is brought about by women." Outside of this factor there is little friction in the Bush Negro community. Their highly communalized government works exceedingly well.

The Granman and his captains have an annual council to make laws for the coming year. This and other assemblies are known as *krutu*. The captains and bosseias from surrounding villages concentrate at some important town to meet the Granman there. The Council near Gansee, the trading-post, included the villages of Nu, Lombe, Biodoti, Ganya Condree, and Adawai. Jankoeso refused to hold his parley in the town proper, although Gansee is the largest village in the entire tribe, because there is a Christian mission station there, conducted by the Moravian Brothers. Jankoeso is in favour of retaining the ancestral gods of the jungle, and does not look with favour upon the white proselytizers.

/64 cont./

613 561 Nevertheless the lineage is not strictly speaking divided into age grades; and when the men assemble in council for an affair which concerns the whole group, all may take the floor without consideration either of age or of place in the genealogy.

613 571 561 The council (kuutu). This is the principal social institution within the lo. The kuutu is the assembly of the men of the lo without consideration of age. No precise rule defines the age at which an adolescent may begin to attend it, and in principle all may take the floor. But decorum requires that unless they are personally interested in the question or have something important to say, the young let the elders do the talking. /65/

613 571 It is the captain (hedemã) and in his absence the eldest of the lineage who presides. He faces the assemblage, surrounded by some of the oldest men.

[537] Opposite him he has a respondent (piki mã) who greets all his sentences with ritual approbations hiya, hiya ba!, na so!, etc., without which a Refugee Black could not suitably make his speech.

[562] Each one then speaks if he feels the need to express his opinion. Women do not take part in the council unless it is a question of a daughter's marriage; but it happens that men leave the meeting to go get the advice of their mothers and take their places again. If it concerns a simple affair without suprahuman complications, such as the fixing of the price of a piece of work, the discussion is often quickly over; but in the opposite case the discussion continues interminably, for there is no exact rule for concluding it. Only a negative rule exists: the determined opposition of one-fourth to one-fifth of the council members prevents the carrying out of a project.

/147 cont./

848 If the girl is pregnant, the man may not abandon her: that would make a great to-do between the two kin groups: he must stay with her at least until the birth of the child.

883 836 178 [582] Nowadays among the Boni things tend to happen completely otherwise than custom makes provision for. The general opinion is that girls can no longer be held down, that they escape more and more from the authority of their mothers; many of them begin to run wild at about 14 or 15, and people are obliged to marry them off precipitately at 15 or 16. It is difficult to say what the proportion of these hasty marriages is, but the recriminations heard on all sides on the subject of the shamelessness of girls give the idea that it is increasing. In the [582] [848] villages on the French bank, out of nine girls married in 1958 there were only four marriages concluded according to regulations; the five others had been arranged hastily either because the girl was pregnant (two cases) or because she had laid herself open to scandal. /148/

582 Nearly all girls married between 1952 and 1956 were 15 to 17 years old.

584 This is about how things happen:

A man who is attracted by a girl tries to exchange a few [537] words with her unknown to her mother. There are special forms for these declarations. One speaks in a low voice, very fast, using special formulas. This is how one of our boatmen, one evening in October, 1952, addressed young Lomé, age 15, of Boniville village, who had gotten away from her mother on the pretext of going to get water for us.

584 539 "Woman, I love thee, I wish to live with thee, I wish to marry thee. That which God put in me I cannot take away (1).

1. Which means: I cannot change, you must take me as I am.

Ah, but they knew each other. 484

Bayo began paddling faster to keep up with him.

"There is to be a council meeting at Gankwe. I had to 623 hurry away last night, and I must get back there in time. 775 We must have permission from the spirit of the dead man to go back to work, and Sedefo has to find out if he can start up the river, and if he does go, we must all pray to the ancestors because four men will be going from Gankwe, and [782] the *Gran Sembe*—the village elders—have things to decide . . . "

Now, fearing that he might have said too much, he doubled his speed, and Bayo understood that the other preferred to be alone. They belonged to different clans, Bayo to the same as the headman of the tribe, and the Gankwe people to another. Gankwe was sending important men to take the Bakra up the river. The chief's own brother, Asikanu, was to go, although it was said he was [684] being sent out of the way while his adultery case was being settled. There had been talk about this case up and down the river. The Gankwe clan head had given a chief's [778] sanctuary to the offender because he was his own brother, people said. Well, if the injured husband committed suicide as he threatened, and sent a kunu to the family of the brother, and even the village and clan, it would be an ugly thing. But so it was with trouble about women. It was as they said,

> "*Sleep is death* [538]
> *Woman kills man.*"

He half chanted the proverb and smiled, for he looked 831 forward to his trip up the river with an eye to a visit in Lamé, where the women knew how to love. And he began singing the seketi song which he liked so well. Both the melody and the words were old, but he sang the refrain as if it were quite his own—whatever hardships there were on the river, at Lamé one slept with the women!

At the village of Akunkun an old man and a boy of 484 about nine were at the landing place ready to start. Bayo

that we walk the Bak'a with pleasure, that he treat us well, that we walk in safety. Thank you." 484 [182]

The men in the other canoes, who had gathered about Sedefo's boat, clapped their hands, as Sedefo had done, and said "Thank you," then took up their paddles.

We had noticed that when Sedefo spoke, Bibifo's lips had moved, as though he were either repeating the prayer, or speaking his own, but when the others joined in the voiced "Gran' tangi!" he was silent.

"Did you pray, Bayo?" we asked. Yes, he had. He had prayed for us, too. Did Bibifo also pray for the white man? But before Bibifo could answer, Bayo laughed aloud.

"Bibifo is *kerki suma*—a church man. Call him Adrian, it will please him. I call him Bibifo, nothing else."

"And you, Bayo?"

"I—you will take me with you to Africa. I want to learn African obia, and come back to the Saramacca, and be a big obia man here on the river." [152]

5

Old Bibifo accepted his great-grandson's jibes with good humor. We were sorry for the old fellow who was so little at ease with the other men, and was so mercilessly twitted by the youngster in the bow. 888 522 578

If the old man were to make a suggestion to him about a channel which Bayo had decided against, then he would turn brazenly, and exclaim, "Massa cow!" This is part of the proverb which says that a man who owns the cow has the best right to say where it shall graze. If Bibifo objected when Bayo attempted to do something that seemed impossible, he would face about smilingly and say, "The power which has raised the monkey from the ground and taught it to live safely in the trees is not dead yet." [538]

"Bibifo," we said, making conversation with the old man, "Why do we go close to the shore?"

"In the center the current is swift and the river deep. When we go in the center, then we use only paddles. It is 502 484

502 rapids and large rapids. He carries loads and returns to
484 his own village. But then something happens. His boat is
776 good. He walks *kosi*—carefully—but he loses his food, or his entire load, or his boat, or even his life. Something is working against him. It might be *wisi*—bad magic; it
[054] might be kunu. If you have kunu, then your enemies can make their bad magic work against you. So it is."

"But what is kunu, Bayo?"

He hesitated.

124 We assured him that there was no harm in our asking.
776 We had been hearing so much about it, first about Zimbi, and how he had died from a cut with his machete. Now this machete had worked for him since he was a boy, and then he cut himself, and then, having cut himself, he became sick and died. People said down below this was kunu. What did it mean?

But he still hesitated and looked about him until at last when he spoke, he gave the answer we were coming to know so well—"*Massa Gadu sabi*—God knows"—that answer that was the signal that not alone Massa Gadu, but the one who invoked his name in protection against Bakra questions, knew the answer quite well but meant to keep his own counsel. For to talk of these matters is not good, we had been told before by Sedefo.

It was Bibifo who brought up kunu again when Bayo stepped out of the boat for an instant.

"Better not talk to Bayo about kunu, Bakra. There is a very big kunu in Bayo's family. He does not mean to lie to the Bakra when he doesn't talk, but it is better for him not to tell you about it. We Saramacca people say: 'A snake bit me. I see a worm, I am afraid.' Do not ask him more."

2

● 538 But the Bush Negro has many sayings, and it was a different proverb from that which Bibifo had quoted to us that guided us in our tortuous course in search of an understanding of kunu.

KUNU

"*Na wa' taki: Efi gbuli wolo, i sa si san de na ini.*—It is said: If a person stirs up a hole, he will find what is in it." 538

And so it was that very night, when we were camped on an island near the great falls, with the roar of the water sounding in our ears like the very signal drums we were told the river gods wanted sounded that the sun might come and warm and dry them after the long rains, that we learned more. Kasanya, the captain of the fourth boat, had conducted himself so unobtrusively that we barely knew he was there. He was almost as old as Bibifo, but strangely silent. He was tall and spare, with graying hair, and eyes that were rimmed with red. We had not sought him out particularly to make conversation with him because he had ugly, open sores on his body, the result of a virulent case of bush yaws, which showed when he sat paddling in his loin cloth. We had known him during our first year when he had been more willing to be friendly, more ready to talk. From him, in fact, we had learned to play one of the Bush Negro games that the ancestors had brought from Africa. 124 [177] [52A]

Kasanya came over to ask us whether we had medicine for him. His head ached so until . . . he could barely see. There is that about white man's medicine in the bush, it is to be had free, and there is no harm in trying it. 123 609

"Will you make us a game board like the one we bought from your village last year, Kasanya?" we asked him.

"Yes, but you must have two of them, one flat and one curved like a boat. It is not good to have only one. When a man is alive he plays the game. When he dies and comes back to visit the living, he wants to play, too. Now if there is a board for him, he will play on that. But if there is but the one, he will play with the living and that is not good." 775 524

"You know a great deal, Kasanya."

"Awa, yes, but I'm an old man already. I've had much trouble. Last year after you left the third son I made died. Now I have no one. Kunu has taken the three of them, and my wife is asleep, too." [776]

had seen a hand reach out for the boat, had seen it vanish out of sight. The gods had accepted the offerings. That year the Granman from the city, the white Granman, had to send rice from a far country to feed them, but the next year the crops were good, and all had been well since that time.

"And was that when this shrine was removed to the other island?"

"*M'an sabi. A kan de*—I do not know. It is possible."

2

"When you get to the Mamadam," we had been told by a priestess in the city, "wash your face in the running water, and call on the Mother of the River three times."

Another had said, "If your foot should trip anywhere, be sure to call on your ancestors, but if you should happen to slip at the Mamadam, you must go at once to the river, strike the water three times, and ask the Mother of the River to release your soul. It is a bad thing to lose your soul there."

And our principal story-teller in the city, who was something of a wit, had said: "You both have light eyes. Your hair is not dark. You are not unlike the Bonkoru people who are light, and who, up the river, you will hear called the Toné folk." He was speaking of albinos. "It may be that you have a river god without knowing it. When you come to the Mamadam the spirit may come to you. You may find yourself speaking the tongue that only the Toné people know, and dancing the dances to the river gods, and swimming up the rapids. It will be a fine sight to see you dance to the drums. There was once such a woman. A woman white as you are, you hear? I myself saw her dance. When she danced, she wore red, and put a plug through her lip, and as she danced her color changed. She became black. When the spirit was satisfied, it let her go, and she paled and was a white woman again. I myself saw that woman dance. I saw her grow black while she danced, and saw

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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her become pale again. This may happen to you when you get to the Mamadam." 538 776

As he spoke, he began to beat on the table the drum rhythm which calls the river god, and he sang, 776 533

"*Today, today, O Spirit,*
Hard times are upon us
Ingi-o.
Hard times are upon us. [539]
Today, today, Boyo,
Hard times are upon us
Ingi-e."

And then he sang another song, which he said had been sung at the time when black people were running away from slavery, and is still heard at dances to the spirits of the river, the *watra ingi*, as the river gods are called in the city. In it, he called on the agida, the great drum upon which, in town as in the bush, the Negroes call the river gods, and on *Kopsi*, the name of one of the spirits of the water. This time he sang,

"*I will play the agida today,*
I will knock the agida today-o
Kopsi will foil the magic
Of the crowing cock.
O, I will play the agida today, [539]
I will knock the agida, today-o,
Kopsi will foil the magic,
Of the crowing cock.
I will play the agida today."

3

As we gained the island where the shrine itself stood and looked about us from the high rocks of the sacred spot, there lay before us in the early morning light a scene of inexpressible beauty. At dusk the narrow strips of land which forced the river into three channels had been like dark machetes plunged into the body of the great stream. 133 [538]

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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Chapter VI

THE PROVISION GROUND

I

THE chameleon says: "Haste is all right, but caution is also a good thing." 538

Bibifo spoke this proverb when we "went aside" with our men to see whether we would accept Chief Fandya's hospitality for that night and the next, that we might see a dance in his village. The rapids above the Mamadam had been difficult, and beyond Baikutu were more rapids. A rest was welcome to Bibifo, and especially a rest at the village of Fandya, where the Granman himself stopped when on his way down the river. 574

"A man is well here with Fandya," Kasanya said. Though he was not of the same clan as the chief of Baikutu, Fandya's clan was an ally of the Granman, and Fandya himself a man of consequence on the river, not alone in its political life, but, what was more to Kasanya's taste, in matters relating to magic. "For the sake of good broth, you eat the sour dumplings," he said to us, indicating his acquiescence, yet hinting that the men would look for pay for the time they would be forced to remain idle in the village, if we stayed. 538

But the Gankwe men were for going on. Farther up the river were friendly villages from which several of them had drawn their wives, and farther still their own clan village. Asikanu, speaking for them, said, "Waiting for tomorrow is what caused the toad to remain without a tail. It is still early. The next village is not too far away." 538

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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Chapter VII

BA ANANSI

I

538 WHETHER it was that our men were thinking of the Kromanti dance at Pa'aba, or whether something in the night itself stirred them, no one thought of going to his hammock. We sat silent for a long time, until our cook suddenly exclaimed, "You know what, Massa, this is a night for stories. Let me make something to drink, and it will be like a wake. We will have a good time."

But Sedefo, who sat nearest to us, was unresponsive. With Bayo and Angita off to the village where obia ruled the dancing, and Bibifo asleep in our boat, there were not enough people about for the proper telling of stories. He was fastidious about such matters, for he was a story-teller of no small reputation on the river.

Yet it was, without doubt, a night for stories, and our town man joined our cook and ourselves in persuading Sedefo to tell the tales which in town and bush recount the exploits of Anansi, the spider. This trickster Anansi in some African mythologies is the creator of the world and, here in Suriname, gives his name to all tales. We were, our boys informed Sedefo, something of story-tellers ourselves, and we had, moreover, learned how to introduce the interludes of song which break up the telling of a tale, and many of the songs as well.

"They know Anansi stories, Sedefo. . . . They can tell many of those we tell in town, and they know those they tell in the Negro country."

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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But Sedefo was still not impressed. 538

"We bush people have our own ways. How will it be with a long story, if the proper songs are not sung?"

So the discussion went on between Sedefo and the town boys, until among them they had gone over all the many details of how stories must be told. There was the interchange between the teller and his audience at the very beginning. Openings might differ. Here in the bush, one way was for the teller to cry "Mato!" and someone in his audience to call back "Tongoni!" What did this mean? It was a way to begin. That is how it was done long ago in the land of the Negroes. Did we not know that? Or the teller might begin with "Hireti!" and then the answer would be "Daieti!" But often, as well, the opening might be "Kri! Kra!" Sometimes, though now it was most often a way of beginning stories for children, the tale would be started with "Er tin tin," and the answer to this "Tin tin tin," in the manner of "Once upon a time."

What really mattered, however, was the way in which the intervals in the story-telling were dramatized. After the speaker had started his tale and had carried it to some incident where he paused for a moment, he would be interrupted by a call from someone in his audience, "Kri, kra!" His answer would come promptly, "What have you to say?"

"I myself was there," would be the response, and this would draw its question.

"What did you see?"

At this point, the person who had interrupted would 538
begin a song, and its chorus would be taken up by all who 533
were listening. And when it was ended, the leader of the song would shout, "Go on with your story, my man!"

Now the telling would be resumed, but only for two or three minutes, when again a voice would call out, "Bato! I was there, too!" And without further colloquy another song would begin. This was the way stories should be told, and when people knew what they were about, then they might change the words of old songs and make up new ones

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1834
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538 to fit the story that was being recited, or they knew the
533 songs that, as long as anyone could remember, had been sung at given intervals in a particular tale, and which themselves carried the action forward.

538 But Sedefo and our boys spoke not only of how a tale is opened and carried forward, but of the many ways of bringing a story to a close. A song might furnish a proper ending, or a proverb. "The reward for goodness is the cudgel," they agreed, might well end some of the stories about Anansi's exploits, or, "When you wish to eat with the devil, you must have a long fork." Or, "He who doesn't believe a lie, won't believe the truth," would sometimes be fitting, and "All showing of teeth isn't a grin." There was also the ending in which the teller vouched for his participation in the concluding events of his tale, as when he would say, "Bato! I myself sat with the King at his feast!"

But now our cook, whose patience was tried by this discussion, began to riddle.

"Mato!"

"Tongoni!"

"You have three things in your house," he started, looking about him at Sedefo and us, and at Kasanya, who had fallen asleep, and Asikanu, who sat in the doorway watching the younger woman. "One of them longs for daybreak. One of them longs for night. One of them longs for the world to come to an end. *Suma sa puru?*—Who will pull the riddle?"

Asikanu finally broke the silence.

"The first is a bed. It longs for daylight. The second is a stool. It is tired. It longs for night to come that it may rest. The third is a clock. It is weary of life. It wishes the world would come to an end."

And so a beginning was made. Sedefo turned to the cook.

"Friend," he said, "You tell a story. And then I will tell one for the Bak'a."

Our cook began: "Kri! Kra! All men in their places!"

Back came the answer, "Will it go?"

bush for some months, and when he came back he did not feel well, and they quarreled often. When they quarreled she refused to cook for him, and so he said bad things to her. He began to say the child was not his. Now when a father takes away his 'kra, his soul, from the child while it is in the mother's womb, it is not good. When the child was born, it was a very small child. Afterwards the man left the woman. He still said the child was not his, but he used to bring money to the woman sometimes to buy things for the child. The neighbors said she must not take the money. If she took it, they said, the child would die of fio-fio. But the woman took the money. Nowadays many of them don't believe in the old things, until they find out. When the child was four months old it died. Everybody knew it was fio-fio."

He told other incidents of what happened to people who had fio-fio.

"I tell you all this because sometimes the men in the boats talk about the whites, and they think you don't understand. But you know what they say, and you are angry. If you give them a present of leaf tobacco later, or rum, then they or you may become sick. . . . The men in the bush know what to do about fio-fio, Massa, and you must learn, too. The proverb says: 'How is a boat to go, if it has no paddles?'"

3

At the entrance to the village of S'ei a gigantic silk-cotton tree stood. Its trunk was massive, and the roots which projected outwards like so many buttresses made of it a great somber cathedral. The curiously twisted grooves which these buttresses made were said to house many spirits, and particularly the three who lived in the kankan tree, as the natives called it. Gedeonsu, the male god, and Tinné, his wife, lived there with their child Dyombie, the most dreaded of them all. The kankan tree gods were thought of as women's gods, though a few men might be found, here and there, who would, on occasion,

GRANMAN MOANA YANKUSO

"Granman Yankuso is the tallest man on the river, and the darkest," they said. "He speaks little. When he is angry, his growl strikes terror in all who hear him."

People said, "The Granman is a clever man. You can tell him about your work in the way you would speak to your own educated men, and he will understand you."

"They will take away everything you have up there on the river."

"They will never bring you to the Granman. He will see to it."

In the villages of the Saramacca country we heard again and again proverbs he had originated, which were quoted when men told of this almost mythical personality.

"The Granman says, 'No one must die, but the burial place cannot lie idle,'" Bayo once quoted him.

"What does it mean, Bayo?"

"It is deep, white man. The Granman is wise."

Kasanya once quoted another of the Granman's proverbs. "If the gods say take one step at a time, do not stand still, and take two steps the next time in anger."

On this river they told us that Granman Moana Yankuso knew all that went on. It was a kind of magic he had: whatever men did anywhere, he knew.

And they said, too, that men were afraid to cross him, not alone because of his rank, but because his spirits were strong.

2

It is difficult to be objective about Moana Yankuso. In the terms his own people use, the explanation of his personality would be the explanation given of any other.

"He has strong gods."

If we urged them to explain what were the gods of a man they were praising, they would describe the Tiger spirit the man had, and what knowledge of healing and future events his Opete obia, his buzzard spirit, gave him, and how he had come by a special obia which had passed down to him from a famous magician of the earliest times.

REBEL DESTINY

643 159 In our own terms, if we were to picture the Granman as a splendid savage, cheerful, guileless, childlike, flattered by our interest, we would be belying his gifts of sophistication, and he would thank us little for these romantic outlines which, according to the values of his own civilization, would be insulting.

829 538 796 The code of life among these people was expressed in the proverb we had heard often spoken. "There are men on the upper river, there are men on the lower river, too." For survival in this bush, a man needed to match his strength and his wits and his magic, his kindliness and his enmity against those of any other. And the Bush Negro is a realist, for, as we had seen, not even the gods could be depended upon to be consistent—consistently good or consistently evil. The Bush Negro's gods, like humans, often did things for unaccountable reasons, because of a momentary whim, because of a desire to try the untried.

829 181 It was good to be guileless, but sometimes a man had to be a tiger, had to stalk his prey from behind. It was well enough to be a tiger, but sometimes a man needed the cunning of the bush hero, spider Anansi, who knew how to outwit the tiger. It was well enough to be an eagle, and be free and fly high, but sometimes a man needed the wit of the little bird konubri, who became king of all birds, because, when in the kingdom of birds there was a contest for the throne, it was he who, by perching on the back of the eagle, flew highest of all.

643 159 In the simplest of our own terms, Granman Moana Yankuso could be said to be a superb politician. In his villages, marriage alliances were calculated with the nicety of the best statesmanship. Whatever his own views, he saw to it that he never defied the arbiters of magic or the clan of the seat of magic, the Dahomey people. Toward the women of strange villages who came to see the white man and his woman, he showed an easy gallantry, which could not have been but flattering. When addressing the women who carried children astride their backs, he would speak gently to them and call them "mother" in greeting, and

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fine, sat between Sedefo, whose bench was moved forward a little, and Angita. The younger men sat with bodies half-turned toward the wall, out of respect for the Granman, the older ones, with their faces averted from him.

The Granman was speaking, telling a story.

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"Ai, mati . . . " he said, in his precise, formal way, laying stress on each syllable, "in our bush, the gods be praised, men are men. There was a man near here, who saw a woman he liked, and he took her. He had a loving eye, he was young. Ai, mati, what is a beating to a man when he is young? But the proverb says, 'All that is in the darkness will come to light.' Dealings with women always come to light too soon. That man got a beating, mati! He came out into the clearing, his head held high, like any man whom young girls follow with their eyes. But waiting for him was the husband of the woman, and the men of his family, and. . . . "

"Well, so it is, G'ama'," said Sedefo, with the careful modulation which showed that he, too, was schooled in the way of the important councils.

"Ya-hai, G'ama'," said Asikanu, more briefly.

Granman Yankuso now went on with his story, bringing to his recital all the detail of the punishment of the adulterer, without quickening the telling of his story even when he spoke the words which described the sound of the blows.

"Yes, master of the realm," said Sedefo, his head still averted, but leaning his body forward a little as he spoke, so that he somewhat shielded Asikanu from the direct gaze of the Granman, yet managing this clever gesture so that it had the air of rapt interest.

"Kere-kere, G'ama'," Asikanu breathed, almost inaudibly.

As the Granman recounted his tale, Asikanu's spine twitched as though every blow mentioned was that instant being leveled at him, as though he himself were lying head down in the dust of the clearing, while blows rained down upon him, and the Kromanti iron bands cut gashes into his proud face and arms and body.

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But Sedefo, splendid actor that he was, betrayed in no way that he was aware of his friend's discomfiture, except that his interpolations became more and more spirited, balancing in the intensity of his voice the formality of the Granman's speech. 643 684 538

"True, true!" he said, with excitement.

"By Ando, G'ama'!"

When the tale was finished, the Granman became reminiscent. In his youth he had been like the rest. What did it mean to be a man and not to assert one's manhood when a handsome woman was to be had? He was on the Marowyne then. Did they want to beat him? He had said, "Very well." As many as wished could come at him—but one at a time.

As he spoke now, he clenched his fist and struck the table with it so that the table shook and the guns which lay underneath it rattled.

He was no longer young, but his answer to people who threatened would still be the same, he continued.

"Tell them that everywhere on the river, mati," he finished with a smile, and he cleared his throat as a signal for the bassia to come and pour out drinks for his visitors, before they left his village. [504]

And how was their clan head who had been ailing? he asked, with friendly solicitude.

5

Granman Yankuso was telling about his great ancestors. 643

He looked particularly well that night. His smock-like coat was a deep blue, and over it was a print of orange and black worn toga fashion. 292

There was Bagida, one of the first to escape to the bush, and Dosi who made the Kasito clan, and Ajako who was a Matchau Negro, a man of the Granman's own clan, and it was he who had fought against the whites and had freed his people. There were Mother Bedu, and Mother Fakia, and the great Abini family which bore Alabi, whom the peccary had helped to freedom, so that Alabi's people, the Awana Negroes, to this day did not eat pingo. 173

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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538 The Djukas possess, in common with many other primitive tribes, a number of trickster stories. They are called *anansi-stories*, and are usually concerned with the adventures of a clever spider, who outwits all the other animals. They resemble closely the Br'er Rabbit tales of the Negro of the [171] southern United States. These are West African themes, and can be found not only in the Carolinas and in Surinam, but scattered also throughout the West Indies. In the middle of the last century a collection of these stories was made among the Town Negroes of Paramaribo.

173 As most primitives possess no writing materials or technique, their knowledge is necessarily passed on by word of mouth, which imposes a severe limitation upon its possible extent. History, for the Djukas, starts with the rebellion, and of what came before they know little and care less. If they have stories of the Creation, we did not hear them. One approach to written language is in the Aucaner nation, where 212 a few rudimentary symbols are carved on paddles or other implements, a form of symbol-writing (see Appendix B). [145] The implement is given to someone as a token of affection, the symbols constituting a greeting. Some of them may be seen in the illustrations of small paddles and pot-stirrers.

202 For communicating over a long distance, the Djukas use [177] a system of drum telegraphy. This they have brought over from their West African homeland. At the town of Biodoti the news of our expedition was sent upriver by being drummed out on a tomtom. Squatting over the reverberating *apenti*, the Djuka buck rapped out the peculiar rhythm that

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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torchlight. The Djukas have a rodent trap that is a direct African survival, found on both the West and East Coasts of Africa. 177 [224]

Stedman mentions in his *Narrative* that the Bush Negro rebels used a kind of conch-shell trumpet to call their people to arms. The same species of trumpet is still to be found among the Djukas, and is similar in type to those found on the Gold Coast. The nose flute used by the Bush Negroes also comes from the Congo region of Africa. Wooden trumpets like those used by the Bush Negroes are found also along the Gold Coast and in the Congo country. 177 534

The drums form perhaps the clearest and most characteristic West African survival. They are not at all like the Indian drums of the same region, which are flat and more like a tambourine. The Djuka manner of constructing them from a hollowed-out log, with skin stretched over the opening and thonged over pegs, is commonly in use among innumerable African tribes. The tuning of them by hammering on the pegs, set at an angle, is also a detail from Africa. The use of drums for communication over long distances, and the development of an elaborate code of drum signals, is developed to a high degree among West African tribes. Rattray, in his study of the Ashanti people, gives an extended description of this. [202]

The *anansi-tories*, the spider stories, ubiquitous in the West Indies, are also found among the Tshi-speaking peoples of the West Coast. The use of white clay for smearing ceremonial objects and amulets is African. The decoration of 177 [538] [778]

/16 cont./

868 The children learn their dances and games at a very early
858 age and are always present at the festivals.

867 From earliest youth on they are taught to respect and
689 venerate older persons; offenses against this obligatory respect are severely punished.

868 The boys in particular are taken along to the forest at an early age and remain there in connection with the processing of wood or other operations, as well as for hunting and fishing, and very quickly learn to swim.

515 Men, women, and children bathe separately in the river every day.

Chapter XI

Burial Services and Other Ceremonies

764 They celebrate the burial services with great solemnity. If one of them dies in Auca, that is, their land, then the corpse is cleaned, the nails are cut, and it is placed in a coffin, in which various and especially costly articles of clothing of the deceased are placed and to which all the relatives also add a new piece of cloth (usually blankets and pantjes) as remembrances, a farewell token on which much value is placed. Hence they always take care to have a sufficient stock of new and unused cloths.

Ordinarily the corpse lies in the open coffin for one day before the interment takes place, in order to bid it farewell. The relatives then sit around the coffin and weep ceaselessly /17/ in a mostly singsong manner peculiar to them, in which the visitors also join from time to time.

765 After the interment the closest blood relatives proceed to hold the days of mourning on a mat spread out on the ground for
[538] eight days. During this time they weep loudly by turns, at the same time making the strangest gestures, while day and night, generally by turns, little stories with many allusions, and always ending with a moral solution, are told.

/17 cont./

765 In these tales, called anansitori (spider-head story), the
[538] spider usually plays the main role as a personal being.

The close female relatives wear as a sign of mourning for husband, father, and mother, for a year, white or blue cloths around the head and a white cloth around the body. The men wear a white cloth around head and body only for three months, but during an entire year (since they then may not go completely clothed) they cover themselves with only a black loincloth. They also refrain from wearing ornaments for a whole year.

766 If one of them dies in the working place, in the town, or elsewhere, then the corpse has some hair shorn from its forehead and is subsequently buried without ceremonies. This hair is wrapped in a new piece of linen or cotton and brought to Auca, or their permanent dwelling place, where it then undergoes a proper burial, on which occasion all the customary ceremonies are observed as though the corpse were there.

766 Whenever one of them dies suddenly or from a strange
787 disease, which can arouse a suspicion of poisoning, immediately
[824] after death and before being washed the corpse is placed in a boesipapaja (1) tree (which, split and then tied together, is just

1. It is a hollow tree of very soft and unusable wood which, when split open, resembles bamboo from the inside; the leaves are broad and rasp-like.

like a halved hollow tree) at least five feet long. This kind of coffin is carried from east to west, past all those present, who for this purpose must be ranged in two rows, by two completely strange and impartial men, who are invited from other places for this purpose.

Now the place where the corpse through heavy pressure on the /18/ head forces the two bearers to stand still is where the inquiry begins, and one asks the corpse whether this place where they are now standing still is where clarification can be provided. If one notices a distinct movement of the hollowed-out tree, this is corroboration. If, after the question has been repeated three

/22 cont./

123 As a White one must enjoy great confidence among them if one wants to obtain permission to witness such solemnities. Never shall I forget the spectacle when I was present at such a festival; it took place from seven o'clock in the evening until two o'clock in the morning. During all this time I found myself in a very unpleasant state of tension. Although I found myself far from the part inhabited by us (namely the town of Paramaribo) in the deep forest alone in their midst, I was nevertheless not afraid because of my positive conviction of my influence over them. I was not at ease that night, however, and were it not for the fact that I did not want to hinder them or show them that I did not feel at ease at this solemnity, I would have departed, however eager I was to see the result of the movements. I remained, however, until all had come to an end, both for the distinction that fell to me for /23/ having been allowed to be present there and in order not to offend the trust put in me, while to myself I rejoiced at being able later to give to others the description of this solemnity.

Chapter XIV

Language, Odo, and Narratives (1)

538 1. Odo, proverb; narratives are called fori, and tales anansi-tori.

197 Their language is the Negro English customarily spoken here, but in a singsong tone with a peculiar accent.

195 As proof that during the conversation they understand you well, they constantly repeat "Yaa!"

551 When a child is born among them, aside from a general name they also give it a day name, in which for them special meanings are concealed, for instance:

/23 cont./

551 The boys born on Sunday Kwassie; the girls Kwassiba.
" " " " Monday Kodjo; " " Adjuba.
" " " " Tuesday Kwamina; " " Abenie.
" " " " Wednesday Kwakoe; " " Akoeba.
" " " " Thursday Jauw; " " Jaba.
" " " " Friday Kofi; " " Afie.
" " " " Saturday Kwami; " " Amba.

538 Their odo or proverbs as a rule have reference to their simple bush life, for instance:

539 "Te pikien boessi kiebrie joe boen, dan joe no moesoe falla biegie boessi te joe toeka naka hen"; that is,

"If you are protected by a small bush, be content with it and do not demand the bigger one that you may happen to see."

Another meaning is:

"If the little suffices, then do not strive for the greater."

"Na srefie avie die de falla pikien bon, de falla bigie wantoe"; that is,

"The ax that cuts down little trees also cuts down big trees."

Another meaning is:

"God, who does not forsake the worm, will not forsake a man either," or:

/24/ "Nobody is so unhappy but that days of good luck come for him"; also:

"Regard your enemy not too lightly."

Chapter XV

General Knowledge

824 This is on a very low level among them and is confined mainly to a thorough knowledge of varieties of wood and medicinal herbs in use among them.

/173 cont./

764 Broko dɛ. The eighth day after death, a ceremony called broko dɛ takes place, not to be confused with the lifting of mourning. This ceremony marks the end of the burial rites proper; when it is ended, the dead person can no longer be questioned directly; the period of mourning begins.

[613] It is a very simple ceremony which attracts few people and happens almost entirely within the lineage.

[538] At nightfall they begin to relate Anansi toli, those traditional tales which make the audience vibrate together and [535] create a special atmosphere. Then come the sɔ̃nge, susa, and awasa dances which last all night.

764 769 The next day each one busies himself at small jobs in the village while the women prepare the meal. This is the ceremony called towɛ nyã, which takes place at the edge of the mortuary shed about four o'clock in the afternoon. Each woman of the lineage brings a large bowl of rice and a small bowl containing either a piece of meat cooked in sauce or some fish. The oldest man of the lineage has large banana leaves spread out on the ground at the edge of the shed; he takes a little of each dish and puts it down on the leaves, while at the same time addressing the ancestors in ordinary language in the tone of an intimate conversation: "Dead of the family, come, come to eat today."

That lasts perhaps a quarter of an hour, while those present are seated, immobile and meditative. The ancestors are supposed to eat the spiritual part of the food -- kaaka fu nyã.

Then the elders line up at the edge of the shed five or six small children of about ten years, each one of whom holds a basin upside down. A man keeps them in line /174/ with the aid of a long stick. Then, at a signal, he lifts the stick and the children dash headlong with laughs and shouts toward the ancestors' portion, each one carrying away all he could cover [613] with his basin. The ceremony terminates with a joyful meal eaten together by the whole lineage, symbol of the communion between the dead and the living.

/180 cont./

765 are divided up equally among all the inhabitants of the village. But if the dead person had near relatives in the village, children, nephews, or brothers, it is they who stand the main burden.

[613] Members of the dead person's lineage who are settled in other villages contribute equally to the expenses and the organizing of the festival, but in a symbolic fashion. /181/

[623] A council (kuutu) of the village inhabitants sets the date; during the two weeks preceding each one is busy. The women 765 hull and winnow rice, prepare great quantities of couac and 262 sugar-cane juice. The busimã scour the bush and have meat and fish smoked. Each one, according to his means, buys tafia, sugar, chocolate, and other articles of food liked by the Refugee Blacks.

765 The celebration of the rites occupies a whole week. This 775 is because, the Refugee Blacks think the influence of the dead person can be eliminated only progressively by the repetition of the rite of separation.

The first day, the yɔrka of the dead person whose mourning is going to be lifted is called by formulas beaten on the [535] apinti drum. Then possession dances take place.

The second day is reserved for the material preparation 765 for the ceremonies to follow.

[613] The third day, the spouse in mourning, if there is one, is conducted by the members of the dead person's lineage under [822] the mortuary shed. He is dressed in red and is congratulated for having kept the mourning well. Then he is led to the river, [783] and old women of the dead person's lineage begin to bathe him [775] while adjuring the yɔrka to part company with him.

The fourth day at nightfall, all those present assemble at the mortuary shed. They recite tales (Anãsi tɔli), [538] improvisations (mato), and riddles (ɔdo). This phase of the [781] festival has as its object the concentrating of the attention of the hearers; it creates a warm, collective atmosphere which impregnates those present, bringing to them intense and highly colored emotions.

/185 cont./

765 538 About eight o'clock in the evening, people assemble around the mortuary shed where the drummers and mato (Anansi Toli) storytellers sit. Amèmbé, of Loka village, begins to tell a story which is scarcely listened to, the audience remaining noisy and distracted. The respondents punctuate his discourse with approbations: "hiya ba! na so!" At several [522] passages of the story (when Anansi has succeeded in deceiving his victim), the audience shakes with laughter, the drums beat, the storyteller and his respondents sing and dance. Little by little the audience warms up, participates intensely in the story.

Another tale follows, told by Adiiso, head of the Dju lineage (Asisi). The audience is overexcited, the interludes [535] of dancing become more and more numerous and longer, everybody, men, women, and children take part in it.

About eleven o'clock the dances are going to begin in 765 the order susa, sɔ̃ŋgɛ, awasa; at six /186/ o'clock in the morn- [535] ing the next day the awasa dances are carried on. Part of those present go down to the wharf to go home, showing no apparent fatigue.

Fifth day, Nov. 12. Nothing happens in the morning. The people take some rest.

At 3:00 P.M. the young men go around dressed up to the nines; people visit each other from one house to the other, they drink and sing.

765 About 3:30 the basia circulate in the village, calling the 262 women to bring the ceremonial meal. Tables are set out under 264 the shed. The women each bring a big bowl or basin of cooked rice (about two kilograms of rice). Some add a bowl of sauce or cooked fish. No meat.

The basia lay out all that on the tables. There are about 30 bowls or basins (which represents a handsome effort, the rice harvest having been bad), about 50 bottles of soda, several boxes of pastries /biscuits/ and Dutch cheeses.

/265 cont./

796 "Great ancestors who are in God's country, it is you who
769 have the strength of the village."
539 (The tafia gushes forth.)

"Drink, drink, but do not get drunk to the point of being deluded, look with favor upon the righteous, scatter the wicked."

796 Next, Fintiman goes off to make an offering of tafia
782 accompanied by a few words at the chapel of Odun. Then he goes to the edge of the mortuary shed to pour water, tafia, and coffee on behalf of Samalobi, the grand man's brother, for whom mourning has not been lifted.

He goes next to the house of the deceased [illegible] man Awensay to make an offering of coffee (Awensay, like the other grand men, used to drink coffee).

796 The prayer of the preceding year (January 1, 1957),
782 presided over by grandfather Samalobi, had had a higher
829 inspiration. After praying in about the same terms as above for the Boni, they prayed for the Djuka, explaining that in days gone by Boni and Djuka had fought, but that all that was forgotten. They prayed next for the Saramaka, then for the Indians, finally for the Europeans. I asked why; they answered: "It is because the Europeans were the ones who brought us to this country which has become ours." /p. 266 is blank/

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CHAPTER VIII

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TALES -- PROVERBS

Tales (Anãsi tɔli) and Proverbs (ɔdo) retain an important social function among the Refugee Blacks. It is always by tales that the great customary ceremonies of the lifting of mourning begin. Their function is to concentrate the attention of the

538 /267 cont./
[765] audience and to create an atmosphere of participation in the rite.

This ritual character makes it so that the Anansi Toli cannot be recited any time and in any old way. The story-teller may speak only at night, in the presence of a respondent and of an audience of at least two or three persons. A ritual formula: "dirinti" -- the response of the audience: "ndaeti," [124] precedes each new story. It is only with extreme repugnance [126] that informants consent to listen to and comment in the day-[76] time on a tale recorded on tape, particularly if their parents are still living, for it is said among the Refugee Blacks as in Black Africa that telling stories in full daylight makes one's father and mother die.

[174] These tales belong to an authentically African [177] accumulated store, practically unchanged in spite of the borrowing from the Creole Blacks of Paramaribo of several themes concerning automobiles, steamboats, etc., inserted in droll fashion into the traditional themes.

The usual hero of these tales is Anansi, the crafty one. [825] Anansi is the name of the Mygale spider (1). It is noteworthy,

[171] 1. The spider cycle is characteristic of the Akan (Agni-Baoulé-Abron) culture area. Anansi is the name of the Mygale spider among the Agni.

however, that this spider does not appear to play any special role in the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks and that no divinatory power is attributed to it. In fact, in the tales of which he is the hero, Anansi is nearly always represented as a man.

538 /2.7 cont./

Habitually figure in these tales:

Wénon	Anansi's wife
Akpwatitikwati	his sons
Asingébelé	
Panikitapu	
Bigimofu	

Saniassêmooyu, his daughter.

(825) /268/ Also included under the title of Anansi Toli are tales in which only animals appear: leu, the elephant (whose description the Refugee Blacks have kept through oral tradition), kɔgkoni, the agouti (1), who knows everything that happens

1. Rodent the size of a rabbit.

in the bush, kariaku, the deer, a sly old blade who thwarts all tricks (2).

2. It is strange to see this animal play the role of the fox of our fables; the deer easily escapes the hunter thanks to his acute vision, but he does not really have intelligence.

The tales transcribed below are 14 in number; they have been chosen from about 30 and represent the most characteristic themes as well as the best-constructed narratives.

About half of the tales of the Refugee Blacks turn upon two fundamental themes:

--Hunting ruses, whereby Anansi succeeds in killing all the animals of the bush except one who, cleverer than he, succeeds in turning the trick and killing him in turn;

/268 cont./

538 --Deception, more particularly associated with gluttony; in many tales, complicated ruses have for their purpose eating the neighbor's share.

Half the tales are improvisations on extremely varied themes and are impossible to classify. A large proportion are fantastic stories, disconnected and incoherent, recalling the progress of dreams. We have given no room here to this type of tale which in fact presents little of sociological interest.

[83] The Anansi Toli never have a licentious character.

In a general way, the tales of the Refugee Blacks do not reflect any definite concept. The same character is represented from one tale to another in contradictory aspects; he has no fixed personality. For example, the character Anansi, generally represented as lying, thieving, jealous, greedy, and cruel, is not associated with any definite concept. Some tales show him bringing Death among men, but others show him humiliating, to the great joy of men, the maleficent goddesses of the water and the bush. Most of the tales represent him as a swindler, but in some he figures as a judge. These contradictions are not perceived by the Refugee Blacks.

The storyteller himself succeeds with difficulty in following the thread of his story, losing himself in details, often recounted with wit. Sometimes the theme turns aside completely in the course of the narrative, like the ornamental motifs of the Refugee Blacks in which human limbs end in volutes, giving a harmonious whole but without great meaning. In this respect there is a great difference from one storyteller to the other. Certain ones construct more highly organized narratives; most are satisfied with the incoherent and fantastic tales.

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538 Doubtless for the same reason, nothing is found in most of these tales which brings to mind a moral inspired by a concept of good and evil. Now it is the thief and the swindler who triumph, now they find one cleverer than they. It is easy to see that for the storyteller all that is on the same plane; he simply guided his story on what seemed to him most amusing. [522] As for the audience, it always laughs at the loser. One single tale out of 14 (No. 1) expresses a practical moral: "That is why you must not deceive people, for there are people who are cleverer than you."

Most of the tales and proverbs have already been heard many a time by the Refugee Blacks without that lessening their pleasure. More than the story itself, they appreciate the verve of the storyteller, his mimicking talent, the always new variations he knows how to give of a hackneyed theme.

538 All these tales were recorded with the tape recorder and then were studied carefully with respect to vocabulary and syntax. We have stayed very close to the actual wording and as far as possible have kept the special Aluku turns of phrase, especially African interjections which reinforce the verbs. The tedious passages which had to be summarized are put in parentheses. Tales nos. ten to 14 are summarized.

#539

Tales

1) The Bearded Rock

One day Anansi went into the bush. He walked until ... he saw a rock, a rock with a beard. He cried: "Bearded rock!"

/273 cont./

*539 my belly," come and cut its bark, have me drink an infusion of it to calm my pains. My belly likes to play these tricks on me." They walked a little more. The bat said: "I am going to step aside for a moment." It stepped aside, then ran noiselessly to the tree, cut a piece of bark, put it in its bag, and came back.

They arrived at the village. The people had set the table; a big table! As they were getting ready to eat, Anansi moaned: "My belly, my belly. Please, that bark I spoke to thee about, go and get me some (3)."

• [538]

3. This complicated ruse is to get his comrade away in order to eat its portion. This is the central theme of a whole cycle of tales of the Refugee Blacks.

The bat pulled it out of its bag: "Here it is." Anansi said to himself: "There are some people who must not be involved in one's affairs." They ate until they had finished; they danced until dawn. As they were taking their leave, the people made them a gift of a bag /274/ of groundnuts, comrades, a big bag; it was not a one-quintal bag, but a two-quintal bag.

Anansi said to the bat: "Thou art not able to carry this bag. I am the elder, it is up to me to carry it." He lifted it; he wavered (under the weight) but stuck to it just the same. They walked. Anansi was going first, the bat behind. The bat flew, pou, pou, pou! dropped on the road and changed itself into a golden fork. Anansi arrived. He said: "Here is a golden fork, I am going to take it." He stretched out his hand as if to take it. He said to himself: "Hou? I must not take it, it is the bat." He cut a stick and struck it, gbo! He walked, walked. The bat flew ahead, pou, pou, pou! It dropped on the

/274 cont./

*539 (He fell), he stayed there, bashed in like an old kerosene can. He didn't die of it. He came to and went away. So goes the tale.

5) Anansi, the King and the Rabbit(3).

3. The rabbit, who plays the part of the sly character in the folklore of the West Indies, does not exist in Guiana. This tale is probably the transposition of a West Indian theme.

• [538] [177]

There was a king; he reigned over a country. All the people of the king's village had the habit of going to wash in a certain pond. One day, the king went to this pond to bathe. Comrade, he saw a cack in the water! "Who relieved himself there?" "I don't know." /275/ The king called the people together. This one said: "It isn't I." That one: "It isn't I." Nobody had made that cack, but there it was.

Anansi said to the king: "Grand-man, I shall discover the guilty one." The king said: "Very well; do what thou canst do."

Anansi went away. He went and cut a tree; he made a beautiful big statue, he made it eyes, a nose, a mouth, breasts. He smeared it with birdlime, then put it in the middle of the path which went to the pond. The moon had not risen.

Comrades, the rabbit relieved himself in the pond, then he came back to the bank, for it was he who had made that cack in the water. He took to the road, a pail of water on his head. He saw a woman standing in the middle of the path. He shouted: "Ho! woman! get off the path, I don't want thee (here)." She remained immobile. He said: "Woman! I am

Chapter I

DEATH AT GANKWE

WE HAD not thought to come upon death on our first night in the Suriname bush. What had killed Sedefo's brother no one could as yet say, for the time had not come to call upon the spirit of the dead man to speak. Death, said the Bush Negroes, was ravaging the family. Kunu, the law of retribution, the tool of ancestors and gods, had found this latest victim an easy prey to the black magic which had been invoked against him. In whispers they talked about a quarrel at work with a man who had a powerful snake god. [761] [154]

"The man's family kunu and the enemy's Aboma god," we heard as a refrain to the low muttering.

There would be dancing all that night for the spirit of the dead, the natives told us, and they asked if we did not wish to come and honor the dead. But an old man objected. "Let them wait until tomorrow," he said, "let them wait until they are rested. To face the spirit of the dead their own spirits must be strong." [764] [609]

That night whenever we stirred in our sleep we strained for the sound of the drums, but the wind blew from the east, and though Gankwe, where the dead man lay in state, was but a ten-minute run down the rapids, we could hear nothing. In the morning, however, we heard them plainly, heard the invocations drummed by the grave diggers on their way to the burial ground deep in the bush on the opposite bank. [539]

Osio tintin
Osio be'e dyo.

[p. 2 contain no textual material]

REBEL DESTINY

764 [539] "On the sacred apinti drum we speak to the spirit; we tell it we go to dig the grave." So the drum spoke. From the shore we could see five figures in the small corial, and, as they came closer, we saw also the drum, the food the men carried, and the muddy hoe. They would do this the next day and the next, for to dig a grave takes a long time.

I

795 769 191 Although separated by many generations from their African places of origin, the Bush Negroes of Dutch Guiana have held to the traditions and beliefs of their aboriginal home. In the Suriname bush, as in Africa, the responsibility which an individual bears toward his social group does not end with death. His clan, his village, and his family look to him, when he has joined the spirits of his ancestors, to protect them against the magic of their enemies, to help them in time of drought or pestilence, and at all times to intercede for them with the gods.

As in Africa, the spirit of the dead is powerful for good or evil, and the rites of death must be carried out as tradition demands, so that the dead man may feel he has received honor among the living and proper introduction to the world of the dead. As in Africa, we found that the 764 191 first care for the dead is to place the body on the central portion of a broken canoe; that rum and tobacco are included in the water with which the body is washed; that in washing the dead, the back must not be touched; that the number of those who wash the body must not be [801] an even one—five is the number preferred, though three persons are used, and seven; that those chosen must not be young, for it takes age and the knowledge of controlling the spirits which age brings to approach the dead without suffering harm.

764 While the body lies in the open house of the dead, relatives and the village elders are in attendance on the spirit night and day. It is they who all night tell stories about the trickster, spider Anansi, to amuse the spirit, and they who play traditional games. The dances begin when

REBEL DESTINY

764 of him from whom it had dropped. The same belief in the
765 identification of the essence of one's being with any part of one's body which actuates so many primitive peoples, and
[171] is so characteristic of West Africa, exists among the Bush Negroes. It is for this reason that when an African or a Bush Negro dies away from home some of his hair and nail parings are sent to his native village for ceremonial burial. And it is for this reason, too, that for three mornings we saw the party of five young men go out from Gankwe to dig the grave of Sedefo's brother and heard the drum's invocation,

[539] *Osio tintin*
Osio be'e dyo.

2

776 The night was still and dark. The natives said the moon
796 was dead and this was the time for the dances to the river gods, but since there was a death in Gankwe all the gods might be danced to, for in times of important rituals, like death or the breaking of mourning or harvest festivals, it was not necessary to wait for the day sacred to each god to dance.

"They dance well at Gankwe," said our informant, as he sat by, and then after listening for a few moments he added, "They're dancing already."

We, too, walked out on the path to listen, and gradually we separated the sound of the falls above our camp from what seemed like the pulse of the night itself.

"It doesn't boom, does it?" we asked each other, remembering the accounts of impressionable travelers.

Soon Sedefo himself appeared and another, and we started for Gankwe.

"*Waka koni*, Sedefo," called our host at camp as we put off. He was evidently uneasy about us and asked the paddlers to be careful, for it is not safe on the river at night with the rapids below and the spirits that hover about.

000 The paddles cut the water so soundlessly that it did seem as if the spirits were carrying the boat downstream.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1834
583 Bush Negroes 583
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764 all its leaves, while the butt of the stick was whitened with sacred clay.

Now the ceremony was drawing to a close, and the leave takings were to be said. Sedefo thrust the branch over the coffin, where it was grasped at its whitened end by the dancer who a few moments ago had been so frenzied. The laughter of an instant before was stilled; there was no wailing. Distinctly the low voice of Sedefo came to us as he addressed the corpse:

[539] "*The hour has come when we must part from you. What the Earth has decreed we cannot help. We have done for you what we could. We have given you a funeral worthy of you. You must care for us, and you must deliver us from all evil that may come upon us.*"

As he finished, he slashed the branch in two with one quick stroke of his machete, so that the dancer held in his hand only the short whitened stump of what had been the long stem. The dancer then turned and walked sadly toward the river path still holding it in his outstretched hand, nor did he return to the village and the coffin.

Now the place that had been occupied by Sedefo was taken by an elder who held the second of the three sticks with their whitened ends. When Sedefo reappeared, he carried on one arm a little boy, the child of the deceased, and taking the dancer's place across the coffin he grasped the whitened end as the other had done. The separation from the group of men who had Kromanti spirits had taken place; the dead man was next to be separated from his family.

[539] "*You see, we bring your child. Now he is alone. Try to protect him, that he may live in health and prosperity, that he may not fall into the water, that fire may not burn him. Protect him in the bush, that he may not be harmed. Now we must separate you from him. What we must do we cannot help, for it is willed by the law of the Earth.*"

With this, the second branch was slashed, and still holding the child Sedefo followed the Kromanti brother

Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1834
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609 scratched like a "*tigri*"—a tiger, for this is how the Bush
123 Negroes name the jaguar. Later, when we saw him dance
115 the Tigri Kromanti dance, we witnessed one of the most realistic feline interpretations imaginable. But that is another matter.

Now Apanto was an obia man to be reckoned with, and his fellow villagers and the villagers of neighboring settlements treated him with a deference that his age alone could never have commanded. And it was this Apanto who now came up and said that he would sing the sacred Kromanti songs for our phonograph.

"You will not understand the songs. They will be in the Kromanti language," he warned us. "They are strong, and the machine must be strong to carry them."

It happens that a field phonograph is anything but strong. The mechanism is simple, since the instrument must be light enough to be carried about, and yet it often is subjected to all manner of hard usage. To this is added the
[126] hazard of the climate. The turntable is actuated by a belt running from the mechanism inside the case, and the ends of this belt are glued together. This, to be sure, we discovered later. At the moment, we met Apanto's challenge with assurance. We did not doubt that the machine was spiritually strong.

126 What he said about the Kromanti language was true.
533 The Kromanti tongo, of which we had been told during our
[197] first visit here, we were finding to be an actuality, and
● 534 although we took down the words as he sang them, aided in hearing them by the repetitions, their meaning was unknown to us. Some of them we learned later. Some of them we knew. "Obia" we knew concerned the spirit,
[196] the vague force known by that name, while "Amba" was a deity sacred to Saturday, and was given as a "day name"
[551] to women born on that day of the week. This, then, is what he sang:

"*Ma djeni ye-ye*
Obia kule ma djeni no-ko
Obia mo-ye

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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Amba djeniyi, obia-mi yi-yi
Mo djeni-o
Mo djeni-e-ye
Obia mi-i
Man djeni no-ho
Obia mo-i
Amba djeni-e-i, obia-i-i
Man djeni no-ho, obia-i."

The music was slow and soft, and in Apanto's appealing voice the song took on a strangely moving quality. But as he sang, a stir went through the people who were listening.

"He calls his obia, ai."

"His obia will fight the spirit of the machine."

"The Bakra is cunning, but obia is strong. We shall see."

The song came to an end, the recorder was lifted. We looked at Apanto. "Will you sing another? See, the thing is not finished. There is room for more."

He looked. Yes, one could see there was room for more. Yes, he would sing more. This time the song was livelier, louder. As Apanto sang, he seemed to force the song into the horn, and this time there were no murmurs from those watching.

"*Yen-bo, yenbo,*
A yen-bo-bo no
Yen-bo, yenbo,
A yen-bo. . . . "

And with this the machine began to give way. There was a rattling sound, a scratching. The machine went more slowly, then stopped. About us the murmurs became excited. Hastily we fitted a new cylinder, hastily we tested it. It was no use. We soon found the cause. The glue had softened in the tropical dampness, and the ends had pulled loose. It was almost dark, and there was no sun to dry a newly applied coat of glue.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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484 recognized the coat of a village chief, and by the size of the
[501] boat he knew that it belonged to the upper river, far, far beyond the stretches he had yet penetrated.

He spoke the greeting in the faintest of whispers, out of
576 deference to a man of age and rank, and stopped his boat,
484 for this village belonged to his own clan, and it was here that he would get from his mother's sister the cassava
[262] bread which she had got ready for his journey up river. He got out of his boat gently; decorum demanded that he subdue his energy before the man of position. His palms rested on his knees for an instant, as he stood slightly
[516] inclined before the older man, and what questions he answered, he did in speech which was punctuated with the ceremonial stammering demanded by the occasion. He had put his toga-like cloth over him and stood hesitating whether or not to take his paddle to the village with him, for he was so well known here that this settlement was almost as familiar to him as his own. But at last he leaned down and took up his paddle. This mature formality, in a village where he was still often looked upon as a boy, was prompted perhaps by this meeting with the chief, or by the new feeling of confidence he had, since he was taking the Bakra's boat up the river. But here he was, going up the embankment with the firm, slow step of the stranger.

484 The old chief had already started, having first made his
180 sacrifice of rum to the spirit of his boat by squirting it over
[501] the finely carved head which appeared in relief on the
622 prow. And now, as he guided his canoe with the sure strokes
539 of his large steering paddle, he sang his prayer.

"*Kediamo, Kediampon,*
Mother of the River,
Sacred ancestors, and my a'ka,
I am taking this journey down the river,
I am going to the city,
Grant that I travel in safety,
Grant that the trip be joyous,
Grant that I meet with friends,

ON THE SARAMACCA RIVER

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Grant that I walk with strangers in friendship,
Grant that the white man deal fairly with me.
Great Sky God,
Mother of the River,
Sacred ancestors,
I thank you."

Before the sound of the old chief's voice had died away, 484
Bayo was on the bank again with the great disks of cassava bread in his arms. He covered them carefully and was on his way. His aunt had provided nicely for him. She had given him a large bottle of palm oil as well, and now, if he could but shoot a monkey or a macaw while going up the river, he [962]
would have excellent food. The Bakra would be certain to have a drink or two for his paddlers, and some leaf tobacco; and, though he himself was not old enough to snuff tobacco, he would save it for a gift to the father of his betrothed.

He went back to his seketi.

"Ma, a Lamé
A sib' ko' de muye."

On the bank of the next village several women were at work washing clothes. Were they young? Ah, but he must hurry. Twice he had been overtaken.

"Tia, odi! tia, odi! tia, odi!" He spoke to each of the three women separately and finished his "Adiosi" with an extra flourish, for he knew as he paddled away that the circle of cicatrized kamemba and the snake incised in the small of his back below it would gleam in the sun and look alive to the women who watched him make off.

That Lamé obia was a powerful thing!

2

At Gankwe they had been up all night, for yesterday was 765
the eighth day after death, and that night the ceremony of B'oko Dei had to be cared for—until night met day, the villagers said, there would be Ananse stories, and then, after the dawn, the elders would hold council, for one's

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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648 had not acted well toward the Granman. It would be best if we did not stop there. At the others the Granman could assure us hospitality. Then there was talk of hauling wood and making rafts, for our host, who knew these people well, moved safri, too, until he at last felt the moment had come to talk about buying a boat from Ajako.

[439] When the arrangements of the sale were concluded, 123 Ajako came back to talk with us. He had heard that we had 126 a machine which the Kromanti spirit had broken, was it true? Did it really go again? They said the Bakra had much cunning. They said the Bakra knew African magic.

The Bakra said he knew something about Africa. The Ashanti people, for instance, were a fine people.

124 "*Ma na Asante, na Sa'macca sem-* . . . —But the Ashanti 144 are Saramacca. . . . " But he would go no further, having 115 spoken only one syllable of the word for people. He became guarded. Yes, there were some Anago people from Africa on this Saramacca River, and Dahomey, and Loango, and Fanti; the Ibo peoples were not on this river. . . . And again he would say no more. Later, when we had changed the subject, he said as if in both gratitude and explanation, "*Na sa-i-'akisi, a tranga poi*—You ask about strong things."

126 But he would sing into our machine, if we liked. He 115 would sing Kromanti, if we wanted him to do so. "I won't fight your machine," he said, smiling.

[533]
[539]

"*Anabobi, Anabobi,*
Anabobi, Anabobyo,
Tata Ando.
Anabobi, Ando,
Anabobi,
Tata Adjaini,
Anabobyo
Tata Fa'aku."

"They will understand this in Africa," he said, gravely, and then he moved toward the doorway and stood there

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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501 609 "It is not good," he said aloud to us. "Its balance is not right. Look, it rolls . . . and besides, I have a kunu. I will go up in my own boat."

And so it was. Sedefo took his own boat up river, and another Gankwe boat was obtained, and there were four boats instead of three, and eight paddlers instead of six.

"Ya-hai! Kunu is costly for the white man as well as the black," Bayo said to Bibifo, his great-grandfather, for it was not his father, nor his grandfather, as he had later promised, who appeared to steer the boat in which Bayo was taking the Bakra and his woman up the river.

3

502 484 Bayo was at his best on the river. He loved it, and it treated him well. In the prow of the boat, swinging his pole-stick hand over hand, he steadily urged the boat upstream against the current, and sang as he poled.

[533] [539]

"A-yai-yo,
A-yai-yea,
Money is finished in Suriname
Lower Cayenna took it!
A-yai-yo,
A-yai-yea."

Over and over he repeated the seketi, with tantalizing [533] variations in rhythm and melody on the traditional air, to which he knew so many sets of words. In and out went the pole-stick. In, until it struck the sand with a soft caressing glide, then a hard push, and three short steps back along the boat until Bayo's hand reached the upper end of the wood, and a final thrust, then pull, and over, and in, and once again the three short steps.

The other boats had got ahead. In the distance close to the bank they followed one another.

"*Mbwogu, mbwogu*—Hurry!" said old Bibifo in back.

Bayo turned and grinned. "*Ai, mbwogu, mati, mbwogu*—Yes, hurry, friend, hurry," he twitted his great-grandfather,

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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smaller boats were to be brought up each by its own men. Each selected a place, and the shrill shouted directions could be heard above the falling water. Up, up, they came, the man at the stern holding with his stick, the man at the head up to his shoulders in water, tugging, pulling, hauling the boat over. Once Asikanu's pole slipped, and his boat swung toward a rock, but it caught again and he held it with the fierceness of a man defending himself against an enemy, and then he, too, cut across and found the firmness of the friendly sandy bottom. 502-484

But when the five boats were at last together above the falls, out came machetes to sharpen the ends of the pole-sticks, for an encounter such as they had had the moment before shredded the hard wood into fiber.

Ahead the water was still. The hard work of this day was over. The men straightened their loin cloths and again began to make their way along the banks of the river. The village where we would camp that night was somewhere before us. The sun was nearing the treetops, and the shrieking pairs of parrots were flying over us to the west, seeking their roosting places. [136]

The short dusk was upon us.

"It is not far," said Bayo, speaking of the village ahead.

"Will we get there before dark?"

"*Massa Gadu sabi*—God alone knows."

"*No fe', Bak'a*—Don't be afraid. We know the river."

The Bush Negro and his river! Seeing the prodigious strength of the men, their great knowledge of current and rocks and channels, one was not afraid. Softly the pole-sticks slid into the sand banks, softly the paddles dipped, and Bayo sang his seketi. [533] [539]

"*N'an g'wa a Lamé*
A s'ib' ko' de muye."

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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her become pale again. This may happen to you when you get to the Mamadam." 538 776

As he spoke, he began to beat on the table the drum rhythm which calls the river god, and he sang, 776 533

"*Today, today, O Spirit,*
Hard times are upon us
Ingi-o.
Hard times are upon us. [539]
Today, today, Boyo,
Hard times are upon us
Ingi-e."

And then he sang another song, which he said had been sung at the time when black people were running away from slavery, and is still heard at dances to the spirits of the river, the *watra ingi*, as the river gods are called in the city. In it, he called on the agida, the great drum upon which, in town as in the bush, the Negroes call the river gods, and on *Kopsi*, the name of one of the spirits of the water. This time he sang,

"*I will play the agida today,*
I will knock the agida today-o
Kopsi will foil the magic
Of the crowing cock.
O, I will play the agida today, [539]
I will knock the agida, today-o,
Kopsi will foil the magic,
Of the crowing cock.
I will play the agida today."

3

As we gained the island where the shrine itself stood and looked about us from the high rocks of the sacred spot, there lay before us in the early morning light a scene of inexpressible beauty. At dusk the narrow strips of land which forced the river into three channels had been like dark machetes plunged into the body of the great stream. 133 [778]

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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away. It seemed dangerous even to notice the strip of white cotton which showed high above the falls, though the stick from which it hung we could not see. 778 784

"Human beings do not go there," Bayo had said warningly. "Human eyes must also not go there."

But the shrine at the Mamadam is a friendly place. There a man finds a moment's ease. For a brief interval, at least, the voyager upstream or down rests there to get his breath, as he makes ready for a new start. Directly below the falls is a stretch of still water, which follows upon the wearisome portage at the Musumba Prati and the struggle with the rapids just above it, while, when continuing up river, the boatmen face a succession of rapids before another stretch of quiet water is reached. It is not strange, therefore, that no man, whatever his need to make time, will fail to stop at the Mamadam long enough to make known to the Mother of the River his errand and to ask for the continuance of her protection. 778 484

This shrine is the home of the Great Mother of the inland waters, she who, above all else, had secured to the ancestors of these Bush Negroes their freedom from slavery. In the city and on the plantations of the coastal region the Negroes, under states of possession by the water gods, sing of their longing to join those at the Mamadam. 778 776

[533] [539]

Let me die on the river, O!
Let me die on the water, O!
All the Ingi spirits
Are at the Mamadam,
Let me die on the river, O!

Deep in the interior, if one of the elders, let us say a man of the Dahomey clan, is alarmed at the prospect of the white man penetrating their bush, some man can be looked to, then, to say reassuringly, "Have no fear. They will not come beyond the Mamadam!"

For this river is their own. "Once, long, long ago," the legend was told us, "this river was but a creek. There were no great trees here, no rocks. There were no boats, no 173

REBEL DESTINY

782 Among the people of one group, the principal ceremony
241 may be held in the clearing itself. The drums are brought,
535 and men and women and children pray for fertility. The beautifully carved apinti drum sounds the invocation to the Great God and to the ancestors, while the tall agida drums are brought to call the earth spirits. Two by two the men dance susa, the dance which in pantomime reproduces an ancient warrior's combat with spear and shield, the winner taking on a new combatant, until the final winner is given a wand as a reward, and gains for himself the title of "G'aman of Susa" until the next dance is held. Other dances follow. Perhaps the women now line up in two long
[585] rows facing each other, and dance bandamba, the dance
[845] which celebrates marriage and the birth of twins, and the birth of a child who is born feet foremost. The motions are the slow rhythmic manipulations of the muscles of hips and
[842] abdomen. It is a dance of fertility, danced by the very young girls as well as by those who have borne children. But the women who are past the age for dancing sit with
[888] their men, arms interlaced, swaying to the rhythms of the songs they sing. . . . There are offerings to the earth spirits, poured upon the earth out of black obia pots and
[n69] calabashes, while other offerings are set upon the ground for the ancestors.

In another settlement, the ritual would be chiefly carried on in the village itself, and there might be a local dance of
[842] fertility, danced nowhere else on the river. "An old, old ancestress taught it to us," the villagers would say.

462 When it is time to plant, the woman plants with the
241 man's help.

"When I plant a new field," said the younger woman, "I
782 pray as I work."

539 And this is her prayer:

O Sky God, Mother of the Earth, Ancestors,
I am planting a field,
Make it bear;
People who come to me must eat,

1t Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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THE PROVISION GROUND

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O spirits, you must help me.
Help me find food,
That I may give to those who come;
Help me find food,
That all those who come to me may eat.
I am planting pinda,
Make it come;
I am planting yams,
My yams must grow;
I am planting cassava,
Make my cassava yield;
I am planting rice,
Make it come;
Let the earth copulate well,
Let me, too, be fruitful;
Let me live by my work;
My children have gone down the river,
They have gone to the white man's country,
Let them live and be fruitful;
When they return to me,
Let them bring back possessions;
O spirits, I myself must live,
I have belongings,
Let my belongings live;
Mother of the Earth,
This new field which was found
Make it yield food for me,
Make it yield for those who come;
I have planted seed,
The seed must bear.
O Great God, Earth spirits, Ancestors,
I thank you.

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After the planting, the life of the women is spent at the provision grounds for the greater portion of the year, for the crops must be carefully tended. The jungle is not hospitable to those who invade it, and it is only at the

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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"It will go! . . . Anansi and Dew were great friends. 539
The two worked together, each helping the other. So they lived.

"Well, now, they each planted a field of corn. But the corn belonging to Dew was finer than Anansi's, and Anansi was envious. He wished that he had the field which belonged to Dew. So he said to Dew, he said: 'Your corn is fine, but mine is finer. If mine were like yours, I should cut it, so that it might come up better.'

"But Anansi was lying. When you cut corn, it will not grow again. He was deceiving Dew."

Now came the voice of our town man, as he offered the first "cut" to the story: "Bato! I was there!"

"What have you to say?"

With this came the song. The one that he chose was in 539
the Kromanti language, and later he told us it was a komfo 533
song, one which taking its name from the African Ashanti word for priest, calls on the Ashanti earth spirits to bring the singer a magic wand which, when touching his head, will make him possessed by the earth gods. And as leader, he began:

Asanti boyo
Da mi widya
Akolo!

The others responded in chorus

Akolo, Akolo, Abánu ba.

Singer and chorus repeated verse and refrain, until our boy shouted, "Go on with your story, man!"

"And so, my friends, Dew cut his corn.

"But in the afternoon, when people passed, they saw that the corn had been cut. And they asked one another: 'What made Dew cut his corn? It was such fine corn.' Dew said it was Anansi who had made him do it. Then the people told him it would not grow again.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
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● 539 533 "And Dew said to them, he said, 'Well, all right. He tricked me with corn, but I am going to trick him with his mother.'"

Now came another interruption: "Bato! I was there!" and this time the song that cut the story was one of the spirit Sofia Bada. He is strong, and to dance for him is "heavy," a priestess of the city had told us. The words that were sung were a challenge sung by this warrior spirit of Allada, one of the ancient West African kingdoms.

Come try me
I am the man.
Come feel me,
I am the man
I am Sofia Bada
The strong man in Allada
Come try me,
I am a man.

"Let the story go on," said the singer.

"The story will go on. . . . So Dew worked hard until he had enough to buy himself a scythe, a hoe, an axe, and all manner of implements and clothes. And then he worked some more until he had put by some money.

"Then he went to his mother, and he said, 'Well, mother, I am going to do this. I am going to say that you are dead. You must hide upstairs, and I will set to work to make a coffin and to arrange for the burial.'

"And he did that. He sent word to all the animals that his mother died. And all the animals came together for the burial, and with them came Anansi.

"Now, Dew had it all arranged. He hid his mother underneath the plank on which the coffin rested, and placed beside her all the things that he had bought. He knew how greedy Anansi was.

"And so, before they were ready to take up the coffin, he began to wail, 'Ai, mother, see how you leave me. Not even an axe have you left for your son. Your son has not a single tool.'

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"As he said this, all the things began to come out from under the plank. Anansi picked them up, and wished his own mother would die at once so that he might have these, too. Dew went on crying. He now begged his mother for some money. His mother flung the money at him. And so the burial went off well, and the mourners went their way. 539 533

"But now, day after day, Anansi and his mother quarreled. Anansi said, 'Why cannot death come to you as it did to Dew's mother?' Then one day he and his mother quarreled again, and in his anger he took up a stick and struck her, killing her."

Again there was the voice: "Bato! I myself was there!"

And the song was taken up:

A fine man is Amusi
A fine man.
If you believe in God
You must believe in Amusi.

"Anansi now did just as Dew had done. He fixed the plank properly, and began to weep just as Dew had wept, but nothing at all came of it. So they buried his mother.

"A week later, Dew had his mother come to the field, and when Anansi saw Dew's mother, he said: 'Friend Dew, isn't that your mother I see there?'

"He said, 'Yes, it is my mother. You deceived me about my corn. Now I have tricked you with your mother.'

"And so Dew's mother was alive, but Anansi's mother was dead. It is ended."

2

Now Asikanu spoke. "Mato!"

"Tongoni!" 539

"I go into the bush to hunt. I greet the living, but they do not answer me. I greet the dead, and they speak."

This time Kasanya, who had sat dozing on his stool, heard and knew the answer.

REBEL DESTINY

●539 "I go into the bush to hunt. I step on the green leaves, and there is silence. I step on the dry leaves, and there is a crackling sound. . . . I have pulled the riddle."

We turned to Sedefo, as Kasanya finished speaking.

"Now, Bak'a, I will tell you a story," he said. "It is about a man, a hunter, who saved three beings, a human, a snake, and a rat. Who would you say showed his gratitude in the end? The human being? Well, you will hear. It is late, and Kasanya is almost asleep. I will tell it to you without cutting. Listen to the story. You will like it."

And this was the story:

Hireti!
Daieti!
Listen well!

There was a man who went to the bush to hunt. He walked and walked, and walked so far until . . . he heard someone calling for help from inside a great pit. So he looked in the pit, and saw Human Being, Snake, and Rat.

Now, he said to himself, he said, "Snake is a bad animal. Rat is bad, too. I will help Human Being."

But after a while, as he thought it over, he said, "I will help all three, Snake, Rat, and Human Being who is like myself."

So Snake took his path, and Rat went on his way, and the Hunter took Human Being to his own house. But no thanks did he get from these three, whom he had saved from death itself.

Now Rat began to study what to do to help the man who had done him so great a favor. So he went to the King's treasure house and gnawed through a plank, and he stole much money. He brought it to Hunter as payment for having saved him from death.

So Hunter became a rich man. He bought new boats, and new axes. He bought beads and bracelets for his women, and cloths for himself. He built himself a new house and he found for himself another wife. He bought so many new things. . . .

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But now, the Human Being he had saved was still living with him, and he saw what was happening. So he went to the Granman, and he told on Hunter. The Granman sent word to all the elders of the kingdom to come together for a *lanti krutu*—a court assemblage; a man was to be judged. And Hunter was thrown into prison.

As the news spread from village to village, Snake came to hear of it. He studied what to do to help Hunter who had saved him from death. Now, the King of that country had a beautiful daughter. Snake said to himself, he said, "If I bite the King's daughter, and then show Hunter a medicine to save the Princess from death, they will free him."

So Snake went to the house of the King, and bit the King's daughter. Then he hurried back to the bush, and broke off some leaves. The leaves were medicine for saving the Princess from the hands of Death. So he carried them to the Hunter in prison, and showed him how to make the medicine for curing the Princess.

Meanwhile, the King called on all the doctors in the village to come to his house and cure his daughter, the Princess. But not one of them could produce a medicine to help her. So the King sent messengers to every part of his kingdom to say that whoever knew of a medicine to cure his daughter would get half of his kingdom, and would marry the Princess.

Now the Hunter sent a message to the King that if he could leave the prison, and go to the King's house, he would cure the Princess. The King said to the messenger, he said, "All right. Bring him here." When Hunter came, the King said to him, he said, "All these clever doctors tried and tried and could do nothing, and you think you can cure my daughter!"

The Hunter said to the King, he said, "Ya-hai, my King. I am the very man who can cure her."

All the people of the village came to the King's house to see the man who said he could cure the King's daughter. So Hunter took the weeds he had been given by Snake, and crushed them well, and made his medicine. And this

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539 medicine he rubbed into the wound which Snake had made when he bit the Princess. In an hour the Princess was better, and soon she was well.

The King was very happy. He caught Human Being who had betrayed Hunter, and put him into the same prison where Hunter had been. But Hunter, who made the medicine, married the King's daughter, and became King of the land.

"It is ended," concluded Sedefo, "and I myself was there, and my daughter danced bandamba at the wedding!"

5

When Sedefo finished, it was almost midnight. Kasanya and Asikanu had sometime before gone to their hammocks. And now Sedefo, too, rose to go.

"*D'u mundu*," he said, as he went out. "Sleep well, all."

"*Ai-yo, so s'yepi-o!*—Yes, and do you sleep well, too!" Our boys sang back their response.

Since both they and we were still wide awake, they each offered to tell a short tale. But they told many stories, for there was a quality in the deep bush that night that allowed neither them nor us, unaccustomed to the jungle as we all were, to rest.

539 126 We no longer recall the exact tales they told. But later we had opportunities to record many more than just the ones they told there in the provision ground. Many were long, longer than we can give here. Many were the same as those we heard told by the Bush Negroes but which, told at night at festivals for the dead, with all the element of dramatization that went with the telling, we could not record in our notebooks. We group some of those which, for us, hold something of the quintessence of the mind of the Suriname Negroes.

Anansi Becomes a Preacher

539 Anansi asked the King to permit him to become a preacher. The King said, let him go to church one Sunday

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and preach a sermon. The first Sunday Anansi preached, the King could not come to hear him. But the King gave him a black suit, and said he was to wear it the following week when he preached.

Now Anansi and Cockroach lived side by side. Beside the fence separating Anansi's yard from that of Cockroach stood a coconut tree. The tree grew in Cockroach's yard. It was not a large tree, but it did have a bunch of nice coconuts on it. The coconuts hung right above the fence of which one side belonged to Anansi, and the other side to Cockroach.

One day Anansi took his machete and cut the bunch of coconuts exactly in two. When Cockroach saw this, he said to Anansi, he said, "Why did you cut down the coconuts? The tree is in my yard. You had no right to cut them." Anansi said, "Yes, but didn't you see how they were hanging? how one-half hung on your side, and one-half on mine?" Cockroach said, "All right. I'll get even."

On the Saturday before Anansi was to preach his sermon in church before the King, he told his wife to air his black suit. His wife took the suit and hung it over the fence. So now Cockroach took his machete and cut off that part of the suit which was on his side.

In the morning the King went to church to hear Anansi preach. But Anansi could not come, because he had no suit to wear. The King was angry. He had Anansi put in jail. Anansi said to Cockroach, he said, "You there, as long as I live I will never forget this. As long as I live I will remember what you have done. You made me lose my job."

How Death Came to the City

Death had not yet come to the cities. He lived in the deep bush. But one day Anansi had no food. It was a time of famine. He took his hunting bag and his gun and went to hunt. He worked his way deep into the bush, and then walked all through it, but not one animal did he meet. So he walked on and on, until one day he came to Death's village. Death was sitting in his doorway.

REBEL DESTINY

539 Anansi was respectful. He said, "Howdo, Father Death." And he said, "Hunger is killing me. I have combed the entire bush for an animal, but not one did I find to kill."

Death said, "Come inside. I will give you some food." Death took him into the cook-house where much meat was being barbecued. When Anansi saw all this meat, his mouth began to water. Death gave him a fine portion of meat, and he ate until he had had enough.

Anansi said, "Many thanks." And he said, "But who are you who have so much meat to barbecue?"

Death said to him, "Do you not know that I am Death?"

Anansi said, "I see, Father Death, and that is why you have so much meat, and I walked through the entire bush and could find nothing." Then he said, "I am going to ask you a favor. I myself have eaten, but my wife and children have had nothing to eat. Give me some of this meat that I may bring them food."

Death said, "All right. Take that piece over there."

When Anansi came home, he said, "Sa Akuba, I found a place to get food. I do not have to bother looking around for something to eat, because when we have no food, I can go there and take it. Or better still, I can go and steal."

So whenever Anansi had no food, he went to the man Death's village, and stole Death's meat.

Death came home one day and noticed that some of his meat was missing, but he did not know who was at fault, until finally he lay in wait for the thief. Just as he hid in a corner, Anansi came. Anansi filled a basket with meat.

Death said, "Heh! So it is you who are the thief! Why did you do this?" But Anansi had no time to answer properly, for he set out on a run. Death ran after him. Death ran, and Anansi himself ran, too.

But when they came to the city, Anansi turned and saw Death at his heels. Anansi began to call in a loud voice, "Living-people all, shut your houses! Death is come!"

So, you see, Death came to the city, and many people have died because of the thief Anansi. If Anansi had not

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stolen Death's meat, Death would have remained quietly in the deep bush. 539

The Devil Has a Bad Name

Now the Devil said to a man one day, "No matter what good I do, I get a bad name for it." The man would not believe him. The Devil said, "Very well, I will show you." 539 716

So the Devil went to God, and he said to God, he said, "You put a stone on the path along which men travel, and I will put a bag of money there. Then we will see what happens."

Well, they did this. God put down the stone, and the Devil the bag of money. One day a man came down the path and stubbed his foot against the stone. Instantly he cried, "Ah, the Devil put the stone there that it might hurt my foot!" Later another man came along and saw the money. He took up the bag and called out, "God be praised! I thank you, Master, for letting me find this money!"

The Devil said, "You see how it is? I put the gold there, but it is God who receives thanks, while I am cursed for the stone God put on the road. It is as I said. The Devil cannot look for fairness in this world."

The Tar Baby

The King had a plantation where there were many fruits, and plantains, and other kinds of food. But someone was stealing the fruit and the crops. So the King had them put a large tar-baby in the field. 539

Now the thief used to come at night, and this thief was Ba Anansi. When he saw the image he became alarmed, and approached it with flattering words. Timidly he said to it, he said, "Father, how are you?" But he did not get an answer.

So he said, "If you do not speak to me, I will slap you!"

The image did not speak. Anansi struck him a blow, but his hand stuck. He said, "If you do not let me go, I will

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539 give you one with my other hand," and Anansi struck again. That hand stuck, too.

He said, "If you do not let me go, I will butt you." But when he butted him, his head stuck. So he said, "If you do not let me go, I will kick you." And then he kicked him.

But Anansi could do nothing more, for his head, his hands, and his feet were fast. So he had to remain there until they came and found him. And when they let it be known that Anansi was the thief, the King said that Anansi was to be killed.

The day Anansi was to die, he sent for his children and said to them, he said, "Children, you see I am about to die. What can you do to save me?"

Now each one of his children proposed some foolish thing, until the youngest one spoke. He said, "Father, you know what I am going to do? I am going to climb a tall tree and hide there. Then, when they come to put you to death, I will sing,

"They kill Anansi till . . .
They kill the Spider till . . .
The whole country will be flooded,
All the people will die,
The King's wife will die,
The King's daughter will die,
The King himself will perish,
Anansi alone will remain."

Now, when the King heard the voice singing, he asked, "What is that?"

Anansi answered, "Tye! Hearken, my King. God himself pleads for me!"

The King said, "It is not true. A thief must be punished."

But Anansi replied, "Tye! You will hear, my King, that it is the truth, because God will again speak for me." And soon the voice was again heard singing,

"They kill Anansi till . . .
They kill the Spider till . . .

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The whole country will be flooded,
All the people will die,
The King himself will perish,
Anansi alone will remain."

Then the King became disturbed. He was afraid. . . . And so he came to free Anansi.

Why Chicken and Butter Are Always Found Together

Chicken and Butter were great friends. They lived together. Every morning early they went for a walk. Now, Chicken was always the last to return, and every morning Butter was home early. Chicken did not know that if Butter walked in the sun he would melt, and that was why he was always home first.

One morning, when they left the house, Chicken took the key and carried it away with her. When Butter came back, he could not get in. So he stood in the doorway and waited. When the sun came up Butter melted.

Now Chicken returned, and she saw what had happened to Butter. She ran and called her neighbor to come. When the neighbor came, Chicken said to him, she said, "What shall we do with Butter?"

The neighbor said, "Bring a knife and I will show you."

But Chicken had no sooner brought the knife than her neighbor took it, and cut Chicken's neck. Then he put her in the pot with Butter, and cooked the two.

And that is why to this day we cook Chicken with Butter. Now the neighbor was Cockroach, and the proverb says: "You are Cockroach; you will never get justice from Chicken."

Anansi Gives a Feast on the Mountain Top—Turtle Gives His in the Water

Anansi decided to give a feast. Now he did not want Turtle to come, but since he was inviting all the animals, he had to ask Turtle, too. He said, "I will see to it that the boy Turtle does not eat a morsel of my food." So Anansi sent word to all the animals that on a certain day he would

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539 give a great feast, but that it would be held on top of a mountain. On the day of the feast all the animals came together to eat with Anansi.

Now, when they were all gathered, and the preparations were done, Anansi said, "We are ready to eat, but before we can begin, all must have clean hands." And Anansi said to Rabbit, he said, "Ba Kon'koni, you are a clever fellow. Look around for me, and see if there is anyone whose hands have sand on them."

Rabbit went from one animal at the other, examining their hands. Then he came to Turtle. He said, "Friend Turtle, you must go wash your hands. See, there is sand on them." So Turtle went back down the hill to wash his hands. Now when Turtle walks, crawling he crawls from one place to another. He does not go fast. So the whole time he was away the animals had been eating. When he returned to the table, half the food was gone.

Now just as he sat down at the table, Anansi said, "Friend Turtle, let me see if your hands are clean now." Turtle showed his hands. Again they were full of sand. Anansi said, "Ba Turtle, the rules are that everybody must have clean hands, so you must go wash your hands once more. You cannot eat otherwise." So again Turtle washed his hands. He washed them so many times, but, since he could not walk any other way, his hands were always dirty when he came to the table. So Turtle did not eat at Anansi's feast.

Turtle went away, and he said, "Anansi caught me this time, but I am going to get even with him."

So now Turtle gave a birthday party. He sent for all the animals to come to his party to eat with him. He knew that Anansi would come, too. So he said that his party would be held under water. He knew that Anansi was light and would not be able to stay under water. He did this so he could catch Anansi.

When all the animals were getting ready to go to Turtle's, Anansi studied what to do. He knew that he could not stay down under water. So he borrowed a coat and a pair of

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trousers, and put them on. Then he gathered many stones, 539
and put them in the pockets. When he was heavy enough, he went down under the water.

Now the time came for them to come and eat. Turtle looked about and saw Anansi under water. He saw how Anansi had put stones in his pockets. At once Turtle said to them all, he said, before they sit down at the table they must take off their coats. Anansi was troubled when he heard Turtle say this. He thought, "If I take off my coat, I will at once float to the surface. The stones in my pockets keep me down." So Anansi could not take off his coat.

But when Anansi came to the table, Turtle said to him, he said, "Didn't I say everybody was to take off his coat? You must take off yours. When you gave your feast you did as you liked. When I give mine, I do as I like, too."

So Anansi took off his coat.

But no sooner did Ba Anansi take it off, than he rose to the top of the water. He got no food to eat. His greed had caused this to happen to him.

Anansi Rides Tiger

One day Ba Anansi went to the house of the King and said to the King, he said, he rode Tiger.

The King said, "A little spider like you! It is another of your lies. I don't believe you. I will ask Tiger." But Anansi said, "King, you can believe me. You will see that it is true."

The King, however, sent a messenger to Tiger, asking him to come to him. Tiger was delighted that he was asked to go to the King's house. He wondered, "Now what kind of a message does the King have for me?"

But as he arrived at the King's house with such pleasant feelings, the King said to him, he said, "Tiger, does a strong animal like you allow little Anansi to ride him?" Tiger was angry. He said, "King, I will go at once and make Anansi come to you to tell you that he lied."

One of Anansi's children was playing in the village. He met Tiger on the road. Tiger said to him, he said, "You

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539 boy! Where is your father? I will show him if he can lie about me!"

Now Anansi had already told the boy what he had done. Anansi said to him, he said, "If you see Tata Tiger, then, when he asks for me, you must tell him I am sick. Tell him I have fever." So the boy said to Tiger, "Tata Tiger, my father is sick. He lies at home, shaking with fever."

But Tiger said, "That's no affair of mine. He must come to the King's house with me, even if I have to carry him!" So he went to Anansi's house, and said to his wife, "Sa Akuba, where is that boy Anansi?"

Sa Akuba answered, "Tata, he is sick. He has a bad fever."

But Tiger said, "Where is he? Let me see him." When Sa Akuba brought Tiger to Anansi's bed, Tiger said, "You boy Anansi! What was this you said at the King's house?"

Anansi said to him, he said, "Tata Tiger, I am sick. The King lied to you. I did not say anything."

"That makes no difference. You must come with me to the King's house."

"Tye, Tata Tiger! See how I am trembling! You can see that I cannot travel. Please wait until I am better!"

"No, no. I can't wait. You must come right now, this very day."

"All right, Tata. But I cannot walk. How am I going to get to the King's house?"

"Come sit on my back. I will carry you there."

Anansi waited for a moment. Then he said, "Tata, I have a small bag here and a blanket. May I take them with me to use when I get cold?"

"All right. Take them. But you must come right away."

So Anansi climbed up on Tiger's back, and Tiger went on his way toward the King's house. Anansi sat shivering there, and he shook so that Tiger called to him, "You boy, why do you do this? Sit still!"

"But Tata," said Anansi, "it is the fever. I have something here. Won't you let me put it in your mouth so that I can use it to hold on to?"

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Tiger said, "All right," and hurried on. But Anansi shook again, and Tiger said once more, "You boy Anansi! Why do you do this? Do you think that if you carry on this way I won't take you to the King's house to show him how you lied?"

But Anansi said, "Tye, Tata, it is the fever. Look, I have something here that is like a saddle. Won't you wait until I can put my feet inside it so I can sit a little better?"

"That doesn't concern me, so long as we get on. Do what you like, so long as you go with me to the house of the King."

So Anansi put the saddle on Tiger, and they went on. When they had gone farther, Anansi saw the King's house facing them in the distance. He began to shake again. He shivered and shivered, and Tiger said, "You boy! Why are you carrying on so? When you see the King's house you begin to tremble, is that it? I will teach you to lie!"

Anansi only said, "Tata, it is the fever. I am shivering. It is the fever, and, besides, a mosquito just bit me."

"Didn't I tell you that was no affair of mine? Whether you shiver or whether you don't shiver, go you must. Don't you see the King's house, there ahead?"

"But Tata, I have one last favor to ask of you. I have a small whip here. Won't you let me strike at the mosquitoes with it? Then maybe I won't shiver so much."

"All right, I don't care. I only want to bring you to the King's house to show how you lied about an important man like me."

So Anansi had the bit and the saddle on Tiger, and his whip was in his hand. And when he saw all the people in front of the King's house, he gave Tiger three lashes with the whip. As Tiger jumped in the air, Anansi cried "Kon! Kon!" as though he were driving a horse, and Tiger became so angry that he started to run faster.

But Anansi pulled at the bit and called, "King! King! Come look at Anansi riding Tiger!"

And so the King said to Anansi, "Well, since you have brought me this horse, you can stay inside my house as long

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539 as you live." This is the reason why to this very day, Anansi lives inside the King's house.

The King's Beard

It is said, "There is nothing in darkness that will not come to light. . . ."

There was a King who had a very long beard. But he did not want anyone to know that he had a beard. But someone saw him when he did not think anyone was there. This was Ba Anansi. He became angry and called people to kill that person. For he did not wish anyone to know that he had a beard.

So they dug a great hole for Anansi. When they brought Anansi to the hole, he put his mouth to it and whispered, "The King has a beard-o. . . ." But no one heard him.

Three years later a tree sprang up, right where there was the hole to which Anansi had put his mouth. And marked across the bark of the tree was:

"The King has a beard-o!"

Tiger Entertains the Monkeys

It was a time of famine. Tiger had nothing to eat. He studied what to do. He went and made a large kettle, and he made a lid for the kettle. Then he called all the baboons together and said he was going to give a cinema play. They must come and see. When the baboons came, he went inside the kettle. He pretended that he was putting in the film, and he said when he called out "Warm!" they must take him out. Now he had put fire under the kettle, and when he called out "Warm!" the baboons raised the lid, and let him out.

He said, let all the baboons go inside the kettle now to see the cinema. But one young baboon did not go inside. He hid in a tree top, and from there he watched what was happening. Now, once the baboons were inside the kettle, the Tiger stirred the fire underneath it. So the baboons were cooked, and all were killed. And so Tiger came by his food.

BA ANANSI

Now, another time there was again famine. Tiger called together all the monkeys, and said let them come and see the cinema play. But this time when the monkeys came, the young baboon who hid in the tree top the last time, said to the monkeys, he said, "When Tiger goes inside the kettle, you must not lift the lid when he cries out, 'Warm!' You must say, 'When a thing is warm, then a man's teeth must show.' " And so, when the Tiger went into the kettle, and called out, the monkeys did not raise the lid. And so Tiger died. 539

Gun Is Dead

Anansi borrowed a gun from Hunter, and sent word to all the animals that they must come to bury Gun. Gun, he said, was dead. All the animals rejoiced to hear that Gun had died, for Gun was an evil thing. It was he who had been killing off all the animals in the bush. So they were happy to hear that their enemy, Gun, was dead, and they came to the funeral.

Now Anansi made a trap, and he put Gun inside it, and said they would go and bury him. But Anansi made everyone pass in front of the coffin, and the Gun was pointed right at them. His own children carried the trap, and Anansi himself sat on top of Gun.

When Anansi saw all the animals lined up in single file facing Gun, he began to shoot. All the animals died.

And so Anansi got food. Ba Anansi is very cunning.

How Goat Came to Live at Home

Goat went to make a shelter. He cut one post and put it down, and went for another. But now when he brought the second, he found many posts alongside of the one he himself had put there. Back into the bush he went now for palm leaves, but when he returned, there was the shelter all made. Tiger had made it. And so Goat and Tiger met, and they talked it over, and they decided they would live together.

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539 Now they made one condition. Goat was to go in search of food one day, and Tiger the next day. The first day Tiger went. He made a kill, and brought it home, and they ate. When Goat went, he killed nothing. The following day Tiger went. He made a kill, and brought it home. The day after Goat went and killed nothing.

Now, one day, Tiger went and killed a deer, and brought him home. But Goat would not eat, because Deer is Goat's uncle, and if he had eaten the meat, then he would have been eating his own uncle. But Tiger was angry. He said, "Day after day you ate what I killed, but today you refuse to eat. Yet when you yourself go, you kill nothing, and bring nothing home."

And now when the little Tigers played with the little Goats, the little Tigers said, "My father will show you-all!"

Mother Goat said, "As Father Tiger talks, so the children of Father Tiger talk." And she told the little Goats to watch out for Tiger, because already Tiger had killed their uncle. But Father Goat said all little Negro children must play together.

Now Goat went to hunt, and he met Man. He said to Man, "Day after day I go hunting, but I never kill." Then Man gave him something, and he said to Goat, "When you see an animal coming toward you, point at it, and call out 'Take care!' and that instant the animal will fall down dead."

Just as Goat took the thing Man gave him, he saw Tiger's grandfather approaching. He pointed his finger, and called out, "Take care!" That moment grandfather Tiger was dead. Goat brought him home. But now, when he came, Tiger would not eat, because the dead animal was his grandfather.

The following day, Goat went again. This time he killed Tiger's brother, and brought him home. Tiger would not eat.

But now the little Goats said to the little Tigers, "Father will show you-all!"

And Mother Tiger said to Father Tiger he had better look out for Goat. Twice he had gone to the bush to hunt,

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and twice Goat had brought back with him members of their family. And so when Goat again went hunting, Tiger followed him softly, and as he spied on Goat, he saw his uncle Tiger coming. And he saw how Goat pointed at him and called out, "Take care!" and how that very instant his uncle Tiger fell down dead. 539

Father Tiger hurried home, and said to Mother Tiger and the little Tigers, "Let us escape at once. Goat has something which he points at whomever he meets. When he does it and calls out 'Take care!' they all die."

And Tiger and his whole family made off into the bush as fast as they could go. They left the house to Goat.

So it is ended. And so it is that when someone boasts of the strength of his clan, or his family, or his clan's magic, or his own spirits, then we say to him:

> "*There are men on the upper river,*
> *There are men on the lower river, too!*"

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782 "Tonight there will be dancing for you," And'u said, when we left the shrine. "I will go and pray again before the dance, and then I will go to my hammock early, for I leave at sunrise. We will meet again at the G'aman's."

The bassia's wife followed us to our house.

[562] "You are a woman, yet you went inside the shrine. Maybe you do have gods, white woman. When you go in again will you pray to the Earth Mother for the woman Kupa, who is my sister? Twice she bore girl children, and both sleep. Now she is with child again. She wears many obias [842] about her neck, and daily she washes with white clay. She is the woman with the wooden obia doll hanging between her breasts. No, not the one who has the small black sack about her neck. Any woman who is with child wears that. You will know her when you see her. She is beautiful."

7

535 The dance was held in the bassia's quarter, in front of one of his houses. The bassia was a man of wealth. He had three wives, while the chief had but two. Whether one of the three was only nominally his wife and had come to him at the death of a brother, we were unable to learn, but that his means were large was apparent. The house where his [342] personal possessions were stored was built high on posts. A house so raised stood out from those about it and bore the same name as the moon. Underneath it, in the shelter made by the posts, lay a partly made drum, some carved wooden implements, and carpenter's tools. There was also a forked stick in the ground upon which rested a black obia pot with water and weeds in it.

535 The children began the dancing.

533

Ayo, ayo
Ayo, ayei,
Agida comes,
[539] *Ayo, ayo,*
Earth spirits come,
Ayo, ayei.

535 men's Kromanti society. The elders had decided these dances were too violent to show to the white man who was with them for the night. Whatever of the esoteric the white man was to see was for the Granman himself to decide. To introduce the drums for the secular dances, and the half-sacred awasa, would be dangerous, for once the drums were there, and the spirit seized one of the players, he would begin to call the gods. When the gods came the dancing would take place until the spirits were satisfied.

"There will be no drums," said the bassia aloud. "There is no one to play them."

No drums!

Again the whispering began. The eagerness, the energy which had seemed to float in the darkness from one to another of the waiting figures began to be dissipated. The men and women still waited, but they were listless.

[533] [539] The little girl sang,

"*The kogbwa drum*
Sounds Toné."

And the chorus sang,

"*Give us Toné.*"

The bassia who was master of ceremonies noticed the loss of interest with displeasure. It had not been the intention of the elders, when they had made this decision, to have it interfere with the reception of the strangers. He had counted on having spirited secular dancing.

"Friend," he said to the young obia man, "get the dancing started."

He turned again and again to the young man who was being disciplined in the way of the gods, exhorting him to beat time faster, to sing louder. And to the women he shouted, "Shake, women, shake—*chaka!*"

The dancing grew lively.

The white man had learned the words of the refrain, and [123] was singing with them. Master Nigger! here was a white man who could sing their songs. The white woman had

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535 above the roof, like great horns, appeared to sway now to
533 one side, now to the other.

The hand clapping grew louder and faster, and faster still. The rhythm changed. Now the dancers were in pairs, feet interlocking and raised from the ground, while they danced each on one foot. It was one form of the *banya* dance. This was what was danced to the ancestors before the opening of sacred dances.

The bassia stirred uneasily and soon sought out the young obia man who was standing by. They whispered together for a few moments, and then the bassia spoke aloud.

"It is late, friends. Day will soon be coming. Let us end the dancing. Let us go to our houses."

He turned and whispered to his wife, who came forward with a smoking oil lamp in her hand. Like a knife she thrust herself straight between the pairs of interlocked figures, and began singing a slow moving song.

[539]

It is late,
Soon night will meet day,
Let us go to our hammocks,
Let us go to our homes,
Let the gods go to their homes.

In and out she went, separating the rows of figures, and her beautiful voice cast a spell over the dancers. With feet flexed, they stood poised to go on with their dance, yet did not move. The hand clapping stopped, and the singing. There was but the voice of the bassia's wife, who cut her way through the massed body of dancers, her sleeping child on her back, her oil lamp held before her, as she walked, arm outstretched. The dancers gave way before the flame in the small lamp, but still they stood there, their faces disturbed. It was as though food had been brought to whet their appetites and was quickly snatched away.

At last a dancer reached for a lamp which was held by an old woman, and then another woman reached for hers.

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A NIGHT AT S'EI

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" . . . *It is late,*
Soon night will meet day . . . "

they chanted, as others joined them. Dancing to the slow rhythm of the singers, lamps in hand, all took up the song, until the bassia's wife led the way down the path. In a few moments the flicker of the oil lamps radiated in many directions, and the quieted dancers followed by their families went home singing. [35A]

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Chapter XII

WOMEN AT WORK

I

A WOMAN stood in the council house, dipping her hand into a calabash and spraying the ground and walls. East and west, north and south she turned, with her fingers pointed downward toward the hard clay floor, then with palm upturned sending the water toward the thatch. 782

[539]

Evil spirits,
You must not come here,
You must dwell in the bush,
The bush is big.

O spirits,
Do not come here,
Remain in the bush,
The bush is big.

Startled by the white woman, who had taken her unawares, she allowed no apology. Her wet hand went quickly to her lips to show that not a word was to be uttered. In silence she withdrew, beckoning the white woman to follow her, and not until they were well away from the house did she break her silence.

"Come with me. Inside there no one must speak."

Some day, before we left, she might be able to tell what she had done and what weeds had gone into the water.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
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hissing sound so startled her that she faced quickly about. Now two other eyes met hers. They belonged to a figure on a low bench, seated with its back to the door, facing the darkness of the unbroken walls, but with head turned to watch the stranger. The figure was in white—tunic, cloths about the breasts and on the head, arms, throat, and body, all were white. But of a greater whiteness yet was the terrifying, macabre face in which the line of the mouth alone, and the living black of the eyes, showed. Beside this white figure stood a streaked glass tumbler, filled with a whitish liquid. This tumbler had been at the lips of the white form when the stranger turned to see where the hissing came from. Now that the glass was replaced, the whitened hands began kneading a piece of clay and rubbing face and throat and arms with the hands. While doing this, the body swayed and the voice chanted.

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"From the river I come,
And I say to you all,
Greetings.
All you Negroes,
Be greeted.

From the river I come,
I say to the white woman,
Greetings.
I say you came as a friend,
I say you came not for evil.

From the river I come,
I say to you all,
Be greeted."

Now the first woman moved closer to the stranger and put her arms about her, streaking her with clay.

"Ondyi, Ondyi-o!
I am Affi
I am Kantamasi-o!
Ondyi, ondyi,

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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Woman, I care for you,
I will be your god."

There was consternation among the women who stood outside listening. The Akantamasu god was one of the strongest on the river. He ranked only slightly under the great obia spirits, which the Sky God when creating the world had sent as wisdom for the living to combat the capricious lesser gods, and humans who were dominated by evil spirits. Differing from the obia spirits, however, who befriended the living, and brought healing to them, the Akantamasu god was an avenger, surpassed alone by the yorka, the ghosts, who avenged by killing instantly when they chose, while the Akantamasu god killed more slowly.

But there was concern for the possessed woman, as well. She had spoken the name Affi, her day name, the name which summoned her soul. When not in a state of possession, she would never have spoken it before a stranger, except in a whisper to an obia man who came to cure her, or to a diviner to whom she came to ask why her soul was troubled. [551]

Presently the white figure rose, breaking the tension, and, chanting, went from the hut into the clearing. Affi and the white woman followed. In the light of the clearing, a faint resemblance could be seen in the grace of the body of the figure in white to the pleasant Amasina. Of the brown of her skin, only the ankles and feet showed.

Both of the possessed women began pacing back and forth in the clearing, in time to the rhythm of their songs, but while Amasina danced with an easy stride, Affi shook and quivered and moaned.

"When the gods come, we do not speak. We sing. The speech of the gods is song. So it is," one woman whispered. [553]

Another said, indicating Affi, "Her god troubles her. She gave you a strong god. Are you afraid?"

"When the god comes to you, you will speak tongues. Now you have two gods. When Kesekia comes to you, you will sing Kesekia songs, you will dance to him."

787 When a male snake god came, then it was easy to know, the women said. If the possessed one rolled face downward it was a male god, and he was courting the spirits of the earth, but if face upward then it was a female snake. "*Na muye opo-i-mbe gi 'a tapu*—The woman opens her womb for the sky," they said, using the precise image for one who was being wooed by the spirits who lived above.

3

123 When the white woman was about to enter the council house, Granman Yankuso called to her. He was standing in front of his house, surrounded by women, who were talking to him in low, excited voices.

"*Bak'a muye*—White woman," he said, looking at her searchingly, and saying nothing. "White woman," he repeated, after a short silence, "white mother, good morning. Are you awake?"

His voice sounded a little troubled, but not unfriendly. It helped the white woman to regain her self-possession.

"They sing well down below, Granman," she said, and went into the council house.

4

787 Whatever Granman Yankuso thought of the white woman's having witnessed the possession of the women of [123] his village, he did not refuse permission to her and her husband to return to the hut.

Amasina and Affi were still in the clearing, dancing to their own songs. Women came up with their children, bringing more and more calabashes of rice. Amasina took up each child in her arms, and caressed it gently, streaking it with the white clay as she did so, and singing the while,

[539]

"I come from the river.
You shall be cooled,
You shall be well."

Affi's moaning had become more and more faint, and her pacing, by this time, was listless. Her god would not take

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Saramacca

her into his power strongly enough to give her the release she craved. 787

Amasina sang,

"I come from the river.
I tell all you people,
This man, this woman
Are friends.
They come not for evil.

Go to the G'aman,
Say to him.
These people are friends,
They bring us no evil."

[53]

Then her god, speaking through her, sang an explanation to the white people. From the river he came, bringing healing to all those who were fevered, caring for all those who were sick. Those who could, came to him, but those who could not come, he would visit and bring them healing. Now he must make the round of the village, go to the houses, and see those who were ill.

Singing, Amasina beckoned us to follow her, and as she led the way she danced in undulating steps from one end of the village to another, visiting the sick, singing the cure her god was bringing them in the words he was speaking through her.

The white people could stay with her no longer. Word came that the boat which was to take them across the river to the village of the Granman's father was ready, and they must go. The women suggested, however, that if the whites cared to make a gift to the god who had spoken so well of them, it would be acceptable, and they hurried to their stores to get a gift. [123]

As they passed the council house and turned toward the small hut behind it where their supplies were kept, they heard a new sound. It was a choking sound, torn from an unwilling throat. Seated quite alone on a low stool in front

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"Wife of the G'aman,
I come from the river.
Go to the G'aman
Say to him,
These strangers are friends,
They bring no evil."

It was the god speaking, and the Granman's wife received with lowered head the words spoken through the priestess.

"Ai, my master. Ai, Massa Gadu," she said.

5

The Granman's paternal village was directly across the river from Asindopo Lantiwe. It was called Akisiamau, literally "Took with an outstretched hand," but whether there was also some meaning in the phrase not intended for the uninitiated, we could not learn. In size it was not much larger than the Granman's village, and again and again we recognized houses which were his by the crest-like carvings on the doorposts, that reproduced the design found not only at the side of the council-house door, but at the door of all other houses at Asindopo Lantiwe which were his.

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Except for several old people who sat about in the shade and waited for the strangers to come to them with their greetings, the entire village followed us as we made our way down one path and another.

123

"*Bak'a, Ami'ika Bak'a, Ami'ika Fandya!*—White man. American white man, American Fandya!" the children called after us, as they ran at our heels, touching our canteens, our sun helmets, and shoes.

The Granman had spoken with especial fondness of his father's house, and it was there that we asked first to be taken. It was not occupied, we were told, and none might enter it. Above the top crosspiece white cotton was draped. Except that its door was closed, it showed no signs of being

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1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
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798 peered into the inner darkness, the whites of their eyes
533 moving with the movements of the strangers.

796 Gently the drummer laid the great cylinder of wood flat on the ground, and from the thatch took down a hard-wood stick, dark and smooth with use. The drum filled more than half of the wall near which it lay. Stooping, the drummer began to call the Vodu gods. It was the rhythm we had heard from across the river early in the morning. The drumming had sounded low and distant then, but in this small enclosure the volume of sound was deafening. It seemed to be pushing against the yielding woven walls, pushing outwards and up.

The rhythm was disturbingly irregular. There was, in the sense of the steady rhythms of the dances, no rhythm at all, and this uncertainty of beat added to the volume of sound racked the listeners. When we thought we heard a repetition of an interval, a sudden change in tempo brought us up with a start. On and on the man struck the drumhead, sounding the heavy beats with the stick, while with his free hand he kept up a running fire of obbligato to the message for the god.

The heads in the doorway began to move nervously this way and that as the message to the god continued, when suddenly they disappeared behind someone who was coming at a run. A moment later Dida was in the hut.

787 She was again possessed. Her body shook with the intensity with which she experienced her god, and her eyes glowed with a steady fire. Back and forth she paced, and when the drum had sounded, she addressed herself to it, listening for its voice and answering, listening again and answering in tones which grew more and more harsh. Then she turned to us, and began to chant

[539]

"I am the god Kesekia
From back of the prison,
From the French shore,
I come.
I am the god Kesekia."

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Once more she resumed her frenzied pacing, and from time to time as the drum spoke she whirled about and replied. Now and again she would repeat the phrases which the bassia said was the French snake god speaking—"Ti donc!" "Kesifo, kesifo!" "Ti donc!" 787

"Speak to the god," said the bassia. "Speak to him in the French tongue. He will answer you."

In spite of the bassia's urging, we stood silent, for it was crowded in the little hut, and Dida's god was not as genial a one as was Amasina's. Her body shook and quivered, her pupils were dilated, her voice became harsher as she turned to us with her hissing cries.

"Ti donc!

"Kesifo!

"Ti donc!"

For a moment, the god had done speaking on the drum. Gently the stick tapped against the wood, and the drummer's left hand was quiet. Then once more the roaring note began, and as the heads disappeared from the doorway, a second form shot inside.

A young woman entered. She had no white on her body, as had Dida, nor was there any kerchief on her head or about her breasts. When the drum sounded she had been in her house seeing to her small infant, but hearing the agida speak the words of the Vodu god, she could not hold back longer, for her god came into her and sent her to the shrine.

Now there were two who paced inside the enclosure, calling their answers to the drumbeats, until once more the steady tapping of the stick on the wood took the place of the strokes on the drumhead, and the second woman sang: 787 539

"*Maumbe-wa,*
Maumbe-o,
Father Manga
Father Maumbe.
God Maumbe-wo
God Malimbe, Dagowe.
Tutu calls, ye-o

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Tutu calls, yo-o.
God is there in the river alone,
God Tutu calls,
Yo-o, yo."

So the young woman sang as she paced, her body twitching and quivering, while Dida repeated her exclamations. The man again took up his invocation to the gods, then resumed the soft tapping against the wood.

He said to us as he tapped, "My own god is Agida Wenowa. She is a Vodu god, and when I dance I put a parrot feather in my hair. When I play the agida, then all Vodu gods come. The agida is the drum for the Vodu gods."

As he spoke to the slow beating, yet two more figures came crowding in. We had been so intent on the two possessed women and on what the drummer was telling that, not until these new arrivals were at our side, did we notice them. One of them was Affi, the other Amasina. They were as we had left them, Amasina still in her white tunic and kerchiefs, her face and upper body yet more thickly coated with white so that only the eyes were alive, Affi still a grayish color, still anguished.

"We heard the voice of the god. We came."

But there was no longer room in the small shrine for the women to dance. The beating of the stick became fainter and fainter; the drummer no longer touched the skin which topped the drum. Fainter and fainter still came the beat, until the young woman who stood there without white on her body shook herself, as though she were coming awake. For a moment, all was quiet.

"He is gone."

"The god is gone."

"He has released her."

The drummer put back his stick. Slowly he lifted the drum; gently he stood the agida upright in its corner.

7

In the Granman's council house, voices of people standing outside reached us. From one to another the news was told.

REBEL DESTINY

"You have come to go, come to go far, come to go far to bring the wood to the water. But it is long, it is far, to the river. Thank you, friends."

Then the song was taken up by the workers and, with each rhythmic measure, the great piece of lumber went farther through the jungle on its way to the river. When he had chanted for us the greeting to the men, Bayo began to sing a song relating to men's casual exploits with women and, as he finished the song, he laughed. "White man, if you came with us, you would hear what songs the men make up about women!"

3

The phonograph had delighted Bayo from the first. When Apanto had summoned the spirit of his obia to fight the machine, Bayo had watched. When the white man's glue had repaired the broken belt, and the hot sun had made the machine "walk" once more, Bayo had approved.

"The machine is not weak," he had said. "I will sing for it."

And sing for it he did.

But the curse of Apanto still troubled the machine, for up the river and down there had been difficulty with it. Often when there was a particularly good song to be recorded, the belt would give, the machine would fail the white man. The story of the prowess of Apanto had gone up the river with the Gankwe paddlers, and when the machine stopped, heads nodded, and we would catch the word "obia" among the murmurs of the bystanders.

Bayo thought, it seemed, that the machine's proud spirit was by this time properly chastened and, since twice the machine had refused to work while he was singing into it, twice had made him stop the song and its drum accompaniment, he decided to take matters into his own hands.

"White man," said Bayo, shortly after our return from up the river, "I will help the spirit of the machine. I will

Chapter XVII

SARAMACCA OBIA

I

NO WORD of African origin which has survived in the New World has taken on such grim meaning as has the word *obia* in many of the islands of the Caribbean. No Negro there will speak of it, and its practices and properties are secret. When obia strikes in the islands, it is usually a matter for the government, and the forms its vengeance knows too often take a grisly turn. [189] [191]

In the life of the Bush Negro, however, obia is everywhere, and its name the commonest of bywords, for among the Suriname Negroes obia is not black magic, or witchcraft, or sorcery. Black magic [in the Suriname bush is wisi, and wisi is never confounded in the Bush Negro's mind with obia. [154]

"Obia is good. Obia heals," they say in Suriname.

"Obia warns, obia protects."

"Obia protects a man against the force of a bullet, the thrust of an iron weapon, the dangers of fire."

"You want to know what obia is, Massa?" our cook asked one day. "We have this *komfo singi*—this priest's song: [533] [539]

> *"I am no master,*
> *And I am no slave,*
> *Yet when the masters come,*
> *They carry water for me."*

789 before the new moon comes, and when you do this, you
778 must say,
439

"*Obia-o,*
Your spirit must stay,
[539] *Your power must not leave this.*
Do not go elsewhere,
Do not become defiled."

789 There was the obia on which Bayo had lavished all the
778 magic he could command so that his friends might be safe in the bush. From the sacred grass known as *s'a*—the same grass from which the woven ceremonial dancing skirts are made here on the river—he made several long lengths of twine. These he wove into a square which later became the pendant of this neck obia. On this, as a base, he sewed two cowries facing each other, and in the middle of the fringed border of this pendant he fastened a bit of a macaw's feather, blue and orange in color.

The twisted cord about the neck had several knots in it where the cord met the pendant. Tying is the symbol of attaching, of binding, so that if an invocation was uttered in the making of these knots, and the twine was then drawn taut, the power was certain to be lodged inside the knots. Then, too, knots form links, and links, whether they be in a metal chain or in fiber or wood, symbolize union, and any object or ornament with links is, therefore, much valued in bush and in town. A linked chain is a favorite
[715] gift to please the akra, the soul, among the coastal Negroes. A woman who wishes to attach her man to her will rise at
[832] night noiselessly and will knot a hair from the man's head three times, speaking her invocation. In the bush few obias are found which do not have several knots in them.

In his exuberance Bayo placed so many prohibitions on this finely woven obia, that we asked him if he could not nullify some of them.

784 "For very strong obias, we have many tchina. It is best
789 so, because no one who wants to harm you will guess all of them and so succeed in robbing the obia of its power.

796 his rattle danced his dance, the moon sank behind the screen
787 of branches.

It was late. Slowly the last dancer came out of his orgy of possession. One by one the drums stopped until, for a moment, all was quiet. Then, taking the apinti drum up the path beyond our clearing, one of the drummers drummed an invocation to the spirits that had come.

We trained our flashlights on the path which led to the river, lighting the way of the dancers to their waiting boats, while they sang for us the seketi song we had heard the night of Zimbi's funeral.

[533]
[534]

Thank you, thank you, white man,
For coming to the Saramacca River,
For bringing us your diamond fire,
To light the darkness of our path.

5

764 At the village opposite our base camp, a girl had died
796 shortly before our return from up river. The eighth night after the death was to be commemorated with the usual dancing of "eighth-day night," and with the ceremony of throwing away food for the spirit of the dead.

"Come tonight and we will dance for you," the men of the village said. It was agreed that they should come for us when they were through with the ceremony for throwing away the food, for the bereaved family would not look kindly upon the intrusion of the whites at the ceremony.

As we waited for the messenger, Bayo prowled about uneasily. He had been nervous for the past few days. His spirits had been troubling him, and he said he needed to dance. It was some time since he had danced, and his spirits were vexed with him for this neglect.

"If they dance Kromanti, I will dance, too," he said.

We talked with him of the rum we would have to take. The strength in which it was distilled made it necessary to cut it with water. Bayo watched us as we took out one bottle, prepared the rum, and then took up another. His hand interposed.

"OBIA COMES!"

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Opete kwasi Adjaini-o
Opete kwasi Adjaini-obia-o
Opete kwasi
Tide Adjaini-a weti kwao, kwao, kwao, kwao.

The chorus repeated,

Opete kwaso, Adjaini-o-yi
Opete kwaso, Adjaini-o-yo
Opete kwaso, Adjaini-o-kumani!

They were becoming more and more agitated. The rattles sounded a faster tempo, the drums beat louder, and the music swung into another song.

Amanu Djadja-o
O-o-o-o-o-o
Amanu Djadja-o
O ye-e-e
Kuma, luku, mowa,
O-e Mama-e
O-o-o-o-o - o - o . . .

This was a song of greeting for the Djadja spirit. Bayo still urged the rhythms out of the improvised apinti which he was playing. The drummers were calling all the Kromanti spirits, the buzzard called Opete, the jaguar, Tigri, and Djadja, the "devil." Would they come? 764 533

The question was answered soon enough. Out of the forest into the clearing ran one whose obia had come to him. It was Opete obia and, in his strength of possession, he had torn off two branches from a palm tree in the bush. These he held under his arms, so that, as he pranced about in his dance, he impersonated the awkwardness of the great carrion bird which gave its name to his obia. The tufts of palm leaves projecting from behind his flexed arms were wings. He leaped as in flight, then with startling rapidity he began turning round and round to the flapping of his wings. 787

Apanto suddenly seized a stick we held and, whirling it about our heads, was off to his dance, joining the six or 787 796

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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796 centre clearing, no longer caring, no longer entirely con-
535 scious, their bodies driven by the rhythm of the drums.
158 No man has yet danced. Now a young buck of nineteen jumps into the centre and begins the *awasa* dance. His movements simulate the flying of a hawk, arms out like wings, pirouetting gracefully. His bare feet stamp the earth, hard enough, it seems, to break his bones. Another man joins him, waving his arms at full length, like an eagle in flight. They chant in talkee-talkee an *awasa* song:

"Fooru mo luku bon nanga ahga."

●[339] It means: The fowl must be careful of the hawk; in other words, the girls must be careful of the men. They circle from the waist like birds soaring into the blue.

796 Now a man begins dancing toward a woman. She re-
832 treats. No dancer has yet touched another, or even noticed another. But this one is making definite love advances to the woman. He mimics coitus. Coyly she evades his approaches, and will have none of his movements. They are not serious. When she definitely refuses his copulatory advances, the drums stop. He takes a drum from one of the men, puts it under his arm, and follows her, dancing around the clearing, beating out a message of love. They weave a pattern of movement, in and out, in this dance of courtship to the lone muttering tambour.

[202] There is a halt. The drummers rap out a message to other canoes coming up the river, telling them to hurry. Soon more strangers arrive for the final round.

/23 cont./

551 The boys born on Sunday Kwassie; the girls Kwassiba.
" " " " Monday Kodjo; " " Adjuba.
" " " " Tuesday Kwamina; " " Abenie.
" " " " Wednesday Kwakoe; " " Akoeba.
" " " " Thursday Jauw; " " Jaba.
" " " " Friday Kofi; " " Afie.
" " " " Saturday Kwami; " " Amba.

538 Their odo or proverbs as a rule have reference to their simple bush life, for instance:

539 "Te pikien boessi kiebrie joe boen, dan joe no moesoe falla biegie boessi te joe toeka naka hen"; that is,

"If you are protected by a small bush, be content with it and do not demand the bigger one that you may happen to see."

Another meaning is:

"If the little suffices, then do not strive for the greater."

"Na srefie avie die de falla pikien bon, de falla bigie wantoe"; that is,

"The ax that cuts down little trees also cuts down big trees."

Another meaning is:

"God, who does not forsake the worm, will not forsake a man either," or:

/24/ "Nobody is so unhappy but that days of good luck come for him"; also:

"Regard your enemy not too lightly."

Chapter XV

General Knowledge

824 This is on a very low level among them and is confined mainly to a thorough knowledge of varieties of wood and medicinal herbs in use among them.

6: Hurault

SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

● 539

[For translated texts of folktales, plus several riddles and proverbs, see category 116, pp. 423-457.]

/147 cont./

848 If the girl is pregnant, the man may not abandon her: that would make a great to-do between the two kin groups: he must stay with her at least until the birth of the child.

883 836 178 [582] Nowadays among the Boni things tend to happen completely otherwise than custom makes provision for. The general opinion is that girls can no longer be held down, that they escape more and more from the authority of their mothers; many of them begin to run wild at about 14 or 15, and people are obliged to marry them off precipitately at 15 or 16. It is difficult to say what the proportion of these hasty marriages is, but the recriminations heard on all sides on the subject of the shamelessness of girls give the idea that it is increasing. In the [582] villages on the French bank, out of nine girls married in 1958 [848] there were only four marriages concluded according to regulations; the five others had been arranged hastily either because the girl was pregnant (two cases) or because she had laid herself open to scandal. /148/

582 Nearly all girls married between 1952 and 1956 were 15 to 17 years old.

584 This is about how things happen:

A man who is attracted by a girl tries to exchange a few [539] words with her unknown to her mother. There are special forms for these declarations. One speaks in a low voice, very fast, using special formulas. This is how one of our boatmen, one evening in October, 1952, addressed young Lomé, age 15, of Boniville village, who had gotten away from her mother on the pretext of going to get water for us.

584 539 "Woman, I love thee, I wish to live with thee, I wish to marry thee. That which God put in me I cannot take away (1).

1. Which means: I cannot change, you must take me as I am.

/148 cont./

584 539 I do not know whether thou lovest me, whether thou wilt answer yes or no; perhaps I am not so handsome as thou, but I cannot help loving thee. If thou lovest me, tell me clearly. I have come, I have attached my boat to a rock, I have wet my feet before reaching land (2)."

> 2. High-flown words to which no precise meaning can be attached; it is a kind of verbal music whose formulas vary infinitely.

"Come back tomorrow, come back, I cannot answer thee today, I cannot."

"I know for today, but not for tomorrow (3); yield to me,

> 3. One must understand: It is necessary to decide today.

be mine, I shall give thee the garment (4)."

> 4. The man lays down one of his garments at the home of the woman who has agreed to marry him.

584 Our departure on our tour the next day put an end to his attempts for the time being!

836 584 It often happens that the girl allows herself to be seduced; her mother soon learns of it from the village people. She flies into a passion, beats her daughter to obtain a confession without [558] which she can obtain nothing from the supposed seducer. It is an extreme shame for a mother not to receive the price of her

/211 cont./

153 special drum is used, about two meters long and very narrow,
791 devoid of any decoration, which is called lãnga dɔ̃ or papa
787 dɔ̃.
534

To call on her gita, the possessed woman (they are almost
787 always women) stands, puts on a piece of cloth which she always
[562] keeps nearby and always takes along with her when she travels:
this is the garment of the god; it consists of a sort of scarf
crossed in front; then she throws white clay, pemba, on her feet
from right to left and left to right while invoking the god.
Possession is almost immediate. One sees the woman's eyes
roll up and her expression become haggard. The god does not
cover himself entirely with pemba like the Kumẽnti, he makes
himself a sort of headband on the forehead with white clay.
787 He begins with an invocation to Masa Gadu said in ordinary
788 language.
639

"Masa gadu, gi mi pimisi, beka mi na pikin nẽnge; ala
[782] sani di mi ɔ taki, na yu mu gi mi kaakiti, beka na yu abi mi
kaakiti, da mi nyãfalu gi yu."

"Masa Gadu, I implore you, for I am a humble creature;
(in) all that I am going to say, it is you who will give me
strength, for my strength is in you; I shall exalt you."

787 Next come formulas of welcome to those present, which
788 are the exact translation of the formulas of greeting of everyday
[198] life, then songs, all in the Papa language. After about a quarter
of an hour, it enters a hut and sits down, answering in ordinary
language the questions of those present, always in a singing
tone.

787 Possession by Papa gadu does not have the bestial character
of possession by Kumẽnti; outside of the dances, it does not
involve brutish gestures or bizarre acts; the possessed woman
hums softly in a shrill voice, moving with graceful gestures.
[531] /212/ Sometimes she draws strange signs on the huts; the Boni
state that that is a kind of writing, that other possessed people

/258 cont./

776 One of the best known of these gods is that of the Maruini.
823 It is assumed to control all the tributaries of the Maruini as far
778 as their sources. Its place of worship is a thicket situated downstream from the dangerous Kubi Sula Falls, at the mouth
782 of the river. Before starting to go upriver in August, 1956,
[539] the crews of our three boats, in an atmosphere of great meditation, lined up behind the eldest of them, who made the offering of water and tafia, uttering these words: "God who commands this river, watch over us, keep us from being sick, let no accident happen to us; if there is on this river an interdiction which we do not know (2) and which, through

2. It is obvious here that this is a case of de facto worship of a divinity about which nothing is known.

ignorance, we do not observe, pardon us. Bring us back to our villages safe and sound." The boatmen came one after the other to make the offering of tafia. The scene lasted more than a quarter of an hour. This ceremony was not without nobility, engendering belief in that sincere fervor of animists so often mentioned in the /259/ ethnographic literature.
771 But our return at the end of our work trip took place in a completely different atmosphere, showing the strictly practical and utilitarian side of the religion of the Refugee Blacks. Once past the Kubi Sula, the three boss boatmen could not persuade any of their men, who were in the act of eating their meal, to accompany them as far as the place of worship to thank the god. Some told us straight out that they were scoffing at this god from now on, having no intention of
[782] coming back on the Maruini. As for the boss boatmen themselves, they measured stingily the quantity of tafia offered

/264 cont./

796 At seven o'clock, about ten men assemble at the fraga
769 tiki. They pour water first, then tafia, while uttering the
539 prayer whose whole text follows, taken from a tape recording:
[126]

Fintiman (pouring the water):

"Ancestors, hail! We have come to you; it is for the new year that we have come to you! as you yourselves used to do when you were (alive). May God protect us until the new year comes back again; thus it is that you yourselves used to pour the water on behalf of the ancestors. We have come to our place of prayer to speak with you, to ask you to carry our words to God."

(The same formulas are repeated several times.)

Lébiman:

"This is the New Year's Day water. It is God's day. He has arrived. Grand man Awensay (1), (because) I have

1. Predecessor of Grand Man Difu, who died in 1936. In each village the last dead head is invoked by name in order to ask him to call the more ancient dead.

not known the more distant ancestors, it is you alone that I call; call all the others."

"It has arrived, God's day. As for the grand man himself, a slight hindrance has come to him, he could not come, but it is not that he is no longer interested in the village."

"Watch over all the people who are there... we have come to pour water on your behalf, so that you will watch over the chickens and dogs of the village (and up to the living men) (2). Protect the grand man; if misfortune was about to

2. Usual prayer formula.

/264 cont. /

796 happen to him, may it pass to one side. Thus we have come
769 to pour (the water) to beg you to protect the village. The year
has changed today, it is a new year. May we have money and
• 539 food, we beg of you, ancestors; watch over our plantings, may
they prosper, may the young women who fish at the wharf
catch fish."

"All the captains pour (the water), the fiskal, the majors pour (?) for all the lineages; protect the villages."

[184]
[622]

3. Honorific titles imitated from the Djuka but which, among the Boni, do not really mean anything; the head of Kormotibo village bears the title fiskal and the one of Kotika village the title major.

Fintiman:

"The people who have pure hearts, protect them, big and small. But the people whose hearts are not good, who do evil spells to kill others and decrease the village, we do not pray for them; turn them out."

"Watch over the grand man; if something happens to him, it must not be said that we, the people who are seated there, have not prayed well. Great ancestors, we supplicate you, if we were on the point of meeting misfortune, that we may find the good."

(They begin to pour the tafia.

Grand Man Awensay ....." (Thanks follow for a trip which was carried out without hindrance.)

Lébiman:

"May the grand man live long with us, may misfortune not happen to him."

/285 cont./

796 "Great ancestors who are in God's country, it is you who
769 have the strength of the village."
539 (The tafia gushes forth.)

"Drink, drink, but do not get drunk to the point of being deluded, look with favor upon the righteous, scatter the wicked."

796 Next, Finiman goes off to make an offering of tafia
782 accompanied by a few words at the chapel of Odun. Then he goes to the edge of the mortuary shed to pour water, tafia, and coffee on behalf of Samalobi, the grand man's brother, for whom mourning has not been lifted.

He goes next to the house of the deceased grand man Awemay to make an offering of coffee (Awemay, like the other grand men, used to drink coffee).

796 The prayer of the preceding year (January 1, 1957),
782 presided over by grandfather Samalobi, had had a higher
829 inspiration. After praying in about the same terms as above for the Boni, they prayed for the Dyuka, explaining that in days gone by Boni and Dyuka had fought, but that all that was forgotten. They prayed next for the Saramaka, then for the Indians, finally for the Europeans. I asked why; they answered: "It is because the Europeans were the ones who brought us to this country which has become ours." /p. 286 is blank/

/287/

CHAPTER VIII

538 ## TALES -- PROVERBS
765

Tales (Anãsi tóli) and Proverbs (>dó) retain an important social function among the Refugee Blacks. It is always by tales that the great customary ceremonies of the lifting of mourning begin. Their function is to concentrate the attention of the

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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poses of necessary trade. What produces this antagonism is simply racial and cultural difference. Few of the Bush Negroes realize that the Indians are aborigines while they themselves are not. They have no memory of their African origin. Their historical knowledge, as far as we could determine, dates back no further than the rebellion. There is no native word in their vocabulary for "Africa," except where the missionaries teach.

Nor do the Djukas mingle with the Town Negroes. Remembering with pride their escape from the planter's lash, they regard contemptuously these Town Negroes descended from slaves who never had sufficient courage to revolt. It was not until the emancipation edict of the Dutch government that the Town Negroes gained their freedom from the old sugar plantations. As we have noted before, the Djuka refers to the Town Negro as *bakkra schlaff*, or "white man's slave." Only occasionally will a Town Negro be permitted to live in a Bush Negro village. We know of one instance, an old gold prospector named King, who lives at Gansee. After forty years of panning for gold on the river creeks of Surinam, he is content to retire to the peaceful life of a Djuka village. There are also isolated instances of British Negro balata bleeders from Demerara, the capital of the adjacent colony, who now live in Bush Negro towns. If a Djuka woman has intercourse with any of these strangers or, indeed, with anyone outside her own tribe, she is looked upon as a prostitute.

The Town Negroes, on the other hand, speak disparag-

/158 cont./

848 If children are born of these irregular liaisons, the mother
[784] takes care to know with certainty who the father is, for if there
[753] were any doubt, the child, respecting a kina which would not
be his own, would contract leprosy. On this subject the Boni
842 have a remarkable belief: they think that it is the first man
with whom a woman has had relations after the end of a menstrual
period who is likely to make her pregnant.

836 These adventures always involve gifts in kind (cloth,
431 jewels); so the men who have the most success with women
are always short of money.

581 A woman who has lived thus in notorious fashion has a
little more difficulty than another in finding another husband,
but if she is young and winsome she succeeds.

• 548 Prostitution as such is very rare in Boni country, and the
women who give themselves over to it openly (three or four for
all the villages on the French bank) have generally left the
[836] tribe to settle in the gold miners' villages. Dissoluteness is
not considered dishonorable by the Refugee Blacks when it is
carried on within the tribe and when it has no other purpose but
pleasure; but prostitution is judged shameful.

834 Except for these few prostitutes, we have never heard it
648 said that a Boni woman had relations with a European; on this
point tribal discipline is observed with extreme rigor.

581 Conclusion. The average duration of marriages, which was
[178] from 15 to 20 years for the preceding generation, tends to be-
come shorter and can be estimated nowadays at about ten years.
[191] In spite of this evolution, the stability of marriages among the
Refugee Blacks remains noticeably greater than that observed
548 among the black populations of South America. Among them
is not seen the form of prostitution so widespread in South
America, the supported mistress who does not work and who
lives entirely at the expense of her successive lovers.

689 scratched like a "tigri"—a tiger, for this is how the Bush
103 Negroes name the jaguar. Later, when we saw him dance
115 the Tigri Kromanti dance, we witnessed one of the most realistic feline interpretations imaginable. But that is another matter.

Now Apanto was an obia man to be reckoned with, and his fellow villagers and the villagers of neighboring settlements treated him with a deference that his age alone could never have commanded. And it was this Apanto who now came up and said that he would sing the sacred Kromanti songs for our phonograph.

"You will not understand the songs. They will be in the Kromanti language," he warned us. "They are strong, and the machine must be strong to carry them."

It happens that a field phonograph is anything but strong. The mechanism is simple, since the instrument must be light enough to be carried about, and yet it often is subjected to all manner of hard usage. To this is added the
[126] hazard of the climate. The turntable is actuated by a belt running from the mechanism inside the case, and the ends of this belt are glued together. This, to be sure, we discovered later. At the moment, we met Apanto's challenge with assurance. We did not doubt that the machine was spiritually strong.

126 What he said about the Kromanti language was true.
533 The Kromanti tongo, of which we had been told during our
[197] first visit here, we were finding to be an actuality, and
539 although we took down the words as he sang them, aided in hearing them by the repetitions, their meaning was unknown to us. Some of them we learned later. Some of them we knew. "Obia" we knew concerned the spirit,
[196] the vague force known by that name, while "Amba" was
[551] a deity sacred to Saturday, and was given as a "day name" to women born on that day of the week. This, then, is what he sang:

"Ma djrai'ye-ye
Obia kair ma djrai ne-ke
Obia ne-ye

603 were told that kambo was an abbreviated form of kamboa, and meant the woman who makes trouble.

"He is my grandson, he calls me wife, and I call him [500] husband. We joke together about everything."

Up and down the river we heard these expressions from the old men and women with whom we talked, and to them these were all-sufficient explanations of the relationship of grandparent and grandchild. This making free was a verbal give-and-take that did not stop at brusqueness or teasing. Indeed, those who indulged in this freedom might discuss with each other any phase of the sexual life. Nor did they need to resort to any evasion or circumlocution. There seemed, moreover, to be a sanction for emphasis on the obscene and the lascivious in these conversations—obscene and lascivious, that is, from the point of view of those who were themselves speaking!

603 180 The effect of the custom is interesting. It acts as a form of release for the young, who are held down under the strain of paying respect to those who are older and of greater experience. It is a way of escape from the discipline imposed by the parents and those of their generation.

What did the Bush Negro make of it?

We talked about it with men and women of many villages, and invariably the answer was the same.

"So we live in the bush, white man, and so we do. Our ancestors did this before us. Long ago our great ancestors brought all this knowledge with them from *Neng'e Kond'e* —from the land of the Negroes."

Yet in the beliefs of these people, and in their life as they live it, there are to be found a few suggestive hints which seem to have some bearing on this custom of verbal license between grandparents and grandchildren.

603 [551] The Bush Negro child is given many names at birth, and one name is usually that of a departed ancestor, a deceased grandparent. It may be, then, that this puts the child on a plane of spiritual equality with his grandparents and with those of their generation who are related to him. There is, also, the feeling about the propriety of the mar-

Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1929-1930) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Saramacca

845 The women had spoken with greater and greater re-
966 luctance about troubled births and now moved uneasily.

"You must not ask this," said Dida, rising. "Never talk about such things to young women."

Not until later, when Fenekonde and Tenami were left alone with the white woman did they talk about birth customs again.

When a child died at birth, a hole was dug somewhere in the family quarter, or just outside it, and the child was buried there. There was no wake, no mourning. All those who had been living in the house where it died found other quarters, and for a month the house was washed with obia water. But if this had occurred before to the same mother, they would break the house where the child was born and would cast the pieces into the unhallowed bush. Some people on the river even broke it down at the first occurrence. There were never any wakes for very small children.

"Children die because they are bad spirits come in the
961 form of a child. When they do not stay, we know it is a bad
845 spirit. When the house is broken, they do not know their
966 way to come again."

"What if a woman died?"

845 This was whispered so softly that only Fenekonde heard
966 it, but she did not conceal her distaste for the question.

"When a woman dies she is put in a flat coffin. Some villages give her no coffin at all. Weeds are put into her eyes. All the girls in the village wash their eyes with obia weeds and water. They must never see this again. There is no wake. There is no dancing. No guns are shot. They break the house, and throw it after the coffin, as the men carry it away. She must not come back again."

But the white woman must not imagine that all deliveries were difficult. Often a woman bore a child, and, when the after-birth came, she herself rose and bathed and washed in pemba.

● 551 A child was given many names. Even in early childhood four or five names were not too many. There was the day

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name which was kept secret and never spoken except in states of possession or when the obia man called on a person's spirit. For girls, Amba for a Saturday child, Affi for one born on Friday, Adjuba for Wednesday; and for the boys some of the names were Kwaku, for Monday, Yao for Thursday, Koß for Friday, and Kwasi for Sunday. Then there was the name which the father gave, and after that any of the family who cared added a name and made the child a present. 551

From the day it was born until it was at least two years old a child fed at its mother's breast. For twelve moons and five more of this time the woman could not go to the hammock with a man. It was then that her husband went to the distant French shore to work or to the railhead. But after seventeen months of nursing were past, he came back. 853 847 844

"If a child is made before a woman gets back her menstrual flow, then it is a god. It is Kesefu. A child born feet first some call Agosu, and some Asaeng. The child born after twins we call Dosu, and twins are Hohobi. Now it is in your book. You will give those names to your children, and your sister's children. No one will know at all what names these are. No one will be able to harm them." [842] [845]

§

In the quarter immediately adjoining that of the Granman there was great activity. Six or seven men and boys were at work on a new house, for the youngest daughter of the family was ready for marrying, and now the men were helping her suitor to build a house for her in her village. 585 476

From the same quarter, behind a house which stood in the shade, came the laughter of young girls. We made our way past the house and saw four girls ranging in age from thirteen to sixteen seated on a log. One of these held her head back, and an older girl was bending over her. They called to us as we passed. 204

"We are cutting kamemba. Do you want some cuts, too?"

These were not new cuts which were being made, for with perhaps one exception, the girls were all nubile, and

Woman, I care for you,
I will be your god."

There was consternation among the women who stood outside listening. The Akantamasu god was one of the strongest on the river. He ranked only slightly under the great obia spirits, which the Sky God when creating the world had sent as wisdom for the living to combat the capricious lesser gods, and humans who were dominated by evil spirits. Differing from the obia spirits, however, who befriended the living, and brought healing to them, the Akantamasu god was an avenger, surpassed alone by the yorka, the ghosts, who avenged by killing instantly when they chose, while the Akantamasu god killed more slowly.

But there was concern for the possessed woman, as well. She had spoken the name Affi, her day name, the name which summoned her soul. When not in a state of possession, she would never have spoken it before a stranger, except in a whisper to an obia man who came to cure her, or to a diviner to whom she came to ask why her soul was troubled.

Presently the white figure rose, breaking the tension, and, chanting, went from the hut into the clearing. Affi and the white woman followed. In the light of the clearing, a faint resemblance could be seen in the grace of the body of the figure in white to the pleasant Amasina. Of the brown of her skin, only the ankles and feet showed.

Both of the possessed women began pacing back and forth in the clearing, in time to the rhythm of their songs, but while Amasina danced with an easy stride, Affi shook and quivered and moaned.

"When the gods come, we do not speak. We sing. The speech of the gods is song. So it is," one woman whispered.

Another said, indicating Affi, "Her god troubles her. She gave you a strong god. Are you afraid?"

"When the god comes to you, you will speak tongues. Now you have two gods. When Kesekia comes to you, you will sing Kesekia songs, you will dance to him."

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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tion as the Djukas stand and gaze at the criminals of France. And, through this study of the Djuka, the reader may know Djuka life for himself. In the pages of Dr. Kahn's book he journeys up tropical rivers to jungle villages whose names, being translated are, "Try me," "God knows," "Don't Touch Me," and the "Village of the Foot that has no Resting-Place." He meets men whose names mean "Waving Flag," "He Speaks the Truth," "Nice Fellow," "Laughs When He Talks," and "Love Is Sweet."

Dr. Kahn takes his reader far into the interior, for his starting point is where superficial travellers end. The journey leads to the tribe which has two languages: one for ordinary use, and the other a secret language which they call "deepee talkee"; and to strange villages which a man must enter carrying a paddle before him as a symbol that he is voyaging. It is a journey among peoples proud and spirited and courageous, descended from ancestors so bold in their rebellion that they were able to conclude treaties whereby the white man paid them a tribute which their descendants still receive in the form of an annual gift from the Dutch authorities to the headmen of the various Djuka tribes. The reader thus finds himself among the only primitive people in the world to whom the white man pays tribute; among a people to whom magic is as real as science is to us; who believe that spirits, both good and evil, inhabit the very streams and trees of the forest; people who know how to manufacture courage through the hypnotic intoxication of the tomtom and how to get rid of fatigue in the ecstasy of the dance; people whose

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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K4 §44 not severed gently enough. During the nursing period it is
[§53] often customary for the mother to abstain from intercourse, and judging by the size of the nursing children this period may last for two years.

§54 The children are carried in the West African manner, astride on their mothers' backs and held by a band of wide cloth that goes around both mother and child. This is unlike the local Indian custom, in which the squaws carry their offspring on their hips. The children are washed often, being bathed several times a day beside the river; they stand and gurgle as the water is being poured over them.

§42 The number of births among the Djukas is not as great
§47 as might be inferred from their promiscuity. This suggests, of course, that some means of contraception is practised. In one village on the Saramacca River a medicine man showed the bahkra a yellow berry, an infusion of which is supposed to have abortive properties; it is known among the natives of British Guiana as "Doctor Doolittle." We doubt that the infusion has any such properties as are assigned to it. We also heard that the Djukas practice mechanical abortion, but their crude instruments must make this very dangerous.

§54 Excepting during the first two or three years of the children's lives, mothers actually have little to do with their care. There are usually several older children in the family, sisters, brothers, or cousins, to whom is relegated the care of the
§51 younger ones. Besides their ordinary names, children are also called according to the day of the week on which they were born, such as Monday-child, Tuesday-child, and so on.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

262 In communicating by means of a beached canoe, instead of a series of long and short beats, the drummer will imitate the pitch and rhythm of a spoken sentence. By striking in different places along the gunwale of the boat, tones of different pitch can be obtained, which mimic the sharply modulated intonation of spoken words in talkee-talkee. The listeners match the sounds with the words that they suggest. The device is too difficult to be widely used, but seems to serve well in emergencies.

• 551 The method of naming people among the Djukas is extremely curious. There is a superstitious fear of mentioning certain names among them. This is very probably of African origin. In slavery days, no Negro, when passing an estate, [xx] would dare to mention its name until the estate had been passed. When we went over a falls in the river, we could learn its name only after the danger spot had been passed.

For personal names the Djukas have one which everyone may use and another which depends upon the day of the week on which the individual was born. This latter can be learned only after explicit inquiry and often not at all. There is also the secret name that strangers seldom know, if ever. [71] This custom of secret names is also prevalent among the Surinam Carib Indians and other primitives.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

For example, one of our Bush Negro guides is called 55/ *Moi-Man* (Nice Fellow). He is also known as Kwassi which means Saturday-child. The Bush Negro woman known as Koko was also called Akoea because she was born on a Wednesday. This method of naming children after the day in the week on which they were born seems to have been [171] brought over from the Tshi-speaking people in Africa. The similarity is easily recognized after consulting the following table, compiled by Mr. Charles de Goeje.

	Male		*Female*	
Born on	*Djuka*	*Tshi*	*Djuka*	*Tshi*
Sunday	Kwassi	Kwassi	Akwasiba	Asi or Akwasiba
Monday	Kodjo	Kwadjo	Adoea, or Adjoka	Adua
Tuesday	Kwamina, or Kwabina	Kobina, or Kwabina	Abena, or Akoba	Abena, or Arabet
Wednesday	Kwakoe, or Quakoe	Kwaku	Akoea	Akua
Thursday	Jaw	Kaow, yaw, or Akhur	Jaba	Awbah, Awybah, or Yawa
Friday	Kofi, or Kofiey	Kwafi	Afiba	Yab-awfua
Saturday	Kwassi	Kwassi	Amba	Amenimwah

Some interesting, popular names for men are as follows:

Benzini, meaning benzine
Taki Lafiu, laughs when he talks

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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Tak Lettie, he speaks the truth
Aporimoi, he spoils nice things
Pina Ingie, starving Indian
Frannie Boy, French boy
Horlogie Buka, mouth like a watch
Bor-Boriman, shouting man
Danniman, dancing man
Sweetee Libbie, sweet life
Ameke Moi, makes nice things
Lobbi Sweetee, love is sweet
Apanno, it happens so
Bit Jau, salt fish
Abbetam, he is in time
Addri, turning around
Kengieabtem, he changed his name
Pai Fini, exact payer

The following personal names for men are possibly of African origin:

Akwambo	Wompey
Agnozeno	Adjuju
Ludo	Adjau
Payong	Ajongu
Twojong	Tojo
Tombey	Jang
Somboay	Yayu

For the following names borne by men we were unable to find particular meanings:

Djuka Talk

Lawne	Abeyoni
Maddy	Abionie
Angasi	Samtoni
Dundilo	Samuie
Tjafaka	Saleh

A few feminine names are as follows:

Koko	Nee Nee
Amehna	Afaniai
Mehlee	Cudu
Suri	Yomeh
Widoma	Sasmeh
Anitee	Tia Kabah

No stringed instruments were seen among the Bush Negroes, although they may exist. The musical impulses of the blacks are expressed chiefly in the beating of the tomtoms. The *ashe-ashe*, which means "shake shake," is added to the drum ensemble to emphasize by contrast with its light pebbly sound the vast heavy tonality of the drums. The same is probably true of the *gangwa*, the board beaten with sticks. Occasionally a nose flute is seen, a direct survival of West Africa. It is a plain flute, made of a reed, but blown with the

/22 cont./

123 As a White one must enjoy great confidence among them if one wants to obtain permission to witness such solemnities. Never shall I forget the spectacle when I was present at such a festival; it took place from seven o'clock in the evening until two o'clock in the morning. During all this time I found myself in a very unpleasant state of tension. Although I found myself far from the part inhabited by us (namely the town of Paramaribo) in the deep forest alone in their midst, I was nevertheless not afraid because of my positive conviction of my influence over them. I was not at ease that night, however, and were it not for the fact that I did not want to hinder them or show them that I did not feel at ease at this solemnity, I would have departed, however eager I was to see the result of the movement. I remained, however, until all had come to an end, both for the distinction that fell to me for /23/ having been allowed to be present there and in order not to offend the trust put in me, while to myself I rejoiced at being able later to give to others the description of this solemnity.

Chapter XIV

Language, Obo, and Narratives (1)

538 1. Obo, proverb, narratives are called Kori, and tales anansi-tori.

197 Their language is the Negro English customarily spoken here, but in a singsong tone with a peculiar accent.

195 As proof that during the conversation they understand you well, they constantly repeat "Yaa!"

551 When a child is born among them, aside from a general name they also give it a day name, in which for them special meanings are concealed, for instance:

/23 cont./

551 The boys born on Sunday Kwasie; the girls Kwasiba.
" " " " Monday Kodjo; " " Adjuba.
" " " " Tuesday Kwamina; " " Abenie.
" " " " Wednesday Kwakoe; " " Akoeba.
" " " " Thursday Jauw; " " Jaba.
" " " " Friday Kofi; " " Afie.
" " " " Saturday Kwami; " " Amba.

538 Their odo or proverbs as a rule have reference to their simple bush life, for instance:

539 "Te pikien boesi kiebrie joe boen, dan joe no monoe falla biegie boesi te joe toeka naka ben": that is,

"If you are protected by a small bush, be content with it and do not demand the bigger one that you may happen to see."

Another meaning is:

"If the little suffices, then do not strive for the greater."

"Ma wefie avie die de falla pikien boo, de falla bigie wanoe": that is,

"The ax that cuts down little trees also cuts down big trees."

Another meaning is:

"God, who does not forsake the worm, will not forsake a man either," or:

/24/ "Nobody is so unhappy but that days of good luck come for him": also:

"Regard your enemy not too lightly."

Chapter XV

General Knowledge

824 This is on a very low level among them and is confined mainly to a thorough knowledge of varieties of wood and medicinal herbs in use among them.

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[For additional demographic and social information, see the "Table of the Population of the Boni Villages," on pp. 479-539, category 116. Included are data on the number of children per woman, the number of deaths by age and sex, the name of the guardian (usually, but not necessarily a parent) who was responsible for raising a particular individual, personal names of the Boni, marital residence and residence changes by specific individuals, marriage practices, including polygynous unions and secondary marriages, cases of divorce, and lineage/sib affiliations of each individual.]

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602 Patrilineal relationships have other important incidences which we shall bring to light in speaking of Boni beliefs. From the point of view of social structure, let us note:

[182] – That patrilineal relationship has no influence upon residence or organization of material living;

[582] – That the law of exogamy which it involves has only slight influence on the freedom of choice of couples: because of the relatively large number of patrilineages.

[601] As far as the ties of patrilineal kinship are known (in general people do not go beyond their grandfather), the same kinship terms are used as in the matrilineage, with the same classificatory value.

601 613 Appellations. We have seen that within the matrilineage the kinship appellations depend only on the number of generations with respect to the foundress.

Speaking familiarly, they use for addressing:

– People of the same generation, the expression	ba So-and-so... (man) a So-and-so (woman)
– – of one generation above, the expression	tiya, uncle tiya, aunt
– – of two generations above, the expression	papa mama.

[192] /34/ Papa does not mean father, but ancient, honorable. Likewise, mama means aged and respectable woman.

For example, to say good day they will say, according to the case, ba So-and-so, yôlo, or tiya, yôlo.

In speaking to people one generation below, they say mati (comrade) or call them by their name without any other appellation, which would be considered very insolent in addressing their "brothers" or "uncles."

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601 In speaking to one's mother, one uses a special expression, often formed of ma followed by the last syllable of her name.

For example, Asakundu (Lapé io) is called Ma Ndu or Mama Ndu by her sons. Bénin (Dju io, †1955) was called Ma Bénin or Ami by her children.

601 602 The appellations relating to patrilineage are exactly the same except for mi ta, my father. But as these patrilineages have no practical social function, being limited to the transmission of an interdiction, the kinship ties are not known beyond the second generation and people bother very little with them.

601 When one addresses someone of a different lineage one uses, in deference, the same terms whether the person being addressed appears to be the same age or older. This is particularly clear for old people who are uniformly called papa and mama. For people of about one's own age, if one knows them well one says ba So-and-so /male/ or ua So-and-so /female/. For men one does not know well one often uses mana So-and-so (mana = Mr.). The Boni are quite punctilious in this respect. It is very disagreeable to them to be called directly by their name; their European employers have the custom of speaking to them thus; they accept it on their part but not without reticence.

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601 Special appellations result from marriage; the terms used are reciprocal:

pay designates the relationship between father-in-law, son-in-law or daughter-in-law.

May — the relationship between mother-in-law, son-in-law.

Soagi — the relationship between brothers-in-law.

X Bwa mi pay means "X is my father-in-law" as well as "X is my son-in-law."

As a general rule a man calls soagi all those whom his wife calls brothers in the classificatory sense, and pay all those she calls uncle. But the term may is used only with respect to the wife's own mother.

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pers except as they present themselves for recording of vital statistics or for registration on voting lists.

administration has for a long time appeared /40/ in the eyes of the inhabitants of the interior as a benevolent office); but they obey the old African maxim of never telling the whites more than half of what they know.

125 In the absence of any nominal census which could serve as a point of departure, this job presented considerable difficulties arising principally from the extreme mobility of the population:

—Never is the whole population of a village assembled together simultaneously; the proportion of these absent frequently reaches 50 per cent, especially in the fine season (hunting, fishing, boating, clearings at the farming habitations, etc.);

—A good many men and women have two, sometimes three, names used interchangeably. If one does not personally know a large part of the inhabitants of the villages and does not have at his disposal carefully made-up genealogical tables, it is impossible to understand anything;

—If the men respond in good faith, it is not the same with the women, who are inaccessible to any reasoning. Some try to cash in on the information they give, others obstinately refuse to answer;

125 —A number of adolescents and even of men between 20 and 25 years old have no regular hut. Each Boni, man or woman, is in principle expected to build a hut in one of the "great villages." But this residence may be fictitious: It can, for example, be a tumbled-down hut which they intend to put up again some day... or the peak roof of the house of the mother or a brother, under which they install themselves on days when a ceremony causes the lineage to meet together, residing the rest of the year in a farming habitation.

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114 of the true foundrenes and the circumstances of the formation of
613 the lineages (invaluable information which must still have been present in the memory of the old men at the end of the last century) are lost forever.

128 In order to simplify the drawing up of the genealogical
601 tables, we have eliminated individuals deceased before adult age.

128 Names. To insure the necessary anonymity to our informants
551 without diminishing the accuracy of the statement, we have
601 changed a large part of the names. The fictitious names under
162 which individuals are designated in the genealogical tables as
[101] well as in the inventory of the population were mostly taken from the Djuka, who belong to the same cultural and linguistic group; in other cases, in order "to figure" the census we used a more complex process consisting in exchanging the names of two persons. Children younger than 15 are designated simply by an initial (1).

[048] 1. It is particularly disagreeable to the Refugee Blacks to have their children's names known by Europeans, with the exception of
[123] the doctor. All systematic questioning on this subject runs into clear hostility.

114 Despite these precautions, we recommend that travelers
609 provided with this work make no allusion in front of the Boni to the facts related in it; the Refugee Blacks are very proud and cannot allow an outsider to penetrate forthwith into their family privacy. That would provoke lively hostility toward the indiscreet person and would hinder later work.

114 The table of correspondence between true and fictitious
128 names is held at the disposal of sociologists who may wish to conduct studies on the Boni.

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846 834 856 Interruption of conjugal relations after the birth. For three months after delivery the mother must stay away from men and even avoid touching them. Conjugal relations must be interrupted until the child begins to walk alone (eleven to 14 months). However, it is tolerated (but disapprovingly) that they be interrupted only for the time until the child begins to drag himself on his knees /123/ (eight months). They cite the example of Baïna's wife who has puny children after pregnancies at too short intervals. 842

846 834 862 Actually, the interruption of conjugal relations tends to be reduced more and more, the women having condensed milk available and tending to reduce the duration of breast feeding.

198 593 Each woman acts as she wishes in this respect; the husband has no power to restrain her.

The Name

551 553 Existence of several independent names. Each Boni has two names, the gaã nɛm or big name, given by the father, and the pikin nɛm or little name, given by the mother.

These two names are given in totally independent fashion. Generally the pikin nɛm is given first; in former days they used to wait until the child was six to eight months old; nowadays it is given at the end of a few weeks. The head of the lineage does not intervene either in the choice or the giving of the name.

As a matter of fact, nearly three-quarters of the Boni are designated by one single name, either because the father and mother agreed to give the same name or because one of the two names fell into disuse.

To these two principal names may be added any number of names and cognomens given by the grandparents and later by friends or spouse; often one of the names ends by being given

55 [563] /123 cont./
and supplanting the others. but in numerous cases the names are used concurrently; in general an individual is designated among his maternal relatives by his pikin nam, while the people of other villages designate him by his gaã nam or by a cognomen. It has happened to us many a time in the course of the same conversation to hear the same individual designated by two or three different names.

[125 128] It goes without saying that this custom makes any census of the Refugee Blacks impracticable, for as long as one does not know individually the members of a lineage and their genealogy, it is impossible to understand anything.

Nevertheless, one must not see in this a defense reaction with respect to the European administration. The Refugee Blacks find it completely normal to have several names at a time, for they do not have the notion of the identity of a name with a person.

Thus one of our boatmen was Fintiman to his maternal relatives, Gobiyo to his father and part of his friends, Loamba to his paternal grandfather, and Nakiyu to his first wife.

55 553 Choice of names. Names are highly varied and their choice does not follow any fixed rule; it is in the exclusive domain of fancy.

A large number are constituted of simple onomatopoeia: Tyutyu, Dada, Dodo, Dudu, etc. (which may be applied indiscriminately to man or woman). Dodo's mother explained to us the reason for her choice: dodo was the refrain of an air which often sang in her head while she was pregnant. /124/

55 177 Again are pointed out:

--More or less deformed European names: Afayèl (Rafaèl), Modèl, Pasensi (Patience), Félisi (Félix), Sophie, Toïna (Antonia). Certain names are deformed European proper names; for example: Sota for Chotard (name of an official in Saint-Laurent);

/124 cont./

551 [197] --African names (Mosa, Kodyo, Kofi, Abuba, Afiba, etc.), most of them apparently coming from the west coast of Africa.

[553] --Some Indian names: Omikan, Paké. This last name had been given to a young man of Asisi by his great-uncle in memory of an Indian chief with whom he was very closely connected;

--Names of plants, animals, or ordinary objects, either in taki-taki or in French:

Ex.: Kapachi (armadillo), Aguti (agouti, a rodent), Babun (red monkey), Kwata (South American spider monkey), Chii (seed), Maisi (maize), Tutu (bamboo), Sépina (épinards, "spinach"), Polimichi (small portable stove), Balansi (balance), Tambour /drum/, Kéòé (chest, box), Mandolina (mandolin), Kokoti (tattooing), Guunkaala (blue bead), Klarinèt (clarinet), Atapu (arrow), Bisikilèt /bicycle/, Tomobil /automobile/, etc.;

[199] --European words whose meaning is more or less understood but which sound agreeable to the ears of the Refugee Blacks:

Ex.: Manifest, Komisèr (commissioner), Nètwayé (nettoyé, "cleaned"), Machinn (machine);

551 601 --Kinship terms or terms of social relations, associated often with a qualifier:

Ex.: Maman (mother), Baakamaman (black mother), May (mother-in-law), Pikin pay (little son-in-law), Pikin baala (little comrade), Bachi (master), Michi (young lady), Baakamichi (young black lady), etc.

551 --Expressions relating generally to the child's characteristics during its first months:

Ex.: Kundu mofu (little mouth), Kundu uman (short woman), Alébiédé (red bead), Atobikyé (he likes to cry), Alobilafu (he likes to laugh), Koouman (cold woman), Amoyuman (pretty woman), Dansiuman (dancer), Hafukii (half dead), etc.;

551 579 --Names alluding to a virtue, but this is pure fancy; we must not believe that they attempt in that way to make it enter the child. One sees Séyéuman (serious woman), Abété

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551 [529] (the best), Poyman (strong man), etc.; along the same line names are often given such as Goutu uman (golden woman);

551 522 --Often, finally, the name is the contraction of a short sentence expressing a joke or a ridiculous association of ideas:

Agimianèm (give me a name), Nèfilmoo (it is no longer for you), Afumidichi (that one is for me), Sanidiakobi (thing he likes), Agoabuchi (he goes into the bush), etc.

Woochia is the contraction of sa u ɔ si ya? (what shall we see there?), expressing the surprise of a woman who was seeing herself pregnant for the first time after 15 years of sterile marriage.

/125/ In this kind of name, in several cases it is a question of a joke with respect to the child, for which he will have to suffer all his life.

Ex.: Amoyanètu (he is pretty in the night), name given to a child who was very ugly.

Poété (convict) is the pikin nɛm of B...., a man about 42 years old in 1957; he never clearly understood why his mother had given him that name which he could not get rid of, his comrades taking malicious pleasure in calling him by his pikin nɛm.

This bad joke had so much success that it was put into circulation two more times: in Boni country there are now two Poété and a /female/ Poétéuman!

551 553 [522] This example, associated with many others, shows the casualness with which the Refugee Blacks choose their children's names. We have been present several times at discussions concerning the choice of these names; they proceed in an atmosphere of crude farce. B...., with whom we have just been concerned, who had had to suffer from the name his mother had given him, called one of his nephews Canada because it is the country in which are manufactured Evinrude motors which he admired very much.

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553 613 [178] [162] Transmission of names. It seems that in former times children were by preference given the name of one of their classificatory uncles in the father's lineage. This custom is still clearly observable, but its practice is not general. In fact, out of about 670 persons counted in the villages on the French bank, including about 250 children younger than 14 years, there are only 64, or less than 25 per cent who bear the name of an adult living or dead. These 64 cases are divided thus:

	Mother's Lineage	Father's Lineage	Other Lineages
Name taken from among the child's classificatory brothers and sisters.	0	3	
Name taken from among the child's classificatory uncles and aunts.	3	37	11
Name taken from among the child's "grandfathers" and "grandmothers."	2	8	

Of these 64 names, 44 /sic/ are taken from the father's lineage, only five from the mother's.

• [551] This table is only good for a simple indication. In order to go farther it would have been necessary to study separately the name given by the father and that given by the mother, which we could not do (let us recall that 75 per cent of the individuals are designated by a single name; either the father and mother agreed on the same name, or one of the two names fell into disuse after the child's early years.

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653 Let us remember simply that there is a clear tendency to choose the name from the paternal relatives of the child (1).

[191] "1.. It is a general rule among the populations of Black Africa from whom the Refugee Blacks borrowed their main cultural train, the patrilineal Fon and Yoruba as well as the matrilineal and patrilocal Agni and Ashanti. The persistence of this custom among the Refugee Blacks tends to strengthen the patrilineal and patrilocal tendencies which were persisting among them at the time when their institutions were developing.

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551 Apparently they avoid giving the name of a very old person or one recently deceased.

553 In this transmission of the name there does not seem to be anything other than a mark of affection toward a relative. No bond is created between the child and the adult whose name he bears. Obviously there is nothing in the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks which requires the perpetuation of names and their transmission from the dead to the living.

[613] When they wish to give one of their children the name of a person of another lineage, they must ask permission of this person, who does not necessarily grant it (he may fear that his name might thus be borne later by a thief or a ne'er-do-well).

If he does give his permission it does not, strictly speaking, involve any payment; but he may be offered a small gift.

[613] There is no need of any authorization to take a name borne by a person of the lineage of the child's mother or father.

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651 563 The only case in which custom governs the choice of name is that of twins.

Male twins are called Adam and Agou.

Boy and girl twins are called Adam and Ela (2).

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2. This is connected with a myth derived from the Biblical tradition, which we shall set forth later.

Female twins are called Chimbo and Sisi.

Social Relations within the Lineage

429 604 [593] Guardianship. Until he is old enough to work, the child is placed under the responsibility of the mother and, one step farther away, that of the eldest of his classificatory uncles. To a lesser degree all the uncles have authority over the child; guardianship is collective.

The custom of the Refugee Blacks, hostile to any division of the lineage, does not recognize any right peculiar to the mother's brothers (still, in fact, they seem to be consulted by preference about matters of small importance). For serious matters, such as authorizing a marriage, the classificatory uncles meet and deliberate; they do not vote, strictly speaking, but the proved opposition of three or four of them causes the project to be abandoned. [584]

429 593 604 [586] It is to the mother that people will come to complain about the child, and not to the father. She it is who decides to refer the thing to the uncles if it is serious (example of Doni, 18 years old, who deflowered Elina, 15 years old. Elina's mother came to complain to Doni's mother. Doni's mother went to notify her older brother Fintiman, who took the matter in hand).

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965 (535) The bushmen execute the kwadyo dance, which seems to be an African war dance; they hold a stick in front of them and make the gesture of taking aim.

That lasts about half an hour.

The guests continue to arrive individually and settle themselves around the mortuary shed, seated on their little benches.

965 202 About three o'clock the drums begin to beat again. It is Bukuman, master of the art of speaking with the drum, who strikes the summons' formulas; the others give him the cue.

The drum speaks for a long time (1). An elder translates

> 1. It is more a question of conventional formulas than a language; two different sounds can be obtained from the drum by striking respectively with the fingers and with the palm.

for me approximately: "Other villages, be still, for there is a great festival in the grand man's village."

"We who are now living, we are going to do what our ancestors taught us long ago."

965 (551) Then the dead for whom mourning will be lifted are directly addressed, being called by name if they are men; for the women like Béniti, who cannot be called directly, for women do not have a drum-name, they call one of their deceased near relatives, here Dioté †, Béniti's brother: "Tell thy sister that we are going to part company with her, for we have been in mourning for her a long time and this is the custom, such as the ancestors did before us."

"Ancestors, come, come near us, we are going to pour (969) the tafia and cane juice for you."

(202) (Libations are made within the shed.) Then the drum addresses those present:

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If someone marries a girl, he must not only pay her mother the price of virginity but must also pay the girl's akka. For that he offers white beads and cloth which the bride will wear, as well as sweets which will be consumed by her. If the price of virginity were not paid, the woman's akka, humiliated, might make her sick or kill her. /218/

/218/ There are seven categories of akka, masculine and feminine, one for each day of the week.

Crevaux in 1877 was able to establish the complete list(1):

> 1. This conception is widespread in the Agni-Ashanti culture area, among the Ewé and Mina, and as far as western Dahomey. The names reported among the Mina correspond very exactly, except for some differences in pronunciation, to the ones kept by the Boni.

	Men	Women
Sunday	Kwasi	Kwasiba
Monday	Kɔdyo	Adyuba
Tuesday	Kwami	Abenuba
Wednesday	Kwaku	Akuba
Thursday	Yao	Yaba
Friday	Kɔfi	Afiba
Saturday	Kwamina	Amba

All these names are known to the Boni, but none of our informants was capable of reciting the complete list. It is well understood that a name like Kɔfi, Kɔdio /ɛ:/, etc. is the akka's name and not at all the man's name (2).

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2. Although it happens that people receive as a name an akka name, sometimes accompanied by a qualificative, such as Lêbikwaku.

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Actually, each one knows his akka's name, which was revealed to him by his parents when he was a child; to this name is attached an akka kina or food prohibition relative to the akka. Both are carefully kept secret even from near relatives and friends, for knowing them could help the wisimã take possession of the akka. On this subject people often use the term gadu kina, as they say mi gadu instead of mi akka. This term is easily confused with the prohibition imposed on the possessed person by the god which incarnates itself in him; these are two very different notions.

The akka kina is unique for each man. It is sought by the parents when the child is completely weaned. They try to draw parallels between the foods he has eaten and the health disorders he may exhibit, and these suppositions are confirmed by divinatory procedures.

A man does not ordinarily pray to his akka. He addresses prayer to it only if he is sick, to ask it for protection, or before leaving on a long trip, to ask it to watch over him. If he comes back safe and sound, he thanks it by making an offering to it, in the form of a bottle of syrup (switi sopi), which he turns upside down over his head.

According to Mr. W. F. van Lier, the Djuka have the idea that the shadow (kaaka) is the visible image of the akka; the Boni do not appear to have this conception; one does not observe that they attach any importance whatever to whether a man's shadow passes over them; on the contrary, one must not step over a man lying on the ground, that might injure his akka.

/281 cont./

*539 big boat avoided him. Anansi paddled toward it, paddled until... gbo! (collision) the small boat sank. Anansi in the water shouted: "You have drowned the king's child, give back to me, give back the king's child to me quickly, if not, Whites, who are in that ship, you and I are going to die!(1)"

1. Obvious contradiction with the beginning of the tale where it is said that in those times the country of the Whites did not exist. But none of the listeners appears to worry about it.

They unyyed the big boat. They hoisted Anansi on board. They fished out the small boat, but did not find the dead child.

The Whites told him: "We do not find the king's child. What must he done to finish up this business?" He said: "Give me the big boat." They acquiesced.

He went back up the river with the big boat. He arrived at the pier of the king's village. Anansi shot off the cannon. On land, they fired the cannon too. Anansi was received triumphally, the king's daughter put a ring on his finger, and they were married. Thus it was that the king had a steamboat.

9) Pikinbaya (2)

[191]

2. This tale is a theme of the Creole Blacks of Paramaribo.

There was a woman; she had a child whom she named Pikinbaya (3). One day she gave him food to take to the market

[551]

3. The name means "little comrade."

the uncleared bush, or the sight of a snake twined about a liana, no longer struck terror, and the flaying rains which came down so suddenly, and as suddenly were over, no longer even aroused uneasiness.

At the prow of our boat Bayo poled vigorously and continued his countless variants of the wheti song we had been hearing everywhere on the river, while Bibilo had made a refrain of our question, "How do you say this in your Saramacca language?" He would paddle in silence for a long time, only to begin muttering at the most unexpected moments, "Sa'macca tongo!" in the way of an old man who talks to himself. He would then repeat it over and over in ridicule of us, and sometimes in a singsong voice he would improvise lines about the white man who wanted to know how everything was called in the true, true Saramacca language, and how all that was told him he wrote down in a book.

"Great-grandfather," we would say to him, "why do you say this? Isn't it all right for us to want to learn how to talk to the G'aman?"

"*Kere-kere*—It's all right."

But having said this, he would engage Bayo in conversation, clipping his words, and using so much idiom and parable as utterly to confound us.

"Your language is difficult, great-grandfather."

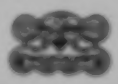
"Ya-hai, it is meant for the people of the bush, white man," he would say with a pride we had not looked for from the mild Bibilo, who was now called Adrian. There was, it appeared, potency in the "word," and magic. The names for things, and the things themselves were one. The knowledge of Saramacca names belonged to the Saramacca people, and whether as Bibilo or Adrian, he was above all a Saramacca Negro, and a member of an important clan.

2

When we had been seven days on the river, our cook came to us and said he wanted to talk about something we had best know.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

[212] In communicating by means of a beached canoe, instead of a series of long and short beats, the drummer will imitate the pitch and rhythm of a spoken sentence. By striking in different places along the gunwale of the boat, tones of different pitch can be obtained, which mimic the sharply modulated intonation of spoken words in talkee-talkee. The listeners match the sounds with the words that they suggest. The device is too difficult to be widely used, but seems to serve well in emergencies.



331 The method of naming people among the Djukas is extremely curious. There is a superstitious fear of mentioning certain names among them. This is very probably of African origin. In slavery days, no Negro, when passing an estate, [172] would dare to mention its name until the estate had been passed. When we went over a falls in the river, we could learn its name only after the danger spot had been passed.

For personal names the Djukas have one which everyone may use and another which depends upon the day of the week on which the individual was born. This latter can be learned only after explicit inquiry and often not at all. There is also the secret name that strangers seldom know, if ever. [171] This custom of secret names is also prevalent among the Surinam Carib Indians and other primitives.

781 calls them *obeiahs*. An obeiah is a charm or a form of magic
778 to be distinguished from a *tufer*, which is a taboo. Obeiahs may be worn in the form of bracelets or necklaces, called *boe*. Bush Negroes never start out on a hunting or river trip without a number of boe around the arm, or leg, or neck. Thus the machinations of the evil spirits are set at naught.

One boe which Abuisa made for us is formed of heavy wire wrapped with white cord and set with cowrie shells. Worn on the arm, this will make you very *strong*. The charm will protect you while engaged in dangerous doings, such as
[93] drinking river water after someone has been drowned in it. Abuisa made this bracelet out of friendship. It was given, not purchased; therefore the old-time gods are not offended at its being possessed by a white man.

[94] He presented it with great solemnity, taking a mouthful of rum and spitting it on the ground as a libation to the ground god, then squirting another mouthful over the bracelet. After that we all had a swallow of the same liquid and
[95] Abuisa said a prayer in deepee-talkee. A somewhat similar ceremony attended the giving of a Djuka name to the white man—*Abenaee*, provider.

781 The cowrie shells with which the obeiah is set are smeared
321 with pemba *doree*. The clay closes up the openings of the
778 shells, thus preventing evil spirits from entering into the interior. These cowrie shells, which decorate practically all the
[7] magic emblems of the Djukas, are commonly found among the savages of Africa, both on the East and West Coasts. They are also common in African art work, and at one time constituted a form of currency, *papa mani*.

/122 cont./

946 934 956 Interruption of conjugal relations after the birth. For three months after delivery the mother must stay away from men and even avoid touching them. Conjugal relations must be interrupted until the child begins to walk alone (eleven to 14 months). However, it is tolerated (but disapprovingly) that they be interrupted only for the time until the child begins to drag himself on his knees /123/ (eight months). They cite the example of Salna's wife who has puny children after pregnancies at too short intervals.

942

946 934 962 198 593 Actually, the interruption of conjugal relations tends to be reduced more and more, the women having condensed milk available and tending to reduce the duration of breast feeding.

Each woman acts as she wishes in this respect; the husband has no power to restrain her.

The Name

551 553 Existence of several independent names. Each Boni has two names, the gal ngm or big name, given by the father, and the pikin nim or little name, given by the mother.

These two names are given in totally independent fashion. Generally the pikin nim is given first; in former days they used to wait until the child was six to eight months old; nowadays it is given at the end of a few weeks. The head of the lineage does not intervene either in the choice or the giving of the name.

As a matter of fact, nearly three-quarters of the Boni are designated by one single name, either because the father and mother agreed to give the same name or because one of the two names fell into disuse.

To these two principal names may be added any number of names and cognomens given by the grandparents and later by friends or spouse; often one of the names ends by being given

551 563 /123 cont./

and supplanting the others. But in numerous cases the names are used concurrently; in general an individual is designated among his maternal relatives by his pikin nam, while the people of other villages designate him by his gall nam or by a cognomen. It has happened to us many a time in the course of the same conversation to hear the same individual designated by two or three different names.

125 126 It goes without saying that this custom makes any census of the Refugee Bushs impracticable, for as long as one does not know individually the members of a lineage and their genealogy, it is impossible to understand anything.

Nevertheless, one must not see in this a defense reaction with respect to the European administration. The Refugee Bushs find it completely normal to have several names at a time, for they do not have the notion of the identity of a name with a person.

Thus one of our boatmen was Funiman to his maternal relatives, Gobojo to his father and part of his friends, Loamba to his paternal grandfather, and Nakiyo to his first wife.

551 553 Choice of names. Names are highly varied and their choice does not follow any fixed rule; it is in the exclusive domain of fancy.

A large number are constituted of simple onomatopoeia: Tyutyu, Dada, Dodo, Dudu, etc. (which may be applied indiscriminately to man or woman). Dodo's mother explained to us the reason for her choice: dodo was the refrain of an air which often sang in her head while she was pregnant. /124/

551 179 Again are pointed out:

--More or less deformed European names: Afayki (Rafaki), Modil, Pawesi (Patience), Félisi (Félix), Sophie, Tolna (Antonia). Certain names are deformed European proper names; for example: Sota for Chotard (name of an official in Saint-Laurent);

/126 cont./

551 (191) --African names (Mina, Kodyo, Kofi, Akuba, Affba, etc.), most of them apparently coming from the west coast of Africa.

--Some Indian names: Omikan, Pélié. This last name

(553) had been given to a young man of Aoni by his great-uncle in memory of an Indian chief with whom he was very closely connected;

--Names of plants, animals or ordinary objects, either in taki-taki or in French:

Ex.: Kapachi (armadillo), Agoni (agouti, a rodent), Babun (red monkey), Kwata (South American spider monkey), Chii (seed), Maini (maize), Tuu (bamboo), Sépuna (épinards, "spinach"), Pokimichi (small portable stove), Balansi (balance), Tambour /drum/, Kisié (chest, box), Mandolina (mandolin), Kokoti (remaining), Gouikaala (blue bead), Klariné (clarinet), Alapo (arrow), Biskilit /bicycle/, Tomobil /automobile/, etc.;

(199) --European words whose meaning is more or less understood but which sound agreeable to the ears of the Refugee Blacks:

Ex.: Manifist, Komisié (commissioner), Nitwayé (nettoyé, "cleaned"), Machien (machine);

551 601 --Kinship terms or terms of social relations, associated often with a qualifier:

Ex.: Maman (mother), Baakamaman (black mother), May (mother-in-law), Pikin pay (little son-in-law), Pikin baala (little comrade), Bachi (master), Michi (young lady), Baakamichi (young black lady), etc.

551 --Expressions relating generally to the child's characteristics during its first months:

Ex.: Kundu mofu (little mouth), Kundu uman (short woman), Alébiéié (red head), Alobikyé (he likes to cry), Alobiafu (he likes to laugh), Kooman (cold woman), Amoyuman (pretty woman), Danauman (dancer), Hafukii (half dead), etc.;

551 579 --Names alluding to a virtue, but this is pure fancy; we must not believe that they attempt in that way to make it enter the child. One sees Séyéuman (serious woman), Abéié

/124 cont./

551 [577] (the best), Poyman (strong man), etc.; along the same line names are often given such as Goutu uman (golden woman);

551 522 --Often, finally, the name is the contraction of a short sentence expressing a joke or a ridiculous association of ideas:

Agimianèm (give me a name), Nafiimoo (it is no longer for you), Afumidichi (that one is for me), Sanidialobi (thing he likes), Agoabuchi (he goes into the bush), etc.

Woochia is the contraction of sa u ɔ si ya? (what shall we see there?), expressing the surprise of a woman who was seeing herself pregnant for the first time after 15 years of sterile marriage.

/125/ In this kind of name, in several cases it is a question of a joke with respect to the child, for which he will have to suffer all his life.

Ex.: Amoyanéti (he is pretty in the night), name given to a child who was very ugly.

Poété (convict) is the pikin nɛm of B...., a man about 42 years old in 1957; he never clearly understood why his mother had given him that name which he could not get rid of, his comrades taking malicious pleasure in calling him by his pikin nɛm.

This bad joke had so much success that it was put into circulation two more times: in Boni country there are now two Poété and a /female/ Poétéuman!

551 553 [522] This example, associated with many others, shows the casualness with which the Refugee Blacks choose their children's names. We have been present several times at discussions concerning the choice of these names; they proceed in an atmosphere of crude farce. B...., with whom we have just been concerned, who had had to suffer from the name his mother had given him, called one of his nephews Canada because it is the country in which are manufactured Evinrude motors which he admired very much.

/125 cont./

553 613 [178] [162] Transmission of names. It seems that in former times children were by preference given the name of one of their classificatory uncles in the father's lineage. This custom is still clearly observable, but its practice is not general. In fact, out of about 670 persons counted in the villages on the French bank, including about 250 children younger than 14 years, there are only 64, or less than 25 per cent who bear the name of an adult living or dead. These 64 cases are divided thus:

	Mother's Lineage	Father's Lineage	Other Lineages
Name taken from among the child's classificatory brothers and sisters.	0	3	
Name taken from among the child's classificatory uncles and aunts.	3	37	11
Name taken from among the child's "grandfathers" and "grandmothers."	2	8	

Of these 64 names, 44 /sic/ are taken from the father's lineage, only five from the mother's.

[551] This table is only good for a simple indication. In order to go farther it would have been necessary to study separately the name given by the father and that given by the mother, which we could not do (let us recall that 75 per cent of the individuals are designated by a single name; either the father and mother agreed on the same name, or one of the two names fell into disuse after the child's early years.

/126/

553 Let us remember simply that there is a clear tendency to choose the name from the paternal relatives of the child (1).

[171]

1. It is a general rule among the populations of Black Africa from whom the Refugee Blacks borrowed their main cultural traits, the patrilineal Fon and Yoruba as well as the matrilineal and patrilocal Agni and Ashanti. The persistence of this custom among the Refugee Blacks tends to strengthen the patrilineal and patrilocal tendencies which were persisting among them at the time when their institutions were developing.

[178]

551 Apparently they avoid giving the name of a very old person or one recently deceased.

553 In this transmission of the name there does not seem to be anything other than a mark of affection toward a relative. No bond is created between the child and the adult whose name he bears. Obviously there is nothing in the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks which requires the perpetuation of names and their transmission from the dead to the living.

[613] When they wish to give one of their children the name of a person of another lineage, they must ask permission of this person, who does not necessarily grant it (he may fear that his name might thus be borne later by a thief or a ne'er-do-well).

If he does give his permission it does not, strictly speaking, involve any payment, but he may be offered a small gift.

[613] There is no need of any authorization to take a name borne by a person of the lineage of the child's mother or father.

/126 cont./

651 553 The only case in which custom governs the choice of name is that of twins.

Male twins are called Adam and Agosu.

Boy and girl twins are called Adam and Efa (2).

[177]

2. This is connected with a myth derived from the Biblical tradition, which we shall set forth later.

Female twins are called Chimba and Sisi.

Social Relations within the Lineage

429 604 [593] Guardianship. Until he is old enough to work, the child is placed under the responsibility of the mother and, one step farther away, that of the eldest of his classificatory uncles. To a lesser degree all the uncles have authority over the child; guardianship is collective.

The custom of the Refugee Blacks, hostile to any division of the lineage, does not recognize any right peculiar to the mother's brothers (still, in fact, they seem to be consulted by preference about matters of small importance). For serious matters, such as authorizing a marriage, the classificatory uncles meet and deliberate; they do not vote, strictly speaking, but the proved opposition of three or four of them causes the project to be abandoned. [584]

429 593 604 [836] It is to the mother that people will come to complain about the child, and not to the father. She it is who decides to refer the thing to the uncles if it is serious (example of Doni, 18 years old, who deflowered Elina, 15 years old. Elina's mother came to complain to Doni's mother. Doni's mother went to notify her older brother Fintiman, who took the matter in hand).

REBEL DESTINY

524 The man looked so moved by what he told us that we had qualms about continuing the conversation with him about his dead family, and so we asked him about the game board. "Why is it, Kasanya, that young Amnika of your [322] village said he could not make us a game board, fine carver that he is? You yourself know that the board is just a piece of wood with holes in it for the seeds. It is not beautiful; there are no decorations on it."

765 "It is because he is young. His hair isn't white like mine. 524 Making an adji board is a big thing. It's not a little thing. It is on this we play when the body of the dead lies in the house of mourning to entertain his spirit, his yorka. Only [554] an old man who has lost his wife may make a board for this game which is played for the dead."

"But suppose he did make it?"

[176] "Then he would get a kunu, Bakra," he said with an impatient cluck which was intended to deplore the white man's inability to understand simple things.

776 And so again we came to kunu, and since he himself had brought it up, we decided to stir the hole once more to see what was in it. Kasanya talked with less hesitation than we had come to expect. It is easier for an older man who has had experience with the spirits and knows their ways to talk about the supernatural. He understands what he may and may not do, and then, too, with his greater knowledge he can tell more without offending the spirits who disapprove of a man's telling too great a part of his store.

"Yes, Bakra, kunu is a difficult thing for you, a white man, to understand. But we black people know what brings kunu. Many things bring kunu. Look, I made three children. Fine men all three. One died, the second died, the third died. . . ."

688 This was his story. His wife's mother's brother brought the curse on his family. He had cut a new field, and the trees he had felled and the brush he had cut had been lying for some time, as was proper, that the dead wood might [241] be burned off to clear the ground so that the ash might enrich the soil.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SRB Bush Negroes SRB
Saramacca

Kasanya glanced at the boy, who showed by his manner his eagerness to accompany his father, and then at his sister. "How will it be with you, sister, if Adyabu goes? Do you want him to go with Misomba?" 593 607

"Yes," she replied. "Misomba will care for him. Let him go."

The three older people talked over the details of the trip down the river, until it was made clear to all that Adyabu would share whatever money his father might receive for the lumber.

"You will treat him well, brother-in-law," said Kasanya, with a smile, "for in a few years his girl will be ripe for marrying, and he will need money for a fine wedding."

That night we talked this over with Kasanya.

"Why must a man ask another if he may take his own son with him on a journey? Is a man not to be trusted to take care of a boy he himself has made?"

"You do not understand, Bak'a. It is not that we don't trust Misomba," he replied. "He has lived with my sister for many years. She is his first wife, and my family have always liked him. When my sister's eldest daughter was asked in marriage by a man of this village, and our great family came together here to consider whether we should promise her to him or not, we asked Misomba to give us his advice. Misomba does not have a bold face. He did not speak until after much urging. To ask a man's advice about what does not concern his own family is a great honor. But we did this, and when he spoke, we found that what he said was good. So, you see, it is not that we do not trust Misomba." [554]

We encouraged him to explain further.

"Adyabu is not his heir. He is the child of my sister and belongs to my family. I am the one to say what he is to do and what he is not to do, because I am the oldest living brother. Adyabu does not belong to Misomba's family. He is of my blood. When I die, he will inherit my possessions. When Misomba dies, his possessions will go to his own 604 428

11 Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SRS Bush Negroes SRS
Saramacca

village. A household was not confined to one building only, but few who were not men of rank and means had more than three. One was for the woman and her children, another for storing the crops, and the third was the man's treasure house, where women might not come. It was like the matter of wives. Only men of position could afford more than one. But if a man had two wives and both lived in his village, then perhaps five huts would bear a design identified with him on the carved side posts which outlined the low doorway. This design would recur in the various carvings he had made for his women—it was his crest. And though a man from another village, who was not related to him, might like it, and liking it copy it, this practice would be socially frowned upon.

A village quarter, however, did not contain only dwelling places, and storehouses, and men's treasure houses. Certain families also had in their part of the village an enclosed shrine for the family gods. If in a given family a powerful Vodu, or snake god, had come to an ancestress and had in a dream, or in a seizure, or through a revelation made to an obia man, chosen her as his *'asi*—his priestess or medium—then with this disclosure came the instructions for the place of locating a house of worship to that Vodu, and the type of house it was to be. Such a shrine, once erected, would be kept in the quarter, and worshiped by the members of that family. Sometimes in front of a dwelling hut, a low enclosure, the size of a small kennel, would stand a little to the side of the door. This was a house to Toné, the river spirit. In one such house lived a woman who had a great Toné god. She had the gift of prophecy. When the men gathered for a council meeting in the village of the Granman, then she, too, would sometimes be bidden to come and sit with the men, though, being a woman, she could never speak at council meetings.

"Touch her skin," the other women said, pointing out this albino woman, "and you will have your desires fulfilled."

In each quarter, too, there was an open house where the women did their cooking, and perhaps a platform or two,

123 shoulders and arms glisten, or otherwise to make themselves
[302] presentable for the reception. There was nothing to do but to keep close to a tree-trunk, water dripping from naked body and the strip of twisted loin cloth, teeth chattering in the sudden chill brought on by the storm.

The head of Sungi was suddenly thrust inside our boat-tent.

"I saw the Granman. He says the storm is passing. You are to come to him as you are. It is best so. Waiting here is cold."

Turning, he ordered the paddlers to their places, and almost before the paddles were in motion, the guns began to fire.

"The Granman knows the time it takes to give a message. The Granman knows everything," said Bayo in great
[203] admiration, as the guns saluted.

Three shots, and three more. Two shots, an interval, and another coming faintly. Then a short silence, and once more the guns, in clusters of three, but now sounding from several directions.

As we rounded the bend of the island the farther bank was alive with people. The rain had subsided to a drizzle. Across the strip of water which separated us from the shore we could see men and women and children standing about, the women with large food trays inverted over their heads to protect their finery. But the men, disdaining such aids, stood in the rain and looked on with undisguised curiosity. Boats joined ours from up and down the river. With the sound of the guns came hallooing, shrill cries which were the women's expression of enthusiasm, actual or ceremonial.

292 As we watched, several figures appeared on the high bank,
554 the others making way for them. Two of the men were not
622 dressed in the colored toga-like cloths that were worn by the others, but in coats of rich material which reached to their knees. They wore black top-hats with cockades at the side. One of these, we recognized as Chief And'u of S'ei. His coat was of deep crimson, bordered in blue, and his companion's a vivid yellow. Both of these men carried

Both of these men carried
long wands of office, of black wood topped with silver 292 554 622 293
knobs. About their necks were heavy silver chains, and from each chain was suspended a large silver crescent.

Another man stood near them to one side. He wore a long coat of white edged with scarlet and blue. He carried 554 no stick, and wore no insignia. On his head, over a white 643 kerchief wound tightly about the head and caught up in the back, was a white sun helmet. Above his head, held by one of the younger men who accompanied him, was an umbrella, the highest emblem of rank. It betokened that this man was Moana Yankuso, Granman of the Saramacca people.

3

Kasanya was first out of the boat when the dugouts 622 were brought to shore, and after him came Bibifo. Sedefo 574 and Asikanu remained with the younger men, waiting for 576 the Granman to indicate that he wished to receive them. [554] Only men of rank and elderly members of his own clan would go at this time to speak to the headman, who stood there watching the boats.

"We came, G'aman," we heard Kasanya say, "and we brought the Bak'a." Two or three low-voiced sentences followed, and then the conversation was terminated by the elderly functionary in the yellow coat, who came down to our boat.

"I greet you in the name of the G'aman, Bak'a," he announced. "The G'aman himself awaits you. Come with me."

As we stepped out of the boat, the hallooing of the women 574 and the shouts of the children, which had stopped when the 576 paddlers addressed the Granman, began once again, and, 609 as an underlying voice, the salutes from the shotgun were 643 to be heard. The old man, shifting his wand of office to his left hand, now carefully helped first the one, then the other out of the boat and, offering his arm to each in turn, led us to the top of the steep rise, until we were face to face with the Granman. It would have been unlucky had we lost our footing at this moment of welcome. This chieftain was

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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Two of its walls were of the plaited palm fronds which were entwined into so pleasant a pattern on the houses of the Bush Negroes. The side walls, however, were carpentered of slats which formed a paling, and over this the slanting roof hung. Through the spaces between the slats we could see the brown feet of the passing villagers, an occasional flare of a gay tunic, or a corner of a man's cloth. Occasionally the big eyes of a child who had wandered over to the paling peered through, to see what was happening inside. Through the slats of the wall nearest to the Granman's house we saw tall earthen jars resting on a plank. There were perhaps four of them, all of varying sizes, and these held creek and river water to which the magic properties of weeds and incantations had been added. 344 353 [815]

The purposes of these slats were manifold. Not everyone could sit within the council house when the tribal chiefs gathered. Only those whose rank qualified them appeared inside when court was held. But to those sitting quietly outside those palings which formed the side walls of the house, what was spoken inside was clearly audible, and it was thus that many listened for the decisions which they awaited. Then, too, since this was an enclosed council house and when the door was open a plaid cloth hung over the doorway to insure privacy, the only light which penetrated came through these openings in the side walls. The eaves hung low, barring much of the light that might have come through the palings, and this allowed but the grayest flicker even at midday and brought into the council house the atmosphere which symbolized to them the cool of morning. The word "cool" was their image for peace, and health, and fairness, and deliberation, and justice. Inside the council house, then, was a light which "cooled the heart," for heart and head are synonymous to the Bush Negro when he speaks of emotional states. 344 223 [554] [827]

It was not a large house, and it appeared smaller because of the many furnishings that were in it. Against the wall facing the door a number of magnificently carved benches lay on their sides, one on top of the other, there obviously 344 352

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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574 For a few moments there was a rapid interchange between him and the old man in the yellow coat.

"The down-river men who have brought the white man," the Granman continued his cadenced speech, "will be housed in the village. The four Gankwe men will put up their hammocks in one house. The other four will be put up in my quarter. So it is. So I care. . . . "

"Yes, wise man."

"Gbolo!"

622 554 The ceremonial introductions followed, and each chief was praised for his special services to the Granman. The man in the yellow coat was of the Oyo people, a son of a great line, held high in the esteem of men and gods. Sungi was a man who knew much of the white man's wisdom. He had been to the French shore, and knew the French tongue, he knew about white man's medicine, but, friends, he was a child of the bush! And'u was a beloved chief, an honest man, a man to send on missions of trust. The bassia was a clever man, one of the men of And'u's village. The gods loved him, for what his hands touched turned to wealth. He was a good man. He was a friend.

A low cough was heard outside. Slowly the cloth was raised, and crouching into the hut came Kasanya and [291] Bibifo. They were carefully dressed, and each wore a kerchief drawn tightly about his head. These they wore by right of age.

622 506 The bassia, lowest in rank, was greeted first, and then each chief in his turn, until the Granman was reached.

574 "Greetings, G'aman."

"Thank you, friends," came the vibrant answer.

This began the colloquy of inquiry about each other's well-being, which here at court had a longer ritual than anywhere on the river. It was a prelude of measured song which introduced all speech between strangers. Bibifo began timidly and did not show himself equal to the many variations which Kasanya had introduced with ease.

"Friends, I am glad you came. You must tell me what is happening in your villages."

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SRS Bush Negroes SRS
Saramacca

holding a stick the size of a well-grown boy's arm. Round and round they went, as the widow from her doorway moaned her lament, and guns sounded in honor of the dead. The more important the man, the more guns were fired. Their own men had been the Granman's brothers. There was shooting till . . . till late afternoon, when they could not delay the bathing at the river any longer.

Before dark, all had to go to the river to bathe, and the widow, too, was led there with the others. There she purified herself, and discarded her mourning clothes, drawing on new cloths, and making herself fit with ornaments for the ceremony of rejoicing. This was followed by dancing which lasted late into the night. All the gods might be danced to at an adyo ceremony—Adonko; Vodu, the snake; Opete, the buzzard; Tigri, the jaguar; and all the gods of the bush and the ant hill—and, at the beginning, the seketi social dances and the half-sacred awasa. These dances were held for the spirits of men and women alike, and it did not matter whether the dead, or the living members of the family of the dead, shared these gods with the rest of the villagers, or not.

"But mourning is not over yet," said Fenekonde.

Seven months more elapsed, she showed on her fingers, before a woman might cohabit with her brother-in-law. If there was no brother-in-law to take her, then a woman had to wait twelve months after the adyo ceremony, instead of seven.

"If a woman doesn't care for her brother-in-law," continued Fenekonde, "or he doesn't care for her, then, when the seven months have passed, he comes to her hammock for two nights. Then she can go to another man at once."

When the husband who had died left no brothers, and there was no one else in his family to take the widow, the family of the dead man sought out a husband for her.

"They look and they look, until they are weary," said the Granman's younger wife, "but a man must be found before a woman can come out of mourning."

123 Mataibo, the head of Yankuso's village, who was entrusted
623 with the safe passage of our boats, came to announce that
574 the men had done loading. Before the morning was yet
609 well advanced we left the house, and with the Granman
under his umbrella, which was the highest of insignia,
[554] passed to the river bank.

Our friends were there—the bassia, and Dida, and Amasina, and the Granman's wives and his little grandson, who shouted to us, "*Waka bon, ye'e!*—Travel well, you hear!" in the best manner of his elders. Again three guns sounded, and once more we were on the river, looking up at the people of these villages of the Pikien Rio who were waving to us from the shore.

502 Going down the river was restful. The enjoyment of the easy motion of the boats was felt in the manner of the paddlers themselves. Now there was no hard poling against the heavy current. As canoes were urged on the two paddlers wielded their long blades in unison, and the dugouts swung downstream in the center of the river, where the current was heaviest. When the murmurs of the rapids ahead were heard, it was but a moment until they grew into a roar, and then, in another, we were through, the man at the front standing up for an instant so that, with a twist of his paddle, he might turn the head of the boat from any threatening rock, while the stern man did not stroke at all, but merely held the craft on the course which was marked where the water tossed itself into foam-capped waves. Sometimes, as we came to rapids where the force of the water was especially strong, or there was a sharp double curve to be negotiated, the two boats would pause for a moment while Mataibo called out to the younger men the course to follow. Then into the falls, and through them, and our bow paddler would carefully rearrange his loin cloth and sit down once more to take up his steady stroking.

123 Opposite one village Sungi came in his boat to meet us,
609 to give and receive a final gift, and say his goodbye. But
it was not to the landing place of Dahomey that he took us
[831] for this interchange, but to the village of his wife, he told

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaoca

society, the "Congo" sticks, as they were called here, or the "fighting" sticks. 532

The carvings, however, which we were admiring in the house of the captain of Ma'lobbi were for secular use. The Bush Negro craftsman brought to the ornamenting of his paddles and his canoe seats, to his house posts, and particularly to the door of his treasure house, to his women's combs, and trays, and food stirrers, and clothes beaters all the traditional skill and patience. But the exceptional carver brought also the cunning in his fingers which his gods had given to him and only to few others on the river. Such a man was the captain of Ma'lobbi. Into the traditional designs such a man wove lines for the love of seeing them grow under his hand, for there were always single motifs which the people versed in the symbolism of the art would describe as "beautiful," as having no meaning. Yet with few exceptions the massing of outlines in a unified design bore on fertility. Men and women alone or together, and male and female animals were represented in all but occasional pieces. [501]

The Bush Negro artist was a man of consequence on the river. His companions admired his skill, and the young women were proud to have his handiwork. If he showed his gifts early, he was at an advantage in courting a girl of an influential family. The girl's mother, who shared in the gifts of her daughter's suitor, might be willing to overlook other less advantageous traits in the man or in his family, while the girl's uncles would not be loath to have such a man in their family to teach his art to his sons, who would be their successors. 532 554 584

On several occasions we were permitted to see how very deeply this appreciation of fine carving went. As in the instance of the paddle we had acquired from the wife of the captain of Ma'lobbi, it had happened often that the consent of the woman to sell a given piece was necessary before any trading could take place. Sometimes we traded directly with the woman, sometimes she asked her husband, or her brother, or her son, as the more worldly 432 562 439

791 He promised readily enough to go with us, but Bayo
753 told us later that he would not come.
789 "He says the white doctor cannot do more than obia
791 can do. He says a man must take what kunu brings."

Was there no obia against kunu? we asked of Bayo.

"No, but kunu is not greater than obia. It is something else. When the Sky God gave obia to man, he gave it to help man live, not to help him do bad things. When men and women earn a kunu for their family, it is because they [688] do what is hateful to the great gods and ancestors. Obia was not sent to save men from punishment."

"Does obia never punish, Bayo?" We were thinking of what he said about his own obia, of how when it seized him, he destroyed things.

But he would say no more. "I am too young, Bak'a, to speak of these things. At my age I know only a little obia. [888] You must ask the old men."

4

●SA The conversation led us one day to the obia men on the
991 river. They were, we knew, important persons in the Bush Negro communities. An obia man of reputation was not only consulted by his own villagers and clansmen, but men and women came to him from distant villages, when those who were nearer had failed them. It occurred sometimes that even from the Awka villages on the lower river, these Saramacca obia men were sought out—perhaps this was because of the same tradition which encouraged the buying of strange gods to enlarge the family pantheon, perhaps it was because of something which touched still deeper beliefs.

868 How did a man become an obia man?

867 From what we had already heard, it was apparent that here was something which approached the formal education of our own civilization, a form of education, indeed, which we pride ourselves is unique to our own way of life.

All other knowledge the Bush Negro child gains by being about with members of his family who are busy at

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner
Aucaner

and does not look with favour upon the white proselytizers.

The Granman can call a meeting of his captains at any time. They must attend, even though it involves days of rigorous travel. Although the captains look up to the Granman and acknowledge him as their superior, the connexion between them is not close enough to be considered a hierarchy. The "river nations" are not monarchies in any sense. The only laws promulgated by the Granman are those that affect the entire tribe.

Neither the captains nor the Granman have any privileges or prerogatives to set them apart from the undistinguished natives; there is no leisure class. They are all dependent upon their own efforts to earn a living, and work like anyone else in the village. Rank does not make social parasites out of them, as among us. The Granman's only external distinction is that sent by the white man, the tribute from the Dutch government. The type of social organization now prevalent among the Djukas, therefore, may be described as primitive communism.

The Aucaner, second in number to the Saramaccaner, are scattered in a less compact way over the rivers and creeks of the colony toward the French Guiana line. This tribe numbers about 6000 in population.

Just below the realm of the Saramaccaner tribe, at the junction of the Sara Creek and the Surinam River (see map facing page), are some of the Aucaner villages: Koffay Camp, Lebbi Doti, Lasa Baka, Pitchong, Baku, and other settlements. There are few villages on the long Sara Creek, but

/7 cont./

101 4th. Bonnie /Boni/ Negroes, living on the river above Marowyne;
[175] until 1862 they were in a state of slavery among the
[567] Aucaners, but at that time, through the intervention of the government, they were released from it. Their name is supposed to be derived from a former runaway slave who had placed himself at their head.

Chapter III

Government, Laws, Administration of Justice

643 Each of these tribes, except for the Bonnie Negroes, has
[292] a chief whom they call granman (governor); the uniform given to him by the government is a blue tunic with epaulets and a cocked hat with white plush.

Among the Aucaners the chief is called Byman, a cunning, courageous, and prudent man, around 63 years old.

The chief of the Saramaccaners is called Abram, an infirm old man who is very weak of character and has little influence.

The Mantoewari Negroes have a chief called Kalkoen, who, although aged and infirm, can nonetheless still be called firm of character.

631 /8/ Under their chief they have a certain number of captains and council members. The former are divided into bush captains, who take command in case of war, and into house or land cap-
[554] tains, who deal with internal matters with the chief. The token of their prestige given to them by the government consists of a large staff with a round silver ball (drum-major's stick), on which is the Netherlands coat of arms with "Je maintiendrai."

344 They have a large open shed which serves them as court and which they call kroetoehoso (probably derived from the English "courthouse").

682 Their legislation is very limited. One who kills another is punished with death; one who poisons someone suffers death by torture, provided that substantial irrefutable proof exists. (See Chapter XI below.) If the death penalty is not appropriate, the

354 /9 cont./
[372] they do not like to be without it; at least they do not like to
[353] sleep without a fire. Their weapons hang above their sleeping
[513] place, which is a hammock, in which man and wife sometimes lie together. Rarely do more than one man and one woman with their
342 small children live in a single hut.

Their articles of clothing, as well as other small belongings,
296 are kept in pagalen, a kind of plaited basketwork, while they keep
251 water, strong drinks, sugar juice, rice, salt, and so forth in
415 calabashes and godos (2).
824

2. Both hollowed-out fruit rinds of the Crescentia cagete L. and the Cucurbita lagenaria L., plants from the family of the Cucurbitaceae.

415 Some of them have cedarwood clothes-chests, which must be specially mounted with a great deal of copper; one also sometimes finds liqueur cellars with gilded bottles.

353 For the rest everything is left out in the open in the hut.

Often many men come together in one hut for their meals
264 and eat out of one large bowl or calabash. The women withdraw after having placed on very low tables several calabashes or bowls of food for their husbands in the circle in which they are seated, never forgetting to add a large calabash with clean water for washing the hands before and after the meal. The women gather in another hut in order to consume what they kept out for themselves beforehand and what has been left by their husbands.

[888] If an aged person or a highly placed person is in their midst,
[554] he is offered the calabash of food first, so that he may take from it what he wants and eat it by himself from an ordinary plate, although seated in the circle, /10/ while the others partake of their meal from the large bowl. In general they talk with one another during the meal, the highly placed person also taking part in the conversation.

613 /25 cont./
[601] nothing of their strength although they have lost all correspondence with the age of the people concerned.

614 —Dipélu II, whose members know their genealogy badly,
571 appears on the contrary to be on the way toward breaking up. The head of the Dipélu II, who bears the title of captain, resides
[578] at Kormotibo. Part of the group settled in Asisi following a disagreement, without ceasing to be under his authority.

614 One might think that the physical separation of the two
602 groups took place as a function of the genealogies, that the 2nd
571 fraction of Dipélu II emigrated as a single group to Asisi, leaving in Kormotibo the members of the 1st fraction. But this is not the case at all; examination of the genealogical table shows that the emigrant group issues as much from one as from the other; this is a very remarkable aspect of the social structure of the Refugee Blacks, which proceeds directly from their conceptions of classificatory kinship. A man is "at home" wherever his classificatory "brothers" and "uncles" live, and if a physical separation occurs in the group, preferences and personal affinities will have as much influence as closeness of kinship. /26/

613 Three generations ago, Dipélu was only one group under
614 the leadership of a single head residing in Kormotibo. The process
591 of its breaking up is a beautiful example of what Europeans produce
199 by interfering in the social life of an African tribe in order to pick out a man who appears to them more intelligent and active than the others.

[554] The companion of the explorer Crevaux, Apatu, who be-
[621] longed to this group, was on his return covered with honors, en-
[578] dowed with the title of captain and with pay; he conflicted with the legitimate head of the lo, seceded, and founded a village on the outskirts of Saint-Laurent, taking with him a fraction of the group.

/65 cont./

613 571 It seems that they expect unanimity to occur and that basically (here are found again the mental mechanisms peculiar to the Refugee Blacks), they expect it to take place by itself, to impose itself as if obvious. If nothing of the sort happens, they separate without deciding anything.

613 571 828 This public discussion of all important questions results, in the thought of the Refugee Blacks, not so much from a belief in the wisdom of assemblies as from fear of malevolence. If questions were debated in a small group, there would immediately be mistrustful and jealous minds who would see dark intrigues in it. The constant concern of the Refugee Blacks, when they have something important to say, is to find witnesses. That is in fact the role of the council, and it is why there is neither a lower age limit for taking part nor a precise rule governing the fashion of conducting the discussion.

613 554 The Captain or hedemã. The head of each of the great lineages which have been part of the tribe since its origin is recognized by the grand man as hedemã or "captain" (this word had been used since the original settlement of Europeans in Guiana to designate the chiefs of Indian tribes).

[692] The captains preside over the lãnti kuutu, supreme council whose functions are principally judiciary.

No precise rule of succession exists, and the choice of the members of the lineage is entirely free with regard to kinship ties. [103] When the old people are questioned about this, they usually answer that the successor must be chosen from among the classificatory "nephews" of the dead man, that is, from among the members of the lineage who are one more generation away from the foundress.

/65 cont./

613 554 [183] It is enough to consult the genealogical tables, on each of which we have indicated the transmission of the office of captain, to be convinced that nothing of the kind is practiced: besides, it would be impossible in fact. The council chooses from among [643] /66/ the "brothers" and the "nephews" of the deceased. If the nomination is obtained, it is valid only if the grand man does not oppose his veto. He can require that the council be begun again.

613 554 643 The grand man observes the behavior of the new head for about a year, and if he is satisfied with him, he calls him to Boniville together with the members of the lineage. He turns over to him the bench and the baton of command (waka tiki) prepared by the doyen of the lineage. He takes him by the hand and has him sit down on the bench while proclaiming him head.

613 554 This appointment is made for life; once named, a captain cannot be dismissed.

The succession of the last three captains of the Dju lo is particularly interesting (see the genealogical table of this group).

In 1948, the first time we passed through, Diolè (El) had been captain for nearly 50 years, succeeding Doomé, whose position we have not been able to place exactly in the genealogical table.

Diolè died in 1951 at about 90 years of age. At the time of the mourning his yorka was questioned, and it designated (through the medium of the coffin bearers) as a desirable successor one of his nephews in the classificatory sense, named Loko (F39).

[643] [685] The council which met upon the close of the mourning for Diolè, in 1952, approved the designation of Loko; but the grand man opposed this appointment because Loko had been guilty of a serious crime (aggravated theft) and had incurred a sentence.

/66 cont./

613 The choice of the council then turned to Atikati (E18), the
●554 oldest among them (he was more than 70 years old), this even though there were other classificatory nephews of Diolè, perfectly capable.

Atikati died in 1955. The choice of the council, meeting in 1956, was Adiiso (F37), a man of about 60.

The place of various ones on the genealogical table shows well that no precise rule of succession exists, and that the choice of the council is free.

Likewise, in looking at the genealogical table of the Awara Bakka lo, divided into three fractions, one sees that the office of captain can pass indiscriminately from one to the other. It passed from Asèmbay (Aw.B.2) to Pèèyon (Aw.B.1), then to Kondoku (Aw.B.1).

These observations permit the statement that there is no privileged line within the lineage (1).

1. Understanding by "line" for lack of a more appropriate word, a linking causing the following of an individual, in the next generation, of a single individual chosen according to a definite criterion. One could speak for example in certain types of organization of lines of eldest sons, playing a privileged role with respect to the other lines constituting the lineage. Nothing like this exists among the Refugee Blacks.

/66 cont./

613 554 The small, recently founded lineages attached to a lo each designate a head: for example, the Afi lineage has Awéni as head. But this head remains subject to the authority of the captain of the lo and his office has no official existence.

/67/ The appointment is made by a council - kuutu - of the lineage, but it is not valid until endorsed by the grand man. [787] When the deceased captain did not, while living, designate any successor, his yɔrka is interrogated in order to know whom he prefers. That does not have the force of law but can influence the council.

The council meets several days after the end of mourning for the deceased captain. All the male members of the lineage, regardless of age, give their opinion. Strictly speaking, they do not vote; but the nomination is considered valid only if three-quarters of those present are in agreement. If not, they disband without having decided anything, and the lineage can remain without a head for years. On this topic can be cited the example of the Awara Bakka lo, which remained without a head from 1935 (?) to 1953, until the appointment of Konduku. During this time the [643] grand man had designated Captain Popo, head of the Lapé lineage, to secure the interim. As for the religious functions, they were taken care of by the doyen of the lineage.

The captain has the following functions within the lineage:

1) He is priest of the ancestor worship and presides over [793] the prayers and offerings made before the fraga tiki. In this duty [769] he is replaced in case of absence by the oldest man of the lineage.

In case of the death of a member of the lineage from the [761] effect of the kunu, the captain convokes all his people in order [782] to proceed to collective prayers and offerings intended to appease the gods;

/67 cont./

613 554 692 [42] 2) He exerts an extended judiciary power, for it is taken for granted that the legal and political power of the tribe cannot intervene in affairs between members of the same lineage, even murder, for it can be said that in the custom of the Refugee Blacks the lineage represents only one single life.

It is obligatory that the following be settled within the framework of the lineage:

[254] --Accusations of murder by sorcery where victim and supposed murderer are both members of the lineage;

[423] --Arguments over lands within the zones effectively [578] possessed by the lineage.

613 554 692 577 The way in which the captain exercises his functions as judge is hard to know, because for the Refugee Blacks it is extremely shameful to reveal the dissensions within one's own lineage. And as for those of other lineages, if one succeeds in becoming acquainted with them, one scarcely dares talk about it for if that came to be known you could smart for it.

613 466 554 Lineage heads have a certain authority on the material level; they designate the men charged with doing the work ordered by the administration, but truth to tell, it is above all a question of choosing from among volunteers, for it is profitable work. They might not succeed in imposing clearly unpopular orders.

613 554 624 The captain designates a certain number of supervisors or basia to help him. Their /68/ role consists in watching over the cleanliness of the village, in making all the material arrangements relative to dances and burials, in calling together those concerned to the meetings of the council.

613 571 The lo constitutes a unit from the spiritual point of view, but it is important to notice that it does not involve any collective organization on the material level. In this domain the wildest individualism reigns; there are no tools for collective use, and people get together to make their clearings only if they want to.

/68 cont./

613 624 [562] The basia are the mouthpieces of the captain, and not at all deputies having specific authority over a definite fraction of the village. There are three or four per village; in addition there are one or two women basia through whom the village head commands the work reserved for the women.

613 554 241 702 The head of the lineage possesses no religious powers over the land. The Refugee Blacks assume that the fertility of the soil depends exclusively on local divinities, to whom each one prays on his own behalf.

613 554 681 The captain, no more than the council, does not have the right to expel a member from the lineage, even for marked unworthiness. This is one of the most remarkable aspects of the legal conceptions of the Refugee Blacks, tied to the idea that a lineage represents only one single life. There again the thought of the Refugee Blacks can be regarded as the extreme opposite of the thought of the Bamiléké, with whom the head alone retains possession of the rights over the land, expulsion constituting the supreme social sanction.

881 Initiation; age classes; men's society. These African institutions seem totally unknown to the Refugee Blacks. No form of initiation of adolescents exists, and no ceremony marks collectively their entrance into social life. Circumcision and excision are not practiced. For the children, boys and girls, there are two stages: that of the first garment, which is given upon the appearance of the pubic hair, at about 12-13 years, without ceremony, and the end of education which coincides with marriage.

[304] [852] [561]

561 The society of the Refugee Blacks rests however in large part on age hierarchy; strictly speaking there are no age classes involving a fixed organization, but they exist tacitly:

/70 cont./

643 In 1957 the Dikan lineage was practically extinct. There
613 remained only Grand Man Difu and his elder brother Samalobi, very old.

[829] The present grand man does not know the genealogy of his lineage beyond his grandmother. /Fig. 14 appears here./ /71/

[648] At the death of Awensay it was Samalobi, eldest of Awensay's classificatory nephews, who was to be named; but the French administration thought they had to oppose it, judging him too old; he yielded with good grace.

613 Samalobi, the ancestor, the patriarch of the Boni, died
[165] in May, 1957 at over 100 years old. Although very weakened by
[554] his infirmities and nearly blind, he kept great prestige and no important decision was made without his consent.

173 The son of Apatu, companion of Crevaux, he had retained an exact memory of the explorer whom he had accompanied during part of his trip in 1877. It is thanks to his memories that Crevaux's prestige has remained so great on the Maroni.

643 The grand man judges without appeal disputes between
692 members of different lineages. Truly serious affairs are extremely
578 rare, if one keeps in mind that:

[613] --Disputes over the payment of dowry, paying it back in
[583] case of divorce, and the assignment of the children, which form
[586] the main part of the cases argued before ordinary African jurisdictions, do not exist among the Refugee Blacks;

643
613

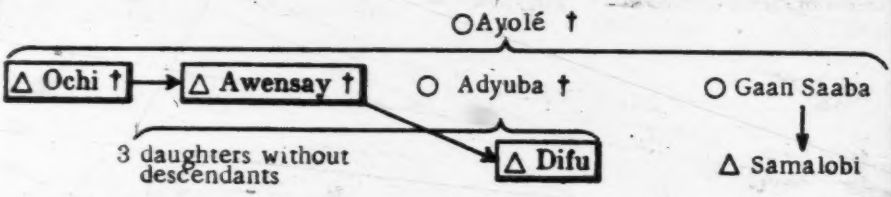

Fig. 14. Filiation of the last three grand men of the Boni.

[Agodé bakka locality]

/84 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
8	△	Grand Man Difu	1952	--	?
9	○	Paata (Djuka woman settled in Boniville)	1947(?)	id.	already used by Paata about 1940
10	○	Térésa (L2, E57) clearing cut by her sons	1953	id.	?
11	○	Paata (see above)	1953		already used by Paata in 1950

Thus, out of this group of eleven clearings, two remain attributed to the grand man, one to a woman of the Dju lineage, two to a Djuka woman, one to a woman of the Lapé lineage, five to members of the Kotika lineage, all inhabitants of Boniville. /85/

[361]
[166]
[931]
[554]

Study of the clearings of the fraction of the Papaïston established in Boniville. This group formerly lived in Puu Mofu village at the mouth of the creek of the same name, abandoned about 1940 following an epidemic. Its settlement in Boniville is therefore recent. The oldest man in the group, Bukuman, a man of some 60 years, exerts de facto authority.

This group tends to add to its initial finage the band of land included between Boniville village and Puu Mofu Creek belonging to the Dikan lo (especially clearings Nos. 12, 13, 14).

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

tion of falling in love, and the woman is inordinately proud 832
of her pieces of wood since each one betokens the affection 322
of a male. A great part of the love-life among the Djukas 431
is wrapped up in these carved household implements.

Those unfortunate natives who are not clever at handling 532
a knife must trade fish or game or some other personal pos- [438]
session for sanni produced by a more deft handicraftsman. 555
Almost any Bush Negro can hunt, fish, and care for a wife, but a man's value is enhanced in the eyes of the woman when he can carve artistically. The women appreciate him and the men respect him. Wood carving, therefore, is assiduously cultivated by the Bush Negroes from early childhood.

As sanni is a prized commodity everywhere, exchangeable 532
for female favours, a great deal of time is spent on each 322
individual piece. A single comb may take weeks to carve. The women are very good judges of sanni, and can tell a good piece at a glance. With such a critical audience, the Djuka artist is careful of his skill, and few awkward or ill-formed designs are seen. Boys between the ages of eight and ten years may be proficient carvers, and critical elders preside over their work, ready to point out any minute mistake. The father or uncle who is expert with the knife will train his son or nephew in the same tradition, so that certain families are known for their beautiful work.

This erotic significance of the wood carvings makes them difficult to obtain. The woman who sells one is not parting [832]
with a domestic utensil so much as with a treasured memento. Sentimental attachments are bound to appear. As

REBEL DESTINY

574 609 In his own house, Fandya continued to urge our staying. "Ame'ika Fandya," he said—the year before he had given his own name to the white man—"remain with us tonight and tomorrow. I am an old man. I would like to know that you saw a dance in my village. When you go to the Neng'e country, I would like you to say that Captain Fandya knew how to treat a stranger who came as a friend. Last year when you were here you said you would come with your wife. You have come. Your wife has come. Last year you came, and since then all has gone well in our village. Today there are not many people about. The women are [462] away in the fields harvesting the rice; the men are in the bush hauling lumber. But tomorrow night the women will come in from the planting grounds, because the day after they may not work in the fields, and tomorrow, too, the men will come. Stay and see our dances."

And the bassia, the man second in command, said, [1189] "Mati, last year I took an obia against the evil eye from my own door and gave it to you to hang over yours, that enemies entering your house might not bring in with them bad magic. All has gone well with you. Stay. The gods have shown they favor our friendship."

2

361 The will of the Gankwe men had, however, prevailed, and we reached the village of Pa'aba that day in good time. It was one of the largest on the river. In front of the azang 501 which guarded the road new boats lay on their sides, and farther up the path were others in the making, some black inside with charring, others huge hollowed-out logs, like gigantic drums, waiting for the hand that would set their pulses beating. These boats were as large as any we had seen on the river, as large as the boat Sedefo had rejected because it rolled and he had to think of his kunu.

[556] Kasanya said, "This is a prosperous village. They make the best boats on the river here."

And Bayo said, "Ai, this village has strong men."

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

THE ARTIST OF MA'LOBBI

As we walked toward the chief's house we looked about us, seeing again the evidence that here at Ma'lobbi there were men who knew how to carve wood, seeing why it was that our paddlers had spoken of it as a place for fine work. 322 531

"Ai, at Ma'lobbi they are good carvers."

Here was a house with its doorposts elaborately carved; there a beautifully worked rice tray, lying where it had been left by the woman who owned it, until she should need it later in the day for winnowing her rice; farther along a great bench stood, with the designs cut through in a fluid progression over top and sides. [342]

The captain was in the lower portion of his two-story house when we entered. Several of the older men, who had been present at our earlier visit and who remembered our gifts of tobacco, came to join us, as the news of our arrival spread through the village. Soon the women were standing about, motioning to the white woman to come with them. 173 609

The house in which the captain received us was larger and more imposing than the others in the village. It was his *gudu-wosu*—his treasure house. Its lower portion, where we sat in conversation with him, was where he worked. Above, where none of his wives might enter, his wealth was stored. Here he kept the pieces he had carved, and from here drew from time to time the presents he gave his wives. Here lay the wealth which his nephews would inherit when he died. But below, in the partially open shelter, was his workshop where he fashioned rough logs into stools and paddles, combs and food stirrers, trays and canoe seats, and all manner of objects which he and his women used in their daily routine. 342 556 [408] [322]

All about the walls hung tools. There were machetes, whose sharp blades showed a reflection of fire from the sun which slanted on the wall. We had never seen so many of these bush knives on display, nor, for that matter, such an array of tools anywhere on this river. From projecting boards or nails driven into posts hung several compasses, their hinged arms sharp-pointed, so that the craftsman might describe the perfect circles on the wood he carved. 342 353 412 [413]

1t Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

BAYO, THE PLAYBOY

"Bayo has asked me to find a strong *asumani* for you," she said, naming the obia she held with the word for such magically endowed properties used by the Ashanti today, on the West Coast of Africa. In rapid succession she gave us the African words of the Kromanti designation for the white clay, for the ancestral pot, and for several other ceremonial objects we discussed with her.

"Did you make these for us?"

"Ah, no. Women do not make obias. My brother made them for you."

The next morning when we were leaving Djamungo she came to the landing place with us. In our hands were the images we had bought. The young paddlers looked on them with fear. On no account would they even come too close to us who carried them. It was not the image, nor the external properties of a sacred object which disclosed its power, but rather the magic that had been called to reside in it, and the strength of the gods of him who had been instrumental in bringing the magic to the figure of wood, the brass bell, the cowrie shells, the ant-eater's bristles, or whatever else was used.

"Tell them in your village," Bayo's mother's sister called after us, "that here at Djamungo the Kromanti spirit does not come to men only. When women get Kromanti, they, too, can fight."

2

We had not been back at our base camp for more than a day when Bayo came up the path calling the greeting of a comrade. Had we fared well with the Granman?

He had, he told with pride, seen all those things a man who went on so long a journey should see, and he had been to Lamé again, where there were strong obias and where the women knew how to love. Now he would remain with us until we left the bush, and he might even decide to go with us to the city, and from there to the French shore, where there was money to be got. What with the money he had earned for timber, and the money we had given

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

him, and what he could get on the Marowyne in a year, it would be possible for him to see to it that his betrothed had all the gifts that a man of position gave to his woman. There were, too, other things to bear in mind. Already he had seen a girl who would make a desirable second wife, but that would require still more money.

"But, Bayo," we interposed, "we saw your mother at Djamungo. She told us your girl will not be ready for marrying for some time."

"Did she say that? Did she tell you that I am still a child?"

"What's the matter, Bayo? Don't you like her?"

"Awa, I like her. Not too much. She likes to talk."

We thought it politic to give the subject a new turn. Close beside Bayo lay the dog that had accompanied him the first time he came to us here, before our journey up the river. His was a curious color, a faint pinkish hue which puzzled us.

"What is the color of your dog, Bayo?"

"He is white when he does not have obia on him. He is a hunting dog. Tross is his name. He will stay with me. The obia comes off when he goes into the river."

We laughed. "Does Tross hunt in the river, Bayo?"

"No. In the bush. But if I leave him behind, he swims out to my canoe."

Tross was to become better known to us as the days went on. He had a great affection for his master, and this feeling extended to all those who appertained to Bayo. After Bayo had attached himself to our camp, we, too, came under the aura of his dog's regard, though this may have been made the more reasonable by the fact that the netting of the mosquito guards of our hammocks appealed to Tross as a comfortable place to spend the night. He was a good watchdog, and sometimes we were awakened by his low growl, and a voice saying "*Cho!*—Be quiet!" Just now we were interested in the cord about his neck, and we asked Bayo about it.

"It is more obia. It is strong, too. Nothing happens to Tross when he goes in the bush. You will see."

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Marriage requires a bride price, consisting of pieces of 583
cloth, sugar, tobacco, and some carved wooden implements, such as combs, paddles, trays. These are handed over to the bride's family as presents. Then the wife simply moves into her husband's hut, or he into hers. Despite their pre-marital 585
promiscuity, it is said that on the bridal night all the inhabitants of a Bush Negro village will gather outside the hut to hear what the husband has to say regarding the bride's virginity. If the girl is not a virgin, part of the bride price may be refunded, at the husband's discretion. The gathering on such an occasion is attended by much jocularity.

The Djuka husband builds a hut for each one of his women 593
and has another for himself, to which he may retire when- 342
ever he feels the need of bachelor seclusion. The woman 591
sleeps in her own hut, cooks, and raises her children there. The husband comes to her when he wants to, and leaves her for another wife when impulse so guides him. She seldom quarrels with the other wives, who may even live in separate villages.

Each wife has her own provision ground, where she grows 593
rice and cassava; her husband has cleared it for her. The cas- 241
sava fields are owned by individual women, but are held in 562
very loose tenure. At harvest time, or when a plague of in- [423]
sects is threatening, the women of several households work [476]
together in common.

The man's hut is called his *gudu oso,* or "treasure house." 342
It serves to impress his women with his importance and 556
wealth. They are forbidden to enter it, but, woman-like, they insist on peeping in. So he keeps many boxes and wood carv-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

342 ings inside, to give the idea of affluence. The women looking
556 into the dim interior are awed by the numerous boxes. They are usually empty, however.

837 When men go away on hunting or fishing trips, adultery
654 frequently occurs. If it is discovered by the husband's family, they seize the wife and beat her. Her own family rushes to her aid, and a general mêlée ensues. The village is soon in
[572] an uproar, and to the captain belongs the unpleasant and thankless task of stopping the fight. There is considerable excitement for a few minutes. Many a hot listless evening is provided with a momentary thrill because someone's wife has been careless. After the mêlée the wife is usually forgiven, and the village returns to its normal routine.

586 Divorce is easy. A married woman merely informs the bosseia and captain, and moves out of her husband's hut, going back to her parents or to her lover. Even this formality may be dispensed with if she simply locks the door and refuses to let her husband enter. There is an heroic simplicity to this procedure. The husband may do the same, divorcing any one of his wives without assigning any reason for his action. The parting—we hesitate to distinguish it as a divorce—is usually on the woman's initiative; men leave their wives not so often as their wives leave them. Usually a husband will endure a wife until domestic dissension makes his life unbearable. Among women the motives for divorce vary; a husband's impotence is a very adequate reason, for of all masculine virtues the Djuka women esteem virility the most. Impotence seems to be common among primitive peoples after

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No form of trade (1) is traditionally observed among them,

1. Since 1954, one of them, enriched by boat transport, set up a food business at Kotika, but this is a man more than half "creolized" and one who established himself in the midst of Creoles.

this activity being for them manifestly tied to the idea of the exploitation of others; there is not even any market in the villages. Each person produces, or finds among the people of his own lineage, what food he needs; as for imported objects, the Boni buy them in the course of their trips from the coast traders. That plague of African societies, pseudo-trade or parasitism, is unknown to the Refugee Blacks. Just as one meets among them neither ragamuffins nor beggars, one perceives nothing nasty or low in their social relation.

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In their collective life there is something aboveboard, clean, which strikes one on first meeting them and which one does not tire of admiring, the further one penetrates into the functioning of their institutions.

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593 342 461 [198] Nothing marks better the small place the conjugal bond has in a man's life; imagine the torture which this forced living and crowding together represent for each of these women! The Boni of today, much richer than their ancestors and better equipped with tools, are singularly lazier in building houses; no longer is anyone seen to sculpture and decorate the façades lovingly; when a man, after many recriminations, decides to build a house for his wife, he is content most of the time now with a simple shelter with plaited walls, which does not require 30 days work.

595 As we have said, each man may take as many wives as he wishes, on condition that he can supply their needs; but in practice the maintenance of a household is so heavy a load that most men have only one or two wives; only one to our knowledge has three. In fact, it is contrary to custom to free oneself by paying for work which one must do for one's wife. We have never heard it said that a rich man (many of them have hundreds of thousands of francs in savings) paid money in place of a piece of work, or paid someone to do it for him. The furnishing of imported objects is particularly burdensome, especially cloth, kitchen utensils (Boni women are infatuated with aluminum objects), and occasionally jewels. The Boni conceded in 1958 that the maintenance of a wife amounted to 30 to 40 thousand francs a year at least. If one considers that a hard-working man earned about 120,000 francs a year, that he spent 30 to 40 thousand francs a year for himself, that he often had /151/ in addition to provide for the needs of his aged parents and share the expenses of the festivals of the lineage, one sees that he could not have more than two wives at the same time. As for less hard-working men, who have no more than 60 to 80 thousand francs a year in ready money, they have a great deal of trouble in facing the maintenance of a single household, and many divorces have no other cause.

593 [461] [556] [454] [439] [511] [434] [511] [695] [434] [611] [586]

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159 Wishing to take advantage of all the possibilities which
464 turn up, the Refugee Blacks are led to learn simultaneously the
463 traditional techniques of their group, boating, boat-building, felling of trees, squaring of wood, and /building/ framework. In these techniques they may be considered specialized workers.

157 Proud of their strength and knowledge, sure of themselves,
812 the Refugee Blacks are never worried about the future and consider life as an exciting adventure, ceaselessly bringing new things. If the past year has been bad, the new year will be better, with God's help. Nobody doubts that he will find gainful work again.

152 Influence of jealousy: absence of specialized professions and
182 trade. Another strong psychological tendency having a direct influence on the economy is jealousy.

152 The effect of jealousy, and the fear of jealousy, is to
828 limit enrichment and to maintain a de facto equality: it often
556 happens that talented people forego undertaking profitable work
753 in order not to give occasion for the jealousy which would render
999 their position in the village difficult and might draw misfortunes upon them; for people have the idea that jealousy draws down illnesses and calamities upon him who is the object of it and on his near relatives, by the action of a natural force, even without sorcery being formulated.

754 Fear of sorcery interferes in the same way; one who be-
556 comes unusually rich is almost inevitably accused of being a
441 sorcerer and may be obliged to leave the country. Particularly
829 vulnerable are those, very rare, who engage in trade. People do not suspect of sorcery a man who is seen to become rich by /292/ working ceaselessly. But the trader whose wealth increases without his furnishing obvious work, is quickly regarded as a "committed one," accused of having his good luck as a result of a pact with the devil.

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754 526 441 438 366 In that can doubtless be seen the most likely explanation of the absence, in the tribes of Refugee Blacks, of any internal trade. There are not even markets in the villages. In practice only Creole and Asian traders are patronized.

463 829 [438] The repugnance which the Refugee Blacks have for trading with one another contributes toward preventing the development of specialized professions among them. Specialization does actually exist: one man is particularly good at building boats, another is a competent carpenter, still another devotes himself mainly to fishing; but the Refugee Blacks exercise these specialties with respect to other peoples and not with respect to one another. Nobody fails to build his own boat, his house, to cut his clearings himself. If it were otherwise, classes and castes would rapidly be created, and that is precisely what the moral law of the Refugee Blacks condemns. A special effect of this conception is to preserve family custom from deteriorating, by preventing the rich from becoming great polygamists maintaining idle mistresses. We have never heard it said that a richer man paid someone to perform for him the customary work he owes to his wives, clearings, house, boat. Whatever his wealth may be, he continues to do these jobs by the sweat of his brow, and that contributes toward maintaining in its meaning and value the tacit contract concluded between husband and wife.

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182 157 433 648 Thus the geographic conditions, associated with influences of a social and psychological order, impose on the Refugee Blacks a unique economy, based on a symbiosis with the coast populations in the form of piece-work or temporary wage-earning.

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583 A girl's marriage does not involve any dowry in the African sense of the term, but it involves payment of the price of virginity to the mother. This payment is made after consummation of the marriage (or after defloration if there has been a clandestine union). It consists of seven pieces of cloth, a demijohn of tafia, and various imported objects (the whole representing in 1958 about 8,000 francs, which is relatively small for the Refugee Blacks). It really has to do with the price of virginity, for nothing is paid back if there is a break-up. The man moreover gives the girl white beads /possibly "pearls" --Tr./, red cloth, and sweetmeats which constitute the payment of her akka.

[429] The price of virginity is paid to the person who has raised the girl, even if it is a man. This person divides it equally with the mother or, if the latter is dead, with the mother's sisters.

For example, for O Balkom (D,u, F10), brought up by her father Malobi in Loka village, her husband Moomu (Kotika) paid the price of virginity to Malobi who shared it with his wife Béniti.

[604] [613] No payment is made to the uncles or to the head of the lineage.

836 [599] The fact that a girl may carry on a clandestine affair and be deflowered without having been properly proposed to is considered a shame for the mother; but if the seducer confesses and pays the price of virginity, honor is restored.

Defloration does not necessarily entail marriage, for the seducer does not always intend to take on the maintenance of a household.

If the girl is deflowered too young, her mother does not give her the pagi and continues to forbid her to have sexual relations, for she fears that she may become pregnant. Now for 848 a girl, becoming pregnant without having concluded a contract 558 of maintenance with a man is an extreme shame, for that means she is not worth anything.

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584 539 I do not know whether thou lovest me, whether thou wilt answer yes or no; perhaps I am not so handsome as thou, but I cannot help loving thee. If thou lovest me, tell me clearly. I have come, I have attached my boat to a rock, I have wet my feet before reaching land (2)."

> 2. High-flown words to which no precise meaning can be attached; it is a kind of verbal music whose formulas vary infinitely.

"Come back tomorrow, come back, I cannot answer thee today, I cannot."

"I know for today, but not for tomorrow (3); yield to me,

> 3. One must understand: It is necessary to decide today.

be mine, I shall give thee the garment (4)."

> 4. The man lays down one of his garments at the home of the woman who has agreed to marry him.

584 Our departure on our tour the next day put an end to his attempts for the time being!

836 684 It often happens that the girl allows herself to be seduced; her mother soon learns of it from the village people. She flies into a passion, beats her daughter to obtain a confession without which she can obtain nothing from the supposed seducer. It is an extreme shame for a mother not to receive the price of her

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/148 cont./

836 684 [558] daughter's virginity: the other women will make fun of her and as for the men, they will be unanimous in laughing cruelly at the new trick played on the women. Now certain girls refuse obstinately to confess, or they have already had several adventures, so that nobody succeeds in knowing the truth. After many recriminations and arguments the affair proceeds no further.

If it has been possible to identify the seducer with certainty, the mother, arming herself with a stick, goes from village to village to find him; his uncles intervene and end by settling the business by asking the mother to accept, since there is nothing else to do, the payment for virginity. This sum absolutely must be paid; if the young man were not able to do it, his uncles would pay it for him even if they have to turn against him ultimately. The mother accepts the payment, honor is safe.

583 In many cases the couple consider themselves as joined, at least temporarily; the man prepares, if he is hard working, to build a house for his wife. If he is not hard working, he simply promises to make one for her some day; in reality he has spared himself this great labor; the woman will have to wait for years unless her mother or one of her uncles dies, bequeathing her his or her house. /149/

836 684 Observation in Boniville in October, 1956:

A village woman comes to complain to Fintiman that his nephew and ward Doni has deflowered her daughter Elina, 15 years old, in July of the same year. She learned it indirectly, and the daughter expressly confessed it. Doni admitted the facts; he promised to pay the indemnity at the end of the border-fixing mission when he has received his pay. Elina continues to wear the kwey until further orders and does not show any embarrassment. Doni comes back in the evening. I hear Fintiman reprimand him, but only for form's sake: "Deflowering a girl when one does not intend to live with her is something which is

/156 cont./

586 The estimate of the average number of divorces for women
[128] born before 1896 is probably lower than the actual number, their first divorces not being well known to our informants. It is probably in the neighborhood of two.

586 The increase in frequency of divorces among young women
593 is striking. It is related to the weakening of the authority, very
178 strong in former times, exercised by mothers over their daughters.

Here are two examples concerning two girls we have known since their childhood.

836 Lomé (L2, F74, Boniville) born in 1938, began to cause people to talk about her in 1954. She was deflowered by N..., who did not want to marry her. Then she had relations with Asadam (K, Boniville), who did not want to marry her either. She was beaten; she continued to see him. Now this is extreme-
[558] ly shameful for a girl because it is placing herself in a state of inferiority with respect to a man, when her self-respect consists in making a contract between equals.

582 Her brother Amèmbé beat her, and she ended up by marrying Pitipiti (Aw.B.2, Asisi village), who formally asked
586 for her in marriage in 1956. This marriage lasted less than a
587 year. In 1957 Lomé divorced him to marry Djoni (Kotika village).

584 Aguba (D u, G14), girl of Asisi-Dju village, born in 1941, had been proposed to with the customary formalities in May, 1956 by Païtiki (L2, Loka village), a young man of 18. It was
584 agreed that the engaged couple would wait two years. But
585 Païtiki did not wait and consummated the marriage clandestine-
[429] ly at the end of a few months. Lènga, Aguba's aunt and guardian, became very angry and beat her. She did not give her the pangi until May, 1957. The marriage lasted only a few
586 months. /157/ By the end of 1957 Aguba was breaking off with Païtiki and beginning openly to look for adventures.

/254 cont./

784 756 751 If someone realizes that he has broken his kina, he goes to see, not an ɔbiaman, but the specialist-healer of leprosy and asks him to treat him by way of prevention.

411 832 [177] [558] Beliefs about guns and hunting. The gun, which entered the everyday life of the Refugee Blacks two centuries ago, has taken an important place in their magic. It is the symbol of virility. A Refugee Black who no longer has a gun is a man humiliated and almost dishonored. As one of them explained to us in begging us to help him replace his old gun eaten by rust: "If you cannot present yourself before the women with a machete, hunting bag on your shoulder, and gun in your hand, you are not a man."

411 754 This idea has been transposed onto the plane of magic and they take for granted that the wisimã can, by putting evil spells on a gun, attack the owner of the weapon in his virility. It is supposed to be enough for someone to put his finger into the barrel of the gun while uttering a formula of vengeance, or even being moved by hate for the owner of the weapon, for this gun to be no longer capable of hitting the mark. So, to avoid these misfortunes, the Boni never part with their guns and never lend them to anyone. If, in spite of these precautions, they 411 789 have the impression that a gun no longer fires so well, they will go to an ɔbiaman to have it washed of maleficent influence. There exist for that purpose several remedies all of which consist of soaking the gun for one to three days in infusions of leaves, which has the unfailing result of making it rust. We have seen a hammerless, latest model gun spoiled thus by an intelligent Boni head boatman, a clever mechanic and usually full of good sense.

224 We have never witnessed among the Boni any individual or collective hunting rites claiming to attract game or to promote meeting it (when, on the contrary, hunting piayes are extremely widespread among the Creoles).

/257 cont./

842 A few weeks afterward she found herself pregnant, and
776 it seemed obvious to all that this was the doing of a Wata Ingi.

845 No magic power is attributed to the tɔne pikin, any more than special mental or physical characteristics. But it is assumed that they are the object of a special protection, and that they cannot be harmed with impunity.

771 The sacred character of payment. Relations between the gods
789 and men always have the character of a bargain, among the
435 Refugee Blacks: an irritated divinity is never appeased by repentance or good will; it requires that it be paid; likewise, an ɔbia is of value only for the person who has paid for it. Refugee Blacks will never utilize ready-made magic recipes: uttering certain words, making certain gestures; face to face with such a recipe they will ask immediately: "From what
[P/2] god does this ɔbia come, and whom must one pay?" It seems that in their conception every transference of a spiritual power or a magic force disturbs something in the proper functioning of the universe; payment restores this equilibrium, it is the
[M] mark of legitimacy. Some Creoles of African ancestry transpose the same idea with respect to Christianity, and this is /258/ why they insist so much on paying for masses and buying
759 "orisons" (1). One observes likewise that free medical care
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1. Written prayer to which is attached protective power. This notion, borrowed from the rustic magic of 17th-century France, seems to have been introduced into Guiana by the first European colonists.

lowers the prestige of the doctor in the eyes of all.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
S[illegible] Bush Negroes SR8
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him. He has taken boats up and down the Marowyne. He is my grandson. If I had one of my own blood, I would have had him accompany you. . . . But my sisters' children sleep," he ended, using the euphemism for death. 603 888

When we came to know the young man, we asked him about this incident with the Granman. Was he not afraid to interrupt him?

"Ma kye! But he is my grandfather! With my grandfather I make sport."

Again we went to the old men and sought in village after village for their own explanation of this behavior toward grandparents.

There were, we learned, age distinctions that were deeply felt. A man was on easy terms with those of his own generation. Between parents and children, and those of the generation of their parents, however, there was a definite code of behavior. For example, no young man or woman might talk of sexual matters with either parent, and this lack of sanction for frankness in sexual discussions with parents became an actual taboo with parents-in-law. Encounters with the "pai" and "mai," as they were known, were hemmed in by countless prohibitions. A man might not sleep in the same house with either of them, nor might he eat with them out of the same dish. If he met either of his parents-in-law as he went along the path, he had to turn aside, make way for them, and cover his face. He might not pronounce their names, nor might they speak his. These observances held for women, too, and the ones we mention were by no means all. 561 576 606 [593] [831]

With grandparents, however, a vastly different situation obtained. 603

"He is my grandson. I call him mati—friend. I make sport with him!"

"She is my granddaughter. She calls me husband. She makes free with me!"

"She is my granddaughter, we talk about everything. She calls me kambo, and I call her kambo." Again, we

/61/

173 193[illegible] Mission to determine the trijunction point of the frontiers of French Guiana-Brazil-Surinam.

1939 Declaration of war.

1944-45 Not a precise point of reference. The Boni confuse the liberation of the territory with the end of the war.

1948 First I.G.N. mission.

1949 Mr. Aubert de la Rüe's mission; second I.G.N. mission.

1952 Third I.G.N. mission. /blank page/ /63/

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

571 The social institutions of the Refugee Blacks diverge noticeably from those of the African peoples from whom they issued. [561] They do not include age grades, men's societies, or initiation; [515] marriage involves neither a contract between kin groups nor [881] "dowry." [583]

In a general way these societies founded by rebel slaves who 571 had retained an extreme horror of all oppression were organized 626 so as not to have any material constraint weigh upon the individual. Their institutions are entirely founded on the idea of protection [771] against suprahuman perils; the individual remains perfectly free, and he adheres /to these institutions/ only in proportion as he is [156] conscious of these perils. The custom of the Refugee Blacks, devoid of any means of material coercion, tends to develop within the individual the feeling that he is constantly threatened,

/64 cont./

Functioning of the Lineage

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We have seen that the effective social group, lo, fraction of an extended lineage, is a social unit possessing all that is necessary to a human group to live, settling its differences and enforcing its rights:

--Ancestor worship;

--A head filling at the same time the role of priest of the ancestors and judge;

--Collective rights over a portion of land.

613 619 A lineage could live perfectly independent without any tie of dependence vis-à-vis any tribe whatsoever. [illegible]ly, there exist in the interior of Surinam several lineages of very ancient origin (which are joined under the name of Bakabuchi * back of the bush) who live totally independent.

613 561 No privileged line of descendants exists within a lineage and the only hierarchy recognized is that of age, or more exactly of closeness to the founding ancestress.

613 561 604 Collective tutelage of uncles in the classificatory sense is effective only in childhood, but the principle of it continues during the whole lifetime. In a discussion a man must avoid violently contradicting one of his "uncles" and finds it normal that more weight is attached to the opinion of this uncle than to his own. In 1956 we were subjected to some disagreeable incidents due to a bossman who was the classificatory uncle (although the same age) of the motorman of his boat; the motorman hesitated to order him vigorously as he did his other bossman and he, on his part, did not fail to remind his "nephew" of the respect due him.

/64 cont./

613 Nevertheless the lineage is not strictly speaking divided into
561 age grades; and when the men assemble in council for an affair which concerns the whole group, all may take the floor without consideration either of age or of place in the genealogy.

613 The council (kuutu). This is the principal social institution with-
571 in the lo. The kuutu is the assembly of the men of the lo without
561 consideration of age. No precise rule defines the age at which an adolescent may begin to attend it, and in principle all may take the floor. But decorum requires that unless they are personally interested in the question or have something important to say, the young let the elders do the talking. /65/

613 It is the captain (hedemã) and in his absence the eldest of
571 the lineage who presides. He faces the assemblage, surrounded by some of the oldest men.

[537] Opposite him he has a respondent (piki mã) who greets all his sentences with ritual approbations hiya, hiya ba!, na so!, etc., without which a Refugee Black could not suitably make his speech.

Each one then speaks if he feels the need to express his opinion. Women do not take part in the council unless it is a
[562] question of a daughter's marriage; but it happens that men leave the meeting to go get the advice of their mothers and take their places again. If it concerns a simple affair without suprahuman complications, such as the fixing of the price of a piece of work, the discussion is often quickly over; but in the opposite case the discussion continues interminably, for there is no exact rule for concluding it. Only a negative rule exists: the determined opposition of one-fourth to one-fifth of the council members prevents the carrying out of a project.

/68 cont./

613 624 [562] The basia are the mouthpieces of the captain, and not at all deputies having specific authority over a definite fraction of the village. There are three or four per village; in addition there are one or two women basia through whom the village head commands the work reserved for the women.

613 554 241 702 The head of the lineage possesses no religious powers over the land. The Refugee Blacks assume that the fertility of the soil depends exclusively on local divinities, to whom each one prays on his own behalf.

613 554 681 The captain, no more than the council, does not have the right to expel a member from the lineage, even for marked unworthiness. This is one of the most remarkable aspects of the legal conceptions of the Refugee Blacks, tied to the idea that a lineage represents only one single life. There again the thought of the Refugee Blacks can be regarded as the extreme opposite of the thought of the Bamiléké, with whom the head alone retains possession of the rights over the land, expulsion constituting the supreme social sanction.

881 Initiation; age classes; men's society. These African institutions seem totally unknown to the Refugee Blacks. No form of initiation of adolescents exists, and no ceremony marks collectively their entrance into social life. Circumcision and excision are not practiced. For the children, boys and girls, there are two stages: that of the first garment, which is given upon the appearance of the pubic hair, at about 12-13 years, without ceremony, and the end of education which coincides with marriage.

[304] [852] [561]

561 The society of the Refugee Blacks rests however in large part on age hierarchy; strictly speaking there are no age classes involving a fixed organization, but they exist tacitly:

/68 cont./

561 198 The class of the young people, yuŋku sama, has definite activities; "style," that is to say, elegance, dancing, singing; it has a special language made up from taki-taki by inversion or addition of syllables. When the language begins to be known outside the group of young people, it is abandoned and another is invented. These past years the language in vogue was akɔspina, of Djuka origin; it had given rise to a whole folklore of songs.

561 Two other age classes appear to be rather clearly differentiated: that of the elders /69/ - gaã sama - (older than some 50 years), whose voices are preponderant in the councils, and that of the old men - gaãndi sama - (older than 65 to 70 years).

[888] It is conceded by all that only the elders possess wisdom and knowledge, and in principle, in a discussion, the opinion of the eldest of them has the force of law.

575 Neither does one perceive among the Refugee Blacks any customary societies playing a role comparable to the men's society 571 in the Sudan for example. In a general way their social life, very individualistic in spite of appearances, knows no other organization than the one resulting from kinship ties.

767 Nevertheless, the organization of the men within each village with an eye to the mourning ceremonies can be regarded as a rough approximation to customary societies:

--Kisimã or coffin-makers;

--Olɔma or grave-diggers.

But these societies are narrowly specialized and their customary powers exist only as long as the duration of their effective work.

562 Men and women. Even within the lineage where men and women 571 call one another brother, sister, aunt ... the relations between men and women are marked by mistrust.

/73 cont./

643 644 586 The present grand man, contrary to his predecessors, has only one wife. She is dressed like the other women and works at her clearing like everyone else, /74/ but her marriage to the grand man imposes special obligations on her: she can not divorce him; neither can he repudiate her.

643 829 The attitude of the Boni toward the grand man is a curious mixture of respect and disparagement. They regard him as the living symbol of their nation, and each one resents as if it were a personal insult an outsider having an incorrect attitude toward him. But their undisciplined spirit kicks up at the measures he is obliged to take to make them respect customary law, and even the authority of a poised and benevolent man like Grand Man Difu is not willingly accepted. As a matter of fact, the Boni stand for [754] the authority of the grand man as they adhere to the worship of [775] their gods, by the feeling of an absolute and inexorable necessity; in their minds the grand man is above all the priest of Odun; if the grand man were not there, they would be without defense against the wisiman, without recourse against the vengeance exercised by the yorka of the dead of other lineages.

The political power of the grand man is entirely based on these beliefs, and if they were to collapse, he would disappear [626] with them. Nobody would submit to any other law than that of the lineage, founded upon fear of the ancestors.

692 693 The lānti kuutu. This is the assembly of the men, without distinction of age (1) or kinship; this council (lānti = law) constitutes

> 1. There is no precise rule for fixing the age from which an adolescent may sit in this council. It is apparently when he has reached full physical development and earns his living by his own efforts, about 18 to 20 years. He does not have to be married.

[561]

the legal apparatus of the Boni.

/132 cont./

648 difficulty in learning the techniques of his group, for the years
871 when the mind is most pliant have been lost in this regard; as
156 for the knowledge acquired at school, it is so foreign to the life of the Refugee Blacks that at the end of a few years none of it remains except vague smatterings.

861 In general, the process of education employed among the Refugee Blacks is imitation of the adult. A child is rarely given a lesson as such. He sees something done, he tries on his own
868 initiative, and little by little he learns. For example, /133/ he sees his guardian make a boat; he is simply asked to go and get dry palm branches and to take away the chips; he hears the adults discuss the job as it goes on. At about the age of 12 or 13 he tries to make a first boat for himself with the help of an older comrade. He progressively acquires knowledge of this technique.

561 Boys begin to take part in farm work from the age of six
462 or seven, principally weeding and planting. At about ten or eleven they begin to handle the machete and help to cut through the bush; at about 12 they begin to handle the axe and learn to fell trees. At 14 or 15 they begin to make small boats. An adolescent of 16 or 17 is in general capable of cutting a clearing for his mother or sister.

429 Most often the guardian takes his role very seriously, giving
86 his main attention to teaching the child all that is necessary. If it is a woman, she asks her brothers to teach the techniques of boating and building.

866 The principle is to develop very early a sense of responsi-
461 bility in the child by making it progressively necessary for him
434 to earn his living. The guardian does not furnish pocket money,
[291] and with the exception of a hammock every other year, no manufactured objects (children under 11-12 years not being clothed, he has almost no expenses for clothing). But he gives the child progressively chances to earn money by his work. From ten years on, the child begins to render some services: for example for the construction of a boat, he helps transport the dry palm branches intended for the burning. If the boat is being

/133 cont./

866 made for sale, the guardian gives him a small sum out of the
461 money gained. At 14 an adolescent begins to satisfy nearly all
434 his own needs.

For example, from June to December, 1956, Tasa (14
883 years), son of Fintiman (Boniville) had earned about 13,000
465 francs:

June	helped his father build a large boat for the administration (45 days)	6,000
October	went to Saint-Laurent as auxiliary bossman .	3,000
December	helped convoy a boat of the border-fixing mission sent back empty to Maripasoula . .	4,000
		13,000

882 His father, entrusted with his education, let him use this
868 money in his own way; he pointed out to us with pride that for the first time in 1956 his son had been able to satisfy all his own needs, but that it was important to keep him under a firm hand until he was capable of doing a man's work alone: for that, five or six years of apprenticeship would not be too much.

868 In fact, many times we had the chance to verify it, it is
561 in this prolonged apprenticeship that are developed the seriousness
[153] of mind and the technical skill so remarkable among the Refugee Blacks. At 20 years, most of them still do not know how to do
[582] anything worthwhile, and it is scarcely before 25 or 27 that they
[178] become capable of /134/ painstaking work; in this respect the present tendency of the young boys toward precocious emancipation (the marriage age of men is going down to 20 and even 18 years) runs the risk of having very unfortunate consequences for the future of the Refugee Blacks.

429 The person charged with the education of a girl exercises the powers of a mother toward her. It is she who authorizes
[582] her to marry, and by giving her the pagi, married women's garment, gives her symbolically her freedom as a woman. It is
[583] to her that the first husband pays the price of the virginity of the girl.

/134 cont./

429 Until very recent times the authority of the guardian had
561 remained very strong and was prolonged very late; he had the
861 right to strike his ward to make him obey, and he exercised his
582 powers until the time when, judging the child's education finished,
he authorized him to marry, which formerly seldom happened
before 25-27 years.

Fintiman (of Boniville), about 50 years old in 1958, tells that his father, entrusted with his upbringing, did not authorize him to marry before he was completely established as a carpenter and boat-builder, at about the age of 27. Until that age he remained subject to the most tyrannical authority; his father intended especially to forbid him to go out in the evening, and in order to carry on a clandestine affair he had to use nocturnal fishing expeditions as a pretext!

429 When a boy's guardian judges his education finished, he
884 helps him to build his house and gives him tools, a trunk containing clothes, and a hammock. Henceforward the boy must make his own way in life.

429 All during his lifetime he will continue to show the greatest
576 respect to the person who raised him and often, speaking of that
601 person, he will say: "my father" or "my mother."

601 When a Refugee Black says in the course of a conversation, "My father used to do this," he often means the man who brought him up; if he wishes to speak of his true father, he will say, "My own father who made me." Likewise when he says "My
128 grandfather," he usually means a great-uncle. This confusion
114 makes research on family life risky as long as one does not
593 possess any census by names; apparently it has led several authors into error, making them believe that among the Refugee Blacks the father brings up his children himself, when this is on the contrary the exception.

/214 cont./

562 On the other hand, possession is much more frequent among
787 women: it can be estimated that on the average, one adult woman out of three or four has a gadu.

162 For example in Boniville, out of 115 persons including
776 about 70 adults, one reckons about 30 gods including 8 to 10
787 Papa gadu, 8 to 10 Kumẽnti, 1 Bunsunki, and 2 Ampuku.

791 Apprenticeship for possession can begin from adult age,
787 but it seems /215/ that in general it is between 35 and 50 that
561 women take heed of obtaining a gadu. Would that not be, very
562 unconsciously, the desire to stay in the limelight and indirectly to keep a hold over men, once the age of sensual attraction is past?

787 Possession continues for life, and it is out of the question for a god to be transmitted before the death of its bearer. For example, in 1957, the centenarian grandmother in Asisi village, Kuluba, still kept her Papa gadu god. She had not participated any more in the dances of possession for long years, but her gita was always consulted.

But it can happen, if a possessed person stops taking part in dances and practicing the rites that have been shown him, that any manifestation ceases at the end of a few years.

We observed that in B... of the Dipélu II io, in 1948 and 1949. He used to exhibit strong attacks of the gita of Kumẽnti. He stopped his instruction, finding that it was costing too much and was taking time. In 1952 he exhibited only latent manifestations of his gita at rare intervals. In 1956 nothing was any longer observable.

787 It can happen, on the other hand, that attacks of pos-
789 session become so frequent and so strong that the person concerned risks losing his reason; if it concerns a god which did not come of its own initiative, one can try to expel it. In
824 order to "wash" someone free of a gita, he is made to pass between two rows of Sbiaman who hold dry palms, pina tSago, in their hands and utter adjurations.

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wash every day until Wednesday came to permit her to dance. When she washed with the sacred moistened clay, she rubbed the white on her children. 751 776 783

"Will all the women dance on Wednesday who have the same god as you?"

The child's mother shook her head. "If the god comes to them, yes. If he doesn't come, they can't dance."

And the bassia's wife said, "The women who are in the menstrual house can't dance. When they hear the drums, they are troubled, but they must remain quiet." 841

The woman had spoken too eagerly and too loudly, for her husband, overhearing her, said something in a low rapid voice, and at once the women fell silent and several of them remembered errands they had to see to. 593

4

"When men are in the council house, you mustn't interrupt," said the bassia's wife to the white woman. "If we did what you did just now, our husbands would scold us when they got home, and if we did it again, they would beat us." 576 [593]

She had taken upon herself all the prerogatives of friendship, and continually criticized the manners of her visitor.

The old were to be greeted last. A gift was to be received by another. When returning a piece of carving to another's hand, the carving should rest on the outstretched palm, while the elbow of that arm lay on the palm of the other hand. In the presence of men, a woman who took a stool should turn it about and sit on its narrower side.

"Never sit on the bare earth. The spirits don't like it," she said one instant, and the next, "Don't play with your fingers on top of your sun helmet. Your breasts will get long. Drumming is not a thing for women." [806] [562]

There had been other warnings during earlier visits to Bush Negro villages, but none had borne down so heavily upon the shortcomings of the stranger.

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village. A household was not confined to one building only, but few who were not men of rank and means had more than three. One was for the woman and her children, another for storing the crops, and the third was the man's treasure house, where women might not come. It was like the matter of wives. Only men of position could afford more than one. But if a man had two wives and both lived in his village, then perhaps five huts would bear a design identified with him on the carved side posts which outlined the low doorway. This design would recur in the various carvings he had made for his women—it was his crest. And though a man from another village, who was not related to him, might like it, and liking it copy it, this practice would be socially frowned upon.

A village quarter, however, did not contain only dwelling places, and storehouses, and men's treasure houses. Certain families also had in their part of the village an enclosed shrine for the family gods. If in a given family a powerful Vodu, or snake god, had come to an ancestress and had in a dream, or in a seizure, or through a revelation made to an obia man, chosen her as his *'asi*—his priestess or medium—then with this disclosure came the instructions for the place of locating a house of worship to that Vodu, and the type of house it was to be. Such a shrine, once erected, would be kept in the quarter, and worshiped by the members of that family. Sometimes in front of a dwelling hut, a low enclosure, the size of a small kennel, would stand a little to the side of the door. This was a house to Toné, the river spirit. In one such house lived a woman who had a great Toné god. She had the gift of prophecy. When the men gathered for a council meeting in the village of the Granman, then she, too, would sometimes be bidden to come and sit with the men, though, being a woman, she could never speak at council meetings.

"Touch her skin," the other women said, pointing out this albino woman, "and you will have your desires fulfilled."

In each quarter, too, there was an open house where the women did their cooking, and perhaps a platform or two,

782 "Tonight there will be dancing for you," And'u said, when we left the shrine. "I will go and pray again before the dance, and then I will go to my hammock early, for I leave at sunrise. We will meet again at the G'aman's."

The bassia's wife followed us to our house.

[562] "You are a woman, yet you went inside the shrine. Maybe you do have gods, white woman. When you go in again will you pray to the Earth Mother for the woman Kupa, who is my sister? Twice she bore girl children, and both sleep. Now she is with child again. She wears many obias [842] about her neck, and daily she washes with white clay. She is the woman with the wooden obia doll hanging between her breasts. No, not the one who has the small black sack about her neck. Any woman who is with child wears that. You will know her when you see her. She is beautiful."

7

535 The dance was held in the bassia's quarter, in front of one of his houses. The bassia was a man of wealth. He had three wives, while the chief had but two. Whether one of the three was only nominally his wife and had come to him at the death of a brother, we were unable to learn, but that his means were large was apparent. The house where his [342] personal possessions were stored was built high on posts. A house so raised stood out from those about it and bore the same name as the moon. Underneath it, in the shelter made by the posts, lay a partly made drum, some carved wooden implements, and carpenter's tools. There was also a forked stick in the ground upon which rested a black obia pot with water and weeds in it.

535 The children began the dancing.

533

Ayo, ayo
Ayo, ayei,
Agida comes,
[539] *Ayo, ayo,*
Earth spirits come,
Ayo, ayei.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-8 (1928-1929) 1934
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625 some action was decided upon by the krutu, the several bassias were entrusted with its execution. Most villages [562] had at least one woman bassia, and she was responsible to the village head for the behavior of the women. If food was to be gathered for a festival, if the village was to be cleaned for a special occasion like a visit to the village of strangers, it was she who saw that the work was done properly. If there were disputes between two women, it was she who carried the news to the village head, and she who transmitted his censure or decision, if the affair was not of sufficient gravity to warrant the calling together of the old men.

562 "Do the women talk in the big krutu?" we asked Bassia Anaisi, of the Granman's village.

"No, not in krutu. But they talk plenty at home."

623 The bassia, we learned, had other duties. He was not 624 only the messenger of his chief, he was also his official spokesman at krutu, and his intermediary in all matters of authority. If a council of the village was to be called, it was he who announced this to the men. When the men had gathered, it was not the chief who spoke, but the bassia who propounded the questions at issue. It was for this reason that Kasanya had leaned over and advised us to call for our town man.

623 Krutu, we learned, were of two types. Every village had its "*G'a Sembe*"—its council of the older men—who acted as an advisory body to the village captain, and the "*Lanti Krutu*," the meeting of all the men of the village. In this latter general assembly rested the final decisions.

Any important issue involving the village would be handled in two krutu, the g'a sembe krutu, and the lanti krutu. In this big lanti krutu where all the man were represented the bassia would speak the words of the chief and of the old men, and then the people would "go aside." This going aside was the concomitant of every consultation, no matter how informal the group or how unimportant the question which was being considered.

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society, the "Congo" sticks, as they were called here, or the "fighting" sticks. 532

The carvings, however, which we were admiring in the house of the captain of Ma'lobbi were for secular use. The Bush Negro craftsman brought to the ornamenting [501] of his paddles and his canoe seats, to his house posts, and particularly to the door of his treasure house, to his women's combs, and trays, and food stirrers, and clothes beaters all the traditional skill and patience. But the exceptional carver brought also the cunning in his fingers which his gods had given to him and only to few others on the river. Such a man was the captain of Ma'lobbi. Into the traditional designs such a man wove lines for the love of seeing them grow under his hand, for there were always single motifs which the people versed in the symbolism of the art would describe as "beautiful," as having no meaning. Yet with few exceptions the massing of outlines in a unified design bore on fertility. Men and women alone or together, and male and female animals were represented in all but occasional pieces.

The Bush Negro artist was a man of consequence on the 532 river. His companions admired his skill, and the young 554 women were proud to have his handiwork. If he showed 584 his gifts early, he was at an advantage in courting a girl of an influential family. The girl's mother, who shared in the gifts of her daughter's suitor, might be willing to overlook other less advantageous traits in the man or in his family, while the girl's uncles would not be loath to have such a man in their family to teach his art to his sons, who would be their successors.

On several occasions we were permitted to see how very 432 deeply this appreciation of fine carving went. As in the 562 instance of the paddle we had acquired from the wife of 439 the captain of Ma'lobbi, it had happened often that the consent of the woman to sell a given piece was necessary before any trading could take place. Sometimes we traded directly with the woman, sometimes she asked her husband, or her brother, or her son, as the more worldly

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432 person, to act for her. But always hers was the final word,
562 and often that word when the time came for us to carry
439 away the piece was "No."

"It was made for me by my husband when I was a young girl. Now he sleeps, he is no more. I want to have it," was a statement which ended all bargaining.

Sometimes even after we had paid the woman, and stored the piece away, she returned with the moist coins in her hand, asking for the carved implement.

"Before some man from here will go to the city to buy me a pangi, I may lose the money, or he may lose it on the way. But if the clothes beater is here, I can use it and look at it. I want to keep it."

413 One vivid incident of bargaining concerned a peanut
532 pounding board which had belonged to the sister of Bassia
439 Anaisi. We were sitting and talking with him and his grandmother, when our eyes rested on his sister's house. From a projection hung a strikingly beautiful piece of carving. The rectangular portion of the board on which the peanuts were crushed was bordered on top and bottom with filigreed carving. It was made of brown-heart wood with inlays of purple-heart. Bassia Anaisi's sister supplemented our guesses of what the designs meant. The top represented a woman's head and headdress. The small brass nails, which made a glistening line in the center of the upper curve, were the cicatrizations on the woman's face.

"Look," said the woman, "she is a woman, but a woman hawk. Here is her neck, and the small cut-out circles here are her breasts, those curves at both ends are the wings. The very small nails are the cicatrizations on the thighs. She is a woman, and she has made herself beautiful. This large rounded portion is her belly, and the smaller one underneath is the *gonu mofo*—the gun's mouth," the last being their image for the vagina. Meeting this from the bottom curving upwards was a half-circle, which represented the male member. At the other end was more embellishment. In the center was a double curve to symbolize the first phase of the moon. Below were two "*Ingi Kodyo*,"

609 mother. The woman who had made Bayo was her sister, she told us.

142 The resemblance between this woman and Bayo was marked. She had the same dark skin, the same stocky, muscular build, the broad nose, the same general cast of features we had known so well in Bayo. Similar, too, were the sharply etched scars on her face, which were so black and so prominent as to bespeak her great vitality and rugged health. There were other likenesses, we learned, and of these the most valued was the strength of their gods.

789 794 562 We had not been long in her hut before we noticed the iron arm-band she wore. It was, we knew, a "*tapu*"—a magical preventive which, in this instance, warned its wearer of danger, and kept her from harm in a combat. Seeing it on the arm of a woman was astonishing for many reasons. Not in all our encounters on the river had we seen a woman wearing an arm obia of iron. Iron was the sign of the Kromanti, a men's group, composed of those men [595] who had the Kromanti spirit. It was in part warriors' secret society, and in part, when it was Obia Kromanti, the men's religious society which controlled the powerful supernatural forces of preventive and healing magic which played so prominent a part in the spiritual life of the Bush Negro. Now there were, we had been told, some women who inherited the Kromanti spirit, but these were few, and not until after their menopause could they enter a Kromanti house, and when this came they were too old to participate in the dance, but they sang the songs when the spirit came to them and did whatever else was known to the initiated of their years.

But this woman who was Bayo's mother's sister was not an old woman. As she talked to us, in fact, her breast was [853] swung over to the side, and against her ribs was the head of the child on her back who was nursing. Yet on her arm was the fighter's "tapu," as the emblem of membership in the Kromanti group.

This was so important an anomaly that, following the etiquette of the bush, we hastened at once to talk about something else.

BAYO, THE PLAYBOY

"Bayo has asked me to find a strong *asumani* for you," she said, naming the obia she held with the word for such magically endowed properties used by the Ashanti today, on the West Coast of Africa. In rapid succession she gave us the African words of the Kromanti designation for the white clay, for the ancestral pot, and for several other ceremonial objects we discussed with her. 789

"Did you make these for us?"

"Ah, no. Women do not make obias. My brother made them for you." [462] [564]

The next morning when we were leaving Djamungo she came to the landing place with us. In our hands were the images we had bought. The young paddlers looked on them with fear. On no account would they even come too close to us who carried them. It was not the image, nor the external properties of a sacred object which disclosed its power, but rather the magic that had been called to reside in it, and the strength of the gods of him who had been instrumental in bringing the magic to the figure of wood, the brass bell, the cowrie shells, the ant-eater's bristles, or whatever else was used.

"Tell them in your village," Bayo's mother's sister called after us, "that here at Djamungo the Kromanti spirit does not come to men only. When women get Kromanti, they, too, can fight."

2

We had not been back at our base camp for more than a day when Bayo came up the path calling the greeting of a comrade. Had we fared well with the Granman? 574 609

He had, he told with pride, seen all those things a man who went on so long a journey should see, and he had been to Lamé again, where there were strong obias and where the women knew how to love. Now he would remain with us until we left the bush, and he might even decide to go with us to the city, and from there to the French shore, where there was money to be got. What with the money he had earned for timber, and the money we had given 115 556

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him about it as he came to take the white man through the bush trails to a neighboring village. 302 115

One of the girls who admired him had achieved this, but how she had managed to make the minute braids was difficult for us to see, for Bayo's hair the day before, long for him, had not seemed sufficiently yielding to permit of braiding. Yet here he was, his head covered with innumerable small braids which divided the white scalp into sections and showed lines where the many regular parts had been made. This made quite a new man out of Bayo. He was no longer the warrior who went without food because he was bored with the idea of preparing the food—a woman's task or, at best, that of an old man like his great-grandfather Bibifo who had cooked on the up-river trip. Now he was a dandy. [569] [887]

"Ai-yo!" he crowed back as we speculated on the labor that had gone into the creation. "It took her almost all the night! It is hard work."

"She must like you, Bayo."

"She likes me well, ai!"

"Are you going to have her for your third wife?"

"Who knows? But a man doesn't marry every woman who braids his hair."

Soon Bayo and the white man were off through the bush, Tross going ahead as scout. Back and across the path he would dart and for the white man, unaccustomed to the sounds of the bush, it was difficult to tell whether the rustling he heard was caused by the dog, or by the small animals stirred up from time to time. Once a snake coiled on the path moved lazily away as they approached; Tross had disturbed it, and the snake had no mind for more encounters. Once a small animal of some sort dashed across the trail ahead, the dog in close pursuit, and for some moments we could hear them tearing through the underbrush. 484 231

"Aren't you afraid that some animal will hurt Tross, Bayo?"

"He is a good dog. And I have put strong obia on him." [789]

000 "About half of them, I guess," he said.

5

524 609 When we returned to camp, Kasanya waited for us. He had come with the game boards he had promised to make for us, the adji game which was played in the house of death, and which the fine carver in Kasanya's village could not make because he was young, and a man needed to have a wife under the sod before he was fitted to make it.

Kasanya had taught the white man to play the game the year before, and though the white man had had much practice in playing it at home, Kasanya won one game after the other with ease.

524 609 562 With the white woman he would not play, nor would any other man—not even Bayo who showed so much indulgence toward the strangers. It was this way, Kasanya explained. A man knew that a woman could not beat him at the game, much less a woman who did not have the cunning of their bush, and would not, therefore, be expected to excel in what pertained to the life of the bush. But if the gods became capricious and allowed the white woman to win, then it would be more than a man could bear to be twitted up and down the river about it. Songs would be made up about it, and stories and proverbs. Master Nigger! A man would be a fool to risk it.

524 When Kasanya had gone, Bayo came back from Gankwe where, it seemed, his errands now took him daily. The sun was still high enough so that a game might be played before the hovering ghosts who in life had enjoyed the game would [MS] take their places beside the players, and play unseen at this game board with the living.

"Do you play adji, Bayo?"

"*Awa! Suma no de!*—Sure! No one better!"

But it soon appeared that Bayo had brought too much self-confidence with him from Gankwe. He was promptly beaten, and beaten again.

"*Suma de, Bayo?*—Someone better?"

The boy grinned, "Suma de, ai," he acknowledged.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

622 623 352 The bosseia meet under a separate shed, specially built for this purpose. The captain has a "throne," which is an ornately carved stool. The one belonging to the captain of the village of Lombe was purchased and brought back to the American Museum of Natural History. The members of the bosseia, too, have ceremonial seats, with elaborately pierced carving, typically West African in design. When the occasion arises, a meeting is held and the council is seated about on these ceremonial benches to hold palaver.

622 623 692 [537] The business is brought up. Perhaps it is a domestic quarrel—two men over one woman. The offended party rises and begins exercising the Bush Negro's traditional privilege of unlimited and vociferous oratory. He details his wrongs. Grand gestures accompany the sonorous flow of words. The interested members of the village sit at a respectful distance from the captain and bosseia, and listen to the harangue. When other speakers have had their say, any inhabitant of the village may get up and give his or her opinion. Proudly the captain exercises his judicial talent, and the decision is handed down. It is not questioned.

622 623 562 The women members of the bosseia have as much power as the men. It is chiefly the women who see that the ancestral and village customs are enforced. They are the guardians of the ancient traditions and customs of the race. To them, also, belongs the duty of keeping the village clean. If the [364] town needs a general cleaning, the women bosseia go about from hut to hut, telling the women to get together and perform the task.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Marriage requires a bride price, consisting of pieces of 583
cloth, sugar, tobacco, and some carved wooden implements, such as combs, paddles, trays. These are handed over to the bride's family as presents. Then the wife simply moves into her husband's hut, or he into hers. Despite their pre-marital 585
promiscuity, it is said that on the bridal night all the inhabitants of a Bush Negro village will gather outside the hut to hear what the husband has to say regarding the bride's virginity. If the girl is not a virgin, part of the bride price may be refunded, at the husband's discretion. The gathering on such an occasion is attended by much jocularity.

The Djuka husband builds a hut for each one of his women 593
and has another for himself, to which he may retire when- 342
ever he feels the need of bachelor seclusion. The woman 591
sleeps in her own hut, cooks, and raises her children there. The husband comes to her when he wants to, and leaves her for another wife when impulse so guides him. She seldom quarrels with the other wives, who may even live in separate villages.

Each wife has her own provision ground, where she grows 593
rice and cassava; her husband has cleared it for her. The cas- 241
sava fields are owned by individual women, but are held in 562
very loose tenure. At harvest time, or when a plague of in- [423]
sects is threatening, the women of several households work [476]
together in common.

The man's hut is called his *gudu oso,* or "treasure house." 342
It serves to impress his women with his importance and 556
wealth. They are forbidden to enter it, but, woman-like, they insist on peeping in. So he keeps many boxes and wood carv-

/10 cont./

574 The politeness shown toward a guest springs from the idea that unknowingly one of them might easily take the very piece that the important person wished to have, and although no comment would be made on this, it could nonetheless happen that this would trouble the guest for whom they cherish special respect, 888 or that he would thereby consider himself insulted. It is particularly to old age that they pay great respect.

Chapter VI

Household and Agricultural Implements

412 The Bush Negroes mainly use adzes in order to hew their [322] corjalen or canoes out of trees partially burned out beforehand; [824] furthermore, they use planes and chisels in order to work their [531] (usually cedarwood) (1) stools and parels or paddles (2). They are

1. Cedrela odorata L.

2. Hand oar.

especially fond of having these carved with many figures. For them the machete is an indispensable tool that they always carry around and use as a chopping knife, sword, and knife, indeed, even to cut splinters or thorns out of the foot with the tip. They use field axes or hatchets to cut down the bush in order to lay out their small cultivation grounds and to work the wood that they float by rafts and sell.

562 The women possess, aside from a machete or knife, also 412 [824] mattocks with which they keep their lands and the place near the dwelling neat; they make brooms from the pina palm racemes or [413] from rice ears bound in sheaves. They like to have scissors, needles, and pins, while for knitting they use a pointed and bent nail.

413 They spin their sewing thread from cotton with a certain [283] tool which they call kéké; they also have a round, wooden tool [286] called sepoe, with which they very nicely and sturdily /11/ make

/26 cont./

728 communicate to one another their opinions, in what way they
695 wish to see the points of difference resolved. If they are agreed concerning these, then they return to the chief in the shed and the discussion of the matter takes place anew, until finally agreement exists. During this consultation of the elders or council
[562] members a solemn seriousness prevails among them. Women are sometimes admitted to these conferences, but never have a voice, and come merely to listen and to see.

After the matter has been settled to the satisfaction of all parties, the cup once more makes several rounds among those present, and thereafter everyone goes silently and quietly to his camp or dwelling.

Chapter XVIII

Music, Musical Instruments

533 Their music is very simple and monotonous; one makes use of it, to the accompaniment of song and dance, at festivals and cult ceremonies.

534 The instruments are variously used and doubtless according to the type of event. Thus the so-called long drum, called agida (2), is played at cult ceremonies; on other occasions one

2. Papáá drum.

uses the small or apientie drum. Furthermore they have an instrument called kwakwa stool by them, a stool or board of very hard wood on which one beats with two sticks.

534 When they dance the papaá-wenti, an African idol dance,
535 they use the agida drum. For the songé, or ordinary dance, they play the small drum or apienti.

They dance the soessa to the beat of the small drum and with the kwakwa stool; in executing the last-named dance a great deal of competition prevails among the dancers, and the one who /27/

/58 cont. /

166 619 It is fitting to make an exception of the case of OWétiti (Papaïston) and OMa Imma (Kotika), who separated from their groups with their numerous descendants in order to found villages on the lower course of the river. These groups continue to consider themselves Boni; they are the nuclei of future villages.

For the same reasons it is difficult to get exact figures on [162] [621] immigration. About 100 Djuka and Saramaka have founded farming villages in Boni country but keep all their ties with their villages of origin; some 30 of them have married Boni women; one can estimate that some 15 have completely bound up their fate with the Boni and can be considered as integrated into the villages in which they have settled.

16 128 All in all one can estimate that emigration and immigration of adult men, both very insignificant, compensate for each other; [562] they have practically no importance on the social plane (since only the residence of the women has any influence upon the grouping of the lineages) or on the demographic plane; with the Boni the pyramid of ages constructed from the census of the villages represents very faithfully the demographic state of the population and lends itself to precise calculations of mortality (1).

1. It is not the same for the majority of African populations either because of emigration to the cities or polygamy. The presence of several average polygamists in a village is enough to render completely erroneous the counts of cross-sections by age.

166 57 59 613 The founding of new lineages results from the immigration of several Djuka women, some having come to settle permanently near their husbands, others brought up by their fathers in a Boni village. Half a dozen such cases occur in each generation, but

/64 cont./

613 Nevertheless the lineage is not strictly speaking divided into
561 age grades; and when the men assemble in council for an affair which concerns the whole group, all may take the floor without consideration either of age or of place in the genealogy.

613 The council (kuutu). This is the principal social institution with-
571 in the lo. The kuutu is the assembly of the men of the lo without
561 consideration of age. No precise rule defines the age at which an adolescent may begin to attend it, and in principle all may take the floor. But decorum requires that unless they are personally interested in the question or have something important to say, the young let the elders do the talking. /65/

613 It is the captain (hedemã) and in his absence the eldest of
571 the lineage who presides. He faces the assemblage, surrounded by some of the oldest men.

[537] Opposite him he has a respondent (piki mã) who greets all his sentences with ritual approbations hiya, hiya ba!, na so!, etc., without which a Refugee Black could not suitably make his speech.

Each one then speaks if he feels the need to express his opinion. Women do not take part in the council unless it is a
•562 question of a daughter's marriage; but it happens that men leave the meeting to go get the advice of their mothers and take their places again. If it concerns a simple affair without suprahuman complications, such as the fixing of the price of a piece of work, the discussion is often quickly over; but in the opposite case the discussion continues interminably, for there is no exact rule for concluding it. Only a negative rule exists: the determined opposition of one-fourth to one-fifth of the council members prevents the carrying out of a project.

/68 cont./

613 624 [562] The basia are the mouthpieces of the captain, and not at all deputies having specific authority over a definite fraction of the village. There are three or four per village; in addition there are one or two women basia through whom the village head commands the work reserved for the women.

613 554 241 782 The head of the lineage possesses no religious powers over the land. The Refugee Blacks assume that the fertility of the soil depends exclusively on local divinities, to whom each one prays on his own behalf.

613 554 681 The captain, no more than the council, does not have the right to expel a member from the lineage, even for marked unworthiness. This is one of the most remarkable aspects of the legal conceptions of the Refugee Blacks, tied to the idea that a lineage represents only one single life. There again the thought of the Refugee Blacks can be regarded as the extreme opposite of the thought of the Bamiléké, with whom the head alone retains possession of the rights over the land, expulsion constituting the supreme social sanction.

881 Initiation; age classes; men's society. These African institutions seem totally unknown to the Refugee Blacks. No form of initiation of adolescents exists, and no ceremony marks collectively their entrance into social life. Circumcision and excision are not practiced. For the children, boys and girls, there are two stages: that of the first garment, which is given upon the appearance of the pubic hair, at about 12-13 years, without ceremony, and the end of education which coincides with marriage. [304] [852] [561]

561 The society of the Refugee Blacks rests however in large part on age hierarchy; strictly speaking there are no age classes involving a fixed organization, but they exist tacitly:

/68 cont./

561 198 The class of the young people, yuɲku sama, has definite activities; "style," that is to say, elegance, dancing, singing; it has a special language made up from taki-taki by inversion or addition of syllables. When the language begins to be known outside the group of young people, it is abandoned and another is invented. These past years the language in vogue was akɔɔpina, of Djuka origin; it had given rise to a whole folklore of songs.

561 Two other age classes appear to be rather clearly differentiated: that of the elders /69/ - gaɛ̃ sama - (older than some 50 years), whose voices are preponderant in the councils, and that of the old men - gaɛ̃ndi sama - (older than 65 to 70 years).

[888] It is conceded by all that only the elders possess wisdom and knowledge, and in principle, in a discussion, the opinion of the eldest of them has the force of law.

575 Neither does one perceive among the Refugee Blacks any customary societies playing a role comparable to the men's society 571 in the Sudan for example. In a general way their social life, very individualistic in spite of appearances, knows no other organization than the one resulting from kinship ties.

769 Nevertheless, the organization of the men within each village with an eye to the mourning ceremonies can be regarded as a rough approximation to customary societies:

--Kisimã or coffin-makers;

--Olɔma or grave-diggers.

But these societies are narrowly specialized and their customary powers exist only as long as the duration of their effective work.

•562 Men and women. Even within the lineage where men and women 571 call one another brother, sister, aunt ... the relations between men and women are marked by mistrust.

/69 cont./

562 828 [191] It is assumed once and for all that women are shrews on whom one cannot count and from whom one can get nothing. The Refugee Blacks are inexhaustible on this subject and their opinion about the women of their group is very similar to that of Africans in general: they call them ill-natured, devoid of feeling, selfish, greedy, and unfaithful.

562 591 [165] In general, women are held apart from regular social life; no form of customary society of women exists. In the mourning ceremonies, which correspond to a veritable mobilization of the village, they play no role, except to prepare the meals.

562 789 794 Yet the women play indirectly an important role in the social life by way of the cults of possession. The Papa gadu gods so formidable have women nearly exclusively as bearers, and we shall see in studying the functioning of the kunu that they are the principal actors in this. Through this activity, which is exerted in arbitrary fashion on the outskirts of the institutions of regular social life, the women maintain around themselves an atmosphere of fear; it is not impossible that the functioning of these cults is influenced by the concern of the women to maintain their privileged position in the society of the Refugee Blacks.

562 157 Many women are charitable and have a certain generosity toward the members of their family, insuring the maintenance of the old men without resources. But their benevolence is essentially subjective and extends only to a small circle of personal friends and their nearest relatives. As soon as the elders appeal to them for a question of general interest, claiming to give them orders or even advice, they meet an attitude systematically malevolent and stubborn. /70/

[413] The lineage heads avoid giving them orders directly, for they run a strong risk of getting themselves insulted, as we have observed many a time.

/70 cont./

159 In March, 1957, Awéni, head of the Afi lineage, established
• 592 in Asini, was concerned about regrouping the members of his
613 lineage and especially bringing back to Asini Magdaléna (c20), a
[591] woman of about 45 years who had settled in Kormotibo near her husband L... († 1955), with her children and others whom she had raised. He went to Kormotibo and pointed out to her that since her husband was dead, she no longer had any reason to stay there and that she should come back to Asini. Magdaléna insulted him in front of the inhabitants of the village, proclaimed that she had no orders to receive from anybody; then when he insisted, she armed herself with a stick and chased him across the village as far as the landing place. He had to re-embark precipitately to the laughter of the Kormotibo people.

Political and Legal Powers

643 The grand man. The head of the Dikan lo fills the office of grand
613 man of the Boni. The present grand man, Difu, was about 67 years old in 1958.

[173] Oral tradition has kept the names of his seven predecessors:

Gongo (Dikan lo)	1810-1840	dates noted according to Coudreau
Labi (Adam?) (Dikan lo)	1840-1870	
Atyaba (Kotika lo)	1870-1876	
Anato (Kotika lo)	1876-1891	
Ochi (Dikan lo)	1891-1915	
Awemay id.	1917-1936	
Difu id.	since 1937.	

[195] According to information collected by Coudreau in 1887, Gongo was the successor to Agosu, himself successor to Boni. Upon the death of Labi, there were only women and children in the Dikan lo. The office of grand man then passed to the Kotika lo with Atyaba and Anato. It then came back to the Dikan lo with Ochi.

/T9 cont./

42 241 Thus out of ten clearings we find only two cases where a member of the lineage gave his right of use to another during his lifetime; in four cases the right of use was taken over by a daughter upon the death of her mother; in two cases it passed to a distant relative.

241 423 425 562 Anyone, man or woman, may hold rights of use. But examination of the clearings shows that the great majority of men do not ask for any, and that nearly all the land is appropriated by women. In the example noted, out of ten clearings only one is appropriated by a man. This derives from the fact that most men are opposed to cut their wives' clearings on their wives' lands but do not bother to farm on their own account.

241 423 [613] Each woman holds rights of use over a certain number of clearings distributed in the different territorial zones of her lineage. It is important to have, so to say, many cords to one's bow, for it is necessary to be able, according to the activity of the manioc ants, to pass from one sector to another or on the contrary to work prematurely a clearing which one was hoping to leave fallow for several years.

241 425 [423] For example, Tini (F1) holds rights over six to seven clearings. For one (No. 104), she created the right of use on her own behalf by clearing it out of old secondary forest without any known owner. As for another (No. 107), she received it from Loka (D13), a distant relative, as a gift during his lifetime. As for the others (for example No. 106), she created the right on her own behalf by farming them first upon the death of their holder.

241 423 The right of use can be loaned, either to a member of the lineage or even to an outsider. It is specified that the loan is made for a certain number of years and that it is revocable. In such a case the donor does not lose his right of use. /cont/

/86 cont./

[521] Near this clearing is the limit of the lineage lands; beyond
[613] are the clearings of Loka village (Lapé lineage).
[423] Out of the 18 clearings examined here, 14 are occupied by
[241] members of the Papaïston group at Boniville, two are held by
[562] temporary users, outsiders to the group. Out of the 16 clearings 13 are held by women and three by men.

Lands of Loka village (Lapé lo). This village, with its annex
[614] Lapé Tabiki, is the residence village of the Lapé lo. The Lapé lo, whose genealogy is completely known and which remains geographically well grouped, is divided into two fractions without ceasing to constitute a lineage (bex) in the strict sense of the term. Its lands are divided into three zones:

--One on the east bank of the Maroni, behind Loka village.

/87/ --Another on the west bank (Surinam bank) opposite Lapé Tabiki, which we were not able to examine,

--Another upstream from Maripasoula, where part of the members of the lineage possess farming habitations.

[311] The first zone has been almost completely abandoned for about ten years as a consequence of an exceptional pullulation of manioc ants. We have summarized only a few relatively recent clearings there:

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
31 Δ	Akwadé (L1, E22) for himself	1948	member of the Lapé lo	cut only once on old secondary forest
32 Δ	Akwadé, for himself	1950	id.	cut twice in all by Akwadé

[Lands of Loka Village (Lapé'lo)]

/88/

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
39	○	Chii; clearing cut by her son Ayaubédé	1955	id.	?
40	△	Koniman (LI, E31) for himself	1953	id.	4 years (cut by himself in 1949)

[562] Out of the eleven clearings examined here, all are farmed by members of the Lapé lo; seven are held by men and four by women.

Lands of the Dju lo (Asisi village) in the Ingi Udu locality. The Dju lo, whose genealogy is completely known, also constitutes a lineage in the strict sense of the term. It remains well grouped geographically with the exception of a small group established in Boniville close to the grand man.

The lands of the Dju lo are distributed in several zones:

--One on the east bank of the Lawa, a little downstream from Asisi, in the Ingi Udu locality;

--One on the Dutch bank opposite Gengé Tabiki;

--One upstream from Maripasoula at the confluence with the Inini, where an important farming habitation is established (Atikati village);

--Finally, several members of the group make their clearings near Kormotibo in the Kuyaku locality, on the lands of the Dipélu II lo.

Clearings summarized here all belong to the first zone.

/89 cont./

621 in which these finages were constituted, one must not expect to
613 find clear boundaries.
423
241 These 14 clearings are thus used exclusively by members of the Dju lineage living in Asisi village. All but two are held
[562] by women. /90/

It is interesting to study the kinship ties of the members of the lineage making their clearings in different zones. One might actually believe that there is a tendency toward individualization of sublineages, and that the descendants of a particular woman tend to hold exclusively the use of such and such a zone.

We see here that such is not the case.

In zone 1 (studied here), make their clearings: Tini (F1), Paana (G2), Féni (G3), very close relatives, but also Lènga (F36), Kukusa (F40), and Félicia (G41), whose relationship with the first-named is as distant as possible within the lineage: Félicia and Paana for example are relatives in the 12th degree.

The same thing is observed in other zones, as we shall see in the study of farming habitations.

621 Lands of the Awara Bakka lo (Asisi village). The finage of the
613 Awara Bakka lo is particularly interesting to study, for this lo
614 has a more complex structure. Study of the genealogy shows the
423 existence of three distinct fractions, which we have designated respectively as Aw.B.1, Aw.B.2, Aw.B.3. The Aw.B.1 and 2 fractions consider themselves as the same lineage in the strict sense (bée). On the contrary, fraction 3 can be considered as a separate lineage from the point of view of legal responsibility. Moreover, the members of the small Afi lineage, living with the Awara Bakka, also constitute a separate unit from the legal point of view. It is important to study whether that carries over into their territorial implantation.

[Lands of the Awara Bakka lo (Asisi Village)]

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/92 cont./

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
87 O	Noémi; clearing cut by herself (having become a widow)	1956	id. 1st fraction	3 years /93/
88 O	Titi; clearing cut by herself	1955	id. 1st fraction	3 years
89 O	Amélia (Aw.B.1, F19); clearing cut by her husband Sindu	1959	id. 1st fraction	4 years
90 O	Titi; cl. cut by her son Dopia	1954	id. 1st fraction	5 years

• [562] Of the 27 clearings examined, only two /sic/ are held by men, 25 /sic/ by women.

19 are allotted to members of the 1st fraction;
2 " " to a member of the 2nd fraction;
2 " " to members of the 3rd fraction;
4 " " to members of the Afi lineage.

Thus one can deduce from this study that there is no tendency toward the making up of separate finages by the various fractions of the Awara Bakka lo. The members of the Afi lineage living in their midst have no tendency to group their clearings, either.

In fact, the inhabitants of a village, even issuing from different lineages, possess joint rights over the lands.

/95/

621 613 423 241 Out of 14 clearings examined here, all without exception are occupied by the members of the Dipélu II fraction in Asisi. This fraction is geographically separated from the other lineages of Asisi village, and has formed a separate finage; that has to do [978] with its relatively high effective force and the good relations among its members (the Afi lineage, with an analogous force but divided by disagreements, has not succeeded in forming a separate finage).

[562] Of 14 clearings, 13 are held by women and one by a man /sic/.

Study of several clearings of Papaïston village. The part of the Papaïston finage situated on the French bank had been abandoned for several years because of an abnormal pullulation of manioc [311] ants. In 1956-57 all the inhabitants of the village were making their clearings on the Surinam bank.

Only several clearings going back to the years 1947-50 could be identified.

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
111 O	Efa (Pl. D4)	1946	member of the Papa-ïston lo	cleared for the 1st time on old secondary forest
112 O	Wilhelmina (P1, F1); clearing cut by her husband Bésu	1947	id.	id.
113 O	Oben (P1. E13)	1950	id.	id.

[Papaïston Village]

/95 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
114 ○	Gou (P1, F8); clearing cut by her husband Akwali		id.	id.
115 ○	Puti (P2, F71); clearing cut by her husband Maïpa	1951	id.	cleared off for the 1st time on old secondary forest
116 ○	Héléna (P1, F2); clearing cut by her husband Baliki	1951	id.	id.

[562] These six clearings are held by women of the Papaïston lineage, in accordance with the residence principle of the Refugee Blacks.

000 /96/ The Social System Illuminated by the Study of Implantation on the Soil

128 Study of the clearings in the neighborhood of the farming villages gives exact information about the structure of the kin groups which cannot be obtained by direct interrogation.

423 613 621 377 --Transmission of rights over land within the lineage fraction having the same residence constitutes an imprescriptible legal principle, to which one refers as the conclusive argument to settle every dispute;

/131/

429 Recapitulation:

858 70% of the boys
613 85% of the girls are raised in the mother's lineage

27% of the boys
13% of the girls are raised in the father's lineage

3% of the boys
2% of the girls are raised by outsiders to both lineages.

429 It is important, moreover, to emphasize in what proportion
858 the children are brought up by women or men:
562

67% of the boys
86% of the girls are raised by women

33% of the boys
12% of the girls are raised by men.

429 This preponderant role of women in the education of the
562 children is one of the fundamental aspects of the social structure
571 of the Refugee Blacks. In fact, women consider that the children belong to them, and if they give some to men to bring up, it is
[171] only as many as they wish to. This conception which is found to be widespread among the Blacks of America, in the West Indies as in Guiana, explains, much more than the frequency of divorces, the impossibility for them to make up patrilineages in the absence of coercion exerted upon the women.

429 Several important pieces of information may still be drawn from these tables:

/134 cont./

429 The guardian continues to have a certain power all his life over his ward become adult. He is the conciliator to whom one applies first if there is any complaint about his ward.

This power of conciliation is bequeathed by the guardian at his death, as is the guardianship itself.

593 613 152 Role of the mother. For the Refugee Blacks, the sacred tie is pre-eminently the one which attaches them to their mother and through her to the ancestors of the lineage. It is manifested with respect to the mother by a delicate and deep feeling of affection which applies also, less directly, to the close relatives on the maternal side and to all the members of the lineage. It is not [601] idly that within the lineage the men call one another brothers; the obligations /135/ they have toward one another are accepted by all with joy, and each tries his best to fulfill them, for he transposes to them the sentiment of love which he feels toward his mother.

114 562 593 The term matriarchy has often been used wrongly with regard to the Refugee Blacks, letting people believe that the woman exercises authority there; this is an error, the woman does not enter their councils and from a political point of view does not exist in their eyes; the woman has influence and authority only as mother, and over her own children.

593 The mother's authority remains very great over her sons after they have become men; none of them will undertake an important enterprise or leave for a long trip without consulting his mother; if she is absolutely opposed to the project, he will scarcely dare go on with it. We heard in December, 1952 a man of 45, M..., serious and intelligent, say to us with regret: "I would certainly go with you as far as Cayenne, but my mother does not wish it."

/137 cont./

831 necessary food) than by a sentimental motive. It is very rare to meet among them the appearance of sincere and lasting love for a woman; that is sometimes seen, but it is the exception.

562 It is not enough to say that they have few emotional feelings with respect to women. In the conversations heard in the evening around the campfires a deep contempt is expressed on this subject; they even speak of the Boni women as of a foreign and almost enemy nation; they consider them besides as half irresponsible. This attitude shows through in the custom concern-
[684] ing adultery, which decrees that the lover be beaten but not the wife.

581 Among the Refugee Blacks marriage is in fact a contract of maintenance between a man and woman, which provides for the execution of such-and-such work by the one for the benefit of the other, and for the wife the obligation to be faithful.
[586] This contract can be cancelled unilaterally without any sort of indemnity. It does not directly involve the relatives of the
[765] spouses; it involves them only in case of the death of one spouse, for the surviving spouse must /138/ put up with the subservience
[613] of mourning. It is principally for this reason that a marriage must be officially known by both lineages, and that a divorce must be proclaimed without delay.

582 Exogamy. Marriage is forbidden between persons of the same
613 lineage. In expressing this prohibition the Refugee Blacks
614 employ the word bee (lineage in the restricted sense) and not the word lo.

613 As we have seen in studying the situation of the various lineages, the various Boni kin groups follow different rules in this regard:

--The Dju lineage, which forms only one single group from the genealogical point of view, does not allow marriage between its members;

/145 cont./

582 Generally speaking, the custom of the Refugee Blacks used to consider as immoral the marriage of a very young girl to an old man, or of a very young boy to an adult woman. 588 178 The weakening of family morals is clearly demonstrated by two events which happened during the summer of 1960. A boy of thirteen and a half, K... of Boniville, left his guardian to join an Assisi woman, A...., 20 years older than he and with a very bad reputation to boot; some months later his example was imitated /146/ by a boy of 14 who began living with a [684] [613] woman of 29. Nothing like that had ever been seen, and people inveighed against the scandal of it; but in both cases, guardians and lineage heads showed themselves incapable of making their authority respected by force.

882 Marriage of girls. It can still be said (although things are in [562] the process of changing rapidly) that girls, kweyi umã, occupy a place apart in the thought of the Refugee Blacks; the reprobation which embraces women does not extend to them. 882 834 [291] People say that girls "have good manners," and in fact most of them, although naked except for a little apron, have a reserved attitude, a becoming bearing, which contrast with the attitude of the married women. To tell the truth, this virtue is not so much due to natural inclinations as to the strict [593] vigilance with which their mothers surround them. The mothers literally do not let them out of their sight and permit no man to speak to them out of their presence. "Until dawn, until the cock crows, she keeps vigil," says the song, alluding to the mother who watches over her daughter's virtue. If a girl [836] [594] comes to lose her virginity without being properly married, pɔti na ɔsu, "established in a house," it is a dishonor for her mother and her near relatives.

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592 The household. Household life is a limited association, freely
593 agreed upon by two beings who live totally independent of each other, the emotional life of each remaining almost entirely centered upon his maternal family. It entails reciprocal duties:

--For the man, to build a house for his wife in her village, to construct a new boat for her every three or four years, to cut a clearing for her each year /150/ and help in planting it, to furnish her with imported commodities, cloth, salt, kerosene, tools, which she needs, as well as game and smoke-dried fish;

--For the woman, to farm the clearing and furnish her husband when he comes to visit her with couac and the vegetables
[462] necessary for his food. (The man, used to living as a bachelor, owns his own cooking utensils and most of the time prepares his meals himself.)

This system of intermittent conjugal life seems to assure the Boni a perfect balance at the same time that it permits them
[562] to satisfy their taste for change. The men divide their life among work, visits to their different wives, hunting and fishing expeditions; their life is thus constantly renewed and they are protected against tendencies toward apathy and mental inertia.

In general, as long as the union lasts, the woman fulfills
[241] exactly her obligations; although the yield from the clearing is
[422] her property and the excess of the harvest is sold for her ex-
[434] clusive benefit, the man is assured of getting from her all the provisions he needs. On the other hand, many men, through
[591] laziness, get out of constructing a house for their wives and the latter continue to live with their mothers. In the villages on the French bank about 20 such cases were observed in 1958.
591 Several cases are even noted in which a woman, aged but still
592 having unmarried children, one or two of her daughters and their children are living together in one house. For example, in Asisi village, nine persons were living together in the very small house of their mother and grandmother Tini.

/154 cont./

586 As far as the clearing already cut and planted is concerned, if it is on the land of the wife's family, the man can demand nothing. However, some women continue to furnish couac for a year after breaking up.

If the clearing is on the husband's lands, the woman continues to farm it normally. But she is required to furnish [593] food as if there had been no rupture. This is why men who do [241] not trust their wives insist on cutting the clearing on land of their own lineage.

Many women wait to divorce their husbands until after they have cut the year's clearing! In January, 1957, upon the return of the border-fixing mission from the southern frontier, /155/ one of us heard M..., a woman of about 40, speak in these terms of her husband T..., 60 years old, who had done everything for her and still used to come to take part in laborious jobs to procure money for her: "He is getting old; I am going to have to look for another."

Observation at Maripasoula, Nov. 5, 1958.

Mutété, boatman of the Maripasoula post, laments in front of his comrades: his wife has just had him notified, without indicating any motive, that she was breaking with him. She did not even disturb herself to tell him so, and she waited until he had finished cutting the year's clearing for her! His [562] comrades once more expressed their rancor against the avarice, spitefulness, and inconstancy of Boni women, inferior beings whom they had once and for all given up trying to understand.

Among the Refugee Blacks people divorce at any age, at 70 years as well as at 18. Thus it is that Captain Diolé (+1951), head of the Dju lo, and his wife Efa, of the Papaïston lo, divorced each other about 1940 when both were approaching 70 and had remained together more than 35 years: in growing old their natures no longer hit it off.

/179 cont./

765 After three months, an offering is made at the fraga tiki
[769] of the dead person's lineage, setting forth how much her spouse
[778] has respected her memory and asking permission to lighten the
[613] manifestations of his sorrow. The mourning is then lightened, but the man in mourning continues to wear a bandeau around his head or at the very least an old beret.

765 During the first months the man in mourning has no other
461 responsibility than to hunt and fish at the order of the dead
[613] woman's lineage. He does his own cooking with the food given to him; he cuts a clearing for his mother-in-law or another woman of the deceased's relatives, who will farm it with him.
[431] Next, he receives the order to go and earn the money necessary for the sizable contribution he must bring to the festival of the lifting of mourning. During the entire duration of the mourning he must report on his work and moves.

765 When the end of mourning approaches, he must do a job
[606] for the benefit of his mother-in-law, generally redoing the roof of her house or building a boat for her.

These arrangements do not involve any material sanction
[626] whatever. Like the rest of the social life of the Refugee Blacks, they rest entirely upon fear of a suprahuman sanction.
[587] After the lifting of mourning, the person in mourning may remarry without further delay.

765 State of widows and co-wives of a widower. The state of a
768 woman in mourning is practically identical to that of a widower.
[562] She lives for the duration of mourning in her deceased husband's house under the surveillance of his near relatives on the maternal
[613] side. The dead man's lineage lends her all the objects she
[439] needs and furnishes the imported commodities (salt, kerosene, soap) that she uses. On the other hand, she may freely use the produce of the clearing that her husband had cut for her, since it is taken for granted that these products are the exclusive property of the wife.

/201 cont./

791 teacher and who teach a small group of disciples - kineki -,
787 without distinction of villages or lineages and under their sole
[794] responsibility; each one, man or woman, is absolutely free to pursue his teaching.

/202/These teachers are not themselves possessed, but they are believed to know the processes which permit the neophyte to obtain possession with the minimum of risks. They accept the
[776] fact, however, that that involves dangers, for one cannot oblige a particular gadu to come into someone, and one may in its place obtain an undesirable gadu.

791 Procedures vary according to the categories of gadu sought.
787 But they involve three elements which are always found in one
776 form or another:

--They begin by teaching the pupil the language of the
[198] divinity, or rudiments at the very least (as we shall point out further on, these languages appear to be in decline); these lessons are private;

--On behalf of a group of pupils, the teacher prepares
[824] infusions of certain leaves which are suited to the divinity in question. It is thought that the god likes these plants and that they have the power to attract it.

In certain cults it is required of the pupil to utter at the
[788] same time formulas inviting the god to come into him. But this is not general; in the cult of the Papa gadu especially, the teachers bathe the students in the greatest silence.

791 At the end of the session, the student is often asked to
787 drink a little of the infusion. One might believe that it is a
824 matter of a process having a physical action, certain plants possibly containing hypnotic substances; but except for one aspect of the cult of the Kumēnti of which we shall speak later, this does not seem true; especially about the plants believed to attract the Papa gadu, it seems that they have received this role because of their color or odor. Our feeling is that, at least
[562] for the Papa gadu cult which appeals more especially to women, suggestion plays an essential part.

/206 cont./

776 The Kumẽnti. These gods are common to the Saramaka
787 (Kromenti) (1), Djuka, and Boni. The Kumẽnti are considered
[184]

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1. There is no doubt about the origin of this word; it is a deformation of Coromantin, name given in the 18th century to Ashanti country. The "Coromantin Negroes," reputed to be particularly intractable, played a large role in the slave revolts. The Kumenti cult of possession must originally have been a cult peculiar to the Coromantin nation.

to be benevolent gods and friends of men, so their possession is very much desired. They do not come into men spontaneously, they are obtained only by applying to a teacher. In principle
[562] only men can obtain Kumẽnti, while on the other hand only women can have Bũnzunki /sic/.

776 The Kumẽnti are specialized in protection against fire
787 and against machete and gun wounds. These dangers hold the
751 largest place among the anxieties of the Refugee Blacks, who spend almost all their life in the bush and with whom nearly
[789] all sores become infected and have serious consequences. Thus the Kumẽnti cult holds an important place in their magic; even someone who is not possessed will try to obtain from these gods an ɔbia that will protect him from these various dangers.

153 The instruction of the disciples of these gods takes as its
791 pattern the procedures described above, but the collective dances
787 appear to play an essential part. The teacher calls on the gods
786 by beating a special rhythm on ordinary drums (apinti) and by
[533] uttering invocations punctuated by the rattle of the saka (Indian
[534] maraka, that is, hollow calabash provided with a handle and containing seeds).

776 /209 cont./
wata ɲgi. Indians of the water. In certain spots, people have
[778] known since the time of the ancestors that there resides such a
[782] Bũnsuŋki, whose name they know; when they pass there, they address a prayer to it while making a sacrifice of tafia.

776 (The Bũnsuŋki must not be confused with wata mama, the
171 mama-of-the-water of the Creoles, a dreaded divinity but one which the Boni do not appear to worship. The wata mama lives at the bottom of deep holes in river beds and never allows her face to be seen; she sometimes abandons one of her long hairs on the rocks and he who finds it becomes rich).

776 /210/ The Bũnsuŋki can enter into human beings, exclusively,
787 it seems, into women. They give a different gita from those
[562] of the Kumẽnti. The possessed person dances at the edge of the water, then swims and dives for a long time. They affirm that
[789] if its possession is sufficiently intense, the genie carries the possessed woman along to the bottom of the water, where she stays for a very long time without any harm! That is supposed to have happened especially in Asisi village to a woman named Dabisa.

Possession by the Bũnsuŋki is not frequent. In 1952 it was known in Boni country in only three women.

[562] As for men, they may perceive these divinities in dreams
[788] and receive benefits from them. For that they go to the place
[782] where it resides and bathe, uttering an invocation: "O god, watch over me, protect me, come to me at night when I sleep, speak to me, act so that I may not be sick, so that I may get rich." The following night, the divinity will come in a dream, demand a sacrifice (beer in general), say that it /grants/ the prayer.

776 The Vɔɔdũ (1). These are gods much feared for their evil

1. This word is obviously a deformation of the Dahomey word vodũn.

/210 cont./

776 The Bumba gadu, other gods of the same nature and
[825] equally feared, have as bearers other categories of snakes, principally the great anaconda water snakes.

[984] The Voodii, we have said, are feared; they can exercise
on a lineage the collective curse called kunu. But, no more
[812] than the Kumẽnti do not represent a principle of good, they do not represent a principle of evil. Not all are so badly disposed toward men, and even if one of them is the enemy of a lineage it is not for that reason badly disposed toward the rest of men.
787 However this may be, the cult of possession of the Papa gadu is
178 not at all in decline among the Boni. According to the cross-
[562] checking we have been able to do, of the 670 persons living on the French bank there are at least 40 to 50 who have a Papa gadu, the great majority of them old women.

787 /211/ The Voodii /sic/ are much feared, and for that very reason
784 much respected. They are oracles which are consulted very often, without consideration of the evil their kunu has done and will still do. A god which exercises the kunu but which is provisionally declared appeased may be consulted without danger; it is always assumed that in any case its bearer, if he respects its commands, has nothing to fear from it.

787 It is possible that, very unconsciously, women use the fear
562 that the Papa gadu gods inspire in order to maintain their independence and privileged position in Refugee Black society.

153 Instruction in possession appears to take as a pattern the
79 same principles as that which correspond to the Kumẽnti. It
787 involves the teaching of the Papa language; this language ap-
[198 peared to us to be in decline; in fact, it is used only for formulas
178 of greeting; then the possessed people vaticinate in ordinary
[515 language. Instruction in possession also involves daily ablutions
[824 with decoctions of leaves; certain of these mixtures are particularly complicated (it is said that they include more than a
[534 hundred different kinds of leaves). Instruction is essentially individual; however it also includes dances; on this occasion a

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153 special drum is used, about two meters long and very narrow,
791 devoid of any decoration, which is called lɛ̃ŋga dɔ̃ or papa
787 dɔ̃.
534 To call on her gita, the possessed woman (they are almost
787 always women) stands, puts on a piece of cloth which she always
[562] keeps nearby and always takes along with her when she travels:
this is the garment of the god; it consists of a sort of scarf
crossed in front; then she throws white clay, pemba, on her feet
from right to left and left to right while invoking the god.
Possession is almost immediate. One sees the woman's eyes
roll up and her expression become haggard. The god does not
cover himself entirely with pemba like the Kumẽnti, he makes
himself a sort of headband on the forehead with white clay.
787 He begins with an invocation to Masa Gadu said in ordinary
788 language.
639 "Masa gadu, gi mi pimisi, beka mi na pikin nẽŋge; ala
[782] sani di mi ɔ taki, na yu mu gi mi kaakiti, beka na yu abi mi
kaakiti, da mi yẽfalu gi yu."

"Masa Gadu, I implore you, for I am a humble creature;
(in) all that I am going to say, it is you who will give me
strength, for my strength is in you; I shall exalt you."

787 Next come formulas of welcome to those present, which
788 are the exact translation of the formulas of greeting of everyday
[198] life, then songs, all in the Papa language. After about a quarter
of an hour, it enters a hut and sits down, answering in ordinary
language the questions of those present, always in a singing
tone.

787 Possession by Papa gadu does not have the bestial character
of possession by Kumẽnti; outside of the dances, it does not
involve brutish gestures or bizarre acts; the possessed woman
hums softly in a shrill voice, moving with graceful gestures.
[531] /212/ Sometimes she draws strange signs on the huts; the Boni
state that that is a kind of writing, that other possessed people

/214 cont./

789 their legs with this white clay; they prophesy in a singing tone, without the usual voice of their bearer's ceasing to be recognizable, expressing themselves in the Saramaka language.

796 The Ampuku have the appearance of men similar to Blacks, but unknown. They reside in the depths of the woods; [84] some are good, others bad. One can gain their good will by worshiping them, which is especially developed in Saramaka country.

796 Baliki, of Kormotibo village, tells of having been present 535 one day at a dance of the Ampuku, when he was traveling to [103] the Saramaka village of Baien.

"During the day, people went on the paths far into the bush to put down calabashes containing certain herbs. At night were seen to come out of the forest a large number of unknown men, dressed in the manner of the Saramaka. They danced all night, and at dawn left again as they had come."

796 The Ampuku gods, considered to be maleficent gods of the bush, exercise their influence on everyone. When a person [789] has slept in the bush, he "washes" himself free of Ampuku with [824] an infusion of leaves of five plants which are part of the secondary flora surrounding the villages and of which the principal plant is the sangasfu (Costus cylindricus).

791 Frequency of possession. In 1956 teachers or bas were very 789 scarce in Boni country. For the Kumenti gods, only S... (Kotika) remained; for the Papa gadu, since the death of Antinon (Dju), there remained only M... (Papalison) and B... [619] (Asisi). People were commonly going to receive instruction from Djuka teachers in the villages of the Tapanaoni.

789 It would be a great error to believe that nearly all the 562 men have gods. On the contrary, this is an exception. According to the evaluations we were able to make, there is not more than one adult man out of six or seven who is possessed.

/214 cont./

562 789 On the other hand, possession is much more frequent among women: it can be estimated that on the average, one adult woman out of three or four has a gadu.

162 796 789 For example in Boniville, out of 115 persons including about 70 adults, one reckons about 30 gods including 8 to 10 Papa gadu, 8 to 10 Kumfuti, 1 Bunuuki, and 2 Ampuku.

79 789 56 562 Apprenticeship for possession can begin from adult age, but it seems /215/ that in general it is between 35 and 50 that women take heed of obtaining a gadu. Would that not be, very unconsciously, the desire to stay in the limelight and indirectly to keep a hold over men, once the age of sensual attraction is past?

789 Possession continues for life, and it is out of the question for a god to be transmitted before the death of its bearer. For example, in 1957, the centenarian grandmother in Asisi village, Kuluba, still kept her Papa gadu god. She had not participated any more in the dances of possession for long years, but her gita was always consulted.

But it can happen, if a possessed person stops taking part in dances and practicing the rites that have been shown him, that any manifestation ceases at the end of a few years.

We observed that in B... of the Dipfilu II lo, in 1948 and 1949. He used to exhibit strong attacks of the gita of Kumfuti. He stopped his instruction, finding that it was costing too much and was taking time. In 1952 he exhibited only latent manifestations of his gita at rare intervals. In 1956 nothing was any longer observable.

789 789 It can happen, on the other hand, that attacks of possession become so frequent and so strong that the person concerned risks losing his reason; if it concerns a god which did not come of its own initiative, one can try to expel it. In order to "wash" someone free of a gita, he is made to pass between two rows of Shiaman who hold dry palms, pina tiyeo, in their hands and utter adjurations.

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/224 cont./

784 613 776 787 Kunu of the Dju lineage. The Dju lineage in 1958 was affected by four kunu:

--An Ampuku which has exercised its vengeance since time immemorial, to the point where the origin of this kunu is no longer remembered, its bearers being Debisa (G25) and Adyidya (E19), two women about 50 years old. This Ampuku formerly had as its bearer an ancestor named Agoabuchi, who died about 1940. Two or three years after his death, it manifested itself in Debisa;

--A Papa gadu named Adawa which has also pursued the lineage with a pitiless vengeance since the time of the great ancestors. It revealed itself to the preceding generation in an ancestress named Sapiké (D5), and a long time after her death it passed into Pamasa (E26), a woman of 35. This kunu has grown worse since /225/ two other Papa gadu revealed themselves in recent years in two women named Kulina (F9) and Diana (E9). They declared that they were the descendants of the first one and that they came in support of it;

784 613 775 787 562 --A yaka whose name nobody wanted to tell us because they were so afraid of it. It is that of a man of the Awara Bakka lineage, who committed suicide two or three generations ago when he was unjustly accused of a crime by a man of the Dju lineage. Since then, this yaka has been exterminating the Dju lineage little by little. Its bearer in 1958 was an old woman of the Awara Bakka lineage, named Namu;

784 613 776 787 --A Kantamasu since, a very long time ago, an ancestress whose name is forgotten inadvertently destroyed a termitary while burning a clearing. It has as bearer a very old woman named Wima (E3) († 1957), and it manifested itself also in Ata (F2).

784 613 787 562 Thus, in this group, the maleficent gods had exclusively women as bearers; out of about 20 adult women, seven were participating in the functioning of the kunu.

/225 cont./

784 One sees from this example how the influence of women,
613 exerted in arbitrary fashion, in a domain placed outside of
787 customs and ordinary social life, weighs on the life of the
562 group.

Kunu of the Dipélu lineage. The situation of the Dipélu
614 lineage with respect to the kunu is particularly interesting.
571 Although split for perhaps 100 years into two separate groups, Dipélu I (L'Enfant Perdu and Apatu villages) and Dipélu II (Kormotibo and Asisi-Dip. II villages), this group still constitutes an undivided unit with respect to the kunu. Neither time nor
[484] distance (it takes more than a week of traveling to make the round trip between L'Enfant Perdu and Apatu) has been able to
[755] break it up. The Apatu people come very often (at least some of them) to be present at the collective prayers which take place at L'Enfant Perdu to appease a kunu in order to cure a sick person.

The oldest kunu ("since Africa") is that of a Papa gadu
614 god whose tenter was ○ Dika (Dip. I, D10, † 1951) and which
776 passed after her death into ○ Pééchina (Dip. I, E42, L'Enfant
[787] Perdu village). This kunu strikes indiscriminately the people of L'Enfant Perdu, Apatu, Kormotibo, Asisi-Dip. II, and the Dipélu fraction residing in Boniville. To it, these past years,
[761] have been attributed the death of ○ Way (Dip. I, E6, living
[753] in Boniville), the illness of △ Akwali (Dip. II, F7, Kormotibo village) and of ○ Bongo (same village).

Another very old kunu is the one exercised by the yɔrka
775 of a Surinam Creole who had settled with the Dipélu people a
614 very long time ago. He was suspected of sorcery and killed.
[493] Since then his yɔrka comes back regularly to exterminate the Dipélu.

/225 cont./

784 Having no known lineage (his family, if he had any, was
776 in Surinam), it had taken people of the Dipélu lineage as
614 bearers. The last was △ Denis † in 1938. Since Denis'
787 death, it no longer has a bearer. The questioning of the dead reveals that they died by its kunu. The members of the two
[782] fractions of the lineage meet together (at least two or three members of each village come) to supplicate it.

784 A third kunu, very interesting in origin and supposed
614 action, /226/ in 1957 was borne by Kwau (Dip. I, E1, Kotika village). It results from the killing of an anaconda snake by Apatu † (Dip. I, C1), companion of the explorer Crevaux when he was traveling to /in/ Brazil. Upon contact with Europeans Apatu had become a freethinker and was no longer
[753] observing the laws of his people. Among the later victims of
[755] this kunu was counted Kwami (Dip. II, F4, Kormotibo village) who, gravely ill, had had to go to L'Enfant Perdu where the
[761] god had been invoked for him and offerings made. The death of Manga (Dip. I, E5, Boniville, † about 1930) was particularly attributed to it.

No other kunu has revealed itself in Apatu village since its founding in 1882.

784 A fourth kunu concerning all the Dipélu has as bearers
614 women of the Dipélu II group. It results from the inadvertent
776 murder of a Papa gadu whose bearer was a dagowe snake killed
787 in the course of the nivrée /fishing/ of a pool by Akonté
562 † (Dip. II, B1), transmitted to Kondo †, then to Alama (Dip. II, E1).

Since then Papa gadu have revealed themselves in ○ Apaïta (Dip. II, F9, Kormotibo village) and in ○ Kaala (Dip. II, G28, Asisi-Dip. II village). They declared themselves to be the descendants of the first and to come in support of it.

/232 cont./

In a general way, they consider that the bearer of a god exercising the kunu has nothing to fear from it personally if he rigorously observes the kina which have been imposed upon him. On the other hand, this god will punish any injury to its bearer. Thus these bearers (almost always old women) live surrounded by respect and fear.

/233/ Observations in January, 1958 (misfortunes attributed to vengeance of ancestors on their own lineage).

Do (Lapé) is taken ill on January 7, 1958 with a violent attack of dysentery. The same day his five-year-old son is grievously hurt at the wharf by falling on a broken bottle. Alarmed by this coincidence, the members of the Lapé lo assemble and proceed to question a possessed person. The latter reveals that it is the doing of an old woman of the lineage, Atala, dead for two years. Several lineage members have already been sick from this; the dead woman wanted to sanction offenses committed by the people of the lineage.

The same day in Boniville, Kiémeni (Dɔu), to whom I am recounting this affair, tells me that before the lifting of mourning for his mother Béniri, he and his sisters were sick. Divination showed that it was the doing of Béniri, who wished to hasten the celebration of the ceremony.

The kunu and social peace among the Boni. Role of the grand man. The kunu exercised by a yɔrka creates very strange relations among the Boni lineages. As blind and arbitrary as the vengeance attributed to the yɔrka may be, the Boni have the sense of the legal unity of the lineage too much for any resentment to exist: "They are killing our family..."; and yet the two lineages find themselves henceforth irreparably bound together. The victims of the kunu can no longer get along without people of the lineage of the yɔrka which pursues them with its vengeance, since they alone, by their prayers, can appease temporarily the anger of their ancestor. One conceives of the

/282 cont./

*539 discover what makes Pikinbaya rich like that and tell me." He took his eldest daughter, put her on a boat, on a big boat. The boat left the wharf of the king's village, it went until... it arrived at the wharf of Pikinbaya's village, a very large wharf. The cannon thundered (in her honor). Pikinbaya came in a big automobile and took the girl by the little finger; she got into the car which went as far as inside the grounds /of the house/. They entered the house. They stayed there until a whole week had /283/ slipped by. Then she said: "Pikinbaya," -- they were stretched out on the bed (1) -- "I am going to go

•[562]

1. It is hardly necessary to dwell on the image which the Refugee Blacks conceive of woman, as reflected by this tale. That the king's daughter agrees to give herself immediately to a man she has never seen poses no problem whatever. The narrator, so wordy elsewhere, does not grant a sentence for the description of the woman and her love affair with Pikinbaya.

away." He said: "Good, that's all right!" She said: "Pikinbaya, what makes you so rich?" He said: "You want to know? It is a pot I have at the head of my bed." She took the pot, enclosed it in an iron case, loaded it into the car, and the boat left the wharf.

(Immediately poverty swooped down on the village.)

Comrades, Pikinbaya's village became dirtier than Boniville (laughs from the audience, for Boniville is a badly

/289 cont./

157 241 31 in a sector recognized to be undamaged. But objections immediately come to their minds: one would not feel at home, people would be jealous of one another; above all, the children would go pilfering fruit and vegetables in the clearings of other families. The Refugee Blacks are unanimous in thinking that the children of one village put together in a single place would constitute a scourge much worse than the manioc-ant, and that dispersion is the wisest solution for maintaining the peace of families.

562 241 One observes likewise that the total freedom of woman, and the custom which leaves to her /290/ the free disposal of the products of the clearing, contribute toward preventing the development of agriculture with an eye to selling. In order [592] to undertake large clearings farmed jointly by one household, it would be necessary to have very unified and stable households, which is rare.

157 476 Difficulty of grouping for common advantage. The Refugee Blacks are incapable of forming groups voluntarily to undertake the execution of a job with an eye to common advantage. The small groups which get together for fishing, working gold, etc. are formed of intimate friends or near relatives and are hardly larger than four or five persons.

157 454 The Refugee Blacks are still less capable of grouping themselves into societies looking toward future benefits. Putting a part of their resources into a common pot with that of another seems to them not only illusory but immoral. Because of this fact there exists among them no way to group financial assets, sometimes good-sized.

426 Lending without interest is practiced rather commonly, having to do with small sums between near relatives or intimate friends. If a man feels capable of earning his living by buying a motor, he will succeed rather easily in finding the necessary money by borrowing from his brothers or friends. 10,000 francs

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of possession exist, the populations are particularly impermeable to Christian influence. Apparently destroyed, these cults soon reappear in another form, sometimes in Christian guise (possession by the saints).

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Let us add that one of the great strengths of the custom of the Refugee Blacks is the privileged position it gives to the woman. Women, shielded from the direct influence of Europeans and Creoles, and besides practically inaccessible to all reasoning, are hostile to changes which would infringe on their privileges. Now it is they, in fact, who have the education of the children in their hands.

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Thus it does not appear possible to "assimilate" these populations by destroying their original culture. The attempts inspired by fanaticism for civilizing will have as their only result its impoverishment, pushing the Refugee Blacks to dissimulate their beliefs, to abandon their art, costume, songs, and dances, all that makes up their joy in living. But the social structure based on the fear of ancestors and gods could be destroyed only by violence. We may hope that nobody thinks of coming to that.

114

As for us who have lived a long time in the midst of the Refugee Blacks, we feel a deep esteem for them. By their historic past, the originality of the customs they have developed, the good relations they have been able to create with the other populations, they have proved their creative abilities; they deserve to be allowed to evolve in their own way. /blank page/

/10 cont./

162 The Boni, about 1,000 in number, occupy the course of the
131 Lawa between Abounasounga Falls to the north and the falls of the
Litani to the south. Their "great villages," that is, their residential
361 villages, are: Agodé (Boniville), Kotika, Asisi, Loka, Papaïston,
[103] Kormotibo, Lapé, and l'Enfant Perdu. Three small villages
founded more recently are established on the lower course of the
563 Maroni. The territorial implantation of the Boni has been dis-
turbed by the settlement of Creole gold miners on their territory
178 for three quarters of a century. Their demographic situation is
mediocre and their tribal organization, compared to that of the
[181] other tribes, has lost much of its strength. However, they still
make up a human grouping full of strength and originality.

131 The Djuka, whose "great villages" are in Surinam territory
361 on the /11/ Tapanahoni, can be evaluated at 7,000 to 8,000 in
total. At the height of demographic expansion, their farming
[162] villages swarm on both banks of the Maroni and on the islands,
[161] penetrating more and more deeply into the interior of French
[648] Guiana, where in places they form small temporary groupings
[619] living in symbiosis with the Creole gold miners; the Boni recognize
their right to cross their territory but not that of establishing
villages in it.

433 For a century the economy of the Refugee Blacks has been
648 founded on a symbiosis with the Europeans and Creoles; they furnish
[464] specialized labor (construction, but above all, transport) in ex-
[465] change for relatively high wages. This economy finds itself
threatened by the gradual disappearance of gold mining; there is
[178] developing a tendency toward temporary emigration to the Euro-
[166] pean work yards of Saint-Laurent analogous to that of the Saramaka
[182] of Surinam to French Guiana. This is a serious threat to the in-
terior cohesion of the tribes.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner
Aucaner

and does not look with favour upon the white proselytizers.

The Granman can call a meeting of his captains at any time. They must attend, even though it involves days of rigorous travel. Although the captains look up to the Granman and acknowledge him as their superior, the connexion between them is not close enough to be considered a hierarchy. The "river nations" are not monarchies in any sense. The only laws promulgated by the Granman are those that affect the entire tribe.

Neither the captains nor the Granman have any privileges or prerogatives to set them apart from the undistinguished natives; there is no leisure class. They are all dependent upon their own efforts to earn a living, and work like anyone else in the village. Rank does not make social parasites out of them, as among us. The Granman's only external distinction is that sent by the white man, the tribute from the Dutch government. The type of social organization now prevalent among the Djukas, therefore, may be described as primitive communism.

The Aucaner, second in number to the Saramaccaner, are scattered in a less compact way over the rivers and creeks of the colony toward the French Guiana line. This tribe numbers about 6000 in population.

Just below the realm of the Saramaccaner tribe, at the junction of the Sara Creek and the Surinam River (see map facing page), are some of the Aucaner villages: Koffay Camp, Lebbi Doti, Lasa Baka, Pitchong, Baku, and other settlements. There are few villages on the long Sara Creek, but

/75 cont./

571 In fact, the society of the Refugee Blacks has not elaborated
971 true political institutions; it is essentially a grouping for collective
692 defense against suprahuman perils. The council, like the grand man, has power and authority only insofar as it remains closely bound to this function.

511 Absence of subordination. Among the Refugee Blacks no privileged
[565] class exists, /76/ and they all face life on a footing of rigorous equality; all receive the same education, must cultivate the soil,
[154] build their boats and houses, and live by paid work. The differences in standard of living observed from one to another stem basically from intelligence and work; and that, in spite of the belief in the possibility of getting rich by sorcery, is clearly understood by all.

565 Although the Boni willingly engage in paid work for one
[465] another in transportation by boat, there exists no tendency toward the formation of a class of rich people and one of wage-earners.
571 No servants exist among them, and one observes in their mutual
461 relations no exploitation of the weak. Neither does one observe that
[357] a rich man tries to have done by another, for pay, the customary
[462] jobs he must carry out for the benefit of his wife (clearings, building of boats). This would be looked on with great disfavor. The grand
[643] man himself, if his grandson is not there to help him, goes himself to draw water from the river and he does it ostensibly, even though he has a constant concern for his prestige.

829 The misfortunes undergone by their ancestors are certainly at the base of this conception; for they have inspired in the Refugee Blacks a particular sense of human dignity which is not found to the same degree in Africa.

641 over whom it was exercised. When the ancestors of the Bush Negroes were brought to New World slavery, what [567] measure of acquiescence they showed was due to the fact that slavery was not an unfamiliar tradition to them. They knew of the war captive, or the man convicted of a serious crime, who was a slave to one of their own kind. But the experience of the white man's slavery was a crucible in which the ownership of man by man, and the unquestioning obedience which men owed to those of higher rank, were destroyed, leaving only the ideal of the life of free men. "Free!" was the way in which one Bush Negro toasted [573] another, or a white man, when he drank with him. A "*Man Nengere*," an adult Negro was, above all, a free man, and 621 it was as a freeman that he was governed, for though villages had chiefs, and there were bassias who were subordinate to chiefs, and though above the village chiefs were clan chiefs, and over them all the Granman, yet the final word rested with the members of each subsidiary body, and not with its leader.

624 Every village had its officials, and its medium for discus- 622 sions. Every clan had its head, and its old men, who, [614] sounding out the will of the clan members, consulted with that head when questions were to be decided. For the decisions affecting the entire Saramacca River, there were [643] the Granman and his krutu, before whom questions of [592] larger policy or disputes between villages were brought.

Perhaps most impressive of all was the measure of auton- 630 omy which each village had. A village, or certainly a group 614 of neighboring villages belonging to the same clan, formed 609 a small kingdom. A Bush Negro of another village who came to visit, came as any stranger, paddle in hand, his top cloth covering his loin cloth. When he found himself in a strange village on a night when a dance was being given, he did not join the dancers until after much urging by a native of that village, and then he danced little, and if he were a particularly fine dancer, he took care not to flaunt his superior gifts. The exception to this, to be sure, were the sacred dances, when a stranger, whose god came

feared by all who themselves do not have Kromanti. Obia Kromanti warns and protects and heals, but its powers are only for those who belong to the Kromanti group.

Whether Kromanti is the African warrior society preserved in this bush, it is impossible to say. If this were the case, then the definite military organization of many of the West African societies should be present. The military character of any group among the Bush Negroes could not even be hinted at, of course, without the greatest caution. In their descriptions of the Kromanti, our intimates among the Bush Negroes never indicated in any way the existence of such an organization. Even leading questions brought out only unqualified denials instead of the revealing answers "I do not know," or "Massa Gadu sabi." Yet there are undoubtedly secrets which Kromanti men do not share with outsiders, and we remembered that when a Kromanti man dies, he must be "separated" from the Kromanti group just as he is "separated" from his family and from his village.

About the very meaning of the word Kromanti there can only be speculation. During the time of the slave trade, there were two ports on the Gold Coast of Africa known as Little and Great Coromantyne. From these ports came the slaves who, in the New World, were known as Coromantyne slaves. These slaves were so warlike, so prone to cause uprisings, that only English and Dutch colonies consented to buy them and in these colonies when slave rebellions broke out to alarm the white planters, they were led by the proud Coromantyne slaves.

It would not be strange, therefore, if the same term was carried over into the free civilization of this bush to typify the obia which protected and watched over the fighters who had won this freedom.

Other indications point to the same assumption. The strongest spirits of the Kromanti, those which inspire the greatest fear when they possess men of a village are Tigri and Djadja. Tigri is the jaguar, Djadja is often vaguely translated by our word "devil." If we again turn to the West African societies, we find that one of the most dreaded

/7 cont./

101 4th. Bonnie /Boni/ Negroes, living on the river above Marowyne;
[175] until 1862 they were in a state of slavery among the
• [567] Aucaners, but at that time, through the intervention of the government, they were released from it. Their name is supposed to be derived from a former runaway slave who had placed himself at their head.

Chapter III

Government, Laws, Administration of Justice

643 Each of these tribes, except for the Bonnie Negroes, has
[292] a chief whom they call granman (governor); the uniform given to him by the government is a blue tunic with epaulets and a cocked hat with white plush.

Among the Aucaners the chief is called Byman, a cunning, courageous, and prudent man, around 63 years old.

The chief of the Saramaccaners is called Abram, an infirm old man who is very weak of character and has little influence.

The Mantoewari Negroes have a chief called Kalkoen, who, although aged and infirm, can nonetheless still be called firm of character.

631 /8/ Under their chief they have a certain number of captains and council members. The former are divided into bush captains, who take command in case of war, and into house or land cap-
[554] tains, who deal with internal matters with the chief. The token of their prestige given to them by the government consists of a large staff with a round silver ball (drum-major's stick), on which is the Netherlands coat of arms with "Je maintiendrai."

344 They have a large open shed which serves them as court and which they call kroetoehoso (probably derived from the English "courthouse").

682 Their legislation is very limited. One who kills another is punished with death; one who poisons someone suffers death by torture, provided that substantial irrefutable proof exists. (See Chapter XI below.) If the death penalty is not appropriate, the

682 /8 cont./

[672] culprit is condemned to find the requital in his offspring. His
[567] children, children's children, and great-grandchildren must render slave services for the family of the person poisoned.

692 Moreover, they usually act in accordance with the judgment and the decision of their elders or council members. Most punish-
681 ments consist of whip lashes.

Chapter IV

Weapons

411 These consist of rifles, machetes, bow and arrow, and lances.
278 In some cases they also use a kind of cudgel (1). The most dangerous
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1. An Indian weapon called apoetoe.

one that they possess, however, is an assortment of vegetable poisons with which they can secretly strike their enemies and whose effects manifest themselves slowly, but are usually lethal. They not only mix these with one food or another, or in snuff or tobacco, but in the case of some can merely bring them in contact with a part of the body and thereby produce to the most infectious results.

/9/

Chapter V

Dwellings, Practices, Customs, Housekeeping

342 Their huts are constructed low above the ground from un-
824 worked round wood, covered with [illegible] leaves of a palm species (1), and surrounded by palisade pales.

1. Euterpe oleracea Mart.

352 The couches and sleeping places within are also made of paling.

354 Inside the hut is found the hearth or place for the fire, on
372 which they cook and in which they constantly maintain a fire for

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584 and, once this has been promised, she does indeed continue to be regarded specifically as the betrothed of the person who made the request. As soon as she is marriageable, she is handed over to her man with or without her consent, and it may be regarded as a rare case when such a promise is broken.

[431] The man to whom she is promised sometimes does not see his future wife before the occasion of her betrothal, but usually he is concerned with her upbringing and from time to time give her presents consisting of money, pantjes, and corals.

[591] Some take the girl promised to them even when she is only three or four years old in order to rear her further.

[672] The promising of newborn girls takes place for the most part [682] when there are obligations between parents, as was reported in Chapter III, and in the case of enslavement which is done to one [567] family by another in case of poisoning, and so forth.

586 It is an everyday occurrence that a woman leaves her husband or a man his wife for another.

595 Polygyny is much practiced, and among my workers I know several who have three or four wives, most of whom are very young. Some, however, have only one wife.

It is noteworthy that all the wives sleep with the man in one hut, while in addition he perhaps keeps with him a girl whom he [513] is bringing up to be his wife. One wife will be /15/ with him in the hammock and lies with her feet at the head end of the man and the latter in turn with his feet at the head end of the women, while the other women sleep in their hammocks.

[484] If a Bush Negro goes out, be it to celebrate a festival or in order to float wood to the town, he takes all his wives with him; only in case of illness do they remain behind.

His wives get money separately, and therefore they must also separately provide for his food, so that one cooks the food in the morning, another at midday, a third in the evening, etc. [578] This way of life and their jealous nature frequently bring about household quarrels that rarely end in any way other than bloody fights.

585 Upon the conclusion of a marriage the man is obligated to 583 give the parents of the girl as a marriage portion a long, broad,

/15 cont./

585 white cotton sleeping blanket, various colored cloths and panties,
[583] some earthenware, such as bowls and plates, iron pots and pans, and the like, while he is obligated on the occasion to provide for an ample supply of strong drink and sugar wine.

They do not have festivities, games, or dancing in connection with their marriages.

586 If a marriage is dissolved, then each of the two parties again goes to his own family; in case those concerned in it and the elders disapprove of this, however, it happens that man and wife are forced to continue to live with each other, especially when there are no substantial reasons and grievances.

593 The man is obligated to provide his wife or his wives with food, clothing, and ornaments; she, to follow the man everywhere, to cook for him, to wash, and to take care of the housekeeping.

264 The wives are neat in an exemplary fashion; plates, bowls,
252 and pans are always kept extremely clean, and they also see to it that everything is extremely clean in connection with cooking.

841 If they find themselves in a period of menstruation, they
302 indicate this immediately to the husband by withdrawing from his dwelling and staying in seclusion with other women; they neither cook nor do the least thing for him in this state, do not even come within sight of him, and remain secluded to the end; when they have cleaned and dressed themselves, they decorate their shoulders and arms with white stripes as a token /16/ that they have again
[308] returned to their normal state. The stripes are made by mixing
[124] pounded adroe (1) with ground chalk and water.

1. A tuberous root-walk from the Cyperus rotundus L.

Sometimes they also smear the forehead and the neck in this way and appear thus before their husbands.

841 During their seclusion another woman, who is a member of
571 the family or possibly a female friend, daily prepares and brings the
252 food, which, however, is at the expense of the secluded wife. They perform this service for each other mutually.

/17 cont./

101 1. Archives du Ministère de la France
103 d'Outre-Mer. Guyane /Archives of the
175 Ministry of Overseas France, Guiana/.
113 A3-02.

611 /18/ Villages and Kin Groups

Among all the kinship systems which existed in the African tribes from which they issued, the Refugee Blacks came back unanimously, and from the beginning, to matrilineal filiation.

571 613 643 Their social system is symbiotic, under the authority of the grand man, of a certain number of localized matrilineal kin groups.

613 Matrilineal kin groups of the Boni. With the Boni the basic grouping is the lineage, in the rigorous sense of the term, understanding by that all descendants in maternal line from a single ancestress.

To designate the kin groups the Boni employ almost interchangeably the words lo (troop, band) and bêê, womb. In fact these expressions correspond to two variant interpretations of the same notion:

614 lo: matrilineage in the widest sense, understanding by that all persons knowing that they are issue of the same ancestress, even if the genealogical ties are forgotten, and even if these persons are scattered in several villages under different authorities;

bê: lineage fraction grouped in one village and constituting a distinct social unit.

The lineage bears a name whose origin is forgotten by present-day Boni: some of these names allude to a plantation or to a slave-owner, for example Lapé (La Paix, a plantation of the Cottica River); as for others, the name of the founding ancestress may be involved. Example: Kawina (name of the lineage constituting the village of Papaïkou).

/19 cont. /

613 621 591 The principle of localization of matrilineal kin groups, each in a separate village, continues respected. However, as in all African populations, the actual structure is noticeably different from the theoretical organization:

1st. Fragments of paternal kin groups, as well as several small groups of heterogeneous origin, insufficient in number to form a separate unit, have been agglomerated with the lo. Such is the case for example of the Tolna lineage, a small group which fled from Suriname at the end of the 19th century and agglomerated with the Papa'Iaon lo;

[519] 2nd. Scissions have been produced within the lo as a result of disagreements. A group issuing from the Papaliton lo founded Wéiti village in the Lower Maroni beside Apatu. A group issuing from the Kotika lo founded Ma Imma village in the same region. Finally, from the Dipélu II lo a group separated which settled in Asisi. Asisi village is thus in fact nowadays the juxtaposition of three villages: Asisi-Dju, Asisi-Awaca Bakka, Asisi-Dipélu II, each having its organization and its separate territory.

[829] These scissions have no appreciable repercussions on the social life of the Boni, for the groups thus separated from the lo, in addition to being very small in numbers, are not recognized by [819] the grand man as distinct social units. They remain subject to the head of the lo to which ancestor worship attaches them.

361 613 621 Besides the residence villages, a certain number of Boni have personal farming habitations distributed on the lands of their lineage along both banks of the river and on the islands. These habitations designated by the word kiipu, camp, have no permanent character; their existence does not violate the principle of localization of the lineage; each Boni is obliged at least in principle to build a house in his native village and to live in it part of the year. [429] The village of origin of each /20/ lineage is called "great village": [919] it is there that the members of the group meet to pray to the ancestors in front of the fraga tiki.

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613 Thus the lo appears to us above all as a social and political
• 971 unit, based in principle on matrilineal relationship but easily able to welcome heterogeneous elements. It is the framework by means of which the individual is integrated into the collectivity.

614 Functions of the lineage (bas).

—Members of the same bas form a joint group from the legal point of view, even if they do not live in the same village and are under different authorities. They recognize a common legal responsibility; for example, they are obliged, at least in principle, to pay the debts contracted by one of them. Reciprocally, the inheritance of one of them is shared among them all.

614 —They have the same religious responsibility, that is, they
184 are subject to the same kunu. The kunu is a curse called down upon a group by a divinity since an ancient era. It is transmitted exclusively by the mother. We shall show in the remainder of this work the considerable importance of this notion in the social life of the Refugee Blacks.

614 —They cannot (at least in principle) contract a union with one another. The bas thus constitutes in principle the unit subject to the law of exogamy.

[35] An offense against exogamy, pikadu, incest in the wide sense, is regarded as very grave.

613 Functions of the lo: The lo transposes onto the material plane the legal principles resulting from the conception of the lineage: joint rights over land, common legal responsibility. Each of them forms a social unit in principle sufficient unto itself, possessing an ancestor worship peculiar to it, a head acting the role of ancestor priest and judge, materially grouped in one village, enjoying exclusive rights over a well-defined soil.

/20 cont./

613 We have said that the recently founded lineages, being of
• 571 only very small size, cannot constitute a distinct social unit and are placed under the authority of one of the lo heads. That is not a condition imposed by force or any moral coercion whatever, but a practical social necessity. A lineage, reduced in numbers though it may be, keeps in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks imprescriptible collective rights; and if these members agree to group in a separate village and work separate soil, nobody will stand in their way.

128 Such are the elements which stand out after a first study of
613 the kin groups as it can be deduced from interrogating the heads
614 of these units. It leaves unresolved some important problems:
[115] The Boni have the idea that their kin groups are lineages
[829] in the real sense of the term. Nevertheless, questioning on genealogies does not permit all to /21/ go back to the founding ancestress. Three of them, the most important numerically, prove in this respect to be divided into several fractions. Can we be sure that these fractions are actually of the same origin and that the people concerned are not deceiving themselves in believing it? In the social structure of the Refugee Blacks are there no mechanisms leading toward assimilation, to fusion of groups of heterogeneous origin?

We cannot answer these questions directly. First of all it is indispensable to study the conception that the Boni have of kinship ties within the matrilineage. Then we shall examine the genealogical tables of the various lineages, and for those that the study of genealogies shows to be divided into several fractions, we shall study the interrelations of these fractions.

601 Kinship within the matrilineage: The kinship terms translate a
613 purely classificatory system. The principle of classificatory kinship

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1. This conception of kinship is also found among the Agni of the Ivory Coast and the Fon of Dahomey; it may be widespread in Black Africa, especially in populations with matrilineal filiation.

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/22/ This conception, associated with that of the kunu, conflicts with the fractioning of lineages on the religious plane, even when a scission has taken place on the plane of residence. The rigor of the principle laid down, the quasi-mathematical transmission from one generation to the next of appellations based on rank relative to the foundress, prohibits the thought that elements foreign to the lineage can be integrated into this system by any process whatever. Nevertheless, a doubt remains as to the possibility of assimilating fragments with paternal kinship, for in paternal kinship the same principle of classificatory kinship rules, and the same appellations are used. We shall show that such a process of assimilation actually exists on the social plane, but that it is inconceivable on the religious plane, the kunu always being transmitted by the mother. /Fig. 3 appears here./

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Knowledge of genealogical ties is very variable from one lineage to another. Outside of the great splits like Dipélu I-Dipélu II, we have demonstrated that small fractions of several lineages could no longer be attached to the main trunk, the genealogical ties being irremediably lost. The people concerned had never realized this; they had never wondered about it. This was the case particularly:

—With Samma's descendants (Dipélu II, Asisi);

—With the group of Atili's descendants (Lapé, Bonville).

[178]

In both cases the split was very recent; old men dead for only a few years knew the genealogical ties now lost.

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613 Situation of the lineages in 1958.

[643] The Dikan lineage, whose head is the grand man of the Boni, has practically died out, since it is comprised of only Grand Man Difu: upon his death it will totally disappear (1).

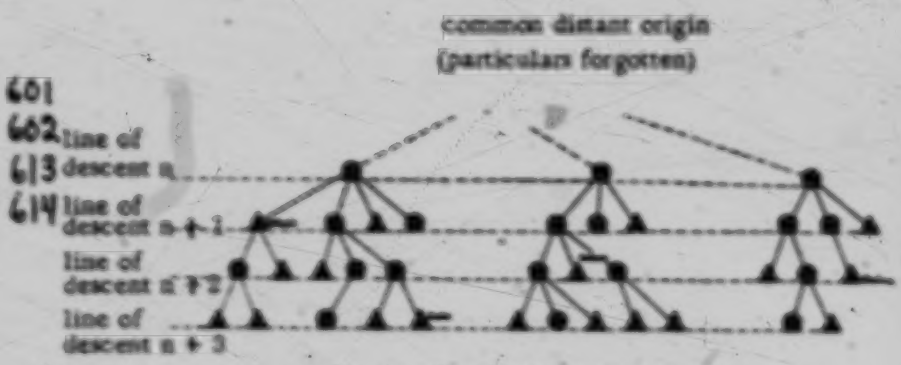

Fig. 3. Extended matrilineage.

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1. Note that a Dikan lo exists among the Djuka: the separation of the Dikan-Djuka and the Dikan-Boni is necessarily anterior to the battles of 1793, which shows the ancientness of these groups.

621 For two generations the various lineages have delegated some
613 of their members /23/ to the grand man to conserve a certain im-
571 portance for his village. Thus Agodé (Boniville) now includes fragments of the Kotika, Dipélu, Lapé, Dju, and Papaïkon lineages, forming that many individualized small quarters in the village.

613 /25 cont./
[601] nothing of their strength although they have lost all correspondence with the age of the people concerned.

614 —Dipélu II, whose members know their genealogy badly,
571 appears on the contrary to be on the way toward breaking up. The head of the Dipélu II, who bears the title of captain, resides
[578] at Kormotibo. Part of the group settled in Asisi following a disagreement, without ceasing to be under his authority.

614 One might think that the physical separation of the two
602 groups took place as a function of the genealogies, that the 2nd
571 fraction of Dipélu II emigrated as a single group to Asisi, leaving in Kormotibo the members of the 1st fraction. But this is not the case at all; examination of the genealogical table shows that the emigrant group issues as much from one as from the other; this is a very remarkable aspect of the social structure of the Refugee Blacks, which proceeds directly from their conceptions of classificatory kinship. A man is "at home" wherever his classificatory "brothers" and "uncles" live, and if a physical separation occurs in the group, preferences and personal affinities will have as much influence as closeness of kinship. /26/

613 Three generations ago, Dipélu was only one group under
614 the leadership of a single head residing in Kormotibo. The process
591 of its breaking up is a beautiful example of what Europeans produce
199 by interfering in the social life of an African tribe in order to pick out a man who appears to them more intelligent and active than the others.

[554] The companion of the explorer Crevaux, Apatu, who be-
[621] longed to this group, was on his return covered with honors, en-
[578] dowed with the title of captain and with pay; he conflicted with the legitimate head of the lo, seceded, and founded a village on the outskirts of Saint-Laurent, taking with him a fraction of the group.

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This village had no future. its complement did nothing but melt away for half a century, especially under the influence of venereal diseases.

Neither time nor geographical separation have brought on scission on the religious or legal planes. In this respect the members of Dipélu I and Dipélu II continue to think of one another as the same lineage. They remain subject to the same kunu. [184]

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The law of exogamy continues to be applied rigorously within Dipélu I and within Dipélu II, but marriages are permitted between Dipélu I and II. There are no longer any social sanctions about this, and the common origin of the two groups is so remote that they scarcely think any more of applying to them the term pikadu. But such unions remain exceptional, the people concerned continuing to fear a superhuman sanction. [184]

[621]

No element of heterogeneous origin, fragment paternally related or refugee outsiders, has settled among the Dipélu.

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[621]

The Papalison or Kawina lineage (Papalison village) has remained perfectly coherent and well grouped. Its members know their genealogy as far back as an ancestress named Téréza, who must have lived at the beginning of the 18th century. But there exists a small fraction, nearly extinct, which we shall designate as Papalison 2, which presents a separate genealogy going almost as far back in time. Nobody knows the origin of this group exactly; it is regarded as connected by kinship ties to the main group, but the members of the two groups consider that they form two distinct [614] [184] bas. They do not have the same kunu.

[582]

Marriage is not tolerated within the principal group, but it is allowed between members of the two groups.

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[169]
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Moreover, with the Papalison lives a small group which fled from Surinam about the end of the 19th century, originally of the Bakabuchi tribe. This group has no kinship tie at all with the Papalison but has placed itself under the authority of the head

/26 cont./

613 of the Papaïsson lo. It is generally designated by "Toïna's family."
62] Toïna being the doyenne of the group.

The Awara Bakka lineage (Asisi village) has a more com-
613 plex and particularly interesting structure. Study of its genealogy
614 shows that it is in fact divided into three fractions which we shall
[621] call Aw.B.1, Aw.B.2, Aw.B.1 /misprint for Aw.B.3 -- Tr./.
The Aw.B.1 know /27/ their genealogy perfectly back to an an-
cestress named Akyé, great-great-grandmother of the centenarian
Kuluba († 1957). Akyé must have lived toward the end of the
18th century.

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614
571 Awara Bakka 3 is a paternally related fragment which was
[621] "assimilated" to the principal group by a process of which several
other examples exist among the Boni. It was founded by Anéta,
a Djuka woman originally from the village of Tabiki on the
Tapanaoni, wife of Pèèyon (Aw.B.1), who remained there with
her numerous descendants after the death of her husband.

The members of this group, who should normally be regarded
as Djuka and outsiders to the lo, end up by being engulfed in the
social organization and ancestor worship of the Awara Bakka. The
[601] daughters of Anéta and Pèèyon were called "sisters" by the Aw.B.1
by reason of patrilineal relationship. These appellations were
[1164] transposed for their descendants to the point where many ended by
losing their true origin from sight, but the Aw.B.3 keep a separate
religious and legal responsibility and are subject to their own
kunu, that of the Djuka village of Tabiki from which came their
ancestress.

613 As a matter of fact, as we shall show by studying the beliefs
619 of the Boni, the kunu is irremediably transmitted by the mother
and no process of assimilation has any effect on this. Thus the
Aw.B.3 are not really part of the lineage; they are separated from
it by a clear criterion, obvious to the eyes of all, impossible to
disregard or forget.

/27 cont./

614 The Aw.B.2, on whom we could not get sure information
[123] because this very closed group did not cooperate willingly with the inquiry, appear to be in a very similar situation, with the difference that their genealogy goes back much farther in time and they no longer remember the origin of this fraction nor the
[984] circumstances which tied its fate to that of the Aw.B.1. This group apparently has a separate kunu.

613 614 582 The Awara Bakka lineage is in a special situation from the point of view of exogamy, for not only are there marriages be-
[183] tween one fraction and another, but there are two within the same fraction and between relatively near relatives. Thus this group, without openly rejecting the law of exogamy, does not attach the same importance to it as do the others.

613 The Afi lineage. This lineage was founded by Afi, wife of a man from Papaïston, who came to live with him. Like the
[101] Tolna lineage, she had come from the small tribe called Bakabuchi which lived in Surinam. However, the Afi and Tolna lineages are not of the same matrilineal origin and the present members of each of the two small groups have no common worship. All of
[571] them have lost every tie with their original tribe, and their social life is entirely dependent on that of the Boni group which has taken them in.

[621] Afi settled near Kormotibo. This site is abandoned by her descendants who live, most of them, in Asisi, the rest in Kormotibo.

The lineage has lost every tie with its group of origin.
[619] Nevertheless, it is assumed that if one of them wanted to go back there, on proving his relationship, he would take up all his rights again and could demand a site for making his clearings.

613 621 571 /28/ The process of assimilation which took place for the AW.B.3 did not come into play for Afi's descendants with respect to the Papaïston lineage. They are regarded as a separate family group, insufficient in number to constitute a social unit and whose members are placed under the authority of the heads of the villages

/28 cont./

613 where they have chosen to live. It is possible that later, if their
621 number continues to increase, they may found a separate village
• 571 whose head will be recognized as captain. A new lo would thus be created.

613 Real nature of Boni matrilineal groups. Examination of the situation
614 of the various lineages leads to the following conclusions:
571 — The fact that genealogies are forgotten does not lead to any fractioning of lineages on the material or religious planes.

— The conceptions of the Boni relative to classificatory kinship, as well as their custom hostile toward any discrimination within the lineage, hinder fractioning. When a separation takes place on the plane of residence and authority, it has no repercussion on the common worship which cements the lineage together:

— The fashion in which the law of exogamy is applied does not constitute a valid criterion, the attitude of the various groups in this regard being quite variable:

— No process of assimilation permits integration into the lineage of elements of foreign origin: a process of assimilation of paternally related fragments exists. But this assimilation is not complete, it does not operate on the plane of legal and religious responsibility:

613 — Ultimately, the surest criterion of true common matrilineal
614 origin is unity of legal and religious responsibility, marked by the
784 same kunu. The kunu, transmitted irrevocably by the mother whatever may be the conditions of her marriage, weighing collectively on all the members of a lineage and capable of being warded off only by their collective prayers, is the true cement of kin groups.

[571] By its very nature, the kunu opposes any scission of groups. Neither time nor geographical separation can break it.

[621] The example of Dipélu I and II is characteristic in this regard, for its members remain rigorously subject to the same kunu

/28 cont./

613 although the supposed common ancestress doubtless goes back to
614 the beginning of the 18th century and for three generations they
784 have been divided among four villages situated at a week's dis-
[621] tance by boat from one another. We can, with very few chances of error, affirm that they certainly have a common matrilineal origin and that they in fact constitute one lineage.

182 On this subject let us note that geographical separation can-
619 not play the same role among the Refugee Blacks as in the African
[34] tribes of cultivators. The Refugee Blacks, whose habitat is linear
[1079] along the banks of the river and who, being boatmen, are continually moving, cannot be completely isolated from one another.

613 /29/ Under these conditions, how can we explain the
614 existence within certain lineages of individualized fractions subject
• 971 to a separate kunu, such as Papaliton 2?

One can assume that these fractions do not really have the same origin as the principal group and that they result from a process of assimilation of a paternally related fragment.

We have cited the example of Anita's descendants (Aw.B.3). They are already integrated into the social life of the group; in two or three generations nobody will remember any longer their exact origin. But they will remain differentiated from the princi-
[784] pal fraction of the Awara Bakka because they will still be subject to the kunu of their ancestress.

121 Such are the elements we have been able to draw from a general study of kin groups among the Boni. We shall look for other data in the study of the implantation of these groups on the soil, and especially of the apportionment of lands among them; finally, we shall study family custom and especially inheritance.

A complete understanding of the kinship system and its functioning can be obtained only in the future by following the evolution of kin groups, the formation of new villages, and the designation of new headmen.

/29 cont./

121 This is what necessitates as precise an inventory as possible of the population in its present state.

61 Matrilineal kin groups among the Djuka and Saramaka Refugee Blacks.
114 Authors who have described the social structure of the Djuka and
184 Saramaka, groupings appreciably more numerous than the Boni, have also called attention to the use of the words lo and bee, but give them a completely different meaning.

194 The organization they describe can be summarized thus:
571 Before making up tribes, the rebels lived in small groups
621 near the plantations from which they had escaped; these groups of composite origin were designated by the word lo which means: troop, band; the same word is used to designate a band of animals.

[162] These rebels used to belong to all the nations of the west
[103] coast of Africa. In spots there may have been an attempt at regroupings of elements belonging to the same nation, as proven by the village names Loango, Dahomey, among the Saramaka.
[622] But the majority of these small groups were very probably of heterogeneous origin; in each of these lo, the bravest and most capable was designated as head.

[648] After the recognition of the Djuka and Saramaka by the
[167] government of Surinam and their regrouping on the great rivers of the interior, these groups kept their unity since they had a de facto organization and leaders. They were naturally designated by the name of the plantation they had come from. We say for example Dju nëngé for the former slaves of the Jews, Këpani nëngé for the former slaves of the Compagnie des Indes Orientales /East India Company/. /30/

174 In the course of the 19th century the total number of Refugee
613 Blacks increased very rapidly under the influence of a high birth
614 rate. The lineages in the proper meaning of the term bee, meaning the descendants of the same ancestress, took on sufficient im-
621 portance to constitute distinct social units. They grouped in
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/30 cont./

174 separate villages and the more important even burst out into
613 several villages whose heads were recognized as "captains" by the
grand man and then by the government. The number of Djuka
614 captains recognized by the government of Surinam has not stopped
621 growing; it was 28 these last few years.

571 The lo no longer represented an effective social unit, but its members kept common worships. For example, it is said that
[188] the Dju nēnge go each year as a ritual to get earth from the Savane des Juifs /Savanna of the Jews/ where their ancestors were slaves.

[114] This explanation seems probable. The kin-group is not the only social unit known to Africans; the bond between man and land has equal importance in their eyes; the fact that their fathers had lived together, that they had been buried in the same cemetery created a among the rebel slaves a de facto bond which was able to suffice, at the beginning of the rebellion, to found villages and a social organization.

[114] However, this theory cannot be entertained without reservations. It has not been possible to verify it by systematic studies, the Djuka and Saramaka having firmly opposed until now any ethnographic investigation involving the statement of genealogies and the inventory of the population of the villages.

[184] It contradicts what we have pointed out among the Boni. In that group six great lineages are counted, of which four (Dju, Kotika, La Paix, Dikan) have a name also alluding to the plantations from which their ancestors fled.

Nevertheless it is certainly a question of lineages in the proper meaning of the term, and nobody remembers that any other organization ever existed. Also, in the absence of systematic studies of the Djuka and Saramaka, the problem of the origin of
[184] their kin groups remains obscure. The future will permit verifying one or the other of the two hypotheses.

174 /30 cont./
613 1st. Lo = de facto grouping of rebels of any provenance,
614 which has in the long run split up into lineages but which remains
621 in the form of a common worship;
571 2nd. Lo = lineage, from the very beginning.
184

Conceptions Relative to Kinship and Marriage

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[12] Ties between the individual and the ancestors. Before examining
more deeply the social and family structure of the Refugee Blacks,
it is indispensable to study what religious ties are implied between
[184] the individual and the ancestors. Here one is in the presence of
basic beliefs which seem identical in the various tribes of Refugee
Blacks of Guiana and of which their structure is the consequence.

In the civilizations of Blacks Africa it is supposed that a
[171] current of life and /31/ strength circulates from the divinity to
men through the medium of the ancestors. Among the Refugee
Blacks it is taken for granted that in this respect each man is bound
[182] to his ancestors through the maternal line only. If he falls prey
to illness, injustice, or adversity, he can call only on them in
his prayer.

593 That does not mean that the tie with the father is ignored
[82] or considered as having little importance; it is taken for granted,
as we shall see, that in the creation of man certain psychic ele-
ments are transmitted from father to son. But the current of strength
binding the individual to the ancestors does not pass through the
father. One cannot pray usefully to the soul of one's dead father.
[155] If I am sick and divination incriminates the action of my dead
[172] father's soul, I cannot address either prayer or offering directly to
him; for that I shall have recourse to one of his near relatives in
the maternal line.

/32 cont./

601 The very rigor of this principle seems to have to lead to a
613 scission of the lineages, for one can hardly conceive that people
571 will be willing to address girls younger than themselves as "my
[163] grandmother" and show them respect: now that must necessarily be the case at the end of a certain number of generations, for as we shall see, the fecundity of Boni women sometimes lasts up to the age of 50, and there are cases where the interval between the oldest and youngest child reaches 35 years.

Nevertheless, we have not actually observed that this conception of kinship leads to scissions or even to serious clashes.

That derives from the very nature of the hierarchy and the social ties within the matrilineage: they entail a collective tutelage by one generation over the next, and in the same way a collective tutelage by the ancestors over the living. But for the same reason that every prayer, every invocation addressed individually to such-and-such an ancestor is avoided, the hierarchy of the Refugee Blacks does not give rise to relationships of authority between one man and another, which would not be tolerated. Only the bedemE, or captain, designated by the assembly of the lineage, exerts a personal authority: even so, he is careful to limit it almost exclusively to religious functions.

604 "Uncles" exert collectively an authority over the generation
613 of "nephews." They meet in council, especially on the question of marriages. They do not vote, strictly speaking, but the opposition of three or four of them prevents the carrying out of a project. There is no preponderant voice for the closest uncles (yet in practice this seems to be taken into account). But the eldest of the uncles in the classificatory sense is unanimously recognized as preponderant.

602 Existence of patrilineages. Matrilineages are not the only kin
784 groups of the Refugee Blacks. Each one receives from his father
428 a fundamental interdiction -- bugai kina -- which he will have

/35 cont./

593 This organization, compared with what is found in the greater part of Africa, is very advantageous for the wife, who [581] enjoys total independence. But against this she has great instability of unions.

581 601 The union of man and woman has so little of the character of a marriage that in the Boni language no word exists which means, strictly speaking, "husband" or "wife." They say: mi tibi anga X = "I live with So-and-so.

174 •591 How has the social and matrimonial system of the Refugee Blacks been set up? One could believe that one of the systems of Western Africa was purely and simply transposed, but this is not the case at all. In this domain as in that of beliefs, the ancestors of the Refugee Blacks elaborated an original synthesis out of numerous sources.

The African nations from which the rebels issued were certainly, in large part if not in the majority, patrilineal. This is especially the case of the Fon of Dahomey, from whom have been borrowed important cultural elements, especially the principal cults of possession. The matrilineal ones all conceded patrilocal residence, that is, the wife's leaving her village and settling in her husband's village.

[195] The 18th-century rebels, the archives attest, included a heavy percentage of "salt-water Negroes," born on African soil; such, for example, was Codio Coromantin, one of Boni's lieutenants; those who had not been born in Africa had, for the most part, been instructed in an African tradition by a father or uncle. One can be sure that once having attained freedom they sought to organize their villages according to the family custom by which they had been brought up, that is, to set up, some a patrilineal and patrilocal society, others a matrilineal society /36/ but with [643] patrilocal residence. We know for example that Boni had chosen his son Agoss as his successor.

/36 cont./

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Family custom is a thing tenacious in other ways than a language, a technique, indeed a cult. Men cling desperately to the social and matrimonial system they have received, with the feeling that if they abandoned it their familiar universe would crumble. Do we not see nowadays in the big African cities groups completely separated geographically from their tribe of origin, subject sometimes for several generations to European influence, maintain fiercely their matrimonial system? Yet in all the tribes of Refugee Blacks patrilineal filiation prevailed nowhere at all, and patrilocal residence disappeared, it seems, rather rapidly; the problem cannot be dodged by facile explanations such as the influence of slavery or the rarity of women among the rebels (1).

[58]

1. The rebel groups were quickly balanced from a demographic point of view, for they went and carried off women from the plantations.

One must assume that fundamental reasons made the patrilineal groups less viable than the others and finally led to their dissolution. These reasons appear to be of two orders:

—The independent spirit of the African woman, concerned above all with her freedom with respect to the man;

—The moral and religious law under which the unification of the tribes of Refugee Blacks was brought about, implying rejection of any form of violence or oppression. Under this law it could no longer be a question of taking the wife away from her maternal village if she was attached to it, no more than of coercing her to make her live in a union which had ceased to please her.

/36 cont./

1174 671 The formation of patrilineages must have been hampered by numerous divorces; in addition, in case of divorce, the wife unquestionably aspired to take her children with her, not recognizing any contract between the two groups of kin which might be able to affect her free will; one can also be certain that the children, if consulted, must have followed their mother in most cases and joined their maternal kin group. This tendency remains perfectly [586] observable in our days; we shall see all its importance when we study how the children are raised and what tutelage is exercised upon them.

Now there is no patrilineage conceivable if, in case of divorce, the children do not stay with the father. Patrilineal societies exist in which the wife is free, were it only the Peule society, where divorces are very frequent. But African custom has it that in a patrilineal system, by reason of payment of the dowry, the wife's kin lose all rights over the children. They have earned the man's kin group and his ancestral cult.

The formation of matrilineal and patrilocal groupings must also have collided with analogous difficulties, the women not willingly leaving their village of origin.

One can rather easily imagine that in the initial period of the formation of the /37/ new tribes, the different matrimonial systems coexisted; then the patrilocal groups, less viable, progressively broke up, while the present custom was being established.

195 683 This point of view is confirmed by an exact piece of information collected at the end of the 19th century by the explorer Coudreau. Upon the death of Agom, son of Boni, it was his son Gongo who succeeded him. But after the death of Gongo, the succession went according to the matrilineal system.

583 Another important aspect of the matrimonial system of the Refugee Blacks is the absence of any compensation or payment. [591] Even if it happens that a woman leaves her lineage permanently in order to settle in her husband's village and found a family there

/37 cont./

An example of scission in a kin group: the separation of Dipelu II between Kormotibo and Asini. (See Dep. II genealogical table.)

This scission resulted from a ridiculous incident: a falling-out which occurred between ○ Alawenchi † (E19) and ○ Bengo (E8) because of a hoe which the first claimed to have been stolen from her by Bengo.

Since neither one would yield, they became really angry and fought. /38/

△ Agosu, head of the lineage, taking the part of Alawenchi, decided to secede and settle in Asini.

○ Pilli † (F35) and ○ Séwey † (F38) who, their mother being dead, had been raised by Alawenchi, joined them and founded families in Asini.

This explains the present scission of this group and the bizarre division of its members between Kormotibo and Asini. This scission had no result on the religious plane, unity being maintained by the puissant tie of the kumu. Nowadays, Captain Pompo's authority is exerted normally on the fraction in Asini. Relations between the two groups are rather good. /Figs. 5 and 6 appear here./

/40/ CHAPTER III

INVENTORY OF THE PEOPLING OF THE BONI VILLAGES

We have tried to take a complete census of the Boni of the Upper Maroni as of January 1, 1956, including for the women the statement of their successive unions and of their children living and dead. This census is associated with detailed plans of the villages and a study of the territorial implantation of kin groups.

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621 Structure and Composition of the Villages

The examination we have just made of the peopling of six villages shows important aspects of the social organization and material life of the Boni.

591 (613) Kin groups in the villages. We have seen that the principle of Boni residence was localization of the whole lineage, men, women, and children, which implies the absence of common household life, man and wife each living in his own village.

This principle of matrilocal residence is effectively applied in nearly all cases. In 1957, out of all the 870 persons in the villages on the French bank, only 27 adults out of 410, or six per cent, were living in the midst of their paternal relatives or had settled permanently in the village of their spouse.

591 613 Nowhere is seen any tendency toward patrilocal grouping: the small lineages issued in the course of the past two generations from Djuka or Sakabuchi wives who came to settle permanently near their husbands do not escape the common law. Their members follow strictly, with respect to their ancestress, the principle of matrilocal residence.

613 591 621 Another important conclusion is revealed by examination of the genealogical tables:

When a scission takes place within a lineage, scattering its members among several villages under different authorities, this scission is never complete. Lineage members feel at home as much in one as in the other of these villages and go at will from one to the other.

613 621 The Dipelin I example is particularly clear in this respect. Its members are divided among three villages: L'Enfant Perdu, Apatu, and Beauville (where this lineage occupies a quarter).

/58 cont./

It is fitting to make an exception of the case of Owéini (Papaïnon) and Oma Imma (Kotika), who separated from their groups with their numerous descendants in order to found villages on the lower course of the river. These groups continue to consider themselves Boni; they are the nuclei of future villages.

For the same reason it is difficult to get exact figures on immigration. About 100 Djuka and Saramaka have founded farming villages in Boni country but keep all their ties with their villages of origin; some 30 of them have married Boni women; one can estimate that some 15 have completely bound up their lot with the Boni and can be considered as integrated into the villages in which they have settled.

All in all one can estimate that emigration and immigration of adult men, both very insignificant, compensate for each other; they have practically no importance on the social plane (since only the residence of the women has any influence upon the grouping of the lineages) or on the demographic plane; with the Boni the pyramid of ages constructed from the census of the villages represents very faithfully the demographic state of the population and lends itself to precise calculations of mortality (1).

1. It is not the same for the majority of African populations either because of emigration to the cities or polygamy. The presence of several average polygamists in a village is enough to render completely erroneous the counts of consanguinities by age.

The founding of new lineages results from the immigration of several Djuka women, some having come to settle permanently near their husbands, others brought up by their fathers in a Boni village. Half a dozen such cases occur in each generation, but

/58 cont./

162 not all result in the founding of a new lineage, either because
971 the women are sterile or because only one or two surviving children
591 remain who go back to live among their maternal kin. The more
613 children a woman has, the more she tends to settle permanently with her descendants, for the group thus formed represents a force and can be self-sufficient as much on the material level as on the emotional level.

613 Four new lineages have been founded in the whole of Boni
591 country during the past 50 years: /59/
162

Awara Bakka 3 (Ashta)	16 persons	on January 1, 1958
Afi	25	--
Tolina	9	--
Puci	8	--
Total....	58 persons	

Thus these new lineages represent only $\frac{58}{810}$ = 7 per cent of the Boni.

16 The immigration of women from other tribes thus remains
619 an exceptional phenomenon which has few effects on the social and demographic levels. The development of the Boni as a nation results only from the natural movement of the population. Study of the genealogies forces the conclusion that when the members of these four small lineages are eliminated, the whole of the Boni are descended from only six or seven women who lived at the end of the 18th century. Few examples of such growth are to be found.

621 Absence of division of the villages into quarters. We have
622 seen that the custom of the Refugee Blacks is opposed to all that could alter the system of classificatory kinship and leads to the individualization of segments within the lineage. This principle
623 is translated very clearly in the structure of the villages, where one observes no tendency at all toward division into separate quarters.

/61/

1937	Mission to determine the trijunction point of the frontiers of French Guiana-Brazil-Surinam.
1939	Declaration of war.
1944-45	Not a precise point of reference. The Boni confuse the liberation of the territory with the end of the war.
1948	First I.G.N. mission.
1949	Mr. Aubert de la Rüe's mission; second I.G.N. mission.
1952	Third I.G.N. mission. /blank page/ /63/

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

The social institutions of the Refugee Blacks diverge noticeably from those of the African peoples from whom they issued. They do not include age grades, men's societies, or initiation; marriage involves neither a contract between kin groups nor "dowry."

In a general way these societies founded by rebel slaves who had retained an extreme horror of all oppression were organized so as not to have any material constraint weigh upon the individual. Their institutions are entirely founded on the idea of protection against suprahuman perils; the individual remains perfectly free, and he adheres /to these institutions/ only in proportion as he is conscious of these perils. The custom of the Refugee Blacks, devoid of any means of material coercion, tends to develop within the individual the feeling that he is constantly threatened,

/63 cont./

that he can protect himself only by submitting to the law of the group. In this doubtless must be seen the deep reason for the importance attached to death and mourning, events around which is centered the activity of the usual societies and which entail a veritable mobilization.

It would be very difficult to condense the custom of the Refugee Blacks into a rigorous code. If one wished to do it, one would have to write as Article 1: "The living will conform to the will of the gods and the ancestors as it is expressed through the mouths of those possessed and by the movements of the bearers of the dead."

Each one of the tribes of the Refugee Blacks is formed of a certain number of matrilineages.

There is no limit on the number of these lineages, and it can be asserted that if any lineage whatever, detached from another tribe, asks to live in the midst of the Boni, it will be welcomed. From the first generation the children consider themselves as Boni.

In this regard one can cite the example of the Awara Bakka 3 lineage and that of the small lineage founded in Boniville by a Djuka woman, wife of Grand Man Ochi. All her descendants consider themselves Boni. /64/

But only the great lineages which constituted the tribe at its origin are social units recognized by the grand man, and only their heads are called to be members of the council.

We shall study first the interior functioning of the lineage, then the institutions going beyond the framework of the lineages.

/64 cont./

643 Nevertheless the lineage is not strictly speaking divided into
561 age grades; and when the men assemble in council for an affair which concerns the whole group, all may take the floor without consideration either of age or of place in the genealogy.

643 The council (kuutu). This is the principal social institution with-
571 in the lo. The kuutu is the assembly of the men of the lo without
544 consideration of age. No precise rule defines the age at which an adolescent may begin to attend it, and in principle all may take the floor. But decorum requires that unless they are personally interested in the question or have something important to say, the young let the elders do the talking. /65/

643 It is the captain (hedemã) and in his absence the eldest of
571 the lineage who presides. He faces the assemblage, surrounded by some of the oldest men.

Opposite him he has a respondent (piki mã) who greets all
[539] his sentences with ritual approbations hiya, hiya ba!, na so!, etc., without which a Refugee Black could not suitably make his speech.

Each one then speaks if he feels the need to express his opinion. Women do not take part in the council unless it is a
[562] question of a daughter's marriage; but it happens that men leave the meeting to go get the advice of their mothers and take their places again. If it concerns a simple affair without suprahuman complications, such as the fixing of the price of a piece of work, the discussion is often quickly over; but in the opposite case the discussion continues interminably, for there is no exact rule for concluding it. Only a negative rule exists: the determined opposition of one-fourth to one-fifth of the council members prevents the carrying out of a project.

/85 cont./

613 It seems that they expect unanimity to occur and that
571 basically (here are found again the mental mechanisms peculiar to the Refugee Blacks), they expect it to take place by itself, to impose itself as if obvious. If nothing of the sort happens, they separate without deciding anything.

613 This public discussion of all important questions results, in
574 the thought of the Refugee Blacks, not so much from a belief in
828 the wisdom of assemblies as from fear of malevolence. If questions were debated in a small group, there would immediately be mistrustful and jealous minds who would see dark intrigues in it. The constant concern of the Refugee Blacks, when they have something important to say, is to find witnesses. That is in fact the role of the council, and it is why there is neither a lower age limit for taking part nor a precise rule governing the fashion of conducting the discussion.

613 The Captain or bedemã. The head of each of the great lineages
554 which have been part of the tribe since its origin is recognized by the grand man as bedemã or "captain" (this word had been used since the original settlement of Europeans in Guiana to designate the chiefs of Indian tribes).

[692] The captains preside over the ãnti kuutu, supreme council whose functions are principally judiciary.

No precise rule of succession exists, and the choice of the members of the lineage is entirely free with regard to kinship ties.
[693] When the old people are questioned about this, they usually answer that the successor must be chosen from among the classificatory "nephews" of the dead man, that is, from among the members of the lineage who are one more generation away from the foundress.

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613 SSY 692 [642] 2) He exerts an extended judiciary power, for it is taken for granted that the legal and political power of the tribe cannot intervene in affairs between members of the same lineage, even murder, for it can be said that in the custom of the Refugee Blacks the lineage represents only one single life.

It is obligatory that the following be settled within the framework of the lineage:

[564] --Accusations of murder by sorcery where victim and supposed murderer are both members of the lineage;

[423] [578] --Arguments over lands within the zones effectively possessed by the lineage.

613 SSY 692 577 The way in which the captain exercises his functions as judge is hard to know, because for the Refugee Blacks it is extremely shameful to reveal the dimensions within one's own lineage. And as for those of other lineages, if one succeeds in becoming acquainted with them, one scarcely dares talk about it for if that came to be known you could smart for it.

613 442 554 Lineage heads have a certain authority on the material level; they designate the men charged with doing the work ordered by the administration, but truth to tell, it is above all a question of choosing from among volunteers, for it is profitable work. They might not succeed in imposing clearly unpopular orders.

613 SSY 624 The captain designates a certain number of supervisors or basia to help him. Their /68/ role consists in watching over the cleanliness of the village, in making all the material arrangements relative to dances and burials, in calling together those concerned to the meetings of the council.

613 591 The lo constitutes a unit from the spiritual point of view, but it is important to notice that it does not involve any collective organization on the material level. In this domain the wildest individualism reigns; there are no tools for collective use, and people get together to make their clearings only if they want to.

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561 198 The class of the young people, yuku sama, has definite activities: "style," that is to say, elegance, dancing, singing; it has a special language made up from taki-taki by inversion or addition of syllables. When the language begins to be known outside the group of young people, it is abandoned and another is invented. These past years the language in vogue was akogina, of Djuka origin; it had given rise to a whole folklore of songs.

561 Two other age classes appear to be rather clearly differentiated: that of the elders /69/ - gaã sama - (older than some 50 years), whose voices are preponderant in the council, and that of the old men - gaãndi sama - (older than 65 to 70 years).

[808] It is conceded by all that only the elders possess wisdom and knowledge, and in principle, in a discussion, the opinion of the eldest of them has the force of law.

575 Neither does one perceive among the Refugee Blacks any customary societies playing a role comparable to the men's society in the Sudan for example. In a general way their social life, very • 571 individualistic in spite of appearances, knows no other organization than the one resulting from kinship ties.

767 Nevertheless, the organization of the men within each village with an eye to the mourning ceremonies can be regarded as a rough approximation to customary societies:

--Kisimã or coffin-makers;

--Olama or grave-diggers.

But these societies are narrowly specialized and their customary powers exist only as long as the duration of their effective work.

562 Men and women. Even within the lineage where men and women 571 call one another brother, sister, aunt ... the relations between men and women are marked by mutism.

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562 828 [191] It is assumed once and for all that women are shrew: on whom one cannot count and from whom one can get nothing. The Refugee Blacks are inexhaustible on this subject and their opinion about the women of their group is very similar to that of Africans in general: they call them ill-natured, devoid of feeling, selfish, greedy, and unfaithful.

562 571 [165] In general, women are held apart from regular social life; no form of customary society of women exists. In the mourning ceremonies, which correspond to a veritable mobilization of the village, they play no role, except to prepare the meals.

562 789 794 Yet the women play indirectly an important role in the social life by way of the cults of possession. The Papa gadu gods so formidable have women nearly exclusively as bearers, and we shall see in studying the functioning of the kumu that they are the principal actors in this. Through this activity, which is exerted in arbitrary fashion on the outskirts of the institutions of regular social life, the women maintain around themselves an atmosphere of fear; it is not impossible that the functioning of these cults is influenced by the concern of the women to maintain their privileged position in the society of the Refugee Blacks.

562 159 Many women are charitable and have a certain generosity toward the members of their family, insuring the maintenance of the old men without resources. But their benevolence is essentially subjective and extends only to a small circle of personal friends and their nearest relatives. As soon as the elders appeal to them for a question of general interest, claiming to give them orders or even advice, they meet an attitude systematically malevolent and stubborn. /70/

[613] The lineage heads avoid giving them orders directly, for they run a strong risk of getting themselves insulted, as we have observed many a time.

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591 991 692 In fact, the society of the Refugee Blacks has not elaborated true political institutions; it is essentially a grouping for collective defense against suprahuman peril. The council, like the grand man, has power and authority only insofar as it remains closely bound to this function.

511 [545] [554] Absence of subordination. Among the Refugee Blacks no privileged class exists. /76/ and they all face life on a footing of rigorous equality; all receive the same education, must cultivate the soil, build their boats and houses, and live by paid work. The differences in standard of living observed from one to another stem basically from intelligence and work; and that, in spite of the belief in the possibility of getting rich by sorcery, is clearly understood by all.

565 [445] 571 461 [359] [462] [643] Although the Boni willingly engage in paid work for one another in transportation by boat, there exists no tendency toward the formation of a class of rich people and one of wage-earners. No servants exist among them, and one observes in their mutual relations no exploitation of the weak. Neither does one observe that a rich man tries to have done by another, for pay, the customary jobs he must carry out for the benefit of his wife (clearing, building of boats). This would be looked on with great disfavor. The grand man himself, if his grandson is not there to help him, goes himself to draw water from the river and he does it ostensibly, even though he has a constant concern for his prestige.

829 The misfortunes undergone by their ancestors are certainly at the base of this conception; for they have inspired in the Refugee Blacks a particular sense of human dignity which is not found to the same degree in Africa.

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No form of trade (1) is traditionally observed among them.

> 1. Since 1956, one of them, enriched by boat transport, set up a food business at Koniko, but this is a man more than half "creolized" and one who established himself in the midst of Creoles.

this activity being for them manifestly tied to the idea of the exploitation of others; there is not even any market in the villages. Each person produces, or finds among the people of his own lineage, what food he needs; as for imported objects, the Boni buy them in the course of their trips from the coast traders. That plague of African societies, pseudo-trade or parasitism, is unknown to the Refugee Blacks. Just as one meets among them neither ragamuffins nor beggars, one perceives nothing nasty or low in their social relations.

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(735)

In their collective life there is something aboveboard, clean, which strikes one on first meeting them and which one does not tire of admiring, the further one penetrates into the functioning of their institutions.

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241 423 425 613 Real right. The principle is that he who makes a clearing out of primary forest (or old secondary forest without a known owner) creates at the same time as a right of use for himself, an imprescriptible right for his lineage.

These two notions are very separate in the minds of the Refugee Blacks. The exercise of a right of use, even over a long period of time, over land already recognized as the possession of another lineage does not create any real right at all.

For example, ○ Bénitti † 1953 (E5), an old woman of the Dju lo, had founded a farming habitation in the Kayaku locality, where she worked the earth for several tens of years. But since these lands, even though unoccupied, were regarded as belonging to the Dipélu II lo (Kormotibo village), Bénitti's work did not create any right at all for the Dju lo. If her daughters do not agree and if the habitation disappears, it is people of the Dipélu II lo who will be able to occupy the lands.

613 571 425 423 Consequences of the material scission of a lineage. When fraction A' of lineage A emigrates and goes to settle on the land of another village, B, which cedes a portion of land to it, the members of fraction A', thus separated, keep all their rights over the land from which they originally came. But the reverse is not true: the people who remained in the village of origin of the lineage (A) have no right over the land ceded to the A' out of B's territory.

At the end of a certain time, and especially if the lineage (B) had never really occupied the land granted, it is assumed that the lineage (A') is possessor of it without restriction.

This was the case for example of the fraction of the Dipélu II who left Kormotibo village about 1930 to establish themselves in Asisi near the Awara Bakka lineage. The Awara Bakka granted them some unoccupied lands near Asisi village in the Tapo locality. (162) This fraction, now numbering about 30 persons, considers that it has exclusive rights over these lands where the Kormotibo people cannot come to farm, but it has lost nothing as regards its rights over Kormotibo soil.

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423 613 621 --The principle of matrilocal grouping is effectively applied in nearly all cases. The matrilineages have almost all formed, according to this principle, separate finages, on which their rights are well established; most of these lands appear to be of old formation;

423 613 621 591 --The lineage fractions which have separated themselves geographically from their original grouping have formed finages over which their members exercise exclusive rights. For example, out of the lands of the Dipélu II fraction settled in Asisi not a single case is reported of use by members of the main fraction of the lineage living in Kormotibo;

--The inhabitants of a village subject to one authority possess collective rights over the lands of that village and form a de facto community, even if they belong to different lineages. We have found two characteristic examples of this, Boniville and Asisi-Awara Bakka; by coming to live in a village and subjecting oneself to the authority of the head, one enters ipso facto into this community.

This custom is in contradiction with the principle of the exclusive rights of the lineage over the soil, but the contradiction is more apparent than real; it makes possible the integration, into a collectivity, of detached persons and small fractions incapable of forming a separate village.

The actual situation thus created is not at all permanent. If a lineage fraction wishes to separate itself either as a consequence of a disagreement or simply because its numbers have grown sufficiently, it always has the right to do so.

The fundamental principles of the basic rights of the Boni can thus be summarized thus:

"Rights over the soil are joint within the fraction of a lineage whose members live in the same village and are subject to the same authority; any scission of a lineage which has to do with the residence village entails a scission of rights over lands. The

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emigrating fraction possesses exclusive rights over the /agricultural/ land /terroir/ it farms. But it does not lose, at least in principle, its rights over its original land /terroir/."

The study of lineages gives us still more important information concerning the exercising of rights of use:

/V1/ Of 100 clearings examined, 81 follow the normal process according to which the woman has her clearing made on the land of her lineage (1). Of these 81 clearings, 34 had been

1. For the joint secour of Bonfville, the inhabitants of the village were considered as users of rights without distinction of lineage.

made under conditions not made clear, 48 had been cut by the husband, 14 by a near relative (son, brother, exceptionally brother or son-in-law), five by the woman herself.

In only five cases it is, on the contrary, the man who brings his wife onto his lineage's land.

A little more frequent is the case of a man cutting a clearing for himself on his lineage's land.

Finally, the case in which, for reasons of convenience, a member of a lineage asks to work temporarily on the land of another lineage is met twice. Thus this is an extremely unusual practice.

Influence of the geographical environment on the social structure. These observations are to be compared with the ones that can be made about the Cayana Indians and the Indians of Guiana in general, living near the Refugee Blacks, in the same geographical environment and almost in the same way (let us recall that the Refugee Blacks borrowed the whole of their material culture from the Indians).

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621 591 183 The composition of this village is thus entirely aberrant from the point of view of /112/ custom, and founded entirely upon personal fellow feeling. But the customary rule is most

621 613 423 the less present in the thought of all: the founder being of the Dju lineage, the land belongs to the Dju. The fact, for example, that Bernardin (Ketika) and his daughters (Papelmot) have worked there for a very long time creates no right at all for either lineage.

(591) If disputes occur in the group, those outside the Dju lineage must leave.

24 621 423 Listing of some clearings of the Atikati habitation (west bank).

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
23 △	Atikati (Dju, E18) for himself	1952	founder of the habitation	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1950)
24 ○	Wilhelmina (P1, F1); clearing cut by her husband Bésu	1955	Atikati's daughter, has no rights over the land	cut for the 1st time
25 ○	Wilhelmina; clearing cut by her father Atikati	1951	id.	id.

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429 Recapitulation:

858 70% of the boys
613 89% of the girls are raised in the mother's lineage

27% of the boys
13% of the girls are raised in the father's lineage

3% of the boys
2% of the girls are raised by outsiders to both lineages.

429 It is important, moreover, to emphasize in what proportion
858 the children are brought up by women or men:
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67% of the boys
88% of the girls are raised by women

33% of the boys
12% of the girls * are raised by men.

429 This preponderant role of women in the education of the
562 children is one of the fundamental aspects of the social structure
577 of the Refugee Blacks. In fact, women consider that the children
belong to them, and if they give some to men to bring up, it is
(191) only as many as they wish to. This conception which is found to
be widespread among the Blacks of America, in the West Indies
as in Guiana, explains, much more than the frequency of di-
vorces, the impossibility for them to make up patrilineages in
the absence of coercion exerted upon the women.

429 Several important pieces of information may still be drawn
from these tables:

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The rites of the worship of Odun are known only by the grand man and by an old man who replaces him when he travels. They are practiced only on the occasion of the collective oath against wisi, renewed every two or three years, and when it is necessary to implore Odun's mercy toward an offender. The officiant bathes the latter's body with a maceration of leaves that he alone knows.

To question Odun and know whether he pardons, they make use of a sacred object named afalaku, placed on a board put on the heads of two men. The answers yes and no are deduced by interpretation of the movements of the bearers, as in the interrogation of the dead.

The oath before Odun is also practiced as a legal test, permitting a man unjustly accused of theft or any misdeed whatever to justify himself.

Thus, in November, 1959, B... of Asisi, accused by two Djuka of being responsible for the burning of a large cabin /carbet/ in which objects of value were stored, asked to justify himself before Odun.

Odun's laws, which have the effect of forbidding violence, vengeance, and every form of oppression, give to the society of the Refugee Blacks a unique atmosphere of dignity and serenity which is not found to the same degree in animistic African societies. Most African societies censure sorcery and murder, but they accept vengeance and various forms of oppression. It is probable that the men who, two or three centuries ago, deep in the forests of Surinam, developed these laws, were inspired more or less consciously by Christian ideas; but they introduced them into an African system of thought, associating them with the idea of material sanctions in the present life, without which they would have been powerless.

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169 984 old woman of 90. A.... who died in Aini in January. 1957. Having lived with Creoles in her youth, she had come back to live in her native village for at least 30 years and had never given occasion for any unfavorable remark. Nevertheless, upon her death it appeared that she had wini.

971 829 199 Attitude toward Christianity. The Refugee Blacks, who are acquainted better than one might believe with the conceptions of the populations in the midst of whom they live, have a clear feeling of the relationship which exists between their metaphysical and moral conceptions and those of Christianity. They think they worship the same god as the Christians, in a com-
[199] pletely different way but just as sound. They have no animosity whatever toward the Catholic and Protestant clergy, and most of them agree willingly to wearing crosses or medals. But they have not the least intention of abandoning their beliefs for that. They do not perceive the contradiction and do not understand that people might want to oblige them to choose.

851 171 Like the Creole gold miners, they attach great importance to baptism, considered as an this protective against the dangers
165 999 of the bush. On Christmas, 1957 they were strongly impressed by the accidental death of a Djuka Christian living at the
[688] Kotika school. He refused to observe mourning for his wife according to the custom of the Refugee Blacks, and used to go
[273] to drink in the cabarets of the Creole villages. On Christmas
[784] evening, when drunk, he drowned himself. That was attributed to a suprahuman punishment. We heard /199/ the following reflection on this subject: "He was baptized and he drowned himself just the same. That is therefore not worth the trouble."

61 581 571 Actually, the matrilineal structure of the Refugee Blacks and their conception of marriage form an irreducible cleavage, which appears immediately as soon as one leaves the metaphysical conceptions to pass to the plane of practical living.

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Relations between Gods and Men

The kunu

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The kunu. The Refugee Blacks call kunu the collective curse which has weighed on a matrilineage since an ancient offense. The kunu is without time limit, without pardon, without pity, blind in the choice of its victims; in principle, it can end only with the complete extermination of the lineage. Each time that adversity swoops down on one of its members in the form of death, sickness, various calamities, the kunu is the most frequently obtained explanation. The instrument of this inexpiable vengeance is either a god or the yaisa (spirit) of a dead person.

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This notion, which occupies a central position in the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks, does not appear to have been borrowed directly. Most of the populations of Dahomey /222/ and the Ivory Coast take for granted the idea of arbitrary punishments exercised upon the members of the lineage by the gods or the ancestors of the group. But no population of these regions has, to our knowledge, developed so highly systematized a doctrine.

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The conceptions developed by the Refugee Blacks, divinities impelled exclusively by vengeance, and especially ancestors inexorably chastising lineages other than their own, have created new relationships among individuals and among lineages.

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We have not been able to elucidate the origin of the word kunu. Perhaps it is a deformation of the Mina word ekunu, which means burial.

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Three categories of divinities can pursue men with their kunu, and because of this fact the Refugee Blacks feel toward them an extreme terror mixed with veneration.

/[illegible] cont./

The various works treating of the Saramaka point out well the importance of the kuna, but it seems to us that the functioning of this institution (for in fact a social institution is centrally concerned here) has not been clearly understood.

A kuna is attached to a matrilineage in the lineal sense (784). It extends obligatorily to all the members of the matrilineage and can strike only them.

For example, my kuna can strike my sister's son but not my wife nor my children (they are subject to the kuna of their own lineage). /784/

The kuna, striking the lineage as a whole, can be appeased only by prayers uniting (at least in principle) the whole lineage. That is the respect in which the kuna may be defined as a social institution, for it is, we shall see, the principal cement holding the groups together.

The unleashing of a kuna does not necessarily and immediately follow the destruction of a necessary on the death of a degree mate. The god thus offended avenges itself by making a certain number of members of the lineage sick and by causing limited misfortunes to happen. When things are at that point the kuna can still be exercised by prayers and offerings. In 1957 the beginning of a kuna was manifesting itself thus in the Awaca Bakka lineage of Aloni; very frightened, the members of the lineage made offerings and prayers to exercise it.

But if the lineage people neglect the warnings of the god, if through laziness or willfulness too great a number of them are absent from the collective prayers and do not take part in the offerings, prayers and offerings will be refused and the god will kill one of them. From then on the kuna is unleashed and can no longer leave the lineage. Its involuntary bearer will have to bequeath it upon his death to a member of the lineage, who cannot refuse this legacy and must immediately

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One sees from this example how the influence of women, exerted in arbitrary fashion, in a domain placed outside of common and ordinary social life, weighs on the life of the group.

Kunu of the Dyéliy lineage. The situation of the Dyéliu lineage with respect to the kunu is particularly interesting. Although split for perhaps 200 years into two separate groups, Dyéliu I (L'Enfant Perdu and Apatu villages) and Dyéliu II (Kormontibo and Anai-Dyé. II villages), this group still constitutes an unbroken unit with respect to the kunu. Neither time nor distance (it takes more than a week of travelling to make the round trip between L'Enfant Perdu and Apatu) has been able to break it up. The Apatu people come very often (at least some of them) to be present at the collective prayers which take place at L'Enfant Perdu to appease a kunu in order to cure a sick person.

The oldest kunu ("since Africa") is that of a Papa gadu god whose name was ○ Dika (Dyé. I. D10, † 1911) and which passed after her death into ○ Pédétum (Dyé. I. E42, L'Enfant Perdu village). This kunu strikes indiscriminately the people of L'Enfant Perdu, Apatu, Kormontibo, Anai-Dyé. II, and the Dyéliu fraction residing in Benville. To it, these past years, have been attributed the death of ○ Way (Dyé. I. E8, living in Benville), the illness of △ Akwah (Dyé. II. F7, Kormontibo village) and of ○ Bongo (same village).

Another very old kunu is the one exercised by the yaka of a Saramaca Creole who had settled with the Dyéliu people a very long time ago. He was suspected of sorcery and killed. Since then his yaka comes back regularly to exterminate the Dyéliu.

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784 613 [428] The kunu and Boni family life. It follows from the detailed examination we have just made of the situation of the various lineages that the transmission of the kunu within the uterine kin group is a rigorous law which suffers no exception whatever. [571] [602] The process of assimilation which permits in a certain measure, on the social plane, the integration of fragments of paternal kin (like Awara Bakka 3) into a group does not come into play here. [611] [829] Unity with respect to the kunu can therefore be regarded as a rigorous criterion of a common matrilineal origin. The Boni feel it as an obvious fact and in such a case it is the proof that comes to their minds: "We are of the same origin since we have the same kunu."

784 613 571 182 Thus the kunu appears as the principal cement of the unity of the groups. It opposes the dissociation of the lineages; this curse which weighs collectively upon a group and which can be exorcised only collectively is an iron bond which nothing can break. It obliges the Refugee Blacks to surmount their individualistic tendencies, their egoism which, if they acted freely, would soon have scattered them into a dust of [888] separate persons. In the face of adversity each one accepts with good grace obedience to the elders, who alone know how [692] to talk to the gods and appease them. Nobody ever is indignant or even surprised to be struck down for the offense of another; there is not a movement of revolt or hostility against the one who by his inattention or inconsiderateness has brought on misfortune. On this plane the members of a lineage feel like cells of a single body.

784 613 672 The collective legal responsibility of the members of a group in the domain of customary law flows from the kunu. We have observed that several times, notably at the time of the obsequies for Kotoïda (Afi lineage) in October, 1956. The president of the Ifinti kuutu condemned the members of

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787 In a general way, they consider that the bearer of a god
784 exercising the kunu has nothing to fear from it personally if he
776 rigorously observes the kina which have been imposed upon
him. On the other hand, this god will punish any injury to
[562] its bearer. Thus these bearers (almost always old women) live
[888] surrounded by respect and fear.

784 /233/ Observations in January, 1958 (misfortunes attributed to
769 vengeance of ancestors on their own lineage).
613 Do (Lapé) is taken ill on January 7, 1958 with a violent
75 attack of dysentery. The same day his five-year-old son is
grievously hurt at the wharf by falling on a broken bottle.
[787] Alarmed by this coincidence, the members of the Lapé lo
assemble and proceed to question a possessed person. The latter
reveals that it is the doing of an old woman of the lineage,
Atala, dead for two years. Several lineage members have already been sick from this; the dead woman wanted to sanction offenses committed by the people of the lineage.

The same day in Boniville, Klémenti (Dju), to whom I am recounting this affair, tells me that before the lifting of mourning for his mother Béniti, he and his sisters were sick.
[787] Divination showed that it was the doing of Béniti, who wished to hasten the celebration of the ceremony.

784 The kunu and social peace among the Boni. Role of the grand
775 man. The kunu exercised by a yɔrka creates very strange re-
613 lations among the Boni lineages. As blind and arbitrary as the
571 vengeance attributed to the yɔrka may be, the Boni have the
sense of the legal unity of the lineage too much for any resentment to exist: "They are killing our family..."; and yet the
two lineages find themselves henceforth irreparably bound to-
[787] gether. The victims of the kunu can no longer get along without
people of the lineage of the yɔrka which pursues them with its
vengeance, since they alone, by their prayers, can appease
temporarily the anger of their ancestor. One conceives of the

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787 But divination is more than that; the interpretation it
626 gives of the events of daily life is the very mover of the ani-
182 mistic society; presenting calamities /236/ as the punishment
571 of offenses against customary law, it is constantly vitalizing
that law, conserving its practical value and its efficacity.
What it expresses is not the hidden influence of chiefs or priests --
there are in fact neither chiefs nor priests among the Boni --
but the very consensus of the group, the deep feeling it has of
its unity.

787 There are two large categories of divination:

The first consists of calling on a divinity through the
medium of its bearer. For that, one applies to a person (of his
[791] lineage if possible) who has a gadu. This is a service which is
rarely refused. This person employs the appropriate procedure
for calling his gita and enters into trances. The god speaks,
the question is put to it; if it is well disposed, it may give the
explanation or the advice requested. For example, one asks
for advice before looking for another sector to make his clearings.

787 Suggestible as the Boni may be, they do not fail to per-
786 ceive that all the gods interrogated do not give the same
directions. So they think that certain ones are stronger than
others; there are people whose gita is considered to be particularly
[791] good, others whom they have stopped consulting entirely. The
defunct head of Kotika village, Bayo, used to have a gita so
remarkable that people would come from very far to consult it.

[829] The general opinion is, furthermore, that nowadays
[178] everything is degenerating and that good gita are no longer
seen as in the olden days.

787 These consultations involve only a very modest remuner-
[791] ation, a bottle of tafia at most (1). If it is not a matter of a

1. The remuneration of the possessed person is in question; the god always demands a payment for itself, of variable size according to its whim.

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152 828 754 777 152 157 754 152 828 152 156 828 576 152 156 828 [182] [463] [183] [571] 76 181 775 828

Jealousy. To speak of jealousy as a negative magic force is not to be false to the thought of the Refugee Blacks. They regard it as an attenuated force of wisi, capable of bringing misfortunes even if no sorcery has been formulated. Jealousy is very marked in their character, associated with an individualism verging on asocial tendencies. When somebody is accused of wisi, jealousy is the commonest explanation of the crimes attributed to him; it is thought for example that a man can be jealous of his brother's growing rich to the point of making him die; that a woman may be jealous of the beauty or health of her sister's children. Not laying themselves open to jealousy is the constant preoccupation of the Refugee Blacks; one observes it in daily behavior, for example in the greetings which they exchange on the river. They never say, "I am well," but: "I feel only fair." If they come back from hunting they say, "I found a little."

Examples are not lacking of people who avoid building a fine house or buying an outboard motor in order not to give cause for jealousy. This preoccupation has profound repercussions on the material life and the economy of the Refugee Blacks; it explains in particular the absence of specialized professions and trade among them.

Many aspects of the customary law of the Refugee Blacks have no other function than to exorcise, if one may say so, tendencies toward jealousy and selfishness which, if they were given free rein, would poison the life of the collectivity.

The rites of death and mourning, which we have shown to constitute the pivot of the social life of the Refugee Blacks, are entirely based on the idea of preserving the surviving spouse from the effect of the jealousy of the deceased.

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171 image of the world. Since magic practices are rejected by
179 religion, since it even denies their reality, one does not think,
182 when one finds oneself constrained to have recourse to them,
754 of transferring to them the notion of good and evil which it teaches. Black magic gets in almost inevitably because a person believes he must defend himself; then its use becomes habitual, and the two forms of magic end up by mixing together and being no longer regarded as fundamentally different from each other.

171 Cases of wisi and Boni customary law. In African villages,
754 cases of sorcery are interpreted by interminable and useless
695 discussions, wild accusations, protestations of innocence, sometimes more or less sincere confessions, oaths and legal tests with always contested results. These cases are never finished; they are in permanent evolution, sometimes for months and years. Opinion moves successively onto different hypotheses according to events which take place, seeking its way gropingly like a man lost in darkness.

754 It is clear that the first lawgivers of the Refugee Blacks,
695 by carrying judgment back to the death of those concerned and
182 by refusing the wisimã any kind of pardon or compromise, tried to prevent the development of these sad crises. What is the use of discussing interminably, since there is no certain proof, and since nobody may confess? But customary law collides on this point with tendencies too deep to be entirely restrained. The laws of Ojun are not always obeyed to the letter, and it happens sometimes that the Boni lose their footing in the
[571] observance of their customary law. Then crises take place among them, as violent and confused as in the villages of Black Africa, going as far as paralyzing social life for several weeks; then peace returns for several months, sometimes for several years.

/244 cont./

754 695 571 In 1958, a Boniville woman, N..., was convicted of having paid a Creole quimboiseur to make the grand man die. She confessed, a rare thing in this kind of case, and the materiality of the facts did not appear doubtful. The Boni were strongly impressed by this unprecedented event, and for several weeks the members of the lineage concerned were in such agitation that one could have believed they had lost their reason. In Boniville they "held court" continually for nearly two months, and they discussed so much that farm work was neglected and part of the rice crop lost.

754 695 683 [648] What were they going to do with this woman? The laws of Odun forbade killing her, no more could she be expelled. The Boni made discreet overtures to the administration to find out whether it was not possible to have her imprisoned. They were surprised to learn that French law does not recognize the offense of sorcery. Somebody then proposed having her admitted as a servant at the leprosarium of the Acarouani on the /245/ coast. This suggestion produced a surprising result; the Boni were unanimous in thinking that making someone who was not a leper live in a leprosarium was a punishment worse than death, and they resolved to pardon her.

How does one go about it, since the laws of Odun do not permit pardoning a wisimã? Nobody could give us a satisfactory justification on this, but in 1959 A..., the preceding year spurned [illegible] maltreated, had taken up normal living again in her village.

754 761 784 In fact, a case of wisi is terminated only upon the death of the person concerned. If a man who has been accused of wisi during his lifetime dies accidentally, or is struck by a fulminating sickness, the fact that he has been chastised by Odun appears as incontestable proof. The case is fixed in the memory of the group in a specific form and will be given as an example to inspire respect for customary law.

/290 cont./

426 here, 5,000 there. But these loans are never large and do not constitute an effective process for grouping financial assets.

157 525 The so-called subscription societies so common in Black Africa are totally contrary to the thinking of the Refugee Blacks, in the same way as games of chance. In 1958 the Maripasoula post, on the occasion of a festival, had organized a tombola. When the principle of it was explained to the Boni, they were unanimous in thinking that the Europeans had odd amusements. Few of them agreed to buy tickets, and the ones who had not won anything left embittered, with the feeling of having been involved in an immoral operation.

157 571 High esteem attached to contracts. This inaptitude for forming groups and combining assets contributes very much toward crystallizing the society of the Refugee Blacks in its present form by opposing all large-scale initiative. On the other hand, 157 577 it develops the sense of personal responsibility. The Refugee Blacks are especially strict with respect to money (1). 426

[648]

1. This with regard to their mutual relations; as for debts to Europeans, they are not prompt in paying them back; but marked deception, borrowing done for the purpose of swindling, are very rare with the Refugee Blacks.

[829] Custom lays down as a strict principle that everything must be paid for. No one may live at the expense of someone else, no one may borrow without paying back. If a man died [613] before repaying a debt, the members of his lineage would club together to pay it off.

/290 cont./

675 The Refugee Blacks have a sense of contract to a high
461 degree, and they bring /291/ to the execution of work to which
157 they have committed themselves qualities of seriousness, initiative, and a sense of duty not found to the same degree in Black Africa.

157 Refusal of any lasting commitment. If the Refugee Blacks honor
671 their contracts, they do not like to commit themselves for a
571 long period.

This attitude results from their desire for independence, but also from the moral and religious law which governs their society.

This law forbids infringing on the liberty of persons, humiliating anyone, and doing anything which might be able to plunge him into anger or affliction. Its effect is to prevent any exploitation of the weak, any creation of a servant or proletarian caste. It even leads to the absence of any permanent subordination of one man to another.

[466] The desire for independence of the Refugee Blacks makes them unwilling to bind themselves definitively to a job, however profitable. When a man judges that he has put aside sufficient savings, he leaves the job which furnished him with these resources.

[464] This tendency makes the search for paid work much more difficult and hazardous; it happens that a man may stay for years without finding gainful work, living in straitened circumstances. But that is the price of independence, and it is accepted without hesitation.

DEATH AT GANKWE

And so once more we were in Sedefo's canoe running the rapids, and once more we pulled up at the landing place. 764

It was quiet enough there, and no one passing would have noticed anything out of the ordinary in the behavior of the one or two women washing clothes at the riverside, or of the children playing about in the water. Again we climbed the path to the village, this time to the delighted shrieks of the children, whose cries brought others, until we were surrounded by a fearless, clamoring group, shouting, calling after us, "Bak'a, Ame'ica' Bak'a!" Sedefo took us to his house, where we met the senior of his two wives, and turned us over to a young man, who had played one of the drums in the ceremony of the evening before, to show us the village. This was the routine of courtesy due any visitor. Nothing more tangible than a slight reserve marked the tension which made this village different from what it would have been on any midafternoon. [596] [595] [594]

In front of the house of mourning all was quiet. Three elderly men sat on their low stools, talking in low tones. They greeted us as we passed but neither engaged us in conversation nor offered us a seat. Inside the house the small fire still smoldered, and, where the hammock had been, now crouched, soundlessly, an old woman who, we later learned, was the dead man's maternal aunt. We were struck with the number of houses that had symbols of spiritual protection over their doors—*obias*, they are called—magically treated to keep the spirits of death from harming the occupants. As we passed one doorway, a woman holding a baby hastily threw a covering over its head, but not before we saw that it had special markings of sacred white clay on its face. The child was under treatment for some illness, and the mother, in these days when spiritual danger stalked about, could take no chances of the Bakra's magic obstructing the cure. [598] [755]

On the other side of the village, farthest away from the house of death, life flowed on yet more evenly. But as we looked about, our guide stiffened, and soon we too caught the sound of the drums which rapidly became louder. He

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

484 through them, would have meant courting the displeasure of the spirit which animated the troubled stretch, and would have been dangerous. He was a Man Nengere and knew all this well, for was he not ready to marry Dida any 58 time now? He would have to wait as yet, but perhaps [85] during the next planting her breasts would come, and then in a month, two, three, she would be ready to marry. He was, in fact, in the mood even to cast about for a second wife, though his marrying her would have to wait many years. All that would come, for what with the money he already had earned, and the sums he would get for the wood he might bring down the river later, and this money the Bakra would give him, he would have enough to pay for the hammock, the cloth pangi, the handkerchiefs, the [58A] bracelets and beads, and whatever else a man needed to give to his woman and her mother for a fine marriage.

484 Going through this stretch of still water, which Bayo always found dull, he thought of this and that, for there was no work for his muscles but the monotony of the dip and stroke of the paddle. Going upstream it was different. There the challenge of the slipping pole-stick against submerged slime-covered rocks made a man prove himself. It spoke to the warrior blood in him, which found no outlet in these quiet times. But this was only idling, and his mind found pleasure in wandering, especially if it happened, as now, to be dark enough to make it worthless for him to look about for the things that grew and stirred in the bush.

Yes, it would be almost three hours before the sun was high, and when it stood there—he indicated the place in the heavens to himself with his eye—he might be loading the Bakra's boats to go up river, for word had come from top-side that the Mamadam would be safe in a few days, and now if the Granman meant for the Bakra to get to the upper river, he would be sending word down almost any time. And he, Bayo, was ready for the journey. 484 Here in the blue canister, which he had bought in the city 574 on the Queen's last birthday with part of the money he had

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR3 Bush Negroes SR3
Saramacca

got for the timber he and his great-grandfather had floated down the river, he had two fine cloths. One was older and was intended for visiting the villages on the way, and the new one was for the Granman's village. For this occasion, too, he was saving a pair of newly woven garters, though he would wear the two strands of small coral and yellow beads in some of the villages on the way. At Lamé, for instance.

Ai-yo! He would see to it that he looked well at Lamé, for Lamé had handsome women, and at Lamé the women knew how to love. His own powerful love obia had come from Lamé, and there it was in his canister and there beside it was a potent fighting obia which his uncle, who was surpassed by few on the river in the strength of his obia spirits, had made for him. Some day, when Bayo was older, he, too, would know all these secrets, for his uncle had given him some of his gods, and at dances he already showed that he had a strong spirit. Until that time came, he had the obia from Lamé to win for him the love of his fellow men, and should it not avail against the magic of some surly fellow who wished him ill, then he had the other which would serve him in trouble. And on his upper arm was his Kromanti obia—the magically potent iron band—which, by tightening, would warn him when trouble was impending. That was the way to go through life—a man asked the gods to help him meet whatever might come, the good spirits with good, and the bad with yet greater evil.

Up above, whirling past him in the pale dawn, the parrots flew, making a screeching chorus in the stillness, and rousing him to the murmur of the next rapids which he was approaching.

What was that? A boat. Going downstream, he was soon alongside it.

"*Tio*, greetings," he called to the man, speaking in the subdued ceremonial voice.

"Thank you, tio," answered the older man, for he addressed a stranger.

Chapter VI

THE PROVISION GROUND

I

THE chameleon says: "Haste is all right, but caution is also a good thing." 538

Bibifo spoke this proverb when we "went aside" with our men to see whether we would accept Chief Fandya's hospitality for that night and the next, that we might see a dance in his village. The rapids above the Mamadam had been difficult, and beyond Baikutu were more rapids. A rest was welcome to Bibifo, and especially a rest at the village of Fandya, where the Granman himself stopped when on his way down the river. 574

"A man is well here with Fandya," Kasanya said. Though he was not of the same clan as the chief of Baikutu, Fandya's clan was an ally of the Granman, and Fandya himself a man of consequence on the river, not alone in its political life, but, what was more to Kasanya's taste, in matters relating to magic. "For the sake of good broth, you eat the sour dumplings," he said to us, indicating his acquiescence, yet hinting that the men would look for pay for the time they would be forced to remain idle in the village, if we stayed. 538

But the Gankwe men were for going on. Farther up the river were friendly villages from which several of them had drawn their wives, and farther still their own clan village. Asikanu, speaking for them, said, "Waiting for tomorrow is what caused the toad to remain without a tail. It is still early. The next village is not too far away." 538

REBEL DESTINY

574 609 In his own house, Fandya continued to urge our staying. "Ame'ika Fandya," he said—the year before he had given his own name to the white man—"remain with us tonight and tomorrow. I am an old man. I would like to know that you saw a dance in my village. When you go to the Neng'e country, I would like you to say that Captain Fandya knew how to treat a stranger who came as a friend. Last year when you were here you said you would come with your wife. You have come. Your wife has come. Last year you came, and since then all has gone well in our village. Today there are not many people about. The women are [462] away in the fields harvesting the rice; the men are in the bush hauling lumber. But tomorrow night the women will come in from the planting grounds, because the day after they may not work in the fields, and tomorrow, too, the men will come. Stay and see our dances."

And the bassia, the man second in command, said, [789] "Mati, last year I took an obia against the evil eye from my own door and gave it to you, to hang over yours, that enemies entering your house might not bring in with them bad magic. All has gone well with you. Stay. The gods have shown they favor our friendship."

2

361 The will of the Gankwe men had, however, prevailed, and we reached the village of Pa'aba that day in good time. It was one of the largest on the river. In front of the azang 501 which guarded the road new boats lay on their sides, and farther up the path were others in the making, some black inside with charring, others huge hollowed-out logs, like gigantic drums, waiting for the hand that would set their pulses beating. These boats were as large as any we had seen on the river, as large as the boat Sedefo had rejected because it rolled and he had to think of his kunu.

[556] Kasanya said, "This is a prosperous village. They make the best boats on the river here."

And Bayo said, "Ai, this village has strong men."

REBEL DESTINY

484 574 But Bayo's pleasant story came to an abrupt end. Down toward the bank came Sedefo and his companion, motioning the men to join him. They all gathered in front of the guard of palm fronds, and began to discuss something in low voices, while from the village came the staccato rhythms to the Sky God and to the Kromanti spirits in tones at first soft, but swelling and quickening as they continued.

Sedefo came up to us at last and said, "I will tell you something, but you must not think the people of Pa'aba are unfriendly. I will tell you this. Let us go on and make camp farther up the river. There is a provision ground not too far away. We will make it in time."

989 574 In the boat Bayo told us that many were possessed in the village, and since here at Pa'aba they danced Kromanti strong, the men did not think it safe to bring us to the village. The year before Kasanya had spent a trying night here. Two or three of the men had found guns and had gone tearing about the village, so that not alone had the women shut themselves up in their huts, as they often did at Kromanti dances, but the men, too, had had to go in hiding.

"That is why we are going on. But I have a strong Kromanti spirit myself. I will go back to Pa'aba tonight and watch the men dance," he said with a laugh.

3

574 It was already quite dark when we made the planting ground. Up a narrow footpath we followed Kasanya.

"*Koni, koni*—Take care, don't trip at night," he kept calling to us. "*Mbwogu*—Hurry," he urged, though we needed no urging to keep close behind him in this narrow dark shaft which cut the greater darkness of the bush in two.

Bibifo would sleep in our boat to watch the provisions, Kasanya explained as he led the way, for the clearing was so far from shore that it was not wise to leave the boats unwatched.

"It is far," he said. "Grounds are cleared that way—not too near a village, not too near the shore."

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574 609 In the doorway of one of the huts, a woman squatted over a fire, and at her feet a child sat busying itself with pushing the firewood toward the center. Our cook had planted two forked sticks in the ground, and on them had hung our lanterns, so that we could see the woman silhouetted against the fire and the naked child on the ground singing the seketi which Bayo had sung for us so many [533] times on the river. Over and over the child tried the air, her mother humming it for her softly, while from the doorway of another house a man sat watching them. We had not noticed him until the lanterns had come. The planting ground at harvest time is not a place a man frequents. He [291] was a strange figure there on his low stool, as he sat wrapped to his neck in a large striped cloth. He made not the slightest move, uttered not a single word. But for his cough, he might have been a corpse propped up in the doorway. We stood hesitating whether to cross the short distance between us and the fire to greet the woman and the man, but before we could come close enough to them to speak, we heard Bayo calling us in a voice we had never heard him use in a strange village.

"Bak'a, Bak'a. Come. They want you inside." When we were out of earshot of the woman at the fire, he said in a whisper, "Do not go over to those houses. Tomorrow when we are away from here, I will tell you why. It is for that I called you."

We had no need, however, to puzzle over Bayo's warning. [164] Our cook, who had heard the conversation of the men, told us that the man in the doorway was a leper.

953 262 "You know how it happens, Massa? Among us townspeople it is this way. A child inherits a *trefu* from his father. It is one thing, or many things, he must not eat. If he eats what he should not, then he sickens. We know a person who has eaten his trefu by the spots that come out on his skin. If a man goes on eating the things which are his trefu, then the spots become worse and worse. He becomes a leper. So that's how it is."

He did not at once answer the questions we put to him.

798 797 The other white man was the Catholic missionary who for years had been living in the Gran Rio. He was a friend of the Saramacca people, and they liked him. Now this white man wanted to see Dahomey. He said that he, too, had a strong God who protected him. He asked so many times that they at last promised to take him there. But when he got to Pempeh he fell asleep, and he slept till . . . till they reached the Granman's country. So his life was saved. The gods, knowing that he was a friend of the Saramacca people, did not want to kill him. They put him to sleep until Dahomey was well out of reach.

"And this is what happened to you, Bak'a. The gods did not want to hurt you, so you did not see."

2

133 Past these rapids and another stretch of rough water, and then before us lay the highest falls of the Saramacca. To the right, over a ledge of rock spreading in an unbroken sweep across its entire width poured the Gran Rio, the [361] river up which lay the villages of the Loango clan, and beyond, the untrodden jungle which barricaded the way to the country of the Indians, and the basin of the Amazon. To the left was the final bit of fast water that remained between us and the village where the Granman awaited us. We were at last in the Pikien Rio.

Here the stream narrowed, and we could see on both banks the people who were waiting to see us pass. The [514] gay colors of the women's cloths were brilliant against the background of green, and their hallooing reached our ears above the rush of the water. A canoe with several young men came alongside.

"We are here to help you with your boats. We have been sent by the Granman. Fire three shots to let him know you are in the Pikien Rio."

516 [201] We fired, and instantly there was an answering salute of three guns. With the reinforcement of paddlers, it did not take long to reach the island which separated us from the landing place of Asindopo Lantiwe. Here all strangers

Both of these men carried
long wands of office, of black wood topped with silver knobs. About their necks were heavy silver chains, and from each chain was suspended a large silver crescent.

Another man stood near them to one side. He wore a long coat of white edged with scarlet and blue. He carried no stick, and wore no insignia. On his head, over a white kerchief wound tightly about the head and caught up in the back, was a white sun helmet. Above his head, held by one of the younger men who accompanied him, was an umbrella, the highest emblem of rank. It betokened that this man was Moana Yankuso, Granman of the Saramacca people.

3

Kasanya was first out of the boat when the dugouts were brought to shore, and after him came Bibifo. Sedefo and Asikanu remained with the younger men, waiting for the Granman to indicate that he wished to receive them. Only men of rank and elderly members of his own clan would go at this time to speak to the headman, who stood there watching the boats.

"We came, G'aman," we heard Kasanya say, "and we brought the Bak'a." Two or three low-voiced sentences followed, and then the conversation was terminated by the elderly functionary in the yellow coat, who came down to our boat.

"I greet you in the name of the G'aman, Bak'a," he announced. "The G'aman himself awaits you. Come with me."

As we stepped out of the boat, the hallooing of the women and the shouts of the children, which had stopped when the paddlers addressed the Granman, began once again, and, as an underlying voice, the salutes from the shotgun were to be heard. The old man, shifting his wand of office to his left hand, now carefully helped first the one, then the other out of the boat and, offering his arm to each in turn, led us to the top of the steep rise, until we were face to face with the Granman. It would have been unlucky had we lost our footing at this moment of welcome. This chieftain was

574 there not only to tender the courtesy due the guests of the
576 tribal head, but to see that no such mishap occurred to
609 them.
643 When we had both gained the ascent, he turned to the Granman.

"Headman Yankuso, the Bak'a is before you."

As though just become aware of us, Yankuso fixed us with his eyes, fastening his glance on each in turn.

"Odi, white man. White woman, odi!"

A great figure of a man he was, as he stood there. Tall and massive of build, he towered over those who surrounded
[291] him. Barefooted like the rest, there was that in his bearing which was the way of a man who was accustomed to obedience, whose word was final. He was pure Negro. His skin was dark. In his features there was no hint that the lineage of this ruler held any of the blood of the white masters, nor that his ancestors numbered among them Indians who had given way before his invading forbears. His face was impassive, yet underneath the outward immobility was an alertness which the glistening, oil-anointed skin made the more alive. His speech was measured, his words articulated with studied emphasis, which gave to each of them the value of a completed image.

"*Bari*—Cry out!" he called to the women in his vibrant voice. "Halloo, give the welcome of the bush to the people who came."

Amid the renewed cries which his command brought, we turned from the river bank and walked slowly up the path toward the village, past the silk-cotton tree, past the shrine to the ancestors, until we reached an open place on which fronted half a dozen thatched buildings.

"This is my house, white man," he said, pointing to it. "I will put you near me. I will put you in the council house."

4

344 The council house at Asindopo Lantiwe—the village of Asin, the seat of government—was unlike any we had seen.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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Outside the doorway we heard a decisive clearing of the throat, louder than the coughs we had already learned to associate with the approach of a visitor. After a short pause, the Granman's bulk filled the low entrance, and with him came the elder in the yellow coat, followed by Sungi of Dahomey, the chief who had come to pilot us to the village of the Granman, and the bassia from S'ei.

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The men stood with ceremonially inclined bodies until the Granman was settled in his chair, then each in turn took a bench from the shelf above the door, and still with body bent found a place for it against the wall facing the Granman.

After a silence, the Granman spoke.

"The unloading is done. I have set aside five houses for the Bak'a. Mati—friends—the white G'aman told me about this visit when I was in the white man's city. Others have told me. People who come to me must be cared for. The white people are come. They sit among you. The Bak'a and his woman will put up their hammocks here. Here they will stay. The white man's goods are stored in the house in back of mine. The white man has much goods. There is a man from the city who helps them. He will sleep where these goods are stored. So I speak. That is my wish."

"Ya-hai, G'aman," came the assent from And'u.

"Kelele," said the chief in the yellow coat.

"The house in back of this I have had the women get ready also for the white man and his woman. When the chiefs gather for councils, and they want to be alone, the whites must have a place to go aside. I have given a house for the cook, and an open house for the cooking. So it is. People who come to me must be cared for."

"True, true!"

"So it is."

"Kodo!"

"White man," said the Granman, for the first time turning to us, "you have heard?"

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

574 For a few moments there was a rapid interchange between him and the old man in the yellow coat.

"The down-river men who have brought the white man," the Granman continued his cadenced speech, "will be housed in the village. The four Gankwe men will put up their hammocks in one house. The other four will be put up in my quarter. So it is. So I care. . . . "

"Yes, wise man."

"Gbolo!"

622 554 The ceremonial introductions followed, and each chief was praised for his special services to the Granman. The man in the yellow coat was of the Oyo people, a son of a great line, held high in the esteem of men and gods. Sungi was a man who knew much of the white man's wisdom. He had been to the French shore, and knew the French tongue, he knew about white man's medicine, but, friends, he was a child of the bush! And'u was a beloved chief, an honest man, a man to send on missions of trust. The bassia was a clever man, one of the men of And'u's village. The gods loved him, for what his hands touched turned to wealth. He was a good man. He was a friend.

A low cough was heard outside. Slowly the cloth was raised, and crouching into the hut came Kasanya and [291] Bibifo. They were carefully dressed, and each wore a kerchief drawn tightly about his head. These they wore by right of age.

622 506 The bassia, lowest in rank, was greeted first, and then each chief in his turn, until the Granman was reached.

574 "Greetings, G'aman."

"Thank you, friends," came the vibrant answer.

This began the colloquy of inquiry about each other's well-being, which here at court had a longer ritual than anywhere on the river. It was a prelude of measured song which introduced all speech between strangers. Bibifo began timidly and did not show himself equal to the many variations which Kasanya had introduced with ease.

"Friends, I am glad you came. You must tell me what is happening in your villages."

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

AT THE COURT OF THE GRANMAN

Now it was the Granman's turn to supply the interpolations, while Kasanya and Bibifo reported. 622 576 579

"Yes, so it is. So I know it to be myself. So I have heard," he spoke when they paused.

But when the ceremonial greetings were over, and the conversation turned to down-river affairs, the Granman leaned forward in his chair and talked with the men informally. They were all clan members, or men belonging to clans whose allegiance to the Granman's rule was undoubted, and they talked over many things in the way men do when they meet with their own kind. 622 643 521 [614]

The room was growing darker. Yankuso called through the slatted wall against which he was leaning, and the young man who had fired the guns entered.

"Bassia, it is getting late. We must leave this house to the white man. These men with me are my friends. They must drink before they leave."

The bassia took the decanter from the table, and from the shelf underneath it, where we could dimly see shells and containers of shot, he took several small glasses. Before taking the glass to his lips, each man poured some of the liquor on the ground as a libation to the Earth Mother, and, as each drank, he turned to Yankuso and asked if he might leave. 576 573

"*Mi da permissi*—I grant you permission," he said to each.

When we had finished our meal, it was already dark. At the door of his own house, Granman Yankuso was sitting on a low stool.

"I have something for you," he said, disappearing inside his house. When he came out, he held in his hand some black object, which we were unable to identify. "You have fire?" he asked, as he suspended this object from a tree which grew between his house and the one in which we were staying. 354 579

"There was a white Hollander here who brought this to me. He went from here farther into the bush. He never came out. Light is a good thing at night. When visitors

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
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354 574 come, I bring the lamp out. This is a big fire. In the village of my father, across the river, they can see it."

The blazing light made the night seem darker.

"Bak'a," the Granman went on. "For many days you and your woman have been on the river. You are tired. Tomorrow, when you have slept, you will be refreshed. Tomorrow my chiefs will be here. You will tell us why you have come, what you want to do."

He turned toward his house.

"Du mundu, Bak'a," he said. "Let all sleep well."

194 the Granman punctuated the pauses of the men, though not often their meaning.

623 But whatever the reports of the women, and the commands given by the Granman, the word for white man interspersed all of the morning's recitals, and the questions of the Granman and the answers often came fast.

Of the men, the Granman asked little. They came up in pairs usually, and now one, now the other took up the report. Clan names were spoken, and occasionally a village name was mentioned, but on the morning preceding the council of the chiefs, only one village was discussed, and one clan. The name of the village was the forbidden one where we had stopped for the night against the Granman's orders, and the clan was that of one group of our paddlers.

2

574 Early on the morning after our arrival at Asindopo Lantiwe, our paddlers came to see us in the council house. The Granman was busy outside his own house with the chiefs who had gathered for the council meeting, and these men who, like ourselves, were strangers here, came as comrades of an adventurous journey to visit with us and talk over the impressiveness of our reception and the allure of the women of the Granman's village, who were famous everywhere on the river. It was a village where chastity [831] among the girls was closely watched, and where its women [582] were given in marriage to the most influential men on the river.

302 291 The men were gotten up splendidly. Their bodies glistened with oil, their cloths were made of the long strips, pieced together by their women, and of patterns which the sun's rays had had no chance to pale. Sedefo's was particularly fine, we thought, but he assured us that it did not compare with the one the river had claimed. His cloth was also made of strips, but the stitching which connected them was a lacy weave, worked in triangles, and made to resemble the vertebrae of a snake. The border was of triangular

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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pieces of red and blue cloth worked with this thread, so that again the white vertebrae showed. Bayo and Angita wore their beads, and each had a garter below the knee of the right leg. Their garters were white in color, but of a whiteness which only new, unwashed cotton has. They were about an inch and a half wide and were so tight that the muscle of the calf bulged prominently. On their upper arms were Kromanti rings of iron which, by contracting, warned the men of impending danger. In addition, Sedefo and Angita wore the bell obia of the Gankwe people, and Bayo his love obia which had come from Lamé.

"When do you go, Sedefo?"

"When the G'aman speaks. When we finish a piece of work, then we do not want to be paid at once. We do not leave at once. It would be as if we had not gone together in pleasure and wanted to be away as soon as possible. With the white man it is one thing. In the bush we do not do it so. Here in the G'aman's village, we do as we do with our own people in the bush," he paused for an instant, and looked about toward the clearing outside the palings. "There is another thing. In the G'aman's village, men cannot leave until the G'aman gives permission. When the G'aman is ready, he will call us. We will speak together. Then we will speak with him again. Then we will ask to go."

Bayo had been looking about the council house with an interest which was not unmixed with awe at the Granman's possessions, and he spoke in whispers.

"Ai, when the G'aman gives permission, then we go."

As he spoke, the cloth over the doorway was gently thrust aside. Bassia Anaisi of the Granman's village entered. He was the man who had fired the saluting gun the day of our arrival and who had at the Granman's call come to serve the visiting chiefs with rum. He now greeted each in turn but did not take down a bench. For a moment he stood there, head lowered out of deference to the character of the place where he was, then he coughed slightly and, turning to us, said, "The G'aman is ready for you. The chiefs are here."

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (928-1929) 1934
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assemblies such as were reported from the Awka people 631
on the Marowyne were here not called regularly. There 619
was no central body here to make decisions. The autonomy of village and clan seemed almost unquestioned. There were, to be sure, clan alliances, but these bore more directly on the factions which had formed to control the choice of the next headman. At this krutu therefore, which had just 627
gathered, there were Captain Sungi, head of the Kasito or 623
Dahomey clan, and And'u, the able chief of the Dombi people, and the headman of the Popoto people, and the headman of the Anago. But Fandya of Baikutu who headed the Nasi people was not there, nor were the Awana people represented, nor the Alabaisa, nor Kwama, nor Bi'ito, nor Fandaki, to cite some examples. Of the missing chiefs, several of them lived a considerable distance from the seat of the Granman, and indeed had been to his village but few times.

"Ai, men must krutu," Kasanya had told us one day 627
on the river. "If a few men decide, then the others have anger in their hearts. That is not good. When the lanti meets, and all men talk, then those who came with anger cool their hearts. Talk is good."

And another time, Sedefo had found occasion to quote the proverb, "If you have notsettled one thing, you cannot go on to the second." The best way was to talk things over until all men saw that what was proposed was good or bad.

4

In the krutu house of Asindopo Lantiwe the Granman 623
began to speak. 574
"Mati—friends—the white man has come. He sits there. 643
With him is his wife. She is there beside him. The man from the white man's city has come. He is there. He will speak for the white man. The white man has a cook. The cook is outside."

"So it is, G'aman," said Captain Sungi.

"Mati, the white man came. All who come to me must eat. The white man must eat."

"True, true, master of the realm."

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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623 "Bassia," said the Granman, as he turned to the young
574 man who had come to announce the krutu to us, "go and
643 tell the lanti the white man has come. Tell the lanti the white man must be fed. All who come to this place must eat. Tell the people they must hunt and fish. Let them bring their kill to us here. Let them bring the fish they catch in their traps. Let all know, and may the gods favor their hunting."

"Ai, clever master," came the response, as the bassia left to issue the orders of the Granman.

623 "Bak'a," he said, turning to us, "you come from the
648 city of the white man. The G'aman of the white man, in the white man's city, two moons ago, sent a message to us. It is here." He rose from his chair, and reached for several envelopes which were inserted in the chains of the hanging lamp. "What has been written, we cannot read. You know the writing that white men know. Read what the G'aman of the white man has said."

We opened the letter, with its great official seal. In it was a message from the Governor of the Colony, telling Granman Yankuso of our projected trip to the country of the Saramacca people, asking that we be received by him at his village. All this was read in its translation and transmitted to the Granman by our town man. As he spoke, it was the Granman who punctuated his pauses with the ceremonial affirmations.

"So it is."

"So I hear."

"It is as I know."

All listened attentively to the reading of the letter, and when it was concluded, the Granman turned to the members of the krutu.

"Captain Awagi, when I go to the white man's city, word is sent on ahead so that the people of the city know when the G'aman of the Saramacca people comes. So it is in the bush. When a white man comes to the bush, it is well that from the white man's city they tell me who is coming."

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THE COUNCIL OF THE ELDERS

"Kodo!" 623

"Another letter has come, Bak'a. Will you read that one, too?" 648

This was a communication written by a lumber factor down the river. One of the villages, it seemed, was in dispute with another over timber rights. The case was laid before the Granman by the factor, who asked that the controversy be settled promptly, since the dispute was keeping the men of both villages from cutting the lumber which had been promised him. 692 643 648 578 313 623

Yankuso now spoke again: "You have heard the message, friends. The man who buys timber asks that I settle this dispute between two of our clans. Their villages are far from here. The clans of the Saramacca people can settle their own disputes."

"Gbolo!"

"So I say, friends. I can look at the cows, but from a distance I cannot tell how many there are. It is not for us here to decide this."

"*Kweti, kweti!*—No, no!"

"It is true, friends, as the Saramacca people say, 'The G'aman's breasts are for all his children.' But it is not my children who have come to me. Bak'a," he said, suddenly turning to us, "later you will write for me to this man who buys lumber. Tell him that for the sake of sweet soup a man eats sour dumplings. So I say."

The Granman looked about him. The heat of midday filled the darkness of the council house, and old Bibifo had dozed off. The gaze of the chief fixed him.

"Mati!" he said, when Bibifo stirred. "Sleep is death!"

Slowly the Granman's eyes circled the room until they came to us.

"The Bak'a has come," he repeated, with his slow intonation, every syllable clearly enunciated. "When the Bak'a came, the rain fell. From Asindopo Lantiwe we shot guns of welcome, from Abenda Konde guns were shot. In the heavens, the gods spoke them welcome. There was thunder." 643 574 821 623

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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treated with obia. An obia man now addressed the woman who denied the charge that had been lodged against her, restating the accusation and her denial. Then he asked her once more if she were guilty, and when the answer was still "No," the test was applied.

Through the woman's tongue the quill of the feather, which had been treated with magic, was thrust. When the entire length of the feather had passed through the tongue, then it was that the proof was had. If the woman's tongue neither swelled nor showed blood, she was innocent.

But whether it be trial by ordeal or through the taking of testimony, punishment by the krutu went along with punishment by the spirits. Only incest, we learned, was not punishable by the court. That was for kunu alone to avenge.

6

Once more the krutu was in session. Where the men had "gone aside," we did not know, but while we sat in the krutu house, alone with Moana Yankuso, we heard nothing.

The Granman had spoken little. Were our hammocks tied well the night before? Were we satisfied with the arrangements he had made for the storing of our supplies?

What were the elders deciding? We could not but wonder with anxiety. Would this krutu, after the fashion of the bush, where time meant so little, come to no decision? Was the answer to be one that had been previously arranged?

Chief Sungi was the first to speak.

"G'aman, we have gone aside. Your captains and bassias have spoken together. We say, the white man has come. The white man must eat. Let all be told to bring gifts, that you may feed those who have come to you."

"So it is," was the Granman's response. "Friends, great thanks to you. What you have said is good. Let all return to their villages. Let all tell their people that the white man has come. Let all come with gifts, that we may eat."

There was a chorus of affirmations. The Granman arose.

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623
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"White man," he said, "I have told the young men to hunt, I have told them to fish. My captains, who are here, are going to their villages. You have heard. Their women will come with rice. The young men will bring their kill. So it is in the bush. So G'aman Yankuso holds those who come to him."

As the elders, each with his word of leave taking, left the house to us, we thought of the Granman's last words and of the verdict of the krutu. We had sat long enough in this assembly to realize the circumlocution which went with all statement, and we tried to decipher the cryptic words of the chiefs. Was it a verdict at all? Or was it merely a way of refusing to come to any decision when the white man sat in the krutu which was deciding the fate of his visit? That the decision would be reflected in the attitude of the people of the village seemed reasonable to suppose. And so, drawing aside the curtain which hung over the door, we went out into the open square before our house to see what the krutu had decided.

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"It hurts, doesn't it?"

"*Ma kye!* It is beautiful. The men like it too much," said the girls in a chorus, laughing at the suggestion that the pain of the cuts would deter them from having them made.

Sometimes, of course, the older girl admitted, the wounds did become ugly. There was the girl from Godo, whose suitor had kept bringing her more gifts because she was growing handsomer and handsomer. She was all but ready for marrying, when one of her thighs became infected after the cuts. The wounds were so ugly that she could not even wear the tunics of the grown girl. The family was sacrificing to all the spirits of the earth, begging them to heal the wounds.

7

These days there were many visitors in the Granman's village. There was the girl the Granman had summoned to dance for his guests. She had, perhaps, that very summer got her cloths, and her reputation as the best dancer on the river had won for her a suitor who gave her many armlets and anklets. Her voice was fresh and flutelike in quality, and so fine that when she sang she placed a folded cloth over her mouth, or danced with her head low. This was the way of modesty before people, and humility before the gods.

The women said, "Her spirits dance well," when they watched her.

There was the large girl from a village down river who came almost daily. She had the body of a woman, yet she went about unclothed, and sometimes she appeared only with a string about her waist.

"She is ready for *pangi*—cloths—ai," the women said, "but her people do not want to give them to her yet."

They would not explain, however, why the attire of a grown woman was denied her. We could only conjecture about it. Perhaps she had no suitor. The man to whom she had been promised might have died. There might be other reasons.

THE GODS SPEAK

"The openings in the wall there," she explained, when 778
we asked her about the two squares cut into the wall 346
behind the altar, "are for all things that fly. In this place
they must come and go as they like. Bats come here, and [825]
insects of all kinds, and when they want to go back to the
bush, they must be able to go as they like. That is the wish
of the gods. So they told us long ago."

6

We were led from house to house. The gods had spoken. 574
We were friends, and as friends who came not to harm, we 609
were given the hospitality of friendship. There were other 123
shrines, but we did not have to ask about them. They were
pointed out to us with the other sights of the village.

The closed low hut near the Apuku shrine we had entered 778
was to the river god Toné. It was a very small enclosure, 776
and before it was a plant which covered the low entrance. 346
It belonged, we were told, to an albino woman who was
possessed by Toné. But she was not in the village now.
Farther down the path was a larger house, another shrine.
This had a piece of iron over the door and, when we asked
about it, the girls who were following us ran, and the men
merely said that it was the place of the Kromanti obia and
passed on.

As we continued on our way, each woman was anxious 352
not to have us slight the house her man had built her or 353
fail to admire the carvings that were inserted into the weave
of the palm walls. The huts were swept clean—the clean-
liness of the entire village was even more striking than that [356]
of others we had visited—and but for a few stools, which
were brought out for the strangers while they spoke with
the old people who lived in the quarter, they were entirely 353
bare. In every house, however, there was sure to be a shelf, 531
large or small, or several shelves, on which stood prized 415
food trays with carvings which covered both inner and outer
surfaces. Combs and food stirrers were taken down and
shown us, and the calabash dishes made by the women

morning, they tell us when we call on them. That is the black man's way. 643 159

"You white people have money, you have fine houses, you wear clothes, you can count. They tell me that you say in your books all people must be friends. But you have wars. If white people kill white people, then *mati*—friend—how will it be with black people living among the whites?" 186 178 648

Granman Yankuso rose, when he said this, and took from the chains of the suspended lamp a folded envelope. He handed it to us, and from it we took out a letter on the stationery of the League of Nations, signed by its Secretary, Sir Eric Drummond. As we were reading this, he left the council house and soon returned with a larger envelope, which he had kept uncreased, and from it brought out a photograph of the Council of the League of Nations in session. They were his proud possessions. While the World War lasted there was no work for the Bush Negroes on the river. They could not earn the money they needed to buy cloths for marrying and powder and rum for ceremonial usage. The Bush Negroes called it a "great money famine," [1731] in the way of their Anansi stories which so often began with "This was a time of great famine." Through a missionary on the upper river, the Granman learned of the war, and through him later of the League, which the missionary had undoubtedly brought up as the white man's defense against the challenge of the black tribal head, who asked, "How will it be with black people living among the whites?"

It was then that the Granman through this same missionary addressed himself to the white rulers far away, telling of the fear of the blacks, and counseling them the wisdom of peace!

4

In the council house Granman Moana Yankuso was host to the Gankwe men. They were there to take their leave of him before starting down river. Asikanu, the handsome brother of the Gankwe clan head, who was sent away from his village while the elders were deciding upon his adultery 643 684 574

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643 684 574 [576] fine, sat between Sedefo, whose bench was moved forward a little, and Angita. The younger men sat with bodies half-turned toward the wall, out of respect for the Granman, the older ones, with their faces averted from him.

The Granman was speaking, telling a story.

643 684 538 "Ai, mati . . . " he said, in his precise, formal way, laying stress on each syllable, "in our bush, the gods be praised, men are men. There was a man near here, who saw a woman he liked, and he took her. He had a loving eye, he was young. Ai, mati, what is a beating to a man when he is young? But the proverb says, 'All that is in the darkness will come to light.' Dealings with women always come to light too soon. That man got a beating, mati! He came out into the clearing, his head held high, like any man whom young girls follow with their eyes. But waiting for him was the husband of the woman, and the men of his family, and. . . . "

"Well, so it is, G'ama'," said Sedefo, with the careful modulation which showed that he, too, was schooled in the way of the important councils.

"Ya-hai, G'ama'," said Asikanu, more briefly.

Granman Yankuso now went on with his story, bringing to his recital all the detail of the punishment of the adulterer, without quickening the telling of his story even when he spóke the words which described the sound of the blows.

"Yes, master of the realm," said Sedefo, his head still averted, but leaning his body forward a little as he spoke, so that he somewhat shielded Asikanu from the direct gaze of the Granman, yet managing this clever gesture so that it had the air of rapt interest.

"Kere-kere, G'ama'," Asikanu breathed, almost inaudibly.

As the Granman recounted his tale, Asikanu's spine twitched as though every blow mentioned was that instant being leveled at him, as though he himself were lying head down in the dust of the clearing, while blows rained down upon him, and the Kromanti iron bands cut gashes into his proud face and arms and body.

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But Sedefo, splendid actor that he was, betrayed in no way that he was aware of his friend's discomfiture, except that his interpolations became more and more spirited, balancing in the intensity of his voice the formality of the Granman's speech. 643 684 538

"True, true!" he said, with excitement.

"By Ando, G'ama'!"

When the tale was finished, the Granman became reminiscent. In his youth he had been like the rest. What did it mean to be a man and not to assert one's manhood when a handsome woman was to be had? He was on the Marowyne then. Did they want to beat him? He had said, "Very well." As many as wished could come at him—but one at a time.

As he spoke now, he clenched his fist and struck the table with it so that the table shook and the guns which lay underneath it rattled.

He was no longer young, but his answer to people who threatened would still be the same, he continued.

"Tell them that everywhere on the river, mati," he finished with a smile, and he cleared his throat as a signal for the bassia to come and pour out drinks for his visitors, before they left his village. [504]

And how was their clan head who had been ailing? he asked, with friendly solicitude.

5

Granman Yankuso was telling about his great ancestors. 643

He looked particularly well that night. His smock-like coat was a deep blue, and over it was a print of orange and black worn toga fashion. 292

There was Bagida, one of the first to escape to the bush, and Dosi who made the Kasito clan, and Ajako who was a Matchau Negro, a man of the Granman's own clan, and it was he who had fought against the whites and had freed his people. There were Mother Bedu, and Mother Fakia, and the great Abini family which bore Alabi, whom the peccary had helped to freedom, so that Alabi's people, the Awana Negroes, to this day did not eat pingo. 173

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533 surprised us that night at S'ei, and when he paused for a
106 moment the women took up the chorus. From one song to
199 another he went, and the hand clapping grew louder, and the chorus joined in more frequently, often breaking into his recitative, so that there was harmonizing of theme and chorus.

Once or twice the Granman called for a song we had already recorded, in order to give Mapasi a rest.

"Play us something from the lower river, white man. Let them hear their own songs, too, sung by others."

When the excitement of hearing the machine reproduce the song they had just sung had grown less intense, the singers repeated the song the phonograph was reproducing for them, for to listen to music without singing was difficult for them, just as when they sang, they could not but move their feet, though there was scarcely more than room for them to stand one close to the other. But a Bush Negro needs little room for his dancing, so that as the phonograph played their songs for them, they clapped their hands and danced in place. For a short interval, at least, the existence of the whites was forgotten in their pleasure of singing with the machine.

Until late into the night we played our records for them, and they sang for us. Whatever the consequences to the frail records of soft wax, we decided to play as long as they would listen, because of something in the manner of the Granman, something of wistfulness, let us say, and something, perhaps, which went deeper yet, as he sat there—a black Hamlet following a mute soliloquy while he looked on with his clever, perplexed eyes.

"Ai, so it is," he said at last, "and now let us go and get sleep." He rose and the others followed him out of the council house.

II

123 Early the next morning, while the tent on our boat was
182 being finished, the Granman came into the council house
189 with a calabash and a buzzard's feather in his hand. He
574 came up to each of us in turn, and struck with the medicine-
609 dipped feather the tops of our heads, brushed the eyes,

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Saramacca

touched the palms of our hands, and struck against the calves three times. 123

"This is obia," he said simply, and when he was finished, he went out. 782 789

Our cook knew this obia. It was Opete obia, medicine bearing the name of the sacred buzzard. It was given us that we might have a good journey down the river. 594 609

"Did you see how he was careful to touch the eyes?" our cook pointed out to us. "The Opete gets the eyes when it comes to a person, just like Kromanti goes into the head, and Vodu into the belly." [illegible]

When we went out for a moment, and walked toward our storeroom, we saw the Granman splash water out of a calabash onto the floor and front wall of the house which held our supplies. Was it that our belongings might be safe on our journey down? It was no time for questions, and we asked none.

Women and children again came crowding about the white woman. Though they had been warned not to talk, there was still something of the warm feeling of earlier times which a command did not entirely destroy. Then, too, the order was that the sendoff was to lack no formality. As we stood there, a dog came running down the path. He was on his way to the river. In his mouth was a large ball of something which had been thoroughly charred. It was an offering to the river spirits, perhaps. It might have been less pleasant magic. He had been sent by men who were busy in the ancestral shrine. 123 231 782

When the white woman called attention to the dog, and asked what he held, the women recoiled with amazement that she should have seen the dog at all. Part of the magic might have been, as it was in some formulas we recorded, that he was to pass by invisible to the strangers. But this is conjecture. . . .

The moment before we went down the path to the river, Amasina came up alone, and gave us her hand. She was gracious, and completely at her ease. Whatever was said, she had faith in her god Towenu, who had vouched for our friendship. 123 609

Chapter XV

THE ARTIST OF MA'LOBBI

I

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WE WERE recalled to the council house for a final informal krutu with Granman Yankuso and some of his elders before the more formal leave-taking on the river bank. Our boats were being loaded and soon we should be on our way down river. With the elders were the diviners, and our friend, the bassia.

The Granman opened the krutu, greeting and addressing the men who were present, until he turned to us.

"White man, you and your woman came to my village. I held you both well. Now when you are ready to go I give you my grandson for paddler, and the chief of my village for captain of your boat. That is how we do with those who come in friendship."

Through our town man, as was the way of the krutu, we spoke our acknowledgments to him, and our regrets that our visit was ending. Through our man, the last gifts to the tribal head were tendered, and through one of the elders, the ritual expression of thanks was returned us for what we had put before the Granman.

We had two favors to ask of him. For many days we had lived in this house, and had admired the fine carvings which the council house held. In our own country, when we thought of the days on the upper Saramacca River, a piece of carving from this house would give us much pleasure. But of the elaborate carvings we did not wish to

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deprive him. Might we buy, however, one of the simple benches from the shelf above the door, which the chiefs and we ourselves had used many times?

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The one we took down had interested us for its possible ritual significance. On its top a single design was repeated four times. It was a representation of an axe-head, and the clan of Yankuso was the Matchau, the Axe Clan.

The Granman looked at the diviner. "*Fa fo do?*—What to do?" was his query.

The man he addressed murmured, "*T'obi*—Trouble."

But it was, after all, only a small and slightly ornamented bench.

"Take it!" the Granman said. "What else is it you ask?"

There was the apinti drum. In the house where objects of all peoples of the earth were brought for men and women to look at, there were none of the fine carvings the Bush Negroes make. When we returned, we would place beside the African and Indian objects which were there those of the Saramacca people. As yet, we had not been able to buy an apinti drum. This one was more beautiful than any we had seen. Could he not sell it to us, so that everyone might know that the finest of drums had come from the council house of Moana Yankuso, Granman of the Saramacca people?

This time he did not hesitate. He smiled, and shook his head.

"No, no, white man," he said, "this drum is not for me to sell. This one I cannot part with, not for all your goods. Down river, when you visit my villages, you can get an apinti which will be beautiful. When you come to the village of Akunkun, and you see Kasanya, ask him to find you an apinti. I will tell Captain Mataibo to leave a message at other villages that you want an apinti. This one no gold can buy."

This was not our first attempt to buy an apinti drum. Nor was it to be the last refusal.

Waiting, we sat in the council house while our supplies were being carried to the canoes and placed in them, until

REBEL DESTINY

123 Mataibo, the head of Yankuso's village, who was entrusted
623 with the safe passage of our boats, came to announce that
594 the men had done loading. Before the morning was yet
609 well advanced we left the house, and with the Granman
[554] under his umbrella, which was the highest of insignia, passed to the river bank.

Our friends were there—the bassia, and Dida, and Amasina, and the Granman's wives and his little grandson, who shouted to us, "*Waka bon, ye'e!*—Travel well, you hear!" in the best manner of his elders. Again three guns sounded, and once more we were on the river, looking up at the people of these villages of the Pikien Rio who were waving to us from the shore.

502 Going down the river was restful. The enjoyment of the easy motion of the boats was felt in the manner of the paddlers themselves. Now there was no hard poling against the heavy current. As canoes were urged on the two paddlers wielded their long blades in unison, and the dugouts swung downstream in the center of the river, where the current was heaviest. When the murmurs of the rapids ahead were heard, it was but a moment until they grew into a roar, and then, in another, we were through, the man at the front standing up for an instant so that, with a twist of his paddle, he might turn the head of the boat from any threatening rock, while the stern man did not stroke at all, but merely held the craft on the course which was marked where the water tossed itself into foam-capped waves. Sometimes, as we came to rapids where the force of the water was especially strong, or there was a sharp double curve to be negotiated, the two boats would pause for a moment while Mataibo called out to the younger men the course to follow. Then into the falls, and through them, and our bow paddler would carefully rearrange his loin cloth and sit down once more to take up his steady stroking.

123 Opposite one village Sungi came in his boat to meet us,
609 to give and receive a final gift, and say his goodbye. But
[831] it was not to the landing place of Dahomey that he took us for this interchange, but to the village of his wife, he told

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BAYO, THE PLAYBOY

"Bayo has asked me to find a strong *arumani* for you," she said, naming the obia she held with the word for such magically endowed properties used by the Ashanti today, on the West Coast of Africa. In rapid succession she gave us the African words of the Kromanti designation for the white clay, for the ancestral pot, and for several other ceremonial objects we discussed with her. 789

"Did you make these for us?"

"Ah, no. Women do not make obias. My brother made them for you." [962] [564]

The next morning when we were leaving Djamungo she came to the landing place with us. In our hands were the images we had bought. The young paddlers looked on them with fear. On no account would they even come too close to us who carried them. It was not the image, nor the external properties of a sacred object which disclosed its power, but rather the magic that had been called to reside in it, and the strength of the gods of him who had been instrumental in bringing the magic to the figure of wood, the brass bell, the cowrie shells, the ant-eater's bristles, or whatever else was used.

"Tell them in your village," Bayo's mother's sister called after us, "that here at Djamungo the Kromanti spirit does not come to men only. When women get Kromanti, they, too, can fight."

2

We had not been back at our base camp for more than a day when Bayo came up the path calling the greeting of a comrade. Had we fared well with the Granman? 574 609

He had, he told with pride, seen all those things a man who went on so long a journey should see, and he had been to Lamé again, where there were strong obias and where the women knew how to love. Now he would remain with us until we left the bush, and he might even decide to go with us to the city, and from there to the French shore, where there was money to be got. What with the money he had earned for timber, and the money we had given 115 556

437 The reply is short and spirited.

"Gimme."

Which does not have to be translated.

574 We sleep that night in the Bush Negro village. A dilapi-
609 dated hut is assigned us, the hut of a dead man. There are
136 tarantulas on the cross-poles; we are not particular. The pad-dlers sleep elsewhere, being taken into friendly huts about the village. Except for the ghosts of the departed Bush Negroes, our hut is quite empty. The hammock is slung and the mosquito netting put in place. Mosquitoes and insect pests are not as bad in the jungle as commonly reported. They seldom caused us any discomfort. It is true that one of the boys contracted malaria during an expedition, but the parasites may have been dormant in his blood for some time previously. Our precaution against malaria was ten grains of quinine sulphate each night before retiring under the mosquito netting.

512 Far into the evening the Negroes will sit around the camp-
[521] fire and tell stories, their loud, musical Negro laughter carrying a long distance on the night air. Walking by each hut we see a tiny light flickering inside. Occasionally an infant cries. We sit before our doorway, amusing a group of chil-

1 [412 532]

Chapter Four

THE DANCE

SUNDOWN on the Surinam. Women with breasts like 252
dried tobacco leaves stew hunks of red baboon over the 262
Djuka fires. The old dance gods will stir tonight. Mist is 132
drifting up from the river and blowing between the trees. Colours fade out as darkness falls. The atmosphere of the jungle closes in on us with the night.

As night falls a Bush Negro corial appears on the river. It 574
is followed by four others, all loaded with people from another village three miles downstream. The strangers have come to dance for the bahkra. We have promised them candy and high wine. The women tie bands of nuts about their 534
limbs; the dried nuts rattle.

They bring the drums, the soul of the jungle. The big tom-tom, elaborately carved on the outside, is the *apenti*, or signal drum. The smaller *nanda* and the baby *baboula* (an African

[P. 52 is blank]

1/2 [For caption, see category 116, p. 204:- Analyst]

/10 cont./

574 The politeness shown toward a guest springs from the idea that unknowingly one of them might easily take the very piece that the important person wished to have, and although no comment would be made on this, it could nonetheless happen that this would trouble the guest for whom they cherish special respect,
888 or that he would thereby consider himself insulted. It is particularly to old age that they pay great respect.

Chapter VI

Household and Agricultural Implements

412 The Bush Negroes mainly use adzes in order to hew their
[322] corjalen or canoes out of trees partially burned out beforehand;
[824] furthermore, they use planes and chisels in order to work their
[531] (usually cedarwood) (1) stools and parels or paddles (2). They are

1. Cedrela odorata L.

2. Hand oar.

especially fond of having these carved with many figures. For them the machete is an indispensable tool that they always carry around and use as a chopping knife, sword, and knife, indeed, even to cut splinters or thorns out of the foot with the tip. They use field axes or hatchets to cut down the bush in order to lay out their small cultivation grounds and to work the wood that they float by rafts and sell.

562 The women possess, aside from a machete or knife, also
412 mattocks with which they keep their lands and the place near the
[824] dwelling neat; they make brooms from the pina palm racemes or
[413] from rice ears bound in sheaves. They like to have scissors, needles, and pins, while for knitting they use a pointed and bent nail.

413 They spin their sewing thread from cotton with a certain
[283] tool which they call kéké; they also have a round, wooden tool
[286] called sepoe, with which they very nicely and sturdily /11/ make

765 /263 cont. / He will go to the spot, following
782 at a good distance M..., bearer of the remedy, with which he will sprinkle the surface of the clearing, and of offering objects. When the offering has been made, they will wait some time to see whether Masauman is better and if she is, they will deem the god appeased.

The Yali Festival

796
[805] The Refugee Blacks, who do not count the days that elapse, contenting themselves with lunations in order to follow the course of the year, make inquiries from Europeans and Creoles to set the time for the Yali festival which marks the new year. Everyone accumulates provisions, especially tortoise meat, varied drinks, and many firecrackers.

On the evening of December 31 each one dances in his own village.

The festival lasts all night, tafia gushes forth, firecrackers go off everywhere.

[787] At the end of the night several gods "rise" in the heads of their bearers, at least of those who are not completely drunk.

[535] During the day dances resume intermittently in the order awasa, sɔŋgɛ, susa. It is customary for the people of one lineage to go to dance in the village of another, then they [574] invite them back. People make many individual visits. Some have set up in front of their hut a sort of small buffet on which they have arranged about ten glasses, five to six liters of tafia, four or five bottles of beer, lemonade, and syrup.

Observation in Boniville, January 1, 1958:

The grand man, who scarcely leaves his habitation downstream from Boniville any more, did not /264/ put himself out. He delegated his functions to Lébiman and Fintiman, men about 50 years old, belonging to the fraction of the Kotika and Dju lineages residing in Boniville.

609 mother. The woman who had made Bayo was her sister, she told us.

142 The resemblance between this woman and Bayo was marked. She had the same dark skin, the same stocky, muscular build, the broad nose, the same general cast of features we had known so well in Bayo. Similar, too, were the sharply etched scars on her face, which were so black and so prominent as to bespeak her great vitality and rugged health. There were other likenesses, we learned, and of these the most valued was the strength of their gods.

789 We had not been long in her hut before we noticed the
794 iron arm-band she wore. It was, we knew, a "*tapu*"—a
562 magical preventive which, in this instance, warned its wearer of danger, and kept her from harm in a combat. Seeing it on the arm of a woman was astonishing for many reasons. Not in all our encounters on the river had we seen a woman wearing an arm obia of iron. Iron was the sign of the Kromanti, a men's group, composed of those men
● [575] who had the Kromanti spirit. It was in part warriors' secret society, and in part, when it was Obia Kromanti, the men's religious society which controlled the powerful supernatural forces of preventive and healing magic which played so prominent a part in the spiritual life of the Bush Negro. Now there were, we had been told, some women who inherited the Kromanti spirit, but these were few, and not until after their menopause could they enter a Kromanti house, and when this came they were too old to participate in the dance, but they sang the songs when the spirit came to them and did whatever else was known to the initiated of their years.

But this woman who was Bayo's mother's sister was not an old woman. As she talked to us, in fact, her breast was
[853] swung over to the side, and against her ribs was the head of the child on her back who was nursing. Yet on her arm was the fighter's "tapu," as the emblem of membership in the Kromanti group.

This was so important an anomaly that, following the etiquette of the bush, we hastened at once to talk about something else.

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"Suma de, ai," he acknowledged.

6

Bayo remained in the bush, but he did not come to the city with us, though he took us into the Awka villages as captain of our boat. While at the base camp, he busied himself with making small models of traps and snares, and whatever other examples of Bush Negro work we needed to augment our collection.

He was a poor weaver, for he was no craftsman at all. But on the river he showed almost superhuman strength, and his knowledge of obia and the gods showed his potentialities for achieving what he most desired—to become an obia man. It may well be that his great kunu had planted this ambition in him. Perhaps, if he became a renowned obia man, one of the greatest on the river, he would outwit the combined power of ancestors and gods. His physical strength was such that all seemed possible to him, and his eye was quick, his curiosity unbounded. As a child of incest, a twofold member of his clan, he had certain immunities from the gods, though his line would all the more be flayed by the punishment which his parentage had earned.

"White man," he would say to us, "the next time you come, I will go with you to Africa. By then, I shall have given my wife children, and my sister's children will be grown. I want to go to Africa to learn obia."

His young brother was not strong. Bayo allowed them to cut no kamemba on the boy, who was now almost eleven, and it was clear that he would not be able to go through the Kromanti initiation, that he would have few gods.

"What will you do then, Bayo?"

God alone knew. He did not expect that even in Africa he could learn all he needed to know to help his young brother.

"Would he go with Bibifo?" we ventured, remembering that Bibifo had become Adrian.

He laughed. The white man asked many questions.

feared by all who themselves do not have Kromanti. Obia Kromanti warns and protects and heals, but its powers are only for those who belong to the Kromanti group.

Whether Kromanti is the African warrior society preserved in this bush, it is impossible to say. If this were the case, then the definite military organization of many of the West African societies should be present. The military character of any group among the Bush Negroes could not even be hinted at, of course, without the greatest caution. In their descriptions of the Kromanti, our intimates among the Bush Negroes never indicated in any way the existence of such an organization. Even leading questions brought out only unqualified denials instead of the revealing answers "I do not know," or "Massa Gadu sabi." Yet there are undoubtedly secrets which Kromanti men do not share with outsiders, and we remembered that when a Kromanti man dies, he must be "separated" from the Kromanti group just as he is "separated" from his family and from his village.

About the very meaning of the word Kromanti there can only be speculation. During the time of the slave trade, there were two ports on the Gold Coast of Africa known as Little and Great Coromantyne. From these ports came the slaves who, in the New World, were known as Coromantyne slaves. These slaves were so warlike, so prone to cause uprisings, that only English and Dutch colonies consented to buy them and in these colonies when slave rebellions broke out to alarm the white planters, they were led by the proud Coromantyne slaves.

It would not be strange, therefore, if the same term was carried over into the free civilization of this bush to typify the obia which protected and watched over the fighters who had won this freedom.

Other indications point to the same assumption. The strongest spirits of the Kromanti, those which inspire the greatest fear when they possess men of a village are Tigri and Djadja. Tigri is the jaguar, Djadja is often vaguely translated by our word "devil." If we again turn to the West African societies, we find that one of the most dreaded

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776 575 of the secret societies which flourish there is the Leopard Society, and this African feline is not very different from the one which gives its name to the Tigri obia. Other societies which chastise and protect have often been designated as "devil" societies.

789 776 575 Kromanti is feared, then, because of the kind of preventive it is. The man to whom this obia comes cannot be harmed by bullets shot from guns, by glass, by swords that cut, or by thorns which lacerate. Such a man is protected in combat from the weapons of his enemies and from thorny barricades that might be raised against his attack. It is protection for the warriors, and when it comes, the warriors who have the obia do not hesitate to test their immunity and to try that of others. A friendly, unassertive man seized by the Tiger Kromanti is in the grip of a power which transforms him into a tiger. When obia comes in the sacred dances, it is Kromanti obia. The Bush Negroes do not dance for the healing, protecting spirit that is obia in general. It is too remote. But when they dance and Kromanti comes, the women often flee, and the men who do not have Kromanti discreetly disappear. Only those who have Kromanti have nothing to fear from the attacks of their fellows, for they are protected by the power common to them all—the power of being unharmed by machetes or guns.

575 346 What is inside the Kromanti obia houses we cannot say, for we were never permitted to enter them. When we recognized their presence in villages we visited, the fact that they were Kromanti houses was acknowledged, but we were never allowed even to inspect the outside closely, and we were never accorded permission to photograph one of these shrines.

From our informants we learned that inside these houses there are paintings on the walls in black and red, the Kromanti colors, and in the white of the sacred pemba. There were, we were told, whitened benches that had about their tops the grass skirt of a kind worn by the obia man when he danced.

In the Kromanti house, too, was the Kromanti Mama. But until our friend brought us the one he had made for

us, with its attendant bench and modeled snake, we had only heard the term. 575 346

3

In the dim light of our oil lantern, we listened and wrote in our book, while our informant told us about the Kromanti Mama. 126

"You must take it down carefully," he said, "or it might harm you."

The figure on the top of the bench was named Agbo. This was the watchman, and to this figure came news of all impending evil. About the neck of the figure was a Kromanti fighting obia. A stout iron ring, with red and blue cloth tied about one-half of it, it rested near the base of the watchman. 789 778 532

The eyes of this watchman were its most arresting feature. They were represented by deep sockets, and the effect was heightened by the beak-like character of the nose. Two ears completed the head, and on the body breasts were modeled. It was the only piece of Bush Negro modeling we had ever seen. This most secret of art forms was evidently little practiced.

"The watchman sees all," said our informant, "the Kromanti Mama knows when there is something about that will harm. She tells the snake."

Coiled about its base, this snake was treated in the same realistic style. The head of the snake and its tail almost met at the side of the clay figure which it encircled.

"His name is Bimbawai," we were told.

The bench itself was not unlike the obia stools we had seen in the shrines of the gods. Its rectangular top, curving toward the center, was fastened to the two boards which formed the legs. Like other obia stools, it was difficult to tell whether, under the thick coating of white clay, the wood was carved or not. In one respect it differed from all others we had seen—the bench wore, fringe-like, a grass skirt of the kind worn by the *komfo*, the priests. This was suspended from the top of the bench, the cord going outside [352]

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104 is analogous to the interpolations, "Oh, Lord," "Glory," "Yes, Lord," "Hallelujah," and "Too true," used in Negro churches in this country. These interpolations occur in speech and ceremonies in West Africa, particularly on the Gold Coast.

kerki, church. From the Dutch.

Kesekia, a snake deity. In Togoland this god is known as the wife of one of the sky gods.

keskesi, monkey.

kodjo, cudgel.

kodo, expression of affirmation. It is employed as an interpolation in narrative, and in proceedings at council meetings.

komfo, a person possessed by the spirit of an African diviner. In this sense the word is used in both bush and town. It is Ashanti-Fanti origin.

koti-go, cut across.

'kra, soul. This word is that of the Gold Coast, a contraction of *akra*. Saramacca people also drop the "*r*" and say *ak'a*.

104 575 1789 *Kromanti*, the name of a category of amulets which help the fighter, and also, we have strong reason to believe, of a male secret society. The former is known as *Kromanti obia*. The word can be most easily traced to the small kingdom of Coromantyne on the Gold Coast of Africa and to the slave factories in the coastal cities of Little and Great Coromantyne. The origin is often traced also to the Ashanti oath of this name, commemorating a battle in which the Ashanti King Osai Tutu was killed. Everywhere in the New World the Coromantyne Negroes were known as intractable, and it is claimed that they were the instigators of most of the slave rebellions in the New World, especially Jamaica and in the United States. In the Saramacca bush the rôle of the *Kromanti* group is in all respects akin to that of the Asafotche companies on the Gold Coast today. In both instances they are companies of young men—in more ancient times, warriors. In both instances they have magic to help them in war. In both instances this magic includes powers which endow the members with resistance to bullets, and to all things that cut or lacerate, like knives and thorns and glass. In both instances the power comes from the enshrining of magic, in Suriname called *obia*, and on the Gold Coast called *suman*. In some of the old Asafotche songs sung on the Gold Coast the word *Kromanti* appears. The opening of all Asafotche songs with "fire, fire," a euphemism for calling the alarm to indicate the need for all members to gather, is heard in the *Kromanti* songs. The role of the young men of punishing for trespassing against clan or village property, and of watching over the chief's rule, exists in the Saramacca country as it exists on the Gold Coast.

krutu, council, counsel. The Saramacca pronunciation is *k'utu; krutu wosu*, council house.

104 *kuma*, a formal greeting. It is used especially in the Granman's village. The entire interchange when two people of the Saramacca tribe meet follows the West African pattern.

kunu, a supernatural force controlled by the ancestors and gods, which punishes with extinction the families of those who violate the laws of the ancestors. It would seem to be derived from the Ewe (Togoland) word *kunu*, "death."

kwiti-kwiti, no, no. A ceremonial interpolation used in council.

kye, exclamation of surprise and entreaty. Sometimes pronounced *ke* and sometimes *tye*. This phonetic shift occurs in Negro speech everywhere in the New

/61/

1937	Mission to determine the trijunction point of the frontiers of French Guiana-Brazil-Surinam.
1939	Declaration of war.
1944-45	Not a precise point of reference. The Boni confuse the liberation of the territory with the end of the war.
1948	First I.G.N. mission.
1949	Mr. Aubert de la Rüe's mission; second I.G.N. mission.
1952	Third I.G.N. mission. /blank page/ /63/

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

The social institutions of the Refugee Blacks diverge noticeably from those of the African peoples from whom they issued. They do not include age grades, men's societies, or initiation; marriage involves neither a contract between kin groups nor "dowry."

In a general way these societies founded by rebel slaves who had retained an extreme horror of all oppression were organized so as not to have any material constraint weigh upon the individual. Their institutions are entirely founded on the idea of protection against suprahuman perils; the individual remains perfectly free, and he adheres /to these institutions/ only in proportion as he is conscious of these perils. The custom of the Refugee Blacks, devoid of any means of material coercion, tends to develop within the individual the feeling that he is constantly threatened,

/68 cont./

561 198 The class of the young people, yuŋku sama, has definite activities; "style," that is to say, elegance, dancing, singing; it has a special language made up from taki-taki by inversion or addition of syllables. When the language begins to be known outside the group of young people, it is abandoned and another is invented. These past years the language in vogue was akɔɔpina, of Djuka origin; it had given rise to a whole folklore of songs.

561 Two other age classes appear to be rather clearly differentiated: that of the elders /69/ - gaã sama - (older than some 50 years), whose voices are preponderant in the councils, and that of the old men - gaãndi sama - (older than 65 to 70 years).

[888] It is conceded by all that only the elders possess wisdom and knowledge, and in principle, in a discussion, the opinion of the eldest of them has the force of law.

• 575 Neither does one perceive among the Refugee Blacks any customary societies playing a role comparable to the men's society in the Sudan for example. In a general way their social life, very 571 individualistic in spite of appearances, knows no other organization than the one resulting from kinship ties.

767 Nevertheless, the organization of the men within each village with an eye to the mourning ceremonies can be regarded as a rough approximation to customary societies:

--Kisimã or coffin-makers;

--Olɔma or grave-diggers.

But these societies are narrowly specialized and their customary powers exist only as long as the duration of their effective work.

562 Men and women. Even within the lineage where men and women 571 call one another brother, sister, aunt ... the relations between men and women are marked by mistrust.

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Chapter II

WHILE THE RIVER WAS HIGH

I

501 313 NOW this was a busy time of the year, and the river so full of canoes that a man floating down a lumber raft to the railhead might expect to meet ten or twelve dugouts in a day.

221 Men in laden corials were returning from the French side for the harvest festivals. They had been away eighteen months or longer, and now they were coming back to burn new rice and cassava fields for their women, and to beget new children. When the harvesting was done was a fine time for love, and a woman with a child in her womb was the very luckiest for planting a field. These returning men, in the prime of life, with powerful bodies and muscles that were as so many great snakes coiling and uncoiling underneath the gleaming moist skins were deferential toward strangers. For it would have been unseemly to thrust at the first comer their adventures on the Marowyne River, and a man who was returning with many possessions had to exercise particular care that he angered neither men nor gods. Yet among themselves they could not keep from a certain amount of swagger.

"Ai ba! Ai mati!" they exclaimed to each other in reply to the most casual comment. "Indeed, brother! Yes, friend!" This was no more than the mode of address of the [576] Awka people who live along the Marowyne, but "Ai ba! Ai mati!" stood for the password of the larger outside

888 young. Once she, too, had liked to have her calf look round and full.

[437] [476] "Will you exchange this bottle of palm oil for tobacco?" she asked, showing her empty clay pipe.

She came in, saying she would like to rest, and began unfastening her top tunic so that she might make a pad of it on which to sit down on the ground, for the earth spirits [784] forbid women who had reached puberty to sit upon the bare earth. In her second tunic, somewhat fresher than the top one, she stood hesitating, looking about her for a place to sit down, until we brought her a carved stool we had bought the day before. Instead of putting on the top pangi again, she used it to cover her knees.

[576] "*Bak'a muye,*" she said, "white woman, you ought to cover your knees, too, when you sit."

And sitting there, examining us and our belongings, she muttered her comments about our appearance and dress as she smoked, and muttering she swayed slightly, until the swaying rhythm seemed to bring a melody into her head, and she began to sing.

[533]

"*The American Bak'a*
Have come from far,
American koni
Has brought them
To the Saramàcca River,
To the Saramacca people;
They must not sicken
They must not die."

While the men on the shore talked and called upon their gods to keep them free, the woman rocked and sang this invocation for our safety, forgetting for the moment that we were whites, whom the ancestors hated.

"You have so much wealth," she said to the white man, looking about her at our provision boxes, "you must have many wives."

And back again she went to her song, repeating the words over and over, until seeing people approach she rose slowly and went back to the river where her rice was drying.

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got for the timber he and his great-grandfather had floated down the river, he had two fine cloths. One was older and was intended for visiting the villages on the way, and the new one was for the Granman's village. For this occasion, too, he was saving a pair of newly woven garters, though he would wear the two strands of small coral and yellow beads in some of the villages on the way. At Lamé, for instance. 484 574

Ai-yo! He would see to it that he looked well at Lamé, for Lamé had handsome women, and at Lamé the women knew how to love. His own powerful love obia had come from Lamé, and there it was in his canister and there beside it was a potent fighting obia which his uncle, who was surpassed by few on the river in the strength of his obia spirits, had made for him. Some day, when Bayo was older, he, too, would know all these secrets, for his uncle had given him some of his gods, and at dances he already showed that he had a strong spirit. Until that time came, he had the obia from Lamé to win for him the love of his fellow men, and should it not avail against the magic of some surly fellow who wished him ill, then he had the other which would serve him in trouble. And on his upper arm was his Kromanti obia—the magically potent iron band—which, by tightening, would warn him when trouble was impending. That was the way to go through life—a man asked the gods to help him meet whatever might come, the good spirits with good, and the bad with yet greater evil. 789 796 832

Up above, whirling past him in the pale dawn, the parrots flew, making a screeching chorus in the stillness, and rousing him to the murmur of the next rapids which he was approaching. 484 576

What was that? A boat. Going downstream, he was soon alongside it.

"*Tio*, greetings," he called to the man, speaking in the subdued ceremonial voice.

"Thank you, tio," answered the older man, for he addressed a stranger.

484 And after they had inquired of each other's health, they
● 576 were well past each other, making in opposite directions,
521 but continuing their colloquy.

Bayo said, "I am on my way to the Bakra's camp. I am to be one of his paddlers. Today we start up the river. He is going to the Granman's country."

"I am going to Tunkahai. My sister's son died on the Marowyne. His wife is to come out of mourning. We shall have good dancing tonight."

Bayo's boat was disappearing in the bend of the river.

"Adiosi, adiosi-o. Adiosi, adiosi-o!" he sang out his goodbye, pitching his voice so low and so well that it seemed to penetrate not only the entire river, but the very thickness of the forest which hemmed it in. The response came back to him as a faint, cadenced song.

"Ooo oo oo . . . oo!" he sang out, placing his hands against his mouth to make the sound carry. And the answering call came back true as a bird's call.

484 Now he was in the rapids again, and stood at the stern with dilated nostrils and head thrown forward. When he was through the whirling eddies and in quieter water once more, he adjusted his loin cloth carefully and sat down and
[139] began paddling. The green-heart trees were beginning to bloom. Fine trees. They belonged to another clan. He and his great-grandfather went for their timber below. There was plenty of timber in this bush of theirs. The gods of the bush were strong, and the ancestors had done well for the country. In a week these channels would be gone. Right about him everywhere jagged rocks would show. In a week, or before then, they would play the drums for the gods of the river, sounding their call to the sun to come and dry and warm them, and the sun, hearing the call, would send his fire to the river banks, and the rains would end.

Was that a boat overtaking him? The cool of the morning was a time to be about. Who was that?

"Tio, greetings," he said to the man, who seemed in a
[576] great hurry.

"Thank you, tio. . . . "

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[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
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484 recognized the coat of a village chief, and by the size of the
[501] boat he knew that it belonged to the upper river, far, far beyond the stretches he had yet penetrated.

576 He spoke the greeting in the faintest of whispers, out of
484 deference to a man of age and rank, and stopped his boat, for this village belonged to his own clan, and it was here that he would get from his mother's sister the cassava
[962] bread which she had got ready for his journey up river. He got out of his boat gently; decorum demanded that he subdue his energy before the man of position. His palms rested on his knees for an instant, as he stood slightly
[516] inclined before the older man, and what questions he answered, he did in speech which was punctuated with the ceremonial stammering demanded by the occasion. He had put his toga-like cloth over him and stood hesitating whether or not to take his paddle to the village with him, for he was so well known here that this settlement was almost as familiar to him as his own. But at last he leaned down and took up his paddle. This mature formality, in a village where he was still often looked upon as a boy, was prompted perhaps by this meeting with the chief, or by the new feeling of confidence he had, since he was taking the Bakra's boat up the river. But here he was, going up the embankment with the firm, slow step of the stranger.

484 The old chief had already started, having first made his
880 sacrifice of rum to the spirit of his boat by squirting it over
[501] the finely carved head which appeared in relief on the
622 prow. And now, as he guided his canoe with the sure strokes
539 of his large steering paddle, he sang his prayer.

> "*Kediamo, Kediampon,*
> *Mother of the River,*
> *Sacred ancestors, and my a'ka,*
> *I am taking this journey down the river,*
> *I am going to the city,*
> *Grant that I travel in safety,*
> *Grant that the trip be joyous,*
> *Grant that I meet with friends,*

ON THE SARAMACCA RIVER

Seeing him, our host gave an exclamation of pleasure. 439
"But this is Ajako, the husband of Granman Yankuso's daughter!"

"*Kuma, Bakra. Kuma, Bakra waye*—Good morning, 576
white man, good morning, white woman," he said, and our answer was, "*Ajako, kuma*—Ajako, good morning."

Had we awakened, no? This, in the Saramacca idiom, was how one asked if we were well, if we were alive, since the euphemism for death is sleep. We answered him in their patterned phrase.

"*Hafu so*," we said, using their equivalent for fairly well, only half so.

Ajako laughed. The white man had learned. "Are you no better? I hear the gods like you well," he replied.

And so the conversation went on, each giving account of himself.

Finally Ajako said, "Granman Yankuso waits for you, 648
Bakra. He sends you his greetings, and says he will welcome you in Asindopo Lantiwe, his village. You have the freedom of the river. The village chiefs know of your coming. They will receive you. The river is not too high now, for top-side the rains are at an end. Here on the lower river, too, rocks that today are under water will appear tomorrow or the next day. The water is not too high now. The Granman sends word to you that you can start."

But what of him? Would he not come with us as our chief paddler, to show us the way through the many channels? But he smiled and said he was going to the Marowyne. He could not turn back, he told us, for he had 221
the boats to sell, and money to earn there, while his wife 854
was nursing her infant. When the child was seventeen, eighteen months old, then he would be back with his wife again, cutting new fields for her, and making children. While the infant was at the breast, he would be away working.

There was more talk, leading gently—*safri*, softly, as the 648
Bush Negro himself says—to the subject of certain unfriendly villages. There were two of them up the river that

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looking out on the river. Whether it was a gesture that he would sing no more, or not, we could not say, but when he turned again to us he looked thoughtful. "White man, how far away is Africa? Would they kill me if I went there? Could I get a woman, if I went there?"

We sent him some food to his boat as an expression of hospitality, and word came back that when we had done eating, he would himself come and thank us. When he did come, it was to speak his thanks and to say goodbye, and he did not come alone. With him was the young man who was his traveling companion, and this young man carried gifts to us. Bayo, who had arrived a short time before, received the gifts of fig bananas and rice for us, as was the custom of these people, for to have given or received a gift in person would have been the way of a boor, just as it would have been bad form to stand about and watch us eat.

The leave-taking ritual, as that of greeting, is as formalized as a litany and almost as solemn.

"*Adiosi, adiosi—waka bon, yere. Tan bon*—Goodbye, travel well, hear? Keep well." Ajako carefully laid away his top cloth in his woven closed basket, straightened his loin cloth, and paddled away briskly from the landing.

Later, boats pulled up bringing the Gankwe men.

"Sedefo, we have a fine boat for you. It's large, and it will take a great deal of load. It's a new boat, just come down from top-side."

The men busied themselves with bringing our provisions from the shelter to the landing place so that the loading might begin. A tent had been made of palm leaves for the boat in which we ourselves were traveling, so that we might be shielded from the glare of the open river, from sunstroke and the sudden tropical downpours, and the men decided to load this boat first.

Now there was a murmur among the Gankwe men. Sedefo was passing his hands over the new boat, as though it were a human form, touching its "head," running his hands over the "ribs," the "belly." Then he balanced himself in it, and shook his head.

too deep for the pole-stick. When we go in the center, it is slow. . . . [illegible] voice, as our boat and the others after us veered over to the other side of the stream where the current was less strong.

"How do you know just where these places are?" we asked. "There are so many channels, so many islands. How can you tell?"

"*Ma, kye!* What would you? I belong to this bush. An old man knows his river."

Steadily the boats went ahead in this long, quiet stretch. For fully half an hour the men worked in silence, doggedly going upstream close to the bank, until under the shade of a tree they saw a boat resting.

"Tio, odi! Tio, odi!" Each of our men addressed the two in the boat.

"Tangi, tio! Tio, odi," they answered each one, until finally they said, "Odi, Bak'a," greeting the stranger last, as was the custom.

Our men explained, "We are going to the Saramacca country, up the river to the Granman. We are carrying the Bakra to the Granman. They belong to America country. They traveled in a fire ship for twenty-one nights and days to come to the Saramacca. Twenty-one nights and days, mati, without resting. *G'an sundyi*—A great state of affairs."

The man said, "We come from the Marowyne. The river is high. The next rapids are difficult. Let us travel together."

And so we were five canoes. Ahead, we could already hear the dull murmur which would soon crescendo to the final roar. This was the water pouring over the first rocks in the distance.

"What rapids are these?"

"We must not talk about this here. Wait until we pass them. If we speak the name, the spirit will come, and he will be angry. The boat might go over. We might lose part of our load."

Now we came closer to the line of white, which rose higher and higher. Except for the bits of white foam like

REBEL DESTINY

[illegible] over the shrines to the ancestors and gods. All about were the many houses of the Granman with the elaborately carved posts figuring his emblem. Under the shade trees the widow was pounding rice. She wore old clothes, and, since she would soon be out of mourning, they were almost in rags. The mourning band about her hair was also old.

The Granman's eyes must have followed ours, must have seen us study the outlines of the carving, and must have followed us to the shrines and the woman, for his voice changed, and now he repeated in a ruminating voice, "Yes, here we believe in kunu."

"Ya-hai!" was the noncommittal reply from his listeners.

The Granman looked now into the faces of his trusted chiefs. He looked steadily and long, searching in the semidarkness of the house for a betraying expression, as the chiefs sat on the low stools against the farther wall, their faces averted, as was seemly.

"Well, friends, kunu has made an end of my family. Is it not so? But the clan will go on. The clan's rule is not ended. Up and down the river tell them that, friends. Kunu has brought my family to an end. With me our family rule is finished. That is right. But the clan will go on."

The customary interpolations followed each phrase. Then singly the chiefs took their leave. Rising slowly, after they had received permission to depart, and with body bent, their hands touching their knees, each spoke his farewell.

In the light their ceremonially anointed bodies glistened like polished ebony. Swift and straight each made his way down the clearing and into a side path which led to the river, where the boats were fastened.

"Fine men, these," said the Granman to us after a silence. "And you, have you kunu in your country? . . ."

5

But even after these and many more instances of kunu had come to us, and even though we had snatched a few sentences of explanation from one man and from another, the essential nature of kunu still eluded us. Was kunu, then,

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get the tchina which, if we do not break them, will let us stay healthy. Both our parents care for us." 593 [illegible] 604

He thought for a moment, and then, with a laugh, he wondered as Awingu had wondered that early morning at the planting ground.

"Is it not so in your country, Bak'a," he said, "that you ask me so often about these things?"

8

"Massa cow," we heard Bayo call out again and again to his great-grandfather Bibifo, when he wanted to indicate to the old man that he knew what he was about. Bibifo accepted the reproof with unvarying meekness and good humor. 603 888

This relationship between them puzzled us. Yet the other men, overhearing Bayo's brusque words to Bibifo, made nothing of it. Before strangers, Bayo was subdued, shy. He stuttered ceremonially when he addressed a man of rank. He pitched his voice only a little above a whisper when he was in a strange village. Toward Kasanya and Sedefo and Asikanu he was respectful, and showed reserve. When he wanted his hair trimmed he came to Angita for help, or, better still, to the young man at the prow of Kasanya's boat who, like Kasanya, was of his own clan. [576]

The old man was not a forceful fellow. That was, perhaps, the reason, we thought at first. Then we wondered if it was not because Bibifo had become Adrian, and no longer wore obias to carry him well on the water—because he had forsaken the old gods. But the other men treated Bibifo with the respect due an old man. When Kasanya killed a monkey, and his own pole-man could not share it with him because he was a twin and twins did not eat monkey, he turned to Bibifo with the pole-man's portion, and not to Sedefo, or to Asikanu, who was the brother of a clan head, and himself a possible successor to his brother's chieftainship. 845 262

him. He has taken boats up and down the Marowyne. He is my grandson. If I had one of my own blood, I would have had him accompany you. . . . But my sisters' children sleep," he ended, using the euphemism for death. 603 888

When we came to know the young man, we asked him about this incident with the Granman. Was he not afraid to interrupt him?

"Ma kye! But he is my grandfather! With my grandfather I make sport."

Again we went to the old men and sought in village after village for their own explanation of this behavior toward grandparents.

There were, we learned, age distinctions that were deeply felt. A man was on easy terms with those of his own generation. Between parents and children, and those of the generation of their parents, however, there was a definite code of behavior. For example, no young man or woman might talk of sexual matters with either parent, and this lack of sanction for frankness in sexual discussions with parents became an actual taboo with parents-in-law. Encounters with the "pai" and "mai," as they were known, were hemmed in by countless prohibitions. A man might not sleep in the same house with either of them, nor might he eat with them out of the same dish. If he met either of his parents-in-law as he went along the path, he had to turn aside, make way for them, and cover his face. He might not pronounce their names, nor might they speak his. These observances held for women, too, and the ones we mention were by no means all. 561 576 606 [593] [831]

With grandparents, however, a vastly different situation obtained. 603

"He is my grandson. I call him mati—friend. I make sport with him!"

"She is my granddaughter. She calls me husband. She makes free with me!"

"She is my granddaughter, we talk about everything. She calls me kambo, and I call her kambo." Again, we

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wash every day until Wednesday came to permit her to dance. When she washed with the sacred moistened clay, she rubbed the white on her children. 751 776 783

"Will all the women dance on Wednesday who have the same god as you?"

The child's mother shook her head. "If the god comes to them, yes. If he doesn't come, they can't dance."

And the bassia's wife said, "The women who are in the menstrual house can't dance. When they hear the drums, they are troubled, but they must remain quiet." 841

The woman had spoken too eagerly and too loudly, for her husband, overhearing her, said something in a low rapid voice, and at once the women fell silent and several of them remembered errands they had to see to. 593

4

"When men are in the council house, you mustn't interrupt," said the bassia's wife to the white woman. "If we did what you did just now, our husbands would scold us when they got home, and if we did it again, they would beat us." 576 [593]

She had taken upon herself all the prerogatives of friendship, and continually criticized the manners of her visitor.

The old were to be greeted last. A gift was to be received by another. When returning a piece of carving to another's hand, the carving should rest on the outstretched palm, while the elbow of that arm lay on the palm of the other hand. In the presence of men, a woman who took a stool should turn it about and sit on its narrower side.

"Never sit on the bare earth. The spirits don't like it," she said one instant, and the next, "Don't play with your fingers on top of your sun helmet. Your breasts will get long. Drumming is not a thing for women." [806] [562]

There had been other warnings during earlier visits to Bush Negro villages, but none had borne down so heavily upon the shortcomings of the stranger.

798 The other white man was the Catholic missionary who
797 for years had been living in the Gran Rio. He was a friend of the Saramacca people, and they liked him. Now this white man wanted to see Dahomey. He said that he, too, had a strong God who protected him. He asked so many times that they at last promised to take him there. But when he got to Pempeh he fell asleep, and he slept till . . . till they reached the Granman's country. So his life was saved. The gods, knowing that he was a friend of the Saramacca people, did not want to kill him. They put him to sleep until Dahomey was well out of reach.

"And this is what happened to you, Bak'a. The gods did not want to hurt you, so you did not see."

2

133 Past these rapids and another stretch of rough water, and then before us lay the highest falls of the Saramacca. To the right, over a ledge of rock spreading in an unbroken sweep across its entire width poured the Gran Rio, the
[361] river up which lay the villages of the Loango clan, and beyond, the untrodden jungle which barricaded the way to the country of the Indians, and the basin of the Amazon. To the left was the final bit of fast water that remained between us and the village where the Granman awaited us. We were at last in the Pikien Rio.

Here the stream narrowed, and we could see on both banks the people who were waiting to see us pass. The
[574] gay colors of the women's cloths were brilliant against the background of green, and their hallooing reached our ears above the rush of the water. A canoe with several young men came alongside.

"We are here to help you with your boats. We have been sent by the Granman. Fire three shots to let him know you are in the Pikien Rio."

576 We fired, and instantly there was an answering salute of
[201] three guns. With the reinforcement of paddlers, it did not take long to reach the island which separated us from the landing place of Asindopo Lantiwe. Here all strangers

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stopped to change their clothes, and make themselves fit for the reception by the Granman. 576

We had been warned that these preparations were not to be slighted. Those who had been to the village of the Granman told many stories of the impressiveness of the ceremonial life, and the dignity of those who were there. It was the seat of government, the home of a potentate. A visitor, whether a village chief or a man from the city, had to keep in mind that he was to appear at court. Etiquette demanded that the traveler, once arrived at the island which now hid us from the Granman and his assembled villagers, debark, remove the stains of hard traveling, and dress in a manner befitting the reception which awaited him. 576 609

But the gods had planned otherwise.

At this time of the year, though the heavy rains were over and the showers were becoming less and less frequent, it did sometimes happen that the clouds gathered at midafternoon and rain fell. To the northeast, behind us, we had seen the clouds massing, and now they hung low and glowering. 132

"It will rain," Sedefo called to us, just as we were making ready to see to a change of clothes, and an instant later the storm broke. With a kind of hurricane force which sent the branches toward the earth, and flares of lightning and crashes of thunder, the deluge was upon us. Not since our first days in the bush had we coped with a rain like this. The water poured down as though some giant hands were turning over endless vessels. Our tent seemed to have been taken as unaware as we were, for having sheltered us in many hard storms, it was now inadequate to keep out the downpour. We drew our raincoats tighter about us to keep off the water which came through the thatch.

Under the trees of the island the Bush Negroes were huddled. Their favorite top cloths were still in their baskets, safe out of the wet under the white man's tarpaulins. No chance now to put them on, or to use the oil which they had jealously saved for making their faces and 123 [302]

Both of These men Carried
long wands of office, of black wood topped with silver 292
knobs. About their necks were heavy silver chains, and 554
from each chain was suspended a large silver crescent. 622 [293]

Another man stood near them to one side. He wore a
long coat of white edged with scarlet and blue. He carried 554
no stick, and wore no insignia. On his head, over a white 643
kerchief wound tightly about the head and caught up in the
back, was a white sun helmet. Above his head, held by one
of the younger men who accompanied him, was an umbrella,
the highest emblem of rank. It betokened that this man was
Moana Yankuso, Granman of the Saramacca people.

3

Kasanya was first out of the boat when the dugouts 622
were brought to shore, and after him came Bibifo. Sedefo 574
and Asikanu remained with the younger men, waiting for 576
the Granman to indicate that he wished to receive them.
Only men of rank and elderly members of his own clan [554]
would go at this time to speak to the headman, who stood
there watching the boats.

"We came, G'aman," we heard Kasanya say, "and we
brought the Bak'a." Two or three low-voiced sentences
followed, and then the conversation was terminated by the
elderly functionary in the yellow coat, who came down to
our boat.

"I greet you in the name of the G'aman, Bak'a," he
announced. "The G'aman himself awaits you. Come with
me."

As we stepped out of the boat, the hallooing of the women 574
and the shouts of the children, which had stopped when the 576
paddlers addressed the Granman, began once again, and, 609
as an underlying voice, the salutes from the shotgun were 643
to be heard. The old man, shifting his wand of office to his
left hand, now carefully helped first the one, then the other
out of the boat and, offering his arm to each in turn, led
us to the top of the steep rise, until we were face to face
with the Granman. It would have been unlucky had we lost
our footing at this moment of welcome. This chieftain was

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574 there not only to tender the courtesy due the guests of the
576 tribal head, but to see that no such mishap occurred to
609 them.
643 When we had both gained the ascent, he turned to the Granman.

"Headman Yankuso, the Bak'a is before you."

As though just become aware of us, Yankuso fixed us with his eyes, fastening his glance on each in turn.

"Odi, white man. White woman, odi!"

A great figure of a man he was, as he stood there. Tall and massive of build, he towered over those who surrounded
[291] him. Barefooted like the rest, there was that in his bearing which was the way of a man who was accustomed to obedience, whose word was final. He was pure Negro. His skin was dark. In his features there was no hint that the lineage of this ruler held any of the blood of the white masters, nor that his ancestors numbered among them Indians who had given way before his invading forbears. His face was impassive, yet underneath the outward immobility was an alertness which the glistening, oil-anointed skin made the more alive. His speech was measured, his words articulated with studied emphasis, which gave to each of them the value of a completed image.

"*Bari*—Cry out!" he called to the women in his vibrant voice. "Halloo, give the welcome of the bush to the people who came."

Amid the renewed cries which his command brought, we turned from the river bank and walked slowly up the path toward the village, past the silk-cotton tree, past the shrine to the ancestors, until we reached an open place on which fronted half a dozen thatched buildings.

"This is my house, white man," he said, pointing to it. "I will put you near me. I will put you in the council house."

4

344 The council house at Asindopo Lantiwe—the village of Asin, the seat of government—was unlike any we had seen.

622 "It is the coat of a chief. All chiefs wear these coats
292 At the G'aman's we wear the best we have."
[293] We looked at his silver-topped wand of office. "Do all chiefs carry these?" we asked.

"Not every chief has a stick like mine. And all chiefs do not have one of these." He pointed to the crescent of silver which hung from a chain about his neck.

"It is beautiful."

"Ya-hai. And it's old."

Embossed on the silver plaque were the arms of Holland, richly worked.

622 "After the time of running away, when the fighting was
648 over between our ancestors and the whites, these were given
293 to us, and the wands of office. But not all chiefs have their
643 wands from the white man. Some have the ones we call 'free sticks.' A man who has a 'free stick' is not a chief for the white man, but we know that he is a chief."

He added that the whites had made an agreement with the escaped Negroes that if they would no longer raid the plantations and carry away slaves with them they would be considered free men in their bush, under the white man's government. Since that time the Bush Negro Granman and certain of the village chiefs had had official recognition, and as a token of this each of them had been given a uniform, a
[292] high hat, a crescent with the arms of Holland worked on it, a silver-headed staff, and an annual stipend.

"The chiefs who have 'free sticks,' the white man does not pay."

576 As we spoke of these things, we were interrupted from time to time by the noiseless brushing aside of the cloth which hung above the door, and the entrance of one of our men, or a man of the Granman's village, who brought in our canisters and hammocks. With not even a glance in our direction, they would leave as noiselessly and return to the river. Through the slatted side walls we could hear the sounds of such activity as we had not thought possible in the tropics.

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AT THE COURT OF THE GRANMAN

5

Outside the doorway we heard a decisive clearing of the throat, louder than the coughs we had already learned to associate with the approach of a visitor. After a short pause, the Granman's bulk filled the low entrance, and with him came the elder in the yellow coat, followed by Sungi of Dahomey, the chief who had come to pilot us to the village of the Granman, and the bassia from S'ei.

The men stood with ceremonially inclined bodies until the Granman was settled in his chair, then each in turn took a bench from the shelf above the door, and still with body bent found a place for it against the wall facing the Granman.

After a silence, the Granman spoke.

"The unloading is done. I have set aside five houses for the Bak'a. Mati—friends—the white G'aman told me about this visit when I was in the white man's city. Others have told me. People who come to me must be cared for. The white people are come. They sit among you. The Bak'a and his woman will put up their hammocks here. Here they will stay. The white man's goods are stored in the house in back of mine. The white man has much goods. There is a man from the city who helps them. He will sleep where these goods are stored. So I speak. That is my wish."

"Ya-hai, G'aman," came the assent from And'u.

"Kelele," said the chief in the yellow coat.

"The house in back of this I have had the women get ready also for the white man and his woman. When the chiefs gather for councils, and they want to be alone, the whites must have a place to go aside. I have given a house for the cook, and an open house for the cooking. So it is. People who come to me must be cared for."

"True, true!"

"So it is."

"Kodo!"

"White man," said the Granman, for the first time turning to us, "you have heard?"

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574 For a few moments there was a rapid interchange between him and the old man in the yellow coat.

"The down-river men who have brought the white man," the Granman continued his cadenced speech, "will be housed in the village. The four Gankwe men will put up their hammocks in one house. The other four will be put up in my quarter. So it is. So I care. . . . "

"Yes, wise man."

"Gbolo!"

622 554 The ceremonial introductions followed, and each chief was praised for his special services to the Granman. The man in the yellow coat was of the Oyo people, a son of a great line, held high in the esteem of men and gods. Sungi was a man who knew much of the white man's wisdom. He had been to the French shore, and knew the French tongue, he knew about white man's medicine, but, friends, he was a child of the bush! And'u was a beloved chief, an honest man, a man to send on missions of trust. The bassia was a clever man, one of the men of And'u's village. The gods loved him, for what his hands touched turned to wealth. He was a good man. He was a friend.

A low cough was heard outside. Slowly the cloth was raised, and crouching into the hut came Kasanya and [291] Bibifo. They were carefully dressed, and each wore a kerchief drawn tightly about his head. These they wore by right of age.

622 The bassia, lowest in rank, was greeted first, and then 576 each chief in his turn, until the Granman was reached.

574 "Greetings, G'aman."

"Thank you, friends," came the vibrant answer.

This began the colloquy of inquiry about each other's well-being, which here at court had a longer ritual than anywhere on the river. It was a prelude of measured song which introduced all speech between strangers. Bibifo began timidly and did not show himself equal to the many variations which Kasanya had introduced with ease.

"Friends, I am glad you came. You must tell me what is happening in your villages."

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Now it was the Granman's turn to supply the interpolations, while Kasanya and Bibifo reported.

"Yes, so it is. So I know it to be myself. So I have heard," he spoke when they paused.

But when the ceremonial greetings were over, and the conversation turned to down-river affairs, the Granman leaned forward in his chair and talked with the men informally. They were all clan members, or men belonging to clans whose allegiance to the Granman's rule was undoubted, and they talked over many things in the way men do when they meet with their own kind.

The room was growing darker. Yankuso called through the slatted wall against which he was leaning, and the young man who had fired the guns entered.

"Bassia, it is getting late. We must leave this house to the white man. These men with me are my friends. They must drink before they leave."

The bassia took the decanter from the table, and from the shelf underneath it, where we could dimly see shells and containers of shot, he took several small glasses. Before taking the glass to his lips, each man poured some of the liquor on the ground as a libation to the Earth Mother, and, as each drank, he turned to Yankuso and asked if he might leave.

"*Mi da permissi*—I grant you permission," he said to each.

When we had finished our meal, it was already dark. At the door of his own house, Granman Yankuso was sitting on a low stool.

"I have something for you," he said, disappearing inside his house. When he came out, he held in his hand some black object, which we were unable to identify. "You have fire?" he asked, as he suspended this object from a tree which grew between his house and the one in which we were staying.

"There was a white Hollander here who brought this to me. He went from here farther into the bush. He never came out. Light is a good thing at night. When visitors

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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pieces of red and blue cloth worked with this thread, so that again the white vertebrae showed. Bayo and Angita wore their beads, and each had a garter below the knee of the right leg. Their garters were white in color, but of a whiteness which only new, unwashed cotton has. They were about an inch and a half wide and were so tight that the muscle of the calf bulged prominently. On their upper arms were Kromanti rings of iron which, by contracting, warned the men of impending danger. In addition, Sedefo and Angita wore the bell obia of the Gankwe people, and Bayo his love obia which had come from Lamé.

"When do you go, Sedefo?"

"When the G'aman speaks. When we finish a piece of work, then we do not want to be paid at once. We do not leave at once. It would be as if we had not gone together in pleasure and wanted to be away as soon as possible. With the white man it is one thing. In the bush we do not do it so. Here in the G'aman's village, we do as we do with our own people in the bush," he paused for an instant, and looked about toward the clearing outside the palings. "There is another thing. In the G'aman's village, men cannot leave until the G'aman gives permission. When the G'aman is ready, he will call us. We will speak together. Then we will speak with him again. Then we will ask to go."

Bayo had been looking about the council house with an interest which was not unmixed with awe at the Granman's possessions, and he spoke in whispers.

"Ai, when the G'aman gives permission, then we go."

As he spoke, the cloth over the doorway was gently thrust aside. Bassia Anaisi of the Granman's village entered. He was the man who had fired the saluting gun the day of our arrival and who had at the Granman's call come to serve the visiting chiefs with rum. He now greeted each in turn but did not take down a bench. For a moment he stood there, head lowered out of deference to the character of the place where he was, then he coughed slightly and, turning to us, said, "The G'aman is ready for you. The chiefs are here."

623 Our paddlers rose at once and left the council house. A
643 moment later And'u entered, followed by a group of elders
[291] with closely drawn kerchiefs covering their heads. Among these only Kasanya and Bibifo were known to us. Kasanya brought his bench close to ours and moved it yet closer, with a gesture of the head that he wanted to continue the intimacy of our ten days' journey together.

"White man," he said, leaning over and whispering, "call your man from the city. At a krutu a man has someone to speak for him. So we do here."

576 And so, we soon saw, it was. Address in the council of the
623 Saramacca people was always by indirection. If the Gran-
643 man wished to speak to one of his chiefs, then he gave his message through another chief, though the man for whom the words were intended might be closer to him or more clearly in view.

643 Others came in, until the room was half filled when the
623 Granman entered. Today he wore a printed red and black
[292] loose coat of knee length, and over it the ceremonial cloth
302 worn by men here in the bush, so that where other men's
291 bare shoulders showed was the sleeve of his coat. On his head were both kerchief and sun helmet. The men were anointed with oil, and many of them wore the jaguar's tooth obia. The last to enter was a man who was well past middle age, and he was followed by the young *obiaman* from S'ei. Both of these men wore the cloths required of men when not at work, but they were not so uncreased, or so new. Nor were their bodies bright with oil. The older man had several broad stripes of white clay from wrist to shoulder of his right arm, and from knee to pelvis on the inner left thigh. Slung from one shoulder and reaching across to the opposite thigh was a white obia made of native fiber, and on his neck were several others. To these
[189] obias were added iron bands on his arms, while below his right knee and at the ankle of his right foot were other obias made of fiber and twisted black thread.

623 The men we knew greeted us as they took down their benches and found places against the wall farthest from the

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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609 the Bak'a himself tell why he has come the long way to the
623 Saramacca river and what it is he seeks."
183 There was a general chorus of agreement, and silence awaited our accounting.

As the town man began to repeat our words to the Granman, the quiet of the house was heightened by an occasional stirring outside the paling. From where we sat, we could see brown motionless feet, which told us that there were many more than those inside, who were listening to the white man's reason for being in the bush.

Again the Granman made the traditional responses.

"So it is, white man."

"True, what you have said, bassia."

Finally our telling was at an end. Again there was a silence as we sat, tensely waiting.

The Granman again broke the silence.

"Friends, chiefs, you have heard. The white man is here. He comes to learn of our life. The gods of the river have
[706] brought him and his woman safely. The Great God sent the
821 rain to cool the air when he reached Asindopo Lantiwe.
[823] The gods are more than I am. The river is more than I am. But the Saramacca people are also more than I am. It is you, headmen of the Saramacca people, who must speak."

"Ai, G'aman," said the man who had the stripes of white on him and who wore the many obias. "But have the ancestors spoken?"

"Truly you ask, friend," was the response. "It is well that you think of these things. In the bush, we think before we speak. Do you go aside and consider well."

Slowly the members of the krutu arose from their
[576] benches. Softly, with bent form, each passed out of the doorway. We were alone with the Granman, who waited with us for the reply of the chiefs.

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623 As the elders slowly filed out of the council house, it was
693 as though a jury were leaving the courtroom to decide a case which had been laid before it. And as we learned more,

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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"It hurts, doesn't it?"

"*Ma kye!* It is beautiful. The men like it too much," said the girls in a chorus, laughing at the suggestion that the pain of the cuts would deter them from having them made.

Sometimes, of course, the older girl admitted, the wounds did become ugly. There was the girl from Godo, whose suitor had kept bringing her more gifts because she was growing handsomer and handsomer. She was all but ready for marrying, when one of her thighs became infected after the cuts. The wounds were so ugly that she could not even wear the tunics of the grown girl. The family was sacrificing to all the spirits of the earth, begging them to heal the wounds.

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These days there were many visitors in the Granman's village. There was the girl the Granman had summoned to dance for his guests. She had, perhaps, that very summer got her cloths, and her reputation as the best dancer on the river had won for her a suitor who gave her many armlets and anklets. Her voice was fresh and flutelike in quality, and so fine that when she sang she placed a folded cloth over her mouth, or danced with her head low. This was the way of modesty before people, and humility before the gods.

The women said, "Her spirits dance well," when they watched her.

There was the large girl from a village down river who came almost daily. She had the body of a woman, yet she went about unclothed, and sometimes she appeared only with a string about her waist.

"She is ready for *pangi*—cloths—ai," the women said, "but her people do not want to give them to her yet."

They would not explain, however, why the attire of a grown woman was denied her. We could only conjecture about it. Perhaps she had no suitor. The man to whom she had been promised might have died. There might be other reasons.

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fine, sat between Sedefo, whose bench was moved forward a little, and Angita. The younger men sat with bodies half-turned toward the wall, out of respect for the Granman, the older ones, with their faces averted from him.

The Granman was speaking, telling a story.

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"Ai, mati . . . " he said, in his precise, formal way, laying stress on each syllable, "in our bush, the gods be praised, men are men. There was a man near here, who saw a woman he liked, and he took her. He had a loving eye, he was young. Ai, mati, what is a beating to a man when he is young? But the proverb says, 'All that is in the darkness will come to light.' Dealings with women always come to light too soon. That man got a beating, mati! He came out into the clearing, his head held high, like any man whom young girls follow with their eyes. But waiting for him was the husband of the woman, and the men of his family, and. . . . "

"Well, so it is, G'ama'," said Sedefo, with the careful modulation which showed that he, too, was schooled in the way of the important councils.

"Ya-hai, G'ama'," said Asikanu, more briefly.

Granman Yankuso now went on with his story, bringing to his recital all the detail of the punishment of the adulterer, without quickening the telling of his story even when he spoke the words which described the sound of the blows.

"Yes, master of the realm," said Sedefo, his head still averted, but leaning his body forward a little as he spoke, so that he somewhat shielded Asikanu from the direct gaze of the Granman, yet managing this clever gesture so that it had the air of rapt interest.

"Kere-kere, G'ama'," Asikanu breathed, almost inaudibly.

As the Granman recounted his tale, Asikanu's spine twitched as though every blow mentioned was that instant being leveled at him, as though he himself were lying head down in the dust of the clearing, while blows rained down upon him, and the Kromanti iron bands cut gashes into his proud face and arms and body.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

happened to cover a fraction of the Djuka territory, so familiar to Dr. Kahn.

We lived for a time at the Djuka village of Moengo Tappo, and from there visited other villages on neighbouring rivers and creeks. And there I felt again the sharp contrast between the primitive and the civilized. Through the Djukas, I saw civilization in perspective; and especially I saw that tragic phase of it which passes through prison gates.

Djuka life makes us stop to think all over again about everything. It makes us see what we have gained, as well as what we have lost.

There is, for example, no nonsense about white superiority among the Djukas. They are proud to the point of savage arrogance. Hatred and distrust of the white man are as much a part of their inheritance as is their jungle lore. As among the Negroes of Haiti, you must win your way. But when you are finally accepted, not as a superior being, but as an equal, then how warm and charming a thing their friendship is!

The Djuka farewell to us is a beautiful memory. As we passed down the river, between walls of forest where orchids were in gorgeous blossom, the Djuka villagers came down to the water's edge to say good-bye, raising their hands high and bowing low to bring down blessings upon us.

Indirectly it was these Djukas who introduced me to Dr. Kahn. At the time that we were in the Guiana forest Dr. Kahn was in another part of the same jungle, though neither of us knew of the presence or the existence of the other. Later, after our return to New York, our common interest in the

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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488 have a tribal language called *odo, deepee-talkee,* or *Saramaccatongo* known only among themselves; they are members of the Saramaccaner tribe.

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Before the other corial is out of earshot, the Djukas bid us good-bye with the familiar words: *"Wakka bon na watra, bakkra!" "Gran danke, mama"*—"Many thanks, my uncle," we respond, adding the *o* sound to the last word to make it carry over the waves, as they do. To them "uncle" is the most respectful appellation that can be used, similar to our respectful use of the word "father." For them a maternal uncle is more important than a father.

[576 608]

For a while now the poling continues in silence. Further on we pass a lone Djuka on the bank, skilfully setting a fish trap constructed of sticks and *liawar.* Far away upstream can be heard the muffled report of a shotgun; some black hunter is bringing in game. The angry currents slap constantly against the side of the corial. We round another bend and see ahead only more rapids, where rocks make innumerable white ripples in the muddy water.

A stop is made for lunch at one of the many islands. Bundle brings out canned food and the gipsy pot. The river looks enticing and cool. The bahkra begins taking off his clothes for a swim in the water near shore. The Negroes are abashed at his nakedness, and Bundle tactfully advises him to be more modest.

136 The waters in this part of the great South American rain forest are infested with the Brazilian piranha or piraya (*Serrasalmo sp.*), a species of carnivorous fish. They are small,

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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361 river floods periodically, and might wipe them out if they were too near, and that the Bush Negro still retains, back in his mind, a strong fear of another war with the white man. In the latter event the Djuka villages would have to be camouflaged or hidden. Often, too, the villages are to be found just above a waterfall or rapids, as another hindrance to possible invaders.

608 At the landing we see bare-breasted Djuka women washing
609 clothes or bathing their children. They do not evince much
[57] curiosity as we paddle up, for it is considered insolent to stare. The naked little ones are very much afraid of the white man. They scurry into the underbrush and watch us from behind trees. The older children remain and are proud of their courage. An old man is making a canoe. Most of the men are away on hunting or lumbering expeditions.

361 Leading up to the village is a winding path, cut by the
646 violent rain until it resembles a ravine. Sometimes the river floods the path, forming a little muddy inlet into which the canoes stick their noses. One town is perched on a high bank,
[41] reached only by a hardwood ladder twenty-five feet tall. The blacks clamber up easily, unlike the awkward white man, who has difficulty with the missing steps.

We ascend the path; the frightened children return to their play, paddling about or fishing from the moored canoes.
282 Sometimes the bahkra's coming has been announced before-
696 hand by a system of drum telegraphy. A certain rhythm
[534] beaten on the tomtom informs the adjacent villages that white men are coming up the river, and why. In this way

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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their arrival is frequently anticipated. But it is something of an exaggeration to say that this primitive telegraphy is so extensive and efficient as to spread news of the white man over "more than two thousand square miles of impassable land." Nothing of the sort happens. The sound of the drums will carry for about two or three miles, when the wind is in the right direction, and the drum call is relayed from town to town. Most often, however, they are not beaten at all for us, and we arrive unannounced.

At the landing we are met by Captain Abaisa, a splendidly built Djuka whose friendship was obtained on a previous trip. His powerful body is all cut up with ornamental scars, a form of personal decoration highly esteemed by the Bush Negroes. The custom is a direct heritage from West Africa, found in many parts of the Gold Coast, the Congo country, and Cameroons, but unknown among the Indians of the Guianas. Abaisa greets us cordially: *"You wicki bah?" "E-e ah, matti"* is the proper reply. This talkee-talkee greeting, the equivalent of "Did you wake well?" is chanted rather than spoken. The voice ascends sharply on the second word, the final word being drawn out in a high sustained tone. The reply means "Yes, friend."

Another form of greeting is *"Ah broko baka,"* or "The day breaks again"—in other words—we meet again; or *"Neetee kaba"*—"The night is finished."

If a person is met for the second time within a short interval, the proper thing to say is *"We meetee baka."* Still another greeting is *"Bala, (Sis, Da, Ma) odio, how fa you de*

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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576 *beh?*" In other words, "Brother, (Sister, Father, Mother) howdy, how-do-you-do?"

751 776 There is a ceremony connected with the simple act of entering a Bush Negro town. A stranger might bring in foul intentions or evil spirits. The village must be protected against this horrific possibility, so nearly every path leading to the town has a magic device, known as an *azang paw*, to keep the spirits out. It consists of a dry stick across the path overhead, to which palm fronds are lashed. They hang down, brushing over everyone who passes beneath. The visitor passes under the azang pau, and is cleared of evil spirits that might harm the inhabitants of the village.

The Djukas have invisible enemies. On either side of the 778 path, near the palm barrier, is the wooden statue of a fetish to provide protection from these enemies. The fetish named Cromanti, on one side, protects the village from the evil spirit that dwells in the silk-cotton tree, the *con con dree*. Opposite him stands *Aflamu*, who secures the village against the attacks of a mighty tribe of unseen men, who are the sworn enemies of the Bush Negro and kill him with invisible arrows.

Walking up from the river we reach the barrier, and pause before it for the customary ritual. But Abaisa is a potent chief, the head of his *lo* or clan, the *Abaisa-lo*. So long as the bahkra accompanies him, no ceremony is necessary. We enter unchallenged into the clearing beyond.

648 576 The usual procedure is for the white man to hang back and let his paddler precede him. Moi-Man gains admittance to re-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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mote villages in this way; carrying his paddle before him, as 648
a symbol of voyaging, he approaches the barrier or azang pau, 576
halts before it, and clears his throat loudly. The rest remain some thirty feet behind. Someone comes out of the huts and inquires what is wanted.

One of the objects of the expedition being the acquisition of specimens of Bush Negro art objects, this is usually explained at the very beginning to prevent any misunderstanding. The following dialogue is typical:

"*Bakkra wanny timbeh* (or *sanni*)"—"White man wants wood carvings."

Cannily, the black replies: "*Me no habbe fu selli*"—"I don't have any to sell."

Moi-Man, accepting this verdict, explains further: "*Bakkra wanny luku, wan pekein*"—"White man wants to look around, wants to see inside a bit."

"*Ah bon,*" the Negro replies, meaning: "It's good." He returns to his hut.

The parley formally concluded, the paddler turns around 361
and motions us to come up the trail into the village. The towns usually consist of a clearing a few hundred feet across, beyond which is the overhanging green wall of trees. Scattered about the clearing in no particular order are numerous huts, with an occasional palm or breadfruit tree beside them. The rest of the concourse is bare clay. Sometimes there is a flower garden in the centre. Here and there are tiny *God* [778]
houses, where the fetishes stand.

The villages vary greatly in size. Some, like Gansee, near

881 have a last look at the child's penis, as they will never see it again. Then the boy is proclaimed a man, and given clothes.

So far as could be observed, there is no circumcision of either the male or female, although such mutilations are indulged in by West African tribes in the region from which the Djukas came. The girls wear only the *coyo*, or a larger cloth known as *pangi*, until their first menstruation, when their mothers give them cloths. This is done in private. Menstruating women are required to leave their homes and retire 841 to a separate hut situated outside the village on a by-path; they may not return until three days after the period is over. Under no condition are they allowed to go to the provision fields during this time.

584 At the age of about sixteen or seventeen the children are [532] ready to be married. Sometimes they are betrothed in infancy, and occasionally a pregnant woman will betroth her child before it is born, conditionally, of course, upon its sex. Once the child is betrothed the ceremony must take place, [754] otherwise the disappointed prospective mate will call down a *kunu*, or curse, on the entire perjured family, and they will all die. The pubescent child does not look forward to marriage as time for leaving its family, nor is marriage an [581] initiation into sex relations. For these two reasons, getting [341] married is not a serious step, and there is little illegitimacy because there is no reason for objecting to a marriage.

858 Youths must remain standing until their elders invite them ● 576 to be seated. It is customary for older people to receive much 888 respectful attention, for the older people are the sources of tradition and authority

3: Coster--1 F-5 (ca. 1857) 1866 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Djuka

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Introduction

114 After having left the plantation life in the colony of Surinam,
121 I went back there in the beginning of 1851 with the plan, as the
[101] result of an agreement reached by me with a Belgian firm, to send shiploads of wood to the motherland and Belgium.

[123] I undertook my journeys to the Bush Negroes for this purpose and visited most of their dwelling places, something that entailed effort and great cost, since I distributed ample presents everywhere for the purpose of thereby acquiring their confidence, which they do not readily grant to Whites.

123 At my very first encounter I took the precaution of politely
[576] greeting each one of them without distinction and shaking their
[177] hands, a practice taken over by them from the Whites in the most recent times, which assures them of a feeling of good-will such as they experience among themselves but never from a White.

[352] I spoke to them frankly and in a friendly way, sat next to them in their huts on their low stools, and partook of their meals. In short -- I lived for a while without reserve or fear among them, paying amply for everything that I enjoyed in this way or that.

[273] I also permitted them, whenever they wanted to use any of my store of beverages, such as wine, beer, brandy, and gin, to ask me for it quietly, so that I would be able to order my servants to offer them what they had requested. In addition I supplied /2/ them amply with dram (1), herbs, and lead and, in order to show

1. A kind of inland rum (sugar spirits).

generosity to the women as well, frequently gave them and the children biscuits, cake, or some coins.

[121] In the beginning they were very reserved and mistrustful, but gradually, and after some difficult years, became more open with me, so that I, adapting myself entirely to their practices, was able to carry out my plan to have the necessary wood processed by them.

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643 That happened especially to people who, summoned to work
687 in the grand man's clearings, carried out their task with ill will.

About 1950, M..., of Papaïston village, had openly revolted against the grand man whom he had refused to conduct to Saint-Laurent. The grand man sentenced him to make a large stairway of planks, from the Boniville wharf to the entrance to the village, giving him an injunction to leave the country if he refused. M... ended by yielding and executed the large stairway which can now be seen at the Boniville wharf.

643 The grand man is constantly concerned about his prestige
648 and dignity; he is almost always dressed in the European manner
292 and in ceremonies wears an impeccable white uniform; the French
177 administration gives him a relatively large salary and, when he comes to Cayenne, he is put up in the hospital in the apartments reserved for officers.

643 To greet the grand man one does not look directly at him
[576] but places himself in profile with respect to him.

[644] The grand man has no servants (that would be contrary to
[357] the morality of the Refugee Blacks) and leads a very simple life.
[466] Still, he does not do any hard manual labor; each year he calls together a certain number of men from each lo to work in his clearings; he does not pay them, for this work is an obligation provided for by custom, but he feeds them heartily.

643 Likewise, for his traveling, he requisitions by turns as boat-
466 men two or three of his subjects. Sometimes also he requisitions women to help his wife at harvest time.

On the other hand, for all other work he may need (such as the construction of a large boat) he has to pay like everyone else and he is not given any reduction.

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429 Until very recent times the authority of the guardian had
561 remained very strong and was prolonged very late; he had the
[861] right to strike his ward to make him obey, and he exercised his
[582] powers until the time when, judging the child's education finished,
he authorized him to marry, which formerly seldom happened
before 25-27 years.

Fintiman (of Boniville), about 50 years old in 1958, tells that his father, entrusted with his upbringing, did not authorize him to marry before he was completely established as a carpenter and boat-builder, at about the age of 27. Until that age he remained subject to the most tyrannical authority; his father intended especially to forbid him to go out in the evening, and in order to carry on a clandestine affair he had to use nocturnal fishing expeditions as a pretext!

429 When a boy's guardian judges his education finished, he
884 helps him to build his house and gives him tools, a trunk containing clothes, and a hammock. Henceforward the boy must make his own way in life.

429 All during his lifetime he will continue to show the greatest
576 respect to the person who raised him and often, speaking of that
601 person, he will say: "my father" or "my mother."

601 When a Refugee Black says in the course of a conversation, "My father used to do this," he often means the man who brought him up; if he wishes to speak of his true father, he will say, "My own father who made me." Likewise when he says "My grandfather," he usually means a great-uncle. This confusion
[128] makes research on family life risky as long as one does not
[114] possess any census by names; apparently it has led several authors
[593] into error, making them believe that among the Refugee Blacks the father brings up his children himself, when this is on the contrary the exception.

/153 cont./

684 with repudiation in case of a second offense. The rule is to
586 repudiate her, under pain of ridicule.
[626]

In 1951 G..., of Kotika village, was informed that his
837 wife A..., of Asisi village, 25 years old, was deceiving him
with a boy of the same age named K.... The first time he
684 encountered K in a village he took issue with him; K... confessed without difficulty. G... delivered a strong punch which threw him to the ground, and that was all. He did not ad-
[586] minister any punishment to his wife but immediately let her know that he was repudiating her. Some time after, K...
[576] asked to be reconciled with him. He asked his pardon and
[431] gave him a bottle of tafia (this is obligatory for reconciliation). Since, the two men have again been friends.

It also happens that the grand man levies a more or less stiff fine on the guilty man.

837 According to the elders, adultery was rare in former
[586] times. If a woman was tired of her husband, she divorced him openly, but she did not deceive him. Nowadays it seems to be rather frequent.

586 Divorce. The Refugee Blacks divorce each other as easily as they join together; in general it is the woman who decides to break up the union because she finds her husband too poor, too lazy, or simply because she wants to change. /154/

In the case of divorce the woman keeps all that her husband has given to her or made for her (utensils, house, boat), but of course the man keeps all his own belongings; this rupture changes nothing about the possession of property since no object was owned jointly.

581 The rule is the following: at the time of the marriage the man puts down symbolically several personal objects (fabrics, utensils) in the woman's home. As long as these objects are in her home the marriage remains in force, the wife is held to fidelity or at the very least, if there is adultery, it is regarded as such and entails the sanction related above.

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153 Possession begins progressively; in the beginning the
787 divinity does not find in its bearer sufficient passivity, it does
791 not succeed well in expressing itself through his mouth, spectators observe only incoherent gestures and hear only unintelligible stammerings. The pupil must continue his training for a long time in order to become a suitable bearer.

787 The god, when it has just entered a man, always begins by rendering homage in its language to Masa Gadu, proclaiming that it acts only in his name and by his will.

[576] Then it greets those present, employing formulas which
[198] are the exact transposition into its language of the ordinary Boni formulas of politeness; that even if it is getting ready to speak to them in the harshest manner.

The god speaks then in its language, saying not very intelligible things to the audience that appear to be related to what goes on in its country, to its family (for it is believed that these lower gods have a family). Finally, it begins to speak in ordinary language in order to be understood by those present, and answers questions.

796 Various categories of gods capable of bringing on possession.
787 The Refugee Blacks assume that four categories of lower gods
825 exist:

The first category consists of a series of gods which present themselves to men under very different aspects but which are nevertheless felt to be of the same nature. All speak the Kumenti language, all are well disposed toward men and do not exercise against them the kunu, that is, the curse;

--The Kumenti, which have the appearance of jaguars and live in the bush;

--The Djadja, which have the appearance of ocelots;

--The Opete, which have the appearance of the urubu and which reside in the air;

/210 cont./

776 character, touchy and vindictive. In speaking of them one
[576] says Papa gadu (papa does not mean "father"; it is a term of respect used for important personages (2)). They are believed

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2. This is the interpretation given by the Refugee Blacks. However, 18th-century documents on the origin of the slaves draw attention to the existence of an African tribe called Papa. Allusions contained in documents of the archives of Surinam, recently studied by Madame Silvia W. de Groot, would tend to identify the Papa with one of the populations of present-day Dahomey. In this hypothesis, the cult of the papa gadu would represent an archaic form of the Dahomey cult of the snake gods.

776 They are believed
[825] to have as habitual bearers the boa snakes (dagowe) (3) which

3. This word appears to be the deformation of the Dahomey word dāgbe.

are not to be confused with the great water snakes (anaconda)
[824] that the Refugee Blacks call mboma sineki. They may also reside in silk-cotton trees (kankan tree) and in the trees called katu udu (Bombax surinamiensis).

[787] The Vɔɔdū which incarnate themselves in humans may be of either sex; if a male god is concerned, it is called "tata vɔɔdū."

/241 cont./

152 828 754 777 Jealousy. To speak of jealousy as a negative magic force is not to be false to the thought of the Refugee Blacks. They regard it as an attenuated force of wisi, capable of bringing misfortunes even if no sorcery has been formulated. 152 157 Jealousy is very marked in their character, associated with an individualism verging on asocial tendencies. When somebody is accused of 754 wisi, jealousy is the commonest explanation of the crimes 152 828 attributed to him; it is thought for example that a man can be jealous of his brother's growing rich to the point of making him die; that a woman may be jealous of the beauty or health of 152 her sister's children. Not laying themselves open to jealousy 156 828 is the constant preoccupation of the Refugee Blacks; one observes it in daily behavior, for example in the greetings which 576 they exchange on the river. They never say, "I am well," but: "I feel only fair." If they come back from hunting they say, "I found a little."

152 156 828 Examples are not lacking of people who avoid building a fine house or buying an outboard motor in order not to give cause for jealousy. This preoccupation has profound reper- [182] [463] cussions on the material life and the economy of the Refugee Blacks; it explains in particular the absence of specialized professions and trade among them.

[183] [571] Many aspects of the customary law of the Refugee Blacks have no other function than to exorcise, if one may say so, tendencies toward jealousy and selfishness which, if they were given free rein, would poison the life of the collectivity.

76 181 725 828 The rites of death and mourning, which we have shown to constitute the pivot of the social life of the Refugee Blacks, are entirely based on the idea of preserving the surviving spouse from the effect of the jealousy of the deceased.

/276 cont./

*539 No way to catch the rabbit again! The rabbit saw an agouti which had been dead for a whole week, all swollen up and stinking. He slipped into his belly. He began to groan. The jaguar came; he stopped and said: "Brother agouti, good day!" He replied: "How are you?" -- "Only fair." (1) The jaguar said: "Noble

• [576]

1. Common formulas of greeting of the Refugee Blacks.

brother, what happened to you?" He said: "The rabbit and I fought, he gave me one single blow, and here I am stretched out dead; that is what he did to me."

The jaguar went on his way. He saw the rabbit in front of him, he said: "Today we meet." They ran until... the rabbit escaped. He saw the cadaver of a deer, dead for a week, swollen and stinking. He slipped inside. The jaguar ran until he arrived there. He said: "Brother deer, what happened to you?" He answered: "The rabbit and I quarreled, we fought, then he gave me one single blow and here I am stretched out dead."

The jaguar said: "(I give up.) I and the rabbit, this is the end until the end of the world."

6) Anansi and Death

(One day) Anansi went hunting. He walked until he came out into a large glade. He went ahead until he met a man. He greeted him and said: "Good day, brother!" No answer! -- "Good day, brother!" Nothing; no answer! He said to him: "Hem! Brother! That's meat you have there?" No answer! He said to him: "Since you don't answer me, (it is as though) you were saying to help myself." Comrades, Anansi went up to the cooking-pot and he ate, ate until his belly was full.

/12 cont./

796 Then they call all the neighbors together to take part in the
273 festivities to be held, which consist of invoking their gods amidst continuous dancing and excessive drinking.

They begin the festivities only on a Friday and usually finish on a Sunday or Monday, depending on the larger or smaller
[147] supply of drink, so, lacking this, the festival ends. After the conclusion they are usually extremely tired and listless and give themselves up entirely to rest for at least two or three days.

It is a definite requirement at these festivities to be very amply supplied with strong drink, because one must drink without
[782] interruption in order to remain in a continuous narcosis. With each drink they first pour a little on the ground, -- so that it, too, on which they find themselves so gay, may participate in their enjoyment.

[262] The merrymakers then take care that they will by no means
[577] be lacking in fish, wild game, bacon, rice, etc., since it is a matter of honor with them to display the most lavish hospitality on such occasions.

776 The gods that they worship are:

Loango Gado,
Papa Gado,
Cromantie Gado,

/13/ names certainly derived from the various African tribes of these names.

In the first two they glorify nature and everything created, from which it therefore appears that these are merely subordinate
[787] gods of the unnamed, single great spirit. The last is above all regarded by them as the mediator who transmits their wishes to the great spirit; he is invoked especially at burial ceremonies and for consultation in connection with serious illnesses.

796 They do not have any other cult or religion, so far as I was
[771] able to discover, but only the fixed habit of still celebrating to-
[132] gether and with their chief and captains on the first Friday of the new moon in the month of October or November, after the long
[783] dry period has set in for good, a great feast that has as its goal a general atonement, to cleanse them of the misdeeds that they have committed.

/20/

765 Thereupon follows a second, who just like the first has a calabash in hand, but this time filled with spirituous liquor, and from time to time sprinkles a few drops of it on the ground, in token of the fact that on this occasion, too, by means of drink, they think of the deceased with joy.

Then they again return to the dwelling, where all are gathered, and celebrate an enjoyable night with song and dancing until daybreak.

Chapter XII

Character, Virtues and Vices

157 The Bush Negro, as I have already said above, has a great [577] deal of respect for old age and for distinguished persons; with respect to their closest relations they are honest, which they can- [461] not pride themselves on otherwise. In their ordinary affairs they [609] are not lazy, but work tirelessly whenever it is necessary. With respect to strangers they are generous and obliging, all the more [152] when they can assume that they may claim reward. Jealousy, [784] envy, and malice are their greatest vices. Concerning many matters they have an antipathy that they call trefoe (treef). Thus, [781] for instance, one will eat something, the other not. Also they are very superstitious in small matters, to which they cling all the way down to distant generations; they call that obia (literally translated, bewitchment, magic).

262 An Auca girl who through attachment to my wife and me [123] has already lived with us in the town for fully five years, because since the death of her husband, who was one of my most trusted [589] workers, she did not want to attach herself to another, and who performed all kinds of housework for us, carries her trefoe of not eating any unscaled fish so far that she will not even cook her food on a fire where there is a pot in which an unscaled fish was previously prepared. I know another one who uses no milk and also does not eat meat of any kind (with the exception of bacon), unless it be game, and then it must be prepared by her, on the grounds that everything is prepared with butter and that butter comes from

/33 cont./

439 When, for instance, the Bush Negro has cut down a
437 tree deep in the forest and discovers that it is almost hollow on
313 the inside, then he works it, this defect notwithstanding, into a
186 squared log, taking care to make the visible cavities above and below invisible by hammering wooden pins into it. After that he takes clay and mud and is able to make every trace disappear, a fraud which is thus rarely discovered before a piece is sawed off the log.

Also they practice a great deal of deception by unloading on the buyer as good stuff various qualities of timber of great and little value, but which resemble each other, for instance, by selling a low quality black kabbes (1) for brown hardwood (2),

1. Andira retusa H. B. K.

2. Andira called wassila among the Arrawakken /Arawak/ Indians.

two varieties which can be distinguished only by timber experts.

/34/ If they have worked timber that on one side is already somewhat rotten, or is worm-eaten or split, then they know how to place it in such a way in their rafts that the good side lies upward, a deception that can be discovered only when it has been hauled ashore and one becomes aware of it by turning each piece around and inspecting it carefully.

186 If it is possible to steal something from the Whites,
648 they will not fail to do so. They are also guilty of lying and give themselves the names of those who still possess the confidence of the Whites, which they can do with impunity because the similarity of their coloring and facial features makes it extremely difficult for the Whites to recognize them after an absence.

[829] This repeated trickery has accordingly made the Whites declare them to be scoundrels and liars, but the Bush Negroes, although they do not do so openly, say the same of them and
● 577 regard themselves as much more trustworthy and honest. That they do this with some appearance of justice cannot be denied; after

/34 cont./

577 all, toward one another as fellow tribesmen they are very honest and trust one another's word. Frequently it happens that among them one family leaves the camp to go on a journey or else is absent for some other reason, and that it must leave behind unfenced the cultivated land planted with rice, tubers, bananas, bakoven, and sugar cane. But never will another of them steal any of that. And similarly their dwellings are open, since the entrance is not closed off by any door; upon their departure they leave one thing and another in it, but they will never miss any-
626 thing upon their return. Certainly contributing to this is the circumstance that in the vicinity of everybody's property there is a sign or idolatrous image, which they call obia, to which great power is ascribed, and for those who might want to commit dishonest acts, the legend can be observed, as for the European:
784 "Beware of mantraps." The fear that they have of these obias is not unjustified, for if it should happen at any time that misuse of trust took place, then the culprit, however long it takes, upon discovery will not escape the revenge of the deceived, revenge which frequently consists in the administering of secret remedies whereby terrible diseases and sufferings, if not death, come about.

152 They are very concerned about the faithfulness of their
837 wife or wives, /35/ for the Bush Negro is very jealous, whereas the wives cannot be exonerated of being susceptible to seduction. Accordingly it happens among them more than once that marital fidelity is violated.

184 Of the various tribes, the Aucaners are the most
[177] civilized, but over against that also the craftiest, which can be
[157] attributed to their more frequent intercourse with Europeans.
[161] Among their tribes they are the most powerful, and their numerical strength is estimated at 4,000 to 5,000 souls.

123 According to the declaration of the Bush Negroes, no White has previously enjoyed the trust and attachment that I experienced from them. However, secretively they always conduct themselves toward the Whites, with respect to me they make an exception. If there is something secret among them that I should like to know, they will, upon my request, immediately and without any diffidence communicate it to me.

/67 cont./

613 554 692 [642] 2) He exerts an extended judiciary power, for it is taken for granted that the legal and political power of the tribe cannot intervene in affairs between members of the same lineage, even murder, for it can be said that in the custom of the Refugee Blacks the lineage represents only one single life.

It is obligatory that the following be settled within the framework of the lineage:

[784] --Accusations of murder by sorcery where victim and supposed murderer are both members of the lineage;

[423] --Arguments over lands within the zones effectively [578] possessed by the lineage.

613 554 692 877 The way in which the captain exercises his functions as judge is hard to know, because for the Refugee Blacks it is extremely shameful to reveal the dissensions within one's own lineage. And as for those of other lineages, if one succeeds in becoming acquainted with them, one scarcely dares talk about it for if that came to be known you could smart for it.

613 466 554 Lineage heads have a certain authority on the material level; they designate the men charged with doing the work ordered by the administration, but truth to tell, it is above all a question of choosing from among volunteers, for it is profitable work. They might not succeed in imposing clearly unpopular orders.

613 554 624 The captain designates a certain number of supervisors or basia to help him. Their /68/ role consists in watching over the cleanliness of the village, in making all the material arrangements relative to dances and burials, in calling together those concerned to the meetings of the council.

613 571 The lo constitutes a unit from the spiritual point of view, but it is important to notice that it does not involve any collective organization on the material level. In this domain the wildest individualism reigns; there are no tools for collective use, and people get together to make their clearings only if they want to.

/72 cont./

577 691 641 The morality of the Refugee Blacks knows in effect only obligations of a social and religious order. As for everything concerning material life, each one has the absolute right, one could even say the duty, to act as he sees fit, insofar as he does not wrong anyone else.

643 67 64 [156] If the grand man gave an order obliging someone to act against his own interest, for example if he wished to lower arbitrarily the price of boats, this order would be lawfully void. If the grand man has very great personal influence, he can persuade the Boni that it is to their interest to obey such a prescription, but in no case can his command have the effect of imposing by force an arbitrary order foreign to the social and religious tradition; the present grand man is weak in character to boot, sensitive to the influence of the Creoles and very little given to exerting any authority.

643 797 In reality, the office of grand man is above all religious. The grand man centralizes, if one may say so, the struggle against evil forces and watches ceaselessly over the welfare of the collectivity.

643 764 When a man dies, his near relatives come to report on the questioning of the yɔ̃ka. Burial cannot take place until the grand man has made sure that all the prescriptions have been filled. People come to report to him again after the burial so that he can be sure that no suprahuman danger remains.

643 775 [182] The grand man has special power over the yɔ̃ka (spirits) of the dead, which the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks place on a level intermediate between the human and the divine. When one of these yɔ̃ka exerts against a lineage a vengeance (kuma) whose malignity goes beyond habitual bounds, the grand man beseeches it to stop; they allege that things go back to normal, at least for a time.

This power attributed to the grand man invests him, in the eyes of the Boni, with a suprahuman character. It is the very foundation of his political power.

/75 cont./

[592] [285] [224] The Djuka had killed the tapir which had sunk. Pressed for time, he had had to leave, requesting the Asini people to look for it.

The next day Pototo and Amusupé found the animal floating between two waters. They hid it in the bush and had it smoke-dried on their own behalf. They ate it with their wives (about 100 kilos of meat). [251] [262]

That ended up by becoming known, and a jealous man denounced them to the grand man.

Called before the Ifuti kuutu, they had to apologize and were each sentenced to pay as a fine to the grand man a demijohn of 15 liters of tafia (worth about 6,000 francs) within four months.

Both of them were at a loss to pay this fine, belonging to the category of ne'er-do-wells who have no regular activity and live from day to day, selling some fish or game from time to time. [735]

Amusupé appealed to Captain Kondoku, head of his lineage, who agreed to pay for the tafia for him, Amusupé reimbursing him little by little. [413]

As for Pototo, the head of his lineage refused categorically to help him because he had eaten the malpouri alone without allowing his family to share it (the village people would have found it normal to profit by the crime, but they deemed it immoral that one of their relatives had deprived them of meat). After three and a half months, Pototo began to occupy himself seriously at a paid job which he had the luck to find because we needed a bossman for two weeks. [613] [689] [123]

The Boni did nothing but laugh while telling us this story. Affairs of this kind, which do not involve any suprahuman intervention, escape in large measure their social morality; they have a certain feeling for what should be done, but submit to it only in proportion as they fear a material and immediate sanction. [577] [682] [522]

/124 cont./

551 --African names (Musa, Kodyo, Kofi, Akuba, Afiba, etc.),
[177] most of them apparently coming from the west coast of Africa.

--Some Indian names: Omiikan, Païké. This last name
[553] had been given to a young man of Asisi by his great-uncle in memory of an Indian chief with whom he was very closely connected;

--Names of plants, animals, or ordinary objects, either in taki-taki or in French:

Ex.: Kapachi (armadillo), Aguti (agouti, a rodent), Babun (red monkey), Kwata (South American spider monkey), Chii (seed), Maisi (maize), Tutu (bamboo), Sépina (épinards, "spinach"), Polimichi (small portable stove), Balansi (balance), Tambour /drum/, Kéšé (chest, box), Mandolina (mandolin), Kokoti (tattooing), Guunkaala (blue bead), Klarinèt (clarinet), Alapu (arrow), Bisiklèt /bicycle/, Tomobil /automobile/, etc.;

[179] --European words whose meaning is more or less understood but which sound agreeable to the ears of the Refugee Blacks:

Ex.: Manifest, Komisèr (commissioner), Nètwayé (nettoyé, "cleaned"), Machinn (machine);

551 --Kinship terms or terms of social relations, associated
601 often with a qualifier:

Ex.: Maman (mother), Baakamaman (black mother), May (mother-in-law), Pikin pay (little son-in-law), Pikin baala (little comrade), Bachi (master), Michi (young lady), Baakamichi (young black lady), etc.

551 --Expressions relating generally to the child's characteristics during its first months:

Ex.: Kundu mofu (little mouth), Kundu uman (short woman), Alébiédé (red head), Alobikyé (he likes to cry), Alobilafu (he likes to laugh), Koouman (cold woman), Amoyuman (pretty woman), Dansiuman (dancer), Hafukii (half dead), etc.;

551 --Names alluding to a virtue, but this is pure fancy;
• 579 we must not believe that they attempt in that way to make it enter the child. One sees Séyéuman (serious woman), Abété

/124 cont./

551 (the best), Poyman (strong man), etc.; along the same line names
[579] are often given such as Goutu uman (golden woman);

551 --Often, finally, the name is the contraction of a short
522 sentence expressing a joke or a ridiculous association of ideas:

Agimianèm (give me a name), Nɛ̃fiimoo (it is no longer for you), Afumidichi (that one is for me), Sanidialobi (thing he likes), Agoabuchi (he goes into the bush), etc.

Woochia is the contraction of sa u ɔ si ya? (what shall we see there?), expressing the surprise of a woman who was seeing herself pregnant for the first time after 15 years of sterile marriage.

/125/ In this kind of name, in several cases it is a question of a joke with respect to the child, for which he will have to suffer all his life.

Ex.: Amoyanéti (he is pretty in the night), name given to a child who was very ugly.

Poété (convict) is the pikin nɛm of B...., a man about 42 years old in 1957; he never clearly understood why his mother had given him that name which he could not get rid of, his comrades taking malicious pleasure in calling him by his pikin nɛm.

This bad joke had so much success that it was put into circulation two more times: in Boni country there are now two Poété and a /female/ Poétéuman!

551 This example, associated with many others, shows the
553 casualness with which the Refugee Blacks choose their children's
[522] names. We have been present several times at discussions concerning the choice of these names; they proceed in an atmosphere of crude farce. B...., with whom we have just been concerned, who had had to suffer from the name his mother had given him, called one of his nephews Canada because it is the country in which are manufactured Evinrude motors which he admired very much.

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593 The same year, G.... man of about 50, particularly serious and hard-working, had saved up enough to buy an outboard motor; his mother, aged near 75 years, advised him absolutely not to make this purchase, claiming that he would be the object of jealousy and was risking being the victim of evil [565] spells; he gave up the project. He did not dare carry it out until 1957 after the mourning for his mother (dead in 1955) had been lifted.

To let one's mother be in need is considered a shame; if a mother has several sons, they divide up the purchases to be made for her benefit; each year one of them will cut the clearing intended for the mother; in exchange she will furnish couac and vegetables as long as her strength will allow her to work.

591 Ordinarily each of the sons, when he becomes 20 or 25 years old, builds himself in his village a house in which he lives alone. But it often happens that a man who has reached adulthood continues to live in his mother's house; for example, in 1952 in Loka village, Ayaubédé, about 40 years of age, was living with his mother Chii.

593 As for the authority of the mother over her daughters, it is [582] still much more strict and lasts all her life. The daughter may not marry without the authorization of her mother or of her [591] female guardian if she is not brought up by her mother. The married daughter has the use of a house that her husband built for her, but this house is situated near that of her mother. Since household life is intermittent and reduced to its simplest expression, she remains under the domination of her mother until the latter's death. Especially, she cannot travel without her permission.

593 In former times the authority of mothers over daughters 178 was tyrannical; they say that one might see an octogenarian mother requisition an old man's arm to strike her sexagenarian daughter who had disobeyed her. But nowadays this authority is battered [579] down by the development of individualism. From this results a growing dissoluteness in the girls and an increasing instability of unions.

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582 Generally speaking, the custom of the Refugee Blacks used to consider as immoral the marriage of a very young girl to an old man, or of a very young boy to an adult woman. 588 198 The weakening of family morals is clearly demonstrated by two events which happened during the summer of 1960. A boy of thirteen and a half, K... of Boniville, left his guardian to join an Assini woman, A...., 20 years older than he and with a very bad reputation to boot; some months later his example was imitated /146/ by a boy of 14 who began living with a [684] woman of 29. Nothing like that had ever been seen, and [613] people inveighed against the scandal of it; but in both cases, guardians and lineage heads showed themselves incapable of making their authority respected by force.

882 Marriage of girls. It can still be said (although things are in [562] the process of changing rapidly) that girls, kweyi umi, occupy a place apart in the thought of the Refugee Blacks; the reprobation which embraces women does not extend to them. 882 People say that girls "have good manners," and in fact most 834 of them, although naked except for a little apron, have a re- [291] served attitude, a becoming bearing, which contrast with the attitude of the married women. To tell the truth, this virtue is not so much due to natural inclinations as to the strict vigilance with which their mothers surround them. [593] The mothers literally do not let them out of their sight and permit no man to speak to them out of their presence. "Until dawn, until the cock crows, she keeps vigil," says the song, alluding to the mother who watches over her daughter's virtue. If a girl [836] comes to lose her virginity without being properly married, [594] pai na zu, "established in a house," it is a dishonor for her mother and her near relatives.

/147 cont./

583 A girl's marriage does not involve any dowry in the African sense of the term, but it involves payment of the price of virginity to the mother. This payment is made after consummation of the marriage (or after defloration if there has been a clandestine union). It consists of seven pieces of cloth, a demijohn of tafia, and various imported objects (the whole representing in 1958 about 8,000 francs, which is relatively small for the Refugee Blacks). It really has to do with the price of virginity, for nothing is paid back if there is a break-up. The man moreover gives the girl white beads /possibly "pearls" --Tr./, red cloth, and sweetmeats which constitute the payment of her akka.

[829] The price of virginity is paid to the person who has raised the girl, even if it is a man. This person divides it equally with the mother or, if the latter is dead, with the mother's sisters.

For example, for O Ballom (D,u. F10), brought up by her father Malobi in Loka village, her husband Moomu (Kotika) paid the price of virginity to Malobi who shared it with his wife Bonti.

[604] [213] No payment is made to the uncles or to the head of the lineage.

836 [599] The fact that a girl may carry on a clandestine affair and be deflowered without having been properly proposed to is considered a shame for the mother; but if the seducer confesses and pays the price of virginity, honor is restored.

Defloration does not necessarily entail marriage, for the seducer does not always intend to take on the maintenance of a household.

If the girl is deflowered too young, her mother does not give her the [illegible] and continues to forbid her to have sexual relations, for she fears that she may become pregnant. Now for 848 a girl, becoming pregnant without having concluded a contract 858 of maintenance with a man is an extreme shame, for that means she is not worth anything.

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426 here, 5,000 there. But these loans are never large and do not constitute an effective process for grouping financial assets.

150 525 The so-called subscription societies so common in Black Africa are totally contrary to the thinking of the Refugee Blacks, in the same way as games of chance. In 1958 the Maripasoula post, on the occasion of a festival, had organized a tombola. When the principle of it was explained to the Boni, they were unanimous in thinking that the Europeans had odd amusements. Few of them agreed to buy tickets, and the ones who had not won anything left embittered, with the feeling of having been involved in an immoral operation.

157 571 High esteem attached to contracts. This inaptitude for forming groups and combining assets contributes very much toward crystallizing the society of the Refugee Blacks in its present form by opposing all large-scale initiative. On the other hand, 197 it develops the sense of personal responsibility. The Refugee 597 Blacks are especially strict with respect to money (1). 426

(442)

1. This with regard to their mutual relations; as for debts to Europeans, they are not prompt in paying them back; but marked deception, borrowing done for the purpose of swindling, are very rare with the Refugee Blacks.

[829] Custom lays down as a strict principle that everything must be paid for. No one may live at the expense of someone [613] else, no one may borrow without paying back. If a man died before repaying a debt, the members of his lineage would club together to pay it off.

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Relations with the Other Populations

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The tribes of Refugee Blacks do not constitute a closed world. They have lived since their formation in close symbiosis with the neighboring populations: autochthonous Indians, Europeans, and Creoles. Their traditions and their conception of life have been strongly influenced by these, not because they have lost anything of their interior unity, but because they have accepted, at least collectively, the idea that they have bonds and duties toward other men.

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Just as their economy on the material plane is based on exchange, so they consider the symbiosis of their group with the neighboring groups as the normal order of the universe. The misfortunes undergone by their ancestors have given them an extreme horror of violence; they consider peace a precious blessing common to all nations, and their moral principles which forbid harming anyone extend to all men. It is clear that these notions are less clearly understood on the individual level and that there are, as elsewhere, some thefts and abuses of trust. But, on /293/ the collective level, the relations between the Refugee Blacks and their neighbors are established on a base of trust, loyalty, and honesty not found to the same degree in Africa.

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Relations with the other tribes. The Boni do not have any well-defined political ties with the other tribes of Refugee Blacks, but the grand men have semiofficial relations through the medium of messengers, and consult one another rather frequently.

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The Boni have harbored a tenacious resentment against the Djuka for having in former times allied themselves with the Dutch against them, but this resentment, chiefly collective in nature, has died down with time; it does not prevent individual relations from being cordial.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

that we walk the Bak'a with pleasure, that he treat us well, that we walk in safety. Thank you." 484 [182]

The men in the other canoes, who had gathered about Sedefo's boat, clapped their hands, as Sedefo had done, and said "Thank you," then took up their paddles.

We had noticed that when Sedefo spoke, Bibifo's lips had moved, as though he were either repeating the prayer, or speaking his own, but when the others joined in the voiced "Gran' tangi!" he was silent.

"Did you pray, Bayo?" we asked. Yes, he had. He had prayed for us, too. Did Bibifo also pray for the white man? But before Bibifo could answer, Bayo laughed aloud.

"Bibifo is *kerki suma*—a church man. Call him Adrian, it will please him. I call him Bibifo, nothing else."

"And you, Bayo?"

"I—you will take me with you to Africa. I want to learn African obia, and come back to the Saramacca, and be a big obia man here on the river." [152]

5

Old Bibifo accepted his great-grandson's jibes with good humor. We were sorry for the old fellow who was so little at ease with the other men, and was so mercilessly twitted by the youngster in the bow. 888 522 578

If the old man were to make a suggestion to him about a channel which Bayo had decided against, then he would turn brazenly, and exclaim, "Massa cow!" This is part of the proverb which says that a man who owns the cow has the best right to say where it shall graze. If Bibifo objected when Bayo attempted to do something that seemed impossible, he would face about smilingly and say, "The power which has raised the monkey from the ground and taught it to live safely in the trees is not dead yet." [538]

"Bibifo," we said, making conversation with the old man, "Why do we go close to the shore?"

"In the center the current is swift and the river deep. When we go in the center, then we use only paddles. It is 502 484

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

796 609 "The gods are friendly to you, Massa. The men have all noticed it. You look upon trees and falls with pleasure. When you see them, it is as if you met with a friend. That is good. But the gods have their powers, and men have theirs. The Rabbit says, 'Evil is everywhere.' Last night, you remember, there was a man who did not look up when you passed his house, and when you spoke 'Howdo' to him, he would not answer. He was an obia man. He would not take the hand of a white man. I have heard the men say there are others who are not glad that the white man has come so far, and that the gods have allowed it. . . ."

Abruptly he stopped. He had said more than he intended.

"I came to tell you about another thing," he continued after a moment of embarrassment. "You should know about fio-fio."

Fio-fio was a small brown bug, and it was also a spirit. [153] The spirit fio-fio brought sickness and death to human beings. For people like ourselves, untutored in the ways of the spirits, and the things which allowed them to gain sway over an individual, only a diviner could seek out the incident which had caused fio-fio to come.

951 983 That was why it was necessary to bathe in a protecting fluid, to "wash fio-fio," even though we had not yet been stricken.

"Let me tell you how to wash nó-nó," he went on. "You must bathe when nobody sees you, and this is what you must have: the skin of a plantain we call the mother plantain that has been dried in smoke, and weeds which I will give you, and Negro-country pepper which I have with me, and seven pieces of chalk, and some eggshells. Some people put washing-blue in the water, too, but that you don't need. You can bathe in it early in the morning, or at noon, or right after sundown, but no one must see you."

He paused for a moment.

796 626 578 "Do you not have fio-fio in your country? Look, this is how it is. You quarrel with a man who works for you, and he comes back and says he is sorry, and you say you are

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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sorry, too. He does that because he is afraid of fio-fio. If a man quarrels with you, and he keeps his anger in him, and you keep yours, and later he takes work from you, then either he, or you, or both of you will get sick. If the anger was great, then you or he or both of you will become very sick. If you catch it soon, then you get together, and, as we say, '*Pu' mofo'*—take back what you had said. Then you get better."

Fio-fio had nothing to do with enmity. Honest enmity was not harmful. Enmity masked, however, or bitterness, or a grudge which a man harbored while he continued a relationship of friendship, sickened a man, and it sickened the man against whom the grudge was held, as well. That was fio-fio. Only those who had relationships of intimacy were subject to it—people who were united by blood ties, or ties of friendship, or servants who formed part of the household.

The remedy was ceremonially to retract and ask for pardon. It had to be done before people, with the proper ritual and bathing.

"If this isn't done, then a person gets worse and worse, and dies. I myself saw the fio-fio bug fly out of the nose of a dying woman."

This woman had sickened because she had quarreled with her sister over a man. In the end they had both lost him. As time went on, they began to talk again and later lived together in their mother's house. But they had never forgiven each other. One day one of them borrowed a kerchief from the other to wear at a dance. The next day she was ill. From then on she got worse and worse.

"The quarrel between the sisters had happened so long ago that they never thought of it. So they did nothing. In a month she died, and I myself saw the fio-fio bug fly out of her nose."

He knew another story about fio-fio.

"This happened to a man I know. His child died less than a month ago. He was living with a woman, and the woman became big with child. He had been away in the

bush for some months, and when he came back he did not feel well, and they quarreled often. When they quarreled she refused to cook for him, and so he said bad things to her. He began to say the child was no his. Now when a father takes away his 'kra, his soul, fron the child while it is in the mother's womb, it is not good. When the child was born, it was a very small child. Afterwards the man left the woman. He still said the chil was not his, but he used to bring money to the woman sonetimes to buy things for the child. The neighbors said shemust not take the money. If she took it, they said, the chid would die of fio-fio. But the woman took the money. Novadays many of them don't believe in the old things, until they find out. When the child was four months old it did. Everybody knew it was fio-fio."

He told other incidents of what happened to people who had fio-fio.

"I tell you all this because sometimes the men in the boats talk about the whites, and they think you don't understand. But you know what they say, and you are angry. If you give them a present of leaf tobacco later, or rum, then they or you may become sick. . . . The men in the bush know what to do about fio-fio, Massa, and you must learn, too. The proverb says: 'How is a boat to go, [illegible] it has no paddles?'"

3

At the entrance to the village [illegible] a gigantic kankan cotton tree stood. Its trunk was massive, and the roots which projected outwards like so many buttresses made of it a great somber cathedral. The curiously twisted grooves which these buttresses made were said to house many spirits, and particularly the three who lived in the kankan tree, as the natives called it. Gedeonsu, the male god, and Tinné, his wife, lived there with their child Dyombie, the most dreaded of them all. The kankan tree gods were thought of as women's gods, though a few men might be found, here and there, who would, on occasion,

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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THE COUNCIL OF THE ELDERS

"Kodo!" 623

"Another letter has come, Bak'a. Will you read that one, too?" 648

This was a communication written by a lumber factor down the river. One of the villages, it seemed, was in dispute with another over timber rights. The case was laid before the Granman by the factor, who asked that the controversy be settled promptly, since the dispute was keeping the men of both villages from cutting the lumber which had been promised him. 697 643 648 578 313 623

Yankuso now spoke again: "You have heard the message, friends. The man who buys timber asks that I settle this dispute between two of our clans. Their villages are far from here. The clans of the Sáramacca people can settle their own disputes."

"Gbolo!"

"So I say, friends. I can look at the cows, but from a distance I cannot tell how many there are. It is not for us here to decide this."

"*Kweti, kweti!*—No, no!"

"It is true, friends, as the Saramacca people say, 'The G'aman's breasts are for all his children.' But it is not my children who have come to me. Bak'a," he said, suddenly turning to us, "later you will write for me to this man who buys lumber. Tell him that for the sake of sweet soup a man eats sour dumplings. So I say."

The Granman looked about him. The heat of midday filled the darkness of the council house, and old Bibifo had dozed off. The gaze of the chief fixed him.

"Mati!" he said, when Bibifo stirred. "Sleep is death!"

Slowly the Granman's eyes circled the room until they came to us.

"The Bak'a has come," he repeated, with his slow intonation, every syllable clearly enunciated. "When the Bak'a came, the rain fell. From Asindopo Lantiwe we shot guns of welcome, from Abenda Konde guns were shot. In the heavens, the gods spoke them welcome. There was thunder." 643 574 821 623

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

181 one feels any grudge against society. There is small temptation to theft. There are, therefore, no questions of capital and labour, no leisure class, no organized industries, no exploitation either of men or of raw materials, no banks to rob, no checks to forge. Under such conditions economic crimes are practically eliminated. Man lives off the jungle and the streams which intersect it, and there are at his disposal uncounted miles of stream and of jungle. Such crimes as exist [674 among the human inhabitants of these forests arise chiefly 578] in quarrels over women. But where divorce is free and in- [584 stantaneous, and sexual relationships are taken lightly, even 833] the difficulties between men and women are enormously simplified.

114 And as these Djukas stood curiously staring outside the prison gates of St. Laurent, they seemed to me to stand in judgment. When I watched them get into their canoes and paddle upstream, returning to their green jungle fastnesses, and heard them call to one another from canoe to canoe, and heard their laughter ring out across the sunlit water, I felt that they went back to the forest, well content that their slave ancestors of two hundred years ago had fled from the white man and all his ways, back to the jungle, there to lead the primitive life of their African forbears.

I had gone to French Guiana to study the convict life of the Devil's Island Penal Colony. And when that had been completed, my husband and I made a journey through the interior of Dutch Guiana, travelling by the streams and trails used by fugitives from the French prisons. This is how we

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

When there is a conflict between villages over their hunting and fishing territories, the captains and bosseias of each town meet on some neutral ground and arbitrate the matter. Then, indeed, the parley becomes wordy and rhetorical. Each cause is championed with long speeches, setting forth oratorically the rights and conditions involved. But once an agreement is arrived at, the matter is closed. 622 623 692 628 [537]

Local disputes, excluding those over women, are not nearly so common or so serious as they are among civilized white men. There is a minimum of quarrelling among the Djukas; they get along together in an almost idyllic way. Wherever there are women, there will, of course, be quarrelling, for, in the words of Confucius, "Disorder does not come from heaven, but is brought about by women." Outside of this factor there is little friction in the Bush Negro community. Their highly communalized government works exceedingly well. 683 578

The Granman and his captains have an annual council to make laws for the coming year. This and other assemblies are known as *kruta*. The captains and bosseias from surrounding villages concentrate at some important town to meet the Granman there. The Council near Gansee, the trading-post, included the villages of Nu, Lombe, Biodoti, Ganya Condree, and Adawai. Jankoeso refused to hold his parley in the town proper, although Gansee is the largest village in the entire tribe, because there is a Christian mission station there, conducted by the Moravian Brothers. Jankoeso is in favour of retaining the ancestral gods of the jungle, and does not look with favour upon the white proselytizers. 671 622 628 [777]

/14 cont./

584 and, once this has been promised, she does indeed continue to be regarded specifically as the betrothed of the person who made the request. As soon as she is marriageable, she is handed over to her man with or without her consent, and it may be regarded as a rare case when such a promise is broken.

[431] The man to whom she is promised sometimes does not see his future wife before the occasion of her betrothal, but usually he is concerned with her upbringing and from time to time gives her presents consisting of money, pantjes, and corals.

[591] Some take the girl promised to them even when she is only three or four years old in order to rear her further.

[672] The promising of newborn girls takes place for the most part [682] when there are obligations between parents, as was reported in Chapter III, and in the case of enslavement which is done to one [567] family by another in case of poisoning, and so forth.

586 It is an everyday occurrence that a woman leaves her husband or a man his wife for another.

595 Polygyny is much practiced, and among my workers I know several who have three or four wives, most of whom are very young. Some, however, have only one wife.

It is noteworthy that all the wives sleep with the man in one hut, while in addition he perhaps keeps with him a girl whom he [513] is bringing up to be his wife. One wife will be /15/ with him in the hammock and lies with her feet at the head end of the man and the latter in turn with his feet at the head end of the women, while the other women sleep in their hammocks.

[484] If a Bush Negro goes out, be it to celebrate a festival or in order to bear wood to the town, he takes all his wives with him; only in case of illness do they remain behind.

His wives get money separately, and therefore they must also separately provide for his food, so that one cooks the food in the morning, another at midday, a third in the evening, etc. [578] This way of life and their jealous nature frequently bring about household quarrels that rarely end in any way other than bloody fights.

585 Upon the conclusion of a marriage the man is obligated to 583 give the parents of the girl as a marriage portion a long, broad,

/141 cont./

4. The Agrarian Law

241 There is yet another circumstance which adversely affects
#23 the agriculture of the Bush Negroes. As among many primitive peoples, so also in the life of the Djoeka /Djuka/ customary law plays an important role. We have already seen that at least two grounds per year are laid out per household. In fact it comes down to this, that both the man and the woman possess a ground of their own. Now these two grounds do not lie next to each other or close to each other. On the contrary, the one ground is always hours away from the other one; it is to be found on the other side of the river or elsewhere along a forest creek. One might think that this is a kind of division of risks. In actuality it is a question of family property. The ground of the wife is cleared in the area of her family, and the ground of the man in his family complex. The grounds are thus laid out with reference to the large family and not with reference to the household. Each family has a definite area where it has the right to clear grounds. This area lies along a forest creek, or one lays out a path from the river through the forest, along which the grounds
• [578] are cleared. Not infrequently, quarrels arise over the use of land by "unauthorized" persons on distinctly family land.

A Bush Negro thus cannot simply select a piece of forest for his ground wherever he pleases. He is bound by the law of family property. This applies not only to the families among themselves, but in a larger context also to the villages. Each village has its area within which the families from that village lay out grounds. Only through marriage can men lay out grounds for their wives in the area of another village.

These complications in agriculture lead to the circumstance that the hunger for land arises much sooner than would otherwise
[361] be the case. Add to this the fact that many Bush Negro villages remain in existence for a very long time, sometimes 100 years at
[161] a stretch, in the same spot. It is therefore not surprising that through the growth in population in such centers, too, the limit of this predatory cultivation has been reached.

/19 cont./

613 The principle of localization of matrilineal kin groups,
62 each in a separate village, continues respected. However, as in
571 all African populations, the actual structure is noticeably different from the theoretical organization:

1st. Fragments of paternal kin groups, as well as several small groups of heterogeneous origin, insufficient in number to form a separate unit, have been agglomerated with the lo. Such is the case for example of the Tolna lineage, a small group which fled from Surinam at the end of the 19th century and agglomerated with the Papaïston lo;

[598] 2nd. Scissions have been produced within the lo as a result of disagreements. A group issuing from the Papaïston lo founded Wéniti village in the Lower Maroni beside Apatu. A group issuing from the Kotika lo founded Ma Imma village in the same region. Finally, from the Dipélu II lo a group separated which settled in Asisi. Asisi village is thus in fact nowadays the juxtaposition of three villages: Asisi-Dju, Asisi-Awaca Bakka, Asisi-Dipélu II, each having its organization and its separate territory.

[829] These scissions have no appreciable repercussions on the social life of the Boni, for the groups thus separated from the lo, in addition to being very small in numbers, are not recognized by [969] the grand man as distinct social units. They remain subject to the head of the lo to which ancestor worship attaches them.

361 Besides the residence villages, a certain number of Boni
613 have personal farming habitations distributed on the lands of their
621 lineage along both banks of the river and on the islands. These habitations designated by the word kapu, camp, have no permanent character; their existence does not violate the principle of localization of the lineage; each Boni is obliged at least in principle to build a house in his native village and to live in it part of the year.
[969] The village of origin of each /20/ lineage is called "great village":
[998] it is there that the members of the group meet to pray to the ancestors in front of the fraga tiki.

613 /25 cont./
[601] nothing of their strength although they have lost all correspondence with the age of the people concerned.

614 —Dipélu II, whose members know their genealogy badly,
571 appears on the contrary to be on the way toward breaking up. The head of the Dipélu II, who bears the title of captain, resides
[578] at Kormotjho. Part of the group settled in Asisi following a disagreement, without ceasing to be under his authority.

614 One might think that the physical separation of the two
602 groups took place as a function of the genealogies, that the 2nd
571 fraction of Dipélu II emigrated as a single group to Asisi, leaving in Kormotibo the members of the 1st fraction. But this is not the case at all; examination of the genealogical table shows that the emigrant group issues as much from one as from the other; this is a very remarkable aspect of the social structure of the Refugee Blacks, which proceeds directly from their conceptions of classificatory kinship. A man is "at home" wherever his classificatory "brothers" and "uncles" live, and if a physical separation occurs in the group, preferences and personal affinities will have as much influence as closeness of kinship. /26/

613 Three generations ago, Dipélu was only one group under
614 the leadership of a single head residing in Kormotibo. The process
591 of its breaking up is a beautiful example of what Europeans produce
199 by interfering in the social life of an African tribe in order to pick out a man who appears to them more intelligent and active than the others.

[594] The companion of the explorer Crevaux, Apatu, who be-
[621] longed to this group, was on his return covered with honors, en-
[578] dowed with the title of captain and with pay; he conflicted with the legitimate head of the lo, seceded, and founded a village on the outskirts of Saint-Laurent, taking with him a fraction of the group.

/32 cont./

602 784 583 [583] to observe all his life and which he himself will transmit to his children. It is unanimously believed that breaking this interdiction causes leprosy (bwan).

This interdiction is never transmitted by women. It is transmitted from father to son /33/ or daughter. The son will observe it and transmit it; the daughter will observe it during her lifetime, but she will not transmit it.

602 784 The existence of the bwani kina divides the Boni into de facto groupings which can be considered as patrilineages. These patrilineages have no name, no head, no organization; their members are dispersed among the various matrilineages and most of them do not know who the others are.

They exist nevertheless and extend throughout all the tribes of Refugee Blacks.

[582] Their importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks comes from the fact that they involve a law of exogamy: a man and a woman who have the same bwani kina cannot marry; that would be pikalo, incest in the broad sense, an offense against exogamy, as much as the union of two members of the same matrilineage.

It is difficult to estimate the number of these patrilineages [262] which seems to us to be at least 20 among the Boni; actually, the [598] Boni do not willingly tell their bwani kina, for fear that one of their enemies might mix into their food a fragment of the interdicted food in order to harm them; besides, they do not know their personal relations beyond their grandfather. Reconstitution of patrilineages by interrogation seems therefore to be illusory.

602 784 262 The bwani kina we have been able to find out about are all about food. They involve the cayman, the "tiger," the tarrine, the white hen, the pian (awali), the eel. The cayman is often given in addition to another animal. But it is inaccurate to say that the Refugee Blacks have a general interdiction against the cayman.

/37 cont. /

An example of scission in a kin group: the separation of Dipelu II between Kormotibo and Asini. (See Dip. II genealogical table.)

This scission resulted from a ridiculous incident: a falling-out which occurred between ○ Alawenchi † (E19) and ○ Bongo (E6) because of a hoe which the first claimed to have been stolen from her by Bongo.

Since neither one would yield, they became really angry and fought. /38/

△ Agona, head of the lineage, taking the part of Alawenchi, decided to secede and settle in Asini.

○ Pilli † (F30) and ○ Séwey † (F38) who, their mother being dead, had been raised by Alawenchi, joined them and founded families in Asini.

This explains the present scission of this group and the bizarre division of its members between Kormotibo and Asini. This scission had no result on the religious plane, unity being maintained by the potiers tie of the kumu. Nowadays, Captain Pompo's authority is exerted normally on the fraction in Asini. Relations between the two groups are rather good. /Figs. 5 and 6 appear here./

/40/

CHAPTER III

INVENTORY OF THE PEOPLING OF THE BONI VILLAGES

We have tried to take a complete census of the Boni of the Upper Marouni as of January 1, 1958, including for the women the statement of their successive unions and of their children living and dead. This census is associated with detailed plans of the villages and a study of the territorial implantation of kin groups.

613 /38 cont./
621 except in villages like Boniville where the issue of several lineages
[591] coexist. The rule is that in the homogeneous villages the members of the lineage are entirely free to build their houses anywhere. One observes only a certain tendency of children to group themselves around their mother as far as places are available (see especially in the village of Loka the intermingling of the homes of the descendants of Adédumi, Awɛ̃nkina, and other ancestresses belonging to the same lineage).

In villages like Asisi-Awara Bakka, where are grouped the members of a lo including individualized fractions, it is the same.

These fractions have no tendency whatever to form separate quarters (see in the plan of Asisi the intermingling of the homes of the Aw.B.1. 2. 3) any more than they tend to group their clearings in a separate area.

The Boni are apt to say: "Barriers must not be raised between brothers."

621 In a general way, examination of the village plans shows
425 that the Boni build their houses to suit themselves without any privileged orientation and without grouping or isolating them in any special way. Any member of the lineage may build on a site left free (for example, the site of an old hut after the death of its owner, when it has been adjudged to be too ruined to be possi-
[622] ble to give as a legacy). He must only have the authorization of the head of the village and also the assent of the neighbors, whom he must not disturb. Since the houses occupy only a small amount of space and most of them have no outbuildings (kitchen or granary), this assent is very easily given. We have never heard it said that people argued about a site.
[578]

/67 cont./

613 554 692 [542] 2) He exerts an extended judiciary power, for it is taken for granted that the legal and political power of the tribe cannot intervene in affairs between members of the same lineage, even murder, for it can be said that in the custom of the Refugee Blacks the lineage represents only one single life.

It is obligatory that the following be settled within the framework of the lineage:

[784] --Accusations of murder by sorcery where victim and supposed murderer are both members of the lineage;

[1423] --Arguments over lands within the zones effectively [578] possessed by the lineage.

613 554 692 577 The way in which the captain exercises his functions as judge is hard to know, because for the Refugee Blacks it is extremely shameful to reveal the dissensions within one's own lineage. And as for those of other lineages, if one succeeds in becoming acquainted with them, one scarcely dares talk about it for if that came to be known you could smart for it.

613 466 554 Lineage heads have a certain authority on the material level; they designate the men charged with doing the work ordered by the administration, but truth to tell, it is above all a question of choosing from among volunteers, for it is profitable work. They might not succeed in imposing clearly unpopular orders.

613 554 624 The captain designates a certain number of supervisors or basia to help him. Their /68/ role consists in watching over the cleanliness of the village, in making all the material arrangements relative to dances and burials, in calling together those concerned to the meetings of the council.

613 571 The lo constitutes a unit from the spiritual point of view, but it is important to notice that it does not involve any collective organization on the material level. In this domain the wildest individualism reigns; there are no tools for collective use, and people get together to make their clearings only if they want to.

/70 cont./

643 613 In 1957 the Dikan lineage was practically extinct. There remained only Grand Man Difu and his elder brother Samalobi, very old.

[829] The present grand man does not know the genealogy of his lineage beyond his grandmother. /Fig. 14 appears here./ /71/

[648] At the death of Awensay it was Samalobi, eldest of Awensay's classificatory nephews, who was to be named; but the French administration thought they had to oppose it, judging him too old; he yielded with good grace.

613 [165] [554] Samalobi, the ancestor, the patriarch of the Boni, died in May, 1957 at over 100 years old. Although very weakened by his infirmities and nearly blind, he kept great prestige and no important decision was made without his consent.

173 The son of Apatu, companion of Crevaux, he had retained an exact memory of the explorer whom he had accompanied during part of his trip in 1877. It is thanks to his memories that Crevaux's prestige has remained so great on the Maroni.

643 692 578 --The grand man judges without appeal disputes between members of different lineages. Truly serious affairs are extremely rare, if one keeps in mind that:

[613] [583] [584] --Disputes over the payment of dowry, paying it back in case of divorce, and the assignment of the children, which form the main part of the cases argued before ordinary African jurisdictions, do not exist among the Refugee Blacks;

643 613

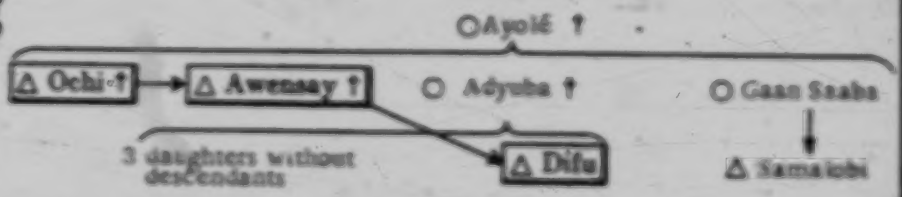

Fig. 14. Filiation of the last three grand men of the Boni.

643 692 [548] [423] /71 cont./

--Disputes over the appropriation of lands are very rare in Boni country because of the sparseness of population.

We have never seen the grand man hold anything other than audiences of conciliation relative to people who had fought or threatened each other. [83] The custom of the Refugee Blacks would indeed be difficult to fit into a code. The state of persons and social duties derive so directly from beliefs that the intervention of a judge is not indispensable for the functioning of the society.

643 423 The grand man is supposed to retain power over all the lands of Boni country which are not allocated to lineages; in particular, this is the case with the upper basin of the headstreams of the Lawa. [648] [184] It is above all by virtue of this that he is considered the suzerain of the Indians living in this territory. The same conception exists among the Djuka with respect to the headstreams of the Tapanahoni.

643 724 [126] The suzerainty of the grand man over the land and waters is marked, as in Africa, by special rights in the domain of hunting and fishing. He alone can authorize group fishing on the great river by the process of la nivrée. The same problem does not hold for hunting which is practiced in a strictly individual fashion. But it is taken for granted that if a tapir (1) is killed in Boni country,

1. The tapir is the largest animal of the bush.

the hunter must carry its head as well as a thigh to the grand man.

643 648 A certain misunderstanding reigns between the Europeans and the Boni on the subject of the duties of the grand man. The Europeans tend to believe that he commands the tribe in the way in which a colonel commands a regiment, that he can designate a certain man for a certain job, fix the price of boats, etc. The grand man tries to give satisfaction to the administration /72/ to justify the pay he draws, but he succeeds very badly in it, for in reality he possesses almost no temporal power.

/96/

621 613 623 291 Out of 14 clearings examined here, all without exception are occupied by the members of the Dipélu II fraction in Asisi. This fraction is geographically separated from the other lineages of Asisi village, and has formed a separate finage; that has to do [978] with its relatively high effective force and the good relations among its members (the Afi lineage, with an analogous force but divided by disagreements, has not succeeded in forming a separate finage).

[562] Of 14 clearings, 13 are held by women and one by a man /sic/.

Study of several clearings of Papaïston village. The part of the Papaïston finage situated on the French bank had been abandoned for several years because of an abnormal pullulation of manioc [311] ants. In 1956-57 all the inhabitants of the village were making their clearings on the Surinam bank.

Only several clearings going back to the years 1947-50 could be identified.

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
111 O	Efa (Pl. D4)	1946	member of the Papaïston lo	cleared for the 1st time on old secondary forest
112 O	Wilhelmina (Pl. F1); clearing cut by her husband Bésu	1947	id.	id.
113 O	Ooen (Pl. E13)	1950	id.	id.

/115/

Habitations of the Lapé lo
(Paako, Samo, Chii, Pwen, Saléni)

62
24
[613]
[423]

These habitations occupy soil belonging to the Lapé lo since the end of the 19th century.

The Kwaku habitation has been abandoned since 1943, its occupants making their clearings around Loka.

Paako habitation. The Paako habitation is occupied only by two women, Paako (L1. E29) and her daughter Dona, who have their clearings made there by their husbands.

Chii habitation. Chii (L1. D24) directs the habitation where she works with her son Topo, her daughters Yaana, Madu, and Koko. The daughters' husbands come to help at the time of the clearings.

[57] Pwen habitations. As a consequence of dissensions, Pwen (L1. E33) lives all alone in this habitation.

Saléni habitation. It is directed by Saléni, an old woman of the Lapé lo (E25), who works there with her son Tingo, her daughters Kayé and Ananta.

[43] Structure of the Samo habitation called Pikin Tabiki (Lapé lo).

Habitation occupying another portion of the Lapé lo finage. Several Lapé men and women make their clearings there:

△ Tamu (L1. F32), who brings his wife Kaala (Dip. II) there
△ Fosé, his brother (L1. F33)
○ Méiita, his classificatory aunt (L1. E32);
○ Téké, Méiita's daughter (L1. F44)
○ Akoméda, Paako's daughter (L1. F34).

[45] The husbands of Méiita, Téké, Akoméda come to work at the time of the clearings but are not part of the group.

/119 cont./

361 exhaustion of the lands does not seem to play any part: consider-
241 ing the sparseness of the population, one can either make new
166 clearings out of primary forest or carry out any system of letting land lie fallow one wishes.

Most changes of location can be attributed to two causes of equal importance:

--The activity of the manioc ants; we have said that since
[136] about 15 years ago the principal soil of the Lapé lo, situated
[613] near Loka village, has had to be totally abandoned as a consequence of exceptional activity of manioc ants. From this resulted the creation of several farming habitations on the soil of the Lapé lo studied here;

361 --Personal motives, among which comes first of all disagree-
241 ment among the members of a group. For example ○ Kulina
166 and ○ Bakamaman (Boniville, Dju) made their clearings until
578 1950 with their mother Béniti in her farming village in Kuyaku locality (to the south of Kormotibo).

In 1950 there was a quarrel. Kulina and Balkom have made their clearings since that time at the habitation of their father Malabi (Lapé).

[768] It happens especially that upon the death of its founder a farming habitation disappears or changes composition entirely because disagreements arise.

361 Another cause of change of location of farming habitations
241 is change of activity of their occupants. For example, a man
166 grows old, he no longer finds paid work, he creates a habitation in order to take up fishing (Akwadé's case). When he reaches extreme old age, he abandons his habitation to move close to his relatives (case of Samakobi, first occupant of the lands cultivated nowadays by Antoto village). /Page 120 blank/

/172 cont./

764 Suddenly an incident erupts. Basfu (Lapé) insinuates that
●578 Agidibon (Aw.B.) is helping himself immoderately. Insulting words are exchanged. Agidibon leaves the council. General commotion. The tumult calms down after a quarter of an hour.

764 The speaker now thanks the foreigners passing through, Saramaka and Djuka, who helped at the obsequies.

764 Someone puts down on the ground a paddle on which is
789 attached a bundle wrapped in cloth. It is the dead woman's paddle, and the bundle contains her hair. It is kept until the
[965] broko dé (it seems, in fact, that this is the reason for this celebration) in order to keep contact with the dead woman's yeka for the further questions people might have to ask it (1).

1. It seems that on this point custom envisages especially the case of near relatives of the dead person traveling on the river at the time of the death, and who could not be present at the burial.

Then, several Bonté will go to the cemetery to bury the bundle inside the mound.

The spectators go toward a shaded spot, for it is near noon and the sun is overwhelming.

Sowoman carries the front of the paddle and Tamia the back. Without any question at all being asked, they circulate in the village for a long time. Several times I see them make contradictory movements, and their heads forward and sideways at the same time.

Here they are back again near Tafanié. To my great surprise Tafanié asks questions in a low voice, cupping his hands in front of his mouth.

/180 cont. /

765 613 689 An incident. In 1957, the Saramaka Gamba (75 years old), Way's widower (Dip. I), caused a serious incident by refusing several times the obedience he owed to the latter's lineage, on the pretext that he was old and knew how to behave.

His son Maliki (born of a Saramaka woman), whom he was raising, married to Way's daughter, had gone fishing above the Litani. Upon his return, Kwau (80 years old), Way's elder brother, reproached him for having left without authorization, pointing out that his father, Gamba, being placed under his authority by mourning, he was too, because of this fact. Gamba [598] did not accept this reasoning and the two old men fought. This was a fine scandal. Kwau and the elders of Way's lineage came [769] before the fraga tiki of L'Enfant Perdu village to lift his mourn- [798] ing forthwith (which, let us recall, is the equivalent of cursing [784] him by delivering him over to the vengeance of the dead woman's yaka).

Members of Way's family went to break up the shacks of Gamba and his son, who lived hidden in the bush for some time. [627] Then Gamba had the village heads intercede and obtained his [969] pardon. The elders of Way's lineage went to the fraga tiki to [798] utter the words putting things back in order.

765 Lifting of mourning. The festival of the lifting of mourning - pau baaka - is celebrated 18 months to two years after the burial. The delay may be a little longer, for most often the village celebrates this festival for several of its dead at the same time. It is a heavy burden, for festivals for lifting mourning attract many people and everyone present must find as much as he wishes to eat and drink.

[621] This festival is celebrated in the framework of the village and not in that of the lineage. It will be celebrated in the same way for a Dyoka who died in a Boni village, provided that he lived there a sufficiently long time. In such a case the expenses

/208 cont./

787 789 the Forestry Society of Saint-Laurent, told us of seeing in 1937 among the Paramaka a possessed man take firmly in his hands a red-hot axe-head and keep it between his two hands for an appreciable length of time.

Personally we have several times seen possessed people thrash themselves with spiny awara branches and break bottles on their heads with such violence that the pieces flew several meters; some of them were hurt, but others presented an intact epidermis.

There is no special instruction for the exercises of invulnerability. The possessed person does what he feels capable of, strikes himself progressively harder and harder, breaks bottles, etc.

It is affirmed that certain possessed people are capable of climbing the thorny awara palm-trees. If the gita then abandons them, they can no longer come down. Those who know the Kumenti /sic/ language well then evoke the god by formulas so that he will come back.

787 578 [173] Theoretically, if someone wrongs a man who has a Kumenti, his gita "rises" immediately. The guilty one can do no more than flee. They say that in the old days possessed people were seen /209/ to kill those who had done them wrong. No kunu can result from this if the victim is in the wrong. Nothing like this has been seen for a very long time.

The principle is that if one has nothing to reproach himself about with respect to the possessed person, one has nothing to fear from him. This is why people do not hesitate to interpose themselves between the possessed one and the object of his wrath.

[789] If two men having a Kumenti get into an argument, their gita "rise" simultaneously and they strike each other with machete blows without, it is said, any harm resulting to either one, until someone separates them.

784 /233 cont./ One conceives of the
795 interminable dissensions which this situation entails: if the
613 manifestations of the kunu do not cease, the victims let it be
578 understood that the prayers were badly made.... /Figure 28
appears here./

761 Every suspicious death whose circumstances lead to the
628 belief that /234/ an inhabitant of another village was responsi-
613 ble can bring on a punitive expedition against that village and
[784] other villages of the same kin group. By taking this vengeful
attitude even before the grand man has been notified and the
blamed people heard, the people of the dead person's lineage
are thinking above all else of taking precautions against the
action of the dead person, who could turn back his vengeance
628 against them. Actually, these fights are above all symbolic;
the wisdom of the Refugee Blacks has promulgated precepts
which many nations could take as a pattern, in order that these
punitive expeditions might not have serious consequences:

--One may strike only with the fists, and blood must not flow;

--Men may strike only men, while the women find fault with women;

--One may fight only on the village common and before witnesses, never in the bush or on the river. As a general rule, the people aimed at by the expedition do not resist, but flee into the bush or on the boats, or group themselves around the fraga tiki, holy place which the aggressors must respect.

628 We have told about the expedition made in April, 1957
613 by the people of Assi-Awara Bakka against the villages of
L'Enfant Perdu (Dipélu I) and Kormotibo (Dipélu II). Eight
years earlier, in 1949, another squabble had thrown the Dipélu
against the Awara Bakka after the death of Pétibona (Dip. II),
whom her husband Boofo had taken to Surinam and who had
died there. The Kormotibo people claimed that Boofo was
responsible for her death. They went to attack the people of
Assi who, although three times more numerous, did not try

/241 cont./

[954] [126] Several cases of wisi. We transcribe these affairs as they were related to us, placing ourselves in the perspective of the narrator, without making any judgment as to the nature of the facts and their probability.

N... affair. -- N...., of Kotika, was working gold with another Boni. After they had eaten /242/ together, the latter was taken with uncontrollable vomiting, then he died. His near relatives blamed N...,accusing him of wisi. In the night N... took refuge at Benidorp and took passage on a Dyuka boat which was going down the river. He settled in Paramaribo. [167] Since then his sister T.... has gone to join him. They have left the Boni for good.

P... affair. -- Toko (Dépé II), while boating on the lower river, wagered one morning with his friend Kwami (who told us the story) to stay in a diver for the time necessary to fill a five-liter demijohn; bet taken; Toko did not come back up, he had drowned. His body was found the next day. The family [598] blamed one P.... of Kotika village, whose wife N... had left him to marry Toko and who at the time had made threats. [683] They insulted him, they returned Toko's decomposed body to him: "Eat him, since you have killed him like game." P... stubbornly denied it. The grand man commanded that he be left alone, turning his over to Odun to punish if he were guilty. As a matter of fact, some time afterward, P... died and was declared wisimdi.

[464] S... affair. -- About 1955, S.... of Kotika, about 60 years old, was working with Kwau weeding the clearings of a Bonidorp Creole who raised oven. One morning this cattle-raiser saw one of his oven covered with blood coming from wounds which bore tooth marks and could not have been made by ham. He followed the traces of blood which led him to S...'s hammock.

/245 cont./

754 ground, after scattering the cloths which were covering him, and left without carrying out any rite.

"Next we went to Boniville, the grand man invoked Odun on our behalf, stating that we had only followed his laws and that he had to protect the performers of the job against any distressing consequence."

754 181 198 Development of sorcery. Since 1957 Boni country has been passing through a crisis; /246/ fear of sorcery is poisoning village life, while in 1948-50 it was a preoccupation of secondary importance.

[598] That is due to the fact that the rapid growing rich of part of the Boni aggravates jealousies and suspicions. Moreover, these affairs tend to appear in series. Since the case related above (1956), in which a woman, N...., was convicted of having paid a Creole quimboiseur to make the grand man die, an affair which strongly impressed the Boni, they tend to see wisi in all misfortunes that occur.

[169] In November, 1958 the death of a little girl of 12 of Kotika village was attributed to her uncle Mbomaolo, who had recently emigrated to Surinam and settled in a Creole village.

[777] It is believed that he "committed himself," that is, that he sold his soul to the devil (1), which necessitates sacrificing one

1. This notion, which plays such a large role in West Indian beliefs, has no equivalent among the Refugee Blacks. There is no word in the Boni language for translating the term "committed." They translate thus: a e suku didibi, he seeks the devil. The Boni do not have a clear image of the devil, and this notion remains, in fact, foreign to their beliefs.

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Various Beliefs

578 Fyo-fyo. If a Boni is on bad terms with someone of his lineage or of another lineage, he has the absolute right to turn a cold shoulder to him and stop having anything to do with him. But if, hiding his rancor, he seeks, from selfish motives, to maintain the appearance of friendly relations, he risks falling ill, being struck by various calamities, or even dying from the effect of what the Refugee Blacks call a fyo-fyo. The nature of this force is not clear; they know only that its support is a small, common insect named fyo-fyo. They declare that if a person dies from the consequences of a fyo-fyo, one of these insects will be seen leaving his body through the nose at the moment of death.

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776 [775] Taku sani. By this name the Refugee Blacks designate maleficent entities of the bush, which they imagine as of nonhuman nature by contrast to the taku yorka, wandering spirits of dead people rejected by society. These entities are lower beings devoid of consciousness but dangerous for men into whom they may enter, rendering them sick or mad. Certain of these entities are believed to reside in plants, like the bankpi, others are thought to take on the appearance of dwarfs (baku), whom certain people believe they sometimes see at dawn on the outskirts of villages.

[753] [828]

751 One protects oneself against taku sani by special zika, and those who do not feel completely secure take a certain number of precautions in addition, like that of tearing up the leaves they have used for drinking water from creeks.

/256 cont./

845 When twins die young people almost always blame a
961 disagreement which has arisen in the lineage. The twins
578 did not want to live in a disunited family. The head of the
613 lineage then exhorts his people to be reconciled with one another at any cost in order to avoid new misfortunes.(1).

[153] 1. In general they have the idea that disunions occurring in the lineage have as a consequence illnesses or misfortunes striking the members of the lineage.

[182] This notion plays a major role in the social life of the Refugee Blacks; after the kumu, it is the principle cement holding groups together.

845 One who harms a twin is sure to fall ill. Conversely,
998 it is assumed that the twin must not abuse his power, that he must lead an upright life and avoid quarrels. He is nearer to God than other men.

They assume for example that Ifa, of Papaboma village, herself a twin and the mother of twins, has a very special power. Nobody would risk harming her.

613 In lineages having many twins there exists a place of
[illegible] worship sacred to a vital principle called Twilifuge. The nature of this principle is not clear. The Boni define it as the soul of twins. Is it a manner of the first twins Adam and Eve? Or of a collective worship offered up to all deceased twins?

/292 cont./

Relations with the Other Populations

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The tribes of Refugee Blacks do not constitute a closed world. They have lived since their formation in close symbiosis with the neighboring populations: autochthonous Indians, Europeans, and Creoles. Their traditions and their conception of life have been strongly influenced by these, not because they have lost anything of their interior unity, but because they have accepted, at least collectively, the idea that they have bonds and duties toward other men.

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Just as their economy on the material plane is based on exchange, so they consider the symbiosis of their group with the neighboring groups as the normal order of the universe. The misfortunes undergone by their ancestors have given them an extreme horror of violence; they consider peace a precious blessing common to all nations, and their moral principles which forbid harming anyone extend to all men. It is clear that these notions are less clearly understood on the individual level and that there are, as elsewhere, some thefts and abuses of trust. But, on /293/ the collective level, the relations between the Refugee Blacks and their neighbors are established on a base of trust, loyalty, and honesty not found to the same degree in Africa.

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619 (643)

Relations with the other tribes. The Boni do not have any well-defined political ties with the other tribes of Refugee Blacks, but the grand men have semiofficial relations through the medium of messengers, and consult one another rather frequently.

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The Boni have harbored a tenacious resentment against the Djuka for having in former times allied themselves with the Dutch against them, but this resentment, chiefly collective in nature, has died down with time; it does not prevent individual relations from being cordial.

"OBIA COMES!"

feared by all who themselves do not have Kromanti. Obia Kromanti warns and protects and heals, but its powers are only for those who belong to the Kromanti group.

Whether Kromanti is the African warrior society preserved in this bush, it is impossible to say. If this were the case, then the definite military organization of many of the West African societies should be present. The military character of any group among the Bush Negroes could not even be hinted at, of course, without the greatest caution. In their descriptions of the Kromanti, our intimates among the Bush Negroes never indicated in any way the existence of such an organization. Even leading questions brought out only unqualified denials instead of the revealing answers "I do not know," or "Massa Gadu sabi." Yet there are undoubtedly secrets which Kromanti men do not share with outsiders, and we remembered that when a Kromanti man dies, he must be "separated" from the Kromanti group just as he is "separated" from his family and from his village.

About the very meaning of the word Kromanti there can only be speculation. During the time of the slave trade, there were two ports on the Gold Coast of Africa known as Little and Great Coromantyne. From these ports came the slaves who, in the New World, were known as Coromantyne slaves. These slaves were so warlike, so prone to cause uprisings, that only English and Dutch colonies consented to buy them and in these colonies when slave rebellions broke out to alarm the white planters, they were led by the proud Coromantyne slaves.

It would not be strange, therefore, if the same term was carried over into the free civilization of this bush to typify the obia which protected and watched over the fighters who had won this freedom.

Other indications point to the same assumption. The strongest spirits of the Kromanti, those which inspire the greatest fear when they possess men of a village are Tigri and Djadja. Tigri is the jaguar, Djadja is often vaguely translated by our word "devil." If we again turn to the West African societies, we find that one of the most dreaded

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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[778] carvings. Still another magic device is a red necklace of macaw feathers, to bring luck in hunting. Another obeiah with
[779] a tinkling bell is worn around the neck by pregnant women to tell the unborn child that everything is auspicious in the outside world.

Some of the beliefs accompanying these amulets are odd
[779] and child-like. The Djukas think that spirits are afraid of strangers, and flee in terror when a stranger is encountered. The inhabitants of the little town of *Prikrin Sey* (Talk a Little Bit) have the power to call back hunters who are lost in the bush, a virtue peculiar to these townfolk alone. These curious beliefs persist despite the fact that they could easily be tested and exposed. Any coincidence will strongly reinforce them. Late one evening, going up the river, we came to an Aucaner village and stopped to spend the night. Not liking the looks of the place we told our paddlers to push on to the next village before night. Tired, they grumbled at this. To give weight to our decision we told the blacks that our obeiahs were warning us not to stay, and that it would be dangerous to let this warning pass unheeded. Impressed with the gravity of the warning, they acceded to our wishes. We went on, although not being able to reach the adjacent village in time we were forced to spend the night in the bush. §

Later, coming back down the river, we learned that the village we had passed by had held, on that very night, a great and disastrous dance. There had been much drinking of high
[779] 780] wine, and, in the drunken and hysterical excitement that followed, half the town was burned down and three men were killed.

"Perhaps the women were wrong. She may not be a woman yet."

"*Ma kye!*" Angita exclaimed. It seemed he knew better.

And there was the woman Amasina. She wore as many armlets and anklets of brass as the shy dancer, as many as the wife of the bassia of S'ei, whom the gods had prospered. Her cloths were of the finest, and in colors which were most often of yellow and blue stripes, with a thread of black interwoven, and another of twisted red and white. She was good-looking, but in her manner there was no smoldering challenge and no undue reserve. With ease she went from one group to another, and the women treated her neither with too much familiarity nor with restraint.

Amasina felt at ease, too, with the white people. In the bush they had an explanation for this feeling of well-being with strangers. If a man and a woman were both born on the same day, they did not get on very well together, for they were both apt to have the same powers to grasp things which came within the province of the gods who also had come into the world on that day. Such a man and woman would at once perceive each other's mistakes or would be given to speaking continual warnings to each other. But there were days which were especially congenial affinities for marriages, and even friendships. These, we were led to see, were days which represented a male and female deity in the Bush Negro pantheon, whose mating had brought well-being to themselves and the living world.

"You and Amasina like each other, ai," they said in the village, and this friendship had a sequel of importance for us.

One late afternoon we were sitting with the women talking about the gods. Dida said the white on her body was for her god Kesekia. Chief And'u had washed her for her god when he was here in the village, and tomorrow she would dance. Kesekia, she said, was a Vodu god, who had come to her from the French shore. When he came to her, he spoke tongues; he knew French.

"Tomorrow they will play the agida drum, and I will put a kerchief on my head tied so," she said, showing how she

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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It is indulged in as naturally as the other bodily functions.

"Marriage" is a convenient term for describing cohabitation among the Djukas, but it must be remembered that to them marriage is a purely economic institution. There is little ceremony. No one objects to getting married, because divorce is instantaneous and easy. The bonds of marriage are loose, and adultery, to use our harsh term, is customary.

Courting consists in presenting the prospective bride with elaborate wood carvings of useful implements. This wood carving has been developed by the Djukas to a high point of artistic perfection, as can be seen from the illustrative specimens, of which more will be said later. The approaching marriage is not looked upon as a departure from the maternal group; it is simply an arrangement for providing the man with a cook and the woman with children. The marriage of a captain or a Granman differs in no wise from any other; no especial care is taken of his bride.

We encountered two varieties of the process of choosing a husband. In the first, the girl has little to say, her husband being selected for her by her parents. In the second and more frequent practice the woman marries the man of her own choice, the parents making sure that the intended husband is a good provider. But since every Djuka buck is trained to the jungle crafts from childhood, this requirement can almost be taken for granted.

The husband marries frequently. He may marry outside of his village, or outside of his lo, but never outside of the tribe. Marriage requires a bride price, consisting of pieces of

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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881 have a last look at the child's penis, as they will never see it again. Then the boy is proclaimed a man, and given clothes.

So far as could be observed, there is no circumcision of either the male or female, although such mutilations are indulged in by West African tribes in the region from which the Djukas came. The girls wear only the *coyo*, or a larger cloth known as *pangi*, until their first menstruation, when their mothers give them cloths. This is done in private. Menstruating women are required to leave their homes and retire
841 to a separate hut situated outside the village on a by-path; they may not return until three days after the period is over. Under no condition are they allowed to go to the provision fields during this time.

584 At the age of about sixteen or seventeen the children are
[582] ready to be married. Sometimes they are betrothed in infancy, and occasionally a pregnant woman will betroth her child before it is born, conditionally, of course, upon its sex. Once the child is betrothed the ceremony must take place,
[754] otherwise the disappointed prospective mate will call down a *kunu*, or curse, on the entire perjured family, and they will all die. The pubescent child does not look forward to marriage as time for leaving its family, nor is marriage an
[581] initiation into sex relations. For these two reasons, getting
[349] married is not a serious step, and there is little illegitimacy because there is no reason for objecting to a marriage.

858 Youths must remain standing until their elders invite them
576 to be seated. It is customary for older people to receive much
888 respectful attention, for the older people are the sources of tradition and authority

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October 1958 – January 1959), expeditions whose principal aim was the sociological study of these populations.

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Social Structure and Way of Life

The Boni Refugee Blacks. The Boni are one of the above-mentioned tribes of the Refugee Blacks, reconstituted in the course of the eighteenth century by rebel African slaves who escaped from Surinam plantations (Dutch Guiana).

These tribes (Saramaka, Djuka, Paramaka, Boni) live for the most part along the rivers of the interior of Surinam. They group together a total of 25,000 persons.

With very rare exceptions, the Refugee Blacks are pure Africans. These populations, vigorous and well adapted to the country, have experienced in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a remarkable demographic increase, attested to by all the authors. Descended from small rebel groups which could not have contained more than a few hundred women, they are now estimated at more than 25,000 persons.

The Boni of the Upper Maroni, the subject of the present study, number approximately 800, of whom 660 are on the French bank (the villages of Boniville, l'Enfant Perdu, Loka, Asisi, Papaliton, and Kormotibo) and 140 on the Surinam bank (the village of Kotika). These villages were established long ago.

Each of them groups together a matrilineage, i.e., the descendants in the uterine line of one single founding ancestress; certain villages know their genealogy in its entirety back to this ancestress, who must have lived at the end of the eighteenth century. The members of the lineage are united by the cult of the ancestors, which binds them firmly to their natal village and to their land. The social system is based essentially on this cult, the chief of the village being above all the priest of the ancestors.

Strictly speaking, there is no marriage, but only an acknowledged concubinage which entails neither a contract between the

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relatives, nor any power of the man over the woman, nor even household cohabitation. The man and the woman each reside in the village of their maternal kin. The man goes to live with his wife from time to time, providing her with the imported commodities that she needs, notably salt, kerosene, cloth, and utensils, and felling trees for the clearings which she will exploit for the benefit of the household.

Divorce is entirely free. Unions are not very stable, mainly on account of the woman. Numbers of women are divorced four to five times during their lives.

The grand man, chief of the tribe, exercises over the Boni a power which is more religious than political.

The Boni are a pirogue-people. For more than a century they have been living by using their canoes for the benefit of gold-seekers and exploiting miners. The decline of gold extraction is depriving them more and more of their traditional resources. Some of them are emigrating temporarily to the coastal lumberyards. But all of them remain faithful to their villages and to their customs.

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The Cayana Indians (Roucouyennes /Rucuyen/). These Indians of the Carlbe /Carib/ ethnic group have had only a few direct contacts with European civilization and still represent without alteration the human type which populated Guiana before the arrival of the Europeans. On encountering the Refugee Blacks, the Indians of the Guianese forest have been steadily and rapidly declining. Estimated at 30,000 at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Indians of French Guiana are now no more than about a thousand. In addition there must be included in this number 700 persons (Galibi and Arawak) who have been protected by their habitat in the savannas of the coast where malaria is less deadly than in the interior.

The accounts of travelers and the censuses made notably in 1730, 1759, 1787, and 1815 allow one to follow with precision this destruction of the autochthonous population since the first settlement of the Europeans in Guiana (2).

2. Dr. André Sausse, op. cit., pp. 67-98.

/34 cont./

601 They continue to use the terms wagi, pay, may even after the break-up of a marriage, so that they are in frequent usage. As for the woman herself, they say so So-and-so in speaking to her, as to a sister.

581 Marriage. The conceptions of the Refugee Blacks on this subject are remarkable. Marriage in the African sense of the term, understood as a contract between two groups of relatives, does not exist among them. The union of the man and woman does not involve 581 any sort of contract between their groups of relatives and consequently entails no matrimonial compensation. /35/ The Refugee 583 Blacks are the only African Negro population to our knowledge whose customs do not involve any form of "dowry" either in money or in kind.

582 Family life in the sense that we understand it does not exist; 621 as we shall see further on, marriage is forbidden between people of the same lineage, which implies that the husband and wife live in different villages. The man builds a house for his wife in her 591 native village, but he does not come to live with her; he makes 593 visits of several days to her as to his other wives, in the course of 439 which he furnishes her with the imported objects (salt, kerosene, cloth, etc.) she needs, lends her his aid for heavy chores, while, for her part, she turns over to him the products of the clearing. The rest of the time he lives as a bachelor in his mother's village where he builds his own house. If he is very attached to his wife, he can come to reside with her and can even succeed without great difficulty in bringing her to live in his own village; but few couples take advantage of this option, for the man and wife prize their independence above everything else.

593 The life of the man and of the wife remain entirely separate 613 and their union has more the character of a temporary association founded on material interests than that of a marriage; the family life of each one remains entirely centered around his or her matrilineage.

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593 This organization, compared with what is found in the greater part of Africa, is very advantageous for the wife, who [581] enjoys total independence. But against this she has great instability of unions.

581 601 The union of man and woman has so little of the character of a marriage that in the Boni language no word exists which means, strictly speaking, "husband" or "wife." They say: mi ubi anga X = "I live with So-and-so.

1174 591 How has the social and matrimonial system of the Refugee Blacks been set up? One could believe that one of the systems of Western Africa was purely and simply transposed, but this is not the case at all. In this domain as in that of beliefs, the ancestors of the Refugee Blacks elaborated an original synthesis out of numerous sources.

The African nations from which the rebels issued were certainly, in large part if not in the majority, patrilineal. This is especially the case of the Fon of Dahomey, from whom have been borrowed important cultural elements, especially the principal rites of possession. The matrilineal ones all conceded patrilocal residence, that is, the wife's leaving her village and settling in her husband's village.

[195] The 18th-century rebels, the archives attest, included a heavy percentage of "salt-water Negroes," born on African soil; such, for example, was Codio Coromantin, one of Boni's lieutenants; those who had not been born in Africa had, for the most part, been instructed in an African tradition by a father or uncle. One can be sure that once having attained freedom they sought to organize their villages according to the family custom by which they had been brought up, that is, to set up, some a patrilineal and patrilocal society, others a matrilineal society /36/ but with [643] patrilocal residence. We know for example that Boni had chosen his son Agosu as his successor.

/37 cont../

583 (this was especially the case with the Afi and Tolna lineages
591 cited above), that does not entail any compensation. It is contrary to custom and disapproved of, but if the wife absolutely insists on leaving her kin she is free to do it. Nothing can be claimed from her husband's lineage.

The usual interpretation of matrimonial compensation, regarded as a mechanism for exchange of women among groups, thus does not seem valid here. If a woman leaves a Boni lineage for good to go and found a family, for example among the Dyuka, her descendants are lost to the lineage without any possibility of compensation. Yet this society so deeply rooted in African soil does not make provision for any allowance or payment in such a case.

613 Things are clearer if the lineage is considered not as an
779 effective material grouping but as a spiritual community subject
[829] to the same religious law. In the thought of the Refugee Blacks, the fundamental religious tie which joins the individual to his ancestors in uterine line cannot be broken whatever anyone does.

[591] Wherever she may go, the emigrant woman remains a mem-
[784] ber of thes spiritual community; she remains, she and her children, subject too the same kunu. Nor can this religious tie be transferred from the maternal kin group.

● 581 Understood thus, marriage breaks no spiritual tie, creates
583 none; it tthus affords no reason for any compensation.

000 Thoese considerations show that the African "dowry" as conceived byy patrilineal societies is not only a mechanism for the exchange of women among materially constituted groups. It can also have as its end, without those concerned even being aware of it, to ccompensate the spiritual community of the lineage for the loss off the children the woman will bear, their passage to another cult.

/137 cont./

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She bequeathed thus her guardianship over Fistiman (46 years) to the grand man
over Kifimemi (43 years) to Samakibi, the grand man's brother
over ○ Kulina (38 years) to Samakibi
over ○ Eliana (40 years) to the grand man.

But she bequeathed nothing concerning her last two children, ○ Balkom (35 years) and ○ Maria (28) respectively brought up by △ Makibi, Bénin's husband, and by ○ Aliki, an old woman of the Dyu lineage. It will behoove these two persons to bequeath, at their death, the spiritual tutelage over the girls they have raised.

Marriage

• 581

It is for lack of a more appropriate word that we use the word "marriage" with respect to the Refugee Blacks; the word concubinage is unpleasant to use; nevertheless it fits better what the union of a man and woman represents in the thought of the Refugee Blacks as in their social life.

In the organization we have just described no stable and permanent tie between a man and woman is implied.

831

Actually the Refugee Blacks, with rare exceptions, appear to be incapable of associating a strong and lasting emotional tie with sexual union. They are unstable in this respect, always in search of new adventures and not settling on any one. Their unions are more inspired by material concern (getting the

/137 cont./

831 necessary food) than by a sentimental motive. It is very rare to meet among them the appearance of sincere and lasting love for a woman; that is sometimes seen, but it is the exception.

562 It is not enough to say that they have few emotional feelings with respect to women. In the conversations heard in the evening around the campfires a deep contempt is expressed on this subject; they even speak of the Boni women as of a foreign and almost enemy nation; they consider them besides as half irresponsible. This attitude shows through in the custom concerning adultery, which decrees that the lover be beaten but not the wife.

[684]

•581 Among the Refugee Blacks marriage is in fact a contract of maintenance between a man and woman, which provides for the execution of such-and-such work by the one for the benefit of the other, and for the wife the obligation to be faithful.

[586] This contract can be cancelled unilaterally without any sort of indemnity. It does not directly involve the relatives of the

[765] spouses; it involves them only in case of the death of one spouse, for the surviving spouse must /138/ put up with the observance

[613] of mourning. It is principally for this reason that a marriage must be officially known by both lineages, and that a divorce must be proclaimed without delay.

582 613 614 Exogamy. Marriage is forbidden between persons of the same lineage. In expressing this prohibition the Refugee Blacks employ the word bee (lineage in the restricted sense) and not the word lo.

613 As we have seen in studying the situation of the various lineages, the various Boni kin groups follow different rules in this regard:

--The Dju lineage, which forms only one single group from the genealogical point of view, does not allow marriage between its members;

/149 cont./

836 684 not done." He advises Doni above all to remit to the girl the payment of her akka, namely two camisas, a string of white beads which she will wear on her left wrist, and a bottle of syrup which she will offer to her akka while drinking it. Doni does not bother to face the mother and does not intend to see the girl again; it is his sister Maria who will attend to the errand.

That done, the mother will accept the fait accompli and will not show her anger. She will will wait for the payment.

587 p36 One also hears talk rather often of the clandestine consummation of a properly arranged marriage, the engaged couple wishing thus to force the hand of their guardians and obtain their freedom sooner.

587 Remarriage of widows or divorcées. It does not give rise to any payment, but the marriage proposal is made to the woman's uncles and the head of her lineage in the same form as for a girl. In such a case it is no longer a question of asking for an authorization (a man would have to have the worst reputation for the woman's lineage to refuse the marriage) but to obtain the benediction of the ancestors on the household. Moreover, it is [613] very important for the heads of both lineages to be notified of this marriage, for in case of the death of husband or wife the other will have to bear the weight of the mourning.

• 581 Women are guided in their choice by sensual attraction but largely also by self-interest. They take care to marry a man who has, as it is said among us, some future, a position. The owners of outboard motors do not fail to pass at reduced speed by the villages in order to be admired by the women.

Men who have a reputation for "working hard" (for work is the sole wealth in Boni country) are frequently chosen by girls even though they may have one or two wives already.

/591 cont./

593 [591] [163] Among the Refugee Blacks some very devoted couples are seen, who spend their whole lives together and who, in their old age, have completely united their destinies, living in the same house, either in the woman's village or the man's: for example, in the village of Lapé Tabiki, Boru and his wife Assumani, in 1952 aged about 70 years, together for 45 years and having had eight children. But such cases are exceptional. Besides, they are not admired and held up as an example as one might believe; [591] this man and this woman suited each other, they remained together; if some day they no longer get along, they will divorce, that is all.

595 Polygamy. Polygamy in the African sense of the term, that is, the simultaneous maintenance of several regular households, is exceptional among the Refugee Blacks because of their mode of living:

[433] [511] --The wife is practically entirely dependent on her husband; an economy based mainly on wage earning and involving a relatively high standard of living makes it impossible for most men to maintain more than one household;

[461] --Even if a man had sizable financial means at his disposal, he could scarcely maintain more than two households; for it is not acceptable, at least nowadays, for him to have done by others the customary chores: clearings, boats, house.

162 595 On January 1, 1958 out of 134 men over 20 years old in the villages on the French bank, whose lives were well known to us, there were:

Men maintaining three households	1	1%
" " two households	18	13%
" " one household	104	77%
[589] Bachelors, widowers, or recent divorcés	11	8%
	134	100% /sic/

/151 cont./

595 Sticking to statistics, one could say that the Refugee
Blacks are monogamous in the proportion of 85 per cent. But
581 it is an apparent monogamy for unions are not stable; their
586 average duration is about ten years; in fact the Refugee Blacks
are practicing polygamy over a period of time.

595 A man who takes another wife apologizes to the first and
gives her a liter of tafia, asking her to live on good terms with
[584] the co-wife. A certain number of wives do not accept co-wives
and get divorced.

589 Most men have had, in general, four or five wives
586 successively. Most of the time these marriages have been
163 broken by the wife. /152/

Example S... (65 years old in 1957) had at least seven wives:

-- Nanay (Dip. II) †	1 child	divorced
Baakauman (K) †	3 children	"
1 Paramaka woman	1 child dead	"
Saumè (Dip. I)	1 child	"
Paata (Boniville)	no children	"
Emma (Asisi-Aw.?)	no children	"
Masé (K)	"	marriage extant in 1958

Kwami (50 years old in 1958) had four wives:

-- Apinda (Asisi)	no children	divorced
Saayé (Dip. I)	several children	"
Do (Lapé)	1 child dead	"
Noémi (Asisi-Aw.?)	1 child	marriage extant in 1958

159
582 Example of the family life of G... (50 years old in 1958).
About 1935 G... married M... (Kotika), a serious-minded and
159 intelligent woman who was very attached to him. Neverthe-
837 less, about the same time he had a clandestine affair with S...,
[847] classificatory sister of M... whom he made pregnant (abortion),

/153 cont./

584 with repudiation in case of a second offense. The rule is to
582 repudiate henceforth under pain of ridicule.
622

In 1951 G.... of Kunika village, was informed that his
839 wife A.... of Asini village, 25 years old, was deceiving him
with a boy of the same age named K.... The first time he
584 encountered K in a village he took issue with him; K... con-
fessed without difficulty. G... delivered a strong punch which
threw him to the ground, and that was all. He did not ad-
586 minister any punishment to his wife but immediately let her
know that he was repudiating her. Some time after, K...
576 asked to be reconciled with him. He asked his pardon and
431 gave him a bottle of tafia (this is obligatory for reconciliation).
Since, the two men have again been friends.

It also happens that the grand man levies a more or less stiff fine on the guilty man.

839 According to the elders, adultery was rare in former
586 times. If a woman was tired of her husband, she divorced him openly, but she did not deceive him. Nowadays it seems to be rather frequent.

586 Divorce. The Refugee Blacks divorce each other as easily as they join together; in general it is the woman who decides to break up the union because she finds her husband too poor, too lazy, or simply because she wants to change. /154/

In the case of divorce the woman keeps all that her husband has given to her or made for her (utensils, house, boat), but of course the man keeps all his own belongings; this rupture changes nothing about the possession of property since no object was owned jointly.

• 581 The rule is the following: at the time of the marriage the man puts down symbolically several personal objects (fabrics, utensils) in the woman's home. As long as these objects are in her home the marriage remains in force, the wife is held to fidelity or at the very least, if there is adultery, it is regarded as such and entails the sanctions related above.

/134 cont./

as such and entails the sanction related above. But the wife has the absolute right, even in her husband's absence, to break the contract unilaterally by taking back to the head of her husband's lineage the objects left with her. From this moment on, no more can be said to her, she is no longer guilty of adultery, and she can take another husband forthwith; in case of the first husband's death she will not have to stand the weight of the mourning. All that her husband has made for her: house, boat, etc... is kept without counterpart.

No Boni leaving on a three-month trip is sure of finding his wife again. He may very well find another man installed in his place, officially, without his being able to say anything. As for those who leave for a long time, this is practically a certainty.

This is a misfortune which however they take philosophically, thinking above all of the work furnished for nothing. What concerns them most is not to be deceived clandestinely, for the final result is the same: they are practically obliged to repudiate the wife in such a case, for it is unworthy of a man to forgive, and in addition they will be the laughingstock of the population.

Several of our boatmen made the following speech to their wives at the time of leaving for a two-months' tour: "If you have enough of me in my absence, if you cannot wait for me, go and take my belongings to the house of such-and-such a brother; I shall not be angry and will not do anything to you on my return."

Custom is so favorable to the women that practically nothing guarantees the private contract made between the man and woman at the time of marriage. Since this contract is essentially founded on a material association, the man cutting the clearing and the woman farming it, one might believe that the woman would be held to fulfilling her contract even in case of the marriage's breaking up, but there is nothing of the sort.

/156 cont./

838 If children are born of these irregular liaisons, the mother
(789) takes care to know with certainty who the father is, for if there
(753) were any doubt, the child, respecting a kinn which would not
be his own, would contract leprosy. On this subject the Boni
842 have a remarkable belief: they think that it is the first man
with whom a woman has had relations after the end of a menstrual
period who is likely to make her pregnant.

836 These adventures always involve gifts in kind (cloth,
631 jewelry) so the men who have the most success with women
are always short of money.

581 A woman who has lived thus in notorious fashion has a
little more difficulty than another in finding another husband,
but if she is young and winsome she succeeds.

548 Prostitution as such is very rare in Boni country, and the
women who give themselves over to it openly (three or four for
all the villages on the French bank) have generally left the
(834) tribe to settle in the gold miners' villages. Dissoluteness is
not considered dishonorable by the Refugee Blacks when it is
carried on within the tribe and when it has no other purpose but
pleasure; but prostitution is judged shameful.

834 Except for these few prostitutes, we have never heard it
648 said that a Boni woman had relations with a European; on this
point tribal discipline is observed with extreme rigor.

581 Conclusion. The average duration of marriages, which was
(198) from 15 to 20 years for the preceding generation, tends to be-
come shorter and can be estimated nowadays at about ten years.
(191) In spite of this evolution, the stability of marriages among the
Refugee Blacks remains noticeably greater than that observed
548 among the black populations of South America. Among them
is not seen the form of prostitution so widespread in South
America, the supported mistress who does not work and who
lives entirely at the expense of her successive lovers.

/198 cont./

169 784 old woman of 90, A.... who died in Aziz in January, 1957. Having lived with Creoles in her youth, she had come back to live in her native village for at least 30 years and had never given occasion for any unfavorable remark. Nevertheless, upon her death it appeared that she had wizi.

791 829 199 Attitude toward Christianity. The Refugee Blacks, who are acquainted better than one might believe with the conceptions of the populations in the midst of whom they live, have a clear feeling of the relationship which exists between their metaphysical and moral conceptions and those of Christianity. They think they worship the same god as the Christians, in a com-
[799] pletely different way but just as sound. They have no animosity whatever toward the Catholic and Protestant clergy, and most of them agree willingly to wearing crosses or medals. But they have not the least intention of abandoning their beliefs for that. They do not perceive the contradiction and do not understand that people might want to oblige them to choose.

851 191 Like the Creole gold miners, they attach great importance
165 799 to baptism, considered as an Obia protective against the dangers of the bush. On Christmas, 1957 they were strongly impressed
[688] by the accidental death of a Djuka Christian living at the Kotika school. He refused to observe mourning for his wife according to the custom of the Refugee Blacks, and used to go
[273] to drink in the cabarets of the Creole villages. On Christmas
[784] evening, when drunk, he drowned himself. That was attributed to a suprahuman punishment. We heard /199/ the following reflection on this subject: "He was baptized and he drowned himself just the same. That is therefore not worth the trouble."

61 581 591 Actually, the matrilineal structure of the Refugee Blacks and their conception of marriage form an irreducible cleavage, which appears immediately as soon as one leaves the metaphysical conceptions to pass to the plane of practical living.

/139 cont./

581 The Refugee Blacks change their attitude immediately as soon as one speaks to them about marriage. Men and women are unanimous in considering marriage as an intolerable violation of individual freedom and as a tie without purpose; they talk about it with veritable indignation, even having the feeling of an offense against morality.

Cults of Possession

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The phenomena of possession are extremely frequent
[171] among the Blacks of America (possession by saints or inspiration by the Holy Spirit among the Blacks of Brazil and the United
[171] States, vaudouism in Haiti). With the Refugee Blacks they make up the very base of religious life to the point of being the normal means of communication between the gods and men; they have profound effects on all social life.

The cults of possession practiced by the Refugee Blacks of Guiana differ from those of the Blacks of Brazil and Haiti and do not appear to be directly connected with the African cults which have been described.

[128] We shall give here only very concise information about the ritual of these cults and we shall mainly try to show their place in relation to the institutions of the Refugee Blacks, and their functioning.

787 Possession is believed to be the entrance into a man of a suprahuman entity (divinity, spirit of an ancestor) which, during a variable length of time generally rather short (a few minutes to several hours), uses the body of this man and expresses itself through his mouth. They say that the man has become the horse - hasi - of the divinity. They also say: "Such-and-such a divinity entered his head." The possessed person is called
[114] gadu mE (gadu umE for a woman). This word has been translated improperly as "priest" in the first works treating of the Refugee Blacks.

through them, would have meant courting the displeasure of the spirit which animated the troubled stretch, and would have been dangerous. He was a Man Nengere and knew all this well, for was he not ready to marry Dida any time now? He would have to wait as yet, but perhaps during the next planting her breasts would come, and then in a month, two, three, she would be ready to marry. He was, in fact, in the mood even to cast about for a second wife, though his marrying her would have to wait many years. All that would come, for what with the money he already had earned, and the sums he would get for the wood he might bring down the river later, and this money the Bakra would give him, he would have enough to pay for the hammock, the cloth pangi, the handkerchiefs, the bracelets and beads, and whatever else a man needed to give to his woman and her mother for a fine marriage.

Going through this stretch of still water, which Bayo always found dull, he thought of this and that, for there was no work for his muscles but the monotony of the dip and stroke of the paddle. Going upstream it was different. There the challenge of the slipping pole-stick against submerged slime-covered rocks made a man prove himself. It spoke to the warrior blood in him, which found no outlet in these quiet times. But this was only idling, and his mind found pleasure in wandering, especially if it happened, as now, to be dark enough to make it worthless for him to look about for the things that grew and stirred in the bush.

Yes, it would be almost three hours before the sun was high, and when it stood there—he indicated the place in the heavens to himself with his eye—he might be loading the Bakra's boats to go up river, for word had come from top-side that the Mamadam would be safe in a few days, and now if the Granman meant for the Bakra to get to the upper river, he would be sending word down almost any time. And he, Bayo, was ready for the journey. Here in the blue canister, which he had bought in the city on the Queen's last birthday with part of the money he had

Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Saramaca

would be more serious yet, an evil spirit who would be lying in wait for a soul to use as emissary in his affairs of black magic, would snatch at the soul and take it away. If this happened, a person would sicken, languish, and die. Sometimes when a man tripped on the clayey bank, we heard him exclaim, "*Agu!*—Ancestors!" calling on these to protect him until he recovered his balance. But often we heard different cries. "Mi, Awana!" one man had called. "Mi, Nyamfai!" or, "Mi, Matchau!" or "Mi, Popoto!" These are all clan names, and for a time we assumed that instead of appealing to their ancestors, they called on the entire clan to come to their aid. But one day Sedefo lost his footing, and we heard him exclaim, "Mi, Fandaki!" Now we knew that Sedefo belonged to the clan of the Gankwe people, and we knew, further, that he was most emphatically not of the Fandaki clan.

"Sedefo, you are not a Fandaki. Why did you call on them?"

"My father belongs to the Fandaki. When we slip we call on our father's lo."

"Why, Sedefo?"

"I do not know. . . ."

Another day we were sitting and talking to a young man in an upper river village. A girl came and sat with us. "This is my sister," the man said. It was at a time when we were looking into these matters, and we asked, "Did the same mother make you both?"

"No," he answered, "she is here only on a visit. She lives across the river. Her father is my mother's brother."

"But she is not your sister, then," we said. "She does not even belong to your clan."

"Massa Neng'e! But she is my sister!" the man protested. "She is neither of my family, nor of my clan. But did not my mother's brother make her?"

"*Could you marry her?*"

He considered for a moment. "It would be possible. But it would not be good. . . . And the old women in the village would talk too much."

194 the Granman punctuated the pauses of the men, though not often their meaning.

623 But whatever the reports of the women, and the commands given by the Granman, the word for white man interspersed all of the morning's recitals, and the questions of the Granman and the answers often came fast.

Of the men, the Granman asked little. They came up in pairs usually, and now one, now the other took up the report. Clan names were spoken, and occasionally a village name was mentioned, but on the morning preceding the council of the chiefs, only one village was discussed, and one clan. The name of the village was the forbidden one where we had stopped for the night against the Granman's orders, and the clan was that of one group of our paddlers.

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574 Early on the morning after our arrival at Asindopo Lantiwe, our paddlers came to see us in the council house. The Granman was busy outside his own house with the chiefs who had gathered for the council meeting, and these men who, like ourselves, were strangers here, came as comrades of an adventurous journey to visit with us and talk over the impressiveness of our reception and the allure of the women of the Granman's village, who were famous everywhere on the river. It was a village where chastity among the girls was closely watched, and where its women were given in marriage to the most influential men on the river. [831] [582]

302 291 The men were gotten up splendidly. Their bodies glistened with oil, their cloths were made of the long strips, pieced together by their women, and of patterns which the sun's rays had had no chance to pale. Sedefo's was particularly fine, we thought, but he assured us that it did not compare with the one the river had claimed. His cloth was also made of strips, but the stitching which connected them was a lacy weave, worked in triangles, and made to resemble the vertebrae of a snake. The border was of triangular

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

619 gave rise to another Bush Negro nation known as the *Boni* tribe. There are also three other tribes today of less importance: the *Matawai* on the Upper Saramacca River, the *Quintee-Matawai* which is a sub-tribe on the Copenam, and the *Paramacca* on the Middle Marowyne with villages on both the French and Dutch sides of the river.

619 The tribal divisions are strictly enforced. Not only is in-
184 termarriage forbidden, but each tribe has its separate gov-
[182] ernment, and each is referred to locally as a "river nation." Each tribe likewise has its own territory, and any poaching by hunters, fishers, or balata bleeders is rigorously punished.
[143] The ruler of the tribe is a king, or *granman*. Among the photographs is one of old Jankoeso, the kindly shrewd ruler of the Saramaccaner nation; the Aucaner ruler, Amekti, has just died, his place probably being taken by Matodja. The Boni granman is named Awensai.

619 The largest tribe is the Saramaccaner, with a population
361 of about 14,000. Their village of Santi Gron (Sandy Ground),
[161] some twenty miles from Paramaribo on the Lower Saramacca River is the nearest of all Djuka villages to white civilization. But the main body of this tribe begins some ninety miles up the Surinam River from Paramaribo, and the villages are strung along the Surinam River for a hundred or more miles further on back into the interior. The names
[103] of some of these villages are: Nu Condree, Lombe, Gansee, Biodoti, Adawai, De Jun, Masumba Pratti, and Dahomey, and other towns of even more picturesque appellations: Boto-Passi, Poki Gron, Granman Condree, and many more.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

of some other woman, and exercises authority over her children rather than over his own. 583 604

The Djuka family, then, consists of a group of people all descended from a single woman, and related to each other through the female line. Whatever family authority exists resides in the mother's or grandmother's brothers; to them the children defer; from them the children will inherit property and title. The paternity of the children is unessential. This type of social organization is called matrilineal. 596 611

We should, perhaps, not expect to find romantic love, as we know it, among the Djukas. The peculiar transports and attenuated delights of romantic passion are a rather extraordinary phenomenon which, according to Briffault, does not exist outside of Western civilization. Romance requires a high development of individuality among women so that one may be desirable above all others. Where women are mutually interchangeable, romance cannot exist. The Djuka black does not love a woman; he loves women. Love among the Djukas is not a brainstorm but a physiological release, and marriage an economic device. 114

The young people have complete knowledge and some experience of sex at an extremely early age and are usually married at sixteen or seventeen. They are fairly promiscuous before marriage and extremely so afterward. This, again according to Briffault, is the rule in tribes retaining the matrilineal tradition. Since intercourse before marriage is a practice that the Djukas make little effort to restrain, sex is a common affair, not particularly connected with marriage. 836 [582 837]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

It is indulged in as naturally as the other bodily functions.

"Marriage" is a convenient term for describing cohabitation among the Djukas, but it must be remembered that to them marriage is a purely economic institution. There is little ceremony. No one objects to getting married, because divorce is instantaneous and easy. The bonds of marriage are loose, and adultery, to use our harsh term, is customary.

Courting consists in presenting the prospective bride with elaborate wood carvings of useful implements. This wood carving has been developed by the Djukas to a high point of artistic perfection, as can be seen from the illustrative specimens, of which more will be said later. The approaching marriage is not looked upon as a departure from the maternal group; it is simply an arrangement for providing the man with a cook and the woman with children. The marriage of a captain or a Granman differs in no wise from any other; no especial care is taken of his bride.

We encountered two varieties of the process of choosing a husband. In the first, the girl has little to say, her husband being selected for her by her parents. In the second and more frequent practice the woman marries the man of her own choice, the parents making sure that the intended husband is a good provider. But since every Djuka buck is trained to the jungle crafts from childhood, this requirement can almost be taken for granted.

The husband marries frequently. He may marry outside of his village, or outside of his lo, but never outside of the tribe. Marriage requires a bride price, consisting of pieces of

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

881 have a last look at the child's penis, as they will never see it again. Then the boy is proclaimed a man, and given clothes.

So far as could be observed, there is no circumcision of either the male or female, although such mutilations are indulged in by West African tribes in the region from which the Djukas came. The girls wear only the *coyo,* or a larger cloth known as *pangi,* until their first menstruation, when their mothers give them cloths. This is done in private. Menstruating women are required to leave their homes and retire
841 to a separate hut situated outside the village on a by-path; they may not return until three days after the period is over. Under no condition are they allowed to go to the provision fields during this time.

584 At the age of about sixteen or seventeen the children are
[582] ready to be married. Sometimes they are betrothed in infancy, and occasionally a pregnant woman will betroth her child before it is born, conditionally, of course, upon its sex. Once the child is betrothed the ceremony must take place,
[754] otherwise the disappointed prospective mate will call down a *kunu,* or curse, on the entire perjured family, and they will all die. The pubescent child does not look forward to marriage as time for leaving its family, nor is marriage an
[581] initiation into sex relations. For these two reasons, getting
[348] married is not a serious step, and there is little illegitimacy because there is no reason for objecting to a marriage.

858 Youths must remain standing until their elders invite them
576 to be seated. It is customary for older people to receive much
888 respectful attention, for the older people are the sources of tradition and authority

163

165 [For additional demographic and social information, see the "Table of the Population
429 of the Boni Villages," on pp. 479-539, category 116. Included are data on the number
551 of children per woman, the number of deaths by age and sex, the name of the guardian
582 (usually, but not necessarily a parent) who was responsible for raising a particular
586 individual, personal names of the Boni, marital residence and residence changes by
591 specific individuals, marriage practices, including polygynous unions and secondary
593 marriages, cases of divorce, and lineage/sib affiliations of each individual.]

595

613

614

/23 cont./

613 614 Not one of the members of the group could trace back to the common ancestress; yet these three fractions together behave as [601] a single lineage. All its members know their mutual appellations [784] "brother," "uncle," etc. All are subject to the same kunu.

The law of exogamy is respected within each fraction, but 613 there are seven cases of unions between members of different 614 fractions; these unions are disapproved of in principle, but they 582 are tolerated. 123

Thus, on the subject of exogamy, we see the thought of the Refugee Blacks breaks away from the rigorous principle on which their social order is based. It is the actually known genealogy which counts in their eyes on this point.

613 In December, 1958 we were able to reconstitute the com- 614 plete genealogy of the group (Fig. 4), thanks to the memories of 128 the doyenne of the group, Ma Imma, who had lived for a very [115] long time isolated in a village of the Maroni estuary. The data [601] thus reconstituted are in complete agreement with the kinship appellations among members of the various fractions. /24/

/Fig. 4 appears here./

The case of the Kotika lineage is thus particularly interesting, for we find ourselves knowing its genealogy completely when its members know it no more than partially.

613 Study of this group shows that the forgetting of kinship ties 614 has no effect on the physical grouping of the lineage and its [602] functioning as a social unit.

It has direct repercussions only on the observation of the principle of exogamy. Thus the way in which exogamy is understood and observed appears to us from now on as a secondary criterion having no certain value for the recognition of a common origin.

[621] Some Djuka and Saramaka have settled among the members of the Kotika lineage, but as individuals.

[621] The Lapé (La Paix) lineage, whose name alludes to one of the great plantations of the Cottica River in the 18th century, is

[See p. 34, Category 116 -- Analyst]

614
613 /26 cont./-

[62] This village had no future. its complement did nothing but
[591] melt away for half a century, especially under the influence of
[177] venereal diseases.
[164]

Neither time nor geographical separation have brought on scission on the religious or legal planes. In this respect the members of Dipélu I and Dipélu II continue to think of one another as
[784] the same lineage. They remain subject to the same kunu.

613 The law of exogamy continues to be applied rigorously with-
614 in Dipélu I and within Dipélu II, but marriages are permitted be-
582 tween Dipélu I and II. There are no longer any social sanctions about this, and the common origin of the two groups is so remote that they scarcely think any more of applying to them the term
[784] pikadu. But such unions remain exceptional, the people concerned continuing to fear a superhuman sanction.

[621] No element of heterogeneous origin, fragment paternally related or refugee outsiders, has settled among the Dipélu.

613 The Papaïston or Kawina lineage (Papaïston village) has
[621] remained perfectly coherent and well grouped. Its members know their genealogy as far back as an ancestress named Térésa, who must have lived at the beginning of the 18th century. But there exists a small fraction, nearly extinct, which we shall designate as Papaïston 2, which presents a separate genealogy going almost
[614] as far back in time. Nobody knows the origin of this group exactly; it is regarded as connected by kinship ties to the main group, but the members of the two groups consider that they form two distinct
[784] bas. They do not have the same kunu.
[582]

Marriage is not tolerated within the principal group, but it is allowed between members of the two groups.

613 Moreover, with the Papaïston lives a small group which
621 fled from Surinam about the end of the 19th century, originally
[167] of the Bakabuchi tribe. This group has no kinship tie at all with
[101] the Papaïston but has placed itself under the authority of the head

/27 cont./

614 The Aw.B.2, on whom we could not get sure information
[123] because this very closed group did not cooperate willingly with the inquiry, appear to be in a very similar situation, with the difference that their genealogy goes back much farther in time and they no longer remember the origin of this fraction nor the
[184] circumstances which tied its fate to that of the Aw.B.1. This group apparently has a separate kunu.

613 The Awara Bakka lineage is in a special situation from the
614 point of view of exogamy, for not only are there marriages be-
582 tween one fraction and another, but there are two within the same
[183] fraction and between relatively near relatives. Thus this group, without openly rejecting the law of exogamy, does not attach the same importance to it as do the others.

613 The Afi lineage. This lineage was founded by Afi, wife of
[101] a man from Papaïston, who came to live with him. Like the Toïna lineage, she had come from the small tribe called Bakabuchi which lived in Surinam. However, the Afi and Toïna lineages are not of the same matrilineal origin and the present members of each of the two small groups have no common worship. All of
[571] them have lost every tie with their original tribe, and their social life is entirely dependent on that of the Boni group which has taken them in.

[621] Afi settled near Kormotibo. This site is abandoned by her descendants who live, most of them, in Asisi, the rest in Kormotibo.

The lineage has lost every tie with its group of origin.
[619] Nevertheless, it is assumed that if one of them wanted to go back there, on proving his relationship, he would take up all his rights again and could demand a site for making his clearings.

613 /28/ The process of assimilation which took place for the
621 AW.B.3 did not come into play for Afi's descendants with respect
571 to the Papaïston lineage. They are regarded as a separate family group, insufficient in number to constitute a social unit and whose members are placed under the authority of the heads of the villages

/32 cont./

602 784 428 [153] to observe all his life and which he himself will transmit to his children. It is unanimously believed that breaking this interdiction causes leprosy (bwasi).

This interdiction is never transmitted by women. It is transmitted from father to son /33/ or daughter. The son will observe it and transmit it; the daughter will observe it during her lifetime, but she will not transmit it.

602 784 The existence of the bwasi kina divides the Boni into de facto groupings which can be considered as patrilineages. These patrilineages have no name, no head, no organization; their members are dispersed among the various matrilineages and most of them do not know who the others are.

They exist nevertheless and extend throughout all the tribes of Refugee Blacks.

Their importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks comes [582] from the fact that they involve a law of exogamy: a man and a woman who have the same bwasi kina cannot marry; that would be pikadu, incest in the broad sense, an offense against exogamy, as much as the union of two members of the same matrilineage.

It is difficult to estimate the number of these patrilineages [262] [578] which seems to us to be at least 20 among the Boni; actually, the Boni do not willingly tell their bwasi kina, for fear that one of their enemies might mix into their food a fragment of the interdicted food in order to harm them; besides, they do not know their paternal relations beyond their grandfather. Reconstitution of patrilineages by interrogation seems therefore to be illusory.

602 784 262 The bwasi kina we have been able to find out about are all about food. They involve the cayman, the "tiger," the tortoise, the white hen, the pian (awali), the eel. The cayman is often given in addition to another animal. But it is inaccurate to say that the Refugee Blacks have a general interdiction against the cayman.

/33 cont./

602 Patrilineal relationships have other important incidences which we shall bring to light in speaking of Boni beliefs. From the point of view of social structure, let us note:

[189] — That patrilineal relationship has no influence upon residence or organization of material living;

[589] — That the law of exogamy which it involves has only slight influence on the freedom of choice of couples: because of the relatively large number of patrilineages.

[601] As far as the ties of patrilineal kinship are known (in general people do not go beyond their grandfather), the same kinship terms are used as in the matrilineage, with the same classificatory value.

601 613 Appellations. We have seen that within the matrilineage the kinship appellations depend only on the number of generations with respect to the foundress.

Speaking familiarly, they use for addressing:

— People of the same generation, the expression	ba So-and-so... (man) sa So-and-so (woman)
— — of one generation above, the expression	tiyu, uncle tiya, aunt
— — of two generations above, the expression	papa mama.

[192] /34/ Papa does not mean father, but ancient, honorable. Likewise, mama means aged and respectable woman.

For example, to say good day they will say, according to the case, ba So-and-so, ɔdio, or tiyu, ɔdio.

[551] In speaking to people one generation below, they say mati (comrade) or call them by their name without any other appellation, which would be considered very insolent in addressing their "brothers" or "uncles."

/34 cont./

601 They continue to use the terms soagi, pay, may even after the break-up of a marriage, so that they are in frequent usage. As for the woman herself, they say sa So-and-so in speaking to her, as to a sister.

581 Marriage. The conceptions of the Refugee Blacks on this subject are remarkable. Marriage in the African sense of the term, understood as a contract between two groups of relatives, does not exist among them. The union of the man and woman does not involve 581 any sort of contract between their groups of relatives and consequently entails no matrimonial compensation. /35/ The Refugee 583 Blacks are the only African Negro population to our knowledge whose customs do not involve any form of "dowry" either in money or in kind.

582 Family life in the sense that we understand it does not exist; 621 as we shall see further on, marriage is forbidden between people of the same lineage, which implies that the husband and wife live in different villages. The man builds a house for his wife in her 591 native village, but he does not come to live with her; he makes 593 visits of several days to her as to his other wives, in the course of [439] which he furnishes her with the imported objects (salt, kerosene, cloth, etc.) she needs, lends her his aid for heavy chores, while, for her part, she turns over to him the products of the clearing. The rest of the time he lives as a bachelor in his mother's village where he builds his own house. If he is very attached to his wife, he can come to reside with her and can even succeed without great difficulty in bringing her to live in his own village; but few couples take advantage of this option, for the man and wife prize their independence above everything else.

593 The life of the man and of the wife remain entirely separate [613] and their union has more the character of a temporary association founded on material interests than that of a marriage; the family life of each one remains entirely centered around his or her matrilineage.

/133 cont./

866 made for sale, the guardian gives him a small sum out of the
461 money gained. At 14 an adolescent begins to satisfy nearly all
434 his own needs.

For example, from June to December, 1956, Tasa (14
883 years), son of Fintimak (Boniville) had earned about 13,000
465 francs:

June	helped his father build a large boat for the administration (45 days)	6,000
October	went to Saint-Laurent as auxiliary bosman .	3,000
December	helped convoy a boat of the border-fixing mission sent back empty to Maripasoula . .	4,000
		13,000

882 His father, entrusted with his education, let him use this
868 money in his own way; he pointed out to us with pride that for the first time in 1956 his son had been able to satisfy all his own needs, but that it was important to keep him under a firm hand until he was capable of doing a man's work alone: for that, five or six years of apprenticeship would not be too much.

868 In fact, many times we had the chance to verify it, it is
561 in this prolonged apprenticeship that are developed the seriousness
[153] of mind and the technical skill so remarkable among the Refugee Blacks. At 20 years, most of them still do not know how to do
[582] anything worthwhile, and it is scarcely before 25 or 27 that they
[178] become capable of /134/ painstaking work; in this respect the present tendency of the young boys toward precocious emancipation (the marriage age of men is going down to 20 and even 18 years) runs the risk of having very unfortunate consequences for the future of the Refugee Blacks.

429 The person charged with the education of a girl exercises the powers of a mother toward her. It is she who authorizes
[582] her to marry, and by giving her the pagi, married women's garment, gives her symbolically her freedom as a woman. It is
[583] to her that the first husband pays the price of the virginity of the girl.

/134 cont./

429 Until very recent times the authority of the guardian had
56 remained very strong and was prolonged very late; he had the
861 right to strike his ward to make him obey, and he exercised his
582 powers until the time when, judging the child's education finished,
he authorized him to marry, which formerly seldom happened
before 25-27 years.

Fintiman (of Boniville), about 50 years old in 1958, tells that his father, entrusted with his upbringing, did not authorize him to marry before he was completely established as a carpenter and boat-builder, at about the age of 27. Until that age he remained subject to the most tyrannical authority; his father intended especially to forbid him to go out in the evening, and in order to carry on a clandestine affair he had to use nocturnal fishing expeditions as a pretext!

429 When a boy's guardian judges his education finished, he
884 helps him to build his house and gives him tools, a trunk containing clothes, and a hammock. Henceforward the boy must make his own way in life.

429 All during his lifetime he will continue to show the greatest
576 respect to the person who raised him and often, speaking of that
601 person, he will say: "my father" or "my mother."

601 When a Refugee Black says in the course of a conversation, "My father used to do this," he often means the man who brought him up; if he wishes to speak of his true father, he will say, "My own father who made me." Likewise when he says "My
128 grandfather," he usually means a great-uncle. This confusion
714 makes research on family life risky as long as one does not
593 possess any census by names; apparently it has led several authors into error, making them believe that among the Refugee Blacks the father brings up his children himself, when this is on the contrary the exception.

/135 cont./

593 The same year, G...., man of about 50, particularly serious and hard-working, had saved up enough to buy an outboard motor; his mother, aged near 75 years, advised him absolutely not to make this purchase, claiming that he would be the object of jealousy and was risking being the victim of evil spells; he gave up the project. He did not dare carry it out until [965] 1957 after the mourning for his mother (dead in 1955) had been lifted.

To let one's mother be in need is considered a shame; if a mother has several sons, they divide up the purchases to be made for her benefit; each year one of them will cut the clearing intended for the mother; in exchange she will furnish couac and vegetables as long as her strength will allow her to work.

591 Ordinarily each of the sons, when he becomes 20 or 25 years old, builds himself in his village a house in which he lives alone. But it often happens that a man who has reached adulthood continues to live in his mother's house; for example, in 1952 in Loka village, Ayashédé, about 40 years of age, was living with his mother Chii.

593 As for the authority of the mother over her daughters, it is still much more strict and lasts all her life. The daughter may [582] not marry without the authorization of her mother or of her [591] female guardian if she is not brought up by her mother. The married daughter has the use of a house that her husband built for her, but this house is situated near that of her mother. Since household life is intermittent and reduced to its simplest expression, she remains under the domination of her mother until the latter's death. Especially, she cannot travel without her permission.

593 In former times the authority of mothers over daughters 198 was tyrannical; they say that one might see an octogenarian mother requisition an old man's arm to strike her sexagenarian daughter who had disobeyed her. But nowadays this authority is battered [591] down by the development of individualism. From this results a growing dissoluteness in the girls and an increasing instability of unions.

/137 cont./

831 necessary food) than by a sentimental motive. It is very rare to meet among them the appearance of sincere and lasting love for a woman; that is sometimes seen, but it is the exception.

562 It is not enough to say that they have few emotional feelings with respect to women. In the conversations heard in the evening around the campfires a deep contempt is expressed on this subject; they even speak of the Boni women as of a foreign and almost enemy nation; they consider them besides as half irresponsible. This attitude shows through in the custom concern-
[684] ing adultery, which decrees that the lover be beaten but not the wife.

581 Among the Refugee Blacks marriage is in fact a contract of maintenance between a man and woman, which provides for the execution of such-and-such work by the one for the benefit of the other, and for the wife the obligation to be faithful.
[586] This contract can be cancelled unilaterally without any sort of indemnity. It does not directly involve the relatives of the
[765] spouses; it involves them only in case of the death of one spouse, for the surviving spouse must /138/ put up with the subservience
[613] of mourning. It is principally for this reason that a marriage must be officially known by both lineages, and that a divorce must be proclaimed without delay.

• 582 Exogamy. Marriage is forbidden between persons of the same
613 lineage. In expressing this prohibition the Refugee Blacks
614 employ the word bee (lineage in the restricted sense) and not the word lo.

613 As we have seen in studying the situation of the various lineages, the various Boni kin groups follow different rules in this regard:

--The Dju lineage, which forms only one single group from the genealogical point of view, does not allow marriage between its members;

/140/

This prohibition is of a purely religious nature and does not entail any social sanctions; those concerned are convinced that in such a case a suprahuman sanction would strike them in the form of sickness or accident.

Prohibitions limiting marriage. Outside of the great interdiction, pikadu, which is attached to unions within one matrilineage and one patrilineage, two prohibitions limiting marriage are found among the Refugee Blacks, which they express thus:

--I cannot have two wives at the same time in the same lineage. For example I am forbidden to marry two "sisters" at the same time, but if I break with my wife, I may marry her classificatory "sister" or any other woman of the same lineage;

--I may not have relations, even passing ones, with a woman who has been married to my brother by the same mother; in particular, if my brother has just died, I shall not be able to marry his widow.

The Boni are not capable of explaining the deep reasons for these interdictions, but they interpret them as purely social and not religious prohibitions. The offender is simply threatened with being beaten.

The first of these rules seems very widely accepted in Black Africa, as much in patrilineal societies as in a matrilineal system.

The second of these rules is characteristic in the Akan (Agni, Baoulé) culture area and shows that the family custom of the Refugee Blacks is related much more directly to that of the Agni-Ashanti group than to that of the Dahomey.

One can note that this rule is exactly contrary to the Saramaka custom, which obliges the widow to marry one of the brothers of the dead man; this custom has been interpreted by several authors as coming from imitation of the levirate of the Jews, with which certain rebels were acquainted (it is known that among the slaveowners there were many Jews).

/140 cont./

184 587 Whatever its origin, we should note that the Saramaka custom has no relation, as far as its legal content is concerned, to the levirate, nor to the inheritance of widows as it is practiced in numerous African societies. It does not correspond in any way to the transmission of a right over the widow, since this right does not exist; it probably results from the idea that the widow is better protected from the effects of the dead man's jealousy if she marries one of his brothers. Besides, she may [613] choose from among all his classificatory brothers, in the matri-lineage as in the patrilineage, which assures her of a wide [586] choice. She can break this union without any compensation after some months of living together and resume complete liberty.

582 Statistics of marriages between kin groups. We have listed on the table opposite, the total unions for which we have been able to identify with certainty the kinship of the spouses, including those broken by divorce and death. Their total number is 411.

582 619 The table emphasizes the more or less great frequency of unions between /141/: /table appears here/ /142/ such-and-such kin groups, as well as the frequency of unions between Boni women and men of other tribes, DJUKA, PARAMAKA, and SARAMAKA.

Out of a total of 411 unions of Boni women one notes:

--327 with BONI (80%);
-- 50 with DJUKA (12%);
-- 21 with SARAMAKA (5%);
-- 5 with PARAMAKA (1%);
[648] -- 8 with Creoles from Surinam (2%):

The proportion of intertribal marriages (20%) is high; it results from the frequent presence on the Maroni of Djuka or Saramaka boatmen coming to carry on transport. The reciprocal is not true; marriages between Boni men and women

[Text continues on p. 209]

6:Hurault--208 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

582
613
619
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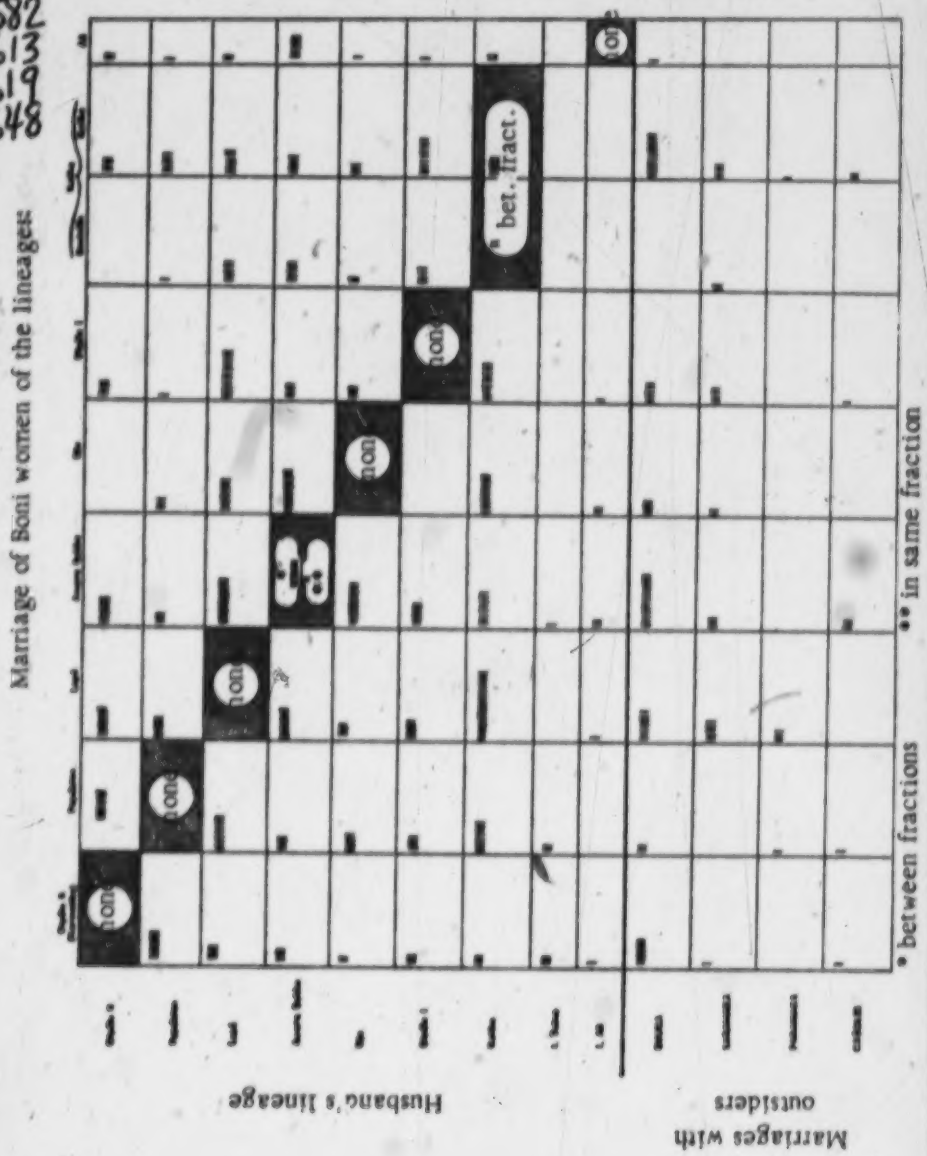

/142 cont./

582 619 of other groupings are rare; that is because the Boni have almost no occasion to frequent the Tapanahoni, where economic activity is nil.

For 123 married men of the villages on the French bank there were in November, 1958, 11 unions with Djuka women, or 8 per cent. No marriage to Saramaka or Paramaka women existed.

582 613 The table confirms besides that marriages between members of different kin groups are entirely free and are not subject to any preoccupation with exchange or reciprocity. For example, out of 60 unions between Boni women of the Lapé lineage and Boni men, we have:

6	with men of the Dipélu I lineage
7	-- -- - - Dipélu II --
7	-- -- - - Papaïston --
11	-- -- - - Awara Bakka --
4	-- -- - - Dju --
5	-- -- - - Dipélu I /sic/ --
20	-- -- - - Kotika --

[628] In fact, the geographical proximity of the villages has the most direct influence on unions.

582 613 628 For example a high proportion of women from Kormotibo (Dip. II) married men from Papaïston and reciprocally.

That comes from the fact that these villages are near each other and isolated from others. It is the same for Kotika and L'Enfant Perdu (Dip. I). In the small Afi lineage, divided between Kormotibo and Asisi-Awara Bakka villages, more than half the women are married to inhabitants of these two villages.

582 619 621 Certain personal affinities and habits of living have an indirect influence. For example, the Djuka boatmen passing through Boni country habitually stay in Asisi-Awara Bakka, because they are received in the homes of some of their own

582 619 621 /142 cont./

people who have lived there for a long time. They strike up relationships with the people of Asisi, and that favors new unions. This explains the high proportion of unions between the women of this village and the Djuka (13 out of 75). On the contrary, almost no marriages to Djuka are observed in Papaïston village, where no Djuka has settled permanently. /143/

584 613 [604] The marriage proposal. The suitor is obliged to ask for the assent of his own mother and his uncles (at the very least the eldest of his classificatory uncles); in general he asks his father also.

[604] If two of his classificatory uncles are expressly opposed, the plan must be abandoned. But there is no possible sanction for disobedience.

The suitor does not make the proposal himself; after making sure of the agreement of the girl he sends two persons, one of his uncles or brothers and one of his sisters in the classificatory sense.

These envoys speak to the woman's mother and uncles assembled together. If they agree, they go to ask for the assent of the head of the lineage. The men and women of the woman's lineage drink together a liter of tafia brought by the envoys. Before drinking, the doyen of the lineage pours a little of it on the ground while invoking the ancestors, asking them to perpetuate the accord of the household and to grant them health and fecundity. This ceremony is made on the spot and they do not go to the fraga tiki, for they would be afraid to present themselves again at the fraga tiki in case of a break-up; prayer said anywhere in the village is not binding. [969]

The two envoys, man and woman, play a very precise role. The man represents the postulant (it is a sort of marriage by proxy).

/144 cont./

584 To ask for his second wife Bugi (Aw.B.1, F41, Asisi-
602 Awara Bakka vge.) he had sent Dosu (Dip. I, E4, Boniville), his father Malobi's classificatory brother (although a very distant relative) and his younger sister by the same mother, Kulina, who made the marriage proposal to Bugi's mother and to her classificatory uncles Antonu and Mato.

582 Age of marriage. In former times there was a very precise
178 custom about this. Men were not authorized to marry before
[701] about 30 years of age, constituting until that age the immediately mobilizable armed force. Women were authorized by their mothers to marry only when they had reached complete physical development, or between 20 and 22 years. This was the safeguard of a society deprived of all medical help against obstetrical risk, particularly serious for very young women. When the fiancé had temporarily emigrated to earn his living, the marriage could be put off until the age of 25 years and more.
[184] This late marriage of girls was still met with only a few years ago among the Djuka, more faithful to custom. There was on the average five to ten years of age difference between husband and wife. /145/

For about the past ten years, under the influence of the relaxation of family discipline, the marriage age has gone down considerably, as much for the man as for the woman. Nearly all the girls married during the last two years were from 15 to 17 years old. It can be stated that the average marriage age of girls is 16 years (1).

1. We are speaking here of the age at the time of the consummation of marriage.

/145 cont./

582

About a third of the young men marry between 18 and 20; nearly all the others before 25.

However, part of the girls choose as husbands men appreciably older than they, so that the average age difference between husband and wife remains close to six years.

Women born from	Age difference between husband and wife. The sign — indicates that the husband is younger than the wife.	Average	Spread
1936 and after	24/2/0/14/3/0/4/1/6/1/4/17/2/9/—2/19/4/4/1/9/1/17/4/2/9/4/1/12/7/10/14/4/	+ 6.5 years	-2 to + 24 years 33 out of 34 husbands are older than their wives
1926 to 1935 incl.	7/6/30/12/20/28/5/11/8/4/6/5/17/—1/—1/—1 10/5/9/—1/2/2/7/10/19/14/8/—2/6/4/5/14/0/—7/4/14/0/13/4/13/	+ 6.9 years	-7 to +30 years 35 out of 41 husbands are older than their wives
1916 to 1925 incl.	5/—3/—11/—2/10/2/1/—4/22/2/17/14/11/4/7/5/16/3/6/1/17/4/—4/20/4/7/10/—14/10/9/6/9/11/8/10/9/—4	+5.9 years	-11 to +22 years 30 out of 37 husbands are older than their wives

/145 cont./

582

Women born from	Age difference between husband and wife. The sign — indicates that the husband is younger than the wife.	Average	Spread
1896 to 1915 incl.	—4/1/—1/8/2/—3/—2/7/3/22/9/—3/2/—11/19/17/11/11/21/5/3/1/1/3/2/6/20/16/—2/8/	+5.8 years	—1 to +22 years 22 out of 29 husbands are older than their wives
before 1896	2/0/3/10/—10/—5/5/—2/10/—8/8/0/5/5/.	+1.5 years	—10 to +8 years 8 out of 14 husbands are older than their wives

[587] As the man and woman advance in age, this average age
[162] difference of six years is maintained in the course of successive remarriages until old age. It decreases then only by the effect of demographic factors, the proportion of women in the higher age brackets being greater and greater.

162 Out of 37 women over 60 years of age in the Boni villages on the French bank, only 14 were married; all the others had been widows or divorcees for a long time.

/145 cont./

582 Generally speaking, the custom of the Refugee Blacks used to consider as immoral the marriage of a very young girl to an old man, or of a very young boy to an adult woman. 588 178 The weakening of family morals is clearly demonstrated by two events which happened during the summer of 1960. A boy of thirteen and a half, K... of Boniville, left his guardian to join an Assisi woman, A...., 20 years older than he and with a very bad reputation to boot; some months later his example was imitated /146/ by a boy of 14 who began living with a [684] woman of 29. Nothing like that had ever been seen, and [613] people inveighed against the scandal of it; but in both cases, guardians and lineage heads showed themselves incapable of making their authority respected by force.

882 Marriage of girls. It can still be said (although things are in [562] the process of changing rapidly) that girls, kweyi umã, occupy a place apart in the thought of the Refugee Blacks; the reprobation which embraces women does not extend to them. 882 People say that girls "have good manners," and in fact most 834 of them, although naked except for a little apron, have a re- [291] served attitude, a becoming bearing, which contrast with the attitude of the married women. To tell the truth, this virtue is not so much due to natural inclinations as to the strict [593] vigilance with which their mothers surround them. The mothers literally do not let them out of their sight and permit no man to speak to them out of their presence. "Until dawn, until the cock crows, she keeps vigil," says the song, alluding to the mother who watches over her daughter's virtue. If a girl [836] comes to lose her virginity without being properly married, [577] pɔti na ɔsu, "established in a house," it is a dishonor for her mother and her near relatives.

/146 cont./

882 Whereas little girls before puberty are left free to come
[858] and go, older girls are the object of constant surveillance.
They are always under the surveillance of one of their near
[883] relatives specifically designated. If they have permission to go dancing in another village, they must present themselves upon arrival to an uncle, an aunt, an older brother who will watch over them all evening.

Sometimes they build for a girl a little house where she sleeps alone ... but she is double-locked into it for the night.

[883] At nightfall, when their mothers are busy with the preparation of the meal, the girls are sent to get water or to angle for fish; there is wavering in the surveillance, and seducers know how to profit by it.

[593] Until recent times girls were held by their mothers in
[584] the bonds of a strict authority, and although engaged very
[582] young, they were not authorized to marry before reaching complete physical development.

584 It often used to happen that a girl might be promised by her mother to a man from her first years (they still say, although that is no longer practiced, pɔti mɔfu na umã, "to put his mouth on a girl," meaning by that to have received a promise of marriage). This plan always used to remain subject to the girl's assent when she grew up and did not constitute a contract, strictly speaking; it did not involve any payment or compensa-
[593] tion whatever. A girl could not be obligated to a marriage which was absolutely displeasing to her, but the mother's authority was great enough to make these marriages come about in most cases.

[431] If a girl had not been promised, the young man who wanted to marry her used to try to attract her attention during a dance and to exchange a few words with her. /147/ Later he would give her a paddle bearing symbols of fecundity and the representation of a house and a boat. If the girl accepted the paddle, he could propose to her officially.

/147 cont./

848 If the girl is pregnant, the man may not abandon her: that would make a great to-do between the two kin groups: he must stay with her at least until the birth of the child.

883 836 178 [582] Nowadays among the Boni things tend to happen completely otherwise than custom makes provision for. The general opinion is that girls can no longer be held down, that they escape more and more from the authority of their mothers; many of them begin to run wild at about 14 or 15, and people are obliged to marry them off precipitately at 15 or 16. It is difficult to say what the proportion of these hasty marriages is, but the recriminations heard on all sides on the subject of the shamelessness of girls give the idea that it is increasing. In the [582] [848] villages on the French bank, out of nine girls married in 1958 there were only four marriages concluded according to regulations; the five others had been arranged hastily either because the girl was pregnant (two cases) or because she had laid herself open to scandal. /148/

582 Nearly all girls married between 1952 and 1956 were 15 to 17 years old.

584 This is about how things happen:

A man who is attracted by a girl tries to exchange a few [537] words with her unknown to her mother. There are special forms for these declarations. One speaks in a low voice, very fast, using special formulas. This is how one of our boatmen, one evening in October, 1952, addressed young Lomé, age 15, of Boniville village, who had gotten away from her mother on the pretext of going to get water for us.

584 539 "Woman, I love thee, I wish to live with thee, I wish to marry thee. That which God put in me I cannot take away (1).

1. Which means: I cannot change, you must take me as I am.

/151 cont./

595 Sticking to statistics, one could say that the Refugee Blacks are monogamous in the proportion of 85 per cent. But
581 it is an apparent monogamy, for unions are not stable; their
586 average duration is about ten years; in fact the Refugee Blacks are practicing polygamy over a period of time.

595 A man who takes another wife apologizes to the first and gives her a liter of tafia, asking her to live on good terms with
[586] the co-wife. A certain number of wives do not accept co-wives and get divorced.

587 Most men have had, in general, four or five wives
586 successively. Most of the time these marriages have been
163 broken by the wife. /152/

Example S... (65 years old in 1957) had at least seven wives:

-- Nanay (Dip. II)†	1 child	divorced
Baakauman (K)†	3 children	"
1 Paramaka woman	1 child dead	"
Saumè (Dip. I)	1 child	"
Paata (Boniville)	no children	"
Emma (Asisi-Aw.B.)	no children	"
Masé (K)	"	marriage extant in 1958

Kwami (50 years old in 1958) had four wives:

-- Apinda (Asisi)	no children	divorced
Saayé (Dip. I)	several children	"
Do (Lapé)	1 child dead	"
Noémi (Asisi-Aw.B.)	1 child	marriage extant in 1958

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582 Example of the family life of G... (50 years old in 1958).
About 1935 G... married M... (Kotika), a serious-minded and
159 intelligent woman who was very attached to him. Neverthe-
837 less, about the same time he had a clandestine affair with S...,
[847] classificatory sister of M..., whom he made pregnant (abortion).

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Women born from	0 Div.	1 Div.	2 Div.	3 Div.	4 Div.	Irregular Life	Total
1926 to 1935 incl.	13	8	8	0	0	2	31
1916 to 1925 incl.	9	7	10	1	0	3	30
1896 to 1915 incl.	1	12	6	3	0	1	23
before 1896	3	9	5	1	2	(?)	20
						Total....	104

/156/ Supposing that divorces are regularly spaced through the course of life, and that they cease at about the age of 65 on the average, one can arrive at an estimate of the average number of divorces in store for a Boni woman at old age.

Women born from	Average Age End 1957	Average No. Divorces	Probable No. by Age 65
1926 to 1935 incl.	27 years	0.8 in 10 years(1)	3.8
1916 to 1925	37 years	1.0 in 17 years	2.8
1896 to 1915	52 years	1.5 in 32 years	2.1
before 1896	70 years		1.5 (?)

[582]

1. The average age at marriage is 17 for this group of women, 20 for the earlier groups.

/156 cont./

586 The estimate of the average number of divorces for women
[128] born before 1896 is probably lower than the actual number, their first divorces not being well known to our informants. It is probably in the neighborhood of two.

586 The increase in frequency of divorces among young women
593 is striking. It is related to the weakening of the authority, very
178 strong in former times, exercised by mothers over their daughters.

Here are two examples concerning two girls we have known since their childhood.

836 Lomé (L2, F74, Boniville) born in 1938, began to cause people to talk about her in 1954. She was deflowered by N..., who did not want to marry her. Then she had relations with Asadam (K, Boniville), who did not want to marry her either. She was beaten; she continued to see him. Now this is extreme-
[558] ly shameful for a girl because it is placing herself in a state of inferiority with respect to a man, when her self-respect consists in making a contract between equals.

582 Her brother Amèmbé beat her, and she ended up by marrying Pitipiti (Aw.B.2, Asisi village), who formally asked
586 for her in marriage in 1956. This marriage lasted less than a
587 year. In 1957 Lomé divorced him to marry Djoni (Kotika village).

584 Aguba (D.u, G14), girl of Asisi-Dju village, born in 1941, had been proposed to with the customary formalities in May, 1956 by Païtiki (L2, Loka village), a young man of 18. It was
584 agreed that the engaged couple would wait two years. But
585 Païtiki did not wait and consummated the marriage clandestine-
[429] ly at the end of a few months. Lènga, Aguba's aunt and guardian, became very angry and beat her. She did not give her the pangi until May, 1957. The marriage lasted only a few
586 months. /157/ By the end of 1957 Aguba was breaking off with Païtiki and beginning openly to look for adventures.

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175 648 727 with their allies. The sites of their villages, marked on Coudreau's map (1888) are in immediate proximity to those of former Oayana villages.

175 648 [643] relations must have been created rapidly and in a very natural fashion. The grand man of the Boni is in a way the suzerain of the Indian chiefs; this situation was not imposed by force; it results from the privileged situation of the Boni on the river, which until recent times obliged the Indians to deal through them in order to trade with the outside world.

Although the Boni took advantage of this situation in days gone by to impose arbitrary rates of exchange upon the Indians, this relation must not be imagined as the exploitation of conquered by conqueror. It is based on the absolute respect of each 648 829 group for the beliefs and social structure of the other, and an activity for each befitting its inclination. The proverb says: "To the Boni the river, to the Indians the forest." Thus it is [439] that the Boni traditionally buy arrows from the Indians, while the latter buy paddles from them; the meaning of this symobl is perfectly understood by both.

648 582 Marriages between the two groups, without being forbidden, are regarded as contrary to custom (2).

159 156 643 648 582 2. The marriage of Grand Man Awensay to an Indian woman about 1915 was inspired by complex motives. Toward the end of his life, Awensay could no longer stand the Boni, his imperious personality putting up badly with their individualism and their taste for discussion. He had established the Indian country a farming habitation in which he lived nearly all

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year; by taking an Indian woman as his wife he apparently sought to humiliate his subjects.

Awensay's children and grandchildren were all dead in 1957 except for two women, both sterile. There has been no other case of marriage between Boni and Indians.

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439 /294/ In practice, the basis for commercial exchanges is the following: the Indians furnish hammocks, and above all dogs trained for hunting, to which great value is attached. The Boni furnish boats. In days gone by they also brought imported objects, machetes, axes, and beads, but this form of trade has disappeared since the Indians have had the possibility of getting supplies from the Europeans.

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Several observers, coming after Coudreau (1890) and Grébert (1937) in particular, have expressed the opinion that these relations were founded on fear and that the Boni, utilizing mysterious means of pressure, used to oppress the Indians.

After seven missions spent in contact with both, we affirm that these assertions are without foundation. On the contrary, one can only admire the way in which these primitive groups have been able to create loyal and trusting relations with one another. The Indians and Boni who have worked with us have always shown themselves happy to be together. To realize this, it was sufficient to hear the animated conversations they used to have in the evening around the campfires about their respective families, the events which took place in their villages, fishing, or hunting.

716 kunu, which must kill his children. Was it safe to mention it? A chance question was asked.

"Nothing will happen to my children, Bak'a. They will [604] belong to my wife's family. It is my sister's children that things will happen to."

Bayo paused for a moment on the path, and stood in thought. Was it that he wished to be entirely honest with his friend? Was it that to confess the truth was too difficult for him? Whatever the reason, his next remark indicated a compromise.

"Nothing will happen to my children. Those of my younger brother will die, but not mine."

584 The conversation came back to the less painful subject of betrothal. Whatever the reason for accepting this boy whose kunu brought such supernatural risk, the match had apparently been satisfactory to the family of the girl, and they had sent word that the marriage would not displease them.

"Now I am earning the money I need, and later I will make the things I must give my girl and her family."

• 583 There was, first of all, the work to be done for Bayo's prospective mother-in-law. He might have to help her with repairs on her house, or assist her in clearing a field. Before he was married he would have to go into the bush and cut the two fields for his wife, one for rice and one for cassava, which a married woman must have, and in addition he would have to cut an extra field for the mother of his wife.

"I must do it so they can be sure that I am strong, and can take care of their girl when I marry her. But I will not have any trouble!"

Before that, however, Bayo would have to see to the carvings which a man had to have for marrying.

"I do not like to carve. But I have friends who will [439] carve for me while I go hunting for them!" That was the way to solve such difficulties. When the carvings were assembled he would have to make a boat for his girl. Bayo was not yet certain, but he thought that another boat would have to be made for his mother-in-law. Then

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Marriage requires a bride price, consisting of pieces of 583
cloth, sugar, tobacco, and some carved wooden implements, such as combs, paddles, trays. These are handed over to the bride's family as presents. Then the wife simply moves into her husband's hut, or he into hers. Despite their pre-marital 585
promiscuity, it is said that on the bridal night all the inhabitants of a Bush Negro village will gather outside the hut to hear what the husband has to say regarding the bride's virginity. If the girl is not a virgin, part of the bride price may be refunded, at the husband's discretion. The gathering on such an occasion is attended by much jocularity.

The Djuka husband builds a hut for each one of his women 593
and has another for himself, to which he may retire when- 342
ever he feels the need of bachelor seclusion. The woman 591
sleeps in her own hut, cooks, and raises her children there. The husband comes to her when he wants to, and leaves her for another wife when impulse so guides him. She seldom quarrels with the other wives, who may even live in separate villages.

Each wife has her own provision ground, where she grows 593
rice and cassava; her husband has cleared it for her. The cas- 241
sava fields are owned by individual women, but are held in 562
very loose tenure. At harvest time, or when a plague of in- [323]
sects is threatening, the women of several households work [576]
together in common.

The man's hut is called his *gudu oso*, or "treasure house." 342
It serves to impress his women with his importance and 556
wealth. They are forbidden to enter it, but, woman-like, they insist on peeping in. So he keeps many boxes and wood carv-

/14 cont./

584 and, once this has been promised, she does indeed continue to be regarded specifically as the betrothed of the person who made the request. As soon as she is marriageable, she is handed over to her man with or without her consent, and it may be regarded as a rare case when such a promise is broken.

[431] The man to whom she is promised sometimes does not see his future wife before the occasion of her betrothal, but usually he is concerned with her upbringing and from time to time gives her presents consisting of money, pantjes, and corals.

[591] Some take the girl promised to them even when she is only three or four years old in order to rear her further.

[672] The promising of newborn girls takes place for the most part
[682] when there are obligations between parents, as was reported in Chapter III, and in the case of enslavement which is done to one
[567] family by another in case of poisoning, and so forth.

586 It is an everyday occurrence that a woman leaves her husband or a man his wife for another.

595 Polygyny is much practiced, and among my workers I know several who have three or four wives, most of whom are very young. Some, however, have only one wife.

It is noteworthy that all the wives sleep with the man in one hut, while in addition he perhaps keeps with him a girl whom he
[573] is bringing up to be his wife. One wife will be /15/ with him in the hammock and lies with her feet at the head end of the man and the latter in turn with his feet at the head end of the women, while the other women sleep in their hammocks.

[484] If a Bush Negro goes out, be it to celebrate a festival or in order to float wood to the town, he takes all his wives with him; only in case of illness do they remain behind.

His wives get money separately, and therefore they must also separately provide for his food, so that one cooks the food in the morning, another at midday, a third in the evening, etc.
[578] This way of life and their jealous nature frequently bring about household quarrels that rarely end in any way other than bloody fights.

585 Upon the conclusion of a marriage the man is obligated to
583 give the parents of the girl as a marriage portion a long, broad,

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585 white cotton sleeping blanket, various colored cloths and pantjes,
[583] some earthenware, such as bowls and plates, iron pots and pans, and the like, while he is obligated on the occasion to provide for an ample supply of strong drink and sugar wine.

They do not have festivities, games, or dancing in connection with their marriages.

586 If a marriage is dissolved, then each of the two parties again goes to his own family; in case those concerned in it and the elders disapprove of this, however, it happens that man and wife are forced to continue to live with each other, especially when there are no substantial reasons and grievances.

593 The man is obligated to provide his wife or his wives with food, clothing, and ornaments; she, to follow the man everywhere, to cook for him, to wash, and to take care of the housekeeping.

264 The wives are neat in an exemplary fashion; plates, bowls,
252 and pans are always kept extremely clean, and they also see to it that everything is extremely clean in connection with cooking.

841 If they find themselves in a period of menstruation, they
302 indicate this immediately to the husband by withdrawing from his dwelling and staying in seclusion with other women; they neither cook nor do the least thing for him in this state, do not even come within sight of him, and remain secluded to the end; when they have cleaned and dressed themselves, they decorate their shoulders and arms with white stripes as a token /16/ that they have again
[388] returned to their normal state. The stripes are made by mixing
[824] pounded adroe (1) with ground chalk and water.

1. A tuberous root-stalk from the Cyperus rotundus L.

Sometimes they also smear the forehead and the neck in this way and appear thus before their husbands.

841 During their seclusion another woman, who is a member of
571 the family or possibly a female friend, daily prepares and brings the
252 food, which, however, is at the expense of the secluded wife. They perform this service for each other mutually.

/34 cont./

601 They continue to use the terms soagi, pay, may even after the break-up of a marriage, so that they are in frequent usage. As for the woman herself, they say sa So-and-so in speaking to her, as to a sister.

581 Marriage. The conceptions of the Refugee Blacks on this subject are remarkable. Marriage in the African sense of the term, understood as a contract between two groups of relatives, does not exist
581 among them. The union of the man and woman does not involve
583 any sort of contract between their groups of relatives and consequently entails no matrimonial compensation. /35/ The Refugee Blacks are the only African Negro population to our knowledge whose customs do not involve any form of "dowry" either in money or in kind.

582 Family life in the sense that we understand it does not exist;
621 as we shall see further on, marriage is forbidden between people of the same lineage, which implies that the husband and wife live
591 in different villages. The man builds a house for his wife in her
593 native village, but he does not come to live with her; he makes
[439] visits of several days to her as to his other wives, in the course of which he furnishes her with the imported objects (salt, kerosene, cloth, etc.) she needs, lends her his aid for heavy chores, while, for her part, she turns over to him the products of the clearing. The rest of the time he lives as a bachelor in his mother's village where he builds his own house. If he is very attached to his wife, he can come to reside with her and can even succeed without great difficulty in bringing her to live in his own village; but few couples take advantage of this option, for the man and wife prize their independence above everything else.

593 The life of the man and of the wife remain entirely separate
[613] and their union has more the character of a temporary association founded on material interests than that of a marriage; the family life of each one remains entirely centered around his or her matrilineage.

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Family custom is a thing tenacious in other ways than a language, a technique, indeed a cult. Men cling desperately to the social and matrimonial system they have received, with the feeling that if they abandoned it their familiar universe would crumble. Do we not see nowadays in the big African cities groups completely separated geographically from their tribe of origin, subject sometimes for several generations to European influence, maintain fiercely their matrimonial system? Yet in all the tribes of Refugee Blacks patrilineal filiation prevailed nowhere at all, and patrilocal residence disappeared, it seems, rather rapidly; the problem cannot be dodged by facile explanations such as the influence of slavery or the rarity of women among the rebels (1).

[583]

1. The rebel groups were quickly balanced from a demographic point of view, for they went and carried off women from the plantations.

One must assume that fundamental reasons made the patrilineal groups less viable than the others and finally led to their dissolution. These reasons appear to be of two orders;

—The independent spirit of the African woman, concerned above all with her freedom with respect to the man;

—The moral and religious law under which the unification of the tribes of Refugee Blacks was brought about, implying rejection of any form of violence or oppression. Under this law it could no longer be a question of taking the wife away from her maternal village if she was attached to it, no more than of coercing her to make her live in a union which had ceased to please her.

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174 571 The formation of patrilineages must have been hampered by numerous divorces; in addition, in case of divorce, the wife unquestionably aspired to take her children with her, not recognizing any contract between the two groups of kin which might be able to affect her free will; one can also be certain that the children, if consulted, must have followed their mother in most cases and joined their maternal kin group. This tendency remains perfectly [586] observable in our day; we shall see all its importance when we study how the children are raised and what tutelage is exercised upon them.

Now there is no patrilineage conceivable, if, in case of divorce, the children do not stay with the father. Patrilineal societies exist in which the wife is free, were it only the Peule society, where divorces are very frequent. But African custom has it that in a patrilineal system, by reason of payment of the dowry, the wife's kin lose all rights over the children. They have entered the man's kin group and his ancestral cult.

The formation of matrilineal and patrilocal groupings must also have collided with analogous difficulties, the women not willingly leaving their village of origin.

One can rather easily imagine that in the initial period of the formation of the /37/ new tribes, the different matrimonial systems coexisted; then the patrilocal groups, less viable, progressively broke up, while the present custom was being established.

195 643 This point of view is confirmed by an exact piece of information collected at the end of the 19th century by the explorer Coudreau. Upon the death of Agosu, son of Boni, it was his son Gongo who succeeded him. But after the death of Gongo, the succession went according to the matrilineal system.

• 583 Another important aspect of the matrimonial system of the Refugee Blacks is the absence of any compensation or payment. [591] Even if it happens that a woman leaves her lineage permanently in order to settle in her husband's village and found a family there

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583 (this was especially the case with the Afi and Toïna lineages
591 cited above), that does not entail any compensation. It is contrary to custom and disapproved of, but if the wife absolutely insists on leaving her kin she is free to do it. Nothing can be claimed from her husband's lineage.

The usual interpretation of matrimonial compensation, regarded as a mechanism for exchange of women among groups, thus does not seem valid here. If a woman leaves a Boni lineage for good to go and found a family, for example among the Djuka, her descendants are lost to the lineage without any possibility of compensation. Yet this society so deeply rooted in African soil does not make provision for any allowance or payment in such a case.

613 Things are clearer if the lineage is considered not as an
771 effective material grouping but as a spiritual community subject
[829] to the same religious law. In the thought of the Refugee Blacks, the fundamental religious tie which joins the individual to his ancestors in uterine line cannot be broken whatever anyone does.

[591] Wherever she may go, the emigrant woman remains a mem-
[784] ber of the spiritual community; she remains, she and her children, subject to the same kunu. Nor can this religious tie be transferred from the maternal kin group.

581 Understood thus, marriage breaks no spiritual tie, creates
583 none; it thus affords no reason for any compensation.

000 These considerations show that the African "dowry" as conceived by patrilineal societies is not only a mechanism for the exchange of women among materially constituted groups. It can also have as its end, without those concerned even being aware of it, to compensate the spiritual community of the lineage for the loss of the children the woman will bear, their passage to another cult.

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1937	Mission to determine the trijunction point of the frontiers of French Guiana-Brazil-Surinam.
1939	Declaration of war.
1944-45	Not a precise point of reference. The Boni confuse the liberation of the territory with the end of the war.
1948	First I.G.N. mission.
1949	Mr. Aubert de la Rüe's mission; second I.G.N. mission.
1952	Third I.G.N. mission. /blank page/ /63/

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

571 The social institutions of the Refugee Blacks diverge noticeably from those of the African peoples from whom they issued. [561] They do not include age grades, men's societies, or initiation; [575] marriage involves neither a contract between kin groups nor [881] "dowry." [583]

In a general way these societies founded by rebel slaves who had retained an extreme horror of all oppression were organized 571 so as not to have any material constraint weigh upon the individual. 626 Their institutions are entirely founded on the idea of protection [771] against suprahuman perils; the individual remains perfectly free, and he adheres /to these institutions/ only in proportion as he is [156] conscious of these perils. The custom of the Refugee Blacks, devoid of any means of material coercion, tends to develop within the individual the feeling that he is constantly threatened,

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643 613 In 1957 the Dikan lineage was practically extinct. There remained only Grand Man Difu and his elder brother Samalobi, very old.

[829] The present grand man does not know the genealogy of his lineage beyond his grandmother. /Fig. 14 appears here./ /71/

[648] At the death of Awensay it was Samalobi, eldest of Awensay's classificatory nephews, who was to be named; but the French administration thought they had to oppose it, judging him too old; he yielded with good grace.

613 [165] [554] Samalobi, the ancestor, the patriarch of the Boni, died in May, 1957 at over 100 years old. Although very weakened by his infirmities and nearly blind, he kept great prestige and no important decision was made without his consent.

173 The son of Apatu, companion of Crevaux, he had retained an exact memory of the explorer whom he had accompanied during part of his trip in 1877. It is thanks to his memories that Crevaux's prestige has remained so great on the Maroni.

643 692 578 The grand man judges without appeal disputes between members of different lineages. Truly serious affairs are extremely rare, if one keeps in mind that:

[613] [583] [586] --Disputes over the payment of dowry, paying it back in case of divorce, and the assignment of the children, which form the main part of the cases argued before ordinary African jurisdictions, do not exist among the Refugee Blacks;

643 613

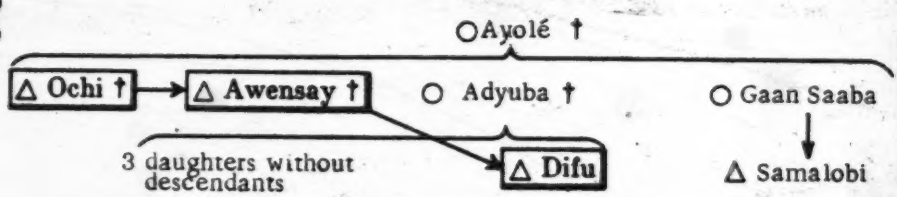

Fig. 14. Filiation of the last three grand men of the Boni.

/133 cont./

866 made for sale, the guardian gives him a small sum out of the
461 money gained. At 14 an adolescent begins to satisfy nearly all
434 his own needs.

For example, from June to December, 1956, Tasa (14
883 years), son of Fintiman (Boniville) had earned about 13,000
465 francs:

June	helped his father build a large boat for the administration (45 days)	6,000
October	went to Saint-Laurent as auxiliary bossman .	3,000
December	helped convoy a boat of the border-fixing mission sent back empty to Maripasoula . .	4,000
		13,000

882 His father, entrusted with his education, let him use this
868 money in his own way; he pointed out to us with pride that for the first time in 1956 his son had been able to satisfy all his own needs, but that it was important to keep him under a firm hand until he was capable of doing a man's work alone: for that, five or six years of apprenticeship would not be too much.

868 In fact, many times we had the chance to verify it, it is
561 in this prolonged apprenticeship that are developed the seriousness
[153] of mind and the technical skill so remarkable among the Refugee Blacks. At 20 years, most of them still do not know how to do
[582] anything worthwhile, and it is scarcely before 25 or 27 that they
[178] become capable of /134/ painstaking work; in this respect the present tendency of the young boys toward precocious emancipation (the marriage age of men is going down to 20 and even 18 years) runs the risk of having very unfortunate consequences for the future of the Refugee Blacks.

429 The person charged with the education of a girl exercises the powers of a mother toward her. It is she who authorizes
[582] her to marry, and by giving her the pāŋgi, married women's garment, gives her symbolically her freedom as a woman. It is
[583] to her that the first husband pays the price of the virginity of the girl.

/143 cont./

585 613 The head of the lineage calls a classificatory sister of the girl. He takes her by the hand and leads her to the suitor's envoy, saying: "I give thee this woman."

Then he calls a classificatory brother of the girl. He leads him to the suitor's envoy, saying: "I give thee this man."

This second part of the ceremony is purely symbolic; there is no question at all that this man and this woman are marrying. Its purpose seems to be to show the perfect equality of the man and the woman in the marriage.

[769] The words pronounced in the invocation to the ancestors are: "We give (this) woman to (this) man; may they live together, may they not be sick, may they have children, children who live."

[584] There is no need for the assent of the woman's father.

585 If it is a question of the first marriage of a young girl, the fiancé comes, aided by his friends, to build her a house. [583] He builds her a boat and buys for her what is necessary for domestic life. [429] When the person who is bringing up the girl judges the time to be ripe, she gives her the pãŋgi, garment of married women, authorizing thus the consummation of the marriage.

[613] [769] The husband who built the house asks the elders of his wife's lineage to come in front of the house to throw tafia, to ask the ancestors that the couple be fecund and live a long time in this house.

584 613 Here, for example, is how the marriage proposal to Chitaïna (Aw.B.1, F43, Asisi village) by Déési (L1, F45, Loka village) proceeded in 1948.

To represent him Déési had sent his classificatory brother Tamu /144/ (L1, F32), older than he by about 15 years, and his classificatory aunt, Yaana (L1, E39). (See the genealogical table of the Lapé lineage.)

/147 cont./

583 A girl's marriage does not involve any dowry in the African sense of the term, but it involves payment of the price of virginity to the mother. This payment is made after consummation of the marriage (or after defloration if there has been a clandestine union). It consists of seven pieces of cloth, a demijohn of tafia, and various imported objects (the whole representing in 1958 about 8,000 francs, which is relatively small for the Refugee Blacks). It really has to do with the price of virginity, for nothing is paid back if there is a break-up. The man moreover gives the girl white beads /possibly "pearls" --Tr./, red cloth, and sweetmeats which constitute the payment of her akka.

[429] The price of virginity is paid to the person who has raised the girl, even if it is a man. This person divides it equally with the mother or, if the latter is dead, with the mother's sisters.

For example, for O Baïkom (D,u, F10), brought up by her father Malobi in Loka village, her husband Moomu (Kotika) paid the price of virginity to Malobi who shared it with his wife Béniti.

[604] [613] No payment is made to the uncles or to the head of the lineage.

836 [597] The fact that a girl may carry on a clandestine affair and be deflowered without having been properly proposed to is considered a shame for the mother; but if the seducer confesses and pays the price of virginity, honor is restored.

Defloration does not necessarily entail marriage, for the seducer does not always intend to take on the maintenance of a household.

If the girl is deflowered too young, her mother does not give her the pāŋgi and continues to forbid her to have sexual relations, for she fears that she may become pregnant. Now for 848 a girl, becoming pregnant without having concluded a contract 558 of maintenance with a man is an extreme shame, for that means she is not worth anything.

/148 cont./

836 684 [558] daughter's virginity: the other women will make fun of her and as for the men, they will be unanimous in laughing cruelly at the new trick played on the women. Now certain girls refuse obstinately to confess, or they have already had several adventures, so that nobody succeeds in knowing the truth. After many recriminations and arguments the affair proceeds no further.

If it has been possible to identify the seducer with certainty, the mother, arming herself with a stick, goes from village to village to find him; his uncles intervene and end by settling the business by asking the mother to accept, since there is nothing else to do, the payment for virginity. This sum absolutely must be paid; if the young man were not able to do it, his uncles would pay it for him even if they have to turn against him ultimately. The mother accepts the payment, honor is safe.

• 583 In many cases the couple consider themselves as joined, at least temporarily; the man prepares, if he is hard working, to build a house for his wife. If he is not hard working, he simply promises to make one for her some day; in reality he has spared himself this great labor; the woman will have to wait for years unless her mother or one of her uncles dies, bequeathing her his or her house. /149/

836 684 Observation in Boniville in October, 1956:

A village woman comes to complain to Fintiman that his nephew and ward Doni has deflowered her daughter Elina, 15 years old, in July of the same year. She learned it indirectly, and the daughter expressly confessed it. Doni admitted the facts; he promised to pay the indemnity at the end of the border-fixing mission when he has received his pay. Elina continues to wear the kwey until further orders and does not show any embarrassment. Doni comes back in the evening. I hear Fintiman reprimand him, but only for form's sake: "Deflowering a girl when one does not intend to live with her is something which is

/217 cont./

774 583 If someone marries a girl, he must not only pay her mother the price of virginity but must also pay the girl's akka. [782] For that he offers white beads and cloth which the bride will wear, as well as sweets which will be consumed by her. [784] If the price of virginity were not paid, the woman's akka, humiliated, might make her sick or kill her. /218/

774 /218/ There are seven categories of akka, masculine and feminine, one for each day of the week.

[114] Crevaux in 1877 was able to establish the complete list (1):

[171] 1. This conception is widespread in the Agni-Ashanti culture area, among the Ewé and Mina, and as far as western Dahomey. The names reported among the Mina correspond very exactly, except for some differences in pronunciation, to the ones kept by the Boni.

[805]

	Men	Women
Sunday	Kwasi	Kwasiba
Monday	Kɔdyo	Adyuba
Tuesday	Kwami	Abeniba
Wednesday	Kwaku	Akuba
Thursday	Yao	Yaba
Friday	Kɔfi	Afiba
Saturday	Kwamina	Amba

[184] All these names are known to the Boni, but none of our informants was capable of reciting the complete list. It is [551] well understood that a name like Kɔfi, Kɔdio /sic/, etc. is the akka's name and not at all the man's name (2).

484 through them, would have meant courting the displeasure of the spirit which animated the troubled stretch, and would have been dangerous. He was a Man Nengere and knew all this well, for was he not ready to marry Dida any 582 time now? He would have to wait as yet, but perhaps [856] during the next planting her breasts would come, and then in a month, two, three, she would be ready to marry. He was, in fact, in the mood even to cast about for a second wife, though his marrying her would have to wait many years. All that would come, for what with the money he already had earned, and the sums he would get for the wood he might bring down the river later, and this money the Bakra would give him, he would have enough to pay for the hammock, the cloth pangi, the handkerchiefs, the [584] bracelets and beads, and whatever else a man needed to give to his woman and her mother for a fine marriage.

484 Going through this stretch of still water, which Bayo always found dull, he thought of this and that, for there was no work for his muscles but the monotony of the dip and stroke of the paddle. Going upstream it was different. There the challenge of the slipping pole-stick against submerged slime-covered rocks made a man prove himself. It spoke to the warrior blood in him, which found no outlet in these quiet times. But this was only idling, and his mind found pleasure in wandering, especially if it happened, as now, to be dark enough to make it worthless for him to look about for the things that grew and stirred in the bush.

Yes, it would be almost three hours before the sun was high, and when it stood there—he indicated the place in the heavens to himself with his eye—he might be loading the Bakra's boats to go up river, for word had come from top-side that the Mamadam would be safe in a few days, and now if the Granman meant for the Bakra to get to the upper river, he would be sending word down almost any time. And he, Bayo, was ready for the journey. 484 Here in the blue canister, which he had bought in the city 574 on the Queen's last birthday with part of the money he had

KUNU

We sat one night talking about the neku vine, which is 278
used to poison the streams for fishing, and the ceremonies 226
attending the discovery of a new one, how the ownership of it is passed on in the female line, and about the songs which are sung to celebrate the finding, and the feast which is given at this time.

"Do you use this poison only to catch fish, or does it have other uses?" we asked guardedly.

"Well, sometimes people use it to commit suicide," one man said. "That is bad. Sometimes a man or a woman will [762] do it to put a kunu on another's family." He went on to tell of a man who lately did this. He had been promised the daughter of a family in this very village when the girl was a small, small child. It happened that the girl's uncles found gold in one of the streams, for which the white man gave them much goods, and now they were big men. Since the girl's children would inherit much wealth, they wanted her to be the principal wife of a man of rank. There were messages back and forth, and council meetings, but the uncles insisted that the girl return the gifts she had received —insisted against the advice of many people. So this *kio*, [627] this young lad, could get his revenge in no other way than by taking his own life, and sending a kunu to the family. 776
"The next time you come you will probably see the kunu 754
at work. It is always so. Of what use is wealth when the children begin to die? One year the crops are bad, and you have to buy food. One year you go from one obia man to the next to find out why your sister cannot make children. Your money goes. Kunu is a bad thing."

Another day a woman came to us with a comb to sell. 439
She had heard that we were gathering pieces to put into a large house where carvings from Africa were being shown, and she wanted us to have this comb of hers which was [584] made as a betrothal gift by her husband who was now many years dead. It was an old comb with several broken tines and holes bored into it by insects, but the decorated end was still very beautiful, and we were eager to buy it. When we 439
asked her to explain to us the meaning of the design, she 532

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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THE PROVISION GROUND

It is the woman's task, then, to see to the food which the Earth Mother yields, while the men are busy hauling lumber and making boats, hunting and fishing, and carrying the white man's loads to the city. In the leisure of the rainy season, while the women cut up the trade cotton cloth into long, narrow strips and sew them into cloths of traditional design, the men are at work carving fine things out of wood. 462 [294]

When the big rains come a man might busy himself carving doorposts for his new house, or he might make a paddle to put away in his personal treasure house, so that, when he is ready to take a second wife, he might have the proper gifts to make her. Another might be making a small canoe paddle for his first daughter. She is four, perhaps, and already is of help to her mother in the field, carrying water from the river in a small Indian jar. Soon she will be strong enough to have the cutting of the kamemba begin—a few slashes about the navel at first . . . He will cover the surface of the paddle with beautiful traceries, each design a meaningful symbol, and to add to its beauty he will darken it with a mixture of oil and charred rice hulls. When it is finished it will be of a reddish-brown color, slender, and smooth to the touch of his fingers as the skin of his woman-child. Combs, food stirrers, trays, stools, peanut pounding boards, and, if a man likes, mortar and pestle—all these are carved when the rains are heavy and there is no work to be done on the river or in the bush. 462 322 [584] [857] [532]

So the work is divided. A man does a man's work—wood, iron, hunting the game animals of the bush, and catching fish in traps, making baskets of wood fiber—all that is a man's affair he does. And the woman, tending the fields and cooking for her family, pounding palm nuts in her mortar to make palm oil, grating the bitter cassava to make flour free from the poison that is in the roots, caring for her house and carving calabash dishes with the symbols of men and women and fertility—woman does what it is woman's lot to do. 462 [252]

REBEL DESTINY

84 It appeared that nothing in a woman's life was so dreaded
85 as childbearing, nothing more coveted than fertility, and no time so difficult and so anxious as when a woman was rearing her children.

787 "The day before a girl marries she prays all day to her
584 gods," said Dida, who with Fenekonde and several other women had joined us. "I begged my god Kesekia and gave him rice and rum. All day they played the agida. I begged
[849] him not to hate my husband. I begged him to give us children."

843 When a woman conceived, her husband made her many
[831] obias, and especially a black sack obia with four cowries
751 sewed on it, to keep her safe on the paths which led from
789 village to village, and from village to her field. The fear of the power of bad magic at this time was so great that, if we but looked at one of the pregnant women, or let our eyes rest on the several obias she wore, she grew nervous, covered them with both her hands, and disappeared in fear that the very power of our glance might weaken the potency of the charms. She did not believe in the white man's magic, but she was not in a condition to wish to put it to a test.

844 "When her time comes, a woman sees to it that she is in
782 her own village," said Fenekonde. "It is not good to give birth in the bush, or on the river."

This had almost happened to Wilhelmina with her last child. She was on the river alone in a boat. Chief Sungi of Dahomey met her and called on his gods to delay the coming of the child until he brought her home. He had strong obia, and so the misfortune was averted.

When the woman felt the first labor-pains, she prayed to the gods, and to her personal spirits. On the great Sky God she called, and the Earth Mother; on her ak'a, her soul; on the Yorka, the ancestors; and then she prayed to her personal gods, and particularly to whatever snake gods she might have, for some of these were known to be jealous of a coming child. But none of the gods dared be slighted.

society, the "Congo" sticks, as they were called here, or the "fighting" sticks. 532

The carvings, however, which we were admiring in the house of the captain of Ma'lobbi were for secular use. The Bush Negro craftsman brought to the ornamenting of his paddles and his canoe seats, to his house posts, and particularly to the door of his treasure house, to his women's combs, and trays, and food stirrers, and clothes beaters all the traditional skill and patience. But the exceptional carver brought also the cunning in his fingers which his gods had given to him and only to few others on the river. Such a man was the captain of Ma'lobbi. Into the traditional designs such a man wove lines for the love of seeing them grow under his hand, for there were always single motifs which the people versed in the symbolism of the art would describe as "beautiful," as having no meaning. Yet with few exceptions the massing of outlines in a unified design bore on fertility. Men and women alone or together, and male and female animals were represented in all but occasional pieces. [501]

The Bush Negro artist was a man of consequence on the river. His companions admired his skill, and the young women were proud to have his handiwork. If he showed his gifts early, he was at an advantage in courting a girl of an influential family. The girl's mother, who shared in the gifts of her daughter's suitor, might be willing to overlook other less advantageous traits in the man or in his family, while the girl's uncles would not be loath to have such a man in their family to teach his art to his sons, who would be their successors. 532 554 584

On several occasions we were permitted to see how very deeply this appreciation of fine carving went. As in the instance of the paddle we had acquired from the wife of the captain of Ma'lobbi, it had happened often that the consent of the woman to sell a given piece was necessary before any trading could take place. Sometimes we traded directly with the woman, sometimes she asked her husband, or her brother, or her son, as the more worldly 432 562 439

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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BAYO, THE PLAYBOY

"Will Bayo be married before we leave the bush?" we 115
asked, telling her that only a short time would see us returning to our own country.

We had often talked of marriage with Bayo on our trip up river and had offered to make up what he lacked in gifts and money that we might witness the festivities of marriage. He had, of course, promised to have matters arranged.

Bayo's aunt laughed, however, when she heard the question, and turned to the other woman who was with us in the dimly lighted hut.

"Did you hear what the white man asks?" she called 584
out to her companion. "White man, let me tell you some- 115
thing. Bayo is a long way from marrying yet. Why, his girl's breasts haven't begun to come yet!"

It seemed that Bayo had also to see to many things before he could marry. He had not yet cut the field for his mother-in-law, nor had he made any of the carvings which he needed to give his betrothed and her mother, for Bayo was a poor carver.

"Bayo has cunning in his eyes, and his head, but his 115
fingers have no cunning, Bak'a. . . . But you know this, Bayo is strong."

Her train of thought turned at the last phrase to our journey up river. Had we traveled well with Bayo? Had he got on with the other men? Awa, she knew that people liked him. It was the obia he had, and his own gods, but his gods were bad, too.

"When he was in his mother's womb, he troubled her [843]
much. He tore at her. Ai, she had no happy time of it with Bayo."

We remembered the incest kunu in Bayo's family, which 684
lay in wait for all its members, killing off one by one until 976
the line was wiped out. We ventured a cautious question.

"You are the sister of Bayo's mother?"

The answer, however, did not take us to kunu, but rather 115
to the iron on her arm. 976

"Ai, and of his father who is now dead. In our family we 789
have strong gods. It is these that have come to Bayo. . . ."

115 him, and what he could get on the Marowyne in a year,
[556] it would be possible for him to see to it that his betrothed
[584] had all the gifts that a man of position gave to his woman.
There were, too, other things to bear in mind. Already he had seen a girl who would make a desirable second wife, but that would require still more money.

115 "But, Bayo," we interposed, "we saw your mother at
913 Djamungo. She told us your girl will not be ready for marrying for some time."

"Did she say that? Did she tell you that I am still a child?"

"What's the matter, Bayo? Don't you like her?"

"Awa, I like her. Not too much. She likes to talk."

231 We thought it politic to give the subject a new turn.
224 Close beside Bayo lay the dog that had accompanied him the first time he came to us here, before our journey up the river. His was a curious color, a faint pinkish hue which puzzled us.

"What is the color of your dog, Bayo?"

"He is white when he does not have obia on him. He is a hunting dog. Tross is his name. He will stay with me. The obia comes off when he goes into the river."

We laughed. "Does Tross hunt in the river, Bayo?"

"No. In the bush. But if I leave him behind, he swims out to my canoe."

231 Tross was to become better known to us as the days went
789 on. He had a great affection for his master, and this feeling extended to all those who appertained to Bayo. After Bayo had attached himself to our camp, we, too, came under the aura of his dog's regard, though this may have been made the more reasonable by the fact that the netting of the mosquito guards of our hammocks appealed to Tross as a comfortable place to spend the night. He was a good watchdog, and sometimes we were awakened by his low growl, and a voice saying "*Cha!*—Be quiet!" Just now we were interested in the cord about his neck, and we asked Bayo about it.

"It is more obia. It is strong, too. Nothing happens to Tross when he goes in the bush. You will see."

115 Bayo knew the bush as he knew the river. At one point he stopped and, clipping off a long, slender branch with his bush knife, he trimmed it and began to strike at a palm tree. He was after maripa nuts, and soon they began to pelt the ground. Their pink, slightly astringent meat was highly prized by the Bush Negroes as a delicacy, and the white man also found them good. Both munched them as they walked farther into the bush. It was a good time to speak of Bayo's marriage.

"Your mother said you needed to work hard before marrying."

"Ai."

"Is it money you need?"

"Much money, and goods besides."

"What will your girl do with all this money, and all of these goods?"

"They are not all for her. She would have me without them. It is her mother who must get things, too."

That Bayo was attractive to women, we had often seen, but that his betrothed would have him without the wealth demanded for her by right of whatever position her family held, seemed doubtful. However, this was not the time to argue the point.

"Your girl is still young. Do girls her age know enough to choose a man?"

The question brought us to the story of how Bayo became betrothed.

His girl, he told us, was of good family. She had lived in his village, because her mother at marriage had come to live with her husband at Djamunga, but a few years after Bayo had become betrothed to the girl, his mother's sister took her away to the family seat up the river.

"Do you care for your girl, Bayo?"

"*M'an tabi, Bak'a*—I do not know. We shall see how we get on. But her family is good, and they are looking after her chastity, as families who have position do."

"What if you don't get on after you are married?"

"We will separate. She will go back to her own family. Sometimes, if a man doesn't like a woman too much, and

5: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1929-1930) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Saramacca

she doesn't make children, then he can send her back. But most often it is the woman who goes away." 586

When the wife left the home her husband had built for her and went to her family, he had to go to her village and plead for her return, while her relations berated him soundly for his behavior toward their kin. If he had not mistreated her badly, the family would urge her to return to him, and so great would that pressure be that she would have to go. But Bayo again repeated that this did not happen often. If a woman left her husband and he failed to come for her, they were divorced. She could not remarry until three months had passed. [587]

But Bayo was more interested in marriage than in divorce, and the talk again turned to his betrothal. 584 115

His mother and her brothers had decided upon the match. His uncles had gone to the family of the girl, and talked with her mother's brothers. Her people called a family krutu to decide whether Bayo was qualified to be a suitable husband for this young member of their family.

"Were you there?"

"No. It was a krutu of her family. But I know how they talk at these krutu, for when my sister was promised in marriage my own family had a krutu, and I sat and listened. Anybody who knew anything had about my brother-in-law or his family told of it. They talk much at these krutu. The woman you met at Djamungo talked when the men talked, and she talked when the women talked," he finished with a laugh, as though it were a relief to him to know that at least she had had no say when his girl's family had gathered to look into his own family position, and his personal habits of work, and the gifts the gods had given him. 584 115 623

At this krutu of the girl's family, Bayo had, however, been thoroughly discussed. Was he a good worker? Could he hunt well? How did he behave in strange villages? At his initiation had the gods come strong to him? Had he done anything that his wife's family would later be ashamed of?

The white man wondered about the kunu which hung over Bayo's family, the kunu of incest, the deadliest of all 996

716 kunu, which must kill his children. Was it safe to mention it? A chance question was asked.

"Nothing will happen to my children, Bak'a. They will [604] belong to my wife's family. It is my sister's children that things will happen to."

Bayo paused for a moment on the path, and stood in thought. Was it that he wished to be entirely honest with his friend? Was it that to confess the truth was too difficult for him? Whatever the reason, his next remark indicated a compromise.

"Nothing will happen to my children. Those of my younger brother will die, but not mine."

•584 The conversation came back to the less painful subject of betrothal. Whatever the reason for accepting this boy whose kunu brought such supernatural risk, the match had apparently been satisfactory to the family of the girl, and they had sent word that the marriage would not displease them.

"Now I am earning the money I need, and later I will make the things I must give my girl and her family."

583 There was, first of all, the work to be done for Bayo's prospective mother-in-law. He might have to help her with repairs on her house, or assist her in clearing a field. Before he was married he would have to go into the bush and cut the two fields for his wife, one for rice and one for cassava, which a married woman must have, and in addition he would have to cut an extra field for the mother of his wife.

"I must do it so they can be sure that I am strong, and can take care of their girl when I marry her. But I will not have any trouble!"

Before that, however, Bayo would have to see to the carvings which a man had to have for marrying.

"I do not like to carve. But I have friends who will [A39] carve for me while I go hunting for them!" That was the way to solve such difficulties. When the carvings were assembled he would have to make a boat for his girl. Bayo was not yet certain, but he thought that another boat would have to be made for his mother-in-law. Then

houses would have to be built—one in his village where they would live, and one in the provision ground for his wife to sleep in when she worked in the field.

"Must you yourself build the house, Bayo?"

"My family will help me. Making a house is hard work, too, and a man must have clever fingers for weaving the walls."

There would have to be stools, and several well-ornamented combs. A clothes beater would have to be provided for the bride, and a peanut pounding board, and one mortar and pestle at least, and food stirrers and rice trays. A cassava squeezer would have to be woven, and a sifter and grater for the roots that were made into bread. And baskets, too, he would have to weave.

"This is not all. This is only what I must make. Other things I must buy for her."

He would have to provide cloths when the wedding day came, and cloths for his mother-in-law, too. The small kerchiefs which were folded in triangular shape and were worn about the waist as the sign that a woman was married he would also have to furnish, and two large cloths, each the size of three tunics. He would have to buy an iron cooking pot, and some small fishhooks with lines, and some cups from the white man's city. He was going to give his girl a pair of earrings, and a string of beads. Then there would have to be the hammock.

Bayo laughed, "For a marriage, there must be a hammock."

There were other things he was going to buy for his girl. Brass arm and leg ornaments he would buy, since his girl was already a fine dancer.

And when all these things were bought and given, then it was time for the marriage.

"But it doesn't always happen that the marriage takes place," said Bayo. "Sometimes the girl's people do not like what the man has done. They have another krutu, and decide the man should not marry into their family."

584 This was a disgrace. A man was not looked upon as a good suitor by other girls when this happened to him. Everyone said he was worthless. It often came to pass that such a man could not get a woman to marry him. Not
[587] even a widow whose husband had left no brothers, and who had to cut her own field, would consent to live with him.

Sometimes it happened, too, that the man's family did not approve of the girl. When she came to help his mother, they saw that she was lazy and inept, that she would never be able to feed herself and her husband and her children with what crops she raised, that whatever handiwork she touched, she could achieve nothing pleasing. If that happened, then his family met in krutu, and a decision was reached to break off the match. When that was done, the man often had to forfeit the gifts he had made the girl and her mother, but when the woman's family turned the man down, then they came with all the gifts he had given, and often an additional offering as well for what labor he had done for her family.

"With me it is not so. My family likes my girl, and hers likes me."

585 When the gifts were accumulated and the houses and boats and fields provided, then, if the girl was ripe for marrying, the marriage day was set, and on that day the girl was brought to the house where she would live. Both families were gathered in the village, and the uncles and old women addressed themselves to the young couple, admonishing them to live well together, and to observe the traditional ways.

[562] At night while the villagers danced bandamba, and feasted on the rum and salt beef and other delicacies which the man and his family had provided, the couple were led to the house which had been newly built for them, though sometimes they were taken to the house of one of the old people of the man's great family. In Bayo's village, the girl first was conducted to the house by a sister who helped her make the preparations for the night. They tied the hammock and then water was brought. This done, the man

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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It is indulged in as naturally as the other bodily functions.

"Marriage" is a convenient term for describing cohabitation among the Djukas, but it must be remembered that to them marriage is a purely economic institution. There is little ceremony. No one objects to getting married, because divorce is instantaneous and easy. The bonds of marriage are loose, and adultery, to use our harsh term, is customary.

Courting consists in presenting the prospective bride with elaborate wood carvings of useful implements. This wood carving has been developed by the Djukas to a high point of artistic perfection, as can be seen from the illustrative specimens, of which more will be said later. The approaching marriage is not looked upon as a departure from the maternal group; it is simply an arrangement for providing the man with a cook and the woman with children. The marriage of a captain or a Granman differs in no wise from any other; no especial care is taken of his bride.

We encountered two varieties of the process of choosing a husband. In the first, the girl has little to say, her husband being selected for her by her parents. In the second and more frequent practice the woman marries the man of her own choice, the parents making sure that the intended husband is a good provider. But since every Djuka buck is trained to the jungle crafts from childhood, this requirement can almost be taken for granted.

The husband marries frequently. He may marry outside of his village, or outside of his lo, but never outside of the tribe. Marriage requires a bride price, consisting of pieces of

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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881 have a last look at the child's penis, as they will never see it again. Then the boy is proclaimed a man, and given clothes.

So far as could be observed, there is no circumcision of either the male or female, although such mutilations are indulged in by West African tribes in the region from which the Djukas came. The girls wear only the *coyo,* or a larger cloth known as *pangi,* until their first menstruation, when their mothers give them cloths. This is done in private. Menstruating women are required to leave their homes and retire 841 to a separate hut situated outside the village on a by-path; they may not return until three days after the period is over. Under no condition are they allowed to go to the provision fields during this time.

584 At the age of about sixteen or seventeen the children are [582] ready to be married. Sometimes they are betrothed in infancy, and occasionally a pregnant woman will betroth her child before it is born, conditionally, of course, upon its sex. Once the child is betrothed the ceremony must take place, [754] otherwise the disappointed prospective mate will call down a *kunu,* or curse, on the entire perjured family, and they will all die. The pubescent child does not look forward to marriage as time for leaving its family, nor is marriage an [581] initiation into sex relations. For these two reasons, getting [948] married is not a serious step, and there is little illegitimacy because there is no reason for objecting to a marriage.

858 Youths must remain standing until their elders invite them 576 to be seated. It is customary for older people to receive much 888 respectful attention, for the older people are the sources of tradition and authority

/13 cont./

796 [782] committed. This feast, at which pigs and poultry are sacrificed, must last for four weeks and thus ends with the following new moon. They pray, dancing and singing, while from time to time they kneel in order to ask for blessings.

[778] In the place where their idol stands they plant long sticks in the ground at certain intervals, on which they let flutter a number of long narrow strips of white cotton in the manner of flags.

[781] They celebrate this feast, for which no costs are spared, with all possible solemnity; it is attended by old and young and is very important among them.

Chapter IX

Conceptions about Death and Eternity

775 They believe that at death the existence of the human being ends, but that the spirit of the deceased does not disappear altogether and remains among them for a long time. Also they believe in unlucky spirits, which, as a result of an earlier evil life, must wander about restlessly, while the life on earth of the peaceful spirits is supposed to have been free of misdeeds.

They do not assume rewards in the hereafter for good deeds; /14/ misdeeds, however, in their opinion, are punished with restless wandering about.

[755] They say that those spirits know all that happens, and that they can come in contact with them at their feasts, that they receive many a hint and information, and through concealed signs come to know remedies against diseases, to which they attach the fullest confidence.

Chapter X

Marriage and Marital Life

584 Their marriages take place with few ceremonies. Frequently young men and even men ask pregnant women, in case they should bring a daughter into the world, to designate that girl as their wife,

/14 cont./

584 and, once this has been promised, she does indeed continue to be regarded specifically as the betrothed of the person who made the request. As soon as she is marriageable, she is handed over to her man with or without her consent, and it may be regarded as a rare case when such a promise is broken.

[431] The man to whom she is promised sometimes does not see his future wife before the occasion of her betrothal, but usually he is concerned with her upbringing and from time to time gives her presents consisting of money, pantjes, and corals.

[591] Some take the girl promised to them even when she is only three or four years old in order to rear her further.

[672] The promising of newborn girls takes place for the most part [682] when there are obligations between parents, as was reported in Chapter III, and in the case of enslavement which is done to one [567] family by another in case of poisoning and so forth.

586 It is an everyday occurrence that a woman leaves her husband or a man his wife for another.

595 Polygyny is much practiced, and among my workers I know several who have three or four wives, most of whom are very young. Some, however, have only one wife.

It is noteworthy that all the wives sleep with the man in one hut, while in addition he perhaps keeps with him a girl whom he [513] is bringing up to be his wife. One wife will be /15/ with him in the hammock and lies with her feet at the head end of the man and the latter in turn with his feet at the head end of the women, while the other women sleep in their hammocks.

[484] If a Bush Negro goes out, be it to celebrate a festival or in order to float wood to the town, he takes all his wives with him; only in case of illness do they remain behind.

His wives get money separately, and therefore they must also separately provide for his food, so that one cooks the food in the morning, another at midday, a third in the evening, etc. [578] This way of life and their jealous nature frequently bring about household quarrels that rarely end in any way other than bloody fights.

585 Upon the conclusion of a marriage the man is obligated to 583 give the parents of the girl as a marriage portion a long, broad,

/126 cont./

551 553 The only case in which custom governs the choice of name is that of twins.

Male twins are called Adam and Agosu.

Boy and girl twins are called Adam and Efa (2).

[177]

2. This is connected with a myth derived from the Biblical tradition, which we shall set forth later.

Female twins are called Chimba and Sisi.

Social Relations within the Lineage

429 604 [593] Guardianship. Until he is old enough to work, the child is placed under the responsibility of the mother and, one step farther away, that of the eldest of his classificatory uncles. To a lesser degree all the uncles have authority over the child; guardianship is collective.

The custom of the Refugee Blacks, hostile to any division of the lineage, does not recognize any right peculiar to the mother's brothers (still, in fact, they seem to be consulted by preference about matters of small importance). For serious matters, such as authorizing a marriage, the classificatory uncles meet and deliberate; they do not vote, strictly speaking, but the proved opposition of three or four of them causes the project to be abandoned. [584]

429 593 604 [836] It is to the mother that people will come to complain about the child, and not to the father. She it is who decides to refer the thing to the uncles if it is serious (example of Doni, 18 years old, who deflowered Elina, 15 years old. Elina's mother came to complain to Doni's mother. Doni's mother went to notify her older brother Fintiman, who took the matter in hand).

582 /142 cont./
619 people who have lived there for a long time. They strike up
62 relationships with the people of Asisi, and that favors new unions. This explains the high proportion of unions between the women of this village and the Djuka (13 out of 75). On the contrary, almost no marriages to Djuka are observed in Papaïston village, where no Djukanhas settled permanently. /143/

584 The marriage proposal. The suitor is obliged to ask for the
613 assent of his own mother and his uncles (at the very least the
[604] eldest of his classificatory uncles); in general he asks his father also.

[604] If two of his classificatory uncles are expressly opposed, the plan must be abandoned. But there is no possible sanction for disobedience.

The suitor does not make the proposal himself; after making sure of the agreement of the girl he sends two persons, one of his uncles or brothers and one of his sisters in the classificatory sense.

These envoys speak to the woman's mother and uncles assembled together. If they agree, they go to ask for the assent of the head of the lineage. The men and women of the woman's lineage drink together a liter of tafia brought by the
[969] envoys. Before drinking, the doyen of the lineage pours a little of it on the ground while invoking the ancestors, asking them to perpetuate the accord of the household and to grant them health and fecundity. This ceremony is made on the spot and they do not go to the fraga tiki, for they would be afraid to present themselves again at the fraga tiki in case of a break-up; prayer said anywhere in the village is not binding.

The two envoys, man and woman, play a very precise role. The man represents the postulant (it is a sort of marriage by proxy).

/143 cont./

585 613 The head of the lineage calls a classificatory sister of the girl. He takes her by the hand and leads her to the suitor's envoy, saying: "I give thee this woman."

Then he calls a classificatory brother of the girl. He leads him to the suitor's envoy, saying: "I give thee this man."

This second part of the ceremony is purely symbolic; there is no question at all that this man and this woman are marrying. Its purpose seems to be to show the perfect equality of the man and the woman in the marriage.

[969] The words pronounced in the invocation to the ancestors are: "We give (this) woman to (this) man; may they live together, may they not be sick, may they have children, children who live."

[584] There is no need for the assent of the woman's father.

585 If it is a question of the first marriage of a young girl, the fiancé comes, aided by his friends, to build her a house. [583] He builds her a boat and buys for her what is necessary for domestic life. When the person who is bringing up the girl [429] judges the time to be ripe, she gives her the pãŋgi, garment of married women, authorizing thus the consummation of the marriage.

[613] [969] The husband who built the house asks the elders of his wife's lineage to come in front of the house to throw tafia, to ask the ancestors that the couple be fecund and live a long time in this house.

584 613 Here, for example, is how the marriage proposal to Chitaïna (Aw.B.1, F43, Asisi village) by Déési (L1, F45, Loka village) proceeded in 1948.

To represent him Déési had sent his classificatory brother Tamu /144/ (L1, F32), older than he by about 15 years, and his classificatory aunt, Yaana (L1, E39). (See the genealogical table of the Lapé lineage.)

/144 cont./

584 613 The envoys, after making it known the evening before that they were coming, presented themselves at 10 o'clock in the morning in Asisi-Awara Bakka village. Present were Irma, Chitaïna's mother; Alémin (Aw.B.1, E40), actual uncle; Antonu (Aw.B.1, E47), one of the oldest of the classificatory uncles; Namu (Aw.B.1, E48), classificatory aunt; and the girl's brothers and sisters by the same mother.

Tamu took the floor, unfolding Déési's merits and stating that he had serious intentions. The eldest of the uncles declared acceptance. Chitaïna having fled according to custom, he 585 613 took her young sister Boomi, who was only five years old, by the hand and led her to Tamu, saying, "I give thee this woman." Then he took Abéni, Chitaïna's older brother, by the hand and led him to Yaana, saying, "I give thee this man."

[769] Next, tafia was poured on the ground while the ancestors were invoked in favor of the /new/ household.

The liter of tafia brought by Déési was shared symbolically in the evening among all the village inhabitants including the Afi lineage there.

585 431 For the installation of the household, since there was no more room near Irma's house to build another, the latter gave one of the two houses she possessed.

584 602 Here is still another example concerning the two wives of Fintiman (Dju, F6, Boniville village).

[595] For his first wife Mimi (K8, E156, Boniville) he sent his brother and sister by the same mother, Klémenti and Eliana, who approached Mimi's mother and her classificatory uncle Lébiman.

Fintiman had previously made sure of the agreement of his own father Malobi (Dip. I, E50), who had brought him up, of his mother Béniti, and of his uncle Diolè (Dju, E1), the eldest of the classificatory uncles.

/144 cont./

584 602 To ask for his second wife Bugi (Aw.B.1, F41, Asisi-Awara Bakka vge.) he had sent Dosu (Dip. I, E4, Boniville), his father Malobi's classificatory brother (although a very distant relative) and his younger sister by the same mother, Kulina, who made the marriage proposal to Bugi's mother and to her classificatory uncles Antonu and Mato.

582 178 [701] Age of marriage. In former times there was a very precise custom about this. Men were not authorized to marry before about 30 years of age, constituting until that age the immediately mobilizable armed force. Women were authorized by their mothers to marry only when they had reached complete physical development, or between 20 and 22 years. This was the safeguard of a society deprived of all medical help against obstetrical risk, particularly serious for very young women. When the fiancé had temporarily emigrated to earn his living, the marriage could be put off until the age of 25 years and more. [184] This late marriage of girls was still met with only a few years ago among the Djuka, more faithful to custom. There was on the average five to ten years of age difference between husband and wife. /145/

For about the past ten years, under the influence of the relaxation of family discipline, the marriage age has gone down considerably, as much for the man as for the woman. Nearly all the girls married during the last two years were from 15 to 17 years old. It can be stated that the average marriage age of girls is 18 years (1).

1. We are speaking here of the age at the time of the consummation of marriage.

/146 cont./

882 Whereas little girls before puberty are left free to come
[858] and go, older girls are the object of constant surveillance.
They are always under the surveillance of one of their near
[883] relatives specifically designated. If they have permission to
go dancing in another village, they must present themselves
upon arrival to an uncle, an aunt, an older brother who will
watch over them all evening.

Sometimes they build for a girl a little house where she
sleeps alone ... but she is double-locked into it for the night.

At nightfall, when their mothers are busy with the prepa-
[883] ration of the meal, the girls are sent to get water or to angle
for fish; there is wavering in the surveillance, and seducers
know how to profit by it.

[593] Until recent times girls were held by their mothers in
[584] the bonds of a strict authority, and although engaged very
[582] young, they were not authorized to marry before reaching
complete physical development.

584 It often used to happen that a girl might be promised by
her mother to a man from her first years (they still say, although
that is no longer practiced, pɔti mɔfu na umã, "to put his
mouth on a girl," meaning by that to have received a promise
of marriage). This plan always used to remain subject to the
girl's assent when she grew up and did not constitute a contract,
strictly speaking; it did not involve any payment or compensa-
[593] tion whatever. A girl could not be obligated to a marriage
which was absolutely displeasing to her, but the mother's
authority was great enough to make these marriages come about
in most cases.

[431] If a girl had not been promised, the young man who
wanted to marry her used to try to attract her attention during
a dance and to exchange a few words with her. /147/ Later he
would give her a paddle bearing symbols of fecundity and the
representation of a house and a boat. If the girl accepted the
paddle, he could propose to her officially.

/147 cont./

848 If the girl is pregnant, the man may not abandon her: that would make a great to-do between the two kin groups: he must stay with her at least until the birth of the child.

883 836 178 [582] Nowadays among the Boni things tend to happen completely otherwise than custom makes provision for. The general opinion is that girls can no longer be held down, that they escape more and more from the authority of their mothers; many of them begin to run wild at about 14 or 15, and people are obliged to marry them off precipitately at 15 or 16. It is difficult to say what the proportion of these hasty marriages is, but the recriminations heard on all sides on the subject of the shamelessness of girls give the idea that it is increasing. In the [582] villages on the French bank, out of nine girls married in 1958 [848] there were only four marriages concluded according to regulations; the five others had been arranged hastily either because the girl was pregnant (two cases) or because she had laid herself open to scandal. /148/

582 Nearly all girls married between 1952 and 1956 were 15 to 17 years old.

584 This is about how things happen:

A man who is attracted by a girl tries to exchange a few [537] words with her unknown to her mother. There are special forms for these declarations. One speaks in a low voice, very fast, using special formulas. This is how one of our boatmen, one evening in October, 1952, addressed young Lomé, age 15, of Boniville village, who had gotten away from her mother on the pretext of going to get water for us.

584 539 "Woman, I love thee, I wish to live with thee, I wish to marry thee. That which God put in me I cannot take away (1).

1. Which means: I cannot change, you must take me as I am.

/148 cont./

584 539 I do not know whether thou lovest me, whether thou wilt answer yes or no; perhaps I am not so handsome as thou, but I cannot help loving thee. If thou lovest me, tell me clearly. I have come, I have attached my boat to a rock, I have wet my feet before reaching land (2)."

> 2. High-flown words to which no precise meaning can be attached; it is a kind of verbal music whose formulas vary infinitely.

"Come back tomorrow, come back, I cannot answer thee today, I cannot."

"I know for today, but not for tomorrow (3); yield to me,

> 3. One must understand: It is necessary to decide today.

be mine, I shall give thee the garment (4)."

> 4. The man lays down one of his garments at the home of the woman who has agreed to marry him.

584 Our departure on our tour the next day put an end to his attempts for the time being!

836 684 It often happens that the girl allows herself to be seduced; her mother soon learns of it from the village people. She flies into a passion, beats her daughter to obtain a confession without [558] which she can obtain nothing from the supposed seducer. It is an extreme shame for a mother not to receive the price of her

/149 cont./

836 684 not done." He advises Doni above all to remit to the girl the payment of her akka, namely two camisas, a string of white beads which she will wear on her left wrist, and a bottle of syrup which she will offer to her akka while drinking it. Doni does not bother to face the mother and does not intend to see the girl again; it is his sister Maria who will attend to the errand.

That done, the mother will accept the fait accompli and will not show her anger. She will wait for the payment.

584 836 One also hears talk rather often of the clandestine consummation of a properly arranged marriage, the engaged couple wishing thus to force the hand of their guardians and obtain their freedom sooner.

587 Remarriage of widows or divorcées. It does not give rise to any payment, but the marriage proposal is made to the woman's uncles and the head of her lineage in the same form as for a girl. In such a case it is no longer a question of asking for an authorization (a man would have to have the worst reputation for the woman's lineage to refuse the marriage) but to obtain the benediction of the ancestors on the household. Moreover, it is [613] very important for the heads of both lineages to be notified of this marriage, for in case of the death of husband or wife the other will have to bear the weight of the mourning.

581 Women are guided in their choice by sensual attraction but largely also by self-interest. They take care to marry a man who has, as it is said among us, some future, a position. The owners of outboard motors do not fail to pass at reduced speed by the villages in order to be admired by the women.

Men who have a reputation for "working hard" (for work is the sole wealth in Boni country) are frequently chosen by girls even though they may have one or two wives already.

/156 cont./

586 The estimate of the average number of divorces for women
[128] born before 1896 is probably lower than the actual number, their first divorces not being well known to our informants. It is probably in the neighborhood of two.

586 The increase in frequency of divorces among young women
593 is striking. It is related to the weakening of the authority, very
178 strong in former times, exercised by mothers over their daughters.

Here are two examples concerning two girls we have known since their childhood.

836 Lomé (L2, F74, Boniville) born in 1938, began to cause people to talk about her in 1954. She was deflowered by N..., who did not want to marry her. Then she had relations with Asadam (K, Boniville), who did not want to marry her either. She was beaten; she continued to see him. Now this is extreme-
[558] ly shameful for a girl because it is placing herself in a state of inferiority with respect to a man, when her self-respect consists in making a contract between equals.

582 Her brother Amèmbé beat her, and she ended up by marrying Pitipiti (Aw.B.2, Asisi village), who formally asked
586 for her in marriage in 1956. This marriage lasted less than a
587 year. In 1957 Lomé divorced him to marry Djoni (Kotika village).

584 Aguba (Dju, G14), girl of Asisi-Dju village, born in 1941, had been proposed to with the customary formalities in May, 1956 by Païtiki (L2, Loka village), a young man of 18. It was
584 agreed that the engaged couple would wait two years. But
585 Païtiki did not wait and consummated the marriage clandestine-
[429] ly at the end of a few months. Lènga, Aguba's aunt and guardian, became very angry and beat her. She did not give her the pangi until May, 1957. The marriage lasted only a few
586 months. /157/ By the end of 1957 Aguba was breaking off with Païtiki and beginning openly to look for adventures.

REBEL DESTINY

782 Among the people of one group, the principal ceremony
241 may be held in the clearing itself. The drums are brought,
535 and men and women and children pray for fertility. The beautifully carved apinti drum sounds the invocation to the Great God and to the ancestors, while the tall agida drums are brought to call the earth spirits. Two by two the men dance susa, the dance which in pantomime reproduces an ancient warrior's combat with spear and shield, the winner taking on a new combatant, until the final winner is given a wand as a reward, and gains for himself the title of "G'aman of Susa" until the next dance is held. Other dances follow. Perhaps the women now line up in two long
[585] rows facing each other, and dance bandamba, the dance
[845] which celebrates marriage and the birth of twins, and the birth of a child who is born feet foremost. The motions are the slow rhythmic manipulations of the muscles of hips and
[840] abdomen. It is a dance of fertility, danced by the very young girls as well as by those who have borne children. But the women who are past the age for dancing sit with
[888] their men, arms interlaced, swaying to the rhythms of the songs they sing. . . . There are offerings to the earth spirits, poured upon the earth out of black obia pots and
[469] calabashes, while other offerings are set upon the ground for the ancestors.

In another settlement, the ritual would be chiefly carried on in the village itself, and there might be a local dance of
[842] fertility, danced nowhere else on the river. "An old, old ancestress taught it to us," the villagers would say.

When it is time to plant, the woman plants with the
462 man's help.
241 "When I plant a new field," said the younger woman, "I
782 pray as I work."
539 And this is her prayer:

O Sky God, Mother of the Earth, Ancestors,
I am planting a field,
Make it bear;
People who come to me must eat,

gods do not come to them." There was in her voice contempt for women who had no gods. She was of a reddish-brown color, taller and more slender than most, and the great coils of brass about her arms and ankles told that her beauty had had full recognition. These had come to her at marriage, as had the small earrings of gold which the bassia had brought to her from French Guiana. With these, too, had come cloths and handkerchiefs, beads and carvings.

If white women had no gods, did they know any of the other things which women must know? Did the white woman wear an apron underneath all her clothes, as women should? Were her thighs cicatrized? Did she cook for her husband, or other men, when she should be isolated in the special house provided for women's monthly visits? Did she purify herself with sacred clay when she emerged from isolation in order not to spoil her husband's obias, for which contact with a woman who has her menses is the deadliest taboo? Why, having borne children, did her figure not show it?

"Have you drums?" the bassia's wife asked. "Without drums, how do you pray? How do you dance?"

Dancing without drums availed nothing.

"White women have no gods. The gods do not come to them. They are not troubled by the need to dance. White women do not pray," she concluded, seeing that what dancing the white woman did could only be a feeble affair.

"I will send my son to your country. The men who go to the French shore say it is good to know how to count the white man's way. My woman-child I will never send," she finished with finality.

Now it was the white woman's turn to ask a few questions, having done explaining how her boots laced, and why it was that she was dressed very much as her husband was dressed.

The white clay in the hair and on the face of a small child was medicine. The child's mother had washed for her god that morning. He was a god whose day for dancing was Wednesday, and now, feeling the god stir in her, she would

name which was kept secret and never spoken except in 551
states of possession or when the obia man called on a person's spirit. For girls, Amba for a Saturday child, Afi for one born on Friday, Adjoba for Wednesday; and for the boys some of the names were Kwaku, for Monday, Yao for Thursday, Kofi for Friday, and Kwasi for Sunday. Then there was the name which the father gave, and after that any of the family who cared added a name and made the child a present.

From the day it was born until it was at least two years 853
old a child fed at its mother's breast. For twelve months 842
and five more of this time the woman could not go to the hammock with a man. It was then that her husband went to the distant French shore to work or to the railhead. But after seventeen months of nursing were past, he came back. 844

"If a child is made before a woman gets back her men- 842
strual flow, then it is a god. It is Kesefu. A child born feet 845
first some call Agoro, and some Asaeng. The child born after twins we call Dosu, and twins are Hohobi. Now it is in your book. You will give those names to your children, and your sister's children. No one will know at all what names these are. No one will be able to harm them."

6

In the quarter immediately adjoining that of the Gran- 585
man there was great activity. Six or seven men and boys 476
were at work on a new house, for the youngest daughter of the family was ready for marrying, and now the men were helping her suitor to build a house for her in her village.

From the same quarter, behind a house which stood in 304
the shade, came the laughter of young girls. We made our way past the house and saw four girls ranging in age from thirteen to sixteen seated on a log. One of these held her head back, and an older girl was bending over her. They called to us as we passed.

"We are cutting kamemba. Do you want some cuts, too?"

These were not new cuts which were being made, for with perhaps one exception, the girls were all nubile, and

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SRS Bush Negroes SRS
—Saramacca

houses would have to be built—one in his village where they would live, and one in the provision ground for his wife to sleep in when she worked in the field. Then [584] [342]

"Must you yourself build the house, Bayo?"

"My family will help me. Making a house is hard work, too, and a man must have clever fingers for weaving the walls." [416] [465]

There would have to be stools, and several well-ornamented combs. A clothes beater would have to be provided for the bride, and a peanut pounding board, and one mortar and pestle at least, and food stirrers and rice trays. A cassava squeezer would have to be woven, and a sifter and grater for the roots that were made into bread. And baskets, too, he would have to weave.

"This is not all. This is only what I must make. Other things I must buy for her."

He would have to provide cloths when the wedding day came, and cloths for his mother-in-law, too. The small kerchiefs which were folded in triangular shape and were worn about the waist as the sign that a woman was married he would also have to furnish, and two large cloths, each the size of three tunics. He would have to buy an iron cooking pot, and some small fishhooks with lines, and some cups from the white man's city. He was going to give his girl a pair of earrings, and a string of beads. Then there would have to be the hammock. [585] [942]

Bayo laughed, "For a marriage, there must be a hammock."

There were other things he was going to buy for his girl. Brass arm and leg ornaments he would buy, since his girl was already a fine dancer.

And when all these things were bought and given, then it was time for the marriage.

"But it doesn't always happen that the marriage takes place," said Bayo. "Sometimes the girl's people do not like what the man has done. They have another krutu, and decide the man should not marry into their family."

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[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Saramacca

584 This was a disgrace. A man was not looked upon as a good suitor by other girls when this happened to him. Everyone said he was worthless. It often came to pass that such a man could not get a woman to marry him. Not
[587] even a widow whose husband had left no brothers, and who had to cut her own field, would consent to live with him.

Sometimes it happened, too, that the man's family did not approve of the girl. When she came to help his mother, they saw that she was lazy and inept, that she would never be able to feed herself and her husband and her children with what crops she raised, that whatever handiwork she touched, she could achieve nothing pleasing. If that happened, then his family met in kruta, and a decision was reached to break off the match. When that was done, the man often had to forfeit the gifts he had made the girl and her mother, but when the woman's family turned the man down, then they came with all the gifts he had given, and often an additional offering as well for what labor he had done for her family.

"With me it is not so. My family likes my girl, and hers likes me."

• 585 When the gifts were accumulated and the houses and boats and fields provided, then, if the girl was ripe for marrying, the marriage day was set, and on that day the girl was brought to the house where she would live. Both families were gathered in the village, and the uncles and old women addressed themselves to the young couple, admonishing them to live well together, and to observe the traditional ways.

[562] At night while the villagers danced bandamba, and feasted on the rum and salt beef and other delicacies which the man and his family had provided, the couple were led to the house which had been newly built for them, though sometimes they were taken to the house of one of the old people of the man's great family. In Bayo's village, the girl first was conducted to the house by a sister who helped her make the preparations for the night. They tied the hammock and then water was brought. This done, the man

M Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1929-1929) 1934
583 Bak: Negroes 583
Swanucca

was called, and the couple were left alone, while outside the villagers danced and sang of fertility all night.

In the morning the man's brothers come to the house to find out if she had ever before been to the hammock with another man.

"What happens if they find that she has?"

Bayo's reply was prompt. "Usually nothing. The man doesn't give her as many presents as he would have given her. If he had promised her thirty pangi, he would only give her fourteen. If he liked her, he wouldn't turn her away."

"What would happen to her, though? Would they punish her?"

"They say, Bak'a, sometimes a man likes her better for it. It shows him other men had cared for her. But her family scolds her, and sometimes punishes her, too, and the women of the village talk plenty. They pull their lip at her the next morning, and later, whenever there is a quarrel, they talk about it again."

But if the girl were found to have been a virgin, then all the people danced, and there was a great feast, with dances to all the gods.

"You must come back for my wedding, Bak'a, you and your woman. Then you will see dancing!"

"But your girl is still a child, Bayo."

"Ah, no. She is getting her cuts on her thighs. She wears a cloth." He knew, because on his way down from the Grassman he had stopped at her village and when the family was not about he had made sure. "If you come next year, we will both be ready."

The two men still followed the bush trail when Bayo had finished his account of how the marriage was conducted. Now and then Truss would appear, wag his tail, and be off into the underbrush again.

"Tell me, Bayo," the white man began, "do many girls go with a man to the hammock before they are married?"

He waited for a moment before he answered. Smiling, he ran his hand over his newly braided head with the innumerable little braids between the lines of white.

"Most had of them," Bayo said.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

It is indulged in as naturally as the other bodily functions.

"Marriage" is a convenient term for describing cohabitation among the Djukas, but it must be remembered that to them marriage is a purely economic institution. There is little ceremony. No one objects to getting married, because divorce is instantaneous and easy. The bonds of marriage are loose, and adultery, to use our harsh term, is customary.

Courting consists in presenting the prospective bride with elaborate wood carvings of useful implements. This wood carving has been developed by the Djukas to a high point of artistic perfection, as can be seen from the illustrative specimens, of which more will be said later. The approaching marriage is not looked upon as a departure from the maternal group; it is simply an arrangement for providing the man with a cook and the woman with children. The marriage of a captain or a Granman differs in no wise from any other; no especial care is taken of his bride.

We encountered two varieties of the process of choosing a husband. In the first, the girl has little to say, her husband being selected for her by her parents. In the second and more frequent practice the woman marries the man of her own choice, the parents making sure that the intended husband is a good provider. But since every Djuka buck is trained to the jungle crafts from childhood, this requirement can almost be taken for granted.

The husband marries frequently. He may marry outside of his village, or outside of his lo, but never outside of the tribe. Marriage requires a bride price, consisting of pieces of

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SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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cloth, sugar, tobacco, and some carved wooden implements, such as combs, paddles, trays. These are handed over to the bride's family as presents. Then the wife simply moves into her husband's hut, or he into hers. Despite their pre-marital 583
promiscuity, it is said that on the bridal night all the inhabitants of a Bush Negro village will gather outside the hut to hear what the husband has to say regarding the bride's virginity. If the girl is not a virgin, part of the bride price may be refunded, at the husband's discretion. The gathering on such an occasion is attended by much jocularity.

The Djuka husband builds a hut for each one of his women 593
and has another for himself, to which he may retire when- 342
ever he feels the need of bachelor seclusion. The woman 591
sleeps in her own hut, cooks, and raises her children there. The husband comes to her when he wants to, and leaves her for another wife when impulse so guides him. She seldom quarrels with the other wives, who may even live in separate villages.

Each wife has her own provision ground, where she grows 593
rice and cassava; her husband has cleared it for her. The cas- 241
sava fields are owned by individual women, but are held in 542
very loose tenure. At harvest time, or when a plague of in- 523
sects is threatening, the women of several households work 476
together in common.

The man's hut is called his *gadu oto*, or "treasure house." 342
It serves to impress his women with his importance and 556
wealth. They are forbidden to enter it, but, woman-like, they insist on peeping in. So he keeps many boxes and wood carv-

/14 cont./

584 and, once this has been promised, she does indeed continue to be regarded specifically as the betrothed of the person who made the request. As soon as she is marriageable, she is handed over to her man with or without her consent, and it may be regarded as a rare case when such a promise is broken.

[431] The man to whom she is promised sometimes does not see his future wife before the occasion of her betrothal, but usually he is concerned with her upbringing and from time to time gives her presents consisting of money, pantjes, and corals.

[591] Some take the girl promised to them even when she is only three or four years old in order to rear her further.

[672] The promising of newborn girls takes place for the most part [682] when there are obligations between parents, as was reported in Chapter III, and in the case of enslavement which is done to one [567] family by another in case of poisoning, and so forth.

586 It is an everyday occurrence that a woman leaves her husband or a man his wife for another.

595 Polygyny is much practiced, and among my workers I know several who have three or four wives, most of whom are very young. Some, however, have only one wife.

It is noteworthy that all the wives sleep with the man in one hut, while in addition he perhaps keeps with him a girl whom he [513] is bringing up to be his wife. One wife will be /15/ with him in the hammock and lies with her feet at the head end of the man and the latter in turn with his feet at the head end of the women, while the other women sleep in their hammocks.

[484] If a Bush Negro goes out, be it to celebrate a festival or in order to float wood to the town, he takes all his wives with him; only in case of illness do they remain behind.

His wives get money separately, and therefore they must also separately provide for his food, so that one cooks the food in the morning, another at midday, a third in the evening, etc. [578] This way of life and their jealous nature frequently bring about household quarrels that rarely end in any way other than bloody fights.

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585 white cotton sleeping blanket, various colored cloths and pantjes,
[583] some earthenware, such as bowls and plates, iron pots and pans, and the like, while he is obligated on the occasion to provide for an ample supply of strong drink and sugar wine.

They do not have festivities, games, or dancing in connection with their marriages.

586 If a marriage is dissolved, then each of the two parties again goes to his own family; in case those concerned in it and the elders disapprove of this, however, it happens that man and wife are forced to continue to live with each other, especially when there are no substantial reasons and grievances.

593 The man is obligated to provide his wife or his wives with food, clothing, and ornaments; she, to follow the man everywhere, to cook for him, to wash, and to take care of the housekeeping.

264 The wives are neat in an exemplary fashion; plates, bowls,
252 and pans are always kept extremely clean, and they also see to it that everything is extremely clean in connection with cooking.

841 If they find themselves in a period of menstruation, they
302 indicate this immediately to the husband by withdrawing from his dwelling and staying in seclusion with other women; they neither cook nor do the least thing for him in this state, do not even come within sight of him, and remain secluded to the end; when they have cleaned and dressed themselves, they decorate their shoulders and arms with white stripes as a token /16/ that they have again
[386] returned to their normal state. The stripes are made by mixing
[824] pounded adroe (1) with ground chalk and water.

1. A tuberous root-stalk from the Cyperus rotundus L.

Sometimes they also smear the forehead and the neck in this way and appear thus before their husbands.

841 During their seclusion another woman, who is a member of
571 the family or possibly a female friend, daily prepares and brings the
252 food, which, however, is at the expense of the secluded wife. They perform this service for each other mutually.

/143 cont./

585 613 The head of the lineage calls a classificatory sister of the girl. He takes her by the hand and leads her to the suitor's envoy, saying: "I give thee this woman."

Then he calls a classificatory brother of the girl. He leads him to the suitor's envoy, saying: "I give thee this man."

This second part of the ceremony is purely symbolic; there is no question at all that this man and this woman are marrying. Its purpose seems to be to show the perfect equality of the man and the woman in the marriage.

[969] The words pronounced in the invocation to the ancestors are: "We give (this) woman to (this) man; may they live together, may they not be sick, may they have children, children who live."

[584] There is no need for the assent of the woman's father.

585 If it is a question of the first marriage of a young girl, the fiancé comes, aided by his friends, to build her a house. [583] He builds her a boat and buys for her what is necessary for domestic life. [429] When the person who is bringing up the girl judges the time to be ripe, she gives her the pãŋgi, garment of married women, authorizing thus the consummation of the marriage.

[613] [969] The husband who built the house asks the elders of his wife's lineage to come in front of the house to throw tafia, to ask the ancestors that the couple be fecund and live a long time in this house.

584 613 Here, for example, is how the marriage proposal to Chitaïna (Aw.B.1, F43, Asisi village) by Déési (L1, F45, Loka village) proceeded in 1948.

To represent him Déési had sent his classificatory brother Tamu /144/ (L1, F32), older than he by about 15 years, and his classificatory aunt, Yaana (L1, E39). (See the genealogical table of the Lapé lineage.)

/144 cont./

584 613 The envoys, after making it known the evening before that they were coming, presented themselves at 10 o'clock in the morning in Asisi-Awara Bakka village. Present were Irma, Chitaïna's mother; Alémin (Aw.B.1, E40), actual uncle; Antonu (Aw.B.1, E47), one of the oldest of the classificatory uncles; Namu (Aw.B.1, E48), classificatory aunt; and the girl's brothers and sisters by the same mother.

Tamu took the floor, unfolding Déési's merits and stating that he had serious intentions. The eldest of the uncles declared 585 613 acceptance. Chitaïna having fled according to custom, he took her young sister Boomi, who was only five years old, by the hand and led her to Tamu, saying, "I give thee this woman." Then he took Abéni, Chitaïna's older brother, by the hand and led him to Yaana, saying, "I give thee this man."

[769] Next, tafia was poured on the ground while the ancestors were invoked in favor of the /new/ household.

The liter of tafia brought by Déési was shared symbolically in the evening among all the village inhabitants including the Afi lineage there.

585 431 For the installation of the household, since there was no more room near Irma's house to build another, the latter gave one of the two houses she possessed.

584 602 Here is still another example concerning the two wives of Fintiman (Dju, F6, Boniville village).

[595] For his first wife Mimi (K3, E156, Boniville) he sent his brother and sister by the same mother, Klémenti and Eliana, who approached Mimi's mother and her classificatory uncle Lébiman.

Fintiman had previously made sure of the agreement of his own father Malobi (Dip. I, E50), who had brought him up, of his mother Béniti, and of his uncle Diolè (Dju, E1), the eldest of the classificatory uncles.

/156 cont./

586 The estimate of the average number of divorces for women
[128] born before 1896 is probably lower than the actual number, their first divorces not being well known to our informants. It is probably in the neighborhood of two.

586 The increase in frequency of divorces among young women
593 is striking. It is related to the weakening of the authority, very
178 strong in former times, exercised by mothers over their daughters.

Here are two examples concerning two girls we have known since their childhood.

836 Lomé (L2, F74, Boniville) born in 1938, began to cause people to talk about her in 1954. She was deflowered by N..., who did not want to marry her. Then she had relations with Asadam (K, Boniville), who did not want to marry her either. She was beaten; she continued to see him. Now this is extreme-
[558] ly shameful for a girl because it is placing herself in a state of inferiority with respect to a man, when her self-respect consists in making a contract between equals.

582 Her brother Amèmbé beat her, and she ended up by marrying Pitipiti (Aw.B.2, Asisi village), who formally asked
586 for her in marriage in 1956. This marriage lasted less than a
587 year. In 1957 Lomé divorced him to marry Djoni (Kotika village).

584 Aguba (D u, G14), girl of Asisi-Dju village, born in 1941, had been proposed to with the customary formalities in May, 1956 by Païtiki (L2, Loka village), a young man of 18. It was
584 agreed that the engaged couple would wait two years. But
585 Païtiki did not wait and consummated the marriage clandestine-
[429] ly at the end of a few months. Lènga, Aguba's aunt and guardian, became very angry and beat her. She did not give her the [illegible] until May, 1957. The marriage lasted only a few
586 months. /157/ By the end of 1957 Aguba was breaking off with Païtiki and beginning openly to look for adventures.

REBEL DESTINY

115 584 Bayo knew the bush as he knew the river. At one point he stopped and, clipping off a long, slender branch with his bush knife, he trimmed it and began to strike at a palm tree. He was after maripa nuts, and soon they began to [949] pelt the ground. Their pink, slightly astringent meat was highly prized by the Bush Negroes as a delicacy, and the white man also found them good. Both munched them as they walked farther into the bush. It was a good time to speak of Bayo's marriage.

"Your mother said you needed to work hard before marrying."

"Ai."

"Is it money you need?"

"Much money, and goods besides."

"What will your girl do with all this money and all of these goods?"

"They are not all for her. She would have me without them. It is her mother who must get things, too."

That Bayo was attractive to women, we had often seen, but that his betrothed would have him without the wealth demanded for her by right of whatever position her family held, seemed doubtful. However, this was not the time to argue the point.

"Your girl is still young. Do girls her age know enough to choose a man?"

The question brought us to the story of how Bayo became betrothed.

His girl, he told us, was of good family. She had lived in his village, because her mother at marriage had come to live with her husband at Djamungo, but a few years after Bayo had become betrothed to the girl, his mother's sister took her away to the family seat up the river.

"Do you care for your girl, Bayo?"

"*M'an sabi, Bak'a*—I do not know. We shall see how we [831] get on. But her family is good, and they are looking after her chastity, as families who have position do."

"What if you don't get on after you are married?"

● 586 "We will separate. She will go back to her own family. Sometimes, if a man doesn't like a woman too much, and

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

she doesn't make children, then he can send her back. But most often it is the woman who goes away." 586

When the wife left the home her husband had built for her and went to her family, he had to go to her village and plead for her return, while her relations berated him soundly for his behavior toward their kin. If he had not mistreated her badly, the family would urge her to return to him, and so great would that pressure be that she would have to go. But Bayo again repeated that this did not happen often. If a woman left her husband and he failed to come for her, they were divorced. She could not remarry until three months had passed. [587]

But Bayo was more interested in marriage than in divorce, and the talk again turned to his betrothal. 584 115

His mother and her brothers had decided upon the match. His uncles had gone to the family of the girl, and talked with her mother's brothers. Her people called a family krutu to decide whether Bayo was qualified to be a suitable husband for this young member of their family.

"Were you there?"

"No. It was a krutu of her family. But I know how they talk at these krutu, for when my sister was promised in marriage my own family had a krutu, and I sat and listened. Anybody who knew anything bad about my brother-in-law or his family told of it. They talk much at these krutu. The woman you met at Djamungo talked when the men talked, and she talked when the women talked," he finished with a laugh, as though it were a relief to him to know that at least she had had no say when his girl's family had gathered to look into his own family position, and his personal habits of work, and the gifts the gods had given him. 584 115 623

At this krutu of the girl's family, Bayo had, however, been thoroughly discussed. Was he a good worker? Could he hunt well? How did he behave in strange villages? At his initiation had the gods come strong to him? Had he done anything that his wife's family would later be ashamed of?

The white man wondered about the kunu which hung over Bayo's family, the kunu of incest, the deadliest of all 776

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

181 one feels any grudge against society. There is small temptation to theft. There are, therefore, no questions of capital and labour, no leisure class, no organized industries, no exploitation either of men or of raw materials, no banks to rob, no checks to forge. Under such conditions economic crimes are practically eliminated. Man lives off the jungle and the streams which intersect it, and there are at his disposal uncounted miles of stream and of jungle. Such crimes as exist [674 among the human inhabitants of these forests arise chiefly 578] in quarrels over women. But where divorce is free and in- [586 stantaneous, and sexual relationships are taken lightly, even 833] the difficulties between men and women are enormously simplified.

114 And as these Djukas stood curiously staring outside the prison gates of St. Laurent, they seemed to me to stand in judgment. When I watched them get into their canoes and paddle upstream, returning to their green jungle fastnesses, and heard them call to one another from canoe to canoe, and heard their laughter ring out across the sunlit water, I felt that they went back to the forest, well content that their slave ancestors of two hundred years ago had fled from the white man and all his ways, back to the jungle, there to lead the primitive life of their African forbears.

I had gone to French Guiana to study the convict life of the Devil's Island Penal Colony. And when that had been completed, my husband and I made a journey through the interior of Dutch Guiana, travelling by the streams and trails used by fugitives from the French prisons. This is how we

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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We encountered two varieties of the process of choosing a husband. In the first, the girl has little to say, her husband being selected for her by her parents. In the second and more frequent practice the woman marries the man of her own choice, the parents making sure that the intended husband is a good provider. But since every Djuka buck is trained to the jungle crafts from childhood, this requirement can almost be taken for granted.

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342 ings inside, to give the idea of affluence. The women looking
556 into the dim interior are awed by the numerous boxes. They are usually empty, however.

837 When men go away on hunting or fishing trips, adultery
684 frequently occurs. If it is discovered by the husband's family, they seize the wife and beat her. Her own family rushes to her aid, and a general mêlée ensues. The village is soon in
[622] an uproar, and to the captain belongs the unpleasant and thankless task of stopping the fight. There is considerable excitement for a few minutes. Many a hot listless evening is provided with a momentary thrill because someone's wife has been careless. After the mêlée the wife is usually forgiven, and the village returns to its normal routine.

● 586 Divorce is easy. A married woman merely informs the bosseia and captain, and moves out of her husband's hut, going back to her parents or to her lover. Even this formality may be dispensed with if she simply locks the door and refuses to let her husband enter. There is an heroic simplicity to this procedure. The husband may do the same, divorcing any one of his wives without assigning any reason for his action. The parting—we hesitate to distinguish it as a divorce—is usually on the woman's initiative; men leave their wives not so often as their wives leave them. Usually a husband will endure a wife until domestic dissension makes his life unbearable. Among women the motives for divorce vary; a husband's impotence is a very adequate reason, for of all masculine virtues the Djuka women esteem virility the most. Impotence seems to be common among primitive peoples after

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

the age of about thirty-five. Another motive for separation is 586
a husband's inadequacy as a hunter, fisher, and provider. Or the woman may simply be bored with him and like some other man better. The husband is liable to be teased a bit by his friends, but after a few days he forgets and marries again.

Open licentiousness or sexual suggestiveness is never seen 834
in public. The personal modesty of the Djukas has already been noted. Exposure of themselves, or public intercourse, such as is common in some tribes in Africa, never occurs. After the dances, for instance, no open promiscuousness occurred. There is one orgiastic dance known as the *ogalusa*, [786 535]
which means "mating like loose hogs."

Two aphrodisiacs are used liberally by the natives. One is 832
prepared by infusing the bark of a bush vine called *debbil dour* with water or weak alcohol. The liquid when drunk is supposed to give an erection of several hours' duration. Some of it was brought back by the expedition and tried on laboratory animals, with no effect. It is well known, however, that witch doctors will substitute other roots or herbs when giving their medicines to white men.

Another aphrodisiac that we found used among the Aucaners is the seed of the mucca-mucca plant, which grows on the banks of most of the rivers of the colonies. The seed is mashed into fragments and then inserted into the urethra. This acts as a tremendous irritant and is supposed to bring about erections of long duration. If used frequently, a persistent and disagreeable type of urethritis is produced.

At the hospital near the mines of the Surinam Bauxite

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/510 cont./

relatives, nor any power of the man over the woman, nor even household cohabitation. The man and the woman each reside in the village of their maternal kin. The man goes to live with his wife from time to time, providing her with the imported commodities that she needs, notably salt, kerosene, cloth, and utensils, and felling trees for the clearings which she will exploit for the benefit of the household.

Divorce is entirely free. Unions are not very stable, mainly on account of the women. Numbers of women are divorced four to five times during their lives.

The grand man, chief of the tribe, exercises over the Boni a power which is more religious than political.

The Boni are a pirogue-people. For more than a century they have been living by using their canoes for the benefit of gold-seekers and exploiting miners. The decline of gold extraction is depriving them more and more of their traditional resources. Some of them are emigrating temporarily to the coastal lumberyards. But all of them remain faithful to their villages and to their customs.

/511/

The Guyana Indians (Roucouyennes /Rucuyen/). These Indians of the Caribe /Carib/ ethnic group have had only a few direct contacts with European civilization and still represent without alteration the human type which populated Guiana before the arrival of the Europeans. On encountering the Refugee Blacks, the Indians of the Guianese forest have been steadily and rapidly declining. Estimated at 20,000 at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Indians of French Guiana are now no more than about a thousand. In addition there must be included in this number 700 persons (Galibi and Arawak) who have been protected by their habitat in the savannas of the coast where malaria is less deadly than in the interior.

The accounts of travelers and the censuses made notably in 1720, 1759, 1787, and 1815 allow one to follow with precision this destruction of the autochthonous population since the first settlement of the Europeans in Guiana (2).

2. Dr. André Sausse, op. cit., pp. 87-88.

[For additional demographic and social information, see the "Table of the Population of the Boni Villages," on pp. 479-530, category 116. Included are data on the number of children per woman, the number of deaths by age and sex, the name of the guardian (usually, but not necessarily a parent) who was responsible for raising a particular individual, personal names of the Boni, marital residence and residence changes by specific individuals, marriage practices, including polygynous unions and secondary marriages, cases of divorce, and lineage/sib affiliations of each individual.]

/36 cont./

1714 671 The formation of patrilineages must have been hampered by numerous divorces; in addition, in case of divorce, the wife unquestionably aspired to take her children with her, not recognizing any contract between the two groups of kin which might be able to affect her free will; one can also be certain that the children, if consulted, must have followed their mother in most cases and joined their maternal kin group. This tendency remains perfectly [586] observable in our day; we shall see all its importance when we study how the children are raised and what tutelage is exercised upon them.

Now there is no patrilineage conceivable if, in case of divorce, the children do not stay with the father. Patrilineal societies exist in which the wife is free, were it only the Fesle society, where divorces are very frequent. But African custom has it that in a patrilineal system, by reason of payment of the dowry, the wife's kin lose all rights over the children. They have entered the man's kin group and his ancestral cult.

The formation of matrilineal and patrilocal groupings must also have collided with analogous difficulties, the women not willingly leaving their village of origin.

One can rather easily imagine that in the initial period of the formation of the /37/ new tribes, the different matrimonial systems coexisted; then the patrilocal groups, less viable, progressively broke up, while the present custom was being established.

195 643 This point of view is confirmed by an exact piece of information collected at the end of the 19th century by the explorer Coudreau. Upon the death of Agou, son of Boni, it was his son Gongo who succeeded him. But after the death of Gongo, the succession went according to the matrilineal system.

583 Another important aspect of the matrimonial system of the Refugee Blacks is the absence of any compensation or payment. [591] Even if it happens that a woman leaves her lineage permanently in order to settle in her husband's village and found a family there

/711 cont./

613 In 1957 the Dikan lineage was practically extinct. There
613 remained only Grand Man Dilu and his elder brother Samakiki, very old.

[529] The present grand man does not know the genealogy of his lineage beyond his grandmother. /Fig. 14 appears here./ /711/

[548] At the death of Awenasy it was Samakiki, eldest of Awenasy's classificatory nephews, who was to be named; but the French administration thought they had to oppose it, judging him too old; he yielded with good grace.

613 Samakiki, the ancestor, the patriarch of the Boni, died
[615] in May, 1957 at over 100 years old. Although very weakened by
[504] his infirmities and nearly blind, he kept great prestige and no important decision was made without his consent.

1973 The son of Apaita, companion of Crevaux. He had retained an exact memory of the explorer whom he had accompanied during part of his trip in 1877. It is thanks to his memories that Crevaux's prestige has remained so great on the Maroni.

613 The grand man judges without appeal disputes between
692 members of different lineages. Truly serious affairs are extremely
578 rare, if one keeps in mind that:
[613] --Disputes over the payment of dowry, paying it back in
[583] case of divorce, and the assignment of the children, which form
[584] the main part of the cases argued before ordinary African jurisdictions, do not exist among the Saluges Blacks;

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613

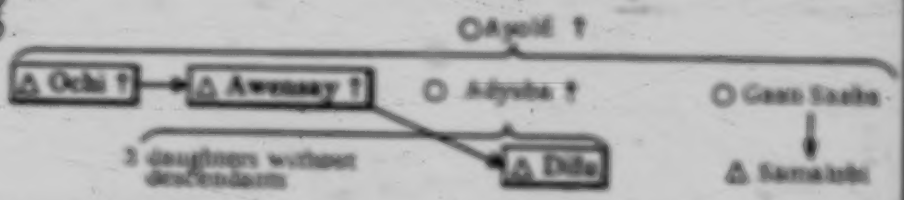

Fig. 14. Filiation of the last three grand men of the Boni.

/72 cont./

643 The priest grand man, contrary to his predecessors, has only one wife. She is dressed like the other women and works at her clearing like everyone else. /74/ but her marriage to the grand man imposes special obligations on her: she can not divorce him; neither can he repudiate her.

643 829 The attitude of the Boni toward the grand man is a curious mixture of respect and disparagement. They regard him as the living symbol of their nation, and each one reacts as if it were a personal insult an outsider having an incorrect attitude toward him. But their undisciplined spirit kicks up at the measures he is obliged to take to make them respect customary law, and even the authority of a pious and benevolent man like Grand Man Dila is not willingly accepted. As a matter of fact, the Boni stand for the authority of the grand man as they adhere to the worship of their gods, by the feeling of an absolute and incurable necessity; in their minds the grand man is above all the priest of Odun; if the grand man were not there, they would be without defense against the wisiman, without recourse against the vengeance exercised by the yeeto of the dead of other lineages.

The political power of the grand man is entirely based on these beliefs, and if they were to collapse, he would disappear with them. Nobody would submit to any other law than that of the lineage, founded upon fear of the ancestors.

692 693 The Boni kuma. This is the assembly of the men, without distinction of age (1) or kinship; this council (Boni = law) constitutes

1. There is no precise rule for fixing the age from which an adolescent may sit in this council. It is apparently when he has reached full physical development and earns his living by his own efforts, about 18 to 20 years. He does not have to be married.

the legal appearance of the Boni.

/127 cont./

are his or not, he maintains them indirectly by maintaining his wife. He has only precarious authority. Every connection with the children disappears in case of divorce.

Guardianship is often exercised by the maternal grandmother, by an aunt, or even by an older sister.

If the maternal grandmother (or the great-grandmother if she is still living) insists on bringing up a child, the mother cannot refuse; one sees a rather large number of cases of women who have only one child and have given it to their mother to raise; it is true that since they live together, it is not a great sacrifice for the mother.

Thus one sees women over 70 years old, having had ten children or so, bringing up three or four of their grandchildren. The ancestress of Asisi village, Kisuba († 1957), after having had 12 children, brought up about ten of her children and grandchildren during the course of her long existence; when she died in 1957 at 100 years of age, she was still raising a child, one of her great-grandsons 12 years old. Of course she had not been working any more for a long time and was fed by her family, as the child was. But it was she who held the power of guardianship over him.

If it is the father who is charged with the child's education, he takes him into his own maternal family. His sisters will help him to bring up the child as long as he needs the presence of a woman.

From then on the father will exercise guardianship corresponding to that which the mother usually exercises under the responsibility of the uncles.

Sometimes a man is seen bringing up a daughter. Generally speaking, if a man /128/ has had three or more children by one woman, it is considered normal for him to be given one to raise, but that does not constitute a right; he cannot demand anything.

/137 cont./

831 necessary food) than by a sentimental motive. It is very rare to meet among them the appearance of sincere and lasting love for a woman; that is sometimes seen, but it is the exception.

562 It is not enough to say that they have few emotional feelings with respect to women. In the conversations heard in the evening around the campfires a deep contempt is expressed on this subject; they even speak of the Boni women as of a foreign and almost enemy nation; they consider them besides as half irresponsible. This attitude shows through in the custom concerning adultery, which decrees that the lover be beaten but not the wife. [484]

581 Among the Refugee Blacks marriage is in fact a contract of maintenance between a man and woman, which provides for the execution of such-and-such work by the one for the benefit of the other, and for the wife the obligation to be faithful. [584] This contract can be cancelled unilaterally without any sort of indemnity. It does not directly involve the relatives of the [565] spouses; it involves them only in case of the death of one spouse, for the surviving spouse must /138/ put up with the subservience [613] of mourning. It is principally for this reason that a marriage must be officially known by both lineages, and that a divorce must be proclaimed without delay.

592 Exogamy. Marriage is forbidden between persons of the same 613 lineage. In expressing this prohibition the Refugee Blacks 614 employ the word bex (lineage in the restricted sense) and not the word ka.

613 As we have seen in studying the situation of the various lineages, the various Boni kin groups follow different rules in this regard:

--The Djo lineage, which forms only one single group from the genealogical point of view, does not allow marriage between its members;

/140 cont./

584 589 Whatever its origin, we should note that the Saramaka custom has no relation, as far as its legal content is concerned, to the levirate, nor to the inheritance of widows as it is practiced in numerous African societies. It does not correspond in any way to the transmission of a right over the widow, since this right does not exist; it probably results from the idea that the widow is better protected from the effects of the dead man's jealousy if she marries out of his brothers. Besides, she may [583] choose from among all his classificatory brothers, in the matrilineage as in the patrilineage, which assures her of a wide [586] choice. She can break the union without any compensation after some months of living together and resume complete liberty.

582 Statistics of marriages between kin groups. We have listed on the table opposite, the total unions for which we have been able to identify with certainty the kinship of the spouses, including those broken by divorce and death. Their total number is 411.

582 619 The table emphasizes the more or less great frequency of unions between /141/ /table appears here/ /142/ such-and-such kin groups, as well as the frequency of unions between Boni women and men of other tribes, DJUKA PARAMAKA, and SARAMAKA.

Out of a total of 411 unions of Boni women one notes:

--327 with BONI (80%);
-- 50 with DJUKA (12%);
-- 21 with SARAMAKA (5%);
-- 5 with PARAMAKA (1%);
[618] -- 8 with Creoles from Surinam (2%).

The proportion of intertribal marriages (20%) is high; it results from the frequent presence on the Marowijne of Djuka or Saramaka boatmen obliging to carry on transport. The reciprocal is not true; marriages between Boni men and women

[Text Continues on P. 209]

/150 cont./

593 342 461 [198] Nothing marks better the small place the conjugal bond has in a man's life; imagine the torture which this forced living and crowding together represent for each of these women! The Boni of today, much richer than their ancestors and better equipped with tools, are singularly lazier in building houses; no longer is anyone seen to sculpture and decorate the façades lovingly; when a man, after many recriminations, decides to build a house for his wife, he is content most of the time now with a simple shelter with plaited walls, which does not require 30 days work.

595 As we have said, each man may take as many wives as he wishes, on condition that he can supply their needs; but in practice the maintenance of a household is so heavy a load that most men have only one or two wives; only one to our knowledge has three. In fact, it is contrary to custom to free oneself by paying for work which one must do for one's wife. We have never heard it said that a rich man (many of them have hundreds of thousands of francs in savings) paid money in place of a piece of work, or paid someone to do it for him. The furnishing of imported objects is particularly burdensome, especially cloth, kitchen utensils (Boni women are infatuated with aluminum objects), and occasionally jewels. The Boni conceded in 1958 that the maintenance of a wife amounted to 30 to 40 thousand francs a year at least. If one considers that a hard-working man earned about 120,000 francs a year, that he spent 30 to 40 thousand francs a year for himself, that he often had /151/ in addition to provide for the needs of his aged parents and share the expenses of the festivals of the lineage, one sees that he could not have more than two wives at the same time. As for less hard-working men, who have no more than 60 to 80 thousand francs a year in ready money, they have a great deal of trouble in facing the maintenance of a single household, and many divorces have no other cause.

593 [461] [556] [454] [439] [511] [434] [511] [695] [434] [511] [586]

/151 cont./

595 Sticking to statistics, one could say that the Refugee Blacks are monogamous in the proportion of 85 per cent. But
581 it is an apparent monogamy, for unions are not stable; their
586 average duration is about ten years; in fact the Refugee Blacks are practicing polygamy over a period of time.

595 A man who takes another wife apologizes to the first and gives her a liter of tafia, asking her to live on good terms with
[584] the co-wife. A certain number of wives do not accept co-wives and get divorced.

589 Most men have had, in general, four or five wives
586 successively. Most of the time these marriages have been
163 broken by the wife. /152/

Example S... (65 years old in 1957) had at least seven wives:

-- Nanay (Dip. II)†	1 child	divorced
Baakauman (K)†	3 children	"
1 Paramaka woman	1 child dead	"
Saumè (Dip. I)	1 child	"
Paata (Boniville)	no children	"
Emma (Asisi-Aw.B.)	no children	"
Masé (K)	"	marriage extant in 1958

Kwami (50 years old in 1958) had four wives:

-- Apinda (Asisi)	no children	divorced
Saayé (Dip. I)	several children	"
Do (Lapé)	1 child dead	"
Noémi (Asisi-Aw.B.)	1 child	marriage extant in 1958

159
582 Example of the family life of G... (50 years old in 1958).
About 1935 G... married M... (Kotika), a serious-minded and
159 intelligent woman who was very attached to him. Neverthe-
837 less, about the same time he had a clandestine affair with S....
[847] classificatory sister of M.... whom he made pregnant (abortion).

159
595
[837]
[613]

/152 cont./

Since it is forbidden to have two wives at the same time in the same lineage, that produced a scandal and his uncles had to intervene so that he would not be beaten.

After that, without leaving M...., he took officially another wife, A... (Papalston). They lived together nearly eight years, but A... began to deceive him while he was on a trip. The first time, he only threatened her; the third time he repudiated her.

[839]
[586]

[619] Again he officially took another wife, T...., a Djuka from the Tapanahoni.

[589] A year later A...., who wished she had him back, had her uncles intervene so that she might come back into his favor. G...., through deference to her uncles, accepted against his will.

Thus he found himself engaged in three unions, M.... A...., and T.... He thought this situation was leading him to ruin and sacrificed T... although he had no fault to find with her.

[586]

[586] Some time afterward A... began to deceive him again and he repudiated her once and for all.

Finally he took a last wife, B... (Asisi), by whom he had no children.

On each of these undertakings he had to submit to violent scenes by his first wife M...., who was very attached to him and would have liked to keep him for herself alone. Nevertheless, she never divorced him and did not provoke difficulties with her co-wives.

[542] He had a child by M... after more than 15 years of sterile marriage.

In 1958 G... was living with M... and B...., who got along well together. He was not looking for any more new adventures.

/153 cont./

684 with repudiation in case of a second offense. The rule is to
586 repudiate her, under pain of ridicule.
[626]

In 1951 G..., of Kotika village, was informed that his
837 wife A..., of Asisi village, 25 years old, was deceiving him
with a boy of the same age named K.... The first time he
684 encountered K in a village he took issue with him; K... con-
fessed without difficulty. G... delivered a strong punch which
threw him to the ground, and that was all. He did not ad-
[586] minister any punishment to his wife but immediately let her
know that he was repudiating her. Some time after, K...
[576] asked to be reconciled with him. He asked his pardon and
[431] gave him a bottle of tafia (this is obligatory for reconciliation).
Since, the two men have again been friends.

It also happens that the grand man levies a more or less stiff fine on the guilty man.

837 According to the elders, adultery was rare in former
[586] times. If a woman was tired of her husband, she divorced him
openly, but she did not deceive him. Nowadays it seems to be rather frequent.

586 Divorce. The Refugee Blacks divorce each other as easily as they join together; in general it is the woman who decides to break up the union because she finds her husband too poor, too lazy, or simply because she wants to change. /154/

In the case of divorce the woman keeps all that her husband has given to her or made for her (utensils, house, boat), but of course the man keeps all his own belongings; this rupture changes nothing about the possession of property since no object was owned jointly.

581 The rule is the following: at the time of the marriage the man puts down symbolically several personal objects (fabrics, utensils) in the woman's home. As long as these objects are in her home the marriage remains in force, the wife is held to fidelity or at the very least, if there is adultery, it is regarded as such and entails the sanction related above.

/154 cont./

as such and entails the sanction related above. But the wife has the absolute right, even in her husband's absence, to break the contract unilaterally by taking back to the bad of her husband's lineage the objects left with her. From this moment on, no more can be said to her, she is no longer guilty of adultery, and she can take another husband forthwith; in case of the first husband's death she will not have to stand the weight of the mourning. All that her husband has made for her: house, boat, etc... is kept without counterpart.

No Boni leaving on a three-month trip is sure of finding his wife again. He may very well find another man installed in his place, officially, without his being able to say anything. As for those who leave for a long time, this is practically a certainty.

This is a misfortune which however they take philosophically, thinking above all of the work furnished for nothing. What concerns them most is not to be deceived clandestinely, for the final result is the same: they are practically obliged to repudiate the wife in such a case, for it is unworthy of a man to forgive, and in addition they will become laughingstock of the population.

Several of our boatmen made the following speech to their wives at the time of leaving for a two-month trip: "... you have enough of me in my absence, if you cannot wait for me, go and take my belongings to the house of such-and-such a brother; I shall not be angry and will not do anything to you on my return."

Custom is so favorable to the women that practically nothing guarantees the private contract made between the man and woman at the time of marriage. Since this contract is essentially founded on a material association, the man cutting the clearing and the woman farming it, one might believe that the woman would be held to fulfilling her contract even in case of the marriage's breaking up, but there is nothing of the sort.

/154 cont./

586 As far as the clearing already cut and planted is concerned, if it is on the land of the wife's family, the man can demand nothing. However, some women continue to furnish couac for a year after breaking up.

If the clearing is on the husband's lands, the woman continues to farm it normally. But she is required to furnish [593] food as if there had been no rupture. This is why men who do [241] not trust their wives insist on cutting the clearing on land of their own lineage.

Many women wait to divorce their husbands until after they have cut the year's clearing! In January, 1957, upon the return of the border-fixing mission from the southern frontier, /155/ one of us heard M...., a woman of about 40, speak in these terms of her husband T...., 60 years old, who had done everything for her and still used to come to take part in laborious jobs to procure money for her: "He is getting old; I am going to have to look for another."

Observation at Maripasoula, Nov. 5, 1956.

Mustié, boatman of the Maripasoula post, laments in front of his comrades: his wife has just had him notified, without indicating any motive, that she was breaking with him. She did not even disturb herself to tell him so, and she waited until he had finished cutting the year's clearing for her! His [562] comrades once more expressed their rancor against the avarice, spitefulness, and inconstancy of Boni women, inferior beings whom they had once and for all given up trying to understand.

Among the Refugee Blacks people divorce at any age, at 70 years as well as at 18. Thus it is that Captain Dolé (b. 1951), head of the Dyu lo, and his wife Ela, of the Pujaston lo, divorced each other about 1940 when both were approaching 70 and had remained together more than 35 years: although old their natures no longer hit it off.

/155 cont./

586 [163] Likewise Péechina, about 70 years old in 1957, separated from Nachinengé (Kotika) after having spent the greatest part of her life with him and having six children by him.

In order to be able to break thus a long standing union without undergoing moral collapse, it is certainly necessary for the affectivity of each one to be entirely centered on his maternal family.

586 124 Frequency of divorce. This essential aspect of the social life of the Refugee Blacks is not easy to lay hold on by direct interrogation. The women do not willingly talk about their past unions and let go in silence the ones which remained childless. However, we were able to reconstitute with rather 586 128 great certainty the past life of about a hundred women (mothers, near relatives, or wives of our most reliable informants). These men /"women" -- printing error. -- Tr./ are marked with a double asterisk ** in the population list of the villages.

It is useful to classify them by age groups relating to the [178] year of birth, for we shall see that the frequency of divorce seems to have increased with time. The groups chosen are the same as for the demographic investigation which we carried on parallel to the sociological study:

/155 cont./

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Women born from	0 Div.	1 Div.	2 Div.	3 Div.	4 Div.	Irregular Life	Total
1926 to 1935 incl.	13	8	8	0	0	2	31
1916 to 1925 incl.	9	7	10	1	0	3	30
1896 to 1915 incl.	1	12	6	3	0	1	23
before 1896	3	9	5	1	2	(?)	20
						Total....	104

/156/ Supposing that divorces are regularly spaced through the course of life, and that they cease at about the age of 65 on the average, one can arrive at an estimate of the average number of divorces in store for a Boni woman at old age.

Women born from	Average Age End 1957	Average No. Divorces	Probable No. by Age 65
1926 to 1935 incl.	27 years	0.8 in 10 years(1)	3.8
1916 to 1925	37 years	1.0 in 17 years	2.8
1896 to 1915	52 years	1.5 in 32 years	2.1
before 1896	70 years		1.5 (?)

[582]

1. The average age at marriage is 17 for this group of women, 20 for the earlier group.

/156 cont./

586 The estimate of the average number of divorces for women
[128] born before 1896 is probably lower than the actual number, their first divorces not being well known to our informants. It is probably in the neighborhood of two.

586 The increase in frequency of divorces among young women
593 is striking. It is related to the weakening of the authority, very
178 strong in former times, exercised by mothers over their daughters.

Here are two examples concerning two girls we have known since their childhood.

836 Lomé (L2, F74, Boniville) born in 1938, began to cause people to talk about her in 1954. She was deflowered by N...., who did not want to marry her. Then she had relations with Asadam (K, Boniville), who did not want to marry her either. She was beaten; she continued to see him. Now this is extreme-
[558] ly shameful for a girl because it is placing herself in a state of inferiority with respect to a man, when her self-respect consists in making a contract between equals.

582 Her brother Amèmbé beat her, and she ended up by marrying Pitipiti (Aw.B.2, Asisi village), who formally asked
586 for her in marriage in 1956. This marriage lasted less than a
589 year. In 1957 Lomé divorced him to marry Djoni (Kouka village).

584 Aguba (D.u. G14), girl of Asisi-Dju village, born in 1941, had been proposed to with the customary formalities in May, 1956 by Paltiki (L2, Loka village), a young man of 18. It was
584 agreed that the engaged couple would wait two years. But
585 Paltiki did not wait and consummated the marriage clandestine-
[429] ly at the end of a few months. Lènga, Aguba's aunt and guardian, became very angry and beat her. She did not give her the [illegible] until May, 1957. The marriage lasted only a few
586 months. /157/ By the end of 1957 Aguba was breaking off with Paltiki and beginning openly to look for adventures.

/157 cont./

586 If one considers all Boni women together without any age distinctions, one can estimate that on the average they have been divorced 2.5 times during the course of their lives between 18 and 65 years of age. The average duration of marriages (not counting unions broken by the death of one of the spouses) could be evaluated, for the period before 1950, at about 15 years. It tends to decrease in proportion as a generation brought up under less strict discipline reaches adulthood (1).

[178]

1. Doctor Etienne Boiz, revising in September, 1960 our card file stopped at the end of November, 1958, recorded for the villages on the French bank 28 divorces which had taken place in the course of this period of 1.8 years. The number of women of marriageable age in these villages being about 160, this figure corresponds to 0.1 divorce per woman and per year, or to an average duration of unions of about 10 years.

[162]

[587] [illegible] of the women. It appears that most wives are faithful to their husbands for the duration of the union. But since they have the possibility of breaking this union with no need of authorization by anybody whatever, they leave their husband very readily, whether they have stopped liking him or whether they intend to marry a richer man.

/187 cont./

[587] A woman who has just been divorced does not remarry immediately. Several months, sometimes a year or more,
[588] may go by between two unions, a period during which she thinks only of "living it up," indulging in all the adventures she wishes. This attitude is considered normal, and the elders have nothing to say to her provided that she does not fall into pikado, or cause any scandal, and that the period does not last too long.

[586] We have cited the example of Agoba, a pretty girl of 18, who at the end of 1957 had just broken with her husband Pacifici /bis/ after only one year of living together. She was living with things who brought her up; she was cutting a small clearing herself. Beyond that, she had no other concern but to indulge in all the adventures she liked. Men used to come to solicit
[135] her favors discreetly, each one reserving his day. From one she would ask for a cornion, from another, soap, kerosene, etc.

[128] Her guardian things used to press her to take another husband, but she could not forbid her to live thus, having given with the /dogi/ her freedom as a woman.

[587] She contracted a new marriage in May or June, 1958 after leading an irregular life for more than six months.

As a matter of fact, things go on with great discretion.
136 A man is notified in secret by his sister or /female/ cousin that such-and-such a woman noticed him during a dance, that she will await him at her house on such-and-such a night. At night on the river, one perceives boats which pass close to the shore,
[504] advancing silently. In each village there are secondary landings which allow sentimental visitors to arrive at night without being seen and to leave again before dawn. /136/

[587] If a woman lacks the discretion and if her life is openly dissolute, her mother will beat her and the men of the village will inflict punishments on him, but she will not be sent away; in no case can anyone be expelled from his natal village.

//[illegible] //

[illegible] —Dwgowa, if someone [illegible] himself to be the victim of witchcraft, he must under no circumstances engage in counter-witchcraft or invoke his ancestors against his enemy. He may ask only for the protection of the Wise. It is Odua who will avenge him by sooner or later killing the evil-doer.

[illegible] —Violence is any form whatever. It is regarded as a particularly serious offense against the laws of Odua to strike with an armed hand and so make human blood flow (1).

[illegible] 1. That explains the strictness with which the society of the Refugee Blacks limits the right of punishment granted to the wronged husband, who must strike only with bare fists in front of witnesses, never in the back nor on the river. Fear of seeing human blood flow explains the reluctance of the Bari toward minor surgical operations.

[illegible] —Any attack on personal liberty by material or moral coercion; in particular, neither a man nor woman may be constrained to remain in a marriage which has ceased to please both; nobody may be forced to reside here or there.

[illegible] The forms of magic so popular among West Indians, aimed at capturing a person's love, are for this reason rejected by the Refugee Blacks and considered as a form of rape.

[illegible] —Any violation of the spirits of the dead, even to ask them for protection, which was in the [illegible] prevented for by custom. Thus infants must go to the cemetery to pray once on his parents' grave. Whoever would do that would immediately be considered as [illegible].

WHEN THE TIME CAME, his brothers and sisters and sisters' children would gather to divide what wealth there was. The greatest share would, of course, go to the brother who would marry the widow, but all the others would get something.

"And his children, the children he made, would they get anything?"

"Why no, the children he made are his wife's children. They belong to the family of his wife!"

"But suppose he cared for them very much. . . ."

"Then he might have made them some presents now and then when he was alive, but even then some people say it is better not to give them too much. When a man dies his possessions go to his family. If this man's children, who really belong to his wife, were to take things now, they would get a kunu for it, and they might get another kunu which the father had, for if they get his possessions, his kunu would go to them, too, and there would perhaps be one in their own family that had come to them through their mother. No man or woman wants this."

It is kunu, then, which sees to it that the tribal law of succession and inheritance through the female line is not violated.

4

There was the case of Aikanu, our paddler, who was the brother of the head of an important clan, which gave us still another instance of the workings of kunu. Aikanu was, in his own right, not a negligible figure. When his brother died, it might be he who would succeed to the headship of the clan. When the other paddlers wanted things of us, they would come to ask in his name. "It is not a small thing when Aikanu asks," they would say. "He is a big man; he is the brother of our chief. You must give us what we want."

Aikanu had a way with the women, although it would have been best if at least one of them had resisted him. She was married, and, when her husband discovered her infidelity, she went to Aikanu. Now this was as it should

Jr Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
583 Bush Negroes 588
Saramacca

holding a stick the size of a well-grown boy's arm. Round and round they went, as the widow from her doorway moaned her lament, and guns sounded in honor of the dead. The more important the man, the more guns were fired. Their own men had been the Granman's brothers. There was shooting till . . . till late afternoon, when they could not delay the bathing at the river any longer.

Before dark, all had to go to the river to bathe, and the widow, too, was led there with the others. There she purified herself, and discarded her mourning clothes, drawing on new clothes, and making herself fit with ornaments for the ceremony of rejoicing. This was followed by dancing which lasted late into the night. All the gods might be danced to at an adyo ceremony—Adonko; Vodu, the snake; Opete, the buzzard; Tigri, the jaguar; and all the gods of the bush and the ant hill—and, at the beginning, the seketi social dances and the half-sacred awasa. These dances were held for the spirits of men and women alike, and it did not matter whether the dead, or the living members of the family of the dead, shared these gods with the rest of the villagers, or not.

"But mourning is not over yet," said Fenekonde.

Seven months more elapsed, she showed on her fingers, before a woman might cohabit with her brother-in-law. If there was no brother-in-law to take her, then a woman had to wait twelve months after the adyo ceremony, instead of seven.

"If a woman doesn't care for her brother-in-law," continued Fenekonde, "or he doesn't care for her, then, when the seven months have passed, he comes to her hammock for two nights. Then she can go to another man at once."

When the husband who had died left no brothers, and there was no one else in his family to take the widow, the family of the dead man sought out a husband for her.

"They look and they look, until they are weary," said the Granman's younger wife, "but a man must be found before a woman can come out of mourning."

II Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1929-1930) 1934
Old Bush Negroes Dji
Saramaka

she doesn't make children, then he can send her back. But most often it is the woman who goes away."

When the wife left the home her husband had built for her and went to her family, he had to go to her village and plead for her return, while her relations berated him soundly for his behavior toward their kin. If he had not mistreated her badly, the family would urge her to return to him, and so great would that pressure be that she would have to go. But Bayo again repeated that this did not happen often. If a woman left her husband and he failed to come for her, they were divorced. She could not remarry until three months had passed.

But Bayo was more interested in marriage than in divorce, and the talk again turned to his betrothal.

His mother and her brothers had decided upon the match. His uncles had gone to the family of the girl, and talked with her mother's brothers. Her people called a family krutu to decide whether Bayo was qualified to be a suitable husband for this young member of their family.

"Were you there?"

"No. It was a krutu of her family. But I know how they talk at these krutu, for when my sister was promised in marriage my own family had a krutu, and I sat and listened. Anybody who knew anything had about my brother-in-law or his family told of it. They talk much at these krutu. The woman you met at Djamungo talked when the men talked, and she talked when the women talked," he finished with a laugh, as though it were a relief to him to know that at least she had had no say when his girl's family had gathered to look into his own family position, and his personal habits of work, and the gifts the gods had given him.

At this krutu of the girl's family, Bayo had, however, been thoroughly discussed. Was he a good worker? Could he hunt well? How did he behave in strange villages? At his initiation had the gods come strong to him? Had he done anything that his wife's family would later be ashamed of?

The white man wondered about the kunu which hung over Bayo's family, the kunu of incest, the deadliest of all

KEKEL DESTINY

584 This was a disgrace. A man was not looked upon as a good suitor by other girls when this happened to him. Everyone said he was worthless. It often came to pass that such a man could not get a woman to marry him. Not
[586] even a widow whose husband had left no brothers, and who had to cut her own field, would consent to live with him.

Sometimes it happened, too, that the man's family did not approve of the girl. When she came to help his mother, they saw that she was lazy and inept, that she would never be able to feed herself and her husband and her children with what crops she raised, that whatever handiwork she touched, she could achieve nothing pleasing. If that happened, then his family met in krots, and a decision was reached to break off the match. When that was done, the man often had to forfeit the gifts he had made the girl and her mother, but when the woman's family turned the man down, then they came with all the gifts he had given, and often an additional offering as well for what labor he had done for her family.

"With me it is not so. My family likes my girl, and here likes me."

585 When the gifts were accumulated and the houses and boats and fields provided, then, if the girl was ripe for marrying, the marriage day was set, and on that day the girl was brought to the house where she would live. Both families were gathered in the village, and the uncles and old women addressed themselves to the young couple, admonishing them to live well together, and to observe the traditional ways.

[587] At night while the villagers danced bandambo, and feasted on the rum and salt beef and other delicacies which the man and his family had provided, the couple were led to the house which had been newly built for them, though sometimes they were taken to the house of one of the old people of the man's great family. In Bayo's village, the girl first was conducted to the house by a sister who helped her make the preparations for the night. They tied the hammock and then water was brought. This done, the man

tradition and authority. The older women's opinions bear [764]
considerable weight, for it is chiefly they who maintain the
customs of the tribe. The mother-in-law and father-in-law [765]
are held in special esteem.

Unlike divorce, death is an occasion of genuine sorrow. 765
If a man's wife dies, he may go into mourning for a whole
year. His mourning consists in staying in his hut and doing
no work, while his dead wife's family brings him food and
supports him. When the year is up, he makes a sacrifice to
"the little ground god, Anu" before taking another woman. [776
He slaughters a fowl, letting the blood flow from the throat 782]
on to the earth. After this ritual sacrifice a big dance is held,
and he is permitted to marry again. It is his next wife who
insists upon this ritual.

When a man dies, it is sometimes incumbent upon his 587 ●
widow to have intercourse with his oldest surviving brother
and marry him. The fact that he may already be married
makes no difference whatever. It is imperative that they live
together for several months; after that, if there is no affec-
tion between them, they can separate. This is a widespread
custom among primitives, and there are remnants of it in
the present-day customs of orthodox Jews.

Among the Ancanees it is not necessary for a man to have
intercourse with his deceased brother's wife. He must, how-
ever, take care of her for a period of six months, after which
time she is free to remarry.

A woman may publicly mourn her deceased husband by [764]
singing a dirge every little while.

[1.40]

[1.41] [1.42] [1.43] The prohibitions is of a purely religious nature and does not entail any social sanctions. Those concerned are convinced that in such a case a supernatural sanction would strike them in the form of sickness or accident.

[1.44] Prohibitions limiting marriage. Outside of the great consanguinal [1.45] ritual, which is attached to unions within one matrilineage and one patrilineage, two prohibitions limiting marriage are found among the Refugee Blacks, which they express thus:

[1.46] --I cannot have two wives at the same time in the same lineage. For example I am forbidden to marry two "sisters" [1.47] at the same time, but if I break with my wife, I may marry her classificatory "sister" or any other woman of the same lineage.

[1.48] --I may not have relations, even passing ones, with a [1.49] woman who has been married to my brother by the same mother, in particular, if my brother has just died. I shall not be able to marry his widow.

The Beni are not capable of explaining the deep reason for these interdictions, but they interpret them as purely social and not religious prohibitions. The offender is simply threatened [1.50] with being beaten.

[1.51] The first of these rules seems very widely accepted in Black Africa, as much in patrilineal societies as in a matrilineal system.

[1.52] The second of these rules is characteristic in the Akan (e.g., Baoulé) culture area and shows that the family system of the Refugee Blacks is related much more directly to that of the Agni-Ashanti group than to that of the Dahomey.

[1.53] [1.54] [1.55] One can see that this rule is exactly contrary to the levirate custom, which obliges the widow to marry one of the brothers of the dead man; this custom has been interpreted by several authors as coming from violation of the instinct of the [1.56] law, with which certain rituals were acquainted (it is known that among the Ashanteans there were many Jews).

/140 cont./

Whatever its origin, we should note that the Saramaka custom has no relation, as far as its legal content is concerned, to the levirate, nor to the inheritance of widows as it is practiced in numerous African societies. It does not correspond in any way to the transmission of a right over the widow, since this right does not exist; it probably results from the idea that the widow is better protected from the effects of the dead man's jealousy of the married use of his brothers. Besides, she may choose from among all his classificatory brothers, in the matri-lineage as in the patrilineage, which assures her of a wide choice. She can break this union without any compensation after some months of living together and resume complete liberty.

Statistics of marriages between kin groups. We have listed on the table opposite, the total unions for which we have been able to identify with certainty the kinship of the spouses, including those broken by divorce and death. Their total number is 611.

The table emphasizes the more or less great frequency of unions between /141/ /Aboe spouses here/ /142/ such-and-such kin groups, as well as the frequency of unions between Boni women and men of other tribes, DIKA, PAMAKA, and SARAMAKA.

Out of a total of 611 unions of Boni women we show:
--327 with BONI (80%);
-- 41 with DIKA (12%);
-- 21 with SARAMAKA (7%);
-- 1 with PAMAKA (1%);
-- 9 with Creoles from Surinam (2%).

The proportion of intertribal marriages (20%) is high, it results from the frequent presence on the Marowijne of Djuka or Saramaka laborers, coming to carry on transport. The exception is not that, marriages between Boni men and women

[Text continues on p. 209]

/145 cont./

582

Women born from	Age difference between husband and wife. The sign — indicates that the husband is younger than the wife.	Average	Spread
1896 to 1915 incl.	—4/1/—1/8/2/—1/—2/7/1/22/8/—1/2/—1/—19/17/8/1/1/2/1/1/1/1/1/3/2/1/22/24/—2/8/	+1.8 years	—1 to +22 years 22 out of 29 husbands are older than their wives
before 1896	2/1/1/11/—11/—1/5/—2/11/—8/3/1/1/3/.	+4.1 years	—11 to +8 years. 9 out of 14 husbands are older than their wives

[147] As the men and women advance in age, the average age
[142] difference of six years is maintained in the course of successive remarriages until old age. It decreases then only by the effect of demographic factors, the proportion of women in the higher age brackets being greater and greater.

142 Out of 37 women over 80 years of age in the Ibos villages on the French bank, only 14 were married; all the others had been widows or spinsters for a long time.

/140 cont./

not done." He advises Dani above all to remit to the girl the payment of her akka, namely two cumiss, a string of white beads which she will wear on her left wrist, and a bottle of sprup which she will offer to her akka while drinking it. Dani does not bother to face the mother and does not intend to see the girl again; it is his sister Maria who will attend to the errand.

That done, the mother will accept the fait accompli and will not show her anger. She will wait for the payment.

One also hears talk rather often of the clandestine consummation of a properly arranged marriage, the engaged couple wishing thus to force the hand of their guardians and obtain their freedom sooner.

Remarriage of widows or divorcées. It does not give rise to any payment, but the marriage proposal is made to the woman's uncles and the head of her lineage in the same form as for a girl. In such a case it is no longer a question of asking for an authorization (a man would have to have the worst reputation for the woman's lineage to refuse the marriage) but to obtain the benediction of the ancestors on the household. Moreover, it is very important for the heads of both lineages to be notified of the marriage, for in case of the death of husband or wife the other will have to bear the weight of the mourning.

Women are guided in their choice by sexual attraction but largely also by self-interest. They take care to marry a man who has, as it is said among us, some future, a position. The chiefs of outboard masters do not fail to pass at reduced speed by the villages in order to be admired by the women.

Men who have a reputation for "working hard" (for work is the sole wealth in Bush country) are frequently chosen by girls even though they may have one or two wives already.

/131 cont./

595 Sticking to statistics, one could say that the Refugee Blacks are monogamous in the proportion of 85 per cent. But
581 it is an apparent monogamy, for unions are not stable; their
586 average duration is about ten years; in fact the Refugee Blacks are practicing polygamy over a period of time.

595 A man who takes another wife apologizes to the first and gives her a line of talk, asking her to live on good terms with
[586] the co-wife. A certain number of wives do not accept co-wives and get divorced.

589 Most men have had, in general, four or five wives
586 successively. Most of the time these marriages have been
165 broken by the wife. /132/

Example 5.... (65 years old in 1957) had at least seven wives:

-- Nanay (Dip. II)†	1 child	divorced
Beahauman (K)†	2 children	"
1 Paramaka woman	1 child dead	"
Saundé (Dip. I)	1 child	"
Pasta (Boniville)	no children	"
Emma (Aoni-Aw.B.)	no children	"
Maud (K)	"	marriage extant in 1958

Kwami (50 years old in 1958) had four wives:

-- Ajinda (Aoni)	no children	divorced
Saayé (Dip. I)	several children	"
Do (Lapé)	1 child dead	"
Nadoni (Aoni-Aw.B.)	1 child	marriage extant in 1958

159
582 Example of the family life of G.... (50 years old in 1958).
About 1931 G.... married M.... (Kanika), a serious-minded and
159 intelligent woman who was very attached to him. Nevertheless, about the same time he had a clandestine affair with S....,
[586] classificatory sister of M...., whom he made pregnant (abortion).

159 /152 cont./
[585]
[585]
[615]

since it is forbidden to have two wives at the same time in the same lineage, that produced a scandal and his uncles had to intervene so that he would not be beaten.

After that, without leaving M.... he took officially another wife, A... (Papaloum). They lived together nearly
[139] eight years, but A... began to deceive him while he was on a
[586] trip. The first time, he only threatened her; the third time he repudiated her.

[619] Again he officially took another wife, T...., a Djuka from the Tapaculumi.

[587] A year later A...., who wished she had him back, had her uncles intervene so that she might come back into his favor. G...., through deference to her uncles, accepted against his will.

Thus he found himself engaged in three unions, M.... A...., and T.... He thought this situation was leading him to ruin and sacrificed T... although he had no fault to find with her.

[584] Some time afterward A... began to deceive him again and he repudiated her once and for all.

[586] Finally he took a last wife, E... (Aoni), by whom he had no children.

On each of these undertakings he had to admit to certain errors by his first wife M...., who was very attached to him and would have liked to keep him for herself alone. Nevertheless, she never divorced him and did not provoke difficulties with her co-wives.

[592] He had a child by M... after more than 15 years of pacific marriage.

In 1956 G... was living with M... and E...., who got along well together. He was not looking for any more new adventures.

/136 cont. /

582 [223] The estimate of the average number of divorces for women born before 1896 is probably lower than the actual number, their first divorces not being well known to our informants. It is probably in the neighborhood of two.

586 593 178 The increase in frequency of divorces among young women is striking. It is related to the weakening of the authority, very strong in former times, exercised by mothers over their daughters.

Here are two examples concerning two girls we have known since their childhood.

836 Lomé (L2. F74. Bonville) born in 1938, began to cause people to talk about her in 1956. She was deflowered by N.... who did not want to marry her. Then she had relations with Aradam (K. Bonville), who did not want to marry her either. She was beaten; she continued to see him. Now this is extremely [558] shameful for a girl because it is placing herself in a state of inferiority with respect to a man, when her self-respect consists in making a contract between equals.

582 Her brother Ambébé beat her, and she ended up by marrying Pitipit (Aw. B.2. Aoui village), who formally asked for her in marriage in 1956. This marriage lasted less than a year. In 1957 Lomé divorced him to marry Dioni (Monka village). 576 557

584 Agnès (D a. G56), girl of Aoui-Djo village, born in 1941, had been betrothed to with the customary formalities in May, 1956 by Pélisé (L2. Lona village), a young man of 18. It was agreed that the engaged couple would wait two years. But 584 585 Pélisé did not wait and consummated the marriage clandestinely at the end of a few months. Lingo, Agnès's aunt and [429] guardian, became very angry and beat her. She did not give her the [illegible] until May, 1957. The marriage lasted only a few 586 months. /[illegible]/ By the end of 1957 Agnès was breaking off with Pélisé and [illegible] openly to look for adventures.

/1ST corr./

[583] A woman who has just been divorced does not remarry immediately. Several months, sometimes a year or more,
[539] may go by between two unions, a period during which she thinks only of "living it up," indulging in all the adventures she wishes. This attitude is considered normal, and the elders have nothing to say to her provided that she does not fall into pikada, or cause any scandal, and that the period does not last too long.

[536] We have cited the example of Agaba, a pretty girl of 18, who at the end of 1957 had just broken with her husband Pacifici /Ano/ after only one year of living together. She was living with Ulenga who brought her up; she was earning a small clearing herself. Beyond that, she had no other concerns but to indulge in all the adventures she liked. [535] Men used to come to solicit her favors discreetly, each one receiving his day. From one she would ask for a cannon, from another, wap, kerosene, etc.

[428] Her guardian Ulenga used to press her to take another husband, but she could not bring herself to live then, having given with the /Ano/ her freedom as a woman.

[537] She contracted a new marriage in May or June, 1958 after owning on irregular life for more than six months.

[536] As a matter of fact, things go on with great discretion. A man is notified in secret by his sister or /female/ cousin that such-and-such a woman seduced him during a dance, that she will await him at her home on such-and-such a night. At night on the river, one perceives boats which pass close to the shore, [529] advancing silently. In each village there are secondary landings which allow unusual visitors to arrive at night without being seduced and to leave again before dawn. /1ST/

[534] If a woman lacks this discretion and if her life is openly dissolute, her mother will beat her and the head of the lineage will inflict punishments on her, but she will not be sent away; in no case can anyone be expelled from his usual village.

/179 cont./

965 After three months, an offering is made at the bage niki
[969] of the dead person's lineage, setting forth how much her spouse
[978] has respected her memory and asking permission to lighten the
[613] manifestations of his sorrow. The mourning is then lightened, but the man in mourning continues to wear a headcloth around his head or at the very least an old beret.

965 During the first months the man in mourning has no other
[961] responsibility than to hunt and fish at the order of the dead
[613] woman's lineage. He does his own cooking with the food given to him; he cuts a clearing for his mother-in-law or another woman of the deceased's relatives, who will farm it with him.
[631] Next, he receives the order to go and earn the money necessary for the sizable contribution he must bring to the festival of the lifting of mourning. During the entire duration of the mourning he must report on his work and moves.

965 When the end of mourning approaches, he must do a job
[602] for the benefit of his mother-in-law, generally redoing the roof of her house or building a boat for her.

These arrangements do not involve any material sanction
[602] whatever. Like the rest of the social life of the Refugee Blacks, they rest entirely upon fear of a supehuman sanction.

[509] After the lifting of mourning, the person in mourning may remarry without further delay.

965 Status of widows and co-wives of a widower. The state of a
[968] woman in mourning is practically identical to that of a widower.
[542] She lives for the duration of mourning in her deceased husband's house under the surveillance of his near relatives on the maternal
[613] side. The dead man's lineage lends her all the objects she
[499] needs and furnishes the imported commodities (salt, kerosene, soap) that she uses. On the other hand, she may freely use the product of the clearing that her husband had cut for her, since it is taken for granted that these products are the exclusive property of the wife.

the vengeance of the gods? Was it conscience? Was it morality? Was it destiny? Was it all of these, traditionalized into one abstract philosophical concept which, for the average Bush Negro, was no more formulated than are the underlying sanctions of any civilization to the vast majority of people who live in it? We sought out Bayo again, Bayo, who had the great kunu, to see what light his own experience would shed.

"Almost everyone has some kind of kunu, Bayo," we said. "Now why is it that Sodofo, who has a kunu, is so careful, while you who, let us say, also have a kunu, seem not to take any notice?"

We had, as a matter of fact, often wondered about this. Why was Bayo so sure on the river? Why did he carry himself like a man so much older than he really was? What was behind his great self-confidence? Was it luck? Was it a temperamental carelessness? We had watched his amazing strength in taking up our boat almost singly through the rapids, for Bibilo was so old that when he tried to hold the boat in the current, his arm could give no steadying power to the paddle, and the pole-stick he was too old to use at all. Was it all his luck? Our luck?

He answered circumspectly. Let us suppose, he explained, that in making him his father and mother had incurred the greatest kunu of all—the kunu that comes from incest. Now, in that case, he, as a child of such a relationship would be a *gwei*, a "child of the earth," for he would belong twofold to the land which was in the possession of his clan, and thus would be doubly a clan member. He would, therefore, be protected by the spirits. For the gods, it appeared, declared a truce with the child of such a union and gave him a pass of free conduct among the world of spirits. But the children of a man such as this . . . but here he stopped.

"You know," he said, with his delightful smile, "A man who has a kunu like that doesn't talk about it. Kunu aren't talked about. He might not get a wife. . . . "

REBEL DESTINY

6

Fe'aku was chief of his clan. He was a handsome man, with a quick, clever eye, and a reputation for great honesty everywhere on the river. To him we appealed for more light on kuna. We had met him in his village on our way upstream and we had seen him in the tribal council house when we had sat at the great kruta held there by Gaaman Yankum. When we stopped again at Fe'aku's village on our way down the river—this village that was so close to Dahomey, the seat of magic—it was evident that the gods favored us. We had come safely through the great rapids. We had stayed at Aniadupu Lantiwe in good health, and the spirits had even spoken for us through some of the women whom they had possessed. Fe'aku spoke with greater freedom than we had yet met with.

"There are different kinds of kuna, and some are big and are very bad; but some are small and do not make much trouble," he began.

The greatest kuna came from mating a child with a member of one's own family, with one's true, true sister or, what would be almost as bad, with a child of one's mother's sister. Murder was a great kuna, too, and perhaps next to that was the kuna that came to the Bush Negro if he informed to the white man against one of his own kind. Then there were the kuna that one got for false accusation, and for repeated stealing, and even for lying, if it were done too much. For lying is not good, lying makes too much trouble among people. And there were many more kinds of kuna, some of which he mentioned. Killing a snake or a tiger and not burying it with honor brought on a kuna, and cutting down a silk-cotton tree was kuna.

When a big kuna came into a family, it wiped it out. One by one the members of the family died. Men died, women died, and children were never born, or they died when they were small. "This goes on until the family is finished," Fe'aku said. A lesser kuna could kill as well, but its vengeance would be directed only against the women who carried on the line of succession to office and property, or

/138 cont. /

613
614 --The Lapé lineage is divided into two groups from the genealogical point of view, but marriage between these two fractions remains prohibited. The law of exogamy is rigorously respected within this group;

--The Kiriika lineage, which ends by forgetfulness of the genealogy to split into three fractions, tolerates unions between members of different fractions; in 1958 there were seven cases of this. On the contrary, union is not allowed between members of the same fraction;

--The Dipélio I lineage, whose genealogy is completely known, does not allow marriage between its members, although for several generations it has been cut into two distinct social units, L'Enfant Perdu and Apatu villages, entirely separated geographically and each governing its own lands;

--It is the same for Dipélio II, but marriage is permitted between Dipélio I and Dipélio II;

--The Papaïoanu lineage allows the possibility of union between the principal fraction and the small Papaïoanu 2 fraction. But there is no marriage between members of the principal fraction;

613
614
•SRB --The Awana Sabba lineage on the contrary tolerates unions not only between the members of its three fractions but also recently within the principal fraction:

○Abenisona (Aw. B. I. F21) and △ Seelo (Aw. B. I. E31)
○Kyéto (Aw. B. I. E30) and △ Pritpiti (Aw. B. I. F3).

This situation is an object of scandal to the other groups, and it does not seem that we are present here at the beginning of a general transformation.

613
614 It is to be noted that the possibility of marriage is allowed between the members of groups presumed to be of the same origin but separated for a long time, like Dipélio I and Dipélio II.

/130 cont./

Committing pikadu is one of the most serious offenses that a Refugee Black can commit, of course, as in the rest of the moral prescriptions, no abstract principle is called on: the elders teach the children from their earliest years: "If you commit pikadu, you will fall ill or die." The head of the lineage inflicts severe punishments on the guilty people to bear: for the man, to make a large number of planks with an adze; for the women, to prepare and winnow as preparation for the next to pay off several sacques /kaso/ of rice, a long and tedious job.

However, if in spite of insults and blows a man and woman of the same lineage absolutely insist on marrying, people end up, for the sake of peace and quiet, by accepting the accomplished fact. They go to the lineage site to make an offering of salt to the ancestors to ask them to forgive the offense committed. No reproaches remain to the children born of the union.

In the Aseda Saisha lineage, which has practically reserved the law of exogamy, the principle of a sanction remains and there is a pressure of shaming the guilty even across the village.

Not being able to use sanctions and not having the right to expel a member of the lineage, cousins and cousins can even be harassed sometimes.

The same sense of pikadu is attached to unions between persons of the same patrilineage, although these patrilineages have no effective organization and exist only by the transmission of the fundamental convictions, bwaa kina.

Before concluding an official or even clandestine union, the man and woman make sure that they do not have the same bwaa kina and in such a case give up their project that, even if they are from different villages, for example a Bosi woman and a Saamaka.

/[illegible] cont./

Generally speaking, the women of the Saramaka tend to consider as immoral the marriage of a very young girl to an old man, or of a very young boy to an adult woman. The weakening of family morals is clearly demonstrated by two events which happened during the summer of 1960. A boy of thirteen and a half, K..., of Bonneville, left his guardian to join an older woman, A....., 20 years older than he and with a very bad reputation to boot; some months later his example was imitated /[illegible]/ by a boy of 14 who began living with a woman of 20. Nothing like that had ever been seen, and people inveighed against the scandal of it, but in both cases, guardians and lineage heads showed themselves incapable of making their authority respected by force.

Marriage of girls. It can still be said (although things are in the process of changing rapidly) that girls, young until, enough to place upon in the thoughts of the Saramaka Bushes, the reputation which embraces women does not extend to them. People say that girls "have good manners," and in fact most of them, although mind enough for a little upon, have a reserved attitude, a becoming bearing, which contrast with the attitude of the married women. To tell the truth, this virtue is not so much due to natural inclinations as to the strict vigilance with which their mothers surround them. The mothers literally do not let them out of their sight and permit no man to speak to them out of their presence. "Until dawn, until the cock crows, she keeps vigil," says the song, alluding to the mother who watches over her daughter's virtue. If a girl comes to lose her virginity without being properly married, or as we, "established in a house," it is a dishonor for her mother and her near relatives.

For the duration of the mourning, any indisposition of the surviving spouse will draw upon him the pitiless vengeance of the *ekiko*; it is imperative for him to make himself forgotten, to have a modest and decent demeanor. The dead person might be vexed with him for having kept his health and good looks. So they try to give the surviving spouse the aspect of a miserable and unfortunate being. The dead person's relatives are particularly concerned in having this discipline observed, for in the opposite case the dead person's *ekiko* would turn back in vengeance against his own lineage. During all the mourning the whole lineage considers itself in danger. So custom requires that during all this period the widower (or widow) be placed under the authority of the dead person's lineage.

In the case of concubinage, mourning is taken on by the spouse even if the relations have not been made official. People cite the example of Way (Bezinville) who mourned mourning for a Bizine with whom she had begun to live before he could propose to her officially.

Rank of persons in mourning. A widower's case is exactly the lot of a widow, which tends to show that in the eyes of the Bafuyan Bizine the dead, men and women, have the same level of being and the same power over the living.

The surviving spouse is placed under the protection of the ancestors of the dead person's lineage. Without this protection (secure by the prayers of the members of this lineage, he would find himself defenceless. The proof of it is that the principal mourner turn to to lift the mourning prohibition to be going to the huge rite to tell the ancestors that she is no longer interested in him. That amounts indirectly to causing him (see below the example of Gambe).

In Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

rod set into a base of clay, rotated steadily as she worked. Her fingers moved fast, for she did not require too fine a thread. The raw cotton, she said, she got from a wild "cotton tree." Cotton which was picked in the fields and which grew from seeds planted in the ground, she did not know at all. Was there such cotton?

Working in the fields, she continued, was not too difficult. It was a woman's work. A woman did not mind it. From earliest childhood girls followed their mothers about, and learned how to work the fields.

"What is hard is having to cut my own field. I have no man to cut it for me. I must cut it myself."

She paused for an instant to right her thread.

"When I plant my field, and pray to the gods to make the seed grow, then I ask the Earth Mother to help me find a way to get a man to cut my field for me. 'Earth Mother,' I say, 'help me find a man to cut my field. I have great need of a man to burn my ground.' . . . "

Seeing two women approach, she said, "Fenekonde here is like myself, she too needs a man to cut her field."

But this needed explaining. Here were two women who called the Granman "husband," and who shared the difficulty of having to clear their own fields.

It was soon made apparent, however, that both of these women were only nominally wives of the Granman. They had married into his family. When kunu, however, killed one successor to his office after the other, these women were made widows. Like the widow who now worked alone before her house which fronted the clearing, where stood the shrine to the great gods and the Granman's principal houses, they had worn tattered clothes, and a twisted kerchief as a band on their heads. For five months this had lasted, and then a dance was given.

Did the white woman know about the ceremony called *pai Adyo*?

The white woman had heard the word Dyo-dyo from natives of the town many times. Once, indeed, a question about it put to an old woman, who it later developed was

/20/

765 Thereupon follows a second, who just like the first has a calabash in hand, but this time filled with spirituous liquor, and from time to time sprinkles a few drops of it on the ground, in token of the fact that on this occasion, too, by means of drink, they think of the deceased with joy.

Then they again return to the dwelling, where all are gathered, and celebrate an enjoyable night with song and dancing until daybreak.

Chapter XII

Character, Virtues and Vices

157 The Bush Negro, as I have already said above, has a great [577] deal of respect for old age and for distinguished persons; with respect to their closest relations they are honest, which they can- [461] not pride themselves on otherwise. In their ordinary affairs they [609] are not lazy, but work tirelessly whenever it is necessary. With respect to strangers they are generous and obliging, all the more [152] when they can assume that they may claim reward. Jealousy, [784] envy, and malice are their greatest vices. Concerning many matters they have an antipathy that they call trefoe (treef). Thus, [781] for instance, one will eat something, the other not. Also they are very superstitious in small matters, to which they cling all the way down to distant generations; they call that obia (literally translated, bewitchment, magic).

262 An Auca girl who through attachment to my wife and me [123] has already lived with us in the town for fully five years, because since the death of her husband, who was one of my most trusted [589] workers, she did not want to attach herself to another, and who performed all kinds of housework for us, carries her trefoe of not eating any unscaled fish so far that she will not even cook her food on a fire where there is a pot in which an unscaled fish was previously prepared. I know another one who uses no milk and also does not eat meat of any kind (with the exception of bacon), unless it be game, and then it must be prepared by her, on the grounds that everything is prepared with butter and that butter comes from

/36 cont./

123 Also, I am led to believe that for me they cherish a
466 more than general respect, since already for ten years now they have been faithful workers for me, a privilege to which no inhabitant in this colony other than myself can lay claim.

123 A family among them, whose head recently died --
778 according to their statements, through poisoning, which misdeed
[761] is supposed to have taken place out of envy, since I gave him preference above others, which he deserved on account of his faithfulness and industry -- has built a hut in the vicinity of my idol sign, in which they placed a crude image cut out of cedar-
[237] wood and painted with white paint. Beside that image they placed a little table and on it laid a number of quill feathers from the gouwies (1), a little bottle with black liquid, symbolizing ink,

1. A pheasant, the Crax alector L.

as well as some slips of paper. Near this little table they dug a number of steps into the ground, and at the lowermost step they made a gutter that runs in the direction of the river. Now when they have a festival with dancing and they want to pay respect to me, they place near it a number of children who constantly pour water brought in jugs, which, flowing down the steps into the gutter, streams riverward. While this ceremony takes place, songs in my honor are sung by the festive crowd.

[122] Now the image, according to their conception, is sup-
[829] posed to be a representation of me, /36/ the white color the sign that I am a white, while the quills, paper, and ink are the attributes of the Whites' higher civilization, the streaming water that I stem from the colonists who have come here from across the sea.

123 The wife of the headman referred to above came to me
● 589 in the town shortly after the death of her husband and remained to choose my household as her permanent residence, to which I gladly consented. Faithful and considerate, she performs not only a great many household services, but even anticipates in this respect the wishes of my wife, and out of love for us refuses any monetary compensation.

621 592 241 (589) (496)

/Lib cont./

Structure of the Kakyé habitation. This habitation is dominated by Kakyé (Aw.B.L. E18), a widow for a long time and not remarried, working with her children.

Working with her are:

--Amélia (Aw.B.L. F19), her daughter;

--Papakay (Aw.B.L. F23), her son;

--Akamina (Aw.B.L. F24), her daughter;

--Lébimichi (Aw.B.L. F27), daughter of Tochi? sister of Kakyé.

241 592 621 423 (613)

Listing of several clearings of the Adiko and Kakyé habitations. These clearings are totally mixed with each others' and with those of the Annou habitation, which is normal since these lands all belong to the Awara Bakka lineage.

No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
11	△	Bébu (Aw.B.L. F17), for himself	1954	Kakyé's son (does not work there habitually)	cut for the 1st time
12	○	Amélia; clearing cut by her husband Sindu	1954	Kakyé's daughter	id.
13	○	Lébimichi; clearing cut by her husband Azonjor	1954	Kakyé's niece	cut for the 1st time

/131 cont./

593 Among the Refugee Ebrie some very devoted couples are
[591] seen, who spend their whole lives together and who, in their old
[143] age, have contiguously united their dwellings. Living in the same house, either in the woman's village or the man's: for example, in the village of Lagé Tabiki, Boru and his wife Aoumain, in 1962 aged about 70 years, together for 45 years and having had eight children. But such cases are exceptional. Besides, they
[591] are not admired and held up as an example as one might believe; this man and this woman aided each other, they remained together; if some day they no longer get along, they will divorce. that is all.

595 Polygamy. Polygamy in the African sense of the term, that is, the simultaneous maintenance of several regular households, is exceptional among the Refugee Ebrie because of their mode of living:

[433] --The wife is practically entirely dependent on her hus-
[511] band; an economy based mainly on wage earning and involving a relatively high standard of living makes it impossible for most men to maintain more than one household;

[461] --Even if a man had sizable financial means at his disposal, he could scarcely maintain more than two households; for it is not acceptable, at least nowadays, for him to have done by others the customary chores: clearings, beam, house.

169 595 On January 1, 1958 out of 134 men over 20 years old in the villages on the French bank, whose lives were well known to us, there were:

Men maintaining three household	4	3%
" " two household	18	13%
" " one household	104	77%
[589] Bachelors, widowers, or recent divorcés	11	8%
	134	100% /sic/

/137 cont./

[587] A woman who has just been divorced does not remarry immediately. Several months, sometimes a year or more, may go by between two unions, a period during which she thinks only of "living it up," indulging in all the adventures she wishes. This attitude is considered normal, and the elders have nothing to say to her provided that she does not fall into pitiable, or cause any scandal, and that the period does not last too long.

[586] We have cited the example of Agaba, a pretty girl of 18, who at the end of 1967 had just broken with her husband Fatiba /Aic/ after only one year of living together. She was living with things who brought her up; she was cutting a small clearing herself. Beyond that, she had no other concern but to indulge in all the adventures she liked. Men used to come to solicit her favors discreetly, each one reserving his day. From one she would look for a carton, from another, soap, kerosene, etc.

[585] Her guardian things used to pere her to take another husband, but she could not forbid her to live thus, having given with the /Ibgo/ her freedom as a woman.

[587] She contracted a new marriage in May or June, 1968 after leading an irregular life for more than six months.

936 As a matter of fact, things go on with great discretion. A man is notified in secret by his wives or /female/ cousin that such-and-such a woman winked him during a dance, that she will await him at her home on such-and-such a night. At night on the river, one perceives boats which pass close to the shore, advancing silently. In each village there are secondary landings which allow nocturnal visitors to arrive at night without being noticed and to leave again before dawn. /138/

[584] If a woman lacks this discretion and if her life is openly dissolute, her mother will beat her and the head of the lineage will inflict punishment on her, but she will not be sent away; in no case can anyone be expelled from his natal village.

[604] brothers and to his sisters' children. That is how we live here in the bush. That is how we die."

6

591 When a man marries, he either arranges to take his wife to live in his own village—his mother's village—or to stay in that of his wife. Whether he chooses the one village or the other, he has to build a house there for her, and this becomes her home, her household. If he wishes, he may build two houses, one in his own village, and one in the village of his wife. Kasanya's younger brother built two houses for his first wife. One was on the lower river, next to Kasanya's own house, and the other we would reach after two days' further travel up the river.

Yet the man, explained Kasanya, if the couple were living in the village of the wife, or the woman, if their house was in his village, was not entirely at home. In one's own village a person was a *gumi*, a child of the "ground." He belonged there. But when living in another's village, even though it was that of a husband or wife, one was a [604] *wahowa'*, a stranger, and if a man of the village but uttered this word "*wahowa*" to such an individual, the outsider had to take up his belongings and leave at once. Were the [605] stranger, in turn, to speak aloud the word "*gumi*," disaster would follow, for the earth spirits, having been disturbed, would be sure to take their toll.

594 The *wuro*—the household—is the unit of family life, whether, in its physical location, it is in one village or two villages. In it a woman lives with her husband, and here the 592 children are reared. After the *wuro* comes the larger family unit, the *ndu*, composed of those who have come from the common womb of a more remote ancestress, while several of 614 these larger or extended families form a clan.

"If a man has more than one wife," said Kasanya, "then 595 he makes more than one house. A man never puts two wives in the same house. It would not be good. Each woman has her own house, where she lives with her children. It must be so. The children of the first wife belong to her

Marriage requires a bride price, consisting of money or 583
cloth, sugar, tobacco, and some carved wooden implements, such as combs, paddles, trays. These are handed over to the bride's family as presents. Then the wife simply moves into her husband's hut, or he into hers. Despite their pre-marital 585
promiscuity, it is said that on the bridal night all the inhabitants of a Bush Negro village will gather outside the hut to hear what the husband has to say regarding the bride's virginity. If the girl is not a virgin, part of the bride price may be refunded, at the husband's discretion. The gathering on such an occasion is attended by much jocularity.

The Djuka husband builds a hut for each one of his women 393
and has another for himself, to which he may retire when- 392
ever he feels the need of bachelor seclusion. The woman 395
sleeps in her own hut, cooks, and raises her children there. The husband comes to her when he wants to, and leaves her for another wife when impulse so guides him. She seldom quarrels with the other wives, who may even live in separate villages.

Each wife has her own provision ground, where she grows 303
rice and cassava; her husband has cleared it for her. The cas- 291
sava fields are owned by individual women, but are held in 342
very loose tenure. At harvest time, or when a plague of in- 302
sects is threatening, the women of several households work 307
together in common.

The man's hut is called his *gada oso*, or "treasure house." 342
It serves to impress his women with his importance and 334
wealth. They are forbidden to enter it, but, woman-like, they insist on peeping in. So he keeps many boxes and wood carv-

584 /16 mss./
and, once this has been promised, the girl indeed continues to be regarded specifically as the betrothed of the person who made the request. As soon as she is marriageable, she is handed over to her man with or without her consent, and it may be regarded as a rare case when such a promise is broken.

[481] The man to whom she is promised sometimes does not see his future wife before the occasion of her betrothal, but usually he is concerned with her upbringing and from time to time gives her presents consisting of money, [illegible], and cloth.

[59] Some take the girl promised to them even when she is only three or four years old in order to rear her further.

[674] The promising of newborn girls takes place for the most part
[682] when there are obligations between parents, as was reported in Chapter III, and in the case of enslavement which is done to one
[667] family by another in case of poisoning, and so forth.

586 It is an everyday occurrence that a woman leaves her husband or a man his wife for another.

595 Polygamy is much practiced, and among my workers I know several who have three or four wives, most of whom are very young. Some, however, have only one wife.

It is noteworthy that all the wives sleep with the man in one hut, while in addition he perhaps keeps with him a girl whom he
[513] is bringing up to be his wife. One wife will be /15/ with him in the hammock and lies with her feet at the head end of the man and the latter in turn with his feet at the head end of the woman, while the other women sleep in their hammocks.

[484] If a Bush Negro goes out, be it to celebrate a festival or in order to float wood to the town, he takes all his wives with him; only in case of illness do they remain behind.

His wives get money separately, and therefore they must also separately provide for his food, so that one cooks the food in the morning, another at midday, a third in the evening, etc.
[578] This way of life and their jealous nature frequently bring about household quarrels that rarely end in any way other than bloody fights.

585 Upon the conclusion of a marriage the man is obligated to
583 give the parents of the girl as a marriage portion a long, broad,

/111 cont./

relations, nor any power of the man over the woman, nor even household cohabitation. The man and the woman each reside in the village of their maternal kin. The man goes to live with his wife from time to time, providing her with the imported commodities that she needs, notably salt, kerosene, cloth, and utensils, and felling trees for the clearings which she will exploit for the benefit of the household.

Divorce is entirely free. Unions are not very stable, mainly on account of the women. Numbers of women are divorced four to five times during their lives.

The grand man, chief of the tribe, exercises over the Boni a power which is more religious than political.

The Boni are a pirogue-people. For more than a century they have been living by using their canoes for the benefit of gold-washers and exploiting miners. The decline of gold extraction is depriving them more and more of their traditional resources. Some of them are emigrating temporarily to the coastal lumberyards. But all of them remain faithful to their villages and to their customs.

/111/

The Oyapoc Indians (Roucouyennes /Roucyen/). These Indians of the Caribe /Carib/ ethnic group have had only a few direct contacts with European civilization and still represent without alteration the human type which populated Guiana before the arrival of the Europeans. On encountering the Refugee Blacks, the Indians of the Guianese forest have been steadily and rapidly declining. Estimated at 30,000 at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Indians of French Guiana are now no more than about a thousand. In addition there must be included in this number 700 persons (Galibi and Arawak) who have been protected by their habitat in the savannas of the coast where malaria is less deadly than in the interior.

The accounts of travelers and the censuses made notably in 1720, 1759, 1787, and 1815 allow one to follow with precision this destruction of the autochthonous population since the first settlement of the Europeans in Guiana (2).

2. Dr. André Sausse, op. cit., pp. 87-90.

[For additional demographic and social information, see the "Table of the Population of the Bent Village," on pp. 470-535, category 116. Included are data on the number of children per women, the number of deaths by age and sex, the name of the guardian (usually, but not necessarily a parent) who was responsible for raising a particular individual, parental names of the Bent, marital residence and residence changes by specific individuals, marriage practices, including polygynous unions and secondary marriages, cases of divorce, and lineage/clb affiliations of each individual.]

614 /to cont./

769 Another very important principle in the minds of the Sorgues
296 Bambe is that prayers must be collective; the principal ceremonies,
613 such as the New Year's prayer, must bring together, at least in principle, the total lineage.

These notions certainly have influenced the customs of the
182 Sorgues Bambe with respect to residence and marriage. The lineage
613 cannot allow the permanent departure of a woman from her native
614 country any more than that of a man. In the populations of Black Africa with matrilineal filiation, this conception is reconciled
● 591 with the necessities of practical living in the following manner:
[71] the wife leaves her relatives to settle down with her husband, but when her children reach adulthood they must return there. This one cannot attribute to this preoccupation alone the special system of marriage among the Sorgues Bambe, which does not involve the permanent cohabitation of man and wife. We shall see that this system was inspired by social and psychological necessities. Its concern for the unity of the lineage, to which it corresponds perfectly, has surely contributed to make of it a rigorous principle of customary law.

601 Kinship within the matrilineage. The kinship terms translate a
613 purely classificatory system. It depends only on the number of
611 generations separating from the foundress. The sons of women descended from the foundress in uterine line are regarded as members of the matrilineage and united in the system of appellation. The children of these men are no longer part of the matrilineage.

/No name./

They continue to use the same usage, any, man even after the break-up of a marriage, so that they are in frequent usage. As for the woman herself, they say *ne* ko-and-ne in speaking to her, as to a slave.

Marriage. The conceptions of the Refugee Banks on this subject are remarkable. Marriage in the African sense of the word, understood as a contract between two groups of relatives, does not exist among them. The union of the man and woman does not involve any sort of contract between their groups of relatives and consequently entails no matrimonial compensation. /Sic/ The Refugee Banks are the only African Negro population to our knowledge whose customs do not involve any form of "dowry" either in money or in kind.

Family life in the sense that we understand it does not exist; as we shall see further on, marriage is forbidden between people of the same lineage, which implies that the husband and wife live in different villages. The man builds a house for his wife in her native village, but he does not come to live with her; he makes visits of several days to her as to his other wives, in the course of which he furnishes her with the imported objects (salt, kerosene, cloth, etc.); she sends, lends her his aid for heavy chores, which, for her part, she turns over to him the products of the clearing. The rest of the time he lives as a bachelor in his mother's village where he builds his own house. If he is very attached to his wife, he can come to reside with her and can even succeed without great difficulty in bringing her to live in his own village; but few couples take advantage of this option, for the man and wife prize their independence above everything else.

The life of the man and of the wife remains entirely separate and their union has more the character of a temporary association founded on material interests than that of a marriage; the family life of each one remains entirely centered around his or her matrilineage.

/Fill mark. /

The formation of patrilineages must have been hampered by numerous divorces. In addition, in case of divorce, the wife unquestionably expected to take her children with her, not recognizing any contract between the two groups of kin which might be able to affect her free will; one can also be certain that the children, if consulted, must have followed their mother in most cases and joined their maternal kin group. This tendency remains perfectly observable in our days; we shall see all its importance when we study how the children are raised and what tutelage is exercised upon them.

Now there is no patrilineage conceivable if, in case of divorce, the children do not stay with the father. Patrilineal societies exist in which the wife is free; were it only the Peule society, where divorces are very frequent. But African custom law is that in a patrilineal system, by means of payment of the dowry, the wife's kin lose all rights over the children. They have entered the man's kin group and his ancestral cult.

The formation of matrilineal and patrilineal groupings must also have collided with analogous difficulties, the women not willingly leaving their village of origin.

One can rather easily imagine that in the initial period of the formation of the /Fill/ new tribes, the different matrimonial systems coexisted; then the patrilineal groups, less viable, progressively broke up, while the present system was being established.

This point of view is confirmed by an exact piece of information collected at the end of the 19th century by the explorer Cambrou. Upon the death of Agou, son of Bani, it was his son Gongo who succeeded him. But after the death of Gongo, the succession went according to the matrilineal system.

Another important aspect of the matrimonial system of the Refugee Blacks is the absence of any compensation or payment. Even if it happens that a woman leaves her lineage permanently in order to settle in her husband's village and found a family there

/1st cont./

583 (this was especially the case with the Afi and Tsiba lineages
591 cited above), that does not entail any compensation. It is contrary to custom and disapproved of, but if the wife absolutely insists on leaving her kin she is free to do so. Nothing can be claimed from her husband's lineage.

The usual interpretation of matrimonial compensation, regarded as a mechanism for exchange of women among groups, thus does not seem valid here. If a woman leaves a Bani lineage for good to go and found a family, for example among the Dyoka, her descendants are lost to the lineage without any possibility of compensation. Yet this society is deeply rooted in African soil does not make provision for any allowance or payment in such a case.

613 Things are clearer if the lineage is considered not as an
771 effective material grouping but as a spiritual community subject
[814] to the same religious law. In the thought of the Refugee Kaviri, the fundamental religious tie which joins the individual to his ancestors in uterine line cannot be broken whatever anyone does.

[591] Whenever she may go, the emigrant woman remain a mem-
[784] ber of the spiritual community; she remains, she and her children, subject to the same kum. Nor can this religious tie be transferred from the maternal kin group.

581 Understood thus, marriage breaks no spiritual tie, creates
583 none; it thus affords no reason for any compensation.

Those considerations show that the African "dowry" as conceived by patrilineal societies is not only a mechanism for the exchange of women among materially constituted groups. It can also have as its end, without those concerned even being aware of it, to compensate the spiritual community of the lineage for the loss of the children the woman will bear, their passage to another cult.

/38 cont./

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given except as they possess them-
selves for recording of vital
statistics or for registration on
voting lists.

administration has for a long time appeared /sic/ in the eyes of the inhabitants of the interior as a beneficiaries efficacy, but they deny the old African reason of never telling the whites more than half of what they know.

125

In the absence of any national census which could serve as a point of departure, this job presented considerable difficulties arising principally from the extreme mobility of the population.

[191]

—Never is the whole population of a village assembled together simultaneously; the proportion of those absent frequently reaches 50 per cent, especially in the free season (hunting, fishing, hewing, clearings at the farming habitations, etc.);

[191]

—A good many men and women have two, sometimes three, names used interchangeably. If one does not personally know a large part of the inhabitants of the villages and does not have at his disposal carefully made-up genealogical tables, it is impossible to understand anything;

[191]

—If the men respond in good faith, it is not the same with the women, who are inaccessible to any meaning. Some try to cash in on the information they give, others obstinately refuse to answer;

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—A number of adolescents and even of men between 20 and 25 years old have no regular hut. Each man, man or woman, is in principle expected to build a hut in one of the "great villages." But this residence may be fictitious: It can, for example, be a tumbled-down hut which they intend to put up again some day... or the poor roof of the house of the mother or a brother, under which they install themselves on days when a ceremony causes the lineage to meet together, residing the rest of the year in a farming habitation.

/Gi Gbeu/

[62] The principle behind the constitution of the Beni villages
[63] is, as we have said, the localization of the matrilineage. Men
[64] and women live in the village of their maternal kin; the wife
does not leave her village to join her husband, who comes to visit
her from time to time without ceasing, himself, to live in the
midst of his own lineage.

The composition of each village thus corresponds, at least
in principle, to the group of living people on the genealogical
table. But a certain number of exceptions are observed.

[65] —A certain number of men (about 20 out of 800 persons)
have emigrated for good and can no longer be counted in the
population of the villages.

[66] —On the other hand, a dozen Djoko and Samanko married
[67] to Beni women have settled permanently in the villages and have
been included in the census.

[68] We have tried to estimate with as much precision as possible
[69] the age of the people concerned, by means of events of known
[70] date which they remember, from the trip of the explorer Crevaux
(1879) to the war 1939-45. We have established a local chronology,
reproduced as an appendix at the end of the present chapter.

[71] The demographic survey, which has been the subject of
another publication (1), was conducted parallel with the sociological

[113] 1. "Étude démographique comparée des Bété réfugiés Beni et des Indiens Cayesa du Haut-Marowi /Comparative Demographic Study of the Beni Refugee Bété and the Cayesa Indians of the Upper Marowi/," in Population, Bulletin de l'ONU, 1962, No. 2. 2/A

Investigation.
2/A [See S. Hurault, This file-- Analysis.]

/46/

l'Enfant Perdu (Tabiki) Village

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Legend

№	House of		№	House of	
3	○ Djalufu	Dip. I, E8	25	△ Fambien	Dip. I, E62
6	△ Kasun (usually lives in Kotika	Dip. I, E3	26	○ Asuwentina	K2, E73
			25, 29	△ Daméni	Dip. I, E47
8	△ Biani	Dip. I, F76	30	○ Anusa	Dip. I, E48
9	○ Saumé	Dip. I, E53	31, 32	○ Towéchi	Dip. I, F64
10	△ Tabayé	Dip. I, F73			
11	○ Saumé (2nd house)		33	△ Malpa	Dip. I, F52
13	○ Abéna	Dip. I, D38	34	△ Babun (2nd house)	
14	△ Polou	Dip. I, F77	36	○ Aséli	Dip. I, F60
15	△ Toli	Dip. I, D44	37	○ Ehna	Dip. I, E44
16	○ Mata	Dip. I, F80	38	○ Anou	Dip. I, G50
17	△ Abagon	Dip. I, E35	39	○ Musinga	Dip. I, F51
19	△ Bayamati	Dip. I, E55	41	○ Apenaa	Dip. I, F54
20	△ Simon	Dip. I, F78	42	○ Kodja	Dip. I, F55
21	△ Manku	Dip. I, F75	43	○ Saayé	Dip. I, F56
22	△ Babun	Dip. I, D40	45	○ Pééchina	Dip. I, E42

[622] Village head

Total on January 1, 1958: 65 persons, of whom 25 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

[591] Adult inhabitants of the village whose residence is not normal:

○ Asuwentina 1926, raised by her father Fambien, remained in l'Enfant Perdu;

△ Yoni 1930, DJUKA, raised by his brother by the same father Tabayé in l'Enfant Perdu village, remained there afterward.

Total: 2 persons, of whom one is bringing up a child.

Loka and Lapé Tabiki Villages

[591] Adult inhabitants whose residence is normal: /Error for "not normal"? - Tr.

△ Aïoondo 1935, raised by his father Komman in Loka, stayed there

○ Baïkom 1924, raised by her father Maiobi in Loka, stayed there

○ Méchi 1922, raised by her father Kodio in Loka, stayed there

○ Noko 1937, raised by Namu, sister of her father, stayed in Loka

○ Régina 1936, raised by her father Popo in Loka, stayed there

Total: 5 persons, raising 7 children or adolescents under 16 years old.

/50/

Asisi Village--Dju Quarter

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Legend

N°	House of		N°	House of	
1	△ Fraga	Dju, F18	25	○ Paana	Dju, G2
2	△ Loko	Dju, F39	26	○ Téodora	Dju, G40
3	△ Soeoman	Dju, E14	27	○ Piké	Dju, F28
4	△ Fraga (2nd house)		29	○ Dabisa	Dju, G45
5	△ Tyolo	Dip. II, F48	30	△ Yaka	SAR.
6	△ Wénu	Dju, F38	31	△ Soalufu	Dju, G42
7			32	○ Aliki	Dju, E23
8	△ Koniami	Aw. B.1, G1	33	○ Maria	Dju, F11
9	○ Yééchi	Dju, F3	34	△ Achiké	Dju, F13
10	○ Wima † 1957		35	○ Félicia	Dju, G41
13	△ Féni	Dju, G3	36	△ Bernardin	K1, D60
14	△ Adiso, village head	Dju, F37	37	△ Achiké (2nd house)	
			38	○ Dechini	Dju, F16
15	○ Pamasa	Dju, E26	39	○ Adyidya (2nd house)	
16	○ Buba	Dju, G1	40	○ Kukusa	Dju, F40
17	○ Agubo	Dju, G14	41	△ Faawé	Dju, F19
18	○ Sara	Dju, E27	42	○ Ursula	Dju, D3
20	○ Ata	Dju, F2	43	○ Wima † (2nd house)	
21	○ Adyidya	Dju, E19	44	○ Diana	Dju, E9
22	○ Lénga	Dju, F36	45		
23	○ Sara (2nd house)		46	○ Baawé	Dju, E13
24	○ Timi	Dju, F1			

Total on January 1, 1958: 67 persons of whom 24 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

[591] Adult inhabitants whose residence is not normal:

△ Koniami 1935, raised by his father among the Dju, stayed there afterward;

△ Tyolo 1919 idem

△ Yaka 1870, old Saramaka moved in with his wife Aliki;

△ Bernardin 1885, raised by his father among the Dju where he took a wife;

○ AfaTia 1930, raised by her father among the Dju, stayed with her mother by the same father Féni.

Total: 5 persons, of whom one is raising a child.

6:Hurault--73 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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(622)

Asisi Village--Awara Bakka Quarter

Legend

№	House of		№	House of	
1	△ Amusupé 1887	Aw. B. 1, E3	30	○ Noémi	Aw. B. 1, F51
2	△ Kondoku, village head	Aw. B. 1, E22	31	△ Empalé	DJUKA
3	○ Kyéti	Aw. B. 1, E30	32	△ Antonu	Aw. B. 1, E47
4	○ Mani	1. Afi, d12	33	○ Agyasu, her husband	
5	○ Paniki	1. Afi, d13		△ Maliki	L2, F64
6	△ Awéni	1. Afi, c12	34	○ Irma	Aw. B. 1, E37
7	△ Agibidon	Aw. B. 1, E21	35	○ Bugi	Aw. B. 1, F41
8	○ Akichi	Aw. B. 1, F27	36	○ Akumuyé †	Aw. B. 1, D17
9	△ Boofo	Aw. B. 1, E31	37	○ Méédié	Aw. B. 3, F90
10	○ Biyo	Aw. B. 1, F11	38	○ Mona	Aw. B. 1, F50
11	△ Matapi	1. Afi, c3	39	△ Mato	Aw. B. 1, E46
12	△ Béti	Aw. B. 1, F37	40	○ Chitalna	Aw. B. 1, F43
13	△ Aminto	Aw. B. 3, E74	41	○ Lébimay	Aw. B. 1, F55
14	○ Kuluba † 1957	Aw. B. 1, D1	42	○ Namu	Aw. B. 1, E48
15	○ Fakima	Aw. B. 2, E61	43	○ Léna	Aw. B. 1, E52
16	○ Abuyu	Aw. B. 2, E63	44	△ Malna	Aw. B. 1, F42
17	○ Koluku	Aw. B. 2, E59	45	○ Lébimichi	Aw. B. 1, F27
18	△ Garson	Aw. B. 1, F7	46	○ Amélia	Aw. B. 1, F19
19	○ Summa	Aw. B. 3, F81	47	△ Ernest	Aw. B. 1, E25
20	○ Emma	Aw. B. 2, D25	48	○ Apinda	Aw. B. 1, F16
21	○ Titi	Aw. B. 1, E16	49	△ Bésu	Aw. B. 1, F17
22	△ Akodo	Aw. B. 2, E55	50	○ Kakié	Aw. B. 1, E18
24	○ Saanéti	Aw. B. 2, D28	51	○ Atuku †	Aw. B. 1, E26
25	△ Asakya	Aw. B. 2, E65	52	○ Ayékuman	Aw. B. 1, F8
26	△ Kondoku (2nd house)		53	○ Soéfi	Aw. B. 1, F10
27	○ Akanté	Aw. B. 3, E70	54	△ Dopia	Aw. B. 1, F9
29	○ Kilina	Aw. B. 3, E71	55	△ Baakaman	Aw. B. 1, F12
			56	○ Alicia	Aw. B. 1, E32

Total on January 1, 1958: 145 persons of whom 60 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

NOTA: The Awara Bakka lineage settled earliest on the island of Asisi, and when the Boni speak of Asisi village, they usually mean the quarter occupied by this lineage.

• 591 Adult inhabitants of the village whose residence is not normal:

△ Empalé 1905, DJUKA mother, raised by his father Péeyon in Asisi, remained there afterward;

△ Maliki 1928, raised by his father in Asisi, remained there afterwards.

○ Delina 1931, DJUKA woman settled near her husband Malna.

Total: 3 persons.

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Kormotibo and Asisi-Dipélu Villages

Dipélu II lo

[128] [361] We did not judge it useful to include the plan of the habitat of this group, consisting of two hamlets which are badly kept up and in decay.

[162] As of January 1, 1958: 62 persons, of whom 31 are children and adolescents of less than 16 years.

• [591] Adult inhabitants whose residence in these villages is not normal:

△ Alémin 1880 (Afi lineage)	has always lived isolated
○ Magdaléna 1912 (Afi lineage) (raising 4 children under 16)	came to live with her husband Léon (Dip. II. † in 1954); remained there afterward.
△ Doïchiman 1934 (Afi l.)	raised by his mother Magdaléna, lives near her.
△ Dokwé 1938 (Afi l.)	idem
○ Gongolon 1937 (Afi l.) (raising a child)	idem
○ Mauda 1935 (Afi l.)	idem
○ Ninga 1899 (Papaïston 2)	separated from her group after a disagreement.
△ Bénu 1928	Ninga's son, followed his mother.

Total: 8 persons raising 4 children under 16 years.

/57/

621 Structure and Composition of the Villages

The examination we have just made of the peopling of six villages shows important aspects of the social organization and material life of the Boni.

591 [613] Kin groups in the villages. We have seen that the principle of Boni residence was localization of the whole lineage, men, women, and children, which implies the absence of common household life, man and wife each living in his own village.

This principle of matrilocal residence is effectively applied [162] [621] in nearly all cases. In 1957, out of all the 670 persons in the villages on the French bank, only 27 adults out of 410, or six per cent, were living in the midst of their paternal relatives or had settled permanently in the village of their spouse.

591 613 Nowhere is seen any tendency toward patrilocal grouping; the small lineages issued in the course of the past two generations from Djuka or Bakabuchi wives who came to settle permanently near their husbands do not escape the common law. Their members follow strictly, with respect to their ancestress, the principle of matrilocal residence.

613 571 621 Another important conclusion is revealed by examination of the genealogical tables:

When a scission takes place within a lineage, scattering its members among several villages under different authorities, this scission is never complete. Lineage members feel at home as much in one as in the other of these villages and go at will from one to the other.

613 621 The Dipéla I example is particularly clear in this respect. Its members are divided among these villages: L'Enfant Perdu, Apatu, and Boniville (where this lineage occupies a quarter).

/57 cont./

613 The descendants of ○Monika † were scattered among these
621 three villages. Δ Kwau, the eldest, after living at Apatu until
• 591 the age of 70 years, moved in 1958 to Boniville; ○Djalufu lived from childhood at L'Enfant Perdu, Cécilia was raised in Boniville where she has lived since.

Again, let us cite the example of the descendants of Wétiti (Papaïston 1). Out of her 12 adult children and grandchildren living in January, 1958, seven established themselves with her in the habitation she founded on the estuary of the Maroni several hundred kilometers from Boni country, two live in Boniville (where the Papaïston lineage delegated a few of its members to live close to the grand man), three came back to live in Papaïston. In spite of this dispersion, there is perfect understanding among these brothers and sisters who remain in regular relationship.

128 Emigration; immigration; founding of new lineages. It is not
167 possible to give rigorous figures on this subject because it is very difficult to make a clear distinction between temporary and permanent emigrants. It does happen that a man /58/ who left a long time before and on whom they no longer counted comes back to take up again his place in ordinary living. It also happens that a man who left for a short trip prolongs his absence indefinitely.

167 Nevertheless, it can be asserted that long lasting emigration affects only a very small percentage of the Boni, and men almost exclusively. Out of 810 persons in the census, in registering the names of their brothers, sisters, and children, we noted only some 20 emigrants considered as permanently lost to their group, including four women.

/58 cont. /

166 619 It is fitting to make an exception of the case of OWétiti (Papaïston) and OMa Imma (Kotika), who separated from their groups with their numerous descendants in order to found villages on the lower course of the river. These groups continue to consider themselves Boni; they are the nuclei of future villages.

For the same reasons it is difficult to get exact figures on [162] [621] immigration. About 100 Djuka and Saramaka have founded farming villages in Boni country but keep all their ties with their villages of origin; some 30 of them have married Boni women; one can estimate that some 15 have completely bound up their fate with the Boni and can be considered as integrated into the villages in which they have settled.

16 128 [562] All in all one can estimate that emigration and immigration of adult men, both very insignificant, compensate for each other; they have practically no importance on the social plane (since only the residence of the women has any influence upon the grouping of the lineages) or on the demographic plane; with the Boni the pyramid of ages constructed from the census of the villages represents very faithfully the demographic state of the population and lends itself to precise calculations of mortality (1).

> 1. It is not the same for the majority of African populations either because of emigration to the cities or polygamy. The presence of several average polygamists in a village is enough to render completely erroneous the counts of cross-sections by age.

166 571 591 613 The founding of new lineages results from the immigration of several Djuka women, some having come to settle permanently near their husbands, others brought up by their fathers in a Boni village. Half a dozen such cases occur in each generation, but

/58 cont./

166 not all result in the founding of a new lineage, either because
571 the women are sterile or because only one or two surviving children
591 remain who go back to live among their maternal kin. The more
613 children a woman has, the more she tends to settle permanently with her descendants, for the group thus formed represents a force and can be self-sufficient as much on the material level as on the emotional level.

613 Four new lineages have been founded in the whole of Boni
571 country during the past 50 years: /59/
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Awara Bakka 3 (Anèta)	16 persons	on January 1, 1958
Afi	25	--
Toïna	9	--
Poti	8	--
Total....	58 persons	

Thus these new lineages represent only $\frac{58}{810}$ = 7 per cent of the Boni.

16 The immigration of women from other tribes thus remains
619 an exceptional phenomenon which has few effects on the social and demographic levels. The development of the Boni as a nation results only from the natural movement of the population. Study of the genealogies forces the conclusion that when the members of these four small lineages are eliminated, the whole of the Boni are descended from only six or seven women who lived at the end of the 18th century. Few examples of such growth are to be found.

621 Absence of division of the villages into quarters. We have
[623] seen that the custom of the Refugee Blacks is opposed to all that could alter the system of classificatory kinship and leads to the individualization of segments within the lineage. This principle
[613] is translated very clearly in the structure of the villages, where one observes no tendency at all toward division into separate quarters.

613 /59 cont./
621 except in villages like Boniville where the issue of several lineages
coexist. The rule is that in the homogeneous villages the mem-
•[591] bers of the lineage are entirely free to build their houses anywhere.
One observes only a certain tendency of children to group them-
selves around their mother as far as places are available (see
especially in the village of Loka the intermingling of the homes
of the descendants of Adédumi, Awɛ̌nkina, and other ancestresses
belonging to the same lineage).

In villages like Asisi-Awara Bakka, where are grouped the members of a lo including individualized fractions, it is the same.

These fractions have no tendency whatever to form separate quarters (see in the plan of Asisi the intermingling of the homes of the Aw.B.1, 2, 3) any more than they tend to group their clearings in a separate area.

The Boni are apt to say: "Barriers must not be raised between brothers."

621 In a general way, examination of the village plans shows
425 that the Boni build their houses to suit themselves without any
privileged orientation and without grouping or isolating them in
any special way. Any member of the lineage may build on a site
left free (for example, the site of an old hut after the death of
its owner, when it has been adjudged to be too ruined to be possi-
[622] ble to give as a legacy). He must only have the authorization of
the head of the village and also the assent of the neighbors, whom
he must not disturb. Since the houses occupy only a small
amount of space and most of them have no outbuildings (kitchen
[578] or granary), this assent is very easily given. We have never
heard it said that people argued about a site.

/70 cont./

159 In March, 1957, Awéni, head of the Afi lineage, established
562 in Asisi, was concerned about regrouping the members of his
613 lineage and especially bringing back to Asisi Magdaléna (c20), a
[591] woman of about 45 years who had settled in Kormotibo near her husband L... († 1955), with her children and others whom she had raised. He went to Kormotibo and pointed out to her that since her husband was dead, she no longer had any reason to stay there and that she should come back to Asisi. Magdaléna insulted him in front of the inhabitants of the village, proclaimed that she had no orders to receive from anybody; then when he insisted, she armed herself with a stick and chased him across the village as far as the landing place. He had to re-embark precipitately to the laughter of the Kormotibo people.

Political and Legal Powers

143 The grand man. The head of the Dikan lo fills the office of grand
613 man of the Boni. The present grand man, Difu, was about 67 years old in 1958.

[193] Oral tradition has kept the names of his seven predecessors:

Gongo (Dikan lo)	1810-1840	dates noted according to Coudreau
Labi (Adam?) (Dikan lo)	1840-1870	
Atyaba (Kotika lo)	1870-1876	
Anato (Kotika lo)	1876-1891	
Ochi (Dikan lo)	1891-1915	
Awensay id.	1917-1936	
Difu id.	since 1937.	

[195] According to information collected by Coudreau in 1887, Gongo was the successor to Agosu, himself successor to Boni. Upon the death of Labi, there were only women and children in the Dikan lo. The office of grand man then passed to the Kotika lo with Atyaba and Anato. It then came back to the Dikan lo with Ochi.

/116 cont./

621 241 ○ Nanay (Dip. II) † ; habitation disappeared at her death in 1953; /117/

613 423 ○ Béniti (Dju) † in 1955; habitation taken up again by her children and grandchildren: ○ Eliana, △ Doni, ○ Kulina, ○ Maria; ○ Tini (Dju);

○ Kotoïda (Afi lineage) † ;

△ Poopu, established there for a long time. He had abandoned the site in 1948; came back in 1952.

The composition of the groups is as follows:

1) ○ Béniti † (Dju, E5): her daughters Maria, Kulina, and Eliana. Béniti's hut has been taken up again by her grandson Doni whom she brought up.

2) ○ Tini (Dju, F1); habitation grouping Tini, Ata (Dju, F2), and their daughters.

3) ○ Kotoïda † ; habitation grouping Kotoïda († Oct., 1956) (Afi lineage), her brother Kenkina, her husband Empalé, her niece Samabun.

Other habitations:

Ma Efa (Papaïston), settled on Dipélu II lo lands upstream from Kormotibo (French bank) for about 30 years. Ma Efa (P1, D4) worked with her sons.

Gengé Tabiki (Dutch bank, upstream from Asisi village); small habitation founded by ○ Aliki (Dju, E23), with Lènga ○ (Dju, F36) and ○ Diana (Dju, E9).

621 241 591 Functioning of the Farming Habitations

Structure. Of the 13 farming habitations studied here, 12 have a structure conforming to the residence principle of the Refugee Blacks, implying the grouping of daughters and unmarried sons near the mother; only one has an abnormal structure:

621 241 591 /117 cont./

Atikati (daughters living with their father, groups of friends having no rights over the land).

621 241 591 It seems that exceptions of this kind have always existed among the Refugee Blacks, but they are probably tending to become more numerous.

178 They do not appear to be due to a change of conception about family structure but to a development of individualistic tendencies. These groups of aberrant structure are particularly unstable.

361 241 Stability; changes of location. On this point there is no precise custom. Certain farming habitations are old, such as those of Sawen and Atikati, which certainly date from the beginning of the century. Most appear to last from five to ten years. Others, like that of Kwaku, have had only an ephemeral existence.

361 241 166 The changes of location of habitations which have taken place in this region since 1950 have very variable causes: /118/ /Fig. 20 appears here/ /119/

△ Dyakata (Dip. I)	left the region to live in the lower Maroni among the Paramaka for personal reasons.
○ Chili (Dip. I)	went to settle near Maripasoula. Gave up his habitation at Simayé Falls because of manioc ants.
△ Kwaku (L)	His habitation was too damp and the activity of the manioc ants too great. Henceforth lives all year in Loka.
[226] △ Akwadé (L)	Had no habitation, created one in 1954 near Simayé Falls. Was looking for a site favorable for fishing, from which he lives almost entirely.

On the whole, it can be estimated that the average duration of a farming habitation is about ten years. In these moves,

[Text Continues on P. 173]

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Raised by

Table I.- Men born before 1936

Mother	Maternal Grand-mother	A Woman of the Mother's Lineage	A Man of the Mother's Lineage	Father	Father's Mother	A Person of the Father's Lineage	An Outsider to Both Lineages
IIII

/131 cont./

429 198 1) They show the continuity and vitality of the custom of the Refugee Blacks. The proportion of boys and girls brought up by the mother, the paternal grandmother, the father, etc. is noticeably constant from one generation to the other. There is no tendency for the proportion of children raised by the father to increase; it even seems to decrease, which may be related to the increasing instability of marriages. In fact, in spite of European influences, no evolution is observed toward patrilineal structures among the Refugee Blacks.

429 613 591 2) The fact that part of the children are raised outside of their own lineage has few consequences for the unity of the group; for most of them, when their education is finished, come to settle down in one of the villages belonging to their lineage.

Of 88 men born before 1936, 28 were raised outside their lineage; 21 of them came back to it; only seven, or less than 8 per cent, settled down in other lineages.

Of 78 women born before 1936, 12 were raised outside their lineage, of whom only four, or 5 per cent, settled permanently outside their group.

868 462 Education of children. If the education of girls does not necessitate a difficult apprenticeship, it is not the same for boys; the sum of knowledge that /132/ a Refugee Black must possess to carry out effectively the techniques of his group is considerable. In particular, he must:

--Know more than 200 kinds of trees with their uses, the way to fell them, the way to work their wood;

--Be capable of constructing boats of at least 10 kegs (1,000 kilograms of load). This technique alone requires several years of apprenticeship;

--Acquire sufficient knowledge of carpenter work to build his house and that of his wife;

--Learn how to handle boats on the river and the techniques of transport boating.

/135 cont./

593 The same year, G..., man of about 50, particularly serious and hard-working, had saved up enough to buy an outboard motor; his mother, aged near 75 years, advised him absolutely not to make this purchase, claiming that he would be the object of jealousy and was risking being the victim of evil [765] spells; he gave up the project. He did not dare carry it out until 1957 after the mourning for his mother (dead in 1955) had been lifted.

To let one's mother be in need is considered a shame; if a mother has several sons, they divide up the purchases to be made for her benefit; each year one of them will cut the clearing intended for the mother; in exchange she will furnish couac and vegetables as long as her strength will allow her to work.

• 591 Ordinarily each of the sons, when he becomes 20 or 25 years old, builds himself in his village a house in which he lives alone. But it often happens that a man who has reached adulthood continues to live in his mother's house; for example, in 1952 in Loka village, Ayaubédé, about 40 years of age, was living with his mother Chii.

593 As for the authority of the mother over her daughters, it is [582] still much more strict and lasts all her life. The daughter may not marry without the authorization of her mother or of her [591] female guardian if she is not brought up by her mother. The married daughter has the use of a house that her husband built for her, but this house is situated near that of her mother. Since household life is intermittent and reduced to its simplest expression, she remains under the domination of her mother until the latter's death. Especially, she cannot travel without her permission.

593 In former times the authority of mothers over daughters 178 was tyrannical; they say that one might see an octogenarian mother requisition an old man's arm to strike her sexagenarian daughter who had disobeyed her. But nowadays this authority is battered [579] down by the development of individualism. From this results a growing dissoluteness in the girls and an increasing instability of unions.

/135 cont./

593 428 The nature of the relations with the mother is shown by the custom of inheritance. /136/ If a man dies while his mother is still living, his belongings return to her. She may keep them or divide them among the members of the lineage.

593 Role of the father. The father has no power over the children, but in general he is respected by them and his sons make no important decision without asking for his opinion.

In the very frequent case where the guardianship of the children is entrusted to the mother, the father exercises a de facto authority as long as the family group lasts. But in case of its break-up he loses any right over the children.

In general the father loves his children very much, but in the way Europeans love their nephews, he avoids taking a hand too closely in their education, which is the responsibility of the uncles, who might invite him not to busy himself with family affairs.

593 429 591 But if the father has received the guardianship of one or several children, the situation is completely different. If the family group breaks up, he takes them along with him. Besides, as a general rule, even if he gets along well with his wife, he settles in his own village the children whose guardianship has been entrusted to him, close to his maternal family; henceforth it is he who will provide entirely not only for their maintenance but for their food; except for periods when the husband spends some time with them near his wife, the latter no longer has to feed them.

593 429 If the father has received the guardianship of a child, he can in turn delegate it under his responsibility to someone of his lineage. We have noted several examples of this practice. For example Afoondo (Aw.B.1, F56), about 23 years old in 1957, had been entrusted to his father Koniman (Lapé), who had himself turned him over to his own mother Awènkina.

/136 cont./

593 429 769 The fact that some children are under the guardianship of their father changes nothing about their position with respect to ancestor worship and does not entail any payment or compensation whatever on the part of the father. When the child has grown up he will be able to come back to live in his maternal kin group (which he does most often) or stay in his father's village. On this point there is no precise customary obligation. • 591

593 884 The father plays an important role with respect to the children when they reach manhood; he procures their obia for them and transmits the knowledge and magical powers which he himself received from his father.

429 428 Inheritance of guardianship. At the death of the guardian, his office is bequeathed in the same way as his goods and according to the same principle of dispersion of the inheritance. If he was raising several children, the guardianship of each one will be bequeathed individually.

For example Béniti († 1944) was raising OK... 1944, daughter of her daughter Balkom, and OW... 1942, daughter of her son Fintiman and a woman of Papalston village. She bequeathed the first to her daughter Mulina, the second to her daughter Balkom settled in Loka village. W... thus found herself taken to a village which was neither that of her maternal nor her paternal relatives. Such cases are not rare. The child's uncles, who in principle could take back the guardianship, never seem to oppose, in practice, its being bequeathed. /137/

The spiritual power kept by the guardian over his ward after he becomes adult is bequeathed in the same manner. Thus, in the preceding example, Béniti († 1955) /sic/ bequeathed the spiritual tutelage she was keeping over each one of her adult sons and daughters whom she had raised herself, in part to outsiders to her lineage.

/149 cont./

592 The household. Household life is a limited association, freely
593 agreed upon by two beings who live totally independent of each other, the emotional life of each remaining almost entirely centered upon his maternal family. It entails reciprocal duties:

--For the man, to build a house for his wife in her village, to construct a new boat for her every three or four years, to cut a clearing for her each year /150/ and help in planting it, to furnish her with imported commodities, cloth, salt, kerosene, tools, which she needs, as well as game and smoke-dried fish;

--For the woman, to farm the clearing and furnish her husband when he comes to visit her with couac and the vegetables
[462] necessary for his food. (The man, used to living as a bachelor, owns his own cooking utensils and most of the time prepares his meals himself.)

This system of intermittent conjugal life seems to assure the Boni a perfect balance at the same time that it permits them
[562] to satisfy their taste for change. The men divide their life among work, visits to their different wives, hunting and fishing expeditions; their life is thus constantly renewed and they are protected against tendencies toward apathy and mental inertia.

In general, as long as the union lasts, the woman fulfills
[241] exactly her obligations; although the yield from the clearing is
[422] her property and the excess of the harvest is sold for her ex-
[434] clusive benefit, the man is assured of getting from her all the provisions he needs. On the other hand, many men, through
[591] laziness, get out of constructing a house for their wives and the latter continue to live with their mothers. In the villages on the French bank about 20 such cases were observed in 1958.

591 Several cases are even noted in which a woman, aged but still
592 having unmarried children, one or two of her daughters and their children are living together in one house. For example, in Asisi village, nine persons were living together in the very small house of their mother and grandmother Tini.

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593 Among the Refugee Blacks some very devoted couples are
[591] seen, who spend their whole lives together and who, in their old
[163] age, have completely united their destinies, living in the same house, either in the woman's village or the man's: for example, in the village of Lapé Tabiki, Buru and his wife Asamani, in 1952 aged about 70 years, together for 45 years and having had eight children. But such cases are exceptional. Besides, they
[581] are not admired and held up as an example as one might believe; this man and this woman suited each other, they remained together; if some day they no longer get along, they will divorce, that is all.

595 Polygamy. Polygamy in the African sense of the term, that is, the simultaneous maintenance of several regular households, is exceptional among the Refugee Blacks because of their mode of living:

[433] --The wife is practically entirely dependent on her hus-
[511] band; an economy based mainly on wage earning and involving a relatively high standard of living makes it impossible for most men to maintain more than one household;

[461] --Even if a man had sizable financial means at his disposal, he could scarcely maintain more than two households; for it is not acceptable, at least nowadays, for him to have done by others the customary chores: clearings, boats, house.

169 On January 1, 1958 out of 134 men over 20 years old in
595 the villages on the French bank, whose lives were well known to us, there were:

Men maintaining three households	1	1%
" " two households	18	13%
" " one household	104	77%
[589] Bachelors, widowers, or recent divorcés	11	8%
	134	100% /sic/

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/169 cont./
her from time to time in order to help the god to manifest itself. The crowd presses around the women dancers who execute the greatest variety of figures. At times they embrace each other two by two in the Boni manner. The onlookers jump for joy.

The scene lasts about half an hour, then, at the signal given by one of them, the possessed ones scatter and begin to run through the village: this is the moment for the gods to pay the musicians. Each person rushes to hide his belongings, for the gods will steal anything in the village without anyone being able to prevent them: this is their way of paying.

Soon the possessed women come back, putting down at the feet of the musicians a heap of incongruous objects: /170/ calabashes, cloth, paddles, etc., which their owners come to recover by means of bottles of beer and eggs. Then the women who were truly possessed come back to their normal state and all go home.

This dance was not a success; those present think that it is because the women bearers had drunk tafia, which the Papa gadu detest.

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Inheritance. The dead woman is asked to whom she bequeaths her clearings. She answers: "To her family," this being understood because the bearers move parallel to the people present without designating anybody. Under these conditions the property must be distributed (Kotolda having no children) among her classificatory nephews. Actually, the plantations still farmable will go to Samabun, her sister's daughter.

[591]

Inheritance of the house does not come up, for the dead woman lived in her husband Empalé's house.

The boat is left to Samabun.

Held back are the personal objects, money, jewelry, fabrics. When the mourning is lifted, the eldest of the surviving brothers or sisters in the classificatory sense will make the distribution among the near relatives.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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family. The children of the second wife belong to the 595
family of the second wife. A woman calls her husband's other wife by the name of kamboea. Do you know what kamboea means?" he asked, laughing. "*Kamboea*—the woman who makes trouble for me. So, you see, we people of the bush learned from our ancestors to give each wife her own house, where she might live with her own children."

But not alone the woman needed to have a house of her 342
own. The man, too, built a house for himself. In it he stored 423
his possessions. It was his sanctuary. No woman might enter it. On the carving of its door, a man lavished all his [531]
love of ornamentation, all his artistry.

"A man likes to have his own house for his possessions," explained Kasanya. "If he is a rich man, it is better that his wives do not know how much he has. You know what women are. They always ask for presents. But if a man is not rich, then it is better still that his wives do not know it. If they know, they will make life hard for him with nagging. They will talk of leaving him. And all the village will know, too."

In this house, then, which a man built for his wife, the 592
children were reared. Sometimes, it is true, if the harvests 604
were poor or the father had met with ill luck, the mother's [858]
brothers would come for the children, for children are the [428]
ones to carry on the line. It is through them that clan rank
and material goods are inherited.

But if all went well with the father, then the attachments 592
of the household were the closest, and they continued even 768
after death. For the household was not entirely disrupted after the death of a parent. Unless the one who died had been a sorcerer, a leper, or a madman, the house where he lived was not torn down.

"When a man dies," Kasanya said, "the wife goes on 768
living in the house, once it has been purified. If a woman dies, then the man keeps on living there."

"What of the children?" we asked. "What becomes of them?"

824 796 Later, through the gathering darkness, the people of the neighboring villages went home, paddling their boats which were loaded down with the fish that had been netted. And from this time on, everyone knew that this neku vine was [423] the property of him who had found it, and of his family, [428] down through his mother's line, forever.

"Ai, mati, you would have seen something, if you had got here for the neku dance!"

6

361 Like any other Bush Negro village, S'ei was a series of sandy clearings about which were grouped huts of woven palm fronds and palm thatch. All about was the big bush. [487] The trails which led from the village were each guarded [789] by a magically treated palm azang, and shrines to the ancestral spirits who saw to it that evil was kept away. Where the several paths led, a stranger was not encouraged to discover. Down one, women were to be seen disappearing [482] in the morning with trays on their heads, their infants astride their backs, held inside the folds of a cloth which was fastened high above their breasts, and caught up again below them. In many upper river villages, this path led to the fields, some distance away. Others were the way to [778] shrines, erected to those spirits which must be worshiped outside the village. Another path might lead to a brook, which the villagers held sacred. There were trails, too, which connected neighboring villages, and led perhaps farther yet, but for the stranger, the highway was the river, and no matter how short the distance between one settle- [486] ment and another, he was not invited to make his way through the bush.

"You do not want to go through the bush, white man. In the bush are evil spirits," we heard many times.

A village clearing was divided into quarters. Each quarter was inhabited by one of the *mbe*, or extended families, and 361 the quarter bore its name. It was composed of several house- 592 holds—five or six or more, depending upon the size of the

village. A household was not confined to one building only, but few who were not men of rank and means had more than three. One was for the woman and her children, another for storing the crops, and the third was the man's treasure house, where women might not come. It was like the matter of wives. Only men of position could afford more than one. But if a man had two wives and both lived in his village, then perhaps five huts would bear a design identified with him on the carved side posts which outlined the low doorway. This design would recur in the various carvings he had made for his women—it was his crest. And though a man from another village, who was not related to him, might like it, and liking it copy it, this practice would be socially frowned upon.

A village quarter, however, did not contain only dwelling places, and storehouses, and men's treasure houses. Certain families also had in their part of the village an enclosed shrine for the family gods. If in a given family a powerful Vodu, or snake god, had come to an ancestress and had in a dream, or in a seizure, or through a revelation made to an obia man, chosen her as his *'asi*—his priestess or medium—then with this disclosure came the instructions for the place of locating a house of worship to that Vodu, and the type of house it was to be. Such a shrine, once erected, would be kept in the quarter, and worshiped by the members of that family. Sometimes in front of a dwelling hut, a low enclosure, the size of a small kennel, would stand a little to the side of the door. This was a house to Toné, the river spirit. In one such house lived a woman who had a great Toné god. She had the gift of prophecy. When the men gathered for a council meeting in the village of the Granman, then she, too, would sometimes be bidden to come and sit with the men, though, being a woman, she could never speak at council meetings.

"Touch her skin," the other women said, pointing out this albino woman, "and you will have your desires fulfilled."

In each quarter, too, there was an open house where the women did their cooking, and perhaps a platform or two,

/137 cont./

241 and sugar cane, while in the third year some pineapples, bananas, and sugar cane are also harvested.

Thereafter one surrenders the ground to the second growth (kapoeweri) shooting up, here called "kauwé," and to the weeds, like the cutting grass "baboen nefi" (Scleria secans), which prevent further growth of the cultivated crop.

This system of clearing grounds requires much land. It is a severely predatory cultivation which can only be employed when sufficient free land is available. Only after many years can one return to the same piece of forest to lay out a new ground, depending on the recovery of the forest, more particularly on the top growth.

[592] Among the Bush Negroes of the Marowijne it is the rule that
[476] each household provide for itself. The man clears the ground with help of family /familie/ members or friends, who in return for food are taken in during this time. If the man has /138/ one wife, then ordinarily two grounds per year are cleared; if he has more than one wife, then he clears two grounds for each wife.

[622] The captain /kapitein/ of a village lays out his ground him-
[643] self, helped by his villagers. The granman /chief/, however, does not work himself, but, regardless of the number of his wives, has his family and other helpers clear grounds in return for food for the
423 workdays. The products of the grounds of a household are not joint
593 property, but rather the wife asserts her rights over the produce from one ground, while the man claims that from the other ground. Thus a distinction is made between the agrarian property of the wife and that of the husband.

3. The Plague of Ants and the Ant-bushes

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825 In the agriculture of the Bush Negroes the plague of ants plays a significant role. The leaf-cutting or parasol ants (Atta sexdens and Atta cephalotes) are very destructive because of their attacks on the leaves in the plantings. The first-named species is the greatest evildoer in the interior districts of Surinam. Cassava in

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613 meet the clearings of the people of another lineage; a de facto
423 boundary is thus created, which is henceforth respected.

621 On the other hand, several farming villages of one lineage
241 may have their clearings totally intriqués /entangled/ (this is
613 the case, for example, with the ones of the Antonu and Adiiso
423 habitations). This conforms to the rule of joint possession of the land within the lineage.

621 Organization. The group in a farming habitation is brought to-
241 gether by mutual affinities, and has no hierarchy other than that
602 which springs from kinship ties: authority of the mother over her
592 daughters; authority of the "uncles" over the "nephews."
/103/ The grouping which conforms most to the matrilineal structure of the Refugee Blacks is made up of an old woman, her unmarried sons, her daughters and her daughters' daughters, their husbands coming to help at the time of the clearings but not belonging to the group. Often it is this old woman who directs the habitation, but often also it is an old uncle, her classificatory brother, who has worked with her for a long time. Sometimes this old woman has come to live with her daughters on the habitation founded by her husband.

103 Some of the habitations bear men's names, others women's
423 names. The name which prevails may be completely at variance
592 with the real rights exercised over the land (Ex.: name of Adiiso given to the habitation of his wife where Adiiso has no right at
[613] all). That has no great importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks, the only important thing being collective possession of the land by the lineage.

621 For groups which are relatively numerous and brought to-
241 gether more by mutual affinities than by kinship ties, the mini-
622 mum of authority necessary for good feeling and the organization of the work is brought to bear by the founder. For example,

/103 cont. /

621 Atikati exercised authority by this right over the disparate group
622 around him, and at his death he bequeathed this function to his
241 sister Adyidya.

Likewise Antonu exerts undisputed authority over three
[613] groups of the Awara Bakka lo settled at the mouth of the Inini, for it was he who took the initiative of creating an establishment at this place. If there is any dispute, it is he who will defend the rights of the Awara Bakka lineage.

622 The authority exercised by the founder of the farming habitation is not brought to bear in material living, which remains subject to the strictly individualistic principles of the Refugee Blacks. He cannot require anyone to help him make his clearings or do any work whatever on his behalf.

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Farming Habitations of the Awara Bakka lo (Antonu, Adiiso, Kakyé) in the Neighborhood of the Confluence with the Inini

621 These habitations work soil whose first user was Antonu, of
241 the Awara Bakka lo (fraction 1), which is regarded as belonging
[613] to that lineage. Antonu settled there in 1945 (he was finding that
[423] there were too many people farming the lands near Asisi).

To insure his rights, Antonu put on his land two groupings
621 whose situations are very different:
241

1) In his own habitation he installed his wife Asakundu, and
592 around her he made up the work group commonest among the
423 Refugee Blacks: group formed by the mother, her sons and
[476] daughters, the daughters' husbands coming to help at the time of the /104/ clearings. But it is important to note that this group has no right at all over the land: if Antonu and his wife ever separate, the wife's group will leave the habitation.

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621 2) Nearby, he set up the habitation of his sister Irma
● 592 married to Adiiso (Dju). This village is improperly called Adiiso,
241 but Adiiso has no right at all there. In case of breaking with his
[423] wife, he leaves the habitation.

3) Finally, Kakyé, an old woman of the Awara Bakka lineage, settled nearby with her daughters and son.

Structure and functioning of the Antonu habitation. This habitation comprised in January, 1957, disregarding children:

○ [△] Antonu (Aw. B. 1, E47);
○ Asakundu, his wife (L2, E55);
○ Kapééki (L2, F60) } Asakundu's daughters, married;
○ Angisa (L2, F61) }
△ Sindu (L2, F62), Asakundu's son;
△ Maliki (L2, F63), Asakundu's son;
○ Yundu, Kapééki's daughter, married;
△ Anato, Kapééki's son;
○ Agata, Akoni's daughter.

The wives of Maliki and Sindu who do not have any personal habitation come there to work, but they are not to be considered as members of the group. They have no hut.

Likewise, the husbands of Kapééki, Yundu, and Angisa
241 come to help temporarily at the time of the clearings.
621 Activity of the Antonu village in 1955-56:

		1956	1955
○	Asakundu	1 clearing with Antonu	1 clearing with Antonu
○	Kapééki	1 clearing with Akuba her husband (who did not make any other clearing)	idem

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Structure of the Adiiso habitation. This habitation actually belongs to Irma, Adiiso's wife, of the Awara-Bakka (1) lineage (E37), who was settled there by Antonu whose classificatory sister she is.

Working with Irma, disregarding children, are:

--Her husband Adiiso (Dju, F37);

--Her daughter Chitaïna (Aw.B.1, F43), married to Déési (L1, F45);

--Her son Lawa, unmarried;

--Her son Maïna, married.

Maïna's wife Mbéma, who has no other habitation, has her clearing made there, but she has no hut in her own right and is not a member of the group.

Activity of the habitation in 1955-56:

	1956	1955
Irma	2 clearings (both by Adiiso, who cut a 3rd in Asisi for his other wife)	1 clearing cut by her son Maïna, Adiiso being on a trip
Chitaïna	1 clearing cut by Lawa, her brother, her husband being en mission.	1 clearing cut by her husband Déési
		/109/
/Fig. 18 appears here./ /110/		
Maïna	1 clearing for his wife Mbéma	Maïna en mission had not been able to cut for his wife. She had weeded a two-year-old clearing with Chitaïna and Irma

621 /110 cont./
592 Structure of the Kakyé habitation. This habitation is directed
241 by Kakyé (Aw.B.1, E18), a widow for a long time and not re-
[589] married, working with her children.
[476] Working with her are:
--Amélia (Aw.B.1, F19), her daughter;
--Papakay (Aw.B.1, F23), her son;
--Akamina (Aw.B.1, F24), her daughter;
--Lébimichi (Aw.B.1, F27), daughter of Yochi † sister of Kakyé.

241 Listing of several clearings of the Adiiso and Kakyé habitations.
592 These clearings are totally mixed with each others' and with
621 those of the Antonu habitation, which is normal since these lands
423 all belong to the Awara Bakka lineage.
[613]

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
11 △	Bésu (Aw.B.1, F17), for himself	1954	Kakyé's son (does not work there habitually)	cut for the 1st time
12 ○	Amélia; clearing cut by her husband Sindu	1954	Kakyé's daughter	id.
13 ○	Lébimichi; clearing cut by her husband Asonson	1954	Kakyé's niece	cut for the 1st time

[Adiiso and Kakyé habitations]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
14	△	Papakay, for himself	1953	Kakyé's son	id.
47	○	Irma; clearing cut by her husband Adiiso	1955	foundress of the Adiiso habitation	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1951)
48	○	Amèntanu; clearing cut by her husband Sindu	1953	Kakyé's daughter	cut for the 1st time /111/
49	○	Kakyé; clearing cut by her son Bésu	1953	foundress of the Kakyé habitation	id.
52	○	Kakyé; clearing cut by her son Papakay	1951	id.	cut one single time

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592 The household. Household life is a limited association, freely
593 agreed upon by two beings who live totally independent of each other, the emotional life of each remaining almost entirely centered upon his maternal family. It entails reciprocal duties:

--For the man, to build a house for his wife in her village, to construct a new boat for her every three or four years, to cut a clearing for her each year /150/ and help in planting it, to furnish her with imported commodities, cloth, salt, kerosene, tools, which she needs, as well as game and smoke-dried fish;

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592 having unmarried children, one or two of her daughters and their children are living together in one house. For example, in Asisi village, nine persons were living together in the very small house of their mother and grandmother Tini.

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157 241 31 in a sector recognized to be undamaged. But objections immediately come to their minds: one would not feel at home, people would be jealous of one another; above all, the children would go pilfering fruit and vegetables in the clearings of other families. The Refugee Blacks are unanimous in thinking that the children of one village put together in a single place would constitute a scourge much worse than the manioc-ant, and that dispersion is the wisest solution for maintaining the peace of families.

562 241 One observes likewise that the total freedom of woman, and the custom which leaves to her /290/ the free disposal of the products of the clearing, contribute toward preventing the development of agriculture with an eye to selling. In order [592] to undertake large clearings farmed jointly by one household, it would be necessary to have very unified and stable households, which is rare.

157 476 Difficulty of grouping for common advantage. The Refugee Blacks are incapable of forming groups voluntarily to undertake the execution of a job with an eye to common advantage. The small groups which get together for fishing, working gold, etc. are formed of intimate friends or near relatives and are hardly larger than four or five persons.

157 454 The Refugee Blacks are still less capable of grouping themselves into societies looking toward future benefits. Putting a part of their resources into a common pot with that of another seems to them not only illusory but immoral. Because of this fact there exists among them no way to group financial assets, sometimes good-sized.

426 Lending without interest is practiced rather commonly, having to do with small sums between near relatives or intimate friends. If a man feels capable of earning his living by buying a motor, he will succeed rather easily in finding the necessary money by borrowing from his brothers or friends, 10,000 francs

602 He was a quick-witted lad, and he saw at once what we had in mind. He said with a laugh, "You are asking about my true, true mother, the one who made me? It is not this one, and it is not Tita, who made me. It is Kutai."

"But who are the other two?"

"They are her sisters."

3

593 Yet the family life of the Bush Negro does not differ in any essential respect from that of any other group of individuals, who, related by close ties of blood, live their lives together. Men and women marry and beget children, and their children in turn marry and beget others. In reality, but for the fact that a man or a woman claimed more than one father and mother, and a great number of brothers and sisters, of uncles and aunts, there was little to indicate the existence of conventions of family life which differed radically from those we ourselves know.

None the less, there were differences, and, once we were permitted to see beneath the surface, a slight incident here, another hint there, threw into relief the life of these people, and their own attitudes toward their actual and spiritual relationships.

Let us take the instance of Misomba and his son. Misomba was a man of middle age, and the incident we tell occurred as we were sitting in his house in a village above the Mamadam. He was speaking of the wood he had cut and of his plans to take it to the city to sell. With him in the house were his wife and a young lad, perhaps fifteen or sixteen years old, and, besides ourselves, our paddler Kasanya, who was Misomba's wife's elder brother.

"I need someone to take the rafts down the river. There are none in my family who are free, and I need help. But Adyabu here," he said, indicating his son, "knows about taking down rafts, and it will be good for him to learn more of the river leading to the white man's city. I am glad you came, brother-in-law. Now I can ask you if he may go with me. Is it your wish that he go?"

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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Kasanya glanced at the boy, who showed by his manner his eagerness to accompany his father, and then at his sister. "How will it be with you, sister, if Adyabu goes? Do you want him to go with Misomba?" 593 607

"Yes," she replied. "Misomba will care for him. Let him go."

The three older people talked over the details of the trip down the river, until it was made clear to all that Adyabu would share whatever money his father might receive for the lumber.

"You will treat him well, brother-in-law," said Kasanya, with a smile, "for in a few years his girl will be ripe for marrying, and he will need money for a fine wedding."

That night we talked this over with Kasanya.

"Why must a man ask another if he may take his own son with him on a journey? Is a man not to be trusted to take care of a boy he himself has made?"

"You do not understand, Bak'a. It is not that we don't trust Misomba," he replied. "He has lived with my sister for many years. She is his first wife, and my family have always liked him. When my sister's eldest daughter was asked in marriage by a man of this village, and our great family came together here to consider whether we should promise her to him or not, we asked Misomba to give us his advice. Misomba does not have a bold face. He did not speak until after much urging. To ask a man's advice about what does not concern his own family is a great honor. But we did this, and when he spoke, we found that what he said was good. So, you see, it is not that we do not trust Misomba." [554]

We encouraged him to explain further.

"Adyabu is not his heir. He is the child of my sister and belongs to my family. I am the one to say what he is to do and what he is not to do, because I am the oldest living brother. Adyabu does not belong to Misomba's family. He is of my blood. When I die, he will inherit my possessions. When Misomba dies, his possessions will go to his own 604 428

768 "If it is the man who is dead, then the woman takes her
775 girl children to live with her, but her sons she sends away to live elsewhere. A man's spirit will not harm his daughters. He loves them. But his sons, he will kill. . . . When a woman dies, then it is the sons that the man will keep with him in the house, and the daughters must go away. The yorka of a woman will protect her sons, but she will destroy the daughters when she visits the place where she once lived."

5

602 To her child the Bush Negro mother gives at birth
851 membership in all her own blood groups. The child is of her *wosu*, or household. He belongs to her *mbe*, or great family, which is an aggregate of many households. He is a member of her *lo*, or clan, which is composed of a number of great families, and which holds political sway over a given portion of the land. The tie of all these groupings is a blood
613 tie, a common female ancestress who lived long ago, or several women, daughters of the same mother, who had been the first to live with the runaway ancestors here in the bush, or several women who came from one people in Africa, and were the first to bear children to the rebels in the jungle. Every legal, every economic implication which this tradition of descent and inheritance through the female line might hold, is faithfully adhered to.

611 The mother does indeed count, as the tales told us in the
593 city insisted. But what of the father?

That the Bush Negro understands fully the rôle that
842 both father and mother play in the procreation of the
532 young was everywhere apparent. The wood carving which a father made for his young daughter had designs on it of the kind which bore the general designation "*womi ko' muye*—man and woman." Whatever the traceries on the carvings given by a man to his woman during courtship, or after marriage, whatever animals might be represented, the essential symbolism was that of fertility, and the

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figures of a male and a female in congress were often introduced into the design. 842 532

The ignorance of the physical rôle of the male parent, said to exist among other primitive peoples with a similar linkage of relatives on the mother's side, is not found among the Suriname Negroes. At a religious ceremony in which townspeople alone were dancing, a woman turned to us, and said, "Now they are dancing Afrekete. When *Ma Aise*—an Earth goddess—and *Pa Lebba*—he who guards the crossroads—make a child, it is called Afrekete." Similar genealogies of spirits were vouchsafed us by Bush Negroes as well, and always, there was the male god as well as the female, and always the recognition that both made the spirit which was their offspring. 842

These are examples derived from the art of the people, from their ritual, and from the concepts they have of the forces that actuate the universe. There also were many incidents to show the attitude of fathers and children toward each other in the everyday run of life. 593

Awingu did not hesitate when he answered that the child who was with him belonged to his wife. But he added that it was he who made him, and his affection for the little boy, and the child's fondness for him was apparent even to the casual onlooker. Kasanya, in talking to us about the kunu of his wife's family which had destroyed his sons, mourned them as a father. He had made them, and he had taught them to run the rapids, and to carve. He had given them his own gods to protect them, he told us when recounting the tragedy of the kunu which killed them. Misomba, the brother-in-law of Kasanya, had made Adyabu. There was no ambiguity about who the boy's father was. The boy was Kasanya's heir, but he was Misomba's son. Sedefo had brought the child to his brother Zimbi's coffin, saying, "I bring you your child. Try to protect him. . . . "

There was the matter of slipping. It is dangerous to slip. Losing one's step may bring the soul to the ground in an unguarded moment, where the earth spirits, or what 774 776

In Herskovits & Herskovits E-6 (1929-1930) 1934
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This was not the only instance of our meeting an individual who liked to stay in her father's village. There was the girl Takuda. Her mother was of the Kasito clan, and her house was in Dahomey, its principal settlement. She was not happy among her mother's people, and when we met her, she was living with her father's family. 593

"Does her mother's family not want her with them?" we asked a friend with whom we were discussing her.

He shrugged his shoulders. "Should not a child live in her father's home if she wants to?" he answered simply. "A father likes his children, and they like him, too."

Nor was it strange. To the child, the father was a man of the older generation to whom he could come for sympathy. He rarely corrected, for this was the task of the mother and her family. Often it was he who interceded with the older people in behalf of a son who wished to do something which his maternal family opposed. If a father gave small gifts to his children, they were looked upon truly as gifts. The ritual obligations of gift-giving chiefly lay with the mother's side. [431]

But there was more than just the affection for a boon companion which children felt for their fathers. There was pride in the father, pride in his achievements, and identification with his village.

When the Granman told us he was arranging for us to visit the village across the river from his own, he said, "Today you will see my father's house. Let them shoot guns so that I may know when you arrive in my father's village. They will show you everything. It is a fine village," he ended, with pride. "It is my father's country."

The last phrase was a refrain which ran through our entire visit there.

"This is the village of the Granman's father," we heard, again and again. "This is the house of the father of the Granman," one said, and another, "This is where the father of the Granman would sit in krutu." This person and that were introduced as belonging to the family of the father of the Granman. The climax came when we were shown the shrine to the ancestors. An especially elaborate [998]

Herskovits & Herskovits E-9 (1935-1952) 1934
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place was pointed out to us. The carved representation of the human face of the image was worked more carefully than is ordinarily done. Here the white clay was applied more thickly. The white cloth hanging from its stick was larger than we had ever seen before, the offerings of food and bottles and calabashes more numerous than at other ancestral shrines.

"This is where the yorka of the father of the Granman comes," we were told.

But why the father? What of the mother, the parent to whom the Granman was related? This village did not even belong to the Matchau clan to which he himself belonged. Yet with the pride that this was the shrine to the spirit of the Granman's father went a realization of its importance. Here was something outside the legal order, something which transcended the facts of descent and the theory of relationship. It was becoming ever more evident that in this "matriarchate" the father did count.

6

The inheritance of the father's kunu was one instance where the father needed to be taken very much into account. "If this man's children should take some of his goods," they had said, pointing at things we could see through the slats of the dead man's treasure house in the village of Opoku, "they will get his kunu, too. No man wants that."

Then there was the *trefu*, or *tchina*—taboo—as it was called in the bush, of which our cook had told us. Every individual in the bush had his tchina. Everyone knew the things he must not eat, or must not do. One man had to abstain from eating *anumara*, the great fish of the river. Another might never sleep in the open without a roof over his head. Should he find himself out in the bush with night coming, he must stop early enough to erect a small shelter and thatch it that his head might be covered when he slept. Bayo, we soon learned, might not eat food out of the cooking pot, and Sedefo could not bathe in a creek. Kasanya

609 784 But when one man shares a tchina with another it does not mean that they only share prohibitions. There are privileges as well. There is the right to lift a *kandu*, for example.

789 The outsider among the Bush Negro people cannot go long without learning of kandu. Many times we had noticed a small bundle of twigs hanging from a nail over a doorway of an uninhabited hut, or had remarked a small strip of colored cloth and a feather or two knotted together and swinging from an orange tree, or a calabash filled with hardened sacred clay, suspended from a limb where a creek entered the river. When we asked about them, we learned that each was a kandu, a spiritual lock, which by the potency of the magic put into it by the maker protected the house, or the tree, or the fishing creek—whatever we happened to be discussing at the moment—from thieves. It was a guard which no man dared violate.

Bayo had made one for us early in our visit to the Suriname bush.

"I will make you something to keep away thieves. I will make you a kandu."

He had asked us for a needle, and from wood of a special kind which is used only in kandu he fashioned the representation of a human head. Some native fiber and two kinds of sacred grass held the needle and the carved image together. This he covered with white clay, the sacred pemba, and the red coloring of the kuswe plant, which is also sacred. When he had spoken his invocations, and dipped the kandu in the river to purify it, he brought it to us.

"Put it where you keep your money. I have put strong magic into it. Your possessions will be safe. Anyone who opens the chest and sees this, will not touch what is inside. . . . But do not eat out of a cooking pot. It will lose its power. I have given it my own tchina."

But it seemed that a kandu did not always remain inviolate.

[593] "It would not be good," Bayo explained, "if a man went away and left a kandu over the house, and no one but he

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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Saramacca

could enter it until he took the kandu away. Suppose a man went to hunt, and a friend came back to the village with a message from the hunter to get something inside the house. If no one at all could get it, it would not be good." 789 593

"What happens then?"

"The friend would seek out the man's own child—a child the man himself had made—and ask him to lift the kandu."

"Suppose his wife lifted it? Or his sister's child?"

"They wouldn't. The spirit in the kandu would punish them. His true, true child could touch the kandu, and his brother, or his sister, or his brother's children," said Bayo.

"The sisters' children?" we asked again.

"No, no! They would lift their own father's kandu."

Was there anyone else, we inquired, who could remove the kandu from a man's house?

Bayo considered. "Anyone who is born with the same tchina can lift it," he said, finally. "Those with the same tchina have the same fathers. Those whose fathers are the same, a kandu cannot harm."

7

We were talking one night with some men of the Anago clan. 628

"Is it true," asked one, "that in the Negro country there are great warriors, and many wars?"

In olden times, we said, it was true, but today the African peoples were at peace.

"So it is now on the Saramacca River," he replied, but with a laugh he added, "Sometimes there are quarrels."

For instance, there had been a quarrel on the river not very long ago over lumber which had been cut by members of one clan on land belonging to another. The men knew they had no right to the timber, but they cut it down. The first time they were warned, and fines were demanded. The second time it happened, however, the men of the clan who owned the bush where these trees stood surprised the trespassers, and beat them.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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628 "Yes," the man went on, "and there was much trouble." The men who had been punished incited their entire clan to come to their aid in an attack on the clan villages of those who had chastized them. "But now they are at peace." Those who were beaten were of his own clan, he said.

"And did you win your fight? What happened after that?"

"I did not go with the men. The land where the trees stood belonged to my father's clan, and my father's people I would not fight."

"What did you do?"

"I tried to make peace between them. That is what a man does when his father's clan and his mother's clan have trouble. But I was too young to speak in the big krutu—the assembly of the chiefs—so it was the elders of the Nyamfai people who brought them together, and settled the matter."

There was a point which we wanted cleared up. What was the attitude of the group toward a man who did not enter into a fight which concerned his own clan?

"Did no one say you ought to fight, too?" we asked, explaining our question to the man several times.

"No, why should they? A man can't fight against his father's people. Everybody knows that."

"But what if you did?"

"The gods would turn against my side."

After our return down river, when we again sat in the hut of the headman of the Gankwe clan, we turned to him with some questions about the family, and he gave us the following summary.

593 614 424 604 "From our mother we get our *lo*, our clan, and our *mbe*, our great family. Our mother's brothers are those we must obey. They correct us when we do wrong. They tell us what is good. In our mother's village is our true home, and from there we are buried when we die. But our father is our friend. He gives us his advice. From him we get many of the gods we dance to when we are men, and from him we

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

get the tchina which, if we do not break them, will let us stay healthy. Both our parents care for us." 593 374 604

He thought for a moment, and then, with a laugh, he wondered as Awingu had wondered that early morning at the planting ground.

"Is it not so in your country, Bak'a," he said, "that you ask me so often about these things?"

8

"Massa cow," we heard Bayo call out again and again to his great-grandfather Bibifo, when he wanted to indicate to the old man that he knew what he was about. Bibifo accepted the reproof with unvarying meekness and good humor. 603 888

This relationship between them puzzled us. Yet the other men, overhearing Bayo's brusque words to Bibifo, made nothing of it. Before strangers, Bayo was subdued, shy. He stuttered ceremonially when he addressed a man of rank. He pitched his voice only a little above a whisper when he was in a strange village. Toward Kasanya and Sedefo and Asikanu he was respectful, and showed reserve. When he wanted his hair trimmed he came to Angita for help, or, better still, to the young man at the prow of Kasanya's boat who, like Kasanya, was of his own clan. [576]

The old man was not a forceful fellow. That was, perhaps, the reason, we thought at first. Then we wondered if it was not because Bibifo had become Adrian, and no longer wore obias to carry him well on the water—because he had forsaken the old gods. But the other men treated Bibifo with the respect due an old man. When Kasanya killed a monkey, and his own pole-man could not share it with him, because he was a twin and twins did not eat monkey, he turned to Bibifo with the pole-man's portion, and not to Sedefo, or to Asikanu, who was the brother of a clan head, and himself a possible successor to his brother's chieftainship. 845 262

him. He has taken boats up and down the Marowyne. He is my grandson. If I had one of my own blood, I would have had him accompany you. . . . But my sisters' children sleep," he ended, using the euphemism for death. 603 888

When we came to know the young man, we asked him about this incident with the Granman. Was he not afraid to interrupt him?

"Ma kye! But he is my grandfather! With my grandfather I make sport."

Again we went to the old men and sought in village after village for their own explanation of this behavior toward grandparents.

There were, we learned, age distinctions that were deeply felt. A man was on easy terms with those of his own generation. Between parents and children, and those of the generation of their parents, however, there was a definite code of behavior. For example, no young man or woman might talk of sexual matters with either parent, and this lack of sanction for frankness in sexual discussions with parents became an actual taboo with parents-in-law. Encounters with the "pai" and "mai," as they were known, were hemmed in by countless prohibitions. A man might not sleep in the same house with either of them, nor might he eat with them out of the same dish. If he met either of his parents-in-law as he went along the path, he had to turn aside, make way for them, and cover his face. He might not pronounce their names, nor might they speak his. These observances held for women, too, and the ones we mention were by no means all. 561 576 606 [593] [831]

With grandparents, however, a vastly different situation obtained. 603

"He is my grandson. I call him mati—friend. I make sport with him!"

"She is my granddaughter. She calls me husband. She makes free with me!"

"She is my granddaughter, we talk about everything. She calls me kambo, and I call her kambo." Again, we

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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wash every day until Wednesday came to permit her to dance. When she washed with the sacred moistened clay, she rubbed the white on her children.

"Will all the women dance on Wednesday who have the same god as you?"

The child's mother shook her head. "If the god comes to them, yes. If he doesn't come, they can't dance."

And the bassia's wife said, "The women who are in the menstrual house can't dance. When they hear the drums, they are troubled, but they must remain quiet."

The woman had spoken too eagerly and too loudly, for her husband, overhearing her, said something in a low rapid voice, and at once the women fell silent and several of them remembered errands they had to see to.

4

"When men are in the council house, you mustn't interrupt," said the bassia's wife to the white woman. "If we did what you did just now, our husbands would scold us when they got home, and if we did it again, they would beat us."

She had taken upon herself all the prerogatives of friendship, and continually criticized the manners of her visitor.

The old were to be greeted last. A gift was to be received by another. When returning a piece of carving to another's hand, the carving should rest on the outstretched palm, while the elbow of that arm lay on the palm of the other hand. In the presence of men, a woman who took a stool should turn it about and sit on its narrower side.

"Never sit on the bare earth. The spirits don't like it," she said one instant, and the next, "Don't play with your fingers on top of your sun helmet. Your breasts will get long. Drumming is not a thing for women."

There had been other warnings during earlier visits to Bush Negro villages, but none had borne down so heavily upon the shortcomings of the stranger.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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him, and what he could get on the Marowyne in a year, it would be possible for him to see to it that his betrothed had all the gifts that a man of position gave to his woman. There were, too, other things to bear in mind. Already he had seen a girl who would make a desirable second wife, but that would require still more money.

"But, Bayo," we interposed, "we saw your mother at Djamungo. She told us your girl will not be ready for marrying for some time."

"Did she say that? Did she tell you that I am still a child?"

"What's the matter, Bayo? Don't you like her?"

"Awa, I like her. Not too much. She likes to talk."

We thought it politic to give the subject a new turn. Close beside Bayo lay the dog that had accompanied him the first time he came to us here, before our journey up the river. His was a curious color, a faint pinkish hue which puzzled us.

"What is the color of your dog, Bayo?"

"He is white when he does not have obia on him. He is a hunting dog. Tross is his name. He will stay with me. The obia comes off when he goes into the river."

We laughed. "Does Tross hunt in the river, Bayo?"

"No. In the bush. But if I leave him behind, he swims out to my canoe."

Tross was to become better known to us as the days went on. He had a great affection for his master, and this feeling extended to all those who appertained to Bayo. After Bayo had attached himself to our camp, we, too, came under the aura of his dog's regard, though this may have been made the more reasonable by the fact that the netting of the mosquito guards of our hammocks appealed to Tross as a comfortable place to spend the night. He was a good watchdog, and sometimes we were awakened by his low growl, and a voice saying "*Cho!*—Be quiet!" Just now we were interested in the cord about his neck, and we asked Bayo about it.

"It is more obia. It is strong, too. Nothing happens to Tross when he goes in the bush. You will see."

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

114 prejudices about sex and marriage may become less rooted by a comparison with the customs of a primitive society.

611 The Djukas, like a number of other primitive tribes, reckon
428 descent only through the female line; property rights are transmitted through the maternal side of the house. Fatherhood is a fact of relative unimportance.

595 Polygamy is the practice. Each wife lives in a separate hut (often in a separate village), which belongs to her because her husband built it for her. A man has as many wives as he wants, or can keep. The wives get along together fairly
[152] amicably. The cancer of matrimonial jealousy characteristic of our own system, is of narrow range and effect among the Djukas.

596 The head of the family is not the father, but the mother's
604 oldest male relative—her brother or her mother's brother. *The father is technically unrelated to his children.* As a matter of biological fact, he can never be sure of his paternity, whereas maternity is never in doubt. All children belong to their mother's family, and are subject to the authority of her brother or her maternal uncle. The latter is more closely related to them than any other male.

611 A group of families related through the female line con-
614 stitute a *m'beh,* and several m'beh together make up a *lo,* or clan. These groups are all reckoned through the mother. Husband and wife may belong to different m'beh and lo, but children of the union belong only to their mother's group. At
593 first sight the father seems negligible in this arrangement,
604 but it must be remembered that he is very likely the brother

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

of some other woman, and exercises authority over her children rather than over his own. 593 604

The Djuka family, then, consists of a group of people all descended from a single woman, and related to each other through the female line. Whatever family authority exists resides in the mother's or grandmother's brothers; to them the children defer; from them the children will inherit property and title. The paternity of the children is unessential. This type of social organization is called matrilineal. 596 611

We should, perhaps, not expect to find romantic love, as we know it, among the Djukas. The peculiar transports and attenuated delights of romantic passion are a rather extraordinary phenomenon which, according to Briffault, does not exist outside of Western civilization. Romance requires a high development of individuality among women so that one may be desirable above all others. Where women are mutually interchangeable, romance cannot exist. The Djuka black does not love a woman; he loves women. Love among the Djukas is not a brainstorm but a physiological release, and marriage an economic device. 114

The young people have complete knowledge and some experience of sex at an extremely early age and are usually married at sixteen or seventeen. They are fairly promiscuous before marriage and extremely so afterward. This, again according to Briffault, is the rule in tribes retaining the matrilineal tradition. Since intercourse before marriage is a practice that the Djukas make little effort to restrain, sex is a common affair, not particularly connected with marriage. 836 [582 837]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Marriage requires a bride price, consisting of pieces of 583
cloth, sugar, tobacco, and some carved wooden implements, such as combs, paddles, trays. These are handed over to the bride's family as presents. Then the wife simply moves into her husband's hut, or he into hers. Despite their pre-marital 585
promiscuity, it is said that on the bridal night all the inhabitants of a Bush Negro village will gather outside the hut to hear what the husband has to say regarding the bride's virginity. If the girl is not a virgin, part of the bride price may be refunded, at the husband's discretion. The gathering on such an occasion is attended by much jocularity.

The Djuka husband builds a hut for each one of his women 593
and has another for himself, to which he may retire when- 342
ever he feels the need of bachelor seclusion. The woman 591
sleeps in her own hut, cooks, and raises her children there. The husband comes to her when he wants to, and leaves her for another wife when impulse so guides him. She seldom quarrels with the other wives, who may even live in separate villages.

Each wife has her own provision ground, where she grows 593
rice and cassava; her husband has cleared it for her. The cas- 241
sava fields are owned by individual women, but are held in 562
very loose tenure. At harvest time, or when a plague of in- [423]
sects is threatening, the women of several households work [476]
together in common.

The man's hut is called his *gudu oso,* or "treasure house." 342
It serves to impress his women with his importance and 556
wealth. They are forbidden to enter it, but, woman-like, they insist on peeping in. So he keeps many boxes and wood carv-

/15 cont./

585 white cotton sleeping blanket, various colored cloths and pantjes,
[583] some earthenware, such as bowls and plates, iron pots and pans, and the like, while he is obligated on the occasion to provide for an ample supply of strong drink and sugar wine.

They do not have festivities, games, or dancing in connection with their marriages.

586 If a marriage is dissolved, then each of the two parties again goes to his own family; in case those concerned in it and the elders disapprove of this, however, it happens that man and wife are forced to continue to live with each other, especially when there are no substantial reasons and grievances.

●593 The man is obligated to provide his wife or his wives with food, clothing, and ornaments; she, to follow the man everywhere, to cook for him, to wash, and to take care of the housekeeping.

264 The wives are neat in an exemplary fashion; plates, bowls,
252 and pans are always kept extremely clean, and they also see to it that everything is extremely clean in connection with cooking.

841 If they find themselves in a period of menstruation, they
302 indicate this immediately to the husband by withdrawing from his dwelling and staying in seclusion with other women; they neither cook nor do the least thing for him in this state, do not even come within sight of him, and remain secluded to the end; when they have cleaned and dressed themselves, they decorate their shoulders and arms with white stripes as a token /16/ that they have again
[386] returned to their normal state. The stripes are made by mixing
[824] pounded adroe (1) with ground chalk and water.

1. A tuberous root-stalk from the Cyperus rotundus L.

Sometimes they also smear the forehead and the neck in this way and appear thus before their husbands.

841 During their seclusion another woman, who is a member of
571 the family or possibly a female friend, daily prepares and brings the
252 food, which, however, is at the expense of the secluded wife. They perform this service for each other mutually.

/137 cont./

241 and sugar cane, while in the third year some pineapples, bananas, and sugar cane are also harvested.

Thereafter one surrenders the ground to the second growth (kapoeweri) shooting up, here called "kauwé," and to the weeds, like the cutting grass "baboen nefi" (Scleria secans), which prevent further growth of the cultivated crop.

This system of clearing grounds requires much land. It is a severely predatory cultivation which can only be employed when sufficient free land is available. Only after many years can one return to the same piece of forest to lay out a new ground, depending on the recovery of the forest, more particularly on the top growth.

[592] Among the Bush Negroes of the Marowijne it is [illegible]e that
[476] each household provide for itself. The man clears the ground with help of family /familie/ members or friends, who in return for food are taken in during this time. If the man has /138/ one wife, then ordinarily two grounds per year are cleared; if he has more than one wife, then he clears two grounds for each wife.

[622] The captain /kapitein/ of a village lays out his ground him-
[643] self, helped by his villagers. The granman /chief/, however, does not work himself, but, regardless of the number of his wives, has his family and other helpers clear grounds in return for food for the
423 workdays. The products of the grounds of a household are not joint
● 593 property, but rather the wife asserts her rights over the produce from one ground, while the man claims that from the other ground. Thus a distinction is made between the agrarian property of the wife and that of the husband.

3. The Plague of Ants and the Ant-bushes

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825 In the agriculture of the Bush Negroes the plague of ants plays a significant role. The leaf-cutting or parasol ants (Atta sexdens and Atta cephalotes) are very destructive because of their attacks on the leaves in the plantings. The first-named species is the greatest evildoer in the interior districts of Surinam. Cassava in

B /510 cont./
581 relatives, nor any power of the man over the woman, nor even
B household cohabitation. The man and the woman each reside in
591 the village of their maternal kin. The man goes to live with his
593 wife from time to time, providing her with the imported commodities that she needs, notably salt, kerosene, cloth, and utensils, and felling trees for the clearings which she will exploit
B for the benefit of the household.
586 Divorce is entirely free. Unions are not very stable, mainly on account of the woman. Numbers of women are divorced four to five times during their lives.
B The grand man, chief of the tribe, exercises over the Boni a
643 power which is more religious than political.
B The Boni are a pirogue-people. For more than a century they
433 have been living by using their canoes for the benefit of gold-seekers
178 and exploiting miners. The decline of gold extraction is depriving
[501] them more and more of their traditional resources. Some of them
[167] are emigrating temporarily to the coastal lumberyards. But all of them remain faithful to their villages and to their customs.

R /511/
101 The Oayana Indians (Roucouyennes /Rucuyen/). These Indians of the
177 Caribe /Carib/ ethnic group have had only a few direct contacts
144 with European civilization and still represent without alteration the
R human type which populated Guiana before the arrival of the
161 Europeans. On encountering the Refugee Blacks, the Indians of the Guianese forest have been steadily and rapidly declining. Estimated
R at 30,000 at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Indians
101 of French Guiana are now no more than about a thousand. In
162 addition there must be included in this number 700 persons (Galibi and
131 Arawak) who have been protected by their habitat in the savannas of the coast where malaria is less deadly than in the interior.
R The accounts of travelers and the censuses made notably in
175 1730, 1759, 1787, and 1815 allow one to follow with precision
161 this destruction of the autochthonous population since the first settlement of the Europeans in Guiana (2).

2. Dr. André Sausse, op. cit., pp. 67-98.

/519 cont./

125 --158 (80%) answered with good grace;

--33 (17%) answered with reticence or gave contradictory answers in 1956 and 1957. Checking showed that they neglected to mention a living child, generally one of their older ones whom they were not raising themselves. In spite of the precautions taken, there are some omissions in the census of the adolescents and young people because of this (7).

[593]

> 7. On the other hand, we never ascertained any dissimulation concerning dead children. On the contrary, the Boni women speak of their deceased children with a certain indifference.

For 28 of these women we were able to reconstruct their lives with sufficient precision by interrogating contradictorily the husbands and the older brothers of the same mother. The five others were eliminated;

7 (3%) obstinately refused to answer without giving any justification for their attitude.

[484] Eighteen women could not be added, this being due to the continual moving of the Boni between their villages, their crop plantings, and their fishing places.

We took into account 7 women who died before 1957, whom we had been able to question in the preceding years.

[163] All in all, we have preserved 193 records of women having had 747 children, of whom 472 had survived as of the first of January 1958.

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[For additional demographic and social information, see the "Table of the Population of the Boni Villages," on pp. 479-539, category 116. Included are data on the number of children per woman, the number of deaths by age and sex, the name of the guardian (usually, but not necessarily a parent) who was responsible for raising a particular individual, personal names of the Boni, marital residence and residence changes by specific individuals, marriage practices, including polygynous unions and secondary marriages, cases of divorce, and lineage/sib affiliations of each individual.]

174 /30 cont./

613 1st. Lo = de facto grouping of rebels of any provenance,
614 which has in the long run split up into lineages but which remains
621 in the form of a common worship;

571 2nd. Lo = lineage, from the very beginning.
184

Conceptions Relative to Kinship and Marriage

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[121] Ties between the individual and the ancestors. Before examining more deeply the social and family structure of the Refugee Blacks, it is indispensable to study what religious ties are implied between [184] the individual and the ancestors. Here one is in the presence of basic beliefs which seem identical in the various tribes of Refugee Blacks of Guiana and of which their structure is the consequence.

In the civilizations of Blacks Africa it is supposed that a [711] current of life and /31/ strength circulates from the divinity to men through the medium of the ancestors. Among the Refugee Blacks it is taken for granted that in this respect each man is bound [782] to his ancestors through the maternal line only. If he falls prey to illness, injustice, or adversity, he can call only on them in his prayer.

593 That does not mean that the tie with the father is ignored [827] or considered as having little importance; it is taken for granted, as we shall see, that in the creation of man certain psychic elements are transmitted from father to son. But the current of strength binding the individual to the ancestors does not pass through the father. One cannot pray usefully to the soul of one's dead father. [755] If I am sick and divination incriminates the action of my dead [782] father's soul, I cannot address either prayer or offering directly to him; for that I shall have recourse to one of his near relatives in the maternal line.

/34 cont./

601 They continue to use the terms soagi, pay, may even after the break-up of a marriage, so that they are in frequent usage. As for the woman herself, they say sa So-and-so in speaking to her, as to a sister.

581 Marriage. The conceptions of the Refugee Blacks on this subject are remarkable. Marriage in the African sense of the term, understood as a contract between two groups of relatives, does not exist among them. The union of the man and woman does not involve any sort of contract between their groups of relatives and consequently entails no matrimonial compensation. /35/ The Refugee Blacks are the only African Negro population to our knowledge whose customs do not involve any form of "dowry" either in money or in kind.

581 583

Family life in the sense that we understand it does not exist; as we shall see further on, marriage is forbidden between people of the same lineage, which implies that the husband and wife live in different villages. The man builds a house for his wife in her native village, but he does not come to live with her; he makes visits of several days to her as to his other wives, in the course of which he furnishes her with the imported objects (salt, kerosene, cloth, etc.) she needs, lends her his aid for heavy chores, while, for her part, she turns over to him the products of the clearing. The rest of the time he lives as a bachelor in his mother's village where he builds his own house. If he is very attached to his wife, he can come to reside with her and can even succeed without great difficulty in bringing her to live in his own village; but few couples take advantage of this option, for the man and wife prize their independence above everything else.

582 621 591 593 [439]

The life of the man and of the wife remain entirely separate and their union has more the character of a temporary association founded on material interests than that of a marriage; the family life of each one remains entirely centered around his or her matrilineage.

593 [613]

/35 cont./

593 This organization, compared with what is found in the greater part of Africa, is very advantageous for the wife, who [581] enjoys total independence. But against this she has great instability of unions.

581 601 The union of man and woman has so little of the character of a marriage that in the Boni language no word exists which means, strictly speaking, "husband" or "wife." They say: mi iibi anga X = "I live with So-and-so.

174 591 How has the social and matrimonial system of the Refugee Blacks been set up? One could believe that one of the systems of Western Africa was purely and simply transposed, but this is not the case at all. In this domain as in that of beliefs, the ancestors of the Refugee Blacks elaborated an original synthesis out of numerous sources.

The African nations from which the rebels issued were certainly, in large part if not in the majority, patrilineal. This is especially the case of the Fon of Dahomey, from whom have been borrowed important cultural elements, especially the principal cults of possession. The matrilineal ones all conceded patrilocal residence, that is, the wife's leaving her village and settling in her husband's village.

[175] The 18th-century rebels, the archives attest, included a heavy percentage of "salt-water Negroes," born on African soil; such, for example, was Codio Coromantin, one of Boni's lieutenants; those who had not been born in Africa had, for the most part, been instructed in an African tradition by a father or uncle. One can be sure that once having attained freedom they sought to organize their villages according to the family custom by which they had been brought up, that is, to set up, some a patrilineal and patrilocal society, others a matrilineal society /36/ but with [643] patrilocal residence. We know for example that Boni had chosen his son Agosu as his successor.

/122 cont./

846 834 856 Interruption of conjugal relations after the birth. For three months after delivery the mother must stay away from men and even avoid touching them. Conjugal relations must be interrupted until the child begins to walk alone (eleven to 14 months). However, it is tolerated (but disapprovingly) that they be interrupted only for the time until the child begins to drag himself on his knees /123/ (eight months). They cite the example of Balina's wife who has puny children after pregnancies at too short intervals. [842]

846 834 862 Actually, the interruption of conjugal relations tends to be reduced more and more, the women having condensed milk available and tending to reduce the duration of breast feeding.

198 593 Each woman acts as she wishes in this respect; the husband has no power to restrain her.

The Name

551 553 Existence of several independent names. Each Boni has two names, the gaã nɔm or big name, given by the father, and the pikin nɔm or little name, given by the mother.

These two names are given in totally independent fashion. Generally the pikin nɔm is given first; in former days they used to wait until the child was six to eight months old; nowadays it is given at the end of a few weeks. The head of the lineage does not intervene either in the choice or the giving of the name.

As a matter of fact, nearly three-quarters of the Boni are designated by one single name, either because the father and mother agreed to give the same name or because one of the two names fell into disuse.

To these two principal names may be added any number of names and cognomens given by the grandparents and later by friends or spouse; often one of the names ends by being given

/126 cont./

651 563 The only case in which custom governs the choice of name is that of twins.

Male twins are called Adam and Agou.[2]

Boy and girl twins are called Adam and Efa (2).

[199]

2. This is connected with a myth derived from the Biblical tradition, which we shall set forth later.

Female twins are called Chimba and Sisi.

Social Relations within the Lineage

429 604 Guardianship. Until he is old enough to work, the child is [593] placed under the responsibility of the mother and, one step farther away, that of the eldest of his classificatory uncles. To a lesser degree all the uncles have authority over the child; guardianship is collective.

The custom of the Refugee Blacks, hostile to any division of the lineage, does not recognize any right peculiar to the mother's brothers (still, in fact, they seem to be consulted by [584] preference about matters of small importance). For serious matters, such as authorizing a marriage, the classificatory uncles meet and deliberate; they do not vote, strictly speaking, but the proved opposition of three or four of them causes the project to be abandoned.

429 593 604 [126] It is to the mother that people will come to complain about the child, and not to the father. She it is who decides to refer the thing to the uncles if it is serious (example of Doni, 18 years old, who deflowered Elina, 15 years old. Elina's mother came to complain to Doni's mother. Doni's mother went to notify her older brother Fariman, who took the matter in hand).

/128 cont./

429 604 It is necessary to distinguish this principal guardianship, which is imprescriptible, from the secondary guardianship delegated by the uncles to the man or woman charged with bringing up the child. /127/

429 593 604 (858) Designation of the guardian. When a child reaches five or six years, the mother and the uncles decide who will be charged with his education and will become his guardian. The thought of the Refugee Blacks is that a child is much better educated if he is isolated and placed directly under the responsibility of an adult.

429 593 604 603 In order to decide who will bring up the child, they do not have a general meeting of the lineage. Everything is arranged among the mother and her brothers proper, the maternal grandmother, and the great-grandmother if she is still living. The child's clamificatory uncles are consulted only if there are no uncles in the ordinary sense. Grandmothers have a preponderant influence in this decision as they do in all that concerns the child during his early years. The uncles' influence increases as the child advances in age.

429 There is no precise rule for the devolution of this guardianship, and nobody can take advantage of a right over the child.

(604) The guardian, male or female, carries out the responsibility of the education, but he can make no decision without asking the opinion of the uncles, whose decision is final. The guardianship can always be withdrawn.

This guardianship is exercised by one single person, man or woman.

429 593 It is very often the mother. In a large number of cases the mother raises her children, boys and girls, alone, with the cooperation of her husband, who often is not the father. Actually the husband has no rights over them. Whether the children

/127 cont./

429 are his or not, he maintains them indirectly by maintaining
593 his wife. He has only precarious authority. Every connection
[586] with the children disappears in case of divorce.

429 Guardianship is often exercised by the maternal grand-
603 mother, by an aunt, or even by an older sister.

[604] If the maternal grandmother (or the great-grandmother if
[593] she is still living) insists on bringing up a child, the mother cannot refuse; one sees a rather large number of cases of women who have only one child and have given it to their mother to raise; it is true that since they live together, it is not a great sacrifice for the mother.

429 Thus one sees women over 70 years old, having had ten
603 children or so, bringing up three or four of their grandchildren.
888 The ancestress of Asisi village, Kuluba († 1957), after having
[163] had 12 children, brought up about ten of her children and
[165] grandchildren during the course of her long existence; when she died in 1957 at 100 years of age, she was still raising a child, one of her great-grandsons 12 years old. Of course she had not been working any more for a long time and was fed by her family, as the child was. But it was she who held the power of guardianship over him.

429 If it is the father who is charged with the child's education,
593 he takes him into his own maternal family. His sisters will help him to bring up the child as long as he needs the presence of a woman.

From then on the father will exercise guardianship corresponding to that which the mother usually exercises under the responsibility of the uncles.

Sometimes a man is seen bringing up a daughter. Generally speaking, if a man /128/ has had three or more children by one woman, it is considered normal for him to be given one to raise, but that does not constitute a right; he cannot demand anything.

/128 cont./

593 152 429 One of the commonplaces of ethnographic literature is the feeling of frustration that the father would experience in a matrilineal system when he is separated from his children. Thoughts heard every now and then could allow one to believe in the existence of such a feeling among the Refugee Blacks. For example Baïna, of Asisi village, tells us one day with bitterness: "I have had eight children, all living, and I have been given only one to bring up." But this is only a pretense. No Refugee Black thinks seriously of bringing up the five or six children he has had in the course of his life by three or four [464] different women. Besides, this would be materially impossible for him, considering the mode of life of the Refugee Blacks and the necessity for the adult men to move ceaselessly in search [163] of paid work. For example, by encouraging Baïna to tell the basis for his thought, it was not difficult to understand that he would have liked to raise two or three of his eight children (born of four different women), the ones he loved for subjective reasons; the others scarcely interested him and it was all the same to him whether they were brought up here or there.

429 152 [601] In reality the paternal feeling of the Refugee Blacks is a rather subjective thing; raising a son or a nephew is the same in their eyes. The same paternal feeling will develop, and in both cases they will say "my son" and "my father."

593 429 Mothers give their children to be raised with the greatest of ease, especially within the lineage.

[163] For example Eliana (Dju, F8), about 45 years old in 1957, who had nine living children, was raising only four:

△ Alibi	1937	raised by his father Matapi (Asisi-Aw.B.);
△ Doni	1939	raised by his maternal grandmother Bèniti (Dju, E5);
○ Aguba	1940	raised by Lènga (F36), Eliana's classificatory sister (tenth-degree kinship);
△ A...	1943	raised by his father Yusu (Papaïsson);

•593 429 /128 cont./

○ S... 1947 raised by Kulina, Eliana's sister by the same mother (Dju, E9);

○ S... 1947 raised by her mother

and three young children raised by their mother.

[163] One sees unusual situations like that of Mimi (Boniville, Kotika), who gave her only child to her sister to raise and is bringing up another child in its place.

[163] In 1957, Téké (L1, F44, Loka village), who had seven living children, was not bringing up any of them.

△ C... 1945 raised by Mélita, Téké's mother (L1, E32);

△ A... 1947 raised by Akomédi (L1, F34), Téké's classificatory sister;

△ M... 1950 raised by Mélita;

△ C... 1952 raised by his father Baïna (Dip. II);

○ K... 1953 raised by △ Mato (Aw.B.1), her father, Baïna's father;

○ F... 1956 raised by Mélita. /129/

Baïna, whom we have known for a long time, was incapable of giving the least explanation for his wife's strange behavior. Besides, he had given up a long time ago understanding the psychology of Boni women.

On the other hand, a certain number of women obstinately refuse to be separated from their children, deciding to raise them all, girls and boys, by their own means. This was the case for example with Magdaléna (Kormotibo), a woman of intractable character, who raised her eight children herself at the cost of the worst difficulties. In such a case, they say of the mother that she is a selfish woman and that she has a bad character, but there is no question of taking a child away from her by force. Nobody would risk that, no more her brothers or uncles than the head of the lineage. Only her mother could do it, and the women who behave thus have generally lost their mothers.

[163] [828]

/134 cont./

429 Until very recent times the authority of the guardian had
561 remained very strong and was prolonged very late; he had the
[861 right to strike his ward to make him obey, and he exercised his
[582 powers until the time when, judging the child's education finished,
he authorized him to marry, which formerly seldom happened
before 25-27 years.

Fintiman (of Boniville), about 50 years old in 1958, tells that his father, entrusted with his upbringing, did not authorize him to marry before he was completely established as a carpenter and boat-builder, at about the age of 27. Until that age he remained subject to the most tyrannical authority; his father intended especially to forbid him to go out in the evening, and in order to carry on a clandestine affair he had to use nocturnal fishing expeditions as a pretext!

429 When a boy's guardian judges his education finished, he
884 helps him to build his house and gives him tools, a trunk containing clothes, and a hammock. Henceforward the boy must make his own way in life.

429 All during his lifetime he will continue to show the greatest
576 respect to the person who raised him and often, speaking of that
601 person, he will say: "my father" or "my mother."

601 When a Refugee Black says in the course of a conversation, "My father used to do this," he often means the man who brought him up; if he wishes to speak of his true father, he will say, "My own father who made me." Likewise when he says "My
[128 grandfather," he usually means a great-uncle. This confusion
[114 makes research on family life risky as long as one does not
[593 possess any census by names; apparently it has led several authors into error, making them believe that among the Refugee Blacks the father brings up his children himself, when this is on the contrary the exception.

/134 cont./

429 The guardian continues to have a certain power all his life over his ward become adult. He is the conciliator to whom one applies first if there is any complaint about his ward.

This power of conciliation is bequeathed by the guardian at his death, as is the guardianship itself.

593 613 152 Role of the mother. For the Refugee Blacks, the sacred tie is pre-eminently the one which attaches them to their mother and through her to the ancestors of the lineage. It is manifested with respect to the mother by a delicate and deep feeling of affection which applies also, less directly, to the close relatives on the maternal side and to all the members of the lineage. It is not [601] idly that within the lineage the men call one another brothers; the obligations /135/ they have toward one another are accepted by all with joy, and each tries his best to fulfill them, for he transposes to them the sentiment of love which he feels toward his mother.

114 562 593 The term matriarchy has often been used wrongly with regard to the Refugee Blacks, letting people believe that the woman exercises authority there; this is an error, the woman does not enter their councils and from a political point of view does not exist in their eyes; the woman has influence and authority only as mother, and over her own children.

593 The mother's authority remains very great over her sons after they have become men; none of them will undertake an important enterprise or leave for a long trip without consulting his mother; if she is absolutely opposed to the project, he will scarcely dare go on with it. We heard in December, 1952 a man of 45, M..., serious and intelligent, say to us with regret: "I would certainly go with you as far as Cayenne, but my mother does not wish it."

/135 cont./

593 The same year, G..., man of about 50, particularly serious and hard-working, had saved up enough to buy an outboard motor; his mother, aged near 75 years, advised him absolutely not to make this purchase, claiming that he would be the object of jealousy and was risking being the victim of evil spells; he gave up the project. He did not dare carry it out until [765] 1957 after the mourning for his mother (dead in 1955) had been lifted.

To let one's mother be in need is considered a shame; if a mother has several sons, they divide up the purchases to be made for her benefit; each year one of them will cut the clearing intended for the mother; in exchange she will furnish couac and vegetables as long as her strength will allow her to work.

591 Ordinarily each of the sons, when he becomes 20 or 25 years old, builds himself in his village a house in which he lives alone. But it often happens that a man who has reached adulthood continues to live in his mother's house; for example, in 1952 in Loka village, Ayaubédé, about 40 years of age, was living with his mother Chii.

593 As for the authority of the mother over her daughters, it is still much more strict and lasts all her life. The daughter may [582] not marry without the authorization of her mother or of her [591] female guardian if she is not brought up by her mother. The married daughter has the use of a house that her husband built for her, but this house is situated near that of her mother. Since household life is intermittent and reduced to its simplest expression, she remains under the domination of her mother until the latter's death. Especially, she cannot travel without her permission.

593 In former times the authority of mothers over daughters 178 was tyrannical; they say that one might see an octogenarian mother requisition an old man's arm to strike her sexagenarian daughter who had disobeyed her. But nowadays this authority is battered [579] down by the development of individualism. From this results a growing dissoluteness in the girls and an increasing instability of unions.

/135 cont./

593 428 The nature of the relations with the mother is shown by the custom of inheritance. /136/ If a man dies while his mother is still living, his belongings return to her. She may keep them or divide them among the members of the lineage.

593 Role of the father. The father has no power over the children, but in general he is respected by them and his sons make no important decision without asking for his opinion.

In the very frequent case where the guardianship of the children is entrusted to the mother, the father exercises a de facto authority as long as the family group lasts. But in case of its break-up he loses any right over the children.

In general the father loves his children very much, but in the way Europeans love their nephews, he avoids taking a hand too closely in their education, which is the responsibility of the uncles, who might invite him not to busy himself with family affairs.

593 429 591 But if the father has received the guardianship of one or several children, the situation is completely different. If the family group breaks up, he takes them along with him. Besides, as a general rule, even if he gets along well with his wife, he settles in his own village the children whose guardianship has been entrusted to him, close to his maternal family; henceforth it is he who will provide entirely not only for their maintenance but for their food; except for periods when the husband spends some time with them near his wife, the latter no longer has to feed them.

593 429 If the father has received the guardianship of a child, he can in turn delegate it under his responsibility to someone of his lineage. We have noted several examples of this practice. For example Afoondo (Aw.B.1, F56), about 23 years old in 1957, had been entrusted to his father Koniman (Lapé), who had himself turned him over to his own mother Awènkina.

/136 cont./

593 429 769 591 The fact that some children are under the guardianship of their father changes nothing about their position with respect to ancestor worship and does not entail any payment or compensation whatever on the part of the father. When the child has grown up he will be able to come back to live in his maternal kin group (which he does most often) or stay in his father's village. On this point there is no precise customary obligation.

593 884 The father plays an important role with respect to the children when they reach manhood; he procures their ɔbia for them and transmits the knowledge and magical powers which he himself received from his father.

429 428 Inheritance of guardianship. At the death of the guardian, his office is bequeathed in the same way as his goods and according to the same principle of dispersion of the inheritance. If he was raising several children, the guardianship of each one will be bequeathed individually.

For example Bêniti († 1944) was raising ○K... 1944, daughter of her daughter Baïkom, and ○W... 1942, daughter of her son Fintiman and a woman of Papaïston village. She bequeathed the first to her daughter Kulina, the second to her daughter Baïkom settled in Loka village. W... thus found herself taken to a village which was neither that of her maternal nor her paternal relatives. Such cases are not rare. The child's uncles, who in principle could take back the guardianship, never seem to oppose, in practice, its being bequeathed. /137/

The spiritual power kept by the guardian over his ward after he becomes adult is bequeathed in the same manner. Thus, in the preceding example, Bêniti († 1955) /sic/ bequeathed the spiritual tutelage she was keeping over each one of her adult sons and daughters whom she had raised herself, in part to outsiders to her lineage.

/145 cont./

582 Generally speaking, the custom of the Refugee Blacks used to consider as immoral the marriage of a very young girl to an old man, or of a very young boy to an adult woman. 588 178 The weakening of family morals is clearly demonstrated by two events which happened during the summer of 1960. A boy of thirteen and a half, K... of Boniville, left his guardian to join an Assisi woman, A..., 20 years older than he and with a very bad reputation to boot; some months later his example was imitated /146/ by a boy of 14 who began living with a [684] woman of 29. Nothing like that had ever been seen, and [613] people inveighed against the scandal of it; but in both cases, guardians and lineage heads showed themselves incapable of making their authority respected by force.

882 Marriage of girls. It can still be said (although things are in [562] the process of changing rapidly) that girls, kweyi umã, occupy a place apart in the thought of the Refugee Blacks; the reprobation which embraces women does not extend to them. 882 People say that girls "have good manners," and in fact most 834 of them, although naked except for a little apron, have a re- [291] served attitude, a becoming bearing, which contrast with the attitude of the married women. To tell the truth, this virtue is not so much due to natural inclinations as to the strict vigilance with which their mothers surround them. The mothers [593] literally do not let them out of their sight and permit no man to speak to them out of their presence. "Until dawn, until the cock crows, she keeps vigil," says the song, alluding to the mother who watches over her daughter's virtue. If a girl [836] comes to lose her virginity without being properly married, [597] pɔti na ɔsu, "established in a house," it is a dishonor for her mother and her near relatives.

/146 cont./

882 Whereas little girls before puberty are left free to come
[858] and go, older girls are the object of constant surveillance.
They are always under the surveillance of one of their near
[883] relatives specifically designated. If they have permission to
go dancing in another village, they must present themselves
upon arrival to an uncle, an aunt, an older brother who will
watch over them all evening.

Sometimes they build for a girl a little house where she sleeps alone ... but she is double-locked into it for the night.

[883] At nightfall, when their mothers are busy with the prepa-
ration of the meal, the girls are sent to get water or to angle
for fish; there is wavering in the surveillance, and seducers
know how to profit by it.

[593] Until recent times girls were held by their mothers in
[584] the bonds of a strict authority, and although engaged very
[582] young, they were not authorized to marry before reaching
complete physical development.

584 It often used to happen that a girl might be promised by
her mother to a man from her first years (they still say, although
that is no longer practiced, pɔti mɔfu na umã, "to put his
mouth on a girl," meaning by that to have received a promise
of marriage). This plan always used to remain subject to the
girl's assent when she grew up and did not constitute a contract,
strictly speaking; it did not involve any payment or compensa-
[593] tion whatever. A girl could not be obligated to a marriage
which was absolutely displeasing to her, but the mother's
authority was great enough to make these marriages come about
in most cases.

[431] If a girl had not been promised, the young man who
wanted to marry her used to try to attract her attention during
a dance and to exchange a few words with her. /147/ Later he
would give her a paddle bearing symbols of fecundity and the
representation of a house and a boat. If the girl accepted the
paddle, he could propose to her officially.

/149 cont./

592 The household. Household life is a limited association, freely
593 agreed upon by two beings who live totally independent of each other, the emotional life of each remaining almost entirely centered upon his maternal family. It entails reciprocal duties:

--For the man, to build a house for his wife in her village, to construct a new boat for her every three or four years, to cut a clearing for her each year /150/ and help in planting it, to furnish her with imported commodities, cloth, salt, kerosene, tools, which she needs, as well as game and smoke-dried fish;

--For the woman, to farm the clearing and furnish her husband when he comes to visit her with couac and the vegetables
[462] necessary for his food. (The man, used to living as a bachelor, owns his own cooking utensils and most of the time prepares his meals himself.)

This system of intermittent conjugal life seems to assure the Boni a perfect balance at the same time that it permits them
[562] to satisfy their taste for change. The men divide their life among work, visits to their different wives, hunting and fishing expeditions; their life is thus constantly renewed and they are protected against tendencies toward apathy and mental inertia.

In general, as long as the union lasts, the woman fulfills
[241] exactly her obligations; although the yield from the clearing is
[422] her property and the excess of the harvest is sold for her ex-
[434] clusive benefit, the man is assured of getting from her all the provisions he needs. On the other hand, many men, through
[591] laziness, get out of constructing a house for their wives and the latter continue to live with their mothers. In the villages on the French bank about 20 such cases were observed in 1958.
591 Several cases are even noted in which a woman, aged but still
592 having unmarried children, one or two of her daughters and their children are living together in one house. For example, in Asisi village, nine persons were living together in the very small house of their mother and grandmother Tini.

/150 cont./

593 342 461 [198] Nothing marks better the small place the conjugal bond has in a man's life; imagine the torture which this forced living and crowding together represent for each of these women! The Boni of today, much richer than their ancestors and better equipped with tools, are singularly lazier in building houses; no longer is anyone seen to sculpture and decorate the façades lovingly; when a man, after many recriminations, decides to build a house for his wife, he is content most of the time now with a simple shelter with plaited walls, which does not require 30 days work.

595 As we have said, each man may take as many wives as he wishes, on condition that he can supply their needs; but in practice the maintenance of a household is so heavy a load that most men have only one or two wives; only one to our knowledge has three. In fact, it is contrary to custom to free oneself by paying for work which one must do for one's wife. We have never heard it said that a rich man (many of them have hundreds of thousands of francs in savings) paid money in place of a piece of work, or paid someone to do it for him. The furnishing of imported objects is particularly burdensome, especially cloth, kitchen utensils (Boni women are infatuated with aluminum objects), and occasionally jewels. The Boni conceded in 1958 that the maintenance of a wife amounted to 30 to 40 thousand francs a year at least. If one considers that a hard-working man earned about 120,000 francs a year, that he spent 30 to 40 thousand francs a year for himself, that he often had /151/ in addition to provide for the needs of his aged parents and share the expenses of the festivals of the lineage, one sees that he could not have more than two wives at the same time. As for less hard-working men, who have no more than 60 to 80 thousand francs a year in ready money, they have a great deal of trouble in facing the maintenance of a single household, and many divorces have no other cause.

593 [461] [556] [454] [439] [511] [434] [511] [695] [434] [511] [586]

/151 cont./

593 Among the Refugee Blacks some very devoted couples are
[591] seen, who spend their whole lives together and who, in their old
[163] age, have completely united their destinies, living in the same house, either in the woman's village or the man's: for example, in the village of Lapé Tabiki, Butu and his wife Asamani, in 1952 aged about 70 years, together for 45 years and having had eight children. But such cases are exceptional. Besides, they
[581] are not admired and held up as an example as one might believe; this man and this woman suited each other, they remained together; if some day they no longer get along, they will divorce, that is all.

595 Polygamy. Polygamy in the African sense of the term, that is, the simultaneous maintenance of several regular households, is exceptional among the Refugee Blacks because of their mode of living:

[433] --The wife is practically entirely dependent on her hus-
[511] band; an economy based mainly on wage earning and involving a relatively high standard of living makes it impossible for most men to maintain more than one household;

[461] --Even if a man had sizable financial means at his disposal, he could scarcely maintain more than two households; for it is not acceptable, at least nowadays, for him to have done by others the customary chores: clearings, boats, house.

162 On January 1, 1958 out of 134 men over 20 years old in
595 the villages on the French bank, whose lives were well known to us, there were:

Men maintaining three households	1	1%
" " two households	18	13%
" " one household	104	77%
[589] Bachelors, widowers, or recent divorcés	11	8%
	134	100% /sic/

/154 cont./

586 As far as the clearing already cut and planted is concerned, if it is on the land of the wife's family, the man can demand nothing. However, some women continue to furnish couac for a year after breaking up.

If the clearing is on the husband's lands, the woman continues to farm it normally. But she is required to furnish [593] food as if there had been no rupture. This is why men who do [241] not trust their wives insist on cutting the clearing on land of their own lineage.

Many women wait to divorce their husbands until after they have cut the year's clearing! In January, 1957, upon the return of the border-fixing mission from the southern frontier, /155/ one of us heard M..., a woman of about 40, speak in these terms of her husband T..., 60 years old, who had done everything for her and still used to come to take part in laborious jobs to procure money for her: "He is getting old; I am going to have to look for another."

Observation at Maripasoula, Nov. 5, 1956.

Mutété, boatman of the Maripasoula post, laments in front of his comrades: his wife has just had him notified, without indicating any motive, that she was breaking with him. She did not even disturb herself to tell him so, and she waited until he had finished cutting the year's clearing for her! His [562] comrades once more expressed their rancor against the avarice, spitefulness, and inconstancy of Boni women, inferior beings whom they had once and for all given up trying to understand.

Among the Refugee Blacks people divorce at any age, at 70 years as well as at 18. Thus it is that Captain Diolè (+1951), head of the Dju lo, and his wife Efa, of the Papaïston lo, divorced each other about 1940 when both were approaching 70 and had remained together more than 35 years: in growing old their natures no longer hit it off.

/156 cont./

586 The estimate of the average number of divorces for women
[128] born before 1896 is probably lower than the actual number, their first divorces not being well known to our informants. It is probably in the neighborhood of two.

586 The increase in frequency of divorces among young women
593 is striking. It is related to the weakening of the authority, very
178 strong in former times, exercised by mothers over their daughters.

Here are two examples concerning two girls we have known since their childhood.

836 Lomé (L2, F74, Boniville) born in 1938, began to cause people to talk about her in 1954. She was deflowered by N..., who did not want to marry her. Then she had relations with Asadam (K, Boniville), who did not want to marry her either. She was beaten; she continued to see him. Now this is extreme-
[558] ly shameful for a girl because it is placing herself in a state of inferiority with respect to a man, when her self-respect consists in making a contract between equals.

582 Her brother Amèmbé beat her, and she ended up by marrying Pitipiti (Aw.B.2, Asisi village), who formally asked
586 for her in marriage in 1956. This marriage lasted less than a
587 year. In 1957 Lomé divorced him to marry Djoni (Kotika village).

584 Aguba (D.u, G14), girl of Asisi-Dju village, born in 1941, had been proposed to with the customary formalities in May, 1956 by Païtiki (L2, Loka village), a young man of 18. It was
584 agreed that the engaged couple would wait two years. But
585 Païtiki did not wait and consummated the marriage clandestine-
[429] ly at the end of a few months. Lènga, Aguba's aunt and guardian, became very angry and beat her. She did not give her the pangi until May, 1957. The marriage lasted only a few
586 months. /157/ By the end of 1957 Aguba was breaking off with Païtiki and beginning openly to look for adventures.

/280 cont./

539 During the night he got up and went and untied the ox which escaped into the bush.

The next day he said to the bachia: "Bachia, please go and get my ox." The bachia looked for it in vain. He said: "Anansi, the ox has escaped into the bush." We shall give you another." -- "That won't do," said Anansi; "I was passing by on the river and you called me without any reason. Give me the dead child."

They said: "Uncle Anansi, we cannot give him to you, he is already in the coffin." "Let's make an end of it," said Anansi, "you are provoking me." The bachia went to tell the mother (of the dead child) that a misfortune had arrived(1).

[764]
[613]
[593]

1. It is to be noted that it is not from the lineage head that one asks for authorization to dispose of the body, but from the mother alone.

She agreed to it. They broke the coffin and gave the body to Anansi. He put it in the bow of the boat and paddled until he came to a big bend in the river. Once out of sight of the village people, he /281/ made a little paddle. He went to the bow seat of the boat, he fastened the dead child to it with glue. He put the body in a sitting position, as if it were alive, he fastened the paddle in its hand.

He paddled until he heard something like the noise of a boat. He said to himself: "Listen, stand up, perhaps a boat is coming." He placed the boat in the strongest part of the current, he paddled hard, standing in the stern. He heard better, he said: "It is a ship." He shouted: "Ah, ah! Today I meet thee, thou whom I sought for so long." He saw clearly that it was a ship. Comrades, he paddled in the current; the

/292 cont./

754 556 441 438 366 In that can doubtless be seen the most likely explanation of the absence, in the tribes of Refugee Blacks, of any internal trade. There are not even markets in the villages. In practice only Creole and Asian traders are patronized.

463 829 [438] The repugnance which the Refugee Blacks have for trading with one another contributes toward preventing the development of specialized professions among them. Specialization does actually exist: one man is particularly good at building boats, another is a competent carpenter, still another devotes himself mainly to fishing; but the Refugee Blacks exercise these specialties with respect to other peoples and not with respect to one another. Nobody fails to build his own boat, his house, to cut his clearings himself. If it were otherwise, classes and castes would rapidly be created, and that is precisely what the moral law of the Refugee Blacks condemns. A special effect of this conception is to preserve family custom from deteriorating, by preventing the rich from becoming great polygamists maintaining idle mistresses. We have never heard it said that a richer man paid someone to perform for him the customary work he owes to his wives, clearings, house, boat. Whatever his wealth may be, he continues to do these jobs by the sweat of his brow, and that contributes toward maintaining in its meaning and value the tacit contract concluded between husband and wife.

463 829 593 182 461

182 157 433 648 Thus the geographic conditions, associated with influences of a social and psychological order, impose on the Refugee Blacks a unique economy, based on a symbiosis with the coast populations in the form of piece-work or temporary wage-earning.

J.Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1929-1930) 1934
Bush Negroes
Saramacca

604 428 brothers and to his sisters' children. That is how we live here in the bush. That is how we do."

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591 When a man marries, he either arranges to take his wife to live in his own village—his mother's village—or to stay in that of his wife. Whether he chooses the one village or the other, he has to build a house there for her, and this becomes her *wosu*, her household. If he wishes, he may build two houses, one in his own village, and one in the village of his wife. Kasanya's younger brother built two houses for his first wife. One was on the lower river, next to Kasanya's own house, and the other we would reach after two days' further travel up the river.

Yet the man, explained Kasanya, if the couple were living in the village of the wife, or the woman, if their house was in his village, was not entirely at home. In one's own village a person was a *gomi*, a child of the "ground." He belonged there. But when living in another's village, even though it was that of a husband or wife, one was a [609] *wakama'*, a stranger, and if a man of the village but uttered this word "wakama'" to such an individual, the outsider had to take up his belongings and leave at once. Were the [688] stranger, in turn, to speak aloud the word "gomi," disaster would follow, for the earth spirits, having been disturbed, would be sure to take their toll.

• 594 The *wosu*—the household—is the unit of family life, whether, in its physical location, it is in one village or two villages. In it a woman lives with her husband, and here the 596 children are reared. After the wosu comes the larger family unit, the *mbe*, composed of those who have come from the [614] common womb of a more remote ancestress, while several of these larger or extended families form a clan.

"If a man has more than one wife," said Kasanya, "then 595 he makes more than one house. A man never puts two wives in the same house. It would not be good. Each woman has her own house, where she lives with her children. It must be so. The children of the first wife belong to her

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Chapter Eight

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

THE Bush Negro family is not a family in our sense of the word. In the Surinam jungle the Djuka family is polygamous and matrilineal. The unit of society is the hut, where the mother and her children live.

In order to understand the marriage customs of the Bush Negro tribes it is first necessary to forget for the time being the system of patriarchal family life under which the white men of our age live. One unconsciously takes the customs of one's own society as a norm, and passes moral judgment on exotic customs by their deviation from that norm. This habit of thinking must be avoided as far as possible in considering a primitive society, though it is difficult even for an agile mind to make dispassionately the transition from one culture in which the father is dominant, to another, in which his position is not important. On the other hand, many of our

[For caption, see Herskovits, p. 209. — Analyst]

[p. 118 is blank]

DEATH AT GANKWE

And so once more we were in Sedefo's canoe running the rapids, and once more we pulled up at the landing place. 764

It was quiet enough there, and no one passing would have noticed anything out of the ordinary in the behavior of the one or two women washing clothes at the riverside, or of the children playing about in the water. Again we climbed the path to the village, this time to the delighted shrieks of the children, whose cries brought others, until we were surrounded by a fearless, clamoring group, shouting, calling after us, "Bak'a, Ame'ica' Bak'a!" Sedefo took us to his house, where we met the senior of his two wives, and turned us over to a young man, who had played one of the drums in the ceremony of the evening before, to show us the village. This was the routine of courtesy due any visitor. Nothing more tangible than a slight reserve marked the tension which made this village different from what it would have been on any midafternoon. [596] [595] [594]

In front of the house of mourning all was quiet. Three elderly men sat on their low stools, talking in low tones. They greeted us as we passed but neither engaged us in conversation nor offered us a seat. Inside the house the small fire still smoldered, and, where the hammock had been, now crouched, soundlessly, an old woman who, we later learned, was the dead man's maternal aunt. We were struck with the number of houses that had symbols of spiritual protection over their doors—*obias*, they are called—magically treated to keep the spirits of death from harming the occupants. As we passed one doorway, a woman holding a baby hastily threw a covering over its head, but not before we saw that it had special markings of sacred white clay on its face. The child was under treatment for some illness, and the mother, in these days when spiritual danger stalked about, could take no chances of the Bakra's magic obstructing the cure. [598] [155]

On the other side of the village, farthest away from the house of death, life flowed on yet more evenly. But as we looked about, our guide stiffened, and soon we too caught the sound of the drums which rapidly became louder. He

Herskovits & Herskovits R-5 (1928-1929) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Saramaca

604 428 brothers and to his sisters' children. That is how we live here in the bush. That is how we do."

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1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SRS Bush Negroes SRS
Saramacca

family. The children of the second wife belong to the 595
family of the second wife. A woman calls her husband's other wife by the name of kamboss. Do you know what kamboss means?" he asked, laughing. "*Kamboss*—the woman who makes trouble for me. So, you see, we people of the bush learned from our ancestors to give each wife her own house, where she might live with her own children."

But not alone the woman needed to have a house of her 347
own. The man, too, built a house for himself. In it he stored 423
his possessions. It was his sanctuary. No woman might enter it. On the carving of its door, a man lavished all his [531]
love of ornamentation, all his artistry.

"A man likes to have his own house for his possessions," explained Kasanya. "If he is a rich man, it is better that his wives do not know how much he has. You know what women are. They always ask for presents. But if a man is not rich, then it is better still that his wives do not know it. If they know, they will make life hard for him with nagging. They will talk of leaving him. And all the village will know, too."

In this house, then, which a man built for his wife, the 592
children were reared. Sometimes, it is true, if the harvests 604
were poor or the father had met with ill luck, the mother's [858]
brothers would come for the children, for children are the
ones to carry on the line. It is through them that clan rank [928]
and material goods are inherited.

But if all went well with the father, then the attachments 597
of the household were the closest, and they continued even 768
after death. For the household was not entirely disrupted after the death of a parent. Unless the one who died had been a sorcerer, a leper, or a madman, the house where he lived was not torn down.

"When a man dies," Kasanya said, "the wife goes on 768
living in the house, once it has been purified. If a woman dies, then the man keeps on living there."

"What of the children?" we asked. "What becomes of them?"

village. A household was not confined to one building only, but few who were not men of rank and means had more than three. One was for the woman and her children, another for storing the crops, and the third was the man's treasure house, where women might not come. It was like the matter of wives. Only men of position could afford more than one. But if a man had two wives and both lived in his village, then perhaps five huts would bear a design identified with him on the carved side posts which outlined the low doorway. This design would recur in the various carvings he had made for his women—it was his crest. And though a man from another village, who was not related to him, might like it, and liking it copy it, this practice would be socially frowned upon.

A village quarter, however, did not contain only dwelling places, and storehouses, and men's treasure houses. Certain families also had in their part of the village an enclosed shrine for the family gods. If in a given family a powerful Vodu, or snake god, had come to an ancestress and had in a dream, or in a seizure, or through a revelation made to an obia man, chosen her as his *'asi*—his priestess or medium—then with this disclosure came the instructions for the place of locating a house of worship to that Vodu, and the type of house it was to be. Such a shrine, once erected, would be kept in the quarter, and worshiped by the members of that family. Sometimes in front of a dwelling hut, a low enclosure, the size of a small kennel, would stand a little to the side of the door. This was a house to Toné, the river spirit. In one such house lived a woman who had a great Toné god. She had the gift of prophecy. When the men gathered for a council meeting in the village of the Granman, then she, too, would sometimes be bidden to come and sit with the men, though, being a woman, she could never speak at council meetings.

"Touch her skin," the other women said, pointing out this albino woman, "and you will have your desires fulfilled."

In each quarter, too, there was an open-house where the women did their cooking, and perhaps a platform or two,

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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1 412 372 532

Chapter Eight

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

THE Bush Negro family is not a family in our sense of the word. In the Surinam jungle the Djuka family is polygamous and matrilineal. The unit of society is the hut, where the mother and her children live. 594 595 611

In order to understand the marriage customs of the Bush Negro tribes it is first necessary to forget for the time being the system of patriarchal family life under which the white men of our age live. One unconsciously takes the customs of one's own society as a norm, and passes moral judgment on exotic customs by their deviation from that norm. This habit of thinking must be avoided as far as possible in considering a primitive society, though it is difficult even for an agile mind to make dispassionately the transition from one culture in which the father is dominant, to another, in which his position is not important. On the other hand, many of our 114

1 [For caption, see Category 116, p. 204. — Analyst]

[P. 118 is blank]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

114 prejudices about sex and marriage may become less rooted by a comparison with the customs of a primitive society.

611 The Djukas, like a number of other primitive tribes, reckon
428 descent only through the female line; property rights are transmitted through the maternal side of the house. Fatherhood is a fact of relative unimportance.

●595 Polygamy is the practice. Each wife lives in a separate hut (often in a separate village), which belongs to her because her husband built it for her. A man has as many wives as he wants, or can keep. The wives get along together fairly
[152] amicably. The cancer of matrimonial jealousy characteristic of our own system, is of narrow range and effect among the Djukas.

596 The head of the family is not the father, but the mother's
604 oldest male relative—her brother or her mother's brother. *The father is technically unrelated to his children.* As a matter of biological fact he can never be sure of his paternity, whereas maternity is never in doubt. All children belong to their mother's family, and are subject to the authority of her brother or her maternal uncle. The latter is more closely related to them than any other male.

611 A group of families related through the female line con-
614 stitute a *m'beh*, and several m'beh together make up a *lo*, or clan. These groups are all reckoned through the mother. Husband and wife may belong to different m'beh and lo, but children of the union belong only to their mother's group. At
593 first sight the father seems negligible in this arrangement,
604 but it must be remembered that he is very likely the brother

/14 cont./

584 and, once this has been promised, she does indeed continue to be regarded specifically as the betrothed of the person who made the request. As soon as she is marriageable, she is handed over to her man with or without her consent, and it may be regarded as a rare case when such a promise is broken.

[431] The man to whom she is promised sometimes does not see his future wife before the occasion of her betrothal, but usually he is concerned with her upbringing and from time to time gives her presents consisting of money, pantjes, and corals.

[591] Some take the girl promised to them even when she is only three or four years old in order to rear her further.

[672] The promising of newborn girls takes place for the most part [682] when there are obligations between parents, as was reported in Chapter III, and in the case of enslavement which is done to one [567] family by another in case of poisoning, and so forth.

586 It is an everyday occurrence that a woman leaves her husband or a man his wife for another.

595 Polygyny is much practiced, and among my workers I know several who have three or four wives, most of whom are very young. Some, however, have only one wife.

It is noteworthy that all the wives sleep with the man in one hut, while in addition he perhaps keeps with him a girl whom he [513] is bringing up to be his wife. One wife will be /15/ with him in the hammock and lies with her feet at the head end of the man and the latter in turn with his feet at the head end of the women, while the other women sleep in their hammocks.

[484] If a Bush Negro goes out, be it to celebrate a festival or in order to float wood to the town, he takes all his wives with him; only in case of illness do they remain behind.

His wives get money separately, and therefore they must also separately provide for his food, so that one cooks the food in the morning, another at midday, a third in the evening, etc. [578] This way of life and their jealous nature frequently bring about household quarrels that rarely end in any way other than bloody fights.

585 Upon the conclusion of a marriage the man is obligated to 583 give the parents of the girl as a marriage portion a long, broad,

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[For additional demographic and social information, see the "Table of the Population of the Boni Villages," on pp. 479-539, category 116. Included are data on the number of children per woman, the number of deaths by age and sex, the name of the guardian (usually, but not necessarily a parent) who was responsible for raising a particular individual, personal names of the Boni, marital residence and residence changes by specific individuals, marriage practices, including polygynous unions and secondary marriages, cases of divorce, and lineage/sib affiliations of each individual.]

/140/

684 This prohibition is of a purely religious nature and does
688 not entail any social sanctions; those concerned are convinced
784 that in such a case a suprahuman sanction would strike them in the form of sickness or accident.

582 Prohibitions limiting marriage. Outside of the great interdiction,
[613] pikadu, which is attached to unions within one matrilineage and one patrilineage, two prohibitions limiting marriage are found among the Refugee Blacks, which they express thus:

[595] --I cannot have two wives at the same time in the same lineage. For example I am forbidden to marry two "sisters"
[587] at the same time, but if I break with my wife, I may marry her classificatory "sister" or any other woman of the same lineage;

[835] --I may not have relations, even passing ones, with a woman who has been married to my brother by the same mother;
[587] in particular, if my brother has just died, I shall not be able to marry his widow.

The Boni are not capable of explaining the deep reasons for these interdictions, but they interpret them as purely social
[684] and not religious prohibitions. The offender is simply threatened with being beaten.

[171] The first of these rules seems very widely accepted in Black Africa, as much in patrilineal societies as in a matrilineal system.

[171] The second of these rules is characteristic in the Akan (Agni, Baoulé) culture area and shows that the family custom of the Refugee Blacks is related much more directly to that of the Agni-Ashanti group than to that of the Dahomey.

184 One can note that this rule is exactly contrary to the
587 Saramaka custom, which obliges the widow to marry one of the
114 brothers of the dead man; this custom has been interpreted by several authors as coming from imitation of the levirate of the Jews, with which certain rebels were acquainted (it is known that among the slaveowners there were many Jews).

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584 613 The envoys, after making it known the evening before that they were coming, presented themselves at 10 o'clock in the morning in Asisi-Awara Bakka village. Present were Irma, Chitaïna's mother; Alémin (Aw.B.1, E40), actual uncle; Antonu (Aw.B.1, E47), one of the oldest of the classificatory uncles; Namu (Aw.B.1, E48), classificatory aunt; and the girl's brothers and sisters by the same mother.

Tamu took the floor, unfolding Déési's merits and stating that he had serious intentions. The eldest of the uncles declared 585 613 acceptance. Chitaïna having fled according to custom, he took her young sister Boomi, who was only five years old, by the hand and led her to Tamu, saying, "I give thee this woman." Then he took Abéni, Chitaïna's older brother, by the hand and led him to Yaana, saying, "I give thee this man."

[769] Next, tafia was poured on the ground while the ancestors were invoked in favor of the /new/ household.

The liter of tafia brought by Déési was shared symbolically in the evening among all the village inhabitants including the Afi lineage there.

585 431 For the installation of the household, since there was no more room near Irma's house to build another, the latter gave one of the two houses she possessed.

584 602 [595] Here is still another example concerning the two wives of Fintiman (Dju, F6, Boniville village).

For his first wife Mimi (K3, E156, Boniville) he sent his brother and sister by the same mother, Klémenu and Eliana, who approached Mimi's mother and her classificatory uncle Lébiman.

Fintiman had previously made sure of the agreement of his own father Malobi (Dip. I, E50), who had brought him up, of his mother Béniti, and of his uncle Diolè (Dju, E1), the eldest of the classificatory uncles.

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593 Nothing marks better the small place the conjugal bond
342 has in a man's life; imagine the torture which this forced living
461 and crowding together represent for each of these women! The
[178] Boni of today, much richer than their ancestors and better equipped with tools, are singularly lazier in building houses; no longer is anyone seen to sculpture and decorate the façades lovingly; when a man, after many recriminations, decides to build a house for his wife, he is content most of the time now with a simple shelter with plaited walls, which does not require 30 days work.

595 As we have said, each man may take as many wives as he wishes, on condition that he can supply their needs; but in practice the maintenance of a household is so heavy a load that most men have only one or two wives; only one to our knowledge
593 has three. In fact, it is contrary to custom to free oneself by
[461] paying for work which one must do for one's wife. We have
[556] never heard it said that a rich man (many of them have hundreds
[454] of thousands of francs in savings) paid money in place of a piece of work, or paid someone to do it for him. The furnishing of
[439] imported objects is particularly burdensome, especially cloth, kitchen utensils (Boni women are infatuated with aluminum
[511] objects), and occasionally jewels. The Boni conceded in 1958 that the maintenance of a wife amounted to 30 to 40 thousand
[434] francs a year at least. If one considers that a hard-working man
[511] earned about 120,000 francs a year, that he spent 30 to 40
[595] thousand francs a year for himself, that he often had /151/ in addition to provide for the needs of his aged parents and share the expenses of the festivals of the lineage, one sees that he could not have more than two wives at the same time. As for
[434] less hard-working men, who have no more than 60 to 80 thousand
[511] francs a year in ready money, they have a great deal of trouble
[586] in facing the maintenance of a single household, and many divorces have no other cause.

/151 cont./

593 Among the Refugee Blacks some very devoted couples are
[591] seen, who spend their whole lives together and who, in their old
[163] age, have completely united their destinies, living in the same house, either in the woman's village or the man's: for example, in the village of Lapé Tabiki, Butu and his wife Asamani, in 1952 aged about 70 years, together for 45 years and having had eight children. But such cases are exceptional. Besides, they
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[433] --The wife is practically entirely dependent on her hus-
[511] band; an economy based mainly on wage earning and involving a relatively high standard of living makes it impossible for most men to maintain more than one household;

[461] --Even if a man had sizable financial means at his disposal, he could scarcely maintain more than two households; for it is not acceptable, at least nowadays, for him to have done by others the customary chores: clearings, boats, house.

162 On January 1, 1958 out of 134 men over 20 years old in
595 the villages on the French bank, whose lives were well known to us, there were:

Men maintaining three households	1	1%
" " two households	18	13%
" " one household	104	77%
[589] Bachelors, widowers, or recent divorcés	11	8%
	134	100% /sic/

/151 cont./

595 Sticking to statistics, one could say that the Refugee Blacks are monogamous in the proportion of 85 per cent. But
581 it is an apparent monogamy, for unions are not stable; their
586 average duration is about ten years; in fact the Refugee Blacks are practicing polygamy over a period of time.

595 A man who takes another wife apologizes to the first and gives her a liter of tafia, asking her to live on good terms with
[586] the co-wife. A certain number of wives do not accept co-wives and get divorced.

587 Most men have had, in general, four or five wives
586 successively. Most of the time these marriages have been
163 broken by the wife. /152/

Example S... (65 years old in 1957) had at least seven wives:

-- Nanay (Dip. II)†	1 child	divorced
Baakauman (K)†	3 children	"
1 Paramaka woman	1 child dead	"
Saumè (Dip. I)	1 child	"
Paata (Boniville)	no children	"
Emma (Asisi-Aw.B.)	no children	"
Masé (K)	"	marriage extant in 1958

Kwami (50 years old in 1958) had four wives:

-- Apinda (Asisi)	no children	divorced
Saayé (Dip. I)	several children	"
Do (Lapé)	1 child dead	"
Noémi (Asisi-Aw.B.)	1 child	marriage extant in 1958

159
582 Example of the family life of G... (50 years old in 1958).
About 1935 G... married M... (Kotika), a serious-minded and
159 intelligent woman who was very attached to him. Neverthe-
837 less, about the same time he had a clandestine affair with S...,
[847] classificatory sister of M..., whom he made pregnant (abortion).

159
595 /152 cont./
[837] Since it is forbidden to have two wives at the same time in the
[613] same lineage, that produced a scandal and his uncles had to intervene so that he would not be beaten.

After that, without leaving M..., he took officially another wife, A... (Papaïston). They lived together nearly
[837] eight years, but A... began to deceive him while he was on a
[586] trip. The first time, he only threatened her; the third time he repudiated her.

[619] Again he officially took another wife, T..., a Djuka from the Tapanahoni.

[587] A year later A..., who wished she had him back, had her uncles intervene so that she might come back into his favor. G..., through deference to her uncles, accepted against his will.

Thus he found himself engaged in three unions, M...,
[586] A..., and T.... He thought this situation was leading him to ruin and sacrificed T... although he had no fault to find with her.

[586] Some time afterward A... began to deceive him again and he repudiated her once and for all.

Finally he took a last wife, B... (Asisi), by whom he had no children.

On each of these undertakings he had to submit to violent scenes by his first wife M..., who was very attached to him and would have liked to keep him for herself alone. Nevertheless, she never divorced him and did not provoke difficulties with her co-wives.

[842] He had a child by M... after more than 15 years of sterile marriage.

In 1958 G... was living with M... and B..., who got along well together. He was not looking for any more new adventures.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

604 428 brothers and to his sisters' children. That is how we live here in the bush. That is how we do."

4

591 When a man marries, he either arranges to take his wife to live in his own village—his mother's village—or to stay in that of his wife. Whether he chooses the one village or the other, he has to build a house there for her, and this becomes her *wosu*, her household. If he wishes, he may build two houses, one in his own village, and one in the village of his wife. Kasanya's younger brother built two houses for his first wife. One was on the lower river, next to Kasanya's own house, and the other we would reach after two days' further travel up the river.

Yet the man, explained Kasanya, if the couple were living in the village of the wife, or the woman, if their house was in his village, was not entirely at home. In one's own village a person was a *gomi*, a child of the "ground." He belonged there. But when living in another's village, even though it was that of a husband or wife, one was a [609] *wakama'*, a stranger, and if a man of the village but uttered this word "wakama'" to such an individual, the outsider had to take up his belongings and leave at once. Were the [688] stranger, in turn, to speak aloud the word "gomi," disaster would follow, for the earth spirits, having been disturbed, would be sure to take their toll.

594 The *wosu*—the household—is the unit of family life, whether, in its physical location, it is in one village or two villages. In it a woman lives with her husband, and here the 596 children are reared. After the wosu comes the larger family unit, the *mbe*, composed of those who have come from the common womb of a more remote ancestress, while several of [614] these larger or extended families form a clan.

"If a man has more than one wife," said Kasanya, "then 595 he makes more than one house. A man never puts two wives in the same house. It would not be good. Each woman has her own house, where she lives with her children. It must be so. The children of the first wife belong to her

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

1114 prejudices about sex and marriage may become less rooted by a comparison with the customs of a primitive society.

611 The Djukas, like a number of other primitive tribes, reckon
428 descent only through the female line; property rights are transmitted through the maternal side of the house. Fatherhood is a fact of relative unimportance.

595 Polygamy is the practice. Each wife lives in a separate hut (often in a separate village), which belongs to her because her husband built it for her. A man has as many wives as he wants, or can keep. The wives get along together fairly
[152] amicably. The cancer of matrimonial jealousy characteristic of our own system, is of narrow range and effect among the Djukas.

• 596 The head of the family is not the father, but the mother's
604 oldest male relative—her brother or her mother's brother. *The father is technically unrelated to his children.* As a matter of biological fact, he can never be sure of his paternity, whereas maternity is never in doubt. All children belong to their mother's family, and are subject to the authority of her brother or her maternal uncle. The latter is more closely related to them than any other male.

611 A group of families related through the female line con-
614 stitute a *m'beh*, and several m'beh together make up a *lo*, or clan. These groups are all reckoned through the mother. Husband and wife may belong to different m'beh and lo, but children of the union belong only to their mother's group. At
593 first sight the father seems negligible in this arrangement,
604 but it must be remembered that he is very likely the brother

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

of some other woman, and exercises authority over her children rather than over his own.

The Djuka family, then, consists of a group of people all descended from a single woman, and related to each other through the female line. Whatever family authority exists resides in the mother's or grandmother's brothers; to them the children defer; from them the children will inherit property and title. The paternity of the children is unessential. This type of social organization is called matrilineal.

We should, perhaps, not expect to find romantic love, as we know it, among the Djukas. The peculiar transports and attenuated delights of romantic passion are a rather extraordinary phenomenon which, according to Briffault, does not exist outside of Western civilization. Romance requires a high development of individuality among women so that one may be desirable above all others. Where women are mutually interchangeable, romance cannot exist. The Djuka black does not love a woman; he loves women. Love among the Djukas is not a brainstorm but a physiological release, and marriage an economic device.

The young people have complete knowledge and some experience of sex at an extremely early age and are usually married at sixteen or seventeen. They are fairly promiscuous before marriage and extremely so afterward. This, again according to Briffault, is the rule in tribes retaining the matrilineal tradition. Since intercourse before marriage is a practice that the Djukas make little effort to restrain, sex is a common affair, not particularly connected with marriage.

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[For further information concerning the lineage/sib organization and membership of the Boni, with associated data on age, sex, and ethnic affiliations, see the genealogical charts on pp. 542-575, category 116.]

/20 cont./

613 591 We have said that the recently founded lineages, being of only very small size, cannot constitute a distinct social unit and are placed under the authority of one of the lo heads. That is not a condition imposed by force or any moral coercion whatever, but a practical social necessity. A lineage, reduced in numbers though it may be, keeps in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks imprescriptible collective rights; and if these members agree to group in a separate village and work separate soil, nobody will stand in their way.

128 613 614 115 829 Such are the elements which stand out after a first study of the kin groups as it can be deduced from interrogating the heads of these units. It leaves unresolved some important problems:

The Boni have the idea that their kin group are lineages in the real sense of the term. Nevertheless, questioning on genealogies does not permit all to /21/ go back to the founding ancestress. Three of them, the most important numerically, prove in this respect to be divided into several fractions. Can we be sure that these fractions are actually of the same origin and that the people concerned are not deceiving themselves in believing it? In the social structure of the Refugee Blacks are there no mechanisms leading toward assimilation, to fusion of groups of heterogeneous origin?

We cannot answer these questions directly. First of all it is indispensable to study the conception that the Boni have of kinship ties within the matrilineage. Then we shall examine the genealogical tables of the various lineages, and for those that the study of genealogies shows to be divided into several fractions, we shall study the interrelations of these fractions.

601 613 Kinship within the matrilineage: The kinship terms translate a purely classificatory system. The principle of classificatory kinship

/21 cont./

601 613 has been pushed by the Refugee Blacks to its extreme limit without any attenuation. Everything turns on the number of generations separating from the founding ancestress. Age does not come into it. The fact of belonging to an older or younger branch with respect to such-and-such an ancestress does not come into it, either. The custom of the Refugee Blacks is hostile to any discrimination which could lead to a scission of the lineage.

At the same number of generations from the foundress, they call one another uniformly brother, baala, or sister, sisa, without consideration of age or degree of relationship. Absolutely no nuance exists in the language to differentiate the brother proper from the brother in the classificatory sense.

The people closest to the foundress of a generation are uniformly called uncles, tiyu, or aunts, tiya.

601 602 613 The thinking of the Refugee Blacks on the subject of kinship centers above all around knowledge of those ties which can be called horizontal; they consider them as ties in fact which they were taught in early childhood, and few of them worry about knowing the exact origin of them. It is enough for them to know that N... is their brother and M..., their uncle. Knowledge of the genealogies remains the province of the most wide-awake minds; the others take no heed. [814]

602 613 614 This conception of kinship permits the maintenance of the unity of a lineage even when the genealogical ties are forgotten and when the group is in this respect cut into several fractions. The members of the lineage can be unaware of this fractioning, as we have observed in several cases.

[601] Thus in Figure 3 (fictitious example), Adam knows he must call Baïna brother, Afanis uncle, and Sota nephew.

[104] That is why we use the term extended lineage to translate the word baa (1).

[See category 116, P. 31--Analyst]

/21 cont./

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1. This conception of kinship is also found among the Agni of the Ivory Coast and the Fon of Dahomey; it may be widespread in Black Africa, especially in populations with matrilineal filiation.

601 /22/ This conception, associated with that of the kunu, con-
602 flicts with the fractioning of lineages on the religious plane, even
613 when a scission has taken place on the plane of residence. The
614 rigor of the principle laid down, the quasi-mathematical trans-
204 mission from one generation to the next of appellations based on
571 rank relative to the foundress, prohibits the thought that elements foreign to the lineage can be integrated into this system by any process whatever. Nevertheless, a doubt remains as to the possibility of assimilating fragments with paternal kinship, for in paternal kinship the same principle of classificatory kinship rules, and the same appellations are used. We shall show that such a process of assimilation actually exists on the social plane, but that it is inconceivable on the religious plane, the kunu always being transmitted by the mother. /Fig. 3 appears here./

602 Knowledge of genealogical ties is very variable from one
613 lineage to another. Outside of the great splits like Dipélu I-Dipélu
614 II, we have demonstrated that small fractions of several lineages could no longer be attached to the main trunk, the genealogical ties being irremediably lost. The people concerned had never realized this; they had never wondered about it. This was the case particularly:

—With Samma's descendants (Dipélu II, Asisi);

—With the group of Atili's descendants (Lapé, Boniville).

[178] In both cases the split was very recent; old men dead for only a few years knew the genealogical ties now lost.

/22 cont./

613 Situation of the lineages in 1958.

[643] The Dikan lineage, whose head is the grand man of the Boni, has practically died out, since it is comprised of only Grand Man Difu; upon his death it will totally disappear (1).

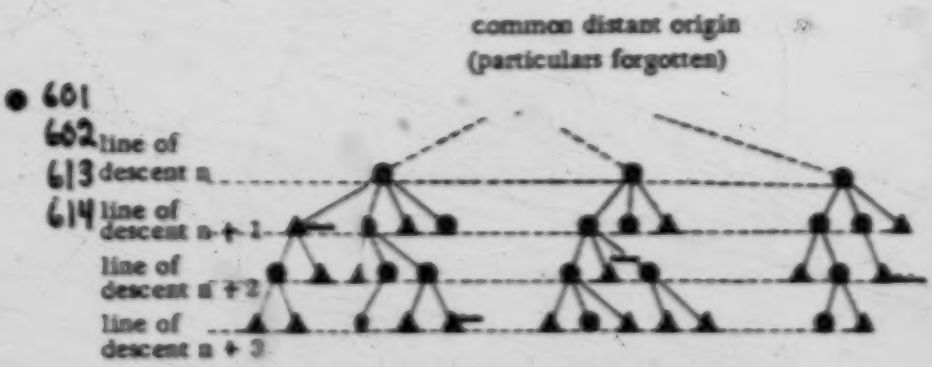

Fig. 3. Extended matrilineage.

613 184 174 1. Note that a Dikan lo exists among the Djuka: the separation of the Dikan-Djuka and the Dikan-Boni is necessarily anterior to the battles of 1793, which shows the ancientnes of these groups.

621 613 571 For two generations the various lineages have delegated some of their members /23/ to the grand man to conserve a certain importance for his village. Thus Agodé (Boniville) now includes fragments of the Kotika, Dipélu, Lapé, Dju, and Papaïton lineages, forming that many individualized small quarters in the village.

/23 cont./

613 614 Not one of the members of the group could trace back to the common ancestress; yet these three fractions together behave as a single lineage. All its members know their mutual appellations "brother," "uncle," etc. All are subject to the same kunu. [601] [784]

The law of exogamy is respected within each fraction, but there are seven cases of unions between members of different fractions; these unions are disapproved of in principle, but they are tolerated. 613 614 512 113

Thus, on the subject of exogamy, we see the thought of the Refugee Blacks breaks away from the rigorous principle on which their social order is based. It is the actually known genealogy which counts in their eyes on this point.

613 614 128 115 601 In December, 1958 we were able to reconstitute the complete genealogy of the group (Fig. 4) thanks to the memories of the doyenne of the group, Ma Imma, who had lived for a very long time isolated in a village of the Maroni estuary. The data thus reconstituted are in complete agreement with the kinship appellations among members of the various fractions. /24/

/Fig. 4 appears here./

The case of the Kotika lineage is thus particularly interesting, for we find ourselves knowing its genealogy completely when its members know it no more than partially.

613 614 602 Study of this group shows that the forgetting of kinship ties has no effect on the physical grouping of the lineage and its functioning as a social unit.

It has direct repercussions only on the observation of the principle of exogamy. Thus the way in which exogamy is understood and observed appears to us from now on as a secondary criterion having no certain value for the recognition of a common origin.

[621] Some Djuka and Saramaka have settled among the members of the Kotika lineage, but as individuals.

[621] The Lapé (La Paix) lineage, whose name alludes to one of the great plantations of the Cottica River in the 18th century, is

[See p. 34, Category 116 -- Analyst]

/25 cont./

613 Among the Dju there is no fraction separated from the principal group.

[184] There is also a Dju lo among the Djuka. The word Dju alludes to the Jews, the lineage probably having been born in the plantations belonging to the Jews of Surinam.

The law of exogamy is rigorously applied within the Dju lo.

No element of heterogeneous origin is established among the Dju.

613 614 621 The Dipélu lineage was the most important in the past; from the point of view of genealogy it is split up into three groups whose members are scattered in three villages, subject to different authorities.

Genealogy		Villages
Dipélu I		l'Enfant Perdu Apatu (founded in 1882)
Dipélu II. 1st fraction Dipélu II. 2nd fraction	very recent scission	Kormotibo some elements in Asisi.

613 —Dipélu I forms a unit remarkable for the amplitude of its genealogy, completely known, which extends over eight generations and goes back to a common ancestress named Sanyan, who must have lived in the middle of the 18th century. The common [174] origin of the two groups being necessarily anterior to this ancestress, it seems logical to make it go back to the beginning of the 18th [601] century. In spite of the remoteness in time of their common origin, the members of both groups know with precision their "horizontal" kinship ties (brother, uncle, etc.), which have lost

613 /25 cont./
[601] nothing of their strength although they have lost all correspondence with the age of the people concerned.

614 —Dipélu II, whose members know their genealogy badly,
571 appears on the contrary to be on the way toward breaking up. The head of the Dipélu II, who bears the title of captain, resides
[578] at Kormotibo. Part of the group settled in Asisi following a disagreement, without ceasing to be under his authority.

614 One might think that the physical separation of the two
602 groups took place as a function of the genealogies, that the 2nd
571 fraction of Dipélu II emigrated as a single group to Asisi, leaving in Kormotibo the members of the 1st fraction. But this is not the case at all; examination of the genealogical table shows that the emigrant group issues as much from one as from the other; this is a very remarkable aspect of the social structure of the Refugee Blacks, which proceeds directly from their conceptions of classificatory kinship. A man is "at home" wherever his classificatory "brothers" and "uncles" live, and if a physical separation occurs in the group, preferences and personal affinities will have as much influence as closeness of kinship. /26/

613 Three generations ago, Dipélu was only one group under
614 the leadership of a single head residing in Kormotibo. The process
591 of its breaking up is a beautiful example of what Europeans produce
199 by interfering in the social life of an African tribe in order to pick out a man who appears to them more intelligent and active than the others.

[554] The companion of the explorer Crevaux, Apatu, who be-
[621] longed to this group, was on his return covered with honors, en-
[578] dowed with the title of captain and with pay; he conflicted with the legitimate head of the lo, seceded, and founded a village on the outskirts of Saint-Laurent, taking with him a fraction of the group.

/26 cont./

613 621 of the Papaïston lo. It is generally designated by "Toïna's family," Toïna being the doyenne of the group.

613 614 [621] The Awara Bakka lineage (Asisi village) has a more complex and particularly interesting structure. Study of its genealogy shows that it is in fact divided into three fractions which we shall call Aw.B.1, Aw.B.2, Aw.B.1 /misprint for Aw.B.3 -- Tr./. The Aw.B.1 know /27/ their genealogy perfectly back to an ancestress named Akyé, great-great-grandmother of the centenarian Kuluba († 1957). Akyé must have lived toward the end of the 18th century.

613 614 571 [621] Awara Bakka 3 is a paternally related fragment which was "assimilated" to the principal group by a process of which several other examples exist among the Boni. It was founded by Anéta, a Djuka woman originally from the village of Tabiki on the Tapanaoni, wife of Pèèyon (Aw.B.1), who remained there with her numerous descendants after the death of her husband.

The members of this group, who should normally be regarded as Djuka and outsiders to the lo, end up by being engulfed in the social organization and ancestor worship of the Awara Bakka. The [601] daughters of Anéta and Pèèyon were called "sisters" by the Aw.B.1 by reason of patrilineal relationship. These appellations were [784] transposed for their descendants to the point where many ended by losing their true origin from sight; but the Aw.B.3 keep a separate religious and legal responsibility and are subject to their own kunu, that of the Djuka village of Tabiki from which came their ancestress.

613 614 704 As a matter of fact, as we shall show by studying the beliefs of the Boni, the kunu is irremediably transmitted by the mother and no process of assimilation has any effect on this. Thus the Aw.B.3 are not really part of the lineage; they are separated from it by a clear criterion, obvious in the eyes of all, impossible to disregard or forget.

614 /31 cont./
769 Another very important principle in the minds of the Refugee
796 Blacks is that prayers must be collective; the pincipal ceremonies,
613 such as the New Year's prayer, must bring togeher, at least in principle, the total lineage.

These notions certainly have influenced the custom of the
182 Refugee Blacks with respect to residence and marriage. The lineage
613 cannot allow the permanent departure of a woman from her native
614 country any more than that of a man. In the populations of Black
591 Africa with matrilineal filiation, this conception is reconciled
[171] with the necessities of practical living in the following manner: the wife leaves her relatives to settle down with her husband, but when her children reach adulthood they must return there. Thus one cannot attribute to this preoccupation alone the special system of marriage among the Refugee Blacks, which does not involve the permanent cohabitation of man and wife. We shall see that this system was inspired by social and psychological necessities. But concern for the unity of the lineage, to which it corresponds perfectly, has surely contributed to make of it a rigorous principle of customary law.

● 601 Kinship within the matrilineage. The kinship terms translate a
613 purely classificatory system. It depends only on the number of generations separating from the foundress. The sons of women
611 descended from the foundress in uterine line are regarded as members of the matrilineage and united in the system of appellation. The children of these men are no longer part of the matrilineage.

601 /31 cont./
613

Baala, (brother)	brothers and sisters in the classificatory sense. Persons separated from the foundress by the same number of generations.
Sisa, (sister)	
Tiyu, tiya, (uncle, aunt)	persons nearer to the foundress by one generation.
Gaãta, gaãma (grandfather, grandmother)	persons nearer to the foundress by two generations.
Avo (great-grandmother)	women nearer to the foundress by three generations.
Sisa pikin (nephews)	persons farther from the foundress by one generation.

/32/ In a general fashion, a man situated on line n calls uncles and aunts all those situated on line n-1, and nephews all who are on line n+1.

601 Example (see genealogical table of the Dju lo): Fintimah
602 (F7) considers Aliki (E23) (his relative in the 9th degree) as his
613 aunt, for the same reason as Wima (E3), sister of his mother. Likewise, he considers Sosoman (E14), as well as Atikati (E18), as his uncle, although Sosoman is [illegible] years younger than he. He assumes that Sosoman can to a certain extent give him advice and that his opinion is preponderant over his own.

He considers Aluta (F37), his relative in the 10th degree, as his brother for the same reason as Klementi, his brother proper. Paana (G2), Kewenu (G10) as well as Soalufu (G42) are his nephews and nieces, sisa pikin.

At one generation more, he says "my grandchildren."

/32 cont./

601 613 571 [163] The very rigor of this principle seems to have to lead to a scission of the lineages, for one can hardly conceive that people will be willing to address girls younger than themselves as "my grandmother" and show them respect; now that must necessarily be the case at the end of a certain number of generations, for as we shall see, the fecundity of Boni women sometimes lasts up to the age of 50, and there are cases where the interval between the oldest and youngest child reaches 35 years.

Nevertheless, we have not actually observed that this conception of kinship leads to scissions or even to serious clashes.

That derives from the very nature of the hierarchy and the social ties within the matrilineage; they entail a collective tutelage by one generation over the next, and in the same way a collective tutelage by the ancestors over the living. But for the same reason that every prayer, every invocation addressed individually to such-and-such an ancestor is avoided, the hierarchy of the Refugee Blacks does not give rise to relationships of authority between one man and another, which would not be tolerated. Only the hedemI, or captain, designated by the assembly of the lineage, exerts a personal authority; even so, he is careful to limit it almost exclusively to religious functions.

604 613 "Uncles" exert collectively an authority over the generation of "nephews." They meet in council, especially on the question of marriages. They do not vote, strictly speaking, but the opposition of three or four of them prevents the carrying out of a project. There is no preponderant voice for the closest uncles (yet in practice this seems to be taken into account). But the eldest of the uncles in the classificatory sense is unanimously recognized as preponderant.

602 784 428 Existence of patrilineages. Matrilineages are not the only kin groups of the Refugee Blacks. Each one receives from his father a fundamental interdiction -- bwasi kina -- which he will have

/33 cont./

602 Patrilineal relationships have other important incidences which we shall bring to light in speaking of Boni beliefs. From the point of view of social structure, let us note:

[182] — That patrilineal relationship has no influence upon residence or organization of material living;

[582] — That the law of exogamy which it involves has only slight influence on the freedom of choice of couples; because of the relatively large number of patrilineages.

[601] As far as the ties of patrilineal kinship are known (in general people do not go beyond their grandfather), the same kinship terms are used as in the matrilineage, with the same classificatory value.

601 613 Appellations. We have seen that within the matrilineage the kinship appellations depend only on the number of generations with respect to the foundress.

Speaking familiarly, they use for addressing:

— People of the same generation, the expression	ba So-and-so... (man) sa So-and-so (woman)
— — of one generation above, the expression	tiyu, uncle tiya, aunt
— — of two generations above, the expression	papa mama.

[192] /34/ *Papa does not mean father, but ancient, honorable.* Likewise, mama means aged and respectable woman.

For example, to say good day they will say, according to the case, ba So-and-so, ɔdio, or tiyu, ɔdio.

[551] In speaking to people one generation below, they say mati (comrade) or call them by their name without any other appellation, which would be considered very insolent in addressing their "brothers" or "uncles."

/34 cont./

601 In speaking to one's mother, one uses a special expression, often formed of ma followed by the last syllable of her name.

For example, Asakundu (Lapé lo) is called Ma Ndu or Mama Ndu by her sons. Béniti (Dju lo, †1955) was called Ma Béniti or Anti by her children.

601 602 The appellations relating to patrilineage are exactly the same except for mi ta, my father. But as these patrilineages have no practical social function, being limited to the transmission of an interdiction, the kinship ties are not known beyond the second generation and people bother very little with them.

601 When one addresses someone of a different lineage one uses, in deference, the same terms whether the person being addressed appears to be the same age or older. This is particularly clear for old people who are uniformly called papa and mama. For people of about one's own age, if one knows them well one says ba So-and-so /male/ or sa So-and-so /female/. For men one does not know well one often uses masa So-and-so (masa = Mr.). The Boni are quite punctilious in this respect. It is very disagreeable to them to be called directly by their name; their European employers have the custom of speaking to them thus; they accept it on their part but not without reticence.

551 648

601 Special appellations result from marriage; the terms used are reciprocal:

Pay designates the relationship between father-in-law, son-in-law or daughter-in-law.

May — the relationship between mother-in-law, son-in-law.

Soagi — the relationship between brothers-in-law.

X Enga mi pay means "X is my father-in-law" as well as "X is my son-in-law."

As a general rule a man calls soagi all those whom his wife calls brothers in the classificatory sense, and pay all whom she calls uncles. But the term may is used only with respect to the wife's own mother.

/34 cont./

601 They continue to use the terms soagi, pay, may even after the break-up of a marriage, so that they are in frequent usage. As for the woman herself, they say sa So-and-so in speaking to her, as to a sister.

581 Marriage. The conceptions of the Refugee Blacks on this subject are remarkable. Marriage in the African sense of the term, understood as a contract between two groups of relatives, does not exist among them. The union of the man and woman does not involve any sort of contract between their groups of relatives and consequently entails no matrimonial compensation. /35/ The Refugee Blacks are the only African Negro population to our knowledge whose customs do not involve any form of "dowry" either in money or in kind.

581 583

587 Family life in the sense that we understand it does not exist; as we shall see further on, marriage is forbidden between people of the same lineage, which implies that the husband and wife live in different villages. The man builds a house for his wife in her native village, but he does not come to live with her; he makes visits of several days to her as to his other wives, in the course of which he furnishes her with the imported objects (salt, kerosene, cloth, etc.) she needs, lends her his aid for heavy chores, while, for her part, she turns over to him the products of the clearing. The rest of the time he lives as a bachelor in his mother's village where he builds his own house. If he is very attached to his wife, he can come to reside with her and can even succeed without great difficulty in bringing her to live in his own village; but few couples take advantage of this option, for the man and wife prize their independence above everything else.

62 591 593 [439]

593 The life of the man and of the wife remain entirely separate and their union has more the character of a temporary association founded on material interests than that of a marriage; the family life of each one remains entirely centered around his or her matrilineage.

[613]

/55 cont./

593 This organization, compared with what is found in the greater part of Africa, is very advantageous for the wife, who [581] enjoys total independence. But against this she has great instability of unions.

581 601 The union of man and woman has so little of the character of a marriage that in the Boni language no word exists which means, strictly speaking, "husband" or "wife." They say: mi iibi anga X = "I live with So-and-so.

194 591 How has the social and matrimonial system of the Refugee Blacks been set up? One could believe that one of the systems of Western Africa was purely and simply transposed, but this is not the case at all. In this domain as in that of beliefs, the ancestors of the Refugee Blacks elaborated an original synthesis out of numerous sources.

The African nations from which the rebels issued were certainly, in large part if not in the majority, patrilineal. This is especially the case of the Fon of Dahomey, from whom have been borrowed important cultural elements, especially the principal cults of possession. The matrilineal ones all conceded patrilocal residence, that is, the wife's leaving her village and settling in her husband's village.

[195] The 18th-century rebels, the archives attest, included a heavy percentage of "salt-water Negroes," born on African soil; such, for example, was Codio Conomantin, one of Boni's lieutenants; those who had not been born in Africa had, for the most part, been instructed in an African tradition by a father or uncle. One can be sure that once having attained freedom they sought to organize their villages according to the family custom by which they had been brought up, that is, to set up, some a patrilineal and patrilocal society, others a matrilineal society /36/ but with [643] patrilocal residence. We know for example that Boni had chosen his son Agosu as his successor.

/42/

125 The name of each individual is printed in boldface type
128 once where he can be considered as habitually residing.
162 Children under 15 are considered as living with the persons responsible for their education. If it was not possible to obtain accurate information about this, they are considered as living with their mother.

Each listing bears a number, for example Dju D7, making it possible to find again the individual's place in the genealogical table. In the example noted, refer to the table of the Dju lineage, line D, no. 7.

601 Genealogical tables. These are of unequal value according to the
128 age and the memory of the old people consulted. In general
(115) they go back to three generations beyond the oldest of the old men now alive.

(165) Since the Boni show remarkable longevity, and the average difference in age between two generations can be estimated at 31 years, one can assume as probable that the most distant ancestress known of each lineage was born between the middle and the end of the 18th century. For example, if we assume that
(613) Kuisha, the ancestress of the Awara Sikka, was about 100 years old in 1956, we can take for granted that she was born about 1856 and that her great-grandmother was born about 1760.

613 The most ancient ancestress known of each lineage is certainly not the foundress. It is infinitely probable that the founding of these groups goes back to the beginning of the 18th century and that they were born on the same plantations where the ancestors of the Refugee Blacks were slaves; this would explain the names borne by the lineages, names which nearly always allude to a plantation or to a slave-owner.

601 In a general way, the memory of the Boni is very sure,
128 and the information given in the form: Ma X... begot So-and-so,

/42 cont./

601 128 So-and-so, and So-and-so, can be regarded as sure. On the other hand, we have considered that there was a break in the genealogy when, going back in time, we arrived at this single datum: Ma X... was the sister of Ma Y...., for it could be a question of kinship in the classificatory sense.

No form of birthright existing among the Boni, there is some uncertainty about the order of birth of brothers and sisters for persons long dead. We have adopted the order kept by oral tradition without trying to rectify it.

613 814 829 In many African populations a special tradition is connected with perpetuating the memory of the founder, at least his name, the place of his grave. With the present-day Boni absolutely nothing like this is found; they are not concerned in any way with the true founders of their lineage; no memory, no legend, not even a name has come down to them. It even seems as though these distant ancestors interest them little because they are less able to act in behalf of their present-day descendants. Indeed, with each new generation the memory of an ancient one dies out. 193 [126] On our first trip in 1948 we called attention, unfortunately without noting them down precisely, to /43/ very interesting oral traditions going back to the time of slavery, especially the names of the slave-owners who showed themselves to be the most cruel. In [814] 1952 the last old man who knew them had died; the very memory of what he had said was already effaced.

829 602 As a matter of fact, Boni thought, strictly practical and utilitarian, is concerned principally with keeping the memory of the part of the genealogy indispensable to the living to know their kinship ties. Memory of women whose posterity has died out and of men who did nothing remarkable is dead from the second generation on.

114 613 Since none of the travelers of the 19th century understood the importance of taking genealogies, it is probable that the names

/43 cont./

114 of the tree foundersers and the circumstances of the formation of
43 the lineages (invaluable information which must still have been present in the memory of the old men at the end of the last century) are lost forever.

128 In order to simplify the drawing up of the genealogical
601 tables, we have eliminated individuals deceased before adult age.

128 Names. To insure the necessary anonymity to our informants
551 without diminishing the accuracy of the statement, we have
601 changed a large part of the names. The fictitious names under
162 which individuals are designated in the genealogical tables as
[101] well as in the inventory of the population were mostly taken from the Djuka, who belong to the same cultural and linguistic group; in other cases, in order "to figure" the census we used a more complex process consisting in exchanging the names of two persons. Children younger than 15 are designated simply by an initial (1).

[048] 1. It is particularly disagreeable to the Refugee Blacks to have their children's names known by Europeans, with the exception of the doctor. All systematic questioning on this subject runs into clear hostility.

[123]

114 Despite these precautions, we recommend that travelers
609 provided with this work make no allusion in front of the Boni to the facts related in it; the Refugee Blacks are very proud and cannot allow an outsider to penetrate forthwith into their family privacy. That would provoke lively hostility toward the indiscreet person and would hinder later work.

114 The table of correspondence between true and fictitious
128 names is held at the disposal of sociologists who may wish to conduct studies on the Boni.

/124 cont./

551 [199] --African names (Muna, Kodyo, Kofi, Akuba, Afiba, etc.), most of them apparently coming from the west coast of Africa.

[553] --Some Indian names: Omiikan, Palké. This last name had been given to a young man of Asisi by his great-uncle in memory of an Indian chief with whom he was very closely connected;

--Names of plants, animals, or ordinary objects, either in taki-taki or in French:

Ex.: Kapachi (armadillo), Aguti (agouti, a rodent), Babun (red monkey), Kwata (South American spider monkey), Chii (seed), Maisi (maize), Tutu (bamboo), Sépina (épinards, "spinach"), Polimichi (small portable stove), Balansi (balance), Tambour /drum/, Kédé (chest, box), Mandolina (mandolin), Kokoti (tattooing), Gounkaala (blue bead), Klarinèt (clarinet), Alapu (arrow), Bisiklèt /bicycle/, Tomobil /automobile/, etc.;

[199] --European words whose meaning is more or less understood but which sound agreeable to the ears of the Refugee Blacks:

Ex.: Manifèst, Komisèr (commissioner), Nètwayé (netoyé, "cleaned"), Machinn (machine);

551 601 --Kinship terms or terms of social relations, associated often with a qualifier:

Ex.: Maman (mother), Baakamaman (black mother), May (mother-in-law), Pikin pay (little son-in-law), Pikin baala (little comrade), Bachi (master), Michi (young lady), Baakamichi (young black lady), etc.

551 --Expressions relating generally to the child's characteristics during its first months:

Ex.: Kundu mofu (little mouth), Kundu uman (short woman), Alébiédé (red head), Alobikyé (he likes to cry), Alobilafu (he likes to laugh), Koouman (cold woman), Amoyuman (pretty woman), Damiuman (dancer), Hafukii (half dead), etc.;

551 579 --Names alluding to a virtue, but this is pure fancy; we must not believe that they attempt in that way to make it enter the child. One sees Séyéuman (serious woman), Abété

/128 cont./

593 One of the commonplaces of ethnographic literature is
152 the feeling of frustration that the father would experience in a
429 matrilineal system when he is separated from his children. Thoughts heard every now and then could allow one to believe in the existence of such a feeling among the Refugee Blacks. For example Baïna, of Asisi village, tells us one day with bitterness: "I have had eight children, all living, and I have been given only one to bring up." But this is only a pretense. No Refugee Black thinks seriously of bringing up the five or six children he has had in the course of his life by three or four
[464] different women. Besides, this would be materially impossible for him, considering the mode of life of the Refugee Blacks and the necessity for the adult men to move ceaselessly in search
[163] of paid work. For example, by encouraging Baïna to tell the basis for his thought, it was not difficult to understand that he would have liked to raise two or three of his eight children (born of four different women), the ones he loved for subjective reasons; the others scarcely interested him and it was all the same to him whether they were brought up here or there.

429 In reality the paternal feeling of the Refugee Blacks is a
152 rather subjective thing; raising a son or a nephew is the same in
[601] their eyes. The same paternal feeling will develop, and in both cases they will say "my son" and "my father."

593 Mothers give their children to be raised with the greatest
429 of ease, especially within the lineage.

[163] For example Eliana (Dju, F8), about 45 years old in 1957, who had nine living children, was raising only four:

△ Alibi	1937	raised by his father Matapi (Asisi-Aw.B.);
△ Doni	1939	raised by his maternal grandmother Béniti (Dju, E5);
○ Aguba	1940	raised by Lènga (F36), Eliana's classificatory sister (tenth-degree kinship);
△ A...	1943	raised by his father Yusu (Papalston);

/134 cont./

429 Until very recent times the authority of the guardian had
561 remained very strong and was prolonged very late; he had the
[861] right to strike his ward to make him obey, and he exercised his
[582] powers until the time when, judging the child's education finished, he authorized him to marry, which formerly seldom happened before 25-27 years.

Fintiman (of Boniville), about 50 years old in 1958, tells that his father, entrusted with his upbringing, did not authorize him to marry before he was completely established as a carpenter and boat-builder, at about the age of 27. Until that age he remained subject to the most tyrannical authority; his father intended especially to forbid him to go out in the evening, and in order to carry on a clandestine affair he had to use nocturnal fishing expeditions as a pretext!

429 When a boy's guardian judges his education finished, he
884 helps him to build his house and gives him tools, a trunk containing clothes, and a hammock. Henceforward the boy must make his own way in life.

429 All during his lifetime he will continue to show the greatest
576 respect to the person who raised him and often, speaking of that
601 person, he will say: "my father" or "my mother."

601 When a Refugee Black says in the course of a conversation, "My father used to do this," he often means the man who brought him up; if he wishes to speak of his true father, he will say, "My own father who made me." Likewise when he says "My
[128] grandfather," he usually means a great-uncle. This confusion
[114] makes research on family life risky as long as one does not
[593] possess any census by names; apparently it has led several authors into error, making them believe that among the Refugee Blacks the father brings up his children himself, when this is on the contrary the exception.

/134 cont./

429 The guardian continues to have a certain power all his life over his ward become adult. He is the conciliator to whom one applies first if there is any complaint about his ward.

This power of conciliation is bequeathed by the guardian at his death, as is the guardianship itself.

593 613 152 Role of the mother. For the Refugee Blacks, the sacred tie is pre-eminently the one which attaches them to their mother and through her to the ancestors of the lineage. It is manifested with respect to the mother by a delicate and deep feeling of affection which applies also, less directly, to the close relatives on the maternal side and to all the members of the lineage. It is not idly that within the lineage the men call one another brothers; the obligations /135/ they have toward one another are accepted by all with joy, and each tries his best to fulfill them, for he transposes to them the sentiment of love which he feels toward his mother.

[601]

184 592 593 The term matriarchy has often been used wrongly with regard to the Refugee Blacks, letting people believe that the woman exercises authority there; this is an error, the woman does not enter their councils and from a political point of view does not exist in their eyes; the woman has influence and authority only as mother, and over her own children.

593 The mother's authority remains very great over her sons after they have become men; none of them will undertake an important enterprise or leave for a long trip without consulting his mother; if she is absolutely opposed to the project, he will scarcely dare go on with it. We heard in December, 1952 a man of 45, M...., serious and intelligent, say to us with regret: "I would certainly go with you as far as Cayenne, but my mother does not wish it."

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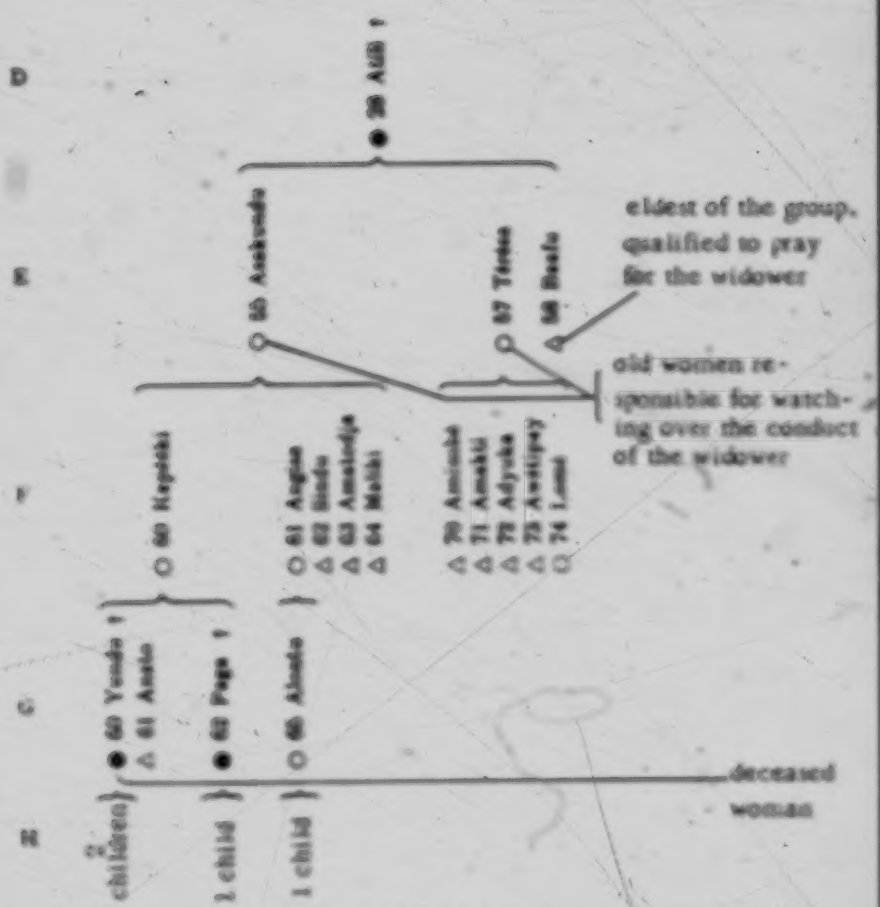


Fig. 24. Genealogy of the Lapé 2 fraction. Functions resulting from Yundu's death.

/187 cont./

765 Since there is no spouse in mourning (Béniti had been divorced for a long time), the ceremony stops there.

Then those present scatter in the village, go to dance, eat, and drink at one another's houses. They have the satisfied air of people who have just done an important job successfully.

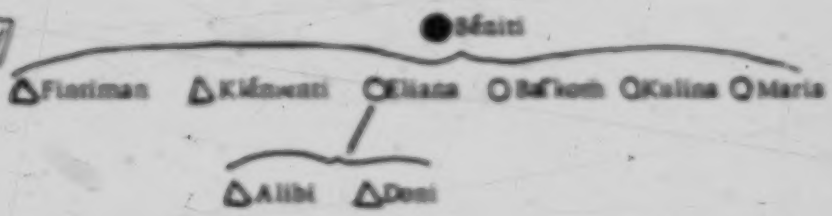
[602] On the seventh day an intimate ceremony brings together Béniti's children and grandchildren in her daughter Kulina's house, where she died. After an offering of food, they weep and lament a last time. Then Fintiman, her elder son, repeats the formula of separation:

"We have done with you; stay where God has put you."

Lifting of mourning for Béniti. Division of expenditures. Béniti belonged to the fraction of the Dju lineage settled in [613] Boniville; the principal weight of the mourning therefore had [621] to be borne by that fraction, the other (the one in Asisi) bringing a symbolic contribution.

Béniti left two sons and two adult grandsons:

[601]



/188/ Actually the elder son Fintiman paid half the expense himself, the younger son being ill and without regular resources. No contribution in money is asked of the women, [631] who must, on the other hand, draw substantial amounts from their rice stock.

PARENTS, CHILDREN, AND GRANDCHILDREN

Soon our men, too, began to stir, and, as we came out of our hammocks, Bayo and Angita entered the clearing. They were just now returning from the dance at Pa'aba.

"*A-yo, a baya kobi*—Yes, they danced hard," Bayo told us. "Obia came strong."

With Angita was a man we had not seen before, holding a small child by the hand.

"This is Awingu, my brother-in-law," said Angita in explanation. "His eyes trouble him. I brought him to you for medicine."

After the exchange of courtesies demanded by the visit, we turned to the child.

"Is this your child, Awingu?" we asked.

His answer came promptly. "No, he is not my child. He is my wife's child. I made him."

Here was a fine distinction. He made him, but the child was not his.

Just then our cook came up with a small present for the child, but, since he would not take it from his hands or ours, Angita gave it to him.

"Thank you, father," he said to Angita.

Angita looked down affectionately at the youngster. "Two, three years more, Awingu, and he will be ready to go and live with his father at Gankwe. Do you remember your father at Gankwe? It was he who showed you how to make a gun from a reed. And you made it well. . . ."

There appeared, then, to be yet another father, for it was clear that Angita was not speaking of himself when he referred to the Gankwe father who had shown the child how to make a play gun.

All this, in itself, however confusing to a visitor, is by no means an unusual phenomenon. Different peoples have their own sanctions for establishing kinship and their own designations for relationships. In the city we had been told many tales of the manner of life of these Negroes of the bush. And the "matriarchate," as the custom of counting descent through the mother was termed, had often come up when these people were being discussed.

REBEL DESTINY

611 602 "Among them only the mothers count, because among savages, who can tell who the real father is? That is why a child calls many men 'father,'" we had heard variously explained and elaborated.

Yet here was a man who said without hesitation, "No, he is not my child. He is my wife's child. I made him." And the very next instant the child called Angita father, and Angita referred to still another man as the father who would in a few years take the child with him to live and train him for manhood.

Any number of questions came to our minds, but at daybreak a stranger coming to the planting ground of a village not his own is the least willing of talkers.

"This is not your child, Awingu," we took the occasion to remark when we were saying goodbye, "yet he seems to like you very much."

"*Ma, tyo! Ma Neng'e!*—Mother of all Negroes! What would you have? I am his father!"

The man showed by his amused expression that this was a story to carry back to his village. Only the politeness due a stranger kept Awingu and Angita from laughing aloud at this strange question. But Awingu was a thoughtful fellow. "Tell me," he said, after a while, "in your white man's country, don't children care for their fathers?"

2

602 But there were not only multiple fathers, as the story told in the city ran. The matter was not disposed of so simply as that. In point of fact, each person seemed to have several mothers as well. Take the case of Angita himself, whose brother-in-law we met at dawn in the provision ground. Angita was first pointed out to us by Tita, who, behind her back, was called Mother Snake. It was at Gankwe when we came to see the dancing for the dead Zimbi.

"Look," she had said, as she indicated one of the principal dancers who wore seed rattles at his ankles. "This is

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Angita. He dances well. He is my son." And she had showed her pleasure at our appreciation of his excellent dancing. 602.●

The following day Angita came to our camp, bringing with him Kutai, a woman of about Tita's age. He left to go farther upstream for a time, but she remained with us and sat and talked with the others who were standing about, as they discussed the wood carvings we were in the act of buying.

"Have you seen Angita's carvings?" she asked us. "He is one of the best young carvers at Gankwe. When he is older, he will be one of the best on the Saramacca."

An old man standing by said drily, "Chicken says, 'You can lie about an egg, but you can't lie about a chicken.'"

"That's right," commented another. "We know Angita's carving. It is good, but. . . ."

But Kutai would not be contradicted. She interrupted the speaker with a gesture. "I am his mother, and a mother knows her son. You can say what you like."

About the fifth day after we had started up the river for the country of the Granman, we came to a village where Angita stopped to supplement his food for the journey. When he returned, his arms were filled with the large cassava cakes. Behind him came a young girl with a bottle of palm oil, and some rice in an open calabash, and she was followed by the people of the village who came to see the Bakra. A woman of middle age, whom both the young girl and Angita resembled, took the rice from the girl and, wading into the shallow water, came up to our boat and gave it to us. "This is rice for you. I am Angita's mother. Angita is strong. You will walk well with him."

Later that day, when our boat found itself abreast of the dugout which Angita was poling, we lost no time in questioning him.

"Angita," we called, "is the woman who gave us the rice your mother?"

He nodded.

"But what of Tita, who said she was your mother, too?"

602 He was a quick-witted lad, and he saw at once what we had in mind. He said with a laugh, "You are asking about my true, true mother, the one who made me? It is not this one, and it is not Tita, who made me. It is Kutai."

"But who are the other two?"

"They are her sisters."

3

593 Yet the family life of the Bush Negro does not differ in any essential respect from that of any other group of individuals, who, related by close ties of blood, live their lives together. Men and women marry and beget children, and their children in turn marry and beget others. In reality, but for the fact that a man or a woman claimed more than one father and mother, and a great number of brothers and sisters, of uncles and aunts, there was little to indicate the existence of conventions of family life which differed radically from those we ourselves know.

None the less, there were differences, and, once we were permitted to see beneath the surface, a slight incident here, another hint there, threw into relief the life of these people, and their own attitudes toward their actual and spiritual relationships.

Let us take the instance of Misomba and his son. Misomba was a man of middle age, and the incident we tell occurred as we were sitting in his house in a village above the Mamadam. He was speaking of the wood he had cut and of his plans to take it to the city to sell. With him in the house were his wife and a young lad, perhaps fifteen or sixteen years old, and, besides ourselves, our paddler Kasanya, who was Misomba's wife's elder brother.

"I need someone to take the rafts down the river. There are none in my family who are free, and I need help. But Adyaba here," he said, indicating his son, "knows about taking down rafts, and it will be good for him to learn more of the river leading to the white man's city. I am glad you came, brother-in-law. Now I can ask you if he may go with me. Is it your wish that he go?"

968 "If it is the man who is d
975 girl children to live with her
live elsewhere. A man's spir
He loves them. But his s
woman dies, then it is the s
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602 To her child the Bush
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families, and which holds
613 portion of the land. The tie
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bush, or several women
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Negro mother gives at birth
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gs to her *mie*, or great family,
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stress who lived long ago, or
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conomic implication which this
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611 The mother does indeed
513 city insisted. But what of t
That the Bush Negro
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carvings given by a man
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daughter had designs on it of
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Whatever the traceries on the
his woman during courtship,
animals might be represented,
as that of fertility, and the

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Saramacca

did not eat deer's meat, or his brother-in-law the meat of the bush-hog.

There are many kinds of tchina. There are the obia tchina. A man wearing or carrying with him a charm—an obia—will have several prohibitions imposed on him. If these are observed, the potency of the magic in the object given him will remain, but if they are violated, it will become a worthless ornament. When an obia is bought, its maker will take the hands of the man for whom he has made it in his, and pass his own lightly over them, blowing softly, so that the power of the spirit he had called upon when making it may enter into the man for whom the obia was made. Then the obia man will lean over and whisper, that no one might overhear, "When you wear this, do not get into a boat backwards," or, perhaps, "Never eat crab meat while you have this about your neck," or "Do not eat cassava and rice out of the same calabash."

But with the personal tchina it is otherwise. At birth each individual falls heir to a number of taboos. They come to him from his father. When a woman is with child she observes her husband's taboos as well as her own, for the child might otherwise be harmed in the womb by being nurtured on what is hateful to his father, and therefore to himself, since his father's taboos are his own. Male and female children take these tchina from the father. Their mother's tchina are no concern of theirs. Those which she observes had come to her from her own father. What makes the father ill will make the children ill, too. This holds for their entire lives, and the male children transmit their tchina from generation to generation.

A simple instance of this is the one which happened at our base camp when Bayo, who we knew could not eat out of a cooking pot, came one day to ask us for a dish. "My father forgot his eating dish. Will you let him use one of yours? He cannot eat out of a cooking pot."

When one man says of another, therefore, "He has the same tchina I have," he is saying that the two of them are related in the father's line.

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But when one man shares a tchina with another it does not mean that they only share prohibitions. There are privileges as well. There is the right to lift a *kandu*, for example.

The outsider among the Bush Negro people cannot go long without learning of kandu. Many times we had noticed a small bundle of twigs hanging from a nail over a doorway of an uninhabited hut, or had remarked a small strip of colored cloth and a feather or two knotted together and swinging from an orange tree, or a calabash filled with hardened sacred clay, suspended from a limb where a creek entered the river. When we asked about them, we learned that each was a kandu, a spiritual lock, which by the potency of the magic put into it by the maker protected the house, or the tree, or the fishing creek—whatever we happened to be discussing at the moment—from thieves. It was a guard which no man dared violate.

Bayo had made one for us early in our visit to the Suriname bush.

"I will make you something to keep away thieves. I will make you a kandu."

He had asked us for a needle, and from wood of a special kind which is used only in kandu he fashioned the representation of a human head. Some native fiber and two kinds of sacred grass held the needle and the carved image together. This he covered with white clay, the sacred pemba, and the red coloring of the kuwe plant, which is also sacred. When he had spoken his invocations, and dipped the kandu in the river to purify it, he brought it to us.

"Put it where you keep your money. I have put strong magic into it. Your possessions will be safe. Anyone who opens the chest and sees this, will not touch what is inside. . . . But do not eat out of a cooking pot. It will lose its power. I have given it my own tchina."

But it seemed that a kandu did not always remain inviolate.

"It would not be good," Bayo explained, "if a man went away and left a kandu over the house, and no one but he

THE COUNCIL OF THE ELDERS

to him when the drums called that god, could not be held accountable for what he did while his god had him in his control. 632 614 609

No stranger, no man who came to live in his wife's village, even though he had spent a good part of his life there, took it upon himself to offer advice to his wife's family. Again and again we would hear from men and women on the river, "In our village we do it this way," or, "We only carry the corpse on the head twice. Our spirits don't like to be troubled more often," or, "Mawu as a name for the Great God is used in our village, but not everywhere on the river." 614 602

There was the experience with several sacred images of village gods we had bought from an upper-river village. Our paddlers refused to carry them for us from the village to the boats, and it was with marked uneasiness that they permitted us to put them into the boats. 123 [718]

"We do not know what these gods can do. We do not know what is hateful to them. They are the gods of another people. We won't carry them."

But with the *gemi*—the child of the village of his mother's family, it was quite otherwise. He was a member of the village, he had a voice in its governing, he knew its gods. If he belonged to the family of the chief of the clan, if, let us say, his older brother were the chief, or if he was one of several nephews of a chief who had no surviving brothers, then at the death of the chief there would be a kruta, and the men of the village would decide which one of the several men who were eligible for the office was the most capable. Though rank was hereditary there was always selection among several heirs, and again the final word rested with the people of the clan. The offices of lesser chiefs—village chiefs who were subject to the clan chief, or bassias who served the chiefs—were passed on in the same manner. 620 624 [624]

While law making was in the hands of the chiefs, or captains, and the kruta over which they presided, law enforcement was the task of the bassias. It was they who saw to it that the orders of the chiefs were carried out. When 625 [622]

/21 cont./

601 has been pushed by the Refugee Blacks to its extreme limit with-
613 out any attenuation. Everything turns on the number of generations separating from the founding ancestress. Age does not come into it. The fact of belonging to an older or younger branch with respect to such-and-such an ancestress does not come into it, either. The custom of the Refugee Blacks is hostile to any discrimination which could lead to a scission of the lineage.

At the same number of generations from the foundress, they call one another uniformly brother, baala, or sister, sisa, without consideration of age or degree of relationship. Absolutely no nuance exists in the language to differentiate the brother proper from the brother in the classificatory sense.

The people closest to the foundress of a generation are uniformly called uncles, tiyu, or aunts, tiya.

601 The thinking of the Refugee Blacks on the subject of kinship
602 centers above all around knowledge of those ties which can be
613 called horizontal; they consider them as ties in fact which they were taught in early childhood, and few of them worry about knowing the exact origin of them. It is enough for them to know
[814] that N... is their brother and M.... their uncle. Knowledge of the genealogies remains the province of the most wide-awake minds; the others take no heed.

602 This conception of kinship permits the maintenance of the
613 unity of a lineage even when the genealogical ties are forgotten
614 and when the group is in this respect cut into several fractions. The members of the lineage can be unaware of this fractioning, as we have observed in several cases.

[601] Thus in Figure 3[2] (fictitious example), Adam knows he must call Balka brother, Afanin uncle, and Sota nephew.

[104] That is why we use the term extended lineage to translate the word [illegible] (1).

[2] [See category 116, P. 31--Analyst]

/21 cont./

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1. This conception of kinship is also found among the Agni of the Ivory Coast and the Fon of Dahomey; it may be widespread in Black Africa, especially in populations with matrilineal filiation.

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/22/ This conception, associated with that of the kunu, conflicts with the fractioning of lineages on the religious plane, even when a scission has taken place on the plane of residence. The rigor of the principle laid down, the quasi-mathematical transmission from one generation to the next of appellations based on rank relative to the foundress, prohibits the thought that elements foreign to the lineage can be integrated into this system by any process whatever. Nevertheless, a doubt remains as to the possibility of assimilating fragments with paternal kinship, for in paternal kinship the same principle of classificatory kinship rules, and the same appellations are used. We shall show that such a process of assimilation actually exists on the social plane, but that it is inconceivable on the religious plane, the kunu always being transmitted by the mother. /Fig. 3 appears here./

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Knowledge of genealogical ties is very variable from one lineage to another. Outside of the great splits like Dipélis I-Dipélis II, we have demonstrated that small fractions of several lineages could no longer be attached to the main trunk, the genealogical ties being irremediably lost. The people concerned had never realized this; they had never wondered about it. This was the case particularly:

—With Samma's descendants (Dipélis II, Anié);

—With the group of Azili's descendants (Lapé, Bonville).

[198]

In both cases the split was very recent; old men dead for only a few years knew the genealogical ties now lost.

/22 cont./

613 Situation of the lineages in 1958.

[641] The Dikan lineage, whose head is the grand man of the Boni, has practically died out, since it is comprised of only Grand Man Difu: upon his death it will totally disappear (1).

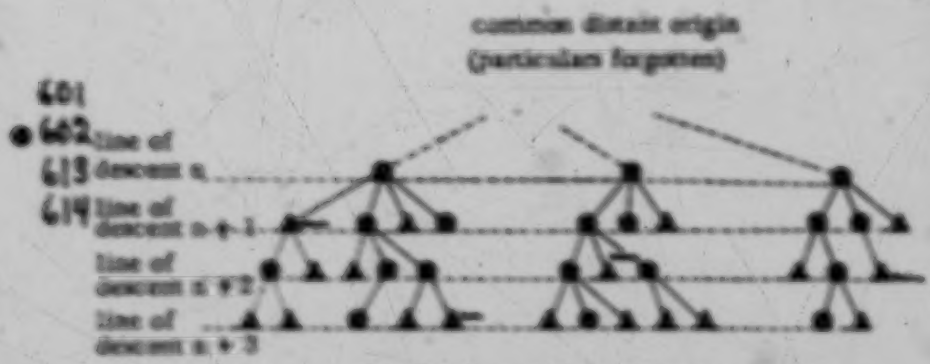

Fig. 2. Extended matrilineage.

613 1. Note that a Dikan lo exists among the
184 Djuka: the separation of the Dikan-Djuka
174 and the Dikan-Boni is necessarily anterior to the battles of 1792, which shows the antiquities of these groups.

621 For two generations the various lineages have delegated some
613 of their members /22/ to the grand man to conserve a certain im-
571 portance for his village. Thus Agodé (Boniville) now includes fragments of the Kotika, Dipéla, Lapé, Dja, and Papaïkou lineages, forming that many individualized small quarters in the village.

/25 cont./

[613] [614] Not one of the members of the group could trace back to the common ancestress; yet these three fractions together behave as a single lineage. All its members know their mutual appellations "brother," "uncle," etc. All are subject to the same [illegible]. [601] [591]

The law of exogamy is respected within each fraction, but there are seven cases of unions between members of different fractions; these unions are disapproved of in principle, but they are tolerated. [613] [614] [602] [603]

Thus, on the subject of exogamy, we see the thought of the Refugee Blacks breaks away from the rigorous principle on which their social order is based. It is the actually known genealogy which counts in their eyes on this point.

[613] [614] [602] [115] [601] In December, 1958 we were able to reconstitute the complete genealogy of the group (Fig. 4) thanks to the memories of the doyenne of the group, Ma Inona, who had lived for a very long time isolated in a village of the Bazoni estuary. The data thus reconstituted are in complete agreement with the kinship appellations among members of the various fractions. /24/

/Fig. 4 appears here./

The case of the Kotika lineage is thus particularly interesting, for we find ourselves knowing its genealogy completely when its members know it no more than partially.

[613] [614] [602] Study of this group shows that the forgetting of kinship ties has no effect on the physical grouping of the lineage and its functioning as a social unit.

It has direct repercussions only on the observation of the principle of exogamy. Thus the way in which exogamy is understood and observed appears to us from now on as a secondary criterion having no certain value for the recognition of a common origin.

[621] Some Djuka and Saramaka have settled among the members of the Kotika lineage, but as individuals.

[621] The Layé (Le Paix) lineage, whose name alludes to one of the great plantations of the Cottica river in the 18th century, is

[Sec 1 34, Category 36 -- Analysis]

613 /28 cont./
[601] nothing of their strength although they have lost all correspondence with the age of the people concerned.

614 —Dipélu II, whose members know their genealogy badly,
571 appears on the contrary to be on the way toward breaking up. The head of the Dipélu II, who bears the title of captain, resides
[576] at Kormotibo. Part of the group settled in Aziz following a disagreement, without ceasing to be under his authority.

614 One might think that the physical separation of the two
• 612 groups took place as a function of the genealogies, that the 2nd
571 fraction of Dipélu II emigrated as a single group to Aziz, leaving in Kormotibo the members of the 1st fraction. But this is not the case at all; examination of the genealogical table shows that the emigrant group issues as much from one as from the other; this is a very remarkable aspect of the social structure of the Refugee Blacks, which proceeds directly from their conceptions of classificatory kinship. A man is "at home" wherever his classificatory "mothers" and "uncles" live, and if a physical separation occurs in the group, preferences and personal affinities will have as much influence as closeness of kinship. /26/

613 Three generations ago, Dipélu was only one group under
614 the leadership of a single head residing in Kormotibo. The process
591 of its breaking up is a beautiful example of what Europeans produce
199 by interfering in the social life of an African tribe in order to pick out a man who appears to them more intelligent and active than the others.

[594] The companion of the explorer Coevans, Apanu, who be-
[621] longed to this group, was on his return covered with honors, en-
[576] dowed with the title of captain and with pay; he conflicted with the legitimate head of the lo, seceded, and founded a village on the outskirts of Saint-Laurent, taking with him a fraction of the group.

601 /31 cont./
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Basia. (brother) Sisa. (sister)	brothers and sisters in the classificatory sense. Persons separated from the foundress by the same number of generations.
Tiyo, tiya. (uncle, aunt)	persons nearer to the foundress by one generation.
Gaïta, gaïma (grandfather, grandmother)	persons nearer to the foundress by two generations.
Ave (great-grandmother)	women nearer to the foundress by three generations.
Sisa pisia (nephews)	persons farther from the foundress by one generation.

/32/ In a general fashion, a man situated on line n can uncles and aunts all those situated on line n-1, and nephews all who are on line n+1.

601 Example (see genealogical table of the Dju Ioji: Finnimati
602 (F7) considers Aliki (F23) (his relative in the 9th degree) as his
603 aunt, for the same reason as Wima (F3), sister of his mother. Likewise, he considers Soumon (E14), as well as Atikati (E18), as his uncle, although Soumon is 10 years younger than he. He assumes that Soumon can to a certain extent give him advice and that his opinion is preponderant over his own.

He considers Adiiwo (F37), his relative in the 10th degree, as his brother for the same reason as Kikimenti, his brother proper. Pasna (G2), Kewesu (G48) as well as Soulafu (G42) are his nephews and nieces, sisa pisia.

At one generation more, he says "my grandchildren."

/32 cont./

601 The very rigor of this principle seems to have to lead to a
613 scission of the lineages, for one can hardly conceive that people
571 will be willing to address girls younger than themselves as "my
[163] grandmother" and show them respect; now that must necessarily be the case at the end of a certain number of generations, for as we shall see, the fecundity of Boni women sometimes lasts up to the age of 50, and there are cases where the interval between the oldest and youngest child reaches 35 years.

Nevertheless, we have not actually observed that this conception of kinship leads to scissions or even to serious clashes.

That derives from the very nature of the hierarchy and the social ties within the matrilineage: they entail a collective tutelage by one generation over the next, and in the same way a collective tutelage by the ancestors over the living. But for the same reason that every prayer, every invocation addressed individually to such-and-such an ancestor is avoided, the hierarchy of the Refugee Blacks does not give rise to relationships of authority between one man and another, which would not be tolerated. Only the hedemI, or captain, designated by the assembly of the lineage, exerts a personal authority; even so, he is careful to limit it almost exclusively to religious functions.

604 "Uncles" exert collectively an authority over the generation
613 of "nephews." They meet in council, especially on the question of marriages. They do not vote, strictly speaking, but the opposition of three or four of them prevents the carrying out of a project. There is no preponderant voice for the closest uncles (yet in practice this seems to be taken into account). But the eldest of the uncles in the classificatory sense is unanimously recognized as preponderant.

• 682 Existence of patrilineages. Matrilineages are not the only kin
784 groups of the Refugee Blacks. Each one receives from his father
428 a fundamental interdiction -- bwasi kina -- which he will have

/32 cont./

602 784 428 [153] to observe all his life and which he himself will transmit to his children. It is unanimously believed that breaking this interdiction causes leprosy (bwasi).

This interdiction is never transmitted by women. It is transmitted from father to son /33/ or daughter. The son will observe it and transmit it; the daughter will observe it during her lifetime, but she will not transmit it.

602 784 The existence of the bwasi kina divides the Boni into de facto groupings which can be considered as patrilineages. These patrilineages have no name, no head, no organization; their members are dispersed among the various matrilineages and most of them do not know who the others are.

They exist nevertheless and extend throughout all the tribes of Refugee Blacks.

[582] Their importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks comes from the fact that they involve a law of exogamy: a man and a woman who have the same bwasi kina cannot marry; that would be pikadu, incest in the broad sense, an offense against exogamy, as much as the union of two members of the same matrilineage.

[262] [578] It is difficult to estimate the number of these patrilineages which seems to us to be at least 20 among the Boni; actually, the Boni do not willingly tell their bwasi kina, for fear that one of their enemies might mix into their food a fragment of the interdicted food in order to harm them; besides, they do not know their paternal relations beyond their grandfather. Reconstitution of patrilineages by interrogation seems therefore to be illusory.

602 784 262 The bwasi kina we have been able to find out about are all about food. They involve the cayman, the "tiger," the tortoise, the white hen, the pian (awali), the eel. The cayman is often given in addition to another animal. But it is inaccurate to say that the Refugee Blacks have a general interdiction against the cayman.

/33 cont./

•602 Patrilineal relationships have other important incidences which we shall bring to light in speaking of Boni beliefs. From the point of view of social structure, let us note:

[189] — That patrilineal relationship has no influence upon residence or organization of material living;

[582] — That the law of exogamy which it involves has only slight influence on the freedom of choice of couples: because of the relatively large number of patrilineages.

[601] As far as the ties of patrilineal kinship are known (in general people do not go beyond their grandfather), the same kinship terms are used as in the matrilineage, with the same classificatory value.

601 613 Appellations. We have seen that within the matrilineage the kinship appellations depend only on the number of generations with respect to the foundress.

Speaking familiarly, they use for addressing:

— People of the same generation, the expression	ba So-and-so... (man) aa So-and-so (woman)
— — of one generation above, the expression	tiyu, uncle tiya, aunt
— — of two generations above, the expression	papa mama.

[192] /34/ Papa does not mean father, but ancient, honorable. Likewise, mama means aged and respectable woman.

For example, to say good day they will say, according to the case, ba So-and-so, ɔdio, or tiyu, ɔdio.

[551] In speaking to people one generation below, they say mati (comrade) or call them by their name without any other appellation, which would be considered very insolent in addressing their "brothers" or "uncles."

/34 cont./

601 In speaking to one's mother, one uses a special expression, often formed of ma followed by the last syllable of her name.

For example, Asakundu (Lapé io) is called Ma Ndu or Mama Ndu by her sons. Béniti (Dju io, †1955) was called Ma Béniti or Anti by her children.

601 602 The appellations relating to patrilineage are exactly the same except for mi ta, my father. But as these patrilineages have no practical social function, being limited to the transmission of an interdiction, the kinship ties are not known beyond the second generation and people bother very little with them.

601 When one addresses someone of a different lineage one uses, in deference, the same terms whether the person being addressed appears to be the same age or older. This is particularly clear for old people who are uniformly called papa and mama. For people of about one's own age, if one knows them well one says ba So-and-so /male/ or sa So-and-so /female/. For men one does not know well one often uses masa So-and-so (masa = Mr.). The Boni are quite punctilious in this respect. It is very disagreeable to them to be called directly by their name; their European employers have the custom of speaking to them thus; they accept it on their part but not without reticence.

551 648

601 Special appellations result from marriage; the terms used are reciprocal:

Pay designates the relationship between father-in-law, son-in-law or daughter-in-law.

May — the relationship between mother-in-law, son-in-law.

Soagi — the relationship between brothers-in-law.

X Ynga mi pay means "X is my father-in-law" as well as "X is my son-in-law."

As a general rule a man calls soagi all those whom his wife calls brothers in the classificatory sense, and pay all whom she calls uncles. But the term may is used only with respect to the wife's own mother.

/42 cont./

601 So-and-so, and So-and-so, can be regarded as sure. On the other
128 hand, we have considered that there was a break in the genealogy when, going back in time, we arrived at this single datum: Ma X... was the sister of Ma Y...., for it could be a question of kinship in the classificatory sense.

No form of birthright existing among the Boni, there is some uncertainty about the order of birth of brothers and sisters for persons long dead. We have adopted the order kept by oral tradition without trying to rectify it.

613 In many African populations a special tradition is connected
814 with perpetuating the memory of the founder, at least his name,
829 the place of his grave. With the present-day Boni absolutely nothing like this is found; they are not concerned in any way with the true foundress of their lineage; no memory, no legend, not even a name has come down to them. It even seems as though these distant ancestors interest them little because they are less able to act in behalf of their present-day descendants. Indeed, with each new generation the memory of an ancient one dies out.

173 On our first trip in 1948 we called attention, unfortunately without
[126] noting them down precisely, to /43/ very interesting oral traditions going back to the time of slavery, especially the names of the slave-owners who showed themselves to be the most cruel. In
[814] 1952 the last old man who knew them had died; the very memory of what he had said was already effaced.

829 As a matter of fact, Boni thought, strictly practical and
602 utilitarian, is concerned principally with keeping the memory of the part of the genealogy indispensable to the living to know their kinship ties. Memory of women whose posterity has died out and of men who did nothing remarkable is dead from the second generation on.

114 Since none of the travelers of the 19th century understood
613 the importance of taking genealogies, it is probable that the names

361 /102 cont./
504 meet the clearings of the people of another lineage; a de facto
613 boundary is thus created, which is henceforth respected.
423

621 On the other hand, several farming villages of one lineage
241 may have their clearings totally intriqués /entangled/ (this is
613 the case, for example, with the ones of the Asuonu and Adiso
423 habitations). This conforms to the rule of joint possession of the land within the lineage.

621 Organization. The group in a farming habitation is brought to-
241 gether by mutual affinities, and has no hierarchy other than that
• 609 which springs from kinship ties: authority of the mother over her
592 daughters; authority of the "uncles" over the "nephews."
/103/ The grouping which conforms most to the matrilineal structure of the Refugee Blacks is made up of an old woman, her unmarried sons, her daughters and her daughters' daughters, their husbands coming to help at the time of the clearings but not belonging to the group. Often it is this old woman who directs the habitation, but often also it is an old uncle, her classificatory brother, who has worked with her for a long time. Sometimes this old woman has come to live with her daughters on the habitation founded by her husband.

103 Some of the habitations bear men's names, others women's
523 names. The name which prevails may be completely at variance
592 with the real rights exercised over the land (Ex.: name of Adiso given to the habitation of his wife where Adiso has no right at
[613] all). That has no great importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks, the only important thing being collective possession of the land by the lineage.

621 For groups which are relatively numerous and brought to-
241 gether more by mutual affinities than by kinship ties, the mini-
622 mum of authority necessary for good feeling and the organization of the work is brought to bear by the founder. For example,

/108 cont./

62 590 24 413 613 602 406

Structure of the Adiso habitation. This habitation actually belongs to Irma, Adiso's wife, of the Awara-Bokka (1) lineage (E37), who was settled there by Antonu whose classificatory sister she is.

Working with Irma, disregarding children, are:

--Her husband Adiso (Dju. F37);

--Her daughter Chitalna (Aw.B.1. F43), married to Dédsi (L1. F45);

--Her son Lawa, unmarried;

--Her son Malna, married.

Malna's wife Mbéma, who has no other habitation, has her clearing made there, but she has no hut in her own right and is not a member of the group.

Activity of the habitation in 1955-56:

	1956	1955
Irma	2 clearings (both by Adiso, who cut a 3rd in Asui for his other wife)	1 clearing cut by her son Malna, Adiso being on a trip
Chitalna	1 clearing cut by Lawa, her brother, her husband being en mission	1 clearing cut by her husband Dédsi /109/

/Fig. 18 appears here./ /110/

Malna	1 clearing for his wife Mbéma	Malna en mission had not been able to cut for his wife. She had weeded a two-year-old clearing with Chitalna and Irma

/121 cont./

843 [829] Sexual relations continue during the whole pregnancy, for they are reputed to be indispensable for the formation of the mind of the child, which is thought to come from the father; also, for a man whose wife is pregnant there can be no question of abandoning her nor even of leaving for a long trip without the permission of the head of her lineage.

843 989 Forecasting of the birth. Divinatory rituals are carried out from the first months of pregnancy to forecast whether the childbirth will be easy or not. For that one goes to an old man who "knows" one of these remedies. There are several: one consists in making a small hole in the center of a cross outlined on the ground, pouring into it a decoction of magic herbs kept secret, and putting an egg into it. The remedy-master then says: "If the childbirth is to be easy, the egg must be crushed as soon as my foot bears down /122/ on it." They state that sometimes the egg resists crushing: from this they deduce that the delivery will be difficult.

844 [989] When the time for delivery arrives, concern is centered on the danger of maleficent human entities, Sgi sani, which try to become incarnate in the child. The woman is shut up in the house, all of its exits are blocked off, and Sbiaman are called to perform rites of protection all around the house. If [845] delivery is difficult, that is attributed to the fact that one of these entities succeeded in getting into the house in spite of the precautions taken.

The Sbiaman are called to "wash" the woman with the help of appropriate remedies. Only in serious cases are men allowed to enter the house. As a general rule, during the first 846 602 eight days only women related to the mother may enter. (Care is even taken as far as possible to get as midwife (mena) an old woman related to the mother.)

/129 cont./

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The conditions under which children are brought up throw a strong light on the thought of the Refugee Blacks relative to kinship and are worth a special study.

[125] In the course of an investigation carried on from October to December, 1957, we were able to record with precision under what conditions had been raised 311 persons distributed thus:

Male sex	born before 1936 (education finished)	73
	born from 1936 to 1949 inclusive (education in process) (1)	88
Female sex	born before 1936 (education finished) . . .	72
	born from 1936 to 1949 inclusive (education in process)	78
	Total	311

1. Study of the case of children born after 1949 was of no interest because the definite assignment of their guardianship was not yet made at the end of the year 1957.

HD9
.G62
L13

Raised by:	Male Sex			Female Sex		
	born before 1936	from 1936 to 1949	average	born before 1936	from 1936 to 1949	average
Mother	together 50%	42%	46%	together 69%	50%	68%
Maternal grandmother		13%			12%	
A woman of the maternal lineage	8%	22%	10%	13%	15%	14%
A man of the maternal lineage	3%	4%	6.5%	2%	3%	2.5%
Father	27%	18%	22.5%	13%	6%	9.5%
Father's mother	2%	3%	2.5%	0%	3%	1.5%
A person of the paternal lineage	1%	3%	2%	1%	3%	2%
An outsider to both lineages	2%	4%	3%	1%	3%	2%

/130/

Ranked

Table I.- Men born before 1936

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Mother	Maternal Grand-mother	Maternal Grandfather of the Mother's Lineage	Maternal Grandfather of the Mother's Lineage	Father	Father's Mother	Paternal Grandfather of the Father's Lineage	Paternal Grandfather of the Father's Lineage
[illegible]	III	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	II	I	II
60/100 67 %	3/100 3 %	7/100 8 %	0/100 0 %	56/100 67 %	0/100 0 %	1/100 1 %	0/100 0 %

together 50%(2)

Table II. -Boys born from 1936 to 1949 inclusive

[illegible] III	[illegible]	[illegible]	III	[illegible]	II	II	III
30/75 40 %	10/75 13 %	9/75 12 %	2/75 3 %	18/75 24 %	0/75 0 %	0/75 0 %	0/75 0 %

Table III. - Women born before 1936

[illegible] I	[illegible]	[illegible]	II	[illegible]	0	I	I
45/75 60 %	8/75 10 %	10/75 13 %	3/75 4 %	10/75 13 %		1/75 1 %	1/75 1 %

together 69%(2)

Table IV. - Girls born from 1936 to 1949 inclusive

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	II	III	II	II	II
45/75 60 %	8/75 10 %	11/75 15 %	3/75 4 %	4/75 5 %	2/75 3 %	2/75 3 %	2/75 3 %

(1) The symbol represents individuals who, raised outside their lineage, did not come back to [illegible] when their education was finished.

(2) Since the mother and grandmother live together most often, informants may confuse them with [illegible] it is a question of persons whose education has been finished for [illegible] long time.

(591)

/144 cont./

584 613 The envoys, after making it known the evening before that they were coming, presented themselves at 10 o'clock in the morning in Ad[illegible]wara Bakka village. Present were Irma, Chitalna's mother; Aléman (Aw.8.1. E60), actual uncle; Anapo (Aw.8.1. E47), one of the oldest of the classificatory uncles; Nama (Aw.8.1. E46), classificatory aunt; and the girl's brothers and sisters by the same mother.

Tamu took the floor, unfolding Dédui's merits and stating that he had serious intentions. The eldest of the uncles declared acceptance. Chitalna having fled according to custom, he took her young sister Boomi, who was only five years old, by the hand and led her to Tamu, saying, "I give thee this woman." Then he took Abéni, Chitalna's older brother, by the hand and led him to Tamu, saying, "I give thee this man."

585 613

[169] Next, tafia was poured on the ground while the ancestors were invoked in favor of the /new/ household.

The liver of tafia brought by Dédui was shared symbolically in the evening among all the village inhabitants including the Afi lineage there.

585 431 For the installation of the household, since there was no more room near Irma's house to build another, the latter gave one of the two houses she possessed.

584 602 [595] Here is still another example concerning the two wives of Fintiman (Dju. F6, Boniville village).

For his first wife Mimi (K3, E156, Boniville) he sent his brother and sister by the same mother, Kélement and Eliana, who approached Mimi's mother and her classificatory uncle Léboman.

Fintiman had previously made sure of the agreement of his own father Maloki (Dkp. 1. E50), who had brought him up, of his mother Sénitl, and of his uncle Dioli (Dju. E1), the eldest of the classificatory uncles.

/144 cont./

To ask for his second wife Bugi (Aw. B. I. F41. Anni-Awara Bokko vgr.) he had sent Donu (Dip. I. E4. Boniville), his father Makobi's classificatory brother (although a very distant relative) and his younger sister by the same mother: Kulina, who made the marriage proposal to Bugi's mother and to her classificatory uncles Amonu and Mato.

Age of marriage. In former times there was a very precise custom about this. Men were not authorized to marry before about 30 [illegible] of age, continuing until that age the immediately mobilizable armed force. Women were authorized by their mothers to marry only when they had reached complete physical development, at between 20 and 22 years. This was the safeguard of a society deprived of all medical help against obstetrical risk, particularly serious for very young women. When the fiancé had temporarily emigrated to earn his living, the marriage could be put off until the age of 25 years and more. This late marriage of girls was still met with only a few years ago among the Djuka, more faithful to custom. There was on the average five to ten years of age difference between husband and wife. /145/

For about the past ten years, under the influence of the relaxation of family discipline, the marriage age has gone down considerably, as much for the man as for the woman. Nearly all the girls married during the last two years were from 15 to 17 years old. It can be stated that the average marriage age of girls is 18 years (1).

1. We are speaking here of the age at the time of the consummation of marriage.

/175 cont./

765 613 The spouse in mourning is taken temporarily out of his lineage and placed under the /176/ /Fig. 24 appears here/ /177/ protection of the lineage of the dead spouse, in a situation corresponding to that of the client in ancient /Roman/ society.

[969] He can no longer pray to his own ancestors. If he is sick he asks the elders of the dead spouse's lineage to pray for him to their own ancestors.

765 A man in mourning is freed from certain obligations and responsibilities:

--He cannot take part in a council of his lineage;

--If there is a squabble between his lineage and another, he cannot be taken to task;

--Part of his catch may not be appropriated in case of great nivée;

--He is freed from his funerary obligations as an ɔkɔmã or kisimã.

765 602 613 A man in mourning is placed under the collective authority of his wife's lineage, but actually under the authority of her near relatives: mother, grandmother, real uncles and aunts. It is real kinship which is involved in matters of mourning; classificatory kinship enters into it only if all the near relatives are dead.

In general it is old women of these near relatives who are charged with watching over the behavior of the widower and on the other hand with seeing that he does not lack anything he needs.

For example Alémin (Aw. B. 1) was married to Tundu (L2. G60) of the Lapé 2 fraction, living in Loka village. When she died in May, 1957, he was put under the authority of Asakundu (L2. E55), his wife's grandmother, and of Asakundu's sister Térésa, living in Bonville. Since he had not yet built a hut for his wife, he was enjoined to come specially to build himself a little hut in Loka village in order to reside near Asakundu.

[968]

[Text Continues on P. 269]

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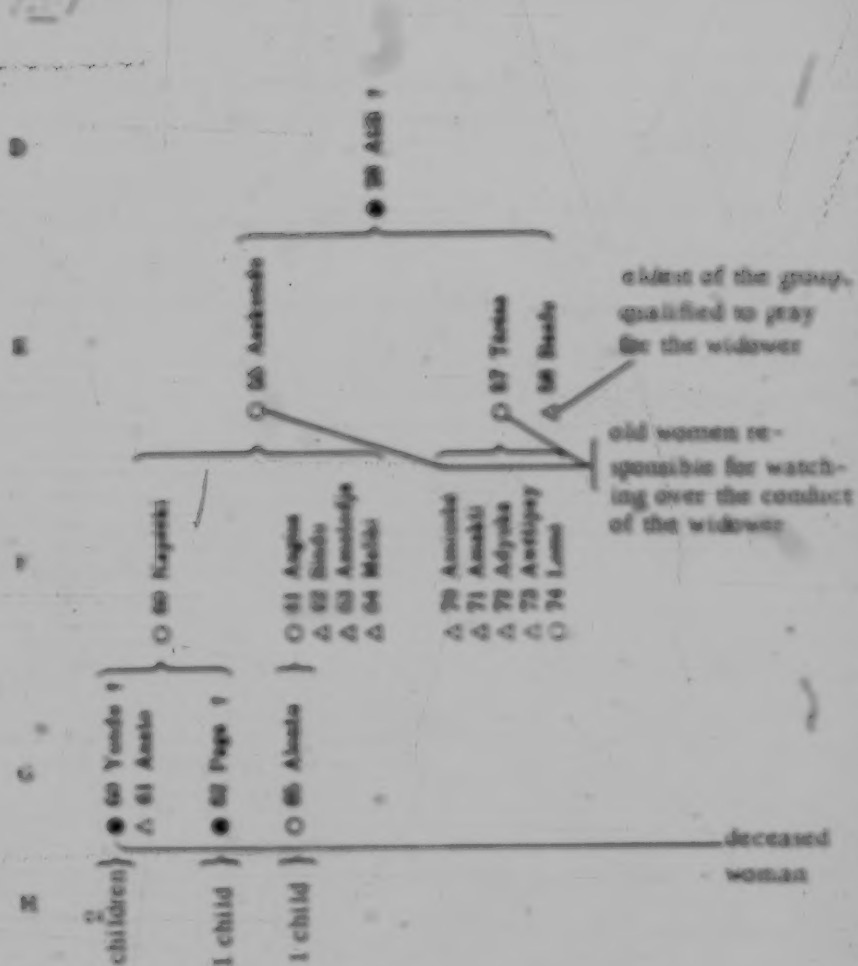


Fig. 24. Genealogy of the Lapé 2 fraction. Functions resulting from Yundu's death.

/177 cont./

965 602 613 If he was sick, it was △ Saafu (L2. E58), the eldest of the group, who was to pray for him. Aléimin had nothing to do with the head of the Lapé lineage nor with his wife's classificatory uncles of the Lapé 1 group.

As for Diamanti (Aw.B.2. E56. † in 1955), her husband Suoli (K3. E133) spent the mourning in the house that Diamanti had had constructed for her by a former husband. It was ○Emma, Diamanti's mother, and Sanéti, Emma's younger sister, who kept him under watch, under the responsibility of △Asodo, the dead woman's brother (all the actual uncles being dead). Boni had nothing to do with either the classificatory uncles nor the head of the Awara Bakka lineage.

When Atuku (Aw.B.1. D20) died (1956), her husband Nétali was put under the authority of Kondolu, Atuku's brother, all the uncles in both the real and the classificatory sense being dead.

965 [178] The submission that this mourning entails must not be considered as symbolic. It bears down on the surviving spouse with an intolerable weight which can be borne only because of the conviction that it is the sole means of protection against the dead person's jealousy. Not only does the widower (or widow) do nothing to free himself from it, but at the least indisposition he will add, of his own accord, to the hardness of his state.

The widower can no longer use his clothes and personal utensils; he keeps /178/ his hammock and gun. All the rest, clothing (appropriated for the mourning), various utensils, is furnished him by the dead woman's lineage. Each woman of this lineage must give him a little of what she prepares. He himself must not ask for anything.

965 613

/179 cont./

965 431 [204] Before coming out of mourning, the widow must procure for herself at the minimum the money necessary for a demijohn of tafia as a contribution to the festival of the lifting of mourning. She must make a present of several cans of cognac to her husband's mother.

965 843 184 A pregnant woman undergoes mourning exactly according to the general law. The custom described by several authors for the Saramaka, according to which the pregnant woman must join one of her husband's "brothers," does not apply to the Boni.

965 888 There are some attenuations of the harshness of mourning with respect to old women. For example in 1956, Lémiki (70 years), living in Bonville, was in mourning for her husband Tabiki (Awara Bakka, but residing since childhood with the Lapé lineage in Loka /181/ where he had been raised by his father). Lémiki alternately spent three weeks in her house and three in her husband's. It was Asamara, Tabiki's sister by the same father, who exercised authority over her. [968] [602]

965 968 [613] This remarkable example shows that as regards mourning (rights and duties), the principle of residence plays an essential role. He who has been reared by his father is in this respect taken out of his lineage, which loses all rights and all control over the conduct of the mourning.

965 [975] The co-wives of a widower are subject to mourning on the same grounds as he, and for the same motive, since they are targets for the jealousy of the dead woman's yoka.

[968] However, they are authorized most often to live with their maternal family. When the period of dijii baaka has ended, 965 833 they may take up conjugal relations again with their husband, but at intervals of several weeks and without his being able to spend the night with one of them. Each time he must ask permission of the head of the dead woman's lineage. [613]

/187 cont./

%5 Since there is no spouse in mourning (Mimi had been divorced for a long time), the ceremony stops there.

Then these present scatter in the village, go to dance, eat, and drink at one another's houses. They have the satisfied air of people who have just done an important job successfully.

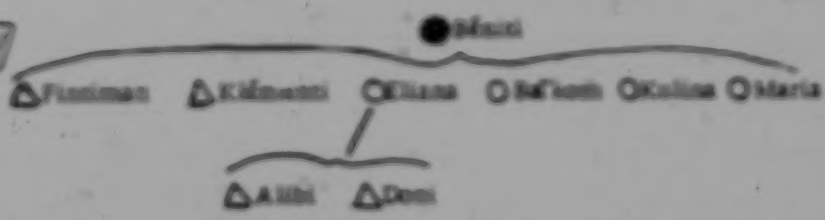
[202] On the seventh day an intimate ceremony brings together Mimi's children and grandchildren in her daughter Kulina's house, where she died. After an offering of food, they weep and lament a last time. Then Fintiman, her elder son, repeats the formula of separation:

"We have done with you; stay where God has put you."

Lifting of mourning for Mimi. Division of expenditures. Mimi belonged to the fraction of the Dya lineage settled in [203] Boniville; the principal weight of the mourning therefore had [221] to be borne by that fraction, the other (the one in Aziai) bringing a symbolic contribution.

Mimi left two sons and two adult grandsons:

[204]



/188/ Actually the elder son Fintiman paid half the expense himself, the younger son being ill and without regular [231] resources. No contribution in money is asked of the women, who must, on the other hand, draw substantial amounts from their rice stock.

/188 cont./

428 In the custom of the Refugee Blacks, the inheritance
[613] must be dispersed among the members of the dead person's matrilineage in the strict sense (bee) and his children.

/189/ The custom of numerous African societies has it that the men inherit from men and the women from women. This notion is totally contrary to the legal thought of the Refugee Blacks. A house, an object, a boat, may pass from a man to a woman or conversely. It is the same with the lower gods with which the dead person might have been possessed.

428 If the dead person has not indicated before his death, in
789 front of witnesses, the distribution of his property, the same
764 divinatory procedure is used as for the determination of the causes of death: the coffin being carried on the heads of two men, in front of it are lined up the members of the dead person's matrilineage in the restricted sense and his children. The president of the Ufuti kuutu asks: "To whom dost thou leave thy house?" The coffin moves toward one of those present, then: "To whom dost thou leave thy boat?" "To whom dost thou leave thy gun?" "To whom dost thou leave thy clearings being harvested?"

428 The partial heirs thus designated may enter immediately into possession of their legacies.

428 Reserved are what the Boni call the "equipment" of the
765 dead person, that is, his personal belongings, linen, money, which will be divided up after the lifting of mourning.

The customary rule is the following:

[602] For the duration of the mourning, these objects shut up in a trunk are put under the care of the eldest child if a woman was concerned, of the eldest classificatory nephew if a man was concerned. After the lifting of mourning, the distribution is
428 made by the dead person's mother, if she is still alive, if not
602 by the eldest of the classificatory uncles or aunts, and if they all are dead, by the eldest of the surviving classificatory brothers or sisters of the dead person.

/189 cont./

428 Example: When △ Atikati (Dju, E18) died in 1953, about 75 years old, his house went to his sister Adyidya (E19), his gun to Kéwénu (G10), his boat to his classificatory sister Aliki (E23), aged 85.

● [602] Upon the lifting of mourning for Atikati, it was Aliki, by reason of being the eldest of the surviving classificatory sisters, who distributed his personal belongings and his money; for example, an iron bracelet went to Sosoman (E14) (1).

1. See the genealogical table of the Dju lineage.

428 613 602 By seeing the division of this inheritance on the genealogical table, one realizes that classificatory kinship is not a useless word and that in fact, within the matrilineage (bes), the division is made strictly at random, without consideration of sex, age, or proximity of kinship, which is strictly normal, given the divinatory procedure used.

428 776 602 An analogous conclusion comes out of the study of the inheritance of gods; the Papa gadu god of the ancestress ○ Sapiké (D5) passed into Pamasa (E26), her kin in the seventh degree. Likewise the god Ampuku of △ Agoabuchi, passing from a man to a woman, went /190/ to Cabasa (G45), his kin in the tenth degree at least (Agoabuchi could not be placed with certainty on the genealogical table). The Kumēntu god of △ Antinon (D8) went to Achiké (F13).

428 Study of the inheritance of houses leads to analogous conclusions.

The only case where a certain systematization is seen to appear is that of inheriting from women having adult children. It seems (but this is not a legal principle) that these children receive the essential part of the inheritance.

/204 cont./

776 This shows that in the minds of the Refugee Blacks, the
787 animal is simply a prop for the god. The god borrows this body
825 in order to manifest itself, but it is not bound to it by nature. These conceptions are totally contrary to those of the Indians, who tend to personify in their minds the beings and phenomena of nature.

776 As we have said, the Boni do not see these gods since the
787 person possessed loses consciousness. But in the time of the ancestors, there were people who used to see the gods, and it is through them that their present-day descendants have an idea of their appearance; on the other hand, certain gods such as the Ampuku and the Bɩnsuŋki may be seen in dreams.

Sometimes the residence of this or that god is known, for it has revealed it through the mouth of its bearer; the god's
[823] name is then given to that place. For example, at the mouth of the Abounami there is a fall named Ma Akoti Gadu Sula. It is there that the god resides which revealed itself in olden days in an old woman named Akoti.

776 Connections with the group of relatives. The idea of a god
613 protector of the lineage, whose worship, brought by the founder of the group, is regarded as indispensable to the life of the collectivity, is not found clearly among the Refugee Blacks. There are actually many divinities which have entered the lineage and which are worshiped collectively. But these di-
[784] vinities are intruders; they have penetrated into the group by force in order to exert an inexorable vengeance against it.
[782] People do not apply to them to ask for protection, and they are worshiped only because they cannot be expelled.

776 /205/ There is not believed to be any kinship tie between the
602 gods and men, nor any tie of a systematic or exclusive character.

/223 cont./

784 begin his instruction in order to become a suitable bearer. (If
613 this procedure were not carried out, the god would not cease
428 its kunu at all, and the possibility of entering into contact with it and appeasing it would be lost. Besides, sooner or later it would come back into a member of the lineage.)

784 The kunu strikes without regard to kinship ties, even if
613 kinship between the bearer of the god and the supposed victim
[602] is very distant. Ex.: The Papa gadu of Donasi (Papaïston lo) struck a young woman, Gou, with illness in January, 1957.
[782] Donasi and Gou are only relatives in the ninth degree. The
[361] members of the entire Papaïston lineage assembled to supplicate the god: even people of Wétiti village in the lower Maroni came.

775 The kunu exercised by the yɔrka of a dead person has a
784 special importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks, for it has
613 profound repercussions on the relations among the lineages.

In principle, the yɔrka exercising a kunu has as bearer
[428] a living member of its own lineage, who will bequeath it at his death. But it is also possible that the yɔrka may take as bearer a member of the lineage upon which it exercises the kunu.

In both cases, the rite to appease the yɔrka is the same;
[782] the yɔrka can be invoked effectively only by the members of its own lineage, since one can pray (at least in principle) only to one's own maternal ancestors.

When matrilineage A is struck by the kunu exercised by a yɔrka of matrilineage B, its members thereupon go to consult the elders of matrilineage A /sic/ and ask them to try to calm
[769] the anger of their ancestor. The members of lineage A assemble
[778] around the fraga tiki of lineage B, in back of the elders of this
[787] lineage, in the presence of the bearer of the yɔrka, who calls on his gita, goes into trances and prophesying. The yɔrka
[782] usually asks for an offering of cane juice and tafia, which is made at the foot of the /224/ fraga tiki by the elders of lineage B (for the rite to be efficacious, the offering must have been furnished by lineage A).

/229 cont. /

784 613 [428] The kunu and Boni family life. It follows from the detailed examination we have just made of the situation of the various lineages that the transmission of the kunu within the uterine kin group is a rigorous law which suffers no exception whatever. [571] [602] The process of assimilation which permits in a certain measure, on the social plane, the integration of fragments of paternal kin (like Awara Bakka 3) into a group does not come into play here. [611] [829] Unity with respect to the kunu can therefore be regarded as a rigorous criterion of a common matrilineal origin. The Boni feel it as an obvious fact and in such a case it is the proof that comes to their minds: "We are of the same origin since we have the same kunu."

784 613 571 182 Thus the kunu appears as the principal cement of the unity of the groups. It opposes the dissociation of the lineages; this curse which weighs collectively upon a group and which can be exorcised only collectively is an iron bond which nothing can break. It obliges the Refugee Blacks to surmount their individualistic tendencies, their egoism which, if they acted freely, would soon have scattered them into a dust of [888] separate persons. In the face of adversity each one accepts with good grace obedience to the elders, who alone know how to talk to the gods and appease them. [672] Nobody ever is indignant or even surprised to be struck down for the offense of another; there is not a movement of revolt or hostility against the one who by his inattention or inconsiderateness has brought on misfortune. On this plane the members of a lineage feel like cells of a single body.

784 613 672 The collective legal responsibility of the members of a group in the domain of customary law flows from the kunu. We have observed that several times, notably at the time of the obsequies for Kotoïda (Afi lineage) in October, 1956. The president of the lānti kuutu condemned the members of

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get the tchina which, if we do not break them, will let us stay healthy. Both our parents care for us." 593 224 604

He thought for a moment, and then, with a laugh, he wondered as Awingu had wondered that early morning at the planting ground.

"Is it not so in your country, Bak'a," he said, "that you ask me so often about these things?"

8

"Massa cow," we heard Bayo call out again and again to his great-grandfather Bibifo, when he wanted to indicate to the old man that he knew what he was about. Bibifo accepted the reproof with unvarying meekness and good humor. 603 888

This relationship between them puzzled us. Yet the other men, overhearing Bayo's brusque words to Bibifo, made nothing of it. Before strangers, Bayo was subdued, shy. He stuttered ceremonially when he addressed a man of rank. He pitched his voice only a little above a whisper when he was in a strange village. Toward Kasanya and Sedefo and Asikanu he was respectful, and showed reserve. When he wanted his hair trimmed he came to Angita for help, or, better still, to the young man at the prow of Kasanya's boat who, like Kasanya, was of his own clan. [576]

The old man was not a forceful fellow. That was, perhaps, the reason, we thought at first. Then we wondered if it was not because Bibifo had become Adrian, and no longer wore obias to carry him well on the water—because he had forsaken the old gods. But the other men treated Bibifo with the respect due an old man. When Kasanya killed a monkey, and his own pole-man could not share it with him because he was a twin and twins did not eat monkey, he turned to Bibifo with the pole-man's portion, and not to Sedefo, or to Asikanu, who was the brother of a clan head, and himself a possible successor to his brother's chieftainship. [845] [262]

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888 We had had occasion to observe a not dissimilar manner of interchange between a young girl and an elderly woman in one village after another.

In one such village, a girl, who did not yet have her breasts, answered an old woman's reprimand with, "No, kambo, I will go down to the river later."

Kambo! She who makes trouble for me. . . .

The old woman said nothing.

603 888 The most striking instance, however, occurred in the village of the Granman. Moana Yankuso was held in no little fear everywhere on the river. It was not his rank alone as headman of all the clans, however, that had won him the reputation of a man to be obeyed. He was a powerful man, a great politician, and in every sense a personality, a man who knew how to dominate men and situations. One day in his council house, while he was surrounded by his chiefs, who sat on the low stools, their heads averted from him as is the way when men are in the presence of the great, the plaid strip of cloth which covered the door was brushed aside, and a young man entered. He took up a stool, brought it close to the Granman, and sat down. But he did not avert his face nor did he wait to be addressed.

"Howdo, mati," said he to the Granman, "I hear you want to see me."

We waited for the swift and terrible rebuke which the chief could give. None came.

"I sent for you," began the Granman, "because the Bak'a is leaving us. I am sending the captain of the village to take charge of the boat the white man and his woman will travel in. You will take the front paddle of the boat. You will see to it that his journey is pleasant. You must take care in going through the rapids. . . ."

"Mati," interrupted the young man, and his manner did not disguise his impatience with the injunctions of the Granman. "Mati, I am a man. I know how to run a boat. Why do you tell me all this?"

Instead of finding fault with the forward youth, the Granman turned to us and said, "You will be safe with

him. He has taken boats up and down the Marowyne. He is my grandson. If I had one of my own blood, I would have had him accompany you. . . . But my sisters' children sleep," he ended, using the euphemism for death. 603 888

When we came to know the young man, we asked him about this incident with the Granman. Was he not afraid to interrupt him?

"Ma kye! But he is my grandfather! With my grandfather I make sport."

Again we went to the old men and sought in village after village for their own explanation of this behavior toward grandparents.

There were, we learned, age distinctions that were deeply felt. A man was on easy terms with those of his own generation. Between parents and children, and those of the generation of their parents, however, there was a definite code of behavior. For example, no young man or woman might talk of sexual matters with either parent, and this lack of sanction for frankness in sexual discussions with parents became an actual taboo with parents-in-law. Encounters with the "pai" and "mai," as they were known, were hemmed in by countless prohibitions. A man might not sleep in the same house with either of them, nor might he eat with them out of the same dish. If he met either of his parents-in-law as he went along the path, he had to turn aside, make way for them, and cover his face. He might not pronounce their names, nor might they speak his. These observances held for women, too, and the ones we mention were by no means all. 561 576 606 [593] [831]

With grandparents, however, a vastly different situation obtained. 603

"He is my grandson. I call him mati—friend. I make sport with him!"

"She is my granddaughter. She calls me husband. She makes free with me!"

"She is my granddaughter, we talk about everything. She calls me kambo, and I call her kambo." Again, we

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603 were told that kambo was an abbreviated form of kambosa, and meant the woman who makes trouble.

"He is my grandson, he calls me wife, and I call him [500] husband. We joke together about everything."

Up and down the river we heard these expressions from the old men and women with whom we talked, and to them these were all-sufficient explanations of the relationship of grandparent and grandchild. This making free was a verbal give-and-take that did not stop at brusqueness or teasing. Indeed, those who indulged in this freedom might discuss with each other any phase of the sexual life. Nor did they need to resort to any evasion or circumlocution. There seemed, moreover, to be a sanction for emphasis on the obscene and the lascivious in these conversations—obscene and lascivious, that is, from the point of view of those who were themselves speaking!

603 The effect of the custom is interesting. It acts as a form 182 of release for the young, who are held down under the strain of paying respect to those who are older and of greater experience. It is a way of escape from the discipline imposed by the parents and those of their generation.

What did the Bush Negro make of it?

We talked about it with men and women of many villages, and invariably the answer was the same.

"So we live in the bush, white man, and so we do. Our ancestors did this before us. Long ago our great ancestors brought all this knowledge with them from *Neng'e Kond'e* —from the land of the Negroes."

Yet in the beliefs of these people, and in their life as they live it, there are to be found a few suggestive hints which seem to have some bearing on this custom of verbal license between grandparents and grandchildren.

603 The Bush Negro child is given many names at birth, [551] and one name is usually that of a departed ancestor, a deceased grandparent. It may be, then, that this puts the child on a plane of spiritual equality with his grandparents and with those of their generation who are related to him. There is, also, the feeling about the propriety of the mar-

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riage of persons whose ages differ greatly. It may be that the grandparental generation is considered safe against infractions of this element in the code of proper behavior, and that the reticence about matters of sex, which is insisted upon between a child and those of the generation of his parents, has been proved to be unnecessary in the case of those so much older than the young person. Yet these, in the very nature of the case, are speculations. Whatever the reasons may be, the Bush Negro does not trouble himself about them.

"But my grandfather is my mati! With him I make sport!"

/122 cont./

845 [621] Observation at Maripasoula, November 3, 1956. The wife of Baïna, boatman of the border-fixing mission, gave birth at Pikin Tabiki, small farming village where she works with her mother and the latter's husband. Baïna went to be present at the delivery.

It was very long and dramatic. According to Baïna, an ɔgi sani had entered the child's body, making him stiff and impossible to extract. As a last resort they called a neighbor, T.... known for having a good gita. He called his gadu who revealed an efficacious remedy, since after the body of the sick woman was bathed with the prescribed leaves, the delivery ended successfully.

846 [545] Since we were leaving on our trip, it remained to find someone to take his place in fulfilling one of the husband's duties: cutting the supply of wood for heating the water necessary for the hot douches /showers?/ the mother was going to be given several times a day for about three months. He made an agreement [465] for that with Kwata, his mother-in-law's husband, to whom he will pay about 1,000 francs.

851 613 [603] Presentation of the child. On the eighth day the maternal grandmother (or great-grandmother if she is still living) takes the child and gives it to another ancestress of the same lineage, stationed in front of the house. The latter presents it to the family. Then [769] the head of the lineage, without taking the child, goes to the [778] fraga tiki to make an offering of tafia, asking the ancestors to [782] protect it.

For example, for the birth of A... (Lapé Tabiki village), son of O Yundu (L2, G60), it was Asakundu, grandmother of Yundu and great-grandmother of the child, who came to take him in the house and gave him over to her sister Térésa (L2, E57) to present him to the family (see genealogical table of the Lapé lineage, fraction 2).

/126 cont./

429 604 It is necessary to distinguish this principal guardianship, which is imprescriptible, from the secondary guardianship delegated by the uncles to the man or woman charged with bringing up the child. /127/

429 593 604 [858] Designation of the guardian. When a child reaches five or six years, the mother and the uncles decide who will be charged with his education and will become his guardian. The thought of the Refugee Blacks is that a child is much better educated if he is isolated and placed directly under the responsibility of an adult.

429 593 604 603 In order to decide who will bring up the child, they do not have a general meeting of the lineage. Everything is arranged among the mother and her brothers proper, the maternal grandmother, and the great-grandmother if she is still living. The child's classificatory uncles are consulted only if there are no uncles in the ordinary sense. Grandmothers have a preponderant influence in this decision as they do in all that concerns the child during his early years. The uncles' influence increases as the child advances in age.

429 There is no precise rule for the devolution of this guardianship, and nobody can take advantage of a right over the child.

[604] The guardian, male or female, carries out the responsibility of the education, but he can make no decision without asking the opinion of the uncles, whose decision is final. The guardianship can always be withdrawn.

This guardianship is exercised by one single person, man or woman.

429 593 It is very often the mother. In a large number of cases the mother raises her children, boys and girls, alone, with the cooperation of her husband, who often is not the father. Actually the husband has no rights over them. Whether the children

/127 cont./

429 593 [586] are his or not, he maintains them indirectly by maintaining his wife. He has only precarious authority. Every connection with the children disappears in case of divorce.

429 603 [604] [593] Guardianship is often exercised by the maternal grandmother, by an aunt, or even by an older sister.

If the maternal grandmother (or the great-grandmother if she is still living) insists on bringing up a child, the mother cannot refuse; one sees a rather large number of cases of women who have only one child and have given it to their mother to raise; it is true that since they live together, it is not a great sacrifice for the mother.

429 603 886 [163] [165] Thus one sees women over 70 years old, having had ten children or so, bringing up three or four of their grandchildren. The ancestress of Asisi village, Kuluba († 1957), after having had 12 children, brought up about ten of her children and grandchildren during the course of her long existence; when she died in 1957 at 100 years of age, she was still raising a child, one of her great-grandsons 12 years old. Of course she had not been working any more for a long time and was fed by her family, as the child was. But it was she who held the power of guardianship over him.

429 593 If it is the father who is charged with the child's education, he takes him into his own maternal family. His sisters will help him to bring up the child as long as he needs the presence of a woman.

From then on the father will exercise guardianship corresponding to that which the mother usually exercises under the responsibility of the uncles.

Sometimes a man is seen bringing up a daughter. Generally speaking, if a man /128/ has had three or more children by one woman, it is considered normal for him to be given one to raise, but that does not constitute a right; he cannot demand anything.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SRS Bush Negroes SRS
Saramaca

Kasanya glanced at the boy, who showed by his manner his eagerness to accompany his father, and then at his sister. "How will it be with you, sister, if Adyabu goes? Do you want him to go with Misomba?" 593 607

"Yes," she replied. "Misomba will care for him. Let him go."

The three older people talked over the details of the trip down the river, until it was made clear to all that Adyabu would share whatever money his father might receive for the lumber.

"You will treat him well, brother-in-law," said Kasanya, with a smile, "for in a few years his girl will be ripe for marrying, and he will need money for a fine wedding."

That night we talked this over with Kasanya.

"Why must a man ask another if he may take his own son with him on a journey? Is a man not to be trusted to take care of a boy he himself has made?"

"You do not understand, Bak'a. It is not that we don't trust Misomba," he replied. "He has lived with my sister for many years. She is his first wife, and my family have always liked him. When my sister's eldest daughter was asked in marriage by a man of this village, and our great family came together here to consider whether we should promise her to him or not, we asked Misomba to give us his advice. Misomba does not have a bold face. He did not speak until after much urging. To ask a man's advice about what does not concern his own family is a great honor. But we did this, and when he spoke, we found that what he said was good. So, you see, it is not that we do not trust Misomba." [554]

We encouraged him to explain further.

"Adyabu is not his heir. He is the child of my sister and belongs to my family. I am the one to say what he is to do and what he is not to do, because I am the oldest living brother. Adyabu does not belong to Misomba's family. He is of my blood. When I die, he will inherit my possessions. When Misomba dies, his possessions will go to his own 604 428

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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Saramacca

604 428 brothers and to his sisters' children. That is how we live here in the bush. That is how we do."

4

591 When a man marries, he either arranges to take his wife to live in his own village—his mother's village—or to stay in that of his wife. Whether he chooses the one village or the other, he has to build a house there for her, and this becomes her *wosu*, her household. If he wishes, he may build two houses, one in his own village, and one in the village of his wife. Kasanya's younger brother built two houses for his first wife. One was on the lower river, next to Kasanya's own house, and the other we would reach after two days' further travel up the river.

Yet the man, explained Kasanya, if the couple were living in the village of the wife, or the woman, if their house was in his village, was not entirely at home. In one's own village a person was a *gomi*, a child of the "ground." He belonged there. But when living in another's village, even though it was that of a husband or wife, one was a [609] *wakama'*, a stranger, and if a man of the village but uttered this word "wakama'" to such an individual, the outsider had to take up his belongings and leave at once. Were the [688] stranger, in turn, to speak aloud the word "gomi," disaster would follow, for the earth spirits, having been disturbed, would be sure to take their toll.

594 The *wosu*—the household—is the unit of family life, whether, in its physical location, it is in one village or two villages. In it a woman lives with her husband, and here the 596 children are reared. After the wosu comes the larger family unit, the *mbi*, composed of those who have come from the common womb of a more remote ancestress, while several of [614] these larger or extended families form a clan.

"If a man has more than one wife," said Kasanya, "then 595 he makes more than one house. A man never puts two wives in the same house. It would not be good. Each woman has her own house, where she lives with her children. It must be so. The children of the first wife belong to her

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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family. The children of the second wife belong to the 595
family of the second wife. A woman calls her husband's other wife by the name of kamboea. Do you know what kamboea means?" he asked, laughing. "*Kamboea*—the woman who makes trouble for me. So, you see, we people of the bush learned from our ancestors to give each wife her own house, where she might live with her own children."

But not alone the woman needed to have a house of her 342
own. The man, too, built a house for himself. In it he stored 423
his possessions. It was his sanctuary. No woman might enter it. On the carving of its door, a man lavished all his [531]
love of ornamentation, all his artistry.

"A man likes to have his own house for his possessions," explained Kasanya. "If he is a rich man, it is better that his wives do not know how much he has. You know what women are. They always ask for presents. But if a man is not rich, then it is better still that his wives do not know it. If they know, they will make life hard for him with nagging. They will talk of leaving him. And all the village will know, too."

In this house, then, which a man built for his wife, the 592
children were reared. Sometimes, it is true, if the harvests 604
were poor or the father had met with ill luck, the mother's [858]
brothers would come for the children, for children are the
ones to carry on the line. It is through them that clan rank [428]
and material goods are inherited.

But if all went well with the father, then the attachments 597
of the household were the closest, and they continued even 768
after death. For the household was not entirely disrupted after the death of a parent. Unless the one who died had been a sorcerer, a leper, or a madman, the house where he lived was not torn down.

"When a man dies," Kasanya said, "the wife goes on 768
living in the house, once it has been purified. If a woman dies, then the man keeps on living there."

"What of the children?" we asked. "What becomes of them?"

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Saramacca

"Yes," the man went on, "and there was much trouble." The men who had been punished incited their entire clan to come to their aid in an attack on the clan villages of those who had chastized them. "But now they are at peace." Those who were beaten were of his own clan, he said.

"And did you win your fight? What happened after that?"

"I did not go with the men. The land where the trees stood belonged to my father's clan, and my father's people I would not fight."

"What did you do?"

"I tried to make peace between them. That is what a man does when his father's clan and his mother's clan have trouble. But I was too young to speak in the big krutu—the assembly of the chiefs—so it was the elders of the Nyamfai people who brought them together, and settled the matter."

There was a point which we wanted cleared up. What was the attitude of the group toward a man who did not enter into a fight which concerned his own clan?

"Did no one say you ought to fight, too?" we asked, explaining our question to the man several times.

"No, why should they? A man can't fight against his father's people. Everybody knows that."

"But what if you did?"

"The gods would turn against my side."

After our return down river, when we again sat in the hut of the headman of the Gankwe clan, we turned to him with some questions about the family, and he gave us the following summary.

"From our mother we get our *lo*, our clan, and our *wée*, our great family. Our mother's brothers are those we must obey. They correct us when we do wrong. They tell us what is good. In our mother's village is our true home, and from there we are buried when we die. But our father is our friend. He gives us his advice. From him we get many of the gods we dance to when we are men, and from him we

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get the tchina which, if we do not break them, will let us stay healthy. Both our parents care for us." 593 604

He thought for a moment, and then, with a laugh, he wondered as Awingu had wondered that early morning at the planting ground.

"Is it not so in your country, Bak'a," he said, "that you ask me so often about these things?"

8

"Massa cow," we heard Bayo call out again and again to his great-grandfather Bibifo, when he wanted to indicate to the old man that he knew what he was about. Bibifo accepted the reproof with unvarying meekness and good humor. 603 888

This relationship between them puzzled us. Yet the other men, overhearing Bayo's brusque words to Bibifo, made nothing of it. Before strangers, Bayo was subdued, shy. He stuttered ceremonially when he addressed a man of rank. He pitched his voice only a little above a whisper when he was in a strange village. Toward Kasanya and Sedefo and Asikanu he was respectful, and showed reserve. When he wanted his hair trimmed he came to Angita for help, or, better still, to the young man at the prow of Kasanya's boat who, like Kasanya, was of his own clan. [576]

The old man was not a forceful fellow. That was, perhaps, the reason, we thought at first. Then we wondered if it was not because Bibifo had become Adrian, and no longer wore obias to carry him well on the water—because he had forsaken the old gods. But the other men treated Bibifo with the respect due an old man. When Kasanya killed a monkey, and his own pole-man could not share it with him because he was a twin and twins did not eat monkey, he turned to Bibifo with the pole-man's portion, and not to Sedefo, or to Asikanu, who was the brother of a clan head, and himself a possible successor to his brother's chieftainship. [845] [262]

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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more than a year before her father's death and therefore had not saved her mother from mourning.

"My sons are big so," she showed, pointing to the mortar, "and already my brother takes them with him down the river, and when they are with him he tells them about the creeks and the trees, and where the villages are which are friendly to our people. But when they come here to see me, then they play. They have play guns and play arrows which they make themselves. Into the uncleared bush they shoot them until I call them away to eat. Here I have no man from whom they can learn. Here they only play."

But boys liked to be with men. When the rains came, her brother would let them sit by when he carved, and, seeing him work, they would take up a knife and begin whittling. That was how boys learned to do men's work.

Women children played with "gosai." She put down her pestle, and felt about in her cloth where the child slept, and brought out a gourd, resembling in size a small cucumber. It had beads on top for eyes and a few deft cuts to indicate nose and mouth, while above the eyes was crosshatching for the hair. Until girls were old enough to be of use in the fields, they sat about in the clearing playing with these dolls.

"When they are four and five, then they like to work."

There was, of course, dancing. All dances were opened by the children, and at six and seven the girls knew seketi and awasa, and bandamba, and the boys danced susa.

"Do you dance susa?" we asked the Granman's five-year-old grandson, who was standing with us beside the widow.

"Ai," he said, but once our attention was turned to him he said also, "White man, the children say you carry money in this." He touched a water canteen which hung from the stranger's belt. "I know it is water."

He knew also that shaving cream was soap, and not white people's sacred clay, and now as women came with bottles for the white man's obia water—a name they gave

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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M6 kunu, which must kill his children. Was it safe to mention it? A chance question was asked.

"Nothing will happen to my children, Bak'a. They will [604] belong to my wife's family. It is my sister's children that things will happen to."

Bayo paused for a moment on the path, and stood in thought. Was it that he wished to be entirely honest with his friend? Was it that to confess the truth was too difficult for him? Whatever the reason, his next remark indicated a compromise.

"Nothing will happen to my children. Those of my younger brother will die, but not mine."

584 The conversation came back to the less painful subject of betrothal. Whatever the reason for accepting this boy whose kunu brought such supernatural risk, the match had apparently been satisfactory to the family of the girl, and they had sent word that the marriage would not displease them.

"Now I am earning the money I need, and later I will make the things I must give my girl and her family."

583 There was, first of all, the work to be done for Bayo's prospective mother-in-law. He might have to help her with repairs on her house, or assist her in clearing a field. Before he was married he would have to go into the bush and cut the two fields for his wife, one for rice and one for cassava, which a married woman must have, and in addition he would have to cut an extra field for the mother of his wife.

"I must do it so they can be sure that I am strong, and can take care of their girl when I marry her. But I will not have any trouble!"

Before that, however, Bayo would have to see to the carvings which a man had to have for marrying.

"I do not like to carve. But I have friends who will [439] carve for me while I go hunting for them!" That was the way to solve such difficulties. When the carvings were assembled he would have to make a boat for his girl. Bayo was not yet certain, but he thought that another boat would have to be made for his mother-in-law. Then

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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776 important enough to be the residence of a clan chief. His
789 clan's magic was strong, and, being well past middle age, he could afford to speak of these matters with the whites, for like all Bush Negroes he was proud of the black man's obia.

"Ya-hai, white man, obia may well puzzle you. It is no small matter. No man knows all there is to know about obia. The greatest of obia men is never done learning. You
[791] say you spent more than twenty years learning your kind of work. Twenty years is nothing. All his life an obia man spends learning. The ancestors let him see a little at a time, and a little more. 'One step at a time,' as the G'ama' says. So it is, white man."

When did the learning begin, we asked him?

869 "In the bush here, children see what we do, and they
776 learn much by watching. They learn to recognize the kind
778 of obias a man wears, they learn to know the names of obias, and about the *tchina*—taboos—that go with the wearing of obias. That is the beginning." All children knew that, but only boys could aspire to learn the secrets of obia.

A boy's definite training in these things began with adolescence. The ceremony was not formal, for it concerned only the boy and his immediate relatives. When the time came to teach the novice about the gods, his father and
[604] his mother's brothers met with him, and they held a krutu. Other men also came, men of the village and elders of their great family. The outsiders sat by and said nothing, while
881 the instruction was carried on by the father and the boy's maternal uncles.

869 "First the father gives him his gods, and he tells his son
776 the name of each god and how he must serve him."

There were songs to be learned and dances and invocations; there were the offerings which had to be made, and the manner of prayer memorized. He was told when he might call on the god and what names the god bore, for each god had several names, just as had each human being. There were many names to learn for the gods—their day names, their "strong" names.

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So it was with each god, until the boy was ready to be initiated into the Kromanti Society. 881 869

"There are many, many krutu, white man, for a boy has much to learn." 776

When those who directed the krutu were satisfied that the boy had learned how to serve the gods he had been given, that he knew their powers, and those things which were hateful to them and would incur their displeasure, then a dance was held for him so that he might demonstrate before the assembled festive villagers that he was ready for manhood.

"We give a big play for a boy who gets his gods for the first time. When the gods come to him at this dance at the bidding of the drum, and he dances hard, then his family is pleased. When a boy dances, then we know what is in him. We know whether his gods are strong, whether he is to be feared."

Once the father had transferred his gods to his son, he did not dance much himself. He might continue to play the drum at sacred dances, but dancing and drumming were for the younger men. His son's worship of the gods through the dance released the father for the study of obia. With the governing elders, the father took up his rôle as a clan member who sought the will of the ancestors when new tasks were to be undertaken. 886 869 776 [535] [533]

"What happens if the father has few gods to give his son?" we asked.

"Then his mother's eldest brother gives his to the boy." [604]

"What if the boy's uncle has none to give?"

That happened so seldom that he could not remember such an instance, but he had heard it said that this had occurred once or twice.

"A man must have gods to help him live. If his family can give him none, then they buy gods for him. Sometimes there are gods in the family that are not too strong, and they want the boy to have strong gods. They go to a man who knows about such things and who himself has strong gods and buy a god for the boy from him." 432 776 424

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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648 have a tribal language called *odo, deepee-talkee,* or *Saramacca-*
[191 *tongo* known only among themselves; they are members of
198] the Saramaccaner tribe.

Before the other corial is out of earshot, the Djukas bid us good-bye with the familiar words: *"Wakka bon na watra, bahkra!" "Gran danke, matio"*—"Many thanks, my uncle," we respond, adding the *o* sound to the last word to make it carry over the waves, as they do. To them "uncle" is the most
[576 respectful appellation that can be used, similar to our respect-
604] ful use of the word "father." For them a maternal uncle is more important than a father.

For a while now the poling continues in silence. Further on we pass a lone Djuka on the bank, skilfully setting a fish trap constructed of sticks and *lianas*. Far away upstream can be heard the muffled report of a shotgun; some black hunter is bringing in game. The angry currents slap constantly against the side of the corial. We round another bend and see ahead only more rapids, where rocks make innumerable white ripples in the muddy water.

A stop is made for lunch at one of the many islands. Bundle brings out canned food and the gipsy pot. The river looks enticing and cool. The bahkra begins taking off his clothes for a swim in the water near shore. The Negroes are abashed at his nakedness, and Bundle tactfully advises him to be more modest.

136 The waters in this part of the great South American rain forest are infested with the Brazilian piranha or piraya (*Serrasalmo sp.*), a species of carnivorous fish. They are small,

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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114 prejudices about sex and marriage may become less rooted by a comparison with the customs of a primitive society.

611 The Djukas, like a number of other primitive tribes, reckon
428 descent only through the female line; property rights are transmitted through the maternal side of the house. Fatherhood is a fact of relative unimportance.

595 Polygamy is the practice. Each wife lives in a separate hut (often in a separate village), which belongs to her because her husband built it for her. A man has as many wives as he wants, or can keep. The wives get along together fairly
[152] amicably. The cancer of matrimonial jealousy characteristic of our own system, is of narrow range and effect among the Djukas.

596 The head of the family is not the father, but the mother's
604 oldest male relative—her brother or her mother's brother. *The father is technically unrelated to his children.* As a matter of biological fact, he can never be sure of his paternity, whereas maternity is never in doubt. All children belong to their mother's family, and are subject to the authority of her brother or her maternal uncle. The latter is more closely related to them than any other male.

611 A group of families related through the female line con-
614 stitute a *m'beh,* and several m'beh together make up a *lo,* or clan. These groups are all reckoned through the mother. Husband and wife may belong to different m'beh and lo, but children of the union belong only to their mother's group. At
593 first sight the father seems negligible in this arrangement,
604 but it must be remembered that he is very likely the brother

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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Paramacca

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604

Bush Negro Men of the Paramacca Tribe, Middle Marowyne River, French Guiana. The child is being tended by its maternal uncle, who, in the social structure of these people, takes the place of the father in tending the children.

[Facing p. 120]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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of some other woman, and exercises authority over her children rather than over his own.

The Djuka family, then, consists of a group of people all descended from a single woman, and related to each other through the female line. Whatever family authority exists resides in the mother's or grandmother's brothers; to them the children defer; from them the children will inherit property and title. The paternity of the children is unessential. This type of social organization is called matrilineal.

We should, perhaps, not expect to find romantic love, as we know it, among the Djukas. The peculiar transports and attenuated delights of romantic passion are a rather extraordinary phenomenon which, according to Briffault, does not exist outside of Western civilization. Romance requires a high development of individuality among women so that one may be desirable above all others. Where women are mutually interchangeable, romance cannot exist. The Djuka black does not love a woman; he loves women. Love among the Djukas is not a brainstorm but a physiological release, and marriage an economic device.

The young people have complete knowledge and some experience of sex at an extremely early age and are usually married at sixteen or seventeen. They are fairly promiscuous before marriage and extremely so afterward. This, again according to Briffault, is the rule in tribes retaining the matrilineal tradition. Since intercourse before marriage is a practice that the Djukas make little effort to restrain, sex is a common affair, not particularly connected with marriage.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

were born, such as Monday-child, Tuesday-child, and so on. 000

The boys of about seven to ten years of age form themselves into groups and play at hunting or fishing, or canter in and out of the village. There seems to be very little organized game playing among the children. For that matter the adults have no organized games aside from that of gambling with the *adji-boto* board. The little girls play at house making, or follow pursuits of a less arduous nature than do the boys, and to them in particular is given the care of the young children, although the boys often do their share in this matter. The arts of hunting, fishing, canoe work, and jungle craft in general are usually taught the boy by his maternal uncle, or by some other male relative of his mother's family, and less often by his actual father. At irregular intervals there are canoe races, and the young men indulge in wrestling as a pastime. 857 [525] [868 604]

We know of no initiatory rites for ceremonially admitting children into the tribe at puberty. Among the Aucaners, however, the boy does undergo a slight ceremonial to indicate that he is at last a full-fledged adult. Most of the children of both sexes are entirely nude, and no notice is taken of the fact. At about the age of ten the boy begins wearing around his waist a string of singrassi, in anticipation of a loin-cloth. When the maternal uncle judges that the boy is old enough, he stands the boy up before the entire village, assembled for the purpose, and gives him a loin-cloth and camissa. But first the uncle rips off any cloth that happens to be on the boy's body and draws attention to his nudity. Everyone is told to 881 [526] [291]

/32 cont./

601 613 571 [163] The very rigor of this principle seems to have to lead to a scission of the lineages, for one can hardly conceive that people will be willing to address girls younger than themselves as "my grandmother" and show them respect; now that must necessarily be the case at the end of a certain number of generations, for as we shall see, the fecundity of Boni women sometimes lasts up to the age of 50, and there are cases where the interval between the oldest and youngest child reaches 35 years.

Nevertheless, we have not actually observed that this conception of kinship leads to scissions or even to serious clashes.

That derives from the very nature of the hierarchy and the social ties within the matrilineage; they entail a collective tutelage by one generation over the next, and in the same way a collective tutelage by the ancestors over the living. But for the same reason that every prayer, every invocation addressed individually to such-and-such an ancestor is avoided, the hierarchy of the Refugee Blacks does not give rise to relationships of authority between one man and another, which would not be tolerated. Only the hedemã, or captain, designated by the assembly of the lineage, exerts a personal authority; even so, he is careful to limit it almost exclusively to religious functions.

• 604 613 "Uncles" exert collectively an authority over the generation of "nephews." They meet in council, especially on the question of marriages. They do not vote, strictly speaking, but the opposition of three or four of them prevents the carrying out of a project. There is no preponderant voice for the closest uncles (yet in practice this seems to be taken into account). But the eldest of the uncles in the classificatory sense is unanimously recognized as preponderant.

602 784 428 Existence of patrilineages. Matrilineages are not the only kin groups of the Refugee Blacks. Each one receives from his father a fundamental interdiction -- bwasi kina -- which he will have

/64 cont./

Functioning of the Lineage

613

We have seen that the effective social group, lo, fraction of an extended lineage, is a social unit possessing all that is necessary to a human group to live, settling its differences and enforcing its rights:

--Ancestor worship;

--A head filling at the same time the role of priest of the ancestors and judge;

--Collective rights over a portion of land.

613 619 A lineage could live perfectly independent without any tie of dependence vis-à-vis any tribe whatsoever. Actually, there exist in the interior of Surinam several lineages of very ancient origin (which are joined under the name of Bakabuchi = back of the bush) who live totally independent.

613 561 No privileged line of descendants exists within a lineage and the only hierarchy recognized is that of age, or more exactly of closeness to the founding ancestress.

613 561 604 Collective tutelage of uncles in the classificatory sense is effective only in childhood, but the principle of it continues during the whole lifetime. In a discussion a man must avoid violently contradicting one of his "uncles" and finds it normal that more weight is attached to the opinion of this uncle than to his own. In 1956 we were subjected to some disagreeable incidents due to a bossman who was the classificatory uncle (although the same age) of the motorman of his boat; the motorman hesitated to order him vigorously as he did his other bossman and he, on his part, did not fail to remind his "nephew" of the respect due him.

/126 cont./

551 553 The only case in which custom governs the choice of name is that of twins.

Male twins are called Adam and Agosu.

Boy and girl twins are called Adam and Efa (2).

[197]

2. This is connected with a myth derived from the Biblical tradition, which we shall set forth later.

Female twins are called Chimba and Sisi.

Social Relations within the Lineage

429 604 [593] Guardianship. Until he is old enough to work, the child is placed under the responsibility of the mother and, one step farther away, that of the eldest of his classificatory uncles. To a lesser degree all the uncles have authority over the child; guardianship is collective.

The custom of the Refugee Blacks, hostile to any division of the lineage, does not recognize any right peculiar to the mother's brothers (still, in fact, they seem to be consulted by preference about matters of small importance). [584] For serious matters, such as authorizing a marriage, the classificatory uncles meet and deliberate; they do not vote, strictly speaking, but the proved opposition of three or four of them causes the project to be abandoned.

429 593 604 [836] It is to the mother that people will come to complain about the child, and not to the father. She it is who decides to refer the thing to the uncles if it is serious (example of Doni, 18 years old, who deflowered Elina, 15 years old. Elina's mother came to complain to Doni's mother. Doni's mother went to notify her older brother Fintiman, who took the matter in hand).

/126 cont./

429 604 It is necessary to distinguish this principal guardianship, which is imprescriptible, from the secondary guardianship delegated by the uncles to the man or woman charged with bringing up the child. /127/

429 593 604 [858] Designation of the guardian. When a child reaches five or six years, the mother and the uncles decide who will be charged with his education and will become his guardian. The thought of the Refugee Blacks is that a child is much better educated if he is isolated and placed directly under the responsibility of an adult.

429 593 604 603 In order to decide who will bring up the child, they do not have a general meeting of the lineage. Everything is arranged among the mother and her brothers proper, the maternal grandmother, and the great-grandmother if she is still living. The child's classificatory uncles are consulted only if there are no uncles in the ordinary sense. Grandmothers have a preponderant influence in this decision as they do in all that concerns the child during his early years. The uncles' influence increases as the child advances in age.

429 There is no precise rule for the devolution of this guardianship, and nobody can take advantage of a right over the child.

[604] The guardian, male or female, carries out the responsibility of the education, but he can make no decision without asking the opinion of the uncles, whose decision is final. The guardianship can always be withdrawn.

This guardianship is exercised by one single person, man or woman.

429 593 It is very often the mother. In a large number of cases the mother raises her children, boys and girls, alone, with the cooperation of her husband, who often is not the father. Actually the husband has no rights over them. Whether the children

/127 cont./

429 are his or not, he maintains them indirectly by maintaining
593 his wife. He has only precarious authority. Every connection
[586] with the children disappears in case of divorce.

429 Guardianship is often exercised by the maternal grand-
603 mother, by an aunt, or even by an older sister.

[604] If the maternal grandmother (or the great-grandmother if
[593] she is still living) insists on bringing up a child, the mother cannot refuse; one sees a rather large number of cases of women who have only one child and have given it to their mother to raise; it is true that since they live together, it is not a great sacrifice for the mother.

429 Thus one sees women over 70 years old, having had ten
603 children or so, bringing up three or four of their grandchildren.
888 The ancestress of Asisi village, Kuluba († 1957), after having
[163] had 12 children, brought up about ten of her children and
[165] grandchildren during the course of her long existence; when she died in 1957 at 100 years of age, she was still raising a child, one of her great-grandsons 12 years old. Of course she had not been working any more for a long time and was fed by her family, as the child was. But it was she who held the power of guardianship over him.

429 If it is the father who is charged with the child's education,
593 he takes him into his own maternal family. His sisters will help him to bring up the child as long as he needs the presence of a woman.

From then on the father will exercise guardianship corresponding to that which the mother usually exercises under the responsibility of the uncles.

Sometimes a man is seen bringing up a daughter. Generally speaking, if a man /128/ has had three or more children by one woman, it is considered normal for him to be given one to raise, but that does not constitute a right; he cannot demand anything.

582 /142 cont./
619 people who have lived there for a long time. They strike up
621 relationships with the people of Asisi, and that favors new unions. This explains the high proportion of unions between the women of this village and the Djuka (13 out of 75). On the contrary, almost no marriages to Djuka are observed in Papaïston village, where no Djukas has settled permanently. /143/

584 The marriage proposal. The suitor is obliged to ask for the
613 assent of his own mother and his uncles (at the very least the
[604] eldest of his classificatory uncles); in general he asks his father also.

[604] If two of his classificatory uncles are expressly opposed, the plan must be abandoned. But there is no possible sanction for disobedience.

The suitor does not make the proposal himself; after making sure of the agreement of the girl he sends two persons, one of his uncles or brothers and one of his sisters in the classificatory sense.

These envoys speak to the woman's mother and uncles assembled together. If they agree, they go to ask for the assent of the head of the lineage. The men and women of the woman's lineage drink together a liter of tafia brought by the
[969] envoys. Before drinking, the doyen of the lineage pours a little of it on the ground while invoking the ancestors, asking them to perpetuate the accord of the household and to grant them health and fecundity. This ceremony is made on the spot and they do not go to the fraga tiki, for they would be afraid to present themselves again at the fraga tiki in case of a break-up; prayer said anywhere in the village is not binding.

The two envoys, man and woman, play a very precise role. The man represents the postulant (it is a sort of marriage by proxy).

/147 cont./

583 A girl's marriage does not involve any dowry in the African sense of the term, but it involves payment of the price of virginity to the mother. This payment is made after consummation of the marriage (or after defloration if there has been a clandestine union). It consists of seven pieces of cloth, a demijohn of tafia, and various imported objects (the whole representing in 1958 about 8,000 francs, which is relatively small for the Refugee Blacks). It really has to do with the price of virginity, for nothing is paid back if there is a break-up. The man moreover gives the girl white beads /possibly "pearls" --Tr./, red cloth, and sweetmeats which constitute the payment of her akka.

[429] The price of virginity is paid to the person who has raised the girl, even if it is a man. This person divides it equally with the mother or, if the latter is dead, with the mother's sisters.

For example, for O Baïkom (D,u, F10), brought up by her father Malobi in Loka village, her husband Moomu (Kotika) paid the price of virginity to Malobi who shared it with his wife Béniti.

[604] [613] No payment is made to the uncles or to the head of the lineage.

836 [597] The fact that a girl may carry on a clandestine affair and be deflowered without having been properly proposed to is considered a shame for the mother; but if the seducer confesses and pays the price of virginity, honor is restored.

Defloration does not necessarily entail marriage, for the seducer does not always intend to take on the maintenance of a household.

If the girl is deflowered too young, her mother does not give her the pãŋgi and continues to forbid her to have sexual relations, for she fears that she may become pregnant. Now for 848 a girl, becoming pregnant without having concluded a contract 558 of maintenance with a man is an extreme shame, for that means she is not worth anything.

would be more serious yet, an evil spirit who would be lying in wait for a soul to use as emissary in his affairs of black magic, would snatch at the soul and take it away. If this happened, a person would sicken, languish, and die. Sometimes when a man tripped on the clayey bank, we heard him exclaim, "*Agó!*—Ancestors!" calling on these to protect him until he recovered his balance. But often we heard different cries. "Mi, Awana!" one man had called. "Mi, Nyamfai!" or, "Mi, Matchau!" or "Mi, Popoto!" These are all clan names, and for a time we assumed that instead of appealing to their ancestors, they called on the entire clan to come to their aid. But one day Sedefo lost his footing, and we heard him exclaim, "Mi, Fandaki!" Now we knew that Sedefo belonged to the clan of the Gankwe people, and we knew, further, that he was most emphatically not of the Fandaki clan.

"Sedefo, you are not a Fandaki. Why did you call on them?"

"My father belongs to the Fandaki. When we slip we call on our father's lo."

"Why, Sedefo?"

"I do not know. . . . "

Another day we were sitting and talking to a young man in an upper river village. A girl came and sat with us. "This is my sister," the man said. It was at a time when we were looking into these matters, and we asked, "Did the same mother make you both?"

"No," he answered, "she is here only on a visit. She lives across the river. Her father is my mother's brother."

"But she is not your sister, then," we said. "She does not even belong to your clan."

"Massa Neng'e! But she is my sister!" the man protested. "She is neither of my family, nor of my clan. But did not my mother's brother make her?"

"Could you marry her?"

He considered for a moment. "It would be possible. But it would not be good. . . . And the old women in the village would talk too much."

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-6 (1928-1929) 1934
SRS Bush Negroes SRS
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him. He has taken boats up and down the Marowyne. He is my grandson. If I had one of my own blood, I would have had him accompany you. . . . But my sisters' children sleep," he ended, using the euphemism for death. 603 888

When we came to know the young man, we asked him about this incident with the Granman. Was he not afraid to interrupt him?

"Ma kye! But he is my grandfather! With my grandfather I make sport."

Again we went to the old men and sought in village after village for their own explanation of this behavior toward grandparents.

There were, we learned, age distinctions that were deeply felt. A man was on easy terms with those of his own generation. Between parents and children, and those of the generation of their parents, however, there was a definite code of behavior. For example, no young man or woman might talk of sexual matters with either parent, and this lack of sanction for frankness in sexual discussions with parents became an actual taboo with parents-in-law. Encounters with the "pai" and "mai," as they were known, were hemmed in by countless prohibitions. A man might not sleep in the same house with either of them, nor might he eat with them out of the same dish. If he met either of his parents-in-law as he went along the path, he had to turn aside, make way for them, and cover his face. He might not pronounce their names, nor might they speak his. These observances held for women, too, and the ones we mention were by no means all. 561 576 606 [593] [831]

With grandparents, however, a vastly different situation obtained. 603

"He is my grandson. I call him mati—friend. I make sport with him!"

"She is my granddaughter. She calls me husband. She makes free with me!"

"She is my granddaughter, we talk about everything. She calls me kambo, and I call her kambo." Again, we

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner
Saramaccaner
Boni

619 184 In general appearance and culture the Aucaners vary little from the other large tribe, the Saramaccaners.

[531] The art motifs and their treatment as displayed on the Aucaner wood carvings as a rule differ from those of the Saramaccaners. On the other hand, some of the pieces were found to be practically identical.

The Aucaner talkee-talkee also differs from that of the Saramaccaners, the former being more like the speech of the Town Negroes. The Aucaners have no deepee-talkee or odo as have the Saramaccaners, but they have a dialect known as *Koropina* where a *p* or an *m* is spoken before the vowels in a word for the purpose of confusing strangers. A similar custom is prevalent among the Negroes of Curaçao, Dutch West Indies. [197 198 191]

[291] The dress of the Aucaners is the same as that of the Saramaccaners, excepting that they affect more often the breast-cloth, the *wassapangye,* and the head-cloth, the *mussu.*

Among the Aucaners the toga garment is called the *yembah,* while it is called a camissa by the Saramaccaners. The barrier of palm leaves is called *chifunga* by the Aucaners and *azang pau* by the Saramaccaners.

[262 606 194] The system of food taboos and general culture are the same. There is no mother-in-law taboo among either the Aucaners or the Saramaccaner tribe.

[161] 648 The Boni tribe, which consists of about 900 people, is descended from escaped slaves who crossed the Marowyne River into French Guiana and who were allowed to remain there unmolested by the French authorities. This is the only

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

tradition and authority. The older women's opinions bear 835
considerable weight, for it is chiefly they who maintain the
customs of the tribe. The mother-in-law and father-in-law [606]
are held in special esteem.

Unlike divorce, death is an occasion of genuine sorrow. 765
If a man's wife dies, he may go into mourning for a whole
year. His mourning consists in staying in his hut and doing
no work, while his dead wife's family brings him food and
supports him. When the year is up, he makes a sacrifice to
"the little ground god, Amu" before taking another woman. [776
He slaughters a fowl, letting the blood flow from the throat 782]
on to the earth. After this ritual sacrifice a big dance is held,
and he is permitted to marry again. It is his next wife who
insists upon this ritual.

When a man dies, it is sometimes incumbent upon his 587
widow to have intercourse with his oldest surviving brother
and marry him. The fact that he may already be married
makes no difference whatever. It is imperative that they live
together for several months; after that, if there is no affec-
tion between them, they can separate. This is a widespread
custom among primitives, and there are remnants of it in
the present-day customs of orthodox Jews.

Among the Aucaners it is not necessary for a man to have
intercourse with his deceased brother's wife. He must, how-
ever, take care of her for a period of six months, after which
time she is free to remarry.

A woman may publicly mourn her deceased husband by [765]
singing a dirge every little while.

606 /152 cont./
Relations between husband and mother-in-law. As is commonly observed in Africa, the husband has the duty to respect his mother-in-law, to have a reserved attitude toward her. /153/ A curious custom exists on this subject among the Refugee Blacks: If he inadvertently arrives at the village when at the moment when she is bathing, he must pay her compensation in the form of a camisa. This is a reciprocal obligation.

[513] He may sleep under the same roof as she when the village is crowded, but not habitually.

606 609 On the other hand, the custom of the Refugee Blacks differs sharply from African customs on one important point: it does not call for any material obligation toward the mother-in-law or the wife's brothers. The husband is not at all required to give them presents or to contribute toward their maintenance. In fact, the wife gives her mother part of what her husband gives her.

684 Adultery. The custom of the Refugee Blacks concerning adultery is extremely curious. The outraged husband has the right to inflict a public punishment on the lover, which he must stand without defending himself. In the absence of the husband his brother is qualified to strike in his place. This punishment must take place in a village in the presence of witnesses capable of intervening if the punishment goes beyond accepted limits.

Only bare fists may be used.

A man can always escape too brutal a punishment by taking refuge in the water. His adversary may not follow him into it under pain of a severe punishment by the grand man. He can also take refuge in the bush.

[692] The husband's honor being thus publicly restored, the row is over; in such cases some men are seen to beat the wife in addition, but this is not the general case; the true custom does not call for the wife to be beaten because she is considered irresponsible. She can either be repudiated or threatened

/179 cont./

765 After three months, an offering is made at the fraga tiki
[769] of the dead person's lineage, setting forth how much her spouse
[778] has respected her memory and asking permission to lighten the
[613] manifestations of his sorrow. The mourning is then lightened, but the man in mourning continues to wear a bandeau around his head or at the very least an old beret.

765 During the first months the man in mourning has no other
461 responsibility than to hunt and fish at the order of the dead
[613] woman's lineage. He does his own cooking with the food given to him; he cuts a clearing for his mother-in-law or another woman of the deceased's relatives, who will farm it with him.
[431] Next, he receives the order to go and earn the money necessary for the sizable contribution he must bring to the festival of the lifting of mourning. During the entire duration of the mourning he must report on his work and moves.

765 When the end of mourning approaches, he must do a job
[606] for the benefit of his mother-in-law, generally redoing the roof of her house or building a boat for her.

These arrangements do not involve any material sanction
[626] whatever. Like the rest of the social life of the Refugee Blacks, they rest entirely upon fear of a suprahuman sanction.
[587] After the lifting of mourning, the person in mourning may remarry without further delay.

765 State of widows and co-wives of a widower. The state of a
768 woman in mourning is practically identical to that of a widower.
[562] She lives for the duration of mourning in her deceased husband's house under the surveillance of his near relatives on the maternal
[613] side. The dead man's lineage lends her all the objects she
[439] needs and furnishes the imported commodities (salt, kerosene, soap) that she uses. On the other hand, she may freely use the produce of the clearing that her husband had cut for her, since it is taken for granted that these products are the exclusive property of the wife.

/179 cont./

765 431 [606] Before coming out of mourning, the widow must procure for herself at the minimum the money necessary for a demijohn of tafia as a contribution to the festival of the lifting of mourning. She must make a present of several cans of couac to her husband's mother.

765 843 184 A pregnant woman undergoes mourning exactly according to the general law. The custom described by several authors for the Saramaka, according to which the pregnant woman must join one of her husband's "brothers," does not apply to the Boni.

765 888 There are some attenuations of the harshness of mourning with respect to old women. For example in 1956, Lémiki (70 years), living in Boniville, was in mourning for her husband Tabiki (Awara Bakka, but residing since childhood with the Lapé lineage in Loka /180/ where he had been raised by his [768] [602] father). Lémiki alternately spent three weeks in her house and three in her husband's. It was Asamani, Tabiki's sister by the same father, who exercised authority over her.

765 768 [613] This remarkable example shows that as regards mourning (rights and duties), the principle of residence plays an essential role. He who has been reared by his father is in this respect taken out of his lineage, which loses all rights and all control over the conduct of the mourning.

765 [775] The co-wives of a widower are subject to mourning on the same grounds as he, and for the same motive, since they are targets for the jealousy of the dead woman's yɔrka.

[768] However, they are authorized most often to live with their maternal family. When the period of dipi baaka has ended, 765 833 they may take up conjugal relations again with their husband, but at intervals of several weeks and without his being able to spend the night with one of them. Each time he must ask permission of the head of the dead woman's lineage. [613]

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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Kasanya glanced at the boy, who showed by his manner his eagerness to accompany his father, and then at his sister. "How will it be with you, sister, if Adyabu goes? Do you want him to go with Misomba?" 593 607

"Yes," she replied. "Misomba will care for him. Let him go."

The three older people talked over the details of the trip down the river, until it was made clear to all that Adyabu would share whatever money his father might receive for the lumber.

"You will treat him well, brother-in-law," said Kasanya, with a smile, "for in a few years his girl will be ripe for marrying, and he will need money for a fine wedding."

That night we talked this over with Kasanya.

"Why must a man ask another if he may take his own son with him on a journey? Is a man not to be trusted to take care of a boy he himself has made?"

"You do not understand, Bak'a. It is not that we don't trust Misomba," he replied. "He has lived with my sister for many years. She is his first wife, and my family have always liked him. When my sister's eldest daughter was asked in marriage by a man of this village, and our great family came together here to consider whether we should promise her to him or not, we asked Misomba to give us his advice. Misomba does not have a bold face. He did not speak until after much urging. To ask a man's advice about what does not concern his own family is a great honor. But we did this, and when he spoke, we found that what he said was good. So, you see, it is not that we do not trust Misomba." [554]

We encouraged him to explain further.

"Adyabu is not his heir. He is the child of my sister and belongs to my family. I am the one to say what he is to do and what he is not to do, because I am the oldest living brother. Adyabu does not belong to Misomba's family. He is of my blood. When I die, he will inherit my possessions. When Misomba dies, his possessions will go to his own 604 428

606 /152 cont./
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Chapter I

DEATH AT GANKWE

WE HAD not thought to come upon death on our first night in the Suriname bush. What had killed Sedefo's brother no one could as yet say, for the time had not come to call upon the spirit of the dead man to speak. Death, said the Bush Negroes, was ravaging the family. Kunu, the law of retribution, the tool of ancestors and gods, had found this latest victim an easy prey to the black magic which had been invoked against him. In whispers they talked about a quarrel at work with a man who had a powerful snake god. 761 [154]

"The man's family kunu and the enemy's Aboma god," we heard as a refrain to the low muttering.

There would be dancing all that night for the spirit of the dead, the natives told us, and they asked if we did not wish to come and honor the dead. But an old man objected. "Let them wait until tomorrow," he said, "let them wait until they are rested. To face the spirit of the dead their own spirits must be strong." 764 [609]

That night whenever we stirred in our sleep we strained for the sound of the drums, but the wind blew from the east, and though Gankwe, where the dead man lay in state, was but a ten-minute run down the rapids, we could hear nothing. In the morning, however, we heard them plainly, heard the invocations drummed by the grave diggers on their way to the burial ground deep in the bush on the opposite bank.

Osio tintin
Osio be'e dyo. [539]

[P. 2 contain no textual material]

DEATH AT GANKWE

Ahead of us and all about were the various shades of darkness which go to make the jungle darkness on a moonless night—the dark water, the dark branch of a liana which our paddlers skirted as if by magic, the dark wall of forest, and the dark horizon. But soon there was foam on the water, and then all the darkness seemed to break and come to life. We heard the drums plainly, and the rattles, the singing voices, and the chorus of approbation from the young onlookers, breaking into the song. We were nearing the rapids and Gankwe. 000

Up the bank, through the spiritual guard of palm fronds which stretched across the path, and up the path we went to the great village clearing, where the principal houses are grouped and where stands the house for the dead. 764

In this open palm-thatched house the coffin, covered over with a white striped cloth, rested on a rough bier. Underneath the head of the coffin a calabash dish stood to receive the fluid of the putrifying body, while in front of the coffin a fire smoldered and to one side a hammock was slung where Sedefo, or in his absence an elder of the village, lay to guard the dead. The drummers and some elders sat in front of the house facing the phalanx of singers seated on their low stools some ten feet away from them. There were perhaps fifty women singing, and as many standing about to the left ready to begin dancing again, or just standing by to mark the rhythm with hand clapping and a slight swaying in place. Here and there, hung upon forked sticks which had been planted in the ground or placed on the ground beside a stool, were a few lanterns. They cast a pale shadowy light and brought into relief the ceremonially oil-anointed shoulder of one, the shining anklets of another, a brilliant red strip of cloth, the intricate pattern of another's hairdress.

With our coming the singing and dancing had stopped. The children grouped together moved toward us in a body, and then took to their heels, repeating this again and again, until the two or three we had already talked with at our camp took courage and squatted down at our feet. The older 609

609 people kept their distance, and among them some pithy proverbs were spoken to bear upon the shortcomings of the white man. One or two of them turned to repeat to the dead what had been said, and there was great laughter. Sedefo
[175] came to assure us that the dead man liked it very much. For the dead, it appeared, were especially susceptible to humor and to exceptional occasions.

764 About us, or edging their way toward [illegible]e the
298 younger men in their ceremonial dress, the toga-like cloth covering their bodies, but leaving one shoulder bared for respect, and the women in their knee-length *pangi*, or
[301] cloths, hanging from the waist, and their shining brass rings reaching from wrist to elbow and from ankle halfway up to the knee. Among the dancers, but standing somewhat
[534] aloof, could be seen a man or woman with seed rattles about the ankles. These were the fine dancers. Of them our informant had spoken when he said, "They dance well at Gankwe."

764 Carved stools were placed for us facing the coffin a little
[350] to the left of the singers, where we could best see the danc-
533 ing. One or two lanterns were moved to give us better light. The drummers, who had not left their places, took up the rhythm again—one of the women had us know that the spirit of the dead man had communicated to the spirits of the drummers that he wanted to see the dancing resumed. The singing began—a woman's falsetto voice and a chorus; the hand clapping of the singers and bystanders emphasized the basic rhythm. It was slow at first, then quickened, and the dancing became more animated.

"They dance seketi," whispered our friends. "Later they will dance awasa."

764 The dancing was confined to a comparatively small space.
535 It began with a barely perceptible motion of the feet of the dancers to the rhythm of the drums and the hand clapping. Then the feet began to execute figures in place, without leaving the ground, the arms hanging loosely at the side. This was continued for some time, until, arms flexed and held rigid at the elbow, and knees bent but rigid, too, the

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

203 And did men speak into the horn, and sing? Would there be no harm to the *ak'a*—the soul?

[193] Their own trickster, Anansi, the spider, working with his fabulous cunning, could not have spun the stories about the whites faster than had the passing boats. From boat to boat, from boat to shore, from shore to village the news went. Had the white man come with guns, or had he come accompanied by many others, then, to be sure, it would have been a matter for the drums. But the vagaries of a white man coming with his wife are of no ritual concern. The drums would only sound on occasions of moment; to sum-
[534] mon the men for a council of the clan or to ask, ritually, for the health of a chief; to tell of death; or to speak to the gods themselves. But for a white man with his woman, gossip was good enough to carry the news.

609 Up and down the river, in the villages where they had visited the year before, many a woman to whom the Bakra had given a string of yellow beads, or a large glittering safety pin to put in her hair as an ornament, or, better still, a large tin can out of which her husband had fashioned a broad band to be worn on her arm, one which glistened as it reflected the pale light of the moon during a dance—such a woman heard of the coming of the Bakra with pleasure. She had them all, these gifts, safe in the carved calabash on which she had incised the sinuous lines of the snake spirit that gave her fertility, and now that the gourds were ripening once again, she would carve another to hold the new things that the whites would bring her.

The young men, too, heard of their coming with pleasure. For would not the strange ways of the Bakra and his woman give them many witty new things to put into words and sing to the traditional seketi tunes, the secular songs that they would later sing in the intervals of the religious dances? It was good to make up new words, which made a man the center of the dance. Ambe! But the women loved the man who could put clever new words to their dance songs!

The children heard the news with fear, for at four, at five, they were not too young to have learned of the enormi-

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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ties of the white men of long ago and the deeds of their slave ancestors, who had won for them freedom in this bush. 609 177

But what of the old men? What of them who govern and know proverb and parable to fit all ceremonial occasions, whose word is final in clan councils? What of those who call the gods and speak to the ancestors and who, surpassing all else in wisdom, know how to control *obia*, the great healing spirit which Nyankompon, the Sky God, created after he had brought earth and water into being, so that man might live? At the landing place of the balata camp, a group of such men were gathered and stood about talking. A Loango elder who was on his way to visit his relatives at Kadyu, his lower river clan village, had espied a clansman on the shore and had come up in his boat. 648

"A man and a woman came. And they are going up the river until . . . until beyond the Mamadam and Baikutu, until . . . past the Felulasi Falls, until . . . they come to the Tapa Water and into the Pekien Rio, and until . . . they arrive at the Granman's village."

The speaker, a younger man who had come from up river to the death ceremonies at Gankwe spoke with a certain eagerness, and made of the telling a long recital, drawing out the singsong word "*te*"—until—more and more with each repetition, and in this way intensifying both the distance and the hardships in these vast and vaster stretches. 609 203 648

"Ayo! A long way. Will the Ga'ma' let them come?"

"Ya-hai, tio! You must ask, will the gods let them come!"

"Kere, kere! You must ask if the ancestors will let them come!"

"They carry no guns."

"Then they bring us their gods."

"Kweti-kweti! And that's what I don't understand. They say they come to learn."

"By Ando! But what does that mean?"

"Well, they speak the proverb down below, they say: 'It isn't for nothing that the worm crawls from side to side.'"

"Massa Neng'e, but it's true, true."

"The white man wants to get the black man's obia."

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609 "The whites have wars against each other. . . ,"
203 "Our ancestors. . ."
648 Before the last speaker could finish, a man broke in with a prayer. His voice was conversational and sounded as though he were addressing someone present.

> "*Great Sky God,*
> *Kediamo, Kediampon,*
> *Mother of the River,*
> *Sacred ancestors,*
> *Grant that if the white man comes for evil*
> *His race end.*
> *Grant that if the white woman comes for evil*
> *Her womb wither, her line perish.*"

609 But the Loango headman shook his head and said, "The
203 gods will deal with them, have no fear. Do you remember
648 the man who was drowned at the Mamadam, and the one
776 who died way beyond the Granman's country, and that other one, the soldier? They came with evil in their hearts. The gods killed them. The gods will deal with these, too."

And another said: "Let them go up the river. The gods know all. The ancestors know all. This is our land, and our earth spirits will protect us, and they will kill our enemies. This is our river. Our river gods will protect us, and kill our enemies. This is our bush. The gods of the bush are strong. The gods of the bush know their bush children. They know their children's enemies."

Then the Loango elder spoke again: "We have the gods
[186] from Africa. They are more than all gods. The African gods know all. They will watch over us. We have the obia spirits, the African obia spirits. Mati, friends, let them go up the river. Have no fear. Our gods are with us."

The men's soft, sober voices spoke the words without emotion. Theirs were the voices of destiny. Well might the answering chorus intone the affirmations, while the colloquy went on of leader and chorus, leader and chorus, now one taking up the main theme, now another. To us the cadenced speech came floating softly on the still air.

WHILE THE RIVER WAS HIGH

2

Toward us came Tenye, a young friend of last year, and two small boys. She had seemed but a child the year before when she had danced bandamba with the other little girls while the men were getting ready for the Kromanti dance. But now she looked quite grown, and instead of the small apron she had worn, was wearing a cloth of a woman. 882

"You've grown, Tenye."

"*Ay, a kisi bobbi kaba,*" one of the youngsters said. "She has her breasts already," and he went on to say that soon she would marry. "Two moons more," he said, showing two fingers.

"You will soon have many bracelets, Tenye, and when you dance you will be splendid."

"Ai," the boy went on speaking eagerly, "Abane will teach us how to dance when he comes back. He went to the French shore. Abane made Tenye, and he made me, too. I am Yamati, and he made Sabape, here." But they had not the same mother, nor did they live in the same village. "When I grow up," the child went on, "I will dance with seed rattles at my ankles. I will dance like Abane." The rattles his uncles would have to buy for him, or when grown he might buy them for himself, but his father would give him his gods when he was of age, and good dancing, too, was a thing of the gods. 883

"Who will get Abane's seed rattles, Tenye? Will you get them because you are the oldest child of the first wife?"

"Ah, no!" both she and the indomitable Yamati exclaimed at the same moment, and then both lowered their heads and would say no more, while the small Sabape looked away.

Now we had the year before discovered why we were so often met by young and old with the phrases, "I do not know," or better still, "*Massa Gadu sabi*—God alone knows," when it was evident that the speakers knew the answer very well indeed. The reason lay with the will of the G'an Yorka, or the G'an Zombi, or the Nana, as the ancestors are variously called. The ancestors it seemed had long 609 123

609 123 ago, so long that no one knew just when it happened, instructed that no one might impart to another, a stranger, more than half of what he knew. Moreover, no young person dared to speak at all of the supernatural, and such matters as inheritance were regulated by the laws of the gods and ancestors, who punished infractions with the scourge of kunu—a term we were to hear so much in this Suriname bush.

302 Tenye's head as we looked down upon it was a mound of wool, with little braids, each no more than an inch or an inch and a half long, fastened by a bit of black thread, each braid pointing upwards. This was called "tatafi," we knew, and to change the subject we talked about the styles of [855] hairdressing. A child's hair usually was closely cropped, and the heads of both Yamati and Sabape looked as smooth as blackened gourds. Tenye's hair had been cut but a little while ago, a moon perhaps, when the braids had grown so long that it had been too much bother even to make the hair look well in the fashion of what was called the coiled head, or the earth furrow style. Both of these types of hairdressing consisted of braids which diverged from the center in many rows, appearing at the outer edge at intervals of one inch, or slightly more. These ends were caught up and rebraided around the head, to form either the one coil of "lollo 'ede," or the several coils of "gon wi." There were also the single long braids—the "pitto"—and the "pina bonsu" way of hair combing, where the head when properly dressed makes a design of narrow strips of scalp showing between flat ribbons of braids, which look like so many snake vertebrae, radiating from the middle of the head outwards.

"When you come back from up river, I will dress your hair," said Tenye to both of us. "You," she said, pointing, "will become an obia man in your white country, and you will look so well that your husband won't ever remember to go to his other wives."

302 754 But now Tenye's maternal aunt who had approached unobserved came to call the children away. She was not in

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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good humor, and looked with disfavor on the friendly conversation between us. Her bad temper, we learned later, had earned for her the name of Mother Snake, given her by a witty town servant of a lumber factor. The idea of dressing our hair apparently appealed to the woman, however, for it would certainly only be a reckless white who would offer his hair for combing to a stranger, since with hair any number of supernatural things might be done. With the proper formula, a few hairs, and the required ingredients she might fashion an *opo*, let us say. Now an opo serves many purposes, but its essential quality is that it gives its owner power over the one whose essence is captured in the form of hair, or a scrap of garment, or finger nails, or whatever else had touched the person against whom one has designs. The power of the possessor of the opo is to dominate the will of the other, and its particular attribute might be to function in love, or in a court of justice, or in matters of getting employment, or of receiving gifts. But an opo would be the least dangerous consequence, for an opo is not to be conceived of as being in the category of bad magic. There is the danger of *wisi*—a word which has the double meaning of poison and black magic—and hair, or finger nails, or the menstrual cloth of a woman, or perspiration are the very best materials for working wisi.

And so the good woman, known when she was among us as Tita, and as Mother Snake otherwise, saw that we offered no cause for alarm and added her advice to Tenye's in pointing out powers which we might acquire and use to spectacular advantage in our white country.

"Yes, you must make pina bonsu," she said, adding her approval, "and then your husband will prefer you to his other wives. But if you want to keep him all to yourself, you must let us cut *kamemba*—cicatrized designs—on you. An ingi kodjo here on each cheek to begin with," turning to Tenye and smiling.

And so it was all planned. The Indian cudgel, a euphemism for the buttocks, and procreative symbols were to be

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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609 given to the white woman when she returned from up river,
304 yet with it all the thighs would still need to be cicatrized.

"Then," she said, speaking of the cicatrized thighs, "then he simply won't think of any one else, because among you, you will be the only one. We who all have the kamemba must see that it looks well, but you will be the only one."

3

123 The boys remained with us, amusing themselves by
609 giving us their words for the various objects about us.

The strings about their waists, which formed their only
[291] clothing, the fiber cord with the bell about Sabape's neck,
304 the word for garter, and machete, and shoes, boxes, and water jar, and all else they could see were named. A flashlight was a diamond fire, and a collapsible chair a hammock chair, and if we showed them something they had never seen it was a *Bakra sani*—a white man's thing.

Sabape spoke little, for he was a timid child and looked sluggish. He had but few cuts on his body, while Yamati, who was about the same age, had already several fully outlined designs.

"Why have you nothing about your neck, Yamati?"

"Oh, but I have. I have cuts. You can either have an obia cut, or an *obia tetai*—a string. It is to make us live. All children have it."

"And when do they start making kamemba?"

"A long time ago they start. If it doesn't hurt too much, they cut one more, and soon one more. But if it hurts too much, they wait until . . . ," he said, finishing on the
[195] word *te* . . . in the characteristic way of the grown narrator who uses the monosyllable to intensify space and time and danger and bounty.

123 Yamati found so much delight in his rôle as teacher that
609 he became stern with us and had us say the words over again and again. There was the word for firefly which pleased him not at all. "*Mi taki, mi taki-e, anaka-nyenye*—I say, I am saying . . . " ("if you would but listen," his voice

implied), and he repeated the word over and over, until this led us to talk about singing, and at last we had them consent to dance susa for us. It had to be done very quietly, in the slight clearing in back of the shelter. Susa is an African dance. It is danced by men only, in pairs, and is something of a game. The one who wins "kills" his opponent. The earth spirits are said especially to like it, and it is danced in the fields or in the villages for them.

There they stood, Yamati and Sabape, facing each other, their enlarged navels almost touching. One agreed to be "in," and one "out," and as they began, their jaws came forward in a patterned, pugnacious way, and their arms moved to reproduce in pantomime shield and spear, while the feet crossed and recrossed.

Kesi-kesi g'a S'sa
Zond'o linga
Linga-li

The monkeys
Go to dance susa
Without rings.

Huh, huh, huh!

They sang the song over and over again, panting at the end of each verse to dramatize combat.

"I killed him," said Yamati. He had won, and they began again. If the one who had agreed to be "in" had his foot on the outside as they clashed, then he lost—he was killed.

4

As they were dancing, we noticed a young man we had never seen before. He was standing watching the youngsters at their play, smiling as though he enjoyed their contest. He was very dark, even for a Bush Negro, short and stocky, with unusual muscular development of arm and chest and thigh. His age, one would judge, was nineteen or twenty. He turned his smile on us when he realized we were noticing him.

WHILE THE RIVER WAS HIGH

Had we provided ourselves with the necessary obias with which to travel to the country of the Granman? He had never been so far up the river. He would like to go there. Ai-yo! He would like to go and see Dahomey, the sacred city, and look at the Tapa Wata falls, and visit the Granman's village. Did we have all our paddlers? He was strong, and he liked to make a boat walk up the rapids. He could get his father to come with him as steersman. His father had strong obias and knew the river. We could not go until the river went down, but he would stay with us here and wait, and if we wished it he would go back upstream to his village and get his father and food, and be ready for us in time. He needed the money the Bakra would pay, too, for he wanted to be married soon, and he would have to buy many things for his woman and her mother. 439 789 484

When he left us, he went to one of the little enclosed houses that were there for travelers, choosing the one closest to us, and built a small fire. His younger brother and the white dog that came in his boat sat with him. The dog wore a cord about his neck, covered with red ochre, to keep him safe in the bush. That night as we ate we could see Bayo, his brother, and the dog squatting close to the fire and eating, too. And all the next day, and for several days to come, as we waited, Bayo was with us, talking, laughing, explaining, and making and buying obias for us to carry us safely on our journey to the Granman. [231]

5

In the afternoon one of the political chiefs of the neighboring Christian village came to hear our phonograph. But when we asked him to sing into it, he said, "Ask me later. Now I am alone. We Saramacca people never do anything when we are alone." We had the year before acquired a powerful obia against slander and bearing false witness against us, and found the occasion useful for corroborating the invocation we had been given. The man, however, spoke with the greatest reluctance and looked 609 193

609 123 vastly relieved when he saw several boats pull up at the shore.

It appeared that these newcomers were also interested in our phonograph, but that no one would consent to be the first to sing, until at last a young boy came up.

609 123 971 "I'll sing for you," he said, and it was at once whispered that the boy came from a family of powerful obia men, that he was sure of his spirit. "I'll sing, yes, but you must let me tell the machine something first."

What he said was an invocation to his soul and his personal gods, and he spoke it by putting his face into the horn of the phonograph and talking in a rapid whisper, making audible the one phrase: "Bakra obia isn't my obia." Subsequently when we discussed this occurrence with older men, they made the matter clear to us. He had assured his spirits that he was not conceding anything to our magic, and that they were neither to feel slighted nor to relax their vigilance. The gods favored the strong and the proven, and a young man had to be careful, for the gods were not conceived as especially logical or rational or inexorably just, so that one had to guard against becoming the victim of their caprice.

609 123 Boat after boat pulled up at the shore, and up the road came a long line of callers. Women with infants straddling their backs, a breast drawn to the side so that the child might feed as it rested there; children with cords about their waists; young girls and boys, each with a square of apron across the front, or a loin cloth; and the men with togas and paddles, dignified and solemn, drawing nearer silently.

On our provision boxes sat those who had come early, particularly women nursing children, or old women who looked on with tired wonder. On the floor everywhere about our feet and against the posts sat the children we knew, while those who had come for the first time and were still fearful kept their distance, hiding behind some relative.

It was a great occasion, a spectacle of white man's magic, and they were there to verify it for themselves. Now there

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was much of white man's magic that was not astonishing. 609
Old men and young men had heard of machines with people 123
on them that flew like birds, but had they not their own stories about the sacred vulture, the *opete*, that carried one of their warrior ancestors away from slavery across the river and into this bush? He had simply mounted the bird and said to it, "On your back is my home. You [993]
can fly over land, and you can fly over water. I have no boat. You must carry me." And the opete took him. Then [996]
there are beings with wings that range the sky, and some of them are birds, and some of them are spirits. No, a machine that flew like a bird was not astonishing magic. Then there was the kinó—shadows appearing and moving about like the living—that you could see in the cities. Men on the French shore, too, had seen the kino, but it was a gift any man might have to see things. But here was something which talked back at you. . . .

"Ke . . . !"

"Massa Nen'ge!—Master Nigger!"

"Ma Nen'ge . . . !"

And even our town servant exclaimed, "*Mi Gado*—My God!"

Now all this was very well, except that the Bakra, not satisfied with the ordinary seketi dance tunes, kept asking for Kromanti songs—the warrior-spirit songs—and the bush-god songs, and river-god songs. From one man and from another came the expected, "I do not know such songs." The women did not even dare approach the machine.

At last Apanto came. His hair was braided and he wore a 609
jaguar tooth on a cord about his neck. He was not so 123
muscular as other men of his age, and when he went about 115
there was a softness in his movements that was unaccountably disquieting. His hands were not the hands of a worker of lumber, nor of a boatman who was accustomed to pole heavily loaded boats. They were smaller, and his fingers were narrow at the ends. Apanto, we discovered later, was what the Bush Negroes called a "tiger fighter." In a quarrel, he did not cuff and strike out with his fists, but

609 scratched like a "*tigri*"—a tiger, for this is how the Bush
123 Negroes name the jaguar. Later, when we saw him dance
115 the Tigri Kromanti dance, we witnessed one of the most realistic feline interpretations imaginable. But that is another matter.

Now Apanto was an obia man to be reckoned with, and his fellow villagers and the villagers of neighboring settlements treated him with a deference that his age alone could never have commanded. And it was this Apanto who now came up and said that he would sing the sacred Kromanti songs for our phonograph.

"You will not understand the songs. They will be in the Kromanti language," he warned us. "They are strong, and the machine must be strong to carry them."

It happens that a field phonograph is anything but strong. The mechanism is simple, since the instrument must be light enough to be carried about, and yet it often is subjected to all manner of hard usage. To this is added the
[126] hazard of the climate. The turntable is actuated by a belt running from the mechanism inside the case, and the ends of this belt are glued together. This, to be sure, we discovered later. At the moment, we met Apanto's challenge with assurance. We did not doubt that the machine was spiritually strong.

126 What he said about the Kromanti language was true.
533 The Kromanti tongo, of which we had been told during our
[197] first visit here, we were finding to be an actuality, and
539 although we took down the words as he sang them, aided in hearing them by the repetitions, their meaning was unknown to us. Some of them we learned later. Some of them we knew. "Obia" we knew concerned the spirit,
[196] the vague force known by that name, while "Amba" was a deity sacred to Saturday, and was given as a "day name"
[551] to women born on that day of the week. This, then, is what he sang:

"*Ma djeni ye-ye*
Obia kule ma djeni no-ko
Obia mo-ye

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looking out on the river. Whether it was a gesture that he 126
would sing no more, or not, we could not say, but when he 115
turned again to us he looked thoughtful. "White man, how far away is Africa? Would they kill me if I went there? Could I get a woman, if I went there?"

We sent him some food to his boat as an expression of 609
hospitality, and word came back that when we had done 576
eating, he would himself come and thank us. When he did 431
come, it was to speak his thanks and to say goodbye, and he did not come alone. With him was the young man who was his traveling companion, and this young man carried gifts to us. Bayo, who had arrived a short time before, received the gifts of fig bananas and rice for us, as was the custom of these people, for to have given or received a gift in person would have been the way of a boor, just as it would have been bad form to stand about and watch us eat.

The leave-taking ritual, as that of greeting, is as formalized as a litany and almost as solemn.

"*Adiosi, adiosio—waka bon, yere. Tan bon*—Goodbye, travel well, hear? Keep well." Ajako carefully laid away his top cloth in his woven closed basket, straightened his loin cloth, and paddled away briskly from the landing.

Later, boats pulled up bringing the Gankwe men.

"Sedefo, we have a fine boat for you. It's large, and it 501
will take a great deal of load. It's a new boat, just come 609
down from top-side."

The men busied themselves with bringing our provisions from the shelter to the landing place so that the loading might begin. A tent had been made of palm leaves for the boat in which we ourselves were traveling, so that we might be shielded from the glare of the open river, from sunstroke and the sudden tropical downpours, and the men decided to load this boat first.

Now there was a murmur among the Gankwe men. Sedefo was passing his hands over the new boat, as though it were a human form, touching its "head," running his hands over the "ribs," the "belly." Then he balanced himself in it, and shook his head.

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501 609 "It is not good," he said aloud to us. "Its balance is not right. Look, it rolls . . . and besides, I have a kunu. I will go up in my own boat."

And so it was. Sedefo took his own boat up river, and another Gankwe boat was obtained, and there were four boats instead of three, and eight paddlers instead of six.

"Ya-hai! Kunu is costly for the white man as well as the black," Bayo said to Bibifo, his great-grandfather, for it was not his father, nor his grandfather, as he had later promised, who appeared to steer the boat in which Bayo was taking the Bakra and his woman up the river.

3

502 484 Bayo was at his best on the river. He loved it, and it treated him well. In the prow of the boat, swinging his pole-stick hand over hand, he steadily urged the boat upstream against the current, and sang as he poled.

[533] [539]

"A-yai-yo,
A-yai-yea,
Money is finished in Suriname
Lower Cayenna took it!
A-yai-yo,
A-yai-yea."

[533] Over and over he repeated the seketi, with tantalizing variations in rhythm and melody on the traditional air, to which he knew so many sets of words. In and out went the pole-stick. In, until it struck the sand with a soft caressing glide, then a hard push, and three short steps back along the boat until Bayo's hand reached the upper end of the wood, and a final thrust, then pull, and over, and in, and once again the three short steps.

The other boats had got ahead. In the distance close to the bank they followed one another.

"*Mbwogu, mbwogu*—Hurry!" said old Bibifo in back.

Bayo turned and grinned. "*Ai, mbwogu, mati, mbwogu*—Yes, hurry, friend, hurry," he twitted his great-grandfather,

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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502 484 too deep for the pole-stick. When we go in the center, it is slow. . . . *Koti go!*—Cut across!" he shouted in his shrill voice, as our boat and the others after us veered over to the other side of the stream where the current was less strong.

"How do you know just where these places are?" we asked. "There are so many channels, so many islands. How can you tell?"

"*Ma, kye!* What would you? I belong to this bush. An old man knows his river."

Steadily the boats went ahead in this long, quiet stretch. For fully half an hour the men worked in silence, doggedly going upstream close to the bank, until under the shade of a tree they saw a boat resting.

"Tio, odi! Tio, odi!" Each of our men addressed the two in the boat.

[576 609] "Tangi, tio! Tio, odi," they answered each one, until finally they said, "Odi, Bak'a," greeting the stranger last, as was the custom.

Our men explained, "We are going to the Saramacca country, up the river to the Granman. We are carrying the Bakra to the Granman. They belong to America country. They traveled in a fire ship for twenty-one nights and days to come to the Saramacca. Twenty-one nights and days, mati, without resting. *G'an sundyi*—A great state of affairs."

The man said, "We come from the Marowyne. The river is high. The next rapids are difficult. Let us travel together."

And so we were five canoes. Ahead, we could already hear the dull murmur which would soon crescendo to the final roar. This was the water pouring over the first rocks in the distance.

"What rapids are these?"

[823 996] "We must not talk about this here. Wait until we pass them. If we speak the name, the spirit will come, and he will be angry. The boat might go over. We might lose part of our load."

Now we came closer to the line of white, which rose higher and higher. Except for the bits of white foam like

KUNU

"*Na wa' taki: Efi gbuli wolo, i sa si san de na ini.*—It is said: If a person stirs up a hole, he will find what is in it." 538

And so it was that very night, when we were camped on an island near the great falls, with the roar of the water sounding in our ears like the very signal drums we were told the river gods wanted sounded that the sun might come and warm and dry them after the long rains, that we learned more. Kasanya, the captain of the fourth boat, had conducted himself so unobtrusively that we barely knew he was there. He was almost as old as Bibifo, but strangely silent. He was tall and spare, with graying hair, and eyes that were rimmed with red. We had not sought him out particularly to make conversation with him because he had ugly, open sores on his body, the result of a virulent case of bush yaws, which showed when he sat paddling in his loin cloth. We had known him during our first year when he had been more willing to be friendly, more ready to talk. From him, in fact, we had learned to play one of the Bush Negro games that the ancestors had brought from Africa. 124 177 524

Kasanya came over to ask us whether we had medicine for him. His head ached so until . . . he could barely see. There is that about white man's medicine in the bush, it is to be had free, and there is no harm in trying it. 123 609

"Will you make us a game board like the one we bought from your village last year, Kasanya?" we asked him.

"Yes, but you must have two of them, one flat and one curved like a boat. It is not good to have only one. When a man is alive he plays the game. When he dies and comes back to visit the living, he wants to play, too. Now if there is a board for him, he will play on that. But if there is but the one, he will play with the living and that is not good." 775 524

"You know a great deal, Kasanya."

"Awa, yes, but I'm an old man already. I've had much trouble. Last year after you left the third son I made died. Now I have no one. Kunu has taken the three of them, and my wife is asleep, too." 776

REBEL DESTINY

574 609 In his own house, Fandya continued to urge our staying. "Ame'ika Fandya," he said—the year before he had given his own name to the white man—"remain with us tonight and tomorrow. I am an old man. I would like to know that you saw a dance in my village. When you go to the Neng'e country, I would like you to say that Captain Fandya knew how to treat a stranger who came as a friend. Last year when you were here you said you would come with your wife. You have come. Your wife has come. Last year you came, and since then all has gone well in our village. Today there are not many people about. The women are [462] away in the fields harvesting the rice; the men are in the bush hauling lumber. But tomorrow night the women will come in from the planting grounds, because the day after they may not work in the fields, and tomorrow, too, the men will come. Stay and see our dances."

And the bassia, the man second in command, said, [789] "Mati, last year I took an obia against the evil eye from my own door and gave it to you to hang over yours, that enemies entering your house might not bring in with them bad magic. All has gone well with you. Stay. The gods have shown they favor our friendship."

2

361 The will of the Gankwe men had, however, prevailed, and we reached the village of Pa'aba that day in good time. It was one of the largest on the river. In front of the azang 501 which guarded the road new boats lay on their sides, and farther up the path were others in the making, some black inside with charring, others huge hollowed-out logs, like gigantic drums, waiting for the hand that would set their pulses beating. These boats were as large as any we had seen on the river, as large as the boat Sedefo had rejected because it rolled and he had to think of his kunu.

[556] Kasanya said, "This is a prosperous village. They make the best boats on the river here."

And Bayo said, "Ai, this village has strong men."

574 609 In the doorway of one of the huts, a woman squatted over a fire, and at her feet a child sat busying itself with pushing the firewood toward the center. Our cook had planted two forked sticks in the ground, and on them had hung our lanterns, so that we could see the woman silhouetted against the fire and the naked child on the ground singing the seketi which Bayo had sung for us so many [533] times on the river. Over and over the child tried the air, her mother humming it for her softly, while from the doorway of another house a man sat watching them. We had not noticed him until the lanterns had come. The planting [291] ground at harvest time is not a place a man frequents. He was a strange figure there on his low stool, as he sat wrapped to his neck in a large striped cloth. He made not the slightest move, uttered not a single word. But for his cough, he might have been a corpse propped up in the doorway. We stood hesitating whether to cross the short distance between us and the fire to greet the woman and the man, but before we could come close enough to them to speak, we heard Bayo calling us in a voice we had never heard him use in a strange village.

"Bak'a, Bak'a. Come. They want you inside." When we were out of earshot of the woman at the fire, he said in a whisper, "Do not go over to those houses. Tomorrow when we are away from here, I will tell you why. It is for that I called you."

We had no need, however, to puzzle over Bayo's warning. [164] Our cook, who had heard the conversation of the men, told us that the man in the doorway was a leper.

753 262 "You know how it happens, Massa? Among us townspeople it is this way. A child inherits a *trefu* from his father. It is one thing, or many things, he must not eat. If he eats what he should not, then he sickens. We know a person who has eaten his trefu by the spots that come out on his skin. If a man goes on eating the things which are his trefu, then the spots become worse and worse. He becomes a leper. So that's how it is."

He did not at once answer the questions we put to him.

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604 428 brothers and to his sisters' children. That is how we live here in the bush. That is how we do."

4

591 When a man marries, he either arranges to take his wife to live in his own village—his mother's village—or to stay in that of his wife. Whether he chooses the one village or the other, he has to build a house there for her, and this becomes her *wosu*, her household. If he wishes, he may build two houses, one in his own village, and one in the village of his wife. Kasanya's younger brother built two houses for his first wife. One was on the lower river, next to Kasanya's own house, and the other we would reach after two days' further travel up the river.

Yet the man, explained Kasanya, if the couple were living in the village of the wife, or the woman, if their house was in his village, was not entirely at home. In one's own village a person was a *gomi*, a child of the "ground." He belonged there. But when living in another's village, even though it was that of a husband or wife, one was a [609] *wakama'*, a stranger, and if a man of the village but uttered this word "wakama'" to such an individual, the outsider had to take up his belongings and leave at once. Were the stranger, in turn, to speak aloud the word "gomi," [688] disaster would follow, for the earth spirits, having been disturbed, would be sure to take their toll.

594 The *wosu*—the household—is the unit of family life, whether, in its physical location, it is in one village or two villages. In it a woman lives with her husband, and here the 596 children are reared. After the wosu comes the larger family unit, the *mbe*, composed of those who have come from the common womb of a more remote ancestress, while several of [614] these larger or extended families form a clan.

"If a man has more than one wife," said Kasanya, "then 595 he makes more than one house. A man never puts two wives in the same house. It would not be good. Each woman has her own house, where she lives with her children. It must be so. The children of the first wife belong to her

776 609 "The gods are friendly to you, Massa. The men have all noticed it. You look upon trees and falls with pleasure. When you see them, it is as if you met with a friend. That is good. But the gods have their powers, and men have theirs. The Rabbit says, 'Evil is everywhere.' Last night, you remember, there was a man who did not look up when you passed his house, and when you spoke 'Howdo' to him, he would not answer. He was an obia man. He would not take the hand of a white man. I have heard the men say there are others who are not glad that the white man has come so far, and that the gods have allowed it. . . . "

Abruptly he stopped. He had said more than he intended.

"I came to tell you about another thing," he continued after a moment of embarrassment. "You should know about fio-fio."

Fio-fio was a small brown bug, and it was also a spirit. [753] The spirit fio-fio brought sickness and death to human beings. For people like ourselves, untutored in the ways of the spirits, and the things which allowed them to gain sway over an individual, only a diviner could seek out the incident which had caused fio-fio to come.

751 783 That was why it was necessary to bathe in a protecting fluid, to "wash fio-fio," even though we had not yet been stricken.

"Let me tell you how to wash fio-fio," he went on. "You must bathe when nobody sees you, and this is what you must have: the skin of a plantain we call the mother plantain that has been dried in smoke, and weeds which I will give you, and Negro-country pepper which I have with me, and seven pieces of chalk, and some eggshells. Some people put washing-blue in the water, too, but that you don't need. You can bathe in it early in the morning, or at noon, or right after sundown, but no one must see you."

He paused for a moment.

776 626 578 "Do you not have fio-fio in your country? Look, this is how it is. You quarrel with a man who works for you, and he comes back and says he is sorry, and you say you are

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996 186 gods do not come to them." There was in her voice contempt for women who had no gods. She was of a reddish-brown color, taller and more slender than most, and the great coils of brass about her arms and ankles told that her [301] beauty had had full recognition. These had come to her at [585] marriage, as had the small earrings of gold which the bassia had brought to her from French Guiana. With these, too, had come cloths and handkerchiefs, beads and carvings.

609 123 If white women had no gods, did they know any of the other things which women must know? Did the white [291] woman wear an apron underneath all her cloths, as women should? Were her thighs cicatrized? Did she cook for her husband, or other men, when she should be isolated in the special house provided for women's monthly visits? [841] Did she purify herself with sacred clay when she emerged from isolation in order not to spoil her husband's obias, for which contact with a woman who has her menses is the deadliest taboo? Why, having borne children, did her figure not show it?

[534] "Have you drums?" the bassia's wife asked. "Without drums, how do you pray? How do you dance?"

[535] Dancing without drums availed nothing.

"White women have no gods. The gods do not come to them. They are not troubled by the need to dance. White women do not pray," she concluded, seeing that what dancing the white woman did could only be a feeble affair.

"I will send my son to your country. The men who go to the French shore say it is good to know how to count the white man's way. My woman-child I will never send," she finished with finality.

Now it was the white woman's turn to ask a few questions, having done explaining how her boots laced, and why it was that she was dressed very much as her husband was dressed.

951 996 983 The white clay in the hair and on the face of a small child was medicine. The child's mother had washed for her god that morning. He was a god whose day for dancing was Wednesday, and now, feeling the god stir in her, she would

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house he told of, beside carvings of their Negro ancestors, and then ask money from people who came to see? 123

Ambe! Was that what white people did to come into money?

From the provision grounds canoes filled with women would dart toward us, and Bayo would call to us, as the women cried their greetings, "Stand up, both of you. The women want to look at you." 123 609

The women's requests were, apparently, not to be ignored. Hurriedly we would climb out from inside the tent and balance ourselves on our knees over the tarpaulin-covered load in front of the boat.

"Look! Look! . . . . There are two men! It is not true that the white man brought his woman!"

Like a master showman, Bayo would stand there in the bow, his pole-stick poised for the next stroke, all his teeth showing.

"Take off your sun helmet, white woman," he would then say.

"Mother of all Negroes!"

"By Ando!"

"Her hair is yellow! She belongs to the river gods!"

"Is it that way they live in the white man's country? Do they not know the difference between men and women, that they both dress alike?"

Again Bayo had a ready answer.

"A white woman who travels in the bush dresses like a man. So they do in the white man's land."

"Master Nigger! Men and women wearing the same clothes!"

When Bayo decided that the women's curiosity had been satisfied, he would say his goodbyes to them with a flourish and, bearing down on the top of his pole-stick, would push away.

Soon we would hear Bayo's summons again.

"Come out. People want to see you."

This time there would be both men and women in the boats which had come circling about us, and the questions, exclamations, and Bayo's replies were heard afresh.

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stopped to change their clothes, and make themselves fit 576
for the reception by the Granman.

We had been warned that these preparations were not to 576
be slighted. Those who had been to the village of the Gran- 609
man told many stories of the impressiveness of the cere-
monial life, and the dignity of those who were there. It
was the seat of government, the home of a potentate.
A visitor, whether a village chief or a man from the city,
had to keep in mind that he was to appear at court. Eti-
quette demanded that the traveler, once arrived at the
island which now hid us from the Granman and his
assembled villagers, debark, remove the stains of hard
traveling, and dress in a manner befitting the reception
which awaited him.

But the gods had planned otherwise.

At this time of the year, though the heavy rains were 132
over and the showers were becoming less and less frequent,
it did sometimes happen that the clouds gathered at
midafternoon and rain fell. To the northeast, behind us,
we had seen the clouds massing, and now they hung low
and glowering.

"It will rain," Sedefo called to us, just as we were making
ready to see to a change of clothes, and an instant later the
storm broke. With a kind of hurricane force which sent the
branches toward the earth, and flares of lightning and
crashes of thunder, the deluge was upon us. Not since our
first days in the bush had we coped with a rain like this.
The water poured down as though some giant hands were
turning over endless vessels. Our tent seemed to have been
taken as unaware as we were, for having sheltered us in
many hard storms, it was now inadequate to keep out
the downpour. We drew our raincoats tighter about us to
keep off the water which came through the thatch.

Under the trees of the island the Bush Negroes were 123
huddled. Their favorite top cloths were still in their
baskets, safe out of the wet under the white man's tar-
paulins. No chance now to put them on, or to use the oil [302]
which they had jealously saved for making their faces and

AT THE COURT OF THE GRANMAN

Both of These men Carried
long wands of office, of black wood topped with silver 297
knobs. About their necks were heavy silver chains, and 554
from each chain was suspended a large silver crescent. 622 [293]

Another man stood near them to one side. He wore a
long coat of white edged with scarlet and blue. He carried 554
no stick, and wore no insignia. On his head, over a white 643
kerchief wound tightly about the head and caught up in the
back, was a white sun helmet. Above his head, held by one
of the younger men who accompanied him, was an umbrella,
the highest emblem of rank. It betokened that this man was
Moana Yankuso, Granman of the Saramacca people.

3

Kasanya was first out of the boat when the dugouts 622
were brought to shore, and after him came Bibifo. Sedefo 574
and Asikanu remained with the younger men, waiting for 576
the Granman to indicate that he wished to receive them.
Only men of rank and elderly members of his own clan [554]
would go at this time to speak to the headman, who stood
there watching the boats.

"We came, G'aman," we heard Kasanya say, "and we
brought the Bak'a." Two or three low-voiced sentences
followed, and then the conversation was terminated by the
elderly functionary in the yellow coat, who came down to
our boat.

"I greet you in the name of the G'aman, Bak'a," he
announced. "The G'aman himself awaits you. Come with
me."

As we stepped out of the boat, the hallooing of the women 574
and the shouts of the children, which had stopped when the 576
paddlers addressed the Granman, began once again, and, 609
as an underlying voice, the salutes from the shotgun were 643
to be heard. The old man, shifting his wand of office to his
left hand, now carefully helped first the one, then the other
out of the boat and, offering his arm to each in turn, led
us to the top of the steep rise, until we were face to face
with the Granman. It would have been unlucky had we lost
our footing at this moment of welcome. This chieftain was

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574 there not only to tender the courtesy due the guests of the
576 tribal head, but to see that no such mishap occurred to
609 them.
643 When we had both gained the ascent, he turned to the Granman.

"Headman Yankuso, the Bak'a is before you."

As though just become aware of us, Yankuso fixed us with his eyes, fastening his glance on each in turn.

"Odi, white man. White woman, odi!"

A great figure of a man he was, as he stood there. Tall and massive of build, he towered over those who surrounded
[291] him. Barefooted like the rest, there was that in his bearing which was the way of a man who was accustomed to obedience, whose word was final. He was pure Negro. His skin was dark. In his features there was no hint that the lineage of this ruler held any of the blood of the white masters, nor that his ancestors numbered among them Indians who had given way before his invading forbears. His face was impassive, yet underneath the outward immobility was an alertness which the glistening, oil-anointed skin made the more alive. His speech was measured, his words articulated with studied emphasis, which gave to each of them the value of a completed image.

"*Bari*—Cry out!" he called to the women in his vibrant voice. "Halloo, give the welcome of the bush to the people who came."

Amid the renewed cries which his command brought, we turned from the river bank and walked slowly up the path toward the village, past the silk-cotton tree, past the shrine to the ancestors, until we reached an open place on which fronted half a dozen thatched buildings.

"This is my house, white man," he said, pointing to it. "I will put you near me. I will put you in the council house."

4

344 The council house at Asindopo Lantiwe—the village of Asin, the seat of government—was unlike any we had seen.

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5

Outside the doorway we heard a decisive clearing of the throat, louder than the coughs we had already learned to associate with the approach of a visitor. After a short pause, the Granman's bulk filled the low entrance, and with him came the elder in the yellow coat, followed by Sungi of Dahomey, the chief who had come to pilot us to the village of the Granman, and the bassia from S'ei. 574 576 609

The men stood with ceremonially inclined bodies until the Granman was settled in his chair, then each in turn took a bench from the shelf above the door, and still with body bent found a place for it against the wall facing the Granman.

After a silence, the Granman spoke.

"The unloading is done. I have set aside five houses for the Bak'a. Mati—friends—the white G'aman told me about this visit when I was in the white man's city. Others have told me. People who come to me must be cared for. The white people are come. They sit among you. The Bak'a and his woman will put up their hammocks here. Here they will stay. The white man's goods are stored in the house in back of mine. The white man has much goods. There is a man from the city who helps them. He will sleep where these goods are stored. So I speak. That is my wish."

"Ya-hai, G'aman," came the assent from And'u.

"Kelele," said the chief in the yellow coat.

"The house in back of this I have had the women get ready also for the white man and his woman. When the chiefs gather for councils, and they want to be alone, the whites must have a place to go aside. I have given a house for the cook, and an open house for the cooking. So it is. People who come to me must be cared for."

"True, true!"

"So it is."

"Kodo!"

"White man," said the Granman, for the first time turning to us, "you have heard?"

641 over whom it was exercised. When the ancestors of the Bush Negroes were brought to New World slavery, what [567] measure of acquiescence they showed was due to the fact that slavery was not an unfamiliar tradition to them. They knew of the war captive, or the man convicted of a serious crime, who was a slave to one of their own kind. But the experience of the white man's slavery was a crucible in which the ownership of man by man, and the unquestioning obedience which men owed to those of higher rank, were destroyed, leaving only the ideal of the life of free men. "Free!" was the way in which one Bush Negro toasted [203] another, or a white man, when he drank with him. A "*Mas Nengere*," an adult Negro was, above all, a free man, and 621 it was as a freeman that he was governed, for though villages had chiefs, and there were bassias who were subordinate to chiefs, and though above the village chiefs were clan chiefs, and over them all the Granman, yet the final word rested with the members of each subsidiary body, and not with its leader.

624 Every village had its officials, and its medium for discus- 602 sions. Every clan had its head, and its old men, who, [614] sounding out the will of the clan members, consulted with that head when questions were to be decided. For the decisions affecting the entire Saramacca River, there were [643] the Granman and his krutu, before whom questions of [692] larger policy or disputes between villages were brought.

Perhaps most impressive of all was the measure of auton- 639 omy which each village had. A village, or certainly a group 614 of neighboring villages belonging to the same clan, formed 609 a small kingdom. A Bush Negro of another village who came to visit, came as any stranger, paddle in hand, his top cloth covering his loin cloth. When he found himself in a strange village on a night when a dance was being given, he did not join the dancers until after much urging by a native of that village, and then he danced little, and if he were a particularly fine dancer, he took care not to flaunt his superior gifts. The exception to this, to be sure, were the sacred dances, when a stranger, whose god came

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[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
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to him when the drums called that god, could not be held accountable for what he did while his god had him in his control. 632 614 609

No stranger, no man who came to live in his wife's village, even though he had spent a good part of his life there, took it upon himself to offer advice to his wife's family. Again and again we would hear from men and women on the river, "In our village we do it this way," or, "We only carry the corpse on the head twice. Our spirits don't like to be troubled more often," or, "Mawu as a name for the Great God is used in our village, but not everywhere on the river." 614 602

There was the experience with several sacred images of village gods we had bought from an upper-river village. Our paddlers refused to carry them for us from the village to the boats, and it was with marked uneasiness that they permitted us to put them into the boats. 123 [178]

"We do not know what these gods can do. We do not know what is hateful to them. They are the gods of another people. We won't carry them."

But with the *gomi*—the child of the village of his mother's family, it was quite otherwise. He was a member of the village, he had a voice in its governing, he knew its gods. If he belonged to the family of the chief of the clan, if, let us say, his older brother were the chief, or if he was one of several nephews of a chief who had no surviving brothers, then at the death of the chief there would be a krutu, and the men of the village would decide which one of the several men who were eligible for the office was the most capable. Though rank was hereditary there was always selection among several heirs, and again the final word rested with the people of the clan. The offices of lesser chiefs—village chiefs who were subject to the clan chief, or bassias who served the chiefs—were passed on in the same manner. 622 624 [424]

While law making was in the hands of the chiefs, or captains, and the krutu over which they presided, law enforcement was the task of the bassias. It was they who saw to it that the orders of the chiefs were carried out. When 625 [622]

643 "True, true, G'aman."

821 "Captain And'u, the gods sent the rain to cool everything when the Bak'a came. The gods of the river carried the Bak'a without mishap. We have heard of what the Bak'a has done. He has been at your country, at S'ei. He says he comes to learn. He says he does not come to buy wood or to work gold. What he says is good. Yet a full creek does not clear the bank of weeds. Tell us what the Bak'a did in your country, Captain And'u."

609 123 623 "The Bak'a came to S'ei. All that was there he looked at. He walked about the village. His woman talked to our women. The Bak'a spoke with our men. He asked about the obias in the krutu house. His woman asked our women about their gods. What was the name of the wife of the Gran Gadu, he wanted to know."

With every sentence, came the affirmation of the chief.

"So I know."

"So it is."

"By Ando!"

"So I heard."

And'u continued. "The Bak'a knows the land of the Negroes—*a tabi Afrika*. With him he has a great book. In it he has pictures."

"True, true."

"There are pictures of obias."

"Ya-hai!"

"There are pictures of the Kromanti houses."

"So it is!"

"There are pictures of people who have the gods."

"*Kweti-kweti*—No, no!"

"Yet pictures in S'ei the Bak'a did not make. The Bak'a said, 'If your ancestors tell you not to talk, do not talk. But when you talk, do not lie!' That which we did not wish to be done he would not do, his woman would not do."

"Gbolo!" exclaimed the Granman, "this is as I have heard. Now the Bak'a has come up the river. His woman has light hair, she is as our Tonê people. The river has treated the Bak'a well. The gods of the river have let the Bak'a pass.

[906]

THE COUNCIL OF THE ELDERS

Bak'a pass. Friends, the river is more than I am. . . . Let us hear what the Bak'a has done on the river. Friend Kasanya, you have traveled with the Bak'a. Speak of what he has done."

"It is as Captain And'u has said," Kasanya began, "what was forbidden, the Bak'a did not do."

The Granman interposed an objection.

"I sent a message to the Bak'a by the husband of my daughter. To him I said, speak to the Bak'a, say that at all villages on the Saramacca you will be received. But two villages have not walked well with the G'aman. At those you will not stop. Yet at one of them the Bak'a stopped."

"So it is, cunning master. This was how it happened. Darkness was falling. Everywhere was the big bush. A storm was on its way."

"So I know."

"There were no other villages near. The next one could only be reached after dark. There were bad rapids ahead."

"So I understand."

"The Bak'a woman was in the boat. To make camp before the storm came was not possible. We had a krutu. We spoke with the Bak'a. The Bak'a said we must go where we could find a roof."

The Granman grunted, was silent for a moment, then took up the story.

"Friends, night overtook the white man in the bush. He had a woman with him. The men said they could not make camp at night. The white man took his woman to where there was shelter. Into the village he did not go. At the first house he slept. Early in the morning he left. He does not know the river. The men brought him at dark to the forbidden village. The gods sent a great wind when the Bak'a crossed the river to show their displeasure, but the Bak'a and his woman they did not harm. The gods took it into their hands. The gods are more than I am."

"So it is, G'aman."

"Friends, the children of the bush know what is done in the bush. Yet a man's lips must speak for himself. Let

the Bak'a himself tell why he has come the long way to the Saramacca river and what it is he seeks."

There was a general chorus of agreement, and silence awaited our accounting.

As the town man began to repeat our words to the Granman, the quiet of the house was heightened by an occasional stirring outside the paling. From where we sat, we could see brown motionless feet, which told us that there were many more than those inside, who were listening to the white man's reason for being in the bush.

Again the Granman made the traditional responses.

"So it is, white man."

"True, what you have said, bassia."

Finally our telling was at an end. Again there was a silence as we sat, tensely waiting.

The Granman again broke the silence.

"Friends, chiefs, you have heard. The white man is here. He comes to learn of our life. The gods of the river have brought him and his woman safely. The Great God sent the rain to cool the air when he reached Asindopo Lantiwe. The gods are more than I am. The river is more than I am. But the Saramacca people are also more than I am. It is you, headmen of the Saramacca people, who must speak."

"Ai, G'aman," said the man who had the stripes of white on him and who wore the many obias. "But have the ancestors spoken?"

"Truly you ask, friend," was the response. "It is well that you think of these things. In the bush, we think before we speak. Do you go aside and consider well."

Slowly the members of the krutu arose from their benches. Softly, with bent form, each passed out of the doorway. We were alone with the Granman, who waited with us for the reply of the chiefs.

5

As the elders slowly filed out of the council house, it was as though a jury were leaving the courtroom to decide a case which had been laid before it. And as we learned more,

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more than a year before her father's death and therefore had not saved her mother from mourning.

"My sons are big so," she showed, pointing to the mortar, "and already my brother takes them with him down the river, and when they are with him he tells them about the creeks and the trees, and where the villages are which are friendly to our people. But when they come here to see me, then they play. They have play guns and play arrows which they make themselves. Into the uncleared bush they shoot them until I call them away to eat. Here I have no man from whom they can learn. Here they only play."

But boys liked to be with men. When the rains came, her brother would let them sit by when he carved, and, seeing him work, they would take up a knife and begin whittling. That was how boys learned to do men's work.

Women children played with "gossi." She put down her pestle, and felt about in her cloth where the child slept, and brought out a gourd, resembling in size a small cucumber. It had beads on top for eyes and a few deft cuts to indicate nose and mouth, while above the eyes was crosshatching for the hair. Until girls were old enough to be of use in the fields, they sat about in the clearing playing with these dolls.

"When they are four and five, then they like to work."

There was, of course, dancing. All dances were opened by the children, and at six and seven the girls knew seketi and awasa, and bandamba, and the boys danced susa.

"Do you dance susa?" we asked the Granman's five-year-old grandson, who was standing with us beside the widow.

"Ai," he said, but once our attention was turned to him he said also, "White man, the children say you carry money in this." He touched a water canteen which hung from the stranger's belt. "I know it is water."

He knew also that shaving cream was soap, and not white people's sacred clay, and now as women came with bottles for the white man's obia water—a name they gave

856 to all the medicine we had for them—he took it upon him-
644 self to instruct them to wash the bottles carefully, as he
609 followed us to the storehouse, and to warn them that what was given was not to be taken internally.

"*A taki, a taki-e, u' no mu' bebe*—He says, he is saying, you must not drink this," he explained, with something of his mother's persuasiveness in giving instructions.

His grandmother had said one day half in jest that he would have a tiger spirit which would need to be reckoned with when he grew to manhood. He was a straight-limbed, wiry child, not troubled with the umbilical hernia so often [164] met with in children here in the bush, or with the distended "cassava belly."

The coming of the strangers had eclipsed all desire for [257] familiar diversions here. From early morning the children of the village stood about watching us, so that the brushing of teeth and the lacing of boots were carried on under excited supervision which continued day after day. But to this small grandson of Yankuso we were visitors in his quarter, and whether we were alone in the council house or were in the small house reserved for privacy, he would find his way there and stand about asking questions.

Sometimes, however, when he found us at work and saw that we did not wish to be interrupted, he would lean against the wall for a long time watching us in silence, until presently he would come to life, as it were, walk over to the table, and begin beating the Kromanti rhythm on it.

856 But he was not the only child who knew the drum
533 rhythms. In the last village in the Pikien Rio, we met a
868 two-year-old child who came to us with more than usual readiness and followed us about, his hand in ours until we came to his mother's house, where he left us to sit down on a wooden plank which lay near it. We had been in conversation with the older people and did not notice his going, until all at once we heard the slow beating of the rhythm to the Sky God. It was this child of two, drumming against the plank on which he sat.

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WOMEN AT WORK

"*A naki apinti, ai!*—He is playing the apinti," his father said, laughing, and a woman who stood by said that when he grew up he would have an important god. It would be a good god, too, and it might be a great Komfo—a priest reincarnated in him. 856 533 868

Among the little girls who were with us most often, and now stood by with Yankuso's grandson, were the two daughters of Dida, the wife of Chief And'u of S'ei, who went about the Granman's village with white on her face and body. The little girls were also washed in the white clay, and there was white in the wool of their hair. They had the quick, startled movements of their mother, and one of them in particular was a nervous child, shy and easily frightened. She never came too close to the strangers, and, for a time, if they but caught her eye, she would begin to tremble with fear. 857 [609]

"Your daughters are handsome, Dida." 776

"Ai, they come from a good line," she said, laughing. 868

The Granman's younger wife said, "They will have many gods when they are big. They will have them from their mother, and theirs will be stronger yet. They are twins." [845]

It was possible, she explained, by looking at a child to know if it would have the gods of the family. Sometimes the gods took a dislike to a child and refused to give it of their wisdom or protection, and sometimes the gods liked it so well that they gave it many gifts—the gift of a fine singing voice, the ability to dance better than others, and the good fortune to be liked.

"Until they are grown, the gods do not trouble them much," she added, "but we in the bush know a child who will have important gods, and we know if the gods will be kindly."

"Do you mean you know because of kunu?"

"*Ma kye*, all gods do not come from kunu."

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One day when sitting among the women, the talk was of twins. 845

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887 "Perhaps the women were wrong. She may not be a
891 woman yet."

"*Ma kye!*" Angita exclaimed. It seemed he knew better.

And there was the woman Amasina. She wore as many armlets and anklets of brass as the shy dancer, as many as the wife of the bassia of S'ei, whom the gods had prospered. Her cloths were of the finest, and in colors which were most often of yellow and blue stripes, with a thread of black interwoven, and another of twisted red and white. She was good-looking, but in her manner there was no smoldering challenge and no undue reserve. With ease she went from one group to another, and the women treated her neither with too much familiarity nor with restraint.

• 609 Amasina felt at ease, too, with the white people. In the bush they had an explanation for this feeling of well-being with strangers. If a man and a woman were both born on
581 the same day, they did not get on very well together, for they were both apt to have the same powers to grasp things which came within the province of the gods who also had come into the world on that day. Such a man and woman would at once perceive each other's mistakes or would be given to speaking continual warnings to each other. But there were days which were especially congenial affinities for marriages, and even friendships. These, we were led to see, were days which represented a male and female deity in the Bush Negro pantheon, whose mating had brought well-being to themselves and the living world.

"You and Amasina like each other, ai," they said in the village, and this friendship had a sequel of importance for us.

776 One late afternoon we were sitting with the women talking about the gods. Dida said the white on her body was for her god Kesekia. Chief And'u had washed her for her god when he was here in the village, and tomorrow she would dance. Kesekia, she said, was a Vodu god, who had come to her from the French shore. When he came to her, he spoke tongues; he knew French.

796 "Tomorrow they will play the agida drum, and I will put
776 a kerchief on my head tied so," she said, showing how she

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of earth which filled the rest of the hut. In the left-hand corner was a covered whitened vessel for the god called Kentina Dagowe. This Kentina Dagowe was a deity who was the offspring of the Dagowe snake, and the Apuku god of the bush whose name was Kentina. In him, as in so many other of the spirits, we found exemplified the Bush Negro's concept of the world which held that the gods mated as did humans, that all which stirred and had life came into being by such matings.

Other spirits also came to this house, the woman went on. Mundewaya, another of the bush gods, was worshiped at the white-covered pot in the opposite corner, while beside it lay the vessel to which the spirit of a third might come. This one was the most powerful of all bush gods, and his name was Danhowao. There were other objects on the platform. Two stools, daubed with sacred clay, had their place there, and in the center was an image of wood, a rounded pot set on a base that tapered from the ground toward it, and this was to the Nanai, the ancestors.

The old woman said, "For the Apuku gods, we only play the tumao drum. The Apuku are mostly women's gods, but some men have them, and the men who have them play the drums. When the god comes to you, then if you are not too old you dance. But we old women do not dance. When the god comes to me, then I begin to shake. I go into this house on the day we call him, and they play the drum. Then I talk to the god. If I have something to beg of him for myself, or for someone else, then I put the pot which belongs to him on my head, and the drum calls him. When my body begins to shake, then it is the god. He has come, and when I speak it is not I but the god speaking."

From the clearing the talk of those who had remained outside came through the thin woven walls of the shrine. From one to another we could hear the news spread that in the village of the Granman across the river the gods had spoken for the whites.

In the hut, we listened to the old woman inside whose shrine we stood.

"The openings in the wall there," she explained, when we asked her about the two squares cut into the wall behind the altar, "are for all things that fly. In this place they must come and go as they like. Bats come here, and insects of all kinds, and when they want to go back to the bush, they must be able to go as they like. That is the wish of the gods. So they told us long ago."

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We were led from house to house. The gods had spoken. We were friends, and as friends who came not to harm, we were given the hospitality of friendship. There were other shrines, but we did not have to ask about them. They were pointed out to us with the other sights of the village.

The closed low hut near the Apuku shrine we had entered was to the river god Toné. It was a very small enclosure, and before it was a plant which covered the low entrance. It belonged, we were told, to an albino woman who was possessed by Toné. But she was not in the village now. Farther down the path was a larger house, another shrine. This had a piece of iron over the door and, when we asked about it, the girls who were following us ran, and the men merely said that it was the place of the Kromanti obia and passed on.

As we continued on our way, each woman was anxious not to have us slight the house her man had built her or fail to admire the carvings that were inserted into the weave of the palm walls. The huts were swept clean—the cleanliness of the entire village was even more striking than that of others we had visited—and but for a few stools, which were brought out for the strangers while they spoke with the old people who lived in the quarter, they were entirely bare. In every house, however, there was sure to be a shelf, large or small, or several shelves, on which stood prized food trays with carvings which covered both inner and outer surfaces. Combs and food stirrers were taken down and shown us, and the calabash dishes made by the women

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Tutu calls, ye-o.
God is there in the river alone,
God Tutu calls,
Ye-o, yo."

787 So the young woman sang as she paced, her body twitching and quivering, while Dida repeated her exclamations. The man again took up his invocation to the gods, then resumed the soft tapping against the wood.

He said to us as he tapped, "My own god is Agida Wenowa. She is a Vodu god, and when I dance I put a parrot feather in my hair. When I play the agida, then all Vodu gods come. The agida is the drum for the Vodu gods."

As he spoke to the slow beating, yet two more figures came crowding in. We had been so intent on the two possessed women and on what the drummer was telling that, not until these new arrivals were at our side, did we notice them. One of them was Affi, the other Amasina. They were as we had left them, Amasina still in her white tunic and kerchiefs, her face and upper body yet more thickly coated with white so that only the eyes were alive, Affi still a grayish color, still anguished.

"We heard the voice of the god. We came."

But there was no longer room in the small shrine for the women to dance. The beating of the stick became fainter and fainter; the drummer no longer touched the skin which topped the drum. Fainter and fainter still came the beat, until the young woman who stood there without white on her body shook herself, as though she were coming awake. For a moment, all was quiet.

"He is gone."

"The god is gone."

"He has released her."

The drummer put back his stick. Slowly he lifted the drum; gently he stood the agida upright in its corner.

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In the Granman's council house, voices of people standing outside reached us. From one to another the news was told.

THE GODS SPEAK

The gods of the river had carried the whites in safety up the rapids, and the gods of the sky had, at the moment of their landing, brought rain to cool the earth and sent thunder to speak the greetings from on high. This morning a great snake deity and the god of the ant hill had declared that the strangers carried no evil for the people of the Saramacca. Across the river they had been in the shrines, and the great agida had spoken. They had not been harmed, even though strong Vodu gods had come. 776 609

Inside the hut, we listened. We did not know the decision of the Granman's krutu, but the gods had spoken. This day, in any event, could not be changed.

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So it went. The Granman was still a considerate host, but he no longer came to regale us with stories. He was disturbed. Again and again we were assured by indirection that our own motives were not doubted. But in what seemed to them our very foolhardiness in coming that distance, and because we had showed no fear, we had proved that we were being made use of by those who would later show enmity toward them.

When men came whose allegiance would go to any man in power, himself or the next man, the Granman would exclaim with all his splendid oratory that the black man's cause never could be that of the white man. To men of his own village, like the captain who took us down the river, he gave instructions that our every wish was to be met.

It was the way of the politician—and it was more than that. He showed in his manner when he was alone with us that he was deeply puzzled. As a man who had learned to trust his judgments of people, his pride would not permit him to grant that his wits had failed him. Then, too, what he had heard from us had fired his imagination. That he was skeptical of the ancestral revelation, we do not believe, but it was possible that, with the Bush Negro concept of the world of the dead, he might have felt that the great ancestors who were consulted remembered their days of slavery, and would, therefore, never consent to the revealing of secrets to the white man.

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It was our last night in the village of the Granman. In the council house more than thirty people were crowded, standing about the table on which we had placed the phonograph. The Granman sat in his folding chair and looked on without addressing himself to any one.

He had asked us to let all his people hear the machine. When we were gone, many people on the river would talk of it. He wanted all of his village to see how it worked.

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533 surprised us that night at S'ei, and when he paused for a
106 moment the women took up the chorus. From one song to
179 another he went, and the hand clapping grew louder, and the chorus joined in more frequently, often breaking into his recitative, so that there was harmonizing of theme and chorus.

Once or twice the Granman called for a song we had already recorded, in order to give Mapasi a rest.

"Play us something from the lower river, white man. Let them hear their own songs, too, sung by others."

When the excitement of hearing the machine reproduce the song they had just sung had grown less intense, the singers repeated the song the phonograph was reproducing for them, for to listen to music without singing was difficult for them, just as when they sang, they could not but move their feet, though there was scarcely more than room for them to stand one close to the other. But a Bush Negro needs little room for his dancing, so that as the phonograph played their songs for them, they clapped their hands and danced in place. For a short interval, at least, the existence of the whites was forgotten in their pleasure of singing with the machine.

Until late into the night we played our records for them, and they sang for us. Whatever the consequences to the frail records of soft wax, we decided to play as long as they would listen, because of something in the manner of the Granman, something of wistfulness, let us say, and something, perhaps, which went deeper yet, as he sat there—a black Hamlet following a mute soliloquy while he looked on with his clever, perplexed eyes.

"Ai, so it is," he said at last, "and now let us go and get sleep." He rose and the others followed him out of the council house.

II

123 Early the next morning, while the tent on our boat was
182 being finished, the Granman came into the council house
189 with a calabash and a buzzard's feather in his hand. He
579 came up to each of us in turn, and struck with the medicine-
609 dipped feather the tops of our heads, brushed the eyes,

touched the palms of our hands, and struck against the calves three times. 123 782

"This is obia," he said simply, and when he was finished, he went out. 789

Our cook knew this obia. It was Opete obia, medicine bearing the name of the sacred buzzard. It was given us that we might have a good journey down the river. 574 609

"Did you see how he was careful to touch the eyes?" our cook pointed out to us. "The Opete gets the eyes when it comes to a person, just like Kromanti goes into the head, and Vodu into the belly." [706]

When we went out for a moment, and walked toward our storeroom, we saw the Granman splash water out of a calabash onto the floor and front wall of the house which held our supplies. Was it that our belongings might be safe on our journey down? It was no time for questions, and we asked none.

Women and children again came crowding about the white woman. Though they had been warned not to talk, there was still something of the warm feeling of earlier times which a command did not entirely destroy. Then, too, the order was that the sendoff was to lack no fornality. 123 231 As we stood there, a dog came running down the path. He was on his way to the river. In his mouth was a large ball of something which had been thoroughly charred. It was an offering to the river spirits, perhaps. It might have been less pleasant magic. He had been sent by men who were busy in the ancestral shrine. 782

When the white woman called attention to the dog, and asked what he held, the women recoiled with amazement that she should have seen the dog at all. Part of the magic might have been, as it was in some formulas we recorded, that he was to pass by invisible to the strangers. But this is conjecture. . . .

The moment before we went down the path to the river, Amasina came up alone, and gave us her hand. She was gracious, and completely at her ease. Whatever was said, she had faith in her god Towenu, who had vouchedfor our friendship. 123 609

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Chapter XV

THE ARTIST OF MA'LOBBI

I

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WE WERE recalled to the council house for a final informal krutu with Granman Yankuso and some of his elders before the more formal leave-taking on the river bank. Our boats were being loaded and soon we should be on our way down river. With the elders were the diviners, and our friend, the bassia.

The Granman opened the krutu, greeting and addressing the men who were present, until he turned to us.

"White man, you and your woman came to my village. I held you both well. Now when you are ready to go I give you my grandson for paddler, and the chief of my village for captain of your boat. That is how we do with those who come in friendship."

Through our town man, as was the way of the krutu, we spoke our acknowledgments to him, and our regrets that our visit was ending. Through our man, the last gifts to the tribal head were tendered, and through one of the elders, the ritual expression of thanks was returned us for what we had put before the Granman.

We had two favors to ask of him. For many days we had lived in this house, and had admired the fine carvings which the council house held. In our own country, when we thought of the days on the upper Saramacca River, a piece of carving from this house would give us much pleasure. But of the elaborate carvings we did not wish to

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deprive him. Might we buy, however, one of the simple benches from the shelf above the door, which the chiefs and we ourselves had used many times?

The one we took down had interested us for its possible ritual significance. On its top a single design was repeated four times. It was a representation of an axe-head, and the clan of Yankuso was the Matchau, the Axe Clan.

The Granman looked at the diviner. "*Fa fo do?*—What to do?" was his query.

The man he addressed murmured, "*T'obi*—Trouble."

But it was, after all, only a small and slightly ornamented bench.

"Take it!" the Granman said. "What else is it you ask?"

There was the apinti drum. In the house where objects of all peoples of the earth were brought for men and women to look at, there were none of the fine carvings the Bush Negroes make. When we returned, we would place beside the African and Indian objects which were there those of the Saramacca people. As yet, we had not been able to buy an apinti drum. This one was more beautiful than any we had seen. Could he not sell it to us, so that everyone might know that the finest of drums had come from the council house of Moana Yankuso, Granman of the Saramacca people?

This time he did not hesitate. He smiled, and shook his head.

"No, no, white man," he said, "this drum is not for me to sell. This one I cannot part with, not for all your goods. Down river, when you visit my villages, you can get an apinti which will be beautiful. When you come to the village of Akunkun, and you see Kasanya, ask him to find you an apinti. I will tell Captain Mataibo to leave a message at other villages that you want an apinti. This one no gold can buy."

This was not our first attempt to buy an apinti drum. Nor was it to be the last refusal.

Waiting, we sat in the council house while our supplies were being carried to the canoes and placed in them, until

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123 Mataibo, the head of Yankuso's village, who was entrusted
623 with the safe passage of our boats, came to announce that
574 the men had done loading. Before the morning was yet
609 well advanced we left the house, and with the Granman
[554] under his umbrella, which was the highest of insignia, passed to the river bank.

Our friends were there—the bassia, and Dida, and Amasina, and the Granman's wives and his little grandson, who shouted to us, "*Waka bon, ye'e!*—Travel well, you hear!" in the best manner of his elders. Again three guns sounded, and once more we were on the river, looking up at the people of these villages of the Pikien Rio who were waving to us from the shore.

502 Going down the river was restful. The enjoyment of the easy motion of the boats was felt in the manner of the paddlers themselves. Now there was no hard poling against the heavy current. As canoes were urged on the two paddlers wielded their long blades in unison, and the dugouts swung downstream in the center of the river, where the current was heaviest. When the murmurs of the rapids ahead were heard, it was but a moment until they grew into a roar, and then, in another, we were through, the man at the front standing up for an instant so that, with a twist of his paddle, he might turn the head of the boat from any threatening rock, while the stern man did not stroke at all, but merely held the craft on the course which was marked where the water tossed itself into foam-capped waves. Sometimes, as we came to rapids where the force of the water was especially strong, or there was a sharp double curve to be negotiated, the two boats would pause for a moment while Mataibo called out to the younger men the course to follow. Then into the falls, and through them, and our bow paddler would carefully rearrange his loin cloth and sit down once more to take up his steady stroking.

123 Opposite one village Sungi came in his boat to meet us,
609 to give and receive a final gift, and say his goodbye. But
[831] it was not to the landing place of Dahomey that he took us for this interchange, but to the village of his wife, he told

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us when we asked him. At one landing place where we stopped for a moment, we could hear the drums sounding the rhythm to the river gods, but the drumming stopped abruptly as word went back along the path that white people had come. Men streaked with pemba came down to the river to look at the Bakra who had visited the village of their Granman. 183 609

In the boat, we missed Bayo. The grandson of the Granman, who was our bow paddler, we had met but casually before we had started. There had been none of the chances for conversation that had made of Bayo a friend before he and his great-grandfather came to take us to the country of the Granman. Later we would come to know this youth for a pleasant young man, capable and quiet, who was proud to show his ability, and quick to resent the suggestions of our town man in such matters as making a shelter for the night. 644 123 609

"We are children of the bush!" the young man exclaimed sharply. "We know how to make this." And such a good shelter did the paddlers build that men of a near-by village, who passed, stopped and asked that it not be torn down the next morning, as had to be done with shelters erected for the night on the land of a strange clan, but that we should let it stand so that others might use it. [485]

When we asked him questions, however, or made observations on people who passed by in their canoes, he gave us noncommittal replies. Mataibo, the captain of our boat, was even more reserved, though he liked to twit our town man, and in an unofficial capacity would have been amusing. Conversation between the two paddlers, or between them and the two young men who were entrusted with our other boat, was in the clipped, rapid "deep-Saramacca" speech which, in spite of our use of it in conversation at the Granman's village, we still found it difficult to follow when Bush Negroes spoke informally to one another. [157] [197]

As the day wore on, we began to get used to the rapidity with which village after village was passed. Here was the landing place of the one where we had stopped so that 484

REBEL DESTINY

484 Sedefo might greet his sister. It was almost a half-day's travel, going up river, from Asindopo Lantiwe, yet it was not quite noon, and we were passing it. Here was Hei Kununu, its steep slopes already swinging into sight as we rounded a bend of the river and came through the small rapids above the settlement, and still it seemed as though we had but begun our course down toward our base camp and the railhead. And it was still early in the afternoon when we came to Ma'lobbi.

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462 At the landing place, women were about. Much of the work of the Bush Negro woman is at the river's edge, and for strangers like ourselves, passing in a dugout, the presence of women working on the bank was the only sign [361] that here was a landing place, and that farther inland lay a [312] village. To the river they came with their carved clothes [296] beaters, like the one we could see in the hand of the woman who greeted us here at Ma'lobbi, fashioned, as we later learned when she sold it to us, in the shape of a male vodu head on one end, and a female snake on the other. It was at the edge of the water that a woman scraped cooking pots [264] and calabash dishes with sand, and it was here, if it seemed a good day for fishing, that a woman would go wading in the water to rest a cooking pot on the river [206] bottom, and stand silently until an inquisitive school of small fish swam into it when, with a quick jerk, she would bring it up to take out what fish there were. This, aside from the use of small hooks, was the only kind of fishing a woman could do, for the fishing traps were for the use of men. But the cooking pot brought in many small fish to add flavor to a dish of rice.

123 As we walked into the village, accompanied by one of our 609 younger paddlers, the bassia greeted us. The head of the village was waiting for us, he told us. Paddlers of small boats on their way downstream had spread the word that our visit with the Granman was drawing to an end.

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THE ARTIST OF MA'LOBBI

As we walked toward the chief's house we looked about us, seeing again the evidence that here at Ma'lobbi there were men who knew how to carve wood, seeing why it was that our paddlers had spoken of it as a place for fine work. 322 531

"Ai, at Ma'lobbi they are good carvers."

Here was a house with its doorposts elaborately carved; there a beautifully worked rice tray, lying where it had been left by the woman who owned it, until she should need it later in the day for winnowing her rice; farther along a great bench stood, with the designs cut through in a fluid progression over top and sides. [342]

The captain was in the lower portion of his two-story house when we entered. Several of the older men, who had been present at our earlier visit and who remembered our gifts of tobacco, came to join us, as the news of our arrival spread through the village. Soon the women were standing about, motioning to the white woman to come with them. 123 609

The house in which the captain received us was larger and more imposing than the others in the village. It was his *gudu-wosu*—his treasure house. Its lower portion, where we sat in conversation with him, was where he worked. Above, where none of his wives might enter, his wealth was stored. Here he kept the pieces he had carved, and from here drew from time to time the presents he gave his wives. Here lay the wealth which his nephews would inherit when he died. But below, in the partially open shelter, was his workshop where he fashioned rough logs into stools and paddles, combs and food stirrers, trays and canoe seats, and all manner of objects which he and his women used in their daily routine. 342 556 [408] [302]

All about the walls hung tools. There were machetes, whose sharp blades showed a reflection of fire from the sun which slanted on the wall. We had never seen so many of these bush knives on display, nor, for that matter, such an array of tools anywhere on this river. From projecting boards or nails driven into posts hung several compasses, their hinged arms sharp-pointed, so that the craftsman might describe the perfect circles on the wood he carved. 342 353 412 [413]

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Chapter XVI

BAYO, THE PLAYBOY

1

IT HAD been a day of hard travel, down the Mamadam, through the Musumba Prati, and down the long wearying stretch of quiet water until we reached the Tita Buka Falls. The memory of the up-river passage of these troubled stretches had not yet worn down sufficiently to allow of contemplating the downgoing without a measure of strain, but our anxiety turned to astonishment when the paddlers, skirting above the thunder of the water, steered the boats into a barely visible channel down which we floated by easy stages.

"Mati-o," said chief Mataibo to the young men, when we had made the singularly fine passage, "the gods are taking them with pleasure. We must do the same!"

Passing the Gran' Creek he prayed from midstream, calling on the spirit of the creek, whom he addressed as ancestor, to give us long life in our white man's country.

Now we were here at Djamungo, at Bayo's village where, if he were only there, we should be seeing a fine dance, and where, what at the moment was far more important for us, many sacred objects awaited us. Djamungo was a village about whose magic other villages on the river were uneasy.

"Bayo is at Gankwe waiting for you. He is helping the men haul lumber, but when he hears you are back, he will come," said a woman who came up saying she was his

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609 mother. The woman who had made Bayo was her sister, she told us.

142 The resemblance between this woman and Bayo was marked. She had the same dark skin, the same stocky, muscular build, the broad nose, the same general cast of features we had known so well in Bayo. Similar, too, were the sharply etched scars on her face, which were so black and so prominent as to bespeak her great vitality and rugged health. There were other likenesses, we learned, and of these the most valued was the strength of their gods.

We had not been long in her hut before we noticed the iron arm-band she wore. It was, we knew, a "*tapu*"—a magical preventive which, in this instance, warned its wearer of danger, and kept her from harm in a combat. Seeing it on the arm of a woman was astonishing for many reasons. Not in all our encounters on the river had we seen a woman wearing an arm obia of iron. Iron was the sign of the Kromanti, a men's group, composed of those men who had the Kromanti spirit. It was in part warriors' secret society, and in part, when it was Obia Kromanti, the men's religious society which controlled the powerful supernatural forces of preventive and healing magic which played so prominent a part in the spiritual life of the Bush Negro. Now there were, we had been told, some women who inherited the Kromanti spirit, but these were few, and not until after their menopause could they enter a Kromanti house, and when this came they were too old to participate in the dance, but they sang the songs when the spirit came to them and did whatever else was known to the initiated of their years.

But this woman who was Bayo's mother's sister was not an old woman. As she talked to us, in fact, her breast was swung over to the side, and against her ribs was the head of the child on her back who was nursing. Yet on her arm was the fighter's "tapu," as the emblem of membership in the Kromanti group.

This was so important an anomaly that, following the etiquette of the bush, we hastened at once to talk about something else.

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"Bayo has asked me to find a strong *aramasi* for you," she said, naming the obia she held with the word for such magically endowed properties used by the Ashanti today, on the West Coast of Africa. In rapid succession she gave us the African words of the Kromanti designation for the white clay, for the ancestral pot, and for several other ceremonial objects we discussed with her.

"Did you make these for us?"

"Ah, no. Women do not make obias. My brother made them for you."

The next morning when we were leaving Djamungo she came to the landing place with us. In our hands were the images we had bought. The young paddlers looked on them with fear. On no account would they even come too close to us who carried them. It was not the image, nor the external properties of a sacred object which disclosed its power, but rather the magic that had been called to reside in it, and the strength of the gods of him who had been instrumental in bringing the magic to the figure of wood, the brass bell, the cowrie shells, the ant-eater's bristles, or whatever else was used.

"Tell them in your village," Bayo's mother's sister called after us, "that here at Djamungo the Kromanti spirit does not come to men only. When women get Kromanti, they, too, can fight."

2

We had not been back at our base camp for more than a day when Bayo came up the path calling the greeting of a comrade. Had we fared well with the Granman?

He had, he told with pride, seen all those things a man who went on so long a journey should see, and he had been to Lamé again, where there were strong obias and where the women knew how to love. Now he would remain with us until we left the bush, and he might even decide to go with us to the city, and from there to the French shore, where there was money to be got. What with the money he had earned for timber, and the money we had given

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"About half of them, I guess," he said.

5

When we returned to camp, Kasanya waited for us. He had come with the game boards he had promised to make for us, the adji game which was played in the house of death, and which the fine carver in Kasanya's village could not make because he was young, and a man needed to have a wife under the sod before he was fitted to make it.

Kasanya had taught the white man to play the game the year before, and though the white man had had much practice in playing it at home, Kasanya won one game after the other with ease.

With the white woman he would not play, nor would any other man—not even Bayo who showed so much indulgence toward the strangers. It was this way, Kasanya explained. A man knew that a woman could not beat him at the game, much less a woman who did not have the cunning of their bush, and would not, therefore, be expected to excel in what pertained to the life of the bush. But if the gods became capricious and allowed the white woman to win, then it would be more than a man could bear to be twitted up and down the river about it. Songs would be made up about it, and stories and proverbs. Master Nigger! A man would be a fool to risk it.

When Kasanya had gone, Bayo came back from Gankwe where, it seemed, his errands now took him daily. The sun was still high enough so that a game might be played before the hovering ghosts who in life had enjoyed the game would take their places beside the players, and play unseen at this game board with the living.

"Do you play adji, Bayo?"

"*Awa! Suma no de!*—Sure! No one better!"

But it soon appeared that Bayo had brought too much self-confidence with him from Gankwe. He was promptly beaten, and beaten again.

"*Suma de, Bayo?*—Someone better?"

The boy grinned, "Suma de, Oi," he acknowledged.

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7

787 The next day was our last among the Saramacca people. Bayo came to us early to help with the packing. He was apparently none the worse for his seizure and, as he worked, we could tell from his manner how release had come to him and how the tension we had noticed the past few days had left him.

On his body were no marks. His mouth showed no cuts where the glass was bitten off and chewed. When we told him about the glass, he knew nothing of it. Had he not known about this eating of glass, he might well have doubted our word, for when we examined his lips and palate and tongue, not even a scratch showed.

"What did you drum last night, Bayo?"

"When, before the obia came to me?"

He remembered nothing after he had leaped from the improvised apinti to run into the bush.

"Not when you drummed apinti, but when you came back here and took the tumao to the river."

"I don't remember. Did I do that?"

8

609 789 Despite the early hour we had to leave in order to catch the weekly train for the coast, the boats of our friends began to be seen off the landing place as they came to say their farewells. The good woman Tita, whom they called [B76] [484] Mother Snake behind her back, was the first to arrive. She walked slowly up from the river bank, pipe in mouth, a pot on her head, and one in each hand. The pots held obias which, she said, were made especially for us, to give us great powers in our own land—one to keep us safe from the ghosts of those we had wronged; one to guard us against the acts of the unfriendly living; one to make all those from whom we sought advantage "love" us.

173 [B5A] Sedefo's younger wife came with her child on her back to collect whatever tin cans were about, and some gift for the child when it wakened, knowing that something was

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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happened to cover a fraction of the Djuka territory, so familiar to Dr. Kahn. 114

We lived for a time at the Djuka village of Moengo Tappo, and from there visited other villages on neighbouring rivers and creeks. And there I felt again the sharp contrast between the primitive and the civilized. Through the Djukas, I saw civilization in perspective; and especially I saw that tragic phase of it which passes through prison gates.

Djuka life makes us stop to think all over again about everything. It makes us see what we have gained, as well as what we have lost.

There is, for example, no nonsense about white superiority among the Djukas. They are proud to the point of savage arrogance. Hatred and distrust of the white man are as much a part of their inheritance as is their jungle lore. As among the Negroes of Haiti, you must win your way. But when you are finally accepted, not as a superior being, but as an equal, then how warm and charming a thing their friendship is! [Lo9 186]

The Djuka farewell to us is a beautiful memory. As we passed down the river, between walls of forest where orchids were in gorgeous blossom, the Djuka villagers came down to the water's edge to say good-bye, raising their hands high and bowing low to bring down blessings upon us. 5% 114

Indirectly it was these Djukas who introduced me to Dr. Kahn. At the time that we were in the Guiana forest Dr. Kahn was in another part of the same jungle, though neither of us knew of the presence or the existence of the other. Later, after our return to New York, our common interest in the 114

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

361 river floods periodically, and might wipe them out if they were too near, and that the Bush Negro still retains, back in his mind, a strong fear of another war with the white man. In the latter event the Djuka villages would have to be camouflaged or hidden. Often, too, the villages are to be found just above a waterfall or rapids, as another hindrance to possible invaders.

648 At the landing we see bare-breasted Djuka women washing
609 clothes or bathing their children. They do not evince much
[57] curiosity as we paddle up, for it is considered insolent to stare. The naked little ones are very much afraid of the white man. They scurry into the underbrush and watch us from behind trees. The older children remain and are proud of their courage. An old man is making a canoe. Most of the men are away on hunting or lumbering expeditions.

361 Leading up to the village is a winding path, cut by the
648 violent rain until it resembles a ravine. Sometimes the river floods the path, forming a little muddy inlet into which the canoes stick their noses. One town is perched on a high bank,
[41] reached only by a hardwood ladder twenty-five feet tall. The blacks clamber up easily, unlike the awkward white man, who has difficulty with the missing steps.

We ascend the path; the frightened children return to their play, paddling about or fishing from the moored canoes.
202 Sometimes the bahkra's coming has been announced before-
648 hand by a system of drum telegraphy. A certain rhythm
[534] beaten on the tomtom informs the adjacent villages that white men are coming up the river, and why. In this way

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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is used as a living-room; cooking is sometimes carried on there, but more often in an open communal kitchen used by the entire village. Some towns have several such open sheds.

We enter the hut where the headman of the village lives, and find him lying in his hammock. It is perhaps a bit of conscious arrogance, to demonstrate his independence of the white man, that the captain does not rise to greet us. He rises, however, to greet Abaisa.

"Well, friend, how are you?" we begin. In talkee-talkee the question runs: *"So, matti, fie you tang?"*

He replies civilly, complaining a little, perhaps. We offer him a few leaves of tobacco, always acceptable. While we parley with the chief, the men of the village are carrying our equipment up from the corials to the village. This they always do, without being asked and without being paid. Even small children take part in the portage. Nothing is ever stolen.

Quite conscious of the heat inside the dark hut, we do not palaver long. Leaving the two chiefs lolling in hammocks we pass out of the breast-high doorway into the clearing, and go about examining the living-quarters and the people. This is a village of the Saramaccaner tribe, descended from the Saramacca rebels of two hundred years ago. All the huts and villages of this tribe are quite similar. Among the Aucaner tribe, descended from the Ouca rebels, are villages of a different type.

One does not doubt the good intentions of the Moravian Brothers and certain Catholics who have established missions at a few points on the rivers. But their evangelical efforts have

437 The reply is short and spirited.

"Gimme."

Which does not have to be translated.

579 We sleep that night in the Bush Negro village. A dilapi-
609 dated hut is assigned us, the hut of a dead man. There are
136 tarantulas on the cross-poles; we are not particular. The paddlers sleep elsewhere, being taken into friendly huts about the village. Except for the ghosts of the departed Bush Negroes, our hut is quite empty. The hammock is slung and the mosquito netting put in place. Mosquitoes and insect pests are not as bad in the jungle as commonly reported. They seldom caused us any discomfort. It is true that one of the boys contracted malaria during an expedition, but the parasites may have been dormant in his blood for some time previously. Our precaution against malaria was ten grains of quinine sulphate each night before retiring under the mosquito netting.

512 Far into the evening the Negroes will sit around the camp-
[521] fire and tell stories, their loud, musical Negro laughter carrying a long distance on the night air. Walking by each hut we see a tiny light flickering inside. Occasionally an infant cries. We sit before our doorway, amusing a group of chil-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Paramaca

The small Paramaca tribe does much less in the way of
322 wood carving than do the others of the Djukas. This was evidenced by the few pieces we were able to collect and was also known to be a fact by the Aucaner Bush Negroes who accompanied us to the Paramacca district. The motifs dis-
[184] played upon the articles collected were practically identical with those found on Aucaner pieces.

123 In fairness to the Paramaccas, however, it must be mentioned from our experience among other tribes that collecting is much facilitated when one is cordially known. On a second or third expedition one is able to collect many times more specimens than upon a first introduction. The Bush Negroes are at first shy as a rule and not anxious to part with their belongings.

184 The tribes do not fraternize much with each other. Some
619 travellers report that the Aucaner and Boni tribes feel them-
609 selves superior to the others because they have less contact with the white man. If this is true, we cannot report any personal observation of it. A traveller has no more difficulty among them than among the Saramaccaner people. Some
628 ill-feeling between the Aucaners and Saramaccaners dates
609 back to the slave revolt, when the former observed their peace treaty so scrupulously as even to aid the slave-owners in re-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

gaining possession of other fugitives. It is said that, until recently, actual war prevailed among the tribes because some Saramaccaners invaded the Boni and Aucaner districts, poaching on their lumbering, hunting, fishing, and balata rights. The punishment today for any Bush Negro found poaching in another district is a healthy beating with canoe paddles and fists, after which he is warned not to repeat the offence.

With the Indians of Surinam the Bush Negroes have little commerce or intercourse. These aborigines belong principally to three American tribes, the Carib, Acaway, and Arawak. They and the Djukas mutually look down on each other, but in our opinion the latter are intellectually the superior. Indian and Djuka villages are separate; very little trading occurs between them. On the Marowyne, Tapanahoni, and Lawa Rivers, however, the Negroes occupy a strategic position on the middle rivers, so that Indians from their remote villages along the upper river must pass by Bush Negro towns on their way downstream to trade at the white settlement of Albina, near the mouth of the Marowyne. The Djukas tell the Indians that the white men in Albina practise cannibalism. Rather than run the risk of trading with cannibals, the Indians barter their stuff in the Bush Negro towns. By this crafty arrangement, the Negroes obtain bead and feather work in exchange for tobacco and for machetes.

The Indians on the other rivers do not share this superstition concerning the white man's cannibalism. None of the Indian tribes mingle with the Djukas other than for the pur-

/20/

765 Thereupon follows a second, who just like the first has a calabash in hand, but this time filled with spirituous liquor, and from time to time sprinkles a few drops of it on the ground, in token of the fact that on this occasion, too, by means of drink, they think of the deceased with joy.

Then they again return to the dwelling, where all are gathered, and celebrate an enjoyable night with song and dancing until daybreak.

Chapter XII

Character, Virtues and Vices

157 The Bush Negro, as I have already said above, has a great [577] deal of respect for old age and for distinguished persons; with respect to their closest relations they are honest, which they can- [461] not pride themselves on otherwise. In their ordinary affairs they [609] are not lazy, but work tirelessly whenever it is necessary. With respect to strangers they are generous and obliging, all the more [152] when they can assume that they may claim reward. Jealousy, [784] envy, and malice are their greatest vices. Concerning many matters they have an antipathy that they call trefoe (treef). Thus, [781] for instance, one will eat something, the other not. Also they are very superstitious in small matters, to which they cling all the way down to distant generations; they call that obia (literally translated, bewitchment, magic).

262 An Auca girl who through attachment to my wife and me [123] has already lived with us in the town for fully five years, because since the death of her husband, who was one of my most trusted [589] workers, she did not want to attach herself to another, and who performed all kinds of housework for us, carries her trefoe of not eating any unscaled fish so far that she will not even cook her food on a fire where there is a pot in which an unscaled fish was previously prepared. I know another one who uses no milk and also does not eat meat of any kind (with the exception of bacon), unless it be game, and then it must be prepared by her, on the grounds that everything is prepared with butter and that butter comes from

/43 cont./

114 of the true foundresses and the circumstances of the formation of
613 the lineages (invaluable information which must still have been present in the memory of the old men at the end of the last century) are lost forever.

128 In order to simplify the drawing up of the genealogical
601 tables, we have eliminated individuals deceased before adult age.

128 Names. To insure the necessary anonymity to our informants
551 without diminishing the accuracy of the statement, we have
601 changed a large part of the names. The fictitious names under
162 which individuals are designated in the genealogical tables as
[101] well as in the inventory of the population were mostly taken from the Djuka, who belong to the same cultural and linguistic group; in other cases, in order "to figure" the census we used a more complex process consisting in exchanging the names of two persons. Children younger than 15 are designated simply by an initial (1).

[648] 1. It is particularly disagreeable to the Refugee Blacks to have their children's names known by Europeans, with the exception of
[123] the doctor. All systematic questioning on this subject runs into clear hostility.

114 Despite these precautions, we recommend that travelers
609 provided with this work make no allusion in front of the Boni to the facts related in it; the Refugee Blacks are very proud and cannot allow an outsider to penetrate forthwith into their family privacy. That would provoke lively hostility toward the indiscreet person and would hinder later work.

114 The table of correspondence between true and fictitious
128 names is held at the disposal of sociologists who may wish to conduct studies on the Boni.

/297 cont./

648 which in Black Africa has so powerfully contributed toward the destruction of traditional structures.

[829] Truth to tell, the problem was simpler, for the conceptions of the Refugee Blacks, involving no form of oppression of individuals and assuming the right of the woman to self-determination, reduce to the vanishing point the sources of disputes between individuals and groups.

[162] In 1946 the administrative post of Maripasoula was created, near the confluence of the Lawa and the Inini. Since that time, the gendarmerie has administered to the satisfaction of all and without any incident a heterogeneous population of 2,000 persons, gold miners, Refugee Blacks, and Indians, scattered over [743] a vast territory. The medical post created at Maripasoula in 1949 is very much frequented by the Boni and performs an extremely useful function on the psychological as well as on the social level.

The relations of the various groups give rise to very small frictions, one with another, but the Refugee Blacks never give occasion for intervention in the internal affairs of their groups. [505] Respectful of the administration, they carry out punctually their commitments to their employers, insuring all the transport on the river according to a modus vivendi established for a long time (1).

• 609

On this subject it is to be noted that disagreeable incidents occur each time the Boni deal with inexperienced travelers who do not know the customs of the river or do not wish to apply them. In a general way the Refugee Blacks, of their own accord respectful of anyone who comes to do a useful job, loathe tourists; they cannot stand being photographed or observed like queer animals.

/29 cont./

121 This is what necessitates as precise an inventory as possible of the population in its present state.

61 Matrilineal kin groups among the Djuka and Saramaka Refugee Blacks.

114 Authors who have described the social structure of the Djuka and
184 Saramaka, groupings appreciably more numerous than the Boni, have also called attention to the use of the words lo and bee, but give them a completely different meaning.

194 The organization they describe can be summarized thus:

571 Before making up tribes, the rebels lived in small groups
621 near the plantations from which they had escaped; these groups of composite origin were designated by the word lo which means: troop, band; the same word is used to designate a band of animals.

[162] These rebels used to belong to all the nations of the west
[103] coast of Africa. In spots there may have been an attempt at regroupings of elements belonging to the same nation, as proven by the village names Loango, Dahomey, among the Saramaka.

[622] But the majority of these small groups were very probably of heterogeneous origin; in each of these lo, the bravest and most capable was designated as head.

[648] After the recognition of the Dj[illegible] and Saramaka by the
[167] government of Surinam and their regrouping on the great rivers of the interior, these groups kept their unity since they had a de facto organization and leaders. They were naturally designated by the name of the plantation they had come from. We say for example Dju nēnge for the former slaves of the Jews, Kōpani nēnge for the former slaves of the Compagnie des Indes Orientales /East India Company/. /30/

174 In the course of the 19th century the total number of Refugee
613 Blacks increased very rapidly under the influence of a high birth
614 rate. The lineages in the proper meaning of the term bee, mean-
621 ing the descendants of the same ancestress, took on sufficient im-
57 portance to constitute distinct social units. They grouped in
161

/198 cont./

169 754 old woman of 90, A..., who died in Asisi in January, 1957. Having lived with Creoles in her youth, she had come back to live in her native village for at least 30 years and had never given occasion for any unfavorable remark. Nevertheless, upon her death it appeared that she had wisi.

771 829 177 Attitude toward Christianity. The Refugee Blacks, who are acquainted better than one might believe with the conceptions of the populations in the midst of whom they live, have a clear feeling of the relationship which exists between their metaphysical and moral conceptions and those of Christianity. They think they worship the same god as the Christians, in a completely different way but just as sound. They have no animosity [797] whatever toward the Catholic and Protestant clergy, and most of them agree willingly to wearing crosses or medals. But they have not the least intention of abandoning their beliefs for that. They do not perceive the contradiction and do not understand that people might want to oblige them to choose.

851 171 Like the Creole gold miners, they attach great importance to baptism, considered as an obia protective against the dangers of the bush. On Christmas, 1957 they were strongly impressed 165 797 by the accidental death of a Djuka Christian living at the Kotika school. He refused to observe mourning for his wife [788] according to the custom of the Refugee Blacks, and used to go [273] to drink in the cabarets of the Creole villages. On Christmas [784] evening, when drunk, he drowned himself. That was attributed to a suprahuman punishment. We heard /199/ the following reflection on this subject: "He was baptized and he drowned himself just the same. That is therefore not worth the trouble."

•61 581 591 Actually, the matrilineal structure of the Refugee Blacks and their conception of marriage form an irreducible cleavage, which appears immediately as soon as one leaves the metaphysical conceptions to pass to the plane of practical living.

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when The Time came, his brothers and sisters
and sisters' children would gather to divide what wealth 428
there was. The greatest share would, of course, go to the 168
brother who would marry the widow, but all the others [587]
would get something.

"And his children, the children he made, would they get anything?"

"Why no, the children he made are his wife's children. They belong to the family of his wife!"

"But suppose he cared for them very much. . . ."

"Then he might have made them some presents now and then when he was alive, but even then some people say it is better not to give them too much. When a man dies his possessions go to his family. If this man's children, who really belong to his wife, were to take things now, they would get a kunu for it, and they might get another kunu which the father had, for if they got his possessions, his kunu would go to them, too, and there would perhaps be one in their own family that had come to them through their mother. No man or woman wants this."

It is kunu, then, which sees to it that the tribal law of succession and inheritance through the female line is not [611] violated.

4

There was the case of Asikanu, our paddler, who was the 115
brother of the head of an important clan, which gave us still another instance of the workings of kunu. Asikanu was, in his own right, not a negligible figure. When his brother died, it might be he who would succeed to the headship of the clan. When the other paddlers wanted things of us, they would come to ask in his name. "It is not a small thing when Asikanu asks," they would say. "He is a big man; he is the brother of our chief. You must not refuse him."

Asikanu had a way with the women, although it would 684
have been best if at least one of them had resisted him. She was married, and, when her husband discovered her infidelity, she went to Asikanu. Now this was as it should

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PARENTS, CHILDREN, AND GRANDCHILDREN

Soon our men, too, began to stir, and, as we came out of our hammocks, Bayo and Angita entered the clearing. They were just now returning from the dance at Pa'aba.

"*A-yo, a baya kebi!*—Yes, they danced hard," Bayo told us. "Obia came strong."

With Angita was a man we had not seen before, holding a small child by the hand.

"This is Awingu, my brother-in-law," said Angita in explanation. "His eyes trouble him. I brought him to you for medicine."

After the exchange of courtesies demanded by the visit, we turned to the child.

"Is this your child, Awingu?" we asked.

His answer came promptly. "No, he is not my child. He is my wife's child. I made him."

Here was a fine distinction. He made him, but the child was not his.

Just then our cook came up with a small present for the child, but, since he would not take it from his hands or ours, Angita gave it to him.

"Thank you, father," he said to Angita.

Angita looked down affectionately at the youngster. "Two, three years more, Awingu, and he will be ready to go and live with his father at Gankwe. Do you remember your father at Gankwe? It was he who showed you how to make a gun from a reed. And you made it well. . . ."

There appeared, then, to be yet another father, for it was clear that Angita was not speaking of himself when he referred to the Gankwe father who had showed the child how to make a play gun.

All this, in itself, however confusing to a visitor, is by no means an unusual phenomenon. Different peoples have their own sanctions for establishing kinship and their own designations for relationships. In the city we had been told many tales of the manner of life of these Negroes of the bush. And the "matriarchate," as the custom of counting descent through the mother was termed, had often come up when these people were being discussed.

Herskovits & Herskovits E-4 (1928-1929) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Saramacca

611 602 "Among them only the mothers count, because among savages, who can tell who the real father is? That is why a child calls many men 'father,'" we had heard variously explained and elaborated.

Yet here was a man who said without hesitation, "No, he is not my child. He is my wife's child. I made him." And the very next instant the child called Angita father, and Angita referred to still another man as the father who would in a few years take the child with him to live and train him for manhood.

Any number of questions came to our minds, but at daybreak a stranger coming to the planting ground of a village not his own is the least willing of talkers.

"This is not your child, Awingu," we took the occasion to remark when we were saying goodbye, "yet he seems to like you very much."

"*Ma, tye! Ma Neng'e!*—Mother of all Negroes! What would you have? I am his father!"

The man showed by his amused expression that this was a story to carry back to his village. Only the politeness due a stranger kept Awingu and Angita from laughing aloud at this strange question. But Awingu was a thoughtful fellow. "Tell me," he said, after a while, "in your white man's country, don't children care for their fathers?"

2

602 But there were not only multiple fathers, as the story told in the city ran. The matter was not disposed of so simply as that. In point of fact, each gensuffi seemed to have several mothers as well. Take the case of Angita himself, whose brother-in-law we met at dawn in the provision ground. Angita was first pointed out to us by Tita, who, behind her back, was called Mother Snake. It was at Gankwe when we came to see the dancing for the dead Zimbi.

"Look," she had said, as she indicated one of the principal dancers who wore seed rattles at his ankles. "This is

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968 "If it is the man who is dead, then the woman takes her
995 girl children to live with her, but her sons she sends away to live elsewhere. A man's spirit will not harm his daughters. He loves them. But his sons, he will kill. . . . When a woman dies, then it is the sons that the man will keep with him in the house, and the daughters must go away. The yorka of a woman will protect her sons, but she will destroy the daughters when she visits the place where she once lived."

§

602 To her child the Bush Negro mother gives at birth
851 membership in all her own blood groups. The child is of her *wara*, or household. He belongs to her *sale*, or great family, which is an aggregate of many households. He is a member of her *lo*, or clan, which is composed of a number of great families, and which holds political sway over a given portion of the land. The tie of all these groupings is a blood
613 tie, a common female ancestress who lived long ago, or several women, daughters of the same mother, who had been the first to live with the runaway ancestors here in the bush, or several women who came from one people in Africa, and were the first to bear children to the rebels in the jungle. Every legal, every economic implication which this tradition of descent and inheritance through the female line might hold, is faithfully adhered to.

611 The mother does indeed count, as the tales told us in the
913 city insisted. But what of the father?

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842 both father and mother play in the procreation of the
532 young was everywhere apparent. The wood carving which a father made for his young daughter had designs on it of the kind which bore the general designation "*wowi ke' wayr*—man and woman." Whatever the traceries on the carvings given by a man to his woman during courtship, or after marriage, whatever animals might be represented, the essential symbolism was that of fertility, and the

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Chapter Eight

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

THE Bush Negro family is not a family in our sense of the word. In the Surinam jungle the Djuka family is polygamous and matrilineal. The unit of society is the hut, where the mother and her children live.

In order to understand the marriage customs of the Bush Negro tribes it is first necessary to forget for the time being the system of patriarchal family life under which the white men of our age live. One unconsciously takes the customs of one's own society as a norm, and passes moral judgment on exotic customs by their deviation from that norm. This habit of thinking must be avoided as far as possible in considering a primitive society, though it is difficult even for an agile mind to make dispassionately the transition from one culture in which the father is dominant, to another, in which his position is not important. On the other hand, many of our

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2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

prejudices about sex and marriage may become less rooted by a comparison with the customs of a primitive society.

The Djukas, like a number of other primitive tribes, reckon descent only through the female line; property rights are transmitted through the maternal side of the house. Fatherhood is a fact of relative unimportance.

Polygamy is the practice. Each wife lives in a separate hut (often in a separate village), which belongs to her because her husband built it for her. A man has as many wives as he wants, or can keep. The wives get along together fairly amicably. The cancer of matrimonial jealousy characteristic of our own system, is of narrow range and effect among the Djukas.

The head of the family is not the father, but the mother's oldest male relative—her brother or her mother's brother. *The father is technically unrelated to his children.* As a matter of biological fact, he can never be sure of his paternity, whereas maternity is never in doubt. All children belong to their mother's family, and are subject to the authority of her brother or her maternal uncle. The latter is more closely related to them than any other male.

A group of families related through the female line constitute a *m'beh*, and several m'beh together make up a *lo*, or clan. These groups are all reckoned through the mother. Husband and wife may belong to different m'beh and lo, but children of the union belong only to their mother's group. At first sight the father seems negligible in this arrangement, but it must be remembered that he is very likely the brother

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

of some other woman, and exercises authority over her children rather than over his own. 593 604

The Djuka family, then, consists of a group of people all descended from a single woman, and related to each other through the female line. Whatever family authority exists resides in the mother's or grandmother's brothers; to them the children defer; from them the children will inherit property and title. The paternity of the children is unessential. This type of social organization is called matrilineal. 596 611

We should, perhaps, not expect to find romantic love, as we know it, among the Djukas. The peculiar transports and attenuated delights of romantic passion are a rather extraordinary phenomenon which, according to Briffault, does not exist outside of Western civilization. Romance requires a high development of individuality among women so that one may be desirable above all others. Where women are mutually interchangeable, romance cannot exist. The Djuka black does not love a woman; he loves women. Love among the Djukas is not a brainstorm but a physiological release, and marriage an economic device. 114

The young people have complete knowledge and some experience of sex at an extremely early age and are usually married at sixteen or seventeen. They are fairly promiscuous before marriage and extremely so afterward. This, again according to Briffault, is the rule in tribes retaining the matrilineal tradition. Since intercourse before marriage is a practice that the Djukas make little effort to restrain, sex is a common affair, not particularly connected with marriage. 836 [582 837]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

obeiahs, house gods, fetish houses, menstrual huts, and matrilineal system of inheritance are all to be found as ancient customs among the forest tribes of the West Coast. Other details, such as the use of chickens for sacrificial animals, the huts with their rectangular walls, the manufacture of butter from the palm worm, the sacredness of snakes and alligators, the use of drums for religious supplication, and the beating of them with the hand instead of with a stick as the Indians do, are also customs which are similar to West African customs and probably derived from them. The impaled turtle-shell on a staff, the badge of the witch doctor's profession, represents the symbol for the female genitalia among some West African tribes. The Bush Negroes' boats and paddles are typically African in design. The *awasa* dance of the Saramaccaners was borrowed from the Aucaners, among whom it is a direct West African survival.

From the study of these culture survivals among the Djuka tribes it can be seen that most of the jungle civilization of the Bush Negroes is derived from their West African ancestry, modified here and there by contact with the Indians of their new home. The remainder of the material culture of the Bush Negroes is borrowed from the white settlements along the coast, from which gunpowder, fish-hooks, bush-knives, and other articles filter upstream.

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101 1. Archives du Ministère de la France
103 d'Outre-Mer, Guyane /Archives of the
175 Ministry of Overseas France, Guiana/.
113 A3-02.

611 /18/ Villages and Kin Groups

Among all the kinship systems which existed in the African tribes from which they issued, the Refugee Blacks came back unanimously, and from the beginning, to matrilineal filiation.

571 Their social system is symbiosis, under the authority of the
613 grand man, of a certain number of localized matrilineal kin groups.
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613 Matrilineal kin groups of the Boni. With the Boni the basic grouping is the lineage, in the rigorous sense of the term, understanding by that all descendants in maternal line from a single ancestress.

To designate the kin groups the Boni employ almost interchangeably the words lo (troop, band) and bEE, womb. In fact these expressions correspond to two variant interpretations of the same notion:

614 bee: matrilineage in the widest sense, understanding by that all persons knowing that they are issue of the same ancestress, even if the genealogical ties are forgotten, and even if these persons are scattered in several villages under different authorities;

lo: lineage fraction grouped in one village and constituting a distinct social unit.

The lineage bears a name whose origin is forgotten by present-day Boni; some of these names allude to a plantation or to a slave-owner, for example Lapé (La Paix: a plantation of the Cottica River); as for others, the name of the founding ancestress may be involved. Example: Kawina (name of the lineage constituting the village of Papaïkou).

614 /31 cont./
769 Another very important principle in the minds of the Refugee
796 Blacks is that prayers must be collective: the principal ceremonies,
613 such as the New Year's prayer, must bring together, at least in principle, the total lineage.

These notions certainly have influenced the custom of the
182 Refugee Blacks with respect to residence and marriage. The lineage
613 cannot allow the permanent departure of a woman from her native
614 country any more than that of a man. In the populations of Black
591 Africa with matrilineal filiation, this conception is reconciled
[171] with the necessities of practical living in the following manner: the wife leaves her relatives to settle down with her husband, but when her children reach adulthood they must return there. Thus one cannot attribute to this preoccupation alone the special system of marriage among the Refugee Blacks, which does not involve the permanent cohabitation of man and wife. We shall see that this system was inspired by social and psychological necessities. But concern for the unity of the lineage, to which it corresponds perfectly, has surely contributed to make of it a rigorous principle of customary law.

601 Kinship within the matrilineage. The kinship terms translate a
613 purely classificatory system. It depends only on the number of generations separating from the foundress. The sons of women
•611 descended from the foundress in uterine line are regarded as members of the matrilineage and united in the system of appellation. The children of these men are no longer part of the matrilineage.

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784 613 [428] The kunu and Boni family life. It follows from the detailed examination we have just made of the situation of the various lineages that the transmission of the kunu within the uterine kin group is a rigorous law which suffers no exception whatever. [571] [602] The process of assimilation which permits in a certain measure, on the social plane, the integration of fragments of paternal kin (like A-ara Bakka J) into a group does not come into play here. [611] [629] Unity with respect to the kunu can therefore be regarded as a rigorous criterion of a common matrilineal origin. The Boni feel it as an obvious fact and in such a case it is the proof that comes to their minds: "We are of the same origin since we have the same kunu."

784 613 571 182 Thus the kunu appears as the principal cement of the unity of the groups. It opposes the dissociation of the lineages; this curse which weighs collectively upon a group and which can be exercised only collectively is an iron bond which nothing can break. It obliges the Refugee Blacks to surmount their individualistic tendencies, their egoism which, if they acted freely, would soon have scattered them into a dust of [888] separate persons. In the face of adversity each one accepts with good grace obedience to the elders, who alone know how [672] to talk to the gods and appease them. Nobody ever is indignant or even surprised to be struck down for the offense of another; there is not a movement of revolt or hostility against the one who by his inattention or inconsiderateness has brought on misfortune. On this plane the members of a lineage feel like cells of a single body.

784 613 672 The collective legal responsibility of the members of a group in the domain of customary law flows from the kunu. We have observed that several times, notably at the time of the obsequies for Kosolda (Afi lineage) in October, 1956. The president of the Afiti kuutu condemned the members of

Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
Bush Negroes
Saramacca

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"If it is the man who is dead, then the woman takes her girl children to live with her, but her sons she sends away to live elsewhere. A man's spirit will not harm his daughters. He loves them. But his sons, he will kill. . . . When a woman dies, then it is the sons that the man will keep with him in the house, and the daughters must go away. The yorka of a woman will protect her sons, but she will destroy the daughters when she visits the place where she once lived."

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To her child the Bush Negro mother gives at birth membership in all her own blood groups. The child is of her *wosu*, or household. He belongs to her *wiv*, or great family, which is an aggregate of many households. He is a member of her *lo*, or clan, which is composed of a number of great families, and which holds political sway over a given portion of the land. The tie of all these groupings is a blood tie, a common female ancestress who lived long ago, or several women, daughters of the same mother, who had been the first to live with the runaway ancestors here in the bush, or several women who came from one people in Africa, and were the first to bear children to the rebels in the jungle. Every legal, every economic implication which this tradition of descent and inheritance through the female line might hold, is faithfully adhered to.

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The mother does indeed count, as the tales told us in the city insisted. But what of the father?

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That the Bush Negro understands fully the rôle that both father and mother play in the procreation of the young was everywhere apparent. The wood carving which a father made for his young daughter had designs on it of the kind which bore the general designation "*wowi ko' maye*—man and woman." Whatever the traceries on the carvings given by a man to his woman during courtship, or after marriage, whatever animals might be represented, the essential symbolism was that of fertility, and the

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

There are also a few villages, belonging to this tribe, situated 619
on the lower Saramacca River, like Santi Gron, Toti Camp, 361
and Maka-Creekee. On the distant Surinam is located the poetically named village of Futu No Habbe Ackaba, The Foot That Has No Resting Place.

Every tribe is divided into several clans, or *lo*, and these lo 621
are subdivided into groups of families, called *m'beh*, relation- 614
ship being counted through the female line. These groupings 613
are direct survivals of the slave days, descendants of groups of fugitives who fled into the bush together. Among the Saramaccaners there is the *Abaisa lo* of which our friend Abaisa is the chief. Another lo is called the *Inge Peeree lo*, meaning "piece of Indian clan," referring to the marriage of a lone Indian squaw with a rebel slave, back in the old days. There is the *Companyi Nengre lo*, or "Company Negro clan" of blacks descended from the slaves who escaped from the Dutch West India Company. The *Dakomey lo* is a group of families especially skilled in the art of healing broken [759]
bones. Then there is a priesthood clan, the *Domini lo*, descended from the slaves of a plantation owner named Levy. Among the other lo are: *Matchow* (meaning axe), *Vondrake* (from a Dutch family named Van Drachte), *Baison Nengre*, *Lawangy*, *Nani*, *Betu*, *Camu*, *Quama*, *Papoto*, and the *Awaina lo* at Ganee.

At a strategic location on the Little Surinam River, the 361
Pekein Rio, dwells the Granman Jankoeso. His village is ten days up the river from Ganee. It is situated in this inaccessible spot, on an especially fierce and rapid tributary, pur-

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October 1958 – January 1959), expeditions whose principal aim was the sociological study of these populations.

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Social Structure and Way of Life

The Boni Refugee Blacks. The Boni are one of the above-mentioned tribes of the Refugee Blacks, reconstituted in the course of the eighteenth century by rebel African slaves who escaped from Surinam plantations (Dutch Guiana).

These tribes (Saramaka, Djuka, Paramaka, Boni) live for the most part along the rivers of the interior of Surinam. They group together a total of 25,000 persons.

With very rare exceptions, the Refugee Blacks are pure Africans. These populations, vigorous and well adapted to the country, have experienced in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a remarkable demographic increase, attested to by all the authors. Descended from small rebel groups which could not have contained more than a few hundred women, they are now estimated at more than 25,000 persons.

The Boni of the Upper Maroni, the subject of the present study, number approximately 800, of whom 660 are on the French bank (the villages of Boniville, l'Enfant Perdu, Loka, Asiri, Papaïton, and Kormotibo) and 140 on the Surinam bank (the village of Kotika). These villages were established long ago.

Each of them groups together a matrilineage, i.e., the descendants in the uterine line of one single founding ancestress; certain villages know their genealogy in its entirety back to this ancestress, who must have lived at the end of the eighteenth century. The members of the lineage are united by the cult of the ancestor, which binds them firmly to their natal village and to their land. The social system is based essentially on this cult, the chief of the village being above all the priest of the ancestors.

Strictly speaking, there is no marriage, but only an acknowledged concubinage which entails neither a contract between the

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161 Thus during the period 1895 to 1925, the Boni population
[128] doubled with each generation. These results are confirmed by
(173) the study of the genealogies. The present-day Boni, with the
[613] exception of about 5% of them who belong to recently founded lineages, are descended by known filiation from seven women who lived at the end of the eighteenth century.

It is possible that before the period to which this inquiry refers epidemics were produced and struck certain villages in particular, destroying entire lineages. In fact we cannot say anything certain about the evolution of the population before 1890. Let us only remember that this rate of reproduction of 200% per generation of 31 years represents the normal rate for the Refugee Blacks, in the absence of large epidemics and of venereal diseases and before any medical aid.

During the period 1925-1942, the Boni population did not vary (rate of reproduction $\frac{105}{100}$).

Since 1940, it has been increasing slightly, by 25% per 27 years, that is just under 1% per year.

163 Birth rate and mortality rate. Demographic balance. From 1
165 January 1956 to 31 December 1957, i.e., in two years, 39 children were born in the villages on the French bank (660 persons), and 21 persons died (including 5 children born during this period).

Rate of birth: 2.9% per year.

Rate of mortality: 1.6% per year.

Rate of increase: 1.3% per year.

161 The rate of increase of 1.3%, which corresponds incidentally to the theoretical calculation indicated above, is very much below that of the population of Cayenne and of the communes of
[164] the coast. If one considers that before 1920 it reached the remarkable value of 3% per year, one realizes the extent of the disaster brought about by venereal diseases.

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[For additional demographic and social information, see the "Table of the Population of the Boni Villages," on pp. 479-539, category 116. Included are data on the number of children per woman, the number of deaths by age and sex, the name of the guardian (usually, but not necessarily a parent) who was responsible for raising a particular individual, personal names of the Boni, marital residence and residence changes by specific individuals, marriage practices, including polygynous unions and secondary marriages, cases of divorce, and lineage/sib affiliations of each individual.]

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[For further information concerning the lineage/sub organization and membership of the Boni, with associated data on age, sex, and ethnic affiliations, see the genealogical charts on pp. 542-575, category 116.]

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162 —On the Lawa a group of a little less than 680 persons is
103 settled on the French bank (villages of Agodé (Boniville), Asisi,
361 Loka, Tabibi (l'Enfant Perdu), Lapé (La Paix), and Papaïston).

—In proximity to this grouping subsists under Dutch control the village of Kotika (Cottica), grouping about 150 persons.

—In the region of Abounasounga two small groupings live in symbiosis with the Djuka. Finally, in the lower course of the Maroni exist three villages: Apatu, Ma Imma, and Wétiti. The whole represents about 150 persons.

361 These villages are stable: Kotika, Lapé, Asisi, Kormotibo
182 were already in existence at the beginning of the 19th century
[175] and their names figure in the report of the Franco-Dutch border mission of 1861; by contrast, farming habitations we moved according to the necessities of agriculture and fishing; thanks to this organization, a relatively numerous grouping can, in the interior of Guiana, in spite of conditions imposed by the geographical environment, conserve complete stability and a firm attachment
[171] to the ground. It is useful to compare this organization with the basic instability of the Indians of Guiana, for it shows very well that this instability is ascribable to psychological and sociological factors and not at all to the geographic environment.

101 The Boni designate themselves by the term Aloku ofoge. The meaning of this word is forgotten. It is possible that Aloku was the name of an ancient chief, or of the founding ancestress
[213] of a lineage. On this subject it is to be noted that the name of the most ancient ancestress known of the Dyu lineage, who can be thought of as living at the end of the 18th century, was called
[175] Aloku. This name has been used since the origin of the tribe;
[103] indeed one reads in the interrogation of the woman prisoner conducted in 1847 by the French at Oyapok that her village was called Loukou (1).

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1. Archives du Ministère de la France d'Outre-Mer. Guyane /Archives of the Ministry of Overseas France, Guiana/. A3-02.

611 /18/ Villages and Kin Groups

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613 Matrilineal kin groups of the Boni. With the Boni the basic grouping is the lineage, in the rigorous sense of the term, understanding by that all descendants in maternal line from a single ancestress.

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•613 [621] Six lineages (1) of ancient founding are counted among the

[178] 1. It seems that in the past there was a greater number of groups (they continue to use the expression twalffuyu lo, the 12 lo, to designate the Boni nation), but some have died out.

Boni: all, with one single exception, have remained effective groupings corresponding each one to a village: for these lineages the words bgg and lo may be used indiscriminately. The seventh, Dipéla, is distributed in three villages under different authorities, that is, forms three lo.

[614] The lo possesses a head (headman or captain). The bgg possesses neither head nor organization, but as we shall show, its members are united by religious ties and meet to celebrate common rites.

(See table on the following page.)

[643] The head of the Dikan lo is supreme chief — grand man — of the Boni.

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so	Village of residence	Head in 1958
Dikan	Boniville village	Difu (grand man)
Dju	Asisi village; a small group in Boniville	Adiino
Lapé	Loka and Lapé Tabiki villages; a small group in Boniville	Popo
Dipéku I	l'Enfant Perdu and Apatu villages; a small group in Boniville	Sebun (l'Enfant Perdu) Saka (Apatu)
Dipéku II	Kormotiho village; a fraction in Asisi	Paopu
Kotika (Tabuhi)	Kotika village; a group in Abunasunga	Nachimengé
Papaïnon (Wawina)	Papaïnon village; a small group in Boniville a small group in the Lower Maroni (wéizu village)	Tafanié

/19 cont./

613 621 591 The principle of localization of matrilineal kin groups, each in a separate village, continues respected. However, as in all African populations, the actual structure is noticeably different from the theoretical organization:

1st. Fragments of paternal kin groups, as well as several small groups of heterogeneous origin, insufficient in number to form a separate unit, have been agglomerated with the lo. Such is the case for example of the Tolina lineage, a small group which fled from Surinam at the end of the 19th century and agglomerated with the Papaïton lo;

[598] 2nd. Scissions have been produced within the lo as a result of disagreements. A group issuing from the Papaïton lo founded Wéïni village in the Lower Maroni beside Apatu. A group issuing from the Kotika lo founded Ma Imera village in the same region. Finally, from the Dipélu II lo a group separated which settled in Asini. Asini village is thus in fact nowadays the juxtaposition of three villages: Asini-Dyu, Asini-Awana Bakka, Asini-Dipélu II, each having its organization and its separate territory.

[629] These scissions have no appreciable repercussions on the social life of the Boni, for the groups thus separated from the lo, in addition to being very small in numbers, are not recognized by [629] the grand man as distinct social units. They remain subject to the head of the lo to which ancestor worship attaches them.

361 613 621 Besides the residence villages, a certain number of Boni have personal farming habitations distributed on the lands of their lineage along both banks of the river and on the islands. These habitations designated by the word kâpu, camp, have no permanent character; their existence does not violate the principle of localization of the lineage; each Boni is obliged at least in principle to build a house in his native village and to live in it part of the year. [629] The village of origin of each /20/ lineage is called "great village": [618] it is there that the members of the group meet to pray to the ancestors in front of the fraga tiki.

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613 971 Thus the lo appears to us above all as a social and political unit, based in principle on matrilineal relationship but easily able to welcome heterogeneous elements. It is the framework by means of which the individual is integrated into the collectivity.

614 Functions of the lineage (bee).

—Members of the same bee form a joint group from the legal point of view, even if they do not live in the same village and are under different authorities. They recognize a common legal responsibility; for example, they are obliged, at least in principle, to pay the debts contracted by one of them. Reciprocally, the inheritance of one of them is shared among them all.

614 704 —They have the same religious responsibility, that is, they are subject to the same kuna. The kuna is a curse called down upon a group by a divinity since an ancient era. It is transmitted exclusively by the mother. We shall show in the remainder of this work the considerable importance of this notion in the social life of the Refugee Blacks.

614 —They cannot (at least in principle) contract a union with one another. The bee thus constitutes in principle the unit subject to the law of exogamy.

/357/ An offense against exogamy, pikadu, incest in the wide sense, is regarded as very grave.

613 Functions of the lo: The lo transposes onto the material plane the legal principles resulting from the conception of the lineage: joint rights over land, common legal responsibility. Each of them forms a social unit in principle sufficient unto itself, possessing an ancestor worship peculiar to it, a head acting the role of ancestor priest and judge, materially grouped in one village, enjoying exclusive rights over a well-defined soil.

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613 591 We have said that the recently founded lineages, being of only very small size, cannot constitute a distinct social unit and are placed under the authority of one of the lo heads. That is not a condition imposed by force or any moral coercion whatever, but a practical social necessity. A lineage, reduced in numbers though it may be, keeps in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks imprescriptible collective rights; and if these members agree to group in a separate village and work separate soil, nobody will stand in their way.

Such are the elements which stand out after a first study of the kin groups as it can be deduced from interrogating the heads of these units. It leaves unresolved some important problems:

128 613 614 115 829 The Boni have the idea that their kin groups are lineages in the real sense of the term. Nevertheless, questioning on genealogies does not permit all to /21/ go back to the founding ancestress. Three of them, the most important numerically, prove in this respect to be divided into several fractions. Can we be sure that these fractions are actually of the same origin and that the people concerned are not deceiving themselves in believing it? In the social structure of the Refugee Blacks are there no mechanisms leading toward assimilation, to fusion of groups of heterogeneous origin?

We cannot answer these questions directly. First of all it is indispensable to study the conception that the Boni have of kinship ties within the matrilineage. Then we shall examine the genealogical tables of the various lineages, and for those that the study of genealogies shows to be divided into several fractions, we shall study the interrelations of these fractions.

601 613 Kinship within the matrilineage: The kinship terms translate a purely classificatory system. The principle of classificatory kinship

/21 cont./

601 has been pushed by the Refugee Blacks to its extreme limit with-
613 out any attenuation. Everything turns on the number of generations separating from the founding ancestress. Age does not come into it. The fact of belonging to an older or younger branch with respect to such-and-such an ancestress does not come into it, either. The custom of the Refugee Blacks is hostile to any discrimination which could lead to a scission of the lineage.

At the same number of generations from the foundress, they call one another uniformly brother, baala, or sister, sisa, without consideration of age or degree of relationship. Absolutely no nuance exists in the language to differentiate the brother proper from the brother in the classificatory sense.

The people closest to the foundress of a generation are uniformly called uncles, tiyu, or aunts, tiya.

601 The thinking of the Refugee Blacks on the subject of kinship
602 centers above all around knowledge of those ties which can be
613 called horizontal; they consider them as ties in fact which they were taught in early childhood, and few of them worry about knowing the exact origin of them. It is enough for them to know
[814] that N... is their brother and M..., their uncle. Knowledge of the genealogies remains the province of the most wide-awake minds; the others take no heed.

602 This conception of kinship permits the maintenance of the
613 unity of a lineage even when the genealogical ties are forgotten
614 and when the group is in this respect cut into several fractions. The members of the lineage can be unaware of this fractioning, as we have observed in several cases.

[601] Thus in Figure 3 (fictitious example), Adam knows he must call Baïna brother, Afanis uncle, and Sota nephew.

[104] That is why we use the term extended lineage to translate the word bee (1).

[See category 116, P. 31--Analyst]

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1. This conception of kinship is also found among the Agni of the Ivory Coast and the Fon of Dahomey; it may be widespread in Black Africa, especially in populations with matrilineal filiation.

601 /22/ This conception, associated with that of the kunu, con-
602 flicts with the fractioning of lineages on the religious plane, even
613 when a scission has taken place on the plane of residence. The
614 rigor of the principle laid down, the quasi-mathematical trans-
204 mission from one generation to the next of appellations based on
571 rank relative to the foundress, prohibits the thought that elements foreign to the lineage can be integrated into this system by any process whatever. Nevertheless, a doubt remains as to the possibility of assimilating fragments with paternal kinship, for in paternal kinship the same principle of classificatory kinship rules, and the same appellations are used. We shall show that such a process of assimilation actually exists on the social plane, but that it is inconceivable on the religious plane, the kunu always being transmitted by the mother. /Fig. 3 appears here./

602 Knowledge of genealogical ties is very variable from one
613 lineage to another. Outside of the great splits like Dipélu I-Dipélu
614 II, we have demonstrated that small fractions of several lineages could no longer be attached to the main trunk, the genealogical ties being irremediably lost. The people concerned had never realized this; they had never wondered about it. This was the case particularly:

—With Samma's descendants (Dipélu II, Asisi);

—With the group of Atili's descendants (Lapé, Boniville).

[178] In both cases the split was very recent; old men dead for only a few years knew the genealogical ties now lost.

/22 cont./

613 Situation of the lineages in 1958.

[643] The Dikan lineage, whose head is the grand man of the Boni, has practically died out, since it is comprised of only Grand Man Difu; upon his death it will totally disappear (1).

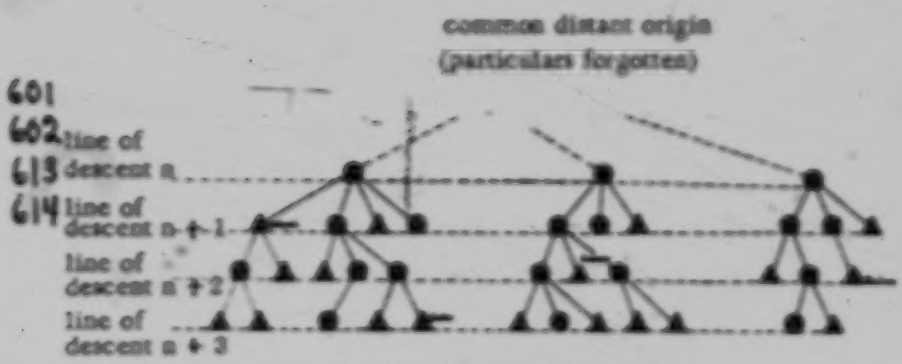

Fig. 3. Extended matrilineage.

613 184 174 1. Note that a Dikan lo exists among the Djuka; the separation of the Dikan-Djuka and the Dikan-Boni is necessarily anterior to the battles of 1793, which shows the ancientness of these groups.

621 613 571 For two generations the various lineages have delegated some of their members /23/ to the grand man to conserve a certain importance for his village. Thus Agodé (Boniville) now includes fragments of the Kotika, Dipélu, Lapé, Dju, and Papaïton lineages, forming that many individualized small quarters in the village.

/23 cont./

621 Agodé was founded by Grand Man Ochi, probably about
195 1895, at the time when the Boni were required by the settlement
[66] of the Lawa Dispute to evacuate the villages they were occupying
[103] on the Surinam bank. The name Boniville was given by the gold miners; it was used never at all by the Boni.

621 The Yakubi or Kotika lineage forms the important village
613 of Kotika (1). It is one of those which have remained best grouped.
[103]

1. This word alludes to the river where the rebellion of 1772 began.

[423] Its members have exclusive right over the region included between
[241] Abunasunga Falls and their village. They have farmed there for
[103] more than a century, and this is why the region is called Abattis Kotika.

613 Kotika is the oldest Boni village. It is one of those founded
62 by the survivors of the battles against the Dutch when, about
175 1815, they settled again on the Lawa. Until about 1895 nearly
[648] all the Boni were grouped in one large village, each lineage occupying a different quarter. At the time of the settlement, unfavorable to France, of the Lawa Dispute (1895), the various lineages emigrated, founding especially the villages of l'Enfant Perdu, Loka, Boniville, and Papaïston. Only the members of the Kotika lineage stayed, in full agreement with the grand man, so that the ancestral land might not be completely abandoned.
[648] Thus the inhabitants of this village are nowadays under the
[628] authority of Surinam, without ceasing, for that reason, to be faithful to the grand man and maintaining normal relations with the other groups.

613 The genealogies reconstituted in 1957 by systematic interro-
614 gation of the old people of the group had led to three distinct
[124] fractions which we shall call Kotika 1, 2, and 3, tracing respectively back to ancestresses named Kéneya, Amawi, and Oka.

/20 cont. /

613 614 Not one of the members of the group could trace back to the common ancestress; yet these three fractions together behave as
601 a single lineage. All its members know their mutual appellations
184 "brother," "uncle," etc. All are subject to the same bans.

The law of exogamy is respected within each fraction, but
613 there are seven cases of unions between members of different
614 fractions; these unions are disapproved of in principle, but they
602 are tolerated.
613

Thus, on the subject of exogamy, we see the thought of the Refugee Blacks breaks away from the rigorous principle on which their social order is based. It is the actually known genealogy which counts in their eyes on this point.

613 In December, 1958 we were able to reconstitute the com-
614 plete genealogy of the group (Fig. 4) thanks to the memories of
129 the doyenne of the group, Ma Emma, who had lived for a very
115 long time isolated in a village of the Maroni estuary. The data
601 thus reconstituted are in complete agreement with the kinship appellations among members of the various fractions. /24/
/Fig. 4 appears here. /

The case of the Kotika lineage is thus particularly interesting, for we find ourselves knowing its genealogy completely when its members know it no more than partially.

613 Study of this group shows that the forgetting of kinship ties
614 has no effect on the physical grouping of the lineage and its
602 functioning as a social unit.

It has direct repercussions only on the observation of the principle of exogamy. Thus the way in which exogamy is understood and observed appears to us from now on as a secondary criterion having no certain value for the recognition of a common origin.

621 Some Djuka and Saramaka have settled among the members of the Kotika lineage, but as individuals.

621 The Lapé (La Paix) lineage, whose name alludes to one of the great plantations of the Cottica River in the 18th century, is

4 [See p. 34, Category B6 -- Analyst]

/24 cont./

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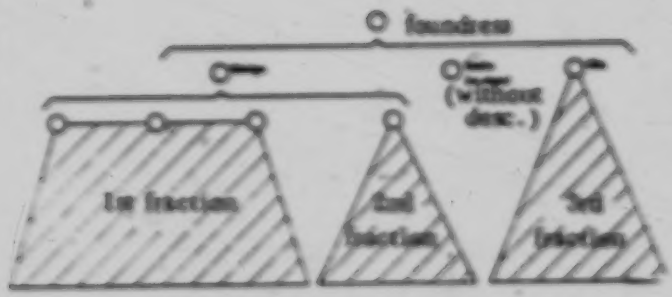

Fig. 4. Common genealogy of the three fractions of the Kotika lineage.

[62] divided between the small villages of Lapé Tabiki and Loka. It is a well-grouped lineage whose members know their genealogy perfectly as far as a common ancestress named Mata, who must have lived at the end of the 18th century; only one small group which we shall call Lapé 2 (descendants of Atili) does not know exactly the ties attaching them to the principal group. The law of exogamy is respected rigorously within this group; there is not a single case of marriage between the two fractions. The members of the two fractions consider themselves a single lineage.

[78] They have the same kunu.

[184] Note that there is a Lapé lo among the Djuka, regarded as of the same origin.

[621] No element of heterogeneous origin has settled in the villages of the Lapé lo.

613 [34] The Dju lineage, which occupies the central part of the Asisi Island, also fits the definition of kin groups among the Refugee Blacks. Its members know /25/ their entire genealogy as far back as a common ancestress named Aluku, doubtless, tracing to the middle of the 18th century.

/25 cont./

613 Among the Dju there is no fraction separated from the principal group.

[184] There is also a Dju lo among the Dyuka. The word Dju alludes to the Jews, the lineage probably having been born in the plantations belonging to the Jews of Surinam.

The law of exogamy is rigorously applied within the Dju lo.

No element of heterogeneous origin is established among the Dju.

613 614 62 The Dipélu lineage was the most important in the past; from the point of view of genealogy it is split up into three groups whose members are scattered in three villages, subject to different authorities.

Genealogy		Villages
Dipélu I		l'Enfant Perdu Apatu (founded in 1862)
Dipélu II. 1st fraction	very recent scission	Kormotiho
Dipélu II. 2nd fraction	very recent scission	some elements in Asisi.

613 —Dipélu I forms a unit remarkable for the amplitude of its genealogy, completely known, which extends over eight generations and goes back to a common ancestress named Sanyan, who must have lived in the middle of the 18th century. The common [174] origin of the two groups being necessarily anterior to this ancestress, it seems logical to make it go back to the beginning of the 18th [601] century. In spite of the remoteness in time of their common origin, the members of both groups know with precision their "horizontal" kinship ties (brother, uncle, etc.), which have lost

613 /26 cont./
[601] nothing of their strength although they have lost all correspondence with the age of the people concerned.

614 —Dipélu II, whose members know their genealogy badly,
671 appears on the contrary to be on the way toward breaking up. The head of the Dipélu II, who bears the title of captain, resides
[598] at Kormotibo. Part of the group settled in Aloni following a disagreement, without ceasing to be under his authority.

614 One might think that the physical separation of the two
612 groups took place as a function of the genealogies, that the 2nd
671 fraction of Dipélu II emigrated as a single group to Aloni, leaving in Kormotibo the members of the 1st fraction. But this is not the case at all; examination of the genealogical table shows that the emigrant group issues as much from one as from the other; this is a very remarkable aspect of the social structure of the Refugee Blacks, which proceeds directly from their conceptions of classificatory kinship. A man is "at home" wherever his classificatory "brothers" and "uncles" live, and if a physical separation occurs in the group, preferences and personal affiliation will have as much influence as closeness of kinship. /26/

613 Three generations ago, Dipélu was only one group under
614 the leadership of a single head residing in Kormotibo. The process
591 of its breaking up is a beautiful example of what Europeans produce
199 by interfering in the social life of an African tribe in order to pick out a man who appears to them more intelligent and active than the others.

[594] The companion of the explorer Crevaux, Apatu, who be-
[621] longed to this group, was on his return covered with honors, en-
[598] dowed with the title of captain and with pay; he conflicted with the legitimate head of the lo, seceded, and founded a village on the outskirts of Saint-Laurent, taking with him a fraction of the group.

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/38 cont./

This village had no future. Its complement did nothing but melt away for half a century, especially under the influence of venereal diseases.

Neither time nor geographical separation have brought on scission on the religious or legal planes. In this respect the members of Dipélu I and Dipélu II continue to think of one another as the same lineage. They remain subject to the same kunu.

[184]

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The law of exogamy continues to be applied rigorously within Dipélu I and within Dipélu II, but marriages are permitted between Dipélu I and II. There are no longer any social sanctions about this, and the common origin of the two groups is so remote that they scarcely think any more of applying to them the term pikadu. But such unions remain exceptional, the people concerned continuing to fear a superhuman sanction.

[184]

[621]

No element of heterogeneous origin, fragment paternally related or refugee outsiders, has settled among the Dipélu.

613
[621]

The Papaïsson or Kawina lineage (Papaïsson village) has remained perfectly coherent and well grouped. Its members know their genealogy as far back as an ancestress named Térésa, who must have lived at the beginning of the 18th century. But there exists a small fraction, nearly extinct, which we shall designate as Papaïsson 2, which presents a separate genealogy going almost as far back in time. Nobody knows the origin of this group exactly: it is regarded as connected by kinship ties to the main group, but the members of the two groups consider that they form two distinct lineages. They do not have the same kunu.

[614]

[184]

[592]

Marriage is not tolerated within the principal group, but it is allowed between members of the two groups.

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Moreover, with the Papaïsson lives a small group which fled from Surinam about the end of the 19th century, originally of the Bakabuchi tribe. This group has no kinship tie at all with the Papaïsson but has placed itself under the authority of the head

/26 cont./

613 621 of the Papaïnon lo. It is generally designated by "Toïna's family," Toïna being the doyenne of the group.

613 614 [621] The Awara Bakka lineage (Asisi village) has a more complex and particularly interesting structure. Study of its genealogy shows that it is in fact divided into three fractions which we shall call Aw.B.1, Aw.B.2, Aw.B.1 /misprint for Aw.B.3 -- Tr./. The Aw.B.1 know /27/ their genealogy perfectly back to an ancestress named Akyé, great-great-grandmother of the centenarian Kuluba († 1957). Akyé must have lived toward the end of the 18th century.

613 614 577 [621] Awara Bakka 3 is a paternally related fragment which was "assimilated" to the principal group by a process of which several other examples exist among the Boni. It was founded by Améta, a Djuka woman originally from the village of Tabiki on the Tapanaoni, wife of Pèèyon (Aw.B.1), who remained there with her numerous descendants after the death of her husband.

The members of this group, who should normally be regarded as Djuka and outsiders to the lo, end up by being engulfed in the social organization and ancestor worship of the Awara Bakka. The [601] daughters of Améta and Pèèyon were called "sisters" by the Aw.B.1 by reason of patrilineal relationship. These appellations were [984] transposed for their descendants to the point where many ended by losing their true origin from sight; but the Aw.B.3 keep a separate religious and legal responsibility and are subject to their own kunu, that of the Djuka village of Tabiki from which came their ancestress.

613 614 577 As a matter of fact, as we shall show by studying the beliefs of the Boni, the kunu is irremediably transmitted by the mother and no process of assimilation has any effect on this. Thus the Aw.B.3 are not really part of the lineage; they are separated from it by a clear criterion, obvious in the eyes of all, impossible to disregard or forget.

/127 cont./

614 The Aw.B.2. on whom we could not get use information
[123] because this very closed group did not cooperate willingly with the inquiry, appear to be in a very similar situation, with the difference that their genealogy goes back much farther in time and they no longer remember the origin of this fraction nor the
[984] circumstances which tied its fate to that of the Aw.B.1. This group apparently has a separate hunu.

613 614 582 The Awara Bakka lineage is in a special situation from the point of view of exogamy, for not only are there marriages be-
[183] tween one fraction and another, but there are two within the same fraction and between relatively near relatives. Thus this group, without openly rejecting the law of exogamy, does not attach the same importance to it as do the others.

613 The Afi lineage. This lineage was founded by Afi, wife of a man from Papalston, who came to live with him. Like the
[101] Tolna lineage, she had come from the small tribe called Bakabuchi which lived in Surinam. However, the Afi and Tolna lineages are not of the same matrilineal origin and the present members of each of the two small groups have no common worship. All of
[571] them have lost every tie with their original tribe, and their social life is entirely dependent on that of the Bosi group which has taken them in.

[621] Afi settled near Kormotibo. This site is abandoned by her descendants who live, most of them, in Asisi, the rest in Kormotibo.

The lineage has lost every tie with its group of origin.
[649] Nevertheless, it is assumed that if one of them wanted to go back there, on proving his relationship, he would take up all his rights again and could demand a site for making his clearings.

613 621 571 /128/ The process of assimilation which took place for the AW.B.3 did not come into play for Afi's descendants with respect to the Papalston lineage. They are regarded as a separate family group, insufficient in number to constitute a social unit and whose members are placed under the authority of the heads of the villages

/28 cont./

613 where they have chosen to live. It is possible that later, if their
621 number continues to increase, they may found a separate village
571 whose head will be recognized as captain. A new lo would thus be created.

613 Real nature of Boni matrilineal groups. Examination of the situation
614 of the various lineages leads to the following conclusions:
571 — The fact that genealogies are forgotten does not lead to any fractioning of lineages on the material or religious planes.

— The conceptions of the Boni relative to classificatory kinship, as well as their custom hostile toward any discrimination within the lineage, hinder fractioning. When a separation takes place on the plane of residence and authority, it has no repercussion on the common worship which cements the lineage together;

— The fashion in which the law of exogamy is applied does not constitute a valid criterion, the attitude of the various groups in this regard being quite variable;

— No process of assimilation permits integration into the lineage of elements of foreign origin; a process of assimilation of paternally related fragments exists. But this assimilation is not complete, it does not operate on the plane of legal and religious responsibility;

613 — Ultimately, the surest criterion of true common matrilineal
614 origin is unity of legal and religious responsibility, marked by the
784 same kunu. The kunu, transmitted irrevocably by the mother whatever may be the conditions of her marriage, weighing collectively on all the members of a lineage and capable of being warded off only by their collective prayers, is the true cement of kin groups.

[571] By its very nature, the kunu opposes any scission of groups. Neither time nor geographical separation can break it.

[621] The example of Dipélu I and II is characteristic in this regard, for its members remain rigorously subject to the same kunu

/28 cont./

although the supposed common ancestress doubtless goes back to the beginning of the 18th century and for three generations they have been divided among four villages situated at a week's distance by boat from one another. We can, with very few chances of error, affirm that they certainly have a common matrilineal origin and that they in fact constitute one lineage.

On this subject let us note that geographical separation cannot play the same role among the Refugee Blacks as in the African tribes of cultivators. The Refugee Blacks, whose habitat is linear along the banks of the river and who, being boatmen, are continually moving, cannot be completely isolated from one another.

/29/ Under these conditions, how can we explain the existence within certain lineages of individualized fractions subject to a separate kunu, such as Papalinon 2?

One can assume that these fractions do not really have the same origin as the principal group and that they result from a process of assimilation of a paternally related fragment.

We have cited the example of Aneta's descendants (Aw. 8. 3). They are already integrated into the social life of the group; in two or three generations nobody will remember any longer their exact origin. But they will remain differentiated from the principal fraction of the Awara Bakka because they will still be subject to the kunu of their ancestress.

Such are the elements we have been able to draw from a general study of kin groups among the Boni. We shall look for other data in the study of the implantation of these groups on the soil, and especially of the apportionment of lands among them; finally, we shall study family custom and especially inheritance.

A complete understanding of the kinship system and its functioning can be obtained only in the future by following the evolution of kin groups, the formation of new villages; and the designation of new headmen.

/29 cont./

121 This is what necessitates as precise an inventory as possible of the population in its present state.

61 114 184 Matrilineal kin groups among the Djuka and Saramaka Refugee Blacks. Authors who have described the social structure of the Djuka and Saramaka, groupings appreciably more numerous than the Boni, have also called attention to the use of the words lo and beg, but give them a completely different meaning.

194 571 621 The organization they describe can be summarized thus: Before making up tribes, the rebels lived in small groups near the plantations from which they had escaped; these groups of composite origin were designated by the word lo which means: troop, band; the same word is used to designate a band of animals.

[162] [103] These rebels used to belong to all the nations of the west coast of Africa. In spots there may have been an attempt at regroupings of elements belonging to the same nation, as proven by the village names Loango, Dahomey, among the Saramaka.

[622] But the majority of these small groups were very probably of heterogeneous origin; in each of these lo, the bravest and most capable was designated as head.

[648] [167] After the recognition of the Djuka and Saramaka by the government of Surinam and their regrouping on the great rivers of the interior, these groups kept their unity since they had a de facto organization and leaders. They were naturally designated by the name of the plantation they had come from. We say for example Dju nëngo for the former slaves of the Jews, Këpani nëngo for the former slaves of the Compagnie des Indes Orientales /East India Company/. /30/

174 613 614 621 571 1161 In the course of the 19th century the total number of Refugee Blacks increased very rapidly under the influence of a high birth rate. The lineages in the proper meaning of the term beg, meaning the descendants of the same ancestress, took on sufficient importance to constitute distinct social units. They grouped in

/30 cont./

174 separate villages and the more important even burst out into
613 several villages whose heads were recognized as "captains" by the
grand man and then by the government. The number of Djuka
614 captains recognized by the government of Surinam has not stopped
621 growing; it was 28 these last few years.

571 The lo no longer represented an effective social unit, but its members kept common worships. For example, it is said that
[188] the Dju ŋŋoge go each year as a ritual to get earth from the Savanc des Juifs /Savanna of the Jews/ where their ancestors were slaves.

[114] This explanation seems probable. The kin-group is not the only social unit known to Africans; the bond between man and land has equal importance in their eyes; the fact that their fathers had lived together, that they had been buried in the same cemetery created a among the rebel slaves a de facto bond which was able to suffice, at the beginning of the rebellion, to found villages and a social organization.

[114] However, this theory cannot be entertained without reservations. It has not been possible to verify it by systematic studies, the Djuka and Saramaka having firmly opposed until now any ethnographic investigation involving the statement of genealogies and the inventory of the population of the villages.

[184] It contradicts what we have pointed out among the Boni. In that group six great lineages are counted, of which four (Dju, Kotika, La Paix, Dikan) have a name also alluding to the plantations from which their ancestors fled.

Nevertheless it is certainly a question of lineages in the proper meaning of the term, and nobody remembers that any other organization ever existed. Also, in the absence of systematic studies of the Djuka and Saramaka, the problem of the origin of
[184] their kin groups remains obscure. The future will permit verifying one or the other of the two hypotheses:

/30 cont./

174 613 614 621 571 184

1st. *Lo* a *de facto* grouping of rebels of any provenance, which has in the long run split up into lineages but which remains in the form of a common worship;

2nd. *Lo* a lineage, from the very beginning.

Conceptions Relative to Kinship and Marriage

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[121] Ties between the individual and the ancestors. Before examining more deeply the social and family structure of the Refugee Blacks, it is indispensable to study what religious ties are implied between [184] the individual and the ancestors. Here one is in the presence of basic beliefs which seem identical in the various tribes of Refugee Blacks of Guiana and of which their structure is the consequence.

In the civilizations of Blacks Africa it is supposed that a [711] current of life and /31/ strength circulates from the divinity to men through the medium of the ancestors. Among the Refugee Blacks it is taken for granted that in this respect each man is bound [782] to his ancestors through the maternal line only. If he falls prey to illness, injustice, or adversity, he can call only on them in his prayer.

573 That does not mean that the tie with the father is ignored or considered as having little importance; it is taken for granted, [827] as we shall see, that in the creation of man certain psychic elements are transmitted from father to son. But the current of strength binding the individual to the ancestors does not pass through the father. One cannot pray usefully to the soul of one's dead father. [755] If I am sick and divination incriminates the action of my dead [712] father's soul, I cannot address either prayer or offering directly to him; for that I shall have recourse to one of his near relatives in the maternal line.

614 /31 cont./
769 Another very important principle in the minds of the Refugee
796 Blacks is that prayers must be collective: the principal ceremonies,
such as the New Year's prayer, must bring together, at least in
•613 principle, the total lineage.

These notions certainly have influenced the custom of the
182 Refugee Blacks with respect to residence and marriage. The lineage
613 cannot allow the permanent departure of a woman from her native
614 country any more than that of a man. In the populations of Black
Africa with matrilineal filiation, this conception is reconciled
591 with the necessities of practical living in the following manner:
[171] the wife leaves her relatives to settle down with her husband, but
when her children reach adulthood they must return there. Thus
one cannot attribute to this preoccupation alone the special system
of marriage among the Refugee Blacks, which does not involve
the permanent cohabitation of man and wife. We shall see that
this system was inspired by social and psychological necessities.
But concern for the unity of the lineage, to which it corresponds
perfectly, has surely contributed to make of it a rigorous principle
of customary law.

601 Kinship within the matrilineage. The kinship terms translate a
613 purely classificatory system. It depends only on the number of
generations separating from the foundress. The sons of women
611 descended from the foundress in uterine line are regarded as mem-
bers of the matrilineage and united in the system of appellation.
The children of these men are no longer part of the matrilineage.

601 /31 cont./
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Basia (brother) Sisa (sister)	brothers and sisters in the classificatory sense. Persons separated from the foundress by the same number of generations.
Tiya, siya (uncle, aunt)	persons nearer to the foundress by one generation.
Gaita, gaima (grandfather, grandmother)	persons nearer to the foundress by two generations.
Awo (great-grandmother)	women nearer to the foundress by three generations.
Sisa pikin (nephews)	persons farther from the foundress by one generation.

/32/ In a general fashion, a man situated on line n calls uncles and aunts all those situated on line n-1, and nephews all who are on line n+1.

601 Example (see genealogical table of the Dyu lojo: Fatiman
602 (F7) considers Aliki (F23) (his relative in the 9th degree) as his
613 aunt, for the same reason as Wima (F3), sister of his mother. Likewise, he considers Sooman (E14), as well as Atikati (E18), as his uncle, although Sooman is 10 years younger than he. He assumes that Sooman can to a certain extent give him advice and that his opinion is preponderant over his own.

He considers Adiso (F37), his relative in the 10th degree, as his brother for the same reason as Kiemati, his brother proper. Paana (G2), Kewesu (G10) as well as Soulafu (G42) are his nephews and nieces, sisa pikin.

At one generation more, he says "my grandchildren."

/72 cont./

601 The very rigor of this principle seems to have to lead to a
•613 scission of the lineages, for one can hardly conceive that people
571 will be willing to address girls younger than themselves as "my
[163] grandmother" and show them respect; now that must necessarily be the case at the end of a certain number of generations, for as we shall see, the fecundity of Boni women sometimes lasts up to the age of 50, and there are cases where the interval between the oldest and youngest child reaches 35 years.

Nevertheless, we have not actually observed that this conception of kinship leads to scissions or even to serious clashes.

That derives from the very nature of the hierarchy and the social ties within the matrilineage: they entail a collective tutelage by one generation over the next, and in the same way a collective tutelage by the ancestors over the living. But for the same reason that every prayer, every invocation addressed individually to such-and-such an ancestor is avoided, the hierarchy of the Refugee Blacks does not give rise to relationships of authority between one man and another, which would not be tolerated. Only the bedemf, or captain, designated by the assembly of the lineage, exerts a personal authority; even so, he is careful to limit it almost exclusively to religious functions.

604 "Uncles" exert collectively an authority over the generation
613 of "nephews." They meet in council, especially on the question of marriages. They do not vote, strictly speaking, but the opposition of three or four of them prevents the carrying out of a project. There is no preponderant voice for the closest uncles (yet in practice this seems to be taken into account). But the eldest of the uncles in the classificatory sense is unanimously recognized as preponderant.

602 Existence of patrilineages. Matrilineages are not the only kin
784 groups of the Refugee Blacks. Each one receives from his father
428 a fundamental interdiction -- bwasi kina -- which he will have

/33 cont./

602 Patrilineal relationships have other important incidences which we shall bring to light in speaking of Boni beliefs. From the point of view of social structure, let us note:

[182] — That patrilineal relationship has no influence upon residence or organization of material living;

[582] — That the law of exogamy which it involves has only slight influence on the freedom of choice of couples; because of the relatively large number of patrilineages.

[601] As far as the ties of patrilineal kinship are known (in general people do not go beyond their grandfather), the same kinship terms are used as in the matrilineage, with the same classificatory value.

601 613 Appellations. We have seen that within the matrilineage the kinship appellations depend only on the number of generations with respect to the foundress.

Speaking familiarly, they use for addressing:

— People of the same generation, the expression	ba So-and-so... (man) sa So-and-so (woman)
— — of one generation above, the expression	tiyu, uncle tiya, aunt
— — of two generations above, the expression	papa mama.

[192] /34/ Papa does not mean father, but ancient, honorable. Likewise, mama means aged and respectable woman.

For example, to say good day they will say, according to the case, ba So-and-so, ɔdio, or tiyu, ɔdio.

[551] In speaking to people one generation below, they say mati (comrade) or call them by their name without any other appellation, which would be considered very insolent in addressing their "brothers" or "uncles."

/34 cont./

601 They continue to use the terms soagi, pay, may even after the break-up of a marriage, so that they are in frequent usage. As for the woman herself, they say sa So-and-so in speaking to her, as to a sister.

581 Marriage. The conceptions of the Refugee Blacks on this subject are remarkable. Marriage in the African sense of the term, understood as a contract between two groups of relatives, does not exist
581 among them. The union of the man and woman does not involve
583 any sort of contract between their groups of relatives and consequently entails no matrimonial compensation. /35/ The Refugee Blacks are the only African Negro population to our knowledge whose customs do not involve any form of "dowry" either in money or in kind.

582 Family life in the sense that we understand it does not exist;
621 as we shall see further on, marriage is forbidden between people of the same lineage, which implies that the husband and wife live
591 in different villages. The man builds a house for his wife in her
593 native village, but he does not come to live with her; he makes
[439] visits of several days to her as to his other wives, in the course of which he furnishes her with the imported objects (salt, kerosene, cloth, etc.) she needs, lends her his aid for heavy chores, while, for her part, she turns over to him the products of the clearing. The rest of the time he lives as a bachelor in his mother's village where he builds his own house. If he is very attached to his wife, he can come to reside with her and can even succeed without great difficulty in bringing her to live in his own village; but few couples take advantage of this option, for the man and wife prize their independence above everything else.

593 The life of the man and of the wife remain entirely separate
[613] and their union has more the character of a temporary association founded on material interests than that of a marriage; the family life of each one remains entirely centered around his or her matrilineage.

/37 cont./

583 (this was especially the case with the Afi and Toïna lineages
591 cited above), that does not entail any compensation. It is contrary to custom and disapproved of, but if the wife absolutely insists on leaving her kin she is free to do it. Nothing can be claimed from her husband's lineage.

The usual interpretation of matrimonial compensation, regarded as a mechanism for exchange of women among groups, thus does not seem valid here. If a woman leaves a Boni lineage for good to go and found a family, for example among the Djuka, her descendants are lost to the lineage without any possibility of compensation. Yet this society so deeply rooted in African soil does not make provision for any allowance or payment in such a case.

613 Things are clearer if the lineage is considered not as an
771 effective material grouping but as a spiritual community subject
[829] to the same religious law. In the thought of the Refugee Blacks, the fundamental religious tie which joins the individual to his ancestors in uterine line cannot be broken whatever anyone does.

[591] Wherever she may go, the emigrant woman remains a mem-
[784] ber of the spiritual community; she remains, she and her children, subject to the same kunu. Nor can this religious tie be transferred from the maternal kin group.

581 Understood thus, marriage breaks no spiritual tie, creates
583 none; it thus affords no reason for any compensation.

000 These considerations show that the African "dowry" as conceived by patrilineal societies is not only a mechanism for the exchange of women among materially constituted groups. It can also have as its end, without those concerned even being aware of it, to compensate the spiritual community of the lineage for the loss of the children the woman will bear, their passage to another cult.

6:Hurault--5da K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

133
137
342
361

Fig. 5. Boni Village

137
342
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769
778
613

Fig. 6. The fraga
tiki of the Kotika
lo.

/41 cont./

621 The principle behind the constitution of the Boni villages
613 is, as we have said, the localization of the matrilineage. Men
[591] and women live in the village of their maternal kin; the wife does not leave her village to join her husband, who comes to visit her from time to time without ceasing, himself, to live in the midst of his own lineage.

The composition of each village thus corresponds, at least in principle, to the group of living people on the genealogical table. But a certain number of exceptions are observed:

[167] -A certain number of men (about 20 out of 800 persons) have emigrated for good and can no longer be counted in the population of the villages;

[619] -On the other hand, a dozen Djuka and Saramaka married
[591] to Boni women have settled permanently in the villages and have been included in the census.

125 We have tried to estimate with as much precision as possible
128 the age of the people concerned, by means of events of known
[173] date which they remember, from the trip of the explorer Crevaux (1878) to the war 1939-45. We have established a local chronology, reproduced as an appendix at the end of the present chapter.

125 The demographic survey, which has been the subject of another publication (1), was conducted parallel with the sociological investigation.

[113] 1. "Etude démographique comparée des Noirs Réfugiés Boni et des Indiens Oayana du Haut-Maroni /Comparative Demographic Study of the Boni Refugee Blacks and the Oayana Indians of the Upper Maroni/," in Population, éditions de l'INED, 1959, No. 3. 2 A

2 A [See S. Hurault, This file-- Analyst.]

/42/

125 The name of each individual is printed in boldface type
128 once where he can be considered as habitually residing.
162 Children under 15 are considered as living with the persons responsible for their education. If it was not possible to obtain accurate information about this, they are considered as living with their mother.

Each listing bears a number, for example Dju D7, making it possible to find again the individual's place in the genealogical table. In the example noted, refer to the table of the Dju lineage, line D, no. 7.

601 Genealogical tables. These are of unequal value according to the
128 age and the memory of the old people consulted. In general
[115] they go back to three generations beyond the oldest of the old men now alive.

[165] Since the Boni show remarkable longevity, and the average difference in age between two generations can be estimated at 31 years, one can assume as probable that the most distant ancestress known of each lineage was born between the middle and the end of the 18th century. For example, if we assume that
[613] Kuluba, the ancestress of the Awara Bakka, was about 100 years old in 1956, we can take for granted that she was born about 1856 and that her great-grandmother was born about 1760.

613 The most ancient ancestress known of each lineage is certainly not the foundress. It is infinitely probable that the founding of these groups goes back to the beginning of the 18th century and that they were born on the same plantations where the ancestors of the Refugee Blacks were slaves; this would explain the names borne by the lineages, names which nearly always allude to a plantation or to a slave-owner.

601 In a general way, the memory of the Boni is very sure,
128 and the information given in the form: Ma X... begot So-and-so,

/42 cont./

601 So-and-so, and So-and-so, can be regarded as sure. On the other
128 hand, we have considered that there was a break in the genealogy when, going back in time, we arrived at this single datum: Ma X... was the sister of Ma Y...., for it could be a question of kinship in the classificatory sense.

No form of birthright existing among the Boni, there is some uncertainty about the order of birth of brothers and sisters for persons long dead. We have adopted the order kept by oral tradition without trying to rectify it.

●613 In many African populations a special tradition is connected
814 with perpetuating the memory of the founder: at least his name,
829 the place of his grave. With the present-day Boni absolutely nothing like this is found; they are not concerned in any way with the true foundress of their lineage; no memory, no legend, not even a name has come down to them. It even seems as though these distant ancestors interest them little because they are less able to act in behalf of their present-day descendants. Indeed, with each new generation the memory of an ancient one dies out.

173 On our first trip in 1948 we called attention, unfortunately without
[126] noting them down precisely, to /43/ very interesting oral traditions going back to the time of slavery, especially the names of the slave-owners who showed themselves to be the most cruel. In
[814] 1952 the last old man who knew them had died; the very memory of what he had said was already effaced.

829 As a matter of fact, Boni thought, strictly practical and
602 utilitarian, is concerned principally with keeping the memory of the part of the genealogy indispensable to the living to know their kinship ties. Memory of women whose posterity has died out and of men who did nothing remarkable is dead from the second generation on.

114 Since none of the travelers of the 19th century understood
613 the importance of taking genealogies, it is probable that the names

/43 cont./

114 of the true foundresses and the circumstances of the formation of
● 613 the lineages (invaluable information which must still have been present in the memory of the old men at the end of the last century) are lost forever.

128 In order to simplify the drawing up of the genealogical
601 tables, we have eliminated individuals deceased before adult age.

128 Names. To insure the necessary anonymity to our informants
551 without diminishing the accuracy of the statement, we have
601 changed a large part of the names. The fictitious names under
162 which individuals are designated in the genealogical tables as
[101] well as in the inventory of the population were mostly taken from the Djuka, who belong to the same cultural and linguistic group; in other cases, in order "to figure" the census we used a more complex process consisting in exchanging the names of two persons. Children younger than 15 are designated simply by an initial (1).

[648] 1. It is particularly disagreeable to the Refugee Blacks to have their children's names known by Europeans, with the exception of
[123] the doctor. All systematic questioning on this subject runs into clear hostility.

114 Despite these precautions, we recommend that travelers
609 provided with this work make no allusion in front of the Boni to the facts related in it; the Refugee Blacks are very proud and cannot allow an outsider to penetrate forthwith into their family privacy. That would provoke lively hostility toward the indiscreet person and would hinder later work.

114 The table of correspondence between true and fictitious
128 names is held at the disposal of sociologists who may wish to conduct studies on the Boni.

/44/

162
●613
621
[643]

Boniville

Legend

N°		House of		N°		House of	
1	△	Difu grand man	Dikan	31	○	Pèlui	P1, F34
2	△	Dodoya	Dip. 1, F82	32	△	Gonisutu (2nd house)	
3	○	Kulina	Dju, F9	33			
4	△	Fintiman	Dju, F6	34	△	Baafu	L2, E58
5	△	Klémenti	Dju, F7	35	○	Lomé	L2, F74
6	○	Eliana	Dju, F8	36	○	Téréza	L2, E57
7	○	Kulina	Dju, F9	37	△	Amakti	L2, F71
8	△	Doni	Dju, G13	38	△	Monpé	1. Poti
9	△	Lota	K3, E142	39	○	Aboométi	
9(a)	△	Booki	K3, E133	40	△	Klémenti	Dju, F7
10	○	Mimi	K3, E156	41	○	Amékiwan	1. Poti
11	○	Lémik	K3, D130	42	○	Léya	K2, F99
12	△	Tofioto	K3, E157	43	○	Paata	1. Poti
13	△	Lébiman	K3, D132	44	○	Chima	1. Poti
14	○	Achiké	K3, E140	45	○	Lésina	K2, F69
15	○	Sooto	K3, E142	46	△	Todo	K2, F68
16	○	Maka	K3, E146	47	○	Awini	K1, E37
17	○	Marta	K3, F140	48	△	Todo	K2, F68
18	○	Waway	K3, E130	49	△	Noël	Dip. 1, F83
19				50	△	Kallawa	1. Poti
20	○	Afiingi	K3, D120	51	○	Bada	Dip. 1, F1
21	○	Akyèmki	K3, E144	52	△	Madéko	K2, E69
22	△	Makalanchi	K3, F130	53	○	Amanichi	Dip. 1, F7
23	△	Sintamann	K3, E145	54	○	Cécilia	Dip. 1, E9
24	△	Asékéyé	P1, G25	55	△	Dyakata	Dip. 1, E4
25	△	Bukuman	P1, F32	56	△	Alichi	Dip. 1, F5
26	○	Apinda	P1, G96	57	○	Asumé	Dip. 1, F2
27	△	Gonisutu	P1, G64	58			
28	○	Alasani	P1, F34	59	○	Léya	K2, F99
29	△	Bénanu	P1, G61	60	△	Todo	K2, F68
30	△	Nanga	P1, G31				

Total on January 1, 1958: 116 persons, including 43 children and adolescents of less than 16 years.

Adult inhabitants whose residence in Boniville is not normal: none.

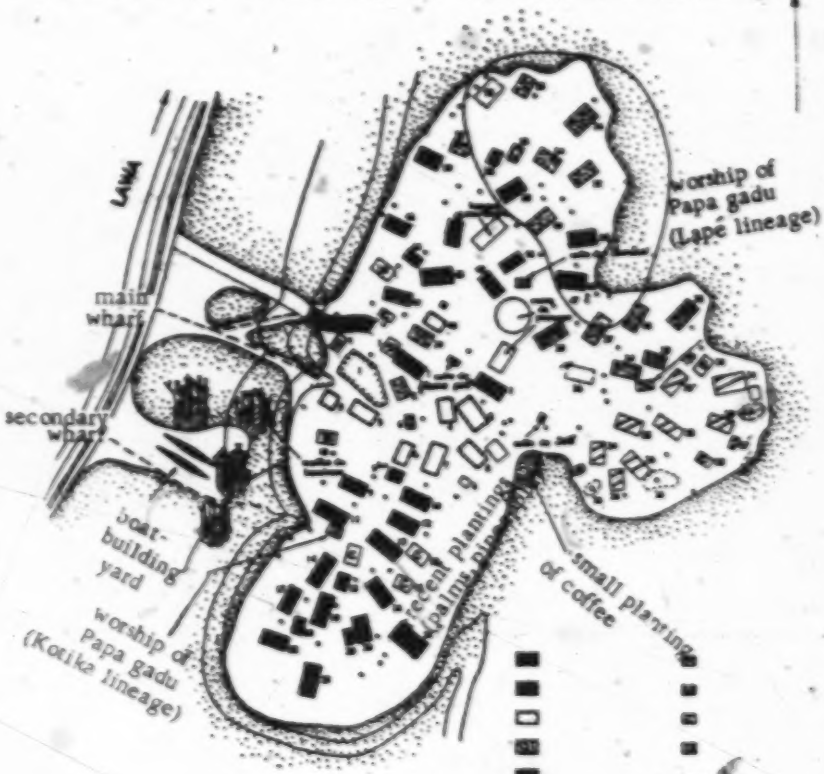
The members of the small Poti lineage, founded about 50 years ago by a Djuka woman, wife of grand man Ochi†, have normal residence here through their foundress. No Djuka, Saramaka, or Paramaka lives in Boniville.

6:Hurault--66 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/45/

102
361
613
621

Agodé Village
(Boniville)
in Oct. 1957
Dikan Lineage
and Fractions of the Kotika, Dipelu I, Lapé, Papaïston, Dju Lineages



Scale 1/1000

/touffes de bambous = clumps of bamboo;
culte de = worship of;
cases de passage = guest houses;
hangar mortuaire = mortuary shed/

/See symbols on p. 63a/

Fig. 7.

/45 cont./

102
361
613
621

/The symbols below refer to Fig. 7 on p. 66./

lineages

- Dikan
- Kotuka
- Djuu
- Dipélu
- Lápé
- Papaïston
- Pori (Djuka origin)

- chapels (gadu p/u)
- Munu p/u (1)
- kitchens
- various outbuildings (granaries, etc.)
- building in ruins
- single trees
- clump of banana trees
- clump of pinot palms /ouaisi/

(1) Houses to which women retire during their menstrual periods

/46/

l'Enfant Perdu (Tabiki) Village

162
613
621

Legend

№	House of		№	House of	
3	○ Djalufu	Dip. I, E8	25	△ Famblen	Dip. I, B82
6	△ Kasun (usually lives in Kotika	Dip. I, E3	26	○ Asuwentina	K2, E73
			25, 29	△ Daméni	Dip. I, E47
8	△ Biani	Dip. I, F76	30	○ Anusa	Dip. I, E48
9	○ Saumé	Dip. I, E53	31, 32	○ Towéchi	Dip. I, F64
10	△ Tabayé	Dip. I, F73	33	△ Malpa	Dip. I, F52
11	○ Saumé (2nd house)		34	△ Babun (2nd house)	
13	○ Abéna	Dip. I, D38	36	○ Aséli	Dip. I, F60
14	△ Polou	Dip. I, F77	37	○ Elina	Dip. I, E44
15	△ Toli	Dip. I, D44	38	○ Ansu	Dip. I, G50
16	○ Mata	Dip. I, F80	39	○ Musinga	Dip. I, F51
17	△ Abagon	Dip. I, E35	41	○ Apenaa	Dip. I, F54
19	△ Bayamati	Dip. I, E56	42	○ Kodja	Dip. I, F55
20	△ Simon	Dip. I, F78	43	○ Saayé	Dip. I, F56
21	△ Manku	Dip. I, F75	45	○ Péechina	Dip. I, E42
22	△ Bebun village head	Dip. I, D40			

[622]

Total on January 1, 1958: 65 persons, of whom 25 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

[591] Adult inhabitants of the village whose residence is not normal:

○ Asuwentina 1926, raised by her father Famblen, remained in l'Enfant Perdu;

△ Yoni 1930, DJUKA, raised by his brother by the same father Tabayé in l'Enfant Perdu village, remained there afterward.

Total: 2 persons, of whom one is bringing up a child.

Loka and Lapé Tabiki Villages

[591] Adult inhabitants whose residence is normal: /Error for "not normal"? - Tr.

△ Afoondo 1935, raised by his father Koniman in Loka, stayed there

○ Baïkom 1924, raised by her father Malobi in Loka, stayed there

○ Méchi 1922, raised by her father Kodio in Loka, stayed there

○ Noko 1937, raised by Namu, sister of her father, stayed in Loka

○ Régina 1936, raised by her father Popo in Loka, stayed there

Total: 5 persons, raising 7 children or adolescents under 16 years old.

102
361
•613
621

/47/

l'Enfant Perdu Village
(Dipelu I lo)
in 1957

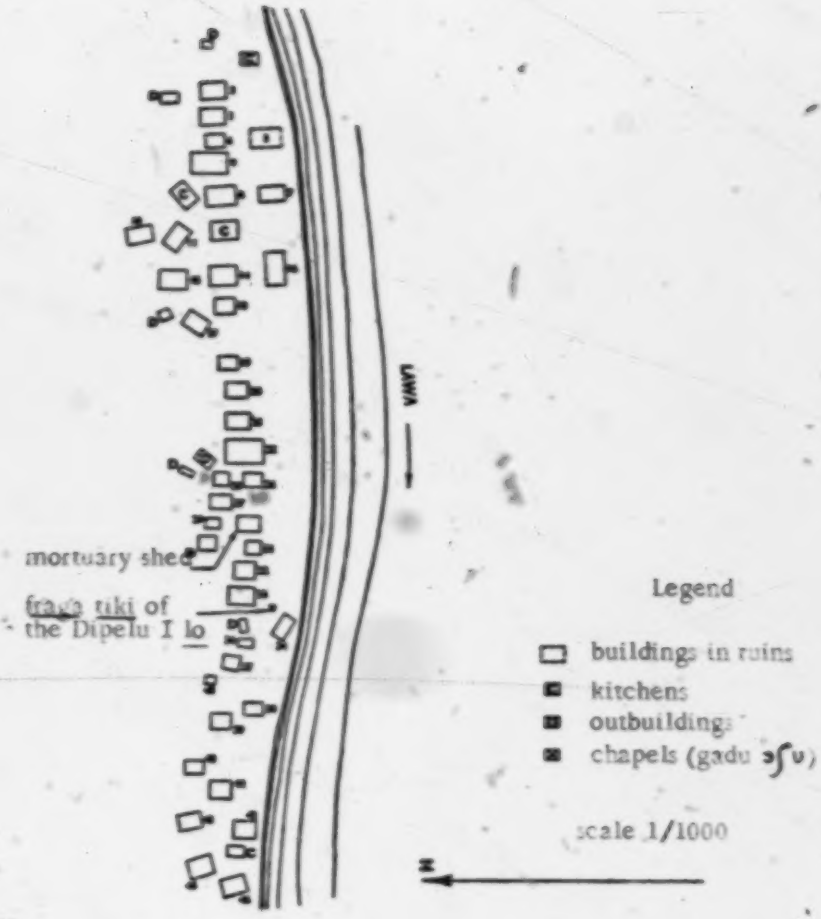


Fig. 8.

/48/

Loka and Lapé Tabiki Villages

162
613
621

Legend

Loka Village

N°	House of		N°	House of	
1, 4	○ Bito	L1, D2	36	△ Kenimaa	L1, E31
3	△ Télon	L1, E3	37	○ Akuba	L1, E30
2, 5	○ Tolti	L1, E1	38	○ Afuyéti	L1, F38
6	△ Pikinbaala	L1, E2	39	△ Afoondo	Aw. B.1, F56
7	○ Totouman	L1, F1	40	○ Mélita	L1, E32
8	△ Dooté	L1, E10	41	○ Abiaman	L1, F39
9	○ Balkom	Dju, F10	42	○ Téké	L1, F44
11	△ Abété		43, 44	△ Tamu	L1, F32
12	△ Malobi	Dip. I, E50	45, 46	△ Fosé	L1, F33
13	○ Alapu	L1, D9	47	△ Somié	L1, E24
14	○ Apiéku	L1, E7	48	△ Popo, head of the village	L1, E23
15	○ Yaana	L1, E39			
16	○ Madu	L1, E41			
17	△ Topo	L1, E40			
18	○ Chii	L1, D24			
19	○ Koko	L1, E42			
20	△ Ayaubédé	L1, E37			
21	○ Mayon	L1, F27			
22	○ Saléni	L1, E25			
23	○ Kayé	L1, F26			
24	△ Tingo	L1, F25			
25	○ Awenkina	L1, D23			
26	○ Paako	L1, E29			
27	○ Do	L1, F35			
28	○ Akomédi	L1, F34			
29	○ Méchi	Aw. B.1, E27			
30	○ Balansi	L1, F37			
31	○ Mémé	L1, E34			
32	○ Akuba	L1, E30			
33	△ Akwadé	L1, E22			
34	○ Ondi				
35	△ Pwen	L1, E33			

[622]

Lapé Tabiki Village

N°	House of	
1	○ Asamani	L1, D15
1a	Manntau	L1, E20
2	Tabiki†	
3	△ Butu	DJUKA
4	△ Sofé	L1, D13
5	○ Twa †	L1, E14
6	○ Asolda †	L1, C11
7	○ Kama	L1, E15
8	○ Adoimba	L1, E17
9	△ Maaten	L1, E18
10	△ Tyaka	L1, D16
11	○ Yundu † 1957	L2, G60
12	○ Asakundu ○ Angisa	L2, E55 L2, F61
13	△ Anato	L2, G61

Total on January 1, 1958: 123 persons of whom 64 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

/49/

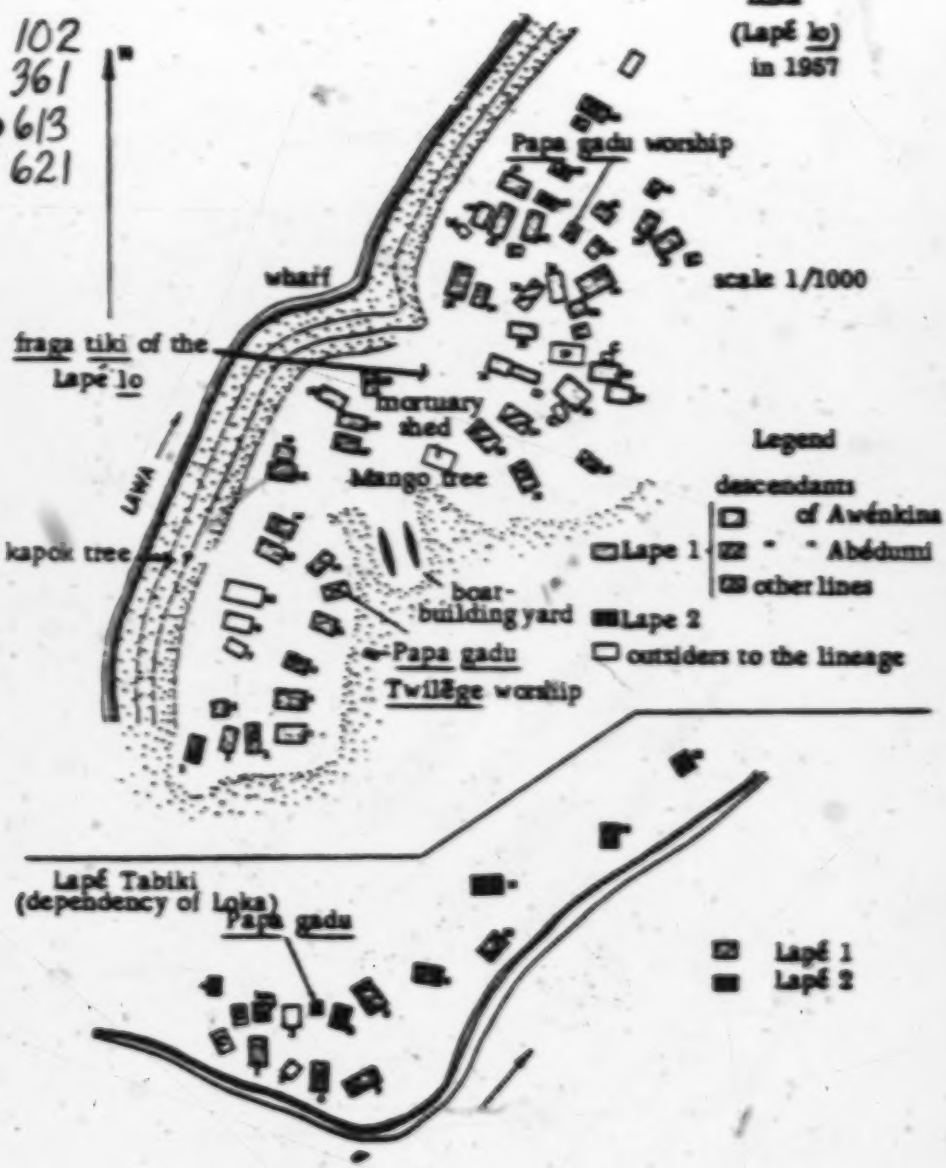

102
361
613
621
Loka
(Lapé lo)
in 1957
Papa gadu worship
wharf
scale 1/1000
fraga tiki of the
Lapé lo
mortuary
shed
Mango tree
LAWA
kapok tree
boar-
building yard
Papa gadu
Twilège worship
Legend
descendants
of Awénkina
" " Abédumi
other lines
Lape 1
Lape 2
outsiders to the lineage
Lapé Tabiki
(dependency of Loka)
Papa gadu
Lapé 1
Lapé 2

Fig. 9.

/50/

Asisi Village--Dju Quarter

162
621
613

Legend

№	House of		№	House of	
1	△ Fraga	Dju, F18	25	○ Paana	Dju, G2
2	△ Loko	Dju, F39	26	○ Téodora	Dju, G40
3	△ Sosoman	Dju, E14	27	○ Pikè	Dju, F28
4	△ Fraga (2nd house)		29	○ Dabisa	Dju, G45
5	△ Tyolo	Dip. II, F48	30	△ Yaka	SAR.
6	△ Wèzu	Dju, F38	31	△ Soalufu	Dju, G42
7			32	○ Aliki	Dju, E23
8	△ Koniami	Aw. B.1, G1	33	○ Maria	Dju, F11
9	○ Yéèchi	Dju, F3	34	△ Achikè	Dju, F13
10	○ Wima † 1957		35	○ Félicia	Dju, G41
13	△ Féni	Dju, G3	36	△ Bernardin	K1, D60
14	△ Adiso, village head	Dju, F37	37	△ Achikè (2nd house)	
			38	○ Dechini	Dju, F16
15	○ Pamasa	Dju, E26	39	○ Adyidya (2nd house)	
16	○ Buba	Dju, G1	40	○ Kukusa	Dju, F40
17	○ Aguba	Dju, G14	41	△ Fasweé	Dju, F19
18	○ Sara	Dju, E27	42	○ Urstila	Dju, D3
20	○ Ata	Dju, F2	43	○ Wima † (2nd house)	
21	○ Adyidya	Dju, E19	44	○ Diana	Dju, E9
22	○ Léoga	Dju, F36	45		
23	○ Sara (2nd house)		46	○ Baawé	Dju, E13
24	○ Tini	Dju, F1			

Total on January 1, 1958: 67 persons of whom 24 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

[591] Adult inhabitants whose residence is not normal:

△ Koniami 1935, raised by his father among the Dju, stayed there afterward;

△ Tyolo 1919 idem

△ Yaka 1870, old Saramaka moved in with his wife Aliki;

△ Bernardin 1885, raised by his father among the Dju where he took a wife;

○ AfaTia 1930, raised by her father among the Dju, stayed with her brother by the same father Féni.

Total: 5 persons, of whom one is raising a child.

ethnault--72 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes 8
Boni

/51/

102
361
613
621

Asiti
Dju Quarter
(Dju lo)
in 1957

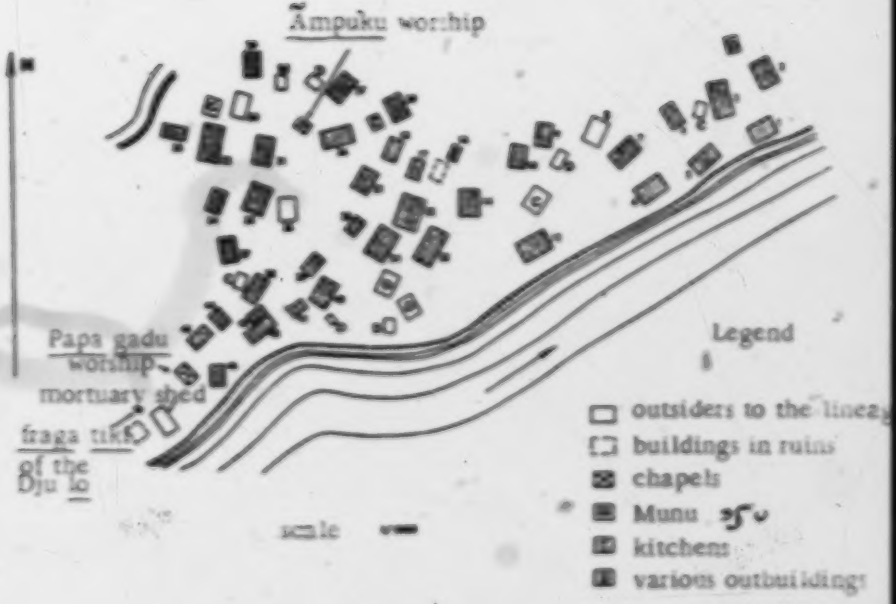


Fig. 10.

6:Hurault--73 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/52/

162
613
621
[622]

Asisi Village--Awara Bakka Quarter

Legend

№		House of		№		House of	
1	△	Amusupé 1887	Aw. B. 1, E3	30	○	Noémi	Aw. B. 1, F51
2	△	Kondoku, village head	Aw. B. 1, E22	31	△	Empalé	DJUKA
				32	△	Antonu	Aw. B. 1, E47
3	○	Kyéti	Aw. B. 1, E30	33	○	Agyasu, her husband	
4	○	Mani	1. Aß, d12		△	Maliki,	L2, F64
5	○	Paniki	1. Aß, d13	34	○	Irma	Aw. B. 1, E37
6	△	Awéni	1. Aß, c12	35	○	Bugi	Aw. B. 1, F41
7	△	Agibidon	Aw. B. 1, E21	36	○	Akumuyé ?	Aw. B. 1, D17
8	○	Akichi	Aw. B. 1, F27	37	○	Mésdié	Aw. B. 3, F90
9	△	Boofo	Aw. B. 1, E31	38	○	Mona	Aw. B. 1, F50
10	○	Biyo	Aw. B. 1, F11	39	△	Mato	Aw. B. 1, E46
11	△	Metapi	1. Aß, c3	40	○	Chitalna	Aw. B. 1, F43
12	△	Béti	Aw. B. 1, F37	41	○	Lébimay	Aw. B. 1, F55
13	△	Aminto	Aw. B. 3, E74	42	○	Namu	Aw. B. 1, E48
14	○	Kuluba † 1957	Aw. B. 1, D1	43	○	Léna	Aw. B. 1, E52
15	○	Fakima	Aw. B. 2, E61	44	△	Maina	Aw. B. 1, F42
16	○	Abuyu	Aw. B. 2, E63	45	○	Lébimichi	Aw. B. 1, F27
17	○	Koluku	Aw. B. 2, E59	46	○	Amélia	Aw. B. 1, F19
18	△	Garsua	Aw. B. 1, F7	47	△	Ernest	Aw. B. 1, E25
19	○	Summa	Aw. B. 3, F81	48	○	Apinda	Aw. B. 1, F16
20	○	Emma	Aw. B. 2, D25	49	△	Béau	Aw. B. 1, F17
21	○	Titi	Aw. B. 1, E16	50	○	Kakié	Aw. B. 1, E18
22	△	Akodo	Aw. B. 2, E55	51	○	Atuku ?	Aw. B. 1, E26
24	○	Saanéti	Aw. B. 2, D28	52	○	Ayékuman	Aw. B. 1, F8
25	△	Asakyu	Aw. B. 2, E65	53	○	Soéß	Aw. B. 1, F10
26	△	Kondoku (2nd house)		54	△	Dopia	Aw. B. 1, F9
27	○	Akanté	Aw. B. 3, E70	55	△	Baakaman	Aw. B. 1, F12
29	○	Kilina	Aw. B. 3, E71	56	○	Alicia	Aw. B. 1, E32

Total on January 1, 1958: 145 persons of whom 60 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

NOTA: The Awara Bakka lineage settled earliest on the island of Asisi, and when the Boni speak of Asisi village, they usually mean the quarter occupied by this lineage.

[591] Adult inhabitants of the village whose residence is not normal:

△ Empalé 1905, DJUKA mother, raised by his father Pééyon in Asisi, remained there afterward;

△ Maliki 1928, raised by his father in Asisi, remained there afterward;

○ Delina 1931, DJUKA woman settled near her husband Maina.

Total: 3 persons.

6:Hurault--74 K-6 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Boni

/53/

102
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621

Asisi Village
Awara Bakka Quarter
Awara Bakka lo, fractions 1, 2, 3
fragment of the Afi lineage in 1957

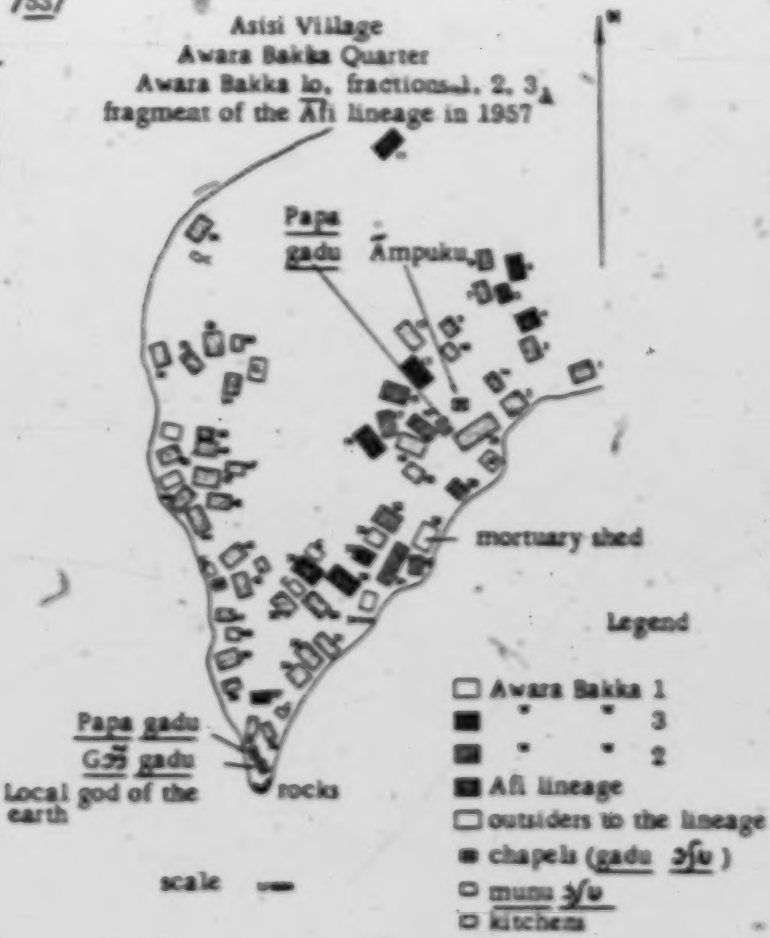

Fig. 11.

/54/

Papaïston Village

Legend

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№	House of		№	House of	
1	○ Bété	P1, F19	18	○ Kumata	P1, G1
2	○ Oben	P1, E13	19	△ Sawen	P1, E7
3	○ Dodo	P1, F11	20	○ Emilia	P1, F3
4	△ Yusu	P1, E16	21	△ Galmo	P1, E15
5	○ Kamen	P1, E14	22	○ Hélène	P1, F2
6	○ Agodéuman	P1, F10	23	○ Gou	P1, F8
7	○ Mili	P1, F20	24	△ Afay †	
8	○ Demani † 1957	P1, E35	25	○ Puti	P2, F71
9	○ Asenten	P1, E10	26	○ Ondi	P1, F49
10	○ Adusdli	P1, H61	27	○ Atipay	P1, F47
11	△ Tefanié, village head	P1, E12	28	○ Dopi	P1, G40
			29	△ Agodébe	P1, E1
12	△ Tolinga	P1, E11	30	○ Tolna	1. Tolna
13	○ Efa	P1, D4	31	○ Apuulobi	1. Tolna
14	△ Agoundé	P1, F4	33	△ Apuyu	1. Tolna
15	△ Dudu	P1, F18	34	○ Béndya	P1, F12
16	○ Kokoyo	P1, F9	35	△ Mangoto	P1, F20
17	○ Wilhelmina	P1, F1			

[822]

Total on January 1, 1958: 83 persons, of whom 36 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

No outsider to the lineage lives in the midst of the Papaïston; the members of the Tolna lineage live isolated at the southern end of the village.

/55/

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Papaïston Village
in Oct. 1957
Kawina or Papaïston lineage,
fragment of the Toïna (Bakabuchi) lineage

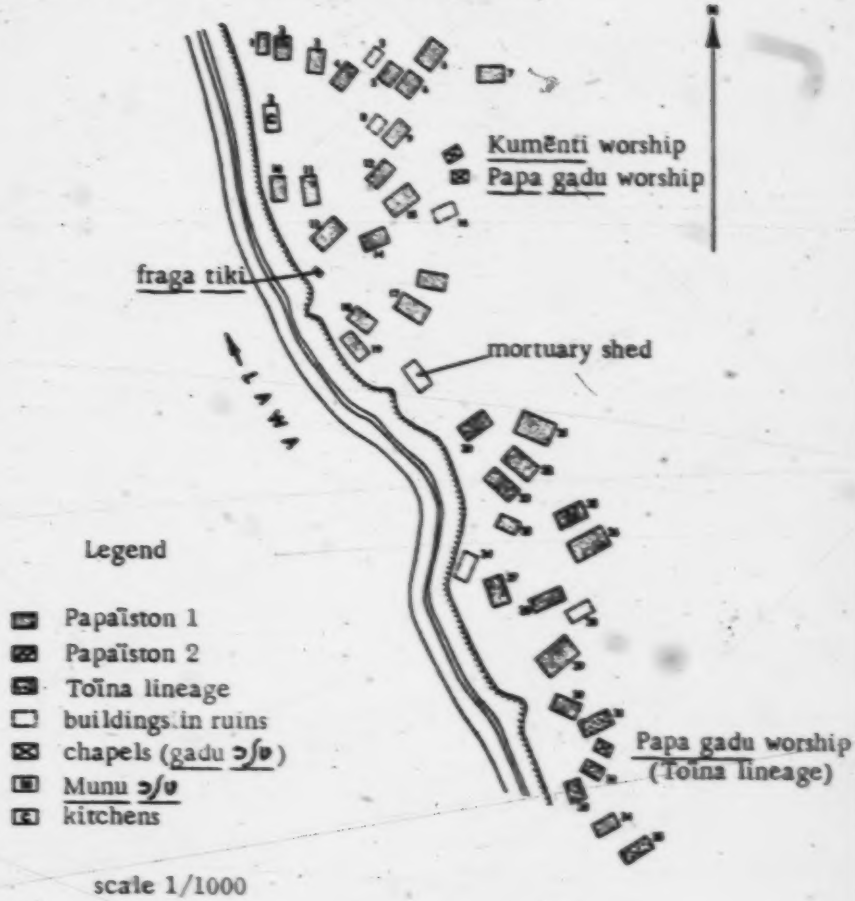

Fig. 12.

/57/

621 Structure and Composition of the Villages

The examination we have just made of the peopling of six villages shows important aspects of the social organization and material life of the Boni.

591 [613] Kin groups in the villages. We have seen that the principle of Boni residence was localization of the whole lineage, men, women, and children, which implies the absence of common household life, man and wife each living in his own village.

This principle of matrilocal residence is effectively applied in nearly all cases. In 1957, out of all the 670 persons in the villages on the French bank, only 27 adults out of 410, or six per cent, were living in the midst of their paternal relatives or had settled permanently in the village of their spouse.

[162] [621]

591 613 Nowhere is seen any tendency toward patrilocal grouping; the small lineages issued in the course of the past two generations from Djuka or Bakabuchi wives who came to settle permanently near their husbands do not escape the common law. Their members follow strictly, with respect to their ancestress, the principle of matrilocal residence.

613 571 621 Another important conclusion is revealed by examination of the genealogical tables:

When a scission takes place within a lineage, scattering its members among several villages under different authorities, this scission is never complete. Lineage members feel at home as much in one as in the other of these villages and go at will from one to the other.

613 621 The Dipélu I example is particularly clear in this respect. Its members are divided among these villages: L'Enfant Perdu, Apatu, and Boniville (where this lineage occupies a quarter).

/57 cont./

613 The descendants of O Monika † were scattered among these
621 three villages. Δ Kwau, the eldest, after living at Apatu until
591 the age of 70 years, moved in 1958 to Boniville; O Djalufu lived from childhood at L'Enfant Perdu, Cécilia was raised in Boniville where she has lived since.

Again, let us cite the example of the descendants of Wétiti (Papaïston 1). Out of her 12 adult children and grandchildren living in January, 1958, seven established themselves with her in the habitation she founded on the estuary of the Maroni several hundred kilometers from Boni country, two live in Boniville (where the Papaïston lineage delegated a few of its members to live close to the grand man), three came back to live in Papaïston. In spite of this dispersion, there is perfect understanding among these brothers and sisters who remain in regular relationship.

128 Emigration; immigration; founding of new lineages. It is not
169 possible to give rigorous figures on this subject because it is very difficult to make a clear distinction between temporary and permanent emigrants. It does happen that a man /58/ who left a long time before and on whom they no longer counted comes back to take up again his place in ordinary living. It also happens that a man who left for a short trip prolongs his absence indefinitely.

167 Nevertheless, it can be asserted that long lasting emigration affects only a very small percentage of the Boni, and men almost exclusively. Out of 810 persons in the census, in registering the names of their brothers, sisters, and children, we noted only some 20 emigrants considered as permanently lost to their group, including four women.

/58 cont./

166 619 It is fitting to make an exception of the case of OWétiti (Papaïston) and OMa Imma (Kotika), who separated from their groups with their numerous descendants in order to found villages on the lower course of the river. These groups continue to consider themselves Boni; they are the nuclei of future villages.

For the same reasons it is difficult to get exact figures on [162] [621] immigration. About 100 Djuka and Saramaka have founded farming villages in Boni country but keep all their ties with their villages of origin; some 30 of them have married Boni women; one can estimate that some 15 have completely bound up their fate with the Boni and can be considered as integrated into the villages in which they have settled.

16 128 [562] All in all one can estimate that emigration and immigration of adult men, both very insignificant, compensate for each other; they have practically no importance on the social plane (since only the residence of the women has any influence upon the grouping of the lineages) or on the demographic plane; with the Boni the pyramid of ages constructed from the census of the villages represents very faithfully the demographic state of the population and lends itself to precise calculations of mortality (1).

1. It is not the same for the majority of African populations either because of emigration to the cities or polygamy. The presence of several average polygamists in a village is enough to render completely erroneous the counts of cross-sections by age.

166 571 591 613 The founding of new lineages results from the immigration of several Djuka women, some having come to settle permanently near their husbands, others brought up by their fathers in a Boni village. Half a dozen such cases occur in each generation, but

/58 cont. /

166 not all result in the founding of a new lineage, either because
571 the women are sterile or because only one or two surviving children
591 remain who go back to live among their maternal kin. The more
613 children a woman has, the more she tends to settle permanently with her descendants, for the group thus formed represents a force and can be self-sufficient as much on the material level as on the emotional level.

613 Four new lineages have been founded in the whole of Boni
571 country during the past 50 years: /59/
162

Awara Bakka 3 (Anèta)	16 persons	on January 1, 1958
Afi	25	--
Toïna	9	--
Poti	8	--
Total....	58 persons	

Thus these new lineages represent only $\frac{58}{810}$ = 7 per cent of the Boni.

16 The immigration of women from other tribes thus remains
619 an exceptional phenomenon which has few effects on the social and demographic levels. The development of the Boni as a nation results only from the natural movement of the population. Study of the genealogies forces the conclusion that when the members of these four small lineages are eliminated, the whole of the Boni are descended from only six or seven women who lived at the end of the 18th century. Few examples of such growth are to be found.

621 Absence of division of the villages into quarters. We have
[183] seen that the custom of the Refugee Blacks is opposed to all that could alter the system of classificatory kinship and leads to the individualization of segments within the lineage. This principle
[613] is translated very clearly in the structure of the villages, where one observes no tendency at all toward division into separate quarters,

613 /59 cont./
621 except in villages like Boniville where the issue of several lineages
[591] coexist. The rule is that in the homogeneous villages the members of the lineage are entirely free to build their houses anywhere. One observes only a certain tendency of children to group themselves around their mother as far as places are available (see especially in the village of Loka the intermingling of the homes of the descendants of Adédumi, Awẽnkina, and other ancestresses belonging to the same lineage).

In villages like Asisi-Awara Bakka, where are grouped the members of a lo including individualized fractions, it is the same.

These fractions have no tendency whatever to form separate quarters (see in the plan of Asisi the intermingling of the homes of the Aw.B.1, 2, 3) any more than they tend to group their clearings in a separate area.

The Boni are apt to say: "Barriers must not be raised between brothers."

621 In a general way, examination of the village plans shows
425 that the Boni build their houses to suit themselves without any privileged orientation and without grouping or isolating them in any special way. Any member of the lineage may build on a site left free (for example, the site of an old hut after the death of its owner, when it has been adjudged to be too ruined to be possi-
[622] ble to give as a legacy). He must only have the authorization of the head of the village and also the assent of the neighbors, whom he must not disturb. Since the houses occupy only a small amount of space and most of them have no outbuildings (kitchen
[578] or granary), this assent is very easily given. We have never heard it said that people argued about a site.

/60/

There are no gardens around the cabins because the conditions of the soil and climate render permanent cultivation impracticable. The nearest thing is a few persons planting some banana trees around the hut at the foot of which they spread the hearth ashes. As a general rule villages are closely hemmed in by secondary brushwood, and people plant far from one another and sometimes very far from the village.

If it does not admit the appropriation of land to individuals, custom does admit, on the other hand, the ownership of trees. In the villages the useful trees (coconut trees, maripa palms /attalea excelsa/, mango trees, cashew-apple trees, etc.) all have owners. The tree is considered as personal property and is transmitted by inheritance in the same way as a gun or a canoe. The procedure employed by the Boni for the dispersion of the inheritance among the members of the lineage of the dead man sometimes has the effect of transmitting the ownership of a tree to a person who is not of the village. For example, in Boniville where a fraction of the Kotika lineage lives, two caumou palms were bequeathed a long time ago to members of the lineage living in Kotika, who come each year to gather the fruit.

Appendix

Local Chronology Used for Determining Ages

1876	Death of Grand Man Atyaba.
1877	Trip of the explorer Crevaux from the Maroni to the Yari and the Amazon, in the company of Apatu, head of the Boni village.
1882	Apatu secedes, taking with him about 150 persons and founds the village which bears his name on the lower course of the Maroni.

/63 cont./

that he can protect himself only by submitting to the law of the group. In this doubtless must be seen the deep reason for the importance attached to death and mourning, events around which is centered the activity of the usual societies and which entail a veritable mobilization.

It would be very difficult to condense the custom of the Refugee Blacks into a rigorous code. If one wished to do it, one would have to write as Article 1: "The living will conform to the will of the gods and the ancestors as it is expressed through the mouths of those possessed and by the movements of the bearers of the dead."

Each one of the tribes of the Refugee Blacks is formed of a certain number of matrilineages.

There is no limit on the number of these lineages, and it can be asserted that if any lineage whatever, detached from another tribe, asks to live in the midst of the Boni, it will be welcomed. From the first generation the children consider themselves as Boni.

In this regard one can cite the example of the Awara Bakka 3 lineage and that of the small lineage founded in Boniville by a Djuka woman, wife of Grand Man Ochi. All her descendants consider themselves Boni. /64/

But only the great lineages which constituted the tribe at its origin are social units recognized by the grand man, and only their heads are called to be members of the council.

We shall study first the interior functioning of the lineage, then the institutions going beyond the framework of the lineages.

/64 cont./

Functioning of the Lineage

613

We have seen that the effective social group, lo, fraction of an extended lineage, is a social unit possessing all that is necessary to a human group to live, settling its differences and enforcing its rights:

--Ancestor worship;

--A head filling at the same time the role of priest of the ancestors and judge;

--Collective rights over a portion of land.

613 619 A lineage could live perfectly independent without any tie of dependence vis-à-vis any tribe whatsoever. Actually, there exist in the interior of Surinam several lineages of very ancient origin (which are joined under the name of Bakabuchi = back of the bush) who live totally independent.

613 561 No privileged line of descendants exists within a lineage and the only hierarchy recognized is that of age, or more exactly of closeness to the founding ancestress.

613 561 604 Collective tutelage of uncles in the classificatory sense is effective only in childhood, but the principle of it continues during the whole lifetime. In a discussion a man must avoid violently contradicting one of his "uncles" and finds it normal that more weight is attached to the opinion of this uncle than to his own. In 1956 we were subjected to some disagreeable incidents due to a bossman who was the classificatory uncle (although the same age) of the motorman of his boat; the motorman hesitated to order him vigorously as he did his other bossman and he, on his part, did not fail to remind his "nephew" of the respect due him.

/64 cont./

613 561 Nevertheless the lineage is not strictly speaking divided into age grades; and when the men assemble in council for an affair which concerns the whole group, all may take the floor without consideration either of age or of place in the genealogy.

613 571 561 The council (kuutu). This is the principal social institution within the lo. The kuutu is the assembly of the men of the lo without consideration of age. No precise rule defines the age at which an adolescent may begin to attend it, and in principle all may take the floor. But decorum requires that unless they are personally interested in the question or have something important to say, the young let the elders do the talking. /65/

613 571 It is the captain (hedemã) and in his absence the eldest of the lineage who presides. He faces the assemblage, surrounded by some of the oldest men.

[537] Opposite him he has a respondent (piki mã) who greets all his sentences with ritual approbations hiya, hiya ba!, na so!, etc., without which a Refugee Black could not suitably make his speech.

Each one then speaks if he feels the need to express his opinion. Women do not take part in the council unless it is a [562] question of a daughter's marriage; but it happens that men leave the meeting to go get the advice of their mothers and take their places again. If it concerns a simple affair without suprahuman complications, such as the fixing of the price of a piece of work, the discussion is often quickly over; but in the opposite case the discussion continues interminably, for there is no exact rule for concluding it. Only a negative rule exists: the determined opposition of one-fourth to one-fifth of the council members prevents the carrying out of a project.

/65 cont./

613 571 It seems that they expect unanimity to occur and that basically (here are found again the mental mechanisms peculiar to the Refugee Blacks), they expect it to take place by itself, to impose itself as if obvious. If nothing of the sort happens, they separate without deciding anything.

613 571 828 This public discussion of all important questions results, in the thought of the Refugee Blacks, not so much from a belief in the wisdom of assemblies as from fear of malevolence. If questions were debated in a small group, there would immediately be mistrustful and jealous minds who would see dark intrigues in it. The constant concern of the Refugee Blacks, when they have something important to say, is to find witnesses. That is in fact the role of the council, and it is why there is neither a lower age limit for taking part nor a precise rule governing the fashion of conducting the discussion.

613 554 The Captain or hedemã. The head of each of the great lineages which have been part of the tribe since its origin is recognized by the grand man as hedemã or "captain" (this word had been used since the original settlement of Europeans in Guiana to designate the chiefs of Indian tribes).

[692] The captains preside over the lãnti kuutu, supreme council whose functions are principally judiciary.

No precise rule of succession exists, and the choice of the members of the lineage is entirely free with regard to kinship ties. [183] When the old people are questioned about this, they usually answer that the successor must be chosen from among the classificatory "nephews" of the dead man, that is, from among the members of the lineage who are one more generation away from the foundress.

/65 cont./

613 554 [183] It is enough to consult the genealogical tables, on each of which we have indicated the transmission of the office of captain, to be convinced that nothing of the kind is practiced: besides, it would be impossible in fact. The council chooses from among [643] /66/ the "brothers" and the "nephews" of the deceased. If the nomination is obtained, it is valid only if the grand man does not oppose his veto. He can require that the council be begun again.

613 554 643 The grand man observes the behavior of the new head for about a year, and if he is satisfied with him, he calls him to Boniville together with the members of the lineage. He turns over to him the bench and the baton of command (waka tiki) prepared by the doyen of the lineage. He takes him by the hand and has him sit down on the bench while proclaiming him head.

613 554 This appointment is made for life; once named, a captain cannot be dismissed.

The succession of the last three captains of the Dju lo is particularly interesting (see the genealogical table of this group).

In 1948, the first time we passed through, Diolè (El) had been captain for nearly 50 years, succeeding Doomé, whose position we have not been able to place exactly in the genealogical table.

Diolè died in 1951 at about 90 years of age. At the time of the mourning his yɔrka was questioned, and it designated (through the medium of the coffin bearers) as a desirable successor one of his nephews in the classificatory sense, named Loko (F39).

[643] [685] The council which met upon the close of the mourning for Diolè, in 1952, approved the designation of Loko; but the grand man opposed this appointment because Loko had been guilty of a serious crime (aggravated theft) and had incurred a sentence.

/66 cont./

613 554 The choice of the council then turned to Atikati (E18), the oldest among them (he was more than 70 years old), this even though there were other classificatory nephews of Diolè, perfectly capable.

Atikati died in 1955. The choice of the council, meeting in 1956, was Adiiso (F37), a man of about 60.

The place of various ones on the genealogical table shows well that no precise rule of succession exists, and that the choice of the council is free.

Likewise, in looking at the genealogical table of the Awara Bakka lo, divided into three fractions, one sees that the office of captain can pass indiscriminately from one to the other. It passed from Asèmbay (Aw.B.2) to Pèèyon (Aw.B.1), then to Kondoku (Aw.B.1).

These observations permit the statement that there is no privileged line within the lineage (1).

1. Understanding by "line" for lack of a more appropriate word, a linking causing the following of an individual, in the next generation, of a single individual chosen according to a definite criterion. One could speak for example in certain types of organization of lines of eldest sons, playing a privileged role with respect to the other lines constituting the lineage. Nothing like this exists among the Refugee Blacks.

/66 cont./

613 554 The small, recently founded lineages attached to a lo each designate a head: for example, the Afi lineage has Awéni as head. But this head remains subject to the authority of the captain of the lo and his office has no official existence.

/67/ The appointment is made by a council - kuutu - of the lineage, but it is not valid until endorsed by the grand man.

[787] When the deceased captain did not, while living, designate any successor, his yɔrka is interrogated in order to know whom he prefers. That does not have the force of law but can influence the council.

The council meets several days after the end of mourning for the deceased captain. All the male members of the lineage, regardless of age, give their opinion. Strictly speaking, they do not vote; but the nomination is considered valid only if three-quarters of those present are in agreement. 'If not, they disband without having decided anything, and the lineage can remain without a head for years. On this topic can be cited the example of the Awara Bakka lo, which remained without a head from 1935 (?) to 1953, until the appointment of Konduku. During this time the [643] grand man had designated Captain Popo, head of the Lapé lineage, to secure the interim. As for the religious functions, they were taken care of by the doyen of the lineage.

The captain has the following functions within the lineage:

1) He is priest of the ancestor worship and presides over [793] the prayers and offerings made before the fraga tiki. In this duty [769] he is replaced in case of absence by the oldest man of the lineage.

In case of the death of a member of the lineage from the [761] effect of the kunu, the captain convokes all his people in order [782] to proceed to collective prayers and offerings intended to appease the gods;

/67 cont./

613 554 692 [642] 2) He exerts an extended judiciary power, for it is taken for granted that the legal and political power of the tribe cannot intervene in affairs between members of the same lineage, even murder, for it can be said that in the custom of the Refugee Blacks the lineage represents only one single life.

It is obligatory that the following be settled within the framework of the lineage:

[554] --Accusations of murder by sorcery where victim and supposed murderer are both members of the lineage;

[423] --Arguments over lands within the zones effectively [578] possessed by the lineage.

613 554 692 577 The way in which the captain exercises his functions as judge is hard to know, because for the Refugee Blacks it is extremely shameful to reveal the dissensions within one's own lineage. And as for those of other lineages, if one succeeds in becoming acquainted with them, one scarcely dares talk about it for if that came to be known you could smart for it.

613 466 554 Lineage heads have a certain authority on the material level; they designate the men charged with doing the work ordered by the administration, but truth to tell, it is above all a question of choosing from among volunteers, for it is profitable work. They might not succeed in imposing clearly unpopular orders.

613 554 624 The captain designates a certain number of supervisors or basia to help him. Their /68/ role consists in watching over the cleanliness of the village, in making all the material arrangements relative to dances and burials, in calling together those concerned to the meetings of the council.

613 571 The lo constitutes a unit from the spiritual point of view, but it is important to notice that it does not involve any collective organization on the material level. In this domain the wildest individualism reigns; there are no tools for collective use, and people get together to make their clearings only if they want to.

/68 cont./

613 624 [562] The basia are the mouthpieces of the captain, and not at all deputies having specific authority over a definite fraction of the village. There are three or four per village; in addition there are one or two women basia through whom the village head commands the work reserved for the women.

613 554 241 702 The head of the lineage possesses no religious powers over the land. The Refugee Blacks assume that the fertility of the soil depends exclusively on local divinities, to whom each one prays on his own behalf.

613 554 681 The captain, no more than the council, does not have the right to expel a member from the lineage, even for marked unworthiness. This is one of the most remarkable aspects of the legal conceptions of the Refugee Blacks, tied to the idea that a lineage represents only one single life. There again the thought of the Refugee Blacks can be regarded as the extreme opposite of the thought of the Bamiléké, with whom the head alone retains possession of the rights over the land, expulsion constituting the supreme social sanction.

881 Initiation; age classes; men's society. These African institutions seem totally unknown to the Refugee Blacks. No form of initiation of adolescents exists, and no ceremony marks collectively their entrance into social life. Circumcision and excision are not practiced. For the children, boys and girls, there are two stages: that of the first garment, which is given upon the appearance of the pubic hair, at about 12-13 years, without ceremony, and the end of education which coincides with marriage.

[304] [852] [561]

561 The society of the Refugee Blacks rests however in large part on age hierarchy; strictly speaking there are no age classes involving a fixed organization, but they exist tacitly:

/69 cont./

562 828 [171] It is assumed once and for all that women are shrews on whom one cannot count and from whom one can get nothing. The Refugee Blacks are inexhaustible on this subject and their opinion about the women of their group is very similar to that of Africans in general: they call them ill-natured, devoid of feeling, selfish, greedy, and unfaithful.

562 571 [965] In general, women are held apart from regular social life; no form of customary society of women exists. In the mourning ceremonies, which correspond to a veritable mobilization of the village, they play no role, except to prepare the meals.

562 787 794 Yet the women play indirectly an important role in the social life by way of the cults of possession. The Papa gadu gods so formidable have women nearly exclusively as bearers, and we shall see in studying the functioning of the kunu that they are the principal actors in this. Through this activity, which is exerted in arbitrary fashion on the outskirts of the institutions of regular social life, the women maintain around themselves an atmosphere of fear; it is not impossible that the functioning of these cults is influenced by the concern of the women to maintain their privileged position in the society of the Refugee Blacks.

562 157 Many women are charitable and have a certain generosity toward the members of their family, insuring the maintenance of the old men without resources. But their benevolence is essentially subjective and extends only to a small circle of personal friends, and their nearest relatives. As soon as the elders appeal to them for a question of general interest, claiming to give them orders or even advice, they meet an attitude systematically malevolent and stubborn. /70/

[613] The lineage heads avoid giving them orders directly, for they run a strong risk of getting themselves insulted, as we have observed many a time.

/70 cont./

159 In March, 1957, Awéni, head of the Afi lineage, established
562 in Asisi, was concerned about regrouping the members of his
613 lineage and especially bringing back to Asisi Magdaléna (c20), a
[591] woman of about 45 years who had settled in Kormotibo near her husband L... (†1955), with her children and others whom she had raised. He went to Kormotibo and pointed out to her that since her husband was dead, she no longer had any reason to stay there and that she should come back to Asisi. Magdaléna insulted him in front of the inhabitants of the village, proclaimed that she had no orders to receive from anybody; then when he insisted, she armed herself with a stick and chased him across the village as far as the landing place. He had to re-embark precipitately to the laughter of the Kormotibo people.

Political and Legal Powers

643 The grand man. The head of the Dikan lo fills the office of grand
613 man of the Boni. The present grand man, Difu, was about 67 years old in 1958.

[193] Oral tradition has kept the names of his seven predecessors:

Gongo (Dikan lo)	1810-1840	dates noted according to Coudreau
Labi (Adam?) (Dikan lo)	1840-1870	
Atyaba (Kotika lo)	1870-1876	
Anato (Kotika lo)	1876-1891	
Ochi (Dikan lo)	1891-1915	
Awensay id.	1917-1936	
Difu id.	since 1937.	

[195] According to information collected by Coudreau in 1887, Gongo was the successor to Agosu, himself successor to Boni. Upon the death of Labi, there were only women and children in the Dikan lo. The office of grand man then passed to the Kotika lo with Atyaba and Anato. It then came back to the Dikan lo with Ochi.

/70 cont./

643 In 1957 the Dikan lineage was practically extinct. There
613 remained only Grand Man Difu and his elder brother Samalobi, very old.

[829] The present grand man does not know the genealogy of his lineage beyond his grandmother. /Fig. 14 appears here./ /71/

[648] At the death of Awensay it was Samalobi, eldest of Awensay's classificatory nephews, who was to be named; but the French administration thought they had to oppose it, judging him too old; he yielded with good grace.

613 Samalobi, the ancestor, the patriarch of the Boni, died
[165] in May, 1957 at over 100 years old. Although very weakened by
[554] his infirmities and nearly blind, he kept great prestige and no important decision was made without his consent.

173 The son of Apatu, companion of Crevaux, he had retained an exact memory of the explorer whom he had accompanied during part of his trip in 1877. It is thanks to his memories that Crevaux's prestige has remained so great on the Maroni.

643 The grand man judges without appeal disputes between
692 members of different lineages. Truly serious affairs are extremely
578 rare, if one keeps in mind that:

[613] --Disputes over the payment of dowry, paying it back in
[583] case of divorce, and the assignment of the children, which form
[584] the main part of the cases argued before ordinary African juris-dictions, do not exist among the Refugee Blacks;

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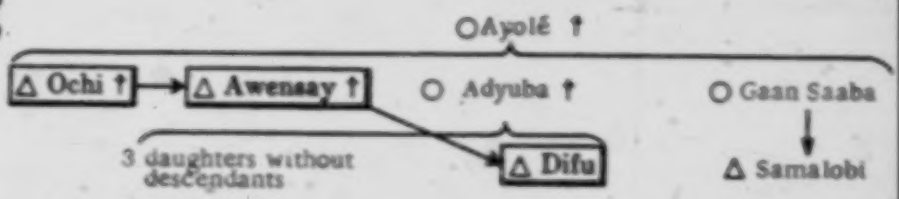

Fig. 14. Filiation of the last three grand men of the Boni.

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692 685 [224] The Djuka had killed the tapir which had sunk. Pressed for time, he had had to leave, requesting the Asisi people to look for it.

The next day Pototo and Amusupé found the animal floating between two waters. They hid it in the bush and had it smoke-dried on their own behalf. They ate it with their wives (about 100 kilos of meat). [251] [262]

That ended up by becoming known, and a jealous man denounced them to the grand man.

Called before the Lanti kuutu, they had to apologize and were each sentenced to pay as a fine to the grand man a demijohn of 15 liters of tafia (worth about 6,000 francs) within four months.

[735] Both of them were at a loss to pay this fine, belonging to the category of ne'er-do-wells who have no regular activity and live from day to day, selling some fish or game from time to time.

[613] Amusupé appealed to Captain Konduku, head of his lineage, who agreed to pay for the tafia for him, Amusupé reimbursing him little by little.

[613] [689] As for Pototo, the head of his lineage refused categorically to help him because he had eaten the malpouri alone without allowing his family to share it (the village people would have found it normal to profit by the crime, but they deemed it immoral that one of their relatives had deprived them of meat). After three and a half months, Pototo began to occupy himself seriously at a paid job which he had the luck to find because we needed a bossman for two weeks. [123]

577 626 [522] The Boni did nothing but laugh while telling us this story. Affairs of this kind, which do not involve any suprahuman intervention, escape in large measure their social morality; they have a certain feeling for what should be done, but submit to it only in proportion as they fear a material and immediate sanction.

6:Hurault--108 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/77/

CHAPTER V

000

STUDY OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF LANDS AMONG THE LINEAGES (1)

[114]

1. Part written with the cooperation of Mr. P. Frenay, assistant technical geographer.

Appropriation of Land in the Customary Law of the Refugee Blacks

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The fundamental principle of the customary law of the Refugee Blacks as far as land is concerned is that only the lineage can retain real rights. The individual can hold only a right of use, which disappears at his death.

This right concerns exclusively the working of the land for plantings and does not extend, as we shall see further on, to hunting and gathering.

Each lineage possesses recognized rights over certain portions of land, more or less well delimited according to the density of the population, but known by all and giving no occasion (at least in Boni country) for any dispute.

Right of use. Within these zones there is joint possession of the rights among all the members of the lineage; each one has rights of use over a certain number of "clearings" which he habitually uses in turn to make his plantings.

The right of use can be given away: for example, if someone thinks he will no longer need a clearing he was habitually cultivating, he gives the right to utilize it to another member of the lineage.

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[428] Land held by right of use cannot be sold nor rented, but only loaned. Neither can it be transmitted by inheritance; this would be entirely contrary to the thinking and custom of the Refugee Blacks, hostile to everything that would violate the legal joint possession of the lineage. Inheritance can affect only the harvest in process
[425] from clearings. Once this harvest is made, the land can be occupied by any member of the lineage, man or woman, who wishes to cultivate it; and if there is any dispute, it is obligatorily settled within the lineage; the grand man would refuse to judge it. Kinship degree /78/ does not enter in, at least in principle, since they can say to each other "brother," "uncle," or "grandfather" in the classificatory sense.

423 428 The only attenuation of the rigor of this principle provided for by custom is that upon the death of a woman, her daughters have a right of priority to utilize her lands.

423 241 128 The Refugee Blacks have a clear tendency to remain faithful all their lives to the same clearings. The study we have made of the clearings in Boni country gives poor information on the history of each clearing, for it would have been necessary to be able to consult on the spot a large number of people, which we were not able to do; nevertheless it allows us to state that in the neighborhood of the residence villages, individuals keep their right of use of a clearing for the length of their lives.

42 241 Here is for example the transmission of rights over clearings 101 to 112 /sic/ (see genealogical table of the Dju lo) (1).

1. See plate at the end of this work: Distribution of lands in the neighborhood of the principal Boni villages.

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241 Thus out of ten clearings we find only two cases where a member of the lineage gave his right of use to another during his lifetime; in four cases the right of use was taken over by a daughter upon the death of her mother; in two cases it passed to a distant relative.

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562 Anyone, man or woman, may hold rights of use. But examination of the clearings shows that the great majority of men do not ask for any, and that nearly all the land is appropriated by women. In the example noted, out of ten clearings only one is appropriated by a man. This derives from the fact that most men are content to cut their wives' clearings on their wives' lands but do not bother to farm on their own account.

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[613] Each woman holds rights of use over a certain number of clearings distributed in the different territorial zones of her lineage. It is important to have, so to say, many cords to one's bow, for it is necessary to be able, according to the activity of the manioc ants, to pass from one sector to another or on the contrary to work prematurely a clearing which one was hoping to leave fallow for several years.

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[423] For example, Tini (F1) holds rights over six to seven clearings. For one (No. 104), she created the right of use on her own behalf by clearing it out of old secondary forest without any known owner. As for another (No. 107), she received it from Loka (D13), a distant relative, as a gift during his lifetime. As for the others (for example No. 106), she created the right on her own behalf by farming them first upon the death of their holder.

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423 The right of use can be loaned, either to a member of the lineage or even to an outsider. It is specified that the loan is made for a certain number of years and that it is revocable. In such a case the donor does not lose his right of use.

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241 Real right. The principle is that he who makes a clearing out of
423 primary forest (or old secondary forest without a known owner)
425 creates at the same time as a right of use for himself, an impre-
613 scriptible right for his lineage.

These two notions are very separate in the minds of the Refugee Blacks. The exercise of a right of use, even over a long period of time, over land already recognized as the possession of another lineage does not create any real right at all.

For example, ○ Béniti † 1953 (E5), an old woman of the Dju lo, had founded a farming habitation in the Kuyaku locality, where she worked the earth for several tens of years. But since these lands, even though unoccupied, were regarded as belonging to the Dipélu II lo (Kormotibo village), Béniti's work did not create any right at all for the Dju lo. If her daughters do not agree and if the habitation disappears, it is people of the Dipélu II lo who will be able to occupy the lands.

613 Consequences of the material scission of a lineage. When fraction
571 A' of lineage A emigrates and goes to settle on the land of another
425 village, B, which cedes a portion of land to it, the members of
423 fraction A', thus separated, keep all their rights over the land from which they originally came. But the reverse is not true: the people who remained in the village of origin of the lineage (A) have no right over the land ceded to the A' out of B's territory.

At the end of a certain time, and especially if the lineage (B) had never really occupied the land granted, it is assumed that the lineage (A') is possessor of it without restriction.

This was the case for example of the fraction of the Dipélu II who left Kormotibo village about 1930 to establish themselves in Asisi near the Awara Bakka lineage. The Awara Bakka granted them some unoccupied lands near Asisi village in the Tapo locality.
(162) This fraction, now numbering about 30 persons, considers that it has exclusive rights over these lands where the Kormotibo people cannot come to farm, but it has lost nothing as regards its rights over Kormotibo soil.

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621 613 [174] Case of the village of Boniville. This village constitutes an especially interesting case, for it brings together small fractions of the various lineages permanently settled there. It helps one to understand what the territorial implantation of the Refugee Blacks may have been toward the end of the 18th century at the time when their institutions were developing.

621 613 423 [643] [425] The principle is that the Boniville lands belong to the grand man, the last representative of the Dikan lineage; he granted individually to the inhabitants of the village the right to farm his lands. These inhabitants thus hold only a right of use, and there can be no competition among them for the possession of the real rights. But the principle of transmission of the right of use in the same lineage remains for each clearing taken separately. For example, Klémenti (Dju, F7), who made a clearing out of primary forest, concedes that after him his land may be occupied by any member of the Dju lineage residing in Boniville, but not by Dju lineage members living in Asisi. /81/

423 621 Few in number on a relatively extensive territorial sector, the inhabitants of Boniville have not felt the need to divide the sector granted by the grand man into precise territorial zones.

423 425 613 It is difficult to foresee what will happen after the death of Grand Man Difu when the rights of use will be transformed into real rights. It is probable that a territorial division among the fractions of the lineage established in Boniville will be imperceptibly created by the simple fact that competition will arise among them.

423 Fishing, hunting, gathering, and mineral exploitation rights. These rights are totally separate from the right to farm; in this respect the conceptions of the Refugee Blacks reveal the precariousness of the bonds between the individual and the soil, which results from ecological conditions.

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423 The right to fish in certain rivers is held by lineages; other
222 rivers are regarded as property common to the inhabitants of a
613 village, whatever their kinship may be.
621 For example, the right to fish in Kumata Kiiki, a small
[425] creek of the Surinam bank, near the village of Kotika, is reserved for members of the Lapé lineage (the members of this lineage farmed there formerly, but they abandoned these lands, currently farmed by the Kotika people).

Maripa and Likanaon creeks, downstream from Boniville, are reserved for the inhabitants of Boniville.

Asisi Creek is reserved for the inhabitants of Asisi (Dju, Awara Bakka, and Dipélu II lineages).

423 The right to hunt cannot be reserved; everyone has the right
[224] to hunt anywhere.

The right to gather and the right to cut trees for making
[222] planks or boats is generally bound up with the right to farm.
[313] The right to collect underground products is completely
423 independent of the right to farm. For example, if someone finds
316 a seam of kaolin (pemba) on the lands of another lineage, he
317 exploits it freely. This aspect of the legal conceptions of the Refugee Blacks is very interesting, for it shows that even from the
423 point of view of customary law, the grand man is not entitled to
316 exercise any rights over the production of the Creole gold miners.
648 He could demand indemnities only insofar as these gold miners farm lands over which the Boni exercise customary rights. The interminable discussions which the claims of Grand Man Anato brought on at the time of the Lawa gold rush at the end of the past century would have been avoided by a better knowledge of the customary law.

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Territorial Implantation of Lineages

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As we have shown, the Refugee Blacks are caught between contradictory imperatives:

--Their legal thought, centered on joint possession by the lineage, pushes them to distribute land among the lineages in compact blocs;

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--The geographic environment, and most especially the ravages of the manioc ant, obliges them to give to each individual the possibility of abruptly changing his territorial sector or to hasten the planned rhythm of his fallow fields.

The solution which has imposed itself has been to divide the lands of each lineage into a certain number of zones scattered on the two banks of the river. Instead of finding large blocks with a single holder, we are going to find sectors sometimes rather small. With that exception, the legal principles of the Refugee Blacks keep all their practical value.

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Each village possesses a certain number of landing places or dégrads /wharfs/, from which fan out a certain number of paths. The wharf is the center of a territorial zone within which the members of the lineage fan out, pushing their clearings farther and farther, until they meet the clearings created by other lineages. At this moment a boundary is in effect created, at least in some points (1).

[184]

1. Among the Djuka it happens that a wharf may be common to two lineages and that the boundary may be marked by a big road perpendicular to the river and starting from the wharf; this system corresponds to a concern for establishing more precise boundaries between groups occupying land to the maximum. It is not observed anywhere in Boni country.

/82 cont./

423 311 This fact is easily observable in the neighborhood of recently created farming habitations. In the figure "Distribution of lands ... in the neighborhood of the confluence with the Inini" (see at the end of the present chapter), the lands of the Antonu habitation are clearly seen distributed along two paths, one on each bank of the river.

241 423 In the sectors near Boni residence villages, cultivated in days gone by, the main lines of these boundaries are known everywhere. Still, they are far from being as precise as in the African countries with dense population, where the absence of manioc ants allows a regular rotation of lands. In Boni country this rotation is most variable, the duration of fallow ground going from two to 20 years [136 311] and more. Vast sectors where the activity of the manioc ants suddenly becomes greater are abandoned for many years. When they are cultivated again, people no longer remember the exact boundaries of the former clearings and the new holders cut their clearings in their own way, taking care only that they remain on the lands of their lineage.

000 /83/ STUDY OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF LANDS
IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF RESIDENCE VILLAGES

Inventory of Part of the Cultivated or Fallow Plots
in January, 1957

621 [241] Study of the clearings of Agodé (Boniville). The lands adjacent to Boniville are worked in a very unsystematic fashion because of the composite character of the village population.

[613] Let us call to mind that Agodé includes fractions of six lineages:

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621 --The Dikan lo, lineage of the grand man, nearly extinct
● 613 --A fragment of the Kotika lo
--A fragment of the Dju lo
--A fragment of the Lapé lo
--A fragment of the Papaïston lo
--A fragment of the Dipélu I lo

621 The Dikan lineage holds the real rights over the whole of the
613 lands situated on the eastern bank of the Lawa, from Puu Mofu
423 Creek to the south up to the edge of L'Enfant Perdu village to the
241 north.

The fragment of the Papaïston lo established in Boniville is in a special situation; it has for a long time possessed the lands situated to the south of Puu Mofu Creek up to the edge of Loka village (Lapé lo). This group has remained strongly organized and its members do not make clearings outside their zone, in which they have all the space desirable anyway.

The members of the other groups make their clearings on all
[643] the surface formerly occupied by the Dikan lo. The grand man has reserved for his personal use the lands situated near Likanaon Creek, where he has built a farming habitation. The inhabitants of Boniville make their clearings on all the rest and without any definite territorial grouping.

[101] This finage (1), like the others studied in the present chapter, was

1. Finage: zone cultivated by the members of a collectivity.

visited in January, 1957, in other words shortly after the end of the land-clearing and at the beginning of the planting.

Study of some clearings of the Agodé bakka locality "behind Boniville":

abbreviations:	(K)	Kotika	(D)	Dikan	(Dip)	Dipélu
	(Dju)	Dju	(P)	Papaïston	(L)	Lapé

6:Hurault--119 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

[Agodé bakka locality]

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
1 ○	Kamina (K2, E92) clearing cut by her husband	1956	lived in Boniville	4 years; last user Todo (K2, F68), in 1952
2 △	Grand Man Difu (D)	1953	--	2 years; used by the grand man in 1951
3 ○	Béniti (Dju, E5)	1951	--	cleared by Béniti about 1915, cut by her 3 times in all
4 ○	Mimi (K3, E156)	1951	--	cut on old secondary forest
5 △	Todo (K2, F68)	1951	--	2 years; already cut by Todo in 1951 and 1953
6 ○	Lèya (K2, F99); clearing cut by her husband	1956	--	6 years; clearing cut by Kanayen (Kotika lo) † in 1950
7 ○	Lésina (K2, F69) clearing cut by her husband Manku (Dip. I)	1953	--	?

[Agodé bakka locality]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
8	△	Grand Man Difu	1952	--	?
9	○	Paata (Djuka woman settled in Boniville)	1947(?)	id.	already used by Paata about 1940
10	○	Térésa (L2, E57) clearing cut by her sons	1953	id.	?
11	○	Paata (see above)	1953		already used by Paata in 1950

Thus, out of this group of eleven clearings, two remain attributed to the grand man, one to a woman of the Dju lineage, two to a Djuka woman, one to a woman of the Lapé lineage, five to members of the Kotika lineage, all inhabitants of Boniville. /85/

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Study of the clearings of the fraction of the Papaïston established in Boniville. This group formerly lived in Puu Mofu village at the mouth of the creek of the same name, abandoned about 1940 following an epidemic. Its settlement in Boniville is therefore recent. The oldest man in the group, Bukuman, a man of some 60 years, exerts de facto authority.

This group tends to add to its initial finage the band of land included between Boniville village and Puu Mofu Creek belonging to the Dikan lo (especially clearings Nos. 12, 13, 14).

[Papaïston fraction living in Boniville]

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
12 ○	Apinda (P1, G26)	1955	member of the Papaïston fraction living in Boniville	20 years; last user Adyuba (D) † mother of the grand man
13 ○	Alasani (P1, F34)	1953	id.	20 years idem
14 ○	Lémiki (K3, E130)	1945 (?)	lives in Boniville	20 years (this clearing is not in Papaïston territory)
15 △	Bukuman (P1, F32), for his wife	1956	member of the Papaïston fraction in Boniville	20 to 25 years
16 ○	Apinda; clearing cut by her husband Amatodja	1954	id.	id.
17 ○	Alasani	1954	id.	id.

[Papaïston fraction living in Boniville]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
18	○	Térésa (L2, E57)	1955	woman of Lapé lineage living in Boniville; has worked there as an exception with Bukuman's permission	id.
18a	○	Alasani; clearing cut by her son Nanga	1956	member of the Papaïston fraction living in Boniville	id.
19	○	Pélui (P1, F33)	1954	id.	id. /86/
20	△	Bukuman, for his wife	1954	id.	id.
21	○	Pélui	1955	id.	id.
22	○	Apinda; clearing cut by her husband Amatodja	1956	member of the Papaïston fraction living in Boniville	id.

[Papaïston fraction living in Boniville]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
23	O	Alasani; clearing cut by her son Nanga	1955	member of the Papaïston fraction living in Boniville	20 to 25 years
24	O	Apinda; clearing cut by her husband Amatodja	1955	id.	id.
25	△	Baafu (L2, E58), for himself	1955	man of the Lapé lineage living in Boniville. Has worked there as an exception with Bangasé's permission	id.
26	O	Pélui	1954	woman of the Papaïston lineage (Boniville)	id.
27	O	Apinda	1949	id.	id.

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621 Near this clearing is the limit of the lineage lands; beyond
613 are the clearings of Loka village (Lapé lineage).
423 Out of the 16 clearings examined here, 14 are occupied by
241 members of the Papaïston group at Boniville, two are held by
[562] temporary users, outsiders to the group. Out of the 16 clearings 13 are held by women and three by men.

Lands of Loka village (Lapé lo). This village, with its annex Lapé Tabiki, is the residence village of the Lapé lo. The Lapé lo,
[614] whose genealogy is completely known and which remains geographically well grouped, is divided into two fractions without ceasing to constitute a lineage (bee) in the strict sense of the term. Its lands are divided into three zones:

--One on the east bank of the Maroni, behind Loka village.
/87/ --Another on the west bank (Surinam bank) opposite Lapé Tabiki, which we were not able to examine,

--Another upstream from Maripasoula, where part of the members of the lineage possess farming habitations.

The first zone has been almost completely abandoned for
[311] about ten years as a consequence of an exceptional pullulation of manioc ants. We have summarized only a few relatively recent clearings there:

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
31 Δ	Akwadé (L1, E22) for himself	1948	member of the Lapé lo	cut only once on old secondary forest
32 Δ	Akwadé, for himself	1950	id.	cut twice in all by Akwadé

[Lands of Loka Village (Lapé'lo)]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
33	Δ	Akwadé	1952	id.	cut only once on old secondary forest
34	O	Awènkina (L1, D23); clearing cut by her husband	1949	id.	cut only once on old secondary forest
35	O	Awènkina id.	1936(?)	id.	cut twice in all by Awènkina
36	O	Awènkina; clearing cut by her son	1952	id.	2 years; cut in 1950 on old secondary forest
37	O	Chii (L1, D24); clearing cut by her son Ayaubédé	1952	id.	2 years; cut in 1950 by the same
38	O	Chii; clearing cut by her husband	1950	id.	cut only once on old secondary forest
38a	O	Madu (E41), Chii's daughter	1956	id.	6 years, a part of No. 38 taken up again

[Lands of Loka Village (Lapé lo)]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
39	○	Chii; clearing cut by her son Ayaubédé	1955	id.	?
40	△	Koniman (L1, E31) for himself	1953	id.	4 years (cut by himself in 1949)

[562] Out of the eleven clearings examined here, all are farmed by members of the Lapé lo; seven are held by men and four by women.

Lands of the Dju lo (Asisi village) in the Ingi Udu locality. The Dju lo, whose genealogy is completely known, also constitutes a lineage in the strict sense of the term. It remains well grouped geographically with the exception of a small group established in Boniville close to the grand man.

The lands of the Dju lo are distributed in several zones:

--One on the east bank of the Lawa, a little downstream from Asisi, in the Ingi Udu locality;

--One on the Dutch bank opposite Gengé Tabiki;

--One upstream from Maripasoula at the confluence with the Inini, where an important farming habitation is established (Atikati village);

--Finally, several members of the group make their clearings near Kormotibo in the Kuyaku locality, on the lands of the Dipélu II lo.

Clearings summarized here all belong to the first zone.

[Lands of the Dju Io (Asisi Village) in the Ingi Udu locality]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
41	O	Téodora (Dju, G40); clearing cut by her husband	1955	member of the Dju Io, Asisi fraction	20 years
42	O	Kukusa (Dju, F40); cl. cut by her husband Bernardin	1953	id.	a very long time
43	O	Paana (Dju, G2), cut it herself (has no husband)	1955	id.	6 years /89/
44	O	Tini (Dju, F1); clearing cut by her husband	1954	id.	6 years (?); cut 3 times in all since 1920
45	O	Lènga (Dju, F36); clearing cut by her husband	1955	id.	4 years
46	O	Féni (Dju, G3), /Δ?/for his wife Abugu	1954	id.	7 years
47	O	Tini (Dju, F1); cl. cut by her husband	1955	id.	6 years (?)

[Lands of the Dju lo (Asisi Village) in the Ingi Udu locality]

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
48	Tini; clearing cut by her husband	1956	member of the Dju lo, Asisi fraction	3 years
48a	Sara (Dju, E27); cl. cut by her husband	1956	id.	3 years (fraction of clearing 48)
50	Félicia (Dju, G41); clearing cut by her husband Akodo	1954	id.	?
51	Téodora; clearing cut by her husband	1956	id.	2 years
64	Abo† (E8), for himself	1956	id.	2 years
76	Ata (F2); clearing cut by her husband	1956	id.	3 years
77	idem	1955	id.	3 years

Clearings 64, 76, and 77 appear to be enclaves a little within the Awara Bakka finage. Actually, from the very fashion

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621 613 423 241 [562] in which these finages were constituted, one must not expect to find clear boundaries.

These 14 clearings are thus used exclusively by members of the Dju lineage living in Asisi village. All but two are held by women. /90/

It is interesting to study the kinship ties of the members of the lineage making their clearings in different zones. One might actually believe that there is a tendency toward individualization of sublineages, and that the descendants of a particular woman tend to hold exclusively the use of such and such a zone.

We see here that such is not the case.

In zone 1 (studied here), make their clearings: Tini (F1), Paana (G2), Féni (G3), very close relatives, but also Lènga (F36), Kukusa (F40), and Félicia (G41), whose relationship with the first-named is as distant as possible within the lineage: Félicia and Paana for example are relatives in the 12th degree.

The same thing is observed in other zones, as we shall see in the study of farming habitations.

621 613 614 423 Lands of the Awara Bakka io (Asisi village). The finage of the Awara Bakka io is particularly interesting to study, for this io has a more complex structure. Study of the genealogy shows the existence of three distinct fractions, which we have designated respectively as Aw.B.1, Aw.B.2, Aw.B.3. The Aw.B.1 and 2 fractions consider themselves as the same lineage in the strict sense (bè). On the contrary, fraction 3 can be considered as a separate lineage from the point of view of legal responsibility. Moreover, the members of the small Afi lineage, living with the Awara Bakka, also constitute a separate unit from the legal point of view. It is important to study whether that carries over into their territorial implantation.

[Lands of The Awara Bakka Io (Asisi Boni Village)]

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We were not able to carry this study out exhaustively because the great mass of lands cultivated by the Awara Bakka are situated on the Surinam bank. The clearings summarized here are grouped in a zone called Ingi Udu; they are served by two landing places or dégrads, borrowed exclusively by the Awara Bakka.

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
61 O	Kyéti (Aw.B.1, E30); cl. cut by her brother Agibidon	1954	member of the Awara Bakka Io, 1st fraction	cut on old secondary forest
62 O	Mani (Afi lineage); clearing cut by her husband Galmo	1956	member of the Afi lineage, living in Asisi	2 years
63 O	Kyéti; clearing cut by her brother Agibidon	1956	Awara Bakka, 1st fraction, Asisi village	2 years; cut 4 times in all, the 1st about 1949 /91/
65 O	Akanté (Aw.B.3); clearing cut by her husband Poopu	1956	id. 3rd fraction	2 years

[Lands of the Awara Bakka lo (Asisi Village)]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
66	O	Kyéti; clearing cut by her husband Sosoman	1954	id. 1st fraction	2 years
67	O	Lébimichi (Aw. B.1. F27); clearing cut by her husband Abagon	1956	id. 1st fraction	4 years
68	O	Anèta (Aw.B.3); clearing cut by her son-in-law Kéwému	1956	id. 3rd fraction	4 years
69	O	Agyasu (Aw.B.1. F38); clearing cut by her brother Baliki	1956	Awara Bakka, 1st fraction, Asisi vge.	4 years
70	O	Emma (Aw.B.2); clearing cut by her son Akodo	?	id. 2nd fraction	4 years
71	O	Irma (Aw.B.1. E37); clearing cut by her husband Adiiso	1956	id. 1st fraction	cut on old secondary forest

[Lands of the Awara Bakka lo (Asisi Village)]

/91 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
72	O	Emma; cl. cut by herself	1955	id. 2nd fraction	3 years
73	O	Lébimichi; clearing cut by her husband Abagon	1955	id. 1st fraction	3 years
74	O	Kilina (Aw.B.3, E71); cl. cut by her husband Amèmbě	1956	id. 4th fraction	4 years /92/
75	O	Namu (Aw.B.1, E48); cl. cut by her husband Koniman	1956	id. 1st fraction	4 years
78	Δ	Lawa (Aw.B.1, F43); for his fiancée Kula (Asisi-Dju)	1956	id. 1st fraction	?
79	O	Béma (Aw.B.3, E73); cl. cut by her husband Maïna	1956	id. 4th fraction	2 years

[Lands of The Awara Bakka lo (Asisi Village)]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
80	○	Kakyé (Aw.B.1, E19)	1956	id. 1st fraction	4 years
81	△	Antonu (Aw.B.1, E47); for himself	1952	1st fraction	?
82	△	Adam (Afi lineage, c7); for his wife Dachini (Asisi-Dju)	1954	member of the Afi lineage living in Asisi	?
83	○	Titi (Aw.B.1, E16); cl. cut by her son Dopia	1954	member of the Awara Bakka lo, 1st fraction, Asisi village	
84	○	Noémi (Aw. B.1, F51); cl. cut by her husband	1955	id. 1st fraction	2 years
85	○	Summa (Aw. B.3, F81); clearing cut by herself	1956	id. 3rd fraction	3 years
86	○	Léna (Aw.B.1, F52); clearing cut by her son	1956	id. 1st fraction	3 years

Boni

[Lands of the Awara Bakka Io (Asisi Village)]

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/92 cont./

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
87 O	Noémi; clearing cut by herself (having become a widow)	1956	id. 1st fraction	3 years /93/
88 O	Titi; clearing cut by herself	1955	id. 1st fraction	3 years
89 O	Amélia (Aw.B.1, F19); clearing cut by her husband Sindu	1959	id. 1st fraction	4 years
90 O	Titi; cl. cut by her son Dopia	1954	id. 1st fraction	5 years

[562] Of the 27 clearings examined, only two /sic/ are held by men, 26 /sic/ by women.

19 are allotted to members of the 1st fraction;
2 " " to a member of the 2nd fraction;
2 " " to members of the 3rd fraction;
4 " " to members of the Afi lineage.

Thus one can deduce from this study that there is no tendency toward the making up of separate finages by the various fractions of the Awara Bakka Io. The members of the Afi lineage living in their midst have no tendency to group their clearings, either.

In fact, the inhabitants of a village, even issuing from different lineages, possess joint rights over the lands.

/93 cont./

621 Lands of the Asisi fraction of the Dipélu II lo, in the Tapo
613 locality. The fraction of the Dipélu II lo which has been settled
423 in Asisi for some 30 years and which remains subject to the
241 authority of the head of the lo living in Kormotibo, groups its clearings in a zone which has been allotted to it in the Tapo locality.

No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
91	○	Chichiti (G22); clearing cut by her husband Obino	1954	member of the Dipélu II fraction established in Asisi	2 years
92	○	Lawenchi	1951	id.	cleared off for the 1st time
93	△	Aténi (G20), for himself	1953	id.	id. /94/
94	△	Aténi (G20), for himself	1956	id.	id.
95	○	Kaala (G28); clearing cut by her husband Tàmu	1954	id.	id.
96	○	Kaala	1951	id.	id.
97	○	Kiboya (G31); clearing cut by her husband Simon	1954	id.	3 years

[lands of the Asisi fraction of the Dipélu II 10]

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
98 △	Kopo (G32), for himself	1954	id.	cleared off for the 1st time
99 ○	Tama (G29); clearing cut by her husband Asékéyé	1954	id.	?
99a	Sésèy † (F38); clearing cut by her husband Mato	1949	id.	cleared off for the 1st time
100 ○	Tyoko (G30); clearing cut by her husband Dodo	1954	id.	2 years
101 ○	Tama; clearing cut by her husband Asékéyé	1953	id.	2 years
102 ○	Chichiti (G22); clearing cut by her husband Obino	1953	id.	cleared off for the 1st time
103 ○	Sésèy † (F38); clearing cut by her husband Mato	1951	id.	3 years

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Out of 14 clearings examined here, all without exception are occupied by the members of the Dipélu II fraction in Asisi. This fraction is geographically separated from the other lineages of Asisi village, and has formed a separate finage; that has to do with its relatively high effective force and the good relations among its members (the Afi lineage, with an analogous force but divided by disagreements, has not succeeded in forming a separate finage).

[578]

[562] Of 14 clearings, 13 are held by women and one by a man /sic/.

Study of several clearings of Papaïston village. The part of the Papaïston finage situated on the French bank had been abandoned for several years because of an abnormal pullulation of manioc ants. In 1956-57 all the inhabitants of the village were making their clearings on the Surinam bank.

[311]

Only several clearings going back to the years 1947-50 could be identified.

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
111 O	Efa (Pl, D4)	1946	member of the Papaïston lo	cleared for the 1st time on old secondary forest
112 O	Wilèlmina (P1, F1); clearing cut by her husband Bésu	1947	id.	id.
113 O	Oben (P1, E13)	1950	id.	id.

[Papaïston Village]

/95 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
114 ○	Gou (P1, F8); clearing cut by her husband Akwali		id.	id.
115 ○	Puti (P2, F71); clearing cut by her husband Maïpa	1951	id.	cleared off for the 1st time on old secondary forest
116 ○	Héléna (P1, F2); clearing cut by her husband Baliki	1951	id.	id.

[562] These six clearings are held by women of the Papaïston lineage, in accordance with the residence principle of the Refugee Blacks.

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/96/ The Social System Illuminated by the Study of Implantation on the Soil

128 Study of the clearings in the neighborhood of the farming villages gives exact information about the structure of the kin groups which cannot be obtained by direct interrogation.

423 --Transmission of rights over land within the lineage fraction having the same residence constitutes an imprescriptible legal
613 principle, to which one refers as the conclusive argument to
621 settle every dispute;
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/96 cont./

423 613 621 --The principle of matrilocal grouping is effectively applied in nearly all cases. The matrilineages have almost all formed, according to this principle, separate finages, on which their rights are well established; most of these lands appear to be of old formation;

423 613 621 571 --The lineage fractions which have separated themselves geographically from their original grouping have formed finages over which their members exercise exclusive rights. For example, out of the lands of the Dipélu II fraction settled in Asisi not a single case is reported of use by members of the main fraction of the lineage living in Kormotibo;

--The inhabitants of a village subject to one authority possess collective rights over the lands of that village and form a de facto community, even if they belong to different lineages. We have found two characteristic examples of this, Boniville and Asisi-Awara Bakka; by coming to live in a village and subjecting oneself to the authority of the head, one enters ipso facto into this community.

This custom is in contradiction with the principle of the exclusive rights of the lineage over the soil, but the contradiction is more apparent than real; it makes possible the integration, into a collectivity, of detached persons and small fractions incapable of forming a separate village.

The actual situation thus created is not at all permanent. If a lineage fraction wishes to separate itself either as a consequence of a disagreement or simply because its numbers have grown sufficiently, it always has the right to do so.

The fundamental principles of the basic rights of the Boni can thus be summarized thus:

"Rights over the soil are joint within the fraction of a lineage whose members live in the same village and are subject to the same authority; any scission of a lineage which has to do with the residence village entails a scission of rights over lands. The

/96 cont./

423 emigrating fraction possesses exclusive rights over the /agricul-
613 tural/ land /terroir/ it forms. But it does not lose, at least in
621 principle, its rights over its original land /terroir/."
571 The study of finages gives us still more important informa-
tion concerning the exercising of rights of use:
241 /97/ Of 100 clearings examined, 81 follow the normal
423 process according to which the woman has her clearing made on
613 the land of her lineage (1). Of these 81 clearings, 14 had been
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1. For the joint sector of Boniville, the inhabitants of the village were considered as users of rights without distinction of lineage.

made under conditions not made clear, 48 had been cut by the husband, 14 by a near relative (son, brother, exceptionally brother or son-in-law), five by the woman herself.

In only five cases it is, on the contrary, the man who brings his wife onto his lineage's land.

A little more frequent is the case of a man cutting a clearing for himself on his lineage's land.

Finally, the case in which, for reasons of convenience, a member of a lineage asks to work temporarily on the land of another lineage is met twice. Thus this is an extremely unusual practice.

182 Influence of the geographical environment on the social structure.
171 These observations are to be compared with the ones that can be
[177] made about the Oayana Indians and the Indians of Guiana in general, living near the Refugee Blacks, in the same geographical environment and almost in the same way (let us recall that the Refugee Blacks borrowed the whole of their material culture from the Indians).

/97 cont./

R 105 [361] The Oayana Indians are half nomadic, moving their villages every ten years on the average. They have neither a permanent center of peopling, a place of worship, nor a cemetery; they do not have ancestor worship, at least no concept involving a precise and permanent tie between the living, the dead, and the land.

R 114 182 [136] This state of things has been attributed by several authors to the geographical environment and especially to the ravages of the manioc ant; the manioc ant, swarming particularly in formerly cultivated zones, makes nomadism advantageous. From this would have resulted a social structure and a mode of living adapted to these special conditions.

B 114 769 182 The example of the Refugee Blacks shows conspicuously that these considerations, in spite of their undeniable interest, do not constitute an explanation of general scope; for the Refugee Blacks, the only social ties conceivable flow from ancestor worship; above all the imperatives of material life the individual feels as a primordial duty the act of attaching himself to the village of his ancestors, to the land they cleared off and which remains under their protection.

B 182 241 423 613 The difficulties inherent in the geographical environment have been easily surmounted or gotten around. Rather than vast zones with one single holder, each lineage divided its finage into sectors distant from one another. If these zones become temporarily unusable, the Boni go to create farming habitations on the upper course of the river, without ceasing because of this to reside habitually in the village of their ancestors; there results from this no other constraint but losing two weeks each year in going and coming on the river.

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Distribution of Lands in the Neighborhood
of the Principal Boni Villages

Permanent villages
Boundary lines

Scale: 1/mm

/K. or Cr. = Creek,
Lieu-dit = locality,
h. du grand man = habitation of the grand man,
Zone inondable = floodable zone./

Fig. 16.

/99/

182 That this system is perfectly workable has been sufficiently
161 demonstrated by the regular expansion for two centuries of the
241 tribes of Refugee Blacks and by the good functioning of their
423 institutions.
613

Thus the basic instability of the Indians of Guiana cannot
182 be attributed to the influence of the geographical environment alone. It comes essentially from social and psychological factors.

/100/ STUDY OF FARMING HABITATIONS

128 We are now going to study the functioning of the farming habitations under the same aspects:

--Structure (composition of each one, kinship ties);

--Territorial implantation: nature and extent of rights over the land;

--Functioning.

241 Not all Boni have a farming habitation; about two-thirds
621 of them are satisfied with the lands they occupy near the residence
184 villages.

241 The farming habitations we are going to study more es-
621 pecially and which are situated between the mouth of the Inini
361 and Simayé Falls to the south, group about a hundred persons be-
162 longing to the Dju, Lapé, Awara Bakka, and Papaïston lineages.
613 Another group of farming habitations situated a little south of Kormotibo, which we shall study briefly and only so far as their composition is concerned, bring together about 60 persons. Finally, other very dispersed farming habitations exist, belonging principally to the Kotika lineage, some in the Maripasoula region, others in the Abattis-Kotika Falls /region/.

241 On the whole, the Boni farming habitations cannot be com-
184 pared either as to importance or stability with the Djuka farming
621 villages which are placed at intervals on the middle course of the
[361] Maroni, grouping 3,000 to 3,500 persons: this is easy to
[162] understand: the Djuka, continually short of land, are obliged,

/100 cont./

241 62 [184] under pain of losing their rights, to occupy the soil to the maximum. Besides, settled very far from their residence villages, they are led to creating more lasting establishments.

Among the Boni, farming habitations do not amount to much, built carelessly (to designate them one says kāpu (camp), and the groups who work there are not very stable.

423 241 [182] [184] However, the principles of establishment and functioning of farming habitations are exactly the same for the two tribes and result on the whole from the customary laws which, among the Refugee Blacks, govern the possession of land:

[425] [613] 1) When a man cuts a clearing in a zone which has never had any human establishment, he creates at the same time as a right of use for himself an imprescriptible real right for his lineage (bɛɛ) or more precisely for the fraction of the lineage living in the same village and subject to the same authority;

[428] [613] 2) This right is joint; at the death of an individual, anyone of that fraction of his lineage may occupy the lands he used to cultivate habitually. If there is a dispute, it must be settled within the framework of the lineage; /101/ /Fig. 17 appears here/ /102/

3) The extent of the zone over which this right is exercised is limited only by the zones over which other rights are exercised.

We have seen what mode of occupation of the soil resulted from these laws in the neighborhood of the "great villages." Here the distribution of lands among the farming habitations follows practically the same laws, whose effects are less rigorous, considering the very low density of occupation of the soil.

425 [361] 1) It is taken for granted that an isolated establishment in a quasi-deserted zone does not create lasting rights. If it happens to disappear, anybody may come to settle there after ascertaining from the first occupant that he no longer needs the place (such is the case with the very scattered establishments south of Simayé Falls up to Indian country; they do not create real territorial rights for the benefit of any lineage whatever.

/102 cont./

425 2) On the contrary, from the time that occupation of a region becomes habitual, even by groups of small numerical importance, people pay attention to the attribution of the lands. [361] Thus it is assumed that the west bank of the Lawa south of the [613] Atikati habitation up to Simayé Falls has belonged, since the end of the last century, to the Lapé lo, which was occupying it in 1957 by the Paako, Samo, Pwen, Saléni, and Makélé habitations.

423 613 241 361 3) Within each zone the rights remain joint and anyone of the same lo may come to settle there. Thus the farming habitations move around, but within a definite sector. Thus for example Kwaku (Lapé) abandoned in 1954 his habitation situated in the lands of the Lapé lineage (it was too damp in the rainy season, he prefers to content himself with the lands of the "great village"). He does not lose his rights because of this. If he decides eventually to come back, he will settle anywhere in the zone attributed to the Lapé lo.

182 161 241 361 426 It goes without saying that if the population were more dense, such a principle would be difficult to apply and that serious disputes would arise. But this mode of occupation of the soil is perfectly suitable, in their present situation, for the tribes of the Refugee Blacks, for it allows them to practice, with a minimum of friction, the seminomadism which the geographical environment and especially the manioc ant impose.

241 361 423 The zones occupied by the farming habitations rarely have a single holder: most often they are divided into separate sectors on different parts of the river.

504 613 361 423 Actually, as we have seen around the "great villages," each lineage possesses a certain number of "dégrads," or landing places, from which paths radiate. Each "dégrad" is rigorously reserved for the members of a lineage. The occupants of a farming village radiate from around their landing place until they

361 /102 cont. /
504 meet the clearings of the people of another lineage; a de facto
613 boundary is thus created, which is henceforth respected.
423

621 On the other hand, several farming villages of one lineage
241 may have their clearings totally intriqués /entangled/ (this is
613 the case, for example, with the ones of the Antonu and Adiiso
423 habitations). This conforms to the rule of joint possession of the land within the lineage.

621 Organization. The group in a farming habitation is brought to-
241 gether by mutual affinities, and has no hierarchy other than that
602 which springs from kinship ties: authority of the mother over her
592 daughters; authority of the "uncles" over the "nephews."
/103/ The grouping which conforms most to the matrilineal structure of the Refugee Blacks is made up of an old woman, her unmarried sons, her daughters and her daughters' daughters, their husbands coming to help at the time of the clearings but not belonging to the group. Often it is this old woman who directs the habitation, but often also it is an old uncle, her classificatory brother, who has worked with her for a long time. Sometimes this old woman has come to live with her daughters on the habitation founded by her husband.

103 Some of the habitations bear men's names, others women's
423 names. The name which prevails may be completely at variance
592 with the real rights exercised over the land (Ex.: name of Adiiso given to the habitation of his wife where Adiiso has no right at all). That has no great importance in the eyes of the Refugee
[613] Blacks, the only important thing being collective possession of the land by the lineage.

621 For groups which are relatively numerous and brought to-
241 gether more by mutual affinities than by kinship ties, the mini-
622 mum of authority necessary for good feeling and the organization of the work is brought to bear by the founder. For example,

/103 cont. /

621 Atikati exercised authority by this right over the disparate group
622 around him, and at his death he bequeathed this function to his
241 sister Adyidya.

Likewise Antonu exerts undisputed authority over three
[613] groups of the Awara Bakka lo settled at the mouth of the Inini, for it was he who took the initiative of creating an establishment at this place. If there is any dispute, it is he who will defend the rights of the Awara Bakka lineage.

622 The authority exercised by the founder of the farming habitation is not brought to bear in material living, which remains subject to the strictly individualistic principles of the Refugee Blacks. He cannot require anyone to help him make his clearings or do any work whatever on his behalf.

361 Farming Habitations of the Awara Bakka lo
241 (Antonu, Adiiso, Kakyé)
613 in the Neighborhood of the Confluence with the Inini

621 These habitations work soil whose first user was Antonu, of
241 the Awara Bakka lo (fraction 1), which is regarded as belonging
[613] to that lineage. Antonu settled there in 1945 (he was finding that
[423] there were too many people farming the lands near Asisi).

To insure his rights, Antonu put on his land two groupings
621 whose situations are very different:
241 1) In his own habitation he installed his wife Asakundu, and
592 around her he made up the work group commonest among the
423 Refugee Blacks: group formed by the mother, her sons and
[476] daughters, the daughters' husbands coming to help at the time of the /104/ clearings. But it is important to note that this group has no right at all over the land: if Antonu and his wife ever separate, the wife's group will leave the habitation.

/104 cont. /

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		1956	1955
○	Angisa	1 clearing with her husband Ernest (who cut 2 other clearings in other sectors because he has 2 other wives)	1 clearing with Antonu
△	Sindu	1 clearing for Amélia, his wife, 1 clearing for himself	id. (2 clearings)
△	Anato	en mission; cut no clearing; his wife weeded a two-year-old clearing herself	1 clearing for his mother (had made in addition a /105/ clearing in Asisi for his wife on her family's lands)
△	Maliki	same case	nothing for his mother, 1 clearing for his wife in another habitation

Study of the clearings of the Antonu habitation:

1) West Bank:

	No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
[423] [613]	31	△	Antonu, for himself	1952	member of the Awara Bakka lo, founder of the habitation	2 years (cut in 1950 for the 1st time on primary forest)

/108 cont./

62 592 24 [423] [613] [602] [476]

Structure of the Adiiso habitation. This habitation actually belongs to Irma, Adiiso's wife, of the Awara-Bakka (1) lineage (E37), who was settled there by Antonu whose classificatory sister she is.

Working with Irma, disregarding children, are:

--Her husband Adiiso (Dju, F37);

--Her daughter Chitaïna (Aw.B.1, F43), married to Déési (L1, F45);

--Her son Lawa, unmarried;

--Her son Maïna, married.

Maïna's wife Mbéma, who has no other habitation, has her clearing made there, but she has no hut in her own right and is not a member of the group.

Activity of the habitation in 1955-56:

	1956	1955
Irma	2 clearings (both by Adiiso, who cut a 3rd in Asisi for his other wife)	1 clearing cut by her son Maïna, Adiiso being on a trip
Chitaïna	1 clearing cut by Lawa, her brother, her husband being en mission.	1 clearing cut by her husband Déési /109/
/Fig. 18 appears here./ /110/		
Maïna	1 clearing for his wife Mbéma	Maïna en mission had not been able to cut for his wife. She had weeded a two-year-old clearing with Chitaïna and Irma

6:Hurault--158 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/facing p. 108/

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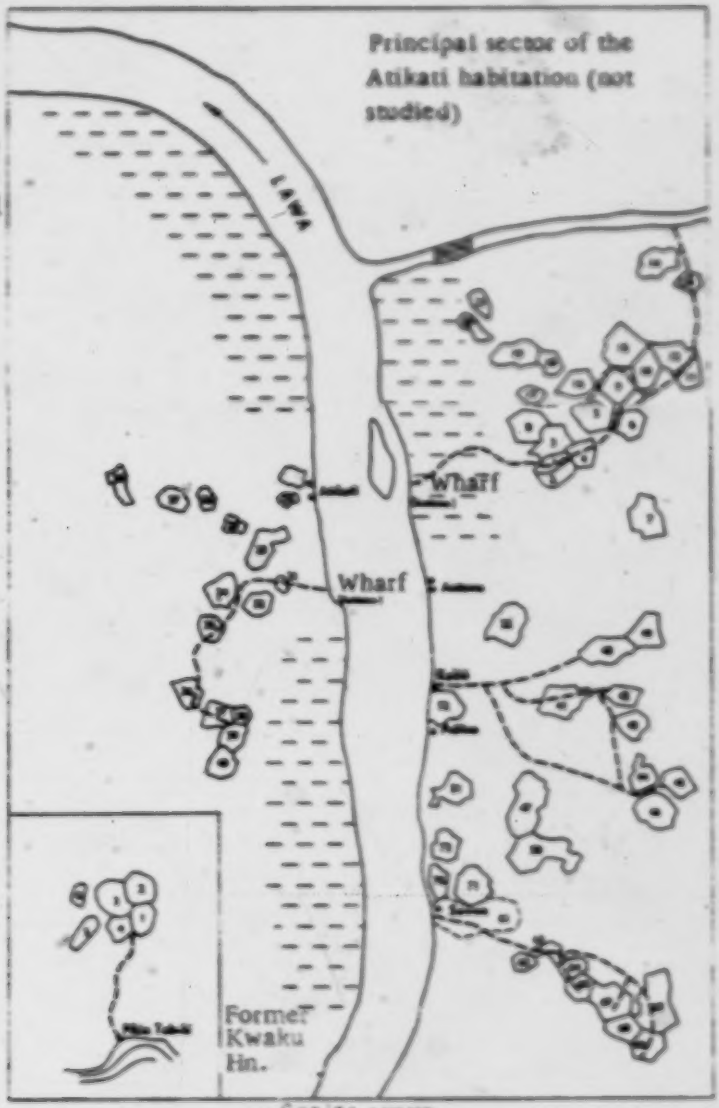
Distribution of Lands among the Lineages
in the Neighborhood of the Confluence with the Inini



Scale: 1/20 000

After photographs by the 003/200 IGN mission, taken in October, 1956

• farming habitation

flooding zone

clearings studied in January, 1957

Fig. 18.

/110 cont./

621 592 241 [589] [496]

Structure of the Kakyé habitation. This habitation is directed by Kakyé (Aw.B.1. E18), a widow for a long time and not remarried, working with her children.

Working with her are:

- --Amélia (Aw.B.1. F19), her daughter;
- --Papakay (Aw.B.1. F23), her son;
- --Akamina (Aw.B.1. F24), her daughter;
- --Lébimichi (Aw.B.1. F27), daughter of Yochi † sister of Kakyé.

241 599 621 423 [613]

Listing of several clearings of the Adiso and Kakyé habitations. These clearings are totally mixed with each others' and with those of the Adiso habitation, which is further three [illegible] all belong to the Awara Bakka lineage.

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
11 △	Bésu (Aw.B.1. F17), for himself	1954	Kakyé's son (does not work there habitually)	cut for the 1st time
12 ○	Amélia; clearing cut by her husband Sindu	1954	Kakyé's daughter	id.
13 ○	Lébimichi; clearing cut by her husband Asonson	1954	Kakyé's niece	cut for the 1st time

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Habitation of the Dju Io
in the Neighborhood of the Mouth of the Inini

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Structure of the Atikati habitation (Dju io). Important habitation founded by Atikati, of the Dju Io, possessing an extended finage fragmented into several blocks on both banks of the Lawa.

This habitation has an abnormal composition, for Atikati worked there with his daughters, which is contrary to custom, and with friends.

622

Atikati directed the village with his old friend Bernardin (K1, D62), † in 1958, who was the son of a man of the Dju Io and had lived among the Dju since childhood.

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[622]

The basic group of this habitation is made up of people of the Dju Io. Since Atikati's death (1955), his sister Adyidya (Dju, E19) has directed the village.

Members of the Dju Io:

○ Adyidya } both without living children
○ Baawé (Dju, E13) }
△ Loko (Dju, F39)
△ Atikati worked with his daughters and granddaughter:
○ Wiîèlmina (P1, F1);
○ Kumata (P1, G1), daughter of Wiîèlmina.

To this group were added in 1957:

△ Bernardin (K1, D62), raised with the Dju;
○ Asumé (Dip, I, F2), daughter of △ Bernardin and ○ Mimen †.

[423]

Finally, two Kotika women married to Djuka asked for permission to settle there and have their clearings cut there. But they have no right at all over the land:

○ Ñèlla (K1, D44);
Maké (K1, E35), her daughter.

/111 cont./

621 591 183 The composition of this village is thus entirely aberrant from the point of view of /112/ custom, and founded entirely upon personal fellow feeling. But the customary rule is none 621 the less present in the thought of all: the founder being of the 613 Dju lineage, the land belongs to the Dju. The fact, for ex- 423 ample, that Bernardin (Kotika) and his daughters (Papaïston) have worked there for a very long time creates no right at all for either lineage.

[571] If dissensions occur in the group, those outside the Dju lineage must leave.

24 621 423 Listing of some clearings of the Atikati habitation (west bank).

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
23 △	Atikati (Dju, E18) for himself	1952	founder of the habitation	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1950)
24 ○	Wilèlmina (P1, F1); clearing cut by her husband Bésu	1955	Atikati's daughter, has no rights over the land	cut for the 1st time
25 ○	Wilèlmina; clearing cut by her father Atikati	1951	id.	id.

[Atikati habitation (west bank)]

/112 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
26 △	Sosoman (Dju, E14)	1951	Does not usually work there but has rights over the land as a member of the Dju lineage	cut for the 1st time in 1950, part taken up again in 1955
27 ○	Héléna (P1, F2); clearing cut by her father Atikati	1955	Atikati's daughter; usually lives at the Sawen habitation; has no rights over the land	6 years; cut for the 1st time in 1949, partially taken up again in 1955
28	Adyidya; clearing cut by her husband Kwami (Djuka)	1949	woman of the Dju lineage	cut for the 1st time

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Habitations of the Papalston lo in the Neighborhood of the Mouth of the Inini

62 Structure of the Sawen and Agodéba habitations (Papalston lo).
241 Habitations occupying an extensive zone, attributed for at
613 least 60 years to the principal Papalston lineage.
[476] Working with Sawen (P1, E7) are:
--His nieces Héléna (P1, F2) and Emilia (P1, F3);
--His nephew Aguundé (P1, F4).
Working with Agodéba (P1, E1) are:
--His sister (in the classificatory sense) Kamen (P1, E14);
--His niece (in the classificatory sense) Gou (P1, F8).
Moreover, a group is settled there centered on Toïna, Agodéba's wife, representing the last of the Bakabuchi lineage, almost extinct:

△ Toïna, Agodéba's wife;
/△ Mangoto, Toïna's son;
Apuulobi.

[423] This group has no right over the land and would leave in the case of a break-up of the Agodéba-Toïna household.
Finally, a female friend, Piati (F71), of the almost extinct Papalston 2 lineage.

241 Activity of the Agodéba habitation in 1955-56:
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	1956	1955
△ Agodéba	1 clearing for his wife Toïna	id.
○ Kamen	1 clearing cut by her husband Adam who made no other	id.
○ Gou	1 clearing cut by her husband Béku	id.

/115/

Habitations of the Lapé lo
(Paako, Samo, Chii, Pwen, Saléni)

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These habitations occupy soil belonging to the Lapé lo since the end of the 19th century.

The Kwaku habitation has been abandoned since 1943, its occupants making their clearings around Loka.

Paako habitation. The Paako habitation is occupied only by two women, Paako (L1, E29) and her daughter Dona, who have their clearings made there by their husbands.

Chii habitation. Chii (L1, D24) directs the habitation where she works with her son Topo, her daughters Yaana, Madu, and Koko. The daughters' husbands come to help at the time of the clearings.

[578] Pwen habitations. As a consequence of dissensions, Pwen (L1, E33) lives all alone in this habitation.

Saléni habitation. It is directed by Saléni, an old woman of the Lapé lo (E25), who works there with her son Tingo, her daughters Kayé and Ananta.

[613] Structure of the Samo habitation called Pikin Tabiki (Lapé lo).

Habitation occupying another portion of the Lapé lo finage. Several Lapé men and women make their clearings there:

△ Tamu (L1, F32), who brings his wife Kaala (Dip. II) there
△ Fosé, his brother (L1, F33)
○ Mélita, his classificatory aunt (L1, E32);
○ Téké, Mélita's daughter (L1, F44)
○ Akomédi, Paako's daughter (L1, F34).

[113] The husbands of Mélita, Téké, Akomédi come to work at the time of the clearings but are not part of the group.

/115 cont./

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The composition of this village therefore entirely conforms to the custom.

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Activity in 1955-56:

	1956	1955
Δ Tamu	nothing (he cut in Lapé for his wife)	1 clearing for his wife
O Mélita	1 clearing by her husband Kwata (K)	id.
O Téké	1 clearing by Mélita's husband, for her husband Baïna is en mission	1 clearing by her husband /116/
Akomédi	1 clearing by her husband Todo (who cut another one in Asisi for his other wife)	

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Listing of several clearings of the Samo habitation (Pikin Tabiki) (Lapé lo).

No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
1	O	Akomédi; clearing cut by her husband Todo	1956	woman of the Lapé lo	cut for the 1st time
2	O	Akomédi id.	1955	id.	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1953)

[Samo habitation (Pikin Tabi Ki.)]

/116 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
3	○	Mélita; clearing cut by her husband Kwata	1955	id.	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
4	○	Mélita; cl. cut by her son Déési	1954	id.	3 years (cut for the 1st time in 1948, then in 1953 for the 2nd time
5	○	Téké; cl. cut by her husband Baïna	1951	id.	3 years (cut in 1948 for the 1st time)
6	○	Téké id.	1953	id.	cut for the 1st time

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Farming Habitations downstream from Maripasoula

Several habitations are installed in the Kuyaku locality very fertile region giving high yields of manioc (1).

1. This fertility is explained by the nature of the subsoil (sills of dolerite).

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Ownership of the land: Dipélu II lo (Kormoribo village).
Several habitations side by side:

/116 cont./

621 241 ○ Nanay (Dip. II) † ; habitation disappeared at her death in 1953; /117/

● 613 423 ○ Béniti (Dju) † in 1955; habitation taken up again by her children and grandchildren: ○ Eliana, △ Doni, ○ Kulina, ○ Maria; ○ Tini (Dju);

○ Kotoïda (Afi lineage) † ;

△ Poopu, established there for a long time. He had abandoned the site in 1948; came back in 1952.

The composition of the groups is as follows:

1) ○ Béniti † (Dju, E5): her daughters Maria, Kulina, and Eliana. Béniti's hut has been taken up again by her grandson Doni whom she brought up.

2) ○ Tini (Dju, F1); habitation grouping Tini, Ata (Dju, F2), and their daughters.

3) ○ Kotoïda † ; habitation grouping Kotoïda († Oct., 1956) (Afi lineage), her brother Kenkina, her husband Empalé, her niece Samabun.

Other habitations:

Ma Efa (Papaïston), settled on Dipélu II lo lands upstream from Kormotibo (French bank) for about 30 years. Ma Efa (P1, D4) worked with her sons.

Gengé Tabiki (Dutch bank, upstream from Asisi village); small habitation founded by ○ Aliki (Dju, E23), with Lènga ○ (Dju, F36) and ○ Diana (Dju, E9).

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Functioning of the Farming Habitations

Structure. Of the 13 farming habitations studied here, 12 have a structure conforming to the residence principle of the Refugee Blacks, implying the grouping of daughters and unmarried sons near the mother; only one has an abnormal structure:

/facing p. 119/

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Grouping of the Members of the Dju Lineage
into Sectors and Farming Habitations
October 1957

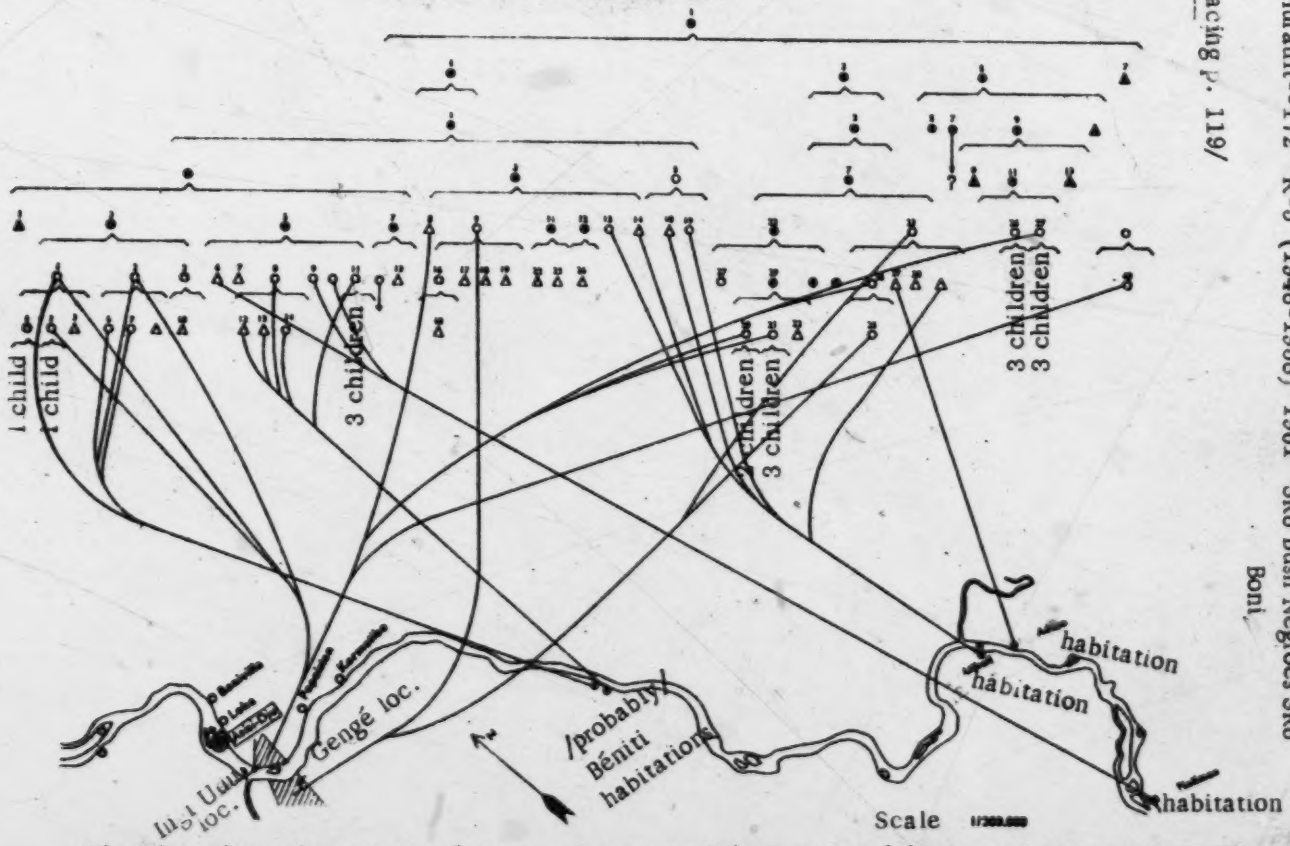

Fig. 20.

This chart shows the absence of any tendency toward the scission of the lineage into separate fractions.

/119 cont./

361 241 166 exhaustion of the lands does not seem to play any part: considering the sparseness of the population, one can either make new clearings out of primary forest or carry out any system of letting land lie fallow one wishes.

Most changes of location can be attributed to two causes of equal importance:

[136] [613] --The activity of the manioc ants; we have said that since about 15 years ago the principal soil of the Lapé lo, situated near Loka village, has had to be totally abandoned as a consequence of exceptional activity of manioc ants. From this resulted the creation of several farming habitations on the soil of the Lapé lo studied here;

361 241 166 598 --Personal motives, among which comes first of all disagreement among the members of a group. For example ○ Kulina and ○ Bakamaman (Boniville, Dju) made their clearings until 1950 with their mother Béniti in her farming village in Kuyaku locality (to the south of Kormotibo).

In 1950 there was a quarrel. Kulina and Baïkom have made their clearings since that time at the habitation of their father Malobi (Lapé).

[768] It happens especially that upon the death of its founder a farming habitation disappears or changes composition entirely because disagreements arise.

361 241 166 Another cause of change of location of farming habitations is change of activity of their occupants. For example, a man grows old, he no longer finds paid work, he creates a habitation in order to take up fishing (Akwadé's case). When he reaches extreme old age, he abandons his habitation to move close to his relatives (case of Samalobi, first occupant of the lands cultivated nowadays by Antonu village). /Page 120 blank/

/122 cont./

845 [621] Observation at Maripasoula, November 3, 1956. The wife of Baïna, boatman of the border-fixing mission, gave birth at Pikin Tabiki, small farming village where she works with her mother and the latter's husband. Baïna went to be present at the delivery.

It was very long and dramatic. According to Baïna, an ɔgi sani had entered the child's body, making him stiff and impossible to extract. As a last resort they called a neighbor, T..., known for having a good gita. He called his gadu who revealed an efficacious remedy, since after the body of the sick woman was bathed with the prescribed leaves, the delivery ended successfully.

846 [515] Since we were leaving on our trip, it remained to find someone to take his place in fulfilling one of the husband's duties: cutting the supply of wood for heating the water necessary for the hot douches /showers?/ the mother was going to be given several times a day for about three months. He made an agreement [465] for that with Kwata, his mother-in-law's husband, to whom he will pay about 1,000 francs.

851 613 [603] Presentation of the child. On the eighth day the maternal grandmother (or great-grandmother if she is still living) takes the child and gives it to another ancestress of the same lineage, stationed in front of the house. The latter presents it to the family. Then [769] the head of the lineage, without taking the child, goes to the [778] fraga tiki to make an offering of tafia, asking the ancestors to [782] protect it.

For example, for the birth of A... (Lapé Tabiki village), son of ○ Yundu (L2, G60), it was Asakundu, grandmother of Yundu and great-grandmother of the child, who came to take him in the house and gave him over to her sister Térésa (L2, E57) to present him to the family (see genealogical table of the Lapé lineage, fraction 2).

/125 cont./

553 613 [178] [162] Transmission of names. It seems that in former times children were by preference given the name of one of their classificatory uncles in the father's lineage. This custom is still clearly observable, but its practice is not general. In fact, out of about 670 persons counted in the villages on the French bank, including about 250 children younger than 14 years, there are only 64, or less than 25 per cent who bear the name of an adult living or dead. These 64 cases are divided thus:

	Mother's Lineage	Father's Lineage	Other Lineages
Name taken from among the child's classificatory brothers and sisters.	0	3	
Name taken from among the child's classificatory uncles and aunts.	3	37	11
Name taken from among the child's "grandfathers" and "grandmothers."	2	8	

Of these 64 names, 44 /sic/ are taken from the father's lineage, only five from the mother's.

[551] This table is only good for a simple indication. In order to go farther it would have been necessary to study separately the name given by the father and that given by the mother, which we could not do (let us recall that 75 per cent of the individuals are designated by a single name; either the father and mother agreed on the same name, or one of the two names fell into disuse after the child's early years.

/126/

553 Let us remember simply that there is a clear tendency to choose the name from the paternal relatives of the child (1).

[171]

1. It is a general rule among the populations of Black Africa from whom the Refugee Blacks borrowed their main cultural traits, the patrilineal Fon and Yoruba as well as the matrilineal and patrilocal Agni and Ashanti. The persistence of this custom among the Refugee Blacks tends to strengthen the patrilineal and patrilocal tendencies which were persisting among them at the time when their institutions were developing.

[178]

551 Apparently they avoid giving the name of a very old person or one recently deceased.

553 In this transmission of the name there does not seem to be anything other than a mark of affection toward a relative. No bond is created between the child and the adult whose name he bears. Obviously there is nothing in the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks which requires the perpetuation of names and their transmission from the dead to the living.

[613] When they wish to give one of their children the name of a person of another lineage, they must ask permission of this person, who does not necessarily grant it (he may fear that his name might thus be borne later by a thief or a ne'er-do-well).

If he does give his permission it does not, strictly speaking, involve any payment, but he may be offered a small gift.

[613] There is no need of any authorization to take a name borne by a person of the lineage of the child's mother or father.

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/129 cont./

Raised by:	Male Sex			Female Sex		
	born before 1936	from 1936 to 1949	average	born before 1936	from 1936 to 1949	average
Mother	together 50%	42%	55%	together 69%	56%	68%
Maternal grandmother		13%			12%	
A woman of the maternal lineage . . .	8%	12%	10%	13%	15%	14%
A man of the maternal lineage . . .	9%	4%	6.5%	2%	3%	2.5%
Father	27%	18%	22.5%	13%	6%	9.5%
Father's mother . . .	2%	3%	2.5%	0%	3%	1.5%
A person of the paternal lineage . .	1%	3%	2%	1%	3%	2%
An outsider to both lineages	2%	4%	3%	1%	3%	2%

6:Hurault--190 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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Raised by

Table I.- Men born before 1936

Mother	Maternal Grand-mother	A Woman Of the Mother's Lineage	A Man of the Mother's Lineage	Father	Father's Mother	A Person of the Father's Lineage	An Out-sider to Both Lineages
IIII

/131/

429 Recapitulation:

858 70% of the boys
613 85% of the girls are raised in the mother's lineage

27% of the boys
13% of the girls are raised in the father's lineage

3% of the boys
2% of the girls are raised by outsiders to both lineages.

429 It is important, moreover, to emphasize in what proportion
858 the children are brought up by women or men:
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67% of the boys
86% of the girls are raised by women

33% of the boys
12% of the girls are raised by men.

429 This preponderant role of women in the education of the
562 children is one of the fundamental aspects of the social structure
571 of the Refugee Blacks. In fact, women consider that the children
belong to them, and if they give some to men to bring up, it is
(191) only as many as they wish to. This conception which is found to
be widespread among the Blacks of America, in the West Indies
as in Guiana, explains, much more than the frequency of divorces, the impossibility for them to make up patrilineages in the absence of coercion exerted upon the women.

429 Several important pieces of information may still be drawn from these tables:

/131 cont./

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1) They show the continuity and vitality of the custom of the Refugee Blacks. The proportion of boys and girls brought up by the mother, the paternal grandmother, the father, etc. is noticeably constant from one generation to the other. There is no tendency for the proportion of children raised by the father to increase; it even seems to decrease, which may be related to the increasing instability of marriages. In fact, in spite of European influences, no evolution is observed toward patrilineal structures among the Refugee Blacks.

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2) The fact that part of the children are raised outside of their own lineage has few consequences for the unity of the group; for most of them, when their education is finished, come to settle down in one of the villages belonging to their lineage.

Of 88 men born before 1936, 28 were raised outside their lineage; 21 of them came back to it; only seven, or less than 8 per cent, settled down in other lineages.

Of 78 women born before 1936, 12 were raised outside their lineage, of whom only four, or 5 per cent, settled permanently outside their group.

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Education of children. If the education of girls does not necessitate a difficult apprenticeship, it is not the same for boys; the sum of knowledge that /132/ a Refugee Black must possess to carry out effectively the techniques of his group is considerable. In particular, he must:

--Know more than 200 kinds of trees with their uses, the way to fell them, the way to work their wood;

--Be capable of constructing boats of at least 10 kegs (1,000 kilograms of load). This technique alone requires several years of apprenticeship;

--Acquire sufficient knowledge of carpenter work to build his house and that of his wife;

--Learn how to handle boats on the river and the techniques of transport boating.

/134 cont./

429 The guardian continues to have a certain power all his life over his ward become adult. He is the conciliator to whom one applies first if there is any complaint about his ward.

This power of conciliation is bequeathed by the guardian at his death, as is the guardianship itself.

593 Role of the mother. For the Refugee Blacks, the sacred tie is
613 pre-eminently the one which attaches them to their mother and
152 through her to the ancestors of the lineage. It is manifested with respect to the mother by a delicate and deep feeling of affection which applies also, less directly, to the close relatives on the maternal side and to all the members of the lineage. It is not
[601] idly that within the lineage the men call one another brothers; the obligations /135/ they have toward one another are accepted by all with joy, and each tries his best to fulfill them, for he transposes to them the sentiment of love which he feels toward his mother.

184 The term matriarchy has often been used wrongly with re-
582 gard to the Refugee Blacks, letting people believe that the woman
593 exercises authority there; this is an error, the woman does not enter their councils and from a political point of view does not exist in their eyes; the woman has influence and authority only as mother, and over her own children.

593 The mother's authority remains very great over her sons after they have become men; none of them will undertake an important enterprise or leave for a long trip without consulting his mother; if she is absolutely opposed to the project, he will scarcely dare go on with it. We heard in December, 1952 a man of 45, M...., serious and intelligent, say to us with regret: "I would certainly go with you as far as Cayenne, but my mother does not wish it."

/137 cont./

831 necessary food) than by a sentimental motive. It is very rare to meet among them the appearance of sincere and lasting love for a woman; that is sometimes seen, but it is the exception.

562 It is not enough to say that they have few emotional feelings with respect to women. In the conversations heard in the evening around the campfires a deep contempt is expressed on this subject; they even speak of the Boni women as of a foreign and almost enemy nation; they consider them besides as half irresponsible. This attitude shows through in the custom concerning adultery, which decrees that the lover be beaten but not the wife. [684]

581 Among the Refugee Blacks marriage is in fact a contract of maintenance between a man and woman, which provides for the execution of such-and-such work by the one for the benefit of the other, and for the wife the obligation to be faithful. [586] This contract can be cancelled unilaterally without any sort of indemnity. It does not directly involve the relatives of the [765] spouses; it involves them only in case of the death of one spouse, for the surviving spouse must /138/ put up with the subservience • [613] of mourning. It is principally for this reason that a marriage must be officially known by both lineages, and that a divorce must be proclaimed without delay.

512 613 614 Exogamy. Marriage is forbidden between persons of the same lineage. In expressing this prohibition the Refugee Blacks employ the word bex (lineage in the restricted sense) and not the word lo.

613 As we have seen in studying the situation of the various lineages, the various Boni kin groups follow different rules in this regard:

--The Dju lineage, which forms only one single group from the genealogical point of view, does not allow marriage between its members;

/138 cont./

613 614 --The Lapé lineage is divided into two groups from the genealogical point of view, but marriage between these two fractions remains prohibited. The law of exogamy is rigorously respected within this group;

--The Kotika lineage, which tends by forgetfulness of the genealogy to split into three fractions, tolerates union between members of different fractions; in 1958 there were seven cases of this. On the contrary, union is not allowed between members of the same fraction;

--The Dipélu I lineage, whose genealogy is completely known, does not allow marriage between its members, although for several generations it has been cut into two distinct social units, L'Enfant Perdu and Apatu villages, entirely separated geographically and each possessing its own head;

--It is the same for Dipélu II, but marriage is permitted between Dipélu I and Dipélu II;

--The Papalston lineage allows the possibility of union between the principal fraction and the small Papalston 2 fraction. But there is no marriage between members of the principal fraction;

613 614 588 --The Awara Bakka lineage on the contrary tolerates unions not only between the members of its three fractions but also recently within the principal fraction:

○Abenkina (Aw.B.1, F21) and △Boofo (Aw.B.1, E31)
○Kyéti (Aw.B.1, E30) and △Pitipiti (Aw.B.1, F3).

This situation is an object of scandal to the other groups, and it does not seem that we are present here at the beginning of a general transformation.

613 614 It is to be noted that the possibility of marriage is allowed between the members of groups presumed to be of the same origin but separated for a long time, like Dipélu I and Dipélu II.

/138 cont./

613 614 In general, one can say that the law of exogamy is maintained firmly within the fractions which know completely their genealogy. Union between classificatory "brothers" and "sisters" belonging to different fractions remains always prohibited in principle, but as for all the institutions of the Refugee Blacks, the prohibition ceases to be observed if fear of suprahuman sanctions weakens. /139/

This is what explains the difference in attitude among the lineages. In the Awara Bakka lineage, people do not remember [1784] that marriages between fractions may have been followed by maladies or misfortunes, and for this reason they are no longer feared.

In the Kotika lineage it was the same, but an event which took place in 1958 threw consternation. A young woman, Awini [1789] (K1, E37, Boniville), died suddenly, and divination showed that [1784] she had been struck down by the kunu for having married her [1961] classificatory brother Sintamann (K3, E145, Boniville). However, they belonged to two different fractions and their common relationship was the farthest removed possible in the lineage (tenth-degree relatives).

684 688 784 Pikadu. The offense against exogamy, pikadu (1), incest in the

1. This word appears to come from the Portuguese pecado, sin.

broad sense, is considered an offense against society and against religious law; it exposes the lineage to the vengeance of the gods who exercise the kunu on it. But in the thought of the Refugee Blacks, if incest unleashes the functioning of existing kunu, it [114] does not create new ones. What has been written on this subject by several authors seems inexact to us, at least for the Boni. [1961] In the example put forth above Awini's death was attributed to the kunu brought to bear for a long time by the yorka of a man assassinated in former times by a member of the lineage.

/139 cont./

684 Committing pikadu is one of the most serious offenses that
688 a Refugee Black can commit; of course, as in the rest of the moral prescriptions, no abstract principle is called on: the elders teach the children from their earliest years: "If you com-
[613] mit pikadu, you will fall ill or die." The head of the lineage inflicts severe punishments on the guilty people to boot: for the man, to make a large number of planks with an adze; for the woman, to prepare and winnow as preparation for the next brako de several souques /cans/ of rice, a long and tedious job.

588 However, if in spite of insults and blows a man and woman of the same bee absolutely insist on marrying, people end up, for the sake of peace and quiet, by accepting the ac-
[969] complished fact. They go to the fraga tiki to make an offering
[978] of tafia to the ancestors to ask them to forgive the offense
[982] committed. No reprobation extends to the children born of this union.

613 In the Awara Bakha lineage, which has practically re-
588 jected the law of exogamy, the principle of a sanction remains
[684] and there is a pretense of chasing the guilty ones across the village.

Not being able to use coercion and not having the right to expel a member of the lineage, captain and council can exert no material sanction.

613 The same notion of pikadu is attached to unions between
684 persons of the same patrilineage, although these patrilineages have no effective organization and exist only by the transmission of the fundamental interdiction, bwasi kina.

[819] Before concluding an official or even clandestine union, the man and woman make sure that they do not have the same bwasi kina and in such a case give up their project; that, even if they are from different tribes, for example a Boni woman and a Saramaka.

/140/

684 This prohibition is of a purely religious nature and does
688 not entail any social sanctions; those concerned are convinced
984 that in such a case a suprahuman sanction would strike them in the form of sickness or accident.

582 Prohibitions limiting marriage. Outside of the great interdiction,
[613] pikadu, which is attached to unions within one matrilineage and one patrilineage, two prohibitions limiting marriage are found among the Refugee Blacks, which they express thus:

[598] --I cannot have two wives at the same time in the same
[589] lineage. For example I am forbidden to marry two "sisters" at the same time, but if I break with my wife, I may marry her clamificatory "sister" or any other woman of the same lineage;

[835] --I may not have relations, even passing ones, with a
[589] woman who has been married to my brother by the same mother; in particular, if my brother has just died, I shall not be able to marry his widow.

The Boni are not capable of explaining the deep reasons for these interdictions, but they interpret them as purely social
[684] and not religious prohibitions. The offender is simply threatened with being beaten.

[171] The first of these rules seems very widely accepted in Black Africa, as much in patrilineal societies as in a matrilineal system.

[171] The second of these rules is characteristic in the Akan (Agni, Baoulé) culture area and shows that the family custom of the Refugee Blacks is related much more directly to that of the Agni-Ashanti group than to that of the Dahomey.

184 One can note that this rule is exactly contrary to the
589 Saramaka custom, which obliges the widow to marry one of the
114 brothers of the dead man; this custom has been interpreted by several authors as coming from imitation of the levirate of the Jews, with which certain rebels were acquainted (it is known that among the slaveowners there were many Jews).

/140 cont./

184 589 Whatever its origin, we should note that the Saramaka custom has no relation, as far as its legal content is concerned, to the levirate, nor to the inheritance of widows as it is practiced in numerous African societies. It does not correspond in any way to the transmission of a right over the widow, since this right does not exist; it probably results from the idea that the widow is better protected from the effects of the dead man's jealousy if she marries one of his brothers. Besides, she may choose from among all his classificatory brothers, in the matrilineage as in the patrilineage, which assures her of a wide choice. She can break this union without any compensation after some months of living together and resume complete liberty.

[613] [586]

587 Statistics of marriages between kin groups. We have listed on the table opposite, the total unions for which we have been able to identify with certainty the kinship of the spouses, including those broken by divorce and death. Their total number is 411.

582 619 The table emphasizes the more or less great frequency of unions between /141/ /table appears here/ /142/ such-and-such kin groups, as well as the frequency of unions between Boni women and men of other tribes, DJUKA, PARAMAKA, and SARAMAKA.

Out of a total of 411 unions of Boni women one notes:

--327 with BONI (80%);
-- 50 with DJUKA (12%);
-- 21 with SARAMAKA (5%);
-- 5 with PARAMAKA (1%);
-- 8 with Creoles from Surinam (2%)

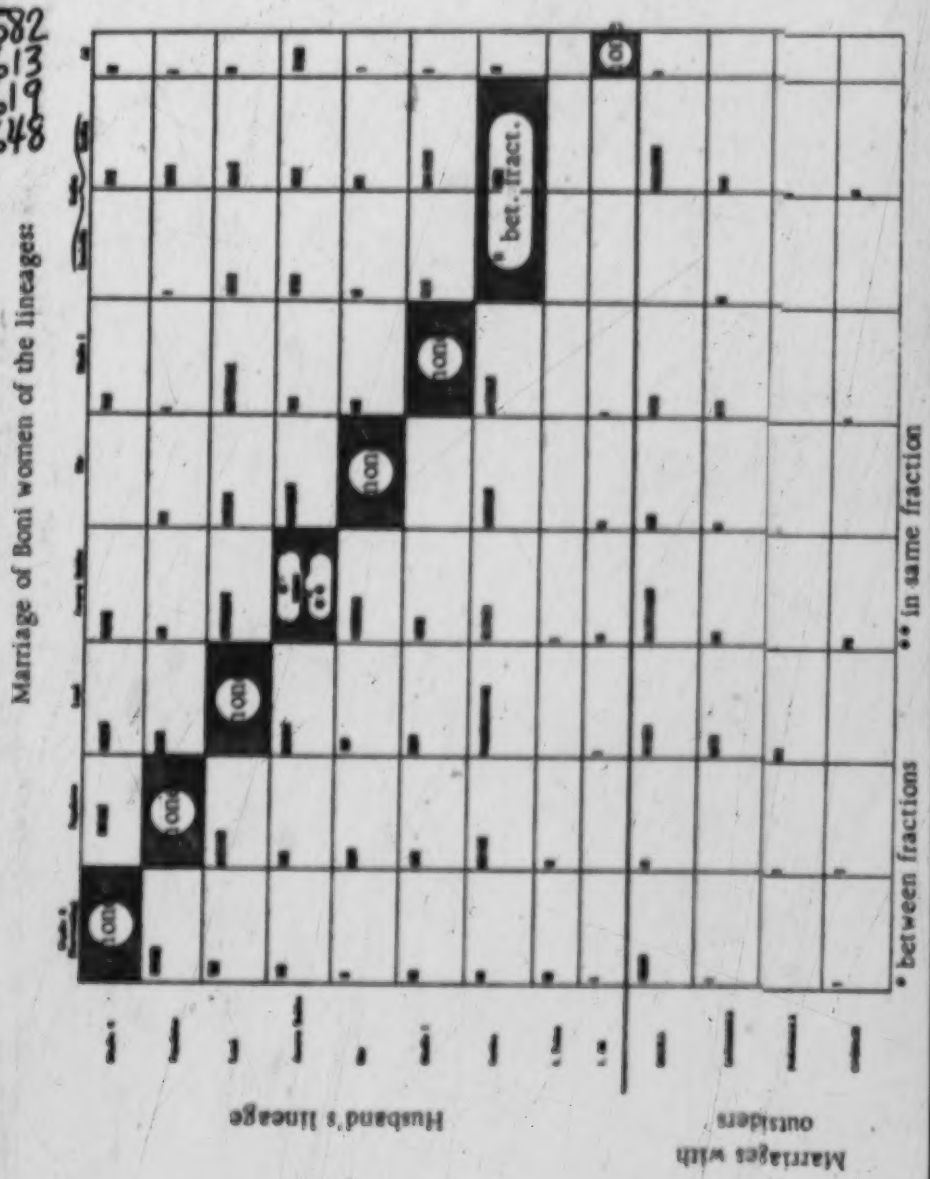
[648]

The proportion of intertribal marriages (20%) is high; it results from the frequent presence on the Maroni of Djuka or Saramaka boatmen coming to carry on transport. The reciprocal is not true; marriages between Boni men and women

[Text Continues on P. 209]

6:Hurault--208 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

582
613
619
648



/142 cont./

582 619 of other groupings are rare; that is because the Boni have almost no occasion to frequent the Tapanahoni, where economic activity is nil.

For 123 married men of the villages on the French bank there were in November, 1958, 11 unions with Djuka women, or 8 per cent. No marriage to Saramaka or Paramaka women existed.

582 613 The table confirms besides that marriages between members of different kin groups are entirely free and are not subject to any preoccupation with exchange or reciprocity. For example, out of 60 unions between Boni women of the Lapé lineage and Boni men, we have:

6	with men of the Dipélu I lineage
7	-- -- - - Dipélu II --
7	-- -- - - Papaïstoné --
11	-- -- - - Awara Bakka --
4	-- -- - - Dju --
5	-- -- - - Dipélu I /sic/ --
20	-- -- - - Kotika --

[628] In fact, the geographical proximity of the villages has the most direct influence on unions.

582 613 628 For example a high proportion of women from Kormotibo (Dip. II) married men from Papaïston and reciprocally.

That comes from the fact that these villages are near each other and isolated from others. It is the same for Kotika and L'Enfant Perdu (Dip. I). In the small Afi lineage, divided between Kormotibo and Asisi-Awara Bakka villages, more than half the women are married to inhabitants of these two villages.

582 619 621 Certain personal affinities and habits of living have an indirect influence. For example, the Djuka boatmen passing through Boni country habitually stay in Asisi-Awara Bakka, because they are received in the homes of some of their own

582 619 62 /142 cont./
people who have lived there for a long time. They strike up relationships with the people of Asisi, and that favors new unions. This explains the high proportion of unions between the women of this village and the Djuka (13 out of 75). On the contrary, almost no marriages to Djuka are observed in Papaïston village, where no Djukanhas settled permanently. /143/

584 613 604 The marriage proposal. The suitor is obliged to ask for the assent of his own mother and his uncles (at the very least the eldest of his classificatory uncles); in general he asks his father also.

[604] If two of his classificatory uncles are expressly opposed, the plan must be abandoned. But there is no possible sanction for disobedience.

The suitor does not make the proposal himself; after making sure of the agreement of the girl he sends two persons, one of his uncles or brothers and one of his sisters in the classificatory sense.

These envoys speak to the woman's mother and uncles assembled together. If they agree, they go to ask for the assent of the head of the lineage. The men and women of the woman's lineage drink together a liter of tafia brought by the envoys. Before drinking, the doyen of the lineage pours a little of it on the ground while invoking the ancestors, asking them to perpetuate the accord of the household and to grant them health and fecundity. This ceremony is made on the spot and they do not go to the fraga tiki, for they would be afraid to present themselves again at the fraga tiki in case of a break-up; prayer said anywhere in the village is not binding. [969]

The two envoys, man and woman, play a very precise role. The man represents the postulant (it is a sort of marriage by proxy).

/143 cont./

585 The head of the lineage calls a classificatory sister of the
613 girl. He takes her by the hand and leads her to the suitor's envoy, saying: "I give thee this woman."

Then he calls a classificatory brother of the girl. He leads him to the suitor's envoy, saying: "I give thee this man."

This second part of the ceremony is purely symbolic; there is no question at all that this man and this woman are marrying. Its purpose seems to be to show the perfect equality of the man and the woman in the marriage.

[969] The words pronounced in the invocation to the ancestors are: "We give (this) woman to (this) man; may they live together, may they not be sick, may they have children, children who live."

[584] There is no need for the assent of the woman's father.

585 If it is a question of the first marriage of a young girl,
[583] the fiancé comes, aided by his friends, to build her a house. He builds her a boat and buys for her what is necessary for
[429] domestic life. When the person who is bringing up the girl judges the time to be ripe, she gives her the pɛ̃ɔ̃gi, garment of married women, authorizing thus the consummation of the marriage.

[613] The husband who built the house asks the elders of his
[969] wife's lineage to come in front of the house to throw tafia, to ask the ancestors that the couple be fecund and live a long time in this house.

584 Here, for example, is how the marriage proposal to
613 Chitaïna (Aw.B.1, F43, Asisi village) by Déési (L1, F45, Loka village) proceeded in 1948.

To represent him Déési had sent his classificatory brother Tamu /144/ (L1, F32), older than he by about 15 years, and his classificatory aunt, Yaana (L1, E39). (See the genealogical table of the Lapé lineage.)

/144 cont./

584 613 The envoys, after making it known the evening before that they were coming, presented themselves at 10 o'clock in the morning in Asisi-Awara Bakka village. Present were Irma, Chitaïna's mother; Aléminin (Aw.B.1, E40), actual uncle; Antonu (Aw.B.1, E47), one of the oldest of the classificatory uncles; Namu (Aw.B.1, E48), classificatory aunt; and the girl's brothers and sisters by the same mother.

Tamu took the floor, unfolding Déési's merits and stating that he had serious intentions. The eldest of the uncles declared acceptance. Chitaïna having fled according to custom, he took her young sister Boomi, who was only five years old, by the hand and led her to Tamu, saying, "I give thee this woman." Then he took Abéni, Chitaïna's older brother, by the hand and led him to Yaana, saying, "I give thee this man."

585 613

[769] Next, tafia was poured on the ground while the ancestors were invoked in favor of the /new/ household.

The liter of tafia brought by Déési was shared symbolically in the evening among all the village inhabitants including the Afi lineage there.

585 431 For the installation of the household, since there was no more room near Irma's house to build another, the latter gave one of the two houses she possessed.

584 602 [595] Here is still another example concerning the two wives of Fintiman (Dju, F6, Boniville village).

For his first wife Mimi (K3, E156, Boniville) he sent his brother and sister by the same mother, Klémenti and Eliana, who approached Mimi's mother and her classificatory uncle Lébiman.

Fintiman had previously made sure of the agreement of his own father Malobi (Dip. I, E50), who had brought him up, of his mother Béniti, and of his uncle Diolè (Dju, E1), the eldest of the classificatory uncles.

/145 cont./

582 Generally speaking, the custom of the Refugee Blacks used to consider as immoral the marriage of a very young girl to an old man, or of a very young boy to an adult woman. 588 178 The weakening of family morals is clearly demonstrated by two events which happened during the summer of 1960. A boy of thirteen and a half, K... of Boniville, left his guardian to join an Assisi woman, A..., 20 years older than he and with a very bad reputation to boot; some months later his example was imitated /146/ by a boy of 14 who began living with a [684] woman of 29. Nothing like that had ever been seen, and [613] people inveighed against the scandal of it; but in both cases, guardians and lineage heads showed themselves incapable of making their authority respected by force.

882 Marriage of girls. It can still be said (although things are in [562] the process of changing rapidly) that girls, kweyi umɪ, occupy a place apart in the thought of the Refugee Blacks; the reprobation which embraces women does not extend to them. 882 People say that girls "have good manners," and in fact most 834 of them, although naked except for a little apron, have a re- [291] served attitude, a becoming bearing, which contrast with the attitude of the married women. To tell the truth, this virtue is not so much due to natural inclinations as to the strict [593] vigilance with which their mothers surround them. The mothers literally do not let them out of their sight and permit no man to speak to them out of their presence. "Until dawn, until the cock crows, she keeps vigil," says the song, alluding to the mother who watches over her daughter's virtue. If a girl [836] comes to lose her virginity without being properly married, [597] pɔxi na ɔsu, "established in a house," it is a dishonor for her mother and her near relatives.

/147 cont./

583 A girl's marriage does not involve any dowry in the African sense of the term, but it involves payment of the price of virginity to the mother. This payment is made after consummation of the marriage (or after defloration if there has been a clandestine union). It consists of seven pieces of cloth, a demijohn of tafia, and various imported objects (the whole representing in 1958 about 8,000 francs, which is relatively small for the Refugee Blacks). It really has to do with the price of virginity, for nothing is paid back if there is a break-up. The man moreover gives the girl white beads /possibly "pearls" --Tr./, red cloth, and sweetmeats which constitute the payment of her akka.

[429] The price of virginity is paid to the person who has raised the girl, even if it is a man. This person divides it equally with the mother or, if the latter is dead, with the mother's sisters.

For example, for O Baïkom (D,u, F10), brought up by her father Malobi in Loka village, her husband Moomu (Kotika) paid the price of virginity to Malobi who shared it with his wife Béniti.

[604] No payment is made to the uncles or to the head of the
[613] lineage.

836 The fact that a girl may carry on a clandestine affair and
[599] be deflowered without having been properly proposed to is considered a shame for the mother; but if the seducer confesses and pays the price of virginity, honor is restored.

Defloration does not necessarily entail marriage, for the seducer does not always intend to take on the maintenance of a household.

If the girl is deflowered too young, her mother does not give her the pagi and continues to forbid her to have sexual relations, for she fears that she may become pregnant. Now for
848 a girl, becoming pregnant without having concluded a contract
558 of maintenance with a man is an extreme shame, for that means she is not worth anything.

/149 cont./

836 684 not done." He advises Doni above all to remit to the girl the payment of her akka, namely two camisas, a string of white beads which she will wear on her left wrist, and a bottle of syrup which she will offer to her akka while drinking it. Doni does not bother to face the mother and does not intend to see the girl again; it is his sister Maria who will attend to the errand.

That done, the mother will accept the fait accompli and will not show her anger. She will wait for the payment.

584 936 One also hears talk rather often of the clandestine consummation of a properly arranged marriage, the engaged couple wishing thus to force the hand of their guardians and obtain their freedom sooner.

587 Remarriage of widows or divorcées. It does not give rise to any payment, but the marriage proposal is made to the woman's uncles and the head of her lineage in the same form as for a girl. In such a case it is no longer a question of asking for an authorization (a man would have to have the worst reputation for the woman's lineage to refuse the marriage) but to obtain the benediction of the ancestors on the household. Moreover, it is [613] very important for the heads of both lineages to be notified of this marriage, for in case of the death of husband or wife the other will have to bear the weight of the mourning.

581 Women are guided in their choice by sensual attraction but largely also by self-interest. They take care to marry a man who has, as it is said among us, some future, a position. The owners of outboard motors do not fail to pass at reduced speed by the villages in order to be admired by the women.

Men who have a reputation for "working hard" (for work is the sole wealth in Boni country) are frequently chosen by girls even though they may have one or two wives already.

159 /152 cont./
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[837]
[613] Since it is forbidden to have two wives at the same time in the same lineage, that produced a scandal and his uncles had to intervene so that he would not be beaten.

After that, without leaving M..., he took officially another wife, A... (Papa'ston). They lived together nearly
[837] eight years, but A... began to deceive him while he was on a
[586] trip. The first time, he only threatened her; the third time he repudiated her.

[619] Again he officially took another wife, T..., a Djuka from the Tapanahoni.

[589] A year later A..., who wished she had him back, had her uncles intervene so that she might come back into his favor. G..., through deference to her uncles, accepted against his will.

Thus he found himself engaged in three unions, M...,
[586] A..., and T.... He thought this situation was leading him to ruin and sacrificed T... although he had no fault to find with her.

[586] Some time afterward A... began to deceive him again and he repudiated her once and for all.

Finally he took a last wife, B... (Asisi), by whom he had no children.

On each of these undertakings he had to submit to violent scenes by his first wife M..., who was very attached to him and would have liked to keep him for herself alone. Nevertheless, she never divorced him and did not provoke difficulties with her co-wives.

[842] He had a child by M... after more than 15 years of sterile marriage.

In 1958 G... was living with M... and B..., who got along well together. He was not looking for any more new adventures.

/161 cont./

764 The dead person's spouse, his nearest relatives, and his children come and hang their hammocks inside the krɛyɔsu, where they will live until broko dɛ (eighth day after the death).

[533] [535] The village people begin the tukka songs and dance, which will last part of the night, while the friends and near relatives of the dead man lament seated, head covered with a cloth.

[824] The first day after the death, as soon as it is morning, the kisimɛ̃ arrive, and begin to make the coffin, using mahogany boards always kept on hand, thanks to the head of the village.

[613] The women of the dead man's lineage prepare a meal which is offered to the kisimɛ̃ about 1:00 P.M. at the end of their work.

While the coffin is being made, the dead man's friends and distant relatives arrive in crowds from the neighboring villages, bringing tafia and cloth as offerings. Two kisimɛ̃ lay these pieces of cloth one by one on the body saying, "So-and-so buries you."

[767] These pieces of cloth are divided up; about 15 are put into the coffin by the kisimɛ̃, part of the rest serve as pay for the kisimɛ̃, part as pay for the ɔlɔmɛ̃; another part, finally, is used for dressing the widower and his co-wives (or the widow), showing thus that during the whole mourning period they live *dependent on the dead person.*

Then the kisimɛ̃ close the coffin without any other rites' taking place. The late arrivers who bring more cloths knock the coffin saying, "I bury you," and put them down on the ground.

[692] The work of the kisimɛ̃ is over; they bring the body outside the krɛyɔsu, in front of which has assembled the council called lɛ̃nti kuutu, which constitutes the judicial apparatus of the Boni.

/161 cont./

764 692 This tribunal is charged with establishing the causes of death and rendering a decision on this subject which has the force of law. But it is above all charged with judging the dead person, with determining whether he has lived worthily, whether he has the right to be buried according to the rites and to be invoked as an ancestor, or whether on the contrary he was a wisimɛ.

[613] [643] The grand man designates one or two lineage heads to preside over the council and "command" the dead person until the burial.

The grand man designates who will lead the assemblage and will "command" the dead person until the burial.

764 692 613 This cannot be the head of the dead person's lineage, for no one can at the same time be judge and judged.

Ex.: for Béniti (Dju) this was Popo head of the Lapé lo

for Atikati (Dju) it was Kondoku head of the Awara Bakka lo

for Kotolda (Aw.B.) it was Tafanié head of the Papalsson lo

for Way (Dip. II) it was Tafanié — /162/

764 787 The 2nd and 3rd days after the death are given over to the interrogation of the dead person, which on the evening of the first day had scarcely begun.

[184] The rites of this interrogation vary from one village to another; in certain villages they begin to carry the dead man even before the construction of the coffin; the questions are not asked everywhere in the same fashion.

[171] The dead person is interrogated by methods widespread in West Africa and which are related to spiritualism: the coffin is carried on the heads of two men, feet forward. The dead man is supposed to push the bearers forward to say yes, and to make them now their heads from left to right to say no.

/162 cont./

764 767 [613] In principle the forward bearer (who is called bosman by analogy with a boat) must belong to the dead person's lineage. Apart from this restriction, the bearers can be (and are in fact) any people whatever, the only condition required being that they be extremely vigorous, because the load they carry is at the limit of their strength.

Fraud can exist in isolated cases, but in the great majority of cases there is no doubt as to the good faith of the bearers; they give contradictory answers, go ahead and back interminably, until, exhausted, they are raised up again by others. Actually, the interpretation of these automatic movements does not differ essentially from any process of divination.

[766] The dead person is interrogated from the age of four or five years up. If it is a very young child, he is not interrogated; but the causes of his death are sought by interrogating possessed people, and if there is reason to, the kunu is appeased in the same fashion.

764 789 754 At the beginning of the interrogation the tribunal tries to make sure that the dead person was not a wisimE. After sending the bearers to the other end of the village, the president of the assemblage has two young men hidden in huts; then he has the bearers called, saying to the dead person: "I have lost So-and-so and So-and-so, find them." If the dead person was an upright man, he must have acquired a suprahuman clairvoyance permitting him to direct his bearers straight away toward the huts in question. If he was a wisimE, he will be as if blind; his bearers go wandering in vain from hut to hut.

They state that this test always succeeds.

764 789 761 [796] [784] The interrogation proceeds interminably. The causes of death are taken up. The first question is: is it a god who killed you? The answer is nearly always yes, and they proceed by elimination in order to arrive, for example, at learning that it is an Ampuku, that it is the Ampuku borne by So-and-so. By what the kunu was set in motion, how to appease it, is not the

/168 cont./

764 co-wife, on the contrary, are completely veiled and show by their state of prostration the keenest sorrow. Each of them is assisted by a female relative who supports them when they have to move somewhere else, for they are supposed to be too overcome to move alone.

764 The interrogation as to the causes of death has already
787 taken place the day before, but Tafanié proclaims, in front of
761 me, the result of it to the latest arrivals: the deceased was struck down by a yɔ̃ka which pursues the lineage with its kunu. She had already received several warnings in the form of illness; the yɔ̃ka had demanded a payment which she and her near relatives had neglected to furnish. Impossible to learn anything further before being able to interrogate this yɔ̃ka, whose habitual bearer has left for Saint-Laurent. It is necessary to wait for his return in order to mollify the yɔ̃ka's anger.

764 About ten o'clock the members of the Ilinti kuutu go to-
769 ward the fraga tiki of the Awara Bakka lo, in front of which they
778 all sit down on their stools. I notice that not a single man of the dead person's lineage appears in the front row. In it I
[613] recognize Popo (Lapé), Poopu (Dipélu II, Kormotibo), Tafanié (Papaliston). The one who is speaking is a foreigner passing through, a very aged and respected Dyuka.

[782] The elders invoke Masa Gadu and the ancestors in general, asking them to protect them from adversity in the future; then the offering of water and tafia takes place (no cane juice). I notice that a little is poured on each of the secondary fraga tiki erected for the sake of each one of the ancestors who pursue another lineage with their kunu. That lasts about a quarter of an hour.

764 Next someone goes to ask the deceased to whom she
787 bequeaths the Papa gadu god which manifested itself in her;
776 for the gods are bequeathed like the rest of the inheritance,
428 even if those concerned are divinities which exercise the kunu
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/168 cont./
against the lineage. The god ratifies this legacy or not; in general it follows, they say, the wishes of its bearer and manifests itself some time afterward in the designated heir.

The coffin is placed on the heads of two men: Tafanié puts the questions with authority. He begins first by making sure of the passivity of the bearers, invites the dead woman to push their heads forward to say yes, to give them an impulse from right to left to say no.

The coffin advances and draws back several times; its weight is at the limit of what the two men can support. Two secondary bearers help the rear bearer, preventing the coffin from falling.

[613]
[621]

1. /Footnote at bottom of p. 168; no reference to it on the page/ Let us recall that this lineage, too few in numbers to constitute a separate social unit, lives with the Awara Bakka, with whom it has no connection through kinship or alliance.

The dead woman suddenly leads her bearers across the village. We see it come back /169/ a quarter of an hour afterward, accompanied by a woman of about 35 years, Moni, in front of whom it stopped.

Tafanié asks whether it wishes to leave its god to her; the dead woman confirms. Upon the statement of this legacy Moni's face reflects no gladness at all, nor any fear.

They explain to me that the designated heiress can in no way refuse this legacy. She must immediately begin her instruction given by a teacher, in order to become a suitable bearer. The expenses of her instruction are borne by her lineage.

/170 cont./

428 613 It is very clear in Kotolda's case that the inheriting is within the matrilineage in the strict sense, bee. Only the members of the Afi lineage to which she belonged can profit by it.

764 Burial. About 2:00 P.M. the women of the lineage who had been preparing the food for the ɔlɔmɛ since morning leave by canoe in the direction of the cemetery.

At three o'clock the last preparations begin. The occupants of the mortuary shed, completely veiled and supported by their near relatives, go to take up positions at the wharf for the last farewells (for they will not go to the cemetery).

The coffin is carried through the village one last time. This is the farewell of the dead woman to her family. The objects used in mourning are carefully collected, the earth of the shed hoed-raked up wherever the sanies of the cadaver might have fallen, and the whole put on the papay which is placed on the mortuary bark.

[795] At three o'clock an apinti drum is placed on the wharf to call the dead person (it is obviously a question of preventing the yɔka from remaining in the village). The dead person turns up at the wharf. The coffin passes over a freshly cut banana-tree trunk placed at the limit of the village and of the beach. This is the symbolic passing of the dead person out of the world of the living. It is put on the canoe while the lamentations of the near relatives resound. The scene is not lacking in grandeur.

[797] The canoe draws slowly away, the drummer in the bow, while the spectators go down in a long procession to wash themselves free of the defilement of death.

[767] At four o'clock they arrive at the cemetery. The bearers of the dead person who have taken places in the canoe pass their burden to the ɔlɔmɛ who have come to the edge of the river. This to mark the fact that /171/ the ɔlɔmɛ are in authority at the cemetery. The bearers will only be present at the ceremony.

/172 cont./

764 Several times the paddle is seen to answer affirmatively,
787 then negatively. Not one of those present can understand what is said, but not one shows impatience or doubt.

[613] Suddenly Tafanié orders his assistants to cut rods: the dead woman has asked that the people of her own lineage be beaten, guilty of having neglected the yɔ́ka's warnings. On seeing these preparations the people of Kotoïda's lineage /173/ run away in confusion in every direction while their adversaries pursue them with the appearance of having a very good time. Some take refuge in the water, others in the bush; none whatever can be caught.

Completely symbolic punishment, moreover, for at the end of ten minutes they are seen to reappear and take their places again among those present.

764 The obsequies are ended. Only the deceased's near relatives stay seated in their hammocks under the mortuary shed. They will remain there until the broko dɛ.

764 Payments of the ɔlɔmɛ. The ɔlɔmɛ divide up one lot of
769 cloth, keeping track of what they have received in the preceding obsequies. That does not appear to cause any discussion. If, after this, someone who has not furnished any work wants to take one of these pieces of cloth, he may do so by offering tafia to the people present.

766 Funeral ceremonies for people who die while traveling. If a
787 man dies in the course of a distant trip, they take from the
775 cadaver before burying it his hair and fingernails, which are brought back to his native village; in fact, it is assumed that as long as a fragment of the body is not buried, the yɔ́ka remains attached to it; hair and fingernails will therefore permit the interrogation of the yɔ́ka and will be buried in the cemetery with the usual rites.

/173 cont./

764 Broko dɛ. The eighth day after death, a ceremony called broko dɛ takes place, not to be confused with the lifting of mourning. This ceremony marks the end of the burial rites proper; when it is ended, the dead person can no longer be questioned directly; the period of mourning begins.

[613] It is a very simple ceremony which attracts few people and happens almost entirely within the lineage.

[538] At nightfall they begin to relate Anansi toli, those traditional tales which make the audience vibrate together and [535] create a special atmosphere. Then come the sɔ̃nge, susa, and awasa dances which last all night.

764 769 The next day each one busies himself at small jobs in the village while the women prepare the meal. This is the ceremony called towɛ nyɪ̃, which takes place at the edge of the mortuary shed about four o'clock in the afternoon. Each woman of the lineage brings a large bowl of rice and a small bowl containing either a piece of meat cooked in sauce or some fish. The oldest man of the lineage has large banana leaves spread out on the ground at the edge of the shed; he takes a little of each dish and puts it down on the leaves, while at the same time addressing the ancestors in ordinary language in the tone of an intimate conversation: "Dead of the family, come, come to eat today."

That lasts perhaps a quarter of an hour, while those present are seated, immobile and meditative. The ancestors are supposed to eat the spiritual part of the food -- kaaka fu nyɪ̃.

Then the elders line up at the edge of the shed five or six small children of about ten years, each one of whom holds a basin upside down. A man keeps them in line /174/ with the aid of a long stick. Then, at a signal, he lifts the stick and the children dash headlong with laughs and shouts toward the ancestors' portion, each one carrying away all he could cover [613] with his basin. The ceremony terminates with a joyful meal eaten together by the whole lineage, symbol of the communion between the dead and the living.

/175 cont./

765 For the duration of the mourning, any indiscretion of the
995 surviving spouse will draw upon him the pitiless vengeance of the
yeka; it is important for him to make himself forgotten, to
have a modest and decent demeanor. The dead person might
be vexed with him for having kept his health and good looks.
So they try to give the surviving spouse the aspect of a miserable
765 and unfortunate being. The dead person's relatives are par-
995 ticularly interested in having this discipline observed, for in
613 the opposite case the dead person's yeka would turn back in
vengeance against his own lineage. During all the mourning the
whole lineage considers itself in danger. So custom requires
that during all this period the widower (or widow) be placed
under the authority of the dead person's lineage.

765 In the case of concubinage, mourning is taken on by the
spouse even if the relations have not been made official.
People cite the example of Way (Boniville) who assumed mourn-
ing for a Djuka with whom she had begun to live before he
could propose to her officially.

765 State of persons in mourning. A widower's state is exactly like
that of a widow, which tends to show that in the eyes of the
[995] Refugee Blacks the dead, men and women, have the same
level of being and the same power over the living.

765 The surviving spouse is placed under the protection of
969 the ancestors of the dead spouse's lineage. Without this pro-
613 tection assured by the prayers of the members of this lineage,
he would find himself defenseless. The proof of it is that the
[22] principal sanction against him is to lift the mourning premature-
[995] ly by going to the frage tiki to tell the ancestors that one is no
longer interested in him. That amounts indirectly to cursing
him (see below the example of Gambe).

/175 cont./

765 The spouse in mourning is taken temporarily out of his
• 613 lineage and placed under the /176/ /Fig. 24 appears here/
/177/ protection of the lineage of the dead spouse, in a situation corresponding to that of the client in ancient /Roman/ society.

[769] He can no longer pray to his own ancestors. If he is sick he asks the elders of the dead spouse's lineage to pray for him to their own ancestors.

765 A man in mourning is freed from certain obligations and responsibilities:

--He cannot take part in a council of his lineage;

--If there is a squabble between his lineage and another, he cannot be taken to task;

--Part of his catch may not be appropriated in case of great nivrée;

--He is freed from his funerary obligations as an akomã or kisimã.

765 A man in mourning is placed under the collective authority
602 of his wife's lineage, but actually under the authority of her
613 near relatives: mother, grandmother, real uncles and aunts. It is real kinship which is involved in matters of mourning; classificatory kinship enters into it only if all the near relatives are dead.

In general it is old women of these near relatives who are charged with watching over the behavior of the widower and on the other hand with seeing that he does not lack anything he needs.

For example Alémin (Aw.B.1) was married to Yundu (L2, G60) of the Lapé 2 fraction, living in Loka village. When she died in May, 1957, he was put under the authority of Asakundu (L2, E55), his wife's grandmother, and of Asakundu's sister
[768] Térésa, living in Boniville. Since he had not yet built a hut for his wife, he was enjoined to come specially to build himself a little hut in Loka village in order to reside near Asakundu.

[Text Continues on P. 269]

c:Hurault--268 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SRd
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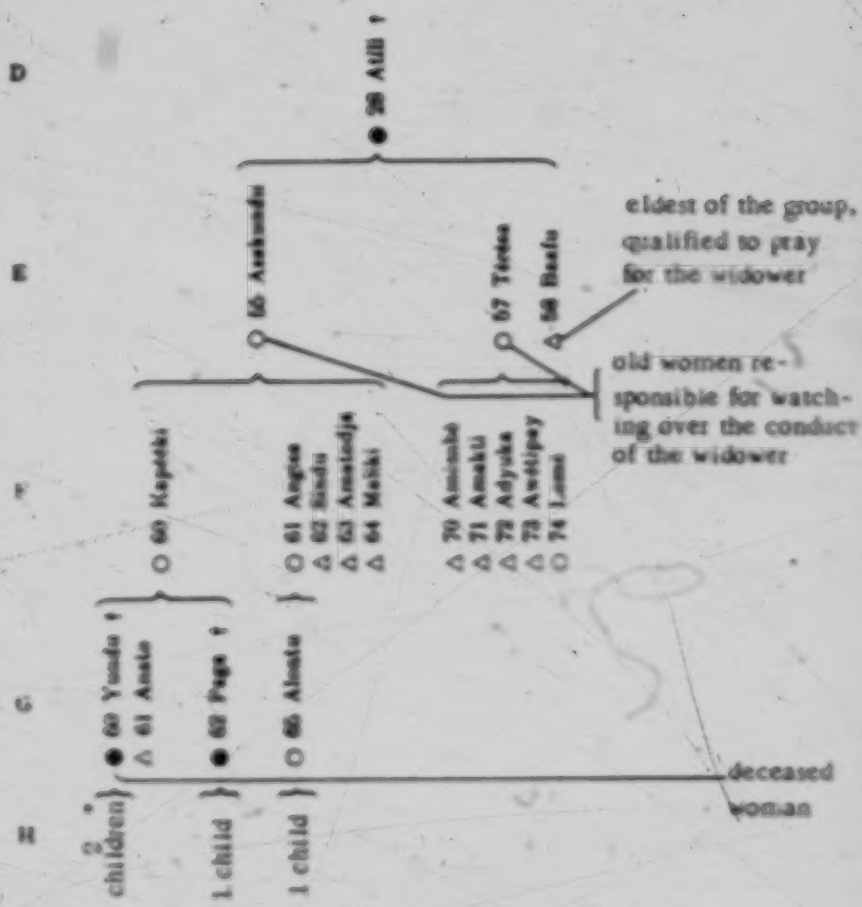

Fig. 24. Genealogy of the Lapé 2 fraction. Functions resulting from Yunda's death.

/177 cont./

765 602 613 If he was sick, it was △ Baafu (L2, E58), the eldest of the group, who was to pray for him. Alémin had nothing to do with the head of the Lapé lineage nor with his wife's classificatory uncles of the Lapé 1 group.

As for Diamanti (Aw.B.2, E56, † in 1955), her husband Booki (K3, E133) spent the mourning in the house that Diamanti had had constructed for her by a former husband. It was ○Emma, Diamanti's mother, and Sanéti, Emma's younger sister, who kept him under watch, under the responsibility of △ Akodo, the dead woman's brother (all the actual uncles being dead). Booki had nothing to do with either the classificatory uncles nor the head of the Awara Bakka lineage.

When Atuku (Aw.B.1, D20) died (1956), her husband Nétali was put under the authority of Kondoku, Atuku's brother, all the uncles in both the real and the classificatory sense being dead.

765 [778] The submission that this mourning entails must not be considered as symbolic. It bears down on the surviving spouse with an intolerable weight which can be borne only because of the conviction that it is the sole means of protection against the dead person's jealousy. Not only does the widower (or widow) do nothing to free himself from it, but at the least indisposition he will add, of his own accord, to the harshness of his state.

The widower can no longer use his clothes and personal utensils; he keeps /178/ his hammock and gun. All the rest, 765 613 clothing (appropriated for the mourning), various utensils, is furnished him by the dead woman's lineage. Each woman of this lineage must give him a little of what she prepares. He himself must not ask for anything.

/179 cont./

765 After three months, an offering is made at the fraga tiki
[769] of the dead person's lineage, setting forth how much her spouse
[778] has respected her memory and asking permission to lighten the
[613] manifestations of his sorrow. The mourning is then lightened, but the man in mourning continues to wear a bandeau around his head or at the very least an old beret.

765 During the first months the man in mourning has no other
461 responsibility than to hunt and fish at the order of the dead
[613] woman's lineage. He does his own cooking with the food given to him; he cuts a clearing for his mother-in-law or another woman of the deceased's relatives, who will farm it with him.
[431] Next, he receives the order to go and earn the money necessary for the sizable contribution he must bring to the festival of the lifting of mourning. During the entire duration of the mourning he must report on his work and moves.

765 When the end of mourning approaches, he must do a job
[606] for the benefit of his mother-in-law, generally redoing the roof of her house or building a boat for her.

These arrangements do not involve any material sanction
[622] whatever. Like the rest of the social life of the Refugee Blacks, they rest entirely upon fear of a suprahuman sanction.
[589] After the lifting of mourning, the person in mourning may remarry without further delay.

765 State of widows and co-wives of a widower. The state of a
768 woman in mourning is practically identical to that of a widower.
[562] She lives for the duration of mourning in her deceased husband's house under the surveillance of his near relatives on the maternal
[613] side. The dead man's lineage lends her all the objects she
[439] needs and furnishes the imported commodities (salt, kerosene, soap) that she uses. On the other hand, she may freely use the produce of the clearing that her husband had cut for her, since it is taken for granted that these products are the exclusive property of the wife.

/179 cont./

765 431 [206] Before coming out of mourning, the widow must procure for herself at the minimum the money necessary for a demijohn of tafia as a contribution to the festival of the lifting of mourning. She must make a present of several cans of couac to her husband's mother.

765 843 184 A pregnant woman undergoes mourning exactly according to the general law. The custom described by several authors for the Saramaka, according to which the pregnant woman must join one of her husband's "brothers," does not apply to the Boni.

765 888 There are some attenuations of the harshness of mourning with respect to old women. For example in 1956, Lémiki (70 years), living in Boniville, was in mourning for her husband Tabiki (Awara Bakka, but residing since childhood with the Lapé lineage in Loka /180/ where he had been raised by his [968] [202] father). Lémiki alternately spent three weeks in her house and three in her husband's. It was Asamani, Tabiki's sister by the same father, who exercised authority over her.

765 968 [613] This remarkable example shows that as regards mourning (rights and duties), the principle of residence plays an essential role. He who has been reared by his father is in this respect taken out of his lineage, which loses all rights and all control over the conduct of the mourning.

765 [775] The co-wives of a widower are subject to mourning on the same grounds as he, and for the same motive, since they are targets for the jealousy of the dead woman's yɔrka.

[968] However, they are authorized most often to live with their maternal family. When the period of dipi baaka has ended, 765 833 they may take up conjugal relations again with their husband, but at intervals of several weeks and without his being able to spend the night with one of them. Each time he must ask per- [613] mission of the head of the dead woman's lineage.

/180 cont./

765 613 689 An incident. In 1957, the Saramaka Gamba (75 years old), Way's widower (Dip. I), caused a serious incident by refusing several times the obedience he owed to the latter's lineage, on the pretext that he was old and knew how to behave.

His son Maliki (born of a Saramaka woman), whom he was raising, married to Way's daughter, had gone fishing above the Litani. Upon his return, Kwau (80 years old), Way's elder brother, reproached him for having left without authorization, pointing out that his father, Gamba, being placed under his authority by mourning, he was too, because of this fact. Gamba [578] did not accept this reasoning and the two old men fought. This was a fine scandal. Kwau and the elders of Way's lineage came [769] before the fraga tiki of L'Enfant Perdu village to lift his mourning forthwith [798] (which, let us recall, is the equivalent of cursing [784] him by delivering him over to the vengeance of the dead woman's yɔɔka).

Members of Way's family went to break up the shacks of Gamba and his son, who lived hidden in the bush for some time. [629] Then Gamba had the village heads intercede and obtained his [769] pardon. The elders of Way's lineage went to the fraga tiki to [798] utter the words putting things back in order.

765 Lifting of mourning. The festival of the lifting of mourning - puu baaka - is celebrated 18 months to two years after the burial. The delay may be a little longer, for most often the village celebrates this festival for several of its dead at the same time. It is a heavy burden, for festivals for lifting mourning attract many people and everyone present must find as much as he wishes to eat and drink.

[621] This festival is celebrated in the framework of the village and not in that of the lineage. It will be celebrated in the same way for a Djuka who died in a Boni village, provided that he lived there a sufficiently long time. In such a case the expenses

/180 cont./

765 are divided up equally among all the inhabitants of the village. But if the dead person had near relatives in the village, children, nephews, or brothers, it is they who stand the main burden.

[613] Members of the dead person's lineage who are settled in other villages contribute equally to the expenses and the organizing of the festival, but in a symbolic fashion. /181/

[123] A council (kuutu) of the village inhabitants sets the date; during the two weeks preceding each one is busy. The women

765 hull and winnow rice; prepare great quantities of couac and

262 sugar-cane juice. The busimã scour the bush and have meat and fish smoked. Each one, according to his means, buys tafia, sugar, chocolate, and other articles of food liked by the Refugee Blacks.

765 The celebration of the rites occupies a whole week. This

995 is because, the Refugee Blacks think the influence of the dead person can be eliminated only progressively by the repetition of the rite of separation.

The first day, the yɔ̃ka of the dead person whose mourning is going to be lifted is called by formulas beaten on the

[535] apinti drum. Then possession dances take place.

The second day is reserved for the material preparation

765 for the ceremonies to follow.

[613] The third day, the spouse in mourning, if there is one, is conducted by the members of the dead person's lineage under

[822] the mortuary shed. He is dressed in red and is congratulated for having kept the mourning well. Then he is led to the river,

[983] and old women of the dead person's lineage begin to bathe him

[995] while adjuring the yɔ̃ka to part company with him.

The fourth day at nightfall, all those present assemble at the mortuary shed. They recite tales (Anãsi tɔ̃lɔ̃),

[538] improvisations (mano), and riddles (ɔ̃do). This phase of the

[781] festival has as its object the concentrating of the attention of the hearers; it creates a warm, collective atmosphere which impregnates those present, bringing to them intense and highly colored emotions.

/182 cont./

965 Then they address the dead person in the name of the people of his village: "We have done with thee, stay there where God has placed thee."

The spouse in mourning is again bathed in the river by old women who have themselves gone through mourning.

[969] [995] Then they address the yaka of the ancestors and the entities of the Beyond who are imagined to have come in a crowd: "Ala sani di kɔm ya, yu mu luku ala ɛŋga bɔ̃; u kaba ɛŋga yu; yu sa: waka ala peesi; (Each one of the beings who have come, be benevolent toward us all; we have finished with thee, thou canst go anywhere)."

On the seventh day most of those present begin to leave. An intimate ceremony brings the dead person's near relatives together in the very house where he died. They weep and lament one last time. Then a last offering of food is made in the same house, and they repeat the adjuration: "We have done with thee; stay where God has placed thee."

[968] [613] [431] The eighth day, the spouse whose mourning has just been lifted is conducted solemnly back to his village by the people of the dead person's lineage. He is congratulated, he offers food and drink to all those present. What he might have had left of savings disappears on this occasion.

He must sleep three nights in his village, still without being able to have relations with a woman. When this time limit has gone by, he comes to give back the red clothes which the dead person's lineage had lent to him. Only then is he free.

[114] Notes taken in Boniville in November, 1957 on the occasion of the lifting of mourning for Bénïti. This festival is given for the lifting of mourning for ○ Bénïti (Dju. E5, living in Boniville, † in 1955 at 75), of △ Tito (Kotika, Boniville, † in 1955 at 15), and of △ G.... boy of ten, son of a woman of the village of L'Enfant Perdu (Dip. I), dead in Boniville where he was reared by Téréza. The festival is given more than two years after death. Sometimes, when there is no spouse subjected to mourning

765 /182 cont./
(which is the case here), they wait still longer in order to be able to group the lifting of mourning for several dead people from the same village in a single ceremony. The unfolding of the rites shows that much more importance is attached to Béniti than to the two young boys; in fact, the ceremony is devoted almost exclusively to her.

765 621 613 [229] The mourning-lifting ceremonies in Boniville are particularly interesting, for this village includes members of five different lineages. The distribution of functions and duties allows one to better understand the thought of the Boni relative to social organization; the principle of residence plays the determining role. The ceremony takes place in the village where the dead people lived, whatever their lineage was. The burden of organization is divided up about equally among all the inhabitants of the village. The /183/ members of the lineages of the dead people living in other villages are present at the ceremony, but their contribution is much less important.

765 [251] On November 8 (day called busimã kam) at noon, the festival begins with the arrival of the buchiman who, the week before, had caught and dried fish for the festival.

The buchiman are put under the authority of L.Tofiono (K). They are all volunteers (one who would excuse himself from rendering this service would lay himself open to being abandoned alone on the day when he would have to bear the weight of mourning for one of his near relatives). The main weight of mourning is borne by Boniville village. The people of the principal fraction of the Dju (Asisi village) furnish a rather large contribution as regards time spent fishing but symbolic as to the furnishing of tafia and imported foods.

[226] [251] [621] [13] These buchiman had been at work since October 25, catching and salting fish:

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	for Boniville	for Asisi-Dju
Fintiman, Kiémenti, Doni, Alibi	sons and grandsons of Bénitti (Dju)	3 men over 20 years old
4 young men of the Kotika lineage		4 to 5 adolescents
1 —	Dip. I —	
2 —	Lapé —	
1 —	Papaïsson —	
2 —	Poti —	

They furnished a total of two weeks of work but each one collected for himself about 15 kilograms of dry fish.

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The buchiman, riding in five large canoes decorated with multicolored oriflammes, approach the Boniville wharf where all the young people of the village are massed, the men armed with their guns, the women brandishing banners made of brand-new camisas. The hurahr resound, punctuated by hundreds of shots. In an atmosphere of enthusiasm the buchiman make their entrance into the village and go to report on their mission to the council assembled under the mortuary shed. According to custom, this council is improvised at the last moment by the elders who are there, without attention to origin, and does not involve any definite authority.

Four baskets of dried fish are put down at the edge of the shed, for the mourning-lifting festival, then each one goes to get and arrange in his house a big personal basketful.

The fish intended for the festival are distributed among the women charged with preparing them.

About 2:00 P.M. the elders are assembled in the western part of the shed; in the eastern part, the near relatives of the dead for whom mourning will be lifted lament.

Several apinti drums are brought and placed laterally.

/18b cont./

765 Fintiman directs the ceremony. He divides all these
264 dishes without distinction of origin into several lots, one for
[613] each lineage.

[515] All the guests go down to the wharf to wash in the river, then put on new clothes before participating in the ceremonial meal.

[613] The people of each lineage go to eat on their side; a bowl is carried to the people in mourning, like Aléemin, who remain confined at home. But the near relatives of the three dead for whom mourning is going to be lifted take part in the ceremony.

765 About four o'clock the women are seen to appear again, carrying a small bowl of rice accompanied by a little fish and peanut sauce. They put them down on the ground at the edge of the mortuary shed.

Banana leaves are arranged at the edge of the shed (north wall, on the side facing the river).

The elders, seated on their little benches, gather together in a half circle. Fintiman and Sukuman take a little from each bowl, spread it out on the banana leaves. They call by name the dead for whom mourning is being lifted, Bénitì and the young boys Tino and G...., speaking to them in a familiar conversational tone as if to living people whom one invited to eat.

Several persons come to eat a little of the food.

At 5:00 P.M. Fintiman has five small boys of five to seven years line up, each provided with a basin, in front of the food spread out on the ground. At a given signal they rush forward, each one carrying away what he could cover with his basin. They leave a little of it, which will stay there all night. The next day the left-overs from the buffet prepared for the living will be added to it.

/187 cont./

765 Since there is no spouse in mourning (Béniti had been divorced for a long time), the ceremony stops there.

Then those present scatter in the village, go to dance, eat, and drink at one another's houses. They have the satisfied air of people who have just done an important job successfully.

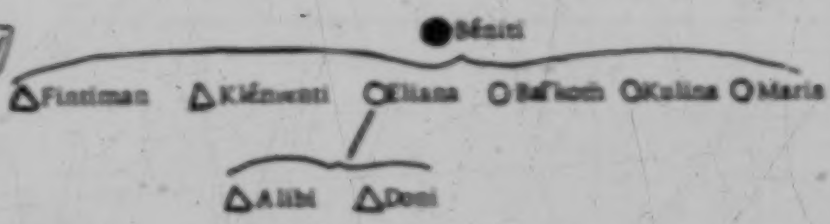
[602] On the seventh day an intimate ceremony brings together Béniti's children and grandchildren in her daughter Kulina's house, where she died. After an offering of food, they weep and lament a last time. Then Fintiman, her elder son, repeats the formula of separation:

"We have done with you; stay where God has put you."

Lifting of mourning for Béniti. Division of expenditures. Béniti belonged to the fraction of the Dju lineage settled in Boniville; the principal weight of the mourning therefore had [613] [621] to be borne by that fraction, the other (the one in Asisi) bringing a symbolic contribution.

Béniti left two sons and two adult grandsons:

[601]



/188/ Actually the elder son Fintiman paid half the expense himself, the younger son being ill and without regular resources. No contribution in money is asked of the women, [631] who must, on the other hand, draw substantial amounts from their rice stock.

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765 431 Nearly half of the tafia was brought to the mormary shed to serve for the dances, the other half was distributed to visitors in the course of calls of personal interest that they were coming to make on the village people at home.

Bénitti's three sons-in-law each gave three liters of tafia.

[613] The Boniville men belonging to other lineages each gave one liter, except the two principal basia (assistants to the grand man for the internal running of the village), Todo and Tofiono, who gave two liters each. Besides, each one kept one or two liters to offer to callers at their homes.

[613] As for the men of the Dyu lo of Asisi, they brought one liter each, including the head of the lineage.

All the Boniville women and all the women of Asisi-Dyu brought their contributions in the form of food.

In all about 150 adult visitors came.

765 293 One can estimate that about 200 liters of tafia were drunk, or a little more than a liter per person, which, for five days of festivities, is not enormous.

But since some drink very little, one can estimate that those most given to drunkenness drank up to three and four liters.

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Inheritance

The custom of the Refugee Blacks, hostile to all that might divide the matrilineage, cannot accept the notion of a single heir entering into possession of all the property of the dead person and replacing him in his functions. This idea of the only heir considered as a substitute for the dead person, as it exists among the Ramisikd, which leads toward the individualization of one line within the lineage, can be regarded as the extreme opposite of the thought of the Refugee Blacks.

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428 In the custom of the Refugee Blacks, the inheritance
[413] must be dispersed among the members of the dead person's matrilineage in the strict sense (bu.o) and his children.

/189/ The custom of numerous African societies has it that the men inherit from men and the women from women. This notion is totally contrary to the legal thought of the Refugee Blacks. A house, an object, a boat, may pass from a man to a woman or conversely. It is the same with the lower gods with which the dead person might have been possessed.

428 If the dead person has not indicated before his death, in
789 front of witnesses, the distribution of his property, the same
924 divinatory procedure is used as for the determination of the causes of death: the coffin being carried on the heads of two men, in front of it are lined up the members of the dead person's matrilineage in the restricted sense and his children. The president of the Ifoni kuutu asks: "To whom dost thou leave thy house?" The coffin moves toward one of those present, then: "To whom dost thou leave thy boat?" "To whom dost thou leave thy gun?" "To whom dost thou leave thy clearings being harvested?"

428 The partial heirs thus designated may enter immediately into possession of their legacies.

428 Reserved are what the Boni call the "equipment" of the
765 dead person, that is, his personal belongings, linen, money, which will be divided up after the lifting of mourning.

The customary rule is the following:

[602] For the duration of the mourning, these objects shut up in a trunk are put under the care of the eldest child if a woman was concerned, of the eldest classificatory nephew if a man was

428 concerned. After the lifting of mourning, the distribution is
602 made by the dead person's mother, if she is still alive, if not by the eldest of the classificatory uncles or aunts, and if they all are dead, by the eldest of the surviving classificatory brothers or sisters of the dead person.

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428 Example: When △ Atikati (Dyn. E18) died in 1953, about 75 years old, his house went to his sister Adyidya (E19), his gun to Kéwéou (G10), his boat to his classificatory sister Akiki (E23), aged 85.

(602) Upon the lifting of mourning for Atikati, it was Akiki, by reason of being the eldest of the surviving classificatory sisters, who distributed his personal belongings and his money; for example, an iron bracelet went to Sosoman (E14) (1).

1. See the genealogical table of the Dyn lineage.

428 613 602 By seeing the division of this inheritance on the genealogical table, one realizes that classificatory kinship is not a useless word and that in fact, within the matrilineage (bra), the division is made strictly at random, without consideration of sex, age, or proximity of kinship, which is strictly normal, given the divinatory procedure used.

428 778 602 An analogous conclusion comes out of the study of the inheritance of gods; the Papa gadu god of the ancestress ○Sapité (D6) passed into Pamass (E8), her kin in the seventh degree. Likewise the god Ammoku of △ Agoabuchi, passing from a man to a woman, went /190/ to Dabas (G45), his kin in the tenth degree at least (Agoabuchi could not be placed with certainty on the genealogical table). The Kumfou god of △ Antimen (D9) went to Achité (F12).

428 Study of the inheritance of houses leads to analogous conclusions.

The only case where a certain systematization is seen to appear is that of inheriting from women having adult children. It seems (but this is not a legal principle) that these children receive the essential part of the inheritance.

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A tendency which has appeared during recent years in connection with men consists in bequeathing during their lifetime the essential part of their property to the children they have raised.

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[789]

Inheritance of functions and powers. Upon the death of a lineage head, the yaka of the dead man is asked whom it wishes to see named. Then the council assembles to proceed with the nomination; it remains free in its choice, the will of the dead man beyond the grave does not have the force of law; but actually, it seems to be most often followed.

As for the function of captain which is common to all the fractions of one lo, the inheritance may pass from one fraction to another.

Ex.: for the Awara Bakka lo, the succession:
Asèmbay (Aw.B.2);
Pèèyon (Aw.B.1);
Kondoku (Aw.B.1).

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CHAPTER VII

BELIEFS

Origin of the Beliefs of the Refugee Blacks

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The spiritual life of the Refugee Blacks of the Guianas is intimately bound up with their social life, and the division we are obliged to make for the sake of clearness of the account is very often arbitrary. So we shall try to point out these connections wherever they are essential.

/193 cont./

771 824 A currently widespread idea about animism would lead one to think, for example, that before felling a tree a Refugee Black addresses words and offerings to it. That is entirely absent from his thought: either this tree is likely to serve as support for a god, in which case it can be touched only after complex rites having the aim of transferring the god elsewhere, or it is simply a tree, and one cuts it down without further ado.

784 825 One very clear aspect of these conceptions is the dagu kunu, a curse resulting from the killing of a dog. Any animal may be killed with impunity but not a dog, because "a dog is almost a man."

• [813] At the opposite extreme from the true kunu, a curse extending to a whole lineage, the dagu kunu applies only to the guilty person and draws only limited misfortunes upon him.

[772] No feeling whatever with respect to the dog enters into this conception, but only the idea that he is placed on a particular plane, near the plane of the human and his level of force.

796 /194/ The Great Gods

The Boni recognize a supreme God, Nana (1), more

1. This term comes from the Agni.

commonly called Masa Gado, and Kedi Amu, Kediampon in Kumenti language. He created the lower gods and all that lives on the earth.

793 Here is how the old Boni men relate the myth of the creation of the world:

God created a brother and sister, Adam and Efa. They were twins. He put them in a place where they lived happily without working. But he forbade them to touch the fruit of the custard-apple tree.

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The great gods Gwangwéia and Cédéou of the Djuka are not known to the Boni.

Strictly speaking, no cult of Masa Gadu exists. No edifice is reserved for him, he has no priests, and no collective ceremonies are conducted on his behalf. He is nevertheless constantly present in the religious life of the Boni, associated with ancestor worship. Every ceremony of ancestor worship includes an invocation to Masa Gadu. From time to time, for specific motives such as the illness of a member of the lo, people go /195/ specially to the fraga tiki to invoke Masa Gadu. The oldest man of the lo officiates, while a younger one pours a little water and tafia at the foot of the fraga tiki; the elder addresses Masa Gadu in everyday language, in simple terms, in a familiar conversational tone, asking him for the cure of illnesses or the end of calamities. Those present, seated in a semicircle, punctuate the end of the speech with some rhythmical applause, uttering the ritual formula of thanks: "Gaã tãgi tãgi fi yu, Masa Gadu."

Outside of these ceremonies which hardly go beyond the framework of the lineage, everyone may address Masa Gadu directly by praying aloud, if, for example, he finds himself alone in the bush and prey to an illness. One never addresses Masa Gadu other than for a specific material purpose. Inner prayer for the purpose of spiritual perfection does not exist to our knowledge among the Refugee Blacks.

One applies directly to Masa Gadu when one believes oneself to be the victim of an iniquitous action (see curse). However, although the Refugee Blacks have a very lively sense of justice, they never call Masa Gadu to witness for the cruel and arbitrary vengeances (kuma) which the lower divinities are believed to exercise on them. It is taken for granted that all these divinities do conform to the role which Masa Gadu has assigned to them and that the suffering they inflict on men is indispensable to the proper working of the universe.

/196 cont./

784 Odun's punishment is not regarded as immediate. It may be delayed for a certain number of years for reasons known to him alone, but it will necessarily take place.

683 783 Violence can be pardoned if the guilty one repents and makes an offering. The reparative offering (for example, if someone has threatened his adversary with a machete or has struck him to the point of making blood flow) is a demijohn of tafia or a certain quantity of tobacco leaves displayed in Odun's chapel.

754 784 But there is no pardon for the wisimã. Even if men pardon, Odun remains pitiless. Thus nobody can admit being guilty of wisi, for there is no possible reparation; besides, no one would dare beg for Odun's mercy on behalf of a wisimã, for this would be to associate oneself with him and expose oneself to being struck by the god in the same way.

[683] [764] The wisimã will be killed by Odun, and men will have to share in the punishing by refusing the body burial in the cemetery and by going to throw it in the bush. If they /197/ refused to obey this law, Odun would consider that they denied his doctrine and would strike them down either in person or by killing any member of the guilty lineage.

Thus, when in 1952 an old woman named A... of the Lapé lineage, who had settled in the Creole village Hermina, died, it appeared that she had wisi; but since she had been living among the Creoles, her near relatives did not dare intervene, and she was buried in the Hermina cemetery. Several [613] years passed without incident, then misfortunes cropped up; deaths which took place in the lineage, especially that of P... (1955) and T... (1957), and an accident that happened to a child in 1958, were recognized as punishments carried out by Odun upon the Lapé lineage.

346 The place of worship of Odun is a tiny chapel near the grand man's house. It contains only a post crudely carved in the shape of a bust, without any decoration.

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Odun's laws create an irreducible cleavage between the Refugee Blacks and the Creoles. The Creoles of Surinam, like the West Indian gold miners of the Maroni, profess Christianity, but they have a special conception of it, associating with Christian ideas /198/ beliefs of various origins and often magic practices. If in quasi-totality they reject magic aimed at doing harm without reason, they take very generally for granted:

--Counter sorcery inspired by vengeance;

--"Invocations" to the spirits of the dead and divers magic formulas in which it is believed one captures the vital force of these spirits in order to make practical use of it;

--Charms having the purpose of forcing the love of a person one desires.

B S 771 648

The Creoles are as attached to these conceptions as the Refugee Blacks to the laws of Odun, which are absolutely contrary to them. They have such importance in the thought of both that it would be unthinkable to make a group of Creoles and a group of Refugee Blacks live together for any appreciable length of time integrated into the same organization. Attempts made to do this, especially in Surinam, have always failed. When an economic activity engages them in the same work in the same locality, Creoles and Refugee Blacks form two separate groupings, each living according to its own law.

B 167 754 [782] [613]

If Refugee Blacks leave their group for any great length of time to settle in the midst of Creoles, if they do not come back periodically to renew the oath of Odun, it is taken for granted that they have abjured his laws and that they are suspect of wisi. It happens that people who have spent a whole portion of their lives in the midst of the Creoles come back to live in their native village because they are prey to adversity or sickness; they are always welcomed (the lineage cannot expel one of its members), but chances are great that they will be declared wisimã upon their death. This was especially the case with an

789 /301 cont./
791 The elders then consulted the oracles and perceived that Mimi
796 was victim of an Ampuku named Maogan which for a very long
[613] time had been pursuing the Kotika lineage with its vengeance
[784] (kunu). In order to protect herself, she sought to have herself
given a more powerful god, and she became the pupil of an
obiaman specialist in the cult of the Papa gadu. In this way she
[782] had a Papa gadu named Ayaémé, divinity of beneficent char-
acter to which, in difficult cases, her family applies in order
[346] to obtain advice, protection, and remedies. She had a little
hut built beside her house, where the god goes to rest when it
has finished each of its trips to the country of men. Ayaémé
[784] imposed on Mimi fn kina which concerns a fish. But even with
all this she was not rid of her kunu of the Ampuku; and one day,
something it had not yet done, the latter revealed itself in her
[784] and spoke through her mouth. It announced that it would con-
[782] tinue to exercise its kunu against the Kotika lineage. They ap-
peased it by sacrifices of red cloth and beer; since then, it
seems calm and in rather good humor. It comes into Mimi from
time to time and speaks in Saramaka language. They are very
afraid of it, but they do not hesitate to question it and ask it for
[784] remedies, which it sometimes indicates. It laid on Mimi three
gadu kina concerning the acouchy, the agami, and the
armadillo.

791 Organization of the cults of possession. Strictly speaking, no
787 religious brotherhoods exist in Boni country; there are only
794 teachers - bas(2) - who have received their power from another

2. It does not seem advisable to translate this word by "priest." In the minds of the Refugee Blacks, this is a matter of a teacher teaching pupils; they use the same word to designate a European or Creole schoolmaster.

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776 This shows that in the minds of the Refugee Blacks, the
789 animal is simply a prop for the god. The god borrows this body
825 in order to manifest itself, but it is not bound to it by nature. These conceptions are totally contrary to those of the Indians, who tend to personify in their minds the beings and phenomena of nature.

776 As we have said, the Boni do not see these gods since the
789 person possessed loses consciousness. But in the time of the ancestors, there were people who used to see the gods, and it is through them that their present-day descendants have an idea of their appearance; on the other hand, certain gods such as the Ampuku and the Bônsuki may be seen in dreams.

Sometimes the residence of this or that god is known, for it has revealed it through the mouth of its bearer; the god's
[823] name is then given to that place. For example, at the mouth of the Abounami there is a fall named Ma Akoti Gadu Sula. It is there that the god resides which revealed itself in olden days in an old woman named Akoti.

776 Connections with the group of relatives. The idea of a god
613 protector of the lineage, whose worship, brought by the founder of the group, is regarded as indispensable to the life of the collectivity, is not found clearly among the Refugee Blacks. There are actually many divinities which have entered the lineage and which are worshiped collectively. But these di-
[184] vinities are intruders; they have penetrated into the group by force in order to exert an inexorable vengeance against it.
[282] People do not apply to them to ask for protection, and they are worshiped only because they cannot be expelled.

776 /205/ There is not believed to be any kinship tie between the
602 gods and men, nor any tie of a systematic or exclusive character.

/205 cont./

796 613 428 [987] Still, they assume that the gods that have entered a matrilineage tend to be transmitted within this group. If, for example, a woman is possessed by a Papa gadu, at her death she must bequeath it in the same way as her property, and she can bequeath it only to someone of her lineage.

We have seen in studying the transmission of the god of Kotolda († 1956), that only the women of the Afi lineage to which she belonged could inherit.

796 613 984 Even if the god is not bequeathed, which sometimes happens, if it exercises the kunu, it will manifest itself sooner or later in a member of the lineage. But long years may pass before it shows itself. This conception is absolutely clear to the Refugee Blacks, and furthermore, if it did not exist, the idea of the kunu would be without support. [114] [428] People have therefore wrongly believed in a transmission of gods from father to son.

346 789 794 613 Material organization of cults. A material organization of the cults of possession exists within the limits of the localized lineage (lo). This organization is completely independent of the apprenticeship of these cults. It permits the members of the lineage to easily practice cults they have received anywhere, on their own responsibility.

In each lo there exists in general one single chapel (obia ɔsu) for all the divinities of the same category.

For example in the Awara Babka lo quarter in Asisi (140 persons), for about 15 women having a Papa gadu, there exists only a single one. There is an obia ɔsu for the Ampuku (three or four possessed persons) and another for the Kumɛnti (about ten possessed people).

The chapel of the Papa gadu is placed under the responsibility of the head of the lo. On this subject it is to be noted that the individualized lineages Aw.B.3 and Afi, which however have separate gods, are included in this organization.

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346 The objects placed in these chapels are simply the cloth-
794 ing, beverage, and tools of the gods when they come to visit
787 men; they correspond nearly to what the Refugee Blacks leave
613 in a farming habitation where they go to work regularly. For
example, in the Papa gadu ɔsu of the Awara Bakka quarter of
[293] Asisi, which serves for about 15 gods, each one has a definite
place on the shelves to lay out especially the scarf which serves
it as a garment and a bottle of beer (a bottle is always kept in
readiness by the bearer of the god) (1).

1. The Papa gadu do not like tafia. If the usual bearer of one of these gods has drunk tafia, it cannot come into him.

[534] They still show the Papa dɔɔ drum in this chapel. This drum, like the chapel itself, is believed to belong to the Papa gadu god which first came into a member of the lineage to exercise the kunu. In the example mentioned of the Awara
[428] /206/ Bakka lo of Asisi, in 1957 it was the centenarian grandmother Kuluba who had borne this god since her youth, having herself received it, by several successive transmissions, from a distant ancestress.

[621] In villages like Boniville and Papalston where fragments of lineage of entirely different origins coexist, each has its own organization.

For example in Boniville there is a Papa gadu ɔsu for the fragment of the Lapé lineage (it belongs to Térésa whose god exercises the kunu on this lineage). The fragment of the lineage has another.

In Papalston the Tolna (Bakabuchi) lineage, reduced to half a dozen persons, has a Papa gadu ɔsu of its own.

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769 We have described the principal ceremonies of this worship in speaking of family life.

769 613 One addresses only his near ancestors in maternal line, and one addresses them all collectively. Just as the custom of the Refugee Blacks rejects all that might individualize one line within a lineage, it rejects every individual bond between a given dead person and a given living person. Just as "uncles" exercise guardianship collectively over "nephews," the dead collectively protect the living. It would be a grave offense against the customary law of the Refugee Blacks to go individually to the fraga tiki to invoke the yaka of one or another of his relatives. We shall see further on that the only exception to this is for the ancestors who have made themselves conspicuous by exercising the kumu against another lineage.

[784]

Ancestor worship is organized within the lo, and its priest is the head of the lo, bedemi or captain. Individualized fractions (bee) which may exist within the lo, like Papaïstoe 2, have no separate ancestor worship.

769 778 The place of prayer is made up of a small square of ground about 1 meter x 1 meter, separated from village soil by pieces of boards; in the middle of this square is set a T-shaped post whose horizontal arm serves as support for a square of white cloth: this is the fraga tiki.

The cloth rots rapidly under the influence of bad weather, but it is not removed; a new one is attached over the old when it is too spoiled; likewise /220/ the post, which ends up by rotting, is not replaced as long as it does not fall to the ground. This behavior might be thought to be negligence, but it is nothing of the sort: for the Refugee Blacks, what has been offered to the ancestors is removed from the action of men; no one can touch it any more, even to repair it.

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769 Beside the principal frapa tiki one sometimes sees sticks
778 bearing fragments of white cloth; they have been planted in honor of those ancestors who have demanded it.

769 The ceremonies at the frapa tiki have a very simple
778 character; prayers are said in the ordinary language and often
782 have the character of an intimate conversation. In the absence of the head of the lineage, an old man pronounces them; while he speaks, an assistant makes the offering of water and tafia. Pouring water on the ground is a rite having as its purpose entering into contact with the ancestors; it is seen performed in funeral ceremonies, before beginning the interrogation of the yorka. The tafia is an offering in the literal sense of the term; at the time of the principal prayers being addressed to the ancestors, the offering of tafia is preceded by an offering of cane
[272] juice, kyēē wata. Cane juice was the beverage on feast days in the times when the ancestors, at war with the Europeans, were bereft of tafia.

The prayer formulas most commonly used ask the ancestors to intercede with Masa gadu on behalf of their descendants: "Ancestors, watch over us, protect us, pray to Masa gadu for us so that....".

769 Possession by a yorka. It is taken for granted that the yorka of
787 an ancestor can enter into a member of his matrilineage and reveal itself in the course of attacks of possession. This is a very
613 rare phenomenon. In 1958, in all the Boni country, only about ten people were known who bore thus the yorka of an ancestor. These attacks come on spontaneously, no cult having their provocation as its purpose. We were present in December, 1956 at one of these attacks in a young woman from Papalsoe, Mili, about 20 years old. Since the day before, the yorka of an ancestor of the lineage dead for two generations had manifested itself in her intermittently; these attacks lasted several minutes;

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996 828 [184] "My nɛ̃mseki is So-and-So." Mr. W. F. van Lier, speaking of the Djuka who have much clearer conceptions on religious questions, gives an important clarification: in 1915 Grand Man Ovéisi became incarnate in a newborn baby of the tribe, nevertheless he continues to be invoked as an ancestor before the fraga tiki. It seems, then, that it is a case of certain elements of the personality which are believed to be reincarnated, and not of the yɔ́ɔka as a whole.

787 It is important to distinguish the nɛ̃mseki from possession by a yɔ́ɔka. Possession by a yɔ́ɔka is an exceptional occurrence which is manifested in the form of trances, the yɔ́ɔka speaking through the mouth of its bearer; outside of these possessions, this yɔ́ɔka is believed to reside in the abode of the ancestors.

[613] A yɔ́ɔka can reveal itself thus only in a person of its matrilineage.

995 828 The nɛ̃mseki, on the contrary, exists in all men. The ancestor who is thus partially reincarnated is generally on the paternal side, but this is not an absolute rule.

A man is not conscious of his nɛ̃mseki and is acquainted with it only because his parents have revealed it to him. This nɛ̃mseki does not manifest itself in anything in everyday life; it does not impose any kina whatever and does not ask for offerings. However, when a young child falls ill, divination may reveal that it is the doing of the nɛ̃mseki which is indignant at being misunderstood. People hurry then, always with the help of divination, to find out the name of the nɛ̃mseki, proceeding by elimination. As a general rule, they allow themselves to be guided by resemblances of physiognomy, birthmarks calling to mind, for example, certain scars of the dead ancestor. [753] [755]

It is believed that the older a man is when he dies, the more time he will allow to elapse before being reincarnated.

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Relations between Gods and Men

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The kunu

The kunu. The Refugee Blacks call kunu the collective curse which has weighed on a matrilineage since an ancient offense. The kunu is without time limit, without pardon, without pity, blind in the choice of its victims; in principle, it can end only with the complete extermination of the lineage. Each time that adversity swoops down on one of its members in the form of death, sickness, various calamities, the kunu is the most frequently obtained explanation. The instrument of this inexpiable vengeance is either a god or the yoka (spirit) of a dead person.

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This notion, which occupies a central position in the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks, does not appear to have been borrowed directly. Most of the populations of Dahomey /222/ and the Ivory Coast take for granted the idea of arbitrary punishments exercised upon the members of the lineage by the gods or the ancestors of the group. But no population of these regions has, to our knowledge, developed so highly systematized a doctrine.

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The conceptions developed by the Refugee Blacks, divinities impelled exclusively by vengeance, and especially ancestors inexorably chastising lineages other than their own, have created new relationships among individuals and among lineages.

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We have not been able to elucidate the origin of the word kunu. Perhaps it is a deformation of the Mina word ekunu, which means burial.

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Three categories of divinities can pursue men with their kunu, and because of this fact the Refugee Blacks feel toward them an extreme terror mixed with veneration.

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776 --The Papa gadu (V20dB). The kunu that one of them
784 exercises upon a lineage comes uniformly from the fact that in
613 times past, one of the ancestors had inadvertently killed a
[825] dagowe snake (boa), usual bearer of the Papa gadu. For example,
the snake might have perished in the burning of a clearing.
[789] Some time after, the god had poisoned a member of the lineage
and revealed that henceforth it would exercise a kunu;

--The Ampuku. The kunu of an Ampuku begins in an analogous way; in days gone by an ancestor had, for example, cut a katu tree without performing the rites suitably, or had made a clearing in a place where an Ampuku was residing;

--The Kintamasu (who call themselves Akaio), gods of the termitaries, much feared, may exercise a kunu if, before cutting a clearing, someone has, in spite of all his searching, allowed a termitary to escape him, which thus was not the object of the indispensable rite;

775 --Finally, the kunu may be brought by a dead person's
784 yoka. For example, a man of lineage A had once upon a time
613 unjustly accused a man of lineage B. The latter committed
762 suicide out of revenge. The meaning of this act is not the same as in Europe. It is not a question of making one's enemies live in shame and remorse, but by sacrificing one's life to cause an eternal vengeance to be wreaked upon one's enemies. Some time after the suicide, the yoka reveals itself in a man of his lineage and announces that it will pursue the members of lineage A eternally with its kunu.

784 Thus the offenses which the kunu punishes are not moral sins as we understand them, but involuntary acts without inner meaning. The purifications and sacrifices demanded are likewise purely exterior acts.

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114 784 The various works treating of the Refugee Diocin point out well the importance of the kunu, but it seems to us that the functioning of this institution (for in fact a social institution is certainly concerned here) has not been clearly understood.

784 613 A kunu is attached to a matrilineage in the literal sense (bid). It extends obligatorily to all the members of the matrilineage and can strike only them.

For example, my kunu can strike my sister's son but not my wife nor my children (they are subject to the kunu of their own lineage). /223/

[782] The kunu, striking the lineage as a whole, can be appeased only by prayers uniting (at least in principle) the whole lineage. That is the respect in which the kunu may be defined [571] as a social institution, for it is, we shall see, the principal cement holding the groups together.

The unleashing of a kunu does not necessarily and immediately follow the destruction of a territory or the death of a degave male. The god thus offended avenges itself by making a certain number of members of the lineage sick and 784 by causing limited misfortunes to happen. When things are 613 at that point the kunu can still be exercised by prayers and 782 offerings. In 1957 the beginning of a kunu was manifesting itself thus in the Awara Bakka lineage of Asini; very frightened, the members of the lineage made offerings and prayers to exercise it.

784 613 But if the lineage people neglect the warnings of the god, if through laziness or selfishness too great a number of them [693] are absent from the collective prayers and do not take part in [961] the offerings, prayers and offerings will be refused and the god will kill one of them. From then on the kunu is unleashed and can no longer leave the lineage. Its involuntary bearer [428] will have to bequeath it upon his death to a member of the lineage, who cannot refuse this legacy and must immediately

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784 613 428 begin his instruction in order to become a suitable bearer. (If this procedure were not carried out, the god would not cease its kunu at all, and the possibility of entering into contact with it and appeasing it would be lost. Besides, sooner or later it would come back into a member of the lineage.)

784 613 [602] The kunu strikes without regard to kinship ties, even if kinship between the bearer of the god and the supposed victim is very distant. Ex.: The Papa gadu of Donasi (Papalisoo lo) struck a young woman, Gou, with illness in January, 1957. Donasi and Gou are only relatives in the ninth degree. The [982] [361] members of the entire Papalisoo lineage assembled to supplicate the god: even people of Wéniti village in the lower Maroni came.

775 784 613 The kunu exercised by the yorka of a dead person has a special importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks, for it has profound repercussions on the relations among the lineages.

[428] In principle, the yorka exercising a kunu has as bearer a living member of its own lineage, who will bequeath it at his death. But it is also possible that the yorka may take as bearer a member of the lineage upon which it exercises the kunu.

[782] In both cases, the rite to appease the yorka is the same; the yorka can be invoked effectively only by the members of its own lineage, since one can pray (at least in principle) only to one's own maternal ancestors.

When matrilineage A is struck by the kunu exercised by a yorka of matrilineage B, its members thereupon go to consult the elders of matrilineage A /sic/ and ask them to try to calm [769] the anger of their ancestor. The members of lineage A assemble [778] around the fraga tiki of lineage B. In back of the elders of this [787] lineage, in the presence of the bearer of the yorka, who calls on his gita, goes into trances and prophesying. The yorka [782] usually asks for an offering of cane juice and tafia, which is made at the foot of the /224/ fraga tiki by the elders of lineage B (for the rite to be efficacious, the offering must have been furnished by lineage A).

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995 A yɔ́ɔka exercising a kunu may also demand that another
780 smaller fraga tiki be erected for it beside the principal fraga
969 tiki of its lo. In the villages of the Refugee Blacks one often
778 sees these little crosses provided with white veils like the main
613 fraga tiki, planted beside it a little obliquely.

The notion of the kunu exercised by a yɔ́ɔka explains the
725 rarity of murder among the Refugee Blacks. How would you
704 dare to kill someone when, as soon as it is freed from his body,
674 his yɔ́ɔka will have full latitude to make you sick, to make
rotted branches fall across your path, to cause to suffer and to
995 kill all those dear to you? If someone is blinded by hate, it
784 is the idea of suicide which will dominate him. In October,
962 1952 we were able to observe this reaction in a man who had
just been subject to a deep humiliation: "I am going to kill
my body in order to go to kill that man and his whole family,"
he said to us, prey to a fit of rage; fortunately, when the fit
had passed, he came back to a more sound outlook on things.

995 It is to be noted that a yɔ́ɔka cannot exercise a kunu
784 against its own lineage. This notion explains why, in the times
613 when they exercised absolute authority, tribal chiefs had those
696 condemned to death executed by men of the same lineage.
[171] Apparently similar practices were the rule in olden days in
several African kingdoms, which allows one to think that notions
analogous to those of the kunu may be rather widespread there.

784 Situation of the various lineages with respect to the kunu. There
613 we touch on one of the most secret aspects of the social life of
the Refugee Blacks. Years of living among them are necessary
in order to obtain precise information on the nature and the
mode of action of the kunu acting on the various lineages.

784 Nearly all the entities which now exercise their kunu on the
613 Boni have been in their lineages since a very ancient period,
428 to the point where the name of their first bearer is forgotten.
They are transmitted inexorably from generation to generation.
In the course of the ages, the kunu have accumulated, and now
certain lineages are living with four, five, or even six kunu.

/224 cont. /

784 613 776 787 Kunu of the Dju lineage. The Dju lineage in 1958 was affected by four kunu:

--An Ampuku which has exercised its vengeance since time immemorial, to the point where the origin of this kunu is no longer remembered, its bearers being Dabisa (G25) and Adyiôya (E19), two women about 50 years old. This Ampuku formerly had as its bearer an ancestor named Agoabuchi, who died about 1940. Two or three years after his death, it manifested itself in Dabisa;

--A Papa gadu named Adawa which has also pursued the lineage with a pitiless vengeance since the time of the great ancestors. It revealed itself to the preceding generation in an ancestress named Sapikê (D5), and a long time after her death it passed into Pamasa (E26), a woman of 35. This kunu has grown worse since /225/ two other Papa gadu revealed themselves in recent years in two women named Kulina (F9) and Diana (E9). They declared that they were the descendants of the first one and that they came in support of it;

784 613 776 787 [562] --A yaka whose name nobody wanted to tell us because they were so afraid of it. It is that of a man of the Awara Bakka lineage, who committed suicide two or three generations ago when he was unjustly accused of a crime by a man of the Dju lineage. Since then, this yaka has been exterminating the Dju lineage little by little. Its bearer in 1958 was an old woman of the Awara Bakka lineage, named Namu;

784 613 776 787 --A Kantamasu since, a very long time ago, an ancestress whose name is forgotten inadvertently destroyed a termitary while burning a clearing. It has as bearer a very old woman named Wima (E3) (†1957), and it manifested itself also in Ata (F2).

784 613 787 562 Thus, in this group, the maleficent gods had exclusively women as bearers; out of about 20 adult women, seven were participating in the functioning of the kunu.

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One sees from this example how the influence of women, exerted in arbitrary fashion, in a domain placed outside of custom and ordinary social life, weighs on the life of the group.

Kunu of the Dipélu lineage. The situation of the Dipélu lineage with respect to the kunu is particularly interesting. Although split for perhaps 100 years into two separate groups, Dipélu I (L'Enfant Perdu and Apatu villages) and Dipélu II (Kormotibo and Asisi-Dip. II villages), this group still constitutes an undivided unit with respect to the kunu. Neither time nor distance (it takes more than a week of traveling to make the round trip between L'Enfant Perdu and Apatu) has been able to break it up. The Apatu people come very often (at least some of them) to be present at the collective prayers which take place at L'Enfant Perdu to appease a kunu in order to cure a sick person.

The oldest kunu ("since Africa") is that of a Papa gadu god whose seriter was ○ Dika (Dip. I. D10, † 1951) and which passed after her death into ○ Pééchina (Dip. I. E42, L'Enfant Perdu village). This kunu strikes indiscriminately the people of L'Enfant Perdu, Apatu, Kormotibo, Asisi-Dip. II, and the Dipélu fraction residing in Bonsville. To it, these past years, have been attributed the death of ○ Way (Dip. I. E6, living in Bonsville), the illness of △ Akwali (Dip. II. F7, Kormotibo village) and of ○ Bongo (same village).

Another very old kunu is the one exercised by the yoka of a Surinam Creole who had settled with the Dipélu people a very long time ago. He was suspected of sorcery and killed. Since then his yoka comes back regularly to exterminate the Dipélu.

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628 The members of the Dipélu lineage did not believe a
614 word of this affair, convinced that Kiboya, a proud and scheming
784 woman, had pretended the gita to make herself interesting.
787 Nevertheless, to bring back peace, they decided to go to Asisi
152 and to ask pardon in front of the fraga tiki, pouring tafia,
768 asking the ancestors not to take vengeance, the living being
778 reconciled.

784 /227/ (Note that in this affair, the yaika manifests itself in a
614 member of the lineage on which it exercises the kunu.)
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784 Kunu of the Awara Bakka lineage. The Awara Bakka lineage
614 does not form a unit with respect to the kunu, and the situation
613 of its fractions is particularly interesting. This lineage includes:

--A principal fraction (Aw.B.1);

--A fraction whose kinship ties with the first are forgotten (Aw.B.2), whose position with respect to the kunu we have not been able to define.

--Finally, a group descended from Anéta, Djuka woman, wife of Pééyon † (Aw.B.1) settled in Asisi with her descendants in uterine line. We have called this group Aw.B.3. It has a separate kunu originating in the Djuka village of Tabiki where Anéta came from.

784 The Awara Bakka I, all living in Asisi village, had to
787 our knowledge three kunu in 1957:
776 --One exercised by a Papa gadu god, borne up to 1957
613 by O Kuluba (Aw.B.1, D1). At her death in April, 1957,
428 she bequeathed it, contrary to custom, to a person of another fraction, Summa (Aw.B.3). But the god did not ratify this legacy and, in January, 1958, it manifested itself in O Léna (Aw.B.1, F52), thus remaining in the same lineage;

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--A second, very old kunu is exercised by a yoka of the Dipéiu II lo. Gy.... dead so long that he cannot be placed on the genealogical table; it, too, had as bearer a member of the lineage on which it was exercising the kunu. ○ Akumuyé (Aw.B.1. D27) † 1957.

Thus the Awara Bakka and Dipéiu lineages exercise the kunu reciprocally one against the other;

--A third kunu of recent origin is exercised by a Papa gadu god which had as bearer in 1957 ○ Irma (Aw.B.1. E37). It results from the inadvertent killing of a Dagowe /kic/ snake by ○ Tawa, Irma's brother. At the end of 1957 this kunu has yet brought on only illnesses of such a kind that people could still hope to exercise it.

The Aw.B.3 group has a special kunu of its own and considers itself out of reach of the kunu of the Aw.B.1.

Aukta, originating in the Dyoka village of Tabiki, is subject to the kunu of that lineage as are all her descendants in uterine line. On occasion of serious illnesses the latter have sometimes had to go to Tabiki village to supplicate the kunu.

This kunu is the one of a god borne by Akanté, Aukta's daughter. In September, 1956, Summa, Akanté's daughter, was sick. The god revealed that this was its doing. It was supplicated (the other fractions joined the group) and she then got well.

Kunu of the Afi lineage. The descendants of Afi † (woman coming from the tribe of the Bakabuchi of Surinam) live for the most part in Asini in close symbiosis with the /228/ Awara Bakka lineage. They are in a situation analogous to that of Aukta's descendants (Aw.B.3) but, perhaps by the simple fact of their number, they form a more individualized unit.

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They are the object of three kunu:

--One exercised by a Papa gadu god whose bearer up into 1956 was Kondida († Oct. 1956), who bequeathed it to Mam (Ki lineage, 612).

--The other exercised by a yaka of the Lapé lineage. This kunu dates from about 60 years ago; Aléman (Afi lineage, b3, Kormotibo village), 80 years old in 1957, had when he was young cut a clearing in a place which was found to be an old abandoned Boni cemetery (opposite Maripasoula). Some time afterward, a yaka revealed itself in a woman of the Lapé lineage, saying that it was exercising a kunu against the family of the sacrilegious person.

It is to this yaka, whose bearer is M... (L2, Bonville), that the death of Kondida in October, 1956 is especially attributed.

--A third kunu is exercised by A.... of the Papaliston 2 lineage. A... had committed pikadu. Surprised by Aléman (Afi lineage), he had paid the latter to obtain his silence. But Aléman had taken... Dishonored, A... committed suicide with a gunshot; some time afterward his yaka revealed itself in Aléman; it exercises a kunu on this lineage.

Situation of the other lineages with respect to the kunu. The Papaliston lineage is divided into two groups: Papaliston 1 (the principal one) and Papaliston 2, of which there remain only three living members: two women and one young man. The remainder of a lineage continues to bear its own kunu, which is unique and separate from that of the principal group.

The principal group forms a unit with respect to the kunu.

The Lapé lineage, cut from the point of view of genealogy into two pieces, forms a unit with respect to the kunu. We have been able to collect only fragmentary information on the various kunu of this village.

/228 cont./

784 A kunu is exercised by a Dipélu yɔrka, borne in 1958 by
775 a Loka woman. It is invoked before the fraga tiki of l'Enfant
778 Perdu village (Dipélu I). Sometimes a broko de is celebrated
768 for it in the same forms as the ceremony of the eighth day
613 after death.

784 We have likewise not been able to collect complete
613 information on the kunu of the Kotika lineage. This lineage,
114 divided into three fractions, forms a unit with respect to the kunu.

784 A kunu is exercised by the yɔrka of a Surinam Creole
613 assassinated in former times by a member of the lineage. Its
775 bearer in 1958 was Todo (K1, E68), a man of the Kotika lo
789 living in Boniville. In 1958 a young woman of the lineage,
[761] Awini (K1, E37), died suddenly; the yɔrka revealed that it
[684] had struck Awini because she had a liaison with Sintamann (K3, E145), thus committing pikadu. The idea of the collective responsibility of the lineage is so deeply accepted by the Boni that the near relatives of the dead woman did not reproach Sintamann at all.

784 /229/ A yɔrka of the Kotika lineage may exercise a kunu on
613 the Djuka. This is the case of an affair going back to 1950;
775 a young woman died some time after having a serious discussion
761 with a Djuka woman who had hit her. Deaths among the Djuka
619 these last years had been attributed to its vengeance.

It seems that there is no other kunu exercised by a Djuka
784 upon a Boni lineage and vice versa. This is surprising, con-
619 sidering the fights which in former times set the two nations
613 against each other.

The Djuka and Saramaka living isolated in the midst
621 of the Boni know their kunu, which were revealed to them in
784 childhood. In case of sickness, they employ divinatory pro-
[755] cedures in order to know what kunu is concerned; then they
[613] make offerings. But in case of serious illness, they are forced to go back to the village of origin of their lineage.

/229 cont./

784 The kunu and Boni family life. It follows from the detailed
613 examination we have just made of the situation of the various
[428] lineages that the transmission of the kunu within the uterine kin group is a rigorous law which suffers no exception whatever.
[571] The process of assimilation which permits in a certain measure,
[602] on the social plane, the integration of fragments of paternal kin (like Awara Bakka 3) into a group does not come into play here. Unity with respect to the kunu can therefore be regarded
[611] as a rigorous criterion of a common matrilineal origin. The
[829] Boni feel it as an obvious fact and in such a case it is the proof that comes to their minds: "We are of the same origin since we have the same kunu."

784 Thus the kunu appears as the principal cement of the
613 unity of the groups. It opposes the dissociation of the lineages;
571 this curse which weighs collectively upon a group and which
182 can be exorcised only collectively is an iron bond which nothing can break. It obliges the Refugee Blacks to surmount their individualistic tendencies, their egoism which, if they acted freely, would soon have scattered them into a dust of
[888] separate persons. In the face of adversity each one accepts with good grace obedience to the elders, who alone know how
[672] to talk to the gods and appease them. Nobody ever is indignant or even surprised to be struck down for the offense of another; there is not a movement of revolt or hostility against the one who by his inattention or inconsiderateness has brought on misfortune. On this plane the members of a lineage feel like cells of a single body.

784 The collective legal responsibility of the members of a
613 group in the domain of customary law flows from the kunu.
672 We have observed that several times, notably at the time of the obsequies for Kotoïda (Afi lineage) in October, 1956. The president of the Ifinti kuutu condemned the members of

/229 cont./

784 the Afi lineage to be thrashed symbolically for not having paid
613 sufficient attention to the warnings of the yɔrka which had
672 already made Kotoïda sick several times: by their negligence they bore part of the responsibility for Kotoïda's death. Although the Afi and the Awara Bakka live together and regard themselves as members of one community, there was no question whatever of thrashing the Awara Bakka, and that because, not being subject to the same kunu, they bore no responsibility for this death. /230/

Likewise it is taken for granted that the descendants of Anèta (Aw.B.3) do not share the legal responsibility of the Awara Bakka proper (fractions 1 and 2). The fact that Anéta was the wife of Péeyon, captain of the Aw.B., and that her descendants are completely integrated into the life of the village, does not modify this legal situation at all. At the time of the brawl between the Dipélu and the Awara Bakka in 1948, the Aw.B.3 were not taken to task, any more than the members of the Afi lineage.

771 The relations of the Boni with the entities which are believed to pursue them are most interesting. They seek only to appease the divinity, to calm it provisionally, and to live with it in a state of armed peace, if one may say so.

784 When divination has shown that a certain calamity was
787 due to the kunu (sometimes the divinity in question reveals it immediately, through the mouth of its bearer, before being interrogated), it is asked why it struck: it always indicates a precise reason: usually it appears to be inspired by arbitrariness
[776] and a pitiless despotism. The Refugee Blacks are not surprised at this, for thus it is that they imagine the lower gods.

784 In 1948, A..., of the Dɔu lineage, fell ill; he felt
787 violent pains in his legs. Divination showed that it was the
776 doing of the Kɛ̃ntamasu, which was exercising its kunu upon

/230 cont./

784 the lineage; questioned, this god declared that it had something
787 to complain about in the bad condition of the house which the
776 members of the lineage had erected to it on its order; the roof of leaves had not been changed and it was raining through.

784 It happens also, but as an exception, that the god has
684 sanctioned an offense against morals or more precisely, against the social law, such as the breaking of an interdiction, pikadu (incest in the wider sense, an offense against exogamy). It is necessary to understand that in the thought of the Refugee Blacks, incest unleashes the existing kunu but does not create a new kunu.

In October, 1952, Dolo, a young man of 25 of the Awara Bakka lo, died almost suddenly. Divination revealed
[787] that he had been killed by the kunu (it was a Papa gadu which
[761] had intervened) in order to sanction an offense committed
[613] some time previously by another member of the lo named P.... The latter, a notoriously depraved individual, had committed incest with his own sister.

784 When the divinity has made known through the mouth
776 of its bearer the causes of its act, the assembled members of
782 the lineage implore it, ask it not to pursue its vengeance; the
[787] divinity then requires an offering: for example, if it is a Papa gadu, it will require bottles of beer, some red and white cloth which will be immersed in a given place in the river. It may also require dances in its honor, celebrated by the other possessed people in the village. If it is an Ampuku, it will demand rum, dark-blue cloth which will be exposed in a remote place in the forest. An offering of this kind represents a relatively small sum, even for the Boni (several thousand francs in 1952). The god then declares itself appeased. But it does not pardon and it will resume /231/ its vengeance
[183] at the first cause. Thus the Boni have hope only in a rigorous
776 observance of customary law and the rites. There are divinities
787 which appeared to be thus appeased for a long time and to

/232 cont./

75 784 776 It is important not to confuse the kunu with the sufferings which other divinities can arbitrarily make men undergo. The kunu has a systematic character. But a divinity theoretically beneficent, and which has come into a man after being called on, may also from time to time bring misfortunes if such is its whim of the moment.

752 776 784 In 1949, G... (Dju) was busy cooking a crab in the house of his mother D... A machete which was fastened to the wall suddenly detached itself and wounded him in the right hand. Now his mother had an Ampuku which had imposed [787] the crab on her as kina. This Ampuku, immediately called [428] on, revealed that it really was it which had struck G..., for it did not like to see D...'s son eat crab (note that G... was not at all held to the observance of this kina, for no kina is transmitted from mother to son).

784 775 613 769 Neither must the kunu exercised by a yarka be confused with the vengeance that a dead person can exercise against the members of his own lineage in order to punish them for having neglected their duties.

Punishment inflicted by an ancestor of the lineage seems for the Boni to be a notion distinct from that of the kunu. Vengeance exercised by a yarka upon its own lineage is regarded as exceptional and devoid of the inexorable and definitive character of the kunu, but they assume it to be [762] possible. They cited to us the case of Yali (Loka), who committed suicide when accused of sorcery by the people [753] of his lineage. Since then, his yarka has caused sicknesses [761] and deaths in his own village.

776 784 613 [761] Conversely, a god which exercises the kunu upon a lineage may in certain cases intervene in favor of this lineage if such is its whim of the moment. Thus the death of Diamanti (Aw.B.2, Asisi village, † in 1955) is attributed to the god which exercises the kunu on the village of L'Enfant Perdu and whose bearer was Pééchina. Diamanti had wronged someone of this village and the god had intervened against her.

/232 cont./

787 In a general way, they consider that the bearer of a god
784 exercising the kunu has nothing to fear from it personally if he
776 rigorously observes the kina which have been imposed upon
him. On the other hand, this god will punish any injury to
[562] its bearer. Thus these bearers (almost always old women) live
[888] surrounded by respect and fear.

784 /233/ Observations in January, 1958 (misfortunes attributed to
769 vengeance of ancestors on their own lineage).

613 Do (Lapé) is taken ill on January 7, 1958 with a violent
75 attack of dysentery. The same day his five-year-old son is
grievously hurt at the wharf by falling on a broken bottle.
[787] Alarmed by this coincidence, the members of the Lapé lo
assemble and proceed to question a possessed person. The latter
reveals that it is the doing of an old woman of the lineage,
Atala, dead for two years. Several lineage members have already been sick from this; the dead woman wanted to sanction offenses committed by the people of the lineage.

The same day in Boniville, Klémenti (Dju), to whom I am recounting this affair, tells me that before the lifting of mourning for his mother Béniti, he and his sisters were sick.
[787] Divination showed that it was the doing of Béniti, who wished to hasten the celebration of the ceremony.

784 The kunu and social peace among the Boni. Role of the grand
795 man. The kunu exercised by a yɔrka creates very strange re-
613 lations among the Boni lineages. As blind and arbitrary as the
591 vengeance attributed to the yɔrka may be, the Boni have the sense of the legal unity of the lineage too much for any resentment to exist: "They are killing our family..."; and yet the two lineages find themselves henceforth irreparably bound together.
[787] The victims of the kunu can no longer get along without people of the lineage of the yɔrka which pursues them with its vengeance, since they alone, by their prayers, can appease temporarily the anger of their ancestor. One conceives of the

784 /233 cont./ One conceives of the
775 interminable dissensions which this situation entails: if the
613 manifestations of the kunu do not cease, the victims let it be
578 understood that the prayers were badly made.... /Figure 28 appears here./

761 Every suspicious death whose circumstances lead to the
628 belief that /234/ an inhabitant of another village was responsi-
613 ble can bring on a punitive expedition against that village and
[784] other villages of the same kin group. By taking this vengeful attitude even before the grand man has been notified and the blamed people heard, the people of the dead person's lineage are thinking above all else of taking precautions against the action of the dead person, who could turn back his vengeance
628 against them. Actually, these fights are above all symbolic; the wisdom of the Refugee Blacks has promulgated precepts which many nations could take as a pattern, in order that these punitive expeditions might not have serious consequences:

--One may strike only with the fists, and blood must not flow;

--Men may strike only men, while the women find fault with women;

--One may fight only on the village common and before witnesses, never in the bush or on the river. As a general rule, the people aimed at by the expedition do not resist, but flee into the bush or on the boats, or group themselves around the fraga tiki, holy place which the aggressors must respect.

628 We have told about the expedition made in April, 1957
613 by the people of Asisi-Awara Bakka against the villages of L'Enfant Perdu (Dipélu I) and Kormotibo (Dipélu II). Eight years earlier, in 1949, another squabble had thrown the Dipélu against the Awara Bakka after the death of Pétikona (Dip. II), whom her husband Boofo had taken to Surinam and who had died there. The Kormotibo people claimed that Boofo was responsible for her death. They went to attack the people of Asisi who, although three times more numerous, did not try

/234 cont./

628 613 to, resist and fled to Boniville, where some took refuge in the water, others in the bush. About ten shacks were broken (without great damage), principally kitchens and empty sheds. Only one man could be caught and he received several punches.

The expedition of April, 1957 against the villages of L'Enfant Perdu and Kormotibo did not do much more harm. Only one good house was smashed, that of Akwali (Dip. II, Kormotibo) because its owner, passing by in a boat on the river, insulted the aggressors....

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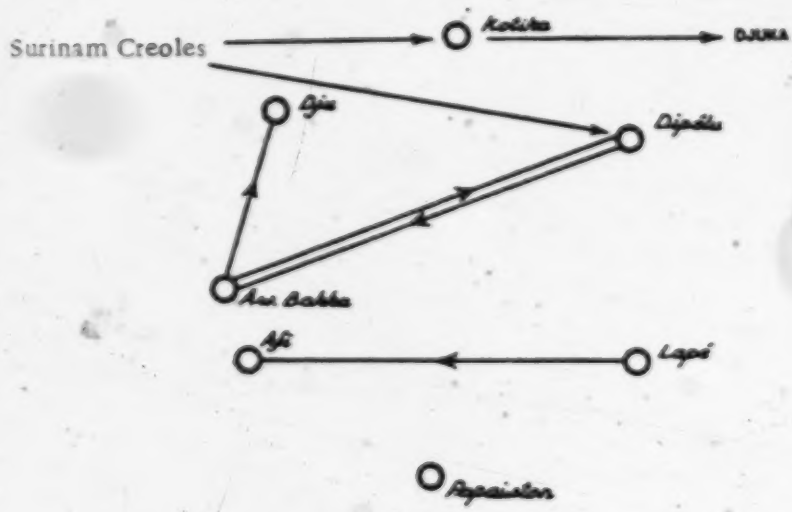

Fig. 28. Schema of the kunu exercised upon one another by the various lineages.

/234 cont./

695 Fist-fighting is practiced also between individuals as a test for justification. If someone is unjustly accused of theft, this is the first idea which occurs to him, even before the oath before Odun. On this subject the Refugee Blacks have a conception analogous to that of the ancient Europeans, according to which God will come to the aid of the innocent person, giving him the strength of ten. This fighting, too, is subject to precise rules; it can be indulged in only publicly, in a village, never in the bush or on the river.

In spite of the importance attached to the oath before Odun, Boni custom does not make provision for any test for justification having a recognized legal value. This is what makes the symbolic battle indispensable. Intervention is then asked of the head of a neutral lineage in order to restore peace. If no death or calamity takes place allowing /235/ belief in the unappeased vengeance of a dead person, the affair is very quickly forgotten. For example, in examining the table of marriages among the various lineages, one ascertains that there are a number of normal unions between the Dipélu and the Awara Bakka.

628 613

643 692 In these kinds of affairs the grand man has two very exact functions:

--To reveal pretense;

--To intervene as supreme arbiter in case of necessity.

[787] [775] Each time that someone is attacked by a fit of possession and claims to speak in the name of a yɔrka coming to exercise a kunu, the lineage head conducts him to the grand man who makes sure that there is no question of pretense.

643 775 The grand man, in the thought of the Boni, has the power to compel any yɔrka to manifest itself.

787 695 He conducts the person concerned to the fraga tiki and invokes the yɔrka. If pretense is involved, the individual will not be able to articulate a syllable. If it is true possession, the yɔrka will speak through his mouth.

643 /235 cont./
775 A few years ago a Kormotibo woman was thus confounded.
787 She had wanted to pretend possession by a yɔrka in order to
695 blackmail another family.

Grand Man Difu recently forbade the bequeathing of gods
784 and yɔrka exercising the kunu (1). People will wait for them
428
643
[787]

1. Let us recall that the dead are questioned on this subject as for the apportionment of the rest of their heritage.

to manifest themselves of their own accord. That will reduce the risks of pretense.

643 The grand man's lineage does not exercise any kunu upon
613 another lineage, and no kunu is exercised upon it. For the Boni
775 this is a fundamental idea, because the grand man is precisely
784 the supreme recourse in case of persistent calamities attributed to the yɔrka of a dead person. The grand man has the power to exorcise all the dead Boni. If his lineage exercised a kunu or were victim of one, he would be judge and litigant at the same time.

When, with the death of Grand Man Difu, the Dikan lineage is extinct, and when the function passes to another lineage, consideration of the kunu exercised by the lineages upon one another will be determinative in the choice of his successor.

Divination; Premonition; Dreams

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182 Divination. It plays an essential role among the Refugee Blacks as in all animistic societies. Individuals have recourse to it to inspire all important discussions; in large measure one can say that for them it takes the place of will and conscience.

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754 Trial for sorcery does not exist among the Boni, but a
787 procedure exists which allows for pinning down suspicions.

After each death the dead person is asked the question: Is it wisi that killed thee? The question is put last (they first ask kunu, then fyo-fyo /see p. 398/).

If it is wisi, they ask: Is it such-and-such a family? (In general it is in the lineage itself), then the names of the lineage members are uttered successively until there is a positive response.

754 The one who is thus accused of wisi can be summoned
695 to justify himself before the grand man, but that can only have the character of an investigation and not a trial. The suspected individual may not be challenged. They accept the fact that it is only a matter of presumption and that the dead accuser can lie, pursuing vengeance beyond the grave.

The Refugee Blacks declare that there is no certainty about wisi.

754 A remarkable principle of customary law is that if a
613 member of a matrilineage /240/ is believed to have killed one
692 of his "brothers," the judiciary power of the Boni cannot interfere. It is an affair purely within the lineage.

754 Thus no one can be challenged or expelled for an act of sorcery. If one suspects somebody strongly, one will avoid him, one will turn the cold shoulder to him, all the time remaining polite, but one will not show anything. To this principle is attached a very noble idea, that of the interdiction of vengeance. He who is victim of sorcery must under no circumstances do countersorcery. He can only ask for the protection of the abia. One must not under any circumstances ask a divinity or his ancestors to harm his aggressor.

754 Among the Refugee Blacks there is only one sanction
715 against the wisimã: They will necessarily be found out at their
787 death. The yorka of the dead person, interrogated by the elders,

/251 cont./

751 789 Renewal of the power of the ɔbia. The Refugee Blacks have the idea that no magic power can last if it is not renewed by formulas and offerings appealing to the god from which it came. [824] Each year, at variable dates for each ɔbia, one must renew the power of the ɔbia by dipping the support object into a maceration of certain leaves. This renewal may not take place on January 1. On that day all leaves lose their power. /252/

Mr. W. F. van Lier writes that among the Djuka, objects [768] (bracelets, etc.) serving as support for a magic remedy are thrown away upon the death of the owner for they have lost [184] all power. The Boni do not have this conception; with them, [428] these objects keep their value for the dead person's son provided that before dying he voluntarily transmitted them to him by giving him mula.

789 Transmission of ɔbia. An ɔbia is often bequeathed simultaneously 428 to a son and to a nephew. Care is taken not to lose the ɔbia 613 for the lineage. Thus it is that certain lineages have certain ɔbia as their specialty.

789 Kãndu. The Refugee Blacks call kãndu a magic object intended [171] to protect property (houses, harvests) against theft. This procedure is also very much used by the Creoles.

There are three common kinds of kãndu:

--Piiti tiki kãndu. It is made of a split stick stuck into the ground, in the slit of which dry banana leaves or small sticks are placed horizontally. This device originated in Dahomey.

--Sikopu kãndu. It involves a shovel stuck into the ground in front of the house (the idea of the shovel is associated with the idea of death, for this instrument is used particularly in digging graves).

--Bɔɔ kãndu, made up of a bow and arrow planted in the ground.

752 /255 cont./
834 obiaman who treats a wound made by a firearm to observe
[171] chastity during the whole duration of the treatment. It is for this reason that the Boni hesitate to have gunshot wounds cared for in hospitals.

784 Kina. The interdictions of the Refugee Blacks generally have
[262] to do with food. There are five categories of them to our knowledge:

[753] --Bwasi kina, basic kina, mark of patrilineages, the breaking of which gives leprosy;

--Akka kina, often called gadu kina, established by divination and believed to be imposed by the akka;

--Gadu kina, mark of possession by a divinity;

--Obia kina, interdiction attached to each object involving a magic power, and which must be observed for this power to last;

--Finally, local kina, particularly the kina dɛ, days of rest, going back to the idea of the day of rest of the local divinity. They observe, for example, that the Mana River has a kina dɛ on Sunday. The Saramaka observe it strictly. The Boni we took on the Mana in 1949 went to find out from the Saramaka, and asked us to stop navigation on Sunday,
[648] for this kina was very urgent. It is noteworthy however that the Boni bow in such circumstances before the will of the Europeans, as with respect to their own kina dɛ of Friday; in effect they are assuming that if they are ordered to be on duty, it is the European alone who bears the responsibility for breaking the kina.

[428] It is possible that the kina alluded to by Mr. W. F. Van
[114] Lier and which, among the Djuka, would be imposed on a
[613] whole matrilineage are also local kina; in any case no kina is transmissible through the mother, all the Refugee Blacks are explicit on that point.

/256 cont./

845 When twins die young people almost always blame a
961 disagreement which has arisen in the lineage. The twins
578 did not want to live in a disunited family. The head of the
613 lineage then exhorts his people to be reconciled with one another at any cost in order to avoid new misfortunes (1).

[753] 1. In general they have the idea that dissensions occurring in the lineage have as a consequence illnesses or misfortunes striking the members of the lineage.
[182] This notion plays a major role in the social life of the Refugee Blacks; after the kunu, it is the principle cement holding groups together.

845 One who harms a twin is sure to fall ill. Conversely,
778 it is assumed that the twin must not abuse his power, that he must lead an upright life and avoid quarrels. He is nearer to God than other men.

They assume for example that Efa, of Papalston village, herself a twin and the mother of twins, has a very special power.) Nobody would risk harming her.

[613] In lineages having many twins there exists a place of
[778] worship sacred to a vital principle called Twilenge. The nature of this principle is not clear. The Boni define it as the soul of twins. Is it a matter of the first twins Adam and Eve? Or of a collective worship offered up to all deceased twins?

845 /257/
782 This worship is celebrated each time there is occasion
751 to protect newborn babies. They are washed with a certain decoction of leaves.

845 Every four or five years on the average a big dance takes
535 place, then the father and mother of twins and the twins
751 themselves are washed in order to maintain their powers and keep them in good health.

[784] If these dances are not held, dead twins will show their
[753] anger by making living twins and parents of twins sick.

845 Lineages that do not have twins do not practice these
613 rites. If twins are born to them, they will apply at the place
778 of worship of another lineage.

Papalston and Lapé have this cult particularly highly developed.

842 Tɔne pikin. It is assumed that a woman may be made pregnant
796 by a river god, either a Papa gadu snake god or by the Wata Iogi, which look like Indians. Children thus conceived are called tɔne pikin.

A...., of Papalston, had cut a clearing opposite a remarkable white rock called Weti sɛ3, where she used to moor her boat. She had not had any children for several years
[787] and she became pregnant. When her daughter was born a
[778] possessed person revealed that she was born of a Papa gadu
[782] snake god which lived there: since then her parents /relatives/ go regularly to this rock to make offerings.

About 1910 Atama (Kormotibo) had followed her husband to a shipyard on the lower river; one day while walking in the forest she met an Indian having the appearance of a Galibi Indian, who was carrying a newborn baby. She stopped and admired the baby. The Indian said to her: "Do you wish to raise him?" She acquiesced. He said: "We shall see each other again"; then he went away so quickly that she had the impression that he had disappeared on the spot.

/259 cont./

771 [782] to the god, and their words of thanks lasted scarcely half a minute (1). At the time of our first trip on the Maruini, in

1. Yet custom expressly provides for this rite of thanking.

1948, the same scenes had unfolded, going as well as coming back.

241 771

Rites Relative to Agriculture

These rites occupy a relatively minor place in the religious life of the Refugee Blacks, which may be attributed to the great regularity of the climate and the absence of calamities affecting the yield of crops.

[613] It does not seem, at least among the Boni, that a religious bond is assumed between the lineage and the land, and rites intended to insure the fertility of the soil are carried out by each one for himself in the neighborhood of his own field; the lineage head does not appear to play any particular role in this regard. In the thought of the Boni, the fertility of the soil depends upon a local divinity, to which is offered de facto worship; the temporary or permanent users of the lands situated in the domain of this god perform on their own behalf the rites of this worship without any distinction of origin, whether they are Boni, Djuka, or Saramaka.

241 776

[796] [793] [643] The only collective worship existing in Boni country is the worship of mama gɔ̃, of which the grand man is priest. Its rites are limited to a short annual prayer.

539 /280 cont./

During the night he got up and went and untied the ox which escaped into the bush.

The next day he said to the bachia: "Bachia, please go and get my ox." The bachia looked for it in vain. He said: "Anansi, the ox has escaped into the bush." We shall give you another." -- "That won't do," said Anansi; "I was passing by on the river and you called me without any reason. Give me the dead child."

They said: "Uncle Anansi, we cannot give him to you, he is already in the coffin." "Let's make an end of it," said Anansi, "you are provoking me." The bachia went to tell the mother (of the dead child) that a misfortune had arrived(1).

[764] [613] [593]

1. It is to be noted that it is not from the lineage head that one asks for authorization to dispose of the body, but from the mother alone.

She agreed to it. They broke the coffin and gave the body to Anansi. He put it in the bow of the boat and paddled until he came to a big bend in the river. Once out of sight of the village people, he /281/ made a little paddle. He went to the bow seat of the boat, he fastened the dead child to it with glue. He put the body in a sitting position, as if it were alive, he fastened the paddle in its hand.

He paddled until he heard something like the noise of a boat. He said to himself: "Listen, stand up, perhaps a boat is coming." He placed the boat in the strongest part of the current, he paddled hard, standing in the stern. He heard better, he said: "It is a ship." He shouted: "Ah, ah! Today I meet thee, thou whom I sought for so long." He saw clearly that it was a ship. Comrades, he paddled in the current; the

/290 cont./

426 here, 5,000 there. But these loans are never large and do not constitute an effective process for grouping financial assets.

157 525 The so-called subscription societies so common in Black Africa are totally contrary to the thinking of the Refugee Blacks, in the same way as games of chance. In 1958 the Maripasoula post, on the occasion of a festival, had organized a tombola. When the principle of it was explained to the Boni, they were unanimous in thinking that the Europeans had odd amusements. Few of them agreed to buy tickets, and the ones who had not won anything left embittered, with the feeling of having been involved in an immoral operation.

157 571 High esteem attached to contracts. This inaptitude for forming groups and combining assets contributes very much toward crystallizing the society of the Refugee Blacks in its present form by opposing all large-scale initiative. On the other hand, 157 597 it develops the sense of personal responsibility. The Refugee 426 Blacks are especially strict with respect to money (1).

[648]

1. This with regard to their mutual relations; as for debts to Europeans, they are not prompt in paying them back; but marked deception, borrowing done for the purpose of swindling, are very rare with the Refugee Blacks.

[829] Custom lays down as a strict principle that everything must be paid for. No one may live at the expense of someone else, no one may borrow without paying back. If a man died [613] before repaying a debt, the members of his lineage would club together to pay it off.

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A (p. 576)
B (p. 577)
C (p. 578)
D (p. 579)

Chart of Positions of End Map /facing p. 576/

6:Hurault--576 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

102
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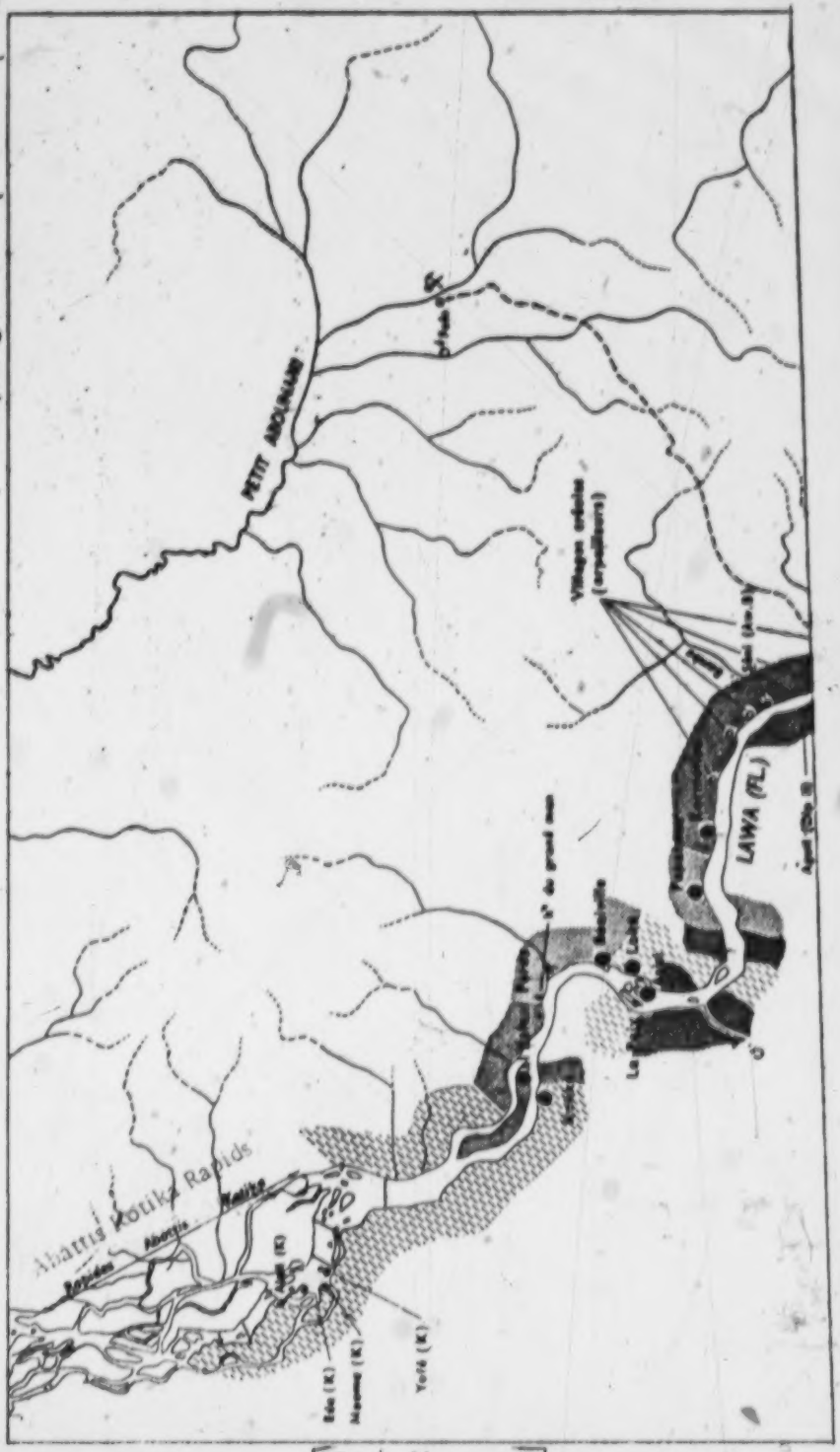
621



[End Map - A]

6:Hurault--577 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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621

COURSE OF THE LAWA
(French Guiana)

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLING

End Map - B

102
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131
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162
311
316
361
423
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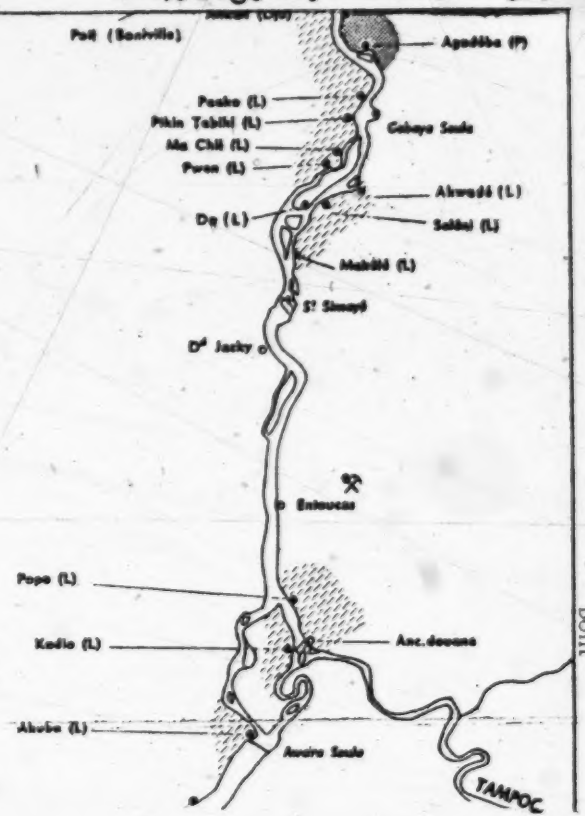
621

Villages and Farming Habitations
in 1958

- Boni residence villages
- Boni farming habitations
- Creole villages
- European establishments
- Creole habitations
- Small gold workings
- Indian villages

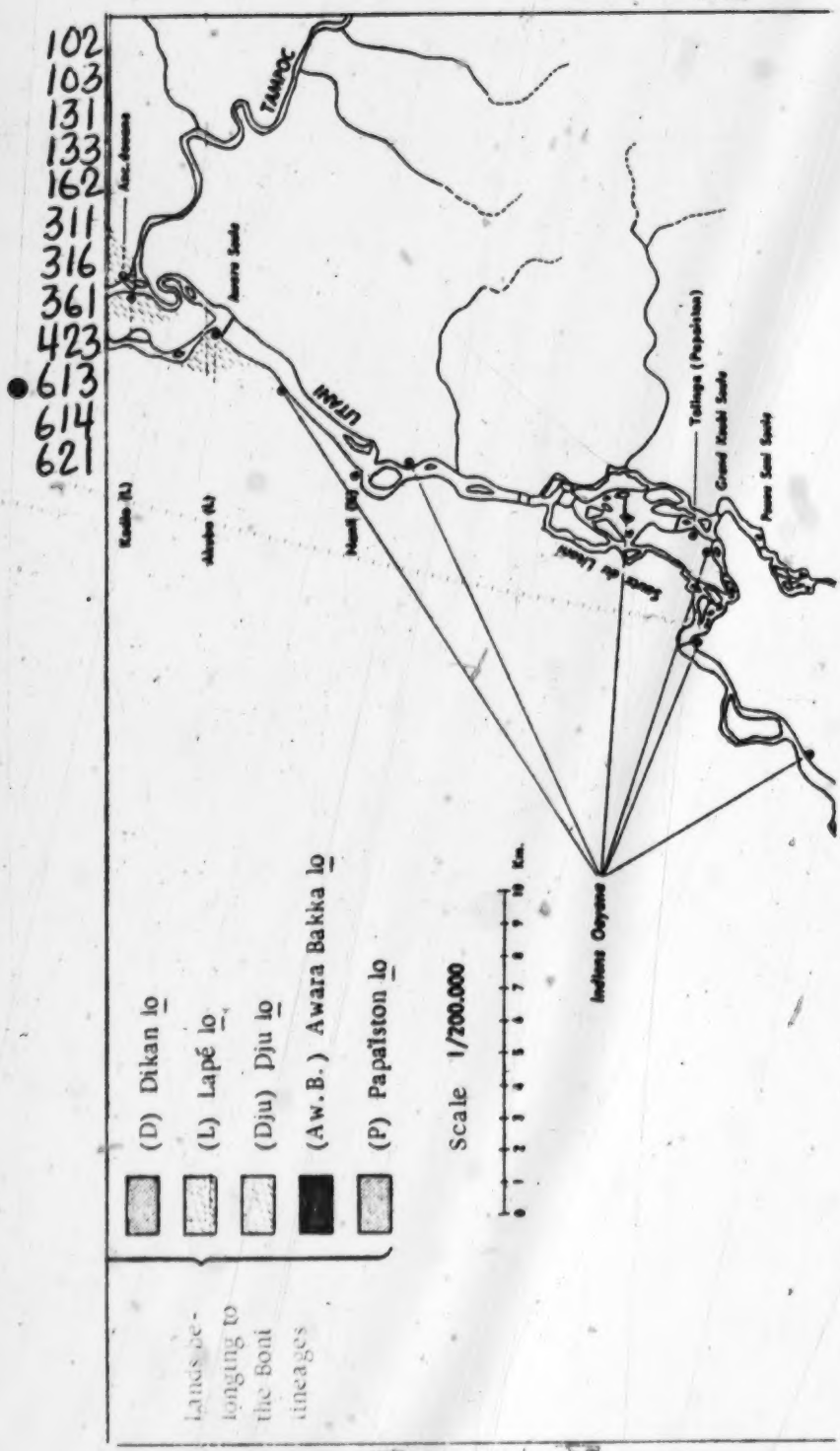
Lands belonging to the Boni lineages

- (K) Kotika lo
- (Dip) Dipélu lo
- (D) Dikan lo
- (L) Lapé lo
- (Dju) Dju lo



[End Map - D]

6:Hurault--579 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni


102
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TAMPOC
Awara Saale
LITANI
Kadale (L)
Aluabo (L)
Indians Oayana
Tailings (Papaiston)
Grand Kadal Saale
Petite Saal Saale
(D) Dikan lo
(L) Lapé lo
(Dju) Dju lo
(Aw.B.) Awara Bakka lo
(P) Papaiston lo
lands belonging to the Boni lineages
Scale 1/200.000
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Km.

[End Map - D]

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423
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A (p. 580)	B (p. 581)	C (p. 582)	D (p. 583)

Chart of Positions of End Plate /facing p. 580/

DIVISION OF LANDS AMONG THE LINEAGES IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF THE PRINCIPAL BONI VILLAGES

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361
423
489
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504

Photographic montage made with the help of photographs of Field Trip 007/200 IGN Guiana Scale 1/20 000 Taken in October, 1956

[End Plate -A]

6:Hurault--581 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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361
423
487
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614
764
504

Scale 1/20 000

[End Plate - B]

6:Hurault--582 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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241
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361
423
487
504
613
614

Scale 1 / 20 000

500m 1km

[End Plate - C]

102
103
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311
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423
487
504
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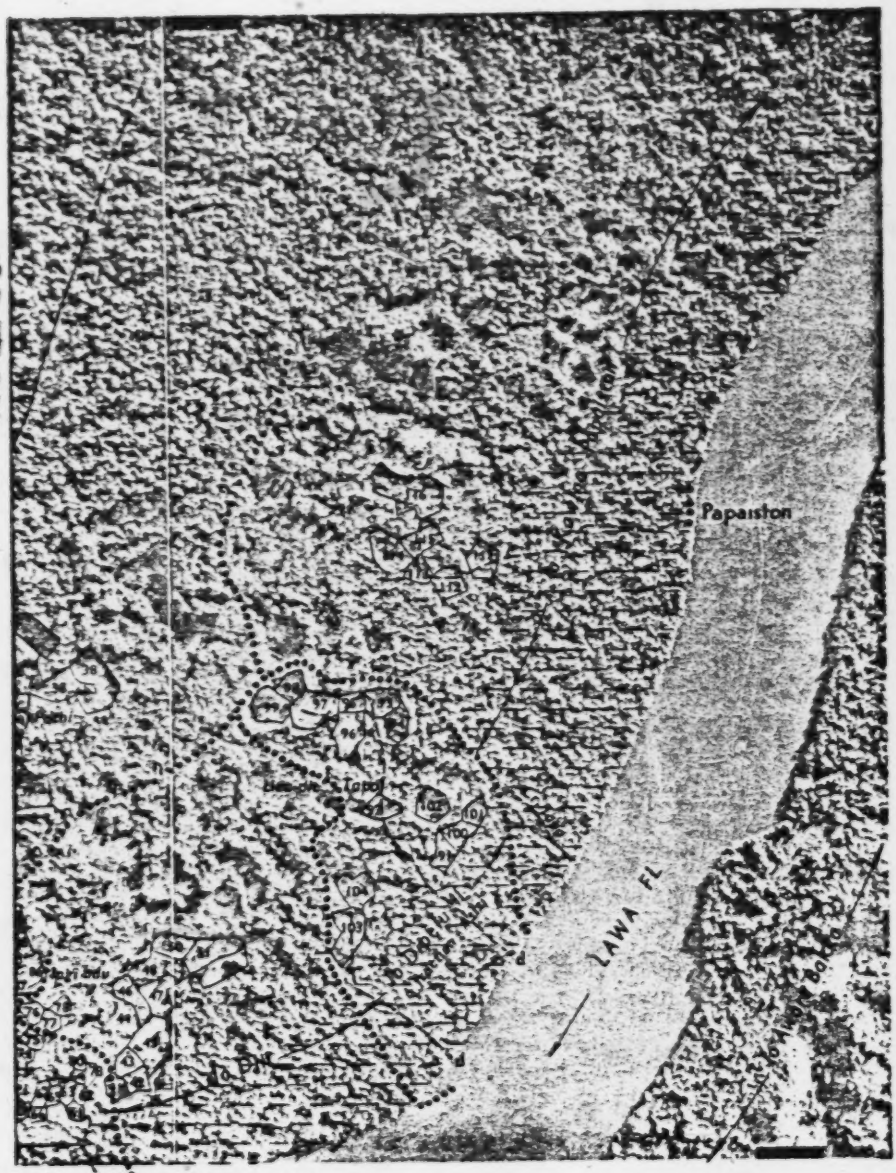
614



[End Plate - D]

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

604 428 brothers and to his sisters' children. That is how we live here in the bush. That is how we do."

4

591 When a man marries, he either arranges to take his wife to live in his own village—his mother's village—or to stay in that of his wife. Whether he chooses the one village or the other, he has to build a house there for her, and this becomes her *wosu*, her household. If he wishes, he may build two houses, one in his own village, and one in the village of his wife. Kasanya's younger brother built two houses for his first wife. One was on the lower river, next to Kasanya's own house, and the other we would reach after two days' further travel up the river.

Yet the man, explained Kasanya, if the couple were living in the village of the wife, or the woman, if their house was in his village, was not entirely at home. In one's own village a person was a *gomi*, a child of the "ground." He belonged there. But when living in another's village, even though it was that of a husband or wife, one was a [609] *wakama'*, a stranger, and if a man of the village but uttered this word "wakama'" to such an individual, the outsider had to take up his belongings and leave at once. Were the [688] stranger, in turn, to speak aloud the word "gomi," disaster would follow, for the earth spirits, having been disturbed, would be sure to take their toll.

594 The *wosu*—the household—is the unit of family life, whether, in its physical location, it is in one village or two villages. In it a woman lives with her husband, and here the 596 children are reared. After the wosu comes the larger family unit, the *mbe*, composed of those who have come from the [614] common womb of a more remote ancestress, while several of these larger or extended families form a clan.

"If a man has more than one wife," said Kasanya, "then 595 he makes more than one house. A man never puts two wives in the same house. It would not be good. Each woman has her own house, where she lives with her children. It must be so. The children of the first wife belong to her

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

774 would be more serious yet, an evil spirit who would be
776 lying in wait for a soul to use as emissary in his affairs of black magic, would snatch at the soul and take it away. If
[753] this happened, a person would sicken, languish, and die. Sometimes when a man tripped on the clayey bank, we heard him exclaim, "*Ago!*—Ancestors!" calling on these to protect him until he recovered his balance. But often we
[782] heard different cries. "Mi, Awana!" one man had called. "Mi, Nyamfai!" or, "Mi, Matchau!" or "Mi, Popoto!"
[614] These are all clan names, and for a time we assumed that instead of appealing to their ancestors, they called on the entire clan to come to their aid. But one day Sedefo lost his footing, and we heard him exclaim, "Mi, Fandaki!" Now we knew that Sedefo belonged to the clan of the Gankwe people, and we knew, further, that he was most emphatically not of the Fandaki clan.

"Sedefo, you are not a Fandaki. Why did you call on them?"

"My father belongs to the Fandaki. When we slip we call on our father's lo."

"Why, Sedefo?"

"I do not know. . . . "

605 Another day we were sitting and talking to a young man in an upper river village. A girl came and sat with us. "This is my sister," the man said. It was at a time when we were looking into these matters, and we asked, "Did the same mother make you both?"

"No," he answered, "she is here only on a visit. She lives across the river. Her father is my mother's brother."

"But she is not your sister, then," we said. "She does not even belong to your clan."

"Massa Neng'e! But she is my sister!" the man protested. "She is neither of my family, nor of my clan. But did not my mother's brother make her?"

"Could you marry her?"

[582] He considered for a moment. "It would be possible. But it would not be good. . . . And the old women in the village would talk too much."

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

628 "Yes," the man went on, "and there was much trouble." The men who had been punished incited their entire clan to come to their aid in an attack on the clan villages of those who had chastized them. "But now they are at peace." Those who were beaten were of his own clan, he said.

"And did you win your fight? What happened after that?"

"I did not go with the men. The land where the trees stood belonged to my father's clan, and my father's people I would not fight."

"What did you do?"

"I tried to make peace between them. That is what a man does when his father's clan and his mother's clan have trouble. But I was too young to speak in the big krutu—the assembly of the chiefs—so it was the elders of the Nyamfai people who brought them together, and settled the matter."

There was a point which we wanted cleared up. What was the attitude of the group toward a man who did not enter into a fight which concerned his own clan?

"Did no one say you ought to fight, too?" we asked, explaining our question to the man several times.

"No, why should they? A man can't fight against his father's people. Everybody knows that."

"But what if you did?"

"The gods would turn against my side."

After our return down river, when we again sat in the hut of the headman of the Gankwe clan, we turned to him with some questions about the family, and he gave us the following summary.

593 "From our mother we get our *lo*, our clan, and our *mbe*,
[614] our great family. Our mother's brothers are those we must
424 obey. They correct us when we do wrong. They tell us what
604 is good. In our mother's village is our true home, and from there we are buried when we die. But our father is our friend. He gives us his advice. From him we get many of the gods we dance to when we are men, and from him we

1tHerskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

where, in the proper season, maripa nuts and rice were dried.

One quarter differed very little from another, except that in one there might grow the plant which yielded the red and black beans used for the sacred rattles, and for playing the game of adji, which entertained the spirit of the dead while the body lay in state. Instead of a house to the family gods, there might be found a mound of earth in front of one doorway, with an axe-head lying upon it as a shrine for a man's spirit, or a low forked stick sunk into the ground, holding a pot with water and weeds in it for the curing powers of its obia.

A village of any size had also a quarter in which stood the communal buildings. The council house which might also serve on occasion as the house for the dead was there. The menstrual house for the women, a small building which was recognized by a broken calabash, or a porcelain pot brought from the white man's city, lying outside the entrance, stood a little to the side. The Kromanti house, and perhaps an enclosed shelter for the bush gods who shared the shrine with the snake deities, was also located somewhere near the open communal shrine. A village wherein lived the clan head contained in addition a house for the ancestral spirits of the clan. This was called a *Fa'aka-pau wosu*, literally a flagpole house, a euphemism for the shrine to the ancestors for whom white cotton was put up on sticks. In this Fa'aka-pau wosu prayers were offered up for all the important ventures of the clan, and in time of stress a priest would come there with sacrifices, to bid one of the ancestors to enter his body and give him sight. When seizure came on, such a priest prophesied. Sometimes the ancestors were consulted in the same manner as that in which the will of the dead was ascertained. Men would take up a sacred plank and carry it in a state of possession; the elders would put questions to the ancestor who had been called. The answers were construed as favorable or unfavorable according to the way the plank tipped.

AT THE COURT OF THE GRANMAN

Now it was the Granman's turn to supply the interpolations, while Kasanya and Bibifo reported.

"Yes, so it is. So I know it to be myself. So I have heard," he spoke when they paused.

But when the ceremonial greetings were over, and the conversation turned to down-river affairs, the Granman leaned forward in his chair and talked with the men informally. They were all clan members, or men belonging to clans whose allegiance to the Granman's rule was undoubted, and they talked over many things in the way men do when they meet with their own kind.

The room was growing darker. Yankuso called through the slatted wall against which he was leaning, and the young man who had fired the guns entered.

"Bassia, it is getting late. We must leave this house to the white man. These men with me are my friends. They must drink before they leave."

The bassia took the decanter from the table, and from the shelf underneath it, where we could dimly see shells and containers of shot, he took several small glasses. Before taking the glass to his lips, each man poured some of the liquor on the ground as a libation to the Earth Mother, and, as each drank, he turned to Yankuso and asked if he might leave.

"*Mi da permissi*—I grant you permission," he said to each.

When we had finished our meal, it was already dark. At the door of his own house, Granman Yankuso was sitting on a low stool.

"I have something for you," he said, disappearing inside his house. When he came out, he held in his hand some black object, which we were unable to identify. "You have fire?" he asked, as he suspended this object from a tree which grew between his house and the one in which we were staying.

"There was a white Hollander here who brought this to me. He went from here farther into the bush. He never came out. Light is a good thing at night. When visitors

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SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

641 over whom it was exercised. When the ancestors of the
Bush Negroes were brought to New World slavery, what
[567] measure of acquiescence they showed was due to the fact
that slavery was not an unfamiliar tradition to them. They
knew of the war captive, or the man convicted of a serious
crime, who was a slave to one of their own kind. But the
experience of the white man's slavery was a crucible in
which the ownership of man by man, and the unquestioning
obedience which men owed to those of higher rank, were
destroyed, leaving only the ideal of the life of free men.
"Free!" was the way in which one Bush Negro toasted
[273] another, or a white man, when he drank with him. A "*Man*
Nengere," an adult Negro was, above all, a free man, and
621 it was as a freeman that he was governed, for though
villages had chiefs, and there were bassias who were sub-
ordinate to chiefs, and though above the village chiefs were
clan chiefs, and over them all the Granman, yet the final
word rested with the members of each subsidiary body,
and not with its leader.

624 Every village had its officials, and its medium for discus-
612 sions. Every clan had its head, and its old men, who,
[614] sounding out the will of the clan members, consulted with
that head when questions were to be decided. For the
decisions affecting the entire Saramacca River, there were
[643] the Granman and his krutu, before whom questions of
[692] larger policy or disputes between villages were brought.

Perhaps most impressive of all was the measure of auton-
632 omy which each village had. A village, or certainly a group
614 of neighboring villages belonging to the same clan, formed
609 a small kingdom. A Bush Negro of another village who
came to visit, came as any stranger, paddle in hand, his
top cloth covering his loin cloth. When he found himself
in a strange village on a night when a dance was being
given, he did not join the dancers until after much urging
by a native of that village, and then he danced little, and
if he were a particularly fine dancer, he took care not to
flaunt his superior gifts. The exception to this, to be sure,
were the sacred dances, when a stranger, whose god came

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

to him when the drums called that god, could not be held accountable for what he did while his god had him in his control. 632 614 609

No stranger, no man who came to live in his wife's village, even though he had spent a good part of his life there, took it upon himself to offer advice to his wife's family. Again and again we would hear from men and women on the river, "In our village we do it this way," or, "We only carry the corpse on the head twice. Our spirits don't like to be troubled more often," or, "Mawu as a name for the Great God is used in our village, but not everywhere on the river." 614 607

There was the experience with several sacred images of village gods we had bought from an upper-river village. Our paddlers refused to carry them for us from the village to the boats, and it was with marked uneasiness that they permitted us to put them into the boats. 123 [178]

"We do not know what these gods can do. We do not know what is hateful to them. They are the gods of another people. We won't carry them."

But with the *gomi*—the child of the village of his mother's family, it was quite otherwise. He was a member of the village, he had a voice in its governing, he knew its gods. If he belonged to the family of the chief of the clan, if, let us say, his older brother were the chief, or if he was one of several nephews of a chief who had no surviving brothers, then at the death of the chief there would be a krutu, and the men of the village would decide which one of the several men who were eligible for the office was the most capable. Though rank was hereditary there was always selection among several heirs, and again the final word rested with the people of the clan. The offices of lesser chiefs—village chiefs who were subject to the clan chief, or bassias who served the chiefs—were passed on in the same manner. 622 624 [424]

While law making was in the hands of the chiefs, or captains, and the krutu over which they presided, law enforcement was the task of the bassias. It was they who saw to it that the orders of the chiefs were carried out. When 625 [622]

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SRB Bush Negroes SRB
Saramacca

THE COUNCIL OF THE ELDERS

"*We go asei*," we would be told when the question arose how far we would travel on any given day, or when we urged a reluctant man to sell a ceremonial bench with which he was loath to part. When the answer came back, it came as a unanimous decision of those most concerned. The members of his family had talked over their need for money and weighed that against his personal love for the object he had carved, and most often the decision was against his disposing of it. He cared for it, that meant it pleased his ak'a, his soul, and of what worth was money when it was a question of displeasing his soul, which might begin to trouble him?

"Bak'a, if we cut off our heads and sell them, then if we buy hats, where will we put them?"

So it was in krutu. The lanti, the people, discussed what the bassia had said, as they went apart in small groups. From time to time, a bassia would be called to join one group and then another. What did the chief have in mind when he said this, or that? What did the old men think the consequence would be of the action under discussion? Was it desirable for the village to take a slight, and do nothing at this time? Was it necessary to arrange a compromise, instead of taking the matter into their own hands and beating the members of the offending clan?

After this discussion, each group came back to the assembly united in its stand. If all the groups were agreed, the matter was ended, and the wisdom of the chief and his councilors prevailed. If all disagreed, then it would have been temerity indeed for a chief to attempt to impose his will against the massed dissent. But if there was a lack of agreement, then the long debates would commence. Man after man would summon all his oratory to the argument, and for hours the various factions would speak. In the end, the will of the group would be swayed one way or the other, and a decision reached.

But this was only the procedure in the lowest assembly—that of the village. As men grew older and their sons and

623 their nephews took up the dancing for the gods, their
614 interests were directed more and more toward the clan rule.

"I do not dance any more," Sedefo had told us, "My
[887] sons dance Kromanti now. I must do now what is expected of a man of my years. I must see that our people act wisely in all things which touch this world, and the world of our ancestors."

A clan krutu was a self-sufficient unit made up of members whose maturity fitted them for looking after the worldly and supernatural welfare of their people, for in the larger organization of the tribe it was the clans who stood one with another in perfect equality to complete the whole—the Saramacca people.

614 The chieftain of the principal village of the clan was
681 the clan head. In him was vested the right to speak for the
622 large grouping, and in the krutu which he conducted the etiquette approached that of the tribal krutu in its intricacy. The village where the clan head lived was inhabited predominantly by his people. In other villages on the river his people might be one of several clan groups. Several villages were inhabited by three or even four clan groups, each of which had its own captain. But such villages were not the seats of clan heads. Where a clan chief ruled would be not only the clan krutu house, but the shrines raised to the important dead of the clan, the clan ancestors whose spiritual powers to help and advise the living were as great as the feats they had accomplished when alive. Here, too, at the village where the clan head lived would be the shrines
[1018] to the gods who had the clan under their special protection. Above all, here under the direction of the chief were not only those who guided the worldly destinies of the clan, but those who knew how to control the supernatural forces. Here were the obias owned by the clan, those spiritual and unique healing powers whose magic would respond only to the will of clan members who had undergone the training which taught them to operate those forces their ancestors had left for them.

THE COUNCIL OF THE ELDERS

"I have my obia from Lamé," Bayo had said. "People like me because of this obia." 778 756

When we came to Lamé we found that the people who inhabited it controlled more than the love obia. They had a powerful fighting obia, too. There was not only *bumba*, that gave power in love, but also *poitchi*, the obia that helped a man in a fight. But one who wanted to become a great hunter did not go to Lamé. Such a person sought out an obia man of the Dombi clan, who, working with the power of *mafungi*, helped him to see his game in the dark bush, though the animal was of the color of the bush itself, and, once having tracked it, helped him make his aim deadly. A man suffering from a bad gunshot wound would try to get an obia man from the Loango people to come and call on the powers of the Loango clan-obia to heal the [755] dying man. For broken bones there was magic in the sacred village of Dahomey where centered the Kasito clan, and at Dahomey was also the best magic on the river for warriors. *'Bofyuando* and *sokoma'usu* were the two great warrior obias, and so powerful were they that if one but whispered their names, without taking the stems of two weeds, putting one crosswise on top of the other, and over them passing a coin to recompense for speaking the sacred names, the man who spoke would die. These obias belonged to the Kasito people, so strong in magic.

Of these clans there might be twelve or thirteen or fourteen. Among the Saramacca people, we learned, the clan partakes of the mysterious, the awesome. Our Bush Negro friends did not discuss their clans readily, and none of them would give us a list of their names. A few might be mentioned by one man, a few by another. 614

"To speak of the *lo* is not a thing for strangers," we were told. "My clan I can name, and another man can tell you the name of his clan. My father's clan I can name, too, but not others."

On one occasion we had made clear to a young man who had been away for some time in French Guiana, and who considered himself a man of the world, why we sought the

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

614 clan names. He went to his mother's brother, and asked for the origin of his own clan, and the relationship that existed between the lo to which he belonged and the others.

"It is for the old men to know," his uncle replied. "When you are old, you will know these things."

"But you must tell me. It is my right," the young man insisted.

"It will be your right," the older man corrected him.

And there the matter rested. But from one, and from another, we gathered the clan names. One village belonged to one clan, its obia was confided to us, and at another village we learned the name of still another clan. So the list of names slowly grew—ten, twelve, thirteen, fourteen. But some clans were paired in a fashion we could not fathom, and when the clans are grouped so as to express the tribe as a whole, the expression that is used is that of "the twelve lo."

614 423 The clan we found to be rooted deep in the land. Each clan had its own territory, and in the region it controlled only the men of the clan might fish in the creeks or fell the hardwood trees which the white man in the city bought. All of the up-river clans had land on the lower river near the railhead, and an important down-river clan, like that of the Gankwe people, had land deep in the interior. Whether fear of invasion, on the one hand, or the need to have their own strongholds in the event of factional disputes, on the other, dictated this division of the land, it was, of course, impossible to determine. Yet it was unquestionably useful for a clan to have representation up and down the river in this fashion. Thus a man, as he traveled up or down the river, would be sure of at least one or two places where he might count on receiving the welcome due him as one who is at home among those who have come from the same "old mother," and where he might feel spiritually safe among people of his own blood, and among the same gods as those of his own village.

631 619 Village, clan, and above these the tribe. So it was that the political order of the Bush Negro was integrated. Tribal

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

There are also a few villages, belonging to this tribe, situated 619
on the lower Saramacca River, like Santi Gron, Toti Camp, 361
and Maka-Creekee. On the distant Surinam is located the poetically named village of Futu No Habbe Ackaba, The Foot That Has No Resting Place.

Every tribe is divided into several clans, or *lo,* and these lo 621
are subdivided into groups of families, called *m'beh,* relation- 614
ship being counted through the female line. These groupings 613
are direct survivals of the slave days, descendants of groups of fugitives who fled into the bush together. Among the Saramaccaners there is the *Abaisa lo* of which our friend Abaisa is the chief. Another lo is called the *Inge Peecee lo,* meaning "piece of Indian clan," referring to the marriage of a lone Indian squaw with a rebel slave, back in the old days. There is the *Companyi Nengre lo,* or "Company Negro clan" of blacks descended from the slaves who escaped from the Dutch West India Company. The *Dahomey lo* is a group of families especially skilled in the art of healing broken [759]
bones. Then there is a priesthood clan, the *Domini lo,* descended from the slaves of a plantation owner named Levy. Among the other lo are: *Matchow* (meaning axe), *Vondrake* (from a Dutch family named Van Drachte), *Baison Nengre, Luwangu, Nassi, Betu, Cumu, Quama, Papoto,* and the *Awahna lo* at Gansee.

At a strategic location on the Little Surinam River, the 361
Pekein Rio, dwells the Granman Jankoeso. His village is ten days up the river from Gansee. It is situated in this inaccessible spot, on an especially fierce and rapid tributary, pur-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

after a day's portage from its source one may strike the 49
Tosso Creek, which brings the lower Sara Creek Aucaners 361
into the distant Tapanahoni River, where exist the main body of the Aucaner tribe. They inhabit both banks of the Tapanahoni, from its mouth where it flows into the Marowyne River to some distance beyond the far Jai Creek. The Aucaners, like the Saramaccaners, are divided into several lo or clans. The names of these are as follows: the *Missi Jon lo* and 614
Otto lo, which are the most powerful and to which belong the families of the Granmans; the *Perica lo, Pata lo M'beh lo, Ju Nengre lo, Penasi lo, N'Yafi lo, Bray lo, Compai lo, Deekah lo, La Paix lo, Ke-o Condree lo,* and *Pooloogoodoo lo.* The head of the lo is called *Papa fu ah lo,* "father for the lo."

Beside these, the Aucaners have also divided their tribe 621
into two separate parts, but they are both under the same 184
Granman. These divisions are known as the *Uppo Nengre* 361
(Upper Negro) and *Below Nengre* (Below Negro). The 616
boundary between them being the Gran Hollo (Big Hole) Falls in the Tapanahoni River. The territory of the Below Nengre begins past the mouth of the Gran Creek and extends up the Tapanahoni River to the falls above mentioned. The islands in the Marowyne belong to this division and their territory also extends to the Dutch side of the Lawa River up to Aboona Sungu Falls (a man named Aboona sank there), which forms the boundary between the Aucaners and the Boni tribe in that region. Some names of the vil- 103
lages belonging to the Below Nengre Aucaners of that dis- 361

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

114 prejudices about sex and marriage may become less rooted by a comparison with the customs of a primitive society.

611 The Djukas, like a number of other primitive tribes, reckon
428 descent only through the female line; property rights are transmitted through the maternal side of the house. Fatherhood is a fact of relative unimportance.

595 Polygamy is the practice. Each wife lives in a separate hut (often in a separate village), which belongs to her because her husband built it for her. A man has as many wives as he wants, or can keep. The wives get along together fairly
[152] amicably. The cancer of matrimonial jealousy characteristic of our own system, is of narrow range and effect among the Djukas.

596 The head of the family is not the father, but the mother's
604 oldest male relative—her brother or her mother's brother. *The father is technically unrelated to his children.* As a matter of biological fact, he can never be sure of his paternity, whereas maternity is never in doubt. All children belong to their mother's family, and are subject to the authority of her brother or her maternal uncle. The latter is more closely related to them than any other male.

611 A group of families related through the female line con-
614 stitute a *m'beh,* and several m'beh together make up a *lo,* or clan. These groups are all reckoned through the mother. Husband and wife may belong to different m'beh and lo, but children of the union belong only to their mother's group. At
593 first sight the father seems negligible in this arrangement,
604 but it must be remembered that he is very likely the brother

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[For additional demographic and social information, see the "Table of the Population of the Boni Villages," on pp. 479-539, category 116. Included are data on the number of children per woman, the number of deaths by age and sex, the name of the guardian (usually, but not necessarily a parent) who was responsible for raising a particular individual, personal names of the Boni, marital residence and residence changes by specific individuals, marriage practices, including polygynous unions and secondary marriages, cases of divorce, and lineage/sib affiliations of each individual.]

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[For further information concerning the lineage/sib organization and membership of the Boni, with associated data on age, sex, and ethnic affiliations, see the genealogical charts on pp. 542-575, category 116.]

/17 cont./

101 1. Archives du Ministère de la France
103 d'Outre-Mer, Guyane /Archives of the
175 Ministry of Overseas France, Guiana/,
113 A3-02.

611 /18/ Villages and Kin Groups

Among all the kinship systems which existed in the African tribes from which they issued, the Refugee Blacks came back unanimously, and from the beginning, to matrilineal filiation.

571 Their social system is symbiosis, under the authority of the
613 grand man, of a certain number of localized matrilineal kin groups.
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613 Matrilineal kin groups of the Boni. With the Boni the basic grouping is the lineage, in the rigorous sense of the term, understanding by that all descendants in maternal line from a single ancestress.

To designate the kin groups the Boni employ almost interchangeably the words lo (troop, band) and bɛɛ, womb. In fact these expressions correspond to two variant interpretations of the same notion:

614 bɛɛ: matrilineage in the widest sense, understanding by that all persons knowing that they are issue of the same ancestress, even if the genealogical ties are forgotten, and even if these persons are scattered in several villages under different authorities;

lo: lineage fraction grouped in one village and constituting a distinct social unit.

The lineage bears a name whose origin is forgotten by present-day Boni; some of these names allude to a plantation or to a slave-owner, for example Lapé (La Paix: a plantation of the Cottica River); as for others, the name of the founding ancestress may be involved. Example: Kawina (name of the lineage constituting the village of Papaïston).

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613 [621] Six lineages (1) of ancient founding are counted among the

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1. It seems that in the past there was a greater number of groups (they continue to use the expression twalɔfuyu lo, the 12 lo, to designate the Boni nation), but some have died out.

Boni; all, with one single exception, have remained effective groupings corresponding each one to a village; for these lineages the words bɛɛ and lo may be used indiscriminately. The seventh, Dipélu, is distributed in three villages under different authorities, that is, forms three lo.

[614] The lo possesses a head (hedeman or captain). The bɛɛ possesses neither head nor organization, but as we shall show, its members are united by religious ties and meet to celebrate common rites.

(See table on the following page.)

[643] The head of the Dikan lo is supreme chief -- grand man -- of the Boni.

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Io	Village of residence	Head in 1958
Dikan	Boniville village	Difu (grand man)
Dju	Asisi village; a small group in Boniville	Adiiso
Lapé	Loka and Lapé Tabiki villages; a small group in Boniville	Popo
Dipélu I	l'Enfant Perdu and Apatu villages; a small group in Boniville	Babun (l'Enfant Perdu) Saka (Apatu)
Dipélu II	Kormotibo village; a fraction in Asisi	Poopu
Kotika (Yakubi)	Kotika village; a group in Abunasunga	Nachinengé
Papaïston (Kawina)	Papaïston village; a small group in Boniville a small group in the Lower Maroni (Wétiti village)	Tafanié

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613 571 Thus the lo appears to us above all as a social and political unit, based in principle on matrilineal relationship but easily able to welcome heterogeneous elements. It is the framework by means of which the individual is integrated into the collectivity.

614 Functions of the lineage (bee).

—Members of the same bee form a joint group from the legal point of view, even if they do not live in the same village and are under different authorities. They recognize a common legal responsibility; for example, they are obliged, at least in principle, to pay the debts contracted by one of them. Reciprocally, the inheritance of one of them is shared among them all.

614 784 —They have the same religious responsibility, that is, they are subject to the same kunu. The kunu is a curse called down upon a group by a divinity since an ancient era. It is transmitted exclusively by the mother. We shall show in the remainder of this work the considerable importance of this notion in the social life of the Refugee Blacks.

614 —They cannot (at least in principle) contract a union with one another. The bee thus constitutes in principle the unit subject to the law of exogamy.

[835] An offense against exogamy, pikadu, incest in the wide sense, is regarded as very grave.

613 Functions of the lo: The lo transposes onto the material plane the legal principles resulting from the conception of the lineage: joint rights over land, common legal responsibility. Each of them forms a social unit in principle sufficient unto itself, possessing an ancestor worship peculiar to it, a head acting the role of ancestor priest and judge, materially grouped in one village, enjoying exclusive rights over a well-defined soil.

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613 We have said that the recently founded lineages, being of
571 only very small size, cannot constitute a distinct social unit and are placed under the authority of one of the lo heads. That is not a condition imposed by force or any moral coercion whatever, but a practical social necessity. A lineage, reduced in numbers though it may be, keeps in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks imprescriptible collective rights; and if these members agree to group in a separate village and work separate soil, nobody will stand in their way.

128 Such are the elements which stand out after a first study of
613 the kin groups as it can be deduced from interrogating the heads
614 of these units. It leaves unresolved some important problems:
[115] The Boni have the idea that their kin groups are lineages
[829] in the real sense of the term. Nevertheless, questioning on genealogies does not permit all to /21/ go back to the founding ancestress. Three of them, the most important numerically, prove in this respect to be divided into several fractions. Can we be sure that these fractions are actually of the same origin and that the people concerned are not deceiving themselves in believing it? In the social structure of the Refugee Blacks are there no mechanisms leading toward assimilation, to fusion of groups of heterogeneous origin?

We cannot answer these questions directly. First of all it is indispensable to study the conception that the Boni have of kinship ties within the matrilineage. Then we shall examine the genealogical tables of the various lineages, and for those that the study of genealogies shows to be divided into several fractions, we shall study the interrelations of these fractions.

601 Kinship within the matrilineage: The kinship terms translate a
613 purely classificatory system. The principle of classificatory kinship

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601 has been pushed by the Refugee Blacks to its extreme limit with-
613 out any attenuation. Everything turns on the number of generations separating from the founding ancestress. Age does not come into it. The fact of belonging to an older or younger branch with respect to such-and-such an ancestress does not come into it, either. The custom of the Refugee Blacks is hostile to any discrimination which could lead to a scission of the lineage.

At the same number of generations from the foundress, they call one another uniformly brother, baala, or sister, sisa, without consideration of age or degree of relationship. Absolutely no nuance exists in the language to differentiate the brother proper from the brother in the classificatory sense.

The people closest to the foundress of a generation are uniformly called uncles, tiyu, or aunts, tiya.

601 The thinking of the Refugee Blacks on the subject of kinship
602 centers above all around knowledge of those ties which can be
613 called horizontal; they consider them as ties in fact which they were taught in early childhood, and few of them worry about knowing the exact origin of them. It is enough for them to know
[814] that N... is their brother and M..., their uncle. Knowledge of the genealogies remains the province of the most wide-awake minds; the others take no heed.

602 This conception of kinship permits the maintenance of the
613 unity of a lineage even when the genealogical ties are forgotten
614 and when the group is in this respect cut into several fractions. The members of the lineage can be unaware of this fractioning, as we have observed in several cases.

[601] Thus in Figure 3 (fictitious example), Adam knows he must call Baïna brother, Afanis uncle, and Sota nephew.

[104] That is why we use the term extended lineage to translate the word bee (1).

[See category 116, P. 31--Analyst]

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1. This conception of kinship is also found among the Agni of the Ivory Coast and the Fon of Dahomey; it may be widespread in Black Africa, especially in populations with matrilineal filiation.

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/22/ This conception, associated with that of the kunu, conflicts with the fractioning of lineages on the religious plane, even when a scission has taken place on the plane of residence. The rigor of the principle laid down, the quasi-mathematical transmission from one generation to the next of appellations based on rank relative to the foundress, prohibits the thought that elements foreign to the lineage can be integrated into this system by any process whatever. Nevertheless, a doubt remains as to the possibility of assimilating fragments with paternal kinship, for in paternal kinship the same principle of classificatory kinship rules, and the same appellations are used. We shall show that such a process of assimilation actually exists on the social plane, but that it is inconceivable on the religious plane, the kunu always being transmitted by the mother. /Fig. 3 appears here./

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Knowledge of genealogical ties is very variable from one lineage to another. Outside of the great splits like Dipélu I-Dipélu II, we have demonstrated that small fractions of several lineages could no longer be attached to the main trunk, the genealogical ties being irremediably lost. The people concerned had never realized this; they had never wondered about it. This was the case particularly:

—With Samma's descendants (Dipélu II, Asisi);

—With the group of Atili's descendants (Lapé, Boniville).

[178]

In both cases the split was very recent; old men dead for only a few years knew the genealogical ties now lost.

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613 Situation of the lineages in 1958.

[643] The Dikan lineage, whose head is the grand man of the Boni, has practically died out, since it is comprised of only Grand Man Difu; upon his death it will totally disappear (1).

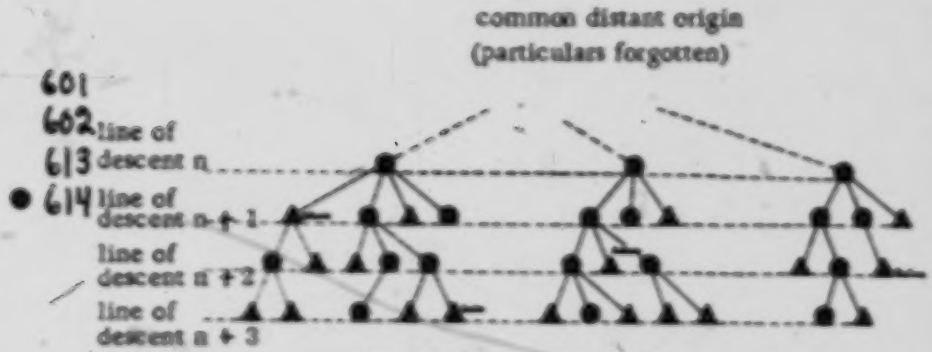

Fig. 3. Extended matrilineage.

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1. Note that a Dikan lo exists among the Djuka; the separation of the Dikan-Djuka and the Dikan-Boni is necessarily anterior to the battles of 1793, which shows the ancientness of these groups.

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For two generations the various lineages have delegated some of their members /23/ to the grand man to conserve a certain importance for his village. Thus Agodé (Boniville) now includes fragments of the Kotika, Dipélu, Lapé, Dju, and Papaïton lineages, forming that many individualized small quarters in the village.

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621 175 [66] [103] Agodé was founded by Grand Man Ochi, probably about 1895, at the time when the Boni were required by the settlement of the Lawa Dispute to evacuate the villages they were occupying on the Surinam bank. The name Boniville was given by the gold miners; it was used never at all by the Boni.

621 613 [103] The Yakubi or Kotika lineage forms the important village of Kotika (1). It is one of those which have remained best grouped.

1. This word alludes to the river where the rebellion of 1772 began.

[423] [241] [103] Its members have exclusive rights over the region included between Abunasunga Falls and their village. They have farmed there for more than a century, and this is why the region is called Abattis Kotika.

613 621 175 [648] Kotika is the oldest Boni village. It is one of those founded by the survivors of the battles against the Dutch when, about 1815, they settled again on the Lawa. Until about 1895 nearly all the Boni were grouped in one large village, each lineage occupying a different quarter. At the time of the settlement, unfavorable to France, of the Lawa Dispute (1895), the various lineages emigrated, founding especially the villages of l'Enfant Perdu, Loka, Boniville, and Papaïston. Only the members of the Kotika lineage stayed, in full agreement with the grand man, so that the ancestral land might not be completely abandoned. [648] [628] Thus the inhabitants of this village are nowadays under the authority of Surinam, without ceasing, for that reason, to be faithful to the grand man and maintaining normal relations with the other groups.

613 614 [124] The genealogies reconstituted in 1957 by systematic interrogation of the old people of the group had led to three distinct fractions which we shall call Kotika 1, 2, and 3, tracing respectively back to ancestresses named Kénéya, Amawi, and Oka.

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613 614 Not one of the members of the group could trace back to the common ancestress; yet these three fractions together behave as [601] a single lineage. All its members know their mutual appellations [784] "brother," "uncle," etc. All are subject to the same kunu.

The law of exogamy is respected within each fraction, but 613 there are seven cases of unions between members of different 614 fractions; these unions are disapproved of in principle, but they 582 are tolerated. 123

Thus, on the subject of exogamy, we see the thought of the Refugee Blacks breaks away from the rigorous principle on which their social order is based. It is the actually known genealogy which counts in their eyes on this point.

613 In December, 1958 we were able to reconstitute the com- 614 plete genealogy of the group (Fig. 4), thanks to the memories of 128 the doyenne of the group, Ma Imma, who had lived for a very [115] long time isolated in a village of the Maroni estuary. The data [601] thus reconstituted are in complete agreement with the kinship appellations among members of the various fractions. /24/

/Fig. 4 appears here./

The case of the Kotika lineage is thus particularly interesting, for we find ourselves knowing its genealogy completely when its members know it no more than partially.

613 Study of this group shows that the forgetting of kinship ties 614 has no effect on the physical grouping of the lineage and its [602] functioning as a social unit.

It has direct repercussions only on the observation of the principle of exogamy. Thus the way in which exogamy is understood and observed appears to us from now on as a secondary criterion having no certain value for the recognition of a common origin.

[621] Some Djuka and Saramaka have settled among the members of the Kotika lineage, but as individuals.

[621] The Lapé (La Paix) lineage, whose name alludes to one of the great plantations of the Cottica River in the 18th century, is

[See p. 34, Category 116 -- Analyst]

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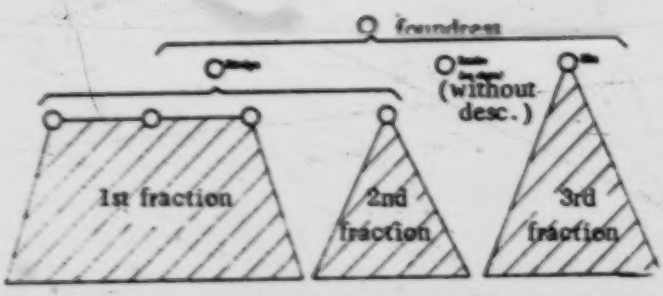

Fig. 4. Common genealogy of the three fractions of the Kotika lineage.

[621] divided between the small villages of Lapé Tabiki and Loka. It is a well-grouped lineage whose members know their genealogy perfectly as far as a common ancestress named Mata, who must have lived at the end of the 18th century; only one small group which we shall call Lapé 2 (descendants of Atili) does not know exactly the ties attaching them to the principal group. The law of exogamy is respected rigorously within this group; there is not a single case of marriage between the two fractions. The members of the two fractions consider themselves a single lineage.

[784] They have the same kunu.

[184] Note that there is a Lapé lo among the Djuka, regarded as of the same origin.

[621] No element of heterogeneous origin has settled in the villages of the Lapé lo.

613 The Dju lineage, which occupies the central part of the
[361] Asisi Island, also fits the definition of kin groups among the Refugee Blacks. Its members know /25/ their entire genealogy as far back as a common ancestress named Aluku, doubtless, tracing to the middle of the 18th century.

613 Among the Dju there is no fraction separated from the principal group.

[184] There is also a Dju lo among the Djuka. The word Dju alludes to the Jews, the lineage probably having been born in the plantations belonging to the Jews of Surinam.

The law of exogamy is rigorously applied within the Dju lo.

No element of heterogeneous origin is established among the Dju.

613 614 621 The Dipélu lineage was the most important in the past; from the point of view of genealogy it is split up into three groups whose members are scattered in three villages, subject to different authorities.

Genealogy		Villages
Dipélu I		l'Enfant Perdu Apatu (founded in 1882)
Dipélu II. 1st fraction Dipélu II. 2nd fraction	very recent scission	Kormotibo some elements in Asisi.

613 —Dipélu I forms a unit remarkable for the amplitude of its genealogy, completely known, which extends over eight generations and goes back to a common ancestress named Sanyan, who must have lived in the middle of the 18th century. The common [174] origin of the two groups being necessarily anterior to this ancestress, it seems logical to make it go back to the beginning of the 18th [601] century. In spite of the remoteness in time of their common origin, the members of both groups know with precision their "horizontal" kinship ties (brother, uncle, etc.), which have lost

613 /26 cont./
[601] nothing of their strength although they have lost all correspondence with the age of the people concerned.

614 —Dipélu II, whose members know their genealogy badly,
571 appears on the contrary to be on the way toward breaking up. The head of the Dipélu II, who bears the title of captain, resides
[578] at Kormotibo. Part of the group settled in Asisi following a disagreement, without ceasing to be under his authority.

614 One might think that the physical separation of the two
602 groups took place as a function of the genealogies, that the 2nd
571 fraction of Dipélu II emigrated as a single group to Asisi, leaving in Kormotibo the members of the 1st fraction. But this is not the case at all; examination of the genealogical table shows that the emigrant group issues as much from one as from the other; this is a very remarkable aspect of the social structure of the Refugee Blacks, which proceeds directly from their conceptions of classificatory kinship. A man is "at home" wherever his classificatory "brothers" and "uncles" live, and if a physical separation occurs in the group, preferences and personal affinities will have as much influence as closeness of kinship. /26/

613 Three generations ago, Dipélu was only one group under
614 the leadership of a single head residing in Kormotibo. The process
571 of its breaking up is a beautiful example of what Europeans produce
177 by interfering in the social life of an African tribe in order to pick out a man who appears to them more intelligent and active than the others.

[554] The companion of the explorer Crevaux, Apatu, who be-
[621] longed to this group, was on his return covered with honors, en-
[578] dowed with the title of captain and with pay; he conflicted with the legitimate head of the lo, seceded, and founded a village on the outskirts of Saint-Laurent, taking with him a fraction of the group.

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[621] This village had no future. its complement did nothing but
[591] melt away for half a century, especially under the influence of
[177] venereal diseases.
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Neither time nor geographical separation have brought on scission on the religious or legal planes. In this respect the members of Dipélu I and Dipélu II continue to think of one another as
[784] the same lineage. They remain subject to the same kunu.

The law of exogamy continues to be applied rigorously with-
613 in Dipélu I and within Dipélu II, but marriages are permitted be-
614 tween Dipélu I and II. There are no longer any social sanctions
582 about this, and the common origin of the two groups is so remote that they scarcely think any more of applying to them the term
[784] pikadu. But such unions remain exceptional, the people concerned continuing to fear a superhuman sanction.

[621] No element of heterogeneous origin, fragment paternally related or refugee outsiders, has settled among the Dipélu.

613 The Papaïston or Kawina lineage (Papaïston village) has
[621] remained perfectly coherent and well grouped. Its members know their genealogy as far back as an ancestress named Térésa, who must have lived at the beginning of the 18th century. But there exists a small fraction, nearly extinct, which we shall designate as Papaïston 2, which presents a separate genealogy going almost
[614] as far back in time. Nobody knows the origin of this group exactly; it is regarded as connected by kinship ties to the main group, but the members of the two groups consider that they form two distinct
[784] bee. They do not have the same kunu.

[582] 'Marriage is not tolerated within the principal group, but it is allowed between members of the two groups.

613 Moreover, with the Papaïston lives a small group which
621 fled from Surinam about the end of the 19th century, originally
[167] of the Bakabuchi tribe. This group has no kinship tie at all with
[101] the Papaïston but has placed itself under the authority of the head

/26 cont./

613 of the Papaïston lo. It is generally designated by "Toïna's family,"
621 Toïna being the doyenne of the group.

The Awara Bakka lineage (Asisi village) has a more com-
613 plex and particularly interesting structure. Study of its genealogy
614 shows that it is in fact divided into three fractions which we shall
[621] call Aw.B.1, Aw.B.2, Aw.B.1 /misprint for Aw.B.3 -- Tr./.
The Aw.B.1 know /27/ their genealogy perfectly back to an ancestress named Akyé, great-great-grandmother of the centenarian Kuluba († 1957). Akyé must have lived toward the end of the
613 18th century.

Awara Bakka 3 is a paternally related fragment which was
614 "assimilated" to the principal group by a process of which several
571 other examples exist among the Boni. It was founded by Anéta,
[621] a Djuka woman originally from the village of Tabiki on the Tapanaoni, wife of Pèèyon (Aw.B.1), who remained there with her numerous descendants after the death of her husband.

The members of this group, who should normally be regarded as Djuka and outsiders to the lo, end up by being engulfed in the social organization and ancestor worship of the Awara Bakka. The
[601] daughters of Anéta and Pèèyon were called "sisters" by the Aw.B.1 by reason of patrilineal relationship. These appellations were
[784] transposed for their descendants to the point where many ended by losing their true origin from sight; but the Aw.B.3 keep a separate religious and legal responsibility and are subject to their own kunu, that of the Djuka village of Tabiki from which came their ancestress.

613 As a matter of fact, as we shall show by studying the beliefs
614 of the Boni, the kunu is irremediably transmitted by the mother
784 and no process of assimilation has any effect on this. Thus the Aw.B.3 are not really part of the lineage; they are separated from it by a clear criterion, obvious in the eyes of all, impossible to disregard or forget.

/27 cont./

614 The Aw.B.2, on whom we could not get sure information
[123] because this very closed group did not cooperate willingly with the inquiry, appear to be in a very similar situation, with the difference that their genealogy goes back much farther in time and they no longer remember the origin of this fraction nor the
[184] circumstances which tied its fate to that of the Aw.B.1. This group apparently has a separate kunu.

613 The Awara Bakka lineage is in a special situation from the
614 point of view of exogamy, for not only are there marriages be-
582 tween one fraction and another, but there are two within the same
[183] fraction and between relatively near relatives. Thus this group, without openly rejecting the law of exogamy, does not attach the same importance to it as do the others.

613 The Afi lineage. This lineage was founded by Afi, wife of
[101] a man from Papaïston, who came to live with him. Like the Toïna lineage, she had come from the small tribe called Bakabuchi which lived in Surinam. However, the Afi and Toïna lineages are not of the same matrilineal origin and the present members of each of the two small groups have no common worship. All of
[571] them have lost every tie with their original tribe, and their social life is entirely dependent on that of the Boni group which has taken them in.

[621] Afi settled near Kormotibo. This site is abandoned by her descendants who live, most of them, in Asisi, the rest in Kormotibo.

The lineage has lost every tie with its group of origin.
[619] Nevertheless, it is assumed that if one of them wanted to go back there, on proving his relationship, he would take up all his rights again and could demand a site for making his clearings.

613 /28/ The process of assimilation which took place for the
621 AW.B.3 did not come into play for Afi's descendants with respect
571 to the Papaïston lineage. They are regarded as a separate family group, insufficient in number to constitute a social unit and whose members are placed under the authority of the heads of the villages

/28 cont./

613 where they have chosen to live. It is possible that later, if their
621 number continues to increase, they may found a separate village
571 whose head will be recognized as captain. A new lo would thus be created.

613 Real nature of Boni matrilineal groups. Examination of the situation
614 of the various lineages leads to the following conclusions:

571 — The fact that genealogies are forgotten does not lead to any fractioning of lineages on the material or religious planes.

— The conceptions of the Boni relative to classificatory kinship, as well as their custom hostile toward any discrimination within the lineage, hinder fractioning. When a separation takes place on the plane of residence and authority, it has no repercussion on the common worship which cements the lineage together;

— The fashion in which the law of exogamy is applied does not constitute a valid criterion, the attitude of the various groups in this regard being quite variable;

— No process of assimilation permits integration into the lineage of elements of foreign origin; a process of assimilation of paternally related fragments exists. But this assimilation is not complete, it does not operate on the plane of legal and religious responsibility;

613 — Ultimately, the surest criterion of true common matrilineal
614 origin is unity of legal and religious responsibility, marked by the
784 same kunu. The kunu, transmitted irrevocably by the mother whatever may be the conditions of her marriage, weighing collectively on all the members of a lineage and capable of being warded off only by their collective prayers, is the true cement of kin groups.

[571] By its very nature, the kunu opposes any scission of groups. Neither time nor geographical separation can break it.

[621] The example of Dipélu I and II is characteristic in this regard, for its members remain rigorously subject to the same kunu

/28 cont./

613 although the supposed common ancestress doubtless goes back to
614 the beginning of the 18th century and for three generations they
784 have been divided among four villages situated at a week's dis-
[621] tance by boat from one another. We can, with very few chances of error, affirm that they certainly have a common matrilineal origin and that they in fact constitute one lineage.

182 On this subject let us note that geographical separation can-
619 not play the same role among the Refugee Blacks as in the African
361 tribes of cultivators. The Refugee Blacks, whose habitat is linear
[484] along the banks of the river and who, being boatmen, are continually moving, cannot be completely isolated from one another.

613 /29/ Under these conditions, how can we explain the
614 existence within certain lineages of individualized fractions subject
571 to a separate kunu, such as Papaïston 2?

One can assume that these fractions do not really have the same origin as the principal group and that they result from a process of assimilation of a paternally related fragment.

We have cited the example of Aneta's descendants (Aw.B.3). They are already integrated into the social life of the group; in two or three generations nobody will remember any longer their exact origin. But they will remain differentiated from the princi-
[784] pal fraction of the Awara Bakka because they will still be subject to the kunu of their ancestress.

121 Such are the elements we have been able to draw from a general study of kin groups among the Boni. We shall look for other data in the study of the implantation of these groups on the soil, and especially of the apportionment of lands among them; finally, we shall study family custom and especially inheritance.

A complete understanding of the kinship system and its functioning can be obtained only in the future by following the evolution of kin groups, the formation of new villages; and the designation of new headmen.

/29 cont./

121 This is what necessitates as precise an inventory as possible of the population in its present state.

61 Matrilineal kin groups among the Djuka and Saramaka Refugee Blacks.
114 Authors who have described the social structure of the Djuka and
184 Saramaka, groupings appreciably more numerous than the Boni, have also called attention to the use of the words lo and bɛɛ, but give them a completely different meaning.

174 The organization they describe can be summarized thus: '
571 Before making up tribes, the rebels lived in small groups
621 near the plantations from which they had escaped; these groups of composite origin were designated by the word lo which means: troop, band; the same word is used to designate a band of animals.

[162] These rebels used to belong to all the nations of the west
[103] coast of Africa. In spots there may have been an attempt at regroupings of elements belonging to the same nation, as proven by the village names Loango, Dahomey, among the Saramaka.
[622] But the majority of these small groups were very probably of heterogeneous origin; in each of these lo, the bravest and most capable was designated as head.

[648] After the recognition of the Djuka and Saramaka by the
[167] government of Surinam and their regrouping on the great rivers of the interior, these groups kept their unity since they had a de facto organization and leaders. They were naturally designated by the name of the plantation they had come from. We say for example Dju nẽnge for the former slaves of the Jews, Kɔpani nẽnge for the former slaves of the Compagnie des Indes Orientales /East India Company/. /30/

174 In the course of the 19th century the total number of Refugee
613 Blacks increased very rapidly under the influence of a high birth
614 rate. The lineages in the proper meaning of the term bɛɛ, mean-
621 ing the descendants of the same ancestress, took on sufficient im-
571 portance to constitute distinct social units. They grouped in
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/30 cont./

174 separate villages and the more important even burst out into
613 several villages whose heads were recognized as "captains" by the grand man and then by the government. The number of Djuka
• 614 captains recognized by the government of Surinam has not stopped
621 growing; it was 28 these last few years.

The lo no longer represented an effective social unit, but
571 its members kept common worships. For example, it is said that the Dju nẽnge go each year as a ritual to get earth from the
[188] Savanc des Juifs /Savanna of the Jews/ where their ancestors were slaves.

[114] This explanation seems probable. The kin-group is not the only social unit known to Africans; the bond between man and land has equal importance in their eyes; the fact that their fathers had lived together, that they had been buried in the same cemetery created a among the rebel slaves a de facto bond which was able to suffice, at the beginning of the rebellion, to found villages and a social organization.

[114] However, this theory cannot be entertained without reservations. It has not been possible to verify it by systematic studies, the Djuka and Saramaka having firmly opposed until now any ethnographic investigation involving the statement of genealogies and the inventory of the population of the villages.

[184] It contradicts what we have pointed out among the Boni. In that group six great lineages are counted, of which four (Dju, Kotika, La Paix, Dikan) have a name also alluding to the plantations from which their ancestors fled.

Nevertheless it is certainly a question of lineages in the proper meaning of the term, and nobody remembers that any other organization ever existed. Also, in the absence of systematic studies of the Djuka and Saramaka, the problem of the origin of
[184] their kin groups remains obscure. The future will permit verifying one or the other of the two hypotheses:

174 /30 cont./

613 1st. Lo = de facto grouping of rebels of any provenance,
614 which has in the long run split up into lineages but which remains
621 in the form of a common worship;

571 2nd. Lo = lineage, from the very beginning.
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Conceptions Relative to Kinship and Marriage

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[121] Ties between the individual and the ancestors. Before examining more deeply the social and family structure of the Refugee Blacks, it is indispensable to study what religious ties are implied between [184] the individual and the ancestors. Here one is in the presence of basic beliefs which seem identical in the various tribes of Refugee Blacks of Guiana and of which their structure is the consequence.

In the civilizations of Blacks Africa it is supposed that a [171] current of life and /31/ strength circulates from the divinity to men through the medium of the ancestors. Among the Refugee Blacks it is taken for granted that in this respect each man is bound [782] to his ancestors through the maternal line only. If he falls prey to illness, injustice, or adversity, he can call only on them in his prayer.

593 That does not mean that the tie with the father is ignored [827] or considered as having little importance; it is taken for granted, as we shall see, that in the creation of man certain psychic elements are transmitted from father to son. But the current of strength binding the individual to the ancestors does not pass through the father. One cannot pray usefully to the soul of one's dead father. [755] If I am sick and divination incriminates the action of my dead [782] father's soul, I cannot address either prayer or offering directly to him; for that I shall have recourse to one of his near relatives in the maternal line.

614 /31 cont./

769 Another very important principle in the minds of the Refugee
796 Blacks is that prayers must be collective; the principal ceremonies,
613 such as the New Year's prayer, must bring together, at least in principle, the total lineage.

These notions certainly have influenced the custom of the
182 Refugee Blacks with respect to residence and marriage. The lineage
613 cannot allow the permanent departure of a woman from her native
614 country any more than that of a man. In the populations of Black
591 Africa with matrilineal filiation, this conception is reconciled
[171] with the necessities of practical living in the following manner: the wife leaves her relatives to settle down with her husband, but when her children reach adulthood they must return there. Thus one cannot attribute to this preoccupation alone the special system of marriage among the Refugee Blacks, which does not involve the permanent cohabitation of man and wife. We shall see that this system was inspired by social and psychological necessities. But concern for the unity of the lineage, to which it corresponds perfectly, has surely contributed to make of it a rigorous principle of customary law.

601 Kinship within the matrilineage. The kinship terms translate a
613 purely classificatory system. It depends only on the number of generations separating from the foundress. The sons of women
611 descended from the foundress in uterine line are regarded as members of the matrilineage and united in the system of appellation. The children of these men are no longer part of the matrilineage.

/37 cont./

614 An example of scission in a kin group: the separation of Dipélu II
571 between Kormotibo and Asisi. (See Dip. II genealogical table.)
578 This scission resulted from a ridiculous incident: a falling-out which occurred between ○ Alawenchi † (E19) and ○ Bongo (E6) because of a hoe which the first claimed to have been stolen from her by Bongo.

Since neither one would yield, they became really angry and fought. /38/

△ Agosa, head of the lineage, taking the part of Alawenchi, decided to secede and settle in Asisi.

○ Pilè † (F35) and ○ Sésey † (F38) who, their mother being dead, had been raised by Alawenchi, joined them and founded families in Asisi.

[621] This explains the present scission of this group and the
[784] bizarre division of its members between Kormotibo and Asisi. This scission had no result on the religious plane, unity being maintained by the pitiless tie of the kunu. Nowadays, Captain Poopu's authority is exerted normally on the fraction in Asisi. Relations between the two groups are rather good. /Figs. 5 and 6 appear here./

/39/ CHAPTER III

125 INVENTORY OF THE PEOPLING OF THE BONI VILLAGES

We have tried to take a complete census of the Boni of the Upper Maroni as of January 1, 1958, including for the women the statement of their successive unions and of their children living
[126] and dead. This census is associated with detailed plans of the villages and a study of the territorial implantation of kin groups.

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Kormotibo and Asisi-Dipélu Villages

Dipélu II lo

[128] [361] We did not judge it useful to include the plan of the habitat of this group, consisting of two hamlets which are badly kept up and in decay.

[162] As of January 1, 1958: 62 persons, of whom 31 are children and adolescents of less than 16 years.

[591] Adult inhabitants whose residence in these villages is not normal:

△ Alémin 1880 (Afi lineage)	has always lived isolated
○ Magdaléna 1912 (Afi lineage) (raising 4 children under 16)	came to live with her husband Léon (Dip. II, † in 1954); remained there afterward.
△ Doïchiman 1934 (Afi l.)	raised by his mother Magdaléna, lives near her.
△ Dokwé 1938 (Afi l.)	idem
○ Gongolon 1937 (Afi l.) (raising a child)	idem
○ Mauda 1935 (Afi l.)	idem
○ Ninga 1899 (Papaïston 2)	separated from her group after a disagreement.
△ Bénu 1928	Ninga's son, followed his mother.

Total: 8 persons raising 4 children under 16 years.

/86 cont./

621 Near this clearing is the limit of the lineage lands; beyond
613 are the clearings of Loka village (Lapé lineage).
423 Out of the 16 clearings examined here, 14 are occupied by
241 members of the Papaïston group at Boniville, two are held by
[562] temporary users, outsiders to the group. Out of the 16 clearings 13 are held by women and three by men.

Lands of Loka village (Lapé lo). This village, with its annex Lapé Tabiki, is the residence village of the Lapé lo. The Lapé lo, [614] whose genealogy is completely known and which remains geographically well grouped, is divided into two fractions without ceasing to constitute a lineage (bee) in the strict sense of the term. Its lands are divided into three zones:

--One on the east bank of the Maroni, behind Loka village.

/87/ --Another on the west bank (Surinam bank) opposite Lapé Tabiki, which we were not able to examine.

--Another upstream from Maripasoula, where part of the members of the lineage possess farming habitations.

[311] The first zone has been almost completely abandoned for about ten years as a consequence of an exceptional pullulation of manioc ants. We have summarized only a few relatively recent clearings there:

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
31 Δ	Akwadé (L1, E22) for himself	1948	member of the Lapé lo	cut only once on old secondary forest
32 Δ	Akwadé, for himself	1950	id.	cut twice in all by Akwadé

/89 cont./
621 in which these finages were constituted, one must not expect to
613 find clear boundaries.
423 These 14 clearings are thus used exclusively by members
241 of the Dju lineage living in Asisi village. All but two are held
[562] by women. /90/

It is interesting to study the kinship ties of the members of the lineage making their clearings in different zones. One might actually believe that there is a tendency toward individualization of sublineages, and that the descendants of a particular woman tend to hold exclusively the use of such and such a zone.

We see here that such is not the case.

In zone 1 (studied here), make their clearings: Tini (F1), Paana (G2), Féni (G3), very close relatives, but also Lènga (F36), Kukusa (F40), and Félicia (G41), whose relationship with the first-named is as distant as possible within the lineage: Félicia and Paana for example are relatives in the 12th degree.

The same thing is observed in other zones, as we shall see in the study of farming habitations.

621 Lands of the Awara Bakka lo (Asisi village). The finage of the
613 Awara Bakka lo is particularly interesting to study, for this lo
● 614 has a more complex structure. Study of the genealogy shows the
423 existence of three distinct fractions, which we have designated respectively as Aw.B.1, Aw.B.2, Aw.B.3. The Aw.B.1 and 2 fractions consider themselves as the same lineage in the strict sense (bɛɛ). On the contrary, fraction 3 can be considered as a separate lineage from the point of view of legal responsibility. Moreover, the members of the small Afi lineage, living with the Awara Bakka, also constitute a separate unit from the legal point of view. It is important to study whether that carries over into their territorial implantation.

/137 cont./

831 necessary food) than by a sentimental motive. It is very rare to meet among them the appearance of sincere and lasting love for a woman; that is sometimes seen, but it is the exception.

562 It is not enough to say that they have few emotional feelings with respect to women. In the conversations heard in the evening around the campfires a deep contempt is expressed on this subject; they even speak of the Boni women as of a foreign and almost enemy nation; they consider them besides as half irresponsible. This attitude shows through in the custom concern-
[684] ing adultery, which decrees that the lover be beaten but not the wife.

581 Among the Refugee Blacks marriage is in fact a contract of maintenance between a man and woman, which provides for the execution of such-and-such work by the one for the benefit of the other, and for the wife the obligation to be faithful.
[586] This contract can be cancelled unilaterally without any sort of indemnity. It does not directly involve the relatives of the
[765] spouses; it involves them only in case of the death of one spouse, for the surviving spouse must /138/ put up with the subservience
[613] of mourning. It is principally for this reason that a marriage must be officially known by both lineages, and that a divorce must be proclaimed without delay.

582 Exogamy. Marriage is forbidden between persons of the same
613 lineage. In expressing this prohibition the Refugee Blacks
614 employ the word bee (lineage in the restricted sense) and not the word lo.

613 As we have seen in studying the situation of the various lineages, the various Boni kin groups follow different rules in this regard:

--The Dju lineage, which forms only one single group from the genealogical point of view, does not allow marriage between its members;

/138 cont./

613 --The Lapé lineage is divided into two groups from the
●614 genealogical point of view, but marriage between these two fractions remains prohibited. The law of exogamy is rigorously respected within this group;

--The Kotika lineage, which tends by forgetfulness of the genealogy to split into three fractions, tolerates union between members of different fractions; in 1958 there were seven cases of this. On the contrary, union is not allowed between members of the same fraction;

--The Dipélu I lineage, whose genealogy is completely known, does not allow marriage between its members, although for several generations it has been cut into two distinct social units, L'Enfant Perdu and Apatu villages, entirely separated geographically and each possessing its own head;

--It is the same for Dipélu II, but marriage is permitted between Dipélu I and Dipélu II;

--The Papaïston lineage allows the possibility of union between the principal fraction and the small Papaïston 2 fraction. But there is no marriage between members of the principal fraction;

613 --The Awara Bakka lineage on the contrary tolerates
614 unions not only between the members of its three fractions but
588 also recently within the principal fraction:

○Abenkina (Aw.B.1, F21) and △Boofo (Aw.B.1, E31)
○Kyéti (Aw.B.1, E30) and △Pitipiti (Aw.B.1, F3).

This situation is an object of scandal to the other groups, and it does not seem that we are present here at the beginning of a general transformation.

613 It is to be noted that the possibility of marriage is allowed
614 between the members of groups presumed to be of the same origin but separated for a long time, like Dipélu I and Dipélu II.

/138 cont./

613 In general, one can say that the law of exogamy is main-
614 tained firmly within the fractions which know completely their genealogy. Union between classificatory "brothers" and "sisters" belonging to different fractions remains always prohibited in principle, but as for all the institutions of the Refugee Blacks, the prohibition ceases to be observed if fear of suprahuman sanctions weaken. /139/

This is what explains the difference in attitude among the lineages. In the Awara Bakka lineage, people do not remember
[784] that marriages between fractions may have been followed by maladies or misfortunes, and for this reason they are no longer feared.

In the Kotika lineage it was the same, but an event which
[789] took place in 1958 threw consternation. A young woman, Awini
[784] (K1, E37, Boniville), died suddenly, and divination showed that
[961] she had been struck down by the kunu for having married her classificatory brother Sintamann (K3, E145, Boniville). However, they belonged to two different fractions and their common relationship was the farthest removed possible in the lineage (tenth-degree relatives).

684 Pikadu. The offense against exogamy, pikadu (1), incest in the
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784

1. This word appears to come from the Portuguese pecado, sin.

broad sense, is considered an offense against society and against religious law; it exposes the lineage to the vengeance of the gods who exercise the kunu on it. But in the thought of the Refugee Blacks, if incest unleashes the functioning of existing kunu, it
[114] does not create new ones. What has been written on this subject by several authors seems inexact to us, at least for the Boni.
[961] In the example put forth above Awini's death was attributed to the kunu brought to bear for a long time by the yɔrka of a man assassinated in former times by a member of the lineage.

/225 cont. /

One sees from this example how the influence of women, exerted in arbitrary fashion, in a domain placed outside of custom and ordinary social life, weighs on the life of the group.

Kunu of the Dipélu lineage. The situation of the Dipélu lineage with respect to the kunu is particularly interesting. Although split for perhaps 100 years into two separate groups, Dipélu I (L'Enfant Perdu and Apatu villages) and Dipélu II (Kormotibo and Asisi-Dip. II villages), this group still constitutes an undivided unit with respect to the kunu. Neither time nor distance (it takes more than a week of traveling to make the round trip between L'Enfant Perdu and Apatu) has been able to break it up. The Apatu people come very often (at least some of them) to be present at the collective prayers which take place at L'Enfant Perdu to appease a kunu in order to cure a sick person.

The oldest kunu ("since Africa") is that of a Papa gadu god whose tenter was ○ Dika (Dip. I, D10, † 1951) and which passed after her death into ○ Péechina (Dip. I, E42, L'Enfant Perdu village). This kunu strikes indiscriminately the people of L'Enfant Perdu, Apatu, Kormotibo, Asisi-Dip. II, and the Dipélu fraction residing in Boniville. To it, these past years, have been attributed the death of ○ Way (Dip. I, E6, living in Boniville), the illness of △ Akwali (Dip. II, F7, Kormotibo village) and of ○ Bongo (same village).

Another very old kunu is the one exercised by the yɔrka of a Surinam Creole who had settled with the Dipélu people a very long time ago. He was suspected of sorcery and killed. Since then his yɔrka comes back regularly to exterminate the Dipélu.

/225 cont./

784 Having no known lineage (his family, if he had any, was
785 in Surinam), it had taken people of the Dipélu lineage as
614 bearers. The last was △ Denis † in 1938. Since Denis'
787 death, it no longer has a bearer. The questioning of the dead
reveals that they died by its kunu. The members of the two
[782] fractions of the lineage meet together (at least two or three
members of each village come) to supplicate it.

784 A third kunu, very interesting in origin and supposed
614 action, /226/ in 1957 was borne by Kwau (Dip. I, E1, Kotika
village). It results from the killing of an anaconda snake by
Apatu † (Dip. I, C1), companion of the explorer Crevaux
when he was traveling to /in/ Brazil. Upon contact with
Europeans Apatu had become a freethinker and was no longer
[753] observing the laws of his people. Among the later victims of
this kunu was counted Kwamî (Dip. II, F4, Kormotibo village)
[755] who, gravely ill, had had to go to L'Enfant Perdu where the
god had been invoked for him and offerings made. The death
[761] of Manga (Dip. I, E5, Boniville, † about 1930) was particu-
larly attributed to it.

No other kunu has revealed itself in Apatu village since
its founding in 1882.

784 A fourth kunu concerning all the Dipélu has as bearers
614 women of the Dipélu II group. It results from the inadvertent
776 murder of a Papa gadu whose bearer was a dagowe snake killed
787 in the course of the nivrée /fishing/ of a pool by Akonté
562 † (Dip. II, B1), transmitted to Kondo †, then to Alama
(Dip. II, E1).

Since then Papa gadu have revealed themselves in
○ Apaïta (Dip. II, F9, Kormotibo village) and in ○ Kaaia
(Dip. II, G28, Asisi-Dip. II village). They declared them-
selves to be the descendants of the first and to come in support
of it.

/226 cont./

784 182 Finally, a fifth kunu is threatening to show itself. This is a remarkable affair which clarifies at the same time the legal and religious conceptions of the Refugee Blacks.

672 About 1918, a stupid accident which happened at Dagouédé (gun which went off by itself at the moment when it was being stowed in a boat) caused the death of a girl, Santonia, daughter of Kuluba (Aw.B.1). The unwitting perpetrator of the accident was Kwau (Dip. I. Apatu village). [692] There were people in the Awara Bakka lineage who accused him of having done it on purpose, but the grand man judged that he was innocent and the affair was shelved.

784 614 795 787 Now in April, 1957, Kiboya (Dip. II), a young woman of 25, was attacked by a fit of possession. It was Santonia's yaka which was supposed to reveal itself in her. It declared that it was going to exercise a kunu on Dipélu. It was not claiming that Kwau had killed her on purpose and even asked the Awara Bakka not to make reprisals.

628 614 Nevertheless, full of fury, a party of Awara Bakka went the next day to attack the village of L'Enfant Perdu, demolishing a certain number of huts and pursuing the inhabitants, some of whom took refuge in the water and others in the bush. There were, however, no serious blows.

The next day they went to attack Kormotibo in the same way. It is to be noted that only after that did they think of blaming Kwau, who was then living at Wacapou. But the grand man had intervened in the meantime to re-establish peace.

In both cases the façades of several shacks were smashed and two men, Bonana and Amatodja, who had run less fast than the others, were struck symbolically.

/226 cont./

628 The members of the Dipélu lineage did not believe a
614 word of this affair, convinced that Kiboya, a proud and scheming
784 woman, had pretended the gita to make herself interesting.
787 Nevertheless, to bring back peace, they decided to go to Asisi
156 and to ask pardon in front of the fraga tiki, pouring tafia,
769 asking the ancestors not to take vengeance, the living being
778 reconciled.

784 /227/ (Note that in this affair, the yɔrka manifests itself in a
614 member of the lineage on which it exercises the kunu.)
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784 Kunu of the Awara Bakka lineage. The Awara Bakka lineage
614 does not form a unit with respect to the kunu, and the situation
613 of its fractions is particularly interesting. This lineage includes:

--A principal fraction (Aw.B.1);

--A fraction whose kinship ties with the first are forgotten (Aw.B.2), whose position with respect to the kunu we have not been able to define.

--Finally, a group descended from Anèta, Djuka woman, wife of Péeyon † (Aw.B.1) settled in Asisi with her descendants in uterine line. We have called this group Aw.B.3. It has a separate kunu originating in the Djuka village of Tabiki where Anèta came from.

784 The Awara Bakka I, all living in Asisi village, had to
787 our knowledge three kunu in 1957:
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--One exercised by a Papa gadu god, borne up to 1957
613 by O Kuluba (Aw.B.1, D1). At her death in April, 1957,
428 she bequeathed it, contrary to custom, to a person of another fraction, Summa (Aw.B.3). But the god did not ratify this legacy and, in January, 1958; it manifested itself in Oléna (Aw.B.1, F52), thus remaining in the same lineage;

/227 cont./

784 --A second, very old kunu is exercised by a yɔrka of the
775 Dipélu II lo, Gy..., dead so long that he cannot be placed on
787 the genealogical table; it, too, had as bearer a member of the
613 lineage on which it was exercising the kunu, ○ Akumuyé
614 (Aw.B.1, D17) † 1957.

Thus the Awara Bakka and Dipélu lineages exercise the kunu reciprocally one against the other;

--A third kunu of recent origin is exercised by a Papa
784 gadu god which had as bearer in 1957 ○ Irma (Aw.B.1, E37).
786 It results from the inadvertent killing of a Dagowe /sic/ snake
613 by Takwa, Irma's brother. At the end of 1957 this kunu
[789] had yet brought on only illnesses of such a kind that people
[753] could still hope to exorcise it.

784 The Aw.B.3 group has a special kunu of its own and
613 considers itself out of reach of the kunu of the Aw.B.1.

Anèta, originating in the Djuka village of Tabiki, is subject to the kunu of that lineage as are all her descendants in
[782] uterine line. On occasion of serious illnesses the latter have sometimes had to go to Tabiki village to supplicate the kunu.

This kunu is the one of a god borne by Akanté, Anèta's
[786] daughter. In September, 1956, Summa, Akanté's daughter,
[787] was sick. The god revealed that this was its doing. It was
[782] supplicated (the other fractions joined the group) and she then got well.

613 Kunu of the Afi lineage. The descendants of Afi † (woman
621 coming from the tribe of the Bakabuchi of Surinam) live for the most part in Asisi in close symbiosis with the /228/ Awara Bakka lineage. They are in a situation analogous to that of Anèta's descendants (Aw.B.3) but, perhaps by the simple fact of their number, they form a more individualized unit.

/228 cont./

784 613 776 787 They are the object of three kunu:

--One exercised by a Papa gadu god whose bearer up into 1956 was Kotoïda († Oct. 1956), who bequeathed it to O Mani (Afi lineage, d12).

784 775 613 --The other exercised by a yɔrka of the Lapé lineage. This kunu dates from about 60 years ago; Alémin (Afi lineage, b3, Kormotibo village), 80 years old in 1957, had when he was young cut a clearing in a place which was found to be an old abandoned Boni cemetery (opposite Maripasoula). Some [787] time afterward, a yɔrka revealed itself in a woman of the Lapé lineage, saying that it was exercising a kunu against the family of the sacrilegious person.

[761] It is to this yɔrka, whose bearer is M... (L2, Boniville), that the death of Kotoïda in October, 1956 is especially attributed.

--A third kunu is exercised by A..., of the Papaïston 2 [684] lineage. A... had committed pikadu. Surprised by Alémin (Afi lineage), he had paid the latter to obtain his silence. [762] But Alémin had talked. Dishonored, A... committed suicide with a gunshot; some time afterward his yɔrka revealed itself in Alémin; it exercises a kunu on this lineage.

613 614 784 Situation of the other lineages with respect to the kunu. The Papaïston lineage is divided into two groups: Papaïston 1 (the principal one) and Papaïston 2, of which there remain only three living members: two women and one young man. This remainder of a lineage continues to bear its own kunu, which is unique and separate from that of the principal group.

The principal group forms a unit with respect to the kunu.

The Lapé lineage, cut from the point of view of genealogy into two pieces, forms a unit with respect to the kunu. We [114] have been able to collect only fragmentary information on the various kunu of this village.

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A (p. 576)
B (p. 577)
C (p. 578)
D (p. 579)

Chart of Positions of End Map /facing p. 576/

6:Hurault--576. K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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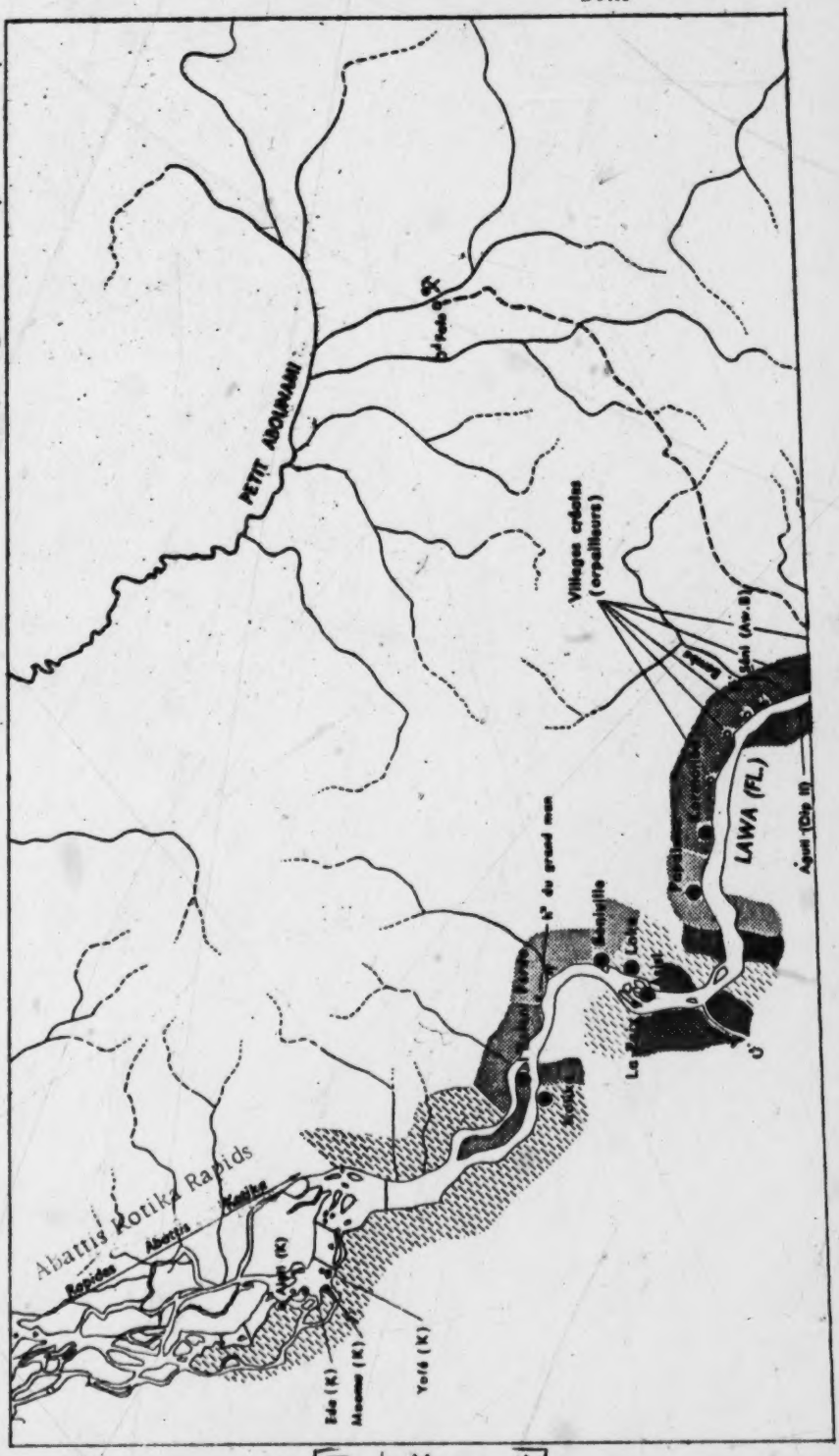
621



[End Map - A]

6:Hurault--577 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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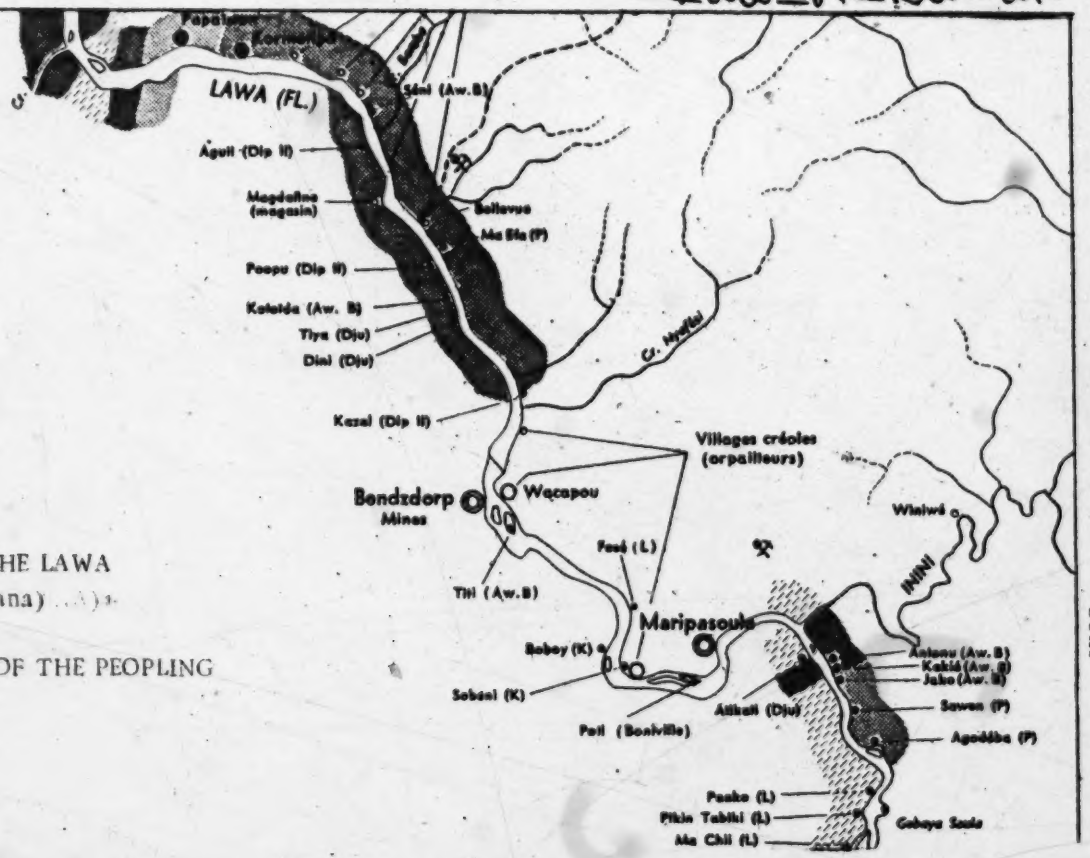

COURSE OF THE LAWA
(French Guiana)

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLING

End Map - B

6:Hurault-- 578 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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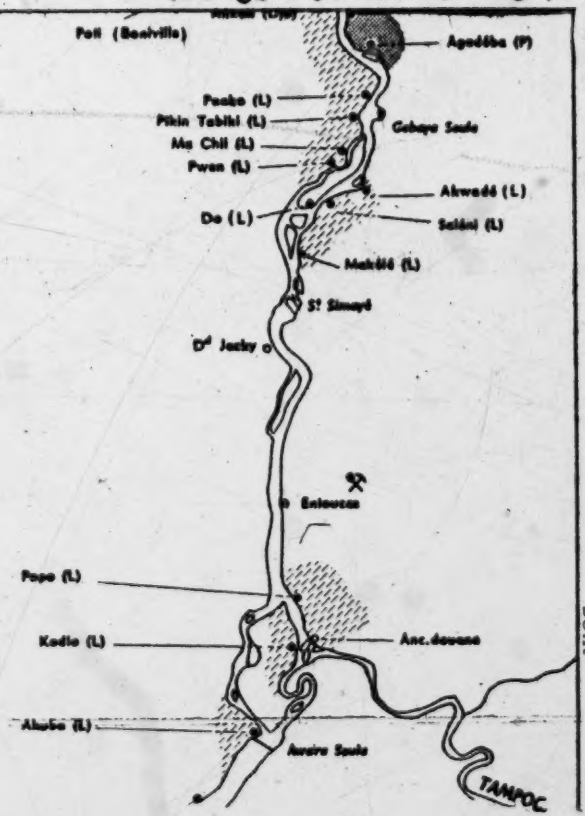
Villages and Farming Habitations
in 1958

- ● Boni residence villages
- • Boni farming habitations
- O Creole villages
- O European establishments
- • Creole habitations
- ⚒ Small gold workings
- • Indian villages

Lands belonging to the Boni lineages

- (K) Kotika lo
- (Dip) Dipélu lo
- (D) Dikan lo
- (L) Lapé lo
- (Dju) Dju lo



End Map - C

6:Hurault--573 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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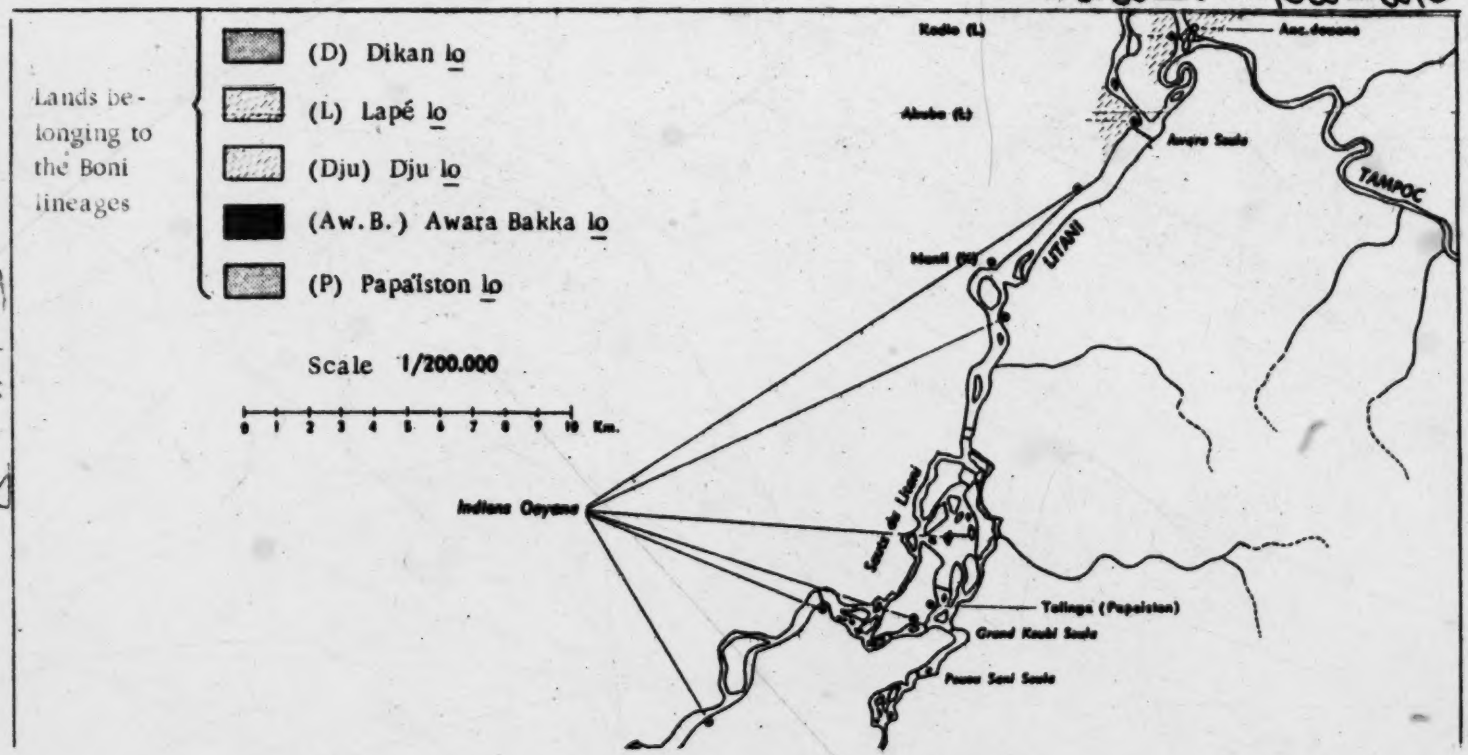
621



End Map - B

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A (p. 580)	B (p. 581)	C (p. 582)	D (p. 583)

Chart of Positions of End Plate /facing p. 580/

6:Hurault--580 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

DIVISION OF LANDS AMONG THE LINEAGES IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF THE PRINCIPAL BONI VILLAGES

102
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241
311
361
423
489
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614
504

Photographic montage made with the help of photographs of Field Trip 007/200 IGN Guiana
Scale 1/20 000 Taken in October, 1956

[End Plate -A]

6:Hurault--581 K-5 (1948-1956) 1961 SRS Bush Negroes SRS
Boni

102
103
133
241
311
361
423
487
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764
504

Scale 1/[illegible]

[End Plate - B]

6:Huzault--582 K-S (1948-1958) 1961 SRB Bush Negroes SRB

Boni

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361
423
487
504
613
614

Scale 1:20000

[End Plate-C]

Lefurault--562 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

162
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241
311
361
423
487
504
613
614

Agoué Permanent villages
clearings
floodable zones
boundaries not known
farming habitation
dégrad (wharf)
path
approximate boundaries of agricultural land

[End Plate - D]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

after a day's portage from its source one may strike the Tosso Creek, which brings the lower Sara Creek Aucaners into the distant Tapanahoni River, where exist the main body of the Aucaner tribe. They inhabit both banks of the Tapanahoni, from its mouth where it flows into the Marowyne River to some distance beyond the far Jai Creek. The Aucaners, like the Saramaccaners, are divided into several lo or clans. The names of these are as follows: the *Misni Jon lo* and *Otto lo*, which are the most powerful and to which belong the families of the Granmans; the *Perica lo*, *Pata lo M'beh lo*, *Ju Nengre lo*, *Penani lo*, *N'Yafi lo*, *Bray lo*, *Compai lo*, *Deekah lo*, *La Paix lo*, *Ke-o Condree lo*, and *Pooloogoodoo lo*. The head of the lo is called *Papa fu ah lo*, "father for the lo."

Beside these, the Aucaners have also divided their tribe into two separate parts, but they are both under the same Granman. These divisions are known as the *Uppo Nengre* (Upper Negro) and *Below Nengre* (Below Negro). The boundary between them being the Gran Hollo (Big Hole) Falls in the Tapanahoni River. The territory of the Below Nengre begins past the mouth of the Gran Creek and extends up the Tapanahoni River to the falls above mentioned. The islands in the Marowyne belong to this division and their territory also extends to the Dutch side of the Lawa River up to Aboona Sungu Falls (a man named Aboona sank there), which forms the boundary between the Aucaners and the Boni tribe in that region. Some names of the villages belonging to the Below Nengre Aucaners of that dis-

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

Preface

THE pages that follow describe scenes in the lives of a Negro people living in isolation in the interior of Dutch Guiana, South America. These Negroes are the descendants of runaway slaves imported from Africa, who took refuge in the dense Guiana bush and established African villages along the rivers whose rapids are their fortifications. The end of the seventeenth century already found these Negroes in constantly growing numbers up the Suriname River, and before the middle of the next century they were sufficiently organized to make repeated raids on the plantations for guns and gunpowder, for machetes and women. Several campaigns were conducted against them, but eventually final treaties were concluded with the Dutch owners of the colony, which guaranteed them their freedom. Today when a Bush Negro drinks with a white man his toast is "Free!"

Three tribal groups go to make up this Bush Negro population. The Saramacca tribe, of whom we write, is found in the heart of the colony along the upper reaches of the Suriname River (called by the Bush Negroes the "Saramacca," and hence so named in this book), and farther south along the Gran Rio and the Pikien Rio. This tribe has had the least contact with outside influences, and it is the Saramacca language which differs most from that spoken by the Negroes of the coastal region. The second is the Awka tribe, found mainly along the Marowyne (Maroni) River, which forms the boundary between French and Dutch Guiana; there are in addition several Awka villages on the lower Suriname. The third tribe, the Boni,

 [p. vi is blank]

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

101 is relatively small, and is localized in the interior of French
619 Guiana, not far from the Dutch boundary. In any consideration of the Guiana Negroes, yet a fourth group must be kept in mind—that of the Negroes of the coastal region, who remained enslaved until their emancipation in 1865.

989 The country of the Saramacca people is reached from Paramaribo, the capital and port of the colony of Suriname (Dutch Guiana), by the weekly train which goes some ninety-five miles to Kabel, where the railway meets the river. From Kabel transportation into the far interior is by dugout canoe, owned and manned by Saramacca men.
133 The country above Kabel, which the Saramacca people call the "big bush," is jungle. Over the watershed lie the Amazon basin and the forests of northern Brazil. Once in this region, the traveler has no contact with European civilization, though he is still under the protection of the Dutch Government.

121 The picture which we draw of the Saramacca people is
114 based upon two field trips to Dutch Guiana, undertaken in the summers of 1928 and 1929. During our second trip we traversed the entire stretch of the Saramacca country from below Kabel, where the Awka villages are located, to the last native habitation on the Pikien Rio, beyond which are some fields, then uninhabitated miles of wilderness to the Brazilian border.

The ethnological work conducted among the Saramacca tribe of Bush Negroes and the Negroes of the coastal region of Suriname represents a portion of an investigation into the physical and cultural characteristics of the Negroes of the New World. This research, which is still in progress, has included field work in the United States, in Dutch Guiana, and in Africa, and some comparative study in the islands of the Caribbean. It began in 1923 with an inquiry into Negro-white crossing in the United States.[1] As the work progressed it became evident that the problem

[1] For the results of this portion of the investigation, see M. J. Herskovits, "The American Negro, a Study in Racial Crossing" (1928); and "The Anthropometry of the American Negro" (1931).

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

614 clan names. He went to his mother's brother, and asked for the origin of his own clan, and the relationship that existed between the lo to which he belonged and the others.

"It is for the old men to know," his uncle replied. "When you are old, you will know these things."

"But you must tell me. It is my right," the young man insisted.

"It will be your right," the older man corrected him.

And there the matter rested. But from one, and from another, we gathered the clan names. One village belonged to one clan, its obia was confided to us, and at another village we learned the name of still another clan. So the list of names slowly grew—ten, twelve, thirteen, fourteen. But some clans were paired in a fashion we could not fathom, and when the clans are grouped so as to express the tribe as a whole, the expression that is used is that of "the twelve lo."

614 423 The clan we found to be rooted deep in the land. Each clan had its own territory, and in the region it controlled only the men of the clan might fish in the creeks or fell the hardwood trees which the white man in the city bought. All of the up-river clans had land on the lower river near the railhead, and an important down-river clan, like that of the Gankwe people, had land deep in the interior. Whether fear of invasion, on the one hand, or the need to have their own strongholds in the event of factional disputes, on the other, dictated this division of the land, it was, of course, impossible to determine. Yet it was unquestionably useful for a clan to have representation up and down the river in this fashion. Thus a man, as he traveled up or down the river, would be sure of at least one or two places where he might count on receiving the welcome due him as one who is at home among those who have come from the same "old mother," and where he might feel spiritually safe among people of his own blood, and among the same gods as those of his own village.

631 619 Village, clan, and above these the tribe. So it was that the political order of the Bush Negro was integrated. Tribal

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

assemblies such as were reported from the Awka people on the Marowyne were here not called regularly. There was no central body here to make decisions. The autonomy of village and clan seemed almost unquestioned. There were, to be sure, clan alliances, but these bore more directly on the factions which had formed to control the choice of the next headman. At this krutu, therefore, which had just gathered, there were Captain Sungi, head of the Kasito or Dahomey clan, and And'u, the able chief of the Dombi people, and the headman of the Popoto people, and the headman of the Anago. But Fandya of Baikutu who headed the Nasi people was not there, nor were the Awana people represented, nor the Alabaisa, nor Kwama, nor Bi'ito, nor Fandaki, to cite some examples. Of the missing chiefs, several of them lived a considerable distance from the seat of the Granman, and indeed had been to his village but few times.

"Ai, men must krutu," Kasanya had told us one day on the river. "If a few men decide, then the others have anger in their hearts. That is not good. When the lanti meets, and all men talk, then those who came with anger cool their hearts. Talk is good."

And another time, Sedefo had found occasion to quote the proverb, "If you have not settled one thing, you cannot go on to the second." The best way was to talk things over until all men saw that what was proposed was good or bad.

4

In the krutu house of Asindopo Lantiwe the Granman began to speak.

"Mati—friends—the white man has come. He sits there. With him is his wife. She is there beside him. The man from the white man's city has come. He is there. He will speak for the white man. The white man has a cook. The cook is outside."

"So it is, G'aman," said Captain Sungi.

"Mati, the white man came. All who come to me must eat. The white man must eat."

"True, true, master of the realm."

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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Chapter Seven

THE ORGANIZATION OF LIFE

THERE are six tribes of Bush Negroes. These tribal divisions date back to the black rebellion in the eighteenth century. Bands of rebels fled into the bush together, and remained together within their jungle home. In Stedman's narrative of the revolt we read of a punitive expedition being sent out against the bands living along the "Serimaca" and Upper Copenam Rivers. After years of incessant warfare, a treaty of peace was concluded in 1749 with the "Serimaca rebels." The descendants of this group are known today as the *Saramaccaner* tribe. Another outbreak of rebels occurred in the Tempati Creek district; they won their freedom in 1761 by a treaty signed at the Ouca Plantation, from which they came to be called *Aucaners*. A third band of rebels, under the command of the famous Chief Bonny, probably 619

1 [For caption, see category 116, p. 204.—Analyst]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

619 gave rise to another Bush Negro nation known as the *Boni* tribe. There are also three other tribes today of less importance: the *Matawaai* on the Upper Saramacca River, the *Quintee-Matawaai* which is a sub-tribe on the Copenam, and the *Paramacca* on the Middle Marowyne with villages on both the French and Dutch sides of the river.

619 184 [682] The tribal divisions are strictly enforced. Not only is intermarriage forbidden, but each tribe has its separate government, and each is referred to locally as a "river nation." Each tribe likewise has its own territory, and any poaching by hunters, fishers, or balata bleeders is rigorously punished. [643] The ruler of the tribe is a king, or *granman*. Among the photographs is one of old Jankoeso, the kindly shrewd ruler of the Saramaccaner nation; the Aucaner ruler, Amekti, has just died, his place probably being taken by Matodja. The Boni granman is named Awensai.

619 361 [161] The largest tribe is the Saramaccaner, with a population of about 14,000. Their village of Santi Gron (Sandy Ground), some twenty miles from Paramaribo on the Lower Saramacca River is the nearest of all Djuka villages to white civilization. But the main body of this tribe begins some ninety miles up the Surinam River from Paramaribo, and the villages are strung along the Surinam River for a hundred or more miles further on back into the interior. The names [103] of some of these villages are: Nu Condree, Lombe, Gansee, Biodoti, Adawai, De Jun, Masumba Pratti, and Dahomey, and other towns of even more picturesque appellations: Boto-Passi, Poki Gron, Granman Condree, and many more.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

There are also a few villages, belonging to this tribe, situated 619
on the lower Saramacca River, like Santi Gron, Toti Camp, 361
and Maka-Creekee. On the distant Surinam is located the poetically named village of Futu No Habbe Ackaba, The Foot That Has No Resting Place.

Every tribe is divided into several clans, or *lo*, and these lo 621
are subdivided into groups of families, called *m'beh*, relation- 614
ship being counted through the female line. These groupings 613
are direct survivals of the slave days, descendants of groups of fugitives who fled into the bush together. Among the Saramaccaners there is the *Abaisa lo* of which our friend Abaisa is the chief. Another lo is called the *Inge Peecee lo*, meaning "piece of Indian clan," referring to the marriage of a lone Indian squaw with a rebel slave, back in the old days. There is the *Companyi Nengre lo*, or "Company Negro clan" of blacks descended from the slaves who escaped from the Dutch West India Company. The *Dahomey lo* is a group of families especially skilled in the art of healing broken [759]
bones. Then there is a priesthood clan, the *Domini lo*, descended from the slaves of a plantation owner named Levy. Among the other lo are: *Matchow* (meaning axe), *Vondrake* (from a Dutch family named Van Drachte), *Baison Nengre*, *Luwangu*, *Nassi*, *Betu*, *Cumu*, *Quama*, *Papoto*, and the *Awahna lo* at Gansee.

At a strategic location on the Little Surinam River, the 361
Pekein Rio, dwells the Granman Jankoeso. His village is ten days up the river from Gansee. It is situated in this inaccessible spot, on an especially fierce and rapid tributary, pur-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner
Aucaner

and does not look with favour upon the white proselytizers.

The Granman can call a meeting of his captains at any time. They must attend, even though it involves days of rigorous travel. Although the captain look up to the Granman and acknowledge him as their uperior, the connexion between them is not close enough to be considered a hierarchy. The "river nations" are not monarchies in any sense. The only laws promulgated by the Granman are those that affect the entire tribe.

Neither the captains nor the Granman have any privileges or prerogatives to set them apart from the undistinguished natives; there is no leisure class. They are all dependent upon their own efforts to earn a living, and work like anyone else in the village. Rank does not make social parasites out of them, as among us. The Granman's only external distinction is that sent by the white man, the tribute from the Dutch government. The type of social organization now prevalent among the Djukas, therefore, may be described as primitive communism.

The Aucaner, second in number to the Saramaccaner, are scattered in a less compact way over the rivers and creeks of the colony toward the French Guiana line. This tribe numbers about 6000 in population.

Just below the realm of the Saramaccaner tribe, at the junction of the Sara Creek and the Surinam River (see map facing page), are some of the Aucaner villages: Koffay Camp, Lebbi Doti, Lasa Baka, Pitchong, Baku, and other settlements. There are few villages on the long Sara Creek, but

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

after a day's portage from its source one may strike the 619
Tosso Creek, which brings the lower Sara Creek Aucaners 361
into the distant Tapanahoni River, where exist the main body of the Aucaner tribe. They inhabit both banks of the Tapanahoni, from its mouth where it flows into the Marowyne River to some distance beyond the far Jai Creek. The Aucaners, like the Saramaccaners, are divided into several lo or clans. The names of these are as follows: the *Missi Jon lo* and 614
Otto lo, which are the most powerful and to which belong the families of the Granmans; the *Perica lo, Pata lo M'beh lo, Ju Nengre lo, Penasi lo, N'Yafi lo, Bray lo, Compai lo, Deekah lo, La Paix lo, Ke-o Condree lo,* and *Pooloogoodoo lo.* The head of the lo is called *Papa fu ah lo,* "father for the lo."

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into two separate parts, but they are both under the same 184
Granman. These divisions are known as the *Uppo Nengre* 361
(Upper Negro) and *Below Nengre* (Below Negro). The 616
boundary between them being the Gran Hollo (Big Hole) Falls in the Tapanahoni River. The territory of the Below Nengre begins past the mouth of the Gran Creek and extends up the Tapanahoni River to the falls above mentioned. The islands in the Marowyne belong to this division and their territory also extends to the Dutch side of the Lawa River up to Aboona Sungu Falls (a man named Aboona sank there), which forms the boundary between the Aucaners and the Boni tribe in that region. Some names of the vil- 103
lages belonging to the Below Nengre Aucaners of that dis- 361

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner
Saramaccaner
Boni

619 184 In general appearance and culture the Aucaners vary little from the other large tribe, the Saramaccaners.

[531] The art motifs and their treatment as displayed on the Aucaner wood carvings as a rule differ from those of the Saramaccaners. On the other hand, some of the pieces were found to be practically identical.

The Aucaner talkee-talkee also differs from that of the Saramaccaners, the former being more like the speech of the Town Negroes. The Aucaners have no deepee-talkee or odo as have the Saramaccaners, but they have a dialect known as *Koropina* where a *p* or an *m* is spoken before the vowels in a word for the purpose of confusing strangers. A similar custom is prevalent among the Negroes of Curaçao, Dutch West Indies.

[197 198 191]

[291] The dress of the Aucaners is the same as that of the Saramaccaners, excepting that they affect more often the breast-cloth, the *wassapangye,* and the head-cloth, the *mussu.*

Among the Aucaners the toga garment is called the *yembah,* while it is called a camissa by the Saramaccaners. The harrier of palm leaves is called *chilpinga* by the Aucaners and *azang pau* by the Saramaccaners.

[262 606 194] The system of food taboos and general culture are the same. There is no mother-in-law taboo among either the Aucaners or the Saramaccaner tribe.

[161] 648 The Boni tribe, which consists of about 900 people, is descended from escaped slaves who crossed the Marowyne River into French Guiana and who were allowed to remain there unmolested by the French authorities. This is the only

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

Although the huts are of Africanesque architecture, similar 342
to those of the Aucaner tribe, there is, at times, more wooden board in the construction and less thatch.

During the expedition of 1928 we were informed that the 316
Bonis, particularly at the village of Apatoo, were conversant 326
with the old West African method of smelting iron and manufacturing it into implements of various kinds. This claim proved to be entirely groundless. If there is any iron ore in the neighbourhood, these tribesmen do not know where it is, and most certainly do not understand how to smelt it.

It was in Africa that the art of iron working is supposed to have originated, and the iron work of West Africa, whence the Djukas came, is a thing of beauty. But the Djukas have lost this hereditary art. Among the Bonis, the work in metal seems to be limited to the soldering of copper French coins to bracelets made of iron or copper pipe, which they procure by trade or from the machinery of long abandoned French gold exploitations. They also make brass bracelets and anklets of considerable width out of brass piping obtained from a similar source. The piping is split with the sharp blade of an axe and hammered into shape with the blunt end. We were able to obtain a stiletto with an iron blade and a handle of brass riveted to it with copper, but we are under the impression that the blade, at least, is of French or Italian manufacture.

In their general habits as regards hunting, fishing, agri- 184
culture, canoe building, social customs and structure, dress, 619
and so on, the Bonis are quite similar to the Aucaners. They speak a dialect of talkee-talkee which has distinct differences [191
from the Aucaner and the Saramaccaner in that it contains a 192]
good deal of French words.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

184 good deal of French patois. Most of the people also speak a
619 fluent and, at times, a good French, which they have learned from the freed convicts, the libérés, of the largest French prison colonies in Guiana at St. Laurent, situated about forty miles from the mouth of the Marowyne River. Some of the
439 Negroes of this tribe, as well as some of the Aucaners, sometimes visit St. Laurent for purposes of barter and trade. They also occasionally aid the French in transporting loads in their canoes up to the remaining placer mine.

648 These Bush Negroes have seen thousands of white convicts and libérés. They have seen white men under the most degrading conditions possible to human existence on this planet. They have seen them shot down in the street. They have seen them rummaging in cans of tropical garbage that even a dog would shun, or escaping through the jungles, simply starving, hunted animals. Their point of view in regard to this may be summarized in the answer received when the question was put to one Boni as to what he thought of the Penal Colony; he said: *"Francie mong sung go dede"*—"Frenchmen soon die."

But just across the river from St. Laurent is the little settlement of Albina and the *Doocie mong* (Dutchmen). The Dutch have armed soldiers there so that the escaping libérés cannot cross.

322 As among the other tribes, the Boni are adept in the carving of wood. They make the usual kinds of highly decorated implements, such as large combs, pot stirrers, food trays carved out of sections of a tree trunk. The door posts and
façades of their huts are often elaborately carved

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Paramaca

The small Paramacca tribe does much less in the way of
322 wood carving than do the others of the Djukas. This was evidenced by the few pieces we were able to collect and was also known to be a fact by the Aucaner Bush Negroes who accompanied us to the Paramacca district. The motifs displayed upon the articles collected were practically identical with those found on Aucaner pieces.

123 In fairness to the Paramaccas, however, it must be mentioned from our experience among other tribes that collecting is much facilitated when one is cordially known. On a second or third expedition one is able to collect many times more specimens than upon a first introduction. The Bush Negroes are at first shy as a rule and not anxious to part with their belongings.

184 The tribes do not fraternize much with each other. Some
619 travellers report that the Aucaner and Boni tribes feel them-
609 selves superior to the others because they have less contact with the white man. If this is true, we cannot report any personal observation of it. A traveller has no more difficulty among them than among the Saramaccaner people. Some
628 ill-feeling between the Aucaners and Saramaccaners dates
609 back to the slave revolt, when the former observed their peace treaty so scrupulously as even to aid the slave-owners in re-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

It is impossible to trace all of the individual African tribes 175
from which the Djukas came. The relationships have been too much confused by the ravages of time and the depredations of the slave trade. The first slavers plied their trade along the coast, picking up a few natives here and there, but with the passing of years the growing demand for slaves rendered this practice inadequate. So the slave factories were established, and the trade extended far back into the interior of Africa. The resulting body of slaves was a conglomeration of natives from practically every tribe around the Bight of [419]
Benin, the Abo, the Cönia, the Blitai, Congo, Gango, Konree, Riemba, Loango, etc.

Aside from the aforementioned, Douglas enumerates the following African groups as contributing slaves to Surinam: the Calabari, Doomakookoo, Foola (or Fooloppo), Gola (or Gongola), Mende, Madingo, Papa, Pro, Temne, Tjamba, and Wan-Wie Negroes. The Negro woman, Semire, sentenced to death in 1836 for killing and eating Negro children, must have been from one of these tribes. This suggests that the practice of cannibalism was not unknown among some of them. Douglas also cites Hartsinck for other African tribes and regions whence came many of the Negro slaves of Dutch Guiana:

"The Ardras or Dongo Negroes came from a part about 000
fifty miles north-east from Ardras, and do not make the best slaves. Born in slavery and brought up for agriculture, they do not like service, but when treated well they are good slaves. The men, women, and children have for a mark some

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

"One may find also Abo and Papa Negroes, who are very willing when treated well; the last named have a certain poison under their nails with which they are known to poison their adversaries so that they pine away.

"The Coromantyn Negroes have a good heart but cannot stand wrongs or punishment without reason, and if this happens they take a gun or a knife to take vengeance, and if they are not successful in this they very often cut their own throats. These Negroes are very well built, they have no marks whatsoever, only a very smooth black skin.

"The Loango Negroes or Gangoo Negroes are the very worst. They are cannibals and will kill one of their own kind to feast upon when celebrating the wedding of their king. They also file their teeth so as to be able to bite off one's finger. They are hated and feared by the other tribes for their treachery and cruelty, and when these people desert they hide themselves in the bush living on all kinds of reptiles such as lizards, snakes, frogs, and other creeping reptiles."

Thus, some idea may be obtained of the varied sources whence came the ancestors of the present-day Bush Negro tribes.

Perhaps it will suffice to say that the Djukas are descended from the tribes of the Gold Coast, Ivory Coast, Slave Coast, Dahomey, Nigeria, Muni, Cameroons, Liberia, and the general adjacent equatorial interior of West Africa. Most of these natives were forest people, and after being transported across the ocean they could adapt themselves without great difficulty to the similiar jungles of Surinam.

/10 cont./

162 The Boni, about 1,000 in number, occupy the course of the
131 Lawa between Abounasounga Falls to the north and the falls of the Litani to the south. Their "great villages," that is, their residential
361 villages, are: Agodé (Boniville), Kotika, Asisi, Loka, Papal'ston,
[103] Kormotibo, Lapé, and l'Enfant Perdu. Three small villages founded more recently are established on the lower course of the
563 Maroni. The territorial implantation of the Boni has been disturbed by the settlement of Creole gold miners on their territory
178 for three quarters of a century. Their demographic situation is mediocre and their tribal organization, compared to that of the
[141] other tribes, has lost much of its strength. However, they still make up a human grouping full of strength and originality.

131 The Djuka, whose "great villages" are in Surinam territory
361 on the /11/ Tapanahoni, can be evaluated at 7,000 to 8,000 in total. At the height of demographic expansion, their farming
[162] villages swarm on both banks of the Maroni and on the islands,
[61] penetrating more and more deeply into the interior of French
[648] Guiana, where in places they form small temporary groupings
[619] living in symbiosis with the Creole gold miners; the Boni recognize their right to cross their territory but not that of establishing villages in it.

433 For a century the economy of the #refugee Blacks has been
648 founded on a symbiosis with the Europeans and Creoles; they furnish
[464] specialized labor (construction, but above all, transport) in ex-
[465] change for relatively high wages. This economy finds itself
[198] threatened by the gradual disappearance of gold mining; there is
[166] developing a tendency toward temporary emigration to the Euro-
[182] pean work yards of Saint-Laurent analogous to that of the Saramaka of Surinam to French Guiana. This is a serious threat to the interior cohesion of the tribes.

/15 cont./ THUS IT WAS AT
423 the time of the Lawa gold rushes (1890) that Grand Man Anato
643 caused rent to be paid by the Creole miners who were settling in
648 the region. But this practice, excessive when the small portion of this territory actually occupied by the Boni is considered, ended
423 up by falling into disuse. Nowadays things have fallen into the
648 opposite extreme, and the Boni find themselves having no right,
178 customary or otherwise, over the country of their ancestors; the first comer, even of the Creoles from the British West Indies, can settle anywhere, dislocating the apportionment of the land among lineages. This situation has been harmful to the life of the tribe by contributing to the scattering of the peopling. Perhaps it is not too late to remedy the situation. An /16/ /Figure 2 appears here./ /17/ African tribe cannot live wholesomely if there are no definite relationships, entailing unquestioned rights, between the group and the land.

423 The following modus vivendi has been in force for many
614 years:

a) The Djuka may circulate freely across Boni country, but
[48] they may not establish villages in it; if they wish to make clearings
[162] there, they must ask for permission from the grand man.
[126] Otherwise they have the right to fish on the Tapoki and the Wanis.

423 b) The Creoles may settle anywhere and make their clear-
648 ings where the lands are not used. But that does not modify in the minds of the Boni the lineages' rights over the land; this occupation is regarded as creating no new right; for example, the Doglin habitation is built on the lands of Kormotibo village.

423 c) The Boni reserve for themselves along with the Oayana
[illegible] Indians the exclusive right to fish on the Litani and the Marini.
[illegible] On these rivers the Djuka do not have the right to penetrate.
[illegible] The Boni may be computed at a little less than 1,000 persons
162 all told.

/27 cont./

614 The Aw.B.2, on whom we could not get sure information
[123] because this very closed group did not cooperate willingly with the inquiry, appear to be in a very similar situation, with the difference that their genealogy goes back much farther in time and they no longer remember the origin of this fraction nor the
[184] circumstances which tied its fate to that of the Aw.B.1. This group apparently has a separate kunu.

613 614 582 The Awara Bakka lineage is in a special situation from the point of view of exogamy, for not only are there marriages be-
[183] tween one fraction and another, but there are two within the same fraction and between relatively near relatives. Thus this group, without openly rejecting the law of exogamy, does not attach the same importance to it as do the others.

613 The Afi lineage. This lineage was founded by Afi, wife of a man from Papaïston, who came to live with him. Like the
[101] Toïna lineage, she had come from the small tribe called Bakabuchi which lived in Surinam. However, the Afi and Toïna lineages are not of the same matrilineal origin and the present members of each of the two small groups have no common worship. All of
[571] them have lost every tie with their original tribe, and their social life is entirely dependent on that of the Boni group which has taken them in.

[621] Afi settled near Kormotibo. This site is abandoned by her descendants who live, most of them, in Asisi, the rest in Kormotibo.

The lineage has lost every tie with its group of origin.
[619] Nevertheless, it is assumed that if one of them wanted to go back there, on proving his relationship, he would take up all his rights again and could demand a site for making his clearings.

613 621 571 /28/ The process of assimilation which took place for the AW.B.3 did not come into play for Afi's descendants with respect to the Papaïston lineage. They are regarded as a separate family group, insufficient in number to constitute a social unit and whose members are placed under the authority of the heads of the villages

/28 cont./

613 although the supposed common ancestress doubtless goes back to
614 the beginning of the 18th century and for three generations they
784 have been divided among four villages situated at a week's dis-
[621] tance by boat from one another. We can, with very few chances of error, affirm that they certainly have a common matrilineal origin and that they in fact constitute one lineage.

182 On this subject let us note that geographical separation can-
619 not play the same role among the Refugee Blacks as in the African
361 tribes of cultivators. The Refugee Blacks, whose habitat is linear
[484] along the banks of the river and who, being boatmen, are continually moving, cannot be completely isolated from one another.

613 /29/ Under these conditions, how can we explain the
614 existence within certain lineages of individualized fractions subject
571 to a separate kunu, such as Papaïston 2?

One can assume that these fractions do not really have the same origin as the principal group and that they result from a process of assimilation of a paternally related fragment.

We have cited the example of Aneta's descendants (Aw.B.3). They are already integrated into the social life of the group; in two or three generations nobody will remember any longer their exact origin. But they will remain differentiated from the princi-
[784] pal fraction of the Awara Bakka because they will still be subject to the kunu of their ancestress.

121 Such are the elements we have been able to draw from a general study of kin groups among the Boni. We shall look for other data in the study of the implantation of these groups on the soil, and especially of the apportionment of lands among them; finally, we shall study family custom and especially inheritance.

A complete understanding of the kinship system and its functioning can be obtained only in the future by following the evolution of kin groups, the formation of new villages; and the designation of new headmen.

/41 cont./

621 The principle behind the constitution of the Boni villages
613 is, as we have said, the localization of the matrilineage. Men
[591] and women live in the village of their maternal kin; the wife does not leave her village to join her husband, who comes to visit her from time to time without ceasing, himself, to live in the midst of his own lineage.

The composition of each village thus corresponds, at least in principle, to the group of living people on the genealogical table. But a certain number of exceptions are observed:

[167] -A certain number of men (about 20 out of 800 persons) have emigrated for good and can no longer be counted in the population of the villages;

[619] -On the other hand, a dozen Djuka and Saramaka married
[591] to Boni women have settled permanently in the villages and have been included in the census.

125 We have tried to estimate with as much precision as possible
128 the age of the people concerned, by means of events of known
[173] date which they remember, from the trip of the explorer Crevaux (1878) to the war 1939-45. We have established a local chronology, reproduced as an appendix at the end of the present chapter.

125 The demographic survey, which has been the subject of another publication (1), was conducted parallel with the sociological

[113] 1. "Etude démographique comparée des Noirs Réfugiés Boni et des Indiens Oayana du Haut-Maroni /Comparative Demographic Study of the Boni Refugee Blacks and the Oayana Indians of the Upper Maroni/," in Population, éditions de l'INED, 1959, No. 3. 2/A

investigation.

2/A [See S. Hurault, This file-- Analyst.]

/58 cont./

166 619 It is fitting to make an exception of the case of OWétiti (Papalston) and OMa Imma (Kotika), who separated from their groups with their numerous descendants in order to found villages on the lower course of the river. These groups continue to consider themselves Boni; they are the nuclei of future villages.

For the same reasons it is difficult to get exact figures on [162] [621] immigration. About 100 Djuka and Saramaka have founded farming villages in Boni country but keep all their ties with their villages of origin; some 30 of them have married Boni women; one can estimate that some 15 have completely bound up their fate with the Boni and can be considered as integrated into the villages in which they have settled.

16 128 [622] All in all one can estimate that emigration and immigration of adult men, both very insignificant, compensate for each other; they have practically no importance on the social plane (since only the residence of the women has any influence upon the grouping of the lineages) or on the demographic plane; with the Boni the pyramid of ages constructed from the census of the villages represents very faithfully the demographic state of the population and lends itself to precise calculations of mortality (1).

1. It is not the same for the majority of African populations either because of emigration to the cities or polygamy. The presence of several average polygamists in a village is enough to render completely erroneous the counts of cross-sections by age.

166 591 591 613 The founding of new lineages results from the immigration of several Djuka women, some having come to settle permanently near their husbands, others brought up by their fathers in a Boni village. Half a dozen such cases occur in each generation, but

/58 cont./

166 not all result in the founding of a new lineage, either because
571 the women are sterile or because only one or two surviving children
591 remain who go back to live among their maternal kin. The more
613 children a woman has, the more she tends to settle permanently with her descendants, for the group thus formed represents a force and can be self-sufficient as much on the material level as on the emotional level.

613 Four new lineages have been founded in the whole of Boni
591 country during the past 50 years: /59/
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Awara Bakka 3 (Anèta)	16 persons	on January 1, 1958
Afi	25	--
Tolma	9	--
Poti	8	--
Total....	58 persons	

Thus these new lineages represent only $\frac{58}{810}$ = 7 per cent of the Boni.

16 The immigration of women from other tribes thus remains
●619 an exceptional phenomenon which has few effects on the social and demographic levels. The development of the Boni as a nation results only from the natural movement of the population. Study of the genealogies forces the conclusion that when the members of these four small lineages are eliminated, the whole of the Boni are descended from only six or seven women who lived at the end of the 18th century. Few examples of such growth are to be found.

621 Absence of division of the villages into quarters. We have
[613] seen that the custom of the Refugee Blacks is opposed to all that could alter the system of classificatory kinship and leads to the individualization of segments within the lineage. This principle
[613] is translated very clearly in the structure of the villages, where one observes no tendency at all toward division into separate quarters.

/63 cont./

571 that he can protect himself only by submitting to the law of the
626 group. In this doubtless must be seen the deep reason for the im-
156 portance attached to death and mourning, events around which is
[151] centered the activity of the usual societies and which entail a
[767] veritable mobilization.

626 It would be very difficult to condense the custom of the
971 Refugee Blacks into a rigorous code. If one wished to do it, one would have to write as Article 1: "The living will conform to the will of the gods and the ancestors as it is expressed through the mouths of those possessed and by the movements of the bearers of the dead."

643 Each one of the tribes of the Refugee Blacks is formed of a
• 619 certain number of matrilineages.

There is no limit on the number of these lineages, and it can be asserted that if any lineage whatever, detached from another tribe, asks to live in the midst of the Boni, it will be welcomed. From the first generation the children consider themselves as Boni.

In this regard one can cite the example of the Awara Bakka 3 lineage and that of the small lineage founded in Boniville by a Djuka woman, wife of Grand Man Ochi. All her descendants consider themselves Boni. /64/

[829] But only the great lineages which constituted the tribe at its
[643] origin are social units recognized by the grand man, and only their heads are called to be members of the council.

128 We shall study first the interior functioning of the lineage, then the institutions going beyond the framework of the lineages.

/64 cont./

Functioning of the Lineage

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We have seen that the effective social group, ie, fraction of an extended lineage, is a social unit possessing all that is necessary to a human group to live, settling its differences and enforcing its rights:

--Ancestor worship;

--A head filling at the same time the role of priest of the ancestors and judge;

--Collective rights over a portion of land.

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619

A lineage could live perfectly independent without any tie of dependence vis-à-vis any tribe whatsoever. Actually, there exist in the interior of Surinam several lineages of very ancient origin (which are joined under the name of Bakabuchi = back of the bush) who live totally independent.

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No privileged line of descendants exists within a lineage and the only hierarchy recognized is that of age, or more exactly of closeness to the founding ancestress.

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Collective tutelage of uncles in the classificatory sense is effective only in childhood, but the principle of it continues during the whole lifetime. In a discussion a man must avoid violently contradicting one of his "uncles" and finds it normal that more weight is attached to the opinion of this uncle than to his own. In 1956 we were subjected to some disagreeable incidents due to a bossman who was the classificatory uncle (although the same age) of the motorman of his boat; the motorman hesitated to order him vigorously as he did his other bossman and he, on his part, did not fail to remind his "nephew" of the respect due him.

/139 cont./

684 Committing pikadu is one of the most serious offenses that
688 a Refugee Black can commit; of course, as in the rest of the moral prescriptions, no abstract principle is called on: the elders teach the children from their earliest years: "If you com-
[613] mit pikadu, you will fall ill or die." The head of the lineage inflicts severe punishments on the guilty people to boot: for the man, to mitre a large number of planks with an adze; for the woman, to prepare and winnow as preparation for the next broko de several souques /cans/ of rice, a long and tedious job.

588 However, if in spite of insults and blows a man and woman of the same hen absolutely insist on marrying, people end up, for the sake of peace and quiet, by accepting the ac-
[169] [178] [182] complished fact. They go to the fraga tiki to make an offering of tafia to the ancestors to ask them to forgive the offense committed. No reprobation extends to the children born of this union.

613 In the Awara Bakka lineage, which has practically re-
588 jected the law of exogamy, the principle of a sanction remains
[684] and there is a pretense of chasing the guilty ones across the village.

Not being able to use coercion and not having the right to expel a member of the lineage, captain and council can exert no material sanction.

613 The same notion of pikadu is attached to unions between
684 persons of the same patrilineage, although these patrilineages have no effective organization and exist only by the transmission of the fundamental interdiction, bwasi kina.

[139] Before concluding an official or even clandestine union, the man and woman make sure that they do not have the same bwasi kina and in such a case give up their project; that, even if they are from different tribes, for example a Boni woman and a Saramaka.

/140 cont./

184 587 Whatever its origin, we should note that the Saramaka custom has no relation, as far as its legal content is concerned, to the levirate, nor to the inheritance of widows as it is practiced in numerous African societies. It does not correspond in any way to the transmission of a right over the widow, since this right does not exist; it probably results from the idea that the widow is better protected from the effects of the dead man's jealousy if she marries one of his brothers. Besides, she may [613] choose from among all his classificatory brothers, in the matrilineage as in the patrilineage, which assures her of a wide choice. She can break this union without any compensation [586] after some months of living together and resume complete liberty.

582 Statistics of marriages between kin groups. We have listed on the table opposite, the total unions for which we have been able to identify with certainty the kinship of the spouses, including those broken by divorce and death. Their total number is 411.

582 619 The table emphasizes the more or less great frequency of unions between /141/ /table appears here/ /142/ such-and-such kin groups, as well as the frequency of unions between Boni women and men of other tribes, DJUKA PARAMAKA, and SARAMAKA.

Out of a total of 411 unions of Boni women one notes:
--327 with BONI (80%);
-- 50 with DJUKA (12%);
-- 21 with SARAMAKA (5%);
-- 5 with PARAMAKA (1%);
[648] -- 8 with Creoles from Surinam (2%)

The proportion of intertribal marriages (20%) is high; it results from the frequent presence on the Maroni of Djuka or Saramaka boatmen coming to carry on transport. The reciprocal is not true; marriages between Boni men and women

[Text continues on p. 209]

5:Hurault--208 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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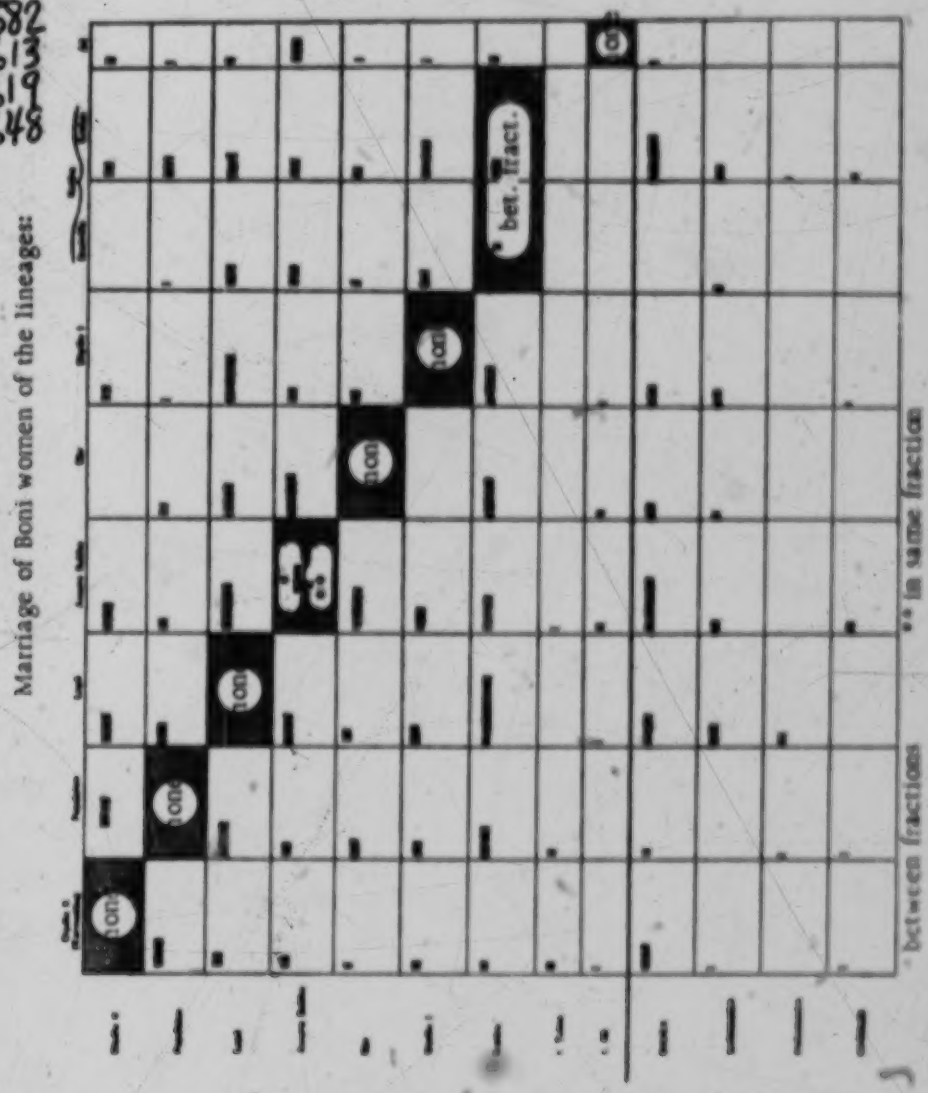

/142 cont./

582 619 of other groupings are rare; that is because the Boni have almost no occasion to frequent the Tapanahoni, where economic activity is nil.

For 123 married men of the villages on the French bank there were in November, 1958, 11 unions with Djuka women, or 8 per cent. No marriage to Saramaka or Paramaka women existed.

582 613 The table confirms besides that marriages between members of different kin groups are entirely free and are not subject to any preoccupation with exchange or reciprocity. For example, out of 60 unions between Boni women of the Lapé lineage and Boni men, we have:

6	with men of the	Dipélu I lineage
7	-- -- - -	Dipélu II --
7	-- -- - -	Papaïsson --
11	-- -- - -	Awara Bakka --
4	-- -- - -	Dj. --
5	-- -- - -	Dipélu I /sic/ --
20	-- -- - -	Kotika --

[628] In fact, the geographical proximity of the villages has the most direct influence on unions.

582 613 628 For example a high proportion of women from Kormotibo (Dip. II) married men from Papaïsson and reciprocally.

That comes from the fact that these villages are near each other and isolated from others. It is the same for Kotika and L'Enfant Perdu (Dip. I). In the small Afi lineage, divided between Kormotibo and Asisi-Awara Bakka villages, more than half the women are married to inhabitants of these two villages.

582 619 621 Certain personal affinities and habits of living have an indirect influence. For example, the Djuka boatmen passing through Boni country habitually stay in Asisi-Awara Bakka, because they are received in the homes of some of their own

/142 cont./

people who have lived there for a long time. They strike up relationships with the people of Asisi, and that favors new unions. This explains the high proportion of unions between the women of this village and the Djuka (13 out of 75). On the contrary, almost no marriages to Djuka are observed in Papaïsson village, where no Djuka has settled permanently. /143/

The marriage proposal. The suitor is obliged to ask for the assent of his own mother and his uncles (at the very least the eldest of his classificatory uncles); in general he asks his father also.

If two of his classificatory uncles are expressly opposed, the plan must be abandoned. But there is no possible sanction for disobedience.

The suitor does not make the proposal himself; after making sure of the agreement of the girl he sends two persons, one of his uncles or brothers and one of his sisters in the classificatory sense.

These envoys speak to the woman's mother and uncles assembled together. If they agree, they go to ask for the assent of the head of the lineage. The man and women of the woman's lineage drink together a liter of tafia brought by the envoys. Before drinking, the doyen of the lineage pours a little of it on the ground while invoking the ancestors, asking them to perpetuate the accord of the household and to grant them health and fecundity. This ceremony is made on the spot and they do not go to the fraga tiki, for they would be afraid to present themselves again at the fraga tiki in case of a break-up; prayer said anywhere in the village is not binding.

The two envoys, man and woman, play a very precise role. The man represents the postulant (it is a sort of marriage by proxy).

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[837]
[613]

/152 cont./

Since it is forbidden to have two wives at the same time in the same lineage, that produced a scandal and his uncles had to intervene so that he would not be beaten.

After that, without leaving M...., he took officially another wife, A... (Papaïston). They lived together nearly eight years, but A... began to deceive him while he was on a trip. The first time, he only threatened her; the third time he repudiated her.

[839]
[586]

[619] Again he officially took another wife, T...., a Djuka from the Tapanahoni.

[589] A year later A...., who wished she had him back, had her uncles intervene so that she might come back into his favor. G...., through deference to her uncles, accepted against his will.

Thus he found himself engaged in three unions, M...., A.... and T.... He thought this situation was leading him to ruin and sacrificed T... although he had no fault to find with her.

[586]

Some time afterward A... began to deceive him again and he repudiated her once and for all.

[586]

Finally he took a last wife, B... (Asisi), by whom he had no children.

On each of these undertakings he had to submit to violent scenes by his first wife M...., who was very attached to him and would have liked to keep him for herself alone. Nevertheless, she never divorced him and did not provoke difficulties with her co-wives.

[842] He had a child by M... after more than 15 years of sterile marriage.

In 1958 G... was living with M.... and B...., who got along well together. He was not looking for any more new adventures.

/158 cont./

156 The Boni woman, poor in emotional feelings, and jealous of her independence with respect to men, puts her pride into subsisting by her own efforts.

178 [156] The young women, even the ones with the freest habits, stay firmly attached to their village, to their plantings, and to the mode of life they received from their grandmothers. In fact, because of its structure and customs, the society of the Refugee Blacks has much less likelihood of suffering from the poisons spread by modern life than the patrilineal societies of Black Africa.

761 /159/ Death; Burial Rites

Death is for the Refugee Blacks an event of extreme gravity.

775 In order to ward off danger and permit the yɔrka of the dead person to take its place among the ancestors, the unstinting cooperation of everyone is required.

764 765 181 [621] [619] The ceremonies which have to do with death and mourning are by far the most important ones in the day-to-day life of the Refugee Blacks; for each one they represent a very heavy material load which is accepted without recriminations. It is really a veritable mobilization, which takes place within the framework of the village and not of the lineage. The apparatus set into motion is independent of the lineage, for it must function in the same way for an outsider, Djuka or Saramaka, who dies during a trip.

764 868 767 Participation in the burial rites is for all an essential religious duty. From childhood the Boni are prepared for this task and become, some of them kisimɛ̃ (coffin-makers), others ɔlɔmɛ̃ (grave-diggers), some others wasimɛ̃ (bathers of the dead).

767 487 Kisimɛ̃ and ɔlɔmɛ̃. It can be said that in each village, ɔlɔmɛ̃ and kisimɛ̃ constitute customary societies, provided with an organization and wielding veritable powers for the duration of their work.

/191 cont./

What constitutes the religion of the Refugee Blacks is a synthesis of elements originating with various peoples of West Africa, especially the Ashanti, Agni, Mina, and Fon and also Congolese elements. This synthesis seems to have been born among the Saramaka, the first tribe formed at the beginning of the 18th century, and to have been adopted thereafter with modifications of detail by the Djuka, tribe created about 1760. The Boni, the last tribe formed, probably received these beliefs during the time of slavery which they spent under the tutelage of the Djuka, from 1815 to 1860. The beliefs of the Boni and those of the Djuka have an identical base; the rites and their effects on social life are exactly the same. Nevertheless, the Djuka, almost ten times more numerous, have been able to keep very differentiated conceptions and specialized cults, involving priests in the literal sense of the term.

The Boni have kept only the essentials, and many conceptions, especially the myths which serve as support for the whole tradition, are very much blurred among them.

The Boni like to imagine that Africans constitute only one nation, and that they have inherited in a lump the traditions and social forms of this nation. They know now (especially from having seen a good deal of the Senegalese tirlemen of the 1937 French mission) that numerous tribes exist, but that has not shaken the veneration they have for Africa, source, for them, of all knowledge and all strength. However, almost nothing of the culture peculiar to each one of the great tribes has reached them; no name of an African nation has remained in their memory, and /192/ none of the languages of their land of origin has been kept (1); everywhere the vehicular language

1. One observes, however, that a certain number of disconnected details of African life have come down to them by oral tradition;

/214 cont./

787 their legs with this white clay; they prophesy in a singing tone, without the usual voice of their bearer's ceasing to be recognizable, expressing themselves in the Saramaka language.

796 The Ampuku have the appearance of men similar to Blacks, but unknown. They reside in the depths of the woods; [184] some are good, others bad. One can gain their good will by worshiping them, which is especially developed in Saramaka country.

796 Baliki, of Kormotibo village, tells of having been present 535 one day at a dance of the Ampuku, when he was traveling to [103] the Saramaka village of Baten.

"During the day, people went on the paths far into the bush to put down calabashes containing certain herbs. At night were seen to come out of the forest a large number of unknown men, dressed in the manner of the Saramaka. They danced all night, and at dawn left again as they had come."

776 The Ampuku gods, considered to be maleficent gods of the bush, exercise their influence on everyone. When a person [789] has slept in the bush, he "washes" himself free of Ampuku with [824] an infusion of leaves of five plants which are part of the secondary flora surrounding the villages and of which the principal plant is the sangaafu (Costus cylindricus).

791 Frequency of possession. In 1956 teachers or bas were very 787 scarce in Boni country. For the Kumenti gods, only S... (Kotika) remained; for the Papa gadu, since the death of Antinon (Dju), there remained only M... (Papalston) and B... [619] (Atisi). People were commonly going to receive instruction from Djuka teachers in the villages of the Tapanaoni.

789 It would be a great error to believe that nearly all the 562 men have gods. On the contrary, this is an exception. According to the evaluations we were able to make, there is not more than one adult man out of six or seven who is possessed.

/228 cont./

784 A kunu is exercised by a Dipélu yaka, borne in 1958 by
785 a Loka woman. It is invoked before the fraga tiki of l'Enfant
787 Perdu village (Dipélu I). Sometimes a broko di is celebrated
786 for it in the same forms as the ceremony of the eighth day
613 after death.

784 We have likewise not been able to collect complete
613 information on the kunu of the Kotika lineage. This lineage,
114 divided into three fractions, forms a unit with respect to the kunu.

784 A kunu is exercised by the yaka of a Surinam Creole
613 assassinated in former times by a member of the lineage. Its
785 bearer in 1958 was Todo (K1, E68), a man of the Kotika lo
787 living in Boniville. In 1958 a young woman of the lineage,
[961] Awini (K1, E37), died suddenly; the yaka revealed that it
[689] had struck Awini because she had a liaison with Sintamam (K2, E145), thus committing gikadu. The idea of the collective responsibility of the lineage is so deeply accepted by the Boni that the near relatives of the dead woman did not reproach Sintamam at all.

784 /228/ A yaka of the Kotika lineage may exercise a kunu on
613 the Djuka. This is the case of an affair going back to 1950;
785 a young woman died some time after having a serious discussion
961 with a Djuka woman who had hit her. Deaths among the Djuka
619 these last years had been attributed to its vengeance.

It seems that there is no other kunu exercised by a Djuka
784 upon a Boni lineage and vice versa. This is surprising, con-
619 sidering the fights which in former times set the two nations
613 against each other.

The Djuka and Saramaka living isolated in the midst
621 of the Boni know their kunu, which were revealed to them in
784 childhood. In case of sickness, they employ divinatory pro-
[155] cedures in order to know what kunu is concerned, then they
[613] make offerings. But in case of serious illness, they are forced to go back to the village of origin of their lineage.

/234 cont./

628 613 to resist and fled to Boniville, where some took refuge in the water, others in the bush. About ten shacks were broken (without great damage), principally kitchens and empty sheds. Only one man could be caught and he received several punches.

The expedition of April, 1957 against the villages of L'Enfant Perdu and Kormotibo did not do much more harm. Only one good house was smashed, that of Akwali (Dip. II, Kormotibo) because its owner, passing by in a boat on the river, insulted the aggressors....

784 613 619 648

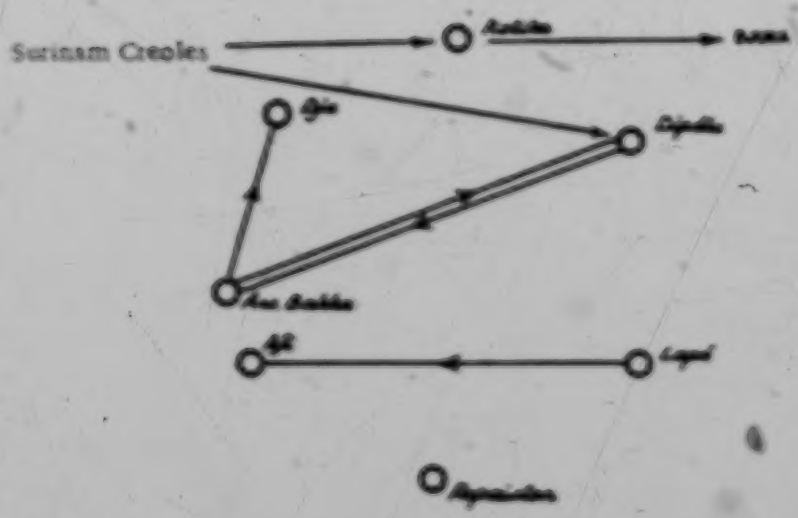

Fig. 28. Schéma of the *kuma* exercised upon one another by the various lineages.

/292 cont./

Relations with the Other Populations

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The tribes of Refugee Blacks do not constitute a closed world. They have lived since their formation in close symbiosis with the neighboring populations: autochthonous Indians, Europeans, and Creoles. Their traditions and their conception of life have been strongly influenced by these, not because they have lost anything of their interior unity, but because they have accepted, at least collectively, the idea that they have bonds and duties toward other men.

177 829

648 /29

Just as their economy on the material plane is based on exchange, so they consider the symbiosis of their group with the neighboring groups as the normal order of the universe. The misfortunes undergone by their ancestors have given them an extreme horror of violence; they consider peace a precious blessing common to all nations, and their moral principles which forbid harming anyone extend to all men. It is clear that these notions are less clearly understood on the individual level and that there are, as elsewhere, some thefts and abuses of trust. But, on /293/ the collective level, the relations between the Refugee Blacks and their neighbors are established on a base of trust, loyalty, and honesty not found to the same degree in Africa.

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619 [643]

Relations with the other tribes. The Boni do not have any well-defined political ties with the other tribes of Refugee Blacks, but the grand men have semiofficial relations through the medium of messengers, and consult one another rather frequently.

[578]

The Boni have harbored a tenacious resentment against the Djuka for having in former times allied themselves with the Dutch against them, but this resentment, chiefly collective in nature, has died down with time; it does not prevent individual relations from being cordial.

/293 cont./

619 829 The Saramaka are very highly esteemed everywhere, for it is unanimously assumed that their magic is stronger, their techniques more perfected, than those of the other tribes.

175 648 Relations with the Indians. The relations between the Boni and the Oayana Indians are extremely curious and interesting. They were probably established from the end of the 18th century on. Several writers have stated that Boni and Indians fought each other for a long time; the examination we made of authentic archive documents, unfortunately few in number, capable of throwing light on the history of the Maroni, does not confirm this hypothesis (1). One can think on the contrary that symbiotic

175 726

1. The only combats pointed out took place about 1840 between the Boni and the Wayakulé "Oyaricoulets" Indians, a very primitive tribe who lived on the Oulémari and was itself at war with the Oayana.

175 648 727

The Boni were certainly already allied with the Oayana at the time of the battles on the Maroni in 1793, since after their defeat the survivors, grouped around Agosu son of Boni, took refuge on the Maruini River which they went up as far as the region of its sources, where nobody could catch up with them. Now it was precisely there that the Oayana Indians were living at the end of the 18th century. They would not have tried this maneuver if they had not had the certainty of finding refuge

641 over whom it was exercised. When the ancestors of the Bush Negroes were brought to New World slavery, what [660] measure of acquiescence they showed was due to the fact that slavery was not an unfamiliar tradition to them. They knew of the war captive, or the man convicted of a serious crime, who was a slave to one of their own kind. But the experience of the white man's slavery was a crucible in which the ownership of man by man, and the unquestioning obedience which men owed to those of higher rank, were destroyed, leaving only the ideal of the life of free men. "Free!" was the way in which one Bush Negro toasted another, or a white man, when he drank with him. A "*Mas* [203] *Nengere*," an adult Negro was, above all, a free man, and 621 it was as a freeman that he was governed, for though villages had chiefs, and there were bassias who were subordinate to chiefs, and though above the village chiefs were clan chiefs, and over them all the Granman, yet the final word rested with the members of each subsidiary body, and not with its leader.

624 Every village had its officials, and its medium for discus-
622 sions. Every clan had its head, and its old men, who, [614] sounding out the will of the clan members, consulted with that head when questions were to be decided. For the decisions affecting the entire Saramacca River, there were [643] the Granman and his krutu, before whom questions of [692] larger policy or disputes between villages were brought.

Perhaps most impressive of all was the measure of auton-
632 omy which each village had. A village, or certainly a group
614 of neighboring villages belonging to the same clan, formed
609 a small kingdom. A Bush Negro of another village who came to visit, came as any stranger, paddle in hand, his top cloth covering his loin cloth. When he found himself in a strange village on a night when a dance was being given, he did not join the dancers until after much urging by a native of that village, and then he danced little, and if he were a particularly fine dancer, he took care not to flaunt his superior gifts. The exception to this, to be sure, were the sacred dances, when a stranger, whose god came

their nephews took up the dancing for the gods, their interests were directed more and more toward the clan rule.

"I do not dance any more," Sedefo had told us, "My sons dance Kromanti now. I must do now what is expected of a man of my years. I must see that our people act wisely in all things which touch this world, and the world of our ancestors."

A clan krutu was a self-sufficient unit made up of members whose maturity fitted them for looking after the worldly and supernatural welfare of their people, for in the larger organization of the tribe it was the clans who stood one with another in perfect equality to complete the whole—the Saramacca people.

The chieftain of the principal village of the clan was the clan head. In him was vested the right to speak for the large grouping, and in the krutu which he conducted the etiquette approached that of the tribal krutu in its intricacy. The village where the clan head lived was inhabited predominantly by his people. In other villages on the river his people might be one of several clan groups. Several villages were inhabited by three or even four clan groups, each of which had its own captain. But such villages were not the seats of clan heads. Where a clan chief ruled would be not only the clan krutu house, but the shrines raised to the important dead of the clan, the clan ancestors whose spiritual powers to help and advise the living were as great as the feats they had accomplished when alive. Here, too, at the village where the clan head lived would be the shrines to the gods who had the clan under their special protection. Above all, here under the direction of the chief were not only those who guided the worldly destinies of the clan, but those who knew how to control the supernatural forces. Here were the obias owned by the clan, those spiritual and unique healing powers whose magic would respond only to the will of clan members who had undergone the training which taught them to operate those forces their ancestors had left for them.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

It may be of interest to recall the names of some of the old villages which constituted places of refuge for the escaped slaves in the early days and from which many of the forays were conducted against the white plantations. In the jungle between the Surinam and the Saramacca rivers were the following:

Villages	*Headmen or Captains*
Acoro-kriki	Aletoo
Attoma-kriki	Attama
Awara	Davo
Congo-kriki	Attoma
Dousou-kriki	Mufinga
Cabrolte	Primo
Janwiri-kriki	Kwakoo, Klaas, Pedro
La Motte	Foolon
Matawarie	Adoo
Loango	La Motte
Toofinga	Coffie
Wana	Mathysie
Pada	Pambo, Magondi, Darie, Samaam

Higher up the rivers, separated from these, were still more villages continuing right on to the Brazilian frontier, even on to the Orinoco River, where some of the escaped slaves mixed with the Indians.

The villages between the Surinam and the Marowyne rivers were the following:

To the north of Paramaribo, between the Duivelsbroek

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

(Devil's Pants) Swamp and the ocean was the village of No Meli Mi (Don't Touch Me).

On the Upper Surinam River at the source of the Surnau Creek and to the north of the plantation Maastroom there was a village called Broos Condree; on the right bank of the lower Commewyne River, the village of the Headman Kopro-Kanoo (Copper Cannon) was situated.

On the Upper Cottica were the following havens of refuge:

Villages	*Headmen or Captains*
Gado Saby	David Voro
Corsary	Pamo (Governor)
Meli Mi	Araby
Mi Sa Lasi	Boston
Tesi	Abram
Boesi Krei	Thoma
Kwami Condree	Coffie
Karoe Condree	Jan Prado
Areisi Condree	Quakoo
Boucou	Baron
Aroukou	Bonny, Joli Coeur

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

There are also a few villages, belonging to this tribe, situated 619
on the lower Saramacca River, like Santi Gron, Toti Camp, 361
and Maka-Creekee. On the distant Surinam is located the poetically named village of Futu No Habbe Ackaba, The Foot That Has No Resting Place.

Every tribe is divided into several clans, or *lo*, and these lo 621
are subdivided into groups of families, called *m'beh*, relation- 614
ship being counted through the female line. These groupings 613
are direct survivals of the slave days, descendants of groups of fugitives who fled into the bush together. Among the Saramaccaners there is the *Abaisa lo* of which our friend Abaisa is the chief. Another lo is called the *Inge Peecee lo*, meaning "piece of Indian clan," referring to the marriage of a lone Indian squaw with a rebel slave, back in the old days. There is the *Companyi Nengre lo*, or "Company Negro clan" of blacks descended from the slaves who escaped from the Dutch West India Company. The *Dahomey lo* is a group of families especially skilled in the art of healing broken [759] bones. Then there is a priesthood clan, the *Domini lo*, descended from the slaves of a plantation owner named Levy. Among the other lo are: *Matchow* (meaning axe), *Vondrake* (from a Dutch family named Van Drachte), *Baison Nengre*, *Luwangu*, *Nasi*, *Betu*, *Cumu*, *Quama*, *Papoto*, and the *Awahna lo* at Gansee.

At a strategic location on the Little Surinam River, the 361
Pekein Rio, dwells the Granman Jankoeso. His village is ten days up the river from Gansee. It is situated in this inaccessible spot, on an especially fierce and rapid tributary, pur-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner
Aucaner

and does not look with favour upon the white proselytizers.

The Granman can call a meeting of his captains at any time. They must attend, even though it involves days of rigorous travel. Although the captains look up to the Granman and acknowledge him as their superior, the connexion between them is not close enough to be considered a hierarchy. The "river nations" are not monarchies in any sense. The only laws promulgated by the Granman are those that affect the entire tribe.

Neither the captains nor the Granman have any privileges or prerogatives to set them apart from the undistinguished natives; there is no leisure class. They are all dependent upon their own efforts to earn a living, and work like anyone else in the village. Rank does not make social parasites out of them, as among us. The Granman's only external distinction is that sent by the white man, the tribute from the Dutch government. The type of social organization now prevalent among the Djukas, therefore, may be described as primitive communism.

The Aucaner, second in number to the Saramaccaner, are scattered in a less compact way over the rivers and creeks of the colony toward the French Guiana line. This tribe numbers about 6000 in population.

Just below the realm of the Saramaccaner tribe, at the junction of the Sara Creek and the Surinam River (see map facing page), are some of the Aucaner villages: Koffay Camp, Lebbi Doti, Lasa Baka, Pitchong, Baku, and other settlements. There are few villages on the long Sara Creek, but

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

after a day's portage from its source one may strike the 619
Tonto Creek, which brings the lower Sara Creek Aucaners 361
into the distant Tapanahoni River, where exist the main body of the Aucaner tribe. They inhabit both banks of the Tapanahoni, from its mouth where it flows into the Marowyne River to some distance beyond the far Jai Creek. The Aucaners, like the Saramaccaners, are divided into several lo or clans. The names of these are as follows: the *Misu Jon lo* and 619
Otto lo, which are the most powerful and to which belong the families of the Granmans; the *Perica lo, Pata lo M'beh lo, Ju Nengre lo, Pensi lo, N'Yafi lo, Bray lo, Compai lo, Derkah lo, La Paix lo, Ko-o Condree lo*, and *Pooloogoodoo lo*. The head of the lo is called *Papa fu ah lo*, "father for the lo."

Beside these, the Aucaners have also divided their tribe 621
into two separate parts, but they are both under the same 184
Granman. These divisions are known as the *Uppo Nengre* 361
(Upper Negro) and *Below Nengre* (Below Negro). The 616
boundary between them being the Gran Hollo (Big Hole) Falls in the Tapanahoni River. The territory of the Below Nengre begins past the mouth of the Gran Creek and extends up the Tapanahoni River to the falls above mentioned. The islands in the Marowyne belong to this division and their territory also extends to the Dutch side of the Lawa River up to Aboona Sungu Falls (a man named Aboona sank there), which forms the boundary between the Aucaners and the Boni tribe in that region. Some names of the vil- 109
lages belonging to the Below Nengre Aucaners of that dis- 361

/509 cont./
October 1958 – January 1959), expeditions whose principal aim was the sociological study of these populations.

/510/

Social Structure and Way of Life

The Boni Refugee Blacks. The Boni are one of the above-mentioned tribes of the Refugee Blacks, reconstituted in the course of the eighteenth century by rebel African slaves who escaped from Surinam plantations (Dutch Guiana).

These tribes (Saramaka, Djuka, Paramaka, Boni) live for the most part along the rivers of the interior of Surinam. They group together a total of 25,000 persons.

With very rare exceptions, the Refugee Blacks are pure Africans. These populations, vigorous and well adapted to the country, have experienced in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a remarkable demographic increase, attested to by all the authors. Descended from small rebel groups which could not have contained more than a few hundred women, they are now estimated at more than 25,000 persons.

The Boni of the Upper Maroni, the subject of the present study, number approximately 800, of whom 660 are on the French bank (the villages of Boniville, l'Enfant Perdu, Loka, Asisi, Papaïton, and Kormotibo) and 140 on the Surinam bank (the village of Kotika). These villages were established long ago.

Each of them groups together a matrilineage, i.e., the descendants in the uterine line of one single founding ancestress; certain villages know their genealogy in its entirety back to this ancestress, who must have lived at the end of the eighteenth century. The members of the lineage are united by the cult of the ancestors, which binds them firmly to their natal village and to their land. The social system is based essentially on this cult, the chief of the village being above all the priest of the ancestors.

Strictly speaking, there is no marriage, but only an acknowledged concubinage which entails neither a contract between the

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[For further information concerning the socio-demographic composition of each of the Boni villages, see category 116, pp. 478-539.]

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[For additional data on the number of children per woman, mortality, Boni emigrants, and the village of residence of lineage/sib members, see the genealogical charts on pp. 342-375, category 116.]

/18 cont./

613 Six lineages (1) of ancient founding are counted among the

[621]

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1. It seems that in the past there was a greater number of groups (they continue to use the expression twalfuyu lo, the 12 lo, to designate the Boni nation), but some have died out.

Boni: all, with one single exception, have remained effective groupings corresponding each one to a village: for these lineages the words bgf and lo may be used indiscriminately. The seventh, Dipélu, is distributed in three villages under different authorities, that is, forms three lo.

[614] The lo possesses a head (headman or captain). The bgf possesses neither head nor organization, but as we shall show, its members are united by religious ties and meet to celebrate common rites.

(See table on the following page.)

[643] The head of the Dikan lo is supreme chief -- grand man -- of the Boni.

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so	Village of residence	Head in 1958
Dikan	Boniville village	Difa (grand man)
Dyu	Asisi village; a small group in Boniville	Adiso
Lapé	Loka and Lapé Tabiki villages; a small group in Boniville	Popo
Dipélu I	l'Enfant Perdu and Apatu villages; a small group in Boniville	Sabon (l'Enfant Perdu) Saka (Apatu)
Dipélu II	Kormotibo village; a fraction in Asisi	Poopu
Kotika (Yakubi)	Kotika village; a group in Aburamunga	Nachinengé
Papalison (Kawina)	Papalison village; a small group in Boniville a small group in the Lower Maroni (Wétiti village)	Tafanié

/12 cont./

613 621 591 The principle of localization of matrilineal kin groups, each in a separate village, continues respected. However, as in all African populations, the actual structure is noticeably different from the theoretical organization:

1st. Fragments of paternal kin groups, as well as several small groups of heterogeneous origin, insufficient in number to form a separate unit, have been agglomerated with the lo. Such is the case for example of the Tolna lineage, a small group which fled from Surinam at the end of the 19th century and agglomerated with the Papa'Iston lo;

[578] 2nd. Scissions have been produced within the lo as a result of disagreements. A group issuing from the Papa'Iston lo founded Wéiiti village in the Lower Maroni beside Apatu. A group issuing from the Kotika lo founded Ma Imma village in the same region. Finally, from the Dipélu II lo a group separated which settled in Asisi. Asisi village is thus in fact nowadays the juxtaposition of three villages: Asisi-Dju, Asisi-Awaca Bakka, Asisi-Dipélu II, each having its organization and its separate territory.

[829] These scissions have no appreciable repercussions on the social life of the Boni, for the groups thus separated from the lo, in addition to being very small in numbers, are not recognized by [969] the grand man as distinct social units. They remain subject to the head of the lo to which ancestor worship attaches them.

361 613 621 Besides the residence villages, a certain number of Boni have personal farming habitations distributed on the lands of their lineage along both banks of the river and on the islands. These habitations designated by the word kápu, camp, have no permanent character; their existence does not violate the principle of localization of the lineage; each Boni is obliged at least in principle to build a house in his native village and to live in it part of the year. [769] The village of origin of each /20/ lineage is called "great village": [778] it is there that the members of the group meet to pray to the ancestors in front of the fraga tiki.

/22 cont./

613 Situation of the lineages in 1958.

[641] The Dikan lineage, whose head is the grand man of the Boni, has practically died out, since it is comprised of only Grand Man Difu: upon his death it will totally disappear (1).

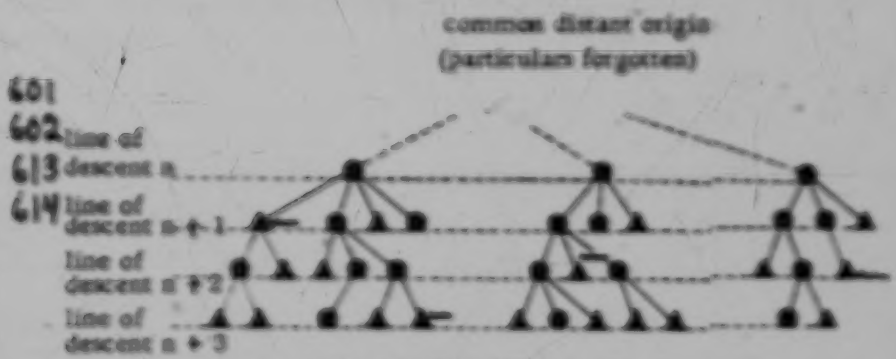

Fig. 3. Extended matrilineage.

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1. Note that a Dikan lo exists among the Djuka: the separation of the Dikan-Djuka and the Dikan-Boni is necessarily anterior to the battles of 1793, which shows the ancientness of these groups.

621 613 571 For two generations the various lineages have delegated some of their members /23/ to the grand man to conserve a certain importance for his village. Thus Agodé (Boniville) now includes fragments of the Kotika, Dipélu, Lapé, Dju, and Papélton lineages, forming that many individualized small quarters in the village.

/723 cont./

621 195 [44] [103] Agodé was founded by Grand Man Ochi, probably about 1895, at the time when the Boni were required by the settlement of the Lawa Dispute to evacuate the villages they were occupying on the Surinam bank. The name Boniville was given by the gold miners; it was used never at all by the Boni.

621 613 [103] The Takubi or Kotika lineage forms the important village of Kotika (1). It is one of those which have remained best grouped.

1. This word alludes to the river where the rebellion of 1773 began.

[423] [241] [103] Its members have exclusive rights over the region included between Abunasunga Falls and their village. They have farmed there for more than a century, and this is why the region is called Abaffu Kotika.

613 621 175 [648] Kotika is the oldest Boni village. It is one of those founded by the survivors of the battles against the Dutch when, about 1815, they settled again on the Lawa. Until about 1895 nearly all the Boni were grouped in one large village, each lineage occupying a different quarter. At the time of the settlement, unfavorable to France, of the Lawa Dispute (1895), the various lineages emigrated, founding especially the villages of l'Enfant Perdu, Loka, Boniville, and Papaïston. Only the members of the Kotika lineage stayed, in full agreement with the grand man, so that the ancestral land might not be completely abandoned. [648] [628] Thus the inhabitants of this village are nowadays under the authority of Surinam, without ceasing, for that reason, to be faithful to the grand man and maintaining normal relations with the other groups.

613 614 [124] The genealogies reconstituted in 1957 by systematic interrogation of the old people of the group had led to three distinct fractions which we shall call Kotika 1, 2, and 3, tracing respectively back to ancestresses named Kéněya, Amawi, and Oka.

/23 cont. /

613 614 Not one of the members of the group could trace back to the common ancestress; yet these three fractions together behave as
601 a single lineage. All its members know their mutual appellations
[101] "brother," "uncle," etc. All are subject to the same taboo.

The law of exogamy is respected within each fraction, but
613 there are seven cases of unions between members of different
614 fractions; these unions are disapproved of in principle, but they
602 are tolerated.

Thus, on the subject of exogamy, we see the thought of the Refugee Bushi breaks away from the rigorous principle on which their social order is based. It is the actually known genealogy which counts in their eyes on this point.

613 614 In December, 1958 we were able to reconstitute the complete genealogy of the group (Fig. 4) thanks to the memories of
122 the doyenne of the group, Ma Imma, who had lived for a very
[115] long time isolated in a village of the Maroni estuary. The data
[601] thus reconstituted are in complete agreement with the kinship appellations among members of the various fractions. /24/
/Fig. 4 appears here. /

The case of the Kotika lineage is thus particularly interesting, for we find ourselves knowing its genealogy completely when its members know it no more than partially.

613 614 Study of this group shows that the forgetting of kinship ties
602 has no effect on the physical grouping of the lineage and its functioning as a social unit.

It has direct repercussions only on the observation of the principle of exogamy. Thus the way in which exogamy is understood and observed appears to us from now on as a secondary criterion having no certain value for the recognition of a common origin.

[621] Some Dyoka and Saramaka have settled among the members of the Kotika lineage, but as individuals.

[621] The Lapé (La Paix) lineage, whose name alludes to one of the great plantations of the Cottica river in the 18th century, is
[See p. 34, Category 86 -- Analyst]

/24 cont./

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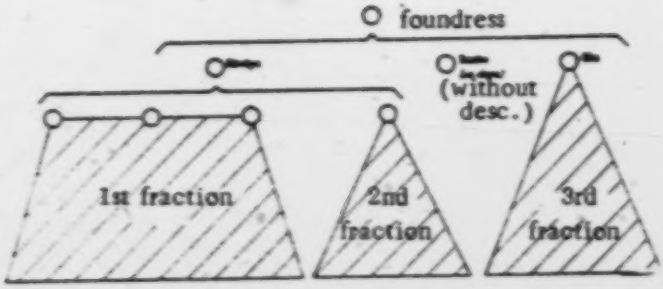

Fig. 4. Common genealogy of the three fractions of the Kotika lineage.

[621] divided between the small villages of Lapé Tabiki and Loka. It is a well-grouped lineage whose members know their genealogy perfectly as far as a common ancestress named Mata, who must have lived at the end of the 18th century; only one small group which we shall call Lapé 2 (descendants of Atili) does not know exactly the ties attaching them to the principal group. The law of exogamy is respected rigorously within this group; there is not a single case of marriage between the two fractions. The members of the two fractions consider themselves a single lineage.

[787] They have the same kunu.

[184] Note that there is a Lapé lo among the Djuka, regarded as of the same origin.

[621] No element of heterogeneous origin has settled in the villages of the Lapé lo. /

613 The Dju lineage, which occupies the central part of the
[361] Asisi Island, also fits the definition of kin groups among the Refugee Blacks. Its members know /25/ their entire genealogy as far back as a common ancestress named Aluku, doubtless, tracing to the middle of the 18th century.

/25 cont./

613 Among the Dju there is no fraction separated from the principal group.

[184] There is also a Dju lo among the Djuka. The word Dju alludes to the Jews, the lineage probably having been born in the plantations belonging to the Jews of Surinam.

The law of exogamy is rigorously applied within the Dju lo.

No element of heterogeneous origin is established among the Dju.

613 614 621 The Dipélu lineage was the most important in the past; from the point of view of genealogy it is split up into three groups whose members are scattered in three villages, subject to different authorities.

Genealogy		Villages
Dipélu I		l'Enfant Perdu Apatu (founded in 1882)
Dipélu II. 1st fraction Dipélu II. 2nd fraction	very recent scission	Kormotibo some elements in Asisi.

613 —Dipélu I forms a unit remarkable for the amplitude of its genealogy, completely known, which extends over eight generations and goes back to a common ancestress named Sanyan, who must have lived in the middle of the 18th century. The common [174] origin of the two groups being necessarily anterior to this ancestress, it seems logical to make it go back to the beginning of the 18th [601] century. In spite of the remoteness in time of their common origin, the members of both groups know with precision their "horizontal" kinship ties (brother, uncle, etc.), which have lost

613 /25 cont./
[601] nothing of their strength although they have lost all correspondence with the age of the people concerned.

614 —Dipélu II, whose members know their genealogy badly,
571 appears on the contrary to be on the way toward breaking up. The head of the Dipélu II, who bears the title of captain, resides
[578] at Kormotibo. Part of the group settled in Asisi following a disagreement, without ceasing to be under his authority.

614 One might think that the physical separation of the two
602 groups took place as a function of the genealogies, that the 2nd
571 fraction of Dipélu II emigrated as a single group to Asisi, leaving in Kormotibo the members of the 1st fraction. But this is not the case at all; examination of the genealogical table shows that the emigrant group issues as much from one as from the other; this is a very remarkable aspect of the social structure of the Refugee Blacks, which proceeds directly from their conceptions of classificatory kinship. A man is "at home" wherever his classificatory "brothers" and "uncles" live, and if a physical separation occurs in the group, preferences and personal affinities will have as much influence as closeness of kinship. /26/

613 Three generations ago, Dipélu was only one group under
614 the leadership of a single head residing in Kormotibo. The process
571 of its breaking up is a beautiful example of what Europeans produce
177 by interfering in the social life of an African tribe in order to pick out a man who appears to them more intelligent and active than the others.

[554] The companion of the explorer Crevaux, Apatu, who be-
[621] longed to this group, was on his return covered with honors, en-
[578] dowed with the title of captain and with pay; he conflicted with the legitimate head of the lo, seceded, and founded a village on the outskirts of Saint-Laurent, taking with him a fraction of the group.

614
613 /26 cont./

[621] This village had no future. its complement did nothing but
[591] melt away for half a century, especially under the influence of
[167] venereal diseases.
[164]

Neither time nor geographical separation have brought on scission on the religious or legal planes. In this respect the members of Dipélu I and Dipélu II continue to think of one another as
[784] the same lineage. They remain subject to the same kunu.

613 The law of exogamy continues to be applied rigorously with-
614 in Dipélu I and within Dipélu II, but marriages are permitted be-
582 tween Dipélu I and II. There are no longer any social sanctions about this, and the common origin of the two groups is so remote that they scarcely think any more of applying to them the term
[784] pikadu. But such unions remain exceptional, the people concerned continuing to fear a superhuman sanction.

[621] No element of heterogeneous origin, fragment paternally related or refugee outsiders, has settled among the Dipélu.

613 The Papaïston or Kawina lineage (Papaïston village) has
[621] remained perfectly coherent and well grouped. Its members know their genealogy as far back as an ancestress named Térésa, who must have lived at the beginning of the 18th century. But there exists a small fraction, nearly extinct, which we shall designate as Papaïston 2, which presents a separate genealogy going almost
[614] as far back in time. Nobody knows the origin of this group exactly; it is regarded as connected by kinship ties to the main group, but the members of the two groups consider that they form two distinct
[784] bac. They do not have the same kunu.

[582] Marriage is not tolerated within the principal group, but it is allowed between members of the two groups.

613 Moreover, with the Papaïston lives a small group which
62 fled from Surinam about the end of the 19th century, originally
167 of the Bakabuchi tribe. This group has no kinship tie at all with
101 the Papaïston but has placed itself under the authority of the head

/26 cont./

613 of the Papaïston lo. It is generally designated by "Toïna's family,"
621 Toïna being the doyenne of the group.

613 The Awara Bakka lineage (Asisi village) has a more com-
614 plex and particularly interesting structure. Study of its genealogy
[621] shows that it is in fact divided into three fractions which we shall call Aw.B.1, Aw.B.2, Aw.B.1 /misprint for Aw.B.3 -- Tr./. The Aw.B.1 know /27/ their genealogy perfectly back to an ancestress named Akyé, great-great-grandmother of the centenarian Kuluba (+ 1957). Akyé must have lived toward the end of the 18th century.

613 Awara Bakka 3 is a paternally related fragment which was
614 "assimilated" to the principal group by a process of which several
571 other examples exist among the Boni. It was founded by Anéta,
[621] a Djuka woman originally from the village of Tabiki on the Tapanaoni, wife of Pèèyon (Aw.B.1), who remained there with her numerous descendants after the death of her husband.

The members of this group, who should normally be regarded as Djuka and outsiders to the lo, end up by being engulfed in the social organization and ancestor worship of the Awara Bakka. The
[601] daughters of Anéta and Pèèyon were called "sisters" by the Aw.B.1 by reason of patrilineal relationship. These appellations were
[784] transposed for their descendants to the point where many ended by losing their true origin from sight; but the Aw.B.3 keep a separate religious and legal responsibility and are subject to their own kunu, that of the Djuka village of Tabiki from which came their ancestress.

613 As a matter of fact, as we shall show by studying the beliefs
614 of the Boni, the kunu is irremediably transmitted by the mother
784 and no process of assimilation has any effect on this. Thus the Aw.B.3 are not really part of the lineage, they are separated from it by a clear criterion, obvious in the eyes of all, impossible to disregard or forget.

/27 cont./

614 The Aw.B.2, on whom we could not get sure information
[123] because this very closed group did not cooperate willingly with the inquiry, appear to be in a very similar situation, with the difference that their genealogy goes back much farther in time and they no longer remember the origin of this fraction nor the
[184] circumstances which tied its fate to that of the Aw.B.1. This group apparently has a separate kunu.

613 The Awara Bakka lineage is in a special situation from the
614 point of view of exogamy, for not only are there marriages be-
582 tween one fraction and another, but there are two within the same fraction and between relatively near relatives. Thus this group,
[183] without openly rejecting the law of exogamy, does not attach the same importance to it as do the others.

613 The Afi lineage. This lineage was founded by Afi, wife of a man from Papaïston, who came to live with him. Like the
[101] Toïna lineage, she had come from the small tribe called Bakabuchi which lived in Surinam. However, the Afi and Toïna lineages are not of the same matrilineal origin and the present members of each of the two small groups have no common worship. All of
[571] them have lost every tie with their original tribe, and their social life is entirely dependent on that of the Boni group which has taken them in.

[621] Afi settled near Kormotibo. This site is abandoned by her descendants who live, most of them, in Asisi, the rest in Kormotibo.

The lineage has lost every tie with its group of origin.
[619] Nevertheless, it is assumed that if one of them wanted to go back there, on proving his relationship, he would take up all his rights again and could demand a site for making his clearings.

613 /28/ The process of assimilation which took place for the
621 AW.B.3 did not come into play for Afi's descendants with respect
571 to the Papaïston lineage. They are regarded as a separate family group, insufficient in number to constitute a social unit and whose members are placed under the authority of the heads of the villages

/28 cont./

613 where they have chosen to live. It is possible that later, if their
621 number continues to increase, they may found a separate village
571 whose head will be recognized as captain. A new lo would thus be created.

613 Real nature of Boni matrilineal groups. Examination of the situation
614 of the various lineages leads to the following conclusions:
571 — The fact that genealogies are forgotten does not lead to any fractioning of lineages on the material or religious planes.

— The conceptions of the Boni relative to classificatory kinship, as well as their custom hostile toward any discrimination within the lineage, hinder fractioning. When a separation takes place on the plane of residence and authority, it has no repercussion on the common worship which cements the lineage together;

— The fashion in which the law of exogamy is applied does not constitute a valid criterion, the attitude of the various groups in this regard being quite variable;

— No process of assimilation permits integration into the lineage of elements of foreign origin; a process of assimilation of paternally related fragments exists. But this assimilation is not complete, it does not operate on the plane of legal and religious responsibility;

613 — Ultimately, the surest criterion of true common matrilineal
614 origin is unity of legal and religious responsibility, marked by the
784 same kunu. The kunu, transmitted irrevocably by the mother whatever may be the conditions of her marriage, weighing collectively on all the members of a lineage and capable of being warded off only by their collective prayers, is the true cement of kin groups.

[571] By its very nature, the kunu opposes any scission of groups. Neither time nor geographical separation can break it.

[621] The example of Dipélu I and II is characteristic in this regard, for its members remain rigorously subject to the same kunu

/28 cont./

613 although the supposed common ancestress doubtless goes back to
614 the beginning of the 18th century and for three generations they
784 have been divided among four villages situated at a week's dis-
[621] tance by boat from one another. We can, with very few chances of error, affirm that they certainly have a common matrilineal origin and that they in fact constitute one lineage.

182 On this subject let us note that geographical separation can-
619 not play the same role among the Refugee Blacks as in the African
[361] tribes of cultivators. The Refugee Blacks, whose habitat is linear
[484] along the banks of the river and who, being boatmen, are continually moving, cannot be completely isolated from one another.

613 /29/ Under these conditions, how can we explain the
614 existence within certain lineages of individualized fractions subject
571 to a separate kunu, such as Papaïston 2?

One can assume that these fractions do not really have the same origin as the principal group and that they result from a process of assimilation of a paternally related fragment.

We have cited the example of Aneta's descendants (Aw.B.3). They are already integrated into the social life of the group; in two or three generations nobody will remember any longer their exact origin. But they will remain differentiated from the princi-
[784] pal fraction of the Awara Bakka because they will still be subject to the kunu of their ancestress.

121 Such are the elements we have been able to draw from a general study of kin groups among the Boni. We shall look for other data in the study of the implantation of these groups on the soil, and especially of the apportionment of lands among them; finally, we shall study family custom and especially inheritance.

A complete understanding of the kinship system and its functioning can be obtained only in the future by following the evolution of kin groups, the formation of new villages; and the designation of new headmen.

/29 cont./

121 This is what necessitates as precise an inventory as possible of the population in its present state.

61 Matrilineal kin groups among the Djuka and Saramaka Refugee Blacks.
114 Authors who have described the social structure of the Djuka and
184 Saramaka, groupings appreciably more numerous than the Boni, have also called attention to the use of the words lo and bɛɛ, but give them a completely different meaning.

174 The organization they describe can be summarized thus:
571 Before making up tribes, the rebels lived in small groups
621 near the plantations from which they had escaped; these groups of composite origin were designated by the word lo which means: troop, band; the same word is used to designate a band of animals.

[162] These rebels used to belong to all the nations of the west
[103] coast of Africa. In spots there may have been an attempt at regroupings of elements belonging to the same nation, as proven by the village names Loango, Dahomey, among the Saramaka.
[622] But the majority of these small groups were very probably of heterogeneous origin; in each of these lo, the bravest and most capable was designated as head.

[648] After the recognition of the Djuka and Saramaka by the
[167] government of Surinam and their regrouping on the great rivers of the interior, these groups kept their unity since they had a de facto organization and leaders. They were naturally designated by the name of the plantation they had come from. We say for example Dju nẽnge for the former slaves of the Jews, Kɔ̃pani nẽnge for the former slaves of the Compagnie des Indes Orientales /East India Company/. /30/

174 In the course of the 19th century the total number of Refugee
613 Blacks increased very rapidly under the influence of a high birth
614 rate. The lineages in the proper meaning of the term bɛɛ, mean-
621 ing the descendants of the same ancestress, took on sufficient im-
57 portance to constitute distinct social units. They grouped in
761

/30 cont./

174 separate villages and the more important even burst out into
613 several villages whose heads were recognized as "captains" by the
grand man and then by the government. The number of Djuka
614 captains recognized by the government of Surinam has not stopped
621 growing; it was 28 these last few years.

571 The lo no longer represented an effective social unit, but its members kept common worships. For example, it is said that
[188] the Dju nēnge go each year as a ritual to get earth from the Savanc des Juifs /Savanna of the Jews/ where their ancestors were slaves.

[114] This explanation seems probable. The kin-group is not the only social unit known to Africans; the bond between man and land has equal importance in their eyes; the fact that their fathers had lived together, that they had been buried in the same cemetery created a among the rebel slaves a de facto bond which was able to suffice, at the beginning of the rebellion, to found villages and a social organization.

[114] However, this theory cannot be entertained without reservations. It has not been possible to verify it by systematic studies, the Djuka and Saramaka having firmly opposed until now any ethnographic investigation involving the statement of genealogies and the inventory of the population of the villages.

[184] It contradicts what we have pointed out among the Boni. In that group six great lineages are counted, of which four (Dju, Kotika, La Paix, Dikan) have a name also alluding to the plantations from which their ancestors fled.

Nevertheless it is certainly a question of lineages in the proper meaning of the term, and nobody remembers that any other organization ever existed. Also, in the absence of systematic studies of the Djuka and Saramaka, the problem of the origin of
[184] their kin groups remains obscure. The future will permit verifying one or the other of the two hypotheses:

174 /30 cont./

613 1st. Lo = de facto grouping of rebels of any provenance,
614 which has in the long run split up into lineages but which remains
621 in the form of a common worship;

571 2nd. Lo = lineage, from the very beginning.
184

Conceptions Relative to Kinship and Marriage

769

[121] Ties between the individual and the ancestors. Before examining more deeply the social and family structure of the Refugee Blacks, it is indispensable to study what religious ties are implied between [184] the individual and the ancestors. Here one is in the presence of basic beliefs which seem identical in the various tribes of Refugee Blacks of Guiana and of which their structure is the consequence.

In the civilizations of Blacks Africa it is supposed that a [171] current of life and /31/ strength circulates from the divinity to men through the medium of the ancestors. Among the Refugee Blacks it is taken for granted that in this respect each man is bound [182] to his ancestors through the maternal line only. If he falls prey to illness, injustice, or adversity, he can call only on them in his prayer.

593 That does not mean that the tie with the father is ignored [827] or considered as having little importance; it is taken for granted, as we shall see, that in the creation of man certain psychic elements are transmitted from father to son. But the current of strength binding the individual to the ancestors does not pass through the father. One cannot pray usefully to the soul of one's dead father. [755] If I am sick and divination incriminates the action of my dead [782] father's soul, I cannot address either prayer or offering directly to him; for that I shall have recourse to one of his near relatives in the maternal line.

/34 cont./

601 They continue to use the terms soagi, pay, may even after the break-up of a marriage, so that they are in frequent usage. As for the woman herself, they say sa So-and-so in speaking to her, as to a sister.

581 Marriage. The conceptions of the Refugee Blacks on this subject are remarkable. Marriage in the African sense of the term, understood as a contract between two groups of relatives, does not exist
581 among them. The union of the man and woman does not involve
583 any sort of contract between their groups of relatives and consequently entails no matrimonial compensation. /35/ The Refugee Blacks are the only African Negro population to our knowledge whose customs do not involve any form of "dowry" either in money or in kind.

582 Family life in the sense that we understand it does not exist;
621 as we shall see further on, marriage is forbidden between people of the same lineage, which implies that the husband and wife live
591 in different villages. The man builds a house for his wife in her
593 native village, but he does not come to live with her; he makes
[439] visits of several days to her as to his other wives, in the course of which he furnishes her with the imported objects (salt, kerosene, cloth, etc.) she needs, lends her his aid for heavy chores, while, for her part, she turns over to him the products of the clearing. The rest of the time he lives as a bachelor in his mother's village where he builds his own house. If he is very attached to his wife, he can come to reside with her and can even succeed without great difficulty in bringing her to live in his own village; but few couples take advantage of this option, for the man and wife prize their independence above everything else.

593 The life of the man and of the wife remain entirely separate
[613] and their union has more the character of a temporary association founded on material interests than that of a marriage; the family life of each one remains entirely centered around his or her matrilineage.

/37 cont./

An example of scission in a kin group: the separation of Dipelu II between Kormotibo and Asisi. (See Dip. II genealogical table.)

This scission resulted from a ridiculous incident: a falling-out which occurred between ○ Alawenchi † (E19) and ○ Bongo (E6) because of a hoe which the first claimed to have been stolen from her by Bongo.

Since neither one would yield, they became really angry and fought. /38/

△ Agosa, head of the lineage, taking the part of Alawenchi, decided to secede and settle in Asisi.

○ Pilè † (F35) and ○ Sésey † (F38) who, their mother being dead, had been raised by Alawenchi, joined them and founded families in Asisi.

This explains the present scission of this group and the bizarre division of its members between Kormotibo and Asisi. This scission had no result on the religious plane, unity being maintained by the pitiless tie of the kunu. Nowadays, Captain Poopu's authority is exerted normally on the fraction in Asisi. Relations between the two groups are rather good. /Figs. 5 and 6 appear here./

/39/ CHAPTER III

INVENTORY OF THE PEOPLING OF THE BONI VILLAGES

We have tried to take a complete census of the Boni of the Upper Maroni as of January 1, 1958, including for the women the statement of their successive unions and of their children living and dead. This census is associated with detailed plans of the villages and a study of the territorial implantation of kin groups.

/41 cont./

621 613 [591] The principle behind the constitution of the Boni villages is, as we have said, the localization of the matrilineage. Men and women live in the village of their maternal kin; the wife does not leave her village to join her husband, who comes to visit her from time to time without ceasing, himself, to live in the midst of his own lineage.

The composition of each village thus corresponds, at least in principle, to the group of living people on the genealogical table. But a certain number of exceptions are observed:

[167] -A certain number of men (about 20 out of 800 persons) have emigrated for good and can no longer be counted in the population of the villages;

[619] [591] -On the other hand, a dozen Djuka and Saramaka married to Boni women have settled permanently in the villages and have been included in the census.

125 128 [173] We have tried to estimate with as much precision as possible the age of the people concerned, by means of events of known date which they remember, from the trip of the explorer Crevaux (1878) to the war 1939-45. We have established a local chronology, reproduced as an appendix at the end of the present chapter.

125 The demographic survey, which has been the subject of another publication (1), was conducted parallel with the sociological

[113] 1. "Etude démographique comparée des Noirs Réfugiés Boni et des Indiens Oayana du Haut-Maroni /Comparative Demographic Study of the Boni Refugee Blacks and the Oayana Indians of the Upper Maroni/," in Population, éditions de l'INED, 1959, No. 3. 2

investigation.

2 [See S. Hurault, This file-- Analyst.]

/44/

Boniville

Legend

162
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[643]

№		House of		№		House of	
1	△	Difu grand man	Dikan	31	○	Pélui	P1, F34
2	△	Dodoya	Dip. 1, F82	32	△	Gonisutu (2nd house)	
3	○	Kulina	Dju, F9	33			
4	△	Fintiman	Dju, F6	34	△	Baafu	L2, E58
5	△	Klémenti	Dju, F7	35	○	Lomé	L2, F74
6	○	Eliana	Dju, F8	36	○	Téréza	L2, E57
7	○	Kulina	Dju, F9	37	△	Amakti	L2, F71
8	△	Doni	Dju, G13	38	△	Monpé	1. Poti
9	△	Lota	K3, E142	39	○	Abooméki	
9(a)	△	Booki	K3, E133	40	△	Klémenti	Dju, F7
10	○	Mimi	K3, E156	41	○	Amékiwan	1. Poti
11	○	Lémiki	K3, D130	42	○	Léya	K2, F99
12	△	Tofoto	K3, E157	43	○	Paata	1. Poti
13	△	Léhiman	K3, D132	44	○	Chima	1. Poti
14	○	Achiké	K3, E140	45	○	Lésina	K2, F69
15	○	Sooto	K3, E142	46	△	Todo	K2, F68
16	○	Maka	K3, E146	47	○	Awini	K1, E37
17	○	Marta	K3, F140	48	△	Todo	K2, F68
18	○	Waway	K3, E130	49	△	Noël	Dip. 1, F83
19				50	△	Kallawa	1. Poti
20	○	Afingi	K3, D120	51	○	Bada	Dip. 1, F1
21	○	Akyénki	K3, E144	52	△	Madéko	K2, E69
22	△	Makalanchi	K3, F130	53	○	Amanichi	Dip. 1, F7
23	△	Sintamann	K3, E145	54	○	Cécilia	Dip. 1, E9
24	△	Asékéyé	P1, G25	55	△	Dyakata	Dip. 1, E4
25	△	Bukuman	P1, F32	56	△	Alichi	Dip. 1, F5
26	○	Apinda	P1, G96	57	○	Asumé	Dip. 1, F2
27	△	Gonisutu	P1, G64	58			
28	○	Alasani	P1, F34	59	○	Léya	K2, F99
29	△	Bénanu	P1, G61	60	△	Todo	K2, F68
30	△	Nanga	P1, G31				

Total on January 1, 1958: 116 persons, including 43 children and adolescents of less than 16 years.

Adult inhabitants whose residence in Boniville is not normal: none.

The members of the small Poti lineage, founded about 50 years ago by a Djuka woman, wife of grand man Ochi†, have normal residence here through their foundress. No Djuka, Saramaka, or Paramaka lives in Boniville.

G:Hurault--66 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
/45/ Boni

102
361
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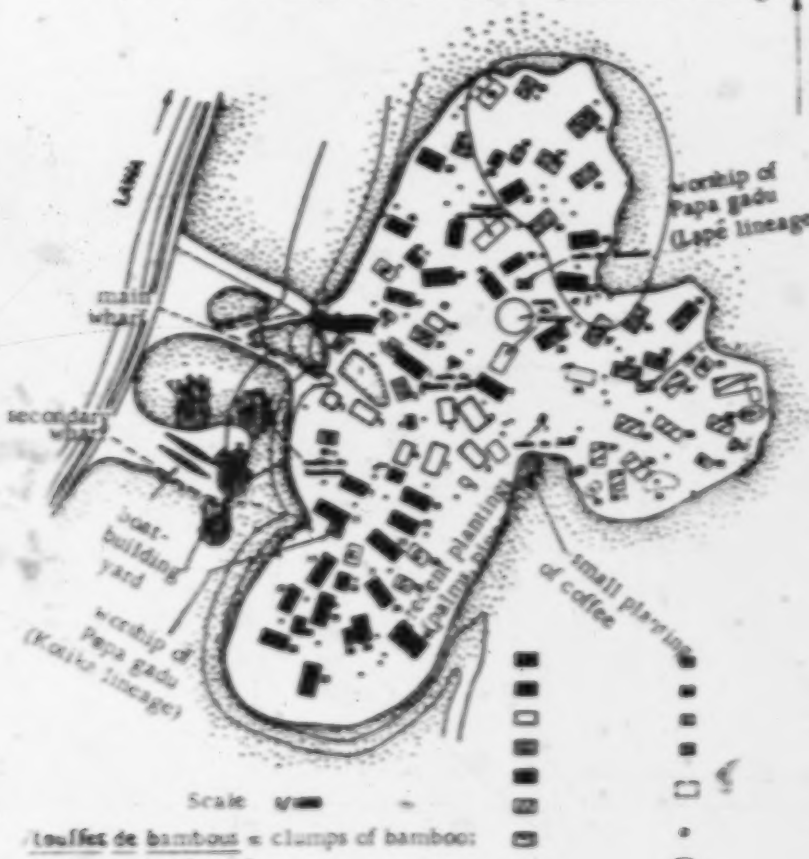
Agodé Village
(Boniville)
in Oct. 1957
Dikan Lineage
and Fractions of the Kotika, Dipelu I, Lapé, Papaïsoni, Dju Lineages



/touffes de bambous = clumps of bamboo:
culte de = worship of:
case de passage = guest houses
magasin marchandise = mercantry shed/

/see symbols on p. 63a/

Fig. 7.

/45 cont./

102
361
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/The symbols below refer to Fig. 7 on p. 66./

Hamlets

- Dikan
- Kotika
- Dyu
- Dipelu
- Lapé
- Papaïston
- Poti (Dyuka origin)

- chapels (gadi: p/u)
- Mumu p/u (1)
- kitchens
- various outbuildings (granaries, etc.)
- building in ruins
- single trees
- clump of banana trees
- clump of pinot palms /ouaui/

(1) Houses to which women retire during their menstrual period.

6:Hurault--67 K-5 (1948-1958) 1981 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/46/

l'Enfant Perdu (Tabiki) Village

162
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621

Legend

№	House of		№	House of	
3	○ Djalufu	Dip. I, E8	25	△ Fambien	Dip. I, E82
6	△ Kasun (usually lives in Kotika	Dip. I, E3	26	○ Asuwentina	K2, E73
			25, 29	△ Damini	Dip. I, E47
8	△ Biani	Dip. I, F76	30	○ Anusa	Dip. I, E48
9	○ Seume	Dip. I, E53	31, 32	○ Towéchi	Dip. I, F64
10	△ Tabaye	Dip. I, F73			
11	○ Seumé (2nd house)		33	△ Malpa	Dip. I, F52
13	○ Abena	Dip. I, D38	34	△ Babun (2nd house)	
14	△ Polou	Dip. I, F77	36	○ Aséli	Dip. I, F60
15	△ Toh	Dip. I, D44	37	○ Elina	Dip. I, E44
16	○ Mata	Dip. I, F80	38	○ Anou	Dip. I, G50
17	△ Abagon	Dip. I, E35	39	○ Musinga	Dip. I, F51
19	△ Bayamati	Dip. I, E56	41	○ Apeusa	Dip. I, F54
20	△ Simon	Dip. I, F78	42	○ Kodja	Dip. I, F55
21	△ Manku	Dip. I, F75	43	○ Saayé	Dip. I, F56
22	△ Babun village head	Dip. I, D40	45	○ Potchina	Dip. I, E42

[622]

Total on January 1, 1958: 65 persons, of whom 25 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

[591] Adult inhabitants of the village whose residence is not normal:

○ Asuwèntina 1926, raised by her father Fambien, remained in l'Enfant Perdu;

△ Yoni 1936, DJUKA, raised by his brother by the same father Tabayé in l'Enfant Perdu village, remained there afterward.

Total: 2 persons, of whom one is bringing up a child.

Loka and Lapé Tabiki Villages

[591] Adult inhabitants whose residence is normal: /Error for "not normal"? - Tr.

△ Aïnondo 1935, raised by his father Konman in Loka, stayed there

○ Baïsom 1924, raised by her father Maiobi in Loka, stayed there

○ Méchi 1922, raised by her father Kotto in Loka, stayed there

○ Noko 1937, raised by Namu, sister of her father, stayed in Loka

○ Régina 1936, raised by her father Popo in Loka, stayed there

Total: 5 persons, raising 7 children or adolescents under 16 years old.

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/47/

I'Enfant Perdu Village
(Dipelu I lo)
in 1957

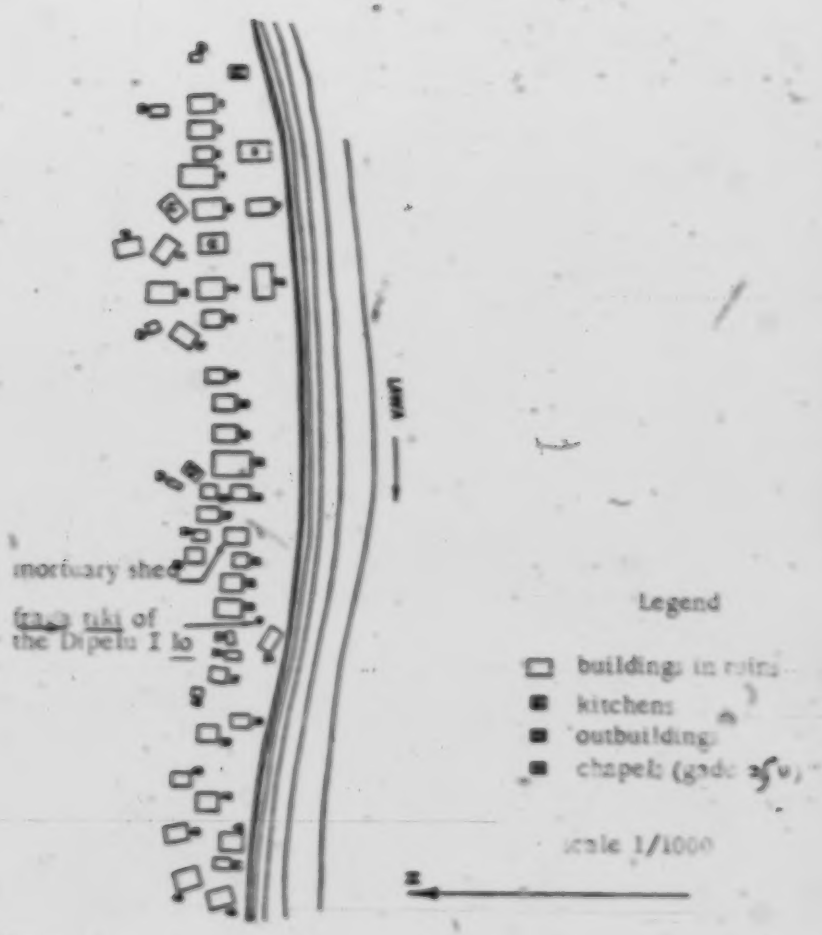

Fig. 8.

/48/

Loka and Lapé Tabiki Villages

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Legend

Loka Village

№	House of		
1, 4	⊖ Bito	L1, D2	
3	△ Téloè	L1, E3	
2, 5	○ Toffi	L1, E1	
6	△ Pikinbeale	L1, E2	
7	○ Totouman	L1, F1	
8	△ Dootè	L1, E10	
9	○ Balkom	Dju, F10	
11	△ Abété		
12	△ Malobi	Dip. 1, E50	
13	○ Alapu	L1, D9	
14	○ Apiéku	L1, E7	
15	○ Yaana	L1, E39	
16	○ Madu	L1, E41	
17	△ Topo	L1, E40	
18	○ Chii	L1, D24	
19	○ Koko	L1, E42	
20	△ Ayeubédé	L1, E37	
21	○ Mayon	L1, F27	
22	○ Saléni	L1, E25	
23	○ Kayé	L1, F26	
24	△ Tingo	L1, F25	
25	○ Awenkina	L1, D23	
26	○ Paako	L1, E29	
27	○ Do	L1, F35	
28	○ Akoméli	L1, F34	
29	○ Méchi	Aw. B.1, E27	
30	○ Balansi	L1, F37	
31	○ Mémé	L1, E34	
32	○ Akuba	L1, E30	
33	△ Akwadé	L1, E22	
34	○ Ondi		
35	△ Pwen	L1, E33	
36	△ Koniman	L1, E31	
37	○ Akuba	L1, E30	
38	○ Afuyéti	L1, F38	
39	△ Afoondo	Aw. B.1, F56	
40	○ Mélita	L1, E32	
41	○ Abiaman	L1, F39	
42	○ Téké	L1, F44	
43, 44	△ Tamu	L1, F32	
45, 46	△ Fosé	L1, F33	
47	△ Somié	L1, E24	
48	△ Popo, head of the village	L1, E23	

[622]

Lapé Tabiki Village

№	House of	
1	○ Asamani	L1, D15
1a	Manntau	L1, E20
2	Tabiki†	
3	△ Butu	DJUKA
4	△ Sofé	L1, D13
5	○ Twa †	L1, E14
6	○ Asolda †	L1, C11
7	○ Kama	L1, E15
8	○ Adoimba	L1, E17
9	△ Maaten	L1, E18
10	△ Tyaka	L1, D16
11	○ Yundu † 1957	L2, G60
12	○ Asakundu	L2, E55
	○ Angisa	L2, F61
13	△ Anato	L2, G61

Total on [illegible] 1958: [illegible] persons of whom 64 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

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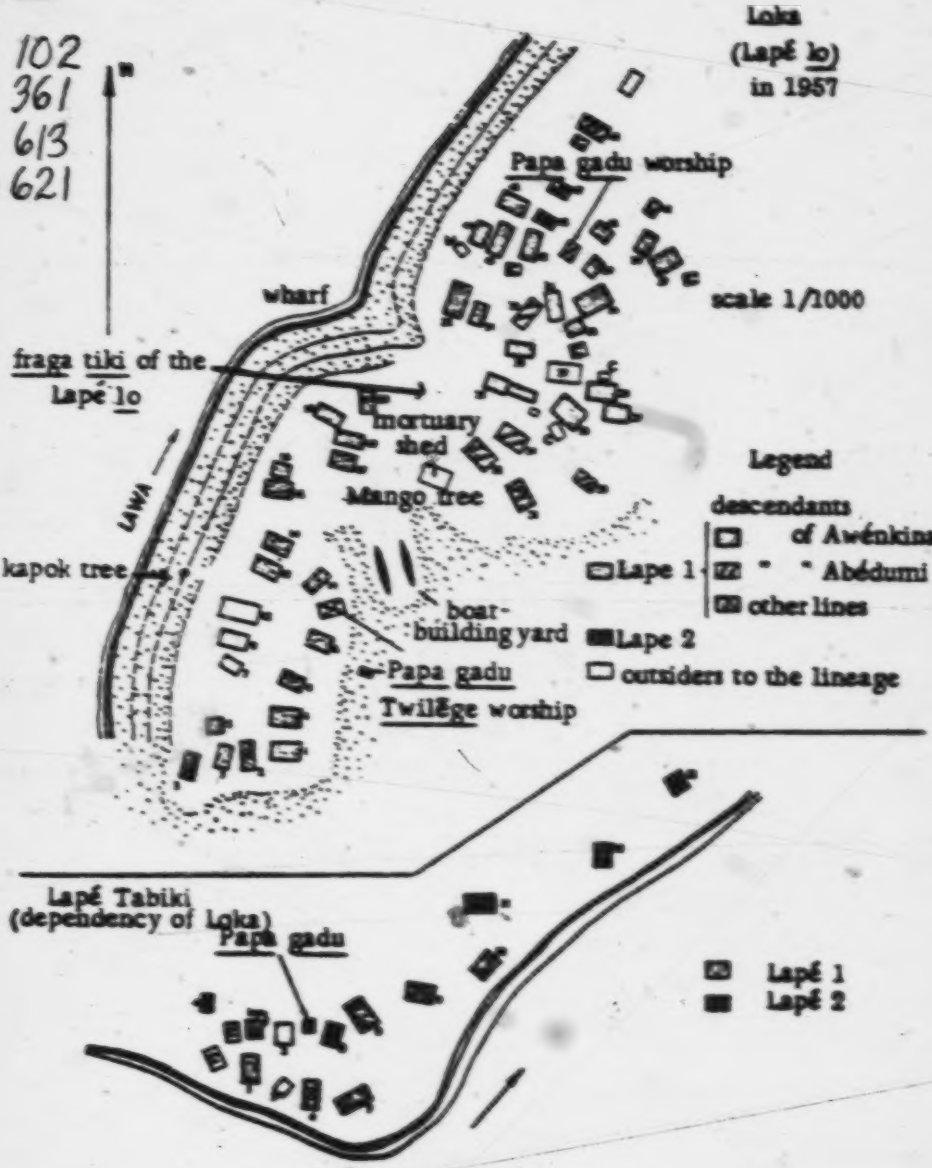

Fig. 9.

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Asisi Village--Dju Quarter

Legend

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N°	House of		N°	House of	
1	△ Fraga	Dju, F18	25	○ Paana	Dju, G2
2	△ Loko	Dju, F39	26	○ Téodora	Dju, G40
3	△ Sosoman	Dju, E14	27	○ Pikè	Dju, F28
4	△ Fraga (2nd house)		29	○ Dabisa	Dju, G45'
5	△ Tyolo	Dip. II, F48	30	△ Yaka	SAR.
6, 7	△ Wènu	Dju, F38	31	△ Soalufu	Dju, G42
			32	○ Aliki	Dju, E23
8	△ Koniami	Aw. B.1, G1	33	○ Maria	Dju, F11
9	○ Yéèchi	Dju, F3	34	△ Achiké	Dju, F13
10	○ Wima † 1957		35	○ Félicia	Dju, G41
13	△ Féni	Dju, G3	36	△ Bernardin	K1, D60
14	△ Adiso, village head	Dju, F37	37	△ Achiké (2nd house)	
			38	○ Dachini	Dju, F16
15	○ Pamasa	Dju, E26	39	○ Adyidya (2nd house)	
16	○ Buba	Dju, G1	40	○ Kukusa	Dju, F40
17	○ Aguba	Dju, G14	41	△ Faawé	Dju, F19
18	○ Sara	Dju, E27	42	○ Ursula	Dju, D3
20	○ Ata	Dju, F2	43	○ Wima † (2nd house)	
21	○ Adyidya	Dju, E19	44, 45	○ Diana	Dju, E9
22	○ Lènga	Dju, F36			
23	○ Sara (2nd house)		46	○ Baawè	Dju, E13
24	○ Tini	Dju, F1			

Total on January 1, 1958: 67 persons of whom 24 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

[591] Adult inhabitants whose residence is not normal:

△ Koniami 1935, raised by his father among the Dju, stayed there afterward;

△ Tyolo 1919 idem

△ Yaka 1870, old Saramaka moved in with his wife Aliki;

△ Bernardin 1885, raised by his father among the Dju where he took a wife;

○ AfaTla 1930, raised by her father among the Dju, stayed with her brother by the same father Féni.

Total: 5 persons, of whom one is raising a child.

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Asisi
Dju Quarter
(Dju lo)
in 1957

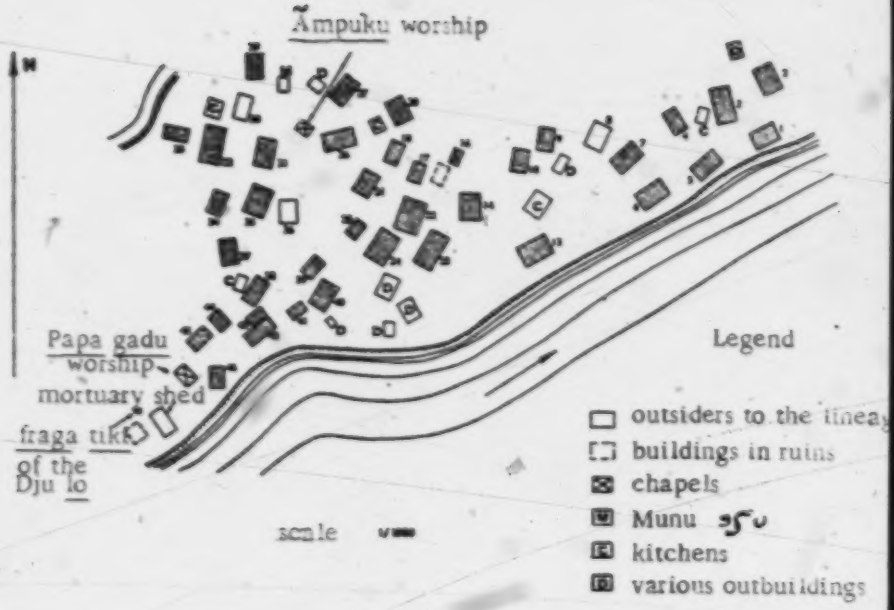

Fig. 10.

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Asisi Village--Awara Bakka Quarter

Legend

N°	House of		N°	House of	
1	△ Amusupé 1887	Aw. B. 1, E3	30	○ Noémi	Aw. B. 1, F51
2	△ Kondoku, village head	Aw. B. 1, E22	31	△ Empalé	DJUKA
3	○ Kyéti	Aw. B. 1, E30	32	△ Antonu	Aw. B. 1, E47
4	○ Mani	1. Afi, d12	33	○ Agyasu, her △ Maliki, husband	L2, F64
5	○ Paniki	1. Afi, d13	34	○ Irma	Aw. B. 1, E37
6	△ Awéni	1. Afi, c12	35	○ Bugi	Aw. B. 1, F41
7	△ Agibidon	Aw. B. 1, E21	36	○ Akumuyé †	Aw. B. 1, D17
8	○ Akichi	Aw. B. 1, F27	37	○ Méédié	Aw. B. 3, F90
9	△ Boofo	Aw. B. 1, E31	38	○ Mona	Aw. B. 1, F50
10	○ Biyo	Aw. B. 1, F11	39	△ Mato	Aw. B. 1, E46
11	△ Matapi	1. Afi, c3	40	○ Chitaïna	Aw. B. 1, F43
12	△ Béti	Aw. B. 1, F37	41	○ Lébimay	Aw. B. 1, F55
13	△ Aminto	Aw. B. 3, E74	42	○ Namu	Aw. B. 1, E48
14	○ Kuluba † 1957	Aw. B. 1, D1	43	○ Léna	Aw. B. 1, E52
15	○ Fakima	Aw. B. 2, E61	44	△ Maïna	Aw. B. 1, F42
16	○ Abuyu	Aw. B. 2, E63	45	○ Lébimichi	Aw. B. 1, F27
17	○ Koluku	Aw. B. 2, E59	46	○ Amélia	Aw. B. 1, F19
18	△ Garson	Aw. B. 1, F7	47	△ Ernest	Aw. B. 1, E25
19	○ Summa	Aw. B. 3, F81	48	○ Apinda	Aw. B. 1, F16
20	○ Emma	Aw. B. 2, D25	49	△ Bésu	Aw. B. 1, F17
21	○ Titi	Aw. B. 1, E16	50	○ Kakié	Aw. B. 1, E18
22	△ Akodo	Aw. B. 2, E55	51	○ Atuku †	Aw. B. 1, E26
24	○ Saanéti	Aw. B. 2, D28	52	○ Ayékuman	Aw. B. 1, F8
25	△ Asakya	Aw. B. 2, E65	53	○ Soéfi	Aw. B. 1, F10
26	△ Kondoku (2nd house)		54	△ Dopia	Aw. B. 1, F9
27	○ Akanté	Aw. B. 3, E70	55	△ Baakaman	Aw. B. 1, F12
29	○ Kilina	Aw. B. 3, E71	56	○ Alicia	Aw. B. 1, E32

Total on January 1, 1958: 145 persons of whom 60 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

NOTA: The Awara Bakka lineage settled earliest on the island of Asisi, and when the Boni speak of Asisi village, they usually mean the quarter occupied by this lineage.

[591] Adult inhabitants of the village whose residence is not normal:

△Empalé 1905, DJUKA mother, raised by his father Péeyon in Asisi, remained there afterward;

△ Maliki 1928, raised by his father in Asisi, remained there afterward;

○ Delina 1931, DJUKA woman settled near her husband Maïna.

Total: 3 persons.

6:Hurault--74 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Boni

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Asisi Village
Awara Bakka Quarter
Awara Bakka lo, fractions 1, 2, 3
fragment of the Afi lineage in 1957

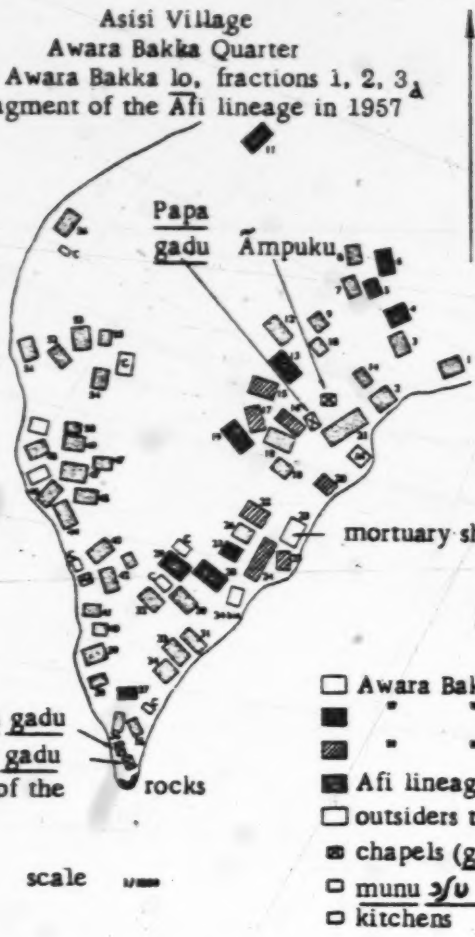

Fig. 11.

/54/

Papaïston Village

Legend

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N°	House of		N°	House of	
1	○ Bèlfi	P1, F19	18	○ Kumata	P1, G1
2	○ Oben	P1, E13	19	△ Sawen	P1, E7
3	○ Dodo	P1, F11	20	○ Emilia	P1, F3
4	△ Yusu	P1, E16	21	△ Galmo	P1, E15
5	○ Kamen	P1, E14	22	○ Hèléna	P1, F2
6	○ Agodéuman	P1, F10	23	○ Gou	P1, F8
7	○ Mili	P1, F20	24	△ Afay †	
8	○ Donasi † 1957	P1, E35	25	○ Puti	P2, F71
9	○ Asenten	P1, E10	26	○ Ondi	P1, F49
10	○ Aduudu	P1, H61	27	○ Atipay	P1, F47
[622] 11	△ Tofunié, village head	P1, E12	28	○ Dopi	P1, G40
			29	△ Agodéba	P1, E1
12	△ Tolinga	P1, E11	30	○ Toïna	1. Toïna
13	○ Efa	P1, D4	31	○ Apuulobi	1. Toïna
14	△ Aguundé	P1, F4	33	△ Apuyu	1. Toïna
15	△ Dudu	P1, F18	34	○ Bèndya	P1, F12
16	○ Kokoyo	P1, F9	35	△ Mangoto	P1, F20
17	○ Wilèlmina	P1, F1			

Total on January 1, 1958: 83 persons, of whom 36 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

No outsider to the lineage lives in the midst of the Papaïston; the members of the Toïna lineage live isolated at the southern end of the village.

6:Hurault--76 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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Papaïston Village
in Oct. 1957
Kawina or Papaïston lineage,
fragment of the Toïna (Bakabuchi) lineage

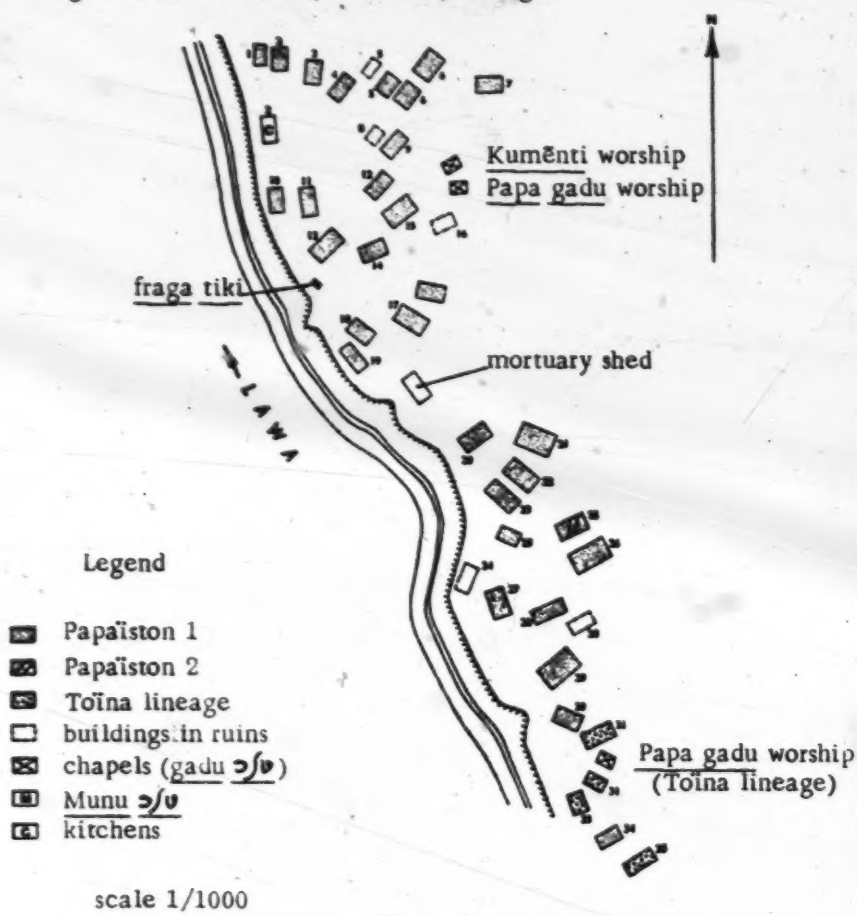

Fig. 12.

/56/

621
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Kormotibo and Asisi-Dipélu Villages

Dipélu II lo

[128] [361] We did not judge it useful to include the plan of the habitat of this group, consisting of two hamlets which are badly kept up and in decay.

[162] As of January 1, 1958: 62 persons, of whom 31 are children and adolescents of less than 16 years.

[591] Adult inhabitants whose residence in these villages is not normal:

△ Alémin 1880 (Afi lineage)	has always lived isolated
○ Magdaléna 1912 (Afi lineage) (raising 4 children under 16)	came to live with her husband Léon (Dip. II, † in 1954); remained there afterward.
△ Doïchiman 1934 (Afi l.)	raised by his mother Magdaléna, lives near her.
△ Dokwé 1938 (Afi l.)	idem
○ Gongolon 1937 (Afi l.) (raising a child)	idem
○ Mauda 1935 (Afi l.)	idem
○ Ninga 1899 (Papaïston 2)	separated from her group after a disagreement.
△ Bénu 1928	Ninga's son, followed his mother.

Total: 8 persons raising 4 children under 16 years.

/57/

621 Structure and Composition of the Villages

The examination we have just made of the peopling of six villages shows important aspects of the social organization and material life of the Boni.

591 [613] Kin groups in the villages. We have seen that the principle of Boni residence was localization of the whole lineage, men, women, and children, which implies the absence of common household life, man and wife each living in his own village.

This principle of matrilocal residence is effectively applied in nearly all cases. In 1957, out of all the 670 persons in the villages on the French bank, only 27 adults out of 410, or six per cent, were living in the midst of their paternal relatives or had settled permanently in the village of their spouse. [162] [621]

591 613 Nowhere is seen any tendency toward patrilocal grouping; the small lineages issued in the course of the past two generations from Djuka or Bakabuchi wives who came to settle permanently near their husbands do not escape the common law. Their members follow strictly, with respect to their ancestress, the principle of matrilocal residence.

613 571 621 Another important conclusion is revealed by examination of the genealogical tables:

When a scission takes place within a lineage, scattering its members among several villages under different authorities, this scission is never complete. Lineage members feel at home as much in one as in the other of these villages and go at will from one to the other.

613 621 The Dipélu I example is particularly clear in this respect. Its members are divided among these villages: L'Enfant Perdu, Apatu, and Boniville (where this lineage occupies a quarter).

/57 cont./

613 The descendants of ○Monika † were scattered among these
621 three villages. Δ Kwau, the eldest, after living at Apatu until
591 the age of 70 years, moved in 1958 to Boniville; ○Djalufu lived from childhood at L'Enfant Perdu, Cécilia was raised in Boniville where she has lived since.

Again, let us cite the example of the descendants of Wétiti (Papaïston 1). Out of her 12 adult children and grandchildren living in January, 1958, seven established themselves with her in the habitation she founded on the estuary of the Maroni several hundred kilometers from Boni country, two live in Boniville (where the Papaïston lineage delegated a few of its members to live close to the grand man), three came back to live in Papaïston. In spite of this dispersion, there is perfect understanding among these brothers and sisters who remain in regular relationship.

128 Emigration; immigration; founding of new lineages. It is not
167 possible to give rigorous figures on this subject because it is very difficult to make a clear distinction between temporary and permanent emigrants. It does happen that a man /58/ who left a long time before and on whom they no longer counted comes back to take up again his place in ordinary living. It also happens that a man who left for a short trip prolongs his absence indefinitely.

167 Nevertheless, it can be asserted that long lasting emigration affects only a very small percentage of the Boni, and men almost exclusively. Out of 810 persons in the census, in registering the names of their brothers, sisters, and children, we noted only some 20 emigrants considered as permanently lost to their group, including four women.

/58 cont./

166 619 It is fitting to make an exception of the case of OWétiti (Papaïston) and OMa Imma (Kotika), who separated from their groups with their numerous descendants in order to found villages on the lower course of the river. These groups continue to consider themselves Boni; they are the nuclei of future villages.

For the same reasons it is difficult to get exact figures on [162] [621] immigration. About 100 Djuka and Saramaka have founded farming villages in Boni country but keep all their ties with their villages of origin; some 30 of them have married Boni women; one can estimate that some 15 have completely bound up their fate with the Boni and can be considered as integrated into the villages in which they have settled.

16 128 [562] All in all one can estimate that emigration and immigration of adult men, both very insignificant, compensate for each other; they have practically no importance on the social plane (since only the residence of the women has any influence upon the grouping of the lineages) or on the demographic plane; with the Boni the pyramid of ages constructed from the census of the villages represents very faithfully the demographic state of the population and lends itself to precise calculations of mortality (1).

1. It is not the same for the majority of African populations either because of emigration to the cities or polygamy. The presence of several average polygamists in a village is enough to render completely erroneous the counts of cross-sections by age.

166 571 591 613 The founding of new lineages results from the immigration of several Djuka women, some having come to settle permanently near their husbands, others brought up by their fathers in a Boni village. Half a dozen such cases occur in each generation, but

/58 cont. /

166 not all result in the founding of a new lineage, either because
571 the women are sterile or because only one or two surviving children
591 remain who go back to live among their maternal kin. The more
613 children a woman has, the more she tends to settle permanently with her descendants, for the group thus formed represents a force and can be self-sufficient as much on the material level as on the emotional level.

613 Four new lineages have been founded in the whole of Boni
571 country during the past 50 years: /59/
162

Awara Bakka 3 (Anèta)	16 persons	on January 1, 1958
Afi	25	--
Toïna	9	--
Poti	8	--
Total....	58 persons	

Thus these new lineages represent only $\frac{58}{810}$ = 7 per cent of the Boni.

16 The immigration of women from other tribes thus remains
619 an exceptional phenomenon which has few effects on the social and demographic levels. The development of the Boni as a nation results only from the natural movement of the population. Study of the genealogies forces the conclusion that when the members of these four small lineages are eliminated, the whole of the Boni are descended from only six or seven women who lived at the end of the 18th century. Few examples of such growth are to be found.

• 621 Absence of division of the villages into quarters. We have
[183] seen that the custom of the Refugee Blacks is opposed to all that could alter the system of classificatory kinship and leads to the individualization of segments within the lineage. This principle
[613] is translated very clearly in the structure of the villages, where one observes no tendency at all toward division into separate quarters,

613 /59 cont./
621 except in villages like Boniville where the issue of several lineages
[591] coexist. The rule is that in the homogeneous villages the members of the lineage are entirely free to build their houses anywhere. One observes only a certain tendency of children to group themselves around their mother as far as places are available (see especially in the village of Loka the intermingling of the homes of the descendants of Adédumi, Awěnkina, and other ancestresses belonging to the same lineage).

In villages like Asisi-Awara Bakka, where are grouped the members of a lo including individualized fractions, it is the same.

These fractions have no tendency whatever to form separate quarters (see in the plan of Asisi the intermingling of the homes of the Aw.B.1, 2, 3) any more than they tend to group their clearings in a separate area.

The Boni are apt to say: "Barriers must not be raised between brothers."

621 In a general way, examination of the village plans shows
425 that the Boni build their houses to suit themselves without any privileged orientation and without grouping or isolating them in any special way. Any member of the lineage may build on a site left free (for example, the site of an old hut after the death of its owner, when it has been adjudged to be too ruined to be possi-
[622] ble to give as a legacy). He must only have the authorization of the head of the village and also the assent of the neighbors, whom he must not disturb. Since the houses occupy only a small amount of space and most of them have no outbuildings (kitchen
[578] or granary), this assent is very easily given. We have never heard it said that people argued about a site.

/60/

There are no gardens around the cabins because the conditions of the soil and climate render permanent cultivation impracticable. The nearest thing is a few persons planting some banana trees around the hut at the foot of which they spread the hearth ashes. As a general rule villages are closely hemmed in by secondary brushwood, and people plant far from one another and sometimes very far from the village.

If it does not admit the appropriation of land to individuals, custom does admit, on the other hand, the ownership of trees. In the villages the useful trees (coconut trees, maripa palms /attalea excelsa/, mango trees, cashew-apple trees, etc.) all have owners. The tree is considered as personal property and is transmitted by inheritance in the same way as a gun or a canoe. The procedure employed by the Boni for the dispersion of the inheritance among the members of the lineage of the dead ma sometimes has the effect of transmitting the ownership of a tre to a person who is not of the village. For example, in Boniville where a fraction of the Kotika lineage lives, two caumou palms were bequeathed a long time ago to members of the lineage living in Kotika, who come each year to gather the fruit.

Appendix

Local Chronology Used for Determining Ages

1876	Death of Grand Man Atyaba.
1877	Trip of the explorer Crevaux from the Maroni to the Yari and the Amazon, in the company of Apatu, head of the Boni village.
1882	Apatu secedes, taking with him about 150 persons and founds the village which bears his name on the lower course of the Maroni.

/80 cont./

621 613 [174] Case of the village of Boniville. This village constitutes an especially interesting case, for it brings together small fractions of the various lineages permanently settled there. It helps one to understand what the territorial implantation of the Refugee Blacks may have been toward the end of the 18th century at the time when their institutions were developing.

621 613 423 [643] [425] The principle is that the Boniville lands belong to the grand man, the last representative of the Dikan lineage; he granted individually to the inhabitants of the village the right to farm his lands. These inhabitants thus hold only a right of use, and there can be no competition among them for the possession of the real rights. But the principle of transmission of the right of use in the same lineage remains for each clearing taken separately. For example, Klémenti (Dju, F7), who made a clearing out of primary forest, concedes that after him his land may be occupied by any member of the Dju lineage residing in Boniville, but not by Dju lineage members living in Asisi. /81/

423 621 Few in number on a relatively extensive territorial sector, the inhabitants of Boniville have not felt the need to divide the sector granted by the grand man into precise territorial zones.

423 425 613 It is difficult to foresee what will happen after the death of Grand Man Difu when the rights of use will be transformed into real rights. It is probable that a territorial division among the fractions of the lineage established in Boniville will be imperceptibly created by the simple fact that competition will arise among them.

423 Fishing, hunting, gathering, and mineral exploitation rights. These rights are totally separate from the right to farm; in this respect the conceptions of the Refugee Blacks reveal the precariousness of the bonds between the individual and the soil, which results from ecological conditions.

/81 cont./

423 The right to fish in certain rivers is held by lineages; other
222 rivers are regarded as property common to the inhabitants of a
613 village, whatever their kinship may be.

621 For example, the right to fish in Kumata Kiiki, a small
[425] creek of the Surinam bank, near the village of Kotika, is reserved for members of the Lapé lineage (the members of this lineage farmed there formerly, but they abandoned these lands, currently farmed by the Kotika people).

Maripa and Likanaon creeks, downstream from Boniville, are reserved for the inhabitants of Boniville.

Asisi Creek is reserved for the inhabitants of Asisi (Dju, Awara Bakka, and Dipélu II lineages).

423 The right to hunt cannot be reserved; everyone has the right
[224] to hunt anywhere.

The right to gather and the right to cut trees for making
[222] planks or boats is generally bound up with the right to farm.
[313] The right to collect underground products is completely
423 independent of the right to farm. For example, if someone finds
316 a seam of kaolin (pemba) on the lands of another lineage, he
317 exploits it freely. This aspect of the legal conceptions of the Refugee Blacks is very interesting, for it shows that even from the
423 point of view of customary law, the grand man is not entitled to
316 exercise any rights over the production of the Creole gold miners.
648 He could demand indemnities only insofar as these gold miners farm lands over which the Boni exercise customary rights. The interminable discussions which the claims of Grand Man Anato brought on at the time of the Lawa gold rush at the end of the past century would have been avoided by a better knowledge of the customary law.

/82/

Territorial Implantation of Lineages

423
613
311 As we have shown, the Refugee Blacks are caught between contradictory imperatives:

--Their legal thought, centered on joint possession by the lineage, pushes them to distribute land among the lineages in compact blocs;

[182]
[241] --The geographic environment, and most especially the ravages of the manioc ant, obliges them to give to each individual the possibility of abruptly changing his territorial sector or to hasten the planned rhythm of his fallow fields.

The solution which has imposed itself has been to divide the lands of each lineage into a certain number of zones scattered on the two banks of the river. Instead of finding large blocks with a single holder, we are going to find sectors sometimes rather small. With that exception, the legal principles of the Refugee Blacks keep all their practical value.

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[489] Each village possesses a certain number of landing places or dégrads /wharfs/, from which fan out a certain number of paths. The wharf is the center of a territorial zone within which the members of the lineage fan out, pushing their clearings farther and farther, until they meet the clearings created by other lineages. At this moment a boundary is in effect created, at least in some points (1).

[184]

1. Among the Djuka it happens that a wharf may be common to two lineages and that the boundary may be marked by a big road perpendicular to the river and starting from the wharf; this system corresponds to a concern for establishing more precise boundaries between groups occupying land to the maximum. It is not observed anywhere in Boni country.

/82 cont./

423 311 This fact is easily observable in the neighborhood of recently created farming habitations. In the figure "Distribution of lands ... in the neighborhood of the confluence with the Inini" (see at the end of the present chapter), the lands of the Antonu habitation are clearly seen distributed along two paths, one on each bank of the river.

241 423 In the sectors near Boni residence villages, cultivated in days gone by, the main lines of these boundaries are known everywhere. Still, they are far from being as precise as in the African countries with dense population, where the absence of manioc ants allows a regular rotation of lands. In Boni country this rotation is most variable, the duration of fallow ground going from two to 20 years [136] and more. Vast sectors where the activity of the manioc ants [311] suddenly becomes greater are abandoned for many years. When they are cultivated again, people no longer remember the exact boundaries of the former clearings and the new holders cut their clearings in their own way, taking care only that they remain on the lands of their lineage.

000 /83/ STUDY OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF LANDS
IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF RESIDENCE VILLAGES

Inventory of Part of the Cultivated or Fallow Plots
in January, 1957

• 621 [241] Study of the clearings of Agodé (Boniville). The lands adjacent to Boniville are worked in a very unsystematic fashion because of the composite character of the village population.

[613] Let us call to mind that Agodé includes fractions of six lineages:

/83 cont./

621 613 --The Dikan lo, lineage of the grand man, nearly extinct
--A fragment of the Kotika lo
--A fragment of the Dju lo
--A fragment of the Lapé lo
--A fragment of the Papaïston lo
--A fragment of the Dipélu I lo

621 613 423 241 The Dikan lineage holds the real rights over the whole of the lands situated on the eastern bank of the Lawa, from Puu Mofu Creek to the south up to the edge of L'Enfant Perdu village to the north.

The fragment of the Papaïston lo established in Boniville is in a special situation; it has for a long time possessed the lands situated to the south of Puu Mofu Creek up to the edge of Loka village (Lapé lo). This group has remained strongly organized and its members do not make clearings outside their zone, in which they have all the space desirable anyway.

The members of the other groups make their clearings on all [643] the surface formerly occupied by the Dikan lo. The grand man has reserved for his personal use the lands situated near Likanaon Creek, where he has built a farming habitation. The inhabitants of Boniville make their clearings on all the rest and without any definite territorial grouping.

[101] This finage (1), like the others studied in the present chapter, was

1. Finage: zone cultivated by the members of a collectivity.

visited in January, 1957, in other words shortly after the end of the land-clearing and at the beginning of the planting.

Study of some clearings of the Agodé bakka locality "behind Boniville":

abbreviations:						
	(K)	Kotika	(D)	Dikan	(Dip)	Dipélu
	(Dju)	Dju	(P)	Papaïston	(L)	Lapé

[Agodé bakka locality]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
1	○	Kamina (K2, E92) clearing cut by her husband	1956	lived in Boniville	4 years; last user Todo (K2, F68), in 1952
2	△	Grand Man Difu (D)	1953	--	2 years; used by the grand man in 1951
3	○	Béniti (Dju, E5)	1951	--	cleared by Béniti about 1915, cut by her 3 times in all
4	○	Mimi (K3, E156)	1951	--	cut on old secondary forest
5	△	Todo (K2, F68)	1951	--	2 years; already cut by Todo in 1951 and 1953
6	○	Lèya (K2, F99); clearing cut by her husband	1956	--	6 years; clearing cut by Kanayen (Kotikalo) † in 1950
7	○	Lésina (K2, F69) clearing cut by her husband Manku (Dip, I)	1953	--	?

6:Hurault--120 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8 Boni

[Agodé bakka locality]

/84 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
8	△	Grand Man Difu	1952	--	?
9	○	Paata (Djuka woman settled in Boniville)	1947(?)	id.	already used by Paata about 1940
10	○	Térésa (L2, E57) clearing cut by her sons	1953	id.	?
11	○	Paata (see above)	1953		already used by Paata in 1950

Thus, out of this group of eleven clearings, two remain attributed to the grand man, one to a woman of the Dju lineage, two to a Djuka woman, one to a woman of the Lapé lineage, five to members of the Kotika lineage, all inhabitants of Boniville. /85/

[361]
[166]
[931]
[554]

Study of the clearings of the fraction of the Papaïston established in Boniville. This group formerly lived in Puu Mofu village at the mouth of the creek of the same name, abandoned about 1940 following an epidemic. Its settlement in Boniville is therefore recent. The oldest man in the group, Bukuman, a man of some 60 years, exerts de facto authority.

This group tends to add to its initial finage the band of land included between Boniville village and Puu Mofu Creek belonging to the Dikan io (especially clearings Nos. 12, 13, 14).

[Papaïston fraction living in Boniville]

/85 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
12 ○	Apinda (P1, G26)	1955	member of the Papaïston fraction living in Boniville	20 years; last user Adyuba (D) † mother of the grand man
13 ○	Alasani (P1, F34)	1953	id.	20 years idem
14 ○	Lémiki (K3, E130)	1945 (?)	lives in Boniville	20 years (this clearing is not in Papaïston territory)
15 △	Bukuman (P1, F32), for his wife	1956	member of the Papaïston fraction in Boniville	20 to 25 years
16 ○	Apinda; clearing cut by her husband Amatod,a	1954	id.	id.
17 ○	Alasani	1954	id.	id.

[Papaïston fraction living in Boniville]

/85 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
18	○	Térésa (L2, E57)	1955	woman of Lapé lineage living in Boniville; has worked there as an exception with Bukuman's permission	id.
18a	○	Atasani; clearing cut by her son Nanga	1956	member of the Papaïston fraction living in Boniville	id.
19	○	Pélui (P1, F33)	1954	id.	id. /86/
20	△	Bukuman, for his wife	1954	id.	id.
21	○	Pélui	1955	id.	id.
22	○	Apinda; clearing cut by her husband Amatodja	1956	member of the Papaïston fraction living in Boniville	id.

[Papaïston fraction living in Boniville]

/86 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
23	O	Alasani; clearing cut by her son Nanga	1955	member of the Papaïston fraction living in Boniville	20 to 25 years
24	O	Apinda; clearing cut by her husband Amatodja	1955	id.	id.
25	△	Baafu (L2, E58), for himself	1955	man of the Lapé lineage living in Boniville. Has worked there as an exception with Bangasé's permission	id.
26	O	Pélui	1954	woman of the Papaïston lineage (Boniville)	id.
27	O	Apinda	1949	id.	id.

/86 cont./

621 Near this clearing is the limit of the lineage lands; beyond
613 are the clearings of Loka village (Lapé lineage).
423 Out of the 16 clearings examined here, 14 are occupied by
241 members of the Papaïston group at Boniville, two are held by
[562] temporary users, outsiders to the group. Out of the 16 clearings 13 are held by women and three by men.

Lands of Loka village (Lapé lo). This village, with its annex Lapé Tabiki, is the residence village of the Lapé lo. The Lapé lo, [614] whose genealogy is completely known and which remains geographically well grouped, is divided into two fractions without ceasing to constitute a lineage (bee) in the strict sense of the term. Its lands are divided into three zones:

--One on the east bank of the Maroni, behind Loka village.

/87/ --Another on the west bank (Surinam bank) opposite Lapé Tabiki, which we were not able to examine,

--Another upstream from Maripasoula, where part of the members of the lineage possess farming habitations.

[311] The first zone has been almost completely abandoned for about ten years as a consequence of an exceptional pullulation of manioc ants. We have summarized only a few relatively recent clearings there:

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
31 Δ	Akwadé (L1, E22) for himself	1948	member of the Lapé lo	cut only once on old secondary forest
32 Δ	Akwadé, for himself	1950	id.	cut twice in all by Akwadé

[Lands of Loka Village (Lapé'lo)]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
33	Δ	Akwadé	1952	id.	cut only once on old secondary forest
34	O	Awènkina (L1, D23); clearing cut by her husband	1949	id.	cut only once on old secondary forest
35	O	Awènkina id.	1936(?)	id.	cut twice in all by Awènkina
36	O	Awènkina; clearing cut by her son	1952	id.	2 years; cut in 1950 on old secondary forest
37	O	Chii (L1, D24); clearing cut by her son Ayaubédé	1952	id.	2 years; cut in 1950 by the same
38	O	Chii; clearing cut by her husband	1950	id.	cut only once on old secondary forest
38a	O	Madu (E41), Chii's daughter	1956	id.	6 years, a part of No. 38 taken up again

[Lands of Loka Village (Lapé'lo)]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
39	○	Chii; clearing cut by her son Ayaubédé	1955	id.	?
40	△	Koniman (L1, E31) for himself	1953	id.	4 years (cut by himself in 1949)

[562] Out of the eleven clearings examined here, all are farmed by members of the Lapé lo; seven are held by men and four by women.

Lands of the Dju lo (Asisi village) in the Ingi Udu locality. The Dju lo, whose genealogy is completely known, also constitutes a lineage in the strict sense of the term. It remains well grouped geographically with the exception of a small group established in Boniville close to the grand man.

The lands of the Dju lo are distributed in several zones:

--One on the east bank of the Lawa, a little downstream from Asisi, in the Ingi Udu locality;

--One on the Dutch bank opposite Gengé Tabiki;

--One upstream from Maripasoula at the confluence with the Inini, where an important farming habitation is established (Atikati village);

--Finally, several members of the group make their clearings near Kormotibo in the Kuyaku locality, on the lands of the Dipélu II lo.

Clearings summarized here all belong to the first zone.

[Lands of the Dju Io (Asisi Village) in the Ingi Udu locality]

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
41 O	Téodora (Dju, G40); clearing cut by her husband	1955	member of the Dju Io, Asisi fraction	20 years
42 O	Kukusa (Dju, F40); cl. cut by her husband Bernardin	1953	id.	a very long time
43 O	Paana (Dju, G2), cut it herself (has no husband)	1955	id.	6 years /89/
44 O	Tini (Dju, F1); clearing cut by her husband	1954	id.	6 years (?); cut 3 times in all since 1920
45 O	Lènga (Dju, F36); clearing cut by her husband	1955	id.	4 years
46 O	Féni (Dju, G3), /Δ?/for his wife Abugu	1954	id.	7 years
47 O	Tini (Dju, F1); cl. cut by her husband	1955	id.	6 years (?)

[Lands of the Dju lo (Asisi Village) in the Ingi Udu locality]

/89 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
48	Tint; clearing cut by her husband	1956	member of the Dju lo, Asisi fraction	3 years
48a	Sara (Dju, E27); cl. cut by her husband	1956	id.	3 years (fraction of clearing 48)
50	Félicia (Dju, G41); clearing cut by her husband Akodo	1954	id.	?
51	Téodora; clearing cut by her husband	1956	id.	2 years
64	Abo † (E8), for himself	1956	id.	2 years
76	Ata (F2); clearing cut by her husband	1956	id.	3 years
77	idem	1955	id.	3 years

Clearings 64, 76, and 77 appear to be enclaves a little within the Awara Bakka finage. Actually, from the very fashion

/89 cont./

621 613 423 241 [562] in which these finages were constituted, one must not expect to find clear boundaries.

These 14 clearings are thus used exclusively by members of the Dju lineage living in Asisi village. All but two are held by women. /90/

It is interesting to study the kinship ties of the members of the lineage making their clearings in different zones. One might actually believe that there is a tendency toward individualization of sublineages, and that the descendants of a particular woman tend to hold exclusively the use of such and such a zone.

We see here that such is not the case.

In zone 1 (studied here), make their clearings: Tini (F1), Paana (G2), Féni (G3), very close relatives, but also Lènga (F36), Kukusa (F40), and Félicia (G41), whose relationship with the first-named is as distant as possible within the lineage: Félicia and Paana for example are relatives in the 12th degree.

The same thing is observed in other zones, as we shall see in the study of farming habitations.

621 613 614 423 Lands of the Awara Bakka lo (Asisi village). The finage of the Awara Bakka lo is particularly interesting to study, for this lo has a more complex structure. Study of the genealogy shows the existence of three distinct fractions, which we have designated respectively as Aw.B.1, Aw.B.2, Aw.B.3. The Aw.B.1 and 2 fractions consider themselves as the same lineage in the strict sense (bɛɛ). On the contrary, fraction 3 can be considered as a separate lineage from the point of view of legal responsibility. Moreover, the members of the small Afi lineage, living with the Awara Bakka, also constitute a separate unit from the legal point of view. It is important to study whether that carries over into their territorial implantation.

[Lands of The Awara Bakka Io (Asisi Village)]

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[128]

We were not able to carry this study out exhaustively because the great mass of lands cultivated by the Awara Bakka are situated on the Surinam bank. The clearings summarized here are grouped in a zone called Ingi Udu; they are served by two landing places or dégrads, borrowed exclusively by the Awara Bakka.

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
61 O	Kyéti (Aw.B.1, E30); cl. cut by her brother Agibidon	1954	member of the Awara Bakka Io, 1st fraction	cut on old secondary forest
62 O	Mani (Afi lineage); clearing cut by her husband Galmo	1956	member of the Afi lineage, living in Asisi	2 years
63 O	Kyéti; clearing cut by her brother Agibidon	1956	Awara Bakka, 1st fraction, Asisi village	2 years; cut 4 times in all, the 1st about 1949 /91/
65 O	Akanté (Aw.B.3); clearing cut by her husband Poopu	1956	id. 3rd fraction	2 years

[Lands of the Awara Bakka 10 (Asisi Village)]

/91 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
66 O	Kyéti; clearing cut by her husband Sosoman	1954	id. 1st fraction	2 years
67 O	Lébimichi (Aw. B.1, F27); clearing cut by her husband Abagon	1956	id. 1st fraction	4 years
68 O	Anèta (Aw.B.3); clearing cut by her son-in-law Kéwénu	1956	id. 3rd fraction	4 years
69 O	Agyasu (Aw.B.1, F38); clearing cut by her brother Baliki	1956	Awara Bakka, 1st fraction, Asisi vge.	4 years
70 O	Emma (Aw.B.2); clearing cut by her son Akodo	?	id. 2nd fraction	4 years
71 O	Irma (Aw.B.1, E37); clearing cut by her husband Adiiso	1956	id. 1st fraction	cut on old secondary forest

[Lands of the Awara Bakka lo (Asisi Village)]

/91 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
72	○	Emma; cl. cut by herself	1955	id. 2nd fraction	3 years
73	○	Lébimichi; clearing cut by her husband Abagon	1955	id. 1st fraction	3 years
74	○	Kilina (Aw.B.3, E71); cl. cut by her husband Amèmbé	1956	id. 4th fraction	4 years /92/
75	○	Namu (Aw.B.1, E48); cl. cut by her husband Koniman	1956	id. 1st fraction	4 years
78	△	Lawa (Aw.B.1, F43); for his fiancée Kula (Asisi-Dju)	1956	id. 1st fraction	?
79	○	Béma (Aw.B.3, E73); cl. cut by her husband Maïna	1956	id. 4th fraction	2 years

[Lands of The Awara Bakka lo (Asisi Village)]

/92 cont. /

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
80	○	Kakyé (Aw.B.1, E19)	1956	id. 1st fraction	4 years
81	△	Antonu (Aw.B.1, E47); for himself	1952	1st fraction	?
82	△	Adam (Afi lineage, c7); for his wife Dachini (Asisi-Dju)	1954	member of the Afi lineage living in Asisi	?
83	○	Titi (Aw.B.1, E16); cl. cut by her son Dopia	1954	member of the Awara Bakka lo, 1st fraction, Asisi village	
84	○	Noémi (Aw. B.1, F51); cl. cut by her husband	1955	id. 1st fraction	2 years
85	○	Summa (Aw. B.3, F81); clearing cut by herself	1956	id. 3rd fraction	3 years
86	○	Léna (Aw.B.1, F52); clearing cut by her son	1956	id. 1st fraction	3 years

[Lands of the Awara Bakka lo (Asisi Village)]

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/92 cont./

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
87 O	Noémi; clearing cut by herself (having become a widow)	1956	id. 1st fraction	3 years /93/
88 O	Titi; clearing cut by herself	1955	id. 1st fraction	3 years
89 O	Amélia (Aw.B.1, F19); clearing cut by her husband Sindu	1959	id. 1st fraction	4 years
90 O	Titi; cl. cut by her son Dopia	1954	id. 1st fraction	5 years

[562] Of the 27 clearings examined, only two /sic/ are held by men, 26 /sic/ by women.

19 are allotted to members of the 1st fraction;
2 " " to a member of the 2nd fraction;
2 " " to members of the 3rd fraction;
4 " " to members of the Afi lineage.

Thus one can deduce from this study that there is no tendency toward the making up of separate finages by the various fractions of the Awara Bakka lo. The members of the Afi lineage living in their midst have no tendency to group their clearings, either.

In fact, the inhabitants of a village, even issuing from different lineages, possess joint rights over the lands.

/93 cont./

621 Lands of the Asisi fraction of the Dipélu II lo, in the Tapo
613 locality. The fraction of the Dipélu II lo which has been settled
423 in Asisi for some 30 years and which remains subject to the
241 authority of the head of the lo living in Kormotibo, groups its clearings in a zone which has been allotted to it in the Tapo locality.

No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
91	○	Chichiti (G22); clearing cut by her husband Obino	1954	member of the Dipélu II fraction established in Asisi	2 years
92	○	Lawenchi	1951	id.	cleared off for the 1st time
93	△	Aténi (G20), for himself	1953	id.	id. /94/
94	△	Aténi (G20), for himself	1956	id.	id.
95	○	Kaala (G28); clearing cut by her husband Tamu	1954	id.	id.
96	○	Kaala	1951	id.	id.
97	○	Kiboya (G31); clearing cut by her husband Simon	1954	id.	3 years

[Lands of the Asisi fraction of the Dipélu II 10]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
98	△	Kopo (G32), for himself	1954	id.	cleared off for the 1st time
99	○	Tama (G29); clearing cut by her husband Asékéyé	1954	id.	?
99a		Sésèy † (F38); clearing cut by her husband Mato	1949	id.	cleared off for the 1st time
100	○	Tyoko (G30); clearing cut by her husband Dodo	1954	id.	2 years
101	○	Tama; clearing cut by her husband Asékéyé	1953	id.	2 years
102	○	Chichiti (G22); clearing cut by her husband Obino	1953	id.	cleared off for the 1st time
103	○	Sésèy † (F38); clearing cut by her husband Mato	1951	id.	3 years

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Out of 14 clearings examined here, all without exception are occupied by the members of the Dipélu II fraction in Asisi. This fraction is geographically separated from the other lineages of Asisi village, and has formed a separate finage; that has to do with its relatively high effective force and the good relations among its members (the Afi lineage, with an analogous force but divided by disagreements, has not succeeded in forming a separate finage).

[978]

Of 14 clearings, 13 are held by women and one by a man /sic/.

[562]

Study of several clearings of Papaïston village. The part of the Papaïston finage situated on the French bank had been abandoned for several years because of an abnormal pullulation of manioc ants. In 1956-57 all the inhabitants of the village were making their clearings on the Surinam bank.

[311]

Only several clearings going back to the years 1947-50 could be identified.

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
111 O	Efa (P1, D4)	1946	member of the Papa-ïston lo	cleared for the 1st time on old secondary forest
112 O	Wilèlmina (P1, F1); clearing cut by her husband Bésu	1947	id.	id.
113 O	Oben (P1, E13)	1950	id.	id.

[Papaïston Village]

/95 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
114	Gou (P1, F8); clearing cut by her husband Akwali		id.	id.
115	Puti (P2, F71); clearing cut by her husband Malpa	1951	id.	cleared off for the 1st time on old secondary forest
116	Hélène (P1, F2); clearing cut by her husband Baliki	1951	id.	id.

[562] These six clearings are held by women of the Papaïston lineage, in accordance with the residence principle of the Refugee Blacks.

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/96/ The Social System Illuminated by the Study of Implantation on the Soil

128 Study of the clearings in the neighborhood of the farming villages gives exact information about the structure of the kin groups which cannot be obtained by direct interrogation.

423 --Transmission of rights over land within the lineage fraction having the same residence constitutes an imprescriptible legal
613 principle, to which one refers as the conclusive argument to
621 settle every dispute;
[27]

/96 cont./

423 613 621 --The principle of matrilocal grouping is effectively applied in nearly all cases. The matrilineages have almost all formed, according to this principle, separate finages, on which their rights are well established; most of these lands appear to be of old formation;

423 613 621 571 --The lineage fractions which have separated themselves geographically from their original grouping have formed finages over which their members exercise exclusive rights. For example, out of the lands of the Dipélu II fraction settled in Asisi not a single case is reported of use by members of the main fraction of the lineage living in Kormotibo;

--The inhabitants of a village subject to one authority possess collective rights over the lands of that village and form a de facto community, even if they belong to different lineages. We have found two characteristic examples of this, Boniville and Asisi-Awara Bakka; by coming to live in a village and subjecting oneself to the authority of the head, one enters ipso facto into this community.

This custom is in contradiction with the principle of the exclusive rights of the lineage over the soil, but the contradiction is more apparent than real; it makes possible the integration, into a collectivity, of detached persons and small fractions incapable of forming a separate village.

The actual situation thus created is not at all permanent. If a lineage fraction wishes to separate itself either as a consequence of a disagreement or simply because its numbers have grown sufficiently, it always has the right to do so.

The fundamental principles of the basic rights of the Boni can thus be summarized thus:

"Rights over the soil are joint within the fraction of a lineage whose members live in the same village and are subject to the same authority; any scission of a lineage which has to do with the residence village entails a scission of rights over lands. The

/96 cont./

423 613 621 571 emigrating fraction possesses exclusive rights over the /agricultural/ land /terroir/ it forms. But it does not lose, at least in principle, its rights over its original land /terroir/."

The study of finages gives us still more important information concerning the exercising of rights of use:

241 423 613 621 /97/ Of 100 clearings examined, 81 follow the normal process according to which the woman has her clearing made on the land of her lineage (1). Of these 81 clearings, 14 had been

1. For the joint sector of Bonivile, the inhabitants of the village were considered as users of rights without distinction of lineage.

made under conditions not made clear, 48 had been cut by the husband, 14 by a near relative (son, brother, exceptionally brother or son-in-law), five by the woman herself.

In only five cases it is, on the contrary, the man who brings his wife onto his lineage's land.

A little more frequent is the case of a man cutting a clearing for himself on his lineage's land.

Finally, the case in which, for reasons of convenience, a member of a lineage asks to work temporarily on the land of another lineage is met twice. Thus this is an extremely unusual practice.

182 171 (177) Influence of the geographical environment on the social structure. These observations are to be compared with the ones that can be made about the Cayana Indians and the Indians of Guiana in general, living near the Refugee Blacks, in the same geographical environment and almost in the same way (let us recall that the Refugee Blacks borrowed the whole of their material culture from the Indians).

6:Hurault--142 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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● 621

Distribution of Lands in the Neighborhood
of the Principal Boni Villages

● Permanent villages
___ Boundary lines

Scale: [illegible]

K. or Cr. = Creek,
Lieu-dit = locality,
h. du grand man = habitation of the grand man,
Zone inondable = floodable zone./

Fig. 16.

/99/

182 That this system is perfectly workable has been sufficiently
161 demonstrated by the regular expansion for two centuries of the
241 tribes of Refugee Blacks and by the good functioning of their
423 institutions.
613

Thus the basic instability of the Indians of Guiana cannot
182 be attributed to the influence of the geographical environment alone. It comes essentially from social and psychological factors.

/100/ STUDY OF FARMING HABITATIONS

128 We are now going to study the functioning of the farming habitations under the same aspects:

--Structure (composition of each one, kinship ties);

--Territorial implantation: nature and extent of rights over the land;

--Functioning.

241 Not all Boni have a farming habitation; about two-thirds
62 of them are satisfied with the lands they occupy near the residence
184 villages.

241 The farming habitations we are going to study more es-
621 pecially and which are situated between the mouth of the Inini
361 and Simayé Falls to the south, group about a hundred persons be-
162 longing to the Dju, Lapé, Awara Bakka, and Papaïton lineages.
613 Another group of farming habitations situated a little south of Kormotibo, which we shall study briefly and only so far as their composition is concerned, bring together about 60 persons. Finally, other very dispersed farming habitations exist, belonging principally to the Kotika lineage, some in the Maripasoula region, others in the Abattis-Kotika Falls /region/.

241 On the whole, the Boni farming habitations cannot be com-
184 pared either as to importance or stability with the Djuka farming
62 villages which are placed at intervals on the middle course of the
[361] Maroni, grouping 3,000 to 3,500 persons: this is easy to
[162] understand: the Djuka, continually short of land, are obliged,

/100 cont./

241 62 [184] under pain of losing their rights, to occupy the soil to the maximum. Besides, settled very far from their residence villages, they are led to creating more lasting establishments.

Among the Boni, farming habitations do not amount to much, built carelessly (to designate them one says kɛ̃pu (camp), and the groups who work there are not very stable.

423 241 [182] [184] However, the principles of establishment and functioning of farming habitations are exactly the same for the two tribes and result on the whole from the customary laws which, among the Refugee Blacks, govern the possession of land:

[425] [613] 1) When a man cuts a clearing in a zone which has never had any human establishment, he creates at the same time as a right of use for himself an imprescriptible real right for his lineage (bɛ̃ɛ) or more precisely for the fraction of the lineage living in the same village and subject to the same authority;

[428] [613] 2) This right is joint; at the death of an individual, anyone of that fraction of his lineage may occupy the lands he used to cultivate habitually. If there is a dispute, it must be settled within the framework of the lineage; /101/ /Fig. 17 appears here/ /102/

3) The extent of the zone over which this right is exercised is limited only by the zones over which other rights are exercised.

We have seen what mode of occupation of the soil resulted from these laws in the neighborhood of the "great villages." Here the distribution of lands among the farming habitations follows practically the same laws, whose effects are less rigorous, considering the very low density of occupation of the soil.

425 [361] 1) It is taken for granted that an isolated establishment in a quasi-deserted zone does not create lasting rights. If it happens to disappear, anybody may come to settle there after ascertaining from the first occupant that he no longer needs the place (such is the case with the very scattered establishments south of Simayé Falls up to Indian country; they do not create real territorial rights for the benefit of any lineage whatever.

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504 /102 cont./
613 meet the clearings of the people of another lineage; a de facto
423 boundary is thus created, which is henceforth respected.

621 On the other hand, several farming villages of one lineage
241 may have their clearings totally intriqués /entangled/ (this is
613 the case, for example, with the ones of the Antonu and Adiiso
423 habitations). This conforms to the rule of joint possession of the land within the lineage.

621 Organization. The group in a farming habitation is brought to-
241 gether by mutual affinities, and has no hierarchy other than that
602 which springs from kinship ties: authority of the mother over her
592 daughters; authority of the "uncles" over the "nephews."
/103/ The grouping which conforms most to the matrilineal structure of the Refugee Blacks is made up of an old woman, her unmarried sons, her daughters and her daughters' daughters, their husbands coming to help at the time of the clearings but not belonging to the group. Often it is this old woman who directs the habitation, but often also it is an old uncle, her classificatory brother, who has worked with her for a long time. Sometimes this old woman has come to live with her daughters on the habitation founded by her husband.

103 Some of the habitations bear men's names, others women's
423 names. The name which prevails may be completely at variance
592 with the real rights exercised over the land (Ex.: name of Adiiso given to the habitation of his wife where Adiiso has no right at
[613] all). That has no great importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks, the only important thing being collective possession of the land by the lineage.

621 For groups which are relatively numerous and brought to-
241 gether more by mutual affinities than by kinship ties, the mini-
622 mum of authority necessary for good feeling and the organization of the work is brought to bear by the founder. For example,

/103 cont./

621 Atikati exercised authority by this right over the disparate group
622 around him, and at his death he bequeathed this function to his
241 sister Adyidya.

Likewise Antonu exerts undisputed authority over three
[613] groups of the Awara Bakka lo settled at the mouth of the Inini, for it was he who took the initiative of creating an establishment at this place. If there is any dispute, it is he who will defend the rights of the Awara Bakka lineage.

622 The authority exercised by the founder of the farming habitation is not brought to bear in material living, which remains subject to the strictly individualistic principles of the Refugee Blacks. He cannot require anyone to help him make his clearings or do any work whatever on his behalf.

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Farming Habitations of the Awara Bakka lo (Antonu, Adiiso, Kakyé) in the Neighborhood of the Confluence with the Inini

621 These habitations work soil whose first user was Antonu, of
241 the Awara Bakka lo (fraction 1), which is regarded as belonging
[613] to that lineage. Antonu settled there in 1945 (he was finding that
[423] there were too many people farming the lands near Asisi).

621 To insure his rights, Antonu put on his land two groupings
241 whose situations are very different:

1) In his own habitation he installed his wife Asakundu, and
592 around her he made up the work group commonest among the
423 Refugee Blacks: group formed by the mother, her sons and
[476] daughters, the daughters' husbands coming to help at the time of the /104/ clearings. But it is important to note that this group has no right at all over the land: if Antonu and his wife ever separate, the wife's group will leave the habitation.

/104 cont./

621 592 241 [423]

2) Nearby, he set up the habitation of his sister Irma married to Adiiso (Dju). This village is improperly called Adiiso, but Adiiso has no right at all there. In case of breaking with his wife, he leaves the habitation.

3) Finally, Kakyé, an old woman of the Awara Bakka lineage, settled nearby with her daughters and son.

Structure and functioning of the Antonu habitation. This habitation comprised in January, 1957, disregarding children:

○ [△] Antonu (Aw. B. 1, E47);
○ Asakundu, his wife (L2, E55);
○ Kapééki (L2, F60) } Asakundu's daughters, married;
○ Angisa (L2, F61) }
△ Sindu (L2, F62), Asakundu's son;
△ Maliki (L2, F63), Asakundu's son;
○ Yundu, Kapééki's daughter, married;
△ Anato, Kapééki's son;
○ Agata, Akoni's daughter.

The wives of Maliki and Sindu who do not have any personal habitation come there to work, but they are not to be considered as members of the group. They have no hut.

Likewise, the husbands of Kapééki, Yundu, and Angisa come to help temporarily at the time of the clearings. 241

621 Activity of the Antonu village in 1955-56:

		1956	1955
○	Asakundu	1 clearing with Antonu	1 clearing with Antonu
○	Kapééki	1 clearing with Akuba her husband (who did not make any other clearing)	idem

/104 cont. /

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		1956	1955
○	Angisa	1 clearing with her husband Ernest (who cut 2 other clearings in other sectors because he has 2 other wives)	1 clearing with Antonu
△	Sindu	1 clearing for Amélia, his wife, 1 clearing for himself	id. (2 clearings)
△	Anato	en mission; cut no clearing; his wife weeded a two-year-old clearing herself	1 clearing for his mother (had made in addition a /105/ clearing in Asisi for his wife on her family's lands)
△	Maliki	same case	nothing for his mother, 1 clearing for his wife in another habitation

Study of the clearings of the Antonu habitation:

1) West Bank:

No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
31	△	Antonu, for himself	1952	member of the Awara Bakka lo, founder of the habitation	2 years (cut in 1950 for the 1st time on primary forest)

[423]
[613]

[Antonu habitation]

/105 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
32	○	Angisa; clearing cut by her husband Ernest	1949	works there because her mother Asakundu is married to Antonu, but has no rights over the land	cut for the 1st time
34	○	Asakundu; clearing cut by her husband Antonu	1952	Antonu's wife	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1950)
35	○	Angisa; clearing cut by her husband Ernest	1948	like No. 32	3 years (cut for the 1st time in 1945)
36	○	Asakundu; clearing cut by her husband Antonu		like No. 34	cut for the 1st time on primary forest
37	△	Antonu, for himself	1948	like No. 31	cut for the 1st time

[Antonu habitation]

/105 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
38 △ /○/	Angisa; clearing cut by her husband Ernest	1949	like No. 32	cut for the 1st time
39 ○	Asakundu; clearing cut by her husband Antonu	1951	like No. 34	cut for the 1st time /106/
40 ○	Asakundu	1955	like No. 34	4 years (cut for the 1st time in 1951)
	2) East Bank			
1 ○	Angisa	1955	like No. 32	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1953)
2 ○	Angisa	1956	like No. 32	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1954)
3 △	Sindu, for himself	1955	Asakundu's son; same observations as No. 32, has no rights over the land	cut for the 1st time

[Antonu habitation]

/106 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
4	○	Angisa; clearing cut by her husband Ernest	1952	like No. 32	cut for the 1st time
5	○	Asakundu; clearing cut by her son Maliki		like No. 34	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
6	△	Amatodja (L2, F53), for himself		Asakundu's son; came to work there in 1953 only	
7	○	Kapééki; clearing cut by her husband Madéko	1955	Asakundu's daughter; same observations as No. 32	cut for the 1st time
8	○	Noémi (Aw.B.1, F51); cl. cut by her uncle Antonu	1952	member of the Awara Bakka lo	cut for 1st time
9	△	Antonu, for himself	1953		?

[Antonu habitation]

/106 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
10 ○	Yundu; clearing cut by her brother Agata /listed as " OAgata, Akoni's daughter," on p. 149 -- Tr./	1953	same observations as No. 32 (daughter of Kapééki and granddaughter of Asakundu	cut for the 1st time /107/
15 ○	Kapééki; clearing cut by her husband	1954	like No. 32	cut for the 1st time
16 ○	Noémi; clearing cut by her husband Galmo	1951(?)	same observations as No. 8	cut for the 1st time
17 △	Abéni (Aw.B.1, F49)	1951	does not usually work there, but has rights over the land as a member of the Awara Bakka io	cut for the 1st time

[Antonu habitation]

/107 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
18 △	Antonu, for himself	1951	like No. 31	cut for the 1st time
19 △	Sindu	1951	cut for himself; same observations as No. 2	
20 ○	Asakundu; clearing cut by her husband Antonu	1950	like No. 34	cut for the 1st time
21 ○	Noémi; cl. cut by her husband Todo	1950 (?)	like No. 16	cut for the 1st time
22	Angisa; clearing cut by her husband Ernest	1949	same observations as No. 32	cut for the 1st time
41 ○	Kapééki; clearing cut by her husband	1948	Asakundu's daughter; same observations as No. 32	cut for the 1st time
42 ○	Kapééki; id.	1955	id.	id.

[Antonu habitation]

/107 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
43 ○	Yundu; clearing cut by her husband Alémin	1955	same observations as No. 10	id. /108/
44 △	Maliki, for his wife Agyasu	1954	id.	id.
45 △	Maliki, for his wife Agyasu	1954	id.	id.
46 △	id.		id.	id.
50 ○	Nella (K1, D44); clearing cut by her husband Agonichi	1936(?)	woman working in Atikati village; had made a clearing there before Antonu's installation, then abandoned (manioc ant)	id.
51 △	Samalobi † (Dikan lo)	1920(?)	Samalobi, first occupant of the place, had ceded all his rights to Antonu	d. /misprint for "id."?--Tr./

/108 cont./

62 592 24 [423] [613] [602] [476]

Structure of the Adiiso habitation. This habitation actually belongs to Irma, Adiiso's wife, of the Awara-Bakka (1) lineage (E37), who was settled there by Antonu whose classificatory sister she is.

Working with Irma, disregarding children, are:

--Her husband Adiiso (Dju, F37);

--Her daughter Chitaïna (Aw.B.1, F43), married to Déési (L1, F45);

--Her son Lawa, unmarried;

--Her son Maïna, married.

Maïna's wife Mbéma, who has no other habitation, has her clearing made there, but she has no hut in her own right and is not a member of the group.

Activity of the habitation in 1955-56:

	1956	1955
Irma	2 clearings (both by Adiiso, who cut a 3rd in Asisi for his other wife)	1 clearing cut by her son Maïna, Adiiso being on a trip
Chitaïna	1 clearing cut by Lawa, her brother, her husband being en mission.	1 clearing cut by her husband Déési /109/
/Fig. 18 appears here. / /110/		
Maïna	1 clearing for his wife Mbéma	Maïna en mission had not been able to cut for his wife. She had weeded a two-year-old clearing with Chitaïna and Irma

621 592 241 [589] [476]

/110 cont./

Structure of the Kakyé habitation. This habitation is directed by Kakyé (Aw.B.1, E18), a widow for a long time and not remarried, working with her children.

Working with her are:

--Amélia (Aw.B.1, F19), her daughter;

--Papakay (Aw.B.1, F23), her son;

--Akamina (Aw.B.1, F24), her daughter;

--Lébimichi (Aw.B.1, F27), daughter of Yochi † sister of Kakyé.

241 592 621 423 [613]

Listing of several clearings of the Adiiso and Kakyé habitations. These clearings are totally mixed with each others' and with those of the Antonu habitation, which is normal since these lands all belong to the Awara Bakka lineage.

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
11 △	Bésu (Aw.B.1, F17), for himself	1954	Kakyé's son (does not work there habitually)	cut for the 1st time
12 ○	Amélia; clearing cut by her husband Sindu	1954	Kakyé's daughter	id.
13 ○	Lébimichi; clearing cut by her husband Asonson	1954	Kakyé's niece	cut for the 1st time

[Adiiso and Kakyé habitations]

/110 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
14	△	Papakay, for himself	1953	Kakyé's son	id.
47	◯	Irma; clearing cut by her husband Adiiso	1955	foundress of the Adiiso habitation	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1951)
48	○	Amèntanu; clearing cut by her husband Sindu	1953	Kakyé's daughter	cut for the 1st time /111/
49	○	Kakyé; clearing cut by her son Bésu	1953	foundress of the Kakyé habitation	id.
52	○	Kakyé; clearing cut by her son Papakay	1951	id.	cut one single time

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Habitation of the Dju Lo in the Neighborhood of the Mouth of the Inini

621 Structure of the Atikati habitation (Dju lo). Important habitation
241 founded by Atikati, of the Dju lo, possessing an extended finage
[613] fragmented into several blocks on both banks of the Lawa.

[423] This habitation has an abnormal composition, for Atikati
[476] worked there with his daughters, which is contrary to custom, and with friends.

622 Atikati directed the village with his old friend Bernardin (K1, D62), † in 1958, who was the son of a man of the Dju lo and had lived among the Dju since childhood.

621 The basic group of this habitation is made up of people
241 of the Dju lo. Since Atikati's death (1955), his sister Adyidya
613 (Dju, E19) has directed the village.

[622] Members of the Dju lo:

○ Adyidya
○ Baawé (Dju, E13) } both without living children
△ Loko (Dju, F39)
△ Atikati worked with his daughters and granddaughter:
○ Wilèlmina (P1, F1);
○ Kumata (P1, G1), daughter of Wilèlmina.

To this group were added in 1957:

△ Bernardin (K1, D62), raised with the Dju;
○ Asumé (Dip, I, F2), daughter of △ Bernardin and ○ Mímen †.

[423] Finally, two Kotika women married to Djuka asked for permission to settle there and have their clearings cut there. But they have no right at all over the land:

○ Nèlla (K1, D44);
Maké (K1, E35), her daughter.

/111 cont./

621 571 183 621 613 423 The composition of this village is thus entirely aberrant from the point of view of /112/ custom, and founded entirely upon personal fellow feeling. But the customary rule is none the less present in the thought of all: the founder being of the Dju lineage, the land belongs to the Dju. The fact, for example, that Bernardin (Kotika) and his daughters (Papaïston) have worked there for a very long time creates no right at all for either lineage.

[571] If dissensions occur in the group, those outside the Dju lineage must leave.

24 621 423 Listing of some clearings of the Atikati habitation (west bank).

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
23 △	Atikati (Dju, E18) for himself	1952	founder of the habitation	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1950)
24 ○	Wilèlmina (P1, F1); clearing cut by her husband Bésu	1955	Atikati's daughter, has no rights over the land	cut for the 1st time
25 ○	Wilèlmina; clearing cut by her father Atikati	1951	id.	id.

[Atikati habitation (west bank)]

/112 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
26 △	Sosoman (Dju, E14)	1951	Does not usually work there but has rights over the land as a member of the Dju lineage	cut for the 1st time in 1950, part taken up again in 1955
27 ○	Héléna (P1, F2); clearing cut by her father Atikati	1955	Atikati's daughter; usually lives at the Sawen habitation; has no rights over the land	6 years; cut for the 1st time in 1949, partially taken up again in 1955
28	Adyidya; clearing cut by her husband Kwami (Djuka)	1949	woman of the Dju lineage	cut for the 1st time

[3]

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Habitations of the Papalisso lo in the Neighborhood of the Mouth of the Inini

621 Structure of the Sawen and Agodéba habitations (Papalston lo).
241 Habitations occupying an extensive zone, attributed for at
613 least 60 years to the principal Papalston lineage.
[476] Working with Sawen (P1. E7) are:
--His nieces Héléna (P1. F2) and Emilia (P1. F3);
--His nephew Aguundé (P1. F4).
Working with Agodéba (P1. E1) are:
--His sister (in the classificatory sense) Kamen (P1. E14);
--His niece (in the classificatory sense) Gou (P1. F8).
Moreover, a group is settled there centered on Toïna, Agodéba's wife, representing the last of the Bakabuchi lineage, almost extinct:

Toïna, Agodéba's wife;
/△/ Mangoto, Toïna's son;
Apuuloni.

[423] This group has no right over the land and would leave in the case of a break-up of the Agodéba-Toïna household.

Finally, a female friend, Puti (F71), of the almost extinct Papalston 2 lineage.

241 Activity of the Agodéba habitation in 1955-56:
621

	1956	1955
△ Agodéba	1 clearing for his wife Toïna	id.
○ Kamen	1 clearing cut by her husband Adam who made no other	id.
○ Gou	1 clearing cut by her husband Béku	id.

/113 cont./

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	1956	1955
○ Puti	1 clearing cut by her husband Ma'ipa (Diρ. I)	id.
△ Mangoto	1 clearing for himself (he cut another for his wife in Kormotibo)	nothing (was not yet settled there)
○ Apuniobi	nothing (had her clearing made in Papaïston)	1 clearing by her husband Asémi /114/

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Listing of the clearings of Sawen village.

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
61 △	Sawen, for himself	1920 (?)	village founder	cut for the 1st time
62 △	Sawen, for himself	1955	village founder	cut for the 1st time
63 △	Sawen, for himself	1948	id.	id.
64 △	Sawen, for himself	1946 (?)	id.	id.
65 ○	Héléna; clearing cut by her husband	1954	woman of the Papaïston lineage (Sawen's niece)	id.

/114 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
66	○	Hélène; clearing cut by her husband	1955	id.	?
67	○	Emilia; clearing cut by her husband Loko	1954	id.	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
68	△	Aguundé, for his mother-in-law Populu	1954	man of the Papaïston lo making on his land the clearing intended for his mother-in-law	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
69	○	Emilia; clearing cut by her husband Loko	1955	woman of the Papaïston lo	3 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
70	○	Emilia id.	1956	id.	cut for the 1st time
71	○	Emilia id.	1952	id.	id.
72	○	Emilia id.	1956	id.	id.

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Habitations of the Lapé lo
(Paako, Samo, Chii, Pwen, Saléni)

[621] [241] [613] [423]

These habitations occupy soil belonging to the Lapé lo since the end of the 19th century.

The Kwaku habitation has been abandoned since 1943, its occupants making their clearings around Loka.

Paako habitation. The Paako habitation is occupied only by two women, Paako (L1, E29) and her daughter Dona, who have their clearings made there by their husbands.

Chii habitation. Chii (L1, D24) directs the habitation where she works with her son Topo, her daughters Yaana, Madu, and Koko. The daughters' husbands come to help at the time of the clearings.

[579] Pwen habitations. As a consequence of dissensions, Pwen (L1, E33) lives all alone in this habitation.

Saléni habitation. It is directed by Saléni, an old woman of the Lapé lo (E25), who works there with her son Tingo, her daughters Kayé and Ananta.

[613] Structure of the Samo habitation called Pikin Tabiki (Lapé lo).

Habitation occupying another portion of the Lapé lo finage. Several Lapé men and women make their clearings there:

△ Tamu (L1, F32), who brings his wife Kaala (Dip. II) there
△ Fosé, his brother (L1, F33);
○ Mélita, his classificatory aunt (L1, E32);
○ Téké, Mélita's daughter (L1, F44)
○ Akomédi, Paako's daughter (L1, F34).

[113] The husbands of Mélita, Téké, Akomédi come to work at the time of the clearings but are not part of the group.

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The composition of this village therefore entirely conforms to the custom.

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Activity in 1955-56:

	1956	1955
△ Tamu	nothing (he cut in Lapé for his wife)	1 clearing for his wife
○ Mélita	1 clearing by her husband Kwata (K)	id.
○ Téké	1 clearing by Mélita's husband, for her husband Balua is en mission	1 clearing by her husband /116/
Abomédi	1 clearing by her husband Todo (who cut another one in Assi for his other wife)	

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Listing of several clearings of the Saamo habitation (Pikin Tabiki) (Lapé lo)

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
1	○ Abomédi; clearing cut by her husband Todo	1956	woman of the Lapé lo	cut for the 1st time
2	○ Abomédi id.	1955	id.	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1953)

[Samo habitation (Pikin Tabiki)]

/116 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
3	○	Mélita; clearing cut by her husband Kwata	1955	id.	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
4	○	Mélita; cl. cut by her son Déési	1954	id.	3 years (cut for the 1st time in 1948, then in 1953 for the 2nd time
5	○	Téké; cl. cut by her husband Baïna	1951	id.	3 years (cut in 1948 for the 1st time)
6	○	Téké id.	1953	id.	cut for the 1st time

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Farming Habitations downstream from Maripasoula

Several habitations are installed in the Kuyaku locality very fertile region giving high yields of manioc (1).

1. This fertility is explained by the nature of the subsoil (sills of dolerite).

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Ownership of the land: Dipélu II lo (Formerlne village)
Several habitations side by side:

/116 cont./

621 241 ○ Nanay (Dip. II) † ; habitation disappeared at her death in 1953; /117/

613 423 ○ Béniti (Dju) † in 1955; habitation taken up again by her children and grandchildren: ○ Eliana, △ Doni, ○ Kulina, ○ Maria; ○ Tini (Dju);

○ Kotoïda (Afi lineage) † ;

△ Poopu, established there for a long time. He had abandoned the site in 1948; came back in 1952.

The composition of the groups is as follows:

1) ○ Béniti † (Dju, E5): her daughters Maria, Kulina, and Eliana. Béniti's hut has been taken up again by her grandson Doni whom she brought up.

2) ○ Tini (Dju, F1); habitation grouping Tini, Ata (Dju, F2), and their daughters.

3) ○ Kotoïda † ; habitation grouping Kotoïda († Oct., 1956) (Afi lineage), her brother Kenkina, her husband Empalé, her niece Samabun.

Other habitations:

Ma Efa (Papaïston), settled on Dipélu II lo lands upstream from Kormotibo (French bank) for about 30 years. Ma Efa (P1, D4) worked with her sons.

Gengé Tabiki (Dutch bank, upstream from Asisi village); small habitation founded by ○ Aliki (Dju, E23), with Lènga ○ (Dju, F36) and ○ Diana (Dju, E9).

621 241 591

Functioning of the Farming Habitations

Structure. Of the 13 farming habitations studied here, 12 have a structure conforming to the residence principle of the Refugee Blacks, implying the grouping of daughters and unmarried sons near the mother; only one has an abnormal structure:

621 /117 cont./
241
591 Atikati (daughters living with their father, groups of friends having no rights over the land).

621 It seems that exceptions of this kind have always existed
241 among the Refugee Blacks, but they are probably tending to be-
591 come more numerous.

178 They do not appear to be due to a change of conception about family structure but to a development of individualistic tendencies. These groups of aberrant structure are particularly unstable.

361 Stability; changes of location. On this point there is no precise
241 custom. Certain farming habitations are old, such as those of Sawen and Atikati, which certainly date from the beginning of the century. Most appear to last from five to ten years. Others, like that of Kwaku, have had only an ephemeral existence.

361 The changes of location of habitations which have taken
241 place in this region since 1950 have very variable causes: /118/
/Fig. 20 appears here/ /119/
166

△ Dyakata (Dip. I)	left the region to live in the lower Maroni among the Paramaka for personal reasons.
○ Chili (Dip. I)	went to settle near Maripasoula. Gave up his habitation at Simayé Falls because of manioc ants.
△ Kwaku (L)	His habitation was too damp and the activity of the manioc ants too great. Henceforth lives all year in Loka.
[226] △ Akwadé (L)	Had no habitation, created one in 1954 near Simayé Falls. Was looking for a site favorable for fishing, from which he lives almost entirely.

On the whole, it can be estimated that the average duration of a farming habitation is about ten years. In these moves,

[Text Continues on P. 173]

/facing p. 119/

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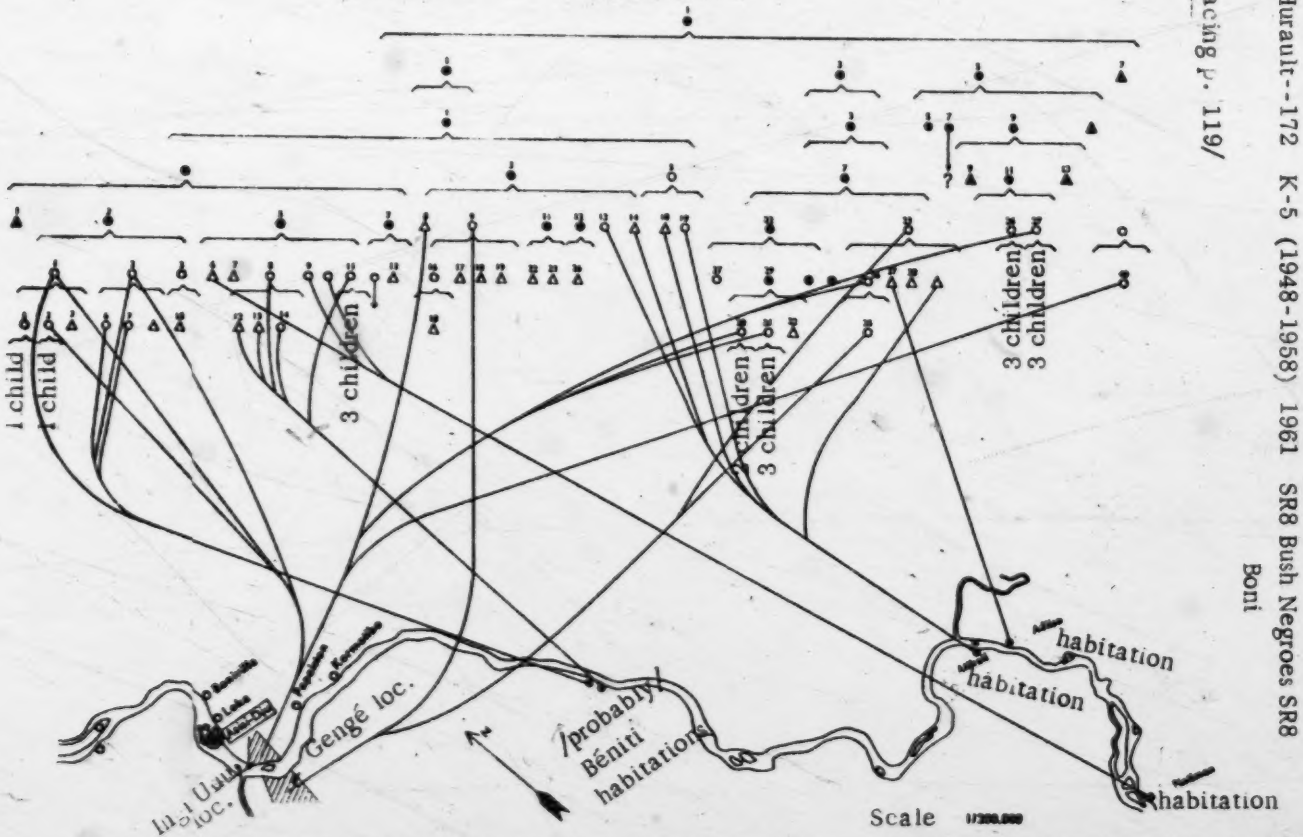
Grouping of the Members of the Dju Lineage
into Sectors and Farming Habitations
October 1957



This chart shows the absence of any tendency toward the scission of the lineage into separate fractions

Fig. 20.

/122 cont./

845 [621] Observation at Maripasoula, November 3, 1956. The wife of Baïna, boatman of the border-fixing mission, gave birth at Pikin Tabiki, small farming village where she works with her mother and the latter's husband. Baïna went to be present at the delivery.

It was very long and dramatic. According to Baïna, an ɔgi sani had entered the child's body, making him stiff and impossible to extract. As a last resort they called a neighbor, T..., known for having a good gita. He called his gadu who revealed an efficacious remedy, since after the body of the sick woman was bathed with the prescribed leaves, the delivery ended successfully.

846 [515] Since we were leaving on our trip, it remained to find someone to take his place in fulfilling one of the husband's duties: cutting the supply of wood for heating the water necessary for the hot douches /showers?/ the mother was going to be given several times a day for about three months. He made an agreement for that with Kwata, his mother-in-law's husband, to whom he will pay about 1,000 francs. [465]

851 613 [603] Presentation of the child. On the eighth day the maternal grandmother (or great-grandmother if she is still living) takes the child and gives it to another ancestress of the same lineage, stationed in front of the house. The latter presents it to the family. Then the head of the lineage, without taking the child, goes to the fraga tiki to make an offering of tafia, asking the ancestors to protect it. [769] [778] [782]

For example, for the birth of A... (Lapé Tabiki village), son of O Yundu (L2, G60), it was Asakundu, grandmother of Yundu and great-grandmother of the child, who came to take him in the house and gave him over to her sister Térésa (L2, E57) to present him to the family (see genealogical table of the Lapé lineage, fraction 2).

/142 cont./

582 619 of other groupings are rare; that is because the Boni have almost no occasion to frequent the Tapanahoni, where economic activity is nil.

For 123 married men of the villages on the French bank there were in November, 1958, 11 unions with Djuka women, or 8 per cent. No marriage to Saramaka or Paramaka women existed.

582 613 The table confirms besides that marriages between members of different kin groups are entirely free and are not subject to any preoccupation with exchange or reciprocity. For example, out of 60 unions between Boni women of the Lapé lineage and Boni men, we have:

6	with men of the Dipélu I lineage
7	-- -- - - Dipélu II --
7	-- -- - - Papaïstone --
11	-- -- - - Awara Bakka --
4	-- -- - - Dju --
5	-- -- - - Dipélu I /sic/ --
20	-- -- - - Kotika --

[628] In fact, the geographical proximity of the villages has the most direct influence on unions.

582 613 628 For example a high proportion of women from Kormotibo (Dip. II) married men from Papaïston and reciprocally.

That comes from the fact that these villages are near each other and isolated from others. It is the same for Kotika and L'Enfant Perdu (Dip. I). In the small Afi lineage, divided between Kormotibo and Asisi-Awara Bakka villages, more than half the women are married to inhabitants of these two villages.

582 619 621 Certain personal affinities and habits of living have an indirect influence. For example, the Djuka boatmen passing through Boni country habitually stay in Asisi-Awara Bakka, because they are received in the homes of some of their own

582 /142 cont./
619 people who have lived there for a long time. They strike up
62 relationships with the people of Asisi, and that favors new unions. This explains the high proportion of unions between the women of this village and the Djuka (13 out of 75). On the contrary, almost no marriages to Djuka are observed in Papaïston village, where no Djuka has settled permanently. /143/

584 The marriage proposal. The suitor is obliged to ask for the
613 assent of his own mother and his uncles (at the very least the
[604] eldest of his classificatory uncles); in general he asks his father also.

[604] If two of his classificatory uncles are expressly opposed, the plan must be abandoned. But there is no possible sanction for disobedience.

The suitor does not make the proposal himself; after making sure of the agreement of the girl he sends two persons, one of his uncles or brothers and one of his sisters in the classificatory sense.

These envoys speak to the woman's mother and uncles assembled together. If they agree, they go to ask for the assent of the head of the lineage. The men and women of the woman's lineage drink together a liter of tafia brought by the
[969] envoys. Before drinking, the doyen of the lineage pours a little of it on the ground while invoking the ancestors, asking them to perpetuate the accord of the household and to grant them health and fecundity. This ceremony is made on the spot and they do not go to the fraga tiki, for they would be afraid to present themselves again at the fraga tiki in case of a break-up; prayer said anywhere in the village is not binding.

The two envoys, man and woman, play a very precise role. The man represents the postulant (it is a sort of marriage by proxy).

/158 cont./

156 The Boni woman, poor in emotional feelings, and jealous of her independence with respect to men, puts her pride into subsisting by her own efforts.

178 The young women, even the ones with the freest habits,
[156] stay firmly attached to their village, to their plantings, and to the mode of life they received from their grandmothers. In fact, because of its structure and customs, the society of the Refugee Blacks has much less likelihood of suffering from the poisons spread by modern life than the patrilineal societies of Black Africa.

761 /159/ Death; Burial Rites

Death is for the Refugee Blacks an event of extreme gravity.
775 In order to ward off danger and permit the yɔrka of the dead person to take its place among the ancestors, the unstinting cooperation of everyone is required.

764 The ceremonies which have to do with death and mourning
765 are by far the most important ones in the day-to-day life of the
181 Refugee Blacks; for each one they represent a very heavy material load which is accepted without recriminations. It is
[621] really a veritable mobilization, which takes place within the framework of the village and not of the lineage. The apparatus
[619] set into motion is independent of the lineage, for it must function in the same way for an outsider, Djuka or Saramaka, who dies during a trip.

764 Participation in the burial rites is for all an essential
868 religious duty. From childhood the Boni are prepared for this
767 task and become, some of them kisimã (coffin-makers), others ɔlɔmã (grave-diggers), some others wasimã (bathers of the dead).

767 Kisimã and ɔlɔmã. It can be said that in each village, ɔlɔmã
467 and kisimã constitute customary societies, provided with an organization and wielding veritable powers for the duration of their work.

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/168 cont./
against the lineage. The god ratifies this legacy or not; in general it follows, they say, the wishes of its bearer and manifests itself some time afterward in the designated heir.

The coffin is placed on the heads of two men: Tafanié puts the questions with authority. He begins first by making sure of the passivity of the bearers, invites the dead woman to push their heads forward to say yes, to give them an impulse from right to left to say no.

The coffin advances and draws back several times; its weight is at the limit of what the two men can support. Two secondary bearers help the rear bearer, preventing the coffin from falling.

[613]
[621]

1. /Footnote at bottom of p. 168; no reference to it on the page/ Let us recall that this lineage, too few in numbers to constitute a separate social unit, lives with the Awara Bakka, with whom it has no connection through kinship or alliance.

The dead woman suddenly leads her bearers across the village. We see it come back /169/ a quarter of an hour afterward, accompanied by a woman of about 35 years, Moni, in front of whom it stopped.

Tafanié asks whether it wishes to leave its god to her; the dead woman confirms. Upon the statement of this legacy Moni's face reflects no gladness at all, nor any fear.

They explain to me that the designated heiress can in no way refuse this legacy. She must immediately begin her instruction given by a teacher, in order to become a suitable bearer. The expenses of her instruction are borne by her lineage.

/180 cont./

765 613 689 An incident. In 1957, the Saramaka Gamba (75 years old), Way's widower (Dip. I), caused a serious incident by refusing several times the obedience he owed to the latter's lineage, on the pretext that he was old and knew how to behave.

His son Maliki (born of a Saramaka woman), whom he was raising, married to Way's daughter, had gone fishing above the Litani. Upon his return, Kwau (80 years old), Way's elder brother, reproached him for having left without authorization, pointing out that his father, Gamba, being placed under his authority by mourning, he was too, because of this fact. Gamba [578] did not accept this reasoning and the two old men fought. This [769] was a fine scandal. Kwau and the elders of Way's lineage came [778] before the fraga tiki of L'Enfant Perdu village to lift his mourning forthwith (which, let us recall, is the equivalent of cursing [784] him by delivering him over to the vengeance of the dead woman's yɔrka).

Members of Way's family went to break up the shacks of Gamba and his son, who lived hidden in the bush for some time. [627] Then Gamba had the village heads intercede and obtained his [769] pardon. The elders of Way's lineage went to the fraga tiki to [778] utter the words putting things back in order.

765 Lifting of mourning. The festival of the lifting of mourning - puu baaka - is celebrated 18 months to two years after the burial. The delay may be a little longer, for most often the village celebrates this festival for several of its dead at the same time. It is a heavy burden, for festivals for lifting mourning attract many people and everyone present must find as much as he wishes to eat and drink.

[621] This festival is celebrated in the framework of the village and not in that of the lineage. It will be celebrated in the same way for a Djuka who died in a Boni village, provided that he lived there a sufficiently long time. In such a case the expenses

765 /182 cont./
(which is the case here), they wait still longer in order to be able to group the lifting of mourning for several dead people from the same village in a single ceremony. The unfolding of the rites shows that much more importance is attached to Bẽniti than to the two young boys; in fact, the ceremony is devoted almost exclusively to her.

765 621 613 [829] The mourning-lifting ceremonies in Boniville are particularly interesting, for this village includes members of five different lineages. The distribution of functions and duties allows one to better understand the thought of the Boni relative to social organization; the principle of residence plays the determining role. The ceremony takes place in the village where the dead people lived, whatever their lineage was. The burden of organization is divided up about equally among all the inhabitants of the village. The /183/ members of the lineages of the dead people living in other villages are present at the ceremony, but their contribution is much less important.

765 [251] On November 8 (day called busimã kɔm) at noon, the festival begins with the arrival of the buchiman who, the week before, had caught and dried fish for the festival.

The buchiman are put under the authority of △Tofioto (K). They are all volunteers (one who would excuse himself from rendering this service would lay himself open to being abandoned alone on the day when he would have to bear the weight of mourning for one of his near relatives). The main weight of mourning is borne by Boniville village. The people of the principal fraction of the Dju (Asisi village) furnish a rather large contribution as regards time spent fishing but symbolic as to the furnishing of tafia and imported foods.

[226] [251] [621] [613] These buchiman had been at work since October 25, catching and salting fish:

765 /183 cont./
22C

	for Boniville	for Asisi-Dju
251 Fintiman 621 Klémenti Doni 613 Alibi	sons and grandsons of Béniti (Dju)	3 men over 20 years old

4 young men of the Kotika lineage 4 to 5 adolescents

1	—	Dip. I	—
2	—	Lapé	—
1	—	Papaïston	—
2	—	Poti	—

They furnished a total of two weeks of work but each one collected for himself about 15 kilograms of dry fish.

765 [531] [411] The buchiman, riding in five large canoes decorated with multicolored oriflammes, approach the Boniville wharf where all the young people of the village are massed, the men armed with their guns, the women brandishing banners made of brand-new camisas. The hurrahs resound, punctuated by hundreds of shots. In an atmosphere of enthusiasm the buchiman make their entrance into the village and go to report on their mission to the council assembled under the mortuary shed. According to custom, this council is improvised at the last moment by the elders who are there, without attention to origin, and does not involve any definite authority.

Four baskets of dried fish are put down at the edge of the shed, for the mourning-lifting festival, then each one goes to get and arrange in his house a big personal basketful.

The fish intended for the festival are distributed among the women charged with preparing them.

About 2:00 P.M. the elders are assembled in the western part of the shed; in the eastern part, the near relatives of the dead for whom mourning will be lifted lament.

Several apinti drums are brought and placed laterally.

/187 cont./

765 Since there is no spouse in mourning (Béniti had been divorced for a long time), the ceremony stops there.

Then those present scatter in the village, go to dance, eat, and drink at one another's houses. They have the satisfied air of people who have just done an important job successfully.

[602] On the seventh day an intimate ceremony brings together Béniti's children and grandchildren in her daughter Kulina's house, where she died. After an offering of food, they weep and lament a last time. Then Fintiman, her elder son, repeats the formula of separation:

"We have done with you; stay where God has put you."

Lifting of mourning for Béniti. Division of expenditures. Béniti belonged to the fraction of the Dju lineage settled in [613] Boniville; the principal weight of the mourning therefore had [621] to be borne by that fraction, the other (the one in Asisi) bringing a symbolic contribution.

Béniti left two sons and two adult grandsons:

[601]

/188/ Actually the elder son Fintiman paid half the expense himself, the younger son being ill and without regular [431] resources. No contribution in money is asked of the women, who must, on the other hand, draw substantial amounts from their rice stock.

/205 cont./

346 794 787 613 The objects placed in these chapels are simply the clothing, beverage, and tools of the gods when they come to visit men; they correspond nearly to what the Refugee Blacks leave in a farming habitation where they go to work regularly. For example, in the Papa gadu ɔsu of the Awara Bakka quarter of [293] Asisi, which serves for about 15 gods, each one has a definite place on the shelves to lay out especially the scarf which serves it as a garment and a bottle of beer (a bottle is always kept in readiness by the bearer of the god) (1).

1. The Papa gadu do not like tafia. If the usual bearer of one of these gods has drunk tafia, it cannot come into him.

[534] They still stow the Papa dɔɔ drum in this chapel. This drum, like the chapel itself, is believed to belong to the Papa gadu god which first came into a member of the lineage to exercise the kunu. In the example mentioned of the Awara [428] /206/ Bakka lo of Asisi, in 1957 it was the centenarian grandmother Kuluba who had borne this god since her youth, having herself received it, by several successive transmissions, from a distant ancestress.

• [621] In villages like Boniville and Papaïston where fragments of lineage of entirely different origins coexist, each has its own organization.

For example in Boniville there is a Papa gadu ɔsu for the fragment of the Lapé lineage (it belongs to Térésa whose god exercises the kunu on this lineage). The fragment of the lineage has another.

In Papaïston the Tolna (Bakabuchi) lineage, reduced to half a dozen persons, has a Papa gadu ɔsu of its own.

/227 cont./

784 --A second, very old kunu is exercised by a yɔrka of the
778 Dipélu II lo. Gy...., dead so long that he cannot be placed on
787 the genealogical table; it, too, had as bearer a member of the
613 lineage on which it was exercising the kunu. ○ Akumuyé
614 (Aw.B.1, D17) † 1957.

Thus the Awara Bakka and Dipélu lineages exercise the kunu reciprocally one against the other;

784 --A third kunu of recent origin is exercised by a Papa
786 gadu god which had as bearer in 1957 ○ Irma (Aw.B.1, E37).
613 It results from the inadvertent killing of a Dagowe /sic/ snake
[789] by Ø Takwa, Irma's brother. At the end of 1957 this kunu
[753] had yet brought on only illnesses of such a kind that people could still hope to exorcise it.

784 The Aw.B.3 group has a special kunu of its own and
613 considers itself out of reach of the kunu of the Aw.B.1.

Anèta, originating in the Djuka village of Tabiki, is subject to the kunu of that lineage as are all her descendants in
[782] uterine line. On occasion of serious illnesses the latter have sometimes had to go to Tabiki village to supplicate the kunu.

[786] This kunu is the one of a god borne by Akanté, Anèta's
[787] daughter. In September, 1956, Summa, Akanté's daughter,
[782] was sick. The god revealed that this was its doing. It was supplicated (the other fractions joined the group) and she then got well.

613 Kunu of the Afi lineage. The descendants of Afi † (woman
621 coming from the tribe of the Bakabuchi of Surinam) live for the most part in Asisi in close symbiosis with the /228/ Awara Bakka lineage. They are in a situation analogous to that of Anèta's descendants (Aw.B.3) but, perhaps by the simple fact of their number, they form a more individualized unit.

/228 cont./

784 A kunu is exercised by a Dipélu yaka, borne in 1958 by
785 a Loka woman. It is invoked before the fraga tiki of l'Enfant
778 Perdu village (Dipélu I). Sometimes a broko dé is celebrated
768 for it in the same forms as the ceremony of the eighth day
613 after death.

784 We have likewise not been able to collect complete
613 information on the kunu of the Kotika lineage. This lineage,
114 divided into three fractions, forms a unit with respect to the
kunu.

784 A kunu is exercised by the yaka of a Surinam Creole
613 assassinated in former times by a member of the lineage. Its
785 bearer in 1958 was Todo (K1, E68), a man of the Kotika in
789 living in Boniville. In 1958 a young woman of the lineage,
[761] Awini (K1, E37), died suddenly; the yaka revealed that it
[684] had struck Awini because she had a liaison with Sintamann
(K3, E145), thus committing pikadu. The idea of the collective
responsibility of the lineage is so deeply accepted by the Boni
that the near relatives of the dead woman did not reproach
Sintamann at all.

784 /229/ A yaka of the Kotika lineage may exercise a kunu on
613 the Djuka. This is the case of an affair going back to 1950;
785 a young woman died some time after having a serious discussion
761 with a Djuka woman who had hit her. Deaths among the Djuka
619 these last years had been attributed to its vengeance.

It seems that there is no other kunu exercised by a Djuka
784 upon a Boni lineage and vice versa. This is surprising, con-
619 sidering the fights which in former times set the two nations
613 against each other.

The Djuka and Saramaka living isolated in the midst
621 of the Boni know their kunu, which were revealed to them in
784 childhood. In case of sickness, they employ divinatory pro-
[755] cedures in order to know what kunu is concerned, then they
[613] make offerings. But in case of serious illness, they are forced
to go back to the village of origin of their lineage.

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A (p. 576)
B (p. 577)
C (p. 578)
D (p. 579)

Chart of Positions of End Map /facing p. 576/

Gilliarault--576 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SRS Bush Negroes SRS
Boni

102
103
131
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162
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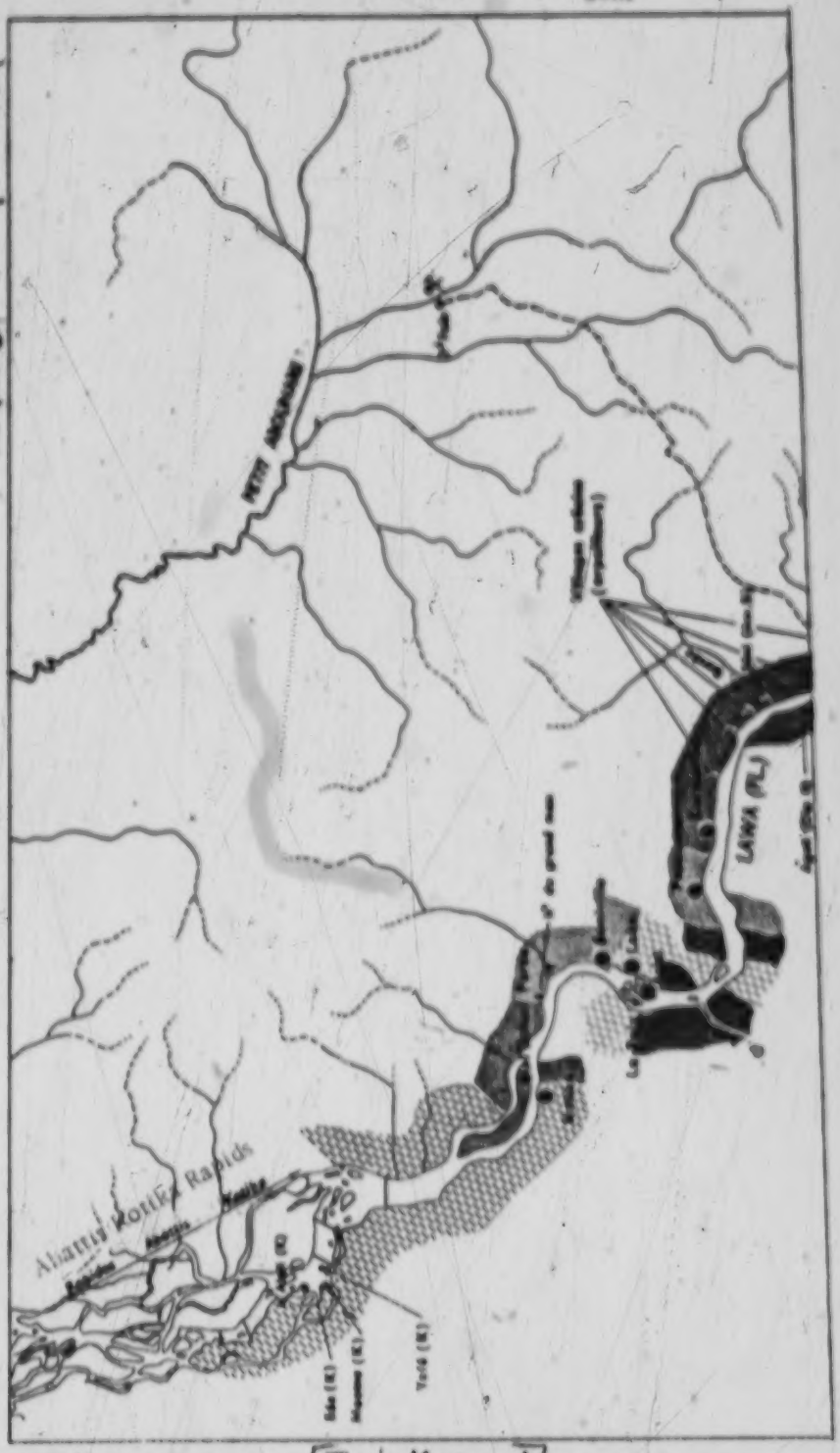

[End Map - A]

6:Hurault--577 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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●621

COURSE OF THE LAWA
(French Guiana)

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLING

[End Map -A]

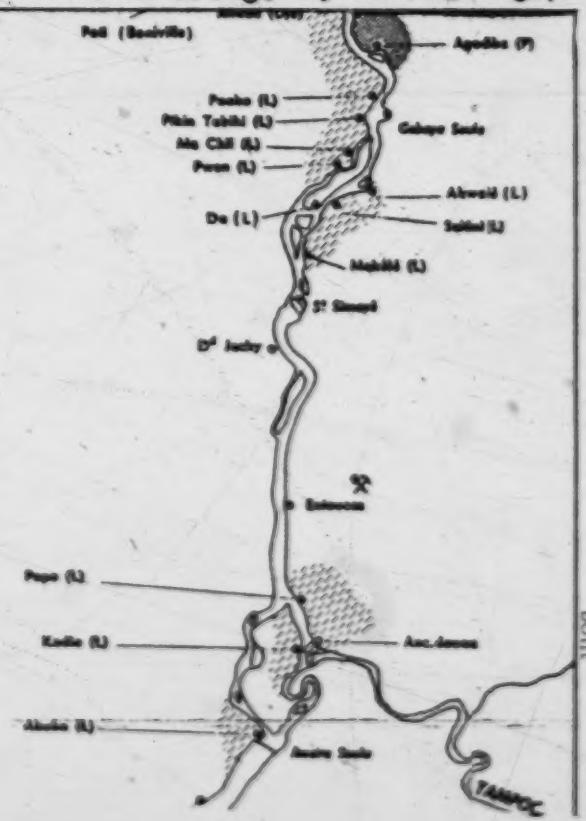
6:Hurault--578 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

Villages and Farming Habitations
in 1958

- Boni residence villages
- Boni farming habitations
- Creole villages
- European establishments
- Creole habitations
- Small gold workings
- Indian villages

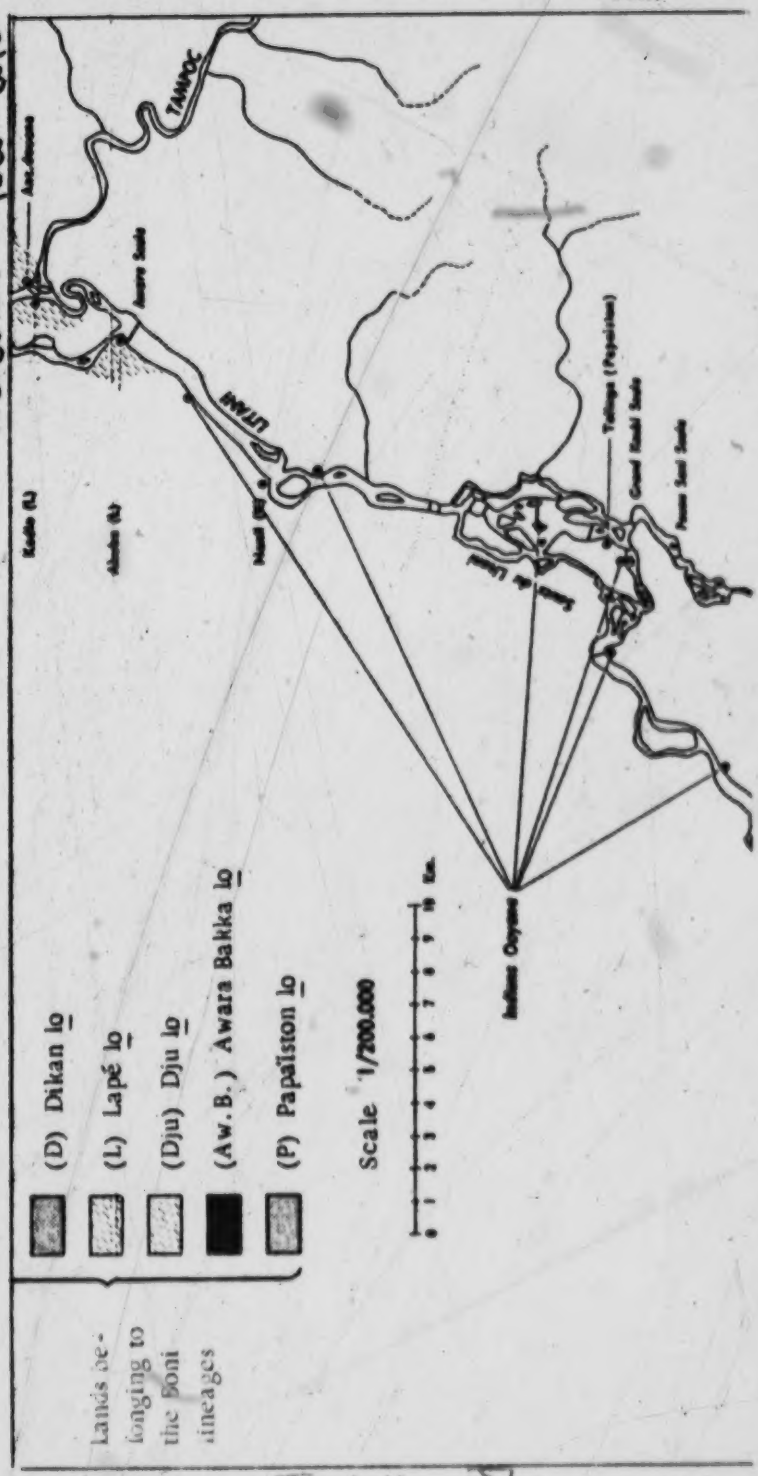
Lands belonging to the Boni lineages

- (K) Kotika lo
- (Dip) Dipélu lo
- (D) Dikan lo
- (L) Lapé lo
- (Dju) Dju lo



End Map - 2

6:Hurault--579 . K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni



[End Map - D]

484 recognized the coat of a village chief, and by the size of the
[501] boat he knew that it belonged to the upper river, far, far beyond the stretches he had yet penetrated.

He spoke the greeting in the faintest of whispers, out of
576 deference to a man of age and rank, and stopped his boat,
484 for this village belonged to his own clan, and it was here that he would get from his mother's sister the cassava
[262] bread which she had got ready for his journey up river. He got out of his boat gently; decorum demanded that he subdue his energy before the man of position. His palms rested on his knees for an instant, as he stood slightly
[516] inclined before the older man, and what questions he answered, he did in speech which was punctuated with the ceremonial stammering demanded by the occasion. He had put his toga-like cloth over him and stood hesitating whether or not to take his paddle to the village with him, for he was so well known here that this settlement was almost as familiar to him as his own. But at last he leaned down and took up his paddle. This mature formality, in a village where he was still often looked upon as a boy, was prompted perhaps by this meeting with the chief, or by the new feeling of confidence he had, since he was taking the Bakra's boat up the river. But here he was, going up the embankment with the firm, slow step of the stranger.

484 The old chief had already started, having first made his
180 sacrifice of rum to the spirit of his boat by squirting it over
[501] the finely carved head which appeared in relief on the prow. And now, as he guided his canoe with the sure strokes
● 622 of his large steering paddle, he sang his prayer.
539

"*Kediamo, Kediampon,*
Mother of the River,
Sacred ancestors, and my a'ka,
I am taking this journey down the river,
I am going to the city,
Grant that I travel in safety,
Grant that the trip be joyous,
Grant that I meet with friends,

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1134
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

ON THE SARAMACCA RIVER

484
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Grant that I walk with strangers in friendship,
Grant that the white man deal fairly with me.
Great Sky God,
Mother of the River,
Sacred ancestors,
I thank you."

Before the sound of the old chief's voice had died away, 484
Bayo was on the bank again with the great dikes of cassava bread in his arms. He covered them carefully and was on his way. His aunt had provided nicely for him. She had given him a large bottle of palm oil as well, and now, if he could but shoot a monkey or a macaw while going up the river, he [962]
would have excellent food. The Bakra would be certain to have a drink or two for his paddlers, and some leaf tobacco; and, though he himself was not old enough to snuff tobacco, he would save it for a gift to the father of his betrothed.

He went back to his seketi.

"Ma, a Lamé
A sib' ko' de muye."

On the bank of the next village several women were at work washing clothes. Were they young? Ah, but he must hurry. Twice he had been overtaken.

"Tia, odi! tia, odi! tia, odi!" He spoke to each of the three women separately and finished his "Adiosi" with an extra flourish, for he knew as he paddled away that the circle of cicatrized kamemba and the snake incised in the small of his back below it would gleam in the sun and look alive to the women who watched him make off.

That Lamé obia was a powerful thing!

2

At Gankwe they had been up all night, for yesterday was 765
the eighth day after death, and that night the ceremony of B'oko Dei had to be cared for—until night met day, the villagers said, there would be Anansi stories, and then, after the dawn, the elders would hold council, for one's

684 [196] be. The Earth Mother, who is the giver of fertility, takes the adulterous woman who is with child under her protection, and no one may harm her. But the guilty man must make redress to the betrayed husband. Fines must be paid by the adulterer, and there is the beating which the husband administers. This beating has its ritual. The culprit, at the time that is set, comes out to the place where the injured husband and his family wait. They attack him with bare fists, although the Kromanti arm obias are sometimes slipped down on clenched hands, and with these serious wounds can be inflicted. With or without the iron arm bands, the beating is a serious matter, and the man who has committed the trespass is severely mishandled, unless he can get away from his assailants and run into the bush. In the bush he has sanctuary, and at the end of some time may come back to his village. The gods will not give a weakling husband, or one who is not clever enough to take his revenge when it is offered, a second chance.

At times this beating is a merry affair. This happens when the adulterer's family tries to protect him, and then the matter becomes a two-family brawl, or, if the village is a [628] large one with more than one clan substantially represented in it, it may become a fight between two clans. Once, in a village near the railhead, a man was killed in such a fight, and then white police stepped in, and the murderer went to prison.

[622] A chief, however, can give the culprit sanctuary, and [118] Asikanu, being a chief's brother, was protected by the chief while negotiations were being carried on in his behalf. Now he was sent away from home to be one of our paddlers so that the enraged husband might be dealt with—time helps to cool anger. This was important in Asikanu's case, since the husband of the woman who had gone to Asikanu would consent to no fine, however large, and seemed, furthermore, to have misgivings about the manner in 776 which the ritual beating would be conducted. "I will kill 762 myself," he had been heard to declare. "I will kill myself, 684 and give them all kunu. My *yorka*—ghost—will come to 754

123 shoulders and arms glisten, or otherwise to make themselves
[302] presentable for the reception. There was nothing to do but to keep close to a tree-trunk, water dripping from naked body and the strip of twisted loin cloth, teeth chattering in the sudden chill brought on by the storm.

The head of Sungi was suddenly thrust inside our boat-tent.

"I saw the Granman. He says the storm is passing. You are to come to him as you are. It is best so. Waiting here is cold."

Turning, he ordered the paddlers to their places, and almost before the paddles were in motion, the guns began to fire.

"The Granman knows the time it takes to give a message. The Granman knows everything," said Bayo in great
[203] admiration, as the guns saluted.

Three shots, and three more. Two shots, an interval, and another coming faintly. Then a short silence, and once more the guns, in clusters of three, but now sounding from several directions.

As we rounded the bend of the island the farther bank was alive with people. The rain had subsided to a drizzle. Across the strip of water which separated us from the shore we could see men and women and children standing about, the women with large food trays inverted over their heads to protect their finery. But the men, disdaining such aids, stood in the rain and looked on with undisguised curiosity. Boats joined ours from up and down the river. With the sound of the guns came hallooing, shrill cries which were the women's expression of enthusiasm, actual or ceremonial.

297 As we watched, several figures appeared on the high bank,
554 the others making way for them. Two of the men were not
622 dressed in the colored toga-like cloths that were worn by the others, but in coats of rich material which reached to their knees. They wore black top-hats with cockades at the side. One of these, we recognized as Chief And'u of S'ei. His coat was of deep crimson, bordered in blue, and his companion's a vivid yellow. Both of these men carried

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Both of These men Carried
long wands of office, of black wood topped with silver 292
knobs. About their necks were heavy silver chains, and 554
from each chain was suspended a large silver crescent. 622 [293]

Another man stood near them to one side. He wore a long coat of white edged with scarlet and blue. He carried 554
no stick, and wore no insignia. On his head, over a white 643
kerchief wound tightly about the head and caught up in the back, was a white sun helmet. Above his head, held by one of the younger men who accompanied him, was an umbrella, the highest emblem of rank. It betokened that this man was Moana Yankuso, Granman of the Saramacca people.

3

Kasanya was first out of the boat when the dugouts 622
were brought to shore, and after him came Bibifo. Sedefo 574
and Asikanu remained with the younger men, waiting for 576
the Granman to indicate that he wished to receive them. Only men of rank and elderly members of his own clan [554]
would go at this time to speak to the headman, who stood there watching the boats.

"We came, G'aman," we heard Kasanya say, "and we brought the Bak'a." Two or three low-voiced sentences followed, and then the conversation was terminated by the elderly functionary in the yellow coat, who came down to our boat.

"I greet you in the name of the G'aman, Bak'a," he announced. "The G'aman himself awaits you. Come with me."

As we stepped out of the boat, the hallooing of the women 574
and the shouts of the children, which had stopped when the 576
paddlers addressed the Granman, began once again, and, 609
as an underlying voice, the salutes from the shotgun were 693
to be heard. The old man, shifting his wand of office to his left hand, now carefully helped first the one, then the other out of the boat and, offering his arm to each in turn, led us to the top of the steep rise, until we were face to face with the Granman. It would have been unlucky had we lost our footing at this moment of welcome. This chieftain was

AT THE COURT OF THE GRANMAN

Above the door was a shelf which did not quite reach the entire width of the wall, and on this shelf were the council benches, which the Granman supplied to the visiting chiefs. These benches were small, low, and as little ornamented with carvings as the work stools used by the women. But on the sides symbols were incised, and at least two of them we were able to identify as clan emblems. One of these had the conventionalized patterning of the hatchet, the emblem of the Granman's clan, and another a flower which is associated with the people from whose group come the principal diviners. The tops of these simple stools sometimes had inlays of dark wood, but whether their outlines were of ritualistic importance or not, no one would say.

From the beams hung several umbrellas, still inside the wrappings in which they had come from the white man's city, and a wickless metal lamp, into whose chains envelopes were inserted. These envelopes contained letters received by the Granman which awaited the coming of the missionary to be read, or letters which had already been read, and were there to add color to the official scene.

There were also other *Bakra sani*—white man's things—in the house. A canvas folding chair which filled almost an entire wall stood against the slats beside which, on the outside, were the earthen jars. This was for the Granman. He sat in it with the majesty of an emperor. No one ever approached it too closely, and we were never invited to take our ease in it when the Granman was in his own house.

In addition, there was a table in the center of the room, covered with a red and black plaid cloth from the city, and two straight-back chairs. On the table stood an alarm clock which was set for the noncommittal hour of twelve and a glass decanter filled with rum.

Chief And'u was the first to join us inside.

"It is fine here at the G'aman's."

"Yes, it is a fine house. And you, And'u, you look well in your coat. Is it when you are with the Granman that you dress so?"

622 "It is the coat of a chief. All chiefs wear these coats
292 At the G'aman's we wear the best we have."
[293] We looked at his silver-topped wand of office. "Do all chiefs carry these?" we asked.

"Not every chief has a stick like mine. And all chiefs do not have one of these." He pointed to the crescent of silver which hung from a chain about his neck.

"It is beautiful."

"Ya-hai. And it's old."

Embossed on the silver plaque were the arms of Holland, richly worked.

622 "After the time of running away, when the fighting was
648 over between our ancestors and the whites, these were given
293 to us, and the wands of office. But not all chiefs have their
643 wands from the white man. Some have the ones we call 'free sticks.' A man who has a 'free stick' is not a chief for the white man, but we know that he is a chief."

He added that the whites had made an agreement with the escaped Negroes that if they would no longer raid the plantations and carry away slaves with them they would be considered free men in their bush, under the white man's government. Since that time the Bush Negro Granman and certain of the village chiefs had had official recognition, and as a token of this each of them had been given a uniform, a [292] high hat, a crescent with the arms of Holland worked on it, a silver-headed staff, and an annual stipend.

"The chiefs who have 'free sticks,' the white man does not pay."

576 As we spoke of these things, we were interrupted from time to time by the noiseless brushing aside of the cloth which hung above the door, and the entrance of one of our men, or a man of the Granman's village, who brought in our canisters and hammocks. With not even a glance in our direction, they would leave as noiselessly and return to the river. Through the slatted side walls we could hear the sounds of such activity as we had not thought possible in the tropics.

574 For a few moments there was a rapid interchange between him and the old man in the yellow coat.

"The down-river men who have brought the white man," the Granman continued his cadenced speech, "will be housed in the village. The four Gankwe men will put up their hammocks in one house. The other four will be put up in my quarter. So it is. So I care. . . . "

"Yes, wise man."

"Gbolo!"

622 554 The ceremonial introductions followed, and each chief was praised for his special services to the Granman. The man in the yellow coat was of the Oyo people, a son of a great line, held high in the esteem of men and gods. Sungi was a man who knew much of the white man's wisdom. He had been to the French shore, and knew the French tongue, he knew about white man's medicine, but, friends, he was a child of the bush! And'u was a beloved chief, an honest man, a man to send on missions of trust. The bassia was a clever man, one of the men of And'u's village. The gods loved him, for what his hands touched turned to wealth. He was a good man. He was a friend.

A low cough was heard outside. Slowly the cloth was raised, and crouching into the hut came Kasanya and [291] Bibifo. They were carefully dressed, and each wore a kerchief drawn tightly about his head. These they wore by right of age.

622 The bassia, lowest in rank, was greeted first, and then 576 each chief in his turn, until the Granman was reached.

574 "Greetings, G'aman."

"Thank you, friends," came the vibrant answer.

This began the colloquy of inquiry about each other's well-being, which here at court had a longer ritual than anywhere on the river. It was a prelude of measured song which introduced all speech between strangers. Bibifo began timidly and did not show himself equal to the many variations which Kasanya had introduced with ease.

"Friends, I am glad you came. You must tell me what is happening in your villages."

AT THE COURT OF THE GRANMAN

Now it was the Granman's turn to supply the interpolations, while Kasanya and Bibifo reported.

"Yes, so it is. So I know it to be myself. So I have heard," he spoke when they paused.

But when the ceremonial greetings were over, and the conversation turned to down-river affairs, the Granman leaned forward in his chair and talked with the men informally. They were all clan members, or men belonging to clans whose allegiance to the Granman's rule was undoubted, and they talked over many things in the way men do when they meet with their own kind.

The room was growing darker. Yankuso called through the slatted wall against which he was leaning, and the young man who had fired the guns entered.

"Bassia, it is getting late. We must leave this house to the white man. These men with me are my friends. They must drink before they leave."

The bassia took the decanter from the table, and from the shelf underneath it, where we could dimly see shells and containers of shot, he took several small glasses. Before taking the glass to his lips, each man poured some of the liquor on the ground as a libation to the Earth Mother, and, as each drank, he turned to Yankuso and asked if he might leave.

"*Mi da permissi*—I grant you permission," he said to each.

When we had finished our meal, it was already dark. At the door of his own house, Granman Yankuso was sitting on a low stool.

"I have something for you," he said, disappearing inside his house. When he came out, he held in his hand some black object, which we were unable to identify. "You have fire?" he asked, as he suspended this object from a tree which grew between his house and the one in which we were staying.

"There was a white Hollander here who brought this to me. He went from here farther into the bush. He never came out. Light is a good thing at night. When visitors

M. Herskovits & Herskovits E-6 (1929-1930) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Saramacca

pieces of red and blue cloth worked with this thread, so that again the white vertebrae showed. Bayo and Angita wore their beads, and each had a garter below the knee of the right leg. Their garters were white in color, but of a whiteness which only new, unwashed cotton has. They were about an inch and a half wide and were so tight that the muscle of the calf bulged prominently. On their upper arms were Kromanti rings of iron which, by contracting, warned the men of impending danger. In addition, Sedefo and Angita wore the bell obia of the Gankwe people, and Bayo his love obia which had come from Lamé.

"When do you go, Sedefo?"

"When the G'aman speaks. When we finish a piece of work, then we do not want to be paid at once. We do not leave at once. It would be as if we had not gone together in pleasure and wanted to be away as soon as possible. With the white man it is one thing. In the bush we do not do it so. Here in the G'aman's village, we do as we do with our own people in the bush," he paused for an instant, and looked about toward the clearing outside the palings. "There is another thing. In the G'aman's village, men cannot leave until the G'aman gives permission. When the G'aman is ready, he will call us. We will speak together. Then we will speak with him again. Then we will ask to go."

Bayo had been looking about the council house with an interest which was not unmixed with awe at the Granman's possessions, and he spoke in whispers.

"Ai, when the G'aman gives permission, then we go."

As he spoke, the cloth over the doorway was gently thrust aside. Bassia Anaisi of the Granman's village entered. He was the man who had fired the saluting gun the day of our arrival and who had at the Granman's call come to serve the visiting chiefs with rum. He now greeted each in turn but did not take down a bench. For a moment he stood there, head lowered out of deference to the character of the place where he was, then he coughed slightly and, turning to us, said, "The G'aman is ready for you. The chiefs are here."

over whom it was exercised. When the ancestors of the Bush Negroes were brought to New World slavery, what measure of acquiescence they showed was due to the fact that slavery was not an unfamiliar tradition to them. They knew of the war captive, or the man convicted of a serious crime, who was a slave to one of their own kind. But the experience of the white man's slavery was a crucible in which the ownership of man by man, and the unquestioning obedience which men owed to those of higher rank, were destroyed, leaving only the ideal of the life of free men. "Free!" was the way in which one Bush Negro toasted another, or a white man, when he drank with him. A "*Man Neegere*," an adult Negro was, above all, a free man, and it was as a freeman that he was governed, for though villages had chiefs, and there were bassias who were subordinate to chiefs, and though above the village chiefs were clan chiefs, and over them all the Granman, yet the final word rested with the members of each subsidiary body, and not with its leader.

Every village had its officials, and its medium for discussions. Every clan had its head, and its old men, who, sounding out the will of the clan members, consulted with that head when questions were to be decided. For the decisions affecting the entire Saramacca River, there were the Granman and his krutu, before whom questions of larger policy or disputes between villages were brought.

Perhaps most impressive of all was the measure of autonomy which each village had. A village, or certainly a group of neighboring villages belonging to the same clan, formed a small kingdom. A Bush Negro of another village who came to visit, came as any stranger, paddle in hand, his top cloth covering his loin cloth. When he found himself in a strange village on a night when a dance was being given, he did not join the dancers until after much urging by a native of that village, and then he danced little, and if he were a particularly fine dancer, he took care not to flaunt his superior gifts. The exception to this, to be sure, were the sacred dances, when a stranger, whose god came

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to him when the drums called that god, could not be held accountable for what he did while his god had him in his control. 632 614 609

No stranger, no man who came to live in his wife's village, even though he had spent a good part of his life there, took it upon himself to offer advice to his wife's family. Again and again we would hear from men and women on the river, "In our village we do it this way," or, "We only carry the corpse on the head twice. Our spirits don't like to be troubled more often," or, "Mawu as a name for the Great God is used in our village, but not everywhere on the river." 614 602

There was the experience with several sacred images of village gods we had bought from an upper-river village. Our paddlers refused to carry them for us from the village to the boats, and it was with marked uneasiness that they permitted us to put them into the boats. 123 [778]

"We do not know what these gods can do. We do not know what is hateful to them. They are the gods of another people. We won't carry them."

But with the gomi—the child of the village of his mother's family, it was quite otherwise. He was a member of the village, he had a voice in its governing, he knew its gods. If he belonged to the family of the chief of the clan, if, let us say, his older brother were the chief, or if he was one of several nephews of a chief who had no surviving brothers, then at the death of the chief there would be a krutu, and the men of the village would decide which one of the several men who were eligible for the office was the most capable. Though rank was hereditary there was always selection among several heirs, and again the final word rested with the people of the clan. The offices of lesser chiefs—village chiefs who were subject to the clan chief, or bassias who served the chiefs—were passed on in the same manner. 622 624 [424]

While law making was in the hands of the chiefs, or captains, and the krutu over which they presided, law enforcement was the task of the bassias. It was they who saw to it that the orders of the chiefs were carried out. When 625 [622]

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THE COUNCIL OF THE ELDERS

"*We go asri,*" we would be told when the question arose 623
how far we would travel on any given day, or when we 439
urged a reluctant man to sell a ceremonial bench with which he was loath to part. When the answer came back, it came as a unanimous decision of those most concerned. The members of his family had talked over their need for money and weighed that against his personal love for the object he had carved, and most often the decision was against his disposing of it. He cared for it, that meant it pleased his ak'a, his soul, and of what worth was money when it was a question of displeasing his soul, which might begin to trouble him?

"Bak'a, if we cut off our heads and sell them, then if we buy hats, where will we put them?"

So it was in krutu. The lanti, the people, discussed what 623
the bassia had said, as they went apart in small groups. From time to time, a bassia would be called to join one group and then another. What did the chief have in mind when he said this, or that? What did the old men think the consequence would be of the action under discussion? Was it desirable for the village to take a slight, and do nothing at this time? Was it necessary to arrange a compromise, instead of taking the matter into their own hands and beating the members of the offending clan?

After this discussion, each group came back to the 623
assembly united in its stand. If all the groups were agreed, 622
the matter was ended, and the wisdom of the chief and his councilors prevailed. If all disagreed, then it would have been temerity indeed for a chief to attempt to impose his will against the massed dissent. But if there was a lack of agreement, then the long debates would commence. Man after man would summon all his oratory to the argument, and for hours the various factions would speak. In the end, the will of the group would be swayed one way or the other, and a decision reached.

But this was only the procedure in the lowest assembly— 623
that of the village. As men grew older and their sons and 614

their nephews took up the dancing for the gods, their interests were directed more and more toward the clan rule.

"I do not dance any more," Sedefo had told us, "My sons dance Kromanti now. I must do now what is expected of a man of my years. I must see that our people act wisely in all things which touch this world, and the world of our ancestors."

A clan krutu was a self-sufficient unit made up of members whose maturity fitted them for looking after the worldly and supernatural welfare of their people, for in the larger organization of the tribe it was the clans who stood one with another in perfect equality to complete the whole—the Saramacca people.

The chieftain of the principal village of the clan was the clan head. In him was vested the right to speak for the large grouping, and in the krutu which he conducted the etiquette approached that of the tribal krutu in its intricacy. The village where the clan head lived was inhabited predominantly by his people. In other villages on the river his people might be one of several clan groups. Several villages were inhabited by three or even four clan groups, each of which had its own captain. But such villages were not the seats of clan heads. Where a clan chief ruled would be not only the clan krutu house, but the shrines raised to the important dead of the clan, the clan ancestors whose spiritual powers to help and advise the living were as great as the feats they had accomplished when alive. Here, too, at the village where the clan head lived would be the shrines to the gods who had the clan under their special protection. Above all, here under the direction of the chief were not only those who guided the worldly destinies of the clan, but those who knew how to control the supernatural forces. Here were the obias owned by the clan, those spiritual and unique healing powers whose magic would respond only to the will of clan members who had undergone the training which taught them to operate those forces their ancestors had left for them.

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assemblies such as were reported from the Awka people on the Marowyne were here not called regularly. There was no central body here to make decisions. The autonomy of village and clan seemed almost unquestioned. There were, to be sure, clan alliances, but these bore more directly on the factions which had formed to control the choice of the next headman. At this krutu, therefore, which had just gathered, there were Captain Sungi, head of the Kasito or Dahomey clan, and And'u, the able chief of the Dombi people, and the headman of the Popoto people, and the headman of the Anago. But Fandya of Baikutu who headed the Nasi people was not there, nor were the Awana people represented, nor the Alabaisa, nor Kwama, nor Bi'ito, nor Fandaki, to cite some examples. Of the missing chiefs, several of them lived a considerable distance from the seat of the Granman, and indeed had been to his village but few times.

"Ai, men must krutu," Kasanya had told us one day on the river. "If a few men decide, then the others have anger in their hearts. That is not good. When the lanti meets, and all men talk, then those who came with anger cool their hearts. Talk is good."

And another time, Sedefo had found occasion to quote the proverb, "If you have not settled one thing, you cannot go on to the second." The best way was to talk things over until all men saw that what was proposed was good or bad.

4

In the krutu house of Asindopo Lantiwe the Granman began to speak.

"Mati—friends—the white man has come. He sits there. With him is his wife. She is there beside him. The man from the white man's city has come. He is there. He will speak for the white man. The white man has a cook. The cook is outside."

"So it is, G'aman," said Captain Sungi.

"Mati, the white man came. All who come to me must eat. The white man must eat."

"True, true, master of the realm."

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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It may be of interest to recall the names of some of the old villages which constituted places of refuge for the escaped slaves in the early days and from which many of the forays were conducted against the white plantations. In the jungle between the Surinam and the Saramacca rivers were the following:

Villages	*Headmen or Captains*
Acoro-kriki	Aletoo
Attoma-kriki	Attama
Awara	Davo
Congo-kriki	Attoma
Doussoo-kriki	Mufinga
Cabrolte	Primo
Janwiri-kriki	Kwakoo, Klaas, Pedro
La Motte	Foolon
Matawarie	Adoo
Loango	La Motte
Toofinga	Coffie
Wana	Mathysie
Pada	Pambo, Magondi, Darie, Samaam

Higher up the rivers, separated from these, were still more villages continuing right on to the Brazilian frontier, even on to the Orinoco River, where some of the escaped slaves mixed with the Indians.

The villages between the Surinam and the Marowyne rivers were the following:

To the north of Paramaribo, between the Duivelsbroek

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

648 (Devil's Pants) Swamp and the ocean was the village of
175 No Meli Mi (Don't Touch Me).
103
361 On the Upper Surinam River at the source of the Surnau
621 Creek and to the north of the plantation Maasstroom there was a village called Broos Condree; on the right bank of the lower Commewyne River, the village of the Headman Kopro-Kanoo (Copper Cannon) was situated.

On the Upper Cottica were the following havens of refuge:

[22]

Villages	*Headmen or Captains*
Gado Saby	David Voro
Corsary	Pamo (Governor)
Meli Mi	Araby
Mi Sa Lasi	Boston
Tesi	Abram
Boesi Krei	Thoma
Kwami Condree	Coffie
Karoe Condree	Jan Prado
Areisi Condree	Quakoo
Boucou	Baron
Aroukou	Bonny, Joli Coeur

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

posely to make the village as hard to reach as possible, to protect it from white invaders. From long experience the Djukas mistrust all white men.

In Jankoeso is lodged the general authority over the Saramaccaner tribe and the territory in which they live. He has forbidden the intrusion of any visitors unless they are announced several days beforehand, by messenger.

All the Granmans receive their title by matrilineal inheritance, and cannot be deposed. When one dies he is succeeded by his oldest sister's oldest male child, while his own sons never, under any circumstances, succeed him to the kingship. If there is no such person as his oldest sister's senior male child, then the succession passes on to the oldest male child of the nearest female relative. If the line dies out, and no relatives are eligible, the successor is elected by popular vote from among the captains of the river villages, but this seldom occurs. On such an occasion there may be a struggle between different lo, playing politics to get into power. Otherwise inheritance is strictly through the female line.

The Dutch government exerts only a nominal control over the Bush Negro tribes of the interior. Once every year the river Granmans come down the broad river highways to Paramaribo for a parley with the Governor of Surinam. After a ten-day canoe trip downstream, Jankoeso finds a train waiting for him at Kabel, to bring him ceremonially the rest of the way. The other rulers must come all the way by corial. On their long and often hazardous journey they are accompanied by their most powerful captains. The Gran-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

a prisoner, and refusing to take the special train awaiting him at Kabel. Special trains, he said, were not for prisoners. He was paddled the additional ninety miles in his own corial, which took six days longer. Very vexed at this, the Governor did not shake hands with him, and Jankoeso was offended. "Why doesn't he tell me 'Howdy'?" he asked Mynheer Wolff, who is always instrumental in furthering friendly relations between Dutch and Djukas. Wolff called the Governor outside, and advised him to treat the Granman with more cordiality. The necessary handshaking was done, and the parley continued more affably. The guilty one was apprehended and jailed for a year. Once again there went upstream the annual present of the Dutch government to each Granman. This is a continuation of the custom of tribute money paid to the Bush Negroes ever since the days of the black rebellions. Every year each Granman receives 1500 guilders.

The Granman is the actual chief of the river nation, but the government centres in the village proper. The village is governed by a headman or *captain*, and aiding him in his work is a council or *bosseia*, consisting of three or four or more of the most mature men and women of the town. "Bosseia," like the American colloquial *boss*, comes from the Dutch word *baas*. Here the rough justice of the jungle is administered, and local disputes are settled. Here decisions are made concerning the ownership of timber, and property rights in cassava fields. Quarrels over women are more frequent than any other kind of disputes, and they, too, are settled by the village captain and his bosseia.

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Saramaccaner

622 623 352 The bosseia meet under a separate shed, specially built for this purpose. The captain has a "throne," which is an ornately carved stool. The one belonging to the captain of the village of Lombe was purchased and brought back to the American Museum of Natural History. The members of the bosseia, too, have ceremonial seats, with elaborately pierced carving, typically West African in design. When the occasion arises, a meeting is held and the council is seated about on these ceremonial benches to hold palaver.

622 623 692 [331] The business is brought up. Perhaps it is a domestic quarrel—two men over one woman. The offended party rises and begins exercising the Bush Negro's traditional privilege of unlimited and vociferous oratory. He details his wrongs. Grand gestures accompany the sonorous flow of words. The interested members of the village sit at a respectful distance from the captain and bosseia, and listen to the harangue. When other speakers have had their say, any inhabitant of the village may get up and give his or her opinion. Proudly the captain exercises his judicial talent, and the decision is handed down. It is not questioned.

622 623 562 [364] The women members of the bosseia have as much power as the men. It is chiefly the women who see that the ancestral and village customs are enforced. They are the guardians of the ancient traditions and customs of the race. To them, also, belongs the duty of keeping the village clean. If the town needs a general cleaning, the women bosseia go about from hut to hut, telling the women to get together and perform the task.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

When there is a conflict between villages over their hunting and fishing territories, the captains and bosseias of each town meet on some neutral ground and arbitrate the matter. Then, indeed, the parley becomes wordy and rhetorical. Each cause is championed with long speeches, setting forth oratorically the rights and conditions involved. But once an agreement is arrived at, the matter is closed. 622 623 692 628 [537]

Local disputes, excluding those over women, are not nearly so common or so serious as they are among civilized white men. There is a minimum of quarrelling among the Djukas; they get along together in an almost idyllic way. Wherever there are women, there will, of course, be quarrelling, for, in the words of Confucius, "Disorder does not come from heaven, but is brought about by women." Outside of this factor there is little friction in the Bush Negro community. Their highly communalized government works exceedingly well. 693 578

The Granman and his captains have an annual council to make laws for the coming year. This and other assemblies are known as *kwatu*. The captains and bosseias from surrounding villages concentrate at some important town to meet the Granman there. The Council near Gansee, the trading-post, included the villages of Nu, Lombe, Biodoti, Ganya Condree, and Adawai. Jankoeso refused to hold his parley in the town proper, although Gansee is the largest village in the entire tribe, because there is a Christian mission station there, conducted by the Moravian Brothers. Jankoeso is in favour of retaining the ancestral gods of the jungle, and does not look with favour upon the whole proselytizers. 671 622 623 [537]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner
Aucaner

and does not look with favour upon the white proselytizers.

The Granman can call a meeting of his captains at any time. They must attend, even though it involves days of rigorous travel. Although the captains look up to the Granman and acknowledge him as their superior, the connexion between them is not close enough to be considered a hierarchy. The "river nations" are not monarchies in any sense. The only laws promulgated by the Granman are those that affect the entire tribe.

Neither the captains nor the Granman have any privileges or prerogatives to set them apart from the undistinguished natives; there is no leisure class. They are all dependent upon their own efforts to earn a living, and work like anyone else in the village. Rank does not make social parasites out of them, as among us. The Granman's only external distinction is that sent by the white man, the tribute from the Dutch government. The type of social organization now prevalent among the Djukas, therefore, may be described as primitive communism.

The Aucaner, second in number to the Saramaccaner, are scattered in a less compact way over the rivers and creeks of the colony toward the French Guiana line. This tribe numbers about 6000 in population.

Just below the realm of the Saramaccaner tribe, at the junction of the Sara Creek and the Surinam River (see map facing page), are some of the Aucaner villages: Koffay Camp, Lebbi Doti, Lata Baka, Pitchong, Baku, and other settlements. There are few villages on the long Sara Creek, but

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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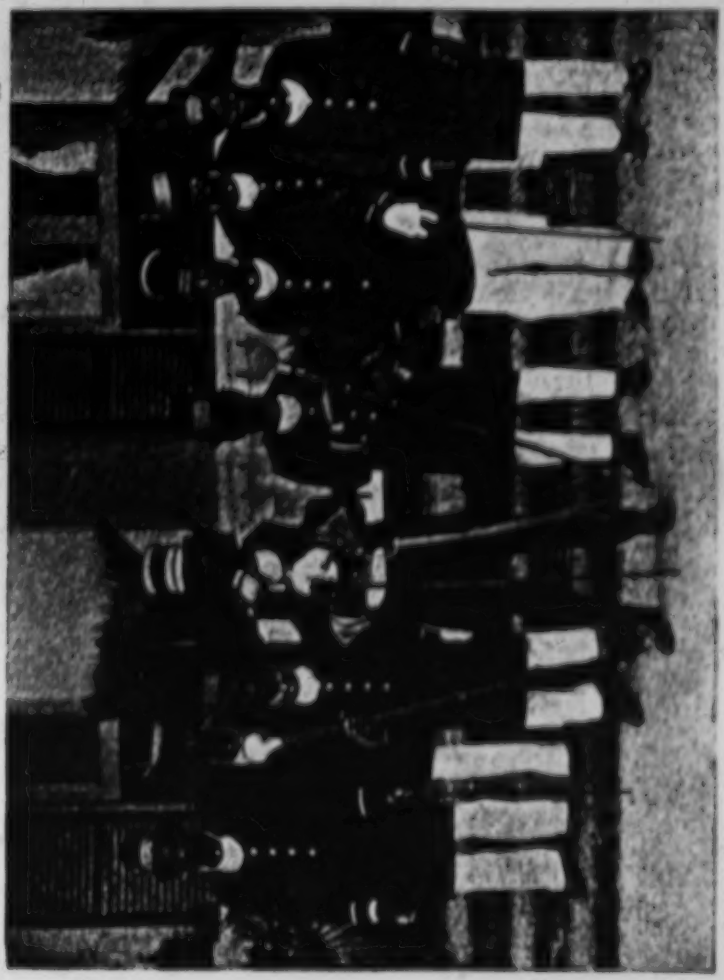

Chieftains and Captains Assembled in Paramaribo for a Council with the Governor of Dutch Guiana.
Photo by Carol

[Facing p. 102

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

It is indulged in as naturally as the other bodily functions.

"Marriage" is a convenient term for describing cohabitation among the Djukas, but it must be remembered that to them marriage is a purely economic institution. There is little ceremony. No one objects to getting married, because divorce is instantaneous and easy. The bonds of marriage are loose, and adultery, to use our harsh term, is customary.

Courting consists in presenting the prospective bride with elaborate wood carvings of useful implements. This wood carving has been developed by the Djukas to a high point of artistic perfection, as can be seen from the illustrative specimens, of which more will be said later. The approaching marriage is not looked upon as a departure from the maternal group; it is simply an arrangement for providing the man with a cook and the woman with children. The marriage of a captain or a Granman differs in no wise from any other; no especial care is taken of his bride.

We encountered two varieties of the process of choosing a husband. In the first, the girl has little to say, her husband being selected for her by her parents. In the second and more frequent practice the woman marries the man of her own choice, the parents making sure that the intended husband is a good provider. But since every Djuka buck is trained to the jungle crafts from childhood, this requirement can almost be taken for granted.

The husband marries frequently. He may marry outside of his village, or outside of his lo, but never outside of the tribe. Marriage requires a bride price, consisting of pieces of

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

342 ings inside, to give the idea of affluence. The women looking
556 into the dim interior are awed by the numerous boxes. They are usually empty, however.

837 When men go away on hunting or fishing trips, adultery
638 frequently occurs. If it is discovered by the husband's family, they seize the wife and beat her. Her own family rushes to her aid, and a general mêlée ensues. The village is soon in
[22] an uproar, and to the captain belongs the unpleasant and thankless task of stopping the fight. There is considerable excitement for a few minutes. Many a hot listless evening is provided with a momentary thrill because someone's wife has been careless. After the mêlée the wife is usually forgiven, and the village returns to its normal routine.

546 Divorce is easy. A married woman merely informs the bosseia and captain, and moves out of her husband's hut, going back to her parents or to her lover. Even this formality may be dispensed with if she simply locks the door and refuses to let her husband enter. There is an heroic simplicity to this procedure. The husband may do the same, divorcing any one of his wives without assigning any reason for his action. The parting—we hesitate to distinguish it as a divorce—is usually on the woman's initiative; men leave their wives not so often as their wives leave them. Usually a husband will endure a wife until domestic dissension makes his life unbearable. Among women the motives for divorce vary; a husband's impotence is a very adequate reason, for of all masculine virtues the Djuka women esteem virility the most. Impotence seems to be common among primitive peoples after

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

766 643 teresting things concerning burials. A Granman's or a captain's body is placed in a cave-like hole dug in the side of a [622] hill, and is eventually sealed in. It is forbidden to throw dirt upon the bodies of such officials.

764 In the case of an ordinary person, a large hole is dug in the ground in which the corpse is lowered. A plank is placed over the body, so that the dirt subsequently thrown into the hole will not come into direct contact with the body.

766 The bodies of albinos, idiots, and lepers are otherwise disposed of. These people are supposed to be related to the river, and are called *watra pekein*, or water children. Instead of being allowed to rot, their bodies are placed in a pit dug in the bank when the river is low. When the water rises, the corpse is washed out of its temporary tomb.

769 Every year the azang pau, the palm barrier across the village path, is renewed, and at this time prayers are said for the dead. The dead person's relatives have shaved off their forelocks when he died, and often again at intervals of three, six, and nine months thereafter. But after the lapse of a year there is no mourning; a large dance is held to signify that the period is terminated, and after that the dead man or woman is relegated to the position of an ancestor. The prayers then ask him to intercede with the gods for the benefit of those still among the living.

Djuka

/3 cont./

123 In connection with what I have already said concerning an agreement concluded by me with them, I regard it as not inappropriate to give here a sketch of the manner in which I was requested to enter into this agreement with them, and what happened before they came to an agreement with me in such an extraordinary manner.

After I had already dealt with them for some time in an increasingly open manner and my journeys to visit them had become more frequent, some of the chiefs confidentially notified me that, although they had already come to know me over a considerable period of time and regarded me as a good and honest man, since they had experienced better treatment from me than from many others with whom they had previously had dealings, they could nonetheless not simply assume that I would always remain the same and that possibly I had completely different intentions with regard to them which they might later regret. For this reason many of them had still been reluctant to commit themselves definitely to work for me. In order to do away completely with this mistrust among them, I continued to stay with them in the bush for a considerable time and always demonstrated that I had honest intentions with regard to them, until after a few weeks, as a result of the open-handed giving away of food and drink, I noticed that I was short of everything and was forced to send my vessel to Paramaribo in order to fetch what was needed, whereby I found myself completely alone among them.

123 675 [622] When thus, after the departure of my vessel, I spent a number of hours talking about my plans with the headman of the village, called Sparri Passi (1), in his hut, he strongly advised me

1. Sparri (a large flat fish) way.

to conclude at this time the agreement customary among them. I agreed and immediately requested him to accompany me via a bush path to the nearest village, Manjaondro (2), in order to

2. Under the manja tree.

/137 cont./

241 and sugar cane, while in the third year some pineapples, bananas, and sugar cane are also harvested.

Thereafter one surrenders the ground to the second growth (kapoewari) shooting up, here called "kauwé," and to the weeds, like the cutting grass "baboen nefi" (Scleria secans), which prevent further growth of the cultivated crop.

This system of clearing grounds requires much land. It is a severely predatory cultivation which can only be employed when sufficient free land is available. Only after many years can one return to the same piece of forest to lay out a new ground, depending on the recovery of the forest, more particularly on the top growth.

[592] Among the Bush Negroes of the Marowijne it is the rule that
[476] each household provide for itself. The man clears the ground with help of family /familie/ members or friends, who in return for food are taken in during this time. If the man has /138/ one wife, then ordinarily two grounds per year are cleared; if he has more than one wife, then he clears two grounds for each wife.

[622] The captain /kapitein/ of a village lays out his ground him-
[643] self, helped by his villagers. The granman /chief/, however, does not work himself, but, regardless of the number of his wives, has his family and other helpers clear grounds in return for food for the
423 workdays. The products of the grounds of a household are not joint
593 property, but rather the wife asserts her rights over the produce from one ground, while the man claims that from the other ground. Thus a distinction is made between the agrarian property of the wife and that of the husband.

3. The Plague of Ants and the Ant-bushes

241 In the agriculture of the Bush Negroes the plague of ants plays
125 a significant role. The leaf-cutting or parasol ants (Atta sexdens and Atta cephalotes) are very destructive because of their attacks on the leaves in the plantings. The first-named species is the greatest evildoer in the interior districts of Suriname. Cassava in

3
K /509 cont./
19 October 1958 – January 1959), expeditions whose principal aim
194 was the sociological study of these populations.
121

/510/

Social Structure and Way of Life

3
101/ The Boni Refugee Blacks. The Boni are one of the above-mentioned
[175] tribes of the Refugee Blacks, reconstituted in the course of the
3 eighteenth century by rebel African slaves who escaped from
Surinam plantations (Dutch Guiana).

[131] These tribes (Saramaka, Djuka, Paramaka, Boni) live for the
[161] most part along the rivers of the interior of Surinam. They group
together a total of 25,000 persons.

3 With very rare exceptions, the Refugee Blacks are pure Africans.
161 These populations, vigorous and well adapted to the country, have
[144] experienced in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries
a remarkable demographic increase, attested to by all the authors.
Descended from small rebel groups which could not have contained
more than a few hundred women, they are now estimated at more
than 25,000 persons.

3 The Boni of the Upper Maroni, the subject of the present study,
162 number approximately 800, of whom 660 are on the French bank
103 (the villages of Boniville, l'Enfant Perdu, Loka, Asini, Papaïton,
[161] and Kormotibo) and 140 on the Surinam bank (the village of Kotika).
These villages were established long ago.

8 Each of them groups together a matrilineage, i.e., the
613 descendants in the uterine line of one single founding ancestress;
621 certain villages know their genealogy in its entirety back to this
769 ancestress, who must have lived at the end of the eighteenth
century. The members of the lineage are united by the cult of the
8 ancestors, which binds them firmly to their natal village and to
[622] their land. The social system is based essentially on this cult,
793] the chief of the village being above all the priest of the ancestors.

Strictly speaking, there is no marriage, but only an acknowl-
3 edged concubinage which entails neither a contract between the
581

/29 cont./

121 This is what necessitates as precise an inventory as possible of the population in its present state.

61 Matrilineal kin groups among the Djuka and Saramaka Refugee Blacks.
114 Authors who have described the social structure of the Djuka and
184 Saramaka, groupings appreciably more numerous than the Boni, have also called attention to the use of the words lo and ikii, but give them a completely different meaning.

194 The organization they describe can be summarized thus:
591 Before making up tribes, the rebels lived in small groups
621 near the plantations from which they had escaped; these groups of composite origin were designated by the word lo which means: troop, band; the same word is used to designate a band of animals.

[162] These rebels used to belong to all the nations of the west
[103] coast of Africa. In spots there may have been an attempt at regroupings of elements belonging to the same nation, as proven by the village names Loango, Dahomey, among the Saramaka.
[622] But the majority of these small groups were very probably of heterogeneous origin; in each of these lo, the bravest and most capable was designated as head.

[648] After the recognition of the Djuka and Saramaka by the
[167] government of Surinam and their regrouping on the great rivers of the interior, these groups kept their unity since they had a de facto organization and leaders. They were naturally designated by the name of the plantation they had come from. We say for example Dju nêuge for the former slaves of the Jews, Kêpani nêuge for the former slaves of the Compagnie des Indes Orientales /East India Company/. /30/

174 In the course of the 19th century the total number of Refugee
613 Blacks increased very rapidly under the influence of a high birth
614 rate. The lineages in the proper meaning of the term bee, meaning the descendants of the same ancestress, took on sufficient importance to constitute distinct social units. They grouped in
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/46/

l'Enfant Perdu (Tabiki) Village

Legend

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№		House of		№		House of	
3	○	Djabofo	Dip. I, E8	25	△	Fambiko	Dip. I, E82
6	△	Kanon (usually lives in Kotika	Dip. I, E3	26	○	Asowetina	KI, E73
				25, 29	△	Dumbai	Dip. I, E47
8	△	Bimo	Dip. I, F78	30	○	Anowa	Dip. I, E48
9	○	Sawmi	Dip. I, E53	31, 32	○	Towaibi	Dip. I, F64
10	△	Tabayo	Dip. I, F73				
11	○	Sawmi (2nd house)		33	△	Malpa	Dip. I, F52
13	○	Abena	Dip. I, D39	34	△	Baboo (2nd house)	
14	△	Pobou	Dip. I, F77	36	○	Asili	Dip. I, F60
15	△	Toli	Dip. I, D44	37	○	Ekua	Dip. I, E44
16	○	Mata	Dip. I, F80	38	○	Anou	Dip. I, G20
17	△	Abagua	Dip. I, E35	39	○	Musuaga	Dip. I, F51
19	△	Bayamalo	Dip. I, E56	41	○	Apewa	Dip. I, F54
20	△	Simon	Dip. I, F70	42	○	Kodja	Dip. I, F55
21	△	Manko	Dip. I, F75	43	○	Saayé	Dip. I, F56
22	△	Baboo (village head)	Dip. I, D40	45	○	Pointkina	Dip. I, E42

●[622]

Total on January 1, 1958: 65 persons, of whom 25 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

[591] Adult inhabitants of the village whose residence is not normal:

○ Asowetina 1926, raised by her father Fambiko, remained in l'Enfant Perdu;

△ Tom 1930, DJUKA, raised by his brother by the same father Tabayé in l'Enfant Perdu village, remained there afterward.

Total: 2 persons, of whom one is bringing up a child.

Loka and Lapé Tabiki Villages

[591] Adult inhabitants whose residence is normal: /Error for "not normal"? - Tr.

△ Aimondo 1935, raised by his father Konsman in Loka, stayed there

○ Baiaum 1924, raised by her father Makobi in Loka, stayed there

○ Abéchi 1922, raised by her father Kodjo in Loka, stayed there

○ Nobu 1937, raised by Namu, sister of her father, stayed in Loka

○ Régina 1936, raised by her father Pépo in Loka, stayed there

Total: 5 persons, raising 7 children or adolescents under 16 years old.

/48/

Loka and Lapé Tabiki Villages

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Legend

Loka Village

№	House of		
1, 4	○ Bito	L1, D2	
3	△ Télon	L1, E3	
2, 5	○ Totti	L1, E1	
6	△ Pikinbaala	L1, E2	
7	○ Totouman	L1, F1	
8	△ Doeté	L1, E10	
9	○ Balkom	Dju, F10	
11	△ Abété		
12	△ Malubi	Dip. I, E50	
13	○ Alapu	L1, D9	
14	○ Apiéku	L1, E7	
15	○ Yaana	L1, E39	
16	○ Madu	L1, E41	
17	△ Topo	L1, E40	
18	○ Chii	L1, D24	
19	○ Koko	L1, E42	
20	△ Ayenbédé	L1, E37	
21	○ Mayon	L1, F27	
22	○ Saléni	L1, E25	
23	○ Kayé	L1, F26	
24	△ Tingo	L1, F25	
25	○ Awenkina	L1, D23	
26	○ Paako	L1, E29	
27	○ Do	L1, F35	
28	○ Akomédi	L1, F34	
29	○ Méchi	Aw. B.1, E27	
30	○ Balansi	L1, F37	
31	○ Mémé	L1, E34	
32	○ Akuba	L1, E30	
33	△ Akwadé	L1, E22	
34	○ Ondi		
35	△ Pwen	L1, E33	
36	△ Koniman	L1, E31	
37	○ Akuba	L1, E30	
38	○ Afuyéti	L1, F38	
39	△ Afoondo	Aw. B.1, F56	
40	○ Mélita	L1, E32	
41	○ Abiaman	L1, F39	
42	○ Téké	L1, F44	
43, 44	△ Tamu	L1, F32	
45, 46	△ Fosé	L1, F33	
47	△ Somié	L1, E24	
48	△ Popo, head of the village	L1, E23	

[622] →

Lapé Tabiki Village

№	House of	
1	○ Asamani	L1, D15
1a	Manntau	L1, E20
2	Tabiki†	
3	△ Butu	DJUKA
4	△ Sofé	L1, D13
5	○ Twa †	L1, E14
6	○ Asolda †	L1, C11
7	○ Kama	L1, E15
8	○ Adoimba	L1, E17
9	△ Maaten	L1, E18
10	△ Tyaka	L1, D16
11	○ Yundu † 1957	L2, G60
12	○ Asakundu	L2, E55
	○ Angisa	L2, F61
13	△ Anato	L2, G61

Total on January [illegible], 1958: [illegible] persons of whom 64 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

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[622]

Asisi Village--Awara Bakka Quarter

Legend

№	House of		№	House of	
1	△ Amusupé 1887	Aw. B. 1, E3	30	○ Noémi	Aw. B. 1, F51
2	△ Kondoku, village head	Aw. B. 1, E22	31	△ Empalé	DJUKA
			32	△ Antonu	Aw. B. 1, E47
3	○ Kyéti	Aw. B. 1, E30	33	○ Agyasu, her husband	
4	○ Mani	1. Afi, d12		△ Maliki,	L2, F64
5	○ Paniki	1. Afi, d13	34	○ Irma	Aw. B. 1, E37
6	△ Awéni	1. Afi, c12	35	○ Bugi	Aw. B. 1, F41
7	△ Agibidon	Aw. B. 1, E21	36	○ Akumuyé †	Aw. B. 1, D17
8	○ Akichi	Aw. B. 1, F27	37	○ Méédié	Aw. B. 3, F90
9	△ Boofo	Aw. B. 1, E31	38	○ Mona	Aw. B. 1, F50
10	○ Biyo	Aw. B. 1, F11	39	△ Mato	Aw. B. 1, E46
11	△ Matapi	1. Afi, c3	40	○ Chitalna	Aw. B. 1, F43
12	△ Béti	Aw. B. 1, F37	41	○ Lébimay	Aw. B. 1, F55
13	△ Aminto	Aw. B. 3, E74	42	○ Namu	Aw. B. 1, E48
14	○ Kuluba † 1957	Aw. B. 1, D1	43	○ Léna	Aw. B. 1, E52
15	○ Fakima	Aw. B. 2, E61	44	△ Maina	Aw. B. 1, F42
16	○ Abuyu	Aw. B. 2, E63	45	○ Lébimichi	Aw. B. 1, F27
17	○ Koluku	Aw. B. 2, E59	46	○ Amélia	Aw. B. 1, F19
18	△ Garson	Aw. B. 1, F7	47	△ Ernest	Aw. B. 1, E25
19	○ Summa	Aw. B. 3, F81	48	○ Apinda	Aw. B. 1, F16
20	○ Emma	Aw. B. 2, D25	49	△ Bésu	Aw. B. 1, F17
21	○ Titi	Aw. B. 1, E16	50	○ Kakié	Aw. B. 1, E18
22	△ Akodo	Aw. B. 2, E55	51	○ Atuku †	Aw. B. 1, E26
24	○ Saanéti	Aw. B. 2, D28	52	○ Ayékuman	Aw. B. 1, F8
25	△ Asakya	Aw. B. 2, E65	53	○ Soéfi	Aw. B. 1, F10
26	△ Kondoku (2nd house)		54	△ Dopia	Aw. B. 1, F9
27	○ Akanté	Aw. B. 3, E70	55	△ Baakaman	Aw. B. 1, F12
29	○ Kilina	Aw. B. 3, E71	56	○ Alicia	Aw. B. 1, E32

Total on January 1, 1958: 145 persons of whom 60 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

NOTA: The Awara Bakka lineage settled earliest on the island of Asisi, and when the Boni speak of Asisi village, they usually mean the quarter occupied by this lineage.

[591] Adult inhabitants of the village whose residence is not normal:

△Empalé 1905. DJUKA mother, raised by his father Péé̈yon in Asisi, remained there afterward;

△ Maliki 1928, raised by his father in Asisi, remained there afterward;

○ Delina 1931, DJUKA woman settled near her husband Maïna.

Total: 3 persons.

/36/

Papaïston Village

Legend

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№	House of		№	House of	
1	○ Bétè	P1, F19	18	○ Kumeta	P1, G1
2	○ Oben	P1, E13	19	△ Sawen	P1, E7
3	○ Dodo	P1, F11	20	○ Emilia	P1, F3
4	△ Yuso	P1, E16	21	△ Galmo	P1, E15
5	○ Kaimen	P1, E14	22	○ Hélène	P1, F2
6	○ Agodéuman	P1, F10	23	○ Gou	P1, F6
7	○ Mili	P1, F20	24	△ Afay †	
8	○ Donasi † 1957	P1, E36	25	○ Puti	P2, F71
9	○ Aweten	P1, E10	26	○ Ondi	P1, F49
10	○ Adoudu	P1, H61	27	○ Alipey	P1, F47
11	△ Tofanié, village head	P1, E12	28	○ Dopi	P1, G40
12	△ Tolinge	P1, E11	29	△ Agodéba	P1, E1
13	○ Efa	P1, D4	30	○ Tolna	I. Tolna
14	△ Agoundé	P1, F4	31	○ Apouinbi	I. Tolna
15	△ Dudu	P1, F18	33	△ Apoyu	I. Tolna
16	○ Kokoyo	P1, F9	34	○ Bendye	P1, F12
17	○ Wilhelmina	P1, F1	35	△ Mangeto	P1, F20

[622]

Total on January 1, 1958: 83 persons, of whom 36 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

No outsider to the lineage lives in the midst of the Papaïston; the members of the Tolna lineage live isolated at the southern end of the village.

613 /59 cont./
621 except in villages like Boniville where the issue of several lineages
[591] coexist. The rule is that in the homogeneous villages the members of the lineage are entirely free to build their houses anywhere. One observes only a certain tendency of children to group themselves around their mother as far as places are available (see especially in the village of Loka the intermingling of the homes of the descendants of Adédumi, Awénkina, and other ancestresses belonging to the same lineage).

In villages like Asisi-Awara Bakka, where are grouped the members of a lo including individualized fractions, it is the same.

These fractions have no tendency whatever to form separate quarters (see in the plan of Asisi the intermingling of the homes of the Aw.B.1, 2, 3) any more than they tend to group their clearings in a separate area.

The Boni are apt to say: "Barriers must not be raised between brothers."

621 In a general way, examination of the village plans shows
425 that the Boni build their houses to suit themselves without any privileged orientation and without grouping or isolating them in any special way. Any member of the lineage may build on a site left free (for example, the site of an old hut after the death of its owner, when it has been adjudged to be too ruined to be possi-
[622] ble to give as a legacy). He must only have the authorization of the head of the village and also the assent of the neighbors, whom he must not disturb. Since the houses occupy only a small amount of space and most of them have no outbuildings (kitchen
[578] or granary), this assent is very easily given. We have never heard it said that people argued about a site.

361
504 /102 cont./
613 meet the clearings of the people of another lineage; a de facto
423 boundary is thus created, which is henceforth respected.

621 On the other hand, several farming villages of one lineage
241 may have their clearings totally intriqués /entangled/ (this is
613 the case, for example, with the ones of the Antons and Adiiso
423 habitations). This conforms to the rule of joint possession of the land within the lineage.

621 Organization. The group in a farming habitation is brought to-
241 gether by mutual affinities, and has no hierarchy other than that
602 which springs from kinship ties: authority of the mother over her
592 daughters; authority of the "uncles" over the "nephews."
/103/ The grouping which conforms most to the matrilineal structure of the Refugee Blacks is made up of an old woman, her unmarried sons, her daughters and her daughters' daughters, their husbands coming to help at the time of the clearings but not belonging to the group. Often it is this old woman who directs the habitation, but often also it is an old uncle, her classificatory brother, who has worked with her for a long time. Sometimes this old woman has come to live with her daughters on the habitation founded by her husband.

103 Some of the habitations bear men's names, others women's
423 names. The name which prevails may be completely at variance
592 with the real rights exercised over the land (Ex.: name of Adiiso given to the habitation of his wife where Adiiso has no right at
[613] all). That has no great importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks, the only important thing being collective possession of the land by the lineage.

621 For groups which are relatively numerous and brought to-
241 gether more by mutual affinities than by kinship ties, the mini-
622 mum of authority necessary for good feeling and the organization of the work is brought to bear by the founder. For example,

/103 cont. /

621 Atikati exercised authority by this right over the disparate group
622 around him, and at his death he bequeathed this function to his
241 sister Adyidya.

Likewise Antonu exerts undisputed authority over three
(613) groups of the Awara Bakka lo settled at the mouth of the Inini,
for it was he who took the initiative of creating an establishment
at this place. If there is any dispute, it is he who will defend
the rights of the Awara Bakka lineage.

622 The authority exercised by the founder of the farming
habitation is not brought to bear in material living, which re-
mains subject to the strictly individualistic principles of the
Refugee Blacks. He cannot require anyone to help him make his
clearings or do any work whatever on his behalf.

361 Farming Habitations of the Awara Bakka lo
241 (Antonu, Adiso, Kakyé)
613 in the Neighborhood of the Confluence with the Inini

621 These habitations work soil whose first user was Antonu, of
241 the Awara Bakka lo (fraction I), which is regarded as belonging
(613) to that lineage. Antonu settled there in 1945 (he was finding that
[423] there were too many people farming the lands near Assisi).

To insure his rights, Antonu put on his land two groupings
621 whose situations are very different:
241 1) In his own habitation he installed his wife Asakundu, and
542 around her he made up the work group commonest among the
423 Refugee Blacks: group formed by the mother, her sons and
[496] daughters, the daughters' husbands coming to help at the time of
the /104/ clearings. But it is important to note that this group
has no right at all over the land: if Antonu and his wife ever
separate, the wife's group will leave the habitation.

/111 c[illegible]/

361
241
613

Habitation of the Dju Lo
in the Neighborhood of the Mouth of the Inini

621 Structure of the Atikati habitation (Dju lo). Important habitation
241 founded by Atikati, of the Dju lo, possessing an extended forage
[613] fragmented into several blocks on both banks of the Lawa.

This habitation has an abnormal composition, for Atikati
[423] worked there with his daughters, which is contrary to custom,
[476] and with friends.

• 622 Atikati directed the village with his old friend Bernardin (K1, D62), † in 1956, who was the son of a man of the Dju lo and had lived among the Dju since childhood.

621 The basic group of this habitation is made up of people
241 of the Dju lo. Since Atikati's death (1955), his sister Adyidya
613 (Dju, [illegible]19) has directed the village.
[622] Members of the Dju lo:

♀ Adyidya
♀ Baawé (Dju, E13) } both without living children
♂ Loko (Dju, F39)
♂ Atikati worked with his daughters and granddaughter:
♀ Wilèlmina (P1, F1);
♀ Kumata (P1, G1), daughter of Wilèlmina.

To this group were added in 1957:
♂ Bernardin (K1, D62), raised with the Dju;
♀ Asumé (Dip. I, F2), daughter of △ Bernardin and ○ Min[illegible]en †.

Finally, two Kotika women married to Djuka asked for
[423] permission to settle there and have their clearings cut there.
But they have no right at all over the land:
♀ Nèlla (K1, D44);
Mawé (K1, E35), her daughter.

Gifferault--246 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 588 Bush Negroes 588
Boni

/163 cont./

764 About 5:00 P.M. the coffin arrives at the cemetery wharf and is given over to the Kamii. No other rite is carried out. It is placed at the bottom of the grave; a layer of round logs separates it from the pile of earth which is put back on top. The burial is finished about six o'clock.

Notes taken at the burial of Way in Kormotibo (January 25, 1957) (1st day after death).

I arrive in Kormotibo at nine o'clock. There are two dead people in the village: Sokodo, 37 years old, who is to be buried the next day, and Way, 65, who died in Maripasoula and whose body was transported the day before.

764 When we moored, I noticed at the south end of the village the bearers of Sokodo's coffin, alone and immobile. Arriving near the mortuary shed, I find Captain Kondoku, who presides over the Ifati kuutu, and Captain Poopu, head of the village. Kondoku tells me that he is in the act of proceeding to a new test on Sokodo; he has just had two young men hidden, M... and G...., and the dead man is called upon to find them without hesitation.

I look around us. There is nobody nearby; a few women are attending to their occupations, indifferent to a scene observed many a time. It seems as though Kondoku is doing that for himself alone.

The coffin-bearers appear, coming from the other end of the village. Without hesitation they go toward the mortuary shed, enter it, and the end of the coffin stops before the hammock covered with a large mosquito net spread to the ground, where Way's widower, the Saramaka Gamba, is seated.

To my great surprise I see two young men go out. Nothing revealed their presence under the hammock, and Kondoku, who was talking with me, has neither said nor done anything which could direct the bearers. Nobody present could have

/364 cont./

796 happen to him, may it pass to one side. Thus we have come
769 to pour (the water) to beg you to protect the village. The year
539 has changed today, it is a new year. May we have money and food, we beg of you, ancestors; watch over our plantings, may they prosper, may the young women who fish at the wharf catch fish."

"All the captains pour (the water), the fiskal, the majors pour (3) for all the lineages; protect the villages."

[184] [622]

3. Honorific titles imitated from the Djuka but which, among the Boni, do not really mean anything; the head of Kormotibo village bears the title fiskal and the one of Kotika village the title major.

Fustman:

"The people who have pure hearts, protect them, big and small. But the people whose hearts are not good, who do evil spells to kill others and decrease the village, we do not pray for them; fuwa them out."

"Watch over the grand man; if something happens to him, it must not be said that we, the people who are seated there, have not prayed well. Great ancestors, we supplicate you, if we were on the point of meeting misfortune, that we may find the good."

(They begin to pour the safta.)

/365/ "Grand Man Awensay ...." (Thanks follow for a trip which was carried out without hindrance.)

Libiman:

"May the grand man live long with us, may misfortune not happen to him."

Ah, but they knew each other. 484

Bayo began paddling faster to keep up with him.

"There is to be a council meeting at Gankwe. I had to hurry away last night, and I must get back there in time. We must have permission from the spirit of the dead man to go back to work, and Sedefo has to find out if he can start up the river, and if he does go, we must all pray to the ancestors because four men will be going from Gankwe, and the *Gran Sembe*—the village elders—have things to decide . . ." 633 775 [782]

Now, fearing that he might have said too much, he doubled his speed, and Bayo understood that the other preferred to be alone. They belonged to different clans, Bayo to the same as the headman of the tribe, and the Gankwe people to another. Gankwe was sending important men to take the Bakra up the river. The chief's own brother, Asikanu, was to go, although it was said he was being sent out of the way while his adultery case was being settled. There had been talk about this case up and down the river. The Gankwe clan head had given a chief's sanctuary to the offender because he was his own brother, people said. Well, if the injured husband committed suicide as he threatened, and sent a kunu to the family of the brother, and even the village and clan, it would be an ugly thing. But so it was with trouble about women. It was as they said, [684] [718]

> "*Sleep is death*
> *Woman kills man.*" [538]

He half chanted the proverb and smiled, for he looked forward to his trip up the river with an eye to a visit in Lamé, where the women knew how to love. And he began singing the seketi song which he liked so well. Both the melody and the words were old, but he sang the refrain as if it were quite his own—whatever hardships there were on the river, at Lamé one slept with the women! 831

At the village of Akunkun an old man and a boy of about nine were at the landing place ready to start. Bayo 484

AT THE COURT OF THE GRANMAN

Two of its walls were of the plaited palm fronds which were 344
entwined into so pleasant a pattern on the houses of the 353
Bush Negroes. The side walls, however, were carpentered of slats which formed a paling, and over this the slanting roof hung. Through the spaces between the slats we could see the brown feet of the passing villagers, an occasional flare of a gay tunic, or a corner of a man's cloth. Occasionally the big eyes of a child who had wandered over to the paling peered through, to see what was happening inside. Through the slats of the wall nearest to the Granman's house we saw tall earthen jars resting on a plank. There [815] were perhaps four of them, all of varying sizes, and these held creek and river water to which the magic properties of weeds and incantations had been added.

The purposes of these slats were manifold. Not everyone 344
could sit within the council house when the tribal chiefs 293
gathered. Only those whose rank qualified them appeared [354] inside when court was held. But to those sitting quietly outside those palings which formed the side walls of the house, what was spoken inside was clearly audible, and it was thus that many listened for the decisions which they awaited. Then, too, since this was an enclosed council house and when the door was open a plaid cloth hung over the doorway to insure privacy, the only light which penetrated came through these openings in the side walls. The eaves hung low, barring much of the light that might have come through the palings, and this allowed but the grayest flicker even at midday and brought into the council house the atmosphere which symbolized to them the cool of morning. The word "cool" was their image for peace, and health, and fairness, and deliberation, and justice. Inside the council house, then, was a light which "cooled the [827] heart," for heart and head are synonymous to the Bush Negro when he speaks of emotional states.

It was not a large house, and it appeared smaller because 344
of the many furnishings that were in it. Against the wall 352
facing the door a number of magnificently carved benches lay on their sides, one on top of the other, there obviously

Chapter XI

THE COUNCIL OF THE ELDERS

1

GRANMAN Yankuso's day began before the break of dawn. When the day was at its coolest men's hearts were cool, people said here on the river, and when hearts were cool they could be trusted with weighty matters. But long before men came to stand outside the Granman's house advising with him as he lay in his hammock, the women arrived to report in low monotones the happenings of the previous day, and to take orders for the one to follow.

Lying in our hammocks in the council house, separated from the speakers by the wall of palings and perhaps five feet of clearing, we could hear voices outside from a little after three in the morning, until with the coming day the soft footfalls died down and gave way to the sound of stamping mortars and the cries of children recalling their mothers from early tasks.

What was being said outside we could not hear, but as the days wore on we learned to recognize the voices of the speakers. We learned to know from the rapid, contradicting flow of words which followed upon one of the Granman's orders, that it was his principal wife who spoke, or from the halting, crooning phrases, the voice of his eldest daughter, who had mastered her father's gentlest intonations and now of a morning brought them forth as though she were speaking her lesson. We learned to know as well the range and intensity of the subdued grunts with which

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194 the Granman punctuated the pauses of the men, though not often their meaning.

623 But whatever the reports of the women, and the commands given by the Granman, the word for white man interspersed all of the morning's recitals, and the questions of the Granman and the answers often came fast.

Of the men, the Granman asked little. They came up in pairs usually, and now one, now the other took up the report. Clan names were spoken, and occasionally a village name was mentioned, but on the morning preceding the council of the chiefs, only one village was discussed, and one clan. The name of the village was the forbidden one where we had stopped for the night against the Granman's orders, and the clan was that of one group of our paddlers.

3

594 Early on the morning after our arrival at Asindopo Lantiwe, our paddlers came to see us in the council house. The Granman was busy outside his own house with the chiefs who had gathered for the council meeting, and these men who, like ourselves, were strangers here, came as comrades of an adventurous journey to visit with us and talk over the impressiveness of our reception and the allure of the women of the Granman's village, who were famous everywhere on the river. It was a village where chastity among the girls was closely watched, and where its women were given in marriage to the most influential men on the river.

[831] [912]

302 291 The men were gotten up splendidly. Their bodies glistened with oil, their cloths were made of the long strips, pieced together by their women, and of patterns which the sun's rays had had no chance to pale. Sedefo's was particularly fine, we thought, but he assured us that it did not compare with the one the river had claimed. His cloth was also made of strips, but the stitching which connected them was a lacy weave, worked in triangles, and made to resemble the vertebrae of a snake. The border was of triangular

REBEL DESTINY

623 Our paddlers rose at once and left the council house. A
643 moment later And'u entered, followed by a group of elders
[291] with closely drawn kerchiefs covering their heads. Among these only Kasanya and Bibifo were known to us. Kasanya brought his bench close to ours and moved it yet closer, with a gesture of the head that he wanted to continue the intimacy of our ten days' journey together.

"White man," he said, leaning over and whispering, "call your man from the city. At a krutu a man has someone to speak for him. So we do here."

576 And so, we soon saw, it was. Address in the council of the
623 Saramacca people was always by indirection. If the Gran-
643 man wished to speak to one of his chiefs, then he gave his message through another chief, though the man for whom the words were intended might be closer to him or more clearly in view.

643 Others came in, until the room was half filled when the
623 Granman entered. Today he wore a printed red and black
[292] loose coat of knee length, and over it the ceremonial cloth
302 worn by men here in the bush, so that where other men's
291 bare shoulders showed was the sleeve of his coat. On his head were both kerchief and sun helmet. The men were anointed with oil, and many of them wore the jaguar's tooth obia. The last to enter was a man who was well past middle age, and he was followed by the young obiaman from S'ei. Both of these men wore the cloths required of men when not at work, but they were not so uncreased, or so new. Nor were their bodies bright with oil. The older man had several broad stripes of white clay from wrist to shoulder of his right arm, and from knee to pelvis on the inner left thigh. Slung from one shoulder and reaching across to the opposite thigh was a white obia made of native fiber, and on his neck were several others. To these
[289] obias were added iron bands on his arms, while below his right knee and at the ankle of his right foot were other obias made of fiber and twisted black thread.

623 The men we knew greeted us as they took down their benches and found places against the wall farthest from the

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Granman's chair, and the Granman sent the dark flame of his eyes into all the corners of the house to verify the bassia's statement that all were there. The krutu was about to begin.

3

Discussion among the Bush Negroes is the close companion of authority, and both are symbolized in the word *krutu*. Krutu is at once court and parliament, and whether it was that two Bush Negroes wished to discuss the proffered price for a carved paddle, or whether the Granman and his elders met to assess a penalty against a recalcitrant village, the term applied was the same—krutu.

We had had no little experience ourselves with krutu by the time we reached Asindopo Lantiwe. When our paddlers came to us again and again to suggest added fees for the journey upstream, they came to krutu with us. When at Gankwe it had been decided that Sedefo and his three companions might go with us, it was a krutu, and at Pa'aba when the men "went to one side" and decided we were not to be brought to the village where men whose spirits were strong danced Kromanti, it was again krutu. There were, too, the innumerable krutu in the villages on the way when we asked to buy carvings or obias or fish traps.

Now when the question was being decided formally whether we would be permitted to stay here on the upper river, it was again a krutu.

To understand what was implied in the term, how the Bush Negro himself regarded it, what the etiquette surrounding it was, and how it was integrated into the life of these people, it was necessary to range far and wide over this bush civilization. At the core of this word we found two ideas. One was the necessity of direction. "When the boat lacks a steersman, it sleeps quietly," these people say of a village whose chief is dead. Direction, authority was their legacy from Africa. Their ancestors had known the rule of dynasties, and the power of men who reigned.

But there was also the idea of the importance of free discussion, the need to weld authority and the will of those

some action was decided upon by the krutu, the several bassias were entrusted with its execution. Most villages had at least one woman bassia, and she was responsible to the village head for the behavior of the women. If food was to be gathered for a festival, if the village was to be cleaned for a special occasion like a visit to the village of strangers, it was she who saw that the work was done properly. If there were disputes between two women, it was she who carried the news to the village head, and she who transmitted his censure or decision, if the affair was not of sufficient gravity to warrant the calling together of the old men.

"Do the women talk in the big krutu?" we asked Bassia Anaisi, of the Granman's village.

"No, not in krutu. But they talk plenty at home."

The bassia, we learned, had other duties. He was not only the messenger of his chief, he was also his official spokesman at krutu, and his intermediary in all matters of authority. If a council of the village was to be called, it was he who announced this to the men. When the men had gathered, it was not the chief who spoke, but the bassia who propounded the questions at issue. It was for this reason that Kasanya had leaned over and advised us to call for our town man.

Krutu, we learned, were of two types. Every village had its "*G'a Sembe*"—its council of the older men—who acted as an advisory body to the village captain, and the "*Lanti Krutu*," the meeting of all the men of the village. In this latter general assembly rested the final decisions.

Any important issue involving the village would be handled in two krutu, the g'a sembe krutu, and the lanti krutu. In this big lanti krutu where all the man were represented the bassia would speak the words of the chief and of the old men, and then the people would "go aside." This going aside was the concomitant of every consultation, no matter how informal the group or how unimportant the question which was being considered.

"*We go asri,*" we would be told when the question arose how far we would travel on any given day, or when we urged a reluctant man to sell a ceremonial bench with which he was loath to part. When the answer came back, it came as a unanimous decision of those most concerned. The members of his family had talked over their need for money and weighed that against his personal love for the object he had carved, and most often the decision was against his disposing of it. He cared for it, that meant it pleased his ak'a, his soul, and of what worth was money when it was a question of displeasing his soul, which might begin to trouble him?

"Bak'a, if we cut off our heads and sell them, then if we buy hats, where will we put them?"

So it was in kruto. The lasti, the people, discussed what the bassis had said, as they went apart in small groups. From time to time, a bassis would be called to join one group and then another. What did the chief have in mind when he said this, or that? What did the old men think the consequence would be of the action under discussion? Was it desirable for the village to take a slight, and do nothing at this time? Was it necessary to arrange a compromise, instead of taking the matter into their own hands and beating the members of the offending clan?

After this discussion, each group came back to the assembly united in its stand. If all the groups were agreed, the matter was ended, and the wisdom of the chief and his councilors prevailed. If all disagreed, then it would have been temerity indeed for a chief to attempt to impose his will against the massed dissent. But if there was a lack of agreement, then the long debates would commence. Man after man would summon all his oratory to the argument, and for hours the various factions would speak. In the end, the will of the group would be swayed one way or the other, and a decision reached.

But this was only the procedure in the lowest assembly—that of the village. As men grew older and their sons and

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their nephews took up the dancing for the gods, their interests were directed more and more toward the clan rule.

"I do not dance any more," Sedefo had told us, "My sons dance Kromanti now. I must do now what is expected of a man of my years. I must see that our people act wisely in all things which touch this world, and the world of our ancestors."

A clan krutu was a self-sufficient unit made up of members whose maturity fitted them for looking after the worldly and supernatural welfare of their people, for in the larger organization of the tribe it was the clans who stood one with another in perfect equality to complete the whole—the Saramacca people.

The chieftain of the principal village of the clan was the clan head. In him was vested the right to speak for the large grouping, and in the krutu which he conducted the etiquette approached that of the tribal krutu in its intricacy. The village where the clan head lived was inhabited predominantly by his people. In other villages on the river his people might be one of several clan groups. Several villages were inhabited by three or even four clan groups, each of which had its own captain. But such villages were not the seats of clan heads. Where a clan chief ruled would be not only the clan krutu house, but the shrines raised to the important dead of the clan, the clan ancestors whose spiritual powers to help and advise the living were as great as the feats they had accomplished when alive. Here, too, at the village where the clan head lived would be the shrines to the gods who had the clan under their special protection. Above all, here under the direction of the chief were not only those who guided the worldly destinies of the clan, but those who knew how to control the supernatural forces. Here were the obias owned by the clan, those spiritual and unique healing powers whose magic would respond only to the will of clan members who had undergone the training which taught them to operate those forces their ancestors had left for them.

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SRS Bush Negroes SRS
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assemblies such as were reported from the Awka people 631
on the Marowyne were here not called regularly. There 619
was no central body here to make decisions. The autonomy of village and clan seemed almost unquestioned. There were, to be sure, clan alliances, but these bore more directly on the factions which had formed to control the choice of the next headman. At this krutu, therefore, which had just 627
gathered, there were Captain Sungi, head of the Kasito or 623
Dahomey clan, and And'u, the able chief of the Dombi people, and the headman of the Popoto people, and the headman of the Anago. But Fandya of Baikutu who headed the Nasi people was not there, nor were the Awana people represented, nor the Alabaisa, nor Kwama, nor Bi'ito, nor Fandaki, to cite some examples. Of the missing chiefs, several of them lived a considerable distance from the seat of the Granman, and indeed had been to his village but few times.

"Ai, men must krutu," Kasanya had told us one day 627
on the river. "If a few men decide, then the others have anger in their hearts. That is not good. When the lanti meets, and all men talk, then those who came with anger cool their hearts. Talk is good."

And another time, Sedefo had found occasion to quote the proverb, "If you have not settled one thing, you cannot go on to the second." The best way was to talk things over until all men saw that what was proposed was good or bad.

4

In the krutu house of Asindopo Lantiwe the Granman 623
began to speak. 574

"Mati—friends—the white man has come. He sits there. 643
With him is his wife. She is there beside him. The man from the white man's city has come. He is there. He will speak for the white man. The white man has a cook. The cook is outside."

"So it is, G'aman," said Captain Sungi.

"Mati, the white man came. All who come to me must eat. The white man must eat."

"True, true, master of the realm."

REBEL DESTINY

623 574 643 "Bassia," said the Granman, as he turned to the young man who had come to announce the krutu to us, "go and tell the lanti the white man has come. Tell the lanti the white man must be fed. All who come to this place must eat. Tell the people they must hunt and fish. Let them bring their kill to us here. Let them bring the fish they catch in their traps. Let all know, and may the gods favor their hunting."

"Ai, clever master," came the response, as the bassia left to issue the orders of the Granman.

623 648 "Bak'a," he said, turning to us, "you come from the city of the white man. The G'aman of the white man, in the white man's city, two moons ago, sent a message to us. It is here." He rose from his chair, and reached for several envelopes which were inserted in the chains of the hanging lamp. "What has been written, we cannot read. You know the writing that white men know. Read what the G'aman of the white man has said."

We opened the letter, with its great official seal. In it was a message from the Governor of the Colony, telling Granman Yankuso of our projected trip to the country of the Saramacca people, asking that we be received by him at his village. All this was read in its translation and transmitted to the Granman by our town man. As he spoke, it was the Granman who punctuated his pauses with the ceremonial affirmations.

"So it is."

"So I hear."

"It is as I know."

All listened attentively to the reading of the letter, and when it was concluded, the Granman turned to the members of the krutu.

"Captain Awagi, when I go to the white man's city, word is sent on ahead so that the people of the city know when the G'aman of the Saramacca people comes. So it is in the bush. When a white man comes to the bush, it is well that from the white man's city they tell me who is coming."

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THE COUNCIL OF THE ELDERS

"Kodo!"

"Another letter has come, Bak'a. Will you read that one, too?"

This was a communication written by a lumber factor down the river. One of the villages, it seemed, was in dispute with another over timber rights. The case was laid before the Granman by the factor, who asked that the controversy be settled promptly, since the dispute was keeping the men of both villages from cutting the lumber which had been promised him.

Yankuso now spoke again: "You have heard the message, friends. The man who buys timber asks that I settle this dispute between two of our clans. Their villages are far from here. The clans of the Saramacca people can settle their own disputes."

"Gbolo!"

"So I say, friends. I can look at the cows, but from a distance I cannot tell how many there are. It is not for us here to decide this."

"*Kweti, kweti!*—No, no!"

"It is true, friends, as the Saramacca people say, 'The G'aman's breasts are for all his children.' But it is not my children who have come to me. Bak'a," he said, suddenly turning to us, "later you will write for me to this man who buys lumber. Tell him that for the sake of sweet soup a man eats sour dumplings. So I say."

The Granman looked about him. The heat of midday filled the darkness of the council house, and old Bibifo had dozed off. The gaze of the chief fixed him.

"Mati!" he said, when Bibifo stirred. "Sleep is death!"

Slowly the Granman's eyes circled the room until they came to us.

"The Bak'a has come," he repeated, with his slow intonation, every syllable clearly enunciated. "When the Bak'a came, the rain fell. From Asindopo Lantiwe we shot guns of welcome, from Abendá Konde guns were shot. In the heavens, the gods spoke them welcome. There was thunder."

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643 "True, true, G'aman."

821 "Captain And'u, the gods sent the rain to cool every-
716 thing when the Bak'a came. The gods of the river carried
623 the Bak'a without mishap. We have heard of what the Bak'a has done. He has been at your country, at S'ei. He says he comes to learn. He says he does not come to buy wood or to work gold. What he says is good. Yet a full creek does not clear the bank of weeds. Tell us what the Bak'a did in your country, Captain And'u."

609 "The Bak'a came to S'ei. All that was there he looked
123 at. He walked about the village. His woman talked to our
623 women. The Bak'a spoke with our men. He asked about the obias in the krutu house. His woman asked our women about their gods. What was the name of the wife of the Gran Gadu, he wanted to know."

With every sentence, came the affirmation of the chief.

"So I know."

"So it is."

"By Ando!"

"So I heard."

And'u continued. "The Bak'a knows the land of the Negroes—*a sabi Afrika*. With him he has a great book. In it he has pictures."

"True, true."

"There are pictures of obias."

"Ya-hai!"

"There are pictures of the Kromanti houses."

"So it is!"

"There are pictures of people who have the gods."

"*Kweti-kweti*—No, no!"

"Yet pictures in S'ei the Bak'a did not make. The Bak'a said, 'If your ancestors tell you not to talk, do not talk. But when you talk, do not lie!' That which we did not wish to be done he would not do, his woman would not do."

"Gbolo!" exclaimed the Granman, "this is as I have heard. Now the Bak'a has come up the river. His woman has light hair, she is as our Toné people. The river has
[976] treated the Bak'a well. The gods of the river have let the Bak'a pass.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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Bak'a pass. Friends, the river is more than I am. . . . Let us hear what the Bak'a has done on the river. Friend Kasanya, you have traveled with the Bak'a. Speak of what he has done."

"It is as Captain And'u has said," Kasanya began, "what was forbidden, the Bak'a did not do."

The Granman interposed an objection.

"I sent a message to the Bak'a by the husband of my daughter. To him I said, speak to the Bak'a, say that at all villages on the Saramacca you will be received. But two villages have not walked well with the G'aman. At those you will not stop. Yet at one of them the Bak'a stopped."

"So it is, cunning master. This was how it happened. Darkness was falling. Everywhere was the big bush. A storm was on its way."

"So I know."

"There were no other villages near. The next one could only be reached after dark. There were bad rapids ahead."

"So I understand."

"The Bak'a woman was in the boat. To make camp before the storm came was not possible. We had a krutu. We spoke with the Bak'a. The Bak'a said we must go where we could find a roof."

The Granman grunted, was silent for a moment, then took up the story.

"Friends, night overtook the white man in the bush. He had a woman with him. The men said they could not make camp at night. The white man took his woman to where there was shelter. Into the village he did not go. At the first house he slept. Early in the morning he left. He does not know the river. The men brought him at dark to the forbidden village. The gods sent a great wind when the Bak'a crossed the river to show their displeasure, but the Bak'a and his woman they did not harm. The gods took it into their hands. The gods are more than I am."

"So it is, G'aman."

"Friends, the children of the bush know what is done in the bush. Yet a man's lips must speak for himself. Let

609 the Bak'a himself tell why he has come the long way to the
603 Saramacca river and what it is he seeks."
123 There was a general chorus of agreement, and silence awaited our accounting.

As the town man began to repeat our words to the Granman, the quiet of the house was heightened by an occasional stirring outside the paling. From where we sat, we could see brown motionless feet, which told us that there were many more than those inside, who were listening to the white man's reason for being in the bush.

Again the Granman made the traditional responses.

"So it is, white man."

"True, what you have said, bassia."

Finally our telling was at an end. Again there was a silence as we sat, tensely waiting.

The Granman again broke the silence.

"Friends, chiefs, you have heard. The white man is here. He comes to learn of our life. The gods of the river have
[906] brought him and his woman safely. The Great God sent the
[821] rain to cool the air when he reached Asindopo Lantiwe.
[893] The gods are more than I am. The river is more than I am. But the Saramacca people are also more than I am. It is you, headmen of the Saramacca people, who must speak."

"Ai, G'aman," said the man who had the stripes of white on him and who wore the many obias. "But have the ancestors spoken?"

"Truly you ask, friend," was the response. "It is well that you think of these things. In the bush, we think before we speak. Do you go aside and consider well."

Slowly the members of the krutu arose from their
[576] benches. Softly, with bent form, each passed out of the doorway. We were alone with the Granman, who waited with us for the reply of the chiefs.

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623 As the elders slowly filed out of the council house, it was
693 as though a jury were leaving the courtroom to decide a case which had been laid before it. And as we learned more,

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we found that for the krutu to act as a jury was an important part of its work. The krutu not only saw to the making of law, but it was also the medium for levying penalties upon those who transgressed law. The same krutu that legislated could judge infractions of its legislation. In its hands was the power to enforce the decisions it had made against the offender. 623 693

We had wondered whether, in this Suriname bush, the African court which so characterized the civilization of the ancestors of these people had survived. When we heard of the supernatural vengeance which followed upon infractions of custom, we sought to find out if people took the matter of punishment into their own hands, if kunu was reinforced by human assistance. 623 693 681

"Ai, mati," a chief once said to us, "kunu is strong, but the krutu is strong, too."

If a man had sworn an oath against another, had called down upon another a curse of some evil spirit, or asked that the gods make a man impotent, or that they stop the womb of his wife from conceiving, or if a man murdered by means other than witchcraft, then he was judged by a krutu. A man who had destroyed a canoe belonging to another—a serious offense, for, as the Bush Negro says, "Had our forefathers not had the wisdom to build canoes, we would still be slaves to the Bak'a"—he, too, would come before this court. The adulterer would be brought here for the assessment of his fine. [683] [685] [684]

When the krutu sat as a court, the accused was not without the right of defense. If it were thieving, or adultery, or the telling of falsehoods, or trespass, or the destruction of the property of another, where the kunu involved was not of the greatest, then the case was judged on the basis of the evidence. In the court, the interests of the one who was accused were cared for by one of the elders of his *mbe*, his relative and a fellow member of his own great family. But when the crime was one of the greater ones, then methods other than the sole use of testimony were employed. Evidence was necessary, but evidence was not 623 695

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623 enough if the accused persisted in denying such crimes.
695 In that case he called upon the gods to witness that the sin of which he was accused had not been committed by him, and this called for trial by ordeal.

695 The ordeal as a judicial measure was not unknown to our own civilization. In Africa it flourished in the native courts before the coming of the white man, and, it is whispered, still persists in the Suriname bush. The facts as we tell them, we cannot vouch for from our own experience. They were given us independently by two men who have spent many years among the Saramacca people, men who speak the language fluently and who for long periods have lived in this big bush of the Saramacca tribe. Other facts which they told us we had been able to corroborate. These whispers, however, we could not check, for few Bush Negroes would admit that they knew anything of the ordeal.

One way of trial by ordeal was to "*bebe so'i*," to drink the oath. It was utilized in accusations of witchcraft and sorcery. The priests and the elders prepared a drink of deadly poison. Over it magic incantations were pronounced by the obia men. The oath of innocence was taken, and the accused drank. If the potion was retained and the man died, his guilt had been proved, but if the drink was vomited, he was innocent. What his redress was if he were proved not guilty, we were not able to discover.

"If a man is guilty of *wisi*—of evil magic," our friend said, when he told us the story, "he would be afraid of the oath. When it came time to drink, no matter how brave he was, he would confess."

695 Then there was the proof offered in adultery cases,
684 described to us by the other man who knew the ways of the Saramacca folk. When both man and woman who had been accused of misconduct denied their guilt, the procedure this man had witnessed was this. The woman was made to kneel before the assembled krutu of the village. While she knelt there, a buzzard's feather was put into water, in a calabash of the kind they call gubi, and the water was

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treated with obia. An obia man now addressed the woman who denied the charge that had been lodged against her, restating the accusation and her denial. Then he asked her once more if she were guilty, and when the answer was still "No," the test was applied. 695 684

Through the woman's tongue the quill of the feather, which had been treated with magic, was thrust. When the entire length of the feather had passed through the tongue, then it was that the proof was had. If the woman's tongue neither swelled nor showed blood, she was innocent.

But whether it be trial by ordeal or through the taking of testimony, punishment by the krutu went along with punishment by the spirits. Only incest, we learned, was not punishable by the court. That was for kunu alone to avenge.

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Once more the krutu was in session. Where the men had "gone aside," we did not know, but while we sat in the krutu house, alone with Moana Yankuso, we heard nothing. 623 123 574

The Granman had spoken little. Were our hammocks tied well the night before? Were we satisfied with the arrangements he had made for the storing of our supplies?

What were the elders deciding? We could not but wonder with anxiety. Would this krutu, after the fashion of the bush, where time meant so little, come to no decision? Was the answer to be one that had been previously arranged?

Chief Sungi was the first to speak.

"G'aman, we have gone aside. Your captains and bassias have spoken together. We say, the white man has come. The white man must eat. Let all be told to bring gifts, that you may feed those who have come to you."

"So it is," was the Granman's response. "Friends, great thanks to you. What you have said is good. Let all return to their villages. Let all tell their people that the white man has come. Let all come with gifts, that we may eat."

There was a chorus of affirmations. The Granman arose.

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"White man," he said, "I have told the young men to hunt, I have told them to fish. My captains, who are here, are going to their villages. You have heard. Their women will come with rice. The young men will bring their kill. So it is in the bush. So G'aman Yankuso holds those who come to him."

As the elders, each with his word of leave taking, left the house to us, we thought of the Granman's last words and of the verdict of the krutu. We had sat long enough in this assembly to realize the circumlocution which went with all statement, and we tried to decipher the cryptic words of the chiefs. Was it a verdict at all? Or was it merely a way of refusing to come to any decision when the white man sat in the krutu which was deciding the fate of his visit? That the decision would be reflected in the attitude of the people of the village seemed reasonable to suppose. And so, drawing aside the curtain which hung over the door, we went out into the open square before our house to see what the krutu had decided.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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Chapter XV

THE ARTIST OF MA'LOBBI

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WE WERE recalled to the council house for a final informal krutu with Granman Yankuso and some of his elders before the more formal leave-taking on the river bank. Our boats were being loaded and soon we should be on our way down river. With the elders were the diviners, and our friend, the bassia.

The Granman opened the krutu, greeting and addressing the men who were present, until he turned to us.

"White man, you and your woman came to my village. I held you both well. Now when you are ready to go I give you my grandson for paddler, and the chief of my village for captain of your boat. That is how we do with those who come in friendship."

Through our town man, as was the way of the krutu, we spoke our acknowledgments to him, and our regrets that our visit was ending. Through our man, the last gifts to the tribal head were tendered, and through one of the elders, the ritual expression of thanks was returned us for what we had put before the Granman.

We had two favors to ask of him. For many days we had lived in this house, and had admired the fine carvings which the council house held. In our own country, when we thought of the days on the upper Saramacca River, a piece of carving from this house would give us much pleasure. But of the elaborate carvings we did not wish to

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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deprive him. Might we buy, however, one of the simple benches from the shelf above the door, which the chiefs and we ourselves had used many times? 123 603 594 609

The one we took down had interested us for its possible ritual significance. On its top a single design was repeated four times. It was a representation of an axe-head, and the clan of Yankuso was the Matchau, the Axe Clan.

The Granman looked at the diviner. "*Fa fo do?*—What to do?" was his query.

The man he addressed murmured, "*T'obi*—Trouble."

But it was, after all, only a small and slightly ornamented bench.

"Take it!" the Granman said. "What else is it you ask?"

There was the apinti drum. In the house where objects of all peoples of the earth were brought for men and women to look at, there were none of the fine carvings the Bush Negroes make. When we returned, we would place beside the African and Indian objects which were there those of the Saramacca people. As yet, we had not been able to buy an apinti drum. This one was more beautiful than any we had seen. Could he not sell it to us, so that everyone might know that the finest of drums had come from the council house of Moana Yankuso, Granman of the Saramacca people?

This time he did not hesitate. He smiled, and shook his head.

"No, no, white man," he said, "this drum is not for me to sell. This one I cannot part with, not for all your goods. Down river, when you visit my villages, you can get an apinti which will be beautiful. When you come to the village of Akunkun, and you see Kasanya, ask him to find you an apinti. I will tell Captain Mataibo to leave a message at other villages that you want an apinti. This one no gold can buy."

This was not our first attempt to buy an apinti drum. Nor was it to be the last refusal.

Waiting, we sat in the council house while our supplies were being carried to the canoes and placed in them, until

123 Mataibo, the head of Yankuso's village, who was entrusted
623 with the safe passage of our boats, came to announce that
574 the men had done loading. Before the morning was yet
609 well advanced we left the house, and with the Granman
[554] under his umbrella, which was the highest of insignia, passed to the river bank.

Our friends were there—the bassia, and Dida, and Amasina, and the Granman's wives and his little grandson, who shouted to us, "*Waka bon, ye'e!*—Travel well, you hear!" in the best manner of his elders. Again three guns sounded, and once more we were on the river, looking up at the people of these villages of the Pikien Rio who were waving to us from the shore.

502 Going down the river was restful. The enjoyment of the easy motion of the boats was felt in the manner of the paddlers themselves. Now there was no hard poling against the heavy current. As canoes were urged on the two paddlers wielded their long blades in unison, and the dugouts swung downstream in the center of the river, where the current was heaviest. When the murmurs of the rapids ahead were heard, it was but a moment until they grew into a roar, and then, in another, we were through, the man at the front standing up for an instant so that, with a twist of his paddle, he might turn the head of the boat from any threatening rock, while the stern man did not stroke at all, but merely held the craft on the course which was marked where the water tossed itself into foam-capped waves. Sometimes, as we came to rapids where the force of the water was especially strong, or there was a sharp double curve to be negotiated, the two boats would pause for a moment while Mataibo called out to the younger men the course to follow. Then into the falls, and through them, and our bow paddler would carefully rearrange his loin cloth and sit down once more to take up his steady stroking.

123 Opposite one village Sungi came in his boat to meet us,
609 to give and receive a final gift, and say his goodbye. But
[831] it was not to the landing place of Dahomey that he took us for this interchange, but to the village of his wife, he told

she doesn't make children, then he can send her back. But most often it is the woman who goes away." 586

When the wife left the home her husband had built for her and went to her family, he had to go to her village and plead for her return, while her relations berated him soundly for his behavior toward their kin. If he had not mistreated her badly, the family would urge her to return to him, and so great would that pressure be that she would have to go. But Bayo again repeated that this did not happen often. If a woman left her husband and he failed to come for her, they were divorced. She could not remarry until three months had passed. [587]

But Bayo was more interested in marriage than in divorce, and the talk again turned to his betrothal. 584 115

His mother and her brothers had decided upon the match. His uncles had gone to the family of the girl, and talked with her mother's brothers. Her people called a family krutu to decide whether Bayo was qualified to be a suitable husband for this young member of their family.

"Were you there?"

"No. It was a krutu of her family. But I know how they talk at these krutu, for when my sister was promised in marriage my own family had a krutu, and I sat and listened. Anybody who knew anything bad about my brother-in-law or his family told of it. They talk much at these krutu. The woman you met at Djamungo talked when the men talked, and she talked when the women talked," he finished with a laugh, as though it were a relief to him to know that at least she had had no say when his girl's family had gathered to look into his own family position, and his personal habits of work, and the gifts the gods had given him. 584 115 623

At this krutu of the girl's family, Bayo had, however, been thoroughly discussed. Was he a good worker? Could he hunt well? How did he behave in strange villages? At his initiation had the gods come strong to him? Had he done anything that his wife's family would later be ashamed of?

The white man wondered about the kunu which hung over Bayo's family, the kunu of incest, the deadliest of all 776

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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a prisoner, and refusing to take the special train awaiting him at Kabel. Special trains, he said, were not for prisoners. He was paddled the additional ninety miles in his own corial, which took six days longer. Very vexed at this, the Governor did not shake hands with him, and Jankoeso was offended. "Why doesn't he tell me 'Howdy'?" he asked Mynheer Wolff, who is always instrumental in furthering friendly relations between Dutch and Djukas. Wolff called the Governor outside, and advised him to treat the Granman with more cordiality. The necessary handshaking was done, and the parley continued more affably. The guilty one was apprehended and jailed for a year. Once again there went upstream the annual present of the Dutch government to each Granman. This is a continuation of the custom of tribute money paid to the Bush Negroes ever since the days of the black rebellions. Every year each Granman receives 1500 guilders.

The Granman is the actual chief of the river nation, but the government centres in the village proper. The village is governed by a headman or *captain*, and aiding him in his work is a council or *bosseia*, consisting of three or four or more of the most mature men and women of the town. "Bosseia," like the American colloquial *boss*, comes from the Dutch word *baas*. Here the rough justice of the jungle is administered, and local disputes are settled. Here decisions are made concerning the ownership of timber, and property rights in cassava fields. Quarrels over women are more frequent than any other kind of disputes, and they, too, are settled by the village captain and his bosseia.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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622 The bosseia meet under a separate shed, specially built
623 for this purpose. The captain has a "throne," which is an
352 ornately carved stool. The one belonging to the captain of the village of Lombe was purchased and brought back to the American Museum of Natural History. The members of the bosseia, too, have ceremonial seats, with elaborately pierced carving, typically West African in design. When the occasion arises, a meeting is held and the council is seated about on these ceremonial benches to hold palaver.

622 The business is brought up. Perhaps it is a domestic quar-
623 rel—two men over one woman. The offended party rises
692 and begins exercising the Bush Negro's traditional privilege
[531] of unlimited and vociferous oratory. He details his wrongs. Grand gestures accompany the sonorous flow of words. The interested members of the village sit at a respectful distance from the captain and bosseia, and listen to the harangue. When other speakers have had their say, any inhabitant of the village may get up and give his or her opinion. Proudly the captain exercises his judicial talent, and the decision is handed down. It is not questioned.

622 The women members of the bosseia have as much power
623 as the men. It is chiefly the women who see that the ancestral
562 and village customs are enforced. They are the guardians of the ancient traditions and customs of the race. To them, also, belongs the duty of keeping the village clean. If the
[364] town needs a general cleaning, the women bosseia go about from hut to hut, telling the women to get together and perform the task.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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When there is a conflict between villages over their hunting and fishing territories, the captains and bosseias of each town meet on some neutral ground and arbitrate the matter. Then, indeed, the parley becomes wordy and rhetorical. Each cause is championed with long speeches, setting forth [537] oratorically the rights and conditions involved. But once an agreement is arrived at, the matter is closed. 622 623 692 628

Local disputes, excluding those over women, are not nearly so common or so serious as they are among civilized white men. There is a minimum of quarrelling among the Djukas; they get along together in an almost idyllic way. Wherever there are women, there will, of course, be quarrelling, for, in the words of Confucius, "Disorder does not come from heaven, but is brought about by women." Outside of this factor there is little friction in the Bush Negro community. Their highly communalized government works exceedingly well. 683 578

The Granman and his captains have an annual council to make laws for the coming year. This and other assemblies are known as *kruta*. The captains and bosseias from surrounding villages concentrate at some important town to meet the Granman there. The Council near Gansee, the trading-post, included the villages of Nu, Lombe, Biodoti, Ganya Condree, and Adawai. Jankoeso refused to hold his parley in the town proper, although Gansee is the largest village in the entire tribe, because there is a Christian mission station there, conducted by the Moravian Brothers. Jankoeso is in favour of retaining the ancestral gods of the jungle, [707] and does not look with favour upon the white proselytizers. 671 622 623

[For additional information on the judicial functions of the lãnti kuutu (the assembly of men), see also categories 692 and 693.]

/180 cont./

765 are divided up equally among all the inhabitants of the village. But if the dead person had near relatives in the village, children, nephews, or brothers, it is they who stand the main burden.

[613] Members of the dead person's lineage who are settled in other villages contribute equally to the expenses and the organizing of the festival, but in a symbolic fashion. /181/

[123] A council (kuutu) of the village inhabitants sets the date; during the two weeks preceding each one is busy. The women

765 hull and winnow rice, prepare great quantities of couac and

262 sugar-cane juice. The busimã scour the bush and have meat and fish smoked. Each one, according to his means, buys tafia, sugar, chocolate, and other articles of food liked by the Refugee Blacks.

765 The celebration of the rites occupies a whole week. This

995 is because, the Refugee Blacks think the influence of the dead person can be eliminated only progressively by the repetition of the rite of separation.

The first day, the yɔrka of the dead person whose mourning is going to be lifted is called by formulas beaten on the

[535] apinti drum. Then possession dances take place.

765 The second day is reserved for the material preparation for the ceremonies to follow.

[613] The third day, the spouse in mourning, if there is one, is conducted by the members of the dead person's lineage under

[822] the mortuary shed. He is dressed in red and is congratulated for having kept the mourning well. Then he is led to the river,

[983] and old women of the dead person's lineage begin to bathe him

[995] while adjuring the yɔrka to part company with him.

The fourth day at nightfall, all those present assemble at the mortuary shed. They recite tales (Anãsi tɔli),

[538] improvisations (mato), and riddles (ɔdo). This phase of the

[781] festival has as its object the concentrating of the attention of the hearers; it creates a warm, collective atmosphere which impregnates those present, bringing to them intense and highly colored emotions.

641 over whom it was exercised. When the ancestors of the Bush Negroes were brought to New World slavery, what [567] measure of acquiescence they showed was due to the fact that slavery was not an unfamiliar tradition to them. They knew of the war captive, or the man convicted of a serious crime, who was a slave to one of their own kind. But the experience of the white man's slavery was a crucible in which the ownership of man by man, and the unquestioning obedience which men owed to those of higher rank, were destroyed, leaving only the ideal of the life of free men. "Free!" was the way in which one Bush Negro toasted [273] another, or a white man, when he drank with him. A "*Man Nengere*," an adult Negro was, above all, a free man, and 621 it was as a freeman that he was governed, for though villages had chiefs, and there were bassias who were subordinate to chiefs, and though above the village chiefs were clan chiefs, and over them all the Granman, yet the final word rested with the members of each subsidiary body, and not with its leader.

624 Every village had its officials, and its medium for discus- 682 sions. Every clan had its head, and its old men, who, [619] sounding out the will of the clan members, consulted with that head when questions were to be decided. For the decisions affecting the entire Saramacca River, there were [643] the Granman and his krutu, before whom questions of [692] larger policy or disputes between villages were brought.

Perhaps most impressive of all was the measure of auton- 632 omy which each village had. A village, or certainly a group 614 of neighboring villages belonging to the same clan, formed 609 a small kingdom. A Bush Negro of another village who came to visit, came as any stranger, paddle in hand, his top cloth covering his loin cloth. When he found himself in a strange village on a night when a dance was being given, he did not join the dancers until after much urging by a native of that village, and then he danced little, and if he were a particularly fine dancer, he took care not to flaunt his superior gifts. The exception to this, to be sure, were the sacred dances, when a stranger, whose god came

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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to him when the drums called that god, could not be held accountable for what he did while his god had him in his control. 632 614 609

No stranger, no man who came to live in his wife's village, even though he had spent a good part of his life there, took it upon himself to offer advice to his wife's family. Again and again we would hear from men and women on the river, "In our village we do it this way," or, "We only carry the corpse on the head twice. Our spirits don't like to be troubled more often," or, "Mawu as a name for the Great God is used in our village, but not everywhere on the river." 614 602

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/67 cont./

613 554 692 [642] 2) He exerts an extended judiciary power, for it is taken for granted that the legal and political power of the tribe cannot intervene in affairs between members of the same lineage, even murder, for it can be said that in the custom of the Refugee Blacks the lineage represents only one single life.

It is obligatory that the following be settled within the framework of the lineage:

[754] --Accusations of murder by sorcery where victim and supposed murderer are both members of the lineage;

[423] --Arguments over lands within the zones effectively [578] possessed by the lineage.

613 554 692 577 The way in which the captain exercises his functions as judge is hard to know, because for the Refugee Blacks it is extremely shameful to reveal the dissensions within one's own lineage. And as for those of other lineages, if one succeeds in becoming acquainted with them, one scarcely dares talk about it for if that came to be known you could smart for it.

613 466 554 Lineage heads have a certain authority on the material level; they designate the men charged with doing the work ordered by the administration, but truth to tell, it is above all a question of choosing from among volunteers, for it is profitable work. They might not succeed in imposing clearly unpopular orders.

613 554 624 The captain designates a certain number of supervisors or basia to help him. Their /68/ role consists in watching over the cleanliness of the village, in making all the material arrangements relative to dances and burials, in calling together those concerned to the meetings of the council.

613 571 The lo constitutes a unit from the spiritual point of view, but it is important to notice that it does not involve any collective organization on the material level. In this domain the wildest individualism reigns; there are no tools for collective use, and people get together to make their clearings only if they want to.

/68 cont./

613 624 [562] The basia are the mouthpieces of the captain, and not at all deputies having specific authority over a definite fraction of the village. There are three or four per village; in addition there are one or two women basia through whom the village head commands the work reserved for the women.

613 554 241 702 The head of the lineage possesses no religious powers over the land. The Refugee Blacks assume that the fertility of the soil depends exclusively on local divinities, to whom each one prays on his own behalf.

613 554 681 The captain, no more than the council, does not have the right to expel a member from the lineage, even for marked unworthiness. This is one of the most remarkable aspects of the legal conceptions of the Refugee Blacks, tied to the idea that a lineage represents only one single life. There again the thought of the Refugee Blacks can be regarded as the extreme opposite of the thought of the Bamiléké, with whom the head alone retains possession of the rights over the land, expulsion constituting the supreme social sanction.

881 Initiation; age classes; men's society. These African institutions seem totally unknown to the Refugee Blacks. No form of initiation of adolescents exists, and no ceremony marks collectively their entrance into social life. Circumcision and excision are not practiced. For the children, boys and girls, there are two stages: that of the first garment, which is given upon the appearance of the pubic hair, at about 12-13 years, without ceremony, and the end of education which coincides with marriage. [304] [852] [561]

561 The society of the Refugee Blacks rests however in large part on age hierarchy; strictly speaking there are no age classes involving a fixed organization, but they exist tacitly:

/279 cont./

539 He said: "What? You are at a loss for a little thing like a steamboat? That's a small matter for me. I shall find you that very quickly. Tomorrow, ask your father to give me a kernel of corn." The next day, Anansi arrived and said: "Then give me (the kernel of corn)." She took a whole ear of corn; he said: "I don't want the whole ear, but one single kernel; with that kernel I shall buy the steamboat." He jumped into his boat, he said: "I am going away." He paddled, going down the river, until he arrived at a village. The people shouted to him from the bank: "Uncle Anansi, come to land!" He said: "I can't come, I am carrying a letter from the king." That time Anansi was successful. The people said to him: "Come on, we shall put it in a safe place." He said: "Here I am already, why did you call me?" The people said: "Come with us, brother, we are hungry for you." He said (to the women): "Very well, sisters." They prepared the food. The people said: "Where is the king's letter?" He said: "It is that kernel of corn." They took it and put it in a safe place. He stayed awake until they were asleep, he opened softly, he went to take the kernel of corn. He went to the chicken coop, he threw it to the poultry who picked it up; corn and poultry do not go together.

He slept until morning. He said: "Bachia (1), please

• [624]

1. Assistant head of the village.

give me the letter." The bachia went to get the kernel of corn. Nothing! He said: "Ho, ho, Anansi, we have lost it; we shall give you another." He said: "It is not another that I want, /280/ for I was passing on my way on the river, it was you who called me without any reason; give me a rooster. If you do not give me any rooster, we shall fight to the death in this village." They took a rooster and gave it to him.

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REBEL DESTINY

776 "The gods are friendly to you, Massa. The men have all
609 noticed it. You look upon trees and falls with pleasure. When you see them, it is as if you met with a friend. That is good. But the gods have their powers, and men have theirs. The Rabbit says, 'Evil is everywhere.' Last night, you remember, there was a man who did not look up when you passed his house, and when you spoke 'Howdo' to him, he would not answer. He was an obia man. He would not take the hand of a white man. I have heard the men say there are others who are not glad that the white man has come so far, and that the gods have allowed it. . . . "

Abruptly he stopped. He had said more than he intended.

"I came to tell you about another thing," he continued after a moment of embarrassment. "You should know about fio-fio."

Fio-fio was a small brown bug, and it was also a spirit.
[753] The spirit fio-fio brought sickness and death to human beings. For people like ourselves, untutored in the ways of the spirits, and the things which allowed them to gain sway over an individual, only a diviner could seek out the incident which had caused fio-fio to come.

751 That was why it was necessary to bathe in a protecting
783 fluid, to "wash fio-fio," even though we had not yet been stricken.

"Let me tell you how to wash fio-fio," he went on. "You must bathe when nobody sees you, and this is what you must have: the skin of a plantain we call the mother plantain that has been dried in smoke, and weeds which I will give you, and Negro-country pepper which I have with me, and seven pieces of chalk, and some eggshells. Some people put washing-blue in the water, too, but that you don't need. You can bathe in it early in the morning, or at noon, or right after sundown, but no one must see you."

He paused for a moment.

776 "Do you not have fio-fio in your country? Look, this is
●626 how it is. You quarrel with a man who works for you, and
578 he comes back and says he is sorry, and you say you are

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sorry, too. He does that because he is afraid of fio-fio. If a man quarrels with you, and he keeps his anger in him, and you keep yours, and later he takes work from you, then either he, or you, or both of you will get sick. If the anger was great, then you or he or both of you will become very sick. If you catch it soon, then you get together, and, as we say, '*Pu*' *mofo*'—take back what you had said. Then you get better."

Fio-fio had nothing to do with enmity. Honest enmity was not harmful. Enmity masked, however, or bitterness, or a grudge which a man harbored while he continued a relationship of friendship, sickened a man, and it sickened the man against whom the grudge was held, as well. That was fio-fio. Only those who had relationships of intimacy were subject to it—people who were united by blood ties, or ties of friendship, or servants who formed part of the household.

The remedy was ceremonially to retract and ask for pardon. It had to be done before people, with the proper ritual and bathing.

"If this isn't done, then a person gets worse and worse, and dies. I myself saw the fio-fio bug fly out of the nose of a dying woman."

This woman had sickened because she had quarreled with her sister over a man. In the end they had both lost him. As time went on, they began to talk again and later lived together in their mother's house. But they had never forgiven each other. One day one of them borrowed a kerchief from the other to wear at a dance. The next day she was ill. From then on she got worse and worse.

"The quarrel between the sisters had happened so long ago that they never thought of it. So they did nothing. In a month she died, and I myself saw the fio-fio bug fly out of her nose."

He knew another story about fio-fio.

"This happened to a man I know. His child died less than a month ago. He was living with a woman, and the woman became big with child. He had been away in the

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bush for some months, and when he came back he did not feel well, and they quarreled often. When they quarreled she refused to cook for him, and so he said bad things to her. He began to say the child was not his. Now when a father takes away his 'kra, his soul, from the child while it is in the mother's womb, it is not good. When the child was born, it was a very small child. Afterwards the man left the woman. He still said the child was not his, but he used to bring money to the woman sometimes to buy things for the child. The neighbors said she must not take the money. If she took it, they said, the child would die of fio-fio. But the woman took the money. Nowadays many of them don't believe in the old things, until they find out. When the child was four months old it died. Everybody knew it was fio-fio."

He told other incidents of what happened to people who had fio-fio.

"I tell you all this because sometimes the men in the boats talk about the whites, and they think you don't understand. But you know what they say, and you are angry. If you give them a present of leaf tobacco later, or rum, then they or you may become sick. . . . The men in the bush know what to do about fio-fio, Massa, and you must learn, too. The proverb says: 'How is a boat to go, if it has no paddles?'"

3

At the entrance to the village of S'ei a gigantic silk-cotton tree stood. Its trunk was massive, and the roots which projected outwards like so many buttresses made of it a great somber cathedral. The curiously twisted grooves which these buttresses made were said to house many spirits, and particularly the three who lived in the kankan tree, as the natives called it. Gedeonsu, the male god, and Tinné, his wife, lived there with their child Dyombie, the most dreaded of them all. The kankan tree gods were thought of as women's gods, though a few men might be found, here and there, who would, on occasion,

532 fascinated. It showed, in its purest form, the retention of the African mask-like head. Sometimes on the prow of a boat we would see in cruder form the outlines of a mask, and once an old woman came with a food stirrer to us. Its handle ended in a knob which with a few strokes of the knife had been formed into a double representation of the human [191] head, a perfect parallel to the type of mask that is associated with the people of the Ivory Coast.

532 Aside from the decorated apinti drum, only some of the 191 workaday art forms of Africa—combs, paddles, mortars, among other such objects—were retained. For their decoration the designs that in Africa had been cut into the base of figures or about the borders of masks had been remembered and reinterpreted in terms of the ancestral cults. And from those memories the Bush Negroes had developed the unique art which is theirs.

532 Thus, in the main, the art was symbolic, and many of the 181 designs represented the urge for reproduction. Some 84 stemmed from the fertility cult, though not entirely of it. There was, for example, the double-bladed food stirrer, which was given by a man to his wife with a curse woven [626] into its curves for the woman if she committed adultery.

There were carvings that did not deal with sex at all. 532 On the lower river we sat on the shore as a canoe came up. Prow and stern were carved. On one of the seats was a representation of the head of a feline, done with the utmost realism.

"You have *tigri?*" we asked the man, as we bargained for the seats.

"I will sell you this, but do not ask me what it means."

The bird-headed paddles were also examples of this kind. [501] When laid on their sides, they showed the form of the parrot, or whatever bird they represented—the exaggerated beak, the head, the neck, the wings, and the feet. The design called *Alukutu folo*, an emblem of those who [791] could see into the future, was engraved on many benches on the upper river in particular, and these carvings were parted with only with the greatest reluctance, lest we try

was called, and the couple were left alone, while outside the villagers danced and sang of fertility all night. 585

In the morning the man's brothers come to the house to find out if she had ever before been to the hammock with another man. 831 585 626

"What happens if they find that she has?"

Bayo's reply was prompt. "Usually nothing. The man doesn't give her as many presents as he would have given her. If he had promised her thirty pangi, he would only give her fourteen. If he liked her, he wouldn't turn her away."

"What would happen to her, though? Would they punish her?"

"They say, Bak'a, sometimes a man likes her better for it. It shows him other men had cared for her. But her family scolds her, and sometimes punishes her, too, and the women of the village talk plenty. They pull their lip at her the next morning, and later, whenever there is a quarrel, they talk about it again."

But if the girl were found to have been a virgin, then all the people danced, and there was a great feast, with dances to all the gods.

"You must come back for my wedding, Bak'a, you and your woman. Then you will see dancing!" 585

"But your girl is still a child, Bayo."

"Ah, no. She is getting her cuts on her thighs. She wears a cloth." He knew, because on his way down from the Granman he had stopped at her village and when the family was not about he had made sure. "If you come next year, we will both be ready." 881

The two men still followed the bush trail when Bayo had finished his account of how the marriage was conducted. Now and then Tross would appear, wag his tail, and be off into the underbrush again. 000

"Tell me, Bayo," the white man began, "do many girls go with a man to the hammock before they are married?" 836

He waited for a moment before he answered. Smiling, he ran his hand over his newly braided head with the innumerable little braids between the lines of white.

"About half of them, I guess," he said.

/34 cont./

577 all, toward one another as fellow tribesmen they are very honest and trust one another's word. Frequently it happens that among them one family leaves the camp to go on a journey or else is absent for some other reason, and that it must leave behind unfenced the cultivated land planted with rice, tubers, bananas, bakoven, and sugar cane. But never will another of them steal any of that. And similarly their dwellings are open, since the entrance is not closed off by any door; upon their departure they leave one thing and another in it, but they will never miss any-
626 thing upon their return. Certainly contributing to this is the circumstance that in the vicinity of everybody's property there is a sign or idolatrous image, which they call obia, to which great power is ascribed, and for those who might want to commit dishonest acts, the legend can be observed, as for the European:
724 "Beware of mantraps." The fear that they have of these obias is not unjustified, for if it should happen at any time that misuse of trust took place, then the culprit, however long it takes, upon discovery will not escape the revenge of the deceived, revenge which frequently consists in the administering of secret remedies whereby terrible diseases and sufferings, if not death, come about.

152 They are very concerned about the faithfulness of their
837 wife or wives, /35/ for the Bush Negro is very jealous, whereas the wives cannot be exonerated of being susceptible to seduction. Accordingly it happens among them more than once that marital fidelity is violated.

184 Of the various tribes, the Aucaners are the most
[177] civilized, but over against that also the craftiest, which can be
[157] attributed to their more frequent intercourse with Europeans.
[161] Among their tribes they are the most powerful, and their numerical strength is estimated at 4,000 to 5,000 souls.

123 According to the declaration of the Bush Negroes, no White has previously enjoyed the trust and attachment that I experienced from them. However, secretively they always conduct themselves toward the Whites, with respect to me they make an exception. If there is something secret among them that I should like to know, they will, upon my request, immediately and without any diffidence communicate it to me.

/61/

173

1937	Mission to determine the trijunction point of the frontiers of French Guiana-Brazil-Surinam.
1939	Declaration of war.
1944-45	Not a precise point of reference. The Boni confuse the liberation of the territory with the end of the war.
1948	First I.G.N. mission.
1949	Mr. Aubert de la Rüe's mission; second I.G.N. mission.
1952	Third I.G.N. mission. /blank page/ /63/

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

571 The social institutions of the Refugee Blacks diverge noticeably from those of the African peoples from whom they issued. [561] They do not include age grades, men's societies, or initiation; [575] marriage involves neither a contract between kin groups nor [881] "dowry." [583]

In a general way these societies founded by rebel slaves who had retained an extreme horror of all oppression were organized 571 so as not to have any material constraint weigh upon the individual. • 626 Their institutions are entirely founded on the idea of protection [791] against suprahuman perils; the individual remains perfectly free, and he adheres /to these institutions/ only in proportion as he is conscious of these perils. [156] The custom of the Refugee Blacks, devoid of any means of material coercion, tends to develop within the individual the feeling that he is constantly threatened.

/63 cont./

571 that he can protect himself only by submitting to the law of the
626 group. In this doubtless must be seen the deep reason for the im-
156 portance attached to death and mourning, events around which is
[801] centered the activity of the usual societies and which entail a
[767] veritable mobilization.

626 It would be very difficult to condense the custom of the
971 Refugee Blacks into a rigorous code. If one wished to do it, one would have to write as Article 1: "The living will conform to the will of the gods and the ancestors as it is expressed through the mouths of those possessed and by the movements of the bearers of the dead."

613 Each one of the tribes of the Refugee Blacks is formed of a
619 certain number of matrilineages.

There is no limit on the number of these lineages, and it can be asserted that if any lineage whatever, detached from another tribe, asks to live in the midst of the Boni, it will be welcomed. From the first generation the children consider themselves as Boni.

In this regard one can cite the example of the Awara Bakka 3 lineage and that of the small lineage founded in Boniville by a Djuka woman, wife of Grand Man Ochi. All her descendants consider themselves Boni. /64/

[829] But only the great lineages which constituted the tribe at its
[643] origin are social units recognized by the grand man, and only their heads are called to be members of the council.

128 We shall study first the interior functioning of the lineage, then the institutions going beyond the framework of the lineages.

/73 cont./

643 The present grand man, contrary to his predecessors, has
644 only one wife. She is dressed like the other women and works
586 at her clearing like everyone else, /74/ but her marriage to the grand man imposes special obligations on her: she can not divorce him; neither can he repudiate her.

643 The attitude of the Boni toward the grand man is a curious
829 mixture of respect and disparagement. They regard him as the living symbol of their nation, and each one resents as if it were a personal insult an outsider having an incorrect attitude toward him. But their undisciplined spirit kicks up at the measures he is obliged to take to make them respect customary law, and even the authority of a poised and benevolent man like Grand Man Difu is
[754] not willingly accepted. As a matter of fact, the Boni stand for
[795] the authority of the grand man as they adhere to the worship of their gods, by the feeling of an absolute and inexorable necessity; in their minds the grand man is above all the priest of Odun; if the grand man were not there, they would be without defense against the wisiman, without recourse against the vengeance exercised by the yaka of the dead of other lineages.

The political power of the grand man is entirely based on these beliefs, and if they were to collapse, he would disappear
[622] with them. Nobody would submit to any other law than that of the lineage, founded upon fear of the ancestors.

692 The lanti kuutu. This is the assembly of the men, without dis-
693 tinction of age (1) or kinship; this council (lanti = law) constitutes

> 1. There is no precise rule for fixing the age from which an adolescent may sit in this council.
> [561] It is apparently when he has reached full physical development and earns his living by his own efforts, about 18 to 20 years. He does not have to be married.

the legal apparatus of the Boni.

/75 cont./

692 685 [224] The Djuka had killed the tapir which had sunk. Pressed for time, he had had to leave, requesting the Asisi people to look for it.

The next day Pototo and Amusupé found the animal floating [251] between two waters. They hid it in the bush and had it smoke-[262] dried on their own behalf. They ate it with their wives (about 100 kilos of meat).

That ended up by becoming known, and a jealous man denounced them to the grand man.

Called before the lanti kuutu, they had to apologize and were each sentenced to pay as a fine to the grand man a demijohn of 15 liters of tafia (worth about 6,000 francs) within four months.

[735] Both of them were at a loss to pay this fine, belonging to the category of ne'er-do-wells who have no regular activity and live from day to day, selling some fish or game from time to time.

[613] Amusupé appealed to Captain Konduku, head of his lineage, who agreed to pay for the tafia for him, Amusupé reimbursing him little by little.

[613] As for Pototo, the head of his lineage refused categorically [689] to help him because he had eaten the maïpouri alone without allowing his family to share it (the village people would have found it normal to profit by the crime, but they deemed it immoral that [123] one of their relatives had deprived them of meat). After three and a half months, Pototo began to occupy himself seriously at a paid job which he had the luck to find because we needed a bossman for two weeks.

577 The Boni did nothing but laugh while telling us this story. 626 Affairs of this kind, which do not involve any suprahuman inter-[522] vention, escape in large measure their social morality; they have a certain feeling for what should be done, but submit to it only in proportion as they fear a material and immediate sanction.

/153 cont./

684 -586 [626] with repudiation in case of a second offense. The rule is to repudiate her, under pain of ridicule.

837 In 1951 G..., of Kotika village, was informed that his wife A..., of Asisi village, 25 years old, was deceiving him

684 with a boy of the same age named K.... The first time he encountered K in a village he took issue with him; K... confessed without difficulty. G... delivered a strong punch which threw him to the ground, and that was all. He did not ad-

[586] minister any punishment to his wife but immediately let her know that he was repudiating her. Some time after, K...

[576] asked to be reconciled with him. He asked his pardon and

[431] gave him a bottle of tafia (this is obligatory for reconciliation). Since, the two men have again been friends.

It also happens that the grand man levies a more or less stiff fine on the guilty man.

837 According to the elders, adultery was rare in former

[586] times. If a woman was tired of her husband, she divorced him openly, but she did not deceive him. Nowadays it seems to be rather frequent.

586 Divorce. The Refugee Blacks divorce each other as easily as they join together; in general it is the woman who decides to break up the union because she finds her husband too poor, too lazy, or simply because she wants to change. /154/

In the case of divorce the woman keeps all that her husband has given to her or made for her (utensils, house, boat), but of course the man keeps all his own belongings; this rupture changes nothing about the possession of property since no object was owned jointly.

581 The rule is the following: at the time of the marriage the man puts down symbolically several personal objects (fabrics, utensils) in the woman's home. As long as these objects are in her home the marriage remains in force, the wife is held to fidelity or at the very least, if there is adultery, it is regarded as such and entails the sanction related above.

/154 cont./

000 586 as such and entails the sanction related above. But the wife has the absolute right, even in her husband's absence, to break the contract unilaterally by taking back to the head of her husband's lineage the objects left with her. From this moment on, no more can be said to her, she is no longer guilty of adultery, and she can take another husband forthwith; in case of the first husband's death she will not have to stand the weight of the mourning. All that her husband has made for her: house, boat, etc... is kept without counterpart.

No Boni leaving on a three-month trip is sure of finding his wife again. He may very well find another man installed in his place, officially, without his being able to say anything. As for those who leave for a long time, this is practically a certainty.

This is a misfortune which however they take philosophically, thinking above all of the work furnished for nothing. What concerns them most is not to be deceived clandestinely, [684] for the final result is the same: they are practically obliged [626] to repudiate the wife in such a case, for it is unworthy of a man to forgive, and in addition they will be the laughingstock of the population.

Several of our boatmen made the following speech to their wives at the time of leaving for a two-months' tour: "If you have enough of me in my absence, if you cannot wait for me, go and take my belongings to the house of such-and-such a brother; I shall not be angry and will not do anything to you on my return."

581 Custom is so favorable to the women that practically nothing guarantees the private contract made between the man and woman at the time of marriage. Since this contract is [586] essentially founded on a material association, the man cutting the clearing and the woman farming it, one might believe that the woman would be held to fulfilling her contract even in case of the marriage's breaking up, but there is nothing of the sort.

/175 cont./

765 For the duration of the mourning, any indiscretion of the
775 surviving spouse will draw upon him the pitiless vengeance of the yorka; it is important for him to make himself forgotten, to have a modest and decent demeanor. The dead person might be vexed with him for having kept his health and good looks. So they try to give the surviving spouse the aspect of a miserable
765 and unfortunate being. The dead person's relatives are par-
775 ticularly interested in having this discipline observed, for in
613 the opposite case the dead person's yorka would turn back its vengeance against his own lineage. During all the mourning the whole lineage considers itself in danger. So custom requires that during all this period the widower (or widow) be placed under the authority of the dead person's lineage.

765 In the case of concubinage, mourning is taken on by the
5[illegible] spouse even if the relations have not been made official. People cite the example of Way (Boniville) who assumed mourning for a Djuka with whom she had begun to live before he could propose to her officially.

765 State of persons in mourning. A widower's state is exactly like
[175] that of a widow, which tends to show that in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks the dead, men and women, have the same level of being and the same power over the living.

765 The surviving spouse is placed under the protection of
769 the ancestors of the dead spouse's lineage. Without this pro-
613 tection assured by the prayers of the members of this lineage, he would find himself defenseless. The proof of it is that the
[illegible] principal sanction against him is to lift the mourning prematurely by going to the fraga tiki to tell the ancestors that one is no longer interested in him. That amounts indirectly to cursing him (see below the example of Gamba).

/179 cont./

765 After three months, an offering is made at the fraga tiki
[769] of the dead person's lineage, setting forth how much her spouse
[778] has respected her memory and asking permission to lighten the
[613] manifestations of his sorrow. The mourning is then lightened, but the man in mourning continues to wear a bandeau around his head or at the very least an old beret.

765 During the first months the man in mourning has no other
461 responsibility than to hunt and fish at the order of the dead
[613] woman's lineage. He does his own cooking with the food given to him; he cuts a clearing for his mother-in-law or another woman of the deceased's relatives, who will farm it with him.
[431] Next, he receives the order to go and earn the money necessary for the sizable contribution he must bring to the festival of the lifting of mourning. During the entire duration of the mourning he must report on his work and moves.

765 When the end of mourning approaches, he must do a job
[606] for the benefit of his mother-in-law, generally redoing the roof of her house or building a boat for her.

These arrangements do not involve any material sanction
[626] whatever. Like the rest of the social life of the Refugee Blacks, they rest entirely upon fear of a suprahuman sanction.
[587] After the lifting of mourning, the person in mourning may remarry without further delay.

765 State of widows and co-wives of a widower. The state of a
768 woman in mourning is practically identical to that of a widower.
[562] She lives for the duration of mourning in her deceased husband's house under the surveillance of his near relatives on the maternal
[613] side. The dead man's lineage lends her all the objects she
[439] needs and furnishes the imported commodities (salt, kerosene, soap) that she uses. On the other hand, she may freely use the produce of the clearing that her husband had cut for her, since it is taken for granted that these products are the exclusive property of the wife.

643 /235 cont./

775 A few years ago a Kormotibo woman was thus confounded.
787 She had wanted to pretend possession by a yɔrka in order to
695 blackmail another family.

Grand Man Difu recently forbade the bequeathing of gods
784 and yɔrka exercising the kunu (1). People will wait for them
428
643
[787]

1. Let us recall that the dead are questioned on this subject as for the apportionment of the rest of their heritage.

to manifest themselves of their own accord. That will reduce the risks of pretense.

643 The grand man's lineage does not exercise any kunu upon
613 another lineage, and no kunu is exercised upon it. For the Boni
775 this is a fundamental idea, because the grand man is precisely
784 the supreme recourse in case of persistent calamities attributed to the yɔrka of a dead person. The grand man has the power to exorcise all the dead Boni. If his lineage exercised a kunu or were victim of one, he would be judge and litigant at the same time.

When, with the death of Grand Man Difu, the Dikan lineage is extinct, and when the function passes to another lineage, consideration of the kunu exercised by the lineages upon one another will be determinative in the choice of his successor.

787 Divination; Premonition; Dreams
626
182 Divination. It plays an essential role among the Refugee Blacks as in all animistic societies. Individuals have recourse to it to inspire all important discussions; in large measure one can say that for them it takes the place of will and conscience.

/235 cont./

787 But divination is more than that; the interpretation it
626 gives of the events of daily life is the very mover of the ani-
182 mistic society; presenting calamities /236/ as the punishment
571 of offenses against customary law, it is constantly vitalizing that law, conserving its practical value and its efficacity. What it expresses is not the hidden influence of chiefs or priests -- there are in fact neither chiefs nor priests among the Boni -- but the very consensus of the group, the deep feeling it has of its unity.

787 There are two large categories of divination:

The first consists of calling on a divinity through the medium of its bearer. For that, one applies to a person (of his
[791] lineage if possible) who has a gadu. This is a service which is rarely refused. This person employs the appropriate procedure for calling his gita and enters into trances. The god speaks, the question is put to it; if it is well disposed, it may give the explanation or the advice requested. For example, one asks for advice before looking for another sector to make his clearings.

787 Suggestible as the Boni may be, they do not fail to per-
876 ceive that all the gods interrogated do not give the same directions. So they think that certain ones are stronger than others; there are people whose gita is considered to be particularly
[791] good, others whom they have stopped consulting entirely. The defunct head of Kotika village, Bayo, used to have a gita so remarkable that people would come from very far to consult it.

[829] The general opinion is, furthermore, that nowadays
[178] everything is degenerating and that good gita are no longer seen as in the olden days.

787 These consultations involve only a very modest remuner-
[791] ation, a bottle of tafia at most (1). If it is not a matter of a

1. The remuneration of the possessed person is in question; the god always demands a payment for itself, of variable size according to its whim.

KUNU

We sat one night talking about the neku vine, which is 278
used to poison the streams for fishing, and the ceremonies 226
attending the discovery of a new one, how the ownership of it is passed on in the female line, and about the songs which are sung to celebrate the finding, and the feast which is given at this time.

"Do you use this poison only to catch fish, or does it have other uses?" we asked guardedly.

"Well, sometimes people use it to commit suicide," one man said. "That is bad. Sometimes a man or a woman will [762] do it to put a kunu on another's family." He went on to tell of a man who lately did this. He had been promised the daughter of a family in this very village when the girl was a small, small child. It happened that the girl's uncles found gold in one of the streams, for which the white man gave them much goods, and now they were big men. Since the girl's children would inherit much wealth, they wanted her to be the principal wife of a man of rank. There were messages back and forth, and council meetings, but the uncles insisted that the girl return the gifts she had received —insisted against the advice of many people. So this *kio*, [627] this young lad, could get his revenge in no other way than by taking his own life, and sending a kunu to the family. 776
"The next time you come you will probably see the kunu 754
at work. It is always so. Of what use is wealth when the children begin to die? One year the crops are bad, and you have to buy food. One year you go from one obia man to the next to find out why your sister cannot make children. Your money goes. Kunu is a bad thing."

Another day a woman came to us with a comb to sell. 439
She had heard that we were gathering pieces to put into a large house where carvings from Africa were being shown, and she wanted us to have this comb of hers which was [584] made as a betrothal gift by her husband who was now many years dead. It was an old comb with several broken tines and holes bored into it by insects, but the decorated end was still very beautiful, and we were eager to buy it. When we 439
asked her to explain to us the meaning of the design, she 532

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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assemblies such as were reported from the Awka people on the Marowyne were here not called regularly. There was no central body here to make decisions. The autonomy of village and clan seemed almost unquestioned. There were, to be sure, clan alliances, but these bore more directly on the factions which had formed to control the choice of the next headman. At this krutu, therefore, which had just gathered, there were Captain Sungi, head of the Kasito or Dahomey clan, and And'u, the able chief of the Dombi people, and the headman of the Popoto people, and the headman of the Anago. But Fandya of Baikutu who headed the Nasi people was not there, nor were the Awana people represented, nor the Alabaisa, nor Kwama, nor Bi'ito, nor Fandaki, to cite some examples. Of the missing chiefs, several of them lived a considerable distance from the seat of the Granman, and indeed had been to his village but few times.

"Ai, men must krutu," Kasanya had told us one day on the river. "If a few men decide, then the others have anger in their hearts. That is not good. When the lanti meets, and all men talk, then those who came with anger cool their hearts. Talk is good."

And another time, Sedefo had found occasion to quote the proverb, "If you have not settled one thing, you cannot go on to the second." The best way was to talk things over until all men saw that what was proposed was good or bad.

4

In the krutu house of Asindopo Lantiwe the Granman began to speak.

"Mati—friends—the white man has come. He sits there. With him is his wife. She is there beside him. The man from the white man's city has come. He is there. He will speak for the white man. The white man has a cook. The cook is outside."

"So it is, G'aman," said Captain Sungi.

"Mati, the white man came. All who come to me must eat. The white man must eat."

"True, true, master of the realm."

/180 cont./

765 613 689 An incident. In 1957, the Saramaka Gamba (75 years old), Way's widower (Dip. I), caused a serious incident by refusing several times the obedience he owed to the latter's lineage, on the pretext that he was old and knew how to behave.

His son Maliki (born of a Saramaka woman), whom he was raising, married to Way's daughter, had gone fishing above the Litani. Upon his return, Kwau (80 years old), Way's elder brother, reproached him for having left without authorization, pointing out that his father, Gamba, being placed under his authority by mourning, he was too, because of this fact. Gamba [578] did not accept this reasoning and the two old men fought. This [769] was a fine scandal. Kwau and the elders of Way's lineage came [778] before the fraga tiki of L'Enfant Perdu village to lift his mourning forthwith (which, let us recall, is the equivalent of cursing [784] him by delivering him over to the vengeance of the dead woman's yɔrka).

Members of Way's family went to break up the shacks of Gamba and his son, who lived hidden in the bush for some time. [627] Then Gamba had the village heads intercede and obtained his [769] pardon. The elders of Way's lineage went to the fraga tiki to [778] utter the words putting things back in order.

765 Lifting of mourning. The festival of the lifting of mourning - puu baaka - is celebrated 18 months to two years after the burial. The delay may be a little longer, for most often the village celebrates this festival for several of its dead at the same time. It is a heavy burden, for festivals for lifting mourning attract many people and everyone present must find as much as he wishes to eat and drink.

[621] This festival is celebrated in the framework of the village and not in that of the lineage. It will be celebrated in the same way for a Djuka who died in a Boni village, provided that he lived there a sufficiently long time. In such a case the expenses

/196 cont./

673 --Vengeance; if someone believes himself to be the
[754] victim of witchcraft, he must under no circumstances engage
[627] in counterwitchcraft or invoke his ancestors against his enemy.
He may ask only for the protection of the ɔbia. It is Odun who
[784] will avenge him by sooner or later killing the evil-doer.

--Violence in any form whatever. It is regarded as a
[683] particularly serious offense against the laws of Odun to strike
with an armed hand and to make human blood flow (1).

[684] 1. That explains the strictness with which the society of the Refugee Blacks limits the right of punishment granted to the wronged husband, who must strike only with bare fists in front of witnesses, never in the bush nor on the river. Fear of seeing
[826] human blood flow explains the
[752] reticence of the Boni toward minor surgical operations.

[641] --Any attack on personal liberty by material or moral
[586] coercion; in particular, neither a man nor woman may be constrained to remain in a marriage which has ceased to please him; nobody may be forced to reside here or there.

[832] The forms of magic so popular among West Indians, aimed at capturing a person's love, are for this reason rejected by the Refugee Blacks and considered as a form of wisi.

[769] --Any evocation of the spirits of the dead, even to ask
them for protection, other than in the public ceremonies
[754] provided for by custom. Thus nobody must go to the cemetery
to pray alone on his parents' grave. Whoever would do that
would immediately be considered as wisimã.

684 [796] be. The Earth Mother, who is the giver of fertility, takes the adulterous woman who is with child under her protection, and no one may harm her. But the guilty man must make redress to the betrayed husband. Fines must be paid by the adulterer, and there is the beating which the husband administers. This beating has its ritual. The culprit, at the time that is set, comes out to the place where the injured husband and his family wait. They attack him with bare fists, although the Kromanti arm obias are sometimes slipped down on clenched hands, and with these serious wounds can be inflicted. With or without the iron arm bands, the beating is a serious matter, and the man who has committed the trespass is severely mishandled, unless he can get away from his assailants and run into the bush. In the bush he has sanctuary, and at the end of some time may come back to his village. The gods will not give a weakling husband, or one who is not clever enough to take his revenge when it is offered, a second chance.

At times this beating is a merry affair. This happens when the adulterer's family tries to protect him, and then the matter becomes a two-family brawl, or, if the village is a large one with more than one clan substantially represented in it, it may become a fight between two clans. Once, in a village near the railhead, a man was killed in such a fight, and then white police stepped in, and the murderer went to prison. [628]

A chief, however, can give the culprit sanctuary, and Asikanu, being a chief's brother, was protected by the chief while negotiations were being carried on in his behalf. Now he was sent away from home to be one of our paddlers so that the enraged husband might be dealt with—time helps to cool anger. This was important in Asikanu's case, since the husband of the woman who had gone to Asikanu would consent to no fine, however large, and seemed, furthermore, to have misgivings about the manner in which the ritual beating would be conducted. "I will kill myself," he had been heard to declare. "I will kill myself, and give them all kunu. My *yorka*—ghost—will come to

[622] [778] 776 762 684 754

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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could enter it until he took the kandu away. Suppose a man went to hunt, and a friend came back to the village with a message from the hunter to get something inside the house. If no one at all could get it, it would not be good." 789 593

"What happens then?"

"The friend would seek out the man's own child—a child the man himself had made—and ask him to lift the kandu."

"Suppose his wife lifted it? Or his sister's child?"

"They wouldn't. The spirit in the kandu would punish them. His true, true child could touch the kandu, and his brother, or his sister, or his brother's children," said Bayo.

"The sisters' children?" we asked again.

"No, no! They would lift their own father's kandu."

Was there anyone else, we inquired, who could remove the kandu from a man's house?

Bayo considered. "Anyone who is born with the same tchina can lift it," he said, finally. "Those with the same tchina have the same fathers. Those whose fathers are the same, a kandu cannot harm."

7

We were talking one night with some men of the Anago clan. 628

"Is it true," asked one, "that in the Negro country there are great warriors, and many wars?"

In olden times, we said, it was true, but today the African peoples were at peace.

"So it is now on the Saramacca River," he replied, but with a laugh he added, "Sometimes there are quarrels."

For instance, there had been a quarrel on the river not very long ago over lumber which had been cut by members of one clan on land belonging to another. The men knew they had no right to the timber, but they cut it down. The first time they were warned, and fines were demanded. The second time it happened, however, the men of the clan who owned the bush where these trees stood surprised the trespassers, and beat them.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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628 "Yes," the man went on, "and there was much trouble." The men who had been punished incited their entire clan to come to their aid in an attack on the clan villages of those who had chastized them. "But now they are at peace." Those who were beaten were of his own clan, he said.

"And did you win your fight? What happened after that?"

"I did not go with the men. The land where the trees stood belonged to my father's clan, and my father's people I would not fight."

"What did you do?"

"I tried to make peace between them. That is what a man does when his father's clan and his mother's clan have trouble. But I was too young to speak in the big krutu—the assembly of the chiefs—so it was the elders of the Nyamfai people who brought them together, and settled the matter."

There was a point which we wanted cleared up. What was the attitude of the group toward a man who did not enter into a fight which concerned his own clan?

"Did no one say you ought to fight, too?" we asked, explaining our question to the man several times.

"No, why should they? A man can't fight against his father's people. Everybody knows that."

"But what if you did?"

"The gods would turn against my side."

After our return down river, when we again sat in the hut of the headman of the Gankwe clan, we turned to him with some questions about the family, and he gave us the following summary.

593 [614] 424 604 "From our mother we get our *lo*, our clan, and our *mbe*, our great family. Our mother's brothers are those we must obey. They correct us when we do wrong. They tell us what is good. In our mother's village is our true home, and from there we are buried when we die. But our father is our friend. He gives us his advice. From him we get many of the gods we dance to when we are men, and from him we

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

When there is a conflict between villages over their hunting and fishing territories, the captains and bosseias of each town meet on some neutral ground and arbitrate the matter. Then, indeed, the parley becomes wordy and rhetorical. Each cause is championed with long speeches, setting forth oratorically the rights and conditions involved. But once an agreement is arrived at, the matter is closed. 622 623 692 628 [537]

Local disputes, excluding those over women, are not nearly so common or so serious as they are among civilized white men. There is a minimum of quarrelling among the Djukas; they get along together in an almost idyllic way. Wherever there are women, there will, of course, be quarrelling, for, in the words of Confucius, "Disorder does not come from heaven, but is brought about by women." Outside of this factor there is little friction in the Bush Negro community. Their highly communalized government works exceedingly well. 683 578

The Granman and his captains have an annual council to make laws for the coming year. This and other assemblies are known as *krutu*. The captains and bosseias from surrounding villages concentrate at some important town to meet the Granman there. The Council near Gansee, the trading-post, included the villages of Nu, Lombe, Biodoti, Ganya Condree, and Adawai. Jankoeso refused to hold his parley in the town proper, although Gansee is the largest village in the entire tribe, because there is a Christian mission station there, conducted by the Moravian Brothers. Jankoeso is in favour of retaining the ancestral gods of the jungle, and does not look with favour upon the white proselytizers. 671 622 623 [797]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Paramaca

The small Paramaca tribe does much less in the way of
322 wood carving than do the others of the Djukas. This was evidenced by the few pieces we were able to collect and was also known to be a fact by the Aucaner Bush Negroes who accompanied us to the Paramacca district. The motifs displayed upon the articles collected were practically identical with those found on Aucaner pieces.

123 In fairness to the Paramaccas, however, it must be mentioned from our experience among other tribes that collecting is much facilitated when one is cordially known. On a second or third expedition one is able to collect many times more specimens than upon a first introduction. The Bush Negroes are at first shy as a rule and not anxious to part with their belongings.

184 The tribes do not fraternize much with each other. Some
619 travellers report that the Aucaner and Boni tribes feel them-
609 selves superior to the others because they have less contact with the white man. If this is true, we cannot report any personal observation of it. A traveller has no more difficulty among them than among the Saramaccaner people. Some
628 ill-feeling between the Aucaners and Saramaccaners dates
609 back to the slave revolt, when the former observed their peace treaty so scrupulously as even to aid the slave-owners in re-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

gaining possession of other fugitives. It is said that, until recently, actual war prevailed among the tribes because some Saramaccaners invaded the Boni and Aucaner districts, poaching on their lumbering, hunting, fishing, and balata rights. The punishment today for any Bush Negro found poaching in another district is a healthy beating with canoe paddles and fists, after which he is warned not to repeat the offence.

With the Indians of Surinam the Bush Negroes have little commerce or intercourse. These aborigines belong principally to three American tribes, the Carib, Acaway, and Arawak. They and the Djukas mutually look down on each other, but in our opinion the latter are intellectually the superior. Indian and Djuka villages are separate; very little trading occurs between them. On the Marowyne, Tapanahoni, and Lawa Rivers, however, the Negroes occupy a strategic position on the middle rivers, so that Indians from their remote villages along the upper river must pass by Bush Negro towns on their way downstream to trade at the white settlement of Albina, near the mouth of the Marowyne. The Djukas tell the Indians that the white men in Albina practise cannibalism. Rather than run the risk of trading with cannibals, the Indians barter their stuff in the Bush Negro towns. By this crafty arrangement, the Negroes obtain bead and feather work in exchange for tobacco and for machetes.

The Indians on the other rivers do not share this superstition concerning the white man's cannibalism. None of the Indian tribes mingle with the Djukas other than for the pur-

/23 cont./

621 175 [166] [103] Agodé was founded by Grand Man Ochi, probably about 1895, at the time when the Boni were required by the settlement of the Lawa Dispute to evacuate the villages they were occupying on the Surinam bank. The name Boniville was given by the gold miners; it was used never at all by the Boni.

621 613 [103] The Yakubi or Kotika lineage forms the important village of Kotika (1). It is one of those which have remained best grouped.

1. This word alludes to the river where the rebellion of 1772 began.

[423] [241] [103] Its members have exclusive rights over the region included between Abunasunga Falls and their village. They have farmed there for more than a century, and this is why the region is called Abattis Kotika.

613 621 175 [648] Kotika is the oldest Boni village. It is one of those founded by the survivors of the battles against the Dutch when, about 1815, they settled again on the Lawa. Until about 1895 nearly all the Boni were grouped in one large village, each lineage occupying a different quarter. At the time of the settlement, unfavorable to France, of the Lawa Dispute (1895), the various lineages emigrated, founding especially the villages of l'Enfant Perdu, Loka, Boniville, and Papaïston. Only the members of the Kotika lineage stayed, in full agreement with the grand man, so that the ancestral land might not be completely abandoned. [648] [628] Thus the inhabitants of this village are nowadays under the authority of Surinam, without ceasing, for that reason, to be faithful to the grand man and maintaining normal relations with the other groups.

613 614 [124] The genealogies reconstituted in 1957 by systematic interrogation of the old people of the group had led to three distinct fractions which we shall call Kotika 1, 2, and 3, tracing respectively back to ancestresses named Kéneya, Amawi, and Oka.

/142 cont./

582 619 of other groupings are rare; that is because the Boni have almost no occasion to frequent the Tapanahoni, where economic activity is nil.

For 123 married men of the villages on the French bank there were in November, 1958, 11 unions with Djuka women, or 8 per cent. No marriage to Saramaka or Paramaka women existed.

582 613 The table confirms besides that marriages between members of different kin groups are entirely free and are not subject to any preoccupation with exchange or reciprocity. For example, out of 60 unions between Boni women of the Lapé lineage and Boni men, we have:

6	with men of the	Dipélu I lineage
7	-- -- - -	Dipélu II --
7	-- -- - -	Papaïston --
11	-- -- - -	Awara Bakka --
4	-- -- - -	Dju --
5	-- -- - -	Dipélu I /sic/ --
20	-- -- - -	Kotika --

• [628] In fact, the geographical proximity of the villages has the most direct influence on unions.

582 613 628 For example a high proportion of women from Kormotibo (Dip. II) married men from Papaïston and reciprocally.

That comes from the fact that these villages are near each other and isolated from others. It is the same for Kotika and L'Enfant Perdu (Dip. I). In the small Afi lineage, divided between Kormotibo and Asisi-Awara Bakka villages, more than half the women are married to inhabitants of these two villages.

582 619 621 Certain personal affinities and habits of living have an indirect influence. For example, the Djuka boatmen passing through Boni country habitually stay in Asisi-Awara Bakka, because they are received in the homes of some of their own

/226 cont./

784 182 Finally, a fifth kunu is threatening to show itself. This is a remarkable affair which clarifies at the same time the legal and religious conceptions of the Refugee Blacks.

672 About 1918, a stupid accident which happened at Dagouédé (gun which went off by itself at the moment when it was being stowed in a boat) caused the death of a girl, Santonia, daughter of Kuluba (Aw.B.1). The unwitting perpetrator of the accident was Kwau (Dip. I. Apatu village). [692] There were people in the Awara Bakka lineage who accused him of having done it on purpose, but the grand man judged that he was innocent and the affair was shelved.

784 614 775 787 Now in April, 1957, Kiboya (Dip. II), a young woman of 25, was attacked by a fit of possession. It was Santonia's yaka which was supposed to reveal itself in her. It declared that it was going to exercise a kunu on Dipélu. It was not claiming that Kwau had killed her on purpose and even asked the Awara Bakka not to make reprisals.

• 628 614 Nevertheless, full of fury, a party of Awara Bakka went the next day to attack the village of L'Enfant Perdu, demolishing a certain number of huts and pursuing the inhabitants, some of whom took refuge in the water and others in the bush. There were, however, no serious blows.

The next day they went to attack Kormotibo in the same way. It is to be noted that only after that did they think of blaming Kwau, who was then living at Wacapou. But the grand man had intervened in the meantime to re-establish peace.

In both cases the façades of several shacks were smashed and two men, Bonana and Amatodja, who had run less fast than the others, were struck symbolically.

/226 cont./

728 The members of the Dipfin lineage did not believe a
614 word of this affair, convinced that Kiboya, a proud and scheming
784 woman, had pretended the gita to make herself interesting.
787 Nevertheless, to bring back peace, they decided to go to Asisi
156 and to ask pardon in front of the fraga tiki, pouring tafia,
769 asking the ancestors not to take vengeance, the living being
778 reconciled.

784 /227/ (Note that in this affair, the yɔrka manifests itself in a
614 member of the lineage on which it exercises the kunu.)
795

784 Kunu of the Awara Bakka lineage. The Awara Bakka lineage
614 does not form a unit with respect to the kunu, and the situation
613 of its fractions is particularly interesting. This lineage includes:

--A principal fraction (Aw.B.1);

--A fraction whose kinship ties with the first are forgotten (Aw.B.2), whose position with respect to the kunu we have not been able to define.

--Finally, a group descended from Anèta, Djuka woman, wife of Pééyon † (Aw.B.1) settled in Asisi with her descendants in uterine line. We have called this group Aw.B.3. It has a separate kunu originating in the Djuka village of Tabiki where Anèta came from.

784 The Awara Bakka I, all living in Asisi village, had to
787 our knowledge three kunu in 1957:
796 --One exercised by a Papa gadu god, borne up to 1957
613 by O Kuluba (Aw.B.1, D1). At her death in April, 1957,
428 she bequeathed it, contrary to custom, to a person of another fraction, Summa (Aw.B.3). But the god did not ratify this legacy and, in January, 1958; it manifested itself in O Léna (Aw.B.1, F52), thus remaining in the same lineage;

784 /233 cont./ One conceives of the
795 interminable dissensions which this situation entails: if the
613 manifestations of the kunu do not cease, the victims let it be
578 understood that the prayers were badly made.... /Figure 28 appears here./

761 Every suspicious death whose circumstances lead to the
628 belief that /234/ an inhabitant of another village was responsi-
613 ble can bring on a punitive expedition against that village and
[784] other villages of the same kin group. By taking this vengeful attitude even before the grand man has been notified and the blamed people heard, the people of the dead person's lineage are thinking above all else of taking precautions against the action of the dead person, who could turn back his vengeance
628 against them. Actually, these fights are above all symbolic; the wisdom of the Refugee Blacks has promulgated precepts which many nations could take as a pattern, in order that these punitive expeditions might not have serious consequences:

--One may strike only with the fists, and blood must not flow;

--Men may strike only men, while the women find fault with women;

--One may fight only on the village common and before witnesses, never in the bush or on the river. As a general rule, the people aimed at by the expedition do not resist, but flee into the bush or on the boats, or group themselves around the fraga tiki, holy place which the aggressors must respect.

628 We have told about the expedition made in April, 1957
613 by the people of Asisi-Awara Bakka against the villages of L'Enfant Perdu (Dipélu I) and Kormotibo (Dipélu II). Eight years earlier, in 1949, another squabble had thrown the Dipélu against the Awara Bakka after the death of Pétikona (Dip. II), whom her husband Boofo had taken to Surinam and who had died there. The Kormotibo people claimed that Boofo was responsible for her death. They went to attack the people of Asisi who, although three times more numerous, did not try

/234 cont. /

628 613 to resist and fled to Boniville, where some took refuge in the water, others in the bush. About ten shacks were broken (without great damage), principally kitchens and empty sheds. Only one man could be caught and he received several punches.

The expedition of April, 1957 against the villages of L'Enfant Perdu and Kormotibo did not do much more harm. Only one good house was smashed, that of Akwali (Dip. II, Kormotibo) because its owner, passing by in a boat on the river, insulted the aggressors....

784 613 619 648

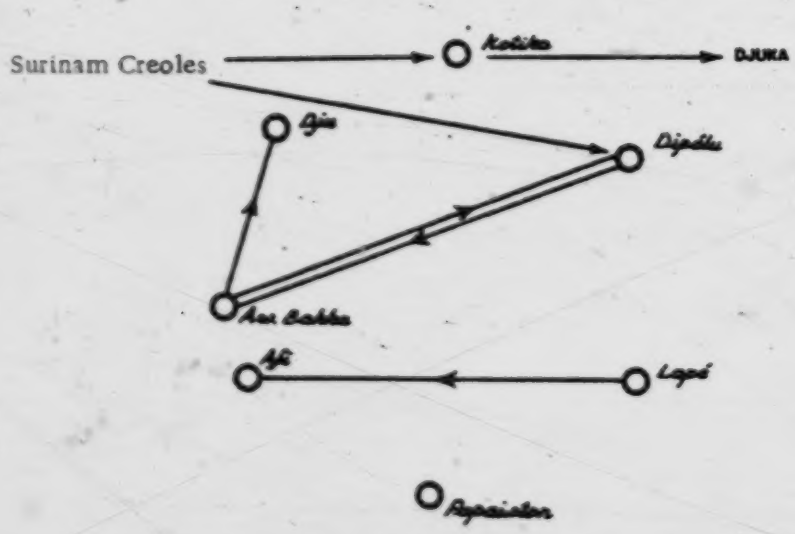

Fig. 28. Schema of the kunu exercised upon one another by the various lineages.

/234 cont./

695 Fist-fighting is practiced also between individuals as a test for justification. If someone is unjustly accused of theft, this is the first idea which occurs to him, even before the oath before Odun. On this subject the Refugee Blacks have a conception analogous to that of the ancient Europeans, according to which God will come to the aid of the innocent person, giving him the strength of ten. This fighting, too, is subject to precise rules; it can be indulged in only publicly, in a village, never in the bush or on the river.

In spite of the importance attached to the oath before Odun, Boni custom does not make provision for any test for
628 justification having a recognized legal value. This is what makes
613 the symbolic battle indispensable. Intervention is then asked of the head of a neutral lineage in order to restore peace. If no death or calamity takes place allowing /235/ belief in the unappeased vengeance of a dead person, the affair is very quickly forgotten. For example, in examining the table of marriages among the various lineages, one ascertains that there are a number of normal unions between the Dipélu and the Awara Bakka.

643 In these kinds of affairs the grand man has two very
692 exact functions:

--To reveal pretense;

--To intervene as supreme arbiter in case of necessity.

[787] Each time that someone is attacked by a fit of possession
[775] and claims to speak in the name of a yɔrka coming to exercise a kunu, the lineage head conducts him to the grand man who makes sure that there is no question of pretense.

643 The grand man, in the thought of the Boni, has the
775 power to compel any yɔrka to manifest itself.

787 He conducts the person concerned to the fraga tiki and
695 invokes the yɔrka. If pretense is involved, the individual will not be able to articulate a syllable. If it is true possession, the yɔrka will speak through his mouth.

614 clan names. He went to his mother's brother, and asked for the origin of his own clan, and the relationship that existed between the lo to which he belonged and the others.

"It is for the old men to know," his uncle replied. "When you are old, you will know these things."

"But you must tell me. It is my right," the young man insisted.

"It will be your right," the older man corrected him.

And there the matter rested. But from one, and from another, we gathered the clan names. One village belonged to one clan, its obia was confided to us, and at another village we learned the name of still another clan. So the list of names slowly grew—ten, twelve, thirteen, fourteen. But some clans were paired in a fashion we could not fathom, and when the clans are grouped so as to express the tribe as a whole, the expression that is used is that of "the twelve lo."

614 423 The clan we found to be rooted deep in the land. Each clan had its own territory, and in the region it controlled only the men of the clan might fish in the creeks or fell the hardwood trees which the white man in the city bought. All of the up-river clans had land on the lower river near the railhead, and an important down-river clan, like that of the Gankwe people, had land deep in the interior. Whether fear of invasion, on the one hand, or the need to have their own strongholds in the event of factional disputes, on the other, dictated this division of the land, it was, of course, impossible to determine. Yet it was unquestionably useful for a clan to have representation up and down the river in this fashion. Thus a man, as he traveled up or down the river, would be sure of at least one or two places where he might count on receiving the welcome due him as one who is at home among those who have come from the same "old mother," and where he might feel spiritually safe among people of his own blood, and among the same gods as those of his own village.

631 619 Village, clan, and above these the tribe. So it was that the political order of the Bush Negro was integrated. Tribal

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

assemblies such as were reported from the Awka people on the Marowyne were here not called regularly. There was no central body here to make decisions. The autonomy of village and clan seemed almost unquestioned. There were, to be sure, clan alliances, but these bore more directly on the factions which had formed to control the choice of the next headman. At this krutu, therefore, which had just gathered, there were Captain Sungi, head of the Kasito or Dahomey clan, and And'u, the able chief of the Dombi people, and the headman of the Popoto people, and the headman of the Anago. But Fandya of Baikutu who headed the Nasi people was not there, nor were the Awana people represented, nor the Alabaisa, nor Kwama, nor Bi'ito, nor Fandaki, to cite some examples. Of the missing chiefs, several of them lived a considerable distance from the seat of the Granman, and indeed had been to his village but few times.

"Ai, men must krutu," Kasanya had told us one day on the river. "If a few men decide, then the others have anger in their hearts. That is not good. When the lanti meets, and all men talk, then those who came with anger cool their hearts. Talk is good."

And another time, Sedefo had found occasion to quote the proverb, "If you have not settled one thing, you cannot go on to the second." The best way was to talk things over until all men saw that what was proposed was good or bad.

4

In the krutu house of Asindopo Lantiwe the Granman began to speak.

"Mati—friends—the white man has come. He sits there. With him is his wife. She is there beside him. The man from the white man's city has come. He is there. He will speak for the white man. The white man has a cook. The cook is outside."

"So it is, G'aman," said Captain Sungi.

"Mati, the white man came. All who come to me must eat. The white man must eat."

"True, true, master of the realm."

/7 cont./

101 [175] [567] 4th. Bonnie /Boni/ Negroes, living on the river above Marowyne; until 1862 they were in a state of slavery among the Aucaners, but at that time, through the intervention of the government, they were released from it. Their name is supposed to be derived from a former runaway slave who had placed himself at their head.

Chapter III

Government, Laws, Administration of Justice

643 [292] Each of these tribes, except for the Bonnie Negroes, has a chief whom they call granman (governor); the uniform given to him by the government is a blue tunic with epaulets and a cocked hat with white plush.

Among the Aucaners the chief is called Byman, a cunning, courageous, and prudent man, around 63 years old.

The chief of the Saramaccaners is called Abram, an infirm old man who is very weak of character and has little influence.

The Mantoewari Negroes have a chief called Kalkoen, who, although aged and infirm, can nonetheless still be called firm of character.

631 /8/ Under their chief they have a certain number of captains and council members. The former are divided into bush captains, who take command in case of war, and into house or land captains, who deal with internal matters with the chief. The token of their prestige given to them by the government consists of a large staff with a round silver ball (drum-major's stick), on which is the Netherlands coat of arms with "Je maintiendrai." [554]

344 They have a large open shed which serves them as court and which they call kroetoehoso (probably derived from the English "courthouse").

682 Their legislation is very limited. One who kills another is punished with death; one who poisons someone suffers death by torture, provided that substantial irrefutable proof exists. (See Chapter XI below.) If the death penalty is not appropriate, the

641 over whom it was exercised. When the ancestors of the Bush Negroes were brought to New World slavery, what [567] measure of acquiescence they showed was due to the fact that slavery was not an unfamiliar tradition to them. They knew of the war captive, or the man convicted of a serious crime, who was a slave to one of their own kind. But the experience of the white man's slavery was a crucible in which the ownership of man by man, and the unquestioning obedience which men owed to those of higher rank, were destroyed, leaving only the ideal of the life of free men. "Free!" was the way in which one Bush Negro toasted [273] another, or a white man, when he drank with him. A "*Man Nengere*," an adult Negro was, above all, a free man, and 621 it was as a freeman that he was governed, for though villages had chiefs, and there were bassias who were subordinate to chiefs, and though above the village chiefs were clan chiefs, and over them all the Granman, yet the final word rested with the members of each subsidiary body, and not with its leader.

624 Every village had its officials, and its medium for discus- 622 sions. Every clan had its head, and its old men, who, [614] sounding out the will of the clan members, consulted with that head when questions were to be decided. For the decisions affecting the entire Saramacca River, there were [643] the Granman and his krutu, before whom questions of [692] larger policy or disputes between villages were brought.

Perhaps most impressive of all was the measure of auton- 632 omy which each village had. A village, or certainly a group 614 of neighboring villages belonging to the same clan, formed 609 a small kingdom. A Bush Negro of another village who came to visit, came as any stranger, paddle in hand, his top cloth covering his loin cloth. When he found himself in a strange village on a night when a dance was being given, he did not join the dancers until after much urging by a native of that village, and then he danced little, and if he were a particularly fine dancer, he took care not to flaunt his superior gifts. The exception to this, to be sure, were the sacred dances, when a stranger, whose god came

to him when the drums called that god, could not be held accountable for what he did while his god had him in his control.

No stranger, no man who came to live in his wife's village, even though he had spent a good part of his life there, took it upon himself to offer advice to his wife's family. Again and again we would hear from men and women on the river, "In our village we do it this way," or, "We only carry the corpse on the head twice. Our spirits don't like to be troubled more often," or, "Mawu as a name for the Great God is used in our village, but not everywhere on the river."

There was the experience with several sacred images of village gods we had bought from an upper-river village. Our paddlers refused to carry them for us from the village to the boats, and it was with marked uneasiness that they permitted us to put them into the boats.

"We do not know what these gods can do. We do not know what is hateful to them. They are the gods of another people. We won't carry them."

But with the *gomi*—the child of the village of his mother's family, it was quite otherwise. He was a member of the village, he had a voice in its governing, he knew its gods. If he belonged to the family of the chief of the clan, if, let us say, his older brother were the chief, or if he was one of several nephews of a chief who had no surviving brothers, then at the death of the chief there would be a krutu, and the men of the village would decide which one of the several men who were eligible for the office was the most capable. Though rank was hereditary there was always selection among several heirs, and again the final word rested with the people of the clan. The offices of lesser chiefs—village chiefs who were subject to the clan chief, or bassias who served the chiefs—were passed on in the same manner.

While law making was in the hands of the chiefs, or captains, and the krutu over which they presided, law enforcement was the task of the bassias. It was they who saw to it that the orders of the chiefs were carried out. When

Granman's chair, and the Granman sent the dark flame of his eyes into all the corners of the house to verify the bassia's statement that all were there. The krutu was about to begin. 623

3

Discussion among the Bush Negroes is the close companion of authority, and both are symbolized in the word *krutu*. Krutu is at once court and parliament, and whether it was that two Bush Negroes wished to discuss the proffered price for a carved paddle, or whether the Granman and his elders met to assess a penalty against a recalcitrant village, the term applied was the same—krutu. [646]

We had had no little experience ourselves with krutu by the time we reached Asindopo Lantiwe. When our paddlers came to us again and again to suggest added fees for the journey upstream, they came to krutu with us. When at Gankwe it had been decided that Sedefo and his three companions might go with us, it was a krutu, and at Pa'aba when the men "went to one side" and decided we were not to be brought to the village where men whose spirits were strong danced Kromanti, it was again krutu. There were, too, the innumerable krutu in the villages on the way when we asked to buy carvings or obias or fish traps.

Now when the question was being decided formally whether we would be permitted to stay here on the upper river, it was again a krutu.

To understand what was implied in the term, how the Bush Negro himself regarded it, what the etiquette surrounding it was, and how it was integrated into the life of these people, it was necessary to range far and wide over this bush civilization. At the core of this word we found two ideas. One was the necessity of direction. "When the boat lacks a steersman, it sleeps quietly," these people say of a village whose chief is dead. Direction, authority was their legacy from Africa. Their ancestors had known the rule of dynasties, and the power of men who reigned. 641

But there was also the idea of the importance of free discussion, the need to weld authority and the will of those

641 over whom it was exercised. When the ancestors of the Bush Negroes were brought to New World slavery, what [567] measure of acquiescence they showed was due to the fact that slavery was not an unfamiliar tradition to them. They knew of the war captive, or the man convicted of a serious crime, who was a slave to one of their own kind. But the experience of the white man's slavery was a crucible in which the ownership of man by man, and the unquestioning obedience which men owed to those of higher rank, were destroyed, leaving only the ideal of the life of free men. "Free!" was the way in which one Bush Negro toasted [273] another, or a white man, when he drank with him. A "*Man Nengere*," an adult Negro was, above all, a free man, and 621 it was as a freeman that he was governed, for though villages had chiefs, and there were bassias who were subordinate to chiefs, and though above the village chiefs were clan chiefs, and over them all the Granman, yet the final word rested with the members of each subsidiary body, and not with its leader.

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/72 cont./

577 671 641 The morality of the Refugee Blacks knows in effect only obligations of a social and religious order. As for everything concerning material life, each one has the absolute right, one could even say the duty, to act as he sees fit, insofar as he does not wrong anyone else.

643 671 641 [756] If the grand man gave an order obliging someone to act against his own interest, for example if he wished to lower arbitrarily the price of boats, this order would be lawfully void. If the grand man has very great personal influence, he can persuade the Boni that it is to their interest to obey such a prescription, but in no case can his command have the effect of imposing by force an arbitrary order foreign to the social and religious tradition; the present grand man is weak in character to boot, sensitive to the influence of the Creoles and very little given to exerting any authority.

643 771 In reality, the office of grand man is above all religious. The grand man centralizes, if one may say so, the struggle against evil forces and watches ceaselessly over the welfare of the collectivity.

643 764 When a man dies, his near relatives come to report on the questioning of the yɔrka. Burial cannot take place until the grand man has made sure that all the prescriptions have been filled. People come to report to him again after the burial so that he can be sure that no suprahuman danger remains.

643 775 [782] The grand man has special power over the yɔrka (spirits) of the dead, which the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks place on a level intermediate between the human and the divine. When one of these yɔrka exerts against a lineage a vengeance (kunu) whose malignity goes beyond habitual bounds, the grand man beseeches it to stop; they allege that things go back to normal, at least for a time.

This power attributed to the grand man invests him, in the eyes of the Boni, with a suprahuman character. It is the very foundation of his political power.

/74 cont./

692 693 [641] An essential principle of the social life of the Refugee Blacks is that every citizen carries the law within himself. If several men are requested to arbitrate a private quarrel, it is said that they form a lãnti kuutu. But they can hand down only a sentence of conciliation. Only the general assembly convoked by the grand man has the power to impose its decision.

692 775 The ordinary role of the lãnti kuutu is to judge the dead, to make sure that they were not wisimã (sorcerers), to proceed to their interrogation in order to give the force of law to the answers, especially in what concerns inheritance.

692 693 775 The lãnti kuutu meets when a death is announced; the first to arrive go to the grand man who designates two of the captains to preside over the council this time (for all the members are equal). In fact, rare are the councils attended by all the men present in the villages. Most of the time the lãnti kuutu groups only about 30 men, mostly old men.

692 The lãnti kuutu meets very rarely to judge a living man. That has happened only three times between 1948 and 1957.

692 687 In 1948 the grand man convoked the lãnti kuutu to judge a man who, duly called as boatman to take him to Saint-Laurent, had not come. He was sentenced to make a pallisade around the grand man's habitation, which took more than a month of work. /75/

692 685 In 1953 the council met to judge Loko (Dju), who had made himself guilty of aggravated theft (simulated shipwreck to the detriment of a Benzdorp trader and resale of the merchandise), for which he had been condemned by French justice to several months in prison. Loko had to make honorable amends in the presence of the assembled members of his lineage, then he was sentenced to make 50 planks for the benefit of the grand man.

[224] [643] In August, 1957, the council met to judge Pototo (Asisi-Dju), 23 years old, and Amusupé (Asisi-Aw.B.), 70 years old, who were guilty of a grave offense: misappropriation of a tapir (malpouri) killed by a Djuka who, feeling gratitude toward the grand man, had made known his intention to offer him part of the meat.

/195 cont./

794 [181] The laws of Odun. The cult of Odun (Odũ) is the keystone of the social and religious structure of the Refugee Blacks. It is a very secret cult; its rites are not practiced in the presence of outsiders and all curiosity about it meets with frank hostility. [123] The Boni, who talk rather freely about the cults of possession, are mute on the subject of Odun, and one may spend years among them without even hearing this name uttered.

794 184 The worship of Odun is common to the Boni and the Saramaka (perhaps this is what explains the trustful relations which exist between the two groupings). Among the Djuka it is replaced by the worship of Gwangwéla (Grantata), which has exactly the same functions and rites.

776 Odun is not to be confused with the creator God Nana (Masa Gadu). The myths explaining the relationship of these two entities were not known by our informants, but it is clear that Odun was sent to men by Masa Gadu as legislator and judge.

671 Odun's laws have a profound originality, as much by their content as by the sanctions which accompany them. It is not excessive to speak of a religious and moral doctrine of the Refugee Blacks.

[641] These laws appear in negative form. A certain number of acts and behavior are forbidden to those who have entered the society of the Refugee Blacks by taking an oath which binds 784 them for good and all. Offenders will be punished without the direct intervention of men, by the all-powerful action of Odun, who will kill them or /196/ strike them down with sicknesses. As a general rule, Odun's punishment is death; this is what explains the fear his name inspires.

673 [754] Odun forbids:

--Sorcery, wisi, in the most general sense, that is, any magic action having as its purpose the killing, making ill, and in a general way doing harm to another person.

/196 cont./

[673] --Vengeance; if someone believes himself to be the
[794] victim of witchcraft, he must under no circumstances engage
[629] in counterwitchcraft or invoke his ancestors against his enemy.
He may ask only for the protection of the Phia. It is Odun who
[784] will avenge him by sooner or later killing the evil-doer.

--Violence in any form whatever. It is regarded as a
[683] particularly serious offense against the laws of Odun to strike
with an armed hand and to make human blood flow (1).

[684] 1. That explains the strictness with which the society of the Refugee Blacks limits the right of punishment granted to the wronged husband, who must strike only with bare fists in front of witnesses, never in the bush nor on the river. Fear of seeing
[826] human blood flow explains the
[952] reticence of the Boni toward minor surgical operations.

[641] --Any attack on personal liberty by material or moral
[586] coercion; in particular, neither a man nor woman may be constrained to remain in a marriage which has ceased to please him; nobody may be forced to reside here or there.

[232] The forms of magic so popular among West Indians, aimed at capturing a person's love, are for this reason rejected by the Refugee Blacks and considered as a form of wisi.

[769] --Any évocation of the spirits of the dead, even to ask
[954] them for protection, other than in the public ceremonies provided for by custom. Thus nobody must go to the cemetery to pray alone on his parents' grave. Whoever would do that would immediately be considered as wisima.

/67 cont./

613 554 692 [542] 2) He exerts an extended judiciary power, for it is taken for granted that the legal and political power of the tribe cannot intervene in affairs between members of the same lineage, even murder, for it can be said that in the custom of the Refugee Blacks the lineage represents only one single life.

It is obligatory that the following be settled within the framework of the lineage:

[754] --Accusations of murder by sorcery where victim and supposed murderer are both members of the lineage;

[723] [578] --Arguments over lands within the zones effectively possessed by the lineage.

613 554 692 577 The way in which the captain exercises his functions as judge is hard to know, because for the Refugee Blacks it is extremely shameful to reveal the dissensions within one's own lineage. And as for those of other lineages, if one succeeds in becoming acquainted with them, one scarcely dares talk about it for if that came to be known you could smart for it.

613 466 554 Lineage heads have a certain authority on the material level; they designate the men charged with doing the work ordered by the administration, but truth to tell, it is above all a question of choosing from among volunteers, for it is profitable work. They might not succeed in imposing clearly unpopular orders.

613 554 624 The captain designates a certain number of supervisors or basia to help him. Their /68/ role consists in watching over the cleanliness of the village, in making all the material arrangements relative to dances and burials, in calling together those concerned to the meetings of the council.

613 571 The lo constitutes a unit from the spiritual point of view, but it is important to notice that it does not involve any collective organization on the material level. In this domain the wildest individualism reigns; there are no tools for collective use, and people get together to make their clearings only if they want to.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SRS Bush Negroes SRS
Saramacca

Both of these men carried
long wands of office, of black wood topped with silver 292
knobs. About their necks were heavy silver chains, and 554
from each chain was suspended a large silver crescent. 643
[293]

Another man stood near them to one side. He wore a long coat of white edged with scarlet and blue. He carried 554
no stick, and wore no insignia. On his head, over a white 643
kerchief wound tightly about the head and caught up in the back, was a white sun helmet. Above his head, held by one of the younger men who accompanied him, was an umbrella, the highest emblem of rank. It betokened that this man was Moana Yankuso, Granman of the Saramacca people.

3

Kasanya was first out of the boat when the dugouts 622
were brought to shore, and after him came Bibifo. Sedefo 574
and Asikanu remained with the younger men, waiting for 576
the Granman to indicate that he wished to receive them. Only men of rank and elderly members of his own clan [554]
would go at this time to speak to the headman, who stood there watching the boats.

"We came, G'aman," we heard Kasanya say, "and we brought the Bak'a." Two or three low-voiced sentences followed, and then the conversation was terminated by the elderly functionary in the yellow coat, who came down to our boat.

"I greet you in the name of the G'aman, Bak'a," he announced. "The G'aman himself awaits you. Come with me."

As we stepped out of the boat, the hallooing of the women 574
and the shouts of the children, which had stopped when the 576
paddlers addressed the Granman, began once again, and, 609
as an underlying voice, the salutes from the shotgun were 643
to be heard. The old man, shifting his wand of office to his left hand, now carefully helped first the one, then the other out of the boat and, offering his arm to each in turn, led us to the top of the steep rise, until we were face to face with the Granman. It would have been unlucky had we lost our footing at this moment of welcome. This chieftain was

574 there not only to tender the courtesy due the guests of the
576 tribal head, but to see that no such mishap occurred to
609 them.
643 When we had both gained the ascent, he turned to the Granman.

"Headman Yankuso, the Bak'a is before you."

As though just become aware of us, Yankuso fixed us with his eyes, fastening his glance on each in turn.

"Odi, white man. White woman, odi!"

A great figure of a man he was, as he stood there. Tall and massive of build, he towered over those who surrounded
[291] him. Barefooted like the rest, there was that in his bearing which was the way of a man who was accustomed to obedience, whose word was final. He was pure Negro. His skin was dark. In his features there was no hint that the lineage of this ruler held any of the blood of the white masters, nor that his ancestors numbered among them Indians who had given way before his invading forbears. His face was impassive, yet underneath the outward immobility was an alertness which the glistening, oil-anointed skin made the more alive. His speech was measured, his words articulated with studied emphasis, which gave to each of them the value of a completed image.

"*Bari*—Cry out!" he called to the women in his vibrant voice. "Halloo, give the welcome of the bush to the people who came."

Amid the renewed cries which his command brought, we turned from the river bank and walked slowly up the path toward the village, past the silk-cotton tree, past the shrine to the ancestors, until we reached an open place on which fronted half a dozen thatched buildings.

"This is my house, white man," he said, pointing to it. "I will put you near me. I will put you in the council house."

4

344 The council house at Asindopo Lantiwe—the village of Asin, the seat of government—was unlike any we had seen.

AT THE COURT OF THE GRANMAN

Above the door was a shelf which did not quite reach the entire width of the wall, and on this shelf were the council benches, which the Granman supplied to the visiting chiefs. These benches were small, low, and as little ornamented with carvings as the work stools used by the women. But on the sides symbols were incised, and at least two of them we were able to identify as clan emblems. One of these had the conventionalized patterning of the hatchet, the emblem of the Granman's clan, and another a flower which is associated with the people from whose group come the principal diviners. The tops of these simple stools sometimes had inlays of dark wood, but whether their outlines were of ritualistic importance or not, no one would say. 344 352 [532]

From the beams hung several umbrellas, still inside the wrappings in which they had come from the white man's city, and a wickless metal lamp, into whose chains envelopes were inserted. These envelopes contained letters received by the Granman which awaited the coming of the missionary to be read, or letters which had already been read, and were there to add color to the official scene. 344 353 344 352 177

There were also other *Bakra sani*—white man's things—in the house. A canvas folding chair which filled almost an entire wall stood against the slats beside which, on the outside, were the earthen jars. This was for the Granman. He sat in it with the majesty of an emperor. No one ever approached it too closely, and we were never invited to take our ease in it when the Granman was in his own house. 643

In addition, there was a table in the center of the room, covered with a red and black plaid cloth from the city, and two straight-back chairs. On the table stood an alarm clock which was set for the noncommittal hour of twelve and a glass decanter filled with rum. [352]

Chief And'u was the first to join us inside.

"It is fine here at the G'aman's."

"Yes, it is a fine house. And you, And'u, you look well in your coat. Is it when you are with the Granman that you dress so?" 622 642

622 "It is the coat of a chief. All chiefs wear these coats
292 At the G'aman's we wear the best we have."
[293] We looked at his silver-topped wand of office. "Do all chiefs carry these?" we asked.

"Not every chief has a stick like mine. And all chiefs do not have one of these." He pointed to the crescent of silver which hung from a chain about his neck.

"It is beautiful."

"Ya-hai. And it's old."

Embossed on the silver plaque were the arms of Holland, richly worked.

622 "After the time of running away, when the fighting was
648 over between our ancestors and the whites, these were given
293 to us, and the wands of office. But not all chiefs have their
643 wands from the white man. Some have the ones we call 'free sticks.' A man who has a 'free stick' is not a chief for the white man, but we know that he is a chief."

He added that the whites had made an agreement with the escaped Negroes that if they would no longer raid the plantations and carry away slaves with them they would be considered free men in their bush, under the white man's government. Since that time the Bush Negro Granman and certain of the village chiefs had had official recognition, and as a token of this each of them had been given a uniform, a
[292] high hat, a crescent with the arms of Holland worked on it, a silver-headed staff, and an annual stipend.

"The chiefs who have 'free sticks,' the white man does not pay."

576 As we spoke of these things, we were interrupted from time to time by the noiseless brushing aside of the cloth which hung above the door, and the entrance of one of our men, or a man of the Granman's village, who brought in our canisters and hammocks. With not even a glance in our direction, they would leave as noiselessly and return to the river. Through the slatted side walls we could hear the sounds of such activity as we had not thought possible in the tropics.

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AT THE COURT OF THE GRANMAN

Now it was the Granman's turn to supply the interpolations, while Kasanya and Bibifo reported. 622 576 574

"Yes, so it is. So I know it to be myself. So I have heard," he spoke when they paused.

But when the ceremonial greetings were over, and the conversation turned to down-river affairs, the Granman leaned forward in his chair and talked with the men informally. They were all clan members, or men belonging to clans whose allegiance to the Granman's rule was undoubted, and they talked over many things in the way men do when they meet with their own kind. 622 643 521 [614]

The room was growing darker. Yankuso called through the slatted wall against which he was leaning, and the young man who had fired the guns entered.

"Bassia, it is getting late. We must leave this house to the white man. These men with me are my friends. They must drink before they leave."

The bassia took the decanter from the table, and from the shelf underneath it, where we could dimly see shells and containers of shot, he took several small glasses. Before taking the glass to his lips, each man poured some of the liquor on the ground as a libation to the Earth Mother, and, as each drank, he turned to Yankuso and asked if he might leave. 576 273

"*Mi da permissi*—I grant you permission," he said to each.

When we had finished our meal, it was already dark. At the door of his own house, Granman Yankuso was sitting on a low stool.

"I have something for you," he said, disappearing inside his house. When he came out, he held in his hand some black object, which we were unable to identify. "You have fire?" he asked, as he suspended this object from a tree which grew between his house and the one in which we were staying. 354 574

"There was a white Hollander here who brought this to me. He went from here farther into the bush. He never came out. Light is a good thing at night. When visitors

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Chapter XI

THE COUNCIL OF THE ELDERS

I

GRANMAN Yankuso's day began before the break of dawn. When the day was at its coolest men's hearts were cool, people said here on the river, and when hearts were cool they could be trusted with weighty matters. But long before men came to stand outside the Granman's house advising with him as he lay in his hammock, the women arrived to report in low monotones the happenings of the previous day, and to take orders for the one to follow. 512 643 [826] [623]

Lying in our hammocks in the council house, separated from the speakers by the wall of palings and perhaps five feet of clearing, we could hear voices outside from a little after three in the morning, until with the coming day the soft footfalls died down and gave way to the sound of stamping mortars and the cries of children recalling their mothers from early tasks. 512

What was being said outside we could not hear, but as the days wore on we learned to recognize the voices of the speakers. We learned to know from the rapid, contradicting flow of words which followed upon one of the Granman's orders, that it was his principal wife who spoke, or from the halting, crooning phrases, the voice of his eldest daughter, who had mastered her father's gentlest intonations and now of a morning brought them forth as though she were speaking her lesson. We learned to know as well the range and intensity of the subdued grunts with which 194

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pieces of red and blue cloth worked with this thread, so that again the white vertebrae showed. Bayo and Angita wore their beads, and each had a garter below the knee of the right leg. Their garters were white in color, but of a whiteness which only new, unwashed cotton has. They were about an inch and a half wide and were so tight that the muscle of the calf bulged prominently. On their upper arms were Kromanti rings of iron which, by contracting, warned the men of impending danger. In addition, Sedefo and Angita wore the bell obia of the Gankwe people, and Bayo his love obia which had come from Lamé.

"When do you go, Sedefo?"

"When the G'aman speaks. When we finish a piece of work, then we do not want to be paid at once. We do not leave at once. It would be as if we had not gone together in pleasure and wanted to be away as soon as possible. With the white man it is one thing. In the bush we do not do it so. Here in the G'aman's village, we do as we do with our own people in the bush," he paused for an instant, and looked about toward the clearing outside the palings. "There is another thing. In the G'aman's village, men cannot leave until the G'aman gives permission. When the G'aman is ready, he will call us. We will speak together. Then we will speak with him again. Then we will ask to go."

Bayo had been looking about the council house with an interest which was not unmixed with awe at the Granman's possessions, and he spoke in whispers.

"Ai, when the G'aman gives permission, then we go."

As he spoke, the cloth over the doorway was gently thrust aside. Bassia Anaisi of the Granman's village entered. He was the man who had fired the saluting gun the day of our arrival and who had at the Granman's call come to serve the visiting chiefs with rum. He now greeted each in turn but did not take down a bench. For a moment he stood there, head lowered out of deference to the character of the place where he was, then he coughed slightly and, turning to us, said, "The G'aman is ready for you. The chiefs are here."

623 Our paddlers rose at once and left the council house. A
643 moment later And'u entered, followed by a group of elders
[291] with closely drawn kerchiefs covering their heads. Among these only Kasanya and Bibifo were known to us. Kasanya brought his bench close to ours and moved it yet closer, with a gesture of the head that he wanted to continue the intimacy of our ten days' journey together.

"White man," he said, leaning over and whispering, "call your man from the city. At a krutu a man has someone to speak for him. So we do here."

576 And so, we soon saw, it was. Address in the council of the
623 Saramacca people was always by indirection. If the Gran-
643 man wished to speak to one of his chiefs, then he gave his message through another chief, though the man for whom the words were intended might be closer to him or more clearly in view.

643 Others came in, until the room was half filled when the
623 Granman entered. Today he wore a printed red and black
[292] loose coat of knee length, and over it the ceremonial cloth
302 worn by men here in the bush, so that where other men's
291 bare shoulders showed was the sleeve of his coat. On his head were both kerchief and sun helmet. The men were anointed with oil, and many of them wore the jaguar's tooth obia. The last to enter was a man who was well past middle age, and he was followed by the young *obiaman* from S'ei. Both of these men wore the cloths required of men when not at work, but they were not so uncreased, or so new. Nor were their bodies bright with oil. The older man had several broad stripes of white clay from wrist to shoulder of his right arm, and from knee to pelvis on the inner left thigh. Slung from one shoulder and reaching across to the opposite thigh was a white obia made of native fiber, and on his neck were several others. To these
[289] obias were added iron bands on his arms, while below his right knee and at the ankle of his right foot were other obias made of fiber and twisted black thread.

623 The men we knew greeted us as they took down their benches and found places against the wall farthest from the

641 over whom it was exercised. When the ancestors of the Bush Negroes were brought to New World slavery, what [567] measure of acquiescence they showed was due to the fact that slavery was not an unfamiliar tradition to them. They knew of the war captive, or the man convicted of a serious crime, who was a slave to one of their own kind. But the experience of the white man's slavery was a crucible in which the ownership of man by man, and the unquestioning obedience which men owed to those of higher rank, were destroyed, leaving only the ideal of the life of free men. "Free!" was the way in which one Bush Negro toasted [203] another, or a white man, when he drank with him. A "*Man Nèngere*," an adult Negro was, above all, a free man, and 621 it was as a freeman that he was governed, for though villages had chiefs, and there were bassias who were subordinate to chiefs, and though above the village chiefs were clan chiefs, and over them all the Granman, yet the final word rested with the members of each subsidiary body, and not with its leader.

624 Every village had its officials, and its medium for discus-
622 sions. Every clan had its head, and its old men, who, [614] sounding out the will of the clan members, consulted with that head when questions were to be decided. For the decisions affecting the entire Saramacca River, there were [643] the Granman and his krutu, before whom questions of [692] larger policy or disputes between villages were brought.

Perhaps most impressive of all was the measure of auton-
632 omy which each village had. A village, or certainly a group
614 of neighboring villages belonging to the same clan, formed
609 a small kingdom. A Bush Negro of another village who came to visit, came as any stranger, paddle in hand, his top cloth covering his loin cloth. When he found himself in a strange village on a night when a dance was being given, he did not join the dancers until after much urging by a native of that village, and then he danced little, and if he were a particularly fine dancer, he took care not to flaunt his superior gifts. The exception to this, to be sure, were the sacred dances, when a stranger, whose god came

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assemblies such as were reported from the Awka people 631
on the Marowyne were here not called regularly. There 619
was no central body here to make decisions. The autonomy of village and clan seemed almost unquestioned. There were, to be sure, clan alliances, but these bore more directly on the factions which had formed to control the choice of the next headman. At this krutu, therefore, which had just 627
gathered, there were Captain Sungi, head of the Kasito or 623
Dahomey clan, and And'u, the able chief of the Dombi people, and the headman of the Popoto people, and the headman of the Anago. But Fandya of Baikutu who headed the Nasi people was not there, nor were the Awana people represented, nor the Alabaisa, nor Kwama, nor Bi'ito, nor Fandaki, to cite some examples. Of the missing chiefs, several of them lived a considerable distance from the seat of the Granman, and indeed had been to his village but few times.

"Ai, men must krutu," Kasanya had told us one day 627
on the river. "If a few men decide, then the others have anger in their hearts. That is not good. When the lanti meets, and all men talk, then those who came with anger cool their hearts. Talk is good."

And another time, Sedefo had found occasion to quote the proverb, "If you have not settled one thing, you cannot go on to the second." The best way was to talk things over until all men saw that what was proposed was good or bad.

4

In the krutu house of Asindopo Lantiwe the Granman 623
began to speak. 574
"Mati—friends—the white man has come. He sits there. 643
With him is his wife. She is there beside him. The man from the white man's city has come. He is there. He will speak for the white man. The white man has a cook. The cook is outside."

"So it is, G'aman," said Captain Sungi.

"Mati, the white man came. All who come to me must eat. The white man must eat."

"True, true, master of the realm."

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623 574 643 "Bassia," said the Granman, as he turned to the young man who had come to announce the krutu to us, "go and tell the lanti the white man has come. Tell the lanti the white man must be fed. All who come to this place must eat. Tell the people they must hunt and fish. Let them bring their kill to us here. Let them bring the fish they catch in their traps. Let all know, and may the gods favor their hunting."

"Ai, clever master," came the response, as the bassia left to issue the orders of the Granman.

623 648 "Bak'a," he said, turning to us, "you come from the city of the white man. The G'aman of the white man, in the white man's city, two moons ago, sent a message to us. It is here." He rose from his chair, and reached for several envelopes which were inserted in the chains of the hanging lamp. "What has been written, we cannot read. You know the writing that white men know. Read what the G'aman of the white man has said."

We opened the letter, with its great official seal. In it was a message from the Governor of the Colony, telling Granman Yankuso of our projected trip to the country of the Saramacca people, asking that we be received by him at his village. All this was read in its translation and transmitted to the Granman by our town man. As he spoke, it was the Granman who punctuated his pauses with the ceremonial affirmations.

"So it is."

"So I hear."

"It is as I know."

All listened attentively to the reading of the letter, and when it was concluded, the Granman turned to the members of the krutu.

"Captain Awagi, when I go to the white man's city, word is sent on ahead so that the people of the city know when the G'aman of the Saramacca people comes. So it is in the bush. When a white man comes to the bush, it is well that from the white man's city they tell me who is coming."

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THE COUNCIL OF THE ELDERS

"Kodo!" 623

"Another letter has come, Bak'a. Will you read that one, too?" 648

This was a communication written by a lumber factor down the river. One of the villages, it seemed, was in dispute with another over timber rights. The case was laid before the Granman by the factor, who asked that the controversy be settled promptly, since the dispute was keeping the men of both villages from cutting the lumber which had been promised him. 692 643 648 578 313 623

Yankuso now spoke again: "You have heard the message, friends. The man who buys timber asks that I settle this dispute between two of our clans. Their villages are far from here. The clans of the Saramacca people can settle their own disputes."

"Gbolo!"

"So I say, friends. I can look at the cows, but from a distance I cannot tell how many there are. It is not for us here to decide this."

"*Kweti, kweti!*—No, no!"

"It is true, friends, as the Saramacca people say, 'The G'aman's breasts are for all his children.' But it is not my children who have come to me. Bak'a," he said, suddenly turning to us, "later you will write for me to this man who buys lumber. Tell him that for the sake of sweet soup a man eats sour dumplings. So I say."

The Granman looked about him. The heat of midday filled the darkness of the council house, and old Bibifo had dozed off. The gaze of the chief fixed him.

"Mati!" he said, when Bibifo stirred. "Sleep is death!"

Slowly the Granman's eyes circled the room until they came to us.

"The Bak'a has come," he repeated, with his slow intonation, every syllable clearly enunciated. "When the Bak'a came, the rain fell. From Asindopo Lantiwe we shot guns of welcome, from Abenda Konde guns were shot. In the heavens, the gods spoke them welcome. There was thunder." 643 574 821 623

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643 "True, true, G'aman."

821 "Captain And'u, the gods sent the rain to cool every-
776 thing when the Bak'a came. The gods of the river carried
623 the Bak'a without mishap. We have heard of what the Bak'a has done. He has been at your country, at S'ei. He says he comes to learn. He says he does not come to buy wood or to work gold. What he says is good. Yet a full creek does not clear the bank of weeds. Tell us what the Bak'a did in your country, Captain And'u."

609 "The Bak'a came to S'ei. All that was there he looked
123 at. He walked about the village. His woman talked to our
623 women. The Bak'a spoke with our men. He asked about the obias in the krutu house. His woman asked our women about their gods. What was the name of the wife of the Gran Gadu, he wanted to know."

With every sentence, came the affirmation of the chief.

"So I know."

"So it is."

"By Ando!"

"So I heard."

And'u continued. "The Bak'a knows the land of the Negroes—*a sabi Afrika*. With him he has a great book. In it he has pictures."

"True, true."

"There are pictures of obias."

"Ya-hai!"

"There are pictures of the Kromanti houses."

"So it is!"

"There are pictures of people who have the gods."

"*Kweti-kweti*—No, no!"

"Yet pictures in S'ei the Bak'a did not make. The Bak'a said, 'If your ancestors tell you not to talk, do not talk. But when you talk, do not lie! That which we did not wish to be done he would not do, his woman would not do."

"Gbolo!" exclaimed the Granman, "this is as I have heard. Now the Bak'a has come up the river. His woman has light hair, she is as our Toné people. The river has
[976] treated the Bak'a well. The gods of the river have let the Bak'a pass.

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 787

"Wife of the G'aman, [539]
I come from the river.
Go to the G'aman
Say to him,
These strangers are friends,
They bring no evil."

It was the god speaking, and the Granman's wife received with lowered head the words spoken through the priestess.

"Ai, my master. Ai, Massa Gadu," she said.

5

The Granman's paternal village was directly across the 361
river from Asindopo Lantiwe. It was called Akisiamau, 643
literally "Took with an outstretched hand," but whether there was also some meaning in the phrase not intended for the uninitiated, we could not learn. In size it was not much larger than the Granman's village, and again and again we recognized houses which were his by the crest-like [423]
carvings on the doorposts, that reproduced the design found not only at the side of the council-house door, but at the door of all other houses at Asindopo Lantiwe which were his.

Except for several old people who sat about in the shade 123
and waited for the strangers to come to them with their greetings, the entire village followed us as we made our way down one path and another.

"*Bak'a, Ame'ika Bak'a, Ame'ika Fandya!*—White man. American white man, American Fandya!" the children called after us, as they ran at our heels, touching our canteens, our sun helmets, and shoes.

The Granman had spoken with especial fondness of his 342
father's house, and it was there that we asked first to be 643
taken. It was not occupied, we were told, and none might enter it. Above the top crosspiece white cotton was draped. Except that its door was closed, it showed no signs of being

342 uninhabited. Its posts and walls and thatch were in
643 excellent condition, and there was not even the weather-beaten appearance about it of a house which had been closed for some time. Nor had it the kandu, the spiritual lock of unoccupied houses.

778 To one side of this house was the open shrine to the
346 great gods, the pole to the Sky God, the smaller one with a checked tunic across the middle of it for the Earth Mother. But there was also a figure of wood with a broad white cloth hung from it like a flag, and this, the villagers said, was the image of the Granman's father. When the dead man's spirit came to the village, it was this image he animated. In times of need and on days fixed by ritual, it was to this image that prayers and food were brought.

Some distance from this shrine, standing close to the uncleared bush, was a house that had been deserted. Half of it the great bush had already reclaimed. The thatch of the roof and one entire side wall had altogether disappeared, and in place of these were garlands of leafy vines, so closely interwoven and so brilliantly green in the sun as to give to the asymmetrical mass of weathered grayish palm, and the strangling green, a strange beauty. Not quite two years ago it had been abandoned, and soon it would be completely lost to the bush.

But the villagers looked the other way when we photographed it.

A little to one side of the house with the doorposts which showed the Granman's crests was a smaller hut, before
[789] whose door stretched a magic azang of palm fronds that marked it as a shrine.

[796] "This house is for the Apuku gods," said an old woman who heard our inquiry. "It belongs to me. It was built when my god told me to make it."

And without hesitation she led the way under the palm fronds through the opening.

This was the first time we had been permitted to enter a closed shrine. We had had descriptions of shrines from men with whom we had talked of the gods. There were some,

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Chapter XIV

GRANMAN MOANA YANKUSO

I

114 WHATEVER the rôle of the great man in the life of a people, there are names whose very mention bring up almost full-bodied an epoch, a great dynamic sweep of human thought and activity, of achievement, and sometimes of disaster. Perhaps the great individual does not exist until the poetic vision of a people gives to the skeleton of a name the flesh of a godhead. From earliest times and from people of varying civilizations have come down tales of these godheads, created, let us say if we like, out of a psychic need in the life of human beings to exalt personality in order that, imaginatively at least, the chasm between desire and insufficiency might be spanned.

●643 159 In the council house of Granman Yankuso, as we listened to his stories, these thoughts constantly recurred to us, and it is not strange, therefore, that now as we try to collect images and impressions of the man for an objective picture of him not only as a Bush Negro but as an individual, we think of him as typifying among the Negroes of the Saramacca today such a name and such a personality.

Already Moana Yankuso was something of a myth among the people of the coastal region and among his own people.

Men on the coast said, "Granman Yankuso is a silent [159] man. You will be with him for days, and he will never utter a word."

GRANMAN MOANA YANKUSO

"Granman Yankuso is the tallest man on the river, and the darkest," they said. "He speaks little. When he is angry, his growl strikes terror in all who hear him." 643 159 151

People said, "The Granman is a clever man. You can tell him about your work in the way you would speak to your own educated men, and he will understand you."

"They will take away everything you have up there on the river."

"They will never bring you to the Granman. He will see to it."

In the villages of the Saramacca country we heard again and again proverbs he had originated, which were quoted when men told of this almost mythical personality.

"The Granman says, 'No one must die, but the burial place cannot lie idle,'" Bayo once quoted him. [538]

"What does it mean, Bayo?"

"It is deep, white man. The Granman is wise."

Kasanya once quoted another of the Granman's proverbs. "If the gods say take one step at a time, do not stand still, and take two steps the next time in anger." [538]

On this river they told us that Granman Moana Yankuso knew all that went on. It was a kind of magic he had: whatever men did anywhere, he knew.

And they said, too, that men were afraid to cross him, not alone because of his rank, but because his spirits were strong.

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It is difficult to be objective about Moana Yankuso. In the terms his own people use, the explanation of his personality would be the explanation given of any other. 828 643

"He has strong gods."

If we urged them to explain what were the gods of a man they were praising, they would describe the Tiger spirit the man had, and what knowledge of healing and future events his Opete obia, his buzzard spirit, gave him, and how he had come by a special obia which had passed down to him from a famous magician of the earliest times.

REBEL DESTINY

643 159 In our own terms, if we were to picture the Granman as a splendid savage, cheerful, guileless, childlike, flattered by our interest, we would be belying his gifts of sophistication, and he would thank us little for these romantic outlines which, according to the values of his own civilization, would be insulting.

829 538 796 The code of life among these people was expressed in the proverb we had heard often spoken. "There are men on the upper river, there are men on the lower river, too." For survival in this bush, a man needed to match his strength and his wits and his magic, his kindliness and his enmity against those of any other. And the Bush Negro is a realist, for, as we had seen, not even the gods could be depended upon to be consistent—consistently good or consistently evil. The Bush Negro's gods, like humans, often did things for unaccountable reasons, because of a momentary whim, because of a desire to try the untried.

829 181 It was good to be guileless, but sometimes a man had to be a tiger, had to stalk his prey from behind. It was well enough to be a tiger, but sometimes a man needed the cunning of the bush hero, spider Anansi, who knew how to outwit the tiger. It was well enough to be an eagle, and be free and fly high, but sometimes a man needed the wit of the little bird konubri, who became king of all birds, because, when in the kingdom of birds there was a contest for the throne, it was he who, by perching on the back of the eagle, flew highest of all.

643 159 In the simplest of our own terms, Granman Moana Yankuso could be said to be a superb politician. In his villages, marriage alliances were calculated with the nicety of the best statesmanship. Whatever his own views, he saw to it that he never defied the arbiters of magic or the clan of the seat of magic, the Dahomey people. Toward the women of strange villages who came to see the white man and his woman, he showed an easy gallantry, which could not have been but flattering. When addressing the women who carried children astride their backs, he would speak gently to them and call them "mother" in greeting, and

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[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Saramacca

for the young girls he had the cavalier address of "wenki," possibly the English word wench under its seventeenth century connotation of young woman.

We had, thanks to the gods, perhaps, never seen him in the rôle of tiger, unless his parting krutu with the four Gankwe men could be said to symbolize its mood, if not its manner. To suggest that any full-grown Bush Negro—a man who had Kromanti—would be incapable, when need arose, of being the tiger, would, of course, be looked upon as the deepest affront.

But Moana Yankuso was more than an astute politician. Using our own values again, we admired his vitality, his dignity, his robust imagination, his wit. Perhaps what struck us particularly about him, when we came to know him in situations with his own people, was that here was a man who in intellect and will towered so much above those who were about him that he was a lonely figure. His age had become something of a myth, too. People said he was seventy, that he was more than that, that he was scarcely sixty. We had never seen his head without the covering kerchief, so that it was difficult to form any definite impression about his years. But in strength he was still a colossus, though it was not true that he was the tallest or the strongest or the darkest man on the river. His own son-in-law, Wilhelmina's husband, was perhaps a head taller than he, as was the drummer at Akisiamau, who had played the agida for us. We had seen him, cutlass in hand, clearing a path for us through the underbrush with amazing rapidity, as the courteous gesture of a host who wanted to insure our bathing in privacy. Had the underbrush been of papier-mâché, he could not have swung his strokes more surely or more tellingly.

Above all else, however, Granman Moana Yankuso was a magnificent talker, a fine story-teller. What we give of his conversations, and what incidents we describe, may suggest something of his personality. His full story will never be written.

REBEL DESTINY

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"Tell me this," said Granman Yankuso to us one evening when we sat alone with him in the council house, "why is it that things have changed so in the city? I am not a young man. For years I came to the city, and when I met Negro women of the town going to market or coming from market, they were dressed in full skirts. They looked well. Now the women dress in straight dresses like men. Straight up and down and short. They want to look like white people.

"Years ago when I came to the city, I used to hear Negroes laugh. It is good to hear laughter. Now they are trying to be like the whites. They do not laugh. That is not good. It would be better if white people laughed more, too.

"Why do Negroes want to turn into white people? Look, is my skin like yours? Is my daughter's hair like yours, white woman? If you put on a pangi, you will not look like my daughter. You, white man, are as tall as Captain And'u. If you put on a cloth over one shoulder, you will not look like And'u. . . .

"A man came to me in the city and said he wanted to go to Dahomey. He wore no obias. He was a white man's Negro. I said he couldn't go to Dahomey. The man said, 'Look, my skin is as black as yours.' 'Ai, but your heart isn't.'

"You know why I said it? There is your kind of magic, white man, and there is our kind of magic. White man's magic keeps men in cities, but here in the bush a man needs black man's magic to keep alive and black man's strength to go up and down the rivers.

"You white men have books. You read in books, and you know. I cannot read what men write, yet I can read in my own way. I meet a man, and I can read him. I look at him, and I know what he is thinking. Before he begins to talk, I know what he wants to say. What your ancestors knew they put down in books, and you read it. What our ancestors know, they tell us at night, they tell us in the cool of the

morning, they tell us when we call on them. That is the black man's way. 643 159

"You white people have money, you have fine houses, you wear clothes, you can count. They tell me that you say in your books all people must be friends. But you have wars. If white people kill white people, then *mati*—friend—how will it be with black people living among the whites?" 186 178

Granman Yankuso rose, when he said this, and took from the chains of the suspended lamp a folded envelope. He handed it to us, and from it we took out a letter on the stationery of the League of Nations, signed by its Secretary, Sir Eric Drummond. As we were reading this, he left the council house and soon returned with a larger envelope, which he had kept uncreased, and from it brought out a photograph of the Council of the League of Nations in session. They were his proud possessions. While the World War lasted there was no work for the Bush Negroes on the river. They could not earn the money they needed to buy cloths for marrying and powder and rum for ceremonial usage. The Bush Negroes called it a "great money famine," in the way of their Anansi stories which so often began with "This was a time of great famine." Through a missionary on the upper river, the Granman learned of the war, and through him later of the League, which the missionary had undoubtedly brought up as the white man's defense against the challenge of the black tribal head, who asked, "How will it be with black people living among the whites?" 648 [1131]

It was then that the Granman through this same missionary addressed himself to the white rulers far away, telling of the fear of the blacks, and counseling them the wisdom of peace!

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In the council house Granman Moana Yankuso was host to the Gankwe men. They were there to take their leave of him before starting down river. Asikanu, the handsome brother of the Gankwe clan head, who was sent away from his village while the elders were deciding upon his adultery 643 684 574

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fine, sat between Sedefo, whose bench was moved forward a little, and Angita. The younger men sat with bodies half-turned toward the wall, out of respect for the Granman, the older ones, with their faces averted from him.

The Granman was speaking, telling a story.

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"Ai, mati . . . " he said, in his precise, formal way, laying stress on each syllable, "in our bush, the gods be praised, men are men. There was a man near here, who saw a woman he liked, and he took her. He had a loving eye, he was young. Ai, mati, what is a beating to a man when he is young? But the proverb says, 'All that is in the darkness will come to light.' Dealings with women always come to light too soon. That man got a beating, mati! He came out into the clearing, his head held high, like any man whom young girls follow with their eyes. But waiting for him was the husband of the woman, and the men of his family, and. . . . "

"Well, so it is, G'ama'," said Sedefo, with the careful modulation which showed that he, too, was schooled in the way of the important councils.

"Ya-hai, G'ama'," said Asikanu, more briefly.

Granman Yankuso now went on with his story, bringing to his recital all the detail of the punishment of the adulterer, without quickening the telling of his story even when he spoke the words which described the sound of the blows.

"Yes, master of the realm," said Sedefo, his head still averted, but leaning his body forward a little as he spoke, so that he somewhat shielded Asikanu from the direct gaze of the Granman, yet managing this clever gesture so that it had the air of rapt interest.

"Kere-kere, G'ama'," Asikanu breathed, almost inaudibly.

As the Granman recounted his tale, Asikanu's spine twitched as though every blow mentioned was that instant being leveled at him, as though he himself were lying head down in the dust of the clearing, while blows rained down upon him, and the Kromanti iron bands cut gashes into his proud face and arms and body.

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But Sedefo, splendid actor that he was, betrayed in no way that he was aware of his friend's discomfiture, except that his interpolations became more and more spirited, balancing in the intensity of his voice the formality of the Granman's speech. 643 684 538

"True, true!" he said, with excitement.

"By Ando, G'ama'!"

When the tale was finished, the Granman became reminiscent. In his youth he had been like the rest. What did it mean to be a man and not to assert one's manhood when a handsome woman was to be had? He was on the Marowyne then. Did they want to beat him? He had said, "Very well." As many as wished could come at him—but one at a time.

As he spoke now, he clenched his fist and struck the table with it so that the table shook and the guns which lay underneath it rattled.

He was no longer young, but his answer to people who threatened would still be the same, he continued.

"Tell them that everywhere on the river, mati," he finished with a smile, and he cleared his throat as a signal for the bassia to come and pour out drinks for his visitors, before they left his village. [SA]

And how was their clan head who had been ailing? he asked, with friendly solicitude.

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Granman Yankuso was telling about his great ancestors. 643

He looked particularly well that night. His smock-like coat was a deep blue, and over it was a print of orange and black worn toga fashion. 292

There was Bagida, one of the first to escape to the bush, and Dosi who made the Kasito clan, and Ajako who was a Matchau Negro, a man of the Granman's own clan, and it was he who had fought against the whites and had freed his people. There were Mother Bedu, and Mother Fakia, and the great Abini family which bore Alabi, whom the peccary had helped to freedom, so that Alabi's people, the Awana Negroes, to this day did not eat pingo. 173

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619 gave rise to another Bush Negro nation known as the *Boni* tribe. There are also three other tribes today of less importance: the *Matawai* on the Upper Saramacca River, the *Quinter-Matawai* which is a sub-tribe on the Copenam, and the *Paramacca* on the Middle Marowyne with villages on both the French and Dutch sides of the river.

619 The tribal divisions are strictly enforced. Not only is in-
187 termarriage forbidden, but each tribe has its separate gov-
[92] ernment, and each is referred to locally as a "river nation." Each tribe likewise has its own territory, and any poaching by hunters, fishers, or balata bleeders is rigorously punished.
[93] The ruler of the tribe is a king, or *granman*. Among the photographs is one of old Jankoeso, the kindly shrewd ruler of the Saramaccaner nation; the Aucaner ruler, Amekti, has just died, his place probably being taken by Matodja. The Boni granman is named Awensai.

619 The largest tribe is the Saramaccaner, with a population
361 of about 14,000. Their village of Santi Gron (Sandy Ground),
[101] some twenty miles from Paramaribo on the Lower Saramacca River is the nearest of all Djuka villages to white civilization. But the main body of this tribe begins some ninety miles up the Surinam River from Paramaribo, and the villages are strung along the Surinam River for a hundred or more miles further on back into the interior. The names
[103] of some of these villages are: Nu Condree, Lombe, Gansee, Biodoti, Adawai, De Jun, Masumba Pratti, and Dahomey, and other towns of even more picturesque appellations: Boto-Passi, Poki Gron, Granman Condree, and many more.

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361 posely to make the village as hard to reach as possible, to protect it from white invaders. From long experience the [648] Djukas mistrust all white men.

648 In Jankoeso is lodged the general authority over the Saramaccaner tribe and the territory in which they live. He has forbidden the intrusion of any visitors unless they are announced several days beforehand, by messenger.

[428] All the Granmans receive their title by matrilineal inheritance, and cannot be deposed. When one dies he is succeeded by his oldest sister's oldest male child, while his own sons never, under any circumstances, succeed him to the kingship. If there is no such person as his oldest sister's senior male child, then the succession passes on to the oldest male child of the nearest female relative. If the line dies out, and no [666 relatives are eligible, the successor is elected by popular vote 622] from among the captains of the river villages, but this seldom occurs. On such an occasion there may be a struggle between different lo, playing politics to get into power. Otherwise inheritance is strictly through the female line.

649 The Dutch government exerts only a nominal control over the Bush Negro tribes of the interior. Once every year the river Granmans come down the broad river highways to Paramaribo for a parley with the Governor of Surinam. After a ten-day canoe trip downstream, Jankoeso finds a train waiting for him at Kabel, to bring him ceremonially the rest of the way. The other rulers must come all the way by corial. On their long and often hazardous journey they are accompanied by their most powerful captains. The Gran-

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a prisoner, and refusing to take the special train awaiting him at Kabel. Special trains, he said, were not for prisoners. He was paddled the additional ninety miles in his own corial, which took six days longer. Very vexed at this, the Governor did not shake hands with him, and Jankoeso was offended. "Why doesn't he tell me 'Howdy'?" he asked Mynheer Wolff, who is always instrumental in furthering friendly relations between Dutch and Djukas. Wolff called the Governor outside, and advised him to treat the Granman with more cordiality. The necessary handshaking was done, and the parley continued more affably. The guilty one was apprehended and jailed for a year. Once again there went upstream the annual present of the Dutch government to each Granman. This is a continuation of the custom of tribute money paid to the Bush Negroes ever since the days of the black rebellions. Every year each Granman receives 1500 guilders.

The Granman is the actual chief of the river nation, but the government centres in the village proper. The village is governed by a headman or *captain*, and aiding him in his work is a council or *bosseia*, consisting of three or four or more of the most mature men and women of the town. "Bosseia," like the American colloquial *boss*, comes from the Dutch word *baas*. Here the rough justice of the jungle is administered, and local disputes are settled. Here decisions are made concerning the ownership of timber, and property rights in cassava fields. Quarrels over women are more frequent than any other kind of disputes, and they, too, are settled by the village captain and his bosseia.

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Aucaner

and does not look with favour upon the white proselytizers.

The Granman can call a meeting of his captains at any time. They must attend, even though it involves days of rigorous travel. Although the captains look up to the Granman and acknowledge him as their superior, the connexion between them is not close enough to be considered a hierarchy. The "river nations" are not monarchies in any sense. The only laws promulgated by the Granman are those that affect the entire tribe.

Neither the captains nor the Granman have any privileges or prerogatives to set them apart from the undistinguished natives; there is no leisure class. They are all dependent upon their own efforts to earn a living, and work like anyone else in the village. Rank does not make social parasites out of them, as among us. The Granman's only external distinction is that sent by the white man, the tribute from the Dutch government. The type of social organization now prevalent among the Djukas, therefore, may be described as primitive communism.

The Aucaner, second in number to the Saramaccaner, are scattered in a less compact way over the rivers and creeks of the colony toward the French Guiana line. This tribe numbers about 6000 in population.

Just below the realm of the Saramaccaner tribe, at the junction of the Sara Creek and the Surinam River (see map facing page), are some of the Aucaner villages: Koffay Camp, Lebbi Doti, Lasa Baka, Pitchong, Baku, and other settlements. There are few villages on the long Sara Creek, but

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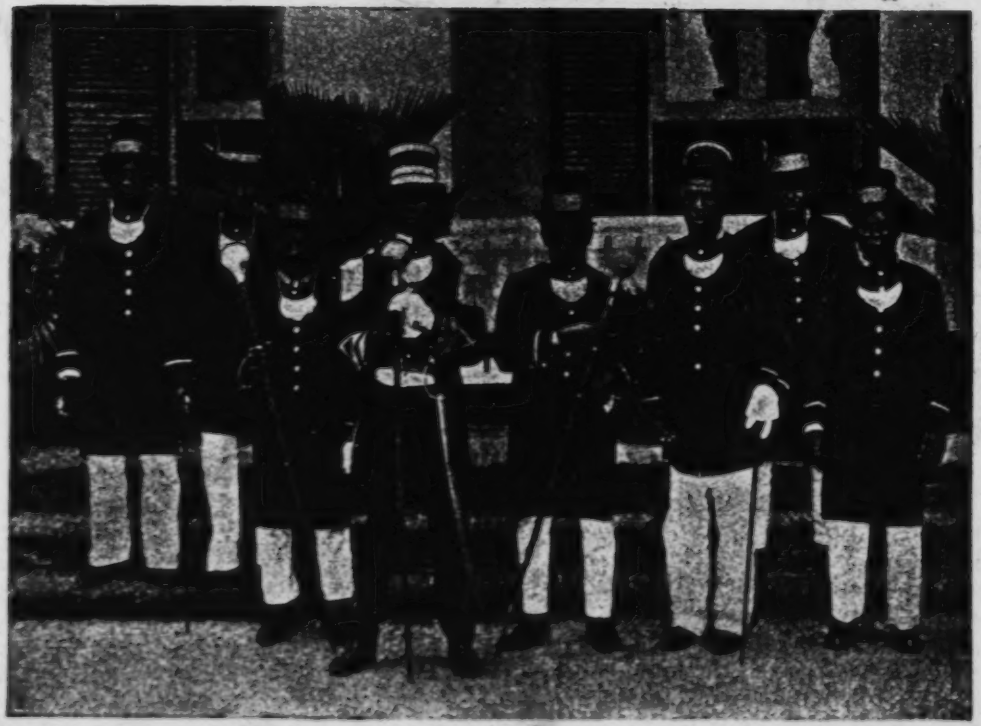

Granmans and Captains Assembled in Paramaribo for a Council with the Governor of Dutch Guiana.

Photo by Curiel

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Boni

tribe of the Bush Negroes which owes allegiance to the 648
French. They have never forgiven the Dutch for their relentless pursuit back in the old rebel days. Several years ago the Dutch authorities made an effort to invite the Bonis back into Dutch territory; these overtures, however, were flatly refused.

The derivation of the word "Boni" makes for interesting 101
speculation, and three theories have been advanced to ex- 174
plain it. The first is that the word is derived from the French phrase "Bon Negre" or "Good Negroes" which the colonists of French Guiana applied to the Boni blacks because they were comparatively quiet and peaceful. It is also possible that the tribe may have been named after their famous rebel leader Bonny, who took such a formidable and prominent part in the rebellions. Thirdly, it has been considered that the name was derived from the Bonny River of West Africa, for undoubtedly some of the slaves came from that area. Although *B-o-n-i* is the official Dutch spelling of the word, when the tribesmen refer to themselves the accent is placed on the second syllable, and phonetically the word should be spelled *B-o-n-e-e* and pronounced much the same as the word *Pawnee*, the tribe of American Indians in the western United States. The Granman of this tribe, Awensai, receives his [643
annual stipend from the Governor of French Guiana at 728]
Cayenne.

The first village of the Boni, situated on the French side 361
of the Marowyne River, is that of Apatoo nestling at the foot 103
of the Armina falls. The entire French side of the river from

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Jankoeso, Granman or King of the Saramaccaner Tribe, in Town for a Parley with the Governor.

Photo by Curiel

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It is indulged in as naturally as the other bodily functions.

581 "Marriage" is a convenient term for describing cohabitation among the Djukas, but it must be remembered that to [585] them marriage is a purely economic institution. There is [586] little ceremony. No one objects to getting married, because 837 divorce is instantaneous and easy. The bonds of marriage are loose, and adultery, to use our harsh term, is customary.

584 Courting consists in presenting the prospective bride with elaborate wood carvings of useful implements. This wood [322] carving has been developed by the Djukas to a high point of artistic perfection, as can be seen from the illustrative specimens, of which more will be said later. The approaching marriage is not looked upon as a departure from the maternal group; it is simply an arrangement for providing the man with a cook and the woman with children. The marriage of [643] a captain or a Granman differs in no wise from any other; 622 no especial care is taken of his bride.

We encountered two varieties of the process of choosing a husband. In the first, the girl has little to say, her husband being selected for her by her parents. In the second and more frequent practice the woman marries the man of her own choice, the parents making sure that the intended husband is a good provider. But since every Djuka buck is trained to the jungle crafts from childhood, this requirement can almost be taken for granted.

582 The husband marries frequently. He may marry outside of his village, or outside of his lo, but never outside of the 000 tribe. Marriage requires a bride price, consisting of pieces of

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being able to accommodate their eyes to the tiny grey perspec- 123
tives. When the significance of the chiaroscuro dawned upon 774
them, they broke into broad grins and were mightily pleased. 822
After that most of them readily consented to being photographed.

A woman was suspected of causing by witchcraft the death 683
of the late Granman, Amekti, of the Aucaner tribe. She was 766
severely beaten and was not allowed to attend the ceremony 643
of *Broko Day* (breaking day), the time when mourning is broken.

Broko Day is held four or five months after the death of 766
the Granman. Game is hunted and cassava cake prepared 643
for many days prior to the great feast. It is a time of great festivity; there is dancing, singing, and general merry-making. At this time the *Songai*, the *Pekein play*, and the *Susa* dances are held. The participants are generously smeared with pemba dotee and they wear costumes and decorations which are not seen at any other time. Then, as many of the tribe as is possible gather in the village of the erstwhile Granman, and the feast lasts for about a week. Dancing and feasting continue night and day. At this time the ageedah drum—six to eight feet tall—is played, as well as [534]
the smaller instruments already referred to. Toward the end of the ceremony, the hair and nails of the corpse are buried, a new Granman is inaugurated, and the deceased ruler is relegated to the position of an ancestor. Prayers may then ascend heaven-ward to him.

Captain Acrowsie of the Aucaner tribe told us some in-

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766 teresting things concerning burials. A Granman's or a cap-
643 tain's body is placed in a cave-like hole dug in the side of a
[622] hill, and is eventually sealed in. It is forbidden to throw dirt upon the bodies of such officials.

764 In the case of an ordinary person, a large hole is dug in the ground in which the corpse is lowered. A plank is placed over the body, so that the dirt subsequently thrown into the hole will not come into direct contact with the body.

766 The bodies of albinos, idiots, and lepers are otherwise disposed of. These people are supposed to be related to the river, and are called *watra pekein,* or water children. Instead of being allowed to rot, their bodies are placed in a pit dug in the bank when the river is low. When the water rises, the corpse is washed out of its temporary tomb.

769 Every year the azang pau, the palm barrier across the village path, is renewed, and at this time prayers are said for the dead. The dead person's relatives have shaved off their forelocks when he died, and often again at intervals of three, six, and nine months thereafter. But after the lapse of a year there is no mourning; a large dance is held to signify that the period is terminated, and after that the dead man or woman is relegated to the position of an ancestor. The prayers then ask him to intercede with the gods for the benefit of those still among the living.

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the white man has never been allowed to enter. A spirit 778
named *Hini* hovers over the town, and it is he, not the 756
Djukas, who would be offended by the presence of a bahkra. People seriously ill are brought to Dahomey from the surrounding villages. The witch doctors there, old women as well as old men, and occasionally a virgin, administer their potent charms. Only young married women are debarred from the profession of medicine among the Djukas.

Here also comes the Granman of the Saramaccaner tribe, to undergo the sacred ritual before making his annual visit [643
to Paramaribo. He receives absolution from the Dahomey 783]
medicine men in preparation for his sojourn among the bahkras. The ceremony is known as *makee suka,* or putting himself in favour with the gods.

Our friend Abaisa, headman of Lombe, tells us something 755
of the Dahomey rituals. To mend a broken bone the patient is shut up in a small hut with the doctor and three white cocks. The first fowl is killed by having its neck wrung, the blood from its beak running on the floor of the hut as a sacrifice to Amu, the ground god. The second fowl is cut open for inspection. If the bladder is light in colour the prognosis is good, but if dark the reverse is the case. The third cock has its leg bone broken at a point approximately corresponding to the patient's fracture. After this both the fowl and the human patient undergo daily treatment at the hands of the doctor, to the accompaniment of prayers to Amu and the shaking of rattles to scare off the evil spirits. The nature of the treatment could not be ascertained, but on the day when

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177 separated by ten thousand years of time and two thousand
182 miles of space. It has, however, been pointed out that both peoples had to face environmental conditions that are roughly alike, and that a similar world may well have led to certain similar responses and adaptations. In Dutch Guiana, on the other hand, we do know of a direct historical connexion with Africa, so that the customs, habits, art work, social organization, and general material culture of the Bush Negroes must undoubtedly be related to the similar culture of West Africa. A great many articles in everyday use among the Djukas are of West African design. African words and African habits can readily be identified.

177 We also know that certain articles used by the Djukas are borrowings from the aboriginal Indians of the district.
[252] Thus the cassava squeezer, the *matapee*, and the whole technique of preparing cassava, the grater and sieve for the flour, are borrowed from the South American Indians. But by far the greater part of Djuka culture comes directly from the Dark Continent.

A Swedish anthropologist, Gerhard Lindblom, made a study of Bush Negro implements and wood carvings in
[322] European museums, and compared them with the implements and wood carvings from West Africa, pointing out a number of homologous forms.

[143 The Granman's throne, an intricately carved wooden stool
352] made by the Djukas, as Lindblom pointed out, is similar in construction to those owned by the headmen of the Gold Coast, Ashanti, Slave Coast, and the Niger tribes. The ornate

/7 cont./

101 4th. Bonnie /Boni/ Negroes, living on the river above Marowyne;
[175] until 1862 they were in a state of slavery among the
[567] Aucaners, but at that time, through the intervention of the government, they were released from it. Their name is supposed to be derived from a former runaway slave who had placed himself at their head.

Chapter III

Government, Laws, Administration of Justice

643 Each of these tribes, except for the Bonnie Negroes, has
[292] a chief whom they call granman (governor); the uniform given to him by the government is a blue tunic with epaulets and a cocked hat with white plush.

Among the Aucaners the chief is called Byman, a cunning, courageous, and prudent man, around 63 years old.

The chief of the Saramaccaners is called Abram, an infirm old man who is very weak of character and has little influence.

The Mantoewari Negroes have a chief called Kalkoen, who, although aged and infirm, can nonetheless still be called firm of character.

631 /8/ Under their chief they have a certain number of captains and council members. The former are divided into bush captains, who take command in case of war, and into house or land cap-
[554] tains, who deal with internal matters with the chief. The token of their prestige given to them by the government consists of a large staff with a round silver ball (drum-major's stick), on which is the Netherlands coat of arms with "Je maintiendrai."

344 They have a large open shed which serves them as court and which they call kroetoehoso (probably derived from the English "courthouse").

682 Their legislation is very limited. One who kills another is punished with death; one who poisons someone suffers death by torture, provided that substantial irrefutable proof exists. (See Chapter XI below.) If the death penalty is not appropriate, the

/137 cont./

241 and sugar cane, while in the third year some pineapples, bananas, and sugar cane are also harvested.

Thereafter one surrenders the ground to the second growth (kapoeweri) shooting up, here called "kauwé," and to the weeds, like the cutting grass "haboen nefi" (Scleria secans), which prevent further growth of the cultivated crop.

This system of clearing grounds requires much land. It is a severely predatory cultivation which can only be employed when sufficient free land is available. Only after many years can one return to the same piece of forest to lay out a new ground, depending on the recovery of the forest, more particularly on the top growth.

[592] Among the Bush Negroes of the Marowijne it is the rule that
[476] each household provide for itself. The man clears the ground with help of family /familie/ members or friends, who in return for food are taken in during this time. If the man has /138/ one wife, then ordinarily two grounds per year are cleared; if he has more than one wife, then he clears two grounds for each wife.

[622] The captain /kapitein/ of a village lays out his ground him-
[643] self, helped by his villagers. The granman /chief/, however, does not work himself, but, regardless of the number of his wives, has his family and other helpers clear grounds in return for food for the
423 workdays. The products of the grounds of a household are not joint
593 property, but rather the wife asserts her rights over the produce from one ground, while the man claims that from the other ground. Thus a distinction is made between the agrarian property of the wife and that of the husband.

3. The Plague of Ants and the Ant-bushes

241
825 In the agriculture of the Bush Negroes the plague of ants plays a significant role. The leaf-cutting or parasol ants (Atta sexdens and Atta cephalotes) are very destructive because of their attacks on the leaves in the plantings. The first-named species is the greatest evildoer in the interior districts of Surinam. Cassava in

/141 cont./

of this predatory cultivation has been reached. The nearby agricultural lands are kept in use with too brief a rest period, with the result that the soil is overworked and the periodic recovery of the forest proceeds at an ever slower pace. In addition one struggles to an increasing degree with the problem /142/ of the leaf-cutting ants, which keep the easily accessible places occupied.

The consequence of this circumstance is that the Bush Negroes are forced to make the grounds farther and farther from their villages. One travels for hours up or down the river in order to reach good land. When one cannot make good use of a forest creek in order to transport the produce from the field, one is forced to carry the harvest for one or two hours through the forest to the river. The Bush Negro does not go farther than a two hours' walk (about six kilometers from the river) (see the map /see p. 13 /).

On the Tapanahoni one spends even days in traveling to less populated areas in order to plant and to harvest. One then establishes so-called work camps along the river, from which one operates in the surrounding areas. This is the case, among others, between Godoholo and Granbori for people from Drietabbetje or other centers. That one does not go even farther up river, all the way past the last village, Granbori, has to do with a prohibition by the granman of the Aucaners. That is, the latter want to reserve the lands lying beyond this point as hunting lands and therefore will not make them available for agricultural purposes.

The inhabitants of the villages along the lower Tapanahoni, such as Saja, Clemenoi, and Malobbi, frequently lay out their food grounds in the Lawa, where they can have at their disposal agricultural lands as far as the Aboenasoengoe Falls. Farther upstream on this river the Boni or Aloeboe Negroes assert their rights.

5. Differences between Aucaners and Paramaccaners

The conditions given above apply in the main to the Aucaner Bush Negroes of the Tapanahoni. They number today approximately 6,500 persons. The Paramaccaner Bush Negroes of the Marowijne, approximately 1,700 in number, are in somewhat more favorable

B /510 cont./
591 relatives, nor any power of the man over the woman, nor even
B household cohabitation. The man and the woman each reside in
591 the village of their maternal kin. The man goes to live with his
593 wife from time to time, providing her with the imported commodities that she needs, notably salt, kerosene, cloth, and utensils, and felling trees for the clearings which she will exploit
B for the benefit of the household.
586 Divorce is entirely free. Unions are not very stable, mainly on account of the woman. Numbers of women are divorced four to five times during their lives.

B The grand man, chief of the tribe, exercises over the Boni a
643 power which is more religious than political.

B The Boni are a pirogue-people. For more than a century they
433 have been living by using their canoes for the benefit of gold-seekers
158 and exploiting miners. The decline of gold extraction is depriving
[508] them more and more of their traditional resources. Some of them
[167] are emigrating temporarily to the coastal lumberyards. But all of them remain faithful to their villages and to their customs.

R /511/
101 The Oayana Indians (Roucouyennes /Rucuyen/). These Indians of the
177 Caribe /Carib/ ethnic group have had only a few direct contacts
144 with European civilization and still represent without alteration the
R human type which populated Guiana before the arrival of the
161 Europeans. On encountering the Refugee Blacks, the Indians of the Guianese forest have been steadily and rapidly declining. Estimated
R at 40,000 at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Indians
101 of French Guiana are now no more than about a thousand. In
162 addition there must be included in this number 700 persons (Galibi and
31 Arawaks) who have been protected by their habitat in the savannas of the coast where malaria is less deadly than in the interior.

R The accounts of travelers and the censuses made notably in
175 1730, 1759, 1787, and 1815 allow one to follow with precision
161 this destruction of the autochthonous population since the first settlement of the Europeans in Guiana (2).

2. Dr. André Sausse, op. cit., pp. 67-98.

/15/

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE BONI

Villages

[3] [361] [133] Localization. The principal Boni villages have for 150 years been grouped on the Lawa (1) upstream from Abattis-Cottica Falls.

> 1. Let us remember that the Lawa and the Tapanahoni are the streams forming the Maroni. The Lawa constitutes the border between Suriname and French Guiana.

The limit of Boni country toward the south is vague. However, it is taken for granted that all the Abattis-Cottica belong [361] to the Boni. Boni farming villages and Djuka villages coexist downstream from the Abattis-Cottica as far as Abounasounga. Below Abounasounga begins Djuka country properly speaking (2).

> 2. In reality this is a zone of colonization, for the "great country" of the Djuka is the Tapanahoni. But the customary rights they possess on the Lawa lands are contested by no one.

423 [43] [131] Traditionally, the Boni used to consider the whole of the upper basin of the Maroni as their domain or at the very least as territory under the authority of the grand man. Thus it was at

/15 cont./ Thus it was at
423 the time of the Lawa gold rushes (1890) that Grand Man Anato
643 caused rent to be paid by the Creole miners who were settling in
[648] the region. But this practice, excessive when the small portion of this territory actually occupied by the Boni is considered, ended
423 up by falling into disuse. Nowadays things have fallen into the
648 opposite extreme, and the Boni find themselves having no right,
178 customary or otherwise, over the country of their ancestors; the first comer, even of the Creoles from the British West Indies, can settle anywhere, dislocating the apportionment of the land among lineages. This situation has been harmful to the life of the tribe by contributing to the scattering of the peopling. Perhaps it is not too late to remedy the situation. An /16/ /Figure 2 appears here./ /17/ African tribe cannot live wholesomely if there are no definite relationships, entailing unquestioned rights, between the group and the land.

423 The following modus vivendi has been in force for many
619 years:

a) The Djuka may circulate freely across Boni country, but
[486] they may not establish villages in it; if they wish to make clearings
[166] there, they must ask for permission from the grand man.
[226] Otherwise they have the right to fish on the Tanpok and the Wahi.

423 b) The Creoles may settle anywhere and make their clear-
648 ings where the lands are not used. But that does not modify in the minds of the Boni the lineages' rights over the land; this occupation is regarded as creating no new right; for example, the Doglis habitation is built on the lands of Kormotibo village.

423 c) The Boni reserve for themselves along with the Oayana
648 Indians the exclusive right to fish on the Litani and the Maruini.
822 On these rivers the Djuka do not have the right to penetrate.
[619] The Boni may be computed at a little less than 1,000 persons
162 all told.

/17 cont./

101 1. Archives du Ministère de la France
103 d'Outre-Mer. Guyane /Archives of the
175 Ministry of Overseas France, Guiana/.
113 A3-02.

611 /18/ Villages and Kin Groups

Among all the kinship systems which existed in the African tribes from which they issued, the Refugee Blacks came back unanimously, and from the beginning, to matrilineal filiation.

571 Their social system is symbiotic, under the authority of the
613 grand man, of a certain number of localized matrilineal kin groups.
643

613 Matrilineal kin groups of the Boni. With the Boni the basic grouping is the lineage, in the rigorous sense of the term, understanding by that all descendants in maternal line from a single ancestress.

To designate the kin groups the Boni employ almost interchangeably the words lo (troop, band) and bɛ́ɛ́, womb. In fact these expressions correspond to two variant interpretations of the same notion:

614 bɛ́ɛ́: matrilineage in the widest sense, understanding by that all persons knowing that they are issue of the same ancestress, even if the genealogical ties are forgotten, and even if these persons are scattered in several villages under different authorities;

lo: lineage fraction grouped in one village and constituting a distinct social unit.

The lineage bears a name whose origin is forgotten by present-day Boni; some of these names allude to a plantation or to a slave-owner, for example Lapé (La Paix: a plantation of the Cottica River); as for others, the name of the founding ancestress may be involved. Example: Kawina (name of the lineage constituting the village of Papaïkon).

/18 cont./

613 [621] Six lineages (1) of ancient founding are counted among the

[178]

1. It seems that in the past there was a greater number of groups (they continue to use the expression twalffuyu lo, the 12 lo, to designate the Boni nation), but some have died out.

Boni: all, with one single exception, have remained effective groupings corresponding each one to a village: for these lineages the words bɛɛ and lo may be used indiscriminately. The seventh, Dipélu, is distributed in three villages under different authorities, that is, forms three lo.

[614] The lo possesses a head (headman or captain). The bɛɛ possesses neither head nor organization, but as we shall show, its members are united by religious ties and meet to celebrate common rites.

(See table on the following page.)

• [643] The head of the Dikan lo is supreme chief -- grand man -- of the Boni.

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io	Village of residence	Head in 1958
Dikaa	Boniville village	Difu (grand man)
Dju	Asisi village; a small group in Boniville	Adiiso
Lapé	Loka and Lapé Tabiki villages; a small group in Boniville	Popo
Dipélu I	l'Enfant Perdu and Apatu villages; a small group in Boniville	Babun (l'Enfant Perdu) Saka (Apatu)
Dipélu II	Kormotibo village; a fraction in Asisi	Poopu
Kotika (Yabubi)	Kotika village; a group in Aburamunga	Nachinengé
Papaïston (Kawina)	Papaïston village; a small group in Boniville a small group in the Lower Maroni (Wétiti village)	Tafanié

/22 cont./

613 Situation of the lineages in 1958.

[643] The Dikan lineage, whose head is the grand man of the Boni, has practically died out, since it is comprised of only Grand Man Difu: upon his death it will totally disappear (1).

Fig. 3. Extended matrilineage.

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1. Note that a Dikan lo exists among the Djuka: the separation of the Dikan-Djuka and the Dikan-Boni is necessarily anterior to the battles of 1793, which shows the ancientness of these groups.

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For two generations the various lineages have delegated some of their members /23/ to the grand man to conserve a certain importance for his village. Thus Agodé (Boniville) now includes fragments of the Kotika, Dipélu, Lapé, Dju, and Papuliton lineages, forming that many individualized small quarters in the village.

/55 cont./

593 This organization, compared with what is found in the greater part of Africa, is very advantageous for the wife, who [581] enjoys total independence. But against this she has great instability of unions.

581 601 The union of man and woman has so little of the character of a marriage that in the Boni language no word exists which means, strictly speaking, "husband" or "wife." They says mi ubi anga X = "I live with So-and-so.

174 591 How has the social and matrimonial system of the Refugee Blacks been set up? One could believe that one of the systems of Western Africa was purely and simply transposed, but this is not the case at all. In this domain as in that of beliefs, the ancestors of the Refugee Blacks elaborated an original synthesis out of numerous sources.

The African nations from which the rebels issued were certainly, in large part if not in the majority, patrilineal. This is especially the case of the Fon of Dahomey, from whom have been borrowed important cultural elements, especially the principal cults of possession. The matrilineal ones all conceded patrilocal residence, that is, the wife's leaving her village and settling in her husband's village.

[175] The 18th-century rebels, the archives attest, included a heavy percentage of "salt-water Negroes," born on African soil; such, for example, was Codio Coromantin, one of Boni's lieutenants; those who had not been born in Africa had, for the most part, been instructed in an African tradition by a father or uncle. One can be sure that once having attained freedom they sought to organize their villages according to the family custom by which they had been brought up, that is, to set up, some a patrilineal and patrilocal society, others a matrilineal society /36/ but with patrilocal residence. We know for example that Boni had chosen [647] Fon Agosu as his successor.

/36 cont./

1174 671 The formation of patrilineages must have been hampered by numerous divorces; in addition, in case of divorce, the wife unquestionably aspired to take her children with her, not recognizing any contract between the two groups of kin which might be able to affect her free will; one can also be certain that the children, if consulted, must have followed their mother in most cases and joined their maternal kin group. This tendency remains perfectly [586] observable in our day; we shall see all its importance when we study how the children are raised and what tutelage is exercised upon them.

Now there is no patrilineage conceivable if, in case of divorce, the children do not stay with the father. Patrilineal societies exist in which the wife is free, were it only the Peule society, where divorces are very frequent. But African custom has it that in a patrilineal system, by reason of payment of the dowry, the wife's kin lose all rights over the children. They have entered the man's kin group and his ancestral cult.

The formation of matrilineal and patrilocal groupings must also have collided with analogous difficulties, the women not willingly leaving their village of origin.

One can rather easily imagine that in the initial period of the formation of the /37/ new tribes, the different matrimonial systems coexisted; then the patrilocal groups, less viable, progressively broke up, while the present custom was being established.

175 643 This point of view is confirmed by an exact piece of information collected at the end of the 19th century by the explorer Coudreau. Upon the death of Agosu, son of Boni, it was his son Gongo who succeeded him. But after the death of Gongo, the succession went according to the matrilineal system.

583 Another important aspect of the matrimonial system of the Refugee Blacks is the absence of any compensation or payment. [591] Even if it happens that a woman leaves her lineage permanently in order to settle in her husband's village and found a family there

/44/

Boniville

Legend

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[643]

№		House of		№		House of	
1	△	Dito grand man	Dikan	31	○	Pélui	P1, F34
2	△	Dodoya	Dip. 1, F82	32	△	Gonieuta (2nd house)	
3	○	Kulina	Dju, F9	33			
4	△	Fintiman	Dju, F6	34	△	Baafu	L2, E58
5	△	Klémenti	Dju, F7	35	○	Lomé	L2, F74
6	○	Eliana	Dju, F8	36	○	Téréa	L2, E57
7	○	Kulina	Dju, F9	37	△	Amakti	L2, F71
8	△	Doni	Dju, G13	38	△	Mempé	1. Poti
9	△	Lota	K3, E142	39	○	Abooméki	
9(a)	△	Boeki	K3, E133	40	△	Klémenti	Dju, F7
10	○	Mimi	K3, E156	41	○	Amékiwan	1. Poti
11	○	Léméki	K3, D130	42	○	Léya	K2, F99
12	△	Tofoto	K3, E157	43	○	Paata	1. Poti
13	△	Lébiman	K3, D132	44	○	Chima	1. Poti
14	○	Achike	K3, E140	45	○	Léaina	K2, F69
15	○	Soeto	K3, E142	46	△	Todo	K2, F68
16	○	Maka	K3, E146	47	○	Awini	K1, E37
17	○	Marta	K3, F140	48	△	Todo	K2, F68
18	○	Waway	K3, E130	49	△	Noli	Dip. 1, F83
19				50	△	Kallawa	1. Poti
20	○	Alingi	K3, D120	51	○	Bada	Dip. 1, F1
21	○	Akyéeki	K3, E144	52	△	Madéko	K2, E69
22	△	Makalanchi	K3, F130	53	○	Amanichi	Dip. 1, F7
23	△	Santamann	K3, E145	54	○	Cécilia	Dip. 1, E9
24	△	Antéryt	P1, G25	55	△	Dyakata	Dip. 1, E4
25	△	Bukuman	P1, F22	56	△	Alichi	Dip. 1, F5
26	○	Apinda	P1, G96	57	○	Aminé	Dip. 1, F2
27	△	Gonieuta	P1, G64	58			
28	○	Alaweni	P1, F34	59	○	Léya	K2, F99
29	△	Bénano	P1, G61	60	△	Todo	K2, F68
30	△	Nanga	P1, G31				

Total on January 1, 1958: 116 persons, including 43 children and adolescents of less than 16 years.

Adult inhabitants whose residence in Boniville is not normal: none.

The members of the small Poti lineage, founded about 50 years ago by a Djuka woman, wife of grand man Ochi†, have normal residence here through their foundress. No Djuka, Saramaka, or Paramaka lives in Boniville.

/63 cont./

that he can protect himself only by submitting to the law of the group. In this doubtless must be seen the deep reason for the importance attached to death and mourning, events around which is centered the activity of the usual societies and which entail a veritable mobilization.

It would be very difficult to condense the custom of the Refugee Blacks into a rigorous code. If one wished to do it, one would have to write as Article 1: "The living will conform to the will of the gods and the ancestors as it is expressed through the mouths of those possessed and by the movements of the bearers of the dead."

Each one of the tribes of the Refugee Blacks is formed of a certain number of matrilineages.

There is no limit on the number of these lineages, and it can be asserted that if any lineage whatever, detached from another tribe, asks to live in the midst of the Boni, it will be welcomed. From the first generation the children consider themselves as Boni.

In this regard one can cite the example of the Awara Bakka 3 lineage and that of the small lineage founded in Boniville by a Djuka woman, wife of Grand Man Ochi. All her descendants consider themselves Boni. /64/

But only the great lineages which constituted the tribe at its origin are social units recognized by the grand man, and only their heads are called to be members of the council.

We shall study first the interior functioning of the lineage, then the institutions going beyond the framework of the lineage.

/65 cont./

613 554 [183] It is enough to consult the genealogical tables, on each of which we have indicated the transmission of the office of captain, to be convinced that nothing of the kind is practiced: besides, it would be impossible in fact. The council chooses from among [643] /66/ the "brothers" and the "nephews" of the deceased. If the nomination is obtained, it is valid only if the grand man does not oppose his veto. He can require that the council be begun again.

613 554 643 The grand man observes the behavior of the new head for about a year, and if he is satisfied with him, he calls him to Boniville together with the members of the lineage. He turns over to him the bench and the baton of command (waka tiki) prepared by the doyen of the lineage. He takes him by the hand and has him sit down on the bench while proclaiming him head.

613 554 This appointment is made for life; once named, a captain cannot be dismissed.

The succession of the last three captains of the Dju lo is particularly interesting (see the genealogical table of this group).

In 1948, the first time we passed through, Diolè (El) had been captain for nearly 50 years, succeeding Doomé, whose position we have not been able to place exactly in the genealogical table.

Diolè died in 1951 at about 90 years of age. At the time of the mourning his yenka was questioned, and it designated (through the medium of the coffin bearers) as a desirable successor one of his nephews in the classificatory sense, named Loko (F39).

[643] [685] The council which met upon the close of the mourning for Diolè, in 1952, approved the designation of Loko; but the grand man opposed this appointment because Loko had been guilty of a serious crime (aggravated theft) and had incurred a sentence.

/66 cont./

613 554 The small, recently founded lineages attached to a lo each designate a head: for example, the Afi lineage has Awéni as head. But this head remains subject to the authority of the captain of the lo and his office has no official existence.

/67/ The appointment is made by a council - kuutu - of the lineage, but it is not valid until endorsed by the grand man.

[717] When the deceased captain did not, while living, designate any successor, his yɔrka is interrogated in order to know whom he prefers. That does not have the force of law but can influence the council.

The council meets several days after the end of mourning for the deceased captain. All the male members of the lineage, regardless of age, give their opinion. Strictly speaking, they do not vote; but the nomination is considered valid only if three-quarters of those present are in agreement. If not, they disband without having decided anything, and the lineage can remain without a head for years. On this topic can be cited the example of the Awara Bakka lo, which remained without a head from 1935 (?) to 1953, until the appointment of Kouduku. During this time the [643] grand man had designated Captain Popo, head of the Lapé lineage, to secure the interim. As for the religious functions, they were taken care of by the Joyen of the lineage.

The captain has the following functions within the lineage:

1) He is priest of the ancestor worship and presides over [793] the prayers and offerings made before the fraga tiki. In this duty [769] he is replaced in case of absence by the oldest man of the lineage.

In case of the death of a member of the lineage from the [761] effect of the kunu, the captain convokes all his people in order [762] to proceed to collective prayers and offerings intended to appease the gods:

/70 cont./

159 In March, 1957, Awéni, head of the Afi lineage, established
562 in Asisi, was concerned about regrouping the members of his
613 lineage and especially bringing back to Asisi Magdaléna (c20), a
[591] woman of about 45 years who had settled in Kormotibo near her husband L... († 1955), with her children and others whom she had raised. He went to Kormotibo and pointed out to her that since her husband was dead, she no longer had any reason to stay there and that she should come back to Asisi. Magdaléna insulted him in front of the inhabitants of the village, proclaimed that she had no orders to receive from anybody; then when he insisted, she armed herself with a stick and chased him across the village as far as the landing place. He had to re-embark precipitately to the laughter of the Kormotibo people.

Political and Legal Powers

• 643 613 The grand man. The head of the Dikan lo fills the office of grand man of the Boni. The present grand man, Difu, was about 67 years old in 1958.

[173] Oral tradition has kept the names of his seven predecessors:

Gongo (Dikan lo)	1810-1840	dates noted according to Coudreau
Labi (Adam?) (Dikan lo)	1840-1870	
Atyaba (Kotika lo)	1870-1876	
Anato (Kotika lo)	1876-1891	
Ochi (Dikan lo)	1891-1915	
Awenaay id.	1917-1936	
Difu id.	since 1937.	

[195] According to information collected by Coudreau in 1887, Gongo was the successor to Agosu, himself successor to Boni. Upon the death of Labi, there were only women and children in the Dikan lo. The office of grand man then passed to the Kotika lo with Atyaba and Anato. It then came back to the Dikan lo with Ochi.

/70 cont./

643 613 In 1957 the Dikan lineage was practically extinct. There remained only Grand Man Difu and his elder brother Samalobi, very old.

[829] The present grand man does not know the genealogy of his lineage beyond his grandmother. /Fig. 14 appears here./ /71/

[648] At the death of Awensay it was Samalobi, eldest of Awensay's classificatory nephews, who was to be named; but the French administration thought they had to oppose it, judging him too old; he yielded with good grace.

613 [165] [594] Samalobi, the ancestor, the patriarch of the Boni, died in May, 1957 at over 100 years old. Although very weakened by his infirmities and nearly blind, he kept great prestige and no important decision was made without his comment.

173 The son of Apatu, companion of Crevaux, he had retained an exact memory of the explorer whom he had accompanied during part of his trip in 1877. It is thanks to his memories that Crevaux's prestige has remained so great on the Maroni.

643 692 578 The grand man judges without appeal disputes between members of different lineages. Truly serious affairs are extremely rare, if one keeps in mind that:

[613] [583] [584] --Disputes over the payment of dowry, paying it back in case of divorce, and the assignment of the children, which form the main part of the cases argued before ordinary African jurisdictions, do not exist among the Refugee Blacks;

643 613

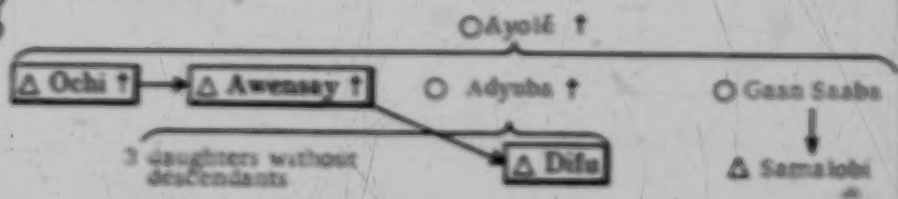

Fig. 14. Filiation of the last three grand men of the Boni.

643 692 [578] [423] /71 cont./

--Disputes over the appropriation of lands are very rare in Boni country because of the sparseness of population.

We have never seen the grand man hold anything other than audiences of conciliation relative to people who had fought or threatened each other. [183] The custom of the Refugee Blacks would indeed be difficult to fit into a code. The state of persons and social duties derive so directly from beliefs that the intervention of a judge is not indispensable for the functioning of the society.

643 423 The grand man is supposed to retain power over all the lands of Boni country which are not allocated to lineages; in particular, this is the case with the upper basin of the headstreams of the Lawa. [648] [184] It is above all by virtue of this that he is considered the suzerain of the Indians living in this territory. The same conception exists among the Djuka with respect to the headstreams of the Tapanahoni.

643 224 [226] The suzerainty of the grand man over the land and waters is marked, as in Africa, by special rights in the domain of hunting and fishing. He alone can authorize group fishing on the great river by the process of la nivrée. The same problem does not hold for hunting which is practiced in a strictly individual fashion. But it is taken for granted that if a tapir (1) is killed in Boni country,

1. The tapir is the largest animal of the bush.

the hunter must carry its head as well as a thigh to the grand man.

643 648 A certain misunderstanding reigns between the Europeans and the Boni on the subject of the duties of the grand man. The Europeans tend to believe that he commands the tribe in the way in which a colonel commands a regiment, that he can designate a certain man for a certain job, fix the price of boats, etc. The grand man tries to give satisfaction to the administration /72/ to justify the pay he draws, but he succeeds very badly in it, for in reality he possesses almost no temporal power.

/12 cont./

577 691 641 The morality of the Refugee Blacks knows in effect only obligations of a social and religious order. As for everything concerning material life, each one has the absolute right, one could even say the duty, to act as he sees fit, insofar as he does not wrong anyone else.

643 67 64 [156] If the grand man gave an order obliging someone to act against his own interest, for example if he wished to lower arbitrarily the price of boats, this order would be lawfully void. If the grand man has very great personal influence, he can persuade the Boni that it is to their interest to obey such a prescription, but in no case can his command have the effect of imposing by force an arbitrary order foreign to the social and religious tradition; the present grand man is weak in character to boot, sensitive to the influence of the Creoles and very little given to exerting any authority.

643 791 In reality, the office of grand man is above all religious. The grand man centralizes, if one may say so, the struggle against evil forces and watches ceaselessly over the welfare of the collectivity.

643 764 When a man dies, his near relatives come to report on the questioning of the yaka. Burial cannot take place until the grand man has made sure that all the prescriptions have been filled. People come to report to him again after the burial so that he can be sure that no suprahuman danger remains.

643 795 [782] The grand man has special power over the yaka (spirits) of the dead, which the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks place on a level intermediate between the human and the divine. When one of these yaka exerts against a lineage a vengeance (kuna) whose malignity goes beyond habitual bounds, the grand man beseeches it to stop; they allege that things go back to normal, at least for a time.

This power attributed to the grand man invests him, in the eyes of the Boni, with a suprahuman character. It is the very foundation of his political power.

/72 cont./

643 778 241 The grand man acts as land head for the whole of the tribe. It is he who has the care of the sanctuary of mama gɔ̃ and who prays each year in the presence of a large gathering of people for the fertility of the soil.

643 793 796 782 The grand man is the priest of Odun, divinity whom the Boni regard as avenger of offenses against moral and religious law; by virtue of this, he alone is qualified to administer the oath against wɔ̃i (sorcery) and to implore the mercy of Odun toward those who have gone against his laws by fighting with arms.

643 156 In his religious functions this usually weak and unobtrusive man acts with sovereign authority and assurance, and we have several times seen people tremble before him.

643 681 [73] If someone has seriously transgressed the customary laws, or if he has stolen, committed adultery, given blows, poured forth serious insults or curses, the grand man inflicts on him punishment proportional to the gravity of the offense, such as making planks, /73/ a boat, pounding rice (if it is a woman). The product of the punishment is acquired by the grand man, as are the fines in money which he imposes in less serious cases.

643 685 For example in October, 1952, two adolescents of Boniville, Awétipay and Adyuka, were surprised while they were trying to break into an inhabited house; the grand man sentenced them forthwith to three days of forced labor, in the course of which he made them clean the approaches to the village and collect for his benefit wood for heating.

643 689 462 He can also punish disobedient or disrespectful young men by making them do work reserved for women, such as weeding the approaches to the village and the removal of dog droppings.

643 681 The grand man can confine a man to Boni villages by forbidding him to go beyond l'Enfant Perdu to the north and Kormotibo to the south; that is called sitafu sama (sitafu = captive). The man concerned, deprived of means of earning his living, thus becomes dependent on his family until he makes honorable amends.

/73 cont./

643 687 That happened especially to people who, summoned to work in the grand man's clearings, carried out their task with ill will.

About 1950, M...., of Papaïston village, had openly revolted against the grand man whom he had refused to conduct to Saint-Laurent. The grand man sentenced him to make a large stairway of planks, from the Boniville wharf to the entrance to the village, giving him an injunction to leave the country if he refused. M... ended by yielding and executed the large stairway which can now be seen at the Boniville wharf.

643 648 297 199 The grand man is constantly concerned about his prestige and dignity; he is almost always dressed in the European manner and in ceremonies wears an impeccable white uniform; the French administration gives him a relatively large salary and, when he comes to Cayenne, he is put up in the hospital in the apartments reserved for officers.

643 [576] [644] [357] [466] To greet the grand man one does not look directly at him but places himself in profile with respect to him.

The grand man has no servants (that would be contrary to the morality of the Refugee Blacks) and leads a very simple life. Still, he does not do any hard manual labor; each year he calls together a certain number of men from each lo to work in his clearings; he does not pay them, for this work is an obligation provided for by custom, but he feeds them heartily.

643 466 Likewise, for his traveling, he requisitions by turns as boatmen two or three of his subjects. Sometimes also he requisitions women to help his wife at harvest time.

On the other hand, for all other work he may need (such as the construction of a large boat) he has to pay like everyone else and he is not given any reduction.

/73 cont./

643 644 586 The present grand man, contrary to his predecessors, has only one wife. She is dressed like the other women and works at her clearing like everyone else. /74/ but her marriage to the grand man imposes special obligations on her: she can not divorce him; neither can he repudiate her.

643 829 The attitude of the Boni toward the grand man is a curious mixture of respect and disparagement. They regard him as the living symbol of their nation, and each one resents as if it were a personal insult an outsider having an incorrect attitude toward him. But their undisciplined spirit kicks up at the measures he is obliged to take to make them respect customary law, and even the authority of a poised and benevolent man like Grand Man Difu is not willingly accepted. As a matter of fact, the Boni stand for the authority of the grand man as they adhere to the worship of their gods, by the feeling of an absolute and inexorable necessity; in their minds the grand man is above all the priest of Odun; if the grand man were not there, they would be without defense against the wisiman, without recourse against the vengeance exercised by the yaka of the dead of other lineages. [154] [195]

The political power of the grand man is entirely based on these beliefs, and if they were to collapse, he would disappear with them. Nobody would submit to any other law than that of the lineage, founded upon fear of the ancestors. [22]

692 693 The Boni kuutu. This is the assembly of the men, without distinction of age (1) or kinship; the council (Boni = law) constitutes

> 1. There is no precise rule for fixing the age from which an adolescent may sit in this council. It is apparently when he has reached full physical development and earns his living by his own efforts, about 18 to 20 years. He does not have to be married. [56]

the legal apparatus of the Boni.

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692 693 [641] An essential principle of the social life of the Refugee Blacks is that every citizen carries the law within himself. If several men are requested to arbitrate a private quarrel, it is said that they form a Hati kuutu. But they can hand down only a sentence of conciliation. Only the general assembly convoked by the grand man has the power to impose its decision.

692 995 The ordinary role of the Hati kuutu is to judge the dead, to make sure that they were not wisimi (sorcerers), to proceed to their interrogation in order to give the force of law to the answers, especially in what concerns inheritance.

692 693 995 The Hati kuutu meets when a death is announced; the first to arrive go to the grand man who designates two of the captains to preside over the council this time (for all the members are equal). In fact, rare are the councils attended by all the men present in the villages. Most of the time the Hati kuutu groups only about 30 men, mostly old men.

692 The Hati kuutu meets very rarely to judge a living man. That has happened only three times between 1948 and 1957.

692 687 In 1948 the grand man convoked the Hati kuutu to judge a man who, duly called as boatman to take him to Saint-Laurent, had not come. He was sentenced to make a palisade around the grand man's habitation, which took more than a month of work. /15/

692 685 In 1953 the council met to judge Loko (Dyu), who had made himself guilty of aggravated theft (simulated shipwreck to the detriment of a Benzdorp trader and resale of the merchandise), for which he had been condemned by French justice to several months in prison. Loko had to make honorable amends in the presence of the assembled members of his lineage, then he was sentenced to make 50 planks for the benefit of the grand man.

[224] [643] In August, 1957, the council met to judge Pototo (Asini-Dyu), 23 years old, and Amusupé (Asini-Aw.B.), 70 years old, who were guilty of a grave offense: misappropriation of a tapir (malpouni) killed by a Djuka who, feeling gratitude toward the grand man, had made known his intention to offer him part of the meat.

/75 cont./

591 In fact, the society of the Refugee Blacks has not elaborated
99 true political institutions; it is essentially a grouping for collective
692 defense against supahuman peril. The council, like the grand man, has power and authority only insofar as it remains closely bound to thisfunction.

511 Absence of subordination. Among the Refugee Blacks no privileged
[545] class exists. /76/ and they all face life on a footing of rigorous equality; all receive the same education, must cultivate the soil,
[554] build their boats and houses, and live by paid work. The differences in standard of living observed from one to another stem basically from intelligence and work; and that, in spite of the belief in the possibility of getting rich by sorcery, is clearly understood by all.

565 Although the Boni willingly engage in paid work for one
[465] another in transportation by boat, there exists no tendency toward the formation of a class of rich people and one of wage-earners.
571 No servants exist among them, and one observes in their mutual
461 relations no exploitation of the weak. Neither does one observe that
[359] a rich man tries to have done by another, for pay, the customary
[462] jobs he must carry out for the benefit of his wife (clearing, building of boats). This would be looked on with great disfavor. The grand
[543] man himself, if his grandson is not there to help him, goes himself to draw water from the river and he does it ostensibly, even though he has a constant concern for his prestige.

829 The misfortunes undergone by their ancestors are certainly at the base of this conception; for they have inspired in the Refugee Blacks a particular sense of human dignity which is not found to the same degree in Africa.

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621 613 [174] Case of the village of Boniville. This village constitutes an especially interesting case, for it brings together small fractions of the various lineages permanently settled there. It helps one to understand what the territorial implantation of the Refugee Blacks may have been toward the end of the 18th century at the time when their institutions were developing.

621 613 423 [643] [425] The principle is that the Boniville lands belong to the grand man, the last representative of the Dikan lineage; he granted individually to the inhabitants of the village the right to farm his lands. These inhabitants thus hold only a right of use, and there can be no competition among them for the possession of the real rights. But the principle of transmission of the right of use in the same lineage remains for each clearing taken separately. For example, Kiémenti (Dju, F7), who made a clearing out of primary forest, concedes that after him his land may be occupied by any member of the Dju lineage residing in Boniville, but not by Dju lineage members living in Asisi. /81/

423 621 Few in number on a relatively extensive territorial sector, the inhabitants of Boniville have not felt the need to divide the sector granted by the grand man into precise territorial zones.

423 425 613 It is difficult to foresee what will happen after the death of Grand Man Difu when the rights of use will be transformed into real rights. It is probable that a territorial division among the fractions of the lineage established in Boniville will be imperceptibly created by the simple fact that competition will arise among them.

423 Fishing, hunting, gathering, and mineral exploitation rights. These rights are totally separate from the right to farm; in this respect the conceptions of the Refugee Blacks reveal the precariousness of the bonds between the individual and the soil, which results from ecological conditions.

/83 cont./

621 613 --The Dikan lo, lineage of the grand man, nearly extinct
--A fragment of the Kotika lo
--A fragment of the Dju lo
--A fragment of the Lapé lo
--A fragment of the Papaïston lo
--A fragment of the Dipélu I lo

621 613 423 241 The Dikan lineage holds the real rights over the whole of the lands situated on the eastern bank of the Lawa, from Puu Mofu Creek to the south up to the edge of L'Enfant Perdu village to the north.

The fragment of the Papaïston lo established in Boniville is in a special situation; it has for a long time possessed the lands situated to the south of Puu Mofu Creek up to the edge of Loka village (Lapé lo). This group has remained strongly organized and its members do not make clearings outside their zone, in which they have all the space desirable anyway.

The members of the other groups make their clearings on all [643] the surface formerly occupied by the Dikan lo. The grand man has reserved for his personal use the lands situated near Likanaon Creek, where he has built a farming habitation. The inhabitants of Boniville make their clearings on all the rest and without any definite territorial grouping.

[101] This finage (1), like the others studied in the present chapter, was

1. Finage: zone cultivated by the members of a collectivity.

visited in January, 1957, in other words shortly after the end of the land-clearing and at the beginning of the planting.

Study of some clearings of the Agodé bakka locality "behind Boniville":

abbreviations:	(K)	Kotika	(D)	Dikan	(Dip)	Dipélu
	(Dju)	Dju	(P)	Papaïston	(L)	Lapé

/161 cont./

764 692 This tribunal is charged with establishing the causes of death and rendering a decision on this subject which has the force of law. But it is above all charged with judging the dead person, with determining whether he has lived worthily, whether he has the right to be buried according to the rites and to be invoked as an ancestor, or whether on the contrary he was a wisimã.

[613] [643] The grand man designates one or two lineage heads to preside over the council and "command" the dead person until the burial.

The grand man designates who will lead the assemblage and will "command" the dead person until the burial.

764 692 613 This cannot be the head of the dead person's lineage, for no one can at the same time be judge and judged.

Ex.: for Béniti (Dju) this was Popo — head of the Lapé lo

for Atikati (Dju) it was Kondoku — head of the Awara Bakla lo

for Kotoïda (Aw.B.) it was Tafanié — head of the Papaïston lo

for Way (Dip. II) it was Tafanié — /162/

764 787 The 2nd and 3rd days after the death are given over to the interrogation of the dead person, which on the evening of the first day had scarcely begun.

[184] The rites of this interrogation vary from one village to another; in certain villages they begin to carry the dead man even before the construction of the coffin; the questions are not asked everywhere in the same fashion.

[171] The dead person is interrogated by methods widespread in West Africa and which are related to spiritualism: the coffin is carried on the heads of two men, feet forward. The dead man is supposed to push the bearers forward to say yes, and to make them nod their heads from left to right to say no.

/197 cont./

The rites of the worship of Odun are known only by the grand man and by an old man who replaces him when he travels. They are practiced only on the occasion of the collective oath against wisi, renewed every two or three years, and when it is necessary to implore Odun's mercy toward an offender. The officiant bathes the latter's body with a maceration of leaves that he alone knows.

To question Odun and know whether he pardons, they make use of a sacred object named afalaku, placed on a board put on the heads of two men. The answers yes and no are deduced by interpretation of the movements of the bearers, as in the interrogation of the dead.

The oath before Odun is also practiced as a legal test, permitting a man unjustly accused of theft or any misdeed whatever to justify himself.

Thus, in November, 1959, B... of Asisi, accused by two Djuka of being responsible for the burning of a large cabin /carbet/ in which objects of value were stored, asked to justify himself before Odun.

Odun's laws, which have the effect of forbidding violence, vengeance, and every form of oppression, give to the society of the Refugee Blacks a unique atmosphere of dignity and serenity which is not found to the same degree in animistic African societies. Most African societies censure sorcery and murder, but they accept vengeance and various forms of oppression. It is probable that the men who, two or three centuries ago, deep in the forests of Surinam, developed these laws, were inspired more or less consciously by Christian ideas; but they introduced them into an African system of thought, associating them with the idea of material sanctions in the present life, without which they would have been powerless.

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695 Fist-fighting is practiced also between individuals as a test for justification. If someone is unjustly accused of theft, this is the first idea which occurs to him, even before the oath before Odun. On this subject the Refugee Blacks have a conception analogous to that of the ancient Europeans, according to which God will come to the aid of the innocent person, giving him the strength of ten. This fighting, too, is subject to precise rules; it can be indulged in only publicly, in a village, never in the bush or on the river.

In spite of the importance attached to the oath before Odun, Boni custom does not make provision for any test for justification having a recognized legal value. This is what makes the symbolic battle indispensable. Intervention is then asked of the head of a neutral lineage in order to restore peace. If no death or calamity takes place allowing /235/ belief in the unappeased vengeance of a dead person, the affair is very quickly forgotten. For example, in examining the table of marriages among the various lineages, one ascertains that there are a number of normal unions between the Dipélu and the Awara Bakka.

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643 692 In these kinds of affairs the grand man has two very exact functions:

--To reveal pretense;

--To intervene as supreme arbiter in case of necessity.

[789] [795] Each time that someone is attacked by a fit of possession and claims to speak in the name of a yɔrka coming to exercise a kunu, the lineage head conducts him to the grand man who makes sure that there is no question of pretense.

643 795 The grand man, in the thought of the Boni, has the power to compel any yɔrka to manifest itself.

787 695 He conducts the person concerned to the fraga tiki and invokes the yɔrka. If pretense is involved, the individual will not be able to articulate a syllable. If it is true possession, the yɔrka will speak through his mouth.

643 /235 cont. /
775 A few years ago a Kormotibo woman was thus confounded.
787 She had wanted to pretend possession by a yɔ́ɔka in order to
695 blackmail another family.

Grand Man Difu recently forbade the bequeathing of gods
784 and yɔ́ɔka exercising the kunu (1). People will wait for them
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[787]

1. Let us recall that the dead are questioned on this subject as for the apportionment of the rest of their heritage.

to manifest themselves of their own accord. That will reduce the risks of pretense.

643 The grand man's lineage does not exercise any kunu upon
613 another lineage, and no kunu is exercised upon it. For the Boni
775 this is a fundamental idea, because the grand man is precisely
784 the supreme recourse in case of persistent calamities attributed to the yɔ́ɔka of a dead person. The grand man has the power to exorcise all the dead Boni. If his lineage exercised a kunu or were victim of one, he would be judge and litigant at the same time.

When, with the death of Grand Man Difu, the Dikan lineage is extinct, and when the function passes to another lineage, consideration of the kunu exercised by the lineages upon one another will be determinative in the choice of his successor.

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Divination; Premonition; Dreams

Divination. It plays an essential role among the Refugee Blacks as in all animistic societies. Individuals have recourse to it to inspire all important discussions; in large measure one can say that for them it takes the place of will and conscience.

/259 cont. /

791 to the god, and their words of thanks lasted scarcely half a
[782] minute (1). At the time of our first trip on the Maruini, in

1. Yet custom expressly provides for this rite of thanking.

1948, the same scenes had unfolded, going as well as coming back.

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Rites Relative to Agriculture

These rites occupy a relatively minor place in the religious life of the Refugee Blacks, which may be attributed to the great regularity of the climate and the absence of calamities affecting the yield of crops.

[813] It does not seem, at least among the Boni, that a religious bond is assumed between the lineage and the land, and rites intended to insure the fertility of the soil are carried out by each one for himself in the neighborhood of his own field; the lineage head does not appear to play any particular role
241 in this regard. In the thought of the Boni, the fertility of the
792 soil depends upon a local divinity, to which is offered de facto worship; the temporary or permanent users of the lands situated in the domain of this god perform on their own behalf the rites of this worship without any distinction of origin, whether they are Boni, Djuka, or Saramaka.

[796] The only collective worship existing in Boni country is
[793] the worship of mama gaé, of which the grand man is priest.
[643] Its rites are limited to a short annual prayer.

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241 77 [532] [531] [778] 243 [782] Cult of Mama gɔ̃. Mama gɔ̃, mother of the earth, is represented by a crude statue of white clay provided with enormous breasts, symbol of fecundity, which can be seen in a little hut situated on the open place of Boniville village. Each year, when the time for cutting the clearings approaches, the grand man, surrounded by many other people, prays to the god to grant fertility to the plantings. If rain does not fall, an offering of water and tafia is made and the statue is sprinkled.

811 The Boni do not appear to associate the idea of women's fecundity with that of the fertility of the soil, and we have not heard anyone say that the grand man prays on this subject.

241 77 Neither do they appear to have a very clear idea about the relationships of this worship with that of the gɔ̃ gadu, local gods of the soil.

796 535 787 Every three years a great possession dance takes place in Boniville on January 1. /260/ in which the Papa gadu gods dance in front of the sanctuary of Mama gɔ̃. We have not been able to obtain specific information on the meaning of this rite.

241 77 [784] Cult of the gɔ̃ gadu. It is assumed that every portion of land is under the sway of a local god, gɔ̃ gadu. Its power is limited only by the fertility of the soil, and he who neglects its worship cannot be attacked in his person or in his goods, but only punished by a poor harvest.

What is the nature of these gods, what is their place in the cosmogony? These are questions which not one of our informants had ever asked himself. In their minds, gɔ̃ gadu has a de facto existence, and is rendered de facto worship. This worship consists essentially of:

[782] --Offerings made at the moment of planting;

[527] --The observance of a local day of rest, kina de, corresponding to the god's day of rest.

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Relations with the Other Populations

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The tribes of Refugee Blacks do not constitute a closed world. They have lived since their formation in close symbiosis with the neighboring populations: autochthonous Indians, Europeans, and Creoles. Their traditions and their conception of life have been strongly influenced by these, not because they have lost anything of their interior unity, but because they have accepted, at least collectively, the idea that they have bonds and duties toward other men.

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Just as their economy on the material plane is based on exchange, so they consider the symbiosis of their group with the neighboring groups as the normal order of the universe. The misfortunes undergone by their ancestors have given them an extreme horror of violence; they consider peace a precious blessing common to all nations, and their moral principles which forbid harming anyone extend to all men. It is clear that these notions are less clearly understood on the individual level and that there are, as elsewhere, some thefts and abuses of trust. But, on /293/ the collective level, the relations between the Refugee Blacks and their neighbors are established on a base of trust, loyalty, and honesty not found to the same degree in Africa.

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Relations with the other tribes. The Boni do not have any well-defined political ties with the other tribes of Refugee Blacks, but the grand men have semiofficial relations through the medium of messengers, and consult one another rather frequently.

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The Boni have harbored a tenacious resentment against the Djuka for having in former times allied themselves with the Dutch against them, but this resentment, chiefly collective in nature, has died down with time; it does not prevent individual relations from being cordial.

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175 648 727 with their allies. The sites of their villages, marked on Coudreau's map (1889) are in immediate proximity to those of former Oayana villages.

175 648 [643] relations must have been created rapidly and in a very natural fashion. The grand man of the Boni is in a way the suzerain of the Indian chiefs; this situation was not imposed by force; it results from the privileged situation of the Boni on the river, which until recent times obliged the Indians to deal through them in order to trade with the outside world.

Although the Boni took advantage of this situation in days gone by to impose arbitrary rates of exchange upon the Indians, this relation must not be imagined as the exploitation of conquered by conqueror. It is based on the absolute respect of each 648 829 group for the beliefs and social structure of the other, and an activity for each befitting its inclination. The proverb says: [439] "To the Boni the river, to the Indians the forest." Thus it is that the Boni traditionally buy arrows from the Indians, while the latter buy paddles from them; the meaning of this symbol is perfectly understood by both.

648 582 Marriages between the two groups, without being forbidden, are regarded as contrary to custom (2).

159 156 643 648 582 2. The marriage of Grand Man Awemay to an Indian woman about 1915 was inspired by complex motives. Toward the end of his life, Awemay could no longer stand the Boni, his imperious personality putting up badly with their individualism and their taste for discussion. He had established the Indian country a farming habitation in which he lived nearly all

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year; by taking an Indian woman as his wife he apparently sought to humiliate his subjects.

Awemay's children and grandchildren were all dead in 1957 except for two women, both sterile. There has been no other case of marriage between Boni and Indians.

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439 /294/ In practice, the basis for commercial exchanges is the following: the Indians furnish hammocks, and above all dogs trained for hunting, to which great value is attached. The Boni furnish boats. In days gone by they also brought imported objects, machetes, axes, and beads, but this form of trade has disappeared since the Indians have had the possibility of getting supplies from the Europeans.

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Several observers, coming after Coudreau (1890) and Gélibert (1937) in particular, have expressed the opinion that these relations were founded on fear and that the Boni, utilizing mysterious means of pressure, used to oppress the Indians.

After seven missions spent in contact with both, we affirm that these assertions are without foundation. On the contrary, one can only admire the way in which these primitive groups have been able to create loyal and trusting relations with one another. The Indians and Boni who have worked with us have always shown themselves happy to be together. To realize this, it was sufficient to hear the animated conversations they used to have in the evening around the campfires about their respective families, the events which took place in their villages, fishing, or hunting.

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648 A picturesque incident once more showed us this attitude in the course /295/ of a circuit on the Litani in 1952. When
[262] we passed through AluTeé village, our four Boni boatmen, who had killed some coumaous, had prepared a very appetizing dish for themselves; they had scarcely begun to eat when several Indians arrived unexpectedly who joined in the conversation, sat down beside them, then began to dip their spoons into the pot. Other Indians came and, continuing to talk things over deliberately and without hurrying, came and took their share of the feast. The Boni were progressively pushed back to the
[152] second row and finally gave up. Those of them laughed about
[329] this incident which was familiar to them; the fourth was furious but he did not dare say anything, for, said he to us, if he struck the Indians as he wanted to, he risked being bewitched.

648 In truth, what is the nature of the authority that the grand
• 643 man of the Boni is supposed to exercise over the Indians? Does it involve precise obligations, a tribute, vexatious measures? Not in the least: it is reduced nowadays to two things:

--The principle of the obedience of the Indian village heads to the person of the grand man;

--The interdiction of transport by boat in the Boni fashion.

One can only approve of this interdiction which protects the Indians more than it harms them. As for the personal influence of Grand Man Dilu, it is extremely favorable; he has a profound knowledge of the language and customs of the Indians, toward whom he has always exhibited an interest and sympathy which are certainly sincere. When, during the ceremonies at the fraga tiki, he appeals to the ancestors to ask them to watch over the Boni, he does not fail to add: gaã yygka, de mu luku de Ifuji: Ancestors, watch over the Indians.

648 It is also said of the Boni that they are interested in the Indians only in order to traffic with them. Even if that were true -- we have shown how inexact this assertion was -- we should hold all the same that it is much less dangerous for the

Now she could but say that the Granman had asked her to see to this.

"It is good medicine. Do not be afraid," she added, reassuringly.

She led the way to her quarter, but before we had gone past the open shrine she stopped, and her eyes narrowed as she tried to come to a decision. From the quarter we were approaching came a crooning, moaning sound.

"A god speaks. The Apuku god has come to a woman this morning. Come. We will go to the G'aman's women," she said as she retraced her steps.

On a squared log in back of the enclosed shrine which adjoined the council house sat the Granman's principal wife. She was a woman who in her prime must have had beauty, but, though still erect, she had deep grooves on her face, and her breasts were the breasts of an old woman. Her head was closely shorn, as was the way of women whose children were grown. Like any other woman of the village she wore only the short cloth and the bit of kerchief which showed at her waist. Like the others she went to the provision ground almost daily. She and her younger daughter, who was named Wilhelmina for the Queen of Holland, cared for their field together, and now they were working side by side.

Wilhelmina was more robust than her mother could have been at her age. She was tall, more her father's daughter. It was she who served his food and looked after his personal needs. She was the wife of the man who had brought the boat which Sedefo had rejected, because he did not trust its spirit. As she worked, her two children were with her, the elder a child of three, sitting on the ground at her feet, and the other on her back, or in her lap nursing while she did her tasks.

Unlike her older sister, Wilhelmina had little of her father's astuteness, of his quick eye, or his schooled tongue. She went about with the slow, sensuous grace of someone not quite awake, while her older sister busied herself with making the rounds of the village, observing this and that

which went on, so that she might recount it to her father. The women of the village walked "softly" with this older daughter. "Daughter of the G'aman," they called her when they addressed her, and her mildly spoken, persuasive suggestions were never ignored.

Wilhelmina, however, busied herself at her work, and if anything were asked of her, she would look up with an expression of bewilderment. Differing from other women of the village, who had come to live there after marriage and knew the speech of the less aristocratic down-river settlements, Wilhelmina had never been any distance from Asindopo Lantiwe. The other women were, therefore, constantly interpreting the questions which were being put to her.

She was dark of skin, as dark as her sister, but her face had a flush of red in it, as though she had brushed it with the sacred red kuswe. A little above her wrists gleamed wide bands of tin. These were bracelets her husband had made for her, and they were much prized. The brass coils which she once wore had been filed through and removed, for when the ankles of a woman who bore children swelled, it became necessary to be rid of these ornaments.

In a small mortar, decorated with carvings, she was pounding maripa nuts. The ends of the pestle were bordered with finely cut cross hatchings.

"Ai, we use much palm oil here," she said.

Her mother was paring cassava. At her feet were several baskets and pieces of bark, shaped like miniature canoes, into which she threw the peeled cassava. Near these containers lay a sifter, woven of palm fiber, and a grater, made of a thin board perhaps sixteen inches long and half as wide, into which long slender nails had been hammered and their points filed to a needle-like sharpness. When the tubers were peeled, Wilhelmina began the grating, first squatting down, then dropping to her knees, better to work. The grated cassava was then packed into the matapi, the cassava press which had before leaned against the house. This matapi was of a basket-like weave, golden in color

and tall as the Granman's wife herself, though in circumference no larger than the post of the house against which it leaned. The woven strands were caught together in the loops with which it was finished on top and bottom.

When it had been filled, the matapi was hung from the stub of a stout limb, and one end of an equally stout stick was inserted into the bottom loop, while the other rested on the ground. Now Wilhelmina and another woman sat down on this stick, and under the pressure exerted by their combined weight the matapi slowly contracted. A milky white fluid containing the poison which made the raw bitter cassava so deadly filtered through the woven strands, trickling into the gourd placed to receive it. Steadily the poisonous fluid was forced out until it was not long before the gourd was filled, and the cassava pressed dry. When there was much work to be done, and the white woman was not about to ask questions, the women would not waste their time sitting on the stick, but instead would suspend heavy stones from thongs tied to the bottom loop, and they were then free to be about their other tasks. Now, however, it was more amusing to sit and talk.

Whatever the method, when the meal was rid of the poison, it was worked through the sifter into a closely woven basket, and in that kneaded and made ready for baking on the large iron griddles. The use of the bitter cassava they had learned from the Indians, and the names for the sifter and the cassava press were to this day Indian, as were their weave and shape, but the griddles came from the white man's city.

"We use Indian water jars, too. The red pottery we do not make. But black obia pots are Negro things. These our old women mold," said the Granman's wife.

2

As she spun cotton for the garters she would later make, the woman they called the Granman's younger wife sat and talked of working the fields. Her spindle, a small iron

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and set into a base of clay, rotated steadily as she worked. Her fingers moved fast, for she did not require too fine a thread. The raw cotton, she said, she got from a wild "cotton tree." Cotton which was picked in the fields and which grew from seeds planted in the ground, she did not know at all. Was there such cotton?

Working in the fields, she continued, was not too difficult. It was a woman's work. A woman did not mind it. From earliest childhood girls followed their mothers about, and learned how to work the fields.

"What is hard is having to cut my own field. I have no man to cut it for me. I must cut it myself."

She paused for an instant to right her thread.

"When I plant my field, and pray to the gods to make the seed grow, then I ask the Earth Mother to help me find a way to get a man to cut my field for me. 'Earth Mother,' I say, 'help me find a man to cut my field. I have great need of a man to burn my ground.' . . . "

Seeing two women approach, she said, "Fenekonde here is like myself, she too needs a man to cut her field."

But this needed explaining. Here were two women who called the Granman "husband," and who shared the difficulty of having to clear their own fields.

It was soon made apparent, however, that both of these women were only nominally wives of the Granman. They had married into his family. When kunu, however, killed one successor to his office after the other, these women were made widows. Like the widow who now worked alone before her house which fronted the clearing, where stood the shrine to the great gods and the Granman's principal houses, they had worn tattered clothes, and a twisted kerchief as a band on their heads. For five months this had lasted, and then a dance was given.

Did the white woman know about the ceremony called *pai Adyo*?

The white woman had heard the word Dyo-dyo from natives of the town many times. Once, indeed, a question about it put to an old woman, who it later developed was

And Fenekonde said, "Mourning is hard. The widow must not go to the river alone to wash. Other women must take her there. Her husband's spirit might seize her. Her hair must be cut. If not, he will get her by the hair. Her clothes must be ugly. She must keep herself unclean, so that his ghost will not long for her when he sees her."

But mourning was difficult not only for a woman. A man's mourning period was no less burdensome, they added. He too wore old clothes. When he went to wash, his wife's brother took him to the river. If he had another wife, he did not go into the hammock with her, for the dead woman would be envious and would kill him.

There were times, however, when women did not go into mourning for their husbands. If a woman carried a child in her womb, then she did not put on mourning clothes at all. She did not weep, she was not allowed to show any grief. That same night the dead man's oldest living brother would come with her in the hammock. If there were no brother, another man would come, for some man had to come.

"He must come. It cannot be otherwise. She cannot go to her hammock alone. So it is every night when a woman carries a child in her womb. A man must be with her, for the sake of the child."

3

In the clearing the widow stood stamping rice. About her the rice hulls flew and made a half circle of gold at her dark feet. Her mortar, which was made of a hollowed-out log, like a drum, was large and reached almost to her hips. On the ground was a large tray which she used for winnowing the rice. With slow, regular beats she lifted and dropped the pestle, and as her body swung with its slow motion the head of the sleeping child on her back rolled this way and that.

Her two small boys had gone to live in her mother's village, but this girl child remained with her. She was born

more than a year before her father's death and therefore had not saved her mother from mourning.

"My sons are big so," she showed, pointing to the mortar, "and already my brother takes them with him down the river, and when they are with him he tells them about the creeks and the trees, and where the villages are which are friendly to our people. But when they come here to see me, then they play. They have play guns and play arrows which they make themselves. Into the uncleared bush they shoot them until I call them away to eat. Here I have no man from whom they can learn. Here they only play."

But boys liked to be with men. When the rains came, her brother would let them sit by when he carved, and, seeing him work, they would take up a knife and begin whittling. That was how boys learned to do men's work.

Women children played with "gossi." She put down her pestle, and felt about in her cloth where the child slept, and brought out a gourd, resembling in size a small cucumber. It had beads on top for eyes and a few deft cuts to indicate nose and mouth, while above the eyes was crosshatching for the hair. Until girls were old enough to be of use in the fields, they sat about in the clearing playing with these dolls.

"When they are four and five, then they like to work."

There was, of course, dancing. All dances were opened by the children, and at six and seven the girls knew seketi and awasa, and bandamba, and the boys danced sosa.

"Do you dance sosa?" we asked the Granman's five-year-old grandson, who was standing with us beside the widow.

"Ai," he said, but once our attention was turned to him he said also, "White man, the children say you carry money in this." He touched a water canteen which hung from the stranger's belt. "I know it is water."

He knew also that shaving cream was soap, and not white people's sacred clay, and now as women came with bottles for the white man's obia water—a name they gave

to all the medicine we had for them—he took it upon himself to instruct them to wash the bottles carefully, as he followed us to the storehouse, and to warn them that what was given was not to be taken internally.

"*A nɛ̀ɛ̀, a nɛ̀ɛ̀-e, u' no ma' bɔ̀ɔ̀*—He says, he is saying, you must not drink this," he explained, with something of his mother's persuasiveness in giving instructions.

His grandmother had said one day half in jest that he would have a tiger spirit which would need to be reckoned with when he grew to manhood. He was a straight-limbed, wiry child, not troubled with the umbilical hernia so often met with in children here in the bush, or with the distended "cassava belly."

The coming of the strangers had eclipsed all desire for familiar diversions here. From early morning the children of the village stood about watching us, so that the brushing of teeth and the lacing of boots were carried on under excited supervision which continued day after day. But to this small grandson of Yankuso we were visitors in his quarter, and whether we were alone in the council house or were in the small house reserved for privacy, he would find his way there and stand about asking questions.

Sometimes, however, when he found us at work and saw that we did not wish to be interrupted, he would lean against the wall for a long time watching us in silence, until presently he would come to life, as it were, walk over to the table, and begin beating the Kromanti rhythm on it.

But he was not the only child who knew the drum rhythms. In the last village in the Pikien Rio, we met a two-year-old child who came to us with more than usual readiness and followed us about, his hand in ours until we came to his mother's house, where he left us to sit down on a wooden plank which lay near it. We had been in conversation with the older people and did not notice his going, until all at once we heard the slow beating of the rhythm to the Sky God. It was this child of two, drumming against the plank on which he sat.

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us when we asked him. At one landing place where we stopped for a moment, we could hear the drums sounding the rhythm to the river gods, but the drumming stopped abruptly as word went back along the path that white people had come. Men streaked with pemba came down to the river to look at the Bakra who had visited the village of their Granman. 123 609

In the boat, we missed Bayo. The grandson of the Granman, who was our bow paddler, we had met but casually before we had started. There had been none of the chances for conversation that had made of Bayo a friend before he and his great-grandfather came to take us to the country of the Granman. Later we would come to know this youth for a pleasant young man, capable and quiet, who was proud to show his ability, and quick to resent the suggestions of our town man in such matters as making a shelter for the night. 644 123 609

"We are children of the bush!" the young man exclaimed sharply. "We know how to make this." And such a good shelter did the paddlers build that men of a near-by village, who passed, stopped and asked that it not be torn down the next morning, as had to be done with shelters erected for the night on the land of a strange clan, but that we should let it stand so that others might use it. [485]

When we asked him questions, however, or made observations on people who passed by in their canoes, he gave us noncommittal replies. Mataibo, the captain of our boat, was even more reserved, though he liked to twit our town man, and in an unofficial capacity would have been amusing. Conversation between the two paddlers, or between them and the two young men who were entrusted with our other boat, was in the clipped, rapid "deep-Saramacca" speech which, in spite of our use of it in conversation at the Granman's village, we still found it difficult to follow when Bush Negroes spoke informally to one another. [159] [197]

As the day wore on, we began to get used to the rapidity with which village after village was passed. Here was the landing place of the one where we had stopped so that 484

/73 cont./

643 That happened especially to people who, summoned to work
687 in the grand man's clearings, carried out their task with ill will.

About 1950, M..., of Papaïston village, had openly revolted against the grand man whom he had refused to conduct to Saint-Laurent. The grand man sentenced him to make a large stairway of planks, from the Boniville wharf to the entrance to the village, giving him an injunction to leave the country if he refused. M... ended by yielding and executed the large stairway which can now be seen at the Boniville wharf.

643 The grand man is constantly concerned about his prestige
648 and dignity; he is almost always dressed in the European manner
292 and in ceremonies wears an impeccable white uniform; the French
177 administration gives him a relatively large salary and, when he comes to Cayenne, he is put up in the hospital in the apartments reserved for officers.

643 To greet the grand man one does not look directly at him
[576] but places himself in profile with respect to him.

The grand man has no servants (that would be contrary to
[644] the morality of the Refugee Blacks) and leads a very simple life.
[357] Still, he does not do any hard manual labor; each year he calls
[466] together a certain number of men from each lo to work in his clearings; he does not pay them, for this work is an obligation provided for by custom, but he feeds them heartily.

643 Likewise, for his traveling, he requisitions by turns as boat-
466 men two or three of his subjects. Sometimes also he requisitions women to help his wife at harvest time.

On the other hand, for all other work he may need (such as the construction of a large boat) he has to pay like everyone else and he is not given any reduction.

/73 cont./

643 The present grand man, contrary to his predecessors, has
644 only one wife. She is dressed like the other women and works
586 at her clearing like everyone else, /74/ but her marriage to the grand man imposes special obligations on her: she can not divorce him; neither can he repudiate her.

643 The attitude of the Boni toward the grand man is a curious
829 mixture of respect and disparagement. They regard him as the living symbol of their nation, and each one resents as if it were a personal insult an outsider having an incorrect attitude toward him. But their undisciplined spirit kicks up at the measures he is obliged to take to make them respect customary law, and even the authority of a poised and benevolent man like Grand Man Difu is not willingly accepted. As a matter of fact, the Boni stand for
[754] the authority of the grand man as they adhere to the worship of
[795] their gods, by the feeling of an absolute and inexorable necessity; in their minds the grand man is above all the priest of Odun; if the grand man were not there, they would be without defense against the wisiman, without recourse against the vengeance exercised by the yaka of the dead of other lineages.

The political power of the grand man is entirely based on these beliefs, and if they were to collapse, he would disappear
[622] with them. Nobody would submit to any other law than that of the lineage, founded upon fear of the ancestors.

692 The lanti kuutu. This is the assembly of the men, without dis-
693 tinction of age (1) or kinship; this council (lanti = law) constitutes

> 1. There is no precise rule for fixing the age from which an adolescent may sit in this council.
> [561] It is apparently when he has reached full physical development and earns his living by his own efforts, about 18 to 20 years. He does not have to be married.

the legal apparatus of the Boni.

Granman's chair, and the Granman sent the dark flame of his eyes into all the corners of the house to verify the bassia's statement that all were there. The krutu was about to begin. 623

3

Discussion among the Bush Negroes is the close companion of authority, and both are symbolized in the word *krutu*. Krutu is at once court and parliament, and whether it was that two Bush Negroes wished to discuss the proffered price for a carved paddle, or whether the Granman and his elders met to assess a penalty against a recalcitrant village, the term applied was the same—krutu. [640]

We had had no little experience ourselves with krutu by the time we reached Asindopo Lantiwe. When our paddlers came to us again and again to suggest added fees for the journey upstream, they came to krutu with us. When at Gankwe it had been decided that Sedefo and his three companions might go with us, it was a krutu, and at Pa'aba when the men "went to one side" and decided we were not to be brought to the village where men whose spirits were strong danced Kromanti, it was again krutu. There were, too, the innumerable krutu in the villages on the way when we asked to buy carvings or obias or fish traps.

Now when the question was being decided formally whether we would be permitted to stay here on the upper river, it was again a krutu.

To understand what was implied in the term, how the Bush Negro himself regarded it, what the etiquette surrounding it was, and how it was integrated into the life of these people, it was necessary to range far and wide over this bush civilization. At the core of this word we found two ideas. One was the necessity of direction. "When the boat lacks a steersman, it sleeps quietly," these people say of a village whose chief is dead. Direction, authority was their legacy from Africa. Their ancestors had known the rule of dynasties, and the power of men who reigned. 641

But there was also the idea of the importance of free discussion, the need to weld authority and the will of those

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of the Dahomean kingdom by the French. All other walls are of swish. Today in West Africa the automobile and sewing machine have found their way into remote corners. But more important still than these changes wrought by European civilizations, which have made inroads chiefly on the material life of the Africans, are those resulting from intertribal wars, which followed the introduction of guns and gunpowder into Africa and which helped to establish the great West African dynasties. The result of the conquest of one native people by another was constant cultural interstimulation which made for changes in the indigenous civilizations.

In the Guiana bush, however, where these runaway Negroes and their descendants have been living, the fortunes of African kingdoms, the cultural contacts that have affected the Africans, have not touched their own tribal destinies. Neither has the civilization of the white man nor that of the Indian introduced basic changes into their manner of living or thinking.

There are no roads in the Guiana bush, and what footpaths exist to connect one village with another are difficult to follow and, moreover, are not for the stranger, whether he be white or mulatto. For such as these the highway is the river, with native paddlers alert in their surveillance of a stranger's activities. The old men on the river have made a tradition of recalling the struggle of the ancestors for freedom and survival, and it is not without significance that one of the three worst crimes among the Bush Negroes—one that ranks with incest and murder—is informing on a Negro to a white man.

In contrast with this isolation of the Bush Negroes, the Negroes of Paramaribo have known close contact with the whites, with Carib and Arawak Indians, and in more recent years with the Hindu and Javanese laborers brought to the colony. Only suggestions of the manner in which the beliefs of town and bush correspond or differ can be included here, since this account concerns itself with the Saramacca people. Yet for the understanding of this study it must be

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203 And did men speak into the horn, and sing? Would there be no harm to the *ak'a*—the soul?

[193] Their own trickster, Anansi, the spider, working with his fabulous cunning, could not have spun the stories about the whites faster than had the passing boats. From boat to boat, from boat to shore, from shore to village the news went. Had the white man come with guns, or had he come accompanied by many others, then, to be sure, it would have been a matter for the drums. But the vagaries of a white man coming with his wife are of no ritual concern. The drums would only sound on occasions of moment; to sum-
[534] mon the men for a council of the clan or to ask, ritually, for the health of a chief; to tell of death; or to speak to the gods themselves. But for a white man with his woman, gossip was good enough to carry the news.

609 Up and down the river, in the villages where they had visited the year before, many a woman to whom the Bakra had given a string of yellow beads, or a large glittering safety pin to put in her hair as an ornament, or, better still, a large tin can out of which her husband had fashioned a broad band to be worn on her arm, one which glistened as it reflected the pale light of the moon during a dance—such a woman heard of the coming of the Bakra with pleasure. She had them all, these gifts, safe in the carved calabash on which she had incised the sinuous lines of the snake spirit that gave her fertility, and now that the gourds were ripening once again, she would carve another to hold the new things that the whites would bring her.

The young men, too, heard of their coming with pleasure. For would not the strange ways of the Bakra and his woman give them many witty new things to put into words and sing to the traditional seketi tunes, the secular songs that they would later sing in the intervals of the religious dances? It was good to make up new words, which made a man the center of the dance. Ambe! But the women loved the man who could put clever new words to their dance songs!

The children heard the news with fear, for at four, at five, they were not too young to have learned of the enormi-

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ties of the white men of long ago and the deeds of their slave ancestors, who had won for them freedom in this bush. 609 177

But what of the old men? What of them who govern and know proverb and parable to fit all ceremonial occasions, whose word is final in clan councils? What of those who call the gods and speak to the ancestors and who, surpassing all else in wisdom, know how to control *obia*, the great healing spirit which Nyankompon, the Sky God, created after he had brought earth and water into being, so that man might live? At the landing place of the balata camp, a group of such men were gathered and stood about talking. A Loango elder who was on his way to visit his relatives at Kadyu, his lower river clan village, had espied a clansman on the shore and had come up in his boat. 648

"A man and a woman came. And they are going up the river until . . . until beyond the Mamadam and Baikutu, until . . . past the Felulasi Falls, until . . . they come to the Tapa Water and into the Pekien Rio, and until . . . they arrive at the Granman's village."

The speaker, a younger man who had come from up river to the death ceremonies at Gankwe spoke with a certain eagerness, and made of the telling a long recital, drawing out the singsong word "*te*"—until—more and more with each repetition, and in this way intensifying both the distance and the hardships in these vast and vaster stretches. 609 203 648

"Ayo! A long way. Will the Ga'ma' let them come?"

"Ya-hai, tio! You must ask, will the gods let them come!"

"Kere, kere! You must ask if the ancestors will let them come!"

"They carry no guns."

"Then they bring us their gods."

"Kweti-kweti! And that's what I don't understand. They say they come to learn."

"By Ando! But what does that mean?"

"Well, they speak the proverb down below, they say: 'It isn't for nothing that the worm crawls from side to side.'"

"Massa Neng'e, but it's true, true."

"The white man wants to get the black man's obia."

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609 "The whites have wars against each other. . . ."
203 "Our ancestors. . ."
648 Before the last speaker could finish, a man broke in with a prayer. His voice was conversational and sounded as though he were addressing someone present.

> "*Great Sky God,*
> *Kediamo, Kediampon,*
> *Mother of the River,*
> *Sacred ancestors,*
> *Grant that if the white man comes for evil*
> *His race end.*
> *Grant that if the white woman comes for evil*
> *Her womb wither, her line perish.*"

609 But the Loango headman shook his head and said, "The
203 gods will deal with them, have no fear. Do you remember
648 the man who was drowned at the Mamadam, and the one
796 who died way beyond the Granman's country, and that other one, the soldier? They came with evil in their hearts. The gods killed them. The gods will deal with these, too."

And another said: "Let them go up the river. The gods know all. The ancestors know all. This is our land, and our earth spirits will protect us, and they will kill our enemies. This is our river. Our river gods will protect us, and kill our enemies. This is our bush. The gods of the bush are strong. The gods of the bush know their bush children. They know their children's enemies."

Then the Loango elder spoke again: "We have the gods
[186] from Africa. They are more than all gods. The African gods know all. They will watch over us. We have the obia spirits, the African obia spirits. Mati, friends, let them go up the river. Have no fear. Our gods are with us."

The men's soft, sober voices spoke the words without emotion. Theirs were the voices of destiny. Well might the answering chorus intone the affirmations, while the colloquy went on of leader and chorus, leader and chorus, now one taking up the main theme, now another. To us the cadenced speech came floating softly on the still air.

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Seeing him, our host gave an exclamation of pleasure. 439
"But this is Ajako, the husband of Granman Yankuso's daughter!"

"*Kuma, Bakra. Kuma, Bakra muye*—Good morning, 576
white man, good morning, white woman," he said, and our answer was, "*Ajako, kuma*—Ajako, good morning."

Had we awakened, no? This, in the Saramacca idiom, was how one asked if we were well, if we were alive, since the euphemism for death is sleep. We answered him in their patterned phrase.

"*Hafu ap*," we said, using their equivalent for fairly well, only half so.

Ajako laughed. The white man had learned. "Are you no better? I hear the gods like you well," he replied.

And so the conversation went on, each giving account of himself.

Finally Ajako said, "Granman Yankuso waits for you, 648
Bakra. He sends you his greetings, and says he will welcome you in Asindopo Lantiwe, his village. You have the freedom of the river. The village chiefs know of your coming. They will receive you. The river is not too high now, for top-side the rains are at an end. Here on the lower river, too, rocks that today are under water will appear tomorrow or the next day. The water is not too high now. The Granman sends word to you that you can start."

But what of him? Would he not come with us as our chief paddler, to show us the way through the many channels? But he smiled and said he was going to the Marowyne. He could not turn back, he told us, for he had 221
the boats to sell, and money to earn there, while his wife 854
was nursing her infant. When the child was seventeen, eighteen months old, then he would be back with his wife again, cutting new fields for her, and making children. While the infant was at the breast, he would be away working.

There was more talk, leading gently—*safri*, softly, as the 648
Bush Negro himself says—to the subject of certain unfriendly villages. There were two of them up the river that

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had not acted well toward the Granman. It would be best if we did not stop there. At the others the Granman could assure us hospitality. Then there was talk of hauling wood and making rafts, for our host, who knew these people well, moved safri, too, until he at last felt the moment had come to talk about buying a boat from Ajako.

When the arrangements of the sale were concluded, Ajako came back to talk with us. He had heard that we had a machine which the Kromanti spirit had broken, was it true? Did it really go again? They said the Bakra had much cunning. They said the Bakra knew African magic.

The Bakra said he knew something about Africa. The Ashanti people, for instance, were a fine people.

"*Ma na Asante, na Sa'macca sem-* . . . —But the Ashanti are Saramacca. . . . " But he would go no further, having spoken only one syllable of the word for people. He became guarded. Yes, there were some Anago people from Africa on this Saramacca River, and Dahomey, and Loango, and Fanti; the Ibo peoples were not on this river. . . . And again he would say no more. Later, when we had changed the subject, he said as if in both gratitude and explanation, "*Na sa-i-'akisi, a tranga poi*—You ask about strong things."

But he would sing into our machine, if we liked. He would sing Kromanti, if we wanted him to do so. "I won't fight your machine," he said, smiling.

"*Anabobi, Anabobi,*
Anabobi, Anabobyo,
Tata Ando.
Anabobi, Ando,
Anabobi,
Tata Adjaini,
Anabobyo
Tata Fa'aku."

"They will understand this in Africa," he said, gravely, and then he moved toward the doorway and stood there

622 "It is the coat of a chief. All chiefs wear these coats
292 At the G'aman's we wear the best we have."
[293] We looked at his silver-topped wand of office. "Do all chiefs carry these?" we asked.

"Not every chief has a stick like mine. And all chiefs do not have one of these." He pointed to the crescent of silver which hung from a chain about his neck.

"It is beautiful."

"Ya-hai. And it's old."

Embossed on the silver plaque were the arms of Holland, richly worked.

622 "After the time of running away, when the fighting was
648 over between our ancestors and the whites, these were given
293 to us, and the wands of office. But not all chiefs have their
643 wands from the white man. Some have the ones we call 'free sticks.' A man who has a 'free stick' is not a chief for the white man, but we know that he is a chief."

He added that the whites had made an agreement with the escaped Negroes that if they would no longer raid the plantations and carry away slaves with them they would be considered free men in their bush, under the white man's government. Since that time the Bush Negro Granman and certain of the village chiefs had had official recognition, and as a token of this each of them had been given a uniform, a
[292] high hat, a crescent with the arms of Holland worked on it, a silver-headed staff, and an annual stipend.

"The chiefs who have 'free sticks,' the white man does not pay."

576 As we spoke of these things, we were interrupted from time to time by the noiseless brushing aside of the cloth which hung above the door, and the entrance of one of our men, or a man of the Granman's village, who brought in our canisters and hammocks. With not even a glance in our direction, they would leave as noiselessly and return to the river. Through the slatted side walls we could hear the sounds of such activity as we had not thought possible in the tropics.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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623 574 643 "Bassia," said the Granman, as he turned to the young man who had come to announce the krutu to us, "go and tell the lanti the white man has come. Tell the lanti the white man must be fed. All who come to this place must eat. Tell the people they must hunt and fish. Let them bring their kill to us here. Let them bring the fish they catch in their traps. Let all know, and may the gods favor their hunting."

"Ai, clever master," came the response, as the bassia left to issue the orders of the Granman.

623 648 "Bak'a," he said, turning to us, "you come from the city of the white man. The G'aman of the white man, in the white man's city, two moons ago, sent a message to us. It is here." He rose from his chair, and reached for several envelopes which were inserted in the chains of the hanging lamp. "What has been written, we cannot read. You know the writing that white men know. Read what the G'aman of the white man has said."

We opened the letter, with its great official seal. In it was a message from the Governor of the Colony, telling Granman Y'ankuso of our projected trip to the country of the Saramacca people, asking that we be received by him at his village. All this was read in its translation and transmitted to the Granman by our town man. As he spoke, it was the Granman who punctuated his pauses with the ceremonial affirmations.

"So it is."

"So I hear."

"It is as I know."

All listened attentively to the reading of the letter, and when it was concluded, the Granman turned to the members of the krutu.

"Captain Awagi, when I go to the white man's city, word is sent on ahead so that the people of the city know when the G'aman of the Saramacca people comes. So it is in the bush. When a white man comes to the bush, it is well that from the white man's city they tell me who is coming."

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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THE COUNCIL OF THE ELDERS

"Kodo!"

"Another letter has come, Bak'a. Will you read that one, too?"

This was a communication written by a lumber factor down the river. One of the villages, it seemed, was in dispute with another over timber rights. The case was laid before the Granman by the factor, who asked that the controversy be settled promptly, since the dispute was keeping the men of both villages from cutting the lumber which had been promised him.

Yankuso now spoke again: "You have heard the message, friends. The man who buys timber asks that I settle this dispute between two of our clans. Their villages are far from here. The clans of the Saramacca people can settle their own disputes."

"Gbolo!"

"So I say, friends. I can look at the cows, but from a distance I cannot tell how many there are. It is not for us here to decide this."

"*Kweti, kweti!*—No, no!"

"It is true, friends, as the Saramacca people say, 'The G'aman's breasts are for all his children.' But it is not my children who have come to me. Bak'a," he said, suddenly turning to us, "later you will write for me to this man who buys lumber. Tell him that for the sake of sweet soup a man eats sour dumplings. So I say."

The Granman looked about him. The heat of midday filled the darkness of the council house, and old Bibifo had dozed off. The gaze of the chief fixed him.

"Mati!" he said, when Bibifo stirred. "Sleep is death!"

Slowly the Granman's eyes circled the room until they came to us.

"The Bak'a has come," he repeated, with his slow intonation, every syllable clearly enunciated. "When the Bak'a came, the rain fell. From Asindopo Lantiwe we shot guns of welcome, from Abenda Konde guns were shot. In the heavens, the gods spoke them welcome. There was thunder."

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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morning, they tell us when we call on them. That is the 643
black man's way. 159

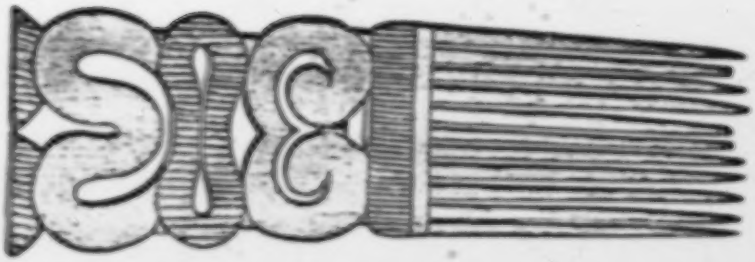
"You white people have money, you have fine houses, 186
you wear clothes, you can count. They tell me that you 198
say in your books all people must be friends. But you have wars. If white people kill white people, then *mati*—friend—how will it be with black people living among the whites?" 648

Granman Yankuso rose, when he said this, and took from the chains of the suspended lamp a folded envelope. He handed it to us, and from it we took out a letter on the stationery of the League of Nations, signed by its Secretary, Sir Eric Drummond. As we were reading this, he left the council house and soon returned with a larger envelope, which he had kept uncreased, and from it brought out a photograph of the Council of the League of Nations in session. They were his proud possessions. While the World War lasted there was no work for the Bush Negroes on the river. They could not earn the money they needed to buy cloths for marrying and powder and rum for ceremonial usage. The Bush Negroes called it a "great money famine," [731]
in the way of their Anansi stories which so often began with "This was a time of great famine." Through a missionary on the upper river, the Granman learned of the war, and through him later of the League, which the missionary had undoubtedly brought up as the white man's defense against the challenge of the black tribal head, who asked, "How will it be with black people living among the whites?"

It was then that the Granman through this same missionary addressed himself to the white rulers far away, telling of the fear of the blacks, and counseling them the wisdom of peace!

4

In the council house Granman Moana Yankuso was host 643
to the Gankwe men. They were there to take their leave of 684
him before starting down river. Asikanu, the handsome 574
brother of the Gankwe clan head, who was sent away from his village while the elders were deciding upon his adultery



[442 532]

Chapter One

THE BLACK REBELLION

A GUINEA SLAVER, tacking up to Paramaribo. In the hold lay shackled Negroes, their bare bodies glistening with sweat. "Black Ivory" they were called. 148 175

Entrapped savages from the West Coast, transported nearly three thousand miles in slaving ships to the Dutch settlement in South America. Three months at sea, and they looked like leather-covered skeletons, those who were still alive.

Packed in a small space, without enough room to lie down, the slaves were forced to take turns at stretching out on the deck to sleep. The others squatted close together, straddling the ones lying down. The night air being considered pernicious, the portholes were closed when evening came, leaving the blacks to suffocate during the fetid dark hours. Sometimes the bare planks, combined with the rolling motion of the ship, rubbed off skin and flesh, leaving patches of bone exposed. Blood and filth were strewn about in an indescrib-

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1 A [For caption, see category 116, p. 204. -- Analyst]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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able mess. Only one in twenty survived the ordeal; the bodies of those who succumbed were dropped overboard to be covered over in a swirl of water. The ship went on.

The Surinam is a tan river. There is a sharp line where it meets the deep green of the Atlantic. Twenty miles up the winding stream is Paramaribo, the end of the voyage.

Hot wind blew the ship along, wafting away the odour of flesh. The ship turned and tacked around the broad slow bends of the river. Some of the Negroes realized that the voyage was over and became hysterical, expecting to be killed and eaten. Kidnapped from many different tribes of Africa, speaking no language but their local dialects, they had no way of knowing the fate in store for them. The cruelties of the voyage made them anticipate the worst. As a matter of fact, their immediate fate was to be sold to the planters of the Surinam, to labour on the sugar plantations of the colony. Perhaps the mangrove swamps beside the river recalled their former home.

On the western coast of Africa, between the Senegal River and the Congo country, particularly the Gulf of Guinea, lay the hunting-ground of the slave trader. Somewhere along the Ivory Coast or Gold Coast these Negroes were captured. To facilitate the handling of large numbers of slaves, forts were set up at intervals along the coast, under the command of Europeans. Here Negroes were accumulated in large pens, awaiting shipment. These "factories," as they were called, obtained the blacks by kidnapping them, or by bartering with tribes of the interior, who took them

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captive in jungle wars. A raid on an African village, for the purpose of obtaining captives to sell as slaves, is described by an eye-witness, Captain Richard Drake, an Englishman who was captured and held prisoner by a tribe in Dahomey:

"When the night was somewhat advanced, the main portion of our force set off in small parties to creep on the unsuspecting town, and in about an hour a bright flame shot up followed by a chorus of yells, cries, and groans. In a few minutes the whole valley seemed in flames. From the brow of the hill I could see the Dahoman warriors running about whirling their weapons. The naked women and children were flying in all directions and in the light from the blazing huts I could see the wretched people rushing from the flames to be received on the spear points of their enemies. It was nearly morning when the work of capture and massacre was finished. . . . When we reached our valley there was a great feast and old King Mammee sat on his pile of sheepskins and distributed feathers to the principal men, and his priests made a solemn sacrifice of two young boys to the King's fetish. The poor lads were cut to pieces with knives by the women soldiers and afterwards burned before the idol."

Massacred by enemy tribes in the interior, taken to the coast face downward in dugout canoes, thrown into slave pens where many died, then the horrible voyage down the Middle Passage on a blood-washed slaving ship, to work under the lash on the sugar plantations of Dutch Guiana,

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these captive Negroes experienced the lowest degree of human misery. They were mere beasts. Their civilizations of Songhay and the Mellestine were forgotten.

Paramaribo, where the slaves landed, was then the only city in the Dutch settlement. It resembled a little piece of Holland transplanted to South America. Settled originally by the British, it was given to Holland in 1674 in exchange for the present city of New York, which was a crafty trade. Settlers from Holland gave the colony a Dutch atmosphere that it retains to this day. On this "wild coast" were to be found women in wooden shoes and burghers with long clay pipes.

A crowd usually gathered on the wharves at Paramaribo to watch a slaver put in. Planters in enormous hats and silken shirts walked conspicuously about, anxious to obtain more man-power for their fields. The Negroes were not going to be eaten, as they feared, but perhaps that would have been preferable for some of them. A landing of slaves in Dutch Guiana, some time later, was witnessed by Captain Drake:

"The blacks were landed at once and two days later were placed on sale in the market. There was a scarcity of hands on the sugar plantations and good prices were paid for the slaves. The Dutch maids, in short green jackets and scarlet petticoats, walked around inspecting the naked Africans as if it were a common thing. The auctioneer sat on a high chair at one end of the large room and the slaves stood on a stool in front of him. He made them turn round about,

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as they stood in their breech-cloths before the people, and 648
the purchasers walked up and felt of them to try their flesh 175
and soundness. The darkies were obliged to go through every sort of motion. It seemed at times as if their arms would be pulled out of joint or their jaws cracked by some of the Dutchmen. One dame was not satisfied until she forced a wench to screech by squeezing her breast cruelly. In two days the vendue was over. The grown men fetched as high as a thousand guilders and the boys and girls and women from seven to eight hundred, which were considered good prices."

The slaves were then put to work in the sugar fields. The overseers treated them cruelly and enjoyed it, with the callousness of their century; overseers in Virginia and Jamaica were doing the same with no less zeal. The planter's lash was often "incrusted with blood."

Inevitably some Negroes tried to run away. Near by was the jungle, a refuge from the white terror. From time to time runaway blacks succeeded in escaping into the bush. There they joined other fugitives, forming small bands.

The character of the country favoured them. The undergrowth is so thick that overland travel is impossibly laborious and slow. The rivers, save for a short distance near the ocean, [153] are unnavigable because of their torrential rapids. The Surinam, up which the slave ships sailed to Paramaribo, has seldom been explored to its extreme upper reaches; it is *terra incognita* to white men.

The fugitives were quite at home in the jungle. In this

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● 448 175 natural sanctuary they reverted to their African habits of living and began to multiply. Recapture being impossible, their bondage to the white man was definitely over. They propagated and prospered, but they did not forget those slave days behind them. Armed with firelocks and lances they began making raids on the outlying plantations. Revenge!

Resolute bands of them would descend on a plantation and massacre the whites. After carrying off the gunpowder, firelocks, and hatchets which they badly needed, burning the mansion, and freeing the slaves, they would disappear as quickly as they had come, leaving the colonists fuming at their impotence to punish them.

By 1726, but fifty years after the Dutch acquired Surinam, there was a large body of rebel slaves living in the bush around the Saramacca River. They were intrepid and merciless raiders—where would they have learned the meaning of mercy? Two years later a small military expedition was sent out from Paramaribo against them, but it was ineffectual. Back in the bush the Negroes were more than a match for the white man.

In 1730 the colonists succeeded in capturing eleven Bush Negro rebels and killed them by slow torture. One black was hanged to a tree by an iron hook thrust through his ribs; after being suspended thus for several days he finally died. Two were burned to death over a slow fire. Six women were broken on the rack, and two girls were decapitated. The tortures were endured heroically until death brought release.

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The rebels were enraged. Their depredations became more fierce. Now a rich planter would be paddling desperately down to Paramaribo in the dark jungle night, leaving behind him a burning mansion in whose eerie light infuriated Negroes danced, triumphant over the sacking of a white man's home. Or perhaps there would be no survivor to tell of the night attack, but only some charred ruins, no less eloquent, in the morning. The colonists lived in constant terror, dreading attacks that did not come and paralysed with rage and fear over those that did.

The whites had blindly brought upon themselves the necessity, almost, of abandoning the colony. Unnecessary ill-treatment had driven the rebels to an extremity of revenge; inhuman tortures had seared in their brains a deep hatred for the masters. It is true that some of the plantation owners were as kindly disposed as the custom of the age permitted, but most of the planters ill-used their slaves. There was nothing to prevent it; the magistrates were fellow-planters, and no Negro could bring legal testimony. The black had no redress except in blood. The idea of revolt spread.

After twenty years of intermittent raiding, the colonists had had enough of it; Governor Mauricius, the head of the colony, sent a detachment of troops into the bush to find the rebels and conclude a treaty of peace, "so ardently desired." After some skirmishing they arrived at the rebel headquarters and opened negotiations with the Bush Negro chief, named Adoe. There, in 1749, a treaty was signed, the conditions of which were dictated by the rebel blacks. Chief Adoe

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was presented with a large cane bearing the arms of Surinam, and, a more material gain, he extracted from the white negotiators a promise to turn over to him a large supply of arms and ammunition, along with other presents. As a pledge of friendship, Adoe presented them with a bow and arrows. Then the troops returned to Paramaribo.

The news of the treaty was variously received. Many planters expressed satisfaction, others doubted whether peace would be lasting. Some denied the advisability of handing out to the rebels more firelocks and gunpowder. As one man expressed it: "I must indeed confess that, notwithstanding the good intentions of Governor Mauricius, nothing appears to be more dangerous than making a forced friendship with people who, by the most abject slavery and ill usage, are provoked to break their chains and shake off their yoke in pursuit of revenge and liberty, and who, by the trust which is placed in them, have it in their power to become from day to day more formidable."

The following year the promised presents were sent upstream: checked linen and salt beef, spirits and salt pork, firearms and ammunition. The caravan was intercepted by an independent band led by a rebel called Zam Zam, who carried off the stock and murdered the carriers. Chief Adoe waited for the presents which did not come, and after long waiting finally concluded that they had never been sent, that the white men had cheated him with false promises. He declared the peace broken, and resumed the raids.

Thus an accident reopened the series of terroristic scenes;

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death and destruction again spread throughout the planta- 648
tions. The imprudent governor was recalled to Holland, and 175
never returned. Six hundred Dutch troops arrived as reinforcements for the colony, but they could not allay the distress. Besides the Saramacca rebels, a new revolt started in the region of the Tempati Creek, and was immediately successful. Dutch troops sent against it were defeated repeatedly. By 1757 the whites were again compelled to sue for peace, and a parley was agreed to.

The colonists were represented by two commissioners, Sober and Abercrombie, who carried presents with them to the Tempati rebels under the command of Chief Araby. He represented the new generation of Bush Negroes, born not in Africa but in the South American bush and having no personal memory of the slave ships. He received the white commissioners politely, and quieted their apprehensions regarding the ensuing parley.

During the negotiations a rebel captain named Boston became irate at the commissioners' presents and wanted to know whether the Europeans thought that the Bush Negroes could live on combs and looking-glasses. He ended his oration with a demand that the two commissioners be held as hostages. Another captain, bearing the African name of an Ashanti chief, Quaco, took the opposite side and spoke in defence of the white representatives. Finally Chief Araby dictated the terms of peace, making Abercrombie draw up a list of conditions to be agreed to, and merchandise to be delivered. The Dutch government was allowed a year to

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648 175 deliberate; at the end of that time it could choose either peace or war. The Negroes were ready for either.

When a bush chief finishes speaking, all the members of the gathering nod their heads and say *"Daso,"* or "That's so." As Araby finished, there was a general murmur of *"Daso."* The parley concluded with an elaborate entertainment for the commissioners, after which they were sent back to Paramaribo, accompanied by no escort, but with these proud instructions:

"We desire you to tell your Governor and your court that in case they want to raise no new gangs of rebels they ought to take care that the planters keep a more watchful eye over their own property, and do not trust them so frequently in the hands of drunken managers and overseers, who by wrongfully and severely chastising the Negroes, debauching their wives and children, neglecting the sick, etc., are the pain of the colony and wilfully drive to the woods such members of stout active people who by their sweat earn your subsistence and without whose hands your colony must drop to nothing and to whom at last in this disgraceful manner you are glad to sue for friendship."

Suing for peace, with the Negroes they had formerly owned body and soul! There was a vast difference between these arrogant, victorious blacks and the whipped slaves still coming over the Middle Passage. These men were no longer servile; they were free.

At the conclusion of the year of grace two commissioners came up the river again, bringing with them the required

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presents; again the white man acknowledged his defeat. The 618 presents were delivered to the Bush Negroes at Joca Creek, 175 where the parley had been held, fifteen miles east of Tempati. Here at the Ouca Plantation in 1761 a treaty of twelve or fourteen articles was signed by the white commissioners and sixteen blacks. They all took the sacred oath and drank each other's blood, mixed with spring water and ceremonial clay, from a calabash cup, while the *Gadoman* or high priest "with upcast eyes and outstretched arms took heaven and earth to witness."

The multitude responded *"Daso."*

Araby delivered four of his captains as hostages to Paramaribo, where they were entertained at the Governor's table. Considering an oath sacred, the Negroes never violated the treaty. They adhered to it so strictly that, when other Negroes escaped, this tribe helped the whites recapture them, thus incurring the enmity of many of their own people.

No sooner had the treaty been signed with one tribe than a fresh rebellion broke out in another part of the colony. The next revolt, at Berbice, was unsuccessful; the Bush Negroes were defeated and their villages looted. The whites were aided in this by three tribes of native Indians, the Caribs, Acaways, and Arawaks. When the Dutch general handed some Bush Negro loot over to these Indian allies, his own troops became dissatisfied and deserted. Seventy deserters marched overland through the bush, attempting to join the Spaniards on the Orinoco River. They were intercepted and captured by a large force of rebel Negroes, who executed

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175

fifty of them. Shortly afterward the entire revolt was quelled, and the Negro leaders burned alive six at a time. The remaining twenty deserters from the Dutch militia were brought to Paramaribo and executed by being hanged or broken alive.

After this setback, other rebellions broke out afresh in a different section of the colony. These outbursts were known as the Cottica rebellion, and were more formidable than even the Saramacca and Tempati revolts. Pillage was extended in every direction, and the colonists at Paramaribo lived in daily terror of a massacre. By 1772 hope of maintaining the colony had almost been relinquished; the Dutch were ready to admit that the finishing blow had been given to Surinam. The planters abandoned their homes and flocked to Paramaribo for refuge. Even there they could hear at night the throbbing of Negro drums.

In a desperate effort to save the settlement, faithful slaves were manumitted and armed, to act in conjunction with the colonial troops against the rebels. To send Negro against Negro was a hazardous resolve. At the same time the Society of Surinam appealed to the Prince of Orange for aid. Two companies of mercenaries, twelve hundred strong, were dispatched to the relief of the stricken plantations.

This was perhaps "the most extraordinary expedition ever undertaken by European troops." Among the officers of the expedition was an Englishman by the name of Captain John Stedman, of Tifferton, Devonshire, a free-lance soldier of fortune, who wrote a long account of his adventure. His *Nar-*

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His Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition Against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam in Guiana on the Wild Coast of South America is a record of strange happenings that could not occur again.

Many of the soldiers died en route, so reinforcements of three hundred men were sent from Amsterdam. Two hundred and fifty of these died on the way. The remainder were prepared for active service against the rebels. Acting with them were three hundred auxiliary troops, consisting of emancipated slaves under the command of white leaders. Such Negroes, freed for the purpose of fighting, were known as "rangers." They were given trousers and scarlet caps, armed with firelock and sabre, and taught the Dutch password, *"Orange!"* to distinguish them from rebel Negroes and prevent "disagreeable mistakes" during the fighting.

Under the command of the rebel leader Baron, whose very name sufficed to cause panic in any part of the colony, the Bush Negroes had established a strong settlement between the Cottica River and the seacoast. One proud rebel town was known as *Boucou,* which means *"Dust."* It was entirely surrounded by swamp, with secret paths under water, leading to gates in the palisade wall. Before the gates Baron placed swivel guns. On the whole it had the reputation of being "no contemptible fortification." There was another camp of rebel Negroes at Lee Shore, between the Surinam and Saramacca rivers. From these armed camps they made night forays into the plantations, robbing fields and stealing women.

Against Boucou the desperate Dutch sent a detachment

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648 175 of troops under the command of Captain Mayland. They camped on the border of the swamp, finding they could not cross it. Baron raised his white flag of defiance and the militia fired many useless fusillades. They planned a siege and a bridge of boats across the marsh, but both plans were abandoned when a ranger discovered an underwater path to the fortification.

Making a feint attack by rapid firing on one side of the swamp, Mayland drew the defenders to that side. Meanwhile, the troops crossed on the opposite side, swarmed over the palisadoes without encountering opposition, and fell upon the blacks from behind. Boucou was taken in a swirl of carnage.

Most of the Bush Negroes managed to escape; finding ten or twelve rangers stuck in the swamp, they slit their throats on the way. The white men's prisoners were put to horrible deaths. Stedman describes one as hanging for three days on a hook through his ribs, trying to drink the rainwater that rolled down his chest. He was finally killed with the butt of a musket. The story also tells that another captive was being flogged near the suspended Negro. When the beaten prisoner cried out in pain, the first one taunted him with weakness, saying, *"You mong? Da boy fasee,"* which means, "Are you really a man? You act like a boy!" Other captives had wooden splinters driven under their fingernails and toenails, after which they were quartered by being tied to four horses driven in different directions. As for young women being roasted alive, says Stedman, "Nothing was

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more common in the colony." This is probably an exaggeration. 48 175

Not long after this, Captain Mayland, the victor of Boucou, was caught with his troops in an ambuscade while fording a swamp. Up to their armpits in water, the Europeans and their rangers were unable to return the rebel fire. The whole party was wiped out. A few captives were taken back to the rebel village, stripped naked, and beaten to death before the assembled population to provide an afternoon's amusement.

But the colony was saved for the whites. Cruelties continued on both sides, those of the civilized Europeans equalling those of the savage. On one plantation Stedman saw a young woman hanging to a tree, being flogged with two hundred lashes. Seeing her stripped and covered with blood, he protested mildly. Enraged that anyone should venture to come between him and his slaves, the overseer ordered the punishment doubled, and the lashes went on.

In 1775, when the revolutionary spirit was also beginning to flame in North America, the mercenaries entered the Guiana jungle against the rebels for the last time. In this detachment were two hundred European troops and a hundred rangers, commanded by a Colonel Fourgeod. The first day they travelled due east from Paramaribo, cutting their way eight miles through the bush with billhooks. The following days they continued this laborious chopping of a path, and at night campfires were forbidden lest they draw the attention of the Bush Negroes. They proceeded in three columns, guarded by flankers. After marching a week, they stumbled

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648 upon the rebel village of *Gado Saby*. The name means "God
175 Understands." The Dutch detachment came out of the bush into an oblong rice field, where the rebels met them with an impassioned defence of the village. The black warriors fired from the ground or from behind trees. Each was supported by two others, one to take his place if he were killed and the other to drag his body away. Trusting to their *obeiahs,* or talismans, for protection against enemy bullets, the rebels exposed themselves rashly and many were killed.

The Dutch found the opposing troops manœuvred in a masterly manner. The defence of the village was admirable. The Negroes even cut down trees about the village to impede the Dutch advance. It was soon noticed that, although the Bush Negroes were firing rapidly, few Europeans were injured and none were killed. Afterward the surgeons found out why. They discovered in the wounds many pebbles, coat buttons, bits of silver, but no bullets. The rebels had none. This was all that saved the whites from extermination. The blacks surrounded them, had them at their mercy—but lacked bullets to clinch the victory.

Pressing on, the Dutch reached the town. The Negro chieftain, Captain Bonny, immediately set fire to it, and his troops retired in good order. This turned out to be a very effective stroke, for it left the whites with no shelter and little provisions. Every rebel rice field that the whites could locate had been burned, as usual.

Camped on the charred site, the rangers amused themselves by bowling with severed human heads. It was, as Sted-

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man noted, a *condree fasee*—a custom of the country. Rifles were found, all lacking flint, for which the Europeans had good reason to be thankful. In the village were found silver spoons pillaged from the estates, along with china and other ware. The rebels were observed to be healthy, and lacking nothing but bullets and flint. Their diet contained ingenious makeshifts. Salt they obtained from the ashes of a palm tree, and butter from condensing the fat of the palm tree worm.

That evening the rebels crept near the European encampment and began shouting curses, threats. All night the jungle resounded with the yells of rebels and the replies of rangers. The hatred of the revolted blacks for the loyalist rangers knew no bounds. They swore that no ranger should ever leave the bush alive. They dared the planters to enter the woods. Finding so much communication going on, Colonel Fourgeod decided to join in, and began "hallooing." He offered the rebels food, drink, and freedom if they would lay down their arms.

The reply was curt and contemptuous. They "damned him for a French bastard," saying, "We are free men. You soldiers are white slaves, hired to be shot at for fourpence a day."

Fourgeod swore to pursue Bonny to the end of the earth. The following day the troops pressed on to the next village, *Cofaay,* which signifies "Try Me." They found it deserted. Lacking ammunition, the blacks had realized the impossibility of putting up a defence. So they made a great noise in the night, under cover of which Cofaay was evacuated. While the loud shouting was going on, the food of the next village had

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been packed in baskets and transported to a safe place. The Dutch, tricked by the wily Bonny, found Cofaay bare.

Provisions being imperative, a small detachment was sent back to Paramaribo for them. The detachment was cut off by the rebels. European soldiers were spared, but every ranger was killed, since the rebels had sworn none of them should leave the bush alive.

After one or two other engagements, in which the Bush Negroes were defeated, with the help of Indian tribes, the expedition returned to Paramaribo. Both sides had fought each other to a standstill. The Europeans were weary of the hazards of the bush, of the vicious fire-ants and carnivorous mosquitoes. Above all they knew that if the Bush Negro had possessed ammunition they would never have returned.

From this point on the warfare ceased by common consent. The Bush Negroes were left alone to duplicate in the American forest their former life in Africa. The slaves who never revolted were finally emancipated in the nineteenth century, and their descendants today, still living with the whites in Paramaribo, are known as Town Negroes. The bush tribes call them *bahkra schlaff*, or "white man's slave."

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It may be of interest to recall the names of some of the old villages which constituted places of refuge for the escaped slaves in the early days and from which many of the forays were conducted against the white plantations. In the jungle between the Surinam and the Saramacca rivers were the following:

648
175
103
361
621

Villages	*Headmen or Captains*
Acoro-kriki	Aletoo
Attoma-kriki	Attama
Awara	Davo
Congo-kriki	Attoma
Doussou-kriki	Mufinga
Cabrolte	Primo
Janwiri-kriki	Kwakoo, Klaas, Pedro
La Motte	Foolon
Matawarie	Adoo
Loango	La Motte
Toofinga	Coffie
Wana	Mathysie
Pada	Pambo, Magondi, Darie, Samsam

[622]

Higher up the rivers, separated from these, were still more villages continuing right on to the Brazilian frontier, even on to the Orinoco River, where some of the escaped slaves mixed with the Indians.

The villages between the Surinam and the Marowyne rivers were the following:

To the north of Paramaribo, between the Duivelsbroek

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648 175 103 361 621 (Devil's Pants) Swamp and the ocean was the village of No Meli Mi (Don't Touch Me).

On the Upper Surinam River at the source of the Surnau Creek and to the north of the plantation Maasstroom there was a village called Broos Condree; on the right bank of the lower Commewyne River, the village of the Headman Kopro-Kanoo (Copper Cannon) was situated.

On the Upper Cottica were the following havens of refuge:

[622]

Villages	*Headmen or Captains*
Gado Saby	David Voro
Corsary	Pamo (Governor)
Meli Mi	Araby
Mi Sa Lasi	Boston
Tesi	Abram
Boesi Krei	Thoma
Kwami Condree	Coffie
Karoe Condree	Jan Prado
Areisi Condree	Quakoo
Boucou	Baron
Aroukou	Bonny, Joli Coeur

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they must tolerate a certain amount of intrusion, and negotiations for canoes and paddlers can be made for occasional journeys upstream.

The Bush Negroes sometimes come down to Paramaribo, but on the whole they have no desire for contact with white civilization. At one or two points along the lower rivers trading-posts have been set up by the Surinam Balata Company. The post near Kabel, on the Surinam River, is connected with Paramaribo by a small railroad, the only one in the colony. Once a week a tiny locomotive hauls some wooden coaches up to Kabel, a journey of nine hours. For a few miles the train passes through cleared plantation lands before plunging into the bush, the engine making as much as twenty miles an hour when it is going well. A few Hindu and Indian villages are scattered along the route. When the train stops at Republiek, swarms of Hindu fruit dealers attack the passengers: Carib Indians, coloured like ripe mangoes, can be seen holding themselves proudly aloof from such merchants. A little further on the *pork-knockers* detrain. They are freelance blacks, seeking a fortune by washing for gold in the yellow waters which roll down from the foothills of the distant mountains.

Here, at Kabel, one river trip begins. The trading factor, Mr. Alexander Wolff, had negotiated with the Bush Negroes for two forty-foot dugouts, capable of carrying a thousand pounds of luggage and equipment, and had secured four Bush Negro paddlers. One is named Quacoe, the famous name of the Tempati rebel, and another is called Flagawai,

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or Waving Flag. There is also a town cook, known as Bundle. 488

It is grey on the misty river when we leave Kabel to take up the journey into the interior. The corials are wet with fog. 648

A group of villagers stands on the bank to watch our departure. The last evidence of civilization is the corrugated iron shack which marks the terminus of the railroad. The baggage has been transferred to the canoes, and the paddlers take their places. We shove off on the tawny river. The villagers shout a farewell: *"Wakka bon na watra, bakkra."*—"Walk well on the water, white man."

Seeing these black-skinned paddlers dimly through the morning mist, one can easily imagine being on the Niger, headed into the interior of Africa. They are characteristic West African types, with broad noses, thick lips, and kinky [142] hair. There are no evidences of racial mixture, no hybrids, no mulattoes. Noticeably aristocratic in bearing, they are carefully groomed and carry themselves admirably. In parleying with the white man they show no deference, for they have no sense of inferiority. They remember the rebellion.

The corials are paddled over a short stretch of quiet water before the rapids begin. It is not long, however, before the boatmen lay down their paddles and take up the great poles. The rhythmic heaving begins. After a few miles they draw the canoes in to the bank, for no apparent reason. Their wives appear out of the bush, bringing the men some extra supplies for the journey. There is an additional loin-cloth for each [291] paddler, and two togas, worn over the shoulder. The native substitute for a valise, in which these clothes are packed to [415]

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keep them dry, is a carved calabash gourd, with a tight-fitting waterproof cover made from another gourd. These are stored away amidship, along with high piles of cassava cakes and jugs of mareepa oil, the native soft drink. The women also add to the cargo a small gipsy cooking-pot and an unclean shotgun.

There is much talkee-talkee during the loading. After the lapse of some time a second start is made, and the poling begins again. After hours on the river, around bend after bend, and through innumerable passages of rapid and rough water, we encounter a Bush Negro corial coming downstream. In it are two paddlers, and a woman with a little boy. Immediately the Djukas bring the boats together for a gossip and palaver. The strangers pay little attention to the bahkra, except a curt nod in answer to his greeting. But they ask the paddlers all about the white man, who he is, where he is going, and where he comes from. Flagawai replies in detail, and for his part asks news of the upper river. The strangers have come from a distant, picturesquely named village many days up the Surinam River, Futu No Habbe Ackaba, "The Foot That Has No Resting-Place." This signifies the long journey required to reach it, but the phrase might be taken as symbolical of the many enforced journeyings of the Negro race.

The powwow continues for some time. Our restless hints pass unnoticed. Unlike other natives, who can be commanded and beaten, the Djukas are independent; to give them orders is out of the question. The traveller who at-

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tempted it would find himself deserted by his paddlers, lug- 484
gage deposited in the bush, scrupulously intact, while his 648
paddlers went along the river warning the villages against the malicious bahkra. And there he would remain, set down in the bush, unable to get more paddlers, until hunger made him humble. In the interior there is no means of transportation, no communication, except by Djukas. So on the whole the white man is largely subject to the will of his guides, over whom he has only nominal control; it behooves him to put up with their whims, and to avoid the mistake of trying to command them.

Gradually the canoes float apart, but the talking continues. 198
A thought pops into a black head and is shouted across the 484
intervening water. Questions, answers, continue though the 648
boats are now some distance away from each other. To make their words carry far over the water, the Djukas actually lower their voices, singing out the words in a sustained, resonant tone that makes a mellow sound across the waves. This long drawn-out "Ah-e-e-e" can be heard after the other corial has passed far down the river. Out of sight around a bend, we can still hear the other Bush Negroes intoning strange words.

Not being able to follow the conversation, we ask the cook, 198
Bundle, what it's about. Bundle does not know. The Djukas 191
are not using talkee-talkee now. They are using an obscure 484
tongue. When the Bush Negroes converse with outsiders 648
they employ the talkee-talkee language which white men and Paramaribo Town Negroes can understand. But they also

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●648 have a tribal language called *odo, deepee-talkee,* or *Saramacca-*
[191 *tongo* known only among themselves; they are members of
198] the Saramaccaner tribe.

Before the other corial is out of earshot, the Djukas bid us good-bye with the familiar words: *"Wakka bon na watra, bahkra!" "Gran danke, matio"*—"Many thanks, my uncle," we respond, adding the *o* sound to the last word to make it carry over the waves, as they do. To them "uncle" is the most
[576 respectful appellation that can be used, similar to our respect-
604] ful use of the word "father." For them a maternal uncle is more important than a father.

For a while now the poling continues in silence. Further on we pass a lone Djuka on the bank, skilfully setting a fish trap constructed of sticks and *lianas*. Far away upstream can be heard the muffled report of a shotgun; some black hunter is bringing in game. The angry currents slap constantly against the side of the corial. We round another bend and see ahead only more rapids, where rocks make innumerable white ripples in the muddy water.

A stop is made for lunch at one of the many islands. Bundle brings out canned food and the gipsy pot. The river looks enticing and cool. The bahkra begins taking off his clothes for a swim in the water near shore. The Negroes are abashed at his nakedness, and Bundle tactfully advises him to be more modest.

136 The waters in this part of the great South American rain forest are infested with the Brazilian piranha or piraya (*Serrasalmo sp.*), a species of carnivorous fish. They are small,

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something like bass, but with undershot thick jaws and heavy teeth. They run six to eight inches long and seldom weigh more than half a pound. But they travel in schools and attack simultaneously, so that any flesh in the water, human or otherwise, with a bloody surface exposed, is torn to pieces in a short time. If a bush-hog is killed and suspended in the water, the smell of blood attracts these fish; in an incredibly short space of time the carcass is wholly devoured.

The Djukas have learned to be wary of this fish. On one occasion, when trading for a drum at an Aucaner village, the blacks handed the drum out to the corial on a long pole, rather than step a few feet into the water. Despite this fear, in poling upstream it is frequently necessary for the paddlers to get out of the canoe in water up to their armpits and forcibly drag it over the rocks. On such occasions their courage is immediate and unfailing. They enter the water, knowing that piraya may be present. There is no other way of getting the boats over rock-studded pieces of fast water, where paddles are useless and poles insufficient. They jump out into the river, taking the chance of having pieces of flesh excised from their limbs.

Fear of this fish prevents constant bathing in all parts of the river. Now, however, after a long hot trip, the lure of a cool bath in the fresh flowing water overcomes the bahkra's caution, but the Djukas, as soon as they have grasped the white man's intention, will not permit him to enter the water. They gesticulate violently, waving him back with rapid and excited words—no, no, he cannot go in—piraya, piraya! He is

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136 almost forcibly prevented. But when the day's journey is over,
484 and we have camped for the night in an upriver village, the
648 paddlers will take the risk of bathing in the cool stream. Even though there are no piraya in the immediate vicinity, the bathers will not linger long.

484 All the long, heavy afternoon the Negroes toil slowly with
648 the great poles. Troe stops to cut some herbs for medicine. Flagawai sharpens the end of his pole with a bush-knife to give it a better grip on the river-bed. We have never seen better paddling, not even in the Canadian woods, where the Indian guides retain the canoe-craft of the American aborigines, nor on the Mazaruni River in British Guiana, where the black diamond-seekers haul their great whaling boats over the rapids.

There is a low falls across the river. The corials have to be dragged up over the slanting slippery rocks into the higher water beyond. Everyone gets out. The boatmen quietly decide the best path; there is little hesitation and no debate. Brown hands catch hold of the gunwales and brown feet begin to strain willingly on the slick wet rocks. The lumbering boat slowly mounts the incline. Here again the white man's life is in the hands of the Negroes; if the corial were to upset, the food would be lost, and the trip would end disastrously.

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The blacks are proud of their water skill. Upsetting a canoe 484
or drowning a passenger are disgraces that no man can ever 648
live down. But they are rare occurrences. The Indians of this 501
part of the continent, not nearly so skilful, use a different
style of canoe and paddle. Djuka paddles are hewn with a
bush-knife from a solid plank of hard wood, and finished off [322]
with an ordinary pocket-knife. The handle is frequently
pierced with delicate ornamental work, the entire piece beautifully balanced to handle easily. The men's paddles are as tall as they are, but the women's are shorter and more elaborate. Tiny ones are given children as soon as they are big enough to hold them, so that the Djuka's water skill is the result of a lifetime on the river.

All the boats are dugouts; no canvas or bark canoe would 396
last long in these rapids. They are manufactured out of big [501]
trees, which are felled and allowed to season. Then the centres are hollowed out with fire and adze; nothing is left but the shell of the trunk, with perpendicular sides and a rounded bottom. This is filled with water, into which hot rocks are dropped. The heated water softens the wood, enabling thwarts to be thrust in, forcing the gunwales apart. The ends are then symmetrically curved up and are often carved. Seats, as well as bow and stern pieces, are often carefully decorated. The entire boat has a distinct West African style. When com- 501
pleted it is from eight to forty feet long. Ours has a large [17]
sunshade of thatched grass near the stern, because the white 648
man is too soft to endure the sun's rays. Under the shade we have a camp-chair, a little comfort for the long trip. The

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501 648 other canoe is entirely open, the Negroes being more hardy than we.

501 685 Stealing a corial is to the Bush Negro what stealing a horse was to the early plainsmen of the American frontier: a capital crime. So much of the Bush Negro life is on the water that no man can get along without a canoe for any length of time. There are only hunting trails through the jungle, and traffic by preference goes along the river. In spite of the luxuriant jungle, a man left in the bush without food is liable to starve, as a frontiersman left on the plains without a mount was considered to be as good as dead.

Next to Dutch Guiana is French Guiana, a penal colony. Here large numbers of convicts are imprisoned. There are also men known as *libérés*—exiles who are at liberty within the colony, but forbidden to leave it. Many succeed in escaping desperately into the bush. They must obtain canoes, for travelling any distance overland is practically impossible, due to the heavy growth. If the fugitive cannot purchase one at the Negro villages, the only alternative is to steal it. Such thieves are pursued relentlessly by the Djukas, and killed on sight. Bloody tales are told in Paramaribo of hand-to-hand struggles to horrid deaths, between black man and convict fighting for life, in the dim blue light of the jungle day, in the unknown interior of Surinam.

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361 river floods periodically, and might wipe them out if they were too near, and that the Bush Negro still retains, back in his mind, a strong fear of another war with the white man. In the latter event the Djuka villages would have to be camouflaged or hidden. Often, too, the villages are to be found just above a waterfall or rapids, as another hindrance to possible invaders.

648 609 [576] At the landing we see bare-breasted Djuka women washing clothes or bathing their children. They do not evince much curiosity as we paddle up, for it is considered insolent to stare. The naked little ones are very much afraid of the white man. They scurry into the underbrush and watch us from behind trees. The older children remain and are proud of their courage. An old man is making a canoe. Most of the men are away on hunting or lumbering expeditions.

361 648 [417] Leading up to the village is a winding path, cut by the violent rain until it resembles a ravine. Sometimes the river floods the path, forming a little muddy inlet into which the canoes stick their noses. One town is perched on a high bank, reached only by a hardwood ladder twenty-five feet tall. The blacks clamber up easily, unlike the awkward white man, who has difficulty with the missing steps.

We ascend the path; the frightened children return to their play, paddling about or fishing from the moored canoes. 202 648 [534] Sometimes the bahkra's coming has been announced beforehand by a system of drum telegraphy. A certain rhythm beaten on the tomtom informs the adjacent villages that white men are coming up the river, and why. In this way

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their arrival is frequently anticipated. But it is something of an exaggeration to say that this primitive telegraphy is so extensive and efficient as to spread news of the white man over "more than two thousand square miles of impassable land." Nothing of the sort happens. The sound of the drums will carry for about two or three miles, when the wind is in the right direction, and the drum call is relayed from town to town. Most often, however, they are not beaten at all for us, and we arrive unannounced.

At the landing we are met by Captain Abaisa, a splendidly built Djuka whose friendship was obtained on a previous trip. His powerful body is all cut up with ornamental scars, a form of personal decoration highly esteemed by the Bush Negroes. The custom is a direct heritage from West Africa, found in many parts of the Gold Coast, the Congo country, and Cameroons, but unknown among the Indians of the Guianas. Abaisa greets us cordially: *"You wicki bah?" "E-e ah, matti"* is the proper reply. This talkee-talkee greeting, the equivalent of "Did you wake well?" is chanted rather than spoken. The voice ascends sharply on the second word, the final word being drawn out in a high sustained tone. The reply means "Yes, friend."

Another form of greeting is *"Ah broko baka,"* or "The day breaks again"—in other words—we meet again; or *"Neetee kaba"*—"The night is finished."

If a person is met for the second time within a short interval, the proper thing to say is *"We meetee baka."* Still another greeting is *"Bala, (Sis, Da, Ma) odio, how fa you de*

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576 *bah?"* In other words, "Brother, (Sister, Father, Mother) howdy, how-do-you-do?"

751 776 There is a ceremony connected with the simple act of entering a Bush Negro town. A stranger might bring in foul intentions or evil spirits. The village must be protected against this horrific possibility, so nearly every path leading to the town has a magic device, known as an *azang pau,* to keep the spirits out. It consists of a dry stick across the path overhead, to which palm fronds are lashed. They hang down, brushing over everyone who passes beneath. The visitor passes under the azang pau, and is cleared of evil spirits that might harm the inhabitants of the village.

The Djukas have invisible enemies. On either side of the [778] path, near the palm barrier, is the wooden statue of a fetish to provide protection from these enemies. The fetish named Cromanti, on one side, protects the village from the evil spirit that dwells in the silk-cotton tree, the *con con dree.* Opposite him stands *Aflamu,* who secures the village against the attacks of a mighty tribe of unseen men, who are the sworn enemies of the Bush Negro and kill him with invisible arrows.

Walking up from the river we reach the barrier, and pause before it for the customary ritual. But Abaisa is a potent chief, the head of his *lo* or clan, the *Abaisa-lo.* So long as the bahkra accompanies him, no ceremony is necessary. We enter unchallenged into the clearing beyond.

● 648 576 The usual procedure is for the white man to hang back and let his paddler precede him. Moi-Man gains admittance to re-

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mote villages in this way; carrying his paddle before him, as 648
a symbol of voyaging, he approaches the barrier or azang pau, 576
halts before it, and clears his throat loudly. The rest remain some thirty feet behind. Someone comes out of the huts and inquires what is wanted.

One of the objects of the expedition being the acquisition of specimens of Bush Negro art objects, this is usually explained at the very beginning to prevent any misunderstanding. The following dialogue is typical:

"Bahkra wanny timbeh (or *sanni*)"—"White man wants wood carvings."

Cannily, the black replies: *"Me no habbe fu selli"*—"I don't have any to sell."

Moi-Man, accepting this verdict, explains further: *"Bahkra wanny luku, wan pekein"*—"White man wants to look around, wants to see inside a bit."

"Ah bon," the Negro replies, meaning: "It's good." He returns to his hut.

The parley formally concluded, the paddler turns around 361
and motions us to come up the trail into the village. The towns usually consist of a clearing a few hundred feet across, beyond which is the overhanging green wall of trees. Scattered about the clearing in no particular order are numerous huts, with an occasional palm or breadfruit tree beside them. The rest of the concourse is bare clay. Sometimes there is a flower garden in the centre. Here and there are tiny *God* [778]
houses, where the fetishes stand.

The villages vary greatly in size. Some, like Gansee, near

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is used as a living-room; cooking is sometimes carried on 342
there, but more often in an open communal kitchen used by
the entire village. Some towns have several such open sheds. [343]

We enter the hut where the headman of the village lives, 648
and find him lying in his hammock. It is perhaps a bit of 609
conscious arrogance, to demonstrate his independence of the [352]
white man, that the captain does not rise to greet us. He rises,
however, to greet Abaisa.

"Well, friend, how are you?" we begin. In talkee-talkee the question runs: *"So, matti, fie you tang?"*

He replies civilly, complaining a little, perhaps. We offer him a few leaves of tobacco, always acceptable. While we parley with the chief, the men of the village are carrying our equipment up from the corials to the village. This they always do, without being asked and without being paid. Even small children take part in the portage. Nothing is ever stolen.

Quite conscious of the heat inside the dark hut, we do not 648
palaver long. Leaving the two chiefs lolling in hammocks we 184
pass out of the breast-high doorway into the clearing, and go about examining the living-quarters and the people. This is a village of the Saramaccaner tribe, descended from the Saramacca rebels of two hundred years ago. All the huts and villages of this tribe are quite similar. Among the Aucaner tribe, descended from the Ouca rebels, are villages of a different type.

One does not doubt the good intentions of the Moravian 797
Brothers and certain Catholics who have established missions at a few points on the rivers. But their evangelical efforts have

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hardwood trunks must be fastened between soft logs to keep them up.

At times the river drops in sheer falls. There is only one point at which the rafts can go down without jamming on the rocks; but here the men cannot go over with them, for the drop is too great. They steer for this point, keeping the logs in the centre of the current. To go over would mean being crushed to death. Moving at a high rate of speed, the men stay with the raft until the last possible minute, and then jump for some jutting rock. The raft crashes over the falls. Then the paddlers make their way from rock to rock, along the crest of the falls, back to the shore, and go down to recover the logs.

The Djukas sell the lumber that they bring downstream; it takes three days of palaver to reach an agreement on the price. They bargain quite as shrewdly as the lumber trader. Now their pouches of canvas, waterproofed with wild rubber, are heavy with many silver banknoto, or half-guilder pieces. Not as many as they expected, perhaps, but enough for their purposes.

They walk curiously about Paramaribo. The streets are crowded with a bizarre rabble, giving this little Dutch town the rare charm of the exotic. A more interesting place would be difficult to find in this modern age. Its wharves are reminders of the coming of the old slaving ships, and its white houses recall the plantations of the past. Town Negroes clatter by, some in wooden shoes brought from the Zuyder Zee countryside to this distant clime. Behind them come

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224 to and camps before his little fire. The red monkey bands howl in the darkness, but the hunter is not afraid. The fact that a puma may be in a tree near by does not prevent him from snoring.

224 648 The Bush Negroes seldom have occasion to take a white man hunting. Because of his incompetence they are forced to hunt differently when he is along.

We are aroused at five o'clock one morning when Daniels, a "balata bleeder" from British Guiana, makes his appearance. He is a husky, powerful Negro from Demerara, a town in the adjacent colony, and one of the few men ever to obtain the confidence and friendship of the Djukas. Some years ago he saved many Bush Negroes from famine, when the cassava and rice crops had failed, by arranging, with the aid of Mynheer Alexander Wolff, for the Dutch government to give many thousands of guilders' worth of rice to feed them. Because of this, and because he speaks English perfectly and has the bahkra's point of view, no better person could possibly accompany us on the coming hunt.

[482 415] 171 The three Bush Negro bearers who go along with us carry wicker baskets of woven reed containing supplies. They are carried on the bearer's back, held in place by a band around the forehead—a device borrowed from the Indians.

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The blacks admire the bahkra's shotgun and rifle—beautiful, well-oiled weapons which they love. They gaze through the barrel of the shotgun to see the clean bore, and make a comparison with their own meagre, fouled guns. They sniff at the rifle, however, because it shoots only one bullet. How can a man get game with a single ball? Explanations of the high power of the shell produce no effect upon them. 224 648

We load. Canned goods, rice, bacon, tobacco, coffee—enough for five days. The provisions are packed in the wicker rucksacks, along with hammocks. The start is made. Walking through the village, the packers exchange jests with Negro women who pause to watch us go by. The hunters are teased regarding the amount of game they will bring back. [522]

After a half-mile walk we reach the new cassava fields in back of the village at a quarter of six, as the sun is rising. The women are already at work. Beyond lies the game trail. It is simply a slight path through the jungle brush, with occasional pools of water through which we wade. Idle toucans eye us from nearby palm trees. A flurry in the bush off to the right indicates the escape of an agouti, but we are not quick enough to see it. The agouti is a kind of giant guinea pig, called by the natives *cony-cony,* meaning "cunning-cunning," because it is hard to outwit. The Bush Negroes are eager to get some of this sweet, succulent meat.

Within an hour the last cassava field is left far behind and we are in the "high bush." The tops of giant trees are lost to sight a hundred and fifty feet overhead. Their massive trunks are buttressed with branches that have grown back 224 648 137

224 into the ground, becoming roots. The jungle vines, the lianas,
648 twine about the boles of palms, adding to the tangle of leaves.
137 The jungle is one immense struggle, none the less fierce because it is silent. The foliage is fighting for light and air.

224 We wade across a number of small creeks that bar our
648 path. Beautiful flat-winged butterflies hover in the hot air. The drone of other insects continues until our ears become accommodated to the sound and we no longer hear it. For five hours the trek continues.

At eleven o'clock a halt is called for lunch. The Djukas
[482] drop their fifty-pound packs, under which they have trotted more easily than the white with only a gun and canteen. A little fire is started and we begin to eat. The creek beside the camp has no name; it is known only as a small tributary of the Lombe Creek. This is the occasion for a little ceremony. The stream is to be named after the first person to eat beside it, which in this case is a white man. A Bush Negro takes a mouthful of water from the creek and spits it back, motioning us to do the same. We comply. Then the Negro names the stream *"Datra Cong Creekee"*—"Doctor Kahn Creek." The others respond with solemnity, "Daso." We pass a few pleasantries and go on.

By two o'clock the fatigue is beginning to tell on the bahkra. A halt is called. The country gets higher as we leave
[133] the neighbourhood of the river, but the bush does not thin out. The ground is rolling, with knolls fifty feet high. Up these the carriers scramble like goats, despite their load, but Daniels says they are going slow because of the bahkra. Be-

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sides the pack each carries a shotgun and a bush-knife. The latter is indispensable, for if the game falls in the brush it literally has to be cut out. There is nothing but muck underfoot, and our boots are by this time weighted down with it. We recall the adventurer Stedman going barefooted through this bush; and while preoccupied with this thought we slip on some roots and flounder in the mire.

Just where a yard-thick tree lies fallen across the path we come upon footprints. After studying them the Negroes state that a hunter passed along this trail the day before. Suddenly Daniels motions everyone to be still. He hears monkeys in the tree-tops a hundred yards ahead.

Noiselessly the packers unsling their harness and drop the baskets in the trail. Daniels and the bahkra go forward, as carefully as possible, hoping for monkey meat. It is impossible for white men to avoid making a sound in the brush; the monkeys hear it and cease their noise. They must know that something is approaching. Daniels motions us to lie down, and twenty minutes are passed perfectly immobile on the ground. We are conscious only of our own breathing and a slight movement of wind in the blue half-light of the jungle. Bodies in contact with the earth bring back the memory that we are preying animals. Civilization has not eradicated the primitive thrill of stalking meat.

There is a noise in the high branches overhead; we can see though we cannot hear the rustling where the tree-top has bent under the weight of a simian. As yet no form has been seen. There is no wind now, only an uncanny stillness. The

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224 rustle is heard again; there is no doubt that it is caused by the
● 648 movement of a monkey. But cautiously rising up on our knees we can just make out a tiny patch of brown fur amidst the green far above. We draw a bead on the target and fire both barrels.

There is a human-like screech, and after it the crash of a body tumbling down through the branches. But it does not fall; the monkey is only wounded and catches itself halfway. Quickly Daniels fires both barrels and finishes the job. A huge black spider monkey, the *quata,* falls to the ground forty feet away, quite dead. We have fresh meat for supper.

The bearers are back on the trail, now completely out of sight. Daniels picks up the carcass of the monkey and starts to return in what we are sure is the wrong direction. Of all places to get lost, we think, none is worse than the high bush, where there is only one trail, and that cannot be found. But Daniels was too wise to trust to a sense of direction. In spite of the excitement of imminent game, coming in from the trail he had broken little twigs all along the way. By following these markers we find the way back through the trackless bush.

The bearers are still waiting on the trail, and are delighted at the sight of the monkey. One of them makes a slit in its chin and passes through it a length of singrassi, the handspun cord. The end of the string is tied around the monkey's tail, thus binding the head and the tail together. The carcass is then slung over the shoulder like a big brass horn, and we are ready to go.

224 The next day the hunters rouse early and breakfast in the
648 freshness of the warm morning. Two of the Djukas refuse absolutely to accompany the bahkra any further. The white man, they say, goes through the jungle like a thunderstorm and brings bad luck. The prospects of getting any game with him around are exceedingly small. They get out their hunt-
[789] ing amulets, and rub on their gun-barrels a concoction prepared by the medicine man. Daniels laughs at this, but they refuse to be teased.

"You'll see!" they assert doggedly, certain of their magic.

The party splits up to go in three directions. Two bearers remain with us, one posted out ahead as a tracker, and Daniels, who brings up the rear as gun-bearer. The other two Negroes go in different directions and are immediately out of sight. We continue ahead, cutting the way through the bush—there are no trails. For two hours we tramp along without sighting game, realizing that *more things see us than ever we see*. The jungle is not teeming with game, as
[136] popularly believed. There is an occasional herd of bush hogs, but in general it is necessary to hunt long and hard to bag any amount of meat. It is doubtful if a man could subsist on the food his gun brings in, not because the game is lacking but because of the difficulty of seeing it.

224 The Djukas also hunt in other ways. One device is "still hunting"—sitting motionless in a tree beside a game trail, waiting for some animal to come along underneath. The
[411] Indians' *curare* and the blow-gun which shoots the poisoned dart are not employed by the Negroes. The only co-operative

hunts among the Djukas occur when a tapir is sighted near 224
the village; in which case all will go out and endeavour to surround it, and share equally in the kill. When, in dry seasons, *pingos* (bush hogs) swim the river in herds, the Bush Negroes take every available corial and paddle after them, cutting their throats, knocking them on the head, or drowning them by holding their heads under water. The result is a feast, and the excess meat is smoked. [251]

Djukas have also been known to leap from their canoes upon the backs of deer swimming the river, and thus to drown them.

Game that hears us first is gone. A herd of peccaries ahead 224 648
of us hears the approach; there is a loud crash as they retreat back into the high bush. The Negro tracker finds the trail and we beat around after them for hours, but the animals have outwitted us and cannot be located.

At the end of the day the other hunters return, one of them bringing in a small anteater and a red howling monkey, while the other carries two agouti. Our own success consists of one *powese* (bush turkey) and a small armadillo, the *capusee*. These are cleaned and smoked, and camp is made for the night.

About dusk one of the men goes into the jungle. Less than fifteen minutes later we hear the distant detonation of both barrels, followed by loud yells. Instantly everyone grabs for firearms and begins running in that direction, stumbling and sliding in the jungle evening. The Bush Negroes make their way with marvellous rapidity through the moonless dusk,

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224 hardly more than shadows. We find the man unharmed,
648 excited and voluble. He encountered a puma, a large one. He fired at close range and wounded it. We see a track of blood, and instantly set out to follow it. It is too dark now; we are forced to retreat back to camp, blazing the trees along the route to find the trail in the morning.

[342] At camp the Djukas erect four uprights and a roof of palm frond, as a shield from the rain and heavy dew. Another is rigged for their own use, and the hammocks are slung underneath. Again they sit up around the campfire and tell loud stories, the same ones, probably.

Sitting by the campfire in the pathless interior, thinking of the hundreds of desperate and difficult miles of surrounding jungle, blue by day and black by night, in the company of a few Negroes without whom it would be impossible to return, it is difficult for anyone to escape a feeling of weakness and insignificance. One scoffs at the black man's superstitions, his amulets and guardian spirits, but in the bush at night one senses the overpowering magnitude of the fierce wilderness, one begins to understand his need for such things as a protection against the psychological powers of the darkness. We realize, of course, that there is little in the bush capable of hurting anyone, save some big cats and a few rare snakes. But, as a sceptic has said, it is not reason which governs men.

132 Late that night forked lightning lit up the eerie passages of the jungle. The corridors of trees were filled with wind. The branches, whipped furiously by the great volume of fast

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moving air, roared like an open steam valve. We are rudely 132
awakened by Daniels, who shakes our hammock violently. He shouts over the uproar; everyone must leave the huts at once. A giant tree close to the windward is about to fall and might crush the huts while we sleep.

We quickly abandon the hut and are immediately drenched. Imagine such disconsolate men, staring at the moving wilderness of leaves damning all trees and all weather that takes them out of their hammocks at two o'clock in the morning, and almost reconciled to the idea of being crushed in comfortable hammocks in preference to standing out in the open, expecting a tree to fall on them anyway. But in a short time the storm subsides sufficiently to allow us to return.

The next morning we break camp and trek another day 224
back into the interior. There are no camps now, no huts of 64-5
any kind, no men. Only the high bush. We make an early start to look for the puma that escaped the night before. There is a bloody bed of sheltered leaves where the puma rested, but the rest of the path is obliterated by the storm.

We turn and begin the trek back.

A curious custom widely prevalent among the Bush Ne- 224
331
groes is that called *Dressy Dakgo*, or dressing the dog, in 325

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[1/A 415 532]

Chapter Six

FOOD IN THE JUNGLE

THE Bush Negroes investigate our equipment with great delight, and are much amused by our table manners. They gather around and comment on the food. Often they pick up an empty can discarded by Bundle, the cook, and wrinkle their noses in disgust at the smell of it. They seem to prefer their own food. 643 ● 136

1/A [For caption, see category 116, p. 204. – Analyst]

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SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

361 posely to make the village as hard to reach as possible, to protect it from white invaders. From long experience the [648] Djukas mistrust all white men.

643 In Jankoeso is lodged the general authority over the Saramaccaner tribe and the territory in which they live. He has forbidden the intrusion of any visitors unless they are announced several days beforehand, by messenger.

[428] All the Granmans receive their title by matrilineal inheritance, and cannot be deposed. When one dies he is succeeded by his oldest sister's oldest male child, while his own sons never, under any circumstances, succeed him to the kingship. If there is no such person as his oldest sister's senior male child, then the succession passes on to the oldest male child of the nearest female relative. If the line dies out, and no [666 relatives are eligible, the successor is elected by popular vote 622] from among the captains of the river villages, but this seldom occurs. On such an occasion there may be a struggle between different lo, playing politics to get into power. Otherwise inheritance is strictly through the female line.

648 The Dutch government exerts only a nominal control over the Bush Negro tribes of the interior. Once every year the river Granmans come down the broad river highways to Paramaribo for a parley with the Governor of Surinam. After a ten-day canoe trip downstream, Jankoeso finds a train waiting for him at Kabel, to bring him ceremonially the rest of the way. The other rulers must come all the way by corial. On their long and often hazardous journey they are accompanied by their most powerful captains. The Gran-

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man of each tribe has a uniform given him by the Dutch; it 648
consists of a high silk hat, a braided frock coat, a drum-major's baton, and a metal plaque suspended around the neck, with the arms of Surinam on it. The ensemble is picturesque in the extreme. Captains have uniforms, too, but less ornate ones. The great full-dress occasion is the palaver at Paramaribo, held on or about the Queen's birthday, toward the end of August. This is an occasion of festivity throughout the colony.

The Governor receives the Bush Negro chiefs as he would any foreign ambassadors, and the dignity of these men, the aristocracy of their bearing, cannot be exceeded by white plenipotentiaries. There is one difference: most of the Djuka females remain at home. Indeed, Jankoeso has forbidden his daughters to go to Paramaribo on any occasion whatsoever. He himself must make a pilgrimage to the sacred medicine city of Dahomey in preparation for the trip, at which time he undergoes a purifying ritual at the hands of the high [783
obeiah priests, to muster good obeiahs for a salubrious passage. 793]

The only attempt of the Dutch to exercise any authority over the Bush Negroes is in regard to the burial ceremony. This has been a bone of contention for many years. The 648
Djuka custom is to allow the corpse to remain unburied for 764
a long period. The Dutch tried to stop this, not from any desire to interfere with the customs of the natives, but for sanitary reasons. The disagreement was finally compromised by a time limit of three days between death and burial. This regulation is usually not observed. Once they get back into their remote villages, the Bush Negroes do as they please.

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Saramaccaner

their remote villages, the Bush Negroes do as they please.

The punitive powers of the white government are seldom exercised. Occasionally in Djuka land, as elsewhere, a murder occurs over some woman. Once or twice the Dutch have made an effort to arrest the criminal. But on the whole police jurisdiction is impossible, as any person familiar with the impenetrable bush and impassable rivers will easily realize. What occurs in any but the nearby villages is largely unknown.

Once the white authorities were cognizant of a murder that took place in Biodoti, one of Jankoeso's villages, and demanded the murderer for trial. With more sympathy for their own people who are criminals than for the white people who are judges, the Djukas flatly refused to give the man up. The Dutch colonial troops threw a cordon across the river just below Biodoti, refusing thoroughfare to any Bush Negro corials; this blockade would be enforced, they said, until the murderer was handed over. During the night Djuka corials leaked past the cordon; it was difficult to stop them. The Governor sent word to Jankoeso to come down to Paramaribo for an extraordinary parley. His refusal was [102] brought by his personal messengers, his *lamba*, who are specially trained from childhood to carry long messages in their heads, keeping every word intact. The Governor informed these lamba that unless Jankoeso came willingly a detachment of troops would be sent to get him down by force.

Indignantly the Granman came, referring to himself as

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a prisoner, and refusing to take the special train awaiting him at Kabel. Special trains, he said, were not for prisoners. He was paddled the additional ninety miles in his own corial, which took six days longer. Very vexed at this, the Governor did not shake hands with him, and Jankoeso was offended. "Why doesn't he tell me 'Howdy'?" he asked Mynheer Wolff, who is always instrumental in furthering friendly relations between Dutch and Djukas. Wolff called the Governor outside, and advised him to treat the Granman with more cordiality. The necessary handshaking was done, and the parley continued more affably. The guilty one was apprehended and jailed for a year. Once again there went upstream the annual present of the Dutch government to each Granman. This is a continuation of the custom of tribute money paid to the Bush Negroes ever since the days of the black rebellions. Every year each Granman receives 1500 guilders.

The Granman is the actual chief of the river nation, but the government centres in the village proper. The village is governed by a headman or *captain*, and aiding him in his work is a council or *bosseia*, consisting of three or four or more of the most mature men and women of the town. "Bosseia," like the American colloquial *boss*, comes from the Dutch word *baas*. Here the rough justice of the jungle is administered, and local disputes are settled. Here decisions are made concerning the ownership of timber, and property rights in cassava fields. Quarrels over women are more frequent than any other kind of disputes, and they, too, are settled by the village captain and his bosseia.

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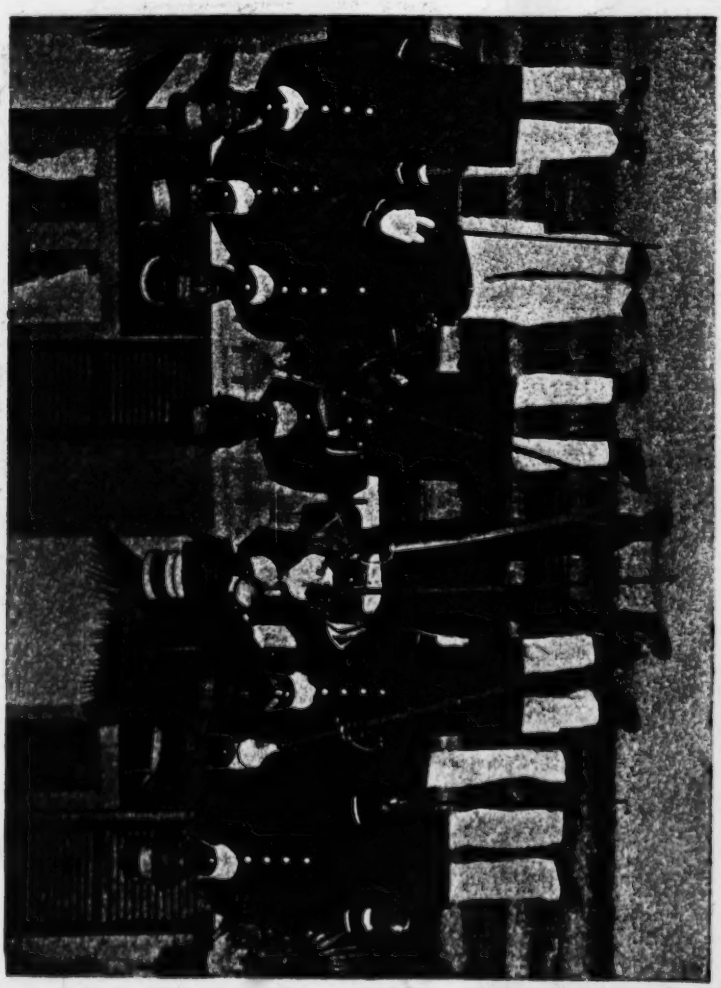

Granmans and Captains Assembled in Paramaribo for a Council with the Governor of Dutch Guiana.
Photo by Curiel

[Facing p. 102

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Aucaner
Saramaccaner
Boni

619 184 In general appearance and culture the Aucaners vary little from the other large tribe, the Saramaccaners.

[531] The art motifs and their treatment as displayed on the Aucaner wood carvings as a rule differ from those of the Saramaccaners. On the other hand, some of the pieces were found to be practically identical.

The Aucaner talkee-talkee also differs from that of the Saramaccaners, the former being more like the speech of the Town Negroes. The Aucaners have no deepee-talkee or odo as have the Saramaccaners, but they have a dialect known as *Koropina* where a *p* or an *m* is spoken before the vowels in a word for the purpose of confusing strangers. A similar custom is prevalent among the Negroes of Curaçao, Dutch West Indies.

[197 198 191]

[291] The dress of the Aucaners is the same as that of the Saramaccaners, excepting that they affect more often the breast-cloth, the *wassapangye,* and the head-cloth, the *mussu.*

Among the Aucaners the toga garment is called the *yembah,* while it is called a camissa by the Saramaccaners. The barrier of palm leaves is called *chifunga* by the Aucaners and *azang pau* by the Saramaccaners.

[262 606 194] The system of food taboos and general culture are the same. There is no mother-in-law taboo among either the Aucaners or the Saramaccaner tribe.

[161] 648 The Boni tribe, which consists of about 900 people, is descended from escaped slaves who crossed the Marowyne River into French Guiana and who were allowed to remain there unmolested by the French authorities. This is the only

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Boni

tribe of the Bush Negroes which owes allegiance to the 648
French. They have never forgiven the Dutch for their relentless pursuit back in the old rebel days. Several years ago the Dutch authorities made an effort to invite the Bonis back into Dutch territory; these overtures, however, were flatly refused.

The derivation of the word "Boni" makes for interesting 101
speculation, and three theories have been advanced to ex- 174
plain it. The first is that the word is derived from the French phrase "Bon Negre" or "Good Negroes" which the colonists of French Guiana applied to the Boni blacks because they were comparatively quiet and peaceful. It is also possible that the tribe may have been named after their famous rebel leader Bonny, who took such a formidable and prominent part in the rebellions. Thirdly, it has been considered that the name was derived from the Bonny River of West Africa, for undoubtedly some of the slaves came from that area. Although *B-o-n-i* is the official Dutch spelling of the word, when the tribesmen refer to themselves the accent is placed on the second syllable, and phonetically the word should be spelled *B-o-n-e-e* and pronounced much the same as the word *Pawnee*, the tribe of American Indians in the western United States. The Granman of this tribe, Awensai, receives his [643
annual stipend from the Governor of French Guiana at 728]
Cayenne.

The first village of the Boni, situated on the French side 361
of the Marowyne River, is that of Apatoo nestling at the foot 103
of the Armina falls. The entire French side of the river from

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Boni

184 good deal of French patois. Most of the people also speak a
619 fluent and, at times, a good French, which they have learned from the freed convicts, the libérés, of the largest French prison colonies in Guiana at St. Laurent, situated about forty miles from the mouth of the Marowyne River. Some of the
439 Negroes of this tribe, as well as some of the Aucaners, sometimes visit St. Laurent for purposes of barter and trade. They also occasionally aid the French in transporting loads in their canoes up to the remaining placer mine.

648 These Bush Negroes have seen thousands of white convicts and libérés. They have seen white men under the most degrading conditions possible to human existence on this planet. They have seen them shot down in the street. They have seen them rummaging in cans of tropical garbage that even a dog would shun, or escaping through the jungles, simply starving, hunted animals. Their point of view in regard to this may be summarized in the answer received when the question was put to one Boni as to what he thought of the Penal Colony; he said: *"Francie mong sung go dede"*—"Frenchmen soon die."

But just across the river from St. Laurent is the little settlement of Albina and the *Doocie mong* (Dutchmen). The Dutch have armed soldiers there so that the escaping libérés cannot cross.

322 As among the other tribes, the Boni are adept in the carving of wood. They make the usual kinds of highly decorated implements, such as large combs, pot stirrers, food trays carved out of sections of a tree trunk. The door posts and
façades of their huts are ofteh elaborately carved

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gaining possession of other fugitives. It is said that, until 628 recently, actual war prevailed among the tribes because some 609 Saramaccaners invaded the Boni and Aucaner districts, poaching on their lumbering, hunting, fishing, and balata rights. The punishment today for any Bush Negro found [685 poaching in another district is a healthy beating with canoe 681] paddles and fists, after which he is warned not to repeat the offence.

With the Indians of Surinam the Bush Negroes have little 648 commerce or intercourse. These aborigines belong principally to three American tribes, the Carib, Acaway, and Arawak. They and the Djukas mutually look down on each other, but in our opinion the latter are intellectually the superior. Indian and Djuka villages are separate; very little trading occurs [439] between them. On the Marowyne, Tapanahoni, and Lawa Rivers, however, the Negroes occupy a strategic position on the middle rivers, so that Indians from their remote villages along the upper river must pass by Bush Negro towns on their way downstream to trade at the white settlement of Albina, near the mouth of the Marowyne. The Djukas tell the Indians that the white men in Albina practise cannibalism. Rather than run the risk of trading with cannibals, the Indians barter their stuff in the Bush Negro towns. By this crafty arrangement, the Negroes obtain bead and feather work in exchange for tobacco and for machetes.

The Indians on the other rivers do not share this superstition concerning the white man's cannibalism. None of the Indian tribes mingle with the Djukas other than for the pur-

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poses of necessary trade. What produces this antagonism is simply racial and cultural difference. Few of the Bush Negroes realize that the Indians are aborigines while they themselves are not. They have no memory of their African origin. Their historical knowledge, as far as we could determine, dates back no further than the rebellion. There is no native word in their vocabulary for "Africa," except where the missionaries teach.

Nor do the Djukas mingle with the Town Negroes. Remembering with pride their escape from the planter's lash, they regard contemptuously these Town Negroes descended from slaves who never had sufficient courage to revolt. It was not until the emancipation edict of the Dutch government that the Town Negroes gained their freedom from the old sugar plantations. As we have noted before, the Djuka refers to the Town Negro as *bahkra schlaff*, or "white man's slave." Only occasionally will a Town Negro be permitted to live in a Bush Negro village. We know of one instance, an old gold prospector named King, who lives at Gansee. After forty years of panning for gold on the river creeks of Surinam, he is content to retire to the peaceful life of a Djuka village. There are also isolated instances of British Negro balata bleeders from Demerara, the capital of the adjacent colony, who now live in Bush Negro towns. If a Djuka woman has intercourse with any of these strangers or, indeed, with anyone outside her own tribe, she is looked upon as a prostitute.

The Town Negroes, on the other hand, speak disparag-

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ingly of their "savage" relatives, but are afraid of them. The Town Negroes are frequently well educated, and by comparison with them the Djuka visitor to the white settlement appears shy and childish, except when trading. The Town Negroes, though, feel a wholesome timidity toward the Djukas. As our educated tent boy would say: "Deh wild people, Doctor, fill wit de devil. Deh gon gib you jumbee, Doctor; I tell you deh make plenty obeiah (magic). Deh know how to control de evil spirits."

Another Djuka relationship of peculiar interest is with the escaped convicts of the penal colony of French Guiana. The escape of a convict into the bush is vividly described in Blair Niles's *Condemned* and *Free*. The Djukas have learned to fear these incorrigibles, who at times attack their villages, steal the provisions, and ravish the women. Most of the escaped convicts, trying to reach Paramaribo, pass through the Aucaner tribe district, in the general neighbourhood of Moengo, where the bauxite mines are. In certain parts of the hinterland the Frenchmen are shot at on sight.

Once an escaped convict trailed a white man's party for several days and, when the men were out hunting, entered the camp, killed the cook, and stole the provisions. When the other members of the party returned, their food was gone and their cook dead. Remorselessly the Bush Negroes tracked down the incorrigible. When they caught him, they buried him in the sand up to his neck and built fires around his head, which they slowly pushed closer until they saw him die a slow death.

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● 648 Curiously enough, many of the Djukas believe that there will be another war with the white man. To them it seems that the bahkra may attempt to re-enslave them at any time. Hence, they are suspicious of all white men, whom they expect soon to be fighting again. It is said that, in preparation for this eventuality, they have accumulated tremendous stores of *nekku* to poison the entire Surinam River, on which Paramaribo is located. The purpose of this, as they express it, is *"Fu killee ala bahkra na futu"*—"To kill all the white men at the foot (of the river)." Apparently they do not know that this plan is useless, that the water supply of Paramaribo does not come from the river, but from artesian wells and cisterns of rainwater.

Legally the Djukas are under the control of the Dutch Colonial Secretary, as wards of the Government of Surinam. The Bush Negroes recognize rather vaguely that the Dutch [651] own the colony, but while they are subjects they pay no taxes, have free range of nearly the entire area, and do exactly as they please concerning village and tribal affairs. The sovereignty of the Dutch is, for all practical purposes, merely nominal.

The Dutch make very humane colonists. In Surinam they are faced with the difficult business of governing a polyglot population of many races, Negroes wild and tame, aboriginal Indians, Hindus, Mohammedans from India, Javanese, Chinese, and white men of all nationalities. As Anatole France expressed it in *The Procurator of Judea,* putting the words in the mouth of Pontius Pilate, "It is no easy matter to

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govern a subject race with justice, and not interfere with 648
their local customs." Here the Dutch have been marvellously successful. They seem to have a knack of understanding the primitive mind, so that under their rule the various races live in harmony—a wonder in itself—and peace reigns throughout the settlement.

Dutch Guiana does not have the atmosphere of tenseness that characterizes the British colony to the west or the penal colony to the east. On the whole a lovelier tropical settlement would be hard to find.

Unlike certain nations in Africa, the Dutch have never tried to exploit the natives by imposing anything like the [651]
infamous hut-tax. For this they certainly deserve high praise. The notable position of the Bush Negroes consists in this, that, whereas all over the world primitive tribes are paying tribute to the power of white exploiters, here is one tribe where the situation is reversed, and the whites are paying tribute to them.

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768 Upon the father's decease, his property does not descend to his children, but reverts to his wives, sisters, mother, or brothers. As the wives may be living in different villages, each wife inherits only that property which happens to be in her village. If the man has no wife in a certain village where there are maternal relatives, they inherit all his property within that village. This pertains more to personal than to real property, as the latter tends to be communally held.

648 One thing more must be said regarding the sex life of the
833 Djukas. The white men seldom receive overtures from Bush Negro women. It is, of course, taboo for Djuka women to have intercourse with white men, Indians, Town Negroes, balata bleeders, or anyone except her own tribesmen, among whom she is promiscuous. One Djuka woman, running her hand over the skin of a white arm and shoulder, shuddered in repulsion. When asked why, she said that she did not care for white-skinned men. We, however, were marked out for special feminine favour. We received from a woman the gift
[431] of a bracelet of delicately filed iron wire, because, as she said, our eyes put her in mind of those of her dead husband.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

164 The Djukas suffer from a number of diseases also common among white men. Yaws, a syphilis-like disease, caused by infection with *Spironema pertenue,* is frequently found among them. Individuals may be seen suffering from all three stages of it. Malaria, including the severe tropical form, is spread by the mosquitoes along the rivers. An ulcerous condition known as leishmaniasis, the result of infection by Leishman-Donovan bodies, is an ordinary occurrence, as is hookworm. The Town Negroes are occasionally infected with filariasis and schistosomyasis of the rectal type. Leprosy is present in the town of Paramaribo, but we saw none of it in the bush.

648 The Djukas do not fear to take the bahkra's medicine. The 757 gratitude of more than one mother was earned when we gave [515] her child castor oil. Of the principle of asepsis, naturally, the [304] Djukas know nothing. Their incisions for making *cutty-cutty* (ornamental scars) are septic enough to give a bacteriologist nightmares.

On one occasion, snakee-kutti, the snake protector, did not work, and a Bush Negro, who had been bitten was taken to the hospital at Moengo. His leg had gone untreated for five days and was in the serious stage of gangrene. The limb was amputated by the doctor in charge and the Djuka made an uneventful recovery. He would not have been brought to the hospital by his family if there had been anything more for the Bush Negro medicine man to do. But there was not, and they went to the bahkra as the last resort to save his life.

778 Far up the Surinam River is the sacred medicine city of 756 Dahomey (pronounced Daumay). Into its sacred precincts

/5 cont./

Chapter I

S

Topographical Description of the Colony of Surinam

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[133]

Surinam, or Dutch Guiana, is bounded on the north by the Atlantic Ocean, on the east by Cayenne, or French Guiana, from which it is separated by the river Marowyne /Maroni/; to the south it loses itself in ancient, still unexplored forests up to where the Tumutumaque mountain range establishes the border with Brazil; finally, in the west it is separated by the river Corantyn /Courantyne/ from Berbice, or British Guiana.

The distance between the boundary rivers Marowyne and Corantyn is 56 and one half hours. According to the latest measurements, /6/ the location is between 54° and 57° west longitude and 2° and 6° north latitude, and the colony has an expanse of 2500 square G. M., of which scarcely 700 are as yet known.

S
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The name Surinam stems, according to general opinion, from an Indian tribe called Surinen which was found there at the time of discovery, but which later withdrew to the branches of the Amazon River.

S
103

The river was never called anything other than great coma (great river) by the natives.

S
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162

The population, according to the latest reports offered to the States General, numbers 67,709 souls, as: 15,567 free, 38,042 emancipated on July 1, 1863, 8,000 Bush Negroes, 1,000 Indians, 5,000 slaves in hiding or escaped.

Chapter II

B

Origin and Settlement of the Bush Negroes

175
● 648

The Bush Negroes stem from runaway slaves in former times, and later, in 1712, from the slaves who were hidden in the forests by their masters in order to escape the levy of Cassard, but did not return to their masters; after the peace that they concluded with the Whites on September 19, 1762, they received the name of

/6 cont./

175 pacified Bush Negroes. From then on they received from the
648 Netherlands Government annual presents consisting of guns, herbs, lead, tobacco, rice, salt, dram, and so forth.

648 In later times, however, these were gradually decreased
829 by the government and finally completely abolished, as a result of which the Negroes no longer so willingly and without remuneration want to be of service to the government; since they believe that with the conclusion of the peace they came to an agreement with the government that on their part the Whites would no longer be hindered in anything, while they would endeavor to assist the government whenever that should be necessary, in return for which the presents mentioned above would be handed out to them annually on the part of the government. At present they complain about their treatment by the government and refuse to believe that they can and may trust the Whites.

101 The Bush Negroes are divided into four tribes: /7/
103 1st. Aucaners, who have their dwelling place, Auca, on the
133 river Marowyne; and they have their working places on the river above Cottica, where they come from the Marowyne by way of the Wanakreek. Among themselves they are called Joeka /Djuka/ and by the Whites, Aucaners, after the plantation Auca, where on 19 October 1760 peace was concluded with them.

2nd. Saramaccaners, who live on the river above Surinam, principally near the waterfall Arasoebanja near Gjengjen and Prakieki, and have their working places along the same river and in the cove /kreek," creek, cove"/ Taaiboto Kouloegrou and Kassipora. They are called Saramaccaners by the Whites, after the river of that name (where they formerly lived), and among themselves Wousie or Moejére.

3rd. Mantoewari, who have their dwelling place on the river above Saramacca and their working places along the same river on Maripaston and in the cove Mindrinetie. They are names like the Saramaccaners, since they, too, although separate, live on the same river.

/28 cont./

304 so much time on the desire for this kind of ostentation. When the incisions become faint through time and the growing of the skin, they are raised again by renewed carving.

/29/

Chapter XX

The Attitude toward Europeans and the Latter's Treatment of Them

461 The Bush Negroes begin to think of work when they have
313 little strong drink, powder, and lead left on hand; they leave their
439 camp and go to the work places where they are accustomed to felling trees and working these into squared timber, which they then tie together into rafts and float down the rivers in order to sell it on the plantations and at Paramaribo.

439 Some among them, especially the Saramaccaners, bring korjalen, pinda nuts (1), and groundnuts and Tonka beans (2) to

1. Arachis hypogoea L.

2. The fruit of the Dipteryx.

439 the part of the colony inhabited by Europeans; they usually exchange
● 648 all this for strong drink. It is to be lamented that their trade with the Whites is frequently linked with unpleasantnesses. Generally the latter treat them with contempt. This takes place all too frequently on the plantations in particular, whereby naturally fear and dissatisfaction arise among the Bush Negroes against the Whites; it is therefore not surprising that, after having been repeatedly cheated out of their fair rights, driven by suspicion and a desire for revenge, they in turn frequently try to deceive the Europeans.

In order to make clear their attitude toward the Europeans, I shall cite some proceedings which became known to me in earlier years and which even now have not completely ceased in the colony,

/29 cont./

439 Thus it is known to me that they have gone to one or
501 another plantation in order to sell timber, which they tie to their
505 korjalen or canoes after having made it into rafts with bush ropes
[283] (tough liana stalks), and have misled the Europeans in a scandalous manner.

[284] They make their squared timber into rafts in the following manner. Four thick strong round timbers are laid crosswise and tied together, two above and two under the korjaal; the timber is pushed in between these and fastened, so that the whole thing forms a firm long rectangle with the korjaal in the middle /30/ with which they make long journeys from the upper to the lower
[283] rivers. This timber that is made into rafts and carried along by the korjaal is called kokroko; they tie light and floating wood to long beams with bush rope (called [illegible]) (1), due [illegible] to the

1. From the copaiva.

heavy wood they drag it along down the river.

Chapter XXI

Understanding among Themselves

114 Not long ago I found myself among them on the river
133 Upper Commewijne on the Tempati (a branch of the river named, on the left going upstream; this branch runs into the mountains, which are reported as ruddle mountains /roodenberg/.

114 Residing among them, I made many attempts to induce
● 648 them to track down those in hiding who did not belong to their tribes and fugitives of a later time, and to make known to them that by governmental decree in the course of the year 1863, before the emancipation, a general amnesty regarding them had been issued, so that they could return to their former dwelling places without fear of punishment. The reason that induced me to acquaint them with this was that I saw in the return of these persons

114 /30 cont./
648 in hiding a significant advantage for the colony, since the lack of workers in agriculture makes itself felt with increasing urgency.

202 Accordingly they promised to satisfy my wish by putting
[123] up the signs customary among them, which would make known to those in hiding my wishes to acquaint them with the good news.

In order to let those in hiding know that they were requested to come out of the forest, they go to work in the following manner.

202 They tie white and blue, also perhaps white and black
822 patches of cotton half an ell long and three thumbs wide in Rhineland fashion to the upper branches of the trees, starting in the deepest part of the forest and progressing to the river /31/ bank. The little flags placed highest are of a dark color, while the patches tied progressively lower toward the river are white.

Those in hiding, who stay in the district and cross through the forest to hunt, discover these signs and see by them that there is something going on; either that others in hiding want to establish contact with them or that they have to fear danger.

The manner in which the signs are attached to the trees makes them understand that if they go more deeply into the forest there will be born for them a dark and dangerous future, whereas, if they can decide to go to the river bank they can walk a white, that is, a bright path and that, following the little white flags, they will find people who either want to make common cause with them or wish to give them important information.

202 Since these persons in hiding are constantly afraid of
152 surprise attack or deception, trust in these signs is not always im-
648 mediately established and thus at first only some of them go down with cunning and caution. When they come into the more inhabited districts, they watch and investigate everything that they wish to know; frequently this investigation extends all the way to Paramaribo. Now the Bush Negroes thought that if they followed their custom in this it would be clear to them why these signs had been placed in the bush and that as a result of these they would very quickly become acquainted with the declared amnesty.

202 I must add here also that in fact many fugitives or
648 persons in hiding later came out of the forests, among whom must

/31 cont./

202 be mentioned in particular the man who caused so much of a stir,
• 641 Broos, chief of a camp of persons in hiding behind the plantation Rac a Rac, who came back followed by many.

I must confess that I have never seen this chief and was not involved in this event in any way; the question is, however, whether this Broos and his followers came back of their own accord, or whether they returned without fear of the Whites because of the reassuring signs set up at my request.

That the Bush Negroes attached to me complied with my request by the placing of /32/ signs is not to be doubted, but what outcome resulted from it cannot be said with certainty.

Chapter XXII

Deception Practiced toward Them

114 I said a few words in Chapter XX and earlier about the
641 deceptions that the Whites practiced with regard to the Bush Negroes. I was at first diffident about communicating the unvarnished truth about this. Since, however, this is not reported by me as being generally applicable, because, as in all things, here, too, favorable exceptions exist, I therefore regard it as my duty to make my experience known.

186 The Bush Negroes, it cannot be denied, as the result
648 of the manifold deceptions that they have experienced from the Europeans and other free inhabitants of this colony, have developed an aversion toward them. They therefore oppose deception with deception, and trick with trick.

439 It has become apparent to me that many of them, when
648 they arrive with timber rafts at the plantations in order to sell the timber, after having been deceived several times, make use of all kinds of tricks in order in their turn to deceive the Europeans. I leave now to one side the question as to which of the two parties is the principal or initiating cause and has the greater responsibility in these fraudulent transactions. When a family of Bush Negroes

/33 cont./

439 When, for instance, the Bush Negro has cut down a
437 tree deep in the forest and discovers that it is almost hollow on
the inside, then he works it, this defect notwithstanding, into a
313 squared log, taking care to make the visible cavities above and
186 below invisible by hammering wooden pins into it. After that he takes clay and mud and is able to make every trace disappear, a fraud which is thus rarely discovered before a piece is sawed off the log.

Also they practice a great deal of deception by unloading on the buyer as good stuff various qualities of timber of great and little value, but which resemble each other, for instance, by selling a low quality black kabbes (1) for brown hardwood (2),

1. Andira retusa H. B. K.

2. Andira called wassila among the Arrawakken /Arawak/ Indians.

two varieties which can be distinguished only by timber experts.

/34/ If they have worked timber that on one side is already somewhat rotten, or is worm-eaten or split, then they know how to place it in such a way in their rafts that the good side lies upward, a deception that can be discovered only when it has been hauled ashore and one becomes aware of it by turning each piece around and inspecting it carefully.

186 If it is possible to steal something from the Whites,
● 648 they will not fail to do so. They are also guilty of lying and give themselves the names of those who still possess the confidence of the Whites, which they can do with impunity because the similarity of their coloring and facial features makes it extremely difficult for the Whites to recognize them after an absence.

[829] This repeated trickery has accordingly made the Whites declare them to be scoundrels and liars, but the Bush Negroes, although they do not do so openly, say the same of them and
577 regard themselves as much more trustworthy and honest. That they do this with some appearance of justice cannot be denied; after

/136/

121 The agriculture of the Bush Negroes, however, has become
[241] a matter which urgently demands the attention of the administration as a result of the wasteful use of land. Until now little attention has been paid to this, but if one wants to develop the interior of Surinam, this problem will also have to be looked into.

101 The data provided here throw light upon the agriculture of
121 the Paramaccaners and the Aucaners on the Marowijne and the
[103] Tapanahoni. They were gathered during the above-mentioned medical expedition and during a trip to the Tapanahoni in October, 1952. The facts thus refer primarily to the Marowijne, but in general they are certainly also valid for the other rivers along
121 which the Bush Negroes live. It is a typically Surinam problem,
● 64] connected with the circumstance that the Bush Negroes have worked in the deep interior in the same fashion for hundreds of years, independent of the life in the civilized coastal region and almost completely outside the sphere of interest of the government.

2. The Grounds System

241 For the planting of agricultural crops the Bush Negro lays out little so-called food grounds. One is to understand by this cleared pieces of ground in the virgin forest on which the crops
[311] are cultivated. The grounds lie along the rivers on higher flat lands, mostly terraces that are not submerged during high water or, in the absence of such terrain, on the slopes of hills. They are more or less circular and have a surface area of a half to one and a half hectares.

241 During the long dry season (October, November) the men
221 clear the grounds. Two to three weeks thereafter the forest that
132 has been felled is burned; the smaller branches are cleared away,
462 but the trunks are left lying. The ground is not worked. As soon as the rains of the short rainy season begin, they start to plant and sow. This planting time falls in December and January. The wives of the Bush Negroes (for only the women do the further work) now plant all kinds of crops at the same time on one and the same ground.

/513/

B R 146 The scarcity of lipide foods, and, among the Boni, the low consumption of fruit might cause one to fear vitamin deficiencies. B R 515 In fact, there are no signs of it.

Body hygiene is excellent; Blacks and Indians bathe several times a day and are very fastidious about their persons.

B R 433 In summary, there is no appreciable difference in the customary activities, agriculture, hunting, and fishing, of the two populations. B R 461 There is one in economic activity. Among the Boni, who have a greater need for imported objects, the adult men work [465] for wages four to five months per year on the average. These jobs are very laborious and performed under bad dietary conditions, whereas the Indians rest when they are not occupied with their customary tasks, sometimes spending entire days stretched out in the hammock.

B R 177 The two populations have been in close contact for a long time. B R 177 The Indian villages farthest downstream have immediate contact with the first crop plantings of the Boni. Without having 648 any tendency to merge (their characters and their customs are too different), Boni and Oayana have maintained regular relations since the end of the eighteenth century, doing a little trade in imported articles exchanged for hammocks and dogs trained for hunting. They often visit each other, and nothing stops the spread of illness from the one group to the other.

B R 105 In fact, the way of life of the two groups is the same, the 182 environmental conditions have the same influence, and the differences which are observed in the pathology can only be attributed 164 to a different sensitivity with regard to the principal illnesses.

B 164 Pathology of the Boni. We shall briefly summarize here the ob- [114] servations of Dr. A. Sausse in his work Populations primitives du Maroni.

The pathology of the Boni is characterized by:

-- a resistance to malaria, which means that if the children have bad attacks an immunity will develop with age; the size of the spleen diminishes regularly from child to adult. The adults have only episodical attacks which are not serious; in particular

R /515 cont. /
175 These small repeated epidemics have been part, one might
164 say, of the ordinary pathology of the Oayana since their first con-
R tacts with the imported populations.
164 --Cases of dysentery are also observed, probably bacillary,
165 sometimes in the form of minor epidemics. This is a secondary
R cause of mortality;
164 --Children show, just as among the Boni, a massive intestinal infestation by hookworms and Anguillula.

The Oayana very rarely have skin diseases; "their tegument is intact. One does not see any mycosis or ulcers among them, nor any dermotropic diseases. Leprosy and pian are unknown among them; even the small wounds which the Indians get in the woods, and which suppurate so frequently among the Blacks, heal quickly, even more quickly than among Europeans, who, however, disinfect their wounds" (4).

4. Dr. Andre Sausse, op. cit., p. 113.

R
[648] There are no venereal diseases among the Indians because they do not have sexual relations with the other groups.

R The rest of the pathology of the Indians shows nothing re-
114 markable. Their disappearance has often been attributed to
733 alcoholism. That is an assertion which does not stand up to ex-
R amination. Before 1950, the Indians, never having any money,
273 were not in a position to buy rum. With regard to their cachiri (5),

5. Fermented drink prepared from a manioc base; very small percentage of alcohol.

of which they absorb great quantities on the occasion of celebrations, it produces indigestion rather than intoxication; for that matter they do not drink any more of it than in former times when their tribes were numerous and strong.

R
743 /516/ Effects of Medical Assistance. Until 1949 the Boni and the
648 Oayana remained very isolated and practically deprived of all medical help. The beliefs of both, attributing illnesses to

B The beliefs of both, attributing illnesses to
R /516 cont./
743 supernatural causes, did not predispose them to turn to European
648 doctors. Moreover, the Saint-Laurent hospital was so far away
[753] (six days paddling downstream) that a seriously ill person had plenty of time to die en route. The Boni went there only as a last resource and in general at the point of death. As for the Oayana,
B R not a single one presented himself there before 1950.

744 In 1936-1939 several circuits had been made from the post
648 of La Forestière located at the mouth of the river, but no consistent
[743] medical action had been feasible. Not until 1949 was it possible
B to create a medical center in the country itself, at Maripasoula.
R The populations were visited regularly, and the seriously ill could
[164] be hospitalized on the spot. At the same time systematic spraying with DDT inside all the huts, destroying the anthropophile anopheles, changed the environmental conditions considerably; if malaria has not disappeared, it has ceased, both among the
B Indians and among the Boni children, to be the principal cause of
R morbidity.

743 The action of the medical center has been exercised more on
744 the Boni, who live a few hours by canoe from Maripasoula, than on
648 the Oayana. Among the latter, the principal villages are two days
[484] journey by motorboat upstream amidst difficult waterfalls; the
[753] Indians are often on the move, fishing on the upper courses of the rivers or visiting their relatives on Brazilian rivers; it has happened several times that the circuits of the doctors and medical attendants (one per trimester on the average) do not find anybody in the villages; incidentally, the Oayana tend to attribute
R all internal ailments to magical causes, consulting willingly only
[844] for wounds. They willingly accept the remedies given on the spot, but rarely take the initiative of moving a sick person to Maripasoula; the women continue to have their babies delivered
R in the villages, without any hygiene.

757 Only during the last three or four years has a change in
165 attitude been noticeable among them vis-à-vis medicine; as we
B shall show below, no notable modification in their mortality has
R yet been observed as a result of this fact.

121 The principal interest of this study being to compare the
165 demographic data of two populations before they had been modified

5: Hurault--23 K,E-5 (1948-1959) 1959 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Rucuyen SR12
Emerillon SQ8

/525 cont./

III. – Demography of the Oayana Indians

R 125 162 361 The inquiry covered the five Oayana villages on the French bank, grouping together 170 persons in December 1957. We were able, moreover, to interrogate most of the women of the villages on the Surinam side, with the result that the actual dimension of the group studied comes to approximately 240 persons (12).

E 101 125 161 E 128 12. In January 1959 we studied the Oyampi and Emerillon Indians of Oyapok, about 190 in number, whose demographic characteristics are very close to those of the Oayana. The data obtained, compared to those concerning the Oayana, are indicated below.

R 621 166 Conditions of the inquiry. The Oayana villages do not have a stable population; a simple disagreement suffices to provoke the departure of a faction, which goes to join another village. R 758 [166] About half of the Oayana studied here came from the Yari (Brazil) during the years 1951 and 1952 and have benefited from medical help only since that time. We can therefore acknowledge that the total population has benefited from medical care since 1951.

R 161 Since 1952, even if the internal composition of the villages has varied, we are dealing on the whole with the same population, which may be regarded as relatively stable.

R 125 [101] [484] /526/ The inquiry, conducted at three times (December 1956, December 1957, and November 1958), allowed us to cover the whole group except for some units (absent on a journey to Brazil).

B R [648] [829] The determination of the ages has been made by comparison with the Boni. Oayana and Boni, acquainted since childhood, can say with precision which ones are close to their age.

R [175] Historic guidelines have also been used, notably from the voyage of the explorer Laveau, 1913-1915.

B 487 501 505 /8 cont. /The Pirogues of the Refugee Blacks, carrying a useful load of from 1,000 to 2,000 kilograms, are the normal means for provisioning the placers and European settlements of the Interior. The use of outboard motors on these small boats tends to become more general, but navigation remains difficult and dangerous and the Refugee Blacks continue to draw the essential part of their resources from these trips. /Fig. 1 appears here./

/9/ Populations

B F 162 648 The Maroni Basin is relatively populated if it is compared with the rest of Guiana. The population includes three human groups which are very different from one another and have absolutely no tendency to merge although they maintain friendly relations.

F 101 177 F 144 1) Creoles. This is the name of the colored persons who lead a life with individual characteristics and have adopted European forms of life in part, by contrast to the Refugee Blacks who live in tribes under the command of chiefs. African blood is dominant in the Creoles, especially among the gold miners.

F 131 361 161 463 In 1958 there were no more than about 800 Maroni Creoles, almost all gold miners or traders, grouped principally around the little Surinam mining center of Benzdorp; very small villages of gold miners are scattered along the principal tributaries of the Maroni, notably the Abounami, the Great and the Little Inini, the Waki.

F 167 The Maroni Creoles are nearly all foreigners, the great majority originally from the British West Indies, more specifically from Santa Lucia and Barbados; there are very few among them from the French West Indies or the Guianas.

F 197 All speak dialects with a French base, very close to one another but rather different from the very special patois of the

/10 cont./

162 The Boni, about 1,000 in number, occupy the course of the
131 Lawa between Abounasounga Falls to the north and the falls of the
Litani to the south. Their "great villages," that is, their residential
361 villages, are: Agodé (Boniville), Kotika, Asisi, Loka, Papaïston,
[103] Kormotibo, Lapé, and l'Enfant Perdu. Three small villages
founded more recently are established on the lower course of the
563 Maroni. The territorial implantation of the Boni has been dis-
turbed by the settlement of Creole gold miners on their territory
178 for three quarters of a century. Their demographic situation is
mediocre and their tribal organization, compared to that of the
[181] other tribes, has lost much of its strength. However, they still
make up a human grouping full of strength and originality.

131 The Djuka, whose "great villages" are in Surinam territory
361 on the /11/ Tapanahoni, can be evaluated at 7,000 to 8,000 in
[162] total. At the height of demographic expansion, their farming
[161] villages swarm on both banks of the Maroni and on the islands,
[648] penetrating more and more deeply into the interior of French
[619] Guiana, where in places they form small temporary groupings
living in symbiosis with the Creole gold miners; the Boni recognize
their right to cross their territory but not that of establishing
villages in it.

433 For a century the economy of the Refugee Blacks has been
648 founded on a symbiosis with the Europeans and Creoles; they furnish
[464] specialized labor (construction, but above all, transport) in ex-
[465] change for relatively high wages. This economy finds itself
[178] threatened by the gradual disappearance of gold mining; there is
[166] developing a tendency toward temporary emigration to the Euro-
pean work yards of Saint-Laurent analogous to that of the Saramaka
[182] of Surinam to French Guiana. This is a serious threat to the in-
terior cohesion of the tribes.

/15 cont./ Thus it was at
423 the time of the Lawa gold rushes (1890) that Grand Man Anato
643 caused rent to be paid by the Creole miners who were settling in
[648] the region. But this practice, excessive when the small portion of this territory actually occupied by the Boni is considered, ended
423 up by falling into disuse. Nowadays things have fallen into the
648 opposite extreme, and the Boni find themselves having no right,
178 customary or otherwise, over the country of their ancestors; the first comer, even of the Creoles from the British West Indies, can settle anywhere, dislocating the apportionment of the land among lineages. This situation has been harmful to the life of the tribe by contributing to the scattering of the peopling. Perhaps it is not too late to remedy the situation. An /16/ /Figure 2 appears here/ /17/ African tribe cannot live wholesomely if there are no definite relationships, entailing unquestioned rights, between the group and the land.

423 The following modus vivendi has been in force for many
619 years:

a) The Djuka may circulate freely across Boni country, but
[486] they may not establish villages in it; if they wish to make clearings
[166] there, they must ask for permission from the grand man.

[226] Otherwise they have the right to fish on the Tanpok and the Waki.

423 b) The Creoles may settle anywhere and make their clear-
648 ings where the lands are not used. But that does not modify in the minds of the Boni the lineages' rights over the land; this occupation is regarded as creating no new right; for example, the Doglis habitation is built on the lands of Kormotibo village.

423 c) The Boni reserve for themselves along with the Oayana
648 Indians the exclusive right to fish on the Litani and the Maruini.
822 On these rivers the Djuka do not have the right to penetrate.
(619)

The Boni may be computed at a little less than 1,000 persons
162 all told.

/23 cont./

621 175 [166] [103] Agodé was founded by Grand Man Ochi, probably about 1895, at the time when the Boni were required by the settlement of the Lawa Dispute to evacuate the villages they were occupying on the Surinam bank. The name Boniville was given by the gold miners; it was used never at all by the Boni.

621 613 [103] The Yakubi or Kotika lineage forms the important village of Kotika (1). It is one of those which have remained best grouped.

1. This word alludes to the river where the rebellion of 1772 began.

[423] [241] [103] Its members have exclusive rights over the region included between Abunasunga Falls and their village. They have farmed there for more than a century, and this is why the region is called Abattis Kotika.

613 621 175 [648] Kotika is the oldest Boni village. It is one of those founded by the survivors of the battles against the Dutch when, about 1815, they settled again on the Lawa. Until about 1895 nearly all the Boni were grouped in one large village, each lineage occupying a different quarter. At the time of the settlement, unfavorable to France, of the Lawa Dispute (1895), the various lineages emigrated, founding especially the villages of l'Enfant Perdu, Loka, Boniville, and Papaïston. Only the members of the Kotika lineage stayed, in full agreement with the grand man, so that the ancestral land might not be completely abandoned. [648] [628] Thus the inhabitants of this village are nowadays under the authority of Surinam, without ceasing, for that reason, to be faithful to the grand man and maintaining normal relations with the other groups.

613 614 [124] The genealogies reconstituted in 1957 by systematic interrogation of the old people of the group had led to three distinct fractions which we shall call Kotika 1, 2, and 3, tracing respectively back to ancestresses named Kénéya, Amawi, and Oka.

/29 cont./

121 This is what necessitates as precise an inventory as possible of the population in its present state.

61 Matrilineal kin groups among the Djuka and Saramaka Refugee Blacks.
114 Authors who have described the social structure of the Djuka and
184 Saramaka, groupings appreciably more numerous than the Boni, have also called attention to the use of the words lo and bɛɛ, but give them a completely different meaning.

174 The organization they describe can be summarized thus:
571 Before making up tribes, the rebels lived in small groups
621 near the plantations from which they had escaped; these groups of composite origin were designated by the word lo which means: troop, band; the same word is used to designate a band of animals.

[162] These rebels used to belong to all the nations of the west
[103] coast of Africa. In spots there may have been an attempt at regroupings of elements belonging to the same nation, as proven by the village names Loango, Dahomey, among the Saramaka.
[622] But the majority of these small groups were very probably of heterogeneous origin; in each of these lo, the bravest and most capable was designated as head.

[648] After the recognition of the Djuka and Saramaka by the
[167] government of Surinam and their regrouping on the great rivers of the interior, these groups kept their unity since they had a de facto organization and leaders. They were naturally designated by the name of the plantation they had come from. We say for example Dju nẽnge for the former slaves of the Jews, Kɔ̃pani nẽnge for the former slaves of the Compagnie des Indes Orientales /Fast India Company/. /30/

174 In the course of the 19th century the total number of Refugee
613 Blacks increased very rapidly under the influence of a high birth
614 rate. The lineages in the proper meaning of the term bɛɛ, mean-
621 ing the descendants of the same ancestress, took on sufficient im-
571 portance to constitute distinct social units. They grouped in
1161

/34 cont./

601 In speaking to one's mother, one uses a special expression, often formed of ma followed by the last syllable of her name.

For example, Asakundu (Lapé lo) is called Ma Ndu or Mama Ndu by her sons. Béniti (Dju lo, †1955) was called Ma Béniti or Anti by her children.

601 602 The appellations relating to patrilineage are exactly the same except for mi ta, my father. But as these patrilineages have no practical social function, being limited to the transmission of an interdiction, the kinship ties are not known beyond the second generation and people bother very little with them.

601 When one addresses someone of a different lineage one uses, in deference, the same terms whether the person being addressed appears to be the same age or older. This is particularly clear for old people who are uniformly called papa and mama. For people of about one's own age, if one knows them well one says ba So-and-so /male/ or sa So-and-so /female/. For men one does not know well one often uses masa So-and-so (masa = Mr.). The Boni are quite punctilious in this respect. It is very disagreeable to them to be called directly by their name; their European employers have the custom of speaking to them thus; they accept it on their part but not without reticence.

551 648

601 Special appellations result from marriage; the terms used are reciprocal:

Pay designates the relationship between father-in-law, son-in-law or daughter-in-law.

May — the relationship between mother-in-law, son-in-law.

Soagi — the relationship between brothers-in-law.

X ãŋga mi pay means "X is my father-in-law" as well as "X is my son-in-law."

As a general rule a man calls soagi all those whom his wife calls brothers in the classificatory sense, and pay all whom she calls uncles. But the term may is used only with respect to the wife's own mother.

/39 cont./

121 It seemed to us that in the present state of knowledge about the Refugee Blacks a study of limited scope but covering the totality of the population was preferable to the very intensive study of a small group; only the study of the population considered in its entirety brings out clearly its family custom, its tendencies in the matter of marriage, divorce, inheritance; it alone can lead to a precise knowledge of its demographic data so important even on the social plane.

Finally, this detailed inventory constitutes a firm base for following the evolution of the population in the future.

125 Taking a census of the Boni posed a problem much more difficult than for most populations without vital statistics. The
● 648 tribes of the Refugee Blacks enjoy in effect a statute of autonomous nations under protectorate and insist fiercely on this autonomy. The French administration has never been able to take a census of them any more than the administration of Surinam has for the Djuka and Saramaka, colliding with an ingenious ill will which defies all efforts.

It is not that they fear taxes (this is a notion practically unknown in Guiana, even on the coast (1), and the French

1. Practically, in the interior of the country, with the exception of traders who are subject to a license, nobody pays taxes and there are not even any lists of taxable people. The Creoles of the interior (principally from the British West Indies) are known only because of the fact that, as foreign subjects, they must make declaration of change of residence; French citizens are scarcely known at the administrative

/39 cont. /

648

posts except as they present themselves for recording of vital statistics or for registration on voting lists.

administration has for a long time appeared /40/ in the eyes of the inhabitants of the interior as a benevolent office); but they obey the old African maxim of never telling the whites more than half of what they know.

125 In the absence of any nominal census which could serve as a point of departure, this job presented considerable difficulties arising principally from the extreme mobility of the population:

[484] —Never is the whole population of a village assembled together simultaneously; the proportion of those absent frequently reaches 50 per cent, especially in the fine season (hunting, fishing, boating, clearings at the farming habitations, etc.);

[551] —A good many men and women have two, sometimes three, names used interchangeably. If one does not personally know a large part of the inhabitants of the villages and does not have at his disposal carefully made-up genealogical tables, it is impossible to understand anything;

[115] —If the men respond in good faith, it is not the same with the women, who are inaccessible to any reasoning. Some try to cash in on the information they give, others obstinately refuse to answer;

125 —A number of adolescents and even of men between 20
591 and 35 years old have no regular hut. Each Boni, man or woman,
342 is in principle expected to build a hut in one of the "great villages." But this residence may be fictitious: It can, for example, be a tumbled-down hut which they intend to put up again some day... or the pent roof of the house of the mother or a brother, under which they install themselves on days when a ceremony causes the lineage to meet together, residing the rest of the year in a farming habitation.

/41 cont./

125 We estimate the gaps in the census at less than 3 per cent.
[128] These gaps involve essentially the adolescents and young people orphaned or raised by others than their parents.

The adults over 35 years old were practically all known
• [648] individually to us. Children under 10 years could be counted very exactly thanks to the distribution of milk carried out since 1956 by the Maripasoula medical center.

125 Classification. The classification of the population was made by
128 village of residence.
162 For each woman we have indicated her successive unions and the children who issued from them. The sign † means deceased, the sign ✱ divorce, the sign ✱† means that the husband is deceased but after the break-up of the union.

The listings for women preceded by an asterisk * indicate that they can be regarded as complete from the demographic point of view (children living and deceased).

A double asterisk ** indicates that the listing can in addition be regarded as complete with regard to successive marriages and divorces (2).

2. We avoided asking directly these questions to which the women replied unwillingly. The information was obtained indirectly by questioning brothers and husbands. It could be obtained complete for only about 30 per cent of the women.

/43 cont./

114 of the true foundresses and the circumstances of the formation of
613 the lineages (invaluable information which must still have been present in the memory of the old men at the end of the last century) are lost forever.

128 In order to simplify the drawing up of the genealogical
601 tables, we have eliminated individuals deceased before adult age.

128 Names. To insure the necessary anonymity to our informants
551 without diminishing the accuracy of the statement, we have
601 changed a large part of the names. The fictitious names under
162 which individuals are designated in the genealogical tables as
[101] well as in the inventory of the population were mostly taken from the Djuka, who belong to the same cultural and linguistic group; in other cases, in order "to figure" the census we used a more complex process consisting in exchanging the names of two persons. Children younger than 15 are designated simply by an initial (1).

•[648]

1. It is particularly disagreeable to the Refugee Blacks to have their children's names known by Europeans, with the exception of the doctor. All systematic questioning on this subject runs into clear hostility.

[123]

114 Despite these precautions, we recommend that travelers
609 provided with this work make no allusion in front of the Boni to the facts related in it; the Refugee Blacks are very proud and cannot allow an outsider to penetrate forthwith into their family privacy. That would provoke lively hostility toward the indiscreet person and would hinder later work.

114 The table of correspondence between true and fictitious
128 names is held at the disposal of sociologists who may wish to conduct studies on the Boni.

/70 cont./

643 613 In 1957 the Dikan lineage was practically extinct. There remained only Grand Man Difu and his elder brother Samalobi, very old.

[829] The present grand man does not know the genealogy of his lineage beyond his grandmother. /Fig. 14 appears here./ /71/

[648] At the death of Awensay it was Samalobi, eldest of Awensay's classificatory nephews, who was to be named; but the French administration thought they had to oppose it, judging him too old; he yielded with good grace.

613 [165] [554] Samalobi, the ancestor, the patriarch of the Boni, died in May, 1957 at over 100 years old. Although very weakened by his infirmities and nearly blind, he kept great prestige and no important decision was made without his consent.

173 The son of Apatu, companion of Crevaux, he had retained an exact memory of the explorer whom he had accompanied during part of his trip in 1877. It is thanks to his memories that Crevaux's prestige has remained so great on the Maroni.

643 692 578 The grand man judges without appeal disputes between members of different lineages. Truly serious affairs are extremely rare, if one keeps in mind that:

[613] [583] [584] --Disputes over the payment of dowry, paying it back in case of divorce, and the assignment of the children, which form the main part of the cases argued before ordinary African jurisdictions, do not exist among the Refugee Blacks;

643 613

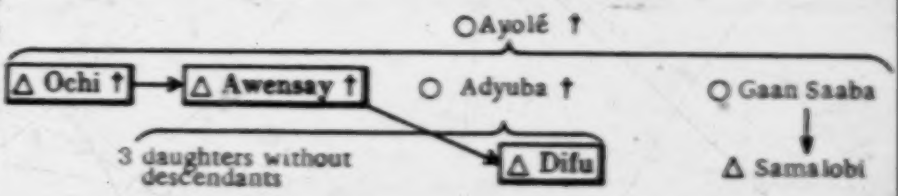

Fig. 14. Filiation of the last three grand men of the Boni.

643 692 [578] [423] /71 cont./

--Disputes over the appropriation of lands are very rare in Boni country because of the sparseness of population.

We have never seen the grand man hold anything other than audiences of conciliation relative to people who had fought or threatened each other. [183] The custom of the Refugee Blacks would indeed be difficult to fit into a code. The state of persons and social duties derive so directly from beliefs that the intervention of a judge is not indispensable for the functioning of the society.

643 423 The grand man is supposed to retain power over all the lands of Boni country which are not allocated to lineages; in particular, this is the case with the upper basin of the headstreams of the Lawa. [648] [184] It is above all by virtue of this that he is considered the suzerain of the Indians living in this territory. The same conception exists among the Djuka with respect to the headstreams of the Tapanahoni.

643 724 [226] The suzerainty of the grand man over the land and waters is marked, as in Africa, by special rights in the domain of hunting and fishing. He alone can authorize group fishing on the great river by the process of la nivrée. The same problem does not hold for hunting which is practiced in a strictly individual fashion. But it is taken for granted that if a tapir (1) is killed in Boni country,

1. The tapir is the largest animal of the bush.

the hunter must carry its head as well as a thigh to the grand man.

643 648 A certain misunderstanding reigns between the Europeans and the Boni on the subject of the duties of the grand man. The Europeans tend to believe that he commands the tribe in the way in which a colonel commands a regiment, that he can designate a certain man for a certain job, fix the price of boats, etc. The grand man tries to give satisfaction to the administration /72/ to justify the pay he draws, but he succeeds very badly in it, for in reality he possesses almost no temporal power.

/73 cont./

643 687 That happened especially to people who, summoned to work in the grand man's clearings, carried out their task with ill will.

About 1950, M...., of Papaïston village, had openly revolted against the grand man whom he had refused to conduct to Saint-Laurent. The grand man sentenced him to make a large stairway of planks, from the Boniville wharf to the entrance to the village, giving him an injunction to leave the country if he refused. M... ended by yielding and executed the large stairway which can now be seen at the Boniville wharf.

643 648 297 199 The grand man is constantly concerned about his prestige and dignity; he is almost always dressed in the European manner and in ceremonies wears an impeccable white uniform; the French administration gives him a relatively large salary and, when he comes to Cayenne, he is put up in the hospital in the apartments reserved for officers.

643 [576] [644] [357] [466] To greet the grand man one does not look directly at him but places himself in profile with respect to him.

The grand man has no servants (that would be contrary to the morality of the Refugee Blacks) and leads a very simple life. Still, he does not do any hard manual labor; each year he calls together a certain number of men from each lo to work in his clearings; he does not pay them, for this work is an obligation provided for by custom, but he feeds them heartily.

643 466 Likewise, for his traveling, he requisitions by turns as boatmen two or three of his subjects. Sometimes also he requisitions women to help his wife at harvest time.

On the other hand, for all other work he may need (such as the construction of a large boat) he has to pay like everyone else and he is not given any reduction.

/81 cont./

423 The right to fish in certain rivers is held by lineages; other
222 rivers are regarded as property common to the inhabitants of a
613 village, whatever their kinship may be.

621 For example, the right to fish in Kumata Kiiki, a small
[425] creek of the Surinam bank, near the village of Kotika, is reserved for members of the Lapé lineage (the members of this lineage farmed there formerly, but they abandoned these lands, currently farmed by the Kotika people).

Maripa and Likanaon creeks, downstream from Boniville, are reserved for the inhabitants of Boniville.

Asisi Creek is reserved for the inhabitants of Asisi (Djo, Awara Bakka, and Dipélu II lineages).

423 The right to hunt cannot be reserved; everyone has the right
[224] to hunt anywhere.

The right to gather and the right to cut trees for making
222 planks or boats is generally bound up with the right to farm.
[313]

The right to collect underground products is completely
423 independent of the right to farm. For example, if someone finds
316 a seam of kaolin (pémba) on the lands of another lineage, he
317 exploits it freely. This aspect of the legal conceptions of the Refugee Blacks is very interesting, for it shows that even from the
423 point of view of customary law, the grand man is not entitled to
316 exercise any rights over the production of the Creole gold miners.
● 648 He could demand indemnities only insofar as these gold miners farm lands over which the Boni exercise customary rights. The interminable discussions which the claims of Grand Man Anato brought on at the time of the Lawa gold rush at the end of the past century would have been avoided by a better knowledge of the customary law.

/132 cont./

868 To this traditional knowledge, which remains indispensable,
[501] has been added for the past several years substantial knowledge of mechanics, because the use of outboard motors is becoming more and more common; this knowledge is transmitted in empirical fashion as it has been acquired. It must be recorded that the motors go and that they are well kept up.

86 The system of education employed by the Refugee Blacks is surely effective; their children are excessively turbulent and very difficult when they are in a group. When they are divided up individually in the midst of adults, they are placed under the best conditions for learning the techniques and traditions of their group.

429 The person charged with the education of a child does not willingly entrust him to another and takes him along whenever
513 he moves. However, by concern for propriety, the woman guardian sends the children she is raising to sleep in other houses on the days when her husband comes to visit her. Boys go to sleep at the home of a brother, an uncle, a comrade; the same for girls who have not yet reached puberty; but it is not the same for girls who have reached puberty; they are subjected to strict supervision.

648 This is one of the reasons why the Boni find it repugnant to
891 put their children in school (French school of Maripasoula,
156 Surinam school of Kotika). Without wishing to tackle here this sad problem to its fullest extent, we must state that this teaching, entirely inappropriate and dispensed by teachers who look down on the Refugee Blacks, has results nearly similar to those observed generally in Africa, the main one being to make the children strangers to their own families and misfits in their own country. There is practically no example of a case where the Boni nation has benefited from having one of its children go to school: if the child succeeds, he leaves for Paramaribo and never comes back again. If he fails, he then has much more

/132 cont./

648 difficulty in learning the techniques of his group, for the years
871 when the mind is most pliant have been lost in this regard; as
156 for the knowledge acquired at school, it is so foreign to the life of the Refugee Blacks that at the end of a few years none of it remains except vague smatterings.

861 In general, the process of education employed among the Refugee Blacks is imitation of the adult. A child is rarely given a lesson as such. He sees something done, he tries on his own
868 initiative, and little by little he learns. For example, /133/ he sees his guardian make a boat; he is simply asked to go and get dry palm branches and to take away the chips; he hears the adults discuss the job as it goes on. At about the age of 12 or 13 he tries to make a first boat for himself with the help of an older comrade. He progressively acquires knowledge of this technique.

561 Boys begin to take part in farm work from the age of six
462 or seven, principally weeding and planting. At about ten or eleven they begin to handle the machete and help to cut through the bush; at about 12 they begin to handle the axe and learn to fell trees. At 14 or 15 they begin to make small boats. An adolescent of 16 or 17 is in general capable of cutting a clearing for his mother or sister.

429 Most often the guardian takes his role very seriously, giving
86 his main attention to teaching the child all that is necessary. If it is a woman, she asks her brothers to teach the techniques of boating and building.

866 The principle is to develop very early a sense of responsi-
461 bility in the child by making it progressively necessary for him
434 to earn his living. The guardian does not furnish pocket money,
[291] and with the exception of a hammock every other year, no manufactured objects (children under 11-12 years not being clothed, he has almost no expenses for clothing). But he gives the child progressively chances to earn money by his work. From ten years on, the child begins to render some services: for example for the construction of a boat, he helps transport the dry palm branches intended for the burning. If the boat is being

/140 cont./

184 589 Whatever its origin, we should note that the Saramaka custom has no relation, as far as its legal content is concerned, to the levirate, nor to the inheritance of widows as it is practiced in numerous African societies. It does not correspond in any way to the transmission of a right over the widow, since this right does not exist; it probably results from the idea that the widow is better protected from the effects of the dead man's jealousy if she marries one of his brothers. Besides, she may [613] choose from among all his classificatory brothers, in the matrilineage as in the patrilineage, which assures her of a wide choice. She can break this union without any compensation [586] after some months of living together and resume complete liberty.

582 Statistics of marriages between kin groups. We have listed on the table opposite, the total unions for which we have been able to identify with certainty the kinship of the spouses, including those broken by divorce and death. Their total number is 411.

582 619 The table emphasizes the more or less great frequency of unions between /141/ /table appears here/ /142/ such-and-such kin groups, as well as the frequency of unions between Boni women and men of other tribes, DJUKA PARAMAKA, and SARAMAKA.

Out of a total of 411 unions of Boni women one notes:

--327 with BONI (80%);
-- 50 with DJUKA (12%);
-- 21 with SARAMAKA (5%);
-- 5 with PARAMAKA (1%);
[648] -- 8 with Creoles from Surinam (2%)

The proportion of intertribal marriages (20%) is high; it results from the frequent presence on the Maroni of Djuka or Saramaka boatmen coming to carry on transport. The reciprocal is not true; marriages between Boni men and women

[Text Continues on P. 209]

6:Hurault--208 K-6 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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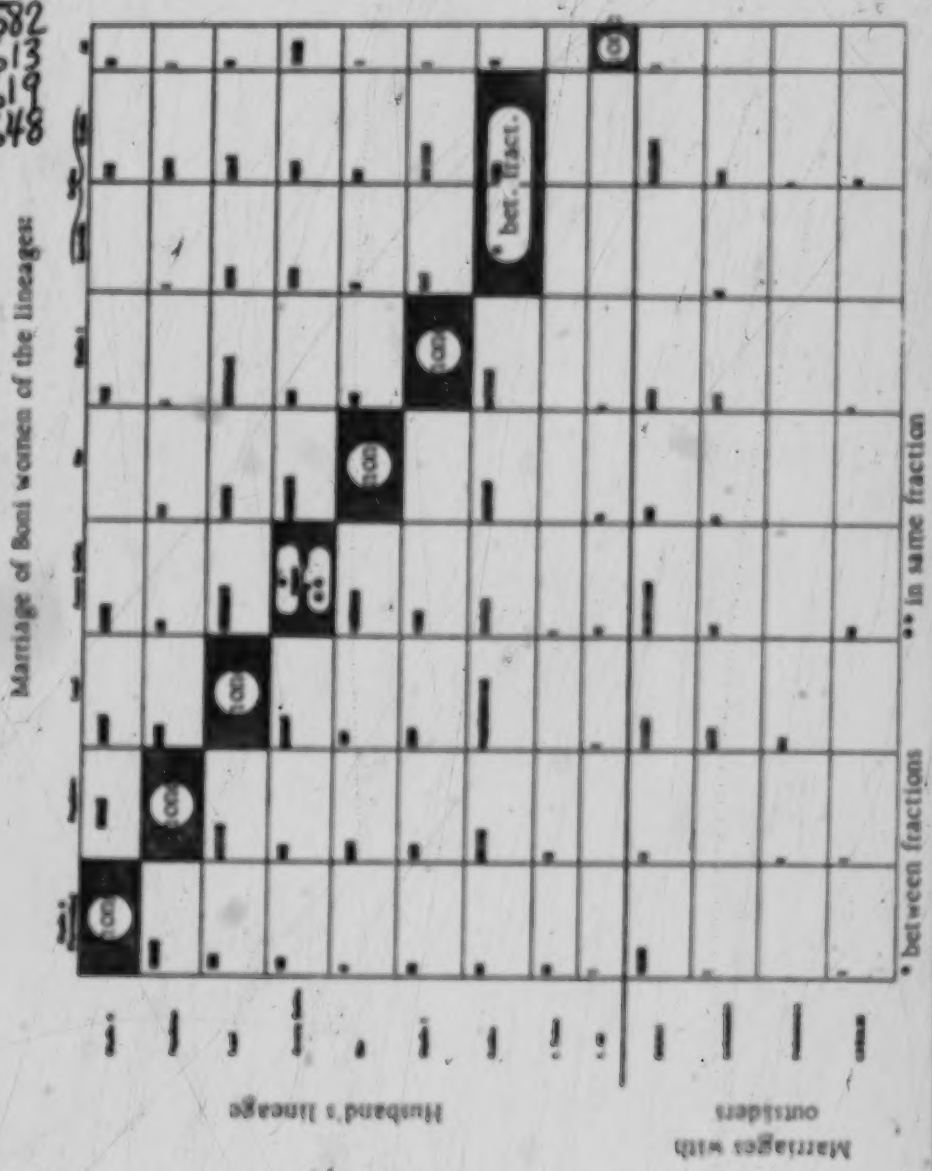

/158 cont./

848 If children are born of these irregular liaisons, the mother
[784] takes care to know with certainty who the father is, for if there
[753] were any doubt, the child, respecting a kina which would not be his own, would contract leprosy. On this subject the Boni
842 have a remarkable belief: they think that it is the first man with whom a woman has had relations after the end of a menstrual period who is likely to make her pregnant.

836 These adventures always involve gifts in kind (cloth,
431 jewels); so the men who have the most success with women are always short of money.

581 A woman who has lived thus in notorious fashion has a little more difficulty than another in finding another husband, but if she is young and winsome she succeeds.

548 Prostitution as such is very rare in Boni country, and the women who give themselves over to it openly (three or four for all the villages on the French bank) have generally left the
[836] tribe to settle in the gold miners' villages. Dissoluteness is not considered dishonorable by the Refugee Blacks when it is carried on within the tribe and when it has no other purpose but pleasure; but prostitution is judged shameful.

834 Except for these few prostitutes, we have never heard it
648 said that a Boni woman had relations with a European; on this point tribal discipline is observed with extreme rigor.

581 Conclusion. The average duration of marriages, which was
[178] from 15 to 20 years for the preceding generation, tends to become shorter and can be estimated nowadays at about ten years.
[191] In spite of this evolution, the stability of marriages among the Refugee Blacks remains noticeably greater than that observed
548 among the black populations of South America. Among them is not seen the form of prostitution so widespread in South America, the supported mistress who does not work and who lives entirely at the expense of her successive lovers.

178 [173] /192 cont./

thus it is that they have kept a rather exact description of the elephant (leu) and the gorilla (malẽgwana).

imposed on the slaves has prevailed. There is nothing surprising [648] about that, since the slaveholders tried, in order to prevent revolts, to mix to the maximum the Blacks of the various tribes.

174 A certain number of men initiated in differing degrees into African cults were among the rebels. They tried to con-
177 serve and transmit these rites, which their descendants have more or less transposed or deformed (2). As far as one can

[182] 2. The single fact that the vegetation and fauna differed totally from those of Africa immediately required a modification of ritual which called for infusions of leaves of numerous plants to which definite magical properties are attributed.

[198] As far as one can judge by the secret languages attached to these cults, in which are recognized many words deformed from the ordinary language, and a few Indian words, these cults in their present state must [178] differ appreciably from the ones which gave them birth. In fact, the only thing the Refugee Blacks have authentically kept is concepts, metaphysical and moral ideas.

6:Hurault--303 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni
Surinam SR4

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/197 cont./

Odun's laws create an irreducible cleavage between the Refugee Blacks and the Creoles. The Creoles of Surinam, like the West Indian gold miners of the Maroni, profess Christianity, but they have a special conception of it, associating with Christian ideas /198/ beliefs of various origins and often magic practices. If in quasi-totality they reject magic aimed at doing harm without reason, they take very generally for granted:

--Counter sorcery inspired by vengeance;

--"Invocations" to the spirits of the dead and divers magic formulas in which it is believed one captures the vital force of these spirits in order to make practical use of it;

--Charms having the purpose of forcing the love of a person one desires.

B
S
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The Creoles are as attached to these conceptions as the Refugee Blacks to the laws of Odun, which are absolutely contrary to them. They have such importance in the thought of both that it would be unthinkable to make a group of Creoles and a group of Refugee Blacks live together for any appreciable length of time integrated into the same organization. Attempts made to do this, especially in Surinam, have always failed. When an economic activity engages them in the same work in the same locality, Creoles and Refugee Blacks form two separate groupings, each living according to its own law.

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167
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[782]
[613]

If Refugee Blacks leave their group for any great length of time to settle in the midst of Creoles, if they do not come back periodically to renew the oath of Odun, it is taken for granted that they have abjured his laws and that they are suspect of wisi. It happens that people who have spent a whole portion of their lives in the midst of the Creoles come back to live in their native village because they are prey to adversity or sickness; they are always welcomed (the lineage cannot expel one of its members), but chances are great that they will be declared wisimi upon their death. This was especially the case with an

787 /212 cont./
531 can read these messages; but we have not turned up any precise evidence on this subject (1).

1. These signs are very little systematized and have no relation whatever with the symbolic designs which figure in certain rituals of possession, especially in Dahomey and Haiti. It is permitted to see in them a simple likeness.

787 The Papa gadu are chiefly consulted to ask them to re-
[255] veal the cause of misfortunes that happen. One of them is not
[253] asked to cure an illness unless the interrogation reveals that it brought it on.

776 The worship of the Papa gadu snake gods makes a strong
648 impression on the West Indian Creoles who maintain regular relations with the Refugee Blacks. Most consider it as diabolical
[782] in nature and disapprove of it, but if the presence of an "adder"
[171] (anaconda snake) is noted in a neighboring creek, and if at the same time misfortunes occur, it happens that a Creole may go to ask the Refugee Blacks to practice rites to mollify
[778] the vengeance of the god. We have happened to catch sight of, hidden in a copse behind the habitation of a gold miner, a small altar decorated with blue and red pennants, the usual place of worship of the Papa gadu.

755 Observation in Boniville, November, 1952.
An Asisi woman, Tini, comes to Boniville to consult
[787] her adoptive daughter Pamasa, about 35 years old, who is possessed by a Papa gadu named Adawa. Féni, 15 years old,
[164] Tini's son, has been sick for several days (fever, eruption all over the body). When someone comes to get us, the god has already entered into Pamasa, has sat down in a hut, and

/217 cont./

774 Most of the Boni are not concerned with their akka. The only ones who take heed of it are those who have reasons to believe it irritated. The worship rendered varies a good deal from one individual to another in the nature and frequency of the rites performed.

774 For example, K.... of Papaïston village, prey to a
777 persistent streak of bad luck, went to consult a Creole lukumã
[640] from Surinam, who revealed to him that it was the doing of unsatisfied desires of his akka. His akka wanted a black dog and a copper bracelet. He procured both for himself, and since, he says, he no longer has the same bad luck.

774 B.... head of T... village, has in a corner of his hut
778 a post crudely carved in the shape of a bust with a half calabash from which emerge stalks of sangaafu on its head. At the side is a small fraga tiki. He tells me that this is the god of the cult of his akka; these rites are strictly personal with him.

774 Most of the akka esteem white beads and red cloth. If
[822] one sees a Boni wear a red cloak, one can be almost sure that it is by order of his akka.

[787] If someone's mind wanders or he has bizarre dreams, he may see in this the feeling that his akka wishes to leave him and that he is in danger of its happening. He then goes to ask
[789] an ɔbiaman to make him an akka tetɛy: this is a ring of fibers worn on the big toe and which is supposed to prevent the akka from going away.

These rites vary a lot from one individual to the other, but they have a common principle. If someone begins to attend to his akka, he cannot abandon the worship during his lifetime, or else the akka will avenge itself.

Akka worship is strictly personal and is not bequeathed upon death.

/234 cont./

628 to resist and fled to Boniville, where some took refuge in the
613 water, others in the bush. About ten shacks were broken (without great damage), principally kitchens and empty sheds. Only one man could be caught and he received several punches.

The expedition of April, 1957 against the villages of L'Enfant Perdu and Kormotibo did not do much more harm. Only one good house was smashed, that of Akwali (Dip. II, Kormotibo) because its owner, passing by in a boat on the river, insulted the aggressors....

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613 Surinam Creoles
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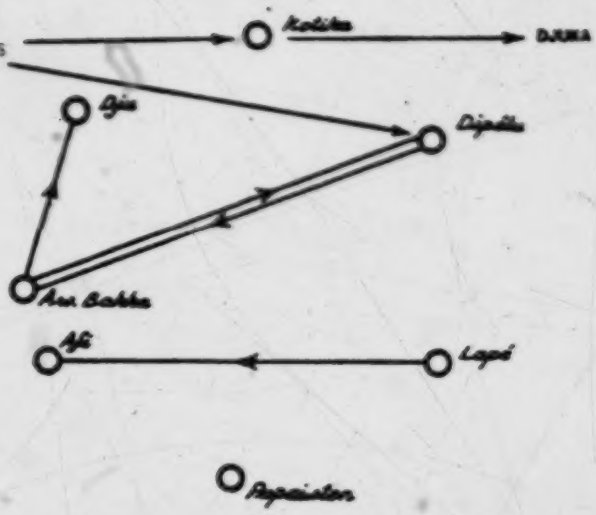

Fig. 28. Schema of the kunu exercised upon one another by the various lineages.

/240 cont./

754 be wisimã. We were able to draw up he list of these from
775 information from diverse sources which agreed very well.
787 In nearly every case persons were concerned who had already been accused, during their lifetime, of being wisimã; and on whom suspicions had been directed either by reason of their solitary life and irascible character or as a consequence of a series of coincidences.

754 In general, they tend to accuse of wisi any individual
828 who systematically isolates himself, nows ill will in the observation of customary law, or showshimself particularly selfish, irascible, or jealous.

754 /241/ They tend also to suspect those who in their youth had
648 abandoned the tribe for years to settle among the Creoles, and those who frequent the Creoles of the region, known as quimboiseurs, or who go too often to Saint Laurent or Paramaribo to consult lukumã (clairvoyants) (1).

> 1. Consulting a clairvoyant is not contrary to the laws of Odun. Infringement of these laws begins when one claims to act upon other people.

754 Also deemed suspect of wisi is anyone who gets rich too
434 quickly or shows an immoderate love of money. A hard-
828 working man who earns his living in broad daylight is never accused of wisi. But the one who engages in trade is suspect. It is thought, for example, that G...., who furnished a shop and earns much money, is a "pledged man." It is said also of F...., a fishing contractor particularly greedy for profit. But neither has been accused openly.

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754 Of course he was recognized as a wisimã by the first
764 adjuration made to his body carried in the papay on the heads
787 of two men: "If thou art a wisi man, do not come toward us."
The dead man drew back. /2..o/

[784] /243/Continuation of the interrogation showed that he had not yet killed anybody, but that he had been killed by Odun when he was preparing to kill someone of his lineage.

754 The persecutors of Agyémési, contrary to their hope, did not recover after his death from the maladies which they were attributing to his sorcery; that did not shake their conviction in
755 the least. They left for Paramaribo to have themselves treated
648 by a Creole magician (for the Surinam Creoles, who practice white magic and black magic indiscriminately, are by this fact reputed to be more expert than the Refugee Blacks in combating the effects of wisi).

954 In recounting this story to us, the grand man told us that it is always necessary to be cautious with accusations of wisi,
[762] because one can never be sure. A man unjustly accused can
[784] commit suicide and pursue his accusers with his kunu (most of the Boni state that they would do so in such a case). In former
173 times, the barbarous punishments in use in Africa were applied
683 to revealed wisimã: they were burned alive. But people tell
784 that one of them, some months afterward, undertook against his accusers' lineage a kunu which still lasts today. He had been wrongly condemned! It is through fear of the kunu more than
[178] through care for humanity, that these punishments have been abolished.

754 It certainly seems that the constant fear of the wisimã in
[152] which the Boni live is only a collective hallucination, and that rare indeed are those who dare to indulge in practices which might draw upon them such terrible social and religious sanctions. As for these practices themselves, they appear to be without any real content, and the misfortunes attributed to them are

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754 695 571 In 1958, a Boniville woman, N..., was convicted of having paid a Creole quimboiseur to make the grand man die. She confessed, a rare thing in this kind of case, and the materiality of the facts did not appear doubtful. The Boni were strongly impressed by this unprecedented event, and for several weeks the members of the lineage concerned were in such agitation that one could have believed they had lost their reason. In Boniville they "held court" continually for nearly two months, and they discussed so much that farm work was neglected and part of the rice crop lost.

754 695 683 [648] What were they going to do with this woman? The laws of Odun forbade killing her, no more could she be expelled. The Boni made discreet overtures to the administration to find out whether it was not possible to have her imprisoned. They were surprised to learn that French law does not recognize the offense of sorcery. Somebody then proposed having her admitted as a servant at the leprosarium of the Acarouani on the /245/ coast. This suggestion produced a surprising result; the Boni were unanimous in thinking that making someone who was not a leper live in a leprosarium was a punishment worse than death, and they resolved to pardon her.

How does one go about it, since the laws of Odun do not permit pardoning a wisimi? Nobody could give us a satisfactory justification on this, but in 1959 A..., the preceding year spurned and maltreated, had taken up normal living again in her village.

754 761 784 In fact, a case of wisi is terminated only upon the death of the person concerned. If a man who has been accused of wisi during his lifetime dies accidentally, or is struck by a fulminating sickness, the fact that he has been chastised by Odun appears as incontestable proof. The case is fixed in the memory of the group in a specific form and will be given as an example to inspire respect for customary law.

754 /246 cont./
181 of his near relatives, his sister's children being regarded as
178 the victims most pleasing to the demon.
[382] Although in former times one to two out of ten deaths were attributed to wisi, in 1957 and 1958 out of 14 adult deaths of which we could obtain the explanation, there were:

[784] --Four wisimã killed by Odun, including two women of over 85 who during their lifetime had never been the object of unfavorable notice;

[761] --One death by the action of a wisimã, or a total of more than a third of the deaths; out of the nine others, two were looked upon as natural deaths (dead of old age), seven were attributed to the kunu.

754 The Refugee Blacks and Creole magic. Some of them go to
648 get from the lukumã what their own social morals forbid: vengeance or success acquired at the expense of other people. They have uttered an oath that prohibits the practice of wisi: for most of them it is clear that if they paid a piayeur /magician, sorcerer/ to harm someone, it would be the same as if they performed the sorcery themselves. But others make a mental reservation on this point.

754 In 1951, G...., of the Kotika lo, then about 20 years old,
755 felt ill while staying at Saint Laurent. He went to find a
648 Creole maïtif (clairvoyant) who presented him with a mirror, announcing to him that he was going to see in it the face of the one who had piayé /bewitched, cast a spell on/ him. G... saw nothing in the mirror. The maïtif was not upset at this and revealed to him that the piayeur must be someone in his wife's family. G... then recalled a dispute he had had some time previously with one of his wife's brothers and let himself be convinced: since that day he has not gotten along with his brother-in-law.

754 /246 cont./
755 The maïtif asked 2,000 francs from him as the price of
648 his consultation.

789 Curse. Someone who judges himself victim of evil-doing has at his disposal a supreme resource: /247/ cursing his adversary, that is, appealing directly to the supreme God, Masa Gadu, to ask him to punish his adversary. This is called seni gadu -- sending God -- against someone. To do that, while asking God to kill him or make him sick, one kneels and strikes the ground with both hands in the presence of the adversary or in front of his house. This act is regarded as totally different from wisi, for one is relying on the justice of God, who judges with equity and punishes only the guilty.

However that may be, cursing is for the Refugee Blacks a very serious act. It may happen that, feeling guilty, the source of the injustice asks pardon and promises to make amends for his misdeeds. The one who uttered the curse again implores Masa Gadu in order to take back the words he spoke: "He has given me satisfaction, do nothing against him." But oftener still it happens that a complicated affair is involved, that both parties concerned are persuaded of their legitimate
[692] ground and curse each other. The case must then be carried before the grand man and straightened out at once or misfortunes
[695] may pounce upon both lineages. The grand man judges without appeal and inflicts a punishment on the one who was wrong
[778] on the main issue of the debate. Then he obliges the ad-
[768] versaries to be reconciled before the fraga tiki, where the offering of tafia and water is made.

[828] The effect of these conceptions is to render nearly im-
[754] possible hidden hatreds and rancors, which the Refugee Blacks fear very much, for they are the source of wisi.

688 In general, the act of getting angry in public and serious-
689 ly insulting somebody is considered as an offense against moral and religious law, capable of attracting misfortunes; it is an

/250 cont./

789 396 There exist special ɔbia for the building of boats. The opening of the hull in the fire, a delicate operation, sometimes fails. To insure its success everyone possesses a personal recipe inherited from his father or uncle. It does not call by name and directly upon the action of a god; the Boni do not have a clear idea about the origin or the nature of these rites. It is a matter of a maceration of two or three kinds of leaves, generally belonging to the secondary flora which surrounds the villages, and they vary from one man to another. One pours this maceration over the overturned boat before the burning is begun, while saying: "The boat must not split, it must open well."

832 [673] The laws of Odun forbid the use of charms aimed at forcing the love of a woman one desires; that would infringe on a person's freedom, therefore wisi. It is very /251/ possible however that certain people go to get charms of this kind from Creole magicians. But they take for granted, on the other hand, the ɔbia believed to permit men who have little success with women to have more in the future.

951 789 There does not seem to be any hierarchy of ɔbia nor is one category of ɔbia believed to be stronger by nature than another; in fact, the Refugee Blacks are seen to go readily to ask one divinity for an ɔbia in order to protect themselves from another. Here is an example:

464 [648] In 1951 the administration had a systematic cleaning of the Petit Inini River begun, in order to rid its course of innumerable pieces of fallen wood which were making the use of motors on boats difficult. A team of Boni were employed in this work under the direction of a Creole foreman. While the [776] work was being done, a Papa gadu "came into the head" of an [787] old woman named M... of the Awara Bakka lo. It revealed that it was opposed to this work, for it lived in exactly this 464 place and the noise of the motors bothered it. Upon their return 776 to Boni country, the men charged with this work learned the

752 /255 cont./
834 Abiaman who treats a wound made by a firearm to observe
[191] chastity during the whole duration of the treatment. It is for this reason that the Boni hesitate to have gunshot wounds cared for in hospitals.

784 Kina. The interdictions of the Refugee Blacks generally have
[262] to do with food. There are five categories of them to our knowledge:

[753] --Bwasi kina, basic kina, mark of patrilineages, the breaking of which gives leprosy;

--Akka kina, often called gadu kina, established by divination and believed to be imposed by the akka;

--Gadu kina, mark of possession by a divinity;

--Obia kina, interdiction attached to each object involving a magic power, and which must be observed for this power to last;

--Finally, local kina, particularly the kina de, days of rest, going back to the idea of the day of rest of the local divinity. They observe, for example, that the Mana River has a kina de on Sunday. The Saramaka observe it strictly. The Boni we took on the Mana in 1949 went to find out from the Saramaka, and asked us to stop navigation on Sunday,
[648] for this kina was very urgent. It is noteworthy however that the Boni bow in such circumstances before the will of the Europeans, as with respect to their own kina de of Friday; in effect they are assuming that if they are ordered to be on duty, it is the European alone who bears the responsibility for breaking the kina.

[428] It is possible that the kina alluded to by Mr. W. F. Van
[114] Lier and which, among the Djuka, would be imposed on a
[643] whole matrilineage are also local kina; in any case no kina is transmissible through the mother, all the Refugee Blacks are explicit on that point.

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426 here, 5,000 there. But these loans are never large and do not constitute an effective process for grouping financial assets.

159 525 The so-called subscription societies so common in Black Africa are totally contrary to the thinking of the Refugee Blacks, in the same way as games of chance. In 1958 the Maripasoula post, on the occasion of a festival, had organized a tombola. When the principle of it was explained to the Boni, they were unanimous in thinking that the Europeans had odd amusements. Few of them agreed to buy tickets, and the ones who had not won anything left embittered, with the feeling of having been involved in an immoral operation.

159 571 High esteem attached to contracts. This inaptitude for forming groups and combining assets contributes very much toward crystallizing the society of the Refugee Blacks in its present form by opposing all large-scale initiative. On the other hand, 197 599 it develops the sense of personal responsibility. The Refugee 426 Blacks are especially strict with respect to money (1).

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1. This with regard to their mutual relations; as for debts to Europeans, they are not prompt in paying them back; but marked deception, borrowing done for the purpose of swindling, are very rare with the Refugee Blacks.

[829] Custom lays down as a strict principle that everything must be paid for. No one may live at the expense of someone [613] else, no one may borrow without paying back. If a man died before repaying a debt, the members of his lineage would club together to pay it off.

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In that can doubtless be seen the most likely explanation of the absence, in the tribes of Refugee Blacks, of any internal trade. There are not even markets in the villages. In practice only Creole and Asian traders are patronized.

The repugnance which the Refugee Blacks have for trading with one another contributes toward preventing the development of specialized professions among them. Specialization does actually exist: one man is particularly good at building boats, another is a competent carpenter, still another devotes himself mainly to fishing; but the Refugee Blacks exercise these specialties with respect to other peoples and not with respect to one another. Nobody fails to build his own boat, his house, to cut his clearings himself. If it were otherwise, classes and castes would rapidly be created, and that is precisely what the moral law of the Refugee Blacks condemns. A special effect of this conception is to preserve family custom from deteriorating, by preventing the rich from becoming great polygamists maintaining idle mistresses. We have never heard it said that a richer man paid someone to perform for him the customary work he owes to his wives, clearings, house, boat. Whatever his wealth may be, he continues to do these jobs by the sweat of his brow, and that contributes toward maintaining in its meaning and value the tacit contract concluded between husband and wife.

Thus the geographic conditions, associated with influences of a social and psychological order, impose on the Refugee Blacks a unique economy, based on a symbiosis with the coast populations in the form of piece-work or temporary wage-earning.

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Relations with the Other Populations

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The tribes of Refugee Blacks do not constitute a closed world. They have lived since their formation in close symbiosis with the neighboring populations: autochthonous Indians, Europeans, and Creoles. Their traditions and their conception of life have been strongly influenced by these, not because they have lost anything of their interior unity, but because they have accepted, at least collectively, the idea that they have bonds and duties toward other men.

179 829

Just as their economy on the material plane is based on exchange, so they consider the symbiosis of their group with the neighboring groups as the normal order of the universe. The misfortunes undergone by their ancestors have given them an extreme horror of violence; they consider peace a precious blessing common to all nations, and their moral principles which forbid harming anyone extend to all men. It is clear that these notions are less clearly understood on the individual level and that there are, as elsewhere, some thefts and abuses of trust. But, on /293/ the collective level, the relations between the Refugee Blacks and their neighbors are established on a base of trust, loyalty, and honesty not found to the same degree in Africa.

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Relations with the other tribes. The Boni do not have any well-defined political ties with the other tribes of Refugee Blacks, but the grand men have semiofficial relations through the medium of messengers, and consult one another rather frequently.

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The Boni have harbored a tenacious resentment against the Djuka for having in former times allied themselves with the Dutch against them, but this resentment, chiefly collective in nature, has died down with time; it does not prevent individual relations from being cordial.

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619 829 The Saramaka are very highly esteemed everywhere, for it is unanimously assumed that their magic is stronger, their techniques more perfected, than those of the other tribes.

175 648 Relations with the Indians. The relations between the Boni and the Oayana Indians are extremely curious and interesting. They were probably established from the end of the 18th century on. Several writers have stated that Boni and Indians fought each other for a long time; the examination we made of authentic archive documents, unfortunately few in number, capable of throwing light on the history of the Maroni, does not confirm this hypothesis (1). One can think on the contrary that symbiotic

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1. The only combats pointed out took place about 1840 between the Boni and the Wayakulé "Oyaricoulets" Indians, a very primitive tribe who lived on the Oulémari and was itself at war with the Oayana.

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The Boni were certainly already allied with the Oayana at the time of the battles on the Maroni in 1793, since after their defeat the survivors, grouped around Agosu son of Boni, took refuge on the Maruini River which they went up as far as the region of its sources, where nobody could catch up with them. Now it was precisely there that the Oayana Indians were living at the end of the 18th century. They would not have tried this maneuver if they had not had the certainty of finding refuge

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175 648 727 with their allies. The sites of their villages, marked on Coudreau's map (1888) are in immediate proximity to those of former Oayana villages.

175 648 [643] relations must have been created rapidly and in a very natural fashion. The grand man of the Boni is in a way the suzerain of the Indian chiefs; this situation was not imposed by force; it results from the privileged situation of the Boni on the river, which until recent times obliged the Indians to deal through them in order to trade with the outside world.

Although the Boni took advantage of this situation in days gone by to impose arbitrary rates of exchange upon the Indians, this relation must not be imagined as the exploitation of conquered by conqueror. It is based on the absolute respect of each group for the beliefs and social structure of the other, and an activity for each befitting its inclination. The proverb says: "To the Boni the river, to the Indians the forest." Thus it is that the Boni traditionally buy arrows from the Indians, while the latter buy paddles from them; the meaning of this symbol is perfectly understood by both.

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648 582 Marriages between the two groups, without being forbidden, are regarded as contrary to custom (2).

159 156 643 648 582 2. The marriage of Grand Man Awemay to an Indian woman about 1815 was inspired by complex motives. Toward the end of his life, Awemay could no longer stand the Boni, his imperious personality putting up badly with their individualism and their taste for discussion. He had established the Indian country a farming habitation in which he lived nearly all

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year; by taking an Indian woman as his wife he apparently sought to humiliate his subjects.

Awenay's children and grandchildren were all dead in 1957 except for two women, both sterile. There has been no other case of marriage between Boni and Indians.

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439 /294/ In practice, the basis for commercial exchanges is the following: the Indians furnish hammocks, and above all dogs trained for hunting, to which great value is attached. The Boni furnish boats. In days gone by they also brought imported objects, machetes, axes, and beads, but this form of trade has disappeared since the Indians have had the possibility of getting supplies from the Europeans.

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Several observers, coming after Coudreau (1890) and Crévaux (1937) in particular, have expressed the opinion that these relations were founded on fear and that the Boni, utilizing mysterious means of pressure, used to oppress the Indians.

After seven missions spent in contact with both, we affirm that these assertions are without foundation. On the contrary, one can only admire the way in which these primitive groups have been able to create loyal and trusting relations with one another. The Indians and Boni who have worked with us have always shown themselves happy to be together. To realize this, it was sufficient to hear the animated conversations they used to have in the evening around the campfires about their respective families, the events which took place in their villages, fishing, or hunting.

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648 It seems that in these relations, both bring more patience and tolerance to bear than toward the people of their own group. It is excessively rare to see disputes arise between Indians and Boni, when there sometimes are some within each group.

186 The feelings which the Boni have toward the Indians are complex: they feel superior in physical strength, effectiveness, and organization; they make fun of the Indians' puerile eagerness for beads and jewelry, of the begging attitude of certain ones among them. But they admire them for their cleverness, 829 their intimate knowledge of the forest, and fear them for the supernatural powers they attribute to them. Sure of themselves, fearing nothing from the bush, never getting lost, unrivalled hunters and fishermen, the Indians appear to them to be endowed with unique faculties which other men do not possess. We have happened to hear in camp reflections such as this: "It is going to rain, the Indians are making shacks."

829 The Boni feel an intense fear of Indian magic. Not one 152 of them would dare to seriously displease an Indian, and even if he feels he has been wronged, in most cases he will not dare complain (1).

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1. In the search for the magic causes of death, it happens that divination may incriminate the actions of an Indian medicine man. In such a case the legal action of the Boni is extinguished, for the principle is that the Indian medicine man does not hurt anyone without a reason. It is considered that the deceased must have gravely injured him and that he deserved his fate.

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648 A picturesque incident once more showed us this attitude in the course /295/ of a circuit on the Litani in 1952. When
[262] we passed through AloTaé village, our four Boni boatmen, who had killed some couchavou, had prepared a very appetizing dish for themselves; they had scarcely begun to eat when several Indians arrived unexpectedly who joined in the conversation, sat down beside them, then began to dip their spoons into the pot. Other Indians came and, continuing to talk things over deliberately and without hurrying, came and took their share of the feast. The Boni were progressively pushed back to the
[152] second row and finally gave up. Three of them laughed about
[329] this incident which was familiar to them; the fourth was furious but he did not dare say anything, for, said he to us, if he struck the Indians as he wanted to, he risked being bewitched.

648 In truth, what is the nature of the authority that the grand
643 man of the Boni is supposed to exercise over the Indians? Does it involve precise obligations, a tribute, vexatious measures? Not in the least: it is reduced nowadays to two things:

--The principle of the obedience of the Indian village heads to the person of the grand man;

--The interdiction of transport by boat in the Boni fashion.

One can only approve of this interdiction which protects the Indians more than it harms them. As for the personal influence of Grand Man Difu, it is extremely favorable; he has a profound knowledge of the language and customs of the Indians, toward whom he has always exhibited an interest and sympathy which are certainly sincere. When, during the ceremonies at the fraga niki, he appeals to the ancestors to ask them to watch over the Boni, he does not fail to add: gaã yyyka, de mu loko de Ingi: Ancestors, watch over the Indians.

648 It is also said of the Boni that they are interested in the Indians only in order to traffic with them. Even if that were true -- we have shown how inexact this assertion was -- we should hold all the same that it is much less dangerous for the

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• 648 Indians to trade with them than with the Europeans and Creoles; the Boni are a graded society in which things tend to take place according to well-defined norms. It suffices to compare the Oayana Indians, who have kept the essentials of their civilization, with the Indians of the Oyapok to be convinced that the Boni have protected the former much more than they have oppressed them.

[464] Relations with the Creoles. The Boni are in constant contact with Creole gold miners and traders, for the benefit of whom they carry out many kinds of work (boating, tree-felling, con-
[191] [829] struction). Most of them speak the Creole dialect very well and are well informed on the Creole type of life.

On the whole, relations between the two groups are good.
[829] On the Upper Maroni, it is mainly a matter of Creoles of African blood, who have come from the British West Indies, whom the Boni do not consider to be extremely different from themselves. Many have been settled there for a very long time, and individual friendships have become established; yet the two groups have not the least tendency to merge.

/296/ The Creoles have only scorn for the civilization of the Refugee Blacks, which reminds them of a detested African past. They have a feeling of superiority and do not cease exhorting the Boni to adopt their clothing and way of life.

829 The feelings that the Boni have toward the Creoles are complex; they clearly perceive that the activity of the gold miners is artificial and that isolated people are incapable of living by their own efforts in the midst of this pitiless forest. When they have become old and sick, the gold miners experience the worst distress and literally die of hunger until they are
888 evacuated to the hospice of Saint Laurent. Among the Refugee Blacks, old men are assured of a decent life in the midst of the members of their lineage, who surround them with affectionate respect.

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828 This is a point of view which has great importance in the
829 eyes of the Boni, for whom finishing one's days at the hospice or being reduced to asking for the help of outsiders constitutes the worst downfall.

829 They fear, moreover, as we have shown, Creole magic which they liken to a form of wisi.

On the other hand, they are impressed by the attainments of the Creoles, the real spirit of initiative and the strong personality of some of them; moreover, the Boni who have been to Cayenne have noticed the solicitude of the administration
829 with respect to the population of the communes. For all these
177 reasons there exists among the Boni a certain body of opinion
178 in favor of creolization. But the very unique type of life of the
[114] Boni and their desire to keep their special customs attach them to their ancestral form of life; about 1890 the explorer Coudreau, observing the same facts, was predicting imminent creolization of the Boni. In fact, this did not happen, and it is unlikely so.

• 648 Traditional relations with Europeans. The Refugee Blacks con-
464 stitute an important element in the economic life of the Guianas; on behalf of the administration and European enterprises they perform many jobs (boating, wood-floating, tree-felling).
648 They are not well adapted to other kinds of work, but in these
461 activities which fit with their traditional mode of life they are
[465] equal if not superior to any labor. Very highly paid, they work with speed, effectiveness, and intelligence, exhibiting an initiative and sense of duty not commonly found in Africans(1).

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1. It is to be noted that if they stop leading their traditional kind of life, for example if they settle permanently near European establishments, they rapidly lose these qualities.

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648 So relations between the Europeans and Refugee Blacks have nothing in common with what one observes in Africa: one notes their faults without indulgence, but one admires them for their strong personality, their art, and their techniques, and one bears an esteem for them which is not feigned.

829 The Refugee Blacks feel neither hate nor jealousy toward Europeans. This /297/ may surprise one at first, for they have had to put up with cruel wars fought against them, which have left a precise memory with them; but the explanation is simple: the Boni have no hate because their life is happy, and they have no jealousy because they do not try to imitate the Europeans and are satisfied with their own civilization.

173 186 On this subject it will be noted that the Refugee Blacks recall the time of slavery without shame and without any inferiority complex; this is simply because they do not have the feeling of being the descendants of slaves; they feel themselves to be the descendants of warriors who imposed their independence by force of arms; the Djuka, exaggerating to themselves the scope of the successes won by their ancestors, even have a certain superiority complex. Proud of their ancestors, the Refugee Blacks do not feel in any way inferior to the white man and behave toward him as equal to equal.

648 (184) The Boni, like the Djuka and the Saramaka in Surinam, live under a de facto regime which is equivalent to internal autonomy. This regime was instituted for the Boni from their first contact with the French administration in 1861; it has always been associated with perfect loyalty.

The French administration, which until recent times did not have any permanent establishment in the interior of the country, has never tried to interfere with the interior functioning of the tribes which went on and still goes on according to their own law. The Refugee Blacks have thus been spared that hybrid jurisdiction, applying a customary law altered by European ideas,

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648 which in Black Africa has so powerfully contributed toward the destruction of traditional structures.

[829] Truth to tell, the problem was simpler, for the conceptions of the Refugee Blacks, involving no form of oppression of individuals and assuming the right of the woman to self-determination, reduce to the vanishing point the sources of disputes between individuals and groups.

[162] In 1946 the administrative post of Maripasoula was created, near the confluence of the Lawa and the Inini. Since that time, the gendarmerie has administered to the satisfaction of all and without any incident a heterogeneous population of 2,000 persons, gold miners, Refugee Blacks, and Indians, scattered over [743] a vast territory. The medical post created at Maripasoula in 1949 is very much frequented by the Boni and performs an extremely useful function on the psychological as well as on the social level.

The relations of the various groups give rise to very small frictions, one with another, but the Refugee Blacks never give occasion for intervention in the internal affairs of their groups. [505] Respectful of the administration, they carry out punctually their commitments to their employers, insuring all the transport on the river according to a modus vivendi established for a long time (1).

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On this subject it is to be noted that disagreeable incidents occur each time the Boni deal with inexperienced travelers who do not know the customs of the river or do not wish to apply them. In a general way the Refugee Blacks, of their own accord respectful of anyone who comes to do a useful job, loathe tourists; they cannot stand being photographed or observed like queer animals.

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648 Never do they appeal to the courts to settle their differences, still less their family quarrels; never do they beg for help.

829 The Europeans' material superiority does not impress them: the whites are more able in mechanics, but they are more able in magic, that is all. The efficacy of European medicine does [798] not shake their convictions: if someone has reasons to believe himself victim of the anger of a gadu, he begins by making the sacrifices intended to appease it, then asks it for authorization to have himself cared for by the whites. Personally we have [123] [753] never done anything to disabuse the Boni of this idea which satisfies at the same time the requirements of medicine and those of social discipline, for it must not be forgotten that for them 177 sickness is punishment for an offense. Thus one sees that unless it is deliberately brought to bear against tradition and against the leaders, the influence of Europeans is without appreciable effect on the civilization of the Refugee Blacks. It is no longer the same when contacts become too frequent, tend to alter drastically the way of life, and especially when these influences become openly "civilizing."

178 The Future of the Refugee Blacks

Obliged to solve all the problems of life by their own means, the Refugee Blacks have been able to adapt with intelligence to the evolution of the modern world, and their custom 648 has kept all its vigor and effectiveness. Their future would not seem to be threatened if a wave of opinion had not come to the surface these past years, in French Guiana as well as in Surinam, to destroy their civilization, deemed primitive and barbarous, and to fuse them into the population of the coast. This result would be obtained in particular by schooling and evangelization.

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114 Here destroys of remaining on the plane of strict scientific objectivity, we shall avoid entering the discussion of the benefit springing from this action, which, moreover, would necessitate a long development. We shall limit ourselves to showing that it appears to us to be doomed to failure.

871 --The experiment of schooling has been made for more
177 than 30 years among the Boni in the village of Kotika. Half a dozen children, doing well in their studies, left for Surinam and broke with their native group. In the others, the teaching received left only faint traces. As a matter of fact, there is no room in a normal intelligence to receive at the same time the mass of technical knowledge necessary for holding one's own in the society of the Refugee Blacks and ordinary school in-
[829] struction. One necessarily drives out the other; now the Boni are extremely fond of their free life on the great river, which assures them very satisfactory material conditions of living.

797 --Evangelization has been carried on with perseverance
177 for more than 200 years with the Refugee Blacks of Surinam. It has not given appreciable results. It has been the same in
184 French Guiana with the action carried on with the Saramaka working /299/ near the communes of the coast (1), and more

[648] 1. The Saramaka not only have no tendency to be converted, but they exert a significant influence on the population of the communes. On the Oyapok the Saramaka healer
[756] has numerous clients, and in spite of
[787] the clergy's interdiction, many women go to the possession dances of the Papa gods serpent gods.

recently with the Boni of the Upper Maroni.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

643 Curiously enough, many of the Djukas believe that there will be another war with the white man. To them it seems that the bahkra may attempt to re-enslave them at any time. Hence, they are suspicious of all white men, whom they expect soon to be fighting again. It is said that, in preparation for this eventuality, they have accumulated tremendous stores of *nekku* to poison the entire Surinam River, on which Paramaribo is located. The purpose of this, as they express it, is "*Fu killee ala bahkra na futu*"—"To kill all the white men at the foot (of the river)." Apparently they do not know that this plan is useless, that the water supply of Paramaribo does not come from the river, but from artesian wells and cisterns of rainwater.

Legally the Djukas are under the control of the Dutch Colonial Secretary, as wards of the Government of Surinam. The Bush Negroes recognize rather vaguely that the Dutch
644 own the colony, but while they are subjects they pay no taxes, have free range of nearly the entire area, and do exactly as they please concerning village and tribal affairs. The sovereignty of the Dutch is, for all practical purposes, merely nominal.

The Dutch make very humane colonists. In Surinam they are faced with the difficult business of governing a polyglot population of many races, Negroes wild and tame, aboriginal Indians, Hindus, Mohammedans from India, Javanese, Chinese, and white men of all nationalities. As Anatole France expressed it in *The Procurator of Judea*, putting the words in the mouth of Pontius Pilate, "It is no easy matter to

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

govern a subject race with justice, and not interfere with 648
their local customs." Here the Dutch have been marvellously successful. They seem to have a knack of understanding the primitive mind, so that under their rule the various races live in harmony—a wonder in itself—and peace reigns throughout the settlement.

Dutch Guiana does not have the atmosphere of tenseness that characterizes the British colony to the west or the penal colony to the east. On the whole a lovelier tropical settlement would be hard to find.

Unlike certain nations in Africa, the Dutch have never tried to exploit the natives by imposing anything like the [45] ●
infamous hut-tax. For this they certainly deserve high praise. The notable position of the Bush Negroes consists in this, that, whereas all over the world primitive tribes are paying tribute to the power of white exploiters, here is one tribe where the situation is reversed, and the whites are paying tribute to them.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

361 posely to make the village as hard to reach as possible, to protect it from white invaders. From long experience the [648] Djukas mistrust all white men.

643 In Jankoeso is lodged the general authority over the Saramaccaner tribe and the territory in which they live. He has forbidden the intrusion of any visitors unless they are announced several days beforehand, by messenger.

[628] All the Granmans receive their title by matrilineal inheritance, and cannot be deposed. When one dies he is succeeded by his oldest sister's oldest male child, while his own sons never, under any circumstances, succeed him to the kingship. If there is no such person as his oldest sister's senior male child, then the succession passes on to the oldest male child of the nearest female relative. If the line dies out, and no 366 relatives are eligible, the successor is elected by popular vote 622] from among the captains of the river villages, but this seldom occurs. On such an occasion there may be a struggle between different lo, playing politics to get into power. Otherwise inheritance is strictly through the female line.

649 The Dutch government exerts only a nominal control over the Bush Negro tribes of the interior. Once every year the river Granmans come down the broad river highways to Paramaribo for a parley with the Governor of Surinam. After a ten-day canoe trip downstream, Jankoeso finds a train waiting for him at Kabel, to bring him ceremonially the rest of the way. The other rulers must come all the way by corial. On their long and often hazardous journey they are accompanied by their most powerful captains. The Gran-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Surinamese

When there is a conflict between villages over their hunting and fishing territories, the captains and bosesias of each town meet on some neutral ground and arbitrate the matter. Then, indeed, the parley becomes wordy and rhetorical. Each cause is championed with long speeches, setting forth oratorically the rights and conditions involved. But once an agreement is arrived at, the matter is closed.

Local disputes, excluding those over women, are not nearly so common or so serious as they are among civilized white men. There is a minimum of quarrelling among the Djukas; they get along together in an almost idyllic way. Wherever there are women, there will, of course, be quarrelling, for, in the words of Confucius, "Disorder does not come from heaven, but is brought about by women." Outside of this factor there is little friction in the Bush Negro community. Their highly communalized government works exceedingly well.

The Granman and his captains have an annual council to make laws for the coming year. This and other assemblies are known as *kwata*. The captains and bosesias from surrounding villages concentrate at some important town to meet the Granman there. The Council near Ganzee, the trading-post, included the villages of Nu, Lombe, Biodoti, Ganya Condree, and Adawai. Jankooso refused to hold his parley in the town proper, although Ganzee is the largest village in the entire tribe, because there is a Christian mission station there, conducted by the Moravian Brothers. Jankooso is in favour of retaining the ancestral gods of the jungle

/72 cont./

919 691 641 The morality of the Refugee Blacks knows in effect only obligations of a social and religious order. As for everything concerning material life, each one has the absolute right, one could even say the duty, to act as he sees fit, insofar as he does not wrong anyone else.

643 691 641 [156] If the grand man gave an order obliging someone to act against his own interest, for example if he wished to lower arbitrarily the price of boats, this order would be lawfully void. If the grand man has very great personal influence, he can persuade the Boni that it is to their interest to obey such a prescription, but in no case can his command have the effect of imposing by force an arbitrary order foreign to the social and religious tradition; the present grand man is weak in character to boot, sensitive to the influence of the Creoles and very little given to exerting any authority.

643 791 In reality, the office of grand man is above all religious. The grand man centralizes, if one may say so, the struggle against evil forces and watches ceaselessly over the welfare of the collectivity.

643 964 When a man dies, his near relatives come to report on the questioning of the yaka. Burial cannot take place until the grand man has made sure that all the prescriptions have been filled. People come to report to him again after the burial so that he can be sure that no suprahuman danger remains.

643 995 [782] The grand man has special power over the yaka (spirit) of the dead, which the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks place on a level intermediate between the human and the divine. When one of these yaka exerts against a lineage a vengeance (bunu) whose malignity goes beyond habitual bounds, the grand man beseeches it to stop; they allege that things go back to normal, at least for a time.

This power attributed to the grand man invests him, in the eyes of the Boni, with a suprahuman character. It is the very foundation of his political power.

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[428] Land held by right of use cannot be sold nor rented, but only loaned. Neither can it be transmitted by inheritance; this would be entirely contrary to the thinking and custom of the Refugee Blacks, hostile to everything that would violate the legal joint possession of the lineage. Inheritance can affect only the harvest in process
[425] from clearings. Once this harvest is made, the land can be occupied by any member of the lineage, man or woman, who wishes to cultivate it; and if there is any dispute, it is obligatorily settled within the lineage; the grand man would refuse to judge it. Kinship degree /78/ does not enter in, at least in principle, since they can say to each other "brother," "uncle," or "grandfather" in the classificatory sense.

423 The only attenuation of the rigor of this principle provided
428 for by custom is that upon the death of a woman, her daughters have a right of priority to utilize her lands.

423 The Refugee Blacks have a clear tendency to remain faithful
241 all their lives to the same clearings. The study we have made of
128 the clearings in Boni country gives poor information on the history of each clearing, for it would have been necessary to be able to consult on the spot a large number of people, which we were not able to do; nevertheless it allows us to state that in the neighborhood of the residence villages, individuals keep their right of use of a clearing for the length of their lives.

42 Here is for example the transmission of rights over clearings
241 101 to 112 /sic/ (see genealogical table of the Dyu lo) (1).

1. See plate at the end of this work: Distribution of lands in the neighborhood of the principal Boni villages.

[Papaiston Village]

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
114	Gou (P1. F9): clearing cut by her husband Akwali		id.	id.
115	Puti (P2. F71): clearing cut by her husband Malpa	1951	id.	cleared off for the 1st time on old secondary forest
116	Hiduu (P1. F2): clearing cut by her husband Balibi	1951	id.	id.

[52] These six clearings are held by women of the Papaïnon lineage, in accordance with the residence principle of the Refugee Blacks.

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/96/ The Social System Illuminated by the Study of Implantation on the Soil

128 Study of the clearings in the neighborhood of the farming villages gives exact information about the structure of the kin groups which cannot be obtained by direct interrogation.

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[77]

--Transmission of rights over land within the lineage fraction having the same residence constitutes an imprescriptible legal principle, to which one refers as the conclusive argument to settle every dispute;

/195 cont./

794 The laws of Odun. The cult of Odun (Odũ) is the keystone of the social and religious structure of the Refugee Blacks. It is a very secret cult; its rites are not practiced in the presence of outsiders and all curiosity about it meets with frank hostility. The Boni, who talk rather freely about the cults of possession, are mute on the subject of Odun, and one may spend years among them without even hearing this name uttered.

794 184 The worship of Odun is common to the Boni and the Saramaka (perhaps this is what explains the trustful relations which exist between the two groupings). Among the Djuka it is replaced by the worship of Gwangwéla (Grantata), which has exactly the same functions and rites.

796 Odun is not to be confused with the creator God Nana (Masa Gadu). The myths explaining the relationship of these two entities were not known by our informants, but it is clear that Odun was sent to men by Masa Gadu as legislator and judge.

• 671 Odun's laws have a profound originality, as much by their content as by the sanctions which accompany them. It is not excessive to speak of a religious and moral doctrine of the Refugee Blacks.

These laws appear in negative form. A certain number of acts and behavior are forbidden to those who have entered the society of the Refugee Blacks by taking an oath which binds them for good and all. Offenders will be punished without the direct intervention of men, by the all-powerful action of Odun, who will kill them or /196/ strike them down with sicknesses. As a general rule, Odun's punishment is death; this is what explains the fear his name inspires.

673 Odun forbids:

--Sorcery, wisi, in the most general sense, that is, any magic action having as its purpose the killing, making ill, and in a general way doing harm to another person.

/197 cont./

788 The rites of the worship of Odun are known only by the [843] grand man and by an old man who replaces him when he travels. [854] They are practiced only on the occasion of the collective oath against wisi, renewed every two or three years, and when it is [783] necessary to implore Odun's mercy toward an offender. The officiant bathes the latter's body with a maceration of leaves that be alone knows.

783 To question Odun and know whether he pardons, they 788 make use of a sacred object named afalaku, placed on a board [788] put on the heads of two men. The answers yes and no are deduced by interpretation of the movements of the bearers, as in the interrogation of the dead.

695 The oath before Odun is also practiced as a legal test, permitting a man unjustly accused of theft or any misdeed whatever to justify himself.

Thus, in November, 1959, B... of Asisi, accused by two Djuka of being responsible for the burning of a large cabin /carbet/ in which objects of value were stored, asked to justify himself before Odun.

• 671 Odun's laws, which have the effect of forbidding violence, 771 vengeance, and every form of oppression, give to the society 571 of the Refugee Blacks a unique atmosphere of dignity and serenity which is not found to the same degree in animistic African societies. Most African societies censure sorcery and murder, but they accept vengeance and various forms of oppression. It is probable that the men who, two or three centuries ago, deep in the forests of Surinam, developed these laws, were inspired more or less consciously by Christian ideas; but they introduced them into an African system of thought, associating them with the idea of material sanctions in the present life, without which they would have been powerless.

/290 cont./

695 461 157 The Refugee Blacks have a sense of contract to a high degree, and they bring /291/ to the execution of work to which they have committed themselves qualities of seriousness, initiative, and a sense of duty not found to the same degree in Black Africa.

157 671 571 Refusal of any lasting commitment. If the Refugee Blacks honor their contracts, they do not like to commit themselves for a long period.

This attitude results from their desire for independence, but also from the moral and religious law which governs their society.

This law forbids infringing on the liberty of persons, humiliating anyone, and doing anything which might be able to plunge him into anger or affliction. Its effect is to prevent any exploitation of the weak, any creation of a servant or proletarian caste. It even leads to the absence of any permanent subordination of one man to another.

[466] The desire for independence of the Refugee Blacks makes them unwilling to bind themselves definitively to a job, however profitable. When a man judges that he has put aside sufficient savings, he leaves the job which furnished him with these resources.

[464] This tendency makes the search for paid work much more difficult and hazardous; it happens that a man may stay for years without finding gainful work, living in straitened circumstances. But that is the price of independence, and it is accepted without hesitation.

682 /8 cont./

[672] culprit is condemned to find the requital in his offspring. His
[567] children, children's children, and great-grandchildren must render slave services for the family of the person poisoned.

692 Moreover, they usually act in accordance with the judgment and the decision of their elders or council members. Most punish-
681 ments consist of whip lashes.

Chapter IV

Weapons

411 These consist of rifles, machetes, bow and arrow, and lances.
278 In some cases they also use a kind of cudgel (1). The most dangerous
682

1. An Indian weapon called apootoe.

one that they possess, however, is an assortment of vegetable poisons with which they can secretly strike their enemies and whose effects manifest themselves slowly, but are usually lethal. They not only mix these with one food or another, or in snuff or tobacco, but in the case of some can merely bring them in contact with a part of the body and thereby produce to the most infectious results.

/9/

Chapter V

Dwellings, Practices, Customs, Housekeeping

342 Their huts are constructed low above the ground from un-
824 worked round wood, covered with pina, the leaves of a palm species (1), and surrounded by palisade pales.

1. Euterpe oleracea Mart.

352 The couches and sleeping places within are also made of paling.

354 Inside the hut is found the hearth or place for the fire, on
372 which they cook and in which they constantly maintain a fire for

/14 cont./

584 and, once this has been promised, she does indeed continue to be regarded specifically as the betrothed of the person who made the request. As soon as she is marriageable, she is handed over to her man with or without her consent, and it may be regarded as a rare case when such a promise is broken.

[431] The man to whom she is promised sometimes does not see his future wife before the occasion of her betrothal, but usually he is concerned with her upbringing and from time to time gives her presents consisting of money, pantjes, and corals.

[591] Some take the girl promised to them even when she is only three or four years old in order to rear her further.

[672] The promising of newborn girls takes place for the most part [682] when there are obligations between parents, as was reported in Chapter III, and in the case of enslavement which is done to one [567] family by another in case of poisoning, and so forth.

586 It is an everyday occurrence that a woman leaves her husband or a man his wife for another.

595 Polygyny is much practiced, and among my workers I know several who have three or four wives, most of whom are very young. Some, however, have only one wife.

It is noteworthy that all the wives sleep with the man in one hut, while in addition he perhaps keeps with him a girl whom he [513] is bringing up to be his wife. One wife will be /15/ with him in the hammock and lies with her feet at the head end of the man and the latter in turn with his feet at the head end of the women, while the other women sleep in their hammocks.

[484] If a Bush Negro goes out, be it to celebrate a festival or in order to float wood to the town, he takes all his wives with him; only in case of illness do they remain behind.

His wives get money separately, and therefore they must also separately provide for his food, so that one cooks the food in the morning, another at midday, a third in the evening, etc. [578] This way of life and their jealous nature frequently bring about household quarrels that rarely end in any way other than bloody fights.

585 Upon the conclusion of a marriage the man is obligated to 583 give the parents of the girl as a marriage portion a long, broad,

/19 cont./

696 he must sit unbound on a large fire arranged in gridiron fashion,
682 so that he burns completely to ashes.

[695] Never, however, is an accused put to death before three months have elapsed after the inquiry, because there still might possibly be a chance that his innocence will be proved.

682 In the case of a confession and the supplying of clear proof
[695] that the deceased gave cause to be poisoned, the culprit frequently escapes with a light punishment; sometimes also forgiveness is
[672] granted with general approval, with the condition that the culprit take upon himself to the third generation the obligation to be of service in everything to the descendants of the maltreated person.
681 It may also happen that in the case of various other misdeeds the
672 perpetrator is completely forgiven for his misdeed, but that upon his descendants to the third generation there is imposed the obligation to render slave services exactly as in the case of poisoning.

681 The majority of these slave services ordinarily consist of giving money, strong drink, or the necessities of life, as a result of which hard work must often be done in order to be able to fulfill them. Every day they are afraid that this or that may be exacted from them. There are indications, however, that not too great a misuse is made of this.

765 Twelve months after the burial there always takes place a great gathering in the hut of the deceased, at which time the period of mourning ends with rejoicing. Exuberant festivities are then celebrated, and that night an unusually great amount is drunk, eaten, and honor salutes fired. Everyone in the vicinity, insofar as he is able, is present on this occasion.

This festival is called tesa, the ending of the mourning period, and begins after one of the nearest relatives, who enjoys the greatest respect, takes a large calabash filled with water in his right hand and with it slowly walks forth out of the hut along the other dwellings nearby and is followed by a large number of people, during which he here and there sprinkles the water,
[775] trowéwatra, in drops on the ground, saying: Like this water, the soul of the deceased will also be pure, and all that was dear to him will remain tranquilly on earth without being disturbed by him who as spirit finds himself in the spirit world.

606 /152 cont./
Relations between husband and mother-in-law. As is commonly observed in Africa, the husband has the duty to respect his mother-in-law, to have a reserved attitude toward her. /153/ A curious custom exists on this subject among the Refugee Blacks: If he inadvertently arrives at the village wharf at the moment when she is bathing, he must pay her compensation in the form of a camisa. This is a reciprocal obligation.

[513] He may sleep under the same roof as she when the village is crowded, but not habitually.

606 609 On the other hand, the custom of the Refugee Blacks differs sharply from African customs on one important point: it does not call for any material obligation toward the mother-in-law or the wife's brothers. The husband is not at all required to give them presents or to contribute toward their maintenance. In fact, the wife gives her mother part of what her husband gives her.

684 Adultery. The custom of the Refugee Blacks concerning adultery is extremely curious. The outraged husband has the right to inflict a public punishment on the lover, which he must stand without defending himself. In the absence of the husband his brother is qualified to strike in his place. This punishment must take place in a village in the presence of witnesses capable of intervening if the punishment goes beyond accepted limits.

Only bare fists may be used.

A man can always escape too brutal a punishment by taking refuge in the water. His adversary may not follow him into it under pain of a severe punishment by the grand man. He can also take refuge in the bush.

[692] The husband's honor being thus publicly restored, the row is over; in such cases some men are seen to beat the wife in addition, but this is not the general case; the true custom does not call for the wife to be beaten because she is considered irresponsible. She can either be repudiated or threatened

/226 cont./

784 182 Finally, a fifth kumu is threatening to show itself. This is a remarkable affair which clarifies at the same time the legal and religious conceptions of the Refugee Blacks.

• 672 About 1918, a stupid accident which happened at Dagoudé (gun which went off by itself at the moment when it was being stowed in a boat) caused the death of a girl, Sannonia, daughter of Kuluba (Aw.B.1). The unwitting perpetrator of the accident was Kwau (Dip. I. Apatu village). (672) There were people in the Awara Bakka lineage who accused him of having done it on purpose, but the grand man judged that he was innocent and the affair was shelved.

784 614 795 739 Now in April, 1957, Kiboya (Dip. II), a young woman of 25, was attacked by a fit of possession. It was Sannonia's yeka which was supposed to reveal itself in her. It declared that it was going to exercise a kumu on Dipéto. It was not claiming that Kwau had killed her on purpose and even asked the Awara Bakka not to make reprisals.

628 614 Nevertheless, full of fury, a party of Awara Bakka went the next day to attack the village of L'Enfant Perdu, demolishing a certain number of huts and pursuing the inhabitants, some of whom took refuge in the water and others in the bush. There were, however, no serious blows.

The next day they went to attack Kormotibo in the same way. It is to be noted that only after that did they think of blaming Kwau, who was then living at Wacapou. But the grand man had intervened in the meantime to re-establish peace.

In both cases the façades of several shacks were smashed and two men, Bonana and Amatodja, who had run less fast than the others, were struck symbolically.

/229 cont./

784 613 [428] The kuma and Boni family life. It follows from the detailed examination we have just made of the situation of the various lineages that the transmission of the kuma within the uterine kin group is a rigorous law which suffers no exception whatever. [571] [602] The process of assimilation which permits in a certain measure, on the social plane, the integration of fragments of paternal kin (due A-ara Saaka 3) into a group does not come into play here. [611] [829] Unity with respect to the kuma can therefore be regarded as a rigorous criterion of a common matrilineal origin. The Boni feel it as an obvious fact and in such a case it is the proof that comes to their minds: "We are of the same origin since we have the same kuma."

784 613 571 182 Thus the kuma appears as the principal cement of the unity of the group. It opposes the dissociation of the lineages: this curse which weighs collectively upon a group and which can be exorcised only collectively is an iron bond which nothing can break. It obliges the Refugee Blacks to surmount their individualistic tendencies, their egoism which, if they acted freely, would soon have scattered them into a dust of [688] separate persons. In the face of adversity each one accepts with good grace obedience to the elders, who alone know how to talk to the gods and appease them. Nobody ever is indignant [672] or even surprised to be struck down for the offense of another; there is not a movement of revolt or hostility against the one who by his inattention or inconsiderateness has brought on misfortune. On this plane the members of a lineage feel like cells of a single body.

784 613 672 The collective legal responsibility of the members of a group in the domain of customary law flows from the kuma. We have observed that several times, notably at the time of the obsequies for Kotolida (Afi lineage) in October, 1956. The president of the ifinti kuutu condemned the members of

/229 cont./

784 613 672 the Afi lineage to be thrashed symbolically for not having paid sufficient attention to the warnings of the yaka which had already made Kondda sick several times: by their negligence they bore part of the responsibility for Kondda's death. Although the Afi and the Awara Bakka live together and regard themselves as members of one community, there was no question whatever of thrashing the Awara Bakka, and that because, not being subject to the same kunu, they bore no responsibility for this death. /230/

Likewise it is taken for granted that the descendants of Anéta (Aw.B.3) do not share the legal responsibility of the Awara Bakka prayer (fractions 1 and 2). The fact that Anéta was the wife of Pééyoo, captain of the Aw.B., and that her descendants are completely integrated into the life of the village, does not modify this legal situation at all. At the time of the uawi between the Dipélu and the Awara Bakka in 1948, the Aw.B.3 were not taken to task, any more than the members of the Afi lineage.

991 The relations of the Boni with the entities which are believed to pursue them are most interesting. They seek only to appease the divinity, to calm it provisionally, and to live with it in a state of armed peace, if one may say so.

784 787 When divination has shown that a certain calamity was due to the kunu (sometimes the divinity in question reveals it immediately, through the mouth of its bearer, before being interrogated), it is asked why it struck: it always indicates a precise reason: usually it appears to be inspired by arbitrariness [776] and a pitiless despotism. The Refugee Blacks are not surprised at this, for thus it is that they imagine the lower gods.

784 787 776 In 1948, A...., of the Djù lineage, fell ill; he felt violent pains in his legs. Divination showed that it was the doing of the Kintamasu, which was exercising its kunu upon

/72 cont./

643 The grand man acts as land head for the whole of the tribe.
798 It is he who has the care of the sanctuary of mama gaã and who
241 prays each year in the presence of a large gathering of people for the fertility of the soil.

643 The grand man is the priest of Odun, divinity whom the Boni
743 regard as avenger of offenses against moral and religious law; by
796 virtue of this, he alone is qualified to administer the oath against
980 wéi (sorcery) and to implore the mercy of Odun toward those who have gone against his laws by fighting with arms.

643 In his religious functions this usually weak and unobtrusive
152 man acts with sovereign authority and assurance, and we have several times seen people tremble before him.

643 If someone has seriously transgressed the customary laws, or
681 if he has stolen, committed adultery, given blows, poured forth serious insults or curses, the grand man inflicts on him punishment
[73] proportional to the gravity of the offense, such as making planks, /73/ a boat, pounding rice (if it is a woman). The product of the punishment is acquired by the grand man, as are the fines in money which he imposes in less serious cases.

643 For example in October, 1952, two adolescents of Boniville,
685 Awétipay and Adyuka, were surprised while they were trying to break into an inhabited house; the grand man sentenced them forthwith to three days of forced labor, in the course of which he made them clean the approaches to the village and collect for his benefit wood for heating.

643 He can also punish disobedient or disrespectful young men
689 by making them do work reserved for women, such as weeding
462 the approaches to the village and the removal of dog droppings.

643 The grand man can confine a man to Boni villages by for-
681 bidding him to go beyond l'Enfant Perdu to the north and Kormotibo to the south; that is called sitafu sama (sitafu = captive). The man concerned, deprived of means of earning his living, thus becomes dependent on his family until he makes honorable amends.

/195 cont./

794 The laws of Odun. The cult of Odun (Odû) is the keystone of the social and religious structure of the Refugee Blacks. It is a very secret cult; its rites are not practiced in the presence of outsiders and all curiosity about it meets with frank hostility. The Boni, who talk rather freely about the cults of possession, [183] are mute on the subject of Odun, and one may spend years among them without even hearing this name uttered.

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These laws appear in negative form. A certain number [641] of acts and behavior are forbidden to those who have entered the society of the Refugee Blacks by taking an oath which binds 784 them for good and all. Offenders will be punished without the direct intervention of men, by the all-powerful action of Odun, who will kill them or /196/ strike them down with sicknesses. As a general rule, Odun's punishment is death; this is what explains the fear his name inspires.

673 Odun forbids:

[754] --Sorcery, wisi, in the most general sense, that is, any magic action having as its purpose the killing, making ill, and in a general way doing harm to another person.

/106 cont./

[673] --Vengeance; if someone believes himself to be the
[854] victim of witchcraft, he must under no circumstances engage
[629] in counterwitchcraft or invoke his ancestors against his enemy.
He may ask only for the protection of the Mama. It is Oduu who
[789] will avenge him by sooner or later killing the evil-doer.

--Violence in any form whatever. It is regarded as a
[213] particularly serious offense against the laws of Oduu to strike
with an armed hand and to make human blood flow (1).

[634] 1. That explains the unknown with which the society of the Refugee Blacks limits the right of punishment granted to the wronged husband, who must strike only with bare fists in front of witnesses, never in the bush nor on the river. Fear of seeing
[326] human blood flow explains the
[952] reticence of the Boni toward minor surgical operations.

[641] --Any attack on personal liberty by material or moral
[584] coercion; in particular, neither a man nor woman may be constrained to remain in a marriage which has ceased to please him; nobody may be forced to reside here or there.

[203] The forms of magic so popular among West Indians, aimed at capturing a person's love, are for this reason rejected by the Refugee Blacks and considered as a form of wisi.

[769] --Any evocation of the spirits of the dead, even to ask
[954] their for protection, other than in the public ceremonies provided for by custom. Then nobody must go to the cemetery to pray alone on his parents' grave. Whoever would do that would immediately be considered as wisimã.

/[illegible] cont./

114 784 The various works treating of the Refugee Diaspo point out well the importance of the kunu, but it seems to us that the functioning of this institution (for in fact a social institution is certainly concerned here) has not been clearly understood.

784 613 A kunu is attached to a matrilineage in the literal sense (949). It extends obligatorily to all the members of the matrilineage and can strike only them.

For example, my kunu can strike my sister's son but not my wife nor my children (they are subject to the kunu of their own lineage). /[illegible]/

[782] The kunu, striking the lineage as a whole, can be appeased only by prayers uniting (at least in principle) the whole lineage. That is the respect in which the kunu may be defined [591] as a social institution, for it is, we shall see, the principal cement holding the groups together.

The unleashing of a kunu does not necessarily and immediately follow the destruction of a sanctuary or the death of a dagaw snake. The god thus offended avenges itself by making a certain number of members of the lineage sick and 784 by causing limited misfortunes to happen. When things are 613 at that point the kunu can still be exorcised by prayers and 782 offerings. In 1907 the beginning of a kunu was manifesting itself thus in the Awara Bakba lineage of Asim; very frightened, the members of the lineage made offerings and prayers to exorcise it.

784 But if the lineage people neglect the warnings of the god, 613 if through laziness or selfishness too great a number of them [693] are absent from the collective prayers and do not take part in [961] the offerings, prayers and offerings will be refused and the god will kill one of them. From then on the kunu is unleashed and can no longer leave the lineage. Its involuntary bearer [928] will have to bequeath it upon his death to a member of the lineage, who cannot refuse this legacy and must immediately

/237 cont./

Not just anyone may resort to divination on behalf of someone else: only the elders have the right to do it, and it has happened that the grand man punished offenders severely.

Fate. The Refugee Blacks do not attribute all misfortunes to suprahuman causes. They have the notion of natural accident. They say Bugxoku mini mi, or again oyi mini mi, misfortune met me. They also accept the idea of natural death. They usually regard as natural death that of the very old, the infirm from birth, and sickly children.

Divination blames fate in ten to 20 per cent of accidents. It is the usual explanation for hunting accidents.

/238/

Magic Forces

As we have shown, the Refugee Blacks consider beings and things as a world of forces capable of acting on one another, outside of time and space, according to laws which men cannot understand but of which they believe they have a partial and empirical knowledge transmitted by tradition since the time of the ancestors. They distinguish negative magic forces, wisi, which have the effect of diminishing the vital force of men, which makes them sick or kills them, and positive magic forces, Jbia, which come from the gods: the Jbia comes to increase the vital force of men, giving them protection, immunity, or knowledge. But no power is in essence a principle of good or evil; nothing is impossible for him who knows the formulas; this is why the magic of the Refugee Blacks is reduced to a perpetual and indecisive struggle between Jbia and wisi.

Wisi. Wisi is sorcery in the African sense of the term, that is, the use of magic procedures to harm others; wisi is for the Refugee Blacks the pre-eminently criminal act, at the same time against morals and against society. The struggle against

/250 cont./

789 There exist special *obia* for the building of boats. The
39 opening of the hull in the fire, a delicate operation, sometimes fails. To insure its success everyone possesses a personal recipe inherited from his father or uncle. It does not call by name and directly upon the action of a god; the Boni do not have a clear idea about the origin or the nature of these rites. It is a matter of a maceration of two or three kinds of leaves, generally belonging to the secondary flora which surrounds the villages, and they vary from one man to another. One pours this maceration over the overturned boat before the burning is begun, while saying: "The boat must not split, it must open well."

832 The laws of Odun forbid the use of charms aimed at
[693] forcing the love of a woman one desires, that would infringe on a person's freedom, therefore *wisi*. It is very /251/ possible however that certain people go to get charms of this kind from Creole magicians. But they take for granted, on the other hand, the *obia* believed to permit men who have little success with women to have more in the future.

951 There does not seem to be any hierarchy of *obia* nor is
789 one category of *obia* believed to be stronger by nature than another; in fact, the Refugee Blacks are seen to go readily to ask one divinity for an *obia* in order to protect themselves from another. Here is an example:

464 In 1951 the administration had a systematic cleaning of
[648] the Petit Inini River begun, in order to rid its course of innumerable pieces of fallen wood which were making the use of motors on boats difficult. A team of Boni were employed in
[796] this work under the direction of a Creole foreman. While the
[789] work was being done, a *Papa gado* "came into the head" of an old woman named M... of the Awara Bakka *lo*. It revealed that it was opposed to this work, for it lived in exactly this
464 place and the noise of the motor bothered it. Upon their return
976 to Boni country, the men charged with this work learned the

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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181 one feels any grudge against society. There is small temptation to theft. There are, therefore, no questions of capital and labour, no leisure class, no organized industries, no exploitation either of men or of raw materials, no banks to rob, no checks to forge. Under such conditions economic crimes are practically eliminated. Man lives off the jungle and the streams which intersect it, and there are at his disposal uncounted miles of stream and of jungle. Such crimes as exist among the human inhabitants of these forests arise chiefly in quarrels over women. But where divorce is free and instantaneous, and sexual relationships are taken lightly, even the difficulties between men and women are enormously simplified.

114 And as these Djukas stood curiously staring outside the prison gates of St. Laurent, they seemed to me to stand in judgment. When I watched them get into their canoes and paddle upstream, returning to their green jungle fastnesses, and heard them call to one another from canoe to canoe, and heard their laughter ring out across the sunlit water, I felt that they went back to the forest, well content that their slave ancestors of two hundred years ago had fled from the white man and all his ways, back to the jungle, there to lead the primitive life of their African forbears.

I had gone to French Guiana to study the convict life of the Devil's Island Penal Colony. And when that had been completed, my husband and I made a journey through the interior of Dutch Guiana, travelling by the streams and trails used by fugitives from the French prisons. This is how we

/224 cont./

775 A yɔrka exercising a kunu may also demand that another
784 smaller fraga tiki be erected for it beside the principal fraga
769 tiki of its lo. In the villages of the Refugee Blacks one often
778 sees these little crosses provided with white veils like the main
613 fraga tiki, planted beside it a little obliquely.

The notion of the kunu exercised by a yɔrka explains the
775 rarity of murder among the Refugee Blacks. How would you
784 dare to kill someone when, as soon as it is freed from his body,
674 his yɔrka will have full latitude to make you sick, to make tree branches fall across your path, to cause to suffer and to
775 kill all those dear to you? If someone is blinded by hate, it
784 is the idea of suicide which will dominate him. In October,
762 1952 we were able to observe this reaction in a man who had just been subject to a deep humiliation: "I am going to kill my body in order to go to kill that man and his whole family," he said to us, prey to a fit of rage; fortunately, when the fit had passed, he came back to a more sound outlook on things.

775 It is to be noted that a yɔrka cannot exercise a kunu
784 against its own lineage. This notion explains why, in the times
613 when they exercised absolute authority, tribal chiefs had those
696 condemned to death executed by men of the same lineage.
[171] Apparently similar practices were the rule in olden days in several African kingdoms, which allows one to think that notions analogous to those of the kunu may be rather widespread there.

784 Situation of the various lineages with respect to the kunu. There
613 we touch on one of the most secret aspects of the social life of the Refugee Blacks. Years of living among them are necessary in order to obtain precise information on the nature and the mode of action of the kunu acting on the various lineages.

784 Nearly all the entities which now exercise their kunu on the
613 Boni have been in their lineages since a very ancient period,
428 to the point where the name of their first bearer is forgotten. They are transmitted inexorably from generation to generation. In the course of the ages, the kunu have accumulated, and now certain lineages are living with four, five, or even six kunu.

/252 cont./

789 The one who installs a kãndu utters the formula: mi poti yu ya, ɛfu a sama kɔm fu fufu mi sani, yu mu siki ɛn (I put thee here; if someone comes to steal my belongings, thou must make him sick).

[784] If someone goes beyond [it] and commits a theft, he will be struck sooner or later with various sicknesses.

According to the conceptions of the Refugee Blacks, the kãndu is blind and strikes as well the friend who came to take objects because he received previous authorization to do it. So, many forego placing kãndu, as with us, people hesitate to set wolf-traps for fear of causing accidents.

789 However, the kãndu does not act upon the people who
784 have the same basic interdiction (bwasi kina) as the one who
428 placed it. This conception shows that these interdictions transmitted from father to children really are the mark of true patrilineages.

• 694 In fact, we have ascertained several times, there are
789 burglaries in Boni country in spite of the kãndu and people do
754 not succeed in uncovering the burglars; it is infinitely probable that one must not see in this the stamp of freethinkers who do not believe in sorcery; these are people who have obtained from a wisimã a talisman of black magic stronger than the kãndu! At least this is the explanation their victims give.

789 One can lift a kãndu on behalf of any man, whom one
751 wants, for example, to send to get an object which one has forgotten; for that it is sufficient to give him mula: one blows into one's hands and lays them on the man's head, saying: mi puu a kãndu gi yu, a 'ã mu du a sani ɛŋga yu: I withdraw the kãndu for thee, it must not do anything to thee. /253/

Mula can be given retroactively: If someone perceives that he has inadvertently incurred the chastisement of a kãndu, he has several days to be able to ask for mula from the owner, for the action of the kãndu is slow.

/3 cont./

123 In connection with what I have already said concerning an agreement concluded by me with them, I regard it as not inappropriate to give here a sketch of the manner in which I was requested to enter into this agreement with them, and what happened before they came to an agreement with me in such an extraordinary manner.

After I had already dealt with them for some time in an increasingly open manner and my journeys to visit them had become more frequent, some of the chiefs confidentially notified me that, although they had already come to know me over a considerable period of time and regarded me as a good and honest man, since they had experienced better treatment from me than from many others with whom they had previously had dealings, they could nonetheless not simply assume that I would always remain the same and that possibly I had completely different intentions with regard to them which they might later regret. For this reason many of them had still been reluctant to commit themselves definitely to work for me. In order to do away completely with this mistrust among them, I continued to stay with them in the bush for a considerable time and always demonstrated that I had honest intentions with regard to them, until after a few weeks, as a result of the open-handed giving away of food and drink, I noticed that I was short of everything and was forced to send my vessel to Paramaribo in order to fetch what was needed, whereby I found myself completely alone among them.

123 675 [622] When thus, after the departure of my vessel, I spent a number of hours talking about my plans with the headman of the village, called Sparri Passi (1), in his hut, he strongly advised me

1. Sparri (a large flat fish) way.

to conclude at this time the agreement customary among them. I agreed and immediately requested him to accompany me via a bush path to the nearest village, Manjaondro (2), in order to

2. Under the manja tree.

123
675
[501]

/3 cont./

request the captain residing there, Kwassi jenni, to man all the available korjalen (3) and to send them around to the camps of

3. Small vessels made out of tree trunks.

the Bush Negroes, in order to notify all the Aukaners /Aucaners/ /4/ in that district that I, sojourning entirely by myself among them, wished to see them all together so as to have the opportunity, in the place to be determined by them and in accordance with their manner and customs, to take the oath of agreement to remain at all times faithful to one another.

Three days were spent in deliberations and consultations among various captains, council members, and elders, before I could succeed in obtaining their consent for this.

[527] Finally, however, it was decided to have the agreement ceremony take place on Friday (a day that is holy among them), when the sun reached its midday point.

On this day, around eleven o'clock in the forenoon, one of the oldest and most influential among them took a clean teacup, put in it some dram mixed with herbs, and took a few finely ground plants which he moistened with river water and squeezed over the cup.

I and seven of the most important people then had three small slashes cut into the right hand with a razor. The blood from this, having been taken up with a little flock of cotton, was also squeezed into the cup, and the cotton washed out with river water and wrung out so often that no more signs of blood showed in it. The one and the other having been thoroughly stirred in the cup, the latter was placed on a stool in the open air. At twelve o'clock exactly, a great number of men, women, and children gathered around the stool on which the cup stood, by the side of which they placed me.

Three gunshots were fired. Among all those present a profound silence reigned, whereupon the cup was offered, first to me and then to the other seven persons whose blood was mingled with mine, in order to drink a draught from the contents, whereupon it had to go around to all the men so that, however little, they would

123 /4 cont./
•675 drink something from it or merely smell it; indeed! when it was empty, the remaining men who had not yet drunk from it or smelled it had to lick it.

I was then embraced by the headmen and many of the women; they flung the right arm over my left shoulder and the left arm under my right arm and rested their heads for a moment against my right cheek.

[273] After the conclusion, while much dram was drunk, general exuberant gaiety prevailed, and only then was /5/ I told that they had purposely cut me first and given me a drink first in order to ascertain whether I trusted them completely or whether, so entirely by myself; I would have been afraid to submit to their wishes and to do what they demanded of me; they assured me that if I had refused to be the first, none of them would have wanted to conclude the agreement with me.

If, therefore, I had not conducted myself as they wished, I would have missed out completely on this alliance which was so highly important and profitable for me.

466 On the following day many of them came to tell me that
313 their work places on the river Cottica supplied little of the kinds of wood that had been pointed out by me for processing, but they declared themselves ready to go and process them immediately for me on the Upper Commewijne river, where they were sure of finding richer forests.

Since the last-named river was closed to them at that time by a governmental decree, I made a request for access in the year
[361] 1854, in order to be able to work with them at this river. This was granted to me, and since then a few hundred Bush Negroes have been staying there and have laid out dwellings and croplands, while they continuously, with unexampled industry, process the wood needed by me and deliver it to the sawmill.

/290 cont./

675 461 157 The Refugee Blacks have a sense of contract to a high degree, and they bring /291/ to the execution of work to which they have committed themselves qualities of seriousness, initiative, and a sense of duty not found to the same degree in Black Africa.

157 671 571 Refusal of any lasting commitment. If the Refugee Blacks honor their contracts, they do not like to commit themselves for a long period.

This attitude results from their desire for independence, but also from the moral and religious law which governs their society.

This law forbids infringing on the liberty of persons, humiliating anyone, and doing anything which might be able to plunge him into anger or affliction. Its effect is to prevent any exploitation of the weak, any creation of a servant or proletarian caste. It even leads to the absence of any permanent subordination of one man to another.

[466] The desire for independence of the Refugee Blacks makes them unwilling to bind themselves definitively to a job, however profitable. When a man judges that he has put aside sufficient savings, he leaves the job which furnished him with these resources.

[464] This tendency makes the search for paid work much more difficult and hazardous; it happens that a man may stay for years without finding gainful work, living in straitened circumstances. But that is the price of independence, and it is accepted without hesitation.

/254 cont./

841 Woman's magic power. The Refugee Blacks assume that a woman, during her menstrual periods, is impure and has the power to destroy the power of ɔbia. So during these periods she must withdraw into a special hut, munu ɔsu, and prepare her meals in special dishes; she may not prepare her husband's food, for by doing this she would destroy the power of his ɔbia, and must abstain from touching objects he habitually uses, particularly his gun, which would lose its good points for shooting. Even in the little farming habitations which consist of only several huts, one may be sure that one of them serves as a munu ɔsu.

841 The mɩunu ɔsu are very simple sheds built by the women
343 themselves, using reclaimed materials taken from huts being
462 demolished; some belong to one woman only; for others, three
[465] or four women get together. They have recourse to men only for assembling the framework, remunerating them with several cans of couac or several baskets of yams.

841 /255/ A man who has a powerful ɔbia like the man nɛ̃ŋge ɔbia must abstain from speaking to a woman who has her menses.

[751] The Boni assume there are women wicked enough to willfully hide their menses in order to destroy the power of a man's ɔbia, but he who has a good man nɛ̃ŋge ɔbia cannot be a dupe: the iron circle warns him of the danger by squeezing his arm.

184 According to Mr. W. F. van Lier, the act of willfully
841 hiding her menses is for the Djuka one of the gravest offenses
68 a woman can commit, and the most severe punishments are inflicted on her. It is not the same with the Boni: in such a case a woman risks only being insulted and banned.

752 Another deeply rooted belief among the Refugee Blacks,
834 and which exists with many Creoles, is the necessity for the
171

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934-
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Saramacca

REBEL DESTINY

6

776 U15 Fa'aku was chief of his clan. He was a handsome man, with a quick, clever eye, and a reputation for great honesty everywhere on the river. To him we appealed for more light on kunu. We had met him in his village on our way upstream and we had seen him in the tribal council house when we had sat at the great krutu held there by Granman Yankuso. When we stopped again at Fa'aku's village on our way down the river—this village that was so close to Dahomey, the seat of magic—it was evident that the gods favored us. We had come safely through the great rapids. We had stayed at Asindopo Lantiwe in good health, and the spirits had even spoken for us through some of the women whom they had possessed. Fa'aku spoke with greater freedom than we had yet met with.

"There are different kinds of kunu, and some are big and are very bad; but some are small and do not make much trouble," he began.

835 776 588 681 The greatest kunu came from making a child with a member of one's own family, with one's true, true sister or, what would be almost as bad, with a child of one's mother's sister. Murder was a great kunu, too, and perhaps next to that was the kunu that came to the Bush Negro if he informed to the white man against one of his own kind. Then there were the kunu that one got for false accusation, and for repeated stealing, and even for lying, if it were done too much. For lying is not good, lying makes too much trouble among people. And there were many more kinds of kunu, some of which he mentioned. Killing a snake or a tiger and not burying it with honor brought on a kunu, and cutting down a silk-cotton tree was kunu.

776 When a big kunu came into a family, it wiped it out. One by one the members of the family died. Men died, women died, and children were never born, or they died when they were small. "This goes on until the family is finished," Fa'aku said. A lesser kunu could kill as well, but its vengeance would be directed only against the women who carried on the line of succession to office and property, or

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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Saramacca

we found that for the krutu to act as a jury was an important part of its work. The krutu not only saw to the making of law, but it was also the medium for levying penalties upon those who transgressed law. The same krutu that legislated could judge infractions of its legislation. In its hands was the power to enforce the decisions it had made against the offender. 623 693

We had wondered whether, in this Suriname bush, the African court which so characterized the civilization of the ancestors of these people had survived. When we heard of the supernatural vengeance which followed upon infractions of custom, we sought to find out if people took the matter of punishment into their own hands, if kunu was reinforced by human assistance. 623 693 681

"Ai, mati," a chief once said to us, "kunu is strong, but the krutu is strong, too."

If a man had sworn an oath against another, had called down upon another a curse of some evil spirit, or asked that the gods make a man impotent, or that they stop the womb of his wife from conceiving, or if a man murdered by means other than witchcraft, then he was judged by a krutu. A man who had destroyed a canoe belonging to another—a serious offense, for, as the Bush Negro says, "Had our forefathers not had the wisdom to build canoes, we would still be slaves to the Bak'a"—he, too, would come before this court. The adulterer would be brought here for the assessment of his fine. [683] [685] [684]

When the krutu sat as a court, the accused was not without the right of defense. If it were thieving, or adultery, or the telling of falsehoods, or trespass, or the destruction of the property of another, where the kunu involved was not of the greatest, then the case was judged on the basis of the evidence. In the court, the interests of the one who was accused were cared for by one of the elders of his *mbe*, his relative and a fellow member of his own great family. But when the crime was one of the greater ones, then methods other than the sole use of testimony were employed. Evidence was necessary, but evidence was not 623 695

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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gaining possession of other fugitives. It is said that, until recently, actual war prevailed among the tribes because some Saramaccaners invaded the Boni and Aucaner districts, poaching on their lumbering, hunting, fishing, and balata rights. The punishment today for any Bush Negro found poaching in another district is a healthy beating with canoe paddles and fists, after which he is warned not to repeat the offence.

With the Indians of Surinam the Bush Negroes have little commerce or intercourse. These aborigines belong principally to three American tribes, the Carib, Acaway, and Arawak. They and the Djukas mutually look down on each other, but in our opinion the latter are intellectually the superior. Indian and Djuka villages are separate; very little trading occurs between them. On the Marowyne, Tapanahoni, and Lawa Rivers, however, the Negroes occupy a strategic position on the middle rivers, so that Indians from their remote villages along the upper river must pass by Bush Negro towns on their way downstream to trade at the white settlement of Albina, near the mouth of the Marowyne. The Djukas tell the Indians that the white men in Albina practise cannibalism. Rather than run the risk of trading with cannibals, the Indians barter their stuff in the Bush Negro towns. By this crafty arrangement, the Negroes obtain bead and feather work in exchange for tobacco and for machetes.

The Indians on the other rivers do not share this superstition concerning the white man's cannibalism. None of the Indian tribes mingle with the Djukas other than for the pur-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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and pageantry. Now it is only a name. But the name has been 778
carried overseas to the South American bush, and persists
there long after its origin has been forgotten.

As has already been noted, the villages are universally 364
clean and sanitary. There is no filth or debris scattered about.
The garbage is disposed of by being thrown into the river
at a point below the village. A small amount of it is fed to
the chickens, which we found in practically every Bush
Negro village. Feces are disposed of in small outhouses made
of leaves placed on bypaths some four hundred yards from
the village clearing. When these become seriously polluted,
they are removed to another location. Some villages have no
outhouses.

Bathing is indulged in frequently by all of the Bush Ne- 515
groes. There are few who do not bathe in the river two or
three times a day. No bodily odour could be detected on
them, except one of perspiration, when the men poled their
canoes for long distances and did not have time to bathe at
their accustomed hours.

Sometimes as a punishment a woman may be condemned 681
to act as scavenger for the village for as long as two years;
it is then her duty to be continually cleaning up the village.

● 68/ It is incumbent upon the captain who convicted her to supply her with food throughout the entire period of her punishment. Sometimes an entire family is condemned to clean the village of the Granman for a longer or shorter time, according to the crime committed. If they refuse to accept their punishment, the culprits have the alternative of being placed in the white man's jail, but such cases are few.

682 /8 cont./

[672] culprit is condemned to find the requital in his offspring. His
[567] children, children's children, and great-grandchildren must render slave services for the family of the person poisoned.

692 Moreover, they usually act in accordance with the judgment and the decision of their elders or council members. Most punish-
681 ments consist of whip lashes.

Chapter IV

Weapons

411 These consist of rifles, machetes, bow and arrow, and lances.
278 In some cases they also use a kind of cudgel (1). The most dangerous
682

1. An Indian weapon called apoetoe.

one that they possess, however, is an assortment of vegetable poisons with which they can secretly strike their enemies and whose effects manifest themselves slowly, but are usually lethal. They not only mix these with one food or another, or in snuff or tobacco, but in the case of some can merely bring them in contact with a part of the body and thereby produce to the most infectious results.

/9/

Chapter V

Dwellings, Practices, Customs, Housekeeping

342 Their huts are constructed low above the ground from un-
824 worked round wood, covered with pina, the leaves of a palm species (1), and surrounded by palisade pales.

1. Euterpe oleracea Mart.

352 The couches and sleeping places within are also made of paling.

354 Inside the hut is found the hearth or place for the fire, on
372 which they cook and in which they constantly maintain a fire for

/18 cont./

966 times, no noticeable movement has been observed, the answer is
787 negative, and one proceeds with the corpse all the way to the end of the crowd ranged on either side. Everyone endeavors to be present on such occasions in order not to cast any blame upon himself or to arouse suspicion.

If, however, the answer is in the affirmative, then one asks whether the right person or a close relative of his is here; if the answer to this is also affirmative, one proceeds to inquire about the degree of blood relationship until one has finally discovered who the actual person is. Since this happens in the presence of so many persons as witnesses, it is regarded as valid proof, and the corpse is buried. However incomprehensible and impossible this may appear, this procedure is nonetheless actually practiced con-
[123] stantly among the Bush Negroes. I have been an eyewitness several times.

695 A few days later the person indicated, in case he was not
[693] present at the above-mentioned inquiry, is tracked down, if necessary fetched forcibly, and brought before the governor or the chief, who questions him in the presence of the captains or the council members. In case of denial, he is offered something to drink, which, however, he will not accept if he is guilty, since it has become apparent that whoever drinks it with a pounding or uneasy heart frequently manifests immediate symptoms, such as
[681] vomiting, swelling, chlorosis, and so forth. If the person has been prepared to brave this (in spite of the conviction of his misdeed), he is put to death by means of the most horrible and unheard-of tortures, whereas in the case of confession he is forced with the whip to reveal whom else he has poisoned during his life.

696 All the relatives of the poisoned person are then called in
682 order to be present at the punishment and to pull on his ears with all possible force by means of a pair of pincers, one after
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696 he must sit unbound on a large fire arranged in gridiron fashion,
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[775] trowéwatra, in drops on the ground, saying: Like this water, the soul of the deceased will also be pure, and all that was dear to him will remain tranquilly on earth without being disturbed by him who as spirit finds himself in the spirit world.

/o8 cont./

613 624 [562] The basia are the mouthpieces of the captain, and not at all deputies having specific authority over a definite fraction of the village. There are three or four per village; in addition there are one or two women basia through whom the village head commands the work reserved for the women.

613 554 241 242 The head of the lineage possesses no religious power over the land. The Refugee Blacks assume that the fertility of the soil depends exclusively on local divinities, to whom each one prays on his own behalf.

613 554 641 The captain, no more than the council, does not have the right to expel a member from the lineage, even for marked unworthiness. This is one of the most remarkable aspects of the legal conceptions of the Refugee Blacks, tied to the idea that a lineage represents only one single life. There again the thought of the Refugee Blacks can be regarded as the extreme opposite of the thought of the Bamiléké, with whom the head alone retains possession of the rights over the land, expulsion constituting the supreme social sanction.

881 Initiation; age classes; men's society. These African institutions seem totally unknown to the Refugee Blacks. No form of initiation of adolescents exists, and no ceremony marks collectively their entrance into social life. Circumcision and excision are not [304] practiced. For the children, boys and girls, there are two stages: [852] that of the first garment, which is given upon the appearance of [561] the pubic hair, at about 12-13 years, without ceremony, and the end of education which coincides with marriage.

561 The society of the Refugee Blacks rests however in large part on age hierarchy; strictly speaking there are no age classes involving a fixed organization, but they exist tacitly:

/72 cont./

643 778 241 The grand man acts as land head for the whole of the tribe. It is he who has the care of the sanctuary of mama gɔ̃ and who prays each year in the presence of a large gathering of people for the fertility of the soil.

643 793 776 782 The grand man is the priest of Odun, divinity whom the Boni regard as avenger of offenses against moral and religious law; by virtue of this, he alone is qualified to administer the oath against wisi (sorcery) and to implore the mercy of Odun toward those who have gone against his laws by fighting with arms.

643 156 In his religious functions this usually weak and unobtrusive man acts with sovereign authority and assurance, and we have several times seen people tremble before him.

643 681 [673] If someone has seriously transgressed the customary laws, or if he has stolen, committed adultery, given blows, poured forth serious insults or curses, the grand man inflicts on him punishment proportional to the gravity of the offense, such as making planks, /73/ a boat, pounding rice (if it is a woman). The product of the punishment is acquired by the grand man, as are the fines in money which he imposes in less serious cases.

643 685 For example in October, 1952, two adolescents of Boniville, Awétipay and Adyuka, were surprised while they were trying to break into an inhabited house; the grand man sentenced them forthwith to three days of forced labor, in the course of which he made them clean the approaches to the village and collect for his benefit wood for heating.

643 689 462 He can also punish disobedient or disrespectful young men by making them do work reserved for women, such as weeding the approaches to the village and the removal of dog droppings.

643 681 The grand man can confine a man to Boni villages by forbidding him to go beyond l'Enfant Perdu to the north and Kormotibo to the south; that is called sitafu sama (sitafu = captive). The man concerned, deprived of means of earning his living, thus becomes dependent on his family until he makes honorable amends.

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their remote villages, the Bush Negroes do as they please.

The punitive powers of the white government are seldom exercised. Occasionally in Djuka land, as elsewhere, a murder occurs over some woman. Once or twice the Dutch have made an effort to arrest the criminal. But on the whole police jurisdiction is impossible, as any person familiar with the impenetrable bush and impassable rivers will easily realize. What occurs in any but the nearby villages is largely unknown.

Once the white authorities were cognizant of a murder that took place in Biodoti, one of Jankoeso's villages, and demanded the murderer for trial. With more sympathy for their own people who are criminals than for the white people who are judges, the Djukas flatly refused to give the man up. The Dutch colonial troops threw a cordon across the river just below Biodoti, refusing thoroughfare to any Bush Negro corials; this blockade would be enforced, they said, until the murderer was handed over. During the night Djuka corials leaked past the cordon; it was difficult to stop them. The Governor sent word to Jankoeso to come down to Paramaribo for an extraordinary parley. His refusal was [202] brought by his personal messengers, his *lamba,* who are specially trained from childhood to carry long messages in their heads, keeping every word intact. The Governor informed these lamba that unless Jankoeso came willingly a detachment of troops would be sent to get him down by force.

Indignantly the Granman came, referring to himself as

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a prisoner, and refusing to take the special train awaiting him at Kabel. Special trains, he said, were not for prisoners. He was paddled the additional ninety miles in his own corial, which took six days longer. Very vexed at this, the Governor did not shake hands with him, and Jankoeso was offended. "Why doesn't he tell me 'Howdy'?" he asked Mynheer Wolff, who is always instrumental in furthering friendly relations between Dutch and Djukas. Wolff called the Governor outside, and advised him to treat the Granman with more cordiality. The necessary handshaking was done, and the parley continued more affably. The guilty one was apprehended and jailed for a year. Once again there went upstream the annual present of the Dutch government to each Granman. This is a continuation of the custom of tribute money paid to the Bush Negroes ever since the days of the black rebellions. Every year each Granman receives 1500 guilders.

The Granman is the actual chief of the river nation, but the government centres in the village proper. The village is governed by a headman or *captain,* and aiding him in his work is a council or *bosseia,* consisting of three or four or more of the most mature men and women of the town. "Bosseia," like the American colloquial *boss,* comes from the Dutch word *baas.* Here the rough justice of the jungle is administered, and local disputes are settled. Here decisions are made concerning the ownership of timber, and property rights in cassava fields. Quarrels over women are more frequent than any other kind of disputes, and they, too, are settled by the village captain and his bosseia.

/7 cont./

101 4th. Bonnie /Boni/ Negroes, living on the river above Marowyne;
[175] until 1862 they were in a state of slavery among the
[567] Aucaners, but at that time, through the intervention of the government, they were released from it. Their name is supposed to be derived from a former runaway slave who had placed himself at their head.

Chapter III

Government, Laws, Administration of Justice

643 Each of these tribes, except for the Bonnie Negroes, has
[292] a chief whom they call granman (governor); the uniform given to him by the government is a blue tunic with epaulets and a cocked hat with white plush.

Among the Aucaners the chief is called Byman, a cunning, courageous, and prudent man, around 63 years old.

The chief of the Saramaccaners is called Abram, an infirm old man who is very weak of character and has little influence.

The Mantoewari Negroes have a chief called Kalkoen, who, although aged and infirm, can nonetheless still be called firm of character.

631 /8/ Under their chief they have a certain number of captains and council members. The former are divided into bush captains, who take command in case of war, and into house or land cap-
[554] tains, who deal with internal matters with the chief. The token of their prestige given to them by the government consists of a large staff with a round silver ball (drum-major's stick), on which is the Netherlands coat of arms with "Je maintiendrai."

344 They have a large open shed which serves them as court and which they call kroetoehoso (probably derived from the English "courthouse").

682 Their legislation is very limited. One who kills another is punished with death; one who poisons someone suffers death by torture, provided that substantial irrefutable proof exists. (See Chapter XI below.) If the death penalty is not appropriate, the

682 /8 cont./
[672] culprit is condemned to find the requital in his offspring. His
[567] children, children's children, and great-grandchildren must render slave services for the family of the person poisoned.

692 Moreover, they usually act in accordance with the judgment and the decision of their elders or council members. Most punish-
681 ments consist of whip lashes.

Chapter IV

Weapons

411 These consist of rifles, machetes, bow and arrow, and lances.
278 In some cases they also use a kind of cudgel (1). The most dangerous
682

1. An Indian weapon called apoetoe.

one that they possess, however, is an assortment of vegetable poisons with which they can secretly strike their enemies and whose effects manifest themselves slowly, but are usually lethal. They not only mix these with one food or another, or in snuff or tobacco, but in the case of some can merely bring them in contact with a part of the body and thereby produce to the most infectious results.

/9/

Chapter V

Dwellings, Practices, Customs, Housekeeping

342 Their huts are constructed low above the ground from un-
824 worked round wood, covered with pina, the leaves of a palm species (1), and surrounded by palisade pales.

1. Euterpe oleracea Mart.

352 The couches and sleeping places within are also made of paling.

354 Inside the hut is found the hearth or place for the fire, on
372 which they cook and in which they constantly maintain a fire for

/14 cont./

584 and, once this has been promised, she does indeed continue to be regarded specifically as the betrothed of the person who made the request. As soon as she is marriageable, she is handed over to her man with or without her consent, and it may be regarded as a rare case when such a promise is broken.

[431] The man to whom she is promised sometimes does not see his future wife before the occasion of her betrothal, but usually he is concerned with her upbringing and from time to time gives her presents consisting of money, pantjes, and corals.

[591] Some take the girl promised to them even when she is only three or four years old in order to rear her further.

[672] The promising of newborn girls takes place for the most part [682] when there are obligations between parents, as was reported in Chapter III, and in the case of enslavement which is done to one [567] family by another in case of poisoning, and so forth.

586 It is an everyday occurrence that a woman leaves her husband or a man his wife for another.

595 Polygyny is much practiced, and among my workers I know several who have three or four wives, most of whom are very young. Some, however, have only one wife.

It is noteworthy that all the wives sleep with the man in one hut, while in addition he perhaps keeps with him a girl whom he [513] is bringing up to be his wife. One wife will be /15/ with him in the hammock and lies with her feet at the head end of the man and the latter in turn with his feet at the head end of the women, while the other women sleep in their hammocks.

[484] If a Bush Negro goes out, be it to celebrate a festival or in order to float wood to the town, he takes all his wives with him; only in case of illness do they remain behind.

His wives get money separately, and therefore they must also separately provide for his food, so that one cooks the food in the morning, another at midday, a third in the evening, etc. [578] This way of life and their jealous nature frequently bring about household quarrels that rarely end in any way other than bloody fights.

585 Upon the conclusion of a marriage the man is obligated to 583 give the parents of the girl as a marriage portion a long, broad,

/18 cont./

766 times, no noticeable movement has been observed, the answer is
787 negative, and one proceeds with the corpse all the way to the end of the crowd ranged on either side. Everyone endeavors to be present on such occasions in order not to cast any blame upon himself or to arouse suspicion.

If, however, the answer is in the affirmative, then one asks whether the right person or a close relative of his is here; if the answer to this is also affirmative, one proceeds to inquire about the degree of blood relationship until one has finally discovered who the actual person is. Since this happens in the presence of so many persons as witnesses, it is regarded as valid proof, and the corpse is buried. However incomprehensible and impossible this may appear, this procedure is nonetheless actually practiced con-
[123] stantly among the Bush Negroes. I have been an eyewitness several times.

695 A few days later the person indicated, in case he was not
[693] present at the above-mentioned inquiry, is tracked down, if necessary fetched forcibly, and brought before the governor or the chief, who questions him in the presence of the captains or the council members. In case of denial, he is offered something to drink, which, however, he will not accept if he is guilty, since it has become apparent that whoever drinks it with a pounding or uneasy heart frequently manifests immediate symptoms, such as
[681] vomiting, swelling, chlorosis, and so forth. If the person has been prepared to brave this (in spite of the conviction of his misdeed), he is put to death by means of the most horrible and unheard-of tortures, whereas in the case of confession he is forced with the whip to reveal whom else he has poisoned during his life.

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682 order to be present at the punishment and to pull on his ears with all possible force by means of a pair of pincers, one after
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of the Dahomean kingdom by the French. All other walls are of swish. Today in West Africa the automobile and sewing machine have found their way into remote corners. But more important still than these changes wrought by European civilizations, which have made inroads chiefly on the material life of the Africans, are those resulting from intertribal wars, which followed the introduction of guns and gunpowder into Africa and which helped to establish the great West African dynasties. The result of the conquest of one native people by another was constant cultural interstimulation which made for changes in the indigenous civilizations.

In the Guiana bush, however, where these runaway Negroes and their descendants have been living, the fortunes of African kingdoms, the cultural contacts that have affected the Africans, have not touched their own tribal destinies. Neither has the civilization of the white man nor that of the Indian introduced basic changes into their manner of living or thinking.

There are no roads in the Guiana bush, and what footpaths exist to connect one village with another are difficult to follow and, moreover, are not for the stranger, whether he be white or mulatto. For such as these the highway is the river, with native paddlers alert in their surveillance of a stranger's activities. The old men on the river have made a tradition of recalling the struggle of the ancestors for freedom and survival, and it is not without significance that one of the three worst crimes among the Bush Negroes—one that ranks with incest and murder—is informing on a Negro to a white man.

In contrast with this isolation of the Bush Negroes, the Negroes of Paramaribo have known close contact with the whites, with Carib and Arawak Indians, and in more recent years with the Hindu and Javanese laborers brought to the colony. Only suggestions of the manner in which the beliefs of town and bush correspond or differ can be included here, since this account concerns itself with the Saramacca people. Yet for the understanding of this study it must be

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we found that for the krutu to act as a jury was an important part of its work. The krutu not only saw to the making of law, but it was also the medium for levying penalties upon those who transgressed law. The same krutu that legislated could judge infractions of its legislation. In its hands was the power to enforce the decisions it had made against the offender. 623 693

We had wondered whether, in this Suriname bush, the African court which so characterized the civilization of the ancestors of these people had survived. When we heard of the supernatural vengeance which followed upon infractions of custom, we sought to find out if people took the matter of punishment into their own hands, if kunu was reinforced by human assistance. 623 693 681

"Ai, mati," a chief once said to us, "kunu is strong, but the krutu is strong, too."

If a man had sworn an oath against another, had called down upon another a curse of some evil spirit, or asked that the gods make a man impotent, or that they stop the womb of his wife from conceiving, or if a man murdered by means other than witchcraft, then he was judged by a krutu. A man who had destroyed a canoe belonging to another—a serious offense, for, as the Bush Negro says, "Had our forefathers not had the wisdom to build canoes, we would still be slaves to the Bak'a"—he, too, would come before this court. The adulterer would be brought here for the assessment of his fine. [683] [685] [684]

When the krutu sat as a court, the accused was not without the right of defense. If it were thieving, or adultery, or the telling of falsehoods, or trespass, or the destruction of the property of another, where the kunu involved was not of the greatest, then the case was judged on the basis of the evidence. In the court, the interests of the one who was accused were cared for by one of the elders of his *mbe*, his relative and a fellow member of his own great family. But when the crime was one of the greater ones, then methods other than the sole use of testimony were employed. Evidence was necessary, but evidence was not 623 695

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When there is a conflict between villages over their hunting and fishing territories, the captains and bosseias of each town meet on some neutral ground and arbitrate the matter. Then, indeed, the parley becomes wordy and rhetorical. Each cause is championed with long speeches, setting forth oratorically the rights and conditions involved. But once an agreement is arrived at, the matter is closed. 622 623 692 628 [537]

Local disputes, excluding those over women, are not nearly so common or so serious as they are among civilized white men. There is a minimum of quarrelling among the Djukas; they get along together in an almost idyllic way. Wherever there are women, there will, of course, be quarrelling, for, in the words of Confucius, "Disorder does not come from heaven, but is brought about by women." Outside of this factor there is little friction in the Bush Negro community. Their highly communalized government works exceedingly well. 683 578

The Granman and his captains have an annual council to make laws for the coming year. This and other assemblies are known as *krutu*. The captains and bosseias from surrounding villages concentrate at some important town to meet the Granman there. The Council near Gansee, the trading-post, included the villages of Nu, Lombe, Biodoti, Ganya Condree, and Adawai. Jankoeso refused to hold his parley in the town proper, although Gansee is the largest village in the entire tribe, because there is a Christian mission station there, conducted by the Moravian Brothers. Jankoeso is in favour of retaining the ancestral gods of the jungle, and does not look with favour upon the white proselytizers. 671 622 623 [797]

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the village clearing. Flies and insects scurry. The body rolls 754
over toward the door of the hut: yes, this is the guilty one. 695
Or else it rolls away: no, he is innocent. The tomtoms boom 767
again, and the procession moves on to the next hut.

After winding about the town, the procession continues along a game trail back into the forest, where the white man is not allowed to follow. There, back in the bush, the body is perhaps buried to cheat the buzzards and vultures; but we are not sure. The dead person's hut is never occupied again; 768
neither is it repaired or demolished, but allowed, like the corpse, to decay.

Not for some time has the actual death penalty been in- 683
flicted upon those suspected of killing their neighbours by witchcraft. However, this used to be the case among the Djukas—more especially among the Aucaners—and the ceremony surrounding the detection of the guilty party is probably a survival of the Tshi-speaking people of Africa. Today the punishment of one suspected of causing death takes a more moderate form. In fact, unless the guilty party had previously announced his intention of causing the death, the punishment is "left to God." Otherwise, the guilty one may be given a severe beating, but, if the culprit escapes to a neighbouring village, it is incumbent upon the captain of that village to give him asylum. This has been noted by Mr. E. Wong, head bush police official at Moengo. Men are sometimes ostracized from the village, and are left to gain a livelihood by their own resources at some lonely spot on the river.

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being able to accommodate their eyes to the tiny grey perspec- 123
tives. When the significance of the chiaroscuro dawned upon 774
them, they broke into broad grins and were mightily pleased. 822
After that most of them readily consented to being photographed.

A woman was suspected of causing by witchcraft the death 683
of the late Granman, Amekti, of the Aucaner tribe. She was 766
severely beaten and was not allowed to attend the ceremony 643
of *Broko Day* (breaking day), the time when mourning is broken.

Broko Day is held four or five months after the death of 766
the Granman. Game is hunted and cassava cake prepared 643
for many days prior to the great feast. It is a time of great festivity; there is dancing, singing, and general merrymaking. At this time the *Songai,* the *Pekein play,* and the *Susa* dances are held. The participants are generously smeared with pemba dotee and they wear costumes and decorations which are not seen at any other time. Then, as many of the tribe as is possible gather in the village of the erstwhile Granman, and the feast lasts for about a week. Dancing and feasting continue night and day. At this time the ageedah drum—six to eight feet tall—is played, as well as [534]
the smaller instruments already referred to. Toward the end of the ceremony, the hair and nails of the corpse are buried, a new Granman is inaugurated, and the deceased ruler is relegated to the position of an ancestor. Prayers may then ascend heaven-ward to him.

Captain Acrowsie of the Aucaner tribe told us some in-

/196 cont./

673 --Vengeance; if someone believes himself to be the
[754] victim of witchcraft, he must under no circumstances engage
[627] in counterwitchcraft or invoke his ancestors against his enemy.
He may ask only for the protection of the ɔbia. It is Odun who
[784] will avenge him by sooner or later killing the evil-doer.

--Violence in any form whatever. It is regarded as a
[683] particularly serious offense against the laws of Odun to strike
with an armed hand and to make human blood flow (1).

[684] 1. That explains the strictness with which the society of the Refugee Blacks limits the right of punishment granted to the wronged husband, who must strike only with bare fists in front of witnesses, never in the bush nor on the river. Fear of seeing
[826] human blood flow explains the
[952] reticence of the Boni toward minor surgical operations.

[641] --Any attack on personal liberty by material or moral
[586] coercion; in particular, neither a man nor woman may be constrained to remain in a marriage which has ceased to please him; nobody may be forced to reside here or there.

[832] The forms of magic so popular among West Indians, aimed at capturing a person's love, are for this reason rejected by the Refugee Blacks and considered as a form of wisi.

[769] --Any evocation of the spirits of the dead, even to ask
them for protection, other than in the public ceremonies
[754] provided for by custom. Thus nobody must go to the cemetery
to pray alone on his parents' grave. Whoever would do that
would immediately be considered as wisima.

/196 cont./

784 Odun's punishment is not regarded as immediate. It may be delayed for a certain number of years for reasons known to him alone, but it will necessarily take place.

683 783 Violence can be pardoned if the guilty one repents and makes an offering. The reparative offering (for example, if someone has threatened his adversary with a machete or has struck him to the point of making blood flow) is a demijohn of tafia or a certain quantity of tobacco leaves displayed in Odun's chapel.

754 784 But there is no pardon for the wisimã. Even if men pardon, Odun remains pitiless. Thus nobody can admit being guilty of wisi, for there is no possible reparation; besides, no one would dare beg for Odun's mercy on behalf of a wisimã, for this would be to associate oneself with him and expose oneself to being struck by the god in the same way.

[683] [766] The wisimã will be killed by Odun, and men will have to share in the punishing by refusing the body burial in the cemetery and by going to throw it in the bush. If they /197/ refused to obey this law, Odun would consider that they denied his doctrine and would strike them down either in person or by killing any member of the guilty lineage.

Thus, when in 1952 an old woman named A... of the Lapé lineage, who had settled in the Creole village Hermina, died, it appeared that she had wisi; but since she had been living among the Creoles, her near relatives did not dare intervene, and she was buried in the Hermina cemetery. Several [613] years passed without incident, then misfortunes cropped up; deaths which took place in the lineage, especially that of P... (1955) and T... (1957), and an accident that happened to a child in 1958, were recognized as punishments carried out by Odun upon the Lapé lineage.

346 The place of worship of Odun is a tiny chapel near the grand man's house. It contains only a post crudely carved in the shape of a bust, without any decoration.

/225 cont. /

784 613 787 562 One sees from this example how the influence of women, exerted in arbitrary fashion, in a domain placed outside of custom and ordinary social life, weighs on the life of the group.

Kunu of the Dipélu lineage. The situation of the Dipélu 614 571 lineage with respect to the kunu is particularly interesting. Although split for perhaps 100 years into two separate groups, Dipélu I (L'Enfant Perdu and Apatu villages) and Dipélu II (Kormotibo and Asisi-Dip. II villages), this group still constitutes an undivided unit with respect to the kunu. Neither time nor [484] distance (it takes more than a week of traveling to make the round trip between L'Enfant Perdu and Apatu) has been able to [955] break it up. The Apatu people come very often (at least some of them) to be present at the collective prayers which take place at L'Enfant Perdu to appease a kunu in order to cure a sick person.

The oldest kunu ("since Africa") is that of a Papa gadu 614 god whose bearer was ○ Dika (Dip. I, D10, † 1951) and which 276 passed after her death into ○ Pééchina (Dip. I. E42, L'Enfant [787] Perdu village). This kunu strikes indiscriminately the people of L'Enfant Perdu, Apatu, Kormotibo, Asisi-Dip. II, and the Dipélu fraction residing in Boniville. To it, these past years, [761] have been attributed the death of ○ Way (Dip. I. E6, living [753] in Boniville), the illness of △ Akwali (Dip. II, F7, Kormotibo village) and of ○ Bongo (same village).

Another very old kunu is the one exercised by the yɔrka 775 of a Surinam Creole who had settled with the Dipélu people a 614 very long time ago. He was suspected of sorcery and killed. [643] Since then his yɔrka comes back regularly to exterminate the Dipélu.

754 /241 cont./
[126] Several cases of wisi. We transcribe these affairs as they were related to us, placing ourselves in the perspective of the narrator, without making any judgment as to the nature of the facts and their probability.

N... affair. -- N...., of Kotika, was working gold with another Boni. After they had eaten /242/ together, the latter was taken with uncontrollable vomiting, then he died. His near relatives blamed N...., accusing him of wisi. In the night N... took refuge at Benzdorp and took passage on a Djuka
[167] boat which was going down the river. He settled in Paramaribo. Since then his sister T... has gone to join him. They have left the Boni for good.

P... affair. -- Toko (Dipélu II), while boating on the lower river, wagered one morning with his friend Kwami (who told us the story) to stay in a dive for the time necessary to fill a five-liter demijohn; bet taken; Toko did not come back up, he had drowned. His body was found the next day. The family
[578] blamed one P...., of Kotika village, whose wife N... had left him to marry Toko and who at the time had made threats.
[683] They insulted him, they presented Toko's decomposed body to him: "Eat him, since thou hast killed him like game." P... stubbornly denied it. The grand man commanded that he be left alone, turning him over to Odun to punish if he were guilty. As a matter of fact, some time afterward, P... died and was declared wisimi.

[464] S... affair. -- About 1955, S...., of Kotika, about 60 years old, was working with Kwau weeding the clearings of a Benzdorp Creole who raised oxen. One morning this cattle-raiser saw one of his oxen covered with blood coming from wounds which bore tooth marks and could not have been made by bats. He followed the traces of blood which led him to S...'s hammock.

/242 cont. /

754 Of course he was recognized as a wisimɛ̃ by the first
764 adjuration made to his body carried in the papay on the heads
787 of two men: "If thou art a wisi man, do not come toward us."
The dead man drew back. /

[784] /243/Continuation of the interrogation showed that he had not yet killed anybody, but that he had been killed by Odun when he was preparing to kill someone of his lineage.

754 The persecutors of Agyémési, contrary to their hope, did not recover after his death from the maladies which they were attributing to his sorcery; that did not shake their conviction in
755 the least. They left for Paramaribo to have themselves treated
648 by a Creole magician (for the Surinam Creoles, who practice white magic and black magic indiscriminately, are by this fact reputed to be more expert than the Refugee Blacks in combating the effects of wisi).

754 In recounting this story to us, the grand man told us that it is always necessary to be cautious with accusations of wisi,
[762] because one can never be sure. A man unjustly accused can
[784] commit suicide and pursue his accusers with his kunu (most of the Boni state that they would do so in such a case). In former
173 times, the barbarous punishments in use in Africa were applied
683 to revealed wisimɛ̃: they were burned alive. But people tell
784 that one of them, some months afterward, undertook against his accusers' lineage a kunu which still lasts today. He had been wrongly condemned! It is through fear of the kunu more than
[178] through care for humanity, that these punishments have been abolished.

754 It certainly seems that the constant fear of the wisimɛ̃ in
[152] which the Boni live is only a collective hallucination, and that rare indeed are those who dare to indulge in practices which might draw upon them such terrible social and religious sanctions. As for these practices themselves, they appear to be without any real content, and the misfortunes attributed to them are

/243 cont./

754 only commonplace illnesses or accidents of some sort. We
[683] have never heard poisoning, in the usual sense of the term, mentioned.

754 The wisimã trials are in our opinion the most unpleasant
695 aspect of the civilization of the Refugee Blacks. But it must
182 be admitted that they correspond to profound necessities. These archaic societies need an obvious materialization of the principles they have given themselves. Since evil exists, opposing itself to good, the practices of wisi and wisimã exist, and the punishment of evildoers is indispensable for the society to remain subject to the law of good.

[984] By its notion of the kunu which turns aside toward the gods the responsibility for most misfortunes, by the extreme rarity of wisimã trials, by the prudence of its judiciary action which in point of fact pursues only the dead, the society of the Refugee Blacks shows itself humane and realistic.

If one undertook with the Refugee Blacks definite action to make these practices disappear, one would risk obscuring their notion of good and evil and removing all efficacy from their customary law.

[183] The social order of the Refugee Blacks cannot be maintained if the interdiction of harming anyone and the interdiction of vengeance do not remain clearly laid down. It matters little that these acts of sorcery are without real content: It is the intention to harm which counts, with all its social and psychological consequences.

171 When one observes the Creole populations of the Guianas
177 and the West Indies, even though /244/ they have been under
182 the influence of Christianity for several centuries, one is
754 struck by the development of sorcery and by its repercussions on the whole of social life. The teaching received at school and from the catechism, which embraces white magic and black magic in a single reprobation, has greatly contributed toward making these populations lose the principles of social morals of their ancestors without in exchange modifying their

/244 cont./

754 695 571 In 1958, a Boniville woman, N..., was convicted of having paid a Creole quimboiseur to make the grand man die. She confessed, a rare thing in this kind of case, and the materiality of the facts did not appear doubtful. The Boni were strongly impressed by this unprecedented event, and for several weeks the members of the lineage concerned were in such agitation that one could have believed they had lost their reason. In Boniville they "held court" continually for nearly two months, and they discussed so much that farm work was neglected and part of the rice crop lost.

754 695 683 [648] What were they going to do with this woman? The laws of Odun forbade killing her, no more could she be expelled. The Boni made discreet overtures to the administration to find out whether it was not possible to have her imprisoned. They were surprised to learn that French law does not recognize the offense of sorcery. Somebody then proposed having her admitted as a servant at the leprosarium of the Acarouani on the /245/ coast. This suggestion produced a surprising result; the Boni were unanimous in thinking that making someone who was not a leper live in a leprosarium was a punishment worse than death, and they resolved to pardon her.

How does one go about it, since the laws of Odun do not permit pardoning a wisimã? Nobody could give us a satisfactory justification on this, but in 1959 A..., the preceding year spurned and maltreated, had taken up normal living again in her village.

754 761 784 In fact, a case of wisi is terminated only upon the death of the person concerned. If a man who has been accused of wisi during his lifetime dies accidentally, or is struck by a fulminating sickness, the fact that he has been chastised by Odun appears as incontestable proof. The case is fixed in the memory of the group in a specific form and will be given as an example to inspire respect for customary law.

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world, and they flung it at each other proudly, for it stood for the experience of making their way among strangers and earning sums with which to fill a large corial, and much else.

The men who had remained on the river found special pleasure in imparting to these returning ones some weighty gossip.

"At Gankwe they are burying Sedefo's younger brother," they said as the boats passed each other, and they went into the details of Zimbi's death and the kunu which was decimating the family.

"Asikanu has been charged with adultery by Matafo. Asikanu's family is offering a great fine, but it is far from settled yet."

All this was by way of preface. To come to the real news without casual preliminaries would have been the way of a child, but a Man Nengere, a full-grown Negro, knew better.

"Last year a white man came here with another one—a doctor. He said he would come back with his wife. He has brought his wife. He says they are going up the river. He says they are going to the Granman's country."

Up and down the great stretches of water as the boats passed each other, the news was given. Word and conjecture floated down river and into the creeks, reaching even the lower river Awka villages.

"The Bakra told me Awka is an African word. There is a place in Africa called Awka, and a people in Africa called Awka people. He knows Africa."

"Kye, ba! Kye, mati!"

Word and conjecture were carried up river in the boats which were being poled upstream against the rapids. It would be some time yet before there would be legends, and songs about the American whites who had made their way into this bush. Now there could only be talk. The Bakra had a machine which talked back to you, if you talked into its horn, and when it talked back, it said the same thing you did, sang back the same song, and if you laughed, it laughed, too.

ON THE SARAMACCA RIVER

Ah, but they knew each other. 484

Bayo began paddling faster to keep up with him.

"There is to be a council meeting at Gankwe. I had to 623 hurry away last night, and I must get back there in time. 775 We must have permission from the spirit of the dead man to go back to work, and Sedefo has to find out if he can start up the river, and if he does go, we must all pray to the ancestors because four men will be going from Gankwe, and [782] the *Gran Sembe*—the village elders—have things to decide . . . "

Now, fearing that he might have said too much, he doubled his speed, and Bayo understood that the other preferred to be alone. They belonged to different clans, Bayo to the same as the headman of the tribe, and the Gankwe people to another. Gankwe was sending important men to take the Bakra up the river. The chief's own brother, Asikanu, was to go, although it was said he was [684] being sent out of the way while his adultery case was being settled. There had been talk about this case up and down the river. The Gankwe clan head had given a chief's [778] sanctuary to the offender because he was his own brother, people said. Well, if the injured husband committed suicide as he threatened, and sent a kunu to the family of the brother, and even the village and clan, it would be an ugly thing. But so it was with trouble about women. It was as they said,

> "*Sleep is death* [538]
> *Woman kills man.*"

He half chanted the proverb and smiled, for he looked 831 forward to his trip up the river with an eye to a visit in Lamé, where the women knew how to love. And he began singing the seketi song which he liked so well. Both the melody and the words were old, but he sang the refrain as if it were quite his own—whatever hardships there were on the river, at Lamé one slept with the women!

At the village of Akunkun an old man and a boy of 484 about nine were at the landing place ready to start. Bayo

KUNU

when the time came, his brothers and sisters
and sisters' children would gather to divide what wealth 428
there was. The greatest share would, of course, go to the 168
brother who would marry the widow, but all the others [587]
would get something.

"And his children, the children he made, would they get anything?"

"Why no, the children he made are his wife's children. They belong to the family of his wife!"

"But suppose he cared for them very much. . . ."

"Then he might have made them some presents now and then when he was alive, but even then some people say it is better not to give them too much. When a man dies his possessions go to his family. If this man's children, who really belong to his wife, were to take things now, they would get a kunu for it, and they might get another kunu which the father had, for if they got his possessions, his kunu would go to them, too, and there would perhaps be one in their own family that had come to them through their mother. No man or woman wants this."

It is kunu, then, which sees to it that the tribal law of succession and inheritance through the female line is not [611] violated.

4

There was the case of Asikanu, our paddler, who was the 115
brother of the head of an important clan, which gave us still another instance of the workings of kunu. Asikanu was, in his own right, not a negligible figure. When his brother died, it might be he who would succeed to the headship of the clan. When the other paddlers wanted things of us, they would come to ask in his name. "It is not a small thing when Asikanu asks," they would say. "He is a big man; he is the brother of our chief. You must not refuse him."

Asikanu had a way with the women, although it would 684
have been best if at least one of them had resisted him. She was married, and, when her husband discovered her infidelity, she went to Asikanu. Now this was as it should

684 [796] be. The Earth Mother, who is the giver of fertility, takes the adulterous woman who is with child under her protection, and no one may harm her. But the guilty man must make redress to the betrayed husband. Fines must be paid by the adulterer, and there is the beating which the husband administers. This beating has its ritual. The culprit, at the time that is set, comes out to the place where the injured husband and his family wait. They attack him with bare fists, although the Kromanti arm obias are sometimes slipped down on clenched hands, and with these serious wounds can be inflicted. With or without the iron arm bands, the beating is a serious matter, and the man who has committed the trespass is severely mishandled, unless he can get away from his assailants and run into the bush. In the bush he has sanctuary, and at the end of some time may come back to his village. The gods will not give a weakling husband, or one who is not clever enough to take his revenge when it is offered, a second chance.

At times this beating is a merry affair. This happens when the adulterer's family tries to protect him, and then the matter becomes a two-family brawl, or, if the village is a [628] large one with more than one clan substantially represented in it, it may become a fight between two clans. Once, in a village near the railhead, a man was killed in such a fight, and then white police stepped in, and the murderer went to prison.

[622] [778] A chief, however, can give the culprit sanctuary, and Asikanu, being a chief's brother, was protected by the chief while negotiations were being carried on in his behalf. Now he was sent away from home to be one of our paddlers so that the enraged husband might be dealt with—time helps to cool anger. This was important in Asikanu's case, since the husband of the woman who had gone to Asikanu would consent to no fine, however large, and seemed, 776 furthermore, to have misgivings about the manner in 762 which the ritual beating would be conducted. "I will kill 684 myself," he had been heard to declare. "I will kill myself, 754 and give them all kunu. My *yorka*—ghost—will come to

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trouble them, and I will give the family a kunu, and the clan, too, because the chief has shielded him. I am powerless against the chief. I will kill myself."

A clan kunu is a thing to dread. It must be averted, whatever the hazards. And so, while they held council at Gankwe with the husband and his family, Asikanu was away with the Bakra. . . .

At Apresina an old woman sent word that she wished to see us. She was so old and so ill that we had to cross half the length of the village to come to her, so that she might see what a white man and a white woman were like.

"Well, how is it in the city?" she asked. "How is it among you whites?"

She had heard, she told us, that everything was quiet in the city, that it was as if people slept night and day. Crops did not grow as they should. People were sick. Was it so? And without waiting for us to answer, she spoke again.

"But it must be so. So many, many black people took their own lives, before the time of running away. There must be kunu there." She assured us that it had to be so. How else but that the children of those whites should pay for the old abuses? . . .

And in the Granman's village we heard of kunu again.

"Do you know what they say in the city?" Granman Yankuso said one late afternoon, addressing several of his favorite village chiefs. "They say we are good men here in the bush, because we believe in kunu. In the city, where they do not believe in kunu any more, they are not afraid to use magic to enrich themselves, or hurt their neighbors. In the city they say that, friends."

There were the usual responses from the chiefs.

"So it is."

"True, true."

"Yes, master of the realm."

We looked out at the shadows across the carved door of the council house, that superb rendering of the Earth Mother and her attendant symbols of procreation and abundance, beyond into the great clearing where we could

we found that for the krutu to act as a jury was an important part of its work. The krutu not only saw to the making of law, but it was also the medium for levying penalties upon those who transgressed law. The same krutu that legislated could judge infractions of its legislation. In its hands was the power to enforce the decisions it had made against the offender. 623 693

We had wondered whether, in this Suriname bush, the African court which so characterized the civilization of the ancestors of these people had survived. When we heard of the supernatural vengeance which followed upon infractions of custom, we sought to find out if people took the matter of punishment into their own hands, if kunu was reinforced by human assistance. 623 693 681

"Ai, mati," a chief once said to us, "kunu is strong, but the krutu is strong, too."

If a man had sworn an oath against another, had called down upon another a curse of some evil spirit, or asked that the gods make a man impotent, or that they stop the womb of his wife from conceiving, or if a man murdered by means other than witchcraft, then he was judged by a krutu. A man who had destroyed a canoe belonging to another—a serious offense, for, as the Bush Negro says, "Had our forefathers not had the wisdom to build canoes, we would still be slaves to the Bak'a"—he, too, would come before this court. The adulterer would be brought here for the assessment of his fine. [683] [685] [684]

When the krutu sat as a court, the accused was not without the right of defense. If it were thieving, or adultery, or the telling of falsehoods, or trespass, or the destruction of the property of another, where the kunu involved was not of the greatest, then the case was judged on the basis of the evidence. In the court, the interests of the one who was accused were cared for by one of the elders of his *mbe*, his relative and a fellow member of his own great family. But when the crime was one of the greater ones, then methods other than the sole use of testimony were employed. Evidence was necessary, but evidence was not 623 695

623 enough if the accused persisted in denying such crimes.
695 In that case he called upon the gods to witness that the sin of which he was accused had not been committed by him, and this called for trial by ordeal.

695 The ordeal as a judicial measure was not unknown to our own civilization. In Africa it flourished in the native courts before the coming of the white man, and, it is whispered, still persists in the Suriname bush. The facts as we tell them, we cannot vouch for from our own experience. They were given us independently by two men who have spent many years among the Saramacca people, men who speak the language fluently and who for long periods have lived in this big bush of the Saramacca tribe. Other facts which they told us we had been able to corroborate. These whispers, however, we could not check, for few Bush Negroes would admit that they knew anything of the ordeal.

One way of trial by ordeal was to "*bebe so'i*," to drink the oath. It was utilized in accusations of witchcraft and sorcery. The priests and the elders prepared a drink of deadly poison. Over it magic incantations were pronounced by the obia men. The oath of innocence was taken, and the accused drank. If the potion was retained and the man died, his guilt had been proved, but if the drink was vomited, he was innocent. What his redress was if he were proved not guilty, we were not able to discover.

"If a man is guilty of *wisi*—of evil magic," our friend said, when he told us the story, "he would be afraid of the oath. When it came time to drink, no matter how brave he was, he would confess."

695 Then there was the proof offered in adultery cases,
684 described to us by the other man who knew the ways of the Saramacca folk. When both man and woman who had been accused of misconduct denied their guilt, the procedure this man had witnessed was this. The woman was made to kneel before the assembled krutu of the village. While she knelt there, a buzzard's feather was put into water, in a calabash of the kind they call gubi, and the water was

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treated with obia. An obia man now addressed the woman who denied the charge that had been lodged against her, restating the accusation and her denial. Then he asked her once more if she were guilty, and when the answer was still "No," the test was applied.

Through the woman's tongue the quill of the feather, which had been treated with magic, was thrust. When the entire length of the feather had passed through the tongue, then it was that the proof was had. If the woman's tongue neither swelled nor showed blood, she was innocent.

But whether it be trial by ordeal or through the taking of testimony, punishment by the krutu went along with punishment by the spirits. Only incest, we learned, was not punishable by the court. That was for kunu alone to avenge.

6

Once more the krutu was in session. Where the men had "gone aside," we did not know, but while we sat in the krutu house, alone with Moana Yankuso, we heard nothing.

The Granman had spoken little. Were our hammocks tied well the night before? Were we satisfied with the arrangements he had made for the storing of our supplies?

What were the elders deciding? We could not but wonder with anxiety. Would this krutu, after the fashion of the bush, where time meant so little, come to no decision? Was the answer to be one that had been previously arranged?

Chief Sungi was the first to speak.

"G'aman, we have gone aside. Your captains and bassias have spoken together. We say, the white man has come. The white man must eat. Let all be told to bring gifts, that you may feed those who have come to you."

"So it is," was the Granman's response. "Friends, great thanks to you. What you have said is good. Let all return to their villages. Let all tell their people that the white man has come. Let all come with gifts, that we may eat."

There was a chorus of affirmations. The Granman arose.

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morning; they tell us when we call on them. That is the black man's way.

"You white people have money, you have fine houses, you wear clothes, you can count. They tell me that you say in your books all people must be friends. But you have wars. If white people kill white people, then *mati*—friend—how will it be with black people living among the whites?"

Granman Yankuso rose, when he said this, and took from the chains of the suspended lamp a folded envelope. He handed it to us, and from it we took out a letter on the stationery of the League of Nations, signed by its Secre[illegible] Sir Eric Drummond. As we were reading this, he lef[illegible] council house and soon returned with a larger envelope, which he had kept uncreased, and from it brought out a photograph of the Council of the League of Nations in session. They were his proud possessions. While the World War lasted there was no work for the Bush Negroes on the river. They could not earn the money they needed to buy cloths for marrying and powder and rum for ceremonial usage. The Bush Negroes called it a "great money famine," in the way of their Anansi stories which so often began with "This was a time of great famine." Through a missionary on the upper river, the Granman learned of the war, and through him later of the League, which the missionary had undoubtedly brought up as the white man's defense against the challenge of the black tribal head, who asked, "How will it be with black people living among the whites?"

It was then that the Granman through this same missionary addressed himself to the white rulers far away, telling of the fear of the blacks, and counseling them the wisdom of peace!

4

In the council house Granman Moana Yankuso was host to the Gankwe men. They were there to take their leave of him before starting down river. Asikanu, the handsome brother of the Gankwe clan head, who was sent away from his village while the elders were deciding upon his adultery

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643 684 574 576 fine, sat between Sedefo, whose bench was moved forward a little, and Angita. The younger men sat with bodies half-turned toward the wall, out of respect for the Granman, the older ones, with their faces averted from him.

The Granman was speaking, telling a story.

643 684 538 "Ai, mati . . . " he said, in his precise, formal way, laying stress on each syllable, "in our bush, the gods be praised, men are men. There was a man near here, who saw a woman he liked, and he took her. He had a loving eye, he was young. Ai, mati, what is a beating to a man when he is young? But the proverb says, 'All that is in the darkness will come to light.' Dealings with women always come to light too soon. That man got a beating, mati! He came out into the clearing, his head held high, like any man whom young girls follow with their eyes. But waiting for him was the husband of the woman, and the men of his family, and. . . . "

"Well, so it is, G'ama'," said Sedefo, with the careful modulation which showed that he, too, was schooled in the way of the important councils.

"Ya-hai, G'ama'," said Asikanu, more briefly.

Granman Yankuso now went on with his story, bringing to his recital all the detail of the punishment of the adulterer, without quickening the telling of his story even when he spoke the words which described the sound of the blows.

"Yes, master of the realm," said Sedefo, his head still averted, but leaning his body forward a little as he spoke, so that he somewhat shielded Asikanu from the direct gaze of the Granman, yet managing this clever gesture so that it had the air of rapt interest.

"Ke-kere, G'ama'," Asikanu breathed, almost inaudibly.

As the Granman recounted his tale, Asikanu's spine twitched as though every blow mentioned was that instant being leveled at him, as though he himself were lying head down in the dust of the clearing, while blows rained down upon him, and the Kromanti iron bands cut gashes into his proud face and arms and body.

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But Sedefo, splendid actor that he was, betrayed in no way that he was aware of his friend's discomfiture, except that his interpolations became more and more spirited, balancing in the intensity of his voice the formality of the Granman's speech. 643 684 538

"True, true!" he said, with excitement.

"By Ando, G'ama'!"

When the tale was finished, the Granman became reminiscent. In his youth he had been like the rest. What did it mean to be a man and not to assert one's manhood when a handsome woman was to be had? He was on the Marowyne then. Did they want to beat him? He had said, "Very well." As many as wished could come at him—but one at a time.

As he spoke now, he clenched his fist and struck the table with it so that the table shook and the guns which lay underneath it rattled.

He was no longer young, but his answer to people who threatened would still be the same, he continued.

"Tell them that everywhere on the river, mati," he finished with a smile, and he cleared his throat as a signal for the bassia to come and pour out drinks for his visitors, before they left his village. [504]

And how was their clan head who had been ailing? he asked, with friendly solicitude.

5

Granman Yankuso was telling about his great ancestors. 643

He looked particularly well that night. His smock-like coat was a deep blue, and over it was a print of orange and black worn toga fashion. 292

There was Bagida, one of the first to escape to the bush, and Dosi who made the Kasito clan, and Ajako who was a Matchau Negro, a man of the Granman's own clan, and it was he who had fought against the whites and had freed his people. There were Mother Bedu, and Mother Fakia, and the great Abini family which bore Alabi, whom the peccary had helped to freedom, so that Alabi's people, the Awana Negroes, to this day did not eat pingo. 173

BAYO, THE PLAYBOY

"Will Bayo be married before we leave the bush?" we 115
asked, telling her that only a short time would see us returning to our own country.

We had often talked of marriage with Bayo on our trip up river and had offered to make up what he lacked in gifts and money that we might witness the festivities of marriage. He had, of course, promised to have matters arranged.

Bayo's aunt laughed, however, when she heard the question, and turned to the other woman who was with us in the dimly lighted hut.

"Did you hear what the white man asks?" she called 584
out to her companion. "White man, let me tell you some- 115
thing. Bayo is a long way from marrying yet. Why, his girl's breasts haven't begun to come yet!"

It seemed that Bayo had also to see to many things before he could marry. He had not yet cut the field for his mother-in-law, nor had he made any of the carvings which he needed to give his betrothed and her mother, for Bayo was a poor carver.

"Bayo has cunning in his eyes, and his head, but his 115
fingers have no cunning, Bak'a. . . . But you know this, Bayo is strong."

Her train of thought turned at the last phrase to our journey up river. Had we traveled well with Bayo? Had he got on with the other men? Awa, she knew that people liked him. It was the obia he had, and his own gods, but his gods were bad, too.

"When he was in his mother's womb, he troubled her [843]
much. He tore at her. Ai, she had no happy time of it with Bayo."

We remembered the incest kunu in Bayo's family, which 684
lay in wait for all its members, killing off one by one until 776
the line was wiped out. We ventured a cautious question.

"You are the sister of Bayo's mother?"

The answer, however, did not take us to kunu, but rather 115
to the iron on her arm. 776

"Ai, and of his father who is now dead. In our family we 789
have strong gods. It is these that have come to Bayo. . . ."

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

342 ings inside, to give the idea of affluence. The women looking
556 into the dim interior are awed by the numerous boxes. They are usually empty, however.

837 When men go away on hunting or fishing trips, adultery
684 frequently occurs. If it is discovered by the husband's family, they seize the wife and beat her. Her own family rushes to her aid, and a general mêlée ensues. The village is soon in
[622] an uproar, and to the captain belongs the unpleasant and thankless task of stopping the fight. There is considerable excitement for a few minutes. Many a hot listless evening is provided with a momentary thrill because someone's wife has been careless. After the mêlée the wife is usually forgiven, and the village returns to its normal routine.

586 Divorce is easy. A married woman merely informs the bosseia and captain, and moves out of her husband's hut, going back to her parents or to her lover. Even this formality may be dispensed with if she simply locks the door and refuses to let her husband enter. There is an heroic simplicity to this procedure. The husband may do the same, divorcing any one of his wives without assigning any reason for his action. The parting—we hesitate to distinguish it as a divorce—is usually on the woman's initiative; men leave their wives not so often as their wives leave them. Usually a husband will endure a wife until domestic dissension makes his life unbearable. Among women the motives for divorce vary; a husband's impotence is a very adequate reason, for of all masculine virtues the Djuka women esteem virility the most. Impotence seems to be common among primitive peoples after

/137 cont./

831 necessary food) than by a sentimental motive. It is very rare to meet among them the appearance of sincere and lasting love for a woman; that is sometimes seen, but it is the exception.

562 It is not enough to say that they have few emotional feelings with respect to women. In the conversations heard in the evening around the campfires a deep contempt is expressed on this subject; they even speak of the Boni women as of a foreign and almost enemy nation; they consider them besides as half irresponsible. This attitude shows through in the custom concern- [684] ing adultery, which decrees that the lover be beaten but not the wife.

581 Among the Refugee Blacks marriage is in fact a contract of maintenance between a man and woman, which provides for the execution of such-and-such work by the one for the benefit of the other, and for the wife the obligation to be faithful. [586] This contract can be cancelled unilaterally without any sort of indemnity. [765] It does not directly involve the relatives of the spouses; it involves them only in case of the death of one spouse, for the surviving spouse must /138/ put up with the subservience [613] of mourning. It is principally for this reason that a marriage must be officially known by both lineages, and that a divorce must be proclaimed without delay.

582 613 614 Exogamy. Marriage is forbidden between persons of the same lineage. In expressing this prohibition the Refugee Blacks employ the word bee (lineage in the restricted sense) and not the word lo.

613 As we have seen in studying the situation of the various lineages, the various Boni kin groups follow different rules in this regard:

--The Dju lineage, which forms only one single group from the genealogical point of view, does not allow marriage between its members;

/138 cont./

613 614 In general, one can say that the law of exogamy is maintained firmly within the fractions which know completely their genealogy. Union between classificatory "brothers" and "sisters" belonging to different fractions remains always prohibited in principle, but as for all the institutions of the Refugee Blacks, the prohibition ceases to be observed if fear of suprahuman sanctions weaken. /139/

This is what explains the difference in attitude among the lineages. In the Awara Bakka lineage, people do not remember that marriages between fractions may have been followed by maladies or misfortunes, and for this reason they are no longer feared. [1784]

In the Kotika lineage it was the same, but an event which took place in 1958 threw consternation. A young woman, Awini (K1, E37, Boniville), died suddenly, and divination showed that she had been struck down by the kunu for having married her classificatory brother Sintamann (K3, E145, Boniville). However, they belonged to two different fractions and their common relationship was the farthest removed possible in the lineage (tenth-degree relatives). [1789] [1784] [1961]

684 688 1784 Pikadu. The offense against exogamy, pikadu (1), incest in the

1. This word appears to come from the Portuguese pecado, sin.

broad sense, is considered an offense against society and against religious law; it exposes the lineage to the vengeance of the gods who exercise the kunu on it. But in the thought of the Refugee Blacks, if incest unleashes the functioning of existing kunu, it does not create new ones. What has been written on this subject by several authors seems inexact to us, at least for the Boni. [1114] In the example put forth above Awini's death was attributed to the kunu brought to bear for a long time by the yorka of a man assassinated in former times by a member of the lineage. [1961]

/139 cont./

684 688 Committing pikadu is one of the most serious offenses that a Refugee Black can commit; of course, as in the rest of the moral prescriptions, no abstract principle is called on: the elders teach the children from their earliest years: "If you commit pikadu, you will fall ill or die." [613] The head of the lineage inflicts severe punishments on the guilty people to boot: for the man, to make a large number of planks with an adze; for the woman, to prepare and winnow as preparation for the next broko de several touques /cans/ of rice, a long and tedious job.

588 However, if in spite of insults and blows a man and woman of the same bee absolutely insist on marrying, people end up, for the sake of peace and quiet, by accepting the accomplished fact. [769] [778] [782] They go to the fraga tiki to make an offering of tafia to the ancestors to ask them to forgive the offense committed. No reprobation extends to the children born of this union.

613 588 [684] In the Awara Bakka lineage, which has practically rejected the law of exogamy, the principle of a sanction remains and there is a pretense of chasing the guilty ones across the village.

Not being able to use coercion and not having the right to expel a member of the lineage, captain and council can exert no material sanction.

613 684 The same notion of pikadu is attached to unions between persons of the same patrilineage, although these patrilineages have no effective organization and exist only by the transmission of the fundamental interdiction, bwasi kina.

[619] Before concluding an official or even clandestine union, the man and woman make sure that they do not have the same bwasi kina and in such a case give up their project; that, even if they are from different tribes, for example a Boni woman and a Saramaka.

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684 This prohibition is of a purely religious nature and does
688 not entail any social sanctions; those concerned are convinced
984 that in such a case a suprahuman sanction would strike them in the form of sickness or accident.

582 Prohibitions limiting marriage. Outside of the great interdiction
[613] pikadu, which is attached to unions within one matrilineage and one patrilineage, two prohibitions limiting marriage are found among the Refugee Blacks, which they express thus:

[595] --I cannot have two wives at the same time in the same lineage. For example I am forbidden to marry two "sisters"
[589] at the same time, but if I break with my wife, I may marry her classificatory "sister" or any other woman of the same lineage;

[835] --I may not have relations, even passing ones, with a
[589] woman who has been married to my brother by the same mother; in particular, if my brother has just died, I shall not be able to marry his widow.

The Boni are not capable of explaining the deep reasons for these interdictions, but they interpret them as purely social
[684] and not religious prohibitions. The offender is simply threatened with being beaten.

[171] The first of these rules seems very widely accepted in Black Africa, as much in patrilineal societies as in a matrilineal system.

[171] The second of these rules is characteristic in the Akan (Agni; Baoulé) culture area and shows that the family custom of the Refugee Blacks is related much more directly to that of the Agni-Ashanti group than to that of the Dahomey.

184 One can note that this rule is exactly contrary to the
589 Saramaka custom, which obliges the widow to marry one of the
114 brothers of the dead man; this custom has been interpreted by several authors as coming from imitation of the levirate of the Jews, with which certain rebels were acquainted (it is known that among the slaveowners there were many Jews).

/145 cont./

582 Generally speaking, the custom of the Refugee Blacks used to consider as immoral the marriage of a very young girl to an old man, or of a very young boy to an adult woman.
588 198 The weakening of family morals is clearly demonstrated by two events which happened during the summer of 1960. A boy of thirteen and a half, K... of Boniville, left his guardian to join an Assisi woman, A.... 20 years older than he and with a very bad reputation to boot; some months later his example was imitated /146/ by a boy of 14 who began living with a
[684] [613] woman of 29. Nothing like that had ever been seen, and people inveighed against the scandal of it; but in both cases, guardians and lineage heads showed themselves incapable of making their authority respected by force.

882 [562] Marriage of girls. It can still be said (although things are in the process of changing rapidly) that girls, kweyi umΣ, occupy a place apart in the thought of the Refugee Blacks; the reprobation which embraces women does not extend to them.
882 834 [291] People say that girls "have good manners," and in fact most of them, although naked except for a little apron, have a reserved attitude, a becoming bearing, which contrast with the attitude of the married women. To tell the truth, this virtue is not so much due to natural inclinations as to the strict
[593] vigilance with which their mothers surround them. The mothers literally do not let them out of their sight and permit no man to speak to them out of their presence. "Until dawn, until the cock crows, she keeps vigil," says the song, alluding to the mother who watches over her daughter's virtue. If a girl
[836] [599] comes to lose her virginity without being properly married, pxi na xu, "established in a house," it is a dishonor for her mother and her near relatives.

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584 539 I do not know whether thou lovest me, whether thou wilt answer yes or no; perhaps I am not so handsome as thou, but I cannot help loving thee. If thou lovest me, tell me clearly. I have come, I have attached my boat to a rock, I have wet my feet before reaching land (2)."

> 2. High-flown words to which no precise meaning can be attached; it is a kind of verbal music whose formulas vary infinitely.

"Come back tomorrow, come back, I cannot answer thee today. I cannot."

"I know for today, but not for tomorrow (3); yield to me,

> 3. One must understand: It is necessary to decide today.

be mine. I shall give thee the garment (4)."

> 4. The man lays down one of his garments at the home of the woman who has agreed to marry him.

584 Our departure on our tour the next day put an end to his attempts for the time being!

836 584 It often happens that the girl allows herself to be seduced; her mother soon learns of it from the village people. She flies into a passion, beats her daughter to obtain a confession without [558] which she can obtain nothing from the supposed seducer. It is an extreme shame for a mother not to receive the price of her

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836 684 [558] daughter's virginity: the other women will make fun of her and as for the men, they will be unanimous in laughing cruelly at the new trick played on the women. Now certain girls refuse obstinately to confess, or they have already had several adventures, so that nobody succeeds in knowing the truth. After many recriminations and arguments the affair proceeds no further.

If it has been possible to identify the seducer with certainty, the mother, arming herself with a stick, goes from village to village to find him; his uncles intervene and end by settling the business by asking the mother to accept, since there is nothing else to do, the payment for virginity. This sum absolutely must be paid; if the young man were not able to do it, his uncles would pay it for him even if they have to turn against him ultimately. The mother accepts the payment, honor is safe.

583 In many cases the couple consider themselves as joined, at least temporarily; the man prepares, if he is hard working, to build a house for his wife. If he is not hard working, he simply promises to make one for her some day; in reality he has spared himself this great labor; the woman will have to wait for years unless her mother or one of her uncles dies, bequeathing her his or her house. /149/

836 684 Observation in Boniville in October, 1956:

A village woman comes to complain to Fintiman that his nephew and ward Doni has deflowered her daughter Elina, 15 years old, in July of the same year. She learned it indirectly, and the daughter expressly confessed it. Doni admitted the facts; he promised to pay the indemnity at the end of the border-fixing mission when he has received his pay. Elina continues to wear the kwey until further orders and does not show any embarrassment. Doni comes back in the evening. I hear Fintiman reprimand him, but only for form's sake: "Deflowering a girl when one does not intend to live with her is something which is

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836 not done." He advises Doni above all to remit to the girl the
• 684 payment of her akka, namely two camisas, a string of white beads which she will wear on her left wrist, and a bottle of syrup which she will offer to her akka while drinking it. Doni does not bother to face the mother and does not intend to see the girl again; it is his sister Maria who will attend to the errand.

That done, the mother will accept the fait accompli and will not show her anger. She will wait for the payment.

589 One also hears talk rather often of the clandestine con-
p36 summation of a properly arranged marriage, the engaged couple wishing thus to force the hand of their guardians and obtain their freedom sooner.

587 Remarriage of widows or divorcées. It does not give rise to any payment, but the marriage proposal is made to the woman's uncles and the head of her lineage in the same form as for a girl. In such a case it is no longer a question of asking for an authorization (a man would have to have the worst reputation for the woman's lineage to refuse the marriage) but to obtain the benediction of the ancestors on the household. Moreover, it is
[613] very important for the heads of both lineages to be notified of this marriage, for in case of the death of husband or wife the other will have to bear the weight of the mourning.

581 Women are guided in their choice by sensual attraction but largely also by self-interest. They take care to marry a man who has, as it is said among us, some future, a position. The owners of outboard motors do not fail to pass at reduced speed by the villages in order to be admired by the women.

Men who have a reputation for "working hard" (for work is the sole wealth in Boni country) are frequently chosen by girls even though they may have one or two wives already.

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606 Relations between husband and mother-in-law. As is commonly observed in Africa, the husband has the duty to respect his mother-in-law, to have a reserved attitude toward her. /153/ A curious custom exists on this subject among the Refugee Blacks: If he inadvertently arrives at the village wharf at the moment when she is bathing, he must pay her compensation in the form of a camisa. This is a reciprocal obligation.

[513] He may sleep under the same roof as she when the village is crowded, but not habitually.

606 607 On the other hand, the custom of the Refugee Blacks differs sharply from African customs on one important point: it does not call for any material obligation toward the mother-in-law or the wife's brothers. The husband is not at all required to give them presents or to contribute toward their maintenance. In fact, the wife gives her mother part of what her husband gives her.

684 Adultery. The custom of the Refugee Blacks concerning adultery is extremely curious. The outraged husband has the right to inflict a public punishment on the lover, which he must stand without defending himself. In the absence of the husband his brother is qualified to strike in his place. This punishment must take place in a village in the presence of witnesses capable of intervening if the punishment goes beyond accepted limits.

Only bare fists may be used.

A man can always escape too brutal a punishment by taking refuge in the water. His adversary may not follow him into it under pain of a severe punishment by the grand man. He can also take refuge in the bush.

[692] The husband's honor being thus publicly restored, the row is over; in such cases some men are seen to beat the wife in addition, but this is not the general case; the true custom does not call for the wife to be beaten because she is considered irresponsible. She can either be repudiated or threatened

/153 cont./

684 586 [626] with repudiation in case of a second offense. The rule is to repudiate her, under pain of ridicule.

In 1951 G..., of Kotika village, was informed that his 837 wife A..., of Asisi village, 25 years old, was deceiving him with a boy of the same age named K.... The first time he 684 encountered K in a village he took issue with him; K... confessed without difficulty. G... delivered a strong punch which threw him to the ground, and that was all. He did not ad- [586] minister any punishment to his wife but immediately let her know that he was repudiating her. Some time after, K... [576] asked to be reconciled with him. He asked his pardon and [431] gave him a bottle of tafia (this is obligatory for reconciliation). Since, the two men have again been friends.

It also happens that the grand man levies a more or less stiff fine on the guilty man.

837 According to the elders, adultery was rare in former [586] times. If a woman was tired of her husband, she divorced him openly, but she did not deceive him. Nowadays it seems to be rather frequent.

586 Divorce. The Refugee Blacks divorce each other as easily as they join together; in general it is the woman who decides to break up the union because she finds her husband too poor, too lazy, or simply because she wants to change. /154/

In the case of divorce the woman keeps all that her husband has given to her or made for her (utensils, house, boat), but of course the man keeps all his own belongings; this rupture changes nothing about the possession of property since no object was owned jointly.

581 The rule is the following: at the time of the marriage the man puts down symbolically several personal objects (fabrics, utensils) in the woman's home. As long as these objects are in her home the marriage remains in force, the wife is held to fidelity or at the very least, if there is adultery, it is regarded as such and entails the sanction related above.

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000 as such and entails the sanction related above. But the wife
586 has the absolute right, even in her husband's absence, to break the contract unilaterally by taking back to the head of her husband's lineage the objects left with her. From this moment on, no more can be said to her, she is no longer guilty of adultery, and she can take another husband forthwith; in case of the first husband's death she will not have to stand the weight of the mourning. All that her husband has made for her: house, boat, etc... is kept without counterpart.

No Boni leaving on a three-month trip is sure of finding his wife again. He may very well find another man installed in his place, officially, without his being able to say anything. As for those who leave for a long time, this is practically a certainty.

This is a misfortune which however they take philosophically, thinking above all of the work furnished for nothing. What concerns them most is not to be deceived clandestinely, [684] for the final result is the same: they are practically obliged [626] to repudiate the wife in such a case, for it is unworthy of a man to forgive, and in addition they will be the laughingstock of the population.

Several of our boatmen made the following speech to their wives at the time of leaving for a two-months' tour: "If you have enough of me in my absence, if you cannot wait for me, go and take my belongings to the house of such-and-such a brother; I shall not be angry and will not do anything to you on my return."

581 Custom is so favorable to the women that practically nothing guarantees the private contract made between the man and woman at the time of marriage. Since this contract is [586] essentially founded on a material association, the man cutting the clearing and the woman farming it, one might believe that the woman would be held to fulfilling her contract even in case of the marriage's breaking up, but there is nothing of the sort.

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589 [587] A woman who has just been divorced does not remarry immediately. Several months, sometimes a year or more, may go by between two unions, a period during which she thinks only of "living it up," indulging in all the adventures she wishes. This attitude is considered normal, and the elders have nothing to say to her provided that she does not fall into pikadu, or cause any scandal, and that the period does not last too long.

[586] We have cited the example of Aguba, a pretty girl of 18, who at the end of 1957 had just broken with her husband Paifiki /sic/ after only one year of living together. She was living with Lènga who brought her up; she was cutting a small clearing herself. Beyond that, she had no other concern but to indulge in all the adventures she liked. Men used to come to solicit [836] her favors discreetly, each one reserving his day. From one she would ask for a camisa, from another, soap, kerosene, etc.

[429] Her guardian Lènga used to press her to take another husband, but she could not forbid her to live thus, having given with the pàngi her freedom as a woman.

[587] She contracted a new marriage in May or June, 1958 after leading an irregular life for more than six months.

836 As a matter of fact, things go on with great discretion. A man is notified in secret by his sister or /female/ cousin that such-and-such a woman noticed him during a dance, that she will await him at her home on such-and-such a night. At night on the river, one perceives boats which pass close to the shore, [504] advancing silently. In each village there are secondary landings which allow nocturnal visitors to arrive at night without being noticed and to leave again before dawn. /158/

[684] If a woman lacks this discretion and if her life is openly dissolute, her mother will beat her and the head of the lineage will inflict punishments on her, but she will not be sent away; in no case can anyone be expelled from his natal village.

/196 cont./

673 --Vengeance; if someone believes himself to be the
[754] victim of witchcraft, he must under no circumstances engage
[627] in counterwitchcraft or invoke his ancestors against his enemy.
He may ask only for the protection of the ɔbia. It is Odun who
[784] will avenge him by sooner or later killing the evil-doer.

--Violence in any form whatever. It is regarded as a
[683] particularly serious offense against the laws of Odun to strike with an armed hand and to make human blood flow (1).

[684]

1. That explains the strictness with which the society of the Refugee Blacks limits the right of punishment granted to the wronged husband, who must strike only with bare fists in front of witnesses, never in the bush nor on the river. Fear of seeing
[826] human blood flow explains the
[952] reticence of the Boni toward minor surgical operations.

[641] --Any attack on personal liberty by material or moral
[586] coercion; in particular, neither a man nor woman may be constrained to remain in a marriage which has ceased to please him; nobody may be forced to reside here or there.

[832] The forms of magic so popular among West Indians, aimed at capturing a person's love, are for this reason rejected by the Refugee Blacks and considered as a form of wisi.

[769] --Any evocation of the spirits of the dead, even to ask
[754] them for protection, other than in the public ceremonies provided for by custom. Thus nobody must go to the cemetery to pray alone on his parents' grave. Whoever would do that would immediately be considered as wisima.

784 /228 cont./

613 They are the object of three kunu:

776 --One exercised by a Papa gadu god whose bearer up into

787 1956 was Kotoïda († Oct. 1956), who bequeathed it to ○ Mani (Afi lineage, d12).

784 --The other exercised by a yɔrka of the Lapé lineage.

785 This kunu dates from about 60 years ago; Alémin (Afi lineage,

613 b3, Kormotibo village), 80 years old in 1957, had when he was young cut a clearing in a place which was found to be an

[787] old abandoned Boni cemetery (opposite Maripasoula). Some time afterward, a yɔrka revealed itself in a woman of the Lapé lineage, saying that it was exercising a kunu against the family of the sacrilegious person.

[761] It is to this yɔrka, whose bearer is M... (L2, Boniville), that the death of Kotoïda in October, 1956 is especially attributed.

--A third kunu is exercised by A..., of the Papaïston 2

[684] lineage. A... had committed pikadu. Surprised by Alémin (Afi lineage), he had paid the latter to obtain his silence.

[762] But Alémin had talked. Dishonored, A... committed suicide with a gunshot; some time afterward his yɔrka revealed itself in Alémin; it exercises a kunu on this lineage.

613 Situation of the other lineages with respect to the kunu. The

614 Papaïston lineage is divided into two groups: Papaïston 1 (the

784 principal one) and Papaïston 2, of which there remain only three living members: two women and one young man. This remainder of a lineage continues to bear its own kunu, which is unique and separate from that of the principal group.

The principal group forms a unit with respect to the kunu.

The Lapé lineage, cut from the point of view of genealogy into two pieces, forms a unit with respect to the kunu. We

[114] have been able to collect only fragmentary information on the various kunu of this village.

/228 cont./

784 A kunu is exercised by a Dipélu yɔrka, borne in 1958 by
775 a Loka woman. It is invoked before the fraga tiki of l'Enfant
778 Perdu village (Dipélu I). Sometimes a broko dɛ is celebrated
769 for it in the same forms as the ceremony of the eighth day
613 after death.

784 We have likewise not been able to collect complete
613 information on the kunu of the Kotika lineage. This lineage,
114 divided into three fractions, forms a unit with respect to the kunu.

784 A kunu is exercised by the yɔrka of a Surinam Creole
613 assassinated in former times by a member of the lineage. Its
775 bearer in 1958 was Todo (K1, E68), a man of the Kotika lo
787 living in Boniville. In 1958 a young woman of the lineage,
[761] Awini (K1, E37), died suddenly; the yɔrka revealed that it
[684] had struck Awini because she had a liaison with Sintamann (K3, E145), thus committing pikadu. The idea of the collective responsibility of the lineage is so deeply accepted by the Boni that the near relatives of the dead woman did not reproach Sintamann at all.

784 /229/ A yɔrka of the Kotika lineage may exercise a kunu on
613 the Djuka. This is the case of an affair going back to 1950;
775 a young woman died some time after having a serious discussion
761 with a Djuka woman who had hit her. Deaths among the Djuka
619 these last years had been attributed to its vengeance.

It seems that there is no other kunu exercised by a Djuka
784 upon a Boni lineage and vice versa. This is surprising, con-
619 sidering the fights which in former times set the two nations
613 against each other.

The Djuka and Saramaka living isolated in the midst
621 of the Boni know their kunu, which were revealed to them in
784 childhood. In case of sickness, they employ divinatory pro-
[755] cedures in order to know what kunu is concerned, then they
[613] make offerings. But in case of serious illness, they are forced to go back to the village of origin of their lineage.

/230 cont./

784 the lineage; questioned, this god declared that it had something
787 to complain about in the bad condition of the house which the
776 members of the lineage had erected to it on its order; the roof of leaves had not been changed and it was raining through.

784 It happens also, but as an exception, that the god has
684 sanctioned an offense against morals or more precisely, against the social law, such as the breaking of an interdiction, pikadu (incest in the wider sense, an offense against exogamy). It is necessary to understand that in the thought of the Refugee Blacks, incest unleashes the existing kunu but does not create a new kunu.

In October, 1952, Dolo, a young man of 25 of the
[787] Awara Bakka lo, died almost suddenly. Divination revealed
[761] that he had been killed by the kunu (it was a Papa gadu which
[613] had intervened) in order to sanction an offense committed some time previously by another member of the lo named P.... The latter, a notoriously depraved individual, had committed incest with his own sister.

784 When the divinity has made known through the mouth
776 of its bearer the causes of its act, the assembled members of
782 the lineage implore it, ask it not to pursue its vengeance; the
[787] divinity then requires an offering: for example, if it is a Papa gadu, it will require bottles of beer, some red and white cloth which will be immersed in a given place in the river. It may also require dances in its honor, celebrated by the other possessed people in the village. If it is an Ampuku, it will demand rum, dark-blue cloth which will be exposed in a remote place in the forest. An offering of this kind represents a relatively small sum, even for the Boni (several thousand francs in 1952). The god then declares itself appeased. But it does not pardon and it will resume /231/ its vengeance
[183] at the first cause. Thus the Boni have hope only in a rigorous
776 observance of customary law and the rites. There are divinities
787 which appeared to be thus appeased for a long time and to

/231 cont. /

761 --In 1952, Dolo (Awara Bakka) dies almost all of a
[784] sudden with the symptoms of peritonitis: kunu, punishment for
[684] incest committed by another member of the lineage.

--In 1952, Malèndo, ten years old, son of Osaya (Awara Bakka) accidentally drowns: natural accident (ɔ̃gɔ̃ɔ̃ku).

[784] --In 1954, Bèniti (Dju) dies at nearly 75 years of age:
[776] kunu of a Papa gadu.

[784] --In 1954, Agyémési (Aw.B.) dies almost all of a sudden:
[754] killed by Odun (he was a wisimã).

--In 1955, Tabiki (Awara Bakka) dies at over 80: natural illness.

[784] --In 1956, Kotoida /sic/ (Afi lineage) dies suddenly,
[775] aged about 50: kunu of a yɔrka.

784 --In 1957, F... (Lapé) is gravely ill with symptoms of
776 typhoid: kunu of a Papa gadu.

[753] --In 1957, Sokodo (Dip. II) dies at 40: kunu of a
[761] Kãntamasu.

75 /232/ One observes that in the 15 cases cited here, the kunu
761 interferes ten times, while in three cases natural causes: ill-
784 ness, accident, were assumed.

In reality, the Refugee Blacks do not have the conceptions of a natural world, subject to known or knowable laws, which is set against a supernatural world. The intervention of a Papa gadu is neither more nor less natural than an illness or an accident. There is only, on the plane of human life, more or less frequent intervention by suprahuman forces. The intervention of these forces is made according to laws which embrace the totality of beings and things, laws which men cannot understand but of which they believe they have a partial and empirical knowledge.

772

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1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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we found that for the krutu to act as a jury was an important part of its work. The krutu not only saw to the making of law, but it was also the medium for levying penalties upon those who transgressed law. The same krutu that legislated could judge infractions of its legislation. In its hands was the power to enforce the decisions it had made against the offender. 623 693

We had wondered whether, in this Suriname bush, the African court which so characterized the civilization of the ancestors of these people had survived. When we heard of the supernatural vengeance which followed upon infractions of custom, we sought to find out if people took the matter of punishment into their own hands, if kunu was reinforced by human assistance. 623 693 681

"Ai, mati," a chief once said to us, "kunu is strong, but the krutu is strong, too."

If a man had sworn an oath against another, had called down upon another a curse of some evil spirit, or asked that the gods make a man impotent, or that they stop the womb of his wife from conceiving, or if a man murdered by means other than witchcraft, then he was judged by a krutu. A man who had destroyed a canoe belonging to another—a serious offense, for, as the Bush Negro says, "Had our forefathers not had the wisdom to build canoes, we would still be slaves to the Bak'a"—he, too, would come before this court. The adulterer would be brought here for the assessment of his fine. [683] [685] [684]

When the krutu sat as a court, the accused was not without the right of defense. If it were thieving, or adultery, or the telling of falsehoods, or trespass, or the destruction of the property of another, where the kunu involved was not of the greatest, then the case was judged on the basis of the evidence. In the court, the interests of the one who was accused were cared for by one of the elders of his *mbe*, his relative and a fellow member of his own great family. But when the crime was one of the greater ones, then methods other than the sole use of testimony were employed. Evidence was necessary, but evidence was not 623 695

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

501 648 other canoe is entirely open, the Negroes being more hardy than we.

501 685 Stealing a corial is to the Bush Negro what stealing a horse was to the early plainsmen of the American frontier: a capital crime. So much of the Bush Negro life is on the water that no man can get along without a canoe for any length of time. There are only hunting trails through the jungle, and traffic by preference goes along the river. In spite of the luxuriant jungle, a man left in the bush without food is liable to starve, as a frontiersman left on the plains without a mount was considered to be as good as dead.

Next to Dutch Guiana is French Guiana, a penal colony. Here large numbers of convicts are imprisoned. There are also men known as *libérés*—exiles who are at liberty within the colony, but forbidden to leave it. Many succeed in escaping desperately into the bush. They must obtain canoes, for travelling any distance overland is practically impossible, due to the heavy growth. If the fugitive cannot purchase one at the Negro villages, the only alternative is to steal it. Such thieves are pursued relentlessly by the Djukas, and killed on sight. Bloody tales are told in Paramaribo of hand-to-hand struggles to horrid deaths, between black man and convict fighting for life, in the dim blue light of the jungle day, in the unknown interior of Surinam.

2:Kahu D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

gaining possession of other fugitives. It is said that, until recently, actual war prevailed among the tribes because some Saramaccaners invaded the Boni and Aucaner districts, poaching on their lumbering, hunting, fishing, and balata rights. The punishment today for any Bush Negro found poaching in another district is a healthy beating with canoe paddles and fists, after which he is warned not to repeat the offence.

With the Indians of Surinam the Bush Negroes have little commerce or intercourse. These aborigines belong principally to three Amerisan tribes, the Carib, Acaway, and Arawak. They and the Djukas mutually look down on each other, but in our opinion the latter are intellectually the superior. Indian and Djuka villages are separate; very little trading occurs between them. On the Marowyne, Tapanahoni, and Lawa Rivers, however, the Negroes occupy a strategic position on the middle rivers, so that Indians from their remote villages along the upper river must pass by Bush Negro towns on their way downstream to trade at the white settlement of Albina, near the mouth of the Marowyne. The Djukas tell the Indians that the white men in Albina practise cannibalism. Rather than run the risk of trading with cannibals, the Indians barter their stuff in the Bush Negro towns. By this crafty arrangement, the Negroes obtain bead and feather work in exchange for tobacco and for machetes.

The Indians on the other rivers do not share this superstition concerning the white man's cannibalism. None of the Indian tribes mingle with the Djukas other than for the pur-

/65 cont./

613 554 [183] It is enough to consult the genealogical tables, on each of which we have indicated the transmission of the office of captain, to be convinced that nothing of the kind is practiced: besides, it would be impossible in fact. The council chooses from among [643] /66/ the "brothers" and the "nephews" of the deceased. If the nomination is obtained, it is valid only if the grand man does not oppose his veto. He can require that the council be begun again.

613 554 643 The grand man observes the behavior of the new head for about a year, and if he is satisfied with him, he calls him to Boniville together with the members of the lineage. He turns over to him the bench and the baton of command (waka tiki) prepared by the doyen of the lineage. He takes him by the hand and has him sit down on the bench while proclaiming him head.

613 554 This appointment is made for life; once named, a captain cannot be dismissed.

The succession of the last three captains of the Dju lo is particularly interesting (see the genealogical table of this group).

In 1948, the first time we passed through, Diolè (El) had been captain for nearly 50 years, succeeding Doomé, whose position we have not been able to place exactly in the genealogical table.

Diolè died in 1951 at about 90 years of age. At the time of the mourning his yɔrka was questioned, and it designated (through the medium of the coffin bearers) as a desirable successor one of his nephews in the classificatory sense, named Loko (F39).

[643] [685] The council which met upon the close of the mourning for Diolè, in 1952, approved the designation of Loko; but the grand man opposed this appointment because Loko had been guilty of a serious crime (aggravated theft) and had incurred a sentence.

/72 cont./

643 The grand man acts as land head for the whole of the tribe.
778 It is he who has the care of the sanctuary of mama gɔ̃ and who
241 prays each year in the presence of a large gathering of people for the fertility of the soil.

643 The grand man is the priest of Odun, divinity whom the Boni
793 regard as avenger of offenses against moral and religious law; by
776 virtue of this, he alone is qualified to administer the oath against
782 wiʃi (sorcery) and to implore the mercy of Odun toward those who have gone against his laws by fighting with arms.

643 In his religious functions this usually weak and unobtrusive
156 man acts with sovereign authority and assurance, and we have several times seen people tremble before him.

643 If someone has seriously transgressed the customary laws, or
681 if he has stolen, committed adultery, given blows, poured forth
[623] serious insults or curses, the grand man inflicts on him punishment proportional to the gravity of the offense, such as making planks, /73/ a boat, pounding rice (if it is a woman). The product of the punishment is acquired by the grand man, as are the fines in money which he imposes in less serious cases.

643 For example in October, 1952, two adolescents of Boniville,
685 Awétipay and Adyuka, were surprised while they were trying to break into an inhabited house; the grand man sentenced them forthwith to three days of forced labor, in the course of which he made them clean the approaches to the village and collect for his benefit wood for heating.

643 He can also punish disobedient or disrespectful young men
689 by making them do work reserved for women, such as weeding
462 the approaches to the village and the removal of dog droppings.

643 The grand man can confine a man to Boni villages by for-
681 bidding him to go beyond l'Enfant Perdu to the north and Kormotibo to the south; that is called sitafu sama (sitafu = captive). The man concerned, deprived of means of earning his living, thus becomes dependent on his family until he makes honorable amends.

/74 cont./

692 693 [641] An essential principle of the social life of the Refugee Blacks is that every citizen carries the law within himself. If several men are requested to arbitrate a private quarrel, it is said that they form a lĩnti kuutu. But they can hand down only a sentence of conciliation. Only the general assembly convoked by the grand man has the power to impose its decision.

692 775 The ordinary role of the lĩnti kuutu is to judge the dead, to make sure that they were not wisimĩ (sorcerers), to proceed to their interrogation in order to give the force of law to the answers, especially in what concerns inheritance.

692 693 775 The lĩnti kuutu meets when a death is announced; the first to arrive go to the grand man who designates two of the captains to preside over the council this time (for all the members are equal). In fact, rare are the councils attended by all the men present in the villages. Most of the time the lĩnti kuutu groups only about 30 men, mostly old men.

692 The lĩnti kuutu meets very rarely to judge a living man. That has happened only three times between 1948 and 1957.

692 687 In 1948 the grand man convoked the lĩnti kuutu to judge a man who, duly called as boatman to take him to Saint-Laurent, had not come. He was sentenced to make a pallisade around the grand man's habitation, which took more than a month of work. /75/

692 685 In 1953 the council met to judge Loko (Dju), who had made himself guilty of aggravated theft (simulated shipwreck to the detriment of a Benzdorp trader and resale of the merchandise), for which he had been condemned by French justice to several months in prison. Loko had to make honorable amends in the presence of the assembled members of his lineage, then he was sentenced to make 50 planks for the benefit of the grand man.

[224] [643] In August, 1957, the council met to judge Pototo (Asisi-Dju), 23 years old, and Amusupé (Asisi-Aw.B.), 70 years old, who were guilty of a grave offense: misappropriation of a tapir (malpouri) killed by a Djuka who, feeling gratitude toward the grand man, had made known his intention to offer him part of the meat.

/75 cont./

692 685 [224] The Djuka had killed the tapir which had sunk. Pressed for time, he had had to leave, requesting the Asisi people to look for it.

The next day Pototo and Amusupé found the animal floating [251] between two waters. They hid it in the bush and had it smoke- [262] dried on their own behalf. They ate it with their wives (about 100 kilos of meat).

That ended up by becoming known, and a jealous man denounced them to the grand man.

Called before the Hinti kuutu, they had to apologize and were each sentenced to pay as a fine to the grand man a demijohn of 15 liters of tafia (worth about 6,000 francs) within four months.

[735] Both of them were at a loss to pay this fine, belonging to the category of ne'er-do-wells who have no regular activity and live from day to day, selling some fish or game from time to time.

[613] Amusupé appealed to Captain Konduku, head of his lineage, who agreed to pay for the tafia for him, Amusupé reimbursing him little by little.

[613] As for Pototo, the head of his lineage refused categorically [689] to help him because he had eaten the malpouri alone without allowing his family to share it (the village people would have found it normal to profit by the crime, but they deemed it immoral that [123] one of their relatives had deprived them of meat). After three and a half months, Pototo began to occupy himself seriously at a paid job which he had the luck to find because we needed a bossman for two weeks.

577 626 [522] The Boni did nothing but laugh while telling us this story. Affairs of this kind, which do not involve any suprahuman intervention, escape in large measure their social morality; they have a certain feeling for what should be done, but submit to it only in proportion as they fear a material and immediate sanction.

/73 cont./

643 That happened especially to people who, summoned to work
687 in the grand man's clearings, carried out their task with ill will.

About 1950, M.... of Papaïston village, had openly revolted against the grand man whom he had refused to conduct to Saint-Laurent. The grand man sentenced him to make a large stairway of planks, from the Boniville wharf to the entrance to the village, giving him an injunction to leave the country if he refused. M... ended by yielding and executed the large stairway which can now be seen at the Boniville wharf.

643 The grand man is constantly concerned about his prestige
648 and dignity; he is almost always dressed in the European manner
292 and in ceremonies wears an impeccable white uniform; the French
199 administration gives him a relatively large salary and, when he comes to Cayenne, he is put up in the hospital in the apartments reserved for officers.

643 To greet the grand man one does not look directly at him
[570] but places himself in profile with respect to him.

The grand man has no servants (that would be contrary to
[644] the morality of the Refugee Blacks) and leads a very simple life.
[357] Still, he does not do any hard manual labor; each year he calls
[466] together a certain number of men from each lo to work in his clearings; he does not pay them, for this work is an obligation provided for by custom, but he feeds them heartily.

643 Likewise, for his traveling, he requisitions by turns as boat-
466 men two or three of his subjects. Sometimes also he requisitions women to help his wife at harvest time.

On the other hand, for all other work he may need (such as the construction of a large boat) he has to pay like everyone else and he is not given any reduction.

/74 cont./

692 693 [641] An essential principle of the social life of the Refugee Blacks is that every citizen carries the law within himself. If several men are requested to arbitrate a private quarrel, it is said that they form a Ilinti kuutu. But they can hand down only a sentence of conciliation. Only the general assembly convoked by the grand man has the power to impose its decision.

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REBEL DESTINY

524 The man looked so moved by what he told us that we had qualms about continuing the conversation with him about his dead family, and so we asked him about the game board. "Why is it, Kasanya, that young Amnika of your [320] village said he could not make us a game board, fine carver that he is? You yourself know that the board is just a piece of wood with holes in it for the seeds. It is not beautiful; there are no decorations on it."

765 "It is because he is young. His hair isn't white like mine.
524 Making an adji board is a big thing. It's not a little thing. It is on this we play when the body of the dead lies in the house of mourning to entertain his spirit, his yorka. Only [554] an old man who has lost his wife may make a board for this game which is played for the dead."

"But suppose he did make it?"

[174] "Then he would get a kunu, Bakra," he said with an impatient cluck which was intended to deplore the white man's inability to understand simple things.

776 And so again we came to kunu, and since he himself had brought it up, we decided to stir the hole once more to see what was in it. Kasanya talked with less hesitation than we had come to expect. It is easier for an older man who has had experience with the spirits and knows their ways to talk about the supernatural. He understands what he may and may not do, and then, too, with his greater knowledge he can tell more without offending the spirits who disapprove of a man's telling too great a part of his store.

"Yes, Bakra, kunu is a difficult thing for you, a white man, to understand. But we black people know what brings kunu. Many things bring kunu. Look, I made three children. Fine men all three. One died, the second died, the third died. . . ."

● 688 This was his story. His wife's mother's brother brought the curse on his family. He had cut a new field, and the trees he had felled and the brush he had cut had been lying for some time, as was proper, that the dead wood might [241] be burned off to clear the ground so that the ash might enrich the soil.

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enrich the soil. Now before a field is chosen for cutting, it must be surveyed carefully to see that there are no snakes to be injured; that no trees which have strong spirits like the silk-cotton tree, or the parasitic akatasi, will be destroyed; that no ant hill whether on the ground or on a tree be disturbed. But Kasanya's wife's mother's brother was careless, or unlucky. A small ant hill had escaped his notice. 688 [829] [825]

"The *Akantamasu* god is powerful. It is a bad god," Kasanya said over and over, making of it a refrain to his story. [716]

When the ant hill was destroyed, its spirit fixed itself upon the family. Kasanya's wife's mother became ill, and although the contents of one obia pot after another were used up in bathing her with sangrafu and the serabaki and chembe leaves, she did not get better. Her husband, an able obia man, made special charms for her to wear about her neck, and sprinkled her with medicine with the feather of the sacred opete, the vulture, but still her illness kept on. At last they went to a diviner. To the village of Dahomey they went, the village where the most powerful obia was lodged, and there she learned that the Akantamasu god had come to the family. The diviner told her how to serve the god so that she might have respite—the days that were sacred to him, the dances she must dance on these days, the sacrifices to make. They knew that it would never be a friendly god to them, for it had come as a kunu. There was more trouble and more. The family gave many offerings, and the possessed woman danced whenever the spirit seized her, but soon she died, and the others have been dying since. [155] [787] 688 [791]

"What happened to the man who destroyed the ant hill? Did he get the Akantamasu gadu?" 688

"No, not he himself. His mother, and his sister, and his sister's children."

"But why?"

The answer was that kunu worked that way, and he went on to tell us about his sons. The first son had gone to the

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688 Marowyne to earn money that he needed for marrying. He was in good health, and he learned about the river "*so te*—until . . . " he knew how to travel on the river safely. But after he had been away only a short time, word came to Kasanya's village that he was ill, and before he could be brought home, he died. They brought back his hair and nail clippings so that his spirit might rest among [764] his own people. Tney held a big *dede wosu*—wake—for him for six days in the village, with the little coffin and the offerings which were to accompany the spirit, and dancing and Anansi stories and the adji game, just as though he had died at home. There were many guns, too. Everything was done, and the spirit of the dead son was asked to help the family against the kunu which was brought to them by the deed of his mother's mother's brother.

The second son died in the bush. His own gun went off accidentally as he tripped on a hidden liana and killed him, [789] though Kasanya had provided him with all the hunting [229] obias a man would want, and he himself had a strong Kromanti spirit, so that no gun was supposed to have power to hurt him. The third was married when he died. His boat went over in the rapids. His body was never recovered.

782 "Tomorrow we shall all go and pray to the Mother of the River that she carry us well, that our journey be pleasant, that we reach the Granman's village safely. . . . There across the river is her shrine."

3

761 It soon became clear that two things dominate the fore-
776 ground of the spiritual life of the bush—death and kunu. In
688 the last analysis, however, the two are perhaps but one force, for kunu slowly, inexorably, brings death to one member after another of the offender's kin, and it is largely the dead ancestors and the gods who are responsible for the meting out of kunu, in order that the ancient traditions and beliefs may go on. And so it was that daily, and many times daily, incidents not of our special seeking arose to document our knowledge of kunu.

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604 428 brothers and to his sisters' children. That is how we live here in the bush. That is how we do."

4

591 When a man marries, he either arranges to take his wife to live in his own village—his mother's village—or to stay in that of his wife. Whether he chooses the one village or the other, he has to build a house there for her, and this becomes her *wosu*, her household. If he wishes, he may build two houses, one in his own village, and one in the village of his wife. Kasanya's younger brother built two houses for his first wife. One was on the lower river, next to Kasanya's own house, and the other we would reach after two days' further travel up the river.

Yet the man, explained Kasanya, if the couple were living in the village of the wife, or the woman, if their house was in his village, was not entirely at home. In one's own village a person was a *gomi*, a child of the "ground." He belonged there. But when living in another's village, even though it was that of a husband or wife, one was a [609] *wakama'*, a stranger, and if a man of the village but uttered this word "wakama'" to such an individual, the outsider had to take up his belongings and leave at once. Were the stranger, in turn, to speak aloud the word "gomi," [688] disaster would follow, for the earth spirits, having been disturbed, would be sure to take their toll.

594 The *wosu*—the household—is the unit of family life, whether, in its physical location, it is in one village or two villages. In it a woman lives with her husband, and here the 596 children are reared. After the wosu comes the larger family unit, the *mbe*, composed of those who have come from the common womb of a more remote ancestress, while several of [614] these larger or extended families form a clan.

"If a man has more than one wife," said Kasanya, "then 595 he makes more than one house. A man never puts two wives in the same house. It would not be good. Each woman has her own house, where she lives with her children. It must be so. The children of the first wife belong to her

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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be possessed by them. Between the roots of the tree offerings were placed—two or three bottles on their sides, or a calabash filled with sacred clay. 824 776

When the time came to dance to the gods of the kankan tree, a tunic of cotton was placed about its trunk. While the drums spoke to the gods, white clay was spread over the bark, a chicken was killed, and its blood allowed to spray the tree and drip into a calabash placed on the ground to receive it. Eggs inside obia pots were put beside the tree, and bottles filled with sweet liquor and the juice of sugar cane. All about its wide trunk the dancers swayed and leaped, each dancing to her own spirit until, at the height of their ecstasy, there were a few among them who would climb the great tree itself, and dance on its branches. The drums continued until the frenzy ebbed. Had they stopped sooner, those in the tree could not have remained there safely or in safety have descended to the ground. 824 776 776

At other times, women came to Gedeonsu to ask him for children, and those who were troubled by his spirit brought offerings, though the great dances were held when the old year came to an end, and the big offerings were then made. [842] [782]

"If a man were to cut down a kankan tree, Gedeonsu would cut off his foot. I myself saw it happen," said a man to us at S'ei. "And his sister got the god." [688]

The kankan tree gods could be bought, too. A woman who wanted fertility would seek to buy Gedeonsu. Others might wish to have Tinné. Only an individual who had a spirit which gave him the right to make obias and call the gods could get the spirit for one who wished to buy it. Such a man would take an obia pot, fill it with water and place inside it cowrie shells which had not been cleansed. After speaking his invocation, he would add a sacred white stone, called an obia stone, and with a calabash in one hand and a bell in the other, he would go to the tree and address the spirits as he rang the bell. When the water became ruffled, it was a sign that the god had entered it. Quickly he would cover the calabash with a cloth and take it away with him. [842] [432] 791 824 776 796

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791 He promised readily enough to go with us, but Bayo
753 told us later that he would not come.
789 "He says the white doctor cannot do more than obia
791 can do. He says a man must take what kunu brings."

Was there no obia against kunu? we asked of Bayo.

"No, but kunu is not greater than obia. It is something else. When the Sky God gave obia to man, he gave it to help man live, not to help him do bad things. When men and women earn a kunu for their family, it is because they [688] do what is hateful to the great gods and ancestors. Obia was not sent to save men from punishment."

"Does obia never punish, Bayo?" We were thinking of what he said about his own obia, of how when it seized him, he destroyed things.

But he would say no more. "I am too young, Bak'a, to [888] speak of these things. At my age I know only a little obia. You must ask the old men."

4

554 The conversation led us one day to the obia men on the
791 river. They were, we knew, important persons in the Bush Negro communities. An obia man of reputation was not only consulted by his own villagers and clansmen, but men and women came to him from distant villages, when those who were nearer had failed them. It occurred sometimes that even from the Awka villages on the lower river, these Saramacca obia men were sought out—perhaps this was because of the same tradition which encouraged the buying of strange gods to enlarge the family pantheon, perhaps it was because of something which touched still deeper beliefs.

868 How did a man become an obia man?

867 From what we had already heard, it was apparent that here was something which approached the formal education of our own civilization, a form of education, indeed, which we pride ourselves is unique to our own way of life.

All other knowledge the Bush Negro child gains by being about with members of his family who are busy at

/138 cont./

613 614 In general, one can say that the law of exogamy is maintained firmly within the fractions which know completely their genealogy. Union between classificatory "brothers" and "sisters" belonging to different fractions remains always prohibited in principle, but as for all the institutions of the Refugee Blacks, the prohibition ceases to be observed if fear of suprahuman sanctions weakens. /139/

This is what explains the difference in attitude among the lineages. In the Awara Bakka lineage, people do not remember [784] that marriages between fractions may have been followed by maladies or misfortunes, and for this reason they are no longer feared.

In the Kotika lineage it was the same, but an event which took place in 1958 threw consternation. A young woman, Awini [787] (K1, E37, Boniville), died suddenly, and divination showed that [784] she had been struck down by the kunu for having married her [761] classificatory brother Sintamann (K3, E145, Boniville). However, they belonged to two different fractions and their common relationship was the farthest removed possible in the lineage (tenth-degree relatives).

684 688 784 Pikadu. The offense against exogamy, pikadu (1), incest in the

1. This word appears to come from the Portuguese pecado, sin.

broad sense, is considered an offense against society and against religious law; it exposes the lineage to the vengeance of the gods who exercise the kunu on it. But in the thought of the Refugee Blacks, if incest unleashes the functioning of existing kunu, it [114] does not create new ones. What has been written on this subject by several authors seems inexact to us, at least for the Boni. [761] In the example put forth above Awini's death was attributed to the kunu brought to bear for a long time by the yɔrka of a man assassinated in former times by a member of the lineage.

/139 cont./

684 Committing pikadu is one of the most serious offenses that
688 a Refugee Black can commit; of course, as in the rest of the moral prescriptions, no abstract principle is called on: the elders teach the children from their earliest years: "If you com-
[613] mit pikadu, you will fall ill or die." The head of the lineage inflicts severe punishments on the guilty people to boot: for the man, to make a large number of planks with an adze; for the woman, to prepare and winnow as preparation for the next broko dɛ several touques /cans/ of rice, a long and tedious job.

588 However, if in spite of insults and blows a man and woman of the same bɛɛ absolutely insist on marrying, people end up, for the sake of peace and quiet, by accepting the ac-
[769] complished fact. They go to the fraga tiki to make an offering
[778] of tafia to the ancestors to ask them to forgive the offense
[782] committed. No reprobation extends to the children born of this union.

613 In the Awara Bakka lineage, which has practically re-
588 jected the law of exogamy, the principle of a sanction remains
[684] and there is a pretense of chasing the guilty ones across the village.

Not being able to use coercion and not having the right to expel a member of the lineage, captain and council can exert no material sanction.

613 The same notion of pikadu is attached to unions between
684 persons of the same patrilineage, although these patrilineages have no effective organization and exist only by the transmission of the fundamental interdiction, bwasi kina.

[619] Before concluding an official or even clandestine union, the man and woman make sure that they do not have the same bwasi kina and in such a case give up their project; that, even if they are from different tribes, for example a Boni woman and a Saramaka.

/140/

684 This prohibition is of a purely religious nature and does
688 not entail any social sanctions; those concerned are convinced
784 that in such a case a suprahuman sanction would strike them in the form of sickness or accident.

582 Prohibitions limiting marriage. Outside of the great interdiction,
[613] pikadu, which is attached to unions within one matrilineage and one patrilineage, two prohibitions limiting marriage are found among the Refugee Blacks, which they express thus:

[595] --I cannot have two wives at the same time in the same lineage. For example I am forbidden to marry two "sisters"
[587] at the same time, but if I break with my wife, I may marry her classificatory "sister" or any other woman of the same lineage;

[835] --I may not have relations, even passing ones, with a woman who has been married to my brother by the same mother;
[587] in particular, if my brother has just died, I shall not be able to marry his widow.

The Boni are not capable of explaining the deep reasons for these interdictions, but they interpret them as purely social
[684] and not religious prohibitions. The offender is simply threatened with being beaten.

[171] The first of these rules seems very widely accepted in Black Africa, as much in patrilineal societies as in a matrilineal system.

[171] The second of these rules is characteristic in the Akan (Agni, Baoulé) culture area and shows that the family custom of the Refugee Blacks is related much more directly to that of the Agni-Ashanti group than to that of the Dahomey.

184 One can note that this rule is exactly contrary to the
587 Saramaka custom, which obliges the widow to marry one of the
114 brothers of the dead man; this custom has been interpreted by several authors as coming from imitation of the levirate of the Jews, with which certain rebels were acquainted (it is known that among the slaveowners there were many Jews).

/198 cont./

167 754 old woman of 90, A..., who died in Asisi in January, 1957. Having lived with Creoles in her youth, she had come back to live in her native village for at least 30 years and had never given occasion for any unfavorable remark. Nevertheless, upon her death it appeared that she had wisi.

771 829 177 Attitude toward Christianity. The Refugee Blacks, who are acquainted better than one might believe with the conceptions of the populations in the midst of whom they live, have a clear feeling of the relationship which exists between their metaphysical and moral conceptions and those of Christianity. They think they worship the same god as the Christians, in a com- [797] pletely different way but just as sound. They have no animosity whatever toward the Catholic and Protestant clergy, and most of them agree willingly to wearing crosses or medals. But they have not the least intention of abandoning their beliefs for that. They do not perceive the contradiction and do not understand that people might want to oblige them to choose.

851 171 Like the Creole gold miners, they attach great importance to baptism, considered as an obia protective against the dangers of the bush. On Christmas, 1957 they were strongly impressed 165 797 by the accidental death of a Djuka Christian living at the Kotika school. He refused to observe mourning for his wife [688] according to the custom of the Refugee Blacks, and used to go [273] to drink in the cabarets of the Creole villages. On Christmas [784] evening, when drunk, he drowned himself. That was attributed to a suprahuman punishment. We heard /199/ the following reflection on this subject: "He was baptized and he drowned himself just the same. That is therefore not worth the trouble."

61 581 571 Actually, the matrilineal structure of the Refugee Blacks and their conception of marriage form an irreducible cleavage, which appears immediately as soon as one leaves the metaphysical conceptions to pass to the plane of practical living.

791 /237 cont. /
688 Not just anyone may resort to divination on behalf of
888 someone else: only the eldest have the right to do it, and it has happened that the grand man punished offenders severely.

777 Fate. The Refugee Blacks do not attribute all misfortunes
[752] to suprahuman causes. They have the notion of natural accident, ɔŋgɔɔku. They say ɔŋgɔɔku miti mi, or again ogi miti mi,
[761] misfortune met me. They also accept the idea of natural death. They usually regard as natural death that of the very old, the infirm from birth, and sickly children.

[787] Divination blames fate in ten to 20 per cent of accidents.
[792] It is the usual explanation for hunting accidents.

772 /238/ Magic Forces

As we have shown, the Refugee Blacks consider beings and things as a world of forces capable of acting on one another, outside of time and space, according to laws which men cannot understand but of which they believe they have a partial and empirical knowledge transmitted by tradition since the
754 time of the ancestors. They distinguish negative magic forces,
789 wisi, which have the effect of diminishing the vital force of men, which makes them sick or kills them, and positive magic forces, ɔbia, which come from the gods: the ɔbia comes to increase the vital force of men, giving them protection, immunity, or knowledge. But no power is in essence a principle of good or evil; nothing is impossible for him who knows the formulas; this is why the magic of the Refugee Blacks is reduced to a perpetual and indecisive struggle between ɔbia and wisi.

754 Wisi. Wisi is sorcery in the African sense of the term, that is,
[673] the use of magic procedures to harm others; wisi is for the Refugee Blacks the pre-eminently criminal act, at the same time against morals and against society. The struggle against

754 /246 cont./
755 The maïtif asked 2,000 francs from him as the price of
648 his consultation.

789 Curse. Someone who judges himself victim of evil-doing has at his disposal a supreme resource: /247/ cursing his adversary, that is, appealing directly to the supreme God, Masa Gadu, to ask him to punish his adversary. This is called seni gadu -- sending God -- against someone. To do that, while asking God to kill him or make him sick, one kneels and strikes the ground with both hands in the presence of the adversary or in front of his house. This act is regarded as totally different from wisi, for one is relying on the justice of God, who judges with equity and punishes only the guilty.

However that may be, cursing is for the Refugee Blacks a very serious act. It may happen that, feeling guilty, the source of the injustice asks pardon and promises to make amends for his misdeeds. The one who uttered the curse again implores Masa Gadu in order to take back the words he spoke: "He has given me satisfaction, do nothing against him." But oftener still it happens that a complicated affair is involved, that both parties concerned are persuaded of their legitimate
[692] ground and curse each other. The case must then be carried before the grand man and straightened out at once or misfortunes
[695] may pounce upon both lineages. The grand man judges without appeal and inflicts a punishment on the one who was wrong
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[768] versaries to be reconciled before the fraga tiki, where the offering of tafia and water is made.

[828] The effect of these conceptions is to render nearly im-
[754] possible hidden hatreds and rancors, which the Refugee Blacks fear very much, for they are the source of wisi.

688 In general, the act of getting angry in public and serious-
689 ly insulting somebody is considered as an offense against moral and religious law, capable of attracting misfortunes; it is an

688 /247 cont./
689 attenuated form of wisi; in serious cases the grand man may inflict a severe punishment on the guilty ones.

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The Boni among themselves use the word deesi, remedy, instead of ɔbia. They do not use the word deesimã in place of ɔbiamã. It is said, for example, of a man who knows the rites of a cult of possession "A sabi Papa gadu sani" (he knows the things of Papa gadu).

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The term gadumã designates one who is possessed of a god, and not one who knows how to bring on possession.

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In the rest of this work we shall continue, nevertheless, to use the terms ɔbia and ɔbiamã to designate positive magic, in order to facilitate collation with the English- and Dutch-language authors who have used it in this sense.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

361 that point has no further permanent habitations of the Bush
103 Negroes. Past the realm of the Aucaners on the Lawa River (the confluence of which with the Tapanahoni goes to form the Marowyne) we find the continuation of the Boni tribe, consisting of the villages of Tahbiki, Pulumuffo, the seat of the Granman, Loka, Papai-Seton, Agodai, Komuntibo, Cottica (the only Boni village on Dutch territory, but whose inhabitants also owe allegiance to the French), Akuba, and the last of all the Bush Negro villages, Assisi, past the mouth of the far Assisi Creek.

177 The Bonis, although the most remote of the Bush Negroes from the plantations from which they originally escaped as slaves, have certainly succumbed the most to the influences of the white civilization. Even the village of the Saramaccaner tribe, Santi Gron, only some twenty miles from Paramaribo, maintains in true aboriginal fashion its African customs and its heathen gods.

797 The French Catholic priests have been more successful in making converts among the Boni than have the Dutch among the other tribes. In one village, however, we saw the usual heathen fetishes on full display, but we were told that they only afforded real protection to those who *believed* in them. Some of these tribesmen wear trousers and the headcloth of the French Guiana Town Negroes. We have even heard it whispered that some of the Boni own shoes, which
[689] is an unspeakable offence against the code among any of the other tribes.

Although the huts are of Africanesque architecture, similar

/16 cont./

868 The children learn their dances and games at a very early
858 age and are always present at the festivals.

867 From earliest youth on they are taught to respect and
• 689 venerate older persons; offenses against this obligatory respect are severely punished.

868 The boys in particular are taken along to the forest at an early age and remain there in connection with the processing of wood or other operations, as well as for hunting and fishing, and very quickly learn to swim.

515 Men, women, and children bathe separately in the river every day.

Chapter XI

Burial Services and Other Ceremonies

764 They celebrate the burial services with great solemnity. If one of them dies in Auca, that is, their land, then the corpse is cleaned, the nails are cut, and it is placed in a coffin, in which various and especially costly articles of clothing of the deceased are placed and to which all the relatives also add a new piece of cloth (usually blankets and pantjes) as remembrances, a farewell token on which much value is placed. Hence they always take care to have a sufficient stock of new and unused cloths.

Ordinarily the corpse lies in the open coffin for one day before the interment takes place, in order to bid it farewell. The relatives then sit around the coffin and weep ceaselessly /17/ in a mostly singsong manner peculiar to them, in which the visitors also join from time to time.

765 After the interment the closest blood relatives proceed to hold the days of mourning on a mat spread out on the ground for
[538] eight days. During this time they weep loudly by turns, at the same time making the strangest gestures, while day and night, generally by turns, little stories with many allusions, and always ending with a moral solution, are told.

/72 cont./

643 The grand man acts as land head for the whole of the tribe.
778 It is he who has the care of the sanctuary of mama gɔ̃ and who
241 prays each year in the presence of a large gathering of people for the fertility of the soil.

643 The grand man is the priest of Odun, divinity whom the Boni
743 regard as avenger of offenses against moral and religious law; by
776 virtue of this, he alone is qualified to administer the oath against
782 wɔ̃i (sorcery) and to implore the mercy of Odun toward those who have gone against his laws by fighting with arms.

643 In his religious functions this usually weak and unobtrusive
156 man acts with sovereign authority and assurance, and we have several times seen people tremble before him.

643 If someone has seriously transgressed the customary laws, or
681 if he has stolen, committed adultery, given blows, poured forth
[673] serious insults or curses, the grand man inflicts on him punishment proportional to the gravity of the offense, such as making planks, /73/ a boat, pounding rice (if it is a woman). The product of the punishment is acquired by the grand man, as are the fines in money which he imposes in less serious cases.

643 For example in October, 1952, two adolescents of Boniville,
685 Awétipay and Adyuka, were surprised while they were trying to break into an inhabited house; the grand man sentenced them forthwith to three days of forced labor, in the course of which he made them clean the approaches to the village and collect for his benefit wood for heating.

643 He can also punish disobedient or disrespectful young men
689 by making them do work reserved for women, such as weeding
462 the approaches to the village and the removal of dog droppings.

643 The grand man can confine a man to Boni villages by for-
681 bidding him to go beyond l'Enfant Perdu to the north and Kormotibo to the south; that is called sitafa sama (sitafa = captive). The man concerned, deprived of means of earning his living, thus becomes dependent on his family until he makes honorable amends.

/75 cont./

692 685 [224] The Djuka had killed the tapir which had sunk. Pressed for time, he had had to leave, requesting the Asisi people to look for it.

The next day Pototo and Amusupé found the animal floating [251] between two waters. They hid it in the bush and had it smoke-[262] dried on their own behalf. They ate it with their wives (about 100 kilos of meat).

That ended up by becoming known, and a jealous man denounced them to the grand man.

Called before the Boni kuutu, they had to apologize and were each sentenced to pay as a fine to the grand man a demijohn of 15 liters of tafia (worth about 6,000 francs) within four months.

[1735] Both of them were at a loss to pay this fine, belonging to the category of ne'er-do-wells who have no regular activity and live from day to day, selling some fish or game from time to time.

[613] Amusupé appealed to Captain Kondoku, head of his lineage, who agreed to pay for the tafia for him, Amusupé reimbursing him little by little.

[613] [689] As for Pototo, the head of his lineage refused categorically to help him because he had eaten the malpouri alone without allowing his family to share it (the village people would have found it normal to profit by the crime, but they deemed it immoral that [123] one of their relatives had deprived them of meat). After three and a half months, Pototo began to occupy himself seriously at a paid job which he had the luck to find because we needed a houseman for two weeks.

577 626 [522] The Boni did nothing but laugh while telling us this story. Affairs of this kind, which do not involve any superhuman intervention, escape in large measure their social morality; they have a certain feeling for what should be done, but submit to it only in proportion as they fear a material and immediate sanction.

/180 cont./

765 613 687 An incident. In 1957, the Saramaka Gamba (75 years old), Way's widower (Dip. I), caused a serious incident by refusing several times the obedience he owed to the latter's lineage, on the pretext that he was old and knew how to behave.

His son Maliki (born of a Saramaka woman), whom he was raising, married to Way's daughter, had gone fishing above the Litani. Upon his return, Kwau (80 years old), Way's elder brother, reproached him for having left without authorization, pointing out that his father, Gamba, being placed under his authority by mourning, he was too, because of this fact. Gamba [578] did not accept this reasoning and the two old men fought. This was a fine scandal. Kwau and the elders of Way's lineage came [769] before the fraga tiki of L'Enfant Perdu village to lift his mourn- [798] ing forthwith (which, let us recall, is the equivalent of cursing [784] him by delivering him over to the vengeance of the dead woman's yɔrka).

Members of Way's family went to break up the shacks of Gamba and his son, who lived hidden in the bush for some time. [629] Then Gamba had the village heads intercede and obtained his [769] pardon. The elders of Way's lineage went to the fraga tiki to [798] utter the words putting things back in order.

765 Lifting of mourning. The festival of the lifting of mourning - puu baaka - is celebrated 18 months to two years after the burial. The delay may be a little longer, for most often the village celebrates this festival for several of its dead at the same time. It is a heavy burden, for festivals for lifting mourning attract many people and everyone present must find as much as he wishes to eat and drink.

[621] This festival is celebrated in the framework of the village and not in that of the lineage. It will be celebrated in the same way for a Djuka who died in a Boni village, provided that he lived there a sufficiently long time. In such a case the expenses

754 /246 cont./
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648 his consultation.

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over whom it was exercised. When the ancestors of the Bush Negroes were brought to New World slavery, what measure of acquiescence they showed was due to the fact that slavery was not an unfamiliar tradition to them. They knew of the war captive, or the man convicted of a serious crime, who was a slave to one of their own kind. But the experience of the white man's slavery was a crucible in which the ownership of man by man, and the unquestioning obedience which men owed to those of higher rank, were destroyed, leaving only the ideal of the life of free men. "Free!" was the way in which one Bush Negro toasted another, or a white man, when he drank with him. A "*Man Nengere*," an adult Negro was, above all, a free man, and it was as a freeman that he was governed, for though villages had chiefs, and there were bassias who were subordinate to chiefs, and though above the village chiefs were clan chiefs, and over them all the Granman, yet the final word rested with the members of each subsidiary body, and not with its leader.

Every village had its officials, and its medium for discussions. Every clan had its head, and its old men, who, sounding out the will of the clan members, consulted with that head when questions were to be decided. For the decisions affecting the entire Saramacca River, there were the Granman and his krutu, before whom questions of larger policy or disputes between villages were brought.

Perhaps most impressive of all was the measure of autonomy which each village had. A village, or certainly a group of neighboring villages belonging to the same clan, formed a small kingdom. A Bush Negro of another village who came to visit, came as any stranger, paddle in hand, his top cloth covering his loin cloth. When he found himself in a strange village on a night when a dance was being given, he did not join the dancers until after much urging by a native of that village, and then he danced little, and if he were a particularly fine dancer, he took care not to flaunt his superior gifts. The exception to this, to be sure, were the sacred dances, when a stranger, whose god came

THE COUNCIL OF THE ELDERS

"Kodo!" 623

"Another letter has come, Bak'a. Will you read that one, too!" 648

This was a communication written by a lumber factor down the river. One of the villages, it seemed, was in dispute with another over timber rights. The case was laid before the Granman by the factor, who asked that the controversy be settled promptly, since the dispute was keeping the men of both villages from cutting the lumber which had been promised him. 691 643 643 578 313 623

Yankuso now spoke again: "You have heard the message, friends. The man who buys timber asks that I settle this dispute between two of our clans. Their villages are far from here. The clans of the Saramacca people can settle their own disputes."

"Gbolo!"

"So I say, friends. I can look at the cows, but from a distance I cannot tell how many there are. It is not for us here to decide this."

"*Kweti, kweti!*—No, no!"

"It is true, friends, as the Saramacca people say, 'The G'aman's breasts are for all his children.' But it is not my children who have come to me. Bak'a," he said, suddenly turning to us, "later you will write for me to this man who buys lumber. Tell him that for the sake of sweet soup a man eats sour dumplings. So I say."

The Granman looked about him. The heat of midday filled the darkness of the council house, and old Bibifo had dozed off. The gaze of the chief fixed him.

"Mati!" he said, when Bibifo stirred. "Sleep is death!"

Slowly the Granman's eyes circled the room until they came to us.

"The Bak'a has come," he repeated, with his slow intonation, every syllable clearly enunciated. "When the Bak'a came, the rain fell. From Asindopo Lantiwe we shot guns of welcome, from Abenda Konde guns were shot. In the heavens, the gods spoke them welcome. There was thunder." 643 574 821 623

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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a prisoner, and refusing to take the special train awaiting him at Kabel. Special trains, he said, were not for prisoners. He was paddled the additional ninety miles in his own corial, which took six days longer. Very vexed at this, the Governor did not shake hands with him, and Jankoeso was offended. "Why doesn't he tell me 'Howdy'?" he asked Mynheer Wolff, who is always instrumental in furthering friendly relations between Dutch and Djukas. Wolff called the Governor outside, and advised him to treat the Granman with more cordiality. The necessary handshaking was done, and the parley continued more affably. The guilty one was apprehended and jailed for a year. Once again there went upstream the annual present of the Dutch government to each Granman. This is a continuation of the custom of tribute money paid to the Bush Negroes ever since the days of the black rebellions. Every year each Granman receives 1500 guilders.

The Granman is the actual chief of the river nation, but the government centres in the village proper. The village is governed by a headman or *captain*, and aiding him in his work is a council or *bosseia*, consisting of three or four or more of the most mature men and women of the town. "Bosseia," like the American colloquial *boss*, comes from the Dutch word *baas*. Here the rough justice of the jungle is administered, and local disputes are settled. Here decisions are made concerning the ownership of timber, and property rights in cassava fields. Quarrels over women are more frequent than any other kind of disputes, and they, too, are settled by the village captain and his bosseia.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

622 623 352 The bosseia meet under a separate shed, specially built for this purpose. The captain has a "throne," which is an ornately carved stool. The one belonging to the captain of the village of Lombe was purchased and brought back to the American Museum of Natural History. The members of the bosseia, too, have ceremonial seats, with elaborately pierced carving, typically West African in design. When the occasion arises, a meeting is held and the council is seated about on these ceremonial benches to hold palaver.

622 623 692 [537] The business is brought up. Perhaps it is a domestic quarrel—two men over one woman. The offended party rises and begins exercising the Bush Negro's traditional privilege of unlimited and vociferous oratory. He details his wrongs. Grand gestures accompany the sonorous flow of words. The interested members of the village sit at a respectful distance from the captain and bosseia, and listen to the harangue. When other speakers have had their say, any inhabitant of the village may get up and give his or her opinion. Proudly the captain exercises his judicial talent, and the decision is handed down. It is not questioned.

622 623 562 The women members of the bosseia have as much power as the men. It is chiefly the women who see that the ancestral and village customs are enforced. They are the guardians of the ancient traditions and customs of the race. To them, also, belongs the duty of keeping the village clean. If the [364] town needs a general cleaning, the women bosseia go about from hut to hut, telling the women to get together and perform the task.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
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When there is a conflict between villages over their hunting and fishing territories, the captains and bosseias of each town meet on some neutral ground and arbitrate the matter. Then, indeed, the parley becomes wordy and rhetorical. Each cause is championed with long speeches, setting forth oratorically the rights and conditions involved. But once an agreement is arrived at, the matter is closed. 622 623 692 628 [537]

Local disputes, excluding those over women, are not nearly so common or so serious as they are among civilized white men. There is a minimum of quarrelling among the Djukas; they get along together in an almost idyllic way. Wherever there are women, there will, of course, be quarrelling, for, in the words of Confucius, "Disorder does not come from heaven, but is brought about by women." Outside of this factor there is little friction in the Bush Negro community. Their highly communalized government works exceedingly well. 683 578

The Granman and his captains have an annual council to make laws for the coming year. This and other assemblies are known as *krutu*. The captains and bosseias from surrounding villages concentrate at some important town to meet the Granman there. The Council near Gansee, the trading-post, included the villages of Nu, Lombe, Biodoti, Ganya Condree, and Adawai. Jankoeso refused to hold his parley in the town proper, although Gansee is the largest village in the entire tribe, because there is a Christian mission station there, conducted by the Moravian Brothers. Jankoeso is in favour of retaining the ancestral gods of the jungle, and does not look with favour upon the white proselytizers. 671 622 623 [799]

682 /8 cont./
[672] culprit is condemned to find the requital in his offspring. His
[567] children, children's children, and great-grandchildren must render slave services for the family of the person poisoned.

692 Moreover, they usually act in accordance with the judgment and the decision of their elders or council members. Most punish-
681 ments consist of whip lashes.

Chapter IV

Weapons

411 These consist of rifles, machetes, bow and arrow, and lances.
278 In some cases they also use a kind of cudgel (1). The most dangerous
682

1. An Indian weapon called apoetoe.

one that they possess, however, is an assortment of vegetable poisons with which they can secretly strike their enemies and whose effects manifest themselves slowly, but are usually lethal. They not only mix these with one food or another, or in snuff or tobacco, but in the case of some can merely bring them in contact with a part of the body and thereby produce to the most infectious results.

/9/

Chapter V

Dwellings, Practices, Customs, Housekeeping

342 Their huts are constructed low above the ground from un-
824 worked round wood, covered with pina, the leaves of a palm species (1), and surrounded by palisade pales.

1. Euterpe oleracea Mart.

352 The couches and sleeping places within are also made of paling.

354 Inside the hut is found the hearth or place for the fire, on
372 which they cook and in which they constantly maintain a fire for

/65 cont./

613 It seems that they expect unanimity to occur and that
571 basically (here are found again the mental mechanisms peculiar to the Refugee Blacks), they expect it to take place by itself, to impose itself as if obvious. If nothing of the sort happens, they separate without deciding anything.

613 This public discussion of all important questions results, in
571 the thought of the Refugee Blacks, not so much from a belief in
820 the wisdom of assemblies as from fear of malevolence. If questions were debated in a small group, there would immediately be mistrustful and jealous minds who would see dark intrigues in it. The constant concern of the Refugee Blacks, when they have something important to say, is to find witnesses. That is in fact the role of the council, and it is why there is neither a lower age limit for taking part nor a precise rule governing the fashion of conducting the discussion.

613 The Captain or hedemã. The head of each of the great lineages
554 which have been part of the tribe since its origin is recognized by the grand man as hedemã or "captain" (this word had been used since the original settlement of Europeans in Guiana to designate the chiefs of Indian tribes).

[692] The captains preside over the lãnti kuutu, supreme council whose functions are principally judiciary.

No precise rule of succession exists, and the choice of the members of the lineage is entirely free with regard to kinship ties.
[693] When the old people are questioned about this, they usually answer that the successor must be chosen from among the classificatory "nephews" of the dead man, that is, from among the members of the lineage who are one more generation away from the foundress.

/67 cont./

613 554 692 [642] 2) He exerts an extended judiciary pwer, for it is taken for granted that the legal and political power of the tribe cannot intervene in affairs between members of the same lineage, even murder, for it can be said that in the custom of the Refugee Blacks the lineage represents only one single life.

It is obligatory that the following besettled within the framework of the lineage:

[764] --Accusations of murder by sorcery where victim and supposed murderer are both members of the lineage

[423] --Arguments over lands within the zones effectively [578] possessed by the lineage.

613 554 692 877 The way in which the captain exerises his functions as judge is hard to know, because for the Refugee Blacks it is extremely shameful to reveal the dissensions within one's own lineage. And as for those of other lineages, if one succeeds in becoming acquainted with them, one scarcely dares talk about it for if that came to be known you could smart for it

613 466 554 Lineage heads have a certain authority on the material level; they designate the men charged with doig the work ordered by the administration, but truth to tell, it is above all a question of choosing from among volunteers, for it is profitable work. They might not succeed in imposing clearly upopular orders.

613 554 624 The captain designates a certain number of supervisors or basia to help him. Their /68/ role consists in watching over the cleanliness of the village, in making all the material arrangements relative to dances and burials, in calling together those concerned to the meetings of the council.

613 571 The lo constitutes a unit from the spiritual point of view, but it is important to notice that it does not involve any collective organization on the material level. In this domain the wildest individualism reigns; there are no tools for collective use, and people get together to make their clearings only if they want to.

/70 cont./

643 613 In 1957 the Dikan lineage was practically extinct. There remained only Grand Man Difu and his elder brother Samalobi, very old.

[829] The present grand man does not know the genealogy of his lineage beyond his grandmother. /Fig. 14 appears here./ /71/

[648] At the death of Awensay it was Samalobi, eldest of Awensay's classificatory nephews, who was to be named; but the French administration thought they had to oppose it, judging him too old; he yielded with good grace.

613 [165] [554] Samalobi, the ancestor, the patriarch of the Boni, died in May, 1957 at over 100 years old. Although very weakened by his infirmities and nearly blind, he kept great prestige and no important decision was made without his consent.

173 The son of Apatu, companion of Crevaux, he had retained an exact memory of the explorer whom he had accompanied during part of his trip in 1877. It is thanks to his memories that Crevaux's prestige has remained so great on the Maroni.

643 692 578 The grand man judges without appeal disputes between members of different lineages. Truly serious affairs are extremely rare, if one keeps in mind that:

[613] [583] [564] --Disputes over the payment of dowry, paying it back in case of divorce, and the assignment of the children, which form the main part of the cases argued before ordinary African jurisdictions, do not exist among the Refugee Blacks;

643 613

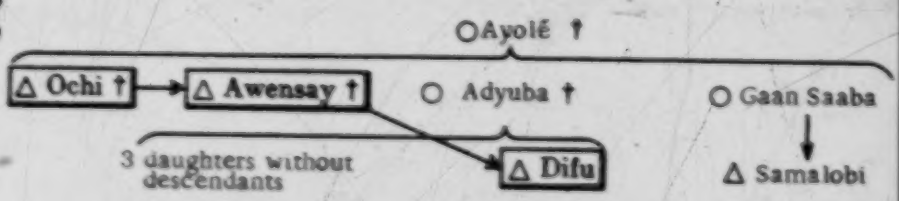

Fig. 14. Filiation of the last three grand men of the Boni.

643 /71 cont./
692 --Disputes over the appropriation of lands are very rare in
[578] Boni country because of the sparseness of population.
[423] We have never seen the grand man hold anything other than audiences of conciliation relative to people who had fought or
[183] threatened each other. The custom of the Refugee Blacks would indeed be difficult to fit into a code. The state of persons and social duties derive so directly from beliefs that the intervention of a judge is not indispensable for the functioning of the society.

643 The grand man is supposed to retain power over all the lands
423 of Boni country which are not allocated to lineages; in particular, this is the case with the upper basin of the headstreams of the Lawa.
[648] It is above all by virtue of this that he is considered the suzerain
[184] of the Indians living in this territory. The same conception exists among the Djuka with respect to the headstreams of the Tapanahoni.

643 The suzerainty of the grand man over the land and waters is
724 marked, as in Africa, by special rights in the domain of hunting
[226] and fishing. He alone can authorize group fishing on the great river by the process of la nivrée. The same problem does not hold for hunting which is practiced in a strictly individual fashion. But it is taken for granted that if a tapir (1) is killed in Boni country,

1. The tapir is the largest animal of the bush.

the hunter must carry its head as well as a thigh to the grand man.

643 A certain misunderstanding reigns between the Europeans and
648 the Boni on the subject of the duties of the grand man. The Europeans tend to believe that he commands the tribe in the way in which a colonel commands a regiment, that he can designate a certain man for a certain job, fix the price of boats, etc. The grand man tries to give satisfaction to the administration /72/ to justify the pay he draws, but he succeeds very badly in it, for in reality he possesses almost no temporal power.

/73 cont./

643 644 586 The present grand man, contrary to his predecessors, has only one wife. She is dressed like the other women and works at her clearing like everyone else, /74/ but her marriage to the grand man imposes special obligations on her: she can not divorce him; neither can he repudiate her.

643 829 The attitude of the Boni toward the grand man is a curious mixture of respect and disparagement. They regard him as the living symbol of their nation, and each one resents as if it were a personal insult an outsider having an incorrect attitude toward him. But their undisciplined spirit kicks up at the measures he is obliged to take to make them respect customary law, and even the authority of a poised and benevolent man like Grand Man Difu is not willingly accepted. As a matter of fact, the Boni stand for [154] the authority of the grand man as they adhere to the worship of [195] their gods, by the feeling of an absolute and inexorable necessity; in their minds the grand man is above all the priest of Odun; if the grand man were not there, they would be without defense against the wisiman, without recourse against the vengeance exercised by the yaka of the dead of other lineages.

The political power of the grand man is entirely based on these beliefs, and if they were to collapse, he would disappear [62] with them. Nobody would submit to any other law than that of the lineage, founded upon fear of the ancestors.

692 693 The lãnti kuutu. This is the assembly of the men, without distinction of age (1) or kinship; this council (lãnti = law) constitutes

> 1. There is no precise rule for fixing the age from which an adolescent may sit in this council. [561] It is apparently when he has reached full physical development and earns his living by his own efforts, about 18 to 20 years. He does not have to be married.

the legal apparatus of the Boni.

/74 cont./

692 693 [641] An essential principle of the social life of the Refugee Blacks is that every citizen carries the law within himself. If several men are requested to arbitrate a private quarrel, it is said that they form a lïnti kuutu. But they can hand down only a sentence of conciliation. Only the general assembly convoked by the grand man has the power to impose its decision.

692 775 The ordinary role of the lïnti kuutu is to judge the dead, to make sure that they were not wisimï (sorcerers), to proceed to their interrogation in order to give the force of law to the answers, especially in what concerns inheritance.

692 693 775 The lïnti kuutu meets when a death is announced; the first to arrive go to the grand man who designates two of the captains to preside over the council this time (for all the members are equal). In fact, rare are the councils attended by all the men present in the villages. Most of the time the lïnti kuutu groups only about 30 men, mostly old men.

692 The lïnti kuutu meets very rarely to judge a living man. That has happened only three times between 1948 and 1957.

692 687 In 1948 the grand man convoked the lïnti kuutu to judge a man who, duly called as boatman to take him to Saint-Laurent, had not come. He was sentenced to make a pallisade around the grand man's habitation, which took more than a month of work. /75/

692 685 In 1953 the council met to judge Loko (Dju), who had made himself guilty of aggravated theft (simulated shipwreck to the detriment of a Benzdorp trader and resale of the merchandise), for which he had been condemned by French justice to several months in prison. Loko had to make honorable amends in the presence of the assembled members of his lineage, then he was sentenced to make 50 planks for the benefit of the grand man.

[224] [643] In August, 1957, the council met to judge Pototo (Asisi-Dju), 23 years old, and Amusupé (Asisi-Aw.B.), 70 years old, who were guilty of a grave offense: misappropriation of a tapir (malpouri) killed by a Djuka who, feeling gratitude toward the grand man, had made known his intention to offer him part of the meat.

692 /75 cont./
685 The Djuka had killed the tapir which had sunk. Pressed for
[224] time, he had had to leave, requesting the Asisi people to look for it.

The next day Pototo and Amusupé found the animal floating
[251] between two waters. They hid it in the bush and had it smoke-
[262] dried on their own behalf. They ate it with their wives (about 100 kilos of meat).

That ended up by becoming known, and a jealous man denounced them to the grand man.

Called before the lānti kuutu, they had to apologize and were each sentenced to pay as a fine to the grand man a demijohn of 15 liters of tafia (worth about 6,000 francs) within four months.

[735] Both of them were at a loss to pay this fine, belonging to the category of ne'er-do-wells who have no regular activity and live from day to day, selling some fish or game from time to time.

[613] Amusupé appealed to Captain Konduku, head of his lineage, who agreed to pay for the tafia for him, Amusupé reimbursing him little by little.

[613] As for Pototo, the head of his lineage refused categorically
[689] to help him because he had eaten the malpouri alone without allowing his family to share it (the village people would have found it normal to profit by the crime, but they deemed it immoral that
[123] one of their relatives had deprived them of meat). After three and a half months, Pototo began to occupy himself seriously at a paid job which he had the luck to find because we needed a bossman for two weeks.

577 The Boni did nothing but laugh while telling us this story.
626 Affairs of this kind, which do not involve any suprahuman inter-
[522] vention, escape in large measure their social morality; they have a certain feeling for what should be done, but submit to it only in proportion as they fear a material and immediate sanction.

/75 cont./

571 In fact, the society of the Refugee Blacks has not elaborated
977 true political institutions; it is essentially a grouping for collective
692 defense against suprahuman perils. The council, like the grand man, has power and authority only insofar as it remains closely bound to this function.

511 Absence of subordination. Among the Refugee Blacks no privileged
[565] class exists. /76/ and they all face life on a footing of rigorous equality; all receive the same education, must cultivate the soil,
[554] build their boats and houses, and live by paid work. The differences in standard of living observed from one to another stem basically from intelligence and work; and that, in spite of the belief in the possibility of getting rich by sorcery, is clearly understood by all.

565 Although the Boni willingly engage in paid work for one
[465] another in transportation by boat, there exists no tendency toward the formation of a class of rich people and one of wage-earners.
571 No servants exist among them, and one observes in their mutual
461 relations no exploitation of the weak. Neither does one observe that
[359] a rich man tries to have done by another, for pay, the customary
462 jobs he must carry out for the benefit of his wife (clearings, building
[643] of boats). This would be looked on with great disfavor. The grand man himself, if his grandson is not there to help him, goes himself to draw water from the river and he does it ostensibly, even though he has a constant concern for his prestige.

829 The misfortunes undergone by their ancestors are certainly at the base of this conception; for they have inspired in the Refugee Blacks a particular sense of human dignity which is not found to the same degree in Africa.

/161 cont./

764 The dead person's spouse, his nearest relatives, and his children come and hang their hammocks inside the krayɔsu, where they will live until broko dɛ (eighth day after the death).

[533] [535] The village people begin the tukka songs and dance, which will last part of the night, while the friends and near relatives of the dead man lament seated, head covered with a cloth.

[824] The first day after the death, as soon as it is morning, the kisimɛ̃ arrive, and begin to make the coffin, using mahogany boards always kept on hand, thanks to the head of the village.

[613] The women of the dead man's lineage prepare a meal which is offered to the kisimɛ̃ about 1:00 P.M. at the end of their work.

While the coffin is being made, the dead man's friends and distant relatives arrive in crowds from the neighboring villages, bringing tafia and cloth as offerings. Two kisimɛ̃ lay these pieces of cloth one by one on the body saying, "So-and-so buries you."

[707] These pieces of cloth are divided up; about 15 are put unto the coffin by the kisimɛ̃, part of the rest serve as pay for the kisimɛ̃, part as pay for the akɔmɛ̃; another part, finally, is used for dressing the widower and his co-wives (or the widow), showing thus that during the whole mourning period they live dependent on the dead person.

Then the kisimɛ̃ close the coffin without any other rites taking place. The late arrivers who bring more cloths knock the coffin saying, "I bury you," and put them down on the ground.

[692] The work of the kisimɛ̃ is over; they bring the body outside the krayɔsu, in front of which has assembled the council called ɛ̃ɔti kuutu, which constitutes the judicial apparatus of the Boni.

/161 cont./

764 692 This tribunal is charged with establishing the causes of death and rendering a decision on this subject which has the force of law. But it is above all charged with judging the dead person, with determining whether he has lived worthily, whether he has the right to be buried according to the rites and to be invoked as an ancestor, or whether on the contrary he was a wisima.

613 (613) The grand man designates one or two lineage heads to preside over the council and "command" the dead person until the burial.

The grand man designates who will lead the assemblage and will "command" the dead person until the burial.

764 692 613 This cannot be the head of the dead person's lineage, for no one can at the same time be judge and judged.

Ex.: for Bôsiti (Dja) this was Fopo — head of the Lapé lo

for Atikati (Dja) it was Konaiku — head of the Awana Bakka lo

for Kondida (Aw.B.) it was Tafanié — head of the Papélinon lo

for Way (Dip. II) it was Tafanié — /162/

764 789 The 2nd and 3rd days after the death are given over to the interrogation of the dead person, which on the evening of the first day had scarcely begun.

(789) The rites of this interrogation vary from one village to another; in certain villages they begin to carry the dead man even before the construction of the coffin; the questions are not asked everywhere in the same fashion.

(171) The dead person is interrogated by methods widespread in West Africa and which are related to spiritualism: the coffin is carried on the heads of two men, feet forward. The dead man is supposed to push the bearers forward to say yes, and to make them now their heads from left to right to say no.

/163 cont./

764 About 5:00 P.M. the coffin arrives at the cemetery wharf and is given over to the Wanli. No other rite is carried out. It is placed at the bottom of the grave; a layer of round logs separates it from the pile of earth which is put back on top. The burial is finished about six o'clock.

Notes taken at the burial of Way in Kormotibo (January 25, 1957) (1st day after death).

I arrive in Kormotibo at nine o'clock. There are two dead people in the village: Soloodo, 37 years old, who is to be buried the next day, and Way, 65, who died in Maripasoula and whose body was transported the day before.

764 When we moored, I noticed at the south end of the village the bearers of Soloodo's coffin, alone and immobile. Arriving near the mortuary shed, I find Captain Koodoku, who presides over the Ilani kusu, and Captain Poopu, head of the village. Koodoku tells me that he is in the act of proceeding to a new test on Soloodo; he has just had two young men hidden, M... and G...., and the dead man is called upon to find them without hesitation.

I look around us. There is nobody nearby; a few women are attending to their occupations, indifferent to a scene observed many a time. It seems as though Koodoku is doing that for himself alone.

The coffin-bearers appear, coming from the other end of the village. Without hesitation they go toward the mortuary shed, enter it, and the end of the coffin stops before the hammock covered with a large mosquito net spread to the ground, where Way's widower, the Saramaka Gamba, is seated.

To my great surprise I see two young men go out. Nothing revealed their presence under the hammock, and Koodoku, who was talking with me, has neither said nor done anything which could direct the bearers. Nobody present could have

/166 cont./

764 767 medium of two round logs. This ritual seems to have as its purpose restricting the defilement of death for the village.).

The body is put back down in the deepest silence, with the greatest care, into the coffin. A pillow is put under the head.

[152] Those present show no emotion. The widower, the Saramaka Gamba, who has remained seated in his hammock since morning, turning his back to his wife's body, does not stir.

The kisimã bring the edges of the pieces of cloth back over the body and put on, in addition, a few camisas of the ordinary kind. Before the upper wings of the coffin are put in place, one of them gently removes the wads of cotton which had been put in the dead woman's nostrils.

Then the upper wings of the coffin are nailed down, always according to the same rite, blows struck in cadence with pieces of wood accompanying the hammer blows.

[692] The role of the kisimã is ended; they give over the dead woman to the council, ãnti kuutu, charged with judging her.

764 787 Search for the Causes of Death. The ceremony begins about four o'clock in the greatest confusion, as is usual among the Refugee Blacks; it is impossible to understand who is really a member of the council and who is not a member, everybody talking at once.

I think I understand that the grand man has designated Captains Kondoku (Asisi-Awara Bakka) and Tafanié (Papalston) to preside over the ceremony. In fact, it is neither the one nor the other who begins the interrogation, but a man from Papalston village, Agodéba, a venerable old man whose torso is molded in a deplorably shoddy jersey calling to mind a rugby match.

/167 cont./

764 The bearers are changed and the interrogation continues,
787 still as confused as before. Captain Tafanié, who arrives in
761 the midst of all this, thinks that the dead woman does not want to speak in front of such a large crowd. He asks her to designate which of the people present will form a small group. I see the front of the coffin stop in front of an old Saramaka named Yasu, then successively in front of about ten of those present of various ages and origins. They stand up, take their little benches in their hands, and go to join Tafanié under a large tree in a spot to the side; the interrogation resumes; by nightfall a sure fact has been established: Way was killed by a god. They will resume the next day in order to find out what god is concerned and how to appease him.

764 Notes taken at the funeral ceremonies for Kotoïda (Afi lineage)
[114] October 22-23, 1956 (2nd and 3rd days after death).

I arrive at Asisi on the 22nd at eight o'clock. Kotoïda died on the twentieth; the first part of the ceremony has been finished.

[692] It is Tafanié, head of Papaïston village, who presides over the lãnti kuutu.

Tafanié himself has directed the making of the coffin (he is a kisimã) with the help of boards held in reserve on the spot. The work was finished at nine o'clock in the morning.

The body was placed in the coffin immediately, and after the presentation of the pieces of cloth, the wings were nailed. /168/

When I arrive at the wharf, the coffin is placed in the mortuary shed. The near relatives of the deceased (sons, daughters, and nephews) as well as the husband and the co-wife compelled to take part in the mourning are seated in their hammocks attached to the posts of the shed. The first-mentioned manifest no apparent sorrow whatever. Husband and

/171 cont. /

764 Work is then resumed. Those present who are not ɔlɔmɛ̃, including me, are invited to throw several shovels of earth. On top of the mound are placed the papay and the objects used in the mourning, topped by the dead woman's bench. Then those present go away without haste and wash at the wharf. Several shots are again fired while the canoes go away.

The graves are spaced about 10 meters apart. The dead are not grouped by lineages; the cemetery is extended as needed, and the dead person is put in the first available spot. Thus Kotolda (Awara Bakka) is placed beside Akolda (Lapé), a hundred-year-old woman dead a few months before.

They show me the graves of village heads I have known, Diolé († in 1951), Atikati († in 1953). The mounds are already half settled down, the brush on them is as much as a meter high.

[169] One of my boatmen pours a little tafia on his mother's grave which is at the edge /172/ of the path. None of those present leaves the group to go to the grave of his relatives.

Thanking Ceremonies. On the twenty-third at eight [692] o'clock, the dɛnti kusu is convened and sits at the edge of the mortuary shed.

[169] The ɔlɔmɛ̃ and in a general way those who have worked on behalf of the dead person (only about ten remain, the others have left to work) are seated opposite the men of the dead woman's lineage.

It is always Tafanié who speaks. Béna (Dju), seated before the ɔlɔmɛ̃, turned toward the speaker, plays the role of respondent. Tafanié thanks all those who have worked on behalf of the dead person, detailing at length the various jobs, then citing their various lineages; he repeats the same thing in several ways and his speech is interminable. Sometimes he [293] interrupts himself to put in a good joke or drink a bumper of [415] tafia. A 15-liter demijohn is seen circulating inside the shed.

/226 cont./

784 182 Finally, a fifth kunu is threatening to show itself. This is a remarkable affair which clarifies at the same time the legal and religious conceptions of the Refugee Blacks.

672 About 1918, a stupid accident which happened at Dagouédé (gun which went off by itself at the moment when it was being stowed in a boat) caused the death of a girl, Santonia, daughter of Kuiuba (Aw.B.1). The unwitting perpetrator of the accident was Kwau (Dip. I. Apatu village). There were people in the Awara Bakka lineage who accused [692] him of having done it on purpose, but the grand man judged that he was innocent and the affair was shelved.

784 614 795 787 Now in April, 1957, Kiboya (Dip. II), a young woman of 25, was attacked by a fit of possession. It was Santonia's yanka which was supposed to reveal itself in her. It declared that it was going to exercise a kunu on Dipélis. It was not claiming that Kwau had killed her on purpose and even asked the Awara Bakka not to make reprisals.

628 614 Nevertheless, full of fury, a party of Awara Bakka went the next day to attack the village of L'Enfant Perdu, demolishing a certain number of huts and pursuing the inhabitants, some of whom took refuge in the water and others in the bush. There were, however, no serious blows.

The next day they went to attack Kormotibo in the same way. It is to be noted that only after that did they think of blaming Kwau, who was then living at Wacapou. But the grand man had intervened in the meantime to re-establish peace.

In both cases the façades of several shacks were smashed and two men, Bonana and Amatodja, who had run less fast than the others, were struck symbolically.

/234 cont./

695 Fist-fighting is practiced also between individuals as a test for justification. If someone is unjustly accused of theft, this is the first idea which occurs to him, even before the oath before Odun. On this subject the Refugee Blacks have a conception analogous to that of the ancient Europeans, according to which God will come to the aid of the innocent person, giving him the strength of ten. This fighting, too, is subject to precise rules; it can be indulged in only publicly, in a village, never in the bush or on the river.

In spite of the importance attached to the oath before Odun, Boni custom does not make provision for any test for
628 justification having a recognized legal value. This is what makes
613 the symbolic battle indispensable. Intervention is then asked of the head of a neutral lineage in order to restore peace. If no death or calamity takes place allowing /235/ belief in the unappeased vengeance of a dead person, the affair is very quickly forgotten. For example, in examining the table of marriages among the various lineages, one ascertains that there are a number of normal unions between the Dipélu and the Awara Bakka.

643 In these kinds of affairs the grand man has two very
692 exact functions:

--To reveal pretense;

--To intervene as supreme arbiter in case of necessity.

[787] Each time that someone is attacked by a fit of possession
[995] and claims to speak in the name of a yorka coming to exercise a kunu, the lineage head conducts him to the grand man who makes sure that there is no question of pretense.

643 The grand man, in the thought of the Boni, has the
995 power to compel any yorka to manifest itself.

787 He conducts the person concerned to the fraga tiki and
695 invokes the yorka. If pretense is involved, the individual will not be able to articulate a syllable. If it is true possession, the yorka will speak through his mouth.

/239 cont./

754 Trial for sorcery does not exist among the Boni, but a
787 procedure exists which allows for pinning down suspicions.

After each death the dead person is asked the question: Is it wisi that killed thee? The question is put last (they first ask kunn, then fyo-fyo /see p. 398/).

If it is wisi, they ask: Is it such-and-such a family? (In general it is in the lineage itself), then the names of the lineage members are uttered successively until there is a positive response.

754 The one who is thus accused of wisi can be summoned
695 to justify himself before the grand man, but that can only have the character of an investigation and not a trial. The suspected individual may not be challenged. They accept the fact that it is only a matter of presumption and that the dead accuser can lie, pursuing vengeance beyond the grave.

The Refugee Blacks declare that there is no certainty about wisi.

754 A remarkable principle of customary law is that if a
613 member of a matrilineage /240/ is believed to have killed one
692 of his "brothers," the judiciary power of the Boni cannot interfere. It is an affair purely within the lineage.

754 Thus no one can be challenged or expelled for an act of sorcery. If one suspects somebody strongly, one will avoid him, one will turn the cold shoulder to him, all the time remaining polite, but one will not show anything. To this principle is attached a very noble idea, that of the interdiction of vengeance. He who is victim of sorcery must under no circumstances do countersorcery. He can only ask for the protection of the abia. One must not under any circumstances ask a divinity or his ancestors to harm his aggressor.

754 Among the Refugee Blacks there is only one sanction
715 against the wisima: They will necessarily be found out at their
787 death. The yaika of the dead person, interrogated by the elders,

754 /246 cont./
755 The maÑtif asked 2,000 francs from him as the price of
648 his consultation.

789 Curse. Someone who judges himself victim of evil-doing has at his disposal a supreme resource: /247/ cursing his adversary, that is, appealing directly to the supreme God, Masa Gadu, to ask him to punish his adversary. This is called seni gadu -- sending God -- against someone. To do that, while asking God to kill him or make him sick, one kneels and strikes the ground with both hands in the presence of the adversary or in front of his house. This act is regarded as totally different from wisi, for one is relying on the justice of God, who judges with equity and punishes only the guilty.

However that may be, cursing is for the Refugee Blacks a very serious act. It may happen that, feeling guilty, the source of the injustice asks pardon and promises to make amends for his misdeeds. The one who uttered the curse again implores Masa Gadu in order to take back the words he spoke: "He has given me satisfaction, do nothing against him." But oftener still it happens that a complicated affair is involved, that both parties concerned are persuaded of their legitimate
[692] ground and curse each other. The case must then be carried before the grand man and straightened out at once or misfortunes
[695] may pounce upon both lineages. The grand man judges without appeal and inflicts a punishment on the one who was wrong
[778] on the main issue of the debate. Then he obliges the ad-
[762] versaries to be reconciled before the fraga tiki, where the offering of tafia and water is made.

[828] The effect of these conceptions is to render nearly im-
[754] possible hidden hatreds and rancors, which the Refugee Blacks fear very much, for they are the source of wisi.

688 In general, the act of getting angry in public and serious-
689 ly insulting somebody is considered as an offense against moral and religious law, capable of attracting misfortunes; it is an

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
518 Bush Negroes 518
Saramacca

the Bak'a himself tell why he has come the long way to the Saramacca river and what it is he seeks."

There was a general chorus of agreement, and silence awaited our accounting.

As the town man began to repeat our words to the Granman, the quiet of the house was heightened by an occasional stirring outside the paling. From where we sat, we could see brown motionless feet, which told us that there were many more than those inside, who were listening to the white man's reason for being in the bush.

Again the Granman made the traditional responses.

"So it is, white man."

"True, what you have said, bassia."

Finally our telling was at an end. Again there was a silence as we sat, tensely waiting.

The Granman again broke the silence.

"Friends, chiefs, you have heard. The white man is here. He comes to learn of our life. The gods of the river have brought him and his woman safely. The Great God sent the rain to cool the air when he reached Asindopo Lantiwe. The gods are more than I am. The river is more than I am. But the Saramacca people are also more than I am. It is you, headmen of the Saramacca people, who must speak."

"Ai, G'aman," said the man who had the stripes of white on him and who wore the many obias. "But have the ancestors spoken?"

"Truly you ask, friend," was the response. "It is well that you think of these things. In the bush, we think before we speak. Do you go aside and consider well."

Slowly the members of the krutu arose from their benches. Softly, with bent form, each passed out of the doorway. We were alone with the Granman, who waited with us for the reply of the chiefs.

5

As the elders slowly filed out of the council house, it was as though a jury were leaving the courtroom to decide a case which had been laid before it. And as we learned more,

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we found that for the krutu to act as a jury was an important part of its work. The krutu not only saw to the making of law, but it was also the medium for levying penalties upon those who transgressed law. The same krutu that legislated could judge infractions of its legislation. In its hands was the power to enforce the decisions it had made against the offender. 623 693

We had wondered whether, in this Suriname bush, the African court which so characterized the civilization of the ancestors of these people had survived. When we heard of the supernatural vengeance which followed upon infractions of custom, we sought to find out if people took the matter of punishment into their own hands, if kunu was reinforced by human assistance. 623 693 681

"Ai, mati," a chief once said to us, "kunu is strong, but the krutu is strong, too."

If a man had sworn an oath against another, had called down upon another a curse of some evil spirit, or asked that the gods make a man impotent, or that they stop the womb of his wife from conceiving, or if a man murdered by means other than witchcraft, then he was judged by a krutu. A man who had destroyed a canoe belonging to another—a serious offense, for, as the Bush Negro says, "Had our forefathers not had the wisdom to build canoes, we would still be slaves to the Bak'a"—he, too, would come before this court. The adulterer would be brought here for the assessment of his fine. [683] [685] [684]

When the krutu sat as a court, the accused was not without the right of defense. If it were thieving, or adultery, or the telling of falsehoods, or trespass, or the destruction of the property of another, where the kunu involved was not of the greatest, then the case was judged on the basis of the evidence. In the court, the interests of the one who was accused were cared for by one of the elders of his *mãe*, his relative and a fellow member of his own great family. But when the crime was one of the greater ones, then methods other than the sole use of testimony were employed. Evidence was necessary, but evidence was not 623 695

/18 cont./

766 times, no noticeable movement has been observed, the answer is
787 negative, and one proceeds with the corpse all the way to the end of the crowd ranged on either side. Everyone endeavors to be present on such occasions in order not to cast any blame upon himself or to arouse suspicion.

If, however, the answer is in the affirmative, then one asks whether the right person or a close relative of his is here; if the answer to this is also affirmative, one proceeds to inquire about the degree of blood relationship until one has finally discovered who the actual person is. Since this happens in the presence of so many persons as witnesses, it is regarded as valid proof, and the corpse is buried. However incomprehensible and impossible this may appear, this procedure is nonetheless actually practiced con-
[123] stantly among the Bush Negroes. I have been an eyewitness several times.

695 A few days later the person indicated, in case he was not
[693] present at the above-mentioned inquiry, is tracked down, if necessary fetched forcibly, and brought before the governor or the chief, who questions him in the presence of the captains or the council members. In case of denial, he is offered something to drink, which, however, he will not accept if he is guilty, since it has become apparent that whoever drinks it with a pounding or uneasy heart frequently manifests immediate symptoms, such as
[681] vomiting, swelling, chlorosis, and so forth. If the person has been prepared to brave this (in spite of the conviction of his misdeed), he is put to death by means of the most horrible and unheard-of tortures, whereas in the case of confession he is forced with the whip to reveal whom else he has poisoned during his life.

696 All the relatives of the poisoned person are then called in
682 order to be present at the punishment and to pull on his ears with all possible force by means of a pair of pincers, one after
[262] another. Subsequently a bowl with pinda blaf is set before him, in which a turtle must be boiled, as well as a tomtom made of ripe bananas. All this, after all, is regarded as the tastiest food. He is then /19/ again severely beaten with a whip, whereupon he must eat what has been prepared for him, and immediately afterwards

/25 cont./

928 The peace conditions are determined in a large building
695 (shed). This shed is entirely open, they call it their court of
[344] justice, derived from kroetoe hoso or piketti (1). When they find

1. Piketti, place where the execution of the punishment takes place.

themselves there, whether this takes place after the conclusion of an internecine battle, or between spouses, members of a family, or former friends, the heads of the parties gather in the shed referred to and choose their places in the upper part of the building. Subsequently those concerned in this manner place themselves in the vicinity of the head, and around these all those present who make up the public.

When all have been placed, one of the heads takes a cup (as a rule a calabash) filled with dram or still unfermented sugar
[769] cane. He scatters a few drops of this on the ground in various places
[782] in the shed, which signifies that their ancestors, who also once sat on this spot and passed judgment, are to be called up in the memory of all, and that the deceased, by having this offering presented to them first, have had respect paid to them.

Once this solemnity has been carried out, the cup goes around to each one, and each of those present takes a small draught from it. After it has been emptied, and none of them has refrained from drinking from it, the peace is regarded as concluded, all feuds are forgiven, and the enmity has ceased to exist.

Should it happen that one of those present refuses to drink, then he must publicly give the reason for his refusal, and then it may sometimes happen that the considerations concerning the quarrel start anew.

[693] /26/ Then the elders or council members ordinarily withdraw from the shed and leave behind only their granman (1).

1. Head or governor.

Those who have withdrawn divide themselves into different groups and consult with one another, make the matter clear and

/73 cont./

643 644 586 The present grand man, contrary to his predecessors, has only one wife. She is dressed like the other women and works at her clearing like everyone else, /74/ but her marriage to the grand man imposes special obligations on her: she can not divorce him; neither can he repudiate her.

643 829 The attitude of the Boni toward the grand man is a curious mixture of respect and disparagement. They regard him as the living symbol of their nation, and each one resents as if it were a personal insult an outsider having an incorrect attitude toward him. But their undisciplined spirit kicks up at the measures he is obliged to take to make them respect customary law, and even the authority of a poised and benevolent man like Grand Man Difu is not willingly accepted. As a matter of fact, the Boni stand for [154] the authority of the grand man as they adhere to the worship of [195] their gods, by the feeling of an absolute and inexorable necessity; in their minds the grand man is above all the priest of Odun; if the grand man were not there, they would be without defense against the wisiman, without recourse against the vengeance exercised by the yaka of the dead of other lineages.

The political power of the grand man is entirely based on these beliefs, and if they were to collapse, he would disappear [122] with them. Nobody would submit to any other law than that of the lineage, founded upon fear of the ancestors.

692 693 The Ilini kuutu. This is the assembly of the men, without distinction of age (1) or kinship; this council (Ilini = law) constitutes

> 1. There is no precise rule for fixing the age from which an adolescent may sit in this council. [56] It is apparently when he has reached full physical development and earns his living by his own efforts, about 18 to 20 years. He does not have to be married.

the legal apparatus of the Boni.

/14 cont./

692 693 [641] An essential principle of the social life of the Refugee Blacks is that every citizen carries the law within himself. If several men are requested to arbitrate a private quarrel, it is said that they form a Hati kuutu. But they can hand down only a sentence of conciliation. Only the general assembly convoked by the grand man has the power to impose its decision.

692 995 The ordinary role of the Hati kuutu is to judge the dead, to make sure that they were not wisimi (sorcerers), to proceed to their interrogation in order to give the force of law to the answers, especially in what concerns inheritance.

692 693 775 The Hati kuutu meets when a death is announced; the first to arrive go to the grand man who designates two of the captains to preside over the council this time (for all the members are equal). In fact, rare are the councils attended by all the men present in the villages. Most of the time the Hati kuutu groups only about 30 men, mostly old men.

692 The Hati kuutu meets very rarely to judge a living man. That has happened only three times between 1948 and 1957.

692 687 In 1948 the grand man convoked the Hati kuutu to judge a man who, duly called as boatman to take him to Saint-Laurent, had not come. He was sentenced to make a palisade around the grand man's habitation, which took more than a month of work. /15/

692 685 In 1953 the council met to judge Loko (Djo), who had made himself guilty of aggravated theft (simulated shipwreck to the detriment of a Benzdorp trader and resale of the merchandise), for which he had been condemned by French justice to several months in prison. Loko had to make honorable amends in the presence of the assembled members of his lineage, then he was sentenced to make 30 planks for the benefit of the grand man.

[224] [243] In August, 1957, the council met to judge Pouto (Asisi-Djo), 23 years old, and Amusapé (Asisi-Aw.B.), 70 years old, who were guilty of a grave offense: misappropriation of a tapir (malpouri) killed by a Djoka who, feeling gratitude toward the grand man, had made known his intention to offer him part of the meat.

344 to be admired for their artistry, but there also for ceremo-
352 nial purposes which were never divulged. When one of these benches was later taken down to show the magic of paper which, placed on the top of a carving and rubbed with black crayon, reproduced the design beneath, the Granman looked startled, and then ordered that it be replaced. Nor were other rubbings allowed.

531 On both sides of these massed benches were many objects
352 which could barely be distinguished in the half darkness of the house. There were guns and canisters, there were a few native brooms, and several wrapped parcels. There was also an apinti drum on which the gods were addressed. Not even at Ma'lobbi, where the chief, a famous carver, showed us many remarkable products of his art, did we see designs worked with the fine, sure lines or the beauty of individual motifs such as were traced on this apinti. The carving was in relief and covered the entire surface of the drum, which stood about three feet high, curving outwards from the top, and resting on a narrow circular base which raised its body about six inches from the ground. It was covered with a deerskin that use and exposure to the atmosphere had stained unevenly to shades of amber.

344 Facing these carvings was the door which, itself of
352 wood, swung on wooden hinges of native fashioning. In relief appeared the Earth Mother, and surrounding her were the symbols of fertility. No man, not even the Granman himself, dared speak her name in this council house. At trials, when oaths were taken, she might be appealed to, but to call her idly would bring down her wrath on the Granman's clan, and, perhaps not stopping there, since the council house was of all the clans, she would revenge herself upon all the people of the Saramacca River. The carving was more beautiful than on the apinti which stood against the opposite wall. The greatest artist on the river had made it.

"That man had the gods, ya-hai," the men said, when we talked of the Granman's carvings.

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623 enough if the accused persisted in denying such crimes.
695 In that case he called upon the gods to witness that the sin of which he was accused had not been committed by him, and this called for trial by ordeal.

695 The ordeal as a judicial measure was not unknown to our own civilization. In Africa it flourished in the native courts before the coming of the white man, and, it is whispered, still persists in the Suriname bush. The facts as we tell them, we cannot vouch for from our own experience. They were given us independently by two men who have spent many years among the Saramacca people, men who speak the language fluently and who for long periods have lived in this big bush of the Saramacca tribe. Other facts which they told us we had been able to corroborate. These whispers, however, we could not check, for few Bush Negroes would admit that they knew anything of the ordeal.

One way of trial by ordeal was to "*beke ni'i*," to drink the oath. It was utilized in accusations of witchcraft and sorcery. The priests and the elders prepared a drink of deadly poison. Over it magic incantations were pronounced by the obia men. The oath of innocence was taken, and the accused drank. If the potion was retained and the man died, his guilt had been proved, but if the drink was vomited, he was innocent. What his redress was if he were proved not guilty, we were not able to discover.

"If a man is guilty of *wiri*—of evil magic," our friend said, when he told us the story, "he would be afraid of the oath. When it came time to drink, no matter how brave he was, he would confess."

695 Then there was the proof offered in adultery cases,
689 described to us by the other man who knew the ways of the Saramacca folk. When both man and woman who had been accused of misconduct denied their guilt, the procedure this man had witnessed was this. The woman was made to kneel before the assembled kruta of the village. While she knelt there, a buzzard's feather was put into water, in a calabash of the kind they call gubi, and the water was

M Herskovits & Herskovits E-3 (1929-1930) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Saramaca

treated with obia. An obia man now addressed the woman who denied the charge that had been lodged against her, restating the accusation and her denial. Then he asked her once more if she were guilty, and when the answer was still "No," the test was applied. 695 684

Through the woman's tongue the quill of the feather, which had been treated with magic, was thrust. When the entire length of the feather had passed through the tongue, then it was that the proof was had. If the woman's tongue neither swelled nor showed blood, she was innocent.

But whether it be trial by ordeal or through the taking of testimony, punishment by the krutu went along with punishment by the spirits. Only incest, we learned, was not punishable by the court. That was for kunu alone to avenge.

6

Once more the krutu was in session. Where the men had "gone aside," we did not know, but while we sat in the krutu house, alone with Moana Yankuso, we heard nothing. 623 133 574

The Granman had spoken little. Were our hammocks tied well the night before? Were we satisfied with the arrangements he had made for the storing of our supplies?

What were the elders deciding? We could not but wonder with anxiety. Would this krutu, after the fashion of the bush, where time meant so little, come to no decision? Was the answer to be one that had been previously arranged?

Chief Singi was the first to speak.

"G'aman, we have gone aside. Your captains and bassias have spoken together. We say, the white man has come. The white man must eat. Let all be told to bring gifts, that you may feed those who have come to you."

"So it is," was the Granman's response. "Friends, great thanks to you. What you have said is good. Let all return to their villages. Let all tell their people that the white man has come. Let all come with gifts, that we may eat."

There was a chorus of affirmations. The Granman arose.

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Surinamese

Chapter Nine

MEDICINE AND MAGIC

NO one in Djuka land dies a natural death. Death is caused by witchcraft. At Santi Gron on the Saramacca River, preparations are being made for a burial. The whole village is excited. The women wailing are the relatives of the dead man. Children are crying because they see others crying. Unseen drums throb dully, making the hot air pulsate. The corpse lies in an open shed with only three walls—a death house (*dede ass*). Two girls of fifteen or sixteen are fanning it steadily to keep the flies away. The man died more than a week ago; all this time the body had been lying on a platform out in the tropical heat to decompose.

It is black magic that kills. Therefore the Bush Negroes make an effort to find out who made the magic that killed this man. An ancient ritual is employed. Three to ten days the corpse is left unburied, and in the humid heat the flesh undergoes a partial liquefaction. The putrescent fluid is gathered in a calabash cup and carried around from door to door.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

754 Each person in the village goes through the motion of drink-
695 ing some of it. Should anyone refuse to do this, he is the
737 person who is guilty of inflicting death by witchcraft upon the deceased.

The guilt is mainly ceremonial; but sometimes a penalty is attached to anyone's refusal to "drink." The liquid is not actually swallowed, but the calabash gourd is placed to the lips. The whole ritual is probably a folk-memory of the ancestral days when actual death was meted out to the man who worked black magic.

Another ceremony to find the guilty party may follow, especially if the first has not found him. The corpse on its platform is carried in procession through the paths of the village. Leading the procession are the obeiah men daubed with pemba dotee. Their faces are bisected vertically, one half covered with clay and the other half clean. Large crescents are drawn over each breast and over the belly. In the procession are the dead man's relatives. They are accompanied always by the booming drums. Four bucks carry the platform to the doorway of each hut, and pause there, or pause in the village clearing.

The obeiah men question the corpse: "Is this the house of the person who killed you?"

The four men bearing the body, which is supposedly possessed by the spirit of the dead, shake the platform, imparting a slight movement, a semblance of life, to the corpse. Meanwhile, buzzards and vultures, the uninvited guests, perch expectantly in the wall of jungle trees that surround

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner
Aucaner

the village clearing. Flies and insects scurry. The body rolls over toward the door of the hut: yes, this is the guilty one. Or else it rolls away: no, he is innocent. The tomtoms boom again, and the procession moves on to the next hut.

After winding about the town, the procession continues along a game trail back into the forest, where the white man is not allowed to follow. There, back in the bush, the body is perhaps buried to cheat the buzzards and vultures; but we are not sure. The dead person's hut is never occupied again; neither is it repaired or demolished, but allowed, like the corpse, to decay.

Not for some time has the actual death penalty been inflicted upon those suspected of killing their neighbours by witchcraft. However, this used to be the case among the Djukas—more especially among the Aucaners—and the ceremony surrounding the detection of the guilty party is probably a survival of the Tshi-speaking people of Africa. Today the punishment of one suspected of causing death takes a more moderate form. In fact, unless the guilty party had previously announced his intention of causing the death, the punishment is "left to God." Otherwise, the guilty one may be given a severe beating, but, if the culprit escapes to a neighbouring village, it is incumbent upon the captain of that village to give him asylum. This has been noted by Mr. E. Wong, head bush police official at Moengo. Men are sometimes ostracized from the village, and are left to gain a livelihood by their own resources at some lonely spot on the river.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

754 More than one person may be involved in the black magic [695] that brings about death, and the burial ceremony may indicate several persons as guilty. This magic is similar to that employed by other primitive peoples. A spirit or soul resides [774] in each living person; if this spirit is destroyed, the person will die. A man can cause the death of his enemy by summoning the spirit out of his enemy's body with herbs and charms and incantations; the spirit can then be shot with a gun. Or else he may procure some of his enemy's nail parings or hair, or any object of close personal association. He should also know his enemy's birthday and secret name. Rites are performed and, as a result, the enemy dies. His spirit has been slain. Magic, therefore, consists of the use of rituals for the purpose of compelling supernatural powers to do one's bidding.

123 For this reason many natives object to being photographed. 774 The black camera, they believe, if pointed at them and 822 clicked, will draw out their souls. The person owning the camera can then mutilate or destroy their souls at will. On our first expedition among the Bush Negroes all attempts at photography were difficult. When the attempt was made to take a native's picture the black would cry out, *"No puru me!"*—"Don't draw me out!" They firmly believed that the photographer was trying to draw out their spirits for magical purposes. On the second expedition, returning to the same villages with the developed photographs, we showed them to the natives and watched their reaction. The Negroes examined the snapshots curiously, turning them around, not

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

177 The method of finding out who is responsible for the death of a man is found in many parts of the West Coast. [495] The details vary considerably, but the essential idea that death is caused by witchcraft, and that some individual is guilty, is found in West Africa as well as in South America. [766] The method of binding the corpse on a platform, covered with blankets of weeds, comes from the Gold Coast.

177 A number of Bush Negro words are African in origin. 192 *Lo*, the Djuka word for clan, designates a village in Yoruba or Ibo. The *quaqua*, the resounding plank which accompanies the drums, is possibly a Kikongo or M'pongwe word from the Ivory Coast. *Azeman*, meaning a kind of vampire, is an Ewe and Tshi word, as well as a Bush Negro term. The fetish house, the *kifunga*, is probably derived from Bacongo, Luango, Cameroons, or Togo, and the word itself is in all likelihood a Bacongo term. *Leeba*, meaning "river," is an Ewe word. *Akra*, designating a kind of ghost, is a Tshi word. *Makuku*, designating a Bush Negro fireplace made with three lumps of clay, is a Kikongo word, and the custom itself is derived from the Yoruba, Slave Coast, the lower Niger, and the Central and East Sudan region.

177 The carved wooden locks, the quintessence of Bush Negro [322] wood carving, are found also among the Ashanti, in Dahomey, and in the Sudan. The method of poisoning fish by [226] beating into a stream the pulp of poisonous plants is common in South America among the Indians, but it is likewise found in West Africa among the Tshi, Yoruba, Togo, Congo, and Angolo peoples. The same is true of other Djuka fishing practices, such as the custom of fishing at night by torchlight.

/18 cont./

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227 negative, and one proceeds with the corpse all the way to the end of the crowd ranged on either side. Everyone endeavors to be present on such occasions in order not to cast any blame upon himself or to arouse suspicion.

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/19 cont./

696 he must sit unbound on a large fire arranged in gridiron fashion,
682 so that he burns completely to ashes.

[695] Never, however, is an accused put to death before three months have elapsed after the inquiry, because there still might possibly be a chance that his innocence will be proved.

682 In the case of a confession and the supplying of clear proof
[695] that the deceased gave cause to be poisoned, the culprit frequently escapes with a light punishment; sometimes also forgiveness is
[672] granted with general approval, with the condition that the culprit take upon himself to the third generation the obligation to be of service in everything to the descendants of the maltreated person.
681 It may also happen that in the case of various other misdeeds the
672 perpetrator is completely forgiven for his misdeed, but that upon his descendants to the third generation there is imposed the obligation to render slave services exactly as in the case of poisoning.

681 The majority of these slave services ordinarily consist of giving money, strong drink, or the necessities of life, as a result of which hard work must often be done in order to be able to fulfill them. Every day they are afraid that this or that may be exacted from them. There are indications, however, that not too great a misuse is made of this.

765 Twelve months after the burial there always takes place a great gathering in the hut of the deceased, at which time the period of mourning ends with rejoicing. Exuberant festivities are then celebrated, and that night an unusually great amount is drunk, eaten, and honor salutes fired. Everyone in the vicinity, insofar as he is able, is present on this occasion.

This festival is called tesa, the ending of the mourning period, and begins after one of the nearest relatives, who enjoys the greatest respect, takes a large calabash filled with water in his right hand and with it slowly walks forth out of the hut along the other dwellings nearby and is followed by a large number of people, during which he here and there sprinkles the water,
[775] trowéwatra, in drops on the ground, saying: Like this water, the soul of the deceased will also be pure, and all that was dear to him will remain tranquilly on earth without being disturbed by him who as spirit finds himself in the spirit world.

/25 cont./

928 695 (344) The peace conditions are determined in a large building (shed). This shed is entirely open, they call it their court of justice, derived from kroetoe hoso or piketti (1). When they find

1. Piketti, place where the execution of the punishment takes place.

themselves there, whether this takes place after the conclusion of an internecine battle, or between spouses, members of a family, or former friends, the heads of the parties gather in the shed referred to and choose their places in the upper part of the building. Subsequently those concerned in this matter place themselves in the vicinity of the heads, and around these all those present who make up the public.

When all have been placed, one of the heads takes a cup (as a rule a calabash) filled with dram or still unfermented sugar cane. He scatters a few drops of this on the ground in various places in the shed, which signifies that their ancestors, who also once sat on this spot and passed judgment, are to be called up in the memory of all, and that the deceased, by having this offering presented to them first, have had respect paid to them. (769) (782)

Once this solemnity has been carried out, the cup goes around to each one, and each of those present takes a small draught from it. After it has been emptied, and none of them has refrained from drinking from it, the peace is regarded as concluded: all feuds are forgiven, and the enmity has ceased to exist.

Should it happen that one of those present refuses to drink, then he must publicly give the reason for his refusal, and then it may sometimes happen that the considerations concerning the quarrel start anew.

(693) /26/ Then the elders or council members ordinarily withdraw from the shed and leave behind only their granman (1).

1. Head or governor.

Those who have withdrawn divide themselves into different groups and consult with one another, make the matter clear and

/26 cont./

728 communicate to one another their opinions, in what way they
• 695 wish to see the points of difference resolved. If they are agreed concerning these, then they return to the chief in the shed and the discussion of the matter takes place anew, until finally agreement exists. During this consultation of the elders or council
[562] members a solemn seriousness prevails among them. Women are sometimes admitted to these conferences, but never have a voice, and come merely to listen and to see.

After the matter has been settled to the satisfaction of all parties, the cup once more makes several rounds among those present, and thereafter everyone goes silently and quietly to his camp or dwelling.

Chapter XVIII

Music, Musical Instruments

533 Their music is very simple and monotonous; one makes use of it, to the accompaniment of song and dance, at festivals and cult ceremonies.

534 The instruments are variously used and doubtless according to the type of event. Thus the so-called long drum, called agida (2), is played at cult ceremonies; on other occasions one

2. Papáá drum.

uses the small or apientie drum. Furthermore they have an instrument called kwakwa stool by them, a stool or board of very hard wood on which one beats with two sticks.

534 When they dance the papaá-wenti, an African idol dance,
535 they use the agida drum. For the sorgé, or ordinary dance, they play the small drum or apienti.

They dance the socisa to the beat of the small drum and with the kwakwa stool; in executing the last-named dance a great deal of competition prevails among the dancers, and the one who

● 695 [For information concerning a pseudo-trial procedure involving the interrogation of a recently deceased person for purposes of judging him, see category 116, pp. 243-245.]

/197 cont./

The rites of the worship of Odun are known only by the grand man and by an old man who replaces him when he travels. They are practiced only on the occasion of the collective oath against wisi, renewed every two or three years, and when it is necessary to implore Odun's mercy toward an offender. The officiant bathes the latter's body with a maceration of leaves that he alone knows.

To question Odun and know whether he pardons, they make use of a sacred object named afalaku, placed on a board put on the heads of two men. The answers yes and no are deduced by interpretation of the movements of the bearers, as in the interrogation of the dead.

The oath before Odun is also practiced as a legal test, permitting a man unjustly accused of theft or any misdeed whatever to justify himself.

Thus, in November, 1959, B... of Asisi, accused by two Djoka of being responsible for the burning of a large cabin /carbet/ in which objects of value were stored, asked to justify himself before Odun.

Odun's laws, which have the effect of forbidding violence, vengeance, and every form of oppression, give to the society of the Refugee Blacks a unique atmosphere of dignity and serenity which is not found to the same degree in animistic African societies. Most African societies censure sorcery and murder, but they accept vengeance and various forms of oppression. It is probable that the men who, two or three centuries ago, deep in the forests of Surinam, developed these laws, were inspired more or less consciously by Christian ideas; but they introduced them into an African system of thought, associating them with the idea of material sanctions in the present life, without which they would have been powerless.

/234 cont./

•695 Fist-fighting is practiced also between individuals as a test for justification. If someone is unjustly accused of theft, this is the first idea which occurs to him, even before the oath before Odun. On this subject the Refugee Blacks have a conception analogous to that of the ancient Europeans, according to which God will come to the aid of the innocent person, giving him the strength of ten. This fighting, too, is subject to precise rules; it can be indulged in only publicly, in a village, never in the bush or on the river.

In spite of the importance attached to the oath before Odun, Boni custom does not make provision for any test for
628 justification having a recognized legal value. This is what makes
613 the symbolic battle indispensable. Intervention is then asked of the head of a neutral lineage in order to restore peace. If no death or calamity takes place allowing /235/ belief in the unappeased vengeance of a dead person, the affair is very quickly forgotten. For example, in examining the table of marriages among the various lineages, one ascertains that there are a number of normal unions between the Dipélu and the Awara Bakka.

643 In these kinds of affairs the grand man has two very
692 exact functions:

--To reveal pretense;

--To intervene as supreme arbiter in case of necessity.

[787] Each time that someone is attacked by a fit of possession
[795] and claims to speak in the name of a yorka coming to exercise a kunu, the lineage head conducts him to the grand man who makes sure that there is no question of pretense.

643 The grand man, in the thought of the Boni, has the
795 power to compel any yorka to manifest itself.
787 He conducts the person concerned to the fraga tiki and
695 invokes the yorka. If pretense is involved, the individual will not be able to articulate a syllable. If it is true possession, the yorka will speak through his mouth.

643 /235 cons. /
995 A few years ago a Kormotiko woman was thus confounded.
787 She had wanted to pretend possession by a yɔ́ɔka in order to
695 blackmail another family.

Grand Man Difu recently forbade the bequeathing of gods
784 and yɔ́ɔka exercising the kunu (1). People will wait for them
423
643
[787]

1. Let us recall that the dead are questioned on this subject as for the apportionment of the rest of their heritage.

to manifest themselves of their own accord. That will reduce the risks of pretense.

643 The grand man's lineage does not exercise any kunu upon
613 another lineage, and no kunu is exercised upon it. For the Boni
995 this is a fundamental idea, because the grand man is precisely
784 the supreme recourse in case of persistent calamities attributed to the yɔ́ɔka of a dead person. The grand man has the power to exercise all the dead Boni. If his lineage exercised a kunu or were victim of one, he would be judge and litigant at the same time.

When, with the death of Grand Man Difu, the Dikan lineage is extinct, and when the function passes to another lineage, consideration of the kunu exercised by the lineages upon one another will be determinative in the choice of his successor.

787 Divination; Premonition; Dreams
626
182 Divination. It plays an essential role among the Refugee Blacks as in all animistic societies. Individuals have recourse to it to inspire all important discussions; in large measure one can say that for them it takes the place of will and conscience.

/297/

987 In this way they put a series of questions entailing yes or no answers and which narrow down the problem more and more.

991 For this divinatory procedure, they pay the man who has brought it into play three liters of tafia, two pieces of cloth, and one machete.

987 This procedure is put into play to confound thieves and
695 adulterers. The plaintiff publicly calls on the accused to come and undergo the test: Mi ɔ tya yu go a swali! If he refuses, it is the equivalent of a confession.

In 1947, Liki (Aw.B.), accused of having stolen 20 grams of gold by a man from Loka, was thus put to the test. The rope was not cut. He was declared innocent and it was the plaintiff who had to pay the price of the test.

In 1950, the uncle of Tahayé (Dip. I) accused him of having committed adultery with his wife. He denied it, but he was put to the test which gave a positive result; he confessed immediately and begged his uncle's pardon. Then they were reconciled. Of course it was he who paid the price of the test.

987 Another important divinatory procedure is the Kumɔ̃ɔ̃n bul (ring of Kumɔ̃ɔ̃n). This is a surprising form of divination by pendulum. The ring, which is made of fibers, is ordinarily kept hidden by its owner. Very few people have any. The ring, suspended at the end of a string, is put in oscillation. Its owner puts a question to it. If the answer is affirmative, it oscillates from right to left. If it is negative, it describes a circle.

[25] Another procedure is sometimes used after a sacrifice to know whether the god has received it favorably: it consists of killing a rooster to examine the color of its testicles: if they are found to be black, the sacrifice has not been accepted.

/239 cont./

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[704]
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On this point it is taken for granted that Indian magic is much more powerful than African magic, and that any Indian is capable of attracting his enemy's aseka.

--Transforming himself into a vampire (azemii) and flying at night in search of sleeping men in order to suck their blood and eat them in spirit; this conception, closely related to the one which the West Indians have of the soucougnan, comes from Dahomey (in Fon, aze = sorcery). It is said, as in Dahomey, that the azemii flies by emitting fire through the anus.

--Seni ati sani: this is what the Creoles call "sending bad baggage." This is acting upon a living being or an inanimate object to make it behave in abnormal fashion at the expense of the enemy. For example, if someone is bitten by a snake or if a child is carried off by a tiger, the action of a wisimii will be blamed first, for normally snake and tiger do not attack. But there is no material limit to the action of the wisimii, who can make a branch fall on his enemy's head or make a cartridge of dynamite burst prematurely.

[829]

The idea that the sorcerer may transform himself into a jaguar, dog, or other animal is not assumed by the Refugee Blacks. Neither do they have the idea of brotherhoods of sorcerers.

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How does society defend itself against the wisimii? There is first of all the test oath. At regular intervals, every two or three years for example, the grand man gathers together all the Boni to the last man before Odun's chapel, and makes each one drink a little of a magic liquid while inviting him to utter the formula: Afu mi e meki wisi fu dede a sama, mi mu dede: If I do sorcery to make someone die, I must die. This is what is called diggi sweri, to drink the test. Actually, it is a harmless liquid, but each one is convinced that a wisimii would not be able to drink it without dying from it. If someone stubbornly refuses to present himself at the ceremony, he is not obliged to, but he has denounced himself: suspicions will be directed on him henceforward.

/239 cont./

754 Trial for sorcery does not exist among the Bozzi. But a
787 procedure exists which allows for putting down suspicions.

After each death the dead person is asked the question: Is it wisi that killed thee? The question is put last (they first ask kuzu, then fyo-fyo /see p. 399/).

If it is wisi, they ask: Is it such-and-such a family? (In general it is in the lineage itself), then the names of the lineage members are uttered successively until there is a positive response.

754 The one who is thus accused of wisi can be summoned
• 695 to justify himself before the grand man, but that can only have the character of an investigation and not a trial. The suspected individual may not be challenged. They accept the fact that it is only a matter of presumption and that the dead accuser can lie, pursuing vengeance beyond the grave.

The Refugee Blacks declare that there is no certainty about wisi.

754 A remarkable principle of customary law is that if a
613 member of a matrilineage /260/ is believed to have killed one
692 of his "brothers," the judiciary power of the Bozzi cannot interfere. It is an affair purely within the lineage.

754 Thus no one can be challenged or expelled for an act of sorcery. If one suspects somebody strongly, one will avoid him, one will turn the cold shoulder to him, all the time remaining polite, but one will not show anything. To this principle is attached a very noble idea, that of the interdiction of vengeance. He who is victim of sorcery must under no circumstances do counterworcery. He can only ask for the protection of the ania. One must not under any circumstances ask a divinity or his ancestors to harm his aggressor.

754 Among the Refugee Blacks there is only one sanction
715 against the wisimã: They will necessarily be found out at their
787 death. The yaka of the dead person, interrogated by the elders,

/342 cont./

[154] He accused him of being an asemE (vampire) and of drinking the on's blood. S... answered nothing, which appeared to everyone obvious proof of his guilt. He untied his boat and went away. Since then everybody in Kotika avoids him; they abstain from accusing him personally in order not to become victims of his sorcery.

Agyémésu affair. -- Agyémésu, an old man of Asisi village (Awara Sakka) who died in 1952, was a solitary and morose man with odd ways. For a long time he had been accused by S... (of Loka) and by N..., a Djuka living among the Boni, of being a wisimE and of having made them sick. He had even been accused before the grand man, had denied it, and the grand man according to usage had told him: "We leave to God the job of punishing thee if thou art guilty." Agyémésu, in order to flee his persecutors, had settled in the Indian village of Aalisé.

[695] [169]

His accusers insisted to people of his lineage that he be brought and publicly interrogated. A... and P... were sent, who went to get him by making him believe that the council of the Awara Sakka lo, putting an end to a long dispute, had decided to name him captain as the doyen of the lo. Without mistrust, he followed them to Asisi. He was received by his accusers who insulted him tumultuously, without, however, there being any blows. The poor man remained speechless, which appeared to all to be the obvious proof of his guilt. He took to his bed and five days later he was dead (1).

[695] [154]

1. The Refugee Blacks are so suggestible that the sole fact of seeing oneself cursed and abandoned by all must bring on a psychological shock capable of bringing death. Similar cases have been observed in Africa.

[171]

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754 [243] only commonplace illnesses or accidents of some sort. We have never heard poisoning, in the usual sense of the term, mentioned.

754 695 182 The wisimã trials are in our opinion the most unpleasant aspect of the civilization of the Refugee Blacks. But it must be admitted that they correspond to profound necessities. These archaic societies need an obvious materialization of the principles they have given themselves. Since evil exists, opposing itself to good, the practices of wisi and wisimã exist, and the punishment of evildoers is indispensable for the society to remain subject to the law of good.

[184] By its notion of the kunu which turns aside toward the gods the responsibility for most misfortunes, by its extreme rarity of wisimã trials, by the prudence of its judiciary action which in point of fact pursues only the dead, the society of the Refugee Blacks shows itself humane and realistic.

If one undertook with the Refugee Blacks infinite action to make these practices disappear, one would risk obscuring their notion of good and evil and removing all efficacy from their customary law.

[183] The social order of the Refugee Blacks cannot be maintained if the interdiction of harming anyone and the interdiction of vengeance do not remain clearly laid down. It matters little that these acts of sorcery are without real content: It is the intention to harm which counts, with all its social and psychological consequences.

171 179 182 754 When one observes the Creole populations of the Guianas and the West Indies, even though /244/ they have been under the influence of Christianity for several centuries, one is struck by the development of sorcery and by its repercussions on the whole of social life. The teaching received at school and from the catechism, which embraces white magic and black magic in a single reprobation, has greatly contributed toward making these populations lose the principles of social morals of their ancestors without in exchange modifying their

/264 cont./

191 image of the world. Black magic practices are rejected by
199 religion, since it even denies their reality, one does not think
182 when one finds oneself constrained to have recourse to them,
754 of transferring to them the notion of good and evil where it
matters. Black magic gets in almost inevitably because a
person believes he must defend himself, then its use becomes
habitual, and the two forms of magic end up by mixing to-
gether and being no longer regarded as fundamentally different
from each other.

191 Cases of wisi and Boni customary law. In African villages,
954 cases of sorcery are interpreted by interminable and useless
695 discussions, wild accusations, protestations of innocence,
sometimes more or less sincere confessions, oaths and ordeal
tests with always contested results. These cases are never
finished; they are in permanent evolution, sometimes for months
and years. Opinion moves successively onto different hypotheses
according to events which take place, seeking its way gropingly
like a man lost in darkness.

754 It is clear that the first lawgivers of the Refugee Blacks,
695 by carrying judgment back to the death of those concerned and
182 by refusing the wisimã any kind of pardon or compromise, tried
to prevent the development of these sad crises. What is the
use of discussing interminably, since there is no certain proof,
and since nobody may confess? But customary law collides on
this point with tendencies too deep to be entirely restrained.
The laws of Ouan are not always obeyed to the letter, and it
happens sometimes that the Boni lose their footing in the
[57] observance of their customary law. Then crises take place
among them, as violent and confused as in the villages of
Black Africa, going as far as paralyzing social life for several
weeks; then peace returns for several months, sometimes for
several years.

/244 cont./

954 695 571 In 1956, a Boniville woman, N.... was convicted of having paid a Creole quimbonseur to make the grand man die. She confessed, a rare thing in this kind of case, and the materiality of the facts did not appear doubtful. The Boni were strongly impressed by this unprecedented event, and for several weeks the members of the lineage concerned were in such agitation that one could have believed they had lost their reason. In Boniville they "held court" continually for nearly two months, and they discussed so much that farm work was neglected and part of the rice crop lost.

954 732 695 783 [648] What were they going to do with this woman? The laws of Odun forbade killing her, no more could she be expelled. The Boni made discreet overtures to the administration to find out whether it was not possible to have her imprisoned. They were surprised to learn that French law does not recognize the offense of sorcery. Somebody then proposed having her admitted as a servant at the leprosarium of the Acaroumi on the /245/ coast. This suggestion produced a surprising result; the Boni were unanimous in thinking that making someone who was not a leper live in a leprosarium was a punishment worse than death, and they resolved to pardon her.

How does one go about it, since the laws of Odun do not permit pardoning a wisimdi? Nobody could give us a satisfactory justification on this, but in 1959 A...., the preceding year spurned and maltreated, had taken up normal living again in her village.

954 96 784 In fact, a case of wisi is terminated only upon the death of the person concerned. If a man who has been accused of wisi during his lifetime dies accidentally, or is struck by a fulminating sickness, the fact that he has been chastised by Odun appears as incontestable proof. The case is fixed in the memory of the group in a specific form and will be given as an example to inspire respect for customary law.

754 /246 cont./
755 The malinf asked 2,000 francs from him as the price of
648 his consultation.

789 Curse. Someone who judges himself victim of evil-doing has at his disposal a supreme resource: /247/ cursing his adversary, that is, appealing directly to the supreme God, Masa Gado, to ask him to punish his adversary. This is called seni gado -- sending God -- against someone. To do that, while asking God to kill him or make him sick, one kneels and strikes the ground with both hands in the presence of the adversary or in front of his house. This act is regarded as totally different from wisi, for one is relying on the justice of God, who judges with equity and punishes only the guilty.

However that may be, cursing is for the Refugee Blacks a very serious act. It may happen that, feeling guilty, the source of the injustice asks pardon and promises to make amends for his misdeeds. The one who uttered the curse again implores Masa Gado in order to take back the words he spoke: "He has given me satisfaction, do nothing against him." But oftener still it happens that a complicated affair is involved, that both parties concerned are persuaded of their legitimate
[692] ground and curse each other. The case must then be carried before the grand man and straightened out at once or misfortunes
[695] may pounce upon both lineages. The grand man judges without appeal and inflicts a punishment on the one who was wrong
[778] on the main issue of the debate. Then he obliges the ad-
[202] versaries to be reconciled before the fraga tiki, where the offering of tafia and water is made.

[828] The effect of these conceptions is to render nearly im-
[754] possible hidden hatreds and rancors, which the Refugee Blacks fear very much, for they are the source of wisi.

688 In general, the act of getting angry in public and serious-
689 ly insulting somebody is considered as an offense against moral and religious law, capable of attracting misfortunes; it is an

/18 cont./

766 times, no noticeable movement has been observed, the answer is
787 negative, and one proceeds with the corpse all the way to the end of the crowd ranged on either side. Everyone endeavors to be present on such occasions in order not to cast any blame upon himself or to arouse suspicion.

If, however, the answer is in the affirmative, then one asks whether the right person or a close relative of his is here; if the answer to this is also affirmative, one proceeds to inquire about the degree of blood relationship until one has finally discovered who the actual person is. Since this happens in the presence of so many persons as witnesses, it is regarded as valid proof, and the corpse is buried. However incomprehensible and impossible this may appear, this procedure is nonetheless actually practiced con-
[123] stantly among the Bush Negroes. I have been an eyewitness several times.

695 A few days later the person indicated, in case he was not
[693] present at the above-mentioned inquiry, is tracked down, if necessary fetched forcibly, and brought before the governor or the chief, who questions him in the presence of the captains or the council members. In case of denial, he is offered something to drink, which, however, he will not accept if he is guilty, since it has become apparent that whoever drinks it with a pounding or uneasy heart frequently manifests immediate symptoms, such as
[681] vomiting, swelling, chlorosis, and so forth. If the person has been prepared to brave this (in spite of the conviction of his misdeed), he is put to death by means of the most horrible and unheard-of tortures, whereas in the case of confession he is forced with the whip to reveal whom else he has poisoned during his life.

696 All the relatives of the poisoned person are then called in
682 order to be present at the punishment and to pull on his ears with all possible force by means of a pair of pincers, one after
[262] another. Subsequently a bowl with pinda blaf is set before him, in which a turtle must be boiled, as well as a tomtom made of ripe bananas. All this, after all, is regarded as the tastiest food. He is then /19/ again severely beaten with a whip, whereupon he must eat what has been prepared for him, and immediately afterwards

/19 cont./

696 he must sit unbound on a large fire arranged in gridiron fashion,
682 so that he burns completely to ashes.

[695] Never, however, is an accused put to death before three months have elapsed after the inquiry, because there still might possibly be a chance that his innocence will be proved.

682 In the case of a confession and the supplying of clear proof
[695] that the deceased gave cause to be poisoned, the culprit frequently escapes with a light punishment; sometimes also forgiveness is
[672] granted with general approval, with the condition that the culprit take upon himself to the third generation the obligation to be of service in everything to the descendants of the maltreated person.
681 It may also happen that in the case of various other misdeeds the
672 perpetrator is completely forgiven for his misdeed, but that upon his descendants to the third generation there is imposed the obligation to render slave services exactly as in the case of poisoning.

681 The majority of these slave services ordinarily consist of giving money, strong drink, or the necessities of life, as a result of which hard work must often be done in order to be able to fulfill them. Every day they are afraid that this or that may be exacted from them. There are indications, however, that not too great a misuse is made of this.

765 Twelve months after the burial there always takes place a great gathering in the hut of the deceased, at which time the period of mourning ends with rejoicing. Exuberant festivities are then celebrated, and that night an unusually great amount is drunk, eaten, and honor salutes fired. Everyone in the vicinity, insofar as he is able, is present on this occasion.

This festival is called tesa, the ending of the mourning period, and begins after one of the nearest relatives, who enjoys the greatest respect, takes a large calabash filled with water in his right hand and with it slowly walks forth out of the hut along the other dwellings nearby and is followed by a large number of people, during which he here and there sprinkles the water,
[775] trowéwatra, in drops on the ground, saying: Like this water, the soul of the deceased will also be pure, and all that was dear to him will remain tranquilly on earth without being disturbed by him who as spirit finds himself in the spirit world.

/224 cont./

775 A yorka exercising a kunu may also demand that another
784 smaller fraga tiki be erected for it beside the principal fraga
769 tiki of its lo. In the villages of the Refugee Blacks one often
778 sees these little crosses provided with white veils like the main
613 fraga tiki, planted beside it a little obliquely.

The notion of the kunu exercised by a yorka explains the
775 rarity of murder among the Refugee Blacks. How would you
784 dare to kill someone when, as soon as it is freed from his body,
674 his yorka will have full latitude to make you sick, to make
tree branches fall across your path, to cause to suffer and to
775 kill all those dear to you? If someone is blinded by hate, it
784 is the idea of suicide which will dominate him. In October,
762 1952 we were able to observe this reaction in a man who had
just been subject to a deep humiliation: "I am going to kill
my body in order to go to kill that man and his whole family,"
he said to us, prey to a fit of rage; fortunately, when the fit
had passed, he came back to a more sound outlook on things.

775 It is to be noted that a yorka cannot exercise a kunu
784 against its own lineage. This notion explains why, in the times
613 when they exercised absolute authority, tribal chiefs had those
696 condemned to death executed by men of the same lineage.
[171] Apparently similar practices were the rule in olden days in
several African kingdoms, which allows one to think that notions
analogous to those of the kunu may be rather widespread there.

784 Situation of the various lineages with respect to the kunu. There
613 we touch on one of the most secret aspects of the social life of
the Refugee Blacks. Years of living among them are necessary
in order to obtain precise information on the nature and the
mode of action of the kunu acting on the various lineages.

784 Nearly all the entities which now exercise their kunu on the
613 Boni have been in their lineages since a very ancient period,
428 to the point where the name of their first bearer is forgotten.
They are transmitted inexorably from generation to generation.
In the course of the ages, the kunu have accumulated, and now
certain lineages are living with four, five, or even six kunu.

/144 cont./

584 602 To ask for his second wife Bugi (Aw.B.1, F41, Asisi-Awara Bakka vge.) he had sent Dosu (Dip. I, E4, Boniville), his father Malobi's classificatory brother (although a very distant relative) and his younger sister by the same mother, Kulina, who made the marriage proposal to Bugi's mother and to her classificatory uncles Antonu and Mato.

582 178 [701] Age of marriage. In former times there was a very precise custom about this. Men were not authorized to marry before about 30 years of age, constituting until that age the immediately mobilizable armed force. Women were authorized by their mothers to marry only when they had reached complete physical development, or between 20 and 22 years. This was the safeguard of a society deprived of all medical help against obstetrical risk, particularly serious for very young women. When the fiancé had temporarily emigrated to earn his living, the marriage could be put off until the age of 25 years and more. [184] This late marriage of girls was still met with only a few years ago among the Djuka, more faithful to custom. There was on the average five to ten years of age difference between husband and wife. /145/

For about the past ten years, under the influence of the relaxation of family discipline, the marriage age has gone down considerably, as much for the man as for the woman. Nearly all the girls married during the last two years were from 15 to 17 years old. It can be stated that the average marriage age of girls is 18 years (1).

1. We are speaking here of the age at the time of the consummation of marriage.

/24 cont./

Chapter XVI

Manner of Traveling, and so forth

484 Their manner of traveling is very simple. Usually wife and children accompany them; very rarely do they go alone. They never take along more food provisions than they consider to be strictly necessary, in order not to have any burden of great baggage, for which their small, narrow vessels made out of a tree trunk are in any case little suited.

484 As primitive people they are able to withstand deprivations
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Chapter XVII

Manner of Waging War, Ceremonies in connection with Concluding Peace and Alliance

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The Boni were certainly already allied with the Oayana at the time of the battles on the Maroni in 1793, since after their defeat the survivors, grouped around Agosu son of Boni, took refuge on the Maruini River which they went up as far as the region of its sources, where nobody could catch up with them. Now it was precisely there that the Oayana Indians were living at the end of the 18th century. They would not have tried this maneuver if they had not had the certainty of finding refuge

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/293 cont./

175 648 727 with their allies. The sites of their villages, marked on Coudreau's map (1888) are in immediate proximity to those of former Oayana villages.

175 648 [643] relations must have been created rapidly and in a very natural fashion. The grand man of the Boni is in a way the suzerain of the Indian chiefs; this situation was not imposed by force; it results from the privileged situation of the Boni on the river, which until recent times obliged the Indians to deal through them in order to trade with the outside world.

Although the Boni took advantage of this situation in days gone by to impose arbitrary rates of exchange upon the Indians, this relation must not be imagined as the exploitation of conquered by conqueror. It is based on the absolute respect of each group for the beliefs and social structure of the other, and an activity for each befitting its inclination. The proverb says: "To the Boni the river, to the Indians the forest." Thus it is that the Boni traditionally buy arrows from the Indians, while the latter buy paddles from them; the meaning of this symobl is perfectly understood by both.

648 829 [439]

648 582 Marriages between the two groups, without being forbidden, are regarded as contrary to custom (2).

159 156 643 648 582 2. The marriage of Grand Man Awensay to an Indian woman about 1915 was inspired by complex motives. Toward the end of his life, Awensay could no longer stand the Boni, his imperious personality putting up badly with their individualism and their taste for discussion. He had established the Indian country a farming habitation in which he lived nearly all

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

a prisoner, and refusing to take the special train awaiting 648 him at Kabel. Special trains, he said, were not for prisoners. 682 He was paddled the additional ninety miles in his own corial, which took six days longer. Very vexed at this, the Governor did not shake hands with him, and Jankoeso was offended. "Why doesn't he tell me 'Howdy'?" he asked Mynheer Wolff, who is always instrumental in furthering friendly relations between Dutch and Djukas. Wolff called the Governor outside, and advised him to treat the Granman with more cordiality. The necessary handshaking was done, and the parley continued more affably. The guilty one was apprehended and jailed for a year. Once again there went upstream the annual present of the Dutch government to each Granman. This is a continuation of the custom of tribute money [728] paid to the Bush Negroes ever since the days of the black rebellions. Every year each Granman receives 1500 guilders.

The Granman is the actual chief of the river nation, but 622 the government centres in the village proper. The village [643] is governed by a headman or *captain,* and aiding him in his 623 work is a council or *bosseia,* consisting of three or four or more of the most mature men and women of the town. "Bosseia," like the American colloquial *boss,* comes from the Dutch word *baas.* Here the rough justice of the jungle is administered, and local disputes are settled. Here decisions [692] are made concerning the ownership of timber, and property rights in cassava fields. Quarrels over women are more frequent than any other kind of disputes, and they, too, are settled by the village captain and his bosseia.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner
Aucaner

and does not look with favour upon the white proselytizers.

The Granman can call a meeting of his captains at any time. They must attend, even though it involves days of rigorous travel. Although the captains look up to the Granman and acknowledge him as their superior, the connexion between them is not close enough to be considered a hierarchy. The "river nations" are not monarchies in any sense. The only laws promulgated by the Granman are those that affect the entire tribe.

Neither the captains nor the Granman have any privileges or prerogatives to set them apart from the undistinguished natives; there is no leisure class. They are all dependent upon their own efforts to earn a living, and work like anyone else in the village. Rank does not make social parasites out of them, as among us. The Granman's only external distinction is that sent by the white man, the tribute from the Dutch government. The type of social organization now prevalent among the Djukas, therefore, may be described as primitive communism.

The Aucaner, second in number to the Saramaccaner, are scattered in a less compact way over the rivers and creeks of the colony toward the French Guiana line. This tribe numbers about 6000 in population.

Just below the realm of the Saramaccaner tribe, at the junction of the Sara Creek and the Surinam River (see map facing page), are some of the Aucaner villages: Koffay Camp, Lebbi Doti, Lasa Baka, Pitchong, Baku, and other settlements. There are few villages on the long Sara Creek, but

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

tribe of the Bush Negroes which owes allegiance to the 648
French. They have never forgiven the Dutch for their relentless pursuit back in the old rebel days. Several years ago the Dutch authorities made an effort to invite the Bonis back into Dutch territory; these overtures, however, were flatly refused.

The derivation of the word "Boni" makes for interesting 101
speculation, and three theories have been advanced to ex- 174
plain it. The first is that the word is derived from the French phrase "Bon Negre" or "Good Negroes" which the colonists of French Guiana applied to the Boni blacks because they were comparatively quiet and peaceful. It is also possible that the tribe may have been named after their famous rebel leader Bonny, who took such a formidable and prominent part in the rebellions. Thirdly, it has been considered that the name was derived from the Bonny River of West Africa, for undoubtedly some of the slaves came from that area. Although *B-o-n-i* is the official Dutch spelling of the word, when the tribesmen refer to themselves the accent is placed on the second syllable, and phonetically the word should be spelled *B-o-n-e-e* and pronounced much the same as the word *Pawnee*, the tribe of American Indians in the western United States. The Granman of this tribe, Awensai, receives his [643
annual stipend from the Governor of French Guiana at 728]
Cayenne.

The first village of the Boni, situated on the French side 341
of the Marowyne River, is that of Apatoo nestling at the foot 103
of the Armina falls. The entire French side of the river from

/24 cont./

Chapter XVI

Manner of Traveling, and so forth

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Chapter XVII

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/25 cont./

928 The peace conditions are determined in a large building
695 (shed). This shed is entirely open, they call it their court of
[344] justice, derived from kroetoe hoso or piketti (1). When they find

1. Piketti, place where the execution of the punishment takes place.

themselves there, whether this takes place after the conclusion of an internecine battle, or between spouses, members of a family, or former friends, the heads of the parties gather in the shed referred to and choose their places in the upper part of the building. Subsequently those concerned in this matter place themselves in the vicinity of the heads, and around these all those present who make up the public.

When all have been placed, one of the heads takes a cup (as a rule a calabash) filled with dram or still unfermented sugar
[769] cane. He scatters a few drops of this on the ground in various places
[782] in the shed, which signifies that their ancestors, who also once sat on this spot and passed judgment, are to be called up in the memory of all, and that the deceased, by having this offering presented to them first, have had respect paid to them.

Once this solemnity has been carried out, the cup goes around to each one, and each of those present takes a small draught from it. After it has been emptied, and none of them has refrained from drinking from it, the peace is regarded as concluded; all feuds are forgiven, and the enmity has ceased to exist.

Should it happen that one of those present refuses to drink, then he must publicly give the reason for his refusal, and then it may sometimes happen that the considerations concerning the quarrel start anew.

[693] /26/ Then the elders or council members ordinarily withdraw from the shed and leave behind only their granman (1).

1. Head or governor.

Those who have withdrawn divide themselves into different groups and consult with one another, make the matter clear and

/26 cont./

728 communicate to one another their opinions, in what way they
695 wish to see the points of difference resolved. If they are agreed concerning these, then they return to the chief in the shed and the discussion of the matter takes place anew, until finally agreement exists. During this consultation of the elders or council
[562] members a solemn seriousness prevails among them. Women are sometimes admitted to these conferences, but never have a voice, and come merely to listen and to see.

After the matter has been settled to the satisfaction of all parties, the cup once more makes several rounds among those present, and thereafter everyone goes silently and quietly to his camp or dwelling.

Chapter XVIII

Music, Musical Instruments

533 Their music is very simple and monotonous; one makes use of it, to the accompaniment of song and dance, at festivals and cult ceremonies.

534 The instruments are variously used and doubtless according to the type of event. Thus the so-called long drum, called agida (2), is played at cult ceremonies; on other occasions one

2. Papáá drum.

uses the small or apientie drum. Furthermore they have an instrument called kwakwa stool by them, a stool or board of very hard wood on which one beats with two sticks.

534 When they dance the papaá-wenti, an African idol dance,
535 they use the agida drum. For the songé, or ordinary dance, they play the small drum or apienti.

They dance the soessa to the beat of the small drum and with the kwakwa stool; in executing the last-named dance a great deal of competition prevails among the dancers, and the one who

REBEL DESTINY

502 484 731 It was Sedefo's boat, there in the distance, tilted to one side in what looked to us like still water. The other canoes turned and paddled furiously to reach him, but he had righted his boat before they could come alongside him, and was off down the river to recover what he had lost. The water had claimed the basket back of the tarpaulin-covered load, and a carved paddle which had slipped off when the canoe tilted. The basket belonged to Sedefo. It held his food for the journey up river and the downgoing. The paddle was also his—the finest he had—and had been intended for ceremonial usage when he called as spokesman for us on village heads asking for a night's hospitality, and particularly at the Granman's village, and still later on the way home, when he brought political messages in behalf of his clan to friendly clans along the way he passed. He also lost his best cloth; it was not just a piece of striped cotton a man bought in the white man's store; it had been patiently and dexterously pieced together from many pieces [291] of cloth, plain and striped, in a pattern which was known to the ancestors. His young second wife had made it for him. Her first child was an infant at her breast. When she heard about this, she would think of Sedefo's kunu, and be afraid. Was it so big a kunu that it would punish a child of his wife's family, too?

This is what the men said while the boats waited for Sedefo to return from his vain search down the rapids. The [996] men had not expected him to recover the things lost. When kunu took, there was nothing that could be done. And it was kunu. The *Bakra-sani*—the white man's things—had remained in the boat unharmed! We looked at the few rocks against which the boat had crashed. They showed plainly above the water, and the current about them made so small a break in the still water that the spirit of this ruffled piece had never disclosed its name, had never before received notice. The three other canoes had gone through without even the grunts from the paddlers which came when the going was hard, for all that was necessary was to go straight for the rocks, let the current swing the boat

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

around, give a strong thrust with the pole-stick, and the canoe was through—a bit of child's play. 502 484 n31

We were soon again to see Sedefo's kunu strike. This time it was almost at dusk. The men, it appeared, would not be able to make the village we had planned on for the night. In half an hour it would be dark, and here we were fully two hours' fast traveling from our intended destination. Overhead clouds were coming up from the east. The sky was rapidly becoming overcast. Rain—and everywhere the impenetrable wall of green, rising dark and forbidding. To make camp where we were would have taken at least two hours, and it was growing darker and darker. The men refused to clear the underbrush in the dark.

It seemed, however, that five minutes upstream on the opposite bank and only a little to the south of where we had stopped to talk things over was a village, the name of which when we heard it we recognized as one of the two we had been asked not to visit. There was nothing to do but to brave the displeasure of the Granman and stop there; so turning we headed our boats toward the opposite shore.

In midstream a great wind came up, a wind that in suddenness and force is only met in the tropics. The men shrieked and shouted and struggled until our boats reached shore. But Sedefo's boat, which was the second, seemed to be lifted bodily out of the water. We could see a black mass being heaved up . . . the black tarpaulin was overboard going downstream, and Sedefo after it. [132]

The wind subsided as quickly as it had sprung up, and when Sedefo came back sometime later, he carried the dripping tarpaulin on his head. He did not drink the rum we gave to warm him, but poured it over his hands and his boat as an offering. [188]

The next day we talked with Bayo about kunu. 502 484 n32

"Why is it, Bayo, that Sedefo lost his food in the still water? Was it because he felt safe and didn't take care in such small rapids?"

"No," he said promptly, "that's how kunu works. A man travels on the river all his life. He goes over small

and forth on the sandy bank to the rhythm of the voicees in the drums, but their gods would not come. They could not dance, they could not find peace while the drums spoke, and so this disconsolate pacing went on week after week, on those days when the river gods might be danced to. Sometimes the pulse of the drumming, quickening for an interval, stirred the dancers. A shudder would go through the body of one or another and the dry throats would fall to uttering the sacred cries, but almost the next instant the hand of the drummer would go limp, and once more the listless, agonized pacing would continue. The gods were angered. When the drums called them from the river bottom, they came grudgingly and remained sullen, refusing to make their wishes known, and no gods or ancestors came to counsel the wise men in their sleep how to bend the will of the spirits of the river. 871 782 789 776

In the fields the parched earth baked in the merciless heat until it was like whitened bone. The few plants that had pushed their way up through the sandy soil were now brown dust which any wind might scatter. But there was no wind. No rain, no wind, for in the river the god of the wind dwells, and in the sky the rain god, and these gods are twins, and twins have but one soul, since it is with the gods as it is with humans. 731 776 [845]

No rain, no wind. Famine was upon the land.

At last, at the village of Opoku a woman had a dream. She was a pure albino, one of the type who, together with those who show by the slight turn of red in their wooly hair a strain of albinism, are called Toné people, and are identified with the river gods. To this Toné woman the gods came in sleep, and spoke their will. [987] [876]

"And what was it you gave to the gods?" we asked Sedefo, who had fallen silent at this point in his story. 776 782

"Mati," he said, after a pause, "I am not an important man. You ask what I may not tell. My mouth cannot take upon itself to speak what concerns our big men." 731 [879]

This much he would say. A boat filled with things had been sent down the river. Men standing at the river bank

REBEL DESTINY

had seen a hand reach out for the boat, had seen it vanish out of sight. The gods had accepted the offerings. That year the Granman from the city, the white Granman, had to send rice from a far country to feed them, but the next year the crops were good, and all had been well since that time.

"And was that when this shrine was removed to the other island?"

"*M'an sabi. A kan de*—I do not know. It is possible."

2

"When you get to the Mamadam," we had been told by a priestess in the city, "wash your face in the running water, and call on the Mother of the River three times."

Another had said, "If your foot should trip anywhere, be sure to call on your ancestors, but if you should happen to slip at the Mamadam, you must go at once to the river, strike the water three times, and ask the Mother of the River to release your soul. It is a bad thing to lose your soul there."

And our principal story-teller in the city, who was something of a wit, had said: "You both have light eyes. Your hair is not dark. You are not unlike the Bonkoru people who are light, and who, up the river, you will hear called the Toné folk." He was speaking of albinos. "It may be that you have a river god without knowing it. When you come to the Mamadam the spirit may come to you. You may find yourself speaking the tongue that only the Toné people know, and dancing the dances to the river gods, and swimming up the rapids. It will be a fine sight to see you dance to the drums. There was once such a woman. A woman white as you are, you hear? I myself saw her dance. When she danced, she wore red, and put a plug through her lip, and as she danced her color changed. She became black. When the spirit was satisfied, it let her go, and she paled and was a white woman again. I myself saw that woman dance. I saw her grow black while she danced, and saw

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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morning, they tell us when we call on them. That is the black man's way. 643 159

"You white people have money, you have fine houses, you wear clothes, you can count. They tell me that you say in your books all people must be friends. But you have wars. If white people kill white people, then *mati*—friend—how will it be with black people living among the whites?" 186 178

Granman Yankuso rose, when he said this, and took from the chains of the suspended lamp a folded envelope. He handed it to us, and from it we took out a letter on the stationery of the League of Nations, signed by its Secretary, Sir Eric Drummond. As we were reading this, he left the council house and soon returned with a larger envelope, which he had kept uncreased, and from it brought out a photograph of the Council of the League of Nations in session. They were his proud possessions. While the World War lasted there was no work for the Bush Negroes on the river. They could not earn the money they needed to buy cloths for marrying and powder and rum for ceremonial usage. The Bush Negroes called it a "great money famine," [731] in the way of their Anansi stories which so often began with "This was a time of great famine." Through a missionary on the upper river, the Granman learned of the war, and through him later of the League, which the missionary had undoubtedly brought up as the white man's defense against the challenge of the black tribal head, who asked, "How will it be with black people living among the whites?" 648

It was then that the Granman through this same missionary addressed himself to the white rulers far away, telling of the fear of the blacks, and counseling them the wisdom of peace!

4

In the council house Granman Moana Yankuso was host to the Gankwe men. They were there to take their leave of him before starting down river. Asikanu, the handsome brother of the Gankwe clan head, who was sent away from his village while the elders were deciding upon his adultery 643 689 574

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930)1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

778 carvings. Still another magic device is a red necklace of macaw feathers, to bring luck in hunting. Another obeiah with
[843] a tinkling bell is worn around the neck by pregnant women to tell the unborn child that everything is auspicious in the outside world.

Some of the beliefs accompanying these amulets are odd
[776] and child-like. The Djukas think that spirits are afraid of strangers, and flee in terror when a stranger is encountered. The inhabitants of the little town of *Pekein Say* (Talk a Little Bit) have the power to call back hunters who are lost in the bush, a virtue peculiar to these townfolk alone. These curious beliefs persist despite the fact that they could easily be tested and exposed. Any coincidence will strongly reinforce them. Late one evening, going up the river, we came to an Aucaner village and stopped to spend the night. Not liking the looks of the place we told our paddlers to push on to the next village before night. Tired, they grumbled at this. To give weight to our decision we told the blacks that our obeiahs were warning us not to stay, and that it would be dangerous to let this warning pass unheeded. Impressed with the gravity of the warning, they acceded to our wishes. We went on, although not being able to reach the adjacent village in time we were forced to spend the night in the bush.

Later, coming back down the river, we learned that the village we had passed by had held, on that very night, a great and disastrous dance. There had been much drinking of high
[579 wine, and, in the drunken and hysterical excitement that
● 731] followed, half the town was burned down and three men were killed.

6:Hurault--120 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8 Boni

[Agodé bakka locality]

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
8 △	Grand Man Difu	1952	--	?
9 ○	Paata (Djuka woman settled in Boniville)	1947(?)	id.	already used by Paata about 1940
10 ○	Térésa (L2, E57) clearing cut by her sons	1953	id.	?
11 ○	Paata (see above)	1953		already used by Paata in 1950

Thus, out of this group of eleven clearings, two remain attributed to the grand man, one to a woman of the Dju lineage, two to a Djuka woman, one to a woman of the Lapé lineage, five to members of the Kotika lineage, all inhabitants of Boniville. /85/

[361]
[166]
[931]
[554]

Study of the clearings of the fraction of the Papaïston established in Boniville. This group formerly lived in Puu Mofu village at the mouth of the creek of the same name, abandoned about 1940 following an epidemic. Its settlement in Boniville is therefore recent. The oldest man in the group, Bukuman, a man of some 60 years, exerts de facto authority.

This group tends to add to its initial finage the band of land included between Boniville village and Puu Mofu Creek belonging to the Dikan lo (especially clearings Nos. 12, 13, 14).

/524 cont./

165 Factors influencing the demographic characteristics of the Boni. Life expectancy at birth for the Boni is not only 12 years higher than that of the Indians, but is also considerably higher than that of the African peoples from which they came.

This fact can be attributed to two causes:

164 1. The Boni live in a more salubrious environment than
182 the African forest and have better living conditions. It seems likely that the Guianese forest, apart from malaria, presents few causes of bad health and is relatively favorable to man; the absence of trypanosomiasis permits men /525/ to gather on the banks of the large rivers, generously exposed to the air and to the light. The small number of the Boni and their dispersion over a vast territory stands in the way of the transmission of diseases by drinking water. In fact the water is generally healthy. Dysentery and parasitosis are considerably rarer and less serious than in Africa;

14 2. The Boni are a selected population. This is a very im-
162 portant aspect of their demography.

The slaves were the object of a systematic selection; the purchasing commissions of the rich colony of Surinam allowed only individuals of good health and constitution to pass. A second selection took place at the time of the formation of the tribes of Refugee Blacks. More than from a massive rebellion the rebel groups increased in size by the addition of those who, from year to year, escaped at the peril of their lives. Without any doubt those who preferred combat to servitude were the most vigorous and bravest. Voluntary migrations have always been a factor of selection: one may suppose that a migration which took place in such circumstances was accompanied by a particularly rigorous selection which, in spite of the time which has passed (eight generations), continues to influence the physiological
● [734] characteristics of the Refugee Blacks. Notably it can explain
[157] the vigorous constitution of the Boni (there are only two congenital invalids out of 810 persons) and their exceptional qualities of physical courage and initiative.

/75 cont./

692 685 [224] The Djuka had killed the tapir which had sunk. Pressed for time, he had had to leave, requesting the Asisi people to look for it.

The next day Pototo and Amusupé found the animal floating between two waters. They hid it in the bush and had it smoke-dried on their own behalf. They ate it with their wives (about 100 kilos of meat). [251] [262]

That ended up by becoming known, and a jealous man denounced them to the grand man.

Called before the lānti kuutu, they had to apologize and were each sentenced to pay as a fine to the grand man a demijohn of 15 liters of tafia (worth about 6,000 francs) within four months.

[735] Both of them were at a loss to pay this fine, belonging to the category of ne'er-do-wells who have no regular activity and live from day to day, selling some fish or game from time to time.

[613] Amusupé appealed to Captain Konduku, head of his lineage, who agreed to pay for the tafia for him, Amusupé reimbursing him little by little.

[613] [689] As for Pototo, the head of his lineage refused categorically to help him because he had eaten the maïpouri alone without allowing his family to share it (the village people would have found it normal to profit by the crime, but they deemed it immoral that one of their relatives had deprived them of meat). After three and a half months, Pototo began to occupy himself seriously at a paid job which he had the luck to find because we needed a bossman for two weeks. [123]

577 626 [522] The Boni did nothing but laugh while telling us this story. Affairs of this kind, which do not involve any suprahuman intervention, escape in large measure their social morality; they have a certain feeling for what should be done, but submit to it only in proportion as they fear a material and immediate sanction.

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829
366
[556]
[444]
[199]

/76 cont./

No form of trade (1) is traditionally observed among them,

1. Since 1954, one of them, enriched by boat transport, set up a food business at Kotika, but this is a man more than half "creolized" and one who established himself in the midst of Creoles.

this activity being for them manifestly tied to the idea of the exploitation of others; there is not even any market in the villages. Each person produces, or finds among the people of his own lineage, what food he needs; as for imported objects, the Boni buy them in the course of their trips from the coast traders. That plague of African societies, pseudo-trade or parasitism, is unknown to the Refugee Blacks. Just as one meets among them neither ragamuffins nor beggars, one perceives nothing nasty or low in their social relations.

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[735]

In their collective life there is something aboveboard, clean, which strikes one on first meeting them and which one does not tire of admiring, the further one penetrates into the functioning of their institutions.

/40 cont./

125 [123] In spite of the relations of trust developed between the Boni and ourselves in the course of the work carried out together during four long missions, we were able to take this census only progressively and indirectly, by using simultaneously the following procedures:

—Study of the genealogy of the groups, going up from woman to woman up to the founding ancestress, then going back down from her. These genealogical tables, some of which extend [166] over nine generations and include more than 160 persons, brought [136] to light a certain number of temporarily absent people and individuals who lived away from the villages, isolated in the middle of the Creole gold miners, but continuing to make up part of their group; they also brought to light a certain number of young people and orphan children taken in by distant relatives who would not have spoken about them directly. But on this point, gaps remain;

[126] —Detailed plan of the villages and interrogation of the village heads as to the persons living in each house;

—Interrogation of the women about their dead and surviving children;

—General verification with the help of perfectly trustworthy informants who possessed a thorough knowledge of the genealogy of the groups.

The census, stopped on January 1, 1958, covered 811 per- [162] sons of whom 667 /41/ were from the villages of the French bank and 144 from the Surinam bank (Kotika). As for the latter, we [165] questioned them individually when they came to the French bank, especially when they came to attend the end of mourning festivities in Boniville in October, 1957. The Kotika census is less [128] exact than that of the French villages, and in addition we were [126] not able to make a plan of the village. For this reason we have not reproduced it in the present work, where only the corresponding genealogical table appears.

R /515 cont./

175 These small repeated epidemics have been part, one might
164 say, of the ordinary pathology of the Oayana since their first con-
R tacts with the imported populations.

164 --Cases of dysentery are also observed, probably bacillary,
165 sometimes in the form of minor epidemics. This is a secondary
R cause of mortality;

164 --Children show, just as among the Boni, a massive intestinal infestation by hookworms and Anguillula.

The Oayana very rarely have skin diseases; "their tegument is intact. One does not see any mycosis or ulcers among them, nor any dermotropic diseases. Leprosy and pian are unknown among them; even the small wounds which the Indians get in the woods, and which suppurate so frequently among the Blacks, heal quickly, even more quickly than among Europeans, who, however, disinfect their wounds" (4).

4. Dr. Andre Sausse, op. cit., p. 113.

R
[648] There are no venereal diseases among the Indians because they do not have sexual relations with the other groups.

R The rest of the pathology of the Indians shows nothing re-
114 markable. Their disappearance has often been attributed to
733 alcoholism. That is an assertion which does not stand up to ex-
R amination. Before 1950, the Indians, never having any money,
273 were not in a position to buy rum. With regard to their cachiri (5),

5. Fermented drink prepared from a manioc base; very small percentage of alcohol.

of which they absorb great quantities on the occasion of celebrations, it produces indigestion rather than intoxication; for that matter they do not drink any more of it than in former times when their tribes were numerous and strong.

B
R
743 /516/ Effects of Medical Assistance. Until 1949 the Boni and the
648 Oayana remained very isolated and practically deprived of all medical help. The beliefs of both, attributing illnesses to

The beliefs of both, attributing illnesses to
B R /516 cont./
743 supernatural causes, did not predispose them to turn to European
648 doctors. Moreover, the Saint-Laurent hospital was so far away
[753] (six days paddling downstream) that a seriously ill person had
plenty of time to die en route. The Boni went there only as a last
resource and in general at the point of death. As for the Oayana,
B R not a single one presented himself there before 1950.

744 In 1936-1939 several circuits had been made from the post
648 of La Forestière located at the mouth of the river, but no consistent
[743] medical action had been feasible. Not until 1949 was it possible
B to create a medical center in the country itself, at Maripasoula.
R The populations were visited regularly, and the seriously ill could
[164] be hospitalized on the spot. At the same time systematic spraying
with DDT inside all the huts, destroying the anthropophile
anopheles, changed the environmental conditions considerably;
if malaria has not disappeared, it has ceased, both among the
B Indians and among the Boni children, to be the principal cause of
R morbidity.

743 The action of the medical center has been exercised more on
744 the Boni, who live a few hours by canoe from Maripasoula, than on
648 the Oayana. Among the latter, the principal villages are two days
[484] journey by motorboat upstream amidst difficult waterfalls; the
[753] Indians are often on the move, fishing on the upper courses of
the rivers or visiting their relatives on Brazilian rivers; it has
happened several times that the circuits of the doctors and medi-
cal attendants (one per trimester on the average) do not find any-
body in the villages; incidentally, the Oayana tend to attribute
R all internal ailments to magical causes, consulting willingly only
[844] for wounds. They willingly accept the remedies given on the
spot, but rarely take the initiative of moving a sick person to
Maripasoula; the women continue to have their babies delivered
R in the villages, without any hygiene.

757 Only during the last three or four years has a change in
165 attitude been noticeable among them vis-à-vis medicine; as we
B shall show below, no notable modification in their mortality has
R yet been observed as a result of this fact.

121 The principal interest of this study being to compare the
165 demographic data of two populations before they had been modified

/209 cont. /

789 If someone has a Kumẽnti, certain objects used in the
784 cult: pestle, mortar, machete, must not be raised near him. His gita "would rise" immediately. Likewise while he is eating, neither tiger nor gun must be mentioned. To prevent their gita from rising, those concerned may take the precaution of putting a small piece of wood behind the ear while they eat.

789 These past years the cult of the Kumẽnti was clearly
178 declining among the Boni, as was the whole of their religious
[971] life; every one, indeed, no longer thought about anything but
[781] earning money and was always traveling in order to do this,
[484] which made difficult the indispensable meetings and dances.
[743] On the other hand, cared for effectively when they are ill in the Maripasoula hospital, the Boni feel the cult of the Kumẽnti
[955] less necessary, of which the principal social function is to cure. So, while in 1948 we used to be present very often at manifestations of the gita of Kumẽnti, in 1952 they were becoming much rarer and more secret /modest/. They were tending to fall to the level of the latent manifestations of which we shall speak further on. In 1956 we did not observe in the course of the forest
[346] work any spontaneous attack of this gita. The chapels dedicated to the Kumẽnti are scarcely maintained and are falling into ruins; such is the fate of the gods judged benevolent toward men.
[951] Nevertheless people continue to lay great store by the ɔbia of Kumẽnti, especially the man nẽgge ɔbia which protects against the machete and the gun, and the Kumẽnti bui, ring of Kumẽnti, instrument of divination.

976 The Bũnsuɲki. The Bũnsuɲki are gods which live in the waters,
[823] by preference at the head of falls, beside rocks bearing copies of detached trees; they can also reside ordinarily in these trees
[987] themselves. They appear sometimes in dreams to men as well as to women in the aspect of Indians, more commonly Indian women with long hair. This is why they are sometimes called wata Iɲgi, Indians of the water.

/297 cont./

648 which in Black Africa has so powerfully contributed toward the destruction of traditional structures.

[829] Truth to tell, the problem was simpler, for the conceptions of the Refugee Blacks, involving no form of oppression of individuals and assuming the right of the woman to self-determination, reduce to the vanishing point the sources of disputes between individuals and groups.

[162] In 1946 the administrative post of Maripasoula was created, near the confluence of the Lawa and the Inini. Since that time, the gendarmerie has administered to the satisfaction of all and without any incident a heterogeneous population of 2,000 persons, gold miners, Refugee Blacks, and Indians, scattered over [943] a vast territory. The medical post created at Maripasoula in 1949 is very much frequented by the Boni and performs an extremely useful function on the psychological as well as on the social level.

The relations of the various groups give rise to very small frictions, one with another, but the Refugee Blacks never give occasion for intervention in the internal affairs of their groups. [505] Respectful of the administration, they carry out punctually their commitments to their employers, insuring all the transport on the river according to a modus vivendi established for a long time (1).

609

On this subject it is to be noted that disagreeable incidents occur each time the Boni deal with inexperienced travelers who do not know the customs of the river or do not wish to apply them. In a general way the Refugee Blacks, of their own accord respectful of anyone who comes to do a useful job, loathe tourists; they cannot stand being photographed or observed like queer animals.

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B R /516 cont./
743 supernatural causes, did not predispose them to turn to European
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165 demographic data of two populations before they had been modified

/231 cont./

761 --In 1952, Dolo (Awara Bakka) dies almost all of a
[784] sudden with the symptoms of peritonitis: kunu, punishment for
[684] incest committed by another member of the lineage.

--In 1952, Malèndo, ten years old, son of Osaya (Awara Bakka) accidentally drowns: natural accident (ɔagɔɔku).

[784] --In 1954, Bèniti (Dju) dies at nearly 75 years of age:
[796] kunu of a Papa gadu.

[784] --In 1954, Agyémési (Aw.B.) dies almost all of a sudden:
[754] killed by Odun (he was a wisimɛ).

--In 1955, Tabiki (Awara Bakka) dies at over 80: natural illness.

[784] --In 195.., Kotoida /sic/ (Afi lineage) dies suddenly,
[795] aged about 50: kunu of a yɔrka.

784 --In 1957, F... (Lapé) is gravely ill with symptoms of
796 typhoid: kunu of a Papa gadu.

[753] --In 1957, Sokodo (Dip. II) dies at 40: kunu of a
[761] Kɛntamasu.

/232/ One observes that in the 15 cases cited here, the kunu
75 interferes ten times, while in three cases natural causes: ill-
761 ness, accident, were assumed.
784

In reality, the Refugee Blacks do not have the conceptions of a natural world, subject to known or knowable laws, which is set against a supernatural world. The intervention of a Papa gadu is neither more nor less natural than an illness or an accident. There is only, on the plane of human life, more or less frequent intervention by suprahuman forces. The intervention of these forces is made according to laws which embrace the totality of beings and things, laws which men cannot understand but of which they believe they have a partial and empirical knowledge.

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/232 cont./

75 784 776 It is important not to confuse the kunu with the sufferings which other divinities can arbitrarily make men undergo. The kunu has a systematic character. But a divinity theoretically beneficent, and which has come into a man after being called on, may also from time to time bring misfortunes if such is its whim of the moment.

752 776 784 In 1949, G... (Dju) was busy cooking a crab in the house of his mother D... A machete which was fastened to the wall suddenly detached itself and wounded him in the right hand. Now his mother had an Ampuku which had imposed [787] the crab on her as kina. This Ampuku, immediately called [428] on, revealed that it really was it which had struck G..., for it did not like to see D...'s son eat crab (note that G... was not at all held to the observance of this kina, for no kina is transmitted from mother to son).

784 775 613 969 Neither must the kunu exercised by a yɔrka be confused with the vengeance that a dead person can exercise against the members of his own lineage in order to punish them for having neglected their duties.

Punishment inflicted by an ancestor of the lineage seems for the Boni to be a notion distinct from that of the kunu. Vengeance exercised by a yɔrka upon its own lineage is regarded as exceptional and devoid of the inexorable and definitive character of the kunu, but they assume it to be [762] possible. They cited to us the case of Yali (Loka), who [753] committed suicide when accused of sorcery by the people [761] of his lineage. Since then, his yɔrka has caused sicknesses and deaths in his own village.

776 784 613 [761] Conversely, a god which exercises the kunu upon a lineage may in certain cases intervene in favor of this lineage if such is its whim of the moment. Thus the death of Diamanti (Aw.B.2, Asisi village, † in 1955) is attributed to the god which exercises the kunu on the village of L'Enfant Perdu and whose bearer was Pééchina. Diamanti had wronged someone of this village and the god had intervened against her.

/232 cont. /

787 In a general way, they consider that the bearer of a god
784 exercising the kunu has nothing to fear from it personally if he
776 rigorously observes the kina which have been imposed upon
him. On the other hand, this god will punish any injury to
[562] its bearer. Thus these bearers (almost always old women) live
[888] surrounded by respect and fear.

784 /233/ Observations in January, 1958 (misfortunes attributed to
769 vengeance of ancestors on their own lineage).
613 Do (Lapé) is taken ill on January 7, 1958 with a violent
75 attack of dysentery. The same day his five-year-old son is
grievously hurt at the wharf by falling on a broken bottle.
[787] Alarmed by this coincidence, the members of the Lapé lo
assemble and proceed to question a possessed person. The latter
reveals that it is the doing of an old woman of the lineage,
Atala, dead for two years. Several lineage members have already been sick from this; the dead woman wanted to sanction offenses committed by the people of the lineage.

The same day in Boniville, Klémenti (Dju), to whom I am recounting this affair, tells me that before the lifting of mourning for his mother Béniti, he and his sisters were sick.
[787] Divination showed that it was the doing of Béniti, who wished to hasten the celebration of the ceremony.

784 The kunu and social peace among the Boni. Role of the grand
775 man. The kunu exercised by a yɔrka creates very strange re-
613 lations among the Boni lineages. As blind and arbitrary as the
571 vengeance attributed to the yɔrka may be, the Boni have the
sense of the legal unity of the lineage too much for any resentment to exist: "They are killing our family..."; and yet the
two lineages find themselves henceforth irreparably bound to-
[782] gether. The victims of the kunu can no longer get along without
people of the lineage of the yɔrka which pursues them with its
vengeance, since they alone, by their prayers, can appease
temporarily the anger of their ancestor. One conceives of the

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

776 609 "The gods are friendly to you, Massa. The men have all noticed it. You look upon trees and falls with pleasure. When you see them, it is as if you met with a friend. That is good. But the gods have their powers, and men have theirs. The Rabbit says, 'Evil is everywhere.' Last night, you remember, there was a man who did not look up when you passed his house, and when you spoke 'Howdo' to him, he would not answer. He was an obia man. He would not take the hand of a white man. I have heard the men say there are others who are not glad that the white man has come so far, and that the gods have allowed it. . . . "

Abruptly he stopped. He had said more than he intended.

"I came to tell you about another thing," he continued after a moment of embarrassment. "You should know about fio-fio."

Fio-fio was a small brown bug, and it was also a spirit. [753] The spirit fio-fio brought sickness and death to human beings. For people like ourselves, untutored in the ways of the spirits, and the things which allowed them to gain sway over an individual, only a diviner could seek out the incident which had caused fio-fio to come.

● 751 783 That was why it was necessary to bathe in a protecting fluid, to "wash fio-fio," even though we had not yet been stricken.

"Let me tell you how to wash fio-fio," he went on. "You must bathe when nobody sees you, and this is what you must have: the skin of a plantain we call the mother plantain that has been dried in smoke, and weeds which I will give you, and Negro-country pepper which I have with me, and seven pieces of chalk, and some eggshells. Some people put washing-blue in the water, too, but that you don't need. You can bathe in it early in the morning, or at noon, or right after sundown, but no one must see you."

He paused for a moment.

776 626 578 "Do you not have fio-fio in your country? Look, this is how it is. You quarrel with a man who works for you, and he comes back and says he is sorry, and you say you are

776 186 gods do not come to them." There was in her voice contempt for women who had no gods. She was of a reddish-brown color, taller and more slender than most, and the great coils of brass about her arms and ankles told that her [301] beauty had had full recognition. These had come to her at [585] marriage, as had the small earrings of gold which the bassia had brought to her from French Guiana. With these, too, had come cloths and handkerchiefs, beads and carvings.

609 123 If white women had no gods, did they know any of the other things which women must know? Did the white [291] woman wear an apron underneath all her cloths, as women should? Were her thighs cicatrized? Did she cook for her husband, or other men, when she should be isolated in the special house provided for women's monthly visits? [841] Did she purify herself with sacred clay when she emerged from isolation in order not to spoil her husband's obias, for which contact with a woman who has her menses is the deadliest taboo? Why, having borne children, did her figure not show it?

[534] "Have you drums?" the bassia's wife asked. "Without drums, how do you pray? How do you dance?"

[535] Dancing without drums availed nothing.

"White women have no gods. The gods do not come to them. They are not troubled by the need to dance. White women do not pray," she concluded, seeing that what dancing the white woman did could only be a feeble affair.

"I will send my son to your country. The men who go to the French shore say it is good to know how to count the white man's way. My woman-child I will never send," she finished with finality.

Now it was the white woman's turn to ask a few questions, having done explaining how her boots laced, and why it was that she was dressed very much as her husband was dressed.

● 751 776 983 The white clay in the hair and on the face of a small child was medicine. The child's mother had washed for her god that morning. He was a god whose day for dancing was Wednesday, and now, feeling the god stir in her, she would

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

wash every day until Wednesday came to permit her to dance. When she washed with the sacred moistened clay, she rubbed the white on her children. 751 776 783

"Will all the women dance on Wednesday who have the same god as you?"

The child's mother shook her head. "If the god comes to them, yes. If he doesn't come, they can't dance."

And the bassia's wife said, "The women who are in the menstrual house can't dance. When they hear the drums, they are troubled, but they must remain quiet." 841

The woman had spoken too eagerly and too loudly, for her husband, overhearing her, said something in a low rapid voice, and at once the women fell silent and several of them remembered errands they had to see to. 593

4

"When men are in the council house, you mustn't interrupt," said the bassia's wife to the white woman. "If we did what you did just now, our husbands would scold us when they got home, and if we did it again, they would beat us." 576 [593]

She had taken upon herself all the prerogatives of friendship, and continually criticized the manners of her visitor.

The old were to be greeted last. A gift was to be received by another. When returning a piece of carving to another's hand, the carving should rest on the outstretched palm, while the elbow of that arm lay on the palm of the other hand. In the presence of men, a woman who took a stool should turn it about and sit on its narrower side.

"Never sit on the bare earth. The spirits don't like it," she said one instant, and the next, "Don't play with your fingers on top of your sun helmet. Your breasts will get long. Drumming is not a thing for women." [826] [562]

There had been other warnings during earlier visits to Bush Negro villages, but none had borne down so heavily upon the shortcomings of the stranger.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
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84 85 It appeared that nothing in a woman's life was so dreaded as childbearing, nothing more coveted than fertility, and no time so difficult and so anxious as when a woman was rearing her children.

782 584 "The day before a girl marries she prays all day to her gods," said Dida, who with Fenekonde and several other women had joined us. "I begged my god Kesekia and gave him rice and rum. All day they played the agida. I begged [842] him not to hate my husband. I begged him to give us children."

843 [431] 751 789 When a woman conceived, her husband made her many obias, and especially a black sack obia with four cowries sewed on it, to keep her safe on the paths which led from village to village, and from village to her field. The fear of the power of bad magic at this time was so great that, if we but looked at one of the pregnant women, or let our eyes rest on the several obias she wore, she grew nervous, covered them with both her hands, and disappeared in fear that the very power of our glance might weaken the potency of the charms. She did not believe in the white man's magic, but she was not in a condition to wish to put it to a test.

844 782 "When her time comes, a woman sees to it that she is in her own village," said Fenekonde. "It is not good to give birth in the bush, or on the river."

This had almost happened to Wilhelmina with her last child. She was on the river alone in a boat. Chief Sungi of Dahomey met her and called on his gods to delay the coming of the child until he brought her home. He had strong obia, and so the misfortune was averted.

When the woman felt the first labor-pains, she prayed to the gods, and to her personal spirits. On the great Sky God she called, and the Earth Mother; on her ak'a, her soul; on the Yorka, the ancestors; and then she prayed to her personal gods, and particularly to whatever snake gods she might have, for some of these were known to be jealous of a coming child. But none of the gods dared be slighted.

WOMEN AT WORK

"Before she begs the gods, she is seated on a mat, or on 844
cloths. Over her head a white cloth is thrown. The woman 780
who is there to look after the coming of the child takes a calabash with water. Then she throws the water on the ground where the woman is seated. She begs the great gods, and the ancestors, and the woman's soul, and the woman's gods.

"When the pains come, she ties a cloth about her belly 844
tight, tight, until it hurts. The woman who helps her gives her some water if she wants it, and she presses down on the belly and makes the cloth tighter and tighter, until the child comes. The cord is cut with a knife."

The knife was the same as the kind they used for cicatri- [412]
zing, and the after-birth was buried behind the house, in a small hole into which food and a piece of the sacred sangrafu wood was thrown.

"The child is washed, and then *pemba*—kaolin—is put
on its forehead, and after that the mother and the child [751]
bathe every day and then wash in pemba. Sometimes a moon comes and wanes, and another comes, and the mother still puts the white on herself and on her child."

But if the birth proved to be difficult, then the husband 845
was told, and he besought his own ancestors and his own gods to help his woman and child.

"If the child doesn't come, then it's a bad spirit. Then they call the obia man."

When a woman had difficulty, everybody was troubled about it. If a woman had been unfaithful to her husband and had not confessed it, it would be that which would be killing the child in her womb, and killing her as well. Sometimes it was *wisi*—black magic—and everybody [754]
wondered who had sent it to their village. Sometimes it was a god who was envious.

"If it is a god, then, when the woman is strong again, 845
she goes to a more powerful god and buys from him the 776
next child to come into her womb. The strong god sees to 845
it that the jealous one finds no way to harm the child."

What happened when a child was born dead? [766]

773 of the earth. In one kingdom, a ruler sent the heralds to proclaim throughout the land that he who killed the bird would get half his kingdom, and his daughter in marriage. Anansi, the spider, killed a hawk and brought it to the ruler. But Anansi lied when he said this was the bird that shook the earth with its cries. At the very time he was trying to persuade all the people that [illegible] the bird, the cries of the ominous bird were heard. So they put Anansi in jail. Now one day there was born to a woman a child who at birth wore a cloth of pieced designs, and a hunting sack. This boy said to his mother, he said, "Give me a little water, mother, and I will go out into the world to learn wisdom. God has sent me to kill the bird which troubles mankind."

When the boy grew to manhood he succeeded in trapping this bird that knew how to cook obia without fire. He killed the bird and took the obia pot with him, and that is how he came by the secrets of obia. He passed on his knowledge to the men of his family, and this has been going on till today, so that obia is being spread throughout the world by the descendants of this man who killed the bird that knew obia.

776 But obia was not one thing only.

"Obia," Bayo's uncle had said, "is first of all the spirit. It is everywhere. But there are many kinds of obia. There is black man's obia, and there is white man's obia. Here in the bush black man's obia is the strongest.

789 "A man who has the obia spirit makes obia to wear, and
778 obia to drink, and obia to rub the body with, and obia water
776 for bathing. He can make obia drums and obia benches. The spirit tells you how to do things, and it tells you what to do. When we say a man has strong obia, we mean his spirit is strong."

756 The Bush Negro obia man, said Bayo to us one day, knew
751 the things the white doctor knew—he knew how to heal—
789 and he knew other things, too. He knew how to keep sickness away. The things an obia man gave for healing were

called obias. The charms he gave for warding off illness and evil were obias, too. 756 751 789

"So we call all these things. But each obia has a name. Every charm I wear is an obia, but if I wore the one you are wearing, it would be a soul cord, an *ak'a tetei*. One below the knee we call *asumani* in my village, and one for the wrist *afimu*. The one on the upper arm is named *ando*. But there are many names, and they are all obia, because inside them is the spirit obia which gives them power. When a man sells you an obia and passes its power on to you, he breathes on your hands as they hold the obia. When he does it, he gives you the obia spirit which went into the making of this obia. If he did not make it himself, the spirit was given him by the obia man, and he gives it to you."

Obia, then, is the spirit; obia is the preventive and curing agent; obias are the charms that are worn by people to help them. Some have called these obias "fetiches," but even a slight understanding of them should be enough to bring the outsider to the realization that the object of itself is meaningless, and that it is only the power that has been given the charm that makes it effective. 796 751 789

Yet it is not strange that the importance of the fetich has been overestimated, for if the visitor did not draw out the Bush Negroes about their gods and their theories of the universe, the existence of these higher powers would almost go unrecognized. For everywhere there are to be found obias guarding the village, obias screening paths, obias worn by the people. That they are important to the Bush Negro is obvious. But they are important for day-by-day existence, and they do not possess the overwhelming importance of the great spirits who control the universe. 796 789

Many of these charms came to us as tangible evidence of the belief in obia. Some of those we acquired were of a unique character because of the power that was latent in them, some because of the intricacy of their taboos. Yet all of them paled in interest and in arresting quality beside the Kromanti Mama that came to us one night in secret.

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576 *bah?"* In other words, "Brother, (Sister, Father, Mother) howdy, how-do-you-do?"

751 776 There is a ceremony connected with the simple act of entering a Bush Negro town. A stranger might bring in foul intentions or evil spirits. The village must be protected against this horrific possibility, so nearly every path leading to the town has a magic device, known as an *azang pau,* to keep the spirits out. It consists of a dry stick across the path overhead, to which palm fronds are lashed. They hang down, brushing over everyone who passes beneath. The visitor passes under the azang pau, and is cleared of evil spirits that might harm the inhabitants of the village.

The Djukas have invisible enemies. On either side of the [778] path, near the palm barrier, is the wooden statue of a fetish to provide protection from these enemies. The fetish named Cromanti, on one side, protects the village from the evil spirit that dwells in the silk-cotton tree, the *con con dree.* Opposite him stands *Aflamu,* who secures the village against the attacks of a mighty tribe of unseen men, who are the sworn enemies of the Bush Negro and kill him with invisible arrows.

Walking up from the river we reach the barrier, and pause before it for the customary ritual. But Abaisa is a potent chief, the head of his *lo* or clan, the *Abaisa-lo.* So long as the bahkra accompanies him, no ceremony is necessary. We enter unchallenged into the clearing beyond.

648 576 The usual procedure is for the white man to hang back and let his paddler precede him. Moi-Man gains admittance to re-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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301 his much-loved ornamentation. Leg-bands of cotton cloth are frequently worn by both sexes, and where wire can be secured it is fashioned into arm or leg coils and paraded proudly.
[751 Many necklaces and bracelets are used because they con-
778] stitute magic amulets against evil spirits. Our own bracelets and necklaces can probably be traced back to this same origin.
302 The hair is another means of personal decoration, and therefore it is always dressed with deliberation. Carefully made partings divide the black skull into geometrical designs.
834 Despite the scanty nature of their clothing, the Djukas are quite modest, and never expose themselves. If a bahkra does, they avert their heads. It is a curious reflection on civilized morality that the almost naked blacks possess a large amount of dignified restraint, while the uncomfortably clothed white man is shameless in his nudity.

322 Here and there inside the dark huts can be seen bits of ex-
531 traordinary wood carving. These are not crude utensils; every stirring-paddle or comb is a work of art worthy of a place in a museum, designed and executed in a way that is
437 far from "primitive." The only way to acquire these objects is to bargain for them in Dutch money or tobacco, or cheap knick-knacks. Among the more distant villages money is use-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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severe attack of winti. She fell upon her knees and appeared 825
half lame. The others lifted her up. A youth came with a 776
green stick; he bit into it and spat on the woman's calves, 158
legs, feet, and arms. After a while she was able to stand alone. This seemed to constitute the end of the dance. It had somehow become known that the Papa Gadu, the snake spirit, was angry, and this big *gadu pray* (god's spread) had been necessary in order to propitiate him.

The women who are seized with the winti sometimes mutter a few words. The others regard these as the utterances of a spirit and say: *"Ya, gadu"*—"yes, God." Upon inquiry among the women who had caught the winti spirit, Mr. de Goeje found that they all complained of feeling very dizzy or giddy when in such a trance.

Certain localities, as well as individuals, may be possessed 776
by evil spirits. The Pwaba Creek is such a place. Were a 751
Djuka to go up this creek with any clothing on, he would never come out alive. So upon entering the waters of Pwaba the Djuka strips off all his clothes. That nullifies the bad magic.

Every Bush Negro, to protect himself from all varieties 751
of black magic, wears a number of charms or amulets. He 778

751 calls them *obeiahs*. An obeiah is a charm or a form of magic
778 to be distinguished from a *trafer*, which is a taboo. Obeiahs may be worn in the form of bracelets or necklaces, called *boe*. Bush Negroes never start out on a hunting or river trip without a number of boe around the arm, or leg, or neck. Thus the machinations of the evil spirits are set at naught.

One boe which Abaisa made for us is formed of heavy wire wrapped with white cord and set with cowrie shells. Worn on the arm, this will make you very strong. The charm will protect you while engaged in dangerous doings, such as
[431] drinking river water after someone has been drowned in it. Abaisa made this bracelet out of friendship. It was given, not purchased; therefore the old-time gods are not offended at its being possessed by a white man.

[702] He presented it with great solemnity, taking a mouthful of rum and spitting it on the ground as a libation to the ground god, then squirting another mouthful over the bracelet. After that we all had a swallow of the same liquid and
[553] Abaisa said a prayer in deepee-talkee. A somewhat similar ceremony attended the giving of a Djuka name to the white man—*Abentee*, provider.

751 The cowrie shells with which the obeiah is set are smeared
321 with pemba dotee. The clay closes up the openings of the
778 shells, thus preventing evil spirits from entering into the interior. These cowrie shells, which decorate practically all the
[71] magic emblems of the Djukas, are commonly found among the savages of Africa, both on the East and West Coasts. They are also common in African art work, and at one time constituted a form of currency, papa moni.

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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stituted a form of currency, *papa moni*. They come originally 778 751 from the East Indies, having been brought to both Africa and [177] South America by Portuguese traders. When a savage takes a fancy to a thing, he will go to some trouble to get hold of it. Thus the tin cans of the Standard Oil Company have penetrated into almost every primitive community now known.

Projecting from the wrapped cord around Abaisa's boe is a bit of blue cloth to ward off the spirit of a dead enemy. A bit of red cloth blinds the wearer to evil sights and makes him serene. A small strand of white cloth provides protection from the bad spirits called *Bakru*. Underneath the cloth are bristles from the anteater to give strength. All these charms make the obeiah bracelet a powerful affair.

Another boe is used to foretell the future. It is similar to 778 the bracelet, but projecting from the wrapped cord is a short 787 bit of tubing. The device is suspended from a string and held motionless, the tube pointing toward the ground. When no air is stirring a question is asked concerning the future. If the pointer remains motionless the answer is "yes," but if it moves the reply is "no." In this simple way the Bush Negro acquires knowledge of coming events. Our tent boy had several questions he wanted to ask, and when they were answered he had "a peculiar feeling."

Another obeiah that we obtained is a jaguar-tooth neck- 778 lace. Strung on the same string with the pierced tooth are two little carved fetishes of Cromanti and Aflamu, crudely done. All religious articles are extremely crude in their carving, compared with the delicate tracery of Djuka implement

/27 cont./

301 as the European girl wears her bracelets. On their fingers they wear a number of copper rings, sometimes doubtless up to ten; the thumb is likewise generally decorated with them.

291 /28/ As a rule the men content themselves with merely
292 a simple loincloth or belt, but if they go so far as to dress up, then they wear a broad-brimmed hat which is usually painted with various colors; around the crown they wear a wide band whose ends hang far down over the brim.

301 Around their necks they frequently wear a string of tiger's
237 teeth and the incisors and molars of wild pigs (the pakier and piengo) and of other animal species that they have caught on the hunt; they wear these same ornaments hanging from a broad band under the knee, and to them is added now and then a shell, a piece of copper, iron, lead, and so forth. Their ornaments also include parrot and West Indian raven (1) feathers and small tassels

1. Lafroe, Psittacus macao L.

made of cotton.

301 They call the last-named obias (2). Just like the women,
751
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2. Obia, charm. The same efficacious powers as the superstition sees in amulets and talismans are seen in this.

they wear colored cloths around the neck.

304 Like almost all tropical and African peoples, they tattoo themselves. Men, women, and children undergo this operation, and although they are set upon having this as ornamentation, they nonetheless look down upon the man decorated with many tattoos just as the European does on an effeminate dandy. There are among them those whose face and body are virtually covered with the incisions, but they are looked upon with contempt by the industrious and those most developed spiritually. They say that the former are too attached to luxury and must be lazy to waste

/206 cont./

The Kumẽnti. These gods are common to the Saramaka (Kromenti) (1), Djuka, and Boni. The Kumẽnti are considered

1. There is no doubt about the origin of this word; it is a deformation of Coromantin, name given in the 18th century to Ashanti country. The "Coromantin Negroes," reputed to be particularly intractable, played a large role in the slave revolts. The Kumenti cult of possession must originally have been a cult peculiar to the Coromantin nation.

to be benevolent gods and friends of men, so their possession is very much desired. They do not come into men spontaneously, they are obtained only by applying to a teacher. In principle only men can obtain Kumẽnti, while on the other hand only women can have Bũnzunki /sic/.

The Kumẽnti are specialized in protection against fire and against machete and gun wounds. These dangers hold the largest place among the anxieties of the Refugee Blacks, who spend almost all their life in the bush and with whom nearly all sores become infected and have serious consequences. Thus the Kumẽnti cult holds an important place in their magic; even someone who is not possessed will try to obtain from these gods an obia that will protect him from these various dangers.

The instruction of the disciples of these gods takes as its pattern the procedures described above, but the collective dances appear to play an essential part. The teacher calls on the gods by beating a special rhythm on ordinary drums (apinti) and by uttering invocations punctuated by the rattle of the saka (Indian maraka, that is, hollow calabash provided with a handle and containing seeds).

/209 cont. /

787 If someone has a Kumẽnti, certain objects used in the
784 cult: pestle, mortar, machete, must not be raised near him. His gita "would rise" immediately. Likewise while he is eating, neither tiger nor gun must be mentioned. To prevent their gita from rising, those concerned may take the precaution of putting a small piece of wood behind the ear while they eat.

787 These past years the cult of the Kumẽnti was clearly
78 declining among the Boni, as was the whole of their religious
[791] life; every one, indeed, no longer thought about anything but
[781] earning money and was always traveling in order to do this,
[484] which made difficult the indispensable meetings and dances.
[743] On the other hand, cared for effectively when they are ill in the Maripasoula hospital, the Boni feel the cult of the Kumẽnti
[755] less necessary, of which the principal social function is to cure. So, while in 1948 we used to be present very often at manifestations of the gita of Kumẽnti, in 1952 they were becoming much rarer and more secret /modest/. They were tending to fall to the level of the latent manifestations of which we shall speak further on. In 1956 we did not observe in the course of the forest
[346] work any spontaneous attack of this gita. The chapels dedicated to the Kumẽnti are scarcely maintained and are falling into ruins; such is the fate of the gods judged benevolent toward men.
[751] Nevertheless people continue to lay great store by the ɔbia of Kumẽnti, especially the man nẽgge ɔbia which protects against the machete and the gun, and the Kumẽnti bui, ring of Kumẽnti, instrument of divination.

776 The Bõnsuɲki. The Bõnsuɲki are gods which live in the waters,
[823] by preference at the head of falls, beside rocks bearing copies of detached trees; they can also reside ordinarily in these trees
[787] themselves. They appear sometimes in dreams to men as well as to women in the aspect of Indians, more commonly Indian women with long hair. This is why they are sometimes called uɛta Iɲgi, Indians of the water.

/238 cont./ The struggle against
754 781 wisi is one of the foundations of their social life, protection against the undertakings of the wisimã one of the most constant worries of each person. Nobody knows these wisimã with certainty; one is reduced to vague suspicions of this or that person, which one dares not formulate for lack of proof. No one knows exactly how they operate. Yet each one feels their enterprises everywhere about him, and those who by reason of their wealth or successes with women have the most reason to believe themselves exposed to jealousy live in anxiety.

754 [828] [784] Intense jealousy or hate are already a form of wisi, and this is why each one must try to drive them out of his heart; besides, he would risk falling ill or being subject to all sorts of calamities for having broken his oath. But the wisimã employs explicit procedures:

--Burying a bottle (beli bata) containing sorcery under his enemy's door. When the latter comes home, the sorcery will penetrate into him. So some Refugee Blacks carry a special [751] ɔbia against this kind of aggression: thanks to this ɔbia, they will feel a sharp pain in the tip of the foot when approaching the bottle, which they will thus uncover easily.

754 794 --Kisi akkaa, stealing the akka of the enemy. The latter then becomes mad. The Boni believe that the wisimã operates at night, taking advantage of the fact that the enemy's akka has left his body to wander. He captures it by attracting it with what it likes. For that, one must know the name of his enemy's akka, know its tastes and preferences; all things which each Refugee Black will carefully hide, even from his comrades. What the wisimã does with the akka was not clear to any of our informants. He tries either to capture it in order to deprive his enemy of it, or to make it hostile to its bearer, or to inspire it with abnormal ideas or tastes. If someone manifests an abnormal change /239/ in tastes or behavior, people will be inclined to think that a wisimã was able to act upon his akka.

/249 cont./

751 Principal ɔbia. The Kumẽnti bui, bracelet of Kumẽnti, which is not to be confused with the man nẽŋge ɔbia, is materialized by a bracelet of fibers not worn on the arm but shut up in one's small trunk. It is a polyvalent ɔbia which insures at the same time [787] the protection of its owner against the machete and the gun, his material prosperity and his moral security, for it furnishes him with a very highly esteemed procedure of divination.

751 787 This ɔbia must be prepared each time on the orders of a Kumẽnti and in its presence in the body of a possessed person. It is the Kumẽnti which designates the leaves to go and get and the processing to make them undergo; according to the information which we have been able to get, this consists of plunging into the infusion of leaves first a machete, then an axe, both red hot, while the postulant recites formulas intended to fix in the ɔbia the power he desires (that the machete may not cut me, that I become rich, etc.).

751 The man nẽŋge ɔbia, exclusively intended for protection against the machete and gun, is materialized by a crudely fashioned iron ring clasping the arm a little below the shoulder (1).

1. The fact of wearing an iron ring on the arm does not necessarily correspond with possession of this ɔbia. In general, commoner ɔbia intended to protect from leprosy are concerned.

This ɔbia must not be confused with the ɔbia Kumẽnti. Obtaining possession by a Kumẽnti and the man nẽŋge obia /sic/ are two different things, corresponding to different rites.

/249 cont./

751 [787] Possession by a Kumẽnti gives, they say, invulnerability during the time of the trance, but in his ordinary state the individual remains vulnerable (they say only that in case of danger the gita "rises" immediately).

Someone who has a man nẽ̃ga ɔbia has no trances of possession, but they state that he is permanently invulnerable (except for breaking of the kina). In order to obtain this ɔbia one must have himself "washed" for a very long time by an elder who knows the leaves in question. He delivers them already crushed so that no one may be able to know this secret outside of the son or nephew to whom he bequeaths it.

It is necessary to continue to be washed four times a year for 15 days each time, to keep up the force of the ɔbia.

[515] During these 15 days one bathes three times a day, in secret (in principle nobody knows that you have this ɔbia).

[834] During these periods one must have no relation with a woman, even to talk to her.

They state that someone who has a man nẽ̃ge ɔbia can be struck by blows of a machete and even receive a gunshot with impunity.

[173] They believe that this ɔbia, in the past called man feti ɔbia, was obtained by the ancestors at the time of the wars against the whites; still today it inspires an unshakeable confidence. /250/ In October, 1952 we saw M...., a man of 45 [164] [752] with great good sense, make a deep gash in his leg while cutting a liana, in spite of his ɔbia. Doubt did not cross his mind for a second: he told us that certainly he had unknowingly eaten something contrary to the kina of the ɔbia. Since we were working near some villages, he went immediately to find the master of the remedy to have the power restored. For nothing in the world would he have left for a long round of work in the bush with the feeling that he was at the mercy of an accident.

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751 Next in the preoccupations of the Refugee Blacks come the ɔbia called tapu, that is to say, protection. There exist numerous kinds adapted to the various dangers of a supernatural order (protection against other divinities, against the maleficent entities of the bush, against the wisimã).

[796] [754] The Ampuku are generally asked for tapu against the wisimã. We saw a remarkable one in front of the house of F... (Dju). Its owner was not a little proud of it and he talked about it to us freely.

751 798 [532] The ɔbia, placed at ground level in front of the door, was composed of a crude representation in clay of a head in which appeared two wide-open eyes: in front of it were planted in the ground three plant clusters including a planting of groundnuts and one of maize; the whole was topped by a small basket containing an egg. It was necessary to water the ɔbia with a certain infusion of leaves at regular intervals to restore its force.

751 754 This ɔbia insured infallible protection against wisimã; in fact, none of them would have been able to cross the threshold without stubbing his toe on the door frame in spite of all his precautions; F... stated that his ɔbia constituted by this fact an effective means of detection of wisimã, for it was enough for him to invite suspects to enter his hut, to know what to think; the wisimã refused, for fear of thus being given away in the eyes of all; one could thus at least pin down suspicions.

751 [411] Other ɔbia are called sama mɔfu tetɛy (ɔbia against "people's mouths," that is, people's jealousy). They are nearly always seen on fine guns; they have a cord to hold them made of mɔriti palm fibers, to which two cowries are fastened.

755 The ɔbia intended to treat diseases generally have for support a calabash containing the infusion of leaves and a ball of pɛmba (kaolin). The person concerned sprinkles himself several times a day with this liquid.

/250 cont./

789 396 There exist special ɔbia for the building of boats. The opening of the hull in the fire, a delicate operation, sometimes fails. To insure its success everyone possesses a personal recipe inherited from his father or uncle. It does not call by name and directly upon the action of a god; the Boni do not have a clear idea about the origin or the nature of these rites. It is a matter of a maceration of two or three kinds of leaves, generally belonging to the secondary flora which surrounds the villages, and they vary from one man to another. One pours this maceration over the overturned boat before the burning is begun, while saying: "The boat must not split, it must open well."

832 [673] The laws of Odun forbid the use of charms aimed at forcing the love of a woman one desires; that would infringe on a person's freedom, therefore wisi. It is very /251/ possible however that certain people go to get charms of this kind from Creole magicians. But they take for granted, on the other hand, the ɔbia believed to permit men who have little success with women to have more in the future.

951 789 There does not seem to be any hierarchy of ɔbia nor is one category of ɔbia believed to be stronger by nature than another; in fact, the Refugee Blacks are seen to go readily to ask one divinity for an ɔbia in order to protect themselves from another. Here is an example:

464 [648] In 1951 the administration had a systematic cleaning of the Petit Inini River begun, in order to rid its course of innumerable pieces of fallen wood which were making the use of motors on boats difficult. A team of Boni were employed in this work under the direction of a Creole foreman. While the [776] work was being done, a Papa gadu "came into the head" of an [787] old woman named M... of the Awara Bakka lo. It revealed that it was opposed to this work, for it lived in exactly this 464 place and the noise of the motors bothered it. Upon their return 776 to Boni country, the men charged with this work learned the

/251 cont./

464 776 decision of the god and under some pretext or other refused to resume work. In August, 1952, while we were on a work trip /en mission/, an ɔbiamã made it known that an Ampuku was willing to give a tapu, that is, an ɔbia of protection, against this Papa gadu. We were present at a discussion in the course [465] of which several Boni planned to take up this work again, but asking for raised wages to cover the expenses of the ɔbia (1).

751 791

[171]

1. Situations of this kind are common in the Guianan forest, even among Creoles. For difficult or unusual work, the high wages demanded serve in part to remunerate magicians.

751 435 791 These expenses amounted to about 5,000 francs per person, or:

--3,000 for the payment of the god, including red cloth, dark-blue cloth, white beads, beer, rum, cowries; the ɔbiamã would take them to set them out in the forest.

--1,500 for payment for the work of the ɔbiamã, including a piece of canvas /toile/, beer, a container /bidon/ of powder, a chicken.

751 The remedy would consist of an infusion of leaves with which one should "wash one's body" morning and evening for the duration of the work.

As for the Creole foreman, he prudently had himself assigned to another job.

751 776 They have the habit of asking an Ampuku for protection against a Papa gadu and conversely (we have cited an example of this above), but they do not ask a Kumẽnti for protection; the Kumẽnti occupy themselves only with illnesses.

/251 cont./

751 789 Renewal of the power of the ɔbia. The Refugee Blacks have the idea that no magic power can last if it is not renewed by formulas and offerings appealing to the god from which it came. [824] Each year, at variable dates for each ɔbia, one must renew the power of the ɔbia by dipping the support object into a maceration of certain leaves. This renewal may not take place on January 1. On that day all leaves lose their power. /252/

[768] Mr. W. F. van Lier writes that among the Djuka, objects (bracelets, etc.) serving as support for a magic remedy are thrown away upon the death of the owner for they have lost [184] all power. The Boni do not have this conception; with them, [428] these objects keep their value for the dead person's son provided that before dying he voluntarily transmitted them to him by giving him mula.

789 428 613 Transmission of ɔbia. An ɔbia is often bequeathed simultaneously to a son and to a nephew. Care is taken not to lose the ɔbia for the lineage. Thus it is that certain lineages have certain ɔbia as their specialty.

789 [171] Kãndu. The Refugee Blacks call kãndu a magic object intended to protect property (houses, harvests) against theft. This procedure is also very much used by the Creoles.

There are three common kinds of kãndu:

--Piiti tiki kãndu. It is made of a split stick stuck into the ground, in the slit of which dry banana leaves or small sticks are placed horizontally. This device originated in Dahomey.

--Sikopu kãndu. It involves a shovel stuck into the ground in front of the house (the idea of the shovel is associated with the idea of death, for this instrument is used particularly in digging graves).

--Bɔɔ kãndu, made up of a bow and arrow planted in the ground.

/252 cont./

789 The one who installs a kãndu utters the formula: mi poti yu ya, ɛfu a sama kɔm fu fufu mi sani, yu mu siki ẽn (I put thee here; if someone comes to steal my belongings, thou must make him sick).

[784] If someone goes beyond /iɩ/ and commits a theft, he will be struck sooner or later with various sicknesses.

According to the conceptions of the Refugee Blacks, the kãndu is blind and strikes as well the friend who came to take objects because he received previous authorization to do it. So, many forego placing kãndu, as with us, people hesitate to set wolf-traps for fear of causing accidents.

789 784 428 However, the kãndu does not act upon the people who have the same basic interdiction (bwasi kina) as the one who placed it. This conception shows that these interdictions transmitted from father to children really are the mark of true patrilineages.

674 789 754 In fact, we have ascertained several times, there are burglaries in Boni country in spite of the kãndu and people do not succeed in uncovering the burglars; it is infinitely probable that one must not see in this the stamp of freethinkers who do not believe in sorcery; these are people who have obtained from a wisimã a talisman of black magic stronger than the kãndu! At least this is the explanation their victims give.

789 751 One can lift a kãndu on behalf of any man, whom one wants, for example, to send to get an object which one has forgotten; for that it is sufficient to give him mula: one blows into one's hands and lays them on the man's head, saying: mi puu a kãndu gi yu, a ʼã mu du a sani ãŋga yu: I withdraw the kãndu for thee, it must not do anything to thee. /253/

Mula can be given retroactively: If someone perceives that he has inadvertently incurred the chastisement of a kãndu, he has several days to be able to ask for mula from the owner, for the action of the kãndu is slow.

/253 cont./

Various Beliefs

578 Fyo-fyo. If a Boni is on bad terms with someone of his lineage or of another lineage, he has the absolute right to turn a cold shoulder to him and stop having anything to do with him. But
828 if, hiding his rancor, he seeks, from selfish motives, to main-
753 tain the appearance of friendly relations, he risks falling ill, be-
761 ing struck by various calamities, or even dying from the effect
789 of what the Refugee Blacks call a fyo-fyo. The nature of this
[825] force is not clear; they know only that its support is a small, common insect named fyo-fyo. They declare that if a person dies from the consequences of a fyo-fyo, one of these insects will be seen leaving his body through the nose at the moment of death.

776 Taku sani. By this name the Refugee Blacks designate maleficent
[775] entities of the bush, which they imagine as of nonhuman nature by contrast to the taku yɔrka, wandering spirits of dead people
[753] rejected by society. These entities are lower beings devoid of
[828] consciousness but dangerous for men into whom they may enter, rendering them sick or mad. Certain of these entities are believed to reside in plants, like the kɔtkɔti, others are thought to take on the appearance of dwarfs (baku), whom certain people believe they sometimes see at dawn on the outskirts of villages.

751 One protects oneself against taku sani by special ɔbia, and those who do not feel completely secure take a certain number of precautions in addition, like that of tearing up the leaves they have used for drinking water from creeks.

/253 cont./

751 417 [824] Tyifunga (1). This is the name of the magic enclosures made

1. They also use the word azãg, borrowed from the Fon of Dahomey.

offshoots /"tongues"/ of pinot palm, pina tõngo, attached to a string, with which on certain occasions a village is completely surrounded. These enclosures are thought to bar the passage of the evil spirits of the bush (taku sani); they are put up especially in the case of an epidemic, as well as before the great festivals which attract a crowd of persons among whom wisimã can slip
789 in. After putting the enclosure in place, people arrange themselves in a line at one end of the village and move along slowly so as to sweep its whole surface, firing guns, making all the noise possible by striking metallic objects and striking the ground with reeds to expel the evil spirits. This is what is called naki tyifunga. The elders repeat the formula: "U naki tyifunga fu ɔgi na: mu ku a so (We strike tyifunga so that the evil (spirits) may not be able to come to earth)."

751 417 The magic fence is then left in place until it is rotten.

753 76 Beliefs about leprosy. Lepers are buried at the limits of the cemetery, but they are not considered cursed, and mourning for them is carried out normally.

753 784 /254/ They take for granted that if someone is attacked by leprosy, it is because he has "broken" his bwasi kina. They think that an enemy can, because of ill will, hide a bit of the forbidden fare in the food. This is why the Boni do not willingly tell one another their interdictions.

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784 756 751 If someone realizes that he has broken his kina, he goes to see, not an ɔbiaman, but the specialist-healer of leprosy and asks him to treat him by way of prevention.

411 832 [177] [558] Beliefs about guns and hunting. The gun, which entered the everyday life of the Refugee Blacks two centuries ago, has taken an important place in their magic. It is the symbol of virility. A Refugee Black who no longer has a gun is a man humiliated and almost dishonored. As one of them explained to us in begging us to help him replace his old gun eaten by rust: "If you cannot present yourself before the women with a machete, hunting bag on your shoulder, and gun in your hand, you are not a man."

411 754 This idea has been transposed onto the plane of magic and they take for granted that the wisimã can, by putting evil spells on a gun, attack the owner of the weapon in his virility. It is supposed to be enough for someone to put his finger into the barrel of the gun while uttering a formula of vengeance, or even being moved by hate for the owner of the weapon, for this gun to be no longer capable of hitting the mark. So, to avoid these misfortunes, the Boni never part with their guns and never lend them to anyone. If, in spite of these precautions, they have the impression that a gun no longer fires so well, they will go to an ɔbiaman to have it washed of maleficent influence. There exist for that purpose several remedies all of which consist of soaking the gun for one to three days in infusions of leaves, which has the unfailing result of making it rust. We have seen a hammerless, latest model gun spoiled thus by an intelligent Boni head boatman, a clever mechanic and usually full of good sense.

411 789

224 We have never witnessed among the Boni any individual or collective hunting rites claiming to attract game or to promote meeting it (when, on the contrary, hunting playes are extremely widespread among the Creoles).

/254 cont./

841 Woman's magic power. The Refugee Blacks assume that a woman, during her menstrual periods, is impure and has the power to destroy the power of ɔbia. So during these periods she must withdraw into a special hut, munu ɔsu, and prepare her meals in special dishes; she may not prepare her husband's food, for by doing this she would destroy the power of his ɔbia, and must abstain from touching objects he habitually uses, particularly his gun, which would lose its good points for shooting. Even in the little farming habitations which consist of only several huts, one may be sure that one of them serves as a munu ɔsu.

841 343 462 [465] The munu ɔsu are very simple sheds built by the women themselves, using reclaimed materials taken from huts being demolished; some belong to one woman only; for others, three or four women get together. They have recourse to men only for assembling the framework, remunerating them with several cans of couac or several baskets of yams.

841 /255/A man who has a powerful ɔbia like the man nɛ̃ŋge ɔbia must abstain from speaking to a woman who has her menses.

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184 841 68 According to Mr. W. F. van Lier, the act of willfully hiding her menses is for the Djuka one of the gravest offenses a woman can commit, and the most severe punishments are inflicted on her. It is not the same with the Boni: in such a case a woman risks only being insulted and banned.

752 834 171 Another deeply rooted belief among the Refugee Blacks, and which exists with many Creoles, is the necessity for the

/255 cont./

784 262 A... of the Dju lo, about 28 years old in 1958, must observe six kina:

--The cayman and the jaguar as bwasi kina.

--The otter (yundu) as akka kina. /256/

These three kina have been imposed on him since his first years, but the meaning of them was explained to him only later on.

[751] --The eel (mãnsi) was imposed on him as a kina by his father when the latter gave him a man nẽŋge ɔbia, ɔbia of protection against machete or gun, materialized by an iron bracelet.

[841] [834] To this ɔbia is attached another kina. A... must not speak to a woman having her menstrual period.

[751] [787] --Finally, the crab (kaabu), kina attached to an ɔbia of which the man concerned only spoke with reticence, probably a Kumẽnti bui (bracelet of Kumẽnti, instrument of divination).

A... has no gadu kina in the strict sense of the term.

There exists no food kina common to all the Boni; the cayman is generally forbidden to them as bwasi kina, associated with another animal; but this is not absolute; we know at least one Boni who has not received this kina.

If someone has broken a kina inadvertently, he can have himself cleansed of this offense by ɔbiaman. But if he broke it willfully, he cannot escape the punishment attached to the offense.

845 828 Beliefs about twins. They have the idea that twins and children who follow twins are of a nature different from other men, participating in a divine principle.

[755] Twins cannot live (since they do not belong to ordinary humanity) if they are not treated with a special remedy known only to certain lineages especially rich in twins.

845 782 751 /257/

This worship is celebrated each time there is occasion to protect newborn babies. They are washed with a certain decoction of leaves.

845 535 751 Every four or five years on the average a big dance takes place, then the father and mother of twins and the twins themselves are washed in order to maintain their powers and keep them in good health.

[784] [753] If these dances are not held, dead twins will show their anger by making living twins and parents of twins sick.

845 613 778 Lineages that do not have twins do not practice these rites. If twins are born to them, they will apply at the place of worship of another lineage.

Papaïston and Lapé have this cult particularly highly developed.

842 776 Tɔne pikin. It is assumed that a woman may be made pregnant by a river god, either a Papa gadu snake god or by the Wata Iɔgi, which look like Indians. Children thus conceived are called tɔne pikin.

A..., of Papaïston, had cut a clearing opposite a remarkable white rock called Weti stɔ, where she used to moor her boat. She had not had any children for several years and she became pregnant. When her daughter was born a possessed person revealed that she was born of a Papa gadu snake god which lived there: since then her parents /relatives/ go regularly to this rock to make offerings.

[787] [778] [782]

About 1910 Alama (Kormotibo) had followed her husband to a shipyard on the lower river; one day while walking in the forest she met an Indian having the appearance of a Galibi Indian, who was carrying a newborn baby. She stopped and admired the baby. The Indian said to her: "Do you wish to raise him?" She acquiesced. He said: "We shall see each other again"; then he went away so quickly that she had the impression that he had disappeared on the spot.

/278 cont./

*539 so that the people will see you." She answered: "It is I who will drag you as far as the bush." They discussed it to the insult stage, and wagered. They agreed to set Sunday as the test time; she should pull the end of a rope going out from the village. She said: "Very well." -- "I am proud of my ancestors, Bush-Mama. You will not drag me into the bush, I am the one who will drag you inside the village."

Then he came back to the village and went to the river. He rushed into the water, dyou! he went up to the Water-Mama. He said to her: "Will you have a tug-of-war against me? The Water-Mama answered: "It is I who will drag you into the river." Anansi said: "I am sure to drag you up on land so that the people will see how you look." Again they wagered and set Sunday as the test day. He said: "Very well, on the day set I shall come into the water to hold out the end of a rope to you." The Water-Mama said: "Very well. I shall stay there to take the end of the rope." We shall see who is a man and who is not."

He went back to his village. Saturday afternoon he set up a tyifunga (2) enclosure around the village, as far as the river

[751] [824] [417] [783]

2. Magic enclosure made of pinot palm leaves strung on a cord, to which is attributed the power to stop bad influences. After putting up the enclosure they purify the village by cleaning it completely.

and as far as the bush behind the village. He cleaned the village completely. He cut a long and strong rope, he went to slip one end of it into the river, he went to put the other in the bush.

On Sunday the Bush-Mama and the Water-Mama came and each pulled on an end of the rope. Anansi himself was not

/196 cont./

673 --Vengeance; if someone believes himself to be the
[754] victim of witchcraft, he must under no circumstances engage
[627] in counterwitchcraft or invoke his ancestors against his enemy.
He may ask only for the protection of the ɔbia. It is Odun who
[784] will avenge him by sooner or later killing the evil-doer.

--Violence in any form whatever. It is regarded as a
[683] particularly serious offense against the laws of Odun to strike
with an armed hand and to make human blood flow (1).

[684]

1. That explains the strictness with which the society of the Refugee Blacks limits the right of punishment granted to the wronged husband, who must strike only with bare fists in front of witnesses, never in the bush nor on the river. Fear of seeing
[826] human blood flow explains the
[952] reticence of the Boni toward minor surgical operations.

[641] --Any attack on personal liberty by material or moral
[586] coercion; in particular, neither a man nor woman may be constrained to remain in a marriage which has ceased to please him; nobody may be forced to reside here or there.

[832] The forms of magic so popular among West Indians, aimed at capturing a person's love, are for this reason rejected by the Refugee Blacks and considered as a form of wisi.

[769] --Any evocation of the spirits of the dead, even to ask them for protection, other than in the public ceremonies
[954] provided for by custom. Thus nobody must go to the cemetery to pray alone on his parents' grave. Whoever would do that would immediately be considered as wisima.

/231 cont. /

776 which people do not hesitate to come to ask for remedies or
787 opinions, in spite of the evil they have done to the lineage and perhaps will do tomorrow. It is even allowable to wonder whether people do not prefer to consult the most wicked divinities, for they are believed to be stronger.

784 The kunu focuses, turns aside toward high purposes the
771 blind forces of superstition, fear, and rancor. Several authors
114 who have written on the Refugee Blacks have stated that
754 calamities were almost unfailingly attributed to sorcery (wisi). This is a grave error due to the fact that they believed they could transpose to the Refugee Blacks what is observed among the Creole populations of Surinam. If this were true, no
[787] positive social bond could exist. We believe we can assert that among the Refugee Blacks divination lays the blame on sorcery in only scarcely a tenth of the misfortunes. Here,
784 among other examples, are several typical cases concerning
[114] Boni who worked with us or whom we have known especially well:

[753] --In 1948, Fintiman (Dju) falls ill (violent pains in the
[776] legs); kunu of a Kāntamasu.

[752] --In 1948, Galmo (Papaïston) is accidentally hurt (gun backfire): kunu.

[753] --In 1949, Diolè, captain of the Dju lo, is smitten with
[761] hemiplegia and remains paralyzed. He dies in 1951: kunu
[776] of a Papa gadu.

761 --In 1950, a Saramaka is killed in a hunting accident (a gun in poor condition went off by itself): ɜŋgɔɔku (accident).

[754] --In 1951, Kanayen (Kotika) drowns while sailing at night on the river: wisi.

[784] --In 1951, Loka (Dju) dies at the age of 70: kunu of an
[776] Ampuku.

752 --In 1951, F... (Dju) is seriously hurt by the falling of
784 a branch while cutting his clearing: kunu of a yɔrka.
775

/232 cont./

75 784 776 It is important not to confuse the kunu with the sufferings which other divinities can arbitrarily make men undergo. The kunu has a systematic character. But a divinity theoretically beneficent, and which has come into a man after being called on, may also from time to time bring misfortunes if such is its whim of the moment.

752 776 784 [787] [428] In 1949, G... (Dju) was busy cooking a crab in the house of his mother D... A machete which was fastened to the wall suddenly detached itself and wounded him in the right hand. Now his mother had an Ampuku which had imposed the crab on her as kina. This Ampuku, immediately called on, revealed that it really was it which had struck G..., for it did not like to see D...'s son eat crab (note that G... was not at all held to the observance of this kina, for no kina is transmitted from mother to son).

784 775 613 769 Neither must the kunu exercised by a yɔrka be confused with the vengeance that a dead person can exercise against the members of his own lineage in order to punish them for having neglected their duties.

Punishment inflicted by an ancestor of the lineage seems for the Boni to be a notion distinct from that of the kunu. Vengeance exercised by a yɔrka upon its own lineage is regarded as exceptional and devoid of the inexorable and definitive character of the kunu, but they assume it to be possible. They cited to us the case of Yali (Loka), who committed suicide when accused of sorcery by the people of his lineage. Since then, his yɔrka has caused sicknesses and deaths in his own village. [762] [753] [761]

776 784 613 [761] Conversely, a god which exercises the kunu upon a lineage may in certain cases intervene in favor of this lineage if such is its whim of the moment. Thus the death of Diamanti (Aw.B.2, Asisi village, † in 1955) is attributed to the god which exercises the kunu on the village of L'Enfant Perdu and whose bearer was Pééchina. Diamanti had wronged someone of this village and the god had intervened against her.

791 /237 cont./
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888 Not just anyone may resort to divination on behalf of someone else: only the eldest have the right to do it, and it has happened that the grand man punished offenders severely.

799 Fate. The Refugee Blacks do not attribute all misfortunes
[152] to suprahuman causes. They have the notion of natural accident. Ɔgɔɔɔku. They say Ɔgɔɔɔku miti mi, or again ogi miti mi,
[161] misfortune met me. They also accept the idea of natural death. They usually regard as natural death that of the very old, the infirm from birth, and sickly children.

[189] Divination blames fate in ten to 20 per cent of accidents.
[192] It is the usual explanation for hunting accidents.

772 /238/ Magic Forces

As we have shown, the Refugee Blacks consider beings and things as a world of forces capable of acting on one another, outside of time and space, according to laws which men cannot understand but of which they believe they have a partial and empirical knowledge transmitted by tradition since the
754 time of the ancestors. They distinguish negative magic forces,
789 wisi, which have the effect of diminishing the vital force of men, which makes them sick or kills them, and positive magic forces, ɔbia, which come from the gods: the ɔbia comes to increase the vital force of men, giving them protection, immunity, or knowledge. But no power is in essence a principle of good or evil; nothing is impossible for him who knows the formulas; this is why the magic of the Refugee Blacks is reduced to a perpetual and indecisive struggle between ɔbia and wisi.

754 Wisi. Wisi is sorcery in the African sense of the term, that is,
[673] the use of magic procedures to harm others; wisi is for the Refugee Blacks the pre-eminently criminal act, at the same time against morals and against society. The struggle against

/249 cont./

751 [1187] Possession by a Kumãnti gives, they say, invulnerability during the time of the trance, but in his ordinary state the individual remains vulnerable (they say only that in case of danger the gita "rises" immediately).

Someone who has a man nãnga ɔbia has no trances of possession, but they state that he is permanently invulnerable (except for breaking of the kina). In order to obtain this ɔbia one must have himself "washed" for a very long time by an elder who knows the leaves in question. He delivers them already crushed so that no one may be able to know this secret outside of the son or nephew to whom he bequeaths it.

It is necessary to continue to be washed four times a year for 15 days each time, to keep up the force of the ɔbia.

[515] During these 15 days one bathes three times a day, in secret (in principle nobody knows that you have this ɔbia).

[834] During these periods one must have no relation with a woman, even to talk to her.

They state that someone who has a man nãnge ɔbia can be struck by blows of a machete and even receive a gunshot with impunity.

[173] They believe that this ɔbia, in the past called man feti ɔbia, was obtained by the ancestors at the time of the wars against the whites; still today it inspires an unshakeable confidence. /250/ In October, 1952 we saw M...., a man of 45 [164] with great good sense, make a deep gash in his leg while [1152] cutting a liana, in spite of his ɔbia. Doubt did not cross his mind for a second: he told us that certainly he had unknowingly eaten something contrary to the kina of the ɔbia. Since we were working near some villages, he went immediately to find the master of the remedy to have the power restored. For nothing in the world would he have left for a long round of work in the bush with the feeling that he was at the mercy of an accident.

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841 Woman's magic power. The Refugee Blacks assume that a woman, during her menstrual periods, is impure and has the power to destroy the power of ɔbia. So during these periods she must withdraw into a special hut, munu ɔsu, and prepare her meals in special dishes; she may not prepare her husband's food, for by doing this she would destroy the power of his ɔbia, and must abstain from touching objects he habitually uses, particularly his gun, which would lose its good points for shooting. Even in the little farming habitations which consist of only several huts, one may be sure that one of them serves as a munu ɔsu.

841 The munu ɔsu are very simple sheds built by the women
243 themselves, using reclaimed materials taken from huts being
462 demolished; some belong to one woman only, for others, three
[465] or four women get together. They have recourse to men only for assembling the framework, remunerating them with several cans of couac or several baskets of yams. /

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68 a woman can commit, and the most severe punishments are inflicted on her. It is not the same with the Boni: in such a case a woman risks only being insulted and banned.

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834 and which exists with many Creoles, is the necessity for the
171

752 /255 cont./
834 obiaman who treats a wound made by a firearm to observe
[171] chastity during the whole duration of the treatment. It is for this reason that the Boni hesitate to have gunshot wounds cared for in hospitals.

784 Kina. The interdictions of the Refugee Blacks generally have
[262] to do with food. There are five categories of them to our knowledge:

[753] --Bwasi kina, basic kina, mark of patrilineages, the breaking of which gives leprosy;

--Akka kina, often called gadu kina, established by divination and believed to be imposed by the akka;

--Gadu kina, mark of possession by a divinity;

--Obia kina, interdiction attached to each object involving a magic power, and which must be observed for this power to last;

--Finally, local kina, particularly the kina de, days of rest, going back to the idea of the day of rest of the local divinity. They observe, for example, that the Mana River has a kina de on Sunday. The Saramaka observe it strictly. The Boni we took on the Mana in 1949 went to find out from the Saramaka, and asked us to stop navigation on Sunday,
[648] for this kina was very urgent. It is noteworthy however that the Boni bow in such circumstances before the will of the Europeans, as with respect to their own kina de of Friday; in effect they are assuming that if they are ordered to be on duty, it is the European alone who bears the responsibility for breaking the kina.

[428] It is possible that the kina alluded to by Mr. W. F. Van
[114] Lier and which, among the Djuka, would be imposed on a
[613] whole matrilineage are also local kina; in any case no kina is transmissible through the mother, all the Refugee Blacks are explicit on that point.

REBEL DESTINY

574 609 In the doorway of one of the huts, a woman squatted over a fire, and at her feet a child sat busying itself with pushing the firewood toward the center. Our cook had planted two forked sticks in the ground, and on them had hung our lanterns, so that we could see the woman silhouetted against the fire and the naked child on the ground singing the seketi which Bayo had sung for us so many [533] times on the river. Over and over the child tried the air, her mother humming it for her softly, while from the doorway of another house a man sat watching them. We had not noticed him until the lanterns had come. The planting [291] ground at harvest time is not a place a man frequents. He was a strange figure there on his low stool, as he sat wrapped to his neck in a large striped cloth. He made not the slightest move, uttered not a single word. But for his cough, he might have been a corpse propped up in the doorway. We stood hesitating whether to cross the short distance between us and the fire to greet the woman and the man, but before we could come close enough to them to speak, we heard Bayo calling us in a voice we had never heard him use in a strange village.

"Bak'a, Bak'a. Come. They want you inside." When we were out of earshot of the woman at the fire, he said in a whisper, "Do not go over to those houses. Tomorrow when we are away from here, I will tell you why. It is for that I called you."

We had no need, however, to puzzle over Bayo's warning. [164] Our cook, who had heard the conversation of the men, told us that the man in the doorway was a leper.

● 753 262 "You know how it happens, Massa? Among us townspeople it is this way. A child inherits a *trefu* from his father. It is one thing, or many things, he must not eat. If he eats what he should not, then he sickens. We know a person who has eaten his trefu by the spots that come out on his skin. If a man goes on eating the things which are his trefu, then the spots become worse and worse. He becomes a leper. So that's how it is."

He did not at once answer the questions we put to him.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

"I'll tell you how it is mostly," he went on, after a silence. "Sometimes a woman will lie about the father of her child. The child will grow up keeping the trefu of a strange man. But it won't be his real trefu. His mother, you see, lied about his father. In the end, if nothing is done, this child will be sick, and later he will become a leper. Only a bad woman will lie about her child's father, because only a bad woman will want to hurt her own child. It doesn't happen among the girls who wear kerchiefs and live the way the old people live. These girls dance to the spirits. They are afraid of the ancestors. They are afraid of their *akra*—their soul—and the Earth Mother. But those girls who wear hats—ai, Massa, those girls do anything!"

But here in the bush, it seemed, they had other beliefs about leprosy, he went on. Here they believed it was a kind of a spirit, too. When a leper died he was not given a good burial. No wakes were held for him. He was given no coffin. He was buried in the Bad Bush, where the sorcerers were thrown.

"When a leper dies, they don't want him to come back again. They don't treat his spirit well. They do the same with him as with a madman. They bury him with no more ceremony than a child, who came on earth, and would not stay. They say it's all because of a bad spirit, and they don't want bad spirits on earth."

4

"Why do we plant away from the village?"

It was the old woman talking, as we sat and smoked with her. The moon had come up above the maripa palm trees behind the house where the leper had been helped into his hammock, and it was pleasant out-of-doors.

"Why, you ask? Well, sometimes when the bush is burned, a wind comes up suddenly, and sends the flames, down, down, beyond the cleared ground. How would it be with a village, if we cleared our grounds too close to it, and this happened? No, Bak'a, we people of the bush know better. . . . What do you say? Why do we do our clearing

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would be more serious yet, an evil spirit who would be lying in wait for a soul to use as emissary in his affairs of black magic, would snatch at the soul and take it away. If this happened, a person would sicken, languish, and die. Sometimes when a man tripped on the clayey bank, we heard him exclaim, "*Ago!*—Ancestors!" calling on these to protect him until he recovered his balance. But often we heard different cries. "Mi, Awana!" one man had called. "Mi, Nyamfai!" or, "Mi, Matchau!" or "Mi, Popoto!" These are all clan names, and for a time we assumed that instead of appealing to their ancestors, they called on the entire clan to come to their aid. But one day Sedefo lost his footing, and we heard him exclaim, "Mi, Fandaki!" Now we knew that Sedefo belonged to the clan of the Gankwe people, and we knew, further, that he was most emphatically not of the Fandaki clan.

"Sedefo, you are not a Fandaki. Why did you call on them?"

"My father belongs to the Fandaki. When we slip we call on our father's lo."

"Why, Sedefo?"

"I do not know. . . . "

Another day we were sitting and talking to a young man in an upper river village. A girl came and sat with us. "This is my sister," the man said. It was at a time when we were looking into these matters, and we asked, "Did the same mother make you both?"

"No," he answered, "she is here only on a visit. She lives across the river. Her father is my mother's brother."

"But she is not your sister, then," we said. "She does not even belong to your clan."

"Massa Neng'e! But she is my sister!" the man protested. "She is neither of my family, nor of my clan. But did not my mother's brother make her?"

"Could you marry her?"

He considered for a moment. "It would be possible. But it would not be good. . . . And the old women in the village would talk too much."

REBEL DESTINY

776 609 "The gods are friendly to you, Massa. The men have all noticed it. You look upon trees and falls with pleasure. When you see them, it is as if you met with a friend. That is good. But the gods have their powers, and men have theirs. The Rabbit says, 'Evil is everywhere.' Last night, you remember, there was a man who did not look up when you passed his house, and when you spoke 'Howdo' to him, he would not answer. He was an obia man. He would not take the hand of a white man. I have heard the men say there are others who are not glad that the white man has come so far, and that the gods have allowed it. . . ."

Abruptly he stopped. He had said more than he intended.

"I came to tell you about another thing," he continued after a moment of embarrassment. "You should know about fio-fio."

Fio-fio was a small brown bug, and it was also a spirit. [753] The spirit fio-fio brought sickness and death to human beings. For people like ourselves, untutored in the ways of the spirits, and the things which allowed them to gain sway over an individual, only a diviner could seek out the incident which had caused fio-fio to come.

751 783 That was why it was necessary to bathe in a protecting fluid, to "wash fio-fio," even though we had not yet been stricken.

"Let me tell you how to wash fio-fio," he went on. "You must bathe when nobody sees you, and this is what you must have: the skin of a plantain we call the mother plantain that has been dried in smoke, and weeds which I will give you, and Negro-country pepper which I have with me, and seven pieces of chalk, and some eggshells. Some people put washing-blue in the water, too, but that you don't need. You can bathe in it early in the morning, or at noon, or right after sundown, but no one must see you."

He paused for a moment.

776 626 578 "Do you not have fio-fio in your country? Look, this is how it is. You quarrel with a man who works for you, and he comes back and says he is sorry, and you say you are

anything made of iron—nor can a gun shoot him, nor an 432
arrow pierce him. If he goes through a thicket of thorns 796
or climbs a thorny palm tree when the spirit comes to him, 789
he is not harmed. That is Kromanti."

"How much does a person pay an obia man for giving a boy Kromanti?" we asked.

"It costs plenty, white man. But a good obia man never [435]
asks too much. If a man says he will give the boy Kromanti, for not too many guilders, then we know he will do it. But if a man asks forty, fifty, then we know he is not an honest man, and he is not a good man. I have heard, though, of a good obia man who took as much as twenty-four guilders, but he gave the boy a strong Kromanti spirit, and it took much time to teach him."

3

From time to time members of Bayo's family visited 791
our camp. Each time we were introduced to a new brother, or father, or *suwagi*—brother-in-law. Among these visitors was a man whose name we never learned, though we had talked with him a good deal. He was, we later came to know, a man who knew obia. He was a scholar among his people, a thoughtful man who often went about alone, instead of being accompanied by a fellow clan member or a member of his family, as is customary among these people. Like Bayo, he had an incest kunu, and at his age, he had already had occasion to see what kunu planned for 791
him. He coughed badly. When men went to cut timber, 164
he could not go with them because of his cough and the fever which went with the cough.

"Have you been to a good obia man?" we asked him.

He smiled. Of what use to go from one diviner to the next, from one man who had special magic to another, when a [753]
man knew that what was troubling him was kunu?

"Come to the city with us," we said, when we knew him better, "and we will take you to a doctor. He may be able to do something for you."

791 He promised readily enough to go with us, but Bayo
753 told us later that he would not come.
789
796 "He says the white doctor cannot do more than obia can do. He says a man must take what kunu brings."

Was there no obia against kunu? we asked of Bayo.

"No, but kunu is not greater than obia. It is something else. When the Sky God gave obia to man, he gave it to help man live, not to help him do bad things. When men
[688] and women earn a kunu for their family, it is because they do what is hateful to the great gods and ancestors. Obia was not sent to save men from punishment."

"Does obia never punish, Bayo?" We were thinking of what he said about his own obia, of how when it seized him, he destroyed things.

But he would say no more. "I am too young, Bak'a, to
[888] speak of these things. At my age I know only a little obia. You must ask the old men."

4

54 The conversation led us one day to the obia men on the
791 river. They were, we knew, important persons in the Bush Negro communities. An obia man of reputation was not only consulted by his own villagers and clansmen, but men and women came to him from distant villages, when those who were nearer had failed them. It occurred sometimes that even from the Awka villages on the lower river, these Saramacca obia men were sought out—perhaps this was because of the same tradition which encouraged the buying of strange gods to enlarge the family pantheon, perhaps it was because of something which touched still deeper beliefs.

868 How did a man become an obia man?

867 From what we had already heard, it was apparent that here was something which approached the formal education of our own civilization, a form of education, indeed, which we pride ourselves is unique to our own way of life.

All other knowledge the Bush Negro child gains by being about with members of his family who are busy at

/21 cont./

955 When he lies as though dead, except only that his eyes sparkle and are completely turned in their sockets, at which time one frequently sees only the white and red, and he moves his chest panting for breath, then he is carefully brought to the place where the Cromantie gado is put, and where questions are put to him concerning the sickness which one wishes to cure, and where the sick person himself or, in the latter's absence, some of his most recently worn garments, must be.

These questions are put with a great deal of solemnity, and answered by /22/ the person lying there. Very frequently the very strange herbs named on this occasion had favorable results.

When they proceed to such cases, the sufferer is obligated, so long as he is not cured, to continue to use the medicines indicated, which frequently had the result that after all the sick person did finally recuperate after long suffering.

If he in the least way neglects the remedies indicated on this occasion, he may often count on it that for him there is no more help, because he has recklessly called on the Cromantie gado for recovery, without the requisite reverence and observance of the prescriptions.

However this matter may be regarded, it is certainly true that they firmly believe the desired outcome will not fail so long as one does not circumvent or neglect the prescriptions in any way.

It sometimes happens that someone, after his recovery, abstains for his whole life from something or other which was
● 953 ordered for his recovery. Many assert that the leprosy which they contract is to be ascribed to not paying attention to what was forbidden them or their parents.

786 Almost all Bush Negroes have wentie or excitations of the African idolatrous dance-madness, which one must see in order to be able to believe and understand it. They can frequently dance fully five minutes at a stretch in a hot fire, unclothed and barefoot, without burning themselves in the least and without any sign of singeing to be seen on them.

The beliefs of both, attributing illnesses to
B R /516 cont./
743 supernatural causes, did not predispose them to turn to European
648 doctors. Moreover, the Saint-Laurent hospital was so far away
[753] (six days paddling downstream) that a seriously ill person had plenty of time to die en route. The Boni went there only as a last resource and in general at the point of death. As for the Oayana,
B R not a single one presented himself there before 1950.

744 In 1936-1939 several circuits had been made from the post
648 of La Forestière located at the mouth of the river, but no consistent
[743] medical action had been feasible. Not until 1949 was it possible
B R to create a medical center in the country itself, at Maripasoula. The populations were visited regularly, and the seriously ill could
[164] be hospitalized on the spot. At the same time systematic spraying with DDT inside all the huts, destroying the anthropophile anopheles, changed the environmental conditions considerably; if malaria has not disappeared, it has ceased, both among the
B R Indians and among the Boni children, to be the principal cause of morbidity.

743 The action of the medical center has been exercised more on
744 the Boni, who live a few hours by canoe from Maripasoula, than on
648 the Oayana. Among the latter, the principal villages are two days
[484] journey by motorboat upstream amidst difficult waterfalls; the
[753] Indians are often on the move, fishing on the upper courses of the rivers or visiting their relatives on Brazilian rivers; it has happened several times that the circuits of the doctors and medical attendants (one per trimester on the average) do not find anybody in the villages; incidentally, the Oayana tend to attribute
R all internal ailments to magical causes, consulting willingly only
[844] for wounds. They willingly accept the remedies given on the spot, but rarely take the initiative of moving a sick person to Maripasoula; the women continue to have their babies delivered
R in the villages, without any hygiene.

757 Only during the last three or four years has a change in
165 attitude been noticeable among them vis-à-vis medicine; as we
B shall show below, no notable modification in their mortality has
R yet been observed as a result of this fact.

121 The principal interest of this study being to compare the
165 demographic data of two populations before they had been modified

/32 cont./

602 784 428 to observe all his life and which he himself will transmit to his children. It is unanimously believed that breaking this interdiction causes leprosy (bwasi).

[753] This interdiction is never transmitted by women. It is transmitted from father to son /33/ or daughter. The son will observe it and transmit it; the daughter will observe it during her lifetime, but she will not transmit it.

602 784 The existence of the bwasi kina divides the Boni into de facto groupings which can be considered as patrilineages. These patrilineages have no name, no head, no organization; their members are dispersed among the various matrilineages and most of them do not know who the others are.

They exist nevertheless and extend throughout all the tribes of Refugee Blacks.

[582] Their importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks comes from the fact that they involve a law of exogamy: a man and a woman who have the same bwasi kina cannot marry; that would be pikadu, incest in the broad sense, an offense against exogamy, as much as the union of two members of the same matrilineage.

[262] [578] It is difficult to estimate the number of these patrilineages, which seems to us to be at least 20 among the Boni; actually, the Boni do not willingly tell their bwasi kina, for fear that one of their enemies might mix into their food a fragment of the interdicted food in order to harm them; besides, they do not know their paternal relations beyond their grandfather. Reconstitution of patrilineages by interrogation seems therefore to be illusory.

602 784 262 The bwasi kina we have been able to find out about are all about food. They involve the cayman, the "tiger," the tortoise, the white hen, the pian (awali), the eel. The cayman is often given in addition to another animal. But it is inaccurate to say that the Refugee Blacks have a general interdiction against the cayman.

/158 cont./

848 If children are born of these irregular liaisons, the mother
[784] takes care to know with certainty who the father is, for if there
[753] were any doubt, the child, respecting a kina which would not
be his own, would contract leprosy. On this subject the Boni
842 have a remarkable belief: they think that it is the first man
with whom a woman has had relations after the end of a menstrual
period who is likely to make her pregnant.

836 These adventures always involve gifts in kind (cloth,
431 jewels); so the men who have the most success with women
are always short of money.

581 A woman who has lived thus in notorious fashion has a
little more difficulty than another in finding another husband,
but if she is young and winsome she succeeds.

548 Prostitution as such is very rare in Boni country, and the
women who give themselves over to it openly (three or four for
all the villages on the French bank) have generally left the
[836] tribe to settle in the gold miners' villages. Dissoluteness is
not considered dishonorable by the Refugee Blacks when it is
carried on within the tribe and when it has no other purpose but
pleasure; but prostitution is judged shameful.

834 Except for these few prostitutes, we have never heard it
648 said that a Boni woman had relations with a European; on this
point tribal discipline is observed with extreme rigor.

581 Conclusion. The average duration of marriages, which was
[178] from 15 to 20 years for the preceding generation, tends to be-
come shorter and can be estimated nowadays at about ten years.
[191] In spite of this evolution, the stability of marriages among the
Refugee Blacks remains noticeably greater than that observed
548 among the black populations of South America. Among them
is not seen the form of prostitution so widespread in South
America, the supported mistress who does not work and who
lives entirely at the expense of her successive lovers.

787 /212 cont./
531 can read these messages; but we have not turned up any precise evidence on this subject (1).

1. These signs are very little systematized and have no relation whatever with the symbolic designs which figure in certain rituals of possession, especially in Dahomey and Haiti. It is permitted to see in them a simple likeness.

787 The Papa gadu are chiefly consulted to ask them to re-
[755] veal the cause of misfortunes that happen. One of them is not
[253] asked to cure an illness unless the interrogation reveals that it brought it on.

776 The worship of the Papa gadu snake gods makes a strong
648 impression on the West Indian Creoles who maintain regular relations with the Refugee Blacks. Most consider it as diabolical
[782] in nature and disapprove of it, but if the presence of an "adder"
[171] (anaconda snake) is noted in a neighboring creek, and if at the same time misfortunes occur, it happens that a Creole may go to ask the Refugee Blacks to practice rites to mollify
[778] the vengeance of the god. We have happened to catch sight of, hidden in a copse behind the habitation of a gold miner, a small altar decorated with blue and red pennants, the usual place of worship of the Papa gadu.

755 Observation in Boniville, November, 1952.

An Asisi woman, Tini, comes to Boniville to consult
[787] her adoptive daughter Pamasa, about 35 years old, who is possessed by a Papa gadu named Adawa. Féni, 15 years old,
[164] Tini's son, has been sick for several days (fever, eruption all over the body). When someone comes to get us, the god has already entered into Pamasa, has sat down in a hut, and

/212 cont./

755 is answering in ordinary language the questions posed. The sick
[753] boy's mother asks the god if it is really he who made her son
[784] ill. He answers that it is he and gives two reasons: first, a
[824] week before, Féni damaged with a blow of the machete the root of a silk-cotton tree in which precisely he himself was living; moreover, his sister Pamasa was sick for 15 days, he did not go to visit her.

The mother begs the god: "Ubegi yu, yu abi leti, gi ɛ̃ŋ paadɔ̃, a 'ã be sabi bũ-bũ. (We beg you, you are right (but) pardon him, he had not realized well /what he did/.)"

Then the god directs a treatment: an infusion of a certain number of leaves, with which the sick boy will wash his body. It states that the sick boy will quickly get well.

Pamasa then comes back to her ordinary state. The scene has lasted about three-quarters of an hour in all.

164 Observation in Asisi, October, 1956.

On October 21 at 8 o'clock I am told that Bugi, a woman of about 45, is gravely ill; she suffers from violent pains in the chest and a general tremor. The sick woman is stretched out on the ground, supported by her brother and surrounded by old women who are comforting her. She appears to suffer atrociously, her body is covered with sweat, her lower limbs are agitated with an incessant trembling; she presents the symptoms of a
755 heart attack (2). In front of the house, the ɔbiaman are

2. Bugi had already been hospitalized in Maripasoula for a heart attack.

preparing a "remedy," /213/ for they suspect that this is a question of a manifestation of the Papa gadu of which Bugi is the bearer.

/213 cont./

755 A stalk of sɔŋgaafu twice bent in an elbow is arranged on the ground. A cross is traced in the dirt.

Centered on the cross is placed a large basin into which is poured infusions of leaves taken from several calabashes.

The sick woman, still prostrate and groaning, is seated on a stool facing the basin. The contents of the basin are poured slowly over her body while she is massaged. It is not a question of a remedy in the literal sense of the word; the sick one is "washed" to help the god to manifest itself in her.

I notice that while going back into the hut she trembles almost no more; the attack seems to be subsiding.

In the meanwhile someone comes to call me elsewhere and I cannot come back until half an hour later. I find the sick woman standing, smeared with pɛmba, in the middle of a [787] meditative audience. The god has descended into her and is expressing itself in Papa language while she dances with slow gestures.

[753] [784] I am told that it has just given the explanation of the illness: it struck Bugi because she did not observe the kina given to all bearers of Papa gadu, to stay away from funeral ceremonies. Now, the day before yesterday, she had knowingly participated in the tukka dance around Kotoïda's coffin.

The ɔbiaman present beg the god to pardon, which it does after claiming a bottle of beer which it drinks through the mouth of its bearer.

152 Observation in Kormotibo, December 18, 1957.
164 On December 18 in the evening I find the village of
753 Kormotibo in the clutches of terror. Several persons are sick
784 from the effect of the kunu. Apaita, a young woman, has an enormous whitlow, following an accident; two women have been stricken with pneumonia.

/213 cont./

753 784 These misfortunes are attributed to the kunu exercised by a Papa gadu god, since about a hundred years ago an ancestress named Akonté involuntarily killed a dagɔwe snake [787] while fishing /nivrant/ a creek. In our day this god manifests itself in Alama (Dip. II, E1), and another Papa gadu, which says it is the descendant of the first, manifests itself in Apaita [755] (F9). It is the latter which, speaking through the mouth of Apaita, revealed that it was striking the village because nobody had danced for it for five years.

755 They called B..., obiaman specialized in the vɔɔdũ cult. He surrounded the chapel of the Papa gadu with stalks of sãŋgaafu placed vertically. He prepared an infusion of [787] leaves with which the Kormotibo women who have a Papa gadu have just smeared themselves (they are four in number, including two outsiders to the Dipélu II lineage). It is a question of helping their gods to manifest themselves.

People are going to dance eight nights running, part of the night. The agida drum drawn out of the chapel is set up in working position. /214/

The rites carried out to neutralize the kunu are:

--Cleaning of the chapel;

--Decoration by means of stalks of sãŋgaafu placed upright all around /it/;

--Bathing of the sick with leaves believed to have the power of making the influence of the Papa gadu go away;

--With other leaves, on the contrary concentrating the maleficent influence of the Papa gadu in a calabash which is then carefully shut up in the chapel.

787 Possession by the Ampuku. It is much more rare, and personally we have observed it only twice; the possessed people make circles of pemba around their eyes and draw kinds of ovals on

[774] /216 cont./ The akka is an immortal divine element
[775] attached to a human person for the duration of his life and which, at his death, returns to the domain of the divine, no longer keeping any contact with men.

[828] The akka is the source of life from which the human personality is nourished, but it is not this personality.

The Refugee Blacks consider the akka as a personal protector god; they are apt to say mi gadu, my god, for mi akka.

The concept of the akka was spontaneously transposed by the West Indians into that of the guardian angel. They speak in Haiti of the "big good angel."

For Refugee Blacks the life, health, and destiny of a man depend above all on the akka; they think that if the akka went away, the body and mind of the man could not remain bound together; he would die or lose consciousness. This is, a little, what happens each night, for they believe that the akka leaves the body to wander, which brings on the loss of consciousness.
[754] /217/ So the wisimã, the sorcerer, tries to profit by this to capture the akka so that the man may become insane.

The akka is thought to have tastes, desires, and goals foreign to those of the personality and of which the man, in his
[753] ordinary consciousness, has no knowledge. The akka can make the man sick if he behaves in a way that it does not like. So
[755] when someone is sick, he resorts to divination in order to know whether it is not the deed of the akka and, in the affirmative, for what motive. One might think that the akka behaves like a conscience in the moral sense of the term; that it gets angry if its bearer does something evil. But in reality the akka shows itself to be as arbitrary, wicked, and venal as the lower gods of the Refugee Blacks. If it gets angry (they say: mi akka mãndi), this is because its bearer wears clothes of a color it does not like, or because it wants an offering. We have never, on the other hand, heard a case spoken of in which the akka might have become angry with its bearer because he was a thief, liar, or adulterer.

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775 828 [184] "My nẽmeki is So-and-So." Mr. W. F. van Lier, speaking of the Djuka who have much clearer conceptions on religious questions, gives an important clarification: in 1915 Grand Man Oséisi became incarnate in a newborn baby of the tribe, nevertheless he continues to be invoked as an ancestor before the fraga tiki. It seems, then, that it is a case of certain elements of the personality which are believed to be reincarnated, and not of the yɔrka as a whole.

787 It is important to distinguish the nẽmeki from possession by a yɔrka. Possession by a yɔrka is an exceptional occurrence which is manifested in the form of trances, the yɔrka speaking through the mouth of its bearer; outside of these possessions, this yɔrka is believed to reside in the abode of the ancestors.

[613] A yɔrka can reveal itself thus only in a person of its matrilineage.

775 828 The nẽmeki, on the contrary, exists in all men. The ancestor who is thus partially reincarnated is generally on the paternal side, but this is not an absolute rule.

A man is not conscious of his nẽmeki and is acquainted with it only because his parents have revealed it to him. This nẽmeki does not manifest itself in anything in everyday life; it does not impose any kina whatever and does not ask for offerings. However, when a young child falls ill, divination may reveal that it is the doing of the nẽmeki which is indignant at being misunderstood. People hurry then, always with the help of divination, to find out the name of the nẽmeki, proceeding by elimination. As a general rule, they allow themselves to be guided by resemblances of physiognomy, birthmarks calling to mind, for example, certain scars of the dead ancestor.

[753] [755]

It is believed that the older a man is when he dies, the more time he will allow to elapse before being reincarnated.

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Relations between Gods and Men

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The kunu

The kunu. The Refugee Blacks call kunu the collective curse which has weighed on a matrilineage since an ancient offense. The kunu is without time limit, without pardon, without pity, blind in the choice of its victims; in principle, it can end only with the complete extermination of the lineage. Each time that adversity swoops down on one of its members in the form of death, sickness, various calamities, the kunu is the most frequently obtained explanation. The instrument of this inexpiable vengeance is either a god or the yoka (spirit) of a dead person.

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This notion, which occupies a central position in the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks, does not appear to have been borrowed directly. Most of the populations of Dahomey /222/ and the Ivory Coast take for granted the idea of arbitrary punishments exercised upon the members of the lineage by the gods or the ancestors of the group. But no population of these regions has, to our knowledge, developed so highly systematized a doctrine.

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The conceptions developed by the Refugee Blacks, divinities impelled exclusively by vengeance, and especially ancestors inexorably chastising lineages other than their own, have created new relationships among individuals and among lineages.

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We have not been able to elucidate the origin of the word kunu. Perhaps it is a deformation of the Mina word ekunu, which means burial.

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Three categories of divinities can pursue men with their kunu, and because of this fact the Refugee Blacks feel toward them an extreme terror mixed with veneration.

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One sees from this example how the influence of women, exerted in arbitrary fashion, in a domain placed outside of custom and ordinary social life, weighs on the life of the group.

Kunu of the Dipélu lineage. The situation of the Dipélu lineage with respect to the kunu is particularly interesting. Although split for perhaps 100 years into two separate groups, Dipélu I (L'Enfant Perdu and Apatu villages) and Dipélu II (Kormotibo and Asisi-Dip. II villages), this group still constitutes an undivided unit with respect to the kunu. Neither time nor distance (it takes more than a week of traveling to make the round trip between L'Enfant Perdu and Apatu) has been able to break it up. The Apatu people come very often (at least some of them) to be present at the collective prayers which take place at L'Enfant Perdu to appease a kunu in order to cure a sick person.

The oldest kunu ("since Africa") is that of a Papa gadu god whose bearer was ○ Dikè (Dip. I. D10, † 1951) and which passed after her death into ○ Pééchina (Dip. I. E42, L'Enfant Perdu village). This kunu strikes indiscriminately the people of L'Enfant Perdu, Apatu, Kormotibo, Asisi-Dip. II, and the Dipélu fraction residing in Boniville. To it, these past years, have been attributed the death of ○ Way (Dip. I. E6, living in Boniville), the illness of △ Ahwali (Dip. II. F7, Kormotibo village) and of ○ Bongo (same village).

Another very old kunu is the one exercised by the yaka of a Surinam Creole who had settled with the Dipélu people a very long time ago. He was suspected of sorcery and killed. Since then his yaka comes back regularly to exterminate the Dipélu.

/225 cont. /

784 Having no known lineage (his family, if he had any, was
778 in Surinam), it had taken people of the Dipélu lineage as
614 bearers. The last was △ Denis † in 1938. Since Denis'
787 death, it no longer has a bearer. The questioning of the dead reveals that they died by its kunu. The members of the two
[782] fractions of the lineage meet together (at least two or three members of each village come) to supplicate it.

784 A third kunu, very interesting in origin and supposed
614 action, /226/ in 1957 was borne by Kwau (Dip. I, E1, Kotika village). It results from the killing of an anaconda snake by Apatu † (Dip. I, C1), companion of the explorer Crevaux when he was traveling to /in/ Brazil. Upon contact with Europeans Apatu had become a freethinker and was no longer
[153] observing the laws of his people. Among the later victims of this kunu was counted Kwami (Dip. II, F4, Kormotibo village)
[155] who, gravely ill, had had to go to L'Enfant Perdu where the god had been invoked for him and offerings made. The death
[761] of Manga (Dip. I, E5, Boniville, † about 1930) was particularly attributed to it.

No other kunu has revealed itself in Apatu village since its founding in 1882.

784 A fourth kunu concerning all the Dipélu has as bearers
614 women of the Dipélu II-group. It results from the inadvertent
776 murder of a Papa gadu whose bearer was a dagowe snake killed
787 in the course of the nivrée /fishing/ of a pool by Akonté
562 † (Dip. II, B1), transmitted to Kondo †, then to Alama (Dip. II, E1).

Since then Papa gadu have revealed themselves in ○ Apalta (Dip. II, F9, Kormotibo village) and in ○ Kaala (Dip. II, G28, Asisi-Dip. II village). They declared themselves to be the descendants of the first and to come in support of it.

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784 --A second, very old kunu is exercised by a yɔrka of the
775 Dipélu II lo. Gy...., dead so long that he cannot be placed on
787 the genealogical table; it, too, had as bearer a member of the
613 lineage on which it was exercising the kunu. ○ Akumuyé
614 (Aw.B.1, D17) † 1957.

Thus the Awara Bakka and Dipélu lineages exercise the kunu reciprocally one against the other;

784 --A third kunu of recent origin is exercised by a Papa
776 gadu god which had as bearer in 1957 ○ Irma (Aw.B.1, E37).
613 It results from the inadvertent killing of a Dagowe /sic/ snake
[789] by ○ Takwa, Irma's brother. At the end of 1957 this kunu
[753] had yet brought on only illnesses of such a kind that people could still hope to exorcise it.

784 The Aw.B.3 group has a special kunu of its own and
613 constitutes itself as a branch of the kunu of the Aw.B.1.

Anèta, originating in the Djuka village of Tabiki, is subject to the kunu of that lineage as are all her descendants in
[782] uterine line. On occasion of serious illnesses the latter have sometimes had to go to Tabiki village to supplicate the kunu.

This kunu is the one of a god borne by Akanté, Anèta's
[776] daughter. In September, 1956, Summa, Akanté's daughter,
[787] was sick. The god revealed that this was its doing. It was
[782] supplicated (the other fractions joined the group) and she then got well.

613 Kunu of the Afi lineage. The descendants of Afi † (woman
621 coming from the tribe of the Bakabuchi of Surinam) live for the most part in Asisi in close symbiosis with the /228/ Awara Bakka lineage. They are in a situation analogous to that of Anèta's descendants (Aw.B.3) but, perhaps by the simple fact of their number, they form a more individualized unit.

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which people do not hesitate to come to ask for remedies or opinions, in spite of the evil they have done to the lineage and perhaps will do tomorrow. It is even allowable to wonder whether people do not prefer to consult the most wicked divinities, for they are believed to be stronger.

The kunu focuses, turns aside toward high purposes the blind forces of superstition, fear, and rancor. Several authors who have written on the Refugee Blacks have stated that calamities were almost unfailingly attributed to sorcery (wisi). This is a grave error due to the fact that they believed they could transpose to the Refugee Blacks what is observed among the Creole populations of Surinam. If this were true, no positive social bond could exist. We believe we can assert that among the Refugee Blacks divination lays the blame on sorcery in only scarcely a tenth of the misfortunes. Here, among other examples, are several typical cases concerning Boni who worked with us or whom we have known especially well:

--In 1948, Fintiman (Dju) falls ill (violent pains in the legs); kunu of a Kintamasu.

--In 1948, Galmo (Papaïston) is accidentally hurt (gun backfire): kunu.

--In 1949, Diolè, captain of the Dju lo, is smitten with hemiplegia and remains paralyzed. He dies in 1951: kunu of a Papa gadu.

--In 1950, a Saramaka is killed in a hunting accident (a gun in poor condition went off by itself): [illegible] (accident).

--In 1951, Kanayen (Kotika) drowns while sailing at night on the river: wisi.

--In 1951, Loka (Dju) dies at the age of 70: kunu of an Ampuku.

--In 1951, F... (Dju) is seriously hurt by the falling of a branch while cutting his clearing: kunu of a yɔrka.

/231 cont./

761 --In 1952, Dolo (Awara Bakka) dies almost all of a
784 sudden with the symptoms of peritonitis: kunu, punishment for
684 incest committed by another member of the lineage.

--In 1952, Maŋ̃ndo, ten years old, son of Osaya (Awara Bakka) accidentally drowns: natural accident (Sagɔ̃ɔ̃ku).

784 --In 1954, Bẽniti (Dju) dies at nearly 75 years of age:
796 kunu of a Papa gadu.

784 --In 1954, Agyẽmẽsi (Aw.B.) dies almost all of a sudden:
754 killed by Odun (he was a wisimẽ).

--In 1955, Tabiki (Awara Bakka) dies at over 80: natural illness.

784 --In 195 , Kotoida /sic/ (Afi lineage) dies suddenly,
796 aged about 50: kunu of a yɔ̃ɔ̃ka.

784 --In 1957, F... (Lapẽ) is gravely ill with symptoms of
796 typhoid: kunu of a Papa gadu.

753 --In 1957, Sokodo (Dip. II) dies at 40: kunu of a
761 Kãntamasu.

75 /232/ One observes that in the 15 cases cited here, the kunu
761 interferes ten times, while in three cases natural causes: ill-
784 ness, accident, were assumed.

In reality, the Refugee Blacks do not have the conceptions of a natural world, subject to known or knowable laws, which is set against a supernatural world. The intervention of a Papa gadu is neither more nor less natural than an illness or an accident. There is only, on the plane of human life, more or less frequent intervention by suprahuman forces. The intervention of these forces is made according to laws which embrace the totality of beings and things, laws which men cannot understand but of which they believe they have a partial and empirical knowledge.

772

812

/232 cont./

75 It is important not to confuse the kunu with the sufferings
784 which other divinities can arbitrarily make men undergo. The
776 kunu has a systematic character. But a divinity theoretically beneficent, and which has come into a man after being called on, may also from time to time bring misfortunes if such is its whim of the moment.

752 In 1949, G... (Dju) was busy cooking a crab in the
776 house of his mother D... A machete which was fastened to
784 the wall suddenly detached itself and wounded him in the right hand. Now his mother had an Ampuku which had imposed
[787] the crab on her as kina. This Ampuku, immediately called
[428] on, revealed that it really was it which had struck G..., for it did not like to see D...'s son eat crab (note that G... was not at all held to the observance of this kina, for no kina is transmitted from mother to son).

784 Neither must the kunu exercised by a yɔrka be confused
775 with the vengeance that a dead person can exercise against
613 the members of his own lineage in order to punish them for
769 having neglected their duties.

Punishment inflicted by an ancestor of the lineage seems for the Boni to be a notion distinct from that of the kunu. Vengeance exercised by a yɔrka upon its own lineage is regarded as exceptional and devoid of the inexorable and definitive character of the kunu, but they assume it to be
[762] possible. They cited to us the case of Yali (Loka), who
committed suicide when accused of sorcery by the people
[753] of his lineage. Since then, his yɔrka has caused sicknesses
[761] and deaths in his own village.

776 Conversely, a god which exercises the kunu upon a
784 lineage may in certain cases intervene in favor of this lineage
613 if such is its whim of the moment. Thus the death of Diamanti (Aw.B.2, Asisi village, † in 1955) is attributed to the god
[761] which exercises the kunu on the village of L'Enfant Perdu and whose bearer was Pééchina. Diamanti had wronged someone of this village and the god had intervened against her.

/253 cont./

Various Beliefs

578 Fyo-fyo. If a Boni is on bad terms with someone of his lineage or of another lineage, he has the absolute right to turn a cold shoulder to him and stop having anything to do with him. But 828 if, hiding his rancor, he seeks, from selfish motives, to main- 753 tain the appearance of friendly relations, he risks falling ill, be- 761 ing struck by various calamities, or even dying from the effect 789 of what the Refugee Blacks call a fyo-fyo. The nature of this [825] force is not clear; they know only that its support is a small, common insect named fyo-fyo. They declare that if a person dies from the consequences of a fyo-fyo, one of these insects will be seen leaving his body through the nose at the moment of death.

776 Taku sani. By this name the Refugee Blacks designate maleficent [775] entities of the bush, which they imagine as of nonhuman nature by contrast to the taku yɔrka, wandering spirits of dead people 753 rejected by society. These entities are lower beings devoid of 828 consciousness but dangerous for men into whom they may enter, rendering them sick or mad. Certain of these entities are believed to reside in plants, like the kɔtkɔti, others are thought to take on the appearance of dwarfs (baku), whom certain people believe they sometimes see at dawn on the outskirts of villages.

751 One protects oneself against taku sani by special ɔbia, and those who do not feel completely secure take a certain number of precautions in addition, like that of tearing up the leaves they have used for drinking water from creeks.

/253 cont./

751 417 [824] Tyifunga (1). This is the name of the magic enclosures made

1. They also use the word azẽg, borrowed from the Fon of Dahomey.

of shoots /"tongues"/ of pinot palm, pina tõngo, attached to a string, with which on certain occasions a village is completely surrounded. These enclosures are thought to bar the passage of the evil spirits of the bush (taku sani); they are put up especially in the case of an epidemic, as well as before the great festivals which attract a crowd of persons among whom wisimã can slip
789 in. After putting the enclosure in place, people arrange themselves in a line at one end of the village and move along slowly so as to sweep its whole surface, firing guns, making all the noise possible by striking metallic objects and striking the ground with reeds to expel the evil spirits. This is what is called naki tyifunga. The elders repeat the formula: "U naki tyifunga fu sgi na: mu ku a so (We strike tyifunga so that the evil (spirits) may not be able to come to earth)."

751 417 The magic fence is then left in place until it is rotten.

753 76 Beliefs about leprosy. Lepers are buried at the limits of the cemetery, but they are not considered cursed, and mourning for them is carried out normally.

753 784 /254/ They take for granted that if someone is attacked by leprosy, it is because he has "broken" his bwasi kina. They think that an enemy can, because of ill will, hide a bit of the forbidden fare in the food. This is why the Boni do not willingly tell one another their interdictions.

752 /255 cont./
834 obiaman who treats a wound made by a firearm to observe
[171] chastity during the whole duration of the treatment. It is for this reason that the Boni hesitate to have gunshot wounds cared for in hospitals.

784 Kina. The interdictions of the Refugee Blacks generally have
[262] to do with food. There are five categories of them to our knowledge:

[753] --Bwasi kina, basic kina, mark of patrilineages, the breaking of which gives leprosy;

--Akka kina, often called gadu kina, established by divination and believed to be imposed by the akka;

--Gadu kina, mark of possession by a divinity;

--Obia kina, interdiction attached to each object involving a magic power, and which must be observed for this power to last;

--Finally, local kina, particularly the kina dɛ, days of rest, going back to the idea of the day of rest of the local divinity. They observe, for example, that the Mana River has a kina dɛ on Sunday. The Saramaka observe it strictly. The Boni we took on the Mana in 1949 went to find out from the Saramaka, and asked us to stop navigation on Sunday,
[648] for this kina was very urgent. It is noteworthy however that the Boni bow in such circumstances before the will of the Europeans, as with respect to their own kina dɛ of Friday; in effect they are assuming that if they are ordered to be on duty, it is the European alone who bears the responsibility for breaking the kina.

[428] It is possible that the kina alluded to by Mr. W. F. Van
[114] Lier and which, among the Djuka, would be imposed on a
[613] whole matrilineage are also local kina; in any case no kina is transmissible through the mother, all the Refugee Blacks are explicit on that point.

/256 cont./

845 961 578 613 When twins die young people almost always blame a disagreement which has arisen in the lineage. The twins did not want to live in a disunited family. The head of the lineage then exhorts his people to be reconciled with one another at any cost in order to avoid new misfortunes (1).

[753] 1. In general they have the idea that dissensions occurring in the lineage have as a consequence illnesses or misfortunes striking the members of the lineage. [182] This notion plays a major role in the social life of the Refugee Blacks; after the kunu, it is the principle cement holding groups together.

845 778 One who harms a twin is sure to fall ill. Conversely, it is assumed that the twin must not abuse his power, that he must lead an upright life and avoid quarrels. He is nearer to God than other men.

They assume for example that Efa, of Papalston village, herself a twin and the mother of twins, has a very special power. Nobody would risk harming her.

[613] [774] In lineages having many twins there exists a place of worship sacred to a vital principle called Twilenge. The nature of this principle is not clear. The Boni define it as the soul of twins. Is it a matter of the first twins Adam and Eve? Or of a collective worship offered up to all deceased twins?

845 782 751 /257/

This worship is celebrated each time there is occasion to protect newborn babies. They are washed with a certain decoction of leaves.

845 535 751 Every four or five years on the average a big dance takes place, then the father and mother of twins and the twins themselves are washed in order to maintain their powers and keep them in good health.

[784] [753] If these dances are not held, dead twins will show their anger by making living twins and parents of twins sick.

845 613 778 Lineages that do not have twins do not practice these rites. If twins are born to them, they will apply at the place of worship of another lineage.

Papalston and Lapé have this cult particularly highly developed.

842 776 Tɔne pikin. It is assumed that a woman may be made pregnant by a river god, either a Papa gadu snake god or by the Wata Iagi, which look like Indians. Children thus conceived are called tɔne pikin.

A...., of Papalston, had cut a clearing opposite a remarkable white rock called Weti stɔ, where she used to moor her boat. She had not had any children for several years and she became pregnant. When her daughter was born a possessed person revealed that she was born of a Papa gadu snake god which lived there: since then her parents /relatives/ go regularly to this rock to make offerings.

[787] [778] [782]

About 1910 Alama (Kormotibo) had followed her husband to a shipyard on the lower river; one day while walking in the forest she met an Indian having the appearance of a Galibi Indian, who was carrying a newborn baby. She stopped and admired the baby. The Indian said to her: "Do you wish to raise him?" She acquiesced. He said: "We shall see each other again"; then he went away so quickly that she had the impression that he had disappeared on the spot.

/291 cont./

157 Wishing to take advantage of all the possibilities which
464 turn up, the Refugee Blacks are led to learn simultaneously the
463 traditional techniques of their group, boating, boat-building, felling of trees, squaring of wood, and /building/ framework. In these techniques they may be considered specialized workers.

157 Proud of their strength and knowledge, sure of themselves,
812 the Refugee Blacks are never worried about the future and consider life as an exciting adventure, ceaselessly bringing new things. If the past year has been bad, the new year will be better, with God's help. Nobody doubts that he will find gainful work again.

152 Influence of jealousy: absence of specialized professions and
182 trade. Another strong psychological tendency having a direct influence on the economy is jealousy.

152 The effect of jealousy, and the fear of jealousy, is to
828 limit enrichment and to maintain a de facto equality: it often
556 happens that talented people forego undertaking profitable work
753 in order not to give occasion for the jealousy which would render
777 their position in the village difficult and might draw misfortunes upon them; for people have the idea that jealousy draws down illnesses and calamities upon him who is the object of it and on his near relatives, by the action of a natural force, even without sorcery being formulated.

754 Fear of sorcery interferes in the same way; one who be-
556 comes unusually rich is almost inevitably accused of being a
441 sorcerer and may be obliged to leave the country. Particularly
829 vulnerable are those, very rare, who engage in trade. People do not suspect of sorcery a man who is seen to become rich by /292/ working ceaselessly. But the trader whose wealth increases without his furnishing obvious work, is quickly regarded as a "committed one," accused of having his good luck as a result of a pact with the devil.

/298/

648 Never do they appeal to the courts to settle their differences, still less their family quarrels; never do theybeg for help.

829 The Europeans' material superiority does not impress them: the whites are more able in mechanics, but hey are more able in magic, that is all. The efficacy of European medicine does [758] not shake their convictions: if someone has easons to believe himself victim of the anger of a gadu, he begins by making the sacrifices intended to appease it, then asks t for authorization to have himself cared for by the whites. Prsonally we have [123] never done anything to disabuse the Boni o this idea which [753] satisfies at the same time the requirementsof medicine and those of social discipline, for it must not be forgtten that for them 177 sickness is punishment for an offense. Thu one sees that unless it is deliberately brought to bear against tradition and against the leaders, the influence of Europeans is without appreciable effect on the civilization of the Refugee Blcks. It is no longer the same when contacts become too frequat, tend to alter drastically the way of life, and especially when these influences become openly "civilizing."

178 The Future of the Refugee Blacks

Obliged to solve all the problems of life by their own means, the Refugee Blacks have been able to adapt with intelligence to the evolution of the modern world, and their custom has kept all its vigor and effectiveness. Their future would not 648 seem to be threatened if a wave of opinion had not come to the surface these past years, in French Guiana as well as in Surinam, to destroy their civilization, deemed primitive and barbarous, and to fuse them into the population of the coast. This result would be obtained in particular by schooling and evangelization.

Chapter I

DEATH AT GANKWE

WE HAD not thought to come upon death on our first night in the Suriname bush. What had killed Sedefo's brother no one could as yet say, for the time had not come to call upon the spirit of the dead man to speak. Death, said the Bush Negroes, was ravaging the family. Kunu, the law of retribution, the tool of ancestors and gods, had found this latest victim an easy prey to the black magic which had been invoked against him. In whispers they talked about a quarrel at work with a man who had a powerful snake god. 761 [154]

"The man's family kunu and the enemy's Aboma god," we heard as a refrain to the low muttering.

There would be dancing all that night for the spirit of the dead, the natives told us, and they asked if we did not wish to come and honor the dead. But an old man objected. "Let them wait until tomorrow," he said, "let them wait until they are rested. To face the spirit of the dead their own spirits must be strong." 764 [609]

That night whenever we stirred in our sleep we strained for the sound of the drums, but the wind blew from the east, and though Gankwe, where the dead man lay in state, was but a ten-minute run down the rapids, we could hear nothing. In the morning, however, we heard them plainly, heard the invocations drummed by the grave diggers on their way to the burial ground deep in the bush on the opposite bank.

Osio tintin
Osio be'e dyo. [539]

[p. 2 contain no textual material]

609 123 ago, so long that no one knew just when it happened, instructed that no one might impart to another, a stranger, more than half of what he knew. Moreover, no young person dared to speak at all of the supernatural, and such matters as inheritance were regulated by the laws of the gods and ancestors, who punished infractions with the scourge of kunu—a term we were to hear so much in this Suriname bush.

302 Tenye's head as we looked down upon it was a mound of wool, with little braids, each no more than an inch or an inch and a half long, fastened by a bit of black thread, each braid pointing upwards. This was called "tatafi," we knew, and to change the subject we talked about the styles of [855] hairdressing. A child's hair usually was closely cropped, and the heads of both Yamati and Sabape looked as smooth as blackened gourds. Tenye's hair had been cut but a little while ago, a moon perhaps, when the braids had grown so long that it had been too much bother even to make the hair look well in the fashion of what was called the coiled head, or the earth furrow style. Both of these types of hairdressing consisted of braids which diverged from the center in many rows, appearing at the outer edge at intervals of one inch, or slightly more. These ends were caught up and rebraided around the head, to form either the one coil of "lollo 'ede," or the several coils of "gon wi." There were also the single long braids—the "pitto"—and the "pina bonsu" way of hair combing, where the head when properly dressed makes a design of narrow strips of scalp showing between flat ribbons of braids, which look like so many snake vertebrae, radiating from the middle of the head outwards.

"When you come back from up river, I will dress your hair," said Tenye to both of us. "You," she said, pointing, "will become an obia man in your white country, and you will look so well that your husband won't ever remember to go to his other wives."

302 754 But now Tenye's maternal aunt who had approached unobserved came to call the children away. She was not in

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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good humor, and looked with disfavor on the friendly conversation between us. Her bad temper, we learned later, had earned for her the name of Mother Snake, given her by a witty town servant of a lumber factor. The idea of dressing our hair apparently appealed to the woman, however, for it would certainly only be a reckless white who would offer his hair for combing to a stranger, since with hair any number of supernatural things might be done. With the proper formula, a few hairs, and the required ingredients she might fashion an *opo*, let us say. Now an opo serves many purposes, but its essential quality is that it gives its owner power over the one whose essence is captured in the form of hair, or a scrap of garment, or finger nails, or whatever else had touched the person against whom one has designs. The power of the possessor of the opo is to dominate the will of the other, and its particular attribute might be to function in love, or in a court of justice, or in matters of getting employment, or of receiving gifts. But an opo would be the least dangerous consequence, for an opo is not to be conceived of as being in the category of bad magic. There is the danger of *wisi*—a word which has the double meaning of poison and black magic—and hair, or finger nails, or the menstrual cloth of a woman, or perspiration are the very best materials for working wisi.

And so the good woman, known when she was among us as Tita, and as Mother Snake otherwise, saw that we offered no cause for alarm and added her advice to Tenye's in pointing out powers which we might acquire and use to spectacular advantage in our white country.

"Yes, you must make pina bonsu," she said, adding her approval, "and then your husband will prefer you to his other wives. But if you want to keep him all to yourself, you must let us cut *kamemba*—cicatrized designs—on you. An ingi kodjo here on each cheek to begin with," turning to Tenye and smiling.

And so it was all planned. The Indian cudgel, a euphemism for the buttocks, and procreative symbols were to be

REBEL DESTINY

502 rapids and large rapids. He carries loads and returns to
484 his own village. But then something happens. His boat is
996 good. He walks *kosi*—carefully—but he loses his food, or his entire load, or his boat, or even his life. Something is working against him. It might be *wisi*—bad magic; it
● 054 might be kunu. If you have kunu, then your enemies can make their bad magic work against you. So it is."

"But what is kunu, Bayo?"

He hesitated.

124 We assured him that there was no harm in our asking.
996 We had been hearing so much about it, first about Zimbi, and how he had died from a cut with his machete. Now this machete had worked for him since he was a boy, and then he cut himself, and then, having cut himself, he became sick and died. People said down below this was kunu. What did it mean?

But he still hesitated and looked about him until at last when he spoke, he gave the answer we were coming to know so well—"*Massa Gadu sabi*—God knows"—that answer that was the signal that not alone Massa Gadu, but the one who invoked his name in protection against Bakra questions, knew the answer quite well but meant to keep his own counsel. For to talk of these matters is not good, we had been told before by Sedefo.

It was Bibifo who brought up kunu again when Bayo stepped out of the boat for an instant.

"Better not talk to Bayo about kunu, Bakra. There is a very big kunu in Bayo's family. He does not mean to lie to the Bakra when he doesn't talk, but it is better for him not to tell you about it. We Saramacca people say: 'A snake bit me. I see a worm, I am afraid.' Do not ask him more."

2

538 But the Bush Negro has many sayings, and it was a different proverb from that which Bibifo had quoted to us that guided us in our tortuous course in search of an understanding of kunu.

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KUNU

We sat one night talking about the neku vine, which is used to poison the streams for fishing, and the ceremonies attending the discovery of a new one, how the ownership of it is passed on in the female line, and about the songs which are sung to celebrate the finding, and the feast which is given at this time.

"Do you use this poison only to catch fish, or does it have other uses?" we asked guardedly.

"Well, sometimes people use it to commit suicide," one man said. "That is bad. Sometimes a man or a woman will do it to put a kunu on another's family." He went on to tell of a man who lately did this. He had been promised the daughter of a family in this very village when the girl was a small, small child. It happened that the girl's uncles found gold in one of the streams, for which the white man gave them much goods, and now they were big men. Since the girl's children would inherit much wealth, they wanted her to be the principal wife of a man of rank. There were messages back and forth, and council meetings, but the uncles insisted that the girl return the gifts she had received —insisted against the advice of many people. So this *kis*, this young lad, could get his revenge in no other way than by taking his own life, and sending a kunu to the family. "The next time you come you will probably see the kunu at work. It is always so. Of what use is wealth when the children begin to die? One year the crops are bad, and you have to buy food. One year you go from one obia man to the next to find out why your sister cannot make children. Your money goes. Kunu is a bad thing."

Another day a woman came to us with a comb to sell. She had heard that we were gathering pieces to put into a large house where carvings from Africa were being shown, and she wanted us to have this comb of hers which was made as a betrothal gift by her husband who was now many years dead. It was an old comb with several broken tines and holes bored into it by insects, but the decorated end was still very beautiful, and we were eager to buy it. When we asked her to explain to us the meaning of the design, she

be. The Earth Mother, who is the giver of fertility, takes the adulterous woman who is with child under her protection, and no one may harm her. But the guilty man must make redress to the betrayed husband. Fines must be paid by the adulterer, and there is the beating which the husband administers. This beating has its ritual. The culprit, at the time that is set, comes out to the place where the injured husband and his family wait. They attack him with bare fists, although the Kromanti arm obias are sometimes slipped down on clenched hands, and with these serious wounds can be inflicted. With or without the iron arm bands, the beating is a serious matter, and the man who has committed the trespass is severely mishandled, unless he can get away from his assailants and run into the bush. In the bush he has sanctuary, and at the end of some time may come back to his village. The gods will not give a weakling husband, or one who is not clever enough to take his revenge when it is offered, a second chance.

At times this beating is a merry affair. This happens when the adulterer's family tries to protect him, and then the matter becomes a two-family brawl, or, if the village is a large one with more than one clan substantially represented in it, it may become a fight between two clans. Once, in a village near the railhead, a man was killed in such a fight, and then white police stepped in, and the murderer went to prison.

A chief, however, can give the culprit sanctuary, and Asikanu, being a chief's brother, was protected by the chief while negotiations were being carried on in his behalf. Now he was sent away from home to be one of our guests so that the enraged husband might be dealt with—time helps to cool anger. This was important in Asikanu's case, since the husband of the woman who had gone to Asikanu would consent to no fine, however large, and seemed, furthermore, to have misgivings about the manner in which the ritual beating would be conducted. "I will kill myself," he had been heard to declare. "I will kill myself, and give them all kunu. My *yoka*—ghost—will come to

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trouble them, and I will give the family a kunu, and the clan, too, because the chief has shielded him. I am powerless against the chief. I will kill myself."

A clan kunu is a thing to dread. It must be averted, whatever the hazards. And so, while they held council at Gaakwe with the husband and his family, Asikanu was away with the Bakra. . . .

At Apresina an old woman sent word that she wished to see us. She was so old and so ill that we had to cross half the length of the village to come to her, so that she might see what a white man and a white woman were like.

"Well, how is it in the city?" she asked. "How is it among you whites?"

She had heard, she told us, that everything was quiet in the city, that it was as if people slept night and day. Crops did not grow as they should. People were sick. Was it so? And without waiting for us to answer, she spoke again.

"But it must be so. So many, many black people took their own lives, before the time of running away. There must be kunu there." She assured us that it had to be so. How else but that the children of those whites should pay for the old abuses? . . .

And in the Granman's village we heard of kunu again.

"Do you know what they say in the city?" Granman Yankuso said one late afternoon, addressing several of his favorite village chiefs. "They say we are good men here in the bush, because we believe in kunu. In the city, where they do not believe in kunu any more, they are not afraid to use magic to enrich themselves, or hurt their neighbors. In the city they say that, friends."

There were the usual responses from the chiefs.

"So it is."

"True, true."

"Yes, master of the realm."

We looked out at the shadows across the carved door of the council house, that superb rendering of the Earth Mother and her attendant symbols of procreation and abundance, beyond into the great clearing where we could

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[illegible]
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see the shrines to the ancestors and gods. All about were the many houses of the Granman with the elaborately carved posts figuring his emblem. Under the shade trees the widow was pounding rice. She wore old clothes, and, since she would soon be out of mourning, they were almost in rags. The mourning band about her hair was also old.

The Granman's eyes must have followed ours, must have seen us study the outlines of the carving, and must have followed us to the shrines and the woman, for his voice changed, and now he repeated in a ruminating voice, "Yes, here we believe in kunu."

"Ya-hai!" was the noncommittal reply from his listeners.

The Granman looked now into the faces of his trusted chiefs. He looked steadily and long, searching in the semidarkness of the house for a betraying expression, as the chiefs sat on the low stools against the farther wall, their faces averted, as was seemly.

"Well, friends, kunu has made an end of my family. Is it not so? But the clan will go on. The clan's rule is not ended. Up and down the river tell them that, friends. Kunu has brought my family to an end. With me our family rule is finished. That is right. But the clan will go on."

The customary interpolations followed each phrase. Then singly the chiefs took their leave. Rising slowly, after they had received permission to depart, and with body bent, their hands touching their knees, each spoke his farewell.

In the light their ceremonially anointed bodies glistened like polished ebony. Swift and straight each made his way down the clearing and into a side path which led to the river, where the boats were fastened.

"Fine men, these," said the Granman to us after a silence. "And you, have you kunu in your country? . . . "

5

But even after these and many more instances of kunu had come to us, and even though we had snatched a few sentences of explanation from one man and from another, the essential nature of kunu still eluded us. Was kunu, then,

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"Before she begs the gods, she is seated on a mat, or on cloths. Over her head a white cloth is thrown. The woman who is there to look after the coming of the child takes a calabash with water. Then she throws the water on the ground where the woman is seated. She begs the great gods, and the ancestors, and the woman's soul, and the woman's gods. 844 788

"When the pains come, she ties a cloth about her belly tight, tight, until it hurts. The woman who helps her gives her some water if she wants it, and she presses down on the belly and makes the cloth tighter and tighter, until the child comes. The cord is cut with a knife." 844

The knife was the same as the kind they used for cicatrizing, and the after-birth was buried behind the house, in a small hole into which food and a piece of the sacred sangrafu wood was thrown. [412]

"The child is washed, and then *pemba*—kaolin—is put on its forehead, and after that the mother and the child bathe every day and then wash in pemba. Sometimes a moon comes and wanes, and another comes, and the mother still puts the white on herself and on her child." [751]

But if the birth proved to be difficult, then the husband was told, and he besought his own ancestors and his own gods to help his woman and child. 845

"If the child doesn't come, then it's a bad spirit. Then they call the obia man."

When a woman had difficulty, everybody was troubled about it. If a woman had been unfaithful to her husband and had not confessed it, it would be that which would be killing the child in her womb, and killing her as well. Sometimes it was *wisi*—black magic—and everybody wondered who had sent it to their village. Sometimes it was a god who was envious. [754]

"If it is a god, then, when the woman is strong again, she goes to a more powerful god and buys from him the next child to come into her womb. The strong god sees to it that the jealous one finds no way to harm the child." 845 776 845

What happened when a child was born dead? [766]

Chapter XVII

SARAMACCA OBIA

I

NO WORD of African origin which has survived in the New World has taken on such grim meaning as has the word *obia* in many of the islands of the Caribbean. No Negro there will speak of it, and its practices and properties are secret. When obia strikes in the islands, it is usually a matter for the government, and the forms its vengeance knows too often take a grisly turn.

In the life of the Bush Negro, however, obia is everywhere, and its name the commonest of bywords, for among the Suriname Negroes obia is not black magic, or witchcraft, or sorcery. Black magic in the Suriname bush is *wisi*, and wisi is never confounded in the Bush Negro's mind with obia.

"Obia is good. Obia heals," they say in Suriname.

"Obia warns, obia protects."

"Obia protects a man against the force of a bullet, the thrust of an iron weapon, the dangers of fire."

"You want to know what obia is, Massa?" our cook asked one day. "We have this *komfo singi*—this priest's song:

> "*I am no master,*
> *And I am no slave,*
> *Yet when the masters come,*
> *They carry water for me.*"

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

have a last look at the child's penis, as they will never see it again. Then the boy is proclaimed a man, and given clothes.

So far as could be observed, there is no circumcision of either the male or female, although such mutilations are indulged in by West African tribes in the region from which the Djukas came. The girls wear only the *coyo*, or a larger cloth known as *pangi*, until their first menstruation, when their mothers give them cloths. This is done in private. Menstruating women are required to leave their homes and retire to a separate hut situated outside the village on a by-path; they may not return until three days after the period is over. Under no condition are they allowed to go to the provision fields during this time.

At the age of about sixteen or seventeen the children are ready to be married. Sometimes they are betrothed in infancy, and occasionally a pregnant woman will betroth her child before it is born, conditionally, of course, upon its sex. Once the child is betrothed the ceremony must take place, otherwise the disappointed prospective mate will call down a *kanu*, or curse, on the entire perjured family, and they will all die. The pubescent child does not look forward to marriage as time for leaving its family, nor is marriage an initiation into sex relations. For these two reasons, getting married is not a serious step, and there is little illegitimacy because there is no reason for objecting to a marriage.

Youths must remain standing until their elders invite them to be seated. It is customary for older people to receive much respectful attention, for the older people are the sources of tradition and authority

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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Chapter Nine

MEDICINE AND MAGIC

NO one in Djuka land dies a natural death. Death is caused by witchcraft. At Santi Gron on the Saramacca River, preparations are being made for a burial. The whole village is excited. The women wailing are the relatives of the dead man. Children are crying because they see others crying. Unseen drums throb dully, making the hot air pulsate. The corpse lies in an open shed with only three walls—a death house (*dede oso*). Two girls of fifteen or sixteen are fanning it steadily to keep the flies away. The man died more than a week ago; all this time the body had been lying on a platform out in the tropical heat to decompose.

It is black magic that kills. Therefore the Bush Negroes make an effort to find out who made the magic that killed this man. An ancient ritual is employed. Three to ten days the corpse is left unburied, and in the humid heat the flesh undergoes a partial liquefaction. The putrescent fluid is gathered in a calabash cup and carried around from door to door.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Gramaccioner

754 Each person in the village goes through the motion of drink-
695 ing some of it. Should anyone refuse to do this, he is the
737 person who is guilty of inflicting death by witchcraft upon the deceased.

The guilt is mainly ceremonial; but sometimes a penalty is attached to anyone's refusal to "drink." The liquid is not actually swallowed, but the calabash gourd is placed to the lips. The whole ritual is probably a folk-memory of the ancestral days when actual death was meted out to the man who worked black magic.

Another ceremony to find the guilty party may follow, especially if the first has not found him. The corpse on its platform is carried in procession through the paths of the village. Leading the procession are the obeiah men daubed with pemba dotee. Their faces are bisected vertically, one half covered with clay and the other half clean. Large crescents are drawn over each breast and over the belly. In the procession are the dead man's relatives. They are accompanied always by the booming drums. Four bucks carry the platform to the doorway of each hut, and pause there, or pause in the village clearing.

The obeiah men question the corpse: "Is this the house of the person who killed you?"

The four men bearing the body, which is supposedly possessed by the spirit of the dead, shake the platform, imparting a slight movement, a semblance of life, to the corpse. Meanwhile, buzzards and vultures, the uninvited guests, perch expectantly in the wall of jungle trees that surround

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner
Aucaner

the village clearing. Flies and insects scurry. The body rolls 754
over toward the door of the hut: yes, this is the guilty one. 695
Or else it rolls away: no, he is innocent. The tomtoms boom 757
again, and the procession moves on to the next hut.

After winding about the town, the procession continues along a game trail back into the forest, where the white man is not allowed to follow. There, back in the bush, the body is perhaps buried to cheat the buzzards and vultures; but we are not sure. The dead person's hut is never occupied again; 768
neither is it repaired or demolished, but allowed, like the corpse, to decay.

Not for some time has the actual death penalty been in- 683
flicted upon those suspected of killing their neighbours by witchcraft. However, this used to be the case among the Djukas—more especially among the Aucaners—and the ceremony surrounding the detection of the guilty party is probably a survival of the Tshi-speaking people of Africa. Today the punishment of one suspected of causing death takes a more moderate form. In fact, unless the guilty party had previously announced his intention of causing the death, the punishment is "left to God." Otherwise, the guilty one may be given a severe beating, but, if the culprit escapes to a neighbouring village, it is incumbent upon the captain of that village to give him asylum. This has been noted by Mr. E. Wong, head bush police official at Moengo. Men are sometimes ostracized from the village, and are left to gain a livelihood by their own resources at some lonely spot on the river.

More than one person may be involved in the black magic that brings about death, and the burial ceremony may indicate several persons as guilty. This magic is similar to that employed by other primitive peoples. A spirit or soul resides in each living person; if this spirit is destroyed, the person will die. A man can cause the death of his enemy by summoning the spirit out of his enemy's body with herbs and charms and incantations; the spirit can then be shot with a gun. Or else he may procure some of his enemy's nail parings or hair, or any object of close personal association. He should also know his enemy's birthday and secret name. Rites are performed and, as a result, the enemy dies. His spirit has been slain. Magic, therefore, consists of the use of rituals for the purpose of compelling supernatural powers to do one's bidding.

For this reason many natives object to being photographed. The black camera, they believe, if pointed at them and clicked, will draw out their souls. The person owning the camera can then mutilate or destroy their souls at will. On our first expedition among the Bush Negroes all attempts at photography were difficult. When the attempt was made to take a native's picture the black would cry out, *"No pura me!"*—"Don't draw me out!" They firmly believed that the photographer was trying to draw out their spirits for magical purposes. On the second expedition, returning to the same villages with the developed photographs, we showed them to the natives and watched their reaction. The Negroes examined the snapshots curiously, turning them around, not

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Not only are human beings animated by spirits, but the 774
Djukas believe that everything, every object in the external world, is the residence of a spirit. These spirits are called *Mama*. Thus, canoes have spirits (*Boto Mama*) and so have huts (*Oso Mama*), paddles, fetishes, stones, and especially drums. Each has an impalpable soul. Moreover, there are several jungle spirits, tribes of ghosts and invisible men.

The woods of Surinam are filled with ghosts. *Winti* is 776
a ghost that can come into your body and make you do things you otherwise would not do. A pregnant woman, several weeks before her delivery, was struck dumb by an unknown enemy. This aphasia disappeared upon the birth of the child. When she was expecting another child, she fasted six days, to the point of exhaustion. Then a magic rite was undergone, and she broke the fast. Knowing that someone has put *Winti* on her to prevent her from having children, she now feeds them by simulating illness. From this it is apparent that Winti is under a measure of control; it can be sent into the [illegible]
body of an enemy to do him harm, then it is called *winti*.

Jambees are also bad spirits that can be controlled by the device of magic. Once put on a person, they bring him bad luck. Pain is caused by a spirit called *Congo Bwtri*. The soul is known as *Baraki*, or *Kra*. In the bush there also dwell tribes of evil men who are invisible; every time a Bush Negro looks at them they turn themselves into a tree or an anthill. When the Bush Negro is not looking, they kill him with unseen arrows.

The Djukas believe in the *Gran Gado*, the ruling spirit

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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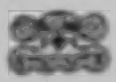
of a burning fire without being harmed. Bathing every day for nine days in water in which rusty scrap iron and peanut husks have been boiled renders a man impervious to the cut of a knife and his flesh capable of turning any blade. Stomach-ache is treated by drinking an infusion from the hollow handle of a dance rattle. Especially potent in all magic preparations are the bristles of *tamanua*, the anteater. *Obeiah watra*, another infusion, is drunk by men before going into the bush, to give them luck and strength. It is also possible to acquire strength or other virtues by rubbing one's body with the putrescent fluid gathered from the corpse of a dead man who possessed those qualities.

If a person should find fecal material in front of his hut or rotten eggs along the trail in such position as to make it likely for him to step upon it, it is certain that this material was placed there by a member of the community who is attempting to *wissi* or bewitch him. Anyone who removes this matter is liable to insanity.

Minor cuts and wounds may be treated with the bark of the *aprocoeyo* tree. This is ground up and mixed with the brew prepared from the leaves known as *pekein fol caca* (little rooster).



/67 cont./

613 554 692 [542] 2) He exerts an extended judiciary power, for it is taken for granted that the legal and political power of the tribe cannot intervene in affairs between members of the same lineage, even murder, for it can be said that in the custom of the Refugee Blacks the lineage represents only one single life.

It is obligatory that the following be settled within the framework of the lineage:

[984] --Accusations of murder by sorcery where victim and supposed murderer are both members of the lineage;

[923] [578] --Arguments over lands within the zones effectively possessed by the lineage.

613 554 692 877 The way in which the captain exercises his functions as judge is hard to know, because for the Refugee Blacks it is extremely shameful to reveal the dissensions within one's own lineage. And as for those of other lineages, if one succeeds in becoming acquainted with them, one scarcely dares talk about it for if that came to be known you could smart for it.

613 466 554 Lineage heads have a certain authority on the material level; they designate the men charged with doing the work ordered by the administration, but truth to tell, it is above all a question of choosing from among volunteers, for it is profitable work. They might not succeed in imposing clearly unpopular orders.

613 554 624 The captain designates a certain number of supervisors or basia to help him. Their /68/ role consists in watching over the cleanliness of the village, in making all the material arrangements relative to dances and burials, in calling together those concerned to the meetings of the council.

613 911 The lo constitutes a unit from the spiritual point of view, but it is important to notice that it does not involve any collective organization on the material level. In this domain the wildest individualism reigns; there are no tools for collective use, and people get together to make their clearings only if they want to.

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643 644 586 The present grand man, contrary to his predecessors, has only one wife. She is dressed like the other women and works at her clearing like everyone else. /74/ but her marriage to the grand man imposes special obligations on her: she can not divorce him; neither can he repudiate her.

643 829 The attitude of the Boni toward the grand man is a curious mixture of respect and disparagement. They regard him as the living symbol of their nation, and each one resents as if it were a personal insult an outsider having an incorrect attitude toward him. But their undisciplined spirit kicks up at the measures he is obliged to take to make them respect customary law, and even the authority of a poised and benevolent man like Grand Man Difu is not willingly accepted. As a matter of fact, the Boni stand for [754] [795] the authority of the grand man as they adhere to the worship of their gods, by the feeling of an absolute and inexorable necessity; in their minds the grand man is above all the priest of Odun; if the grand man were not there, they would be without defense against the wisiman, without recourse against the vengeance exercised by the yaka of the dead of other lineages.

The political power of the grand man is entirely based on these beliefs, and if they were to collapse, he would disappear [622] with them. Nobody would submit to any other law than that of the lineage, founded upon fear of the ancestors.

692 693 The Hnti kuutu. This is the assembly of the men, without distinction of age (1) or kinship; this council (Hnti = law) constitutes

> 1. There is no precise rule for fixing the age from which an adolescent may sit in this council. [561] It is apparently when he has reached full physical developement and earns his living by his own efforts, about 18 to 20 years. He does not have to be married.

the legal apparatus of the Boni.

/75 cont./

591 In fact, the society of the Refugee Blacks has not elaborated
971 true political institutions; it is essentially a grouping for collective
692 defense against suprahuman perils. The council, like the grand man, has power and authority only insofar as it remains closely bound to this function.

511 Absence of subordination. Among the Refugee Blacks no privileged
[565] class exists. /76/ and they all face life on a footing of rigorous equality; all receive the same education, must cultivate the soil, build their boats and houses, and live by paid work. The differences
[554] in standard of living observed from one to another stem basically from intelligence and work; and that, in spite of the belief in the possibility of getting rich by sorcery, is clearly understood by all.

565 Although the Boni willingly engage in paid work for one
[465] another in transportation by boat, there exists no tendency toward the formation of a class of rich people and one of wage-earners.
571 No servants exist among them, and one observes in their mutual
461 relations no exploitation of the weak. Neither does one observe that
[357] a rich man tries to have done by another, for pay, the customary
[462] jobs he must carry out for the benefit of his wife (clearings, building of boats). This would be looked on with great disfavor. The grand
[643] man himself, if his grandson is not there to help him, goes himself to draw water from the river and he does it ostensibly, even though he has a constant concern for his prestige.

829 The misfortunes undergone by their ancestors are certainly at the base of this conception; for they have inspired in the Refugee Blacks a particular sense of human dignity which is not found to the same degree in Africa.

Chiturault--244 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 588 Bush Negro: 588
Boni

/162 cont./

764 767 [613] In principle the forward bearer (who is called bouman by analogy with a boat) must belong to the dead person's lineage. Apart from this restriction, the bearers can be (and are in fact) any people whatever, the only condition required being that they be extremely vigorous, because the load they carry is at the limit of their strength.

Fraud can exist in isolated cases, but in the great majority of cases there is no doubt as to the good faith of the bearers; they give contradictory answers, go ahead and back interminably, until, exhausted, they are raised up again by others. Actually, the interpretation of these automatic movements does not differ essentially from any process of divination.

The dead person is interrogated from the age of four or [766] five years up. If it is a very young child, he is not interrogated; but the causes of his death are sought by interrogating possessed people, and if there is reason to, the kumu is appeased in the same fashion.

764 787 754 At the beginning of the interrogation the tribunal tries to make sure that the dead person was not a wisimã. After sending the bearers to the other end of the village, the president of the assemblage has two young men hidden in huts; then he has the bearers called, saying to the dead person: "I have lost So-and-so and So-and-so, find them." If the dead person was an upright man, he must have acquired a supraburman clairvoyance permitting him to direct his bearers straight away toward the huts in question. If he was a wisimã, he will be as if blind; his bearers go wandering in vain from hut to hut.

They state that this test always succeeds.

764 787 761 [996] [984] The interrogation proceeds interminably. The causes of death are taken up. The first question is: is it a god who killed you? The answer is nearly always yes, and they proceed by elimination in order to arrive, for example, at learning that it is an Ampuku, that it is the Ampuku bound by So-and-so. By what the kumu was set in motion, how to appease it, is not the

/174 cont./

764 Cemeteries. There are two cemeteries in Boni country: one on the lands of the Dikan lineage for the people living on the French bank, the other downstream from Kotika for the inhabitants of that village. They are ordinary places which nothing indicates from the bank, for they are covered like the rest of the country by secondary forest. The dead are buried there in graves aligned parallel to the river, about seven meters apart. The dead are placed with heads turned toward the river. No separation by lineage exists within the cemetery.

The graves are not marked by any decoration, and at the end of about ten years, the mound having settled down, no trace of the burial remains.

[769] The graves are never cleaned. Only the ɔ̃ɔ̃mã heads, who have received special instruction, know the graves of the principal chiefs and the boundaries of the cemetery.

769 [754] [715] The Boni never go to the cemetery alone and do not make offerings on the graves of their near relatives. Someone who would frequent the cemetery alone would be suspected of being a winimã seeking to capture the yɔ̃ka of a dead person.

764 487 Even if they are right near the villages, cemeteries are never connected directly to them by paths, and the dead are transported by boat. By proceeding thus they hope to isolate the villages from evil influences.

766 If someone dies by drowning, he is buried away from the cemetery. According to Mr. W. F. van Lier, among the Djuka all drowned persons are supposed to have been victims of a kumu; the Boni do not have this conception and declare that they have lost the meaning of this custom; one notices, however, that they observe mourning for the drowned according to the usual rites.

[761] [784] [184]

6:Hurault--295 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/193 cont./

772 The Refugee Blacks consider beings and things as distributed on several levels:

--The creator god;
--Lower gods;
--Ancestors;
--Men;
--Animals;
--Plants and inanimate things.

To each of these levels corresponds a level of life and a level of force (kaakiti). A higher force may act on a lower force, but not the reverse.

771 One may say that the cults of the Refugee Blacks have as their goal to capture the vital force of the gods and the ancestors and to bring it back to the level of men, giving them strength, luck, and fecundity. To thus increase one's vital force can be defined as good. Evil (negative magic, witch) is, on the contrary, to capture the vital force of another man in order to increase one's own.

• 754 The idea that one has wisiwisi is that he uses a higher force (especially an ancestor's yaka) which he has succeeded in capturing by magic and in subjecting to his will in order to dominate someone else. Reduced to his own strength alone he could do nothing.

789 824 The magic of the Refugee Blacks might allow one to believe that they think they act directly on men through the medium of plants to which magic virtues are attached. This [772] would be a grave error; in their minds, animals and plants are placed at a lower level absolutely incapable of acting on man by itself. Plants are thought to act only insofar as they appear capable of attracting, of holding like storage cells, the vital force emanated from the gods.

/195 cont./

794 The laws of Odun. The cult of Odun (Odö) is the keystone of
[181] the social and religious structure of the Refugee Blacks. It is a very secret cult; its rites are not practiced in the presence of outsiders and all curiosity about it meets with frank hostility. The Boni, who talk rather freely about the cults of possession,
[123] are mute on the subject of Odun, and one may spend years among them without even hearing this name uttered.

794 The worship of Odun is common to the Boni and the
184 Saramaka (perhaps this is what explains the trustful relations which exist between the two groupings). Among the Djuka it is replaced by the worship of Gwangwéla (Grantata), which has exactly the same functions and rites.

796 Odun is not to be confused with the creator God Nana (Masa Gadu). The myths explaining the relationship of these two entities were not known by our informants, but it is clear that Odun was sent to men by Masa Gadu as legislator and judge.

671 Odun's laws have a profound originality, as much by their content as by the sanctions which accompany them. It is not excessive to speak of a religious and moral doctrine of the Refugee Blacks.

These laws appear in negative form. A certain number
[541] of acts and behavior are forbidden to those who have entered the society of the Refugee Blacks by taking an oath which binds
784 them for good and all. Offenders will be punished without the direct intervention of men, by the all-powerful action of Odun, who will kill them or /196/ strike them down with sicknesses. As a general rule, Odun's punishment is death; this is what explains the fear his name inspires.

673 Odun forbids:

[754] --Sorcery, wisi, in the most general sense, that is, any magic action having as its purpose the killing, making ill, and in a general way doing harm to another person.

/19b cont./

[673] --Vengeance; if someone believes himself to be the
[754] victim of witchcraft, he must under no circumstances engage
[227] in counterwitchcraft or invoke his ancestors against his enemy.
He may ask only for the protection of the Obia. It is Odun who
[784] will avenge him by sooner or later killing the evil-doer.

--Violence in any form whatever. It is regarded as a
[683] particularly serious offense against the laws of Odun to strike
with an armed hand and to make human blood flow (1).

[684] 1. That explains the strictness with which the society of the Refugee Blacks limits the right of punishment granted to the wronged husband, who must strike only with bare fists in front of witnesses, never in the bush nor on the river. Fear of seeing
[826] human blood flow explains the
[952] reticence of the Boni toward minor surgical operations.

[641] --Any attack on personal liberty by material or moral
[581] coercion; in particular, neither a man nor woman may be constrained to remain in a marriage which has ceased to please him; nobody may be forced to reside here or there.

[273] The forms of magic so popular among West Indians, aimed at capturing a person's love, are for this reason rejected by the Refugee Blacks and considered as a form of wia.

[769] --Any evocation of the spirits of the dead, even to ask
[954] them for protection, other than in the public ceremonies provided for by custom. Thus nobody must go to the cemetery to pray alone on his parents' grave. Whoever would do that would immediately be considered as wanti.

/196 cont./

784 Odun's punishment is not regarded as immediate. It may be delayed for a certain number of years for reasons known to him alone, but it will necessarily take place.

683 783 Violence can be pardoned if the guilty one repents and makes an offering. The reparative offering (for example, if someone has threatened his adversary with a machete or has struck him to the point of making blood flow) is a demijohn of tafia or a certain quantity of tobacco leaves displayed in Odun's chapel.

● 754 784 But there is no pardon for the wuimã. Even if men pardon, Odun remains pitless. Thus nobody can admit being guilty of wuu, for there is no possible reparation; besides, no one would dare beg for Odun's mercy on behalf of a wuimã, for this would be to associate oneself with him and expose oneself to being struck by the god in the same way.

[683] [740] The wuimã will be killed by Odun, and men will have to share in the punishing by refusing the body burial in the cemetery and by going to throw it in the bush. If they /197/ refused to obey this law, Odun would consider that they denied his doctrine and would strike them down either in person or by killing any member of the guilty lineage.

Thus, when in 1952 an old woman named A... of the Lapé lineage, who had settled in the Creole village Hermina, died, it appeared that she had wuu, but since she had been living among the Creoles, her near relatives did not dare intervene, and she was buried in the Hermina cemetery. Several [613] years passed without incident, then misfortunes cropped up; deaths which took place in the lineage, especially that of P... (1955) and T... (1957), and an accident that happened to a child in 1958, were recognized as punishments carried out by Odun upon the Lapé lineage.

346 The place of worship of Odun is a tiny chapel near the grand man's house. It contains only a post crudely carved in the shape of a bust, without any decoration.

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The rites of the worship of Odun are known only by the grand man and by an old man who replaces him when he travels. They are practiced only on the occasion of the collective oath against wini, renewed every two or three years, and when it is necessary to implore Odun's mercy toward an offender. The officiant bathes the latter's body with a maceration of leaves that he alone knows.

To question Odun and know whether he pardons, they make use of a sacred object named afalaku, placed on a board put on the heads of two men. The answers yes and no are deduced by interpretation of the movements of the bearers, as in the interrogation of the dead.

The oath before Odun is also practiced as a legal test, permitting a man unjustly accused of theft or any misdeed whatever to justify himself.

Thus, in November, 1959, B... of Asui, accused by two Djuka of being responsible for the burning of a large cabin /carbet/ in which objects of value were stored, asked to justify himself before Odun.

Odun's laws, which have the effect of forbidding violence, vengeance, and every form of oppression, give to the society of the Refugee Blacks a unique atmosphere of dignity and serenity which is not found to the same degree in animistic African societies. Most African societies censure sorcery and murder, but they accept vengeance and various forms of oppression. It is probable that the men who, two or three centuries ago, deep in the forests of Surinam, developed these laws, were inspired more or less consciously by Christian ideas; but they introduced them into an African system of thought, associating them with the idea of material sanctions in the present life, without which they would have been powerless.

6:Thrault--303 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
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Odun's laws create an irreducible cleavage between the Refugee Blacks and the Creoles. The Creoles of Suriname, like the West Indian gold miners of the Maroni, profess Christianity, but they have a special conception of it, associating with Christian ideas /198/ beliefs of various origins and often magic practices. If in quasi-totality they reject magic aimed at doing harm without reason, they take very generally for granted:

--Counter sorcery inspired by vengeance;

--"Invocations" to the spirits of the dead and divers magic formulas in which it is believed one captures the vital force of these spirits in order to make practical use of it;

--Charms having the purpose of forcing the love of a person one desires.

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The Creoles are as attached to these conceptions as the Refugee Blacks to the laws of Odun, which are absolutely contrary to them. They have such importance in the thought of both that it would be unthinkable to make a group of Creoles and a group of Refugee Blacks live together for any appreciable length of time integrated into the same organization. Attempts made to do this, especially in Suriname, have always failed. When an economic activity engages them in the same work in the same locality, Creoles and Refugee Blacks form two separate groupings, each living according to its own law.

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[182]
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If Refugee Blacks leave their group for any great length of time to settle in the midst of Creoles, if they do not come back periodically to renew the oath of Odun, it is taken for granted that they have abjured his laws and that they are suspect of wisi. It happens that people who have spent a whole portion of their lives in the midst of the Creoles come back to live in their native village because they are prey to adversity or sickness; they are always welcomed (the lineage cannot expel one of its members), but chances are great that they will be declared wisimã upon their death. This was especially the case with an

/198 cont./

169 old woman of 90, A...., who died in Asisi in January, 1957.
•794 Having lived with Creoles in her youth, she had come back to live in her native village for at least 30 years and had never given occasion for any unfavorable remark. Nevertheless, upon her death it appeared that she had wisi.

791 Attitude toward Christianity. The Refugee Blacks, who are
829 acquainted better than one might believe with the conceptions
177 of the populations in the midst of whom they live, have a clear feeling of the relationship which exists between their metaphysical and moral conceptions and those of Christianity. They think they worship the same god as the Christians, in a com-
[777] pletely different way but just as sound. They have no animosity whatever toward the Catholic and Protestant clergy, and most of them agree willingly to wearing crosses or medals. But they have not the least intention of abandoning their beliefs for that. They do not perceive the contradiction and do not understand that people might want to oblige them to choose.

851 Like the Creole gold miners, they attach great importance
171 to baptism, considered as an obia protective against the dangers
165 of the bush. On Christmas, 1957 they were strongly impressed
777 by the accidental death of a Djuka Christian living at the
[688] Kotika school. He refused to observe mourning for his wife according to the custom of the Refugee Blacks, and used to go
[273] to drink in the cabarets of the Creole villages. On Christmas
[784] evening, when drunk, he drowned himself. That was attributed to a suprahuman punishment. We heard /199/ the following reflection on this subject: "He was baptized and he drowned himself just the same. That is therefore not worth the trouble."

61 Actually, the matrilineal structure of the Refugee Blacks
581 and their conception of marriage form an irreducible cleavage,
691 which appears immediately as soon as one leaves the metaphysical conceptions to pass to the plane of practical living.

[974] /216 cont./ the akka is an immortal divine element
[975] attached to a human person for the duration of his life and which, at his death, returns to the domain of the divine, no longer keeping any contact with men.

[828] The akka is the source of life from which the human personality is nourished, but it is not this personality.

The Refugee Blacks consider the akka as a personal protector god; they are apt to say mi gadu, my god, for mi akka.

The concept of the akka was spontaneously transposed by the West Indians into that of the guardian angel. They speak in Haiti of the "big good angel."

For Refugee Blacks the life, health, and destiny of a man depend above all on the akka; they think that if the akka went away, the body and mind of the man could not remain bound together; he would die or lose consciousness. This is, a little, what happens each night, for they believe that the akka leaves the body to wander, which brings on the loss of consciousness.

[954] /217/ So the wisimã, the sorcerer, tries to profit by this to capture the akka so that the man may become insane.

The akka is thought to have tastes, desires, and goals foreign to those of the personality and of which the man, in his
[953] ordinary consciousness, has no knowledge. The akka can make the man sick if he behaves in a way that it does not like. So
[955] when someone is sick, he resorts to divination in order to know whether it is not the deed of the akka and, in the affirmative, for what motive. One might think that the akka behaves like a conscience in the moral sense of the term; that it gets angry if its bearer does something evil. But in reality the akka shows itself to be as arbitrary, wicked, and venal as the lower gods of the Refugee Blacks. If it gets angry (they say: mi akka mãndi), this is because its bearer wears clothes of a color it does not like, or because it wants an offering. We have never, on the other hand, heard a case spoken of in which the akka might have become angry with its bearer because he was a thief, liar, or adulterer.

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2. Although it happens that people receive as a name an akka name, sometimes accompanied by a qualificative, such as Lébikwaku.

774 262 [551] Actually, each one knows his akka's name, which was revealed to him by his parents when he was a child; to this name is attached an akka kina or food prohibition relative to the akka. [754] Both are carefully kept secret even from near relatives and friends, for knowing them could help the wisimii take possession of the akka. On this subject people often use the term gadu kina, as they say mi gadu instead of mi akka. [784] [787] This term is easily confused with the prohibition imposed on the possessed person by the god which incarnates itself in him; these are two very different notions.

[258] The akka kina is unique for each man. It is sought by the parents when the child is completely weaned. [789] They try to draw parallels between the foods he has eaten and the health disorders he may exhibit, and these suppositions are confirmed by divinatory procedures.

774 782 A man does not ordinarily pray to his akka. He addresses prayer to it only if he is sick, to ask it for protection, or before leaving on a long trip, to ask it to watch over him. If he comes back safe and sound, he thanks it by making an offering to it, in the form of a bottle of syrup (switi sopi), which he turns upside down over his head.

774 184 According to Mr. W. F. van Lier, the Djuka have the idea that the shadow (kaaka) is the visible image of the akka; the Boni do not appear to have this conception; one does not observe that they attach any importance whatever to whether a man's shadow passes over them; on the contrary, one must not step over a man lying on the ground, that might injure his akka.

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The yɔrka. (The Boni say yɔrka, the Djuka and the Creoles of Surinam yɔrka.) The expression yɔrka is used only to designate the spirits of the dead. But of course the elements of the yɔrka are present in the living man.

/219/ The yɔrka is the ordinary consciousness of the man, his memories, tastes, aversions, all that constitutes his personality. All that, for the Refugee Blacks, does not come from the divine plane but at least in part from former human existences, and after death will not reach the divine plane. The Refugee Blacks seem to believe that after death, the yɔrka remains unchanged, will keep the same desires, the same aversions, the same thoughts; it is simply no longer in ordinary life, it has passed to another plane, intermediate between the divine and the human, from whence it continues to remain in a certain fashion in contact with men. The various informants we questioned on this subject declare that they have no idea of the fate of the yɔrka after death, of its place with respect to the divinities, of the rewards or punishments of which it may be the object according to the manner in which the man lived. These are questions they never ask themselves openly and which hardly interest them, all their interest being centered on earthly life. The idea of a paradise is absolutely foreign to them; they acknowledge however in the case of the wisimã that they will be stripped of the force that every living being receives from the divine, and that thus destroyed as beings, they will no longer be more than empty shadows.

The gaã yɔrka, spirits of the ancestors, are believed to watch over their descendants and are subject to worship.

Ancestor worship. Among the Refugee Blacks, ancestor worship is intimately bound up with all the acts of family and social life. They assume that the yɔrka of the ancestors are always present near their descendants and that they protect them. It is through them as intermediaries that the force emanated by the divine is received by the living.

/231 cont./

996 which people do not hesitate to come to ask for remedies or
987 opinions, in spite of the evil they have done to the lineage and perhaps will do tomorrow. It is even allowable to wonder whether people do not prefer to consult the most wicked divinities, for they are believed to be stronger.

784 The kunu focuses, turns aside toward high purposes the
991 blind forces of superstition, fear, and rancor. Several authors
114 who have written on the Refugee Blacks have stated that
• 754 calamities were almost unfailingly attributed to sorcery (wisi). This is a grave error due to the fact that they believed they could transpose to the Refugee Blacks what is observed among the Creole populations of Surinam. If this were true, no
[989] positive social bond could exist. We believe we can assert that among the Refugee Blacks divination lays the blame on sorcery in only scarcely a tenth of the misfortunes. Here,
784 among other examples, are several typical cases concerning
[114] Boni who worked with us or whom we have known especially well:

[753] --In 1948, Fintiman (Dju) falls ill (violent pains in the
[796] legs): kunu of a Kintamanu.

[752] --In 1948, Galmo (Papalston) is accidentally hurt (gun backfire): kunu.

[753] --In 1949, Dioli, captain of the Dju lo, is smitten with
[761] hemiplegia and remains paralyzed. He dies in 1951: kunu
[796] of a Papa gadu.

761 --In 1950, a Saramaka is killed in a hunting accident (a gun in poor condition went off by itself): [illegible] (accident).

[754] --In 1951, Kanayen (Kotika) drowns while sailing at night on the river: wisi.

[784] --In 1951, Loka (Dju) dies at the age of 70: kunu of an
[796] Ampuku.

752 --In 1951, F... (Dju) is seriously hurt by the falling of
784 a branch while cutting his clearing: kunu of a yɔrka.
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761 --In 1952, Duio (Awara Bakka) dies almost all of a
784 sudden with the symptoms of peritonitis: kunu, punishment for
784 incest committed by another member of the lineage.

--In 1952, Madodo, ten years old, son of Onaya (Awara Bakka) accidentally drowns: natural accident (Bagaiku).

784 --In 1954, Bénati (Dyu) dies at nearly 75 years of age:
796 kunu of a Papa gadu.

784 --In 1954, Agyémési (Aw...) dies almost all of a sudden:
784 killed by Odua (he was a wisimi).

--In 1965, Tabiki (Awara Bakka) dies at over 80: natural illness.

784 --In 195.. Konoida Aic/ (Afi lineage) dies suddenly,
796 aged about 50: kunu of a yaka.

784 --In 1957, F... (Lapé) is gravely ill with symptoms of
796 typhoid: kunu of a Papa gadu.

753 --In 1957, Sokodo (Dip. II) dies at 40: kunu of a
761 Kintamasu.

75 /232/ One observes that in the 15 cases cited here, the kunu
761 interferes ten times, while in three cases natural causes: ill-
784 ness, accident, were assumed.

In reality, the Refugee Blacks do not have the conception
792 of a natural world, subject to known or knowable laws,
which is set against a supernatural world. The intervention
of a Papa gadu is neither more nor less natural than an illness
or an accident. There is only, on the plane of human life,
more or less frequent intervention by imprahuman forces.
812 The intervention of these forces is made according to laws
which embrace the totality of beings and things, laws which
men cannot understand but of which they believe they have
a partial and empirical knowledge.

791 /237 cont./

Not just anyone may resort to divination on behalf of someone else: only the eldest have the right to do it, and it has happened that the grand man punished offenders severely.

799 Fate. The Refugee Blacks do not attribute all misfortunes
[752] to suprahuman causes. They have the notion of natural accident. [illegible]. They say [illegible] miti mi, or again ogi miti mi,
[761] misfortune met me. They also accept the idea of natural death. They usually regard as natural death that of the very old, the infirm from birth, and sickly children.

[789] Divination blames fate in ten to 20 per cent of accidents.
[792] It is the usual explanation for hunting accidents.

792 /238/ Magic Forces

As we have shown, the Refugee Blacks consider beings and things as a world of forces capable of acting on one another, outside of time and space, according to laws which men cannot understand but of which they believe they have a partial and empirical knowledge transmitted by tradition since the
754 time of the ancestors. They distinguish negative magic forces,
789 wisi, which have the effect of diminishing the vital force of men, which makes them sick or kills them, and positive magic forces, obia, which come from the gods: the obia comes to increase the vital force of men, giving them protection, immunity, or knowledge. But no power is in essence a principle of good or evil; nothing is impossible for him who knows the formulas; this is why the magic of the Refugee Blacks is reduced to a perpetual and indecisive struggle between obia and wisi.

754 Wisi. Wisi is sorcery in the African sense of the term, that is,
[673] the use of magic procedures to harm others; wisi is for the Refugee Blacks the pre-eminently criminal act, at the same time against morals and against society. The struggle against

754 781 /238 cont. / The struggle against wisi is one of the foundations of their social life. protection against the undertakings of the wisimã one of the most constant worries of each person. Nobody knows these wisimã with certainty; one is reduced to vague suspicions of this or that person, which one dares not formulate for lack of proof. No one knows exactly how they operate. Yet each one feels their enterprises everywhere about him, and those who by reason of their wealth or successes with women have the most reason to believe themselves exposed to jealousy live in anxiety.

754 [828] [784] Intense jealousy or hate are already a form of wisi, and this is why each one must try to drive them out of his heart; besides, he would risk falling ill or being subject to all sorts of calamities for having broken his oath. But the wisimã employs explicit procedures:

--burying a bottle (beli bata) containing sorcery under his enemy's door. When the latter comes home, the sorcery will penetrate into him. So some Refugee Blacks carry a special [751] zbia against this kind of aggression: thanks to this zbia, they will feel a sharp pain in the tip of the foot when approaching the bottle, which they will thus uncover easily.

754 774 --Kisi akkaa, stealing the akka of the enemy. The latter then becomes mad. The Boni believe that the wisimã operates at night, taking advantage of the fact that the enemy's akka has left his body to wander. He captures it by attracting it with what it likes. For that, one must know the name of his enemy's akka, know its tastes and preferences; all things which each Refugee Black will carefully hide, even from his comrades. What the wisimã does with the akka was not clear to any of our informants. He tries either to capture it in order to deprive his enemy of it, or to make it hostile to its bearer, or to inspire it with abnormal ideas or tastes. If someone manifests an abnormal change /239/ in tastes or behavior, people will be inclined to think that a wisimã was able to act upon his akka.

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On this point it is taken for granted that Indian magic is much more powerful than African magic, and that any Indian is capable of attracting his enemy's akka.

--Transforming himself into a vampire (azemli) and flying at night in search of sleeping men in order to suck their blood and eat them in spirit; this conception, closely related to the one which the West Indians have of the soucougnan, comes from Dahomey (in Fon, aze = sorcery). It is said, as in Dahomey, that the azemli flies by emitting fire through the anus.

--Seni ati sani: this is what the Creoles call "sending bad baggage." This is acting upon a living being or an inanimate object to make it behave in abnormal fashion at the expense of the enemy. For example, if someone is bitten by a snake or if a child is carried off by a tiger, the action of a wisimli will be blamed first, for normally snake and tiger do not attack. But there is no material limit to the action of the wisimli, who can make a branch fall on his enemy's head or make a cartridge of dynamite burst prematurely.

(325)

The idea that the sorcerer may transform himself into a jaguar, dog, or other animal is not assumed by the Refugee Blacks. Neither do they have the idea of brotherhood: of sorcerers.

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How does society defend itself against the wisimli? There is first of all the test oath. At regular intervals, every two or three years for example, the grand man gathers together all the Boni to the last man before Odun's chapel, and makes each one drink a little of a magic liquid while inviting him to utter the formula: Afu mi e meki wisi fu dede a sama, mi mu dede: If I do sorcery to make someone die, I must die. This is what is called diggi sweri, to drink the test. Actually, it is a harmless liquid, but each one is convinced that a wisimli would not be able to drink it without dying from it. If someone stubbornly refuses to present himself at the ceremony, he is not obliged to, but he has denounced himself: suspicions will be directed on him henceforward.

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754 789 Trial for sorcery does not exist among the Boni, but a procedure exists which allows for pinning down suspicions.

After each death the dead person is asked the question: Is it wisi that killed thee? The question is put last (they first ask sunu, then fyo-fyo /see p. 399/).

If it is wisi, they ask: Is it such-and-such a family? (In general it is in the lineage itself), then the names of the lineage members are uttered successively until there is a positive response.

754 695 The one who is thus accused of wisi can be summoned to justify himself before the grand man, but that can only have the character of an investigation and not a trial. The suspected individual may not be challenged. They accept the fact that it is only a matter of presumption and that the dead accuser can lie, pursuing vengeance beyond the grave.

The Refugee Blacks declare that there is no certainty about wisi.

754 613 692 A remarkable principle of customary law is that if a member of a matrilineage /240/ is believed to have killed one of his "brothers," the judiciary power of the Boni cannot interfere. It is an affair purely within the lineage.

754 Thus no one can be challenged or expelled for an act of sorcery. If one suspects somebody strongly, one will avoid him, one will turn the cold shoulder to him, all the time remaining polite, but one will not show anything. To this principle is attached a very noble idea, that of the interdiction of vengeance. He who is victim of sorcery must under no circumstances do countersorcery. He can only ask for the protection of the abia. One must not under any circumstances ask a divinity or his ancestors to harm his aggressor.

754 715 787 Among the Refugee Blacks there is only one sanction against the wisimã: They will necessarily be found out at their death. The yaka of the dead person, interrogated by the elders.

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will be obliged to confess: "It is I who killed So-and-So and So-and-So." They immediately inform the grand man, who

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orders the usual procedure against wisimã: Ceremonies are suspended, the body is transported by boat to a place reserved for cursed people, downstream from Boni country, and it is abandoned in the bush without being buried. Grand Man Difu is trying to modify this custom and to compel burial of wisimã in a special cemetery, but without great success up to now, it seems.

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There is no broko dã. The spouse may remarry immediately. Since the property of the deceased are presumed to be ill-gotten, inheritance is cancelled. The house is destroyed and thrown into the water, the boat abandoned to the current.[1] Personal belongings of the deceased are turned over to the grand man who distributes them to whom he wishes.

The near relatives of persons thus designated are overcome with shame but can say nothing. Not a bit of responsibility is imputed to them.

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How does society protect itself against the sorcery of the wisimã from beyond the grave? According to Grand Man Difu, this is a problem which does not come up. The wisimã has been killed by Odun as punishment for his crimes. Since every being draws its force from the divine, he has no more force, he is destroyed as a being, he is no longer anything but an empty shadow incapable of doing harm.

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In fact, among the Refugee Blacks these trials of dead people are very rare. Whereas about 15 persons die per year on the average in Boni country, including about ten adults, in the last 20 years (1) only about 20 persons were revealed to be wisimã.

1. Disregarding the period 1957-1959 when a definite fresh outbreak of the fear of wisimã was observed.

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776 be wisimã. We were able to draw up the list of these from
777 information from diverse sources which agreed very well.

In nearly every case persons were concerned who had already been accused, during their lifetime, of being wisimã; and on whom suspicions had been directed either by reason of their solitary life and irascible character or as a consequence of a series of coincidences.

754 In general, they tend to accuse of wisi any individual
828 who systematically isolates himself, shows ill will in the observation of customary law, or shows himself particularly selfish, irascible, or jealous.

754 /261/ They tend also to suspect those who in their youth had
648 abandoned the tribe for years to settle among the Creoles, and those who frequent the Creoles of the region, known as quimboisers, or who go too often to Saint Laurent or Paramaribo to consult hukumã (clairvoyants) (1).

1. Consulting a clairvoyant is not contrary to the laws of Odun. Infringement of these laws begins when one claims to act upon other people.

754 Also deemed suspect of wisi is anyone who gets rich too
434 quickly or shows an immoderate love of money. A hard-
828 working man who earns his living in broad daylight is never accused of wisi. But the one who engages in trade is suspect. It is thought, for example, that G.... who furnished a shop and earns much money, is a "pledged man." It is said also of F.... a fishing contractor particularly greedy for profit. But neither has been accused openly.

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152 828 759 777 jealousy. To speak of jealousy as a negative magic force is not to be false to the thought of the Refugee Blacks. They regard it as an attenuated force of wisi, capable of bringing misfortunes even if no sorcery has been formulated. Jealousy is 152 157 very marked in their character, associated with an individualism verging on asocial tendencies. When somebody is accused of 759 wisi, jealousy is the commonest explanation of the crimes 152 828 attributed to him; it is thought for example that a man can be jealous of his brother's growing rich to the point of making him die; that a woman may be jealous of the beauty or health of 152 her sister's children. Not laying themselves open to jealousy 156 is the constant preoccupation of the Refugee Blacks; one ob- 828 serves it in daily behavior, for example in the greetings which 576 they exchange on the river. They never say, "I am well," but: "I feel only fair." If they come back from hunting they say, "I found a little."

152 Examples are not lacking of people who avoid building 156 a fine house or buying an outboard motor in order not to give 828 cause for jealousy. This preoccupation has profound reper- [182] cussions on the material life and the economy of the Refugee [463] Blacks; it explains in particular the absence of specialized professions and trade among them.

[183] Many aspects of the customary law of the Refugee Blacks [591] have no other function than to exorcise, if one may say so, tendencies toward jealousy and selfishness which, if they were given free rein, would poison the life of the collectivity.

76 The rites of death and mourning, which we have shown 181 to constitute the pivot of the social life of the Refugee Blacks, 775 are entirely based on the idea of preserving the surviving spouse 828 from the effect of the jealousy of the deceased.

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[126] Several cases of wisi. We transcribe these affairs as they were related to us, placing ourselves in the perspective of the narrator, without making any judgment as to the nature of the facts and their probability.

N... affair. -- N...., of Kotika, was working gold with another Boni. After they had eaten /242/ together, the latter was taken with uncontrollable vomiting, then he died. His near relatives blamed N...., accusing him of wisi. In the night N... took refuge at Benzdorp and took passage on a Dyuka
[69] boat which was going down the river. He settled in Paramaribo. Since then his sister T... has gone to join him. They have left the Boni for good.

P... affair. -- Toko (Dipéti II), while boating on the lower river, wagered one morning with his friend Kwami (who told us the story) to stay in a dive for the time necessary to fill a five-liter demijohn; bet taken; Toko did not come back up. He had drowned. His body was found the next day. The family
[578] blamed one P.... of Kotika village, whose wife N... had left him to marry Toko and who at the time had made threats.
[683] They insulted him, they presented Toko's decomposed body to him: "Eat him, since thou hast killed him like game." P... stubbornly denied it. The grand man commanded that he be left alone, turning him over to Odun to punish if he were guilty. As a matter of fact, some time afterward, P... died and was declared wisimi.

[464] S... affair. -- About 1955, S.... of Kotika, about 60 years old, was working with Kwau weeding the clearings of a Benzdorp Creole who raised oxen. One morning this cattle-raiser saw one of his oxen covered with blood coming from wounds which bore tooth marks and could not have been made by bats. He followed the traces of blood which led him to S...'s hammock.

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754 He accused him of being an asemi (vampire) and of drinking the ox's blood. S... answered nothing, which appeared to everyone obvious proof of his guilt. He untied his boat and went away. Since then everybody in Kotika avoids him; they abstain from accusing him personally in order not to become victims of his sorcery.

Agyémén affair. -- Agyémén, an old man of Asini village (Awara Bakka) who died in 1953, was a solitary and morose man with odd ways. For a long time he had been accused by S... (of Loka) and by N...., a Djuka living among the Boni, of being a wisimi and of having made them sick. He had even [595] been accused before the grand man, had denied it, and the grand man according to usage had told him: "We leave to God the job of punishing thee if thou art guilty." Agyémén, in [169] order to flee his persecutors, had settled in the Indian village of Aculé.

His accusers insisted to people of his lineage that he be brought and publicly interrogated. A... and P... were sent, who went to get him by making him believe that the council of the Awara Bakka lo, putting an end to a long dispute, had decided to name him captain as the doyen of the lo. Without mistrust, he followed them to Asini. He was received by his [595] accusers who insulted him tumultuously, without, however, there being any blows. The poor man remained speechless, which [154] appeared to all to be the obvious proof of his guilt. He took to his bed and five days later he was dead (1).

1. The Refugee Blackstare so suggestible that the sole fact of seeing oneself cursed and abandoned by all must bring on a psychological shock capable [171] of bringing death. Similar cases have been observed in Africa.

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754 Of course he was recognized as a wisimã by the first
754 adjuration made to his body carried in the papay on the heads
787 of two men: "If thou art a wisi man, do not come toward us."
The dead man drew back.

[784] /243/Continuation of the interrogation showed that he had not yet killed anybody, but that he had been killed by Odun when he was preparing to kill someone of his lineage.

954 The persecutors of Agyémõ, contrary to their hope, did not recover after his death from the maladies which they were attributing to his sorcery; that did not shake their conviction in
755 the least. They left for Paramaribo to have themselves treated
648 by a Creole magician (for the Surinam Creoles, who practice white magic and black magic indiscriminately, are by this fact reputed to be more expert than the Refugee Blacks in combating the effects of wisi).

954 In recounting this story to us, the grand man told us that it is always necessary to be cautious with accusations of wisi,
[762] because one can never be sure. A man unjustly accused can
[784] commit suicide and pursue his accusers with his kunu (most of the Boni state that they would do so in such a case). In former
173 times, the barbarous punishments in use in Africa were applied
683 to revealed wisimã: they were burned alive. But people tell
784 that one of them, some months afterward, undertook against his accusers' lineage a kunu which still lasts today. He had been wrongly condemned! It is through fear of the kunu more than
[178] through care for humanity, that these punishments have been abolished.

754 It certainly seems that the constant fear of the wisimã in
[152] which the Boni live is only a collective hallucination, and that rare indeed are those who dare to indulge in practices which might draw upon them such terrible social and religious sanctions. As for these practices themselves, they appear to be without any real content, and the misfortunes attributed to them are

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754 [183] only commonplace illnesses or accidents of some sort. We have never heard poisoning, in the usual sense of the term, mentioned.

754 695 182 The wisimã trials are in our opinion the most unpleasant aspect of the civilization of the Refugee Blacks. But it must be admitted that they correspond to profound necessities. These archaic societies need an obvious materialization of the principles they have given themselves. Since evil exists, opposing itself to good, the practices of wisi and wisimã exist, and the punishment of evildoers is indispensable for the society to remain subject to the law of good.

[184] By its notion of the kuna which turns aside toward the gods the responsibility for most misfortunes, by the extreme rarity of wisimã trials, by the prudence of its judiciary action which in point of fact pursues only the dead, the society of the Refugee Blacks shows itself humane and realistic.

If one undertook with the Refugee Blacks definite action to make these practices disappear, one would risk obscuring their notion of good and evil and removing all efficacy from their customary law.

[183] The social order of the Refugee Blacks cannot be maintained if the interdiction of harming anyone and the interdiction of vengeance do not remain clearly laid down. It matters little that these acts of sorcery are without real content: It is the intention to harm which counts, with all its social and psychological consequences.

171 177 182 754 When one observes the Creole populations of the Guianas and the West Indies, even though /244/ they have been under the influence of Christianity for several centuries, one is struck by the development of sorcery and by its repercussions on the whole of social life. The teaching received at school and from the catechism, which embraces white magic and black magic in a single reprobation, has greatly contributed toward making these populations lose the principles of social morals of their ancestors without in exchange modifying their

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171 image of the world. Since magic practices are rejected by
179 religion, since it even denies their reality, one does not think,
182 when one finds oneself constrained to have recourse to them,
754 of transferring to them the notion of good and evil which it
teaches. Black magic gets in almost inevitably because a
person believes he must defend himself; then its use becomes
habitual, and the two forms of magic end up by mixing together and being no longer regarded as fundamentally different from each other.

171 Cases of wisi and Boni customary law. In African villages,
754 cases of sorcery are interpreted by interminable and useless
695 discussions, wild accusations, protestations of innocence, sometimes more or less sincere confessions, oaths and legal tests with always contested results. These cases are never finished; they are in permanent evolution, sometimes for months and years. Opinion moves successively onto different hypotheses according to events which take place, seeking its way groping like a man lost in darkness.

754 It is clear that the first lawgivers of the Refugee Blacks,
695 by carrying judgment back to the death of those concerned and
182 by refusing the wisimã any kind of pardon or compromise, tried to prevent the development of these sad crises. What is the use of discussing interminably, since there is no certain proof, and since nobody may confess? But customary law collides on this point with tendencies too deep to be entirely restrained. The laws of Ojun are not always obeyed to the letter, and it happens sometimes that the Boni lose their footing in the
[571] observance of their customary law. Then crises take place among them, as violent and confused as in the villages of Black Africa, going as far as paralyzing social life for several weeks; then peace returns for several months, sometimes for several years.

/244 cont./

954 695 571 In 1956, a Boniville woman, N...., was convicted of having paid a Creole quimbouseur to make the grand man die. She confessed, a rare thing in this kind of case, and the materiality of the facts did not appear doubtful. The Boni were strongly impressed by this unprecedented event, and for several weeks the members of the lineage concerned were in such agitation that one could have believed they had lost their reason. In Boniville they "held court" continually for nearly two months, and they discussed so much that farm work was neglected and part of the rice crop lost.

954 695 683 [648] What were they going to do with this woman? The laws of Odun forbade killing her, no more could she be expelled. The Boni made discreet overtures to the administration to find out whether it was not possible to have her imprisoned. They were surprised to learn that French law does not recognize the offense of sorcery. Somebody then proposed having her admitted as a servant at the leprosarium of the Acarouani on the /245/ coast. This suggestion produced a surprising result; the Boni were unanimous in thinking that making someone who was not a leper live in a leprosarium was a punishment worse than death, and they resolved to pardon her.

How does one go about it, since the laws of Odun do not permit pardoning a wisimi? Nobody could give us a satisfactory justification on this, but in 1959 A...., the preceding year spurned and maltreated, had taken up normal living again in her village.

954 961 784 In fact, a case of wisi is terminated only upon the death of the person concerned. If a man who has been accused of wisi during his lifetime dies accidentally, or is struck by a fulminating sickness, the fact that he has been chastised by Odun appears as incontestable proof. The case is fixed in the memory of the group in a specific form and will be given as an example to inspire respect for customary law.

/345 cont. /

754 766 Burial of a witch. We transcribe here an account given by a witness of this scene, K...., of Papalimon village, withholding the exact date and place.

"It was at the time of the clearings, people were in the farming habitations and the village was almost deserted. I was going fishing with P...., of Loka. We had moored our boat and were walking at the edge of the water when our attention was attracted by a nauseous odor which came from an unoccupied house. There we found the cadaver of a woman, E...., dead for two or three days. She had tried to break into the house by raising the roof, but she had remained wedged between two beams and smothered to death. Since she knew the house to be empty, she could not have had any other intention than to lodge an evil spell; after disengaging the body in the presence of witnesses, we went to inform the grand man who commanded, the motive seeming to be clear, that the yaka be interrogated on the spot without making a coffin.

(89) "Before a council composed of half a dozen men and two village heads, the interrogation began; the dead woman was carried in an old boat bottom; at times I myself served as [illegible]ter. Pressed with questions, she confessed that she had wisi (1) and that she had been killed by Odun. The case was

1. They say commonly "to have wisi," as they say "to have an obia," "to have a remedy."

clear. We were ordered to transport the body to the place reserved for cursed people, downstream from Boni country. When we arrived there the body was again borne on the heads of two men to ask it to choose the spot where it wanted to be abandoned. The dead woman drew us far into the forest, wandered a moment, then stopped. We abandoned her on the

754 766 /245 cont./
ground, after scattering the cloths which were covering her, and left without carrying out any rite.

"Next we went to Boniville, the grand man invoked Odun on our behalf, stating that we had only followed his laws and that he had to protect the performers of the job against any distressing consequence."

754 181 178 Development of sorcery. Since 1957 Boni country has been passing through a crisis; /246/ fear of sorcery is poisoning village life, while in 1948-50 it was a preoccupation of secondary importance.

[578] That is due to the fact that the rapid growing rich of part of the Boni aggravates jealousies and suspicions. Moreover, these affairs tend to appear in series. Since the case related above (1958), in which a woman, N...., was convicted of having paid a Creole quimboiseur to make the grand man die, an affair which strongly impressed the Boni, they tend to see wisi in all misfortunes that occur.

[169] In November, 1958 the death of a little girl of 12 of Kotika village was attributed to her uncle Mbomaolo, who had recently emigrated to Surinam and settled in a Creole village. [777] It is believed that he "committed himself," that is, that he sold his soul to the devil (1), which necessitates sacrificing one

1. This notion, which plays such a large role in West Indian beliefs, has no equivalent among the Refugee Blacks. There is no word in the Boni language for translating the term "committed." They translate thus: a e suku didibi, he seeks the devil. The Boni do not have a clear image of the devil, and this notion remains, in fact, foreign to their beliefs.

[776]

754 /246 cont./
181 of his near relatives, his sister's children being regarded as
178 the victims most pleasing to the demon.
[187] Although in former times one to two out of ten deaths were attributed to wisi, in 1957 and 1958 out of 14 adult deaths of which we could obtain the explanation, there were:

[784] --Four wisimã killed by Odun, including two women of over 85 who during their lifetime had never been the object of unfavorable notice;

[74] --One death by the action of a wisimã,
or a total of more than a third of the deaths; out of the nine others, two were looked upon as natural deaths (dead of old age), seven were attributed to the kunu.

754 The Refugee Blacks and Creole magic. Some of them go to
648 get from the lukumã what their own social morals forbid: vengeance or success acquired at the expense of other people. They have uttered an oath that prohibits the practice of wisi: for most of them it is clear that if they paid a piayeur /magician, sorcerer/ to harm someone, it would be the same as if they performed the sorcery themselves. But others make a mental reservation on this point.

754 In 1951, G..., of the Kotika lo, then about 20 years old,
755 felt ill while staying at Saint Laurent. He went to find a
648 Creole maïtif (clairvoyant) who presented him with a mirror, announcing to him that he was going to see in it the face of the one who had piayé /bewitched, cast a spell on/ him. G... saw nothing in the mirror. The maïtif was not upset at this and revealed to him that the piayeur must be someone in his wife's family. G... then recalled a dispute he had had some time previously with one of his wife's brothers and let himself be convinced: since that day he has not gotten along with his brother-in-law.

754 /246 cont./
755 The maltif asked 2,000 francs from him as the price of
648 his consultation.

789 Curse. Someone who judges himself victim of evil-doing has at his disposal a supreme resource: /247/ cursing his adversary, that is, appealing directly to the supreme God, Masa Gadu, to ask him to punish his adversary. This is called seni gadu -- sending God -- against someone. To do that, while asking God to kill him or make him sick, one kneels and strikes the ground with both hands in the presence of the adversary or in front of his house. This act is regarded as totally different from wisi, for one is relying on the justice of God, who judges with equity and punishes only the guilty.

However that may be, cursing is for the Refugee Blacks a very serious act. It may happen that, feeling guilty, the source of the injustice asks pardon and promises to make amends for his misdeeds. The one who uttered the curse again implores Masa Gadu in order to take back the words he spoke: "He has given me satisfaction, do nothing against him." But oftener still it happens that a complicated affair is involved, that both parties concerned are persuaded of their legitimate
[692] ground and curse each other. The case must then be carried before the grand man and straightened out at once or misfortunes
[695] may pounce upon both lineages. The grand man judges without appeal and inflicts a punishment on the one who was wrong
[778] on the main issue of the debate. Then he obliges the ad-
[782] versaries to be reconciled before the fraga tiki, where the offering of tafia and water is made.

[828] The effect of these conceptions is to render nearly im-
[754] possible hidden hatreds and rancors, which the Refugee Blacks fear very much, for they are the source of wisi.

688 In general, the act of getting angry in public and serious-
689 ly insulting somebody is considered as an offense against moral and religious law, capable of attracting misfortunes; it is an

688 /247 cont. /
689 attenuated form of wisi; in serious cases the grand man may inflict a severe punishment on the guilty ones.

789 ɔbia. The Refugee Blacks use the word ɔbia (1) to designate

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1. The term ɔbia is used by the Refugee Blacks when they are speaking to outsiders, to designate positive magic, but in reality this term has a very different meaning in their language. It designates any kind of magic action, negative as well as positive; likewise the term ɔbiamã has the sense of sorcerer as well as that of holder of a remedy.

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The Boni among themselves use the word deesi, remedy, instead of ɔbia. They do not use the word deesimã in place of ɔbiamã. It is said, for example, of a man who knows the rites of a cult of possession "A sabi Papa gadu sani" (he knows the things of Papa gadu).

[987]

The term gadumã designates one who is possessed of a god, and not one who knows how to bring on possession.

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In the rest of this work we shall continue, nevertheless, to use the terms ɔbia and ɔbiamã to designate positive magic, in order to facilitate collation with the English- and Dutch-language authors who have used it in this sense.

/248 cont./

755 823 [174] White clay, pɛmba (the worl and the rite are of Congolese origin), does not undergo any special preparation. In the thought of the Refugee Blacks it has the power to fix upon a man's body the magic influence of the infusion of leaves.

791 Among the Boni, except for the cult of Odun, there are no priests, strictly speaking, invesed with a function at the same time social and religious. A large number of persons 756 791 are regarded as "knowing remedies." This notion implies at once knowledge and power. In general the ɔbiamã is believed to hold only a specialized power: for example, he knows how to prepare a hunting ɔbia, or an ɔbia for protection against wisimã. This power he received fom his father (as an exception, it seems, from his uncle) who instructed him, before dying, in the specialized rites it requires and transmitted his power to him by giving him mula.

To give mula to someone, one blows into his hands, one puts them on his head while utering a formula by which one transmits to him a certain power or piece of magic knowledge.

What is the criterion of legitimacy? Who has the right to call himself an ɔbiamã? It seens that basically everything is reduced to this: the ɔbiamã hasthe conviction, the sensation that he holds this power; as for his clients, they believe they observe the efficacy of his ɔbia; ifthey stop having confidence in his remedy, they will abstain from coming to ask it of him, that is all; no social prohibition comes to limit the action of the ɔbiamã. The grand man intevenes only against someone [754] who might claim to hold remedie to harm another person or to capture his will, which would be wisi.

[888] /249/ The Boni accept the possibility of deception as regards ɔbia, especially by people who are too young, but they have the conviction that the elders (people over 55-60) possess wisdom and that one can apply to them with complete confidence.

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751 Next in the preoccupations of the Refugee Blacks come the ɔbia called tapu, that is to say, protection. There exist numerous kinds adapted to the various dangers of a supernatural order (protection against other divinities, against the maleficent entities of the bush, against the wisimɛ̃).

[796] [754] The Ampuku are generally asked for tapu against the wisimɛ̃. We saw a remarkable one in front of the house of F... (Dju). Its owner was not a little proud of it and he talked about it to us freely.

751 798 [532] The ɔbia, placed at ground level in front of the door, was composed of a crude representation in clay of a head in which appeared two wide-open eyes: in front of it were planted in the ground three plant clusters including a planting of groundnuts and one of maize; the whole was topped by a small basket containing an egg. It was necessary to water the ɔbia with a certain infusion of leaves at regular intervals to restore its force.

751 754 This ɔbia insured infallible protection against wisimɛ̃; in fact, none of them would have been able to cross the threshold without stubbing his toe on the door frame in spite of all his precautions; F... stated that his ɔbia constituted by this fact an effective means of detection of wisimɛ̃, for it was enough for him to invite suspects to enter his hut, to know what to think: the wisimɛ̃ refused, for fear of thus being given away in the eyes of all; one could thus at least pin down suspicions.

751 [411] Other ɔbia are called sama mɔfu tenɛ̃y (ɔbia against "people's mouths," that is, people's jealousy). They are nearly always seen on fine guns; they have a cord to hold them made of mɔriti palm fibers, to which two cowries are fastened.

755 The ɔbia intended to treat diseases generally have for support a calabash containing the infusion of leaves and a ball of pɛmba (kaolin). The person concerned sprinkles himself several times a day with this liquid.

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789 The one who installs a kãndu utters the formula: mi poti yu ya, ɛfu a sama kɔm fu fufu mi sani, yu mu siki ẽn (I put thee here; if someone comes to steal my belongings, thou must make him sick).

[784] If someone goes beyond /it/ and commits a theft, he will be struck sooner or later with various sicknesses.

According to the conceptions of the Refugee Blacks, the kãndu is blind and strikes as well the friend who came to take objects because he received previous authorization to do it. So, many forego placing kãndu, as with us, people hesitate to set wolf-traps for fear of causing accidents.

789 784 428 However, the kãndu does not act upon the people who have the same basic interdiction (bwasi kina) as the one who placed it. This conception shows that these interdictions transmitted from father to children really are the mark of true patrilineages.

694 789 754 In fact, we have ascertained several times, there are burglaries in Boni country in spite of the kãndu and people do not succeed in uncovering the burglars; it is infinitely probable that one must not see in this the stamp of freethinkers who do not believe in sorcery; these are people who have obtained from a wisimã a talisman of black magic stronger than the kãndu! At least this is the explanation their victims give.

789 751 One can lift a kãndu on behalf of any man, whom one wants, for example, to send to get an object which one has forgotten; for that it is sufficient to give him mula: one blows into one's hands and lays them on the man's head, saying: mi puu a kãndu gi yu, a 'ã mu du a sani ãŋga yu: I withdraw the kãndu for thee, it must not do anything to thee. /253/

Mula can be given retroactively: If someone perceives that he has inadvertently incurred the chastisement of a kãndu, he has several days to be able to ask for mula from the owner, for the action of the kãndu is slow.

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784 756 751 If someone realizes that he has broken his kina, he goes to see, not an Sbiaman, but the specialist-healer of leprosy and asks him to treat him by way of prevention.

411 832 [177] [558] Beliefs about guns and hunting. The gun, which entered the everyday life of the Refugee Blacks two centuries ago, has taken an important place in their magic. It is the symbol of virility. A Refugee Black who no longer has a gun is a man humiliated and almost dishonored. As one of them explained to us in begging us to help him replace his old gun eaten by rust: "If you cannot present yourself before the women with a machete, hunting bag on your shoulder, and gun in your hand, you are not a man."

411 754 This idea has been transposed onto the plane of magic and they take for granted that the wisimã can, by putting evil spells on a gun, attack the owner of the weapon in his virility. It is supposed to be enough for someone to put his finger into the barrel of the gun while uttering a formula of vengeance, or even being moved by hate for the owner of the weapon, for this gun to be no longer capable of hitting the mark. So, to avoid these misfortunes, the Boni never part with their guns and never lend them to anyone. If, in spite of these precautions, they 411 789 have the impression that a gun no longer fires so well, they will go to an Sbiaman to have it washed of maleficent influence. There exist for that purpose several remedies all of which consist of soaking the gun for one to three days in infusions of leaves, which has the unfailing result of making it rust. We have seen a hammerless, latest model gun spoiled thus by an intelligent Boni head boatman, a clever mechanic and usually full of good sense.

224 We have never witnessed among the Boni any individual or collective hunting rites claiming to attract game or to promote meeting it (when, on the contrary, hunting piayes are extremely widespread among the Creoles).

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157 Wishing to take advantage of all the possibilities which
464 turn up, the Refugee Blacks are led to learn simultaneously the
463 traditional techniques of their group, boating, boat-building, felling of trees, squaring of wood, and /building/ framework. In these techniques they may be considered specialized workers.

157 Proud of their strength and knowledge, sure of themselves,
812 the Refugee Blacks are never worried about the future and consider life as an exciting adventure, ceaselessly bringing new things. If the past year has been bad, the new year will be better, with God's help. Nobody doubts that he will find gainful work again.

152 Influence of jealousy: absence of specialized professions and
182 trade. Another strong psychological tendency having a direct influence on the economy is jealousy.

152 The effect of jealousy, and the fear of jealousy, is to
828 limit enrichment and to maintain a de facto equality: it often
556 happens that talented people forego undertaking profitable work
753 in order not to give occasion for the jealousy which would render
797 their position in the village difficult and might draw misfortunes upon them; for people have the idea that jealousy draws down illnesses and calamities upon him who is the object of it and on his near relatives, by the action of a natural force, even without sorcery being formulated.

754 Fear of sorcery interferes in the same way; one who be-
556 comes unusually rich is almost inevitably accused of being a
441 sorcerer and may be obliged to leave the country. Particularly
829 vulnerable are those, very rare, who engage in trade. People do not suspect of sorcery a man who is seen to become rich by /292/ working ceaselessly. But the trader whose wealth increases without his furnishing obvious work, is quickly regarded as a "committed one," accused of having his good luck as a result of a pact with the devil.

/292 cont./

754 556 441 438 366 In that can doubtless be seen the most likely explanation of the absence, in the tribes of Refugee Blacks, of any internal trade. There are not even markets in the villages. In practice only Creole and Asian traders are patronized.

463 829 [438] The repugnance which the Refugee Blacks have for trading with one another contributes toward preventing the development of specialized professions among them. Specialization does actually exist: one man is particularly good at building boats, another is a competent carpenter, still another devotes himself mainly to fishing; but the Refugee Blacks exercie these specialties with respect to other peoples and not with respect to one another. Nobody fails to build his own boat, his house, to cut his clearings himself. If it were otherwise, classes and castes would rapidly be created, and that is precisely what the moral law of the Refugee Blacks condemns. A special effect of this conception is to preserve family custom from deteriorating, by preventing the rich from becoming great polygamists maintaining idle mistresses. We have never heard it said that a richer man paid someone to perform for him the customary work he owes to his wives, clearings, house, boat. Whatever his wealth may be, he continues to do these jobs by the sweat of his brow, and that contributes toward maintaining in its meaning and value the tacit contract concluded between husband and wife.

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182 157 433 648 Thus the geographic conditions, associated with influences of a social and psychological order, impose on the Refugee Blacks a unique economy, based on a symbiosis with the coast populations in the form of piece-work or temporary wage-earning.

DEATH AT GANKWE

And so once more we were in Sedefo's canoe running the rapids, and once more we pulled up at the landing place. 764

It was quiet enough there, and no one passing would have noticed anything out of the ordinary in the behavior of the one or two women washing clothes at the riverside, or of the children playing about in the water. Again we climbed the path to the village, this time to the delighted shrieks of the children, whose cries brought others, until we were surrounded by a fearless, clamoring group, shouting, calling after us, "Bak'a, Ame'ica' Bak'a!" Sedefo took us to his house, where we met the senior of his two wives, and turned us over to a young man, who had played one of the drums in the ceremony of the evening before, to show us the village. This was the routine of courtesy due any visitor. Nothing more tangible than a slight reserve marked the tension which made this village different from what it would have been on any midafternoon. [596] [595] [594]

In front of the house of mourning all was quiet. Three elderly men sat on their low stools, talking in low tones. They greeted us as we passed but neither engaged us in conversation nor offered us a seat. Inside the house the small fire still smoldered, and, where the hammock had been, now crouched, soundlessly, an old woman who, we later learned, was the dead man's maternal aunt. We were struck with the number of houses that had symbols of spiritual protection over their doors—*obias*, they are called—magically treated to keep the spirits of death from harming the occupants. As we passed one doorway, a woman holding a baby hastily threw a covering over its head, but not before we saw that it had special markings of sacred white clay on its face. The child was under treatment for some illness, and the mother, in these days when spiritual danger stalked about, could take no chances of the Bakra's magic obstructing the cure. [598] [755]

On the other side of the village, farthest away from the house of death, life flowed on yet more evenly. But as we looked about, our guide stiffened, and soon we too caught the sound of the drums which rapidly became louder. He

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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Saramacca

enrich the soil. Now before a field is chosen for cutting, it must be surveyed carefully to see that there are no snakes to be injured; that no trees which have strong spirits like the silk-cotton tree, or the parasitic akatasi, will be destroyed; that no ant hill whether on the ground or on a tree be disturbed. But Kasanya's wife's mother's brother was careless, or unlucky. A small ant hill had escaped his notice.

"The *Akantamasu* god is powerful. It is a bad god," Kasanya said over and over, making of it a refrain to his story.

When the ant hill was destroyed, its spirit fixed itself upon the family. Kasanya's wife's mother became ill, and although the contents of one obia pot after another were used up in bathing her with sangrafu and the serabaki and chembe leaves, she did not get better. Her husband, an able obia man, made special charms for her to wear about her neck, and sprinkled her with medicine with the feather of the sacred opete, the vulture, but still her illness kept on. At last they went to a diviner. To the village of Dahomey they went, the village where the most powerful obia was lodged, and there she learned that the Akantamasu god had come to the family. The diviner told her how to serve the god so that she might have respite—the days that were sacred to him, the dances she must dance on these days, the sacrifices to make. They knew that it would never be a friendly god to them, for it had come as a kunu. There was more trouble and more. The family gave many offerings, and the possessed woman danced whenever the spirit seized her, but soon she died, and the others have been dying since.

"What happened to the man who destroyed the ant hill? Did he get the Akantamasu gadu?"

"No, not he himself. His mother, and his sister, and his sister's children."

"But why?"

The answer was that kunu worked that way, and he went on to tell us about his sons. The first son had gone to the

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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"I have my obia from Lamé," Bayo had said. "People like me because of this obia." 756

When we came to Lamé we found that the people who inhabited it controlled more than the love obia. They had a powerful fighting obia, too. There was not only *bumba*, that gave power in love, but also *poitchi*, the obia that helped a man in a fight. But one who wanted to become a great hunter did not go to Lamé. Such a person sought out an obia man of the Dombi clan, who, working with the power of *mafungi*, helped him to see his game in the dark bush, though the animal was of the color of the bush itself, and, once having tracked it, helped him make his aim deadly. A man suffering from a bad gunshot wound would try to get an obia man from the Loango people to come and call on the powers of the Loango clan-obia to heal the dying man. For broken bones there was magic in the sacred village of Dahomey where centered the Kasito clan, and at Dahomey was also the best magic on the river for warriors. *'Bofyuando* and *sokoma'usu* were the two great warrior obias, and so powerful were they that if one but whispered their names, without taking the stems of two weeds, putting one crosswise on top of the other, and over them passing a coin to recompense for speaking the sacred names, the man who spoke would die. These obias belonged to the Kasito people, so strong in magic. [755]

Of these clans there might be twelve or thirteen or fourteen. Among the Saramacca people, we learned, the clan partakes of the mysterious, the awesome. Our Bush Negro friends did not discuss their clans readily, and none of them would give us a list of their names. A few might be mentioned by one man, a few by another. 614

"To speak of the *lo* is not a thing for strangers," we were told. "My clan I can name, and another man can tell you the name of his clan. My father's clan I can name, too, but not others."

On one occasion we had made clear to a young man who had been away for some time in French Guiana, and who considered himself a man of the world, why we sought the

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

too, has a large pole outside of or in the clearing, which is 782 used in praying to the god or to ancestors. The spirits of de- [778] parted ancestors are invoked frequently and reverently.

Very often, when a man begins to hunt, he will call on the god and his ancestors for aid. The following prayer we heard intoned at the mouth of a creek, where a *gadu* pole was situated, by one of our paddlers who had entered to shoot fish. He clasped his hands, knelt down, and, with eyes closed, grasped the obeiah which was around his neck while he said the following words: *"Mooma nanga Tata nanga Massra Gadu. Me beh you mekki dem luku me kissi fu tru-tru wan anumara"*—"Father and Mother and Mr. God, I beg you make them see (those who do not believe) that I (you will allow me to) surely catch anumara fish."

The Djuka was gone about an hour. He returned with a fish weighing eight pounds. For this occasion he knelt in front of the praying pole and uttered the following prayer of thanks: *"Keh Massra Gadu, gran danke fu you, ala suma go nanga inye uh kun oto nanga bon. Gran danke fu ala den suni, ala den sweeti muffo deh wey kisi. Gimme furu pekein. Gran danke fu you"*—"Oh, Mr. God, many thanks to you for all who go in and come out with good. Many thanks for all things, all good things to eat which we caught. Give me plenty (full of) children. Many thanks."

In almost every village one encounters a wooden post 778 thickly smeared with white clay on which is placed an iron 782 pot. This apparatus is sometimes under a small thatched roof. [755] Certain herbs are put in the vessel in case of sickness. At

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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the white man has never been allowed to enter. A spirit 778
named *Hini* hovers over the town, and it is he, not the 756
Djukas, who would be offended by the presence of a bahkra. People seriously ill are brought to Dahomey from the surrounding villages. The witch doctors there, old women as well as old men, and occasionally a virgin, administer their potent charms. Only young married women are debarred from the profession of medicine among the Djukas.

Here also comes the Granman of the Saramaccaner tribe, to undergo the sacred ritual before making his annual visit [642 643 783] to Paramaribo. He receives absolution from the Dahomey medicine men in preparation for his sojourn among the bahkras. The ceremony is known as *makee suka*, or putting himself in favour with the gods.

Our friend Abaisa, headman of Lombe, tells us something 755
of the Dahomey rituals. To mend a broken bone the patient is shut up in a small hut with the doctor and three white cocks. The first fowl is killed by having its neck wrung, the blood from its beak running on the floor of the hut as a sacrifice to Amu, the ground god. The second fowl is cut open for inspection. If the bladder is light in colour the prognosis is good, but if dark the reverse is the case. The third cock has its leg bone broken at a point approximately corresponding to the patient's fracture. After this both the fowl and the human patient undergo daily treatment at the hands of the doctor, to the accompaniment of prayers to Amu and the shaking of rattles to scare off the evil spirits. The nature of the treatment could not be ascertained, but on the day when

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

755 the cock is able to stand up and crow the patient is said to be cured.

757 The killing of the white rooster and inspection of its bladder are performed also in order to foretell the future in other than healing situations. There are several methods of prophesying. In one of them a plank is supported on the heads of two men, and on it are placed various little bundles. A third man stands before the plank and asks questions while the men bearing the plank jump up and down. The Gadu (the spirit in the bundles) is supposed to reply with a yes or no, as indicated by the way the bundles on the plank move. The questions are put metaphorically and in such a way as to exclude the possibility of the plank bearers deliberately influencing the answers. After one man has asked several questions, the bearers run with the plank to another part of the village where further questions are put to it. The carrying
963 of this plank seems to be the prerogative of certain individuals, and only certain others understand the making of the bundles and the correct placing of them.

778 Not even Mynheer Wolff, who has lived among the Bush Negroes for many years and undoubtedly commands their profound respect, has been permitted to enter Dahomey. The headman or captain of Dahomey, interestingly enough, is named Songai. There is a district on the West Coast of Africa still known today as Songhay. The name is the remnant of a great Negro empire that once flourished in North-West Africa, near the Sahara Desert. This empire is thought to have had universities and astronomical observatories, wealth

/13 cont./

996 [782] committed. This feast, at which pigs and poultry are sacrificed, must last for four weeks and thus ends with the following new moon. They pray, dancing and singing, while from time to time they kneel in order to ask for blessings.

[778] In the place where their idol stands they plant long sticks in the ground at certain intervals, on which they let flutter a number of long narrow strips of white cotton in the manner of flags.

[781] They celebrate this feast, for which no costs are spared, with all possible solemnity; it is attended by old and young and is very important among them.

Chapter IX

Conceptions about Death and Eternity

775 They believe that at death the existence of the human being ends, but that the spirit of the deceased does not disappear altogether and remains among them for a long time. Also they believe in unlucky spirits, which, as a result of an earlier evil life, must wander about restlessly, while the life on earth of the peaceful spirits is supposed to have been free of misdeeds.

They do not assume rewards in the hereafter for good deeds; /14/ misdeeds, however, in their opinion, are punished with restless wandering about.

[755] They say that those spirits know all that happens, and that they can come in contact with them at their feasts, that they receive many a hint and information, and through concealed signs come to know remedies against diseases, to which they attach the fullest confidence.

Chapter X

Marriage and Marital Life

584 Their marriages take place with few ceremonies. Frequently young men and even men ask pregnant women, in case they should bring a daughter into the world, to designate that girl as their wife,

/20 cont./

262 milk. She does eat cheese, however, saying that there is absolutely no milk in it.

/21/

Chapter XIII

Diseases, Afflictions, and so forth

164 The greatest affliction among them, too, is the lepra boasi (leprosy and elephantiasis Fuchs), venereal diseases, leg and body
757 pains, and sores. They cure themselves mainly with herbs, which they possess in great quantities and with which they frequently work with special success. They cut open abcesses themselves; in most cases they cup themselves, making the cups from small calabashes.
[824] For many pains they rub themselves with spirits steeped in paradise seed (1) and with carapa oil, which they get from the carapa nuts (2).

1. Sem. paradisie Ningre koudre pepre from the Amomum paradise Afsel.

2. Carapa guianens Obl.

• 755 In difficult cases and dangerous illnesses, however, they ask for advice from the Cromantie gado, which can only be done by means of song and dance, on which occasion a great deal is drunk.
[756] A wentie man (African idol-priest or priestess) qualified for this, or an influential person, is able by means of drink, song, and dance among the others to excite himself to such an extent that in a mad way, without consciousness of what he is doing, he makes superhuman leaps, turnings, and twistings with his body, jumps and dances in the fire, until he finally falls to the ground unconscious and, rolling like a tub, foaming at the mouth, utters the most repulsive and strange sounds, which lasts until he is finally put down somewhere for dead. So long as he remains lying without any movement or sound as if in a deep sleep, one may absolutely not come near him or touch him, but must always take care to keep out of his way in his course and not to hinder him in anything.

/21 cont./

955 When he lies as though dead, except only that his eyes sparkle and are completely turned in their sockets, at which time one frequently sees only the white and red, and he moves his chest panting for breath, then he is carefully brought to the place where the Cromantie gado is put, and where questions are put to him concerning the sickness which one wishes to cure, and where the sick person himself or, in the latter's absence, some of his most recently worn garments, must be.

These questions are put with a great deal of solemnity, and answered by /22/ the person lying there. Very frequently the very strange herbs named on this occasion had favorable results.

When they proceed to such cases, the sufferer is obligated, so long as he is not cured, to continue to use the medicines indicated, which frequently had the result that after all the sick person did finally recuperate after long suffering.

If he in the least way neglects the remedies indicated on this occasion, he may often count on it that for him there is no more help, because he has recklessly called on the Cromantie gado for recovery, without the requisite reverence and observance of the prescriptions.

However this matter may be regarded, it is certainly true that they firmly believe the desired outcome will not fail so long as one does not circumvent or neglect the prescriptions in any way.

It sometimes happens that someone, after his recovery, abstains for his whole life from something or other which was
953 ordered for his recovery. Many assert that the leprosy which they contract is to be ascribed to not paying attention to what was forbidden them or their parents.

786 Almost all Bush Negroes have wentie or excitations of the African idolatrous dance-madness, which one must see in order to be able to believe and understand it. They can frequently dance fully five minutes at a stretch in a hot fire, unclothed and barefoot, without burning themselves in the least and without any sign of singeing to be seen on them.

B
R /516 cont./
121 by the effect of medical care, we shall take 1 January 1950 as the
165 date of reference for the calculations of mortality among the Boni.

/517/

II. — Demography of the Boni —

Census. — Estimation of Age.

B
125 Method used. The demographic study of the Boni presents the difficulties inherent in all populations without civil records:

1. Difficulty of determining the ages of individuals;
2. Difficulty of determining for each woman the deceased children in relation to the surviving ones.

B
125 We attempted to establish a local chronology by linking the
173 ages of individuals to events of known date that had stuck in their minds.

More particularly we fixed the ages of the old men from the voyage of the explorer Crevaux (1877) and from the death of the grand man Anato (1891), the ages of middle-aged persons from events which occurred between 1915 and 1924, death of the grand man Ochi (1915), end of World War I (1918), hydroplane accident at the mouth of the Inini (1921), installation of a rosewood factory (1925).

B
125 The persons born after 1930 were placed without difficulty, for we knew a certain number of them as children or adolescents in 1948.

Starting with a certain number of men whose age could be fixed with considerable accuracy, all the others, men and women,
B [829] were placed by comparison. In fact, if the Boni do not know their age, they are able to say that they are, for example, two or three years younger than so-and-so (6).

B
[755] 6. Their attention is brought to bear on these age differences because, if a group isolated in the bush is led to address a prayer to the ancestors for the curing of a sick person, this prayer has to be pronounced by the oldest person.

174 /30 cont./

613 1st. Lo = de facto grouping of rebels of any provenance,
614 which has in the long run split up into lineages but which remains
621 in the form of a common worship;

571 2nd. Lo = lineage, from the very beginning.
184

Conceptions Relative to Kinship and Marriage

769

[121] Ties between the individual and the ancestors. Before examining more deeply the social and family structure of the Refugee Blacks, it is indispensable to study what religious ties are implied between [184] the individual and the ancestors. Here one is in the presence of basic beliefs which seem identical in the various tribes of Refugee Blacks of Guiana and of which their structure is the consequence.

In the civilizations of Blacks Africa it is supposed that a [711] current of life and /31/ strength circulates from the divinity to men through the medium of the ancestors. Among the Refugee Blacks it is taken for granted that in this respect each man is bound [782] to his ancestors through the maternal line only. If he falls prey to illness, injustice, or adversity, he can call only on them in his prayer.

593 That does not mean that the tie with the father is ignored [827] or considered as having little importance; it is taken for granted, as we shall see, that in the creation of man certain psychic elements are transmitted from father to son. But the current of strength binding the individual to the ancestors does not pass through the father. One cannot pray usefully to the soul of one's dead father. [755] If I am sick and divination incriminates the action of my dead [782] father's soul, I cannot address either prayer or offering directly to him; for that I shall have recourse to one of his near relatives in the maternal line.

776 /194 cont./
[184] The great gods Gwangwéla and Gédéosu of the Djuka are not known to the Boni.

[194] Strictly speaking, no cult of Masa Gadu exists. No edifice is reserved for him, he has no priests, and no collective
776 ceremonies are conducted on his behalf. He is nevertheless
769 constantly present in the religious life of the Boni, associated with ancestor worship. Every ceremony of ancestor worship
776 includes an invocation to Masa Gadu. From time to time, for
769 specific motives such as the illness of a member of the lo,
● 755 people go /195/ specially to the fraga tiki to invoke Masa Gadu.
[613] The oldest man of the lo officiates, while a younger one pours
[778] a little water and tafia at the foot of the fraga tiki; the elder addresses Masa Gadu in everyday language, in simple terms, in a familiar conversational tone, asking him for the cure of illnesses or the end of calamities. Those present, seated in a semicircle, punctuate the end of the speech with some rhythmical applause, uttering the ritual formula of thanks: "Gaã tãŋgi tãŋgi fi yu, Masa Gadu."

776 Outside of these ceremonies which hardly go beyond the
782 framework of the lineage, everyone may address Masa Gadu directly by praying aloud, if, for example, he finds himself alone in the bush and prey to an illness. One never addresses Masa Gadu other than for a specific material purpose. Inner prayer for the purpose of spiritual perfection does not exist to our knowledge among the Refugee Blacks.

776 One applies directly to Masa Gadu when one believes
[755] oneself to be the victim of an iniquitous action (see curse). How-
[784] ever, although the Refugee Blacks have a very lively sense of justice, they never call Masa Gadu to witness for the cruel and arbitrary vengeances (kunu) which the lower divinities are
[812] believed to exercise on them. It is taken for granted that all these divinities do conforms to the role which Masa Gadu has assigned to them and that the suffering they inflict on men is indispensable to the proper working of the universe.

/201/

787 181 One also often finds as an avowed goal the idea of being useful to his lineage.

Disinterested mystical impulses appear totally absent from these cults.

787 154 But that is only one aspect of the phenomena of possession; they really seem to be, in large measure, unconscious and involuntary. Everyone can try to obtain a gadu, but everyone 787 797 does not succeed; one must have a certain predisposition. [154] "One cannot oblige a gadu to enter a man," say the Boni; it certainly seems, in fact, that in nearly half the cases possession takes place spontaneously and sometimes to the great terror of the person concerned: this is observed especially in the kunu.

[176] Mimi, a woman about 46 years old in 1958, of the Kotika lineage, was possessed by two gadu, an Ampuku and a Papa gadu. Here is how her near relatives relate the fashion in which they came into her.

[158] About ten years before, Mimi was showing signs of mental derangement. Her mind wandered, she sometimes used to leave the village to run in the bush at random, she uttered disconnected words (1). Then she fell very ill (pleurisy?).

[828] [171]

1. It is necessary to note on this subject the very widely held idea among the Refugee Blacks, as among the Creoles, that certain forms of mental imbalance are due to the action of an entity which is trying to manifest itself in a man and does not [755] succeed. In order to cure this man, he must be "washed" with appropriate leaves so that the god can come to manifest itself in him; the rest of the time he will be normal.

/209 cont. /

787 784 If someone has a Kumẽnti, certain objects used in the cult: pestle, mortar, machete, must not be raised near him. His gita "would rise" immediately. Likewise while he is eating, neither tiger nor gun must be mentioned. To prevent their gita from rising, those concerned may take the precaution of putting a small piece of wood behind the ear while they eat.

787 178 [771] [781] [484] [743] [755] These past years the cult of the Kumẽnti was clearly declining among the Boni, as was the whole of their religious life; every one, indeed, no longer thought about anything but earning money and was always traveling in order to do this, which made difficult the indispensable meetings and dances. On the other hand, cared for effectively when they are ill in the Maripasoula hospital, the Boni feel the cult of the Kumẽnti less necessary, of which the principal social function is to cure. So, while in 1948 we used to be present very often at manifestations of the gita of Kumẽnti, in 1952 they were becoming much rarer and more secret /modest/. They were tending to fall to the level of the latent manifestations of which we shall speak further on. In 1956 we did not observe in the course of the forest [346] work any spontaneous attack of this gita. The chapels dedicated to the Kumẽnti are scarcely maintained and are falling into ruins; such is the fate of the gods judged benevolent toward men. [751] Nevertheless people continue to lay great store by the ɔbia of Kumẽnti, especially the man nẽŋge ɔbia which protects against the machete and the gun, and the Kumẽnti bui, ring of Kumẽnti, instrument of divination.

776 [823] [787] The Bũnsuŋki. The Bũnsuŋki are gods which live in the waters, by preference at the head of falls, beside rocks bearing copses of detached trees; they can also reside ordinarily in these trees themselves. They appear sometimes in dreams to men as well as to women in the aspect of Indians, more commonly Indian women with long hair. This is why they are sometimes called wata Iŋgi, Indians of The water.

787 /212 cont. /
531 can read these messages; but we have not turned up any precise evidence on this subject (1).

1. These signs are very little systematized and have no relation whatever with the symbolic designs which figure in certain rituals of possession, especially in Dahomey and Haiti. It is permitted to see in them a simple likeness.

787 The Papa gadu are chiefly consulted to ask them to re-
[755] veal the cause of misfortunes that happen. One of them is not
[253] asked to cure an illness unless the interrogation reveals that it brought it on.

776 The worship of the Papa gadu snake gods makes a strong
648 impression on the West Indian Creoles who maintain regular relations with the Refugee Blacks. Most consider it as diabolical
[782] in nature and disapprove of it, but if the presence of an "adder"
[171] (anaconda snake) is noted in a neighboring creek, and if at the same time misfortunes occur, it happens that a Creole may go to ask the Refugee Blacks to practice rites to mollify
[778] the vengeance of the god. We have happened to catch sight of, hidden in a copse behind the habitation of a gold miner, a small altar decorated with blue and red pennants, the usual place of worship of the Papa gadu.

755 Observation in Boniville, November, 1952.
An Asisi woman, Tini, comes to Boniville to consult
[787] her adoptive daughter Pamasa, about 35 years old, who is possessed by a Papa gadu named Adawa. Féni, 15 years old,
[164] Tini's son, has been sick for several days (fever, eruption all over the body). When someone comes to get us, the god has already entered into Pamasa, has sat down in a hut, and

/212 cont./

755 is answering in ordinary language the questions posed. The sick
[753] boy's mother asks the god if it is really he who made her son
[784] ill. He answers that it is he and gives two reasons: first, a
[824] week before, Feni damaged with a blow of the machete the root of a silk-cotton tree in which precisely he himself was living; moreover, his sister Pamasa was sick for 15 days, he did not go to visit her.

The mother begs the god: "Ubegi yu, yu abi leti, gi ɛŋ paadɔ̃, a 'ã be sabi bũ-bũ. (We beg you, you are right (but) pardon him, he had not realized well /what he did/.)"

Then the god directs a treatment: an infusion of a certain number of leaves, with which the sick boy will wash his body. It states that the sick boy will quickly get well.

Pamasa then comes back to her ordinary state. The scene has lasted about three-quarters of an hour in all.

164 Observation in Asisi, October, 1956.

On October 21 at 8 o'clock I am told that Bugi, a woman of about 45, is gravely ill; she suffers from violent pains in the chest and a general tremor. The sick woman is stretched out on the ground, supported by her brother and surrounded by old women who are comforting her. She appears to suffer atrociously, her body is covered with sweat, her lower limbs are agitated with an incessant trembling; she presents the symptoms of a
755 heart attack (2). In front of the house, the ɔbiaman are

2. Bugi had already been hospitalized in Maripasoula for a heart attack.

preparing a "remedy," /213/ for they suspect that this is a question of a manifestation of the Papa gadu of which Bugi is the bearer.

/213 cont./

755 A stalk of sɔŋgaafu twice bent in an elbow is arranged on the ground. A cross is traced in the dirt.

Centered on the cross is placed a large basin into which is poured infusions of leaves taken from several calabashes.

The sick woman, still prostrate and groaning, is seated on a stool facing the basin. The contents of the basin are poured slowly over her body while she is massaged. It is not a question of a remedy in the literal sense of the word; the sick one is "washed" to help the god to manifest itself in her.

I notice that while going back into the hut she trembles almost no more; the attack seems to be subsiding.

In the meanwhile someone comes to call me elsewhere and I cannot come back until half an hour later. I find the sick woman standing, smeared with pɛmba, in the middle of a meditative audience. The god has descended into her and is [787] expressing itself in Papa language while she dances with slow gestures.

[753] [784] I am told that it has just given the explanation of the illness: it struck Bugi because she did not observe the kina given to all bearers of Papa gadu, to stay away from funeral ceremonies. Now, the day before yesterday, she had knowingly participated in the tukka dance around Kotoïda's coffin.

The ɔbiaman present beg the god to pardon, which it does after claiming a bottle of beer which it drinks through the mouth of its bearer.

152 Observation in Kormotibo, December 18, 1957.
164 On December 18 in the evening I find the village of
753 Kormotibo in the clutches of terror. Several persons are sick
784 from the effect of the kunu. Apaita, a young woman, has an enormous whitlow, following an accident; two women have been stricken with pneumonia.

/213 cont./

753 These misfortunes are attributed to the kunu exercised
784 by a Papa gadu god, since about a hundred years ago an ancestress named Akonté involuntarily killed a dagɔwe snake
[787] while fishing /nivrant/ a creek. In our day this god manifests itself in Alama (Dip. II, E1), and another Papa gadu, which says it is the descendant of the first, manifests itself in Apaita
[755] (F9). It is the latter which, speaking through the mouth of Apaita, revealed that it was striking the village because nobody had danced for it for five years.

755 They called B..., obiaman specialized in the vɔɔdū cult. He surrounded the chapel of the Papa gadu with stalks
[787] of sãŋgaafu placed vertically. He prepared an infusion of leaves with which the Kormotibo women who have a Papa gadu have just smeared themselves (they are four in number, including two outsiders to the Dipélu II lineage). It is a question of helping their gods to manifest themselves.

People are going to dance eight nights running, part of the night. The agida drum drawn out of the chapel is set up in working position. /214/

The rites carried out to neutralize the kunu are:

--Cleaning of the chapel;

--Decoration by means of stalks of sãŋgaafu placed upright all around /it/;

--Bathing of the sick with leaves believed to have the power of making the influence of the Papa gadu go away;

--With other leaves, on the contrary concentrating the maleficent influence of the Papa gadu in a calabash which is then carefully shut up in the chapel.

787 Possession by the Ampuku. It is much more rare, and personally we have observed it only twice; the possessed people make circles of pemba around their eyes and draw kinds of ovals on

[774] /216 cont./ The akka is an immortal divine element
[775] attached to a human person for the duration of his life and which, at his death, returns to the domain of the divine, no longer keeping any contact with men.

[828] The akka is the source of life from which the human personality is nourished, but it is not this personality.

The Refugee Blacks consider the akka as a personal protector god; they are apt to say mi gadu, my god, for mi akka.

The concept of the akka was spontaneously transposed by the West Indians into that of the guardian angel. They speak in Haiti of the "big good angel."

For Refugee Blacks the life, health, and destiny of a man depend above all on the akka; they think that if the akka went away, the body and mind of the man could not remain bound together; he would die or lose consciousness. This is, a little, what happens each night, for they believe that the akka leaves the body to wander, which brings on the loss of consciousness.
[754] /217/ So the wisimã, the sorcerer, tries to profit by this to capture the akka so that the man may become insane.

The akka is thought to have tastes, desires, and goals foreign to those of the personality and of which the man, in his
[753] ordinary consciousness, has no knowledge. The akka can make the man sick if he behaves in a way that it does not like. So
[755] when someone is sick, he resorts to divination in order to know whether it is not the deed of the akka and, in the affirmative, for what motive. One might think that the akka behaves like a conscience in the moral sense of the term; that it gets angry if its bearer does something evil. But in reality the akka shows itself to be as arbitrary, wicked, and venal as the lower gods of the Refugee Blacks. If it gets angry (they say: mi akka mãndi), this is because its bearer wears clothes of a color it does not like, or because it wants an offering. We have never, on the other hand, heard a case spoken of in which the akka might have become angry with its bearer because he was a thief, liar, or adulterer.

/221 cont./

775 828 [184] "My nẽmseki is So-and-So." Mr. W. F. van Lier, speaking of the Djuka who have much clearer conceptions on religious questions, gives an important clarification: in 1915 Grand Man Oséisi became incarnate in a newborn baby of the tribe, nevertheless he continues to be invoked as an ancestor before the fraga tiki. It seems, then, that it is a case of certain elements of the personality which are believed to be reincarnated, and not of the yɔrka as a whole.

787 It is important to distinguish the nẽmseki from possession by a yɔrka. Possession by a yɔrka is an exceptional occurrence which is manifested in the form of trances, the yɔrka speaking through the mouth of its bearer; outside of these possessions, this yɔrka is believed to reside in the abode of the ancestors.

[613] A yɔrka can reveal itself thus only in a person of its matrilineage.

775 828 The nẽmseki, on the contrary, exists in all men. The ancestor who is thus partially reincarnated is generally on the paternal side, but this is not an absolute rule.

A man is not conscious of his nẽmseki and is acquainted with it only because his parents have revealed it to him. This nẽmseki does not manifest itself in anything in everyday life; it does not impose any kina whatever and does not ask for offerings. However, when a young child falls ill, divination may reveal that it is the doing of the nẽmseki which is indignant at being misunderstood. People hurry then, always with the help of divination, to find out the name of the nẽmseki, proceeding by elimination. As a general rule, they allow themselves to be guided by resemblances of physiognomy, birthmarks calling to mind, for example, certain scars of the dead ancestor.

[753] [755]

It is believed that the older a man is when he dies, the more time he will allow to elapse before being reincarnated.

/225 cont./

784 One sees from this example how the influence of women,
613 exerted in arbitrary fashion, in a domain placed outside of
787 custom and ordinary social life, weighs on the life of the
562 group.

Kunu of the Dipélu lineage. The situation of the Dipélu
614 lineage with respect to the kunu is particularly interesting.
571 Although split for perhaps 100 years into two separate groups, Dipélu I (L'Enfant Perdu and Apatu villages) and Dipélu II (Kormotibo and Asisi-Dip. II villages), this group still constitutes an undivided unit with respect to the kunu. Neither time nor
[484] distance (it takes more than a week of traveling to make the round trip between L'Enfant Perdu and Apatu) has been able to
[755] break it up. The Apatu people come very often (at least some of them) to be present at the collective prayers which take place at L'Enfant Perdu to appease a kunu in order to cure a sick person.

The oldest kunu ("since Africa") is that of a Papa gadu
614 god whose bearer was O Dika (Dip. I, D10, † 1951) and which
276 passed after her death into O Péechina (Dip. I, E42, L'Enfant
[787] Perdu village). This kunu strikes indiscriminately the people of L'Enfant Perdu, Apatu, Kormotibo, Asisi-Dip. II, and the Dipélu fraction residing in Boniville. To it, these past years,
[761] have been attributed the death of O Way (Dip. I, E6, living
[753] in Boniville), the illness of Δ Akwali (Dip. II, F7, Kormotibo village) and of O Bongo (same village).

Another very old kunu is the one exercised by the yɔrka
775 of a Surinam Creole who had settled with the Dipélu people a
614 very long time ago. He was suspected of sorcery and killed.
[603] Since then his yɔrka comes back regularly to exterminate the Dipélu.

/225 cont./

784 Having no known lineage (his family, if he had any, was
775 in Surinam), it had taken people of the Dipélu lineage as
614 bearers. The last was △ Denis † in 1938. Since Denis'
787 death, it no longer has a bearer. The questioning of the dead
reveals that they died by its kunu. The members of the two
[782] fractions of the lineage meet together (at least two or three
members of each village come) to supplicate it.

784 A third kunu, very interesting in origin and supposed
614 action, /226/ in 1957 was borne by Kwau (Dip. I, E1, Kotika
village). It results from the killing of an anaconda snake by
Apatu † (Dip. I, C1), companion of the explorer Crevaux
when he was traveling to /in/ Brazil. Upon contact with
Europeans Apatu had become a freethinker and was no longer
observing the laws of his people. Among the later victims of
[753] this kunu was counted Kwami (Dip. II, F4, Kormotibo village)
[755] who, gravely ill, had had to go to L'Enfant Perdu where the
god had been invoked for him and offerings made. The death
[761] of Manga (Dip. I, E5, Boniville, † about 1930) was particu-
larly attributed to it.

No other kunu has revealed itself in Apatu village since
its founding in 1882.

784 A fourth kunu concerning all the Dipélu has as bearers
614 women of the Dipélu II group. It results from the inadvertent
776 murder of a Papa gadu whose bearer was a dagowe snake killed
787 in the course of the nivrée /fishing/ of a pool by Akonté
562 † (Dip. II, B1), transmitted to Kondo †, then to Alama
(Dip. II, E1).

Since then Papa gadu have revealed themselves in
○ Apaïta (Dip. II, F9, Kormotibo village) and in ○ Kaala
(Dip. II, G28, Asisi-Dip. II village). They declared them-
selves to be the descendants of the first and to come in support
of it.

/228 cont./

784 A kunu is exercised by a Dipélu yɔrka, borne in 1958 by
775 a Loka woman. It is invoked before the fraga tiki of l'Enfant
778 Perdu village (Dipélu I). Sometimes a broko dɛ is celebrated
769 for it in the same forms as the ceremony of the eighth day
613 after death.

784 We have likewise not been able to collect complete
613 information on the kunu of the Kotika lineage. This lineage,
114 divided into three fractions, forms a unit with respect to the kunu.

784 A kunu is exercised by the yɔrka of a Surinam Creole
613 assassinated in former times by a member of the lineage.
775 bearer in 1958 was Todo (K1, E68), a man of the Kotika l
780 living in Boniville. In 1958 a young woman of the lineage
[761] Awini (K1, E37), died suddenly; the yɔrka revealed that it
[684] had struck Awini because she had a liaison with Sintamann (K3, E145), thus committing pikadu. The idea of the collective responsibility of the lineage is so deeply accepted by the Boni that the near relatives of the dead woman did not reproach Sintamann at all.

784 /229/ A yɔrka of the Kotika lineage may exercise a kunu on
613 the Djuka. This is the case of an affair going back to 1950;
775 a young woman died some time after having a serious discussion
761 with a Djuka woman who had hit her. Deaths among the Djuka
619 these last years had been attributed to its vengeance.

It seems that there is no other kunu exercised by a Djuka
784 upon a Boni lineage and vice versa. This is surprising, con-
619 sidering the fights which in former times set the two nations
613 against each other.

The Djuka and Saramaka living isolated in the midst
621 of the Boni know their kunu, which were revealed to them in
784 childhood. In case of sickness, they employ divinatory pro-
[755] cedures in order to know what kunu is concerned, then they
[613] make offerings. But in case of serious illness, they are forced to go back to the village of origin of their lineage.

/242 cont./

754 Of course he was recognized as a wisimã by the first
764 adjuration made to his body carried in the papay on the heads
787 of two men: "If thou art a wisi man, do not come toward us."
The dead man drew back. /2/

[784] /243/Continuation of the interrogation showed that he had not yet killed anybody, but that he had been killed by Odun when he was preparing to kill someone of his lineage.

754 The persecutors of Agyémési, contrary to their hope, did not recover after his death from the maladies which they were attributing to his sorcery; that did not shake their conviction in
755 the least. They left for Paramaribo to have themselves treated
648 by a Creole magician (for the Surinam Creoles, who practice white magic and black magic indiscriminately, are by this fact reputed to be more expert than the Refugee Blacks in combating the effects of wisi).

754 In recounting this story to us, the grand man told us that it is always necessary to be cautious with accusations of wisi
[762] because one can never be sure. A man unjustly accused can
[784] commit suicide and pursue his accusers with his kunu (most of the Boni state that they would do so in such a case). In former
173 times, the barbarous punishments in use in Africa were applied
683 to revealed wisimã: they were burned alive. But people tell
784 that one of them, some months afterward, undertook against his accusers' lineage a kunu which still lasts today. He had been wrongly condemned! It is through fear of the kunu more than
[178] through care for humanity, that these punishments have been abolished.

754 It certainly seems that the constant fear of the wisimã in
[152] which the Boni live is only a collective hallucination, and that rare indeed are those who dare to indulge in practices which might draw upon them such terrible social and religious sanctions. As for these practices themselves, they appear to be without any real content, and the misfortunes attributed to them are

754 181 178 [387]

/246 cont./

of his near relatives, his sister's children being regarded as the victims most pleasing to the demon.

Although in former times one to two out of ten deaths were attributed to wisi, in 1957 and 1958 out of 14 adult deaths of which we could obtain the explanation, there were:

[784] --Four wisimã killed by Odun, including two women of over 85 who during their lifetime had never been the object of unfavorable notice;

[761] --One death by the action of a wisimã,

or a total of more than a third of the deaths; out of the nine others, two were looked upon as natural deaths (dead of old age), seven were attributed to the kunu.

754 648

The Refugee Blacks and Creole magic. Some of them go to get from the lukumã what their own social morals forbid: vengeance or success acquired at the expense of other people. They have uttered an oath that prohibits the practice of wisi: for most of them it is clear that if they paid a piayeur /magician, sorcerer/ to harm someone, it would be the same as if they performed the sorcery themselves. But others make a mental reservation on this point.

754 755 648

In 1951, G..., of the Kotika lo, then about 20 years old, felt ill while staying at Saint Laurent. He went to find a Creole maïtif (clairvoyant) who presented him with a mirror, announcing to him that he was going to see in it the face of the one who had piayé /bewitched, cast a spell on/ him. G... saw nothing in the mirror. The maïtif was not upset at this and revealed to him that the piayeur must be someone in his wife's family. G... then recalled a dispute he had had some time previously with one of his wife's brothers and let himself be convinced: since that day he has not gotten along with his brother-in-law.

754 /246 cont./
755 The maltif asked 2,000 francs from him as the price of
648 his consultation.

789 Curse. Someone who judges himself victim of evil-doing has at his disposal a supreme resource: /247/ cursing his adversary, that is, appealing directly to the supreme God, Masa Gadu, to ask him to punish his adversary. This is called seni gadu -- sending God -- against someone. To do that, while asking God to kill him or make him sick, one kneels and strikes the ground with both hands in the presence of the adversary or in front of his house. This act is regarded as totally different from wisi, for one is relying on the justice of God, who judges with equity and punishes only the guilty.

However that may be, cursing is for the Refugee Blacks a very serious act. It may happen that, feeling guilty, the source of the injustice asks pardon and promises to make amends for his misdeeds. The one who uttered the curse again implores Masa Gadu in order to take back the words he spoke: "He has given me satisfaction, do nothing against him." But oftener still it happens that a complicated affair is involved, that both parties concerned are persuaded of their legitimate
[692] ground and curse each other. The case must then be carried before the grand man and straightened out at once or misfortunes
[695] may pounce upon both lineages. The grand man judges without appeal and inflicts a punishment on the one who was wrong
[778] on the main issue of the debate. Then he obliges the ad-
[762] versaries to be reconciled before the fraga tiki, where the offering of tafia and water is made.

[828] The effect of these conceptions is to render nearly im-
[754] possible hidden hatreds and rancors, which the Refugee Blacks fear very much, for they are the source of wisi.

688 In general, the act of getting angry in public and serious-
689 ly insulting somebody is considered as an offense against moral and religious law, capable of attracting misfortunes; it is an

/247 cont./

789 the object to which is attached a magic force, as well as that force itself. But there is no confusion in their minds; the object is only a simple support, it is nothing by itself. The traveler [755] who sees them prepare an infusion of leaves for a sick person may be tempted to believe that they attach to this leaf the power of acting against a certain disease; that would be an error, they attach to these leaves and to the white clay, pemba, the power of holding, /248/ of condensing the vital force which emanated from a certain god. It is the god which "makes obia," and not men; men do nothing but collect this energy and apply it.

755 The Boni distinguish two categories of magic remedies:
787 --Those which come from a god through the medium of a possessed person. The god must be consulted each time, and the remedy it gives is effective only for the asker alone, and for a limited time; it can act only when the god has been paid, usually in the form of drink or piece of cloth; in principle nothing is owed to the possessed person (they admit that he benefits by the payment made to the god), but the custom is to give him a bottle of tafia.

Consultation of a possessed person is in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks the normal mechanism by which the obia descends from the god to men.

755 Certain Ampuku gods might give remedies effective for
776 a particular disease and for any asker, remedies which could be transmitted from one man to another. Unfortunately we could not obtain exact information about this.

755 --Those whose origin is unknown, and which have been
756 transmitted from one man to another for a very long time. It is believed that these are remedies which were found empirically by a man in days past; this is the case with many remedies specific for this or that disease.

In such a case payment is made to the possessor of the remedy and to him alone.

/248 cont./

755 823 [174] White clay, pémba (the word and the rite are of Congolese origin), does not undergo any special preparation. In the thought of the Refugee Blacks it has the power to fix upon a man's body the magic influence of the infusion of leaves.

791 Among the Boni, except for the cult of Odun, there are no priests, strictly speaking, invested with a function at the same time social and religious. A large number of persons 756 791 are regarded as "knowing remedies." This notion implies at once knowledge and power. In general the ɔbiamɛ̃ is believed to hold only a specialized power: for example, he knows how to prepare a hunting ɔbia, or an ɔbia for protection against wisimɛ̃. This power he received from his father (as an exception, it seems, from his uncle), who instructed him, before dying, in the specialized rites it requires and transmitted his power to him by giving him mula.

To give mula to someone, one blows into his hands, one puts them on his head while uttering a formula by which one transmits to him a certain power or piece of magic knowledge.

What is the criterion of legitimacy? Who has the right to call himself an ɔbiamɛ̃? It seems that basically everything is reduced to this: the ɔbiamɛ̃ has the conviction, the sensation that he holds this power; as for his clients, they believe they observe the efficacy of his ɔbia; if they stop having confidence in his remedy, they will abstain from coming to ask it of him, that is all; no social prohibition comes to limit the action of the ɔbiamɛ̃. The grand man intervenes only against someone [754] who might claim to hold remedies to harm another person or to capture his will, which would be wisi.

[888] /249/ The Boni accept the possibility of deception as regards ɔbia, especially by people who are too young, but they have the conviction that the elders (people over 55-60) possess wisdom and that one can apply to them with complete confidence.

/250 cont./

751 Next in the preoccupations of the Refugee Blacks come the ɔbia called tapu, that is to say, protection. There exist numerous kinds adapted to the various dangers of a supernatural order (protection against other divinities, against the maleficent entities of the bush, against the wisimɛ).

[796] [754] The Ampuku are generally asked for tapu against the wisimɛ. We saw a remarkable one in front of the house of F... (Dju). Its owner was not a little proud of it and he talked about it to us freely.

751 778 [532] The ɔbia, placed at ground level in front of the door, was composed of a crude representation in clay of a head in which appeared two wide-open eyes: in front of it were planted in the ground three plant clusters including a planting of groundnuts and one of maize; the whole was topped by a small basket containing an egg. It was necessary to water the ɔbia with a certain infusion of leaves at regular intervals to restore its force.

751 754 This ɔbia insured infallible protection against wisimɛ; in fact, none of them would have been able to cross the threshold without stubbing his toe on the door frame in spite of all his precautions; F... stated that his ɔbia constituted by this fact an effective means of detection of wisimɛ, for it was enough for him to invite suspects to enter his hut, to know what to think; the wisimɛ refused, for fear of thus being given away in the eyes of all; one could thus at least pin down suspicions.

751 [411] Other ɔbia are called sama mɔfu teɛɛy (ɔbia against "people's mouths," that is, people's jealousy). They are nearly always seen on fine guns; they have a cord to hold them made of mɔriti palm fibers, to which two cowries are fastened.

755 The ɔbia intended to treat diseases generally have for support a calabash containing the infusion of leaves and a ball of pɛmba (kaolin). The person concerned sprinkles himself several times a day with this liquid.

/255 cont./

784 262 A... of the Dju lo, about 28 years old in 1958, must observe six kina:

--The cayman and the jaguar as bwasi kina.

--The otter (yundu) as akka kina. /256/

These three kina have been imposed on him since his first years, but the meaning of them was explained to him only later on.

[751] --The eel (mãnsi) was imposed on him as a kina by his father when the latter gave him a man nẽɔge ɔbia, ɔbia of protection against machete or gun, materialized by an iron bracelet.

[841] [834] To this ɔbia is attached another kina. A... must not speak to a woman having her menstrual period.

[751] [987] --Finally, the crab (kaabu), kina attached to an ɔbia of which the man concerned only spoke with reticence, probably a Kumẽnti bui (bracelet of Kumẽnti, instrument of divination).

A... has no gadu kina in the strict sense of the term.

There exists no food kina common to all the Boni; the cayman is generally forbidden to them as bwasi kina, associated with another animal; but this is not absolute; we know at least one Boni who has not received this kina.

If someone has broken a kina inadvertently, he can have himself cleansed of this offense by Ɔbiaman. But if he broke it willfully, he cannot escape the punishment attached to the offense.

845 828 Beliefs about twins. They have the idea that twins and children who follow twins are of a nature different from other men, participating in a divine principle.

[755] Twins cannot live (since they do not belong to ordinary humanity) if they are not treated with a special remedy known only to certain lineages especially rich in twins.

/262 cont. /

824 978 door; it was a particularly feared kɛ̃ndu that no thief would have dared to remove.

825 978 [776] --The Kɛ̃ntamasu are the divinities, especially maleficent and hostile to men, who live in the termitaries (these are termites proper, who make their nest in the earth, and not wood lice, much more common). There is one to each termitary.

[789] After a meticulous examination of the soil of the clearing, one marks all the termitaries /263/ and sprinkles each of them with a preparation containing leaves, pink clay kukusa, and manioc juice. One adjures the genie to go away, no matter where.

It happens that in spite of all the precautions taken a termitary is forgotten. Then, several days later, one will [789] have the consternation of seeing the Kɛ̃ntamasu reveal itself [784] in someone of the lineage; it announces that it is going to exercise its kunu (curse). It is temporarily appeased by offer- [782] ings of tafia, various drinks, red cloth.

776 198 787 The Kɛ̃ntamasu call themselves the Akɔlo. Through the mouth of their bearers they speak a language nobody understands. However, when they wish to be understood by those present they speak Kumɛ̃nti.

● 755 784 Observation in Boniville, January, 1957:

A...., boatman of the border-fixing mission, asks for three days off. His wife, Masauman, has been ill for several days; divination (in this particular case the gita of a female relative in his lineage) showed that it was the doing of a Kɛ̃ntamasu injured in the burning of the clearing which he himself, A...., cut for his wife in October. The Kɛ̃ntamasu has not yet manifested itself directly, but a kunu threatens; to appease it he must put in action the remedy known only 000 to M...., an old man of Asisi. He will go to the spot, following

765 /263 cont./ He will go to the spot, following
782 at a good distance M. . . , bearer of the remedy, with which he will sprinkle the surface of the clearing, and of offering objects. When the offering has been made, they will wait some time to see whether Masauman is better and if she is, they will deem the god appeased.

The Yali Festival

796
[805] The Refugee Blacks, who do not count the days that elapse, contenting themselves with lunations in order to follow the course of the year, make inquiries from Europeans and Creoles to set the time for the Yali festival which marks the new year. Everyone accumulates provisions, especially tortoise meat, varied drinks, and many firecrackers.

On the evening of December 31 each one dances in his own village.

The festival lasts all night, tafia gushes forth, firecrackers go off everywhere.

[787] At the end of the night several gods "rise" in the heads of their bearers, at least of those who are not completely drunk.

[535] During the day dances resume intermittently in the order awasa, sogé, suna. It is customary for the people of one lineage to go to dance in the village of another, then they
[574] invite them back. People make many individual visits. Some have set up in front of their hut a sort of small buffet on which they have arranged about ten glasses, five to six liters of tafia, four or five bottles of beer, lemonade, and syrup.

Observation in Boniville, January 1, 1958:

The grand man, who scarcely leaves his habitation downstream from Boniville any more, did not /264/ put himself out. He delegated his functions to Lébiman and Fintiman, men about 50 years old, belonging to the fraction of the Kotika and Dju lineages residing in Boniville.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

"I have my obia from Lamé," Bayo had said. "People like me because of this obia."

When we came to Lamé we found that the people who inhabited it controlled more than the love obia. They had a powerful fighting obia, too. There was not only *bumba*, that gave power in love, but also *poitchi*, the obia that helped a man in a fight. But one who wanted to become a great hunter did not go to Lamé. Such a person sought out an obia man of the Dombi clan, who, working with the power of *mafungi*, helped him to see his game in the dark bush, though the animal was of the color of the bush itself, and, once having tracked it, helped him make his aim deadly. A man suffering from a bad gunshot wound would try to get an obia man from the Loango people to come and call on the powers of the Loango clan-obia to heal the dying man. For broken bones there was magic in the sacred village of Dahomey where centered the Kasito clan, and at Dahomey was also the best magic on the river for warriors. *'Bofyuando* and *sokoma'usu* were the two great warrior obias, and so powerful were they that if one but whispered their names, without taking the stems of two weeds, putting one crosswise on top of the other, and over them passing a coin to recompense for speaking the sacred names, the man who spoke would die. These obias belonged to the Kasito people, so strong in magic.

Of these clans there might be twelve or thirteen or fourteen. Among the Saramacca people, we learned, the clan partakes of the mysterious, the awesome. Our Bush Negro friends did not discuss their clans readily, and none of them would give us a list of their names. A few might be mentioned by one man, a few by another.

"To speak of the *lo* is not a thing for strangers," we were told. "My clan I can name, and another man can tell you the name of his clan. My father's clan I can name, too, but not others."

On one occasion we had made clear to a young man who had been away for some time in French Guiana, and who considered himself a man of the world, why we sought the

the tasks which will fall to his lot when he reaches adulthood. Half in play, the boys and girls help their elders and in that way learn how to work, how to conduct themselves, how to sing and dance, how to make cicatrizations, and how to pray to the gods. What they learn when they come by their gods is also taught them by members of their family. A boy's father and maternal uncles instruct him in the gods they give him. A girl is made familiar with the will of her gods and their manner of worship when her mother and her mother's sisters give their gods to her. Knowledge is, therefore, shared in the family, and much of it, the Bush Negro says, comes to each individual from his gods, since not every boy who watches a fine carver can rival the carving of his teacher. When he does show promise of excellence at a given task, it is because he, too, has a god who helps him do his carving. It is the same with drumming, and singing, and telling stories, and making love. 868 867

But obia is learned formally and slowly. An obia man may teach his own brother, or his sister's ablest son, or his own son, even, what he knows, but the learning process will be gradual, for no man may disclose too much to an untrained mind. At times, however, an obia man trains men who are not related to him. He may himself decide upon a young man of promise to whom he cares to impart his knowledge. A considerable sum of money may be offered him by members of an influential family who wish to have an obia man of their own kin and who send a young man to him for training. In a dream or during possession it may become known that the ancestors wish a certain young man to apprentice himself to the obia man they name. 791 869 881

The apprenticeship lasts from three months to a year. The novice goes to live with the obia man, working with him and observing all that his master does. During this period of intensive training he goes with the obia man into the bush and is shown the herbs which heal. He is trained in the manner of bathing for the *ak'a*—the soul— 756 791 868 881

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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756 and how to cure fever, and fio-fio. He is shown how to make
791 obia medicine for lesions of the skin, and for colds, and for
868 diseases of children. He is taught the protective obias for
881 the woman who conceives, and those which help conception, the obias which keep people safe on the river, and those which guard them in the bush against enemy spirits.

It may be, too, that during this first period of training, the initiate is shown how to trap and treat the snakes from which the snake "cuttee" is made. This cure for snake bite is famous in Suriname among Bush Negroes and whites alike, but the secret of preparing the cuttee is known to the Bush Negroes alone.

[784] While the young man is in training, he may not go with a woman, and there are many more prohibitions which he must observe.

"Not all men can become obia men."

"Does a man need obia in order to have Kromanti?" we asked.

"To have Obia Kromanti, yes. . . . Now do not ask about Kromanti, white man," said Bayo's uncle with a smile. "Only a Kromanti man knows about Kromanti. Do not ask, because I cannot tell you."

5

789 Men and women constantly drifted to our base camp with
439 carvings for our collection. Many brought us obias. Some
778 of these obias they took from their persons and sold to us, but others were newly made for us, for some of those they themselves wore, they would not part with, whatever the inducement.

"Why do you want my obia, white man?" a Bush Negro asked one day. "Do you want an obia to carry you well to your country? I will make one for you, but do not ask for mine. Mine has kept me in good health. I cannot give away an obia which has served me well. The spirits would be angered."

He returned after a day with one which resembled his own, and as he gave it, he placed it on the upturned palms

773 of the earth. In one kingdom, a ruler sent the heralds to proclaim throughout the land that he who killed the bird would get half his kingdom, and his daughter in marriage. Anansi, the spider, killed a hawk and brought it to the ruler. But Anansi lied when he said this was the bird that shook the earth with its cries. At the very time he was trying to persuade all the people that this was the bird, the cries of the ominous bird were heard. So they put Anansi in jail. Now one day there was born to a woman a child who at birth wore a cloth of pieced designs, and a hunting sack. This boy said to his mother, he said, "Give me a little water, mother, and I will go out into the world to learn wisdom. God has sent me to kill the bird which troubles mankind."

When the boy grew to manhood he succeeded in trapping this bird that knew how to cook obia without fire. He killed the bird and took the obia pot with him, and that is how he came by the secrets of obia. He passed on his knowledge to the men of his family, and this has been going on till today, so that obia is being spread throughout the world by the descendants of this man who killed the bird that knew obia.

776 But obia was not one thing only.

"Obia," Bayo's uncle had said, "is first of all the spirit. It is everywhere. But there are many kinds of obia. There is black man's obia, and there is white man's obia. Here in the bush black man's obia is the strongest.

789 "A man who has the obia spirit makes obia to wear, and
778 obia to drink, and obia to rub the body with, and obia water
776 for bathing. He can make obia drums and obia benches. The spirit tells you how to do things, and it tells you what to do. When we say a man has strong obia, we mean his spirit is strong."

756 The Bush Negro obia man, said Bayo to us one day, knew
751 the things the white doctor knew—he knew how to heal—
789 and he knew other things, too. He knew how to keep sickness away. The things an obia man gave for healing were

called obias. The charms he gave for warding off illness and evil were obias, too. 756 751 789

"So we call all these things. But each obia has a name. Every charm I wear is an obia, but if I wore the one you are wearing, it would be a soul cord, an *ak'a tetei*. One below the knee we call *asumani* in my village, and one for the wrist *afimu*. The one on the upper arm is named *ando*. But there are many names, and they are all obia, because inside them is the spirit obia which gives them power. When a man sells you an obia and passes its power on to you, he breathes on your hands as they hold the obia. When he does it, he gives you the obia spirit which went into the making of this obia. If he did not make it himself, the spirit was given him by the obia man, and he gives it to you."

Obia, then, is the spirit; obia is the preventive and curing agent; obias are the charms that are worn by people to help them. Some have called these obias "fetiches," but even a slight understanding of them should be enough to bring the outsider to the realization that the object of itself is meaningless, and that it is only the power that has been given the charm that makes it effective. 796 751 789

Yet it is not strange that the importance of the fetich has been overestimated, for if the visitor did not draw out the Bush Negroes about their gods and their theories of the universe, the existence of these higher powers would almost go unrecognized. For everywhere there are to be found obias guarding the village, obias screening paths, obias worn by the people. That they are important to the Bush Negro is obvious. But they are important for day-by-day existence, and they do not possess the overwhelming importance of the great spirits who control the universe. 796 789

Many of these charms came to us as tangible evidence of the belief in obia. Some of those we acquired were of a unique character because of the power that was latent in them, some because of the intricacy of their taboos. Yet all of them paled in interest and in arresting quality beside the Kromanti Mama that came to us one night in secret.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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Saramaccaner

361 the trading-post, are so large as to have street-like roads extending across them. Others like Nu have only eight or nine huts.

342 The walls and roofs of the dwellings are made of grasses and reeds, intricately woven into a herring-bone pattern that can be seen in the photographs. So tightly are they woven that the jungle rain does not penetrate. The uprights are hewn out of tree trunks, and those that form the doorway are [322] often deeply carved. So great is the decorative spirit of these people that every common utensil is carved until it becomes a work of art.

The roofs extend far beyond the walls, so that the projecting part throws a shadow on the walls, which lowers the temperature inside. In front, the roof extends a yard or more to form a shade in which the blacks may palaver. In front of the huts, always, babies are grubbing about in the dirt and yelling prodigiously.

Here and there are slightly dilapidated huts. They belong [768] to people now dead. No one will live in them or venture to repair the ruin of time. Neglected, they sink into decay. The [756] witch doctor's hut is also a bit frowzy; it seems to be a badge of his profession, like the sugar cane planted alongside his doorway or the turtle-shell impaled on a staff near by. All three are symbols of his calling.

352 A wall of woven mat divides some of the huts into two [353] rooms, the back room being used for sleeping. The men have hand-made hammocks of woven cotton or grass. Their wives 342 are provided with sleeping-mats on the floor. The front room

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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342

A Witch Doctor's House, Upper Surinam River. The sugar-cane stalks and the turtle shell impaled on a staff are badges of this profession.

[Facing p 136]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

drums carry farther toward heaven than the talkee-talkee of a lone supplicant.

It is not easy to distinguish between the primitive's magic and his medicine. In the village organization a distinction is sometimes made between the *medicine man,* who is concerned with remedies for sickness, and the *obeiah priest,* whose business is charms and rituals. There are two or three obeiah priests to each village. Their profession is the propitiation of spirits, that is, magic and religion. The magic of the obeiah men is largely secret. Once we arrived at a village while a ritual of some nature was going on. Pots were stewing in the centre of the clearing, while obeiah men were moving around them. One held a rattle, which he shook monotonously. The bahkra was asked to leave. It was magic in the making.

The Bush Negroes possess an extensive system of primitive medicine. Various roots, herbs, and nuts are gathered in the jungle, and their use is mingled with various superstitions. The witch doctor or medicine man who prepares infusions from these herbs holds no exalted position in the esteem of the villagers; he is simply following a particular profession to which no special prestige is attached. He may, however, be an obeiah priest in addition to being a medicine man.

He prepares several kinds of medicine, among them the *snakee-kutti,* or snake-bite cure. It cures the bites of all reptiles and makes the person immune from future attack. Snakee-kutti is made in this way: a venomous snake is killed and the head and the tail-end are cut from the body; the tail

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

756 is placed in the mouth of the snake and the whole is roasted
789 over a slow fire, along with certain herbs. Incantations ac-
278 company the business. After the materials are thoroughly charred they are reduced to a homogeneous powder, which is administered in two ways: first, internally, and second, by making a small incision in the arm and rubbing some of the powder into the wound. At first we were inclined to think that some of the venom might remain in the poison glands of the reptile's head, and so act as an antigen to set up a real immunity. But the heat of the roasting fire would probably destroy any such toxin remaining, leaving the resultant powder non-antigenic.

Even in Paramaribo enthusiastic accounts of the marvellous powers of snakee-kutti are common. It is supposed by some to have the power of making snakes turn and flee. Being curious we tried it ourselves, but noticed no effects.

778 Some doctors are skilled in the preparation of a certain
789 strength-giving concoction especially in demand by Bush Negroes before a fight. If by the following day the combat has not taken place, the man who swallowed the medicine must get it out of his system by hacking viciously at a tree with his bush-knife; otherwise he will become ill.

According to Abaisa, men who drink this magic potion sometimes become so strong that with one blow of the machete they can make all the leaves of a tree fall off.

Bathing is another way of acquiring extraordinary strength. Three baths in water infused with *bimbe* leaves will give a man the power to pick a red-hot axe-head out of the midst

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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On one occasion, snakee-kutti, the snake protector, did not work, and a Bush Negro, who had been bitten was taken to the hospital at Moengo. His leg had gone untreated for five days and was in the serious stage of gangrene. The limb was amputated by the doctor in charge and the Djuka made an uneventful recovery. He would not have been brought to the hospital by his family if there had been anything more for the Bush Negro medicine man to do. But there was not, and they went to the bahkra as the last resort to save his life.

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2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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the white man has never been allowed to enter. A spirit 778 named *Hini* hovers over the town, and it is he, not the 756 Djukas, who would be offended by the presence of a bahkra. People seriously ill are brought to Dahomey from the surrounding villages. The witch doctors there, old women as well as old men, and occasionally a virgin, administer their potent charms. Only young married women are debarred from the profession of medicine among the Djukas.

Here also comes the Granman of the Saramaccaner tribe, to undergo the sacred ritual before making his annual visit [643 to Paramaribo. He receives absolution from the Dahomey 783] medicine men in preparation for his sojourn among the bahkras. The ceremony is known as *makee suka,* or putting himself in favour with the gods.

Our friend Abaisa, headman of Lombe, tells us something 755 of the Dahomey rituals. To mend a broken bone the patient is shut up in a small hut with the doctor and three white cocks. The first fowl is killed by having its neck wrung, the blood from its beak running on the floor of the hut as a sacrifice to Amu, the ground god. The second fowl is cut open for inspection. If the bladder is light in colour the prognosis is good, but if dark the reverse is the case. The third cock has its leg bone broken at a point approximately corresponding to the patient's fracture. After this both the fowl and the human patient undergo daily treatment at the hands of the doctor, to the accompaniment of prayers to Amu and the shaking of rattles to scare off the evil spirits. The nature of the treatment could not be ascertained, but on the day when

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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obeiahs, house gods, fetish houses, menstrual huts, and matrilineal system of inheritance are all to be found as ancient customs among the forest tribes of the West Coast. Other details, such as the use of chickens for sacrificial animals, the huts with their rectangular walls, the manufacture of butter from the palm worm, the sacredness of snakes and alligators, the use of drums for religious supplication, and the beating of them with the hand instead of with a stick as the Indians do, are also customs which are similar to West African customs and probably derived from them. The impaled turtle-shell on a staff, the badge of the witch doctor's profession, represents the symbol for the female genitalia among some West African tribes. The Bush Negroes' boats and paddles are typically African in design. The *awasa* dance of the Saramaccaners was borrowed from the Aucaners, among whom it is a direct West African survival.

From the study of these culture survivals among the Djuka tribes it can be seen that most of the jungle civilization of the Bush Negroes is derived from their West African ancestry, modified here and there by contact with the Indians of their new home. The remainder of the material culture of the Bush Negroes is borrowed from the white settlements along the coast, from which gunpowder, fish-hooks, bush-knives, and other articles filter upstream.

[p. 192 is blank]

/20 cont./

262 milk. She does eat cheese, however, saying that there is absolutely no milk in it.

/21/ Chapter XIII

Diseases, Afflictions, and so forth

164 The greatest affliction among them, too, is the lepra boasi (leprosy and elephantiasis Fuchs), venereal diseases, leg and body 757 pains, and sores. They cure themselves mainly with herbs, which they possess in great quantities and with which they frequently work with special success. They cut open abcesses themselves; in most cases they cup themselves, making the cups from small calabashes. [824] For many pains they rub themselves with spirits steeped in paradise seed (1) and with carapa oil, which they get from the carapa nuts (2).

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755 In difficult cases and dangerous illnesses, however, they ask for advice from the Cromantie gado, which can only be done by means of song and dance, on which occasion a great deal is drunk. [756] A wentie man (African idol-priest or priestess) qualified for this, or an influential person, is able by means of drink, song, and dance among the others to excite himself to such an extent that in a mad way, without consciousness of what he is doing, he makes superhuman leaps, turnings, and twistings with his body, jumps and dances in the fire, until he finally falls to the ground unconscious and, rolling like a tub, foaming at the mouth, utters the most repulsive and strange sounds, which lasts until he is finally put down somewhere for dead. So long as he remains lying without any movement or sound as if in a deep sleep, one may absolutely not come near him or touch him, but must always take care to keep out of his way in his course and not to hinder him in anything.

/247 cont. /

789 the object to which is attached a magic force, as well as that force itself. But there is no confusion in their minds; the object is only a simple support, it is nothing by itself. The traveler [755] who sees them prepare an infusion of leaves for a sick person may be tempted to believe that they attach to this leaf the power of acting against a certain disease; that would be an error, they attach to these leaves and to the white clay, pamba, the power of holding, /248/ of condensing the vital force which emanated from a certain god. It is the god which "makes ɔbia," and not men; men do nothing but collect this energy and apply it.

755 789 The Boni distinguish two categories of magic remedies:

--Those which come from a god through the medium of a possessed person. The god must be consulted each time, and the remedy it gives is effective only for the asker alone, and for a limited time; it can act only when the god has been paid, usually in the form of drink or piece of cloth; in principle nothing is owed to the possessed person (they admit that he benefits by the payment made to the god), but the custom is to give him a bottle of tafia.

Consultation of a possessed person is in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks the normal mechanism by which the ɔbia descends from the god to men.

755 776 Certain Ampuku gods might give remedies effective for a particular disease and for any asker, remedies which could be transmitted from one man to another. Unfortunately we could not obtain exact information about this.

755 756 --Those whose origin is unknown, and which have been transmitted from one man to another for a very long time. It is believed that these are remedies which were found empirically by a man in days past; this is the case with many remedies specific for this or that disease.

In such a case payment is made to the possessor of the remedy and to him alone.

/248 cont./

755 873 [194] White clay, pémba (the word and the rite are of Congolese origin), does not undergo any special preparation. In the thought of the Refugee Blacks it has the power to fix upon a man's body the magic influence of the infusion of leaves.

791 Among the Boni, except for the cult of Odun, there are no priests, strictly speaking, invested with a function at the same time social and religious. A large number of persons 756 791 are regarded as "knowing remedies." This notion implies at once knowledge and power. In general the ɔbiamɛ̃ is believed to hold only a specialized power: for example, he knows how to prepare a hunting ɔbia, or an ɔbia for protection against wisimɛ̃. This power he received from his father (as an exception, it seems, from his uncle), who instructed him, before dying, in the specialized rites it requires and transmitted his power to him by giving him mula.

To give mula to someone, one blows into his hands, one puts them on his head while uttering a formula by which one transmits to him a certain power or piece of magic knowledge.

What is the criterion of legitimacy? Who has the right to call himself an ɔbiamɛ̃? It seems that basically everything is reduced to this: the ɔbiamɛ̃ has the conviction, the sensation that he holds this power; as for his clients, they believe they observe the efficacy of his ɔbia; if they stop having confidence in his remedy, they will abstain from coming to ask it of him, that is all; no social prohibition comes to limit the action of [754] the ɔbiamɛ̃. The grand man intervenes only against someone who might claim to hold remedies to harm another person or to capture his will, which would be wisi.

[888] /249/ The Boni accept the possibility of deception as regards ɔbia, especially by people who are too young, but they have the conviction that the elders (people over 55-60) possess wisdom and that one can apply to them with complete confidence.

/254 cont./

784 If someone realizes that he has broken his kina, he goes
756 to see, not an Shiaman, but the spectilist-healer of leprosy
751 and asks him to treat him by way of prevention.

411 Beliefs about guns and hunting. The gun, which entered the
832 everyday life of the Refugee Blacks two centuries ago, has taken
[177] an important place in their magic. It is the symbol of virility.
[558] A Refugee Black who no longer has a gun is a man humiliated and almost dishonored. As one of them explained to us in begging us to help him replace his old gun eaten by rust: "If you cannot present yourself before the women with a machete, hunting bag on your shoulder, and gun in your hand, you are not a man."

411 This idea has been transposed onto the plane of magic
954 and they take for granted that the wisimi can, by putting evil spells on a gun, attack the owner of the weapon in his virility. It is supposed to be enough for someone to put his finger into the barrel of the gun while uttering a formula of vengeance, or even being moved by hate for the owner of the weapon, for this gun to be no longer capable of hitting the mark. So, to avoid these misfortunes, the Boni never part with their guns and never lend them to anyone. If, in spite of these precautions, they
411 have the impression that a gun no longer fires so well, they will
789 go to an Shiaman to have it washed of maleficent influence. There exist for that purpose several remedies all of which consist of soaking the gun for one to three days in infusions of leaves, which has the unfailing result of making it rust. We have seen a hammerless, latest model gun spoiled thus by an intelligent Boni head boatman, a clever mechanic and usually full of good sense.

224 We have never witnessed among the Boni any individual or collective hunting rites claiming to attract game or to promote meeting it (when, on the contrary, hunting prayes are extremely widespread among the Creoles).

/298 cont./

114 Here destrous of remaining on the plane of strict scientific objectivity, we shall avoid entering the discussion of the benefit springing from this action, which, moreover, would necessitate a long development. We shall limit ourselves to showing that it appears to us to be doomed to failure.

871 --The experiment of schooling has been made for more
177 than 30 years among the Boni in the village of Kotika. Half a dozen children, doing well in their studies, left for Surinam and broke with their native group. In the others, the teaching received left only faint traces. As a matter of fact, there is no room in a normal intelligence to receive at the same time the man of technical knowledge necessary for holding one's own in the society of the Refugee Blacks and ordinary school in-
[829] struction. One necessarily drives out the other; now the Boni are extremely fond of their free life on the great river, which assures them very satisfactory material conditions of living.

797 --Evangelization has been carried on with perseverance
177 for more than 200 years with the Refugee Blacks of Surinam. It has not given appreciable results. It has been the same in
184 French Guiana with the action carried on with the Saramaka working /299/ near the communes of the coast (1), and more

[648]

1. The Saramaka not only have no tendency to be converted, but they exert a significant influence on the population of the communes. On the Oyapok the Saramaka healer has numerous clients, and in spite of the clergy's interdiction, many women go to the possession dances of the Papa gudu serpent gods.

[756]
[787]

recently with the Boni of the Upper Maroni.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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of a burning fire without being harmed. Bathing every day for nine days in water in which rusty scrap iron and peanut husks have been boiled renders a man impervious to the cut of a knife and his flesh capable of turning any blade. Stomach-ache is treated by drinking an infusion from the hollow handle of a dance rattle. Especially potent in all magic preparations are the bristles of *tamanua*, the anteater. *Obeiah watra*, another infusion, is drunk by men before going into the bush, to give them luck and strength. It is also possible to acquire strength or other virtues by rubbing one's body with the putrescent fluid gathered from the corpse of a dead man who possessed those qualities.

If a person should find fecal material in front of his hut or rotten eggs along the trail in such position as to make it likely for him to step upon it, it is certain that this material was placed there by a member of the community who is attempting to *wissi* or bewitch him. Anyone who removes this matter is liable to insanity.

Minor cuts and wounds may be treated with the bark of the *aproconyo* tree. This is ground up and mixed with the brew prepared from the leaves known as *pekein fol caca* (little rooster).

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/522 cont./

165 Life expectancy at birth is about 43 years. It is a remarkably high value for peoples deprived of medical help, and notably superior to that noted in Black Africa.

[758] Evolution of mortality under the influence of medical assistance. It is interesting to show the extent to which mortality has been influenced by medical assistance since 1950. For this purpose we shall reconsider the same observations, taking into account the deaths which intervened between the first of January 1950 and the first of January 1958, the date to which we shall relate the calculations.

The survival curve obtained by stopping the calculations on the first of January 1958 differs slightly from the preceding one, which principally concerns the mortality of children. The mortality from 0 to 1 year is given by 35/199 = 17.5% instead

E /532 cont./
161 17. (cont.)
165 pathology of the Indians. The large epidemics causing numerous deaths have not reappeared for a century; they were the result of illnesses of recent introduction.

had been preserved from these illnesses, their demographic balance, in the absence of any medical help, would have been largely positive.

B R /533/
16 Biological characteristics and social behavior. In comparing the
[758] Boni Refugee Blacks and the Oayana Indians of the Upper Maroni, populations leading the same kind of life to a considerable extent, both deprived of any medical aid before 1950, we came to the following conclusions:

B 16 1. The Boni Refugee Blacks showed remarkable fertility and longevity. Life expectancy at birth before 1950 reached 43 years. The average number of children per woman over 55 reached 7.9 for the period before 1920. The Boni population increased 3% per year.

These remarkable characteristics can be explained by the resistance to malaria which the African Blacks possess, and by the fact that the Refugee Blacks descended from a double selection.

R 16 2. The Oayana Indians, on the contrary, show low fertility (3.7 children) and a life expectancy of only 31 years; until these last years they were dying out at a rate of approximately 0.6% per year.

R 161 These conclusions are confirmed by the historic data which
175 show the Oayana regularly decreasing in number since their first contact with the Europeans, passing from 3,000 at the end of
R [165] the eighteenth century to less than 500 in our day. The extinction of the Indians can be attributed to their great sensitivity to malaria and to pulmonary illnesses.

/298/

648 Never do they appeal to the courts to settle their differences, still less their family quarrels; never do they beg for help.

829 The Europeans' material superiority does not impress them: the whites are more able in mechanics, but they are more able in magic, that is all. The efficacy of European medicine does [758] not shake their convictions: if someone has reasons to believe himself victim of the anger of a gadu, he begins by making the sacrifices intended to appease it, then asks it for authorization [123] to have himself cared for by the whites. Personally we have [753] never done anything to disabuse the Boni of this idea which satisfies at the same time the requirements of medicine and those of social discipline, for it must not be forgotten that for them 177 sickness is punishment for an offense. Thus one sees that unless it is deliberately brought to bear against tradition and against the leaders, the influence of Europeans is without appreciable effect on the civilization of the Refugee Blacks. It is no longer the same when contacts become too frequent, tend to alter drastically the way of life, and especially when these influences become openly "civilizing."

178 The Future of the Refugee Blacks

Obliged to solve all the problems of life by their own means, the Refugee Blacks have been able to adapt with intelligence to the evolution of the modern world, and their custom has kept all its vigor and effectiveness. Their future would not 648 seem to be threatened if a wave of opinion had not come to the surface these past years, in French Guiana as well as in Surinam, to destroy their civilization, deemed primitive and barbarous, and to fuse them into the population of the coast. This result would be obtained in particular by schooling and evangelization.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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Saramaccaner

There are also a few villages, belonging to this tribe, situated 619
on the lower Saramacca River, like Santi Gron, Toti Camp, 361
and Maka-Creekee. On the distant Surinam is located the poetically named village of Futu No Habbe Ackaba, The Foot That Has No Resting Place.

Every tribe is divided into several clans, or *lo*, and these lo 621
are subdivided into groups of families, called *m'beh*, relation- 614
ship being counted through the female line. These groupings 613
are direct survivals of the slave days, descendants of groups of fugitives who fled into the bush together. Among the Saramaccaners there is the *Abaisa lo* of which our friend Abaisa is the chief. Another lo is called the *Inge Peecee lo*, meaning "piece of Indian clan," referring to the marriage of a lone Indian squaw with a rebel slave, back in the old days. There is the *Companyi Nengre lo*, or "Company Negro clan" of blacks descended from the slaves who escaped from the Dutch West India Company. The *Dahomey lo* is a group of families especially skilled in the art of healing broken [759] bones. Then there is a priesthood clan, the *Domini lo*, descended from the slaves of a plantation owner named Levy. Among the other lo are: *Matchow* (meaning axe), *Vondrake* (from a Dutch family named Van Drachte), *Baison Nengre*, *Luwangu*, *Nassi*, *Betu*, *Cumu*, *Quama*, *Papoto*, and the *Awahna lo* at Gansee.

At a strategic location on the Little Surinam River, the 361
Pekein Rio, dwells the Granman Jankoeso. His village is ten days up the river from Gansee. It is situated in this inaccessible spot, on an especially fierce and rapid tributary, pur-

/257 cont./

842 A few weeks afterward she found herself pregnant, and
976 it seemed obvious to all that this was the doing of a Wata Ingi.

845 No magic power is attributed to the tɔne pikin, any more than special mental or physical characteristics. But it is assumed that they are the object of a special protection, and that they cannot be harmed with impunity.

771 The sacred character of payment. Relations between the gods
789 and men always have the character of a bargain, among the
435 Refugee Blacks: an irritated divinity is never appeased by repentance or good will; it requires that it be paid; likewise, an ɔbia is of value only for the person who has paid for it. Refugee Blacks will never utilize ready-made magic recipes: uttering certain words, making certain gestures; face to face with such a recipe they will ask immediately: "From what
[P/2] god does this ɔbia come, and whom must one pay?" It seems that in their conception every transference of a spiritual power or a magic force disturbs something in the proper functioning of the universe; payment restores this equilibrium, it is the
[M] mark of legitimacy. Some Creoles of African ancestry transpose the same idea with respect to Christianity, and this is /258/ why they insist so much on paying for masses and buying
759 "orisons" (1). One observes likewise that free medical care
558

1. Written prayer to which is attached protective power. This notion, borrowed from the rustic magic of 17th-century France, seems to have been introduced into Guiana by the first European colonists.

lowers the prestige of the doctor in the eyes of all.

/241 cont./

152 828 754 777 Jealousy. To speak of jealousy as a negative magic force is not to be false to the thought of the Refugee Blacks. They regard it as an attenuated force of wisi, capable of bringing misfortunes even if no sorcery has been formulated. Jealousy is 152 157 very marked in their character, associated with an individualism verging on asocial tendencies. When somebody is accused of 754 wisi, jealousy is the commonest explanation of the crimes 152 828 attributed to him; it is thought for example that a man can be jealous of his brother's growing rich to the point of making him die; that a woman may be jealous of the beauty or health of 152 her sister's children. Not laying themselves open to jealousy 156 828 is the constant preoccupation of the Refugee Blacks; one observes it in daily behavior, for example in the greetings which 576 they exchange on the river. They never say, "I am well," but: "I feel only fair." If they come back from hunting they say, "I found a little."

152 156 828 Examples are not lacking of people who avoid building a fine house or buying an outboard motor in order not to give cause for jealousy. This preoccupation has profound reper- [182] [463] cussions on the material life and the economy of the Refugee Blacks; it explains in particular the absence of specialized professions and trade among them.

[183] [571] Many aspects of the customary law of the Refugee Blacks have no other function than to exorcise, if one may say so, tendencies toward jealousy and selfishness which, if they were given free rein, would poison the life of the collectivity.

76 181 725 828 The rites of death and mourning, which we have shown to constitute the pivot of the social life of the Refugee Blacks, are entirely based on the idea of preserving the surviving spouse from the effect of the jealousy of the deceased.

/253 cont./

751 417 [824] Tyifunga (1). This is the name of the magic enclosures made

1. They also use the word azãg, borrowed from the Fon of Dahomey.

of shoots /"tongues"/ of pinot palm, pina tãngo, attached to a string, with which on certain occasions a village is completely surrounded. These enclosures are thought to bar the passage of the evil spirits of the bush (taku sani); they are put up especially in the case of an epidemic, as well as before the great festivals which attract a crowd of persons among whom wisimã can slip
789 in. After putting the enclosure in place, people arrange themselves in a line at one end of the village and move along slowly so as to sweep its whole surface, firing guns, making all the noise possible by striking metallic objects and striking the ground with reeds to expel the evil spirits. This is what is called naki tyifunga. The elders repeat the formula: "U naki tyifunga fu ɔgi na: mu ku a so (We strike tyifunga so that the evil (spirits) may not be able to come to earth)."

751 417 The magic fence is then left in place until it is rotten.

753 76 Beliefs about leprosy. Lepers are buried at the limits of the cemetery, but they are not considered cursed, and mourning for them is carried out normally.

753 784 /254/ They take for granted that if someone is attacked by leprosy, it is because he has "broken" his bwasi kina. They think that an enemy can, because of ill will, hide a bit of the forbidden fare in the food. This is why the Boni do not willingly tell one another their interdictions.

Chapter I

DEATH AT GANKWE

WE HAD not thought to come upon death on our first night in the Suriname bush. What had killed Sedefo's brother no one could as yet say, for the time had not come to call upon the spirit of the dead man to speak. Death, said the Bush Negroes, was ravaging the family. Kunu, the law of retribution, the tool of ancestors and gods, had found this latest victim an easy prey to the black magic which had been invoked against him. In whispers they talked about a quarrel at work with a man who had a powerful snake god. 761 [154]

"The man's family kunu and the enemy's Aboma god," we heard as a refrain to the low muttering.

There would be dancing all that night for the spirit of the dead, the natives told us, and they asked if we did not wish to come and honor the dead. But an old man objected. "Let them wait until tomorrow," he said, "let them wait until they are rested. To face the spirit of the dead their own spirits must be strong." 764 [609]

That night whenever we stirred in our sleep we strained for the sound of the drums, but the wind blew from the east, and though Gankwe, where the dead man lay in state, was but a ten-minute run down the rapids, we could hear nothing. In the morning, however, we heard them plainly, heard the invocations drummed by the grave diggers on their way to the burial ground deep in the bush on the opposite bank.

Osio tintin
Osio be'e dyo. [539]

[P. 2 contain no textual material]

764 535 gratulate the dancer, while another had taken her place in the dance, only to be brought to herself again when her dancing had become so abandoned that there was danger of falling or tripping. For it is always a bad thing for one's [994] *akra*—soul—to fall from exhaustion or even to trip while dancing, and it would have been especially dangerous to have fallen with the spirit of the dead so close.

As time passed, figures were seen edging away into the darkness. The knot of dancers thinned. Now there were [292] but two young women dancing. They wore identical cloths of a new material, a pattern resembling the cloth over the coffin. They were related to the dead man. When all were wearied, they had to go on dancing. . . . Dawn would not be long in coming.

3

764 775 761 We knew that it would not be long before the spirit of the dead would be called upon to tell his family, fellow villagers, and clansmen how death had come upon him. For, in the Guiana bush, except for the very old, there is little natural dying. The deceased has been killed either by the gods whom he has offended or by the black magic of a powerful enemy, and it is of this which he must tell before his burial. When Sedefo came to our camp the next afternoon, we asked him about the "carrying of the corpse," as the ceremony is called. We told him that his people in Africa—for the Bush Negroes know that their origins are African—also asked the spirit of the dead why death had come upon him, and we plied him with questions. What would they do to be sure the answer was right? Who would ask the questions? When would they establish the facts of the killing? And might we come and see?

There would be no trouble, he told us amiably enough. The spirits of the dead liked attention, and for the *Bakra*—the white man—to come so often to his brother's bier was a compliment. We could return with him, but we must make haste—and it was evident that important ceremonies were about to take place.

688 Marowyne to earn money that he needed for marrying. He was in good health, and he learned about the river "*so te*—until . . . " he knew how to travel on the river safely. But after he had been away only a short time, word came to Kasanya's village that he was ill, and before he could be brought home, he died. They brought back his hair and nail clippings so that his spirit might rest among [764] his own people. They held a big *dede wosu*—wake—for him for six days in the village, with the little coffin and the offerings which were to accompany the spirit, and dancing and Anansi stories and the adji game, just as though he had died at home. There were many guns, too. Everything was done, and the spirit of the dead son was asked to help the family against the kunu which was brought to them by the deed of his mother's mother's brother.

The second son died in the bush. His own gun went off accidentally as he tripped on a hidden liana and killed him, [789] though Kasanya had provided him with all the hunting [229] obias a man would want, and he himself had a strong Kromanti spirit, so that no gun was supposed to have power to hurt him. The third was married when he died. His boat went over in the rapids. His body was never recovered.

782 "Tomorrow we shall all go and pray to the Mother of the River that she carry us well, that our journey be pleasant, that we reach the Granman's village safely. . . . There across the river is her shrine."

3

761 It soon became clear that two things dominate the fore-
776 ground of the spiritual life of the bush—death and kunu. In
688 the last analysis, however, the two are perhaps but one force, for kunu slowly, inexorably, brings death to one member after another of the offender's kin, and it is largely the dead ancestors and the gods who are responsible for the meting out of kunu, in order that the ancient traditions and beliefs may go on. And so it was that daily, and many times daily, incidents not of our special seeking arose to document our knowledge of kunu.

Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Saramaca

845 The women had spoken with greater and greater re-
766 luctance about troubled births and now moved uneasily.

"You must not ask this," said Dida, rising. "Never talk about such things to young women."

Not until later, when Fenekonde and Tenemi were left alone with the white woman did they talk about birth customs again.

When a child died at birth, a hole was dug somewhere in the family quarter, or just outside it, and the child was buried there. There was no wake, no mourning. All those who had been living in the house where it died found other quarters, and for a month the house was washed with obia water. But if this had occurred before to the same mother, they would break the house where the child was born and would cast the pieces into the unhallowed bush. Some people on the river even broke it down at the first occurrence. There were never any wakes for very small children.

● 761 "Children die because they are bad spirits come in the
845 form of a child. When they do not stay, we know it is a bad
766 spirit. When the house is broken, they do not know their way to come again."

"What if a woman died?"

845 This was whispered so softly that only Fenekonde heard
766 it, but she did not conceal her distaste for the question.

"When a woman dies she is put in a flat coffin. Some villages give her no coffin at all. Weeds are put into her eyes. All the girls in the village wash their eyes with obia weeds and water. They must never see this again. There is no wake. There is no dancing. No guns are shot. They break the house, and throw it after the coffin, as the men carry it away. She must not come back again."

But the white woman must not imagine that all deliveries were difficult. Often a woman bore a child, and, when the after-birth came, she herself rose and bathed and washed in pemba.

551 A child was given many names. Even in early childhood four or five names were not too many. There was the day

/35 cont./

123 Also, I am led to believe that for me they cherish a
466 more than general respect, since already for ten years now they have been faithful workers for me, a privilege to which no inhabitant in this colony other than myself can lay claim.

123 A family among them, whose head recently died --
778 according to their statements, through poisoning, which misdeed
[761] is supposed to have taken place out of envy, since I gave him preference above others, which he deserved on account of his faithfulness and industry -- has built a hut in the vicinity of its idol signs, in which they placed a crude image cut out of cedar-
[237] wood and painted with white paint. Beside that image they placed a little table and on it laid a number of quill feathers from the gouwies (1) a little bottle with black liquid, symbolizing ink,

1. A pheasant, the Crax alector L.

as well as some slips of paper. Near this little table they dug a number of steps into the ground, and at the lowermost step they made a gutter that runs in the direction of the river. Now when they have a festival with dancing and they want to pay respect to me, they place near it a number of children who constantly pour water brought in jugs, which, flowing down the steps into the gutter, streams riverward. While this ceremony takes place, songs in my honor are sung by the festive crowd.

[122] Now the image, according to their conception, is sup-
[829] posed to be a representation of me, /36/ the white color the sign that I am a white, while the quills, paper, and ink are the attributes of the Whites' higher civilization, the streaming water that I stem from the colonists who have come here from across the sea.

123 The wife of the headman referred to above came to me
589 in the town shortly after the death of her husband and remained to choose my household as her permanent residence, to which I gladly consented. Faithful and considerate, she performs not only a great many household services, but even anticipates in this respect the wishes of my wife, and out of love for us refuses any monetary compensation.

/63 cont./

that he can protect himself only by submitting to the law of the group. In this doubtless must be seen the deep reason for the importance attached to death and mourning, events around which is centered the activity of the usual societies and which entail a veritable mobilization.

It would be very difficult to condense the custom of the Refugee Blacks into a rigorous code. If one wished to do it, one would have to write as Article 1: "The living will conform to the will of the gods and the ancestors as it is expressed through the mouths of those possessed and by the movements of the bearers of the dead."

Each one of the tribes of the Refugee Blacks is formed of a certain number of matrilineages.

There is no limit on the number of these lineages, and it can be asserted that if any lineage whatever, detached from another tribe, asks to live in the midst of the Boni, it will be welcomed. From the first generation the children consider themselves as Boni.

In this regard one can cite the example of the Awara Bakka 3 lineage and that of the small lineage founded in Boniville by a Djuka woman, wife of Grand Man Ochi. All her descendants consider themselves Boni. /64/

But only the great lineages which constituted the tribe at its origin are social units recognized by the grand man, and only their heads are called to be members of the council.

We shall study first the interior functioning of the lineage, then the institutions going beyond the framework of the lineages.

/66 cont./

613 554 The small, recently founded lineages attached to a lo each designate a head: for example, the Afi lineage has Awéni as head. But this head remains subject to the authority of the captain of the lo and his office has no official existence.

/67/ The appointment is made by a council - kuutu - of the lineage, but it is not valid until endorsed by the grand man.

[787] When the deceased captain did not, while living, designate any successor, his yorka is interrogated in order to know whom he prefers. That does not have the force of law but can influence the council.

The council meets several days after the end of mourning for the deceased captain. All the male members of the lineage, regardless of age, give their opinion. Strictly speaking, they do not vote; but the nomination is considered valid only if three-quarters of those present are in agreement. If not, they disband without having decided anything, and the lineage can remain without a head for years. On this topic can be cited the example of the Awara Bakka lo, which remained without a head from 1935 (?) to 1953, until the appointment of Kouduku. During this time the [643] grand man had designated Captain Popo, head of the Lapé lineage, to secure the interim. As for the religious functions, they were taken care of by the doyen of the lineage.

The captain has the following functions within the lineage:

1) He is priest of the ancestor worship and presides over [793] the prayers and offerings made before the fraga tiki. In this duty [769] he is replaced in case of absence by the oldest man of the lineage.

In case of the death of a member of the lineage from the [761] effect of the kunu, the captain convokes all his people in order [782] to proceed to collective prayers and offerings intended to appease the gods:

/138 cont./

613 614 In general, one can say that the law of exogamy is maintained firmly within the fractions which know completely their genealogy. Union between classificatory "brothers" and "sisters" belonging to different fractions remains always prohibited in principle, but as for all the institutions of the Refugee Blacks, the prohibition ceases to be observed if fear of suprahuman sanctions weaken. /139/

This is what explains the difference in attitude among the lineages. In the Awara Bakka lineage, people do not remember [784] that marriages between fractions may have been followed by maladies or misfortunes, and for this reason they are no longer feared.

In the Kotika lineage it was the same, but an event which took place in 1958 threw consternation. A young woman, Awini [789] (K1, E37, Boniville), died suddenly, and divination showed [784] that she had been struck down by the kunu for having married her [961] classificatory brother Sintamann (K3, E145, Boniville). However, they belonged to two different fractions and their common relationship was the farthest removed possible in the lineage (tenth-degree relatives).

684 688 784 Pikadu. The offense against exogamy, pikadu (1), incest in the

1. This word appears to come from the Portuguese pecado, sin.

broad sense, is considered an offense against society and against religious law; it exposes the lineage to the vengeance of the gods who exercise the kunu on it. But in the thought of the Refugee Blacks, if incest unleashes the functioning of existing kunu, it does not create new ones. [114] What has been written on this subject by several authors seems inexact to us, at least for the Boni. [961] In the example put forth above Awini's death was attributed to the kunu brought to bear for a long time by the yaka of a man assassinated in former times by a member of the lineage.

/158 cont./

156 The Boni woman, poor in emotional feelings, and jealous of her independence with respect to men, puts her pride into subsisting by her own efforts.

178 [156] The young women, even the ones with the freest habits, stay firmly attached to their village, to their plantings, and to the mode of life they received from their grandmothers. In fact, because of its structure and customs, the society of the Refugee Blacks has much less likelihood of suffering from the poisons spread by modern life than the patrilineal societies of Black Africa.

761 /159/ Death; Burial Rites

Death is for the Refugee Blacks an event of extreme gravity.

775 In order to ward off danger and permit the yɔrka of the dead person to take its place among the ancestors, the unstinting cooperation of everyone is required.

764 765 181 [621] [619] The ceremonies which have to do with death and mourning are by far the most important ones in the day-to-day life of the Refugee Blacks; for each one they represent a very heavy material load which is accepted without recriminations. It is really a veritable mobilization, which takes place within the framework of the village and not of the lineage. The apparatus set into motion is independent of the lineage, for it must function in the same way for an outsider, Djuka or Saramaka, who dies during a trip.

764 868 767 Participation in the burial rites is for all an essential religious duty. From childhood the Boni are prepared for this task and become, some of them kisimɪ (coffin-makers), others ɔlɔmɪ (grave-diggers), some others wasimɪ (bathers of the dead).

767 467 Kisimɪ and ɔlɔmɪ. It can be said that in each village, ɔlɔmɪ and kisimɪ constitute customary societies, provided with an organization and wielding veritable powers for the duration of their work.

/162 cont./

764 767 [613] In principle the forward bearer (who is called bossman by analogy with a boat) must belong to the dead person's lineage. Apart from this restriction, the bearers can be (and are in fact) any people whatever, the only condition required being that they be extremely vigorous, because the load they carry is at the limit of their strength.

Fraud can exist in isolated cases, but in the great majority of cases there is no doubt as to the good faith of the bearers; they give contradictory answers, go ahead and back interminably, until, exhausted, they are raised up again by others. Actually, the interpretation of these automatic movements does not differ essentially from any process of divination.

The dead person is interrogated from the age of four or [766] five years up. If it is a very young child, he is not interrogated; but the causes of his death are sought by interrogating possessed people, and if there is reason to, the kunu is appeased in the same fashion.

764 787 754 At the beginning of the interrogation the tribunal tries to make sure that the dead person was not a wisimã. After sending the bearers to the other end of the village, the president of the assemblage has two young men hidden in huts; then he has the bearers called, saying to the dead person: "I have lost So-and-so and So-and-so, find them." If the dead person was an upright man, he must have acquired a suprahuman clairvoyance permitting him to direct his bearers straight away toward the huts in question. If he was a wisimã, he will be as if blind; his bearers go wandering in vain from hut to hut.

They state that this test always succeeds.

764 787 761 [776] [784] The interrogation proceeds interminably. The causes of death are taken up. The first question is: is it a god who killed you? The answer is nearly always yes, and they proceed by elimination in order to arrive, for example, at learning that it is an Ampuku, that it is the Ampuku borne by So-and-so. By what the kunu was set in motion, how to appease it, is not the

764 /162 cont./
787 business of the tribunal. The people of the dead person's lineage
761 will have to settle that among themselves after the obsequies.
[784] The role of the tribunal is to make official the cause of death and give it the force of law.

764 Then the inheritance is taken up in the presence of the
787 near relatives of the dead man. The questions are asked suc-
428 cessively: "To whom dost thou leave thy boat...?" "To whom dost thou leave thy gun (1)...?" The coffin moves each time

> 1. That, unless the dead man has, before his death, in front of witnesses, formally indicated the apportionment of his belongings; in such a case, questions are asked only for the objects whose attribution had not been clearly specified.

toward one of the people present. /Figs. 22 and 23 appear here/

764 /163/ At the end of the third day after the death the
[789] burial is prepared; the dead person is asked from daybreak on whether he is ready for that; if not it can be postponed until the next day.

[767] The [illegible] have been working at the cemetery since the beginning of the day. They are young and strong men who have
[827] to work slowly, for not a drop of sweat may fall into the grave or their akka would risk remaining prisoner in it.

About 4:00 P.M. the bearers promenade the dead person one last time in the village for a supreme adieu. The near relatives go to the wharf. The dead man is hoisted into a canoe
[534] while the apinti drum calls his yorka so that it will not remain
[795] in the village.

/166 cont./

764 The coffin is placed at the edge of the mortuary shed,
787 the front turned toward the spectators. Agodéba sits down before the front of the coffin. According to ceremony, he enters into contact with the /167/ yɔrka of the dead woman by pouring water on the ground before the coffin and calling her by
764 name. He says the same sentences several times in different
787 forms: "Thou hast lived here ... thou hast had children in this
761 village; now death has killed thee. Thou must tell us who killed thee."

[292] Two men, B... (L'Enfant Perdu, Dipélu I) and A... (Asisi-Awara Bakka) come forward, gird their loins with a camisa, and, aided by several others, lift the coffin. B..., who is of the dead woman's lineage, takes the forward position.

For about ten minutes the two bearers try to put themselves into a state of passivity permitting them to receive fitly the promptings of the dead woman; no question whatever is asked. They are seen to make contradictory movements, to go forward tilting the coffin from left to right, which means yes and no at the same time. Sometimes a sudden impulse appears to draw them far from the spectators, they are seen going from hut to hut, wheeling around, going away again.

Finally they come back. Agodéba asks: "Is it a god who struck thee down?" The answer seems to be yes. "Is it a Papa gadu, an Ampuku, a Kãntasasu?" Contradictory answers, the people present lean toward the negative.

Agodéba continues: "Is it a yɔrka who killed thee?" Confused and contradictory movements of the coffin. Agodéba begins again: "Is it a god?" Someone among those present shouts: "Don't you see that she meant yes, speaking of the yɔrka? Agodéba gets angry, takes his hat, and leaves the meeting. General hubbub. Half an hour of words, broken by various movements and sham exits, is required in order to bring him to take his place again.

/167 cont./

764 The bearers are changed and the interrogation continues,
787 still as confused as before. Captain Tafanié, who arrives in
• 761 the midst of all this, thinks that the dead woman does not want to speak in front of such a large crowd. He asks her to designate which of the people present will form a small group. I see the front of the coffin stop in front of an old Saramaka named Yasu, then successively in front of about ten of those present of various ages and origins. They stand up, take their little benches in their hands, and go to join Tafanié under a large tree in a spot to the side; the interrogation resumes; by nightfall a sure fact has been established: Way was killed by a god. They will resume the next day in order to find out what god is concerned and how to appease him.

764 Notes taken at the funeral ceremonies for Kotoïda (Afi lineage)
[114] October 22-23, 1956 (2nd and 3rd days after death).

I arrive at Asisi on the 22nd at eight o'clock. Kotoïda died on the twentieth; the first part of the ceremony has been finished.

[692] It is Tafanié, head of Papaïston village, who presides over the lãnti kuutu.

Tafanié himself has directed the making of the coffin (he is a kisimã) with the help of boards held in reserve on the spot. The work was finished at nine o'clock in the morning.

The body was placed in the coffin immediately, and after the presentation of the pieces of cloth, the wings were nailed. /168/

When I arrive at the wharf, the coffin is placed in the mortuary shed. The near relatives of the deceased (sons, daughters, and nephews) as well as the husband and the co-wife compelled to take part in the mourning are seated in their hammocks attached to the posts of the shed. The first-mentioned manifest no apparent sorrow whatever. Husband and

/168 cont./

764 co-wife, on the contrary, are completely veiled and show by their state of prostration the keenest sorrow. Each of them is assisted by a female relative who supports them when they have to move somewhere else, for they are supposed to be too overcome to move alone.

764 787 761 The interrogation as to the causes of death has already taken place the day before, but Tafanié proclaims, in front of me, the result of it to the latest arrivals: the deceased was struck down by a yɔrka which pursues the lineage with its kunu. She had already received several warnings in the form of illness; the yɔrka had demanded a payment which she and her near relatives had neglected to furnish. Impossible to learn anything further before being able to interrogate this yɔrka, whose habitual bearer has left for Saint-Laurent. It is necessary to wait for his return in order to mollify the yɔrka's anger.

764 769 778 [613] About ten o'clock the members of the lãnti kuutu go toward the fraga tiki of the Awara Bakka lo, in front of which they all sit down on their stools. I notice that not a single man of the dead person's lineage appears in the front row. In it I recognize Popo (Lapê), Poopu (Dipélu II, Kormotibo), Tafanié (Papaïston). The one who is speaking is a foreigner passing through, a very aged and respected Djuka.

[782] The elders invoke Masa Gadu and the ancestors in general, asking them to protect them from adversity in the future; then the offering of water and tafia takes place (no cane juice). I notice that a little is poured on each of the secondary fraga tiki erected for the sake of each one of the ancestors who pursue another lineage with their kunu. That lasts about a quarter of an hour.

764 787 776 428 424 Next someone goes to ask the deceased to whom she bequeaths the Papa gadu god which manifested itself in her; for the gods are bequeathed like the rest of the inheritance, even if those concerned are divinities which exercise the kunu

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764 Cemeteries. There are two cemeteries in Boni country: one on the lands of the Dikan lineage for the people living on the French bank, the other downstream from Kotika for the inhabitants of that village. They are ordinary places which nothing indicates from the bank, for they are covered like the rest of the country by secondary forest. The dead are buried there in graves aligned parallel to the river, about seven meters apart. The dead are placed with heads turned toward the river. No separation by lineage exists within the cemetery.

The graves are not marked by any decoration, and at the end of about ten years, the mound having settled down, no trace of the burial remains.

[767] The graves are never cleaned. Only the ɔlɔmã heads, who have received special instruction, know the graves of the principal chiefs and the boundaries of the cemetery.

769 The Boni never go to the cemetery alone and do not [754] make offerings on the graves of their near relatives. Someone [775] who would frequent the cemetery alone would be suspected of being a wisimã seeking to capture the yɔrka of a dead person.

764 Even if they are right near the villages, cemeteries are 487 never connected directly to them by paths, and the dead are transported by boat. By proceeding thus they hope to isolate the villages from evil influences.

766 If someone dies by drowning, he is buried away from the cemetery. According to Mr. W. F. van Lier, among the Djuka [761] all drowned persons are supposed to have been victims of a [784] kunu; the Boni do not have this conception and declare that they [184] have lost the meaning of this custom; one notices, however, that they observe mourning for the drowned according to the usual rites.

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Relations between Gods and Men

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The kunu

The kunu. The Refugee Blacks call kunu the collective curse which has weighed on a matrilineage since an ancient offense. The kunu is without time limit, without pardon, without pity, blind in the choice of its victims; in principle, it can end only with the complete extermination of the lineage. Each time that adversity swoops down on one of its members in the form of death, sickness, various calamities, the kunu is the most frequently obtained explanation. The instrument of this inexpiable vengeance is either a god or the yɔkka (spirit) of a dead person.

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This notion, which occupies a central position in the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks, does not appear to have been borrowed directly. Most of the populations of Dahomey /222/ and the Ivory Coast take for granted the idea of arbitrary punishments exercised upon the members of the lineage by the gods or the ancestors of the group. But no population of these regions has, to our knowledge, developed so highly systematized a doctrine.

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The conceptions developed by the Refugee Blacks, divinities impelled exclusively by vengeance, and especially ancestors inexorably chastising lineages other than their own, have created new relationships among individuals and among lineages.

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We have not been able to elucidate the origin of the word kunu. Perhaps it is a deformation of the Mina word ekunu, which means burial.

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Three categories of divinities can pursue men with their kunu, and because of this fact the Refugee Blacks feel toward them an extreme terror mixed with veneration.

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114 784 The various works treating of the Refugee Blacks point out well the importance of the kunu, but it seems to us that the functioning of this institution (for in fact a social institution is certainly concerned here) has not been clearly understood.

784 613 A kunu is attached to a matrilineage in the literal sense (b&s). It extends obligatorily to all the members of the matrilineage and can strike only them.

For example, my kunu can strike my sister's son but not my wife nor my children (they are subject to the kunu of their own lineage). /223/

[782] The kunu, striking the lineage as a whole, can be appeased only by prayers uniting (at least in principle) the whole lineage. That is the respect in which the kunu may be defined [571] as a social institution, for it is, we shall see, the principal cement holding the groups together.

The unleashing of a kunu does not necessarily and immediately follow the destruction of a termitary or the death of a dagowe snake. The god thus offended avenges itself by making a certain number of members of the lineage sick and 784 by causing limited misfortunes to happen. When things are 613 at that point the kunu can still be exorcised by prayers and 782 offerings. In 1957 the beginning of a kunu was manifesting itself thus in the Awara Bakka lineage of Asisi; very frightened, the members of the lineage made offerings and prayers to exorcise it.

784 613 But if the lineage people neglect the warnings of the god, if through laziness or selfishness too great a number of them [673] are absent from the collective prayers and do not take part in [761] the offerings, prayers and offerings will be refused and the god will kill one of them. From then on the kunu is unleashed and can no longer leave the lineage. Its involuntary bearer [428] will have to bequeath it upon his death to a member of the lineage, who cannot refuse this legacy and must immediately

/225 cont. /

784 613 787 562 One sees from this example how the influence of women, exerted in arbitrary fashion, in a domain placed outside of custom and ordinary social life, weighs on the life of the group.

784 614 571 Kunu of the Dipélu lineage. The situation of the Dipélu lineage with respect to the kunu is particularly interesting. Although split for perhaps 100 years into two separate groups, Dipélu I (L'Enfant Perdu and Apatu villages) and Dipélu II (Kormotibo and Asisi-Dip. II villages), this group still constitutes an undivided unit with respect to the kunu. Neither time nor [484] distance (it takes more than a week of traveling to make the round trip between L'Enfant Perdu and Apatu) has been able to break it up. The Apatu people come very often (at least some [755] of them) to be present at the collective prayers which take place at L'Enfant Perdu to appease a kunu in order to cure a sick person.

784 614 776 The oldest kunu ("since Africa") is that of a Papa gadu god whose bearer was ○ Dika (Dip. I, D10, † 1951) and which passed after her death into ○ Péechina (Dip. I, E42, L'Enfant [787] Perdu village). This kunu strikes indiscriminately the people of L'Enfant Perdu, Apatu, Kormotibo, Asisi-Dip. II, and the Dipélu fraction residing in Boniville. To it, these past years, [761] have been attributed the death of ○ Way (Dip. I, E6, living [753] in Boniville), the illness of △ Akwali (Dip. II, F7, Kormotibo village) and of ○ Bongo (same village).

784 775 614 Another very old kunu is the one exercised by the yɔrka of a Surinam Creole who had settled with the Dipélu people a very long time ago. He was suspected of sorcery and killed. [483] Since then his yɔrka comes back regularly to exterminate the Dipélu.

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784 Having no known lineage (his family, if he had any, was
776 in Surinam), it had taken people of the Dipélu lineage as
614 bearers. The last was △ Denis † in 1938. Since Denis'
787 death, it no longer has a bearer. The questioning of the dead
reveals that they died by its kunu. The members of the two
[782] fractions of the lineage meet together (at least two or three
members of each village come) to supplicate it.

784 A third kunu, very interesting in origin and supposed
614 action, /226/ in 1957 was borne by Kwau (Dip. I, E1, Kotika
village). It results from the killing of an anaconda snake by
Apatu † (Dip. I, C1), companion of the explorer Crevaux
when he was traveling to /in/ Brazil. Upon contact with
Europeans Apatu had become a freethinker and was no longer
observing the laws of his people. Among the later victims of
[753] this kunu was counted Kwami (Dip. II, F4, Kormotibo village)
[755] who, gravely ill, had had to go to L'Enfant Perdu where the
god had been invoked for him and offerings made. The death
[761] of Manga (Dip. I, E5, Boniville, † about 1930) was particu-
larly attributed to it.

No other kunu has revealed itself in Apatu village since
its founding in 1882.

784 A fourth kunu concerning all the Dipélu has as bearers
614 women of the Dipélu II group. It results from the inadvertent
776 murder of a Papa gadu whose bearer was a dagowe snake killed
787 in the course of the nivrée /fishing/ of a pool by Akonté
562 † (Dip. II, B1), transmitted to Kondo †, then to Alama
(Dip. II, E1).

Since then Papa gadu have revealed themselves in
○ Apalta (Dip. II, F9, Kormotibo village) and in ○ Kaala
(Dip. II, G28, Asisi-Dip. II village). They declared them-
selves to be the descendants of the first and to come in support
of it.

/228 cont./

784 613 786 787 They are the object of three kunu:

--One exercised by a Papa gadu god whose bearer up into 1956 was Kotoïda († Oct. 1956), who bequeathed it to ○ Mani (Afi lineage, d12).

784 785 613 --The other exercised by a yɔrka of the Lapé lineage. This kunu dates from about 60 years ago; Alémin (Afi lineage, b3, Kormotibo village), 80 years old in 1957, had when he was young cut a clearing in a place which was found to be an old abandoned Boni cemetery (opposite Maripasoula). Some [787] time afterward, a yɔrka revealed itself in a woman of the Lapé lineage, saying that it was exercising a kunu against the family of the sacrilegious person.

[786] It is to this yɔrka, whose bearer is M... (L2, Boniville), that the death of Kotoïda in October, 1956 is especially attributed.

--A third kunu is exercised by A..., of the Papaïston 2 [684] lineage. A... had committed pikadu. Surprised by Alémin (Afi lineage), he had paid the latter to obtain his silence. [786] But Alémin had talked. Dishonored, A... committed suicide with a gunshot; some time afterward his yɔrka revealed itself in Alémin; it exercises a kunu on this lineage.

613 614 784 Situation of the other lineages with respect to the kunu. The Papaïston lineage is divided into two groups: Papaïston 1 (the principal one) and Papaïston 2, of which there remain only three living members: two women and one young man. This remainder of a lineage continues to bear its own kunu, which is unique and separate from that of the principal group.

The principal group forms a unit with respect to the kunu.

The Lapé lineage, cut from the point of view of genealogy into two pieces, forms a unit with respect to the kunu. We [114] have been able to collect only fragmentary information on the various kunu of this village.

/228 cont./

784 A kunu is exercised by a Dipélu yɔrka, borne in 1958 by
775 a Loka woman. It is invoked before the fraga tiki of l'Enfant
778 Perdu village (Dipélu I). Sometimes a broko dɛ is celebrated
769 for it in the same forms as the ceremony of the eighth day
613 after death.

784 We have likewise not been able to collect complete
613 information on the kunu of the Kotika lineage. This lineage,
114 divided into three fractions, forms a unit with respect to the kunu.

784 A kunu is exercised by the yɔrka of a Surinam Creole
613 assassinated in former times by a member of the lineage. Its
775 bearer in 1958 was Todo (K1, E68), a man of the Kotika lo
789 living in Boniville. In 1958 a young woman of the lineage,
[761] Awini (K1, E37), died suddenly; the yɔrka revealed that it
[684] had struck Awini because she had a liaison with Sintamann (K3, E145), thus committing pikadu. The idea of the collective responsibility of the lineage is so deeply accepted by the Boni that the near relatives of the dead woman did not reproach Sintamann at all.

784 /229/ A yɔrka of the Kotika lineage may exercise a kunu on
613 the Djuka. This is the case of an affair going back to 1950;
775 a young woman died some time after having a serious discussion
761 with a Djuka woman who had hit her. Deaths among the Djuka
619 these last years had been attributed to its vengeance.

It seems that there is no other kunu exercised by a Djuka
784 upon a Boni lineage and vice versa. This is surprising, con-
619 sidering the fights which in former times set the two nations
613 against each other.

The Djuka and Saramaka living isolated in the midst
621 of the Boni know their kunu, which were revealed to them in
784 childhood. In case of sickness, they employ divinatory pro-
[755] cedures in order to know what kunu is concerned, then they
[613] make offerings. But in case of serious illness, they are forced to go back to the village of origin of their lineage.

/230 cont./

784 the lineage; questioned, this god declared that it had something
787 to complain about in the bad condition of the house which the
776 members of the lineage had erected to it on its order; the roof of leaves had not been changed and it was raining through.

784 It happens also, but as an exception, that the god has
684 sanctioned an offense against morals or more precisely, against the social law, such as the breaking of an interdiction, pikadu (incest in the wider sense, an offense against exogamy). It is necessary to understand that in the thought of the Refugee Blacks, incest unleashes the existing kunu but does not create a new kunu.

In October, 1952, Dolo, a young man of 25 of the
[787] Awara Bakka lo, died almost suddenly. Divination revealed
[761] that he had been killed by the kunu (it was a Papa gadu which
[613] had intervened) in order to sanction an offense committed some time previously by another member of the lo named P.... The latter, a notoriously depraved individual, had committed incest with his own sister.

784 When the divinity has made known through the mouth
776 of its bearer the causes of its act, the assembled members of
782 the lineage implore it, ask it not to pursue its vengeance; the
[787] divinity then requires an offering: for example, if it is a Papa gadu, it will require bottles of beer, some red and white cloth which will be immersed in a given place in the river. It may also require dances in its honor, celebrated by the other possessed people in the village. If it is an Ampuku, it will demand rum, dark-blue cloth which will be exposed in a remote place in the forest. An offering of this kind represents a relatively small sum, even for the Boni (several thousand francs in 1952). The god then declares itself appeased. But it does not pardon and it will resume /231/ its vengeance
[183] at the first cause. Thus the Boni have hope only in a rigorous
776 observance of customary law and the rites. There are divinities
787 which appeared to be thus appeased for a long time and to

/231 cont./

776 which people do not hesitate to come to ask for remedies or
787 opinions, in spite of the evil they have done to the lineage and perhaps will do tomorrow. It is even allowable to wonder whether people do not prefer to consult the most wicked divinities, for they are believed to be stronger.

784 The kunu focuses, turns aside toward high purposes the
771 blind forces of superstition, fear, and rancor. Several authors
114 who have written on the Refugee Blacks have stated that
754 calamities were almost unfailingly attributed to sorcery (wisi). This is a grave error due to the fact that they believed they could transpose to the Refugee Blacks what is observed among the Creole populations of Surinam. If this were true, no
[787] positive social bond could exist. We believe we can assert that among the Refugee Blacks divination lays the blame on sorcery in only scarcely a tenth of the misfortunes. Here,
784 among other examples, are several typical cases concerning
[114] Boni who worked with us or whom we have known especially well:

[753] --In 1948, Fintiman (Dju) falls ill (violent pains in the
[776] legs); kunu of a Kintamasu.

[752] --In 1948, Galmo (Papalston) is accidentally hurt (gun backfire): kunu.

[753] --In 1949, Diolè, captain of the Dju lo, is smitten with
[761] hemiplegia and remains paralyzed. He dies in 1951: kunu
[776] of a Papa gadu.

761 --In 1950, a Saramaka is killed in a hunting accident (a gun in poor condition went off by itself): [illegible]ku (accident).

[754] --In 1951, Kanayen (Kotika) drowns while sailing at night on the river: wisi.

[784] --In 1951, Loka (Dju) dies at the age of 70: kunu of an
[776] Ampuku.

752 --In 1951, F... (Dju) is seriously hurt by the falling of
784 a branch while cutting his clearing: kunu of a yɔrka.
775

/231 cont./

--In 1952, Dolo (Awara Bakka) dies almost all of a sudden with the symptoms of peritonitis: kunu, punishment for incest committed by another member of the lineage.

--In 1952, Maĩendo, ten years old, son of Osaya (Awara Bakka) accidentally drowns: natural accident (Bagooku).

--In 1954, Bêniti (Dju) dies at nearly 75 years of age: kunu of a Papa gadu.

--In 1954, Agyémési (Aw.B.) dies almost all of a sudden: killed by Odun (he was a wisimã).

--In 1955, Tabiki (Awara Bakka) dies at over 80: natural illness.

--In 1956, Kotoida /sic/ (Afi lineage) dies suddenly, aged about 50: kunu of a yooka.

--In 1957, F... (Lapé) is gravely ill with symptoms of typhoid: kunu of a Papa gadu.

--In 1957, Sokodo (Dip. II) dies at 40: kunu of a Kintamasu.

/232/ One observes that in the 15 cases cited here, the kunu interferes ten times, while in three cases natural causes: illness, accident, were assumed.

In reality, the Refugee Blacks do not have the conception of a natural world, subject to known or knowable laws, which is set against a supernatural world. The intervention of a Papa gadu is neither more nor less natural than an illness or an accident. There is only, on the plane of human life, more or less frequent intervention by suprahuman forces. The intervention of these forces is made according to laws which embrace the totality of beings and things, laws which men cannot understand but of which they believe they have a partial and empirical knowledge.

/232 cont./

75 It is important not to confuse the kunu with the sufferings
784 which other divinities can arbitrarily make men undergo. The
776 kunu has a systematic character. But a divinity theoretically beneficent, and which has come into a man after being called on, may also from time to time bring misfortunes if such is its whim of the moment.

752 In 1949, G... (Dju) was busy cooking a crab in the
776 house of his mother D... A machete which was fastened to
784 the wall suddenly detached itself and wounded him in the right hand. Now his mother had an Ampuku which had imposed
[789] the crab on her as kina. This Ampuku, immediately called
[428] on, revealed that it really was it which had struck G..., for it did not like to see D...'s son eat crab (note that G... was not at all held to the observance of this kina, for no kina is transmitted from mother to son).

784 Neither must the kunu exercised by a yaka be confused
775 with the vengeance that a dead person can exercise against
613 the members of his own lineage in order to punish them for
969 having neglected their duties.

Punishment inflicted by an ancestor of the lineage seems for the Boni to be a notion distinct from that of the kunu. Vengeance exercised by a yaka upon its own lineage is regarded as exceptional and devoid of the inexorable and definitive character of the kunu, but they assume it to be
[962] possible. They cited to us the case of Yali (Loka), who
[153] committed suicide when accused of sorcery by the people
[761] of his lineage. Since then, his yaka has caused sicknesses and deaths in his own village.

776 Conversely, a god which exercises the kunu upon a
784 lineage may in certain cases intervene in favor of this lineage
613 if such is its whim of the moment. Thus the death of Diamanti
[761] (Aw.B.2, Asisi village, † in 1955) is attributed to the god which exercises the kunu on the village of L'Enfant Perdu and whose bearer was Pêêchina. Diamanti had wronged someone of this village and the god had intervened against her.

784 /233 cont./ One conceives of the
795 interminable dissensions which this situation entails: if the
613 manifestations of the kunu do not cease, the victims let it be
578 understood that the prayers were badly made.... /Figure 28 appears here./

961 Every suspicious death whose circumstances lead to the
628 belief that /234/ an inhabitant of another village was responsi-
613 ble can bring on a punitive expedition against that village and
[784] other villages of the same kin group. By taking this vengeful attitude even before the grand man has been notified and the blamed people heard, the people of the dead person's lineage are thinking above all else of taking precautions against the action of the dead person, who could turn back his vengeance
628 against them. Actually, these fights are above all symbolic; the wisdom of the Refugee Blacks has promulgated precepts which many nations could take as a pattern, in order that these punitive expeditions might not have serious consequences:

--One may strike only with the fists, and blood must not flow;

--Men may strike only men, while the women find fault with women;

--One may fight only on the village common and before witnesses, never in the bush or on the river. As a general rule, the people aimed at by the expedition do not resist, but flee into the bush or on the boats, or group themselves around the fraga tiki, holy place which the aggressors must respect.

628 We have told about the expedition made in April, 1957
613 by the people of Assi-Awara Bakka against the villages of L'Enfant Perdu (Dipélu I) and Kormotibo (Dipélu II). Eight years earlier, in 1949, another squabble had thrown the Dipélu against the Awara Bakka after the death of Pétikona (Dip. II), whom her husband Boofo had taken to Surinam and who had died there. The Kormotibo people claimed that Boofo was responsible for her death. They went to attack the people of Assi who, although three times more numerous, did not try

/237 cont./

Not just anyone may resort to divination on behalf of someone else: only the eldest have the right to do it, and it has happened that the grand man punished offenders severely.

Fate. The Refugee Blacks do not attribute all misfortunes to suprahuman causes. They have the notion of natural accident, ɔɛgɔɔku. They say ɔɛgɔɔku miti mi, or again ogi miti mi, misfortune met me. They also accept the idea of natural death. They usually regard as natural death that of the very old, the infirm from birth, and sickly children.

Divination blames fate in ten to 20 per cent of accidents. It is the usual explanation for hunting accidents.

/238/ Magic Forces

As we have shown, the Refugee Blacks consider beings and things as a world of forces capable of acting on one another, outside of time and space, according to laws which men cannot understand but of which they believe they have a partial and empirical knowledge transmitted by tradition since the time of the ancestors. They distinguish negative magic forces, wisi, which have the effect of diminishing the vital force of men, which makes them sick or kills them, and positive magic forces, ɔbia, which come from the gods: the ɔbia comes to increase the vital force of men, giving them protection, immunity, or knowledge. But no power is in essence a principle of good or evil; nothing is impossible for him who knows the formulas; this is why the magic of the Refugee Blacks is reduced to a perpetual and indecisive struggle between ɔbia and wisi.

Wisi. Wisi is sorcery in the African sense of the term, that is, the use of magic procedures to harm others; wisi is for the Refugee Blacks the pre-eminently criminal act, at the same time against morals and against society. The struggle against

/244 cont./

754 695 571 In 1958, a Boniville woman, N...., was convicted of having paid a Creole quimboiseur to make the grand man die. She confessed, a rare thing in this kind of case, and the materiality of the facts did not appear doubtful. The Boni were strongly impressed by this unprecedented event, and for several weeks the members of the lineage concerned were in such agitation that one could have believed they had lost their reason. In Boniville they "held court" continually for nearly two months, and they discussed so much that farm work was neglected and part of the rice crop lost.

754 695 683 [648] What were they going to do with this woman? The laws of Odun forbade killing her, no more could she be expelled. The Boni made discreet overtures to the administration to find out whether it was not possible to have her imprisoned. They were surprised to learn that French law does not recognize the offense of sorcery. Somebody then proposed having her admitted as a servant at the leprosarium of the Acarouani on the /245/ coast. This suggestion produced a surprising result; the Boni were unanimous in thinking that making someone who was not a leper live in a leprosarium was a punishment worse than death, and they resolved to pardon her.

How does one go about it, since the laws of Odun do not permit pardoning a wisimã? Nobody could give us a satisfactory justification on this, but in 1959 A...., the preceding year spurned and maltreated, had taken up normal living again in her village.

754 76 784 In fact, a case of wisi is terminated only upon the death of the person concerned. If a man who has been accused of wisi during his lifetime dies accidentally, or is struck by a fulminating sickness, the fact that he has been chastised by Odun appears as incontestable proof. The case is fixed in the memory of the group in a specific form and will be given as an example to inspire respect for customary law.

754 /346 cont./
181 of his near relatives, his sister's children being regarded as
178 the victims most pleasing to the demon.
[787] Although in former times one to two out of ten deaths were attributed to wisi, in 1957 and 1958 out of 14 adult deaths of which we could obtain the explanation, there were:

[784] --Four wisimɛ̃ killed by Odun, including two women of over 85 who during their lifetime had never been the object of unfavorable notice;

[74] --One death by the action of a wisimɛ̃,

or a total of more than a third of the deaths; out of the nine others, two were looked upon as natural deaths (dead of old age), seven were attributed to the kunu.

754 The Refugee Blacks and Creole magic. Some of them go to
648 get from the lukumɛ̃ what their own social morals forbid: vengeance or success acquired at the expense of other people. They have uttered an oath that prohibits the practice of wisi: for most of them it is clear that if they paid a piayeur /magician, sorcerer/ to harm someone, it would be the same as if they performed the sorcery themselves. But others make a mental reservation on this point.

754 In 1951, G..., of the Kotika lo, then about 20 years old,
755 felt ill while staying at Saint Laurent. He went to find a
648 Creole maltif (clairvoyant) who presented him with a mirror, announcing to him that he was going to see in it the face of the one who had piayé /bewitched, cast a spell on/ him. G... saw nothing in the mirror. The maltif was not upset at this and revealed to him that the piayeur must be someone in his wife's family. G... then recalled a dispute he had had some time previously with one of his wife's brothers and let himself be convinced: since that day he has not gotten along with his brother-in-law.

/253 cont./

Various Beliefs

578 Fyo-fyo. If a Boni is on bad terms with someone of his lineage or of another lineage, he has the absolute right to turn a cold shoulder to him and stop having anything to do with him. But
828 if, hiding his rancor, he seeks, from selfish motives, to main-
753 tain the appearance of friendly relations, he risks falling ill, be-
761 ing struck by various calamities, or even dying from the effect
789 of what the Refugee Blacks call a fyo-fyo. The nature of this
[825] force is not clear; they know only that its support is a small, common insect named fyo-fyo. They declare that if a person dies from the consequences of a fyo-fyo, one of these insects will be seen leaving his body through the nose at the moment of death.

776 Taku sani. By this name the Refugee Blacks designate maleficent
[775] entities of the bush, which they imagine as of nonhuman nature by contrast to the taku yɔrka, wandering spirits of dead people
753 rejected by society. These entities are lower beings devoid of
828 consciousness but dangerous for men into whom they may enter, rendering them sick or mad. Certain of these entities are believed to reside in plants, like the kɔtkɔti, others are thought to take on the appearance of dwarfs (baku), whom certain people believe they sometimes see at dawn on the outskirts of villages.

751 One protects oneself against taku sani by special ɔbia, and those who do not feel completely secure take a certain number of precautions in addition, like that of tearing up the leaves they have used for drinking water from creeks.

/256 cont./

845 When twins die young people almost always blame a
961 disagreement which has arisen in the lineage. The twins
678 did not want to live in a divided family. The head of the
613 lineage then exhorts his people to be reconciled with one another at any cost in order to avoid new misfortunes.(1).

[753]

1. In general they have the idea that dissensions occurring in the lineage have as a consequence illnesses or misfortunes striking the members of the lineage.

[182]

This notion plays a major role in the social life of the Refugee Blacks; after the kunu, it is the principle cement holding groups together.

845 One who harms a twin is sure to fall ill. Conversely,
798 it is assumed that the twin must not abuse his power, that he must lead an upright life and avoid quarrels. He is nearer to God than other men.

They assume for example that Efa, of Papaïston village, herself a twin and the mother of twins, has a very special power. Nobody would risk harming her.

613 In lineages having many twins there exists a place of
[274] worship sacred to a vital principle called Twilinge. The nature of this principle is not clear. The Boni define it as the soul of twins. Is it a matter of the first twins Adam and Eve? Or of a collective worship offered up to all deceased twins?

538 /267 cont./
[765] audience and to create an atmosphere of participation in the rite.

This ritual character makes it so that the Anansi Toli cannot be recited any time and in any old way. The story-teller may speak only at night, in the presence of a respondent and of an audience of at least two or three persons. A ritual formula: "dirinti" -- the response of the audience: "ndaeti," [124] precedes each new story. It is only with extreme repugnance [126] that informants consent to listen to and comment in the day-[76] time on a tale recorded on tape, particularly if their parents are still living, for it is said among the Refugee Blacks as in Black Africa that telling stories in full daylight makes one's father and mother die.

[174] These tales belong to an authentically African [179] accumulated store, practically unchanged in spite of the borrowing from the Creole Blacks of Paramaribo of several themes concerning automobiles, steamboats, etc., inserted in droll fashion into the traditional themes.

The usual hero of these tales is Anansi, the crafty one. [825] Anansi is the name of the Mygale spider (1). It is noteworthy,

[191] 1. The spider cycle is characteristic of the Akan (Agni-Baoulé-Abron) culture area. Anansi is the name of the Mygale spider among the Agni.

however, that this spider does not appear to play any special role in the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks and that no divinatory power is attributed to it. In fact, in the tales of which he is the hero, Anansi is nearly always represented as a man.

/294 cont. /

648 It seems that in these relations, both bring more patience and tolerance to bear than toward the people of their own group. It is excessively rare to see disputes arise between Indians and Boni, when there sometimes are some within each group.

186 The feelings which the Boni have toward the Indians are complex: they feel superior in physical strength, effectiveness, and organization; they make fun of the Indians' puerile eagerness for beads and jewelry, of the begging attitude of certain
829 ones among them. But they admire them for their cleverness, their intimate knowledge of the forest, and fear them for the supernatural powers they attribute to them. Sure of themselves, fearing nothing from the bush, never getting lost, unrivalled hunters and fishermen, the Indians appear to them to be endowed with unique faculties which other men do not possess. We have happened to hear in camp reflections such as this: "It is going to rain, the Indians are making shacks."

829 The Boni feel an intense fear of Indian magic. Not one
152 of them would dare to seriously displease an Indian, and even if he feels he has been wronged, in most cases he will not dare complain (1).

● 761
787
829

1. In the search for the magic causes of death, it happens that divination may incriminate the action of an Indian medicine man. In such a case the legal action of the Boni is extinguished, for the principle is that the Indian medicine man does not hurt anyone without a reason. It is considered that the deceased must have gravely injured him and that he deserved his fate.

KUNU

We sat one night talking about the neku vine, which is used to poison the streams for fishing, and the ceremonies attending the discovery of a new one, how the ownership of it is passed on in the female line, and about the songs which are sung to celebrate the finding, and the feast which is given at this time. 278 226

"Do you use this poison only to catch fish, or does it have other uses?" we asked guardedly.

"Well, sometimes people use it to commit suicide," one man said. "That is bad. Sometimes a man or a woman will do it to put a kunu on another's family." He went on to tell of a man who lately did this. He had been promised the daughter of a family in this very village when the girl was a small, small child. It happened that the girl's uncles found gold in one of the streams, for which the white man gave them much goods, and now they were big men. Since the girl's children would inherit much wealth, they wanted her to be the principal wife of a man of rank. There were messages back and forth, and council meetings, but the uncles insisted that the girl return the gifts she had received —insisted against the advice of many people. So this *kio*, this young lad, could get his revenge in no other way than by taking his own life, and sending a kunu to the family. "The next time you come you will probably see the kunu at work. It is always so. Of what use is wealth when the children begin to die? One year the crops are bad, and you have to buy food. One year you go from one obia man to the next to find out why your sister cannot make children. Your money goes. Kunu is a bad thing." [762] [627] 776 754

Another day a woman came to us with a comb to sell. She had heard that we were gathering pieces to put into a large house where carvings from Africa were being shown, and she wanted us to have this comb of hers which was made as a betrothal gift by her husband who was now many years dead. It was an old comb with several broken tines and holes bored into it by insects, but the decorated end was still very beautiful, and we were eager to buy it. When we asked her to explain to us the meaning of the design, she 439 [584] 439 532

684 [196] be. The Earth Mother, who is the giver of fertility, takes the adulterous woman who is with child under her protection, and no one may harm her. But the guilty man must make redress to the betrayed husband. Fines must be paid by the adulterer, and there is the beating which the husband administers. This beating has its ritual. The culprit, at the time that is set, comes out to the place where the injured husband and his family wait. They attack him with bare fists, although the Kromanti arm obias are sometimes slipped down on clenched hands, and with these serious wounds can be inflicted. With or without the iron arm bands, the beating is a serious matter, and the man who has committed the trespass is severely mishandled, unless he can get away from his assailants and run into the bush. In the bush he has sanctuary, and at the end of some time may come back to his village. The gods will not give a weakling husband, or one who is not clever enough to take his revenge when it is offered, a second chance.

At times this beating is a merry affair. This happens when the adulterer's family tries to protect him, and then the matter becomes a two-family brawl, or, if the village is a [628] large one with more than one clan substantially represented in it, it may become a fight between two clans. Once, in a village near the railhead, a man was killed in such a fight, and then white police stepped in, and the murderer went to prison.

A chief, however, can give the culprit sanctuary, and [622] [708] Asikanu, being a chief's brother, was protected by the chief while negotiations were being carried on in his behalf. Now he was sent away from home to be one of our paddlers so that the enraged husband might be dealt with—time helps to cool anger. This was important in Asikanu's case, since the husband of the woman who had gone to Asikanu would consent to no fine, however large, and seemed, furthermore, to have misgivings about the manner in 776 • 762 which the ritual beating would be conducted. "I will kill myself," he had been heard to declare. "I will kill myself, 684 and give them all kunu. My *yorka*—ghost—will come to 754

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

trouble them, and I will give the family a kunu, and the clan, too, because the chief has shielded him. I am powerless against the chief. I will kill myself."

A clan kunu is a thing to dread. It must be averted, whatever the hazards. And so, while they held council at Gankwe with the husband and his family, Asikanu was away with the Bakra. . . .

At Apresina an old woman sent word that she wished to see us. She was so old and so ill that we had to cross half the length of the village to come to her, so that she might see what a white man and a white woman were like.

"Well, how is it in the city?" she asked. "How is it among you whites?"

She had heard, she told us, that everything was quiet in the city, that it was as if people slept night and day. Crops did not grow as they should. People were sick. Was it so? And without waiting for us to answer, she spoke again.

"But it must be so. So many, many black people took their own lives, before the time of running away. There must be kunu there." She assured us that it had to be so. How else but that the children of those whites should pay for the old abuses? . . .

And in the Granman's village we heard of kunu again.

"Do you know what they say in the city?" Granman Yankuso said one late afternoon, addressing several of his favorite village chiefs. "They say we are good men here in the bush, because we believe in kunu. In the city, where they do not believe in kunu any more, they are not afraid to use magic to enrich themselves, or hurt their neighbors. In the city they say that, friends."

There were the usual responses from the chiefs.

"So it is."

"True, true."

"Yes, master of the realm."

We looked out at the shadows across the carved door of the council house, that superb rendering of the Earth Mother and her attendant symbols of procreation and abundance, beyond into the great clearing where we could

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

sufficient time for the nitrogenous substances to be reduced to fertilizing material. Because of this poverty of the ground and the constant foraging of insect and bird pests—the parrot is notorious among these—the cultivation of food is difficult and laborious for the Bush Negroes and the provision ground must often be moved to a fresh site.

Their main carbohydrate staple is the manioc or bitter cassava. It is a tuber-like plant that grows some three to seven feet in height, the edible portion being the underground root. The root contains the poisonous prussic acid, which must be carefully removed. Bush Negroes have been known to commit suicide by drinking the juice of the cassava. The plant itself resembles the tobacco plant, but has a stalk covered with bark and large roots that look like sweet potatoes.

The roots are harvested, carefully peeled, and reduced to a pulp by being rubbed on the roughened surface of an inclined board, the expelled free juices rolling down the incline into a bowl. The rest of the plant is thrown away. The pulp is stuffed into a cylindrical squeezing contrivance made of reed, known as the *matapee*. It resembles one of those toy finger grippers of straw that children play with. The reeds being flexible, elongating the tube by pulling at the ends reduces the diameter of it; this compresses the contents of the cylinder and squeezes out the deadly juice which then runs off into a bowl below. The matapee is a beautifully woven piece of basketry about five feet long and seven inches in diameter. The upper end is attached to the limb of a tree and a heavy stone is suspended from the lower end, the

/222 cont./

776 --The Papa gadu (Vɔɔdũ). The kunu that one of them
784 exercises upon a lineage comes uniformly from the fact that in
613 times past, one of the ancestors had inadvertently killed a
[825] dagowe snake (boa), usual bearer of the Papa gadu. For example,
the snake might have perished in the burning of a clearing.
[787] Some time after, the god had possessed a member of the lineage
and revealed that henceforth it would exercise a kunu;

--The Ampuku. The kunu of an Ampuku begins in an analogous way; in days gone by an ancestor had, for example, cut a katu tree without performing the rites suitably, or had made a clearing in a place where an Ampuku was residing;

--The Kintamasu (who call themselves Akɔio), gods of the termitaries, much feared, may exercise a kunu if, before cutting a clearing, someone has, in spite of all his searching, allowed a termitary to escape him, which thus was not the object of the indispensable rite;

775 --Finally, the kunu may be brought by a dead person's
784 yɔɔka. For example, a man of lineage A had once upon a time
613 unjustly accused a man of lineage B. The latter committed
762 suicide out of revenge. The meaning of this act is not the same as in Europe. It is not a question of making one's enemies live in shame and remorse, but by sacrificing one's life to cause an eternal vengeance to be wreaked upon one's enemies. Some time after the suicide, the yɔɔka reveals itself in a man of his lineage and announces that it will pursue the members of lineage A eternally with its kunu.

784 Thus the offenses which the kunu punishes are not moral sins as we understand them, but involuntary acts without inner meaning. The purifications and sacrifices demanded are likewise purely exterior acts.

/224 cont./

775 A yɔrka exercising a kunu may also demand that another
784 smaller fraga tiki be erected for it beside the principal fraga
769 tiki of its lo. In the villages of the Refugee Blacks one often
778 sees these little crosses provided with white veils like the main
613 fraga tiki, planted beside it a little obliquely.

The notion of the kunu exercised by a yɔrka explains the
775 rarity of murder among the Refugee Blacks. How would you
784 dare to kill someone when, as soon as it is freed from his body,
674 his yɔrka will have full latitude to make you sick, to make tree branches fall across your path, to cause to suffer and to
775 kill all those dear to you? If someone is blinded by hate, it
784 is the idea of suicide which will dominate him. In October,
762 1952 we were able to observe this reaction in a man who had just been subject to a deep humiliation: "I am going to kill my body in order to go to kill that man and his whole family," he said to us, prey to a fit of rage; fortunately, when the fit had passed, he came back to a more sound outlook on things.

775 It is to be noted that a yɔrka cannot exercise a kunu
784 against its own lineage. This notion explains why, in the times
613 when they exercised absolute authority, tribal chiefs had those
696 condemned to death executed by men of the same lineage.
[171] Apparently similar practices were the rule in olden days in several African kingdoms, which allows one to think that notions analogous to those of the kunu may be rather widespread there.

784 Situation of the various lineages with respect to the kunu. There
613 we touch on one of the most secret aspects of the social life of the Refugee Blacks. Years of living among them are necessary in order to obtain precise information on the nature and the mode of action of the kunu acting on the various lineages.

784 Nearly all the entities which now exercise their kunu on the
613 Boni have been in their lineages since a very ancient period,
428 to the point where the name of their first bearer is forgotten. They are transmitted inexorably from generation to generation. In the course of the ages, the kunu have accumulated, and now certain lineages are living with four, five, or even six kunu.

/224 cont./

784 Kunu of the Dju lineage. The Dju lineage in 1958 was affected
613 by four kunu:
776
787 --An Ampuku which has exercised its vengeance since time immemorial, to the point where the origin of this kunu is no longer remembered, its bearers being Dabisa (G25) and Adyidya (E19), two women about 50 years old. This Ampuku formerly had as its bearer an ancestor named Agoabuchi, who died about 1940. Two or three years after his death, it manifested itself in Dabisa;

--A Papa gadu named Adawa which has also pursued the lineage with a pitiless vengeance since the time of the great ancestors. It revealed itself to the preceding generation in an ancestress named Sapiké (D5), and a long time after her death it passed into Pamasa (E26), a woman of 35. This kunu has grown worse since /225/ two other Papa gadu revealed themselves in recent years in two women named Kulina (F9) and Diana (E9). They declared that they were the descendants of the first one and that they came in support of it;

784 --A yɔrka whose name nobody wanted to tell us because
613 they were so afraid of it. It is that of a man of the Awara Bakka
775 lineage, who committed suicide two or three generations ago
787 when he was unjustly accused of a crime by a man of the Dju
[162] lineage. Since then, this yɔrka has been exterminating the Dju lineage little by little. Its bearer in 1958 was an old woman of the Awara Bakka lineage, named Namu;

784 --A Kantamasu since, a very long time ago, an ancestress
613 whose name is forgotten inadvertently destroyed a termitary
776 while burning a clearing. It had as bearer a very old woman
787 named Wima (E3) († 1957), and it manifested itself also in Ata (F2).

784 Thus, in this group, the maleficent gods had exclusively
613 women as bearers; out of about 20 adult women, seven were
787 participating in the functioning of the kunu.
562

/228 cont./

784 613 786 787 They are the object of three kunu:

--One exercised by a Papa gadu god whose bearer up into 1956 was Kotoïda († Oct. 1956), who bequeathed it to ○ Mani (Afi lineage, d12).

784 785 613 --The other exercised by a yɔrka of the Lapé lineage. This kunu dates from about 60 years ago; Alémin (Afi lineage, b3, Kormotibo village), 80 years old in 1957, had when he was young cut a clearing in a place which was found to be an old abandoned Boni cemetery (opposite Maripasoula). Some [787] time afterward, a yɔrka revealed itself in a woman of the Lapé lineage, saying that it was exercising a kunu against the family of the sacrilegious person.

[761] It is to this yɔrka, whose bearer is M... (L2, Boniville), that the death of Kotoïda in October, 1956 is especially attributed.

--A third kunu is exercised by A..., of the Papaïston 2 [684] lineage. A... had committed pikadu. Surprised by Alémin (Afi lineage), he had paid the latter to obtain his silence. [762] But Alémin had talked. Dishonored, A... committed suicide with a gunshot; some time afterward his yɔrka revealed itself in Alémin; it exercises a kunu on this lineage.

613 614 784 Situation of the other lineages with respect to the kunu. The Papaïston lineage is divided into two groups: Papaïston 1 (the principal one) and Papaïston 2, of which there remain only three living members: two women and one young man. This remainder of a lineage continues to bear its own kunu, which is unique and separate from that of the principal group.

The principal group forms a unit with respect to the kunu.

The Lapé lineage, cut from the point of view of genealogy into two pieces, forms a unit with respect to the kunu. We [114] have been able to collect only fragmentary information on the various kunu of this village.

/232 cont./

75 784 776 It is important not to confuse the kunu with the sufferings which other divinities can arbitrarily make men undergo. The kunu has a systematic character. But a divinity theoretically beneficent, and which has come into a man after being called on, may also from time to time bring misfortunes if such is its whim of the moment.

752 776 784 In 1949, G... (Dju) was busy cooking a crab in the house of his mother D... A machete which was fastened to the wall suddenly detached itself and wounded him in the right hand. Now his mother had an Ampuku which had imposed [789] the crab on her as kina. This Ampuku, immediately called [428] on, revealed that it really was it which had struck G...., for it did not like to see D...'s son eat crab (note that G... was not at all held to the observance of this kina, for no kina is transmitted from mother to son).

784 775 613 969 Neither must the kunu exercised by a yɔrka be confused with the vengeance that a dead person can exercise against the members of his own lineage in order to punish them for having neglected their duties.

Punishment inflicted by an ancestor of the lineage seems for the Boni to be a notion distinct from that of the kunu. Vengeance exercised by a yɔrka upon its own lineage is regarded as exceptional and devoid of the inexorable and definitive character of the kunu, but they assume it to be [962] possible. They cited to us the case of Yali (Loka), who [953] committed suicide when accused of sorcery by the people of his lineage. Since then, his yɔrka has caused sicknesses [761] and deaths in his own village.

776 784 613 [761] Conversely, a god which exercises the kunu upon a lineage may in certain cases intervene in favor of this lineage if such is its whim of the moment. Thus the death of Diamanti (Aw.B.2, Asisi village, † in 1955) is attributed to the god which exercises the kunu on the village of L'Enfant Perdu and whose bearer was Pééchina. Diamanti had wronged someone of this village and the god had intervened against her.

/242 cont./

754 Of course he was recognized as a wisimɛ̃ by the first
764 adjuration made to his body carried in the papay on the heads
787 of two men: "If thou art a wisi man, do not come toward us."
The dead man drew back. /2..

[784] /243/Continuation of the interrogation showed that he had not
yet killed anybody, but that he had been killed by Odin when
he was preparing to kill someone of his lineage.

754 The persecutors of Agyémési, contrary to their hope, did
not recover after his death from the maladies which they were
attributing to his sorcery; that did not shake their conviction in
755 the least. They left for Paramaribo to have themselves treated
648 by a Creole magician (for the Surinam Creoles, who practice
white magic and black magic indiscriminately, are by this fact
reputed to be more expert than the Refugee Blacks in combating
the effects of wisi).

954 In recounting this story to us, the grand man told us that
it is always necessary to be cautious with accusations of wisi,
[762] because one can never be sure. A man unjustly accused can
[784] commit suicide and pursue his accusers with his kunu (most of
the Boni state that they would do so in such a case). In former
173 times, the barbarous punishments in use in Africa were applied
683 to revealed wisimɛ̃: they were burned alive. But people tell
784 that one of them, some months afterward, undertook against
his accusers' lineage a kunu which still lasts today. He had been
wrongly condemned! It is through fear of the kunu more than
[198] through care for humanity, that these punishments have been
abolished.

754 It certainly seems that the constant fear of the wisimɛ̃ in
[152] which the Boni live is only a collective hallucination, and that
rare indeed are those who dare to indulge in practices which
might draw upon them such terrible social and religious sanctions.
As for these practices themselves, they appear to be without
any real content, and the misfortunes attributed to them are

/160 cont./

769 According to the moral law of the Refugee Blacks, all work must be paid for. The work of the ɔkɔmɔ and kisimɔ is no exception to the rule: the dead person must pay for what is done for him; to this end, his brothers appropriate pieces of cloth from his trunk (about 30 if the dead man was rich) and since that would not suffice, the relatives and friends of the dead man come to swell these assets by giving additional pieces of cloth.

If the dead man was very poor and no longer had cloth in good condition, the people of the lineage must give enough so that at least six may be given to the kisimɔ and about ten to the ɔkɔmɔ. If there are too few pieces of cloth for each one to be able to receive a whole one, they are cut up into small pieces, but it is absolutely indispensable for each one to be paid, even if symbolically.

764 Unfolding of the burial rites. These rites are complex, and the ceremonies in which they unfold are always very confused. Even if one is acquainted with the general idea and understands the language rather well, they are very difficult to follow. For [128] clearness in this account, we shall first give a résumé, which will be followed by observations collected in particular cases.

• 763 The day of the death is taken up by weeping and lamentations and the sending of messengers to the neighboring villages.

Chapter I

DEATH AT GANKWE

WE HAD not thought to come upon death on our first night in the Suriname bush. What had killed Sedefo's brother no one could as yet say, for the time had not come to call upon the spirit of the dead man to speak. Death, said the Bush Negroes, was ravaging the family. Kunu, the law of retribution, the tool of ancestors and gods, had found this latest victim an easy prey to the black magic which had been invoked against him. In whispers they talked about a quarrel at work with a man who had a powerful snake god. 761 [154]

"The man's family kunu and the enemy's Aboma god," we heard as a refrain to the low muttering.

There would be dancing all that night for the spirit of the dead, the natives told us, and they asked if we did not wish to come and honor the dead. But an old man objected. "Let them wait until tomorrow," he said, "let them wait until they are rested. To face the spirit of the dead their own spirits must be strong." 764 [609]

That night whenever we stirred in our sleep we strained for the sound of the drums, but the wind blew from the east, and though Gankwe, where the dead man lay in state, was but a ten-minute run down the rapids, we could hear nothing. In the morning, however, we heard them plainly, heard the invocations drummed by the grave diggers on their way to the burial ground deep in the bush on the opposite bank.

Osio tintin [539]
Osio be'e dyo.

[p. 2 contain no textual material]

REBEL DESTINY

764 [539] "On the sacred apinti drum we speak to the spirit; we tell it we go to dig the grave." So the drum spoke. From the shore we could see five figures in the small corial, and, as they came closer, we saw also the drum, the food the men carried, and the muddy hoe. They would do this the next day and the next, for to dig a grave takes a long time.

I

775 769 191 Although separated by many generations from their African places of origin, the Bush Negroes of Dutch Guiana have held to the traditions and beliefs of their aboriginal home. In the Suriname bush, as in Africa, the responsibility which an individual bears toward his social group does not end with death. His clan, his village, and his family look to him, when he has joined the spirits of his ancestors, to protect them against the magic of their enemies, to help them in time of drought or pestilence, and at all times to intercede for them with the gods.

As in Africa, the spirit of the dead is powerful for good or evil, and the rites of death must be carried out as tradition demands, so that the dead man may feel he has received honor among the living and proper introduction to the world of the dead. As in Africa, we found that the first care for the dead is to place the body on the central portion of a broken canoe; that rum and tobacco are included in the water with which the body is washed; that in washing the dead, the back must not be touched; that the number of those who wash the body must not be an even one—five is the number preferred, though three persons are used, and seven; that those chosen must not be young, for it takes age and the knowledge of controlling the spirits which age brings to approach the dead without suffering harm.

764 191 [801]

764 While the body lies in the open house of the dead, relatives and the village elders are in attendance on the spirit night and day. It is they who all night tell stories about the trickster, spider Anansi, to amuse the spirit, and they who play traditional games. The dances begin when

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the body has been put into the hexagonal cedar box which is ornamented with the cross-like design called by the natives *kete-eye*, the eye of the coffin.

"How many days to make the coffin?" we asked our informant.

"One day only, but they do not start the first day. They must go into the bush and hunt out a cedar tree and cut it down, and then there must be prayers."

It became clear as we talked with this man, who so reluctantly spoke of these rites, that death cannot be hurried.

"It takes time," he said, "hammocks and cloths must be gathered, and other articles to put into the coffin. It takes time."

Before the body is put into the coffin, the ears and nostrils are packed with tobacco and cotton, and the head and face are swathed in white so that the dead man may be recognized when he walks abroad.

As we sat and talked of death, we heard the discharge of guns and were told that the coffin was being closed and that these shots were to honor the spirit. "They dance well at Gankwe," said our friend, casting an eye in the direction of the village and showing very plainly his eagerness to be off. But we detained him and brought the conversation back to the digging of the grave.

To dig a grave takes a long time, we heard again. The digging party first goes out to select a fitting place in the "big bush" where the dead lie. Though it is not considered imperative—some villages do not follow the practice at all—it is considered good form to consult the spirit of the dead man whether or not he approves of the spot chosen. Then all has to be done softly—*safvi*—without haste. The men who go to dig the grave must be in the prime of life, for they must not tire easily, and even these strong young men must work slowly, that no drop of perspiration fall into the upturned earth. If one drop of perspiration were to fall into the grave, then the dead man would in time claim the companionship of the living spirit

764 of him from whom it had dropped. The same belief in the identification of the essence of one's being with any part of one's body which actuates so many primitive peoples, and is so characteristic of West Africa, exists among the Bush Negroes. It is for this reason that when an African or a Bush Negro dies away from home some of his hair and nail parings are sent to his native village for ceremonial burial. And it is for this reason, too, that for three mornings we saw the party of five young men go out from Gankwe to dig the grave of Sedefo's brother and heard the drum's invocation,

[171]

[537]

Orio tintin
Orio be's dyo.

2

766 The night was still and dark. The natives said the moon was dead and this was the time for the dances to the river gods, but since there was a death in Gankwe all the gods might be danced to, for in times of important rituals, like death or the breaking of mourning or harvest festivals, it was not necessary to wait for the day sacred to each god to dance.

"They dance well at Gankwe," said our informant, as he sat by, and then after listening for a few moments he added, "They're dancing already."

We, too, walked out on the path to listen, and gradually we separated the sound of the falls above our camp from what seemed like the pulse of the night itself.

"It doesn't boom, does it?" we asked each other, remembering the accounts of impressionable travelers.

Soon Sedefo himself appeared and another, and we started for Gankwe.

"*W'aka kowi*, Sedefo," called our host at camp as we put off. He was evidently uneasy about us and asked the paddlers to be careful, for it is not safe on the river at night with the rapids below and the spirits that hover about.

The paddles cut the water so soundlessly that it did seem as if the spirits were carrying the boat downstream.

DEATH AT GANKWE

Ahead of us and all about were the various shades of darkness which go to make the jungle darkness on a moonless night—the dark water, the dark branch of a liana which our paddlers skirted as if by magic, the dark wall of forest, and the dark horizon. But soon there was foam on the water, and then all the darkness seemed to break and come to life. We heard the drums plainly, and the rattles, the singing voices, and the chorus of approbation from the young onlookers, breaking into the song. We were nearing the rapids and Gankwe.

Up the bank, through the spiritual guard of palm fronds which stretched across the path, and up the path we went to the great village clearing, where the principal houses are grouped and where stands the house for the dead.

In this open palm-thatched house the coffin, covered over with a white striped cloth, rested on a rough bier. Underneath the head of the coffin a calabash dish stood to receive the fluid of the putrifying body, while in front of the coffin a fire smoldered and to one side a hammock was slung where Sedefo, or in his absence an elder of the village, lay to guard the dead. The drummers and some elders sat in front of the house facing the phalanx of singers seated on their low stools some ten feet away from them. There were perhaps fifty women singing, and as many standing about to the left ready to begin dancing again, or just standing by to mark the rhythm with hand clapping and a slight swaying in place. Here and there, hung upon forked sticks which had been planted in the ground or placed on the ground beside a stool, were a few lanterns. They cast a pale shadowy light and brought into relief the ceremonially oil-anointed shoulder of one, the shining anklets of another, a brilliant red strip of cloth, the intricate pattern of another's hairdress.

With our coming the singing and dancing had stopped. The children grouped together moved toward us in a body, and then took to their heels, repeating this again and again, until the two or three we had already talked with at our camp took courage and squatted down at our feet. The older

609 people kept their distance, and among them some pithy proverbs were spoken to bear upon the shortcomings of the white man. One or two of them turned to repeat to the dead what had been said, and there was great laughter. Sedefo [775] came to assure us that the dead man liked it very much. For the dead, it appeared, were especially susceptible to humor and to exceptional occasions.

964 298 About us, or edging their way toward us, were the younger men in their ceremonial dress, the toga-like cloth covering their bodies, but leaving one shoulder bared for respect, and the women in their knee-length *pangi*, or [301] cloths, hanging from the waist, and their shining brass rings reaching from wrist to elbow and from ankle halfway up to the knee. Among the dancers, but standing somewhat [534] aloof, could be seen a man or woman with seed rattles about the ankles. These were the fine dancers. Of them our informant had spoken when he said, "They dance well at Gankwe."

964 [350] 533 Carved stools were placed for us facing the coffin a little to the left of the singers, where we could best see the dancing. One or two lanterns were moved to give us better light. The drummers, who had not left their places, took up the rhythm again—one of the women had us know that the spirit of the dead man had communicated to the spirits of the drummers that he wanted to see the dancing resumed. The singing began—a woman's falsetto voice and a chorus; the hand clapping of the singers and bystanders emphasized the basic rhythm. It was slow at first, then quickened, and the dancing became more animated.

"They dance seketi," whispered our friends. "Later they will dance awasa."

964 535 The dancing was confined to a comparatively small space. It began with a barely perceptible motion of the feet of the dancers to the rhythm of the drums and the hand clapping. Then the feet began to execute figures in place, without leaving the ground, the arms hanging loosely at the side. This was continued for some time, until, arms flexed and held rigid at the elbow, and knees bent but rigid, too, the

intricate steps began. The movement of the feet, angular 764
and precise, was reiterated by the outstretched palms, 535
while all the muscles of the hips took up the rhythm. Now
one of the men with the seed rattles at his feet danced facing [534]
a woman who also had these rattles, and the dance became
theirs with a chorus of dancers moving more and more to
the side, keeping the rhythm with the feet. The drums beat
faster, the hand clapping became louder. Those two
balanced their bodies as they bent their knees lower and
lower, all the while executing the figures with feet, arms,
and hips, and how unaware they seemed of the audience!
And even of each other, for what awareness there was to
quicken the pulse of the dancing was more than one man's
awareness of one woman. It might have been a dance to
Asaase—the great Earth Mother—but it was, in fact,
dancing for the dead, for the two would turn again and
again to face the coffin, as the others had done, except
during the intervals when they recalled the white man and
woman in back, and turned to dance to us and our
flashlights.

Seketi, awasa. . . . The dances changed, and the songs,
and the drum rhythms changed, too. The children at our
feet had fallen asleep and lay doubled over, their heads
resting upon their toes. More men joined the dancers. It
was long past midnight. The women who had infants on
their backs moved away silently in the direction of their
huts, but when an elderly woman tried to go, too, she was
reprimanded and sat down again.

There was another leader for the singing, and another.
A man's falsetto was heard in a long recitative that preceded [533]
the dancing to the massed voices of the chorus. He faced
now the dead, now us, as he improvised. Once more it was
gay.

The dancing became more and more spirited, but when a
dancer had continued in the circle for some time, an older
woman coming forward from among the bystanders would
put her arm about her and exclaim the singsong, "*Adoo!*
. . . *Adoo!* . . . *Adoo!*" Others came forward to con-

gratulate the dancer, while another had taken her place in the dance, only to be brought to herself again when her dancing had become so abandoned that there was danger of falling or tripping. For it is always a bad thing for one's *akra*—soul—to fall from exhaustion or even to trip while dancing, and it would have been especially dangerous to have fallen with the spirit of the dead so close.

As time passed, figures were seen edging away into the darkness. The knot of dancers thinned. Now there were but two young women dancing. They wore identical cloths of a new material, a pattern resembling the cloth over the coffin. They were related to the dead man. When all were wearied, they had to go on dancing. . . . Dawn would not be long in coming.

3

We knew that it would not be long before the spirit of the dead would be called upon to tell his family, fellow villagers, and clansmen how death had come upon him. For, in the Guiana bush, except for the very old, there is little natural dying. The deceased has been killed either by the gods whom he has offended or by the black magic of a powerful enemy, and it is of this which he must tell before his burial. When Sedefo came to our camp the next afternoon, we asked him about the "carrying of the corpse," as the ceremony is called. We told him that his people in Africa—for the Bush Negroes know that their origins are African—also asked the spirit of the dead why death had come upon him, and we plied him with questions. What would they do to be sure the answer was right? Who would ask the questions? When would they establish the facts of the killing? And might we come and see?

There would be no trouble, he told us amiably enough. The spirits of the dead liked attention, and for the *Bakra*—the white man—to come so often to his brother's bier was a compliment. We could return with him, but we must make haste—and it was evident that important ceremonies were about to take place.

DEATH AT GANKWE

And so once more we were in Sedefo's canoe running the rapids, and once more we pulled up at the landing place. 764

It was quiet enough there, and no one passing would have noticed anything out of the ordinary in the behavior of the one or two women washing clothes at the riverside, or of the children playing about in the water. Again we climbed the path to the village, this time to the delighted shrieks of the children, whose cries brought others, until we were surrounded by a fearless, clamoring group, shouting, calling after us, "Bak'a, Ame'ica' Bak'a!" Sedefo took us to his house, where we met the senior of his two wives, and turned us over to a young man, who had played one of the drums in the ceremony of the evening before, to show us the village. This was the routine of courtesy due any visitor. Nothing more tangible than a slight reserve marked the tension which made this village different from what it would have been on any midafternoon. [596] [595] [594]

In front of the house of mourning all was quiet. Three elderly men sat on their low stools, talking in low tones. They greeted us as we passed but neither engaged us in conversation nor offered us a seat. Inside the house the small fire still smoldered, and, where the hammock had been, now crouched, soundlessly, an old woman who, we later learned, was the dead man's maternal aunt. We were struck with the number of houses that had symbols of spiritual protection over their doors—*obias*, they are called—magically treated to keep the spirits of death from harming the occupants. As we passed one doorway, a woman holding a baby hastily threw a covering over its head, but not before we saw that it had special markings of sacred white clay on its face. The child was under treatment for some illness, and the mother, in these days when spiritual danger stalked about, could take no chances of the Bakra's magic obstructing the cure. [598] [155]

On the other side of the village, farthest away from the house of death, life flowed on yet more evenly. But as we looked about, our guide stiffened, and soon we too caught the sound of the drums which rapidly became louder. He

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
Bush Negroes
Saramacca

964 hurried us toward the river and had quite got away from us as we came to the principal shrine of the village at the head of the path. As we started down the hill to the river an elder of Gankwe stopped us with an imperative, "You must not go."

Very loud and very fast the drums now sounded—it was the rhythm to Kediampo, the Sky God—and a moment later the grave diggers appeared. They came not by the usual way and not under the spiritual guard, but along an overgrown side path. There were ten or twelve men, five of them muddied from their labors, carrying drums and cutlasses, the others, villagers who had awaited them. The men who had been digging wore green parrot's feathers in their hair, and they walked briskly and silently in single file to the house of mourning. There was a great stillness along the path of the diggers. The children had disappeared and the women sought shelter in their own doorways. Stools were not offered us—there was serious business at hand.

All the men in the village had gathered here; they stood in a semicircle about the front of the open shelter. The old woman slowly arose and, taking a small strip of white cloth, passed it once along each side of the coffin and once over the back as though she were ceremonially cleansing it. Four of the earth-stained young men now took up the coffin, lifting it from the bier and placing it on the ground in front of the house, raising and lowering it three times before it was finally set down. A fifth brought out two pads of green leaves, and two of the bearers put these on their heads. The questioning was about to begin.

964 As they raised the coffin with the putrifying body within it on their heads, their muscles stiffened. With eyes half glazed, and expressionless faces, they seemed there but to do the bidding of the spirit of the dead man whose body they supported. They swayed forward and back, from side to side, without moving their feet, and the coffin swayed with their swaying. And then they began to advance, slowly at first, but after a few steps briskly, to a

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SRS Bush Negroes SRS
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group of three elders who stood to the left of the death house. Three times they advanced, and three times retreated, and each time as they reached the three men, one of the elders would put up his hand, touch the end of the wooden box, and the bearers would retreat.

Sedefo took his place with the three and asked a question. The coffin advanced, retreated. Sedefo spoke again; what he said we could not hear, for his voice was so low that it reached us as a murmur. The response to the second question was disquieting; the men retreated without moving toward the questioner, step by step they moved slowly backward in a circle before us, and then, without any hesitation, they started on a run into the village along the path to our left. Two of the grave diggers followed them, for when the dead speaks, his replies to the questions asked him must be interpreted and attested.

Serious consequences may follow the expression of fact exposed by the dead. Repeated visits to a given house will point the finger of suspicion to the one who lives there, and a heavy fine at best, or expulsion from the village to certain death in the unprotecting bush at the worst, may be his fate. Supernatural forces are beyond control; here some man's destiny was being sealed by the automatic movements of two others under the hypnotizing influence of the spirit of the dead. Back came the coffin and the questioning was resumed. This time the man who took up the inquiry stood upwind, and we could hear his low voice.

"Did a white man slay you?" he asked. We watched anxiously. What if the answer should be that our coming to the bush had brought death in its train? But the bearers retreated when they came where the questioner was standing.

"Did someone at Gansee slay you?" Again the advance, and the backward steps to the mourning place.

"Did someone at Gandya village slay you?" The answer was "No."

"Did someone at Gankwe slay you?" And with the question, the corpse and its bearers once more disappeared from sight into the village, the women fleeing before it and

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764 781 herding the children before them so that they would be upwind from the coffin and the stench of decaying flesh.

As they returned the rear bearer was relieved; the tension eased for a moment, but there was one man who did not smile. And it was whispered that he lived in the part of the village where the corpse invariably went. The scene changed slightly; Sedefo, who had stopped questioning, resumed his efforts, and five, ten, fifteen times the bearers advanced toward him and retreated from where he stood. Sometimes we caught our breath; the corpse was coming toward us; but always the bearers swerved before they reached us, going no farther than the grove of thorn palms that grew near the house of death. Then once more they broke through the ranks of questioners and, followed by the watchers, were off in the direction of the village council house and the dwelling of the chief.

The bearer who had been relieved came forward; the corpse, he said, wanted to speak; he must be allowed to carry the body again. This time there was little relief while the change was being made, for the man was possessed, and the air vibrated with the intensity of the spirit which animated him. But apparently there were still difficulties. Again and again the questions were asked, again and again the bearers advanced, retreated. Sedefo kept insisting "Yu *mu* taki. You *must* speak!" and again the coffin advanced, retreated, and then once more went to our left into the village.

[158]

Clouds were rising to windward; the sun was low on the horizon. The bearers returned, advanced to the village head once, twice, again, and again, and then the coffin was placed on the ground, raised three times, and left there for a moment before others took it into the house and replaced it where it had been when we first saw it. The ceremony was over; the elders of the village went to hold council and to interpret what the dead man had said.

764 In the swift tropical dusk, Sedefo and his son came to take us back to our camp. The drummers were adjusting the drums for the night's dancing. "He spoke, ai," he told

12 Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1929-1932) 1934
[illegible] Negroes [illegible]
Saramacca

964

as when we asked him. But what the pronouncement had been we were not to learn.

"It takes a strong spirit to stand before the spirit of the dead," said our host when we returned to camp. "I don't wonder that you are tired."

4

The burial took place on the seventh day of death, our sixth in the Suriname bush. Sedefo, who had promised to come for us so that we could see the ceremonies, had not appeared for two days, and we were certain that he would fail us. But on that day he appeared, just as we had eaten our noon meal. "We do not hurry the spirit," he explained, "but the burial must be over before the sun has gone. Make haste!" And again we went to Gankwe.

The dancing we had seen on the night of our first visit had been spirited, even gay. The carrying of the corpse had been terrifying in the spell of magic it had cast and in its grim potentialities. Today what we saw was saddening. For today the dead man was to say goodbye to his friends, his family, and his village.

All the preparations had been made, and as we came in sight of the house of mourning the ceremonies were beginning. The men were about as before, but there were women, too, and even a few of the older boys. Stools were offered us, and as we sat down the coffin was brought out of the hut into the open space in front of it. Once more four of the young men who had dug the grave took it off its bier; they raised and lowered it three times before it was finally set down upon the earth. And the same two bearers who had carried the coffin on their heads when the spirit of the dead had spoken were now to carry it once more. This time, however, the forward bearer placed a broad bit of palm leaf on his head before he took up the coffin. For after seven days in the tropical heat, protection against the drippings of the corpse could not be dispensed with.

Everything that had been used in the ritual of death was to be taken away with the body. The calabash con-

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR3 Bush Negroes SR3
Saramacca

764 taining the drippings was taken away by two young men to be emptied, a third going ahead to warn of what was coming. The floor of the mourning house was swept by two others, and the sweepings carefully collected and placed, with the calabash, in the bungolo, the broken boat on which the corpse had lain until the coffin was made. The fire was extinguished; the open hut was to be left as it had been before death had come.

This time the corpse was carried to allow the spirit to say goodbye. Out and back, out and back it went. First to the village *kruta wara*—the council house—where the dead man in life as a boy had sat and listened to his elders debate the affairs of the village, and where he as a full-fledged member of the community had "gone aside" with a group of his fellows to talk over more privately some proposal placed before the men by the council of old men and the village head. Then his body was carried to the portion of Gankwe nearest the river and back, and finally to the house where lived the mother of his dead wife, and where his little boy had been living since his mother's death. And now, for the first time, we heard wailing. "He is going from me. My children are gone," was the lamentation, as the coffin stopped, backed away, returned once more and yet once again to say a final farewell.

The eyes of many of the people who were standing about so quietly were moist. Another member of the village had gone, and kunu had again taken its toll.

Now the body rested upon the ground before the mourning house. To the rear of the coffin were the three drums and the drummers, ready to play. The rhythms began fast and loud, with the big agida drum carrying the basic beat and the apinti talking to the spirit of the dead. More people gathered; women ventured near in greater numbers, and Sedefo appeared with his shotgun to render the final salutes to the spirit. As the reverberations ended, Sedefo took up a bowl of powdered sacred white clay, and walking with measured step in time to the drums, sprinkled the ground so that a circle of white now enclosed the space about the coffin. A girl began to dance Vodu—she was

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934 6
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
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dancing to the snake god by whom she was possessed. More people came, and these brought gifts of peanuts, cassava, sugar cane, rice. The food was thrown over the coffin and within the white circular path, on which a man was now dancing round and round in time to the drums. Faster and faster he twirled his way about the coffin, and now another joined him while a third walked slowly about the wooden box, a bunch of plantains in his hand, which he slashed from the stem with his machete so that they, too, fell over the coffin.

The men were dancing to the great Kromanti spirits; the tiger—jaguar—and the buzzard, two of the three forms which the dreaded Kromanti obia can take. "Obia! Huh! Huh!" one ejaculated, imitating the tiger, as his dancing became wilder and wilder. As he ran about the village he wrested a branch from a tree and blindly slashed about him with it. He ran through the clump of thorn palms to our left and emerged with another branch, and now those about were on their guard, for to be struck with those thorns would cause serious lacerations. But the dancer's spirit, his Kromanti obia protected him against such consequences, for are not the Kromanti men immune to anything that wounds; are they not secure from danger of the iron bullets of a gun or the thrust of a machete? The girl with Vodu ran away as he came near her.

Soon, however, the drums were silent, and another shot was fired—the second salute to the dead. One of the elders of the village, bearing a bundle of several long green branches, took his place on one side of the coffin, a younger man on the other. We could not hear what he said, but as he finished speaking he struck the other three times over the bare back; the first two strokes lightly, but at the third he slashed as hard as he was able. It introduced the one note of merriment that afternoon. The people standing about laughed aloud as the ceremony was repeated. A woman, and then another man, were switched.

As this ended, Sedefo took the place of the elder, and in his hand was another kind of branch. This, too, was long, but except for a tuft at its very end it had been stripped of

764 all its leaves, while the butt of the stick was whitened with sacred clay.

Now the ceremony was drawing to a close, and the leave takings were to be said. Sedefo thrust the branch over the coffin, where it was grasped at its whitened end by the dancer who a few moments ago had been so frenzied. The laughter of an instant before was stilled; there was no wailing. Distinctly the low voice of Sedefo came to us as he addressed the corpse:

[539] *"The hour has come when we must part from you. What the Earth has decreed we cannot help. We have done for you what we could. We have given you a funeral worthy of you. You must care for us, and you must deliver us from all evil that may come upon us."*

As he finished, he slashed the branch in two with one quick stroke of his machete, so that the dancer held in his hand only the short whitened stump of what had been the long stem. The dancer then turned and walked sadly toward the river path still holding it in his outstretched hand, nor did he return to the village and the coffin.

Now the place that had been occupied by Sedefo was taken by an elder who held the second of the three sticks with their whitened ends. When Sedefo reappeared, he carried on one arm a little boy, the child of the deceased, and taking the dancer's place across the coffin he grasped the whitened end as the other had done. The separation from the group of men who had Kromanti spirits had taken place; the dead man was next to be separated from his family.

[539] *"You see, we bring your child. Now he is alone. Try to protect him, that he may live in health and prosperity, that he may not fall into the water, that fire may not burn him. Protect him in the bush, that he may not be harmed. Now we must separate you from him. What we must do we cannot help, for it is willed by the law of the Earth."*

With this, the second branch was slashed, and still holding the child Sedefo followed the Kromanti brother

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Saramacca

of the deceased with the same slow sad pace as he took the little boy and the whitened stump to the riverside to await the embarkation of the burial party.

What happened to the third branch we did not see. As the elder's voice faded away, the two bearers helped by their fellows once more took up the coffin and amid the renewed wailing of the women started toward the river. The villagers followed, and we too took the path to the waterside. But after a few steps we were halted by the people ahead of us; some rite was being performed. When we were finally able to proceed, the coffin was being placed in the boat that was to take it across the river to the burial ground. But just outside the spiritual guard, where it had been thrown to the side of the path, we noticed the long green portion of the branch with its freshly cut whitened end. It was here that the dead man had been separated from his village.

No women went to bury the dead. Three canoes, each with its complement of men, started off across the river. In the first boat, resting on the gunwales, the coffin had been placed, and in front and behind it were the bearers to steady it. Underneath was the broken boat with the sweepings of the house of death, the calabash in which the drippings had been, and the short whitened ends of the *sangrafu* branches by means of which the spirit had been parted from the living. As the canoe moved off with its load of coffin and paddlers, drums and drummers, two more shots were fired as the final salutes of the village. The third canoe came back twice; once for two broken pieces of iron which had been forgotten, once for the gun. But the canoe was not turned about; the boat was paddled backwards toward the landing place, and someone waded out to hand the desired object to the men in the boat. To turn around would be hazardous; death is dangerous, and they could not tempt danger by giving the spirit hovering about a chance where to return. We stood and watched the little flotilla disappear about the bend, and with us stood the heavy-eyed men and women. Then, when we had all washed away

REBEL DESTINY

964 [183] Then, when we had all washed away the taint of death in the flowing river, we turned and once more climbed the path to the village.

§

The muffled sound of a gunshot came to us as we sat in the hut of the headman, speaking of the funeral. "Another child gone," he said, "Soon he will be safe in the earth."

We had not been permitted to go across the river to witness the burial. "It is a dangerous place for those who do not know it," the headman said. "*Opi*—evil things—are there, bad spirits who harm those who are not prepared, and we do not want evil to come to you. Several years ago there was a Bakra here when we buried another Gankwe man. He asked to go, and we granted him his wish. But the spirits of the bad bush across the river harmed him and he died, and now his ghost plagues us." [196]

A second shot told us that the bearers had reached the grave after their march through the deep bush where living man seldom came. They had sung the *papa singi*—the dirges—which are intoned as the dead is borne to the grave. Once arrived there and the invocations pronounced, the salute fired, and the gods propitiated, two men would descend into the deep hole there to lift down the coffin and place it in the tunnel-like excavation dug under the undisturbed earth to the side of the large opening; would place it so that the falling earth might not disturb the spirit of the dead.

A third shot.

The body was in the grave. The heaping of earth, with the burial hoe, with feet, and with fingers, back into the hole that had been so laboriously dug had commenced. The sun was getting low and darkness comes early in the big bush. [413]

Now the last shot told us of the final ceremony. The food that had been brought for the last offering was being placed on the mound of heaped-up earth. The strip of white cloth to the spirit was being pushed into the ground on its stick. The burial party was backing away from the grave, slowly, slowly, so that the spirit would not be alarmed, so that it

DEATH AT GANEWE

would not guess that the living were eager to desert him. And then all would turn and run as fast as they could to the river's edge, where the unwashed dirt that had accumulated during the digging of the grave, and the more serious spiritual contamination to which they had been exposed in handling the body, would be washed away in the safety of the flowing water. 764

We strained to see the returning party as our canoe was being paddled and poled upstream through the rapids to our camp. But it was too dark, and we heard nothing but the sound of water over rocks.

REBEL DESTINY

688 Marowyne to earn money that he needed for marrying. He was in good health, and he learned about the river "*so te*—until . . . " he knew how to travel on the river safely. But after he had been away only a short time, word came to Kasanya's village that he was ill, and before he could be brought home, he died. They brought back his hair and nail clippings so that his spirit might rest among his own people. They held a big *dede wara*—wake—for [764] him for six days in the village, with the little coffin and the offerings which were to accompany the spirit, and dancing and Anansi stories and the adji game, just as though he had died at home. There were many guns, too. Everything was done, and the spirit of the dead son was asked to help the family against the kunu which was brought to them by the deed of his mother's mother's brother.

The second son died in the bush. His own gun went off accidentally as he tripped on a hidden liana and killed him, [789] though Kasanya had provided him with all the hunting [229] obias a man would want, and he himself had a strong Kromanti spirit, so that no gun was supposed to have power to hurt him. The third was married when he died. His boat went over in the rapids. His body was never recovered.

782 "Tomorrow we shall all go and pray to the Mother of the River that she carry us well, that our journey be pleasant, that we reach the Granman's village safely. . . . There across the river is her shrine."

3

761 It soon became clear that two things dominate the fore-
706 ground of the spiritual life of the bush—death and kunu. In
688 the last analysis, however, the two are perhaps but one force, for kunu slowly, inexorably, brings death to one member after another of the offender's kin, and it is largely the dead ancestors and the gods who are responsible for the meting out of kunu, in order that the ancient traditions and beliefs may go on. And so it was that daily, and many times daily, incidents not of our special seeking arose to document our knowledge of kunu.

of the white man and blew on it, drawing both his hands lightly over the hands which held the obia. When he had done this, he whispered its tchina.

"Do not let the obia come near a menstruating woman, and do not eat the meat of the crab."

Types of obias varied. Some were of fiber twisted into a cord and woven into bands to fit an arm or a leg, some were worn around the neck, and ended with a few cowries and a bell or a black sack with cowries sewn on them or some bristles and a brilliant bit of a parrot's feather. There were also the plain bands of iron, the Kromanti obias worn by men.

One of the most interesting obias was the coffin obia. It was not to be worn casually, as were all the others we had heretofore acquired. When our cook saw this one he paled.

"Mi Gado," he cried, and then turned to the English at his command to give us a warning which would not be understood by those who stood near. "What you got there? Put that away! You wan' fo' die?" Nor would he come near it until it was well out of sight.

It was, we saw, best hidden, if we wanted to continue our course up the river.

The man who had sold it had himself impressed us with its potency. "This obia is strong. . . . Look, it is made of cedar, the same wood from which we make the big coffins, and it is wrapped in the cloth we use to cover the coffin in which the dead man lies. Now that you have the power which is in the obia, I can tell you that the black on it is the soot from the fire, the white is pemba, and the inside ring is woven from the maripa palm. It will carry you well on the river. Nothing can harm you when you already carry your coffin with you."

The logic of his last remark was not so convincing to the whites as it was to the obia man, but it seemed unwise to question him about it.

"To keep it strong, you must spray it with rum twice a month. When the moon is full you must do it, and again

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

his rattle danced his dance, the moon sank behind the screen of branches.

It was late. Slowly the last dancer came out of his orgy of possession. One by one the drums stopped until, for a moment, all was quiet. Then, taking the apinti drum up the path beyond our clearing, one of the drummers drummed an invocation to the spirits that had come.

We trained our flashlights on the path which led to the river, lighting the way of the dancers to their waiting boats, while they sang for us the seketi song we had heard the night of Zimbi's funeral.

Thank you, thank you, white man,
For coming to the Saramacca River,
For bringing us your diamond fire,
To light the darkness of our path.

5

At the village opposite our base camp, a girl had died shortly before our return from up river. The eighth night after the death was to be commemorated with the usual dancing of "eighth-day night," and with the ceremony of throwing away food for the spirit of the dead.

"Come tonight and we will dance for you," the men of the village said. It was agreed that they should come for us when they were through with the ceremony for throwing away the food, for the bereaved family would not look kindly upon the intrusion of the whites at the ceremony.

As we waited for the messenger, Bayo prowled about uneasily. He had been nervous for the past few days. His spirits had been troubling him, and he said he needed to dance. It was some time since he had danced, and his spirits were vexed with him for this neglect.

"If they dance Kromanti, I will dance, too," he said.

We talked with him of the rum we would have to take. The strength in which it was distilled made it necessary to cut it with water. Bayo watched us as we took out one bottle, prepared the rum, and then took up another. His hand interposed.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Saramacca

"OBIA COMES!"

"Do not take too much rum," he said. "When there is much to drink, obia does not come." 964 796

The bottle ready, we waited. Eight, half-past, nine o'clock. When we had decided they were not coming for us, the sharp bark of Tross signaled the approach of a man up the path from the river bank. As he came into the circle of light, we recognized Apanto.

"Everything is ready, Bak'a," he said. "Come."

It was not an important village, this one across the river from our camp. It was smaller and had much less power than Gankwe, the seat of a clan head. But enough men had assembled for the ceremonies to make a dance, and the women were standing about waiting as we came from the river through the palm-frond guard. The moon was again up, but moving clouds hid it from view or covered it with a haze which dimmed its brilliance. A few houses fronted on the little clearing where the dance was to be held, and here and there some oil lanterns had been placed.

Not everything, we soon learned, was ready, for drums were lacking. They had an agida, but the two others which were needed were not there. Poor villages very often had to borrow their drums from other settlements. The dancers stood about waiting. [924]

We offered the tumao we had acquired, and Bayo returned to our camp for it. A large tin basin, turned upside down, gave the same metallic tenor voice as the apinti, and so with the makeshift orchestra the dancing began, two younger boys playing the kwakwa. 964 534

For a time it seemed as though we were only to see seketi. The children had had no opportunity at all to perform, and they stood about watching, while their elders danced the social dance we had seen so often. There was a tall man from a friendly village farther down the river whose dancing that night stood out. The careful awkwardness of his legs as he danced facing us, the carefully timed movements of arms and body showed us that in seketi, too, as the proverb ran, there were truly men on the lower river, as there were on the upper. 964 796

Herskovits & Herskovits E-4 (1928-1929) 1934
[illegible]
Surinamese

A light rain fell, and for a while the dancing stopped. Deserting our benches, we joined the natives who clustered under the overhanging eaves of the houses, and sheltered ourselves from the shower. But the rain was soon over, and the moon came out again. The drummers took their places and the dancers resumed their seketi.

"Dance Kromanti," we urged, remembering Bayo, "we have seen much seketi."

"You will have to look out," said Apanto. "We have strong Kromanti here," as the drums began to call obia.

Bayo had been sitting behind us during the seketi. His face mirrored a frame of mind that was none too happy, for this was not the sort of dance that he had looked forward to. When Apanto gave the word to play Kromanti, however, Bayo rose, and when we next saw him, his head was low over the inverted tin basin which served for an spinti, and he was making the night throb with the intricacy of the messages he was sending to the strong spirits which were troubling him with their insistence for expression.

Where we sat, we could see the men becoming aware of the voices of the drums. Several rattles had made their appearance, and the sound they made as they were shaken in concert caused the men's bodies to grow rigid, while the women hovered uncertainly about. By now the evening's "play" was begun in earnest. No children remained to look on. At the moment, there was no dancing, for the men with the rattles, and those who were merely waiting for the spirit to come to them, moved about in the open place reserved for the dance, back and forth, waiting for their Kromanti spirits to enter their bodies. One man struck up a song, and the chorus carried the refrain, until interest in that song died down and another was sung.

These Kromanti songs were not of the lilting, rhythmic kind which other dances required. Some of them were slow and mournful, some quick and martial. Now they were singing to the Opete. The leader sang

"OBIA COMESI"

764 533 539

Opete kwasi Adjaini-o
Opete kwasi Adjaini-obia-o
Opete kwasi
Tide Adjaini-a wili kwao, kwao, kwao, kwao.

The chorus repeated,

Opete kwaso, Adjaini-o-yi
Opete kwaso, Adjaini-o-yo
Opete kwaso, Adjaini-o-kumasi!

They were becoming more and more agitated. The rattles sounded a faster tempo, the drums beat louder, and the music swung into another song.

Amasu Djadja-o
O-o-o-o-o-o
Amasu Djadja-o
O yi-o-i
Kuma, luku, mowa,
O-i Mama-i
O-o-o-o-o-o-o-o . . .

This was a song of greeting for the Djadja spirit. Bayo 764
still urged the rhythms out of the improvised apinti which 533
he was playing. The drummers were calling all the Kromanti spirits, the buzzard called Opete, the jaguar, Tigri, and Djadja, the "devil." Would they come?

The question was answered soon enough. Out of the 787
forest into the clearing ran one whose obia had come to him. It was Opete obia and, in his strength of possession, he had torn off two branches from a palm tree in the bush. These he held under his arms, so that, as he pranced about in his dance, he impersonated the awkwardness of the great carrion bird which gave its name to his obia. The tufts of palm leaves projecting from behind his flexed arms were wings. He leaped as in flight, then with startling rapidity he began turning round and round to the flapping of his wings.

Apanto suddenly seized a stick we held and, whirling it 787
about our heads, was off to his dance, joining the six or 796

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Surumaccanor

man of each tribe has a uniform given him by the Dutch; it 698
consists of a high silk hat, a braided frock coat, a drum-major's baton, and a metal plaque suspended around the neck, with the arms of Surinam on it. The ensemble is picturesque in the extreme. Captains have uniforms, too, but less ornate ones. The great full-dress occasion is the palaver at Paramaribo, held on or about the Queen's birthday, toward the end of August. This is an occasion of festivity throughout the colony.

The Governor receives the Bush Negro chiefs as he would any foreign ambassadors, and the dignity of these men, the aristocracy of their bearing, cannot be exceeded by white plenipotentiaries. There is one difference: most of the Djuka females remain at home. Indeed, Jankoeso has forbidden his daughters to go to Paramaribo on any occasion whatsoever. He himself must make a pilgrimage to the sacred medicine city of Dahomey in preparation for the trip, at which time he undergoes a purifying ritual at the hands of the high [783
obeiah priests, to muster good obeiahs for a salubrious passage. 793]

The only attempt of the Dutch to exercise any authority over the Bush Negroes is in regard to the burial ceremony. This has been a bone of contention for many years. The 648
Djuka custom is to allow the corpse to remain unburied for 764
a long period. The Dutch tried to stop this, not from any desire to interfere with the customs of the natives, but for sanitary reasons. The disagreement was finally compromised by a time limit of three days between death and burial. This regulation is usually not observed. Once they get back into
their remote villages, the Bush Negroes do as they please.

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Surinamese

Chapter Nine

MEDICINE AND MAGIC

NO one in Djuka land dies a natural death. Death is caused by witchcraft. At Santi Gron on the Saramacca River, preparations are being made for a burial. The whole village is excited. The women wailing are the relatives of the dead man. Children are crying because they see others crying. Unseen drums throb dully, making the hot air pulsate. The corpse lies in an open shed with only three walls—a death house (*dede oso*). Two girls of fifteen or sixteen are fanning it steadily to keep the flies away. The man died more than a week ago; all this time the body had been lying on a platform out in the tropical heat to decompose.

It is black magic that kills. Therefore the Bush Negroes make an effort to find out who made the magic that killed this man. An ancient ritual is employed. Three to ten days the corpse is left unburied, and in the humid heat the flesh undergoes a partial liquefaction. The putrescent fluid is gathered in a calabash cup and carried around from door to door.

[For caption, see category 116, p. 204.—Analyst]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
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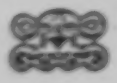
766 643 [522] teresting things concerning burials. A Granman's or a captain's body is placed in a cave-like hole dug in the side of a hill, and is eventually sealed in. It is forbidden to throw dirt upon the bodies of such officials.

●764 In the case of an ordinary person, a large hole is dug in the ground in which the corpse is lowered. A plank is placed over the body, so that the dirt subsequently thrown into the hole will not come into direct contact with the body.

766 The bodies of albinos, idiots, and lepers are otherwise disposed of. These people are supposed to be related to the river, and are called *awatra pekein*, or water children. Instead of being allowed to rot, their bodies are placed in a pit dug in the bank when the river is low. When the water rises, the corpse is washed out of its temporary tomb.

769 Every year the azang pau, the palm barrier across the village path, is renewed, and at this time prayers are said for the dead. The dead person's relatives have shaved off their forelocks when he died, and often again at intervals of three, six, and nine months thereafter. But after the lapse of a year there is no mourning; a large dance is held to signify that the period is terminated, and after that the dead man or woman is relegated to the position of an ancestor. The prayers then ask him to intercede with the gods for the benefit of those still among the living.

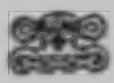


2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

of a burning fire without being harmed. Bathing every day for nine days in water in which rusty scrap iron and peanut hulks have been boiled renders a man impervious to the cut of a knife and his flesh capable of turning any blade. Stomach-ache is treated by drinking an infusion from the hollow handle of a dance rattle. Especially potent in all magic preparations are the bristles of *tamanua*, the anteater. *Obeiah water*, another infusion, is drunk by men before going into the bush, to give them luck and strength. It is also possible to acquire strength or other virtues by rubbing one's body with the putrescent fluid gathered from the corpse of a dead man who possessed those qualities.

If a person should find fecal material in front of his hut or rotten eggs along the trail in such position as to make it likely for him to step upon it, it is certain that this material was placed there by a member of the community who is attempting to *wissi* or bewitch him. Anyone who removes this matter is liable to insanity.

Minor cuts and wounds may be treated with the bark of the *apracoayo* tree. This is ground up and mixed with the brew prepared from the leaves known as *pekein fol caca* (little rooster).



177 The method of finding out who is responsible for the
[318] death of a man is found in many parts of the West Coast. The details vary considerably, but the essential idea that death is caused by witchcraft, and that some individual is guilty, is found in West Africa as well as in South America.
[719] The method of binding the corpse on a platform, covered with blankets of weeds, comes from the Gold Coast.

177 A number of Bush Negro words are African in origin.
192 *Lo*, the Djuka word for clan, designates a village in Yoruba or Ibo. The *quaqua*, the resounding plank which accompanies the drums, is possibly a Kikongo or M'pongwe word from the Ivory Coast. *Azeman*, meaning a kind of vampire, is an Ewe and Tshi word, as well as a Bush Negro term. The fetish house, the *kifunga*, is probably derived from Bacongo, Luango, Cameroons, or Togo, and the word itself is in all likelihood a Bacongo term. *Lerba*, meaning "river," is an Ewe word. *Akra*, designating a kind of ghost, is a Tshi word. *Makuku*, designating a Bush Negro fireplace made with three lumps of clay, is a Kikongo word, and the custom itself is derived from the Yoruba, Slave Coast, the lower Niger, and the Central and East Sudan region.

177 The carved wooden locks, the quintessence of Bush Negro
[322] wood carving, are found also among the Ashanti, in Dahomey, and in the Sudan. The method of poisoning fish by
[224] beating into a stream the pulp of poisonous plants is common in South America among the Indians, but it is likewise found in West Africa among the Tshi, Yoruba, Togo, Congo, and Angolo peoples. The same is true of other Djuka fishing practices, such as the custom of fishing at night by torchlight.

/16 cont./

868 The children learn their dances and games at a very early
858 age and are always present at the festivals.

867 From earliest youth on they are taught to respect and
689 venerate older persons. offenses against this obligatory respect are severely punished.

868 The boys in particular are taken along to the forest at an early age and remain there in connection with the processing of wood or other operations, as well as for hunting and fishing, and very quickly learn to swim.

515 Men, women, and children bathe separately in the river every day.

Chapter XI

Burial Services and Other Ceremonies

764 They celebrate the burial services with great solemnity. If one of them dies in Auca, that is, their land, then the corpse is cleaned, the nails are cut, and it is placed in a coffin, in which various and especially costly articles of clothing of the deceased are placed and to which all the relatives also add a new piece of cloth (usually blankets and pantjes) as remembrances, a farewell token on which much value is placed. Hence they always take care to have a sufficient stock of new and unused cloths.

Ordinarily the corpse lies in the open coffin for one day before the interment takes place, in order to bid it farewell. The relatives then sit around the coffin and weep ceaselessly /17/ in a mostly singsong manner peculiar to them, in which the visitors also join from time to time.

765 After the interment the closest blood relatives proceed to hold the days of mourning on a mat spread out on the ground for
[538] eight days. During this time they weep loudly by turns, at the same time making the strangest gestures, while day and night, generally by turns, little stories with many allusions, and always ending with a moral solution, are told.

/72 cont./

979 691 641 The morality of the Refugee Blacks knows in effect only obligations of a social and religious order. As for everything concerning material life, each one has the absolute right, one could even say the duty, to act as he sees fit, insofar as he does not wrong anyone else.

643 67 64 [156] If the grand man gave an order obliging someone to act against his own interest, for example if he wished to lower arbitrarily the price of boats, this order would be lawfully void. If the grand man has very great personal influence, he can persuade the Boni that it is to their interest to obey such a prescription, but in no case can his command have the effect of imposing by force an arbitrary order foreign to the social and religious tradition; the present grand man is weak in character to boot, sensitive to the influence of the Creoles and very little given to exerting any authority.

643 791 In reality, the office of grand man is above all religious. The grand man centralizes, if one may say so, the struggle against evil forces and watches ceaselessly over the welfare of the collectivity.

643 764 When a man dies, his near relatives come to report on the questioning of the yɔ̃ka. Burial cannot take place until the grand man has made sure that all the prescriptions have been filled. People come to report to him again after the burial so that he can be sure that no suprahuman danger remains.

643 795 [182] The grand man has special power over the yɔ̃ka (spirits) of the dead, which the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks place on a level intermediate between the human and the divine. When one of these yɔ̃ka exerts against a lineage a vengeance (kunu) whose malignity goes beyond habitual bounds, the grand man beseeches it to stop; they allege that things go back to normal, at least for a time.

This power attributed to the grand man invests him, in the eyes of the Boni, with a suprahuman character. It is the very foundation of his political power.

/158 cont./

156 The Boni woman, poor in emotional feelings, and jealous of her independence with respect to men, puts her pride into subsisting by her own efforts.

178 [156] The young women, even the ones with the freest habits, stay firmly attached to their village, to their plantings, and to the mode of life they received from their grandmothers. In fact, because of its structure and customs, the society of the Refugee Blacks has much less likelihood of suffering from the poisons spread by modern life than the patrilineal societies of Black Africa.

761 /159/ Death; Burial Rites

Death is for the Refugee Blacks an event of extreme gravity.

775 In order to ward off danger and permit the yɔ́ɔka of the dead person to take its place among the ancestors, the unstinting cooperation of everyone is required.

764 765 181 [621] [619] The ceremonies which have to do with death and mourning are by far the most important ones in the day-to-day life of the Refugee Blacks; for each one they represent a very heavy material load which is accepted without recriminations. It is really a veritable mobilization, which takes place within the framework of the village and not of the lineage. The apparatus set into motion is independent of the lineage, for it must function in the same way for an outsider, Djuka or Saramaka, who dies during a trip.

764 868 767 Participation in the burial rites is for all an essential religious duty. From childhood the Boni are prepared for this task and become, some of them kisimɪ̃ (coffin-makers), others ɔlɔmɪ̃ (grave-diggers), some others wasimɪ̃ (bathers of the dead).

767 487 Kisimɪ̃ and ɔlɔmɪ̃. It can be said that in each village, ɔlɔmɪ̃ and kisimɪ̃ constitute customary societies, provided with an organization and wielding veritable powers for the duration of their work.

/159 cont./

767 [146] --The kisimã command the village during the whole time the coffin is being made and can requisition anyone to help them;

--The ɔlɔmã are masters of the river while their work lasts. In particular they can requisition travelers passing through to help them, and even confiscate their provisions. This is puisi, a joke. But as Mr. W. F. Van Lier also has us observe, this custom has a deep meaning: it reminds everyone that participation in the burial of a dead person is a fundamental religious duty.

767 467 The organization of these customary societies is, at least among the Boni, very rudimentary.

In each village there is a head of the ɔlɔmã who is acquainted with the topography of the cemetery and the rites to be carried out (bedemã fu ɔko).

In Boniville, in 1958, this was Bukuman (Papaliton);
In Loka, Tabikiɛ, not replaced at the beginning of 1958;
In Asiã, Antonu (Awara Bakka).

If he is absent, someone is sent to get the head of the ɔlɔmã of another village.

Likewise, in each village there is a head of the kisimã:
In Boniville, this was Fintiman (Dju);
In Asisi, it was Boofo (Awara Bakka);
In Kormotibo, it was Aténi. /160/

764 476 The people willingly lend one another assistance from one village to the other, with no need even to ask for help, and even if it is a question of burying a foreigner in the country, a Saramaka or a Djuka for example, who dies in Boni country.

767 467 For the making of the coffin it is rare not to find about 15 kisimã spontaneously met together when four or five would be enough.

[152] They like this labor very much, which proceeds in an atmosphere of joyous over-excitement in the center of admiring spectators.

/160 cont./

769 According to the moral law of the Refugee Blacks, all work must be paid for. The work of the ɔ̃ɔ̃mɛ̃ and kisimɛ̃ is no exception to the rule: the dead person must pay for what is done for him; to this end, his brothers appropriate pieces of cloth from his trunk (about 30 if the dead man was rich) and since that would not suffice, the relatives and friends of the dead man come to swell these sums by giving additional pieces of cloth.

If the dead man was very poor and no longer had cloth in good condition, the people of the lineage must give enough so that at least six may be given to the kisimɛ̃ and about ten to the ɔ̃ɔ̃mɛ̃. If there are too few pieces of cloth for each one to be able to receive a whole one, they are cut up into small pieces, but it is absolutely indispensable for each one to be paid, even if symbolically.

764 Unfolding of the burial rites. These rites are complex, and the ceremonies in which they unfold are always very confused. Even if one is acquainted with the general idea and understands the language rather well, they are very difficult to follow. For [128] clearness in this account, we shall first give a résumé, which will be followed by observations collected in particular cases.

763 The day of the death is taken up by weeping and lamentations and the sending of messengers to the neighboring villages.

/160 cont./

[764] As soon as the death is announced, the kisimɛ̃ hastily construct a platform called papay (1), while waiting for the

[824]

1. Papay = canon wood /F. canon, from L. canna reed, pipe, tube -- Tr./ (Cecropia Sp.), rapid-growing shrub similar to the African parasol-tree; it is used for the construction of the platform because of the great lightness of its stem.

building of the coffin which will be undertaken the next day.

The wasimɛ̃ bathe the dead man with warm water after transporting him to a special place in the village. A hole is dug for the run-off of this water and closed up again afterward. This place is strictly reserved for this use; people do not go there any other time (at Boniville it is behind hut No. 5).

[967] The wasimɛ̃ are two in number, two men and two women; in each lineage there are at least one man and one woman who are acquainted with this work.

The wasimɛ̃ remove from the dead man every object (metal, ɔbia, etc.) and dress him in clean clothes. Cotton is [775] put in his nostrils and a chin-strap put on, all of which will be removed at the moment when the coffin is closed (so that the yɛ́ɛka of the dead man will not be impeded in its life beyond the grave).

The body placed in the papay is carried under the mortuary shed (krɛ́yɔsu = house /161/ of tears). A tuft of hair and the fingernails are taken, which are wrapped in a cloth and hung inside the krɛ́yɔsu.

/161 cont./

1764 ~~~~The dead person's spouse, his nearest relatives, and his children come and hang their hammocks inside the krayɔsu, where they will live until broko dɛ (eighth day after the death).

[533] [535] The village people begin the nukka songs and dance, which will last part of the night, while the friends and near relatives of the dead man lament seated, head covered with a cloth.

[824] The first day after the death, as soon as it is morning, the kisimɛ̃ arrive, and begin to make the coffin, using mahogany boards always kept on hand, thanks to the head of the village.

[613] The women of the dead man's lineage prepare a meal which is offered to the kisimɛ̃ about 1:00 P.M. at the end of their work.

While the coffin is being made, the dead man's friends and distant relatives arrive in crowds from the neighboring villages, bringing tafia and cloth as offerings. Two kisimɛ̃ lay these pieces of cloth one by one on the body saying, "So-and-so buries you."

[967] These pieces of cloth are divided up; about 15 are put into the coffin by the kisimɛ̃, part of the rest serve as pay for the kisimɛ̃, part as pay for the ɔkɔmɛ̃; another part, finally, is used for dressing the widower and his co-wives (or the widow), showing thus that during the whole mourning period they live dependent on the dead person.

Then the kisimɛ̃ close the coffin without any other rites taking place. The late arrivers who bring more cloths knock the coffin saying, "I bury you," and put them down on the ground.

[692] The work of the kisimɛ̃ is over; they bring the body outside the krayɔsu, in front of which has assembled the council called ɛ̃nti kuutu, which constitutes the judicial apparatus of the Boni.

/161 cont./

764 692 This tribunal is charged with establishing the causes of death and rendering a decision on this subject which has the force of law. But it is above all charged with judging the dead person, with determining whether he has lived worthily, whether he has the right to be buried according to the rites and to be invoked as an ancestor, or whether on the contrary he was a wisimã.

[613] [568] The grand man designates one or two lineage heads to preside over the council and "command" the dead person until the burial.

The grand man designates who will lead the assemblage and will "command" the dead person until the burial.

764 692 613 This cannot be the head of the dead person's lineage, for no one can at the same time be judge and judged.

Ex.: for Bénïti (Dju) this was Popo — head of the Lapé lo

for Atikati (Dju) it was Konaóu — head of the Awara Bakka lo

for Kotolda (Aw.B.) it was Tafanié — head of the Papélison lo

for Way (Dip. II) it was Tafanié — /162/

764 787 The 2nd and 3rd days after the death are given over to the interrogation of the dead person, which on the evening of the first day had scarcely begun.

[184] The rites of this interrogation vary from one village to another; in certain villages they begin to carry the dead man even before the construction of the coffin; the questions are not asked everywhere in the same fashion.

[171] The dead person is interrogated by methods widespread in West Africa and which are related to spiritualism: the coffin is carried on the heads of two men, feet forward. The dead man is supposed to push the bearers forward to say yes, and to make them nod their heads from left to right to say no.

/162 cont./

764 769 [613] In principle the forward bearer (who is called bowman by analogy with a boat) must belong to the dead person's lineage. Apart from this restriction, the bearers can be (and are in fact) any people whatever, the only condition required being that they be extremely vigorous, because the load they carry is at the limit of their strength.

Fraud can exist in isolated cases, but in the great majority of cases there is no doubt as to the good faith of the bearers; they give contradictory answers, go ahead and back interminably, until, exhausted, they are raised up again by others. Actually, the interpretation of these automatic movements does not differ essentially from any process of divination.

[764] The dead person is interrogated from the age of four or five years up. If it is a very young child, he is not interrogated, but the causes of his death are sought by interrogating possessed people, and if there is reason to, the kunu is appeased in the same fashion.

764 789 754 At the beginning of the interrogation the tribunal tries to make sure that the dead person was not a wisimã. After sending the bearers to the other end of the village, the president of the assemblage has two young men hidden in huts; then he has the bearers called, saying to the dead person: "I have lost So-and-so and So-and-so, find them." If the dead person was an upright man, he must have acquired a suprahuman clairvoyance permitting him to direct his bearers straight away toward the huts in question. If he was a wisimã, he will be as if blind; his bearers go wandering in vain from hut to hut.

They state that this test always succeeds.

764 789 761 [796] [784] The interrogation proceeds interminably. The causes of death are taken up. The first question is: is it a god who killed you? The answer is nearly always yes, and they proceed by elimination in order to arrive, for example, at learning that it is an Ampuku, that it is the Ampuku borne by So-and-so. By what the kunu was set in motion, how to appease it, is not the

/162 cont./

business of the tribunal. The people of the dead person's lineage will have to settle that among themselves after the obsequies. The role of the tribunal is to make official the cause of death and give it the force of law.

Then the inventaire is taken up in the presence of the near relatives of the dead man. The questions are asked successively: "To whom dost thou leave thy boat...?" "To whom dost thou leave thy gun (1)...?" The coffin moves each time

> 1. That, unless the dead man has, before his death, in front of witnesses, formally indicated the apportionment of his belongings; in such a case, questions are asked only for the objects whose attribution had not been clearly specified.

toward one of the people present. /Figs. 22 and 23 appear here/

/163/ At the end of the third day after the death the burial is prepared; the dead person is asked from daybreak on whether he is ready for that; if not it can be postponed until the next day.

The men have been working at the cemetery since the beginning of the day. They are young and strong men who have to work slowly, for not a drop of sweat may fall into the grave or their arms would risk remaining prisoner in it.

About 4:00 P.M. the bearers promenade the dead person one last time in the village for a supreme adieu. The near relatives go to the wharf. The dead man is hoisted into a canoe while the aputi drum calls his yaka so that it will not remain in the village.

6:Hurault--245a K-5 (1948-1958) 1951 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8 Boni

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Fig. 22. Offering of food to the ancestors.

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Fig. 23. Interrogation of the dead person.

/163 cont./

764 About 5:00 P.M. the coffin arrives at the cemetery wharf and is given over to the ɔlɔmã. No other rite is carried out. It is placed at the bottom of the grave; a layer of round logs separates it from the pile of earth which is put back on top. The burial is finished about six o'clock.

Notes taken at the burial of Way in Kormotibo (January 25, 1957) (1st day after death).

I arrive in Kormotibo at nine o'clock. There are two dead people in the village: Sokodo, 37 years old, who is to be buried the next day, and Way, 65, who died in Maripasoula and whose body was transported the day before.

764 787 [792] [822] When we moored, I noticed at the south end of the village the bearers of Sokodo's coffin, alone and immobile. Arriving near the mortuary shed, I find Captain Kondoku, who presides over the lãnti kuutu, and Captain Poopu, head of the village. Kondoku tells me that he is in the act of proceeding to a new test on Sokodo; he has just had two young men hidden, M... and G...; and the dead man is called upon to find them without hesitation.

I look around us. There is nobody nearby; a few women are attending to their occupations, indifferent to a scene observed many a time. It seems as though Kondoku is doing that for himself alone.

The coffin-bearers appear, coming from the other end of the village. Without hesitation they go toward the mortuary shed, enter it, and the end of the coffin stops before the hammock covered with a large mosquito net spread to the ground, where Way's widower, the Saramaka Gamba, is seated.

To my great surprise I see two young men go out. Nothing revealed their presence under the hammock, and Kondoku, who was talking with me, has neither said nor done anything which could direct the bearers. Nobody present could have

/163 cont./

764 787 given any indication whatever. Besides, how would he have had time to make himself understood by two men walking at top speed, crushed by their heavy load and looking straight ahead?

This upsets all the ideas I had formed about this test. The only hypothesis that remains is that the bearers have been "tipped off" by the man who went to get them (an old man of the council). But is it possible that such a crude fraud could be current practice? The Boni are far from being stupid, they are ever suspicious /164/ and they are too talkative for such deceptions not to be laid bare by their perpetrators themselves.

Under these conditions, how can it operate--this collective suggestion which explains most of the rites of the Refugee Blacks? I can't explain it to myself.

764 767 322 [412] Manufacture of the Coffin. The kisimã are gathered around a pile of boards. They are about 15 in number, commanded by Boofo, head of the kisimã of Asisi, and Aténi (Asisi-Dipélu II). A pile of boards is at their feet; some work with a small hand saw, others with an adze; the fitting is done with a machete. /Fig. 21 appears here./

They take measurements with a graver. The bottom board is cut first, then the front and back ends. The outline of the back end, in the shape of a truncated diamond, results from a rather complex construction with the compass which I have not time to report.

764 767 [152] [262] The work is done noisily in an atmosphere of crude farce. The whole time it lasts, the kisimã exert veritable command over the village. The coconut trees of Kormotibo are pillaged for their benefit. The village women prepare the rice for the meal which must, according to custom, be offered to them upon finishing the coffin about noon.

/164 cont./

764 767 322 I see the head of the kisimã make ready the fitting of the lower lateral wings. Without nailing it, he places the back end on the bottom plank, giving it the proper inclination. They put

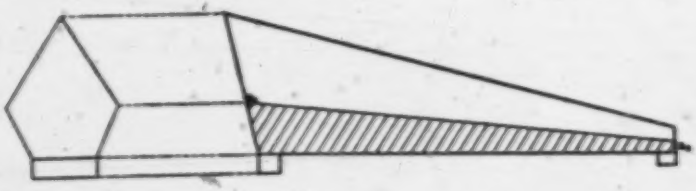

Fig. 21. A Boni coffin.

in place the board which is to serve as a wing. An elastic string smeared with soot is stretched between a_1 and a_2; they pinch it in the middle and in falling back it traces the line a_1a_2 on the wing.

[412] The cutting out of the wing is done with a saw and the fitting with the machete, then with a plane.

About 11 o'clock they begin to nail the wings. According to the rites, several kisimã accompany in cadence the noise of the hammer blows by hitting the coffin with pieces of wood. Why this ceremony? None of the kisimã can explain it. Perhaps it would be considered dangerous for one man to carry out alone one of the operations relating most directly to death.

764 While the kisimã work, Way's friends and relatives do not stop /165/ arriving; their boats jam the wharf. The people wend their way toward the mortuary shed, men on one side, women on the other. It is the women who bring pieces of cloth (including those given by their brothers and husbands); the men carry tafia in bottles.

Upon arriving the women sit down, cover their faces and lament a few minutes, then sit down with the others in front of the mortuary shed. On the other side of the shed the men are seated, immobile on their small benches. An elder busies himself

/165 cont./

764 at collecting in a large demijohn the tafia brought. It will be used at the dances which will take place that very evening.

764 767 About 1:00 P.M. the coffin is nearly finished, the upper wings are fitted and ready to be nailed. This is the moment when, according to custom, the meal must be served. But nothing is to be seen; the village women have talked more than worked, and their preparations are far from finished.

Time passes; discontent grows among the kisimã, who threaten to stop work. About 2:00 P.M. the women come in a procession led by the oldest ones to apologize for the delay; they have to pay a forfeit of a bottle of maripa oil, in consideration of which the kisimã agree to eat; the scene lasts at least 30 minutes, in a flood of words whose transcription in extenso would fill a book.

[782] Before the meal an offertory rite is gone through; two of the youngest among the kisimã slowly go around the mortuary shed carrying a dish of food; at the same time they eat, they throw food on the ground, without uttering a single word. Then they go to the river where the dish is washed.

[782] After the meal the coffin is consecrated by the sacrifice of a rooster. The leader of the kisimã sprinkles with its blood first the bottom at the back, then the upper side wings.

The presenting of pieces of cloth, having gone on since noon, comes to an end. Two kisimã stand beside the body; a woman of the lineage unfolds and hands to them the cloths given by the people present.

The kisimã grab the piece of cloth and unfold it. One of them says these words: "N... beli yu, umã (N... buries you, woman)." They do that if they recognize the cloth offered by N...; if not, they simply say: "Someone buries you, woman." Then they put the cloth on the preceding ones piled up on the body. There may be 126 camisas (1) and

764 767 [439] /165 cont./ There may be 126 camisas (1) and

1. Pieces of cotton goods about 1.10 x 0.75 meters. These cloths are manufactured in Holland especially for the Refugee Black clientele.

15 large pieces of cloth. About 30 camisas have been taken from the dead woman's trunk; the others have been given by the people present, the near relatives each giving several, the other relatives only one.

Their work finished, the kisimã burn the shavings and [783] scraps of board. They pass their tools through a flame to purify them of the stains of death. /166/

About 3:00 P.M. the coffin is brought into the mortuary shed by the kisimã. The kisimã, who have complete charge of this phase of the obsequies, count the pieces of cloth and divide them up. One part will be used for their pay, others for the pay of the gravediggers. Fifteen pieces of cloth and about [765] ten ordinary camisas will be placed in the coffin. The rest will be used for clothing the widower who, during the whole period of mourning, will thus remain symbolically dependent upon the dead person; if there are any left over, they are distributed to the members of the dead person's lineage.

Placing in the Coffin. About three o'clock four of the [292] kisimã take their places beside the coffin; they gird their loins with a camisa as the Refugee Blacks always do before carrying out a religious act. In the greatest silence they spread out the 15 large pieces of cloth inside the coffin, allowing them to fall to the ground at right and left. Next, two of them lift up the body while the others slip the coffin underneath (for the whole duration of the burial ceremonies, the body must remain at the exact place where it was put down. The coffin does not rest directly on the ground but is put on a mat through the

/166 cont./

764 767 medium of two round logs. This ritual seems to have as its purpose restricting the defilement of death for the village.).

The body is put back down in the deepest silence, with the greatest care, into the coffin. A pillow is put under the head.

[152] Those present show no emotion. The widower, the Saramaka Gamba, who has remained seated in his hammock since morning, turning his back to his wife's body, does not stir.

The kisimã bring the edges of the pieces of cloth back over the body and put on, in addition, a few camisas of the ordinary kind. Before the upper wings of the coffin are put in place, one of them gently removes the wads of cotton which had been put in the dead woman's nostrils.

Then the upper wings of the coffin are nailed down, always according to the same rite, blows struck in cadence with pieces of wood accompanying the hammer blows.

[692] The role of the kisimã is ended; they give over the dead woman to the council, lãnti kuutu, charged with judging her.

764 787 Search for the Causes of Death. The ceremony begins about four o'clock in the greatest confusion, as is usual among the Refugee Blacks; it is impossible to understand who is really a member of the council and who is not a member, everybody talking at once.

I think I understand that the grand man has designated Captains Kondoku (Asisi-Awara Bakka) and Tafanié (Papaïston) to preside over the ceremony. In fact, it is neither the one nor the other who begins the interrogation, but a man from Papaïston village, Agodéba, a venerable old man whose torso is molded in a deplorably shoddy jersey calling to mind a rugby match.

/166 cont./

764 787 The coffin is placed at the edge of the mortuary shed, the front turned toward the spectators. Agodéba sits down before the front of the coffin. According to ceremony, he enters into contact with the /167/ yɔrka of the dead woman by pouring water on the ground before the coffin and calling her by name. He says the same sentences several times in different forms: "Thou hast lived here ... thou hast had children in this village; now death has killed thee. Thou must tell us who killed thee."

764 787 761

[292] Two men, B... (L'Enfant Perdu, Dipélu I) and A... (Asisi-Awara Bakka) come forward, gird their loins with a camisa, and, aided by several others, lift the coffin. B..., who is of the dead woman's lineage, takes the forward position.

For about ten minutes the two bearers try to put themselves into a state of passivity permitting them to receive fitly the promptings of the dead woman; no question whatever is asked. They are seen to make contradictory movements, to go forward tilting the coffin from left to right, which means yes and no at the same time. Sometimes a sudden impulse appears to draw them far from the spectators, they are seen going from hut to hut, wheeling around, going away again.

Finally they come back. Agodéba asks: "Is it a god who struck thee down?" The answer seems to be yes. "Is it a Papa gadu, an Ampuku, a Kãntasasu?" Contradictory answers, the people present lean toward the negative.

Agodéba continues: "Is it a yɔrka who killed thee?" Confused and contradictory movements of the coffin. Agodéba begins again: "Is it a god?" Someone among those present shouts: "Don't you see that she meant yes, speaking of the yɔrka? Agodéba gets angry, takes his hat, and leaves the meeting. General hubbub. Half an hour of words, broken by various movements and sham exits, is required in order to bring him to take his place again.

/167 cont./

764 787 761 The bearers are changed and the interrogation continues, still as confused as before. Captain Tafanié, who arrives in the midst of all this, thinks that the dead woman does not want to speak in front of such a large crowd. He asks her to designate which of the people present will form a small group. I see the front of the coffin stop in front of an old Saramaka named Yasu, then successively in front of about ten of those present of various ages and origins. They stand up, take their little benches in their hands, and go to join Tafanié under a large tree in a spot to the side; the interrogation resumes; by nightfall a sure fact has been established: Way was killed by a god. They will resume the next day in order to find out what god is concerned and how to appease him.

764 [114] Notes taken at the funeral ceremonies for Kotoïda (Afi lineage) October 22-23, 1956 (2nd and 3rd days after death).

I arrive at Asisi on the 22nd at eight o'clock. Kotoïda died on the twentieth; the first part of the ceremony has been finished.

[692] It is Tafanié, head of Papaïston village, who presides over the lãnti kuutu.

Tafanié himself has directed the making of the coffin (he is a kisimã) with the help of boards held in reserve on the spot. The work was finished at nine o'clock in the morning.

The body was placed in the coffin immediately, and after the presentation of the pieces of cloth, the wings were nailed. /168/

When I arrive at the wharf, the coffin is placed in the mortuary shed. The near relatives of the deceased (sons, daughters, and nephews) as well as the husband and the co-wife compelled to take part in the mourning are seated in their hammocks attached to the posts of the shed. The first-mentioned manifest no apparent sorrow whatever. Husband and

/168 cont./

764 co-wife, on the contrary, are completely veiled and show by their state of prostration the keenest sorrow. Each of them is assisted by a female relative who supports them when they have to move somewhere else, for they are supposed to be too overcome to move alone.

764 787 761 The interrogation as to the causes of death has already taken place the day before, but Tafanié proclaims, in front of me, the result of it to the latest arrivals: the deceased was struck down by a yɔrka which pursues the lineage with its kunu. She had already received several warnings in the form of illness; the yɔrka had demanded a payment which she and her near relatives had neglected to furnish. Impossible to learn anything further before being able to interrogate this yɔrka, whose habitual bearer has left for Saint-Laurent. It is necessary to wait for his return in order to mollify the yɔrka's anger.

764 769 778 [613] About ten o'clock the members of the lãnti kuutu go toward the fraga tiki of the Awara Bakka lo, in front of which they all sit down on their stools. I notice that not a single man of the dead person's lineage appears in the front row. In it I recognize Popo (Lapé), Poopu (Dipélu II, Kormotibo), Tafanié (Papaïston). The one who is speaking is a foreigner passing through, a very aged and respected Djuka.

[782] The elders invoke Masa Gadu and the ancestors in general, asking them to protect them from adversity in the future; then the offering of water and tafia takes place (no cane juice). I notice that a little is poured on each of the secondary fraga tiki erected for the sake of each one of the ancestors who pursue another lineage with their kunu. That lasts about a quarter of an hour.

764 787 776 428 424 Next someone goes to ask the deceased to whom she bequeaths the Papa gadu god which manifested itself in her; for the gods are bequeathed like the rest of the inheritance, even if those concerned are divinities which exercise the kunu

764
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/168 cont./
against the lineage. The god ratifies this legacy or not; in general it follows, they say, the wishes of its bearer and manifests itself some time afterward in the designated heir.

The coffin is placed on the heads of two men: Tafanié puts the questions with authority. He begins first by making sure of the passivity of the bearers, invites the dead woman to push their heads forward to say yes, to give them an impulse from right to left to say no.

The coffin advances and draws back several times; its weight is at the limit of what the two men can support. Two secondary bearers help the rear bearer, preventing the coffin from falling.

[613]
[621]

1. /Footnote at bottom of p. 168; no reference to it on the page/ Let us recall that this lineage, too few in numbers to constitute a separate social unit, lives with the Awara Bakka, with whom it has no connection through kinship or alliance.

The dead woman suddenly leads her bearers across the village. We see it come back /169/ a quarter of an hour afterward, accompanied by a woman of about 35 years, Moni, in front of whom it stopped.

Tafanié asks whether it wishes to leave its god to her; the dead woman confirms. Upon the statement of this legacy Moni's face reflects no gladness at all, nor any fear.

They explain to me that the designated heiress can in no way refuse this legacy. She must immediately begin her instruction given by a teacher, in order to become a suitable bearer. The expenses of her instruction are borne by her lineage.

764 /169 cont./
787 They will be paid when the gita has been "arranged," that is,
776 has lost the bestial character of the beginning and when the god
428 can express itself in intelligible fashion.

764 There and then they busy themselves with transferring
787 the god out of the body of the deceased. An obiaman well
789 known in the cult of the Papa gadu, Goutu (Dju) and his pupil
Balan (Aw.B.) come with calabashes containing infusions of leaves. Four or five women having a Papa gadu come and line up behind them. The heiress, with an extremely vexed air, takes her place among them, clothed with the emblems of the god of the dead woman; they are going to call their gods who will dance in honor of Kotoïda's god.

The obiaman and his pupil for several minutes trickle the infusion of herbs over the coffin, using packets of herbs like sponges, then they "wash" the women, including the postulant; he gives them the rest of the calabash to drink. One of the women, Samabun, falls immediately to the ground, attacked by the lowest form of possession: she drags herself on her belly like a snake (these are the first forms of the gita when it has not yet been "arranged." In her case that has lasted four years, contrary to what ordinarily happens. The scene was certainly anticipated, for she had put on European panties. The other women also drink but are not possessed; they leave to dress for dancing.

[534] The agida drum taken out of the god's chapel begins to beat, accompanied by two apinti.

The female bearers of Papa gadu arrive at the sound of the agida, smeared with pemba and carrying /wearing?--Tr./ the insignia of the god. Six come in all. They are not in a state of possession; only two will reach it. The first possessed woman keeps crawling on the ground, gropingly approaching the drum which she embraces, lying on her back. It is torn away from her. The obiaman continue to come to "wash"

764 787 789 [586]

/169 cont./
her from time to time in order to help the god to manifest itself. The crowd presses around the women dancers who execute the greatest variety of figures. At times they embrace each other two by two in the Boni manner. The onlookers jump for joy.

The scene lasts about half an hour, then, at the signal given by one of them, the possessed ones scatter and begin to run through the village: this is the moment for the gods to pay the musicians. Each person rushes to hide his belongings, for the gods will steal anything in the village without anyone being able to prevent them: this is their way of paying.

Soon the possessed women come back, putting down at the feet of the musicians a heap of incongruous objects: /170/ calabashes, cloth, paddles, etc., which their owners come to recover by means of bottles of beer and eggs. Then the women who were truly possessed come back to their normal state and all go home.

This dance was not a success; those present think that it is because the women bearers had drunk tafia, which the Papa gadu detest.

764 787 428

Inheritance. The dead woman is asked to whom she bequeaths her clearings. She answers: "To her family," this being understood because the bearers move parallel to the people present without designating anybody. Under these conditions the property must be distributed (Kotoïda having no children) among her classificatory nephews. Actually, the plantations still farmable will go to Samabun, her sister's daughter.

[591]

Inheritance of the house does not come up, for the dead woman lived in her husband Empalé's house.

The boat is left to Samabun.

Held back are the personal objects, money, jewelry, fabrics. When the mourning is lifted, the eldest of the surviving brothers or sisters in the classificatory sense will make the distribution among the near relatives.

/170 cont./

428 613 It is very clear in Kotoïda's case that the inheriting is within the matrilineage in the strict sense, bɛɛ. Only the members of the Afi lineage to which she belonged can profit by it.

764 Burial. About 2:00 P.M. the women of the lineage who had been preparing the food for the ɔlɔmɪ since morning leave by canoe in the direction of the cemetery.

At three o'clock the last preparations begin. The occupants of the mortuary shed, completely veiled and supported by their near relatives, go to take up positions at the wharf for the last farewells (for they will not go to the cemetery).

The coffin is carried through the village one last time. This is the farewell of the dead woman to her family. The objects used in mourning are carefully collected, the earth of the shed floor raked up wherever the sanies of the cadaver might have fallen, and the whole put on the papay which is placed on the mortuary bark.

[775] At three o'clock an apinti drum is placed on the wharf to call the dead person (it is obviously a question of preventing the yɔrka from remaining in the village). The dead person turns up at the wharf. The coffin passes over a freshly cut banana-tree trunk placed at the limit of the village and of the beach. This is the symbolic passing of the dead person out of the world of the living. It is put on the canoe while the lamentations of the near relatives resound. The scene is not lacking in grandeur.

[773] The canoe draws slowly away, the drummer in the bow, while the spectators go down in a long procession to wash themselves free of the defilement of death.

[767] At four o'clock they arrive at the cemetery. The bearers of the dead person who have taken places in the canoe pass their burden to the ɔlɔmɪ who have come to the edge of the river. This to mark the fact that /171/ the ɔlɔmɪ are in authority at the cemetery. The bearers will only be present at the ceremony.

/171 cont./

764 The women who had come to carry the food of the ɔlɔmɛ̃ go away, their work finished. Only two of them, not especially old, remain.

[787] We arrive on a little separated space where a last interrogation takes place. It is Antonu, head of the ɔlɔmɛ̃ of Asisi who speaks, while Tansia (Dipélu I) and Tyolo (Dju), basia or party-head of the ɔlɔmɛ̃ of Asisi serve as bearers.

764 787 The dead woman is asked for instructions as to the choice of the men she designates as busimɛ̃ (hunters, fishermen), intended to procure the food for the guests on the day of the broko dɛ. The coffin advances successively toward six men. Each one of these asks: "Is it really I?" I see the forward bearer, his eyes strangely fixed, nod in their direction.

764 At four o'clock we arrive in front of the grave, about 100 meters from the riverside. It is dug with neat edges; it is about 2 meters deep, 2 meters 50 long, and 1 meter wide. It has the trapezoidal shape of the coffin.

A bench is cut in half with a blow of the machete to make two supports placed in the bottom of the grave.

The coffin is lowered to the bottom by means of the cloth ropes which enclosed it. These ropes are then pulled back up. Several shots are fired. Not a word is spoken. About ten thick round logs about 20 centimeters in diameter are placed side by side on the grave and the earth thrown over them. The ɔlɔmɛ̃ work with the shovel and hoe; the pile of earth rapidly reaches a meter in height.

Then the head of the ɔlɔmɛ̃ stops the work. He passes over the grave several times, jumping with feet together. Next, passing the bundle of cloth ropes several times around his legs, he addresses the akka of those present, admonishing them not to stay in the hole.

/171 cont./

764 Work is then resumed. Those present who are not ɔlɔmɩ̃, including me, are invited to throw several shovels of earth. On top of the mound are placed the papay and the objects used in the mourning, topped by the dead woman's bench. Then those present go away without haste and wash at the wharf. Several shots are again fired while the canoes go away.

The graves are spaced about 10 meters apart. The dead are not grouped by lineages; the cemetery is extended as needed, and the dead person is put in the first available spot. Thus Kotɔ̃lda (Awara Bakka) is placed beside Asɔ̃lda (Lapé), a hundred-year-old woman dead a few months before.

They show me the graves of village heads I have known, Diolé († in 1951), Atikati († in 1953). The mounds are already half settled down, the brush on them is as much as a meter high.

[769] One of my boatmen pours a little tafia on his mother's grave which is at the edge /172/ of the path. None of those present leaves the group to go to the grave of his relatives.

Thanking Ceremonies. On the twenty-third at eight [692] o'clock, the ɩ̃ɩ̃ti kuutu is convened and sits at the edge of the mortuary shed.

The ɔlɔmɩ̃ and in a general way those who have worked [769] on behalf of the dead person (only about ten remain, the others have left to work) are seated opposite the men of the dead woman's lineage.

It is always Tafanié who speaks. Béna (Dju), seated before the ɔlɔmɩ̃, turned toward the speaker, plays the role of respondent. Tafanié thanks all those who have worked on behalf of the dead person, detailing at length the various jobs, then citing their various lineages; he repeats the same thing in several ways and his speech is interminable. Sometimes he [293] interrupts himself to put in a good joke or drink a bumper of [415] tafia. A 15-liter demijohn is seen circulating inside the shed.

/172 cont./

764 578 Suddenly an incident erupts. Baafu (Lapé) insinuates that Agidibon (Aw.B.) is helping himself immoderately. Insulting words are exchanged. Agidibon leaves the council. General commotion. The tumult calms down after a quarter of an hour.

764 The speaker now thanks the foreigners passing through, Saramaka and Djuka, who helped at the obsequies.

764 787 Someone puts down on the ground a paddle on which is attached a bundle wrapped in cloth. It is the dead woman's paddle, and the bundle contains her hair. It is kept until the [765] broko dɛ (it seems, in fact, that this is the reason for this celebration) in order to keep contact with the dead woman's yɔrka for the further questions people might have to ask it (1).

1. It seems that on this point custom envisages especially the case of near relatives of the dead person traveling on the river at the time of the death, and who could not be present at the burial.

Then, several ɔlɔmɛ will go to the cemetery to bury the bundle inside the mound.

The spectators go toward a shaded spot, for it is near noon and the sun is overwhelming.

Sosoman carries the front of the paddle and Tansia the back. Without any question at all being asked, they circulate in the village for a long time. Several times I see them make contradictory movements, nod their heads forward and sideways at the same time.

Here they are back again near Tafanié. To my great surprise Tafanié asks questions in a low voice, cupping his hands in front of his mouth.

/172 cont./

764 Several times the paddle is seen to answer affirmatively,
787 then negative. Not one of those present can understand what is said, but not one shows impatience or doubt.

[613] Suddenly Tafanié orders his assistants to cut rods: the dead woman has asked that the people of her own lineage be beaten, guilty of having neglected the yɔ̃ka's warnings. On seeing these preparations the people of Kotolda's lineage /173/ run away in confusion in every direction while their adversaries pursue them with the appearance of having a very good time. Some take refuge in the water, others in the bush; none whatever can be caught.

Completely symbolic punishment, moreover, for at the end of ten minutes they are seen to reappear and take their places again among those present.

764 The obsequies are ended. Only the deceased's near relatives stay seated in their hammocks under the mortuary shed. They will remain there until the broko dɛ.

764 Payments of the ɔlɔmɛ. The ɔlɔmɛ divide up one lot of
769 cloth, keeping track of what they have received in the preceding obsequies. That does not appear to cause any discussion. If, after this, someone who has not furnished any work wants to take one of these pieces of cloth, he may do so by offering tafia to the people present.

766 Funeral ceremonies for people who die while traveling. If a
787 man dies in the course of a distant trip, they take from the
775 cadaver before burying it his hair and fingernails, which are brought back to his native village; in fact, it is assumed that as long as a fragment of the body is not buried, the yɔ̃ka remains attached to it; hair and fingernails will therefore permit the interrogation of the yɔ̃ka and will be buried in the cemetery with the usual rites.

/173 cont./

764 broko dɛ. The eighth day after death, a ceremony called broko dɛ takes place, not to be confused with the lifting of mourning. This ceremony marks the end of the burial rites proper; when it is ended, the dead person can no longer be questioned directly; the period of mourning begins.

[613] It is a very simple ceremony which attracts few people and happens almost entirely within the lineage.

[538] At nightfall they begin to relate Anansi toli, those traditional tales which make the audience vibrate together and [535] create a special atmosphere. Then come the sɔ̃nge, susa, and awasa dances which last all night.

764 769 The next day each one busies himself at small jobs in the village while the women prepare the meal. This is the ceremony called towɛ nyɛ̃, which takes place at the edge of the mortuary shed about four o'clock in the afternoon. Each woman of the lineage brings a large bowl of rice and a small bowl containing either a piece of meat cooked in sauce or some fish. The oldest man of the lineage has large banana leaves spread out on the ground at the edge of the shed; he takes a little of each dish and puts it down on the leaves, while at the same time addressing the ancestors in ordinary language in the tone of an intimate conversation: "Dead of the family, come, come to eat today."

That lasts perhaps a quarter of an hour, while those present are seated, immobile and meditative. The ancestors are supposed to eat the spiritual part of the food -- kaaka fu nyɛ̃.

Then the elders line up at the edge of the shed five or six small children of about ten years, each one of whom holds a basin upside down. A man keeps them in line /174/ with the aid of a long stick. Then, at a signal, he lifts the stick and the children dash headlong with laughs and shouts toward the ancestors' portion, each one carrying away all he could cover [613] with his basin. The ceremony terminates with a joyful meal eaten together by the whole lineage, symbol of the communion between the dead and the living.

/174 cont./

764 Cemeteries. There are two cemeteries in Boni country: one on the lands of the Dikan lineage for the people living on the French bank, the other downstream from Kotika for the inhabitants of that village. They are ordinary places which nothing indicates from the bank, for they are covered like the rest of the country by secondary forest. The dead are buried there in graves aligned parallel to the river, about seven meters apart. The dead are placed with heads turned toward the river. No separation by lineage exists within the cemetery.

The graves are not marked by any decoration, and at the end of about ten years, the mound having settled down, no trace of the burial remains.

[767] The graves are never cleaned. Only the ɔlɔmã heads, who have received special instruction, know the graves of the principal chiefs and the boundaries of the cemetery.

769 The Boni never go to the cemetery alone and do not
[784] make offerings on the graves of their near relatives. Someone
[785] who would frequent the cemetery alone would be suspected of being a wisimã seeking to capture the yɔ̃ka of a dead person.

764 Even if they are right near the villages, cemeteries are
487 never connected directly to them by paths, and the dead are transported by boat. By proceeding thus they hope to isolate the villages from evil influences.

766 If someone dies by drowning, he is buried away from the cemetery. According to Mr. W. F. van Lier, among the Djuka
[761] all drowned persons are supposed to have been victims of a
[784] kunu; the Boni do not have this conception and declare that they
[184] have lost the meaning of this custom; one notices, however, that they observe mourning for the drowned according to the usual rites.

/174 cont./

764 Children are buried with the normal ceremonies only from about the age of six on. The rule is the following: A child is buried in the cemetery and broko dɛ is done for him if the next child of the same mother is beginning to walk.

766 Young children are buried without a coffin at a special site on the edge of each village; a board is simply placed on the [828] body before filling the grave. They have the idea that very [175] young children have no vital force, and that their yɔrka cannot do any harm. /Fig. 25 appears here./ /175/

764 Mourning

After the burial the wives of the dead man (or the husband if it is a woman), the nearest relatives on the maternal side, as well as the children, sojourn eight days more in the mortuary shed, until the broko dɛ.

765 From then on the obligations of mourning are limited, [831] for the near relatives of the dead person, to abstaining for a [175] year from dancing, wearing jewelry or too fine clothes; it goes [171] completely otherwise for the spouse of the dead person; the Refugee Blacks indeed take for granted, like the Creoles of Surinam, the persistence of the sexual jealousy of the dead person, whose yɔrka is thought to remain in contact with the living for a year.

State of the spouse in mourning. The principle is that the surviving spouse, until the lifting of mourning, is subject to the will of the dead person. In order to materialize that in an obvious way, he cannot, during this whole period, wear his usual clothes but must dress exclusively in pieces of cloth appropriated for him from among the ones the dead person possessed, or given by the nearest maternal relatives of the dead person.

6:Hurault--265a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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Fig. 25. The coffin is placed on board a canoe.

/188 cont./

428 In the custom of the Refugee Blacks, the inheritance
[613] must be dispersed among the members of the dead person's matrilineage in the strict sense (bu_e) and his children.

/189/ The custom of numerous African societies has it that the men inherit from men and the women from women. This notion is totally contrary to the legal thought of the Refugee Blacks. A house, an object, a boat, may pass from a man to a woman or conversely. It is the same with the lower gods with which the dead person might have been possessed.

428 If the dead person has not indicated before his death, in
789 front of witnesses, the distribution of his property, the same
764 divinatory procedure is used as for the determination of the causes of death: the coffin being carried on the heads of two men, in front of it are lined up the members of the dead person's matrilineage in the restricted sense and his children. The president of the Linti kuutu asks: "To whom dost thou leave thy house?" The coffin moves toward one of those present, then: "To whom dost thou leave thy boat?" "To whom dost thou leave thy gun?" "To whom dost thou leave thy clearings being harvested?"

428 The partial heirs thus designated may enter immediately into possession of their legacies.

428 Reserved are what the Boni call the "equipment" of the
765 dead person, that is, his personal belongings, linen, money, which will be divided up after the lifting of mourning.

The customary rule is the following:

[602] For the duration of the mourning, these objects shut up in a trunk are put under the care of the eldest child if a woman was concerned, of the eldest classificatory nephew if a man was concerned. After the lifting of mourning, the distribution is
428 602 made by the dead person's mother, if she is still alive, if not by the eldest of the classificatory uncles or aunts, and if they all are dead, by the eldest of the surviving classificatory brothers or sisters of the dead person.

/242 cont./

754 Of course he was recognized as a wisimã by the first
764 adjuration made to his body carried in the papay on the heads
787 of two men: "If thou art a wisi man, do not come toward us."
The dead man drew back. /2

[784] /243/Continuation of the interrogation showed that he had not yet killed anybody, but that he had been killed by Odùn when he was preparing to kill someone of his lineage.

754 The persecutors of Agyémési, contrary to their hope, did not recover after his death from the maladies which they were attributing to his sorcery; that did not shake their conviction in
755 the least. They left for Paramaribo to have themselves treated
648 by a Creole magician (for the Surinam Creoles, who practice white magic and black magic indiscriminately, are by this fact reputed to be more expert than the Refugee Blacks in combating the effects of wisi).

754 In recounting this story to us, the grand man told us that it is always necessary to be cautious with accusations of wisi,
[762] because one can never be sure. A man unjustly accused can
[784] commit suicide and pursue his accusers with his kunu (most of the Boni state that they would do so in such a case). In former
173 times, the barbarous punishments in use in Africa were applied
683 to revealed wisimã: they were burned alive. But people tell
784 that one of them, some months afterward, undertook against his accusers' lineage a kunu which still lasts today. He had been wrongly condemned! It is through fear of the kunu more than
[178] through care for humanity, that these punishments have been abolished.

754 It certainly seems that the constant fear of the wisimã in
[152] which the Boni live is only a collective hallucination, and that rare indeed are those who dare to indulge in practices which might draw upon them such terrible social and religious sanctions. As for these practices themselves, they appear to be without any real content, and the misfortunes attributed to them are

6:Hurault--412a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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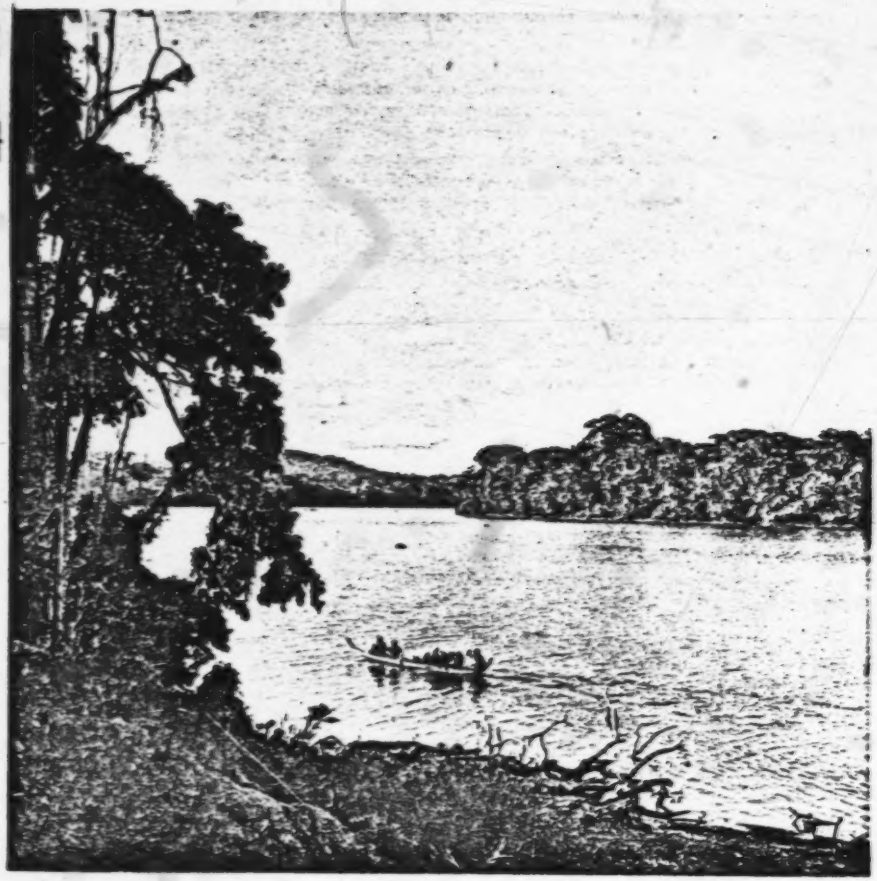

Fig. 29. The last trip of a dead person on the river.

/280 cont./

*539 During the night he got up and went and untied the ox which escaped into the bush.

The next day he said to the bachia: "Bachia, please go and get my ox." The bachia looked for it in vain. He said: "Anansi, the ox has escaped into the bush." We shall give you another." -- "That won't do," said Anansi; "I was passing by on the river and you called me without any reason. Give me the dead child."

They said: "Uncle Anansi, we cannot give him to you, he is already in the coffin." "Let's make an end of it," said Anansi, "you are provoking me." The bachia went to tell the mother (of the dead child) that a misfortune had arrived(1).

[764]
[613]
[593]

1. It is to be noted that it is not from the lineage head that one asks for authorization to dispose of the body, but from the mother alone.

She agreed to it. They broke the coffin and gave the body to Anansi. He put it in the bow of the boat and paddled until he came to a big bend in the river. Once out of sight of the village people, he /281/ made a little paddle. He went to the bow seat of the boat, he fastened the dead child to it with glue. He put the body in a sitting position, as if it were alive, he fastened the paddle in its hand.

He paddled until he heard something like the noise of a boat. He said to himself: "Listen, stand up, perhaps a boat is coming." He placed the boat in the strongest part of the current, he paddled hard, standing in the stern. He heard better, he said: "It is a ship." He shouted: "Ah, ah! Today I meet thee, thou whom I sought for so long." He saw clearly that it was a ship. Comrades, he paddled in the current; the

6:Hurault--581 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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Scale 1/20 000

[End Plate - B]

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

ON THE SARAMACCA RIVER

484
782
622
539

Grant that I walk with strangers in friendship,
Grant that the white man deal fairly with me.
Great Sky God,
Mother of the River,
Sacred ancestors,
I thank you."

Before the sound of the old chief's voice had died away, 484
Bayo was on the bank again with the great disks of cassava bread in his arms. He covered them carefully and was on his way. His aunt had provided nicely for him. She had given him a large bottle of palm oil as well, and now, if he could but shoot a monkey or a macaw while going up the river, he [962] would have excellent food. The Bakra would be certain to have a drink or two for his paddlers, and some leaf tobacco; and, though he himself was not old enough to snuff tobacco, he would save it for a gift to the father of his betrothed.

He went back to his seketi.

"*Ma, a Lamé*
A sib' ko' de muye."

On the bank of the next village several women were at work washing clothes. Were they young? Ah, but he must hurry. Twice he had been overtaken.

"Tia, odi! tia, odi! tia, odi!" He spoke to each of the three women separately and finished his "Adiosi" with an extra flourish, for he knew as he paddled away that the circle of cicatrized kamemba and the snake incised in the small of his back below it would gleam in the sun and look alive to the women who watched him make off.

That Lamé obia was a powerful thing!

2

At Gankwe they had been up all night, for yesterday was 765
the eighth day after death, and that night the ceremony of B'oko Dei had to be cared for—until night met day, the villagers said, there would be Anansi stories, and then, after the dawn, the elders would hold council, for one's

765 head was clearest in the quiet of the early morning. A stillness so pronounced that we could feel it surrounded us at the base camp, for at Gankwe the drums had been replaced in the shrines of the gods for whom they speak, and no more guns saluted the spirit of Zimbi, or warned away the evil dead with the powder which was distasteful to ghosts. Zimbi was buried, the grave diggers had bathed [783] and put on fresh loin cloths, the village had been purified, and all was still.

512 From our shelter, watching the haze lift, we could see that the river had fallen; the tangled grasses at the bank showed fully a hand's breadth of fresh brown that had the day before been under water. With the coming of the sun things began to stir. The lizards appeared, the [231] chickens came to peck at our shoes, looking for crumbs, and boats began to make shadows across the opposite bank, as the Gankwe women in their small corials went to their fields. At the bow would be a little girl, or a yet smaller [868] boy—as young as four perhaps, for the older ones went with the men to learn a man's work—helping to take the boat up the fast water. All this went on quietly, until we espied three boats running down the rapids and pivoting about in the still water toward our landing place. As they 438 came nearer, we could see that the boats carried no load, and our host, the director of the balata-collecting station, explained that these boats were new and were being taken down river for sale.

"All the large boats come from top-side," he said. "The men take them clear around to the Marowyne River by way of the canals and there carry loads in them to the stations in the interior. The Saramacca men are fine canoe-men. They like them on the Marowyne. . . . You could 439 use a large boat for your trip up river. Maybe the man will sell one."

[142] [304] The man in charge of the little flotilla stood more than six feet tall. His face was intricately cicatrized, and he carried himself with a dignity and reserve that surpassed even the way of the village chiefs.

524 The man looked so moved by what he told us that we had qualms about continuing the conversation with him about his dead family, and so we asked him about the game board. "Why is it, Kasanya, that young Amnika of your [322] village said he could not make us a game board, fine carver that he is? You yourself know that the board is just a piece of wood with holes in it for the seeds. It is not beautiful; there are no decorations on it."

765 "It is because he is young. His hair isn't white like mine. 524 Making an adji board is a big thing. It's not a little thing. It is on this we play when the body of the dead lies in the house of mourning to entertain his spirit, his yorka. Only [554] an old man who has lost his wife may make a board for this game which is played for the dead."

"But suppose he did make it?"

[176] "Then he would get a kunu, Bakra," he said with an impatient cluck which was intended to deplore the white man's inability to understand simple things.

776 And so again we came to kunu, and since he himself had brought it up, we decided to stir the hole once more to see what was in it. Kasanya talked with less hesitation than we had come to expect. It is easier for an older man who has had experience with the spirits and knows their ways to talk about the supernatural. He understands what he may and may not do, and then, too, with his greater knowledge he can tell more without offending the spirits who disapprove of a man's telling too great a part of his store.

"Yes, Bakra, kunu is a difficult thing for you, a white man, to understand. But we black people know what brings kunu. Many things bring kunu. Look, I made three children. Fine men all three. One died, the second died, the third died. . . . "

688 This was his story. His wife's mother's brother brought the curse on his family. He had cut a new field, and the trees he had felled and the brush he had cut had been lying for some time, as was proper, that the dead wood might [241] be burned off to clear the ground so that the ash might enrich the soil.

776 754 see the shrines to the ancestors and gods. All about were the many houses of the Granman with the elaborately carved posts figuring his emblem. Under the shade trees the widow was pounding rice. She wore old clothes, and, since she [765] would soon be out of mourning, they were almost in rags. The mourning band about her hair was also old.

The Granman's eyes must have followed ours, must have seen us study the outlines of the carving, and must have followed us to the shrines and the woman, for his voice changed, and now he repeated in a ruminating voice, "Yes, here we believe in kunu."

[192] "Ya-hai!" was the noncommittal reply from his listeners.

The Granman looked now into the faces of his trusted chiefs. He looked steadily and long, searching in the semidarkness of the house for a betraying expression, as the chiefs sat on the low stools against the farther wall, their faces averted, as was seemly.

"Well, friends, kunu has made an end of my family. Is it not so? But the clan will go on. The clan's rule is not ended. Up and down the river tell them that, friends. Kunu has brought my family to an end. With me our family rule is finished. That is right. But the clan will go on."

The customary interpolations followed each phrase. Then singly the chiefs took their leave. Rising slowly, after [576] they had received permission to depart, and with body bent, their hands touching their knees, each spoke his farewell.

In the light their ceremonially anointed bodies glistened like polished ebony. Swift and straight each made his way down the clearing and into a side path which led to the river, where the boats were fastened.

"Fine men, these," said the Granman to us after a silence. "And you, have you kunu in your country? . . . "

5

776 But even after these and many more instances of kunu had come to us, and even though we had snatched a few sentences of explanation from one man and from another, the essential nature of kunu still eluded us. Was kunu, then,

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

133
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"In the true, true Saramacca . . . "

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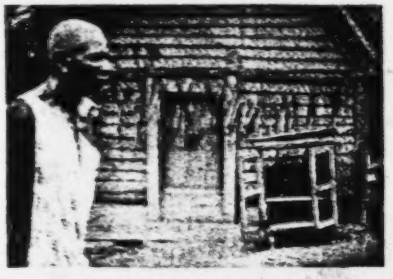
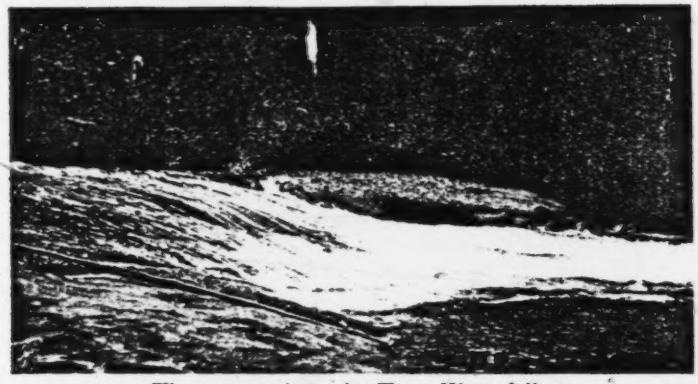


House of one recently dead.



133

The approach to the Tapa Wata falls.

[p. 170 (A)]

774 at the time approaching a state of possession, had provoked great anger.

"If you do not know what the Dyo-dyo is, then you are not human. Then I won't talk to you. Have you never walked and felt something in back of you, yet nothing was there? Have you never had a dream?"

The Dyo-dyo was one of two souls with which each individual was born, the old woman had later been persuaded to explain, for each man had his akra, his personal soul, which if he were mindful of it, remained with him, and allowed no evil to come to him; and each man had his Dyo-dyo, his wandering soul. At death the soul which had [795] wandered came back to the body. If it were permitted to stray once more, this soul, which had been ever restless in life, would wander about troubling the living.

But now, sitting among the women in back of the Gran-
796 man's shrine, it seemed again best to admit that she knew
765 nothing of the adyo ceremony. Fortunately, there was no outburst of anger this time, for here in the true, true Saramacca country, it was soon evident that there was a [186] pride in their magic, and their language, because these were held to be uniquely their own.

"We give a big play for the breaking of mourning." All [534] the drums were played, and the rattles sounded, and the *kwakwa*—the hard-wood bench played with two sticks—was beaten.

For this important ceremony, the oldest living brother [293] of the dead man provided food and rum, and, when the time came to partake of this food, he and the *kei mundu*—the people of rank—sat about the doorway of the widow's house. She herself stood inside the house, behind the threshold, scattering food for the dead, and pouring rum on the [262] ground. Rice and peanuts and sugar cane were thrown away, but not yams or plantains, for those things were not given in their village to the ancestral spirits. As the widow "threw away" the food she wept. In the clearing those who did not eat danced adyo. In a circle, men and women danced in close file, one behind the other, each

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

holding a stick the size of a well-grown boy's arm. Round and round they went, as the widow from her doorway moaned her lament, and guns sounded in honor of the dead. The more important the man, the more guns were fired. Their own men had been the Granman's brothers. There was shooting till . . . till late afternoon, when they could not delay the bathing at the river any longer.

Before dark, all had to go to the river to bathe, and the widow, too, was led there with the others. There she purified herself, and discarded her mourning clothes, drawing on new cloths, and making herself fit with ornaments for the ceremony of rejoicing. This was followed by dancing which lasted late into the night. All the gods might be danced to at an adyo ceremony—Adonko; Vodu, the snake; Opete, the buzzard; Tigri, the jaguar; and all the gods of the bush and the ant hill—and, at the beginning, the seketi social dances and the half-sacred awasa. These dances were held for the spirits of men and women alike, and it did not matter whether the dead, or the living members of the family of the dead, shared these gods with the rest of the villagers, or not.

"But mourning is not over yet," said Fenekonde.

Seven months more elapsed, she showed on her fingers, before a woman might cohabit with her brother-in-law. If there was no brother-in-law to take her, then a woman had to wait twelve months after the adyo ceremony, instead of seven.

"If a woman doesn't care for her brother-in-law," continued Fenekonde, "or he doesn't care for her, then, when the seven months have passed, he comes to her hammock for two nights. Then she can go to another man at once."

When the husband who had died left no brothers, and there was no one else in his family to take the widow, the family of the dead man sought out a husband for her.

"They look and they look, until they are weary," said the Granman's younger wife, "but a man must be found before a woman can come out of mourning."

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

765 And Fenekonde said, "Mourning is hard. The widow must not go to the river alone to wash. Other women must take her there. Her husband's spirit might seize her. Her [005] hair must be cut. If not, he will get her by the hair. Her clothes must be ugly. She must keep herself unclean, so that his ghost will not long for her when he sees her."

But mourning was difficult not only for a woman. A man's mourning period was no less burdensome, they added. He too wore old clothes. When he went to wash, his wife's brother took him to the river. If he had another wife, he did not go into the hammock with her, for the dead woman would be envious and would kill him.

765 There were times, however, when women did not go into 893 mourning for their husbands. If a woman carried a child in her womb, then she did not put on mourning clothes at all. She did not weep, she was not allowed to show any grief. That same night the dead man's oldest living brother would come with her in the hammock. If there were no brother, another man would come, for some man had to come.

"He must come. It cannot be otherwise. She cannot go to her hammock alone. So it is every night when a woman carries a child in her womb. A man must be with her, for the sake of the child."

3

243 In the clearing the widow stood stamping rice. About 644 her the rice hulls flew and made a half circle of gold at her dark feet. Her mortar, which was made of a hollowed-out [415] log, like a drum, was large and reached almost to her hips. On the ground was a large tray which she used for winnowing the rice. With slow, regular beats she lifted and dropped [412] the pestle, and as her body swung with its slow motion the [854] head of the sleeping child on her back rolled this way and that.

768 Her two small boys had gone to live in her mother's 644 village, but this girl child remained with her. She was born

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

tradition and authority. The older women's opinions bear 555
considerable weight, for it is chiefly they who maintain the
customs of the tribe. The mother-in-law and father-in-law [606]
are held in special esteem.

Unlike divorce, death is an occasion of genuine sorrow. 765
If a man's wife dies, he may go into mourning for a whole
year. His mourning consists in staying in his hut and doing
no work, while his dead wife's family brings him food and
supports him. When the year is up, he makes a sacrifice to
"the little ground god, Amu" before taking another woman. [776
He slaughters a fowl, letting the blood flow from the throat 782]
on to the earth. After this ritual sacrifice a big dance is held,
and he is permitted to marry again. It is his next wife who
insists upon this ritual.

When a man dies, it is sometimes incumbent upon his 587
widow to have intercourse with his oldest surviving brother
and marry him. The fact that he may already be married
makes no difference whatever. It is imperative that they live
together for several months; after that, if there is no affec-
tion between them, they can separate. This is a widespread
custom among primitives, and there are remnants of it in
the present-day customs of orthodox Jews.

Among the Aucaners it is not necessary for a man to have
intercourse with his deceased brother's wife. He must, how-
ever, take care of her for a period of six months, after which
time she is free to remarry.

A woman may publicly mourn her deceased husband by [765]
singing a dirge every little while.

/16 cont./

868 The children learn their dances and games at a very early
858 age and are always present at the festivals.

From earliest youth on they are taught to respect and
867 venerate older persons; offenses against this obligatory respect are
689 severely punished.

868 The boys in particular are taken along to the forest at an early age and remain there in connection with the processing of wood or other operations, as well as for hunting and fishing, and very quickly learn to swim.

515 Men, women, and children bathe separately in the river every day.

Chapter XI

Burial Services and Other Ceremonies

764 They celebrate the burial services with great solemnity. If one of them dies in Auca, that is, their land, then the corpse is cleaned, the nails are cut, and it is placed in a coffin, in which various and especially costly articles of clothing of the deceased are placed and to which all the relatives also add a new piece of cloth (usually blankets and pantjes) as remembrances, a farewell token on which much value is placed. Hence they always take care to have a sufficient stock of new and unused cloths.

Ordinarily the corpse lies in the open coffin for one day before the interment takes place, in order to bid it farewell. The relatives then sit around the coffin and weep ceaselessly /17/ in a mostly singsong manner peculiar to them, in which the visitors also join from time to time.

● 765 After the interment the closest blood relatives proceed to hold the days of mourning on a mat spread out on the ground for
[538] eight days. During this time they weep loudly by turns, at the same time making the strangest gestures, while day and night, generally by turns, little stories with many allusions, and always ending with a moral solution, are told.

/17 cont./

765 In these tales, called anansitori (spider-head story), the
[538] spider usually plays the main role as a personal being.

The close female relatives wear as a sign of mourning for husband, father, and mother, for a year, white or blue cloths around the head and a white cloth around the body. The men wear a white cloth around head and body only for three months, but during an entire year (since they then may not go completely clothed) they cover themselves with only a black loincloth. They also refrain from wearing ornaments for a whole year.

766 If one of them dies in the working place, in the town, or elsewhere, then the corpse has some hair shorn from its forehead and is subsequently buried without ceremonies. This hair is wrapped in a new piece of linen or cotton and brought to Auca, or their permanent dwelling place, where it then undergoes a proper burial, on which occasion all the customary ceremonies are observed as though the corpse were there.

766 Whenever one of them dies suddenly or from a strange
787 disease, which can arouse a suspicion of poisoning, immediately
[824] after death and before being washed the corpse is placed in a boesipapaja (1) tree (which, split and then tied together, is just

1. It is a hollow tree of very soft and unusable wood which, when split open, resembles bamboo from the inside; the leaves are broad and rasp-like.

like a halved hollow tree) at least five feet long. This kind of coffin is carried from east to west, past all those present, who for this purpose must be ranged in two rows, by two completely strange and impartial men, who are invited from other places for this purpose.

Now the place where the corpse through heavy pressure on the /18/ head forces the two bearers to stand still is where the inquiry begins, and one asks the corpse whether this place where they are now standing still is where clarification can be provided. If one notices a distinct movement of the hollowed-out tree, this is corroboration. If, after the question has been repeated three

/19 cont./

696 he must sit unbound on a large fire arranged in gridiron fashion,
682 so that he burns completely to ashes.

[695] Never, however, is an accused put to death before three months have elapsed after the inquiry, because there still might possibly be a chance that his innocence will be proved.

682 In the case of a confession and the supplying of clear proof
[695] that the deceased gave cause to be poisoned, the culprit frequently escapes with a light punishment; sometimes also forgiveness is
[672] granted with general approval, with the condition that the culprit take upon himself to the third generation the obligation to be of service in everything to the descendants of the maltreated person.
681 It may also happen that in the case of various other misdeeds the
672 perpetrator is completely forgiven for his misdeed, but that upon his descendants to the third generation there is imposed the obligation to render slave services exactly as in the case of poisoning.

681 The majority of these slave services ordinarily consist of giving money, strong drink, or the necessities of life, as a result of which hard work must often be done in order to be able to fulfill them. Every day they are afraid that this or that may be exacted from them. There are indications, however, that not too great a misuse is made of this.

765 Twelve months after the burial there always takes place a great gathering in the hut of the deceased, at which time the period of mourning ends with rejoicing. Exuberant festivities are then celebrated, and that night an unusually great amount is drunk, eaten, and honor salutes fired. Everyone in the vicinity, insofar as he is able, is present on this occasion.

This festival is called tesa, the ending of the mourning period, and begins after one of the nearest relatives, who enjoys the greatest respect, takes a large calabash filled with water in his right hand and with it slowly walks forth out of the hut along the other dwellings nearby and is followed by a large number of people, during which he here and there sprinkles the water,
[775] trowéwatra, in drops on the ground, saying: Like this water, the soul of the deceased will also be pure, and all that was dear to him will remain tranquilly on earth without being disturbed by him who as spirit finds himself in the spirit world.

/20/

765 Thereupon follows a second, who just like the first has a calabash in hand, but this time filled with spirituous liquor, and from time to time sprinkles a few drops of it on the ground, in token of the fact that on this occasion, too, by means of drink, they think of the deceased with joy.

Then they again return to the dwelling, where all are gathered, and celebrate an enjoyable night with song and dancing until daybreak.

Chapter XII

Character, Virtues and Vices

157 The Bush Negro, as I have already said above, has a great [577] deal of respect for old age and for distinguished persons; with respect to their closest relations they are honest, which they can- [461] not pride themselves on otherwise. In their ordinary affairs they [609] are not lazy, but work tirelessly whenever it is necessary. With respect to strangers they are generous and obliging, all the more [152] when they can assume that they may claim reward. Jealousy, [784] envy, and malice are their greatest vices. Concerning many matters they have an antipathy that they call trefoe (treef). Thus, [781] for instance, one will eat something, the other not. Also they are very superstitious in small matters, to which they cling all the way down to distant generations; they call that obia (literally translated, bewitchment, magic).

262 An Auca girl who through attachment to my wife and me [123] has already lived with us in the town for fully five years, because since the death of her husband, who was one of my most trusted [589] workers, she did not want to attach herself to another, and who performed all kinds of housework for us, carries her trefoe of not eating any unscaled fish so far that she will not even cook her food on a fire where there is a pot in which an unscaled fish was previously prepared. I know another one who uses no milk and also does not eat meat of any kind (with the exception of bacon), unless it be game, and then it must be prepared by her, on the grounds that everything is prepared with butter and that butter comes from

/40 cont./

125 [123] In spite of the relations of trust developed between the Boni and ourselves in the course of the work carried out together during four long missions, we were able to take this census only progressively and indirectly, by using simultaneously the following procedures:

—Study of the genealogy of the groups, going up from woman to woman up to the founding ancestress, then going back down from her. These genealogical tables, some of which extend [166] over nine generations and include more than 160 persons, brought [736] to light a certain number of temporarily absent people and individuals who lived away from the villages, isolated in the middle of the Creole gold miners, but continuing to make up part of their group; they also brought to light a certain number of young people and orphan children taken in by distant relatives who would not have spoken about them directly. But on this point, gaps remain;

[126] —Detailed plan of the villages and interrogation of the village heads as to the persons living in each house;

—Interrogation of the women about their dead and surviving children;

—General verification with the help of perfectly trustworthy informants who possessed a thorough knowledge of the genealogy of the groups.

The census, stopped on January 1, 1958, covered 811 per- [162] sons of whom 667 /41/ were from the villages of the French bank and 144 from the Surinam bank (Kotika). As for the latter, we [765] questioned them individually when they came to the French bank, especially when they came to attend the end of mourning festivities in Boniville in October, 1957. The Kotika census is less [128] exact than that of the French villages, and in addition we were [126] not able to make a plan of the village. For this reason we have not reproduced it in the present work, where only the corresponding genealogical table appears.

/69 cont./

562 828 [191] It is assumed once and for all that women are shrews on whom one cannot count and from whom one can get nothing. The Refugee Blacks are inexhaustible on this subject and their opinion about the women of their group is very similar to that of Africans in general: they call them ill-natured, devoid of feeling, selfish, greedy, and unfaithful.

562 571 [965] In general, women are held apart from regular social life; no form of customary society of women exists. In the mourning ceremonies, which correspond to a veritable mobilization of the village, they play no role, except to prepare the meals.

562 787 794 Yet the women play indirectly an important role in the social life by way of the cults of possession. The Papa gadu gods so formidable have women nearly exclusively as bearers, and we shall see in studying the functioning of the kunu that they are the principal actors in this. Through this activity, which is exerted in arbitrary fashion on the outskirts of the institutions of regular social life, the women maintain around themselves an atmosphere of fear; it is not impossible that the functioning of these cults is influenced by the concern of the women to maintain their privileged position in the society of the Refugee Blacks.

562 157 Many women are charitable and have a certain generosity toward the members of their family, insuring the maintenance of the old men without resources. But their benevolence is essentially subjective and extends only to a small circle of personal friends and their nearest relatives. As soon as the elders appeal to them for a question of general interest, claiming to give them orders or even advice, they meet an attitude systematically malevolent and stubborn. /70/

[613] The lineage heads avoid giving them orders directly, for they run a strong risk of getting themselves insulted, as we have observed many a time.

/135 cont./

593 The same year, G..., man of about 50, particularly serious and hard-working, had saved up enough to buy an outboard motor; his mother, aged near 75 years, advised him absolutely not to make this purchase, claiming that he would be the object of jealousy and was risking being the victim of evil spells; he gave up the project. He did not dare carry it out until [765] 1957 after the mourning for his mother (dead in 1955) had been lifted.

To let one's mother be in need is considered a shame; if a mother has several sons, they divide up the purchases to be made for her benefit; each year one of them will cut the clearing intended for the mother; in exchange she will furnish couac and vegetables as long as her strength will allow her to work.

591 Ordinarily each of the sons, when he becomes 20 or 25 years old, builds himself in his village a house in which he lives alone. But it often happens that a man who has reached adulthood continues to live in his mother's house; for example, in 1952 in Loka village, Ayaubédé, about 40 years of age, was living with his mother Chii.

593 As for the authority of the mother over her daughters, it is [582] still much more strict and lasts all her life. The daughter may not marry without the authorization of her mother or of her [591] female guardian if she is not brought up by her mother. The married daughter has the use of a house that her husband built for her, but this house is situated near that of her mother. Since household life is intermittent and reduced to its simplest expression, she remains under the domination of her mother until the latter's death. Especially, she cannot travel without her permission.

593 In former times the authority of mothers over daughters 178 was tyrannical; they say that one might see an octogenarian mother requisition an old man's arm to strike her sexagenarian daughter who had disobeyed her. But nowadays this authority is battered [579] down by the development of individualism. From this results a growing dissoluteness in the girls and an increasing instability of unions.

/137 cont./

831 necessary food) than by a sentimental motive. It is very rare to meet among them the appearance of sincere and lasting love for a woman; that is sometimes seen, but it is the exception.

562 It is not enough to say that they have few emotional feelings with respect to women. In the conversations heard in the evening around the campfires a deep contempt is expressed on this subject; they even speak of the Boni women as of a foreign and almost enemy nation; they consider them besides as half irresponsible. This attitude shows through in the custom concern-
[684] ing adultery, which decrees that the lover be beaten but not the wife.

581 Among the Refugee Blacks marriage is in fact a contract of maintenance between a man and woman, which provides for the execution of such-and-such work by the one for the benefit of the other, and for the wife the obligation to be faithful.
[586] This contract can be cancelled unilaterally without any sort of indemnity. It does not directly involve the relatives of the
[765] spouses; it involves them only in case of the death of one spouse, for the surviving spouse must /138/ put up with the subservience
[613] of mourning. It is principally for this reason that a marriage must be officially known by both lineages, and that a divorce must be proclaimed without delay.

582 613 614 Exogamy. Marriage is forbidden between persons of the same lineage. In expressing this prohibition the Refugee Blacks employ the word bee (lineage in the restricted sense) and not the word lo.

613 As we have seen in studying the situation of the various lineages, the various Boni kin groups follow different rules in this regard:

--The Dju lineage, which forms only one single group from the genealogical point of view, does not allow marriage between its members;

/158 cont./

156 The Boni woman, poor in emotional feelings, and jealous of her independence with respect to men, puts her pride into subsisting by her own efforts.

178 [156] The young women, even the ones with the freest habits, stay firmly attached to their village, to their plantings, and to the mode of life they received from their grandmothers. In fact, because of its structure and customs, the society of the Refugee Blacks has much less likelihood of suffering from the poisons spread by modern life than the patrilineal societies of Black Africa.

761 /159/ Death; Burial Rites

Death is for the Refugee Blacks an event of extreme gravity.

775 In order to ward off danger and permit the yɔrka of the dead person to take its place among the ancestors, the unstinting cooperation of everyone is required.

764 765 181 [621] [619] The ceremonies which have to do with death and mourning are by far the most important ones in the day-to-day life of the Refugee Blacks; for each one they represent a very heavy material load which is accepted without recriminations. It is really a veritable mobilization, which takes place within the framework of the village and not of the lineage. The apparatus set into motion is independent of the lineage, for it must function in the same way for an outsider, Djuka or Saramaka, who dies during a trip.

764 868 767 Participation in the burial rites is for all an essential religious duty. From childhood the Boni are prepared for this task and become, some of them kisimã (coffin-makers), others ɔlɔmã (grave-diggers), some others wasimã (bathers of the dead).

767 467 Kisimã and ɔlɔmã. It can be said that in each village, ɔlɔmã and kisimã constitute customary societies, provided with an organization and wielding veritable powers for the duration of their work.

764 767 [439] /165 cont./ There may be 126 camisas (1) and

1. Pieces of cotton goods about 1.10 x 0.75 meters. These cloths are manufactured in Holland especially for the Refugee Black clientele.

15 large pieces of cloth. About 30 camisas have been taken from the dead woman's trunk; the others have been given by the people present, the near relatives each giving several, the other relatives only one.

Their work finished, the kisimã burn the shavings and [783] scraps of board. They pass their tools through a flame to purify them of the stains of death. /166/

About 3:00 P.M. the coffin is brought into the mortuary shed by the kisimã. The kisimã, who have complete charge of this phase of the obsequies, count the pieces of cloth and divide them up. One part will be used for their pay, others for the pay of the gravediggers. Fifteen pieces of cloth and about [765] ten ordinary camisas will be placed in the coffin. The rest will be used for clothing the widower who, during the whole period of mourning, will thus remain symbolically dependent upon the dead person; if there are any left over, they are distributed to the members of the dead person's lineage.

Placing in the Coffin. About three o'clock four of the [292] kisimã take their places beside the coffin; they gird their loins with a camisa as the Refugee Blacks always do before carrying out a religious act. In the greatest silence they spread out the 15 large pieces of cloth inside the coffin, allowing them to fall to the ground at right and left. Next, two of them lift up the body while the others slip the coffin underneath (for the whole duration of the burial ceremonies, the body must remain at the exact place where it was put down. The coffin does not rest directly on the ground but is put on a mat through the

/172 cont./

764 578 Suddenly an incident erupts. Baafu (Lapé) insinuates that Agidibon (Aw.B.) is helping himself immoderately. Insulting words are exchanged. Agidibon leaves the council. General commotion. The tumult calms down after a quarter of an hour.

764 The speaker now thanks the foreigners passing through, Saramaka and Djuka, who helped at the obsequies.

764 787 Someone puts down on the ground a paddle on which is attached a bundle wrapped in cloth. It is the dead woman's paddle, and the bundle contains her hair. It is kept until the [765] broko dɛ (it seems, in fact, that this is the reason for this celebration) in order to keep contact with the dead woman's yɔrka for the further questions people might have to ask it (1).

1. It seems that on this point custom envisages especially the case of near relatives of the dead person traveling on the river at the time of the death, and who could not be present at the burial.

Then, several ɔlɔmã will go to the cemetery to bury the bundle inside the mound.

The spectators go toward a shaded spot, for it is near noon and the sun is overwhelming.

Sosoman carries the front of the paddle and Tansia the back. Without any question at all being asked, they circulate in the village for a long time. Several times I see them make contradictory movements, nod their heads forward and sideways at the same time.

Here they are back again near Tafanié. To my great surprise Tafanié asks questions in a low voice, cupping his hands in front of his mouth.

/174 cont./

764 Children are buried with the normal ceremonies only from about the age of six on. The rule is the following: A child is buried in the cemetery and broko dɛ is done for him if the next child of the same mother is beginning to walk.

766 Young children are buried without a coffin at a special site on the edge of each village; a board is simply placed on the [828] body before filling the grave. They have the idea that very [775] young children have no vital force, and that their yɔrka cannot do any harm. /Fig. 25 appears here./ /175/

764

Mourning

After the burial the wives of the dead man (or the husband if it is a woman), the nearest relatives on the maternal side, as well as the children, sojourn eight days more in the mortuary shed, until the broko dɛ.

• 765 From then on the obligations of mourning are limited, for the near relatives of the dead person, to abstaining for a [831] year from dancing, wearing jewelry or too fine clothes; it goes [775] completely otherwise for the spouse of the dead person; the [171] Refugee Blacks indeed take for granted, like the Creoles of Surinam, the persistence of the sexual jealousy of the dead person, whose yɔrka is thought to remain in contact with the living for a year.

State of the spouse in mourning. The principle is that the surviving spouse, until the lifting of mourning, is subject to the will of the dead person. In order to materialize that in an obvious way, he cannot, during this whole period, wear his usual clothes but must dress exclusively in pieces of cloth appropriated for him from among the ones the dead person possessed, or given by the nearest maternal relatives of the dead person.

/175 cont./

765 For the duration of the mourning, any indiscretion of the
775 surviving spouse will draw upon him the pitiless vengeance of the yərka; it is important for him to make himself forgotten, to have a modest and decent demeanor. The dead person might be vexed with him for having kept his health and good looks. So they try to give the surviving spouse the aspect of a miserable
765 and unfortunate being. The dead person's relatives are par-
775 ticularly interested in having this discipline observed, for in
613 the opposite case the dead person's yərka would turn back its vengeance against his own lineage. During all the mourning the whole lineage considers itself in danger. So custom requires that during all this period the widower (or widow) be placed under the authority of the dead person's lineage.

765 In the case of concubinage, mourning is taken on by the
580 spouse even if the relations have not been made official. People cite the example of Way (Boniville) who assumed mourning for a Djuka with whom she had begun to live before he could propose to her officially.

765 State of persons in mourning. A widower's state is exactly like
[775] that of a widow, which tends to show that in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks the dead, men and women, have the same level of being and the same power over the living.

765 The surviving spouse is placed under the protection of
769 the ancestors of the dead spouse's lineage. Without this pro-
613 tection assured by the prayers of the members of this lineage, he would find himself defenseless. The proof of it is that the
[627] principal sanction against him is to lift the mourning premature-
[984] ly by going to the fraga tiki to tell the ancestors that one is no longer interested in him. That amounts indirectly to cursing him (see below the example of Gamba).

/175 cont./

765 613 The spouse in mourning is taken temporarily out of his lineage and placed under the /176/ /Fig. 24 appears here/ /177/ protection of the lineage of the dead spouse, in a situation corresponding to that of the client in ancient /Roman/ society.

[769] He can no longer pray to his own ancestors. If he is sick he asks the elders of the dead spouse's lineage to pray for him to their own ancestors.

765 A man in mourning is freed from certain obligations and responsibilities:

--He cannot take part in a council of his lineage;

--If there is a squabble between his lineage and another, he cannot be taken to task;

--Part of his catch may not be appropriated in case of great nivrée;

--He is freed from his funerary obligations as an ɔlɔmã or kisimã.

765 602 613 A man in mourning is placed under the collective authority of his wife's lineage, but actually under the authority of her near relatives: mother, grandmother, real uncles and aunts. It is real kinship which is involved in matters of mourning; classificatory kinship enters into it only if all the near relatives are dead.

In general it is old women of these near relatives who are charged with watching over the behavior of the widower and on the other hand with seeing that he does not lack anything he needs.

For example Alémin (Aw.B.1) was married to Yundu (L2, G60) of the Lapé 2 fraction, living in Loka village. When she died in May, 1957, he was put under the authority of Asakundu (L2, E55), his wife's grandmother, and of Asakundu's sister [768] Térésa, living in Boniville. Since he had not yet built a hut for his wife, he was enjoined to come specially to build himself a little hut in Loka village in order to reside near Asakundu.

[Text Continues on p. 269]

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● 765

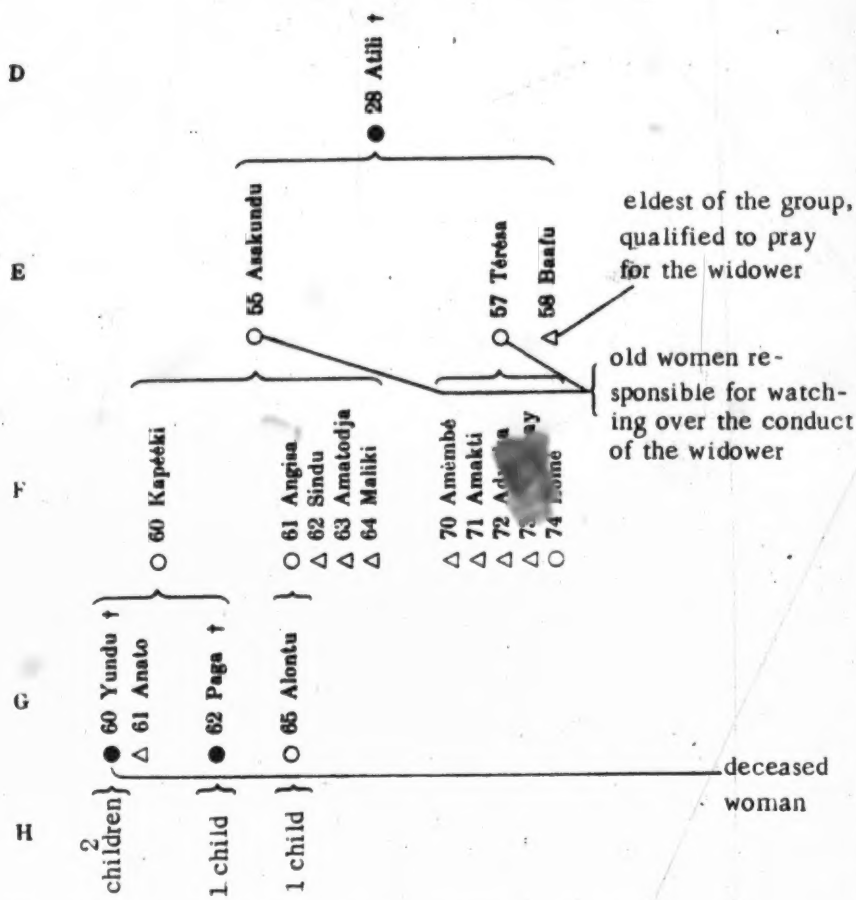


Fig. 24. Genealogy of the Lapé 2 fraction. Functions resulting from Yundu's death.

/177 cont./

765 602 613 If he was sick, it was △ Baafu (L2, E58), the eldest of the group, who was to pray for him. Alémin had nothing to do with the head of the Lapé lineage nor with his wife's classificatory uncles of the Lapé 1 group.

As for Diamanti (Aw.B.2, E56, † in 1955), her husband Booki (K3, E133) spent the mourning in the house that Diamanti had had constructed for her by a former husband. It was ○Emma, Diamanti's mother, and Sanéti, Emma's younger sister, who kept him under watch, under the responsibility of △ Akodo, the dead woman's brother (all the actual uncles being dead). Booki had nothing to do with either the classificatory uncles nor the head of the Awara Bakka lineage.

When Atuku (Aw.B.1, D20) died (1956), her husband Nétali was put under the authority of Kondoku, Atuku's brother, all the uncles in both the real and the classificatory sense being dead.

765 [775] The submission that this mourning entails must not be considered as symbolic. It bears down on the surviving spouse with an intolerable weight which can be borne only because of the conviction that it is the sole means of protection against the dead person's jealousy. Not only does the widower (or widow) do nothing to free himself from it, but at the least indisposition he will add, of his own accord, to the harshness of his state.

The widower can no longer use his clothes and personal utensils; he keeps /178/ his hammock and gun. All the rest, 765 613 clothing (appropriated for the mourning), various utensils, is furnished him by the dead woman's lineage. Each woman of this lineage must give him a little of what she prepares. He himself must not ask for anything.

/178 cont./

765 He cannot go anywhere without the authorization of his watchers, and only for a specific purpose. For example, when Alémin found work with a European in October, 1957, the two old women who were charged with looking after him came to deliver him to his employer like a prisoner, making it clear in particular that they were forbidding him to disembark in such-and-such villages where he had nothing to do.

Alémin was authorized to be present at the mourning for his mother, but he did not take part in any of the ceremonies at all. He was not present at the interrogation of the dead woman carried in her coffin, and was not informed about the arrangements made for dividing up the inheritance.

765 768 A man in mourning does not necessarily live in the hut he has had built for his wife, but in a hut designated for him. He may (this is Alémin's case) be invited to build a small hut which, at the end of the mourning, will become the property of his mother-in-law.

When the house has been bequeathed, the heir may take possession of it only if the spouse has not received orders to reside in it. Only at the end of mourning does he enter fully into possession of his rights.

765 [769] A man in mourning may not go out of his house after nightfall, particularly on nights when people dance after having called all the ancestors. He would have everything to fear from the yaka.

He may circulate in the village and speak to anyone he wishes, but must not joke or be present at any festivities whatever, not even to hear tales. Not only may he not pay court to a woman, but it is still forbidden for him to make discreet overtures, even through an intermediary, with an eye to remarriage.

765 /178 cont./

He may not walk around stripped to the waist and bare-headed; Alémin used to wear permanently a horrible jersey and a holey beret.

765 787 He may neither dance nor sing (even alone). If he has a gadu, this gadu is called and invited not to go to the head of its "master" for the duration of mourning. The doyen of the lineage of the party concerned pronounces this adjuration.

However, a reservation exists. If someone absolutely needs to consult this god, the widower is asked to remove his mourning clothing and put on his own clothes for a few hours. The consultation takes place in private inside a hut; then the mourning resumes.

765 He observes the basic interdiction (bwasi kina) of the dead woman in addition to his own.

He must absolutely spend the yali festival (New Year's Day) with the dead woman's family.

Such are the principal obligations and interdictions which rule over the life of a man in mourning, during a period of at least 18 months, which may even be prolonged up to two years and more (at the end of 1958 the mourning for Yundu, † in May, 1957, was still not lifted, and Alémin did not expect to be freed from it before the spring of 1959).

These obligations are aggravated still more during the first three months by special provisions. /179/

During these first three months, the dipi baaka or deep mourning, the man in mourning must keep an attitude of the most acute sorrow. He leaves the house assigned to him only for indispensable work, and does not go away from the dead woman's village; he remains with his eyes lowered, not looking directly at anyone except members of the dead woman's family. Usage used to require him to lean on a stick like an exhausted person, but the present grand man has abolished that custom.

/179 cont./

765 After three months, an offering is made at the fraga tiki
[769] of the dead person's lineage, setting forth how much her spouse
[778] has respected her memory and asking permission to lighten the
[613] manifestations of his sorrow. The mourning is then lightened, but the man in mourning continues to wear a bandeau around his head or at the very least an old beret.

765 During the first months the man in mourning has no other
461 responsibility than to hunt and fish at the order of the dead
[613] woman's lineage. He does his own cooking with the food given to him; he cuts a clearing for his mother-in-law or another woman of the deceased's relatives, who will farm it with him.
[431] Next, he receives the order to go and earn the money necessary for the sizable contribution he must bring to the festival of the lifting of mourning. During the entire duration of the mourning he must report on his work and moves.

765 When the end of mourning approaches, he must do a job
[606] for the benefit of his mother-in-law, generally redoing the roof of her house or building a boat for her.

These arrangements do not involve any material sanction
[626] whatever. Like the rest of the social life of the Refugee Blacks, they rest entirely upon fear of a suprahuman sanction.
[587] After the lifting of mourning, the person in mourning may remarry without further delay.

765 State of widows and co-wives of a widower. The state of a
768 woman in mourning is practically identical to that of a widower.
[562] She lives for the duration of mourning in her deceased husband's house under the surveillance of his near relatives on the maternal
[613] side. The dead man's lineage lends her all the objects she
[439] needs and furnishes the imported commodities (salt, kerosene, soap) that she uses. On the other hand, she may freely use the produce of the clearing that her husband had cut for her, since it is taken for granted that these products are the exclusive property of the wife.

/179 cont./

765 431 [606] Before coming out of mourning, the widow must procure for herself at the minimum the money necessary for a demijohn of tafia as a contribution to the festival of the lifting of mourning. She must make a present of several cans of couac to her husband's mother.

765 843 184 A pregnant woman undergoes mourning exactly according to the general law. The custom described by several authors for the Saramaka, according to which the pregnant woman must join one of her husband's "brothers," does not apply to the Boni.

765 888 [768] [602] There are some attenuations of the harshness of mourning with respect to old women. For example in 1956, Lémiki (70 years), living in Boniville, was in mourning for her husband Tabiki (Awara Bakka, but residing since childhood with the Lapé lineage in Loka /180/ where he had been raised by his father). Lémiki alternately spent three weeks in her house and three in her husband's. It was Asamani, Tabiki's sister by the same father, who exercised authority over her.

765 768 [613] This remarkable example shows that as regards mourning (rights and duties), the principle of residence plays an essential role. He who has been reared by his father is in this respect taken out of his lineage, which loses all rights and all control over the conduct of the mourning.

765 [775] [768] The co-wives of a widower are subject to mourning on the same grounds as he, and for the same motive, since they are targets for the jealousy of the dead woman's yɔrka. However, they are authorized most often to live with their maternal family.

765 833 [613] When the period of dipi baaka has ended, they may take up conjugal relations again with their husband, but at intervals of several weeks and without his being able to spend the night with one of them. Each time he must ask permission of the head of the dead woman's lineage.

/180 cont./

765 613 689 An incident. In 1957, the Saramaka Gamba (75 years old), Way's widower (Dip. I), caused a serious incident by refusing several times the obedience he owed to the latter's lineage, on the pretext that he was old and knew how to behave.

His son Maliki (born of a Saramaka woman), whom he was raising, married to Way's daughter, had gone fishing above the Litani. Upon his return, Kwau (80 years old), Way's elder brother, reproached him for having left without authorization, pointing out that his father, Gamba, being placed under his authority by mourning, he was too, because of this fact. Gamba [578] did not accept this reasoning and the two old men fought. This [769] was a fine scandal. Kwau and the elders of Way's lineage came [778] before the fraga tiki of L'Enfant Perdu village to lift his mourning forthwith (which, let us recall, is the equivalent of cursing [784] him by delivering him over to the vengeance of the dead woman's yɔrka).

Members of Way's family went to break up the shacks of Gamba and his son, who lived hidden in the bush for some time. [627] Then Gamba had the village heads intercede and obtained his [769] pardon. The elders of Way's lineage went to the fraga tiki to [778] utter the words putting things back in order.

765 Lifting of mourning. The festival of the lifting of mourning - puu baaka - is celebrated 18 months to two years after the burial. The delay may be a little longer, for most often the village celebrates this festival for several of its dead at the same time. It is a heavy burden, for festivals for lifting mourning attract many people and everyone present must find as much as he wishes to eat and drink.

[621] This festival is celebrated in the framework of the village and not in that of the lineage. It will be celebrated in the same way for a Djuka who died in a Boni village, provided that he lived there a sufficiently long time. In such a case the expenses

/180 cont./

765 are divided up equally among all the inhabitants of the village. But if the dead person had near relatives in the village, children, nephews, or brothers, it is they who stand the main burden.

[613] Members of the dead person's lineage who are settled in other villages contribute equally to the expenses and the organizing of the festival, but in a symbolic fashion. /181/

[123] A council (kuutu) of the village inhabitants sets the date; during the two weeks preceding each one is busy. The women 765 hull and winnow rice, prepare great quantities of couac and 262 sugar-cane juice. The busimã scour the bush and have meat and fish smoked. Each one, according to his means, buys tafia, sugar, chocolate, and other articles of food liked by the Refugee Blacks.

765 The celebration of the rites occupies a whole week. This 775 is because, the Refugee Blacks think the influence of the dead person can be eliminated only progressively by the repetition of the rite of separation.

The first day, the yɔrka of the dead person whose mourning is going to be lifted is called by formulas beaten on the [535] apinti drum. Then possession dances take place.

765 The second day is reserved for the material preparation for the ceremonies to follow.

[613] The third day, the spouse in mourning, if there is one, is conducted by the members of the dead person's lineage under [822] the mortuary shed. He is dressed in red and is congratulated for having kept the mourning well. Then he is led to the river, [983] and old women of the dead person's lineage begin to bathe him [775] while adjuring the yɔrka to part company with him.

The fourth day at nightfall, all those present assemble at the mortuary shed. They recite tales (Anãsi tãã), [538] improvisations (mato), and riddles (ɔdo). This phase of the [781] festival has as its object the concentrating of the attention of the hearers; it creates a warm, collective atmosphere which impregnates those present, bringing to them intense and highly colored emotions.

/181 cont./

965 535 533 Next come the dances, always in the order songe, susa, awasa, the rhythms given on the apinti drum. These are not possession dances and do not appear in themselves to have a religious meaning; all involve choruses in which the singers do not accompany themselves on any instrument at all; these songs have no other meaning than to exalt life; the Refugee Blacks find their best artistic expression in them. Many of them demonstrate dazzling imagination; the subjects are extremely varied, and every year new ones are created. But there is a certain number of "classics" which reappear in each festival. Let us mention: "The man who calls his dog lost in the woods"; "The song of the Balen River"; "The woman who watches over her daughter," etc. These songs are very beautiful, and in the great mourning festivals it is difficult to hear them without emotion. Songs and dances follow one another without interruption until the sun's return. This is what is called broko de, "break a day." This ritual, which has a key value in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks, appears to be the affirmation by the group of the triumph of life over death.

965 [969] The fifth day, a kind of buffet is served to the guests under the mortuary shed. In the afternoon there is the offering of food to the ancestors, ɔwɛ nyɛ̃; this rite is a communion between the dead and the living.

[969] On the morning of the sixth day, the ceremony ends with the offering of water, celebrated not at the fraga tiki but at the edge of the shed, in honor of the ancestors. They invoke one [968] last time /182/ the yaka of the dead man (or the dead woman), while asking it to separate from his spouse for good and to leave her in peace! "U puu a umɛ̃ a baaka; yu fagɔ umɛ̃ yu paati tide, na: mu siki, na: wɛ̃ sani mu du ɛ̃, a mu da bɛ̃. (We lift the mourning of (this) woman; thou and the woman, you separate from each other today; she must not be sick, nothing must happen to her, she must be well)."

/182 cont./

• 965 Then they address the dead person in the name of the people of his village: "We have done with thee, stay there where God has placed thee."

The spouse in mourning is again bathed in the river by old women who have themselves gone through mourning.

[969] [975] Then they address the yɔɔka of the ancestors and the entities of the Beyond who are imagined to have come in a crowd: "Ala sani di kɔm ya, yu mu luku ala ŋga bũ; u kaba ŋga yu; yu sa: waka ala peesi; (Each one of the beings who have come, be benevolent toward us all; we have finished with thee, thou canst go anywhere)."

On the seventh day most of those present begin to leave. An intimate ceremony brings the dead person's near relatives together in the very house where he died. They weep and lament one last time. Then a last offering of food is made in the same house, and they repeat the adjuration: "We have done with thee; stay where God has placed thee."

[968] [613] [431] The eighth day, the spouse whose mourning has just been lifted is conducted solemnly back to his village by the people of the dead person's lineage. He is congratulated, he offers food and drink to all those present. What he might have had left of savings disappears on this occasion.

He must sleep three nights in his village, still without being able to have relations with a woman. When this time limit has gone by, he comes to give back the red clothes which the dead person's lineage had lent to him. Only then is he free.

[114] Notes taken in Boniville in November, 1957 on the occasion of the lifting of mourning for Béniti. This festival is given for the lifting of mourning for ○ Béniti (Dju. E5, living in Boniville, † in 1955 at 75), of △ Tito (Kotika, Boniville, † in 1955 at 15), and of △ G...., boy of ten, son of a woman of the village of L'Enfant Perdu (Dip. I), dead in Boniville where he was reared by Térésa. The festival is given more than two years after death. Sometimes, when there is no spouse subjected to mourning

765 /182 cont./
(which is the case here), they wait still longer in order to be able to group the lifting of mourning for several dead people from the same village in a single ceremony. The unfolding of the rites shows that much more importance is attached to Bĕniti than to the two young boys; in fact, the ceremony is devoted almost exclusively to her.

765 621 613 [229] The mourning-lifting ceremonies in Boniville are particularly interesting, for this village includes members of five different lineages. The distribution of functions and duties allows one to better understand the thought of the Boni relative to social organization; the principle of residence plays the determining role. The ceremony takes place in the village where the dead people lived, whatever their lineage was. The burden of organization is divided up about equally among all the inhabitants of the village. The /183/ members of the lineages of the dead people living in other villages are present at the ceremony, but their contribution is much less important.

765 [251] On November 8 (day called busimã kom) at noon, the festival begins with the arrival of the buchiman who, the week before, had caught and dried fish for the festival.

The buchiman are put under the authority of △Tofioto (K). They are all volunteers (one who would excuse himself from rendering this service would lay himself open to being abandoned alone on the day when he would have to bear the weight of mourning for one of his near relatives). The main weight of mourning is borne by Boniville village. The people of the principal fraction of the Dju (Asisi village) furnish a rather large contribution as regards time spent fishing but symbolic as to the furnishing of tafia and imported foods.

[226] [251] [621] [613] These buchiman had been at work since October 25, catching and salting fish:

765 /183 cont./
22C

	for Bonivillie	for Asisi-Dju
251 Fintiman 62 Kiémenti Doni 613 Alibi	sons and grandsons of Béniti (Dju)	3 men over 20 years old
4 young men of the Kotika lineage		4 to 5 adolescents
1 —	Dip. I —	
2 —	Lapé —	
1 —	Papaïston —	
2 —	Poti —	

They furnished a total of two weeks of work but each one collected for himself about 15 kilograms of dry fish.

765 [531] [411] The buchiman, riding in five large canoes decorated with multicolored oriflammes, approach the Boniville wharf where all the young people of the village are massed, the men armed with their guns, the women brandishing banners made of brand-new camisas. The hurrahs resound, punctuated by hundreds of shots. In an atmosphere of enthusiasm the buchiman make their entrance into the village and go to report on their mission to the council assembled under the mortuary shed. According to custom, this council is improvised at the last moment by the elders who are there, without attention to origin, and does not involve any definite authority.

Four baskets of dried fish are put down at the edge of the shed, for the mourning-lifting festival, then each one goes to get and arrange in his house a big personal basketful.

The fish intended for the festival are distributed among the women charged with preparing them.

About 2:00 P.M. the elders are assembled in the western part of the shed; in the eastern part, the near relatives of the dead for whom mourning will be lifted lament.

Several apinti drums are brought and placed laterally.

/184/

765 [535] The buchiman execute the kwadyo dance, which seems to be an African war dance; they hold a stick in front of them and make the gesture of taking aim.

That lasts about half an hour.

The guests continue to arrive individually and settle themselves around the mortuary shed, seated on their little benches.

765 202 About three o'clock the drums begin to beat again. It is Bukuman, master of the art of speaking with the drum, who strikes the summons' formulas; the others give him the cue.

The drum speaks for a long time (1). An elder translates

> 1. It is more a question of conventional formulas than a language; two different sounds can be obtained from the drum by striking respectively with the fingers and with the palm.

for me approximately: "Other villages, be still, for there is a great festival in the grand man's village."

"We who are now living, we are going to do what our ancestors taught us long ago."

765 [551] Then the dead for whom mourning will be lifted are directly addressed, being called by name if they are men; for the women like Béniti, who cannot be called directly, for women do not have a drum-name, they call one of their deceased near relatives, here Diolé †, Béniti's brother: "Tell thy sister that we are going to part company with her, for we have been in mourning for her a long time and this is the custom, such as the ancestors did before us."

[769] "Ancestors, come, come near us, we are going to pour the tafia and cane juice for you."

[202] (Libations are made within the shed.) Then the drum addresses those present:

765 /184 cont./

[202] "You who with ɔbia so that the machete will not cut you, so that the broken glass will not wound you, what are you waiting for? You remain seated, are you afraid?"

765 786 787 At these words, several of those present stand up and begin to dance, seeking the trance of possession. Some run into the village and come back running, carrying banana-tree stalks. Others drag thorny spathes of awara; two brandish an old, demolished boat.

The drum furiously beats the rhythm of Kumenti. Part of the dancers, taken hold of by a furious delirium, jump and [824] prance about. Certain ones take thorny spathes of awara (2)

> 2. Thorny palm (astrocaryum vulgare) whose sharp thorns nearly 10 centimeters long are particularly formidable. It is impossible to pick up an awara spathe with bare hands without hurting oneself.

under the arm or pass them around the neck.

Part of those present are taken hold of in their turn by trances, including people of mature age and serious character like Fintiman, who is carried off in a faint.

Two possessed people, a man (Ernest, Kotika) and a woman (Awini, Boniville), smeared with pɛmba, are subject to extraordinary contortions. Ernest breaks a bottle over his head with such force that the pieces fly several meters. Both /185/ dance on their knees for an appreciable length of time (but the next day Awini will come to have herself cared for). Those present manifest frenzied joy.

765 535 534 About five o'clock the sɔŋgɛ dance begins. Three apinti drums are placed at the west wall of the shed. The orchestra is completed by an old overturned boat which seven to eight men strike with sticks.

/185 cont./

765 [535] The figures are almost similar to those of the awasa dance, except that the dancers move forward stamping with the left foot.

[533] Songs follow, but entirely covered by the drum and without great musical interest.

Second day, Nov. 9. Day called puu dɛ ("a day is withdrawn"). No rite is performed on that day. Each one is busy with his occupations. The women pound and winnow rice.

Third day, Nov. 10. Day called lolo mata "the pestles are rolled." That day they carry to the edge of the mortuary shed pestles, wood for heating, and everything necessary for the preparation of the next day's food (1).

1. When there is a spouse in mourning, it is on that day that he is brought to the mortuary shed by the dead person's lineage, congratulated, and clothed in new garments red in color.

Fourth day, Nov. 11. Day called poti ala sani na a krɛy ɔsu ("to put all things into the mortuary shed").

About two o'clock the young men who have been to cut wood for heating come back in boats decorated with pennons, in the midst of hurrahs and shots.

At three o'clock the basia circulate in the village, calling the women who appear from all sides carrying heavy baskets of cassava.

The provisions prepared for the festival are brought to the edge of the shed. Many of those present have brought a bottle [293] of tafia. The basia collect all the tafia in large demijohns. In all there will be six demijohns of 15 liters of tafia and as much cane juice.

/185 cont./

765 538 About eight o'clock in the evening, people assemble around the mortuary shed where the drummers and mato (Anansi Toli) storytellers sit. Amèmbé, of Loka village, begins to tell a story which is scarcely listened to, the audience remaining noisy and distracted. The respondents punctuate his discourse with approbations: "hiya ba! na so!" At several [522] passages of the story (when Anansi has succeeded in deceiving his victim), the audience shakes with laughter, the drums beat, the storyteller and his respondents sing and dance. Little by little the audience warms up, participates intensely in the story.

Another tale follows, told by Adiiso, head of the Dju lineage (Asisi). The audience is overexcited, the interludes [535] of dancing become more and more numerous and longer, everybody, men, women, and children take part in it.

About eleven o'clock the dances are going to begin in 765 the order susa, sɔ̃ŋgɛ, awasa; at six /186/ o'clock in the morn- [535] ing the next day the awasa dances are carried on. Part of those present go down to the wharf to go home, showing no apparent fatigue.

Fifth day, Nov. 12. Nothing happens in the morning. The people take some rest.

At 3:00 P.M. the young men go around dressed up to the nines; people visit each other from one house to the other, they drink and sing.

765 About 3:30 the basia circulate in the village, calling the 262 women to bring the ceremonial meal. Tables are set out under 264 the shed. The women each bring a big bowl or basin of cooked rice (about two kilograms of rice). Some add a bowl of sauce or cooked fish. No meat.

The basia lay out all that on the tables. There are about 60 bowls or basins (which represents a handsome effort, the rice harvest having been bad), about 50 bottles of soda, several boxes of pastries /biscuits/ and Dutch cheeses.

/186 cont./

765 264 [613] Fintiman directs the ceremony. He divides all these dishes without distinction of origin into several lots, one for each lineage.

[515] All the guests go down to the wharf to wash in the river, then put on new clothes before participating in the ceremonial meal.

[613] The people of each lineage go to eat on their side; a bowl is carried to the people in mourning, like Alémin, who remain confined at home. But the near relatives of the three dead for whom mourning is going to be lifted take part in the ceremony.

765 About four o'clock the women are seen to appear again, carrying a small bowl of rice accompanied by a little fish and peanut sauce. They put them down on the ground at the edge of the mortuary shed.

Banana leaves are arranged at the edge of the shed (north wall, on the side facing the river).

The elders, seated on their little benches, gather together in a half circle. Fintiman and Bukuman take a little from each bowl, spread it out on the banana leaves. They call by name the dead for whom mourning is being lifted, Béniti and the young boys Tito and G..., speaking to them in a familiar conversational tone as if to living people whom one invited to eat.

Several persons come to eat a little of the food.

At 5:00 P.M. Fintiman has five small boys of five to seven years line up, each provided with a basin, in front of the food spread out on the ground. At a given signal they rush forward, each one carrying away what he could cover with his basin. They leave a little of it, which will stay there all night. The next day the left-overs from the buffet prepared for the living will be added to it.

/186 cont./

765 In the evening the young people dance in front of the houses of several men who have given the tafia, but that no longer has the character of a ceremony. All is over at eleven o'clock in the evening.

On the sixth day, Nov. 13, at seven o'clock, the elders assemble again in front of the /187/ banana leaves where a little of the food offered the day before remains (dogs and chickens have eaten part of it).

A long palaver begins, disconnected and disconcerting, whose purpose escapes me. The clearest thing coming out of it is that the captains make known what the grand man (absent from the ceremony) told them in the morning. They thank the grand man for this festival which has gone off without any incident; they say that they can be counted on if some mourning rises in another village.

[291] [535] [177] Todo makes apologies to the grand man because the young people were dressed in a new style (large loincloths /calimbés/ reaching to the ground) and danced several Creole dances. He says to the audience that this does not conform to custom and that the true Boni dances are sɔ̃ŋgɛ, susa, awasa.

Next Fintiman pours water gently on the banana leaves, calling the dead whose mourning is being lifted. "We pour water for you, watch over the people in your family, over the grand man and over those who have worked for the mourning, that they may be in good health, that nothing bad happen to them.

We have done with you; stay where God put you."

765 775 [968] While pronouncing these words, Fintiman breaks his dead mother's bench and dish (for the dead boys, nothing had been brought). It is a question not only of marking the break with the living but of procuring for the dead woman what will be necessary for her in the Beyond. For this purpose a paddle is also broken, which her son Klémenti prepared for her, and calabashes prepared by her daughters.

/187 cont./

765 Since there is no spouse in mourning (Béniti had been divorced for a long time), the ceremony stops there.

Then those present scatter in the village, go to dance, eat, and drink at one another's houses. They have the satisfied air of people who have just done an important job successfully.

[602] On the seventh day an intimate ceremony brings together Béniti's children and grandchildren in her daughter Kulina's house, where she died. After an offering of food, they weep and lament a last time. Then Fintiman, her elder son, repeats the formula of separation:

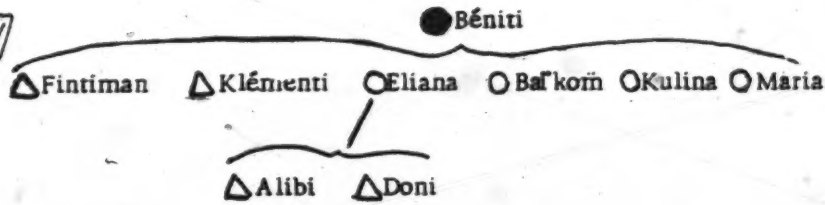
"We have done with you; stay where God has put you."

Lifting of mourning for Béniti. Division of expenditures.

Béniti belonged to the fraction of the Dju lineage settled in [613] Boniville; the principal weight of the mourning therefore had [621] to be borne by that fraction, the other (the one in Asisi) bringing a symbolic contribution.

Béniti left two sons and two adult grandsons:

[601]



/188/ Actually the elder son Fintiman paid half the expense himself, the younger son being ill and without regular [431] resources. No contribution in money is asked of the women, who must, on the other hand, draw substantial amounts from their rice stock.

6:Hurault--287 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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/188 cont./

	Fintiman	Klémenti	Alibi	Doni
15-liter demijohns of tafia . .	4 = 14,800 fr	1 = 3,700 fr	1 = 3,700 fr	1 = 3,700 fr
Cases of soda (1,000 fr.) . .	4 = 4,000 fr	3 = 3,000 fr	1 = 1,000 fr	1 = 1,000 fr
Dutch cheeses	1 = 1,000	nothing	nothing	nothing
Boxes biscuits	2 = 1,800	---	---	---
Sugar, kilograms	10 = 1,000	---	---	---
Sugar cane	3,000	---	---	---
	25,600 fr	6,700 fr	4,700 fr	4,700 fr

/188 cont./

765 431 Nearly half of the tafia was brought to the mortuary shed to serve for the dances, the other half was distributed to visitors in the course of calls of personal interest that they were coming to make on the village people at home.

Béniti's three sons-in-law each gave three liters of tafia.

[613] The Boniville men belonging to other lineages each gave one liter, except the two principal basia (assistants to the grand man for the internal running of the village), Todo and Tofioto, who gave two liters each. Besides, each one kept one or two liters to offer to callers at their homes.

[613] As for the men of the Dju lo of Asisi, they brought one liter each, including the head of the lineage.

All the Boniville women and all the women of Asisi-Dju brought their contributions in the form of food.

In all about 150 adult visitors came.

765 273 One can estimate that about 200 liters of tafia were drunk, or a little more than a liter per person, which, for five days of festivities, is not enormous.

But since some drink very little, one can estimate that those most given to drunkenness drank up to three and four liters.

Inheritance

428 613 The custom of the Refugee Blacks, hostile to all that might divide the matrilineage, cannot accept the notion of a single heir entering into possession of all the property of the dead person and replacing him in his functions. This idea of the only heir considered as a substitute for the dead person, as it exists among the Bamiléké, which leads toward the individualization of one line within the lineage, can be regarded as the extreme opposite of the thought of the Refugee Blacks.

/188 cont./

428 In the custom of the Refugee Blacks, the inheritance
[613] must be dispersed among the members of the dead person's matrilineage in the strict sense (bee) and his children.

/189/ The custom of numerous African societies has it that the men inherit from men and the women from women. This notion is totally contrary to the legal thought of the Refugee Blacks. A house, an object, a boat, may pass from a man to a woman or conversely. It is the same with the lower gods with which the dead person might have been possessed.

428 If the dead person has not indicated before his death, in
789 front of witnesses, the distribution of his property, the same
764 divinatory procedure is used as for the determination of the causes of death: the coffin being carried on the heads of two men, in front of it are lined up the members of the dead person's matrilineage in the restricted sense and his children. The president of the lānti kuutu asks: "To whom dost thou leave thy house?" The coffin moves toward one of those present, then: "To whom dost thou leave thy boat?" "To whom dost thou leave thy gun?" "To whom dost thou leave thy clearings being harvested?"

428 The partial heirs thus designated may enter immediately into possession of their legacies.

428 Reserved are what the Boni call the "equipment" of the
765 dead person, that is, his personal belongings, linen, money, which will be divided up after the lifting of mourning.

The customary rule is the following:

[602] For the duration of the mourning, these objects shut up in a trunk are put under the care of the eldest child if a woman was concerned, of the eldest classificatory nephew if a man was
428 concerned. After the lifting of mourning, the distribution is
602 made by the dead person's mother, if she is still alive, if not by the eldest of the classificatory uncles or aunts, and if they all are dead, by the eldest of the surviving classificatory brothers or sisters of the dead person.

754 /240 cont./
775
787 will be obliged to confess: "It is I who killed So-and-So and
So-and-So." They immediately inform the grand man, who
754 orders the usual procedure against wisimã: Ceremonies are
766 suspended, the body is transported by boat to a place reserved for cursed people, downstream from Boni country, and it is abandoned in the bush without being buried. Grand Man Difu is trying to modify this custom and to compel burial of wisimã in a special cemetery, but without great success up to now, it seems.

754 There is no broko dɛ. The spouse may remarry immediate-
765 ly. Since the property of the deceased are presumed to be ill-
768 gotten, inheritance is cancelled. The house is destroyed and thrown into the water, the boat abandoned to the current. Personal belongings of the deceased are turned over to the grand man who distributes them to whom he wishes.

The near relatives of persons thus designated are overcome with shame but can say nothing. Not a bit of responsibility is imputed to them.

754 How does society protect itself against the sorcery of the
775 wisimã from beyond the grave? According to Grand Man Difu,
784 this is a problem which does not come up. The wisimã has been killed by Odun as punishment for his crimes. Since every being draws its force from the divine, he has no more force, he is destroyed as a being, he is no longer anything but an empty shadow incapable of doing harm.

754 In fact, among the Refugee Blacks these trials of dead
775 people are very rare. Whereas about 15 persons die per year
787 on the average in Boni country, including about ten adults,
[165] in the last 20 years (1) only about 20 persons were revealed to be wisimã.

1. Disregarding the period 1957-1959 when a definite fresh outbreak of the fear of wisimã was observed.

/265 cont./

796 "Great ancestors who are in God's country, it is you who
769 have the strength of the village."
539 (The tafia gushes forth.)

"Drink, drink, but do not get drunk to the point of being deluded, look with favor upon the righteous, scatter the wicked."

796 Next, Fintiman goes off to make an offering of tafia
782 accompanied by a few words at the chapel of Odun. Then he goes to the edge of the mortuary shed to pour water, tafia, and coffee on behalf of Samalobi, the grand man's brother, for whom mourning has not been lifted.

He goes next to the house of the deceased grand man Awensay to make an offering of coffee (Awensay, like the other grand men, used to drink coffee).

796 The prayer of the preceding year (January 1, 1957),
782 presided over by grandfather Samalobi, had had a higher
829 inspiration. After praying in about the same terms as above for the Boni, they prayed for the Djuka, explaining that in days gone by Boni and Djuka had fought, but that all that was forgotten. They prayed next for the Saramaka, then for the Indians, finally for the Europeans. I asked why; they answered: "It is because the Europeans were the ones who brought us to this country which has become ours." /p. 266 is blank/ /267/

/267/

CHAPTER VIII

538
765

TALES -- PROVERBS

Tales (Anãsi tɔli) and Proverbs (ɔdo) retain an important social function among the Refugee Blacks. It is always by tales that the great customary ceremonies of the lifting of mourning begin. Their function is to concentrate the attention of the

538 /267 cont./
[765] audience and to create an atmosphere of participation in the rite.

This ritual character makes it so that the Anansi Toli cannot be recited any time and in any old way. The story-teller may speak only at night, in the presence of a respondent and of an audience of at least two or three persons. A ritual formula: "dirinti" -- the response of the audience: "ndaeti," [124] precedes each new story. It is only with extreme repugnance [126] that informants consent to listen to and comment in the day-[76] time on a tale recorded on tape, particularly if their parents are still living, for it is said among the Refugee Blacks as in Black Africa that telling stories in full daylight makes one's father and mother die.

[174] These tales belong to an authentically African [177] accumulated store, practically unchanged in spite of the borrowing from the Creole Blacks of Paramaribo of several themes concerning automobiles, steamboats, etc., inserted in droll fashion into the traditional themes.

The usual hero of these tales is Anansi, the crafty one. [825] Anansi is the name of the Mygale spider (1). It is noteworthy,

[171] 1. The spider cycle is characteristic of the Akan (Agni-Baoulé-Abron) culture area. Anansi is the name of the Mygale spider among the Agni.

however, that this spider does not appear to play any special role in the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks and that no divinatory power is attributed to it. In fact, in the tales of which he is the hero, Anansi is nearly always represented as a man.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SRS Bush Negroes SRS
Saramacca

"I'll tell you how it is mostly," he went on, after a silence. "Sometimes a woman will lie about the father of her child. The child will grow up keeping the trefu of a strange man. But it won't be his real trefu. His mother, you see, lied about his father. In the end, if nothing is done, this child will be sick, and later he will become a leper. Only a bad woman will lie about her child's father, because only a bad woman will want to hurt her own child. It doesn't happen among the girls who wear kerchiefs and live the way the old people live. These girls dance to the spirits. They are afraid of the ancestors. They are afraid of their *akra*—their soul—and the Earth Mother. But those girls who wear hats—ai, Massa, those girls do anything!"

But here in the bush, it seemed, they had other beliefs about leprosy, he went on. Here they believed it was a kind of a spirit, too. When a leper died he was not given a good burial. No wakes were held for him. He was given no coffin. He was buried in the Bad Bush, where the sorcerers were thrown.

"When a leper dies, they don't want him to come back again. They don't treat his spirit well. They do the same with him as with a madman. They bury him with no more ceremony than a child, who came on earth, and would not stay. They say it's all because of a bad spirit, and they don't want bad spirits on earth."

4

"Why do we plant away from the village?"

It was the old woman talking, as we sat and smoked with her. The moon had come up above the maripa palm trees behind the house where the leper had been helped into his hammock, and it was pleasant out-of-doors.

"Why, you ask? Well, sometimes when the bush is burned, a wind comes up suddenly, and sends the flames, down, down, beyond the cleared ground. How would it be with a village, if we cleared our grounds too close to it, and this happened? No, Bak'a, we people of the bush know better. . . . What do you say? Why do we do our clearing

Li Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SRS Bush Negroes SRS
Saramacca

WOMEN AT WORK

"Before she begs the gods, she is seated on a mat, or on cloths. Over her head a white cloth is thrown. The woman who is there to look after the coming of the child takes a calabash with water. Then she throws the water on the ground where the woman is seated. She begs the great gods, and the ancestors, and the woman's soul, and the woman's gods. 844 786

"When the pains come, she ties a cloth about her belly tight, tight, until it hurts. The woman who helps her gives her some water if she wants it, and she presses down on the belly and makes the cloth tighter and tighter, until the child comes. The cord is cut with a knife." 844

The knife was the same as the kind they used for cicatrizing, and the after-birth was buried behind the house, in a small hole into which food and a piece of the sacred sangrafu wood was thrown. [812]

"The child is washed, and then *pemba*—kaolin—is put on its forehead, and after that the mother and the child bathe every day and then wash in pemba. Sometimes a moon comes and wanes, and another comes, and the mother still puts the white on herself and on her child." [751]

But if the birth proved to be difficult, then the husband was told, and he besought his own ancestors and his own gods to help his woman and child. 845

"If the child doesn't come, then it's a bad spirit. Then they call the obia man."

When a woman had difficulty, everybody was troubled about it. If a woman had been unfaithful to her husband and had not confessed it, it would be that which would be killing the child in her womb, and killing her as well. Sometimes it was *wiri*—black magic—and everybody wondered who had sent it to their village. Sometimes it was a god who was envious. [754]

"If it is a god, then, when the woman is strong again, she goes to a more powerful god and buys from him the next child to come into her womb. The strong god sees to it that the jealous one finds no way to harm the child." 845 746 848

What happened when a child was born dead? [964]

Herskovits & Herskovits E-6 (1929-1930) 1934
Bush Negroes
Saramaca

845 The women had spoken with greater and greater re-
966 luctance about troubled births and now moved uneasily.

"You must not ask this," said Dida, rising. "Never talk about such things to young women."

Not until later, when Fenekonde and Tenemi were left alone with the white woman did they talk about birth customs again.

When a child died at birth, a hole was dug somewhere in the family quarter, or just outside it, and the child was buried there. There was no wake, no mourning. All those who had been living in the house where it died found other quarters, and for a month the house was washed with obia water. But if this had occurred before to the same mother, they would break the house where the child was born and would cast the pieces into the unhallowed bush. Some people on the river even broke it down at the first occurrence. There were never any wakes for very small children.

"Children die because they are bad spirits come in the
961 form of a child. When they do not stay, we know it is a bad
845 spirit. When the house is broken, they do not know their
966 way to come again."

"What if a woman died?"

845 This was whispered so softly that only Fenekonde heard
966 it, but she did not conceal her distaste for the question.

"When a woman dies she is put in a flat coffin. Some villages give her no coffin at all. Weeds are put into her eyes. All the girls in the village wash their eyes with obia weeds and water. They must never see this again. There is no wake. There is no dancing. No guns are shot. They break the house, and throw it after the coffin, as the men carry it away. She must not come back again."

But the white woman must not imagine that all deliveries were difficult. Often a woman bore a child, and, when the after-birth came, she herself rose and bathed and washed in pemba.

551 A child was given many names. Even in early childhood four or five names were not too many. There was the day

M Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

feared by all who themselves do not have Kromanti. Obia 776
Kromanti warns and protects and heals, but its powers
are only for those who belong to the Kromanti group. 575

Whether Kromanti is the African warrior society pre-
served in this bush, it is impossible to say. If this were the 575
case, then the definite military organization of many of the
West African societies should be present. The military
character of any group among the Bush Negroes could
not even be hinted at, of course, without the greatest
caution. In their descriptions of the Kromanti, our intimates
among the Bush Negroes never indicated in any way the
existence of such an organization. Even leading questions
brought out only unqualified denials instead of the revealing
answers "I do not know," or "Massa Gadu sabi." Yet there
are undoubtedly secrets which Kromanti men do not share
with outsiders, and we remembered that when a Kromanti
man dies, he must be "separated" from the Kromanti group 566
just as he is "separated" from his family and from his village.

About the very meaning of the word Kromanti there can 175
only be speculation. During the time of the slave trade, 579
there were two ports on the Gold Coast of Africa known as 567
Little and Great Coromantyne. From these ports came the
slaves who, in the New World, were known as Coromantyne
slaves. These slaves were so warlike, so prone to cause
uprisings, that only English and Dutch colonies consented
to buy them and in these colonies when slave rebellions broke
out to alarm the white planters, they were led by the proud
Coromantyne slaves.

It would not be strange, therefore, if the same term was 776
carried over into the free civilization of this bush to 575
typify the obia which protected and watched over the
fighters who had won this freedom.

Other indications point to the same assumption. The
strongest spirits of the Kromanti, those which inspire the
greatest fear when they possess men of a village are
Tigri and Djadja. Tigri is the jaguar, Djadja is often vaguely
translated by our word "devil." If we again turn to the
West African societies, we find that one of the most dreaded

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

being able to accommodate their eyes to the tiny grey perspec- 123
tives. When the significance of the chiaroscuro dawned upon 774
them, they broke into broad grins and were mightily pleased. 822
After that most of them readily consented to being photographed.

A woman was suspected of causing by witchcraft the death 683
of the late Granman, Amekti, of the Aucaner tribe. She was 766
severely beaten and was not allowed to attend the ceremony 643
of *Broko Day* (breaking day), the time when mourning is broken.

Broko Day is held four or five months after the death of 766
the Granman. Game is hunted and cassava cake prepared 643
for many days prior to the great feast. It is a time of great festivity; there is dancing, singing, and general merrymaking. At this time the *Songai*, the *Pekein play*, and the *Susa* dances are held. The participants are generously smeared with pemba dotee and they wear costumes and decorations which are not seen at any other time. Then, as many of the tribe as is possible gather in the village of the erstwhile Granman, and the feast lasts for about a week. Dancing and feasting continue night and day. At this time the ageedah drum—six to eight feet tall—is played, as well as [534]
the smaller instruments already referred to. Toward the end of the ceremony, the hair and nails of the corpse are buried, a new Granman is inaugurated, and the deceased ruler is relegated to the position of an ancestor. Prayers may then ascend heaven-ward to him.

Captain Acrowsie of the Aucaner tribe told us some in-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

766 643 [122] teresting things concerning burials. A Granman's or a captain's body is placed in a cave-like hole dug in the side of a hill, and is eventually sealed in. It is forbidden to throw dirt upon the bodies of such officials.

764 In the case of an ordinary person, a large hole is dug in the ground in which the corpse is lowered. A plank is placed over the body, so that the dirt subsequently thrown into the hole will not come into direct contact with the body.

766 The bodies of albinos, idiots, and lepers are otherwise disposed of. These people are supposed to be related to the river, and are called *watra pekein*, or water children. Instead of being allowed to rot, their bodies are placed in a pit dug in the bank when the river is low. When the water rises, the corpse is washed out of its temporary tomb.

769 Every year the azang pau, the palm barrier across the village path, is renewed, and at this time prayers are said for the dead. The dead person's relatives have shaved off their forelocks when he died, and often again at intervals of three, six, and nine months thereafter. But after the lapse of a year there is no mourning; a large dance is held to signify that the period is terminated, and after that the dead man or woman is relegated to the position of an ancestor. The prayers then ask him to intercede with the gods for the benefit of those still among the living.

/17 cont./

765 In these tales, called anansitori (spider-head story), the
[538] spider usually plays the main role as a personal being.

The close female relatives wear as a sign of mourning for husband, father, and mother, for a year, white or blue cloths around the head and a white cloth around the body. The men wear a white cloth around head and body only for three months, but during an entire year (since they then may not go completely clothed) they cover themselves with only a black loincloth. They also refrain from wearing ornaments for a whole year.

766 If one of them dies in the working place, in the town, or elsewhere, then the corpse has some hair shorn from its forehead and is subsequently buried without ceremonies. This hair is wrapped in a new piece of linen or cotton and brought to Auca, or their permanent dwelling place, where it then undergoes a proper burial, on which occasion all the customary ceremonies are observed as though the corpse were there.

766 Whenever one of them dies suddenly or from a strange
787 disease, which can arouse a suspicion of poisoning, immediately
[824] after death and before being washed the corpse is placed in a boesipapaja (1) tree (which, split and then tied together, is just

1. It is a hollow tree of very soft and unusable wood which, when split open, resembles bamboo from the inside; the leaves are broad and rasp-like.

like a halved hollow tree) at least five feet long. This kind of coffin is carried from east to west, past all those present, who for this purpose must be ranged in two rows, by two completely strange and impartial men, who are invited from other places for this purpose.

Now the place where the corpse through heavy pressure on the /18/ head forces the two bearers to stand still is where the inquiry begins, and one asks the corpse whether this place where they are now standing still is where clarification can be provided. If one notices a distinct movement of the hollowed-out tree, this is corroboration. If, after the question has been repeated three

/18 cont./

● 966 times, no noticeable movement has been observed, the answer is
787 negative, and one proceeds with the corpse all the way to the end of the crowd ranged on either side. Everyone endeavors to be present on such occasions in order not to cast any blame upon himself or to arouse suspicion.

If, however, the answer is in the affirmative, then one asks whether the right person or a close relative of his is here; if the answer to this is also affirmative, one proceeds to inquire about the degree of blood relationship until one has finally discovered who the actual person is. Since this happens in the presence of so many persons as witnesses, it is regarded as valid proof, and the corpse is buried. However incomprehensible and impossible this may appear, this procedure is nonetheless actually practiced con-
[123] stantly among the Bush Negroes. I have been an eyewitness several times.

695 A few days later the person indicated, in case he was not
[693] present at the above-mentioned inquiry, is tracked down, if necessary fetched forcibly, and brought before the governor or the chief, who questions him in the presence of the captains or the council members. In case of denial, he is offered something to drink, which, however, he will not accept if he is guilty, since it has become apparent that whoever drinks it with a pounding or uneasy heart frequently manifests immediate symptoms, such as
[681] vomiting, swelling, chlorosis, and so forth. If the person has been prepared to brave this (in spite of the conviction of his misdeed), he is put to death by means of the most horrible and unheard-of tortures, whereas in the case of confession he is forced with the whip to reveal whom else he has poisoned during his life.

696 All the relatives of the poisoned person are then called in
682 order to be present at the punishment and to pull on his ears with all possible force by means of a pair of pincers, one after
[262] another. Subsequently a bowl with pinda blaf is set before him, in which a turtle must be boiled, as well as a tomtom made of ripe bananas. All this, after all, is regarded as the tastiest food. He is then /19/ again severely beaten with a whip, whereupon he must eat what has been prepared for him, and immediately afterwards

/162 cont./

764 767 [613] In principle the forward bearer (who is called bossman by analogy with a boat) must belong to the dead person's lineage. Apart from this restriction, the bearers can be (and are in fact) any people whatever, the only condition required being that they be extremely vigorous, because the load they carry is at the limit of their strength.

Fraud can exist in isolated cases, but in the great majority of cases there is no doubt as to the good faith of the bearers; they give contradictory answers, go ahead and back interminably, until, exhausted, they are raised up again by others. Actually, the interpretation of these automatic movements does not differ essentially from any process of divination.

[766] The dead person is interrogated from the age of four or five years up. If it is a very young child, he is not interrogated; but the causes of his death are sought by interrogating possessed people, and if there is reason to, the kunu is appeased in the same fashion.

764 787 754 At the beginning of the interrogation the tribunal tries to make sure that the dead person was not a wisimã. After sending the bearers to the other end of the village, the president of the assemblage has two young men hidden in huts; then he has the bearers called, saying to the dead person: "I have lost So-and-so and So-and-so, find them." If the dead person was an upright man, he must have acquired a suprahuman clairvoyance permitting him to direct his bearers straight away toward the huts in question. If he was a wisimã, he will be as if blind; his bearers go wandering in vain from hut to hut.

They state that this test always succeeds.

764 787 761 [776] [784] The interrogation proceeds interminably. The causes of death are taken up. The first question is: is it a god who killed you? The answer is nearly always yes, and they proceed by elimination in order to arrive, for example, at learning that it is an Ampuku, that it is the Ampuku borne by So-and-so. By what the kunu was set in motion, how to appease it, is not the

/172 cont./

764 787 Several times the paddle is seen to answer affirmatively, then negatively. Not one of those present can understand what is said, but not one shows impatience or doubt.

[613] Suddenly Tafanié orders his assistants to cut rods: the dead woman has asked that the people of her own lineage be beaten, guilty of having neglected the yɔrka's warnings. On seeing these preparations the people of Kotoïda's lineage /173/ run away in confusion in every direction while their adversaries pursue them with the appearance of having a very good time. Some take refuge in the water, others in the bush; none whatever can be caught.

Completely symbolic punishment, moreover, for at the end of ten minutes they are seen to reappear and take their places again among those present.

764 The obsequies are ended. Only the deceased's near relatives stay seated in their hammocks under the mortuary shed. They will remain there until the broko dɛ.

764 767 Payments of the ɔlɔmã. The ɔlɔmã divide up one lot of cloth, keeping track of what they have received in the preceding obsequies. That does not appear to cause any discussion. If, after this, someone who has not furnished any work wants to take one of these pieces of cloth, he may do so by offering tafia to the people present.

766 787 775 Funeral ceremonies for people who die while traveling. If a man dies in the course of a distant trip, they take from the cadaver before burying it his hair and fingernails, which are brought back to his native village; in fact, it is assumed that as long as a fragment of the body is not buried, the yɔrka remains attached to it; hair and fingernails will therefore permit the interrogation of the yɔrka and will be buried in the cemetery with the usual rites.

/174 cont./

764 Cemeteries. There are two cemeteries in Boni country: one on the lands of the Dikan lineage for the people living on the French bank, the other downstream from Kotika for the inhabitants of that village. They are ordinary places which nothing indicates from the bank, for they are covered like the rest of the country by secondary forest. The dead are buried there in graves aligned parallel to the river, about seven meters apart. The dead are placed with heads turned toward the river. No separation by lineage exists within the cemetery.

The graves are not marked by any decoration, and at the end of about ten years, the mound having settled down, no trace of the burial remains.

[767] The graves are never cleaned. Only the ɔlɔmã heads, who have received special instruction, know the graves of the principal chiefs and the boundaries of the cemetery.

769 The Boni never go to the cemetery alone and do not
[754] make offerings on the graves of their near relatives. Someone
[775] who would frequent the cemetery alone would be suspected of being a wisimã seeking to capture the yɔrka of a dead person.

764 Even if they are right near the villages, cemeteries are
487 never connected directly to them by paths, and the dead are transported by boat. By proceeding thus they hope to isolate the villages from evil influences.

766 If someone dies by drowning, he is buried away from the cemetery. According to Mr. W. F. van Lier, among the Djuka
[761] all drowned persons are supposed to have been victims of a
[784] kunu; the Boni do not have this conception and declare that they
[184] have lost the meaning of this custom; one notices, however, that they observe mourning for the drowned according to the usual rites.

/174 cont./

764 Children are buried with the normal ceremonies only from about the age of six on. The rule is the following: A child is buried in the cemetery and broko dɛ is done for him if the next child of the same mother is beginning to walk.

766 Young children are buried without a coffin at a special site on the edge of each village; a board is simply placed on the [828] body before filling the grave. They have the idea that very [775] young children have no vital force, and that their yɔrka cannot do any harm. /Fig. 25 appears here./ /175/

764

Mourning

After the burial the wives of the dead man (or the husband if it is a woman), the nearest relatives on the maternal side, as well as the children, sojourn eight days more in the mortuary shed, until the broko dɛ.

765 From then on the obligations of mourning are limited, [831] for the near relatives of the dead person, to abstaining for a [775] year from dancing, wearing jewelry or too fine clothes; it goes [171] completely otherwise for the spouse of the dead person; the Refugee Blacks indeed take for granted, like the Creoles of Surinam, the persistence of the sexual jealousy of the dead person, whose yɔrka is thought to remain in contact with the living for a year.

State of the spouse in mourning. The principle is that the surviving spouse, until the lifting of mourning, is subject to the will of the dead person. In order to materialize that in an obvious way, he cannot, during this whole period, wear his usual clothes but must dress exclusively in pieces of cloth appropriated for him from among the ones the dead person possessed, or given by the nearest maternal relatives of the dead person.

/196 cont./

784 Odun's punishment is not regarded as immediate. It may be delayed for a certain number of years for reasons known to him alone, but it will necessarily take place.

683 783 Violence can be pardoned if the guilty one repents and makes an offering. The reparative offering (for example, if someone has threatened his adversary with a machete or has struck him to the point of making blood flow) is a demijohn of tafia or a certain quantity of tobacco leaves displayed in Odun's chapel.

754 784 But there is no pardon for the wisimã. Even if men pardon, Odun remains pitiless. Thus nobody can admit being guilty of wisi, for there is no possible reparation; besides, no one would dare beg for Odun's mercy on behalf of a wisimã, for this would be to associate oneself with him and expose oneself to being struck by the god in the same way.

[683] [766] The wisimã will be killed by Odun, and men will have to share in the punishing by refusing the body burial in the cemetery and by going to throw it in the bush. If they /197/ refused to obey this law, Odun would consider that they denied his doctrine and would strike them down either in person or by killing any member of the guilty lineage.

Thus, when in 1952 an old woman named A... of the Lapé lineage, who had settled in the Creole village Hermina, died, it appeared that she had wisi; but since she had been living among the Creoles, her near relatives did not dare intervene, and she was buried in the Hermina cemetery. Several [613] years passed without incident, then misfortunes cropped up; deaths which took place in the lineage, especially that of P... (1955) and T... (1957), and an accident that happened to a child in 1958, were recognized as punishments carried out by Odun upon the Lapé lineage.

346 The place of worship of Odun is a tiny chapel near the grand man's house. It contains only a post crudely carved in the shape of a bust, without any decoration.

754 /240 cont./
775 will be obliged to confess: "It is I who killed So-and-So and
787 So-and-So." They immediately inform the grand man, who
754 orders the usual procedure against wisimã: Ceremonies are
766 suspended, the body is transported by boat to a place reserved for cursed people, downstream from Boni country, and it is abandoned in the bush without being buried. Grand Man Difu is trying to modify this custom and to compel burial of wisimã in a special cemetery, but without great success up to now, it seems.

754 There is no broko dɛ. The spouse may remarry immediate-
765 ly. Since the property of the deceased are presumed to be ill-
768 gotten, inheritance is cancelled. The house is destroyed and thrown into the water, the boat abandoned to the current. Personal belongings of the deceased are turned over to the grand man who distributes them to whom he wishes.

The near relatives of persons thus designated are overcome with shame but can say nothing. Not a bit of responsibility is imputed to them.

754 How does society protect itself against the sorcery of the
775 wisimã from beyond the grave? According to Grand Man Difu,
784 this is a problem which does not come up. The wisimã has been killed by Odun as punishment for his crimes. Since every being draws its force from the divine, he has no more force, he is destroyed as a being, he is no longer anything but an empty shadow incapable of doing harm.

754 In fact, among the Refugee Blacks these trials of dead
775 people are very rare. Whereas about 15 persons die per year
787 on the average in Boni country, including about ten adults,
[165] in the last 20 years (1) only about 20 persons were revealed to be wisimã.

1. Disregarding the period 1957-1959 when a definite fresh outbreak of the fear of wisimã was observed.

/245 cont./

754 766 Burial of a wisimã. We transcribe here an account given by a witness of this scene, K..., of Papaïston village, withholding the exact date and place.

"It was at the time of the clearings, people were in the farming habitations and the village was almost deserted. I was going fishing with P..., of Loka. We had moored our boat and were walking at the edge of the water when our attention was attracted by a nauseous odor which came from an unoccupied house. There we found the cadaver of a woman, E..., dead for two or three days. She had tried to break into the house by raising the roof, but she had remained wedged between two beams and smothered to death. Since she knew the house to be empty, she could not have had any other intention than to lodge an evil spell; after disengaging the body in the presence of witnesses, we went to inform the grand man who commanded, the motive seeming to be clear, that the yɔrka be interrogated on the spot without making a coffin.

[789] "Before a council composed of half a dozen men and two village heads, the interrogation began; the dead woman was carried in an old boat bottom; at times I myself served as bearer. Pressed with questions, she confessed that she had wisi (1) and that she had been killed by Odun. The case was

1. They say commonly "to have wisi," as they say "to have an ɔbia," "to have a remedy."

clear. We were ordered to transport the body to the place reserved for cursed people, downstream from Boni country. When we arrived there the body was again borne on the heads of two men to ask it to choose the spot where it wanted to be abandoned. The dead woman drew us far into the forest, wandered a moment, then stopped. We abandoned her on the

/245 cont./

754 766 ground, after scattering the cloths which were covering her, and left without carrying out any rite.

"Next we went to Boniville, the grand man invoked Odun on our behalf, stating that we had only followed his laws and that he had to protect the performers of the job against any distressing consequence."

754 181 178 Development of sorcery. Since 1957 Boni country has been passing through a crisis; /246/ fear of sorcery is poisoning village life, while in 1948-50 it was a preoccupation of secondary importance.

[598] That is due to the fact that the rapid growing rich of part of the Boni aggravates jealousies and suspicions. Moreover, these affairs tend to appear in series. Since the case related above (1958), in which a woman, N..., was convicted of having paid a Creole quimboiseur to make the grand man die, an affair which strongly impressed the Boni, they tend to see wisi in all misfortunes that occur.

[167] In November, 1958 the death of a little girl of 12 of Kotika village was attributed to her uncle Mbomaolo, who had recently emigrated to Surinam and settled in a Creole village.

[787] It is believed that he "committed himself," that is, that he sold his soul to the devil (1), which necessitates sacrificing one

1. This notion, which plays such a large role in West Indian beliefs, has no equivalent among the Refugee Blacks. There is no word in the Boni language for translating the term "committed." They translate thus: a e suku didibi, he seeks the devil. The Boni do not have a clear image of the devil, and this notion remains, in fact, foreign to their beliefs.

[776]

/68 cont./

561 198 The class of the young people, yuŋku sama, has definite activities; "style," that is to say, elegance, dancing, singing; it has a special language made up from taki-taki by inversion or addition of syllables. When the language begins to be known outside the group of young people, it is abandoned and another is invented. These past years the language in vogue was akɔɔpina, of Djuka origin; it had given rise to a whole folklore of songs.

561 Two other age classes appear to be rather clearly differentiated: that of the elders /69/ - gaã sama - (older than some 50 years), whose voices are preponderant in the councils, and that of the old men - gaãndi sama - (older than 65 to 70 years).

[888] It is conceded by all that only the elders possess wisdom and knowledge, and in principle, in a discussion, the opinion of the eldest of them has the force of law.

575 Neither does one perceive among the Refugee Blacks any customary societies playing a role comparable to the men's society 571 in the Sudan for example. In a general way their social life, very individualistic in spite of appearances, knows no other organization than the one resulting from kinship ties.

• 767 Nevertheless, the organization of the men within each village with an eye to the mourning ceremonies can be regarded as a rough approximation to customary societies:

--Kisimã or coffin-makers;

--Olɔma or grave-diggers.

But these societies are narrowly specialized and their customary powers exist only as long as the duration of their effective work.

562 571 Men and women. Even within the lineage where men and women call one another brother, sister, aunt ... the relations between men and women are marked by mistrust.

/158 cont./

156 The Boni woman, poor in emotional feelings, and jealous of her independence with respect to men, puts her pride into subsisting by her own efforts.

178 The young women, even the ones with the freest habits,
[156] stay firmly attached to their village, to their plantings, and to the mode of life they received from their grandmothers. In fact, because of its structure and customs, the society of the Refugee Blacks has much less likelihood of suffering from the poisons spread by modern life than the patrilineal societies of Black Africa.

761 /159/ Death; Burial Rites

Death is for the Refugee Blacks an event of extreme gravity.

775 In order to ward off danger and permit the yɔrka of the dead person to take its place among the ancestors, the unstinting cooperation of everyone is required.

764 The ceremonies which have to do with death and mourning
765 are by far the most important ones in the day-to-day life of the
181 Refugee Blacks; for each one they represent a very heavy material load which is accepted without recriminations. It is
[621] really a veritable mobilization, which takes place within the framework of the village and not of the lineage. The apparatus
[619] set into motion is independent of the lineage, for it must function in the same way for an outsider, Djuka or Saramaka, who dies during a trip.

764 Participation in the burial rites is for all an essential
868 religious duty. From childhood the Boni are prepared for this
767 task and become, some of them kisimã (coffin-makers), others ɔlɔmã (grave-diggers), some others wasimã (bathers of the dead).

767 Kisimã and ɔlɔmã. It can be said that in each village, ɔlɔmã
467 and kisimã constitute customary societies, provided with an organization and wielding veritable powers for the duration of their work.

/159 cont./

767 --The kisimã command the village during the whole
764 time the coffin is being made and can requisition anyone to
[466] help them;

--The ɔlɔmã are masters of the river while their work lasts. In particular they can requisition travelers passing through to help them, and even confiscate their provisions. This is piisi, a joke. But as Mr. W. F. Van Lier also has us observe, this custom has a deep meaning; it reminds everyone that participation in the burial of a dead person is a fundamental religious duty.

767 The organization of these customary societies is, at least
467 among the Boni, very rudimentary.

In each village there is a head of the ɔlɔmã who is acquainted with the topography of the cemetery and the rites to be carried out (hedemã fu ɔlo).

In Boniville, in 1958, this was Bukuman (Papaïston);

In Loka, Tabikiť, not replaced at the beginning of 1958;

In Asisi, Antonu (Awara Bakka).

If he is absent, someone is sent to get the head of the ɔlɔmã of another village.

Likewise, in each village there is a head of the kisimã:

In Boniville, this was Fintiman (Dju);

In Asisi, it was Boofo (Awara Bakka);

In Kormotibo, it was Aténi. /160/

764 The people willingly lend one another assistance from one
476 village to the other, with no need even to ask for help, and even if it is a question of burying a foreigner in the country, a Saramaka or a Djuka for example, who dies in Boni country.

767 For the making of the coffin it is rare not to find about 15 kisimã
46 spontaneously met together when four or five would be enough.
[152] They like this labor very much, which proceeds in an atmosphere of joyous over-excitement in the center of admiring spectators.

/160 cont./

767 According to the moral law of the Refugee Blacks, all work must be paid for. The work of the ɔlɔmã and kisimã is no exception to the rule: the dead person must pay for what is done for him; to this end, his brothers appropriate pieces of cloth from his trunk (about 30 if the dead man was rich) and since that would not suffice, the relatives and friends of the dead man come to swell these assets by giving additional pieces of cloth.

If the dead man was very poor and no longer had cloth in good condition, the people of the lineage must give enough so that at least six may be given to the kisimã and about ten to the ɔlɔmã. If there are too few pieces of cloth for each one to be able to receive a whole one, they are cut up into small pieces, but it is absolutely indispensable for each one to be paid, even if symbolically.

764 Unfolding of the burial rites. These rites are complex, and the ceremonies in which they unfold are always very confused. Even if one is acquainted with the general idea and understands the language rather well, they are very difficult to follow. For [128] clearness in this account, we shall first give a résumé, which will be followed by observations collected in particular cases.

763 The day of the death is taken up by weeping and lamentations and the sending of messengers to the neighboring villages.

/160 cont./

764 As soon as the death is announced, the kisimɛ̃ hastily construct a platform called papay (1), while waiting for the

[824]

1. Papay = canon wood /F. canon, from L. canna reed, pipe, tube -- Tr./ (Cecropia Sp.), rapid-growing shrub similar to the African parasol-tree; it is used for the construction of the platform because of the great lightness of its stem.

building of the coffin which will be undertaken the next day.

The wasimɛ̃ bathe the dead man with warm water after transporting him to a special place in the village. A hole is dug for the run-off of this water and closed up again afterward. This place is strictly reserved for this use; people do not go there any other time (at Boniville it is behind hut No. 5).

[767] The wasimɛ̃ are two in number, two men and two women; in each lineage there are at least one man and one woman who are acquainted with this work.

The wasimɛ̃ remove from the dead man every object (metal, ɔbia, etc.) and dress him in clean clothes. Cotton is [775] put in his nostrils and a chin-strap put on, all of which will be removed at the moment when the coffin is closed (so that the yɔrka of the dead man will not be impeded in its life beyond the grave).

The body placed in the papay is carried under the mortuary shed (krɛ̃yɔsu = house /161/ of tears). A tuft of hair and the fingernails are taken, which are wrapped in a cloth and hung inside the krɛ̃yɔsu.

/161 cont./

764 The dead person's spouse, his nearest relatives, and his children come and hang their hammocks inside the krayɔsu, where they will live until broko dɛ (eighth day after the death).

[533] [535] The village people begin the tukka songs and dance, which will last part of the night, while the friends and near relatives of the dead man lament seated, head covered with a cloth.

[824] The first day after the death, as soon as it is morning, the kisimɛ arrive, and begin to make the coffin, using mahogany boards always kept on hand, thanks to the head of the village.

[613] The women of the dead man's lineage prepare a meal which is offered to the kisimɛ about 1:00 P.M. at the end of their work.

While the coffin is being made, the dead man's friends and distant relatives arrive in crowds from the neighboring villages, bringing tafia and cloth as offerings. Two kisimɛ lay these pieces of cloth one by one on the body saying, "So-and-so buries you."

[767] These pieces of cloth are divided up; about 15 are put into the coffin by the kisimɛ, part of the rest serve as pay for the kisimɛ, part as pay for the ɔlɔmɛ; another part, finally, is used for dressing the widower and his co-wives (or the widow), showing thus that during the whole mourning period they live dependent on the dead person.

Then the kisimɛ close the coffin without any other rites taking place. The late arrivers who bring more cloths knock the coffin saying, "I bury you," and put them down on the ground.

[692] The work of the kisimɛ is over; they bring the body outside the krayasu, in front of which has assembled the council called ɛlɔti kuutu, which constitutes the judicial apparatus of the Boni.

/162 cont./

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764 /162 cont./
[787] business of the tribunal. The people of the dead person's lineage
[761] will have to settle that among themselves after the obsequies.
[784] The role of the tribunal is to make official the cause of death and give it the force of law.

764 Then the inheritance is taken up in the presence of the
[787] near relatives of the dead man. The questions are asked suc-
428 cessively: "To whom dost thou leave thy boat...?" "To whom dost thou leave thy gun (1)...?" The coffin moves each time

> 1. That, unless the dead man has, before his death, in front of witnesses, formally indicated the apportionment of his belongings; in such a case, questions are asked only for the objects whose attribution had not been clearly specified.

toward one of the people present. /Figs. 22 and 23 appear here/

764 /163/ At the end of the third day after the death the
[789] burial is prepared; the dead person is asked from daybreak on whether he is ready for that; if not it can be postponed until the next day.

[767] The [illegible] have been working at the cemetery since the
[827] beginning of the day. They are young and strong men who have to work slowly, for not a drop of sweat may fall into the grave or their akka would risk remaining prisoner in it.

About 4:00 P.M. the bearers promenade the dead person one last time in the village for a supreme adieu. The near relatives go to the wharf. The dead man is hoisted into a canoe
[534] while the a[illegible]nti drum calls his yaka so that it will not remain
[715] in the village.

/163 cont./

764 given any indication whatever. Besides, how would he have
787 had time to make himself understood by two men walking at top speed, crushed by their heavy load and looking straight ahead?

This upsets all the ideas I had formed about this test. The only hypothesis that remains is that the bearers have been "tipped off" by the man who went to get them (an old man of the council). But is it possible that such a crude fraud could be current practice? The Boni are far from being stupid, they are ever suspicious /164/ and they are too talkative for such deceptions not to be laid bare by their perpetrators themselves.

Under these conditions, how can it operate--this collective suggestion which explains most of the rites of the Refugee Blacks? I can't explain it to myself.

764 Manufacture of the Coffin. The kisimɪ are gathered
767 around a pile of boards. They are about 15 in number,
322 commanded by Boofo, head of the kisimɪ of Asisi, and Aténi
[412] (Asisi-Dipélu II). A pile of boards is at their feet; some work with a small hand saw, others with an adze; the fitting is done with a machete. /Fig. 21 appears here./

They take measurements with a graver. The bottom board is cut first, then the front and back ends. The outline of the back end, in the shape of a truncated diamond, results from a rather complex construction with the compass which I have not time to report.

764 The work is done noisily in an atmosphere of crude farce.
767 The whole time it lasts, the kisimɪ exert veritable command
[152] over the village. The coconut trees of Kormotibo are pillaged
[262] for their benefit. The village women prepare the rice for the meal which must, according to custom, be offered to them upon finishing the coffin about noon.

/164 cont./

764 764 322 I see the head of the kisimÃ make ready the fitting of the lower lateral wings. Without nailing it, he places the back end on the bottom plank, giving it the proper inclination. They put

Fig. 21. A Boni coffin.

in place the board which is to serve as a wing. An elastic string smeared with soot is stretched between a_1 and a_2; they pinch it in the middle and in falling back it traces the line a_1a_2 on the wing.

(412) The cutting out of the wing is done with a saw and the fitting with the machete, then with a plane.

About 11 o'clock they begin to nail the wings. According to the rites, several kisimÃ accompany in cadence the noise of the hammer blows by hitting the coffin with pieces of wood. Why this ceremony? None of the kisimÃ can explain it. Perhaps it would be considered dangerous for one man to carry out alone one of the operations relating most directly to death.

764 While the kisimÃ work, Way's friends and relatives do not stop /165/ arriving; their boats jam the wharf. The people wend their way toward the mortuary shed, men on one side, women on the other. It is the women who bring pieces of cloth (including those given by their brothers and husbands); the men carry tafia in bottles.

Upon arriving the women sit down, cover their faces and lament a few minutes, then sit down with the others in front of the mortuary shed. On the other side of the shed the men are seated, immobile on their small benches. An elder busies himself

764 /165 cont./
at collecting in a large demijohn the tafia brought. It will be used at the dances which will take place that very evening.

764 767 About 1:00 P.M. the coffin is nearly finished, the upper wings are fitted and ready to be nailed. This is the moment when, according to custom, the meal must be served. But nothing is to be seen; the village women have talked more than worked, and their preparations are far from finished.

Time passes; discontent grows among the kisimɛ, who threaten to stop work. About 2:00 P.M. the women come in a procession led by the oldest ones to apologize for the delay; they have to pay a forfeit of a bottle of maripa oil, in consideration of which the kisimɛ agree to eat; the scene lasts at least 30 minutes, in a flood of words whose transcription in extenso would fill a book.

[782] Before the meal an offertory rite is gone through; two of the youngest among the kisimɛ slowly go around the mortuary shed carrying a dish of food; at the same time they eat, they throw food on the ground, without uttering a single word. Then they go to the river where the dish is washed.

[782] After the meal the coffin is consecrated by the sacrifice of a rooster. The leader of the kisimɛ sprinkles with its blood first the bottom at the back, then the upper side wings.

The presenting of pieces of cloth, having gone on since noon, comes to an end. Two kisimɛ stand beside the body; a woman of the lineage unfolds and hands to them the cloths given by the people present.

The kisimɛ grab the piece of cloth and unfold it. One of them says these words: "N... beli yu, umɛ (N... buries you, woman)." They do that if they recognize the cloth offered by N...; if not, they simply say: "Someone buries you, woman." Then they put the cloth on the preceding ones piled up on the body. There may be 126 camisas (1) and

764 /165 cont./ There may be 126 camisas (1) and
•767
[439]

1. Pieces of cotton goods about 1.10 x 0.75 meters. These cloths are manufactured in Holland especially for the Refugee Black clientele.

15 large pieces of cloth. About 30 camisas have been taken from the dead woman's trunk; the others have been given by the people present, the near relatives each giving several, the other relatives only one.

Their work finished, the kisimɛ burn the shavings and
[783] scraps of board. They pass their tools through a flame to purify them of the stains of death. /166/

About 3:00 P.M. the coffin is brought into the mortuary shed by the kisimɛ. The kisimɛ, who have complete charge of this phase of the obsequies, count the pieces of cloth and divide them up. One part will be used for their pay, others for the pay of the gravediggers. Fifteen pieces of cloth and about
[765] ten ordinary camisas will be placed in the coffin. The rest will be used for clothing the widower who, during the whole period of mourning, will thus remain symbolically dependent upon the dead person; if there are any left over, they are distributed to the members of the dead person's lineage.

Placing in the Coffin. About three o'clock four of the
[292] kisimɛ take their places beside the coffin; they gird their loins with a camisa as the Refugee Blacks always do before carrying out a religious act. In the greatest silence they spread out the 15 large pieces of cloth inside the coffin, allowing them to fall to the ground at right and left. Next, two of them lift up the body while the others slip the coffin underneath (for the whole duration of the burial ceremonies, the body must remain at the exact place where it was put down. The coffin does not rest directly on the ground but is put on a mat through the

/166 cont./

764 767 medium of two round logs. This ritual seems to have as its purpose restricting the defilement of death for the village.).

The body is put back down in the deepest silence, with the greatest care, into the coffin. A pillow is put under the head.

[152] Those present show no emotion. The widower, the Saramaka Gamba, who has remained seated in his hammock since morning, turning his back to his wife's body, does not stir.

The kisimã bring the edges of the pieces of cloth back over the body and put on, in addition, a few camisas of the ordinary kind. Before the upper wings of the coffin are put in place, one of them gently removes the wads of cotton which had been put in the dead woman's nostrils.

Then the upper wings of the coffin are nailed down, always according to the same rite, blows struck in cadence with pieces of wood accompanying the hammer blows.

[692] The role of the kisimã is ended; they give over the dead woman to the council, lãnti kuutu, charged with judging her.

764 787 Search for the Causes of Death. The ceremony begins about four o'clock in the greatest confusion, as is usual among the Refugee Blacks; it is impossible to understand who is really a member of the council and who is not a member, everybody talking at once.

I think I understand that the grand man has designated Captains Kondoku (Asisi-Awara Bakka) and Tafanié (Papaïston) to preside over the ceremony. In fact, it is neither the one nor the other who begins the interrogation, but a man from Papaïston village, Agodéba, a venerable old man whose torso is molded in a deplorably shoddy jersey calling to mind a rugby match.

/170 cont./

428 613 It is very clear in Kotoïda's case that the inheriting is within the matrilineage in the strict sense, bɛɛ. Only the members of the Afi lineage to which she belonged can profit by it.

764 Burial. About 2:00 P.M. the women of the lineage who had been preparing the food for the ɔlɔmɪ since morning leave by canoe in the direction of the cemetery.

At three o'clock the last preparations begin. The occupants of the mortuary shed, completely veiled and supported by their near relatives, go to take up positions at the wharf for the last farewells (for they will not go to the cemetery).

The coffin is carried through the village one last time. This is the farewell of the dead woman to her family. The objects used in mourning are carefully collected, the earth of the shed floor raked up wherever the sanies of the cadaver might have fallen, and the whole put on the papay which is placed on the mortuary bark.

[775] At three o'clock an apinti drum is placed on the wharf to call the dead person (it is obviously a question of preventing the yɔrka from remaining in the village). The dead person turns up at the wharf. The coffin passes over a freshly cut banana-tree trunk placed at the limit of the village and of the beach. This is the symbolic passing of the dead person out of the world of the living. It is put on the canoe while the lamentations of the near relatives resound. The scene is not lacking in grandeur.

[783] The canoe draws slowly away, the drummer in the bow, while the spectators go down in a long procession to wash themselves free of the defilement of death.

[767] At four o'clock they arrive at the cemetery. The bearers of the dead person who have taken places in the canoe pass their burden to the ɔlɔmɪ who have come to the edge of the river. This to mark the fact that /171/ the ɔlɔmɪ are in authority at the cemetery. The bearers will only be present at the ceremony.

/171 cont./

764 Work is then resumed. Those present who are not ɔlɔmɛ̃, including me, are invited to throw several shovels of earth. On top of the mound are placed the papay and the objects used in the mourning, topped by the dead woman's bench. Then those present go away without haste and wash at the wharf. Several shots are again fired while the canoes go away.

The graves are spaced about 10 meters apart. The dead are not grouped by lineages; the cemetery is extended as needed, and the dead person is put in the first available spot. Thus Kotoïda (Awara Bakka) is placed beside Asoïda (Lapé), a hundred-year-old woman dead a few months before.

They show me the graves of village heads I have known, Diolé († in 1951), Atikati († in 1953). The mounds are already half settled down, the brush on them is as much as a meter high.

[969] One of my boatmen pours a little tafia on his mother's grave which is at the edge /172/ of the path. None of those present leaves the group to go to the grave of his relatives.

Thanking Ceremonies. On the twenty-third at eight [692] o'clock, the ɛ̃nti kuutu is convened and sits at the edge of the mortuary shed.

The ɔlɔmɛ̃ and in a general way those who have worked [969] on behalf of the dead person (only about ten remain, the others have left to work) are seated opposite the men of the dead woman's lineage.

It is always Tafanié who speaks. Béna (Dju), seated before the ɔlɔmɛ̃, turned toward the speaker, plays the role of respondent. Tafanié thanks all those who have worked on behalf of the dead person, detailing at length the various jobs, then citing their various lineages; he repeats the same thing in several ways and his speech is interminable. Sometimes he [293] interrupts himself to put in a good joke or drink a bumper of [415] tafia. A 15-liter demijohn is seen circulating inside the shed.

/172 cont./

764 Several times the paddle is seen to answer affirmatively,
787 then negatively. Not one of those present can understand what is said, but not one shows impatience or doubt.

[613] Suddenly Tafanié orders his assistants to cut rods: the dead woman has asked that the people of her own lineage be beaten, guilty of having neglected the yɔrka's warnings. On seeing these preparations the people of Kotoïda's lineage /173/ run away in confusion in every direction while their adversaries pursue them with the appearance of having a very good time. Some take refuge in the water, others in the bush; none whatever can be caught.

Completely symbolic punishment, moreover, for at the end of ten minutes they are seen to reappear and take their places again among those present.

764 The obsequies are ended. Only the deceased's near relatives stay seated in their hammocks under the mortuary shed. They will remain there until the broko dɛ.

764 Payments of the ɔlɔmɛ. The ɔlɔmɛ divide up one lot of
• 767 cloth, keeping track of what they have received in the preceding obsequies. That does not appear to cause any discussion. If, after this, someone who has not furnished any work wants to take one of these pieces of cloth, he may do so by offering tafia to the people present.

766 Funeral ceremonies for people who die while traveling. If a
787 man dies in the course of a distant trip, they take from the
775 cadaver before burying it his hair and fingernails, which are brought back to his native village; in fact, it is assumed that as long as a fragment of the body is not buried, the yɔrka remains attached to it; hair and fingernails will therefore permit the interrogation of the yɔrka and will be buried in the cemetery with the usual rites.

/174 cont./

764 Cemeteries. There are two cemeteries in Boni country: one on the lands of the Dikan lineage for the people living on the French bank, the other downstream from Kotika for the inhabitants of that village. They are ordinary places which nothing indicates from the bank, for they are covered like the rest of the country by secondary forest. The dead are buried there in graves aligned parallel to the river, about seven meters apart. The dead are placed with heads turned toward the river. No separation by lineage exists within the cemetery.

The graves are not marked by any decoration, and at the end of about ten years, the mound having settled down, no trace of the burial remains.

[767] The graves are never cleaned. Only the ʔlɔmã heads, who have received special instruction, know the graves of the principal chiefs and the boundaries of the cemetery.

769 The Boni never go to the cemetery alone and do not make offerings on the graves of their near relatives. Someone [754] who would frequent the cemetery alone would be suspected of [775] being a wisimã seeking to capture the yɔrka of a dead person.

764 Even if they are right near the villages, cemeteries are never connected directly to them by paths, and the dead are 487 transported by boat. By proceeding thus they hope to isolate the villages from evil influences.

766 If someone dies by drowning, he is buried away from the cemetery. According to Mr. W. F. van Lier, among the Djuka [761] all drowned persons are supposed to have been victims of a [784] kunu; the Boni do not have this conception and declare that they [184] have lost the meaning of this custom; one notices, however, that they observe mourning for the drowned according to the usual rites.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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said, "It is not a woman and a snake, as you might imagine from this," and she indicated one or two lines of the design. "We do not carve the snake in my family. We have a *tchina*—a taboo—against carving snakes, for snakes are our kunu. . . . Years ago my brother went to the French shore and worked for a white man. The white man asked him to kill a snake, and he was afraid, but the white man laughed at him, and because he had a weak ak'a, because his soul was not strong, he killed the snake. If he had told us about it and had sent a piece of the snake, we would have held a burial, as would have been right. But he did not do as he should have done, and so now the snake is not a good spirit for us. We must give it offerings, and dance kunu. It is bad to have a weak soul. My brother did a bad thing, and now I and all my children, and my daughters' children, and their daughters' children on and on will have this kunu."

Farther up the river, in the deep interior, we stopped at the village of Opoku. As we walked to the house of the village head to give him our greetings, we noticed an unusually large house. It was a *liba-wosu*, a house with an upper story, more substantially built than any we passed, and ornamented with elaborate carvings, as were all personal houses of the men. The owner of it, we heard, had been dead eight months. Four more would need to go by before it could be entered. It had been owned by a powerful man, and his belongings were many. We could see some of them through the openings between the slats which formed its walls—an apinti drum, magnificently carved, tall earthen demijohns of rum, boxes, the edge of a metal canister and a lamp. Inside there were guns, and machetes, and native carved paddles, and implements.

Our men joked about the contents of the demijohns as they passed, speculating on the strength of the rum when the containers were opened, and when we asked about the house later—whether, for instance, we could not buy the drum, we were told that the twelve-month interval between a man's dying and the dividing of his property was not yet passed. When the time came, his brothers and sisters

when The Time came, his brothers and sisters
and sisters' children would gather to divide what wealth 428
there was. The greatest share would, of course, go to the 168
brother who would marry the widow, but all the others [587]
would get something.

"And his children, the children he made, would they get anything?"

"Why no, the children he made are his wife's children. They belong to the family of his wife!"

"But suppose he cared for them very much. . . ."

"Then he might have made them some presents now and then when he was alive, but even then some people say it is better not to give them too much. When a man dies his possessions go to his family. If this man's children, who really belong to his wife, were to take things now, they would get a kunu for it, and they might get another kunu which the father had, for if they got his possessions, his kunu would go to them, too, and there would perhaps be one in their own family that had come to them through their mother. No man or woman wants this."

It is kunu, then, which sees to it that the tribal law of succession and inheritance through the female line is not [611] violated.

4

There was the case of Asikanu, our paddler, who was the 115
brother of the head of an important clan, which gave us still another instance of the workings of kunu. Asikanu was, in his own right, not a negligible figure. When his brother died, it might be he who would succeed to the headship of the clan. When the other paddlers wanted things of us, they would come to ask in his name. "It is not a small thing when Asikanu asks," they would say. "He is a big man; he is the brother of our chief. You must not refuse him."

Asikanu had a way with the women, although it would 684
have been best if at least one of them had resisted him. She was married, and, when her husband discovered her infidelity, she went to Asikanu. Now this was as it should

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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family. The children of the second wife belong to the 595
family of the second wife. A woman calls her husband's other wife by the name of kambosa. Do you know what kambosa means?" he asked, laughing. "*Kambosa*—the woman who makes trouble for me. So, you see, we people of the bush learned from our ancestors to give each wife her own house, where she might live with her own children."

But not alone the woman needed to have a house of her 347
own. The man, too, built a house for himself. In it he stored 423
his possessions. It was his sanctuary. No woman might enter it. On the carving of its door, a man lavished all his [531]
love of ornamentation, all his artistry.

"A man likes to have his own house for his possessions," explained Kasanya. "If he is a rich man, it is better that his wives do not know how much he has. You know what women are. They always ask for presents. But if a man is not rich, then it is better still that his wives do not know it. If they know, they will make life hard for him with nagging. They will talk of leaving him. And all the village will know, too."

In this house, then, which a man built for his wife, the 592
children were reared. Sometimes, it is true, if the harvests 604
were poor or the father had met with ill luck, the mother's [858]
brothers would come for the children, for children are the [928]
ones to carry on the line. It is through them that clan rank and material goods are inherited.

But if all went well with the father, then the attachments 597
of the household were the closest, and they continued even 768
after death. For the household was not entirely disrupted after the death of a parent. Unless the one who died had been a sorcerer, a leper, or a madman, the house where he lived was not torn down.

"When a man dies," Kasanya said, "the wife goes on 768
living in the house, once it has been purified. If a woman dies, then the man keeps on living there."

"What of the children?" we asked. "What becomes of them?"

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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768 "If it is the man who is dead, then the woman takes her
775 girl children to live with her, but her sons she sends away to live elsewhere. A man's spirit will not harm his daughters. He loves them. But his sons, he will kill. . . . When a woman dies, then it is the sons that the man will keep with him in the house, and the daughters must go away. The yorka of a woman will protect her sons, but she will destroy the daughters when she visits the place where she once lived."

5

602 To her child the Bush Negro mother gives at birth
851 membership in all her own blood groups. The child is of her *wosu*, or household. He belongs to her *mbe*, or great family, which is an aggregate of many households. He is a member of her *lo*, or clan, which is composed of a number of great families, and which holds political sway over a given
613 portion of the land. The tie of all these groupings is a blood tie, a common female ancestress who lived long ago, or several women, daughters of the same mother, who had been the first to live with the runaway ancestors here in the bush, or several women who came from one people in Africa, and were the first to bear children to the rebels in the jungle. Every legal, every economic implication which this tradition of descent and inheritance through the female line might hold, is faithfully adhered to.

611 The mother does indeed count, as the tales told us in the
593 city insisted. But what of the father?

That the Bush Negro understands fully the rôle that
842 both father and mother play in the procreation of the
532 young was everywhere apparent. The wood carving which a father made for his young daughter had designs on it of the kind which bore the general designation "*womi ko' muye*—man and woman." Whatever the traceries on the carvings given by a man to his woman during courtship, or after marriage, whatever animals might be represented, the essential symbolism was that of fertility, and the

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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holding a stick the size of a well-grown boy's arm. Round and round they went, as the widow from her doorway moaned her lament, and guns sounded in honor of the dead. The more important the man, the more guns were fired. Their own men had been the Granman's brothers. There was shooting till . . . till late afternoon, when they could not delay the bathing at the river any longer.

Before dark, all had to go to the river to bathe, and the widow, too, was led there with the others. There she purified herself, and discarded her mourning clothes, drawing on new cloths, and making herself fit with ornaments for the ceremony of rejoicing. This was followed by dancing which lasted late into the night. All the gods might be danced to at an adyo ceremony—Adonko; Vodu, the snake; Opete, the buzzard; Tigri, the jaguar; and all the gods of the bush and the ant hill—and, at the beginning, the seketi social dances and the half-sacred awasa. These dances were held for the spirits of men and women alike, and it did not matter whether the dead, or the living members of the family of the dead, shared these gods with the rest of the villagers, or not.

"But mourning is not over yet," said Fenekonde.

Seven months more elapsed, she showed on her fingers, before a woman might cohabit with her brother-in-law. If there was no brother-in-law to take her, then a woman had to wait twelve months after the adyo ceremony, instead of seven.

"If a woman doesn't care for her brother-in-law," continued Fenekonde, "or he doesn't care for her, then, when the seven months have passed, he comes to her hammock for two nights. Then she can go to another man at once."

When the husband who had died left no brothers, and there was no one else in his family to take the widow, the family of the dead man sought out a husband for her.

"They look and they look, until they are weary," said the Granman's younger wife, "but a man must be found before a woman can come out of mourning."

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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765 And Fenekonde said, "Mourning is hard. The widow must not go to the river alone to wash. Other women must take her there. Her husband's spirit might seize her. Her [893] hair must be cut. If not, he will get her by the hair. Her clothes must be ugly. She must keep herself unclean, so that his ghost will not long for her when he sees her."

But mourning was difficult not only for a woman. A man's mourning period was no less burdensome, they added. He too wore old clothes. When he went to wash, his wife's brother took him to the river. If he had another wife he did not go into the hammock with her, for the dead woman would be envious and would kill him.

765 There were times, however, when women did not go into 893 mourning for their husbands. If a woman carried a child in her womb, then she did not put on mourning clothes at all. She did not weep, she was not allowed to show any grief. That same night the dead man's oldest living brother would come with her in the hammock. If there were no brother, another man would come, for some man had to come.

"He must come. It cannot be otherwise. She cannot go to her hammock alone. So it is every night when a woman carries a child in her womb. A man must be with her, for the sake of the child."

3

243 In the clearing the widow stood stamping rice. About 644 her the rice husks from each made a half circle of gold at her dark feet. Her mortar, which was made of a hollowed-out [815] log, like a drum, was large and reached almost to her hip. On the ground was a large tray which she used for winnowing the rice. With slow, regular beats she lifted and dropped [812] the pestle, and as her body swung with its slow motion the [854] head of the sleeping child on her back rolled this way and that.

768 Her two small boys had gone to live in her mother's 294 village, but this girl child remained with her. She was born

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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more than a year before her father's death and therefore had not saved her mother from mourning.

"My sons are big so," she showed, pointing to the mortar, "and already my brother takes them with him down the river, and when they are with him he tells them about the creeks and the trees, and where the villages are which are friendly to our people. But when they come here to see me, then they play. They have play guns and play arrows which they make themselves. Into the uncleared bush they shoot them until I call them away to eat. Here I have no man from whom they can learn. Here they only play."

But boys liked to be with men. When the rains came, her brother would let them sit by when he carved, and, seeing him work, they would take up a knife and begin whittling. That was how boys learned to do men's work.

Women children played with "gossi." She put down her pestle, and felt about in her cloth where the child slept, and brought out a gourd, resembling in size a small cucumber. It had beads on top for eyes and a few deft cuts to indicate nose and mouth, while above the eyes was crosshatching for the hair. Until girls were old enough to be of use in the fields, they sat about in the clearing playing with these dolls.

"When they are four and five, then they like to work."

There was, of course, dancing. All dances were opened by the children, and at six and seven the girls knew seketi and awasa, and bandamba, and the boys danced susa.

"Do you dance susa?" we asked the Granman's five-year-old grandson, who was standing with us beside the widow.

"Ai," he said, but once our attention was turned to him he said also, "White man, the children say you carry money in this." He touched a water canteen which hung from the stranger's belt. "I know it is water."

He knew also that shaving cream was soap, and not white people's sacred clay, and now as women came with bottles for the white man's obia water—a name they gave

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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the trading-post, are so large as to have street-like roads extending across them. Others like Nu have only eight or nine huts.

The walls and roofs of the dwellings are made of grasses and reeds, intricately woven into a herring-bone pattern that can be seen in the photographs. So tightly are they woven that the jungle rain does not penetrate. The uprights are hewn out of tree trunks, and those that form the doorway are often deeply carved. So great is the decorative spirit of these people that every common utensil is carved until it becomes a work of art.

The roofs extend far beyond the walls, so that the projecting part throws a shadow on the walls, which lowers the temperature inside. In front, the roof extends a yard or more to form a shade in which the blacks may palaver. In front of the huts, always, babies are grubbing about in the dirt and yelling prodigiously.

Here and there are slightly dilapidated huts. They belong to people now dead. No one will live in them or venture to repair the ruin of time. Neglected, they sink into decay. The witch doctor's hut is also a bit frowzy; it seems to be a badge of his profession, like the sugar cane planted alongside his doorway or the turtle-shell impaled on a staff near by. All three are symbols of his calling.

A wall of woven mat divides some of the huts into two rooms, the back room being used for sleeping. The men have hand-made hammocks of woven cotton or grass. Their wives are provided with sleeping-mats on the floor. The front room

764 Upon the father's decease, his property does not descend to his children, but reverts to his wives, sisters, mother, or brothers. As the wives may be living in different villages, each wife inherits only that property which happens to be in her village. If the man has no wife in a certain village where there are maternal relatives, they inherit all his property within that village. This pertains more to personal than to real property, as the latter tends to be communally held.

649 One thing more must be said regarding the sex life of the
335 Djukas. The white men seldom receive overtures from Bush Negro women. It is, of course, taboo for Djuka women to have intercourse with white men, Indians, Town Negroes, balata bleeders, or anyone except her own tribesmen, among whom she is promiscuous. One Djuka woman, running her hand over the skin of a white arm and shoulder, shuddered in repulsion. When asked why, she said that she did not care for white-skinned men. We, however, were marked out for special feminine favour. We received from a woman the gift
[93] of a bracelet of delicately filed iron wire, because, as she said, our eyes put her in mind of those of her dead husband.

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the village clearing. Flies and insects scurry. The body rolls 754
over toward the door of the hut: yes, this is the guilty one. 695
Or else it rolls away: no, he is innocent. The tomtoms boom 757
again, and the procession moves on to the next hut.

After winding about the town, the procession continues along a game trail back into the forest, where the white man is not allowed to follow. There, back in the bush, the body is perhaps buried to cheat the buzzards and vultures; but we are not sure. The dead person's hut is never occupied again; 767
neither is it repaired or demolished, but allowed, like the corpse, to decay.

Not for some time has the actual death penalty been in- 658
flicted upon those suspected of killing their neighbours by witchcraft. However, this used to be the case among the Djukas—more especially among the Ascaners—and the ceremony surrounding the detection of the guilty party is probably a survival of the Tshi-speaking people of Africa. Today the punishment of one suspected of causing death takes a more moderate form. In fact, unless the guilty party had previously announced his intention of causing the death, the punishment is "left to God." Otherwise, the guilty one may be given a severe beating, but, if the culprit escapes to a neighbouring village, it is incumbent upon the captain of that village to give him asylum. This has been noted by Mr. E. Wong, head bush police official at Moengo. Men are sometimes ostracized from the village, and are left to gain a livelihood by their own resources at some lonely spot on the river.

/119 cont./

361 241 166 exhaustion of the lands does not seem to play any part: considering the sparseness of the population, one can either make new clearings out of primary forest or carry out any system of letting land lie fallow one wishes.

Most changes of location can be attributed to two causes of equal importance:

[136] [613] --The activity of the manioc ants; we have said that since about 15 years ago the principal soil of the Lapé lo, situated near Loka village, has had to be totally abandoned as a consequence of exceptional activity of manioc ants. From this resulted the creation of several farming habitations on the soil of the Lapé lo studied here;

361 241 166 578 --Personal motives, among which comes first of all disagreement among the members of a group. For example ○ Kulina and ○ Bakamaman (Boniville, Dju) made their clearings until 1950 with their mother Béniti in her farming village in Kuyaku locality (to the south of Kormotibo).

In 1950 there was a quarrel. Kulina and Balkom have made their clearings since that time at the habitation of their father Malobi (Lapé).

• [168] It happens especially that upon the death of its founder a farming habitation disappears or changes composition entirely because disagreements arise.

361 241 166 Another cause of change of location of farming habitations is change of activity of their occupants. For example, a man grows old, he no longer finds paid work, he creates a habitation in order to take up fishing (Akwadé's case). When he reaches extreme old age, he abandons his habitation to move close to his relatives (case of Samalobi, first occupant of the lands cultivated nowadays by Antonu village). /Page 120 blank/

/175 cont./

765 613 The spouse in mourning is taken temporarily out of his lineage and placed under the /176/ /Fig. 24 appears here/ /177/ protection of the lineage of the dead spouse, in a situation corresponding to that of the client in ancient /Roman/ society.

[769] He can no longer pray to his own ancestors. If he is sick he asks the elders of the dead spouse's lineage to pray for him to their own ancestors.

765 A man in mourning is freed from certain obligations and responsibilities:

--He cannot take part in a council of his lineage;

--If there is a squabble between his lineage and another, he cannot be taken to task;

--Part of his catch may not be appropriated in case of great nivrée;

--He is freed from his funerary obligations as an [illegible] or kisimã.

765 602 613 A man in mourning is placed under the collective authority of his wife's lineage, but actually under the authority of her near relatives: mother, grandmother, real uncles and aunts. It is real kinship which is involved in matters of mourning; classificatory kinship enters into it only if all the near relatives are dead.

In general it is old women of these near relatives who are charged with watching over the behavior of the widower and on the other hand with seeing that he does not lack anything he needs.

For example Alémin (Aw.B.1) was married to Yundu (L2, G60) of the Lapé 2 fraction, living in Loka village. When she died in May, 1957, he was put under the authority of Asakundu (L2, E55), his wife's grandmother, and of Asakundu's sister Térésa, living in Boniville. Since he had not yet built a hut for his wife, he was enjoined to come specially to build himself a little hut in Loka village in order to reside near Asakundu. [768]

[Text Continues on p. 269]

/178 cont./

765 He cannot go anywhere without the authorization of his watchers, and only for a specific purpose. For example, when Alémin found work with a European in October, 1957, the two old women who were charged with looking after him came to deliver him to his employer like a prisoner, making it clear in particular that they were forbidding him to disembark in such-and-such villages where he had nothing to do.

Alémin was authorized to be present at the mourning for his mother, but he did not take part in any of the ceremonies at all. He was not present at the interrogation of the dead woman carried in her coffin, and was not informed about the arrangements made for dividing up the inheritance.

765 768 A man in mourning does not necessarily live in the hut he has had built for his wife, but in a hut designated for him. He may (this is Alémin's case) be invited to build a small hut which, at the end of the mourning, will become the property of his mother-in-law.

When the house has been bequeathed, the heir may take possession of it only if the spouse has not received orders to reside in it. Only at the end of mourning does he enter fully into possession of his rights.

765 [769] A man in mourning may not go out of his house after nightfall, particularly on nights when people dance after having called all the ancestors. He would have everything to fear from the yɔ́ka.

He may circulate in the village and speak to anyone he wishes, but must not joke or be present at any festivities whatever, not even to hear tales. Not only may he not pay court to a woman, but it is still forbidden for him to make discreet overtures, even through an intermediary, with an eye to remarriage.

/179 cont./

765 After three months, an offering is made at the fraga tiki
[769] of the dead person's lineage, setting forth how much her spouse
[778] has respected her memory and asking permission to lighten the
[613] manifestations of his sorrow. The mourning is then lightened, but the man in mourning continues to wear a bandeau around his head or at the very least an old beret.

765 During the first months the man in mourning has no other
461 responsibility than to hunt and fish at the order of the dead
[613] woman's lineage. He does his own cooking with the food given to him; he cuts a clearing for his mother-in-law or another woman of the deceased's relatives, who will farm it with him.
[431] Next, he receives the order to go and earn the money necessary for the sizable contribution he must bring to the festival of the lifting of mourning. During the entire duration of the mourning he must report on his work and moves.

765 When the end of mourning approaches, he must do a job
[606] for the benefit of his mother-in-law, generally redoing the roof of her house or building a boat for her.

These arrangements do not involve any material sanction
[626] whatever. Like the rest of the social life of the Refugee Blacks, they rest entirely upon fear of a suprahuman sanction.
[589] After the lifting of mourning, the person in mourning may remarry without further delay.

765 State of widows and co-wives of a widower. The state of a
768 woman in mourning is practically identical to that of a widower.
[562] She lives for the duration of mourning in her deceased husband's house under the surveillance of his near relatives on the maternal
[613] side. The dead man's lineage lends her all the objects she
[439] needs and furnishes the imported commodities (salt, kerosene, soap) that she uses. On the other hand, she may freely use the produce of the clearing that her husband had cut for her, since it is taken for granted that these products are the exclusive property of the wife.

/179 cont./

765 431 Before coming out of mourning, the widow must procure for herself at the minimum the money necessary for a demijohn of tafia as a contribution to the festival of the lifting of mourning. She must make a present of several cans of couac to her husband's mother. [606]

765 843 184 A pregnant woman undergoes mourning exactly according to the general law. The custom described by several authors for the Saramaka, according to which the pregnant woman must join one of her husband's "brothers," does not apply to the Boni.

765 888 There are some attenuations of the harshness of mourning with respect to old women. For example in 1956, Lémiki (70 years), living in Boniville, was in mourning for her husband Tabiki (Awara Bakka, but residing since childhood with the Lapé lineage in Loka /180/ where he had been raised by his father). Lémiki alternately spent three weeks in her house and three in her husband's. It was Asamani, Tabiki's sister by the same father, who exercised authority over her. [768] [602]

765 768 This remarkable example shows that as regards mourning (rights and duties), the principle of residence plays an essential role. He who has been reared by his father is in this respect taken out of his lineage, which loses all rights and all control over the conduct of the mourning. [613]

765 The co-wives of a widower are subject to mourning on the same grounds as he, and for the same motive, since they are targets for the jealousy of the dead woman's yorka. [775] [768]

However, they are authorized most often to live with their maternal family. When the period of dipi baaka has ended, they may take up conjugal relations again with their husband, but at intervals of several weeks and without his being able to spend the night with one of them. Each time he must ask permission of the head of the dead woman's lineage. 765 833 [613]

/182 cont./

965 Then they address the dead person in the name of the people of his village: "We have done with thee, stay there where God has placed thee."

The spouse in mourning is again bathed in the river by old women who have themselves gone through mourning.

[969] [965] Then they address the yaka of the ancestors and the entities of the Beyond who are imagined to have come in a crowd: "Ala sani di kɔm ya, yu mu luku ala ɛŋga bɔ̃; u kaba ɛŋga yu; yu sa: waka ala peesi; (Each one of the beings who have come, be benevolent toward us all; we have finished with thee, thou canst go anywhere)."

On the seventh day most of those present begin to leave. An intimate ceremony brings the dead person's near relatives together in the very house where he died. They weep and lament one last time. Then a last offering of food is made in the same house, and they repeat the adjuration: "We have done with thee; stay where God has placed thee."

[968] [613] [431] The eighth day, the spouse whose mourning has just been lifted is conducted solemnly back to his village by the people of the dead person's lineage. He is congratulated, he offers food and drink to all those present. What he might have had left of savings disappears on this occasion.

He must sleep three nights in his village, still without being able to have relations with a woman. When this time limit has gone by, he comes to give back the red clothes which the dead person's lineage had lent to him. Only then is he free.

[114] Notes taken in Boniville in November, 1957 on the occasion of the lifting of mourning for Béniti. This festival is given for the lifting of mourning for ○ Béniti (Dju. E5, living in Boniville, † in 1955 at 75), of △ Tito (Kotika, Boniville, † in 1955 at 15), and of △ G.... boy of ten, son of a woman of the village of L'Enfant Perdu (Dtp. I), dead in Boniville where he was reared by Térésa. The festival is given more than two years after death. Sometimes, when there is no spouse subjected to mourning

/186 cont./

765 In the evening the young people dance in front of the houses of several men who have given the tafia, but that no longer has the character of a ceremony. All is over at eleven o'clock in the evening.

On the sixth day, Nov. 13, at seven o'clock, the elders assemble again in front of the /187/ banana leaves where a little of the food offered the day before remains (dogs and chickens have eaten part of it).

A long palaver begins, disconnected and disconcerting, whose purpose escapes me. The clearest thing coming out of it is that the captains make known what the grand man (absent from the ceremony) told them in the morning. They thank the grand man for this festival which has gone off without any incident; they say that they can be counted on if some mourning rises in another village.

[291] [535] [177] Todo makes apologies to the grand man because the young people were dressed in a new style (large loincloths /calimbés/ reaching to the ground) and danced several Creole dances. He says to the audience that this does not conform to custom and that the true Boni dances are [illegible], susa, awasa.

Next Fintiman pours water gently on the banana leaves, calling the dead whose mourning is being lifted. "We pour water for you, watch over the people in your family, over the grand man and over those who have worked for the mourning, that they may be in good health, that nothing bad happen to them.

We have done with you; stay where God put you."

765 775 [568] While pronouncing these words, Fintiman breaks his dead mother's bench and dish (for the dead boys, nothing had been brought). It is a question not only of marking the break with the living but of procuring for the dead woman what will be necessary for her in the Beyond. For this purpose a paddle is also broken, which her son Klément prepared for her, and calabashes prepared by her daughters.

754 775 787 /240 cont./
will be obliged to confess: "It is I who killed So-and-So and So-and-So." They immediately inform the grand man, who
754 766 orders the usual procedure against wisimã: Ceremonies are suspended, the body is transported by boat to a place reserved for cursed people, downstream from Boni country, and it is abandoned in the bush without being buried. Grand Man Difu is trying to modify this custom and to compel burial of wisimã in a special cemetery, but without great success up to now, it seems.

754 765 768 There is no broko dɛ. The spouse may remarry immediately. Since the property of the deceased are presumed to be ill-gotten, inheritance is cancelled. The house is destroyed and thrown into the water, the boat abandoned to the current. Personal belongings of the deceased are turned over to the grand man who distributes them to whom he wishes.

The near relatives of persons thus designated are overcome with shame but can say nothing. Not a bit of responsibility is imputed to them.

754 775 784 How does society protect itself against the sorcery of the wisimã from beyond the grave? According to Grand Man Difu, this is a problem which does not come up. The wisimã has been killed by Odun as punishment for his crimes. Since every being draws its force from the divine, he has no more force, he is destroyed as a being, he is no longer anything but an empty shadow incapable of doing harm.

754 775 787 [765] In fact, among the Refugee Blacks these trials of dead people are very rare. Whereas about 15 persons die per year on the average in Boni country, including about ten adults, in the last 20 years (1) only about 20 persons were revealed to be wisimã.

1. Disregarding the period 1957-1959 when a definite fresh outbreak of the fear of wisimã was observed.

/251 cont./

751 789 Renewal of the power of the ɔbia. The Refugee Blacks have the idea that no magic power can last if it is not renewed by formulas and offerings appealing to the god from which it came. [824] Each year, at variable dates for each ɔbia, one must renew the power of the ɔbia by dipping the support object into a maceration of certain leaves. This renewal may not take place on January 1. On that day all leaves lose their power. /252/

[768] Mr. W. F. van Lier writes that among the Djuka, objects (bracelets, etc.) serving as support for a magic remedy are thrown away upon the death of the owner for they have lost [184] all power. The Boni do not have this conception; with them, [428] these objects keep their value for the dead person's son provided that before dying he voluntarily transmitted them to him by giving him mula.

789 428 613 Transmission of ɔbia. An ɔbia is often bequeathed simultaneously to a son and to a nephew. Care is taken not to lose the ɔbia for the lineage. Thus it is that certain lineages have certain ɔbia as their specialty.

789 [171] Kĩndu. The Refugee Blacks call kĩndu a magic object intended to protect property (houses, harvests) against theft. This procedure is also very much used by the Creoles.

There are three common kinds of kĩndu:

--Piiti tiki kĩndu. It is made of a split stick stuck into the ground, in the slit of which dry banana leaves or small sticks are placed horizontally. This device originated in Dahomey.

--Sikopu kĩndu. It involves a shovel stuck into the ground in front of the house (the idea of the shovel is associated with the idea of death, for this instrument is used particularly in digging graves).

--Bɔɔ kĩndu, made up of a bow and arrow planted in the ground.

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764 [539] "On the sacred apinti drum we speak to the spirit; we tell it we go to dig the grave." So the drum spoke. From the shore we could see five figures in the small corial, and, as they came closer, we saw also the drum, the food the men carried, and the muddy hoe. They would do this the next day and the next, for to dig a grave takes a long time.

I

795 769 191 Although separated by many generations from their African places of origin, the Bush Negroes of Dutch Guiana have held to the traditions and beliefs of their aboriginal home. In the Suriname bush, as in Africa, the responsibility which an individual bears toward his social group does not end with death. His clan, his village, and his family look to him, when he has joined the spirits of his ancestors, to protect them against the magic of their enemies, to help them in time of drought or pestilence, and at all times to intercede for them with the gods.

As in Africa, the spirit of the dead is powerful for good or evil, and the rites of death must be carried out as tradition demands, so that the dead man may feel he has received honor among the living and proper introduction to the world of the dead. As in Africa, we found that the 764 191 first care for the dead is to place the body on the central portion of a broken canoe; that rum and tobacco are included in the water with which the body is washed; that in washing the dead, the back must not be touched; that the number of those who wash the body must not be [801] an even one—five is the number preferred, though three persons are used, and seven; that those chosen must not be young, for it takes age and the knowledge of controlling the spirits which age brings to approach the dead without suffering harm.

764 While the body lies in the open house of the dead, relatives and the village elders are in attendance on the spirit night and day. It is they who all night tell stories about the trickster, spider Anansi, to amuse the spirit, and they who play traditional games. The dances begin when

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782 Among the people of one group, the principal ceremony
241 may be held in the clearing itself. The drums are brought,
535 and men and women and children pray for fertility. The beautifully carved apinti drum sounds the invocation to the Great God and to the ancestors, while the tall agida drums are brought to call the earth spirits. Two by two the men dance susa, the dance which in pantomime reproduces an ancient warrior's combat with spear and shield, the winner taking on a new combatant, until the final winner is given a wand as a reward, and gains for himself the title of "G'aman of Susa" until the next dance is held. Other dances follow. Perhaps the women now line up in two long
[585] rows facing each other, and dance bandamba, the dance
[845] which celebrates marriage and the birth of twins, and the birth of a child who is born feet foremost. The motions are the slow rhythmic manipulations of the muscles of hips and
[840] abdomen. It is a dance of fertility, danced by the very young girls as well as by those who have borne children. But the women who are past the age for dancing sit with
[888] their men, arms interlaced, swaying to the rhythms of the songs they sing. . . . There are offerings to the earth spirits, poured upon the earth out of black obia pots and
[769] calabashes, while other offerings are set upon the ground for the ancestors.

In another settlement, the ritual would be chiefly carried on in the village itself, and there might be a local dance of
[842] fertility, danced nowhere else on the river. "An old, old ancestress taught it to us," the villagers would say.

When it is time to plant, the woman plants with the
462 man's help.
241 "When I plant a new field," said the younger woman, "I
782 pray as I work."
539 And this is her prayer:

O Sky God, Mother of the Earth, Ancestors,
I am planting a field,
Make it bear;
People who come to me must eat,

where, in the proper season, maripa nuts and rice were dried.

One quarter differed very little from another, except that in one there might grow the plant which yielded the red and black beans used for the sacred rattles, and for playing the game of adji, which entertained the spirit of the dead while the body lay in state. Instead of a house to the family gods, there might be found a mound of earth in front of one doorway, with an axe-head lying upon it as a shrine for a man's spirit, or a low forked stick sunk into the ground, holding a pot with water and weeds in it for the curing powers of its obia.

A village of any size had also a quarter in which stood the communal buildings. The council house which might also serve on occasion as the house for the dead was there. The menstrual house for the women, a small building which was recognized by a broken calabash, or a porcelain pot brought from the white man's city, lying outside the entrance, stood a little to the side. The Kromanti house, and perhaps an enclosed shelter for the bush gods who shared the shrine with the snake deities, was also located somewhere near the open communal shrine. A village wherein lived the clan head contained in addition a house for the ancestral spirits of the clan. This was called a *Fa'aka-pau wosu*, literally a flagpole house, a euphemism for the shrine to the ancestors for whom white cotton was put up on sticks. In this Fa'aka-pau wosu prayers were offered up for all the important ventures of the clan, and in time of stress a priest would come there with sacrifices, to bid one of the ancestors to enter his body and give him sight. When seizure came on, such a priest prophesied. Sometimes the ancestors were consulted in the same manner as that in which the will of the dead was ascertained. Men would take up a sacred plank and carry it in a state of possession; the elders would put questions to the ancestor who had been called. The answers were construed as favorable or unfavorable according to the way the plank tipped.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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they told us, though never willing to name the villages where they stood, whose walls were most elaborately ornamented with symbols marked in red and black and white, the three sacred colors which appeared on the stools and which the men used for painting their faces and bodies for the dances. On the upper river we had been told that these shrines were in the villages below, and on the lower river it was always intimated that it was up above where the great shrines stood. We had been told of stools which were whitened with sacred pemba, and blackened with soot in the *Fa'aka Pau* houses—the houses of the ancestral spirits—and of the covered whitened vessels which were in the Vodu and Apuku houses, the shrines for the bush and snake deities, placed there for the spirits when they chose to animate them. 778 346 [531] [869]

So we found it in this house dedicated to the spirits of the bush.

The hut was narrow and long, with walls of woven palm, and a floor made of hard smooth clay into which bare feet had nevertheless worn grooves. To one side of the door stood a drum of the type called *tamao*—the long drum. It was cylindrical, and narrowed but slightly toward the bottom. White clay had once covered it, but now there were irregular lines of white marking the cracks in the wood. [534]

On the other side of the door, against the same wall, lay several large balls of clay. These the old woman was keeping for the obia pots she would make from time to time. Among the Negroes of the town as well as in the bush, these black pots, made by women of the bush, were held to have great magical potency. 889 778 323

"I never make too many pots at once," the old woman said. "I make them for myself as I need them and for the young people of the family." A woman who had not passed her period of childbearing could not make them. "Obia pots are things for old, old women. I cannot tell you about making them."

Leaving these lumps of clay, the woman led us farther into the enclosure, until we stood in front of a raised altar 778 346

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This, he went on to explain, had the meaning that obia was not so great as the very great gods, and it was not to be ranked with the lesser deities who served as emissaries for the great gods, yet when the great gods wanted to help mankind, it was through obia that they healed and purified, it was to obia that men were instructed to turn.

It seems that when the Sky God created the Earth Mother and the Mother of the River, he also created man and beast. Man had a poor time of it, pitting himself against the forces of earth and sky and water. And so that man might survive, the Sky God had had to send obia into the world to help man. Obia was not a god, it was a spirit. It gave people knowledge of herbs which cured, and herbs which prevented sickness. Obia warned of danger, and made known those properties of earth and water and air which healed and calmed. Obia taught the use of the band of metal on the arm, or the string about the waist which forewarned of evil, and made man wary and alert.

After obia came into the world, the Sky God sent Akantamasu, the god of the ant hill, to plague man. Perhaps obia had made of man an overbearing creature, defiant even against the great gods, so that the Sky God brought the Akantamasu spirit into being to teach him humility.

The answer of the Bush Negro was, of course, that so it was, and so it had been long ago, but why, he did not know. The Sky God had willed it so, and the Sky God was so far from man that he never vouchsafed explanations to human beings, and they in turn rarely taxed him to ease their bewilderment.

There was also the power of the ancestors, but our Bush Negro friends were never certain as to how they ranked in the supernatural hierarchy. Some said they ranked after the Earth Mother and the Mother of the River, that they were greater than obia, because the ancestors punished as well as helped mankind, and when angered their punishment came swifter than that of the powerful Akantamasu gods. Others said the ancestors were greater than obia, because obia had been given to the ancestors long ago,

and it was they who in dream or vision, or in a state of possession, instructed living men in the ways of yet greater and greater obia. But there were those who held that obia ranked after the greatest of the deities, that obia surpassed the power of the ancestors, for obia knew how to make "*yorka tapu*"—preventives against troublesome ghosts, and obia men could summon the dead to enter the body of a living man to make revelations.

Whatever the position of obia in the supernatural world, its place on earth was to serve man, for of all living beings, man alone knew obia.

2

What were the manifestations of obia in the life of the Bush Negro as we found them?

A black pot with its magic powers was an obia pot, the charm worn about the neck was called an obia, the medicines we gave the natives for their eyes or their cuts were called white man's obia, and their own mixture of weeds steeped in water, which stood in the burning sun gathering a green scum until it should be ready for use, was also obia. Young Yamati who had danced susa for us did not have a cord about his neck, but, he had assured us, he had obia for long life as did his partner Sabape, though his own could not be seen, since it consisted of several obia cuts made shortly after birth, which served instead of the cord. The strings about the waists of children were obias. The slight cuts to be noticed on men's arms, on thighs, below the knee, below the shoulder blades were obia cuts, too.

Nor was that all.

Bayo had said to us, "When obia comes a man does bad things. He destroys. When mine comes, it is ugly sometimes."

It was obia, too—Apanto's obia—which had stopped our phonograph, and obia again, invoked this time by Bayo, which had strengthened the spirit of the machine.

We talked about obia to an elder, a village head, from one of the down-river settlements, which was not, however,

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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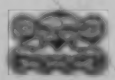
766 643 teresting things concerning burials. A Granman's or a cap-
[522] tain's body is placed in a cave-like hole dug in the side of a hill, and is eventually sealed in. It is forbidden to throw dirt upon the bodies of such officials.

764 In the case of an ordinary person, a large hole is dug in the ground in which the corpse is lowered. A plank is placed over the body, so that the dirt subsequently thrown into the hole will not come into direct contact with the body.

766 The bodies of albinos, idiots, and lepers are otherwise disposed of. These people are supposed to be related to the river, and are called *watra pekin*, or water children. Instead of being allowed to rot, their bodies are placed in a pit dug in the bank when the river is low. When the water rises, the corpse is washed out of its temporary tomb.

● 769 Every year the azang pau, the palm barrier across the village path, is renewed, and at this time prayers are said for the dead. The dead person's relatives have shaved off their forelocks when he died, and often again at intervals of three, six, and nine months thereafter. But after the lapse of a year there is no mourning; a large dance is held to signify that the period is terminated, and after that the dead man or woman is relegated to the position of an ancestor. The prayers then ask him to intercede with the gods for the benefit of those still among the living.



2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

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Ancestor Shrine, Village of Adawai, Saramaccaner Tribe.

[Facing p. 152]

/25 cont./

928 The peace conditions are determined in a large building
695 (shed). This shed is entirely open, they call it their court of
[544] justice, derived from kroetoe boso or piketti (1). When they find

1. Piketti, place where the execution of the punishment takes place.

themselves there, whether this takes place after the conclusion of an internecine battle, or between spouses, members of a family, or former friends, the heads of the parties gather in the shed referred to and choose their places in the upper part of the building. Subsequently those concerned in this matter place themselves in the vicinity of the heads, and around these all those present who make up the public.

When all have been placed, one of the heads takes a cup (as a rule a calabash) filled with dram or still unfermented sugar
[969] [712] cane. He scatters a few drops of this on the ground in various places in the shed, which signifies that their ancestors, who also once sat on this spot and passed judgment, are to be called up in the memory of all, and that the deceased, by having this offering presented to them first, have had respect paid to them.

Once this solemnity has been carried out, the cup goes around to each one, and each of those present takes a small draught from it. After it has been emptied, and none of them has refrained from drinking from it, the peace is regarded as concluded; all feuds are forgiven, and the enmity has ceased to exist.

Should it happen that one of those present refuses to drink, then he must publicly give the reason for his refusal, and then it may sometimes happen that the considerations concerning the quarrel start anew.

[693] /26/ Then the elders or council members ordinarily withdraw from the shed and leave behind only their granman (1).

1. Head or governor.

Those who have withdrawn divide themselves into different groups and consult with one another, make the matter clear and

/509 cont./
October 1958 – January 1959), expeditions whose principal aim was the sociological study of these populations.

/510/

Social Structure and Way of Life

The Boni Refugee Blacks. The Boni are one of the above-mentioned tribes of the Refugee Blacks, recomituted in the course of the eighteenth century by rebel African slaves who escaped from Surinam plantations (Dutch Guiana).

These tribes (Saramaka, Djuka, Paramaka, Boni) live for the most part along the rivers of the interior of Surinam. They group together a total of 25,000 persons.

With very rare exceptions, the Refugee Blacks are pure Africans. These populations, vigorous and well adapted to the country, have experienced in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a remarkable demographic increase, attested to by all the authors. Descended from small rebel groups which could not have contained more than a few hundred women, they are now estimated at more than 25,000 persons.

The Boni of the Upper Maroni, the subject of the present study, number approximately 800, of whom 660 are on the French bank (the villages of Boniville, l'Enfant Perdu, Loka, Asisi, Papaliton, and Kormotibo) and 140 on the Surinam bank (the village of Kotika). These villages were established long ago.

Each of them groups together a matrilineage, i.e., the descendants in the uterine line of one single founding ancestress/ certain villages know their genealogy in its entirety back to this ancestress, who must have lived at the end of the eighteenth century. The members of the lineage are united by the cult of the ancestors, which binds them firmly to their natal village and to their land. The social system is based essentially on this cult, the chief of the village being above all the priest of the ancestors.

Strictly speaking, there is no marriage, but only an acknowledged concubinage which entails neither a contract between the

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[For information on various types of buildings and other physical structures or facilities present in each of the Boni villages, see the village plans on pp. 66, 68, 70, 72, 74, and 76, category 116. Included are data on the occurrence of menstrual huts (mumu), kitchens, granaries, and sundry other outbuildings, religious structures (gadu), mortuary sheds, boatbuilding yards, guest houses for visitors, wharfs, fraga tiki (i.e. lineage ancestor cult shrines and objects), and useful trees within the village area which are personally owned.]

/19 cont./

613 The principle of localization of matrilineal kin groups,
621 each in a separate village, continues respected. However, as in
571 all African populations, the actual structure is noticeably different from the theoretical organization:

1st. Fragments of paternal kin groups, as well as several small groups of heterogeneous origin, insufficient in number to form a separate unit, have been agglomerated with the lo. Such is the case for example of the Toïna lineage, a small group which fled from Surinam at the end of the 19th century and agglomerated with the Papaïston lo;

[578] 2nd. Scissions have been produced within the lo as a result of disagreements. A group issuing from the Papaïston lo founded Wétiti village in the Lower Maroni beside Apatu. A group issuing from the Kotika lo founded Ma Imma village in the same region. Finally, from the Dipélu II lo a group separated which settled in Asisi. Asisi village is thus in fact nowadays the juxtaposition of three villages: Asisi-Dju, Asisi-Awara Bakka, Asisi-Dipélu II, each having its organization and its separate territory.

[829] These scissions have no appreciable repercussions on the social life of the Boni, for the groups thus separated from the lo, in addition to being very small in numbers, are not recognized by
[769] the grand man as distinct social units. They remain subject to the head of the lo to which ancestor worship attaches them.

361 Besides the residence villages, a certain number of Boni
613 have personal farming habitations distributed on the lands of their
621 lineage along both banks of the river and on the islands. These habitations designated by the word kāpu, camp, have no permanent character; their existence does not violate the principle of localization of the lineage; each Boni is obliged at least in principle to build a house in his native village and to live in it part of the year.
[769] The village of origin of each /20/ lineage is called "great village":
[778] it is there that the members of the group meet to pray to the ancestors in front of the fraga tiki.

174 /30 cont./
613 1st. Lo = de facto grouping of rebels of any provenance,
614 which has in the long run split up into lineages but which remains
621 in the form of a common worship;
571 2nd. Lo = lineage, from the very beginning.
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Conceptions Relative to Kinship and Marriage

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[121] Ties between the individual and the ancestors. Before examining more deeply the social and family structure of the Refugee Blacks, it is indispensable to study what religious ties are implied between [184] the individual and the ancestors. Here one is in the presence of basic beliefs which seem identical in the various tribes of Refugee Blacks of Guiana and of which their structure is the consequence.

In the civilizations of Blacks Africa it is supposed that a [171] current of life and /31/ strength circulates from the divinity to men through the medium of the ancestors. Among the Refugee Blacks it is taken for granted that in this respect each man is bound [182] to his ancestors through the maternal line only. If he falls prey to illness, injustice, or adversity, he can call only on them in his prayer.

593 That does not mean that the tie with the father is ignored [827] or considered as having little importance; it is taken for granted, as we shall see, that in the creation of man certain psychic elements are transmitted from father to son. But the current of strength binding the individual to the ancestors does not pass through the father. One cannot pray usefully to the soul of one's dead father. [755] If I am sick and divination incriminates the action of my dead [772] father's soul, I cannot address either prayer or offering directly to him; for that I shall have recourse to one of his near relatives in the maternal line.

614 /31 cont./

769 Another very important principle in the minds of the Refugee
796 Blacks is that prayers must be collective: the principal ceremonies, such as the New Year's prayer, must bring together, at least in
613 principle, the total lineage.

These notions certainly have influenced the custom of the
182 Refugee Blacks with respect to residence and marriage. The lineage
613 cannot allow the permanent departure of a woman from her native
614 country any more than that of a man. In the populations of Black Africa with matrilineal filiation, this conception is reconciled
591 with the necessities of practical living in the following manner:
[171] the wife leaves her relatives to settle down with her husband, but when her children reach adulthood they must return there. Thus one cannot attribute to this preoccupation alone the special system of marriage among the Refugee Blacks, which does not involve the permanent cohabitation of man and wife. We shall see that this system was inspired by social and psychological necessities. But concern for the unity of the lineage, to which it corresponds perfectly, has surely contributed to make of it a rigorous principle of customary law.

601 Kinship within the matrilineage. The kinship terms translate a
613 purely classificatory system. It depends only on the number of generations separating from the foundress. The sons of women
611 descended from the foundress in uterine line are regarded as members of the matrilineage and united in the system of appellation. The children of these men are no longer part of the matrilineage.

Thurnit--Sda K-5 (1948-1968) 1961 SRB Bush Negroes SRB
Boni

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Fig. 5. Boni Village

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Fig. 6. The *tagaa*
tiki of the Koriko
ko.

/96 cont./

613 554 The small, recently founded lineages attached to a lo each designate a head: for example, the Afi lineage has Awéni as head. But this head remains subject to the authority of the captain of the lo and his office has no official existence.

/97/ The appointment is made by a council - kuutu - of the lineage, but it is not valid until endorsed by the grand man.

[717] When the deceased captain did not, while living, designate any successor, his yeeka is interrogated in order to know whom he prefers. That does not have the force of law but can influence the council.

The council meets several days after the end of mourning for the deceased captain. All the male members of the lineage, regardless of age, give their opinion. Strictly speaking, they do not vote; but the nomination is considered valid only if three-quarters of those present are in agreement. If not, they disband without having decided anything, and the lineage can remain without a head for years. On this topic can be cited the example of the Awara Bakka lo, which remained without a head from 1935 (?) to 1953, until the appointment of Kouduku. During this time the [643] grand man had designated Captain Popo, head of the Lapé lineage, to secure the interim. As for the religious functions, they were taken care of by the Joyen of the lineage.

The captain has the following functions within the lineage:

1) He is priest of the ancestor worship and presides over [793] the prayers and offerings made before the fraga tiki. In this duty [769] he is replaced in case of absence by the oldest man of the lineage.

In case of the death of a member of the lineage from the [761] effect of the kunu, the captain convokes all his people in order [782] to proceed to collective prayers and offerings intended to appease the gods:

/97 cont./

R 105 [361] The Oayana Indians are half nomadic, moving their villages every ten years on the average. They have neither a permanent center of peopling, a place of worship, nor a cemetery; they do not have ancestor worship, at least no concept involving a precise and permanent tie between the living, the dead, and the land.

R 114 182 [136] This state of things has been attributed by several authors to the geographical environment and especially to the ravages of the manioc ant; the manioc ant, swarming particularly in formerly cultivated zones, makes nomadism advantageous. From this would have resulted a social structure and a mode of living adapted to these special conditions.

B 114 769 182 The example of the Refugee Blacks shows conspicuously that these considerations, in spite of their undeniable interest, do not constitute an explanation of general scope: for the Refugee Blacks, the only social tie: conceivable flow from ancestor worship; above all the imperatives of material life the individual feels as a primordial duty the act of attaching himself to the village of his ancestors, to the land they cleared off and which remains under their protection.

B 182 241 423 613 The difficulties inherent in the geographical environment have been easily surmounted or gotten around. Rather than vast zones with one single holder, each lineage divided its finage into sectors distant from one another. If these zones become temporarily unusable, the Boni go to create farming habitations on the upper course of the river, without creating because of this to reside habitually in the village of their ancestors; there results from this no other constraint but losing two weeks each year in going and coming on the river.

/122 cont./

845 [621] Observation at Maripasoula, November 3, 1956. The wife of Balna, boatman of the border-fixing mission, gave birth at Pikin Tabiki, small farming village where she works with her mother and the latter's husband. Balna went to be present at the delivery.

It was very long and dramatic. According to Balna, an Ogi sani had entered the child's body, making him stiff and impossible to extract. As a last resort they called a neighbor, T.... known for having a good gita. He called his gadu who revealed an efficacious remedy, since after the body of the sick woman was bathed with the prescribed leaves, the delivery ended successfully.

846 [546] Since we were leaving on our trip, it remained to find someone to take his place in fulfilling one of the husband's duties: cutting the supply of wood for heating the water necessary for the hot douches /showers?/ the mother was going to be given several times a day for about three months. He made an agreement for that with Kwata, his mother-in-law's husband, to whom he will pay about 1,000 francs. [465]

851 613 [603] Presentation of the child. On the eighth day the maternal grandmother (or great-grandmother if she is still living) takes the child and gives it to another ancestress of the same lineage, stationed in front of the house. The latter presents it to the family. Then the head of the lineage, without taking the child, goes to the fraga tiki to make an offering of tafia, asking the ancestors to protect it. [769] [778] [782]

For example, for the birth of A ... (Lapé Tabiki village), son of O Yundu (L2, G60), it was Asakundu, grandmother of Yundu and great-grandmother of the child, who came to take him in the house and gave him over to her sister Térésa (L2, E57) to present him to the family (see genealogical table of the Lapé lineage, fraction 2).

/136 cont./

593 409 429 769 591 The fact that some children are under the guardianship of their father changes nothing about their position with respect to ancestor worship and does not entail any payment or compensation whatever on the part of the father. When the child has grown up he will be able to come back to live in his maternal kin group (which he does most often) or stay in his father's village. On this point there is no precise customary obligation.

593 884 The father plays an important role with respect to the children when they reach manhood; he procures their *bia* for them and transmits the knowledge and magical powers which he himself received from his father.

429 428 Inheritance of guardianship. At the death of the guardian, his office is bequeathed in the same way as his goods and according to the same principle of dispersion of the inheritance. If he was raising several children, the guardianship of each one will be bequeathed individually.

For example Béniti († 1944) was raising ○K... 1944, daughter of her daughter Balkom, and ○W... 1942, daughter of her son Fintiman and a woman of Papaïston village. She bequeathed the first to her daughter Kulina, the second to her daughter Balkom settled in Loka village. W... thus found herself taken to a village which was neither that of her maternal nor her paternal relatives. Such cases are not rare. The child's uncles, who in principle could take back the guardianship, never seem to oppose, in practice, its being bequeathed. /137/

The spiritual power kept by the guardian over his ward after he becomes adult is bequeathed in the same manner. Thus, in the preceding example, Béniti († 1955) /*sic*/ bequeathed the spiritual tutelage she was keeping over each one of her adult sons and daughters whom she had raised herself, in part to outsiders to her lineage.

/139 cont./

684 Committing pikadu is one of the most serious offenses that
688 a Refugee Black can commit; of course, as in the rest of the moral prescriptions, no abstract principle is called on: the elders teach the children from their earliest years: "If you com-
[613] mit pikadu, you will fall ill or die." The head of the lineage inflicts severe punishments on the guilty people to boot: for the man, to make a large number of planks with an adze; for the woman, to prepare and winnow as preparation for the next broko de several touques /cans/ of rice, a long and tedious job.

588 However, if in spite of insults and blows a man and woman of the same bee absolutely insist on marrying, people end up, for the sake of peace and quiet, by accepting the ac-
[1969] complished fact. They go to the fraga tiki to make an offering
[1978] of tafia to the ancestors to ask them to forgive the offense
[1982] committed. No reprobation extends to the children born of this union.

613 In the Awara-Bakka lineage, which has practically re-
588 jected the law of exogamy, the principle of a sanction remains
[684] and there is a pretense of chasing the guilty ones across the village.

Not being able to use coercion and not having the right to expel a member of the lineage, captain and council can exert no material sanction.

613 The same notion of pikadu is attached to unions between
684 persons of the same patrilineage, although these patrilineages have no effective organization and exist only by the transmission of the fundamental interdiction, bwasi kina.

[2/9] Before concluding an official or even clandestine union, the man and woman make sure that they do not have the same bwasi kina and in such a case give up their project; that, even if they are from different tribes, for example a Boni woman and a Saramaka.

/142 cont./

[580 219 62] people who have lived there for a long time. They strike up relationships with the people of Asisi, and that favors new unions. This explains the high proportion of unions between the women of this village and the Djuka (13 out of 78). On the contrary, almost no marriages to Djuka are observed in Papaïsoso village, where no Djuka has settled permanently. /143/

[584 213 604] The marriage proposal. The suitor is obliged to ask for the assent of his own mother and his uncles (at the very least the eldest of his classificatory uncles); in general he asks his father also.

[604] If two of his classificatory uncles are expressly opposed, the plan must be abandoned. But there is no possible sanction for disobedience.

The suitor does not make the proposal himself; after making sure of the agreement of the girl he sends two persons, one of his uncles or brothers and one of his sisters in the classificatory sense.

These envoys speak to the woman's mother and uncles assembled together. If they agree, they go to ask for the assent of the head of the lineage. The men and women of the woman's lineage drink together a liter of tafia brought by the envoys. Before drinking, the doyen of the lineage pours a [969] little of it on the ground while invoking the ancestors, asking them to perpetuate the accord of the household and to grant them health and fecundity. This ceremony is made on the spot and they do not go to the fraga tiki, for they would be afraid to present themselves again at the fraga tiki in case of a break-up; prayer said anywhere in the village is not binding.

The two envoys, man and woman, play a very precise role. The man represents the postulant (it is a sort of marriage by proxy).

/143 cont./

585 613 The head of the lineage calls a classificatory sister of the girl. He takes her by the hand and leads her to the suitor's envoy, saying: "I give thee this woman."

Then he calls a classificatory brother of the girl. He leads him to the suitor's envoy, saying: "I give thee this man."

This second part of the ceremony is purely symbolic; there is no question at all that this man and this woman are marrying. Its purpose seems to be to show the perfect equality of the man and the woman in the marriage.

[969] The words pronounced in the invocation to the ancestors are: "We give (this) woman to (this) man; may they live together, may they not be sick, may they have children, children who live."

[584] There is no need for the assent of the woman's father.

585 If it is a question of the first marriage of a young girl, the fiancé comes, aided by his friends, to build her a house. [583] He builds her a boat and buys for her what is necessary for domestic life. [429] When the person who is bringing up the girl judges the time to be ripe, she gives her the pãgi, garment of married women, authorizing thus the consummation of the marriage.

[613] [969] The husband who built the house asks the elders of his wife's lineage to come in front of the house to throw tafia, to ask the ancestors that the couple be fecund and live a long time in this house.

584 613 Here, for example, is how the marriage proposal to Chitalna (Aw.B.1, F43, Asini village) by Déési (L1, F45, Loka village) proceeded in 1948.

To represent him Déési had sent his classificatory brother Tamu /144/ (L1, F32), older than he by about 15 years, and his classificatory aunt, Yaana (L1, E39). (See the genealogical table of the Lapé lineage.)

/144 cont./

584 613 The envoys, after making it known the evening before that they w[illegible] coming, presented themselves at 10 o'clock in the morning in Asin-Awata Bakka village. Present were Irma, Chitalina's mother; Aséémin (Aw.B.1, E60), actual uncle; Antono (Aw.B.1, E47), one of the oldest of the classificatory uncles; Namu (Aw.B.1, E48), classificatory aunt; and the girl's brothers and sisters by the same mother.

Tamu took the floor, unfolding Déési's merits and stating that he had serious intentions. The eldest of the uncles declared acceptance. Chitalina having fled according to custom, he took her young sister Boomi, who was only five years old, by the hand and led her to Tamu, saying, "I give thee this woman." Then he took Abéni, Chitalina's older brother, by the hand and led him to Yaana, saying, "I give thee this man."

585 613

Next, tafia was poured on the ground while the ancestors were invoked in favor of the /new/ household.

The liter of tafia brought by Déési was shared symbolically in the evening among all the village inhabitants including the Afi lineage there.

585 431 For the installation of the household, since there was no more room near Irma's house to build another, the latter gave one of the two houses she possessed.

584 602 595 Here is still another example concerning the two wives of Fintiman (Dju. F6, Boniville village).

For his first wife Mimi (K3, E156, Boniville) he sent his brother and sister by the same mother, Kiémenti and Fliana, who approached Mimi's mother and her classificatory uncle Lébiman.

Fintiman had previously made sure of the agreement of his own father Maiobi (Dip. I, E50), who had brought him up, of his mother Béniti, and of his uncle Diofè (Dju. E1), the eldest of the classificatory uncles.

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Fig. 22. Offering of food to the ancestors.

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Fig. 23. Interrogation of the dead person.

/168 cont./

764 co-wife, on the contrary, are completely veiled and show by their state of prostration the keenest sorrow. Each of them is assisted by a female relative who supports them when they have to move somewhere else, for they are supposed to be too overcome to move alone.

764 The interrogation as to the causes of death has already
789 taken place the day before, but Tafanié proclaims, in front of
764 me, the result of it to the latest arrivals: the deceased was struck down by a yɔ̃ɔ̃ka which pursues the lineage with its kunu. She had already received several warnings in the form of illness; the yɔ̃ɔ̃ka had demanded a payment which she and her near relatives had neglected to furnish. Impossible to learn anything further before being able to interrogate this yɔ̃ɔ̃ka, whose habitual bearer has left for Saint-Laurent. It is necessary to wait for his return in order to mollify the yɔ̃ɔ̃ka's anger.

764 About ten o'clock the members of the ifiti kuutu go to-
769 ward the fraga tiki of the Awasa Bakka lo, in front of which they
778 all sit down on their stools. I notice that not a single man of the dead person's lineage appears in the front row. In it I
[613] recognize Popo (Lapé), Poopu (Dipélu II, Kormotibo), Tafanié (Papaïsson). The one who is speaking is a foreigner passing through, a very aged and respected Djuka.

[782] The elders invoke Masa Gadu and the ancestors in general, asking them to protect them from adversity in the future; then the offering of water and tafia takes place (no cane juice). I notice that a little is poured on each of the secondary fraga tiki erected for the sake of each one of the ancestors who pursue another lineage with their kunu. That lasts about a quarter of an hour.

764 Next someone goes to ask the deceased to whom she
789 bequeaths the Papa gadu god which manifested itself in her;
776 for the gods are bequeathed like the rest of the inheritance,
428 even if those concerned are divinities which exercise the kunu
424

/171 cont. /

764 Work is then resumed. Those present who are not ɔkɔmã, including me, are invited to throw several shovels of earth. On top of the mound are placed the ɔɔyay and the objects used in the mourning, topped by the dead woman's bench. Then those present go away without haste and wash at the wharf. Several shots are again fired while the canoes go away.

The graves are spaced about 10 meters apart. The dead are not grouped by lineages; the cemetery is extended as needed, and the dead person is put in the first available spot. Then Konɔfida (Awara Bakka) is placed beside Asɔlida (Lapé), a hundred-year-old woman dead a few months before.

They show me the graves of village heads I have known, Dɔsɔ († in 1951), Atikan († in 1953). The mounds are already half settled down, the brush on them is as much as a meter high.

[169] One of my boatmen posts a little tafia on his mother's grave which is at the edge /172/ of the path. None of those present leaves the group to go to the grave of his relatives.

[692] Thanking Ceremonies. On the twenty-third at eight o'clock, the ɔlɔni kunta is convened and sits at the edge of the mortuary shed.

[169] The ɔkɔmã and in a general way those who have worked on behalf of the dead person (only about ten remain, the others have left to work) are seated opposite the men of the dead woman's lineage.

It is always Tafanɔ́ who speaks. Béna (Djo), seated before the ɔkɔmã, turned toward the speaker, plays the role of respondent. Tafanɔ́ thanks all those who have worked on behalf of the dead person, detailing at length the various jobs, then citing their various lineages; he repeats the same thing in several ways and his speech is interminable. Sometimes he [693] [415] interrupts himself to put in a good joke or drink a bumper of tafia. A 15-liter demijohn is seen circulating inside the shed.

/173 cont./

764 broko de. The eighth day after death, a ceremony called broko de takes place, not to be confused with the lifting of mourning. This ceremony marks the end of the burial rites proper; when it is ended, the dead person can no longer be questioned directly; the period of mourning begins.

[613] It is a very simple ceremony which attracts few people and happens almost entirely within the lineage.

[538] At nightfall they begin to relate Anansi tales, those traditional tales which make the audience vibrate together and

[535] create a special atmosphere. Then come the shuge, nuse, and awasa dances which last all night.

764 769 The next day each one busies himself at small jobs in the village while the women prepare the meal. This is the ceremony called nowa nyã, which takes place at the edge of the mortuary shed about four o'clock in the afternoon. Each woman of the lineage brings a large bowl of rice and a small bowl containing either a piece of meat cooked in sauce or some fish. The oldest man of the lineage has large banana leaves spread out on the ground at the edge of the shed; he takes a little of each dish and puts it down on the leaves, while at the same time addressing the ancestors in ordinary language in the tone of an intimate conversation: "Dead of the family, come, come to eat today."

That lasts perhaps a quarter of an hour, while those present are seated, immobile and meditative. The ancestors are supposed to eat the spiritual part of the food -- kaake fu nyã.

Then the elders line up at the edge of the shed five or six small children of about ten years, each one of whom holds a basin upside down. A man keeps them in line /174/ with the aid of a long stick. Then, at a signal, he lifts the stick and the children dash headlong with laughs and shouts toward the ancestors' portion, each one carrying away all he could cover

[613] with his basin. The ceremony terminates with a joyful meal eaten together by the whole lineage, symbol of the communion between the dead and the living.

/176 cont./

764 Cemeteries. There are two cemeteries in Boni country: one on the lands of the Dikan lineage for the people living on the French bank, the other downstream from Kotika for the inhabitants of that village. They are ordinary places which nothing indicates from the bank, for they are covered like the rest of the country by secondary forest. The dead are buried there in graves aligned parallel to the river, about seven meters apart. The dead are placed with heads turned toward the river. No separation by lineage exists within the cemetery.

The graves are not marked by any decoration, and at the end of about ten years, the mound having settled down, no trace of the burial remains.

[767] The graves are never cleaned. Only the Nlamã heads, who have received special instruction, know the graves of the principal chiefs and the boundaries of the cemetery.

769 [754] [775] The Boni never go to the cemetery alone and do not make offerings on the graves of their near relatives. Someone who would frequent the cemetery alone would be suspected of being a wisimã seeking to capture the yaka of a dead person.

764 489 Even if they are right near the villages, cemeteries are never connected directly to them by paths, and the dead are transported by boat. By proceeding thus they hope to isolate the villages from evil influences.

766 If someone dies by drowning, he is buried away from the cemetery. According to Mr. W. F. van Lier, among the Djuka [761] [784] [184] all drowned persons are supposed to have been victims of a kunu; the Boni do not have this conception and declare that they have lost the meaning of this custom; one notices, however, that they observe mourning for the drowned according to the usual rites.

/178 cont./

965 For the duration of the mourning, any indiscretion of the
995 surviving spouse will draw upon him the pitiless vengeance of the
yoka; it is important for him to make himself forgiven, to
have a modest and decent demeanor. The dead person might
be vexed with him for having kept his health and good looks.
So they try to give the surviving spouse the aspect of a miserable
965 and unfortunate being. The dead person's relatives are par-
995 ticularly concerned to having this discipline observed, for in
613 the opposite case the dead person's yoka would turn back its
vengeance against his own lineage. During all the mourning the
whole lineage considers itself in danger. So custom requires
that during all this period the widower (or widow) be placed
under the authority of the dead person's lineage.

965 In the case of concubinage, mourning is taken on by the
/178 spouse even if the relations have not been made official.
People cite the example of Way (Boiville) who assumed mourn-
ing for a Djuka with whom she had begun to live before he
could propose to her officially.

965 State of persons in mourning. A widower's state is exactly like
[179] that of a widow, which tends to show that in the eyes of the
Saramaka Blacks the dead, men and women, have the same
level of being and the same power over the living.

965 The surviving spouse is placed under the protection of
• 995 the ancestors of the dead spouse's lineage. Without this pro-
613 tection (assured by the prayers of the members of this lineage,
he would find himself defenseless. The proof of it is that the
/178 principal sanction against him is to lift the mourning premature-
/179 ly by going to the frage tiki to tell the ancestors that one is no
longer interested in him. That amounts indirectly to causing
him (see below the example of Gamba).

/175 cont./

765 613 The spouse in mourning is taken temporarily out of his lineage and placed under the /176/ /Fig. 24 appears here/ /177/ protection of the lineage of the dead spouse, in a situation corresponding to that of the client in ancient /Roman/ society.

[769] He can no longer pray to his own ancestors. If he is sick he asks the elders of the dead spouse's lineage to pray for him to their own ancestors.

765 A man in mourning is freed from certain obligations and responsibilities:

--He cannot take part in a council of his lineage;

--If there is a squabble between his lineage and another, he cannot be taken to task;

--Part of his catch may not be appropriated in case of great nivrée;

--He is freed from his funerary obligations as an ɔlɔmã or kisimã.

765 602 613 A man in mourning is placed under the collective authority of his wife's lineage, but actually under the authority of her near relatives: mother, grandmother, real uncles and aunts. It is real kinship which is involved in matters of mourning; classificatory kinship enters into it only if all the near relatives are dead.

In general it is old women of these near relatives who are charged with watching over the behavior of the widower and on the other hand with seeing that he does not lack anything he needs.

For example Alémin (Aw.B.1) was married to Yundu (L2, G60) of the Lapé 2 fraction, living in Loka village. When she died in May, 1957, he was put under the authority of Asakundu (L2, E55), his wife's grandmother, and of Asakundu's sister Térésa, living in Boniville. Since he had not yet built a hut [768] for his wife, he was enjoined to come specially to build himself a little hut in Loka village in order to reside near Asakundu.

[Text Continues on p. 269]

/178 cont./

765 He cannot go anywhere without the authorization of his watchers, and only for a specific purpose. For example, when Alémin found work with a European in October, 1957, the two old women who were charged with looking after him came to deliver him to his employer like a prisoner, making it clear in particular that they were forbidding him to disembark in such-and-such villages where he had nothing to do.

Alémin was authorized to be present at the mourning for his mother, but he did not take part in any of the ceremonies at all. He was not present at the interrogation of the dead woman carried in her coffin, and was not informed about the arrangements made for dividing up the inheritance.

765 768 A man in mourning does not necessarily live in the hut he has had built for his wife, but in a hut designated for him. He may (this is Alémin's case) be invited to build a small hut which, at the end of the mourning, will become the property of his mother-in-law.

When the house has been bequeathed, the heir may take possession of it only if the spouse has not received orders to reside in it. Only at the end of mourning does he enter fully into possession of his rights.

765 [769] A man in mourning may not go out of his house after nightfall, particularly on nights when people dance after having called all the ancestors. He would have everything to fear from the yoka.

He may circulate in the village and speak to anyone he wishes, but must not joke or be present at any festivities whatever, not even to hear tales. Not only may he not pay court to a woman, but it is still forbidden for him to make discreet overtures, even through an intermediary, with an eye to remarriage.

/179 cont./

765 After three months, an offering is made at the fraga tiki
[769] of the dead person's lineage, setting forth how much her spouse
[778] has respected her memory and asking permission to lighten the
[613] manifestations of his sorrow. The mourning is then lightened, but the man in mourning continues to wear a bandeau around his head or at the very least an old beret.

765 During the first months the man in mourning has no other
461 responsibility than to hunt and fish at the order of the dead
[613] woman's lineage. He does his own cooking with the food given to him; he cuts a clearing for his mother-in-law or another woman of the deceased's relatives, who will farm it with him.
[431] Next, he receives the order to go and earn the money necessary for the sizable contribution he must bring to the festival of the lifting of mourning. During the entire duration of the mourning he must report on his work and moves.

765 When the end of mourning approaches, he must do a job
[606] for the benefit of his mother-in-law, generally redoing the roof of her house or building a boat for her.

These arrangements do not involve any material sanction
[626] whatever. Like the rest of the social life of the Refugee Blacks, they rest entirely upon fear of a suprahuman sanction.

[589] After the lifting of mourning, the person in mourning may remarry without further delay.

765 State of widows and co-wives of a widower. The state of a
768 woman in mourning is practically identical to that of a widower.
[562] She lives for the duration of mourning in her deceased husband's house under the surveillance of his near relatives on the maternal
[613] side. The dead man's lineage lends her all the objects she
[439] needs and furnishes the imported commodities (salt, kerosene, soap) that she uses. On the other hand, she may freely use the produce of the clearing that her husband had cut for her, since it is taken for granted that these products are the exclusive property of the wife.

/180 cont./

765 613 689 An incident. In 1957, the Saramaka Gamba (75 years old), Way's widower (Dip. I), caused a serious incident by refusing several times the obedience he owed to the latter's lineage, on the pretext that he was old and knew how to behave.

His son Maliki (born of a Saramaka woman), whom he was raising, married to Way's daughter, had gone fishing above the Litani. Upon his return, Kwau (80 years old), Way's elder brother, reproached him for having left without authorization, pointing out that his father, Gamba, being placed under his authority by mourning, he was too, because of this fact. Gamba, [578] did not accept this reasoning and the two old men fought. This was a fine scandal. Kwau and the elders of Way's lineage came [769] [778] before the fraga tiki of L'Enfant Perdu village to lift his mourning forthwith (which, let us recall, is the equivalent of cursing [784] him by delivering him over to the vengeance of the dead woman's yɔtka).

Members of Way's family went to break up the shacks of Gamba and his son, who lived hidden in the bush for some time. [627] Then Gamba had the village heads intercede and obtained his [769] pardon. The elders of Way's lineage went to the fraga tiki to [778] utter the words putting things back in order.

765 Lifting of mourning. The festival of the lifting of mourning - puu baaka - is celebrated 18 months to two years after the burial. The delay may be a little longer, for most often the village celebrates this festival for several of its dead at the same time. It is a heavy burden, for festivals for lifting mourning attract many people and everyone present must find as much as he wishes to eat and drink.

[621] This festival is celebrated in the framework of the village and not in that of the lineage. It will be celebrated in the same way for a Djuka who died in a Boni village, provided that he lived there a sufficiently long time. In such a case the expenses

/181 cont./

765 535 533 Next come the dances, always in the order sɔnge, susa, awasa, the rhythms given on the apinti drum. These are not possession dances and do not appear in themselves to have a religious meaning; all involve choruses in which the singers do not accompany themselves on any instrument at all; these songs have no other meaning than to exalt life; the Refugee Blacks find their best artistic expression in them. Many of them demonstrate dazzling imagination; the subjects are extremely varied, and every year new ones are created. But there is a certain number of "classics" which reappear in each festival. Let us mention: "The man who calls his dog lost in the woods"; "The song of the Balen River"; "The woman who watches over her daughter," etc. These songs are very beautiful, and in the great mourning festivals it is difficult to hear them without emotion. Songs and dances follow one another without interruption until the sun's return. This is what is called broko dɛ, "break a day." This ritual, which has a key value in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks, appears to be the affirmation by the group of the triumph of life over death.

765 [769] The fifth day, a kind of buffet is served to the guests under the mortuary shed. In the afternoon there is the offering of food to the ancestors, tɔwɛ nyã; this rite is a communion between the dead and the living.

[769] On the morning of the sixth day, the ceremony ends with the offering of water, celebrated not at the fraga tiki but at the edge of the shed, in honor of the ancestors. They invoke one [778] last time /182/ the yɔrka of the dead man (or the dead woman), while asking it to separate from his spouse for good and to leave her in peace! "U puu a umã a baaka; yu ãŋga umã yu paati tidɛ, na: mu siki, na: wã sani mu du ɛŋ, a mu dɛ bũ. (We lift the mourning of (this) woman; thou and the woman, you separate from each other today; she must not be sick, nothing must happen to her, she must be well)."

/182 cont./

965 Then they address the dead person in the name of the people of his village: "We have done with thee, stay there where God has placed thee."

The spouse in mourning is again bathed in the river by old women who have themselves gone through mourning.

Then they address the yɔrka of the ancestors and the entities of the Beyond who are imagined to have come in a crowd: [969] [975] "Ala sani di kɔm ya, yu mu luku ala ãŋga bũ; u kaba ãŋga yu; yu sa: waka ala peesi; (Each one of the beings who have come, be benevolent toward us all; we have finished with thee, thou canst go anywhere)."

On the seventh day most of those present begin to leave. An intimate ceremony brings the dead person's near relatives together in the very house where he died. They weep and lament one last time. Then a last offering of food is made in the same house, and they repeat the adjuration: "We have done with thee; stay where God has placed thee."

[968] [613] [431] The eighth day, the spouse whose mourning has just been lifted is conducted solemnly back to his village by the people of the dead person's lineage. He is congratulated, he offers food and drink to all those present. What he might have had left of savings disappears on this occasion.

He must sleep three nights in his village, still without being able to have relations with a woman. When this time limit has gone by, he comes to give back the red clothes which the dead person's lineage had lent to him. Only then is he free.

[114] Notes taken in Boniville in November, 1957 on the occasion of the lifting of mourning for Béniti. This festival is given for the lifting of mourning for ○ Béniti (Dju, E5, living in Boniville, † in 1955 at 75), of △ Tito (Kotika, Boniville, † in 1955 at 15), and of △ G..., boy of ten, son of a woman of the village of L'Enfant Perdu (Dip. I), dead in Boniville where he was reared by Térésa. The festival is given more than two years after death. Sometimes, when there is no spouse subjected to mourning

/184/

765 [535] The buchiman execute the kwadyo dance, which seems to be an African war dance; they hold a stick in front of them and make the gesture of taking aim.

That lasts about half an hour.

The guests continue to arrive individually and settle themselves around the mortuary shed, seated on their little benches.

765 202 About three o'clock the drums begin to beat again. It is Bukuman, master of the art of speaking with the drum, who strikes the summons' formulas; the others give him the cue.

The drum speaks for a long time (1). An elder translates

> 1. It is more a question of conventional formulas than a language; two different sounds can be obtained from the drum by striking respectively with the fingers and with the palm.

for me approximately: "Other villages, be still, for there is a great festival in the grand man's village."

"We who are now living, we are going to do what our ancestors taught us long ago."

765 [551] Then the dead for whom mourning will be lifted are directly addressed, being called by name if they are men; for the women like Béniti, who cannot be called directly, for women do not have a drum-name, they call one of their deceased near relatives, here Diolé †, Béniti's brother: "Tell thy sister that we are going to part company with her, for we have been in mourning for her a long time and this is the custom, such as the ancestors did before us."

[769] "Ancestors, come, come near us, we are going to pour the tafia and cane juice for you."

[202] (Libations are made within the shed.) Then the drum addresses those present:

776 /194 cont./
[184] The great gods Gwangwéla and Gédéosu of the Djuka are not known to the Boni.

[194] Strictly speaking, no cult of Masa Gadu exists. No edifice is reserved for him, he has no priests, and no collective
776 ceremonies are conducted on his behalf. He is nevertheless
769 constantly present in the religious life of the Boni, associated with ancestor worship. Every ceremony of ancestor worship
776 includes an invocation to Masa Gadu. From time to time, for
769 specific motives such as the illness of a member of the lo,
755 people go /195/ specially to the fraga tiki to invoke Masa Gadu.
[613] The oldest man of the lo officiates, while a younger one pours
[778] a little water and tafia at the foot of the fraga tiki; the elder addresses Masa Gadu in everyday language, in simple terms, in a familiar conversational tone, asking him for the cure of illnesses or the end of calamities. Those present, seated in a semicircle, punctuate the end of the speech with some rhythmical applause, uttering the ritual formula of thanks: "Gaã tã̃ɔ̃gi tã̃ɔ̃gi fi yu, Masa Gadu."

776 Outside of these ceremonies which hardly go beyond the
782 framework of the lineage, everyone may address Masa Gadu directly by praying aloud, if, for example, he finds himself alone in the bush and prey to an illness. One never addresses Masa Gadu other than for a specific material purpose. Inner prayer for the purpose of spiritual perfection does not exist to our knowledge among the Refugee Blacks.

776 One applies directly to Masa Gadu when one believes
[755] oneself to be the victim of an iniquitous action (see curse). How-
[784] ever, although the Refugee Blacks have a very lively sense of justice, they never call Masa Gadu to witness for the cruel and arbitrary vengeances (kunu) which the lower divinities are
[812] believed to exercise on them. It is taken for granted that all these divinities do conforms to the role which Masa Gadu has assigned to them and that the suffering they inflict on men is indispensable to the proper working of the universe.

/196 cont./

673 --Vengeance; if someone believes himself to be the
[754] victim of witchcraft, he must under no circumstances engage
[627] in counterwitchcraft or invoke his ancestors against his enemy.
He may ask only for the protection of the ɔbia. It is Odun who
[784] will avenge him by sooner or later killing the evil-doer.

--Violence in any form whatever. It is regarded as a
[683] particularly serious offense against the laws of Odun to strike
with an armed hand and to make human blood flow (1).

[684]

1. That explains the strictness with which the society of the Refugee Blacks limits the right of punishment granted to the wronged husband, who must strike only with bare fists in front of witnesses, never in the bush nor on the river. Fear of seeing human blood flow explains the reticence of the Boni toward minor surgical operations.

[826]
[952]

[641] --Any attack on personal liberty by material or moral
[586] coercion; in particular, neither a man nor woman may be
constrained to remain in a marriage which has ceased to please
him; nobody may be forced to reside here or there.

[832] The forms of magic so popular among West Indians, aimed
at capturing a person's love, are for this reason rejected by
the Refugee Blacks and considered as a form of wisi.

[769] --Any evocation of the spirits of the dead, even to ask
[754] them for protection, other than in the public ceremonies
provided for by custom. Thus nobody must go to the cemetery
to pray alone on his parents' grave. Whoever would do that
would immediately be considered as wisima.

/218 cont./

774 The yɔrka. (The Boni say yɔɔka, the Djuka and the Creoles
775 of Surinam yɔrka.) The expression yɔrka is used only to designate the spirits of the dead. But of course the elements of the yɔrka are present in the living man.

774 /219/ The yɔrka is the ordinary consciousness of the man, his
828 memories, tastes, aversions, all that constitutes his personality. All that, for the Refugee Blacks, does not come from the divine plane but at least in part from former human existences, and after death will not reach the divine plane. The Refugee
775 Blacks seem to believe that after death, the yɔrka remains unchanged, will keep the same desires, the same aversions, the same thoughts; it is simply no longer in ordinary life, it has passed to another plane, intermediate between the divine and the human, from whence it continues to remain in a certain fashion in contact with men. The various informants we questioned on this subject declare that they have no idea of the fate of the yɔrka after death, of its place with respect to the divinities, of the rewards or punishments of which it may be the object according to the manner in which the man lived. These are questions they never ask themselves openly and which hardly interest them, all their interest being centered on earth-
[154] ly life. The idea of a paradise is absolutely foreign to them; they acknowledge however in the case of the wisimã that they will be stripped of the force that every living being receives from the divine, and that thus destroyed as beings, they will no longer be more than empty shadows.

• 769 The gaã yɔrka, spirits of the ancestors, are believed to watch over their descendants and are subject to worship.

[771] Ancestor worship. Among the Refugee Blacks, ancestor worship is intimately bound up with all the acts of family and social life. They assume that the yɔrka of the ancestors are always present near their descendants and that they protect them. It is through them as intermediaries that the force emanated by the divine is received by the living.

/219 cont./

769 We have described the principal ceremonies of this worship in speaking of family life.

769 613 One addresses only his near ancestors in maternal line, and one addresses them all collectively. Just as the custom of the Refugee Blacks rejects all that might individualize one line within a lineage, it rejects every individual bond between a given dead person and a given living person. Just as "uncles" exercise guardianship collectively over "nephews," the dead collectively protect the living. It would be a grave offense against the customary law of the Refugee Blacks to go individually to the fraga tiki to invoke the yɔrka of one or another of his relatives. We shall see further on that the only exception to this is for the ancestors who have made themselves conspicuous by exercising the kunu against another lineage.

[784]

Ancestor worship is organized within the lo, and its priest is the head of the lo, hedemã or captain. Individualized fractions (bee) which may exist within the lo, like Papaïston 2, have no separate ancestor worship.

769 778 The place of prayer is made up of a small square of ground about 1 meter x 1 meter, separated from village soil by pieces of boards; in the middle of this square is set a T-shaped post whose horizontal arm serves as support for a square of white cloth: this is the fraga tiki.

The cloth rots rapidly under the influence of bad weather, but it is not removed; a new one is attached over the old when it is too spoiled; likewise /220/ the post, which ends up by rotting, is not replaced as long as it does not fall to the ground. This behavior might be thought to be negligence, but it is nothing of the sort: for the Refugee Blacks, what has been offered to the ancestors is removed from the action of men; no one can touch it any more, even to repair it.

/220 cont./

769 Beside the principal fraga tiki one sometimes sees sticks
778 bearing fragments of white cloth; they have been planted in honor of those ancestors who have demanded it.

The ceremonies at the fraga tiki have a very simple
769 character; prayers are said in the ordinary language and often
778 have the character of an intimate conversation. In the absence
782 of the head of the lineage, an old man pronounces them; while he speaks, an assistant makes the offering of water and tafia. Pouring water on the ground is a rite having as its purpose entering into contact with the ancestors: it is seen performed in funeral ceremonies, before beginning the interrogation of the yɔrka. The tafia is an offering in the literal sense of the term; at the time of the principal prayers being addressed to the ancestors, the offering of tafia is preceded by an offering of cane
[272] juice, kyẽ̃ wata. Cane juice was the beverage on feast days in the times when the ancestors, at war with the Europeans, were bereft of tafia.

The prayer formulas most commonly used ask the ancestors to intercede with Masa gadu on behalf of their descendants: "Ancestors, watch over us, protect us, pray to Masa gadu for us so that...."

769 Possession by a yɔrka. It is taken for granted that the yɔrka of
an ancestor can enter into a member of his matrilineage and
787 reveal itself in the course of attacks of possession. This is a very
613 rare phenomenon. In 1958, in all the Boni country, only about ten people were known who bore thus the yɔrka of an ancestor. These attacks come on spontaneously, no cult having their provocation as its purpose. We were present in December, 1956 at one of these attacks in a young woman from Papaïston, Mili, about 20 years old. Since the day before, the yɔrka of an ancestor of the lineage dead for two generations had manifested itself in her intermittently; these attacks lasted several minutes;

/220 cont./

769 778 782 her voice changed, imitating a man's; eyes staring, she appeared to have no longer any consciousness of what was around her. Then suddenly the attack would cease and she would busy herself with her household occupations in the most natural fashion. The yɔrka which was believed to become incarnate thus in Mili's body spoke of very commonplace things, repeating indefinitely sentences concerning minor happenings of the day, or asking for a small offering of tafia on its behalf at the fraga tiki. A psychiatrist would doubtless have thought of an attack of mental dissociation.

[784] These yɔrka are not feared by their involuntary bearer, since none can exercise a kunu against his own lineage; they manifest themselves only exceptionally, sometimes indicating remedies or warning of dangers. Thus it is that A... of the Dipɛ̃lu II lo, who has a Kumɛ̃nti besides, also has a yɔrka which revealed itself in him without ever having been called on. According to his comrades, this yɔrka sometimes steps in with a cavernous voice, notably in September, 1952, during a hunting expedition, where it shouted: "Let us not go that way, we shall meet a jaguar." A... lost consciousness for only a few seconds and had not been aware of anything.
/Figs. 26 and 27 appear here./ /221/

795 828 The nɛ̃mseki (1). Each Refugee Black has a nɛ̃mseki, that is

1. This word seems to be a deformation of English "namesake" (homonym).

to say that certain elements of his personality are thought to originate from the reincarnation of a certain ancestor. This is a very obscure conception with the Boni, and without apparent correlation with their notion of the akka and the yɔrka; they never say: "I am the reincarnation of So-and-So," but simply:

/223 cont./

784 begin his instruction in order to become a suitable bearer. (If
613 this procedure were not carried out, the god would not cease
428 its kunu at all, and the possibility of entering into contact with it and appeasing it would be lost. Besides, sooner or later it would come back into a member of the lineage.)

784 The kunu strikes without regard to kinship ties, even if
613 kinship between the bearer of the god and the supposed victim
[602] is very distant. Ex.: The Papa gadu of Donasi (Papaïston lo) struck a young woman, Gou, with illness in January, 1957.
[782] Donasi and Gou are only relatives in the ninth degree. The
[361] members of the entire Papaïston lineage assembled to supplicate the god: even people of Wétiti village in the lower Maroni came.

775 The kunu exercised by the yɔrka of a dead person has a
784 special importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks, for it has
613 profound repercussions on the relations among the lineages.

[428] In principle, the yɔrka exercising a kunu has as bearer a living member of its own lineage, who will bequeath it at his death. But it is also possible that the yɔrka may take as bearer a member of the lineage upon which it exercises the kunu.

[782] In both cases, the rite to appease the yɔrka is the same; the yɔrka can be invoked effectively only by the members of its own lineage, since one can pray (at least in principle) only to one's own maternal ancestors.

When matrilineage A is struck by the kunu exercised by a yɔrka of matrilineage B, its members thereupon go to consult the elders of matrilineage A /sic/ and ask them to try to calm
[769] the anger of their ancestor. The members of lineage A assemble
[778] around the fraga tiki of lineage B, in back of the elders of this
[787] lineage, in the presence of the bearer of the yɔrka, who calls on his gita, goes into trances and prophesying. The yɔrka
[782] usually asks for an offering of cane juice and tafia, which is made at the foot of the /224/ fraga tiki by the elders of lineage B (for the rite to be efficacious, the offering must have been furnished by lineage A).

/224 cont./

775 A yorka exercising a kunu may also demand that another
784 smaller fraga tiki be erected for it beside the principal fraga
769 tiki of its lo. In the villages of the Refugee Blacks one often
778 sees these little crosses provided with white veils like the main
613 fraga tiki, planted beside it a little obliquely.

The notion of the kunu exercised by a yorka explains the
775 rarity of murder among the Refugee Blacks. How would you
784 dare to kill someone when, as soon as it is freed from his body,
674 his yorka will have full latitude to make you sick, to make tree branches fall across your path, to cause to suffer and to
775 kill all those dear to you? If someone is blinded by hate, it
784 is the idea of suicide which will dominate him. In October,
762 1952 we were able to observe this reaction in a man who had just been subject to a deep humiliation: "I am going to kill my body in order to go to kill that man and his whole family," he said to us, prey to a fit of rage; fortunately, when the fit had passed, he came back to a more sound outlook on things.

775 It is to be noted that a yorka cannot exercise a kunu
784 against its own lineage. This notion explains why, in the times
613 when they exercised absolute authority, tribal chiefs had those
696 condemned to death executed by men of the same lineage.
[171] Apparently similar practices were the rule in olden days in several African kingdoms, which allows one to think that notions analogous to those of the kunu may be rather widespread there.

784 Situation of the various lineages with respect to the kunu. There
613 we touch on one of the most secret aspects of the social life of the Refugee Blacks. Years of living among them are necessary in order to obtain precise information on the nature and the mode of action of the kunu acting on the various lineages.

784 Nearly all the entities which now exercise their kunu on the
613 Boni have been in their lineages since a very ancient period,
428 to the point where the name of their first bearer is forgotten. They are transmitted inexorably from generation to generation. In the course of the ages, the kunu have accumulated, and now certain lineages are living with four, five, or even six kunu.

/226 cont./

628 The members of the Dipélu lineage did not believe a
614 word of this affair, convinced that Kiboya, a proud and scheming
784 woman, had pretended the gita to make herself interesting.
787 Nevertheless, to bring back peace, they decided to go to Asisi
156 and to ask pardon in front of the fraga tiki, pouring tafia,
769 asking the ancestors not to take vengeance, the living being
778 reconciled.

784 /227/ (Note that in this affair, the yɔrka manifests itself in a
614 member of the lineage on which it exercises the kunu.)
795

784 Kunu of the Awara Bakka lineage. The Awara Bakka lineage
614 does not form a unit with respect to the kunu, and the situation
613 of its fractions is particularly interesting. This lineage includes:

--A principal fraction (Aw.B.1);

--A fraction whose kinship ties with the first are forgotten (Aw.B.2), whose position with respect to the kunu we have not been able to define.

--Finally, a group descended from Anèta, Djuka woman, wife of Pééyon † (Aw.B.1) settled in Asisi with her descendants in uterine line. We have called this group Aw.B.3. It has a separate kunu originating in the Djuka village of Tabiki where Anèta came from.

784 The Awara Bakka I, all living in Asisi village, had to
787 our knowledge three kunu in 1957:
796 --One exercised by a Papa gadu god, borne up to 1957
613 by O Kuluba (Aw.B.1.-D1). At her death in April, 1957,
428 she bequeathed it, contrary to custom, to a person of another fraction, Summa (Aw.B.3). But the god did not ratify this legacy and, in January, 1958, it manifested itself in OLéna (Aw.B.1, F52), thus remaining in the same lineage;

/228 cont./

784 A kunu is exercised by a Dipélu yaka, borne in 1958 by
775 a Loka woman. It is invoked before the fraga tiki of l'Enfant
778 Perdu village (Dipélu I). Sometimes a broko dé is celebrated
768 for it in the same forms as the ceremony of the eighth day
613 after death.

784 We have likewise not been able to collect complete
613 information on the kunu of the Kotika lineage. This lineage,
114 divided into three fractions, forms a unit with respect to the kunu.

784 A kunu is exercised by the yaka of a Surinam Creole
613 assassinated in former times by a member of the lineage. Its
775 bearer in 1958 was Todo (K1, E68), a man of the Kotika lo
789 living in Boniville. In 1958 a young woman of the lineage,
[761] Awini (K1, E37), died suddenly; the yaka revealed that it
[684] had struck Awini because she had a liaison with Sintamann (K3, E145), thus committing pikadu. The idea of the collective responsibility of the lineage is so deeply accepted by the Boni that the near relatives of the dead woman did not reproach Sintamann at all.

784 /229/ A yaka of the Kotika lineage may exercise a kunu on
613 the Djuka. This is the case of an affair going back to 1950;
775 a young woman died some time after having a serious discussion
761 with a Djuka woman who had hit her. Deaths among the Djuka
619 these last years had been attributed to its vengeance.

It seems that there is no other kunu exercised by a Djuka
784 upon a Boni lineage and vice versa. This is surprising, con-
619 sidering the fights which in former times set the two nations
613 against each other.

The Djuka and Saramaka living isolated in the midst
621 of the Boni know their kunu, which were revealed to them in
784 childhood. In case of sickness, they employ divinatory pro-
[755] cedures in order to know what kunu is concerned, then they
[613] make offerings. But in case of serious illness, they are forced to go back to the village of origin of their lineage.

/232 cont./

75 It is important not to confuse the kunu with the sufferings
784 which other divinities can arbitrarily make men undergo. The
776 kunu has a systematic character. But a divinity theoretically beneficent, and which has come into a man after being called on, may also from time to time bring misfortunes if such is its whim of the moment.

752 In 1949, G... (Dju) was busy cooking a crab in the
776 house of his mother D... A machete which was fastened to
784 the wall suddenly detached itself and wounded him in the right hand. Now his mother had an Ampuku which had imposed
[787] the crab on her as kina. This Ampuku, immediately called
[428] on, revealed that it really was it which had struck G..., for it did not like to see D...'s son eat crab (note that G... was not at all held to the observance of this kina, for no kina is transmitted from mother to son).

784 Neither must the kunu exercised by a yaika be confused
775 with the vengeance that a dead person can exercise against
613 the members of his own lineage in order to punish them for
969 having neglected their duties.

Punishment inflicted by an ancestor of the lineage seems for the Boni to be a notion distinct from that of the kunu. Vengeance exercised by a yaika upon its own lineage is regarded as exceptional and devoid of the inexorable and definitive character of the kunu, but they assume it to be
[962] possible. They cited to us the case of Yali (Loka), who
[953] committed suicide when accused of sorcery by the people
[961] of his lineage. Since then, his yaika has caused sicknesses and deaths in his own village.

776 Conversely, a god which exercises the kunu upon a
784 lineage may in certain cases intervene in favor of this lineage
613 if such is its whim of the moment. Thus the death of Diamanti
[961] (Aw.B.2, Asisi village, † in 1955) is attributed to the god which exercises the kunu on the village of L'Enfant Perdu and whose bearer was Pééchina. Diamanti had wronged someone of this village and the god had intervened against her.

/232 cont./

787 In a general way, they consider that the bearer of a god
784 exercising the kunu has nothing to fear from it personally if he
776 rigorously observes the kina which have been imposed upon
him. On the other hand, this god will punish any injury to
[562] its bearer. Thus these bearers (almost always old women) live
[888] surrounded by respect and fear.

784 /233/Observations in January, 1958 (misfortunes attributed to
769 vengeance of ancestors on their own lineage).
613 Do (Lapé) is taken ill on January 7, 1958 with a violent
75 attack of dysentery. The same day his five-year-old son is
grievously hurt at the wharf by falling on a broken bottle.
[787] Alarmed by this coincidence, the members of the Lapé lo
assemble and proceed to question a possessed person. The latter
reveals that it is the doing of an old woman of the lineage,
Atala, dead for two years. Several lineage members have al-
ready been sick from this; the dead woman wanted to sanction
offenses committed by the people of the lineage.

The same day in Boniville, Klémenti (Dju), to whom I
am recounting this affair, tells me that before the lifting of
mourning for his mother Béniti, he and his sister were sick.
[787] Divination showed that it was the doing of Béniti, who wished
to hasten the celebration of the ceremony.

784 The kunu and social peace among the Boni. Role of the grand
775 man. The kunu exercized by a yɔ̃ɛ̃ka creates very strange re-
613 lations among the Boni lineages. As blind and arbitrary as the
591 vengeance attributed to the yɔ̃ɛ̃ka may be, the Boni have the
sense of the legal unity of the lineage too much for any resent-
ment to exist: "They are killing our family...": and yet the
two lineages find themselves henceforth irreparably bound to-
[787] gether. The victims of the kunu can no longer get along without
people of the lineage of the yɔ̃ɛ̃ka which pursues them with its
vengeance, since they alone, by their prayers, can appease
temporarily the anger of their ancestor. One conceives of the

754 /246 cont./
755 The maltif asked 2,000 francs from him as the price of
648 his consultation.

789 Curse. Someone who judges himself victim of evil-doing has at his disposal a supreme resource: /247/ cursing his adversary, that is, appealing directly to the supreme God, Masa Gadu, to ask him to punish his adversary. This is called seni gadu -- sending God -- against someone. To do that, while asking God to kill him or make him sick, one kneels and strikes the ground with both hands in the presence of the adversary or in front of his house. This act is regarded as totally different from wisi, for one is relying on the justice of God, who judges with equity and punishes only the guilty.

However that may be, cursing is for the Refugee Blacks a very serious act. It may happen that, feeling guilty, the source of the injustice asks pardon and promises to make amends for his misdeeds. The one who uttered the curse again implores Masa Gadu in order to take back the words he spoke: "He has given me satisfaction, do nothing against him." But oftener still it happens that a complicated affair is involved, that both parties concerned are persuaded of their legitimate
[692] ground and curse each other. The case must then be carried before the grand man and straightened out at once or misfortunes
[695] may pounce upon both lineages. The grand man judges without appeal and inflicts a punishment on the one who was wrong
[778] on the main issue of the debate. Then he obliges the ad-
[762] versaries to be reconciled before the fraga tiki, where the offering of tafia and water is made.

[828] The effect of these conceptions is to render nearly im-
[754] possible hidden hatreds and rancors, which the Refugee Blacks fear very much, for they are the source of wisi.

688 In general, the act of getting angry in public and serious-
689 ly insulting somebody is considered as an offense against moral and religious law, capable of attracting misfortunes; it is an

/264 cont./

796 At seven o'clock, about ten men assemble at the fraga
769 tiki. They pour water first, then tafia, while uttering the
539 prayer whose whole text follows, taken from a tape recording:
[126] Fintiman (pouring the water):

"Ancestors, hail! We have come to you; it is for the new year that we have come to you! as you yourselves used to do when you were (alive). May God protect us until the new year comes back again; thus it is that you yourselves used to pour the water on behalf of the ancestors. We have come to our place of prayer to speak with you, to ask you to carry our words to God."

(The same formulas are repeated several times.)

Lébiman:

"This is the New Year's Day water. It is God's day. He has arrived. Grand man Awensay (1), (because) I have

1. Predecessor of Grand Man Difu, who died in 1936. In each village the last dead head is invoked by name in order to ask him to call the more ancient dead.

not known the more distant ancestors, it is you alone that I call; call all the others."

"It has arrived, God's day. As for the grand man himself, a slight hindrance has come to him, he could not come, but it is not that he is no longer interested in the village."

"Watch over all the people who are there... we have come to pour water on your behalf, so that you will watch over the chickens and dogs of the village (and up to the living men) (2). Protect the grand man; if misfortune was about to

2. Usual prayer formula.

/264 cont./

796 happen to him, may it pass to one side. Thus we have come
769 to pour (the water) to beg you to protect the village. The year
539 has changed today, it is a new year. May we have money and food, we beg of you, ancestors; watch over our plantings, may they prosper, may the young women who fish at the wharf catch fish."

"All the captains pour (the water), the fiskal, the majors pour (3) for all the lineages; protect the villages."

[184]
[622]

3. Honorific titles imitated from the Djuka but which, among the Boni, do not really mean anything; the head of Kormotibo village bears the title fiskal and the one of Kotika village the title major.

Fintiman:

"The people who have pure hearts, protect them, big and small. But the people whose hearts are not good, who do evil spells to kill others and decrease the village, we do not pray for them; turn them out."

"Watch over the grand man; if something happens to him, it must not be said that we, the people who are seated there, have not prayed well. Great ancestors, we supplicate you, if we were on the point of meeting misfortune, that we may find the good."

(They begin to pour the tafia.)

/265/ "Grand Man Awensay ...." (Thanks follow for a trip which was carried out without hindrance.)

Lébiman:

"May the grand man live long with us, may misfortune not happen to him."

/265 cont./

796 "Great ancestors who are in God's country, it is you who
769 have the strength of the village."
539 (The tafia gushes forth.)

"Drink, drink, but do not get drunk to the point of being deluded, look with favor upon the righteous, scatter the wicked."

796 Next, Fintiman goes off to make an offering of tafia
782 accompanied by a few words at the chapel of Odun. Then he goes to the edge of the mortuary shed to pour water, tafia, and coffee on behalf of Samalobi, the grand man's brother, for whom mourning has not been lifted.

He goes next to the house of the deceased grand man Awensay to make an offering of coffee (Awensay, like the other grand men, used to drink coffee).

796 The prayer of the preceding year (January 1, 1957),
782 presided over by grandfather Samalobi, had had a higher
829 inspiration. After praying in about the same terms as above for the Boni, they prayed for the Djuka, explaining that in days gone by Boni and Djuka had fought, but that all that was forgotten. They prayed next for the Saramaka, then for the Indians, finally for the Europeans. I asked why; they answered: "It is because the Europeans were the ones who brought us to this country which has become ours." /p. 266 is blank/

/267/

538
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CHAPTER VIII

TALES -- PROVERBS

Tales (Anɛsi tɔli) and Proverbs (ɔdo) retain an important social function among the Refugee Blacks. It is always by tales that the great customary ceremonies of the lifting of mourning begin. Their function is to concentrate the attention of the

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

609 123 vastly relieved when he saw several boats pull up at the shore.

It appeared that these newcomers were also interested in our phonograph, but that no one would consent to be the first to sing, until at last a young boy came up.

609 123 971 "I'll sing for you," he said, and it was at once whispered that the boy came from a family of powerful obia men, that he was sure of his spirit. "I'll sing, yes, but you must let me tell the machine something first."

What he said was an invocation to his soul and his personal gods, and he spoke it by putting his face into the horn of the phonograph and talking in a rapid whisper, making audible the one phrase: "Bakra obia isn't my obia." Subsequently when we discussed this occurrence with older men, they made the matter clear to us. He had assured his spirits that he was not conceding anything to our magic, and that they were neither to feel slighted nor to relax their vigilance. The gods favored the strong and the proven, and a young man had to be careful, for the gods were not conceived as especially logical or rational or inexorably just, so that one had to guard against becoming the victim of their caprice.

609 123 Boat after boat pulled up at the shore, and up the road came a long line of callers. Women with infants straddling their backs, a breast drawn to the side so that the child might feed as it rested there; children with cords about their waists; young girls and boys, each with a square of apron across the front, or a loin cloth; and the men with togas and paddles, dignified and solemn, drawing nearer silently.

On our provision boxes sat those who had come early, particularly women nursing children, or old women who looked on with tired wonder. On the floor everywhere about our feet and against the posts sat the children we knew, while those who had come for the first time and were still fearful kept their distance, hiding behind some relative.

It was a great occasion, a spectacle of white man's magic, and they were there to verify it for themselves. Now there

Chapter XVII

SARAMACCA OBIA

NO WORD of African orgin which has survived in the New World has taken on such grim meaning as has the word *obia* in many of the islands of the Caribbean. No Negro there will speak of it, and its practices and properties are secret. When obia strikes in the islands, it is usually a matter for the government, and the forms its vengeance knows too often take a grisly turn.

In the life of the Bush Negro, however, obia is everywhere, and its name the commonest of bywords, for among the Suriname Negroes obia is not black magic, or witchcraft, or sorcery. Black magic in the Suriname bush is *wisi*, and wisi is never confounded in the Bush Negro's mind with obia.

"Obia is good. Obia heals," they say in Suriname.

"Obia warns, obia protects."

"Obia protects a man against the force of a bullet, the thrust of an iron weapon, the dangers of fire."

"You want to know what obia is, Massa?" our cook asked one day. "We have this *komfo singi*—this priest's song:

> "*I am no master,*
> *And I am no slave,*
> *Yet when the masters come,*
> *They carry water for me.*"

/12 cont./

796 Then they call all the neighbors together to take part in the
273 festivities to be held, which consist of invoking their gods amidst continuous dancing and excessive drinking.

They begin the festivities only on a Friday and usually finish on a Sunday or Monday, depending on the larger or smaller
[147] supply of drink, so, lacking this, the festival ends. After the conclusion they are usually extremely tired and listless and give themselves up entirely to rest for at least two or three days.

It is a definite requirement at these festivities to be very amply supplied with strong drink, because one must drink without
[782] interruption in order to remain in a continuous narcosis. With each drink they first pour a little on the ground, -- so that it, too, on which they find themselves so gay, may participate in their enjoyment.

[262] The merrymakers then take care that they will by no means
[577] be lacking in fish, wild game, bacon, rice, etc., since it is a matter of honor with them to display the most lavish hospitality on such occasions.

776 The gods that they worship are:

Loango Gado,
Papa Gado,
Cromantie Gado,

/13/ names certainly derived from the various African tribes of these names.

In the first two they glorify nature and everything created, from which it therefore appears that these are merely subordinate
[787] gods of the unnamed, single great spirit. The last is above all regarded by them as the mediator who transmits their wishes to the great spirit; he is invoked especially at burial ceremonies and for consultation in connection with serious illnesses.

796 They do not have any other cult or religion, so far as I was
[771] able to discover, but only the fixed habit of still celebrating to-
[132] gether and with their chief and captains on the first Friday of the new moon in the month of October or November, after the long
[783] dry period has set in for good, a great feast that has as its goal a general atonement, to cleanse them of the misdeeds that they have committed.

/37 cont./

583 (this was especially the case with the Afi and Toïna lineages
591 cited above), that does not entail any compensation. It is contrary to custom and disapproved of, but if the wife absolutely insists on leaving her kin she is free to do it. Nothing can be claimed from her husband's lineage.

The usual interpretation of matrimonial compensation, regarded as a mechanism for exchange of women among groups, thus does not seem valid here. If a woman leaves a Boni lineage for good to go and found a family, for example among the Djuka, her descendants are lost to the lineage without any possibility of compensation. Yet this society so deeply rooted in African soil does not make provision for any allowance or payment in such a case.

613 Things are clearer if the lineage is considered not as an
● 771 effective material grouping but as a spiritual community subject to the same religious law. In the thought of the Refugee Blacks,
[829] the fundamental religious tie which joins the individual to his ancestors in uterine line cannot be broken whatever anyone does.

[591] Wherever she may go, the emigrant woman remains a mem-
[784] ber of the spiritual community; she remains, she and her children, subject to the same kunu. Nor can this religious tie be transferred from the maternal kin group.

581 Understood thus, marriage breaks no spiritual tie, creates
583 none; it thus affords no reason for any compensation.

000 These considerations show that the African "dowry" as conceived by patrilineal societies is not only a mechanism for the exchange of women among materially constituted groups. It can also have as its end, without those concerned even being aware of it, to compensate the spiritual community of the lineage for the loss of the children the woman will bear, their passage to another cult.

/61/

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1937	Mission to determine the trijunction point of the frontiers of French Guiana-Brazil-Surinam.
1939	Declaration of war.
1944-45	Not a precise point of reference. The Boni confuse the liberation of the territory with the end of the war.
1948	First I.G.N. mission.
1949	Mr. Aubert de la Rüe's mission; second I.G.N. mission.
1952	Third I.G.N. mission. /blank page/ /63/

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

571 The social institutions of the Refugee Blacks diverge noticeably from those of the African peoples from whom they issued. [561] They do not include age grades, men's societies, or initiation; [575] marriage involves neither a contract between kin groups nor [881] "dowry." [583]

In a general way these societies founded by rebel slaves who 571 had retained an extreme horror of all oppression were organized 626 so as not to have any material constraint weigh upon the individual. Their institutions are entirely founded on the idea of protection [771] against suprahuman perils; the individual remains perfectly free, and he adheres /to these institutions/ only in proportion as he is [156] conscious of these perils. The custom of the Refugee Blacks, devoid of any means of material coercion, tends to develop within the individual the feeling that he is constantly threatened,

/63 cont./

571 626 156 [81] [767] that he can protect himself only by submitting to the law of the group. In this doubtless must be seen the deep reason for the importance attached to death and mourning, events around which is centered the activity of the usual societies and which entail a veritable mobilization.

626 771 It would be very difficult to condense the custom of the Refugee Blacks into a rigorous code. If one wished to do it, one would have to write as Article 1: "The living will conform to the will of the gods and the ancestors as it is expressed through the mouths of those possessed and by the movements of the bearers of the dead."

613 619 Each one of the tribes of the Refugee Blacks is formed of a certain number of matrilineages.

There is no limit on the number of these lineages, and it can be asserted that if any lineage whatever, detached from another tribe, asks to live in the midst of the Boni, it will be welcomed. From the first generation the children consider themselves as Boni.

In this regard one can cite the example of the Awara Bakka 3 lineage and that of the small lineage founded in Boniville by a Djuka woman, wife of Grand Man Ochi. All her descendants consider themselves Boni. /64/

[829] [643] But only the great lineages which constituted the tribe at its origin are social units recognized by the grand man, and only their heads are called to be members of the council.

128 We shall study first the interior functioning of the lineage, then the institutions going beyond the framework of the lineages.

/72 cont./

577 671 641 The morality of the Refugee Blacks knows in effect only obligations of a social and religious order. As for everything concerning material life, each one has the absolute right, one could even say the duty, to act as he sees fit, insofar as he does not wrong anyone else.

643 671 641 [156] If the grand man gave an order obliging someone to act against his own interest, for example if he wished to lower arbitrarily the price of boats, this order would be lawfully void. If the grand man has very great personal influence, he can persuade the Boni that it is to their interest to obey such a prescription, but in no case can his command have the effect of imposing by force an arbitrary order foreign to the social and religious tradition; the present grand man is weak in character to boot, sensitive to the influence of the Creoles and very little given to exerting any authority.

643 771 In reality, the office of grand man is above all religious. The grand man centralizes, if one may say so, the struggle against evil forces and watches ceaselessly over the welfare of the collectivity.

643 764 When a man dies, his near relatives come to report on the questioning of the yɔrka. Burial cannot take place until the grand man has made sure that all the prescriptions have been filled. People come to report to him again after the burial so that he can be sure that no suprahuman danger remains.

643 775 [782] The grand man has special power over the yɔrka (spirits) of the dead, which the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks place on a level intermediate between the human and the divine. When one of these yɔrka exerts against a lineage a vengeance (kunu) whose malignity goes beyond habitual bounds, the grand man beseeches it to stop; they allege that things go back to normal, at least for a time.

This power attributed to the grand man invests him, in the eyes of the Boni, with a suprahuman character. It is the very foundation of his political power.

/75 cont./

571 In fact, the society of the Refugee Blacks has not elaborated
77 true political institutions; it is essentially a grouping for collective
692 defense against suprahuman perils. The council, like the grand man, has power and authority only insofar as it remains closely bound to this function.

511 Absence of subordination. Among the Refugee Blacks no privileged
[565] class exists, /76/ and they all face life on a footing of rigorous equality; all receive the same education, must cultivate the soil,
[254] build their boats and houses, and live by paid work. The differences in standard of living observed from one to another stem basically from intelligence and work; and that, in spite of the belief in the possibility of getting rich by sorcery, is clearly understood by all.

565 Although the Boni willingly engage in paid work for one
[465] another in transportation by boat, there exists no tendency toward the formation of a class of rich people and one of wage-earners.
571 No servants exist among them, and one observes in their mutual
461 relations no exploitation of the weak. Neither does one observe that
[357] a rich man tries to have done by another, for pay, the customary
[462] jobs he must carry out for the benefit of his wife (clearings, building of boats). This would be looked on with great disfavor. The grand
[643] man himself, if his grandson is not there to help him, goes himself to draw water from the river and he does it ostensibly, even though he has a constant concern for his prestige.

829 The misfortunes undergone by their ancestors are certainly at the base of this conception; for they have inspired in the Refugee Blacks a particular sense of human dignity which is not found to the same degree in Africa.

/190 cont./

428 178 A tendency which has appeared during recent years in connection with men consists in bequeathing during their lifetime the essential part of their property to the children they have raised.

613 [787] Inheritance of functions and powers. Upon the death of a lineage head, the yɔrka of the dead man is asked whom it wishes to see named. Then the council assembles to proceed with the nomination; it remains free in its choice, the will of the dead man beyond the grave does not have the force of law; but actually, it seems to be most often followed.

As for the function of captain which is common to all the fractions of one lo, the inheritance may pass from one fraction to another.

Ex.: for the Awara Bakka lo, the succession:
Asèmbay (Aw.B.2);
Pèèyon (Aw.B.1);
Kondoku (Aw.B.1).

000 /191/

CHAPTER VII

BELIEFS

Origin of the Beliefs of the Refugee Blacks

• 771 128 The spiritual life of the Refugee Blacks of the Guianas is intimately bound up with their social life, and the division we are obliged to make for the sake of clearness of the account is very often arbitrary. So we shall try to point out these connections wherever they are essential.

/191 cont./

771 174 What constitutes the religion of the Refugee Blacks is a synthesis of elements originating with various peoples of West Africa, especially the Ashanti, Agni, Mina, and Fon and also Congolese elements. This synthesis seems to have been born [619] among the Saramaka, the first tribe formed at the beginning of the 18th century, and to have been adopted thereafter with modifications of detail by the Djuka, tribe created about 1760. The Boni, the last tribe formed, probably received these beliefs during the time of slavery which they spent under the tutelage of the Djuka, from 1815 to 1860. The beliefs of the Boni and [184] those of the Djuka have an identical base; the rites and their [178] effects on social life are exactly the same. Nevertheless, the Djuka, almost ten times more numerous, have been able to keep very differentiated conceptions and specialized cults, involving priests in the literal sense of the term.

The Boni have kept only the essentials, and many conceptions, especially the myths which serve as support for the whole tradition, are very much blurred among them.

829 The Boni like to imagine that Africans constitute only one nation, and that they have inherited in a lump the traditions and social forms of this nation. They know now (especially from having seen a good deal of the Senegalese riflemen of the 1937 French mission) that numerous tribes exist, but that has not shaken the veneration they have for Africa, source, for 178 them, of all knowledge and all strength. However, almost nothing of the culture peculiar to each one of the great tribes has reached them; no name of an African nation has remained in their memory, and /192/ none of the languages of their land of origin has been kept (1); everywhere the vehicular language

[173]

1. One observes, however, that a certain number of disconnected details of African life have come down to them by oral tradition;

178 [173] /192 cont. /

thus it is that they have kept a rather exact description of the elephant (leu) and the gorilla (malẽ̃gwana).

[648] imposed on the slaves has prevailed. There is nothing surprising about that, since the slaveholders tried, in order to prevent revolts, to mix to the maximum the Blacks of the various tribes.

174 A certain number of men initiated in differing degrees into African cults were among the rebels. They tried to con-
771 serve and transmit these rites, which their descendants have more or less transposed or deformed (2). As far as one can

[182] 2. The single fact that the vegetation and fauna differed totally from those of Africa immediately required a modification of ritual which called for infusions of leaves of numerous plants to which definite magical properties are attributed.

[198] As far as one can judge by the secret languages attached to these cults, in which are recognized many words deformed from the ordinary language, and a few Indian words, these cults in their present state must
[178] differ appreciably from the ones which gave them birth. In fact, the only thing the Refugee Blacks have authentically kept is concepts, metaphysical and moral ideas.

/192 cont./

771 171 [177] This is precisely what constitutes the great interest of the Refugee Blacks' religious forms, which one finds again, besides, in large measure, mixed with Christian ideas, among all the Blacks of South America. They seem to point out a very important common background of conceptions common to the West African civilizations.

771 174 184 It is certainly not by chance if the various tribes of Refugee Blacks have adopted such close social and religious forms. One must assume the action of several strong personalities who knew, with an almost superhuman instinct, how to sift out from the jumble of beliefs brought by the rebel slaves what was necessary to the life of the new society; but this new religion would not have taken root in forms so stable and so coherent if all had not been intimately conscious of being in agreement on a minimum of common concepts.

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--The creator god;
--Lower gods;
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--Men;
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To each of these levels corresponds a level of life and a level of force (kaakiti). A higher force may act on a lower force, but not the reverse.

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The rites of the worship of Odun are known only by the grand man and by an old man who replaces him when he travels. They are practiced only on the occasion of the collective oath against wisi, renewed every two or three years, and when it is necessary to implore Odun's mercy toward an offender. The officiant bathes the latter's body with a maceration of leaves that he alone knows.

To question Odun and know whether he pardons, they make use of a sacred object named afalaku, placed on a board put on the heads of two men. The answers yes and no are deduced by interpretation of the movements of the bearers, as in the interrogation of the dead.

The oath before Odun is also practiced as a legal test, permitting a man unjustly accused of theft or any misdeed whatever to justify himself.

Thus, in November, 1959, B... of Asisi, accused by two Djuka of being responsible for the burning of a large cabin /carbet/ in which objects of value were stored, asked to justify himself before Odun.

Odun's laws, which have the effect of forbidding violence, vengeance, and every form of oppression, give to the society of the Refugee Blacks a unique atmosphere of dignity and serenity which is not found to the same degree in animistic African societies. Most African societies censure sorcery and murder, but they accept vengeance and various forms of oppression. It is probable that the men who, two or three centuries ago, deep in the forests of Surinam, developed these laws, were inspired more or less consciously by Christian ideas; but they introduced them into an African system of thought, associating them with the idea of material sanctions in the present life, without which they would have been powerless.

6:Hurault--303 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni
Surinam SR4

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Odun's laws create an irreducible cleavage between the Refugee Blacks and the Creoles. The Creoles of Surinam, like the West Indian gold miners of the Maroni, profess Christianity, but they have a special conception of it, associating with Christian ideas /198/ beliefs of various origins and often magic practices. If in quasi-totality they reject magic aimed at doing harm without reason, they take very generally for granted:

--Counter sorcery inspired by vengeance;

--"Invocations" to the spirits of the dead and divers magic formulas in which it is believed one captures the vital force of these spirits in order to make practical use of it;

--Charms having the purpose of forcing the love of a person one desires.

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The Creoles are as attached to these conceptions as the Refugee Blacks to the laws of Odun, which are absolutely contrary to them. They have such importance in the thought of both that it would be unthinkable to make a group of Creoles and a group of Refugee Blacks live together for any appreciable length of time integrated into the same organization. Attempts made to do this, especially in Surinam, have always failed. When an economic activity engages them in the same work in the same locality, Creoles and Refugee Blacks form two separate groupings, each living according to its own law.

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If Refugee Blacks leave their group for any great length of time to settle in the midst of Creoles, if they do not come back periodically to renew the oath of Odun, it is taken for granted that they have abjured his laws and that they are suspect of wisi. It happens that people who have spent a whole portion of their lives in the midst of the Creoles come back to live in their native village because they are prey to adversity or sickness; they are always welcomed (the lineage cannot expel one of its members), but chances are great that they will be declared wisima upon their death. This was especially the case with an

/198 cont./

167 754 old woman of 90, A..., who died in Asisi in January, 1957. Having lived with Creoles in her youth, she had come back to live in her native village for at least 30 years and had never given occasion for any unfavorable remark. Nevertheless, upon her death it appeared that she had wisi.

• 771 829 177 Attitude toward Christianity. The Refugee Blacks, who are acquainted better than one might believe with the conceptions of the populations in the midst of whom they live, have a clear feeling of the relationship which exists between their metaphysical and moral conceptions and those of Christianity. They think they worship the same god as the Christians, in a completely different way but just as sound. They have no animosity [777] whatever toward the Catholic and Protestant clergy, and most of them agree willingly to wearing crosses or medals. But they have not the least intention of abandoning their beliefs for that. They do not perceive the contradiction and do not understand that people might want to oblige them to choose.

851 171 Like the Creole gold miners, they attach great importance to baptism, considered as an obia protective against the dangers of the bush. On Christmas, 1957 they were strongly impressed 165 797 by the accidental death of a Djuka Christian living at the Kotika school. He refused to observe mourning for his wife [688] according to the custom of the Refugee Blacks, and used to go [273] to drink in the cabarets of the Creole villages. On Christmas [784] evening, when drunk, he drowned himself. That was attributed to a suprahuman punishment. We heard /199/ the following reflection on this subject: "He was baptized and he drowned himself just the same. That is therefore not worth the trouble."

61 581 571 Actually, the matrilineal structure of the Refugee Blacks and their conception of marriage form an irreducible cleavage, which appears immediately as soon as one leaves the metaphysical conceptions to pass to the plane of practical living.

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581 The Refugee Blacks change their attitude immediately as soon as one speaks to them about marriage. Men and women are unanimous in considering marriage as an intolerable violation of individual freedom and as a tie without purpose; they talk about it with veritable indignation, even having the feeling of an offense against morality.

Cults of Possession

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The phenomena of possession are extremely frequent
[171] among the Blacks of America (possession by saints or inspiration by the Holy Spirit among the Blacks of Brazil and the United
[171] States, voodooism in Haiti). With the Refugee Blacks they make up the very base of religious life to the point of being the normal means of communication between the gods and men; they have profound effects on all social life.

The cults of possession practiced by the Refugee Blacks of Guiana differ from those of the Blacks of Brazil and Haiti and do not appear to be directly connected with the African cults which have been described.

[128] We shall give here only very concise information about the ritual of these cults and we shall mainly try to show their place in relation to the institutions of the Refugee Blacks, and their functioning.

787 Possession is believed to be the entrance into a man of a suprahuman entity (divinity, spirit of an ancestor) which, during a variable length of time generally rather short (a few minutes to several hours), uses the body of this man and expresses itself through his mouth. They say that the man has become the horse - hasi - of the divinity. They also say: "Such-and-such a divinity entered his head." The possessed person is called
[114] gadu mã (gadu umã for a woman). This word has been translated improperly as "priest" in the first works treating of the Refugee Blacks.

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787 784 If someone has a Kumẽnti, certain objects used in the cult: pestle, mortar, machete, must not be raised near him. His gita "would rise" immediately. Likewise while he is eating, neither tiger nor gun must be mentioned. To prevent their gita from rising, those concerned may take the precaution of putting a small piece of wood behind the ear while they eat.

787 178 [771] [781] [484] [743] [755] These past years the cult of the Kumẽnti was clearly declining among the Boni, as was the whole of their religious life; every one, indeed, no longer thought about anything but earning money and was always traveling in order to do this, which made difficult the indispensable meetings and dances. On the other hand, cared for effectively when they are ill in the Maripasoula hospital, the Boni feel the cult of the Kumẽnti less necessary, of which the principal social function is to cure. So, while in 1948 we used to be present very often at manifestations of the gita of Kumẽnti, in 1952 they were becoming much rarer and more secret /modest/. They were tending to fall to the level of the latent manifestations of which we shall speak further on. In 1956 we did not observe in the course of the forest [346] work any spontaneous attack of this gita. The chapels dedicated to the Kumẽnti are scarcely maintained and are falling into ruins; such is the fate of the gods judged benevolent toward men. [751] Nevertheless people continue to lay great store by the ɔbia of Kumẽnti, especially the man nẽɣge ɔbia which protects against the machete and the gun, and the Kumẽnti bui, ring of Kumẽnti, instrument of divination.

776 [823] [787] The Bũnsuɣki. The Bũnsuɣki are gods which live in the waters, by preference at the head of falls, beside rocks bearing copies of detached trees; they can also reside ordinarily in these trees themselves. They appear sometimes in dreams to men as well as to women in the aspect of Indians, more commonly Indian women with long hair. This is why they are sometimes called wata Ingi, Indians of the water.

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787 789 [114] in their hands and utter adjurations. We saw this rite performed in 1949 but without being able to observe the exact details.

787 791 The frequency of the phenomena of possession and the importance accorded to them imprint a remarkable character on the religious life of the Refugee Blacks: all these manifestations have for each one the character of obvious material fact. How, then, doubt that one lives with the gods, sees them, and [197] speaks to them? Because of this fact the society of the Refugee Blacks is utterly impermeable to European influences.

787 824 Some plants utilized in the rites of possession. The preparations with which the possessed people "wash" their bodies consist of macerations of leaves. The plants used, which for the most part belong to the secondary flora which develops in the old clearings, are very numerous. However, some are regarded as [789] having a very unique power. The first five especially are utilized by all the Boni to "wash off the Ampuku" when they have slept a night in the bush.

Aluku Name	Identification(1)	Use
[122]	1. Identification by Mr. Hoock, botanist connected with the Institut français d'Amérique tropicale (IFAT) in Cayenne.	
Lebi katu	cotton	cult of the Ampuku
Konopo wiwi	Ayptis atrorubens (Asteraceae)	---- /216/
Foo kiki	Tiaridium indicum (Borraginaceae)	----
Sume wiwi	Ocimium sanctum (?) (Labiaceae)	----

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774 The yɔrka. (The Boni say yɔɔka, the Djuka and the Creoles
775 of Surinam yɔrka.) The expression yɔrka is used only to designate the spirits of the dead. But of course the elements of the yɔrka are present in the living man.

774 /219/ The yɔrka is the ordinary consciousness of the man, his
828 memories, tastes, aversions, all that constitutes his personality. All that, for the Refugee Blacks, does not come from the divine plane but at least in part from former human existences, and after death will not reach the divine plane. The Refugee
775 Blacks seem to believe that after death, the yɔrka remains unchanged, will keep the same desires, the same aversions, the same thoughts; it is simply no longer in ordinary life, it has passed to another plane, intermediate between the divine and the human, from whence it continues to remain in a certain fashion in contact with men. The various informants we questioned on this subject declare that they have no idea of the fate of the yɔrka after death, of its place with respect to the divinities, of the rewards or punishments of which it may be the object according to the manner in which the man lived. These are questions they never ask themselves openly and which hardly interest them, all their interest being centered on earth-
[154] ly life. The idea of a paradise is absolutely foreign to them; they acknowledge however in the case of the wisimã that they will be stripped of the force that every living being receives from the divine, and that thus destroyed as beings, they will no longer be more than empty shadows.

969 The gaã yɔrka, spirits of the ancestors, are believed to watch over their descendants and are subject to worship.

[971] Ancestor worship. Among the Refugee Blacks, ancestor worship is intimately bound up with all the acts of family and social life. They assume that the yɔrka of the ancestors are always present near their descendants and that they protect them. It is through them as intermediaries that the force emanated by the divine is received by the living.

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784 613 672 the Afi lineage to be thrashed symbolically for not having paid sufficient attention to the warnings of the yɔrka which had already made Kotoïda sick several times: by their negligence they bore part of the responsibility for Kotoïda's death. Although the Afi and the Awara Bakka live together and regard themselves as members of one community, there was no question whatever of thrashing the Awara Bakka, and that because, not being subject to the same kunu, they bore no responsibility for this death. /230/

Likewise it is taken for granted that the descendants of Anèta (Aw.B.3) do not share the legal responsibility of the Awara Bakka proper (fractions 1 and 2). The fact that Anéta was the wife of Pééyon, captain of the Aw.B., and that her descendants are completely integrated into the life of the village, does not modify this legal situation at all. At the time of the brawl between the Dipélu and the Awara Bakka in 1948, the Aw.B.3 were not taken to task, any more than the members of the Afi lineage.

● 771 The relations of the Boni with the entities which are believed to pursue them are most interesting. They seek only to appease the divinity, to calm it provisionally, and to live with it in a state of armed peace, if one may say so.

784 787 When divination has shown that a certain calamity was due to the kunu (sometimes the divinity in question reveals it immediately, through the mouth of its bearer, before being interrogated), it is asked why it struck: it always indicates a precise reason: usually it appears to be inspired by arbitrariness [776] and a pitiless despotism. The Refugee Blacks are not surprised at this, for thus it is that they imagine the lower gods.

784 787 776 In 1948, A..., of the Dju lineage, fell ill; he felt violent pains in his legs. Divination showed that it was the doing of the Kāntamasu, which was exercising its kunu upon

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776 which people do not hesitate to come to ask for remedies or
787 opinions, in spite of the evil they have done to the lineage and perhaps will do tomorrow. It is even allowable to wonder whether people do not prefer to consult the most wicked divinities, for they are believed to be stronger.

784 The kunu focuses, turns aside toward high purposes the
● 771 blind forces of superstition, fear, and rancor. Several authors
114 who have written on the Refugee Blacks have stated that
754 calamities were almost unfailingly attributed to sorcery (wisi). This is a grave error due to the fact that they believed they could transpose to the Refugee Blacks what is observed among the Creole populations of Surinam. If this were true, no
[787] positive social bond could exist. We believe we can assert that among the Refugee Blacks divination lays the blame on sorcery in only scarcely a tenth of the misfortunes. Here,
784 among other examples, are several typical cases concerning
[114] Boni who worked with us or whom we have known especially well:

[753] --In 1948, Fintiman (Dju) falls ill (violent pains in the
[776] legs); kunu of a Kãntamasu.

[752] --In 1948, Galmo (Papaïston) is accidentally hurt (gun backfire): kunu.

[753] --In 1949, Diolè, captain of the Dju lo, is smitten with
[761] hemiplegia and remains paralyzed. He dies in 1951: kunu
[776] of a Papa gadu.

761 --In 1950, a Saramaka is killed in a hunting accident (a gun in poor condition went off by itself): ɔŋgɔɔku (accident).

[754] --In 1951, Kanayen (Kotika) drowns while sailing at night on the river: wisi.

[784] --In 1951, Loka (Dju) dies at the age of 70: kunu of an
[776] Ampuku.

752 --In 1951, F... (Dju) is seriously hurt by the falling of
784 a branch while cutting his clearing: kunu of a yɔrka.
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842 776 A few weeks afterward she found herself pregnant, and it seemed obvious to all that this was the doing of a Wata Ingi.

845 No magic power is attributed to the tɔne pikin, any more than special mental or physical characteristics. But it is assumed that they are the object of a special protection, and that they cannot be harmed with impunity.

● 771 789 435 The sacred character of payment. Relations between the gods and men always have the character of a bargain, among the Refugee Blacks: an irritated divinity is never appeased by repentance or good will; it requires that it be paid; likewise, an ɔbia is of value only for the person who has paid for it. Refugee Blacks will never utilize ready-made magic recipes: uttering certain words, making certain gestures; face to face with such a recipe they will ask immediately: "From what [8/2] god does this ɔbia come, and whom must one pay?" It seems that in their conception every transference of a spiritual power or a magic force disturbs something in the proper functioning of the universe; payment restores this equilibrium, it is the [M] mark of legitimacy. Some Creoles of African ancestry transpose the same idea with respect to Christianity, and this is /258/ why they insist so much on paying for masses and buying 759 558 "orisons" (1). One observes likewise that free medical care

1. Written prayer to which is attached protective power. This notion, borrowed from the rustic magic of 17th-century France, seems to have been introduced into Guiana by the first European colonists.

lowers the prestige of the doctor in the eyes of all.

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776 One of the best known of these gods is that of the Maruini.
823 It is assumed to control all the tributaries of the Maruini as far
778 as their sources. Its place of worship is a thicket situated downstream from the dangerous Kubi Sula Falls, at the mouth
782 of the river. Before starting to go upriver in August, 1956,
[539] the crews of our three boats, in an atmosphere of great meditation, lined up behind the eldest of them, who made the offering of water and tafia, uttering these words: "God who commands this river, watch over us, keep us from being sick, let no accident happen to us; if there is on this river an interdiction which we do not know (2) and which, through

2. It is obvious here that this is a case of de facto worship of a divinity about which nothing is known.

ignorance, we do not observe, pardon us. Bring us back to our villages safe and sound." The boatmen came one after the other to make the offering of tafia. The scene lasted more than a quarter of an hour. This ceremony was not without nobility, engendering belief in that sincere fervor of animists so often mentioned in the /259/ ethnographic literature.
● 771 But our return at the end of our work trip took place in a completely different atmosphere, showing the strictly practical and utilitarian side of the religion of the Refugee Blacks. Once past the Kubi Sula, the three boss boatmen could not persuade any of their men, who were in the act of eating their meal, to accompany them as far as the place of worship to thank the god. Some told us straight out that they were scoffing at this god from now on, having no intention of
[782] coming back on the Maruini. As for the boss boatmen themselves, they measured stingily the quantity of tafia offered

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771 to the god, and their words of thanks lasted scarcely half a
[782] minute (1). At the time of our first trip on the Maruini, in

1. Yet custom expressly provides for this rite of thanking.

1948, the same scenes had unfolded, going as well as coming back.

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Rites Relative to Agriculture

These rites occupy a relatively minor place in the religious life of the Refugee Blacks, which may be attributed to the great regularity of the climate and the absence of calamities affecting the yield of crops.

[613] It does not seem, at least among the Boni, that a religious bond is assumed between the lineage and the land, and rites intended to insure the fertility of the soil are carried out by each one for himself in the neighborhood of his own field; the lineage head does not appear to play any particular role
241 in this regard. In the thought of the Boni, the fertility of the
776 soil depends upon a local divinity, to which is offered de facto worship; the temporary or permanent users of the lands situated in the domain of this god perform on their own behalf the rites of this worship without any distinction of origin, whether they are Boni, Djuka, or Saramaka.

[796] The only collective worship existing in Boni country is
[793] the worship of mama gɔ̃, of which the grand man is priest.
[643] Its rites are limited to a short annual prayer.

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771 The Boni, as we have shown, do not feel that they are pagans. They think they worship the same god as the Christians, in a different way but just as valid; they feel that their moral principles are not inferior to those of the Christians, that they are expressed in practice by the same prescriptions and are in fact better obeyed(2).

[828]

2. We report here faithfully the point of view of those concerned without making any judgment of its worth; let us recall that their principles of living do not assume any moral conscience in the individual and rest entirely upon the fear of material punishments in the present life. But even this base gives them great practical effectiveness.

829 Only in their conception of their kinship and the family, in the absence of family life based on the indissolubly united couple, do they recognize that they live under another law. But they do not fail to notice that the populations of the Guianas who profess Christianity hardly put it into practice in their family life: the stability of marriages is appreciably greater among the Refugee Blacks.

787 776 828 As for the cults of possession, the Boni feel that they worship de facto entities whose existence appears as tangible to them as light or weight to us. These ideas are bound up with a characteristic way of perceiving, touching deep zones of the mind which reasoning does not reach (3).

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3. Actually, it is observed in Black Africa that where cults

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778 824 A currently widespread idea about animism would lead one to think, for example, that before felling a tree a Refugee Black addresses words and offerings to it. That is entirely absent from his thought: either this tree is likely to serve as support for a god, in which case it can be touched only after complex rites having the aim of transferring the god elsewhere, or it is simply a tree, and one cuts it down without further ado.

784 825 One very clear aspect of these conceptions is the dagu kunu, a curse resulting from the killing of a dog. Any animal may be killed with impunity but not a dog, because "a dog is almost a man."

[613] At the opposite extreme from the true kunu, a curse extending to a whole lineage, the dagu kunu applies only to the guilty person and draws only limited misfortunes upon him.

[772] No feeling whatever with respect to the dog enters into this conception, but only the idea that he is placed on a particular plane, near the plane of the human and his level of force.

776 /194/ The Great Gods

The Boni recognize a supreme God, Nana (1), more

1. This term comes from the Agni.

commonly called Masa Gadu, and Kedi Amu, Kediampon in Kumenti language. He created the lower gods and all that lives on the earth.

773 Here is how the old Boni men relate the myth of the creation of the world:

God created a brother and sister, Adam and Efa. They were twins. He put them in a place where they lived happily without working. But he forbade them to touch the fruit of the custard-apple tree.

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761 --In 1952, Dolo (Awara Bakka) dies almost all of a
[784] sudden with the symptoms of peritonitis: kunu, punishment for
[684] incest committed by another member of the lineage.

--In 1952, Malèndo, ten years old, son of Osaya (Awara Bakka) accidentally drowns: natural accident (ɔŋgɔɔku).

[784] --In 1954, Bèniti (Dju) dies at nearly 75 years of age:
[776] kunu of a Papa gadu.

[784] --In 1954, Agyémési (Aw.B.) dies almost all of a sudden:
[754] killed by Odun (he was a wisimã).

--In 1955, Tabiki (Awara Bakka) dies at over 80: natural illness.

[784] --In 1955, Kotoida /sic/ (Afi lineage) dies suddenly,
[775] aged about 50: kunu of a yɔrka.

784 --In 1957, F... (Lapé) is gravely ill with symptoms of
776 typhoid: kunu of a Papa gadu.

[753] --In 1957, Sokodo (Dip. II) dies at 40: kunu of a
[761] Kãntamasu. /232/

75 /232/ One observes that in the 15 cases cited here, the kunu
761 interferes ten times, while in three cases natural causes: ill-
784 ness, accident, were assumed.

In reality, the Refugee Blacks do not have the conception of a natural world, subject to known or knowable laws, which is set against a supernatural world. The intervention of a Papa gadu is neither more nor less natural than an illness or an accident. There is only, on the plane of human life, more or less frequent intervention by suprahuman forces.

812 The intervention of these forces is made according to laws which embrace the totality of beings and things, laws which men cannot understand but of which they believe they have a partial and empirical knowledge.

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888 Not just anyone may resort to divination on behalf of someone else: only the eldest have the right to do it, and it has happened that the grand man punished offenders severely.

777 Fate. The Refugee Blacks do not attribute all misfortunes
[752] to suprahuman causes. They have the notion of natural accident, ɔ̃ŋgɔɔku. They say ɔ̃ŋgɔɔku miti mi, or again ogi miti mi,
[761] misfortune met me. They also accept the idea of natural death. They usually regard as natural death that of the very old, the infirm from birth, and sickly children.

[787] Divination blames fate in ten to 20 per cent of accidents.
[752] It is the usual explanation for hunting accidents.

• 772 /238/ Magic Forces

As we have shown, the Refugee Blacks consider beings and things as a world of forces capable of acting on one another, outside of time and space, according to laws which men cannot understand but of which they believe they have a partial and empirical knowledge transmitted by tradition since the
754 time of the ancestors. They distinguish negative magic forces,
789 wisi, which have the effect of diminishing the vital force of men, which makes them sick or kills them, and positive magic forces, ɔbia, which come from the gods: the ɔbia comes to increase the vital force of men, giving them protection, immunity, or knowledge. But no power is in essence a principle of good or evil; nothing is impossible for him who knows the formulas; this is why the magic of the Refugee Blacks is reduced to a perpetual and indecisive struggle between ɔbia and wisi.

754 Wisi. Wisi is sorcery in the African sense of the term, that is,
[673] the use of magic procedures to harm others; wisi is for the Refugee Blacks the pre-eminently criminal act, at the same time against morals and against society. The struggle against

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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203 And did men speak into the horn, and sing? Would there be no harm to the *ak'a*—the soul?

[193] Their own trickster, Anansi, the spider, working with his fabulous cunning, could not have spun the stories about the whites faster than had the passing boats. From boat to boat, from boat to shore, from shore to village the news went. Had the white man come with guns, or had he come accompanied by many others, then, to be sure, it would have been a matter for the drums. But the vagaries of a white man coming with his wife are of no ritual concern. The drums would only sound on occasions of moment; to summon the men for a council of the clan or to ask, ritually, for the health of a chief; to tell of death; or to speak to the gods themselves. But for a white man with his woman, gossip was good enough to carry the news.

[534]

609 199 648 Up and down the river, in the villages where they had visited the year before, many a woman to whom the Bakra had given a string of yellow beads, or a large glittering safety pin to put in her hair as an ornament, or, better still, a large tin can out of which her husband had fashioned a broad band to be worn on her arm, one which glistened as it reflected the pale light of the moon during a dance—such a woman heard of the coming of the Bakra with pleasure. She had them all, these gifts, safe in the carved calabash on which she had incised the sinuous lines of the snake spirit that gave her fertility, and now that the gourds were ripening once again, she would carve another to hold the new things that the whites would bring her.

The young men, too, heard of their coming with pleasure. For would not the strange ways of the Bakra and his woman give them many witty new things to put into words and sing to the traditional seketi tunes, the secular songs that they would later sing in the intervals of the religious dances? It was good to make up new words, which made a man the center of the dance. Ambe! But the women loved the man who could put clever new words to their dance songs!

The children heard the news with fear, for at four, at five, they were not too young to have learned of the enormi-

1t Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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was much of white man's magic that was not astonishing. 609
Old men and young men had heard of machines with people 123
on them that flew like birds, but had they not their own stories about the sacred vulture, the *opete*, that carried one of their warrior ancestors away from slavery across the river and into this bush? He had simply mounted the bird and said to it, "On your back is my home. You [913] •
can fly over land, and you can fly over water. I have no boat. You must carry me." And the opete took him. Then [916]
there are beings with wings that range the sky, and some of them are birds, and some of them are spirits. No, a machine that flew like a bird was not astonishing magic. Then there was the kino—shadows appearing and moving about like the living—that you could see in the cities. Men on the French shore, too, had seen the kino, but it was a gift any man might have to see things. But here was something which talked back at you. . . .

"Ke . . . !"

"Massa Nen'ge!—Master Nigger!"

"Ma Nen'ge . . . !"

And even our town servant exclaimed, "*Mi Gado*—My God!"

Now all this was very well, except that the Bakra, not satisfied with the ordinary seketi dance tunes, kept asking for Kromanti songs—the warrior-spirit songs—and the bush-god songs, and river-god songs. From one man and from another came the expected, "I do not know such songs." The women did not even dare approach the machine.

At last Apanto came. His hair was braided and he wore a 609
jaguar tooth on a cord about his neck. He was not so 123
muscular as other men of his age, and when he went about 115
there was a softness in his movements that was unaccountably disquieting. His hands were not the hands of a worker of lumber, nor of a boatman who was accustomed to pole heavily loaded boats. They were smaller, and his fingers were narrow at the ends. Apanto, we discovered later, was what the Bush Negroes called a "tiger fighter." In a quarrel, he did not cuff and strike out with his fists, but

of earth which filled the rest of the hut. In the left-hand corner was a covered whitened vessel for the god called Kentina Dagowe. This Kentina Dagowe was a deity who was the offspring of the Dagowe snake, and the Apuku god of the bush whose name was Kentina. In him, as in so many other of the spirits, we found exemplified the Bush Negro's concept of the world which held that the gods mated as did humans, that all which stirred and had life came into being by such matings.

Other spirits also came to this house, the woman went on. Mundewaya, another of the bush gods, was worshiped at the white-covered pot in the opposite corner, while beside it lay the vessel to which the spirit of a third might come. This one was the most powerful of all bush gods, and his name was Danhowao. There were other objects on the platform. Two stools, daubed with sacred clay, had their place there, and in the center was an image of wood, a rounded pot set on a base that tapered from the ground toward it, and this was to the Nanai, the ancestors.

The old woman said, "For the Apuku gods, we only play the tumao drum. The Apuku are mostly women's gods, but some men have them, and the men who have them play the drums. When the god comes to you, then if you are not too old you dance. But we old women do not dance. When the god comes to me, then I begin to shake. I go into this house on the day we call him, and they play the drum. Then I talk to the god. If I have something to beg of him for myself, or for someone else, then I put the pot which belongs to him on my head, and the drum calls him. When my body begins to shake, then it is the god. He has come, and when I speak it is not I but the god speaking."

From the clearing the talk of those who had remained outside came through the thin woven walls of the shrine. From one to another we could hear the news spread that in the village of the Granman across the river the gods had spoken for the whites.

In the hut, we listened to the old woman inside whose shrine we stood.

REBEL DESTINY

This, he went on to explain, had the meaning that obia was not so great as the very great gods, and it was not to be ranked with the lesser deities who served as emissaries for the great gods, yet when the great gods wanted to help mankind, it was through obia that they healed and purified, it was to obia that men were instructed to turn.

It seems that when the Sky God created the Earth Mother and the Mother of the River, he also created man and beast. Man had a poor time of it, pitting himself against the forces of earth and sky and water. And so that man might survive, the Sky God had had to send obia into the world to help man. Obia was not a god, it was a spirit. It gave people knowledge of herbs which cured, and herbs which prevented sickness. Obia warned of danger, and made known those properties of earth and water and air which healed and calmed. Obia taught the use of the band of metal on the arm, or the string about the waist which forewarned of evil, and made man wary and alert.

After obia came into the world, the Sky God sent Akantamasu, the god of the ant hill, to plague man. Perhaps obia had made of man an overbearing creature, defiant even against the great gods, so that the Sky God brought the Akantamasu spirit into being to teach him humility.

The answer of the Bush Negro was, of course, that so it was, and so it had been long ago, but why, he did not know. The Sky God had willed it so, and the Sky God was so far from man that he never vouchsafed explanations to human beings, and they in turn rarely taxed him to ease their bewilderment.

There was also the power of the ancestors, but our Bush Negro friends were never certain as to how they ranked in the supernatural hierarchy. Some said they ranked after the Earth Mother and the Mother of the River, that they were greater than obia, because the ancestors punished as well as helped mankind, and when angered their punishment came swifter than that of the powerful Akantamasu gods. Others said the ancestors were greater than obia, because obia had been given to the ancestors long ago,

SARAMACCA OBIA

But if the tchina are too difficult to observe, then the man who made the obia can take the tchina away." 784 789

Suiting his action to the word, Bayo took some water from the river into his mouth and, spraying it over the obia, said, "The tchina I gave you, I take away. The breaking of these tchina must no longer defile you or take away your power."

There was nothing more hateful to the gods and the spirit of obia than an unclean woman, yet if an obia man wished, he could instruct the power in the obia not to take offense at unintentional contacts with menstruating women, or at cloths belonging to such women, or at food prepared by such women. But to accomplish this, an obia man had to be very powerful and, even so, he could not feel sure that the obia spirit would countenance such violations indefinitely. 784 841 791 789

All of these personal obias had definite attributes. One was made to guard an individual on the water, another in the bush. There were obias for successful hunting and fishing, for being safe against the evil spirits at the crossroads, for slander, and for envy. One obia saw to it that the soul remained strong, another that no illness sent by an enemy might lodge itself in the body of the wearer; there were love obias, and fighting obias, and obias which kept ghosts away. 789 798

Yet whatever such obias were made of, the object in itself had no validity. A simple fiber with a jaguar's tooth attached to it might well have greater powers for safety in the bush than an elaborately wrought obia, whose maker had not a strong obia spirit to give it spiritual power. Without this supernatural potency, it would be like a village god that had been allowed to rot because of itself it was merely a block of wood, and the deity for whom it had been made had not come to animate it.

6

Long ago, the Anansi stories tell us, there was a bird that knew obia. The cries of this bird shook all the kingdoms 773

of the earth. In one kingdom, a ruler sent the heralds to proclaim throughout the land that he who killed the bird would get half his kingdom, and his daughter in marriage. Anansi, the spider, killed a hawk and brought it to the ruler. But Anansi lied when he said this was the bird that shook the earth with its cries. At the very time he was trying to persuade all the people that this was the bird, the cries of the ominous bird were heard. So they put Anansi in jail. Now one day there was born to a woman a child who at birth wore a cloth of pieced designs, and a hunting sack. This boy said to his mother, he said, "Give me a little water, mother, and I will go out into the world to learn wisdom. God has sent me to kill the bird which troubles mankind."

When the boy grew to manhood he succeeded in trapping this bird that knew how to cook obia without fire. He killed the bird and took the obia pot with him, and that is how he came by the secrets of obia. He passed on his knowledge to the men of his family, and this has been going on till today, so that obia is being spread throughout the world by the descendants of this man who killed the bird that knew obia.

But obia was not one thing only.

"Obia," Bayo's uncle had said, "is first of all the spirit. It is everywhere. But there are many kinds of obia. There is black man's obia, and there is white man's obia. Here in the bush black man's obia is the strongest.

"A man who has the obia spirit makes obia to wear, and obia to drink, and obia to rub the body with, and obia water for bathing. He can make obia drums and obia benches. The spirit tells you how to do things, and it tells you what to do. When we say a man has strong obia, we mean his spirit is strong."

The Bush Negro obia man, said Bayo to us one day, knew the things the white doctor knew—he knew how to heal—and he knew other things, too. He knew how to keep sickness away. The things an obia man gave for healing were

/193 cont./

778 824 A currently widespread idea about animism would lead one to think, for example, that before felling a tree a Refugee Black addresses words and offerings to it. That is entirely absent from his thought: either this tree is likely to serve as support for a god, in which case it can be touched only after complex rites having the aim of transferring the god elsewhere, or it is simply a tree, and one cuts it down without further ado.

784 825 One very clear aspect of these conceptions is the dagu kunu, a curse resulting from the killing of a dog. Any animal may be killed with impunity but not a dog, because "a dog is almost a man."

[613] At the opposite extreme from the true kunu, a curse extending to a whole lineage, the dagu kunu applies only to the guilty person and draws only limited misfortunes upon him.

[772] No feeling whatever with respect to the dog enters into this conception, but only the idea that he is placed on a particular plane, near the plane of the human and his level of force.

776 /194/ The Great Gods

The Boni recognize a supreme God, Nana (1), more

1. This term comes from the Agni.

commonly called Masa Gadu, and Kedi Amu, Kediampon in Kumenti language. He created the lower gods and all that lives on the earth.

• 773 Here is how the old Boni men relate the myth of the creation of the world:

God created a brother and sister, Adam and Efa. They were twins. He put them in a place where they lived happily without working. But he forbade them to touch the fruit of the custard-apple tree.

/194 cont./

773 One day, the devil came in the form of the serpent dagowe. He told them: "Eat the seeds of this tree and you will know all things like God himself."

Adam allowed himself to be tempted and ate a custard apple, he had Efa eat some of it. He found this fruit good and said: "God had deceived us." His heart changed, he ceased looking at Efa as a sister and united with her. She became pregnant.

Some time afterward, God came upon the earth and saw what had happened. He said to Efa: "Thou shalt bear a child in pain." And to Adam: "Thou shalt eat only what thou hast harvested by the sweat of thy brow." He gave him a stone axe and told him: "Go on the nearby mountain; thou wilt find the seedlings of what thou wilt have to plant henceforth in order to feed thyself."

Efa had two twins whom she again called Adam and Efa, and other children. From these children all men have descended.

[777] This Biblical myth, transposed into the African way of thinking, explains the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks concerning [845] twins. It was two twins whom God created first. Twins are beloved of God and share his nature.

776 The idea most generally accepted among the Boni is that Masa Gadu is the source of force from which all living beings derive theirs; men are connected with him through their ancestors.

It happens that Masa Gadu may intervene directly in the lives of men, and in such a case he acts necessarily according to justice, without any magic whatever being able to protect the guilty one. But in most cases he does not intervene, showing himself in that way to be as arbitrary as the lower gods.

764 535 gratulate the dancer, while another had taken her place in the dance, only to be brought to herself again when her dancing had become so abandoned that there was danger of falling or tripping. For it is always a bad thing for one's [774] *akra*—soul—to fall from exhaustion or even to trip while dancing, and it would have been especially dangerous to have fallen with the spirit of the dead so close.

As time passed, figures were seen edging away into the darkness. The knot of dancers thinned. Now there were [292] but two young women dancing. They wore identical cloths of a new material, a pattern resembling the cloth over the coffin. They were related to the dead man. When all were wearied, they had to go on dancing. . . . Dawn would not be long in coming.

3

764 775 761 We knew that it would not be long before the spirit of the dead would be called upon to tell his family, fellow villagers, and clansmen how death had come upon him. For, in the Guiana bush, except for the very old, there is little natural dying. The deceased has been killed either by the gods whom he has offended or by the black magic of a powerful enemy, and it is of this which he must tell before his burial. When Sedefo came to our camp the next afternoon, we asked him about the "carrying of the corpse," as the ceremony is called. We told him that his people in Africa—for the Bush Negroes know that their origins are African—also asked the spirit of the dead why death had come upon him, and we plied him with questions. What would they do to be sure the answer was right? Who would ask the questions? When would they establish the facts of the killing? And might we come and see?

There would be no trouble, he told us amiably enough. The spirits of the dead liked attention, and for the *Bakra*—the white man—to come so often to his brother's bier was a compliment. We could return with him, but we must make haste—and it was evident that important ceremonies were about to take place.

REBEL DESTINY

had seen a hand reach out for the boat, had seen it vanish out of sight. The gods had accepted the offerings. That year the Granman from the city, the white Granman, had to send rice from a far country to feed them, but the next year the crops were good, and all had been well since that time.

"And was that when this shrine was removed to the other island?"

"*M'an sabi. A kan de*—I do not know. It is possible."

2

"When you get to the Mamadam," we had been told by a priestess in the city, "wash your face in the running water, and call on the Mother of the River three times."

Another had said, "If your foot should trip anywhere, be sure to call on your ancestors, but if you should happen to slip at the Mamadam, you must go at once to the river, strike the water three times, and ask the Mother of the River to release your soul. It is a bad thing to lose your soul there."

And our principal story-teller in the city, who was something of a wit, had said: "You both have light eyes. Your hair is not dark. You are not unlike the Bonkoru people who are light, and who, up the river, you will hear called the Toné folk." He was speaking of albinos. "It may be that you have a river god without knowing it. When you come to the Mamadam the spirit may come to you. You may find yourself speaking the tongue that only the Toné people know, and dancing the dances to the river gods, and swimming up the rapids. It will be a fine sight to see you dance to the drums. There was once such a woman. A woman white as you are, you hear? I myself saw her dance. When she danced, she wore red, and put a plug through her lip, and as she danced her color changed. She became black. When the spirit was satisfied, it let her go, and she paled and was a white woman again. I myself saw that woman dance. I saw her grow black while she danced, and saw

THE PROVISION GROUND

"I'll tell you how it is mostly," he went on, after a silence. "Sometimes a woman will lie about the father of her child. The child will grow up keeping the trefu of a strange man. But it won't be his real trefu. His mother, you see, lied about his father. In the end, if nothing is done, this child will be sick, and later he will become a leper. Only a bad woman will lie about her child's father, because only a bad woman will want to hurt her own child. It doesn't happen among the girls who wear kerchiefs and live the way the old people live. These girls dance to the spirits. They are afraid of the ancestors. They are afraid of their *akra*—their soul—and the Earth Mother. But those girls who wear hats—ai, Massa, those girls do anything!" 753 262 [774] [776] [829]

But here in the bush, it seemed, they had other beliefs about leprosy, he went on. Here they believed it was a kind of a spirit, too. When a leper died he was not given a good burial. No wakes were held for him. He was given no coffin. He was buried in the Bad Bush, where the sorcerers were thrown. 753 [771] 766 775

"When a leper dies, they don't want him to come back again. They don't treat his spirit well. They do the same with him as with a madman. They bury him with no more ceremony than a child, who came on earth, and would not stay. They say it's all because of a bad spirit, and they don't want bad spirits on earth."

4

"Why do we plant away from the village?" 241 361

It was the old woman talking, as we sat and smoked with her. The moon had come up above the maripa palm trees behind the house where the leper had been helped into his hammock, and it was pleasant out-of-doors. [137]

"Why, you ask? Well, sometimes when the bush is burned, a wind comes up suddenly, and sends the flames, down, down, beyond the cleared ground. How would it be with a village, if we cleared our grounds too close to it, and this happened? No, Bak'a, we people of the bush know better. . . . What do you say? Why do we do our clearing

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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figures of a male and a female in congress were often introduced into the design. 842 532

The ignorance of the physical rôle of the male parent, said to exist among other primitive peoples with a similar linkage of relatives on the mother's side, is not found among the Suriname Negroes. At a religious ceremony in which townspeople alone were dancing, a woman turned to us, and said, "Now they are dancing Afrekete. When *Ma Aisa*—an Earth goddess—and *Pa Lebba*—he who guards the crossroads—make a child, it is called Afrekete." Similar genealogies of spirits were vouchsafed us by Bush Negroes as well, and always, there was the male god as well as the female, and always the recognition that both made the spirit which was their offspring. 842

These are examples derived from the art of the people, from their ritual, and from the concepts they have of the forces that actuate the universe. There also were many incidents to show the attitude of fathers and children toward each other in the everyday run of life. 593

Awingu did not hesitate when he answered that the child who was with him belonged to his wife. But he added that it was he who made him, and his affection for the little boy, and the child's fondness for him was apparent even to the casual onlooker. Kasanya, in talking to us about the kunu of his wife's family which had destroyed his sons, mourned them as a father. He had made them, and he had taught them to run the rapids, and to carve. He had given them his own gods to protect them, he told us when recounting the tragedy of the kunu which killed them. Misomba, the brother-in-law of Kasanya, had made Adyabu. There was no ambiguity about who the boy's father was. The boy was Kasanya's heir, but he was Misomba's son. Sedefo had brought the child to his brother Zimbi's coffin, saying, "I bring you your child. Try to protect him. . . . "

There was the matter of slipping. It is dangerous to slip. Losing one's step may bring the soul to the ground in an unguarded moment, where the earth spirits, or what 774 776

774 would be more serious yet, an evil spirit who would be
776 lying in wait for a soul to use as emissary in his affairs of black magic, would snatch at the soul and take it away. If
[953] this happened, a person would sicken, languish, and die. Sometimes when a man tripped on the clayey bank, we heard him exclaim, "*Ago!*—Ancestors!" calling on these to protect him until he recovered his balance. But often we
[182] heard different cries. "Mi, Awana!" one man had called. "Mi, Nyamfai!" or, "Mi, Matchau!" or "Mi, Popoto!"
[614] These are all clan names, and for a time we assumed that instead of appealing to their ancestors, they called on the entire clan to come to their aid. But one day Sedefo lost his footing, and we heard him exclaim, "Mi, Fandaki!" Now we knew that Sedefo belonged to the clan of the Gankwe people, and we knew, further, that he was most emphatically not of the Fandaki clan.

"Sedefo, you are not a Fandaki. Why did you call on them?"

"My father belongs to the Fandaki. When we slip we call on our father's lo."

"Why, Sedefo?"

"I do not know. . . . "

605 Another day we were sitting and talking to a young man in an upper river village. A girl came and sat with us. "This is my sister," the man said. It was at a time when we were looking into these matters, and we asked, "Did the same mother make you both?"

"No," he answered, "she is here only on a visit. She lives across the river. Her father is my mother's brother."

"But she is not your sister, then," we said. "She does not even belong to your clan."

"Massa Neng'e! But she is my sister!" the man protested. "She is neither of my family, nor of my clan. But did not my mother's brother make her?"

"Could you marry her?"

[582] He considered for a moment. "It would be possible. But it would not be good. . . . And the old women in the village would talk too much."

776 bush for some months, and when he came back he did not
626 feel well, and they quarreled often. When they quarreled she
578 refused to cook for him, and so he said bad things to her.
He began to say the child was not his. Now when a father
[774] takes away his 'kra, his soul, from the child while it is in
the mother's womb, it is not good. When the child was
born, it was a very small child. Afterwards the man left
the woman. He still said the child was not his, but he used
to bring money to the woman sometimes to buy things for
the child. The neighbors said she must not take the money.
If she took it, they said, the child would die of fio-fio. But
the woman took the money. Nowadays many of them don't
believe in the old things, until they find out. When the
child was four months old it died. Everybody knew it was
fio-fio."

He told other incidents of what happened to people who had fio-fio.

"I tell you all this because sometimes the men in the boats talk about the whites, and they think you don't understand. But you know what they say, and you are angry. If you give them a present of leaf tobacco later, or rum, then they or you may become sick. . . . The men in the bush know what to do about fio-fio, Massa, and you
[538] must learn, too. The proverb says: 'How is a boat to go, if it has no paddles?'"

3

137 At the entrance to the village of S'ei a gigantic silk-cotton tree stood. Its trunk was massive, and the roots which projected outwards like so many buttresses made
824 of it a great somber cathedral. The curiously twisted
776 grooves which these buttresses made were said to house many spirits, and particularly the three who lived in the kankan tree, as the natives called it. Gedeonsu, the male god, and Tinné, his wife, lived there with their child Dyombie, the most dreaded of them all. The kankan tree gods were thought of as women's gods, though a few men might be found, here and there, who would, on occasion,

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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774 at the time approaching a state of possession, had provoked great anger.

"If you do not know what the Dyo-dyo is, then you are not human. Then I won't talk to you. Have you never walked and felt something in back of you, yet nothing was there? Have you never had a dream?"

The Dyo-dyo was one of two souls with which each individual was born, the old woman had later been persuaded to explain, for each man had his akra, his personal soul, which if he were mindful of it, remained with him, and allowed no evil to come to him; and each man had his Dyo-dyo, his wandering soul. At death the soul which had [795] wandered came back to the body. If it were permitted to stray once more, this soul, which had been ever restless in life, would wander about troubling the living.

796 But now, sitting among the women in back of the Gran-
765 man's shrine, it seemed again best to admit that she knew nothing of the adyo ceremony. Fortunately, there was no outburst of anger this time, for here in the true, true Saramacca country, it was soon evident that there was a [186] pride in their magic, and their language, because these were held to be uniquely their own.

"We give a big play for the breaking of mourning." All [534] the drums were played, and the rattles sounded, and the *kwakwa*—the hard-wood bench played with two sticks—was beaten.

For this important ceremony, the oldest living brother [293] of the dead man provided food and rum, and, when the time came to partake of this food, he and the *hei mundu*—the people of rank—sat about the doorway of the widow's house. She herself stood inside the house, behind the threshold, scattering food for the dead, and pouring rum on the [262] ground. Rice and peanuts and sugar cane were thrown away, but not yams or plantains, for those things were not given in their village to the ancestral spirits. As the widow "threw away" the food she wept. In the clearing those who did not eat danced adyo. In a circle, men and women danced in close file, one behind the other, each

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

754 [695] More than one person may be involved in the black magic that brings about death, and the burial ceremony may indicate several persons as guilty. This magic is similar to that employed by other primitive peoples. A spirit or soul resides [774] in each living person; if this spirit is destroyed, the person will die. A man can cause the death of his enemy by summoning the spirit out of his enemy's body with herbs and charms and incantations; the spirit can then be shot with a gun. Or else he may procure some of his enemy's nail parings or hair, or any object of close personal association. He should also know his enemy's birthday and secret name. Rites are performed and, as a result, the enemy dies. His spirit has been slain. Magic, therefore, consists of the use of rituals for the purpose of compelling supernatural powers to do one's bidding.

123 774 822 For this reason many natives object to being photographed. The black camera, they believe, if pointed at them and clicked, will draw out their souls. The person owning the camera can then mutilate or destroy their souls at will. On our first expedition among the Bush Negroes all attempts at photography were difficult. When the attempt was made to take a native's picture the black would cry out, *"No puru me!"*—"Don't draw me out!" They firmly believed that the photographer was trying to draw out their spirits for magical purposes. On the second expedition, returning to the same villages with the developed photographs, we showed them to the natives and watched their reaction. The Negroes examined the snapshots curiously, turning them around, not

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

being able to accommodate their eyes to the tiny grey perspec- 123
tives. When the significance of the chiaroscuro dawned upon 774
them, they broke into broad grins and were mightily pleased. 822
After that most of them readily consented to being photographed.

A woman was suspected of causing by witchcraft the death 683
of the late Granman, Amekti, of the Aucaner tribe. She was 766
severely beaten and was not allowed to attend the ceremony 643
of *Broko Day* (breaking day), the time when mourning is broken.

Broko Day is held four or five months after the death of 766
the Granman. Game is hunted and cassava cake prepared 643
for many days prior to the great feast. It is a time of great festivity; there is dancing, singing, and general merrymaking. At this time the *Songai,* the *Pekein play,* and the *Susa* dances are held. The participants are generously smeared with pemba dotee and they wear costumes and decorations which are not seen at any other time. Then, as many of the tribe as is possible gather in the village of the erstwhile Granman, and the feast lasts for about a week. Dancing and feasting continue night and day. At this time the ageedah drum—six to eight feet tall—is played, as well as [534]
the smaller instruments already referred to. Toward the end of the ceremony, the hair and nails of the corpse are buried, a new Granman is inaugurated, and the deceased ruler is relegated to the position of an ancestor. Prayers may then ascend heaven-ward to him.

Captain Acrowsie of the Aucaner tribe told us some in-

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Not only are human beings animated by spirits, but the 774 ●
Djukas believe that everything, every object in the external world, is the residence of a spirit. These spirits are called *Mama.* Thus, canoes have spirits (*Boto Mama*) and so have huts (*Oso Mama*), paddles, fetishes, stones, and especially drums. Each has an impalpable soul. Moreover, there are several jungle spirits, tribes of ghosts and invisible men.

The woods of Surinam are filled with ghosts. *Winti* is 776
a ghost that can come into your body and make you do things you otherwise would not do. A pregnant woman, several weeks before her delivery, was struck dumb by an unknown enemy. This aphasia disappeared upon the birth of the child. When she was expecting another child, she fasted six days, to the point of exhaustion. Then a magic rite was undergone, and she broke the fast. Knowing that someone has put *Winti* on her to prevent her from having children, she now fools them by simulating idiocy. From this it is apparent that
Winti is under a measure of control; it can be sent into the 754
body of an enemy to do him harm, then it is called *wissi.*

Jumbees are also bad spirits that can be controlled by the device of magic. Once put on a person, they bring him bad luck. Pain is caused by a spirit called *Congo Burtri.* The soul is known as *Basuki,* or *Kra.* In the bush there also dwell tribes of evil men who are invisible; every time a Bush Negro looks at them they turn themselves into a tree or an anthill. When the Bush Negro is not looking, they kill him with unseen arrows.

The Djukas believe in the *Gran Gadu,* the ruling spirit

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Other evil spirits are *Bakru, Yorkas* (a Carib word), *Aze-* 776
man, and *Lybba.* The Bakru are very ugly. A Negro picked up a crying child and sat him on his shoulders. His companion noticed the child's eyes and said: "That is a Bakru." The Negro dashed the child down. The child was instantly transformed into an ape and said: "I missed you that time, but next time I'll get you." The Bakru may also take the form of little mannikins with large heads.

Yorkas are ghosts. They are very similar to our conception of haunting spooks. They may be the ghosts of dead [775] people, more especially of dead enemies who have returned to do harm.

The Azeman are the most awful of all spirits. They leave their skins every night and travel about in the form of persons without any skin. Consequently they are an ugly, bleeding sight. At dawn they assume their covering. But if the skin is found and salt placed around it, it shrinks so that it becomes too small for the Azeman to get back into. This causes them to vanish. Another method of getting rid of the Azeman is to scatter rice about. They dislike rice very much and stop to pick the grains up out of the way. In their preoccupation they do not notice the coming of dawn, which is very harmful to them.

The Lybba are spirits or ghosts similar to the Yorka.

A sleeping Bush Negro must be waked with care, as his 828 774 ● personal spirit, the soul, or kra, may not be able to get back 513 in time if he is too suddenly aroused.

The Djukas may be possessed by almost any spirit. During 000

787 824 /216 cont./

Aluku Name	Identification	Use
Sãŋgaafu	Costus cylindricus (zingiberaceae)	cult of the Papa gadu and of the Ampuku
Malimbelimbe	Piper sp. (?)	----
Filli (Hɔligɔ̃)	Chamaesyae sp. (?) (euphorbiaceae)	----

828 Beliefs Concerning the Human Person and Its Development
Ancestor Worship

[171] The Refugee Blacks of the various tribes have precise and identical conceptions on this subject, which are found also, more or less mixed with Christian conceptions, among the West Indian populations of African origin. For them, man is formed of three elements: the body, the yɔrka which may be translated by personality, and a higher principle called akka.

[184] It goes without saying that among the Boni, who have not elaborated these conceptions and received them from the Djuka, nobody is capable of discoursing on them. But numerous con-
[128] ceptions having to do with magic and to the relationships with the ancestors permit of rather reliable cross-checking.

774 The akka. It is not possible to translate akka (1) by soul in the

1. This word appears to be a deformation of kla (Agni-Baoulé), word to which a very comparable meaning is attached.

sense we understand it. The akka is an immortal divine element

[774] /216 cont./ the akka is an immortal divine element
[775] attached to a human person for the duration of his life and which, at his death, returns to the domain of the divine, no longer keeping any contact with men.

[828] The akka is the source of life from which the human personality is nourished, but it is not this personality.

The Refugee Blacks consider the akka as a personal protector god; they are apt to say mi gadu, my god, for mi akka.

The concept of the akka was spontaneously transposed by the West Indians into that of the guardian angel. They speak in Haiti of the "big good angel."

For Refugee Blacks the life, health, and destiny of a man depend above all on the akka; they think that if the akka went away, the body and mind of the man could not remain bound together; he would die or lose consciousness. This is, a little, what happens each night, for they believe that the akka leaves the body to wander, which brings on the loss of consciousness.
[754] /217/ So the wisimã, the sorcerer, tries to profit by this to capture the akka so that the man may become insane.

The akka is thought to have tastes, desires, and goals foreign to those of the personality and of which the man, in his
[753] ordinary consciousness, has no knowledge. The akka can make the man sick if he behaves in a way that it does not like. So
[755] when someone is sick, he resorts to divination in order to know whether it is not the deed of the akka and, in the affirmative, for what motive. One might think that the akka behaves like a conscience in the moral sense of the term; that it gets angry if its bearer does something evil. But in reality the akka shows itself to be as arbitrary, wicked, and venal as the lower gods of the Refugee Blacks. If it gets angry (they say: mi akka mãndi), this is because its bearer wears clothes of a color it does not like, or because it wants an offering. We have never, on the other hand, heard a case spoken of in which the akka might have become angry with its bearer because he was a thief, liar, or adulterer.

/217 cont./

●774 Most of the Boni are not concerned with their akka. The only ones who take heed of it are those who have reasons to believe it irritated. The worship rendered varies a good deal from one individual to another in the nature and frequency of the rites performed.

774 For example, K.... of Papalston village, prey to a
777 persistent streak of bad luck, went to consult a Creole lukumi
[647] from Surinam, who revealed to him that it was the doing of unsatisfied desires of his akka. His akka wanted a black dog and a copper bracelet. He procured both for himself, and since, he says, he no longer has the same bad luck.

774 B.... head of T... village, has in a corner of his hut
778 a post crudely carved in the shape of a bust with a half calabash from which emerge stalks of sangaafu on its head. At the side is a small fraga riki. He tells me that this is the god of the cult of his akka; these rites are strictly personal with him.

774 Most of the akka esteem white beads and red cloth. If
[822] one sees a Boni wear a red cloak, one can be almost sure that it is by order of his akka.

[787] If someone's mind wanders or he has bizarre dreams, he may see in this the feeling that his akka wishes to leave him and that he is in danger of its happening. He then goes to ask
[789] an obiaman to make him an akka tetty: this is a ring of fibers worn on the big toe and which is supposed to prevent the akka from going away.

These rites vary a lot from one individual to the other, but they have a common principle. If someone begins to attend to his akka, he cannot abandon the worship during his lifetime, or else the akka will avenge itself.

Akka worship is strictly personal and is not bequeathed upon death.

/217 cont./

If someone marries a girl, he must not only pay her mother the price of virginity but must also pay the girl's akka. For that he offers white beads and cloth which the bride will wear, as well as sweets which will be consumed by her. If the price of virginity were not paid, the woman's akka, humiliated, might make her sick or kill her.

/218/ There are seven categories of akka, masculine and feminine, one for each day of the week.

Crevaux in 1877 was able to establish the complete list(1):

1. This conception is widespread in the Agni-Ashanti culture area, among the Ewé and Mina, and as far as western Dahomey. The names reported among the Mina correspond very exactly, except for some differences in pronunciation, to the ones kept by the Boni.

	Men	Women
Sunday	Kwasi	Kwasiba
Monday	Kɔdyo	Adyuba
Tuesday	Kwami	Abeniba
Wednesday	Kwaku	Akuba
Thursday	Yao	Yaba
Friday	Kɔfi	Afiba
Saturday	Kwamina	Amba

All these names are known to the Boni, but none of our informants was capable of reciting the complete list. It is well understood that a name like Kɔfi, Kɔdio /sic/, etc. is the akka's name and not at all the man's name (2).

/218 cont./

774 551

2. Although it happens that people receive as a name an akka name, sometimes accompanied by a qualificative, such as Lébikwaku.

774 262 [551] Actually, each one knows his akka's name, which was revealed to him by his parents when he was a child; to this name is attached an akka kina or food prohibition relative to the akka. [784] Both are carefully kept secret even from near relatives and friends, for knowing them could help the wisimdi take possession of the akka. On this subject people often use the term gadu kina, as they say mi gadu instead of mi akka. [784] [787] This term is easily confused with the prohibition imposed on the possessed person by the god which incarnates itself in him; these are two very different notions.

[251] [789] The akka kina is unique for each man. It is sought by the parents when the child is completely weaned. They try to draw parallels between the foods he has eaten and the health disorders he may exhibit, and these suppositions are confirmed by divinatory procedures.

774 782 A man does not ordinarily pray to his akka. He addresses prayer to it only if he is sick, to ask it for protection, or before leaving on a long trip, to ask it to watch over him. If he comes back safe and sound, he thanks it by making an offering to it, in the form of a bottle of syrup (switi sopi), which he turns upside down over his head.

774 184 According to Mr. W. F. van Lier, the Djuka have the idea that the shadow (kaaka) is the visible image of the akka; the Boni do not appear to have this conception; one does not observe that they attach any importance whatever to whether a man's shadow passes over them; on the contrary, one must not step over a man lying on the ground, that might injure his akka.

/218 cont./

994 The yɔrka. (The Boni say yɔɔka, the Djuka and the Creoles
995 of Surinam yɔrka.) The expression yɔrka is used only to designate the spirits of the dead. But of course the elements of the yɔrka are present in the living man. /[illegible]/

994 /219/ The yɔrka is the ordinary consciousness of the man, his
828 memories, tastes, aversions, all that constitutes his personality. All that, for the Refugee Blacks, does not come from the divine plane but at least in part from former human existences, and after death will not reach the divine plane. The Refugee
995 Blacks seem to believe that after death, the yɔrka remains unchanged, will keep the same desires, the same aversions, the same thoughts; it is simply no longer in ordinary life, it has passed to another plane, intermediate between the divine and the human, from whence it continues to remain in a certain fashion in contact with men. The various informants we questioned on this subject declare that they have no idea of the fate of the yɔrka after death, of its place with respect to the divinities, of the rewards or punishments of which it may be the object according to the manner in which the man lived. These are questions they never ask themselves openly and which hardly interest them, all their interest being centered on earth-
[954] ly life. The idea of a paradise is absolutely foreign to them; they acknowledge however in the case of the wisimã that they will be stripped of the force that every living being receives from the divine, and that thus destroyed as beings, they will no longer be more than empty shadows.

969 The gaã yɔrka, spirits of the ancestors, are believed to watch over their descendants and are subject to worship.

[971] Ancestor worship. Among the Refugee Blacks, ancestor worship is intimately bound up with all the acts of family and social life. They assume that the yɔrka of the ancestors are always present near their descendants and that they protect them. It is through them as intermediaries that the force emanated by the divine is received by the living.

754 781 /238 cont./ The struggle against wisi is one of the foundations of their social life, protection against the undertakings of the wisimã one of the most constant worries of each person. Nobody knows these wisimã with certainty; one is reduced to vague suspicions of this or that person, which one dares not formulate for lack of proof. No one knows exactly how they operate. Yet each one feels their enterprises everywhere about him, and those who by reason of their wealth or successes with women have the most reason to believe themselves exposed to jealousy live in anxiety.

754 [828] [784] Intense jealousy or hate are already a form of wisi, and this is why each one must try to drive them out of his heart; besides, he would risk falling ill or being subject to all sorts of calamities for having broken his oath. But the wisimã employs explicit procedures:

--Burying a bottle (beli bata) containing sorcery under his enemy's door. When the latter comes home, the sorcery will [751] penetrate into him. So some Refugee Blacks carry a special obia against this kind of aggression: thanks to this obia, they will feel a sharp pain in the tip of the foot when approaching the bottle, which they will thus uncover easily.

754 774 --Kisi akkaa, stealing the akka of the enemy. The latter then becomes mad. The Boni believe that the wisimã operates at night, taking advantage of the fact that the enemy's akka has left his body to wander. He captures it by attracting it with what it likes. For that, one must know the name of his enemy's akka, know its tastes and preferences; all things which each Refugee Black will carefully hide, even from his comrades. What the wisimã does with the akka was not clear to any of our informants. He tries either to capture it in order to deprive his enemy of it, or to make it hostile to its bearer, or to inspire it with abnormal ideas or tastes. If someone manifests an abnormal change /239/ in tastes or behavior, people will be inclined to think that a wisimã was able to act upon his akka.

/239 cont./

754 [774] [929]

On this point it is taken for granted that Indian magic is much more powerful than African magic, and that any Indian is capable of attracting his enemy's akka.

--Transforming himself into a vampire (azemĩ) and flying at night in search of sleeping men in order to suck their blood and eat them in spirit; this conception, closely related to the one which the West Indians have of the soucougnan, comes from Dahomey (in Fon, aze = sorcery). It is said, as in Dahomey, that the azemĩ flies by emitting fire through the anus.

--Seni sgi sani: this is what the Creoles call "sending bad baggage." This is acting upon a living being or an inanimate object to make it behave in abnormal fashion at the expense of the enemy. For example, if someone is bitten by a snake or if a child is carried off by a tiger, the action of a wisimĩ will be blamed first, for normally snake and tiger do not attack. But there is no material limit to the action of the wisimĩ, who can make a branch fall on his enemy's head or make a cartridge of dynamite burst prematurely.

[825] The idea that the sorcerer may transform himself into a jaguar, dog, or other animal is not assumed by the Refugee Blacks. Neither do they have the idea of brotherhood: of sorcerers.

754 695

How does society defend itself against the wisimĩ? There is first of all the test oath. At regular intervals, every two or three years for example, the grand man gathers together all the Boni to the last man before Odun's chapel, and makes each one drink a little of a magic liquid while inviting him to utter the formula: Efu mi e meki wisi fu dede a sama, mi mu dede: If I do sorcery to make someone die, I must die. This is what is called diggi sweri, to drink the test. Actually, it is a harmless liquid, but each one is convinced that a wisimĩ would not be able to drink it without dying from it. If someone stubbornly refuses to present himself at the ceremony, he is not obliged to, but he has denounced himself: suspicions will be directed on him henceforward.

/256 cont./

845 When twins die young people almost always blame a
961 disagreement which has arisen in the lineage. The twins
578 did not want to live in a disunited family. The head of the
613 lineage then exhorts his people to be reconciled with one another at any cost in order to avoid new misfortunes (1).

[753] 1. In general they have the idea that dissensions occurring in the lineage have as a consequence illnesses or misfortunes striking the members of the lineage.
[182] This notion plays a major role in the social life of the Refugee Blacks; after the kuma, it is the principle cement holding groups together.

845 One who harms a twin is sure to fall ill. Conversely,
798 it is assumed that the twin must not abuse his power, that he must lead an upright life and avoid quarrels. He is nearer to God than other men.

They assume for example that Efa, of Papaïsson village, herself a twin and the mother of twins, has a very special power. Nobody would risk harming her.

[613] In lineages having many twins there exists a place of worship sacred to a vital principle called Twilinge. The nature of this principle is not clear. The Boni define it as the soul of twins. Is it a matter of the first twins Adam and Eve? Or of a collective worship offered up to all deceased twins?

REBEL DESTINY

764 [539] "On the sacred apinti drum we speak to the spirit; we tell it we go to dig the grave." So the drum spoke. From the shore we could see five figures in the small corial, and, as they came closer, we saw also the drum, the food the men carried, and the muddy hoe. They would do this the next day and the next, for to dig a grave takes a long time.

I

● 775 769 171 Although separated by many generations from their African places of origin, the Bush Negroes of Dutch Guiana have held to the traditions and beliefs of their aboriginal home. In the Suriname bush, as in Africa, the responsibility which an individual bears toward his social group does not end with death. His clan, his village, and his family look to him, when he has joined the spirits of his ancestors, to protect them against the magic of their enemies, to help them in time of drought or pestilence, and at all times to intercede for them with the gods.

As in Africa, the spirit of the dead is powerful for good or evil, and the rites of death must be carried out as tradition demands, so that the dead man may feel he has received honor among the living and proper introduction to the world of the dead. As in Africa, we found that the first care for the dead is to place the body on the central portion of a broken canoe; that rum and tobacco are included in the water with which the body is washed; that in washing the dead, the back must not be touched; that the number of those who wash the body must not be an even one—five is the number preferred, though three persons are used, and seven; that those chosen must not be young, for it takes age and the knowledge of controlling the spirits which age brings to approach the dead without suffering harm.

764 171 [801]

764 While the body lies in the open house of the dead, relatives and the village elders are in attendance on the spirit night and day. It is they who all night tell stories about the trickster, spider Anansi, to amuse the spirit, and they who play traditional games. The dances begin when

764 of him from whom it had dropped. The same belief in the
195 identification of the essence of one's being with any part of
one's body which actuates so many primitive peoples, and
[171] is so characteristic of West Africa, exists among the Bush Negroes. It is for this reason that when an African or a Bush Negro dies away from home some of his hair and nail parings are sent to his native village for ceremonial burial. And it is for this reason, too, that for three mornings we saw the party of five young men go out from Gankwe to dig the grave of Sedefo's brother and heard the drum's invocation,

[539] *Osio tintin*
Osio be'e dyo.

2

796 The night was still and dark. The natives said the moon
196 was dead and this was the time for the dances to the river gods, but since there was a death in Gankwe all the gods might be danced to, for in times of important rituals, like death or the breaking of mourning or harvest festivals, it was not necessary to wait for the day sacred to each god to dance.

"They dance well at Gankwe," said our informant, as he sat by, and then after listening for a few moments he added, "They're dancing already."

We, too, walked out on the path to listen, and gradually we separated the sound of the falls above our camp from what seemed like the pulse of the night itself.

"It doesn't boom, does it?" we asked each other, remembering the accounts of impressionable travelers.

Soon Sedefo himself appeared and another, and we started for Gankwe.

"*Waka koni*, Sedefo," called our host at camp as we put off. He was evidently uneasy about us and asked the paddlers to be careful, for it is not safe on the river at night with the rapids below and the spirits that hover about.

ooo The paddles cut the water so soundlessly that it did seem as if the spirits were carrying the boat downstream.

609 people kept their distance, and among them some pithy proverbs were spoken to bear upon the shortcomings of the white man. One or two of them turned to repeat to the dead what had been said, and there was great laughter. Sedefo [775] came to assure us that the dead man liked it very much. For the dead, it appeared, were especially susceptible to humor and to exceptional occasions.

764 292 About us, or edging their way toward us, were the younger men in their ceremonial dress, the toga-like cloth covering their bodies, but leaving one shoulder bared for respect, and the women in their knee-length *pangi*, or [301] cloths, hanging from the waist, and their shining brass rings reaching from wrist to elbow and from ankle halfway up to the knee. Among the dancers, but standing somewhat [534] aloof, could be seen a man or woman with seed rattles about the ankles. These were the fine dancers. Of them our informant had spoken when he said, "They dance well at Gankwe."

764 [359] 533 Carved stools were placed for us facing the coffin a little to the left of the singers, where we could best see the dancing. One or two lanterns were moved to give us better light. The drummers, who had not left their places, took up the rhythm again—one of the women had us know that the spirit of the dead man had communicated to the spirits of the drummers that he wanted to see the dancing resumed. The singing began—a woman's falsetto voice and a chorus; the hand clapping of the singers and bystanders emphasized the basic rhythm. It was slow at first, then quickened, and the dancing became more animated.

"They dance seketi," whispered our friends. "Later they will dance awasa."

764 535 The dancing was confined to a comparatively small space. It began with a barely perceptible motion of the feet of the dancers to the rhythm of the drums and the hand clapping. Then the feet began to execute figures in place, without leaving the ground, the arms hanging loosely at the side. This was continued for some time, until, arms flexed and held rigid at the elbow, and knees bent but rigid, too, the

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

764 gratulate the dancer, while another had taken her place
535 in the dance, only to be brought to herself again when her dancing had become so abandoned that there was danger of falling or tripping. For it is always a bad thing for one's
[774] *akra*—soul—to fall from exhaustion or even to trip while dancing, and it would have been especially dangerous to have fallen with the spirit of the dead so close.

As time passed, figures were seen edging away into the darkness. The knot of dancers thinned. Now there were
[242] but two young women dancing. They wore identical cloths of a new material, a pattern resembling the cloth over the coffin. They were related to the dead man. When all were wearied, they had to go on dancing. . . . Dawn would not be long in coming.

3

764 We knew that it would not be long before the spirit of the
775 dead would be called upon to tell his family, fellow villagers,
761 and clansmen how death had come upon him. For, in the Guiana bush, except for the very old, there is little natural dying. The deceased has been killed either by the gods whom he has offended or by the black magic of a powerful enemy, and it is of this which he must tell before his burial. When Sedefo came to our camp the next afternoon, we asked him about the "carrying of the corpse," as the ceremony is called. We told him that his people in Africa—for the Bush Negroes know that their origins are African—also asked the spirit of the dead why death had come upon him, and we plied him with questions. What would they do to be sure the answer was right? Who would ask the questions? When would they establish the facts of the killing? And might we come and see?

There would be no trouble, he told us amiably enough. The spirits of the dead liked attention, and for the *Bakra*—the white man—to come so often to his brother's bier was a compliment. We could return with him, but we must make haste—and it was evident that important ceremonies were about to take place.

Ah, but they knew each other. 484

Bayo began paddling faster to keep up with him.

"There is to be a council meeting at Gankwe. I had to 623 hurry away last night, and I must get back there in time. 775 We must have permission from the spirit of the dead man to go back to work, and Sedefo has to find out if he can start up the river, and if he does go, we must all pray to the ancestors because four men will be going from Gankwe, and [782] the *Gran Sembe*—the village elders—have things to decide . . . "

Now, fearing that he might have said too much, he doubled his speed, and Bayo understood that the other preferred to be alone. They belonged to different clans, Bayo to the same as the headman of the tribe, and the Gankwe people to another. Gankwe was sending important men to take the Bakra up the river. The chief's own brother, Asikanu, was to go, although it was said he was [684] being sent out of the way while his adultery case was being settled. There had been talk about this case up and down the river. The Gankwe clan head had given a chief's [778] sanctuary to the offender because he was his own brother, people said. Well, if the injured husband committed suicide as he threatened, and sent a kunu to the family of the brother, and even the village and clan, it would be an ugly thing. But so it was with trouble about women. It was as they said,

"*Sleep is death* [538]
Woman kills man."

He half chanted the proverb and smiled, for he looked 831 forward to his trip up the river with an eye to a visit in Lamé, where the women knew how to love. And he began singing the seketi song which he liked so well. Both the melody and the words were old, but he sang the refrain as if it were quite his own—whatever hardships there were on the river, at Lamé one slept with the women!

At the village of Akunkun an old man and a boy of 484 about nine were at the landing place ready to start. Bayo

KUNU

"*Na wa' taki: Efi gbuli wolo, i sa si san de na ini.*—It is said: If a person stirs up a hole, he will find what is in it." 538

And so it was that very night, when we were camped on an island near the great falls, with the roar of the water sounding in our ears like the very signal drums we were told the river gods wanted sounded that the sun might come and warm and dry them after the long rains, that we learned more. Kasanya, the captain of the fourth boat, had conducted himself so unobtrusively that we barely knew he was there. He was almost as old as Bibifo, but strangely silent. He was tall and spare, with graying hair, and eyes that were rimmed with red. We had not sought him out particularly to make conversation with him because he had ugly, open sores on his body, the result of a virulent case of bush yaws, which showed when he sat paddling in his loin cloth. We had known him during our first year when he had been more willing to be friendly, more ready to talk. From him, in fact, we had learned to play one of the Bush Negro games that the ancestors had brought from Africa. 124 [177] [524]

Kasanya came over to ask us whether we had medicine for him. His head ached so until . . . he could barely see. There is that about white man's medicine in the bush, it is to be had free, and there is no harm in trying it. 173 609

"Will you make us a game board like the one we bought from your village last year, Kasanya?" we asked him.

"Yes, but you must have two of them, one flat and one curved like a boat. It is not good to have only one. When a man is alive he plays the game. When he dies and comes back to visit the living, he wants to play, too. Now if there is a board for him, he will play on that. But if there is but the one, he will play with the living and that is not good." 775 524

"You know a great deal, Kasanya."

"Awa, yes, but I'm an old man already. I've had much trouble. Last year after you left the third son I made died. Now I have no one. Kunu has taken the three of them, and my wife is asleep, too." [976]

THE PROVISION GROUND

"I'll tell you how it is mostly," he went on, after a silence. "Sometimes a woman will lie about the father of her child. The child will grow up keeping the trefu of a strange man. But it won't be his real trefu. His mother, you see, lied about his father. In the end, if nothing is done, this child will be sick, and later he will become a leper. Only a bad woman will lie about her child's father, because only a bad woman will want to hurt her own child. It doesn't happen among the girls who wear kerchiefs and live the way the old people live. These girls dance to the spirits. They are afraid of the ancestors. They are afraid of their *akra*—their soul—and the Earth Mother. But those girls who wear hats—ai, Massa, those girls do anything!"

But here in the bush, it seemed, they had other beliefs about leprosy, he went on. Here they believed it was a kind of a spirit, too. When a leper died he was not given a good burial. No wakes were held for him. He was given no coffin. He was buried in the Bad Bush, where the sorcerers were thrown.

"When a leper dies, they don't want him to come back again. They don't treat his spirit well. They do the same with him as with a madman. They bury him with no more ceremony than a child, who came on earth, and would not stay. They say it's all because of a bad spirit, and they don't want bad spirits on earth."

4

"Why do we plant away from the village?"

It was the old woman talking, as we sat and smoked with her. The moon had come up above the maripa palm trees behind the house where the leper had been helped into his hammock, and it was pleasant out-of-doors.

"Why, you ask? Well, sometimes when the bush is burned, a wind comes up suddenly, and sends the flames, down, down, beyond the cleared ground. How would it be with a village, if we cleared our grounds too close to it, and this happened? No, Bak'a, we people of the bush know better. . . . What do you say? Why do we do our clearing

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

768 "If it is the man who is dead, then the woman takes her
775 girl children to live with her, but her sons she sends away to live elsewhere. A man's spirit will not harm his daughters. He loves them. But his sons, he will kill. . . . When a woman dies, then it is the sons that the man will keep with him in the house, and the daughters must go away. The yorka of a woman will protect her sons, but she will destroy the daughters when she visits the place where she once lived."

5

602 To her child the Bush Negro mother gives at birth
851 membership in all her own blood groups. The child is of her *wosu*, or household. He belongs to her *mbe*, or great family, which is an aggregate of many households. He is a member of her *lo*, or clan, which is composed of a number of great families, and which holds political sway over a given
613 portion of the land. The tie of all these groupings is a blood tie, a common female ancestress who lived long ago, or several women, daughters of the same mother, who had been the first to live with the runaway ancestors here in the bush, or several women who came from one people in Africa, and were the first to bear children to the rebels in the jungle. Every legal, every economic implication which this tradition of descent and inheritance through the female line might hold, is faithfully adhered to.

611 The mother does indeed count, as the tales told us in the
593 city insisted. But what of the father?

That the Bush Negro understands fully the rôle that
842 both father and mother play in the procreation of the
532 young was everywhere apparent. The wood carving which a father made for his young daughter had designs on it of the kind which bore the general designation "*womi ko' muye*—man and woman." Whatever the traceries on the carvings given by a man to his woman during courtship, or after marriage, whatever animals might be represented, the essential symbolism was that of fertility, and the

774 at the time approaching a state of possession, had provoked great anger.

"If you do not know what the Dyo-dyo is, then you are not human. Then I won't talk to you. Have you never walked and felt something in back of you, yet nothing was there? Have you never had a dream?"

The Dyo-dyo was one of two souls with which each individual was born, the old woman had later been persuaded to explain, for each man had his akra, his personal soul, which if he were mindful of it, remained with him, and allowed no evil to come to him; and each man had his Dyo-dyo, his wandering soul. At death the soul which had [795] wandered came back to the body. If it were permitted to stray once more, this soul, which had been ever restless in life, would wander about troubling the living.

But now, sitting among the women in back of the Granman's shrine, it seemed again best to admit that she knew 796 765 nothing of the adyo ceremony. Fortunately, there was no outburst of anger this time, for here in the true, true Saramacca country, it was soon evident that there was a [186] pride in their magic, and their language, because these were held to be uniquely their own.

"We give a big play for the breaking of mourning." All [534] the drums were played, and the rattles sounded, and the *kwakwa*—the hard-wood bench played with two sticks—was beaten.

For this important ceremony, the oldest living brother [293] of the dead man provided food and rum, and, when the time came to partake of this food, he and the *hei mundu*—the people of rank—sat about the doorway of the widow's house. She herself stood inside the house, behind the threshold, scattering food for the dead, and pouring rum on the ground. Rice and peanuts and sugar cane were thrown [262] away, but not yams or plantains, for those things were not given in their village to the ancestral spirits. As the widow "threw away" the food she wept. In the clearing those who did not [illegible] danced adyo. In a circle, men and women danced in close file, one behind the other, each

765 And Fenekonde said, "Mourning is hard. The widow must not go to the river alone to wash. Other women must take her there. Her husband's spirit might seize her. Her [775] hair must be cut. If not, he will get her by the hair. Her clothes must be ugly. She must keep herself unclean, so that his ghost will not long for her when he sees her."

But mourning was difficult not only for a woman. A man's mourning period was no less burdensome, they added. He too wore old clothes. When he went to wash, his wife's brother took him to the river. If he had another wife, he did not go into the hammock with her, for the dead woman would be envious and would kill him.

765 There were times, however, when women did not go into
893 mourning for their husbands. If a woman carried a child in her womb, then she did not put on mourning clothes at all. She did not weep, she was not allowed to show any grief. That same night the dead man's oldest living brother would come with her in the hammock. If there were no brother, another man would come, for some man had to come.

"He must come. It cannot be otherwise. She cannot go to her hammock alone. So it is every night when a woman carries a child in her womb. A man must be with her, for the sake of the child."

3

243 In the clearing the widow stood stamping rice. About
644 her the rice hulls flew and made a half circle of gold at her dark feet. Her mortar, which was made of a hollowed-out
[415] log, like a drum, was large and reached almost to her hips. On the ground was a large tray which she used for winnowing the rice. With slow, regular beats she lifted and dropped
[412] the pestle, and as her body swung with its slow motion the
[854] head of the sleeping child on her back rolled this way and that.

768 Her two small boys had gone to live in her mother's
644 village, but this girl child remained with her. She was born

REBEL DESTINY

000 "About half of them, I guess," he said.

5

524 609 When we returned to camp, Kasanya waited for us. He had come with the game boards he had promised to make for us, the adji game which was played in the house of death, and which the fine carver in Kasanya's village could not make because he was young, and a man needed to have a wife under the sod before he was fitted to make it.

Kasanya had taught the white man to play the game the year before, and though the white man had had much practice in playing it at home, Kasanya won one game after the other with ease.

524 609 562 With the white woman he would not play, nor would any other man—not even Bayo who showed so much indulgence toward the strangers. It was this way, Kasanya explained. A man knew that a woman could not beat him at the game, much less a woman who did not have the cunning of their bush, and would not, therefore, be expected to excel in what pertained to the life of the bush. But if the gods became capricious and allowed the white woman to win, then it would be more than a man could bear to be twitted up and down the river about it. Songs would be made up about it, and stories and proverbs. Master Nigger! A man would be a fool to risk it.

524 When Kasanya had gone, Bayo came back from Gankwe where, it seemed, his errands now took him daily. The sun was still high enough so that a game might be played before the hovering ghosts who in life had enjoyed the game would [MS] take their places beside the players, and play unseen at this game board with the living.

"Do you play adji, Bayo?"

"*Awa! Suma no de!*—Sure! No one better!"

But it soon appeared that Bayo had brought too much self-confidence with him from Gankwe. He was promptly beaten, and beaten again.

"*Suma de, Bayo?*—Someone better?"

The boy grinned. "Suma de, ai," he acknowledged.

REBEL DESTINY

This, he went on to explain, had the meaning that obia was not so great as the very great gods, and it was not to be ranked with the lesser deities who served as emissaries for the great gods, yet when the great gods wanted to help mankind, it was through obia that they healed and purified, it was to obia that men were instructed to turn.

It seems that when the Sky God created the Earth Mother and the Mother of the River, he also created man and beast. Man had a poor time of it, pitting himself against the forces of earth and sky and water. And so that man might survive, the Sky God had had to send obia into the world to help man. Obia was not a god, it was a spirit. It gave people knowledge of herbs which cured, and herbs which prevented sickness. Obia warned of danger, and made known those properties of earth and water and air which healed and calmed. Obia taught the use of the band of metal on the arm, or the string about the waist which forewarned of evil, and made man wary and alert.

After obia came into the world, the Sky God sent Akantamasu, the god of the ant hill, to plague man. Perhaps obia had made of man an overbearing creature, defiant even against the great gods, so that the Sky God brought the Akantamasu spirit into being to teach him humility.

The answer of the Bush Negro was, of course, that so it was, and so it had been long ago, but why, he did not know. The Sky God had willed it so, and the Sky God was so far from man that he never vouchsafed explanations to human beings, and they in turn rarely taxed him to ease their bewilderment.

There was also the power of the ancestors, but our Bush Negro friends were never certain as to how they ranked in the supernatural hierarchy. Some said they ranked after the Earth Mother and the Mother of the River, that they were greater than obia, because the ancestors punished as well as helped mankind, and when angered their punishment came swifter than that of the powerful Akantamasu gods. Others said the ancestors were greater than obia, because obia had been given to the ancestors long ago,

SARAMACCA OBIA

and it was they who in dream or vision, or in a state of possession, instructed living men in the ways of yet greater and greater obia. But there were those who held that obia ranked after the greatest of the deities, that obia surpassed the power of the ancestors, for obia knew how to make "*yorka tapu*"—preventives against troublesome ghosts, and obia men could summon the dead to enter the body of a living man to make revelations.

Whatever the position of obia in the supernatural world, its place on earth was to serve man, for of all living beings, man alone knew obia.

2

What were the manifestations of obia in the life of the Bush Negro as we found them?

A black pot with its magic powers was an obia pot, the charm worn about the neck was called an obia, the medicines we gave the natives for their eyes or their cuts were called white man's obia, and their own mixture of weeds steeped in water, which stood in the burning sun gathering a green scum until it should be ready for use, was also obia. Young Yamati who had danced susa for us did not have a cord about his neck, but, he had assured us, he had obia for long life as did his partner Sabape, though his own could not be seen, since it consisted of several obia cuts made shortly after birth, which served instead of the cord. The strings about the waists of children were obias. The slight cuts to be noticed on men's arms, on thighs, below the knee, below the shoulder blades were obia cuts, too.

Nor was that all.

Bayo had said to us, "When obia comes a man does bad things. He destroys. When mine comes, it is ugly sometimes."

It was obia, too—Apanto's obia—which had stopped our phonograph, and obia again, invoked this time by Bayo, which had strengthened the spirit of the machine.

We talked about obia to an elder, a village head, from one of the down-river settlements, which was not, however,

789 before the new moon comes, and when you do this, you
778 must say,
439

"*Obia-o,*
Your spirit must stay,
[539] *Your power must not leave this.*
Do not go elsewhere,
Do not become defiled."

789 There was the obia on which Bayo had lavished all the
778 magic he could command so that his friends might be safe in the bush. From the sacred grass known as *s'a*—the same grass from which the woven ceremonial dancing skirts are made here on the river—he made several long lengths of twine. These he wove into a square which later became the pendant of this neck obia. On this, as a base, he sewed two cowries facing each other, and in the middle of the fringed border of this pendant he fastened a bit of a macaw's feather, blue and orange in color.

The twisted cord about the neck had several knots in it where the cord met the pendant. Tying is the symbol of attaching, of binding, so that if an invocation was uttered in the making of these knots, and the twine was then drawn taut, the power was certain to be lodged inside the knots. Then, too, knots form links, and links, whether they be in a metal chain or in fiber or wood, symbolize union, and any object or ornament with links is, therefore, much valued in bush and in town. A linked chain is a favorite
• [715] gift to please the akra, the soul, among the coastal Negroes. A woman who wishes to attach her man to her will rise at
[832] night noiselessly and will knot a hair from the man's head three times, speaking her invocation. In the bush few obias are found which do not have several knots in them.

In his exuberance Bayo placed so many prohibitions on this finely woven obia, that we asked him if he could not nullify some of them.

786 "For very strong obias, we have many tchina. It is best
789 so, because no one who wants to harm you will guess all of them and so succeed in robbing the obia of its power.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Other evil spirits are *Bakru*, *Yorkas* (a Carib word), *Aze-* 776
man, and *Lybba*. The Bakru are very ugly. A Negro picked up a crying child and sat him on his shoulders. His companion noticed the child's eyes and said: "That is a Bakru." The Negro dashed the child down. The child was instantly transformed into an ape and said: "I missed you that time, but next time I'll get you." The Bakru may also take the form of little mannikins with large heads.

Yorkas are ghosts. They are very similar to our conception of haunting spooks. They may be the ghosts of dead [775] people, more especially of dead enemies who have returned to do harm.

The Azeman are the most awful of all spirits. They leave their skins every night and travel about in the form of persons without any skin. Consequently they are an ugly, bleeding sight. At dawn they assume their covering. But if the skin is found and salt placed around it, it shrinks so that it becomes too small for the Azeman to get back into. This causes them to vanish. Another method of getting rid of the Azeman is to scatter rice about. They dislike rice very much and stop to pick the grains up out of the way. In their preoccupation they do not notice the coming of dawn, which is very harmful to them.

The Lybba are spirits or ghosts similar to the Yorka.

A sleeping Bush Negro must be waked with care, as his 125 776 personal spirit, the soul, or kra, may not be able to get back 773 in time if he is too suddenly aroused.

The Djukas may be possessed by almost any spirit. During

/13 cont./

996 [782] committed. This feast, at which pigs and poultry are sacrificed, must last for four weeks and thus ends with the following new moon. They pray, dancing and singing, while from time to time they kneel in order to ask for blessings.

[778] In the place where their idol stands they plant long sticks in the ground at certain intervals, on which they let flutter a number of long narrow strips of white cotton in the manner of flags.

[781] They celebrate this feast, for which no costs are spared, with all possible solemnity; it is attended by old and young and is very important among them.

Chapter IX

Conceptions about Death and Eternity

• 775 They believe that at death the existence of the human being ends, but that the spirit of the deceased does not disappear altogether and remains among them for a long time. Also they believe in unlucky spirits, which, as a result of an earlier evil life, must wander about restlessly, while the life on earth of the peaceful spirits is supposed to have been free of misdeeds.

They do not assume rewards in the hereafter for good deeds; /14/ misdeeds, however, in their opinion, are punished with restless wandering about.

[755] They say that those spirits know all that happens, and that they can come in contact with them at their feasts, that they receive many a hint and information, and through concealed signs come to know remedies against diseases, to which they attach the fullest confidence.

Chapter X

Marriage and Marital Life

584 Their marriages take place with few ceremonies. Frequently young men and even men ask pregnant women, in case they should bring a daughter into the world, to designate that girl as their wife,

/19 cont./

696 he must sit unbound on a large fire arranged in gridiron fashion,
682 so that he burns completely to ashes.

[695] Never, however, is an accused put to death before three months have elapsed after the inquiry, because there still might possibly be a chance that his innocence will be proved.

682 In the case of a confession and the supplying of clear proof
[695] that the deceased gave cause to be poisoned, the culprit frequently escapes with a light punishment; sometimes also forgiveness is
[672] granted with general approval, with the condition that the culprit take upon himself to the third generation the obligation to be of service in everything to the descendants of the maltreated person.
681 It may also happen that in the case of various other misdeeds the
672 perpetrator is completely forgiven for his misdeed, but that upon his descendants to the third generation there is imposed the obligation to render slave services exactly as in the case of poisoning.

681 The majority of these slave services ordinarily consist of giving money, strong drink, or the necessities of life, as a result of which hard work must often be done in order to be able to fulfill them. Every day they are afraid that this or that may be exacted from them. There are indications, however, that not too great a misuse is made of this.

765 Twelve months after the burial there always takes place a great gathering in the hut of the deceased, at which time the period of mourning ends with rejoicing. Exuberant festivities are then celebrated, and that night an unusually great amount is drunk, eaten, and honor salutes fired. Everyone in the vicinity, insofar as he is able, is present on this occasion.

This festival is called tesa, the ending of the mourning period, and begins after one of the nearest relatives, who enjoys the greatest respect, takes a large calabash filled with water in his right hand and with it slowly walks forth out of the hut along the other dwellings nearby and is followed by a large number of people, during which he here and there sprinkles the water,
[775] trowéwatra, in drops on the ground, saying: Like this water, the soul of the deceased will also be pure, and all that was dear to him will remain tranquilly on earth without being disturbed by him who as spirit finds himself in the spirit world.

/72 cont./

577 671 641 The morality of the Refugee Blacks knows in effect only obligations of a social and religious order. As for everything concerning material life, each one has the absolute right, one could even say the duty, to act as he sees fit, insofar as he does not wrong anyone else.

643 671 64 [156] If the grand man gave an order obliging someone to act against his own interest, for example if he wished to lower arbitrarily the price of boats, this order would be lawfully void. If the grand man has very great personal influence, he can persuade the Boni that it is to their interest to obey such a prescription, but in no case can his command have the effect of imposing by force an arbitrary order foreign to the social and religious tradition; the present grand man is weak in character to boot, sensitive to the influence of the Creoles and very little given to exerting any authority.

643 771 In reality, the office of grand man is above all religious. The grand man centralizes, if one may say so, the struggle against evil forces and watches ceaselessly over the welfare of the collectivity.

643 764 When a man dies, his near relatives come to report on the questioning of the yɔrka. Burial cannot take place until the grand man has made sure that all the prescriptions have been filled. People come to report to him again after the burial so that he can be sure that no suprahuman danger remains.

643 775 [782] The grand man has special power over the yɔrka (spirits) of the dead, which the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks place on a level intermediate between the human and the divine. When one of these yɔrka exerts against a lineage a vengeance (kunu) whose malignity goes beyond habitual bounds, the grand man beseeches it to stop; they allege that things go back to normal, at least for a time.

This power attributed to the grand man invests him, in the eyes of the Boni, with a suprahuman character. It is the very foundation of his political power.

/73 cont./

643 The present grand man, contrary to his predecessors, has
644 only one wife. She is dressed like the other women and works
586 at her clearing like everyone else. /74/ but her marriage to the grand man imposes special obligations on her: she can not divorce him; neither can he repudiate her.

643 The attitude of the Boni toward the grand man is a curious
829 mixture of respect and disparagement. They regard him as the living symbol of their nation, and each one resents as if it were a personal insult an outsider having an incorrect attitude toward him. But their undisciplined spirit kicks up at the measures he is obliged to take to make them respect customary law, and even the authority of a poised and benevolent man like Grand Man Difu is not willingly accepted. As a matter of fact, the Boni stand for [154] the authority of the grand man as they adhere to the worship of [195] their gods, by the feeling of an absolute and inexorable necessity; in their minds the grand man is above all the priest of Odun; if the grand man were not there, they would be without defense against the wisiman, without recourse against the vengeance exercised by the yaka of the dead of other lineages.

The political power of the grand man is entirely based on these beliefs, and if they were to collapse, he would disappear [62] with them. Nobody would submit to any other law than that of the lineage, founded upon fear of the ancestors.

692 The Ilinti kuutu. This is the assembly of the men, without dis-
693 tinction of age (1) or kinship; this council (Ilinti = law) constitutes

> 1. There is no precise rule for fixing the age from which an adolescent may sit in this council. [561] It is apparently when he has reached full physical development and earns his living by his own efforts, about 18 to 20 years. He does not have to be married.

the legal apparatus of the Boni.

/14 cont./

692 693 [641] An essential principle of the social life of the Refugee Blacks is that every citizen carries the law within himself. If several men are requested to arbitrate a private quarrel, it is said that they form a Hoti kuutu. But they can hand down only a sentence of conciliation. Only the general assembly convoked by the grand man has the power to impose its decision.

692 ●995 The ordinary role of the Hoti kuutu is to judge the dead, to make sure that they were not wisimã (sorcerers), to proceed to their interrogation in order to give the force of law to the answers, especially in what concerns inheritance.

692 693 995 The Hoti kuutu meets when a death is announced; the first to arrive go to the grand man who designates two of the captains to preside over the council this time (for all the members are equal). In fact, rare are the councils attended by all the men present in the villages. Most of the time the Hoti kuutu groups only about 30 men, mostly old men.

692 The Hoti kuutu meets very rarely to judge a living man. That has happened only three times between 1948 and 1957.

692 687 In 1948 the grand man convoked the Hoti kuutu to judge a man who, duly called as boatman to take him to Saint-Laurent, had not come. He was sentenced to make a pallisade around the grand man's habitation, which took more than a month of work. /15/

692 685 In 1953 the council met to judge Loko (Dju), who had made himself guilty of aggravated theft (simulated shipwreck to the detriment of a Benzdorp trader and resale of the merchandise), for which he had been condemned by French justice to several months in prison. Loko had to make honorable amends in the presence of the assembled members of his lineage, then he was sentenced to make 50 planks for the benefit of the grand man.

[224] [643] In August, 1957, the council met to judge Pototo (Asisi-Dju), 23 years old, and Amusupé (Asisi-Aw.B.), 70 years old, who were guilty of a grave offense: misappropriation of a tapir (malpouri) killed by a Djuka who, feeling gratitude toward the grand man, had made known his intention to offer him part of the meat.

/158 cont./

156 The Boni woman, poor in emotional feelings, and jealous of her independence with respect to men, puts her pride into subsisting by her own efforts.

178 The young women, even the ones with the freest habits,
[156] stay firmly attached to their village, to their plantings, and to the mode of life they received from their grandmothers. In fact, because of its structure and customs, the society of the Refugee Blacks has much less likelihood of suffering from the poisons spread by modern life than the patrilineal societies of Black Africa.

/159/ Death; Burial Rites

761 Death is for the Refugee Blacks an event of extreme gravity.
775 In order to ward off danger and permit the yɔrka of the dead person to take its place among the ancestors, the unstinting cooperation of everyone is required.

764 The ceremonies which have to do with death and mourning
765 are by far the most important ones in the day-to-day life of the
181 Refugee Blacks; for each one they represent a very heavy material load which is accepted without recriminations. It is
[621] really a veritable mobilization, which takes place within the framework of the village and not of the lineage. The apparatus
[619] set into motion is independent of the lineage, for it must function in the same way for an outsider, Djuka or Saramaka, who dies during a trip.

764 Participation in the burial rites is for all an essential
868 religious duty. From childhood the Boni are prepared for this
767 task and become, some of them kisimɛ̃ (coffin-makers), others ɔlɔmɛ̃ (grave-diggers), some others wasimɛ̃ (bathers of the dead).

767 Kisimɛ̃ and ɔlɔmɛ̃. It can be said that in each village, ɔlɔmɛ̃
767 and kisimɛ̃ constitute customary societies, provided with an organization and wielding veritable powers for the duration of their work.

/160 cont./

764 As soon as the death is announced, the kisimã hastily construct a platform called papay (1), while waiting for the

[824]

1. Papay = canon wood /F. canon, from L. canna reed, pipe, tube -- Tr./ (Cecropia Sp.), rapid-growing shrub similar to the African parasol-tree; it is used for the construction of the platform because of the great lightness of its stem. ?

building of the coffin which will be undertaken the next day.

The wasimã bathe the dead man with warm water after transporting him to a special place in the village. A hole is dug for the run-off of this water and closed up again afterward. This place is strictly reserved for this use; people do not go there any other time (at Boniville it is behind hut No. 5).

[767] The wasimã are two in number, two men and two women; in each lineage there are at least one man and one woman who are acquainted with this work.

The wasimã remove from the dead man every object (metal, ɔbia, etc.) and dress him in clean clothes. Cotton is

• [775] put in his nostrils and a chin-strap put on, all of which will be removed at the moment when the coffin is closed (so that the yɔrka of the dead man will not be impeded in its life beyond the grave).

The body placed in the papay is carried under the mortuary shed (krɛyɔsu = house /161/ of tears). A tuft of hair and the fingernails are taken, which are wrapped in a cloth and hung inside the krɛyɔsu.

764 /162 cont./
787 business of the tribunal. The people of the dead person's lineage
76 will have to settle that among themselves after the obsequies.
[784] The role of the tribunal is to make official the cause of death and give it the force of law.

764 Then the inheritance is taken up in the presence of the
787 near relatives of the dead man. The questions are asked suc-
428 cessively: "To whom dost thou leave thy boat...?" "To whom dost thou leave thy gun (1)...?" The coffin moves each time

> 1. That, unless the dead man has, before his death, in front of witnesses, formally indicated the apportionment of his belongings; in such a case, questions are asked only for the objects whose attribution had not been clearly specified.

toward one of the people present. /Figs. 22 and 23 appear here/

764 /163/ At the end of the third day after the death the
[789] burial is prepared; the dead person is asked from daybreak on whether he is ready for that; if not it can be postponed until the next day.

[767] The diggers have been working at the cemetery since the
[827] beginning of the day. They are young and strong men who have to work slowly, for not a drop of sweat may fall into the grave or their akka would risk remaining prisoner in it.

About 4:00 P.M. the bearers promenade the dead person one last time in the village for a supreme adieu. The near
[534] relatives go to the wharf. The dead man is hoisted into a canoe
[795] while the apinti drum calls his yorka so that it will not remain in the village.

/170 cont./

428 613 It is very clear in Kotoïda's case that the inheriting is within the matrilineage in the strict sense, bɛɛ. Only the members of the Afi lineage to which she belonged can profit by it.

764 Burial. About 2:00 P.M. the women of the lineage who had been preparing the food for the ɔlɔmã since morning leave by canoe in the direction of the cemetery.

At three o'clock the last preparations begin. The occupants of the mortuary shed, completely veiled and supported by their near relatives, go to take up positions at the wharf for the last farewells (for they will not go to the cemetery).

The coffin is carried through the village one last time. This is the farewell of the dead woman to her family. The objects used in mourning are carefully collected, the earth of the shed floor raked up wherever the sanies of the cadaver might have fallen, and the whole put on the papay which is placed on the mortuary bark.

[775] At three o'clock an apinti drum is placed on the wharf to call the dead person (it is obviously a question of preventing the yɔrka from remaining in the village). The dead person turns up at the wharf. The coffin passes over a freshly cut banana-tree trunk placed at the limit of the village and of the beach. This is the symbolic passing of the dead person out of the world of the living. It is put on the canoe while the lamentations of the near relatives resound. The scene is not lacking in grandeur.

[783] The canoe draws slowly away, the drummer in the bow, while the spectators go down in a long procession to wash themselves free of the defilement of death.

[767] At four o'clock they arrive at the cemetery. The bearers of the dead person who have taken places in the canoe pass their burden to the ɔlɔmã who have come to the edge of the river. This to mark the fact that /171/ the ɔlɔmã are in authority at the cemetery. The bearers will only be present at the ceremony.

/172 cont./

764 787 Several times the paddle is seen to answer affirmatively, then negatively. Not one of those present can understand what is said, but not one shows impatience or doubt.

[613] Suddenly Tafanié orders his assistants to cut rods: the dead woman has asked that the people of her own lineage be beaten, guilty of having neglected the yɔrka's warnings. On seeing these preparations the people of Kotoïda's lineage /173/ run away in confusion in every direction while their adversaries pursue them with the appearance of having a very good time. Some take refuge in the water, others in the bush; none whatever can be caught.

Completely symbolic punishment, moreover, for at the end of ten minutes they are seen to reappear and take their places again among those present.

764 The obsequies are ended. Only the deceased's near relatives stay seated in their hammocks under the mortuary shed. They will remain there until the broko dɛ.

764 767 Payments of the ɔlɔmã. The ɔlɔmã divide up one lot of cloth, keeping track of what they have received in the preceding obsequies. That does not appear to cause any discussion. If, after this, someone who has not furnished any work wants to take one of these pieces of cloth, he may do so by offering tafia to the people present.

766 787 775 Funeral ceremonies for people who die while traveling. If a man dies in the course of a distant trip, they take from the cadaver before burying it his hair and fingernails, which are brought back to his native village; in fact, it is assumed that as long as a fragment of the body is not buried, the yɔrka remains attached to it; hair and fingernails will therefore permit the interrogation of the yɔrka and will be buried in the cemetery with the usual rites.

/174 cont./

764 Cemeteries. There are two cemeteries in Boni country: one on the lands of the Dikan lineage for the people living on the French bank, the other downstream from Kotika for the inhabitants of that village. They are ordinary places which nothing indicates from the bank, for they are covered like the rest of the country by secondary forest. The dead are buried there in graves aligned parallel to the river, about seven meters apart. The dead are placed with heads turned toward the river. No separation by lineage exists within the cemetery.

The graves are not marked by any decoration, and at the end of about ten years, the mound having settled down, no trace of the burial remains.

[767] The graves are never cleaned. Only the ɔlɔmã heads, who have received special instruction, know the graves of the principal chiefs and the boundaries of the cemetery.

769 [754] [775] The Boni never go to the cemetery alone and do not make offerings on the graves of their near relatives. Someone who would frequent the cemetery alone would be suspected of being a wisimã seeking to capture the vɔrka of a dead person.

764 487 Even if they are right near the villages, cemeteries are never connected directly to them by paths, and the dead are transported by boat. By proceeding thus they hope to isolate the villages from evil influences.

766 [761] [784] [184] If someone dies by drowning, he is buried away from the cemetery. According to Mr. W. E. van Lier, among the Diuka all drowned persons are supposed to have been victims of a kunu; the Boni do not have this conception and declare that they have lost the meaning of this custom; one notices, however, that they observe mourning for the drowned according to the usual rites.

/174 cont./

764 Children are buried with the normal ceremonies only from about the age of six on. The rule is the following: A child is buried in the cemetery and broko dɛ is done for him if the next child of the same mother is beginning to walk.

766 Young children are buried without a coffin at a special site on the edge of each village; a board is simply placed on the [828] body before filling the grave. They have the idea that very [775] young children have no vital force, and that their yɔrka cannot do any harm. /Fig. 25 appears here./ /175/

764

Mourning

After the burial the wives of the dead man (or the husband if it is a woman), the nearest relatives on the maternal side, as well as the children, sojourn eight days more in the mortuary shed, until the broko dɛ.

765 From then on the obligations of mourning are limited, [831] for the near relatives of the dead person, to abstaining for a [775] year from dancing, wearing jewelry or too fine clothes; it goes [171] completely otherwise for the spouse of the dead person; the Refugee Blacks indeed take for granted, like the Creoles of Surinam, the persistence of the sexual jealousy of the dead person, whose yɔrka is thought to remain in contact with the living for a year.

State of the spouse in mourning. The principle is that the surviving spouse, until the lifting of mourning, is subject to the will of the dead person. In order to materialize that in an obvious way, he cannot, during this whole period, wear his usual clothes but must dress exclusively in pieces of cloth appropriated for him from among the ones the dead person possessed, or given by the nearest maternal relatives of the dead person.

/175 cont./

765 For the duration of the mourning, any indiscretion of the
775 surviving spouse will draw upon him the pitiless vengeance of the
yɔ́ɔka; it is important for him to make himself forgotten, to
have a modest and decent demeanor. The dead person might
be vexed with him for having kept his health and good looks.
So they try to give the surviving spouse the aspect of a miserable
765 and unfortunate being. The dead person's relatives are par-
775 ticularly interested in having this discipline observed, for in
613 the opposite case the dead person's yɔ́ɔka would turn back in
vengeance against his own lineage. During all the mourning the
whole lineage considers itself in danger. In custom requires
that during all this period the widower (or widow) be placed
under the authority of the dead person's lineage.

765 In the case of concubinage, mourning is taken on by the
spouse even if the relations have not been made official.
People cite the example of Way (Boniville who assumed mourning for a Djuka with whom she had begun to live before he could propose to her officially.

765 State of persons in mourning. A widower's state is exactly like
that of a widow, which tends to show that in the eyes of the
[175] Refugee Blacks the dead, men and women, have the same
level of being and the same power over the living.

765 The surviving spouse is placed under the protection of
769 the ancestors of the dead spouse's lineage. Without this pro-
613 tection insured by the prayers of the members of this lineage,
he would find himself defenseless. The proof of this is that the
[628] principal sanction against him is to lift the mourning premature-
[629] ly by going to the fraga tiki to tell the ancestors that one is no longer interested in him. That amounts indirectly to cursing him (see below the example of Gambe).

/177 cont./

765 602 613 If he was sick, it was △ Baafu (L2, E58), the eldest of the group, who was to pray for him. Alémin had nothing to do with the head of the Lapé lineage nor with his wife's classificatory uncles of the Lapé 1 group.

As for Diamanti (Aw.B.2, E56, † in 1955), her husband Booki (K3, E133) spent the mourning in the house that Diamanti had had constructed for her by a former husband. It was ○Emma, Diamanti's mother, and Sanéti, Emma's younger sister, who kept him under watch, under the responsibility of △ Akodo, the dead woman's brother (all the actual uncles being dead). Booki had nothing to do with either the classificatory uncles nor the head of the Awara Bakka lineage.

When Atuku (Aw.B.1, D20) died (1956), her husband Nétali was put under the authority of Kondoku, Atuku's brother, all the uncles in both the real and the classificatory sense being dead.

765 [778] The submission that this mourning entails must not be considered as symbolic. It bears down on the surviving spouse with an intolerable weight which can be borne only because of the conviction that it is the sole means of protection against the dead person's jealousy. Not only does the widower (or widow) do nothing to free himself from it, but at the least indisposition he will add, of his own accord, to the harshness of his state.

The widower can no longer use his clothes and personal utensils; he keeps /178/ his hammock and gun. All the rest, 765 613 clothing (appropriated for the mourning), various utensils, is furnished him by the dead woman's lineage. Each woman of this lineage must give him a little of what she prepares. He himself must not ask for anything.

/179 cont./

765 431 Before coming out of mourning, the widow must procure for herself at the minimum the money necessary for a demijohn of tafia as a contribution to the festival of the lifting of mourning. She must make a present of several cans of couac to her husband's mother. [606]

765 843 184 A pregnant woman undergoes mourning exactly according to the general law. The custom described by several authors for the Saramaka, according to which the pregnant woman must join one of her husband's "brothers," does not apply to the Boni.

765 888 There are some attenuations of the harshness of mourning with respect to old women. For example in 1956, Lémiki (70 years), living in Boniville, was in mourning for her husband Tabiki (Awara Bakka, but residing since childhood with the Lapé lineage in Loka /180/ where he had been raised by his father). Lémiki alternately spent three weeks in her house and three in her husband's. It was Asamani, Tabiki's sister by the same father, who exercised authority over her. [768] [602]

765 768 This remarkable example shows that as regards mourning (rights and duties), the principle of residence plays an essential role. He who has been reared by his father is in this respect taken out of his lineage, which loses all rights and all control over the conduct of the mourning. [613]

765 The co-wives of a widower are subject to mourning on the same grounds as he, and for the same motive, since they are targets for the jealousy of the dead woman's yɔrka. [775]

[768] However, they are authorized most often to live with their maternal family. When the period of dipi baaka has ended, they may take up conjugal relations again with their husband, but at intervals of several weeks and without his being able to spend the night with one of them. Each time he must ask permission of the head of the dead woman's lineage. 765 833 [613]

/180 cont./

765 are divided up equally among all the inhabitants of the village. But if the dead person had near relatives in the village, children, nephews, or brothers, it is they who stand the main burden.

[613] Members of the dead person's lineage who are settled in other villages contribute equally to the expenses and the organizing of the festival, but in a symbolic fashion. /181/

[623] A council (kuutu) of the village inhabitants sets the date; during the two weeks preceding each one is busy. The women

765 hull and winnow rice, prepare great quantities of couac and

262 sugar-cane juice. The busimã scour the bush and have meat and fish smoked. Each one, according to his means, buys tafia, sugar, chocolate, and other articles of food liked by the Refugee Blacks.

765 The celebration of the rites occupies a whole week. This

• 775 is because, the Refugee Blacks think the influence of the dead person can be eliminated only progressively by the repetition of the rite of separation.

The first day, the yɔrka of the dead person whose mourning is going to be lifted is called by formulas beaten on the

[535] apinti drum. Then possession dances take place.

765 The second day is reserved for the material preparation for the ceremonies to follow.

[613] The third day, the spouse in mourning, if there is one, is conducted by the members of the dead person's lineage under

[822] the mortuary shed. He is dressed in red and is congratulated for having kept the mourning well. Then he is led to the river,

[783] and old women of the dead person's lineage begin to bathe him

[775] while adjuring the yɔrka to part company with him.

The fourth day at nightfall, all those present assemble

[538] at the mortuary shed. They recite tales (Anãsi tɔli), improvisations (mato), and riddles (ɔdo). This phase of the

[781] festival has as its object the concentrating of the attention of the hearers; it creates a warm, collective atmosphere which impregnates those present, bringing to them intense and highly colored emotions.

/181 cont./

765 Next come the dances, always in the order sɔnge, susa,
535 awasa, the rhythms given on the apinti drum. These are not
533 possession dances and do not appear in themselves to have a religious meaning; all involve choruses in which the singers do not accompany themselves on any instrument at all; these songs have no other meaning than to exalt life; the Refugee Blacks find their best artistic expression in them. Many of them demonstrate dazzling imagination; the subjects are extremely varied, and every year new ones are created. But there is a certain number of "classics" which reappear in each festival. Let us mention: "The man who calls his dog lost in the woods"; "The song of the Balen River"; "The woman who watches over her daughter," etc. These songs are very beautiful, and in the great mourning festivals it is difficult to hear them without emotion. Songs and dances follow one another without interruption until the sun's return. This is what is called broko dɛ, "break a day." This ritual, which has a key value in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks, appears to be the affirmation by the group of the triumph of life over death.

765 The fifth day, a kind of buffet is served to the guests
[769] under the mortuary shed. In the afternoon there is the offering of food to the ancestors, tɔwɛ nyã; this rite is a communion between the dead and the living.

[769] On the morning of the sixth day, the ceremony ends with the offering of water, celebrated not at the fraga tiki but at the edge of the shed, in honor of the ancestors. They invoke one
[775] last time /182/ the yɔrka of the dead man (or the dead woman), while asking it to separate from his spouse for good and to leave her in peace! "U puu a umã a baaka; yu ãŋga umã yu paati tiɛ, na: mu siki, na: wã sani mu du ɛŋ, a mu dɛ bũ. (We lift the mourning of (this) woman; thou and the woman, you separate from each other today; she must not be sick, nothing must happen to her, she must be well)."

/182 cont./

965 Then they address the dead person in the name of the people of his village: "We have done with thee, stay there where God has placed thee."

The spouse in mourning is again bathed in the river by old women who have themselves gone through mourning.

[969] [975] Then they address the yɔɔka of the ancestors and the entities of the Beyond who are imagined to have come in a crowd: "Ala sani di kɔm ya, yu mu luku ala ŋga bõ; u kaba ŋga yu; yu sa: waka ala peesi; (Each one of the beings who have come, be benevolent toward us all; we have finished with thee, thou canst go anywhere)."

On the seventh day most of those present begin to leave. An intimate ceremony brings the dead person's near relatives together in the very house where he died. They weep and lament one last time. Then a last offering of food is made in the same house, and they repeat the adjuration: "We have done with thee; stay where God has placed thee."

[968] [613] [431] The eighth day, the spouse whose mourning has just been lifted is conducted solemnly back to his village by the people of the dead person's lineage. He is congratulated, he offers food and drink to all those present. What he might have had left of savings disappears on this occasion.

He must sleep three nights in his village, still without being able to have relations with a woman. When this time limit has gone by, he comes to give back the red clothes which the dead person's lineage had lent to him. Only then is he free.

[114] Notes taken in *Boniville in November, 1957 on the occasion of* the lifting of mourning for Béniti. This festival is given for the lifting of mourning for ○ Béniti (Dju. E5, living in Boniville, † in 1955 at 75), of △ Tito (Kotika, Boniville, † in 1955 at 15), and of △ G. . . , boy of ten, son of a woman of the village of L'Enfant Perdu (Dip. I), dead in Boniville where he was reared by Téréza. The festival is given more than two years after death. Sometimes, when there is no spouse subjected to mourning

/186 cont./

765 In the evening the young people dance in front of the houses of several men who have given the tafia, but that no longer has the character of a ceremony. All is over at eleven o'clock in the evening.

On the sixth day, Nov. 13, at seven o'clock, the elders assemble again in front of the /187/ banana leaves where a little of the food offered the day before remains (dogs and chickens have eaten part of it).

A long palaver begins, disconnected and disconcerting, whose purpose escapes me. The clearest thing coming out of it is that the captains make known what the grand man (absent from the ceremony) told them in the morning. They thank the grand man for this festival which has gone off without any incident; they say that they can be counted on if some mourning rises in another village.

[291] [535] [177] Todo makes apologies to the grand man because the young people were dressed in a new style (large loincloths /calimbés/ reaching to the ground) and danced several Creole dances. He says to the audience that this does not conform to custom and that the true Boni dances are sigui, susa, awana.

Next Fintiman pours water gently on the banana leaves, calling the dead whose mourning is being lifted. "We pour water for you, watch over the people in your family, over the grand man and over those who have worked for the mourning, that they may be in good health, that nothing had happen to them.

We have done with you; stay where God put you."

765 775 [568] While pronouncing these words, Fintiman breaks his dead mother's bench and dish (for the dead boys, nothing had been brought). It is a question not only of marking the break with the living but of procuring for the dead woman what will be necessary for her in the Beyond. For this purpose a paddle is also broken, which her son Kléments prepared for her, and calabashes prepared by her daughters.

[1974] /216 cont./ The akka is an immortal divine element
[1975] attached to a human person for the duration of his life and which, at his death, returns to the domain of the divine, no longer keeping any contact with men.

[828] The akka is the source of life from which the human personality is nourished, but it is not this personality.

The Refugee Blacks consider the akka as a personal protector god; they are apt to say mi gado, my god, for mi akka.

The concept of the akka was spontaneously transposed by the West Indians into that of the guardian angel. They speak in Haiti of the "big good angel."

For Refugee Blacks the life, health, and destiny of a man depend above all on the akka; they think that if the akka went away, the body and mind of the man could not remain bound together; he would die or lose consciousness. This is, a little, what happens each night, for they believe that the akka leaves the body to wander, which brings on the loss of consciousness.
[1954] /217/ So the wisumã, the sorcerer, tries to profit by this to capture the akka so that the man may become insane.

The akka is thought to have tastes, desires, and goals foreign to those of the personality and of which the man, in his
[1953] ordinary consciousness, has no knowledge. The akka can make the man sick if he behaves in a way that it does not like. So
[1955] when someone is sick, he resorts to divination in order to know whether it is not the deed of the akka and, in the affirmative, for what motive. One might think that the akka behaves like a conscience in the moral sense of the term; that it gets angry if its bearer does something evil. But in reality the akka shows itself to be as arbitrary, wicked, and venal as the lower gods of the Refugee Blacks. If it gets angry (they say: mi akka mãndi), this is because its bearer wears clothes of a color it does not like, or because it wants an offering. We have never, on the other hand, heard a case spoken of in which the akka might have become angry with its bearer because he was a thief, liar, or adulterer.

/218 cont./

The yaka. (The Boni say yaka, the Djuka and the Creoles of Suriname yaka.) The expression yaka is used only to designate the spirits of the dead. But of course the elements of the yaka are present in the living man.

/219/ The yaka is the ordinary consciousness of the man, his memories, tastes, aversions, all that constitutes his personality. All that, for the Refugee Blacks, does not come from the divine plane but at least in part from former human existences, and after death will not reach the divine plane. The Refugee Blacks seem to believe that after death, the yaka remains unchanged, will keep the same desires, the same aversions, the same thoughts; it is simply no longer in ordinary life, it has passed to another plane, intermediate between the divine and the human, from whence it continues to remain in a certain fashion in contact with men. The various informants we questioned on this subject declare that they have no idea of the fate of the yaka after death, of its place with respect to the divinities, of the rewards or punishments of which it may be the object according to the manner in which the man lived. These are questions they never ask themselves openly and which hardly interest them, all their interest being centered on earthly life. The idea of a paradise is absolutely foreign to them; they acknowledge however in the case of the winimã that they will be stripped of the force that every living being receives from the divine, and that thus destroyed as beings, they will no longer be more than empty shadows.

The gaã yaka, spirits of the ancestors, are believed to watch over their descendants and are subject to worship.

Ancestor worship. Among the Refugee Blacks, ancestor worship is intimately bound up with all the acts of family and social life. They assume that the yaka of the ancestors are always present near their descendants and that they protect them. It is through them as intermediaries that the force emanated by the divine is received by the living.

/220 cont./

769 her voice changed, imitating a man's; eyes staring, she ap-
778 peared to have no longer any consciousness of what was around
782 her. Then suddenly the attack would cease and she would busy herself with her household occupations in the most natural fashion. The yɔ́ɔka which was believed to become incarnate thus in Mili's body spoke of very commonplace things, repeating indefinitely sentences concerning minor happenings of the day, or asking for a small offering of tafiz on its behalf at the fraga tiki. A psychiatrist would doubtless have thought of an attack of mental dissociation.

(784) These yɔ́ɔka are not feared by their involuntary bearer, since none can exercise a kumu against his own lineage; they manifest themselves only exceptionally, sometimes indicating remedies or warning of dangers. Thus it is that A... of the Dipéiu II lo, who has a Kumẽnti besides, also has a yɔ́ɔka which revealed itself in him without ever having been called on. According to his comrades, this yɔ́ɔka sometimes steps in with a cavernous voice, notably in September, 1952, during a hunting expedition, where it shouted: "Let us not go that way, we shall meet a jaguar." A... lost consciousness for only a few seconds and had not been aware of anything. /Figs. 26 and 27 appear here./ /221/

795 The nɩ̃mɛɛki (1). Each Refugee Black has a nɩ̃mɛɛki, that is
828

1. This word seems to be a deformation of English "namesake" (homonym).

to say that certain elements of his personality are thought to originate from the reincarnation of a certain ancestor. This is a very obscure conception with the Boni, and without apparent correlation with their notion of the akka and the yɔ́ɔka; they never say: "I am the reincarnation of So-and-So," but simply:

/221 cont./

775 828 [184] "My nẽmseki is So-and-So." Mr. W. F. van Lier, speaking of the Djuka who have much clearer conceptions on religious questions, gives an important clarification: in 1915 Grand Man Oséisi became incarnate in a newborn baby of the tribe, nevertheless he continues to be invoked as an ancestor before the fraga tiki. It seems, then, that it is a case of certain elements of the personality which are believed to be reincarnated, and not of the yɔrka as a whole.

787 It is important to distinguish the nẽmseki from possession by a yɔrka. Possession by a yɔrka is an exceptional occurrence which is manifested in the form of trances, the yɔrka speaking through the mouth of its bearer; outside of these possessions, this yɔrka is believed to reside in the abode of the ancestors.

[613] A yɔrka can reveal itself thus only in a person of its matrilineage.

775 828 The nẽmseki, on the contrary, exists in all men. The ancestor who is thus partially reincarnated is generally on the paternal side, but this is not an absolute rule.

A man is not conscious of his nẽmseki and is acquainted with it only because his parents have revealed it to him. This nẽmseki does not manifest itself in anything in everyday life; it does not impose any kina whatever and does not ask for offerings. However, when a young child falls ill, divination may reveal that it is the doing of the nẽmseki which is indignant at being misunderstood. People hurry then, always with the help of divination, to find out the name of the nẽmseki, proceeding by elimination. As a general rule, they allow themselves to be guided by resemblances of physiognomy, birthmarks calling to mind, for example, certain scars of the dead ancestor.

[753] [755]

It is believed that the older a man is when he dies, the more time he will allow to elapse before being reincarnated.

/222 cont./

776 --The Papa gadu (Vɔɔdɛ). The kunu that one of them
784 exercises upon a lineage comes uniformly from the fact that in
613 times past, one of the ancestors had inadvertently killed a
[825] dagowe snake (boa), usual bearer of the Papa gadu. For example,
the snake might have perished in the burning of a clearing.
[787] Some time after, the god had possessed a member of the lineage
and revealed that henceforth it would exercise a kunu;

--The Ampuku. The kunu of an Ampuku begins in an analogous way; in days gone by an ancestor had, for example, cut a katu tree without performing the rites suitably, or had made a clearing in a place where an Ampuku was residing;

--The Kɛntamasu (who call themselves Aɛɔɛo), gods of the termitaries, much feared, may exercise a kunu if, before cutting a clearing, someone has, in spite of all his searching, allowed a termitary to escape him, which thus was not the object of the indispensable rite;

775 --Finally, the kunu may be brought by a dead person's
784 yɔɔka. For example, a man of lineage A had once upon a time
613 unjustly accused a man of lineage B. The latter committed
762 suicide out of revenge. The meaning of this act is not the same as in Europe. It is not a question of making one's enemies live in shame and remorse, but by sacrificing one's life to cause an eternal vengeance to be wreaked upon one's enemies. Some time after the suicide, the yɔɔka reveals itself in a man of his lineage and announces that it will pursue the members of lineage A eternally with its kunu.

784 Thus the offenses which the kunu punishes are not moral sins as we understand them, but involuntary acts without inner meaning. The purifications and sacrifices demanded are likewise purely exterior acts.

/223 cont./

784 begin his instruction in order to become a suitable bearer. (If
613 this procedure were not carried out, the god would not cease
428 its kunu at all, and the possibility of entering into contact with it and appeasing it would be lost. Besides, sooner or later it would come back into a member of the lineage.)

784 The kunu strikes without regard to kinship ties, even if
613 kinship between the bearer of the god and the supposed victim
[608] is very distant. Ex.: The Papa gadu of Donasi (Papaliston lo) struck a young woman, Gou, with illness in January, 1957. Donasi and Gou are only relatives in the ninth degree. The
[782] members of the entire Papaliston lineage assembled to supplicate
[361] the god: even people of Wéniti village in the lower Maroni came.

775 The kunu exercised by the yaka of a dead person has a
784 special importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks, for it has
613 profound repercussions on the relations among the lineages.

In principle, the yaka exercising a kunu has as bearer
[428] a living member of its own lineage, who will bequeath it at his death. But it is also possible that the yaka may take as bearer a member of the lineage upon which it exercises the kunu.

In both cases, the rite to appease the yaka is the same;
[782] the yaka can be invoked effectively only by the members of its own lineage, since one can pray (at least in principle) only to one's own maternal ancestors.

When matrilineage A is struck by the kunu exercised by a yaka of matrilineage B, its members thereupon go to consult the elders of matrilineage A /sic/ and ask them to try to calm
[769] the anger of their ancestor. The members of lineage A assemble
[778] around the fraga tiki of lineage B, in back of the elders of this
[787] lineage, in the presence of the bearer of the yaka, who calls on his gita, goes into trances and prophesying. The yaka
[782] usually asks for an offering of cane juice and tafia, which is made at the foot of the /224/ fraga tiki by the elders of lineage B (for the rite to be efficacious, the offering must have been furnished by lineage A).

/224 cont./

775 A yorka exercising a kunu may also demand that another
784 smaller fraga tiki be erected for it beside the principal fraga
769 tiki of its lo. In the villages of the Refugee Blacks one often
778 sees these little crosses provided with white veils like the main
613 fraga tiki, planted beside it a little obliquely.

The notion of the kunu exercised by a yorka explains the
775 rarity of murder among the Refugee Blacks. How would you
784 dare to kill someone when, as soon as it is freed from his body,
674 his yorka will have full latitude to make you sick, to make tree branches fall across your path, to cause to suffer and to
775 kill all those dear to you? If someone is blinded by hate, it
784 is the idea of suicide which will dominate him. In October,
762 1952 we were able to observe this reaction in a man who had just been subject to a deep humiliation: "I am going to kill my body in order to go to kill that man and his whole family," he said to us, prey to a fit of rage; fortunately, when the fit had passed, he came back to a more sound outlook on things.

775 It is to be noted that a yorka cannot exercise a kunu
784 against its own lineage. This notion explains why, in the times
613 when they exercised absolute authority, tribal chiefs had those
696 condemned to death executed by men of the same lineage.
[171] Apparently similar practices were the rule in olden days in several African kingdoms, which allows one to think that notions analogous to those of the kunu may be rather widespread there.

784 Situation of the various lineages with respect to the kunu. There
613 we touch on one of the most secret aspects of the social life of the Refugee Blacks. Years of living among them are necessary in order to obtain precise information on the nature and the mode of action of the kunu acting on the various lineages.

784 Nearly all the entities which now exercise their kunu on the
613 Boni have been in their lineages since a very ancient period,
428 to the point where the name of their first bearer is forgotten. They are transmitted inexorably from generation to generation. In the course of the ages, the kunu have accumulated, and now certain lineages are living with four, five, or even six kunu.

/224 cont./

784 613 776 787 Kunu of the Dju lineage. The Dju lineage in 1958 was affected by four kunu:

--An Ampuku which has exercised its vengeance since time immemorial, to the point where the origin of this kunu is no longer remembered, its bearers being Dabisa (G25) and Adyidya (E19), two women about 50 years old. This Ampuku formerly had as its bearer an ancestor named Agoabuchi, who died about 1940. Two or three years after his death, it manifested itself in Dabisa;

--A Papa gadu named Adawa which has also pursued the lineage with a pitiless vengeance since the time of the great ancestors. It revealed itself to the preceding generation in an ancestress named Sapiké (D5), and a long time after her death it passed into Pamasa (E26), a woman of 35. This kunu has grown worse since /225/ two other Papa gadu revealed themselves in recent years in two women named Kulina (F9) and Diana (E9). They declared that they were the descendants of the first one and that they came in support of it;

784 613 775 787 [562] --A yarka whose name nobody wanted to tell us because they were so afraid of it. It is that of a man of the Awara Bakka lineage, who committed suicide two or three generations ago when he was unjustly accused of a crime by a man of the Dju lineage. Since then, this yarka has been exterminating the Dju lineage little by little. Its bearer in 1958 was an old woman of the Awara Bakka lineage, named Namu;

784 613 776 787 --A Kantamasu since, a very long time ago, an ancestress whose name is forgotten inadvertently destroyed a termitary while burning a clearing. It has as bearer a very old woman named Wima (E3) († 1957), and it manifested itself also in Ata (F2).

784 613 787 562 Thus, in this group, the maleficent gods had exclusively women as bearers; out of about 20 adult women, seven were participating in the functioning of the kunu.

/225 cont. /

784 One sees from this example how the influence of women,
613 exerted in arbitrary fashion, in a domain placed outside of
780 custom and ordinary social life, weighs on the life of the
562 group.

Kunu of the Dipélu lineage. The situation of the Dipélu
614 lineage with respect to the kunu is particularly interesting.
571 Although split for perhaps 100 years into two separate groups, Dipélu I (L'Enfant Perdu and Apatu villages) and Dipélu II (Kormotibo and Asisi-Dip. II villages), this group still constitutes an unsvided unit with respect to the kunu. Neither time nor
[484] distance (it takes more than a week of traveling to make the round trip between L'Enfant Perdu and Apatu) has been able to
[755] break it up. The Apatu people come very often (at least some of them) to be present at the collective prayers which take place at L'Enfant Perdu to appease a kunu in order to cure a sick person.

The oldest kunu ("since Africa") is that of a Papa gadu
614 god whose letter was ○ Dika (Dip. I. D10, † 1951) and which
276 passed after her death into ○ Pééchina (Dip. I. E42, L'Enfant
[787] Perdu village). This kunu strikes indiscriminately the people of L'Enfant Perdu, Apatu, Kormotibo, Asisi-Dip. II, and the Dipélu fraction residing in Boniville. To it, these past years,
[761] have been attributed the death of ○ Way (Dip. I. E6, living
[753] in Boniville), the illness of △ Akwali (Dip. II. F7, Kormotibo village) and of ○ Bongo (same village).

Another very old kunu is the one exercised by the yaka
● 226 of a Surinam Creole who had settled with the Dipélu people a
614 very long time ago. He was suspected of sorcery and killed.
[602] Since then his yaka comes back regularly to exterminate the Dipélu.

/225 cont. /

784 Having no known lineage (his family, if he had any, was
● 786 in Surinam), it had taken people of the Dipélu lineage as
614 bearers. The last was △ Denis † in 1938. Since Denis'
787 death, it no longer has a bearer. The questioning of the dead
reveals that they died by its kunu. The members of the two
[782] fractions of the lineage meet together (at least two or three
members of each village come) to supplicate it.

784 A third kunu, very interesting in origin and supposed
614 action, /226/ in 1957 was borne by Kwau (Dip. I, E1, Kotika
village). It results from the killing of an anaconda snake by
Apatu † (Dip. I, C1), companion of the explorer Crevaux
when he was traveling to /in/ Brazil. Upon contact with
Europeans Apatu had become a freethinker and was no longer
[153] observing the laws of his people. Among the later victims of
[155] this kunu was counted Kwami (Dip. II, F4, Kormotibo village)
who, gravely ill, had had to go to L'Enfant Perdu where the
god had been invoked for him and offerings made. The death
[161] of Manga (Dip. I, E5, Boniville, † about 1930) was particu-
larly attributed to it.

No other kunu has revealed itself in Apatu village since
its founding in 1862.

784 A fourth kunu concerning all the Dipélu has as bearers
614 women of the Dipélu II group. It results from the inadvertent
786 murder of a Papa gadu whose bearer was a dagowe snake killed
787 in the course of the nivrée /fishing/ of a pool by Akonné
562 † (Dip. II, B1), transmitted to Kondo †, then to Alama
(Dip. II, E1).

Since then Papa gadu have revealed themselves in
○ Apalta (Dip. II, F9, Kormotibo village) and in ○ Kaasa
(Dip. II, G28, Asini-Dip. II village). They declared them-
selves to be the descendants of the first and to come in support
of it.

/226 cont./

784 182 Finally, a fifth kunu is threatening to show itself. This is a remarkable affair which clarifies at the same time the legal and religious conceptions of the Refugee Blacks.

672 About 1918, a stupid accident which happened at Dagouédé (gun which went off by itself at the moment when it was being stowed in a boat) caused the death of a girl, Santonia, daughter of Kuluba (Aw.B.1). The unwitting perpetrator of the accident was Kwau (Dip. I. Apatu village). (692) There were people in the Awara Bakka lineage who accused him of having done it on purpose, but the grand man judged that he was innocent and the affair was shelved.

784 614 Now in April, 1957, Kiboya (Dip. II), a young woman of 25, was attacked by a fit of possession. It was Santonia's 775 yaka which was supposed to reveal itself in her. It declared 787 that it was going to exercise a kunu on Dipélu. It was not claiming that Kwau had killed her on purpose and even asked the Awara Bakka not to make reprisals.

628 614 Nevertheless, full of fury, a party of Awara Bakka went the next day to attack the village of L'Enfant Perdu, demolishing a certain number of huts and pursuing the inhabitants, some of whom took refuge in the water and others in the bush. There were, however, no serious blows.

The next day they went to attack Kormotibo in the same way. It is to be noted that only after that did they think of blaming Kwau, who was then living at Wacapou. But the grand man had intervened in the meantime to re-establish peace.

In both cases the façades of several shacks were smashed and two men, Bonana and Amatodja, who had run less fast than the others, were struck symbolically.

/226 cont./

628 The members of the Dipélu lineage did not believe a
614 word of this affair, convinced that Kiboya, a proud and scheming
784 woman, had pretended the gita to make herself interesting.
787 Nevertheless, to bring back peace, they decided to go to Asisi
156 and to ask pardon in front of the fraga tiki, pouring tafia,
769 asking the ancestors not to take vengeance, the living being
778 reconciled.

784 /227/ (Note that in this affair, the yɔrka manifests itself in a
614 member of the lineage on which it exercises the kunu.)
775

784 Kunu of the Awara Bakka lineage. The Awara Bakka lineage
614 does not form a unit with respect to the kunu, and the situation
613 of its fractions is particularly interesting. This lineage includes:

--A principal fraction (Aw.B.1);

--A fraction whose kinship ties with the first are forgotten (Aw.B.2), whose position with respect to the kunu we have not been able to define.

--Finally, a group descended from Anèta, Djuka woman, wife of Péèyon † (Aw.B.1) settled in Asisi with her descendants in uterine line. We have called this group Aw.B.3. It has a separate kunu originating in the Djuka village of Tabiki where Anèta came from.

784 The Awara Bakka I, all living in Asisi village, had to
787 our knowledge three kunu in 1957:
776 --One exercised by a Papa gadu god, porne up to 1957
613 by O Kukuba (Aw.B.1, D1). At her death in April, 1957,
428 she bequeathed it, contrary to custom, to a person of another fraction, Summa (Aw.B.3). But the god did not ratify this legacy and, in January, 1958, it manifested itself in O Léna (Aw.B.1, F52), thus remaining in the same lineage;

/227 cont./

784 --A second, very old kunu is exercised by a yərka of the
● 225 Dipélu II lo. Gy...., dead so long that he cannot be placed on
227 the genealogical table; it, too, had as bearer a member of the
613 lineage on which it was exercising the kunu. ○ Akumuyé
614 (Aw.B.1, D17) † 1957.

Thus the Awara Bakka and Dipélu lineages exercise the kunu reciprocally one against the other;

784 --A third kunu of recent origin is exercised by a Papa
786 gadu god which had as bearer in 1957 ○ Irma (Aw.B.1, E37).
613 It results from the inadvertent killing of a Dagowe /sic/ snake
[789] by Lo Tawa, Irma's brother. At the end of 1957 this kunu
[753] had yet brought on only illnesses of such a kind that people could still hope to exorcise it.

784 The Aw.B.3 group has a special kunu of its own and
613 considers itself out of reach of the kunu of the Aw.B.1.

Aněta, originating in the Djuka village of Tabiki, is subject to the kunu of that lineage as are all her descendants in uterine line. On occasion of serious illnesses the latter have
[782] sometimes had to go to Tabiki village to supplicate the kunu.

This kunu is the one of a god borne by Akanté, Aněta's daughter. In September, 1956, Summa, Akanté's daughter,
[786] [787] was sick. The god revealed that this was its doing. It was
[782] supplicated (the other fractions joined the group) and she then got well.

613 Kunu of the Afi lineage. The descendants of Afi † (woman
621 coming from the tribe of the Bakabuchi of Surinam) live for the most part in Assi in close symbiosis with the /226/ Awara Bakka lineage. They are in a situation analogous to that of Aněta's descendants (Aw.B.3) but, perhaps by the simple fact of their number, they form a more individualized unit.

784 /228 cont./
613 They are the object of three kunu:
786 --One exercised by a Papa gadu god whose bearer up into
787 1956 was Kotolida († Oct. 1956), who bequeathed it to ○
Mani (Afi lineage, d12).

784 --The other exercised by a yɔrka of the Lapé lineage.
● 785 This kunu dates from about 60 years ago; Alémin (Afi lineage,
613 b3, Kormotibo village), 80 years old in 1957, had when he
was young cut a clearing in a place which was found to be an
old abandoned Boni cemetery (opposite Maripasoula). Some
[787] time afterward, a yɔrka revealed itself in a woman of the Lapé
lineage, saying that it was exercising a kunu against the family
of the sacrilegious person.

[786] It is to this yɔrka, whose bearer is M... (L2, Boniville),
that the death of Kotolida in October, 1956 is especially attributed.

--A third kunu is exercised by A..., of the Papalston 2
[684] lineage. A... had committed pikadu. Surprised by Alémin
(Afi lineage), he had paid the latter to obtain his silence.
[786] But Alémin had taken. Dishonored, A... committed suicide
with a gunshot; some time afterward his yɔrka revealed itself
in Alémin; it exercises a kunu on this lineage.

613 Situation of the other lineages with respect to the kunu. The
614 Papalston lineage is divided into two groups: Papalston 1 (the
784 principal one) and Papalston 2, of which there remain only
three living members: two women and one young man. This
remainder of a lineage continues to bear its own kunu, which
is unique and separate from that of the principal group.

The principal group forms a unit with respect to the kunu.

The Lapé lineage, cut from the point of view of genealogy
into two pieces, forms a unit with respect to the kunu. We
[614] have been able to collect only fragmentary information on the
various kunu of this village.

/228 cont./

784 A kunu is exercised by a Dipélu yaka, borne in 1956 by
785 a Loka woman. It is invoked before the fraga tiki of l'Enfant
768 Perdu village (Dipélu). Sometimes a broko di is celebrated
613 for it in the same form as the ceremony of the eighth day after death.

784 We have likewise not been able to collect complete
613 information on the kunu of the Kotika lineage. This lineage,
114 divided into three fractions, forms a unit with respect to the kunu.

784 A kunu is exercised by the yaka of a Surinam Creole
613 assassinated in formertimes by a member of the lineage. Its
785 bearer in 1956 was Toto (K1, E68), a man of the Kotika in
789 living in Sontville. In 1958 a young woman of the lineage,
[761] Awini (K1, E37), died suddenly; the yaka revealed that it
[689] had struck Awini because she had a liaison with Sintamann (K3, E145), thus committing pikadu. The idea of the collective responsibility of the lineage is so deeply accepted by the Boni that the near relative of the dead woman did not reproach Sintamann at all.

784 /229/ A yaka of the Kotika lineage may exercise a kunu on
613 the Djuka. This is the case of an affair going back to 1950:
785 a young woman died one time after having a serious discussion
761 with a Djuka woman who had hit her. Deaths among the Djuka
619 these last years had been attributed to its vengeance.

It seems that there is no other kunu exercised by a Djuka
784 upon a Boni lineage and vice versa. This is surprising, con-
619 sidering the fights which in former times set the two nations
613 against each other.

The Djuka and Saramaka living isolated in the midst
621 of the Boni know their kunu, which were revealed to them in
784 childhood. In case of sickness, they employ divinatory pro-
[755] cedures in order to know what kunu is concerned, then they
[613] make offerings. But in case of serious illness, they are forced to go back to the village of origin of their lineage.

/231 cont./

996 which people do not hesitate to come to ask for remedies or
987 opinions, in spite of the evil they have done to the lineage and perhaps will do tomorrow. It is even allowable to wonder whether people do not prefer to consult the most wicked divinities, for they are believed to be stronger.

984 The kumu focuses, turns aside toward high purposes the
991 blind forces of superstition, fear, and rancor. Several authors
114 who have written on the Refugee Blacks have stated that
954 calamities were almost unfailingly attributed to sorcery (wisi). This is a grave error due to the fact that they believed they could transpose to the Refugee Blacks what is observed among the Creole populations of Surinam. If this were true, no
[989] positive social bond could exist. We believe we can assert that among the Refugee Blacks divination lays the blame on sorcery in only scarcely a tenth of the misfortunes. Here,
984 among other examples, are several typical cases concerning
(114) Boni who worked with us or whom we have known especially well:

[953] --In 1948, Fustiman (Dju) falls ill (violent pains in the
[996] legs): kumu of a Kinamaau.

[952] --In 1948, Galmo (Papalisto) is accidentally hurt (gun backfire): kumu.

[953] --In 1949, Dolik, captain of the Dju lo, is smitten with
[961] hemiplegia and remains paralyzed. He dies in 1951: kumu
[996] of a Papa gadu.

961 --In 1950, a Saramaka is killed in a hunting accident (a gun in poor condition went off by itself): [illegible] (accident).

[954] --In 1951, Kanayen (Kotika) drowns while sailing at night on the river: wisi.

[984] --In 1951, Loka (Dju) dies at the age of 70: kumu of an
[996] Amguako.

952 --In 1951, F... (Dju) is seriously hurt by the falling of
984 a branch while cutting his clearing: kumu of a yoka.
995

/231 cont./

--In 1952, Dolo (Awara Bakka) dies almost all of a sudden with the symptoms of peritonitis: kunu, punishment for incest committed by another member of the lineage.

--In 1952, Maèndo, ten years old, son of Otaya (Awara Bakka) accidentally drowns: natural accident (Sagaku).

--In 1954, Béniti (Dju) dies at nearly 75 years of age: kunu of a Papa gadu.

--In 1954, Agyénéti (Aw.B.) dies almost all of a sudden: killed by Obia (he was a wisimè).

--In 1955, Tabiki (Awara Bakka) dies at over 80: natural illness.

--In 195 , Kotoida /sic/ (Afi lineage) dies suddenly, aged about 50: kunu of a yaka.

--In 1957, F... (Lapé) is gravely ill with symptoms of typhoid: kunu of a Papa gadu.

--In 1957, Sokodo (Dip. II) dies at 40: kunu of a Kitamasu.

/232/ One observes that in the 15 cases cited here, the kunu interferes ten times, while in three cases natural causes: illness, accident, were assumed.

In reality, the Refugee Blacks do not have the conception of a natural world, subject to known or knowable laws, which is set against a supernatural world. The intervention of a Papa gadu is neither more nor less natural than an illness or an accident. There is only, on the plane of human life, more or less frequent intervention by suprahuman forces. The intervention of these forces is made according to laws which embrace the totality of beings and things. Laws which men cannot understand but of which they believe they have a partial and empirical knowledge.

/232 cont./

75 784 776 It is important not to confuse the kunu with the sufferings which other divinities can arbitrarily make men undergo. The kunu has a systematic character. But a divinity theoretically beneficent, and which has come into a man after being called on, may also from time to time bring misfortunes if such is its whim of the moment.

752 776 784 In 1949, G... (Dju) was busy cooking a crab in the house of his mother D... A machete which was fastened to the wall suddenly detached itself and wounded him in the right hand. Now his mother had an Ampuku which had imposed [189] the crab on her as kina. This Ampuku, immediately called [428] on, revealed that it really was it which had struck G..., for it did not like to see D...'s son eat crab (note that G... was not at all held to the observance of this kina, for no kina is transmitted from mother to son).

784 775 613 969 Neither must the kunu exercised by a yaka be confused with the vengeance that a dead person can exercise against the members of his own lineage in order to punish them for having neglected their duties.

Punishment inflicted by an ancestor of the lineage seems for the Boni to be a notion distinct from that of the kunu. Vengeance exercised by a yaka upon its own lineage is regarded as exceptional and devoid of the inexorable and definitive character of the kunu, but they assume it to be [962] possible. They cited to us the case of Yali (Loka), who [153] committed suicide when accused of sorcery by the people [961] of his lineage. Since then, his yaka has caused sicknesses and deaths in his own village.

776 784 613 Conversely, a god which exercises the kunu upon a lineage may in certain cases intervene in favor of this lineage if such is its whim of the moment. Thus the death of Diamanti [961] (Aw.9.2, Asisi village, † in 1955) is attributed to the god which exercises the kunu on the village of L'Enfant Perdu and whose bearer was Pééchina. Diamanti had wronged someone of this village and the god had intervened against her.

/232 cont./

789 In a general way, they consider that the bearer of a god
784 exercising the kunu has nothing to fear from it personally if he
776 rigorously observes the kina which have been imposed upon
him. On the other hand, this god will punish any injury to
[562] its bearer. Thus these bearers (almost always old women) live
[888] surrounded by respect and fear.

784 /233/ Observations in January, 1958 (misfortunes attributed to
769 vengeance of ancestors on their own lineage).
613 Do (Lapé) is taken ill on January 7, 1958 with a violent
75 attack of dysentery. The same day his five-year-old son is
grievously hurt at the wharf by falling on a broken bottle.
[787] Alarmed by this coincidence, the members of the Lapé lo
assemble and proceed to question a possessed person. The latter
reveals that it is the doing of an old woman of the lineage,
Atala, dead for two years. Several lineage members have al-
ready been sick from this; the dead woman wanted to sanction
offenses committed by the people of the lineage.

The same day in Boniville, Klémenti (D,u), to whom I
am recounting this affair, tells me that before the lifting of
mourning for his mother Bénitti, he and his sisters were sick.
[787] Divination showed that it was the doing of Bénitti, who wished
to hasten the celebration of the ceremony.

784 The kunu and social peace among the Boni. Role of the grand
• 775 man. The kunu exercised by a yɔ́ɔka creates very strange re-
613 lations among the Boni lineages. As blind and arbitrary as the
591 vengeance attributed to the yɔ́ɔka may be, the Boni have the
sense of the legal unity of the lineage too much for any resent-
ment to exist: "They are killing our family...."; and yet the
two lineages find themselves henceforth irreparably bound to-
[782] gether. The victims of the kunu can no longer get along without
people of the lineage of the yɔ́ɔka which pursues them with its
vengeance, since they alone, by their prayers, can appease
temporarily the anger of their ancestor. One conceives of the

784 /233 cont./ One conceives of the
795 interminable dimension which this situation entails: if the
613 manifestations of the kuna do not cease, the victims let it be
578 understood that the prayers were badly made.... /Figure 28 appears here./

761 Every suspicious death whose circumstances lead to the
628 belief that /234/ an inhabitant of another village was responsi-
613 ble can bring on a punitive expedition against that village and
[784] other villages of the same kin group. By taking this vengeful attitude even before the grand man has been notified and the blamed people heard, the people of the dead person's lineage are thinking above all else of taking precautions against the action of the dead person, who could turn back his vengeance
628 against them. Actually, these fights are above all symbolic; the wisdom of the Refugee Blacks has promulgated precepts which many nations could take as a pattern, in order that these punitive expeditions might not have serious consequences:

--One may strike only with the fists, and blood must not flow;

--Men may strike only men, while the women find fault with women;

--One may fight only on the village common and before witnesses, never in the bush or on the river. As a general rule, the people aimed at by the expedition do not resist, but flee into the bush or on the boats, or group themselves around the fraga tiki, holy place which the aggressors must respect.

628 We have told about the expedition made in April, 1957
613 by the people of Asisi-Awara Bakka against the villages of L'Enfant Perdu (Dipéiu I) and Kormotibo (Dipéiu II). Eight years earlier, in 1949, another squabble had thrown the Dipéiu against the Awara Bakka after the death of Pétikona (Dip. II), whom her husband Boofo had taken to Surinam and who had died there. The Kormotibo people claimed that Boofo was responsible for her death. They went to attack the people of Asisi who, although three times more numerous, did not try

/234 cont./

695 Fist-fighting is practiced also between individuals as a test for justification. If someone is unjustly accused of theft, this is the first idea which occurs to him, even before the oath before Odun. On this subject the Refugee Blacks have a conception analogous to that of the ancient European, according to which God will come to the aid of the innocent person, giving him the strength of ten. This fighting, too, is subject to precise rules; it can be indulged in only publicly, in a village, never in the bush or on the river.

In spite of the importance attached to the oath before Odun, Boni custom does not make provision for any test for justification having a recognized legal value. This is what makes
628 the symbolic battle indispensable. Intervention is then asked
613 of the head of a neutral lineage in order to restore peace. If no death or calamity takes place allowing /235/ belief in the unappeased vengeance of a dead person, the affair is very quickly forgotten. For example, in examining the table of marriages among the various lineages, one ascertains that there are a number of normal unions between the Dipéla and the Awara Bakka.

643 In these kinds of affairs the grand man has two very
692 exact functions:

--To reveal pretense;

--To intervene as supreme arbiter in case of necessity.

[789] Each time that someone is attacked by a fit of possession
[995] and claims to speak in the name of a yoka coming to exercise a kumu, the lineage head conducts him to the grand man who makes sure that there is no question of pretense.

643 The grand man, in the thought of the Boni, has the
775 power to compel any yoka to manifest itself.
987 He conducts the person concerned to the fiaga siki and
695 invokes the yoka. If pretense is involved, the individual will not be able to articulate a syllable. If it is true possession, the yoka will speak through his mouth.

643 /235 cont./

995 A few years ago a Karmotibo woman was thus confounded.
787 She had wanted to pretend possession by a yɔ̃kɔ in order to
695 blackmail another family.

Grand Man Difu recently forbade the bequeathing of gods
784 and yɔ̃kɔ exercising the kunu (1). People will wait for them
428
643
[989]

> 1. Let us recall that the dead are questioned on this subject as for the apportionment of the rest of their heritage.

to manifest themselves of their own accord. That will reduce the risks of pretense.

643 The grand man's lineage does not exercise any kunu upon
613 another lineage, and no kunu is exercised upon it. For the Boni
995 this is a fundamental idea, because the grand man is precisely
784 the supreme recourse in case of persistent calamities attributed to the yɔ̃kɔ of a dead person. The grand man has the power to exorcise all the dead Boni. If his lineage exercised a kunu or were victim of one, he would be judge and litigant at the same time.

When, with the death of Grand Man Difu, the Dikan lineage is extinct, and when the function passes to another lineage, consideration of the kunu exercised by the lineages upon one another will be determinative in the choice of his successor.

787 Divination; Premonition; Dreams
626
182 Divination. It plays an essential role among the Refugee Blacks as in all animistic societies. Individuals have recourse to it to resolve all important discussions; in large measure one can say that for them it takes the place of will and conscience.

/239 cont./

754 789 Trial for sorcery does not exist among the Boni, but a procedure exists which allows for pinning down suspicions.

After each death the dead person is asked the question: Is it wisi that killed thee? The question is put last (they first ask kuno, then fyo-fyo /see p. 398/).

If it is wisi, they ask: Is it such-and-such a family? (In general it is in the lineage itself), then the names of the lineage members are uttered successively until there is a positive response.

754 695 The one who is thus accused of wisi can be summoned to justify himself before the grand man, but that can only have the character of an investigation and not a trial. The suspected individual may not be challenged. They accept the fact that it is only a matter of presumption and that the dead accuser can lie, pursuing vengeance beyond the grave.

The Refugee Blacks declare that there is no certainty about wisi.

754 613 692 A remarkable principle of customary law is that if a member of a matrilineage /240/ is believed to have killed one of his "brothers," the judiciary power of the Boni cannot interfere. It is an affair purely within the lineage.

754 Thus no one can be challenged or expelled for an act of sorcery. If one suspects somebody strongly, one will avoid him, one will turn the cold shoulder to him, all the time remaining polite, but one will not show anything. To this principle is attached a very noble idea, that of the interdiction of vengeance. He who is victim of sorcery must under no circumstances do counterworcery. He can only ask for the protection of the ɔbia. One must not under any circumstances ask a divinity or his ancestors to harm his aggressor.

754 715 787 Among the Refugee Blacks there is only one sanction against the wisimã: They will necessarily be found out at their death. The yaka of the dead person, interrogated by the elders,

754 /240 cont./
• 755 will be obliged to confess: "It is I who killed So-and-So and
789 So-and-So." They immediately inform the grand man, who
754 orders the usual procedure against wisimã: Ceremonies are
766 suspended, the body is transported by boat to a place reserved for cursed people, downstream from Boni country, and it is abandoned in the bush without being buried. Grand Man Difu is trying to modify this custom and to compel burial of wisimã in a special cemetery, but without great success up to now, it seems.

754 There is no broko dg. The spouse may remarry immediate-
765 ly. Since the property of the deceased are presumed to be ill-
768 gotten, inheritance is cancelled. The house is destroyed and thrown into the water, the boat abandoned to the current. Personal belongings of the deceased are turned over to the grand man who distributes them to whom he wishes.

The near relatives of persons thus designated are overcome with shame but can say nothing. Not a bit of responsibility is imputed to them.

754 How does society protect itself against the sorcery of the
755 wisimã from beyond the grave? According to Grand Man Difu,
784 this is a problem which does not come up. The wisimã has been killed by Odun as punishment for his crimes. Since every being draws its force from the divine, he has no more force, he is destroyed as a being, he is no longer anything but an empty shadow incapable of doing harm.

754 In fact, among the Refugee Blacks these trials of dead
775 people are very rare. Whereas about 15 persons die per year
772 on the average in Boni country, including about ten adults,
[165] in the last 20 years (1) only about 20 persons were revealed to be wisimã.

1. Disregarding the period 1957-1959 when a definite fresh outbreak of the fear of wisimã was observed.

/240 cont./

754 be wisimã. We were able to draw up the list of these from
775 information from diverse sources which agreed very well.
787 In nearly every case persons were concerned who had already been accused, during their lifetime, of being wisimã; and on whom suspicions had been directed either by reason of their solitary life and irascible character or as a consequence of a series of coincidences.

754 In general, they tend to accuse of wisi any individual
828 who systematically isolates himself, shows ill will in the observation of customary law, or shows himself particularly selfish, irascible, or jealous.

754 /241/ They tend also to suspect those who in their youth had
648 abandoned the tribe for years to settle among the Creoles, and those who frequent the Creoles of the region, known as quimboiseurs, or who go too often to Saint Laurent or Paramaribo to consult lukumã (clairvoyants) (1).

1. Consulting a clairvoyant is not contrary to the laws of Odun. Infringement of these laws begins when one claims to act upon other people.

754 Also deemed suspect of wisi is anyone who gets rich too
434 quickly or shows an immoderate love of money. A hard-
828 working man who earns his living in broad daylight is never accused of wisi. But the one who engages in trade is suspect. It is thought, for example, that G...., who furnished a shop and earns much money, is a "pledged man." It is said also of F...., a fishing contractor particularly greedy for profit. But neither has been accused openly.

/241 cont./

152 828 Jealousy. To speak of jealousy as a negative magic force is
754 not to be false to the thought of the Refugee Blacks. They re-
777 gard it as an attenuated force of wisi, capable of bringing mis-
152 fortunes even if no sorcery has been formulated. Jealousy is
157 very marked in their character, associated with an individualism
verging on asocial tendencies. When somebody is accused of
754 wisi, jealousy is the commonest explanation of the crimes
152 attributed to him; it is thought for example that a man can be
828 jealous of his brother's growing rich to the point of making him
die; that a woman may be jealous of the beauty or health of
152 her sister's children. Not laying themselves open to jealousy
156 is the constant preoccupation of the Refugee Blacks; one ob-
828 serves it in daily behavior, for example in the greetings which
576 they exchange on the river. They never say, "I am well,"
but: "I feel only fair." If they come back from hunting they
say, "I found a little."

152 Examples are not lacking of people who avoid building
156 a fine house or buying an outboard motor in order not to give
828 cause for jealousy. This preoccupation has profound reper-
[182] cussions on the material life and the economy of the Refugee
[463] Blacks; it explains in particular the absence of specialized
professions and trade among them.

Many aspects of the customary law of the Refugee Blacks
[183] have no other function than to exercise, if one may say so,
[571] tendencies toward jealousy and selfishness which, if they were
given free rein, would poison the life of the collectivity.

76 The rites of death and mourning, which we have shown
181 to constitute the pivot of the social life of the Refugee Blacks,
725 are entirely based on the idea of preserving the surviving spouse
828 from the effect of the jealousy of the deceased.

/253 cont./

Various Beliefs

578 Fyo-fyo. If a Boni is on bad terms with someone of his lineage or of another lineage, he has the absolute right to turn a cold shoulder to him and stop having anything to do with him. But
828 if, hiding his rancor, he seeks, from selfish motives, to main-
753 tain the appearance of friendly relations, he risks falling ill, be-
961 ing struck by various calamities, or even dying from the effect
789 of what the Refugee Blacks call a fyo-fyo. The nature of this
[825] force is not clear; they know only that its support is a small, common insect named fyo-fyo. They declare that if a person dies from the consequences of a fyo-fyo, one of these insects will be seen leaving his body through the nose at the moment of death.

776 Taku sani. By this name the Refugee Blacks designate maleficent
[775] entities of the bush, which they imagine as of nonhuman nature by contrast to the taku yɔrka, wandering spirits of dead people
[753] rejected by society. These entities are lower beings devoid of
[828] consciousness but dangerous for men-into whom they may enter, rendering them sick or mad. Certain of these entities are believed to reside in plants, like the wɔtkɔn; others are thought to take on the appearance of dwarfs (baku), whom certain people believe they sometimes see at dawn on the outskirts of villages.

751 One protects oneself against taku sani by special ɔbia, and those who do not feel completely secure take a certain number of precautions in addition, like that of tearing up the leaves they have used for drinking water from creeks.

demanded more knowledge of the sources of the slaves who compose the Negro ancestry of the American Negroes than was available. This knowledge, which historical documents do not give us, was, therefore, to be sought in a comparison of Negro cultures in the New World and in Africa.

As the research was continued, moreover, it became apparent that the scientific problem of the Negro in the New World held implications of larger significance, and that the history of the Negro in the New World has constituted a vast "laboratory" experiment in the processes of racial mixture and of cultural contacts. The Negroes who were brought to the New World came of various West African stocks, and here they mingled their blood with the English, the French, the Dutch, with the Danish, Spanish, and Portuguese who became their masters, and they absorbed in varying degrees the culture of these masters. At the same time, they came in contact with aboriginal Indian peoples with whom they also mingled. But the Negro has not only absorbed; he has also given. The conclusion, still held by many students, that the Negro slave came to this country a savage child with or without his loin cloth, and as naked culturally as he was sartorially, is one which cannot today be accepted.

At the beginning of our field work in Suriname, one of us went up the Suriname River to study the Bush Negroes, and the other remained in Paramaribo to collect folk lore from the town Negroes and to ascertain what Africanisms could be discerned in their beliefs and behavior. When we met and compared notes, some striking things came to light, for bush and town Negroes were, as the evidence in hand suggested, much more closely allied culturally than had been realized, while both were seen to have many aspects of culture that clearly link them with West African and other New World Negroes.

Thus, in bush and town, the Negroes hold the same concept and offer the same explanations of the soul and

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its influence on the life of man, and both employ the word *abra* for soul, a word used on the Gold Coast of Africa exactly as it is in Guiana. The day names associated with the soul are Gold Coast day names, known in Jamaica and heard in the United States, as well. In the bush the Saramacca people are "possessed" by the gods and by *abia*; in the town the Negroes are "possessed" by *winti*, a word meaning wind, and the use of wind as a euphemism for the gods is common in Dahomey and Ashanti. Many of the gods of both bush and town are the same, and they are African gods, invoked today in Nigeria, in Dahomey, in Togo, in Ashanti, and invoked also in the islands of the Caribbean. *Nyankompon*, the Bush Negro name for the Sky God, is the Gold Coast name. The Maroons of Jamaica know this deity under the same designation. *Dagowe* is a snake god in the Suriname bush and in town—the Haitians and Dahomeans dance to the same snake god, whom they call *Dangbe*. In West Africa the silk-cotton and *loko* trees are sacred. In the Saramacca villages and in the town of Parimaribo they are sacred as well, and the names are Dahomean names, known also in Haiti. In bush and town the people dance to the river gods, as do the Negroes in Africa and the Caribbean, and the pattern of the ceremonies has been preserved in part in Negro baptismal rites in the United States. Bush and town invoke the buzzard, *Opete*, so named in Ashanti, and sacred everywhere in West Africa, and the style of dancing resembles certain of the dances of the "saints" who "shout" in the Negro Sanctified Churches of the United States.

Between bush and town there is, however, this difference—the bush is Africa of the seventeenth century. In West Africa today, for example, the roof of thatch has almost everywhere given way to the white man's metal roofing. In Dahomey, where thatch is still found, we discovered a strip of wall made of woven palm fronds, such as is found on the Saramacca, in a village which had been enslaved by the Dahomean kings in the early seventeenth century and had remained enslaved until the conquest

of him from whom it had dropped. The same belief in the identification of the essence of one's being with any part of one's body which actuates so many primitive peoples, and is so characteristic of West Africa, exists among the Bush Negroes. It is for this reason that when an African or a Bush Negro dies away from home some of his hair and nail parings are sent to his native village for ceremonial burial. And it is for this reason, too, that for three mornings we saw the party of five young men go out from Gankwe to dig the grave of Sedefo's brother and heard the drum's invocation,

Orio tiatia
Orio ke'e dya.

2

The night was still and dark. The natives said the moon was dead and this was the time for the dances to the river gods, but since there was a death in Gankwe all the gods might be danced to, for in times of important rituals, like death or the breaking of mourning or harvest festivals, it was not necessary to wait for the day sacred to each god to dance.

"They dance well at Gankwe," said our informant, as he sat by, and then after listening for a few moments he added, "They've dancing already."

We, too, walked out on the path to listen, and gradually we separated the sound of the falls above our camp from what seemed like the pulse of the night itself.

"It doesn't boom, does it?" we asked each other, remembering the accounts of impressionable travelers.

Soon Sedefo himself appeared and another, and we started for Gankwe.

"*Waka koni*, Sedefo," called our host at camp as we put off. He was evidently uneasy about us and asked the paddlers to be careful, for it is not safe on the river at night with the rapids below and the spirits that hover about.

The paddles cut the water so soundlessly that it did seem as if the spirits were carrying the boat downstream.

Herskovits & Herskovits E-6 (1931-1932) 1934
Old Bush Negroes Dji
Saramaca

964 hurried us toward the river and had quite got away from us as we came to the principal shrine of the village at the head of the path. As we started down the hill to the river an elder of Gankwe stopped us with an imperative, "You must not go."

Very loud and very fast the drums now sounded—it was the rhythm to Kediampo, the Sky God—and a moment later the grave diggers appeared. They came not by the usual way and not under the spiritual guard, but along an overgrown side path. There were ten or twelve men, five of them muddied from their labors, carrying drums and cutlasses, the others, villagers who had awaited them. The men who had been digging wore green parrot's feathers in their hair, and they walked briskly and silently in single file to the house of mourning. There was a great stillness along the path of the diggers. The children had disappeared and the women sought shelter in their own doorways. Stools were not offered us—there was serious business at hand.

All the men in the village had gathered here; they stood in a semicircle about the front of the open shelter. The old woman slowly arose and, taking a small strip of white cloth, passed it once along each side of the coffin and once over the back as though she were ceremonially cleansing it. Four of the earth-stained young men now took up the coffin, lifting it from the bier and placing it on the ground in front of the house, raising and lowering it three times before it was finally set down. A fifth brought out two pads of green leaves, and two of the bearers put these on their heads. The questioning was about to begin.

964 As they raised the coffin with the putrifying body within it on their heads, their muscles stiffened. With eyes half glazed, and expressionless faces, they seemed there but to do the bidding of the spirit of the dead man whose body they supported. They swayed forward and back, from side to side, without moving their feet, and the coffin swayed with their swaying. And then they began to advance, slowly at first, but after a few steps briskly, to a

DEATH AT GANEWE

dancing to the snake god by whom she was possessed. More people came, and these brought gifts of peanuts, cassava, sugar cane, rice. The food was thrown over the coffin and within the white circular path, on which a man was now dancing round and round in time to the drums. Faster and faster he twirled his way about the coffin, and now another joined him while a third walked slowly about the wooden box, a bunch of plantains in his hand, which he slashed from the stem with his machete so that they, too, fell over the coffin.

The men were dancing to the great Kromanti spirits; the tiger—jaguar—and the buzzard, two of the three forms which the dreaded Kromanti obia can take. "Obia! Huh! Huh!" one ejaculated, imitating the tiger, as his dancing became wilder and wilder. As he ran about the village he wrested a branch from a tree and blindly slashed about him with it. He ran through the clump of thorn palms to our left and emerged with another branch, and now those about were on their guard, for to be struck with those thorns would cause serious lacerations. But the dancer's spirit, his Kromanti obia protected him against such consequences, for are not the Kromanti men immune to anything that wounds; are they not secure from danger of the iron bullets of a gun or the thrust of a machete? The girl with Vodu ran away as he came near her.

Soon, however, the drums were silent, and another shot was fired—the second salute to the dead. One of the elders of the village, bearing a bundle of several long green branches, took his place on one side of the coffin, a younger man on the other. We could not hear what he said, but as he finished speaking he struck the other three times over the bare back; the first two strokes lightly, but at the third he slashed as hard as he was able. It introduced the one note of merriment that afternoon. The people standing about laughed aloud as the ceremony was repeated. A woman, and then another man, were switched.

As this ended, Sedefo took the place of the elder, and in his hand was another kind of branch. This, too, was long, but except for a tuft at its very end it had been stripped of

964 [913] Then, when we had all washed away the taint of death in the flowing river, we turned and once more climbed the path to the village.

§

The muffled sound of a gunshot came to us as we sat in the hut of the headman, speaking of the funeral. "Another child gone," he said, "Soon he will be safe in the earth."

We had not been permitted to go across the river to witness the burial. "It is a dangerous place for those who do not know it," the headman said. "*Ogi*—evil things—are [796] there, bad spirits who harm those who are not prepared, and we do not want evil to come to you. Several years ago there was a Bakra here when we buried another Gankwe man. He asked to go, and we granted him his wish. But the spirits of the bad bush across the river harmed him and he died, and now his ghost plagues us."

A second shot told us that the bearers had reached the grave after their march through the deep bush where living man seldom came. They had sung the *papa singi*—the dirges—which are intoned as the dead is borne to the grave. Once arrived there and the invocations pronounced, the salute fired, and the gods propitiated, two men would descend into the deep hole there to lift down the coffin and place it in the tunnel-like excavation dug under the undisturbed earth to the side of the large opening; would place it so that the falling earth might not disturb the spirit of the dead.

A third shot.

[413] The body was in the grave. The heaping of earth, with the burial hoe, with feet, and with fingers, back into the hole that had been so laboriously dug had commenced. The sun was getting low and darkness comes early in the big bush.

Now the last shot told us of the final ceremony. The food that had been brought for the last offering was being placed on the mound of heaped-up earth. The strip of white cloth to the spirit was being pushed into the ground on its stick. The burial party was backing away from the grave, slowly, slowly, so that the spirit would not be alarmed, so that it

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"The whites have wars against each other. . . . ."
"Our ancestors. . . "
Before the last speaker could finish, a man broke in with a prayer. His voice was conversational and sounded as though he were addressing someone present.

> *"Great Sky God,*
> *Kediamo, Kediampon,*
> *Mother of the River,*
> *Sacred ancestors,*
> *Grant that if the white man comes for evil*
> *His race end.*
> *Grant that if the white woman comes for evil*
> *Her womb wither, her line perish."*

But the Loango headman shook his head and said, "The gods will deal with them, have no fear. Do you remember the man who was drowned at the Mamadam, and the one who died way beyond the Granman's country, and that other one, the soldier? They came with evil in their hearts. The gods killed them. The gods will deal with these, too."

And another said: "Let them go up the river. The gods know all. The ancestors know all. This is our land, and our earth spirits will protect us, and they will kill our enemies. This is our river. Our river gods will protect us, and kill our enemies. This is our bush. The gods of the bush are strong. The gods of the bush know their bush children. They know their children's enemies."

Then the Loango elder spoke again: "We have the gods from Africa. They are more than all gods. The African gods know all. They will watch over us. We have the obia spirits, the African obia spirits. Mati, friends, let them go up the river. Have no fear. Our gods are with us."

The men's soft, sober voices spoke the words without emotion. Theirs were the voices of destiny. Well might the answering chorus intone the affirmations, while the colloquy went on of leader and chorus, leader and chorus, now one taking up the main theme, now another. To us the cadenced speech came floating softly on the still air.

was much of white man's magic that was not astonishing. Old men and young men had heard of machines with people on them that flew like birds, but had they not their own stories about the sacred vulture, the *opete*, that carried one of their warrior ancestors away from slavery across the river and into this bush? He had simply mounted the bird and said to it, "On your back is my home. You can fly over land, and you can fly over water. I have no boat. You must carry me." And the opete took him. Then there are beings with wings that range the sky, and some of them are birds, and some of them are spirits. No, a machine that flew like a bird was not astonishing magic. Then there was the kino—shadows appearing and moving about like the living—that you could see in the cities. Men on the French shore, too, had seen the kino, but it was a gift any man might have to see things. But here was something which talked back at you. . . .

"Ke . . . !"

"Massa Nen'ge!—Master Nigger!"

"Ma Nen'ge . . . !"

And even our town servant exclaimed, "*Mi Gado*—My God!"

Now all this was very well, except that the Bakra, not satisfied with the ordinary seketi dance tunes, kept asking for Kromanti songs—the warrior-spirit songs—and the bush-god songs, and river-god songs. From one man and from another came the expected, "I do not know such songs." The women did not even dare approach the machine.

At last Apanto came. His hair was braided and he wore a jaguar tooth on a cord about his neck. He was not so muscular as other men of his age, and when he went about there was a softness in his movements that was unaccountably disquieting. His hands were not the hands of a worker of lumber, nor of a boatman who was accustomed to pole heavily loaded boats. They were smaller, and his fingers were narrow at the ends. Apanto, we discovered later, was what the Bush Negroes called a "tiger fighter." In a quarrel, he did not cuff and strike out with his fists, but

609 scratched like a "tigri"—a tiger, for this is how the Bush
103 Negroes name the jaguar. Later, when we saw him dance
115 the Tigri Kromanti dance, we witnessed one of the most realistic feline interpretations imaginable. But that is another matter.

Now Apanto was an obia man to be reckoned with, and his fellow villagers and the villagers of neighboring settlements treated him with a deference that his age alone could never have commanded. And it was this Apanto who now came up and said that he would sing the sacred Kromanti songs for our phonograph.

"You will not understand the songs. They will be in the Kromanti language," he warned us. "They are strong, and the machine must be strong to carry them."

It happens that a field phonograph is anything but strong. The mechanism is simple, since the instrument must be light enough to be carried about, and yet it often is subjected to all manner of hard usage. To this is added the
[126] hazard of the climate. The turntable is actuated by a belt running from the mechanism inside the case, and the ends of this belt are glued together. This, to be sure, we discovered later. At the moment, we met Apanto's challenge with assurance. We did not doubt that the machine was spiritually strong.

126 What he said about the Kromanti language was true.
533 The Kromanti tongo, of which we had been told during our
197 first visit here, we were finding to be an actuality, and
539 although we took down the words as he sang them, aided in hearing them by the repetitions, their meaning was unknown to us. Some of them we learned later. Some of them we knew. "Obia" we knew concerned the spirit,
[176] the vague force known by that name, while "Amba" was
[551] a deity sacred to Saturday, and was given as a "day name" to women born on that day of the week. This, then, is what he sang:

> "*Ma djeni ye-ye*
> *Obia kule ma djeni so-ko*
> *Obia mo-ye*

In Herskovits & Herskovits E-6 (1919-1929) 1934
Old Bush Negroes Of
Surinam

get for the timber he and his great-grandfather had floated down the river, he had two fine cloths. One was older and was intended for visiting the villages on the way, and the new one was for the Granman's village. For this occasion, too, he was saving a pair of newly woven garters, though he would wear the two strands of small coral and yellow beads in some of the villages on the way. At Lamé, for instance.

Ai-yo! He would see to it that he looked well at Lamé, for Lamé had handsome women, and at Lamé the women knew how to love. His own powerful love obia had come from Lamé, and there it was in his canister and there beside it was a potent fighting obia which his uncle, who was surpassed by few on the river in the strength of his obia spirits, had made for him. Some day, when Bayo was older, he, too, would know all these secrets, for his uncle had given him some of his gods, and at dances he already showed that he had a strong spirit. Until that time came, he had the obia from Lamé to win for him the love of his fellow men, and should it not avail against the magic of some surly fellow who wished him ill, then he had the other which would serve him in trouble. And on his upper arm was his Kromanti obia—the magically potent iron band—which, by tightening, would warn him when trouble was impending. That was the way to go through life—a man asked the gods to help him meet whatever might come, the good spirits with good, and the bad with yet greater evil.

Up above, whirling past him in the pale dawn, the parrots flew, making a screeching chorus in the stillness, and rousing him to the murmur of the next rapids which he was approaching.

What was that? A boat. Going downstream, he was soon alongside it.

"*Tio*, greetings," he called to the man, speaking in the subdued ceremonial voice.

"Thank you, tio," answered the older man, for he addressed a stranger.

[illegible] & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
[illegible] South Surgeon [illegible]
Saramacca

too deep for the pole-stick. When we go in the center, it is slow. . . . *Koni gi!*—Cut across!" he shouted in his shrill voice, as our boat and the others after us veered over to the other side of the stream where the current was less strong.

"How do you know just where these places are?" we asked. "There are so many changis, so many islands. How can you tell?"

"*Me, kyr!* What would you? I belong to this bush. An old man knows his river."

Steadily the boats went ahead in this long, quiet stretch. For fully half an hour the men worked in silence, doggedly going upstream close to the bank, until under the shade of a tree they saw a boat resting.

"Tio, odi! Tio, odi!" Each of our men addressed the two in the boat.

"Tangi, tio! Tio, odi," they answered each one, until finally they said, "Odi, Bak'a," greeting the stranger last, as was the custom.

Our men explained, "We are going to the Saramacca country, up the river to the Granman. We are carrying the Bakra to the Granman. They belong to America country. They traveled in a fire ship for twenty-one nights and days to come to the Saramacca. Twenty-one nights and days, mati, without resting. *G'an sundyi*—A great state of affairs."

The man said, "We come from the Marowyne. The river is high. The next rapids are difficult. Let us travel together."

And so we were five canoes. Ahead, we could already hear the dull murmur which would soon crescendo to the final roar. This was the water pouring over the first rocks in the distance.

"What rapids are these?"

"We must not talk about this here. Wait until we pass them. If we speak the name, the spirit will come, and he will be angry. The boat might go over. We might lose part of our load."

Now we came closer to the line of white, which rose higher and higher. Except for the bits of white foam like

REBEL DESTINY

502 484 931 It was Sedefo's boat, there in the distance, tilted to one side in what looked to us like still water. The other canoes turned and paddled furiously to reach him, but he had righted his boat before they could come alongside him, and was off down the river to recover what he had lost. The water had claimed the basket back of the tarpaulin-covered load, and a carved paddle which had slipped off when the canoe tilted. The basket belonged to Sedefo. It held his food for the journey up river and the downgoing. The paddle was also his—the finest he had—and had been intended for ceremonial usage when he called as spokesman for us on village heads asking for a night's hospitality, and particularly at the Granman's village, and still later on the way home, when he brought political messages in behalf of his clan to friendly clans along the way he passed. He also lost his best cloth; it was not just a piece of striped cotton a man bought in the white man's store; it had been patiently and dexterously pieced together from many pieces [291] of cloth, plain and striped, in a pattern which was known to the ancestors. His young second wife had made it for him. Her first child was an infant at her breast. When she heard about this, she would think of Sedefo's kunu, and be afraid. Was it so big a kunu that it would punish a child of his wife's family, too?

This is what the men said while the boats waited for Sedefo to return from his vain search down the rapids. The [296] men had not expected him to recover the things lost. When kunu took, there was nothing that could be done. And it was kunu. The *Bakra-sani*—the white man's things—had remained in the boat unharmed! We looked at the few rocks against which the boat had crashed. They showed plainly above the water, and the current about them made so small a break in the still water that the spirit of this ruffled piece had never disclosed its name, had never before received notice. The three other canoes had gone through without even the grunts from the paddlers which came when the going was hard, for all that was necessary was to go straight for the rocks, let the current swing the boat

around, give a strong thrust with the pole-stick, and the canoe was through—a bit of child's play.

We were soon again to see Sedefo's kunu strike. This time it was almost at dusk. The men, it appeared, would not be able to make the village we had planned on for the night. In half an hour it would be dark, and here we were fully two hours' fast traveling from our intended destination. Overhead clouds were coming up from the east. The sky was rapidly becoming overcast. Rain—and everywhere the impenetrable wall of green, rising dark and forbidding. To make camp where we were would have taken at least two hours, and it was growing darker and darker. The men refused to clear the underbrush in the dark.

It seemed, however, that five minutes upstream on the opposite bank and only a little to the south of where we had stopped to talk things over was a village, the name of which when we heard it we recognized as one of the two we had been asked not to visit. There was nothing to do but to brave the displeasure of the Granman and stop there; so turning we headed our boats toward the opposite shore.

In midstream a great wind came up, a wind that in suddenness and force is only met in the tropics. The men shrieked and shouted and struggled until our boats reached shore. But Sedefo's boat, which was the second, seemed to be lifted bodily out of the water. We could see a black mass being heaved up . . . the black tarpaulin was overboard going downstream, and Sedefo after it.

The wind subsided as quickly as it had sprung up, and when Sedefo came back sometime later, he carried the dripping tarpaulin on his head. He did not drink the rum we gave to warm him, but poured it over his hands and his boat as an offering.

The next day we talked with Bayo about kunu.

"Why is it, Bayo, that Sedefo lost his food in the still water? Was it because he felt safe and didn't take care in such small rapids?"

"No," he said promptly, "that's how kunu works. A man travels on the river all his life. He goes over small

rapids and large rapids. He carries loads and returns to his own village. But then something happens. His boat is good. He walks *dewi*—carefully—but he loses his load, or his entire load, or his boat, or even his life. Something is working against him. It might be *wiri*—bad magic; it might be *kunu*. If you have *kunu*, then your enemies can make their bad magic work against you. So it is."

"But what is *kunu*, Bayo?"

He hesitated.

We assured him that there was no harm in our asking. We had been hearing so much about it, first about Zimbi, and how he had died from a cut with his machete. Now this machete had worked for him since he was a boy, and then he cut himself, and then, having cut himself, he became sick and died. People said down below this was *kunu*. What did it mean?

But he still hesitated and looked about him until at last when he spoke, he gave the answer we were coming to know so well—"*Massa Gado sabi*—God knows"—that answer that was the signal that not alone Massa Gado, but the one who invoked his name in protection against Bakra questions, knew the answer quite well but meant to keep his own counsel. For to talk of these matters is not good, we had been told before by Sedefo.

It was Bibifo who brought up *kunu* again when Bayo stepped out of the boat for an instant.

"Better not talk to Bayo about *kunu*, Bakra. There is a very big *kunu* in Bayo's family. He does not mean to lie to the Bakra when he doesn't talk, but it is better for him not to tell you about it. We Saramacca people say: 'A snake bit me. I see a worm, I am afraid.' Do not ask him more."

2

But the Bush Negro has many sayings, and it was a different proverb from that which Bibifo had quoted to us that guided us in our tortuous course in search of an understanding of *kunu*.

KUNU

"*Na wa' taki: Efi gbuli wuin, i sa ri sau de na ini.*—It is said: If a person stirs up a hole, he will find what is in it."

And so it was that very night, when we were camped on an island near the great falls, with the roar of the water sounding in our ears like the very signal drums we were told the river gods wanted sounded that the sun might come and warm and dry them after the long rains, that we learned more. Kasanya, the captain of the fourth boat, had conducted himself so unobtrusively that we barely knew he was there. He was almost as old as Biblio, but strangely silent. He was tall and spare, with graying hair, and eyes that were rimmed with red. We had not sought him out particularly to make conversation with him because he had ugly, open sores on his body, the result of a virulent case of bush yaws, which showed when he sat paddling in his loin cloth. We had known him during our first year when he had been more willing to be friendly, more ready to talk. From him, in fact, we had learned to play one of the Bush Negro games that the ancestors had brought from Africa.

Kasanya came over to ask us whether we had medicine for him. His head ached so until . . . he could barely see. There is that about white man's medicine in the bush, it is so he had free, and there is no harm in trying it.

"Will you make us a game board like the one we brought from your village last year, Kasanya?" we asked him.

"Yes, but you must have two of them, one flat and one curved like a boat. It is not good to have only one. When a man is alive he plays the game. When he dies and comes back to visit the living, he wants to play, too. Now if there is a board for him, he will play on that. But if there is but the one, he will play with the living and that is not good."

"You know a great deal, Kasanya."

"Awa, yes, but I'm an old man already. I've had much trouble. Last year after you left the third son I made died. Now I have no one. Kunu has taken the three of them, and my wife is asleep, too."

524 The man looked so moved by what he told us that we had qualms about continuing the conversation with him about his dead family, and so we asked him about the game board. "Why is it, Kasanya, that young Amnika of your [320] village said he could not make us a game board, fine carver that he is? You yourself know that the board is just a piece of wood with holes in it for the seeds. It is not beautiful; there are no decorations on it."

765 "It is because he is young. His hair isn't white like mine. 524 Making an adji board is a big thing. It's not a little thing. It is on this we play when the body of the dead lies in the house of mourning to entertain his spirit, his yorka. Only [554] an old man who has lost his wife may make a board for this game which is played for the dead."

"But suppose he did make it?"

[194] "Then he would get a kunu, Bakra," he said with an impatient cluck which was intended to deplore the white man's inability to understand simple things.

776 And so again we came to kunu, and since he himself had brought it up, we decided to stir the hole once more to see what was in it. Kasanya talked with less hesitation than we had come to expect. It is easier for an older man who has had experience with the spirits and knows their ways to talk about the supernatural. He understands what he may and may not do, and then, too, with his greater knowledge he can tell more without offending the spirits who disapprove of a man's telling too great a part of his store.

"Yes, Bakra, kunu is a difficult thing for you, a white man, to understand. But we black people know what brings kunu. Many things bring kunu. Look, I made three children. Fine men all three. One died, the second died, the third died. . . ."

688 This was his story. His wife's mother's brother brought the curse on his family. He had cut a new field, and the trees he had felled and the brush he had cut had been lying for some time, as was proper, that the dead wood might [291] be burned off to clear the ground so that the ash might enrich the soil.

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enrich the soil. Now before a field is chosen for cutting, it must be surveyed carefully to see that there are no snakes to be injured; that no trees which have strong spirits like the silk-cotton tree, or the parasitic akatasi, will be destroyed; that no ant hill whether on the ground or on a tree be disturbed. But Kasanya's wife's mother's brother was careless, or unlucky. A small ant hill had escaped his notice.

"The *Akantamasu* god is powerful. It is a bad god," Kasanya said over and over, making of it a refrain to his story.

When the ant hill was destroyed, its spirit fixed itself upon the family. Kasanya's wife's mother became ill, and although the contents of one obia pot after another were used up in bathing her with sangrafu and the serabaki and chembe leaves, she did not get better. Her husband, an able obia man, made special charms for her to wear about her neck, and sprinkled her with medicine with the feather of the sacred opete, the vulture, but still her illness kept on. At last they went to a diviner. To the village of Dahomey they went, the village where the most powerful obia was lodged, and there she learned that the Akantamasu god had come to the family. The diviner told her how to serve the god so that she might have respite—the days that were sacred to him, the dances she must dance on these days, the sacrifices to make. They knew that it would never be a friendly god to them, for it had come as a kunu. There was more trouble and more. The family gave many offerings, and the possessed woman danced whenever the spirit seized her, but soon she died, and the others have been dying since.

"What happened to the man who destroyed the ant hill? Did he get the Akantamasu gadu?"

"No, not he himself. His mother, and his sister, and his sister's children."

"But why?"

The answer was that kunu worked that way, and he went on to tell us about his sons. The first son had gone to the

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688 Marowyne to earn money that he needed for marrying. He was in good health, and he learned about the river "*so te*—until . . . " he knew how to travel on the river safely. But after he had been away only a short time, word came to Kasanya's village that he was ill, and before he could be brought home, he died. They brought back his hair and nail clippings so that his spirit might rest among [769] his own people. They held a big *dede wosu*—wake—for him for six days in the village, with the little coffin and the offerings which were to accompany the spirit, and dancing and Anansi stories and the adji game, just as though he had died at home. There were many guns, too. Everything was done, and the spirit of the dead son was asked to help the family against the kunu which was brought to them by the deed of his mother's mother's brother.

The second son died in the bush. His own gun went off accidentally as he tripped on a hidden liana and killed him, [789] though Kasanya had provided him with all the hunting [229] obias a man would want, and he himself had a strong Kromanti spirit, so that no gun was supposed to have power to hurt him. The third was married when he died. His boat went over in the rapids. His body was never recovered.

782 "Tomorrow we shall all go and pray to the Mother of the River that she carry us well, that our journey be pleasant, that we reach the Granman's village safely. . . . There across the river is her shrine."

3

761 It soon became clear that two things dominate the fore-
• 776 ground of the spiritual life of the bush—death and kunu. In
688 the last analysis, however, the two are perhaps but one force, for kunu slowly, inexorably, brings death to one member after another of the offender's kin, and it is largely the dead ancestors and the gods who are responsible for the meting out of kunu, in order that the ancient traditions and beliefs may go on. And so it was that daily, and many times daily, incidents not of our special seeking arose to document our knowledge of kunu.

KUNU

We sat one night talking about the neku vine, which is used to poison the streams for fishing, and the ceremonies attending the discovery of a new one, how the ownership of it is passed on in the female line, and about the songs which are sung to celebrate the finding, and the feast which is given at this time. 378 226

"Do you use this poison only to catch fish, or does it have other uses?" we asked guardedly.

"Well, sometimes people use it to commit suicide," one man said. "That is bad. Sometimes a man or a woman will do it to put a kunu on another's family." He went on to tell of a man who lately did this. He had been promised the daughter of a family in this very village when the girl was a small, small child. It happened that the girl's uncles found gold in one of the streams, for which the white man gave them much goods, and now they were big men. Since the girl's children would inherit much wealth, they wanted her to be the principal wife of a man of rank. There were messages back and forth, and council meetings, but the uncles insisted that the girl return the gifts she had received —insisted against the advice of many people. So this *kio*, this young lad, could get his revenge in no other way than by taking his own life, and sending a kunu to the family. "The next time you come you will probably see the kunu at work. It is always so. Of what use is wealth when the children begin to die? One year the crops are bad, and you have to buy food. One year you go from one obia man to the next to find out why your sister cannot make children. Your money goes. Kunu is a bad thing." [762] [627] 776 754

Another day a woman came to us with a comb to sell. She had heard that we were gathering pieces to put into a large house where carvings from Africa were being shown, and she wanted us to have this comb of hers which was made as a betrothal gift by her husband who was now many years dead. It was an old comb with several broken tines and holes bored into it by insects, but the decorated end was still very beautiful, and we were eager to buy it. When we asked her to explain to us the meaning of the design, she 439 [584] 439 532

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said, "It is not a woman and a snake, as you might imagine from this," and she indicated one or two lines of the design. "We do not carve the snake in my family. We have a *tchina*—a taboo—against carving snakes, for snakes are our kunu. . . . Years ago my brother went to the French shore and worked for a white man. The white man asked him to kill a snake, and he was afraid, but the white man laughed at him, and because he had a weak ak'a, because his soul was not strong, he killed the snake. If he had told us about it and had sent a piece of the snake, we would have held a burial, as would have been right. But he did not do as he should have done, and so now the snake is not a good spirit for us. We must give it offerings, and dance kunu. It is bad to have a weak soul. My brother did a bad thing, and now I and all my children, and my daughters' children, and their daughters' children on and on will have this kunu."

Farther up the river, in the deep interior, we stopped at the village of Opoku. As we walked to the house of the village head to give him our greetings, we noticed an unusually large house. It was a *liba-wosu*, a house with an upper story, more substantially built than any we passed, and ornamented with elaborate carvings, as were all personal houses of the men. The owner of it, we heard, had been dead eight months. Four more would need to go by before it could be entered. It had been owned by a powerful man, and his belongings were many. We could see some of them through the openings between the slats which formed its walls—an apinti drum, magnificently carved, tall earthen demijohns of rum, boxes, the edge of a metal canister and a lamp. Inside there were guns, and machetes, and native carved paddles, and implements.

Our men joked about the contents of the demijohns as they passed, speculating on the strength of the rum when the containers were opened, and when we asked about the house later—whether, for instance, we could not buy the drum, we were told that the twelve-month interval between a man's dying and the dividing of his property was not yet passed. When the time came, his brothers and sisters

684 [196] be. The Earth Mother, who is the giver of fertility, takes the adulterous woman who is with child under her protection, and no one may harm her. But the guilty man must make redress to the betrayed husband. Fines must be paid by the adulterer, and there is the beating which the husband administers. This beating has its ritual. The culprit, at the time that is set, comes out to the place where the injured husband and his family wait. They attack him with bare fists, although the Kromanti arm obias are sometimes slipped down on clenched hands, and with these serious wounds can be inflicted. With or without the iron arm bands, the beating is a serious matter, and the man who has committed the trespass is severely mishandled, unless he can get away from his assailants and run into the bush. In the bush he has sanctuary, and at the end of some time may come back to his village. The gods will not give a weakling husband, or one who is not clever enough to take his revenge when it is offered, a second chance.

At times this beating is a merry affair. This happens when the adulterer's family tries to protect him, and then the matter becomes a two-family brawl, or, if the village is a [628] large one with more than one clan substantially represented in it, it may become a fight between two clans. Once, in a village near the railhead, a man was killed in such a fight, and then white police stepped in, and the murderer went to prison.

[622] [198] A chief, however, can give the culprit sanctuary, and Asikanu, being a chief's brother, was protected by the chief while negotiations were being carried on in his behalf. Now he was sent away from home to be one of our paddlers so that the enraged husband might be dealt with—time helps to cool anger. This was important in Asikanu's case, since the husband of the woman who had gone to Asikanu would consent to no fine, however large, and seemed, furthermore, to have misgivings about the manner in 776 which the ritual beating would be conducted. "I will kill 762 myself," he had been heard to declare. "I will kill myself, 684 and give them all kunu. My *yorka*—ghost—will come to 754

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trouble them, and I will give the family a kunu, and the clan, too, because the chief has shielded him. I am powerless against the chief. I will kill myself."

A clan kunu is a thing to dread. It must be averted, whatever the hazards. And so, while they held council at Gankwe with the husband and his family, Asikanu was away with the Bakra. . . .

At Apresina an old woman sent word that she wished to see us. She was so old and so ill that we had to cross half the length of the village to come to her, so that she might see what a white man and a white woman were like.

"Well, how is it in the city?" she asked. "How is it among you whites?"

She had heard, she told us, that everything was quiet in the city, that it was as if people slept night and day. Crops did not grow as they should. People were sick. Was it so? And without waiting for us to answer, she spoke again.

"But it must be so. So many, many black people took their own lives, before the time of running away. There must be kunu there." She assured us that it had to be so. How else but that the children of those whites should pay for the old abuses? . . .

And in the Granman's village we heard of kunu again.

"Do you know what they say in the city?" Granman Yankuso said one late afternoon, addressing several of his favorite village chiefs. "They say we are good men here in the bush, because we believe in kunu. In the city, where they do not believe in kunu any more, they are not afraid to use magic to enrich themselves, or hurt their neighbors. In the city they say that, friends."

There were the usual responses from the chiefs.

"So it is."

"True, true."

"Yes, master of the realm."

We looked out at the shadows across the carved door of the council house, that superb rendering of the Earth Mother and her attendant symbols of procreation and abundance, beyond into the great clearing where we could

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776 754 see the shrines to the ancestors and gods. All about were the many houses of the Granman with the elaborately carved posts figuring his emblem. Under the shade trees the widow was pounding rice. She wore old clothes, and, since she [765] would soon be out of mourning, they were almost in rags. The mourning band about her hair was also old.

The Granman's eyes must have followed ours, must have seen us study the outlines of the carving, and must have followed us to the shrines and the woman, for his voice changed, and now he repeated in a ruminating voice, "Yes, here we believe in kunu."

[192] "Ya-hai!" was the noncommittal reply from his listeners.

The Granman looked now into the faces of his trusted chiefs. He looked steadily and long, searching in the semidarkness of the house for a betraying expression, as the chiefs sat on the low stools against the farther wall, their faces averted, as was seemly.

"Well, friends, kunu has made an end of my family. Is it not so? But the clan will go on. The clan's rule is not ended. Up and down the river tell them that, friends. Kunu has brought my family to an end. With me our family rule is finished. That is right. But the clan will go on."

The customary interpolations followed each phrase. Then singly the chiefs took their leave. Rising slowly, after [576] they had received permission to depart, and with body bent, their hands touching their knees, each spoke his farewell.

In the light their ceremonially anointed bodies glistened like polished ebony. Swift and straight each made his way down the clearing and into a side path which led to the river, where the boats were fastened.

"Fine men, these," said the Granman to us after a silence. "And you, have you kunu in your country? . . . "

5

776 But even after these and many more instances of kunu had come to us, and even though we had snatched a few sentences of explanation from one man and from another, the essential nature of kunu still eluded us. Was kunu, then,

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the vengeance of the gods? Was it conscience? Was it morality? Was it destiny? Was it all of these, traditionalized into one abstract philosophical concept which, for the average Bush Negro, was no more formulated than are the underlying sanctions of any civilization to the vast majority of people who live in it? We sought out Bayo again, Bayo, who had the great kunu, to see what light his own experience would shed. 776

"Almost everyone has some kind of kunu, Bayo," we said. "Now why is it that Sedefo, who has a kunu, is so careful, while you who, let us say, also have a kunu, seem not to take any notice?"

We had, as a matter of fact, often wondered about this. Why was Bayo so sure on the river? Why did he carry himself like a man so much older than he really was? What was behind his great self-confidence? Was it luck? Was it a temperamental carelessness? We had watched his amazing strength in taking up our boat almost singly through the rapids, for Bibifo was so old that when he tried to hold the boat in the current, his arm could give no steadying power to the paddle, and the pole-stick he was too old to use at all. Was it all his luck? Our luck?

He answered circumspectly. Let us suppose, he explained, that in making him his father and mother had incurred the greatest kunu of all—the kunu that comes from incest. Now, in that case, he, as a child of such a relationship would be a *gomi*, a "child of the earth," for he would belong twofold to the land which was in the possession of his clan, and thus would be doubly a clan member. He would, therefore, be protected by the spirits. For the gods, it appeared, declared a truce with the child of such a union and gave him a pass of free conduct among the world of spirits. But the children of a man such as this . . . but here he stopped. 835 588 776

"You know," he said, with his delightful smile, "A man who has a kunu like that doesn't talk about it. Kunu aren't talked about. He might not get a wife. . . . "

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6

776 115 Fa'aku was chief of his clan. He was a handsome man, with a quick, clever eye, and a reputation for great honesty everywhere on the river. To him we appealed for more light on kunu. We had met him in his village on our way upstream and we had seen him in the tribal council house when we had sat at the great krutu held there by Granman Yankuso. When we stopped again at Fa'aku's village on our way down the river—this village that was so close to Dahomey, the seat of magic—it was evident that the gods favored us. We had come safely through the great rapids. We had stayed at Asindopo Lantiwe in good health, and the spirits had even spoken for us through some of the women whom they had possessed. Fa'aku spoke with greater freedom than we had yet met with.

"There are different kinds of kunu, and some are big and are very bad; but some are small and do not make much trouble," he began.

835 776 588 681 The greatest kunu came from making a child with a member of one's own family, with one's true, true sister or, what would be almost as bad, with a child of one's mother's sister. Murder was a great kunu, too, and perhaps next to that was the kunu that came to the Bush Negro if he informed to the white man against one of his own kind. Then there were the kunu that one got for false accusation, and for repeated stealing, and even for lying, if it were done too much. For lying is not good, lying makes too much trouble among people. And there were many more kinds of kunu, some of which he mentioned. Killing a snake or a tiger and not burying it with honor brought on a kunu, and cutting down a silk-cotton tree was kunu.

776 When a big kunu came into a family, it wiped it out. One by one the members of the family died. Men died, women died, and children were never born, or they died when they were small. "This goes on until the family is finished," Fa'aku said. A lesser kunu could kill as well, but its vengeance would be directed only against the women who carried on the line of succession to office and property, or

KUNU

if it was smaller still it would plague the members of the family with sickness, or bad luck, or it might make them poor and send all kinds of trouble to them. 776

"Kunu," he went on, "attacks the family of the offender, but almost never the person who has done the evil thing himself. That would be too easy. If I wanted very much to do something I should not do, then I might be willing to take death in the end. But to punish my whole family until it is ended—that is too much."

"But what is kunu?" we asked.

"Kunu is a spirit. We dance to it and serve it with offerings. It is not the same in every village, but in our village we dance kunu in this way. If we dance it during the next moon, then we dance one day only, and two months later we dance kunu again. Then we wait eleven months and dance again. We do this every year in the same way." 776 782 776

"Is this enough to keep kunu away? Would it not be better to dance more often?"

"It would do no good at all to dance kunu more often. The spirits would only be angry if they were disturbed all the time. If you have kunu, you have it," we heard again.

But why, we asked, were not people careful? Why, if they knew that kunu was hard, did they not walk more softly still, so that they might avoid this trouble?

"Ma, kye! There are always things happening, people always do things they shouldn't."

"Then life is hard for you Saramacca people," we said. "You must always think of kunu."

Our seriousness amused him. It was, after all, this way with kunu. When you had it, you did what you could. If a wrong was done, then it had to be paid for. But the Bakra should not think that the Saramacca people weren't happy. There were good spirits, too. While some spirits punish, others protect. 776

"Have you seen our women dance, Bakra? A Saramacca woman's foot can do things, mati. Have you seen them dance bandamba? Have you seen them *chaka*—shake?" he said, laughing, and turning to the men about him, he added, "We will show them how our women dance—and our men!" 535

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Chapter V

THE SHRINE TO THE RIVER GODS

I

ON THE narrow strip of land below the Mamadam, our hammocks were slung between trees whose trunks leaned well over the water, so that once we stretched out on the canvas, it was like swinging over an abyss to the rhythm of water wearing down rock.

At one time the shrine to the gods had stood on this clearing, but boats had gone aground in the falls, and rafts which needed but little urging when the spirits were friendly were swung about in the current and lost to their kingdom at the river bottom. Even now a great log lay wedged in between rocks in the middle of the stream. The water had worn grooves into its hard surface, yet there it was, held fast against the timeless flaying of the falls.

Nor was that all. One year when the time for the new rains came, the rain did not fall. In the villages the priests climbed the ladders within the sacred enclosures and from on high poured out libations to the ancestors, beseeching them to intercede in behalf of the living. Those who had river spirits went to the waterside when the moon was dead to dance to the gods. But the drums gave back a dull sound, and the dancing was listless. Those who plunged into the river to swim against the rapids while the drums intoned the exhortations did not remain under water long, and when they came up they uttered no oracles. Many who were known to be possessed by powerful spirits paced back

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and forth on the sandy bank to the rhythm of the voicees in the drums, but their gods would not come. They could not dance, they could not find peace while the drums spoke, and so this disconsolate pacing went on week after week, on those days when the river gods might be danced to. Sometimes the pulse of the drumming, quickening for an interval, stirred the dancers. A shudder would go through the body of one or another and the dry throats would fall to uttering the sacred cries, but almost the next instant the hand of the drummer would go limp, and once more the listless, agonized pacing would continue. The gods were angered. When the drums called them from the river bottom, they came grudgingly and remained sullen, refusing to make their wishes known, and no gods or ancestors came to counsel the wise men in their sleep how to bend the will of the spirits of the river.

In the fields the parched earth baked in the merciless heat until it was like whitened bone. The few plants that had pushed their way up through the sandy soil were now brown dust which any wind might scatter. But there was no wind. No rain, no wind, for in the river the god of the wind dwells, and in the sky the rain god, and these gods are twins, and twins have but one soul, since it is with the gods as it is with humans.

No rain, no wind. Famine was upon the land.

At last, at the village of Opoku a woman had a dream. She was a pure albino, one of the type who, together with those who show by the slight turn of red in their wooly hair a strain of albinism, are called Toné people, and are identified with the river gods. To this Toné woman the gods came in sleep, and spoke their will.

"And what was it you gave to the gods?" we asked Sedefo, who had fallen silent at this point in his story.

"Mati," he said, after a pause, "I am not an important man. You ask what I may not tell. My mouth cannot take upon itself to speak what concerns our big men."

This much he would say. A boat filled with things had been sent down the river. Men standing at the river bank

had seen a hand reach out for the boat, had seen it vanish out of sight. The gods had accepted the offerings. That year the Granman from the city, the white Granman, had to send rice from a far country to feed them, but the next year the crops were good, and all had been well since that time.

"And was that when this shrine was removed to the other island?"

"*M'an sabi. A kan de*—I do not know. It is possible."

2

"When you get to the Mamadam," we had been told by a priestess in the city, "wash your face in the running water, and call on the Mother of the River three times."

Another had said, "If your foot should trip anywhere, be sure to call on your ancestors, but if you should happen to slip at the Mamadam, you must go at once to the river, strike the water three times, and ask the Mother of the River to release your soul. It is a bad thing to lose your soul there."

And our principal story-teller in the city, who was something of a wit, had said: "You both have light eyes. Your hair is not dark. You are not unlike the Bonkoru people who are light, and who, up the river, you will hear called the Toné folk." He was speaking of albinos. "It may be that you have a river god without knowing it. When you come to the Mamadam the spirit may come to you. You may find yourself speaking the tongue that only the Toné people know, and dancing the dances to the river gods, and swimming up the rapids. It will be a fine sight to see you dance to the drums. There was once such a woman. A woman white as you are, you hear? I myself saw her dance. When she danced, she wore red, and put a plug through her lip, and as she danced her color changed. She became black. When the spirit was satisfied, it let her go, and she paled and was a white woman again. I myself saw that woman dance. I saw her grow black while she danced, and saw

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her become pale again. This may happen to you when you get to the Mamadam." 538 776

As he spoke, he began to beat on the table the drum rhythm which calls the river god, and he sang, 776 533

"*Today, today, O Spirit,*
Hard times are upon us
Ingi-o.
Hard times are upon us. [539]
Today, today, Boyo,
Hard times are upon us
Ingi-e."

And then he sang another song, which he said had been sung at the time when black people were running away from slavery, and is still heard at dances to the spirits of the river, the *watra ingi*, as the river gods are called in the city. In it, he called on the agida, the great drum upon which, in town as in the bush, the Negroes call the river gods, and on *Kopsi*, the name of one of the spirits of the water. This time he sang,

"*I will play the agida today,*
I will knock the agida today-o
Kopsi will foil the magic
Of the crowing cock.
O, I will play the agida today, [539]
I will knock the agida, today-o,
Kopsi will foil the magic,
Of the crowing cock.
I will play the agida today."

3

As we gained the island where the shrine itself stood and looked about us from the high rocks of the sacred spot, there lay before us in the early morning light a scene of inexpressible beauty. At dusk the narrow strips of land which forced the river into three channels had been like dark machetes plunged into the body of the great stream. 133 [978]

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away. It seemed dangerous even to notice the strip of white cotton which showed high above the falls, though the stick from which it hung we could not see. 778 784

"Human beings do not go there," Bayo had said warningly. "Human eyes must also not go there."

But the shrine at the Mamadam is a friendly place. There a man finds a moment's ease. For a brief interval, at least, the voyager upstream or down rests there to get his breath, as he makes ready for a new start. Directly below the falls is a stretch of still water, which follows upon the wearisome portage at the Musumba Prati and the struggle with the rapids just above it, while, when continuing up river, the boatmen face a succession of rapids before another stretch of quiet water is reached. It is not strange, therefore, that no man, whatever his need to make time, will fail to stop at the Mamadam long enough to make known to the Mother of the River his errand and to ask for the continuance of her protection. 778 484

This shrine is the home of the Great Mother of the inland waters, she who, above all else, had secured to the ancestors of these Bush Negroes their freedom from slavery. In the city and on the plantations of the coastal region the Negroes, under states of possession by the water gods, sing of their longing to join those at the Mamadam. 778 782

Let me die on the river, O! [533]
Let me die on the water, O! [534]
All the Ingi spirits
Are at the Mamadam,
Let me die on the river, O!

Deep in the interior, if one of the elders, let us say a man of the Dahomey clan, is alarmed at the prospect of the white man penetrating their bush, some man can be looked to, then, to say reassuringly, "Have no fear. They will not come beyond the Mamadam!"

For this river is their own. "Once, long, long ago," the legend was told us, "this river was but a creek. There were no great trees here, no rocks. There were no boats, no 173

REBEL DESTINY

But Bayo's pleasant story came to an abrupt end. Down toward the bank came Sedefo and his companion, motioning the men to join him. They all gathered in front of the guard of palm fronds, and began to discuss something in low voices, while from the village came the staccato rhythms to the Sky God and to the Kromanti spirits in tones at first soft, but swelling and quickening as they continued.

Sedefo came up to us at last and said, "I will tell you something, but you must not think the people of Pa'aba are unfriendly. I will tell you this. Let us go on and make camp farther up the river. There is a provision ground not too far away. We will make it in time."

In the boat Bayo told us that many were possessed in the village, and since here at Pa'aba they danced Kromanti strong, the men did not think it safe to bring us to the village. The year before Kasanya had spent a trying night here. Two or three of the men had found guns and had gone tearing about the village, so that not alone had the women shut themselves up in their huts, as they often did at Kromanti dances, but the men, too, had had to go in hiding.

"That is why we are going on. But I have a strong Kromanti spirit myself. I will go back to Pa'aba tonight and watch the men dance," he said with a laugh.

3

It was already quite dark when we made the planting ground. Up a narrow footpath we followed Kasanya.

"*Koni, koni*—Take care, don't trip at night," he kept calling to us. "*Mbwogu*—Hurry," he urged, though we needed no urging to keep close behind him in this narrow dark shaft which cut the greater darkness of the bush in two.

Bibifo would sleep in our boat to watch the provisions, Kasanya explained as he led the way, for the clearing was so far from shore that it was not wise to leave the boats unwatched.

"It is far," he said. "Grounds are cleared that way—not too near a village, not too near the shore."

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"I'll tell you how it is mostly," he went on, after a silence. "Sometimes a woman will lie about the father of her child. The child will grow up keeping the trefu of a strange man. But it won't be his real trefu. His mother, you see, lied about his father. In the end, if nothing is done, this child will be sick, and later he will become a leper. Only a bad woman will lie about her child's father, because only a bad woman will want to hurt her own child. It doesn't happen among the girls who wear kerchiefs and live the way the old people live. These girls dance to the spirits. They are afraid of the ancestors. They are afraid of their *akra*—their soul—and the Earth Mother. But those girls who wear hats—ai, Massa, those girls do anything!"

But here in the bush, it seemed, they had other beliefs about leprosy, he went on. Here they believed it was a kind of a spirit, too. When a leper died he was not given a good burial. No wakes were held for him. He was given no coffin. He was buried in the Bad Bush, where the sorcerers were thrown.

"When a leper dies, they don't want him to come back again. They don't treat his spirit well. They do the same with him as with a madman. They bury him with no more ceremony than a child, who came on earth, and would not stay. They say it's all because of a bad spirit, and they don't want bad spirits on earth."

4

"Why do we plant away from the village?"

It was the old woman talking, as we sat and smoked with her. The moon had come up above the maripa palm trees behind the house where the leper had been helped into his hammock, and it was pleasant out-of-doors.

"Why, you ask? Well, sometimes when the bush is burned, a wind comes up suddenly, and sends the flames, down, down, beyond the cleared ground. How would it be with a village, if we cleared our grounds too close to it, and this happened? No, Bak'a, we people of the bush know better. . . . What do you say? Why do we do our clearing

away from the river? When the big rains come, the river goes up more and more. If our crops were too close to the water, then in the big rains the land would be flooded, and the crops long under water. . . . Yes, and we have to think of the ants, too. Ants, once they find their way into a field, will destroy everything. They like especially the green leaves of the young cassava plants. When the young leaves go, there is no cassava. So we move farther and farther away for our fields. Two, three years, and new fields must be cut, so that the yield might feed us all."

Once a field had been deserted, say, for five years, why did they not reclaim it later? we enquired, for by that time the big bush would have made fertile again the soil that had been exhausted.

"In this bush we do it like that. Why, I don't know. Our ancestors found much land for us. When we want new fields, we cut farther and farther into the bush."

5

As Bayo and Angita set off for the dance at Pa'aba, Kasanya and Sedefo joined us, and we talked of crops and planting, of woman's work and man's, of good harvests and bad, and this is what was told us.

Finding a new field and clearing it is a man's task. If a man is about to be married, or if the field a man's wife works has become exhausted, then he goes into the forest, near to the planting ground of his mother and to the fields of his family, and casts about for a place to clear. A field must not be in a hollow, or the crops will not grow, and rice needs the sun of a hill slope to thrive. Once having found a spot where the drainage is good, he looks about to see if the spirits will allow its use. Patiently, painstakingly, he goes from one clump of matted vines to the next, machete in hand, searching for signs of an ant hill, or an Akatasi tree that is sacred to the gods of the ant hill, or for snakes, or a natural clearing belonging to the Apuku gods of the bush. No silk-cotton tree must be there, no loko tree wherein dwells the god of the same name so near that it

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might catch fire were a wind to come up when the underbrush is burned. If he spies a slender bent liana from which the Kromanti "Congo-bush" sticks are made, then he has to be sure to cut it down with the proper invocation, so that the spirit inside the liana will not bend him to its own shape.

Kasanya continued his explanation. "When a field is found, it is the man who clears it." A man calls on his relatives or friends to help him. The men come with their machetes, and they cut away at bushes and shrubs, they cut away the lianas which are twined about the trees, and then the trees themselves. Then they go away, leaving what they have cut to dry. "To take all this away would be too hard, and, besides, fire does the work better, and fertilizes the ground as well."

So, when the wood is dry, they come with fire, and let the fire finish the work. Then the ashes are allowed to lie for a time, for, though this clearing is done during the dry season, occasional showers can be relied upon to work the ash into the ground. Then, too, the time for planting is not yet.

"Many things we plant a little before the old year meets the new," the old woman said.

"When it is time to break the ground," Kasanya went on, "the man and the woman work together. It is then that the woman begins her work in this field. What was done before had to do with cutting timber, and our proverb says: Woodworking is not a woman's affair."

The man alone clears the ground, but the woman helps him break the earth.

"Breaking the ground is not easy," the old woman again interrupted. The matted roots have to be dug up with an iron hoe, for the Bush Negro works as his ancestors did hundreds of years ago in Africa. He has no plough, no beast of burden to help him in the fields.

When all this is done, then it is time to see to the consecration of the earth to its fertile uses. Rituals vary with each clan, and often from village to village of the same clan.

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stolen Death's meat, Death would have remained quietly in the deep bush. 539

The Devil Has a Bad Name

Now the Devil said to a man one day, "No matter what good I do, I get a bad name for it." The man would not believe him. The Devil said, "Very well, I will show you." 539 776

So the Devil went to God, and he said to God, he said, "You put a stone on the path along which men travel, and I will put a bag of money there. Then we will see what happens."

Well, they did this. God put down the stone, and the Devil the bag of money. One day a man came down the path and stubbed his foot against the stone. Instantly he cried, "Ah, the Devil put the stone there that I might hurt my foot!" Later another man came along and saw the money. He took up the bag and called out, "God be praised! I thank you, Master, for letting me find this money!"

The Devil said, "You see how it is? I put the gold there, but it is God who receives thanks, while I am cursed for the stone God put on the road. It is as I said. The Devil cannot look for fairness in this world."

The Tar Baby

The King had a plantation where there were many fruits, and plantains, and other kinds of food. But someone was stealing the fruit and the crops. So the King had them put a large tar-baby in the field. 539

Now the thief used to come at night, and this thief was Ba Anansi. When he saw the image he became alarmed, and approached it with flattering words. Timidly he said to it, he said, "Father, how are you?" But he did not get an answer.

So he said, "If you do not speak to me, I will slap you!"

The image did not speak. Anansi struck him a blow, but his hand stuck. He said, "If you do not let me go, I will

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figures of a male and a female in congress were often introduced into the design. 842 532

The ignorance of the physical rôle of the male parent, said to exist among other primitive peoples with a similar linkage of relatives on the mother's side, is not found among the Suriname Negroes. At a religious ceremony in which townspeople alone were dancing, a woman turned to us, and said, "Now they are dancing Afrekete. When *Ma Aisa*—an Earth goddess—and *Pa Lebba*—he who guards the crossroads—make a child, it is called Afrekete." Similar genealogies of spirits were vouchsafed us by Bush Negroes as well, and always, there was the male god as well as the female, and always the recognition that both made the spirit which was their offspring. 842

These are examples derived from the art of the people, from their ritual, and from the concepts they have of the forces that actuate the universe. There also were many incidents to show the attitude of fathers and children toward each other in the everyday run of life. 593

Awingu did not hesitate when he answered that the child who was with him belonged to his wife. But he added that it was he who made him, and his affection for the little boy, and the child's fondness for him was apparent even to the casual onlooker. Kasanya, in talking to us about the kunu of his wife's family which had destroyed his sons, mourned them as a father. He had made them, and he had taught them to run the rapids, and to carve. He had given them his own gods to protect them, he told us when recounting the tragedy of the kunu which killed them. Misomba, the brother-in-law of Kasanya, had made Adyabu. There was no ambiguity about who the boy's father was. The boy was Kasanya's heir, but he was Misomba's son. Sedefo had brought the child to his brother Zimbi's coffin, saying, "I bring you your child. Try to protect him. . . ."

There was the matter of slipping. It is dangerous to slip. Losing one's step may bring the soul to the ground in an unguarded moment, where the earth spirits, or what 774 776

L

774 would be more serious yet, an evil spirit who would be
776 lying in wait for a soul to use as emissary in his affairs of black magic, would snatch at the soul and take it away. If
[753] this happened, a person would sicken, languish, and die. Sometimes when a man tripped on the clayey bank, we heard him exclaim, "*Ago!*—Ancestors!" calling on these to protect him until he recovered his balance. But often we
[782] heard different cries. "Mi, Awana!" one man had called. "Mi, Nyamfai!" or, "Mi, Matchau!" or "Mi, Popoto!"
[614] These are all clan names, and for a time we assumed that instead of appealing to their ancestors, they called on the entire clan to come to their aid. But one day Sedefo lost his footing, and we heard him exclaim, "Mi, Fandaki!" Now we knew that Sedefo belonged to the clan of the Gankwe people, and we knew, further, that he was most emphatically not of the Fandaki clan.

"Sedefo, you are not a Fandaki. Why did you call on them?"

"My father belongs to the Fandaki. When we slip we call on our father's lo."

"Why, Sedefo?"

"I do not know. . . ."

605 Another day we were sitting and talking to a young man in an upper river village. A girl came and sat with us. "This is my sister," the man said. It was at a time when we were looking into these matters, and we asked, "Did the same mother make you both?"

"No," he answered, "she is here only on a visit. She lives across the river. Her father is my mother's brother."

"But she is not your sister, then," we said. "She does not even belong to your clan."

"Massa Neng'e! But she is my sister!" the man protested. "She is neither of my family, nor of my clan. But did not my mother's brother make her?"

"Could you marry her?"

[582] He considered for a moment. "It would be possible. But it would not be good. . . . And the old women in the village would talk too much."

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593 place was pointed out to us. The carved representation of
778 the human face of the image was worked more carefully than is ordinarily done. Here the white clay was applied more thickly. The white cloth hanging from its stick was larger than we had ever seen before, the offerings of food and bottles and calabashes more numerous than at other ancestral shrines.

"This is where the yorka of the father of the Granman comes," we were told.

But why the father? What of the mother, the parent to whom the Granman was related? This village did not even belong to the Matchau clan to which he himself belonged. Yet with the pride that this was the shrine to the spirit of the Granman's father went a realization of its importance. Here was something outside the legal order, something which transcended the facts of descent and the theory of relationship. It was becoming ever more evident that in this "matriarchate" the father did count.

6

484 The inheritance of the father's kunu was one instance
776 where the father needed to be taken very much into account. "If this man's children should take some of his goods," they had said, pointing at things we could see through the slats of the dead man's treasure house in the village of Opoku, "they will get his kunu, too. No man wants that."

784 Then there was the *trefu*, or *tchina*—taboo—as it was
262 called in the bush, of which our cook had told us. Every individual in the bush had his tchina. Everyone knew the things he must not eat, or must not do. One man had to abstain from eating *anumara*, the great fish of the river. Another might never sleep in the open without a roof over his head. Should he find himself out in the bush with night coming, he must stop early enough to erect a small shelter and thatch it that his head might be covered when he slept. Bayo, we soon learned, might not eat food out of the cooking pot, and Sedefo could not bathe in a creek. Kasanya

776 609 "The gods are friendly to you, Massa. The men have all noticed it. You look upon trees and falls with pleasure. When you see them, it is as if you met with a friend. That is good. But the gods have their powers, and men have theirs. The Rabbit says, 'Evil is everywhere.' Last night, you remember, there was a man who did not look up when you passed his house, and when you spoke 'Howdo' to him, he would not answer. He was an obia man. He would not take the hand of a white man. I have heard the men say there are others who are not glad that the white man has come so far, and that the gods have allowed it. . . . "

Abruptly he stopped. He had said more than he intended.

"I came to tell you about another thing," he continued after a moment of embarrassment. "You should know about fio-fio."

Fio-fio was a small brown bug, and it was also a spirit. [753] The spirit fio-fio brought sickness and death to human beings. For people like ourselves, untutored in the ways of the spirits, and the things which allowed them to gain sway over an individual, only a diviner could seek out the incident which had caused fio-fio to come.

751 783 That was why it was necessary to bathe in a protecting fluid, to "wash fio-fio," even though we had not yet been stricken.

"Let me tell you how to wash fio-fio," he went on. "You must bathe when nobody sees you, and this is what you must have: the skin of a plantain we call the mother plantain that has been dried in smoke, and weeds which I will give you, and Negro-country pepper which I have with me, and seven pieces of chalk, and some eggshells. Some people put washing-blue in the water, too, but that you don't need. You can bathe in it early in the morning, or at noon, or right after sundown, but no one must see you."

He paused for a moment.

776 626 578 "Do you not have fio-fio in your country? Look, this is how it is. You quarrel with a man who works for you, and he comes back and says he is sorry, and you say you are

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sorry, too. He does that because he is afraid of fio-fio. If a man quarrels with you, and he keeps his anger in him, and you keep yours, and later he takes work from you, then either he, or you, or both of you will get sick. If the anger was great, then you or he or both of you will become very sick. If you catch it soon, then you get together, and, as we say, '*Pu' mofo*'—take back what you had said. Then you get better."

Fio-fio had nothing to do with enmity. Honest enmity was not harmful. Enmity masked, however, or bitterness, or a grudge which a man harbored while he continued a relationship of friendship, sickened a man, and it sickened the man against whom the grudge was held, as well. That was fio-fio. Only those who had relationships of intimacy were subject to it—people who were united by blood ties, or ties of friendship, or servants who formed part of the household.

The remedy was ceremonially to retract and ask for pardon. It had to be done before people, with the proper ritual and bathing.

"If this isn't done, then a person gets worse and worse, and dies. I myself saw the fio-fio bug fly out of the nose of a dying woman."

This woman had sickened because she had quarreled with her sister over a man. In the end they had both lost him. As time went on, they began to talk again and later lived together in their mother's house. But they had never forgiven each other. One day one of them borrowed a kerchief from the other to wear at a dance. The next day she was ill. From then on she got worse and worse.

"The quarrel between the sisters had happened so long ago that they never thought of it. So they did nothing. In a month she died, and I myself saw the fio-fio bug fly out of her nose."

He knew another story about fio-fio.

"This happened to a man I know. His child died less than a month ago. He was living with a woman, and the woman became big with child. He had been away in the

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bush for some months, and when he came back he did not feel well, and they quarreled often. When they quarreled she refused to cook for him, and so he said bad things to her. He began to say the child was not his. Now when a father takes away his 'kra, his soul, from the child while it is in the mother's womb, it is not good. When the child was born, it was a very small child. Afterwards the man left the woman. He still said the child was not his, but he used to bring money to the woman sometimes to buy things for the child. The neighbors said she must not take the money. If she took it, they said, the child would die of fio-fio. But the woman took the money. Nowadays many of them don't believe in the old things, until they find out. When the child was four months old it died. Everybody knew it was fio-fio."

He told other incidents of what happened to people who had fio-fio.

"I tell you all this because sometimes the men in the boats talk about the whites, and they think you don't understand. But you know what they say, and you are angry. If you give them a present of leaf tobacco later, or rum, then they or you may become sick. . . . The men in the bush know what to do about fio-fio, Massa, and you must learn, too. The proverb says: 'How is a boat to go, if it has no paddles?'"

3

At the entrance to the village of S'ei a gigantic silk-cotton tree stood. Its trunk was massive, and the roots which projected outwards like so many buttresses made of it a great somber cathedral. The curiously twisted grooves which these buttresses made were said to house many spirits, and particularly the three who lived in the kankan tree, as the natives called it. Gedeonsu, the male god, and Tinné, his wife, lived there with their child Dyombie, the most dreaded of them all. The kankan tree gods were thought of as women's gods, though a few men might be found, here and there, who would, on occasion,

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be possessed by them. Between the roots of the tree offerings were placed—two or three bottles on their sides, or a calabash filled with sacred clay. 824 776

When the time came to dance to the gods of the kankan tree, a tunic of cotton was placed about its trunk. While the drums spoke to the gods, white clay was spread over the bark, a chicken was killed, and its blood allowed to spray the tree and drip into a calabash placed on the ground to receive it. Eggs inside obia pots were put beside the tree, and bottles filled with sweet liquor and the juice of sugar cane. All about its wide trunk the dancers swayed and leaped, each dancing to her own spirit until, at the height of their ecstasy, there were a few among them who would climb the great tree itself, and dance on its branches. The drums continued until the frenzy ebbed. Had they stopped sooner, those in the tree could not have remained there safely or in safety have descended to the ground. 824 776 776

At other times, women came to Gedeonsu to ask him for children, and those who were troubled by his spirit brought offerings, though the great dances were held when the old year came to an end, and the big offerings were then made. [842] [782]

"If a man were to cut down a kankan tree, Gedeonsu would cut off his foot. I myself saw it happen," said a man to us at S'ei. "And his sister got the god." [688]

The kankan tree gods could be bought, too. A woman who wanted fertility would seek to buy Gedeonsu. Others might wish to have Tinné. Only an individual who had a spirit which gave him the right to make obias and call the gods could get the spirit for one who wished to buy it. Such a man would take an obia pot, fill it with water and place inside it cowrie shells which had not been cleansed. After speaking his invocation, he would add a sacred white stone, called an obia stone, and with a calabash in one hand and a bell in the other, he would go to the tree and address the spirits as he rang the bell. When the water became ruffled, it was a sign that the god had entered it. Quickly he would cover the calabash with a cloth and take it away with him. [842] [432] 791 824 776 776

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796 This ritual might have brought Gedeonsu, or Tinné—
776 whoever was called. The two could not, however, be taken
824 at the same time, for one of them had to be left to care for the child Dyombie. If two of the kankan tree gods were wanted, then mother and child, or father and child, would be sought.

824 "The kankan tree spirits are not bad, but people fear
776 them. They are not as bad as the Akatasi gods."

The Akatasi gods were those which animated the kato liana, and were related to the gods of the ant hill. This kato bush was a terrible parasite which, getting its strangle hold on a tree, would rise higher than the tree itself and at last kill it.

The silk-cotton, however, was a friendly tree and cruel only when its spirits were tampered with by those who did not know how to control the gods. When the ancestors came into this river, which "in early days was only a creek," it was they who had sought out these trees, and had made their villages where they stood. Now the trees had become great, and the villages were great.

Here was the silk-cotton tree at S'ei, one of the greatest of all. Its roots made ridges in the path to the village. Under the spiritual guard they spread, and to the large oval of wood fixed on a wooden base which stood a short distance from it, and to the low shelter where, on the head of a crudely carved image, rested a whitened covered pot, and farther to the mound of earth on which stood offerings. Farther still the roots followed the path, and into the village itself, until, perhaps half a mile from the tree, they reached the Kromanti house and the village council house and the home of the chief. It was as though these roots were the arteries which fed strength to the Kromanti spirits dwelling there, and as if they brought the wisdom of the ancestors to the shelter where the men of the village gathered to hear and try cases, to discuss the will of men and gods as they touched upon the well-being of the people.

344 Upon our arrival we were bidden to the council house, where men and women were waiting about. This was an

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open shelter, covered by a gabled thatch. At both sides the eaves extended several feet from the posts which supported the roof, and almost touched the ground. The floor was of red clay, hardened and smooth. There were no stools about, and no other decorations. Men summoned to a council came with their own council benches. About two of the slender posts which faced the path were obias made of twined native sisal, of narrow strips of blue and red cotton, and cowrie shells. Each differed a little from the other, and each had its own potency, but what this was, none would say. On one of the crosspieces below the eaves were large balls of hardened red clay. They had been put there by the old women to await the time for molding the clay into the obia pots, which, after they had been fired, would be blackened with the soot of rice hulls and oil and refired.

Against the crossbeams in one corner of the council house the women had gathered, and at the other end the men were seated on their stools, with Captain And'u and the bassia, the man second in command, among them. While the men were discussing the Neng'e Nana, their Negro grandfathers from Africa, the women were addressing some direct questions to the white woman.

Why was she not smoking a pipe, as fitted the position of a woman of rank who was on her way to visit the Granman? What had she done with her children when she went on this long journey which took twenty-one nights and days to reach the Suriname white man's city? Did she like her husband's other wife? Had she more children than the other wife? What rank would her sons inherit from their uncles?

"How many gods have you?" one of the younger women asked.

"I have four—three Vodu, and one Apuku," another said, as though the question had been put to her, and she could say with pride that she had three snake gods, and one bush god.

The bassia's handsome wife, who had overheard the men speak of the white man's book which showed pictures of their ancestors, said, "The whites read out of books. The

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gods do not come to them." There was in her voice contempt for women who had no gods. She was of a reddish-brown color, taller and more slender than most, and the great coils of brass about her arms and ankles told that her beauty had had full recognition. These had come to her at marriage, as had the small earrings of gold which the bassia had brought to her from French Guiana. With these, too, had come cloths and handkerchiefs, beads and carvings.

If white women had no gods, did they know any of the other things which women must know? Did the white woman wear an apron underneath all her cloths, as women should? Were her thighs cicatrized? Did she cook for her husband, or other men, when she should be isolated in the special house provided for women's monthly visits? Did she purify herself with sacred clay when she emerged from isolation in order not to spoil her husband's obias, for which contact with a woman who has her menses is the deadliest taboo? Why, having borne children, did her figure not show it?

"Have you drums?" the bassia's wife asked. "Without drums, how do you pray? How do you dance?"

Dancing without drums availed nothing.

"White women have no gods. The gods do not come to them. They are not troubled by the need to dance. White women do not pray," she concluded, seeing that what dancing the white woman did could only be a feeble affair.

"I will send my son to your country. The men who go to the French shore say it is good to know how to count the white man's way. My woman-child I will never send," she finished with finality.

Now it was the white woman's turn to ask a few questions, having done explaining how her boots laced, and why it was that she was dressed very much as her husband was dressed.

The white clay in the hair and on the face of a small child was medicine. The child's mother had washed for her god that morning. He was a god whose day for dancing was Wednesday, and now, feeling the god stir in her, she would

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wash every day until Wednesday came to permit her to dance. When she washed with the sacred moistened clay, she rubbed the white on her children. 751 776 783

"Will all the women dance on Wednesday who have the same god as you?"

The child's mother shook her head. "If the god comes to them, yes. If he doesn't come, they can't dance."

And the bassia's wife said, "The women who are in the menstrual house can't dance. When they hear the drums, they are troubled, but they must remain quiet." 841

The woman had spoken too eagerly and too loudly, for her husband, overhearing her, said something in a low rapid voice, and at once the women fell silent and several of them remembered errands they had to see to. 593

4

"When men are in the council house, you mustn't interrupt," said the bassia's wife to the white woman. "If we did what you did just now, our husbands would scold us when they got home, and if we did it again, they would beat us." 576 [593]

She had taken upon herself all the prerogatives of friendship, and continually criticized the manners of her visitor.

The old were to be greeted last. A gift was to be received by another. When returning a piece of carving to another's hand, the carving should rest on the outstretched palm, while the elbow of that arm lay on the palm of the other hand. In the presence of men, a woman who took a stool should turn it about and sit on its narrower side.

"Never sit on the bare earth. The spirits don't like it," she said one instant, and the next, "Don't play with your fingers on top of your sun helmet. Your breasts will get long. Drumming is not a thing for women." [806] [567]

There had been other warnings during earlier visits to Bush Negro villages, but none had borne down so heavily upon the shortcomings of the stranger.

A NIGHT AT S'EI

As we made a tour of the village, we discussed all this 778
with the chief and his bassia, and with the other men who 776
accompanied us. When we reached the open place sacred to the great gods, we stopped. The shrine was a fenced-in space, perhaps eight or nine feet long and almost as wide. Inside was a slender pole, with a head carved on its top, and a cotton tunic about its middle, and this was the wife of the Great God, the chief said. The ladder with the platform on it, on which stood a bottle, was the shrine of the great Sky God. At the base of the image with the tunic were several bottles, some white clay, and a few empty glasses, and everywhere were sticks with cloth on them, many with the cloth in tatters. Where the cotton had altogether rotted away, the stick alone remained.

"Let us go in," said the chief to the men.

With the chief came a young man whose hair was braided, 791
and who wore several obias on neck and arms. He was [302]
training to become an obia man. The bassia signaled us to follow, but the others remained outside.

The young man took up a bottle and poured some of its 782
contents into an earthen jar, and from the jar he poured out a libation to the Earth Mother. The captain prayed, explaining that we were white people on our way to the Granman, that he was leaving in the morning to notify the Granman of our approach. Would the gods take him and us in safety, and would they see to it that all we saw should be seen with the eyes of friendship? Then he prayed for a child in the village who was ill, and for his people, and for the clan of the Granman, the Matchau lo, and for his own family. After each prayer he paused, and those outside the paling clapped their hands and sang out, "Great thanks."

Before the chief's prayer was finished, an old man came [411]
by with a bush knife in his belt, and his gun. He was just then returning from the hunt, and he stopped to thank the great gods for the kill he had made. He spoke in a whisper, but his intonation was as conversational as the chief's had been.

A NIGHT AT S'EI

A girl of ten or eleven led the chorus. She had a string 535
about her waist, and the strip of cloth that was tied about 533
her neck as a ceremonial garment hung down cape fashion. About her navel and on her face the cicatrized patterns had been completed. Her voice was the shrill voice of a child, and the answering chorus was as shrill.

"Chaka, chaka!" called the bassia who was directing 535
the dance. He was demanding those movements which bring into play the muscles of the hips.

The women waited. They had come in all their finery, their tunics of the newest cloth, their coils of brass brace- [301]
lets and anklets made to gleam by rubbing with sand, their skins dark and glistening with the oil rubbed into them for [302]
the ceremonial occasion. Those whose hair was worn in braids had redressed it that day. About their necks were beads. Their cloths were fastened tightly about them, so that their figures showed plainly.

The men, also in their best, waited with them. The iron 535
Kromanti obias on their upper arms fitted tightly, and 789
showed the great muscles above and below them. Those who wore beads had two or three strands of yellow and red intertwined, the small beads worn by men, small almost [301]
as okra seeds. One or two wore love obias—cowrie shells [832]
sewed on a band of white cotton, and then dipped into water which was thickened with white clay. One or two wore a small black bell-shaped obia—half the size of their thumbs—on a black string, and with swagger had swung it about so that it hung at the back. There were obias below the knee, and obias which were great brass rings for the big toe of the right foot. But one or two of the old men, and the young man who was in training for an obia man, wore a jaguar tooth on a string of native twining.

Drums . . . drums. Would there be drums? 535

The word was whispered from one to the other, and passed like a wave over the waiting figures.

But there would be no drums. This was the day when [776]
two gods might come. The god of the ant hill, for which men and women might dance, and the buzzard god of the men's Kromanti society.

344 to be admired for their artistry, but there also for ceremo-
352 nial purposes which were never divulged. When one of these benches was later taken down to show the magic of paper which, placed on the top of a carving and rubbed with black crayon, reproduced the design beneath, the Granman looked startled, and then ordered that it be replaced. Nor were other rubbings allowed.

531 On both sides of these massed benches were many objects
352 which could barely be distinguished in the half darkness of the house. There were guns and canisters, there were a few native brooms, and several wrapped parcels. [534] There was also an apinti drum on which the gods were [998] addressed. Not even at Ma'lobbi, where the chief, a famous carver, showed us many remarkable products of his art, did we see designs worked with the fine, sure lines or the beauty of individual motifs such as were traced on this apinti. The carving was in relief and covered the entire surface of the drum, which stood about three feet high, curving outwards from the top, and resting on a narrow circular base which raised its body about six inches from the ground. It was covered with a deerskin that use and exposure to the atmosphere had stained unevenly to shades of amber.

344 Facing these carvings was the door which, itself of
● 776 wood, swung on wooden hinges of native fashioning. In
532 relief appeared the Earth Mother, and surrounding her were the symbols of fertility. No man, not even the Granman himself, dared speak her name in this council house. At [695] trials, when oaths were taken, she might be appealed to, but to call her idly would bring down her wrath on the Granman's clan, and, perhaps not stopping there, since the council house was of all the clans, she would revenge herself upon all the people of the Saramacca River. The carving was more beautiful than on the apinti which stood against the opposite wall. The greatest artist on the river had made it.

"That man had the gods, ya-hai," the men said, when we talked of the Granman's carvings.

643 "True, true, G'aman."

821 "Captain And'u, the gods sent the rain to cool everything when the Bak'a came. The gods of the river carried the Bak'a without mishap. We have heard of what the Bak'a has done. He has been at your country, at S'ei. He says he comes to learn. He says he does not come to buy wood or to work gold. What he says is good. Yet a full creek does not clear the bank of weeds. Tell us what the Bak'a did in your country, Captain And'u."

776 623

609 "The Bak'a came to S'ei. All that was there he looked at. He walked about the village. His woman talked to our women. The Bak'a spoke with our men. He asked about the obias in the krutu house. His woman asked our women about their gods. What was the name of the wife of the Gran Gadu, he wanted to know."

123 623

With every sentence, came the affirmation of the chief.

"So I know."

"So it is."

"By Ando!"

"So I heard."

And'u continued. "The Bak'a knows the land of the Negroes—*a sabi Afrika*. With him he has a great book. In it he has pictures."

"True, true."

"There are pictures of obias."

"Ya-hai!"

"There are pictures of the Kromanti houses."

"So it is!"

"There are pictures of people who have the gods."

"*Kweti-kweti*—No, no!"

"Yet pictures in S'ei the Bak'a did not make. The Bak'a said, 'If your ancestors tell you not to talk, do not talk. But when you talk, do not lie!' That which we did not wish to be done he would not do, his woman would not do."

"Gbolo!" exclaimed the Granman, "this is as I have heard. Now the Bak'a has come up the river. His woman has light hair, she is as our Toné people. The river has treated the Bak'a well. The gods of the river have let the Bak'a pass.

[776]

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Bak'a pass. Friends, the river is more than I am. . . . Let us hear what the Bak'a has done on the river. Friend Kasanya, you have traveled with the Bak'a. Speak of what he has done." 609 123 623

"It is as Captain And'u has said," Kasanya began, "what was forbidden, the Bak'a did not do."

The Granman interposed an objection.

"I sent a message to the Bak'a by the husband of my daughter. To him I said, speak to the Bak'a, say that at all villages on the Saramacca you will be received. But two villages have not walked well with the G'aman. At those you will not stop. Yet at one of them the Bak'a stopped."

"So it is, cunning master. This was how it happened. Darkness was falling. Everywhere was the big bush. A storm was on its way."

"So I know."

"There were no other villages near. The next one could only be reached after dark. There were bad rapids ahead."

"So I understand."

"The Bak'a woman was in the boat. To make camp before the storm came was not possible. We had a krutu. We spoke with the Bak'a. The Bak'a said we must go where we could find a roof."

The Granman grunted, was silent for a moment, then took up the story. 623

"Friends, night overtook the white man in the bush. He had a woman with him. The men said they could not make camp at night. The white man took his woman to where there was shelter. Into the village he did not go. At the first house he slept. Early in the morning he left. He does not know the river. The men brought him at dark to the forbidden village. The gods sent a great wind when the Bak'a crossed the river to show their displeasure, but the Bak'a and his woman they did not harm. The gods took it into their hands. The gods are more than I am." 82 776

"So it is, G'aman."

"Friends, the children of the bush know what is done in the bush. Yet a man's lips must speak for himself. Let 609 623 123

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the Bak'a himself tell why he has come the long way to the Saramacca river and what it is he seeks."

There was a general chorus of agreement, and silence awaited our accounting.

As the town man began to repeat our words to the Granman, the quiet of the house was heightened by an occasional stirring outside the paling. From where we sat, we could see brown motionless feet, which told us that there were many more than those inside, who were listening to the white man's reason for being in the bush.

Again the Granman made the traditional responses.

"So it is, white man."

"True, what you have said, bassia."

Finally our telling was at an end. Again there was a silence as we sat, tensely waiting.

The Granman again broke the silence.

"Friends, chiefs, you have heard. The white man is here. He comes to learn of our life. The gods of the river have brought him and his woman safely. The Great God sent the rain to cool the air when he reached Asindopo Lantiwe. The gods are more than I am. The river is more than I am. But the Saramacca people are also more than I am. It is you, headmen of the Saramacca people, who must speak."

"Ai, G'aman," said the man who had the stripes of white on him and who wore the many obias. "But have the ancestors spoken?"

"Truly you ask, friend," was the response. "It is well that you think of these things. In the bush, we think before we speak. Do you go aside and consider well."

Slowly the members of the krutu arose from their benches. Softly, with bent form, each passed out of the doorway. We were alone with the Granman, who waited with us for the reply of the chiefs.

5

As the elders slowly filed out of the council house, it was as though a jury were leaving the courtroom to decide a case which had been laid before it. And as we learned more,

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[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
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WOMEN AT WORK

"*A naki apinti, ai!*—He is playing the apinti," his father said, laughing, and a woman who stood by said that when he grew up he would have an important god. It would be a good god, too, and it might be a great Komfo—a priest reincarnated in him. 856 533 868

Among the little girls who were with us most often, and now stood by with Yankuso's grandson, were the two daughters of Dida, the wife of Chief And'u of S'ei, who went about the Granman's village with white on her face and body. The little girls were also washed in the white clay, and there was white in the wool of their hair. They had the quick, startled movements of their mother, and one of them in particular was a nervous child, shy and easily frightened. She never came too close to the strangers, and, for a time, if they but caught her eye, she would begin to tremble with fear. 857 [609]

"Your daughters are handsome, Dida."

"Ai, they come from a good line," she said, laughing. 776 868

The Granman's younger wife said, "They will have many gods when they are big. They will have them from their mother, and theirs will be stronger yet. They are twins." [845]

It was possible, she explained, by looking at a child to know if it would have the gods of the family. Sometimes the gods took a dislike to a child and refused to give it of their wisdom or protection, and sometimes the gods liked it so well that they gave it many gifts—the gift of a fine singing voice, the ability to dance better than others, and the good fortune to be liked.

"Until they are grown, the gods do not trouble them much," she added, "but we in the bush know a child who will have important gods, and we know if the gods will be kindly."

"Do you mean you know because of kunu?"

"*Ma kye*, all gods do not come from kunu."

4

One day when sitting among the women, the talk was of twins. 845

WOMEN AT WORK

"Before she begs the gods, she is seated on a mat, or on cloths. Over her head a white cloth is thrown. The woman who is there to look after the coming of the child takes a calabash with water. Then she throws the water on the ground where the woman is seated. She begs the great gods, and the ancestors, and the woman's soul, and the woman's gods. 844 780

"When the pains come, she ties a cloth about her belly tight, tight, until it hurts. The woman who helps her gives her some water if she wants it, and she presses down on the belly and makes the cloth tighter and tighter, until the child comes. The cord is cut with a knife." 844

The knife was the same as the kind they used for cicatrizing, and the after-birth was buried behind the house, in a small hole into which food and a piece of the sacred sangrafu wood was thrown. [412]

"The child is washed, and then *pemba*—kaolin—is put on its forehead, and after that the mother and the child bathe every day and then wash in pemba. Sometimes a moon comes and wanes, and another comes, and the mother still puts the white on herself and on her child." [751]

But if the birth proved to be difficult, then the husband was told, and he besought his own ancestors and his own gods to help his woman and child. 845

"If the child doesn't come, then it's a bad spirit. Then they call the obia man."

When a woman had difficulty, everybody was troubled about it. If a woman had been unfaithful to her husband and had not confessed it, it would be that which would be killing the child in her womb, and killing her as well. Sometimes it was *wiri*—black magic—and everybody wondered who had sent it to their village. Sometimes it was a god who was envious. [754]

"If it is a god, then, when the woman is strong again, she goes to a more powerful god and buys from him the next child to come into her womb. The strong god sees to it that the jealous one finds no way to harm the child." 845 707 848

What happened when a child was born dead? [764]

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845 The women had spoken with greater and greater re-
766 luctance about troubled births and now moved uneasily.

"You must not ask this," said Dida, rising. "Never talk about such things to young women."

Not until later, when Fenekonde and Tenemi were left alone with the white woman did they talk about birth customs again.

When a child died at birth, a hole was dug somewhere in the family quarter, or just outside it, and the child was buried there. There was no wake, no mourning. All those who had been living in the house where it died found other quarters, and for a month the house was washed with obia water. But if this had occurred before to the same mother, they would break the house where the child was born and would cast the pieces into the unhallowed bush. Some people on the river even broke it down at the first occurrence. There were never any wakes for very small children.

761 "Children die because they are bad spirits come in the
845 form of a child. When they do not stay, we know it is a bad
766 spirit. When the house is broken, they do not know their way to come again."

"What if a woman died?"

845 This was whispered so softly that only Fenekonde heard
766 it, but she did not conceal her distaste for the question.

"When a woman dies she is put in a flat coffin. Some villages give her no coffin at all. Weeds are put into her eyes. All the girls in the village wash their eyes with obia weeds and water. They must never see this again. There is no wake. There is no dancing. No guns are shot. They break the house, and throw it after the coffin, as the men carry it away. She must not come back again."

But the white woman must not imagine that all deliveries were difficult. Often a woman bore a child, and, when the after-birth came, she herself rose and bathed and washed in pemba.

551 A child was given many names. Even in early childhood four or five names were not too many. There was the day

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887 "Perhaps the women were wrong. She may not be a
891 woman yet."

"*Ma kye!*" Angita exclaimed. It seemed he knew better.

And there was the woman Amasina. She wore as many armlets and anklets of brass as the shy dancer, as many as the wife of the bassia of S'ei, whom the gods had prospered. Her cloths were of the finest, and in colors which were most often of yellow and blue stripes, with a thread of black interwoven, and another of twisted red and white. She was good-looking, but in her manner there was no smoldering challenge and no undue reserve. With ease she went from one group to another, and the women treated her neither with too much familiarity nor with restraint.

609 Amasina felt at ease, too, with the white people. In the bush they had an explanation for this feeling of well-being with strangers. If a man and a woman were both born on
581 the same day, they did not get on very well together, for they were both apt to have the same powers to grasp things which came within the province of the gods who also had come into the world on that day. Such a man and woman would at once perceive each other's mistakes or would be given to speaking continual warnings to each other. But there were days which were especially congenial affinities for marriages, and even friendships. These, we were led to see, were days which represented a male and female deity in the Bush Negro pantheon, whose mating had brought well-being to themselves and the living world.

"You and Amasina like each other, ai," they said in the village, and this friendship had a sequel of importance for us.

● 776 One late afternoon we were sitting with the women talking about the gods. Dida said the white on her body was for her god Kesekia. Chief And'u had washed her for her god when he was here in the village, and tomorrow she would dance. Kesekia, she said, was a Vodu god, who had come to her from the French shore. When he came to her, he spoke tongues; he knew French.

796 "Tomorrow they will play the agida drum, and I will put
776 a kerchief on my head tied so," she said, showing how she

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would fasten it in back, letting the ends hang down, "and I will tie my breasts with another." She took a proffered kerchief, folded it into a triangle, and from the back brought the ends between her breasts and knotted them twice.

Amasina now joined us, and stood by listening.

They danced for Vodu gods on Sunday and Monday, and for the spirits of the bush on Tuesday and Wednesday. All the obia dances were held on Friday. All spirits had their special days, when they were worshiped and when they manifested themselves.

As we talked, each woman showed on her fingers how many gods she had. Dida had two other Vodu gods. Three fingers, two, three, four—hands went up with pride, but what the names of the gods were, they would not say, for if they called the gods, they would come. It was well enough for Dida to talk, for having the god it was not she who was speaking, but the god himself. Very possibly he was deciding to come to the white woman, for that was what gods did if they chose. Intermingled with this banter was some concern for their visitor if the god should decide to come to her.

Faced with the opportunity of coming by a spirit, the visitor asked to be made wise in the ways of the gods. What was the name of the Earth Mother? And the Mother of the River? And of that very important snake god called Papa who came to women only, because only women gave birth to children?

Amasina, who had seated herself beside the white woman, leaned over, and calmly spoke.

"I will tell you. The Earth Mother is Asaase, and Hene Tonugbwe is the name of the Mother of the River, and Towenu is the Papa god. Now do not ask more, and never speak these names to any one, unless you get the god."

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533 ing quality as it continued slowly and yet more slowly for a time, then quickened sharply at irregular intervals.

533 "Who is singing?"

●NN6 "The gods," said the woman at the fire, without pausing [372] to look up as she fanned the small flame with a woven fiber fan.

"Whose gods?"

"Amasina's, and the god of a woman of the G'aman's family. She got back from the menstrual house last night, and this morning when Amasina got her god, she got one, too."

"May I go and listen to the singing?"

"Yes."

But before the white woman had walked ten paces, she came face to face with Bassia Anaisi.

"I am going to your quarter, Bassia. The woman at the fire said I might go and listen to the singing. Is it all right?"

"Yes, go."

In a few seconds she came to a house before which several women were gathered. Outside its doorway calabashes stood in a curving line across the entire stretch of front wall, some filled with a dark liquid and others with rice, while directly in front of the door itself a dark uncorked bottle had been placed.

Down several paths came women, each with a calabash in her hand, and each as she reached the line of calabashes placed hers beside the others, and went into the house. The women entered singly and remained there but an instant, emerging with lines of white over their arms and bodies. What had taken place in the house while they were there it was impossible to tell, for the singing had continued without interruption.

Two voices were heard now. The voice which had carried across the clearing still intoned the word "Ondyi," while the other chanted in a soft and beautiful voice words which came without pause or harshness, except for a strange hissing sound which issued from somewhere inside the house.

"May I come closer?"

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"Yes, move closer." 533

The white woman now went toward the open door, and through it saw a little of the inside of the house. Like all Bush Negro houses, it had no windows of any kind, and what light there was came from this low open doorway. Near the door sat the woman who belonged to the family of the Granman. In her hand she held an egg-shaped piece of clay which she rubbed between her hands to the rhythm of her song, and at intervals lifted first one hand, then the other, rubbing the white clay on her face and arms. The thin layer of white over the dark of her skin gave to her appearance in the dark house a strange color. She swayed on her low bench as she sang, her body curving from her hips first to one side, then to the other. 776 342 787 533 [302]

"Ondyi, ondyi," she sang over and over, and with the quickening of voice, she called "bonsu."

This word "Ondyi," the women explained, when they urged the stranger to greet the god as was fitting, was the greeting of the deity, the god's way of saying their everyday word "Odi." 787

The eyes of the woman at the door were half-closed as she sang, and she seemed dispirited, though with the quickened swaying she did rouse herself for an instant. She had no kerchief on her head, and none about her breasts.

"Her god hasn't got her very hard," the women said. "Go inside, perhaps when you speak with him, he will begin to stir. They want you to come in."

Into the house the white woman brought her bench, and sat down close to the possessed woman at the door. When she became accustomed to the darkness of the house, she saw a pair of eyes fixed on her from the farthest wall. The figure against this wall was so much the color of the house itself that it was not until a few moments had passed that the crouching form of an old woman was distinguishable. The old woman sat motionless, her eyes fastened on the stranger.

The white woman freed herself from the intent stare of the old woman against the wall only when a sudden 787 776

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hissing sound so startled her that she faced quickly about. Now two other eyes met hers. They belonged to a figure on a low bench, seated with its back to the door, facing the darkness of the unbroken walls, but with head turned to watch the stranger. The figure was in white—tunic, cloths about the breasts and on the head, arms, throat, and body, all were white. But of a greater whiteness yet was the terrifying, macabre face in which the line of the mouth alone, and the living black of the eyes, showed. Beside this white figure stood a streaked glass tumbler, filled with a whitish liquid. This tumbler had been at the lips of the white form when the stranger turned to see where the hissing came from. Now that the glass was replaced, the whitened hands began kneading a piece of clay and rubbing face and throat and arms with the hands. While doing this, the body swayed and the voice chanted.

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"*From the river I come,*
And I say to you all,
Greetings.
All you Negroes,
Be greeted.

From the river I come,
I say to the white woman,
Greetings.
I say you came as a friend,
I say you came not for evil.

From the river I come,
I say to you all,
Be greeted."

Now the first woman moved closer to the stranger and put her arms about her, streaking her with clay.

"*Ondyi, Ondyi-o!*
I am Affi
I am Kantamasi-o!
Ondyi, ondyi,

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Woman, I care for you,
I will be your god."

There was consternation among the women who stood outside listening. The Akantamasu god was one of the strongest on the river. He ranked only slightly under the great obia spirits, which the Sky God when creating the world had sent as wisdom for the living to combat the capricious lesser gods, and humans who were dominated by evil spirits. Differing from the obia spirits, however, who befriended the living, and brought healing to them, the Akantamasu god was an avenger, surpassed alone by the yorka, the ghosts, who avenged by killing instantly when they chose, while the Akantamasu god killed more slowly.

But there was concern for the possessed woman, as well. She had spoken the name Affi, her day name, the name which summoned her soul. When not in a state of possession, she would never have spoken it before a stranger, except in a whisper to an obia man who came to cure her, or to a diviner to whom she came to ask why her soul was troubled. [551]

Presently the white figure rose, breaking the tension, and, chanting, went from the hut into the clearing. Affi and the white woman followed. In the light of the clearing, a faint resemblance could be seen in the grace of the body of the figure in white to the pleasant Amasina. Of the brown of her skin, only the ankles and feet showed.

Both of the possessed women began pacing back and forth in the clearing, in time to the rhythm of their songs, but while Amasina danced with an easy stride, Affi shook and quivered and moaned.

"When the gods come, we do not speak. We sing. The speech of the gods is song. So it is," one woman whispered. [533]

Another said, indicating Affi, "Her god troubles her. She gave you a strong god. Are you afraid?"

"When the god comes to you, you will speak tongues. Now you have two gods. When Kesekia comes to you, you will sing Kesekia songs, you will dance to him."

787 When a male snake god came, then it was easy to know, 776 the women said. If the possessed one rolled face downward it was a male god, and he was courting the spirits of the earth, but if face upward then it was a female snake. "*Na muye opo-i-mbe gi 'a tapu*—The woman opens her womb for the sky," they said, using the precise image for one who was being wooed by the spirits who lived above.

3

123 When the white woman was about to enter the council house, Granman Yankuso called to her. He was standing in front of his house, surrounded by women, who were talking to him in low, excited voices.

"*Bak'a muye*—White woman," he said, looking at her searchingly, and saying nothing. "White woman," he repeated, after a short silence, "white mother, good morning. Are you awake?"

His voice sounded a little troubled, but not unfriendly. It helped the white woman to regain her self-possession.

"They sing well down below, Granman," she said, and went into the council house.

4

787 Whatever Granman Yankuso thought of the white [123] woman's having witnessed the possession of the women of his village, he did not refuse permission to her and her husband to return to the hut.

Amasina and Affi were still in the clearing, dancing to their own songs. Women came up with their children, bringing more and more calabashes of rice. Amasina took up each child in her arms, and caressed it gently, streaking it with the white clay as she did so, and singing the while,

[539]

"*I come from the river.*
You shall be cooled,
You shall be well."

Affi's moaning had become more and more faint, and her pacing, by this time, was listless. Her god would not take

342 643 uninhabited. Its posts and walls and thatch were in excellent condition, and there was not even the weather-beaten appearance about it of a house which had been closed for some time. Nor had it the kandu, the spiritual lock of unoccupied houses.

778 346 To one side of this house was the open shrine to the great gods, the pole to the Sky God, the smaller one with a checked tunic across the middle of it for the Earth Mother. But there was also a figure of wood with a broad white cloth hung from it like a flag, and this, the villagers said, was the image of the Granman's father. When the dead man's spirit came to the village, it was this image he animated. In times of need and on days fixed by ritual, it was to this image that prayers and food were brought.

Some distance from this shrine, standing close to the uncleared bush, was a house that had been deserted. Half of it the great bush had already reclaimed. The thatch of the roof and one entire side wall had altogether disappeared, and in place of these were garlands of leafy vines, so closely interwoven and so brilliantly green in the sun as to give to the asymmetrical mass of weathered grayish palm, and the strangling green, a strange beauty. Not quite two years ago it had been abandoned, and soon it would be completely lost to the bush.

But the villagers looked the other way when we photographed it.

A little to one side of the house with the doorposts which showed the Granman's crests was a smaller hut, before [789] whose door stretched a magic azang of palm fronds that marked it as a shrine.

• [796] "This house is for the Apuku gods," said an old woman who heard our inquiry. "It belongs to me. It was built when my god told me to make it."

And without hesitation she led the way under the palm fronds through the opening.

This was the first time we had been permitted to enter a closed shrine. We had had descriptions of shrines from men with whom we had talked of the gods. There were some,

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778 of earth which filled the rest of the hut. In the left-hand
346 corner was a covered whitened vessel for the god called Kentina Dagowe. This Kentina Dagowe was a deity who was the offspring of the Dagowe snake, and the Apuku god
●776 of the bush whose name was Kentina. In him, as in so many
778 other of the spirits, we found exemplified the Bush Negro's concept of the world which held that the gods mated as did humans, that all which stirred and had life came into
[773] being by such matings.

Other spirits also came to this house, the woman went on. Mundewaya, another of the bush gods, was worshiped at the white-covered pot in the opposite corner, while beside it lay the vessel to which the spirit of a third might come. This one was the most powerful of all bush gods, and his name was Danhowao. There were other objects on the platform. Two stools, daubed with sacred clay, had their place there, and in the center was an image of wood, a rounded pot set on a base that tapered from the ground toward it, and this was to the Nanai, the ancestors.

The old woman said, "For the Apuku gods, we only play the tumao drum. The Apuku are mostly women's gods, but some men have them, and the men who have them play the drums. When the god comes to you, then if you are not
[888] too old you dance. But we old women do not dance. When the god comes to me, then I begin to shake. I go into this house on the day we call him, and they play the drum. Then I talk to the god. If I have something to beg of him for myself, or for someone else, then I put the pot which
[787] belongs to him on my head, and the drum calls him. When my body begins to shake, then it is the god. He has come, and when I speak it is not I but the god speaking."

776 From the clearing the talk of those who had remained
609 outside came through the thin woven walls of the shrine.
[203] From one to another we could hear the news spread that in the village of the Granman across the river the gods had spoken for the whites.

In the hut, we listened to the old woman inside whose shrine we stood.

"The openings in the wall there," she explained, when we asked her about the two squares cut into the wall behind the altar, "are for all things that fly. In this place they must come and go as they like. Bats come here, and insects of all kinds, and when they want to go back to the bush, they must be able to go as they like. That is the wish of the gods. So they told us long ago." 778 346 [825]

6

We were led from house to house. The gods had spoken. We were friends, and as friends who came not to harm, we were given the hospitality of friendship. There were other shrines, but we did not have to ask about them. They were pointed out to us with the other sights of the village. 574 609 123

The closed low hut near the Apuku shrine we had entered was to the river god Toné. It was a very small enclosure, and before it was a plant which covered the low entrance. It belonged, we were told, to an albino woman who was possessed by Toné. But she was not in the village now. Farther down the path was a larger house, another shrine. This had a piece of iron over the door and, when we asked about it, the girls who were following us ran, and the men merely said that it was the place of the Kromanti obia and passed on. 778 776 346

As we continued on our way, each woman was anxious not to have us slight the house her man had built her or fail to admire the carvings that were inserted into the weave of the palm walls. The huts were swept clean—the cleanliness of the entire village was even more striking than that of others we had visited—and but for a few stools, which were brought out for the strangers while they spoke with the old people who lived in the quarter, they were entirely bare. In every house, however, there was sure to be a shelf, large or small, or several shelves, on which stood prized food trays with carvings which covered both inner and outer surfaces. Combs and food stirrers were taken down and shown us, and the calabash dishes made by the women 352 353 [356] 353 531 415

353 themselves, and the blade-like pieces of gourd which they
531 used for spoons, and which bore the same symbols as the
415 dishes.

"Our men make fine things here in the true, true
462 Saramacca," Dida said when we entered her quarter, and
531 sat in her house. "Look at the carvings I have."

Her body was still white with pemba. Her manner was still a little vague.

"Did you dance this morning?"

"Ai."

"We heard the agida drum play when we were in the
776 council house of the Granman."

987 "Ai, Kesekia is a big god. When he comes, his voice is strong."

But she showed no willingness to talk, and we could tell by the repeated twitching of her body that she had still to dance to her god. Leaving her we continued up the path toward houses we had not yet visited. The white man, with a man who was guiding him and the bassia from Asindopo Lantiwe, walked ahead, while the children crowded about the white woman who was giving them safety pins which they at once put in their hair.

"There is the Vodu house," said the man who acted as
778 guide, and he led the way through the low doorway into
346 the hut.

Inside, though smaller than the shrine to the gods of the bush, it differed from it but little. It had the same clay floor, the same raised altar on which stood stools washed in white clay, and several covered, whitened vessels, an image, and the round balls of clay.

"May I go closer and look at the image there?"

"Yes, go."

[352] The stools resembled those in ordinary use, but whatever design they may have had was obscured by the white clay which covered them. The vessels were not unlike those in
[415] the other shrine we had visited or those which rested on the heads of village gods which stood under low, roofed-over shelters on the main village paths. Turning, the white man

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stepped from the raised platform ready to leave, when he noticed a drum which stood in a corner near the door of the hut, and reached almost to the thatch. 778 346

We had seen many agida drums during our stay in the Saramacca country. Some of them had been half as tall as a man—a round hollowed trunk of a tree, with wooden pegs in the side on which the drumhead was fastened. The agida had no elaborate tuning device such as the other drums carried, and on it was neither the beautiful carving with which the apinti was decorated, nor the white pembadoti of the tumao. The agida was the deep bass voice of every trio of drums which played for the sacred dances, and whatever other rhythms were struck on it, its steady note set the beat about which the more incidental rhythms played. We had been told what seemed fabulous tales of the size of some of these agida drums, but not until we saw the drum which stood in the corner of this shrine to the snake gods did we realize how large they might be. 778 534

The white man glanced about him. The rest of the party had not yet caught up. In the dimness of the shrine there were only the three men. He stepped up to the enormous drum.

"May I tap it?" he asked.

Reaching up, his arm outstretched above his head, he stood on tip-toe before his fingers found the taut head and gently drummed a rhythm there.

"It is large. It must have a deep voice."

"It is a big drum. Would you like to hear it? The man who plays it is near by."

Now there were four in the hut. The drummer spoke.

"Do you want to hear the drum, white man? I will play it if you are not afraid. But if I play, I will call the god, and when I call him he will come. Shall I play the drum?" 778 533 776

The white man asked that the god be called.

The bassia beckoned to the white woman to come, and signed to the others to remain outside. Framed in the low doorway, shutting out the glare of the sun-swept clearing, were the crouching bodies of women and children who

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778 peered into the inner darkness, the whites of their eyes moving with the movements of the strangers.

533 Gently the drummer laid the great cylinder of wood flat on the ground, and from the thatch took down a hard-wood stick, dark and smooth with use. The drum filled more than half of the wall near which it lay. Stooping, the drummer began to call the Vodu gods. It was the rhythm we had heard from across the river early in the morning. The drumming had sounded low and distant then, but in this small enclosure the volume of sound was deafening. It seemed to be pushing against the yielding woven walls, pushing outwards and up.

The rhythm was disturbingly irregular. There was, in the sense of the steady rhythms of the dances, no rhythm at all, and this uncertainty of beat added to the volume of sound racked the listeners. When we thought we heard a repetition of an interval, a sudden change in tempo brought us up with a start. On and on the man struck the drumhead, sounding the heavy beats with the stick, while with his free hand he kept up a running fire of obbligato to the message for the god.

The heads in the doorway began to move nervously this way and that as the message to the god continued, when suddenly they disappeared behind someone who was coming at a run. A moment later Dida was in the hut.

787 She was again possessed. Her body shook with the intensity with which she experienced her god, and her eyes glowed with a steady fire. Back and forth she paced, and when the drum had sounded, she addressed herself to it, listening for its voice and answering, listening again and answering in tones which grew more and more harsh. Then she turned to us, and began to chant

[539]

"I am the god Kesekia
From back of the prison,
From the French shore,
I come.
I am the god Kesekia."

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[533]

Tutu calls, ye-o.
God is there in the river alone,
God Tutu calls,
Ye-o, yo."

787 So the young woman sang as she paced, her body twitching and quivering, while Dida repeated her exclamations. The man again took up his invocation to the gods, then resumed the soft tapping against the wood.

He said to us as he tapped, "My own god is Agida Wenowa. She is a Vodu god, and when I dance I put a parrot feather in my hair. When I play the agida, then all Vodu gods come. The agida is the drum for the Vodu gods."

As he spoke to the slow beating, yet two more figures came crowding in. We had been so intent on the two possessed women and on what the drummer was telling that, not until these new arrivals were at our side, did we notice them. One of them was Affi, the other Amasina. They were as we had left them, Amasina still in her white tunic and kerchiefs, her face and upper body yet more thickly coated with white so that only the eyes were alive, Affi still a grayish color, still anguished.

"We heard the voice of the god. We came."

But there was no longer room in the small shrine for the women to dance. The beating of the stick became fainter and fainter; the drummer no longer touched the skin which topped the drum. Fainter and fainter still came the beat, until the young woman who stood there without white on her body shook herself, as though she were coming awake. For a moment, all was quiet.

"He is gone."

"The god is gone."

"He has released her."

The drummer put back his stick. Slowly he lifted the drum; gently he stood the agida upright in its corner.

7

776
609 In the Granman's council house, voices of people standing outside reached us. From one to another the news was told.

THE GODS SPEAK

The gods of the river had carried the whites in safety up the rapids, and the gods of the sky had, at the moment of their landing, brought rain to cool the earth and sent thunder to speak the greetings from on high. This morning a great snake deity and the god of the ant hill had declared that the strangers carried no evil for the people of the Saramacca. Across the river they had been in the shrines, and the great agida had spoken. They had not been harmed, even though strong Vodu gods had come. 176 609

Inside the hut, we listened. We did not know the decision of the Granman's krutu, but the gods had spoken. This day, in any event, could not be changed.

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REBEL DESTINY

643 159 In our own terms, if we were to picture the Granman as a splendid savage, cheerful, guileless, childlike, flattered by our interest, we would be belying his gifts of sophistication, and he would thank us little for these romantic outlines which, according to the values of his own civilization, would be insulting.

829 538 796 The code of life among these people was expressed in the proverb we had heard often spoken. "There are men on the upper river, there are men on the lower river, too." For survival in this bush, a man needed to match his strength and his wits and his magic, his kindliness and his enmity against those of any other. And the Bush Negro is a realist, for, as we had seen, not even the gods could be depended upon to be consistent—consistently good or consistently evil. The Bush Negro's gods, like humans, often did things for unaccountable reasons, because of a momentary whim, because of a desire to try the untried.

829 181 It was good to be guileless, but sometimes a man had to be a tiger, had to stalk his prey from behind. It was well enough to be a tiger, but sometimes a man needed the cunning of the bush hero, spider Anansi, who knew how to outwit the tiger. It was well enough to be an eagle, and be free and fly high, but sometimes a man needed the wit of the little bird konubri, who became king of all birds, because, when in the kingdom of birds there was a contest for the throne, it was he who, by perching on the back of the eagle, flew highest of all.

643 159 In the simplest of our own terms, Granman Moana Yankuso could be said to be a superb politician. In his villages, marriage alliances were calculated with the nicety of the best statesmanship. Whatever his own views, he saw to it that he never defied the arbiters of magic or the clan of the seat of magic, the Dahomey people. Toward the women of strange villages who came to see the white man and his woman, he showed an easy gallantry, which could not have been but flattering. When addressing the women who carried children astride their backs, he would speak gently to them and call them "mother" in greeting, and

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touched the palms of our hands, and struck against the calves three times. 123 782

"This is obia," he said simply, and when he was finished, he went out. 789

Our cook knew this obia. It was Opete obia, medicine bearing the name of the sacred buzzard. It was given us that we might have a good journey down the river. 579 609

"Did you see how he was careful to touch the eyes?" our cook pointed out to us. "The Opete gets the eyes when it comes to a person, just like Kromanti goes into the head, and Vodu into the belly."

When we went out for a moment, and walked toward our storeroom, we saw the Granman splash water out of a calabash onto the floor and front wall of the house which held our supplies. Was it that our belongings might be safe on our journey down? It was no time for questions, and we asked none.

Women and children again came crowding about the white woman. Though they had been warned not to talk, there was still something of the warm feeling of earlier times which a command did not entirely destroy. Then, too, the order was that the sendoff was to lack no formality. As we stood there, a dog came running down the path. He was on his way to the river. In his mouth was a large ball of something which had been thoroughly charred. It was an offering to the river spirits, perhaps. It might have been less pleasant magic. He had been sent by men who were busy in the ancestral shrine. 123 231 782

When the white woman called attention to the dog, and asked what he held, the women recoiled with amazement that she should have seen the dog at all. Part of the magic might have been, as it was in some formulas we recorded, that he was to pass by invisible to the strangers. But this is conjecture. . . .

The moment before we went down the path to the river, Amasina came up alone, and gave us her hand. She was gracious, and completely at her ease. Whatever was said, she had faith in her god Towenu, who had vouched for our friendship. 123 609

BAYO, THE PLAYBOY

"Will Bayo be married before we leave the bush?" we 115
asked, telling her that only a short time would see us returning to our own country.

We had often talked of marriage with Bayo on our trip up river and had offered to make up what he lacked in gifts and money that we might witness the festivities of marriage. He had, of course, promised to have matters arranged.

Bayo's aunt laughed, however, when she heard the question, and turned to the other woman who was with us in the dimly lighted hut.

"Did you hear what the white man asks?" she called 584
out to her companion. "White man, let me tell you some- 115
thing. Bayo is a long way from marrying yet. Why, his girl's breasts haven't begun to come yet!"

It seemed that Bayo had also to see to many things before he could marry. He had not yet cut the field for his mother-in-law, nor had he made any of the carvings which he needed to give his betrothed and her mother, for Bayo was a poor carver.

"Bayo has cunning in his eyes, and his head, but his 115
fingers have no cunning, Bak'a. . . . But you know this, Bayo is strong."

Her train of thought turned at the last phrase to our journey up river. Had we traveled well with Bayo? Had he got on with the other men? Awa, she knew that people liked him. It was the obia he had, and his own gods, but his gods were bad, too.

"When he was in his mother's womb, he troubled her [843]
much. He tore at her. Ai, she had no happy time of it with Bayo."

We remembered the incest kunu in Bayo's family, which 684
lay in wait for all its members, killing off one by one until 976
the line was wiped out. We ventured a cautious question.

"You are the sister of Bayo's mother?"

The answer, however, did not take us to kunu, but rather 115
to the iron on her arm. 976

"Ai, and of his father who is now dead. In our family we 789
have strong gods. It is these that have come to Bayo. . . ."

REBEL DESTINY

115 "So we see from the Kromanti obia on your arm." Was
● 716 she, a woman, possessed of the war-like Kromanti spirit?
789 we asked her.

"It is as you see. I am a woman, and I have Kromanti—and it's strong Kromanti."

"We had not heard of women your age getting Kromanti."

"Ai, there are not many, but when my spirit comes, I dance heavy. I dance like the men."

We must have appeared unconvinced, for she became more emphatic.

"What they do in other villages, white man, I do not know. But I have Kromanti, and when the drums speak here at Djamungo I, too, come."

She rose and went into the inner chamber of the house, where the hammocks were hung, and brought out several objects wrapped in old cloth.

432 "Bayo said I should have obias for you when you came.
439 He said you would pay well for obias. I have these for
789 you."

The trading commenced. There were two small images—"*gadus*" they were called, both crudely carved. One was called Winti Nyamusi. It was a spirit which gave children to women.

789 "When I come to ask for children, then I take sweet
842 rum in my mouth, and I spray the gadu, then I say, '*Naymusi, da wa' buns mi'i*—O Spirit Naymusi! Give me a fine child.' Then the child will come."

What was the other image, the larger one, with anteater's bristles inserted at sides and top?

"That is a Kromanti obia. It is the Opete spirit, the buz-
789 zard. When you take it with you, you must speak to it so.
789 You must say, 'Obia-o, I am carrying you away with me. You must look after me, you must see that my life is spared, O great spirit.' Then you must spray it with rum, but not the sweet rum, not for Kromanti."

789 There were other obias she had for us, some to be worn about the neck, and others to be worn below the knee.

REBEL DESTINY

313 406 533 [534] *"You have come to go, come to go far, come to go far to bring the wood to the water. But it is long, it is far, to the river. Thank you, friends."*

Then the song was taken up by the workers and, with each rhythmic measure, the great piece of lumber went farther through the jungle on its way to the river. When he had chanted for us the greeting to the men, Bayo began to sing a song relating to men's casual exploits with women and, as he finished the song, he laughed. "White [834] man, if you came with us, you would hear what songs the men make up about women!"

3

126 The phonograph had delighted Bayo from the first. When Apanto had summoned the spirit of his obia to fight the machine, Bayo had watched. When the white man's glue had repaired the broken belt, and the hot sun had made the machine "walk" once more, Bayo had approved.

"The machine is not weak," he had said. "I will sing for it."

And sing for it he did.

But the curse of Apanto still troubled the machine, for up the river and down there had been difficulty with it. Often when there was a particularly good song to be recorded, the belt would give, the machine would fail the white man. The story of the prowess of Apanto had gone up the river with the Gankwe paddlers, and when the machine stopped, heads nodded, and we would catch the word "obia" among the murmurs of the bystanders.

126 Bayo thought, it seemed, that the machine's proud 123 spirit was by this time properly chastened and, since twice 199 the machine had refused to work while he was singing into 196 it, twice had made him stop the song and its drum accompaniment, he decided to take matters into his own hands.

"White man," said Bayo, shortly after our return from up the river, "I will help the spirit of the machine. I will

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call the great gods. Apanto's spirit is strong, but Bayo has strong gods, too."

The machine was made ready for him, and Bayo sat down on a convenient box, his head bent over the tumao drum which we had acquired and which his fingers could scarce ever be near but that they played on it.

"It is not the right drum," he said. "You should have an apinti for me to speak to the gods. But I will try it with this one. Tomorrow I will go up the river to Djamungo. I know a man who has an apinti. You will give me money, and I will buy it for you. But now I will speak on the tumao."

He began the irregular tapping which we had learned to identify as the drum language. With one hand he carried the message, while with the other he played irrelevant motifs which served to confound anyone not initiated and leave him, as it left us, who had worked out some of the general principles on which this drum language was based, utterly unable to interpret it or to tell which were the significant elements.

"The great gods will look after your machine now, if they will listen to the tumao."

The next day Bayo went upstream to get us the apinti we so desired. He was not successful, but the gods had listened to him, when he had invoked them on the tumao, for Bayo's ministrations ended all trouble with our recalcitrant phonograph. Bayo indeed had strong spirits!

As the days went on, and record after record was put on the turntable, and with its tracing of songs, or examples of Bush Negro speech, or fragments of the rhythms that called the various gods, was taken off and carefully put into its felt-lined box, Bayo visibly swelled with pride. This was his doing! With his strong spirits he had called the great gods! He was young, and he had not spoken on the proper drum, but they had listened to him! So his thoughts went, and so he would repeat them to us.

His interest in the phonograph was intensified the more he saw of it, and he sang and spoke and drummed, either

alone or with some friend, into the wax cylinders that spoke back in such mysterious fashion. When Apanto came to visit us, Bayo smiled as he saw the obia man approaching from the landing place.

"His obia is strong, but mine is strong, too. Let him sing into the machine."

Apanto was visibly surprised when he saw in operation the machine his spirit had wrecked. "The machine is not weak, Apanto," we assured him. "It has its own strength, and now it has the strength your gods have given it. For in the true, true Saramacca, a great obia man spoke his message to the Great God into it, and since then it has walked well with us."

Out of the corners of our eyes, we could see Bayo's pride.

"Sing for us, Apanto," we urged, for he had a beautiful voice. "Sing us an Apuku song."

Now Apanto sang, not once, but many times. It is true that when we asked for Apuku he sang Vodu, and when we asked for Vodu he sang Tonê, and when we asked for Tonê he sang Kromanti songs, and when we asked for Kromanti he sang the sacred dirges called "Papa" songs. Yet this was not otherwise than might be expected, and it was not too difficult to play the records to interested men of other villages, whose startled comments would soon tell us the kind of song he had sung.

It was another day when Apanto again sang, and some of these who had witnessed his first victory were about. One such addressed himself to Bayo, who was sitting near.

"Apanto's spirit fought the machine, and stopped it. But the machine works and sings back to Apanto. Its strength has come back to it."

"Awa, Apanto's spirit is strong," we heard Bayo reply, "but there are other strong spirits on the Saramacca."

4

Bayo had spent the night at Gankwe, and had returned resplendent with a new hairdressing. We joked with

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she doesn't make children, then he can send her back. But most often it is the woman who goes away." 586

When the wife left the home her husband had built for her and went to her family, he had to go to her village and plead for her return, while her relations berated him soundly for his behavior toward their kin. If he had not mistreated her badly, the family would urge her to return to him, and so great would that pressure be that she would have to go. But Bayo again repeated that this did not happen often. If a woman left her husband and he failed to come for her, they were divorced. She could not remarry until three months had passed. [587]

But Bayo was more interested in marriage than in divorce, and the talk again turned to his betrothal. 584 115

His mother and her brothers had decided upon the match. His uncles had gone to the family of the girl, and talked with her mother's brothers. Her people called a family krutu to decide whether Bayo was qualified to be a suitable husband for this young member of their family.

"Were you there?"

"No. It was a krutu of her family. But I know how they talk at these krutu, for when my sister was promised in marriage my own family had a krutu, and I sat and listened. Anybody who knew anything bad about my brother-in-law or his family told of it. They talk much at these krutu. The woman you met at Djamungo talked when the men talked, and she talked when the women talked," he finished with a laugh, as though it were a relief to him to know that at least she had had no say when his girl's family had gathered to look into his own family position, and his personal habits of work, and the gifts the gods had given him. 584 115 623

At this krutu of the girl's family, Bayo had, however, been thoroughly discussed. Was he a good worker? Could he hunt well? How did he behave in strange villages? At his initiation had the gods come strong to him? Had he done anything that his wife's family would later be ashamed of?

The white man wondered about the kunu which hung over Bayo's family, the kunu of incest, the deadliest of all 776

•MM6 kunu, which must kill his children. Was it safe to mention it? A chance question was asked.

"Nothing will happen to my children, Bak'a. They will [604] belong to my wife's family. It is my sister's children that things will happen to."

Bayo paused for a moment on the path, and stood in thought. Was it that he wished to be entirely honest with his friend? Was it that to confess the truth was too difficult for him? Whatever the reason, his next remark indicated a compromise.

"Nothing will happen to my children. Those of my younger brother will die, but not mine."

584 The conversation came back to the less painful subject of betrothal. Whatever the reason for accepting this boy whose kunu brought such supernatural risk, the match had apparently been satisfactory to the family of the girl, and they had sent word that the marriage would not displease them.

"Now I am earning the money I need, and later I will make the things I must give my girl and her family."

583 There was, first of all, the work to be done for Bayo's prospective mother-in-law. He might have to help her with repairs on her house, or assist her in clearing a field. Before he was married he would have to go into the bush and cut the two fields for his wife, one for rice and one for cassava, which a married woman must have, and in addition he would have to cut an extra field for the mother of his wife.

"I must do it so they can be sure that I am strong, and can take care of their girl when I marry her. But I will not have any trouble!"

Before that, however, Bayo would have to see to the carvings which a man had to have for marrying.

"I do not like to carve. But I have friends who will [439] carve for me while I go hunting for them!" That was the way to solve such difficulties. When the carvings were assembled he would have to make a boat for his girl. Bayo was not yet certain, but he thought that another boat would have to be made for his mother-in-law. Then

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This, he went on to explain, had the meaning that obia was not so great as the very great gods, and it was not to be ranked with the lesser deities who served as emissaries for the great gods, yet when the great gods wanted to help mankind, it was through obia that they healed and purified, it was to obia that men were instructed to turn.

It seems that when the Sky God created the Earth Mother and the Mother of the River, he also created man and beast. Man had a poor time of it, pitting himself against the forces of earth and sky and water. And so that man might survive, the Sky God had had to send obia into the world to help man. Obia was not a god, it was a spirit. It gave people knowledge of herbs which cured, and herbs which prevented sickness. Obia warned of danger, and made known those properties of earth and water and air which healed and calmed. Obia taught the use of the band of metal on the arm, or the string about the waist which forewarned of evil, and made man wary and alert.

After obia came into the world, the Sky God sent Akantamasu, the god of the ant hill, to plague man. Perhaps obia had made of man an overbearing creature, defiant even against the great gods, so that the Sky God brought the Akantamasu spirit into being to teach him humility.

The answer of the Bush Negro was, of course, that so it was, and so it had been long ago, but why, he did not know. The Sky God had willed it so, and the Sky God was so far from man that he never vouchsafed explanations to human beings, and they in turn rarely taxed him to ease their bewilderment.

There was also the power of the ancestors, but our Bush Negro friends were never certain as to how they ranked in the supernatural hierarchy. Some said they ranked after the Earth Mother and the Mother of the River, that they were greater than obia, because the ancestors punished as well as helped mankind, and when angered their punishment came swifter than that of the powerful Akantamasu gods. Others said the ancestors were greater than obia, because obia had been given to the ancestors long ago,

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and it was they who in dream or vision, or in a state of possession, instructed living men in the ways of yet greater and greater obia. But there were those who held that obia ranked after the greatest of the deities, that obia surpassed the power of the ancestors, for obia knew how to make "*yorka tapu*"—preventives against troublesome ghosts, and obia men could summon the dead to enter the body of a living man to make revelations.

Whatever the position of obia in the supernatural world, its place on earth was to serve man, for of all living beings, man alone knew obia.

2

What were the manifestations of obia in the life of the Bush Negro as we found them?

A black pot with its magic powers was an obia pot, the charm worn about the neck was called an obia, the medicines we gave the natives for their eyes or their cuts were called white man's obia, and their own mixture of weeds steeped in water, which stood in the burning sun gathering a green scum until it should be ready for use, was also obia. Young Yamati who had danced susa for us did not have a cord about his neck, but, he had assured us, he had obia for long life as did his partner Sabape, though his own could not be seen, since it consisted of several obia cuts made shortly after birth, which served instead of the cord. The strings about the waists of children were obias. The slight cuts to be noticed on men's arms, on thighs, below the knee, below the shoulder blades were obia cuts, too.

Nor was that all.

Bayo had said to us, "When obia comes a man does bad things. He destroys. When mine comes, it is ugly sometimes."

It was obia, too—Apanto's obia—which had stopped our phonograph, and obia again, invoked this time by Bayo, which had strengthened the spirit of the machine.

We talked about obia to an elder, a village head, from one of the down-river settlements, which was not, however,

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776 important enough to be the residence of a clan chief. His
789 clan's magic was strong, and, being well past middle age, he could afford to speak of these matters with the whites, for like all Bush Negroes he was proud of the black man's obia.

"Ya-hai, white man, obia may well puzzle you. It is no small matter. No man knows all there is to know about obia. The greatest of obia men is never done learning. You
[791] say you spent more than twenty years learning your kind of work. Twenty years is nothing. All his life an obia man spends learning. The ancestors let him see a little at a time, and a little more. 'One step at a time,' as the G'ama' says. So it is, white man."

When did the learning begin, we asked him?

869 "In the bush here, children see what we do, and they
776 learn much by watching. They learn to recognize the kind
778 of obias a man wears, they learn to know the names of obias, and about the *tchina*—taboos—that go with the wearing of obias. That is the beginning." All children knew that, but only boys could aspire to learn the secrets of obia.

A boy's definite training in these things began with adolescence. The ceremony was not formal, for it concerned only the boy and his immediate relatives. When the time came to teach the novice about the gods, his father and
[604] his mother's brothers met with him, and they held a krutu. Other men also came, men of the village and elders of their great family. The outsiders sat by and said nothing, while
881 the instruction was carried on by the father and the boy's maternal uncles.

869 "First the father gives him his gods, and he tells his son
776 the name of each god and how he must serve him."

There were songs to be learned and dances and invocations; there were the offerings which had to be made, and the manner of prayer memorized. He was told when he might call on the god and what names the god bore, for each god had several names, just as had each human being. There were many names to learn for the gods—their day names, their "strong" names.

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So it was with each god, until the boy was ready to be initiated into the Kromanti Society. 881 869

"There are many, many krutu, white man, for a boy has much to learn." 776

When those who directed the krutu were satisfied that the boy had learned how to serve the gods he had been given, that he knew their powers, and those things which were hateful to them and would incur their displeasure, then a dance was held for him so that he might demonstrate before the assembled festive villagers that he was ready for manhood.

"We give a big play for a boy who gets his gods for the first time. When the gods come to him at this dance at the bidding of the drum, and he dances hard, then his family is pleased. When a boy dances, then we know what is in him. We know whether his gods are strong, whether he is to be feared."

Once the father had transferred his gods to his son, he did not dance much himself. He might continue to play the drum at sacred dances, but dancing and drumming were for the younger men. His son's worship of the gods through the dance released the father for the study of obia. With the governing elders, the father took up his rôle as a clan member who sought the will of the ancestors when new tasks were to be undertaken. 886 869 776 [535] [533]

"What happens if the father has few gods to give his son?" we asked.

"Then his mother's eldest brother gives his to the boy." [604]

"What if the boy's uncle has none to give?"

That happened so seldom that he could not remember such an instance, but he had heard it said that this had occurred once or twice.

"A man must have gods to help him live. If his family can give him none, then they buy gods for him. Sometimes there are gods in the family that are not too strong, and they want the boy to have strong gods. They go to a man who knows about such things and who himself has strong gods and buy a god for the boy from him." 432 776 424

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776 A man who wished to buy a god for his son went to a
432 renowned obia man and agreed to pay him a certain sum
424 of money if, at the end of the period of training, the god came to the boy.

"When the obia man says the boy is ready, they give a
[987] dance. At this dance, the drum is played for the god, and the boy must dance. If the god comes to him, then the obia man gets his money, but if the god does not come, then he does not get what was promised him, because they had made an agreement for a god, and no god came."

881 The training was not very difficult—it was not like the
869 training for becoming an obia man. A boy was given obia
976 water to wash in. Every eight days the water in the obia pot was changed, and this bathing continued for three
[983] moons. When the ritual of purification was over, he was taught the drum rhythms of the god, the invocations which the drum sounded, and the spoken invocations. Songs, and make-up for the dancing, and the dancing itself he was taught, and when he might call upon the god, and what he must do when the god comes, and what offerings the god was to receive. If the god spoke "tongues," he was also instructed in the appropriate language. There were the words of the mocking little Apuku gods and the sounds which only Toné people made, and there was the "Kromanti tongo."

"Can all the gods be bought?" we asked.

432 "Kweti, kweti!" he shook his head in emphatic denial.
976 "The river gods cannot be bought. You are born a Toné
989 man or woman, or the Toné god comes to you from your family. But all the Vodu gods you can buy; and the god Bongo, the alligator; and the ant hill gods and the gods of the kankan tree, and the Apuku bush gods." He paused for an instant, as if he were considering something. "And men buy Kromanti for their sons, if they have none to give them. Almost every man in the bush has Kromanti. If he hasn't it, then he tries to buy it for his sons. A man needs Kromanti. When he has the Kromanti spirit, fire cannot hurt him, nor glass, nor anything that cuts—

anything made of iron—nor can a gun shoot him, nor an 432
arrow pierce him. If he goes through a thicket of thorns 776
or climbs a thorny palm tree when the spirit comes to him, 789
he is not harmed. That is Kromanti."

"How much does a person pay an obia man for giving a boy Kromanti?" we asked.

"It costs plenty, white man. But a good obia man never [435]
asks too much. If a man says he will give the boy Kromanti, for not too many guilders, then we know he will do it. But if a man asks forty, fifty, then we know he is not an honest man, and he is not a good man. I have heard, though, of a good obia man who took as much as twenty-four guilders, but he gave the boy a strong Kromanti spirit, and it took much time to teach him."

3

From time to time members of Bayo's family visited 791
our camp. Each time we were introduced to a new brother, or father, or *suwagi*—brother-in-law. Among these visitors was a man whose name we never learned, though we had talked with him a good deal. He was, we later came to know, a man who knew obia. He was a scholar among his people, a thoughtful man who often went about alone, instead of being accompanied by a fellow clan member or a member of his family, as is customary among these people. Like Bayo, he had an incest kunu, and at his age, he had already had occasion to see what kunu planned for 791
him. He coughed badly. When men went to cut timber, 164
he could not go with them because of his cough and the fever which went with the cough.

"Have you been to a good obia man?" we asked him.

He smiled. Of what use to go from one diviner to the next, from one man who had special magic to another, when a [753]
man knew that what was troubling him was kunu?

"Come to the city with us," we said, when we knew him better, "and we will take you to a doctor. He may be able to do something for you."

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He promised readily enough to go with us, but Bayo told us later that he would not come.

"He says the white doctor cannot do more than obia can do. He says a man must take what kunu brings."

Was there no obia against kunu? we asked of Bayo.

"No, but kunu is not greater than obia. It is something else. When the Sky God gave obia to man, he gave it to help man live, not to help him do bad things. When men and women earn a kunu for their family, it is because they do what is hateful to the great gods and ancestors. Obia was not sent to save men from punishment."

"Does obia never punish, Bayo?" We were thinking of what he said about his own obia, of how when it seized him, he destroyed things.

But he would say no more. "I am too young, Bak'a, to speak of these things. At my age I know only a little obia. You must ask the old men."

4

The conversation led us one day to the obia men on the river. They were, we knew, important persons in the Bush Negro communities. An obia man of reputation was not only consulted by his own villagers and clansmen, but men and women came to him from distant villages, when those who were nearer had failed them. It occurred sometimes that even from the Awka villages on the lower river, these Saramacca obia men were sought out—perhaps this was because of the same tradition which encouraged the buying of strange gods to enlarge the family pantheon, perhaps it was because of something which touched still deeper beliefs.

How did a man become an obia man?

From what we had already heard, it was apparent that here was something which approached the formal education of our own civilization, a form of education, indeed, which we pride ourselves is unique to our own way of life.

All other knowledge the Bush Negro child gains by being about with members of his family who are busy at

773 of the earth. In one kingdom, a ruler sent the heralds to proclaim throughout the land that he who killed the bird would get half his kingdom, and his daughter in marriage. Anansi, the spider, killed a hawk and brought it to the ruler. But Anansi lied when he said this was the bird that shook the earth with its cries. At the very time he was trying to persuade all the people that this was the bird, the cries of the ominous bird were heard. So they put Anansi in jail. Now one day there was born to a woman a child who at birth wore a cloth of pieced designs, and a hunting sack. This boy said to his mother, he said, "Give me a little water, mother, and I will go out into the world to learn wisdom. God has sent me to kill the bird which troubles mankind."

When the boy grew to manhood he succeeded in trapping this bird that knew how to cook obia without fire. He killed the bird and took the obia pot with him, and that is how he came by the secrets of obia. He passed on his knowledge to the men of his family, and this has been going on till today, so that obia is being spread throughout the world by the descendants of this man who killed the bird that knew obia.

● 776 But obia was not one thing only.

"Obia," Bayo's uncle had said, "is first of all the spirit. It is everywhere. But there are many kinds of obia. There is black man's obia, and there is white man's obia. Here in the bush black man's obia is the strongest.

789 "A man who has the obia spirit makes obia to wear, and
778 obia to drink, and obia to rub the body with, and obia water
776 for bathing. He can make obia drums and obia benches. The spirit tells you how to do things, and it tells you what to do. When we say a man has strong obia, we mean his spirit is strong."

756 The Bush Negro obia man, said Bayo to us one day, knew
751 the things the white doctor knew—he knew how to heal—
789 and he knew other things, too. He knew how to keep sickness away. The things an obia man gave for healing were

called obias. The charms he gave for warding off illness and 756
evil were obias, too. 751

"So we call all these things. But each obia has a name. 789
Every charm I wear is an obia, but if I wore the one you are wearing, it would be a soul cord, an *ak'a tetei*. One below the knee we call *asumani* in my village, and one for the wrist *afimu*. The one on the upper arm is named *ando*. But there are many names, and they are all obia, because inside them is the spirit obia which gives them power. When a man sells you an obia and passes its power on to you, he breathes on your hands as they hold the obia. When he does it, he gives you the obia spirit which went into the making of this obia. If he did not make it himself, the spirit was given him by the obia man, and he gives it to you."

Obia, then, is the spirit; obia is the preventive and 776
curing agent; obias are the charms that are worn by 751
people to help them. Some have called these obias 789
"fetiches," but even a slight understanding of them should be enough to bring the outsider to the realization that the object of itself is meaningless, and that it is only the power that has been given the charm that makes it effective.

Yet it is not strange that the importance of the fetich has 776
been overestimated, for if the visitor did not draw out the 789
Bush Negroes about their gods and their theories of the universe, the existence of these higher powers would almost go unrecognized. For everywhere there are to be found obias guarding the village, obias screening paths, obias worn by the people. That they are important to the Bush Negro is obvious. But they are important for day-by-day existence, and they do not possess the overwhelming importance of the great spirits who control the universe.

Many of these charms came to us as tangible evidence of the belief in obia. Some of those we acquired were of a unique character because of the power that was latent in them, some because of the intricacy of their taboos. Yet all of them paled in interest and in arresting quality beside the Kromanti Mama that came to us one night in secret.

Chapter XVIII

"OBIA COMES!"

1

789 778 WHITE and gaunt and staring in the dim light, the Kromanti Mama rested on its whitened bench, and about it coiled a snake modeled from the same sacred clay.

It had come to us in stealth, and as we responded to the awe it inspired, we could not but wonder what had prompted the man who had brought it to reveal one of the most secret religious objects known to his people. He came late one night, his burden carefully wrapped so that no one might suspect what he carried. That night only, while in whispers he told us what it was and wherein lay its powers, was it out of those wrappings, for not alone during the remainder of our stay in the bush but while we were in the city, we were careful to respect the man's trust.

"When you take it to your white man's country, and some man sees it who has a Tiger spirit, he will shout the cry of the tiger. All who have Tigri are related. Wherever the Kromanti Mama goes, there the Tigri obia goes, too."

2

776 Obia, we were told, came into the world to heal and to warn and to protect mankind. Of all obia, Kromanti is the strongest. Why, then, is the Kromanti obia so feared?

The clue to an answer to this question lies in the behavior of the men to whom this obia comes when they are possessed with it. The man who is actuated by Kromanti obia is

feared by all who themselves do not have Kromanti. Obia 776
Kromanti warns and protects and heals, but its powers
are only for those who belong to the Kromanti group. [575]

Whether Kromanti is the African warrior society pre- 575
served in this bush, it is impossible to say. If this were the case, then the definite military organization of many of the West African societies should be present. The military character of any group among the Bush Negroes could not even be hinted at, of course, without the greatest caution. In their descriptions of the Kromanti, our intimates among the Bush Negroes never indicated in any way the existence of such an organization. Even leading questions brought out only unqualified denials instead of the revealing answers "I do not know," or "Massa Gadu sabi." Yet there are undoubtedly secrets which Kromanti men do not share with outsiders, and we remembered that when a Kromanti man dies, he must be "separated" from the Kromanti group [566]
just as he is "separated" from his family and from his village.

About the very meaning of the word Kromanti there can 175
only be speculation. During the time of the slave trade, 509
there were two ports on the Gold Coast of Africa known as 567
Little and Great Coromantyne. From these ports came the slaves who, in the New World, were known as Coromantyne slaves. These slaves were so warlike, so prone to cause uprisings, that only English and Dutch colonies consented to buy them and in these colonies when slave rebellions broke out to alarm the white planters, they were led by the proud Coromantyne slaves.

It would not be strange, therefore, if the same term was 776
carried over into the free civilization of this bush to 575
typify the obia which protected and watched over the fighters who had won this freedom.

Other indications point to the same assumption. The strongest spirits of the Kromanti, those which inspire the greatest fear when they possess men of a village are Tigri and Djadja. Tigri is the jaguar, Djadja is often vaguely translated by our word "devil." If we again turn to the West African societies, we find that one of the most dreaded

776 of the secret societies which flourish there is the Leopard
575 Society, and this African feline is not very different from the one which gives its name to the Tigri obia. Other societies which chastise and protect have often been designated as "devil" societies.

789 Kromanti is feared, then, because of the kind of preven-
776 tive it is. The man to whom this obia comes cannot be
575 harmed by bullets shot from guns, by glass, by swords that cut, or by thorns which lacerate. Such a man is protected in combat from the weapons of his enemies and from thorny barricades that might be raised against his attack. It is protection for the warriors, and when it comes, the warriors who have the obia do not hesitate to test their immunity and to try that of others. A friendly, unassertive man seized by the Tiger Kromanti is in the grip of a power which transforms him into a tiger. When obia comes in the sacred dances, it is Kromanti obia. The Bush Negroes do not dance for the healing, protecting spirit that is obia in general. It is too remote. But when they dance and Kromanti comes, the women often flee, and the men who do not have Kromanti discreetly disappear. Only those who have Kromanti have nothing to fear from the attacks of their fellows, for they are protected by the power common to them all—the power of being unharmed by machetes or guns.

575 What is inside the Kromanti obia houses we cannot say,
346 for we were never permitted to enter them. When we recognized their presence in villages we visited, the fact that they were Kromanti houses was acknowledged, but we were never allowed even to inspect the outside closely, and we were never accorded permission to photograph one of these shrines.

From our informants we learned that inside these houses there are paintings on the walls in black and red, the Kromanti colors, and in the white of the sacred pemba. There were, we were told, whitened benches that had about their tops the grass skirt of a kind worn by the obia man when he danced.

In the Kromanti house, too, was the Kromanti Mama. But until our friend brought us the one he had made for

789 the space where the snake was modeled, but never touching it.
778
532 The man who was explaining the bench to us pointed once more to the snake. "It is not always lifeless as you see it here," he said.

When the snake came to life, trouble was brewing. It turned red, the color of blood, and all who came into the Kromanti house and saw it were warned of danger.

"How does the snake know when to come to life?"

[774] "It is Agbo, the guard, who tells the snake. When she tells him there is trouble, he turns red, and then we know."

Immunity as well as knowledge was afforded by the magical powers of this stool and its snake and the Kromanti Mama.

"A man who has Kromanti sits down on the stool, and puts Agbo on his head, and when he has done that, nothing can harm him."

[D82] Thus is safety attained. But this only comes if the image has been propitiated by the Kromanti men. Rum, not of the sweet kind, must be offered it and prayers transmitted to its spirit on the drum which Kromanti recognizes—the apinti. If this is done, the Kromanti Mama will not lose its power, and the snake will continue to turn the warning color when danger threatens, and the bench will give protection to the men who have the Kromanti obia.

4

796 Not long after we had entered the bush we saw our first Kromanti dance. The people of several neighboring villages came to our base camp to dance for us. They asked, "Will you be afraid if the dancing brings Kromanti?" We told them we should welcome whatever spirits came.

Late that afternoon canoes brought people to our encampment for the festivities. Some, with an eye to trade, [439] had brought carvings and obias, and, as we sat and talked with them about what should be given for the pieces they offered us, we could watch the dance outside our open hut.

"OBIA COMES!"

"Put them on. See the moon? You will catch fresh colds if you sit in the moonlight with your heads uncovered." 796 [891]

So with sun helmets on our heads we sat, and, as we listened to the new rhythms of the drums, there came a shriek from the river which brought us to our feet. Those who were not dancing ran up the hill away from the drums. 781 796 796 ●

"Obia! Obia comes! It is the Kromanti!" were the cries, and our cook and our town man placed themselves in line across the front of our hut, watching uneasily. 787

"They will destroy all you have if they get inside," they called to us, "we must try to keep them out."

Up from the river, along the path he had trodden but a while before, came a man whom we could not recognize in the disguise given him by the paint on his face. Half his face was white, half a deep red, and we later learned what we did not then know, that this was the face marking of the Djadja Kromanti and that this man was possessed by one of the two Kromanti spirits which carry danger to those who are present when the seizure comes. He advanced toward the drums, machete in hand, as though he were stalking his prey, his legs raised high at every step, trailing some enemy. At his mouth the foam was gathering, and the words he uttered were in the Kromanti tongo, the sacred speech not understood by the uninitiated. [198]

The songs changed in character, and the singers were men. The women who had not run away were dancing a quick accompaniment to the drum beats, adding their shrill voices to the singing and the intensity of the cries of the possessed man. When the possessed man reached the hut, he stopped in front of the drummers. As their rhythms poured out of the barrel-like drums, he answered stroke for stroke with shouted cries in his sacred secret language, raising his machete higher and higher, until, with a quick stroke, he slashed at two of the players who were seated side by side on a log. He missed them by what seemed a hair's breadth as his machete, whistling through the narrow space between their bodies, sank deep into the log on which they sat.

REBEL DESTINY

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Other cries now came to us, and from the bush a second possessed man burst into the clearing. He, too, had a machete, and he made straight for our hut. But obia did not prompt him to insist on entering, and he came close to us, gibbering in our faces, and then, stepping high as had the other, went his way to slash at our washbasins, sending one of them, that we treasure as a memory of that night's adventure, hurtling into the bush with a deep dent in its side.

From the river came renewed shouts, and some of the men dashed to the bank to jump into a canoe and paddle into the rapids, so that they might watch the possessed man who had leaped into the river to pit his strength against the fast water. On and on he swam upstream in the foaming water, as from the bank we watched his progress uneasily in the clear light of the moon. Finally obia left him, and the men in the boat seized his inert form and brought him back to shore.

796 787

When we returned to our hut, we found several others possessed. Obia had claimed six or seven, some with faces painted half white, half red, as was that of the first man, others with faces whitened, while still others had white faces with black markings. These last had Tigri, and the white was for Opete. Those who danced for the buzzard had no machetes, but went about in a circle, moving with bodies bent forward from their waists and with arms thrown back in imitation of the bird from which their spirit took its name.

One man with the Tigri face-painting took away the apinti from the drummer and placing it in the center of the clearing leaned over it and began drumming faster rhythms. Now indeed obia itself was drumming.

796 203

Long before this, we had observed the amenities of the occasion. As hosts, our duty was to provide the ceremonial rum with which the spirits needed to be regaled, and our cook, holding the bottle of rum for us, filled and refilled the small glass which we offered to men and women. Some did not drink at all but poured part of the rum on the

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576 *bah?*" In other words, "Brother, (Sister, Father, Mother) howdy, how-do-you-do?"

751 776 There is a ceremony connected with the simple act of entering a Bush Negro town. A stranger might bring in foul intentions or evil spirits. The village must be protected against this horrific possibility, so nearly every path leading to the town has a magic device, known as an *azang pau*, to keep the spirits out. It consists of a dry stick across the path overhead, to which palm fronds are lashed. They hang down, brushing over everyone who passes beneath. The visitor passes under the azang pau, and is cleared of evil spirits that might harm the inhabitants of the village.

The Djukas have invisible enemies. On either side of the 778 path, near the palm barrier, is the wooden statue of a fetish to provide protection from these enemies. The fetish named Cromanti, on one side, protects the village from the evil spirit that dwells in the silk-cotton tree, the *con con dree*. Opposite him stands *Aflamu*, who secures the village against the attacks of a mighty tribe of unseen men, who are the sworn enemies of the Bush Negro and kill him with invisible arrows.

Walking up from the river we reach the barrier, and pause before it for the customary ritual. But Abaisa is a potent chief, the head of his *lo* or clan, the *Abaisa-lo*. So long as the bahkra accompanies him, no ceremony is necessary. We enter unchallenged into the clearing beyond.

648 576 The usual procedure is for the white man to hang back and let his paddler precede him. Moi-Man gains admittance to re-

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Then comes the *saustee* dance, accompanied by songs of the rebellion. Ancient heroes live again. Once more raids are made on outlying plantations. The spirit of defiance that Stedman found at Boucou is still kept alive. Then come softer songs—songs of love. *"Te e durmi e songs me, grandanke,"* a girl sings plaintively. She is telling her lover, "When you sleep dream of me, many thanks." *"Te kai me u srni neauco, becau na bonu somi e ta layme"*—"When you lead me to deceit I will not follow; such things you should not teach me."

Again the dancers find fault with the orchestra, protesting loudly. They are not satisfied with the rhythm. Abruptly the chief dancer seizes a drum and rolls out a call to Apuku, god of the forest, asking Apuku to come.

Dimly through the darkness they can feel some response. Apuku is coming. Everyone runs back a few steps and utters a slight scream. The spirit of the bush god is entering their bodies. He is welcomed with a little dance, jerkily done, in which all participate. Then comes the special Apuku dance, where writhing, circling, snaking arms simulate the twisted lianas of the jungle, which is the god's home.

Once the spirit of the bush god has entered them, they cannot stop. The drums increase their volume and tempo, until the rhythm is too rapid and intricate for white ears to follow. Now truly they are hypnotized by the feverish monotony, the shuffling beat of fingers on the drum-heads. Because of this trance, fatigue is forgotten. The little *baboula* keeps steady time, throbbing like a heart-beat. Flat hands

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796 shade out strange metres on the *nanda*. There is a break; the
535 orchestra stops, and the interval is filled in with the heavy
776 booming of the *apenti*. Often the drummers seize a bush-
158 knife and batter at the pegs, stretching the dried skin to the
[534] proper tone. Mist from the river has dampened their hair, unnoticed. The dance will continue until morning; they must play until the spirit of Apuku has gone.

796 Everything is set for the climax. Some are still watching
535 while the others dance. Since the old men are too dignified,
158 their places are taken by younger men from sixteen to twenty-five. There are more women dancing than men, anyhow. The white man is wondering how it is going to end. Despite the excitement there has been no orgiastic episode.

Grand finale. There is a tremendous screech from out of the blackness beyond. Three practically naked blacks come rushing up from the river, their faces and bodies daubed
[302] hideously with pemba dotee, the ceremonial white clay. One has stripes around his arms, belly, and legs, his face all white. Another's face is bisected with white and yellow pigment. The third is Adjobo, the medicine man; he has circles of clay on his forehead, cheeks, and chin, and rings around his neck. The presence of the ceremonial clay indicates the presence of a god. There is no doubt but that the hideousness of these men inspires a feeling of awe.

They burst into the circle of dancers and scatter them. Everyone retreats before them, with actual or pretended fright. The children become hysterical and cling frantically to their mothers for protection. Women in the crowd are cry-

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tradition and authority. The older women's opinions bear 818
considerable weight, for it is chiefly they who maintain the
customs of the tribe. The mother-in-law and father-in-law [606]
are held in special esteem.

Unlike divorce, death is an occasion of genuine sorrow. 765
If a man's wife dies, he may go into mourning for a whole
year. His mourning consists in staying in his hut and doing
no work, while his dead wife's family brings him food and
supports him. When the year is up, he makes a sacrifice to
"the little ground god, Amu" before taking another woman. [776
He slaughters a fowl, letting the blood flow from the throat 782]
on to the earth. After this ritual sacrifice a big dance is held,
and he is permitted to marry again. It is his next wife who
insists upon this ritual.

When a man dies, it is sometimes incumbent upon his 587
widow to have intercourse with his oldest surviving brother
and marry him. The fact that he may already be married
makes no difference whatever. It is imperative that they live
together for several months; after that, if there is no affec-
tion between them, they can separate. This is a widespread
custom among primitives, and there are remnants of it in
the present-day customs of orthodox Jews.

Among the Aucaners it is not necessary for a man to have
intercourse with his deceased brother's wife. He must, how-
ever, take care of her for a period of six months, after which
time she is free to remarry.

A woman may publicly mourn her deceased husband by [765]
singing a dirge every little while.

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Not only are human beings animated by spirits, but the 774
Djukas believe that everything, every object in the external world, is the residence of a spirit. These spirits are called *Mama*. Thus, canoes have spirits (*Boto Mama*) and so have huts (*Oso Mama*), paddles, fetishes, stones, and especially drums. Each has an impalpable soul. Moreover, there are several jungle spirits, tribes of ghosts and invisible men.

The woods of Surinam are filled with ghosts. *Winti* is 776
a ghost that can come into your body and make you do things you otherwise would not do. A pregnant woman, several weeks before her delivery, was struck dumb by an unknown enemy. This aphasia disappeared upon the birth of the child. When she was expecting another child, she fasted six days, to the point of exhaustion. Then a magic rite was undergone, and she broke the fast. Knowing that someone has put *Winti* on her to prevent her from having children, she now feeds them by simulating illness. From this it is apparent that Winti is under a measure of control; it can be sent into the [756]
body of an enemy to do him harm, then it is called *wisi*.

Jumbees are also bad spirits that can be controlled by the device of magic. Once put on a person, they bring him bad luck. Pain is caused by a spirit called *Congo Burtri*. The soul is known as *Basuki*, or *Kra*. In the bush there also dwell tribes of evil men who are invisible; every time a Bush Negro looks at them they turn themselves into a tree or an anthill. When the Bush Negro is not looking, they kill him with unseen arrows.

The Djukas believe in the *Gran Gadu*, the ruling spirit

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776 over all things. Among his other names are *Gran Tata* (Great Father) and *Old Nengre*. Subordinate to the chief deity is Apuku, spirit of the jungle. There is also the spirit of the river, *Tonzi*, or *Amucu*, or *Watra Mama*. Then comes the snake spirit, whose ritual was once a thing of horror, *Papa Gadu*, whose other name is *Voodoo*.

The evil spirit, the bad, wild spirit of the bush, is *Cromanti*, who possesses the dancers in their midnight fury. His dwelling-place is the silk-cotton tree. In the jungles of both West Africa and South America the silk-cotton trees (*Ceiba pentandra* or *Bombax ceiba*) grow to an immense size, towering above all the other vegetation. The Bush Negroes [824] consider this *con con dree* sacred, refusing to touch it with a knife or axe. Any man who cuts one down is accursed. Once, during the construction of a village, a man was forced to cut one down. Cromanti went into his wife and killed her in six weeks. Similar to the silk-cotton is the *kotu con con dree*, and any man so foolhardy as to molest it will get into dangerous trouble.

The kindly spirit is *Aflamu*, who protects the Djukas against the invisible men who live in the jungle. The fetishes to Aflamu have two eyes, one looking forward and the other placed backward, to indicate his unceasing vigilance in all directions. In *The Golden Bough*, Frazer mentions the Djukas as setting up a Janus-faced image on the village paths. We have never seen one of these and doubt their existence. The fetish to Aflamu is placed on the village path, however, and the same idea is involved in the eye set in the back.

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House God, Upper Surinam River. Note hut built to shade the fetish.

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Other evil spirits are *Bakru, Yorkas* (a Carib word), *Azeman,* and *Lybba.* The Bakru are very ugly. A Negro picked up a crying child and sat him on his shoulders. His companion noticed the child's eyes and said: "That is a Bakru." The Negro dashed the child down. The child was instantly transformed into an ape and said: "I missed you that time, but next time I'll get you." The Bakru may also take the form of little mannikins with large heads. 776

Yorkas are ghosts. They are very similar to our conception of haunting spooks. They may be the ghosts of dead people, more especially of dead enemies who have returned to do harm. [775]

The Azeman are the most awful of all spirits. They leave their skins every night and travel about in the form of persons without any skin. Consequently they are an ugly, bleeding sight. At dawn they assume their covering. But if the skin is found and salt placed around it, it shrinks so that it becomes too small for the Azeman to get back into. This causes them to vanish. Another method of getting rid of the Azeman is to scatter rice about. They dislike rice very much and stop to pick the grains up out of the way. In their preoccupation they do not notice the coming of dawn, which is very harmful to them.

The Lybba are spirits or ghosts similar to the Yorka.

A sleeping Bush Negro must be waked with care, as his personal spirit, the soul, or kra, may not be able to get back in time if he is too suddenly aroused. 828 774 513

The Djukas may be possessed by almost any spirit. During

The Djukas may be possessed by almost any spirit. During
776 the dances they sometimes feel Apuku or Cromanti, as the
787 case may be. Once a Bush Negro was possessed by the spirit of a jaguar. The big buck seized a dog that happened to be loitering near by and tore it to pieces with his fingers. After a dance a man was seized by the spirit of a rebel leader of the old plantation days; he seized a cutlass and began hacking and smashing everything around him until the others forcibly restrained him.

776 The Bush Negroes do not worship the jungle spirits very
782 meticulously, but every village has fetishes, usually standing
[778] in little god-houses which are mere sheds to keep off the rain. Under the shade of the tiny roof can be seen the stiff visage of one of these deities, at times with remnants of food and drink at his feet. Beside the food there is usually a paddle for the god to eat with, elaborately carved like any food-paddle, and smeared with pemba dotee, the sacred white clay. This clay is smeared on all religious or ceremonial objects. For the individual to hold profitable converse with the gods, he must be smeared with it; pemba dotee seems to be a sort of catalytic agent between the soul and the deity. This custom is a West African survival, and not to be found among the Indians of Dutch Guiana.

778 Along the river, also, are occasional shrines where the
782 Bush Negroes may appease their deities when on long journeys, or when hunting. The shrine consists of a tall pole which may be either festooned or plain. At the base of many of the poles are shells, stones, bottles, and pieces of wood, as well as food and drink, possibly as a sacrifice. Every village,

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The Azang Pau. Phantom Barrier Over Paths Leading to Village. Upper Surinam River.

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severe attack of winti. She fell upon her knees and appeared 825
half lame. The others lifted her up. A youth came with a 776 158
green stick; he bit into it and spat on the woman's calves, legs, feet, and arms. After a while she was able to stand alone. This seemed to constitute the end of the dance. It had somehow become known that the Papa Gadu, the snake spirit, was angry, and this big *gadu pray* (god's spread) had been necessary in order to propitiate him.

The women who are seized with the winti sometimes mutter a few words. The others regard these as the utterances of a spirit and say: *"Ya, gadu"*—"yes, God." Upon inquiry among the women who had caught the winti spirit, Mr. de Goeje found that they all complained of feeling very dizzy or giddy when in such a trance.

Certain localities, as well as individuals, may be possessed 776
by evil spirits. The Pwaba Creek is such a place. Were a 751
Djuka to go up this creek with any clothing on, he would never come out alive. So upon entering the waters of Pwaba the Djuka strips off all his clothes. That nullifies the bad magic.

Every Bush Negro, to protect himself from all varieties 751
of black magic, wears a number of charms or amulets. He 778

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778 carvings. Still another magic device is a red necklace of macaw feathers, to bring luck in hunting. Another obeiah with [843] a tinkling bell is worn around the neck by pregnant women to tell the unborn child that everything is auspicious in the outside world.

Some of the beliefs accompanying these amulets are odd [774] and child-like. The Djukas think that spirits are afraid of strangers, and flee in terror when a stranger is encountered. The inhabitants of the little town of *Pekein Say* (Talk a Little Bit) have the power to call back hunters who are lost in the bush, a virtue peculiar to these townfolk alone. These curious beliefs persist despite the fact that they could easily be tested and exposed. Any coincidence will strongly reinforce them. Late one evening, going up the river, we came to an Aucaner village and stopped to spend the night. Not liking the looks of the place we told our paddlers to push on to the next village before night. Tired, they grumbled at this. To give weight to our decision we told the blacks that our obeiahs were warning us not to stay, and that it would be dangerous to let this warning pass unheeded. Impressed with the gravity of the warning, they acceded to our wishes. We went on, although not being able to reach the adjacent village in time we were forced to spend the night in the bush.

Later, coming back down the river, we learned that the village we had passed by had held, on that very night, a great and disastrous dance. There had been much drinking of high [579 731] wine, and, in the drunken and hysterical excitement that followed, half the town was burned down and three men were killed.

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784 These food trafers are sometimes chosen by the individual,
262 and are acquired also by inheritance. A certain Bush Negro
[424 got his trafer in this way: His grandmother had a vision,
787] called *papa winti,* and she informed her grandson that she had been possessed. This made him feel the spirit of Cromanti. In that bad state he got the *idée fixe* that shooting a turtle would be reprehensible and dangerous. This animal then became his tabooed food, and for the rest of his life it is trafer so far as he is concerned.

797 So far only a slight attempt has been made to Christianize the Djukas. The Catholics and Moravian Brothers have established mission stations at a few points along the rivers. Their efforts at conversion appear on the whole to be unsuccessful. The Bush Negroes are converted in small numbers and very superficially; in moments of stress they will revert back to their jungle deities. The whole spirit of Christian customs is foreign to their mode of life. They have the Gran
776 Gadu, an adequate enough image of divine power. Their
782 prayers are sometimes said directly to him, or they pray to their ancestors to intercede with the Gran Gadu for aid. Sometimes the prayer is said by being beaten out on the tom-
[778] tom, for the tomtom is sacred, and the throbs of the great

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drums carry farther toward heaven than the talkee-talkee of a lone supplicant.

It is not easy to distinguish between the primitive's magic 756
and his medicine. In the village organization a distinction is 793
sometimes made between the *medicine man,* who is concerned with remedies for sickness, and the *obeiah priest,* whose business is charms and rituals. There are two or three obeiah priests to each village. Their profession is the propitiation of spirits, that is, magic and religion. The magic of the obeiah men is largely secret. Once we arrived at a village while a ritual of some nature was going on. Pots were stewing in the centre of the clearing, while obeiah men were moving around them. One held a rattle, which he shook monotonously. The bahkra was asked to leave. It was magic in the making.

The Bush Negroes possess an extensive system of primitive 824
medicine. Various roots, herbs, and nuts are gathered in the jungle, and their use is mingled with various superstitions. The witch doctor or medicine man who prepares infusions 756
from these herbs holds no exalted position in the esteem of the villagers; he is simply following a particular profession to which no special prestige is attached. He may, however, [793]
be an obeiah priest in addition to being a medicine man.

He prepares several kinds of medicine, among them the 756
snakee-kutti, or snake-bite cure. It cures the bites of all rep- 789
tiles and makes the person immune from future attack. 278
Snakee-kutti is made in this way: a venomous snake is killed and the head and the tail-end are cut from the body; the tail

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174 many of these brave and hardy blacks, who rebelled in Jamaica, Haiti, and elsewhere, as well as in Surinam. This intractable and high-spirited nature still characterizes the contemporary Bush Negro, who has the same hardihood, the same impatience of control, that marked the wild Coromantis of the early revolts. They may have been slaves in fact, but they were never slaves in spirit.

The name of these fractious slaves is not unfamiliar; we have encountered it in contemporaneous Bush Negro life. [776] *Cromanti* now designates a god of the South American bush. The name has apparently travelled from one continent to another, from a Dutch slave factory of the seventeenth century to the Bush Negro villages of the twentieth. Today there are "fetishes to the bad, wild god Cromanti."

776 In the person of Cromanti, the Djukas have obviously deified their own ancestors. The bad, wild god of the bush is to be identified with the Bush Negroes' Coromantyn forbears. The dancers smeared with sacred clay, whose mad gyrations [787] with whistling bush-knives signified that they were possessed by the spirit of Cromanti, were reincarnations of the rebels of the old days. The Djukas' bad demon of the forest is an atavistic memory, personifying the spirit of the uprisings.

/12 cont./

796 Then they call all the neighbors together to take part in the
273 festivities to be held, which consist of invoking their gods amidst continuous dancing and excessive drinking.

They begin the festivities only on a Friday and usually finish on a Sunday or Monday, depending on the larger or smaller
[147] supply of drink, so, lacking this, the festival ends. After the conclusion they are usually extremely tired and listless and give themselves up entirely to rest for at least two or three days.

It is a definite requirement at these festivities to be very amply supplied with strong drink, because one must drink without
[782] interruption in order to remain in a continuous narcosis. With each drink they first pour a little on the ground, -- so that it, too, on which they find themselves so gay, may participate in their enjoyment.

[262] The merrymakers then take care that they will by no means
[577] be lacking in fish, wild game, bacon, rice, etc., since it is a matter of honor with them to display the most lavish hospitality on such occasions.

● 776 The gods that they worship are:

Loango Gado,
Papa Gado,
Cromantie Gado,

/13/ names certainly derived from the various African tribes of these names.

In the first two they glorify nature and everything created, from which it therefore appears that these are merely subordinate
[787] gods of the unnamed, single great spirit. The last is above all regarded by them as the mediator who transmits their wishes to the great spirit; he is invoked especially at burial ceremonies and for consultation in connection with serious illnesses.

796 They do not have any other cult or religion, so far as I was
[771] able to discover, but only the fixed habit of still celebrating to-
[132] gether and with their chief and captains on the first Friday of the new moon in the month of October or November, after the long
[783] dry period has set in for good, a great feast that has as its goal a general atonement, to cleanse them of the misdeeds that they have committed.

/72 cont./

643 The grand man acts as land head for the whole of the tribe.
778 It is he who has the care of the sanctuary of mama gɔ̃ and who
241 prays each year in the presence of a large gathering of people for the fertility of the soil.

643 The grand man is the priest of Odun, divinity whom the Boni
793 regard as avenger of offenses against moral and religious law; by
776 virtue of this, he alone is qualified to administer the oath against
782 wiʃi (sorcery) and to implore the mercy of Odun toward those who have gone against his laws by fighting with arms.

643 In his religious functions this usually weak and unobtrusive
156 man acts with sovereign authority and assurance, and we have several times seen people tremble before him.

643 If someone has seriously transgressed the customary laws, or
681 if he has stolen, committed adultery, given blows, poured forth
[673] serious insults or curses, the grand man inflicts on him punishment proportional to the gravity of the offense, such as making planks, /73/ a boat, pounding rice (if it is a woman). The product of the punishment is acquired by the grand man, as are the fines in money which he imposes in less serious cases.

643 For example in October, 1952, two adolescents of Boniville,
685 Awétipay and Adyuka, were surprised while they were trying to break into an inhabited house; the grand man sentenced them forthwith to three days of forced labor, in the course of which he made them clean the approaches to the village and collect for his benefit wood for heating.

643 He can also punish disobedient or disrespectful young men
689 by making them do work reserved for women, such as weeding
462 the approaches to the village and the removal of dog droppings.

643 The grand man can confine a man to Boni villages by for-
681 bidding him to go beyond l'Enfant Perdu to the north and Kormotibo to the south; that is called sitafu sama (sitafu = captive). The man concerned, deprived of means of earning his living, thus becomes dependent on his family until he makes honorable amends.

/162 cont./

764 767 [613] In principle the forward bearer (who is called bossman by analogy with a boat) must belong to the dead person's lineage. Apart from this restriction, the bearers can be (and are in fact) any people whatever, the only condition required being that they be extremely vigorous, because the load they carry is at the limit of their strength.

Fraud can exist in isolated cases, but in the great majority of cases there is no doubt as to the good faith of the bearers; they give contradictory answers, go ahead and back interminably, until, exhausted, they are raised up again by others. Actually, the interpretation of these automatic movements does not differ essentially from any process of divination.

The dead person is interrogated from the age of four or [766] five years up. If it is a very young child, he is not interrogated; but the causes of his death are sought by interrogating possessed people, and if there is reason to, the kunu is appeased in the same fashion.

764 787 754 At the beginning of the interrogation the tribunal tries to make sure that the dead person was not a wisimã. After sending the bearers to the other end of the village, the president of the assemblage has two young men hidden in huts; then he has the bearers called, saying to the dead person: "I have lost So-and-so and So-and-so, find them." If the dead person was an upright man, he must have acquired a suprahuman clairvoyance permitting him to direct his bearers straight away toward the huts in question. If he was a wisimã, he will be as if blind; his bearers go wandering in vain from hut to hut.

They state that this test always succeeds.

764 787 761 [776] [784] The interrogation proceeds interminably. The causes of death are taken up. The first question is: is it a god who killed you? The answer is nearly always yes, and they proceed by elimination in order to arrive, for example, at learning that it is an Ampuku, that it is the Ampuku borne by So-and-so. By what the kunu was set in motion, how to appease it, is not the

/168 cont./

764 co-wife, on the contrary, are completely veiled and show by their state of prostration the keenest sorrow. Each of them is assisted by a female relative who supports them when they have to move somewhere else, for they are supposed to be too overcome to move alone.

764 The interrogation as to the causes of death has already
787 taken place the day before, but Tafanié proclaims, in front of
761 me, the result of it to the latest arrivals: the deceased was struck down by a yɔrka which pursues the lineage with its kunu. She had already received several warnings in the form of illness; the yɔrka had demanded a payment which she and her near relatives had neglected to furnish. Impossible to learn anything further before being able to interrogate this yɔrka, whose habitual bearer has left for Saint-Laurent. It is necessary to wait for his return in order to mollify the yɔrka's anger.

764 About ten o'clock the members of the lãnti kuutu go to-
769 ward the fraga tiki of the Awara Bakka lo, in front of which they
778 all sit down on their stools. I notice that not a single man of
[613] the dead person's lineage appears in the front row. In it I recognize Popo (Lapé), Poopu (Dipélu II, Kormotibo), Tafanié (Papaïston). The one who is speaking is a foreigner passing through, a very aged and respected Djuka.

[782] The elders invoke Masa Gadu and the ancestors in general, asking them to protect them from adversity in the future; then the offering of water and tafia takes place (no cane juice). I notice that a little is poured on each of the secondary fraga tiki erected for the sake of each one of the ancestors who pursue another lineage with their kunu. That lasts about a quarter of an hour.

764 Next someone goes to ask the deceased to whom she
787 bequeaths the Papa gadu god which manifested itself in her;
776 for the gods are bequeathed like the rest of the inheritance,
428 even if those concerned are divinities which exercise the kunu
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/168 cont./
against the lineage. The god ratifies this legacy or not; in general it follows, they say, the wishes of its bearer and manifests itself some time afterward in the designated heir.

The coffin is placed on the heads of two men: Tafanié puts the questions with authority. He begins first by making sure of the passivity of the bearers, invites the dead woman to push their heads forward to say yes, to give them an impulse from right to left to say no.

The coffin advances and draws back several times; its weight is at the limit of what the two men can support. Two secondary bearers help the rear bearer, preventing the coffin from falling.

[613]
[621]

L. /Footnote at bottom of p. 168; no reference to it on the page/ Let us recall that this lineage, too few in numbers to constitute a separate social unit, lives with the Awara Bakka, with whom it has no connection through kinship or alliance.

The dead woman suddenly leads her bearers across the village. We see it come back /169/ a quarter of an hour afterward, accompanied by a woman of about 35 years, Moni, in front of whom it stopped.

Tafanié asks whether it wishes to leave its god to her; the dead woman confirms. Upon the statement of this legacy Moni's face reflects no gladness at all, nor any fear.

They explain to me that the designated heiress can in no way refuse this legacy. She must immediately begin her instruction given by a teacher, in order to become a suitable bearer. The expenses of her instruction are borne by her lineage.

764 /169 cont./
787 They will be paid when the gita has been "arranged," that is,
● 776 has lost the bestial character of the beginning and when the god
428 can express itself in intelligible fashion.

764 There and then they busy themselves with transferring
787 the god out of the body of the deceased. An sbiaman well
789 known in the cult of the Papa gadu, Goutu (Dju) and his pupil Balan (Aw.B.) come with calabashes containing infusions of leaves. Four or five women having a Papa gadu come and line up behind them. The heiress, with an extremely vexed air, takes her place among them, clothed with the emblems of the god of the dead woman; they are going to call their gods who will dance in honor of Kotolda's god.

The sbiaman and his pupil for several minutes trickle the infusion of herbs over the coffin, using packets of herbs like sponges, then they "wash" the women, including the postulant; he gives them the rest of the calabash to drink. One of the women, Samabun, falls immediately to the ground, attacked by the lowest form of possession: she drags herself on her belly like a snake (these are the first forms of the gita when it has not yet been "arranged." In her case that has lasted four years, contrary to what ordinarily happens. The scene was certainly anticipated, for she had put on European panties. The other women also drink but are not possessed; they leave to dress for dancing.

[534] The agida drum taken out of the god's chapel begins to beat, accompanied by two apinti.

The female bearers of Papa gadu arrive at the sound of the agida, smeared with pamba and carrying /wearing?--Tr./ the insignia of the god. Six come in all. They are not in a state of possession; only two will reach it. The first possessed woman keeps crawling on the ground, gropingly approaching the drum which she embraces, lying on her back. It is torn away from her. The sbiaman continue to come to "wash"

/189 cont./

428 Example: When △ Atikati (Dju, E18) died in 1953, about 75 years old, his house went to his sister Adyidya (E19), his gun to Kéwénu (G10), his boat to his classificatory sister Aliki (E23), aged 85.

(602) Upon the lifting of mourning for Atikati, it was Aliki, by reason of being the eldest of the surviving classificatory sisters, who distributed his personal belonging: and his money. For example, an iron bracelet went to Sosoman (E14) (1).

1. See the genealogical table of the Dju lineage.

428 613 602 By seeing the division of this inheritance on the genealogical table, one realizes that classificatory kinship is not a useless word and that in fact, within the matrilineage (bea), the division is made strictly at random, without consideration of sex, age, or proximity of kinship, which is strictly normal, given the divinatory procedure used.

428 226 602 An analogous conclusion comes out of the study of the inheritance of gods; the Papa gadu god of the ancestress ○Sapiké (D5) passed into Pamasa (E26), her kin in the seventh degree. Likewise the god Amouku of △ Agosbuchi, passing from a man to a woman, went /190/ to Cabusa (G45), his kin in the tenth degree at least (Agosbuchi could not be placed with certainty on the genealogical table). The Kumétu god of △ Aniuoo (D9) went to Achiké (F13).

428 Study of the inheritance of houses leads to analogous conclusions.

The only case where a certain systematization is seen to appear is that of inheriting from women having adult children. It seems (but this is not a legal principle) that these children receive the essential part of the inheritance.

/193 cont./

777 824 A currently widespread idea about animism would lead one to think, for example, that before felling a tree a Refugee Black addresses words and offerings to it. That is entirely absent from his thought: either this tree is likely to serve as support for a god, in which case it can be touched only after complex rites having the aim of transferring the god elsewhere, or it is simply a tree, and one cuts it down without further ado.

784 825 One very clear aspect of these conceptions is the dagu kunu, a curse resulting from the killing of a dog. Any animal may be killed with impunity but not a dog, because "a dog is almost a man."

[613] At the opposite extreme from the true kunu, a curse extending to a whole lineage, the dagu kunu applies only to the guilty person and draws only limited misfortunes upon him.

[772] No feeling whatever with respect to the dog enters into this conception, but only the idea that he is placed on a particular plane, near the plane of the human and his level of force.

• 776 /194/ The Great Gods

The Boni recognize a supreme God, Nana (1), more

1. This term comes from the Agni.

commonly called Masa Gadu, and Kedi Amu, Kediampon in Kumenti language. He created the lower gods and all that lives on the earth.

793 Here is how the old Boni men relate the myth of the creation of the world:

God created a brother and sister, Adam and Efa. They were twins. He put them in a place where they lived happily without working. But he forbade them to touch the fruit of the custard-apple tree.

/194 cont./

773 One day, the devil came in the form of the serpent dagowe. He told them: "Eat the seeds of this tree and you will know all things like God himself."

Adam allowed himself to be tempted and ate a custard apple, he had Efa eat some of it. He found this fruit good and said: "God had deceived us." His heart changed, he ceased looking at Efa as a sister and united with her. She became pregnant.

Some time afterward, God came upon the earth and saw what had happened. He said to Efa: "Thou shalt bear a child in pain." And to Adam: "Thou shalt eat only what thou hast harvested by the sweat of thy brow." He gave him a stone axe and told him: "Go on the nearby mountain; thou wilt find the seedlings of what thou wilt have to plant henceforth in order to feed thyself."

Efa had two twins whom she again called Adam and Efa, and other children. From these children all men have descended.

[177] This Biblical myth, transposed into the African way of thinking, explains the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks concerning [845] twins. It was two twins whom God created first. Twins are beloved of God and share his nature.

• 776 The idea most generally accepted among the Boni is that Masa Gadu is the source of force from which all living beings derive theirs; men are connected with him through their ancestors.

It happens that Masa Gadu may intervene directly in the lives of men, and in such a case he acts necessarily according to justice, without any magic whatever being able to protect the guilty one. But in most cases he does not intervene, showing himself in that way to be as arbitrary as the lower gods.

/194 cont./

776 [184] The great gods Gwangwéla and Gédéosu of the Djuka are not known to the Boni.

[194] Strictly speaking, no cult of Masa Gadu exists. No edifice is reserved for him, he has no priests, and no collective ceremonies are conducted on his behalf. He is nevertheless 776 769 constantly present in the religious life of the Boni, associated with ancestor worship. Every ceremony of ancestor worship 776 includes an invocation to Masa Gadu. From time to time, for 769 specific motives such as the illness of a member of the lo, 755 people go /195/ specially to the fraga tiki to invoke Masa Gadu. [613] The oldest man of the lo officiates, while a younger one pours [978] a little water and tafia at the foot of the fraga tiki; the elder addresses Masa Gadu in everyday language, in simple terms, in a familiar conversational tone, asking him for the cure of illnesses or the end of calamities. Those present, seated in a semicircle, punctuate the end of the speech with some rhythmical applause, uttering the ritual formula of thanks: "Gaã tãgi tãgi fi yu, Masa Gadu."

776 *Outside of these ceremonies which hardly go beyond the* 782 framework of the lineage, everyone may address Masa Gadu directly by praying aloud, if, for example, he finds himself alone in the bush and prey to an illness. One never addresses Masa Gadu other than for a specific material purpose. Inner prayer for the purpose of spiritual perfection does not exist to our knowledge among the Refugee Blacks.

776 One applies directly to Masa Gadu when one believes [755] oneself to be the victim of an iniquitous action (see curse). How- [784] ever, although the Refugee Blacks have a very lively sense of justice, they never call Masa Gadu to witness for the cruel and arbitrary vengeances (kunu) which the lower divinities are [812] believed to exercise on them. It is taken for granted that all these divinities do conforms to the role which Masa Gadu has assigned to them and that the suffering they inflict on men is indispensable to the proper working of the universe.

/195 cont./

794 [181] The laws of Odun. The cult of Odun (Odŭ) is the keystone of the social and religious structure of the Refugee Blacks. It is a very secret cult; its rites are not practiced in the presence of outsiders and all curiosity about it meets with frank hostility. The Boni, who talk rather freely about the cults of possession, [123] are mute on the subject of Odun, and one may spend years among them without even hearing this name uttered.

794 184 The worship of Odun is common to the Boni and the Saramaka (perhaps this is what explains the trustful relations which exist between the two groupings). Among the Djuka it is replaced by the worship of Gwangwéla (Grantata), which has exactly the same functions and rites.

• 796 Odun is not to be confused with the creator God Nana (Masa Gadu). The myths explaining the relationship of these two entities were not known by our informants, but it is clear that Odun was sent to men by Masa Gadu as legislator and judge.

671 Odun's laws have a profound originality, as much by their content as by the sanctions which accompany them. It is not excessive to speak of a religious and moral doctrine of the Refugee Blacks.

These laws appear in negative form. A certain number [641] of acts and behavior are forbidden to those who have entered the society of the Refugee Blacks by taking an oath which binds 784 them for good and all. Offenders will be punished without the direct intervention of men, by the all-powerful action of Odun, who will kill them or /196/ strike them down with sicknesses. As a general rule, Odun's punishment is death; this is what explains the fear his name inspires.

673 Odun forbids:

[754] --Sorcery, wisi, in the most general sense, that is, any magic action having as its purpose the killing, making ill, and in a general way doing harm to another person.

/199 cont./

[787] [171] The phenomena of possession exist among other populations of the Guianas and especially among the Amerindians, but among the Refugee Blacks they have special and well-defined forms.

--For the duration of possession, the ordinary consciousness of the man is totally abolished. When he comes back to himself, he no longer remembers anything and the others present have to repeat to him what the divinity revealed. [171] This total loss of consciousness during possession appears to be a very constant phenomenon with the Blacks, in Africa as much as in America. [114] Professor de Goeje calls attention to the fact that the Indian medicine man, on the contrary, does not lose /200/ consciousness during his trances and is supposed to receive, himself, the revelations of the spirits.

When a man is possessed by a divinity, in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks he is no longer there; what his body may do is not attributed to him at all. They say: "The gadu does this, says that, dances in such a way." If the gadu hurt someone (but that practically never happens) or broke something, its bearer would not have any responsibility.

[787] 198 [176] --The divinity expresses itself in a language peculiar to it; we shall see further on that there are four categories of divinities likely to become incarnate in men, which corresponds to four secret languages of which in practice only two are known by the Boni, at least by the oldest among them.

The bearer of the divinity, in his usual state of consciousness, knows in general this language, which he has learned from a teacher if it is a matter of a possession desired by him and obtained with the help of definite practices.

But there are also numerous cases of unprovoked possession (in the kunu especially) and people state that in this case the divinity speaks its language just as well, although its bearer has never learned it;

/200 cont./

787 --Possession is manifested by kinds of trances called gita or k3mfo, of a varying nature according to the divinity concerned, which sometimes involve phenomena of insensibility and acts impossible to perform in a normal state;

787 --The first time the divinity enters a man, it imposes
782 a kina (interdiction) upon him which will henceforth be the
784 sign of his function. This is what is called a gadu kina. This kina varies from one divinity to another, but in principle a given divinity imposes the same kina on its divers bearers. The divinity names itself and indicates to its bearer a means of calling it back in case of need: make such-and-such gestures, scatter such-and-such a liquid or powder.

All that is recorded by those present who reveal it to the person possessed when he has come round.

It is taken for granted that the god protects its bearer as long as the latter respects the laws of its cult and observes its kina (in the opposite case the god may punish him cruelly).
787 Conversely it is assumed that the man has a certain power, a
786 certain right over the god who possesses him. They say that he
789 is the master of it, masa, word which is habitually used in the
428 sense "to be the owner of." At his death he can bequeath this god in the forms and according to the laws regulating the inheritance of property. Of course the god is capable of not ratifying this decision, and it is free to manifest itself in anyone it wishes. But they affirm that in most cases it follows docilely the choice of its bearer. We shall see that this inheritance of gods plays an essential role in the functioning of the kunu.

787 Apprenticeship for possession. What goals does a man pursue
181 who desires thus to have a gadu? Above all he seeks strength. To succeed in life, to be protected against his enemies, to be respected: Such are the goals generally pursued and openly recognized by the Refugee Blacks who "have a gadu."

/201/

787 181 One also often finds as an avowed goal the idea of being useful to his lineage.

Disinterested mystical impulses appear totally absent from these cults.

787 154 But that is only one aspect of the phenomena of possession; they really seem to be, in large measure, unconscious and involuntary. Everyone can try to obtain a gadu, but everyone 787 [154] does not succeed; one must have a certain predisposition. "One cannot oblige a gadu to enter a man," say the Boni; it certainly seems, in fact, that in nearly half the cases possession takes place spontaneously and sometimes to the great terror of the person concerned: this is observed especially in the kunu.

[176] Mimi, a woman about 46 years old in 1958, of the Kotika lineage, was possessed by two gadu, an Ampuku and a Papa gadu. Here is how her near relatives relate the fashion in which they came into her.

[158] About ten years before, Mimi was showing signs of mental derangement. Her mind wandered, she sometimes used to leave the village to run in the bush at random, she uttered disconnected words (1). Then she fell very ill (pleurisy?).

[828] [171]

1. It is necessary to note on this subject the very widely held idea among the Refugee Blacks, as among the Creoles, that certain forms of mental imbalance are due to the action of an entity which is trying to manifest itself in a man and does not succeed. In order to cure this man, he must be "washed" with appropriate leaves so that the god can come to manifest itself in him; the rest of the time he will be normal.

[755]

787 /201 cont./
791 The elders then consulted the oracles and perceived that Mimi
796 was victim of an Ampuku named Maogan which for a very long
[613] time had been pursung the Kotika lineage with its vengeance
[784] (kunu). In order to protect herself, she sought to have herself given a more powerful god, and she became the pupil of an obiaman specialist in the cult of the Papa gadu. In this way she
[782] had a Papa gadu named Ayaémé, divinity of beneficent character to which, in difficult cases, her family applies in order
[346] to obtain advice, protection, and remedies. She had a little hut built beside her house, where the god goes to rest when it has finished each of its trips to the country of men. Ayaémé
[784] imposed on Mimi is kina which concerns a fish. But even with all this she was notrid of her kunu of the Ampuku; and one day, something it had not yet done, the latter revealed itself in her
[784] and spoke through her mouth. It announced that it would con-
[782] tinue to exercise it kunu against the Kotika lineage. They appeased it by sacrifices of red cloth and beer; since then, it seems calm and in rather good humor. It comes into Mimi from time to time and speaks in Saramaka language. They are very afraid of it, but they do not hesitate to question it and ask it for
[784] remedies, which it sometimes indicates. It laid on Mimi three gadu kina concerning the aconchy, the agami, and the armadillo.

791 Organization of the cults of possession. Strictly speaking, no
787 religious brotherhoods exist in Boni country; there are only
794 teachers - bas(2) - who have received their power from another

2. It does not seem advisable to translate this word by "priest." In the minds of the Refugee Blacks, this is a matter of a teacher teaching pupils; they use the same word to designate a European or Creolé schoolmaster.

/201 cont./

791 teacher and who teach a small group of disciples - kineki -,
787 without distinction of villages or lineages and under their sole
[794] responsibility; each one, man or woman, is absolutely free to pursue his teaching.

/202/These teachers are not themselves possessed, but they are believed to know the processes which permit the neophyte to obtain possession with the minimum of risks. They accept the
[776] fact, however, that that involves dangers, for one cannot oblige a particular gadu to come into someone, and one may in its place obtain an undesirable gadu.

791 Procedures vary according to the categories of gadu sought.
787 But they involve three elements which are always found in one
776 form or another:

--They begin by teaching the pupil the language of the
[198] divinity, or rudiments at the very least (as we shall point out further on, these languages appear to be in decline); these lessons are private;

--On behalf of a group of pupils, the teacher prepares
[824] infusions of certain leaves which are suited to the divinity in question. It is thought that the god likes these plants and that they have the power to attract it.

In certain cults it is required of the pupil to utter at the
[788] same time formulas inviting the god to come into him. But this is not general; in the cult of the Papa gadu especially, the teachers bathe the students in the greatest silence.

791 At the end of the session, the student is often asked to
787 drink a little of the infusion. One might believe that it is a
824 matter of a process having a physical action, certain plants possibly containing hypnotic substances; but except for one aspect of the cult of the Kumēnti of which we shall speak later, this does not seem true; especially about the plants believed to attract the Papa gadu, it seems that they have received this role because of their color or odor. Our feeling is that, at least
[562] for the Papa gadu cult which appeals more especially to women, suggestion plays an essential part.

/202 cont./

153 --Pupils are taught, individually or collectively, to dance
791 in the manner of the god. Indeed, each divinity has a charac-
787 teristic form of dance, which it executes sometimes by using
796 the bodies of its bearers when it comes into them. The pupil
535 must imitate as best he can the individual movements and the
[868] rhythm of this dance, while the teacher, using the appropriate drum, beats out the calling formulas.

If the god is satisfied with the student, he will be able to come into him.

791 These exercises appear to have as their goal the creation
787 in the pupils of forms of conditioned reflexes; they have nothing
785 in common with the very harsh ordeals which the medicine man
153 of the Guiana Indians imposes upon himself, and do not involve any form of asceticism. It does not seem that chastity, even temporary, is demanded of the student, any more than fasting or doing anything contrary to his inclinations.

787 The idea of a spiritual death and resurrection of the
791 possessed person, with all the ritual it entails: long reclusion of the neophytes, change of name of the one possessed, who is supposed to relearn all the activities of ordinary life, does not appear to have been kept by the Refugee Blacks. In a general
[152] way, the atmosphere of solemn seriousness, /203/ of secrecy, and of fear, which characterize the Dahomey cult of possession, is not found among them.

791 These lessons are always paid for and are even very
787 expensive. Payment is made in pieces of cloth, in demijohns
435 of tafia.
[436] Having a Kumẽnti amounted in 1958 to at least 25,000 francs. This payment is not only compensation for the teacher;
[181] it is the mark of legitimacy. What has not been paid for is not, for the Refugee Blacks, legitimately acquired. We shall come back to this important point later.

/203 cont./

153 Possession begins progressively; in the beginning the
787 divinity does not find in its bearer sufficient passivity, it does
791 not succeed well in expressing itself through his mouth, spectators observe only incoherent gestures and hear only unintelligible stammerings. The pupil must continue his training for a long time in order to become a suitable bearer.

789 The god, when it has just entered a man, always begins by rendering homage in its language to Masa Gadu, proclaiming that it acts only in his name and by his will.

[576] Then it greets those present, employing formulas which
[198] are the exact transposition into its language of the ordinary Boni formulas of politeness; that even if it is getting ready to speak to them in the harshest manner.

The god speaks then in its language, saying not very intelligible things to the audience that appear to be related to what goes on in its country, to its family (for it is believed that these lower gods have a family). Finally, it begins to speak in ordinary language in order to be understood by those present, and answers questions.

796 Various categories of gods capable of bringing on possession.
787 The Refugee Blacks assume that four categories of lower gods
825 exist.

The first category consists of a series of gods which present themselves to men under very different aspects but which are nevertheless felt to be of the same nature. All speak the Kumenti language, all are well disposed toward men and do not exercise against them the kunu, that is, the curse;

--The Kumenti, which have the appearance of jaguars and live in the bush;

--The Djadja, which have the appearance of ocelots;

--The Opete, which have the appearance of the urubu and which reside in the air;

/203 cont./

776 --The Bũnsuɲki, which have the appearance of Indian
787 women and which reside in the waters of the rivers;
825 The second category is that of the Ampuku, much feared
[784] gods of the bush, likely to exercise the kunu against men. The
[198] Ampuku speak a language which is very well known to the Saramaka but which nobody speaks in Boni country. When they wish to be understood, they speak the ordinary Saramaka dialect. They can, it is said, /204/ be seen at night in the bush in the form of unknown men dressed in the manner of the Refugee Blacks;

The third category is that of the Vɔɔdũ or Papa gadu, gods still more feared, which become incarnate in the boa snake
[198] dagowe. They speak the Papa language;
776 Finally, much feared also are the Kãntamasu, gods of
787 the termitaries, which speak a language which nobody under-
[198] stands and use the Kumenti language to make themselves understood.

It is important to note that there is not a god Kumẽnti, a god Ampuku, etc., as there was in the pantheon of the Ancients a god Mars, a god Vulcan. For the Refugee Blacks those are generic names like Frenchman, Englishman. Questioned about a phenomenon of possession, they will answer: "It is Ampuku who makes." but in the same way they would say in front of a boat: "It is Saramaka who makes."

776 The relationships between these gods and their animal
787 form are obscure. For the Vɔɔdũ it is clear that people believe
825 they really live in the dagowe snakes, since the accidental death of one of these snakes in the burning of a clearing is considered a calamity which risks bringing a kunu. But that does not prove that a divine character is attributed to the snake itself. As for the Kumẽnti, there does not appear to be any precise bond between the genie and its jaguar appearance. If one meets a jaguar, one may fire on him all the same without inconvenience. If he is the support of a Kumẽnti, the shot will not be able to touch him, the god will not get angry about it.

/204 cont./

776 This shows that in the minds of the Refugee Blacks, the
787 animal is simply a prop for the god. The god borrows this body
825 in order to manifest itself, but it is not bound to it by nature. These conceptions are totally contrary to those of the Indians, who tend to personify in their minds the beings and phenomena of nature.

776 As we have said, the Boni do not see these gods since the
787 person possessed loses consciousness. But in the time of the ancestors, there were people who used to see the gods, and it is through them that their present-day descendants have an idea of their appearance; on the other hand, certain gods such as the Ampuku and the Bũnsuŋki may be seen in dreams.

Sometimes the residence of this or that god is known, for it has revealed it through the mouth of is bearer; the god's
[823] name is then given to that place. For example, at the mouth of the Abounami there is a fall named Na Akoti Gadu Sula. It is there that the god resides which revealed itself in olden days in an old woman named Akoti.

776 Connections with the group of relatives. The idea of a god
613 protector of the lineage, whose worship, brought by the founder of the group, is regarded as indispensable to the life of the collectivity, is not found clearly among the Refugee Blacks. There are actually many divinities which have entered the lineage and which are worshiped collectively. But these di-
[784] vinities are intruders; they have penetrated into the group by force in order to exert an inexorable vengeance against it.
[782] People do not apply to them to ask for protection, and they are worshiped only because they cannot be expelled.

776 /205/ There is not believed to be any kinship tie between the
602 gods and men, nor any tie of a systematic or exclusive character.

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776 613 428 [787] Still, they assume that the gods that have entered a matrilineage tend to be transmitted within this group. If, for example, a woman is possessed by a Papa gadu, at her death she must bequeath it in the same way as her property, and she can bequeath it only to someone of her lineage.

We have seen in studying the transmission of the god of Kotoïda († 1956), that only the women of the Afi lineage to which she belonged could inherit.

776 613 984 Even if the god is not bequeathed, which sometimes happens, if it exercises the kunu, it will manifest itself sooner or later in a member of the lineage. But long years may pass before it shows itself. This conception is absolutely clear to the Refugee Blacks, and furthermore, if it did not exist, the idea of the kunu would be without support. People have therefore wrongly believed in a transmission of gods from father to son. [114] [428]

346 787 794 613 Material organization of cults. A material organization of the cults of possession exists within the limits of the localized lineage (lo). This organization is completely independent of the apprenticeship of these cults. It permits the members of the lineage to easily practice cults they have received anywhere, on their own responsiblity.

In each lo there exists in general one single chapel (obia ɔsu) for all the divinities of the same category.

For example in the Awara Bakka lo quarter in Asisi (140 persons), for about 15 women having a Papa gadu, there exists only a single one. There is an obia ɔsu for the Ampuku (three or four possessed persons) and another for the Kumɛ̃nti (about ten possessed people).

The chapel of the Papa gadu is placed under the responsibility of the head of the lo. On this subject it is to be noted that the individualized lineages Aw.B.3 and Afi, which however have separate gods, are included in this organization.

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776 The Kumēnti. These gods are common to the Saramaka
787 (Kromenti) (1), Djuka, and Boni. The Kumēnti are considered
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1. There is no doubt about the origin of this word; it is a deformation of Coromantin, name given in the 18th century to Ashanti country. The "Coromantin Negroes," reputed to be particularly intractable, played a large role in the slave revolts. The Kumenti cult of possession must originally have been a cult peculiar to the Coromantin nation.

to be benevolent gods and friends of men, so their possession is very much desired. They do not come into men spontaneously, they are obtained only by applying to a teacher. In principle
[562] only men can obtain Kumēnti, while on the other hand only women can have Bŭnzunki /sic/.

776 The Kumēnti are specialized in protection against fire
787 and against machete and gun wounds. These dangers hold the
751 largest place among the anxieties of the Refugee Blacks, who spend almost all their life in the bush and with whom nearly
[189] all sores become infected and have serious consequences. Thus the Kumēnti cult holds an important place in their magic; even someone who is not possessed will try to obtain from these gods an ɔbia that will protect him from these various dangers.

153 The instruction of the disciples of these gods takes as its
791 pattern the procedures described above, but the collective dances
787 appear to play an essential part. The teacher calls on the gods
786 by beating a special rhythm on ordinary drums (apinti) and by
[533] uttering invocations punctuated by the rattle of the saka (Indian
[534] maraka, that is, hollow calabash provided with a handle and containing seeds).

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153 791 787 In proportion as the pupil perfects himself, the god expresses itself more easily with the help of his body, begins to do coordinated acts and to speak. They say that the gita has [195] been "arranged" (seeka). The Kumēnti speak with a gruff, jerky voice, characteristic, which humorists love to imitate in the evenings' recitals.

In order to call on his gita voluntarily, the pupil crouches down, feet together, throwing pamba from right to left at the level of his feet and uttering the formula: "O Kumēnti, djumpo ku a mi." Then he remains immobile in this position and waits; possession takes place generally at the end of a few minutes.

● 776 787 The Kumēnti which enter thus into men are exclusively male gods; it is known that they have wives because they talk about them, but they never manifest themselves.

[812] The Kumēnti are generally benevolent; still, no more than any divinity of the Refugee Blacks, do they represent a principle of goodness and justice in itself. They watch in a partial fashion over the interests of their bearers. Thus it is that A...., of the Dipélu II lo, has a Kumēnti which reacts in a violent way when it has the impression that danger threatens [158] its bearer. It enters into him suddenly, takes a machete and storms through the village, while people prudently barricade themselves in their houses.

787 781 In certain circumstances, when their trances are particularly intense, the people possessed by Kumēnti are capable, it is said, of walking in fire, dancing on broken glass, climbing thorny awara palm trees, and even having themselves struck with blows of a machete without any wound resulting from it. Professor de Goeje gives impressive personal testimony on this subject, such as the case of a possessed man who overturned a pail of boiling water on his body (1). Mr. Mathieu, Director of

1. In a note in Mr. W.F. van Lier's work, § 37.

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787 784 If someone has a Kumẽnti, certain objects used in the cult: pestle, mortar, machete, must not be raised near him. His gita "would rise" immediately. Likewise while he is eating, neither tiger nor gun must be mentioned. To prevent their gita from rising, those concerned may take the precaution of putting a small piece of wood behind the ear while they eat.

787 178 [771] [181] [484] [743] [755] These past years the cult of the Kumẽnti was clearly declining among the Boni, as was the whole of their religious life; every one, indeed, no longer thought about anything but earning money and was always traveling in order to do this, which made difficult the indispensable meetings and dances. On the other hand, cared for effectively when they are ill in the Maripasoula hospital, the Boni feel the cult of the Kumẽnti less necessary, of which the principal social function is to cure. So, while in 1948 we used to be present very often at manifestations of the gita of Kumẽnti, in 1952 they were becoming much rarer and more secret /modest/. They were tending to fall to the level of the latent manifestations of which we shall speak further on. In 1956 we did not observe in the course of the forest [346] work any spontaneous attack of this gita. The chapels dedicated to the Kumẽnti are scarcely maintained and are falling into ruins; such is the fate of the gods judged benevolent toward men. [751] Nevertheless people continue to lay great store by the ɔbia of Kumẽnti, especially the man nẽɣge ɔbia which protects against the machete and the gun, and the Kumẽnti bui, ring of Kumẽnti, instrument of divination.

776 [823] [787] The Bũnsuʔki. The Bũnsuʔki are gods which live in the waters, by preference at the head of falls, beside rocks bearing copses of detached trees; they can also reside ordinarily in these trees themselves. They appear sometimes in dreams to men as well as to women in the aspect of Indians, more commonly Indian women with long hair. This is why they are sometimes called wata Ingi, Indians of the water.

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[778] wata ɔgi. Indians of the water. In certain spots, people have
[782] known since the time of the ancestors that there resides such a Bũnsuŋki, whose name they know; when they pass there, they address a prayer to it while making a sacrifice of tafia.

776 (The Bũnsuŋki must not be confused with wata mama, the
171 mama-of-the-water of the Creoles, a dreaded divinity but one which the Boni do not appear to worship. The wata mama lives at the bottom of deep holes in river beds and never allows her face to be seen; she sometimes abandons one of her long hairs on the rocks and he who finds it becomes rich).

776 /210/ The Bũnsuŋki can enter into human beings, exclusively,
787 it seems, into women. They give a different gita from those
[562] of the Kumẽnti. The possessed person dances at the edge of the water, then swims and dives for a long time. They affirm that
[789] if its possession is sufficiently intense, the genie carries the possessed woman along to the bottom of the water, where she stays for a very long time without any harm! That is supposed to have happened especially in Asisi village to a woman named Dabisa.

Possession by the Bũnsuŋki is not frequent. In 1952 it was known in Boni country in only three women.

[562] As for men, they may perceive these divinities in dreams
[788] and receive benefits from them. For that they go to the place
[782] where it resides and bathe, uttering an invocation: "O god, watch over me, protect me, come to me at night when I sleep, speak to me, act so that I may not be sick, so that I may get rich." The following night the divinity will come in a dream, demand a sacrifice (beer in general), say that it /grants/ the prayer.

776 The Vɔɔdũ (1). These are gods much feared for their evil

1. This word is obviously a deformation of the Dahomey word vodũn.

/210 cont./

776 [576] character, touchy and vindictive. In speaking of them one says Papa gadu (papa does not mean "father"; it is a term of respect used for important personages (2)). They are believed

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2. This is the interpretation given by the Refugee Blacks. However, 18th-century documents on the origin of the slaves draw attention to the existence of an African tribe called Papa. Allusions contained in documents of the archives of Surinam, recently studied by Madame Silvia W. de Groot, would tend to identify the Papa with one of the populations of present-day Dahomey. In this hypothesis, the cult of the papa gadu would represent an archaic form of the Dahomey cult of the snake gods.

776 [825] They are believed to have as habitual bearers the boa shakes (dagowe) (3) which

3. This word appears to be the deformation of the Dahomey word dagbe.

are not to be confused with the great water snakes (anaconda) [824] that the Refugee Blacks call mboma sioeki. They may also reside in silk-cotton trees (kankan tree) and in the trees called katu udu (Bombax surinamiensis).

[787] The Vɔɔdii which incarnate themselves in humans may be of either sex; if a male god is concerned, it is called "tata vɔɔdii."

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The Bumba gadu, other gods of the same nature and equally feared, have as bearers other categories of snakes, principally the great anaconda water snakes.

The Voodû, we have said, are feared; they can exercise on a lineage the collective curse called kumu. But, no more than the Kumêni do not represent a principle of good, they do not represent a principle of evil. Not all are so badly disposed toward men, and even if one of them is the enemy of a lineage, it is not for that reason badly disposed toward the rest of men. However this may be, the cult of possession of the Papa gadu is not at all in decline among the Boni. According to the cross-checking we have been able to do, of the 670 persons living on the French bank there are at least 40 to 50 who have a Papa gadu, the great majority of them old women.

/211/ The Voodû /sic/ are much feared, and for that very reason much respected. They are oracles which are consulted very often, without consideration of the evil their kumu has done and will still do. A god which exercises the kumu but which is provisionally declared appeased may be consulted without danger; it is always assumed that in any case its bearer, if he respects its commands, has nothing to fear from it.

It is possible that, very unconsciously, women use the fear that the Papa gadu gods inspire in order to maintain their independence and privileged position in Refugee Black society.

Instruction in possession appears to take as a pattern the same principles as that which correspond to the Kumêni. It involves the teaching of the Papa language; this language appeared to us to be in decline; in fact, it is used only for formulas of greeting; then the possessed people vaticinate in ordinary language. Instruction in possession also involves daily ablutions with decoctions of leaves; certain of these mixtures are particularly complicated (it is said that they include more than a hundred different kinds of leaves). Instruction is essentially individual; however it also includes dances; on this occasion a

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531 can read these messages; but we have not turned up any precise evidence on this subject (1).

1. These signs are very little systematized and have no relation whatever with the symbolic designs which figure in certain rituals of possession, especially in Dahomey and Haiti. It is permitted to see in them a simple likeness.

787 The Papa gadu are chiefly consulted to ask them to re-
[258] veal the cause of misfortunes that happen. One of them is not
[259] asked to cure an illness unless the interrogation reveals that it brought it on.

● 776 The worship of the Papa gadu snake gods makes a strong
648 impression on the West Indian Creoles who maintain regular relations with the Refugee Blacks. Most consider it as diabolical
[182] in nature and disapprove of it, but if the presence of an "adder"
[171] (anaconda snake) is noted in a neighboring creek, and if at the same time misfortunes occur, it happens that a Creole may go to ask the Refugee Blacks to practice rites to mollify
[178] the vengeance of the god. We have happened to catch sight of, hidden in a copse behind the habitation of a gold miner, a small altar decorated with blue and red pennants, the usual place of worship of the Papa gadu.

755 Observation in Boniville, November, 1952.
An Aluku woman, Tini, comes to Boniville to consult
[189] her adoptive daughter Pamasa, about 35 years old, who is possessed by a Papa gadu named Adawa. Féni, 15 years old,
[164] Tini's son, has been sick for several days (fever, eruption all over the body). When someone comes to get us, the god has already entered into Pamasa, has sat down in a hut, and

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789 their legs with this white clay; they prophesy in a singing tone, without the usual voice of their bearer's ceasing to be recognizable, expressing themselves in the Saramaka language.

796 The Ampuku have the appearance of men similar to Blacks, but unknown. They reside in the depths of the woods; [184] some are good, others bad. One can gain their good will by worshiping them, which is especially developed in Saramaka country.

796 Baliki, of Kormotibo village, tells of having been present 535 one day at a dance of the Ampuku, when he was traveling to [103] the Saramaka village of Baien.

"During the day, people went on the paths far into the bush to put down calabashes containing certain herbs. At night were seen to come out of the forest a large number of unknown men, dressed in the manner of the Saramaka. They danced all night, and at dawn left again as they had come."

796 The Ampuku gods, considered to be maleficent gods of the bush, exercise their influence on everyone. When a person [189] has slept in the bush, he "washes" himself free of Ampuku with [824] an infusion of leaves of five plants which are part of the secondary flora surrounding the villages and of which the principal plant is the sangaafu (Costus cylindricus).

791 Frequency of possession. In 1956 teachers or bas were very 787 scarce in Boni country. For the Kumenti gods, only S... (Kotika) remained; for the Papa gods, since the death of Antinon (Dju), there remained only M... (Papalison) and B... [619] (Asisi). People were commonly going to receive instruction from Djuka teachers in the villages of the Tapanaoni.

787 It would be a great error to believe that nearly all the 562 men have gods. On the contrary, this is an exception. According to the evaluations we were able to make, there is not more than one adult man out of six or seven who is possessed.

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562 On the other hand, possession is much more frequent among
787 women: it can be estimated that on the average, one adult woman out of three or four has a gadu.

162 For example in Boniville, out of 115 persons including
776 about 70 adults, one reckons about 30 gods including 8 to 10
787 Papa gadu, 8 to 10 Kumẽnti, 1 Bunsunki, and 2 Ampuku.

791 Apprenticeship for possession can begin from adult age,
787 but it seems /215/ that in general it is between 35 and 50 that
56 women take heed of obtaining a gadu. Would that not be, very
562 unconsciously, the desire to stay in the limelight and indirectly to keep a hold over men, once the age of sensual attraction is past?

787 Possession continues for life, and it is out of the question for a god to be transmitted before the death of its bearer. For example, in 1957, the centenarian grandmother in Asisi village, Kuluba, still kept her Papa gadu god. She had not participated any more in the dances of possession for long years, but her gita was always consulted.

But it can happen, if a possessed person stops taking part in dances and practicing the rites that have been shown him, that any manifestation ceases at the end of a few years.

We observed that in B... of the Dipélu II lo, in 1948 and 1949. He used to exhibit strong attacks of the gita of Kumẽnti. He stopped his instruction, finding that it was costing too much and was taking time. In 1952 he exhibited only latent manifestations of his gita at rare intervals. In 1956 nothing was any longer observable.

787 It can happen, on the other hand, that attacks of pos-
789 session become so frequent and so strong that the person concerned risks losing his reason; if it concerns a god which did not come of its own initiative, one can try to expel it. In
[824] order to "wash" someone free of a gita, he is made to pass between two rows of ɔbiaman who hold dry palms, pina tɔ̃ŋgo, in their hands and utter adjurations.

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Relations between Gods and Men

The kunu

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The kunu. The Refugee Blacks call kunu the collective curse which has weighed on a matrilineage since an ancient offense. The kunu is without time limit, without pardon, without pity, blind in the choice of its victims; in principle, it can end only with the complete extermination of the lineage. Each time that adversity swoops down on one of its members in the form of death, sickness, various calamities, the kunu is the most frequently obtained explanation. The instrument of this inexpiable vengeance is either a god or the yɔka (spirit) of a dead person.

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This notion, which occupies a central position in the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks, does not appear to have been borrowed directly. Most of the populations of Dahomey /222/ and the Ivory Coast take for granted the idea of arbitrary punishments exercised upon the members of the lineage by the gods or the ancestors of the group. But no population of these regions has, to our knowledge, developed so highly systematized a doctrine.

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The conceptions developed by the Refugee Blacks, divinities impelled exclusively by vengeance, and especially ancestors inexorably chastising lineages other than their own, have created new relationships among individuals and among lineages.

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We have not been able to elucidate the origin of the word kunu. Perhaps it is a deformation of the Mina word ekunu, which means burial.

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Three categories of divinities can pursue men with their kunu, and because of this fact the Refugee Blacks feel toward them an extreme terror mixed with veneration.

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776 --The Papa gadu (Vɔɔdɛ̃). The kunu that one of them
784 exercises upon a lineage comes uniformly from the fact that in
613 times past, one of the ancestors had inadvertently killed a
[825] dagowe snake (boa), usual bearer of the Papa gadu. For example,
the snake might have perished in the burning of a clearing.
[787] Some time after, the god had possessed a member of the lineage
and revealed that henceforth it would exercise a kunu;

--The Ampuku. The kunu of an Ampuku begins in an analogous way; in days gone by an ancestor had, for example, cut a katu tree without performing the rites suitably, or had made a clearing in a place where an Ampuku was residing;

--The Kintamasu (who call themselves Akɔio), gods of the termitaries, much feared, may exercise a kunu if, before cutting a clearing, someone has, in spite of all his searching, allowed a termitary to escape him, which thus was not the object of the indispensable rite;

775 --Finally, the kunu may be brought by a dead person's
784 yɔ̃ka. For example, a man of lineage A had once upon a time
613 unjustly accused a man of lineage B. The latter committed
762 suicide out of revenge. The meaning of this act is not the same as in Europe. It is not a question of making one's enemies live in shame and remorse, but by sacrificing one's life to cause an eternal vengeance to be wreaked upon one's enemies. Some time after the suicide, the yɔ̃ka reveals itself in a man of his lineage and announces that it will pursue the members of lineage A eternally with its kunu.

784 Thus the offenses which the kunu punishes are not moral sins as we understand them, but involuntary acts without inner meaning. The purifications and sacrifices demanded are likewise purely exterior acts.

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784 613 776 787 Kunu of the Dju lineage. The Dju lineage in 1958 was affected by four kunu:

--An Ampuku which has exercised its vengeance since time immemorial, to the point where the origin of this kunu is no longer remembered, its bearers being Dabisa (G25) and Adyidya (E19), two women about 50 years old. This Ampuku formerly had as its bearer an ancestor named Agoabuchi, who died about 1940. Two or three years after his death, it manifested itself in Dabisa;

--A Papa gadu named Adawa which has also pursued the lineage with a pitiless vengeance since the time of the great ancestors. It revealed itself to the preceding generation in an ancestress named Sapiké (D5), and a long time after her death it passed into Pamasa (E26), a woman of 35. This kunu has grown worse since /225/ two other Papa gadu revealed themselves in recent years in two women named Kulina (F9) and Diana (E9). They declared that they were the descendants of the first one and that they came in support of it;

784 613 775 787 [562] --A yarka whose name nobody wanted to tell us because they were so afraid of it. It is that of a man of the Awara Bakka lineage, who committed suicide two or three generations ago when he was unjustly accused of a crime by a man of the Dju lineage. Since then, this yarka has been exterminating the Dju lineage little by little. Its bearer in 1958 was an old woman of the Awara Bakka lineage, named Namu;

784 613 776 787 --A Kantamasu since, a very long time ago, an ancestress whose name is forgotten inadvertently destroyed a termitary while burning a clearing. It has as bearer a very old woman named Wima (E3) († 1957), and it manifested itself also in Ata (F2).

784 613 787 562 Thus, in this group, the maleficent gods had exclusively women as bearers; out of about 20 adult women, seven were participating in the functioning of the kunu.

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784 One sees from this example how the influence of women,
613 exerted in arbitrary fashion, in a domain placed outside of
787 custom and ordinary social life, weighs on the life of the
562 group.

Kunu of the Dipélu lineage. The situation of the Dipélu
614 lineage with respect to the kunu is particularly interesting.
571 Although split for perhaps 100 years into two separate groups, Dipélu I (L'Enfant Perdu and Apatu villages) and Dipélu II (Kormotibo and Asisi-Dip. II villages), this group still constitutes an undivided unit with respect to the kunu. Neither time nor
[484] distance (it takes more than a week of traveling to make the round trip between L'Enfant Perdu and Apatu) has been able to break it up. The Apatu people come very often (at least some
[955] of them) to be present at the collective prayers which take place at L'Enfant Perdu to appease a kunu in order to cure a sick person.

The oldest kunu ("since Africa") is that of a Papa gadu
614 god whose keeper was ○ Dika (Dip. I. D10, † 1951) and which
276 passed after her death into ○ Péchina (Dip. I. E42, L'Enfant
[787] Perdu village). This kunu strikes indiscriminately the people of L'Enfant Perdu, Apatu, Kormotibo, Asisi-Dip. II, and the Dipélu fraction residing in Boniville. To it, these past years,
[761] have been attributed the death of ○ Way (Dip. I. E6, living
[753] in Boniville), the illness of △ Akwali (Dip. II. F7, Kormotibo village) and of ○ Bongo (same village).

Another very old kunu is the one exercised by the yoka
776 of a Surinam Creole who had settled with the Dipélu people a
614 very long time ago. He was suspected of sorcery and killed.
[492] Since then his yoka comes back regularly to exterminate the Dipélu.

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784 Having no known lineage (his family, if he had any, was
776 in Surinam), it had taken people of the Dipélu lineage as
614 bearers. The last was △ Denis † in 1938. Since Denis'
787 death, it no longer has a bearer. The questioning of the dead
reveals that they died by its kunu. The members of the two
[782] fractions of the lineage meet together (at least two or three
members of each village come) to supplicate it.

784 A third kunu, very interesting in origin and supposed
614 action, /226/ in 1957 was borne by Kwau (Dip. I. E1, Kotika
village). It results from the killing of an anaconda snake by
Apatu † (Dip. I. C1), companion of the explorer Crevaux
when he was traveling to /in/ Brazil. Upon contact with
Europeans Apatu had become a freethinker and was no longer
[153] observing the laws of his people. Among the later victims of
[155] this kunu was counted Kwami (Dip. II. F4, Kormotibo village)
who, gravely ill, had had to go to L'Enfant Perdu where the
god had been invoked for him and offerings made. The death
[161] of Manga (Dip. I. E5, Boniville, † about 1930) was particu-
larly attributed to it.

No other kunu has revealed itself in Apatu village since
its founding in 1882.

784 A fourth kunu concerning all the Dipélu has as bearers
614 women of the Dipélu II group. It results from the inadvertent
776 murder of a Papa gadu whose bearer was a dagowe snake killed
787 in the course of the nivrée /fishing/ of a pool by Akonté
562 † (Dip. II. B1), transmitted to Kondo †, then to Alama
(Dip. II. E1).

Since then Papa gadu have revealed themselves in
○ Apalta (Dip. II. F9, Kormotibo village) and in ○ Kaata
(Dip. II. G28, Asisi-Dip. II village). They declared them-
selves to be the descendants of the first and to come in support
of it.

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628 The members of the Dipélu lineage did not believe a
614 word of this affair, convinced that Kiboya, a proud and scheming
784 woman, had pretended the gita to make herself interesting.
787 Nevertheless, to bring back peace, they decided to go to Asisi
156 and to ask pardon in front of the fraga tiki, pouring tafia,
769 asking the ancestors not to take vengeance, the living being
778 reconciled.

784 /227/ (Note that in this affair, the yɔtka manifests itself in a
614 member of the lineage on which it exercises the kunu.)
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784 Kunu of the Awara Bakka lineage. The Awara Bakka lineage
614 does not form a unit with respect to the kunu, and the situation
613 of its fractions is particularly interesting. This lineage includes:

--A principal fraction (Aw.B.1);

--A fraction whose kinship ties with the first are forgotten (Aw.B.2), whose position with respect to the kunu we have not been able to define.

--Finally, a group descended from Anèta, Djuka woman, wife of Pééyon † (Aw.B.1) settled in Asisi with her descendants in uterine line. We have called this group Aw.B.3. It has a separate kunu originating in the Djuka village of Tabiki where Anèta came from.

784 The Awara Bakka I, all living in Asisi village, had to
787 our knowledge three kunu in 1957:

776 --One exercised by a Papa gadu god, borne up to 1957
613 by O Kuluba (Aw.B.1, D1). At her death in April, 1957,
428 she bequeathed it, contrary to custom, to a person of another fraction, Summa (Aw.B.3). But the god did not ratify this legacy and, in January, 1958, it manifested itself in OLéna (Aw.B.1, F52), thus remaining in the same lineage;

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784 --A second, very old kunu is exercised by a yərka of the
785 Dipélu II lo. Gy...., dead so long that he cannot be placed on
787 the genealogical table; it, too, had as bearer a member of the
613 lineage on which it was exercising the kunu. O Akumuyé
614 (Aw.B.1, D17) † 1957.

Thus the Awara Bakka and Dipélu lineages exercise the kunu reciprocally one against the other;

784 --A third kunu of recent origin is exercised by a Papa
786 gádu god which had as bearer in 1957 O Irma (Aw.B.1, E37).
613 It results from the inadvertent killing of a Dagowe /sic/ snake
[789] by O Takwa, Irma's brother. At the end of 1957 this kunu
[953] has yet brought on only illnesses of such a kind that people
could still hope to exorcise it.

784 The Aw.B.3 group has a special kunu of its own and
613 considers itself out of reach of the kunu of the Aw.B.1.

Anèta, originating in the Djuka village of Tabiki, is subject to the kunu of that lineage as are all her descendants in
[782] uterine line. On occasion of serious illnesses the latter have sometimes had to go to Tabiki village to supplicate the kunu.

786 This kunu is the one of a god borne by Akanté, Anèta's
787 daughter. In September, 1956, Summa, Akanté's daughter,
[782] was sick. The god revealed that this was its doing. It was supplicated (the other fractions joined the group) and she then got well.

613 Kunu of the Afi lineage. The descendants of Afi † (woman
621 coming from the tribe of the Bakabuchi of Surinam) live for the most part in Asisi in close symbiosis with the /228/ Awara Bakka lineage. They are in a situation analogous to that of Anèta's descendants (Aw.B.3) but, perhaps by the simple fact of their number, they form a more individualized unit.

/228 cont./

784 613 776 787 They are the object of three kunu:

--One exercised by a Papa gadu god whose bearer up into 1956 was Kotoïda († Oct. 1956), who bequeathed it to Mani (Afi lineage, d12).

784 785 613 --The other exercised by a yɔrka of the Lapé lineage. This kunu dates from about 60 years ago; Alémin (Afi lineage, b3, Kormotibo village), 80 years old in 1957, had when he was young cut a clearing in a place which was found to be an [787] old abandoned Boni cemetery (opposite Maripasoula). Some time afterward, a yɔrka revealed itself in a woman of the Lapé lineage, saying that it was exercising a kunu against the family of the sacrilegious person.

[761] It is to this yɔrka, whose bearer is M... (L2, Boniville), that the death of Kotoïda in October, 1956 is especially attributed.

--A third kunu is exercised by A.... of the Papaïston 2 [684] lineage. A... had committed pikadu. Surprised by Alémin (Afi lineage), he had paid the latter to obtain his silence. [762] But Alémin had talked. Dishonored, A... committed suicide with a gunshot; some time afterward his yɔrka revealed itself in Alémin; it exercises a kunu on this lineage.

613 Situation of the other lineages with respect to the kunu. The 614 Papaïston lineage is divided into two groups: Papaïston 1 (the 784 principal one) and Papaïston 2, of which there remain only three living members: two women and one young man. The remainder of a lineage continues to bear its own kunu, which is unique and separate from that of the principal group.

The principal group forms a unit with respect to the kunu.

The Lapé lineage, cut from the point of view of genealogy into two pieces, forms a unit with respect to the kunu. We [614] have been able to collect only fragmentary information on the various kunu of this village.

/229 cont./

784 613 672 the Afi lineage to be thrashed symbolically for not having paid sufficient attention to the warnings of the yorka which had already made Kotoïda sick several times: by their negligence they bore part of the responsibility for Kotoïda's death. Although the Afi and the Awara Bakka live together and regard themselves as members of one community, there was no question whatever of thrashing the Awara Bakka, and that because, not being subject to the same kunu, they bore no responsibility for this death. /230/

Likewise it is taken for granted that the descendants of Anèta (Aw.B.3) do not share the legal responsibility of the Awara Bakka proper (fractions 1 and 2). The fact that Anéta was the wife of Péèyon, captain of the Aw.B., and that her descendants are completely integrated into the life of the village, does not modify this legal situation at all. At the time of the brawl between the Dipélu and the Awara Bakka in 1948, the Aw.B.3 were not taken to task, any more than the members of the Afi lineage.

791 The relations of the Boni with the entities which are believed to pursue them are most interesting. They seek only to appease the divinity, to calm it provisionally, and to live with it in a state of armed peace, if one may say so.

784 787 When divination has shown that a certain calamity was due to the kunu (sometimes the divinity in question reveals it immediately, through the mouth of its bearer, before being interrogated), it is asked why it struck: it always indicates a precise reason: usually it appears to be inspired by arbitrariness [776] and a pitiless despotism. The Refugee Blacks are not surprised at this, for thus it is that they imagine the lower gods.

784 787 796 In 1948, A.... of the Dju lineage, fell ill; he felt violent pains in his legs. Divination showed that it was the doing of the Kintamasu, which was exercising its kunu upon

/230 cont./

784 the lineage; questioned, this god declared that it had something
787 to complain about in the bad condition of the house which the
776 members of the lineage had erected to it on its order; the roof of leaves had not been changed and it was raining through.

784 It happens also, but as an exception, that the god has
684 sanctioned an offense against morals or more precisely, against the social law, such as the breaking of an interdiction, pikadu (incest in the wider sense, an offense against exogamy). It is necessary to understand that in the thought of the Refugee Blacks, incest unleashes the existing kunu but does not create a new kunu.

In October, 1952, Dolo, a young man of 25 of the
[787] Awara Bakka lo, died almost suddenly. Divination revealed
[761] that he had been killed by the kunu (it was a Papa gadu which
[613] had intervened) in order to sanction an offense committed some time previously by another member of the lo named P.... The latter, a notoriously depraved individual, had committed incest with his own sister.

784 When the divinity has made known through the mouth
776 of its bearer the causes of its act, the assembled members of
782 the lineage implore it, ask it not to pursue its vengeance; the
[787] divinity then requires an offering: for example, if it is a Papa gadu, it will require bottles of beer, some red and white cloth which will be immersed in a given place in the river. It may also require dances in its honor, celebrated by the other possessed people in the village. If it is an Ampuku, it will demand rum, dark-blue cloth which will be exposed in a remote place in the forest. An offering of this kind represents a relatively small sum, even for the Boni (several thousand francs in 1952). The god then declares itself appeased. But it does not pardon and it will resume /231/ its vengeance
[183] at the first cause. Thus the Boni have hope only in a rigorous
776 observance of customary law and the rites. There are divinities
787 which appeared to be thus appeased for a long time and to

/231 cont./

776 which people do not hesitate to come to ask for remedies or
787 opinions, in spite of the evil they have done to the lineage and perhaps will do tomorrow. It is even allowable to wonder whether people do not prefer to consult the most wicked divinities, for they are believed to be stronger.

784 The kunu focuses, turns aside toward high purposes the
771 blind forces of superstition, fear, and rancor. Several authors
114 who have written on the Refugee Blacks have stated that
754 calamities were almost unfailingly attributed to sorcery (wisi). This is a grave error due to the fact that they believed they could transpose to the Refugee Blacks what is observed among the Creole populations of Surinam. If this were true, no
[787] positive social bond could exist. We believe we can assert that among the Refugee Blacks divination lays the blame on sorcery in only scarcely a tenth of the misfortunes. Here,
784 among other examples, are several typical cases concerning
[114] Boni who worked with us or whom we have known especially well:

[753] --In 1948, Fintiman (Dju) falls ill (violent pains in the
[776] legs): kunu of a Kintamasu.

[752] --In 1948, Galmo (Papiston) is accidentally hurt (gun backfire): kunu.

[753] --In 1949, Diolè, captain of the Dju lo, is smitten with
[761] hemiplegia and remains paralyzed. He dies in 1951: kunu
[776] of a Papa gadu.

761 --In 1950, a Saramaka is killed in a hunting accident (a gun in poor condition went off by itself): Sag ɔaku (accident).

[754] --In 1951, Kanayen (Kotika) drowns while sailing at night on the river: wisi.

[784] --In 1951, Loka (Dju) dies at the age of 70: kunu of an
[776] Ampuku.

752 --In 1951, F... (Dju) is seriously hurt by the falling of
784 a branch while cutting his clearing: kunu of a yɔrka.
775

/231 cont./

761 --In 1952, Dolo (Awara Bakka) dies almost all of a
[784] sudden with the symptoms of peritonitis: kunu, punishment for
[684] incest committed by another member of the lineage.

--In 1952, Maèndo, ten years old, son of Osaya (Awara Bakka) accidentally drowns: natural accident (ɔɛgɔɔku).

[784] --In 1954, Bèniti (Dju) dies at nearly 75 years of age:
[776] kunu of a Papa gadu.

[784] --In 1954, Agyémési (Aw.B.) dies almost all of a sudden:
[754] killed by Odun (he was a wisimɛ).

--In 1955, Tabiki (Awara Bakka) dies at over 80: natural illness.

[784] --In 195 , Kotoida /sic/ (Afi lineage) dies suddenly,
[775] aged about 50: kunu of a yɔɔka.

784 --In 1957, F... (Lapé) is gravely ill with symptoms of
776 typhoid: kunu of a Papa gadu.

[753] --In 1957, Sokodo (Dip. II) dies at 40: kunu of a
[761] Kintamasu.

75 /232/ One observes that in the 15 cases cited here, the kunu
761 interferes ten times, while in three cases natural causes: ill-
784 ness, accident, were assumed.

In reality, the Refugee Blacks do not have the conceptions of a natural world, subject to known or knowable laws, which is set against a supernatural world. The intervention of a Papa gadu is neither more nor less natural than an illness or an accident. There is only, on the plane of human life, more or less frequent intervention by suprahuman forces. The intervention of these forces is made according to laws which embrace the totality of beings and things, laws which men cannot understand but of which they believe they have a partial and empirical knowledge.

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/232 cont./

75 It is important not to confuse the kunu with the sufferings
784 which other divinities can arbitrarily make men undergo. The
776 kunu has a systematic character. But a divinity theoretically beneficent, and which has come into a man after being called on, may also from time to time bring misfortunes if such is its whim of the moment.

752 In 1949, G... (Dju) was busy cooking a crab in the
776 house of his mother D... A machete which was fastened to
784 the wall suddenly detached itself and wounded him in the right hand. Now his mother had an Ampuku which had imposed
[787] the crab on her as kina. This Ampuku, immediately called
[428] on, revealed that it really was it which had struck G.... for it did not like to see D...'s son eat crab (note that G... was not at all held to the observance of this kina, for no kina is transmitted from mother to son).

784 Neither must the kunu exercised by a yaka be confused
775 with the vengeance that a dead person can exercise against
613 the members of his own lineage in order to punish them for
969 having neglected their duties.

Punishment inflicted by an ancestor of the lineage seems for the Boni to be a notion distinct from that of the kunu. Vengeance exercised by a yaka upon its own lineage is regarded as exceptional and devoid of the inexorable and definitive character of the kunu, but they assume it to be
[962] possible. They cited to us the case of Yali (Loka), who
[753] committed suicide when accused of sorcery by the people
[761] of his lineage. Since then, his yaka has caused sicknesses and death in his own village.

776 Conversely, a god which exercises the kunu upon a
784 lineage may in certain cases intervene in favor of this lineage
613 if such is its whim of the moment. Thus the death of Diamanti
[761] (Aw.B.2, Assiu village, † in 1955) is attributed to the god which exercises the kunu on the village of L'Enfant Perdu and whose bearer was Pèèchina. Diamanti had wronged someone of this village and the god had intervened against her.

/232 cont./

789 In a general way, they consider that the bearer of a god
784 exercising the kunu has nothing to fear from it personally if he
• 776 rigorously observes the kina which have been imposed upon
him. On the other hand, this god will punish any injury to
[562] its bearer. Thus these bearers (almost always old women) live
[888] surrounded by respect and fear.

784 /233/ Observations in January, 1958 (misfortunes attributed to
769 vengeance of ancestors on their own lineage).
613 Do (Lapé) is taken ill on January 7, 1958 with a violent
75 attack of dysentery. The same day his five-year-old son is
grievously hurt at the wharf by falling on a broken bottle.
[787] Alarmed by this coincidence, the members of the Lapé lo
assemble and proceed to question a possessed person. The latter
reveals that it is the doing of an old woman of the lineage,
Atala, dead for two years. Several lineage members have al-
ready been sick from this; the dead woman wanted to sanction
offenses committed by the people of the lineage.

The same day in Boniville, Klémenti (Dɔu), to whom I
am recounting this affair, tells me that before the lifting of
mourning for his mother Béniti, he and his sisters were sick.
[787] Divination showed that it was the doing of Béniti, who wished
to hasten the celebration of the ceremony.

784 The kunu and social peace among the Boni. Role of the grand
775 man. The kunu exercised by a yɔnka creates very strange re-
613 lations among the Boni lineages. As blind and arbitrary as the
591 vengeance attributed to the yɔnka may be, the Boni have the
sense of the legal unity of the lineage too much for any resent-
ment to exist: "They are killing our family...."; and yet the
two lineages find themselves henceforth irreparably bound to-
[780] gether. The victims of the kunu can no longer get along without
people of the lineage of the yɔnka which pursues them with its
vengeance, since they alone, by their prayers, can appease
temporarily the anger of their ancestor. One conceives of the

/235 cont. /

787 But divination is more than that; the interpretation it
626 gives of the events of daily life is the very mover of the ani-
182 mistic society; presenting calamities /236/ as the punishment
571 of offenses against customary law, it is constantly vitalizing
that law, conserving its practical value and its efficacity.
What it expresses is not the hidden influence of chiefs or priests --
there are in fact neither chiefs nor priests among the Boni --
but the very consensus of the group, the deep feeling it has of
its unity.

787 There are two large categories of divination:

The first consists of calling on a divinity through the
medium of its bearer. For that, one applies to a person (of his
[791] lineage if possible) who has a gadu. This is a service which is
rarely refused. This person employs the appropriate procedure
for calling his gita and enters into trances. The god speaks,
the question is put to it; if it is well disposed, it may give the
explanation or the advice requested. For example, one asks
for advice before looking for another sector to make his clearings.

787 Suggestible as the Boni may be, they do not fail to per-
792 ceive that all the gods interrogated do not give the same
directions. So they think that certain ones are stronger than
others; there are people whose gita is considered to be particularly
[791] good, others whom they have stopped consulting entirely. The
defunct head of Kotika village, Bayo, used to have a gita so
remarkable that people would come from very far to consult it.

[829] The general opinion is, furthermore, that nowadays
[178] everything is degenerating and that good gita are no longer
seen as in the olden days.

787 These consultations involve only a very modest remuner-
[791] ation, a bottle of tafia at most (1). If it is not a matter of a

1. The remuneration of the possessed person is in question; the god always demands a payment for itself, of variable size according to its whim.

/245 cont./

754 766 ground, after scattering the cloths which were covering her, and left without carrying out any rite.

"Next we went to Boniville, the grand man invoked Odun on our behalf, stating that we had only followed his laws and that he had to protect the performers of the job against any distressing consequence."

754 181 178 Development of sorcery. Since 1957 Boni country has been passing through a crisis; /246/ fear of sorcery is poisoning village life, while in 1948-50 it was a preoccupation of secondary importance.

[578] That is due to the fact that the rapid growing rich of part of the Boni aggravates jealousies and suspicions. Moreover, these affairs tend to appear in series. Since the case related above (1958), in which a woman, N.... was convicted of having paid a Creole quimboiseur to make the grand man die, an affair which strongly impressed the Boni, they tend to see wisi in all misfortunes that occur.

[169] In November, 1958 the death of a little girl of 12 of Kotika village was attributed to her uncle Mbomaolo, who had recently emigrated to Surinam and settled in a Creole village. [787] It is believed that he "committed himself," that is, that he sold his soul to the devil (1), which necessitates sacrificing one

1. This notion, which plays such a large role in West Indian beliefs, has no equivalent among the Refugee Blacks. There is no word in the Boni language for translating the term "committed." They translate thus: a e suku didibi, he seeks the devil. The Boni do not have a clear image of the devil, and this notion remains, in fact, foreign to their beliefs.

[776]

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789 the object to which is attached a magic force, as well as that force itself. But there is no confusion in their minds; the object is only a simple support, it is nothing by itself. The traveler [755] who sees them prepare an infusion of leaves for a sick person may be tempted to believe that they attach to this leaf the power of acting against a certain disease; that would be an error, they attach to these leaves and to the white clay, pamba, the power of holding, /248/ of condensing the vital force which emanated from a certain god. It is the god which "makes 2bia," and not men; men do nothing but collect this energy and apply it.

755 789 The Boni distinguish two categories of magic remedies:

--Those which come from a god through the medium of a possessed person. The god must be consulted each time, and the remedy it gives is effective only for the asker alone, and for a limited time; it can act only when the god has been paid, usually in the form of drink or piece of cloth; in principle nothing is owed to the possessed person (they admit that he benefits by the payment made to the god), but the custom is to give him a bottle of tafia.

Consultation of a possessed person is in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks the normal mechanism by which the 2bia descends from the god to men.

755 776 Certain Ampuku gods might give remedies effective for a particular disease and for any asker, remedies which could be transmitted from one man to another. Unfortunately we could not obtain exact information about this.

755 756 --Those whose origin is unknown, and which have been transmitted from one man to another for a very long time. It is believed that these are remedies which were found empirically by a man in days past; this is the case with many remedies specific for this or that disease.

In such a case payment is made to the possessor of the remedy and to him alone.

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751 Next in the preoccupations of the Refugee Blacks come the ɔbia called tapu, that is to say, protection. There exist numerous kinds adapted to the various dangers of a supernatural order (protection against other divinities, against the maleficent entities of the bush, against the wisimɛ).

[796] [754] The Ampuku are generally asked for tapu against the wisimɛ. We saw a remarkable one in front of the house of F... (Dju). Its owner was not a little proud of it and he talked about it to us freely.

751 798 [532] The ɔbia, placed at ground level in front of the door, was composed of a crude representation in clay of a head in which appeared two wide-open eyes: in front of it were planted in the ground three plant clusters including a planting of groundnuts and one of maize; the whole was topped by a small basket containing an egg. It was necessary to water the ɔbia with a certain infusion of leaves at regular intervals to restore its force.

751 754 This ɔbia insured infallible protection against wisimɛ; in fact, none of them would have been able to cross the threshold without stubbing his toe on the door frame in spite of all his precautions; F... stated that his ɔbia constituted by this fact an effective means of detection of wisimɛ, for it was enough for him to invite suspects to enter his hut, to know what to think: the wisimɛ refused, for fear of thus being given away in the eyes of all; one could thus at least pin down suspicions.

751 [411] Other ɔbia are called sama mɔfu tɛɛ̃y (ɔbia against "people's mouths," that is, people's jealousy). They are nearly always seen on fine guns; they have a cord to hold them made of moriti palm fibers, to which two cowries are fastened.

755 The ɔbia intended to treat diseases generally have for support a calabash containing the infusion of leaves and a ball of pɛmba (kaolin). The person concerned sprinkles himself several times a day with this liquid.

/250 cont./

789 396 There exist special *2bia* for the building of boats. The opening of the hull in the fire, a delicate operation, sometimes fails. To insure its success everyone possesses a personal recipe inherited from his father or uncle. It does not call by name and directly upon the action of a god; the Boni do not have a clear idea about the origin or the nature of these rites. It is a matter of a maceration of two or three kinds of leaves, generally belonging to the secondary flora which surrounds the villages, and they vary from one man to another. One pours this maceration over the overturned boat before the burning is begun, while saying: "The boat must not split, it must open well."

832 [673] The laws of Odun forbid the use of charms aimed at forcing the love of a woman one desires, that would infringe on a person's freedom, therefore *wisi*. It is very /251/ possible however that certain people go to get charms of this kind from Creole magicians. But they take for granted, on the other hand, the *2bia* believed to permit men who have little success with women to have more in the future.

951 789 There does not seem to be any hierarchy of *2bia* nor is one category of *2bia* believed to be stronger by nature than another; in fact, the Refugee Blacks are seen to go readily to ask one divinity for an *2bia* in order to protect themselves from another. Here is an example:

464 [648] In 1951 the administration had a systematic cleaning of the Petit Inini River begun, in order to rid its course of innumerable pieces of fallen wood which were making the use of motors on boats difficult. A team of Boni were employed in this work under the direction of a Creole foreman. While the [796] [789] work was being done, a *Papa gadu* "came into the head" of an old woman named M.... of the Awara Bakka *lo*. It revealed that it was opposed to this work, for it lived in exactly this 464 796 place and the noise of the motors bothered it. Upon their return to Boni country, the men charged with this work learned the

/251 cont./

464 decision of the god and under some pretext or other refused to
776 resume work. In August, 1952, while we were on a work trip
751 /en mission/, an obiamã made it known that an Ampuku was
791 willing to give a tapu, that is, an obia of protection, against
this Papa gadu. We were present at a discussion in the course
[465] of which several Boni planned to take up this work again, but
asking for raised wages to cover the expenses of the obia (1).

[191]

1. Situations of this kind are common in the Guianan forest, even among Creoles. For difficult or unusual work, the high wages demanded serve in part to remunerate magicians.

751 These expenses amounted to about 5,000 francs per person, or:
435 --3,000 for the payment of the god, including red cloth,
791 dark-blue cloth, white beads, beer, rum, cowries; the obiamã would take them to set them out in the forest.

--1,500 for payment for the work of the obiamã, including a piece of canvas /hoile/, beer, a container /bidou/ of powder, a chicken.

751 The remedy would consist of an infusion of leaves with which one should "wash one's body" morning and evening for the duration of the work.

As for the Creole foreman, he prudently had himself assigned to another job.

751 They have the habit of asking an Ampuku for protection
776 against a Papa gadu and conversely (we have cited an example of this above), but they do not ask a Kumãnti for protection; the Kumãnti occupy themselves only with illnesses.

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Various Beliefs

578 Fyo-fyo. If a Boni is on bad terms with someone of his lineage or of another lineage, he has the absolute right to turn a cold shoulder to him and stop having anything to do with him. But if, hiding his rancor, he seeks, from selfish motives, to maintain the appearance of friendly relations, he risks falling ill, being struck by various calamities, or even dying from the effect of what the Refugee Blacks call a fyo-fyo. The nature of this force is not clear; they know only that its support is a small, common insect named fyo-fyo. They declare that if a person dies from the consequences of a fyo-fyo, one of these insects will be seen leaving his body through the nose at the moment of death.

828 753 761 789 [825]

776 [775] Taku sani. By this name the Refugee Blacks designate maleficent entities of the bush, which they imagine as of nonhuman nature by contrast to the taku yɔrka, wandering spirits of dead people rejected by society. These entities are lower beings devoid of consciousness but dangerous for men into whom they may enter, rendering them sick or mad. Certain of these entities are believed to reside in plants, like the kɔtkɔti, others are thought to take on the appearance of dwarfs (baku), whom certain people believe they sometimes see at dawn on the outskirts of villages.

[753] [828]

751 One protects oneself against taku sani by special ɔbia, and those who do not feel completely secure take a certain number of precautions in addition, like that of tearing up the leaves they have used for drinking water from creeks.

845 /257/
782 This worship is celebrated each time there is occasion
751 to protect newborn babies. They are washed with a certain decoction of leaves.

845 Every four or five years on the average a big dance takes
535 place, then the father and mother of twins and the twins
751 themselves are washed in order to maintain their powers and keep them in good health.

[784] If these dances are not held, dead twins will show their
[753] anger by making living twins and parents of twins sick.

845 Lineages that do not have twins do not practice these
613 rites. If twins are born to them, they will apply at the place
798 of worship of another lineage.

Papalston and Lapé have this cult particularly highly developed.

842 Tɔne pikin. It is assumed that a woman may be made pregnant
796 by a river god, either a Papa gadu snake god or by the Wata lagi, which look like Indians. Children thus conceived are called tɔne pikin.

A..., of Papalston, had cut a clearing opposite a remarkable white rock called Weti stɔ; where she used to moor her boat. She had not had any children for several years
[787] and she became pregnant. When her daughter was born a
[798] possessed person revealed that she was born of a Papa gadu
[782] snake god which lived there: since then her parents /relatives/ go regularly to this rock to make offerings.

About 1910 Alama (Kormotibo) had followed her husband to a shipyard on the lower river; one day while walking in the forest she met an Indian having the appearance of a Galibi Indian, who was carrying a newborn baby. She stopped and admired the baby. The Indian said to her: "Do you wish to raise him?" She acquiesced. He said: "We shall see each other again"; then he went away so quickly that she had the impression that he had disappeared on the spot.

/257 cont./

842 A few weeks afterward she found herself pregnant, and
776 it seemed obvious to all that this was the doing of a Wata Ingi.

845 No magic power is attributed to the tone pikin, any more than special mental or physical characteristics. But it is assumed that they are the object of a special protection, and that they cannot be harmed with impunity.

771 The sacred character of payment. Relations between the gods
789 and men always have the character of a bargain, among the
435 Refugee Blacks: an irritated divinity is never appeased by repentance or good will; it requires that it be paid; likewise, an 2bia is of value only for the person who has paid for it. Refugee Blacks will never utilize ready-made magic recipes: uttering certain words, making certain gestures; face to face with such a recipe they will ask immediately: "From what
[P/2] god does this 2bia come, and whom must one pay?" It seems that in their conception every transference of a spiritual power or a magic force disturbs something in the proper functioning of the universe; payment restores this equilibrium, it is the
[M] mark of legitimacy. Some Creoles of African ancestry transpose the same idea with respect to Christianity, and this is /258/ why they insist so much on paying for masses and buying
759 "orisons" (1). One observes likewise that free medical care
558

> 1. Written prayer to which is attached protective power. This notion, borrowed from the rustic magic of 17th-century France, seems to have been introduced into Guiana by the first European colonists.

lowers the prestige of the doctor in the eyes of all.

/258 cont./

461 829 431 On the material plane the same conception explains the high importance attached to fair payment for work done, the holy fury which takes possession of Refugee Blacks who consider themselves wronged; it also explains why they can interpret a free gift only as a mark of weakness except in exceptional cases (present given by a high official on the occasion 431 829 of a visit). A gift which does not have the character of an exchange has no spiritual value for them; it brings only scorn and near hostility, for they feel that the object has not been legitimately acquired and that they are not in tune with their moral law.

Local Divinities

776 823 The Refugee Blacks assume the existence of local divinities exercising a de facto power on such-and-such a portion of the country. Since their very special mode of life leads them to circulate almost exclusively along rivers, with them this idea has been transposed into a double notion: the divinities of the rivers and the gods of the soil. In their minds those are two entirely separate conceptions: the power of the god of the soil stops at the edge of the water and conversely.

De facto worship is rendered the divinities of the river according to the rites set by the first users of the river. In practice, worship is rendered only to the divinities of dangerous rivers where accidents are frequent. People do not bother with the others.

These gods are designated indiscriminately by the words gadu and sagi (thing, being), indicating that their nature is not known.

/258 cont./

776 One of the best known of these gods is that of the Maruini.
823 It is assumed to control all the tributaries of the Maruini as far
778 as their sources. Its place of worship is a thicket situated downstream from the dangerous Kubi Sula Falls, at the mouth
782 of the river. Before starting to go upriver in August, 1956,
[539] the crews of our three boats, in an atmosphere of great meditation, lined up behind the eldest of them, who made the offering of water and tafia, uttering these words: "God who commands this river, watch over us; keep us from being sick, let no accident happen to us; if there is on this river an interdiction which we do not know (2) and which, through

2. It is obvious here that this is a case of de facto worship of a divinity about which nothing is known.

ignorance, we do not observe, pardon us. Bring us back to our villages safe and sound." The boatmen came one after the other to make the offering of tafia. The scene lasted more than a quarter of an hour. This ceremony was not without nobility, engendering belief in that sincere fervor of animists so often mentioned in the /259/ ethnographic literature.
771 But our return at the end of our work trip took place in a completely different atmosphere, showing the strictly practical and utilitarian side of the religion of the Refugee Blacks. Once past the Kubi Sula, the three boss boatmen could not persuade any of their men, who were in the act of eating their meal, to accompany them as far as the place of worship to thank the god. Some told us straight out that they were scoffing at this god from now on, having no intention of
[782] coming back on the Maruini. As for the boss boatmen themselves, they measured stingily the quantity of tafia offered

/259 cont./

791 to the god, and their words of thanks lasted scarcely half a
[182] minute (1). At the time of our first trip on the Maruini, in

1. Yet custom expressly provides for this rite of thanking.

1948, the same scenes had unfolded, going as well as coming back.

241 791

Rites Relative to Agriculture

These rites occupy a relatively minor place in the religious life of the Refugee Blacks, which may be attributed to the great regularity of the climate and the absence of calamities affecting the yield of crops.

[613] It does not seem, at least among the Boni, that a religious bond is assumed between the lineage and the land, and rites intended to insure the fertility of the soil are carried out by each one for himself in the neighborhood of his own field; the lineage head does not appear to play any particular role in this regard. In the thought of the Boni, the fertility of the
241 792 soil depends upon a local divinity, to which is offered de facto worship; the temporary or permanent users of the lands situated in the domain of this god perform on their own behalf the rites of this worship without any distinction of origin, whether they are Boni, Djuka, or Saramaka.

[796] The only collective worship existing in Boni country is
[793] the worship of mama gɔ̃, of which the grand man is priest.
[643] Its rites are limited to a short annual prayer.

/259 cont./

241 Cult of Mama gɔ̃. Mama gɔ̃, mother of the earth, is repre-
776 sented by a crude statue of white clay provided with enormous
[532] breasts, symbol of fecundity, which can be seen in a little
[531] hut situated on the open place of Boniville village. Each
[478] year, when the time for cutting the clearings approaches, the
243 grand man, surrounded by many other people, prays to the
[782] god to grant fertility to the plantings. If rain does not fall,
an offering of water and tafia is made and the statue is sprinkled.

811 The Boni do not appear to associate the idea of women's fecundity with that of the fertility of the soil, and we have not heard anyone say that the grand man prays on this subject.

241 Neither do they appear to have a very clear idea about
776 the relationships of this worship with that of the gɔ̃ gadu, local gods of the soil.

796 Every three years a great possession dance takes place
535 in Boniville on January 1, /260/ in which the Papa gadu gods
787 dance in front of the sanctuary of Mama gɔ̃. We have not been able to obtain specific information on the meaning of this rite.

241 Cult of the gɔ̃ gadu. It is assumed that every portion of land
776 is under the sway of a local god, gɔ̃ gadu. Its power is
[784] limited only by the fertility of the soil, and he who neglects its worship cannot be attacked in his person or in his goods, but only punished by a poor harvest.

What is the nature of these gods, what is their place in the cosmogony? These are questions which not one of our informants had ever asked himself. In their minds, gɔ̃ gadu has a de facto existence, and is rendered de facto worship. This worship consists essentially of:

[782] --Offerings made at the moment of planting;

[527] --The observance of a local day of rest, kina de, corresponding to the god's day of rest.

/260 cont./

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In order to observe these rites suitably, it is important then to know in which god's domain are situated the lands one is cultivating. On the banks of the great river, the division of the lands among the gods of the soil has been well known since the time of the ancestors. By summarizing the kina dɛ of the farming habitations, one realizes that the domain of each god is extensive; it occupies several kilometers along the banks. It is often thought (but not everywhere) that the two banks are controlled by different gods. For example:

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Downstream from Boniville, right bank: Wednesday;
Toward Kormotibo, right bank: Thursday;
Toward the mouth of the Inini, both banks: Wednesday;
Toward Simayé Falls, both banks: Saturday.

On those days one may do nothing related to agriculture, and in particular one may not dig in the earth nor plant. If absolutely necessary one may go to pull up tubercules.

What one must avoid above all is handling tools which make noise and could disturb the god, except in the immediate vicinity of the water which is not under its control. However, one may shoot off a gun.

This kina dɛ is observed more strictly than Friday, the general kina dɛ in Boni country, which appears to be related to the cult of Mama gɔ̃. On those days people mend boats and especially go hunting and fishing.

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Offerings are made in a purely individual and local fashion; in each farming habitation is seen at the approaches to the wharf a worship place formed by a simple meat-drying rack decorated with pennants of several colors, on which the offerings are exposed; even if this habitation combines people of diverse kin groups, there is only one place of worship.

/260 cont./

241 178 People who have no farming habitation and who farm on the outskirts of /Fig. 29 appears here/ /261/ residence villages get together in groups of three or four to establish a worship place in a copse, preserved from the forest adjoining their clearings.

241 182 Caoe juice, syrup, rice pounded fine but not cooked are offered.

They make this offering at the time of the plantings, saying, "Gadu, please come and eat a little, watch over us, thank you very much."

The Boni who observe the rites most faithfully renew this offering each month at the new moon.

If someone has two clearings in two different sectors, he performs the rites twice, each gɛ̃ gadu being entirely independent of the others.

241 171 On this subject one notices that the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks are much more systematized than those of the Creole populations of African origin in the West Indies. They do not think each field has an individual soul; neither do they apparently believe in the possibility of capturing the soul of the field in order to make the neighbor's field sterile out of revenge. These beliefs, which play such a large role in the popular magic of the West Indies, seem to be without exact counterpart in the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks.

241 (176) Interdictions and various rites. Cutting a clearing involves great dangers: it is necessary to avoid injuring the maleficent divinities of the bush, which have as supports well-defined plants and animals, by brutal destruction of these supports, and their wreaking inexorable revenge -- the kunu -- on the lineage of the unintentional sacrilege. It is therefore necessary to seek out these plants and animals and to carry out for each the rites recommended by the ancestors' experience without forgetting a single one. No Refugee Black would dream of

/261 cont./

241 neglecting these rites. Their rigorous observance has the effect of preventing farming from becoming for them a commercial activity and of keeping a religious and family feeling in it.

824 778 784 (796) --The kiiiti (silk-cotton tree) is a much feared tree, for according to the elders each one of them shelters 12 categories of divinities, especially a Papa gadu and an Ampuku. So it is absolutely impossible to cut it. One must even be very careful not to injure its roots which spread far. The site of every one felled is preserved. Likewise people watch carefully so as not to injure the roots of the big silk-cotton trees often found in the villages.

824 778 776 361 Still, the fact that their site was chosen for setting up a village shows that people believe they can make an alliance with the divinities which reside in a silk-cotton tree and draw their protection upon themselves.

824 778 784 (796) --The katu tree (Bombax Surinamiensis), tree of very large size, living in symbiosis with a parasitic liana which appears to enclose it in a gigantic net, also shelters maleficent divinities (Ampuku, Papa gadu, Bumba gadu). One may cut it down after performing rites whose purpose is to transfer these divinities into another tree.

First, one must have procured from a man who possesses this remedy a pot of sbia containing an infusion of leaves in the middle of which is a bracelet of fibers. /262/ It costs (835) two liters of tafia, four liters of beverage (beer for example), one large piece of cloth, and one machete.

Having arrived at the foot of the tree, one bathes his body and machete with this infusion; one puts the fiber bracelet on one's arm. One also bathes several small sticks provided (822) with squares of white cloth (for the Papa gadu), dark blue and red (for the Ampuku), and a pinot palm (pina tsogo) leaf.

One plants the sticks at the foot of the tree, one strikes the trunk with the palm leaf while invoking the divinities of

/362 cont. /

824 [illegible] 789 the tree: "Ala sani di dɛ na a udu ya, da mu kumɔto, beka mi ɔ faa ɛ. Kɔm na a pina tɔ: All things (suprahuman entities) who are in this tree, leave it, for I am going to throw it to the ground; come into this palm leaf." One takes away the palm leaf and the little flags far from there into the interior of the lands, to a spot where nobody is likely to come to fell trees, and one arranges them beside some big tree. The divinities will come and settle there. Nevertheless, it is still necessary to wait almost a month to cut the katu tree, probably to leave the maleficent influences time to dissipate.

824 [illegible] [illegible] [171] The Boni are so afraid of this tree that many of them, deeming these precautions insufficient, give up the idea of cutting it down and go to establish their clearings elsewhere. The Creole gold miners of the Haut Maroni, who call it cottonwood, also attribute a maleficent influence to it and some of them do not cut it.

The Refugee Blacks fear also, but to a lesser degree, what they call kɔtkɔti, that is, the small trees of any species which, instead of having grown straight, have two angles in their trunk like a Z. This is a very rare anomaly. In such a shrub is hidden a maleficent entity, taku sani, capable, if a man cut the trunk unintentionally, to take revenge on him by paralyzing a limb or even the whole body in a bent position. In order to see whether or not the entity is present in the shrub, there exists, according to the Boni, a very simple means: one gently brings the finger near the bent part. If he feels his finger held there to the point where he has trouble drawing it back, the genie is present! The power of autosuggestion characteristic of the Refugee Blacks shows itself clearly here.

[789] Rites exist for rendering the kɔtkɔti harmless, for cutting them with impunity, and even for using them in magic preparations, but we do not know the details. Kɔtkɔti are among the objects usually found in the chapels (ɔbia ɔsu) of Kumẽnti; we have even happened to see one used to fasten a

/262 cont./

824 978 door; it was a particularly feared kindu that no thief would have dared to remove.

825 878 --The Kintamasu are the divinities, especially maleficent and hostile to men, who live in the termitaries (these are termites proper, who make their nest in the earth, and not wood lice, much more common). There is one to each termitary.

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[989] After a meticulous examination of the soil of the clearing, one marks all the termitaries /263/ and sprinkles each of them with a preparation containing leaves, pink clay kukusa, and manioc juice. One adjures the genie to go away, no matter where.

It happens that in spite of all the precautions taken a termitary is forgotten. Then, several days later, one will have the consternation of seeing the Kintamasu reveal itself in someone of the lineage; it announces that it is going to exercise its kunu (curse). It is temporarily appeased by offerings of tafia, various drinks, red cloth.

[989] [984] [982]

796 198 989 The Kintamasu call themselves the Akoko. Through the mouth of their bearers they speak a language nobody understands. However, when they wish to be understood by those present they speak Kumanti.

755 784 Observation in Boniville, January, 1957:

A...., boatman of the border-fixing mission, asks for three days off. His wife, Masauman, has been ill for several days; divination (in this particular case the gita of a female relative in his lineage) showed that it was the doing of a Kintamasu injured in the burning of the clearing which he himself, A...., cut for his wife in October. The Kintamasu has not yet manifested itself directly, but a kunu threatens; to appease it he must put in action the remedy known only to M...., an old man of Asisi. He will go to the spot, following

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#539 we are. It was he who killed them; look at the brother-in-law below; go down!" He dropped down. Death stunned him, then threw him aside.

(Same scene; Ananzi's last child, then his wife Wenon, drop down in turn. Ananzi remains alone at the top of the tree.)

...Ananzi stayed. He resisted, resisted until... he said: "Son-in-law, you know what you must do. I have eaten much of your meat. I am fat! Go and get banana leaves and many ashes, so that when I fall, my body may not burst and my fat be lost. If I fall on the bare ground, my body /278/ will burst." Death stood up, vous! cut banana leaves, picked up as many ashes as it could.

"Look well at the spot where I am going to fall, I am coming." Death looked at the pile of ashes! plaou! Ananzi fell right in the middle (the ashes spurted out in every direction). In the time that Death took to wipe its eyes, Ananzi had fled.

Thus it is that Ananzi came to carry Death among us. Before, Death used to stay in the bush; it killed animals but not men. It is because of Ananzi that it came to separate and kill men.

7) Ananzi, Buchi Mama, and Wata Mama (1)

[196]

1. Maleficent divinities of the bush and the water, which are not worshiped.

Ananzi, one day, went into the bush. He went to see the Bush-Mama. He said to her: "Bush-Mama, will you have a tug-of-war with me?" /Fr. expression corde raide usually means "tightrope," but gist of story indicates transl. given. -- Tr./ The Bush-Mama said to him: "What? Have you looked at me? Strong as I am, you aspire to a tug-of-war against me?" He said: "Bush-Mama, you lie, you are not capable of vanquishing me. I am sure to pull you as far as the village, step by step.

/799 cont./

791 The Boni, as we have shown, do not feel that they are pagans. They think they worship the same god as the Christians, in a different way but just as valid; they feel that their moral principles are not inferior to those of the Christians, that they are expressed in practice by the same prescriptions and are in fact better obeyed(2).

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2. We report here faithfully the point of view of those concerned without making any judgment of its worth; let us recall that their principles of living do not assume any moral conscience in the individual and rest entirely upon the fear of material punishments in the present life. But even this base gives them great practical effectiveness.

829 Only in their conception of their kinship and the family, in the absence of family life based on the indissolubly united couple, do they recognize that they live under another law. But they do not fail to notice that the populations of the Guianas who profess Christianity hardly put it into practice in their family life: the stability of marriages is appreciably greater among the Refugee Blacks.

787 As for the cults of possession, the Boni feel that they worship
796 de facto entities whose existence appears as tangible to them as
828 light or weight to us. These ideas are bound up with a characteristic way of perceiving, touching deep zones of the mind which reasoning does not reach (3).

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3. Actually, it is observed in Black Africa that where cults

Si Herskovits & Herskovits E-1 (1928-1929) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Saramacca

but he did face about, and forgetting his seketi began to pole in earnest.

In a few moments his body glistened with the exertion, and over the circle and snake of kamemba in the small of his back the perspiration ran down in a trickle. When he had almost caught up he slackened his speed, and he and Bibifo talked about the river. Old Bibifo knew the river well. He was born beyond the Granman's country. A snake swam across the path of the boat, Bayo said. It was good luck. "See, look," he called. His eyes were sharp. The old man saw it, too, and then he called to us. There, close to the shore, a little ahead of us, a constrictor twined its tail about a liana, hanging head down, with a salamander slowly disappearing into its mouth. There was a slight jerk, the liana shook, the snake swallowed, and another bit of the salamander was out of sight.

Farther ahead we heard the report of a gun, and the crying of the mate of the wounded bird followed us for a long while. Bayo and Bibifo identified each cry, called by name the things that grew, planned about their timber rafts when they got back, until the next rapids were reached and passed and the conversation could be resumed, and then they talked about things which they did not care to have the Bakra know, and though they spoke none of the words of their ritual language, we could not understand anything they said. It was not until later that we learned to work out some of the elisions in their speech.

A strip of sandy beach showed where a village stood, and as we passed it, we could see the azang, the spiritual guard of palm fronds, preventing evil spirits from entering the village. We saw also a strip of white hanging from the end of a stick which had been put up for the ancestors, and beyond, the low shelter for the roughly carved and weathered image holding an obia pot on its head. Under the azang the path stretched like a narrow ribbon which was soon lost as the walls of green converged.

"Is that another village?" we said, pointing at a pale stretch across the river.

/217 cont. /

794 Most of the Boni are not concerned with their akka. The only ones who take heed of it are those who have reasons to believe it irritated. The worship rendered varies a good deal from one individual to another in the nature and frequency of the rites performed.

794 For example, K..... of Papelston village, prey to a
797 persistent streak of bad luck, went to consult a Creole lukumi
[787] from Surinam, who revealed to him that it was the doing of unsatisfied desires of his akka. His akka wanted a black dog and a copper bracelet. He procured both for himself, and since, he says, he no longer has the same bad luck.

794 B.... head of T... village, has in a corner of his hut
798 a post crudely carved in the shape of a bust with a half calabash from which emerge stalks of sangafu on its head. At the side is a small fraga tiki. He tells me that this is the god of the cult of his akka; these rites are strictly personal with him.

794 Most of the akka esteem white beads and red cloth. If
[822] one sees a Boni wear a red cloak, one can be almost sure that it is by order of his akka.

[787] If someone's mind wanders or he has bizarre dreams, he may see in this the feeling that his akka wishes to leave him
[789] and that he is in danger of its happening. He then goes to ask an obiaman to make him an akka tetey: this is a ring of fibers worn on the big toe and which is supposed to prevent the akka from going away.

These rites vary a lot from one individual to the other, but they have a common principle. If someone begins to attend to his akka, he cannot abandon the worship during his lifetime, or else the akka will avenge itself.

Akka worship is strictly personal and is not bequeathed upon death.

791 /23" cont./

Not just anyone may resort to divination on behalf of someone else: only the eldest have the right to do it, and it has happened that the grand man punished offenders severely.

• 799 Fate. The Refugee Blacks do not attribute all misfortunes
[852] to suprahuman causes. They have the notion of natural accident,
Bagaaku. They say Bagaaku mini mi, or again ogi mini mi,
[741] misfortune met me. They also accept the idea of natural death. They usually regard as natural death that of the very old, the infirm from birth, and solely children.

[789] Divination blames fate in ten to 20 per cent of accidents.
[792] It is the usual explanation for hunting accidents.

792 /23?/ Magic Forces

As we have shown, the Refugee Blacks consider beings and things as a world of forces capable of acting on one another, outside of time and space, according to laws which men cannot understand but of which they believe they have a partial and empirical knowledge transmitted by tradition since the
754 time of the ancestors. They distinguish negative magic forces,
789 wisi, which have the effect of diminishing the vital force of men, which makes them sick or kills them, and positive magic forces, Dbia, which come from the gods: the Dbia comes to increase the vital force of men, giving them protection, immunity, or knowledge. But no power is in essence a principle of good or evil; nothing is impossible for him who knows the formulas; this is why the magic of the Refugee Blacks is reduced to a perpetual and indecisive struggle between Dbia and wisi.

754 Wisi. Wisi is sorcery in the African sense of the term, that is,
[693] the use of magic procedures to harm others; wisi is for the Refugee Blacks the pre-eminently criminal act, at the same time against morals and against society. The struggle against

/241 cont. /

152 Jealousy. To speak of jealousy as a negative magic force is
128 not to be false to the thought of the Refugee Blacks. They re-
254 gard it as an attenuated force of wisi, capable of bringing mis-
777 fortunes even if no sorcery has been formulated. Jealousy is
152 very marked in their character, associated with an individual on
157 verging on asocial tendencies. When somebody is accused of
257 wisi, jealousy is the commonest explanation of the crimes
152 attributed to him; it is thought for example that a man can be
128 jealous of his brother's growing rich to the point of making him
die; that a woman may be jealous of the beauty or health of
152 her sister's children. Not laying themselves open to jealousy
156 is the constant preoccupation of the Refugee Blacks; one ob-
128 serves it in daily behavior, for example in the greetings which
576 they exchange on the river. They never say, "I am well,"
but: "I feel only fair." If they come back from hunting they
say, "I found a little."

152 Examples are not lacking of people who avoid building
156 a fine house or buying an outboard motor in order not to give
128 cause for jealousy. This preoccupation has profound reper-
[182] cussions on the material life and the economy of the Refugee
[463] Blacks; it explains in particular the absence of specialized
professions and trade among them.

Many aspects of the customary law of the Refugee Blacks
[183] have no other function than to exorcise, if one may say so,
[571] tendencies toward jealousy and selfishness which, if they were
given free rein, would poison the life of the collectivity.

76 The rites of death and mourning, which we have shown
181 to constitute the pivot of the social life of the Refugee Blacks,
725 are entirely based on the idea of preserving the surviving spouse
128 from the effect of the jealousy of the deceased.

/291 cont./

159 Wishing to take advantage of all the possibilities which
464 turn up, the Refugee Blacks are led to learn simultaneously the
463 traditional techniques of their group, boating, boat-building, felling of trees, squaring of wood, and /building/ framework. In these techniques they may be considered specialized workers.

Proud of their strength and knowledge, sure of themselves,
159 the Refugee Blacks are never worried about the future and con-
812 sider life as an exciting adventure, ceaselessly bringing new things. If the past year has been bad, the new year will be better, with God's help. Nobody doubts that he will find gainful work again.

152 Influence of jealousy: absence of specialized professions and
182 trade. Another strong psychological tendency having a direct influence on the economy is jealousy.

152 The effect of jealousy, and the fear of jealousy, is to
828 limit enrichment and to maintain a de facto equality: it often
552 happens that talented people forego undertaking profitable work
953 in order not to give occasion for the jealousy which would render
• 999 their position in the village difficult and might draw misfortunes upon them; for people have the idea that jealousy draws down illnesses and calamities upon him who is the object of it and on his near relatives, by the action of a natural force, even without sorcery being formulated.

754 Fear of sorcery interferes in the same way; one who be-
556 comes unusually rich is almost inevitably accused of being a
441 sorcerer and may be obliged to leave the country. Particularly
829 vulnerable are those, very rare, who engage in trade. People do not suspect of sorcery a man who is seen to become rich by /292/ working ceaselessly. But the trader whose wealth increases without his furnishing obvious work, is quickly regarded as a "committed one," accused of having his good luck as a result of a pact with the devil.

DEATH AT GANKWE

And so once more we were in Sedefo's canoe running the rapids, and once more we pulled up at the landing place. 764

It was quiet enough there, and no one passing would have noticed anything out of the ordinary in the behavior of the one or two women washing clothes at the riverside, or of the children playing about in the water. Again we climbed the path to the village, this time to the delighted shrieks of the children, whose cries brought others, until we were surrounded by a fearless, clamoring group, shouting, calling after us, "Bak'a, Ame'ica' Bak'a!" Sedefo took us to his house, where we met the senior of his two wives, and turned us over to a young man, who had played one of the drums in the ceremony of the evening before, to show us the village. This was the routine of courtesy due any visitor. Nothing more tangible than a slight reserve marked the tension which made this village different from what it would have been on any midafternoon. [296] [595] [594]

In front of the house of mourning all was quiet. Three elderly men sat on their low stools, talking in low tones. They greeted us as we passed but neither engaged us in conversation nor offered us a seat. Inside the house the small fire still smoldered, and, where the hammock had been, now crouched, soundlessly, an old woman who, we later learned, was the dead man's maternal aunt. We were struck with the number of houses that had symbols of spiritual protection over their doors—*obias*, they are called—magically treated to keep the spirits of death from harming the occupants. As we passed one doorway, a woman holding a baby hastily threw a covering over its head, but not before we saw that it had special markings of sacred white clay on its face. The child was under treatment for some illness, and the mother, in these days when spiritual danger stalked about, could take no chances of the Bakra's magic obstructing the cure. [598] [755]

On the other side of the village, farthest away from the house of death, life flowed on yet more evenly. But as we looked about, our guide stiffened, and soon we too caught the sound of the drums which rapidly became louder. He

Ah, but they knew each other. 484

Bayo began paddling faster to keep up with him.

"There is to be a council meeting at Gankwe. I had to 623 hurry away last night, and I must get back there in time. 775 We must have permission from the spirit of the dead man to go back to work, and Sedefo has to find out if he can start up the river, and if he does go, we must all pray to the ancestors because four men will be going from Gankwe, and [782] the *Gran Sembe*—the village elders—have things to decide . . . "

Now, fearing that he might have said too much, he doubled his speed, and Bayo understood that the other preferred to be alone. They belonged to different clans, Bayo to the same as the headman of the tribe, and the Gankwe people to another. Gankwe was sending important men to take the Bakra up the river. The chief's own brother, Asikanu, was to go, although it was said he was [684] being sent out of the way while his adultery case was being settled. There had been talk about this case up and down the river. The Gankwe clan head had given a chief's [778] sanctuary to the offender because he was his own brother, people said. Well, if the injured husband committed suicide as he threatened, and sent a kunu to the family of the brother, and even the village and clan, it would be an ugly thing. But so it was with trouble about women. It was as they said,

> "*Sleep is death* [538]
> *Woman kills man.*"

He half chanted the proverb and smiled, for he looked 831 forward to his trip up the river with an eye to a visit in Lamé, where the women knew how to love. And he began singing the seketi song which he liked so well. Both the melody and the words were old, but he sang the refrain as if it were quite his own—whatever hardships there were on the river, at Lamé one slept with the women!

At the village of Akunkun an old man and a boy of 484 about nine were at the landing place ready to start. Bayo

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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but he did face about, and forgetting his seketi began to pole in earnest. 502 484

In a few moments his body glistened with the exertion, and over the circle and snake of kamemba in the small of his back the perspiration ran down in a trickle. When he had almost caught up he slackened his speed, and he and Bibifo talked about the river. Old Bibifo knew the river well. He was born beyond the Granman's country. A snake swam across the path of the boat, Bayo said. It was good luck. "See, look," he called. His eyes were sharp. The old man saw it, too, and then he called to us. There, close to the shore, a little ahead of us, a constrictor twined its tail about a liana, hanging head down, with a salamander slowly disappearing into its mouth. There was a slight jerk, the liana shook, the snake swallowed, and another bit of the salamander was out of sight. 484 [825] [717] [136]

Farther ahead we heard the report of a gun, and the crying of the mate of the wounded bird followed us for a long while. Bayo and Bibifo identified each cry, called by name the things that grew, planned about their timber rafts when they got back, until the next rapids were reached and passed and the conversation could be resumed, and then they talked about things which they did not care to have the Bakra know, and though they spoke none of the words of their ritual language, we could not understand anything they said. It was not until later that we learned to work out some of the elisions in their speech. [98]

A strip of sandy beach showed where a village stood, and as we passed it, we could see the azang, the spiritual guard of palm fronds, preventing evil spirits from entering the village. We saw also a strip of white hanging from the end of a stick which had been put up for the ancestors, and beyond, the low shelter for the roughly carved and weathered image holding an obia pot on its head. Under the azang the path stretched like a narrow ribbon which was soon lost as the walls of green converged. 778 789

"Is that another village?" we said, pointing at a pale stretch across the river. 361

684 [796] be. The Earth Mother, who is the giver of fertility, takes the adulterous woman who is with child under her protection, and no one may harm her. But the guilty man must make redress to the betrayed husband. Fines must be paid by the adulterer, and there is the beating which the husband administers. This beating has its ritual. The culprit, at the time that is set, comes out to the place where the injured husband and his family wait. They attack him with bare fists, although the Kromanti arm obias are sometimes slipped down on clenched hands, and with these serious wounds can be inflicted. With or without the iron arm bands, the beating is a serious matter, and the man who has committed the trespass is severely mishandled, unless he can get away from his assailants and run into the bush. In the bush he has sanctuary, and at the end of some time may come back to his village. The gods will not give a weakling husband, or one who is not clever enough to take his revenge when it is offered, a second chance.

At times this beating is a merry affair. This happens when the adulterer's family tries to protect him, and then the matter becomes a two-family brawl, or, if the village is a [628] large one with more than one clan substantially represented in it, it may become a fight between two clans. Once, in a village near the railhead, a man was killed in such a fight, and then white police stepped in, and the murderer went to prison.

[622] [798] A chief, however, can give the culprit sanctuary, and Asikanu, being a chief's brother, was protected by the chief while negotiations were being carried on in his behalf. Now he was sent away from home to be one of our paddlers so that the enraged husband might be dealt with—time helps to cool anger. This was important in Asikanu's case, since the husband of the woman who had gone to Asikanu would consent to no fine, however large, and seemed, furthermore, to have misgivings about the manner in 796 which the ritual beating would be conducted. "I will kill 762 myself," he had been heard to declare. "I will kill myself, 684 and give them all kunu. My *yorka*—ghost—will come to 754

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Chapter V

THE SHRINE TO THE RIVER GODS

I

ON THE narrow strip of land below the Mamadam, our hammocks were slung between trees whose trunks leaned well over the water, so that once we stretched out on the canvas, it was like swinging over an abyss to the rhythm of water wearing down rock.

133 At one time the shrine to the gods had stood on this clearing, but boats had gone aground in the falls, and rafts which needed but little urging when the spirits were friendly were swung about in the current and lost to their kingdom at the river bottom. Even now a great log lay wedged in between rocks in the middle of the stream. The water had worn grooves into its hard surface, yet there it was, held fast against the timeless flaying of the falls.

Nor was that all. One year when the time for the new rains came, the rain did not fall. In the villages the priests climbed the ladders within the sacred enclosures and from on high poured out libations to the ancestors, beseeching them to intercede in behalf of the living. Those who had river spirits went to the waterside when the moon was dead to dance to the gods. But the drums gave back a dull sound, and the dancing was listless. Those who plunged into the river to swim against the rapids while the drums intoned the exhortations did not remain under water long, and when they came up they uttered no oracles. Many who were known to be possessed by powerful spirits paced back

had seen a hand reach out for the boat, had seen it vanish out of sight. The gods had accepted the offerings. That year the Granman from the city, the white Granman, had to send rice from a far country to feed them, but the next year the crops were good, and all had been well since that time.

"And was that when this shrine was removed to the other island?"

"*M'an sabi. A kan de*—I do not know. It is possible."

2

"When you get to the Mamadam," we had been told by a priestess in the city, "wash your face in the running water, and call on the Mother of the River three times."

Another had said, "If your foot should trip anywhere, be sure to call on your ancestors, but if you should happen to slip at the Mamadam, you must go at once to the river, strike the water three times, and ask the Mother of the River to release your soul. It is a bad thing to lose your soul there."

And our principal story-teller in the city, who was something of a [illegible]t, had said: "You both have light eyes. Your hair is not dark. You are not unlike the Bonkoru people who are light, and who, up the river, you will hear called the Toné folk." He was speaking of albinos. "It may be that you have a river god without knowing it. When you come to the Mamadam the spirit may come to you. You may find yourself speaking the tongue that only the Toné people know, and dancing the dances to the river gods, and swimming up the rapids. It will be a fine sight to see you dance to the drums. There was once such a woman. A woman white as you are, you hear? I myself saw her dance. When she danced, she wore red, and put a plug through her lip, and as she danced her color changed. She became black. When the spirit was satisfied, it let her go, and she paled and was a white woman again. I myself saw that woman dance. I saw her grow black while she danced, and saw

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her become pale again. This may happen to you when you get to the Mamadam." 538 776

As he spoke, he began to beat on the table the drum rhythm which calls the river god, and he sang, 776 533

"*Today, today, O Spirit,*
Hard times are upon us
Ingi-o.
Hard times are upon us. [539]
Today, today, Boyo,
Hard times are upon us
Ingi-e."

And then he sang another song, which he said had been sung at the time when black people were running away from slavery, and is still heard at dances to the spirits of the river, the *watra ingi*, as the river gods are called in the city. In it, he called on the agida, the great drum upon which, in town as in the bush, the Negroes call the river gods, and on *Kopsi*, the name of one of the spirits of the water. This time he sang,

"*I will play the agida today,*
I will knock the agida today-o
Kopsi will foil the magic
Of the crowing cock.
O, I will play the agida today, [539]
I will knock the agida, today-o,
Kopsi will foil the magic,
Of the crowing cock.
I will play the agida today."

3

As we gained the island where the shrine itself stood and looked about us from the high rocks of the sacred spot, there lay before us in the early morning light a scene of inexpressible beauty. At dusk the narrow strips of land which forced the river into three channels had been like dark machetes plunged into the body of the great stream. 133 [978]

REBEL DESTINY

133 But now a soft haze floated over stream and bush. To the right was the Ingi Sopi channel, dropping so sheer that not even an unloaded dugout could make its way up the rapids, not a single log of wood could be floated down. To the left was the Mamadam, a smoother, more rounded slope. It was up these falls that our boats would later be hauled.

501 484 Below us on the rocks our men were unloading the corials and carrying the provisions along the narrow trodden path to the topmost ledge of the falls, where the empty dugouts would be reloaded after they had been taken up through the streaming water.

133 Beyond lay the full stretch of the river. As far as the eye could see, there were none of the channels, none of the many islands which are met with everywhere on this river from its very headwaters to the reaches of the tidal belt near the coast. About us was a stillness which the very roar [136] of the water heightened. The parrots had long ago passed on in pairs. The butterflies would wait for the sun before they went winging from the east bank to the west. This was a moment of pure interlude. No sun, no breeze, no 000 sound, no glow. This was the moment before the fragmentary dawn would end, before the haze would lift, this the moment when night, having met day, as the Bush Negroes said, was disappearing from sight.

"It is fine here, ai!" Bayo called to us, as he walked on [482] with a large canister balanced on his head, making his way up the rocks with the sureness and ease of one who is strolling down a lane with the consciousness of a pleasant encounter at the next turning.

● 798 346 As soon as the mist had lifted, we walked up the rocks to the shrine. Facing us and the lower river, a tall, slender pole, weathered to a pale silver, stood higher than the roof of the shrine in front of which it was planted. At its top were the crude outlines of a head and, some three feet from its base, two side pieces were nailed to it and grounded at an angle to steady the image against the onrush of a sudden wind. A short distance from the pole was the shrine

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itself, an open shelter under a thatched roof resting on four posts. Inside it, upon the ground, lay a flat stone whitened with sacred clay, and on this a bottle stood. Directly behind the stone was the altar, a low table on which lay several egg-shaped pieces of the sacred pemba—the white clay—and some egg-shaped stones which had come from the bed of the river. A circle of iron, perhaps two fingers' breadth in thickness and having a diameter of ten or twelve inches, rested on the ground under the altar. A stick had been planted to face the thicket of wild pineapple that made a wall at the back, and from it hung a strip of white cotton for the ancestors. To the left of this was a simply carved stool, the tracery of its design become all but indistinguishable under the coat of white clay which covered it. Several bottles lay at the foot of this stool.

"Ya-hai, mati, you are praying to the Mother of the River. It is well," said Kasanya, as he came up to us with his pole-man and the men from Gankwe and interrupted our scrutiny of the shrine.

Followed by Sedefo and Asikanu, he entered the shrine, while the others stood with us outside the railing which connected at sides and back the posts upon which the roof rested. Kasanya called on the Sky God first. "*G'an gadu*," he began, "Mother of the River, Ancestors, grant that we travel safely. Grant that we bring the white man safely to the country of the Granman. Grant that the white man pay us well. I thank you."

As he finished, the listening men clapped their hands in unison, and spoke in chorus, "Great thanks!" Some distance away, down the slope which dropped to the river, was Bibifo, who wanted to be called Adrian. He did not come too near the shrine, but there he was, halfway up, with head bent, his lips moving as he muttered a prayer of his own.

Now Sedefo came forward, and Kasanya left the shrine and disappeared behind the pineapple bushes. When he came back he held leaves in his hand, which he said were sacred. He would crush them and put them in water dipped

here at the Mamadam, and later he would bathe with this that he might be purified. Meanwhile Sedefo and Asikanu, each in his turn, addressed the Mother of the River, each speaking his errand and asking that his journey be prospered.

Bayo came up alone when the loading was quite finished. He sat down on a crosspiece of the shrine to one side of the flat rock, poured some of the contents of the bottle on the stone, and, taking up one of the egg-shaped pieces of pemba, he rubbed it between his fingers and touched the moist stone with his whitened hands. Now with his fingers he streaked his upper arm, just below the shoulders and over the muscles which played to the swinging of the pole-stick, and then his chest and knees.

"Mother of the River, give us a safe journey. Carry the white man and his woman without sickness. I thank you."

Later, when we were about to make off, he turned to us with his ready laugh. "You will walk well, Ba'ka. I have a strong spirit. I said things to the Mother of the River under my breath which you did not hear. The Mother of the River will look after you."

"What is this log, Bayo, right here on top of the falls? Why has no one claimed it?" we asked, pointing to the log of purple-heart close by, which we had noticed lying across the Mamadam.

"When it was sent down, something happened to turn it sidewise, and it was caught so. No one will touch it. It must be that the gods wanted it for themselves."

4

There are many shrines on the river. At the G'an Creek a man would speak his prayer from a distance, call the creek "ancestor," state his errand, and continue his journey. Far up the stream, where the juncture of the Pikien Rio and the Grand Rio forms the river which the Bush Negroes call the Saramacca, is the Tapa Wata shrine. There, our men said, we would do well to avoid looking, though our boat rested across the river more than a quarter of a mile

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away. It seemed dangerous even to notice the strip of white cotton which showed high above the falls, though the stick from which it hung we could not see. 778 784

"Human beings do not go there," Bayo had said warningly. "Human eyes must also not go there."

But the shrine at the Mamadam is a friendly place. There a man finds a moment's ease. For a brief interval, at least, the voyager upstream or down rests there to get his breath, as he makes ready for a new start. Directly below the falls is a stretch of still water, which follows upon the wearisome portage at the Musumba Prati and the struggle with the rapids just above it, while, when continuing up river, the boatmen face a succession of rapids before another stretch of quiet water is reached. It is not strange, therefore, that no man, whatever his need to make time, will fail to stop at the Mamadam long enough to make known to the Mother of the River his errand and to ask for the continuance of her protection. 778 484

This shrine is the home of the Great Mother of the inland waters, she who, above all else, had secured to the ancestors of these Bush Negroes their freedom from slavery. In the city and on the plantations of the coastal region the Negroes, under states of possession by the water gods, sing of their longing to join those at the Mamadam. 778 776

Let me die on the river, O!
Let me die on the water, O!
All the Ingi spirits
Are at the Mamadam,
Let me die on the river, O!

533 539

Deep in the interior, if one of the elders, let us say a man of the Dahomey clan, is alarmed at the prospect of the white man penetrating their bush, some man can be looked to, then, to say reassuringly, "Have no fear. They will not come beyond the Mamadam!"

For this river is their own. "Once, long, long ago," the legend was told us, "this river was but a creek. There were no great trees here, no rocks. There were no boats, no 173

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PARENTS, CHILDREN, AND GRANDCHILDREN

This was not the only instance of our meeting an individual who liked to stay in her father's village. There was the girl Takuda. Her mother was of the Kasito clan, and her house was in Dahomey, its principal settlement. She was not happy among her mother's people, and when we met her, she was living with her father's family. 593

"Does her mother's family not want her with them?" we asked a friend with whom we were discussing her.

He shrugged his shoulders. "Should not a child live in her father's home if she wants to?" he answered simply. "A father likes his children, and they like him, too."

Nor was it strange. To the child, the father was a man of the older generation to whom he could come for sympathy. He rarely corrected, for this was the task of the mother and her family. Often it was he who interceded with the older people in behalf of a son who wished to do something which his maternal family opposed. If a father gave small gifts to his children, they were looked upon truly as gifts. The ritual obligations of gift-giving chiefly lay with the mother's side. [431]

But there was more than just the affection for a boon companion which children felt for their fathers. There was pride in the father, pride in his achievements, and identification with his village.

When the Granman told us he was arranging for us to visit the village across the river from his own, he said, "Today you will see my father's house. Let them shoot guns so that I may know when you arrive in my father's village. They will show you everything. It is a fine village," he ended, with pride. "It is my father's country."

The last phrase was a refrain which ran through our entire visit there.

"This is the village of the Granman's father," we heard, again and again. "This is the house of the father of the Granman," one said, and another, "This is where the father of the Granman would sit in krutu." This person and that were introduced as belonging to the family of the father of the Granman. The climax came when we were shown the shrine to the ancestors. An especially elaborate [498]

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place was pointed out to us. The carved representation of the human face of the image was worked more carefully than is ordinarily done. Here the white clay was applied more thickly. The white cloth hanging from its stick was larger than we had ever seen before, the offerings of food and bottles and calabashes more numerous than at other ancestral shrines.

"This is where the yorka of the father of the Granman comes," we were told.

But why the father? What of the mother, the parent to whom the Granman was related? This village did not even belong to the Matchau clan to which he himself belonged. Yet with the pride that this was the shrine to the spirit of the Granman's father went a realization of its importance. Here was something outside the legal order, something which transcended the facts of descent and the theory of relationship. It was becoming ever more evident that in this "matriarchate" the father did count.

6

The inheritance of the father's kunu was one instance where the father needed to be taken very much into account. "If this man's children should take some of his goods," they had said, pointing at things we could see through the slats of the dead man's treasure house in the village of Opoku, "they will get his kunu, too. No man wants that."

Then there was the *trefu*, or *tchina*—taboo—as it was called in the bush, of which our cook had told us. Every individual in the bush had his tchina. Everyone knew the things he must not eat, or must not do. One man had to abstain from eating *anumara*, the great fish of the river. Another might never sleep in the open without a roof over his head. Should he find himself out in the bush with night coming, he must stop early enough to erect a small shelter and thatch it that his head might be covered when he slept. Bayo, we soon learned, might not eat food out of the cooking pot, and Sedefo could not bathe in a creek. Kasanya

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open shelter, covered by a gabled thatch. At both sides the eaves extended several feet from the posts which supported the roof, and almost touched the ground. The floor was of red clay, hardened and smooth. There were no stools about, and no other decorations. Men summoned to a council came with their own council benches. About two of the slender posts which faced the path were obias made of twined native sisal, of narrow strips of blue and red cotton, and cowrie shells. Each differed a little from the other, and each had its own potency, but what this was, none would say. On one of the crosspieces below the eaves were large balls of hardened red clay. They had been put there by the old women to await the time for molding the clay into the obia pots, which, after they had been fired, would be blackened with the soot of rice hulls and oil and refired.

Against the crossbeams in one corner of the council house the women had gathered, and at the other end the men were seated on their stools, with Captain And'u and the bassia, the man second in command, among them. While the men were discussing the Neng'e Nana, their Negro grandfathers from Africa, the women were addressing some direct questions to the white woman.

Why was she not smoking a pipe, as fitted the position of a woman of rank who was on her way to visit the Granman? What had she done with her children when she went on this long journey which took twenty-one nights and days to reach the Suriname white man's city? Did she like her husband's other wife? Had she more children than the other wife? What rank would her sons inherit from their uncles?

"How many gods have you?" one of the younger women asked.

"I have four—three Vodu, and one Apuku," another said, as though the question had been put to her, and she could say with pride that she had three snake gods, and one bush god.

The bassia's handsome wife, who had overheard the men speak of the white man's book which showed pictures of their ancestors, said, "The whites read out of books. The

824 796 Later, through the gathering darkness, the people of the neighboring villages went home, paddling their boats which were loaded down with the fish that had been netted. And from this time on, everyone knew that this neku vine was [423] the property of him who had found it, and of his family, [428] down through his mother's line, forever.

"Ai, mati, you would have seen something, if you had got here for the neku dance!"

6

361 Like any other Bush Negro village, S'ei was a series of sandy clearings about which were grouped huts of woven palm fronds and palm thatch. All about was the big bush. [487] The trails which led from the village were each guarded [489] by a magically treated palm azang, and shrines to the ancestral spirits who saw to it that evil was kept away. Where the several paths led, a stranger was not encouraged to discover. Down one, women were to be seen disappearing [482] in the morning with trays on their heads, their infants astride their backs, held inside the folds of a cloth which was fastened high above their breasts, and caught up again below them. In many upper river villages, this path led to the fields, some distance away. Others were the way to [478] shrines, erected to those spirits which must be worshiped outside the village. Another path might lead to a brook, which the villagers held sacred. There were trails, too, which connected neighboring villages, and led perhaps farther yet, but for the stranger, the highway was the river, [486] and no matter how short the distance between one settlement and another, he was not invited to make his way through the bush.

"You do not want to go through the bush, white man. In the bush are evil spirits," we heard many times.

A village clearing was divided into quarters. Each quarter was inhabited by one of the *mbe*, or extended families, and 361 the quarter bore its name. It was composed of several house- 592 holds—five or six or more, depending upon the size of the

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Shrine of the Apuku gods.

Kromanti Mama.

Village guardians.

[Facing P. 158]

village. A household was not confined to one building only, but few who were not men of rank and means had more than three. One was for the woman and her children, another for storing the crops, and the third was the man's treasure house, where women might not come. It was like the matter of wives. Only men of position could afford more than one. But if a man had two wives and both lived in his village, then perhaps five huts would bear a design identified with him on the carved side posts which outlined the low doorway. This design would recur in the various carvings he had made for his women—it was his crest. And though a man from another village, who was not related to him, might like it, and liking it copy it, this practice would be socially frowned upon.

A village quarter, however, did not contain only dwelling places, and storehouses, and men's treasure houses. Certain families also had in their part of the village an enclosed shrine for the family gods. If in a given family a powerful Vodu, or snake god, had come to an ancestress and had in a dream, or in a seizure, or through a revelation made to an obia man, chosen her as his *'asi*—his priestess or medium—then with this disclosure came the instructions for the place of locating a house of worship to that Vodu, and the type of house it was to be. Such a shrine, once erected, would be kept in the quarter, and worshiped by the members of that family. Sometimes in front of a dwelling hut, a low enclosure, the size of a small kennel, would stand a little to the side of the door. This was a house to Toné, the river spirit. In one such house lived a woman who had a great Toné god. She had the gift of prophecy. When the men gathered for a council meeting in the village of the Granman, then she, too, would sometimes be bidden to come and sit with the men, though, being a woman, she could never speak at council meetings.

"Touch her skin," the other women said, pointing out this albino woman, "and you will have your desires fulfilled."

In each quarter, too, there was an open house where the women did their cooking, and perhaps a platform or two,

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where, in the proper season, maripa nuts and rice were dried.

One quarter differed very little from another, except that in one there might grow the plant which yielded the red and black beans used for the sacred rattles, and for playing the game of adji, which entertained the spirit of the dead while the body lay in state. Instead of a house to the family gods, there might be found a mound of earth in front of one doorway, with an axe-head lying upon it as a shrine for a man's spirit, or a low forked stick sunk into the ground, holding a pot with water and weeds in it for the curing powers of its obia.

A village of any size had also a quarter in which stood the communal buildings. The council house which might also serve on occasion as the house for the dead was there. The menstrual house for the women, a small building which was recognized by a broken calabash, or a porcelain pot brought from the white man's city, lying outside the entrance, stood a little to the side. The Kromanti house, and perhaps an enclosed shelter for the bush gods who shared the shrine with the snake deities, was also located somewhere near the open communal shrine. A village wherein lived the clan head contained in addition a house for the ancestral spirits of the clan. This was called a *Fa'aka-pau wosu*, literally a flagpole house, a euphemism for the shrine to the ancestors for whom white cotton was put up on sticks. In this Fa'aka-pau wosu prayers were offered up for all the important ventures of the clan, and in time of stress a priest would come there with sacrifices, to bid one of the ancestors to enter his body and give him sight. When seizure came on, such a priest prophesied. Sometimes the ancestors were consulted in the same manner as that in which the will of the dead was ascertained. Men would take up a sacred plank and carry it in a state of possession; the elders would put questions to the ancestor who had been called. The answers were construed as favorable or unfavorable according to the way the plank tipped.

A NIGHT AT S'EI

As we made a tour of the village, we discussed all this 778 ●
with the chief and his bassia, and with the other men who 776
accompanied us. When we reached the open place sacred to the great gods, we stopped. The shrine was a fenced-in space, perhaps eight or nine feet long and almost as wide. Inside was a slender pole, with a head carved on its top, and a cotton tunic about its middle, and this was the wife of the Great God, the chief said. The ladder with the platform on it, on which stood a bottle, was the shrine of the great Sky God. At the base of the image with the tunic were several bottles, some white clay, and a few empty glasses, and everywhere were sticks with cloth on them, many with the cloth in tatters. Where the cotton had altogether rotted away, the stick alone remained.

"Let us go in," said the chief to the men.

With the chief came a young man whose hair was braided, 791
and who wore several obias on neck and arms. He was [302]
training to become an obia man. The bassia signaled us to follow, but the others remained outside.

The young man took up a bottle and poured some of its 782
contents into an earthen jar, and from the jar he poured out a libation to the Earth Mother. The captain prayed, explaining that we were white people on our way to the Granman, that he was leaving in the morning to notify the Granman of our approach. Would the gods take him and us in safety, and would they see to it that all we saw should be seen with the eyes of friendship? Then he prayed for a child in the village who was ill, and for his people, and for the clan of the Granman, the Matchau lo, and for his own family. After each prayer he paused, and those outside the paling clapped their hands and sang out, "Great thanks."

Before the chief's prayer was finished, an old man came [411]
by with a bush knife in his belt, and his gun. He was just then returning from the hunt, and he stopped to thank the great gods for the kill he had made. He spoke in a whisper, but his intonation was as conversational as the chief's had been.

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We would proceed a short distance, and we would ask again, "Aren't those drums speaking?" 203

"Women are pounding rice."

But when we had asked the third time, he remained silent for a while, straining for the sound as though he could barely distinguish it. "Ya-hai, it's the apinti talking."

Some distance from Godo, which is situated just below the Tapa Wata falls, a small boat came up to us, paddled by one man. Bibifo whispered to us that this was Sungi, the head of the Kasito clan, and we knew that we were somewhere in the vicinity of the sacred village of Dahomey. He had come to pilot our boats into the Pikien Rio, he explained, after the greetings were over. 502

"Farther ahead others will come to help your boats up the rapids. I am here to show you the best course through this rough water. The G'aman has sent me to you. He awaits you."

"Bayo," we said, when Chief Sungi had left us to head up our little flotilla, "show us the landing place of Dahomey when we pass it."

We knew that we could not set foot in Dahomey, for it is the seat of the Bush Negro's most potent magic. Whether there is that in the village which the white man may not see, or whether, as we had been told, the natives do not wish to tempt the fates by bringing there those who would be doomed by the magic which kills the white man if he but treads on its earth, no one could say. But we had been warned that it would be of no avail to ask to be taken to Dahomey. 778

"Did you hear us, Bayo?"

"Ai!"

When we spoke to him again about the Dahomey landing place, however, he showed great astonishment. He had pointed it out to us, he said. How was it that we now asked about it again?

"It must be that it was with you like it was with the other white man who wanted to see Dahomey," he said.

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798 The other white man was the Catholic missionary who
797 for years had been living in the Gran Rio. He was a friend of the Saramacca people, and they liked him. Now this white man wanted to see Dahomey. He said that he, too, had a strong God who protected him. He asked so many times that they at last promised to take him there. But when he got to Pempeh he fell asleep, and he slept till . . . till they reached the Granman's country. So his life was saved. The gods, knowing that he was a friend of the Saramacca people, did not want to kill him. They put him to sleep until Dahomey was well out of reach.

"And this is what happened to you, Bak'a. The gods did not want to hurt you, so you did not see."

2

133 Past these rapids and another stretch of rough water, and then before us lay the highest falls of the Saramacca. To the right, over a ledge of rock spreading in an unbroken sweep across its entire width poured the Gran Rio, the
[361] river up which lay the villages of the Loango clan, and beyond, the untrodden jungle which barricaded the way to the country of the Indians, and the basin of the Amazon. To the left was the final bit of fast water that remained between us and the village where the Granman awaited us. We were at last in the Pikien Rio.

Here the stream narrowed, and we could see on both banks the people who were waiting to see us pass. The
[574] gay colors of the women's cloths were brilliant against the background of green, and their hallooing reached our ears above the rush of the water. A canoe with several young men came alongside.

"We are here to help you with your boats. We have been sent by the Granman. Fire three shots to let him know you are in the Pikien Rio."

576 We fired, and instantly there was an answering salute of
[201] three guns. With the reinforcement of paddlers, it did not take long to reach the island which separated us from the landing place of Asindopo Lantiwe. Here all strangers

344 to be admired for their artistry, but there also for ceremo-
352 nial purposes which were never divulged. When one of these benches was later taken down to show the magic of paper which, placed on the top of a carving and rubbed with black crayon, reproduced the design beneath, the Granman looked startled, and then ordered that it be replaced. Nor were other rubbings allowed.

531 On both sides of these massed benches were many objects
352 which could barely be distinguished in the half darkness of the house. There were guns and canisters, there were a few native brooms, and several wrapped parcels. [534] There was also an apinti drum on which the gods were [1118] addressed. Not even at Ma'lobbi, where the chief, a famous carver, showed us many remarkable products of his art, did we see designs worked with the fine, sure lines or the beauty of individual motifs such as were traced on this apinti. The carving was in relief and covered the entire surface of the drum, which stood about three feet high, curving outwards from the top, and resting on a narrow circular base which raised its body about six inches from the ground. It was covered with a deerskin that use and exposure to the atmosphere had stained unevenly to shades of amber.

344 Facing these carvings was the door which, itself of
1116 wood, swung on wooden hinges of native fashioning. In
532 relief appeared the Earth Mother, and surrounding her were the symbols of fertility. No man, not even the Granman himself, dared speak her name in this council house. At [695] trials, when oaths were taken, she might be appealed to, but to call her idly would bring down her wrath on the Granman's clan, and, perhaps not stopping there, since the council house was of all the clans, she would revenge herself upon all the people of the Saramacca River. The carving was more beautiful than on the apinti which stood against the opposite wall. The greatest artist on the river had made it.

"That man had the gods, ya-hai," the men said, when we talked of the Granman's carvings.

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to him when the drums called that god, could not be held accountable for what he did while his god had him in his control.

No stranger, no man who came to live in his wife's village, even though he had spent a good part of his life there, took it upon himself to offer advice to his wife's family. Again and again we would hear from men and women on the river, "In our village we do it this way," or, "We only carry the corpse on the head twice. Our spirits don't like to be troubled more often," or, "Mawu as a name for the Great God is used in our village, but not everywhere on the river."

There was the experience with several sacred images of village gods we had bought from an upper-river village. Our paddlers refused to carry them for us from the village to the boats, and it was with marked uneasiness that they permitted us to put them into the boats.

"We do not know what these gods can do. We do not know what is hateful to them. They are the gods of another people. We won't carry them."

But with the *gomi*—the child of the village of his mother's family, it was quite otherwise. He was a member of the village, he had a voice in its governing, he knew its gods. If he belonged to the family of the chief of the clan, if, let us say, his older brother were the chief, or if he was one of several nephews of a chief who had no surviving brothers, then at the death of the chief there would be a krutu, and the men of the village would decide which one of the several men who were eligible for the office was the most capable. Though rank was hereditary there was always selection among several heirs, and again the final word rested with the people of the clan. The offices of lesser chiefs—village chiefs who were subject to the clan chief, or bassias who served the chiefs—were passed on in the same manner.

While law making was in the hands of the chiefs, or captains, and the krutu over which they presided, law enforcement was the task of the bassias. It was they who saw to it that the orders of the chiefs were carried out. When

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623 614 their nephews took up the dancing for the gods, their interests were directed more and more toward the clan rule.

"I do not dance any more," Sedefo had told us, "My [887] sons dance Kromanti now. I must do now what is expected of a man of my years. I must see that our people act wisely in all things which touch this world, and the world of our ancestors."

A clan krutu was a self-sufficient unit made up of members whose maturity fitted them for looking after the worldly and supernatural welfare of their people, for in the larger organization of the tribe it was the clans who stood one with another in perfect equality to complete the whole—the Saramacca people.

614 681 622 The chieftain of the principal village of the clan was the clan head. In him was vested the right to speak for the large grouping, and in the krutu which he conducted the etiquette approached that of the tribal krutu in its intricacy. The village where the clan head lived was inhabited predominantly by his people. In other villages on the river his people might be one of several clan groups. Several villages were inhabited by three or even four clan groups, each of which had its own captain. But such villages were not the seats of clan heads. Where a clan chief ruled would be not only the clan krutu house, but the shrines raised to the important dead of the clan, the clan ancestors whose spiritual powers to help and advise the living were as great as the feats they had accomplished when alive. Here, too, at the village where the clan head lived would be the shrines [878] to the gods who had the clan under their special protection. Above all, here under the direction of the chief were not only those who guided the worldly destinies of the clan, but those who knew how to control the supernatural forces. Here were the obias owned by the clan, those spiritual and unique healing powers whose magic would respond only to the will of clan members who had undergone the training which taught them to operate those forces their ancestors had left for them.

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"I have my obia from Lamé," Bayo had said. "People like me because of this obia." 778 756

When we came to Lamé we found that the people who inhabited it controlled more than the love obia. They had a powerful fighting obia, too. There was not only *bumba*, that gave power in love, but also *poitchi*, the obia that helped a man in a fight. But one who wanted to become a great hunter did not go to Lamé. Such a person sought out an obia man of the Dombi clan, who, working with the power of *mafungi*, helped him to see his game in the dark bush, though the animal was of the color of the bush itself, and, once having tracked it, helped him make his aim deadly. A man suffering from a bad gunshot wound would try to get an obia man from the Loango people to come and call on the powers of the Loango clan-obia to heal the [755] dying man. For broken bones there was magic in the sacred village of Dahomey where centered the Kasito clan, and at Dahomey was also the best magic on the river for warriors. *'Bofyuando* and *sokoma'usu* were the two great warrior obias, and so powerful were they that if one but whispered their names, without taking the stems of two weeds, putting one crosswise on top of the other, and over them passing a coin to recompense for speaking the sacred names, the man who spoke would die. These obias belonged to the Kasito people, so strong in magic.

Of these clans there might be twelve or thirteen or fourteen. Among the Saramacca people, we learned, the clan 614 partakes of the mysterious, the awesome. Our Bush Negro friends did not discuss their clans readily, and none of them would give us a list of their names. A few might be mentioned by one man, a few by another.

"To speak of the *lo* is not a thing for strangers," we were told. "My clan I can name, and another man can tell you the name of his clan. My father's clan I can name, too, but not others."

On one occasion we had made clear to a young man who had been away for some time in French Guiana, and who considered himself a man of the world, why we sought the

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342 643 uninhabited. Its posts and walls and thatch were in excellent condition, and there was not even the weather-beaten appearance about it of a house which had been closed for some time. Nor had it the kandu, the spiritual lock of unoccupied houses.

●778 346 To one side of this house was the open shrine to the great gods, the pole to the Sky God, the smaller one with a checked tunic across the middle of it for the Earth Mother. But there was also a figure of wood with a broad white cloth hung from it like a flag, and this, the villagers said, was the image of the Granman's father. When the dead man's spirit came to the village, it was this image he animated. In times of need and on days fixed by ritual, it was to this image that prayers and food were brought.

Some distance from this shrine, standing close to the uncleared bush, was a house that had been deserted. Half of it the great bush had already reclaimed. The thatch of the roof and one entire side wall had altogether disappeared, and in place of these were garlands of leafy vines, so closely interwoven and so brilliantly green in the sun as to give to the asymmetrical mass of weathered grayish palm, and the strangling green, a strange beauty. Not quite two years ago it had been abandoned, and soon it would be completely lost to the bush.

But the villagers looked the other way when we photographed it.

A little to one side of the house with the doorposts which showed the Granman's crests was a smaller hut, before [789] whose door stretched a magic azang of palm fronds that marked it as a shrine.

[796] "This house is for the Apuku gods," said an old woman who heard our inquiry. "It belongs to me. It was built when my god told me to make it."

And without hesitation she led the way under the palm fronds through the opening.

This was the first time we had been permitted to enter a closed shrine. We had had descriptions of shrines from men with whom we had talked of the gods. There were some,

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they told us, though never willing to name the villages 778 346
where they stood, whose walls were most elaborately
ornamented with symbols marked in red and black and [531]
white, the three sacred colors which appeared on the stools
and which the men used for painting their faces and bodies
for the dances. On the upper river we had been told that
these shrines were in the villages below, and on the lower
river it was always intimated that it was up above where
the great shrines stood. We had been told of stools which
were whitened with sacred pemba, and blackened with soot
in the *Fa'aka Pau* houses—the houses of the ancestral
spirits—and of the covered whitened vessels which were in [769]
the Vodu and Apuku houses, the shrines for the bush and
snake deities, placed there for the spirits when they chose
to animate them.

So we found it in this house dedicated to the spirits of the bush.

The hut was narrow and long, with walls of woven palm, and a floor made of hard smooth clay into which bare feet had nevertheless worn grooves. To one side of the door stood a drum of the type called *tumao*—the long drum. [534]
It was cylindrical, and narrowed but slightly toward the bottom. White clay had once covered it, but now there were irregular lines of white marking the cracks in the wood.

On the other side of the door, against the same wall, lay
several large balls of clay. These the old woman was keeping 887
for the obia pots she would make from time to time. Among 778
the Negroes of the town as well as in the bush, these black
pots, made by women of the bush, were held to have great 323
magical potency.

"I never make too many pots at once," the old woman said. "I make them for myself as I need them and for the young people of the family." A woman who had not passed her period of childbearing could not make them. "Obia pots are things for old, old women. I cannot tell you about making them."

Leaving these lumps of clay, the woman led us farther 778
into the enclosure, until we stood in front of a raised altar 346

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of earth which filled the rest of the hut. In the left-hand corner was a covered whitened vessel for the god called Kentina Dagowe. This Kentina Dagowe was a deity who was the offspring of the Dagowe snake, and the Apuku god of the bush whose name was Kentina. In him, as in so many other of the spirits, we found exemplified the Bush Negro's concept of the world which held that the gods mated as did humans, that all which stirred and had life came into being by such matings.

Other spirits also came to this house, the woman went on. Mundewaya, another of the bush gods, was worshiped at the white-covered pot in the opposite corner, while beside it lay the vessel to which the spirit of a third might come. This one was the most powerful of all bush gods, and his name was Danhowao. There were other objects on the platform. Two stools, daubed with sacred clay, had their place there, and in the center was an image of wood, a rounded pot set on a base that tapered from the ground toward it, and this was to the Nanai, the ancestors.

The old woman said, "For the Apuku gods, we only play the tumao drum. The Apuku are mostly women's gods, but some men have them, and the men who have them play the drums. When the god comes to you, then if you are not too old you dance. But we old women do not dance. When the god comes to me, then I begin to shake. I go into this house on the day we call him, and they play the drum. Then I talk to the god. If I have something to beg of him for myself, or for someone else, then I put the pot which belongs to him on my head, and the drum calls him. When my body begins to shake, then it is the god. He has come, and when I speak it is not I but the god speaking."

From the clearing the talk of those who had remained outside came through the thin woven walls of the shrine. From one to another we could hear the news spread that in the village of the Granman across the river the gods had spoken for the whites.

In the hut, we listened to the old woman inside whose shrine we stood.

THE GODS SPEAK

"The openings in the wall there," she explained, when 778 we asked her about the two squares cut into the wall 346 behind the altar, "are for all things that fly. In this place they must come and go as they like. Bats come here, and [825] insects of all kinds, and when they want to go back to the bush, they must be able to go as they like. That is the wish of the gods. So they told us long ago."

6

We were led from house to house. The gods had spoken. 574 We were friends, and as friends who came not to harm, we 609 were given the hospitality of friendship. There were other 123 shrines, but we did not have to ask about them. They were pointed out to us with the other sights of the village.

The closed low hut near the Apuku shrine we had entered 778 was to the river god Toné. It was a very small enclosure, 776 and before it was a plant which covered the low entrance. 346 It belonged, we were told, to an albino woman who was possessed by Toné. But she was not in the village now. Farther down the path was a larger house, another shrine. This had a piece of iron over the door and, when we asked about it, the girls who were following us ran, and the men merely said that it was the place of the Kromanti obia and passed on.

As we continued on our way, each woman was anxious 352 not to have us slight the house her man had built her or 353 fail to admire the carvings that were inserted into the weave of the palm walls. The huts were swept clean—the clean- liness of the entire village was even more striking than that [356] of others we had visited—and but for a few stools, which were brought out for the strangers while they spoke with the old people who lived in the quarter, they were entirely 353 bare. In every house, however, there was sure to be a shelf, 531 large or small, or several shelves, on which stood prized 415 food trays with carvings which covered both inner and outer surfaces. Combs and food stirrers were taken down and shown us, and the calabash dishes made by the women

353 themselves, and the blade-like pieces of gourd which they
531 used for spoons, and which bore the same symbols as the
415 dishes.

"Our men make fine things here in the true, true
462 Saramacca," Dida said when we entered her quarter, and
531 sat in her house. "Look at the carvings I have."

Her body was still white with pemba. Her manner was still a little vague.

"Did you dance this morning?"

"Ai."

"We heard the agida drum play when we were in the
776 council house of the Granman."

787 "Ai, Kesekia is a big god. When he comes, his voice is strong."

But she showed no willingness to talk, and we could tell by the repeated twitching of her body that she had still to dance to her god. Leaving her we continued up the path toward houses we had not yet visited. The white man, with a man who was guiding him and the bassia from Asindopo Lantiwe, walked ahead, while the children crowded about the white woman who was giving them safety pins which they at once put in their hair.

"There is the Vodu house," said the man who acted as
778 guide, and he led the way through the low doorway into
346 the hut.

Inside, though smaller than the shrine to the gods of the bush, it differed from it but little. It had the same clay floor, the same raised altar on which stood stools washed in white clay, and several covered, whitened vessels, an image, and the round balls of clay.

"May I go closer and look at the image there?"

"Yes, go."

[350] The stools resembled those in ordinary use, but whatever design they may have had was obscured by the white clay which covered them. The vessels were not unlike those in
[415] the other shrine we had visited or those which rested on the heads of village gods which stood under low, roofed-over shelters on the main village paths. Turning, the white man

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stepped from the raised platform ready to leave, when he noticed a drum which stood in a corner near the door of the hut, and reached almost to the thatch.

We had seen many agida drums during our stay in the Saramacca country. Some of them had been half as tall as a man—a round hollowed trunk of a tree, with wooden pegs in the side on which the drumhead was fastened. The agida had no elaborate tuning device such as the other drums carried, and on it was neither the beautiful carving with which the apinti was decorated, nor the white pembadoti of the tumao. The agida was the deep bass voice of every trio of drums which played for the sacred dances, and whatever other rhythms were struck on it, its steady note set the beat about which the more incidental rhythms played. We had been told what seemed fabulous tales of the size of some of these agida drums, but not until we saw the drum which stood in the corner of this shrine to the snake gods did we realize how large they might be.

The white man glanced about him. The rest of the party had not yet caught up. In the dimness of the shrine there were only the three men. He stepped up to the enormous drum.

"May I tap it?" he asked.

Reaching up, his arm outstretched above his head, he stood on tip-toe before his fingers found the taut head and gently drummed a rhythm there.

"It is large. It must have a deep voice."

"It is a big drum. Would you like to hear it? The man who plays it is near by."

Now there were four in the hut. The drummer spoke.

"Do you want to hear the drum, white man? I will play it if you are not afraid. But if I play, I will call the god, and when I call him he will come. Shall I play the drum?"

The white man asked that the god be called.

The bassia beckoned to the white woman to come, and signed to the others to remain outside. Framed in the low doorway, shutting out the glare of the sun-swept clearing, were the crouching bodies of women and children who

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778 peered into the inner darkness, the whites of their eyes
533 moving with the movements of the strangers.

776 Gently the drummer laid the great cylinder of wood flat on the ground, and from the thatch took down a hard-wood stick, dark and smooth with use. The drum filled more than half of the wall near which it lay. Stooping, the drummer began to call the Vodu gods. It was the rhythm we had heard from across the river early in the morning. The drumming had sounded low and distant then, but in this small enclosure the volume of sound was deafening. It seemed to be pushing against the yielding woven walls, pushing outwards and up.

The rhythm was disturbingly irregular. There was, in the sense of the steady rhythms of the dances, no rhythm at all, and this uncertainty of beat added to the volume of sound racked the listeners. When we thought we heard a repetition of an interval, a sudden change in tempo brought us up with a start. On and on the man struck the drumhead, sounding the heavy beats with the stick, while with his free hand he kept up a running fire of obbligato to the message for the god.

The heads in the doorway began to move nervously this way and that as the message to the god continued, when suddenly they disappeared behind someone who was coming at a run. A moment later Dida was in the hut.

787 She was again possessed. Her body shook with the intensity with which she experienced her god, and her eyes glowed with a steady fire. Back and forth she paced, and when the drum had sounded, she addressed herself to it, listening for its voice and answering, listening again and answering in tones which grew more and more harsh. Then she turned to us, and began to chant

[539]

"*I am the god Kesekia*
From back of the prison,
From the French shore,
I come.
I am the god Kesekia."

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Ceremonial benches incised with symbols of fertility and magic.

[Facing p. 272]

REBEL DESTINY

531 The greater part of these carvings men made for women,
431 and it was a rare woman who did not take pride in the excellence of the carvings given her, though often it must have been the pride in something which had traditional value, for it would be false to assume that among any people are all men equally endowed with creativeness and all women with sensitive appreciation of what is created.

462 As among so many peoples, two or three types of art
530 were to be found. There was the same sex division in the
322 art of these people as existed in all other aspects of life, and the men were the wood carvers. The sharpest division in the art of the men was that between the secular and the religious. The religious art was crude. A block of wood, roughly shaped, with several cuts to indicate a face, perhaps a break in the line to represent the neck, and a few more strokes in the wood to differentiate the upper part of the woman's body, and there stood an ancestral image, or a village god. Often white clay was added to this, and sometimes alternate stripes of white and red, or white, red, and black, but when seen on a village path underneath a low open shelter, what color there once was had become
[1178] weathered to a dull gray. The sacred art also included the
[1189] charms called obias, worn on the neck, and about the upper
[301] arm, or wrist, or below the knee, or at the ankle. Many of these made pleasing ornaments. The white fiber dipped in red clay became a deep golden brown as the sun paled the crimson, and there would be the added color of a finger's length of blue and orange parrot feather, fastened inside the woven fiber square, and extending below the fringe of the weave. Into this woven square cowries might be sewn, two facing each other, or three, or four.

532 There was also the art of modeling, but this was so secret and so specialized that we were assured that not even all Bush Negroes knew of its existence, and modeled objects appeared only in the most important of the shrines.

With the religious art might also perhaps be grouped the red and white striped crooked sticks of the Kromanti

SARAMACCA OBIA

and it was they who in dream or vision, or in a state of possession, instructed living men in the ways of yet greater and greater obia. But there were those who held that obia ranked after the greatest of the deities, that obia surpassed the power of the ancestors, for obia knew how to make "*yorka tapu*"—preventives against troublesome ghosts, and obia men could summon the dead to enter the body of a living man to make revelations.

Whatever the position of obia in the supernatural world, its place on earth was to serve man, for of all living beings, man alone knew obia.

2

What were the manifestations of obia in the life of the Bush Negro as we found them?

A black pot with its magic powers was an obia pot, the charm worn about the neck was called an obia, the medicines we gave the natives for their eyes or their cuts were called white man's obia, and their own mixture of weeds steeped in water, which stood in the burning sun gathering a green scum until it should be ready for use, was also obia. Young Yamati who had danced susa for us did not have a cord about his neck, but, he had assured us, he had obia for long life as did his partner Sabape, though his own could not be seen, since it consisted of several obia cuts made shortly after birth, which served instead of the cord. The strings about the waists of children were obias. The slight cuts to be noticed on men's arms, on thighs, below the knee, below the shoulder blades were obia cuts, too.

Nor was that all.

Bayo had said to us, "When obia comes a man does bad things. He destroys. When mine comes, it is ugly sometimes."

It was obia, too—Apanto's obia—which had stopped our phonograph, and obia again, invoked this time by Bayo, which had strengthened the spirit of the machine.

We talked about obia to an elder, a village head, from one of the down-river settlements, which was not, however,

776 important enough to be the residence of a clan chief. His
789 clan's magic was strong, and, being well past middle age, he could afford to speak of these matters with the whites, for like all Bush Negroes he was proud of the black man's obia.

"Ya-hai, white man, obia may well puzzle you. It is no small matter. No man knows all there is to know about obia. The greatest of obia men is never done learning. You
[711] say you spent more than twenty years learning your kind of work. Twenty years is nothing. All his life an obia man spends learning. The ancestors let him see a little at a time, and a little more. 'One step at a time,' as the G'ama' says. So it is, white man."

When did the learning begin, we asked him?

869 "In the bush here, children see what we do, and they
776 learn much by watching. They learn to recognize the kind
778 of obias a man wears, they learn to know the names of obias, and about the *tchina*—taboos—that go with the wearing of obias. That is the beginning." All children knew that, but only boys could aspire to learn the secrets of obia.

A boy's definite training in these things began with adolescence. The ceremony was not formal, for it concerned only the boy and his immediate relatives. When the time came to teach the novice about the gods, his father and
[604] his mother's brothers met with him, and they held a krutu. Other men also came, men of the village and elders of their great family. The outsiders sat by and said nothing, while
881 the instruction was carried on by the father and the boy's maternal uncles.

869 "First the father gives him his gods, and he tells his son
776 the name of each god and how he must serve him."

There were songs to be learned and dances and invocations; there were the offerings which had to be made, and the manner of prayer memorized. He was told when he might call on the god and what names the god bore, for each god had several names, just as had each human being. There were many names to learn for the gods—their day names, their "strong" names.

756 and how to cure fever, and fio-fio. He is shown how to make
791 obia medicine for lesions of the skin, and for colds, and for
868 diseases of children. He is taught the protective obias for
881 the woman who conceives, and those which help conception, the obias which keep people safe on the river, and those which guard them in the bush against enemy spirits.

It may be, too, that during this first period of training, the initiate is shown how to trap and treat the snakes from which the snake "cuttee" is made. This cure for snake bite is famous in Suriname among Bush Negroes and whites alike, but the secret of preparing the cuttee is known to the Bush Negroes alone.

While the young man is in training, he may not go with
[784] a woman, and there are many more prohibitions which he must observe.

"Not all men can become obia men."

"Does a man need obia in order to have Kromanti?" we asked.

"To have Obia Kromanti, yes. . . . Now do not ask about Kromanti, white man," said Bayo's uncle with a smile. "Only a Kromanti man knows about Kromanti. Do not ask, because I cannot tell you."

5

789 Men and women constantly drifted to our base camp with
439 carvings for our collection. Many brought us obias. Some
778 of these obias they took from their persons and sold to us, but others were newly made for us, for some of those they themselves wore, they would not part with, whatever the inducement.

"Why do you want my obia, white man?" a Bush Negro asked one day. "Do you want an obia to carry you well to your country? I will make one for you, but do not ask for mine. Mine has kept me in good health. I cannot give away an obia which has served me well. The spirits would be angered."

He returned after a day with one which resembled his own, and as he gave it, he placed it on the upturned palms

of the white man and blew on it, drawing both his hands lightly over the hands which held the obia. When he had done this, he whispered its tchina.

"Do not let the obia come near a menstruating woman, and do not eat the meat of the crab."

Types of obias varied. Some were of fiber twisted into a cord and woven into bands to fit an arm or a leg, some were worn around the neck, and ended with a few cowries and a bell or a black sack with cowries sewn on them or some bristles and a brilliant bit of a parrot's feather. There were also the plain bands of iron, the Kromanti obias worn by men.

One of the most interesting obias was the coffin obia. It was not to be worn casually, as were all the others we had heretofore acquired. When our cook saw this one he paled.

"Mi Gado," he cried, and then turned to the English at his command to give us a warning which would not be understood by those who stood near. "What you got there? Put that away! You wan' fo' die?" Nor would he come near it until it was well out of sight.

It was, we saw, best hidden, if we wanted to continue our course up the river.

The man who had sold it had himself impressed us with its potency. "This obia is strong. . . . Look, it is made of cedar, the same wood from which we make the big coffins, and it is wrapped in the cloth we use to cover the coffin in which the dead man lies. Now that you have the power which is in the obia, I can tell you that the black on it is the soot from the fire, the white is pemba, and the inside ring is woven from the maripa palm. It will carry you well on the river. Nothing can harm you when you already carry your coffin with you."

The logic of his last remark was not so convincing to the whites as it was to the obia man, but it seemed unwise to question him about it.

"To keep it strong, you must spray it with rum twice a month. When the moon is full you must do it, and again

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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789 before the new moon comes, and when you do this, you
● 798 must say,
439

"*Obia-o,*
Your spirit must stay,
[539] *Your power must not leave this.*
Do not go elsewhere,
Do not become defiled."

789 There was the obia on which Bayo had lavished all the
798 magic he could command so that his friends might be safe in the bush. From the sacred grass known as *s'a*—the same grass from which the woven ceremonial dancing skirts are made here on the river—he made several long lengths of twine. These he wove into a square which later became the pendant of this neck obia. On this, as a base, he sewed two cowries facing each other, and in the middle of the fringed border of this pendant he fastened a bit of a macaw's feather, blue and orange in color.

The twisted cord about the neck had several knots in it where the cord met the pendant. Tying is the symbol of attaching, of binding, so that if an invocation was uttered in the making of these knots, and the twine was then drawn taut, the power was certain to be lodged inside the knots. Then, too, knots form links, and links, whether they be in a metal chain or in fiber or wood, symbolize union, and any object or ornament with links is, therefore, much valued in bush and in town. A linked chain is a favorite
[715] gift to please the akra, the soul, among the coastal Negroes. A woman who wishes to attach her man to her will rise at
[832] night noiselessly and will knot a hair from the man's head three times, speaking her invocation. In the bush few obias are found which do not have several knots in them.

In his exuberance Bayo placed so many prohibitions on this finely woven obia, that we asked him if he could not nullify some of them.

186 "For very strong obias, we have many tchina. It is best
789 so, because no one who wants to harm you will guess all of them and so succeed in robbing the obia of its power.

But if the tchina are too difficult to observe, then the man who made the obia can take the tchina away." 784 789

Suiting his action to the word, Bayo took some water from the river into his mouth and, spraying it over the obia, said, "The tchina I gave you, I take away. The breaking of these tchina must no longer defile you or take away your power."

There was nothing more hateful to the gods and the spirit of obia than an unclean woman, yet if an obia man wished, he could instruct the power in the obia not to take offense at unintentional contacts with menstruating women, or at cloths belonging to such women, or at food prepared by such women. But to accomplish this, an obia man had to be very powerful and, even so, he could not feel sure that the obia spirit would countenance such violations indefinitely. 784 841 791 789

All of these personal obias had definite attributes. One was made to guard an individual on the water, another in the bush. There were obias for successful hunting and fishing, for being safe against the evil spirits at the crossroads, for slander, and for envy. One obia saw to it that the soul remained strong, another that no illness sent by an enemy might lodge itself in the body of the wearer; there were love obias, and fighting obias, and obias which kept ghosts away. 789 798

Yet whatever such obias were made of, the object in itself had no validity. A simple fiber with a jaguar's tooth attached to it might well have greater powers for safety in the bush than an elaborately wrought obia, whose maker had not a strong obia spirit to give it spiritual power. Without this supernatural potency, it would be like a village god that had been allowed to rot because of itself it was merely a block of wood, and the deity for whom it had been made had not come to animate it.

6

Long ago, the Anansi stories tell us, there was a bird that knew obia. The cries of this bird shook all the kingdoms 773

of the earth. In one kingdom, a ruler sent the heralds to proclaim throughout the land that he who killed the bird would get half his kingdom, and his daughter in marriage. Anansi, the spider, killed a hawk and brought it to the ruler. But Anansi lied when he said this was the bird that shook the earth with its cries. At the very time he was trying to persuade all the people that this was the bird, the cries of the ominous bird were heard. So they put Anansi in jail. Now one day there was born to a woman a child who at birth wore a cloth of pieced designs, and a hunting sack. This boy said to his mother, he said, "Give me a little water, mother, and I will go out into the world to learn wisdom. God has sent me to kill the bird which troubles mankind."

When the boy grew to manhood he succeeded in trapping this bird that knew how to cook obia without fire. He killed the bird and took the obia pot with him, and that is how he came by the secrets of obia. He passed on his knowledge to the men of his family, and this has been going on till today, so that obia is being spread throughout the world by the descendants of this man who killed the bird that knew obia.

But obia was not one thing only.

"Obia," Bayo's uncle had said, "is first of all the spirit. It is everywhere. But there are many kinds of obia. There is black man's obia, and there is white man's obia. Here in the bush black man's obia is the strongest.

"A man who has the obia spirit makes obia to wear, and obia to drink, and obia to rub the body with, and obia water for bathing. He can make obia drums and obia benches. The spirit tells you how to do things, and it tells you what to do. When we say a man has strong obia, we mean his spirit is strong."

The Bush Negro obia man, said Bayo to us one day, knew the things the white doctor knew—he knew how to heal—and he knew other things, too. He knew how to keep sickness away. The things an obia man gave for healing were

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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Chapter XVIII

"OBIA COMES!"

1

WHITE and gaunt and staring in the dim light, the Kromanti Mama rested on its whitened bench, and about it coiled a snake modeled from the same sacred clay.

It had come to us in stealth, and as we responded to the awe it inspired, we could not but wonder what had prompted the man who had brought it to reveal one of the most secret religious objects known to his people. He came late one night, his burden carefully wrapped so that no one might suspect what he carried. That night only, while in whispers he told us what it was and wherein lay its powers, was it out of those wrappings, for not alone during the remainder of our stay in the bush but while we were in the city, we were careful to respect the man's trust.

"When you take it to your white man's country, and some man sees it who has a Tiger spirit, he will shout the cry of the tiger. All who have Tigri are related. Wherever the Kromanti Mama goes, there the Tigri obia goes, too."

2

Obia, we were told, came into the world to heal and to warn and to protect mankind. Of all obia, Kromanti is the strongest. Why, then, is the Kromanti obia so feared?

The clue to an answer to this question lies in the behavior of the men to whom this obia comes when they are possessed with it. The man who is actuated by Kromanti obia is

us, with its attendant bench and modeled snake, we had only heard the term. 575 346

3

In the dim light of our oil lantern, we listened and wrote in our book, while our informant told us about the Kromanti Mama. 126

"You must take it down carefully," he said, "or it might harm you."

The figure on the top of the bench was named Agbo. This was the watchman, and to this figure came news of all impending evil. About the neck of the figure was a Kromanti fighting obia. A stout iron ring, with red and blue cloth tied about one-half of it, it rested near the base of the watchman. 789 778 532

The eyes of this watchman were its most arresting feature. They were represented by deep sockets, and the effect was heightened by the beak-like character of the nose. Two ears completed the head, and on the body breasts were modeled. It was the only piece of Bush Negro modeling we had ever seen. This most secret of art forms was evidently little practiced.

"The watchman sees all," said our informant, "the Kromanti Mama knows when there is something about that will harm. She tells the snake."

Coiled about its base, this snake was treated in the same realistic style. The head of the snake and its tail almost met at the side of the clay figure which it encircled.

"His name is Bimbawai," we were told.

The bench itself was not unlike the obia stools we had seen in the shrines of the gods. Its rectangular top, curving toward the center, was fastened to the two boards which formed the legs. Like other obia stools, it was difficult to tell whether, under the thick coating of white clay, the wood was carved or not. In one respect it differed from all others we had seen—the bench wore, fringe-like, a grass skirt of the kind worn by the *komfo*, the priests. This was suspended from the top of the bench, the cord going outside [359]

789 the space where the snake was modeled, but never touching
778 it.
532 The man who was explaining the bench to us pointed once more to the snake. "It is not always lifeless as you see it here," he said.

When the snake came to life, trouble was brewing. It turned red, the color of blood, and all who came into the Kromanti house and saw it were warned of danger.

"How does the snake know when to come to life?"

[774] "It is Agbo, the guard, who tells the snake. When she tells him there is trouble, he turns red, and then we know."

Immunity as well as knowledge was afforded by the magical powers of this stool and its snake and the Kromanti Mama.

"A man who has Kromanti sits down on the stool, and puts Agbo on his head, and when he has done that, nothing can harm him."

[789] Thus is safety attained. But this only comes if the image has been propitiated by the Kromanti men. Rum, not of the sweet kind, must be offered it and prayers transmitted to its spirit on the drum which Kromanti recognizes—the apinti. If this is done, the Kromanti Mama will not lose its power, and the snake will continue to turn the warning color when danger threatens, and the bench will give protection to the men who have the Kromanti obia.

4

796 Not long after we had entered the bush we saw our first Kromanti dance. The people of several neighboring villages came to our base camp to dance for us. They asked, "Will you be afraid if the dancing brings Kromanti?" We told them we should welcome whatever spirits came.

Late that afternoon canoes brought people to our encampment for the festivities. Some, with an eye to trade, [439] had brought carvings and obias, and, as we sat and talked with them about what should be given for the pieces they offered us, we could watch the dance outside our open hut.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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576 *bah?"* In other words, "Brother, (Sister, Father, Mother) howdy, how-do-you-do?"

751 There is a ceremony connected with the simple act of en-
776 tering a Bush Negro town. A stranger might bring in foul intentions or evil spirits. The village must be protected against this horrific possibility, so nearly every path leading to the town has a magic device, known as an *azang pau,* to keep the spirits out. It consists of a dry stick across the path overhead, to which palm fronds are lashed. They hang down, brushing over everyone who passes beneath. The visitor passes under the azang pau, and is cleared of evil spirits that might harm the inhabitants of the village.

The Djukas have invisible enemies. On either side of the
[778] path, near the palm barrier, is the wooden statue of a fetish to provide protection from these enemies. The fetish named Cromanti, on one side, protects the village from the evil spirit that dwells in the silk-cotton tree, the *con con dree.* Opposite him stands *Aflamu,* who secures the village against the attacks of a mighty tribe of unseen men, who are the sworn enemies of the Bush Negro and kill him with invisible arrows.

Walking up from the river we reach the barrier, and pause before it for the customary ritual. But Abaisa is a potent chief, the head of his *lo* or clan, the *Abaisa-lo.* So long as the bahkra accompanies him, no ceremony is necessary. We enter unchallenged into the clearing beyond.

648 The usual procedure is for the white man to hang back and
576 let his paddler precede him. Moi-Man gains admittance to re-

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mote villages in this way; carrying his paddle before him, as 648
a symbol of voyaging, he approaches the barrier or azang pau, 576
halts before it, and clears his throat loudly. The rest remain some thirty feet behind. Someone comes out of the huts and inquires what is wanted.

One of the objects of the expedition being the acquisition of specimens of Bush Negro art objects, this is usually explained at the very beginning to prevent any misunderstanding. The following dialogue is typical:

"Bahkra wanny timbeh (or *sanni*)"—"White man wants wood carvings."

Cannily, the black replies: *"Me no habbe fu selli"*—"I don't have any to sell."

Moi-Man, accepting this verdict, explains further: *"Bahkra wanny luku, wan pekein"*—"White man wants to look around, wants to see inside a bit."

"Ah bon," the Negro replies, meaning: "It's good." He returns to his hut.

The parley formally concluded, the paddler turns around 361
and motions us to come up the trail into the village. The towns usually consist of a clearing a few hundred feet across, beyond which is the overhanging green wall of trees. Scattered about the clearing in no particular order are numerous huts, with an occasional palm or breadfruit tree beside them. The rest of the concourse is bare clay. Sometimes there is a flower garden in the centre. Here and there are tiny *God* [778]
houses, where the fetishes stand.

The villages vary greatly in size. Some, like Gansee, near

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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301 his much-loved ornamentation. Leg-bands of cotton cloth are frequently worn by both sexes, and where wire can be secured it is fashioned into arm or leg coils and paraded proudly.
[751 Many necklaces and bracelets are used because they con-
778] stitute magic amulets against evil spirits. Our own bracelets and necklaces can probably be traced back to this same origin.
302 The hair is another means of personal decoration, and therefore it is always dressed with deliberation. Carefully made partings divide the black skull into geometrical designs.
834 Despite the scanty nature of their clothing, the Djukas are quite modest, and never expose themselves. If a bahkra does, they avert their heads. It is a curious reflection on civilized morality that the almost naked blacks possess a large amount of dignified restraint, while the uncomfortably clothed white man is shameless in his nudity.

322 Here and there inside the dark huts can be seen bits of ex-
531 traordinary wood carving. These are not crude utensils; every stirring-paddle or comb is a work of art worthy of a place in a museum, designed and executed in a way that is
437 far from "primitive." The only way to acquire these objects is to bargain for them in Dutch money or tobacco, or cheap knick-knacks. Among the more distant villages money is use-

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this is bush magic. Around his neck several amulets are hung, one to enable him to find the game, another to keep him from getting lost, and the third, a small pouch of dried leaves, to make him shoot well. With these he takes the game trail behind the village, by the cassava fields where the women are working.

The trail does not last long; he begins to stalk like a black shadow through the bush. Overhead, parrots are cackling noisily, green as the jungle leaves. They eye him suspiciously as he snakes his way noiselessly through the tangled bush. In the dim blue jungle light the game is hard to see. But the Djuka, accustomed to it, approaches the tree where the parrots are. Some fly away.

Down on his haunches, like a Russian dancer, the hunter advances in a squatting position until he is directly underneath. He holds his gun at arm's length, the stock resting not on the shoulder but placed in the palm of his left hand, which is extended in front of him. This is a remnant from the old flintlock days, when the pans would occasionally flash back and burn the side of the face, unless the gun were held practically at arm's length. There is the added advantage of permitting a quicker movement of the barrel over a wide arc, especially when the hunter is crouched in this squatting position. He fires and the body of a parrot comes tumbling down through the leaves.

Accompanying the Djuka hunter is his highly prized hunting dog—a mangy little terrier. It is stained all over with a red nut-juice to lend it prowess in the pursuit of some par-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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these animals. So the hunter is occasionally surprised to find 224
a big cat responding to his game call.

Far up the river, jaguars have been known to come near 224
a provision clearing and carry off an infant while the mother 136
was at work in the cassava field. The grown Djuka, however, is not afraid of these cats. The jaguar is a medium-sized feline, the third largest of the cat family, but it is essentially cowardly. If a lone Negro encounters one on a game trail, a duel commences that usually ends with the shooting of the jaguar. On one occasion we saw a hunter come back from the game trail, armed only with a machete, who had met and killed one of these cats.

There are several smaller cats in the South American jungle, ranging in size from the puma to the diminutive jaguarundi. The boa constrictor is not the menace that some travellers make it out to be. The Bush Negroes will not kill either a boa or an alligator, nor will they allow a white man to do so. If they see the white man aiming his gun at snakes, [825
they will knock up the muzzle. Such reptiles are sacred. [778
Some of the Indians of the district, on the other hand, are 262]
fond of snake meat, and hunt it regularly. But the Bush [829]
Negroes look down on them.

In setting traps the Bush Negroes exhibit the typical cun- 224
ning of jungle dwellers. They have preserved the West African types of traps. Trails on which armadillos forage are set with a shotgun, in the middle of the path. By seizing the bait the animal shoots itself.

At night on the game trail the lone hunter builds a lean-

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778

House God, Upper Surinam River. Note hut built to shade the fetish.

[Facing p. 140]

The Djukas may be possessed by almost any spirit. During
776 the dances they sometimes feel Apuku or Cromanti, as the
787 case may be. Once a Bush Negro was possessed by the spirit of a jaguar. The big buck seized a dog that happened to be loitering near by and tore it to pieces with his fingers. After a dance a man was seized by the spirit of a rebel leader of the old plantation days; he seized a cutlass and began hacking and smashing everything around him until the others forcibly restrained him.

776 The Bush Negroes do not worship the jungle spirits very
782 meticulously, but every village has fetishes, usually standing
● [778] in little god-houses which are mere sheds to keep off the rain. Under the shade of the tiny roof can be seen the stiff visage of one of these deities, at times with remnants of food and drink at his feet. Beside the food there is usually a paddle for the god to eat with, elaborately carved like any food-paddle, and smeared with pemba dotee, the sacred white clay. This clay is smeared on all religious or ceremonial objects. For the individual to hold profitable converse with the gods, he must be smeared with it; pemba dotee seems to be a sort of catalytic agent between the soul and the deity. This custom is a West African survival, and not to be found among the Indians of Dutch Guiana.

778 Along the river, also, are occasional shrines where the
782 Bush Negroes may appease their deities when on long journeys, or when hunting. The shrine consists of a tall pole which may be either festooned or plain. At the base of many of the poles are shells, stones, bottles, and pieces of wood, as well as food and drink, possibly as a sacrifice. Every village,

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too, has a large pole outside of or in the clearing, which is used in praying to the god or to ancestors. The spirits of departed ancestors are invoked frequently and reverently. 782 [778]

Very often, when a man begins to hunt, he will call on the god and his ancestors for aid. The following prayer we heard intoned at the mouth of a creek, where a *gadu* pole was situated, by one of our paddlers who had entered to shoot fish. He clasped his hands, knelt down, and, with eyes closed, grasped the obeiah which was around his neck while he said the following words: *"Mooma nanga Tata nanga Massra Gadu. Me beh you mekki dem luku me kissi fu tru-tru wan anumara"*—"Father and Mother and Mr. God, I beg you make them see (those who do not believe) that I (you will allow me to) surely catch anumara fish."

The Djuka was gone about an hour. He returned with a fish weighing eight pounds. For this occasion he knelt in front of the praying pole and uttered the following prayer of thanks: *"Keh Massra Gadu, gran danke fu you, ala suma go nanga inye uh kun oto nanga bon. Gran danke fu ala den tani, ala den tweeti mufio deh wey kisti. Gimme furu pekein. Gran danke fu you"*—"Oh, Mr. God, many thanks to you for all who go in and come out with good. Many thanks for all things, all good things to eat which we caught. Give me plenty (full of) children. Many thanks."

In almost every village one encounters a wooden post thickly smeared with white clay on which is placed an iron pot. This apparatus is sometimes under a small thatched roof. Certain herbs are put in the vessel in case of sickness. At 778 782 [755]

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778 other points throughout the village, one also sees posts, hav-
782 ing attached to them cross-pieces, from which a length of white cloth is flying. A few bottles usually stand around at the base of these posts. Here one comes to address the Gadu (any divine being), or the spirit of a deceased person, when one has something to request, or wishes to return thanks for good luck. This petitioning is accompanied by the pouring of water or strong drink ("high wine" or *sopie* as it is called by the Bush Negroes) on the ground. One may encounter these cross-pieces with the white cloth at almost any place in the village, as for example, near a sacred tree or on some of the paths leading to or from the village. We may also see various *krom-tiki,* sticks or pieces of bush vines which have grown in a peculiar zigzag fashion. These, too, are supposed to have protective powers against evil.

825 Snakes, excepting the venomous varieties, are held in
778 reverence, and their worship is woven through the whole religious pattern. If a snake enters a hut, it is not molested, but allowed to return to the outside. If it shows no disposition to depart, it is chastised gently with a little broom-like contrivance and chided for not knowing its proper home. The bahkra who tries to kill a snake is prevented from doing

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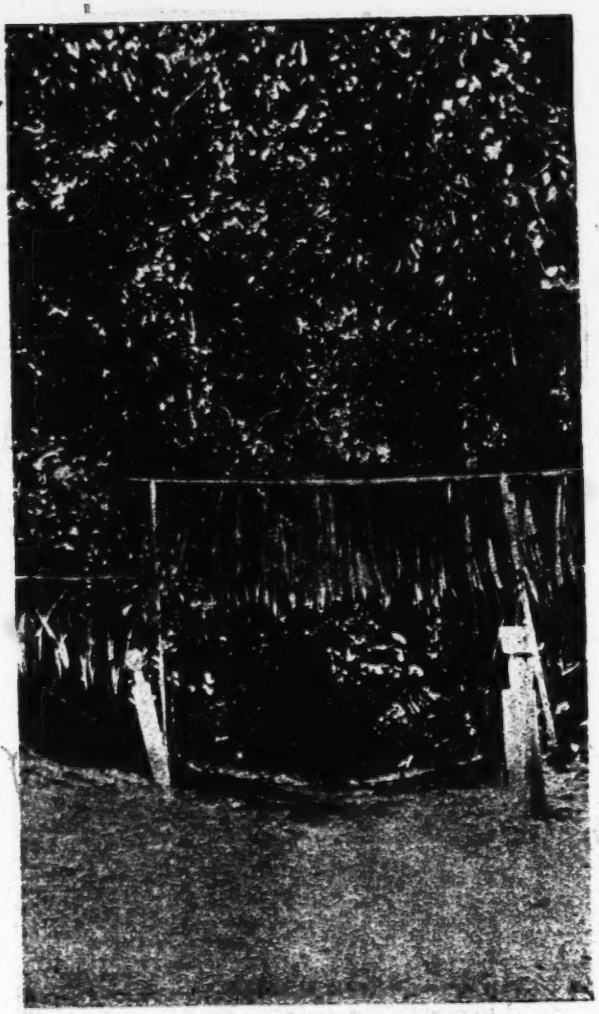

The Azang Pau. Phantom Barrier Over Paths Leading to Village. Upper Surinam River.

[Facing p. 144]

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so. In accordance with the voodoo ceremony, sacrifices of 825
white chickens are occasionally offered to Papa Gadu, the 778
snake god. Sacrifices are especially made to the large land and water boas. Human sacrifices, if they occur, are kept secret from all outsiders. We have no reason to believe in their occurrence.

A most interesting *Winti* dance was witnessed by Mr. 825
Charles de Goeje, leader of the Dutch government expedition 796
to the Tumac-Humac Mountains in 1908. This dance was for the purpose of propitiating the spirit of a snake which had been accidentally burned to death while a provision ground was being prepared for cultivation.

About 10 P. M., Mr. de Goeje relates, the drums began to play furiously. There were two apenti and one large ageedah drum. The people began to sing in an unusual manner, and the wife of one of the headmen, thickly smeared with pemba dotee, sat immovable as an image upon a carved wooden stool. After the drums had gone on for a while, there was heard the exclamation, *"Pour watra!"* A man came with a basin; he dipped a palm leaf in it and sprinkled the seated woman while the drums beat furiously. The woman seemed to awaken and began to turn around and around on her stool; she twisted and turned her body sometimes slowly, sometimes quickly. When she had reached a high pitch of excitement, she began to dance.

Several other women smeared with pemba dotee rose and took part in the dance. They danced around the long drum, gesturing as if the drum were speaking to them. They then

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severe attack of winti. She fell upon her knees and appeared 825
half lame. The others lifted her up. A youth came with a 776
green stick; he bit into it and spat on the woman's calves, 158
legs, feet, and arms. After a while she was able to stand alone. This seemed to constitute the end of the dance. It had somehow become known that the Papa Gadu, the snake spirit, was angry, and this big *gadu pray* (god's spread) had been necessary in order to propitiate him.

The women who are seized with the winti sometimes mutter a few words. The others regard these as the utterances of a spirit and say: "*Ya, gadu*"—"yes, God." Upon inquiry among the women who had caught the winti spirit, Mr. de Goeje found that they all complained of feeling very dizzy or giddy when in such a trance.

Certain localities, as well as individuals, may be possessed 776
by evil spirits. The Pwaba Creek is such a place. Were a 751
Djuka to go up this creek with any clothing on, he would never come out alive. So upon entering the waters of Pwaba the Djuka strips off all his clothes. That nullifies the bad magic.

Every Bush Negro, to protect himself from all varieties 751
of black magic, wears a number of charms or amulets. He 778

751 calls them *obeiahs*. An obeiah is a charm or a form of magic
● 778 to be distinguished from a *trafer*, which is a taboo. Obeiahs may be worn in the form of bracelets or necklaces, called *boe*. Bush Negroes never start out on a hunting or river trip without a number of boe around the arm, or leg, or neck. Thus the machinations of the evil spirits are set at naught.

One boe which Abaisa made for us is formed of heavy wire wrapped with white cord and set with cowrie shells. Worn on the arm, this will make you very strong. The charm will protect you while engaged in dangerous doings, such as
[131] drinking river water after someone has been drowned in it. Abaisa made this bracelet out of friendship. It was given, not purchased; therefore the old-time gods are not offended at its being possessed by a white man.

[782] He presented it with great solemnity, taking a mouthful of rum and spitting it on the ground as a libation to the ground god, then squirting another mouthful over the bracelet. After that we all had a swallow of the same liquid and
[553] Abaisa said a prayer in deepee-talkee. A somewhat similar ceremony attended the giving of a Djuka name to the white man—*Abentee*, provider.

751 The cowrie shells with which the obeiah is set are smeared
321 778 with pemba dotee. The clay closes up the openings of the shells, thus preventing evil spirits from entering into the interior. These cowrie shells, which decorate practically all the
[7] magic emblems of the Djukas, are commonly found among the savages of Africa, both on the East and West Coasts. They are also common in African art work, and at one time constituted a form of currency, papa moni.

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stituted a form of currency, *papa moni*. They come originally 778 751 from the East Indies, having been brought to both Africa and [177] South America by Portuguese traders. When a savage takes a fancy to a thing, he will go to some trouble to get hold of it. Thus the tin cans of the Standard Oil Company have penetrated into almost every primitive community now known.

Projecting from the wrapped cord around Abaisa's boe is a bit of blue cloth to ward off the spirit of a dead enemy. A bit of red cloth blinds the wearer to evil sights and makes him serene. A small strand of white cloth provides protection from the bad spirits called *Bakru*. Underneath the cloth are bristles from the anteater to give strength. All these charms make the obeiah bracelet a powerful affair.

Another boe is used to foretell the future. It is similar to 778 the bracelet, but projecting from the wrapped cord is a short 787 bit of tubing. The device is suspended from a string and held motionless, the tube pointing toward the ground. When no air is stirring a question is asked concerning the future. If the pointer remains motionless the answer is "yes," but if it moves the reply is "no." In this simple way the Bush Negro acquires knowledge of coming events. Our tent boy had several questions he wanted to ask, and when they were answered he had "a peculiar feeling."

Another obeiah that we obtained is a jaguar-tooth neck- 778 lace. Strung on the same string with the pierced tooth are two little carved fetishes of Cromanti and Aflamu, crudely done. All religious articles are extremely crude in their carving, compared with the delicate tracery of Djuka implement

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[778] carvings. Still another magic device is a red necklace of macaw feathers, to bring luck in hunting. Another obeiah with [843] a tinkling bell is worn around the neck by pregnant women to tell the unborn child that everything is auspicious in the outside world.

Some of the beliefs accompanying these amulets are odd [774] and child-like. The Djukas think that spirits are afraid of strangers, and flee in terror when a stranger is encountered. The inhabitants of the little town of *Pekein Say* (Talk a Little Bit) have the power to call back hunters who are lost in the bush, a virtue peculiar to these townfolk alone. These curious beliefs persist despite the fact that they could easily be tested and exposed. Any coincidence will strongly reinforce them. Late one evening, going up the river, we came to an Aucaner village and stopped to spend the night. Not liking the looks of the place we told our paddlers to push on to the next village before night. Tired, they grumbled at this. To give weight to our decision we told the blacks that our obeiahs were warning us not to stay, and that it would be dangerous to let this warning pass unheeded. Impressed with the gravity of the warning, they acceded to our wishes. We went on, although not being able to reach the adjacent village in time we were forced to spend the night in the bush.

Later, coming back down the river, we learned that the village we had passed by had held, on that very night, a great and disastrous dance. There had been much drinking of high [579 731] wine, and, in the drunken and hysterical excitement that followed, half the town was burned down and three men were killed.

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were killed. When we told Abaisa about this, he nodded ap- 778
provingly, not at all surprised that his obeiah charm had warned us of the impending danger.

Other bush beliefs come under the head of *trafers*, or ta- 784
boos. Primitive behaviour is very largely governed by categorical rules; although the individual is unaware of the origin and purpose of these rules, violation of a taboo is unthinkable. It is trafer, for instance, to sit on the ground. This explains the many intricately carved stools in our collection of Djuka art objects. It is also trafer for a Bush Negro woman to have intercourse with anyone outside of her own tribe. This was not so in the old days, for Stedman mentions that the white commissioners parleying with the rebel blacks were liberally entertained and provided with women for the night. Such a thing would be trafer now. It is taboo to harm the alligator, and if you were, by some unspeakable chance, to kill one, [125]
its ghost would return and destroy all the children in your family.

Besides these general taboos, there are personal trafers and 825
food taboos that differ for each individual. If one man shoots 784
a sloth (*selees*) it will spoil his gun, but his brother or his neighbour may kill one with impunity. It is that particular Djuka's trafer. Another man may have the turtle as his food taboo. The turtle is a well-known figure in Djuka folklore. The *sawi pata*, also called *logosu* and *kaw*, is spoken of as "walking like a sick man." The belief that when a turtle bites a man it will hold on until it thunders, a common belief in parts of rural America, is also found in Djuka land.

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784 These food trafers are sometimes chosen by the individual,
262 and are acquired also by inheritance. A certain Bush Negro
[424 got his trafer in this way: His grandmother had a vision,
787] called *papa winti*, and she informed her grandson that she had been possessed. This made him feel the spirit of Cromanti. In that bad state he got the *idée fixe* that shooting a turtle would be reprehensible and dangerous. This animal then became his tabooed food, and for the rest of his life it is trafer so far as he is concerned.

797 So far only a slight attempt has been made to Christianize the Djukas. The Catholics and Moravian Brothers have established mission stations at a few points along the rivers. Their efforts at conversion appear on the whole to be unsuccessful. The Bush Negroes are converted in small numbers and very superficially; in moments of stress they will revert back to their jungle deities. The whole spirit of Christian customs is foreign to their mode of life. They have the Gran
776 Gadu, an adequate enough image of divine power. Their
782 prayers are sometimes said directly to him, or they pray to their ancestors to intercede with the Gran Gadu for aid. Sometimes the prayer is said by being beaten out on the tom-
[778 tom, for the tomtom is sacred, and the throbs of the great

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Saramaccaner

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Ancestor Shrine. Village of Adawai, *Saramaccaner Tribe.*

[Facing p. 152]

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drums carry farther toward heaven than the talkee-talkee of a lone supplicant.

It is not easy to distinguish between the primitive's magic and his medicine. In the village organization a distinction is sometimes made between the *medicine man,* who is concerned with remedies for sickness, and the *obeiah priest,* whose business is charms and rituals. There are two or three obeiah priests to each village. Their profession is the propitiation of spirits, that is, magic and religion. The magic of the obeiah men is largely secret. Once we arrived at a village while a ritual of some nature was going on. Pots were stewing in the centre of the clearing, while obeiah men were moving around them. One held a rattle, which he shook monotonously. The bahkra was asked to leave. It was magic in the making.

The Bush Negroes possess an extensive system of primitive medicine. Various roots, herbs, and nuts are gathered in the jungle, and their use is mingled with various superstitions. The witch doctor or medicine man who prepares infusions from these herbs holds no exalted position in the esteem of the villagers; he is simply following a particular profession to which no special prestige is attached. He may, however, be an obeiah priest in addition to being a medicine man.

He prepares several kinds of medicine, among them the *snakee-kutti,* or snake-bite cure. It cures the bites of all reptiles and makes the person immune from future attack. Snakee-kutti is made in this way: a venomous snake is killed and the head and the tail-end are cut from the body; the tail

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756 is placed in the mouth of the snake and the whole is roasted
789 over a slow fire, along with certain herbs. Incantations ac-
278 company the business. After the materials are thoroughly charred they are reduced to a homogeneous powder, which is administered in two ways: first, internally, and second, by making a small incision in the arm and rubbing some of the powder into the wound. At first we were inclined to think that some of the venom might remain in the poison glands of the reptile's head, and so act as an antigen to set up a real immunity. But the heat of the roasting fire would probably destroy any such toxin remaining, leaving the resultant powder non-antigenic.

Even in Paramaribo enthusiastic accounts of the marvellous powers of snakee-kutti are common. It is supposed by some to have the power of making snakes turn and flee. Being curious we tried it ourselves, but noticed no effects.

778 Some doctors are skilled in the preparation of a certain
789 strength-giving concoction especially in demand by Bush Negroes before a fight. If by the following day the combat has not taken place, the man who swallowed the medicine must get it out of his system by hacking viciously at a tree with his bush-knife; otherwise he will become ill.

According to Abaisa, men who drink this magic potion sometimes become so strong that with one blow of the machete they can make all the leaves of a tree fall off.

Bathing is another way of acquiring extraordinary strength. Three baths in water infused with *bimbe* leaves will give a man the power to pick a red-hot axe-head out of the midst

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of a burning fire without being harmed. Bathing every day for nine days in water in which rusty scrap iron and peanut husks have been boiled renders a man impervious to the cut of a knife and his flesh capable of turning any blade. Stomach-ache is treated by drinking an infusion from the hollow handle of a dance rattle. Especially potent in all magic preparations are the bristles of *tamanua*, the anteater. *Obeiah watra*, another infusion, is drunk by men before going into the bush, to give them luck and strength. It is also possible to acquire strength or other virtues by rubbing one's body with the putrescent fluid gathered from the corpse of a dead man who possessed those qualities.

If a person should find fecal material in front of his hut or rotten eggs along the trail in such position as to make it likely for him to step upon it, it is certain that this material was placed there by a member of the community who is attempting to *wissi* or bewitch him. Anyone who removes this matter is liable to insanity.

Minor cuts and wounds may be treated with the bark of the *aproconyo* tree. This is ground up and mixed with the brew prepared from the leaves known as *pekein fol caca* (little rooster).

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164 The Djukas suffer from a number of diseases also common among white men. Yaws, a syphilis-like disease, caused by infection with *Spironema pertenue,* is frequently found among them. Individuals may be seen suffering from all three stages of it. Malaria, including the severe tropical form, is spread by the mosquitoes along the rivers. An ulcerous condition known as leishmaniasis, the result of infection by Leishman-Donovan bodies, is an ordinary occurrence, as is hookworm. The Town Negroes are occasionally infected with filariasis and schistosomyasis of the rectal type. Leprosy is present in the town of Paramaribo, but we saw none of it in the bush.

648 757 [515] [304] The Djukas do not fear to take the bahkra's medicine. The gratitude of more than one mother was earned when we gave her child castor oil. Of the principle of asepsis, naturally, the Djukas know nothing. Their incisions for making *cutty-cutty* (ornamental scars) are septic enough to give a bacteriologist nightmares.

On one occasion, snakee-kutti, the snake protector, did not work, and a Bush Negro, who had been bitten was taken to the hospital at Moengo. His leg had gone untreated for five days and was in the serious stage of gangrene. The limb was amputated by the doctor in charge and the Djuka made an uneventful recovery. He would not have been brought to the hospital by his family if there had been anything more for the Bush Negro medicine man to do. But there was not, and they went to the bahkra as the last resort to save his life.

778 756 Far up the Surinam River is the sacred medicine city of Dahomey (pronounced Daumay). Into its sacred precincts

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the white man has never been allowed to enter. A spirit 778 named *Hini* hovers over the town, and it is he, not the 756 Djukas, who would be offended by the presence of a bahkra. People seriously ill are brought to Dahomey from the surrounding villages. The witch doctors there, old women as well as old men, and occasionally a virgin, administer their potent charms. Only young married women are debarred from the profession of medicine among the Djukas.

Here also comes the Granman of the Saramaccaner tribe, to undergo the sacred ritual before making his annual visit [643 to Paramaribo. He receives absolution from the Dahomey 783] medicine men in preparation for his sojourn among the bahkras. The ceremony is known as *makee suka,* or putting himself in favour with the gods.

Our friend Abaisa, headman of Lombe, tells us something 755 of the Dahomey rituals. To mend a broken bone the patient is shut up in a small hut with the doctor and three white cocks. The first fowl is killed by having its neck wrung, the blood from its beak running on the floor of the hut as a sacrifice to Amu, the ground god. The second fowl is cut open for inspection. If the bladder is light in colour the prognosis is good, but if dark the reverse is the case. The third cock has its leg bone broken at a point approximately corresponding to the patient's fracture. After this both the fowl and the human patient undergo daily treatment at the hands of the doctor, to the accompaniment of prayers to Amu and the shaking of rattles to scare off the evil spirits. The nature of the treatment could not be ascertained, but on the day when

755 the cock is able to stand up and crow the patient is said to be cured.

787 The killing of the white rooster and inspection of its bladder are performed also in order to foretell the future in other than healing situations. There are several methods of prophesying. In one of them a plank is supported on the heads of two men, and on it are placed various little bundles. A third man stands before the plank and asks questions while the men bearing the plank jump up and down. The Gadu (the spirit in the bundles) is supposed to reply with a yes or no, as indicated by the way the bundles on the plank move. The questions are put metaphorically and in such a way as to exclude the possibility of the plank bearers deliberately influencing the answers. After one man has asked several questions, the bearers run with the plank to another part of the village where further questions are put to it. The carrying [463] of this plank seems to be the prerogative of certain individuals, and only certain others understand the making of the bundles and the correct placing of them.

778 Not even Mynheer Wolff, who has lived among the Bush Negroes for many years and undoubtedly commands their profound respect, has been permitted to enter Dahomey. The headman or captain of Dahomey, interestingly enough, is named Songai. There is a district on the West Coast of Africa still known today as Songhay. The name is the remnant of a great Negro empire that once flourished in North-West Africa, near the Sahara Desert. This empire is thought to have had universities and astronomical observatories, wealth

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and pageantry. Now it is only a name. But the name has been 778
carried overseas to the South American bush, and persists there long after its origin has been forgotten.

As has already been noted, the villages are universally 364
clean and sanitary. There is no filth or debris scattered about. The garbage is disposed of by being thrown into the river at a point below the village. A small amount of it is fed to the chickens, which we found in practically every Bush Negro village. Feces are disposed of in small outhouses made of leaves placed on bypaths some four hundred yards from the village clearing. When these become seriously polluted, they are removed to another location. Some villages have no outhouses.

Bathing is indulged in frequently by all of the Bush Ne- 515
groes. There are few who do not bathe in the river two or three times a day. No bodily odour could be detected on them, except one of perspiration, when the men poled their canoes for long distances and did not have time to bathe at their accustomed hours.

Sometimes as a punishment a woman may be condemned 681
to act as scavenger for the village for as long as two years; it is then her duty to be continually cleaning up the village.

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torchlight. The Djukas have a rodent trap that is a direct African survival, found on both the West and East Coasts of Africa.

Stedman mentions in his *Narrative* that the Bush Negro rebels used a kind of conch-shell trumpet to call their people to arms. The same species of trumpet is still to be found among the Djukas, and is similar in type to those found on the Gold Coast. The nose flute used by the Bush Negroes also comes from the Congo region of Africa. Wooden trumpets like those used by the Bush Negroes are found also along the Gold Coast and in the Congo country.

The drums form perhaps the clearest and most characteristic West African survival. They are not at all like the Indian drums of the same region, which are flat and more like a tambourine. The Djuka manner of constructing them from a hollowed-out log, with skin stretched over the opening and thonged over pegs, is commonly in use among innumerable African tribes. The tuning of them by hammering on the pegs, set at an angle, is also a detail from Africa. The use of drums for communication over long distances, and the development of an elaborate code of drum signals, is developed to a high degree among West African tribes. Rattray, in his study of the Ashanti people, gives an extended description of this.

The *anansi-tories,* the spider stories, ubiquitous in the West Indies, are also found among the Tshi-speaking peoples of the West Coast. The use of white clay for smearing ceremonial objects and amulets is African. The decoration of

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obeiahs, house gods, fetish houses, menstrual huts, and matrilineal system of inheritance are all to be found as ancient customs among the forest tribes of the West Coast. Other details, such as the use of chickens for sacrificial animals, the huts with their rectangular walls, the manufacture of butter from the palm worm, the sacredness of snakes and alligators, the use of drums for religious supplication, and the beating of them with the hand instead of with a stick as the Indians do, are also customs which are similar to West African customs and probably derived from them. The impaled turtle-shell on a staff, the badge of the witch doctor's profession, represents the symbol for the female genitalia among some West African tribes. The Bush Negroes' boats and paddles are typically African in design. The *awasa* dance of the Saramaccaners was borrowed from the Aucaners, among whom it is a direct West African survival.

From the study of these culture survivals among the Djuka tribes it can be seen that most of the jungle civilization of the Bush Negroes is derived from their West African ancestry, modified here and there by contact with the Indians of their new home. The remainder of the material culture of the Bush Negroes is borrowed from the white settlements along the coast, from which gunpowder, fish-hooks, bush-knives, and other articles filter upstream.

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for benches, no pieced specimens are ever found. Because 322 532
of the practical necessity of having a large number of benches, and the difficulty of executing both legs and seat out of a continuous piece of wood, benches are commonly made of [352] several pieces of wood fitted together, as can be seen in the photographs. A number of them, however, are made from a single piece, and this continuity is preferred by the Djukas. The Africanesque crescent stools are carved from a single log.

Relief work is the second form of decoration. It occurs 532 in the form of high relief on the plates and trays. It can be found to a modified degree on door-posts and other carved objects. Ornaments in low relief are represented by the calabash pieces, which are carved when green and allowed to dry.

Branding is done with a hot knife or wire, or else the piece may be charred by holding it in the flames. Circles are burned into the pattern by heating empty cartridge shells red hot and pressing them against the wood. Brass upholstery tacks, obtained in the white settlements of Para- [177] maribo and Albina, are in especial favour, and some pieces are heavily laden with these. They fit in very well with the general spirit of Djuka art, and although the material is anachronistic, the effect is not.

Religious carvings, unlike the practical implements, are 532 executed with a crudeness that is surprising. The fetish to 778 the god Aflamu which was brought back to the Museum is nothing more than a rough section of pole with a crudely hewn face and seeds for eyes. Other religious pieces are

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532 likewise roughly done. The reason for this seems to derive
778 from the general nature of primitive religion as it occurs among the Bush Negroes. Two explanations of this were given by native informants. If the god is a good god, and well disposed toward the black man, he doesn't care whether his fetishes are well executed or not. If he is a bad god he is going to continue to be bad, regardless of whether much time is spent on his fetishes or not. Another Bush Negro, questioned about this, said: "Me no sabby de Gadu luku"—"I don't know what God looks like." The primitive æsthetic feeling, apparently, is bound up with practical ends. There is absolutely no care or pains taken with religious objects, whereas erotic objects are finished with great skill.

322 There seems to be considerable variation between the tribes
184 of Djukas in the character of their art work. The Aucaner
532 wood carvings have, in general, a more refined and delicate cast than the wood carvings of their neighbours, the Saramaccaners and Boni. The differences in treatment of the motifs among the Bush Negro tribes and the general dissimilarities and likenesses of the carvings are best understood by consulting the accompanying illustrations.

412 The combs vary from two and a half inches to twenty-
322 four inches in length, and even these more immense combs see actual service. They are always made of a single piece, including the tines. For the most part they are made of harder woods, with occasional inlays. A number of them are trick pieces, with little ingenious devices that catch and hold the imagination of the primitive. For comparison, a West

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796 [782] committed. This feast, at which pigs and poultry are sacrificed, must last for four weeks and thus ends with the following new moon. They pray, dancing and singing, while from time to time they kneel in order to ask for blessings.

[778] In the place where their idol stands they plant long sticks in the ground at certain intervals, on which they let flutter a number of long narrow strips of white cotton in the manner of flags.

[781] They celebrate this feast, for which no costs are spared, with all possible solemnity; it is attended by old and young and is very important among them.

Chapter IX

Conceptions about Death and Eternity

775 They believe that at death the existence of the human being ends, but that the spirit of the deceased does not disappear altogether and remains among them for a long time. Also they believe in unlucky spirits, which, as a result of an earlier evil life, must wander about restlessly, while the life on earth of the peaceful spirits is supposed to have been free of misdeeds.

They do not assume rewards in the hereafter for good deeds; /14/ misdeeds, however, in their opinion, are punished with restless wandering about.

[755] They say that those spirits know all that happens, and that they can come in contact with them at their feasts, that they receive many a hint and information, and through concealed signs come to know remedies against diseases, to which they attach the fullest confidence.

Chapter X

Marriage and Marital Life

584 Their marriages take place with few ceremonies. Frequently young men and even men ask pregnant women, in case they should bring a daughter into the world, to designate that girl as their wife,

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123 Also, I am led to believe that for me they cherish a
466 more than general respect, since already for ten years now they have been faithful workers for me, a privilege to which no inhabitant in this colony other than myself can lay claim.

123 A family among them, whose head recently died --
● 778 according to their statements, through poisoning, which misdeed
[761] is supposed to have taken place out of envy, since I gave him preference above others, which he deserved on account of his faithfulness and industry -- has built a hut in the vicinity of its idol signs, in which they placed a crude image cut out of cedar-
[237] wood and painted with white paint. Beside that image they placed a little table and on it laid a number of quill feathers from the pouwies (1), a little bottle with black liquid, symbolizing ink,

1. A pheasant, the Crax alector L.

as well as some slips of paper. Near this little table they dug a number of steps into the ground, and at the lowermost step they made a gutter that runs in the direction of the river. Now when they have a festival with dancing and they want to pay respect to me, they place near it a number of children who constantly pour water brought in jugs, which, flowing down the steps into the gutter, streams riverward. While this ceremony takes place, songs in my honor are sung by the festive crowd.

[822] Now the image, according to their conception, is sup-
[829] posed to be a representation of me, /36/ the white color the sign that I am a White, while the quills, paper, and ink are the attributes of the Whites' higher civilization, the streaming water that I stem from the colonists who have come here from across the sea.

123 The wife of the headman referred to above came to me
589 in the town shortly after the death of her husband and remained to choose my household as her permanent residence, to which I gladly consented. Faithful and considerate, she performs not only a great many household services, but even anticipates in this respect the wishes of my wife, and out of love for us refuses any monetary compensation.

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[For information on various types of buildings and other physical structures or facilities present in each of the Boni villages, see the village plans on pp. 66, 68, 70, 72, 74, and 76, category 116. Included are data on the occurrence of menstrual huts (munu), kitchens, granaries, and sundry other outbuildings, religious structures (gadu), mortuary sheds, boatbuilding yards, guest houses for visitors, wharfs, fraga tiki (i.e. lineage ancestor cult shrines and objects), and useful trees within the village area which are personally owned.]

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613 621 571 The principle of localization of matrilineal kin groups, each in a separate village, continues respected. However, as in all African populations, the actual structure is noticeably different from the theoretical organization:

1st. Fragments of paternal kin groups, as well as several small groups of heterogeneous origin, insufficient in number to form a separate unit, have been agglomerated with the lo. Such is the case for example of the Toïna lineage, a small group which fled from Surinam at the end of the 19th century and agglomerated with the Papaïston lo;

[578] 2nd. Scissions have been produced within the lo as a result of disagreements. A group issuing from the Papaïston lo founded Wétiti village in the Lower Maroni beside Apatu. A group issuing from the Kotika lo founded Ma Imma village in the same region. Finally, from the Dipélu II lo a group separated which settled in Asisi. Asisi village is thus in fact nowadays the juxtaposition of three villages: Asisi-Dju, Asisi-Awara Bakka, Asisi-Dipélu II, each having its organization and its separate territory.

[829] These scissions have no appreciable repercussions on the social life of the Boni, for the groups thus separated from the lo, in addition to being very small in numbers, are not recognized by [769] the grand man as distinct social units. They remain subject to the head of the lo to which ancestor worship attaches them.

361 613 621 Besides the residence villages, a certain number of Boni have personal farming habitations distributed on the lands of their lineage along both banks of the river and on the islands. These habitations designated by the word kāpu, camp, have no permanent character; their existence does not violate the principle of localization of the lineage; each Boni is obliged at least in principle to build a house in his native village and to live in it part of the year. [769] The village of origin of each /20/ lineage is called "great village": [778] it is there that the members of the group meet to pray to the ancestors in front of the fraga tiki.

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Fig. 5. Boni Village

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Fig. 6. The *fragatiki* of the Kotikalio.

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643 The grand man acts as land head for the whole of the tribe.
• 778 It is he who has the care of the sanctuary of mama gɔ̃ and who
241 prays each year in the presence of a large gathering of people for the fertility of the soil.

643 The grand man is the priest of Odun, divinity whom the Boni
743 regard as avenger of offenses against moral and religious law; by
776 virtue of this, he alone is qualified to administer the oath against
782 wɔ̃i (sorcery) and to implore the mercy of Odun toward those who have gone against his laws by fighting with arms.

643 In his religious functions this usually weak and unobtrusive
156 man acts with sovereign authority and assurance, and we have several times seen people tremble before him.

643 If someone has seriously transgressed the customary laws, or
681 if he has stolen, committed adultery, given blows, poured forth serious insults or curses, the grand man inflicts on him punishment
[673] proportional to the gravity of the offense, such as making planks, /73/ a boat, pounding rice (if it is a woman). The product of the punishment is acquired by the grand man, as are the fines in money which he imposes in less serious cases.

643 For example in October, 1952, two adolescents of Boniville,
685 Awétipay and Adyuka, were surprised while they were trying to break into an inhabited house; the grand man sentenced them forthwith to three days of forced labor, in the course of which he made them clean the approaches to the village and collect for his benefit wood for heating.

643 He can also punish disobedient or disrespectful young men
689 by making them do work reserved for women, such as weeding
462 the approaches to the village and the removal of dog droppings.

643 The grand man can confine a man to Boni villages by for-
681 bidding him to go beyond l'Enfant Perdu to the north and Kormotibo to the south; that is called sitafu sama (sitafu = captive). The man concerned, deprived of means of earning his living, thus becomes dependent on his family until he makes honorable amends.

/122 cont./

845 [621] Observation at Maripasoula, November 3, 1956. The wife of Baïna, boatman of the border-fixing mission, gave birth at Pikin Tabiki, small farming village where she works with her mother and the latter's husband. Baïna went to be present at the delivery.

It was very long and dramatic. According to Baïna, an ɔgi sani had entered the child's body, making him stiff and impossible to extract. As a last resort they called a neighbor, T.... known for having a good gita. He called his gadu who revealed an efficacious remedy, since after the body of the sick woman was bathed with the prescribed leaves, the delivery ended successfully.

846 [615] Since we were leaving on our trip, it remained to find someone to take his place in fulfilling one of the husband's duties: cutting the supply of wood for heating the water necessary for the hot douches /showers?/ the mother was going to be given several times a day for about three months. He made an agreement for that with Kwata, his mother-in-law's husband, to whom he will pay about 1,000 francs. [465]

851 613 [603] Presentation of the child. On the eighth day the maternal grandmother (or great-grandmother if she is still living) takes the child and gives it to another ancestress of the same lineage, stationed in front of the house. The latter presents it to the family. Then [769] the head of the lineage, without taking the child, goes to the [778] fraga tiki to make an offering of tafia, asking the ancestors to [782] protect it.

For example, for the birth of A... (Lapé Tabiki village), son of O Yundu (L2, G60), it was Asakundu, grandmother of Yundu and great-grandmother of the child, who came to take him in the house and gave him over to her sister Térésa (L2, E57) to present him to the family (see genealogical table of the Lapé lineage, fraction 2).

/139 cont./

684 688 Committing pikadu is one of the most serious offenses that a Refugee Black can commit; of course, as in the rest of the moral prescriptions, no abstract principle is called on: the elders teach the children from their earliest years: "If you com- [613] mit pikadu, you will fall ill or die." The head of the lineage inflicts severe punishments on the guilty people to boot: for the man, to make a large number of planks with an adze; for the woman, to prepare and winnow as preparation for the next broko de several touques /cans/ of rice, a long and tedious job.

588 However, if in spite of insults and blows a man and woman of the same bee absolutely insist on marrying, people end up, for the sake of peace and quiet, by accepting the ac- [769] [778] [782] complished fact. They go to the fraga tiki to make an offering of tafia to the ancestors to ask them to forgive the offense committed. No reprobation extends to the children born of this union.

613 588 [684] In the Awara Bakka lineage, which has practically rejected the law of exogamy, the principle of a sanction remains and there is a pretense of chasing the guilty ones across the village.

Not being able to use coercion and not having the right to expel a member of the lineage, captain and council can exert no material sanction.

613 684 The same notion of pikadu is attached to unions between persons of the same patrilineage, although these patrilineages have no effective organization and exist only by the transmission of the fundamental interdiction, bwasi kina.

[819] Before concluding an official or even clandestine union, the man and woman make sure that they do not have the same bwasi kina and in such a case give up their project; that, even if they are from different tribes, for example a Boni woman and a Saramaka.

/168 cont./

764 co-wife, on the contrary, are completely veiled and show by their state of prostration the keenest sorrow. Each of them is assisted by a female relative who supports them when they have to move somewhere else, for they are supposed to be too overcome to move alone.

764 787 761 The interrogation as to the causes of death has already taken place the day before, but Tafanié proclaims, in front of me, the result of it to the latest arrivals: the deceased was struck down by a yɔrka which pursues the lineage with its kunu. She had already received several warnings in the form of illness; the yɔrka had demanded a payment which she and her near relatives had neglected to furnish. Impossible to learn anything further before being able to interrogate this yɔrka, whose habitual bearer has left for Saint-Laurent. It is necessary to wait for his return in order to mollify the yɔrka's anger.

764 769 778 [613] About ten o'clock the members of the lãnti kuutu go toward the fraga tiki of the Awara Bakka lo, in front of which they all sit down on their stools. I notice that not a single man of the dead person's lineage appears in the front row. In it I recognize Popo (Lapé), Poopu (Dipélu II, Kormotibo), Tafanié (Papaïston). The one who is speaking is a foreigner passing through, a very aged and respected Djuka.

[782] The elders invoke Masa Gadu and the ancestors in general, asking them to protect them from adversity in the future; then the offering of water and tafia takes place (no cane juice). I notice that a little is poured on each of the secondary fraga tiki erected for the sake of each one of the ancestors who pursue another lineage with their kunu. That lasts about a quarter of an hour.

764 787 776 428 424 Next someone goes to ask the deceased to whom she bequeaths the Papa gadu god which manifested itself in her; for the gods are bequeathed like the rest of the inheritance, even if those concerned are divinities which exercise the kunu

/179 cont./

765 [769] [778] [613] After three months, an offering is made at the fraga tiki of the dead person's lineage, setting forth how much her spouse has respected her memory and asking permission to lighten the manifestations of his sorrow. The mourning is then lightened, but the man in mourning continues to wear a bandeau around his head or at the very least an old beret.

765 461 [613] During the first months the man in mourning has no other responsibility than to hunt and fish at the order of the dead woman's lineage. He does his own cooking with the food given to him; he cuts a clearing for his mother-in-law or another woman of the deceased's relatives, who will farm it with him.

[431] Next, he receives the order to go and earn the money necessary for the sizable contribution he must bring to the festival of the lifting of mourning. During the entire duration of the mourning he must report on his work and moves.

765 [606] When the end of mourning approaches, he must do a job for the benefit of his mother-in-law, generally redoing the roof of her house or building a boat for her.

[626] These arrangements do not involve any material sanction whatever. Like the rest of the social life of the Refugee Blacks, they rest entirely upon fear of a suprahuman sanction.

[589] After the lifting of mourning, the person in mourning may remarry without further delay.

765 768 [562] [613] [439] State of widows and co-wives of a widower. The state of a woman in mourning is practically identical to that of a widower. She lives for the duration of mourning in her deceased husband's house under the surveillance of his near relatives on the maternal side. The dead man's lineage lends her all the objects she needs and furnishes the imported commodities (salt, kerosene, soap) that she uses. On the other hand, she may freely use the produce of the clearing that her husband had cut for her, since it is taken for granted that these products are the exclusive property of the wife.

/180 cont./

765 613 689 An incident. In 1957, the Saramaka Gamba (75 years old), Way's widower (Dip. I), caused a serious incident by refusing several times the obedience he owed to the latter's lineage, on the pretext that he was old and knew how to behave.

His son Maliki (born of a Saramaka woman), whom he was raising, married to Way's daughter, had gone fishing above the Litani. Upon his return, Kwau (80 years old), Way's elder brother, reproached him for having left without authorization, pointing out that his father, Gamba, being placed under his authority by mourning, he was too, because of this fact. Gamba [578] did not accept this reasoning and the two old men fought. This was a fine scandal. Kwau and the elders of Way's lineage came [769] before the fraga tiki of L'Enfant Perdu village to lift his mourning forthwith [778] (which, let us recall, is the equivalent of cursing [784] him by delivering him over to the vengeance of the dead woman's yɔrka).

Members of Way's family went to break up the shacks of Gamba and his son, who lived hidden in the bush for some time. [629] Then Gamba had the village heads intercede and obtained his pardon. The elders of Way's lineage went to the fraga tiki to [769] utter the words putting things back in order. [778]

765 Lifting of mourning. The festival of the lifting of mourning - puu baaka - is celebrated 18 months to two years after the burial. The delay may be a little longer, for most often the village celebrates this festival for several of its dead at the same time. It is a heavy burden, for festivals for lifting mourning attract many people and everyone present must find as much as he wishes to eat and drink.

[621] This festival is celebrated in the framework of the village and not in that of the lineage. It will be celebrated in the same way for a Djuka who died in a Boni village, provided that he lived there a sufficiently long time. In such a case the expenses

/193 cont./

778 824 A currently widespread idea about animism would lead one to think, for example, that before felling a tree a Refugee Black addresses words and offerings to it. That is entirely absent from his thought: either this tree is likely to serve as support for a god, in which case it can be touched only after complex rites having the aim of transferring the god elsewhere, or it is simply a tree, and one cuts it down without further ado.

784 825 One very clear aspect of these conceptions is the dagu kunu, a curse resulting from the killing of a dog.[1] Any animal may be killed with impunity but not a dog, because "a dog is almost a man."

[613] At the opposite extreme from the true kunu, a curse extending to a whole lineage, the dagu kunu applies only to the guilty person and draws only limited misfortunes upon him.

[772] No feeling whatever with respect to the dog enters into this conception, but only the idea that he is placed on a particular plane, near the plane of the human and his level of force.

776 /194/ The Great Gods

The Boni recognize a supreme God, Nana (1), more

1. This term comes from the Agni.

commonly called Masa Gadu, and Kedi Amu, Kediampon in Kumenti language. He created the lower gods and all that lives on the earth.

793 Here is how the old Boni men relate the myth of the creation of the world:

God created a brother and sister, Adam and Efa. They were twins. He put them in a place where they lived happily without working. But he forbade them to touch the fruit of the custard-apple tree.

776 /194 cont./

[184] The great gods Gwangwéla and Gédéosu of the Djuka are not known to the Boni.

[194] Strictly speaking, no cult of Masa Gadu exists. No edifice is reserved for him, he has no priests, and no collective
776 ceremonies are conducted on his behalf. He is nevertheless
769 constantly present in the religious life of the Boni, associated with ancestor worship. Every ceremony of ancestor worship
776 includes an invocation to Masa Gadu. From time to time, for
769 specific motives such as the illness of a member of the lo,
755 people go /195/ specially to the fraga tiki to invoke Masa Gadu.
[613] The oldest man of the lo officiates, while a younger one pours
[978] a little water and tafia at the foot of the fraga tiki; the elder addresses Masa Gadu in everyday language, in simple terms, in a familiar conversational tone, asking him for the cure of illnesses or the end of calamities. Those present, seated in a semicircle, punctuate the end of the speech with some rhythmical applause, uttering the ritual formula of thanks: "Gaã tãŋgi tãŋgi fi yu, Masa Gadu."

776 Outside of these ceremonies which hardly go beyond the
782 framework of the lineage, everyone may address Masa Gadu directly by praying aloud, if, for example, he finds himself alone in the bush and prey to an illness. One never addresses Masa Gadu other than for a specific material purpose. Inner prayer for the purpose of spiritual perfection does not exist to our knowledge among the Refugee Blacks.

776 One applies directly to Masa Gadu when one believes
[755] oneself to be the victim of an iniquitous action (see curse). How-
[784] ever, although the Refugee Blacks have a very lively sense of justice, they never call Masa Gadu to witness for the cruel and arbitrary vengeances (kunu) which the lower divinities are
[812] believed to exercise on them. It is taken for granted that all these divinities do conforms to the role which Masa Gadu has assigned to them and that the suffering they inflict on men is indispensable to the proper working of the universe.

/197 cont./

788 [643] [754] [783] The rites of the worship of Odun are known only by the grand man and by an old man who replaces him when he travels. They are practiced only on the occasion of the collective oath against wisi, renewed every two or three years, and when it is necessary to implore Odun's mercy toward an offender. The officiant bathes the latter's body with a maceration of leaves that he alone knows.

783 [788] [798] To question Odun and know whether he pardons, they make use of a sacred object named afalaku, placed on a board put on the heads of two men. The answers yes and no are deduced by interpretation of the movements of the bearers, as in the interrogation of the dead.

695 The oath before Odun is also practiced as a legal test, permitting a man unjustly accused of theft or any misdeed whatever to justify himself.

Thus, in November, 1959, B... of Asisi, accused by two Djuka of being responsible for the burning of a large cabin /carbet/ in which objects of value were stored, asked to justify himself before Odun.

671 [771] 571 Odun's laws, which have the effect of forbidding violence, vengeance, and every form of oppression, give to the society of the Refugee Blacks a unique atmosphere of dignity and serenity which is not found to the same degree in animistic African societies. Most African societies censure sorcery and murder, but they accept vengeance and various forms of oppression. It is probable that the men who, two or three centuries ago, deep in the forests of Surinam, developed these laws, were inspired more or less consciously by Christian ideas; but they introduced them into an African system of thought, associating them with the idea of material sanctions in the present life, without which they would have been powerless.

776 /209 cont. /
wata ŋgi, Indians of the water. In certain spots, people have
[778] known since the time of the ancestors that there resides such a
[782] Bũnsuŋki, whose name they know; when they pass there, they address a prayer to it while making a sacrifice of tafia.

776 (The Bũnsuŋki must not be confused with wata mama, the
171 mama-of-the-water of the Creoles, a dreaded divinity but one which the Boni do not appear to worship. The wata mama lives at the bottom of deep holes in river beds and never allows her face to be seen; she sometimes abandons one of her long hairs on the rocks and he who finds it becomes rich).

776 /210/ The Bũnsuŋki can enter into human beings, exclusively,
787 it seems, into women. They give a different gita from those
[562] of the Kumẽnti. The possessed person dances at the edge of the water, then swims and dives for a long time. They affirm that
[789] if its possession is sufficiently intense, the genie carries the possessed woman along to the bottom of the water, where she stays for a very long time without any harm! That is supposed to have happened especially in Asisi village to a woman named Dabisa.

Possession by the Bũnsuŋki is not frequent. In 1952 it was known in Boni country in only three women.

[562] As for men, they may perceive these divinities in dreams
[788] and receive benefits from them. For that they go to the place
[782] where it resides and bathe, uttering an invocation: "O god, watch over me, protect me, come to me at night when I sleep, speak to me, act so that I may not be sick, so that I may get rich." The following night, the divinity will come in a dream, demand a sacrifice (beer in general), say that it /grants/ the prayer.

776 The Vɔɔdũ (1). These are gods much feared for their evil

1. This word is obviously a deformation of the Dahomey word vodũn.

787 /212 cont./
531 can read these messages; but we have not turned up any precise evidence on this subject (1).

1. These signs are very little systematized and have no relation whatever with the symbolic designs which figure in certain rituals of possession, especially in Dahomey and Haiti. It is permitted to see in them a simple likeness.

787 The Papa gadu are chiefly consulted to ask them to re-
[755] veal the cause of misfortunes that happen. One of them is not
[253] asked to cure an illness unless the interrogation reveals that it brought it on.

776 The worship of the Papa gadu snake gods makes a strong
648 impression on the West Indian Creoles who maintain regular relations with the Refugee Blacks. Most consider it as diabolical
[782] in nature and disapprove of it, but if the presence of an "adder"
[171] (anaconda snake) is noted in a neighboring creek, and if at the same time misfortunes occur, it happens that a Creole may go to ask the Refugee Blacks to practice rites to mollify
[778] the vengeance of the god. We have happened to catch sight of, hidden in a copse behind the habitation of a gold miner, a small altar decorated with blue and red pennants, the usual place of worship of the Papa gadu.

755 Observation in Boniville, November, 1952.
An Asisi woman, Tini, comes to Boniville to consult
[787] her adoptive daughter Pamasa, about 35 years old, who is possessed by a Papa gadu named Adawa. Féni, 15 years old,
[164] Tini's son, has been sick for several days (fever, eruption all over the body). When someone comes to get us, the god has already entered into Pamasa, has sat down in a hut, and

/217 cont./

774 Most of the Boni are not concerned with their akka. The only ones who take heed of it are those who have reasons to believe it irritated. The worship rendered varies a good deal from one individual to another in the nature and frequency of the rites performed.

774 For example, K...., of Papaston village, prey to a
777 persistent streak of bad luck, went to consult a Creole lukumã
[648] from Surinam, who revealed to him that it was the doing of unsatisfied desires of his akka. His akka wanted a black dog and a copper bracelet. He procured both for himself, and since, he says, he no longer has the same bad luck.

774 B...., head of T... village, has in a corner of his hut
778 a post crudely carved in the shape of a bust with a half calabash from which emerge stalks of saŋgaafu on its head. At the side is a small fraga tiki. He tells me that this is the god of the cult of his akka; these rites are strictly personal with him.

774 Most of the akka esteem white beads and red cloth. If
[822] one sees a Boni wear a red cloak, one can be almost sure that it is by order of his akka.

[787] If someone's mind wanders or he has bizarre dreams, he may see in this the feeling that his akka wishes to leave him and that he is in danger of its happening. He then goes to ask
[789] an ɔbiaman to make him an akka tetɛy: this is a ring of fibers worn on the big toe and which is supposed to prevent the akka from going away.

These rites vary a lot from one individual to the other, but they have a common principle. If someone begins to attend to his akka, he cannot abandon the worship during his lifetime, or else the akka will avenge itself.

Akka worship is strictly personal and is not bequeathed upon death.

/219 cont./

769 We have described the principal ceremonies of this worship in speaking of family life.

769 613 One addresses only his near ancestors in maternal line, and one addresses them all collectively. Just as the custom of the Refugee Blacks rejects all that might individualize one line within a lineage, it rejects every individual bond between a given dead person and a given living person. Just as "uncles" exercise guardianship collectively over "nephews," the dead collectively protect the living. It would be a grave offense against the customary law of the Refugee Blacks to go individually to the fraga tiki to invoke the yɔrka of one or another of his relatives. We shall see further on that the only exception to this is for the ancestors who have made themselves conspicuous by exercising the kunu against another lineage.

[784]

Ancestor worship is organized within the lo, and its priest is the head of the lo, hedemã or captain. Individualized fractions (bɛɛ) which may exist within the lo, like Papa'iston 2, have no separate ancestor worship.

769 778 The place of prayer is made up of a small square of ground about 1 meter x 1 meter, separated from village soil by pieces of boards; in the middle of this square is set a T-shaped post whose horizontal arm serves as support for a square of white cloth: this is the fraga tiki.

The cloth rots rapidly under the influence of bad weather, but it is not removed; a new one is attached over the old when it is too spoiled; likewise /220/ the post, which ends up by rotting, is not replaced as long as it does not fall to the ground. This behavior might be thought to be negligence, but it is nothing of the sort: for the Refugee Blacks, what has been offered to the ancestors is removed from the action of men; no one can touch it any more, even to repair it.

/220 cont./

769 Beside the principal fraga tiki one sometimes sees sticks
•778 bearing fragments of white cloth; they have been planted in honor of those ancestors who have demanded it.

The ceremonies at the fraga tiki have a very simple
769 character; prayers are said in the ordinary language and often
778 have the character of an intimate conversation. In the absence
782 of the head of the lineage, an old man pronounces them; while he speaks, an assistant makes the offering of water and tafia. Pouring water on the ground is a rite having as its purpose entering into contact with the ancestors: it is seen performed in funeral ceremonies, before beginning the interrogation of the yǫrka. The tafia is an offering in the literal sense of the term; at the time of the principal prayers being addressed to the ancestors, the offering of tafia is preceded by an offering of cane
[279] juice, kyẽǫ wata. Cane juice was the beverage on feast days in the times when the ancestors, at war with the Europeans, were bereft of tafia.

The prayer formulas most commonly used ask the ancestors to intercede with Masa gadu on behalf of their descendants: "Ancestors, watch over us, protect us, pray to Masa gadu for us so that...."

769 Possession by a yǫrka. It is taken for granted that the yǫrka of
an ancestor can enter into a member of his matrilineage and
787 reveal itself in the course of attacks of possession. This is a very
613 rare phenomenon. In 1958, in all the Boni country, only about ten people were known who bore thus the yǫrka of an ancestor. These attacks come on spontaneously, no cult having their provocation as its purpose. We were present in December, 1956 at one of these attacks in a young woman from Papaïston, Mili, about 20 years old. Since the day before, the yǫrka of an ancestor of the lineage dead for two generations had manifested itself in her intermittently; these attacks lasted several minutes;

/220 cont./

769 778 782 her voice changed, imitating a man's; eyes staring, she appeared to have no longer any consciousness of what was around her. Then suddenly the attack would cease and she would busy herself with her household occupations in the most natural fashion. The yɔrka which was believed to become incarnate thus in Mili's body spoke of very commonplace things, repeating indefinitely sentences concerning minor happenings of the day, or asking for a small offering of tafia on its behalf at the fraga tiki. A psychiatrist would doubtless have thought of an attack of mental dissociation.

[784] These yɔrka are not feared by their involuntary bearer, since none can exercise a kunu against his own lineage; they manifest themselves only exceptionally, sometimes indicating remedies or warning of dangers. Thus it is that A... of the Dipélu II lo, who has a Kumẽnti besides, also has a yɔrka which revealed itself in him without ever having been called on. According to his comrades, this yɔrka sometimes steps in with a cavernous voice, notably in September, 1952, during a hunting expedition, where it shouted: "Let us not go that way, we shall meet a jaguar." A... lost consciousness for only a few seconds and had not been aware of anything. /Figs. 26 and 27 appear here./ /221/

775 828 The nẽmseki (1). Each Refugee Black has a nẽmseki, that is

1. This word seems to be a deformation of English "namesake" (homonym).

to say that certain elements of his personality are thought to originate from the reincarnation of a certain ancestor. This is a very obscure conception with the Boni, and without apparent correlation with their notion of the akka and the yɔrka; they never say: "I am the reincarnation of So-and-So," but simply:

/223 cont./

784 begin his instruction in order to become a suitable bearer. (If
613 this procedure were not carried out, the god would not cease
428 its kunu at all, and the possibility of entering into contact with it and appeasing it would be lost. Besides, sooner or later it would come back into a member of the lineage.)

784 The kunu strikes without regard to kinship ties, even if
613 kinship between the bearer of the god and the supposed victim
[602] is very distant. Ex.: The Papa gadu of Donasi (Papaïston lo) struck a young woman, Gou, with illness in January, 1957. Donasi and Gou are only relatives in the ninth degree. The
[782] members of the entire Papaïston lineage assembled to supplicate
[361] the god: even people of Wétiti village in the lower Maroni came.

775 The kunu exercised by the yɔrka of a dead person has a
784 special importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks, for it has
613 profound repercussions on the relations among the lineages.

In principle, the yɔrka exercising a kunu has as bearer
[428] a living member of its own lineage, who will bequeath it at his death. But it is also possible that the yɔrka may take as bearer a member of the lineage upon which it exercises the kunu.

In both cases, the rite to appease the yɔrka is the same;
[782] the yɔrka can be invoked effectively only by the members of its own lineage, since one can pray (at least in principle) only to one's own maternal ancestors.

When matrilineage A is struck by the kunu exercised by a yɔrka of matrilineage B, its members thereupon go to consult the elders of matrilineage A /sic/ and ask them to try to calm
[769] the anger of their ancestor. The members of lineage A assemble
[778] around the fraga tiki of lineage B, in back of the elders of this
[787] lineage, in the presence of the bearer of the yɔrka, who calls on his gita, goes into trances and prophesying. The yɔrka
[782] usually asks for an offering of cane [illegible]ice and tafia, which is made at the foot of the /224/ fraga tiki by the elders of lineage B (for the rite to be efficacious, the offering must have been furnished by lineage A).

/224 cont./

775 A yɔrka exercising a kunu may also demand that another
784 smaller fraga tiki be erected for it beside the principal fraga
769 tiki of its lo. In the villages of the Refugee Blacks one often
778 sees these little crosses provided with white veils like the main
613 fraga tiki, planted beside it a little obliquely.

The notion of the kunu exercised by a yɔrka explains the
775 rarity of murder among the Refugee Blacks. How would you
784 dare to kill someone when, as soon as it is freed from his body,
674 his yɔrka will have full latitude to make you sick, to make tree branches fall across your path, to cause to suffer and to
775 kill all those dear to you? If someone is blinded by hate, it
784 is the idea of suicide which will dominate him. In October,
762 1952 we were able to observe this reaction in a man who had just been subject to a deep humiliation: "I am going to kill my body in order to go to kill that man and his whole family," he said to us, prey to a fit of rage; fortunately, when the fit had passed, he came back to a more sound outlook on things.

775 It is to be noted that a yɔrka cannot exercise a kunu
784 against its own lineage. This notion explains why, in the times
613 when they exercised absolute authority, tribal chiefs had those
696 condemned to death executed by men of the same lineage.
[171] Apparently similar practices were the rule in olden days in several African kingdoms, which allows one to think that notions analogous to those of the kunu may be rather widespread there.

784 Situation of the various lineages with respect to the kunu. There
613 we touch on one of the most secret aspects of the social life of the Refugee Blacks. Years of living among them are necessary in order to obtain precise information on the nature and the mode of action of the kunu acting on the various lineages.

784 Nearly all the entities which now exercise their kunu on the
613 Boni have been in their lineages since a very ancient period,
428 to the point where the name of their first bearer is forgotten. They are transmitted inexorably from generation to generation. In the course of the ages, the kunu have accumulated, and now certain lineages are living with four, five, or even six kunu.

/226 cont./

628 The members of the Dipélu lineage did not believe a
614 word of this affair, convinced that Kiboya, a proud and scheming
784 woman, had pretended the gita to make herself interesting.
787 Nevertheless, to bring back peace, they decided to go to Asisi
156 and to ask pardon in front of the fraga tiki, pouring tafia,
769 asking the ancestors not to take vengeance, the living being
798 reconciled.

784 /227/ (Note that in this affair, the yɔrka manifests itself in a
614 member of the lineage on which it exercises the kunu.)
775

784 Kunu of the Awara Bakka lineage. The Awara Bakka lineage
614 does not form a unit with respect to the kunu, and the situation
613 of its fractions is particularly interesting. This lineage includes:

--A principal fraction (Aw.B.1);

--A fraction whose kinship ties with the first are forgotten (Aw.B.2), whose position with respect to the kunu we have not been able to define.

--Finally, a group descended from Anèta, Djuka woman, wife of Pééyon † (Aw.B.1) settled in Asisi with her descendants in uterine line. We have called this group Aw.B.3. It has a separate kunu originating in the Djuka village of Tabiki where Anèta came from.

784 The Awara Bakka I, all living in Asisi village, had to
787 our knowledge three kunu in 1957:
796 --One exercised by a Papa gadu god, borne up to 1957
613 by O Kuluba (Aw.B.1, D1). At her death in April, 1957,
428 she bequeathed it, contrary to custom, to a person of another fraction, Summa (Aw.B.3). But the god did not ratify this legacy and, in January, 1958; it manifested itself in O Léna (Aw.B.1, F52), thus remaining in the same lineage;

/228 cont./

784 A kunu is exercised by a Dipélu yɔrka, borne in 1958 by
775 a Loka woman. It is invoked before the fraga tiki of l'Enfant
778 Perdu village (Dipélu I). Sometimes a broko dɛ is celebrated
769 for it in the same forms as the ceremony of the eighth day
613 after death.

784 We have likewise not been able to collect complete
613 information on the kunu of the Kotika lineage. This lineage,
114 divided into three fractions, forms a unit with respect to the kunu.

784 A kunu is exercised by the yɔrka of a Surinam Creole
613 assassinated in former times by a member of the lineage. Its
775 bearer in 1958 was Todo (K1, E68), a man of the Kotika lo
787 living in Boniville. In 1958 a young woman of the lineage,
[761] Awini (K1, E37), died suddenly; the yɔrka revealed that it
[684] had struck Awini because she had a liaison with Sintamann (K3, E145), thus committing pikadu. The idea of the collective responsibility of the lineage is so deeply accepted by the Boni that the near relatives of the dead woman did not reproach Sintamann at all.

784 /229/ A yɔrka of the Kotika lineage may exercise a kunu on
613 the Djuka. This is the case of an affair going back to 1950;
775 a young woman died some time after having a serious discussion
761 with a Djuka woman who had hit her. Deaths among the Djuka
619 these last years had been attributed to its vengeance.

784 It seems that there is no other kunu exercised by a Djuka
619 upon a Boni lineage and vice versa. This is surprising, con-
613 sidering the fights which in former times set the two nations against each other.

621 The Djuka and Saramaka living isolated in the midst
784 of the Boni know their kunu, which were revealed to them in
[755] childhood. In case of sickness, they employ divinatory pro-
[613] cedures in order to know what kunu is concerned, then they make offerings. But in case of serious illness, they are forced to go back to the village of origin of their lineage.

754 /246 cont./
755 The maltif asked 2,000 francs from him as the price of
648 his consultation.

789 Curse. Someone who judges himself victim of evil-doing has at his disposal a supreme resource: /247/ cursing his adversary, that is, appealing directly to the supreme God, Masa Gadu, to ask him to punish his adversary. This is called seni gadu -- sending God -- against someone. To do that, while asking God to kill him or make him sick, one kneels and strikes the ground with both hands in the presence of the adversary or in front of his house. This act is regarded as totally different from wisi, for one is relying on the justice of God, who judges with equity and punishes only the guilty.

However that may be, cursing is for the Refugee Blacks a very serious act. It may happen that, feeling guilty, the source of the injustice asks pardon and promises to make amends for his misdeeds. The one who uttered the curse again implores Masa Gadu in order to take back the words he spoke: "He has given me satisfaction, do nothing against him." But oftener still it happens that a complicated affair is involved, that both parties concerned are persuaded of their legitimate
[692] ground and curse each other. The case must then be carried before the grand man and straightened out at once or misfortunes
[695] may pounce upon both lineages. The grand man judges without appeal and inflicts a punishment on the one who was wrong
[778] on the main issue of the debate. Then he obliges the ad-
[782] versaries to be reconciled before the fraga tiki, where the offering of tafia and water is made.

[828] The effect of these conceptions is to render nearly im-
[754] possible hidden hatreds and rancors, which the Refugee Blacks fear very much, for they are the source of wisi.

688 In general, the act of getting angry in public and serious-
689 ly insulting somebody is considered as an offense against moral and religious law, capable of attracting misfortunes; it is an

/250 cont./

751 Next in the preoccupations of the Refugee Blacks come the ɔbia called tapu, that is to say, protection. There exist numerous kinds adapted to the various dangers of a supernatural order (protection against other divinities, against the maleficent entities of the bush, against the wisimɛ).

[796] [754] The Ampuku are generally asked for tapu against the wisimɛ. We saw a remarkable one in front of the house of F... (Dju). Its owner was not a little proud of it and he talked about it to us freely.

751 778 [532] The ɔbia, placed at ground level in front of the door, was composed of a crude representation in clay of a head in which appeared two wide-open eyes: in front of it were planted in the ground three plant clusters including a planting of groundnuts and one of maize; the whole was topped by a small basket containing an egg. It was necessary to water the ɔbia with a certain infusion of leaves at regular intervals to restore its force.

751 754 This ɔbia insured infallible protection against wisimɛ; in fact, none of them would have been able to cross the threshold without stubbing his toe on the door frame in spite of all his precautions; F... stated that his ɔbia constituted by this fact an effective means of detection of wisimɛ, for it was enough for him to invite suspects to enter his hut, to know what to think; the wisimɛ refused, for fear of thus being given away in the eyes of all; one could thus at least pin down suspicions.

751 [411] Other ɔbia are called sama mɔfu tenɛy (ɔbia against "people's mouths," that is, people's jealousy). They are nearly always seen on fine guns; they have a cord to hold them made of mɔriti palm fibers, to which two cowries are fastened.

755 The ɔbia intended to treat diseases generally have for support a calabash containing the infusion of leaves and a ball of pɛmba (kaolin). The person concerned sprinkles himself several times a day with this liquid.

/286 cont./

845 961 578 613 When twins die young people almost always blame a disagreement which has arisen in the lineage. The twins did not want to live in a disunited family. The head of the lineage then exhorts his people to be reconciled with one another at any cost in order to avoid new misfortunes (1).

[753] 1. In general they have the idea that dissensions occurring in the lineage have as a consequence illnesses or misfortunes striking the members of the lineage.

[182] This notion plays a major role in the social life of the Refugee Blacks; after the kum, it is the principle cement holding groups together.

845 998 One who harms a twin is sure to fall ill. Conversely, it is assumed that the twin must not abuse his power, that he must lead an upright life and avoid quarrels. He is nearer to God than other men.

They assume for example that Efa, of Papaïsson village, herself a twin and the mother of twins, has a very special power. Nobody would risk harming her.

[613] [774] In lineages having many twins there exists a place of worship sacred to a vital principle called Twilinge. The nature of this principle is not clear. The Boni define it as the soul of twins. Is it a matter of the first twins Adam and Eve? Or of a collective worship offered up to all deceased twins?

/257/

This worship is celebrated each time there is occasion to protect newborn babies. They are washed with a certain decoction of leaves.

Every four or five years on the average a big dance takes place, then the father and mother of twins and the twins themselves are washed in order to maintain their powers and keep them in good health.

If these dances are not held, dead twins will show their anger by making living twins and parents of twins sick.

Lineages that do not have twins do not practice these rites. If twins are born to them, they will apply at the place of worship of another lineage.

Papalison and Lapé have this cult particularly highly developed.

Tone pikin. It is assumed that a woman may be made pregnant by a river god, either a Papa gadu snake god or by the Wata lagi, which look like Indians. Children thus conceived are called tone pikin.

A . . . , of Papalison, had cut a clearing opposite a remarkable white rock called Weti sti, where she used to moor her boat. She had not had any children for several years and she became pregnant. When her daughter was born a possessed person revealed that she was born of a Papa gadu snake god which lived there: since then her parents /relatives/ go regularly to this rock to make offerings.

About 1910 Alama (Kormotibo) had followed her husband to a shipyard on the lower river; one day while walking in the forest she met an Indian having the appearance of a Galibi Indian, who was carrying a newborn baby. She stopped and admired the baby. The Indian said to her: "Do you wish to raise him?" She acquiesced. He said: "We shall see each other again"; then he went away so quickly that she had the impression that he had disappeared on the spot.

/258 cont./

776 One of the best known of these gods is that of the Maruini.
823 It is assumed to control all the tributaries of the Maruini as far
778 as their sources. Its place of worship is a thicket situated
downstream from the dangerous Kubi Sula Falls, at the mouth
782 of the river. Before starting to go upriver in August, 1956,
[539] the crews of our three boats, in an atmosphere of great
meditation, lined up behind the eldest of them, who made
the offering of water and tafia, uttering these words: "God
who commands this river, watch over us, keep us from being
sick, let no accident happen to us; if there is on this river
an interdiction which we do not know (2) and which, through

2. It is obvious here that this is a case of de facto worship of a divinity about which nothing is known.

ignorance, we do not observe, pardon us. Bring us back to
our villages safe and sound." The boatmen came one after
the other to make the offering of tafia. The scene lasted more
than a quarter of an hour. This ceremony was not without
nobility, engendering belief in that sincere fervor of animists
so often mentioned in the /259/ ethnographic literature.
771 But our return at the end of our work trip took place in a
completely different atmosphere, showing the strictly practical
and utilitarian side of the religion of the Refugee Blacks.
Once past the Kubi Sula, the three boss boatmen could not
persuade any of their men, who were in the act of eating
their meal, to accompany them as far as the place of worship
to thank the god. Some told us straight out that they were
scoffing at this god from now on, having no intention of
[782] coming back on the Maruini. As for the boss boatmen them-
selves, they measured stingily the quantity of tafia offered

/259 cont./

241 776 [532] [831] [778] [643] [782] Cult of Mama gɔ̃. Mama gɔ̃, mother of the earth, is represented by a crude statue of white clay provided with enormous breasts, symbol of fecundity, which can be seen in a little hut situated on the open place of Boniville village. Each year, when the time for cutting the clearings approaches, the grand man, surrounded by many other people, prays to the god to grant fertility to the plantings. If rain does not fall, an offering of water and tafia is made and the statue is sprinkled.

811 The Boni do not appear to associate the idea of women's fecundity with that of the fertility of the soil, and we have not heard anyone say that the grand man prays on this subject.

241 776 Neither do they appear to have a very clear idea about the relationships of this worship with that of the gɔ̃ gadu, local gods of the soil.

796 535 787 Every three years a great possession dance takes place in Boniville on January 1, /260/ in which the Papa gadu gods dance in front of the sanctuary of Mama gɔ̃. We have not been able to obtain specific information on the meaning of this rite.

241 776 [784] Cult of the gɔ̃ gadu. It is assumed that every portion of land is under the sway of a local god, gɔ̃ gadu. Its power is limited only by the fertility of the soil, and he who neglects its worship cannot be attacked in his person or in his goods, but only punished by a poor harvest.

What is the nature of these gods, what is their place in the cosmogony? These are questions which not one of our informants had ever asked himself. In their minds, gɔ̃ gadu has a de facto existence, and is rendered de facto worship. This worship consists essentially of:

[782] --Offerings made at the moment of planting;

[527] --The observance of a local day of rest, kina dɛ, corresponding to the god's day of rest.

/260 cont./

241 776 In order to observe these rites suitably, it is important then to know in which god's domain are situated the lands one is cultivating. On the banks of the great river, the division of the lands among the gods of the soil has been well known since the time of the ancestors. By summarizing the kina dɛ of the farming habitations, one realizes that the domain of each god is extensive; it occupies several kilometers along the banks. It is often thought (but not everywhere) that the two banks are controlled by different gods. For example:

241 776 529

Downstream from Boniville, right bank: Wednesday;
Toward Kormotibo, right bank: Thursday;
Toward the mouth of the Inini, both banks: Wednesday;
Toward Simayé Falls, both banks: Saturday.

On those days one may do nothing related to agriculture, and in particular one may not dig in the earth nor plant. If absolutely necessary one may go to pull up tubercules.

What one must avoid above all is handling tools which make noise and could disturb the god, except in the immediate vicinity of the water which is not under its control. However, one may shoot off a gun.

This kina dɛ is observed more strictly than Friday, the general kina dɛ in Boni country, which appears to be related to the cult of Mama gɔ̃. On those days people mend boats and especially go hunting and fishing.

241 778 Offerings are made in a purely individual and local fashion; in each farming habitation is seen at the approaches to the wharf a worship place formed by a simple meat-drying rack decorated with pennants of several colors, on which the offerings are exposed; even if this habitation combines people of diverse kin groups, there is only one place of worship.

/260 cont./

241 178 People who have no farming habitation and who farm on the outskirts of /Fig. 29 appears here/ /261/ residence villages get together in groups of three or four to establish a worship place in a copse preserved from the forest adjoining their clearings.

241 182 Cane juice, syrup, rice pounded fine but not cooked are offered.

They make this offering at the time of the plantings, saying, "Gadu, please come and eat a little, watch over us, thank you very much."

The Boni who observe the rites most faithfully renew this offering each month at the new moon.

If someone has two clearings in two different sectors, he performs the rites twice, each gɔ̃ gadu being entirely independent of the others.

241 171 On this subject one notices that the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks are much more systematized than those of the Creole populations of African origin in the West Indies. They do not think each field has an individual soul; neither do they apparently believe in the possibility of capturing the soul of the field in order to make the neighbor's field sterile out of revenge. These beliefs, which play such a large role in the popular magic of the West Indies, seem to be without exact counterpart in the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks.

241 [176] Interdictions and various rites. Cutting a clearing involves great dangers: it is necessary to avoid injuring the maleficent divinities of the bush, which have as supports well-defined plants and animals, by brutal destruction of these supports, and their wreaking inexorable revenge -- the kunu -- on the lineage of the unintentional sacrilege. It is therefore necessary to seek out these plants and animals and to carry out for each the rites recommended by the ancestors' experience without forgetting a single one. No Refugee Black would dream of

/261 cont./

241 neglecting these rites. Their rigorous observance has the effect of preventing farming from becoming for them a commercial activity and of keeping a religious and family feeling in it.

824 778 784 [776] --The kikiti (silk-cotton tree) is a much feared tree, for according to the elders each one of them shelters 12 categories of divinities, especially a Papa gadu and an Ampuku. So it is absolutely impossible to cut it. One must even be very careful not to injure its roots which spread far. The site of every one felled is preserved. Likewise people watch carefully so as not to injure the roots of the big silk-cotton trees often found in the villages.

824 778 776 361 Still, the fact that their site was chosen for setting up a village shows that people believe they can make an alliance with the divinities which reside in a silk-cotton tree and draw their protection upon themselves.

824 778 789 [776] --The katu tree (Bombax Surinamiensis), tree of very large size, *living in symbiosis with a parasitic liana which* appears to enclose it in a gigantic net, also shelters maleficent divinities (Ampuku, Papa gadu, Bumba gadu). One may cut it down after performing rites whose purpose is to transfer these divinities into another tree.

First, one must have procured from a man who possesses this remedy a pot of ɔbia containing an infusion of leaves in the middle of which is a bracelet of fibers. /202/ It costs [835] two liters of tafia, four liters of beverage (beer for example), one large piece of cloth, and one machete.

Having arrived at the foot of the tree, one bathes his body and machete with this infusion; one puts the fiber bracelet on one's arm. One also bathes several small sticks provided [822] with squares of white cloth (for the Papa gadu), dark blue and red (for the Ampuku), and a pinot palm (pina tɔgo) leaf.

One plants the sticks at the foot of the tree, one strikes the trunk with the palm leaf while invoking the divinities of

/262 cont./

824 778 789

the tree: "Ala sani di ɛ̃ na a udu ya, da mu kumɔto, beka mi ɔ faa ɛ̃ŋ. Kɔm na a pina tɔ̃ŋgo: All things (suprahuman entities) who are in this tree, leave it, for I am going to throw it to the ground; come into this palm leaf." One takes away the palm leaf and the little flags far from there into the interior of the lands, to a spot where nobody is likely to come to fell trees, and one arranges them beside some big tree. The divinities will come and settle there. Nevertheless, it is still necessary to wait almost a month to cut the katu tree, probably to leave the maleficent influences time to dissipate.

824 778 [770] [771]

The Boni are so afraid of this tree that many of them, deeming these precautions insufficient, give up the idea of cutting it down and go to establish their clearings elsewhere. The Creole gold miners of the Haut Maroni, who call it cottonwood, also attribute a maleficent influence to it and some of them do not cut it.

The Refugee Blacks fear also, but to a lesser degree, what they call kɔtkɔti, that is, the small trees of any species which, instead of having grown straight, have two angles in their trunk like a Z. This is a very rare anomaly. In such a shrub is hidden a maleficent entity, taku sani, capable, if a man cut the trunk unintentionally, to take revenge on him by paralyzing a limb or even the whole body in a bent position. In order to see whether or not the entity is present in the shrub, there exists, according to the Boni, a very simple means: one gently brings the finger near the bent part. If he feels his finger held there to the point where he hat trouble drawing it back, the genie is present! The power of autosuggestion characteristic of the Refugee Blacks shows itself clearly here.

[776] [784]

[789]

Rites exist for rendering the kɔtkɔti harmless, for cutting them with impunity, and even for using them in magic preparations, but we do not know the details. Kɔtkɔti are among the objects usually found in the chapels (ɔbia ɔsu) of Kumẽnti; we have even happened to see one used to fasten a

/262 cont./

824 978 door; it was a particularly feared kɪndu that no thief would have dared to remove.

825 978 [776] --The Kɪntamasu ae the divinities, especially maleficent and hostile to men, who live in the termitaries (these are termites proper, who male their nest in the earth, and not wood lice, much more common). There is one to each termitary.

[789] After a meticulous examination of the soil of the clearing, one marks all the termituries /263/ and sprinkles each of them with a preparation containing leaves, pink clay kukusa, and manioc juice. One adjures the genie to go away, no matter where.

It happens that in spite of all the precautions taken a termitary is forgotten. Then, several days later, one will [789] have the consternation o seeing the Kɪntamasu reveal itself [784] in someone of the lineage; it announces that it is going to exercise its kunu (curse). It is temporarily appeased by offer- [782] ings of tafia, various drinks, red cloth.

796 198 787 The Kɪntamasu call themselves the Akɔlo. Through the mouth of their bearers they speak a language nobody understands. However, when they wish to be understood by those present they speak Kumɪri.

755 784 Observation in Boniville, January, 1957:

A..., boatman of the border-fixing mission, asks for three days off. His wife, Masauman, has been ill for several days; divination (in this particular case the gita of a female relative in his lineage) showed that it was the doing of a Kɪntamasu injured in the burning of the clearing which he himself, A..., cut for his wife in October. The Kɪntamasu has not yet manifested itself directly, but a kunu threatens; to appease it he must put in action the remedy known only 000 to M..., an old man of Asisi. He will go to the spot, following

"OBIA COMESI"

"Put them on. See the moon? You will catch fresh colds if you sit in the moonlight with your heads uncovered." 796 [87]

So with sun helmets on our heads we sat, and, as we listened to the new rhythms of the drums, there came a shriek from the river which brought us to our feet. Those who were not dancing ran up the hill away from the drums. 781 796 796

"Obia! Obia comes! It is the Kromanti!" were the cries, and our cook and our town man placed themselves in line across the front of our hut, watching uneasily. 787

"They will destroy all you have if they get inside," they called to us, "we must try to keep them out."

Up from the river, along the path he had trodden but a while before, came a man whom we could not recognize in the disguise given him by the paint on his face. Half his face was white, half a deep red, and we later learned what we did not then know, that this was the face marking of the Djadja Kromanti and that this man was possessed by one of the two Kromanti spirits which carry danger to those who are present when the seizure comes. He advanced toward the drums, machete in hand, as though he were stalking his prey, his legs raised high at every step, trailing some enemy. At his mouth the foam was gathering, and the words he uttered were in the Kromanti tongo, the sacred speech not understood by the uninitiated. [198]

The songs changed in character, and the singers were men. The women who had not run away were dancing a quick accompaniment to the drum beats, adding their shrill voices to the singing and the intensity of the cries of the possessed man. When the possessed man reached the hut, he stopped in front of the drummers. As their rhythms poured out of the barrel-like drums, he answered stroke for stroke with shouted cries in his sacred secret language, raising his machete higher and higher, until, with a quick stroke, he slashed at two of the players who were seated side by side on a log. He missed them by what seemed a hair's breadth as his machete, whistling through the narrow space between their bodies, sank deep into the log on which they sat.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

796 Other cries now came to us, and from the bush a second
796 possessed man burst into the clearing. He, too, had a
781 machete, and he made straight for our hut. But obia did
787 not prompt him to insist on entering, and he came close to us, gibbering in our faces, and then, stepping high as had the other, went his way to slash at our washbasins, sending one of them, that we treasure as a memory of that night's adventure, hurtling into the bush with a deep dent in its side.

From the river came renewed shouts, and some of the men dashed to the bank to jump into a canoe and paddle into the rapids, so that they might watch the possessed man who had leaped into the river to pit his strength against the fast water. On and on he swam upstream in the foaming water, as from the bank we watched his progress uneasily in the clear light of the moon. Finally obia left him, and the men in the boat seized his inert form and brought him back to shore.

796 When we returned to our hut, we found several others
787 possessed. Obia had claimed six or seven, some with faces painted half white, half red, as was that of the first man, others with faces whitened, while still others had white faces with black markings. These last had Tigri, and the white was for Opete. Those who danced for the buzzard had no machetes, but went about in a circle, moving with bodies bent forward from their waists and with arms thrown back in imitation of the bird from which their spirit took its name.

One man with the Tigri face-painting took away the apinti from the drummer and placing it in the center of the clearing leaned over it and began drumming faster rhythms. Now indeed obia itself was drumming.

796 Long before this, we had observed the amenities of the
203 occasion. As hosts, our duty was to provide the ceremonial rum with which the spirits needed to be regaled, and our cook, holding the bottle of rum for us, filled and refilled the small glass which we offered to men and women. Some did not drink at all but poured part of the rum on the

/13 cont./

796 [782] committed. This feast, at which pigs and poultry are sacrificed, must last for four weeks and thus ends with the following new moon. They pray, dancing and singing, while from time to time they kneel in order to ask for blessings.

[778] In the place where their idol stands they plant long sticks in the ground at certain intervals, on which they let flutter a number of long narrow strips of white cotton in the manner of flags.

[781] They celebrate this feast, for which no costs are spared, with all possible solemnity; it is attended by old and young and is very important among them.

Chapter IX

Conceptions about Death and Eternity

775 They believe that at death the existence of the human being ends, but that the spirit of the deceased does not disappear altogether and remains among them for a long time. Also they believe in unlucky spirits, which, as a result of an earlier evil life, must wander about restlessly, while the life on earth of the peaceful spirits is supposed to have been free of misdeeds.

They do not assume rewards in the hereafter for good deeds; /14/ misdeeds, however, in their opinion, are punished with restless wandering about.

[755] They say that those spirits know all that happens, and that they can come in contact with them at their feasts, that they receive many a hint and information, and through concealed signs come to know remedies against diseases, to which they attach the fullest confidence.

Chapter X

Marriage and Marital Life

584 Their marriages take place with few ceremonies. Frequently young men and even men ask pregnant women, in case they should bring a daughter into the world, to designate that girl as their wife,

/20/

765 Thereupon follows a second, who just like the first has a calabash in hand, but this time filled with spirituous liquor, and from time to time sprinkles a few drops of it on the ground, in token of the fact that on this occasion, too, by means of drink, they think of the deceased with joy.

Then they again return to the dwelling, where all are gathered, and celebrate an enjoyable night with song and dancing until daybreak.

Chapter XII

Character, Virtues and Vices

157 The Bush Negro, as I have already said above, has a great [577] deal of respect for old age and for distinguished persons; with respect to their closest relations they are honest, which they can- [461] not pride themselves on otherwise. In their ordinary affairs they [609] are not lazy, but work tirelessly whenever it is necessary. With respect to strangers they are generous and obliging, all the more [152] when they can assume that they may claim reward. Jealousy, [784] envy, and malice are their greatest vices. Concerning many matters they have an antipathy that they call trefoe (treef). Thus, [781] for instance, one will eat something, the other not. Also they are very superstitious in small matters, to which they cling all the way down to distant generations; they call that obia (literally translated, bewitchment, magic).

262 An Auca girl who through attachment to my wife and me [123] has already lived with us in the town for fully five years, because since the death of her husband, who was one of my most trusted [589] workers, she did not want to attach herself to another, and who performed all kinds of housework for us, carries her trefoe of not eating any unscaled fish so far that she will not even cook her food on a fire where there is a pot in which an unscaled fish was previously prepared. I know another one who uses no milk and also does not eat meat of any kind (with the exception of bacon), unless it be game, and then it must be prepared by her, on the grounds that everything is prepared with butter and that butter comes from

/180 cont./

765 are divided up equally among all the inhabitants of the village. But if the dead person had near relatives in the village, children, nephews, or brothers, it is they who stand the main burden.

[613] Members of the dead person's lineage who are settled in other villages contribute equally to the expenses and the organizing of the festival, but in a symbolic fashion. /181/

[623] A council (kuutu) of the village inhabitants sets the date; during the two weeks preceding each one is busy. The women

765 hull and winnow rice, prepare great quantities of couac and

262 sugar-cane juice. The busimã scour the bush and have meat and fish smoked. Each one, according to his means, buys tafia, sugar, chocolate, and other articles of food liked by the Refugee Blacks.

765 The celebration of the rites occupies a whole week. This

775 is because, the Refugee Blacks think the influence of the dead person can be eliminated only progressively by the repetition of the rite of separation.

The first day, the yɔrka of the dead person whose mourning is going to be lifted is called by formulas beaten on the

[535] apinti drum. Then possession dances take place.

765 The second day is reserved for the material preparation for the ceremonies to follow.

[613] The third day, the spouse in mourning, if there is one, is conducted by the members of the dead person's lineage under

[822] the mortuary shed. He is dressed in red and is congratulated for having kept the mourning well. Then he is led to the river,

[783] and old women of the dead person's lineage begin to bathe him

[775] while adjuring the yɔrka to part company with him.

The fourth day at nightfall, all those present assemble at the mortuary shed. They recite tales (Anãsi tɔli),

[538] improvisations (mato), and riddles (ɔdo). This phase of the

[781] festival has as its object the concentrating of the attention of the hearers; it creates a warm, collective atmosphere which impregnates those present, bringing to them intense and highly colored emotions.

/221 cont./

Relations between Gods and Men

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613

The kunu

The kunu. The Refugee Blacks call kunu the collective curse which has weighed on a matrilineage since an ancient offense. The kunu is without time limit, without pardon, without pity, blind in the choice of its victims; in principle, it can end only with the complete extermination of the lineage. Each time
[753] that adversity swoops down on one of its members in the form
[761] of death, sickness, various calamities, the kunu is the most frequently obtained explanation. The instrument of this inexpiable vengeance is either a god or the yɔkka (spirit) of a dead person.

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This notion, which occupies a central position in the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks, does not appear to have been borrowed directly. Most of the populations of Dahomey /222/ and the Ivory Coast take for granted the idea of arbitrary punishments exercised upon the members of the lineage by the gods or the ancestors of the group. But no population of these regions has, to our knowledge, developed so highly systematized a doctrine.

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The conceptions developed by the Refugee Blacks, divinities impelled exclusively by vengeance, and especially ancestors inexorably chastising lineages other than their own, have created new relationships among individuals and among lineages.

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We have not been able to elucidate the origin of the word kunu. Perhaps it is a deformation of the Mina word ekunu, which means burial.

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Three categories of divinities can pursue men with their kunu, and because of this fact the Refugee Blacks feel toward them an extreme terror mixed with veneration.

/238 cont./ The struggle against

754 781 wisi is one of the foundations of their social life, protection against the undertakings of the wisimã one of the most constant worries of each person. Nobody knows these wisimã with certainty; one is reduced to vague suspicions of this or that person, which one dares not formulate for lack of proof. No one knows exactly how they operate. Yet each one feels their enterprises everywhere about him, and those who by reason of their wealth or successes with women have the most reason to believe themselves exposed to jealousy live in anxiety.

754 [828] [784] Intense jealousy or hate are already a form of wisi, and this is why each one must try to drive them out of his heart; besides, he would risk falling ill or being subject to all sorts of calamities for having broken his oath. But the wisimã employs explicit procedures:

--Burying a bottle (beli bata) containing sorcery under his enemy's door. When the latter comes home, the sorcery will [751] penetrate into him. So some Refugee Blacks carry a special ɔbia against this kind of aggression: thanks to this ɔbia, they will feel a sharp pain in the tip of the foot when approaching the bottle, which they will thus uncover easily.

754 774 --Kisi akkaa, stealing the akka of the enemy. The latter then becomes mad. The Boni believe that the wisimã operates at night, taking advantage of the fact that the enemy's akka has left his body to wander. He captures it by attracting it with what it likes. For that, one must know the name of his enemy's akka, know its tastes and preferences; all things which each Refugee Black will carefully hide, even from his comrades. What the wisimã does with the akka was not clear to any of our informants. He tries either to capture it in order to deprive his enemy of it, or to make it hostile to its bearer, or to inspire it with abnormal ideas or tastes. If someone manifests an abnormal change /239/ in tastes or behavior, people will be inclined to think that a wisimã was able to act upon his akka.

/262 cont./

824 the tree: "Ala sani di dɛ̃ na a udu ya, da mu kumɔto, beka
778 mi ɔ faa ɛ̃ŋ. Kɔm na a pina tɔ̃ŋgo: All things (suprahuman
789 entities) who are in this tree, leave it, for I am going to throw it to the ground; come into this palm leaf." One takes away the palm leaf and the little flags far from there into the interior of the lands, to a spot where nobody is likely to come to fell trees, and one arranges them beside some big tree. The divinities will come and settle there. Nevertheless, it is still necessary to wait almost a month to cut the katu tree, probably to leave the maleficent influences time to dissipate.

824 The Boni are so afraid of this tree that many of them,
778 deeming these precautions insufficient, give up the idea of
[781] cutting it down and go to establish their clearings elsewhere.
[171] The Creole gold miners of the Haut Maroni, who call it cottonwood, also attribute a maleficent influence to it and some of them do not cut it.

The Refugee Blacks fear also, but to a lesser degree, what they call kɔtkɔti, that is, the small trees of any species which, instead of having grown straight, have two angles
[176] in their trunk like a Z. This is a very rare anomaly. In such
[184] a shrub is hidden a maleficent entity, taku sani, capable, if a man cut the trunk unintentionally, to take revenge on him by paralyzing a limb or even the whole body in a bent position. In order to see whether or not the entity is present in the shrub, *there exists, according to the Boni, a very simple means:* one gently brings the finger near the bent part. If he feels his finger held there to the point where he has trouble drawing it back, the genie is present! The power of autosuggestion characteristic of the Refugee Blacks shows itself clearly here.

[189] Rites exist for rendering the kɔtkɔti harmless, for cutting them with impunity, and even for using them in magic preparations, but we do not know the details. Kɔtkɔti are among the objects usually found in the chapels (ɔbia ɔsu) of Kumẽnti; we have even happened to see one used to fasten a

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Ah, but they knew each other. 484

Bayo began paddling faster to keep up with him.

"There is to be a council meeting at Gankwe. I had to hurry away last night, and I must get back there in time. We must have permission from the spirit of the dead man to go back to work, and Sedefo has to find out if he can start up the river, and if he does go, we must all pray to the ancestors because four men will be going from Gankwe, and the *Gran Sembe*—the village elders—have things to decide . . ." 623 775 [782]

Now, fearing that he might have said too much, he doubled his speed, and Bayo understood that the other preferred to be alone. They belonged to different clans, Bayo to the same as the headman of the tribe, and the Gankwe people to another. Gankwe was sending important men to take the Bakra up the river. The chief's own brother, Asikanu, was to go, although it was said he was being sent out of the way while his adultery case was being settled. There had been talk about this case up and down the river. The Gankwe clan head had given a chief's sanctuary to the offender because he was his own brother, people said. Well, if the injured husband committed suicide as he threatened, and sent a kunu to the family of the brother, and even the village and clan, it would be an ugly thing. But so it was with trouble about women. It was as they said, [684] [718]

"Sleep is death
Woman kills man." [538]

He half chanted the proverb and smiled, for he looked forward to his trip up the river with an eye to a visit in Lamé, where the women knew how to love. And he began singing the seketi song which he liked so well. Both the melody and the words were old, but he sang the refrain as if it were quite his own—whatever hardships there were on the river, at Lamé one slept with the women! 831

At the village of Akunkun an old man and a boy of about nine were at the landing place ready to start. Bayo 484

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484 recognised the coat of a village chief, and by the size of the
[501] boat he knew that it belonged to the upper river, far, far beyond the stretches he had yet penetrated.

He spoke the greeting in the faintest of whispers, out of
596 deference to a man of age and rank, and stopped his boat,
484 for this village belonged to his own clan, and it was here that he would get from his mother's sister the cassava
[562] bread which she had got ready for his journey up river. He got out of his boat gently; decorum demanded that he subdue his energy before the man of position. His palms rested on his knees for an instant, as he stood slightly
[516] inclined before the older man, and what questions he answered, he did in speech which was punctuated with the ceremonial stammering demanded by the occasion. He had put his toga-like cloth over him and stood hesitating whether or not to take his paddle to the village with him, for he was so well known here that this settlement was almost as familiar to him as his own. But at last he leaned down and took up his paddle. This mature formality, in a village where he was still often looked upon as a boy, was prompted perhaps by this meeting with the chief, or by the new feeling of confidence he had, since he was taking the Bakra's boat up the river. But here he was, going up the embankment with the firm, slow step of the stranger.

484 The old chief had already started, having first made his
380 sacrifice of rum to the spirit of his boat by squirting it over
[501] the finely carved head which appeared in relief on the
584 prow. And now, as he guided his canoe with the sure strokes
539 of his large steering paddle, he sang his prayer.

> "*Kediamo, Kediampon,*
> *Mother of the River,*
> *Sacred ancestors, and my a'ka,*
> *I am taking this journey down the river,*
> *I am going to the city,*
> *Grant that I travel in safety,*
> *Grant that the trip be joyous,*
> *Grant that I meet with friends,*

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Grant that I walk with strangers in friendship,
Grant that the white man deal fairly with me.
Great Sky God,
Mother of the River,
Sacred ancestors,
I thank you."

Before the sound of the old chief's voice had died away, Bayo was on the bank again with the great disks of cassava bread in his arms. He covered them carefully and was on his way. His aunt had provided nicely for him. She had given him a large bottle of palm oil as well, and now, if he could but shoot a monkey or a macaw while going up the river, he would have excellent food. The Bakra would be certain to have a drink or two for his paddlers, and some leaf tobacco; and, though he himself was not old enough to snuff tobacco, he would save it for a gift to the father of his betrothed.

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[962]

He went back to his seketi.

"Ma, a Lamé
A sib' ko' de maye."

On the bank of the next village several women were at work washing clothes. Were they young? Ah, but he must hurry. Twice he had been overtaken.

"Tia, odi! tia, odi! tia, odi!" He spoke to each of the three women separately and finished his "Adiosi" with an extra flourish, for he knew as he paddled away that the circle of cicatrized kamemba and the snake incised in the small of his back below it would gleam in the sun and look alive to the women who watched him shake off.

That Lamé obia was a powerful thing!

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At Gankwe they had been up all night, for yesterday was the eighth day after death, and that night the ceremony of B'oko Dei had to be cared for—until night met day, the villagers said, there would be Anansi stories, and then, after the dawn, the elders would hold council, for one's

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other bank, and now as we reached the opposite shore, we saw the small opening of a minor channel which we were to take. With astonishing nicety the tip of the juncture of the main stream and this smaller channel was reached at the same instant. Loin cloths were adjusted, and once more the pole-men took up their pole-sticks and continued the slow passage against the current.

The boats were now again traveling close to the bank, so that the details of the forest which fringed the river could be clearly seen. Straight from the water rose the wall of sheer green, all of a dark, almost dull purplish color—a wall of fifty, a hundred, a hundred and fifty feet and more, as the lianas dropped down from the upper branches of the great trees which gave these parasitic growths their support. Here and there we saw a brilliant wing of a bird, and a Bush Negro, ever ready to augment his meager food supply, would unlimber an ancient shotgun, steady himself, and shoot. In Sedefo's canoe, Angita, his pole-man, saw a blue and golden macaw silhouetted as it sat on a slender branch. Out came the shotgun. The macaw, startled but unhit, flew to another branch farther upstream. We crept slowly, noiselessly ahead, and when we were close by Angita shot again, and missed again. The macaw now did not trouble to fly away, and when Angita made aim once more, Sedefo stopped him.

"No, mati—Let him be, friend. The gods are protecting him. Put away your gun."

Again we cut across, as we regained the wide channel, this time so that the men might speak their errand to the spirit of their great ancestor, the god of the large creek. We did not go too close, however, and all we could see was an azang again, the spiritual guard of palm fronds, and beyond the whitened trunk of a tree and a slender stick with a bit of white cotton attached to its end.

Sedefo spoke conversationally. "*Aso*—ancestor—we are going up the river. We are working for the American Bak'a. We are on our way to the G'ama's country. Grant

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that we walk the Bak'a with pleasure, that he treat us well, that we walk in safety. Thank you." 484 [782]

The men in the other canoes, who had gathered about Sedefo's boat, clapped their hands, as Sedefo had done, and said "Thank you," then took up their paddles.

We had noticed that when Sedefo spoke, Bibifo's lips had moved, as though he were either repeating the prayer, or speaking his own, but when the others joined in the voiced "Gran' tangi!" he was silent.

"Did you pray, Bayo?" we asked. Yes, he had. He had prayed for us, too. Did Bibifo also pray for the white man? But before Bibifo could answer, Bayo laughed aloud.

"Bibifo is *kerki suma*—a church man. Call him Adrian, it will please him. I call him Bibifo, nothing else."

"And you, Bayo?"

"I—you will take me with you to Africa. I want to learn African obia, and come back to the Saramacca, and be a big obia man here on the river." [152]

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Old Bibifo accepted his great-grandson's jibes with good humor. We were sorry for the old fellow who was so little at ease with the other men, and was so mercilessly twitted by the youngster in the bow. 888 522 578

If the old man were to make a suggestion to him about a channel which Bayo had decided against, then he would turn brazenly, and exclaim, "Massa cow!" This is part of the proverb which says that a man who owns the cow has the best right to say where it shall graze. If Bibifo objected when Bayo attempted to do something that seemed impossible, he would face about smilingly and say, "The power which has raised the monkey from the ground and taught it to live safely in the trees is not dead yet." [538]

"Bibifo," we said, making conversation with the old man, "Why do we go close to the shore?"

"In the center the current is swift and the river deep. When we go in the center, then we use only paddles. It is 502 484

Chapter IV

KUNU

I

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EVENTS on the river, as it turned out, showed Sedefo's fears of the large boat that rolled, and of his kunu, only too well grounded. It was to him that there occurred the only mishaps of the entire up-river journey. That what happened proved to be no more serious was, according to the general understanding of our men, to be credited to that personal boat of Sedefo's, whose spirit he had tried on many journeys, and had propitiated with offerings of sacred rum and prayer.

It was also whispered among our men that the Bakra's magic from Africa—a wholly imaginary thing, but which explained to the Bush Negroes our ability to do or withstand things that were not expected of us—had something to do with it, too. For kunu was kunu, and the one in Sedefo's family had shown its hand but too many times of late. Had not the family lost another man only a few months earlier? Had not Zimbi just been buried? And Zimbi's wife, dead less than a year before.

Thanks, then, to his boat, Sedefo's life had been spared. It was not for nothing that he had taken every care when making this boat, that before he had felled the log out of which he had made it, he had addressed himself to the spirit of the tree, explaining that he had need
• [782] of its wood for a boat, that he would therefore cut it down. He had rendered his thanks for the spirit's permission, as

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was needful, and since then he had often made prayer to his boat, and the boat had carried him safely.

But this is what happened.

On our fourth day up the river we were on our way early, because the men said the falls ahead were difficult, and they wanted to be through them before they stopped to eat. It took us more than an hour to pass the rapids, for the land rose higher and higher, and the water cascaded from one ledge to the next, often in curving channels of swift water that were too deep to allow the use of pole-sticks, and too swift for the paddles to cope with.

There were also those stretches which were without the piled rocks to give the men a footing for pulling the boats over, so that a rope had to be used, and the going was slow and treacherous. Each of the dugouts had this long rope fastened to its prow, and ahead, on the first ledge, were two or more of the men, the other end of the rope in hand, waiting for the signal to start hauling, while holding on to the sides of the boat as they swam were as many men as could be spared, so that if the rope broke, the boat would not be swept downstream, to go crashing against the rocks. These men who faced the fast water of their river, worked as though at the sight of it their Kromanti fighting spirit had entered their bodies, as if not men were there, but an impersonal force pitting itself against the force of the river. Even where the water was not too deep, and they could haul the boat, care could not be slackened for an instant—a wrong turn, and the boat would be capsized, or, what would be as serious, the impact of a rock might cut a gash in its side or bottom, filling it with water faster than they could manage to bring it to a bank. But at last the sound of the falling water was behind us, and the men, once they were in the still water again, went on with the casualness that they fell into with their river when the danger was over, and cast about for a pleasant place to stop and eat.

All at once there was a shout from behind us. Each boat echoed it shrilly. What's that? Whose boat?

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around, give a strong thrust with the pole-stick, and the canoe was through—a bit of child's play. 502 489 n3

We were soon again to see Sedefo's kunu strike. This time it was almost at dusk. The men, it appeared, would not be able to make the village we had planned on for the night. In half an hour it would be dark, and here we were fully two hours' fast traveling from our intended destination. Overhead clouds were coming up from the east. The sky was rapidly becoming overcast. Rain—and everywhere the impenetrable wall of green, rising dark and forbidding. To make camp where we were would have taken at least two hours, and it was growing darker and darker. The men refused to clear the underbrush in the dark.

It seemed, however, that five minutes upstream on the opposite bank and only a little to the south of where we had stopped to talk things over was a village, the name of which when we heard it we recognized as one of the two we had been asked not to visit. There was nothing to do but to brave the displeasure of the Granman and stop there; so turning we headed our boats toward the opposite shore.

In midstream a great wind came up, a wind that in suddenness and force is only met in the tropics. The men shrieked and shouted and struggled until our boats reached shore. But Sedefo's boat, which was the second, seemed to be lifted bodily out of the water. We could see a black mass being heaved up . . . the black tarpaulin was overboard going downstream, and Sedefo after it. [132]

The wind subsided as quickly as it had sprung up, and when Sedefo came back sometime later, he carried the dripping tarpaulin on his head. He did not drink the rum we gave to warm him, but poured it over his hands and his boat as an offering. [188]

The next day we talked with Bayo about kunu. 502

"Why is it, Bayo, that Sedefo lost his food in the still water? Was it because he felt safe and didn't take care in such small rapids?" 489 n2

"No," he said promptly, "that's how kunu works. A man travels on the river all his life. He goes over small

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688 Marowyne to earn money that he needed for marrying. He was in good health, and he learned about the river "*so te*—until . . . " he knew how to travel on the river safely. But after he had been away only a short time, word came to Kasanya's village that he was ill, and before he could be brought home, he died. They brought back his hair and nail clippings so that his spirit might rest among [769] his own people. They held a big *dede wosu*—wake—for him for six days in the village, with the little coffin and the offerings which were to accompany the spirit, and dancing and Anansi stories and the adji game, just as though he had died at home. There were many guns, too. Everything was done, and the spirit of the dead son was asked to help the family against the kunu which was brought to them by the deed of his mother's mother's brother.

The second son died in the bush. His own gun went off accidentally as he tripped on a hidden liana and killed him, [789] though Kasanya had provided him with all the hunting [229] obias a man would want, and he himself had a strong Krcmanti spirit, so that no gun was supposed to have power to hurt him. The third was married when he died. His boat went over in the rapids. His body was never recovered.

787 "Tomorrow we shall all go and pray to the Mother of the River that she carry us well, that our journey be pleasant, that we reach the Granman's village safely. . . . There across the river is her shrine."

3

761 It soon became clear that two things dominate the fore-
796 ground of the spiritual life of the bush—death and kunu. In
688 the last analysis, however, the two are perhaps but one force, for kunu slowly, inexorably, brings death to one member after another of the offender's kin, and it is largely the dead ancestors and the gods who are responsible for the meting out of kunu, in order that the ancient traditions and beliefs may go on. And so it was that daily, and many times daily, incidents not of our special seeking arose to document our knowledge of kunu.

if it was smaller still it would plague the members of the family with sickness, or bad luck, or it might make them poor and send all kinds of trouble to them. 776

"Kunu," he went on, "attacks the family of the offender, but almost never the person who has done the evil thing himself. That would be too easy. If I wanted very much to do something I should not do, then I might be willing to take death in the end. But to punish my whole family until it is ended—that is too much."

"But what is kunu?" we asked.

"Kunu is a spirit. We dance to it and serve it with offerings. It is not the same in every village, but in our village we dance kunu in this way. If we dance it during the next moon, then we dance one day only, and two months later we dance kunu again. Then we wait eleven months and dance again. We do this every year in the same way." 776 782 776

"Is this enough to keep kunu away? Would it not be better to dance more often?"

"It would do no good at all to dance kunu more often. The spirits would only be angry if they were disturbed all the time. If you have kunu, you have it," we heard again.

But why, we asked, were not people careful? Why, if they knew that kunu was hard, did they not walk more softly still, so that they might avoid this trouble?

"Ma, kye! There are always things happening, people always do things they shouldn't."

"Then life is hard for you Saramacca people," we said. "You must always think of kunu."

Our seriousness amused him. It was, after all, this way with kunu. When you had it, you did what you could. If a wrong was done, then it had to be paid for. But the Bakra should not think that the Saramacca people weren't happy. There were good spirits, too. While some spirits punish, others protect. 776

"Have you seen our women dance, Bakra? A Saramacca woman's foot can do things, mati. Have you seen them dance bandamba? Have you seen them *chake*—shake?" he said, laughing, and turning to the men about him, he added, "We will show them how our women dance—and our men!" 535

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Chapter V

THE SHRINE TO THE RIVER GODS

I

ON THE narrow strip of land below the Mamadam, our hammocks were slung between trees whose trunks leaned well over the water, so that once we stretched out on the canvas, it was like swinging over an abyss to the rhythm of water wearing down rock.

133 At one time the shrine to the gods had stood on this 0178 clearing, but boats had gone aground in the falls, and rafts which needed but little urging when the spirits were friendly were swung about in the current and lost to their kingdom at the river bottom. Even now a great log lay wedged in between rocks in the middle of the stream. The water had worn grooves into its hard surface, yet there it was, held fast against the timeless flaying of the falls.

901 881 189 189 186 Nor was that all. One year when the time for the new rains came, the rain did not fall. In the villages the priests climbed the ladders within the sacred enclosures and from on high poured out libations to the ancestors, beseeching them to intercede in behalf of the living. Those who had river spirits went to the waterside when the moon was dead to dance to the gods. But the drums gave back a dull sound, and the dancing was listless. Those who plunged into the river to swim against the rapids while the drums intoned the exhortations did not remain under water long, and when they came up they uttered no oracles. Many who were known to be possessed by powerful spirits paced back

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and forth on the sandy bank to the rhythm of the voicees in the drums, but their gods would not come. They could not dance, they could not find peace while the drums spoke, and so this disconsolate pacing went on week after week, on those days when the river gods might be danced to. Sometimes the pulse of the drumming, quickening for an interval, stirred the dancers. A shudder would go through the body of one or another and the dry throats would fall to uttering the sacred cries, but almost the next instant the hand of the drummer would go limp, and once more the listless, agonized pacing would continue. The gods were angered. When the drums called them from the river bottom, they came grudgingly and remained sullen, refusing to make their wishes known, and no gods or ancestors came to counsel the wise men in their sleep how to bend the will of the spirits of the river.

In the fields the parched earth baked in the merciless heat until it was like whitened bone. The few plants that had pushed their way up through the sandy soil were now brown dust which any wind might scatter. But there was no wind. No rain, no wind, for in the river the god of the wind dwells, and in the sky the rain god, and these gods are twins, and twins have but one soul, since it is with the gods as it is with humans.

No rain, no wind. Famine was upon the land.

At last, at the village of Opoku a woman had a dream. She was a pure albino, one of the type who, together with those who show by the slight turn of red in their wooly hair a strain of albinism, are called Toné people, and are identified with the river gods. To this Toné woman the gods came in sleep, and spoke their will.

"And what was it you gave to the gods?" we asked Sedefo, who had fallen silent at this point in his story.

"Mati," he said, after a pause, "I am not an important man. You hak what I may not tell. My mouth cannot take upon itself to speak what concerns our big men."

This much he would say. A boat filled with things had been sent down the river. Men standing at the river bank

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had seen a hand reach out for the boat, had seen it vanish out of sight. The gods had accepted the offerings. That year the Granman from the city, the white Granman, had to send rice from a far country to feed them, but the next year the crops were good, and all had been well since that time.

"And was that when this shrine was removed to the other island?"

"*M'an sabi. A kan de*—I do not know. It is possible."

2

"When you get to the Mamadam," we had been told by a priestess in the city, "wash your face in the running water, and call on the Mother of the River three times."

Another had said, "If your foot should trip anywhere, be sure to call on your ancestors, but if you should happen to slip at the Mamadam, you must go at once to the river, strike the water three times, and ask the Mother of the River to release your soul. It is a bad thing to lose your soul there."

And our principal story-teller in the city, who was something of a wit, had said: "You both have light eyes. Your hair is not dark. You are not unlike the Bonkoru people who are light, and who, up the river, you will hear called the Tonê folk." He was speaking of albinos. "It may be that you have a river god without knowing it. When you come to the Mamadam the spirit may come to you. You may find yourself speaking the tongue that only the Tonê people know, and dancing the dances to the river gods, and swimming up the rapids. It will be a fine sight to see you dance to the drums. There was once such a woman. A woman white as you are, you hear? I myself saw her dance. When she danced, she wore red, and put a plug through her lip, and as she danced her color changed. She became black. When the spirit was satisfied, it let her go, and she paled and was a white woman again. I myself saw that woman dance. I saw her grow black while she danced, and saw

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itself, an open shelter under a thatched roof resting on four posts. Inside it, upon the ground, lay a flat stone whitened with sacred clay, and on this a bottle stood. Directly behind the stone was the altar, a low table on which lay several egg-shaped pieces of the sacred pemba—the white clay—and some egg-shaped stones which had come from the bed of the river. A circle of iron, perhaps two fingers' breadth in thickness and having a diameter of ten or twelve inches, rested on the ground under the altar. A stick had been planted to face the thicket of wild pineapple that made a wall at the back, and from it hung a strip of white cotton for the ancestors. To the left of this was a simply carved stool, the tracery of its design become all but indistinguishable under the coat of white clay which covered it. Several bottles lay at the foot of this stool.

"Ya-hai, mati, you are praying to the Mother of the River. It is well," said Kasanya, as he came up to us with his pole-man and the men from Gankwe and interrupted our scrutiny of the shrine.

Followed by Sedefo and Asikanu, he entered the shrine, while the others stood with us outside the railing which connected at sides and back the posts upon which the roof rested. Kasanya called on the Sky God first. "*G'an gadu*," he began, "Mother of the River, Ancestors, grant that we travel safely. Grant that we bring the white man safely to the country of the Granman. Grant that the white man pay us well. I thank you."

As he finished, the listening men clapped their hands in unison, and spoke in chorus, "Great thanks!" Some distance away, down the slope which dropped to the river, was Bibifo, who wanted to be called Adrian. He did not come too near the shrine, but there he was, halfway up, with head bent, his lips moving as he muttered a prayer of his own.

Now Sedefo came forward, and Kasanya left the shrine and disappeared behind the pineapple bushes. When he came back he held leaves in his hand, which he said were sacred. He would crush them and put them in water dipped

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783 here at the Mamadam, and later he would bathe with this
824 that he might be purified. Meanwhile Sedefo and Asikanu, each in his turn, addressed the Mother of the River, each speaking his errand and asking that his journey be prospered.

●782 Bayo came up alone when the loading was quite finished. He sat down on a crosspiece of the shrine to one side of the flat rock, poured some of the contents of the bottle on the stone, and, taking up one of the egg-shaped pieces of pemba, he rubbed it between his fingers and touched the
[302] moist stone with his whitened hands. Now with his fingers he streaked his upper arm, just below the shoulders and over the muscles which played to the swinging of the pole-stick, and then his chest and knees.

"Mother of the River, give us a safe journey. Carry the white man and his woman without sickness. I thank you."

Later, when we were about to make off, he turned to us with his ready laugh. "You will walk well, Ba'ka. I have a strong spirit. I said things to the Mother of the River under my breath which you did not hear. The Mother of the River will look after you."

"What is this log, Bayo, right here on top of the falls? Why has no one claimed it?" we asked, pointing to the log of purple-heart close by, which we had noticed lying across the Mamadam.

"When it was sent down, something happened to turn it sidewise, and it was caught so. No one will touch it. It must be that the gods wanted it for themselves."

4

808 There are many shrines on the river. At the G'an Creek a
824 man would speak his prayer from a distance, call the creek "ancestor," state his errand, and continue his journey. Far up the stream, where the juncture of the Pikien Rio and the Grand Rio forms the river which the Bush Negroes call the Saramacca, is the Tapa Wata shrine. There, our men said, we would do well to avoid looking, though our boat rested across the river more than a quarter of a mile

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But Bayo's pleasant story came to an abrupt end. Down toward the bank came Sedefo and his companion, motioning the men to join him. They all gathered in front of the guard of palm fronds, and began to discuss something in low voices, while from the village came the staccato rhythms to the Sky God and to the Kromanti spirits in tones at first soft, but swelling and quickening as they continued.

Sedefo came up to us at last and said, "I will tell you something, but you must not think the people of Pa'aba are unfriendly. I will tell you this. Let us go on and make camp farther up the river. There is a provision ground not too far away. We will make it in time."

In the boat Bayo told us that many were possessed in the village, and since here at Pa'aba they danced Kromanti strong, the men did not think it safe to bring us to the village. The year before Kasanya had spent a trying night here. Two or three of the men had found guns and had gone tearing about the village, so that not alone had the women shut themselves up in their huts, as they often did at Kromanti dances, but the men, too, had had to go in hiding.

"That is why we are going on. But I have a strong Kromanti spirit myself. I will go back to Pa'aba tonight and watch the men dance," he said with a laugh.

3

It was already quite dark when we made the planting ground. Up a narrow footpath we followed Kasanya.

"*Koni, koni*—Take care, don't trip at night," he kept calling to us. "*Mbwogo*—Hurry," he urged, though we needed no urging to keep close behind him in this narrow dark shaft which cut the greater darkness of the bush in two.

Bibifo would sleep in our boat to watch the provisions, Kasanya explained as he led the way, for the clearing was so far from shore that it was not wise to leave the boats unwatched.

"It is far," he said. "Grounds are cleared that way—not too near a village, not too near the shore."

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REBEL DESTINY

[782] Among the people of one group, the principal ceremony
[241] may be held in the clearing itself. The drums are brought,
[535] and men and women and children pray for fertility. The beautifully carved apinti drum sounds the invocation to the Great God and to the ancestors, while the tall agida drums are brought to call the earth spirits. Two by two the men dance susa, the dance which in pantomime reproduces an ancient warrior's combat with spear and shield, the winner taking on a new combatant, until the final winner is given a wand as a reward, and gains for himself the title of "G'aman of Susa" until the next dance is held. Other dances follow. Perhaps the women now line up in two long
[585] rows facing each other, and dance bandamba, the dance
[845] which celebrates marriage and the birth of twins, and the birth of a child who is born feet foremost. The motions are the slow rhythmic manipulations of the muscles of hips and
[840] abdomen. It is a dance of fertility, danced by the very young girls as well as by those who have borne children. But the women who are past the age for dancing sit with
[888] their men, arms interlaced, swaying to the rhythms of the songs they sing. . . . There are offerings to the earth spirits, poured upon the earth out of black obia pots and
[716] calabashes, while other offerings are set upon the ground for the ancestors.

In another settlement, the ritual would be chiefly carried on in the village itself, and there might be a local dance of
[842] fertility, danced nowhere else on the river. "An old, old ancestress taught it to us," the villagers would say.

When it is time to plant, the woman plants with the
[440] man's help.
[241] "When I plant a new field," said the younger woman, "I
[782] pray as I work."
[539] And this is her prayer:

O Sky God, Maker of the Earth, Ancestors,
I am planting a field,
Make it bear;
People who come to me must eat,

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THE PROVISION GROUND

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O spirits, you must help me.
Help me find food,
That I may give to those who come;
Help me find food,
That all those who come to me may eat.
I am planting pinda,
Make it come;
I am planting yams,
My yams must grow;
I am planting cassava,
Make my cassava yield;
I am planting rice,
Make it come;
Let the earth copulate well,
Let me, too, be fruitful;
Let me live by my work;
My children have gone down the river,
They have gone to the white man's country,
Let them live and be fruitful;
When they return to me,
Let them bring back possessions;
O spirits, I myself must live,
I have belongings,
Let my belongings live;
Mother of the Earth,
This new field which was found
Make it yield food for me,
Make it yield for those who come;
I have planted seed,
The seed must bear.
O Great God, Earth spirits, Ancestors,
I thank you.

6

After the planting, the life of the women is spent at the provision grounds for the greater portion of the year, for the crops must be carefully tended. The jungle is not hospitable to those who invade it, and it is only at the

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774 would be more serious yet, an evil spirit who would be
776 lying in wait for a soul to use as emissary in his affairs of black magic, would snatch at the soul and take it away. If
[553] this happened, a person would sicken, languish, and die. Sometimes when a man tripped on the clayey bank, we heard him exclaim, "*Agó*—Ancestors!" calling on these to protect him until he recovered his balance. But often we
[180] heard different cries. "Mi, Awana!" one man had called. "Mi, Nyamfai!" or, "Mi, Matchau!" or "Mi, Popoto!"
[614] These are all clan names, and for a time we assumed that instead of appealing to their ancestors, they called on the entire clan to come to their aid. But one day Sedefo lost his footing, and we heard him exclaim, "Mi, Fandaki!" Now we knew that Sedefo belonged to the clan of the Gankwe people, and we knew, further, that he was most emphatically not of the Fandaki clan.

"Sedefo, you are not a Fandaki. Why did you call on them?"

"My father belongs to the Fandaki. When we slip we call on our father's lo."

"Why, Sedefo?"

"I do not know. . . . "

605 Another day we were sitting and talking to a young man in an upper river village. A girl came and sat with us. "This is my sister," the man said. It was at a time when we were looking into these matters, and we asked, "Did the same mother make you both?"

"No," he answered, "she is here only on a visit. She lives across the river. Her father is my mother's brother."

"But she is not your sister, then," we said. "She does not even belong to your clan."

"Massa Neng'e! But she is my sister!" the man protested. "She is neither of my family, nor of my clan. But did not my mother's brother make her?"

"Could you marry her?"

[582] He considered for a moment. "It would be possible. But it would not be good. . . . And the old women in the village would talk too much."

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be possessed by them. Between the roots of the tree offerings were placed—two or three bottles on their sides, or a calabash filled with sacred clay.

When the time came to dance to the gods of the kankan tree, a tunic of cotton was placed about its trunk. While the drums spoke to the gods, white clay was spread over the bark, a chicken was killed, and its blood allowed to spray the tree and drip into a calabash placed on the ground to receive it. Eggs inside obia pots were put beside the tree, and bottles filled with sweet liquor and the juice of sugar cane. All about its wide trunk the dancers swayed and leaped, each dancing to her own spirit until, at the height of their ecstasy, there were a few among them who would climb the great tree itself, and dance on its branches. The drums continued until the frenzy ebbed. Had they stopped sooner, those in the tree could not have remained there safely or in safety have descended to the ground.

At other times, women came to Gedeonsu to ask him for children, and those who were troubled by his spirit brought offerings, though the great dances were held when the old year came to an end, and the big offerings were then made.

"If a man were to cut down a kankan tree, Gedeonsu would cut off his foot. I myself saw it happen," said a man to us at S'ei. "And his sister got the god."

The kankan tree gods could be bought, too. A woman who wanted fertility would seek to buy Gedeonsu. Others might wish to have Tinné. Only an individual who had a spirit which gave him the right to make obias and call the gods could get the spirit for one who wished to buy it. Such a man would take an obia pot, fill it with water and place inside it cowrie shells which had not been cleansed. After speaking his invocation, he would add a sacred white stone, called an obia stone, and with a calabash in one hand and a bell in the other, he would go to the tree and address the spirits as he rang the bell. When the water became ruffled, it was a sign that the god had entered it. Quickly he would cover the calabash with a cloth and take it away with him.

where, in the proper season, maripa nuts and rice were dried.

One quarter differed very little from another, except that in one there might grow the plant which yielded the red and black beans used for the sacred rattles, and for playing the game of adji, which entertained the spirit of the dead while the body lay in state. Instead of a house to the family gods, there might be found a mound of earth in front of one doorway, with an axe-head lying upon it as a shrine for a man's spirit, or a low forked stick sunk into the ground, holding a pot with water and weeds in it for the curing powers of its obia.

A village of any size had also a quarter in which stood the communal buildings. The council house which might also serve on occasion as the house for the dead was there. The menstrual house for the women, a small building which was recognized by a broken calabash, or a porcelain pot brought from the white man's city, lying outside the entrance, stood a little to the side. The Kromanti house, and perhaps an enclosed shelter for the bush gods who shared the shrine with the snake deities, was also located somewhere near the open communal shrine. A village wherein lived the clan head contained in addition a house for the ancestral spirits of the clan. This was called a *Fa'aka-pau wosu*, literally a flagpole house, a euphemism for the shrine to the ancestors for whom white cotton was put up on sticks. In this Fa'aka-pau wosu prayers were offered up for all the important ventures of the clan, and in time of stress a priest would come there with sacrifices, to bid one of the ancestors to enter his body and give him sight. When seizure came on, such a priest prophesied. Sometimes the ancestors were consulted in the same manner as that in which the will of the dead was ascertained. Men would take up a sacred plank and carry it in a state of possession; the elders would put questions to the ancestor who had been called. The answers were construed as favorable or unfavorable according to the way the plank tipped.

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A NIGHT AT S'EI

As we made a tour of the village, we discussed all this with the chief and his bassia, and with the other men who accompanied us. When we reached the open place sacred to the great gods, we stopped. The shrine was a fenced-in space, perhaps eight or nine feet long and almost as wide. Inside was a slender pole, with a head carved on its top, and a cotton tunic about its middle, and this was the wife of the Great God, the chief said. The ladder with the platform on it, on which stood a bottle, was the shrine of the great Sky God. At the base of the image with the tunic were several bottles, some white clay, and a few empty glasses, and everywhere were sticks with cloth on them, many with the cloth in tatters. Where the cotton had altogether rotted away, the stick alone remained.

"Let us go in," said the chief to the men.

With the chief came a young man whose hair was braided, and who wore several obias on neck and arms. He was training to become an obia man. The bassia signaled us to follow, but the others remained outside.

The young man took up a bottle and poured some of its contents into an earthen jar, and from the jar he poured out a libation to the Earth Mother. The captain prayed, explaining that we were white people on our way to the Granman, that he was leaving in the morning to notify the Granman of our approach. Would the gods take him and us in safety, and would they see to it that all we saw should be seen with the eyes of friendship? Then he prayed for a child in the village who was ill, and for his people, and for the clan of the Granman, the Matchau lo, and for his own family. After each prayer he paused, and those outside the paling clapped their hands and sang out, "Great thanks."

Before the chief's prayer was finished, an old man came by with a bush knife in his belt, and his gun. He was just then returning from the hunt, and he stopped to thank the great gods for the kill he had made. He spoke in a whisper, but his intonation was as conversational as the chief's had been.

782 "Tonight there will be dancing for you," And'u said, when we left the shrine. "I will go and pray again before the dance, and then I will go to my hammock early, for I leave at sunrise. We will meet again at the G'aman's."

The bassia's wife followed us to our house.

[542] "You are a woman, yet you went inside the shrine. Maybe you do have gods, white woman. When you go in again will you pray to the Earth Mother for the woman Kupa, who is my sister? Twice she bore girl children, and both sleep. Now she is with child again. She wears many obias [542] about her neck, and daily she washes with white clay. She is the woman with the wooden obia doll hanging between her breasts. No, not the one who has the small black sack about her neck. Any woman who is with child wears that. You will know her when you see her. She is beautiful."

7

535 The dance was held in the bassia's quarter, in front of one of his houses. The bassia was a man of wealth. He had three wives, while the chief had but two. Whether one of the three was only nominally his wife and had come to him at the death of a brother, we were unable to learn, but that his means were large was apparent. The house where his [541] personal possessions were stored was built high on posts. A house so raised stood out from those about it and bore the same name as the moon. Underneath it, in the shelter made by the posts, lay a partly made drum, some carved wooden implements, and carpenter's tools. There was also a forked stick in the ground upon which rested a black obia pot with water and weeds in it.

535 The children began the dancing.

533 *Ayo, ayo*
Ayo, ayei,
Agida comes,
[539] *Ayo, ayo,*
Earth spirits come,
Ayo, ayei.

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Chapter XII

WOMEN AT WORK

I

A WOMAN stood in the council house, dipping her hand into a calabash and spraying the ground and walls. East and west, north and south she turned, with her fingers pointed downward toward the hard clay floor, then with palm upturned sending the water toward the thatch.

[538]

Evil spirits,
You must not come here,
You must dwell in the bush,
The bush is big.

O spirits,
Do not come here,
Remain in the bush,
The bush is big.

Startled by the white woman, who had taken her unawares, she allowed no apology. Her wet hand went quickly to her lips to show that not a word was to be uttered. In silence she withdrew, beckoning the white woman to follow her, and not until they were well away from the house did she break her silence.

"Come with me. Inside there no one must speak."

Some day, before we left, she might be able to tell what she had done and what weeds had gone into the water.

Now she could but say that the Granman had asked her to see to this.

"It is good medicine. Do not be afraid," she added, reassuringly.

She led the way to her quarter, but before we had gone past the open shrine she stopped, and her eyes narrowed as she tried to come to a decision. From the quarter we were approaching came a crooning, moaning sound.

"A god speaks. The Apuku god has come to a woman this morning. Come. We will go to the G'aman's women," she said as she retraced her steps.

On a squared log in back of the enclosed shrine which adjoined the council house sat the Granman's principal wife. She was a woman who in her prime must have had beauty, but, though still erect, she had deep grooves on her face, and her breasts were the breasts of an old woman. Her head was closely shorn, as was the way of women whose children were grown. Like any other woman of the village she wore only the short cloth and the bit of kerchief which showed at her waist. Like the others she went to the provision ground almost daily. She and her younger daughter, who was named Wilhelmina for the Queen of Holland, cared for their field together, and now they were working side by side.

Wilhelmina was more robust than her mother could have been at her age. She was tall, more her father's daughter. It was she who served his food and looked after his personal needs. She was the wife of the man who had brought the boat which Sedefo had rejected, because he did not trust its spirit. As she worked, her two children were with her, the elder a child of three, sitting on the ground at her feet, and the other on her back, or in her lap nursing while she did her tasks.

Unlike her older sister, Wilhelmina had little of her father's astuteness, of his quick eye, or his schooled tongue. She went about with the slow, sensuous grace of someone not quite awake, while her older sister busied herself with making the rounds of the village, observing this and that

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84 85 It appeared that nothing in a woman's life was so dreaded as childbearing, nothing more coveted than fertility, and no time so difficult and so anxious as when a woman was rearing her children.

● 787 584 "The day before a girl marries she prays all day to her gods," said Dida, who with Fenekonde and several other women had joined us. "I begged my god Kesekia and gave him rice and rum. All day they played the agida. I begged [840] him not to hate my husband. I begged him to give us children."

843 [831] 751 789 When a woman conceived, her husband made her many obias, and especially a black sack obia with four cowries sewed on it, to keep her safe on the paths which led from village to village, and from village to her field. The fear of the power of bad magic at this time was so great that, if we but looked at one of the pregnant women, or let our eyes rest on the several obias she wore, she grew nervous, covered them with both her hands, and disappeared in fear that the very power of our glance might weaken the potency of the charms. She did not believe in the white man's magic, but she was not in a condition to wish to put it to a test.

849 782 "When her time comes, a woman sees to it that she is in her own village," said Fenekonde. "It is not good to give birth in the bush, or on the river."

This had almost happened to Wilhelmina with her last child. She was on the river alone in a boat. Chief Sungi of Dahomey met her and called on his gods to delay the coming of the child until he brought her home. He had strong obia, and so the misfortune was averted.

When the woman felt the first labor-pains, she prayed to the gods, and to her personal spirits. On the great Sky God she called, and the Earth Mother; on her ak'a, her soul; on the Yorka, the ancestors; and then she prayed to her personal gods, and particularly to whatever snake gods she might have, for some of these were known to be jealous of a coming child. But none of the gods dared be slighted.

WOMEN AT WORK

"Before she begs the gods, she is seated on a mat, or on cloths. Over her head a white cloth is thrown. The woman who is there to look after the coming of the child takes a calabash with water. Then she throws the water on the ground where the woman is seated. She begs the great gods, and the ancestors, and the woman's soul, and the woman's gods. 844 787

"When the pains come, she ties a cloth about her belly tight, tight, until it hurts. The woman who helps her gives her some water if she wants it, and she presses down on the belly and makes the cloth tighter and tighter, until the child comes. The cord is cut with a knife." 844

The knife was the same as the kind they used for cicatrizing, and the after-birth was buried behind the house, in a small hole into which food and a piece of the sacred sangrafu wood was thrown. [412]

"The child is washed, and then *pemba*—kaolin—is put on its forehead, and after that the mother and the child bathe every day and then wash in pemba. Sometimes a moon comes and wanes, and another comes, and the mother still puts the white on herself and on her child." [751]

But if the birth proved to be difficult, then the husband was told, and he besought his own ancestors and his own gods to help his woman and child. 845

"If the child doesn't come, then it's a bad spirit. Then they call the obia man."

When a woman had difficulty, everybody was troubled about it. If a woman had been unfaithful to her husband and had not confessed it, it would be that which would be killing the child in her womb, and killing her as well. Sometimes it was *wisi*—black magic—and everybody wondered who had sent it to their village. Sometimes it was a god who was envious. [754]

"If it is a god, then, when the woman is strong again, she goes to a more powerful god and buys from him the next child to come into her womb. The strong god sees to it that the jealous one finds no way to harm the child." 845 717 848

What happened when a child was born dead? [766]

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"It hurts, doesn't it?"

"*Ma kye!* It is beautiful. The men like it too much," said the girls in a chorus, laughing at the suggestion that the pain of the cuts would deter them from having them made.

Sometimes, of course, the older girl admitted, the wounds did become ugly. There was the girl from Godo, whose suitor had kept bringing her more gifts because she was growing handsomer and handsomer. She was all but ready for marrying, when one of her thighs became infected after the cuts. The wounds were so ugly that she could not even wear the tunics of the grown girl. The family was sacrificing to all the spirits of the earth, begging them to heal the wounds.

7

These days there were many visitors in the Granman's village. There was the girl the Granman had summoned to dance for his guests. She had, perhaps, that very summer got her cloths, and her reputation as the best dancer on the river had won for her a suitor who gave her many armlets and anklets. Her voice was fresh and flutelike in quality, and so fine that when she sang she placed a folded cloth over her mouth, or danced with her head low. This was the way of modesty before people, and humility before the gods.

The women said, "Her spirits dance well," when they watched her.

There was the large girl from a village down river who came almost daily. She had the body of a woman, yet she went about unclothed, and sometimes she appeared only with a string about her waist.

"She is ready for *pangi*—cloths—ai," the women said, "but her people do not want to give them to her yet."

They would not explain, however, why the attire of a grown woman was denied her. We could only conjecture about it. Perhaps she had no suitor. The man to whom she had been promised might have died. There might be other reasons.

surprised us that night at S'el, and when he paused for a moment the women took up the chorus. From one song to another he went, and the hand clapping grew louder, and the chorus joined in more frequently, often breaking into his recitative, so that there was harmonizing of theme and chorus.

Once or twice the Granman called for a song we had already recorded, in order to give Mapasi a rest.

"Play us something from the lower river, white man. Let them hear their own songs, too, sung by others."

When the excitement of hearing the machine reproduce the song they had just sung had grown less intense, the singers repeated the song the phonograph was reproducing for them, for to listen to music without singing was difficult for them, just as when they sang, they could not but move their feet, though there was scarcely more than room for them to stand one close to the other. But a Bush Negro needs little room for his dancing, so that as the phonograph played their songs for them, they clapped their hands and danced in place. For a short interval, at least, the existence of the whites was forgotten in their pleasure of singing with the machine.

Until late into the night we played our records for them, and they sang for us. Whatever the consequences to the frail records of soft wax, we decided to play as long as they would listen, because of something in the manner of the Granman, something of wistfulness, let us say, and something, perhaps, which went deeper yet, as he sat there—a black Hamlet following a mute soliloquy while he looked on with his clever, perplexed eyes.

"Ai, so it is," he said at last, "and now let us go and get sleep." He rose and the others followed him out of the council house.

II

Early the next morning, while the tent on our boat was being finished, the Granman came into the council house with a calabash and a buzzard's feather in his hand. He came up to each of us in turn, and struck with the medicine-dipped feather the tops of our heads, brushed the eyes,

touched the palms of our hands, and struck against the calves three times.

"This is obia," he said simply, and when he was finished, he went out.

Our cook knew this obia. It was Opete obia, medicine bearing the name of the sacred buzzard. It was given us that we might have a good journey down the river.

"Did you see how he was careful to touch the eyes?" our cook pointed out to us. "The Opete gets the eyes when it comes to a person, just like Kromanti goes into the head, and Vodu into the belly."

When we went out for a moment, and walked toward our storeroom, we saw the Granman splash water out of a calabash onto the floor and front wall of the house which held our supplies. Was it that our belongings might be safe on our journey down? It was no time for questions, and we asked none.

Women and children again came crowding about the white woman. Though they had been warned not to talk, there was still something of the warm feeling of earlier times which a command did not entirely destroy. Then, too, the order was that the sendoff was to lack no formality. As we stood there, a dog came running down the path. He was on his way to the river. In his mouth was a large ball of something which had been thoroughly charred. It was an offering to the river spirits, perhaps. It might have been less pleasant magic. He had been sent by men who were busy in the ancestral shrine.

When the white woman called attention to the dog, and asked what he held, the women recoiled with amazement that she should have seen the dog at all. Part of the magic might have been, as it was in some formulas we recorded, that he was to pass by invisible to the strangers. But this is conjecture. . . .

The moment before we went down the path to the river, Amasina came up alone, and gave us her hand. She was gracious, and completely at her ease. Whatever was said, she had faith in her god Towenu, who had vouched for our friendship.

REBEL DESTINY

We redoubled our urging.

"White man, do you know what it is to make an apinti—an obia drum?"

A man had to have the proper spirit before he might address the god of the tree from which the drum was to be made. When he had felled the tree, he cut off from the trunk the part he wanted to use and took it to his village. Over it he had to pour the blood of a cock which he sacrificed that the gods might come when the drum called them. The maker had also to provide sweet rum and cassava and eggs. The cassava was eaten by the people, but the eggs were for the spirit of the drum, and only half the sweet rum was drunk—the rest was poured over the wood. When the body of the new drum had been fashioned, the people gathered and sang, but they did not dance, for the head yet remained to be made. A pingo, or a deer, might furnish the skin, but these animals were shot where they had been tracked in the bush, and not offered to the drum. Only chickens were given it. And when the drum was complete, then the maker sang his song alone.

"But the drum is not finished yet. It can be played on, for it has a head, and its spirit has been satisfied. But the carving is not yet done. I have worked on it a long time," he repeated. "I want them to play it for my spirit when I am dead."

A silence fell as he finished. There was nothing more to be said.

"White man, we have sat together in pleasure. You have come to the true, true Saramacca from far away. You have bought the carvings of my people. The apinti drum I cannot sell you. But this stool you like I want you to have."

He took up one of the round-topped benches, with carefully worked sides, and four purple-heart inlays on top, each in the shape of a fowl.

"Take it with you to your white man's country. When you show it, write on a paper that the captain of Ma'lobbi made it."

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[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
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Chapter XVI

BAYO, THE PLAYBOY

I

IT HAD been a day of hard travel, down the Mamadam, through the Musumba Prati, and down the long wearying stretch of quiet water until we reached the Tita Buka Falls. The memory of the up-river passage of these troubled stretches had not yet worn down sufficiently to allow of contemplating the downgoing without a measure of strain, but our anxiety turned to astonishment when the paddlers, skirting above the thunder of the water, steered the boats into a barely visible channel down which we floated by easy stages.

"Mati-o," said chief Mataibo to the young men, when we had made the singularly fine passage, "the gods are taking them with pleasure. We must do the same!"

Passing the Gran' Creek he prayed from midstream, calling on the spirit of the creek, whom he addressed as ancestor, to give us long life in our white man's country.

Now we were here at Djamungo, at Bayo's village where, if he were only there, we should be seeing a fine dance, and where, what at the moment was far more important for us, many sacred objects awaited us. Djamungo was a village about whose magic other villages on the river were uneasy.

"Bayo is at Gankwe waiting for you. He is helping the men haul lumber, but when he hears you are back, he will come," said a woman who came up saying she was his

"So we see from the Kromanti obia on your arm." Was she, a woman, possessed of the war-like Kromanti spirit? we asked her.

"It is as you see. I am a woman, and I have Kromanti—and it's strong Kromanti."

"We had not heard of women your age getting Kromanti."

"Ai, there are not many, but when my spirit comes, I dance heavy. I dance like the men."

We must have appeared unconvinced, for she became more emphatic.

"What they do in other villages, white man, I do not know. But I have Kromanti, and when the drums speak here at Djamungo I, too, come."

She rose and went into the inner chamber of the house, where the hammocks were hung, and brought out several objects wrapped in old cloth.

"Bayo said I should have obias for you when you came. He said you would pay well for obias. I have these for you."

The trading commenced. There were two small images—"*gadus*" they were called, both crudely carved. One was called Winti Nyamusi. It was a spirit which gave children to women.

"When I come to ask for children, then I take sweet rum in my mouth, and I spray the gadu, then I say, '*Naymusi, da wa' bano mi'i*—O Spirit Naymusi! Give me a fine child.' Then the child will come."

What was the other image, the larger one, with anteater's bristles inserted at sides and top?

"That is a Kromanti obia. It is the Opete spirit, the buzzard. When you take it with you, you must speak to it so. You must say, 'Obia-o, I am carrying you away with me. You must look after me, you must see that my life is spared, O great spirit.' Then you must spray it with rum, but not the sweet rum, not for Kromanti."

There were other obias she had for us, some to be worn about the neck, and others to be worn below the knee.

REBEL DESTINY

313 401 533 [834] *"You have come to go, come to go far, come to go far to bring the wood to the water. But it is long, it is far, to the river. Thank you, friends."*

Then the song was taken up by the workers and, with each rhythmic measure, the great piece of lumber went farther through the jungle on its way to the river. When he had chanted for us the greeting to the men, Bayo began to sing a song relating to men's casual exploits with women and, as he finished the song, he laughed. "White [834] man, if you came with us, you would hear what songs the men make up about women!"

3

126 The phonograph had delighted Bayo from the first. When Apanto had summoned the spirit of his obia to fight the machine, Bayo had watched. When the white man's glue had repaired the broken belt, and the hot sun had made the machine "walk" once more, Bayo had approved.

"The machine is not weak," he had said. "I will sing for it."

And sing for it he did.

But the curse of Apanto still troubled the machine, for up the river and down there had been difficulty with it. Often when there was a particularly good song to be recorded, the belt would give, the machine would fail the white man. The story of the prowess of Apanto had gone up the river with the Gankwe paddlers, and when the machine stopped, heads nodded, and we would catch the word "obia" among the murmurs of the bystanders.

126 183 123 782 796 Bayo thought, it seemed, that the machine's proud spirit was by this time properly chastened and, since twice the machine had refused to work while he was singing into it, twice had made him stop the song and its drum accompaniment, he decided to take matters into his own hands.

"White man," said Bayo, shortly after our return from up the river, "I will help the spirit of the machine. I will

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call the great gods. Apanto's spirit is strong, but Bayo has strong gods, too."

The machine was made ready for him, and Bayo sat down on a convenient box, his head bent over the tumao drum which we had acquired and which his fingers could scarce ever be near but that they played on it.

"It is not the right drum," he said. "You should have an apinti for me to speak to the gods. But I will try it with this one. Tomorrow I will go up the river to Djamungo. I know a man who has an apinti. You will give me money, and I will buy it for you. But now I will speak on the tumao."

He began the irregular tapping which we had learned to identify as the drum language. With one hand he carried the message, while with the other he played irrelevant motifs which served to confound anyone not initiated and leave him, as it left us, who had worked out some of the general principles on which this drum language was based, utterly unable to interpret it or to tell which were the significant elements.

"The great gods will look after your machine now, if they will listen to the tumao."

The next day Bayo went upstream to get us the apinti we so desired. He was not successful, but the gods had listened to him, when he had invoked them on the tumao, for Bayo's ministrations ended all trouble with our recalcitrant phonograph. Bayo indeed had strong spirits!

As the days went on, and record after record was put on the turntable, and with its tracing of songs, or examples of Bush Negro speech, or fragments of the rhythms that called the various gods, was taken off and carefully put into its felt-lined box, Bayo visibly swelled with pride. This was his doing! With his strong spirits he had called the great gods! He was young, and he had not spoken on the proper drum, but they had listened to him! So his thoughts went, and so he would repeat them to us.

His interest in the phonograph was intensified the more he saw of it, and he sang and spoke and drummed, either

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alone or with some friend, into the wax cylinders that spoke back in such mysterious fashion. When Apanto came to visit us, Bayo smiled as he saw the obia man approaching from the landing place.

"His obia is strong, but mine is strong, too. Let him sing into the machine."

Apanto was visibly surprised when he saw in operation the machine his spirit had wrecked. "The machine is not weak, Apanto," we assured him. "It has its own strength, and now it has the strength your gods have given it. For in the true, true Saramacca, a great obia man spoke his message to the Great God into it, and since then it has walked well with us."

Out of the corners of our eyes, we could see Bayo's pride.

"Sing for us, Apanto," we urged, for he had a beautiful voice. "Sing us an Apuku song."

Now Apanto sang, not once, but many times. It is true that when we asked for Apuku he sang Vodu, and when we asked for Vodu he sang Toné, and when we asked for Toné he sang Kromanti songs, and when we asked for Kromanti he sang the sacred dirges called "Papa" songs. Yet this was not otherwise than might be expected, and it was not too difficult to play the records to interested men of other villages, whose startled comments would soon tell us the kind of song he had sung.

It was another day when Apanto again sang, and some of these who had witnessed his first victory were about. One such addressed himself to Bayo, who was sitting near.

"Apanto's spirit fought the machine, and stopped it. But the machine works and sings back to Apanto. Its strength has come back to it."

"Awa, Apanto's spirit is strong," we heard Bayo reply, "but there are other strong spirits on the Saramacca."

4

Bayo had spent the night at Gankwe, and had returned resplendent with a new hairdressing. We joked with

the space where the snake was modeled, but never touching it.

The man who was explaining the bench to us pointed once more to the snake. "It is not always lifeless as you see it here," he said.

When the snake came to life, trouble was brewing. It turned red, the color of blood, and all who came into the Kromanti house and saw it were warned of danger.

"How does the snake know when to come to life?"

"It is Agbo, the guard, who tells the snake. When she tells him there is trouble, he turns red, and then we know."

Immunity as well as knowledge was afforded by the magical powers of this stool and its snake and the Kromanti Mama.

"A man who has Kromanti sits down on the stool, and puts Agbo on his head, and when he has done that, nothing can harm him."

Thus is safety attained. But this only comes if the image has been propitiated by the Kromanti men. Rum, not of the sweet kind, must be offered it and prayers transmitted to its spirit on the drum which Kromanti recognizes—the apinti. If this is done, the Kromanti Mama will not lose its power, and the snake will continue to turn the warning color when danger threatens, and the bench will give protection to the men who have the Kromanti obia.

4

Not long after we had entered the bush we saw our first Kromanti dance. The people of several neighboring villages came to our base camp to dance for us. They asked, "Will you be afraid if the dancing brings Kromanti?" We told them we should welcome whatever spirits came.

Late that afternoon canoes brought people to our encampment for the festivities. Some, with an eye to trade, had brought carvings and obias, and, as we sat and talked with them about what should be given for the pieces they offered us, we could watch the dance outside our open hut.

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535 faces. The drummers stop to tune to the desired pitch, driv-
796 ing in the pegs with the back edge of a bush-knife. Then they resume, rattling out a sharply insistent tempo. Women begin to sway. Some of them start a plaintive jungle song. The drums never stop.

796 A woman disengages herself from the crowd and enters
535 the open space. She bends forward from the waist at a right angle. Her arms form a circle beyond her head, saffron palms outward. She sways from the hips, her torso contorted with sinuous suggestion. Then her feet on the bare earth rap out the tempo that the brown fingers of the men are drumming on the dried skin. The others begin patting juba.

It is a false start. The woman interrupts her dance to criticize the orchestra for not playing in her mood. The crowd is not yet possessed.

Dodo, the woman *bassia*, or boss, goes about urging the women to begin. Meanwhile the bahkra slips through the
[121 crowd pouring out drinks of high wine to add to the dark
792 hilarity of the occasion. Always before drinking they will
275] spit on the ground a libation to the gods. A mother gives the rum to her seven-year-old child, who does not flinch from the burning potion.

A new tempo. Three little girls, slim in their nudity, enter the central space. The oldest is about eleven. They stand with their backs to us and begin the *bandamba* dance. The evening is on.

Standing still in the firelight, hands behind their heads, they arch their loins and raise their buttocks up and down.

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tradition and authority. The older women's opinions bear 765
considerable weight, for it is chiefly they who maintain the
customs of the tribe. The mother-in-law and father-in-law [766]
are held in special esteem.

Unlike divorce, death is an occasion of genuine sorrow. 765
If a man's wife dies, he may go into mourning for a whole
year. His mourning consists in staying in his hut and doing
no work, while his dead wife's family brings him food and
supports him. When the year is up, he makes a sacrifice to
"the little ground god, Amu" before taking another woman. [776
He slaughters a fowl, letting the blood flow from the throat 782]
on to the earth. After this ritual sacrifice a big dance is held,
and he is permitted to marry again. It is his next wife who
insists upon this ritual.

When a man dies, it is sometimes incumbent upon his 587
widow to have intercourse with his oldest surviving brother
and marry him. The fact that he may already be married
makes no difference whatever. It is imperative that they live
together for several months; after that, if there is no affec-
tion between them, they can separate. This is a widespread
custom among primitives, and there are remnants of it in
the present-day customs of orthodox Jews.

Among the Aucaners it is not necessary for a man to have
intercourse with his deceased brother's wife. He must, how-
ever, take care of her for a period of six months, after which
time she is free to remarry.

A woman may publicly mourn her deceased husband by [765]
singing a dirge every little while.

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The Djukas may be possessed by almost any spirit. During
776 the dances they sometimes feel Apuku or Cromanti, as the
787 case may be. Once a Bush Negro was possessed by the spirit of a jaguar. The big buck seized a dog that happened to be loitering near by and tore it to pieces with his fingers. After a dance a man was seized by the spirit of a rebel leader of the old plantation days; he seized a cutlass and began hacking and smashing everything around him until the others forcibly restrained him.

776 The Bush Negroes do not worship the jungle spirits very
782 meticulously, but every village has fetishes, usually standing
[778] in little god-houses which are mere sheds to keep off the rain. Under the shade of the tiny roof can be seen the stiff visage of one of these deities, at times with remnants of food and drink at his feet. Beside the food there is usually a paddle for the god to eat with, elaborately carved like any food-paddle, and smeared with pemba dotee, the sacred white clay. This clay is smeared on all religious or ceremonial objects. For the individual to hold profitable converse with the gods, he must be smeared with it; pemba dotee seems to be a sort of catalytic agent between the soul and the deity. This custom is a West African survival, and not to be found among the Indians of Dutch Guiana.

778 Along the river, also, are occasional shrines where the
782 Bush Negroes may appease their deities when on long journeys, or when hunting. The shrine consists of a tall pole which may be either festooned or plain. At the base of many of the poles are shells, stones, bottles, and pieces of wood, as well as food and drink, possibly as a sacrifice. Every village,

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too, has a large pole outside of or in the clearing, which is 782 used in praying to the god or to ancestors. The spirits of de- [778] parted ancestors are invoked frequently and reverently.

Very often, when a man begins to hunt, he will call on the god and his ancestors for aid. The following prayer we heard intoned at the mouth of a creek, where a *gadu* pole was situated, by one of our paddlers who had entered to shoot fish. He clasped his hands, knelt down, and, with eyes closed, grasped the obeiah which was around his neck while he said the following words: "*Mooma nanga Tata nanga Massa Gadu. Me beh you mekki dem luku me kisi fu tru-tru wan anumara*"—"Father and Mother and Mr. God, I beg you make them see (those who do not believe) that I (you will allow me to) surely catch anumara fish."

The Djuka was gone about an hour. He returned with a fish weighing eight pounds. For this occasion he knelt in front of the praying pole and uttered the following prayer of thanks: "*Keh Massa Gadu, gran danke fu you, ala suma go nanga inye uh kun oto nanga ben. Gran danke fu ala den wani, ala den sweeti mafo deh wey kisi. Gimme furu pekin. Gran danke fu you*"—"Oh, Mr. God, many thanks to you for all who go in and come out with good. Many thanks for all things, all good things to eat which we caught. Give me plenty (full of) children. Many thanks."

In almost every village one encounters a wooden post 778 thickly smeared with white clay on which is placed an iron 782 pot. This apparatus is sometimes under a small thatched roof. [555] Certain herbs are put in the vessel in case of sickness. At

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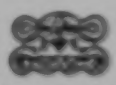
779 other points throughout the village, one also sees posts, hav-
● 780 ing attached to them cross-pieces, from which a length of white cloth is flying. A few bottles usually stand around at the base of these posts. Here one comes to address the Gadu (any divine being), or the spirit of a deceased person, when one has something to request, or wishes to return thanks for good luck. This petitioning is accompanied by the pouring of water or strong drink ("high wine" or *sopie* as it is called by the Bush Negroes) on the ground. One may encounter these cross-pieces with the white cloth at almost any place in the village, as for example, near a sacred tree or on some of the paths leading to or from the village. We may also see various *krom-tiki*, sticks or pieces of bush vines which have grown in a peculiar zigzag fashion. These, too, are supposed to have protective powers against evil.



§25 Snakes, excepting the venomous varieties, are held in
778 reverence, and their worship is woven through the whole religious pattern. If a snake enters a hut, it is not molested, but allowed to return to the outside. If it shows no disposition to depart, it is chastised gently with a little broom-like contrivance and chided for not knowing its proper home. The bahkra who tries to kill a snake is prevented from doing

751 calls them *obeiahs*. An obeiah is a charm or a form of magic
778 to be distinguished from a *trafer*, which is a taboo. Obeiahs may be worn in the form of bracelets or necklaces, called *boe*. Bush Negroes never start out on a hunting or river trip without a number of boe around the arm, or leg, or neck. Thus the machinations of the evil spirits are set at naught.

One boe which Abaisa made for us is formed of heavy wire wrapped with white cord and set with cowrie shells. Worn on the arm, this will make you very strong. The charm will protect you while engaged in dangerous doings, such as
[431] drinking river water after someone has been drowned in it. Abaisa made this bracelet out of friendship. It was given, not purchased; therefore the old-time gods are not offended at its being possessed by a white man.

[782] He presented it with great solemnity, taking a mouthful of rum and spitting it on the ground as a libation to the ground god, then squirting another mouthful over the bracelet. After that we all had a swallow of the same liquid and
[553] Abaisa said a prayer in deepee-talkee. A somewhat similar ceremony attended the giving of a Djuka name to the white man—*Abentee*, provider.

751 The cowrie shells with which the obeiah is set are smeared
321 with pemba dotee. The clay closes up the openings of the
778 shells, thus preventing evil spirits from entering into the interior. These cowrie shells, which decorate practically all the
[17] magic emblems of the Djukas, are commonly found among the savages of Africa, both on the East and West Coasts. They are also common in African art work, and at one time constituted a form of currency, papa moni.

784 These food trafers are sometimes chosen by the individual,
262 and are acquired also by inheritance. A certain Bush Negro
[724 got his trafer in this way: His grandmother had a vision,
787] called *papa winti,* and she informed her grandson that she had been possessed. This made him feel the spirit of Cromanti. In that bad state he got the *idée fixe* that shooting a turtle would be reprehensible and dangerous. This animal then became his tabooed food, and for the rest of his life it is trafer so far as he is concerned.

787 So far only a slight attempt has been made to Christianize the Djukas. The Catholics and Moravian Brothers have established mission stations at a few points along the rivers. Their efforts at conversion appear on the whole to be unsuccessful. The Bush Negroes are converted in small numbers and very superficially; in moments of stress they will revert back to their jungle deities. The whole spirit of Christian customs is foreign to their mode of life. They have the Gran
776 Gadu, an adequate enough image of divine power. Their
● 782 prayers are sometimes said directly to him, or they pray to their ancestors to intercede with the Gran Gadu for aid. Sometimes the prayer is said by being beaten out on the tom-
[778 tom, for the tomtom is sacred, and the throbs of the great

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 776 782 778

drums carry farther toward heaven than the talkee-talkee of a lone supplicant.

It is not easy to distinguish between the primitive's magic 756
and his medicine. In the village organization a distinction is 793
sometimes made between the *medicine man,* who is concerned with remedies for sickness, and the *obeiah priest,* whose business is charms and rituals. There are two or three obeiah priests to each village. Their profession is the propitiation of spirits, that is, magic and religion. The magic of the obeiah men is largely secret. Once we arrived at a village while a ritual of some nature was going on. Pots were stewing in the centre of the clearing, while obeiah men were moving around them. One held a rattle, which he shook monotonously. The bahkra was asked to leave. It was magic in the making.

The Bush Negroes possess an extensive system of primitive 824
medicine. Various roots, herbs, and nuts are gathered in the jungle, and their use is mingled with various superstitions. The witch doctor or medicine man who prepares infusions 756
from these herbs holds no exalted position in the esteem of the villagers; he is simply following a particular profession to which no special prestige is attached. He may, however, [793]
be an obeiah priest in addition to being a medicine man.

He prepares several kinds of medicine, among them the 756
snakee-kutti, or snake-bite cure. It cures the bites of all rep- 789
tiles and makes the person immune from future attack. 278
Snakee-kutti is made in this way: a venomous snake is killed and the head and the tail-end are cut from the body; the tail

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obeiahs, house gods, fetish houses, menstrual huts, and matrilineal system of inheritance are all to be found as ancient customs among the forest tribes of the West Coast. Other details, such as the use of chickens for sacrificial animals, the huts with their rectangular walls, the manufacture of butter from the palm worm, the sacredness of snakes and alligators, the use of drums for religious supplication, and the beating of them with the hand instead of with a stick as the Indians do, are also customs which are similar to West African customs and probably derived from them. The impaled turtle-shell on a staff, the badge of the witch doctor's profession, represents the symbol for the female genitalia among some West African tribes. The Bush Negroes' boats and paddles are typically African in design. The *awasa* dance of the Saramaccaners was borrowed from the Aucaners, among whom it is a direct West African survival.

From the study of these culture survivals among the Djuka tribes it can be seen that most of the jungle civilization of the Bush Negroes is derived from their West African ancestry, modified here and there by contact with the Indians of their new home. The remainder of the material culture of the Bush Negroes is borrowed from the white settlements along the coast, from which gunpowder, fish-hooks, bush-knives, and other articles filter upstream.

[p. 192 is Work]

/12 cont./

796 Then they call all the neighbors together to take part in the
273 festivities to be held, which consist of invoking their gods amidst continuous dancing and excessive drinking.

They begin the festivities only on a Friday and usually finish on a Sunday or Monday, depending on the larger or smaller
[147] supply of drink, so, lacking this, the festival ends. After the conclusion they are usually extremely tired and listless and give themselves up entirely to rest for at least two or three days.

It is a definite requirement at these festivities to be very amply supplied with strong drink, because one must drink without
[782] interruption in order to remain in a continuous narcosis. With each drink they first pour a little on the ground, -- so that it, too, on which they find themselves so gay, may participate in their enjoyment.

[262] The merrymakers then take care that they will by no means
[577] be lacking in fish, wild game, bacon, rice, etc., since it is a matter of honor with them to display the most lavish hospitality on such occasions.

776 The gods that they worship are:

Loango Gado,
Papa Gado,
Cromantie Gado,

/13/ names certainly derived from the various African tribes of these names.

In the first two they glorify nature and everything created, from which it therefore appears that these are merely subordinate
[787] gods of the unnamed, single great spirit. The last is above all regarded by them as the mediator who transmits their wishes to the great spirit; he is invoked especially at burial ceremonies and for consultation in connection with serious illnesses.

796 They do not have any other cult or religion, so far as I was
[771] able to discover, but only the fixed habit of still celebrating to-
[132] gether and with their chief and captains on the first Friday of the new moon in the month of October or November, after the long
[783] dry period has set in for good, a great feast that has as its goal a general atonement, to cleanse them of the misdeeds that they have committed.

/13 cont./

796 committed. This feast, at which pigs and poultry are sacrificed,
[782] must last for four weeks and thus ends with the following new moon. They pray, dancing and singing, while from time to time they kneel in order to ask for blessings.

[778] In the place where their idol stands they plant long sticks in the ground at certain intervals, on which they let flutter a number of long narrow strips of white cotton in the manner of flags.

[781] They celebrate this feast, for which no costs are spared, with all possible solemnity; it is attended by old and young and is very important among them.

Chapter IX

Conceptions about Death and Eternity

775 They believe that at death the existence of the human being ends, but that the spirit of the deceased does not disappear altogether and remains among them for a long time. Also they believe in unlucky spirits, which, as a result of an earlier evil life, must wander about restlessly, while the life on earth of the peaceful spirits is supposed to have been free of misdeeds.

They do not assume rewards in the hereafter for good deeds; /14/ misdeeds, however, in their opinion, are punished with restless wandering about.

[755] They say that those spirits know all that happens, and that they can come in contact with them at their feasts, that they receive many a hint and information, and through concealed signs come to know remedies against diseases, to which they attach the fullest confidence.

Chapter X

Marriage and Marital Life

584 Their marriages take place with few ceremonies. Frequently young men and even men ask pregnant women, in case they should bring a daughter into the world, to designate that girl as their wife,

/25 cont./

928 The peace conditions are determined in a large building
695 (shed). This shed is entirely open, they call it their court of
[344] justice, derived from kroetoe hoso or piketti (1). When they find

1. Piketti, place where the execution of the punishment takes place.

themselves there, whether this takes place after the conclusion of an internecine battle, or between spouses, members of a family, or former friends, the heads of the parties gather in the shed referred to and choose their places in the upper part of the building. Subsequently those concerned in this matter place themselves in the vicinity of the heads, and around these all those present who make up the public.

When all have been placed, one of the heads takes a cup (as a rule a calabash) filled with dram or still unfermented sugar
[769] cane. He scatters a few drops of this on the ground in various places
[782] in the shed, which signifies that their ancestors, who also once sat on this spot and passed judgment, are to be called up in the memory of all, and that the deceased, by having this offering presented to them first, have had respect paid to them.

Once this solemnity has been carried out, the cup goes around to each one, and each of those present takes a small draught from it. After it has been emptied, and none of them has refrained from drinking from it, the peace is regarded as concluded; all feuds are forgiven, and the enmity has ceased to exist.

Should it happen that one of those present refuses to drink, then he must publicly give the reason for his refusal, and then it may sometimes happen that the considerations concerning the quarrel start anew.

[693] /26/ Then the elders or council members ordinarily withdraw from the shed and leave behind only their granman (1).

1. Head or governor.

Those who have withdrawn divide themselves into different groups and consult with one another, make the matter clear and

174 /30 cont./

613 1st. Lo = de facto grouping of rebels of any provenance,
614 which has in the long run split up into lineages but which remains
621 in the form of a common worship;

571 2nd. Lo = lineage, from the very beginning.

184

Conceptions Relative to Kinship and Marriage

769

[121] Ties between the individual and the ancestors. Before examining more deeply the social and family structure of the Refugee Blacks, it is indispensable to study what religious ties are implied between [184] the individual and the ancestors. Here one is in the presence of basic beliefs which seem identical in the various tribes of Refugee Blacks of Guiana and of which their structure is the consequence.

In the civilizations of Blacks Africa it is supposed that a [711] current of life and /31/ strength circulates from the divinity to men through the medium of the ancestors. Among the Refugee Blacks it is taken for granted that in this respect each man is bound [782] to his ancestors through the maternal line only. If he falls prey to illness, injustice, or adversity, he can call only on them in his prayer.

593 That does not mean that the tie with the father is ignored [827] or considered as having little importance; it is taken for granted, as we shall see, that in the creation of man certain psychic elements are transmitted from father to son. But the current of strength binding the individual to the ancestors does not pass through the father. One cannot pray usefully to the soul of one's dead father. [755] If I am sick and divination incriminates the action of my dead [782] father's soul, I cannot address either prayer or offering directly to him; for that I shall have recourse to one of his near relatives in the maternal line.

/66 cont./

613 554 The small, recently founded lineages attached to a lo each designate a head: for example, the Afi lineage has Awéni as head. But this head remains subject to the authority of the captain of the lo and his office has no official existence.

/67/ The appointment is made by a council - kuutu - of the lineage, but it is not valid until endorsed by the grand man.

[787] When the deceased captain did not, while living, designate any successor, his yɔrka is interrogated in order to know whom he prefers. That does not have the force of law but can influence the council.

The council meets several days after the end of mourning for the deceased captain. All the male members of the lineage, regardless of age, give their opinion. Strictly speaking, they do not vote; but the nomination is considered valid only if three-quarters of those present are in agreement. If not, they disband without having decided anything, and the lineage can remain without a head for years. On this topic can be cited the example of the Awara Bakka lo, which remained without a head from 1935 (?) to 1953, until the appointment of Konduku. During this time the [643] grand man had designated Captain Popo, head of the Lapé lineage, to secure the interim. As for the religious functions, they were taken care of by the Joyen of the lineage.

The captain has the following functions within the lineage:

1) He is priest of the ancestor worship and presides over [793] the prayers and offerings made before the fraga tiki. In this duty [769] he is replaced in case of absence by the oldest man of the lineage.

In case of the death of a member of the lineage from the [761] effect of the kunu, the captain convokes all his people in order to proceed to collective prayers and offerings intended to appease [782] the gods;

/68 cont./

613 624 [562] The basia are the mouthpieces of the captain, and not at all deputies having specific authority over a definite fraction of the village. There are three or four per village; in addition there are one or two women basia through whom the village head commands the work reserved for the women.

613 554 241 782 The head of the lineage possesses no religious powers over the land. The Refugee Blacks assume that the fertility of the soil depends exclusively on local divinities, to whom each one prays on his own behalf.

613 554 681 The captain, no more than the council, does not have the right to expel a member from the lineage, even for marked unworthiness. This is one of the most remarkable aspects of the legal conceptions of the Refugee Blacks, tied to the idea that a lineage represents only one single life. There again the thought of the Refugee Blacks can be regarded as the extreme opposite of the thought of the Bamiléké, with whom the head alone retains possession of the rights over the land, expulsion constituting the supreme social sanction.

881 Initiation; age classes; men's society. These African institutions seem totally unknown to the Refugee Blacks. No form of initiation of adolescents exists, and no ceremony marks collectively their [304] entrance into social life. Circumcision and excision are not [852] practiced. For the children, boys and girls, there are two stages: [561] that of the first garment, which is given upon the appearance of the pubic hair, at about 12-13 years, without ceremony, and the end of education which coincides with marriage.

561 The society of the Refugee Blacks rests however in large part on age hierarchy; strictly speaking there are no age classes involving a fixed organization, but they exist tacitly:

/72 cont./

577 691 641 The morality of the Refugee Blacks knows in effect only obligations of a social and religious order. As for everything concerning material life, each one has the absolute right, one could even say the duty, to act as he sees fit, insofar as he does not wrong anyone else.

643 671 641 [156] If the grand man gave an order obliging someone to act against his own interest, for example if he wished to lower arbitrarily the price of boats, this order would be lawfully void. If the grand man has very great personal influence, he can persuade the Boni that it is to their interest to obey such a prescription, but in no case can his command have the effect of imposing by force an arbitrary order foreign to the social and religious tradition; the present grand man is weak in character to boot, sensitive to the influence of the Creoles and very little given to exerting any authority.

643 791 In reality, the office of grand man is above all religious. The grand man centralizes, if one may say so, the struggle against evil forces and watches ceaselessly over the welfare of the collectivity.

643 764 When a man dies, his near relatives come to report on the questioning of the yɔrka. Burial cannot take place until the grand man has made sure that all the prescriptions have been filled. People come to report to him again after the burial so that he can be sure that no suprahuman danger remains.

643 775 [782] The grand man has special power over the yɔrka (spirits) of the dead, which the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks place on a level intermediate between the human and the divine. When one of these yɔrka exerts against a lineage a vengeance (kunu) whose malignity goes beyond habitual bounds, the grand man beseeches it to stop; they allege that things go back to normal, at least for a time.

This power attributed to the grand man invests him, in the eyes of the Boni, with a suprahuman character. It is the very foundation of his political power.

/72 cont./

643 The grand man acts as land head for the whole of the tribe.
778 It is he who has the care of the sanctuary of mama gɔ̃ and who
241 prays each year in the presence of a large gathering of people for the fertility of the soil.

643 The grand man is the priest of Odun, divinity whom the Boni
743 regard as avenger of offenses against moral and religious law; by
776 virtue of this, he alone is qualified to administer the oath against
782 wifi (sorcery) and to implore the mercy of Odun toward those who have gone against his laws by fighting with arms.

643 In his religious functions this usually weak and unobtrusive
156 man acts with sovereign authority and assurance, and we have several times seen people tremble before him.

643 If someone has seriously transgressed the customary laws, or
681 if he has stolen, committed adultery, given blows, poured forth
[673] serious insults or curses, the grand man inflicts on him punishment proportional to the gravity of the offense, such as making planks, /73/ a boat, pounding rice (if it is a woman). The product of the punishment is acquired by the grand man, as are the fines in money which he imposes in less serious cases.

643 For example in October, 1952, two adolescents of Boniville,
685 Awétipay and Adyuka, were surprised while they were trying to break into an inhabited house; the grand man sentenced them forthwith to three days of forced labor, in the course of which he made them clean the approaches to the village and collect for his benefit wood for heating.

643 He can also punish disobedient or disrespectful young men
689 by making them do work reserved for women, such as weeding
462 the approaches to the village and the removal of dog droppings.

643 The grand man can confine a man to Boni villages by for-
681 bidding him to go beyond l'Enfant Perdu to the north and Kormotibo to the south; that is called sitafu sama (sitafu = captive). The man concerned, deprived of means of earning his living, thus becomes dependent on his family until he makes honorable amends.

/122 cont./

845 [621] Observation at Maripasoula, November 3, 1956. The wife of Baïna, boatman of the border-fixing mission, gave birth at Pikin Tabiki, small farming village where she works with her mother and the latter's husband. Baïna went to be present at the delivery.

It was very long and dramatic. According to Baïna, an ɔgi sani had entered the child's body, making him stiff and impossible to extract. As a last resort they called a neighbor, T..., known for having a good gita. He called his gadu who revealed an efficacious remedy, since after the body of the sick woman was bathed with the prescribed leaves, the delivery ended successfully.

846 [515] Since we were leaving on our trip, it remained to find someone to take his place in fulfilling one of the husband's duties: cutting the supply of wood for heating the water necessary for the hot douches /showers?/ the mother was going to be given several times a day for about three months. He made an agreement for this with Kwata, his mother-in-law's husband, to whom he will pay about 1,000 francs. [465]

851 613 [603] Presentation of the child. On the eighth day the maternal grandmother (or great-grandmother if she is still living) takes the child and gives it to another ancestress of the same lineage, stationed in front of the house. The latter presents it to the family. Then the head of the lineage, without taking the child, goes to the fraga tiki to make an offering of tafia, asking the ancestors to protect it. [769] [778] [782]

For example, for the birth of A... (Lapé Tabiki village), son of O Yundu (L2, G60), it was Asakundu, grandmother of Yundu and great-grandmother of the child, who came to take him in the house and gave him over to her sister Térésa (L2, E57) to present him to the family (see genealogical table of the Lapé lineage, fraction 2).

/139 cont./

684 688 Committing pikadu is one of the most serious offenses that a Refugee Black can commit; of course, as in the rest of the moral prescriptions, no abstract principle is called on: the elders teach the children from their earliest years: "If you com-
[613] mit pikadu, you will fall ill or die." The head of the lineage inflicts severe punishments on the guilty people to boot: for the man, to make a large number of planks with an adze; for the woman, to prepare and winnow as preparation for the next broko de several touques /cans/ of rice, a long and tedious job.

588 However, if in spite of insults and blows a man and woman of the same bee absolutely insist on marrying, people end up, for the sake of peace and quiet, by accepting the ac-
[769] [778] [782] complished fact. They go to the fraga tiki to make an offering of tafia to the ancestors to ask them to forgive the offense committed. No reprobation extends to the children born of this union.

613 588 [684] In the Awara Bakka lineage, which has practically rejected the law of exogamy, the principle of a sanction remains and there is a pretense of chasing the guilty ones across the village.

Not being able to use coercion and not having the right to expel a member of the lineage, captain and council can exert no material sanction.

613 684 The same notion of pikadu is attached to unions between persons of the same patrilineage, although these patrilineages have no effective organization and exist only by the transmission of the fundamental interdiction, bwasi kina.

[619] Before concluding an official or even clandestine union, the man and woman make sure that they do not have the same bwasi kina and in such a case give up their project; that, even if they are from different tribes, for example a Boni woman and a Saramaka.

6:Hurault--245a K-5 (1948-1958) 1941 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8 Boni

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Fig. 22. Offering of food to the ancestors.

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Fig. 23. Interrogation of the dead person.

/165 cont./

764 at collecting in a large demijohn the tafia brought. It will be used at the dances which will take place that very evening.

764 767 About 1:00 P.M. the coffin is nearly finished, the upper wings are fitted and ready to be nailed. This is the moment when, according to custom, the meal must be served. But nothing is to be seen; the village women have talked more than worked, and their preparations are far from finished.

Time passes; discontent grows among the kisimã, who threaten to stop work. About 2:00 P.M. the women come in a procession led by the oldest ones to apologize for the delay; they have to pay a forfeit of a bottle of maripa oil, in consideration of which the kisimã agree to eat; the scene lasts at least 30 minutes, in a flood of words whose transcription in extenso would fill a book.

• [782] Before the meal an offertory rite is gone through; two of the youngest among the kisimã slowly go around the mortuary shed carrying a dish of food; at the same time they eat, they throw food on the ground, without uttering a single word. Then they go to the river where the dish is washed.

[782] After the meal the coffin is consecrated by the sacrifice of a rooster. The leader of the kisimã sprinkles with its blood first the bottom at the back, then the upper side wings.

The presenting of pieces of cloth, having gone on since noon, comes to an end. Two kisimã stand beside the body; a woman of the lineage unfolds and hands to them the cloths given by the people present.

The kisimã grab the piece of cloth and unfold it. One of them says these words: "N... beli yu, umã (N... buries you, woman)." They do that if they recognize the cloth offered by N...; if not, they simply say: "Someone buries you, woman." Then they put the cloth on the preceding ones piled up on the body. There may be 126 camisas (1) and

/168 cont./

764 co-wife, on the contrary, are completely veiled and show by their state of prostration the keenest sorrow. Each of them is assisted by a female relative who supports them when they have to move somewhere else, for they are supposed to be too overcome to move alone.

764 The interrogation as to the causes of death has already
787 taken place the day before, but Tafanié proclaims, in front of
761 me, the result of it to the latest arrivals: the deceased was struck down by a yɔrka which pursues the lineage with its kunu. She had already received several warnings in the form of illness; the yɔrka had demanded a payment which she and her near relatives had neglected to furnish. Impossible to learn anything further before being able to interrogate this yɔrka, whose habitual bearer has left for Saint-Laurent. It is necessary to wait for his return in order to mollify the yɔrka's anger.

764 About ten o'clock the members of the ɩlɩnti kuutu go to-
769 ward the fraga tiki of the Awara Bakka lo, in front of which they
778 all sit down on their stools. I notice that not a single man of
[613] the dead person's lineage appears in the front row. In it I recognize Popo (Lapé), Poopu (Dipélu Ij, Kormotibo), Tafanié (Papaliston). The one who is speaking is a foreigner passing through, a very aged and respected Djuka.

[782] The elders invoke Masa Gadu and the ancestors in general, asking them to protect them from adversity in the future; then the offering of water and tafia takes place (no cane juice). I notice that a little is poured on each of the secondary fraga tiki erected for the sake of each one of the ancestors who pursue another lineage with their kunu. That lasts about a quarter of an hour.

764 Next someone goes to ask the deceased to whom she
787 bequeaths the Papa gadu god which manifested itself in her;
776 for the gods are bequeathed like the rest of the inheritance,
428 even if those concerned are divinities which exercise the kunu
424

776 /194 cont./

[184] The great gods Gwangwéla and Gédéosu of the Djuka are not known to the Boni.

[194] Strictly speaking, no cult of Masa Gadu exists. No edifice is reserved for him, he has no priests, and no collective
776 ceremonies are conducted on his behalf. He is nevertheless
769 constantly present in the religious life of the Boni, associated with ancestor worship. Every ceremony of ancestor worship
776 includes an invocation to Masa Gadu. From time to time, for
769 specific motives such as the illness of a member of the lo,
755 people go /195/ specially to the fraga tiki to invoke Masa Gadu.
[613] The oldest man of the lo officiates, while a younger one pours
[978] a little water and tafia at the foot of the fraga tiki; the elder addresses Masa Gadu in everyday language, in simple terms, in a familiar conversational tone, asking him for the cure of illnesses or the end of calamities. Those present, seated in a semicircle, punctuate the end of the speech with some rhythmical applause, uttering the ritual formula of thanks: "Gaã tãgi tãgi fi yu, Masa Gadu."

776 Outside of these ceremonies which hardly go beyond the
782 framework of the lineage, everyone may address Masa Gadu directly by praying aloud, if, for example, he finds himself alone in the bush and prey to an illness. One never addresses Masa Gadu other than for a specific material purpose. Inner prayer for the purpose of spiritual perfection does not exist to our knowledge among the Refugee Blacks.

776 One applies directly to Masa Gadu when one believes
[755] oneself to be the victim of an iniquitous action (see curse). How-
[784] ever, although the Refugee Blacks have a very lively sense of justice, they never call Masa Gadu to witness for the cruel and arbitrary vengeances (kunu) which the lower divinities are
[812] believed to exercise on them. It is taken for granted that all these divinities do conforms to the role which Masa Gadu has assigned to them and that the suffering they inflict on men is indispensable to the proper working of the universe.

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Odun's laws create an irreducible cleavage between the Refugee Blacks and the Creoles. The Creoles of Surinam, like the West Indian gold miners of the Maroni, profess Christianity, but they have a special conception of it, associating with Christian ideas /198/ beliefs of various origins and often magic practices. If in quasi-totality they reject magic aimed at doing harm without reason, they take very generally for granted:

--Counter sorcery inspired by vengeance;

--"Invocations" to the spirits of the dead and divers magic formulas in which it is believed one captures the vital force of these spirits in order to make practical use of it;

--Charms having the purpose of forcing the love of a person one desires.

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The Creoles are as attached to these conceptions as the Refugee Blacks to the laws of Odun, which are absolutely contrary to them. They have such importance in the thought of both that it would be unthinkable to make a group of Creoles and a group of Refugee Blacks live together for any appreciable length of time integrated into the same organization. Attempts made to do this, especially in Surinam, have always failed. When an economic activity engages them in the same work in the same locality, Creoles and Refugee Blacks form two separate groupings, each living according to its own law.

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If Refugee Blacks leave their group for any great length of time to settle in the midst of Creoles, if they do not come back periodically to renew the oath of Odun, it is taken for granted that they have abjured his laws and that they are suspect of wisi. It happens that people who have spent a whole portion of their lives in the midst of the Creoles come back to live in their native village because they are prey to adversity or sickness; they are always welcomed (the lineage cannot expel one of its members), but chances are great that they will be declared wisima upon their death. This was especially the case with an

787 /201 cont./
791 The elders then consulted the oracles and perceived that Mimi
776 was victim of an Ampuku named Maogan which for a very long
[613] time had been pursuing the Kotika lineage with its vengeance
[784] (kunu). In order to protect herself, she sought to have herself
given a more powerful god, and she became the pupil of an
obiaman specialist in the cult of the Papa gadu. In this way she
[982] had a Papa gadu named Ayaémé, divinity of beneficent char-
acter to which, in difficult cases, her family applies in order
[346] to obtain advice, protection, and remedies. She had a little
hut built beside her house, where the god goes to rest when it
has finished each of its trips to the country of men. Ayaémé
[784] imposed on Mimi its kina which concerns a fish. But even with
all this she was not rid of her kunu of the Ampuku; and one day,
something it had not yet done, the latter revealed itself in her
[784] and spoke through her mouth. It announced that it would con-
[782] tinue to exercise its kunu against the Kotika lineage. They ap-
peased it by sacrifices of red cloth and beer; since then, it
seems calm and in rather good humor. It comes into Mimi from
time to time and speaks in Saramaka language. They are very
afraid of it, but they do not hesitate to question it and ask it for
[784] remedies, which it sometimes indicates. It laid on Mimi three
gadu kina concerning the acouchy, the agami, and the
armadillo.

791 Organization of the cults of possession. Strictly speaking, no
787 religious brotherhoods exist in Boni country; there are only
794 teachers - bas(2) - who have received their power from another

2. It does not seem advisable to translate this word by "priest." In the minds of the Refugee Blacks, this is a matter of a teacher teaching pupils; they use the same word to designate a European or Creole schoolmaster.

/204 cont./

776 This shows that in the minds of the Refugee Blacks, the
787 animal is simply a prop for the god. The god borrows this body
825 in order to manifest itself, but it is not bound to it by nature. These conceptions are totally contrary to those of the Indians, who tend to personify in their minds the beings and phenomena of nature.

776 As we have said, the Boni do not see these gods since the
787 person possessed loses consciousness. But in the time of the ancestors, there were people who used to see the gods, and it is through them that their present-day descendants have an idea of their appearance; on the other hand, certain gods such as the Ampuku and the Bũnsuŋki may be seen in dreams.

Sometimes the residence of this or that god is known, for it has revealed it through the mouth of its bearer; the god's
[823] name is then given to that place. For example, at the mouth of the Abounami there is a fall named Ma Akoti Gadu Sula. It is there that the god resides which revealed itself in olden days in an old woman named Akoti.

776 Connections with the group of relatives. The idea of a god
613 protector of the lineage, whose worship, brought by the founder of the group, is regarded as indispensable to the life of the collectivity, is not found clearly among the Refugee Blacks. There are actually many divinities which have entered the lineage and which are worshiped collectively. But these di-
[784] vinities are intruders; they have penetrated into the group by force in order to exert an inexorable vengeance against it.
[782] People do not apply to them to ask for protection, and they are worshiped only because they cannot be expelled.

776 /205/ There is not believed to be any kinship tie between the
602 gods and men, nor any tie of a systematic or exclusive character.

776 /209 cont./
wata ɲgi. Indians of the water. In certain spots, people have
[778] known since the time of the ancestors that there resides such a
[782] Bũnsuŋki, whose name they know; when they pass there, they address a prayer to it while making a sacrifice of tafia.

776 (The Bũnsuŋki must not be confused with wata mama, the
171 mama-of-the-water of the Creoles, a dreaded divinity but one which the Boni do not appear to worship. The wata mama lives at the bottom of deep holes in river beds and never allows her face to be seen; she sometimes abandons one of her long hairs on the rocks and he who finds it becomes rich).

776 /210/ The Bũnsuŋki can enter into human beings, exclusively,
787 it seems, into women. They give a different gita from those
[562] of the Kumẽnti. The possessed person dances at the edge of the water, then swims and dives for a long time. They affirm that
[789] if its possession is sufficiently intense, the genie carries the possessed woman along to the bottom of the water, where she stays for a very long time without any harm! That is supposed to have happened especially in Asisi village to a woman named Dabisa.

Possession by the Bũnsuŋki is not frequent. In 1952 it was known in Boni country in only three women.

[562] As for men, they may perceive these divinities in dreams
[788] and receive benefits from them. For that they go to the place
[782] where it resides and bathe, uttering an invocation: "O god, watch over me, protect me, come to me at night when I sleep, speak to me, act so that I may not be sick, so that I may get rich." The following night, the divinity will come in a dream, demand a sacrifice (beer in general), say that it /grants/ the prayer.

776 The Vɔɔdũ (1). These are gods much feared for their evil

1. This word is obviously a deformation of the Dahomey word vodũn.

/211 cont./

153 special drum is used, about two meters long and very narrow,
791 devoid of any decoration, which is called lãŋga dɔ̃ or papa
787 dɔ̃.
534 To call on her gita, the possessed woman (they are almost
787 always women) stands, puts on a piece of cloth which she always
[562] keeps nearby and always takes along with her when she travels:
this is the garment of the god; it consists of a sort of scarf
crossed in front; then she throws white clay, pemba, on her feet
from right to left and left to right while invoking the god.
Possession is almost immediate. One sees the woman's eyes
roll up and her expression become haggard. The god does not
cover himself entirely with pemba like the Kumẽnti, he makes
himself a sort of headband on the forehead with white clay.
787 He begins with an invocation to Masa Gadu said in ordinary
788 language.
539 "Masa gadu, gi mi pimisi, beka mi na pikin nẽŋge; ala
[782] sani di mi ɔ taki, na yu mu gi mi kaakiti, beka na yu abi mi
kaakiti, da mi nyãfalu gi yu."

"Masa Gadu, I implore you, for I am a humble creature;
(in) all that I am going to say, it is you who will give me
strength, for my strength is in you; I shall exalt you."

787 Next come formulas of welcome to those present, which
788 are the exact translation of the formulas of greeting of everyday
[198] life, then songs, all in the Papa language. After about a quarter
of an hour, it enters a hut and sits down, answering in ordinary
language the questions of those present, always in a singing
tone.

787 Possession by Papa gadu does not have the bestial character
of possession by Kumẽnti; outside of the dances, it does not
involve brutish gestures or bizarre acts; the possessed woman
hums softly in a shrill voice, moving with graceful gestures.
[531] /212/ Sometimes she draws strange signs on the huts; the Boni
state that that is a kind of writing, that other possessed people

787 /212 cont./
531 can read these messages; but we have not turned up any precise evidence on this subject (1).

1. These signs are very little systematized and have no relation whatever with the symbolic designs which figure in certain rituals of possession, especially in Dahomey and Haiti. It is permitted to see in them a simple likeness.

787 The Papa gadu are chiefly consulted to ask them to re-
[255] veal the cause of misfortunes that happen. One of them is not
[253] asked to cure an illness unless the interrogation reveals that it brought it on.

776 The worship of the Papa gadu snake gods makes a strong
648 impression on the West Indian Creoles who maintain regular relations with the Refugee Blacks. Most consider it as diabolical
[782] in nature and disapprove of it, but if the presence of an "adder"
[171] (anaconda snake) is noted in a neighboring creek, and if at the same time misfortunes occur, it happens that a Creole may go to ask the Refugee Blacks to practice rites to mollify
[778] the vengeance of the god. We have happened to catch sight of, hidden in a copse behind the habitation of a gold miner, a small altar decorated with blue and red pennants, the usual place of worship of the Papa gadu.

755 Observation in Boniville, November, 1952.

An Asisi woman, Tini, comes to Boniville to consult
[787] her adoptive daughter Pamasa, about 35 years old, who is possessed by a Papa gadu named Adawa. Féni, 15 years old,
[164] Tini's son, has been sick for several days (fever, eruption all over the body). When someone comes to get u[illegible] the god has already entered into Pamasa, has sat down in a hut, and

/217 cont./

If someone marries a girl, he must not only pay her mother the price of virginity but must also pay the girl's akka. For that he offers white beads and cloth which the bride will wear, as well as sweets which will be consumed by her. If the price of virginity were not paid, the woman's akka, humiliated, might make her sick or kill her.

/218/ There are seven categories of akka, masculine and feminine, one for each day of the week.

Crevaux in 1877 was able to establish the complete list(1):

1. This conception is widespread in the Agni-Ashanti culture area, among the Ewé and Mina, and as far as western Dahomey. The names reported among the Mina correspond very exactly, except for some differences in pronunciation, to the ones kept by the Boni.

	Men	Women
Sunday	Kwasi	Kwasiba
Monday	Kɔdyo	Adyuba
Tuesday	Kwami	Abeniba
Wednesday	Kwaku	Akuba
Thursday	Yao	Yaba
Friday	Kɔfi	Afiba
Saturday	Kwamina	Amba

All these names are known to the Boni, but none of our informants was capable of reciting the complete list. It is well understood that a name like Kɔfi, Kɔdio /sic/, etc. is the akka's name and not at all the man's name (2).

/218 cont./

774 551

2. Although it happens that people receive as a name an akka name, sometimes accompanied by a qualificative, such as Lébikwaku.

774 262 [551] Actually, each one knows his akka's name, which was revealed to him by his parents when he was a child; to this name is attached an akka kina or food prohibition relative to the akka. [754] Both are carefully kept secret even from near relatives and friends, for knowing them could help the wisimã take possession of the akka. On this subject people often use the term gadu kina, as they say mi gadu instead of mi akka. [784] [787] This term is easily confused with the prohibition imposed on the possessed person by the god which incarnates itself in him; these are two very different notions.

[858] The akka kina is unique for each man. It is sought by the parents when the child is completely weaned. [787] They try to draw parallels between the foods he has eaten and the health disorders he may exhibit, and these suppositions are confirmed by divinatory procedures.

774 782 A man does not ordinarily pray to his akka. He addresses prayer to it only if he is sick, to ask it for protection, or before leaving on a long trip, to ask it to watch over him. If he comes back safe and sound, he thanks it by making an offering to it, in the form of a bottle of syrup (switi sopi), which he turns upside down over his head.

774 184 According to Mr. W. F. van Lier, the Djuka have the idea that the shadow (kaaka) is the visible image of the akka; the Boni do not appear to have this conception; one does not observe that they attach any importance whatever to whether a man's shadow passes over them; on the contrary, one must not step over a man lying on the ground, that might injure his akka.

/220 cont./

769 Beside the principal fraga tiki one sometimes sees sticks
778 bearing fragments of white cloth; they have been planted in honor of those ancestors who have demanded it.

The ceremonies at the fraga tiki have a very simple
769 character; prayers are said in the ordinary language and often
778 have the character of an intimate conversation. In the absence
782 of the head of the lineage, an old man pronounces them; while he speaks, an assistant makes the offering of water and tafia. Pouring water on the ground is a rite having as its purpose entering into contact with the ancestors; it is seen performed in funeral ceremonies, before beginning the interrogation of the yɔrka. The tafia is an offering in the literal sense of the term; at the time of the principal prayers being addressed to the ancestors, the offering of tafia is preceded by an offering of cane
[272] juice, kyẽɔ wata. Cane juice was the beverage on feast days in the times when the ancestors, at war with the Europeans, were bereft of tafia.

The prayer formulas most commonly used ask the ancestors to intercede with Masa gadu on behalf of their descendants: "Ancestors, watch over us, protect us, pray to Masa gadu for us so that...."

769 Possession by a yɔrka. It is taken for granted that the yɔrka of
787 an ancestor can enter into a member of his matrilineage and reveal itself in the course of attacks of possession. This is a very
613 rare phenomenon. In 1958, in all the Boni country, only about ten people were known who bore thus the yɔorka of an ancestor. These attacks come on spontaneously, no cult having their provocation as its purpose. We were present in December, 1956 at one of these attacks in a young woman from Papaïston, Mili, about 20 years old. Since the day before, the yɔrka of an ancestor of the lineage dead for two generations had manifested itself in her intermittently; these attacks lasted several minutes;

/220 cont./

769 778 782 her voice changed, imitating a man's; eyes staring, she appeared to have no longer any consciousness of what was around her. Then suddenly the attack would cease and she would busy herself with her household occupations in the most natural fashion. The yɔrka which was believed to become incarnate thus in Mili's body spoke of very commonplace things, repeating indefinitely sentences concerning minor happenings of the day, or asking for a small offering of tafia on its behalf at the fraga tiki. A psychiatrist would doubtless have thought of an attack of mental dissociation.

[784] These yɔrka are not feared by their involuntary bearer, since none can exercise a kunu against his own lineage; they manifest themselves only exceptionally, sometimes indicating remedies or warning of dangers. Thus it is that A... of the Dipélu II lo, who has a Kumẽnti besides, also has a yɔrka which revealed itself in him without ever having been called on. According to his comrades, this yɔrka sometimes steps in with a cavernous voice, notably in September, 1952, during a hunting expedition, where it shouted: "Let us not go that way, we shall meet a jaguar." A... lost consciousness for only a few seconds and had not been aware of anything.
/Figs. 26 and 27 appear here./ /221/

795 828 The nẽmseki (1). Each Refugee Black has a nẽmseki, that is

1. This word seems to be a deformation of English "namesake" (homonym).

to say that certain elements of his personality are thought to originate from the reincarnation of a certain ancestor. This is a very obscure conception with the Boni, and without apparent correlation with their notion of the akka and the yɔrka; they never say: "I am the reincarnation of So-and-So," but simply:

/222 cont./

114 The various works treating of the Refugee Blacks point out
784 well the importance of the kunu, but it seems to us that the functioning of this institution (for in fact a social institution is certainly concerned here) has not been clearly understood.

784 A kunu is attached to a matrilineage in the literal sense
613 (bɛɛ). It extends obligatorily to all the members of the matrilineage and can strike only them.

For example, my kunu can strike my sister's son but not my wife nor my children (they are subject to the kunu of their own lineage). /223/

[782] The kunu, striking the lineage as a whole, can be appeased only by prayers uniting (at least in principle) the whole lineage. That is the respect in which the kunu may be defined
[571] as a social institution, for it is, we shall see, the principal cement holding the groups together.

The unleashing of a kunu does not necessarily and immediately follow the destruction of a termitary or the death of a dagowe snake. The god thus offended avenges itself by making a certain number of members of the lineage sick and
784 by causing limited misfortunes to happen. When things are
613 at that point the kunu can still be exorcised by prayers and
782 offerings. In 1957 the beginning of a kunu was manifesting itself thus in the Awara Bakka lineage of Asisi; very frightened, the members of the lineage made offerings and prayers to exorcise it.

784 But if the lineage people neglect the warnings of the god,
613 if through laziness or selfishness too great a number of them
[673] are absent from the collective prayers and do not take part in
[761] the offerings, prayers and offerings will be refused and the god will kill one of them. From then on the kunu is unleashed and can no longer leave the lineage. Its involuntary bearer
[428] will have to bequeath it upon his death to a member of the lineage, who cannot refuse this legacy and must immediately

/223 cont./

784 begin his instruction in order to become a suitable bearer. (If
613 this procedure were not carried out, the god would not cease
428 its kunu at all, and the possibility of entering into contact with it and appeasing it would be lost. Besides, sooner or later it would come back into a member of the lineage.)

784 The kunu strikes without regard to kinship ties, even if
613 kinship between the bearer of the god and the supposed victim
[602] is very distant. Ex.: The Papa gadu of Donasi (Papaïston lo) struck a young woman, Gou, with illness in January, 1957. Donasi and Gou are only relatives in the ninth degree. The
[782] members of the entire Papaïston lineage assembled to supplicate
[361] the god: even people of Wétiti village in the lower Maroni came.

775 The kunu exercised by the yɔrka of a dead person has a
784 special importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks, for it has
613 profound repercussions on the relations among the lineages.

In principle, the yɔrka exercising a kunu has as bearer
[428] a living member of its own lineage, who will bequeath it at his death. But it is also possible that the yɔrka may take as bearer a member of the lineage upon which it exercises the kunu.

In both cases, the rite to appease the yɔrka is the same;
[782] the yɔrka can be invoked effectively only by the members of its own lineage, since one can pray (at least in principle) only to one's own maternal ancestors.

When matrilineage A is struck by the kunu exercised by a yɔrka of matrilineage B, its members thereupon go to consult the elders of matrilineage A /sic/ and ask them to try to calm
[769] the anger of their ancestor. The members of lineage A assemble
[798] around the fraga tiki of lineage B, in back of the elders of this
[787] lineage, in the presence of the bearer of the yɔrka, who calls on his gita, goes into trances and prophesying. The yɔrka
[782] usually asks for an offering of cane juice and tafia, which is made at the foot of the /224/ fraga tiki by the elders of lineage B (for the rite to be efficacious, the offering must have been furnished by lineage A).

/225 cont. /

784 Having no known lineage (his family, if he had any, was
785 in Surinam), it had taken people of the Dipélu lineage as
614 bearers. The last was △ Denis † in 1938. Since Denis'
787 death, it no longer has a bearer. The questioning of the dead reveals that they died by its kunu. The members of the two
[782] fractions of the lineage meet together (at least two or three members of each village come) to supplicate it.

784 A third kunu, very interesting in origin and supposed
614 action, /226/ in 1957 was borne by Kwau (Dip. I, E1, Kotika village). It results from the killing of an anaconda snake by Apatu † (Dip. I, C1), companion of the explorer Crevaux when he was traveling to /in/ Brazil. Upon contact with Europeans Apatu had become a freethinker and was no longer
[753] observing the laws of his people. Among the later victims of
[755] this kunu was counted Kwami (Dip. II, F4, Kormotibo village) who, gravely ill, had had to go to L'Enfant Perdu where the god had been invoked for him and offerings made. The death
[761] of Manga (Dip. I, E5, [illegible]niville, † about 1930) was particularly attributed to it.

No other kunu has revealed itself in Apatu village since its founding in 1882.

784 A fourth kunu concerning all the Dipélu has as bearers
614 women of the Dipélu II group. It results from the inadvertent
776 murder of a Papa gadu whose bearer was a dagowe snake killed
787 in the course of the nivrée /fishing/ of a pool by Akonté
562 † (Dip. II, B1), transmitted to Kondo †, then to Alama (Dip. II, E1).

Since then Papa gadu have revealed themselves in ○ Apaïta (Dip. II, F9, Kormotibo village) and in ○ Kaala (Dip. II, G28, Asisi-Dip. II village). They declared themselves to be the descendants of the first and to come in support of it.

/227 cont./

784 --A second, very old kunu is exercised by a yɔrka of the
775 Dipélu II lo, Gy..., dead so long that he cannot be placed on
787 the genealogical table; it, too, had as bearer a member of the
613 lineage on which it was exercising the kunu. ○ Akumuyé
614 (Aw.B.1, D17) † 1957.

Thus the Awara Bakka and Dipélu lineages exercise the kunu reciprocally one against the other;

784 --A third kunu of recent origin is exercised by a Papa
786 gadu god which had as bearer in 1957 ○ Irma (Aw.B.1, E37).
613 It results from the inadvertent killing of a Dagowe /sic/ snake
[789] by Ta Takwa, Irma's brother. At the end of 1957 this kunu
[753] had yet brought on only illnesses of such a kind that people could still hope to exorcise it.

784 The Aw.B.3 group has a special kunu of its own and
613 considers itself out of reach of the kunu of the Aw.B.1.

Anèta, originating in the Djuka village of Tabiki, is subject to the kunu of that lineage as are all her descendants in
[782] uterine line. On occasion of serious illnesses the latter have sometimes had to go to Tabiki village to supplicate the kunu.

[786] This kunu is the one of a god borne by Akanté, Anèta's
[787] daughter. In September, 1956, Summa, Akanté's daughter,
[782] was sick. The god revealed that this was its doing. It was supplicated (the other fractions joined the group) and she then got well.

613 Kunu of the Afi lineage. The descendants of Afi † (woman
621 coming from the tribe of the Bakabuchi of Surinam) live for the most part in Asisi in close symbiosis with the /228/ Awara Bakka lineage. They are in a situation analogous to that of Anèta's descendants (Aw.B.3) but, perhaps by the simple fact of their number, they form a more individualized unit.

/230 cont./

784 the lineage; questioned, this god declared that it had something
787 to complain about in the bad condition of the house which the
776 members of the lineage had erected to it on its order; the roof of leaves had not been changed and it was raining through.

784 It happens also, but as an exception, that the god has
684 sanctioned an offense against morals or more precisely, against the social law, such as the breaking of an interdiction, pikadu (incest in the wider sense, an offense against exogamy). It is necessary to understand that in the thought of the Refugee Blacks, incest unleashes the existing kunu but does not create a new kunu.

In October, 1952, Dolo, a young man of 25 of the
[787] Awara Bakka lo, died almost suddenly. Divination revealed
[761] that he had been killed by the kunu (it was a Papa gadu which
[613] had intervened) in order to sanction an offense committed some time previously by another member of the lo named P.... The latter, a notoriously depraved individual, had committed incest with his own sister.

784 When the divinity has made known through the mouth
776 of its bearer the causes of its act, the assembled members of
782 the lineage implore it, ask it not to pursue its vengeance; the
[787] divinity then requires an offering: for example, if it is a Papa gadu, it will require bottles of beer, some red and white cloth which will be immersed in a given place in the river. It may also require dances in its honor, celebrated by the other possessed people in the village. If it is an Ampuku, it will demand rum, dark-blue cloth which will be exposed in a remote place in the forest. An offering of this kind represents a relatively small sum, even for the Boni (several thousand francs in 1952). The god then declares itself appeased. But it does not pardon and it will resume /231/ its vengeance
[183] at the first cause. Thus the Boni have hope only in a rigorous
776 observance of customary law and the rites. There are divinities
787 which appeared to be thus appeased for a long time and to

/232 cont./

787 In a general way, they consider that the bearer of a god
784 exercising the kunu has nothing to fear from it personally if he
776 rigorously observes the kina which have been imposed upon
him. On the other hand, this god will punish any injury to
[562] its bearer. Thus these bearers (almost always old women) live
[888] surrounded by respect and fear.

784 /233/ Observations in January, 1958 (misfortunes attributed to
769 vengeance of ancestors on their own lineage).
613 Do (Lapé) is taken ill on January 7, 1958 with a violent
75 attack of dysentery. The same day his five-year-old son is
grievously hurt at the wharf by falling on a broken bottle.
[787] Alarmed by this coincidence, the members of the Lapé lo
assemble and proceed to question a possessed person. The latter
reveals that it is the doing of an old woman of the lineage,
Atala, dead for two years. Several lineage members have already been sick from this; the dead woman wanted to sanction offenses committed by the people of the lineage.

The same day in Boniville, Klémenti (Dju), to whom I am recounting this affair, tells me that before the lifting of mourning for his mother Béniti, he and his sisters were sick.
[787] Divination showed that it was the doing of Béniti, who wished to hasten the celebration of the ceremony.

784 The kunu and social peace among the Boni. Role of the grand
775 man. The kunu exercised by a yɔrka creates very strange re-
613 lations among the Boni lineages. As blind and arbitrary as the
571 vengeance attributed to the yɔrka may be, the Boni have the
sense of the legal unity of the lineage too much for any resentment to exist: "They are killing our family..."; and yet the
two lineages find themselves henceforth irreparably bound to-
[782] gether. The victims of the kunu can no longer get along without
people of the lineage of the yɔrka which pursues them with its
vengeance, since they alone, by their prayers, can appease
temporarily the anger of their ancestor. One conceives of the

845 /257/
782 This worship is celebrated each time there is occasion
751 to protect newborn babies. They are washed with a certain decoction of leaves.

845 Every four or five years on the average a big dance takes
535 place, then the father and mother of twins and the twins
751 themselves are washed in order to maintain their powers and keep them in good health.

[784] If these dances are not held, dead twins will show their
[753] anger by making living twins and parents of twins sick.

845 Lineages that do not have twins do not practice these
613 rites. If twins are born to them, they will apply at the place
778 of worship of another lineage.

Papaïston and Lapé have this cult particularly highly developed.

842 Tɔne pikin. It is assumed that a woman may be made pregnant
776 by a river god, either a Papa gadu snake god or by the Wata Iɔgi, which look like Indians. Children thus conceived are called tɔne pikin.

A..., of Papaïston, had cut a clearing opposite a remarkable white rock called Weti stɔ̃, where she used to moor her boat. She had not had any children for several years
[787] and she became pregnant. When her daughter was born a
[778] possessed person revealed that she was born of a Papa gadu
[782] snake god which lived there: since then her parents /relatives/ go regularly to this rock to make offerings.

About 1910 Alama (Kormotibo) had followed her husband to a shipyard on the lower river; one day while walking in the forest she met an Indian having the appearance of a Galibi Indian, who was carrying a newborn baby. She stopped and admired the baby. The Indian said to her: "Do you wish to raise him?" She acquiesced. He said: "We shall see each other again"; then he went away so quickly that she had the impression that he had disappeared on the spot.

/258 cont./

776 One of the best known of these gods is that of the Maruini.
823 It is assumed to control all the tributaries of the Maruini as far
778 as their sources. Its place of worship is a thicket situated downstream from the dangerous Kubi Sula Falls, at the mouth
782 of the river. Before starting to go upriver in August, 1956,
[539] the crews of our three boats, in an atmosphere of great meditation, lined up behind the eldest of them, who made the offering of water and tafia, uttering these words: "God who commands this river, watch over us, keep us from being sick, let no accident happen to us; if there is on this river an interdiction which we do not know (2) and which, through

2. It is obvious here that this is a case of de facto worship of a divinity about which nothing is known.

ignorance, we do not observe, pardon us. Bring us back to our villages safe and sound." The boatmen came one after the other to make the offering of tafia. The scene lasted more than a quarter of an hour. This ceremony was not without nobility, engendering belief in that sincere fervor of animists so often mentioned in the /259/ ethnographic literature.
771 But our return at the end of our work trip took place in a completely different atmosphere, showing the strictly practical and utilitarian side of the religion of the Refugee Blacks. Once past the Kubi Sula, the three boss boatmen could not persuade any of their men, who were in the act of eating their meal, to accompany them as far as the place of worship to thank the god. Some told us straight out that they were scoffing at this god from now on, having no intention of
[782] coming back on the Maruini. As for the boss boatmen themselves, they measured stingily the quantity of tafia offered

/259 cont./

791 to the god, and their words of thanks lasted scarcely half a
[782] minute (1). At the time of our first trip on the Maruini, in

1. Yet custom expressly provides for this rite of thanking.

1948, the same scenes had unfolded, going as well as coming back.

241 791

Rites Relative to Agriculture

These rites occupy a relatively minor place in the religious life of the Refugee Blacks, which may be attributed to the great regularity of the climate and the absence of calamities affecting the yield of crops.

[613] It does not seem, at least among the Boni, that a religious bond is assumed between the lineage and the land, and rites intended to insure the fertility of the soil are carried out by each one for himself in the neighborhood of his own field; the lineage head does not appear to play any particular role in this regard. In the thought of the Boni, the fertility of the
241 706 soil depends upon a local divinity, to which is offered de facto worship; the temporary or permanent users of the lands situated in the domain of this god perform on their own behalf the rites of this worship without any distinction of origin, whether they are Boni, Djuka, or Saramaka.

[796] The only collective worship existing in Boni country is
[793] the worship of mama gɔ̃, of which the grand man is priest.
[643] Its rites are limited to a short annual prayer.

/259 cont./

241 776 [532] [831] [778] [643] [782] Cult of Mama gɔ̃. Mama gɔ̃, mother of the earth, is represented by a crude statue of white clay provided with enormous breasts, symbol of fecundity, which can be seen in a little hut situated on the open place of Boniville village. Each year, when the time for cutting the clearings approaches, the grand man, surrounded by many other people, prays to the god to grant fertility to the plantings. If rain does not fall, an offering of water and tafia is made and the statue is sprinkled.

811 The Boni do not appear to associate the idea of women's fecundity with that of the fertility of the soil, and we have not heard anyone say that the grand man prays on this subject.

241 776 Neither do they appear to have a very clear idea about the relationships of this worship with that of the gɔ̃ gadu, local gods of the soil.

796 535 787 Every three years a great possession dance takes place in Boniville on January 1, /260/ in which the Papa gadu gods dance in front of the sanctuary of Mama gɔ̃. We have not been able to obtain specific information on the meaning of this rite.

241 776 [784] Cult of the gɔ̃ gadu. It is assumed that every portion of land is under the sway of a local god, gɔ̃ gadu. Its power is limited only by the fertility of the soil, and he who neglects its worship cannot be attacked in his person or in his goods, but only punished by a poor harvest.

What is the nature of these gods, what is their place in the cosmogony? These are questions which not one of our informants had ever asked himself. In their minds, gɔ̃ gadu has a de facto existence, and is rendered de facto worship. This worship consists essentially of:

[782] --Offerings made at the moment of planting;

[527] --The observance of a local day of rest, kina de, corresponding to the god's day of rest.

/260 cont./

241 778 People who have no farming habitation and who farm on the outskirts of /Fig. 29 appears here/ /261/ residence villages get together in groups of three or four to establish a worship place in a copse preserved from the forest adjoining their clearings.

241 782 Cane juice, syrup, rice pounded fine but not cooked are offered.

They make this offering at the time of the plantings, saying, "Gadu, please come and eat a little, watch over us, thank you very much."

The Boni who observe the rites most faithfully renew this offering each month at the new moon.

If someone has two clearings in two different sectors, he performs the rites twice, each gɔ̃ gadu being entirely independent of the others.

241 171 On this subject one notices that the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks are much more systematized than those of the Creole populations of African origin in the West Indies. They do not think each field has an individual soul; neither do they apparently believe in the possibility of capturing the soul of the field in order to make the neighbor's field sterile out of revenge. These beliefs, which play such a large role in the popular magic of the West Indies, seem to be without exact counterpart in the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks.

241 [176] Interdictions and various rites. Cutting a clearing involves great dangers: it is necessary to avoid injuring the maleficent divinities of the bush, which have as supports well-defined plants and animals, by brutal destruction of these supports, and their wreaking inexorable revenge -- the kunu -- on the lineage of the unintentional sacrilege. It is therefore necessary to seek out these plants and animals and to carry out for each the rites recommended by the ancestors' experience without forgetting a single one. No Refugee Black would dream of

/262 cont./

824 778 door; it was a particularly feared kɛ̃ndu that no thief would have dared to remove.

825 778 [776] --The Kɛ̃ntamasu are the divinities, especially maleficent and hostile to men, who live in the termitaries (these are termites proper, who make their nest in the earth, and not wood lice, much more common). There is one to each termitary.

[789] After a meticulous examination of the soil of the clearing, one marks all the termitaries /263/ and sprinkles each of them with a preparation containing leaves, pink clay kukusa, and manioc juice. One adjures the genie to go away, no matter where.

It happens that in spite of all the precautions taken a termitary is forgotten. Then, several days later, one will [789] have the consternation of seeing the Kɛ̃ntamasu reveal itself [784] in someone of the lineage; it announces that it is going to exercise its kunu (curse). It is temporarily appeased by offer- [782] ings of tafia, various drinks, red cloth.

776 198 787 The Kɛ̃ntamasu call themselves the Akɔlo. Through the mouth of their bearers they speak a language nobody understands. However, when they wish to be understood by those present they speak Kumɛ̃nti.

755 784 Observation in Boniville, January, 1957:

A...., boatman of the border-fixing mission, asks for three days off. His wife, Masauman, has been ill for several days; divination (in this particular case the gita of a female relative in his lineage) showed that it was the doing of a Kɛ̃ntamasu injured in the burning of the clearing which he himself, A...., cut for his wife in October. The Kɛ̃ntamasu has not yet manifested itself directly, but a kunu threatens; to appease it he must put in action the remedy known only to M...., an old man of Asisi. He will go to the spot, following

765 /263 cont./ He will go to the spot, following
782 at a good distance M..., bearer of the remedy, with which he will sprinkle the surface of the clearing, and of offering objects. When the offering has been made, they will wait some time to see whether Masauman is better and if she is, they will deem the god appeased.

The Yali Festival

796
[805] The Refugee Blacks, who do not count the days that elapse, contenting themselves with lunations in order to follow the course of the year, make inquiries from Europeans and Creoles to set the time for the Yali festival which marks the new year. Everyone accumulates provisions, especially tortoise meat, varied drinks, and many firecrackers.

On the evening of December 31 each one dances in his own village.

The festival lasts all night, tafia gushes forth, firecrackers go off everywhere.

[787] At the end of the night several gods "rise" in the heads of their bearers, at least of those who are not completely drunk.

[535] During the day dances resume intermittently in the order awasa, sɔŋgɛ, susa. It is customary for the people of one lineage to go to dance in the village of another, then they
[574] invite them back. People make many individual visits. Some have set up in front of their hut a sort of small buffet on which they have arranged about ten glasses, five to six liters of tafia, four or five bottles of beer, lemonade, and syrup.

Observation in Boniville, January 1, 1958:

The grand man, who scarcely leaves his habitation downstream from Boniville any more, did not /264/ put himself out. He delegated his functions to Lébiman and Fintiman, men about 50 years old, belonging to the fraction of the Kotika and Dju lineages residing in Boniville.

/265 cont./

796 "Great ancestors who are in God's country, it is you who
769 have the strength of the village."
539 (The tafia gushes forth.)

"Drink, drink, but do not get drunk to the point of being deluded, look with favor upon the righteous, scatter the wicked."

796 Next, Fintiman goes off to make an offering of tafia
782 accompanied by a few words at the chapel of Odun. Then he goes to the edge of the mortuary shed to pour water, tafia, and coffee on behalf of Samalobi, the grand man's brother, for whom mourning has not been lifted.

He goes next to the house of the deceased grand man Awensay to make an offering of coffee (Awensay, like the other grand men, used to drink coffee).

796 The prayer of the preceding year (January 1, 1957),
782 presided over by grandfather Samalobi, had had a higher
829 inspiration. After praying in about the same terms as above for the Boni, they prayed for the Djuka, explaining that in days gone by Boni and Djuka had fought, but that all that was forgotten. They prayed next for the Saramaka, then for the Indians, finally for the Europeans. I asked why; they answered: "It is because the Europeans were the ones who brought us to this country which has become ours." /p. 266 is blank/

/267/

CHAPTER VIII

538
765

TALES -- PROVERBS

Tales (Anlisi tali) and Proverbs (ɔdo) retain an important social function among the Refugee Blacks. It is always by tales that the great customary ceremonies of the lifting of mourning begin. Their function is to concentrate the attention of the

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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764 Then, when we had all washed away
[783] the taint of death in the flowing river, we turned and once more climbed the path to the village.

5

The muffled sound of a gunshot came to us as we sat in the hut of the headman, speaking of the funeral. "Another child gone," he said, "Soon he will be safe in the earth."

We had not been permitted to go across the river to witness the burial. "It is a dangerous place for those who do not know it," the headman said. "*Ogi*—evil things—are [796] there, bad spirits who harm those who are not prepared, and we do not want evil to come to you. Several years ago there was a Bakra here when we buried another Gankwe man. He asked to go, and we granted him his wish. But the spirits of the bad bush across the river harmed him and he died, and now his ghost plagues us."

A second shot told us that the bearers had reached the grave after their march through the deep bush where living man seldom came. They had sung the *papa singi*—the dirges—which are intoned as the dead is borne to the grave. Once arrived there and the invocations pronounced, the salute fired, and the gods propitiated, two men would descend into the deep hole there to lift down the coffin and place it in the tunnel-like excavation dug under the undisturbed earth to the side of the large opening; would place it so that the falling earth might not disturb the spirit of the dead.

A third shot.

The body was in the grave. The heaping of earth, with [413] the burial hoe, with feet, and with fingers, back into the hole that had been so laboriously dug had commenced. The sun was getting low and darkness comes early in the big bush.

Now the last shot told us of the final ceremony. The food that had been brought for the last offering was being placed on the mound of heaped-up earth. The strip of white cloth to the spirit was being pushed into the ground on its stick. The burial party was backing away from the grave, slowly, slowly, so that the spirit would not be alarmed, so that it

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765 head was clearest in the quiet of the early morning. A stillness so pronounced that we could feel it surrounded us at the base camp, for at Gankwe the drums had been replaced in the shrines of the gods for whom they speak, and no more guns saluted the spirit of Zimbi, or warned away the evil dead with the powder which was distasteful to ghosts. Zimbi was buried, the grave diggers had bathed [183] and put on fresh loin cloths, the village had been purified, and all was still.

512 From our shelter, watching the haze lift, we could see that the river had fallen; the tangled grasses at the bank showed fully a hand's breadth of fresh brown that had the day before been under water. With the coming of the sun things began to stir. The lizards appeared, the [231] chickens came to peck at our shoes, looking for crumbs, and boats began to make shadows across the opposite bank, as the Gankwe women in their small corials went to their fields. At the bow would be a little girl, or a yet smaller [868] boy—as young as four perhaps, for the older ones went with the men to learn a man's work—helping to take the boat up the fast water. All this went on quietly, until we espied three boats running down the rapids and pivoting about in the still water toward our landing place. As they 438 came nearer, we could see that the boats carried no load, and our host, the director of the balata-collecting station, explained that these boats were new and were being taken down river for sale.

"All the large boats come from top-side," he said. "The men take them clear around to the Marowyne River by way of the canals and there carry loads in them to the stations in the interior. The Saramacca men are fine canoe-men. They like them on the Marowyne. . . . You could 439 use a large boat for your trip up river. Maybe the man will sell one."

[142] [304] The man in charge of the little flotilla stood more than six feet tall. His face was intricately cicatrized, and he carried himself with a dignity and reserve that surpassed even the way of the village chiefs.

had seen a hand reach out for the boat, had seen it vanish out of sight. The gods had accepted the offerings. That year the Granman from the city, the white Granman, had to send rice from a far country to feed them, but the next year the crops were good, and all had been well since that time.

"And was that when this shrine was removed to the other island?"

"*M'an sabi. A kan de*—I do not know. It is possible."

2

"When you get to the Mamadam," we had been told by a priestess in the city, "wash your face in the running water, and call on the Mother of the River three times."

Another had said, "If your foot should trip anywhere, be sure to call on your ancestors, but if you should happen to slip at the Mamadam, you must go at once to the river, strike the water three times, and ask the Mother of the River to release your soul. It is a bad thing to lose your soul there."

And our principal story-teller in the city, who was something of a wit, had said: "You both have light eyes. Your hair is not dark. You are not unlike the Bonkoru people who are light, and who, up the river, you will hear called the Toné folk." He was speaking of albinos. "It may be that you have a river god without knowing it. When you come to the Mamadam the spirit may come to you. You may find yourself speaking the tongue that only the Toné people know, and dancing the dances to the river gods, and swimming up the rapids. It will be a fine sight to see you dance to the drums. There was once such a woman. A woman white as you are, you hear? I myself saw her dance. When she danced, she wore red, and put a plug through her lip, and as she danced her color changed. She became black. When the spirit was satisfied, it let her go, and she paled and was a white woman again. I myself saw that woman dance. I saw her grow black while she danced, and saw

itself, an open shelter under a thatched roof resting on four posts. Inside it, upon the ground, lay a flat stone whitened with sacred clay, and on this a bottle stood. Directly behind the stone was the altar, a low table on which lay several egg-shaped pieces of the sacred pemba—the white clay—and some egg-shaped stones which had come from the bed of the river. A circle of iron, perhaps two fingers' breadth in thickness and having a diameter of ten or twelve inches, rested on the ground under the altar. A stick had been planted to face the thicket of wild pineapple that made a wall at the back, and from it hung a strip of white cotton for the ancestors. To the left of this was a simply carved stool, the tracery of its design become all but indistinguishable under the coat of white clay which covered it. Several bottles lay at the foot of this stool. 778 346 [352]

"Ya-hai, mati, you are praying to the Mother of the River. It is well," said Kasanya, as he came up to us with his pole-man and the men from Gankwe and interrupted our scrutiny of the shrine.

Followed by Sedefo and Asikanu, he entered the shrine, while the others stood with us outside the railing which connected at sides and back the posts upon which the roof rested. Kasanya called on the Sky God first. "*G'an gadu*," he began, "Mother of the River, Ancestors, grant that we travel safely. Grant that we bring the white man safely to the country of the Granman. Grant that the white man pay us well. I thank you." 782

As he finished, the listening men clapped their hands in unison, and spoke in chorus, "Great thanks!" Some distance away, down the slope which dropped to the river, was Bibifo, who wanted to be called Adrian. He did not come too near the shrine, but there he was, halfway up, with head bent, his lips moving as he muttered a prayer of his own.

Now Sedefo came forward, and Kasanya left the shrine and disappeared behind the pineapple bushes. When he came back he held leaves in his hand, which he said were sacred. He would crush them and put them in water dipped 783 824

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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783 824 here at the Mamadam, and later he would bathe with this that he might be purified. Meanwhile Sedefo and Asikanu, each in his turn, addressed the Mother of the River, each speaking his errand and asking that his journey be prospered.

787 Bayo came up alone when the loading was quite finished. He sat down on a crosspiece of the shrine to one side of the flat rock, poured some of the contents of the bottle on the stone, and, taking up one of the egg-shaped pieces of pemba, he rubbed it between his fingers and touched the [302] moist stone with his whitened hands. Now with his fingers he streaked his upper arm, just below the shoulders and over the muscles which played to the swinging of the pole-stick, and then his chest and knees.

"Mother of the River, give us a safe journey. Carry the white man and his woman without sickness. I thank you."

Later, when we were about to make off, he turned to us with his ready laugh. "You will walk well, Ba'ka. I have a strong spirit. I said things to the Mother of the River under my breath which you did not hear. The Mother of the River will look after you."

"What is this log, Bayo, right here on top of the falls? Why has no one claimed it?" we asked, pointing to the log of purple-heart close by, which we had noticed lying across the Mamadam.

"When it was sent down, something happened to turn it sidewise, and it was caught so. No one will touch it. It must be that the gods wanted it for themselves."

4

778 784 There are many shrines on the river. At the G'an Creek a man would speak his prayer from a distance, call the creek "ancestor," state his errand, and continue his journey. Far up the stream, where the juncture of the Pikien Rio and the Grand Rio forms the river which the Bush Negroes call the Saramacca, is the Tapa Wata shrine. There, our men said, we would do well to avoid looking, though our boat rested across the river more than a quarter of a mile

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776 "The gods are friendly to you, Massa. The men have all
609 noticed it. You look upon trees and falls with pleasure. When you see them, it is as if you met with a friend. That is good. But the gods have their powers, and men have theirs. The Rabbit says, 'Evil is everywhere.' Last night, you remember, there was a man who did not look up when you passed his house, and when you spoke 'Howdo' to him, he would not answer. He was an obia man. He would not take the hand of a white man. I have heard the men say there are others who are not glad that the white man has come so far, and that the gods have allowed it. . . ."

Abruptly he stopped. He had said more than he intended.

"I came to tell you about another thing," he continued after a moment of embarrassment. "You should know about fio-fio."

Fio-fio was a small brown bug, and it was also a spirit.
[753] The spirit fio-fio brought sickness and death to human beings. For people like ourselves, untutored in the ways of the spirits, and the things which allowed them to gain sway over an individual, only a diviner could seek out the incident which had caused fio-fio to come.

751 That was why it was necessary to bathe in a protecting
783 fluid, to "wash fio-fio," even though we had not yet been stricken.

"Let me tell you how to wash fio-fio," he went on. "You must bathe when nobody sees you, and this is what you must have: the skin of a plantain we call the mother plantain that has been dried in smoke, and weeds which I will give you, and Negro-country pepper which I have with me, and seven pieces of chalk, and some eggshells. Some people put washing-blue in the water, too, but that you don't need. You can bathe in it early in the morning, or at noon, or right after sundown, but no one must see you."

He paused for a moment.

776 "Do you not have fio-fio in your country? Look, this is
626 how it is. You quarrel with a man who works for you, and
578 he comes back and says he is sorry, and you say you are

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sorry, too. He does that because he is afraid of fio-fio. If a man quarrels with you, and he keeps his anger in him, and you keep yours, and later he takes work from you, then either he, or you, or both of you will get sick. If the anger was great, then you or he or both of you will become very sick. If you catch it soon, then you get together, and, as we say, '*Pu' mofo'*—take back what you had said. Then you get better." 776 682 578

Fio-fio had nothing to do with enmity. Honest enmity was not harmful. Enmity masked, however, or bitterness, or a grudge which a man harbored while he continued a relationship of friendship, sickened a man, and it sickened the man against whom the grudge was held, as well. That was fio-fio. Only those who had relationships of intimacy were subject to it—people who were united by blood ties, or ties of friendship, or servants who formed part of the household.

The remedy was ceremonially to retract and ask for pardon. It had to be done before people, with the proper ritual and bathing. [783]

"If this isn't done, then a person gets worse and worse, and dies. I myself saw the fio-fio bug fly out of the nose of a dying woman."

This woman had sickened because she had quarreled with her sister over a man. In the end they had both lost him. As time went on, they began to talk again and later lived together in their mother's house. But they had never forgiven each other. One day one of them borrowed a kerchief from the other to wear at a dance. The next day she was ill. From then on she got worse and worse.

"The quarrel between the sisters had happened so long ago that they never thought of it. So they did nothing. In a month she died, and I myself saw the fio-fio bug fly out of her nose."

He knew another story about fio-fio.

"This happened to a man I know. His child died less than a month ago. He was living with a woman, and the woman became big with child. He had been away in the

996 186 gods do not come to them." There was in her voice contempt for women who had no gods. She was of a reddish-brown color, taller and more slender than most, and the great coils of brass about her arms and ankles told that her [301] beauty had had full recognition. These had come to her at [585] marriage, as had the small earrings of gold which the bassia had brought to her from French Guiana. With these, too, had come cloths and handkerchiefs, beads and carvings.

609 123 If white women had no gods, did they know any of the other things which women must know? Did the white [291] woman wear an apron underneath all her cloths, as women should? Were her thighs cicatrized? Did she cook for her husband, or other men, when she should be isolated in the special house provided for women's monthly visits? [841] Did she purify herself with sacred clay when she emerged from isolation in order not to spoil her husband's obias, for which contact with a woman who has her menses is the deadliest taboo? Why, having borne children, did her figure not show it?

[534] "Have you drums?" the bassia's wife asked. "Without drums, how do you pray? How do you dance?"

[535] Dancing without drums availed nothing.

"White women have no gods. The gods do not come to them. They are not troubled by the need to dance. White women do not pray," she concluded, seeing that what dancing the white woman did could only be a feeble affair.

"I will send my son to your country. The men who go to the French shore say it is good to know how to count the white man's way. My woman-child I will never send," she finished with finality.

Now it was the white woman's turn to ask a few questions, having done explaining how her boots laced, and why it was that she was dressed very much as her husband was dressed.

751 996 983 The white clay in the hair and on the face of a small child was medicine. The child's mother had washed for her god that morning. He was a god whose day for dancing was Wednesday, and now, feeling the god stir in her, she would

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wash every day until Wednesday came to permit her to dance. When she washed with the sacred moistened clay, she rubbed the white on her children. 751 776 783

"Will all the women dance on Wednesday who have the same god as you?"

The child's mother shook her head. "If the god comes to them, yes. If he doesn't come, they can't dance."

And the bassia's wife said, "The women who are in the menstrual house can't dance. When they hear the drum they are troubled, but they must remain quiet." 841

The woman had spoken too eagerly and too loudly, for her husband, overhearing her, said something in a low rapid voice, and at once the women fell silent and several of them remembered errands they had to see to. 593

4

"When men are in the council house, you mustn't interrupt," said the bassia's wife to the white woman. "If we did what you did just now, our husbands would scold us when they got home, and if we did it again, they would beat us." 576 [593]

She had taken upon herself all the prerogatives of friendship, and continually criticized the manners of her visitor.

The old were to be greeted last. A gift was to be received by another. When returning a piece of carving to another's hand, the carving should rest on the outstretched palm, while the elbow of that arm lay on the palm of the other hand. In the presence of men, a woman who took a stool should turn it about and sit on its narrower side.

"Never sit on the bare earth. The spirits don't like it," she said one instant, and the next, "Don't play with your fingers on top of your sun helmet. Your breasts will get long. Drumming is not a thing for women." [806] [567]

There had been other warnings during earlier visits to Bush Negro villages, but none had borne down so heavily upon the shortcomings of the stranger.

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holding a stick the size of a well-grown boy's arm. Round and round they went, as the widow from her doorway moaned her lament, and guns sounded in honor of the dead. The more important the man, the more guns were fired. Their own men had been the Granman's brothers. There was shooting till . . . till late afternoon, when they could not delay the bathing at the river any longer.

Before dark, all had to go to the river to bathe, and the widow, too, was led there with the others. There she purified herself, and discarded her mourning clothes, drawing on new cloths, and making herself fit with ornaments for the ceremony of rejoicing. This was followed by dancing which lasted late into the night. All the gods might be danced to at an adyo ceremony—Adonko; Vodu, the snake; Opete, the buzzard; Tigri, the jaguar; and all the gods of the bush and the ant hill—and, at the beginning, the seketi social dances and the half-sacred awasa. These dances were held for the spirits of men and women alike, and it did not matter whether the dead, or the living members of the family of the dead, shared these gods with the rest of the villagers, or not.

"But mourning is not over yet," said Fenekonde.

Seven months more elapsed, she showed on her fingers, before a woman might cohabit with her brother-in-law. If there was no brother-in-law to take her, then a woman had to wait twelve months after the adyo ceremony, instead of seven.

"If a woman doesn't care for her brother-in-law," continued Fenekonde, "or he doesn't care for her, then, when the seven months have passed, he comes to her hammock for two nights. Then she can go to another man at once."

When the husband who had died left no brothers, and there was no one else in his family to take the widow, the family of the dead man sought out a husband for her.

"They look and they look, until they are weary," said the Granman's younger wife, "but a man must be found before a woman can come out of mourning."

REBEL DESTINY

776 A man who wished to buy a god for his son went to a
432 renowned obia man and agreed to pay him a certain sum
424 of money if, at the end of the period of training, the god came to the boy.

"When the obia man says the boy is ready, they give a dance. At this dance, the drum is played for the god, and
[987] the boy must dance. If the god comes to him, then the obia man gets his money, but if the god does not come, then he does not get what was promised him, because they had made an agreement for a god, and no god came."

881 The training was not very difficult—it was not like the
869 training for becoming an obia man. A boy was given obia
976 water to wash in. Every eight days the water in the obia pot was changed, and this bathing continued for three
[983] moons. When the ritual of purification was over, he was taught the drum rhythms of the god, the invocations which the drum sounded, and the spoken invocations. Songs, and make-up for the dancing, and the dancing itself he was taught, and when he might call upon the god, and what he must do when the god comes, and what offerings the god was to receive. If the god spoke "tongues," he was also instructed in the appropriate language. There were the words of the mocking little Apuku gods and the sounds which only Toné people made, and there was the "Kromanti tongo."

"Can all the gods be bought?" we asked.

432 "Kweti, kweti!" he shook his head in emphatic denial.
976 "The river gods cannot be bought. You are born a Toné
989 man or woman, or the Toné god comes to you from your family. But all the Vodu gods you can buy; and the god Bongo, the alligator; and the ant hill gods and the gods of the kankan tree, and the Apuku bush gods." He paused for an instant, as if he were considering something. "And men buy Kromanti for their sons, if they have none to give them. Almost every man in the bush has Kromanti. If he hasn't it, then he tries to buy it for his sons. A man needs Kromanti. When he has the Kromanti spirit, fire cannot hurt him, nor glass, nor anything that cuts—

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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man of each tribe has a uniform given him by the Dutch; it 648
consists of a high silk hat, a braided frock coat, a drum-major's baton, and a metal plaque suspended around the neck, with the arms of Surinam on it. The ensemble is picturesque in the extreme. Captains have uniforms, too, but less ornate ones. The great full-dress occasion is the palaver at Paramaribo, held on or about the Queen's birthday, toward the end of August. This is an occasion of festivity throughout the colony.

The Governor receives the Bush Negro chiefs as he would any foreign ambassadors, and the dignity of these men, the aristocracy of their bearing, cannot be exceeded by white plenipotentiaries. There is one difference: most of the Djuka females remain at home. Indeed, Jankoeso has forbidden his daughters to go to Paramaribo on any occasion whatsoever. He himself must make a pilgrimage to the sacred medicine city of Dahomey in preparation for the trip, at which time he undergoes a purifying ritual at the hands of the high [783 ●
obeiah priests, to muster good obeiahs for a salubrious passage. 793]

The only attempt of the Dutch to exercise any authority over the Bush Negroes is in regard to the burial ceremony. This has been a bone of contention for many years. The 648
Djuka custom is to allow the corpse to remain unburied for 764
a long period. The Dutch tried to stop this, not from any desire to interfere with the customs of the natives, but for sanitary reasons. The disagreement was finally compromised by a time limit of three days between death and burial. This regulation is usually not observed. Once they get back into
their remote villages, the Bush Negroes do as they please.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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the white man has never been allowed to enter. A spirit 778
named *Hini* hovers over the town, and it is he, not the 756
Djukas, who would be offended by the presence of a bahkra. People seriously ill are brought to Dahomey from the surrounding villages. The witch doctors there, old women as well as old men, and occasionally a virgin, administer their potent charms. Only young married women are debarred from the profession of medicine among the Djukas.

Here also comes the Granman of the Saramaccaner tribe, to undergo the sacred ritual before making his annual visit [643
to Paramaribo. He receives absolution from the Dahomey 783]
medicine men in preparation for his sojourn among the bahkras. The ceremony is known as *makee suka,* or putting himself in favour with the gods.

Our friend Abaisa, headman of Lombe, tells us something 755
of the Dahomey rituals. To mend a broken bone the patient is shut up in a small hut with the doctor and three white cocks. The first fowl is killed by having its neck wrung, the blood from its beak running on the floor of the hut as a sacrifice to Amu, the ground god. The second fowl is cut open for inspection. If the bladder is light in colour the prognosis is good, but if dark the reverse is the case. The third cock has its leg bone broken at a point approximately corresponding to the patient's fracture. After this both the fowl and the human patient undergo daily treatment at the hands of the doctor, to the accompaniment of prayers to Amu and the shaking of rattles to scare off the evil spirits. The nature of the treatment could not be ascertained, but on the day when

/12 cont./

796 Then they call all the neighbors together to take part in the
273 festivities to be held, which consist of invoking their gods amidst continuous dancing and excessive drinking.

They begin the festivities only on a Friday and usually finish on a Sunday or Monday, depending on the larger or smaller
[147] supply of drink, so, lacking this, the festival ends. After the conclusion they are usually extremely tired and listless and give themselves up entirely to rest for at least two or three days.

It is a definite requirement at these festivities to be very amply supplied with strong drink, because one must drink without
[782] interruption in order to remain in a continuous narcosis. With each drink they first pour a little on the ground, -- so that it, too, on which they find themselves so gay, may participate in their enjoyment.

[262] The merrymakers then take care that they will by no means
[577] be lacking in fish, wild game, bacon, rice, etc., since it is a matter of honor with them to display the most lavish hospitality on such occasions.

776 The gods that they worship are:

Loango Gado,
Papa Gado,
Cromantie Gado,

/13/ names certainly derived from the various African tribes of these names.

In the first two they glorify nature and everything created, from which it therefore appears that these are merely subordinate
[787] gods of the unnamed, single great spirit. The last is above all regarded by them as the mediator who transmits their wishes to the great spirit; he is invoked especially at burial ceremonies and for consultation in connection with serious illnesses.

796 They do not have any other cult or religion, so far as I was
[771] able to discover, but only the fixed habit of still celebrating to-
[132] gether and with their chief and captains on the first Friday of the new moon in the month of October or November, after the long
[783] dry period has set in for good, a great feast that has as its goal a general atonement, to cleanse them of the misdeeds that they have committed.

764 767 [439] /165 cont./ There may be 126 camisas (1) and

1. Pieces of cotton goods about 1.10 x 0.75 meters. These cloths are manufactured in Holland especially for the Refugee Black clientele.

15 large pieces of cloth. About 30 camisas have been taken from the dead woman's trunk; the others have been given by the people present, the near relatives each giving several, the other relatives only one.

Their work finished, the kisimã burn the shavings and [783] scraps of board. They pass their tools through a flame to purify them of the stains of death. /166/

About 3:00 P.M. the coffin is brought into the mortuary shed by the kisimã. The kisimã, who have complete charge of this phase of the obsequies, count the pieces of cloth and divide them up. One part will be used for their pay, others for the pay of the gravediggers. Fifteen pieces of cloth and about [765] ten ordinary camisas will be placed in the coffin. The rest will be used for clothing the widower who, during the whole period of mourning, will thus remain symbolically dependent upon the dead person; if there are any left over, they are distributed to the members of the dead person's lineage.

Placing in the Coffin. About three o'clock four of the [292] kisimã take their places beside the coffin; they gird their loins with a camisa as the Refugee Blacks always do before carrying out a religious act. In the greatest silence they spread out the 15 large pieces of cloth inside the coffin, allowing them to fall to the ground at right and left. Next, two of them lift up the body while the others slip the coffin underneath (for the whole duration of the burial ceremonies, the body must remain at the exact place where it was put down. The coffin does not rest directly on the ground but is put on a mat through the

/170 cont./

428 613 It is very clear in Kotoïda's case that the inheriting is within the matrilineage in the strict sense, bɛɛ. Only the members of the Afi lineage to which she belonged can profit by it.

764 Burial. About 2:00 P.M. the women of the lineage who had been preparing the food for the ɔlɔmɛ̃ since morning leave by canoe in the direction of the cemetery.

At three o'clock the last preparations begin. The occupants of the mortuary shed, completely veiled and supported by their near relatives, go to take up positions at the wharf for the last farewells (for they will not go to the cemetery).

The coffin is carried through the village one last time. This is the farewell of the dead woman to her family. The objects used in mourning are carefully collected, the earth of the shed floor raked up wherever the sanies of the cadaver might have fallen, and the whole put on the papay which is placed on the mortuary bark.

[765] At three o'clock an apinti drum is placed on the wharf to call the dead person (it is obviously a question of preventing the yɔɔka from remaining in the village). The dead person turns up at the wharf. The coffin passes over a freshly cut banana-tree trunk placed at the limit of the village and of the beach. This is the symbolic passing of the dead person out of the world of the living. It is put on the canoe while the lamentations of the near relatives resound. The scene is not lacking in grandeur.

[766] The canoe draws slowly away, the drummer in the bow, while the spectators go down in a long procession to wash themselves free of the defilement of death.

[767] At four o'clock they arrive at the cemetery. The bearers of the dead person who have taken places in the canoe pass their burden to the ɔlɔmɛ̃ who have come to the edge of the river. This to mark the fact that /171/ the ɔlɔmɛ̃ are in authority at the cemetery. The bearers will only be present at the ceremony.

/180 cont./

765 are divided up equally among all the inhabitants of the village. But if the dead person had near relatives in the village, children, nephews, or brothers, it is they who stand the main burden.

[613] Members of the dead person's lineage who are settled in other villages contribute equally to the expenses and the organizing of the festival, but in a symbolic fashion. /181/

[623] A council (kuutu) of the village inhabitants sets the date; during the two weeks preceding each one is busy. The women

765 262 hull and winnow rice, prepare great quantities of couac and sugar-cane juice. The busimii scour the bush and have meat and fish smoked. Each one, according to his means, buys tafia, sugar, chocolate, and other articles of food liked by the Refugee Blacks.

765 The celebration of the rites occupies a whole week. This

995 is because, the Refugee Blacks think the influence of the dead person can be eliminated only progressively by the repetition of the rite of separation.

The first day, the yaka of the dead person whose mourning is going to be lifted is called by formulas beaten on the

[535] apinti drum. Then possession dances take place.

765 The second day is reserved for the material preparation for the ceremonies to follow.

[613] The third day, the spouse in mourning, if there is one, is conducted by the members of the dead person's lineage under

[822] the mortuary shed. He is dressed in red and is congratulated for having kept the mourning well. Then he is led to the river,

[983] and old women of the dead person's lineage begin to bathe him

[995] while adjuring the yaka to part company with him.

The fourth day at nightfall, all those present assemble at the mortuary shed. They recite tales (Anlisi tɔli),

[538] improvisations (mato), and riddles (ɔdo). This phase of the

[781] festival has as its object the concentrating of the attention of the hearers; it creates a warm, collective atmosphere which impregnates those present, bringing to them intense and highly coloured emotions.

/196 cont./

784 Odun's punishment is not regarded as immediate. It may be delayed for a certain number of years for reasons known to him alone, but it will necessarily take place.

683 783 Violence can be pardoned if the guilty one repents and makes an offering. The reparative offering (for example, if someone has threatened his adversary with a machete or has struck him to the point of making blood flow) is a demijohn of tafia or a certain quantity of tobacco leaves displayed in Odun's chapel.

754 784 But there is no pardon for the wisimã. Even if men pardon, Odun remains pitiless. Thus nobody can admit being guilty of wisi, for there is no possible reparation; besides, no one would dare beg for Odun's mercy on behalf of a wisimã, for this would be to associate oneself with him and expose oneself to being struck by the god in the same way.

[683] [784] The wisimã will be killed by Odun, and men will have to share in the punishing by refusing the body burial in the cemetery and by going to throw it in the bush. If they /197/ refused to obey this law, Odun would consider that they denied his doctrine and would strike them down either in person or by killing any member of the guilty lineage.

Thus, when in 1952 an old woman named A... of the Lapé lineage, who had settled in the Creole village Hermina, died, it appeared that she had wisi; but since she had been living among the Creoles, her near relatives did not dare intervene, and she was buried in the Hermina cemetery. Several [613] years passed without incident, then misfortunes cropped up; deaths which took place in the lineage, especially that of P... (1955) and T... (1957), and an accident that happened to a child in 1958, were recognized as punishments carried out by Odun upon the Lapé lineage.

346 The place of worship of Odun is a tiny chapel near the grand man's house. It contains only a post crudely carved in the shape of a bust, without any decoration.

/197 cont./

The rites of the worship of Odun are known only by the grand man and by an old man who replaces him when he travels. They are practiced only on the occasion of the collective oath against wisi, renewed every two or three years, and when it is necessary to implore Odun's mercy toward an offender. The officiant bathes the latter's body with a maceration of leaves that he alone knows.

To question Odun and know whether he pardons, they make use of a sacred object named afalaku, placed on a board put on the heads of two men. The answers yes and no are deduced by interpretation of the movements of the bearers, as in the interrogation of the dead.

The oath before Odun is also practiced as a legal test, permitting a man unjustly accused of theft or any misdeed whatever to justify himself.

Thus, in November, 1959, B... of Asisi, accused by two Djuka of being responsible for the burning of a large cabin /carbet/ in which objects of value were stored, asked to justify himself before Odun.

Odun's laws, which have the effect of forbidding violence, vengeance, and every form of oppression, give to the society of the Refugee Blacks a unique atmosphere of dignity and serenity which is not found to the same degree in animistic African societies. Most African societies censure sorcery and murder, but they accept vengeance and various forms of oppression. It is probable that the men who, two or three centuries ago, deep in the forests of Surinam, developed these laws, were inspired more or less consciously by Christian ideas; but they introduced them into an African system of thought, associating them with the idea of material sanctions in the present life, without which they would have been powerless.

*539 so that the people will see you." She answered: "It is I who will drag you as far as the bush." They discussed it to the insult stage, and wagered. They agreed to set Sunday as the test time; she should pull the end of a rope going out from the village. She said: "Very well." -- "I am proud of my ancestors, Bush-Mama. You will not drag me into the bush. I am the one who will drag you inside the village."

Then he came back to the village and went to the river. He rushed into the water, dyou! he went up to the Water-Mama. He said to her: "Will you have a tug-of-war against me? The Water-Mama answered: "It is I who will drag you into the river." Anansi said: "I am sure to drag you up on land so that the people will see how you look." Again they wagered and set Sunday as the test day. He said: "Very well, on the day set I shall come into the water to hold out the end of a rope to you." The Water-Mama said: "Very well. I shall stay there to take the end of the rope." We shall see who is a man and who is not."

He went back to his village. Saturday afternoon he set up a tyifunga (2) enclosure around the village, as far as the river

[751] [824] [417] [783]

2. Magic enclosure made of pinot palm leaves strung on a cord, to which is attributed the power to stop bad influences. After putting up the enclosure they purify the village by cleaning it completely.

and as far as the bush behind the village. He cleaned the village completely. He cut a long and strong rope, he went to slip one end of it into the river, he went to put the other in the bush.

On Sunday the Bush-Mama and the Water-Mama came and each pulled on an end of the rope. Anansi himself was not

888 young. Once she, too, had liked to have her calf look round and full.

[437] [576] "Will you exchange this bottle of palm oil for tobacco?" she asked, showing her empty clay pipe.

She came in, saying she would like to rest, and began unfastening her top tunic so that she might make a pad of it on which to sit down on the ground, for the earth spirits [784] forbid women who had reached puberty to sit upon the bare earth. In her second tunic, somewhat fresher than the top one, she stood hesitating, looking about her for a place to sit down, until we brought her a carved stool we had bought the day before. Instead of putting on the top pangi again, she used it to cover her knees.

[576] "*Bak'a muye,*" she said, "white woman, you ought to cover your knees, too, when you sit."

And sitting there, examining us and our belongings, she muttered her comments about our appearance and dress as she smoked, and muttering she swayed slightly, until the swaying rhythm seemed to bring a melody into her head, and she began to sing.

[533] "*The American Bak'a*
Have come from far,
American koni
Has brought them
To the Saramacca River,
To the Saramacca people;
They must not sicken
They must not die."

While the men on the shore talked and called upon their gods to keep them free, the woman rocked and sang this invocation for our safety, forgetting for the moment that we were whites, whom the ancestors hated.

"You have so much wealth," she said to the white man, looking about her at our provision boxes, "you must have many wives."

And back again she went to her song, repeating the words over and over, until seeing people approach she rose slowly and went back to the river where her rice was drying.

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said, "It is not a woman and a snake, as you might imagine from this," and she indicated one or two lines of the design. "We do not carve the snake in my family. We have a *tchina*—a taboo—against carving snakes, for snakes are our kunu. . . . Years ago my brother went to the French shore and worked for a white man. The white man asked him to kill a snake, and he was afraid, but the white man laughed at him, and because he had a weak ak'a, because his soul was not strong, he killed the snake. If he had told us about it and had sent a piece of the snake, we would have held a burial, as would have been right. But he did not do as he should have done, and so now the snake is not a good spirit for us. We must give it offerings, and dance kunu. It is bad to have a weak soul. My brother did a bad thing, and now I and all my children, and my daughters' children, and their daughters' children on and on will have this kunu."

Farther up the river, in the deep interior, we stopped at the village of Opoku. As we walked to the house of the village head to give him our greetings, we noticed an unusually large house. It was a *liba-wosu*, a house with an upper story, more substantially built than any we passed, and ornamented with elaborate carvings, as were all personal houses of the men. The owner of it, we heard, had been dead eight months. Four more would need to go by before it could be entered. It had been owned by a powerful man, and his belongings were many. We could see some of them through the openings between the slats which formed its walls—an apinti drum, magnificently carved, tall earthen demijohns of rum, boxes, the edge of a metal canister and a lamp. Inside there were guns, and machetes, and native carved paddles, and implements.

Our men joked about the contents of the demijohns as they passed, speculating on the strength of the rum when the containers were opened, and when we asked about the house later—whether, for instance, we could not buy the drum, we were told that the twelve-month interval between a man's dying and the dividing of his property was not yet passed. When the time came, his brothers and sisters

783 here at the Mamadam, and later he would bathe with this
824 that he might be purified. Meanwhile Sedefo and Asikanu, each in his turn, addressed the Mother of the River, each speaking his errand and asking that his journey be prospered.

787 Bayo came up alone when the loading was quite finished. He sat down on a crosspiece of the shrine to one side of the flat rock, poured some of the contents of the bottle on the stone, and, taking up one of the egg-shaped pieces of pemba, he rubbed it between his fingers and touched the
[302] moist stone with his whitened hands. Now with his fingers he streaked his upper arm, just below the shoulders and over the muscles which played to the swinging of the pole-stick, and then his chest and knees.

"Mother of the River, give us a safe journey. Carry the white man and his woman without sickness. I thank you."

Later, when we were about to make off, he turned to us with his ready laugh. "You will walk well, Ba'ka. I have a strong spirit. I said things to the Mother of the River under my breath which you did not hear. The Mother of the River will look after you."

"What is this log, Bayo, right here on top of the falls? Why has no one claimed it?" we asked, pointing to the log of purple-heart close by, which we had noticed lying across the Mamadam.

"When it was sent down, something happened to turn it sidewise, and it was caught so. No one will touch it. It must be that the gods wanted it for themselves."

4

798 There are many shrines on the river. At the G'an Creek a
784 man would speak his prayer from a distance, call the creek "ancestor," state his errand, and continue his journey. Far up the stream, where the juncture of the Pikien Rio and the Grand Rio forms the river which the Bush Negroes call the Saramacca, is the Tapa Wata shrine. There, our men said, we would do well to avoid looking, though our boat rested across the river more than a quarter of a mile

away. It seemed dangerous even to notice the strip of white cotton which showed high above the falls, though the stick from which it hung we could not see.

"Human beings do not go there," Bayo had said warningly. "Human eyes must also not go there."

But the shrine at the Mamadam is a friendly place. There a man finds a moment's ease. For a brief interval, at least, the voyager upstream or down rests there to get his breath, as he makes ready for a new start. Directly below the falls is a stretch of still water, which follows upon the wearisome portage at the Musumba Prati and the struggle with the rapids just above it, while, when continuing up river, the boatmen face a succession of rapids before another stretch of quiet water is reached. It is not strange, therefore, that no man, whatever his need to make time, will fail to stop at the Mamadam long enough to make known to the Mother of the River his errand and to ask for the continuance of her protection.

This shrine is the home of the Great Mother of the inland waters, she who, above all else, had secured to the ancestors of these Bush Negroes their freedom from slavery. In the city and on the plantations of the coastal region the Negroes, under states of possession by the water gods, sing of their longing to join those at the Mamadam.

Let me die on the river, O!
Let me die on the water, O!
All the Ingi spirits
Are at the Mamadam,
Let me die on the river, O!

Deep in the interior, if one of the elders, let us say a man of the Dahomey clan, is alarmed at the prospect of the white man penetrating their bush, some man can be looked to, then, to say reassuringly, "Have no fear. They will not come beyond the Mamadam!"

For this river is their own. "Once, long, long ago," the legend was told us, "this river was but a creek. There were no great trees here, no rocks. There were no boats, no

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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593 778 place was pointed out to us. The carved representation of the human face of the image was worked more carefully than is ordinarily done. Here the white clay was applied more thickly. The white cloth hanging from its stick was larger than we had ever seen before, the offerings of food and bottles and calabashes more numerous than at other ancestral shrines.

"This is where the yorka of the father of the Granman comes," we were told.

But why the father? What of the mother, the parent to whom the Granman was related? This village did not even belong to the Matchau clan to which he himself belonged. Yet with the pride that this was the shrine to the spirit of the Granman's father went a realization of its importance. Here was something outside the legal order, something which transcended the facts of descent and the theory of relationship. It was becoming ever more evident that in this "matriarchate" the father did count.

6

424 776 The inheritance of the father's kunu was one instance where the father needed to be taken very much into account. "If this man's children should take some of his goods," they had said, pointing at things we could see through the slats of the dead man's treasure house in the village of Opoku, "they will get his kunu, too. No man wants that."

784 262 Then there was the *trefu*, or *tchina*—taboo—as it was called in the bush, of which our cook had told us. Every individual in the bush had his tchina. Everyone knew the things he must not eat, or must not do. One man had to abstain from eating *anumara*, the great fish of the river. Another might never sleep in the open without a roof over his head. Should he find himself out in the bush with night coming, he must stop early enough to erect a small shelter and thatch it that his head might be covered when he slept. Bayo, we soon learned, might not eat food out of the cooking pot, and Sedefo could not bathe in a creek. Kasanya

did not eat deer's meat, or his brother-in-law the meat of the bush-hog. 784 262

There are many kinds of tchina. There are the obia tchina. A man wearing or carrying with him a charm—an obia—will have several prohibitions imposed on him. If these are observed, the potency of the magic in the object given him will remain, but if they are violated, it will become a worthless ornament. When an obia is bought, its maker will take the hands of the man for whom he has made it in his, and pass his own lightly over them, blowing softly, so that the power of the spirit he had called upon when making it may enter into the man for whom the obia was made. Then the obia man will lean over and whisper, that no one might overhear, "When you wear this, do not get into a boat backwards," or, perhaps, "Never eat crab meat while you have this about your neck," or "Do not eat cassava and rice out of the same calabash." 789 784 [262]

But with the personal tchina it is otherwise. At birth each individual falls heir to a number of taboos. They come to him from his father. When a woman is with child she observes her husband's taboos as well as her own, for the child might otherwise be harmed in the womb by being nurtured on what is hateful to his father, and therefore to himself, since his father's taboos are his own. Male and female children take these tchina from the father. Their mother's tchina are no concern of theirs. Those which she observes had come to her from her own father. What makes the father ill will make the children ill, too. This holds for their entire lives, and the male children transmit their tchina from generation to generation. 784 424 [843]

A simple instance of this is the one which happened at our base camp when Bayo, who we knew could not eat out of a cooking pot, came one day to ask us for a dish. "My father forgot his eating dish. Will you let him use one of yours? He cannot eat out of a cooking pot."

When one man says of another, therefore, "He has the same tchina I have," he is saying that the two of them are related in the father's line. [602]

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602 But when one man shares a tchina with another it does
784 not mean that they only share prohibitions. There are privileges as well. There is the right to lift a *kandu*, for example.

789 The outsider among the Bush Negro people cannot go long without learning of kandu. Many times we had noticed a small bundle of twigs hanging from a nail over a doorway of an uninhabited hut, or had remarked a small strip of colored cloth and a feather or two knotted together and swinging from an orange tree, or a calabash filled with hardened sacred clay, suspended from a limb where a creek entered the river. When we asked about them, we learned that each was a kandu, a spiritual lock, which by the potency of the magic put into it by the maker protected the house, or the tree, or the fishing creek—whatever we happened to be discussing at the moment—from thieves. It was a guard which no man dared violate.

Bayo had made one for us early in our visit to the Suriname bush.

"I will make you something to keep away thieves. I will make you a kandu."

He had asked us for a needle, and from wood of a special kind which is used only in kandu he fashioned the representation of a human head. Some native fiber and two kinds of sacred grass held the needle and the carved image together. This he covered with white clay, the sacred pemba, and the red coloring of the kuswe plant, which is also sacred. When he had spoken his invocations, and dipped the kandu in the river to purify it, he brought it to us.

"Put it where you keep your money. I have put strong magic into it. Your possessions will be safe. Anyone who opens the chest and sees this, will not touch what is inside. . . . But do not eat out of a cooking pot. It will lose its power. I have given it my own tchina."

But it seemed that a kandu did not always remain inviolate.

[593] "It would not be good," Bayo explained, "if a man went away and left a kandu over the house, and no one but he

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756 and how to cure fever, and fio-fio. He is shown how to make
791 obia medicine for lesions of the skin, and for colds, and for
868 diseases of children. He is taught the protective obias for
881 the woman who conceives, and those which help conception, the obias which keep people safe on the river, and those which guard them in the bush against enemy spirits.

It may be, too, that during this first period of training, the initiate is shown how to trap and treat the snakes from which the snake "cuttee" is made. This cure for snake bite is famous in Suriname among Bush Negroes and whites alike, but the secret of preparing the cuttee is known to the Bush Negroes alone.

While the young man is in training, he may not go with
[784] a woman, and there are many more prohibitions which he must observe.

"Not all men can become obia men."

"Does a man need obia in order to have Kromanti?" we asked.

"To have Obia Kromanti, yes. . . . Now do not ask about Kromanti, white man," said Bayo's uncle with a smile. "Only a Kromanti man knows about Kromanti. Do not ask, because I cannot tell you."

5

789 Men and women constantly drifted to our base camp with
439 carvings for our collection. Many brought us obias. Some
778 of these obias they took from their persons and sold to us, but others were newly made for us, for some of those they themselves wore, they would not part with, whatever the inducement.

"Why do you want my obia, white man?" a Bush Negro asked one day. "Do you want an obia to carry you well to your country? I will make one for you, but do not ask for mine. Mine has kept me in good health. I cannot give away an obia which has served me well. The spirits would be angered."

He returned after a day with one which resembled his own, and as he gave it, he placed it on the upturned palms

789 before the new moon comes, and when you do this, you
778 must say,
439

"*Obia-o,*
Your spirit must stay,
[539] *Your power must not leave this.*
Do not go elsewhere,
Do not become defiled."

789 There was the obia on which Bayo had lavished all the
778 magic he could command so that his friends might be safe in the bush. From the sacred grass known as *s'a*—the same grass from which the woven ceremonial dancing skirts are made here on the river—he made several long lengths of twine. These he wove into a square which later became the pendant of this neck obia. On this, as a base, he sewed two cowries facing each other, and in the middle of the fringed border of this pendant he fastened a bit of a macaw's feather, blue and orange in color.

The twisted cord about the neck had several knots in it where the cord met the pendant. Tying is the symbol of attaching, of binding, so that if an invocation was uttered in the making of these knots, and the twine was then drawn taut, the power was certain to be lodged inside the knots. Then, too, knots form links, and links, whether they be in a metal chain or in fiber or wood, symbolize union, and any object or ornament with links is, therefore, much valued in bush and in town. A linked chain is a favorite
[775] gift to please the akra, the soul, among the coastal Negroes. A woman who wishes to attach her man to her will rise at
[832] night noiselessly and will knot a hair from the man's head three times, speaking her invocation. In the bush few obias are found which do not have several knots in them.

In his exuberance Bayo placed so many prohibitions on this finely woven obia, that we asked him if he could not nullify some of them.

784 "For very strong obias, we have many tchina. It is best
789 so, because no one who wants to harm you will guess all of them and so succeed in robbing the obia of its power.

SARAMACCA OBIA

But if the tchina are too difficult to observe, then the man 784
who made the obia can take the tchina away." 789

Suiting his action to the word, Bayo took some water from the river into his mouth and, spraying it over the obia, said, "The tchina I gave you, I take away. The breaking of these tchina must no longer defile you or take away your power."

There was nothing more hateful to the gods and the 789
spirit of obia than an unclean woman, yet if an obia man 841
wished, he could instruct the power in the obia not to take 791
offense at unintentional contacts with menstruating women, 789
or at cloths belonging to such women, or at food prepared by such women. But to accomplish this, an obia man had to be very powerful and, even so, he could not feel sure that the obia spirit would countenance such violations indefinitely.

All of these personal obias had definite attributes. One 789
was made to guard an individual on the water, another in 798
the bush. There were obias for successful hunting and fishing, for being safe against the evil spirits at the crossroads, for slander, and for envy. One obia saw to it that the soul remained strong, another that no illness sent by an enemy might lodge itself in the body of the wearer; there were love obias, and fighting obias, and obias which kept ghosts away.

Yet whatever such obias were made of, the object in itself had no validity. A simple fiber with a jaguar's tooth attached to it might well have greater powers for safety in the bush than an elaborately wrought obia, whose maker had not a strong obia spirit to give it spiritual power. Without this supernatural potency, it would be like a village god that had been allowed to rot because of itself it was merely a block of wood, and the deity for whom it had been made had not come to animate it.

6

Long ago, the Anansi stories tell us, there was a bird 773
that knew obia. The cries of this bird shook all the kingdoms

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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832 Company, some ninety miles in the interior, we were informed by the physician in charge that it is not infrequent to have Bush Negro women report for internal disturbances, which upon examination prove to be irritation and small hæmorrhagic areas. The physician believed that this condition was due to the men's practice of using the mucca-mucca seed.

844 During childbirth the mother stays in her own hut. She is often attended by her mother, her female relatives, and friends. In every village there are one or more women who are skilled in the art of midwifery; these women are called *pekein mama*—either "little mother" or "mother of little children." At the time of childbirth, the pekein mama is assisted by four little girls from about ten to twelve years of age. The pekein mama uses a liberal quantity of hot water in the process of delivery. In the event of an abnormal condition, it is the duty of the pekein mama to deliver the child as skilfully as possible. The woman bears the ordeal of childbirth with the usual primitive fortitude, although the pains of labour seem to be as great among these people as among [846 women of more civilized countries. The mother must drink 847] only hot water for three months after the birth of the child.

853 Children are nursed at the breast for a period of three months. They are then fed a little mush made of cassava to which is gradually added rice, a small amount of meat, eggs, and plenty of fruit, but periodical nursing may sometimes continue for as long as two years. The mothers often chew the food before giving it to their babies.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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were killed. When we told Abaisa about this, he nodded ap- 778
provingly, not at all surprised that his obeiah charm had warned us of the impending danger.

Other bush beliefs come under the head of *trafers*, or ta- 784
boos. Primitive behaviour is very largely governed by categorical rules; although the individual is unaware of the origin and purpose of these rules, violation of a taboo is unthinkable. It is trafer, for instance, to sit on the ground. This explains the many intricately carved stools in our collection of Djuka art objects. It is also trafer for a Bush Negro woman to have intercourse with anyone outside of her own tribe. This was not so in the old days, for Stedman mentions that the white commissioners parleying with the rebel blacks were liberally entertained and provided with women for the night. Such a thing would be trafer now. It is taboo to harm the alligator, and if you were, by some unspeakable chance, to kill one, [825]
its ghost would return and destroy all the children in your family.

Besides these general taboos, there are personal trafers and 825
food taboos that differ for each individual. If one man shoots 784
a sloth (*seloss*) it will spoil his gun, but his brother or his neighbour may kill one with impunity. It is that particular Djuka's trafer. Another man may have the turtle as his food taboo. The turtle is a well-known figure in Djuka folklore. The *sacri patu*, also called *logosu* and *kaw*, is spoken of as "walking like a sick man." The belief that when a turtle bites a man it will hold on until it thunders, a common belief in parts of rural America, is also found in Djuka land.

784 These food trafers are sometimes chosen by the individual,
262 and are acquired also by inheritance. A certain Bush Negro
[424 got his trafer in this way: His grandmother had a vision,
787] called *papa winti,* and she informed her grandson that she had been possessed. This made him feel the spirit of Cromanti. In that bad state he got the *idée fixe* that shooting a turtle would be reprehensible and dangerous. This animal then became his tabooed food, and for the rest of his life it is trafer so far as he is concerned.

797 So far only a slight attempt has been made to Christianize the Djukas. The Catholics and Moravian Brothers have established mission stations at a few points along the rivers. Their efforts at conversion appear on the whole to be unsuccessful. The Bush Negroes are converted in small numbers and very superficially; in moments of stress they will revert back to their jungle deities. The whole spirit of Christian customs is foreign to their mode of life. They have the Gran
776 Gadu, an adequate enough image of divine power. Their
782 prayers are sometimes said directly to him, or they pray to their ancestors to intercede with the Gran Gadu for aid. Sometimes the prayer is said by being beaten out on the tom-
[778] tom, for the tomtom is sacred, and the throbs of the great

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

412 hung up on a peg. The canoe paddles are actually employed
[501] every day on the river, and the flails beat the day's wash of soiled togas and coyos.

352 Since it is taboo to sit on the ground, a large number of
[784] stools are made, pierced and decorated, with now and then a tiny cabinet inside them. Wooden locks that actually work
[414] are seen on the doors, especially in Aucaner villages, guarding the treasures inside. These are West African survivals; the same type of device can be found in several parts of the Old Continent. They are huge affairs often two feet in length. Door sills and door posts, bows and sterns of canoes,
532 canoe seats and calabash gourds (occasionally decorated by a woman) are all embellished with ornamentation of great intricacy. It is amazing that these designs could be wrought without preliminary designing, which would seem to be necessary, but so far as we were able to observe there is no conscious planning before the carving begins.

The symbolism employed in these pieces of sanni is limited to a few conventionalized motifs. Moreover, there is a variation in the symbolism peculiar to the individual artist, which is not comprehensible solely from an examination of the piece itself. Unless one can locate the original carver, it is impossible, for the most part, to be certain what the symbols mean. The same motif will be differently interpreted by different natives, and often has no objective meaning. It is therefore impossible to undertake an elaborate interpretation of Djuka symbolism.

There are a few outstanding designs found on a large

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765 Thereupon follows a second, who just like the first has a calabash in hand, but this time filled with spirituous liquor, and from time to time sprinkles a few drops of it on the ground, in token of the fact that on this occasion, too, by means of drink, they think of the deceased with joy.

Then they again return to the dwelling, where all are gathered, and celebrate an enjoyable night with song and dancing until daybreak.

Chapter XII

Character, Virtues and Vices

157 The Bush Negro, as I have already said above, has a great [577] deal of respect for old age and for distinguished persons; with respect to their closest relations they are honest, which they can- [461] not pride themselves on otherwise. In their ordinary affairs they [609] are not lazy, but work tirelessly whenever it is necessary. With respect to strangers they are generous and obliging, all the more [152] when they can assume that they may claim reward. Jealousy, [784] envy, and malice are their greatest vices. Concerning many matters they have an antipathy that they call trefoe (treef). Thus, [781] for instance, one will eat something, the other not. Also they are very superstitious in small matters, to which they cling all the way down to distant generations; they call that obia (literally translated, bewitchment, magic).

262 An Auca girl who through attachment to my wife and me [123] has already lived with us in the town for fully five years, because since the death of her husband, who was one of my most trusted [589] workers, she did not want to attach herself to another, and who performed all kinds of housework for us, carries her trefoe of not eating any unscaled fish so far that she will not even cook her food on a fire where there is a pot in which an unscaled fish was previously prepared. I know another one who uses no milk and also does not eat meat of any kind (with the exception of bacon), unless it be game, and then it must be prepared by her, on the grounds that everything is prepared with butter and that butter comes from

/36 cont./

577 all, toward one another as fellow tribesmen they are very honest and trust one another's word. Frequently it happens that among them one family leaves the camp to go on a journey or else is absent for some other reason, and that it must leave behind unfenced the cultivated land planted with rice, tubers, bananas, bakoven, and sugar cane. But never will another of them steal any of that. And similarly their dwellings are open, since the entrance is not closed off by any door; upon their departure they leave one thing and another in it, but they will never miss any-

626 thing upon their return. Certainly contributing to this is the circumstance that in the vicinity of everybody's property there is a sign or idolatrous image, which they call obia, to which great power is ascribed, and for those who might want to commit dis-

739 honest acts, the legend can be observed, as for the European: "Beware of mantraps." The fear that they have of these obias is not unjustified, for if it should happen at any time that misuse of trust took place, then the culprit, however long it takes, upon discovery will not escape the revenge of the deceived, revenge which frequently consists in the administering of secret remedies whereby terrible diseases and sufferings, if not death, come about.

152 They are very concerned about the faithfulness of their

837 wife or wives, /35/ for the Bush Negro is very jealous, whereas the wives cannot be exonerated of being susceptible to seduction. Accordingly it happens among them more than once that marital fidelity is violated.

184 Of the various tribes, the Aucaners are the most

[177] civilized, but over against that also the craftiest, which can be

[157] attributed to their more frequent intercourse with Europeans.

[161] Among their tribes they are the most powerful, and their numerical strength is estimated at 4,000 to 5,000 souls.

123 According to the declaration of the Bush Negroes, no White has previously enjoyed the trust and attachment that I experienced from them. However, secretively they always conduct themselves toward the Whites, with respect to me they make an exception. If there is something secret among them that I should like to know, they will, upon my request, immediately and without any diffidence communicate it to me.

/20 cont./

613 571 Thus the lo appears to us above all as a social and political unit, based in principle on matrilineal relationship but easily able to welcome heterogeneous elements. It is the framework by means of which the individual is integrated into the collectivity.

614 Functions of the lineage (bee).

—Members of the same bee form a joint group from the legal point of view, even if they do not live in the same village and are under different authorities. They recognize a common legal responsibility; for example, they are obliged, at least in principle, to pay the debts contracted by one of them. Reciprocally, the inheritance of one of them is shared among them all.

614 784 —They have the same religious responsibility, that is, they are subject to the same kunu. The kunu is a curse called down upon a group by a divinity since an ancient era. It is transmitted exclusively by the mother. We shall show in the remainder of this work the considerable importance of this notion in the social life of the Refugee Blacks.

614 —They cannot (at least in principle) contract a union with one another. The bee thus constitutes in principle the unit subject to the law of exogamy.

/935/ An offense against exogamy, pikadu, incest in the wide sense, is regarded as very grave.

613 Functions of the lo: The lo transposes onto the material plane the legal principles resulting from the conception of the lineage: joint rights over land, common legal responsibility. Each of them forms a social unit in principle sufficient unto itself, possessing an ancestor worship peculiar to it, a head acting the role of ancestor priest and judge, materially grouped in one village, enjoying exclusive rights over a well-defined soil.

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1. This conception of kinship is also found among the Agni of the Ivory Coast and the Fon of Dahomey; it may be widespread in Black Africa, especially in populations with matrilineal filiation.

601 /22/ This conception, associated with that of the kunu, con-
602 flicts with the fractioning of lineages on the religious plane, even
613 when a scission has taken place on the plane of residence. The
614 rigor of the principle laid down, the quasi-mathematical trans-
274 mission from one generation to the next of appellations based on
571 rank relative to the foundress, prohibits the thought that elements foreign to the lineage can be integrated into this system by any process whatever. Nevertheless, a doubt remains as to the possibility of assimilating fragments with paternal kinship, for in paternal kinship the same principle of classificatory kinship rules, and the same appellations are used. We shall show that such a process of assimilation actually exists on the social plane, but that it is inconceivable on the religious plane, the kunu always being transmitted by the mother. /Fig. 3 appears here./

602 Knowledge of genealogical ties is very variable from one
613 lineage to another. Outside of the great splits like Dipélu I-Dipélu
614 II, we have demonstrated that small fractions of several lineages could no longer be attached to the main trunk, the genealogical ties being irremediably lost. The people concerned had never realized this; they had never wondered about it. This was the case particularly:

—With Samma's descendants (Dipélu II, Asisi);

—With the group of Atili's descendants (Lapé, Boniville).

[178] In both cases the split was very recent; old men dead for only a few years knew the genealogical ties now lost.

/23 cont. /

613 614 Not one of the members of the group could trace back to the common ancestress; yet these three fractions together behave as a single lineage. All its members know their mutual appellations "brother," "uncle," etc. All are subject to the same kunu. [601] [784]

The law of exogamy is respected within each fraction, but there are seven cases of unions between members of different fractions; these unions are disapproved of in principle, but they are tolerated. 613 614 582 123

Thus, on the subject of exogamy, we see the thought of the Refugee Blacks breaks away from the rigorous principle on which their social order is based. It is the actually known genealogy which counts in their eyes on this point.

613 614 128 115 601 In December, 1958 we were able to reconstitute the complete genealogy of the group (Fig. 4) thanks to the memories of the doyenne of the group, Ma Imma, who had lived for a very long time isolated in a village of the Maroni estuary. The data thus reconstituted are in complete agreement with the kinship appellations among members of the various fractions. /24/

/Fig. 4 appears here. /

The case of the Kotika lineage is thus particularly interesting, for we find ourselves knowing its genealogy completely when its members know it no more than partially.

613 614 602 Study of this group shows that the forgetting of kinship ties has no effect on the physical grouping of the lineage and its functioning as a social unit.

It has direct repercussions only on the observation of the principle of exogamy. Thus the way in which exogamy is understood and observed appears to us from now on as a secondary criterion having no certain value for the recognition of a common origin.

[621] Some Djuka and Saramaka have settled among the members of the Kotika lineage, but as individuals.

[621] The Lapé (La Paix) lineage, whose name alludes to one of the great plantations of the Cottica River in the 18th century, is

[See p. 34, Category 116 -- Analyst]

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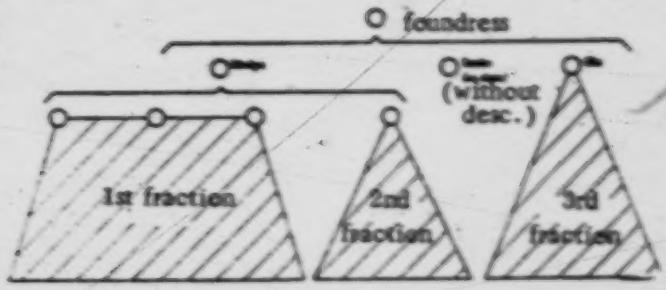

Fig. 4. Common genealogy of the three fractions of the Kotika lineage.

[621] divided between the small villages of Lapé Tabiki and Loka. It is a well-grouped lineage whose members know their genealogy perfectly as far as a common ancestress named Mata, who must have lived at the end of the 18th century; only one small group which we shall call Lapé 2 (descendants of Atili) does not know exactly the ties attaching them to the principal group. The law of exogamy is respected rigorously within this group; there is not a single case of marriage between the two fractions. The members of the two fractions consider themselves a single lineage.

[784] They have the same kunu.

[184] Note that there is a Lapé Io among the Djuka, regarded as of the same origin.

[621] No element of heterogeneous origin has settled in the villages of the Lapé Io.

613 The Dju lineage, which occupies the central part of the
[361] Asisi Island, also fits the definition of kin groups among the Refugee Blacks. Its members know /25/ their entire genealogy as far back as a common ancestress named Aluku, doubtless, tracing to the middle of the 18th century.

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613 /26 cont./
[621]
[591]
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This village had no future. Its complement did nothing but melt away for half a century, especially under the influence of venereal diseases.

Neither time nor geographical separation have brought on scission on the religious or legal planes. In this respect the members of Dipélu I and Dipélu II continue to think of one another as the same lineage. They remain subject to the same kunu. [784]

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The law of exogamy continues to be applied rigorously within Dipélu I and within Dipélu II, but marriages are permitted between Dipélu I and II. There are no longer any social sanctions about this, and the common origin of the two groups is so remote that they scarcely think any more of applying to them the term pikadu. But such unions remain exceptional, the people concerned continuing to fear a superhuman sanction. [784]

[621]

No element of heterogeneous origin, fragment paternally related or refugee outsiders, has settled among the Dipélu.

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[621]

The Papalston or Kawina lineage (Papalston village) has remained perfectly coherent and well grouped. Its members know their genealogy as far back as an ancestress named Téréza, who must have lived at the beginning of the 18th century. But there exists a small fraction, nearly extinct, which we shall designate as Papalston 2, which presents a separate genealogy going almost as far back in time. Nobody knows the origin of this group exactly; it is regarded as connected by kinship ties to the main group, but the members of the two groups consider that they form two distinct bas. They do not have the same kunu. [614] [784]

[582]

Marriage is not tolerated within the principal group, but it is allowed between members of the two groups.

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Moreover, with the Papalsson lives a small group which fled from Surinam about the end of the 19th century, originally of the Bakabuchi tribe. This group has no kinship tie at all with the Papalsson but has placed itself under the authority of the head

/26 cont./

613 621 of the Papaïston lo. It is generally designated by "Toïna's family," Toïna being the doyenne of the group.

613 614 [621] The Awara Bakka lineage (Asisi village) has a more complex and particularly interesting structure. Study of its genealogy shows that it is in fact divided into three fractions which we shall call Aw.B.1, Aw.B.2, Aw.B.1 /misprint for Aw.B.3 -- Tr./. The Aw.B.1 know /27/ their genealogy perfectly back to an ancestress named Akyé, great-great-grandmother of the centenarian Kuluba († 1957). Akyé must have lived toward the end of the 18th century.

613 614 571 [621] Awara Bakka 3 is a paternally related fragment which was "assimilated" to the principal group by a process of which several other examples exist among the Boni. It was founded by Anéta, a Djuka woman originally from the village of Tabiki on the Tapanaoni, wife of Pèèyon (Aw.B.1), who remained there with her numerous descendants after the death of her husband.

The members of this group, who should normally be regarded as Djuka and outsiders to the lo, end up by being engulfed in the social organization and ancestor worship of the Awara Bakka. The [601] daughters of Anéta and Pèèyon were called "sisters" by the Aw.B.1 by reason of patrilineal relationship. These appellations were [784] transposed for their descendants to the point where many ended by losing their true origin from sight, but the Aw.B.3 keep a separate religious and legal responsibility and are subject to their own kunu, that of the Djuka village of Tabiki from which came their ancestress.

613 614 As a matter of fact, as we shall show by studying the beliefs of the Boni, the kunu is irremediably transmitted by the mother and no process of assimilation has any effect on this. Thus the Aw.B.3 are not really part of the lineage, they are separated from it by a clear criterion, obvious in the eyes of all, impossible to disregard or forget.

/27 cont./

614 The Aw.B.2, on whom we could not get sure information
[123] because this very closed group did not cooperate willingly with the inquiry, appear to be in a very similar situation, with the difference that their genealogy goes back much farther in time and they no longer remember the origin of this fraction nor the
[984] circumstances which tied its fate to that of the Aw.B.1. This group apparently has a separate kunu.

613 614 582 [183] The Awara Bakka lineage is in a special situation from the point of view of exogamy, for not only are there marriages between one fraction and another, but there are two within the same fraction and between relatively near relatives. Thus this group, without openly rejecting the law of exogamy, does not attach the same importance to it as do the others.

613 The Afi lineage. This lineage was founded by Afi, wife of
[101] a man from Papaïston, who came to live with him. Like the Toïna lineage, she had come from the small tribe called Bakabuchi which lived in Surinam. However, the Afi and Toïna lineages are not of the same matrilineal origin and the present members of each of the two small groups have no common worship. All of
[571] them have lost every tie with their original tribe, and their social life is entirely dependent on that of the Boni group which has taken them in.

[621] Afi settled near Kormotibo. This site is abandoned by her descendants who live, most of them, in Asisi, the rest in Kormotibo.

The lineage has lost every tie with its group of origin.
[619] Nevertheless, it is assumed that if one of them wanted to go back there, on proving his relationship, he would take up all his rights again and could demand a site for making his clearings.

613 621 571 /28/ The process of assimilation which took place for the AW.B.3 did not come into play for Afi's descendants with respect to the Papaïston lineage. They are regarded as a separate family group, insufficient in number to constitute a social unit and whose members are placed under the authority of the heads of the villages

/28 cont./

613 where they have chosen to live. It is possible that later, if their
621 number continues to increase, they may found a separate village
571 whose head will be recognized as captain. A new lo would thus be created.

613 Real nature of Boni matrilineal groups. Examination of the situation
614 of the various lineages leads to the following conclusions:
571 — The fact that genealogies are forgotten does not lead to any fractioning of lineages on the material or religious planes.

— The conceptions of the Boni relative to classificatory kinship, as well as their custom hostile toward any discrimination within the lineage, hinder fractioning. When a separation takes place on the plane of residence and authority, it has no repercussion on the common worship which cements the lineage together;

— The fashion in which the law of exogamy is applied does not constitute a valid criterion, the attitude of the various groups in this regard being quite variable;

— No process of assimilation permits integration into the lineage of elements of foreign origin; a process of assimilation of paternally related fragments exists. But this assimilation is not complete, it does not operate on the plane of legal and religious responsibility;

613 — Ultimately, the surest criterion of true common matrilineal
614 origin is unity of legal and religious responsibility, marked by the
• 784 same kunu. The kunu, transmitted irrevocably by the mother whatever may be the conditions of her marriage, weighing collectively on all the members of a lineage and capable of being warded off only by their collective prayers, is the true cement of kin groups.

[571] By its very nature, the kunu opposes any scission of groups. Neither time nor geographical separation can break it.

[621] The example of Dipélu I and II is characteristic in this regard, for its members remain rigorously subject to the same kunu

/28 cont./

613 although the supposed common ancestress doubtless goes back to
614 the beginning of the 18th century and for three generations they
● 784 have been divided among four villages situated at a week's dis-
[621] tance by boat from one another. We can, with very few chances of error, affirm that they certainly have a common matrilineal origin and that they in fact constitute one lineage.

182 On this subject let us note that geographical separation can-
619 not play the same role among the Refugee Blacks as in the African
[361] tribes of cultivators. The Refugee Blacks, whose habitat is linear
[404] along the banks of the river and who, being boatmen, are continually moving, cannot be completely isolated from one another.

613 /29/ Under these conditions, how can we explain the
614 existence within certain lineages of individualized fractions subject
571 to a separate kunu, such as Papaïston 2?

One can assume that these fractions do not really have the same origin as the principal group and that they result from a process of assimilation of a paternally related fragment.

We have cited the example of Aneta's descendants (Aw.B.3). They are already integrated into the social life of the group; in two or three generations nobody will remember any longer their exact origin. But they will remain differentiated from the princi-
[784] pal fraction of the Awara Bakka because they will still be subject to the kunu of their ancestress.

121 Such are the elements we have been able to draw from a general study of kin groups among the Boni. We shall look for other data in the study of the implantation of these groups on the soil, and especially of the apportionment of lands among them; finally, we shall study family custom and especially inheritance.

A complete understanding of the kinship system and its functioning can be obtained only in the future by following the evolution of kin groups, the formation of new villages; and the designation of new headmen.

/32 cont./

601 The very rigor of this principle seems to have to lead to a
613 scission of the lineages, for one can hardly conceive that people
571 will be willing to address girls younger than themselves as "my
[163] grandmother" and show them respect; now that must necessarily be the case at the end of a certain number of generations, for as we shall see, the fecundity of Boni women sometimes lasts up to the age of 50, and there are cases where the interval between the oldest and youngest child reaches 35 years.

Nevertheless, we have not actually observed that this conception of kinship leads to scissions or even to serious clashes.

That derives from the very nature of the hierarchy and the social ties within the matrilineage; they entail a collective tutelage by one generation over the next, and in the same way a collective tutelage by the ancestors over the living. But for the same reason that every prayer, every invocation addressed individually to such-and-such an ancestor is avoided, the hierarchy of the Refugee Blacks does not give rise to relationships of authority between one man and another, which would not be tolerated. Only the hedemã, or captain, designated by the assembly of the lineage, exerts a personal authority; even so, he is careful to limit it almost exclusively to religious functions.

604 "Uncles" exert collectively an authority over the generation
613 of "nephews." They meet in council, especially on the question of marriages. They do not vote, strictly speaking, but the opposition of three or four of them prevents the carrying out of a project. There is no preponderant voice for the closest uncles (yet in practice this seems to be taken into account). But the eldest of the uncles in the classificatory sense is unanimously recognized as preponderant.

602 Existence of patrilineages. Matrilineages are not the only kin
• 784 groups of the Refugee Blacks. Each one receives from his father
428 a fundamental interdiction -- bwasi kina -- which he will have

/32 cont./

602 to observe all his life and which he himself will transmit to his
784 children. It is unanimously believed that breaking this interdiction
428 causes leprosy (bwasi).

[753] This interdiction is never transmitted by women. It is transmitted from father to son /33/ or daughter. The son will observe it and transmit it; the daughter will observe it during her lifetime, but she will not transmit it.

602 The existence of the bwasi kina divides the Boni into de
784 facto groupings which can be considered as patrilineages. These patrilineages have no name, no head, no organization; their members are dispersed among the various matrilineages and most of them do not know who the others are.

They exist nevertheless and extend throughout all the tribes of Refugee Blacks.

[582] Their importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks comes from the fact that they involve a law of exogamy: a man and a woman who have the same bwasi kina cannot marry; that would be pikadu, incest in the broad sense, an offense against exogamy, as much as the union of two members of the same matrilineage.

[262] It is difficult to estimate the number of these patrilineages
[578] which seems to us to be at least 20 among the Boni; actually, the Boni do not willingly tell their bwasi kina, for fear that one of their enemies might mix into their food a fragment of the interdicted food in order to harm them; besides, they do not know their paternal relations beyond their grandfather. Reconstitution of patrilineages by interrogation seems therefore to be illusory.

602 The bwasi kina we have been able to find out about are all
784 about food. They involve the cayman, the "tiger," the tortoise,
262 the white hen, the pian (awali), the eel. The cayman is often given in addition to another animal. But it is inaccurate to say that the Refugee Blacks have a general interdiction against the cayman.

/37 cont./

583 (this was especially the case with the Afi and Toïna lineages
591 cited above), that does not entail any compensation. It is contrary to custom and disapproved of, but if the wife absolutely insists on leaving her kin she is free to do it. Nothing can be claimed from her husband's lineage.

The usual interpretation of matrimonial compensation, regarded as a mechanism for exchange of women among groups, thus does not seem valid here. If a woman leaves a Boni lineage for good to go and found a family, for example among the Djuka, her descendants are lost to the lineage without any possibility of compensation. Yet this society so deeply rooted in African soil does not make provision for any allowance or payment in such a case.

613 Things are clearer if the lineage is considered not as an
771 effective material grouping but as a spiritual community subject to the same religious law. In the thought of the Refugee Blacks,
[829] the fundamental religious tie which joins the individual to his ancestors in uterine line cannot be broken whatever anyone does.

[591] Wherever she may go, the emigrant woman remains a mem-
[784] ber of the spiritual community; she remains, she and her children, subject to the same kunu. Nor can this religious tie be transferred from the maternal kin group.

581 Understood thus, marriage breaks no spiritual tie, creates
583 none; it thus affords no reason for any compensation.

000 These considerations show that the African "dowry" as conceived by patrilineal societies is not only a mechanism for the exchange of women among materially constituted groups. It can also have as its end, without those concerned even being aware of it, to compensate the spiritual community of the lineage for the loss of the children the woman will bear, their passage to another cult.

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614 An example of scission in a kin group: the separation of Dipélu II
571 between Kormotibo and Asisi. (See Dip. II genealogical table.)
578 This scission resulted from a ridiculous incident: a falling-out which occurred between ○ Alawenchi † (E19) and ○ Bongo (E6) because of a hoe which the first claimed to have been stolen from her by Bongo.

Since neither one would yield, they became really angry and fought. /38/

△ Agosa, head of the lineage, taking the part of Alawenchi, decided to secede and settle in Asisi.

○ Pilè † (F35) and ○ Sésey † (F38) who, their mother being dead, had been raised by Alawenchi, joined them and founded families in Asisi.

[621] This explains the present scission of this group and the bizarre division of its members between Kormotibo and Asisi.
[784] This scission had no result on the religious plane, unity being maintained by the pitiless tie of the kunu. Nowadays, Captain Poopu's authority is exerted normally on the fraction in Asisi. Relations between the two groups are rather good. /Figs. 5 and 6 appear here./

/39/ CHAPTER III

125 INVENTORY OF THE PEOPLING OF THE BONI VILLAGES

We have tried to take a complete census of the Boni of the Upper Maroni as of January 1, 1958, including for the women the statement of their successive unions and of their children living
[126] and dead. This census is associated with detailed plans of the villages and a study of the territorial implantation of kin groups.

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613 614 In general, one can say that the law of exogamy is maintained firmly within the fractions which know completely their genealogy. Union between classificatory "brothers" and "sisters" belonging to different fractions remains always prohibited in principle, but as for all the institutions of the Refugee Blacks, the prohibition ceases to be observed if fear of suprahuman sanctions weakens. /139/

This is what explains the difference in attitude among the lineages. In the Awara Bakka lineage, people do not remember [784] that marriages between fractions may have been followed by maladies or misfortunes, and for this reason they are no longer feared.

In the Kotika lineage it was the same, but an event which took place in 1958 threw consternation. A young woman, Awini [787] (K1, E37, Boniville), died suddenly, and divination showed that [784] she had been struck down by the kunu for having married her [761] classificatory brother Sintamann (K3, E145, Boniville). However, they belonged to two different fractions and their common relationship was the farthest removed possible in the lineage (tenth-degree relatives).

684 688 784 Pikadu. The offense against exogamy, pikadu (1), incest in the

1. This word appears to come from the Portuguese pecado, sin.

broad sense, is considered an offense against society and against religious law; it exposes the lineage to the vengeance of the gods who exercise the kunu on it. But in the thought of the Refugee Blacks, if incest unleashes the functioning of existing kunu, it [114] does not create new ones. What has been written on this subject by several authors seems inexact to us, at least for the Boni. [761] In the example put forth above Awini's death was attributed to the kunu brought to bear for a long time by the yɔrka of a man assassinated in former times by a member of the lineage.

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684 This prohibition is of a purely religious nature and does
688 not entail any social sanctions; those concerned are convinced
784 that in such a case a suprahuman sanction would strike them in the form of sickness or accident.

582 Prohibitions limiting marriage. Outside of the great interdiction,
[613] pikadu, which is attached to unions within one matrilineage and one patrilineage, two prohibitions limiting marriage are found among the Refugee Blacks, which they express thus:

[595] --I cannot have two wives at the same time in the same lineage. For example I am forbidden to marry two "sisters"
[587] at the same time, but if I break with my wife, I may marry her classificatory "sister" or any other woman of the same lineage;

[835] --I may not have relations, even passing ones, with a woman who has been married to my brother by the same mother;
[587] in particular, if my brother has just died, I shall not be able to marry his widow.

The Boni are not capable of explaining the deep reasons for these interdictions, but they interpret them as purely social
[684] and not religious prohibitions. The offender is simply threatened with being beaten.

[171] The first of these rules seems very widely accepted in Black Africa, as much in patrilineal societies as in a matrilineal system.

[171] The second of these rules is characteristic in the Akan (Agni, Baoulé) culture area and shows that the family custom of the Refugee Blacks is related much more directly to that of the Agni-Ashanti group than to that of the Dahomey.

184 One can note that this rule is exactly contrary to the
587 Saramaka custom, which obliges the widow to marry one of the
114 brothers of the dead man; this custom has been interpreted by several authors as coming from imitation of the levirate of the Jews, with which certain rebels were acquainted (it is known that among the slaveowners there were many Jews).

/158 cont./

848 If children are born of these irregular liaisons, the mother
[784] takes care to know with certainty who the father is, for if there
[753] were any doubt, the child, respecting a kina which would not be his own, would contract leprosy. On this subject the Boni
842 have a remarkable belief: they think that it is the first man with whom a woman has had relations after the end of a menstrual period who is likely to make her pregnant.

836 These adventures always involve gifts in kind (cloth,
431 jewels); so the men who have the most success with women are always short of money.

581 A woman who has lived thus in notorious fashion has a little more difficulty than another in finding another husband, but if she is young and winsome she succeeds.

548 Prostitution as such is very rare in Boni country, and the women who give themselves over to it openly (three or four for all the villages on the French bank) have generally left the
[836] tribe to settle in the gold miners' villages. Dissoluteness is not considered dishonorable by the Refugee Blacks when it is carried on within the tribe and when it has no other purpose but pleasure; but prostitution is judged shameful.

834 Except for these few prostitutes, we have never heard it
648 said that a Boni woman had relations with a European; on this point tribal discipline is observed with extreme rigor.

581 Conclusion. The average duration of marriages, which was
[178] from 15 to 20 years for the preceding generation, tends to become shorter and can be estimated nowadays at about ten years.
[191] In spite of this evolution, the stability of marriages among the Refugee Blacks remains noticeably greater than that observed among the black populations of South America. Among them
548 is not seen the form of prostitution so widespread in South America, the supported mistress who does not work and who lives entirely at the expense of her successive lovers.

/162 cont./

764 767 [613] In principle the forward bearer (who is called bossman by analogy with a boat) must belong to the dead person's lineage. Apart from this restriction, the bearers can be (and are in fact) any people whatever, the only condition required being that they be extremely vigorous, because the load they carry is at the limit of their strength.

Fraud can exist in isolated cases, but in the great majority of cases there is no doubt as to the good faith of the bearers; they give contradictory answers, go ahead and back interminably, until, exhausted, they are raised up again by others. Actually, the interpretation of these automatic movements does not differ essentially from any process of divination.

[766] The dead person is interrogated from the age of four or five years up. If it is a very young child, he is not interrogated; but the causes of his death are sought by interrogating possessed people, and if there is reason to, the kunu is appeased in the same fashion.

764 787 754 At the beginning of the interrogation the tribunal tries to make sure that the dead person was not a wisimã. After sending the bearers to the other end of the village, the president of the assemblage has two young men hidden in huts; then he has the bearers called, saying to the dead person: "I have lost So-and-so and So-and-so, find them." If the dead person was an upright man, he must have acquired a suprahuman clairvoyance permitting him to direct his bearers straight away toward the huts in question. If he was a wisimã, he will be as if blind; his bearers go wandering in vain from hut to hut.

They state that this test always succeeds.

764 787 761 [776] [784] The interrogation proceeds interminably. The causes of death are taken up. The first question is: is it a god who killed you? The answer is nearly always yes, and they proceed by elimination in order to arrive, for example, at learning that it is an Ampuku, that it is the Ampuku borne by So-and-so. By what the kunu was set in motion, how to appease it, is not the

764 /162 cont./
787 business of the tribunal. The people of the dead person's lineage
761 will have to settle that among themselves after the obsequies.
[784] The role of the tribunal is to make official the cause of death and give it the force of law.

764 Then the inheritance is taken up in the presence of the
787 near relatives of the dead man. The questions are asked suc-
428 cessively: "To whom dost thou leave thy boat...?" "To whom dost thou leave thy gun (1)...?" The coffin moves each time

> 1. That, unless the dead man has, before his death, in front of witnesses, formally indicated the apportionment of his belongings; in such a case, questions are asked only for the objects whose attribution had not been clearly specified.

toward one of the people present. /Figs. 22 and 23 appear here/

764 /163/ At the end of the third day after the death the
[789] burial is prepared; the dead person is asked from daybreak on whether he is ready for that; if not it can be postponed until the next day.

[767] The [illegible] have been working at the cemetery since the beginning of the day. They are young and strong men who have
[827] to work slowly, for not a drop of sweat may fall into the grave or their akka would risk remaining prisoner in it.

About 4:00 P.M. the bearers promenade the dead person one last time in the village for a supreme adieu. The near relatives go to the wharf. The dead man is hoisted into a canoe
[534] while the apinti drum calls his yorka so that it will not remain
[995] in the village.

/174 cont./

764 Cemeteries. There are two cemeteries in Boni country: one on the lands of the Dikan lineage for the people living on the French bank, the other downstream from Kotika for the inhabitants of that village. They are ordinary places which nothing indicates from the bank, for they are covered like the rest of the country by secondary forest. The dead are buried there in graves aligned parallel to the river, about seven meters apart. The dead are placed with heads turned toward the river. No separation by lineage exists within the cemetery.

The graves are not marked by any decoration, and at the end of about ten years, the mound having settled down, no trace of the burial remains.

[767] The graves are never cleaned. Only the ɔlɔmã heads, who have received special instruction, know the graves of the principal chiefs and the boundaries of the cemetery.

769 The Boni never go to the cemetery alone and do not
[754] make offerings on the graves of their near relatives. Someone
[775] who would frequent the cemetery alone would be suspected of being a wisimã seeking to capture the yɔrka of a dead person.

764 Even if they are right near the villages, cemeteries are
487 never connected directly to them by paths, and the dead are transported by boat. By proceeding thus they hope to isolate the villages from evil influences.

766 If someone dies by drowning, he is buried away from the cemetery. According to Mr. W. F. van Lier, among the Djuka
[761] all drowned persons are supposed to have been victims of a
[784] kunu; the Boni do not have this conception and declare that they
[184] have lost the meaning of this custom; one notices, however, that they observe mourning for the drowned according to the usual rites.

/175 cont./

765 For the duration of the mourning, any indiscretion of the
995 surviving spouse will draw upon him the pitiless vengeance of the yorka; it is important for him to make himself forgotten, to have a modest and decent demeanor. The dead person might be vexed with him for having kept his health and good looks. So they try to give the surviving spouse the aspect of a miserable
765 and unfortunate being. The dead person's relatives are par-
995 ticularly interested in having this discipline observed, for in
613 the opposite case the dead person's yorka would turn back in vengeance against his own lineage. During all the mourning the whole lineage considers itself in danger. So custom requires that during all this period the widower (or widow) be placed under the authority of the dead person's lineage.

765 In the case of concubinage, mourning is taken on by the
5[illegible] spouse even if the relations have not been made official. People cite the example of Way (Boniville) who assumed mourning for a Djuka with whom she had begun to live before he could propose to her officially.

765 State of persons in mourning. A widower's state is exactly like
[995] that of a widow, which tends to show that in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks the dead, men and women, have the same level of being and the same power over the living.

765 The surviving spouse is placed under the protection of
969 the ancestors of the dead spouse's lineage. Without this pro-
613 tection ensured by the prayers of the members of this lineage, he would find himself defenseless. The proof of it is that the
[622] principal sanction against him is to lift the mourning premature-
[902] ly by going to the fraga tiki to tell the ancestors that one is no longer interested in him. That amounts indirectly to cursing him (see below the example of Gamba).

/180 cont./

765 613 689 An incident. In 1957, the Saramaka Gamba (75 years old), Way's widower (Dip. I), caused a serious incident by refusing several times the obedience he owed to the latter's lineage, on the pretext that he was old and knew how to behave.

His son Maliki (born of a Saramaka woman), whom he was raising, married to Way's daughter, had gone fishing above the Litani. Upon his return, Kwau (80 years old), Way's elder brother, reproached him for having left without authorization, pointing out that his father, Gamba, being placed under his authority by mourning, he was too, because of this fact. Gamba [578] did not accept this reasoning and the two old men fought. This was a fine scandal. Kwau and the elders of Way's lineage came [769] before the fraga tiki of L'Enfant Perdu village to lift his mourn- [798] ing forthwith (which, let us recall, is the equivalent of cursing [784] him by delivering him over to the vengeance of the dead woman's yɔrka).

Members of Way's family went to break up the shacks of Gamba and his son, who lived hidden in the bush for some time. [627] Then Gamba had the village heads intercede and obtained his [769] pardon. The elders of Way's lineage went to the fraga tiki to [798] utter the words putting things back in order.

765 Lifting of mourning. The festival of the lifting of mourning - puu baaka - is celebrated 18 months to two years after the burial. The delay may be a little longer, for most often the village celebrates this festival for several of its dead at the same time. It is a heavy burden, for festivals for lifting mourning attract many people and everyone present must find as much as he wishes to eat and drink.

[621] This festival is celebrated in the framework of the village and not in that of the lineage. It will be celebrated in the same way for a Djuka who died in a Boni village, provided that he lived there a sufficiently long time. In such a case the expenses

/193 cont./

771 824 A currently widespread idea about animism would lead one to think, for example, that before felling a tree a Refugee Black addresses words and offerings to it. That is entirely absent from his thought: either this tree is likely to serve as support for a god, in which case it can be touched only after complex rites having the aim of transferring the god elsewhere, or it is simply a tree, and one cuts it down without further ado.

• 784 825 One very clear aspect of these conceptions is the dagu kunu, a curse resulting from the killing of a dog. Any animal may be killed with impunity but not a dog, because "a dog is almost a man."

[613] At the opposite extreme from the true kunu, a curse extending to a whole lineage, the dagu kunu applies only to the guilty person and draws only limited misfortunes upon him.

[772] No feeling whatever with respect to the dog enters into this conception, but only the idea that he is placed on a particular plane, near the plane of the human and his level of force.

776 /194/ The Great Gods

The Boni recognize a supreme God, Nana (1), more

1. This term comes from the Agni.

commonly called Masa Gadu, and Kedi Amu, Kediampon in Kumenti language. He created the lower gods and all that lives on the earth.

793 Here is how the old Boni men relate the myth of the creation of the world:

God created a brother and sister, Adam and Efa. They were twins. He put them in a place where they lived happily without working. But he forbade them to touch the fruit of the custard-apple tree.

/194 cont./

776 [184] The great gods Gwangwéla and Gédéosu of the Djuka are not known to the Boni.

[784] Strictly speaking, no cult of Masa Gadu exists. No edifice is reserved for him, he has no priests, and no collective ceremonies are conducted on his behalf. He is nevertheless 776 769 constantly present in the religious life of the Boni, associated with ancestor worship. Every ceremony of ancestor worship includes an invocation to Masa Gadu. From time to time, for 776 769 specific motives such as the illness of a member of the lo, 755 people go /195/ specially to the fraga tiki to invoke Masa Gadu. [613] The oldest man of the lo officiates, while a younger one pours [998] a little water and tafia at the foot of the fraga tiki; the elder addresses Masa Gadu in everyday language, in simple terms, in a familiar conversational tone, asking him for the cure of illnesses or the end of calamities. Those present, seated in a semicircle, punctuate the end of the speech with some rhythmical applause, uttering the ritual formula of thanks: "Gaã tãgi tãgi fi yu, Masa Gadu."

776 782 Outside of these ceremonies which hardly go beyond the framework of the lineage, everyone may address Masa Gadu directly by praying aloud, if, for example, he finds himself alone in the bush and prey to an illness. One never addresses Masa Gadu other than for a specific material purpose. Inner prayer for the purpose of spiritual perfection does not exist to our knowledge among the Refugee Blacks.

776 [755] One applies directly to Masa Gadu when one believes oneself to be the victim of an iniquitous action (see curse). How- [784] ever, although the Refugee Blacks have a very lively sense of justice, they never call Masa Gadu to witness for the cruel and arbitrary vengeances (kunu) which the lower divinities are [812] believed to exercise on them. It is taken for granted that all these divinities do conforms to the role which Masa Gadu has assigned to them and that the suffering they inflict on men is indispensable to the proper working of the universe.

/195 cont./

794 [181] The laws of Odun. The cult of Odun (Odũ) is the keystone of the social and religious structure of the Refugee Blacks. It is a very secret cult; its rites are not practiced in the presence of outsiders and all curiosity about it meets with frank hostility. [123] The Boni, who talk rather freely about the cults of possession, are mute on the subject of Odun, and one may spend years among them without even hearing this name uttered.

794 184 The worship of Odun is common to the Boni and the Saramaka (perhaps this is what explains the trustful relations which exist between the two groupings). Among the Djuka it is replaced by the worship of Gwangwéla (Grantata), which has exactly the same functions and rites.

776 Odun is not to be confused with the creator God Nana (Masa Gadu). The myths explaining the relationship of these two entities were not known by our informants, but it is clear that Odun was sent to men by Masa Gadu as legislator and judge.

671 Odun's laws have a profound originality, as much by their content as by the sanctions which accompany them. It is not excessive to speak of a religious and moral doctrine of the Refugee Blacks.

[641] These laws appear in negative form. A certain number of acts and behavior are forbidden to those who have entered the society of the Refugee Blacks by taking an oath which binds 784 them for good and all. Offenders will be punished without the direct intervention of men, by the all-powerful action of Odun, who will kill them or /196/ strike them down with sicknesses. As a general rule, Odun's punishment is death; this is what explains the fear his name inspires.

673 [154] Odun forbids:

--Sorcery, wisi, in the most general sense, that is, any magic action having as its purpose the killing, making ill, and in a general way doing harm to another person.

/196 cont./

[673] --Vengeance; if someone believes himself to be the
[754] victim of witchcraft, he must under no circumstances engage
[627] in counterwitchcraft or invoke his ancestors against his enemy.
He may ask only for the protection of the *bia*. It is Odun who
[784] will avenge him by sooner or later killing the evil-doer.

[683] --Violence in any form whatever. It is regarded as a particularly serious offense against the laws of Odun to strike with an armed hand and to make human blood flow (1).

[684] 1. That explains the strictness with which the society of the Refugee Blacks limits the right of punishment granted to the wronged husband, who must strike only with bare fists in front of witnesses, never in the bush nor on the river. Fear of seeing human blood flow explains the reticence of the Boni toward minor surgical operations.

[826]
[952]

[641] --Any attack on personal liberty by material or moral
[586] coercion; in particular, neither a man nor woman may be constrained to remain in a marriage which has ceased to please him; nobody may be forced to reside here or there.

[832] The forms of magic so popular among West Indians, aimed at capturing a person's love, are for this reason rejected by the Refugee Blacks and considered as a form of *wisi*.

[769] --Any evocation of the spirits of the dead, even to ask
[754] them for protection, other than in the public ceremonies provided for by custom. Thus nobody must go to the cemetery to pray alone on his parents' grave. Whoever would do that would immediately be considered as *wisimã*.

/196 cont./

784 Odun's punishment is not regarded as immediate. It may be delayed for a certain number of years for reasons known to him alone, but it will necessarily take place.

683 783 Violence can be pardoned if the guilty one repents and makes an offering. The reparative offering (for example, if someone has threatened his adversary with a machete or has struck him to the point of making blood flow) is a demijohn of tafiã or a certain quantity of tobacco leaves displayed in Odun's chapel.

754 784 But there is no pardon for the wisimã. Even if men pardon, Odun remains pitiless. Thus nobody can admit being guilty of wisi, for there is no possible reparation; besides, no one would dare beg for Odun's mercy on behalf of a wisimã, for this would be to associate oneself with him and expose oneself to being struck by the god in the same way.

[683] [766] The wisimã will be killed by Odun, and men will have to share in the punishing by refusing the body burial in the cemetery and by going to throw it in the bush. If they /197/ refused to obey this law, Odun would consider that they denied his doctrine and would strike them down either in person or by killing any member of the guilty lineage.

Thus, when in 1952 an old woman named A... of the Lapé lineage, who had settled in the Creole village Hermina, died, it appeared that she had wisi, but since she had been living among the Creoles, her near relatives did not dare intervene, and she was buried in the Hermina cemetery. Several [613] years passed without incident, then misfortunes cropped up; deaths which took place in the lineage, especially that of P... (1955) and T... (1957), and an accident that happened to a child in 1958, were recognized as punishments carried out by Odun upon the Lapé lineage.

346 The place of worship of Odun is a tiny chapel near the grand man's house. It contains only a post crudely carved in the shape of a bust, without any decoration.

/198 cont./

167 794 old woman of 90, A...., who died in Asisi in January, 1957. Having lived with Creoles in her youth, she had come back to live in her native village for at least 30 years and had never given occasion for any unfavorable remark. Nevertheless, upon her death it appeared that she had wisi.

791 829 197 Attitude toward Christianity. The Refugee Blacks, who are acquainted better than one might believe with the conceptions of the populations in the midst of whom they live, have a clear feeling of the relationship which exists between their metaphysical and moral conceptions and those of Christianity. They think they worship the same god as the Christians, in a com-
[797] pletely different way but just as sound. They have no animosity whatever toward the Catholic and Protestant clergy, and most of them agree willingly to wearing crosses or medals. But they *have not the least intention of abandoning their beliefs* for that. They do not perceive the contradiction and do not understand that people might want to oblige them to choose.

851 171 Like the Creole gold miners, they attach great importance to baptism, considered as an obia protective against the dangers of the bush. On Christmas, 1957 they were strongly impressed 165 797 by the accidental death of a Djuka Christian living at the Kotika school. He refused to observe mourning for his wife
[688] according to the custom of the Refugee Blacks, and used to go
[273] to drink in the cabarets of the Creole villages. On Christmas evening, when drunk, he drowned himself. That was attributed
[784] to a suprahuman punishment. We heard /199/ the following reflection on this subject: "He was baptized and he drowned himself just the same. That is therefore not worth the trouble."

61 581 571 Actually, the matrilineal structure of the Refugee Blacks and their conception of marriage form an irreducible cleavage, which appears immediately as soon as one leaves the metaphysical conceptions to pass to the plane of practical living.

/200 cont./

787 --Possession is manifested by kinds of trances called gita or kɔmfo, of a varying nature according to the divinity concerned, which sometimes involve phenomena of insensibility and acts impossible to perform in a normal state;

789 --The first time the divinity enters a man, it imposes
792 a kina (interdiction) upon him which will henceforth be the
• 784 sign of his function. This is what is called a gadu kina. This kina varies from one divinity to another, but in principle a given divinity imposes the same kina on its divers bearers. The divinity names itself and indicates to its bearer a means of calling it back in case of need: make such-and-such gestures, scatter such-and-such a liquid or powder.

All that is recorded by those present who reveal it to the person possessed when he has come round.

It is taken for granted that the god protects its bearer as long as the latter respects the laws of its cult and observes its kina (in the opposite case the god may punish him cruelly).
787 Conversely it is assumed that the man has a certain power, a
796 certain right over the god who possesses him. They say that he
789 is the master of it, masa, word which is habitually used in the
428 sense "to be the owner of." At his death he can bequeath this god in the forms and according to the laws regulating the inheritance of property. Of course the god is capable of not ratifying this decision, and it is free to manifest itself in anyone it wishes. But they affirm that in most cases it follows docilely the choice of its bearer. We shall see that this inheritance of gods plays an essential role in the functioning of the kunu.

787 Apprenticeship for possession. What goals does a man pursue
181 who desires thus to have a gadu? Above all he seeks strength. To succeed in life, to be protected against his enemies, to be respected: Such are the goals generally pursued and openly recognized by the Refugee Blacks who "have a gadu."

787 /201 cont./
791 The elders then consulted the oracles and perceived that Mimi
796 was victim of an Ampuku named Maogan which for a very long
[613] time had been pursuing the Kotika lineage with its vengeance
[784] (kunu). In order to protect herself, she sought to have herself
given a more powerful god, and she became the pupil of an
obiaman specialist in the cult of the Papa gadu. In this way she
[782] had a Papa gadu named Ayaémé, divinity of beneficent char-
acter to which, in difficult cases, her family applies in order
[346] to obtain advice, protection, and remedies. She had a little
hut built beside her house, where the god goes to rest when it
has finished each of its trips to the country of men. Ayaémé
[784] imposed on Mimi in kina which concerns a fish. But even with
all this she was not rid of her kunu of the Ampuku; and one day,
something it had not yet done, the latter revealed itself in her
[784] and spoke through her mouth. It announced that it would con-
[782] tinue to exercise its kunu against the Kotika lineage. They ap-
peased it by sacrifices of red cloth and beer; since then, it
seems calm and in rather good humor. It comes into Mimi from
time to time and speaks in Saramaka language. They are very
afraid of it, but they do not hesitate to question it and ask it for
[784] remedies, which it sometimes indicates. It laid on Mimi three
gadu kina concerning the acouchy, the agami, and the
armadillo.

791 Organization of the cults of possession. Strictly speaking, no
787 religious brotherhoods exist in Boni country; there are only
794 teachers - bas(2) - who have received their power from another

2. It does not seem advisable to translate this word by "priest." In the minds of the Refugee Blacks, this is a matter of a teacher teaching pupils; they use the same word to designate a European or Creole schoolmaster.

/203 cont./

776 --The Bũnsuki, which have the appearance of Indian
789 women and which reside in the waters of the rivers;
825 The second category is that of the Ampuku, much feared
[784] gods of the bush, likely to exercise the kunu against men. The
[198] Ampuku speak a language which is very well known to the Saramaka but which nobody speaks in Boni country. When they wish to be understood they speak the ordinary Saramaka dialect. They can, it is said, /204/ be seen at night in the bush in the form of unknown men dressed in the manner of the Refugee Blacks;

The third category is that of the Vɔɔdũ or Papa gadu, gods still more feared, which become incarnate in the boa snake
[198] dagowe. They speak the Papa language;
776 Finally, much feared also are the Kĩntamasu, gods of
789 the termitaries, which speak a language which nobody under-
[198] stands and use the Kumenti language to make themselves understood.

It is important to note that there is not a god Kumẽnti, a god Ampuku, etc., as there was in the pantheon of the Ancients a god Mars, a god Vulcan. For the Refugee Blacks those are generic names like Frenchman, Englishman. Questioned about a phenomenon of possession, they will answer: "It is Ampuku who makes," but in the same way they would say in front of a boat: "It is Saramaka who makes."

776 The relationships between these gods and their animal
789 form are obscure. For the Vɔɔdũ it is clear that people believe
825 they really live in the dagowe snakes, since the accidental death of one of these snakes in the burning of a clearing is considered a calamity which risks bringing a kunu. But that does not prove that a divine character is attributed to the snake itself. As for the Kumẽnti, there does not appear to be any precise bond between the genie and its jaguar appearance. If one meets a jaguar, one may fire on him all the same without inconvenience. If he is the support of a Kumẽnti, the shot will not be able to touch him, the god will not get angry about it.

/204 cont./

776 This shows that in the minds of the Refugee Blacks, the
787 animal is simply a prop for the god. The god borrows this body
825 in order to manifest itself, but it is not bound to it by nature. These conceptions are totally contrary to those of the Indians, who tend to personify in their minds the beings and phenomena of nature.

776 As we have said, the Boni do not see these gods since the
787 person possessed loses consciousness. But in the time of the ancestors, there were people who used to see the gods, and it is through them that their present-day descendants have an idea of their appearance; on the other hand, certain gods such as the Ampuku and the Bünsuki may be seen in dreams.

Sometimes the residence of this or that god is known, for it has revealed it through the mouth of its bearer; the god's
[823] name is then given to that place. For example, at the mouth of the Abounami there is a fall named Ma Akoti Gadu Sula. It is there that the god resides which revealed itself in olden days in an old woman named Akoti.

776 Connections with the group of relatives. The idea of a god
613 protector of the lineage, whose worship, brought by the founder of the group, is regarded as indispensable to the life of the collectivity, is not found clearly among the Refugee Blacks. There are actually many divinities which have entered the lineage and which are worshiped collectively. But these di-
[184] vinities are intruders; they have penetrated into the group by force in order to exert an inexorable vengeance against it.
[782] People do not apply to them to ask for protection, and they are worshiped only because they cannot be expelled.

776 /205/ There is not believed to be any kinship tie between the
602 gods and men, nor any tie of a systematic or exclusive character.

/205 cont./

796 613 428 [787] Still, they assume that the gods that have entered a matrilineage tend to be transmitted within this group. If, for example, a woman is possessed by a Papa gadu, at her death she must bequeath it in the same way as her property, and she can bequeath it only to someone of her lineage.

We have seen in studying the transmission of the god of Kotoïda († 1956), that only the women of the Afi lineage to which she belonged could inherit.

796 613 984 Even if the god is not bequeathed, which sometimes happens, if it exercises the kunu, it will manifest itself sooner or later in a member of the lineage. But long years may pass before it shows itself. This conception is absolutely clear to the Refugee Blacks, and furthermore, if it did not exist, the idea of the kunu would be without support. [114] [428] People have therefore wrongly believed in a transmission of gods from father to son.

346 787 794 613 Material organization of cults. A material organization of the cults of possession exists within the limits of the localized lineage (lo). This organization is completely independent of the apprenticeship of these cults. It permits the members of the lineage to easily practice cults they have received anywhere, on their own responsiblity.

In each lo there exists in general one single chapel (obia ɔsu) for all the divinities of the same category.

For example in the Awara Bakka lo quarter in Asisi (140 persons), for about 15 women having a Papa gadu, there exists only a single one. There is an obia ɔsu for the Ampuku (three or four possessed persons) and another for the Kumẽnti (about ten possessed people).

The chapel of the Papa gadu is placed under the responsibility of the head of the lo. On this subject it is to be noted that the individualized lineages Aw.B.3 and Afi, which however have separate gods, are included in this organization.

/209 cont. /

787 784 If someone has a Kumẽnti, certain objects used in the cult: pestle, mortar, machete, must not be raised near him. His gita "would rise" immediately. Likewise while he is eating, neither tiger nor gun must be mentioned. To prevent their gita from rising, those concerned may take the precaution of putting a small piece of wood behind the ear while they eat.

787 178 [771] [781] [484] [743] [755] These past years the cult of the Kumẽnti was clearly declining among the Boni, as was the whole of their religious life; every one, indeed, no longer thought about anything but earning money and was always traveling in order to do this, which made difficult the indispensable meetings and dances. On the other hand, cared for effectively when they are ill in the Maripasoula hospital, the Boni feel the cult of the Kumẽnti less necessary, of which the principal social function is to cure. So, while in 1948 we used to be present very often at manifestations of the gita of Kumẽnti, in 1952 they were becoming much rarer and more secret /modest/. They were tending to fall to the level of the latent manifestations of which we shall speak further on. In 1956 we did not observe in the course of the forest [346] work any spontaneous attack of this gita. The chapels dedicated to the Kumẽnti are scarcely maintained and are falling into ruins; such is the fate of the gods judged benevolent toward men. [751] Nevertheless people continue to lay great store by the ɔbia of Kumẽnti, especially the man nẽŋge ɔbia which protects against the machete and the gun, and the Kumẽnti bui, ring of Kumẽnti, instrument of divination.

776 [823] [787] The Bũnsuŋki. The Bũnsuŋki are gods which live in the waters, by preference at the head of falls, beside rocks bearing copses of detached trees; they can also reside ordinarily in these trees themselves. They appear sometimes in dreams to men as well as to women in the aspect of Indians, more commonly Indian women with long hair. This is why they are sometimes called wata Iŋgi, Indians of the water.

/210 cont./

776 [825] The Bumba gadu, other gods of the same nature and equally feared, have as bearers other categories of snakes, principally the great anaconda water snakes.

[784] [812] The Vɔɔdũ, we have said, are feared; they can exercise on a lineage the collective curse called kunu. But, no more than the Kumẽnti do not represent a principle of good, they do not represent a principle of evil. Not all are so badly disposed toward men, and even if one of them is the enemy of a lineage, it is not for that reason badly disposed toward the rest of men.

787 178 [562] However this may be, the cult of possession of the Papa gadu is not at all in decline among the Boni. According to the cross-checking we have been able to do, of the 670 persons living on the French bank there are at least 40 to 50 who have a Papa gadu, the great majority of them old women.

787 784 /211/ The Voodũ /sic/ are much feared, and for that very reason much respected. They are oracles which are consulted very often, without consideration of the evil their kunu has done and will still do. A god which exercises the kunu but which is provisionally declared appeased may be consulted without danger; it is always assumed that in any case its bearer, if he respects its commands, has nothing to fear from it.

787 562 It is possible that, very unconsciously, women use the fear that the Papa gadu gods inspire in order to maintain their independence and privileged position in Refugee Black society.

153 791 787 [198] [178] [515] [824] [534] Instruction in possession appears to take as a pattern the same principles as that which correspond to the Kumẽnti. It involves the teaching of the Papa language; this language appeared to us to be in decline; in fact, it is used only for formulas of greeting; then the possessed people vaticinate in ordinary language. Instruction in possession also involves daily ablutions with decoctions of leaves; certain of these mixtures are particularly complicated (it is said that they include more than a hundred different kinds of leaves). Instruction is essentially individual; however it also includes dances; on this occasion a

/212 cont./

755 is answering in ordinary language the questions posed. The sick
[753] boy's mother asks the god if it is really he who made her son
[784] ill. He answers that it is he and gives two reasons: first, a
[824] week before, Féni damaged with a blow of he machete the root of a silk-cotton tree in which precisely he himself was living; moreover, his sister Pamasa was sick for 15 days, he did not go to visit her.

The mother begs the god: "Ubegi yu, yu abi leti, gi ɛŋ paadɔ̃, a 'ã be sabi bũ-bũ. (We beg you, you are right (but) pardon him, he had not realized wel /what he did/.)"

Then the god directs a treatment: an infusion of a certain number of leaves, with which the sick boy will wash his body. It states that the sick boy will quickly get well.

Pamasa then comes back to her ordinary state. The scene has lasted about three-quarters of an hour n all.

164 Observation in Asisi, October, 1956.

On October 21 at 8 o'clock I am told that Bugi, a woman of about 45, is gravely ill; she suffers from violent pains in the chest and a general tremor. The sick woman is stretched out on the ground, supported by her brother and surrounded by old women who are comforting her. She appears to suffer atrociously, her body is covered with sweat, her lower limbs are agitated with an incessant trembling; she presents the symptoms of a
755 heart attack (2). In front of the house, the obiaman are

2. Bugi had already been hospitalized in Maripasoula for a heart attack.

preparing a "remedy," /213/ for they suspect that this is a question of a manifestation of the Papa gadu of which Bugi is the bearer.

/213 cont./

755 A stalk of sɔŋgaafu twice bent in an elbow is arranged on the ground. A cross is traced in the dirt.

Centered on the cross is placed a large basin into which is poured infusions of leaves taken from several calabashes.

The sick woman, still prostrate and groaning, is seated on a stool facing the basin. The contents of the basin are poured slowly over her body while she is massaged. It is not a question of a remedy in the literal sense of the word; the sick one is "washed" to help the god to manifest itself in her.

I notice that while going back into the hut she trembles almost no more; the attack seems to be subsiding.

In the meanwhile someone comes to call me elsewhere and I cannot come back until half an hour later. I find the sick woman standing, smeared with pemba, in the middle of a meditative audience. The god has descended into her and is [787] expressing itself in Papa language while she dances with slow gestures.

[753] I am told that it has just given the explanation of the [784] illness: it struck Bugi because she did not observe the kina given to all bearers of Papa gadu, to stay away from funeral ceremonies. Now, the day before yesterday, she had knowingly participated in the tukka dance around Kotoïda's coffin.

The ɔbiaman present beg the god to pardon, which it does after claiming a bottle of beer which it drinks through the mouth of its bearer.

152 Observation in Kormotibo, December 18, 1957.
164 On December 18 in the evening I find the village of
753 Kormotibo in the clutches of terror. Several persons are sick
784 from the effect of the kunu. Apaita, a young woman, has an enormous whitlow, following an accident; two women have been stricken with pneumonia.

/213 cont./

753 These misfortunes are attributed to the kunu exercised
784 by a Papa gadu god, since about a hundred years ago an ancestress named Akonté involuntarily killed a dagɔwe snake
[787] while fishing /nivrant/ a creek. In our day this god manifests itself in Atama (Dip. II, E1), and another Papa gadu, which says it is the descendant of the first, manifests itself in Apaita
[755] (F9). It is the latter which, speaking through the mouth of Apaita, revealed that it was striking the village because nobody had danced for it for five years.

755 They called B..., obiaman specialized in the vɔɔdũ cult. He surrounded the chapel of the Papa gadu with stalks
[789] of sãŋgaafu placed vertically. He prepared an infusion of leaves with which the Kormotibo women who have a Papa gadu have just smeared themselves (they are four in number, including two outsiders to the Dipélu II lineage). It is a question of helping their gods to manifest themselves.

People are going to dance eight nights running, part of the night. The agida drum drawn out of the chapel is set up in working position. /214/

The rites carried out to neutralize the kunu are:

--Cleaning of the chapel;

--Decoration by means of stalks of sãŋgaafu placed upright all around /it/;

--Bathing of the sick with leaves believed to have the power of making the influence of the Papa gadu go away;

--With other leaves, on the contrary concentrating the maleficent influence of the Papa gadu in a calabash which is then carefully shut up in the chapel.

787 Possession by the Ampuku. It is much more rare, and personally we have observed it only twice; the possessed people make circles of pemba around their eyes and draw kinds of ovals on

/217 cont./

If someone marries a girl, he must not only pay her mother the price of virginity but must also pay the girl's akka. For that he offers white beads and cloth which the bride will wear, as well as sweets which will be consumed by her. If the price of virginity were not paid, the woman's akka, humiliated, might make her sick or kill her.

/218/ There are seven categories of akka, masculine and feminine, one for each day of the week.

Crevaux in 1877 was able to establish the complete list (1):

1. This conception is widespread in the Agni-Ashanti culture area, among the Ewé and Mina, and as far as western Dahomey. The names reported among the Mina correspond very exactly, except for some differences in pronunciation, to the ones kept by the Boni.

	Men	Women
Sunday	Kwasi	Kwasiba
Monday	Kɔdyo	Adyuba
Tuesday	Kwami	Abeniba
Wednesday	Kwaku	Akuba
Thursday	Yao	Yaba
Friday	Kɔfi	Afiba
Saturday	Kwamina	Amba

All these names are known to the Boni, but none of our informants was capable of reciting the complete list. It is well understood that a name like Kɔfi, Kɔdio /sic/, etc. is the akka's name and not at all the man's name (2).

/218 cont./

774 551

2. Although it happens that people receive as a name an akka name, sometimes accompanied by a qualificative, such as Lébikwaku.

774 262 [551] Actually, each one knows his akka's name, which was revealed to him by his parents when he was a child; to this name is attached an akka kina or food prohibition relative to the akka. [754] Both are carefully kept secret even from near relatives and friends, for knowing them could help the wisima take possession of the akka. On this subject people often use the term gadu kina, as they say mi gadu instead of mi akka. This term is [784] [787] easily confused with the prohibition imposed on the possessed person by the god which incarnates itself in him; these are two very different notions.

[258] The akka kina is unique for each man. It is sought by the parents when the child is completely weaned. They try to [787] draw parallels between the foods he has eaten and the health disorders he may exhibit, and these suppositions are confirmed by divinatory procedures.

774 782 A man does not ordinarily pray to his akka. He addresses prayer to it only if he is sick, to ask it for protection, or before leaving on a long trip, to ask it to watch over him. If he comes back safe and sound, he thanks it by making an offering to it, in the form of a bottle of syrup (switi sopi), which he turns upside down over his head.

774 184 According to Mr. W. F. van Lier, the Djuka have the idea that the shadow (kaaka) is the visible image of the akka; the Boni do not appear to have this conception; one does not observe that they attach any importance whatever to whether a man's shadow passes over them; on the contrary, one must not step over a man lying on the ground, that might injure his akka.

/219 cont./

769 We have described the principal ceremonies of this worship in speaking of family life.

769 613 One addresses only his near ancestors in maternal line, and one addresses them all collectively. Just as the custom of the Refugee Blacks rejects all that might individualize one line within a lineage, it rejects every individual bond between a given dead person and a given living person. Just as "uncles" exercise guardianship collectively over "nephews," the dead collectively protect the living. It would be a grave offense against the customary law of the Refugee Blacks to go individually to the fraga tiki to invoke the yɔxka of one or another of his relatives. We shall see further on that the only exception to this is for the ancestors who have made themselves conspicuous by exercising the kunu against another lineage.

[784]

Ancestor worship is organized within the lo, and its priest is the head of the lo, hedemã or captain. Individualized fractions (bee) which may exist within the lo, like Papaïsson 2, have no separate ancestor worship.

769 778 The place of prayer is made up of a small square of ground about 1 meter x 1 meter, separated from village soil by pieces of boards; in the middle of this square is set a T-shaped post whose horizontal arm serves as support for a square of white cloth: this is the fraga tiki.

The cloth rots rapidly under the influence of bad weather, but it is not removed; a new one is attached over the old when it is too spoiled; likewise /220/ the post, which ends up by rotting, is not replaced as long as it does not fall to the ground. This behavior might be thought to be negligence, but it is nothing of the sort: for the Refugee Blacks, what has been offered to the ancestors is removed from the action of men; no one can touch it any more, even to repair it.

/220 cont./

769 her voice changed, imitating a man's; eyes staring, she ap-
778 peared to have no longer any consciousness of what was around
782 her. Then suddenly the attack would cease and she would busy herself with her household occupations in the most natural fashion. The yaka which was believed to become incarnate thus in Mili's body spoke of very commonplace things, repeating indefinitely sentences concerning minor happenings of the day, or asking for a small offering of tafia on its behalf at the fraga tiki. A psychiatrist would doubtless have thought of an attack of mental dissociation.

• [784] These yaka are not feared by their involuntary bearer, since none can exercise a kuna against his own lineage; they manifest themselves only exceptionally, sometimes indicating remedies or warning of dangers. Thus it is that A... of the Dipéiu II lo, who has a Kumãnti besides, also has a yaka which revealed itself in him without ever having been called on. According to his comrades, this yaka sometimes steps in with a cavernous voice, notably in September, 1952, during a hunting expedition, where it shouted: "Let us not go that way, we shall meet a jaguar." A... lost consciousness for only a few seconds and had not been aware of anything.
/Figs. 26 and 27 appear here./ /221/

795 The nãmuéki (1). Each Refugee Black has a nãmuéki, that is
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1. This word seems to be a deformation of English "namesake" (homonym).

to say that certain elements of his personality are thought to originate from the reincarnation of a certain ancestor. This is a very obscure conception with the Boni, and without apparent correlation with their notion of the akka and the yaka; they never say: "I am the reincarnation of So-and-So," but simply:

/221 cont./

Relations between Gods and Men

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The kunu

The kunu. The Refugee Blacks call kunu the collective curse which has weighed on a matrilineage since an ancient offense. The kunu is without time limit, without pardon, without pity, blind in the choice of its victims; in principle, it can end only with the complete extermination of the lineage. Each time
[753] that adversity swoops down on one of its members in the form
[761] of death, sickness, various calamities, the kunu is the most frequently obtained explanation. The instrument of this inexpiable vengeance is either a god or the yoka (spirit) of a dead person.

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171 This notion, which occupies a central position in the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks, does not appear to have been borrowed directly. Most of the populations of Dahomey /222/ and the Ivory Coast take for granted the idea of arbitrary punishments exercised upon the members of the lineage by the gods or the ancestors of the group. But no population of these regions has, to our knowledge, developed so highly systematized a doctrine.

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571 The conceptions developed by the Refugee Blacks, divinities impelled exclusively by vengeance, and especially ancestors inexorably chastising lineages other than their own, have created new relationships among individuals and among lineages.

784 We have not been able to elucidate the origin of the word kunu. Perhaps it is a deformation of the Mina word ekunu, which means burial.

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784
781 Three categories of divinities can pursue men with their kunu, and because of this fact the Refugee Blacks feel toward them an extreme terror mixed with veneration.

/222 cont./

976 --The Papa gadu (V>>dU). The kunu that one of them
784 exercises upon a lineage comes uniformly from the fact that in
613 times past, one of the ancestors had inadvertently killed a
[825] dagowe snake (boa), usual bearer of the Papa gadu. For example,
the snake might have perished in the burning of a clearing.
[789] Some time after, the god had possessed a member of the lineage
and revealed that henceforth it would exercise a kunu;

--The Ampuku. The kunu of an Ampuku begins in an analogous way; in days gone by an ancestor had, for example, cut a kanu tree without performing the rites suitably, or had made a clearing in a place where an Ampuku was residing;

--The Kintamasu (who call themselves Akaio), gods of the termitaries, much feared, may exercise a kunu if, before cutting a clearing, someone has, in spite of all his searching, allowed a termitary to escape him, which thus was not the object of the indispensable rite;

976 --Finally, the kunu may be brought by a dead person's
784 >>>ka. For example, a man of lineage A had once upon a time
613 unjustly accused a man of lineage B. The latter committed
762 suicide out of revenge. The meaning of this act is not the same as in Europe. It is not a question of making one's enemies live in shame and remorse, but by sacrificing one's life to cause an eternal vengeance to be wreaked upon one's enemies. Some time after the suicide, the >>>ka reveals itself in a man of his lineage and announces that it will pursue the members of lineage A eternally with its kunu.

784 Thus the offenses which the kunu punishes are not moral sins as we understand them, but involuntary acts without inner meaning. The purifications and sacrifices demanded are likewise purely exterior acts.

/222 cont./

114 784 The various works treating of the Refugee Blacks point out well the importance of the kunu, but it seems to us that the functioning of this institution (for in fact a social institution is certainly concerned here) has not been clearly understood.

784 613 A kunu is attached to a matrilineage in the literal sense (349). It extends obligatorily to all the members of the matrilineage and can strike only them.

For example, my kunu can strike my sister's son but not my wife nor my children (they are subject to the kunu of their own lineage). /223/

[782] The kunu, striking the lineage as a whole, can be appeased only by prayers uniting (at least in principle) the whole lineage. That is the respect in which the kunu may be defined [591] as a social institution, for it is, we shall see, the principal cement holding the groups together.

The unleashing of a kunu does not necessarily and immediately follow the destruction of a termitary or the death of a dagowe snake. The god thus offended avenges itself by making a certain number of members of the lineage sick and 784 by causing limited misfortunes to happen. When things are 613 at that point the kunu can still be exercised by prayers and 782 offerings. In 1957 the beginning of a kunu was manifesting itself thus in the Awara Bakka lineage of Asini; very frightened, the members of the lineage made offerings and prayers to exorcise it.

784 But if the lineage people neglect the warnings of the god, 613 if through laziness or selfishness too great a number of them [693] are absent from the collective prayers and do not take part in [761] the offerings, prayers and offerings will be refused and the god will kill one of them. From then on the kunu is unleashed and can no longer leave the lineage. Its involuntary bearer [728] will have to bequeath it upon his death to a member of the lineage, who cannot refuse this legacy and must immediately

/223 cont./

784 613 428 begin his instruction in order to become a suitable bearer. (If this procedure were not carried out, the god would not cease its kunu at all, and the possibility of entering into contact with it and appeasing it would be lost. Besides, sooner or later it would come back into a member of the lineage.)

784 613 [602] The kunu strikes without regard to kinship ties, even if kinship between the bearer of the god and the supposed victim is very distant. Ex.: The Papa gadu of Donasi (Papaïston lo) struck a young woman, Gou, with illness in January, 1957. Donasi and Gou are only relatives in the ninth degree. The [782] [361] members of the entire Papaïston lineage assembled to supplicate the god: even people of Wétiti village in the lower Maroni came.

775 784 613 The kunu exercised by the yɔrka of a dead person has a special importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks, for it has profound repercussions on the relations among the lineages.

In principle, the yɔrka exercising a kunu has as bearer [428] a living member of its own lineage, who will bequeath it at his death. But it is also possible that the yɔrka may take as bearer a member of the lineage upon which it exercises the kunu.

In both cases, the rite to appease the yɔrka is the same; [782] the yɔrka can be invoked effectively only by the members of its own lineage, since one can pray (at least in principle) only to one's own maternal ancestors.

When matrilineage A is struck by the kunu exercised by a yɔrka of matrilineage B, its members thereupon go to consult the elders of matrilineage A /sic/ and ask them to try to calm [769] the anger of their ancestor. The members of lineage A assemble [778] around the fraga tiki of lineage B, in back of the elders of this [787] lineage, in the presence of the bearer of the yɔrka, who calls on his gita, goes into trances and prophesying. The yɔrka [782] usually asks for an offering of cane juice and tafia, which is made at the foot of the /224/ fraga tiki by the elders of lineage B (for the rite to be efficacious, the offering must have been furnished by lineage A).

/224 cont./

775 A yorka exercising a kunu may also demand that another
784 smaller fraga tiki be erected for it beside the principal fraga
769 tiki of its lo. In the villages of the Refugee Blacks one often
778 sees these little crosses provided with white veils like the main
613 fraga tiki, planted beside it a little obliquely.

The notion of the kunu exercised by a yorka explains the
775 rarity of murder among the Refugee Blacks. How would you
784 dare to kill someone when, as soon as it is freed from his body,
674 his yorka will have full latitude to make you sick, to make tree branches fall across your path, to cause to suffer and to
775 kill all those dear to you? If someone is blinded by hate, it
784 is the idea of suicide which will dominate him. In October,
762 1952 we were able to observe this reaction in a man who had just been subject to a deep humiliation: "I am going to kill my body in order to go to kill that man and his whole family," he said to us, prey to a fit of rage; fortunately, when the fit had passed, he came back to a more sound outlook on things.

775 It is to be noted that a yorka cannot exercise a kunu
784 against its own lineage. This notion explains why, in the times
613 when they exercised absolute authority, tribal chiefs had those
696 condemned to death executed by men of the same lineage.
[171] Apparently similar practices were the rule in olden days in several African kingdoms, which allows one to think that notions analogous to those of the kunu may be rather widespread there.

784 Situation of the various lineages with respect to the kunu. There
613 we touch on one of the most secret aspects of the social life of the Refugee Blacks. Years of living among them are necessary in order to obtain precise information on the nature and the mode of action of the kunu acting on the various lineages.

784 Nearly all the entities which now exercise their kunu on the
613 Boni have been in their lineages since a very ancient period,
428 to the point where the name of their first bearer is forgotten. They are transmitted inexorably from generation to generation. In the course of the ages, the kunu have accumulated, and now certain lineages are living with four, five, or even six kunu.

/224 cont./

784 613 776 789 Kunu of the Dju lineage. The Dju lineage in 1958 was affected by four kunu:

--An Ampuku which has exercised its vengeance since time immemorial, to the point where the origin of this kunu is no longer remembered, its bearers being Dabisa (G25) and Adyódya (E19), two women about 50 years old. This Ampuku formerly had as its bearer an ancestor named Agoabuchi, who died about 1940. Two or three years after his death, it manifested itself in Dabisa;

--A Papa gadu named Adawa which has also pursued the lineage with a pitiless vengeance since the time of the great ancestors. It revealed itself to the preceding generation in an ancestress named Sapiké (D5), and a long time after her death it passed into Pamasa (E26), a woman of 35. This kunu has grown worse since /225/ two other Papa gadu revealed themselves in recent years in two women named Kulina (F9) and Diana (E9). They declared that they were the descendants of the first one and that they came in support of it;

784 613 775 789 562 --A yarka whose name nobody wanted to tell us because they were so afraid of it. It is that of a man of the Awara Bakka lineage, who committed suicide two or three generations ago when he was unjustly accused of a crime by a man of the Dju lineage. Since then, this yarka has been exterminating the Dju lineage little by little. Its bearer in 1958 was an old woman of the Awara Bakka lineage, named Namu;

784 613 776 789 --A Kantamanu since, a very long time ago, an ancestress whose name is forgotten inadvertently destroyed a termitary while burning a clearing. It has as bearer a very old woman named Wima (E3) († 1957), and it manifested itself also in Ata (F2).

784 613 789 562 Thus, in this group, the malefficent gods had exclusively women as bearers; out of about 20 adult women, seven were participating in the functioning of the kunu.

/225 cont. /

784 613 787 562 One sees from this example how the influence of women, exerted in arbitrary fashion, in a domain placed outside of custom and ordinary social life, weighs on the life of the group.

Kunu of the Dipélu lineage. The situation of the Dipélu 619 lineage with respect to the kunu is particularly interesting. 571 Although split for perhaps 100 years into two separate groups, Dipélu I (L'Enfant Perdu and Apatu villages) and Dipélu II (Kormotibo and Asisi-Dip. II villages), this group still constitutes an undivided unit with respect to the kunu. Neither time nor [484] distance (it takes more than a week of traveling to make the round trip between L'Enfant Perdu and Apatu) has been able to [955] break it up. The Apatu people come very often (at least some of them) to be present at the collective prayers which take place at L'Enfant Perdu to appease a kunu in order to cure a sick person.

The oldest kunu ("since Africa") is that of a Papa gadu 614 god whose priest was ○ Dika (Dip. I. D10, † 1951) and which 276 passed after her death into ○ Pééchina (Dip. I. E42, L'Enfant [987] Perdu village). This kunu strikes indiscriminately the people of L'Enfant Perdu, Apatu, Kormotibo, Asisi-Dip. II, and the Dipélu fraction residing in Bonville. To it, these past years, [761] have been attributed the death of ○ Way (Dip. I. E6, living [753] in Bonville), the illness of △ Akwali (Dip. II. F7, Kormotibo village) and of ○ Bongo (same village).

Another very old kunu is the one exercised by the yaka 775 of a Surinam Creole who had settled with the Dipélu people a 614 very long time ago. He was suspected of sorcery and killed. [W3] Since then his yaka comes back regularly to exterminate the Dipélu.

/225 cont. /

784 Having no known lineage (his family, if he had any, was
786 in Surinam), it had taken people of the Dipélu lineage as
614 bearers. The last was △ Denis † in 1938. Since Denis'
787 death, it no longer has a bearer. The questioning of the dead reveals that they died by its kunu. The members of the two
[782] fractions of the lineage meet together (at least two or three members of each village come) to supplicate it.

784 A third kunu, very interesting in origin and supposed
614 action, /226/ in 1957 was borne by Kwau (Dip. I. E1. Kotika village). It results from the killing of an anaconda snake by Apatu † (Dip. I. C1), companion of the explorer Crevaux when he was traveling to /in/ Brazil. Upon contact with Europeans Apatu had become a freethinker and was no longer observing the laws of his people. Among the later victims of
[153] this kunu was counted Kwami (Dip. II. F4. Kormotibo village)
[155] who, gravely ill, had had to go to L'Enfant Perdu where the god had been invoked for him and offerings made. The death
[161] of Manga (Dip. I. E5. Bonville. † about 1930) was particularly attributed to it.

No other kunu has revealed itself in Apatu village since its founding in 1882.

784 A fourth kunu concerning all the Dipélu has as bearers
614 women of the Dipélu II group. It results from the inadvertent
786 murder of a Papa gadu whose bearer was a dagowe snake killed
787 in the course of the nivrée /itshing/ of a pool by Akonté
522 † (Dip. II. B1), transmitted to Kondo † , then to Alama (Dip. II. E1).

Since then Papa gadu have revealed themselves in ○ Apalta (Dip. II. F9. Kormotibo village) and in ○ Kaala (Dip. II. G28. Asipi-Dip. II village). They declared themselves to be the descendants of the first and to come in support of it.

/226 cont./

784 182 Finally, a fifth kunu is threatening to show itself. This is a remarkable affair which clarifies at the same time the legal and religious conceptions of the Refugee Blacks.

672 About 1918, a stupid accident which happened at Dagouédé (gun which went off by itself at the moment when it was being stowed in a boat) caused the death of a girl, Santonia, daughter of Kuluba (Aw.B.1). The unwitting perpetrator of the accident was Kwau (Dip. I. Apatu village). (692) There were people in the Awara Bakka lineage who accused him of having done it on purpose, but the grand man judged that he was innocent and the affair was shelved.

784 614 795 787 Now in April, 1957, Kiboya (Dip. II), a young woman of 25, was attacked by a fit of possession. It was Santonia's yoka which was supposed to reveal itself in her. It declared that it was going to exercise a kunu on Dipélu. It was not claiming that Kwau had killed her on purpose and even asked the Awara Bakka not to make reprisals.

628 614 Nevertheless, full of fury, a party of Awara Bakka went the next day to attack the village of L'Enfant Perdu, demolishing a certain number of huts and pursuing the inhabitants, some of whom took refuge in the water and others in the bush. There were, however, no serious blows.

The next day they went to attack Kormotibo in the same way. It is to be noted that only after that did they think of blaming Kwau, who was then living at Wacapou. But the grand man had intervened in the meantime to re-establish peace.

In both cases the façades of several shacks were smashed and two men, Bonana and Amatodja, who had run less fast than the others, were struck symbolically.

/226 cont./

628 The members of the Dipélu lineage did not believe a
614 word of this affair, convinced that Kiboya, a proud and scheming
784 woman, had pretended the gita to make herself interesting.
787 Nevertheless, to bring back peace, they decided to go to Asisi
156 and to ask pardon in front of the fraga tiki, pouring tafia,
768 asking the ancestors not to take vengeance, the living being
778 reconciled.

784 /227/ (Note that in this affair, the yɔ́rka manifests itself in a
614 member of the lineage on which it exercises the kunu.)
775

784 Kunu of the Awara Bakka lineage. The Awara Bakka lineage
614 does not form a unit with respect to the kunu, and the situation
613 of its fractions is particularly interesting. This lineage includes:

--A principal fraction (Aw.B.1);

--A fraction whose kinship ties with the first are forgotten (Aw.B.2), whose position with respect to the kunu we have not been able to define.

--Finally, a group descended from Anèta, Djuka woman, wife of Péèyon † (Aw.B.1) settled in Asisi with her descendants in uterine line. We have called this group Aw.B.3. It has a separate kunu originating in the Djuka village of Tabiki where Anèta came from.

784 The Awara Bakka I, all living in Asisi village, had to
787 our knowledge three kunu in 1957:
776 --One exercised by a Papa gadu god, borne up to 1957
613 by O Kulaba (Aw.B.1, D1). At her death in April, 1957,
428 she bequeathed it, contrary to custom, to a person of another fraction, Summa (Aw.B.3). But the god did not ratify this legacy and, in January, 1958, it manifested itself in O Léna (Aw.B.1, F52), thus remaining in the same lineage;

/227 cont./

784 --A second, very old kunu is exercised by a yɔtka of the
785 Dipélu Il lo, Gy...., dead so long that he cannot be placed on
787 the genealogical table; it, too, had as bearer a member of the
613 lineage on which it was exercising the kunu. O Akumuyé
614 (Aw.B.1, D17) † 1957.

Thus the Awara Bakka and Dipélu lineages exercise the kunu reciprocally one against the other;

--A third kunu of recent origin is exercised by a Papa
784 gadu god which had as bearer in 1957 O Irma (Aw.B.1, E37).
786 It results from the inadvertent killing of a Dagowe /sic/ snake
613 by [illegible] Tawa, Irma's brother. At the end of 1957 this kunu
[789] had yet brought on only illnesses of such a kind that people
[953] could still hope to exorcise it.

784 The Aw.B.3 group has a special kunu of its own and
613 considers itself out of reach of the kunu of the Aw.B.1.

Anèta, originating in the Djuka village of Tabiki, is subject to the kunu of that lineage as are all her descendants in
[782] uterine line. On occasion of serious illnesses the latter have sometimes had to go to Tabiki village to supplicate the kunu.

[786] This kunu is the one of a god borne by Akanté, Anèta's
[789] daughter. In September, 1956, Summa, Akanté's daughter,
[782] was sick. The god revealed that this was its doing. It was supplicated (the other fractions joined the group) and she then got well.

613 Kunu of the Afi lineage. The descendants of Afi † (woman
621 coming from the tribe of the Bakabuchi of Surinam) live for the most part in Asisi in close symbiosis with the /228/ Awara Bakka lineage. They are in a situation analogous to that of Anèta's descendants (Aw.B.3) but, perhaps by the simple fact of their number, they form a more individualized unit.

/228 cont./

They are the object of three kunu:

--One exercised by a Papa gadu god whose bearer up into 1956 was Kotoïda († Oct. 1956), who bequeathed it to ○ Mani (Afi lineage, d12).

--The other exercised by a yɔrka of the Lapé lineage. This kunu dates from about 60 years ago; Alémin (Afi lineage, b3, Kormotibo village), 80 years old in 1957, had when he was young cut a clearing in a place which was found to be an old abandoned Boni cemetery (opposite Maripasoula). Some time afterward, a yɔrka revealed itself in a woman of the Lapé lineage, saying that it was exercising a kunu against the family of the sacrilegious person.

It is to this yɔrka, whose bearer is M... (L2, Boniville), that the death of Kotoïda in October, 1956 is especially attributed.

--A third kunu is exercised by A.... of the Papaïston 2 lineage. A... had committed pikadu. Surprised by Alémin (Afi lineage), he had paid the latter to obtain his silence. But Alémin had talked. Dishonored, A... committed suicide with a gunshot; some time afterward his yɔrka revealed itself in Alémin; it exercises a kunu on this lineage.

Situation of the other lineages with respect to the kunu. The Papaïston lineage is divided into two groups: Papaïston 1 (the principal one) and Papaïston 2, of which there remain only three living members: two women and one young man. The remainder of a lineage continues to bear its own kunu, which is unique and separate from that of the principal group.

The principal group forms a unit with respect to the kunu.

The Lapé lineage, cut from the point of view of genealogy into two pieces, forms a unit with respect to the kunu. We have been able to collect only fragmentary information on the various kunu of this village.

/228 cont./

784 A kunu is exercised by a Dipélu yɔ̃ka, borne in 1958 by
775 a Loka woman. It is invoked before the fraga tiki of l'Enfant
778 Perdu village (Dipélu I). Sometimes a broko dɛ is celebrated
613 for it in the same forms as the ceremony of the eighth day after death.

784 We have likewise not been able to collect complete
613 information on the kunu of the Kotika lineage. This lineage,
114 divided into three fractions, forms a unit with respect to the kunu.

784 A kunu is exercised by the yɔ̃ka of a Surinam Creole
613 assassinated in former times by a member of the lineage. Its
775 bearer in 1958 was Todo (K1, E68), a man of the Kotika lo
789 living in Botaville. In 1958 a young woman of the lineage,
[761] Awini (K1, E37), died suddenly; the yɔ̃ka revealed that it
[689] had struck Awini because she had a liaison with Sintamann (K3, E145), thus committing pikadu. The idea of the collective responsibility of the lineage is so deeply accepted by the Boni that the near relatives of the dead woman did not reproach Sintamann at all.

784 /229/ A yɔ̃ka of the Kotika lineage may exercise a kunu on
613 the Djuka. This is the case of an affair going back to 1950;
775 a young woman died some time after having a serious discussion
761 with a Djuka woman who had hit her. Deaths among the Djuka
619 these last years had been attributed to its vengeance.

It seems that there is no other kunu exercised by a Djuka
784 upon a Boni lineage and vice versa. This is surprising, con-
619 sidering the fights which in former times set the two nations
613 against each other.

The Djuka and Saramaka living isolated in the midst
621 of the Boni know their kunu, which were revealed to them in
784 childhood. In case of sickness, they employ divinatory pro-
[755] cedures in order to know what kunu is concerned, then they
[613] make offerings... But in case of serious illness, they are forced to go back to the village of origin of their lineage.

/229 cont./

784 613 [428] The kunu and Boni family life. It follows from the detailed examination we have just made of the situation of the various lineages that the transmission of the kunu within the uterine kin group is a rigorous law which suffers no exception whatever. [571] [602] The process of assimilation which permits in a certain measure, on the social plane, the integration of fragments of paternal kin (like A-ara Bakka 3) into a group does not come into play here. [611] [829] Unity with respect to the kunu can therefore be regarded as a rigorous criterion of a common matrilineal origin. The Boni feel it as an obvious fact and in such a case it is the proof that comes to their minds: "We are of the same origin since we have the same kunu."

784 613 571 182 Thus the kunu appears as the principal cement of the unity of the groups. It opposes the dissociation of the lineages; this curse which weighs collectively upon a group and which can be exorcised only collectively is an iron bond which nothing can break. It obliges the Refugee Blacks to surmount their individualistic tendencies, their egoism which, if they acted freely, would soon have scattered them into a dust of [838] separate persons. In the face of adversity each one accepts with good grace obedience to the elders, who alone know how [672] to talk to the gods and appease them. Nobody ever is indignant or even surprised to be struck down for the offense of another; there is not a movement of revolt or hostility against the one who by his inattention or inconsiderateness has brought on misfortune. On this plane the members of a lineage feel like cells of a single body.

784 613 672 The collective legal responsibility of the members of a group in the domain of customary law flows from the kunu. We have observed this several times, notably at the time of the obsequies for Kotolida (Afi lineage) in October, 1956. The president of the Afi kuutu condemned the members of

/229 cont./

784 613 672 the Afi lineage to be thrashed symbolically for not having paid sufficient attention to the warnings of the yanka which had already made Kotoïda sick several times: by their negligence they bore part of the responsibility for Kotoïda's death. Although the Afi and the Awara Bakka live together and regard themselves as members of one community, there was no question whatever of thrashing the Awara Bakka, and that because, not being subject to the same kunu, they bore no responsibility for this death. /230/

Likewise it is taken for granted that the descendants of Anèta (Aw.B.3) do not share the legal responsibility of the Awara Bakka proper (fractions 1 and 2). The fact that Anèta was the wife of Péèyon, captain of the Aw.B., and that her descendants are completely integrated into the life of the village, does not modify this legal situation at all. At the time of the brawl between the Dipètu and the Awara Bakka in 1948, the Aw.B.3 were not taken to task, any more than the members of the Afi lineage.

791 The relations of the Boni with the entities which are believed to pursue them are most interesting. They seek only to appease the divinity, to calm it provisionally, and to live with it in a state of armed peace, if one may say so.

784 787 When divination has shown that a certain calamity was due to the kunu (sometimes the divinity in question reveals it immediately, through the mouth of its bearer, before being interrogated), it is asked why it struck: it always indicates a precise reason: usually it appears to be inspired by arbitrariness [796] and a pitiless despotism. The Refugee Blacks are not surprised at this, for thus it is that they imagine the lower gods.

784 787 796 In 1948, A.... of the Dji lineage, fell ill; he felt violent pains in his legs. Divination showed that it was the doing of the KEntamasu, which was exercising its kunu upon

/230 cont./

784 the lineage; questioned, this god declared that it had something
787 to complain about in the bad condition of the house which the
776 members of the lineage had erected to it on its order; the roof of leaves had not been changed and it was raining through.

784 It happens also, but as an exception, that the god has
684 sanctioned an offense against morals or more precisely, against the social law, such as the breaking of an interdiction, pikadu (incest in the wider sense, an offense against exogamy). It is necessary to understand that in the thought of the Refugee Blacks, incest unleashes the existing kunu but does not create a new kunu.

In October, 1952, Dolo, a young man of 25 of the
[787] Awara Bakka lo, died almost suddenly. Divination revealed
[761] that he had been killed by the kunu (it was a Papa gadu which
[613] had intervened) in order to sanction an offense committed some time previously by another member of the lo named P.... The latter, a notoriously depraved individual, had committed incest with his own sister.

784 When the divinity has made known through the mouth
776 of its bearer the causes of its act, the assembled members of
782 the lineage implore it, ask it not to pursue its vengeance; the
[787] divinity then requires an offering: for example, if it is a Papa gadu, it will require bottles of beer, some red and white cloth which will be immersed in a given place in the river. It may also require dances in its honor, celebrated by the other possessed people in the village. If it is an Ampuku, it will demand rum, dark-blue cloth which will be exposed in a remote place in the forest. An offering of this kind represents a relatively small sum, even for the Boni (several thousand francs in 1952). The god then declares itself appeased. But it does not pardon and it will resume /231/ its vengeance
[183] at the first cause. Thus the Boni have hope only in a rigorous
776 observance of customary law and the rites. There are divinities
787 which appeared to be thus appeased for a long time and to

/231 cont./

776 which people do not hesitate to come to ask for remedies or
787 opinions, in spite of the evil they have done to the lineage and perhaps will do tomorrow. It is even allowable to wonder whether people do not prefer to consult the most wicked divinities, for they are believed to be stronger.

784 The kunu focuses, turns aside toward high purposes the
771 blind forces of superstition, fear, and rancor. Several authors
114 who have written on the Refugee Blacks have stated that
754 calamities were almost unfailingly attributed to sorcery (wisi). This is a grave error due to the fact that they believed they could transpose to the Refugee Blacks what is observed among the Creole populations of Surinam. If this were true, no
[789] positive social bond could exist. We believe we can assert that among the Refugee Blacks divination lays the blame on sorcery in only scarcely a tenth of the misfortunes. Here,
784 among other examples, are several typical cases concerning
[114] Boni who worked with us or whom we have known especially well:

[753] --In 1948, Fintiman (Dju) falls ill (violent pains in the
[776] legs): kunu of a Kintamanu.

[752] --In 1948, Galmo (Papaïston) is accidentally hurt (gun backfire): kunu.

[753] --In 1949, Diolé, captain of the Dju io, is smitten with
[761] hemiplegia and remains paralyzed. He dies in 1951: kunu
[776] of a Papa gadu.

761 --In 1950, a Saramaka is killed in a hunting accident (a gun in poor condition went off by itself): [illegible] (accident).

[754] --In 1951, Kanayen (Kotika) drowns while sailing at night on the river: wisi.

[754] --In 1951, Loka (Dju) dies at the age of 70: kunu of an
[776] Amyuku.

752 --In 1951, F... (Dju) is seriously hurt by the falling of
754 a branch while cutting his clearing: kunu of a yoka.
775

/231 cont./

761 --In 1952, Dolo (Awara Bakka) dies almost all of a
[784] sudden with the symptoms of peritonitis: kunu, punishment for
[684] incest committed by another member of the lineage.

--In 1952, Maïendo, ten years old, son of Osaya (Awara Bakka) accidentally drowns: natural accident (Sagɔɔku).

[784] --In 1954, Bénitti (Dju) dies at nearly 75 years of age:
[776] kunu of a Papa gadu.

[784] --In 1954, Agyémési (Aw.B.) dies almost all of a sudden:
[754] killed by Odun (he was a wisimɛ).

--In 1955, Tabiki (Awara Bakka) dies at over 80: natural illness.

[784] --In 195 , Kotoida /sic/ (Afi lineage) dies suddenly,
[776] aged about 50: kunu of a yɔɔka.

784 --In 1957, F... (Lapé) is gravely ill with symptoms of
776 typhoid: kunu of a Papa gadu.

[753] --In 1957, Sokodo (Dip. II) dies at 40: kunu of a
[761] Kintamasu.

75 /232/ One observes that in the 15 cases cited here, the kunu
761 interferes ten times, while in three cases natural causes: ill-
784 ness, accident, were assumed.

In reality, the Refugee Blacks do not have the concep-
772 tion of a natural world, subject to known or knowable laws, which is set against a supernatural world. The intervention of a Papa gadu is neither more nor less natural than an illness or an accident. There is only, on the plane of human life, more or less frequent intervention by suprahuman forces.
812 The intervention of these forces is made according to laws which embrace the totality of beings and things, laws which men cannot understand but of which they believe they have a partial and empirical knowledge.

/232 cont./

75 It is important not to confuse the kunu with the sufferings
784 which other divinities can arbitrarily make men undergo. The
776 kunu has a systematic character. But a divinity theoretically beneficent, and which has come into a man after being called on, may also from time to time bring misfortunes if such is its whim of the moment.

752 In 1949, G... (D)u) was busy cooking a crab in the
776 house of his mother D.... A machete which was fastened to
784 the wall suddenly detached itself and wounded him in the right hand. Now his mother had an Ampuku which had imposed
[787] the crab on her as kina. This Ampuku, immediately called
[428] on, revealed that it really was it which had struck G.... for it did not like to see D...'s son eat crab (note that G... was not at all held to the observance of this kina, for no kina is transmitted from mother to son).

784 Neither must the kunu exercised by a yaka be confused
775 with the vengeance that a dead person can exercise against
613 the members of his own lineage in order to punish them for
969 having neglected their duties.

Punishment inflicted by an ancestor of the lineage seems for the Boni to be a notion distinct from that of the kunu. Vengeance exercised by a yaka upon its own lineage is regarded as exceptional and devoid of the inexorable and definitive character of the kunu, but they assume it to be
[962] possible. They cited to us the case of Yali (Loka), who
[953] committed suicide when accused of sorcery by the people
[761] of his lineage. Since then, his yaka has caused sicknesses and deaths in his own village.

776 Conversely, a god which exercises the kunu upon a
784 lineage may in certain cases intervene in favor of this lineage
613 if such is its whim of the moment. Thus the death of Diamanti
[761] (Aw.S.2, Asisi village, † in 1955) is attributed to the god which exercises the kunu on the village of L'Enfant Perdu and whose bearer was Pédchina. Diamanti had wronged someone of this village and the god had intervened against her.

/232 cont./

789 In a general way, they consider that the bearer of a god
784 exercising the kunu has nothing to fear from it personally if he
787 rigorously observes the kina which have been imposed upon
776 him. On the other hand, this god will punish any injury to
[562] its bearer. Thus these bearers (almost always old women) live
[888] surrounded by respect and fear.

784 /233/ Observations in January, 1958 (misfortunes attributed to
769 vengeance of ancestors on their own lineage).

613 Do (Lapé) is taken ill on January 7, 1958 with a violent
75 attack of dysentery. The same day his five-year-old son is grievously hurt at the wharf by falling on a broken bottle.
[787] Alarmed by this coincidence, the members of the Lapé to assemble and proceed to question a possessed person. The latter reveals that it is the doing of an old woman of the lineage, Atala, dead for two years. Several lineage members have already been sick from this; the dead woman wanted to sanction offenses committed by the people of the lineage.

The same day in Bonivile, Klément (Dju), to whom I am recounting this affair, tells me that before the lifting of mourning for his mother Béniti, he and his sisters were sick.
[787] Divination showed that it was the doing of Béniti, who wished to hasten the celebration of the ceremony.

784 The kunu and social peace among the Boni. Role of the grand
775 man. The kunu exercised by a yɔ́ɔka creates very strange re-
613 lations among the Boni lineages. As blind and arbitrary as the
591 vengeance attributed to the yɔ́ɔka may be, the Boni have the sense of the legal unity of the lineage too much for any resentment to exist: "They are killing our family...", and yet the two lineages find themselves henceforth irreparably bound together.
[782] The victims of the kunu can no longer get along without people of the lineage of the yɔ́ɔka which pursues them with its vengeance, since they alone, by their prayers, can appease temporarily the anger of their ancestor. One conceives of the

784 /233 cont./ One conceives of the
795 interminable dimension which this situation entails: if the
613 manifestations of the kuna do not cease, the victims let it be
578 understood that the prayers were badly made.... /Figure 28 appears here./

961 Every suspicious death whose circumstances lead to the
628 belief that /234/ an inhabitant of another village was responsi-
613 ble can bring on a punitive expedition against that village and
784 other villages of the same kin group. By taking this vengeful attitude even before the grand man has been notified and the blamed people heard, the people of the dead person's lineage are thinking above all else of taking precautions against the action of the dead person, who could turn back his vengeance
628 against them. Actually, these fights are above all symbolic; the wisdom of the Refugee Blacks has promulgated precepts which many nations could take as a pattern, in order that these punitive expeditions might not have serious consequences:

--One may strike only with the fists, and blood must not flow;

--Men may strike only men, while the women find fault with women;

--One may fight only on the village common and before witnesses, never in the bush or on the river. As a general rule, the people aimed at by the expedition do not resist, but flee into the bush or on the boats, or group themselves around the frage tiki, holy place which the aggressors must respect.

628 We have told about the expedition made in April, 1957
613 by the people of Asui-Awara Bakka against the villages of L'Enfant Perdu (Dipélu I) and Kormotibo (Dipélu II). Eight years earlier, in 1949, another squabble had thrown the Dipélu against the Awara Bakka after the death of Pénéona (Dip. II), whom her husband Boolo had taken to Surinam and who had died there. The Kormotibo people claimed that Boolo was responsible for her death. They went to attack the people of Asui who, although three times more numerous, did not try

/234 cont./

628 613 to resist and fled to Boniville, where some took refuge in the water, others in the bush. About ten shacks were broken (without great damage), principally kitchens and empty sheds. Only one man could be caught and he received several punches.

The expedition of April, 1957 against the villages of L'Enfant Perdu and Kormotibo did not do much more harm. Only one good house was smashed, that of Akwali (Dip. II, Kormotibo) because its owner, passing by in a boat on the river, insulted the aggressors....

784 613 619 648

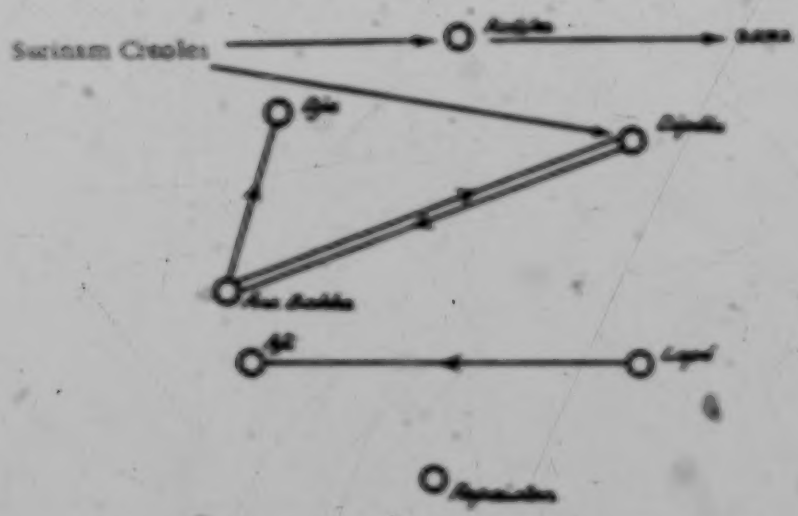

Fig. 28. Schema of the kuru exercised upon one another by the various lineages.

643 /235 cont. /

A few years ago a Kormotibo woman was thus confounded.
775 She had wanted to pretend possession by a yoka in order to
787 blackmail another family.
695

Grand Man Difu recently forbade the bequeathing of gods
784 and yoka exercising the kunu (1). People will wait for them
428
643
[787]

1. Let us recall that the dead are questioned on this subject as for the apportionment of the rest of their heritage.

to manifest themselves of their own accord. That will reduce the risks of preteme.

643 The grand man's lineage does not exercise any kunu upon
613 another lineage, and no kunu is exercised upon it. For the Boni
775 this is a fundamental idea, because the grand man is precisely
784 the supreme recourse in case of persistent calamities attributed to the yoka of a dead person. The grand man has the power to exercise all the dead Boni. If his lineage exercised a kunu or were victim of one, he would be judge and litigant at the same time.

When, with the death of Grand Man Difu, the Dikan lineage is extinct, and when the function passes to another lineage, consideration of the kunu exercised by the lineages upon one another will be determinative in the choice of his successor.

Divination; Premonition; Dreams

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Divination. It plays an essential role among the Refugee Blacks as in all animistic societies. Individuals have recourse to it to inquire all important discussions; in large measure one can say that for them it takes the place of will and conscience.

754 /238 cont./ The struggle against
781 wisi is one of the foundations of their social life. protection against the undertakings of the wisimã one of the most constant worries of each person. Nobody knows these wisimã with certainty; one is reduced to vague suspicions of this or that person, which one dares not formulate for lack of proof. No one knows exactly how they operate. Yet each one feels their enterprises everywhere about him, and those who by reason of their wealth or successes with women have the most reason to believe themselves exposed to jealousy live in anxiety.

754 Intense jealousy or hate are already a form of wisi, and
[828] this is why each one must try to drive them out of his heart;
[984] besides, he would risk falling ill or being subject to all sorts of calamities for having broken his oath. But the wisimã employs explicit procedures:

--Burying a bottle (beli bata) containing sorcery under his enemy's door. When the latter comes home, the sorcery will
[751] penetrate into him. So some Refugee Blacks carry a special zbia against this kind of aggression: thanks to this zbia, they will feel a sharp pain in the tip of the foot when approaching the bottle, which they will thus uncover easily.

754 --Kisi akkaa, stealing the akka of the enemy. The latter
794 then becomes mad. The Boni believe that the wisimã operates at night, taking advantage of the fact that the enemy's akka has left his body to wander. He captures it by attracting it with what it likes. For that, one must know the name of his enemy's akka, know its tastes and preferences; all things which each Refugee Black will carefully hide, even from his comrades. What the wisimã does with the akka was not clear to any of our informants. He tries either to capture it in order to deprive his enemy of it, or to make it hostile to its bearer, or to inspire it with abnormal ideas or tastes. If someone manifests an abnormal change /239/ in tastes or behavior, people will be inclined to think that a wisimã was able to act upon his akka.

754 /240 cont./
775
787 will be obliged to confess: "It is I who killed So-and-So and
So-and-So." They immediately inform the grand man, who
754 orders the usual procedure against wisimã: Ceremonies are
766 suspended, the body is transported by boat to a place reserved for cursed people, downstream from Boni country, and it is abandoned in the bush without being buried. Grand Man Difu is trying to modify this custom and to compel burial of wisimã in a special cemetery, but without great success up to now, it seems.

754 There is no broko dɛ. The spouse may remarry immediate-
765 ly. Since the property of the deceased are presumed to be ill-
768 gotten, inheritance is cancelled. The house is destroyed and thrown into the water, the boat abandoned to the current. Personal belongings of the deceased are turned over to the grand man who distributes them to whom he wishes.

The near relatives of persons thus designated are overcome with shame but can say nothing. Not a bit of responsibility is imputed to them.

754 How does society protect itself against the sorcery of the
775 wisimã from beyond the grave? According to Grand Man Difu,
784 this is a problem which does not come up. The wisimã has been killed by Odun as punishment for his crimes. Since every being draws its force from the divine, he has no more force, he is destroyed as a being, he is no longer anything but an empty shadow incapable of doing harm.

754 In fact, among the Refugee Blacks these trials of dead
775 people are very rare. Whereas about 15 persons die per year
782 on the average in Boni country, including about ten adults,
[165] in the last 20 years (1) only about 20 persons were revealed to be wisimã.

1. Disregarding the period 1957-1959 when a definite fresh outbreak of the fear of wisimã was observed.

/242 cont./

754 Of course he was recognized as a wisimã by the first
764 adjuration made to his body carried in the papay on the heads
787 of two men: "If thou art a wisi man, do not come toward us."
The dead man drew back.

[784] /243/Continuation of the interrogation showed that he had not yet killed anybody, but that he had been killed by Odun when he was preparing to kill someone of his lineage.

754 The persecutors of Agyémési, contrary to their hope, did not recover after his death from the maladies which they were attributing to his sorcery; that did not shake their conviction in
755 the least. They left for Paramaribo to have themselves treated
648 by a Creole magician (for the Surinam Creoles, who practice white magic and black magic indiscriminately, are by this fact reputed to be more expert than the Refugee Blacks in combating the effects of wisi).

754 In recounting this story to us, the grand man told us that it is always necessary to be cautious with accusations of wisi,
[762] because one can never be sure. A man unjustly accused can
[784] commit suicide and pursue his accusers with his kunu (most of the Boni state that they would do so in such a case). In former
173 times, the barbarous punishments in use in Africa were applied
683 to revealed wisimã: they were burned alive. But people tell
784 that one of them, some months afterward, undertook against his accusers' lineage a kunu which still lasts today. He had been wrongly condemned! It is through fear of the kunu more than
[178] through care for humanity, that these punishments have been abolished.

754 It certainly seems that the constant fear of the wisimã in
[152] which the Boni live is only a collective hallucination, and that rare indeed are those who dare to indulge in practices which might draw upon them such terrible social and religious sanctions. As for these practices themselves, they appear to be without any real content, and the misfortunes attributed to them are

/243 cont. /

754 [683] only commonplace illnesses or accidents of some sort. We have never heard poisoning, in the usual sense of the term, mentioned.

754 695 182 The wisimã trials are in our opinion the most unpleasant aspect of the civilization of the Refugee Blacks. But it must be admitted that they correspond to profound necessities. These archaic societies need an obvious materialization of the principles they have given themselves. Since evil exists, opposing itself to good, the practices of wisi and wisimã exist, and the punishment of evildoers is indispensable for the society to remain subject to the law of good.

[984] By its notion of the kunu which turns aside toward the gods the responsibility for most misfortunes, by the extreme rarity of wisimã trials, by the prudence of its judiciary action which in point of fact pursues only the dead, the society of the Refugee Blacks shows itself humane and realistic.

If one undertook with the Refugee Blacks definite action to make these practices disappear, one would risk obscuring their notion of good and evil and removing all efficacy from their customary law.

[183] The social order of the Refugee Blacks cannot be maintained if the interdiction of harming anyone and the interdiction of vengeance do not remain clearly laid down. It matters little that these acts of sorcery are without real content: It is the intention to harm which counts, with all its social and psychological consequences.

171 177 182 754 When one observes the Creole populations of the Guianas and the West Indies, even though /244/ they have been under the influence of Christianity for several centuries, one is struck by the development of sorcery and by its repercussions on the whole of social life. The teaching received at school and from the catechism, which embraces white magic and black magic in a single reprobation, has greatly contributed toward making these populations lose the principles of social morals of their ancestors without in exchange modifying their

/244 cont./

754 695 571 In 1956, a Boniville woman, N...., was convicted of having paid a Creole quimboiseur to make the grand man die. She confessed, a rare thing in this kind of case, and the materiality of the facts did not appear doubtful. The Boni were strongly impressed by this unprecedented event, and for several weeks the members of the lineage concerned were in such agitation that one could have believed they had lost their reason. In Boniville they "held court" continually for nearly two months, and they discussed so much that farm work was neglected and part of the rice crop lost.

754 695 683 [648] What were they going to do with this woman? The laws of Odun forbade killing her, no more could she be expelled. The Boni made discreet overtures to the administration to find out whether it was not possible to have her imprisoned. They were surprised to learn that French law does not recognize the offense of sorcery. Somebody then proposed having her admitted as a servant at the leprosarium of the Acarouani on the /245/ coast. This suggestion produced a surprising result; the Boni were unanimous in thinking that making someone who was not a leper live in a leprosarium was a punishment worse than death, and they resolved to pardon her.

How does one go about it, since the laws of Odun do not permit pardoning a wisimi? Nobody could give us a satisfactory justification on this, but in 1959 A...., the preceding year spurned and maltreated, had taken up normal living again in her village.

754 761 784 In fact, a case of wisi is terminated only upon the death of the person concerned. If a man who has been accused of wisi during his lifetime dies accidentally, or is struck by a fulminating sickness, the fact that he has been chastised by Odun appears as incontestable proof. The case is fixed in the memory of the group in a specific form and will be given as an example to inspire respect for customary law.

754 181 178 [182]

/346 cont./
of his near relatives, his sister's children being regarded as the victims most pleasing to the demon.

Although in former times one to two out of ten deaths were attributed to wisi, in 1957 and 1958 out of 14 adult deaths of which we could obtain the explanation, there were:

[184] --Four wisimã killed by Odun, including two women of over 85 who during their lifetime had never been the object of unfavorable notice;

[24] --One death by the action of a wisimã,
or a total of more than a third of the deaths; out of the nine others, two were looked upon as natural deaths (dead of old age), seven were attributed to the kunu.

754 648

The Refugee Blacks and Creole magic. Some of them go to get from the lukumã what their own social morals forbid: vengeance or success acquired at the expense of other people. They have uttered an oath that prohibits the practice of wisi: for most of them it is clear that if they paid a piayeur /magician, sorcerer/ to harm someone, it would be the same as if they performed the sorcery themselves. But others make a mental reservation on this point.

754 755 648

In 1951, G.... of the Kotika lo, then about 20 years old, felt ill while staying at Saint Laurent. He went to find a Creole maltif (clairvoyant) who presented him with a mirror, announcing to him that he was going to see in it the face of the one who had piayé /bewitched, cast a spell on/ him. G... saw nothing in the mirror. The maltif was not upset at this and revealed to him that the piayeur must be someone in his wife's family. G... then recalled a dispute he had had some time previously with one of his wife's brothers and let himself be convinced: since that day he has not gotten along with his brother-in-law.

/252 cont./

789 The one who instalis a kĩndu utters the formula: mi poti yu ya. Kfu a sama kɔm fu fufu mi sani, yu mu siki ɛn (I put thee here; if someone comes to steal my belongings, thou must make him sick).

• [784] If someone goes beyond [1] and commits a theft, he will be struck sooner or later with various sicknesses.

According to the conception of the Refugee Blacks, the kĩndu is blind and strikes as well the friend who came to take objects because he received previous authorization to do it. So, many forego placing kĩndu, as with us, people hesitate to set wolf-traps for fear of causing accidents.

789 789 784 428 However, the kĩndu does not act upon the people who have the same basic interdiction (bwasi kina) as the one who placed it. This conception shows that these interdictions transmitted from father to children really are the mark of true patrilineages.

694 789 789 754 In fact, we have ascertained several times, there are burglaries in Boni country in spite of the kĩndu and people do not succeed in uncovering the burglars; it is infinitely probable that one must not see in this the stamp of freethinkers who do not believe in sorcery; these are people who have obtained from a wuimã a talisman of black magic stronger than the kĩndu! At least this is the explanation their victims give.

789 789 751 One can lift a kĩndu on behalf of any man, whom one wants, for example, to send to get an object which one has forgotten; for that it is sufficient to give him mula: one blows into one's hands and lays them on the man's head, saying: mi puu a kĩndu gi yu a 'ã mu du a sani ɔga yu: I withdraw the kĩndu for thee, it must not do anything to thee. /253/

Mula can be given retroactively: If someone perceives that he has inadvertently incurred the chastisement of a kĩndu, he has several days to be able to ask for mula from the owner, for the action of the kĩndu is slow.

/253 cont./

751 417 (824) Tyifunga (1). This is the name of the magic enclosures made of thorn /"tongues"/ of piaut palm, pina tingo, attached to a string, with which on certain occasions a village is completely surrounded. These enclosures are thought to bar the passage of the evil spirits of the bush (taku uni); they are put up especially in the case of an epidemic, as well as before the great festivals which attract a crowd of persons among whom winimi can slip in. After putting the enclosure in place, people arrange themselves in a line at one end of the village and move along slowly so as to sweep its whole surface, firing guns, making all the noise possible by striking metallic objects and striking the ground with reeds to expel the evil spirits. This is what is called naki tyifunga. The elders repeat the formula: "U naki tyifunga fu ani ta: mu ku a an (We strike tyifunga so that the evil (spirits) may not be able to come to earth)."

789

751 417 The magic fence is then left in place until it is rotten.

753 76 Beliefs about leprosy. Lepers are buried at the limits of the cemetery, but they are not considered cursed, and mourning for them is carried out normally.

753 784 /254/ They take for granted that if someone is attacked by leprosy, it is because he has "broken" his bwasi kina. They think that an enemy can, because of ill will, hide a bit of the forbidden fare in the food. This is why the Boni do not willingly tell one another their interdictions.

1. They also use the word aziig, borrowed from the Fon of Dahomey.

/254 cont./

784 If someone realizes that he has broken his kina, he goes
752 to see, not an Shiaman, but the specialist-healer of leprosy
751 and asks him to treat him by way of prevention.

411 Beliefs about guns and hunting. The gun, which entered the
832 everyday life of the Refugee Blacks two centuries ago, has taken
177 an important place in their magic. It is the symbol of virility.
558 A Refugee Black who no longer has a gun is a man humiliated and almost dishonored. As one of them explained to us in begging us to help him replace his old gun eaten by rust: "If you cannot present yourself before the women with a machete, hunting bag on your shoulder, and gun in your hand, you are not a man."

411 This idea has been transposed onto the plane of magic
754 and they take for granted that the wisimi can, by putting evil spells on a gun, attack the owner of the weapon in his virility. It is supposed to be enough for someone to put his finger into the barrel of the gun while uttering a formula of vengeance, or even being moved by hate for the owner of the weapon, for this gun to be no longer capable of hitting the mark. So, to avoid these misfortunes, the Boni never part with their guns and never lend them to anyone. If, in spite of these precautions, they
411 989 have the impression that a gun no longer fires so well, they will go to an Shiaman to have it washed of maleficent influence. There exist for that purpose several remedies all of which consist of soaking the gun for one to three days in infusions of leaves, which has the unfailing result of making it rust. We have seen a hammerless, latest model gun spoiled thus by an intelligent Boni head boatman, a clever mechanic and usually full of good sense.

224 We have never witnessed among the Boni any individual or collective hunting rites claiming to attract game or to promote meeting it (when, on the contrary, hunting prayes are extremely widespread among the Creoles).

752 834 [171] /2b3 cont./
Maman who treats a wound made by a firearm to observe chastity during the whole duration of the treatment. It is for this reason that the Boni hesitate to have gunshot wounds cared for in hospitals.

784 [262] Kina. The interdictions of the Refugee Blacks generally have to do with food. There are five categories of them to our knowledge:

[753] --Bwasi kina, basic kina, mark of patrilineages, the breaking of which gives leprosy;

--Akka kina, often called gadu kina, established by divination and believed to be imposed by the akka;

--Gadu kina, mark of poussion by a divinity;

--Obia kina, interdiction attached to each object involving a magic power, and which must be observed for this power to last;

--Finally, local kina, particularly the kina de, days of rest, going back to the idea of the day of rest of the local divinity. They observe, for example, that the Mana River has a kina de on Sunday. The Saramaka observe it strictly. The Boni we took on the Mana in 1949 went to find out from the Saramaka, and asked us to stop navigation on Sunday, [648] for this kina was very urgent. It is noteworthy however that the Boni bow in such circumstances before the will of the European, as with respect to their own kina de of Friday; in effect they are assuming that if they are ordered to be on duty, it is the European alone who bears the responsibility for breaking the kina.

[428] [104] [613] It is possible that the kina alluded to by Mr. W. F. Van Lier and which, among the Djuka, would be imposed on a whole matrilineage are also local kina; in any case no kina is transmissible through the mother, all the Refugee Blacks are explicit on that point.

/255 cont./

784 242 A... of the Dyö lo, about 28 years old in 1956, must observe six kina:

--The cayman and the jaguar as bwasi kina.

--The otter (yundu) as akka kina. /256/

These three kina have been imposed on him since his first years, but the meaning of them was explained to him only later on.

[751] --The eel (mãnui) was imposed on him as a kina by his father when the latter gave him a man nõnge ɔbia. ɔbia of protection against machete or gun, materialized by an iron bracelet.

[841] [834] To this ɔbia is attached another kina. A... must not speak to a woman having her menstrual period.

[751] [789] --Finally, the crab (kaabu), kina attached to an ɔbia of which the man concerned only spoke with reticence, probably a Kumãnti bui (bracelet of Kumãnti, instrument of divination).

A... has no gadu kina in the strict sense of the term.

There exists no food kina common to all the Boni; the cayman is generally forbidden to them as bwasi kina, associated with another animal; but this is not absolute; we know at least one Boni who has not received this kina.

If someone has broken a kina inadvertently, he can have himself cleansed of this offense by ɔbiaman. But if he broke it willfully, he cannot escape the punishment attached to the offense.

845 ?21 Beliefs about twins. They have the idea that twins and children who follow twins are of a nature different from other men, participating in a divine principle.

[755] Twins cannot live (since they do not belong to ordinary humanity) if they are not treated with a special remedy known only to certain lineages especially rich in twins.

845 /857/
782
751 This worship is celebrated each time there is occasion to protect newborn babies. They are washed with a certain decoction of leaves.

845 Every four or five years on the average a big dance takes
535 place, then the father and mother of twins and the twins
751 themselves are washed in order to maintain their powers and keep them in good health.

[784] If these dances are not held, dead twins will show their
[753] anger by making living twins and parents of twins sick.

845 Lineages that do not have twins do not practice these
613 rites. If twins are born to them, they will apply at the place
798 of worship of another lineage.

Papalinton and Lapé have this cult particularly highly developed.

842 Tyne pikin. It is assumed that a woman may be made pregnant
796 by a river god, either a Papa gadu snake god or by the Wata Iyan, which look like Indians. Children thus conceived are called tyne pikin.

A ..., of Papalinton, had cut a clearing opposite a remarkable white rock called Weti sèb, where she used to moor her boat. She had not had any children for several years and she became pregnant. When her daughter was born a
[787] possessed person revealed that she was born of a Papa gadu
[788] snake god which lived there: since then her parents /relatives/
[782] go regularly to this rock to make offerings.

About 1910 Alama (Kormotibo) had followed her husband to a shipyard on the lower river; one day while walking in the forest she met an Indian having the appearance of a Galibi Indian, who was carrying a newborn baby. She stopped and admired the baby. The Indian said to her: "Do you wish to raise him?" She acquiesced. He said: "We shall see each other again"; then he went away so quickly that she had the impression that he had disappeared on the spot.

241 /259 cont./
776 Cult of Mama gɔ̃. Mama gɔ̃, mother of the earth, is repre-
[532] sented by a crude statue of white clay provided with enormous
[531] breasts, symbol of fecundity, which can be seen in a little
[778] hut situated on the open place of Boniville village. Each
243 year, when the time for cutting the clearings approaches, the
[782] grand man, surrounded by many other people, prays to the
god to grant fertility to the plantings. If rain does not fall,
an offering of water and tafia is made and the statue is sprinkled.

811 The Boni do not appear to associate the idea of women's
fecundity with that of the fertility of the soil, and we have
not heard anyone say that the grand man prays on this subject.

241 Neither do they appear to have a very clear idea about
776 the relationships of this worship with that of the gɔ̃ gadu,
local gods of the soil.

776 Every three years a great procession dance takes place
535 in Boniville on January 1, /260/ in which the Papa gadu gods
787 dance in front of the sanctuary of Mama gɔ̃. We have not
been able to obtain specific information on the meaning of
this rite.

241 Cult of the gɔ̃ gadu. It is assumed that every portion of land
776 is under the sway of a local god, gɔ̃ gadu. Its power is
[784] limited only by the fertility of the soil, and he who neglects
its worship cannot be attacked in his person or in his goods,
but only punished by a poor harvest.

What is the nature of these gods, what is their place in
the cosmogony? These are questions which not one of our
informants had ever asked himself. In their minds, gɔ̃ gadu
has a de facto existence, and is rendered de facto worship.
This worship consists essentially of:

[782] --Offerings made at the moment of planting;
[527] --The observance of a local day of rest, kina dɛ,
corresponding to the god's day of rest.

/261 cont./

241 neglecting these rites. Their rigorous observance has the effect of preventing farming from becoming for them a commercial activity and of keeping a religious and family feeling in it.

824 --The Ɔɔlu (silk-cotton tree) is a much feared tree,
798 for according to the elders each one of them shelters 12 cate-
784 gories of divinities, especially a Papa gadu and an Ampuku.
[796] So it is absolutely impossible to cut it. One must even be very careful not to injure its roots which spread far. The size of every one felled is preserved. Likewise people watch carefully so as not to injure the roots of the big silk-cotton trees often found in the villages.

825 Still, the fact that their site was chosen for setting up
778 a village shows that people believe they can make an alliance
776 with the divinities which reside in a silk-cotton tree and draw
341 their protection upon themselves.

824 --The ɛɛtu tree (Bombax Surinamiensis), tree of very
798 large size, living in symbiosis with a parasitic liana which
784 appears to enclose it in a gigantic net, also shelters maleficent
[796] divinities (Ampuku, Papa gadu, Bumba gadu). One may cut it down after performing rites whose purpose is to transfer these divinities into another tree.

First, one must have procured from a man who possesses this remedy a pot of ɛbia containing an infusion of leaves in the middle of which is a bracelet of fibers. /262/ It costs
[835] two liters of tafia, four liters of beverage (beer for example), one large piece of cloth, and one machete.

Having arrived at the foot of the tree, one bathes his body and machete with this infusion; one puts the fiber bracelet on one's arm. One also bathes several small sticks provided
[822] with squares of white cloth (for the Papa gadu), dark blue and red (for the Ampuku), and a pinot palm (pina tɛɛgo) leaf.

One plants the sticks at the foot of the tree, one strikes the trunk with the palm leaf while invoking the divinities of

/282 cont./

the tree: "Ala sani di ɔ̃ na a udu ya, da mu kumɔto, beka mi ɔ faa ɛ̃y. Kɔm na a pina tɔ̃ngo: All things (suprahuman entities) who are in this tree, leave it, for I am going to throw it to the ground; come into this palm leaf." One takes away the palm leaf and the little flags far from there into the interior of the lands, to a spot where nobody is likely to come to fell trees, and one arranges them beside some big tree. The divinities will come and settle there. Nevertheless, it is still necessary to wait almost a month to cut the kanu tree, probably to leave the maleficent influences time to dissipate.

The Boni are so afraid of this tree that many of them, deeming these precautions insufficient, give up the idea of cutting it down and go to establish their clearings elsewhere. The Creole gold miners of the Haut Maroni, who call it cottonwood, also attribute a maleficent influence to it and some of them do not cut it.

The Refugee Blacks fear also, but to a lesser degree, what they call kɔtkɔti, that is, the small trees of any species which, instead of having grown straight, have two angles in their trunk like a Z. This is a very rare anomaly. In such a shrub is hidden a maleficent entity, taku sani, capable, if a man cut the trunk unintentionally, to take revenge on him by paralyzing a limb or even the whole body in a bent position. In order to see whether or not the entity is present in the shrub, there exists, according to the Boni, a very simple means: one gently brings the finger near the bent part. If he feels his finger held there to the point where he has trouble drawing it back, the genie is present! The power of autosuggestion characteristic of the Refugee Blacks shows itself clearly here.

Rites exist for rendering the kɔtkɔti harmless, for cutting them with impunity, and even for using them in magic preparations, but we do not know the details. Kɔtkɔti are among the objects usually found in the chapels (ɔbia ɔsu) of Kumɛ̃nti; we have even happened to see one used to fasten a

/262 cont./

824 door; it was a particularly feared akodu that no thief would
978 have dared to remove.

825 --The Kintamasu are the divinities, especially maleficent
878 and hostile to men, who live in the termitaries (these are
[776] termites proper, who make their nest in the earth, and not wood lice, much more common). There is one to each termitary.

[781] After a meticulous examination of the soil of the clearing, one marks all the termitaries /263/ and sprinkles each of them with a preparation containing leaves, pink clay kukusu, and manioc juice. One adjures the genie to go away, no matter where.

It happens that in spite of all the precautions taken a
[789] termitary is forgotten. Then, several days later, one will
[784] have the consternation of seeing the Kintamasu reveal itself in someone of the lineage; it announces that it is going to
[782] exercise its kunu (curse). It is temporarily appeased by offerings of tafia, various drinks, red cloth.

776 The Kintamasu call themselves the Akako. Through
198 the mouth of their bearers they speak a language nobody under-
787 stands. However, when they wish to be understood by those present they speak Kumanti.

755 Observation in Boniville, January, 1957:
784 A...., boatman of the border-fixing mission, asks for three days off. His wife, Masauman, has been ill for several days; divination (in this particular case the gita of a female relative in his lineage) showed that it was the doing of a Kintamasu injured in the burning of the clearing which he himself, A...., cut for his wife in October. The Kintamasu has not yet manifested itself directly, but a kunu threatens; to appease it he must put in action the remedy known only
000 to M...., an old man of Asisi. He will go to the spot, following

/271 cont./

539 Anansi said: "Brother deer, go over there; you will find a trident I use for hunting; pull it out of the ground." The deer came back saying: "It is done." He showed him another trident which he himself had brought and hidden. Then Anansi said (to the genie): "Throw me to see." He threw him to the summit of the trees. He fell back on the trident. The deer knocked him down with a club, cut out his liver, and took it to Wénon. He said to Wénon: "Anansi and I killed a tiger. He stayed to smoke it. He sent the liver for you to cook." She prepared the liver and boiled rice. They ate to the last mouthful. Then the deer said: "All livers are good but Anansi's liver is the best." Wénon grabbed a pestle to strike him, but he was already far away.

3) Anansi and the Magic Frying-Pan

(One day) Anansi went exploring in the bush, comrades. He went into the bush one day, until... he was hungry. And now he saw a frying-pan hooked in the air. He went near, he said: "Frying-pan, why art thou beautiful thus?" It said: "I am beautiful, but I am not beautiful for nothing." He said: "Let me see." It began to fry all sorts of things, fritters, meat. He said: "Put that down on the ground in front of me." It put them before him. Then Anansi ate, he ate until... his belly was full. He said: "Frying-pan, I beg of thee, stop." It stopped, ghan! He said: "What kina dost thou have, in truth(1)?" It said: "It is the lemon, lemon juice, and the

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1. Let us remember that in the minds of the Refugee Blacks, to the exercise of any magic power corresponds a kina (interdiction).

/202 cont./

153 --Pupils are taught, individually or collectively, to dance
791 in the manner of the god. Indeed, each divinity has a charac-
789 teristic form of dance, which it executes sometimes by using
796 the bodies of its heaven when it comes into them. The pupil
535 must imitate as best he can the individual movements and the
[368] rhythm of this dance, while the teacher, using the appropriate drum, beats out the calling formulas.

If the god is satisfied with the student, he will be able to come into him.

791 These exercises appear to have as their goal the creation
789 in the pupils of forms of conditioned reflexes; they have nothing
785 in common with the very harsh ordeals which the medicine man
153 of the Guiana Indians imposes upon himself, and do not involve any form of asceticism. It does not seem that chastity, even temporary, is demanded of the student, any more than fasting or doing anything contrary to his inclinations.

789 The idea of a spiritual death and resurrection of the
791 possessed person, with all the ritual it entails: long reclusion of the neophytes, change of name of the one possessed, who is supposed to relearn all the activities of ordinary life, does not appear to have been kept by the Refugee Blacks. In a general
[152] way, the atmosphere of solemn seriousness, /203/ of secrecy, and of fear, which characterize the Dahomey cults of possession is not found among them.

791 These lessons are always paid for and are even very
789 expensive. Payment is made in pieces of cloth, in demijohns
435 of tafia.
[436] Having a Kumenti amounted in 1958 to at least 25,000 francs. This payment is not only compensation for the teacher; it is the mark of legitimacy. What has not been paid for is not,
[181] for the Refugee Blacks, legitimately acquired. We shall come back to this important point later.

2:Kâhn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

the age of about thirty-five. Another motive for separation is 586
a husband's inadequacy as a hunter, fisher, and provider. Or the woman may simply be bored with him and like some other man better. The husband is liable to be teased a bit by his friends, but after a few days he forgets and marries again.

Open licentiousness or sexual suggestiveness is never seen §34
in public. The personal modesty of the Djukas has already been noted. Exposure of themselves, or public intercourse, such as is common in some tribes in Africa, never occurs. After the dances, for instance, no open promiscuousness occurred. There is one orgiastic dance known as the *ogalusa,* [786 535]
which means "mating like loose hogs."

Two aphrodisiacs are used liberally by the natives. One is §32
prepared by infusing the bark of a bush vine called *debbil dour* with water or weak alcohol. The liquid when drunk is supposed to give an erection of several hours' duration. Some of it was brought back by the expedition and tried on laboratory animals, with no effect. It is well known, however, that witch doctors will substitute other roots or herbs when giving their medicines to white men.

Another aphrodisiac that we found used among the Aucaners is the seed of the mucca-mucca plant, which grows on the banks of most of the rivers of the colonies. The seed is mashed into fragments and then inserted into the urethra. This acts as a tremendous irritant and is supposed to bring about erections of long duration. If used frequently, a persistent and disagreeable type of urethritis is produced.

At the hospital near the mines of the Surinam Bauxite

/21 cont./

955 When he lies as though dead, except only that his eyes sparkle and are completely turned in their sockets, at which time one frequently sees only the white and red, and he moves his chest panting for breath, then he is carefully brought to the place where the Cromantie gado is put, and where questions are put to him concerning the sickness which one wishes to cure, and where the sick person himself or, in the latter's absence, some of his most recently worn garments, must be.

These questions are put with a great deal of solemnity, and answered by /22/ the person lying there. Very frequently the very strange herbs named on this occasion had favorable results.

When they proceed to such cases, the sufferer is obligated, so long as he is not cured, to continue to use the medicines indicated, which frequently had the result that after all the sick person did finally recuperate after long suffering.

If he in the least way neglects the remedies indicated on this occasion, he may often count on it that for him there is no more help, because he has recklessly called on the Cromantie gado for recovery, without the requisite reverence and observance of the prescriptions.

However this matter may be regarded, it is certainly true that they firmly believe the desired outcome will not fail so long as one does not circumvent or neglect the prescriptions in any way.

It sometimes happens that someone, after his recovery, abstains for his whole life from something or other which was
953 ordered for his recovery. Many assert that the leprosy which they contract is to be ascribed to not paying attention to what was forbidden them or their parents.

786 Almost all Bush Negroes have wentie or excitations of the African idolatrous dance-madness, which one must see in order to be able to believe and understand it. They can frequently dance fully five minutes at a stretch in a hot fire, unclothed and barefoot, without burning themselves in the least and without any sign of singeing to be seen on them.

765 /184 cont./
[202] "You who with obia so that the machete will not cut you, so that the broken glass will not wound you, what are you waiting for? You remain seated, are you afraid?"

765 At these words, several of those present stand up and
●786 begin to dance, seeking the trance of possession. Some run
787 into the village and come back running, carrying banana-tree stalks. Others drag thorny spathes of awara; two brandish an old, demolished boat.

The drum furiously beats the rhythm of Kumenti. Part of the dancers, taken hold of by a furious delirium, jump and
[824] prance about. Certain ones take thorny spathes of awara (2)

2. Thorny palm (astrocaryum vulgare) whose sharp thorns nearly 10 centimeters long are particularly formidable. It is impossible to pick up an awara spathe with bare hands without hurting oneself.

under the arm or pass them around the neck.

Part of those present are taken hold of in their turn by trances, including people of mature age and serious character like Fintiman, who is carried off in a faint.

Two possessed people, a man (Ernest, Kotika) and a woman (Awini, Boniville), smeared with pemba, are subject to extraordinary contortions. Ernest breaks a bottle over his head with such force that the pieces fly several meters. Both /185/ dance on their knees for an appreciable length of time (but the next day Awini will come to have herself cared for). Those present manifest frenzied joy.

765 About five o'clock the sange dance begins. Three apinti
535 drums are placed at the west wall of the shed. The orchestra
534 is completed by an old overturned boat which seven to eight men strike with sticks.

/206 cont./

776 787 [184] The Kumēnti. These gods are common to the Saramaka (Kromenti) (1), Djuka, and Boni. The Kumēnti are considered

[174]

1. There is no doubt about the origin of this word; it is a deformation of Coromantin, name given in the 18th century to Ashanti country. The "Coromantin Negroes," reputed to be particularly intractable, played a large role in the slave revolts. The Kumenti cult of possession must originally have been a cult peculiar to the Coromantin nation.

to be benevolent gods and friends of men, so their possession is very much desired. They do not come into men spontaneously, they are obtained only by applying to a teacher. In principle [562] only men can obtain Kumēnti, while on the other hand only women can have Bŭnzunki /sic/.

776 787 751 The Kumēnti are specialized in protection against fire and against machete and gun wounds. These dangers hold the largest place among the anxieties of the Refugee Blacks, who spend almost all their life in the bush and with whom nearly [789] all sores become infected and have serious consequences. Thus the Kumēnti cult holds an important place in their magic; even someone who is not possessed will try to obtain from these gods an ɔbia that will protect him from these various dangers.

153 791 787 786 [533] [534] The instruction of the disciples of these gods takes as its pattern the procedures described above, but the collective dances appear to play an essential part. The teacher calls on the gods by beating a special rhythm on ordinary drums (apinti) and by uttering invocations punctuated by the rattle of the saka (Indian maraka, that is, hollow calabash provided with a handle and containing seeds).

/206 cont./

153 containing seeds). Sometimes, when a god has entered a pupil,
791 the teacher puts the latter's passivity to the test by insulting the
787 god with the help of the drum. The Kumẽnti gets angry, breaks
786 bottles and swallows ground glass, walks in the fire, hits him-
[789] self with machete blows, all without any wound resulting, they say, on the body of its bearer.

[302] These frenzied dances, whose participants completely covered with pɛmba (white clay) are as if hallucinated, have a bizarre aspect which is perceptible to some of the Boni themselves. They do not have any secret character and constitute,
[522] on the contrary, a fine spectacle for the village people. The spectators double up with laughter at the contortions and strange
[521] actions which the gods inspire in those possessed. They are talked about at length /207/ afterward in the evenings, humorists imitating what they saw done there, without any fear whatever of irritating the gods.

791 Each "teacher for Kumẽnti" owns a small gadu ɔsu in
787 which are lined up the implements of the cult. One finds in
346 general in these chapels a post crudely carved in the shape of a human bust, a block of stone, jaguar skulls, some kɔkɔti (shrub stalks with a spontaneous double bend, thought to be the prop of spirits in the bush), and a saka (maráka), the whole sprinkled with white clay (pɛmba). One finds also beside the door a seat and a trough which are used for the ablutions of the pupils.

153 While bathing his body with the infusion of leaves pre-
791 pared by the teacher, the neophyte repeats, in ordinary language,
787 a series of invocations: "Come to me, enter into me. But be-
788 fore entering into me, it is necessary to teach me the things of thy country; O God, when thou art in me, may I be able to dance on broken glass without its cutting me; may I be able to dance in fire without its burning me. If tomorrow someone takes a machete to hurt me, he shall not be able to come forward. If someone takes a gun to shoot me, (his weapon) must break, must not be able to take off. If someone is sick, make an ɔbia for him, he must recover."

764 hurried us toward the river and had quite got away from us as we came to the principal shrine of the village at the head of the path. As we started down the hill to the river an elder of Gankwe stopped us with an imperative, "You must not go."

Very loud and very fast the drums now sounded—it was [876] the rhythm to Kediampo, the Sky God—and a moment later the grave diggers appeared. They came not by the usual way and not under the spiritual guard, but along an overgrown side path. There were ten or twelve men, five of them muddied from their labors, carrying drums and cutlasses, the others, villagers who had awaited them. The men who had been digging wore green parrot's feathers in their hair, and they walked briskly and silently in single file to the house of mourning. There was a great stillness along the path of the diggers. The children had disappeared and the women sought shelter in their own doorways. Stools were not offered us—there was serious business at hand.

All the men in the village had gathered here; they stood in a semicircle about the front of the open shelter. The old woman slowly arose and, taking a small strip of white cloth, passed it once along each side of the coffin and once over the back as though she were ceremonially cleansing it. Four of the earth-stained young men now took up the coffin, lifting it from the bier and placing it on the ground in front of the house, raising and lowering it three times before it was finally set down. A fifth brought out two pads of green leaves, and two of the bearers put these on their heads. The questioning was about to begin.

764 787 As they raised the coffin with the putrifying body within it on their heads, their muscles stiffened. With eyes half glazed, and expressionless faces, they seemed there but to do the bidding of the spirit of the dead man whose body they supported. They swayed forward and back, from side to side, without moving their feet, and the coffin swayed with their swaying. And then they began to advance, slowly at first, but after a few steps briskly, to a

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group of three elders who stood to the left of the death house. Three times they advanced, and three times retreated, and each time as they reached the three men, one of the elders would put up his hand, touch the end of the wooden box, and the bearers would retreat.

Sedefo took his place with the three and asked a question. The coffin advanced, retreated. Sedefo spoke again; what he said we could not hear, for his voice was so low that it reached us as a murmur. The response to the second question was disquieting; the men retreated without moving toward the questioner, step by step they moved slowly backward in a circle before us, and then, without any hesitation, they started on a run into the village along the path to our left. Two of the grave diggers followed them, for when the dead speaks, his replies to the questions asked him must be interpreted and attested.

Serious consequences may follow the expression of fact exposed by the dead. Repeated visits to a given house will point the finger of suspicion to the one who lives there, and a heavy fine at best, or expulsion from the village to certain death in the unprotecting bush at the worst, may be his fate. Supernatural forces are beyond control; here some man's destiny was being sealed by the automatic movements of two others under the hypnotizing influence of the spirit of the dead. Back came the coffin and the questioning was resumed. This time the man who took up the inquiry stood upwind, and we could hear his low voice.

"Did a white man slay you?" he asked. We watched anxiously. What if the answer should be that our coming to the bush had brought death in its train? But the bearers retreated when they came where the questioner was standing.

"Did someone at Gansee slay you?" Again the advance, and the backward steps to the mourning place.

"Did someone at Gandya village slay you?" The answer was "No."

"Did someone at Gankwe slay you?" And with the question, the corpse and its bearers once more disappeared from sight into the village, the women fleeing before it and

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764 herding the children before them so that they would be
787 upwind from the coffin and the stench of decaying flesh.

As they returned the rear bearer was relieved; the tension eased for a moment, but there was one man who did not smile. And it was whispered that he lived in the part of the village where the corpse invariably went. The scene changed slightly; Sedefo, who had stopped questioning, resumed his efforts, and five, ten, fifteen times the bearers advanced toward him and retreated from where he stood. Sometimes we caught our breath; the corpse was coming toward us; but always the bearers swerved before they reached us, going no farther than the grove of thorn palms that grew near the house of death. Then once more they broke through the ranks of questioners and, followed by the watchers, were off in the direction of the village council house and the dwelling of the chief.

The bearer who had been relieved came forward; the corpse, he said, wanted to speak; he must be allowed to carry the body again. This time there was little relief while the change was being made, for the man was possessed, and
[158] the air vibrated with the intensity of the spirit which animated him. But apparently there were still difficulties. Again and again the questions were asked, again and again the bearers advanced, retreated. Sedefo kept insisting "Yu *mu* taki. You *must* speak!" and again the coffin advanced, retreated, and then once more went to our left into the village.

Clouds were rising to windward; the sun was low on the horizon. The bearers returned, advanced to the village head once, twice, again, and again, and then the coffin was placed on the ground, raised three times, and left there for a moment before others took it into the house and replaced it where it had been when we first saw it. The ceremony was over; the elders of the village went to hold council and to interpret what the dead man had said.

764 In the swift tropical dusk, Sedefo and his son came to take us back to our camp. The drummers were adjusting the drums for the night's dancing. "He spoke, ai," he told

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dancing to the snake god by whom she was possessed. More people came, and these brought gifts of peanuts, cassava, sugar cane, rice. The food was thrown over the coffin and within the white circular path, on which a man was now dancing round and round in time to the drums. Faster and faster he twirled his way about the coffin, and now another joined him while a third walked slowly about the wooden box, a bunch of plantains in his hand, which he slashed from the stem with his machete so that they, too, fell over the coffin.

The men were dancing to the great Kromanti spirits; the tiger—jaguar—and the buzzard, two of the three forms which the dreaded Kromanti obia can take. "Obia! Huh! Huh!" one ejaculated, imitating the tiger, as his dancing became wilder and wilder. As he ran about the village he wrested a branch from a tree and blindly slashed about him with it. He ran through the clump of thorn palms to our left and emerged with another branch, and now those about were on their guard, for to be struck with those thorns would cause serious lacerations. But the dancer's spirit, his Kromanti obia protected him against such consequences, for are not the Kromanti men immune to anything that wounds; are they not secure from danger of the iron bullets of a gun or the thrust of a machete? The girl with Vodu ran away as he came near her.

Soon, however, the drums were silent, and another shot was fired—the second salute to the dead. One of the elders of the village, bearing a bundle of several long green branches, took his place on one side of the coffin, a younger man on the other. We could not hear what he said, but as he finished speaking he struck the other three times over the bare back; the first two strokes lightly, but at the third he slashed as hard as he was able. It introduced the one note of merriment that afternoon. The people standing about laughed aloud as the ceremony was repeated. A woman, and then another man, were switched.

As this ended, Sedefo took the place of the elder, and in his hand was another kind of branch. This, too, was long, but except for a tuft at its very end it had been stripped of

enrich the soil. Now before a field is chosen for cutting, it must be surveyed carefully to see that there are no snakes to be injured; that no trees which have strong spirits like the silk-cotton tree, or the parasitic akatasi, will be destroyed; that no ant hill whether on the ground or on a tree be disturbed. But Kasanya's wife's mother's brother was careless, or unlucky. A small ant hill had escaped his notice. 688 [829] [825]

"The *Akantamasu* god is powerful. It is a bad god," Kasanya said over and over, making of it a refrain to his story. [716]

When the ant hill was destroyed, its spirit fixed itself upon the family. Kasanya's wife's mother became ill, and although the contents of one obia pot after another were used up in bathing her with sangrafu and the serabaki and chembe leaves, she did not get better. Her husband, an able obia man, made special charms for her to wear about her neck, and sprinkled her with medicine with the feather of the sacred opete, the vulture, but still her illness kept on. At last they went to a diviner. To the village of Dahomey they went, the village where the most powerful obia was lodged, and there she learned that the Akantamasu god had come to the family. The diviner told her how to serve the god so that she might have respite—the days that were sacred to him, the dances she must dance on these days, the sacrifices to make. They knew that it would never be a friendly god to them, for it had come as a kunu. There was more trouble and more. The family gave many offerings, and the possessed woman danced whenever the spirit seized her, but soon she died, and the others have been dying since. [755] [787] 688 [791]

"What happened to the man who destroyed the ant hill? Did he get the Akantamasu gadu?" 688

"No, not he himself. His mother, and his sister, and his sister's children."

"But why?"

The answer was that kunu worked that way, and he went on to tell us about his sons. The first son had gone to the

THE SHRINE TO THE RIVER GODS

and forth on the sandy bank to the rhythm of the voicees in 871
the drums, but their gods would not come. They could not 782
dance, they could not find peace while the drums spoke, and 789
so this disconsolate pacing went on week after week, on 776
those days when the river gods might be danced to. Sometimes the pulse of the drumming, quickening for an interval, stirred the dancers. A shudder would go through the body of one or another and the dry throats would fall to uttering the sacred cries, but almost the next instant the hand of the drummer would go limp, and once more the listless, agonized pacing would continue. The gods were angered. When the drums called them from the river bottom, they came grudgingly and remained sullen, refusing to make their wishes known, and no gods or ancestors came to counsel the wise men in their sleep how to bend the will of the spirits of the river.

In the fields the parched earth baked in the merciless heat until it was like whitened bone. The few plants that 731
had pushed their way up through the sandy soil were now 776
brown dust which any wind might scatter. But there was no wind. No rain, no wind, for in the river the god of the wind dwells, and in the sky the rain god, and these gods are twins, and twins have but one soul, since it is with the [845]
gods as it is with humans.

No rain, no wind. Famine was upon the land.

At last, at the village of Opoku a woman had a dream. [987]
She was a pure albino, one of the type who, together with those who show by the slight turn of red in their wooly [826]
hair a strain of albinism, are called Toné people, and are identified with the river gods. To this Toné woman the gods came in sleep, and spoke their will.

"And what was it you gave to the gods?" we asked 776
Sedefo, who had fallen silent at this point in his story. 782

"Mati," he said, after a pause, "I am not an important 731
man. You ask what I may not tell. My mouth cannot take upon itself to speak what concerns our big men." [829]

This much he would say. A boat filled with things had been sent down the river. Men standing at the river bank

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484 574 But Bayo's pleasant story came to an abrupt end. Down toward the bank came Sedefo and his companion, motioning the men to join him. They all gathered in front of the guard of palm fronds, and began to discuss something in low voices, while from the village came the staccato rhythms to the Sky God and to the Kromanti spirits in tones at first soft, but swelling and quickening as they continued.

Sedefo came up to us at last and said, "I will tell you something, but you must not think the people of Pa'aba are unfriendly. I will tell you this. Let us go on and make camp farther up the river. There is a provision ground not too far away. We will make it in time."

In the boat Bayo told us that many were possessed in the village, and since here at Pa'aba they danced Kromanti strong, the men did not think it safe to bring us to the village. The year before Kasanya had spent a trying night here. Two or three of the men had found guns and had gone tearing about the village, so that not alone had the women shut themselves up in their huts, as they often did at Kromanti dances, but the men, too, had had to go in hiding.

"That is why we are going on. But I have a strong Kromanti spirit myself. I will go back to Pa'aba tonight and watch the men dance," he said with a laugh.

3

574 It was already quite dark when we made the planting ground. Up a narrow footpath we followed Kasanya.

"*Koni, koni*—Take care, don't trip at night," he kept calling to us. "*Mbwogu*—Hurry," he urged, though we needed no urging to keep close behind him in this narrow dark shaft which cut the greater darkness of the bush in two.

Bibifo would sleep in our boat to watch the provisions, Kasanya explained as he led the way, for the clearing was so far from shore that it was not wise to leave the boats unwatched.

"It is far," he said. "Grounds are cleared that way—not too near a village, not too near the shore."

where, in the proper season, maripa nuts and rice were dried.

One quarter differed very little from another, except that in one there might grow the plant which yielded the red and black beans used for the sacred rattles, and for playing the game of adji, which entertained the spirit of the dead while the body lay in state. Instead of a house to the family gods, there might be found a mound of earth in front of one doorway, with an axe-head lying upon it as a shrine for a man's spirit, or a low forked stick sunk into the ground, holding a pot with water and weeds in it for the curing powers of its obia.

A village of any size had also a quarter in which stood the communal buildings. The council house which might also serve on occasion as the house for the dead was there. The menstrual house for the women, a small building which was recognized by a broken calabash, or a porcelain pot brought from the white man's city, lying outside the entrance, stood a little to the side. The Kromanti house, and perhaps an enclosed shelter for the bush gods who shared the shrine with the snake deities, was also located somewhere near the open communal shrine. A village wherein lived the clan head contained in addition a house for the ancestral spirits of the clan. This was called a *Fa'aka-pau wosu*, literally a flagpole house, a euphemism for the shrine to the ancestors for whom white cotton was put up on sticks. In this Fa'aka-pau wosu prayers were offered up for all the important ventures of the clan, and in time of stress a priest would come there with sacrifices, to bid one of the ancestors to enter his body and give him sight. When seizure came on, such a priest prophesied. Sometimes the ancestors were consulted in the same manner as that in which the will of the dead was ascertained. Men would take up a sacred plank and carry it in a state of possession; the elders would put questions to the ancestor who had been called. The answers were construed as favorable or unfavorable according to the way the plank tipped.

782 Now she could but say that the Granman had asked her to see to this.

"It is good medicine. Do not be afraid," she added, reassuringly.

She led the way to her quarter, but before we had gone past the open shrine she stopped, and her eyes narrowed as she tried to come to a decision. From the quarter we were approaching came a crooning, moaning sound.

●787 "A god speaks. The Apuku god has come to a woman this morning. Come. We will go to the G'aman's women," she said as she retraced her steps.

644 888 On a squared log in back of the enclosed shrine which adjoined the council house sat the Granman's principal wife. She was a woman who in her prime must have had beauty, but, though still erect, she had deep grooves on her face, and her breasts were the breasts of an old woman. Her head was closely shorn, as was the way of women whose children were grown. Like any other woman of the village she wore only the short cloth and the bit of kerchief which showed at her waist. Like the others she went to the provision ground almost daily. She and her younger daughter, [462] who was named Wilhelmina for the Queen of Holland, cared for their field together, and now they were working side by side.

644 Wilhelmina was more robust than her mother could have been at her age. She was tall, more her father's daughter. It was she who served his food and looked after his personal needs. She was the wife of the man who had brought the boat which Sedefo had rejected, because he did not trust its spirit. As she worked, her two children were with her, [855] the elder a child of three, sitting on the ground at her feet, and the other on her back, or in her lap nursing while she did her tasks.

Unlike her older sister, Wilhelmina had little of her father's astuteness, of his quick eye, or his schooled tongue. She went about with the slow, sensuous grace of someone not quite awake, while her older sister busied herself with making the rounds of the village, observing this and that

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Chapter XIII

THE GODS SPEAK

1

000 EARLY the next morning we heard the voice of a drum coming from some unidentifiable direction, not too close, not too far away.

"That's the agida drum we hear?" we asked Tenemi when she came to sweep the council house.

"Ai."

"It sounds far away."

"It's across the river. Dida is dancing. . . . "

But here she stopped, remembering, as we did, that she had agreed to come for us when Dida danced, if the god made Dida herself forget to fetch us to see her dancing.

"You can't take us to her, Tenemi?"

"It's across the river, and it's early."

"When did she leave this village?"

"Late last night."

As an after thought Tenemi added, "Dida has a house across the river. She went to her own quarter."

2

● 987 A few minutes later the white woman found herself walking toward the partially cleared ground outside the village, past the menstrual house and the open shrine to the great gods which stood almost directly opposite it. There were three women in the house, dressed in faded

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787 cloths, their hair disheveled, their faces without the glint which the oil gave to their dark skins, and their eyes without the touch of dark flame which the gleaming skins brought out. One of these women stood leaning against a doorpost trembling. Her hands were clenched, and her mouth moved without pause, and without sound.

"She hears the agida?"

"Ai. She wants to dance, but she can't. Her god is troubling her."

The white woman must not stop with them longer, and she must not come closer, the two women who stood beside their quivering companion called out at once, for the obia which she wore about her neck would be contaminated if brought too close to them, and its power to protect the wearer against danger would leave it at once.

"Do not come too close. Tomorrow I will return to my house, and after I have bathed and washed in pemba, I will be clean again, and then I will come to see you," the younger of the two women said.

The other said, "When you go there," and she pointed toward the woman's path, "do not go by the way of the broken calabashes. That is the unclean way. It is the path [541] for the women who stay in this house."

343 Down the clearing the white woman continued until, when she turned, the open cooking shelter of Bassia Anaisi's quarter faced her. The floor of the shelter was of red clay, raised well above the clearing itself. A woman was laying a fire there, putting down the long sticks one end close to the other in the center, so that they radiated outwards in what seemed a perfect circle. Her child, who was fitted out with obias on neck and wrists and right ankle, sat [524] near by watching her, and playing with a gourd doll.

533 The voice of the agida had a moment before died down, and now a song reached the white woman. It came not from across the river, but from somewhere directly behind the houses grouped about the clearing beyond the cooking shelter. The song was a repetition of several melodic phrases, sung in varying rhythms, so that it had a disturb-

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"Yes, move closer."

The white woman now went toward the open door, and through it saw a little of the inside of the house. Like all Bush Negro houses, it had no windows of any kind, and what light there was came from this low open doorway. Near the door sat the woman who belonged to the family of the Granman. In her hand she held an egg-shaped piece of clay which she rubbed between her hands to the rhythm of her song, and at intervals lifted first one hand, then the other, rubbing the white clay on her face and arms. The thin layer of white over the dark of her skin gave to her appearance in the dark house a strange color. She swayed on her low bench as she sang, her body curving from her hips first to one side, then to the other.

"Ondyi, ondyi," she sang over and over, and with the quickening of voice, she called "bonsu."

This word "Ondyi," the women explained, when they urged the stranger to greet the god as was fitting, was the greeting of the deity, the god's way of saying their everyday word "Odi."

The eyes of the woman at the door were half-closed as she sang, and she seemed dispirited, though with the quickened swaying she did rouse herself for an instant. She had no kerchief on her head, and none about her breasts.

"Her god hasn't got her very hard," the women said. "Go inside, perhaps when you speak with him, he will begin to stir. They want you to come in."

Into the house the white woman brought her bench, and sat down close to the possessed woman at the door. When she became accustomed to the darkness of the house, she saw a pair of eyes fixed on her from the farthest wall. The figure against this wall was so much the color of the house itself that it was not until a few moments had passed that the crouching form of an old woman was distinguishable. The old woman sat motionless, her eyes fastened on the stranger.

The white woman freed herself from the intent stare of the old woman against the wall only when a sudden

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hissing sound so startled her that she faced quickly about. Now two other eyes met hers. They belonged to a figure on a low bench, seated with its back to the door, facing the darkness of the unbroken walls, but with head turned to watch the stranger. The figure was in white—tunic, cloths about the breasts and on the head, arms, throat, and body, all were white. But of a greater whiteness yet was the terrifying, macabre face in which the line of the mouth alone, and the living black of the eyes, showed. Beside this white figure stood a streaked glass tumbler, filled with a whitish liquid. This tumbler had been at the lips of the white form when the stranger turned to see where the hissing came from. Now that the glass was replaced, the whitened hands began kneading a piece of clay and rubbing face and throat and arms with the hands. While doing this, the body swayed and the voice chanted.

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"From the river I come,
And I say to you all,
Greetings.
All you Negroes,
Be greeted.

From the river I come,
I say to the white woman,
Greetings.
I say you came as a friend,
I say you came not for evil.

From the river I come,
I say to you all,
Be greeted."

Now the first woman moved closer to the stranger and put her arms about her, streaking her with clay.

"Ondyi, Ondyi-o!
I am Afi
I am Kantamari-o!
Ondyi, ondyi,

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Woman, I care for you,
I will be your god."

There was consternation among the women who stood outside listening. The Akantamasu god was one of the strongest on the river. He ranked only slightly under the great obia spirits, which the Sky God when creating the world had sent as wisdom for the living to combat the capricious lesser gods, and humans who were dominated by evil spirits. Differing from the obia spirits, however, who befriended the living, and brought healing to them, the Akantamasu god was an avenger, surpassed alone by the yorka, the ghosts, who avenged by killing instantly when they chose, while the Akantamasu god killed more slowly.

But there was concern for the possessed woman, as well. She had spoken the name Affi, her day name, the name which summoned her soul. When not in a state of possession, she would never have spoken it before a stranger, except in a whisper to an obia man who came to cure her, or to a diviner to whom she came to ask why her soul was troubled.

Presently the white figure rose, breaking the tension, and, chanting, went from the hut into the clearing. Affi and the white woman followed. In the light of the clearing, a faint resemblance could be seen in the grace of the body of the figure in white to the pleasant Amasina. Of the brown of her skin, only the ankles and feet showed.

Both of the possessed women began pacing back and forth in the clearing, in time to the rhythm of their songs, but while Amasina danced with an easy stride, Affi shook and quivered and moaned.

"When the gods come, we do not speak. We sing. The speech of the gods is song. So it is," one woman whispered.

Another said, indicating Affi, "Her god troubles her. She gave you a strong god. Are you afraid?"

"When the god comes to you, you will speak tongues. Now you have two gods. When Kesekia comes to you, you will sing Kesekia songs, you will dance to him."

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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When a male snake god came, then it was easy to know, the women said. If the possessed one rolled face downward it was a male god, and he was courting the spirits of the earth, but if face upward then it was a female snake. "*Na muye opo-i-mbe gi 'a tapu*—The woman opens her womb for the sky," they said, using the precise image for one who was being wooed by the spirits who lived above.

3

When the white woman was about to enter the council house, Granman Yankuso called to her. He was standing in front of his house, surrounded by women, who were talking to him in low, excited voices.

"*Bak'a muye*—White woman," he said, looking at her searchingly, and saying nothing. "White woman," he repeated, after a short silence, "white mother, good morning. Are you awake?"

His voice sounded a little troubled, but not unfriendly. It helped the white woman to regain her self-possession.

"They sing well down below, Granman," she said, and went into the council house.

4

Whatever Granman Yankuso thought of the white woman's having witnessed the possession of the women of his village, he did not refuse permission to her and her husband to return to the hut.

Amasina and Affi were still in the clearing, dancing to their own songs. Women came up with their children, bringing more and more calabashes of rice. Amasina took up each child in her arms, and caressed it gently, streaking it with the white clay as she did so, and singing the while,

"*I come from the river.*
You shall be cooled,
You shall be well."

Affi's moaning had become more and more faint, and her pacing, by this time, was listless. Her god would not take

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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her into his power strongly enough to give her the release she craved. 787

Amasina sang,

"I come from the river.
I tell all you people,
This man, this woman
Are friends.
They come not for evil.

Go to the G'aman,
Say to him.
These people are friends,
They bring us no evil."

[539]

Then her god, speaking through her, sang an explanation to the white people. From the river he came, bringing healing to all those who were fevered, caring for all those who were sick. Those who could, came to him, but those who could not come, he would visit and bring them healing. Now he must make the round of the village, go to the houses, and see those who were ill.

Singing, Amasina beckoned us to follow her, and as she led the way she danced in undulating steps from one end of the village to another, visiting the sick, singing the cure her god was bringing them in the words he was speaking through her.

The white people could stay with her no longer. Word came that the boat which was to take them across the river to the village of the Granman's father was ready, and they must go. The women suggested, however, that if the whites cared to make a gift to the god who had spoken so well of them, it would be acceptable, and they hurried to their stores to get a gift. [123]

As they passed the council house and turned toward the small hut behind it where their supplies were kept, they heard a new sound. It was a choking sound, torn from an unwilling throat. Seated quite alone on a low stool in front

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787 [412] of the mortar in which she had been pounding maripa nuts was the Granman's younger wife. The pestle had fallen from her shaking fingers. She gave the intruders no attention, for she, too, was possessed by her god,—by Toné, god of the river.

"*Ke-ke-ke-ke-ke-ke! Ke-ke-ke-ke-ke-ke!*" The syllables fell from her and, as the white people stood by, her shaking stopped, the sounds did not go on. Then they began again, her body racked, her voice choked. The Toné people do not speak when they are possessed, it is through sounds such as these that the god of the river makes known his wishes.

Women came running toward us. "Your boat is ready, Bak'a," they said.

787 431 173 The whites returned with the bracelets to find that the two women to whom they brought their offerings had come as far as the Granman's quarter of the village. Affi's greeting of "Ondyi!" had died down to a whisper. Disconsolately she followed Amasina, who, in the white cloth which reached almost to her ankles, looked tall and sinuous, and moved as though there were something in the still air to send her body curving to one side and to the other.

As the possessed women and those with them entered the quarter, the elder wife of Yankuso came toward Amasina with a large calabash of rice.

"All those who have the same god come with gifts. Amasina has the strongest god of all. It is a white god," a woman explained.

[822] White was the color for the ancestors, and hers was the god of a great priestess of the family. It was the god Towenu, the great Papa god, the giver of children, the jealous one, who came to her. If he cared for his priestess too well, he allowed her no children. The mention of his name the day before had brought him, and, coming, he vouched for the friendliness of the strangers.

Amasina put her arms about the older woman as she had done to the others who came to her. She sang once more her message:

THE GODS SPEAK

787 ●
[539]

"Wife of the G'aman,
I come from the river.
Go to the G'aman
Say to him,
These strangers are friends,
They bring no evil."

It was the god speaking, and the Granman's wife received with lowered head the words spoken through the priestess.

"Ai, my master. Ai, Massa Gadu," she said.

5

The Granman's paternal village was directly across the river from Asindopo Lantiwe. It was called Akisiamau, literally "Took with an outstretched hand," but whether there was also some meaning in the phrase not intended for the uninitiated, we could not learn. In size it was not much larger than the Granman's village, and again and again we recognized houses which were his by the crest-like carvings on the doorposts, that reproduced the design found not only at the side of the council-house door, but at the door of all other houses at Asindopo Lantiwe which were his. 361 643 [423]

Except for several old people who sat about in the shade and waited for the strangers to come to them with their greetings, the entire village followed us as we made our way down one path and another. 123

"*Bak'a, Ame'ika Bak'a, Ame'ika Fandya!*—White man. American white man, American Fandya!" the children called after us, as they ran at our heels, touching our canteens, our sun helmets, and shoes.

The Granman had spoken with especial fondness of his father's house, and it was there that we asked first to be taken. It was not occupied, we were told, and none might enter it. Above the top crosspiece white cotton was draped. Except that its door was closed, it showed no signs of being 342 643

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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of earth which filled the rest of the hut. In the left-hand corner was a covered whitened vessel for the god called Kentina Dagowe. This Kentina Dagowe was a deity who was the offspring of the Dagowe snake, and the Apuku god of the bush whose name was Kentina. In him, as in so many other of the spirits, we found exemplified the Bush Negro's concept of the world which held that the gods mated as did humans, that all which stirred and had life came into being by such matings.

Other spirits also came to this house, the woman went on. Mundewaya, another of the bush gods, was worshiped at the white-covered pot in the opposite corner, while beside it lay the vessel to which the spirit of a third might come. This one was the most powerful of all bush gods, and his name was Danhowao. There were other objects on the platform. Two stools, daubed with sacred clay, had their place there, and in the center was an image of wood, a rounded pot set on a base that tapered from the ground toward it, and this was to the Nanai, the ancestors.

The old woman said, "For the Apuku gods, we only play the tumao drum. The Apuku are mostly women's gods, but some men have them, and the men who have them play the drums. When the god comes to you, then if you are not too old you dance. But we old women do not dance. When the god comes to me, then I begin to shake. I go into this house on the day we call him, and they play the drum. Then I talk to the god. If I have something to beg of him for myself, or for someone else, then I put the pot which belongs to him on my head, and the drum calls him. When my body begins to shake, then it is the god. He has come, and when I speak it is not I but the god speaking."

From the clearing the talk of those who had remained outside came through the thin woven walls of the shrine. From one to another we could hear the news spread that in the village of the Granman across the river the gods had spoken for the whites.

In the hut, we listened to the old woman inside whose shrine we stood.

353 themselves, and the blade-like pieces of gourd which they
531 used for spoons, and which bore the same symbols as the
415 dishes.

"Our men make fine things here in the true, true
462 Saramacca," Dida said when we entered her quarter, and
531 sat in her house. "Look at the carvings I have."

Her body was still white with pemba. Her manner was still a little vague.

"Did you dance this morning?"

"Ai."

"We heard the agida drum play when we were in the
776 council house of the Granman."

"Ai, Kesekia is a big god. When he comes, his voice is
787 strong."

But she showed no willingness to talk, and we could tell by the repeated twitching of her body that she had still to dance to her god. Leaving her we continued up the path toward houses we had not yet visited. The white man, with a man who was guiding him and the bassia from Asindopo Lantiwe, walked ahead, while the children crowded about the white woman who was giving them safety pins which they at once put in their hair.

"There is the Vodu house," said the man who acted as
778 guide, and he led the way through the low doorway into
346 the hut.

Inside, though smaller than the shrine to the gods of the bush, it differed from it but little. It had the same clay floor, the same raised altar on which stood stools washed in white clay, and several covered, whitened vessels, an image, and the round balls of clay.

"May I go closer and look at the image there?"

"Yes, go."

[352] The stools resembled those in ordinary use, but whatever design they may have had was obscured by the white clay which covered them. The vessels were not unlike those in
[415] the other shrine we had visited or those which rested on the heads of village gods which stood under low, roofed-over shelters on the main village paths. Turning, the white man

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798 peered into the inner darkness, the whites of their eyes
533 moving with the movements of the strangers.

776 Gently the drummer laid the great cylinder of wood flat on the ground, and from the thatch took down a hard-wood stick, dark and smooth with use. The drum filled more than half of the wall near which it lay. Stooping, the drummer began to call the Vodu gods. It was the rhythm we had heard from across the river early in the morning. The drumming had sounded low and distant then, but in this small enclosure the volume of sound was deafening. It seemed to be pushing against the yielding woven walls, pushing outwards and up.

The rhythm was disturbingly irregular. There was, in the sense of the steady rhythms of the dances, no rhythm at all, and this uncertainty of beat added to the volume of sound racked the listeners. When we thought we heard a repetition of an interval, a sudden change in tempo brought us up with a start. On and on the man struck the drumhead, sounding the heavy beats with the stick, while with his free hand he kept up a running fire of obbligato to the message for the god.

The heads in the doorway began to move nervously this way and that as the message to the god continued, when suddenly they disappeared behind someone who was coming at a run. A moment later Dida was in the hut.

● 787 She was again possessed. Her body shook with the intensity with which she experienced her god, and her eyes glowed with a steady fire. Back and forth she paced, and when the drum had sounded, she addressed herself to it, listening for its voice and answering, listening again and answering in tones which grew more and more harsh. Then she turned to us, and began to chant

[539]

"*I am the god Kesekia*
From back of the prison,
From the French shore,
I come.
I am the god Kesekia."

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Once more she resumed her frenzied pacing, and from time to time as the drum spoke she whirled about and replied. Now and again she would repeat the phrases which the bassia said was the French snake god speaking—"Ti donc!" "Kesifo, kesifo!" "Ti donc!" 787

"Speak to the god," said the bassia. "Speak to him in the French tongue. He will answer you."

In spite of the bassia's urging, we stood silent, for it was crowded in the little hut, and Dida's god was not as genial a one as was Amasina's. Her body shook and quivered, her pupils were dilated, her voice became harsher as she turned to us with her hissing cries.

"Ti donc!

"Kesifo!

"Ti donc!"

For a moment, the god had done speaking on the drum. Gently the stick tapped against the wood, and the drummer's left hand was quiet. Then once more the roaring note began, and as the heads disappeared from the doorway, a second form shot inside.

A young woman entered. She had no white on her body, as had Dida, nor was there any kerchief on her head or about her breasts. When the drum sounded she had been in her house seeing to her small infant, but hearing the agida speak the words of the Vodu god, she could not hold back longer, for her god came into her and sent her to the shrine.

Now there were two who paced inside the enclosure, calling their answers to the drumbeats, until once more the steady tapping of the stick on the wood took the place of the strokes on the drumhead, and the second woman sang: 787 539

"*Maumbe-wa,*
Maumbe-o,
Father Manga
Father Maumbe. [533]
God Maumbe-wo
God Malimbe, Dagowe.
Tutu calls, ye-o

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787
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[533]

Tutu calls, ye-o.
God is there in the river alone,
God Tutu calls,
Ye-o, yo."

787

So the young woman sang as she paced, her body twitching and quivering, while Dida repeated her exclamations. The man again took up his invocation to the gods, then resumed the soft tapping against the wood.

He said to us as he tapped, "My own god is Agida Wenowa. She is a Vodu god, and when I dance I put a parrot feather in my hair. When I play the agida, then all Vodu gods come. The agida is the drum for the Vodu gods."

As he spoke to the slow beating, yet two more figures came crowding in. We had been so intent on the two possessed women and on what the drummer was telling that, not until these new arrivals were at our side, did we notice them. One of them was Affi, the other Amasina. They were as we had left them, Amasina still in her white tunic and kerchiefs, her face and upper body yet more thickly coated with white so that only the eyes were alive, Affi still a grayish color, still anguished.

"We heard the voice of the god. We came."

But there was no longer room in the small shrine for the women to dance. The beating of the stick became fainter and fainter; the drummer no longer touched the skin which topped the drum. Fainter and fainter still came the beat, until the young woman who stood there without white on her body shook herself, as though she were coming awake. For a moment, all was quiet.

"He is gone."

"The god is gone."

"He has released her."

The drummer put back his stick. Slowly he lifted the drum; gently he stood the agida upright in its corner.

7

776
609

In the Granman's council house, voices of people standing outside reached us. From one to another the news was told.

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177 186 Here is our bush. Our gods are here, and our ancestors come at our call. There is the world—*na g'on tapu*. There is the land of our old ancestors."

He stopped and covered his face with his hands, remaining deep in thought. But when he spoke again, his voice was calm.

177 123 "Mati, let us see all that the white man has brought. Here deep in the bush, all this has come to us that even children might see. Let us see all."

On the screen appeared a priest. He wore a grass skirt used in a sacred dance, a skirt like the one we had had made for us here on the river, and his face was covered, mask-like, with white clay.

"Ai, mati," exclaimed the Granman, as everyone gasped at what they saw.

The next picture showed the same priest dancing. Two men held his arms.

"When Kromanti gets a man in the ancestral country, it comes so strong that he has to be held in check, friends. So it is here, too."

9

123 So great was the fascination of the Granman and of all his people with the phonograph that many times we had occasion to feel if it were not for Apanto's curse, and the habit of elastic to stretch, and of glue to be affected by tropical heat, the machine would have overcome for us what distrust there was of our interest in their beliefs—that it might even have changed the decision of the ancestors when they were consulted by priests in Dahomey—a decision which ruled that the white man and his woman were not to be given the secrets of their worship.

[180] Whatever the ancestors had told the men who carried on their heads the sacred plank which was used for consulting the ancestral will, the attitude of the people showed that the white man could not be received in the bush without distrust. The intentions of a white man might be friendly,

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yet his findings might in time serve the enemy. We were soldiers bringing toys, as the image of the krutu had suggested. 123

Since life in the bush, for strangers like ourselves, was lived in terms of days, and each day was taken for what it might bring, we were grateful to those gods who had spoken for us, and watched the effect of the ancestral edict.

Before dawn of the day which followed the ceremony of asking the will of the ancestors, men came to counsel with the Granman, and from then onward many men were about the village. The young boys found their toy guns again, and the little girls played on the river bank. The widow who was so susceptible to evil influences no longer appeared in the central clearing with her child on her back, stamping her rice, or drying her peanuts. Her door was shut. Fenekonde was no longer about, for she had gone to the menstrual house, and Tenemi who came to sweep the council house each morning now wore a new obia on a long, twisted, white cord, hung from shoulder to side. She was polite, formal, and she worked fast.

Late that afternoon the obia man who had appeared at the first council meeting with wide stripes of clay came again, and his wife accompanied him. They were the best diviners on the river. From the corner of the council house the large mat which had been standing rolled up was carried into a closed hut, so that he might sit on it, and perform his magic to see what the future held for the destiny of the Saramacca people, and what immediate threat the white man's coming boded. Before leaving for the hut where the mat was prepared the man and woman sat with us in the council house in the company of the Granman. They apparently needed to know our individual names for their task. While we sat there, the white woman absently began to play with the obia about her neck, and this seemed a signal for the other woman to take hers into her hands and begin to mutter an invocation, for the stranger's careless playing appeared to her as the white man's way of casting a spell. 123 791 787 [285]

REBEL DESTINY

This, he went on to explain, had the meaning that obia was not so great as the very great gods, and it was not to be ranked with the lesser deities who served as emissaries for the great gods, yet when the great gods wanted to help mankind, it was through obia that they healed and purified, it was to obia that men were instructed to turn.

It seems that when the Sky God created the Earth Mother and the Mother of the River, he also created man and beast. Man had a poor time of it, pitting himself against the forces of earth and sky and water. And so that man might survive, the Sky God had had to send obia into the world to help man. Obia was not a god, it was a spirit. It gave people knowledge of herbs which cured, and herbs which prevented sickness. Obia warned of danger, and made known those properties of earth and water and air which healed and calmed. Obia taught the use of the band of metal on the arm, or the string about the waist which forewarned of evil, and made man wary and alert.

After obia came into the world, the Sky God sent Akantamasu, the god of the ant hill, to plague man. Perhaps obia had made of man an overbearing creature, defiant even against the great gods, so that the Sky God brought the Akantamasu spirit into being to teach him humility.

The answer of the Bush Negro was, of course, that so it was, and so it had been long ago, but why, he did not know. The Sky God had willed it so, and the Sky God was so far from man that he never vouchsafed explanations to human beings, and they in turn rarely taxed him to ease their bewilderment.

There was also the power of the ancestors, but our Bush Negro friends were never certain as to how they ranked in the supernatural hierarchy. Some said they ranked after the Earth Mother and the Mother of the River, that they were greater than obia, because the ancestors punished as well as helped mankind, and when angered their punishment came swifter than that of the powerful Akantamasu gods. Others said the ancestors were greater than obia, because obia had been given to the ancestors long ago,

SARAMACCA OBIA

and it was they who in dream or vision, or in a state of possession, instructed living men in the ways of yet greater and greater obia. But there were those who held that obia ranked after the greatest of the deities, that obia surpassed the power of the ancestors, for obia knew how to make "*yorka tapu*"—preventives against troublesome ghosts, and obia men could summon the dead to enter the body of a living man to make revelations.

Whatever the position of obia in the supernatural world, its place on earth was to serve man, for of all living beings, man alone knew obia.

2

What were the manifestations of obia in the life of the Bush Negro as we found them?

A black pot with its magic powers was an obia pot, the charm worn about the neck was called an obia, the medicines we gave the natives for their eyes or their cuts were called white man's obia, and their own mixture of weeds steeped in water, which stood in the burning sun gathering a green scum until it should be ready for use, was also obia. Young Yamati who had danced susa for us did not have a cord about his neck, but, he had assured us, he had obia for long life as did his partner Sabape, though his own could not be seen, since it consisted of several obia cuts made shortly after birth, which served instead of the cord. The strings about the waists of children were obias. The slight cuts to be noticed on men's arms, on thighs, below the knee, below the shoulder blades were obia cuts, too.

Nor was that all.

Bayo had said to us, "When obia comes a man does bad things. He destroys. When mine comes, it is ugly sometimes."

It was obia, too—Apanto's obia—which had stopped our phonograph, and obia again, invoked this time by Bayo, which had strengthened the spirit of the machine.

We talked about obia to an elder, a village head, from one of the down-river settlements, which was not, however,

REBEL DESTINY

776 A man who wished to buy a god for his son went to a
432 renowned obia man and agreed to pay him a certain sum
424 of money if, at the end of the period of training, the god came to the boy.

"When the obia man says the boy is ready, they give a dance. At this dance, the drum is played for the god, and
[987] the boy must dance. If the god comes to him, then the obia man gets his money, but if the god does not come, then he does not get what was promised him, because they had made an agreement for a god, and no god came."

881 The training was not very difficult—it was not like the
869 training for becoming an obia man. A boy was given obia
976 water to wash in. Every eight days the water in the obia pot was changed, and this bathing continued for three
[983] moons. When the ritual of purification was over, he was taught the drum rhythms of the god, the invocations which the drum sounded, and the spoken invocations. Songs, and make-up for the dancing, and the dancing itself he was taught, and when he might call upon the god, and what he must do when the god comes, and what offerings the god was to receive. If the god spoke "tongues," he was also instructed in the appropriate language. There were the words of the mocking little Apuku gods and the sounds which only Toné people made, and there was the "Kromanti tongo."

"Can all the gods be bought?" we asked.

432 "Kweti, kweti!" he shook his head in emphatic denial.
976 "The river gods cannot be bought. You are born a Toné
989 man or woman, or the Toné god comes to you from your family. But all the Vodu gods you can buy; and the god Bongo, the alligator; and the ant hill gods and the gods of the kankan tree, and the Apuku bush gods." He paused for an instant, as if he were considering something. "And men buy Kromanti for their sons, if they have none to give them. Almost every man in the bush has Kromanti. If he hasn't it, then he tries to buy it for his sons. A man needs Kromanti. When he has the Kromanti spirit, fire cannot hurt him, nor glass, nor anything that cuts—

"OBIA COMES!"

"Put them on. See the moon? You will catch fresh colds if you sit in the moonlight with your heads uncovered." 796 [891]

So with sun helmets on our heads we sat, and, as we listened to the new rhythms of the drums, there came a shriek from the river which brought us to our feet. Those who were not dancing ran up the hill away from the drums. 781 796 796

"Obia! Obia comes! It is the Kromanti!" were the cries, and our cook and our town man placed themselves in line across the front of our hut, watching uneasily. 787

"They will destroy all you have if they get inside," they called to us, "we must try to keep them out."

Up from the river, along the path he had trodden but a while before, came a man whom we could not recognize in the disguise given him by the paint on his face. Half his face was white, half a deep red, and we later learned what we did not then know, that this was the face marking of the Djadja Kromanti and that this man was possessed by one of the two Kromanti spirits which carry danger to those who are present when the seizure comes. He advanced toward the drums, machete in hand, as though he were stalking his prey, his legs raised high at every step, trailing some enemy. At his mouth the foam was gathering, and the words he uttered were in the Kromanti tongo, the sacred speech not understood by the uninitiated. [198]

The songs changed in character, and the singers were men. The women who had not run away were dancing a quick accompaniment to the drum beats, adding their shrill voices to the singing and the intensity of the cries of the possessed man. When the possessed man reached the hut, he stopped in front of the drummers. As their rhythms poured out of the barrel-like drums, he answered stroke for stroke with shouted cries in his sacred secret language, raising his machete higher and higher, until, with a quick stroke, he slashed at two of the players who were seated side by side on a log. He missed them by what seemed a hair's breadth as his machete, whistling through the narrow space between their bodies, sank deep into the log on which they sat.

REBEL DESTINY

796 796 781 787 Other cries now came to us, and from the bush a second possessed man burst into the clearing. He, too, had a machete, and he made straight for our hut. But obia did not prompt him to insist on entering, and he came close to us, gibbering in our faces, and then, stepping high as had the other, went his way to slash at our washbasins, sending one of them, that we treasure as a memory of that night's adventure, hurtling into the bush with a deep dent in its side.

From the river came renewed shouts, and some of the men dashed to the bank to jump into a canoe and paddle into the rapids, so that they might watch the possessed man who had leaped into the river to pit his strength against the fast water. On and on he swam upstream in the foaming water, as from the bank we watched his progress uneasily in the clear light of the moon. Finally obia left him, and the men in the boat seized his inert form and brought him back to shore.

796 787 When we returned to our hut, we found several others possessed. Obia had claimed six or seven, some with faces painted half white, half red, as was that of the first man, others with faces whitened, while still others had white faces with black markings. These last had Tigri, and the white was for Opete. Those who danced for the buzzard had no machetes, but went about in a circle, moving with bodies bent forward from their waists and with arms thrown back in imitation of the bird from which their spirit took its name.

One man with the Tigri face-painting took away the apinti from the drummer and placing it in the center of the clearing leaned over it and began drumming faster rhythms. Now indeed obia itself was drumming.

796 303 Long before this, we had observed the amenities of the occasion. As hosts, our duty was to provide the ceremonial rum with which the spirits needed to be regaled, and our cook, holding the bottle of rum for us, filled and refilled the small glass which we offered to men and women. Some did not drink at all but poured part of the rum on the

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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ground, rubbing the remainder over arms and upper body. Some took a sip and, like the others, poured the rest as a libation to the Earth Mother. Few drank more than a little, and only the men had as much as half of the small wine glass we were using.

The bassia of Gankwe came to us. "Do not be afraid. Obia has come strong, but we have prepared for it. The men will not hurt people."

Led by him, we passed from one dancer to the next, giving to this one a sip, to that one a taste. But there was one elderly man who would not drink.

"Not until I get obia," he said, "and obia does not come to me tonight."

Not all the possessed men were slashing about with cutlasses. One man pulled up grass, eating part and throwing the rest over his head. Another in the strength of his possession uprooted large clumps of brush, and one broke off a liana of some size and wrapped it about his body, and danced with it.

Songs, dancing men, dancing women, machetes flashing in the moonlight . . . and over all the beat of the drum. This was the dance of the Kromanti obia.

Now the man who had refused a drink came up. He was trembling.

"Obia comes!" he cried. "Give me rum!"

As he tossed off the drink, he dashed toward the possessed men. In his hand was a rattle, the first we had seen at this dance. The rattle is sacred to the Kromanti, and possession can be brought on by shaking it even when there are no drums. As he danced, he supplemented the rhythm of the drums with his rattle, and his dancing surpassed in its fury that of all the others. Men kept out of his way as he dashed back and forth in his contortions, and he continued his gyrations as those with painted faces, whom obia was releasing, began to feel exhaustion.

The drums never stopped. As long as obia remained unsatisfied, they would need to play on and on. While the drummers beat the Kromanti rhythms, and the man with

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his rattle danced his dance, the moon sank behind the screen of branches.

It was late. Slowly the last dancer came out of his orgy of possession. One by one the drums stopped until, for a moment, all was quiet. Then, taking the apinti drum up the path beyond our clearing, one of the drummers drummed an invocation to the spirits that had come.

We trained our flashlights on the path which led to the river, lighting the way of the dancers to their waiting boats, while they sang for us the seketi song we had heard the night of Zimbi's funeral.

Thank you, thank you, white man,
For coming to the Saramacca River,
For bringing us your diamond fire,
To light the darkness of our path.

5

At the village opposite our base camp, a girl had died shortly before our return from up river. The eighth night after the death was to be commemorated with the usual dancing of "eighth-day night," and with the ceremony of throwing away food for the spirit of the dead.

"Come tonight and we will dance for you," the men of the village said. It was agreed that they should come for us when they were through with the ceremony for throwing away the food, for the bereaved family would not look kindly upon the intrusion of the whites at the ceremony.

As we waited for the messenger, Bayo prowled about uneasily. He had been nervous for the past few days. His spirits had been troubling him, and he said he needed to dance. It was some time since he had danced, and his spirits were vexed with him for this neglect.

"If they dance Kromanti, I will dance, too," he said.

We talked with him of the rum we would have to take. The strength in which it was distilled made it necessary to cut it with water. Bayo watched us as we took out one bottle, prepared the rum, and then took up another. His hand interposed.

"OBIA COMES!"

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Opete kwasi Adjaini-o
Opete kwasi Adjaini-obia-o
Opete kwasi
Tide Adjaini-a weti kwao, kwao, kwao, kwao.

The chorus repeated,

Opete kwaso, Adjaini-o-yi
Opete kwaso, Adjaini-o-yo
Opete kwaso, Adjaini-o-kumani!

They were becoming more and more agitated. The rattles sounded a faster tempo, the drums beat louder, and the music swung into another song.

Amanu Djadja-o
O-o-o-o-o-o
Amanu Djadja-o
O ye-e-e
Kuma, luku, mowa,
O-e Mama-e
O-o-o-o-o - o - o . . .

This was a song of greeting for the Djadja spirit. Bayo still urged the rhythms out of the improvised apinti which he was playing. The drummers were calling all the Kromanti spirits, the buzzard called Opete, the jaguar, Tigri, and Djadja, the "devil." Would they come? 764 533

The question was answered soon enough. Out of the forest into the clearing ran one whose obia had come to him. It was Opete obia and, in his strength of possession, he had torn off two branches from a palm tree in the bush. These he held under his arms, so that, as he pranced about in his dance, he impersonated the awkwardness of the great carrion bird which gave its name to his obia. The tufts of palm leaves projecting from behind his flexed arms were wings. He leaped as in flight, then with startling rapidity he began turning round and round to the flapping of his wings. 787

Apanto suddenly seized a stick we held and, whirling it about our heads, was off to his dance, joining the six or 787 796

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787 seven men who were dancing the individual dances of their
796 spirits. His dancing was unlike any we had seen on the river. There was a stealthy, effeminate grace in his movements, which produced a strange effect on the visitors. Suddenly it struck us—Apanto was one of those who had the dreaded Tigri! When he fought, he fought with his finger nails, not his fists, and when he danced, he danced with the feline grace of the tiger trailing his prey.

Suddenly the drums faltered. People near us cried out. Voices were heard.

"Bayo!"

"Bayo has gone into the bush!"

"Sound the drums to bring him back!"

In the silence of the moment, we could hear from the
787 direction of the river the cries of our friend, now in the grip of obia. "*Hoi, hoi, hoi! Obia! Hoi!*"

The lull in the drumming was only momentary, for instantly another man jumped for the makeshift drum, which Bayo had left, and the voice of the spirits once more rolled out. Ten, twelve men were whirling before us in their dance, and now more joined them, until it was impossible to remain seated, and we rose, and stood on guard.

More cries. These came from the village. Someone else had got obia.

A woman dashed up to us. "Run, white people, run! Come inside my house! Obia has come too soon! Obia is bad tonight! You will be hurt!"

As we shook our heads, she hurried to a near-by house, and we could hear the slam of the door and the sound of the wooden bolt as it was shot to. She had done what she could for the visitors. If they would stay, let them take the consequences.

Before us a creeping figure appeared, with eyes fixed upon us, his muscles tense, as if ready for a spring. The dancing men who were not yet possessed, closed in front of us. They held him as he crouched there, glaring. Those who restrained him called to the others.

"See to the guns!"

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"OBIA COMES!"

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"Hide the bush knives!"

These Kromanti men, in the strength of their obia, try to seize weapons made of iron, and if they succeed in wresting from a man a machete or gun, nothing is safe. Apanto, the obia man, and the old men of the village, had no wish for tragedy.

"Sound the drums louder, faster!" came the cry. "Call Bayo from the bush!"

The drummers redoubled their efforts, until at last Bayo's spirit responded to their call.

"Look out! Take care!" called the women who had stayed outside their huts, as they ran before us up the path, away from the two men whose obia was so dangerous. "It is Bayo! Obia came!"

It was indeed Bayo, but not a recognizable Bayo. He was on all fours. His knees and shins dragged over the stony path on which he crawled so that we dared not think of the lacerations we would see the following day. He stared about him wildly. Saliva drooled from his mouth, and his tongue lolled from between his parted lips. Two of the older men had him in charge, and several of those who had been dancing now came to his side to restrain him should he attempt to leap.

"Stop the drums!" came the command, and in a few moments the stillness of the night was restored to us. For with the drums quieted, Bayo and the other whom obia had possessed could be treated by the older men who knew the way of obia, knew how to give them release from the spirit without doing harm to the village and its people.

On Bayo dragged himself, out of sight, and the other man was taken with him. Soon they called to us to come and see Bayo. He was being brought out of his seizure.

He was still on his hands and knees, and the saliva still dropped from his mouth. As we looked, an elder stooped over him and whispered some words in his ear. Taking the small wineglass we had brought for our present of rum for the dance, he poured a few drops of liquor in his eyes, then in his ears, and then brought the glass to his mouth.

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787 Bayo's teeth closed with a snap, and the glass came away in the hands of the elder who had held it. A piece of glass remained in Bayo's mouth. Slowly, as we looked on, his mouth began to work. Would he swallow the piece of glass whole? Would he chew it into bits and then swallow it? We had heard of those whom Kromanti possessed who did this, but would Bayo?

He did not swallow it. Slowly the muscles of the mouth moved, and slowly the piece of glass appeared between his lips, then, slowly ejected, it fell to the ground.

The old man tried again to make him drink, this time giving him the liquor in a metal cup. When the cup was released, the marks of the boy's teeth were deeply imprinted on it.

In the clearing where the dancing had taken place, men and women stood about in little groups, excitedly talking. Obia had come without the proper preparation. Obia had come too soon—it had come too strong. Lucky for them that visiting obia men who knew how to control this strength were present, people who knew how to take violent men in the full strength of their violence and bring them to sanity by speaking magic words which obia listened to.

"Ah, Bak'a, it is good they were here. Obia came too strong. If the drums had not stopped, many would have been hurt, and our village would have mourned. When obia comes too soon, it is bad."

6

We were in our canoe, returning to the base camp. Two of the men who lived in the village where the dance had been held were paddling, and in the stern sat Bayo, a strange, strained, silent Bayo.

He had regained consciousness, for when we had asked him, "Are you ready to come back with us?" he had answered a hoarsely whispered "Ai." In the boat with us was the tumao drum, and as the two of us and Bayo sat silent, the paddlers gossiped about the events of the evening.

"OBIA COMES!"

Back at the camp, Bayo was exhausted. Tross, after his frantic welcome, had settled down and was lying near his master who sat on a box, leaning against one of the posts of the hut. We were alone with him and our servants. The Bush Negroes had left us at the shore. Bayo had strong obia, and his obia had obviously not been satisfied. Would the spirits seize him once more?

Wisdom dictated that we take ordinary precautions and, as Bayo sat there, we accounted for all the machetes and Bayo's shotgun and locked them in a canister.

Did he want water? No. Suddenly he roused himself, and we came to our feet. What was to happen now?

He strode over to the corner of the hut where the tumao drum stood, and, hoisting it on his shoulder, walked out of the hut. As we followed him, we could see him stop at the river bank and place the drum on the ground. He brought his hands down on the drumhead. A rhythm sounded. Was he signaling the village across the river that he had arrived safely? Was he speaking to the spirits that had just left him? The drumming left off as suddenly as it had started, and he came back and replaced the drum.

But he was not yet ready to go into his hammock and rest, and he stood against the doorway, his tired body gleaming in the light of the lanterns, his knees slightly flexed, arms spread wide over the side poles of the house, his hands grasping the wood.

"Will you go to your hammock, Bayo?"

"Ai," and our town man who had helped him there came back saying that he was already asleep.

"It is all over," we hazarded the opinion.

But our cook was of another mind.

"Massa," he said, "you can never tell when the spirit will come back. Do not sleep without the lantern. Let it stay lighted."

And so we slept with lighted lantern, while Bayo lay separated from us by a partition which did not reach above a man's head.

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787 The next day was our last among the Saramacca people. Bayo came to us early to help with the packing. He was apparently none the worse for his seizure and, as he worked, we could tell from his manner how release had come to him and how the tension we had noticed the past few days had left him.

On his body were no marks. His mouth showed no cuts where the glass was bitten off and chewed. When we told him about the glass, he knew nothing of it. Had he not known about this eating of glass, he might well have doubted our word, for when we examined his lips and palate and tongue, not even a scratch showed.

"What did you drum last night, Bayo?"

"When, before the obia came to me?"

He remembered nothing after he had leaped from the improvised apinti to run into the bush.

"Not when you drummed apinti, but when you came back here and took the tumao to the river."

"I don't remember. Did I do that?"

8

609 789 Despite the early hour we had to leave in order to catch the weekly train for the coast, the boats of our friends began to be seen off the landing place as they came to say their farewells. The good woman Tita, whom they called [376] [480] Mother Snake behind her back, was the first to arrive. She walked slowly up from the river bank, pipe in mouth, a pot on her head, and one in each hand. The pots held obias which, she said, were made especially for us, to give us great powers in our own land—one to keep us safe from the ghosts of those we had wronged; one to guard us against the acts of the unfriendly living; one to make all those from whom we sought advantage "love" us.

123 Sedefo's younger wife came with her child on her back to [854] collect whatever tin cans were about, and some gift for the child when it wakened, knowing that something was

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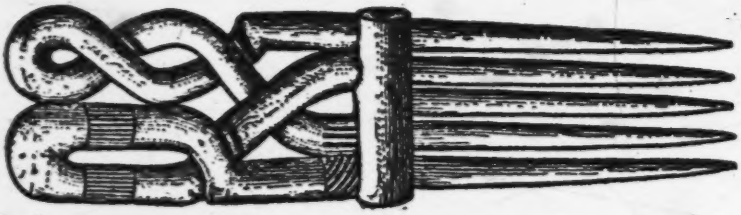

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Chapter Nine

MEDICINE AND MAGIC

NO one in Djuka land dies a natural death. Death is 754
caused by witchcraft. At Santi Gron on the Saramacca 764
River, preparations are being made for a burial. The whole village is excited. The women wailing are the relatives of the dead man. Children are crying because they see others crying. Unseen drums throb dully, making the hot air pulsate. The corpse lies in an open shed with only three walls—a death house (*dede oso*). Two girls of fifteen or sixteen are fanning it steadily to keep the flies away. The man died more than a week ago; all this time the body had been lying on a platform out in the tropical heat to decompose.

It is black magic that kills. Therefore the Bush Negroes 754
make an effort to find out who made the magic that killed 695
this man. An ancient ritual is employed. Three to ten days 787
the corpse is left unburied, and in the humid heat the flesh undergoes a partial liquefaction. The putrescent fluid is gathered in a calabash cup and carried around from door to door.

[For caption, see category 116, p. 204.—Analyst]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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754 Each person in the village goes through the motion of drink-
695 ing some of it. Should anyone refuse to do this, he is the
787 person who is guilty of inflicting death by witchcraft upon the deceased.

The guilt is mainly ceremonial; but sometimes a penalty is attached to anyone's refusal to "drink." The liquid is not actually swallowed, but the calabash gourd is placed to the lips. The whole ritual is probably a folk-memory of the ancestral days when actual death was meted out to the man who worked black magic.

Another ceremony to find the guilty party may follow, especially if the first has not found him. The corpse on its platform is carried in procession through the paths of the village. Leading the procession are the obeiah men daubed with pemba dotee. Their faces are bisected vertically, one half covered with clay and the other half clean. Large crescents are drawn over each breast and over the belly. In the procession are the dead man's relatives. They are accompanied always by the booming drums. Four bucks carry the platform to the doorway of each hut, and pause there, or pause in the village clearing.

The obeiah men question the corpse: "Is this the house of the person who killed you?"

The four men bearing the body, which is supposedly possessed by the spirit of the dead, shake the platform, imparting a slight movement, a semblance of life, to the corpse. Meanwhile, buzzards and vultures, the uninvited guests, perch expectantly in the wall of jungle trees that surround

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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the village clearing. Flies and insects scurry. The body rolls 754
over toward the door of the hut: yes, this is the guilty one. 695
Or else it rolls away: no, he is innocent. The tomtoms boom 787
again, and the procession moves on to the next hut.

After winding about the town, the procession continues along a game trail back into the forest, where the white man is not allowed to follow. There, back in the bush, the body is perhaps buried to cheat the buzzards and vultures; but we are not sure. The dead person's hut is never occupied again; 768
neither is it repaired or demolished, but allowed, like the corpse, to decay.

Not for some time has the actual death penalty been in- 683
flicted upon those suspected of killing their neighbours by witchcraft. However, this used to be the case among the Djukas—more especially among the Aucaners—and the ceremony surrounding the detection of the guilty party is probably a survival of the Tshi-speaking people of Africa. Today the punishment of one suspected of causing death takes a more moderate form. In fact, unless the guilty party had previously announced his intention of causing the death, the punishment is "left to God." Otherwise, the guilty one may be given a severe beating, but, if the culprit escapes to a neighbouring village, it is incumbent upon the captain of that village to give him asylum. This has been noted by Mr. E. Wong, head bush police official at Moengo. Men are sometimes ostracized from the village, and are left to gain a livelihood by their own resources at some lonely spot on the river.

The Djukas may be possessed by almost any spirit. During
776 the dances they sometimes feel Apuku or Cromanti, as the
● 787 case may be. Once a Bush Negro was possessed by the spirit of a jaguar. The big buck seized a dog that happened to be loitering near by and tore it to pieces with his fingers. After a dance a man was seized by the spirit of a rebel leader of the old plantation days; he seized a cutlass and began hacking and smashing everything around him until the others forcibly restrained him.

776 The Bush Negroes do not worship the jungle spirits very
782 meticulously, but every village has fetishes, usually standing
[778] in little god-houses which are mere sheds to keep off the rain. Under the shade of the tiny roof can be seen the stiff visage of one of these deities, at times with remnants of food and drink at his feet. Beside the food there is usually a paddle for the god to eat with, elaborately carved like any food-paddle, and smeared with pemba dotee, the sacred white clay. This clay is smeared on all religious or ceremonial objects. For the individual to hold profitable converse with the gods, he must be smeared with it; pemba dotee seems to be a sort of catalytic agent between the soul and the deity. This custom is a West African survival, and not to be found among the Indians of Dutch Guiana.

778 Along the river, also, are occasional shrines where the
782 Bush Negroes may appease their deities when on long journeys, or when hunting. The shrine consists of a tall pole which may be either festooned or plain. At the base of many of the poles are shells, stones, bottles, and pieces of wood, as well as food and drink, possibly as a sacrifice. Every village,

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stituted a form of currency, *papa moni*. They come originally 778 751 from the East Indies, having been brought to both Africa and [177] South America by Portuguese traders. When a savage takes a fancy to a thing, he will go to some trouble to get hold of it. Thus the tin cans of the Standard Oil Company have penetrated into almost every primitive community now known.

Projecting from the wrapped cord around Abaisa's boe is a bit of blue cloth to ward off the spirit of a dead enemy. A bit of red cloth blinds the wearer to evil sights and makes him serene. A small strand of white cloth provides protection from the bad spirits called *Bakru*. Underneath the cloth are bristles from the anteater to give strength. All these charms make the obeiah bracelet a powerful affair.

Another boe is used to foretell the future. It is similar to 778 the bracelet, but projecting from the wrapped cord is a short 787 bit of tubing. The device is suspended from a string and held motionless, the tube pointing toward the ground. When no air is stirring a question is asked concerning the future. If the pointer remains motionless the answer is "yes," but if it moves the reply is "no." In this simple way the Bush Negro acquires knowledge of coming events. Our tent boy had several questions he wanted to ask, and when they were answered he had "a peculiar feeling."

Another obeiah that we obtained is a jaguar-tooth neck- 778 lace. Strung on the same string with the pierced tooth are two little carved fetishes of Cromanti and Aflamu, crudely done. All religious articles are extremely crude in their carving, compared with the delicate tracery of Djuka implement

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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784 These food trafers are sometimes chosen by the individual,
262 and are acquired also by inheritance. A certain Bush Negro
[424 got his trafer in this way: His grandmother had a vision,
●787] called *papa winti,* and she informed her grandson that she had been possessed. This made him feel the spirit of Cromanti. In that bad state he got the *idée fixe* that shooting a turtle would be reprehensible and dangerous. This animal then became his tabooed food, and for the rest of his life it is trafer so far as he is concerned.

797 So far only a slight attempt has been made to Christianize the Djukas. The Catholics and Moravian Brothers have established mission stations at a few points along the rivers. Their efforts at conversion appear on the whole to be unsuccessful. The Bush Negroes are converted in small numbers and very superficially; in moments of stress they will revert back to their jungle deities. The whole spirit of Christian customs is foreign to their mode of life. They have the Gran
776 Gadu, an adequate enough image of divine power. Their
782 prayers are sometimes said directly to him, or they pray to their ancestors to intercede with the Gran Gadu for aid. Sometimes the prayer is said by being beaten out on the tom-
[778] tom, for the tomtom is sacred, and the throbs of the great

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755 the cock is able to stand up and crow the patient is said to be cured.

787 The killing of the white rooster and inspection of its bladder are performed also in order to foretell the future in other than healing situations. There are several methods of prophesying. In one of them a plank is supported on the heads of two men, and on it are placed various little bundles. A third man stands before the plank and asks questions while the men bearing the plank jump up and down. The Gadu (the spirit in the bundles) is supposed to reply with a yes or no, as indicated by the way the bundles on the plank move. The questions are put metaphorically and in such a way as to exclude the possibility of the plank bearers deliberately influencing the answers. After one man has asked several questions, the bearers run with the plank to another part of the village where further questions are put to it. The carrying
463 of this plank seems to be the prerogative of certain individuals, and only certain others understand the making of the bundles and the correct placing of them.

778 Not even Mynheer Wolff, who has lived among the Bush Negroes for many years and undoubtedly commands their profound respect, has been permitted to enter Dahomey. The headman or captain of Dahomey, interestingly enough, is named Songai. There is a district on the West Coast of Africa still known today as Songhay. The name is the remnant of a great Negro empire that once flourished in North-West Africa, near the Sahara Desert. This empire is thought to have had universities and astronomical observatories, wealth

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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174 many of these brave and hardy blacks, who rebelled in Jamaica, Haiti, and elsewhere, as well as in Surinam. This intractable and high-spirited nature still characterizes the contemporary Bush Negro, who has the same hardihood, the same impatience of control, that marked the wild Coromantis of the early revolts. They may have been slaves in fact, but they were never slaves in spirit.

The name of these fractious slaves is not unfamiliar; we have encountered it in contemporaneous Bush Negro life. [776] *Cromanti* now designates a god of the South [illegible]an bush. The name has apparently travelled from one continent to another, from a Dutch slave factory of the seventeenth century to the Bush Negro villages of the twentieth. Today there are "fetishes to the bad, wild god Cromanti."

776 In the person of Cromanti, the Djukas have obviously deified their own ancestors. The bad, wild god of the bush is to be identified with the Bush Negroes' Coromantyn forbears. The dancers smeared with sacred clay, whose mad gyrations [787] with whistling bush-knives signified that they were possessed by the spirit of Cromanti, were reincarnations of the rebels of the old days. The Djukas' bad demon of the forest is an atavistic memory, personifying the spirit of the uprisings.

/12 cont./

796 Then they call all the neighbors together to take part in the
273 festivities to be held, which consist of invoking their gods amidst continuous dancing and excessive drinking.

They begin the festivities only on a Friday and usually finish on a Sunday or Monday, depending on the larger or smaller
[147] supply of drink, so, lacking this, the festival ends. After the conclusion they are usually extremely tired and listless and give themselves up entirely to rest for at least two or three days.

It is a definite requirement at these festivities to be very amply supplied with strong drink, because one must drink without
[782] interruption in order to remain in a continuous narcosis. With each drink they first pour a little on the ground, -- so that it, too, on which they find themselves so gay, may participate in their enjoyment.

[262] The merrymakers then take care that they will by no means
[577] be lacking in fish, wild game, bacon, rice, etc., since it is a matter of honor with them to display the most lavish hospitality on such occasions.

776 The gods that they worship are:

Loango Gado,
Papa Gado,
Cromantie Gado,

/13/ names certainly derived from the various African tribes of these names.

In the first two they glorify nature and everything created, from which it therefore appears that these are merely subordinate
[787] gods of the unnamed, single great spirit. The last is above all regarded by them as the mediator who transmits their wishes to the great spirit; he is invoked especially at burial ceremonies and for consultation in connection with serious illnesses.

796 They do not have any other cult or religion, so far as I was
[771] able to discover, but only the fixed habit of still celebrating to-
[132] gether and with their chief and captains on the first Friday of the new moon in the month of October or November, after the long
[783] dry period has set in for good, a great feast that has as its goal a general atonement, to cleanse them of the misdeeds that they have committed.

/17 cont./

765 In these tales, called anansitori (spider-head story), the
[538] spider usually plays the main role as a personal being.

The close female relatives wear as a sign of mourning for husband, father, and mother, for a year, white or blue cloths around the head and a white cloth around the body. The men wear a white cloth around head and body only for three months, but during an entire year (since they then may not go completely clothed) they cover themselves with only a black loincloth. They also refrain from wearing ornaments for a whole year.

766 If one of them dies in the working place, in the town, or elsewhere, then the corpse has some hair shorn from its forehead and is subsequently buried without ceremonies. This hair is wrapped in a new piece of linen or cotton and brought to Auca, or their permanent dwelling place, where it then undergoes a proper burial, on which occasion all the customary ceremonies are observed as though the corpse were there.

766 Whenever one of them dies suddenly or from a strange
787 disease, which can arouse a suspicion of poisoning, immediately
[824] after death and before being washed the corpse is placed in a boesipapaja (1) tree (which, split and then tied together, is just

1. It is a hollow tree of very soft and unusable wood which, when split open, resembles bamboo from the inside; the leaves are broad and rasp-like.

like a halved hollow tree) at least five feet long. This kind of coffin is carried from east to west, past all those present, who for this purpose must be ranged in two rows, by two completely strange and impartial men, who are invited from other places for this purpose.

Now the place where the corpse through heavy pressure on the /18/ head forces the two bearers to stand still is where the inquiry begins, and one asks the corpse whether this place where they are now standing still is where clarification can be provided. If one notices a distinct movement of the hollowed-out tree, this is corroboration. If, after the question has been repeated three

/18 cont./

766 times, no noticeable movement has been observed, the answer is
● 787 negative, and one proceeds with the corpse all the way to the end of the crowd ranged on either side. Everyone endeavors to be present on such occasions in order not to cast any blame upon himself or to arouse suspicion.

If, however, the answer is in the affirmative, then one asks whether the right person or a close relative of his is here; if the answer to this is also affirmative, one proceeds to inquire about the degree of blood relationship until one has finally discovered who the actual person is. Since this happens in the presence of so many persons as witnesses, it is regarded as valid proof, and the corpse is buried. However incomprehensible and impossible this may appear, this procedure is nonetheless actually practiced con-
[123] stantly among the Bush Negroes. I have been an eyewitness several times.

695 A few days later the person indicated, in case he was not
[693] present at the above-mentioned inquiry, is tracked down, if necessary fetched forcibly, and brought before the governor or the chief, who questions him in the presence of the captains or the council members. In case of denial, he is offered something to drink, which, however, he will not accept if he is guilty, since it has become apparent that whoever drinks it with a pounding or uneasy heart frequently manifests immediate symptoms, such as
[681] vomiting, swelling, chlorosis, and so forth. If the person has been prepared to brave this (in spite of the conviction of his misdeed), he is put to death by means of the most horrible and unheard-of tortures, whereas in the case of confession he is forced with the whip to reveal whom else he has poisoned during his life.

696 All the relatives of the poisoned person are then called in
682 order to be present at the punishment and to pull on his ears with all possible force by means of a pair of pincers, one after
[262] another. Subsequently a bowl with pinda blaf is set before him, in which a turtle must be boiled, as well as a tomtom made of ripe bananas. All this, after all, is regarded as the tastiest food. He is then /19/ again severely beaten with a whip, whereupon he must eat what has been prepared for him, and immediately afterwards

/66 cont./

613 554 The small, recently founded lineages attached to a lo each designate a head: for example, the Afi lineage has Awéni as head. But this head remains subject to the authority of the captain of the lo and his office has no official existence.

/67/ The appointment is made by a council - kuutu - of the lineage, but it is not valid until endorsed by the grand man.

•[787] When the deceased captain did not, while living, designate any successor, his yɔrka is interrogated in order to know whom he prefers. That does not have the force of law but can influence the council.

The council meets several days after the end of mourning for the deceased captain. All the male members of the lineage, regardless of age, give their opinion. Strictly speaking, they do not vote; but the nomination is considered valid only if three-quarters of those present are in agreement. If not, they disband without having decided anything, and the lineage can remain without a head for years. On this topic can be cited the example of the Awara Bakka lo, which remained without a head from 1935 (?) to 1953, until the appointment of Konduku. During this time the [643] grand man had designated Captain Popo, head of the Lapé lineage, to secure the interim. As for the religious functions, they were taken care of by the doyen of the lineage.

The captain has the following functions within the lineage:

1) He is priest of the ancestor worship and presides over [793] the prayers and offerings made before the fraga tiki. In this duty [769] he is replaced in case of absence by the oldest man of the lineage.

In case of the death of a member of the lineage from the [761] effect of the kunu, the captain convokes all his people in order [782] to proceed to collective prayers and offerings intended to appease the gods;

/69 cont./

562 828 [191] It is assumed once and for all that women are shrews on whom one cannot count and from whom one can get nothing. The Refugee Blacks are inexhaustible on this subject and their opinion about the women of their group is very similar to that of Africans in general: they call them ill-natured, devoid of feeling, selfish, greedy, and unfaithful.

562 571 [965] In general, women are held apart from regular social life; no form of customary society of women exists. In the mourning ceremonies, which correspond to a veritable mobilization of the village, they play no role, except to prepare the meals.

562 787 794 Yet the women play indirectly an important role in the social life by way of the cults of possession. The Papa gadu gods so formidable have women nearly exclusively as bearers, and we shall see in studying the functioning of the kunu that they are the principal actors in this. Through this activity, which is exerted in arbitrary fashion on the outskirts of the institutions of regular social life, the women maintain around themselves an atmosphere of fear; it is not impossible that the functioning of these cults is influenced by the concern of the women to maintain their privileged position in the society of the Refugee Blacks.

562 157 Many women are charitable and have a certain generosity toward the members of their family, insuring the maintenance of the old men without resources. But their benevolence is essentially subjective and extends only to a small circle of personal friends and their nearest relatives. As soon as the elders appeal to them for a question of general interest, claiming to give them orders or even advice, they meet an attitude systematically malevolent and stubborn. /70/

[613] The lineage heads avoid giving them orders directly, for they run a strong risk of getting themselves insulted, as we have observed many a time.

/121 cont./

843 [827] Sexual relations continue during the whole pregnancy, for they are reputed to be indispensable for the formation of the mind of the child, which is thought to come from the father; also, for a man whose wife is pregnant there can be no question of abandoning her nor even of leaving for a long trip without the permission of the head of her lineage.

843 789 Forecasting of the birth. Divinatory rituals are carried out from the first months of pregnancy to forecast whether the childbirth will be easy or not. For that one goes to an old man who "knows" one of these remedies. There are several: one consists in making a small hole in the center of a cross outlined on the ground, pouring into it a decoction of magic herbs kept secret, and putting an egg into it. The remedy-master then says: "If the childbirth is to be easy, the egg must be crushed as soon as my foot bears down /122/ on it." They state that sometimes the egg resists crushing: from this they deduce that the delivery will be difficult.

844 [789] [845] When the time for delivery arrives, concern is centered on the danger of maleficent human entities, ɔgi sani, which try to become incarnate in the child. The woman is shut up in the house, all of its exits are blocked off, and ɔbiaman are called to perform rites of protection all around the house. If delivery is difficult, that is attributed to the fact that one of these entities succeeded in getting into the house in spite of the precautions taken.

846 602 The ɔbiaman are called to "wash" the woman with the help of appropriate remedies.. Only in serious cases are men allowed to enter the house. As a general rule, during the first eight days only women related to the mother may enter. (Care is even taken as far as possible to get as midwife (mena) an old woman related to the mother.)

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613 In general, one can say that the law of exogamy is main-
614 tained firmly within the fractions which know completely their genealogy. Union between classificatory "brothers" and "sisters" belonging to different fractions remains always prohibited in principle, but as for all the institutions of the Refugee Blacks, the prohibition ceases to be observed if fear of suprahuman sanctions weaken. /139/

This is what explains the difference in attitude among the lineages. In the Awara Bakka lineage, people do not remember [784] that marriages between fractions may have been followed by maladies or misfortunes, and for this reason they are no longer feared.

In the Kotika lineage it was the same, but an event which took place in 1958 threw consternation. A young woman, Awini [789] (K1, E37, Boniville), died suddenly, and divination showed that [784] she had been struck down by the kunu for having married her [761] classificatory brother Sintamann (K3, E145, Boniville). However, they belonged to two different fractions and their common relationship was the farthest removed possible in the lineage (tenth-degree relatives).

684 Pikadu. The offense against exogamy, pikadu (1), incest in the
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784

1. This word appears to come from the Portuguese pecado, sin.

broad sense, is considered an offense against society and against religious law; it exposes the lineage to the vengeance of the gods who exercise the kunu on it. But in the thought of the Refugee Blacks, if incest unleashes the functioning of existing kunu, it [114] does not create new ones. What has been written on this subject by several authors seems inexact to us, at least for the Boni. [761] In the example put forth above Awini's death was attributed to the kunu brought to bear for a long time by the yɔ́ka of a man assassinated in former times by a member of the lineage.

/161 cont./

764 692 This tribunal is charged with establishing the causes of death and rendering a decision on this subject which has the force of law. But it is above all charged with judging the dead person, with determining whether he has lived worthily, whether he has the right to be buried according to the rites and to be invoked as an ancestor, or whether on the contrary he was a wisimi.

[613] [645] The grand man designates one or two lineage heads to preside over the council and "command" the dead person until the burial.

The grand man designates who will lead the assemblage and will "command" the dead person until the burial.

764 692 613 This cannot be the head of the dead person's lineage, for no one can at the same time be judge and judged.

Ex.: for Béniti (Dju) this was Popo — head of the Lapé lo

for Atikati (Dju) it was Kondoku — head of the Awara Bakka lo

for Kotoïda (Aw.B.) it was Tafanié — head of the Papaïsson lo

for Way (Dip. II) it was Tafanié — /162/

764 787 The 2nd and 3rd days after the death are given over to the interrogation of the dead person, which on the evening of the first day had scarcely begun.

[184] The rites of this interrogation vary from one village to another; in certain villages they begin to carry the dead man even before the construction of the coffin; the questions are not asked everywhere in the same fashion.

[171] The dead person is interrogated by methods widespread in West Africa and which are related to spiritualism: the coffin is carried on the heads of two men, feet forward. The dead man is supposed to push the bearers forward to say yes, and to make them now their heads from left to right to say no.

/162 cont./

764 In principle the forward bearer (who is called bossman by analogy
767 with a boat) must belong to the dead person's lineage. Apart
[613] from this restriction, the bearers can be (and are in fact) any people whatever, the only condition required being that they be extremely vigorous, because the load they carry is at the limit of their strength.

Fraud can exist in isolated cases, but in the great majority of cases there is no doubt as to the good faith of the bearers; they give contradictory answers, go ahead and back interminably, until, exhausted, they are raised up again by others. Actually, the interpretation of these automatic movements does not differ essentially from any process of divination.

The dead person is interrogated from the age of four or
[766] five years up. If it is a very young child, he is not interrogated; but the causes of his death are sought by interrogating possessed people, and if there is reason to, the kunu is appeased in the same fashion.

764 At the beginning of the interrogation the tribunal tries to
787 make sure that the dead person was not a wisimã. After sending
754 the bearers to the other end of the village, the president of the assemblage has two young men hidden in huts; then he has the bearers called, saying to the dead person: "I have lost So-and-so and So-and-so, find them." If the dead person was an upright man, he must have acquired a suprahuman clairvoyance permitting him to direct his bearers straight away toward the huts in question. If he was a wisimã, he will be as if blind; his bearers go wandering in vain from hut to hut.

They state that this test always succeeds.

764 The interrogation proceeds interminably. The causes of
787 death are taken up. The first question is: is it a god who killed
761 you? The answer is nearly always yes, and they proceed by
[796] elimination in order to arrive, for example, at learning that it
[784] is an Ampuku, that it is the Ampuku borne by So-and-so. By what the kunu was set in motion, how to appease it, is not the

764 /162 cont./
787 business of the tribunal. The people of the dead person's lineage
76 will have to settle that among themselves after the obsequies.
[784] The role of the tribunal is to make official the cause of death and give it the force of law.

764 Then the inheritance is taken up in the presence of the
787 near relatives of the dead man. The questions are asked suc-
428 cessively: "To whom dost thou leave thy boat...?" "To whom dost thou leave thy gun (1)...?" The coffin moves each time

> 1. That, unless the dead man has, before his death, in front of witnesses, formally indicated the apportionment of his belongings; in such a case, questions are asked only for the objects whose attribution had not been clearly specified.

toward one of the people present. /Figs. 22 and 23 appear here/

764 /163/ At the end of the third day after the death the
[789] burial is prepared; the dead person is asked from daybreak on whether he is ready for that; if not it can be postponed until the next day.

[767] The [illegible] have been working at the cemetery since the
[827] beginning of the day. They are young and strong men who have to work slowly, for not a drop of sweat may fall into the grave or their akka would risk remaining prisoner in it.

About 4:00 P.M. the bearers promenade the dead person one last time in the village for a supreme adieu. The near
[534] relatives go to the wharf. The dead man is hoisted into a canoe
[975] while the apinti drum calls his yorka so that it will not remain in the village.

6:Hurault--245a K-5 (1948-1968 1971 SRo Bush Negroes: SRB
Boni

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Fig. 22. Offering of food to the ancestors.

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Fig. 23. Interrogation of the dead person.

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764 About 5:00 P.M. the coffin arrives at the cemetery wharf and is given over to the Nyamã. No other rite is carried out. It is placed at the bottom of the grave; a layer of round logs separates it from the pile of earth which is put back on top. The burial is finished about six o'clock.

Notes taken at the burial of Way in Kormotibo (January 25, 1957) (1st day after death).

I arrive in Kormotibo at nine o'clock. There are two dead people in the village: Sokodo, 37 years old, who is to be buried the next day, and Way, 65, who died in Maripasoula and whose body was transported the day before.

764 787 [692] 622 When we moored, I noticed at the south end of the village the bearers of Sokodo's coffin, alone and immobile. Arriving near the mortuary shed, I find Captain Kondoku, who presides over the lãnti kuutu, and Captain Poopu, head of the village. Kondoku tells me that he is in the act of proceeding to a new test on Sokodo; he has just had two young men hidden, M... and G...., and the dead man is called upon to find them without hesitation.

I look around us. There is nobody nearby; a few women are attending to their occupations, indifferent to a scene observed many a time. It seems as though Kondoku is doing that for himself alone.

The coffin-bearers appear, coming from the other end of the village. Without hesitation they go toward the mortuary shed, enter it, and the end of the coffin stops before the hammock covered with a large mosquito net spread to the ground, where Way's widower, the Saramaka Gamba, is seated.

To my great surprise I see two young men go out. Nothing revealed their presence under the hammock, and Kondoku, who was talking with me, has neither said nor done anything which could direct the bearers. Nobody present could have

/163 cont./

764 given any indication whatever. Besides, how would he have
787 had time to make himself understood by two men walking at top speed, crushed by their heavy load and looking straight ahead?

This upsets all the ideas I had formed about this test. The only hypothesis that remains is that the bearers have been "tipped off" by the man who went to get them (an old man of the council). But is it possible that such a crude fraud could be current practice? The Boni are far from being stupid, they are ever suspicious /164/ and they are too talkative for such deceptions not to be laid bare by their perpetrators themselves.

Under these conditions, how can it operate--this collective suggestion which explains most of the rites of the Refugee Blacks? I can't explain it to myself.

764 Manufacture of the Coffin. The kisimã are gathered
767 around a pile of boards. They are about 15 in number,
322 commanded by Boofo, head of the kisimã of Asisi, and Aténi
[412] (Asisi-Dipélu II). A pile of boards is at their feet; some work with a small hand saw, others with an adze; the fitting is done with a machete. /Fig. 21 appears here./

They take measurements with a graver. The bottom board is cut first, then the front and back ends. The outline of the back end, in the shape of a truncated diamond, results from a rather complex construction with the compass which I have not time to report.

764 The work is done noisily in an atmosphere of crude farce.
767 The whole time it lasts, the kisimã exert veritable command
[152] over the village. The coconut trees of Kormotibo are pillaged
[262] for their benefit. The village women prepare the rice for the meal which must, according to custom, be offered to them upon finishing the coffin about noon.

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764 medium of two round logs. This ritual seems to have as its
767 purpose restricting the defilement of death for the village.).

The body is put back down in the deepest silence, with the greatest care, into the coffin. A pillow is put under the head.

[152] Those present show no emotion. The widower, the Saramaka Gamba, who has remained seated in his hammock since morning, turning his back to his wife's body, does not stir.

The kisimã bring the edges of the pieces of cloth back over the body and put on, in addition, a few camisas of the ordinary kind. Before the upper wings of the coffin are put in place, one of them gently removes the wads of cotton which had been put in the dead woman's nostrils.

Then the upper wings of the coffin are nailed down, always according to the same rite, blows struck in cadence with pieces of wood accompanying the hammer blows.

[692] The role of the kisimã is ended; they give over the dead woman to the council, lãnti kuutu, charged with judging her.

764 Search for the Causes of Death. The ceremony begins
787 about four o'clock in the greatest confusion, as is usual among the Refugee Blacks; it is impossible to understand who is really a member of the council and who is not a member, everybody talking at once.

I think I understand that the grand man has designated Captains Kondoku (Asisi-Awara Bakka) and Tafanié (Papaïston) to preside over the ceremony. In fact, it is neither the one nor the other who begins the interrogation, but a man from Papaïston village, Agodéba, a venerable old man whose torso is molded in a deplorably shoddy jersey calling to mind a rugby match.

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764 The coffin is placed at the edge of the mortuary shed,
787 the front turned toward the spectators. Agodéba sits down before the front of the coffin. According to ceremony, he enters into contact with the /167/ yɔrka of the dead woman by pouring water on the ground before the coffin and calling her by
764 name. He says the same sentences several times in different
787 forms: "Thou hast lived here ... thou hast had children in this
761 village; now death has killed thee. Thou must tell us who killed thee."

[292] Two men, B... (L'Enfant Perdu, Dipélu I) and A... (Asisi-Awara Bakka) come forward, gird their loins with a camisa, and, aided by several others, lift the coffin. B..., who is of the dead woman's lineage, takes the forward position.

For about ten minutes the two bearers try to put themselves into a state of passivity permitting them to receive fitly the promptings of the dead woman; no question whatever is asked. They are seen to make contradictory movements, to go forward tilting the coffin from left to right, which means yes and no at the same time. Sometimes a sudden impulse appears to draw them far from the spectators, they are seen going from hut to hut, wheeling around, going away again.

Finally they come back. Agodéba asks: "Is it a god who struck thee down?" The answer seems to be yes. "Is it a Papa gadu, an Ampuku, a Kãntasasu?" Contradictory answers, the people present lean toward the negative.

Agodéba continues: "Is it a yɔrka who killed thee?" Confused and contradictory movements of the coffin. Agodéba begins again: "Is it a god?" Someone among those present shouts: "Don't you see that she meant yes, speaking of the yɔrka? Agodéba gets angry, takes his hat, and leaves the meeting. General hubbub. Half an hour of words, broken by various movements and sham exits, is required in order to bring him to take his place again.

/167 cont./

764 ●787 761 The bearers are changed and the interrogation continues, still as confused as before. Captain Tafanié, who arrives in the midst of all this, thinks that the dead woman does not want to speak in front of such a large crowd. He asks her to designate which of the people present will form a small group. I see the front of the coffin stop in front of an old Saramaka named Yasu, then successively in front of about ten of those present of various ages and origins. They stand up, take their little benches in their hands, and go to join Tafanié under a large tree in a spot to the side; the interrogation resumes; by nightfall a sure fact has been established: Way was killed by a god. They will resume the next day in order to find out what god is concerned and how to appease him.

764 [114] Notes taken at the funeral ceremonies for Kotoïda (Aii lineage) October 22-23, 1956 (2nd and 3rd days after death).

I arrive at Asisi on the 22nd at eight o'clock. Kotoïda died on the twentieth; the first part of the ceremony has been finished.

[692] It is Tafanié, head of Papaïston village, who presides over the lãnti kuutu.

Tafanié himself has directed the making of the coffin (he is a kisimã) with the help of boards held in reserve on the spot. The work was finished at nine o'clock in the morning.

The body was placed in the coffin immediately, and after the presentation of the pieces of cloth, the wings were nailed. /168/

When I arrive at the wharf, the coffin is placed in the mortuary shed. The near relatives of the deceased (sons, daughters, and nephews) as well as the husband and the co-wife compelled to take part in the mourning are seated in their hammocks attached to the posts of the shed. The first-mentioned manifest no apparent sorrow whatever. Husband and

/168 cont./

764 co-wife, on the contrary, are completely veiled and show by their state of prostration the keenest sorrow. Each of them is assisted by a female relative who supports them when they have to move somewhere else, for they are supposed to be too overcome to move alone.

764 787 761 The interrogation as to the causes of death has already taken place the day before, but Tafanié proclaims, in front of me, the result of it to the latest arrivals: the deceased was struck down by a yɔrka which pursues the lineage with its kunu. She had already received several warnings in the form of illness; the yɔrka had demanded a payment which she and her near relatives had neglected to furnish. Impossible to learn anything further before being able to interrogate this yɔrka, whose habitual bearer has left for Saint-Laurent. It is necessary to wait for his return in order to mollify the yɔrka's anger.

764 769 778 [613] About ten o'clock the members of the lãnti kuutu go toward the fraga tiki of the Awara Bakka lo, in front of which they all sit down on their stools. I notice that not a single man of the dead person's lineage appears in the front row. In it I recognize Popo (Lapé), Poopu (Dipélu II, Kormotibo), Tafanié (Papaïston). The one who is speaking is a foreigner passing through, a very aged and respected Djuka.

[782] The elders invoke Masa Gadu and the ancestors in general, asking them to protect them from adversity in the future; then the offering of water and tafia takes place (no cane juice). I notice that a little is poured on each of the secondary fraga tiki erected for the sake of each one of the ancestors who pursue another lineage with their kunu. That lasts about a quarter of an hour.

764 787 776 428 424 Next someone goes to ask the deceased to whom she bequeaths the Papa gadu god which manifested itself in her; for the gods are bequeathed like the rest of the inheritance, even if those concerned are divinities which exercise the kunu

/168 cont./

764 787 776 428 424

against the lineage. The god ratifies this legacy or not; in general it follows, they say, the wishes of its bearer and manifests itself some time afterward in the designated heir.

The coffin is placed on the heads of two men: Tafanié puts the questions with authority. He begins first by making sure of the passivity of the bearers, invites the dead woman to push their heads forward to say yes, to give them an impulse from right to left to say no.

The coffin advances and draws back several times; its weight is at the limit of what the two men can support. Two secondary bearers help the rear bearer, preventing the coffin from falling.

[613] [621]

1. /Footnote at bottom of p. 168; no reference to it on the page/ Let us recall that this lineage, too few in numbers to constitute a separate social unit, lives with the Awara Bakka, with whom it has no connection through kinship or alliance.

The dead woman suddenly leads her bearers across the village. We see it come back /169/ a quarter of an hour afterward, accompanied by a woman of about 35 years, Moni, in front of whom it stopped.

Tafanié asks whether it wishes to leave its god to her; the dead woman confirms. Upon the statement of this legacy Moni's face reflects no gladness at all, nor any fear.

They explain to me that the designated heiress can in no way refuse this legacy. She must immediately begin her instruction given by a teacher, in order to become a suitable bearer. The expenses of her instruction are borne by her lineage.

764 /169 cont./
787 They will be paid when the gita has been "arranged," that is,
776 has lost the bestial character of the beginning and when the god
428 can express itself in intelligible fashion.

764 There and then they busy themselves with transferring
787 the god out of the body of the deceased. An ɔbiaman well
789 known in the cult of the Papa gadu, Goutu (Dju) and his pupil Balan (Aw.B.) come with calabashes containing infusions of leaves. Four or five women having a Papa gadu come and line up behind them. The heiress, with an extremely vexed air, takes her place among them, clothed with the emblems of the god of the dead woman; they are going to call their gods who will dance in honor of Kotoïda's god.

The ɔbiaman and his pupil for several minutes trickle the infusion of herbs over the coffin, using packets of herbs like sponges, then they "wash" the women, including the postulant; he gives them the rest of the calabash to drink. One of the women, Samabun, falls immediately to the ground, attacked by the lowest form of possession: she drags herself on her belly like a snake (these are the first forms of the gita when it has not yet been "arranged." In her case that has lasted four years, contrary to what ordinarily happens. The scene was certainly anticipated, for she had put on European panties. The other women also drink but are not possessed; they leave to dress for dancing.

[534] The agida drum taken out of the god's chapel begins to beat, accompanied by two apinti.

The female bearers of Papa gadu arrive at the sound of the agida, smeared with pemba and carrying /wearing?--Tr./ the insignia of the god. Six come in all. They are not in a state of possession; only two will reach it. The first possessed woman keeps crawling on the ground, gropingly approaching the drum which she embraces, lying on her back. It is torn away from her. The ɔbiaman continue to come to "wash"

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her from time to time in order to help the god to manifest itself. The crowd presses around the women dancers who execute the greatest variety of figures. At times they embrace each other two by two in the Boni manner. The onlookers jump for joy.

The scene lasts about half an hour, then, at the signal given by one of them, the possessed ones scatter and begin to run through the village: this is the moment for the gods to pay the musicians. Each person rushes to hide his belongings, for the gods will steal anything in the village without anyone being able to prevent them: this is their way of paying.

Soon the possessed women come back, putting down at the feet of the musicians a heap of incongruous objects: /170/ calabashes, cloth, paddles, etc., which their owners come to recover by means of bottles of beer and eggs. Then the women who were truly possessed come back to their normal state and all go home.

This dance was not a success; those present think that it is because the women bearers had drunk tafia, which the Papa gadu detest.

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Inheritance. The dead woman is asked to whom she bequeaths her clearings. She answers: "To her family," this being understood because the bearers move parallel to the people present without designating anybody. Under these conditions the property must be distributed (Kotoïda having no children) among her classificatory nephews. Actually, the plantations still farmable will go to Samabun, her sister's daughter.

[591]

Inheritance of the house does not come up, for the dead woman lived in her husband Empalé's house.

The boat is left to Samabun.

Held back are the personal objects, money, jewelry, fabrics. When the mourning is lifted, the eldest of the surviving brothers or sisters in the classificatory sense will make the distribution among the near relatives.

/171 cont./

764 The women who had come to carry the food of the ɔlɔmã go away, their work finished. Only two of them, not especially old, remain.

[787] We arrive on a little separated space where a last interrogation takes place. It is Antonu, head of the ɔlɔmã of Asisi who speaks, while Tansia (Dipélu I) and Tyolo (Dju), basia or party-head of the ɔlɔmã of Asisi serve as bearers.

764 787 The dead woman is asked for instructions as to the choice of the men she designates as busimã (hunters, fishermen), intended to procure the food for the guests on the day of the broko dɛ. The coffin advances successively toward six men. Each one of these asks: "Is it really I?" I see the forward bearer, his eyes strangely fixed, nod in their direction.

764 At four o'clock we arrive in front of the grave, about 100 meters from the riverside. It is dug with neat edges; it is about 2 meters deep, 2 meters 50 long, and 1 meter wide. It has the trapezoidal shape of the coffin.

A bench is cut in half with a blow of the machete to make two supports placed in the bottom of the grave.

The coffin is lowered to the bottom by means of the cloth ropes which enclosed it. These ropes are then pulled back up. Several shots are fired. Not a word is spoken. About ten thick round logs about 20 centimeters in diameter are placed side by side on the grave and the earth thrown over them. The ɔlɔmã work with the shovel and hoe; the pile of earth rapidly reaches a meter in height.

Then the head of the ɔlɔmã stops the work. He passes over the grave several times, jumping with feet together. Next, passing the bundle of cloth ropes several times around his legs, he addresses the akka of those present, admonishing them not to stay in the hole.

/172 cont./

764 578 Suddenly an incident erupts. Baafu (Lapé) insinuates that Agidibon (Aw.B.) is helping himself immoderately. Insulting words are exchanged. Agidibon leaves the council. General commotion. The tumult calms down after a quarter of an hour.

764 The speaker now thanks the foreigners passing through, Saramaka and Djuka, who helped at the obsequies.

764 787 [765] Someone puts down on the ground a paddle on which is attached a bundle wrapped in cloth. It is the dead woman's paddle, and the bundle contains her hair. It is kept until the broko dɛ (it seems, in fact, that this is the reason for this celebration) in order to keep contact with the dead woman's yɔrka for the further questions people might have to ask it (1).

1. It seems that on this point custom envisages especially the case of near relatives of the dead person traveling on the river at the time of the death, and who could not be present at the burial.

Then, several ɔlɔmã will go to the cemetery to bury the bundle inside the mound.

The spectators go toward a shaded spot, for it is near noon and the sun is overwhelming.

Sosoman carries the front of the paddle and Tansia the back. Without any question at all being asked, they circulate in the village for a long time. Several times I see them make contradictory movements, nod their heads forward and sideways at the same time.

Here they are back again near Tafanié. To my great surprise Tafanié asks questions in a low voice, cupping his hands in front of his mouth.

/172 cont./

764 Several times the paddle is seen to answer affirmatively,
● 787 then negatively. Not one of those present can understand what is said, but not one shows impatience or doubt.

[613] Suddenly Tafanié orders his assistants to cut rods: the dead woman has asked that the people of her own lineage be beaten, guilty of having neglected the yɔrka's warnings. On seeing these preparations the people of Kotoïda's lineage /173/ run away in confusion in every direction while their adversaries pursue them with the appearance of having a very good time. Some take refuge in the water, others in the bush; none whatever can be caught.

Completely symbolic punishment, moreover, for at the end of ten minutes they are seen to reappear and take their places again among those present.

764 The obsequies are ended. Only the deceased's near relatives stay seated in their hammocks under the mortuary shed. They will remain there until the broko dɛ.

764 Payments of the ɔlɔmã. The ɔlɔmã divide up one lot of
767 cloth, keeping track of what they have received in the preceding obsequies. That does not appear to cause any discussion. If, after this, someone who has not furnished any work wants to take one of these pieces of cloth, he may do so by offering tafia to the people present.

766 Funeral ceremonies for people who die while traveling. If a
787 man dies in the course of a distant trip, they take from the
775 cadaver before burying it his hair and fingernails, which are brought back to his native village; in fact, it is assumed that as long as a fragment of the body is not buried, the yɔrka remains attached to it; hair and fingernails will therefore permit the interrogation of the yɔrka and will be buried in the cemetery with the usual rites.

/178 cont./

765 He may not walk around stripped to the waist and bare-headed; Alémin used to wear permanently a horrible jersey and a holey beret.

765 He may neither dance nor sing (even alone). If he has a
● 787 gadu, this gadu is called and invited not to go to the head of its "master" for the duration of mourning. The doyen of the lineage of the party concerned pronounces this adjuration.

However, a reservation exists. If someone absolutely needs to consult this god, the widower is asked to remove his mourning clothing and put on his own clothes for a few hours. The consultation takes place in private inside a hut; then the mourning resumes.

765 He observes the basic interdiction (bwasi kina) of the dead woman in addition to his own.

He must absolutely spend the yali festival (New Year's Day) with the dead woman's family.

Such are the principal obligations and interdictions which rule over the life of a man in mourning, during a period of at least 18 months, which may even be prolonged up to two years and more (at the end of 1958 the mourning for Yundu, † in May, 1957, was still not lifted, and Alémin did not expect to be freed from it before the spring of 1959).

These obligations are aggravated still more during the first three months by special provisions. /179/

During these first three months, the dipi baaka or deep mourning, the man in mourning must keep an attitude of the most acute sorrow. He leaves the house assigned to him only for indispensable work, and does not go away from the dead woman's village; he remains with his eyes lowered, not looking directly at anyone except members of the dead woman's family. Usage used to require him to lean on a stick like an exhausted person, but the present grand man has abolished that custom.

765 /184 cont./
[202] "You who with ɔbia so that the machete will not cut you, so that the broken glass will not wound you, what are you waiting for? You remain seated, are you afraid?"

765 At these words, several of those present stand up and
786 begin to dance, seeking the trance of possession. Some run
787 into the village and come back running, carrying banana-tree stalks. Others drag thorny spathes of awara; two brandish an old, demolished boat.

The drum furiously beats the rhythm of Kumenti. Part of the dancers, taken hold of by a furious delirium, jump and
[824] prance about. Certain ones take thorny spathes of awara (2)

> 2. Thorny palm (astrocaryum vulgare) whose sharp thorns nearly 10 centimeters long are particularly formidable. It is impossible to pick up an awara spathe with bare hands without hurting oneself.

under the arm or pass them around the neck.

Part of those present are taken hold of in their turn by trances, including people of mature age and serious character like Fintiman, who is carried off in a faint.

Two possessed people, a man (Ernest, Kotika) and a woman (Awini, Boniville), smeared with pɛmba, are subject to extraordinary contortions. Ernest breaks a bottle over his head with such force that the pieces fly several meters. Both /185/ dance on their knees for an appreciable length of time (but the next day Awini will come to have herself cared for). Those present manifest frenzied joy.

765 About five o'clock the sɔŋɛ dance begins. Three apinti
535 drums are placed at the west wall of the shed. The orchestra
534 is completed by an old overturned boat which seven to eight men strike with sticks.

/188 cont./

428 In the custom of the Refugee Blacks, the inheritance
[613] must be dispersed among the members of the dead person's matrilineage in the strict sense (bee) and his children.

/189/ The custom of numerous African societies has it that the men inherit from men and the women from women. This notion is totally contrary to the legal thought of the Refugee Blacks. A house, an object, a boat, may pass from a man to a woman or conversely. It is the same with the lower gods with which the dead person might have been possessed.

428 If the dead person has not indicated before his death, in
787 front of witnesses, the distribution of his property, the same
764 divinatory procedure is used as for the determination of the causes of death: the coffin being carried on the heads of two men, in front of it are lined up the members of the dead person's matrilineage in the restricted sense and his children. The president of the lanti kuutu asks: "To whom dost thou leave thy house?" The coffin moves toward one of those present, then: "To whom dost thou leave thy boat?" "To whom dost thou leave thy gun?" "To whom dost thou leave thy clearings being harvested?"

428 The partial heirs thus designated may enter immediately into possession of their legacies.

428 Reserved are what the Boni call the "equipment" of the
765 dead person, that is, his personal belongings, linen, money, which will be divided up after the lifting of mourning.

The customary rule is the following:

[602] For the duration of the mourning, these objects shut up in a trunk are put under the care of the eldest child if a woman was concerned, of the eldest classificatory nephew if a man was concerned. After the lifting of mourning, the distribution is
428 602 made by the dead person's mother, if she is still alive, if not by the eldest of the classificatory uncles or aunts, and if they all are dead, by the eldest of the surviving classificatory brothers or sisters of the dead person.

/190 cont./

428 178 A tendency which has appeared during recent years in connection with men consists in bequeathing during their lifetime the essential part of their property to the children they have raised.

613 [787] Inheritance of functions and powers. Upon the death of a lineage head, the yɔrka of the dead man is asked whom it wishes to see named. Then the council assembles to proceed with the nomination; it remains free in its choice, the will of the dead man beyond the grave does not have the force of law; but actually, it seems to be most often followed.

As for the function of captain which is common to all the fractions of one lo, the inheritance may pass from one fraction to another.

Ex.: for the Awara Bakka lo, the succession:
Asèmbay (Aw.B.2);
Pèèyon (Aw.B.1);
Kondoku (Aw.B.1).

ooo /191/

CHAPTER VII

BELIEFS

Origin of the Beliefs of the Refugee Blacks

771 128 The spiritual life of the Refugee Blacks of the Guianas is intimately bound up with their social life, and the division we are obliged to make for the sake of clearness of the account is very often arbitrary. So we shall try to point out these connections wherever they are essential.

/197 cont./

788 The rites of the worship of Odun are known only by the
[843] grand man and by an old man who replaces him when he travels.
[854] They are practiced only on the occasion of the collective oath
against wisi, renewed every two or three years, and when it is
necessary to implore Odun's mercy toward an offender. The
[783] officiant bathes the latter's body with a maceration of leaves
that he alone knows.

783 To question Odun and know whether he pardons, they
787 make use of a sacred object named afalaku, placed on a board
[778] put on the heads of two men. The answers yes and no are
deduced by interpretation of the movements of the bearers,
as in the interrogation of the dead.

695 The oath before Odun is also practiced as a legal test,
permitting a man unjustly accused of theft or any misdeed
whatever to justify himself.

Thus, in November, 1959, B... of Asisi, accused by two
Djuka of being responsible for the burning of a large cabin
/carbet/ in which objects of value were stored, asked to justify
himself before Odun.

671 Odun's laws, which have the effect of forbidding violence,
771 vengeance, and every form of oppression, give to the society
571 of the Refugee Blacks a unique atmosphere of dignity and
serenity which is not found to the same degree in animistic
African societies. Most African societies censure sorcery and
murder, but they accept vengeance and various forms of
oppression. It is probable that the men who, two or three
centuries ago, deep in the forests of Surinam, developed these
laws, were inspired more or less consciously by Christian
ideas; but they introduced them into an African system of
thought, associating them with the idea of material sanctions
in the present life, without which they would have been powerless.

/199 cont. /

581 The Refugee Blacks change their attitude immediately as soon as one speaks to them about marriage. Men and women are unanimous in considering marriage as an intolerable violation of individual freedom and as a tie without purpose; they talk about it with veritable indignation, even having the feeling of an offense against morality.

Cults of Possession

•787 794

The phenomena of possession are extremely frequent [171] among the Blacks of America (possession by saints or inspiration by the Holy Spirit among the Blacks of Brazil and the United States, voodooism in Haiti). With the Refugee Blacks they [171] make up the very base of religious life to the point of being the normal means of communication between the gods and men; they have profound effects on all social life.

The cults of possession practiced by the Refugee Blacks of Guiana differ from those of the Blacks of Brazil and Haiti and do not appear to be directly connected with the African cults which have been described.

We shall give here only very concise information about [128] the ritual of these cults and we shall mainly try to show their place in relation to the institutions of the Refugee Blacks, and their functioning.

787 Possession is believed to be the entrance into a man of a suprahuman entity (divinity, spirit of an ancestor) which, during a variable length of time generally rather short (a few minutes to several hours), uses the body of this man and expresses itself through his mouth. They say that the man has become the horse - hasi - of the divinity. They also say: "Such-and-such a divinity entered his head." The possessed person is called gadu mɛ̃ (gadu umɛ̃ for a woman). This word has been trans- [114] lated improperly as "priest" in the first works treating of the Refugee Blacks.

/199 cont./

[197] The phenomena of possession exist among other populations of the Guianas and especially among the Amerindians, but among the Refugee Blacks they have special and well-defined forms.

--For the duration of possession, the ordinary consciousness of the man is totally abolished. When he comes back to himself, he no longer remembers anything and the others present have to repeat to him what the divinity revealed. This total [198] loss of consciousness during possession appears to be a very constant phenomenon with the Blacks, in Africa as much as in [114] America. Professor de Goeje calls attention to the fact that the Indian medicine man, on the contrary, does not lose /200/ consciousness during his trances and is supposed to receive, himself, the revelations of the spirits.

When a man is possessed by a divinity, in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks he is no longer there; what his body may do is not attributed to him at all. They say: "The gadu does this, says that, dances in such a way." If the gadu hurt someone (but that practically never happens) or broke something, its bearer would not have any responsibility.

[197] --The divinity expresses itself in a language peculiar to it; we shall see further on that there are four categories of [198] divinities likely to become incarnate in men, which corresponds [196] to four secret languages of which in practice only two are known by the Boni, at least by the oldest among them.

The bearer of the divinity, in his usual state of consciousness, knows in general this language, which he has learned from a teacher if it is a matter of a possession desired by him and obtained with the help of definite practices.

But there are also numerous cases of unprovoked possession (in the kunu especially) and people state that in this case the divinity speaks its language just as well, although its bearer has never learned it;

/200 cont./

787 --Possession is manifested by kinds of trances called gita or kɔ̃mfo, of a varying nature according to the divinity concerned, which sometimes involve phenomena of insensibility and acts impossible to perform in a normal state;

787 --The first time the divinity enters a man, it imposes
786 a kina (interdiction) upon him which will henceforth be the
784 sign of his function. This is what is called a gadu kina. This kina varies from one divinity to another, but in principle a given divinity imposes the same kina on its divers bearers. The divinity names itself and indicates to its bearer a means of calling it back in case of need: make such-and-such gestures, scatter such-and-such a liquid or powder.

All that is recorded by those present who reveal it to the person possessed when he has come round.

It is taken for granted that the god protects its bearer as long as the latter respects the laws of its cult and observes its kina (in the opposite case the god may punish him cruelly).
787 Conversely it is assumed that the man has a certain power, a
786 certain right over the god who possesses him. They say that he
789 is the master of it, masa, word which is habitually used in the sense "to be the owner of." At his death he can bequeath this
428 god in the forms and according to the laws regulating the inheritance of property. Of course the god is capable of not ratifying this decision, and it is free to manifest itself in anyone it wishes. But they affirm that in most cases it follows docilely the choice of its bearer. We shall see that this inheritance of gods plays an essential role in the functioning of the kunu.

787 Apprenticeship for possession. What goals does a man pursue
181 who desires thus to have a gadu? Above all he seeks strength. To succeed in life, to be protected against his enemies, to be respected: Such are the goals generally pursued and openly recognized by the Refugee Blacks who "have a gadu."

787 /201/ One also often finds as an avowed goal the idea of being
181 useful to his lineage.

Disinterested mystical impulses appear totally absent from these cults.

787 But that is only one aspect of the phenomena of possession;
154 they really seem to be, in large measure, unconscious and
787 involuntary. Everyone can try to obtain a gadu, but everyone
797 does not succeed; one must have a certain predisposition.
[154] "One cannot oblige a gadu to enter a man," say the Boni; it certainly seems, in fact, that in nearly half the cases possession takes place spontaneously and sometimes to the great terror of the person concerned: this is observed especially in the kunu.

[976] Mimi, a woman about 46 years old in 1958, of the Kotika lineage, was possessed by two gadu, an Ampuku and a Papa gadu. Here is how her near relatives relate the fashion in which they came into her.

[158] About ten years before, Mimi was showing signs of mental derangement. Her mind wandered, she sometimes used to leave the village to run in the bush at random, she uttered disconnected words (1). Then she fell very ill (pleurisy?).

[828]
[171]

1. It is necessary to note on this subject the very widely held idea among the Refugee Blacks, as among the Creoles, that certain forms of mental imbalance are due to the action of an entity which is trying to manifest itself in a man and does not
[955] succeed. In order to cure this man, he must be "washed" with appropriate leaves so that the god can come to manifest itself in him; the rest of the time he will be normal.

[787] /201 cont./
[791] The elders then consulted the oracles and perceived that Mimi
[796] was victim of an Ampuku named Maogan which for a very long
[613] time had been pursuing the Kotika lineage with its vengeance
[784] (kunu). In order to protect herself, she sought to have herself given a more powerful god, and she became the pupil of an obiaman specialist in the cult of the Papa gadu. In this way she
[782] had a Papa gadu named Ayaémé, divinity of beneficent character to which, in difficult cases, her family applies in order
[346] to obtain advice, protection, and remedies. She had a little hut built beside her house, where the god goes to rest when it has finished each of its trips to the country of men. Ayaémé
[784] imposed on Mimi its kina which concerns a fish. But even with all this she was not rid of her kunu of the Ampuku; and one day, something it had not yet done, the latter revealed itself in her
[784] and spoke through her mouth. It announced that it would con-
[782] tinue to exercise its kunu against the Kotika lineage. They appeased it by sacrifices of red cloth and beer; since then, it seems calm and in rather good humor. It comes into Mimi from time to time and speaks in Saramaka language. They are very afraid of it, but they do not hesitate to question it and ask it for
[784] remedies, which it sometimes indicates. It laid on Mimi three gadu kina concerning the acouchy, the agami, and the armadillo.

[791] Organization of the cults of possession. Strictly speaking, no
[787] religious brotherhoods exist in Boni country; there are only
[794] teachers - bas(2) - who have received their power from another

2. It does not seem advisable to translate this word by "priest." In the minds of the Refugee Blacks, this is a matter of a teacher teaching pupils; they use the same word to designate a European or Creole schoolmaster.

/201 cont./

791 teacher and who teach a small group of disciples - kineki -,
787 without distinction of villages or lineages and under their sole
[794] responsibility; each one, man or woman, is absolutely free to pursue his teaching.

/202/These teachers are not themselves possessed, but they are believed to know the processes which permit the neophyte to obtain possession with the minimum of risks. They accept the
[776] fact, however, that that involves dangers, for one cannot oblige a particular gadu to come into someone, and one may in its place obtain an undesirable gadu.

791 Procedures vary according to the categories of gadu sought.
787 But they involve three elements which are always found in one
776 form or another:

--They begin by teaching the pupil the language of the
[198] divinity, or rudiments at the very least (as we shall point out further on, these languages appear to be in decline); these lessons are private;

--On behalf of a group of pupils, the teacher prepares
[824] infusions of certain leaves which are suited to the divinity in question. It is thought that the god likes these plants and that they have the power to attract it.

In certain cults it is required of the pupil to utter at the
[788] same time formulas inviting the god to come into him. But this is not general; in the cult of the Papa gadu especially, the teachers bathe the students in the greatest silence.

791 At the end of the session, the student is often asked to
787 drink a little of the infusion. One might believe that it is a
824 matter of a process having a physical action, certain plants possibly containing hypnotic substances; but except for one aspect of the cult of the Kumenti of which we shall speak later, this does not seem true; especially about the plants believed to attract the Papa gadu, it seems that they have received this role because of their color or odor. Our feeling is that, at least
[562] for the Papa gadu cult which appeals more especially to women, suggestion plays an essential part.

/202 cont./

153 --Pupils are taught, individually or collectively, to dance
791 in the manner of the god. Indeed, each divinity has a charac-
787 teristic form of dance, which it executes sometimes by using
796 the bodies of its bearers when it comes into them. The pupil
535 must imitate as best he can the individual movements and the
[868] rhythm of this dance, while the teacher, using the appropriate drum, beats out the calling formulas.

If the god is satisfied with the student, he will be able to come into him.

791 These exercises appear to have as their goal the creation
787 in the pupils of forms of conditioned reflexes; they have nothing
785 in common with the very harsh ordeals which the medicine man
153 of the Guiana Indians imposes upon himself, and do not involve any form of asceticism. It does not seem that chastity, even temporary, is demanded of the student, any more than fasting or doing anything contrary to his inclinations.

787 The idea of a spiritual death and resurrection of the
791 possessed person, with all the ritual it entails: long reclusion of the neophytes, change of name of the one possessed, who is supposed to relearn all the activities of ordinary life, does not appear to have been kept by the Refugee Blacks. In a general
[152] way, the atmosphere of solemn seriousness, /203/ of secrecy, and of fear, which characterize the Dahomey cults of possession is not found among them.

791 These lessons are always paid for and are even very
787 expensive. Payment is made in pieces of cloth, in demijohns
435 of tafia.
[436] Having a Kumēnti amounted in 1958 to at least 25,000 francs. This payment is not only compensation for the teacher;
[181] it is the mark of legitimacy. What has not been paid for is not, for the Refugee Blacks, legitimately acquired. We shall come back to this important point later.

/203 cont./

153 787 791 Possession begins progressively; in the beginning the divinity does not find in its bearer sufficient passivity, it does not succeed well in expressing itself through his mouth, spectators observe only incoherent gestures and hear only unintelligible stammerings. The pupil must continue his training for a long time in order to become a suitable bearer.

789 The god, when it has just entered a man, always begins by rendering homage in its language to Masa Gadu, proclaiming that it acts only in his name and by his will.

[576] [198] Then it greets those present, employing formulas which are the exact transposition into its language of the ordinary Boni formulas of politeness; that even if it is getting ready to speak to them in the harshest manner.

The god speaks then in its language, saying not very intelligible things to the audience that appear to be related to what goes on in its country, to its family (for it is believed that these lower gods have a family). Finally, it begins to speak in ordinary language in order to be understood by those present, and answers questions.

776 787 825 Various categories of gods capable of bringing on possession. The Refugee Blacks assume that four categories of lower gods exist:

The first category consists of a series of gods which present themselves to men under very different aspects but which are nevertheless felt to be of the same nature. All speak the Kumenti language, all are well disposed toward men and do not exercise against them the kunu, that is, the curse;

--The Kumenti, which have the appearance of jaguars and live in the bush;

--The Djadja, which have the appearance of ocelots;

--The Opete, which have the appearance of the urubu and which reside in the air;

/203 cont./

776 --The Bũnsuɲki, which have the appearance of Indian
787 women and which reside in the waters of the rivers;
825 The second category is that of the Ampuku, much feared
[784] gods of the bush, likely to exercise the kunu against men. The
[198] Ampuku speak a language which is very well known to the Saramaka but which nobody speaks in Boni country. When they wish to be understood, they speak the ordinary Saramaka dialect. They can, it is said, /204/ be seen at night in the bush in the form of unknown men dressed in the manner of the Refugee Blacks;

The third category is that of the Vɔɔdũ or Papa gadu, gods still more feared, which become incarnate in the boa snake
[198] dagowe. They speak the Papa language;
776 Finally, much feared also are the Kãntamasu, gods of
787 the termitaries, which speak a language which nobody under-
[198] stands and use the Kumenti language to make themselves understood.

It is important to note that there is not a god Kumẽnti, a god Ampuku, etc., as there was in the pantheon of the Ancients a god Mars, a god Vulcan. For the Refugee Blacks those are generic names like Frenchman, Englishman. Questioned about a phenomenon of posession, they will answer: "It is Ampuku who makes," but in the same way they would say in front of a boat: "It is Saramaka who makes."

776 The relationships between these gods and their animal
787 form are obscure. For the Vɔɔdũ it is clear that people believe
825 they really live in the dagowe snakes, since the accidental death of one of these snakes in the burning of a clearing is considered a calamity which risks bringing a kunu. But that does not prove that a divine character is attributed to the snake itself. As for the Kumẽnti there does not appear to be any precise bond between the genie and its jaguar appearance. If one meets a jaguar, one may fire on him all the same without inconvenience. If he is the support of a Kumẽnti, the shot will not be able to touch him, the god will not get angry about it.

/204 cont./

776 This shows that in the minds of the Refugee Blacks, the
787 animal is simply a prop for the god. The god borrows this body
825 in order to manifest itself, but it is not bound to it by nature. These conceptions are totally contrary to those of the Indians, who tend to personify in their minds the beings and phenomena of nature.

776 As we have said, the Boni do not see these gods since the
787 person possessed loses consciousness. But in the time of the ancestors, there were people who used to see the gods, and it is through them that their present-day descendants have an idea of their appearance; on the other hand, certain gods such as the Ampuku and the Bũnsuŋki may be seen in dreams.

Sometimes the residence of this or that god is known, for it has revealed it through the mouth of its bearer; the god's
[823] name is then given to that place. For example, at the mouth of the Abounami there is a fall named Ma Akotĩ Gadu Sula. It is there that the god resides which revealed itself in olden days in an old woman named Akoti.

776 Connections with the group of relatives. The idea of a god
613 protector of the lineage, whose worship, brought by the founder of the group, is regarded as indispensable to the life of the collectivity, is not found clearly among the Refugee Blacks. There are actually many divinities which have entered the lineage and which are worshiped collectively. But these di-
[784] vinities are intruders; they have penetrated into the group by force in order to exert an inexorable vengeance against it.
[782] People do not apply to them to ask for protection, and they are worshiped only because they cannot be expelled.

776 /205/ There is not believed to be any kinship tie between the
602 gods and men, nor any tie of a systematic or exclusive character.

/205 cont./

776 613 428 [787] Still, they assume that the gods that have entered a matrilineage tend to be transmitted within this group. If, for example, a woman is possessed by a Papa gadu, at her death she must bequeath it in the same way as her property, and she can bequeath it only to someone of her lineage.

We have seen in studying the transmission of the god of Kotoïda († 1956), that only the women of the Afi lineage to which she belonged could inherit.

776 613 784 Even if the god is not bequeathed, which sometimes happens, if it exercises the kunu, it will manifest itself sooner or later in a member of the lineage. But long years may pass before it shows itself. This conception is absolutely clear to the Refugee Blacks, and furthermore, if it did not exist, the idea of the kunu would be without support. People have therefore wrongly believed in a transmission of gods from father to son. [114] [428]

346 787 794 613 Material organization of cults. A material organization of the cults of possession exists within the limits of the localized lineage (lo). This organization is completely independent of the apprenticeship of these cults. It permits the members of the lineage to easily practice cults they have received anywhere, on their own responsiblity.

In each lo there exists in general one single chapel (obia ɔsu) for all the divinities of the same category.

For example in the Awara Bakka lo quarter in Asisi (140 persons), for about 15 women having a Papa gadu, there exists only a single one. There is an obia ɔsu for the Ampuku (three or four possessed persons) and another for the Kumẽnti (about ten possessed people).

The chapel of the Papa gadu is placed under the responsibility of the head of the lo. On this subject it is to be noted that the individualized lineages Aw.B.3 and Afi, which however have separate gods, are included in this organization.

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346 794 787 613 The objects placed in these chapels are simply the clothing, beverage, and tools of the gods when they come to visit men; they correspond nearly to what the Refugee Blacks leave in a farming habitation where they go to work regularly. For example, in the Papa gadu ɔsu of the Awara Bakka quarter of [293] Asisi, which serves for about 15 gods, each one has a definite place on the shelves to lay out especially the scarf which serves it as a garment and a bottle of beer (a bottle is always kept in readiness by the bearer of the god) (1).

1. The Papa gadu do not like tafia. If the usual bearer of one of these gods has drunk tafia, it cannot come into him.

[534] They still stow the Papa dɔ̃ drum in this chapel. This drum, like the chapel itself, is believed to belong to the Papa gadu god which first came into a member of the lineage to exercise the kunu. In the example mentioned of the Awara [428] /206/ Bakka lo of Asisi, in 1957 it was the centenarian grandmother Kuluba who had borne this god since her youth, having herself received it, by several successive transmissions, from a distant ancestress.

[621] In villages like Boniville and Papaïston where fragments of lineage of entirely different origins coexist, each has its own organization.

For example in Boniville there is a Papa gadu ɔsu for the fragment of the Lapé lineage (it belongs to Térésa whose god exercises the kunu on this lineage). The fragment of the lineage has another.

In Papaïston the Toïna (Bakabuchi) lineage, reduced to half a dozen persons, has a Papa gadu ɔsu of its own.

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776 The Kumēnti. These gods are common to the Saramaka
787 (Kromenti) (1), Djuka, and Boni. The Kumēnti are considered
[184]

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1. There is no doubt about the origin of this word; it is a deformation of Coromantin, name given in the 18th century to Ashanti country. The "Coromantin Negroes," reputed to be particularly intractable, played a large rôle in the slave revolts. The Kumenti cult of possession must originally have been a cult peculiar to the Coromantin nation.

to be benevolent gods and friends of men, so their possession is very much desired. They do not come into men spontaneously, they are obtained only by applying to a teacher. In principle
[562] only men can obtain Kumēnti, while on the other hand only women can have Bŭnzunki /sic/.

776 The Kumēnti are specialized in protection against fire
787 and against machete and gun wounds. These dangers hold the
751 largest place among the anxieties of the Refugee Blacks, who spend almost all their life in the bush and with whom nearly
[789] all sores become infected and have serious consequences. Thus the Kumēnti cult holds an important place in their magic; even someone who is not possessed will try to obtain from these gods an ɔbia that will protect him from these various dangers.

153 The instruction of the disciples of these gods takes as its
791 pattern the procedures described above, but the collective dances
787 appear to play an essential part. The teacher calls on the gods
786 by beating a special rhythm on ordinary drums (apinti) and by
[533] uttering invocations punctuated by the rattle of the saka (Indian
[534] maraka, that is, hollow calabash provided with a handle and containing seeds).

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153 791 787 786 [789] containing seeds). Sometimes, when a god has entered a pupil, the teacher puts the latter's passivity to the test by insulting the god with the help of the drum. The Kumẽnti gets angry, breaks bottles and swallows ground glass, walks in the fire, hits himself with machete blows, all without any wound resulting, they say, on the body of its bearer.

[302] These frenzied dances, whose participants completely covered with pɛmba (white clay) are as if hallucinated, have a bizarre aspect which is perceptible to some of the Boni themselves. They do not have any secret character and constitute, [522] on the contrary, a fine spectacle for the village people. The spectators double up with laughter at the contortions and strange actions which the gods inspire in those possessed. They are [521] talked about at length /207/ afterward in the evenings, humorists imitating what they saw done there, without any fear whatever of irritating the gods.

791 787 346 Each "teacher for Kumẽnti" owns a small gadu ɔsu in which are lined up the implements of the cult. One finds in general in these chapels a post crudely carved in the shape of a human bust, a block of stone, jaguar skulls, some kɔkɔti (shrub stalks with a spontaneous double bend, thought to be the prop of spirits in the bush), and a saka (maraka), the whole sprinkled with white clay (pɛmba). One finds also beside the door a seat and a trough which are used for the ablutions of the pupils.

153 791 787 788 While bathing his body with the infusion of leaves prepared by the teacher, the neophyte repeats, in ordinary language, a series of invocations: "Come to me, enter into me. But before entering into me, it is necessary to teach me the things of thy country; O God, when thou art in me, may I be able to dance on broken glass without its cutting me; may I be able to dance in fire without its burning me. If tomorrow someone takes a machete to hurt me, he shall not be able to come forward. If someone takes a gun to shoot me, (his weapon) must break, must not be able to take off. If someone is sick, make a ɔbia for him, he must recover."

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153 The teacher has the pupil turn in a circle around the
791 mortar in which has been prepared the infusion of leaves, until
787 he is dizzy. Alternately he makes him turn and "washes" his body with the infusion. Possession occurs by itself at the end of a certain number of sessions.

[276] In the practices intended to make the gita of Kumēnti
[171] "rise," the absorption of toxic substances enters, especially tobacco juice, method employed by the Indian medicine men. But once the reflexes are created, there is no further need for these substances; the gita appears as soon as the calling procedures are used, which are of two kinds:

--Personal procedures: The man voluntarily calls on his gita while putting on the god's costume and taking a certain posture;

--Outside procedures: The gita may be released from outside either by calling the god by name or by beating the corresponding rhythm on the drum.

787 When the pupil begins to feel the gita of Kumēnti, that
158 is first manifested by trances. We have very often been present at these attacks, which usually come on at night in the forest, but commonly also during the day. The one possessed suddenly lets go of the objects he was holding (for example, if he was in the process of eating, he drops plate and spoon), and rushes forward running through the forest howling rhythmically as if he had become an animal. His eyes are rolled upward, he no longer is conscious of his surroundings; he is not in any way threatening; these fits are totally inoffensive in spite of their
[147] impressive aspect. One sees possessed people in this state do things which are difficult to explain, such as running in complete darkness in the most impenetrable underbrush without falling or hurting themselves, or climbing up in a few seconds on a craggy rock which would have been hard to scale in full daylight.

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153 In proportion as the pupil perfects himself, the god ex-
791 presses itself more easily with the help of his body, begins to
787 do coordinated acts and to speak. They say that the gita has
[195] been "arranged" (seeka). The Kumēnti speak with a gruff, jerky voice, characteristic, which humorists love to imitate in the evenings' recitals.

In order to call on his gita voluntarily, the pupil crouches down, feet together, throwing pemba from right to left at the level of his feet and uttering the formula: "O Kumēnti, djumpo ku a mi." Then he remains immobile in this position and waits; possession takes place generally at the end of a few minutes.

796 The Kumēnti which enter thus into men are exclusively
787 male gods; it is known that they have wives because they talk about them, but they never manifest themselves.

[812] The Kumēnti are generally benevolent; still, no more than any divinity of the Refugee Blacks, do they represent a principle of goodness and justice in itself. They watch in a partial fashion over the interests of their bearers. Thus it is that A..., of the Dipélu II lo, has a Kumēnti which reacts in a violent way when it has the impression that danger threatens
[158] its bearer. It enters into him suddenly, takes a machete and storms through the village, while people prudently barricade themselves in their houses.

787 In certain circumstances, when their trances are particu-
789 larly intense, the people possessed by Kumēnti are capable, it is said, of walking in fire, dancing on broken glass, climbing thorny awara palm trees, and even having themselves struck with blows of a machete without any wound resulting from it. Professor de Goeje gives impressive personal testimony on this subject, such as the case of a possessed man who overturned a pail of boiling water on his body (1). Mr. Mathieu, Director of

1. In a note in Mr. W.F. van Lier's work, § 37.

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787 789 the Forestry Society of Saint-Laurent, told us of seeing in 1937 among the Paramaka a possessed man take firmly in his hands a red-hot axe-head and keep it between his two hands for an appreciable length of time.

Personally we have several times seen possessed people thrash themselves with spiny awara branches and break bottles on their heads with such violence that the pieces flew several meters; some of them were hurt, but others presented an intact epidermis.

There is no special instruction for the exercises of invulnerability. The possessed person does what he feels capable of, strikes himself progressively harder and harder, breaks bottles, etc.

It is affirmed that certain possessed people are capable of climbing the thorny awara palm trees. If the gita then abandons them, they can no longer come down. Those who know the Kumenti /sic/ language well then evoke the god by formulas so that he will come back.

787 578 [173] Theoretically, if someone wrongs a man who has a Kumēnti, his gita "rises" immediately. The guilty one can do no more than flee. They say that in the old days possessed people were seen /209/ to kill those who had done them wrong. No kunu can result from this if the victim is in the wrong. Nothing like this has been seen for a very long time.

The principle is that if one has nothing to reproach himself about with respect to the possessed person, one has nothing to fear from him. This is why people do not hesitate to interpose themselves between the possessed one and the object of his wrath.

[789] If two men having a Kumēnti get into an argument, their gita "rise" simultaneously and they strike each other with machete blows without, it is said, any harm resulting to either one, until someone separates them.

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787 784 If someone has a Kumēnti, certain objects used in the cult: pestle, mortar, machete, must not be raised near him. His gita "would rise" immediately. Likewise while he is eating, neither tiger nor gun must be mentioned. To prevent their gita from rising, those concerned may take the precaution of putting a small piece of wood behind the ear while they eat.

787 178 [771] 781 [484] [743] [755] These past years the cult of the Kumēnti was clearly declining among the Boni, as was the whole of their religious life; every one, indeed, no longer thought about anything but earning money and was always traveling in order to do this, which made difficult the indispensable meetings and dances. On the other hand, cared for effectively when they are ill in the Maripasoula hospital, the Boni feel the cult of the Kumēnti less necessary, of which the principal social function is to cure. So, while in 1948 we used to be present very often at manifestations of the gita of Kumēnti, in 1952 they were becoming much rarer and more secret /modest/. They were tending to fall to the level of the latent manifestations of which we shall speak further on. In 1956 we did not observe in the course of the forest [346] work any spontaneous attack of this gita. The chapels dedicated to the Kumēnti are scarcely maintained and are falling into ruins; such is the fate of the gods judged benevolent toward men. [751] Nevertheless people continue to lay great store by the ɔbia of Kumēnti, especially the man nēŋge ɔbia which protects against the machete and the gun, and the Kumēnti bui, ring of Kumēnti, instrument of divination.

776 The Būnsuŋki. The Būnsuŋki are gods which live in the waters, [823] by preference at the head of falls, beside rocks bearing copses of detached trees; they can also reside ordinarily in these trees themselves. [787] They appear sometimes in dreams to men as well as to women in the aspect of Indians, more commonly Indian women with long hair. This is why they are sometimes called wata Iŋgi, Indians of the water.

776 /209 cont./
wata ɲgi, Indians of the water. In certain spots, people have
[778] known since the time of the ancestors that there resides such a
[782] Bũnsuŋki, whose name they know; when they pass there, they address a prayer to it while making a sacrifice of tafia.

776 (The Bũnsuŋki must not be confused with wata mama, the
171 mama-of-the-water of the Creoles, a dreaded divinity but one which the Boni do not appear to worship. The wata mama lives at the bottom of deep holes in river beds and never allows her face to be seen; she sometimes abandons one of her long hairs on the rocks and he who finds it becomes rich).

776 /210/ The Bũnsuŋki can enter into human beings, exclusively,
787 it seems, into women. They give a different gita from those
[562] of the Kumẽnti. The possessed person dances at the edge of the water, then swims and dives for a long time. They affirm that
[789] if its possession is sufficiently intense, the genie carries the possessed woman along to the bottom of the water, where she stays for a very long time without any harm! That is supposed to have happened especially in Asisi village to a woman named Dabisa.

Possession by the Bũnsuŋki is not frequent. In 1952 it was known in Boni country in only three women.

[562] As for men, they may perceive these divinities in dreams
[788] and receive benefits from them. For that they go to the place
[782] where it resides and bathe, uttering an invocation: "O god, watch over me, protect me, come to me at night when I sleep, speak to me, act so that I may not be sick, so that I may get rich." The following night, the divinity will come in a dream, demand a sacrifice (beer in general), say that it /grants/ the prayer.

776 The Vɔɔdũ (1). These are gods much feared for their evil

1. This word is obviously a deformation of the Dahomey word vodũn.

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776 character, touchy and vindictive. In speaking of them one
[576] says Papa gadu (papa does not mean "father"; it is a term of
respect used for important personages (2)). They are believed

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2. This is the interpretation given by the Refugee Blacks. However, 18th-century documents on the origin of the slaves draw attention to the existence of an African tribe called Papa. Allusions contained in documents of the archives of Surinam, recently studied by Madame Silvia W. de Groot, would tend to identify the Papa with one of the populations of present-day Dahomey. In this hypothesis, the cult of the papa gadu would represent an archaic form of the Dahomey cult of the snake gods.

776 They are believed
[825] to have as habitual bearers the boa snakes (dagowe) (3) which

3. This word appears to be the deformation of the Dahomey word dagbe.

are not to be confused with the great water snakes (anaconda)
[824] that the Refugee Blacks call mboma sineki. They may also
reside in silk-cotton trees (kankan tree) and in the trees called
katu udu (Bombax surinamiensis).

• [787] The Vɔɔdũ which incarnate themselves in humans may be of either sex; if a male god is concerned, it is called "tata vɔɔdũ."

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776 [825] The Bumba gadu, other gods of the same nature and equally feared, have as bearers other categories of snakes, principally the great anaconda water snakes.

[784] [812] The Voodũ, we have said, are feared; they can exercise on a lineage the collective curse called kunu. But, no more than the Kumẽnti do not represent a principle of good, they do not represent a principle of evil. Not all are so badly disposed toward men, and even if one of them is the enemy of a lineage, it is not for that reason badly disposed toward the rest of men.

787 178 [562] However this may be, the cult of possession of the Papa gadu is not at all in decline among the Boni. According to the cross-checking we have been able to do, of the 670 persons living on the French bank there are at least 40 to 50 who have a Papa gadu, the great majority of them old women.

787 784 /211/ The Voodũ /sic/ are much feared, and for that very reason much respected. They are oracles which are consulted very often, without consideration of the evil their kunu has done and will still do. A god which exercises the kunu but which is provisionally declared appeased may be consulted without danger; it is always assumed that in any case its bearer, if he respects its commands, has nothing to fear from it.

787 562 It is possible that, very unconsciously, women use the fear that the Papa gadu gods inspire in order to maintain their independence and privileged position in Refugee Black society.

153 79 787 [198] [178] [515] [824] [534] Instruction in possession appears to take as a pattern the same principles as that which correspond to the Kumẽnti. It involves the teaching of the Papa language; this language appeared to us to be in decline; in fact, it is used only for formulas of greeting; then the possessed people vaticinate in ordinary language. Instruction in possession also involves daily ablutions with decoctions of leaves; certain of these mixtures are particularly complicated (it is said that they include more than a hundred different kinds of leaves). Instruction is essentially individual; however it also includes dances; on this occasion a

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153 special drum is used, about two meters long and very narrow,
791 devoid of any decoration, which is called lɛ̃ga dɔ̃ or papa
787 dɔ̃.
534 To call on her gita, the possessed woman (they are almost
787 always women) stands, puts on a piece of cloth which she always
[562] keeps nearby and always takes along with her when she travels:
this is the garment of the god; it consists of a sort of scarf
crossed in front; then she throws white clay, pemba, on her feet
from right to left and left to right while invoking the god.
Possession is almost immediate. One sees the woman's eyes
roll up and her expression become haggard. The god does not
cover himself entirely with pemba like the Kumɛ̃nti, he makes
himself a sort of headband on the forehead with white clay.
787 He begins with an invocation to Masa Gadu said in ordinary
788 language.
639 "Masa gadu, gi mi pimisi, beka mi na pikin nɛ̃ge; ala
[782] sani di mi ɔ taki, na yu mu gi mi kaakiti, beka na yu abi mi
kaakiti, da mi yɛ̃falu gi yu."

"Masa Gadu, I implore you, for I am a humble creature;
(in) all that I am going to say, it is you who will give me
strength, for my strength is in you; I shall exalt you."

787 Next come formulas of welcome to those present, which
788 are the exact translation of the formulas of greeting of everyday
[198] life, then songs, all in the Papa language. After about a quarter
of an hour, it enters a hut and sits down, answering in ordinary
language the questions of those present, always in a singing
tone.

787 Possession by Papa gadu does not have the bestial character
of possession by Kumɛ̃nti; outside of the dances, it does not
involve brutish gestures or bizarre acts; the possessed woman
hums softly in a shrill voice, moving with graceful gestures.
[531] /212/ Sometimes she draws strange signs on the huts; the Boni
state that that is a kind of writing, that other possessed people

787 /212 cont./
531 can read these messages; but we have not turned up any precise evidence on this subject (1).

1. These signs are very little systematized and have no relation whatever with the symbolic designs which figure in certain rituals of possession, especially in Dahomey and Haiti. It is permitted to see in them a simple likeness.

787 The Papa gadu are chiefly consulted to ask them to re-
[258] veal the cause of misfortunes that happen. One of them is not
[258] asked to cure an illness unless the interrogation reveals that it brought it on.

776 The worship of the Papa gadu snake gods makes a strong
648 impression on the West Indian Creoles who maintain regular relations with the Refugee Blacks. Most consider it as diabolical
[782] in nature and disapprove of it, but if the presence of an "adder"
[171] (anaconda snake) is noted in a neighboring creek, and if at the same time misfortunes occur, it happens that a Creole may go to ask the Refugee Blacks to practice rites to mollify
[778] the vengeance of the god. We have happened to catch sight of, hidden in a copse behind the habitation of a gold miner, a small altar decorated with blue and red pennants, the usual place of worship of the Papa gadu.

755 Observation in Boniville, November, 1952.
[787] An Aisi woman, Tini, comes to Boniville to consult her adoptive daughter Pamasa, about 35 years old, who is possessed by a Papa gadu named Adawa. Féni, 15 years old,
[164] Tini's son, has been sick for several days (fever, eruption all over the body). When someone comes to get us, the god has already entered into Pamasa, has sat down in a hut, and

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755 A stalk of sɔŋgaafu twice bent in an elbow is arranged on the ground. A cross is traced in the dirt.

Centered on the cross is placed a large basin into which is poured infusions of leaves taken from several calabashes.

The sick woman, still prostrate and groaning, is seated on a stool facing the basin. The contents of the basin are poured slowly over her body while she is massaged. It is not a question of a remedy in the literal sense of the word; the sick one is "washed" to help the god to manifest itself in her.

I notice that while going back into the hut she trembles almost no more; the attack seems to be subsiding.

In the meanwhile someone comes to call me elsewhere and I cannot come back until half an hour later. I find the sick woman standing, smeared with pemba, in the middle of a meditative audience. The god has descended into her and is [787] expressing itself in Papa language while she dances with slow gestures.

[753] [784] I am told that it has just given the explanation of the illness: it struck Bugi because she did not observe the kina given to all bearers of Papa gadu, to stay away from funeral ceremonies. Now, the day before yesterday, she had knowingly participated in the tukka dance around Kotoïda's coffin.

The ɔbiaman present beg the god to pardon, which it does after claiming a bottle of beer which it drinks through the mouth of its bearer.

152 Observation in Kormotibo, December 18, 1957.
164 On December 18 in the evening I find the village of
753 Kormotibo in the clutches of terror. Several persons are sick
784 from the effect of the kunu. Apaita, a young woman, has an enormous whitlow, following an accident; two women have been stricken with pneumonia.

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753 These misfortunes are attributed to the kunu exercised
784 by a Papa gadu god, since about a hundred years ago an ancestress named Akonté involuntarily killed a dagowe snake
[787] while fishing /nivrant/ a creek. In our day this god manifests itself in Atama (Dip. II. E1), and another Papa gadu, which says it is the descendant of the first, manifests itself in Apaita
[755] (F9). It is the latter which, speaking through the mouth of Apaita, revealed that it was striking the village because nobody had danced for it for five years.

755 They called B...., obiaman specialized in the vɔɔdu cult. He surrounded the chapel of the Papa gadu with stalks
[787] of sɛŋgaafu placed vertically. He prepared an infusion of leaves with which the Kormotibo women who have a Papa gadu have just smeared themselves (they are four in number, including two outsiders to the Dipélu II lineage). It is a question of helping their gods to manifest themselves.

People are going to dance eight nights running, part of the night. The agida drum drawn out of the chapel is set up in working position. /214/

The rites carried out to neutralize the kunu are:

--Cleaning of the chapel;

--Decoration by means of stalks of sɛŋgaafu placed upright all around /it/;

--Bathing of the sick with leaves believed to have the power of making the influence of the Papa gadu go away;

--With other leaves, on the contrary concentrating the maleficent influence of the Papa gadu in a calabash which is then carefully shut up in the chapel.

787 Possession by the Ampuku. It is much more rare, and personally we have observed it only twice; the possessed people make circles of kɛmba around their eyes and draw kinds of ovals on

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787 their legs with this white clay; they prophesy in a singing tone, without the usual voice of their bearer's ceasing to be recognizable, expressing themselves in the Saramaka language.

796 The Ampuku have the appearance of men similar to Blacks, but unknown. They reside in the depths of the woods; some are good, others bad. One can gain their good will by [84] worshiping them, which is especially developed in Saramaka country.

796 Baliki, of Kormotibo village, tells of having been present 535 one day at a dance of the Ampuku, when he was traveling to [103] the Saramaka village of Baien.

"During the day, people went on the paths far into the bush to put down calabashes containing certain herbs. At night were seen to come out of the forest a large number of unknown men, dressed in the manner of the Saramaka. They danced all night, and at dawn left again as they had come."

796 The Ampuku gods, considered to be maleficent gods of the bush, exercise their influence on everyone. When a person [789] has slept in the bush, he "washes" himself free of Ampuku with [824] an infusion of leaves of five plants which are part of the secondary flora surrounding the villages and of which the principal plant is the sangaafu (Costus cylindricus).

791 Frequency of possession. In 1956 teachers or bas were very 787 scarce in Boni country. For the Kumenti gods, only S... (Kotika) remained; for the Papa gadu, since the death of Antinon (Dju), there remained only M... (Papaïston) and B... [619] (Misi). People were commonly going to receive instruction from Djuka teachers in the villages of the Tapanaoni.

787 It would be a great error to believe that nearly all the 562 men have gods. On the contrary, this is an exception. According to the evaluations we were able to make, there is not more than one adult man out of six or seven who is possessed.

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562 On the other hand, possession is much more frequent among
789 women: it can be estimated that on the average, one adult woman out of three or four has a gadu.

162 For example in Boniville, out of 115 persons including
796 about 70 adults, one reckons about 30 gods including 8 to 10
787 Papa gadu, 8 to 10 Kumenti, 1 Bunsunki, and 2 Ampuku.

791 Apprenticeship for possession can begin from adult age,
787 but it seems /215/ that in general it is between 35 and 50 that
56 women take heed of obtaining a gadu. Would that not be, very
562 unconsciously, the desire to stay in the limelight and indirectly to keep a hold over men, once the age of sensual attraction is past?

787 Possession continues for life, and it is out of the question for a god to be transmitted before the death of its bearer. For example, in 1957, the centenarian grandmother in Asisi village, Kuluba, still kept her Papa gadu god. She had not participated any more in the dances of possession for long years, but her gita was always consulted.

But it can happen, if a possessed person stops taking part in dances and practicing the rites that have been shown him, that any manifestation ceases at the end of a few years.

We observed that in B... of the Dipélu II lo, in 1948 and 1949. He used to exhibit strong attacks of the gita of Kumenti. He stopped his instruction, finding that it was costing too much and was taking time. In 1952 he exhibited only latent manifestations of his gita at rare intervals. In 1956 nothing was any longer observable.

787 It can happen, on the other hand, that attacks of pos-
789 session become so frequent and so strong that the person concerned risks losing his reason; if it concerns a god which did not come of its own initiative, one can try to expel it. In
[824] order to "wash" someone free of a gita, he is made to pass between two rows of Obiaman who hold dry palms, pina tsago, in their hands and utter adjurations.

/215 cont./

787 789 [114] in their hands and utter adjurations. We saw this rite performed in 1949 but without being able to observe the exact details.

787 791 The frequency of the phenomena of possession and the importance accorded to them imprint a remarkable character on the religious life of the Refugee Blacks: all these manifestations have for each one the character of obvious material fact. How, then, doubt that one lives with the gods, sees them, and [177] speaks to them? Because of this fact the society of the Refugee Blacks is utterly impermeable to European influences.

787 824 Some plants utilized in the rites of possession. The preparations with which the possessed people "wash" their bodies consist of macerations of leaves. The plants used, which for the most part belong to the secondary flora which develops in the old clearings, are very numerous. However, some are regarded as [789] having a very unique power. The first five especially are utilized by all the Boni to "wash off the Ampuku" when they have slept a night in the bush.

Aluku Name	Identification (1)	Use
[122]	I. Identification by Mr. Hoock, botanist connected with the Institut français d'Amérique tropicale (IFAT) in Cayenne.	
Lebi katu	cotton	cult of the Ampuku
Kɔnɔpo wiwi	Ayenia atrorubens (Sterculiaceae)	—— /216/
Foo kiki	Tiarodium indicum (Borraginaceae)	——
Sume wiwi	Ocimium sanctum (?) (Labiaceae)	——

787 824 /216 cont./

Aluku Name	Identification	Use
Sɔŋgaafu	Costus cylindricus (zingiberaceae)	cult of the Papa gadu and of the Ampuku
Malimbelimbe	Piper sp. (?)	——
Fiili (Hɔligɔɔ)	Chamaesyae sp. (?) (euphorbiaceae)	——

828 Beliefs Concerning the Human Person and Its Development
Ancestor Worship

[191] The Refugee Blacks of the various tribes have precise and identical conceptions on this subject, which are found also, more or less mixed with Christian conceptions, among the West Indian populations of African origin. For them, man is formed of three elements: the body, the yɔrka which may be translated by personality, and a higher principle called akka.

[184] It goes without saying that among the Boni, who have not elaborated these conceptions and received them from the Djuka, nobody is capable of discoursing on them. But numerous con-
[128] ceptions having to do with magic and to the relationships with the ancestors permit of rather reliable cross-checking.

774 The akka. It is not possible to translate akka (1) by soul in the

1. This word appears to be a deformation of kla (Agni-Baoulé), word to which a very comparable meaning is attached.

sense we understand it. The akka is an immortal divine element

/217 cont./

774 Most of the Boni are not concerned with their akka. The only ones who take heed of it are those who have reasons to believe it irritated. The worship rendered varies a good deal from one individual to another in the nature and frequency of the rites performed.

774 For example, K..., of Papaïston village, prey to a
777 persistent streak of bad luck, went to consult a Creole lukumi
[640] from Surinam, who revealed to him that it was the doing of unsatisfied desires of his akka. His akka wanted a black dog and a copper bracelet. He procured both for himself, and since, he says, he no longer has the same bad luck.

774 B..., head of T... village, has in a corner of his hut
778 a post crudely carved in the shape of a bust with a half calabash from which emerge stalks of sangaafu on its head. At the side is a small fraga tiki. He tells me that this is the god of the cult of his akka; these rites are strictly personal with him.

774 Most of the akka esteem white beads and red cloth. If
[822] one sees a Boni wear a red cloak, one can be almost sure that it is by order of his akka.

[787] If someone's mind wanders or he has bizarre dreams, he may see in this the feeling that his akka wishes to leave him and that he is in danger of its happening. He then goes to ask
[789] an obiaman to make him an akka tetty: this is a ring of fibers worn on the big toe and which is supposed to prevent the akka from going away.

These rites vary a lot from one individual to the other, but they have a common principle. If someone begins to attend to his akka, he cannot abandon the worship during his lifetime, or else the akka will avenge itself.

Akka worship is strictly personal and is not bequeathed upon death.

/218 cont./

774 551

2. Although it happens that people receive as a name an akka name, sometimes accompanied by a qualificative, such as Lébikwaku.

774 262 [551] Actually, each one knows his akka's name, which was revealed to him by his parents when he was a child; to this name is attached an akka kina or food prohibition relative to the akka. [754] Both are carefully kept secret even from near relatives and friends, for knowing them could help the wisima take possession of the akka. On this subject people often use the term gadu kina, as they say mi gadu instead of mi akka. [784] [787] This term is easily confused with the prohibition imposed on the possessed person by the god which incarnates itself in him; these are two very different notions.

[258] The akka kina is unique for each man. It is sought by the parents when the child is completely weaned. [789] They try to draw parallels between the foods he has eaten and the health disorders he may exhibit, and these suppositions are confirmed by divinatory procedures.

774 782 A man does not ordinarily pray to his akka. He addresses prayer to it only if he is sick, to ask it for protection, or before leaving on a long trip, to ask it to watch over him. If he comes back safe and sound, he thanks it by making an offering to it, in the form of a bottle of syrup (switi sopi), which he turns upside down over his head.

774 184 According to Mr. W. F. van Lier, the Djuka have the idea that the shadow (kaaka) is the visible image of the akka; the Boni do not appear to have this conception; one does not observe that they attach any importance whatever to whether a man's shadow passes over them; on the contrary, one must not step over a man lying on the ground, that might injure his akka.

/220 cont./

769 Beside the principal fraga tiki one sometimes sees sticks
778 bearing fragments of white cloth; they have been planted in honor of those ancestors who have demanded it.

The ceremonies at the fraga tiki have a very simple
769 character; prayers are said in the ordinary language and often
778 have the character of an intimate conversation. In the absence
782 of the head of the lineage, an old man pronounces them; while he speaks, an assistant makes the offering of water and tafia. Pouring water on the ground is a rite having as its purpose entering into contact with the ancestors: it is seen performed in funeral ceremonies, before beginning the interrogation of the yɔrka. The tafia is an offering in the literal sense of the term; at the time of the principal prayers being addressed to the ancestors, the offering of tafia is preceded by an offering of cane
[272] juice, kyẽɔ wata. Cane juice was the beverage on feast days in the times when the ancestors, at war with the Europeans, were bereft of tafia.

The prayer formulas most commonly used ask the ancestors to intercede with Masa gadu on behalf of their descendants: "Ancestors, watch over us, protect us, pray to Masa gadu for us so that...."

769 Possession by a yɔrka. It is taken for granted that the yɔrka of
161 an ancestor can enter into a member of his matrilineage and
● 787 reveal itself in the course of attacks of possession. This is a very
613 rare phenomenon. In 1958, in all the Boni country, only about ten people were known who bore thus the yɔrka of an ancestor. These attacks come on spontaneously, no cult having their provocation as its purpose. We were present in December, 1956 at one of these attacks in a young woman from Papaïston, Mili, about 20 years old. Since the day before, the yɔrka of an ancestor of the lineage dead for two generations had manifested itself in her intermittently; these attacks lasted several minutes;

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Fig. 26. Woman possessed by a Papa gadu god.

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Fig. 27. Dance of possession (Papa gadu worship).

/221 cont./

775 828 [184] "My nɛ̃mseki is So-and-So." Mr. W, F. van Lier, speaking of the Djuka who have much clearer conceptions on religious questions, gives an important clarification: in 1915 Grand Man Oséisi became incarnate in a newborn baby of the tribe, nevertheless he continues to be invoked as an ancestor before the fraga tiki. It seems, then, that it is a case of certain elements of the personality which are believed to be reincarnated, and not of the yɔrka as a whole.

• 787 It is important to distinguish the nɛ̃mseki from possession by a yɔrka. Possession by a yɔrka is an exceptional occurrence which is manifested in the form of trances, the yɔrka speaking through the mouth of its bearer; outside of these possessions, this yɔrka is believed to reside in the abode of the ancestors.

[613] A yɔrka can reveal itself thus only in a person of its matrilineage.

775 828 The nɛ̃mseki, on the contrary, exists in all men. The ancestor who is thus partially reincarnated is generally on the paternal side, but this is not an absolute rule.

A man is not conscious of his nɛ̃mseki and is acquainted with it only because his parents have revealed it to him. This nɛ̃mseki does not manifest itself in anything in everyday life; it does not impose any kina whatever and does not ask for offerings. However, when a young child falls ill, divination may reveal that it is the doing of the nɛ̃mseki which is indignant at being misunderstood. People hurry then, always with the help of divination, to find out the name of the nɛ̃mseki, proceeding by elimination. As a general rule, they allow themselves to be guided by resemblances of physiognomy, birthmarks calling to mind, for example, certain scars of the dead ancestor.

[753] [755]

It is believed that the older a man is when he dies, the more time he will allow to elapse before being reincarnated.

/222 cont./

776 --The Papa gadu (Vɔɔdũ). The kunu that one of them
784 exercises upon a lineage comes uniformly from the fact that in
613 times past, one of the ancestors had inadvertently killed a
[825] dagowe snake (boa), usual bearer of the Papa gadu. For example,
the snake might have perished in the burning of a clearing.
[787] Some time after, the god had possessed a member of the lineage
and revealed that henceforth it would exercse a kunu;

--The Ampuku. The kunu of an Ampuku begins in an analogous way; in days gone by an ancestor had, for example, cut a katu tree without performing the rites suitably, or had made a clearing in a place where an Ampiku was residing;

--The Kãntamasu (who call themselves Akɔio), gods of the termitaries, much feared, may exercie a kunu if, before cutting a clearing, someone has, in spite of all his searching, allowed a termitary to escape him, whichthus was not the object of the indispensable rite;

775 --Finally, the kunu may be broughtby a dead person's
784 yɔrka. For example, a man of lineage A had once upon a time
613 unjustly accused a man of lineage B. The latter committed
762 suicide out of revenge. The meaning of this act is not the same as in Europe. It is not a question of making one's enemies live in shame and remorse, but by sacrificing one's life to cause an eternal vengeance to be wreaked upon one's enemies. Some time after the suicide, the yɔrka reveals itself in a man of his lineage and announces that it will pursue the members of lineage A eternally with its kunu.

784 Thus the offenses which the kunu punishes are not moral sins as we understand them, but involuntary acts without inner meaning. The purifications and sacrifices demanded are likewise purely exterior acts.

/223 cont./

784 begin his instruction in order to become a suitable bearer. (If
613 this procedure were not carried out, the god would not cease
428 its kunu at all, and the possibility of entering into contact with it and appeasing it would be lost. Besides, sooner or later it would come back into a member of the lineage.)

784 The kunu strikes without regard to kinship ties, even if
613 kinship between the bearer of the god and the supposed victim
[602] is very distant. Ex.: The Papa gadu of Donasi (Papaïston lo) struck a young woman, Gou, with illness in January, 1957.
[782] Donasi and Gou are only relatives in the ninth degree. The
[361] members of the entire Papaïston lineage assembled to supplicate the god: even people of Wétiti village in the lower Maroni came.

775 The kunu exercised by the yɔrka of a dead person has a
784 special importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks, for it has
613 profound repercussions on the relations among the lineages.

In principle, the yɔrka exercising a kunu has as bearer
[428] a living member of its own lineage, who will bequeath it at his death. But it is also possible that the yɔrka may take as bearer a member of the lineage upon which it exercises the kunu.

In both cases, the rite to appease the yɔrka is the same;
[782] the yɔrka can be invoked effectively only by the members of its own lineage, since one can pray (at least in principle) only to one's own maternal ancestors.

When matrilineage A is struck by the kunu exercised by a yɔrka of matrilineage B, its members thereupon go to consult the elders of matrilineage A /sic/ and ask them to try to calm
[769] the anger of their ancestor. The members of lineage A assemble
[778] around the fraga tiki of lineage B, in back of the elders of this
[787] lineage, in the presence of the bearer of the yɔrka, who calls on his gita, goes into trances and prophesying. The yɔrka
[782] usually asks for an offering of cane juice and tafia, which is made at the foot of the /224/ fraga tiki by the elders of lineage B (for the rite to be efficacious, the offering must have been furnished by lineage A).

/224 cont./

784 613 776 787 Kunu of the Dju lineage. The Dju lineage in 1958 was affected by four kunu:

--An Ampuku which has exercised its vengeance since time immemorial, to the point where the origin of this kunu is no longer remembered, its bearers being Dabisa (G25) and Adyidya (E19), two women about 50 years old. This Ampuku formerly had as its bearer an ancestor named Agoabuchi, who died about 1940. Two or three years after his death, it manifested itself in Dabisa;

--A Papa gadu named Adawa which has also pursued the lineage with a pitiless vengeance since the time of the great ancestors. It revealed itself to the preceding generation in an ancestress named Sapiké (D5), and a long time after her death it passed into Pamasa (E26), a woman of 35. This kunu has grown worse since /225/ two other Papa gadu revealed themselves in recent years in two women named Kulina (F9) and Diana (E9). They declared that they were the descendants of the first one and that they came in support of it;

784 613 775 787 [762] --A yɔrka whose name nobody wanted to tell us because they were so afraid of it. It is that of a man of the Awara Bakka lineage, who committed suicide two or three generations ago when he was unjustly accused of a crime by a man of the Dju lineage. Since then, this yɔrka has been exterminating the Dju lineage little by little. Its bearer in 1958 was an old woman of the Awara Bakka lineage, named Namu;

784 613 776 787 --A Kantamasu since, a very long time ago, an ancestress whose name is forgotten inadvertently destroyed a termitary while burning a clearing. It had as bearer a very old woman named Wima (E3) († 1957), and it manifested itself also in Ata (F2).

784 613 787 562 Thus, in this group, the maleficent gods had exclusively women as bearers; out of about 20 adult women, seven were participating in the functioning of the kunu.

/225 cont./

784 One sees from this example how the influence of women,
613 exerted in arbitrary fashion, in a domain placed outside of
● 787 custom and ordinary social life, weighs on the life of the
562 group.

Kunu of the Dipélu lineage. The situation of the Dipélu
614 lineage with respect to the kunu is particularly interesting.
571 Although split for perhaps 100 years into two separate groups, Dipélu I (L'Enfant Perdu and Apatu villages) and Dipélu II (Kormotibo and Asisi-Dip. II villages), this group still constitutes an undivided unit with respect to the kunu. Neither time nor
[484] distance (it takes more than a week of traveling to make the round trip between L'Enfant Perdu and Apatu) has been able to break it up. The Apatu people come very often (at least some
[755] of them) to be present at the collective prayers which take place at L'Enfant Perdu to appease a kunu in order to cure a sick person.

The oldest kunu ("since Africa") is that of a Papa gadu
614 god whose bearer was ○ Dika (Dip. I, D10, † 1951) and which
776 passed after her death into ○ Péechina (Dip. I, E42, L'Enfant
[787] Perdu village). This kunu strikes indiscriminately the people of L'Enfant Perdu, Apatu, Kormotibo, Asisi-Dip. II, and the Dipélu fraction residing in Boniville. To it, these past years,
[761] have been attributed the death of ○ Way (Dip. I, E6, living
[753] in Boniville), the illness of △ Akwali (Dip. II, F7, Kormotibo village) and of ○ Bongo (same village).

Another very old kunu is the one exercised by the yɔrka
775 of a Surinam Creole who had settled with the Dipélu people a
614 very long time ago. He was suspected of sorcery and killed.
[683] Since then his yɔrka comes back regularly to exterminate the Dipélu.

/225 cont./

784 Having no known lineage (his family, if he had any, was
776 in Surinam), it had taken people of the Dipélu lineage as
614 bearers. The last was △ Denis † in 1938. Since Denis'
● 787 death, it no longer has a bearer. The questioning of the dead
reveals that they died by its kunu. The members of the two
[782] fractions of the lineage meet together (at least two or three
members of each village come) to supplicate it.

784 A third kunu, very interesting in origin and supposed
614 action, /226/ in 1957 was borne by Kwau (Dip. I, E1, Kotika
village). It results from the killing of an anaconda snake by
Apatu † (Dip. I, C1), companion of the explorer Crevaux
when he was traveling to /in/ Brazil. Upon contact with
Europeans Apatu had become a freethinker and was no longer
[153] observing the laws of his people. Among the later victims of
[155] this kunu was counted Kwami (Dip. II, F4, Kormotibo village)
who, gravely ill, had had to go to L'Enfant Perdu where the
god had been invoked for him and offerings made. The death
[761] of Manga (Dip. I, E5, Boniville, † about 1930) was particu-
larly attributed to it.

No other kunu has revealed itself in Apatu village since
its founding in 1882.

784 A fourth kunu concerning all the Dipélu has as bearers
614 women of the Dipélu II group. It results from the inadvertent
776 murder of a Papa gadu whose bearer was a dagowe snake killed
787 in the course of the nivrée /fishing/ of a pool by Akonté
562 † (Dip. II, B1), transmitted to Kondo †, then to Alama
(Dip. II, E1).

Since then Papa gadu have revealed themselves in
○ Apaïta (Dip. II, F9, Kormotibo village) and in ○ Kaala
(Dip. II, G28, Asisi-Dip. II village). They declared them-
selves to be the descendants of the first and to come in support
of it.

/226 cont./

784 182 Finally, a fifth kunu is threatening to show itself. This is a remarkable affair which clarifies at the same time the legal and religious conceptions of the Refugee Blacks.

672 About 1918, a stupid accident which happened at Dagouédé (gun which went off by itself at the moment when it was being stowed in a boat) caused the death of a girl, Santonia, daughter of Kuluba (Aw.B.1). The unwitting perpetrator of the accident was Kwau (Dip. I. Apatu village). [692] There were people in the Awara Bakka lineage who accused him of having done it on purpose, but the grand man judged that he was innocent and the affair was shelved.

784 614 775 787 Now in April, 1957, Kiboya (Dip. II), a young woman of 25, was attacked by a fit of possession. It was Santonia's yɔrka which was supposed to reveal itself in her. It declared that it was going to exercise a kunu on Dipélu. It was not claiming that Kwau had killed her on purpose and even asked the Awara Bakka not to make reprisals.

628 614 Nevertheless, full of fury, a party of Awara Bakka went the next day to attack the village of L'Enfant Perdu, demolishing a certain number of huts and pursuing the inhabitants, some of whom took refuge in the water and others in the bush. There were, however, no serious blows.

The next day they went to attack Kormotibo in the same way. It is to be noted that only after that did they think of blaming Kwau, who was then living at Wacapou. But the grand man had intervened in the meantime to re-establish peace.

In both cases the façades of several shacks were smashed and two men, Bonana and Amatodja, who had run less fast than the others, were struck symbolically.

/226 cont./

628 614 784 787 156 769 778 The members of the Dipélu lineage did not believe a word of this affair, convinced that Kiboya, a proud and scheming woman, had pretended the gita to make herself interesting. Nevertheless, to bring back peace, they decided to go to Asisi and to ask pardon in front of the fraga tiki, pouring tafia, asking the ancestors not to take vengeance, the living being reconciled.

784 614 795 /227/ (Note that in this affair, the yorka manifests itself in a member of the lineage on which it exercises the kunu.)

784 614 613 Kunu of the Awara Bakka lineage. The Awara Bakka lineage does not form a unit with respect to the kunu, and the situation of its fractions is particularly interesting. This lineage includes:

--A principal fraction (Aw.B.1);

--A fraction whose kinship ties with the first are forgotten (Aw.B.2), whose position with respect to the kunu we have not been able to define.

--Finally, a group descended from Anèta, Djuka woman, wife of Pééyon † (Aw.B.1) settled in Asisi with her descendants in uterine line. We have called this group Aw.B.3. It has a separate kunu originating in the Djuka village of Tabiki where Anèta came from.

784 787 796 613 428 The Awara Bakka I, all living in Asisi village, had to our knowledge three kunu in 1957:

--One exercised by a papa gadu god, borne up to 1957 by O Kuluba (Aw.B.1, D1). At her death in April, 1957, she bequeathed it, contrary to custom, to a person of another fraction, Summa (Aw.B.3). But the god did not ratify this legacy and, in January, 1958, it manifested itself in O Léna (Aw.B.1, F92), thus remaining in the same lineage.

/227 cont./

784 --A second, very old kunu is exercised by a yorka of the
785 Dipélu II lo, Gy.... dead so long that he cannot be placed on
● 787 the genealogical table; it, too, had as bearer a member of the
613 lineage on which it was exercising the kunu. O Akumuyé
614 (Aw.B.1, D17) † 1957.

Thus the Awara Bakka and Dipélu lineages exercise the kunu reciprocally one against the other;

784 --A third kunu of recent origin is exercised by a Papa
786 gadu god which had as bearer in 1957 O Irma (Aw.B.1, E37).
613 It results from the inadvertent killing of a Dagowe /sic/ snake
[789] by O Tawa, Irma's brother. At the end of 1957 this kunu
[953] had yet brought on only illnesses of such a kind that people could still hope to exorcise it.

784 The Aw.B.3 group has a special kunu of its own and
613 considers itself out of reach of the kunu of the Aw.B.1.

Anéta, originating in the Djuka village of Tabiki, is subject to the kunu of that lineage as are all her descendants in uterine line. On occasion of serious illnesses the latter have
[782] sometimes had to go to Tabiki village to supplicate the kunu.

This kunu is the one of a god borne by Akanté, Anéta's
[786] daughter. In September, 1956, Summa, Akanté's daughter,
[787] was sick. The god revealed that this was its doing. It was
[782] supplicated (the other fractions joined the group) and she then got well.

613 Kunu of the Afi lineage. The descendants of Afi † (woman
621 coming from the tribe of the Bakabuchi of Suriname) live for the most part in Asui in close symbiosis with the /228/ Awara Bakka lineage. They are in a situation analogous to that of Anéta's descendants (Aw.B.3) but, perhaps by the simple fact of their number, they form a more individualized unit.

/228 cont./

784 They are the object of three kunu:
613 --One exercised by a Papa gadu god whose bearer up into
1956 was Kotolida († Oct. 1956), who bequeathed it to ○
● 787 Mani (Afi lineage, d12).

784 --The other exercised by a yɔtka of the Lapé lineage.
785 This kunu dates from about 60 years ago; Alémin (Afi lineage,
613 h3, Kormotibo village), 80 years old in 1957, had when he
was young cut a clearing in a place which was found to be an
[787] old abandoned Boni cemetery (opposite Maripasoula). Some
time afterward, a yɔtka revealed itself in a woman of the Lapé
lineage, saying that it was exercising a kunu against the family
of the sacrilegious person.

[961] It is to this yɔtka, whose bearer is M... (L2, Boniville),
that the death of Kotolida in October, 1956 is especially attributed.

--A third kunu is exercised by A..., of the Papaliston 2
[684] lineage. A... had committed pikadu. Surprised by Alémin
(Afi lineage), he had paid the latter to obtain his silence.
[962] But Alémin had talked. Dishonored, A... committed suicide
with a gunshot; some time afterward his yɔtka revealed itself
in Alémin; it exercises a kunu on this lineage.

613 Situation of the other lineages with respect to the kunu. The
614 Papaliston lineage is divided into two groups: Papaliston 1 (the
784 principal one) and Papaliston 2, of which there remain only
three living members: two women and one young man. This
remainder of a lineage continues to bear its own kunu, which
is unique and separate from that of the principal group.

The principal group forms a unit with respect to the kunu.

The Lapé lineage, cut from the point of view of genealogy
into two pieces, forms a unit with respect to the kunu. We
[114] have been able to collect only fragmentary information on the
various kunu of this village.

/228 cont./

784 A kunu is exercised by a Dipélu yaka, borne in 1958 by
275 a Loka woman. It is invoked before the fraga tiki of l'Enfant
278 Perdu village (Dipélu I). Sometimes a broko di is celebrated
613 for it in the same forms as the ceremony of the eighth day after death.

784 We have likewise not been able to collect complete
613 information on the kunu of the Kotika lineage. This lineage,
114 divided into three fractions, forms a unit with respect to the kunu.

784 A kunu is exercised by the yaka of a Surinam Creole
613 assassinated in former times by a member of the lineage. Its
785 bearer in 1958 was Todo (K1, E68), a man of the Kotika lo
789 living in Boniville. In 1958 a young woman of the lineage,
761 Awini (K1, E37), died suddenly; the yaka revealed that it
684 had struck Awini because she had a liaison with Sintamann (K3, E145), thus committing pikadu. The idea of the collective responsibility of the lineage is so deeply accepted by the Boni that the near relatives of the dead woman did not reproach Sintamann at all.

784 /229/ A yaka of the Kotika lineage may exercise a kunu on
613 the Djuka. This is the case of an affair going back to 1950;
785 a young woman died some time after having a serious discussion
761 with a Djuka woman who had hit her. Deaths among the Djuka
619 these last years had been attributed to its vengeance.

It seems that there is no other kunu exercised by a Djuka
784 upon a Boni lineage and vice versa. This is surprising, con-
619 sidering the fights which in former times set the two nations
613 against each other.

The Djuka and Saramaka living isolated in the midst
621 of the Boni know their kunu, which was revealed to them in
784 childhood. In case of sickness, they employ divinatory pro-
785 cedures in order to know what kunu is concerned, then they
613 make offerings. But in case of serious illness, they are forced to go back to the village of origin of their lineage.

/229 cont./

784 the Afi lineage to be thrashed symbolically for not having paid
613 sufficient attention to the warnings of the yorka which had
672 already made Kotoïda sick several times: by their negligence they bore part of the responsibility for Kotoïda's death. Although the Afi and the Awara Bakka live together and regard themselves as members of one community, there was no question whatever of thrashing the Awara Bakka, and that because, not being subject to the same kunu, they bore no responsibility for this death. /230/

Likewise it is taken for granted that the descendants of Anèta (Aw.B.3) do not share the legal responsibility of the Awara Bakka proper (fractions 1 and 2). The fact that Anéta was the wife of Péeyon, captain of the Aw.B., and that her descendants are completely integrated into the life of the village, does not modify this legal situation at all. At the time of the brawl between the Dipélu and the Awara Bakka in 1948, the Aw.B.3 were not taken to task, any more than the members of the Afi lineage.

791 The relations of the Boni with the entities which are believed to pursue them are most interesting. They seek only to appease the divinity, to calm it provisionally, and to live with it in a state of armed peace, if one may say so.

784 When divination has shown that a certain calamity was
787 due to the kunu (sometimes the divinity in question reveals it immediately, through the mouth of its bearer, before being interrogated), it is asked why it struck: it always indicates a precise reason: usually it appears to be inspired by arbitrariness
[776] and a pitiless despotism. The Refugee Blacks are not surprised at this, for thus it is that they imagine the lower gods.

784 In 1948, A...., of the Dju lineage, fell ill; he felt
787 violent pains in his legs. Divination showed that it was the
776 doing of the Kantamasu, which was exercising its kunu upon

/230 cont./

784 the lineage; questioned, this god declared that it had something
787 to complain about in the bad condition of the house which the
776 members of the lineage had erected to it on its order; the roof of leaves had not been changed and it was raining through.

784 It happens also, but as an exception, that the god has
684 sanctioned an offense against morals or more precisely, against the social law, such as the breaking of an interdiction, pikadu (incest in the wider sense, an offense against exogamy). It is necessary to understand that in the thought of the Refugee Blacks, incest unleashes the existing kunu but does not create a new kunu.

In October, 1952, Dolo, a young man of 25 of the
[787] Awara Bakka lo, died almost suddenly. Divination revealed
[761] that he had been killed by the kunu (it was a Papa gadu which
[613] had intervened) in order to sanction an offense committed some time previously by another member of the lo named P.... The latter, a notoriously depraved individual, had committed incest with his own sister.

784 When the divinity has made known through the mouth
776 of its bearer the causes of its act, the assembled members of
782 the lineage implore it, ask it not to pursue its vengeance; the
[787] divinity then requires an offering: for example, if it is a Papa gadu, it will require bottles of beer, some red and white cloth which will be immersed in a given place in the river. It may also require dances in its honor, celebrated by the other possessed people in the village. If it is an Ampuku, it will demand rum, dark-blue cloth which will be exposed in a remote place in the forest. An offering of this kind represents a relatively small sum, even for the Boni (several thousand francs in 1952). The god then declares itself appeased. But it does not pardon and it will resume /231/ its vengeance
[183] at the first cause. Thus the Boni have hope only in a rigorous
776 observance of customary law and the rites. There are divinities
787 which appeared to be thus appeased for a long time and to

/231 cont./

776 which people do not hesitate to come to ask for remedies or
787 opinions, in spite of the evil they have done to the lineage and perhaps will do tomorrow. It is even allowable to wonder whether people do not prefer to consult the most wicked divinities, for they are believed to be stronger.

784 The kunu focuses, turns aside toward high purposes the
791 blind forces of superstition, fear, and rancor. Several authors
114 who have written on the Refugee Blacks have stated that
754 calamities were almost unfailingly attributed to sorcery (wisi). This is a grave error due to the fact that they believed they could transpose to the Refugee Blacks what is observed among the Creole populations of Surinam. If this were true, no
[787] positive social bond could exist. We believe we can assert that among the Refugee Blacks divination lays the blame on sorcery in only scarcely a tenth of the misfortunes. Here,
784 among other examples, are several typical cases concerning
[114] Boni who worked with us or whom we have known especially well:

[753] --In 1948, Fintiman (Dju) falls ill (violent pains in the
[776] legs); kunu of a Kintamasu.

[752] --In 1948, Galmo (Papaïston) is accidentally hurt (gun backfire): kunu.

[753] --In 1949, Diole, captain of the Djd io, is smitten with
[761] hemiplegia and remains paralyzed. He dies in 1951: kunu
[776] of a Papa gadu.

761 --In 1950, a Saramaka is killed in a hunting accident (a gun in poor condition went off by itself): 3ɔ̃ ɔ̃ku (accident).

[754] --In 1951, Kanayen (Kotika) drowns while sailing at night on the river: wisi.

[784] --In 1951, Loka (Dju) dies at the age of 70: kunu of an
[776] Ampuku.

752 --In 1951, F... (Dju) is seriously hurt by the falling of
784 a branch while cutting his clearing: kunu of a yɔrka.
775

/232 cont./

75 It is important not to confuse the kunu with the sufferings
784 which other divinities can arbitrarily make men undergo. The
776 kunu has a systematic character. But a divinity theoretically beneficent, and which has come into a man after being called on, may also from time to time bring misfortunes if such is its whim of the moment.

752 In 1949, G... (Dju) was busy cooking a crab in the
776 house of his mother D... A machete which was fastened to
784 the wall suddenly detached itself and wounded him in the right hand. Now his mother had an Ampuku which had imposed
[787] the crab on her as kina. This Ampuku, immediately called
[428] on, revealed that it really was it which had struck G..., for it did not like to see D...'s son eat crab (note that G... was not at all held to the observance of this kina, for no kina is transmitted from mother to son).

784 Neither must the kunu exercised by a yarka be confused
775 with the vengeance that a dead person can exercise against
613 the members of his own lineage in order to punish them for
969 having neglected their duties.

Punishment inflicted by an ancestor of the lineage seems for the Boni to be a notion distinct from that of the kunu. Vengeance exercised by a yarka upon its own lineage is regarded as exceptional and devoid of the inexorable and definitive character of the kunu, but they assume it to be
[962] possible. They cited to us the case of Yali (Loka), who
[953] committed suicide when accused of sorcery by the people
[961] of his lineage. Since then, his yarka has caused sicknesses and deaths in his own village.

776 Conversely, a god which exercises the kunu upon a
784 lineage may in certain cases intervene in favor of this lineage
613 if such is its whim of the moment. Thus the death of Diamanti
[961] (Aw.B.2, Asisi village, † in 1955) is attributed to the god which exercises the kunu on the village of L'Enfant Perdu and whose bearer was Pééchina. Diamanti had wronged someone of this village and the god had intervened against her.

/232 cont./

787 In a general way, they consider that the bearer of a god
784 exercising the kunu has nothing to fear from it personally if he
784 rigorously observes the kina which have been imposed upon
796 him. On the other hand, this god will punish any injury to
[562] its bearer. Thus these bearers (almost always old women) live
[888] surrounded by respect and fear.

784 /233/ Observations in January, 1958 (misfortunes attributed to
769 vengeance of ancestors on their own lineage).
613 Do (Lapé) is taken ill on January 7, 1958 with a violent
75 attack of dysentery. The same day his five-year-old son is grievously hurt at the wharf by falling on a broken bottle.
[787] Alarmed by this coincidence, the members of the Lapé lo assemble and proceed to question a possessed person. The latter reveals that it is the doing of an old woman of the lineage, Atala, dead for two years. Several lineage members have already been sick from this; the dead woman wanted to sanction offenses committed by the people of the lineage.

The same day in Boniville, Klémenti (Dju), to whom I am recounting this affair, tells me that before the lifting of mourning for his mother Béniti, he and his sisters were sick.
[787] Divination showed that it was the doing of Béniti, who wished to hasten the celebration of the ceremony.

784 The kunu and social peace among the Boni. Role of the grand
795 man. The kunu exercised by a yɔ̃ɔ̃ka creates very strange re-
613 lations among the Boni lineages. As blind and arbitrary as the
591 vengeance attributed to the yɔ̃ɔ̃ka may be, the Boni have the sense of the legal unity of the lineage too much for any resentment to exist: "They are killing our family..."; and yet the two lineages find themselves henceforth irreparably bound to-
[780] gether. The victims of the kunu can no longer get along without people of the lineage of the yɔ̃ɔ̃ka which pursues them with its vengeance, since they alone, by their prayers, can appease temporarily the anger of their ancestor. One conceives of the

/234 cont./

695 Fist-fighting is practiced also between individuals as a test for justification. If someone is unjustly accused of theft, this is the first idea which occurs to him, even before the oath before Odun. On this subject the Refugee Blacks have a conception analogous to that of the ancient Europeans, according to which God will come to the aid of the innocent person, giving him the strength of ten. This fighting, too, is subject to precise rules; it can be indulged in only publicly, in a village, never in the bush or on the river.

In spite of the importance attached to the oath before Odun, Boni custom does not make provision for any test for
628 justification having a recognized legal value. This is what makes
613 the symbolic battle indispensable. Intervention is then asked of the head of a neutral lineage in order to restore peace. If no death or calamity takes place allowing /235/ belief in the unappeased vengeance of a dead person, the affair is very quickly forgotten. For example, in examining the table of marriages among the various lineages, one ascertains that there are a number of normal unions between the Dipélu and the Awara Bakka.

643 In these kinds of affairs the grand man has two very
692 exact functions:

--To reveal pretense;

--To intervene as supreme arbiter in case of necessity.

[787] Each time that someone is attacked by a fit of possession
[975] and claims to speak in the name of a yorka coming to exercise a kunu, the lineage head conducts him to the grand man who makes sure that there is no question of pretense.

643 The grand man, in the thought of the Boni, has the
975 power to compel any yorka to manifest itself.
787 He conducts the person concerned to the fraga tiki and
695 invokes the yorka. If pretense is involved, the individual will not be able to articulate a syllable. If it is true possession, the yorka will speak through his mouth.

643 /235 cont./
775 A few years ago a Kormotibo woman was thus confounded.
787 She had wanted to pretend possession by a yɔ́ɔka in order to
695 blackmail another family.

Grand Man Difu recently forbade the bequeathing of gods
784 and yɔ́ɔka exercising the kunu (1). People will wait for them
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[787]

1. Let us recall that the dead are questioned on this subject as for the apportionment of the rest of their heritage.

to manifest themselves of their own accord. That will reduce the risks of pretense.

643 The grand man's lineage does not exercise any kunu upon
613 another lineage, and no kunu is exercised upon it. For the Boni
775 this is a fundamental idea, because the grand man is precisely
784 the supreme recourse in case of persistent calamities attributed to the yɔ́ɔka of a dead person. The grand man has the power to exorcise all the dead Boni. If his lineage exercised a kunu or were victim of one, he would be judge and litigant at the same time.

When, with the death of Grand Man Difu, the Dikan lineage is extinct, and when the function passes to another lineage, consideration of the kunu exercised by the lineages upon one another will be determinative in the choice of his successor.

787 Divination; Premonition; Dreams
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182 Divination. It plays an essential role among the Refugee Blacks as in all animistic societies. Individuals have recourse to it to inspire all important discussions; in large measure one can say that for them it takes the place of will and conscience.

/235 cont. /

But divination is more than that; the interpretation it gives of the events of daily life is the very mover of the animistic society; presenting calamities /236/ as the punishment of offenses against customary law, it is constantly vitalizing that law, conserving its practical value and its efficacity. What it expresses is not the hidden influence of chiefs or priests -- there are in fact neither chiefs nor priests among the Boni -- but the very consensus of the group, the deep feeling it has of its unity.

There are two large categories of divination:

The first consists of calling on a divinity through the medium of its bearer. For that, one applies to a person (of his lineage if possible) who has a gadu. This is a service which is rarely refused. This person employs the appropriate procedure for calling his gita and enters into trances. The god speaks, the question is put to it; if it is well disposed, it may give the explanation or the advice requested. For example, one asks for advice before looking for another sector to make his clearings.

Suggestible as the Boni may be, they do not fail to perceive that all the gods interrogated do not give the same directions. So they think that certain ones are stronger than others; there are people whose gita is considered to be particularly good, others whom they have stopped consulting entirely. The defunct head of Kotika village, Bayo, used to have a gita so remarkable that people would come from very far to consult it.

The general opinion is, furthermore, that nowadays everything is degenerating and that good gita are no longer seen as in the olden days.

These consultations involve only a very modest remuneration, a bottle of tafia at most (1). If it is not a matter of a

1. The remuneration of the possessed person is in question; the god always demands a payment for itself, of variable size according to its whim.

/236 cont./

787 very serious question, the asker contents himself with going to interrogate a divinity in which he has confidence. If, when put to the test, the advice turns out to be bad, he goes to consult others and if he obtains the same advice from two different directions, he stops there. If not, he appeals to the elders of [888] his village to bring into play the processes of divination which [791] they alone know.

A second category of divinatory procedures consists in the [428] use of "remedies," whose origin is unknown and which are transmitted like a personal belonging.

The process reputed to be the surest, in which everybody has confidence, is called pusu. The instrument is composed [824] simply of a rope made of fibers of the Mauritia (2) palm tree

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2. Palm tree which grows in the coastal savannas and whose fibers are bought from the Galibi Indians. The word pusu, like gita, kandu, mula, is of Congolese origin. In Kikongo, mpuuru = raffia palm tree.

which has been dipped in an infusion of herbs; it is stretched horizontally between two stakes. The elder brings near it a machete blade heated red-hot, at the same time asking the question. If the answer is positive, the rope is cut when the iron has scarcely touched it. If the answer is no, they state that the red-hot iron remains in contact with the rope for an appreciable length of time without the rope's being cut.

They will say for example: efu ca Ampuku siki X, a how a 'I mu do: fosi a ɔɔti: If it is an Ampuku which is making X sick, the machete must cut (the rope) before (even) reaching it.

/237/

787 In this way they put a series of questions entailing yes or no answers and which narrow down the problem more and more.

791 For this divinatory procedure, they pay the man who has brought it into play three liters of tafia, two pieces of cloth, and one machete.

787 695 This procedure is put into play to confound thieves and adulterers. The plaintiff publicly calls on the accused to come and undergo the test: Mi ɔ tya yu go a sweli! If he refuses, it is the equivalent of a confession.

In 1947, Liki (Aw.B.), accused of having stolen 20 grams of gold by a man from Loka, was thus put to the test. The rope was not cut. He was declared innocent and it was the plaintiff who had to pay the price of the test.

In 1950, the uncle of Tabayé (Dip. I) accused him of having committed adultery with his wife. He denied it, but he was put to the test which gave a positive result; he confessed immediately and begged his uncle's pardon. Then they were reconciled. Of course it was he who paid the price of the test.

787 Another important divinatory procedure is the Kumẽnti bui (ring of Kumẽnti). This is a surprising form of divination by pendulum. The ring, which is made of fibers, is ordinarily kept hidden by its owner. Very few people have any. The ring, suspended at the end of a string, is put in oscillation. Its owner puts a question to it. If the answer is affirmative, it oscillates from right to left. If it is negative, it describes a circle.

725 Another procedure is sometimes used after a sacrifice to know whether the god has received it favorably: it consists of killing a rooster to examine the color of its testicles: if they are found to be black, the sacrifice has not been accepted.

791 /237 cont./
688 Not just anyone may resort to divination on behalf of
888 someone else: only the eldest have the right to do it, and it has happened that the grand man punished offenders severely.

797 Fate. The Refugee Blacks do not attribute all misfortunes
[752] to suprahuman causes. They have the notion of natural accident, ɔɛŋgɔɔku. They say ɔɛŋgɔɔku miti mi, or again ogi miti mi,
[761] misfortune met me. They also accept the idea of natural death. They usually regard as natural death that of the very old, the infirm from birth, and sickly children.

[787] Divination blames fate in ten to 20 per cent of accidents.
[792] It is the usual explanation for hunting accidents.

792 /238/ Magic Forces

As we have shown, the Refugee Blacks consider beings and things as a world of forces capable of acting on one another, outside of time and space, according to laws which men cannot understand but of which they believe they have a partial and empirical knowledge transmitted by tradition since the
754 time of the ancestors. They distinguish negative magic forces,
789 wisi, which have the effect of diminishing the vital force of men, which makes them sick or kills them, and positive magic forces, ɔbia, which come from the gods: the ɔbia comes to increase the vital force of men, giving them protection, immunity, or knowledge. But no power is in essence a principle of good or evil; nothing is impossible for him who knows the formulas; this is why the magic of the Refugee Blacks is reduced to a perpetual and indecisive struggle between ɔbia and wisi.

754 Wisi. Wisi is sorcery in the African sense of the term, that is,
[673] the use of magic procedures to harm others; wisi is for the Refugee Blacks the pre-eminently criminal act, at the same time against morals and against society. The struggle against

/239 cont./

754 Trial for sorcery does not exist among the Boni, but a
787 procedure exists which allows for pinning down suspicions.

After each death the dead person is asked the question: Is it wisi that killed thee? The question is put last (they first ask kunu, then fyo-fyo /see p. 398/).

If it is wisi, they ask: Is it such-and-such a family? (In general it is in the lineage itself), then the names of the lineage members are uttered successively until there is a positive response.

754 The one who is thus accused of wisi can be summoned
695 to justify himself before the grand man, but that can only have the character of an investigation and not a trial. The suspected individual may not be challenged. They accept the fact that it is only a matter of presumption and that the dead accuser can lie, pursuing vengeance beyond the grave.

The Refugee Blacks declare that there is no certainty about wisi.

754 A remarkable principle of customary law is that if a
613 member of a matrilineage /240/ is believed to have killed one
692 of his "brothers," the judiciary power of the Boni cannot interfere. It is an affair purely within the lineage.

754 Thus no one can be challenged or expelled for an act of sorcery. If one suspects somebody strongly, one will avoid him, one will turn the cold shoulder to him, all the time remaining polite, but one will not show anything. To this principle is attached a very noble idea, that of the interdiction of vengeance. He who is victim of sorcery must under no circumstances do countersorcery. He can only ask for the protection of the abia. One must not under any circumstances ask a divinity or his ancestors to harm his aggressor.

754 Among the Refugee Blacks there is only one sanction
715 against the wisima: They will necessarily be found out at their
787 death. The yaka of the dead person, interrogated by the elders,

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775 /240 cont./
789 will be obliged to confess: "It is I who killed So-and-So and So-and-So." They immediately inform the grand man, who
754 orders the usual procedure against wisimã: Ceremonies are
766 suspended, the body is transported by boat to a place reserved for cursed people, downstream from Boni country, and it is abandoned in the bush without being buried. Grand Man Difu is trying to modify this custom and to compel burial of wisimã in a special cemetery, but without great success up to now, it seems.

754 There is no broko dẹ. The spouse may remarry immediate-
765 ly. Since the property of the deceased are presumed to be ill-
768 gotten, inheritance is cancelled. The house is destroyed and thrown into the water, the boat abandoned to the current. Personal belongings of the deceased are turned over to the grand man who distributes them to whom he wishes.

The near relatives of persons thus designated are overcome with shame but can say nothing. Not a bit of responsibility is imputed to them.

754 How does society protect itself against the sorcery of the
775 wisimã from beyond the grave? According to Grand Man Difu,
784 this is a problem which does not come up. The wisimã has been killed by Oiun as punishment for his crimes. Since every being draws its force from the divine, he has no more force, he is destroyed as a being, he is no longer anything but an empty shadow incapable of doing harm.

754 In fact, among the Refugee Blacks these trials of dead
775 people are very rare. Whereas about 15 persons die per year
777 on the average in Boni country, including about ten adults,
[165] in the last 20 years (1) only about 20 persons were revealed to be wisimã.

1. Disregarding the period 1957-1959 when a definite fresh outbreak of the fear of wisimã was observed.

/240 cont./

754 be wisimɛ. We were able to draw up the list of these from
775 information from diverse sources which agreed very well.

787 In nearly every case persons were concerned who had already been accused, during their lifetime, of being wisimɛ; and on whom suspicions had been directed either by reason of their solitary life and irascible character or as a consequence of a series of coincidences.

754 In general, they tend to accuse of wisi any individual
828 who systematically isolates himself, shows ill will in the observation of customary law, or shows himself particularly selfish, irascible, or jealous.

754 /241/ They tend also to suspect those who in their youth had
648 abandoned the tribe for years to settle among the Creoles, and those who frequent the Creoles of the region, known as quimboiseurs, or who go too often to Saint Laurent or Paramaribo to consult lukumɛ (clairvoyants) (1).

1. Consulting a clairvoyant is not contrary to the laws of Odun. Infringement of these laws begins when one claims to act upon other people.

754 Also deemed suspect of wisi is anyone who gets rich too
434 quickly or shows an immoderate love of money. A hard-
828 working man who earns his living in broad daylight is never accused of wisi. But the one who engages in trade is suspect. It is thought, for example, that G...., who furnished a shop and earns much money, is a "pledged man." It is said also of F...., a fishing contractor particularly greedy for profit. But neither has been accused openly.

/242 cont./

754 Of course he was recognized as a wisimɛ̃ by the first
764 adjuration made to his body carried in the papay on the heads
● 787 of two men: "If thou art a wisi man, do not come toward us."
The dead man drew back.

[784] /243/Continuation of the interrogation showed that he had not yet killed anybody, but that he had been killed by Odun when he was preparing to kill someone of his lineage.

754 The persecutors of Agyémési, contrary to their hope, did not recover after his death from the maladies which they were attributing to his sorcery; that did not shake their conviction in
755 the least. They left for Paramaribo to have themselves treated
648 by a Creole magician (for the Surinam Creoles, who practice white magic and black magic indiscriminately, are by this fact reputed to be more expert than the Refugee Blacks in combating the effects of wisi).

954 In recounting this story to us, the grand man told us that it is always necessary to be cautious with accusations of wisi,
[762] because one can never be sure. A man unjustly accused can
[784] commit suicide and pursue his accusers with his kunu (most of the Boni state that they would do so in such a case). In former
173 times, the barbarous punishments in use in Africa were applied
683 to revealed wisimɛ̃: they were burned alive. But people tell
784 that one of them, some months afterward, undertook against his accusers' lineage a kunu which still lasts today. He had been wrongly condemned! It is through fear of the kunu more than
[178] through care for humanity, that these punishments have been abolished.

754 It certainly seems that the constant fear of the wisimɛ̃ in
[152] which the Boni live is only a collective hallucination, and that rare indeed are those who dare to indulge in practices which might draw upon them such terrible social and religious sanctions. As for these practices themselves, they appear to be without any real content, and the misfortunes attributed to them are

/245 cont./

754 766 Burial of a wisimi. We transcribe here an account given by a witness of this scene, K...., of Papalston village, withholding the exact date and place.

"It was at the time of the clearings, people were in the farming habitations and the village was almost deserted. I was going fishing with P...., of Loka. We had moored our boat and were walking at the edge of the water when our attention was attracted by a nauseous odor which came from an unoccupied house. There we found the cadaver of a woman, E...., dead for two or three days. She had tried to break into the house by raising the roof, but she had remained wedged between two beams and smothered to death. Since she knew the house to be empty, she could not have had any other intention than to lodge an evil spell; after disengaging the body in the presence of witnesses, we went to inform the grand man who commanded, the motive seeming to be clear, that the yorka be interrogated on the spot without making a coffin.

[789] "Before a council composed of half a dozen men and two village heads, the interrogation began; the dead woman was carried in an old boat bottom; at times I myself served as bearer. Pressed with questions, she confessed that she had wisi (1) and that she had been killed by Odun. The case was

1. They say commonly "to have wisi," as they say "to have an obia," "to have a remedy."

clear. We were ordered to transport the body to the place reserved for cursed people, downstream from Boni country. When we arrived there the body was again borne on the heads of two men to ask it to choose the spot where it wanted to be abandoned. The dead woman drew us far into the forest, wandered a moment, then stopped. We abandoned her on the

/245 cont./

754 766 ground, after scattering the cloths which were covering her, and left without carrying out any rite.

"Next we went to Boniville, the grand man invoked Odun on our behalf, stating that we had only followed his laws and that he had to protect the performers of the job against any distressing consequence."

754 181 198 Development of sorcery. Since 1957 Boni country has been passing through a crisis; /246/ fear of sorcery is poisoning village life, while in 1948-50 it was a preoccupation of secondary importance.

[598] That is due to the fact that the rapid growing rich of part of the Boni aggravates jealousies and suspicions. Moreover, these affairs tend to appear in series. Since the case related above (1958), in which a woman, N.... was convicted of having paid a Creole quimboiseur to make the grand man die, an affair which strongly impressed the Boni, they tend to see wisi in all misfortunes that occur.

[169] In November, 1958 the death of a little girl of 12 of Kotika village was attributed to her uncle Mbomaolo, who had recently emigrated to Surinam and settled in a Creole village. [711] It is believed that he "committed himself," that is, that he sold his soul to the devil (1), which necessitates sacrificing one

1. This notion, which plays such a large role in West Indian beliefs, has no equivalent among the Refugee Blacks. There is no word in the Boni language for translating the term "committed." They translate thus: a e suku didibi, he seeks the devil. The Boni do not have a clear image of the devil, and this notion remains, in fact, foreign to their beliefs.

[712]

754 181 178 [382]

/246 cont./
of his near relatives, his sister's children being regarded as the victims most pleasing to the demon.

Although in former times one to two out of ten deaths were attributed to wisi, in 1957 and 1958 out of 14 adult deaths of which we could obtain the explanation, there were:

[384]

--Four wisimã killed by Odun, including two women of over 85 who during their lifetime had never been the object of unfavorable notice;

[74]

--One death by the action of a wisimã,
or a total of more than a third of the deaths; out of the nine others, two were looked upon as natural deaths (dead of old age), seven were attributed to the kunu.

754 648

The Refugee Blacks and Creole magic. Some of them go to get from the lukumã what their own social morals forbid: vengeance or success acquired at the expense of other people. They have uttered an oath that prohibits the practice of wisi: for most of them it is clear that if they paid a piayeur /magician, sorcerer/ to harm someone, it would be the same as if they performed the sorcery themselves. But others make a mental reservation on this point.

754 755 648

In 1951, G.... of the Kotika lo, then about 20 years old, felt ill while staying at Saint Laurent. He went to find a Creole maltif (clairvoyant) who presented him with a mirror, announcing to him that he was going to see in it the face of the one who had piayé /bewitched, cast a spell on/ him. G... saw nothing in the mirror. The maltif was not upset at this and revealed to him that the piayeur must be someone in his wife's family. G... then recalled a dispute he had had some time previously with one of his wife's brothers and let himself be convinced: since that day he has not gotten along with his brother-in-law.

688 /247 cont./
689 attenuated form of wisi; in serious cases the grand man may inflict a severe punishment on the guilty ones.

789 ɔbia. The Refugee Blacks use the word ɔbia (1) to designate

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1. The term ɔbia is used by the Refugee Blacks when they are speaking to outsiders, to designate positive magic, but in reality this term has a very different meaning in their language. It designates any kind of magic action, negative as well as positive; likewise the term ɔbiamɛ̃ has the sense of sorcerer as well as that of holder of a remedy.

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The Boni among themselves use the word deesi, remedy, instead of ɔbia. They do not use the word deesimɛ̃ in place of ɔbiamɛ̃. It is said, for example, of a man who knows the rites of a cult of possession "A sabi Papa gadu sani" (he knows the things of Papa gadu).

[989]

The term gadumɛ̃ designates one who is possessed of a god, and not one who knows how to bring on possession.

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In the rest of this work we shall continue, nevertheless, to use the terms ɔbia and ɔbiamɛ̃ to designate positive magic, in order to facilitate collation with the English- and Dutch-language authors who have used it in this sense.

/247 cont. /

789 the object to which is attached a magic force, as well as that force itself. But there is no confusion in their minds; the object is only a simple support, it is nothing by itself. The traveler [755] who sees them prepare an infusion of leaves for a sick person may be tempted to believe that they attach to this leaf the power of acting against a certain disease; that would be an error, they attach to these leaves and to the white clay, pemba, the power of holding, /248/ of condensing the vital force which emanated from a certain god. It is the god which "makes obia," and not men; men do nothing but collect this energy and apply it.

755 789 The Boni distinguish two categories of magic remedies:

--Those which come from a god through the medium of a possessed person. The god must be consulted each time, and the remedy it gives is effective only for the asker alone, and for a limited time; it can act only when the god has been paid, usually in the form of drink or piece of cloth; in principle nothing is owed to the possessed person (they admit that he benefits by the payment made to the god), but the custom is to give him a bottle of tafia.

Consultation of a possessed person is in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks the normal mechanism by which the obia descends from the god to men.

755 976 Certain Ampuku gods might give remedies effective for a particular disease and for any asker, remedies which could be transmitted from one man to another. Unfortunately we could not obtain exact information about this.

755 756 --Those whose origin is unknown, and which have been transmitted from one man to another for a very long time. It is believed that these are remedies which were found empirically by a man in days past; this is the case with many remedies specific for this or that disease.

In such a case payment is made to the possessor of the remedy and to him alone.

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/249 cont./

751 Principal ɔbia. The Kumẽnti bui, bracelet of Kumẽnti, which is not to be confused with the man nẽnge ɔbia, is materialized by a bracelet of fibers not worn on the arm but shut up in one's small trunk. It is a polyvalent ɔbia which insures at the same time [787] the protection of its owner against the machete and the gun, his material prosperity and his moral security, for it furnishes him with a very highly esteemed procedure of divination.

751 This ɔbia must be prepared each time on the orders of a 787 Kumẽnti and in its presence in the body of a possessed person. It is the Kumẽnti which designates the leaves to go and get and the processing to make them undergo; according to the information which we have been able to get, this consists of plunging into the infusion of leaves first a machete, then an axe, both red hot, while the postulant recites formulas intended to fix in the ɔbia the power he desires (that the machete may not cut me, that I become rich, etc.).

751 The man nẽnge ɔbia, exclusively intended for protection against the machete and gun, is materialized by a crudely fashioned iron ring clasping the arm a little below the shoulder (1).

1. The fact of wearing an iron ring on the arm does not necessarily correspond with possession of this ɔbia. In general, commoner ɔbia intended to protect from leprosy are concerned.

This ɔbia must not be confused with the ɔbia Kumẽnti. Obtaining possession by a Kumẽnti and the man nẽnge obia /sic/ are two different things, corresponding to different rites.

/249 cont./

751 [787] Possession by a Kumẽnti gives, they say, invulnerability during the time of the trance, but in his ordinary state the individual remains vulnerable (they say only that in case of danger the gita "rises" immediately).

Someone who has a man nẽŋga ɔbia has no trances of possession, but they state that he is permanently invulnerable (except for breaking of the kina). In order to obtain this ɔbia one must have himself "washed" for a very long time by an elder who knows the leaves in question. He delivers them already crushed so that no one may be able to know this secret outside of the son or nephew to whom he bequeaths it.

It is necessary to continue to be washed four times a year for 15 days each time, to keep up the force of the ɔbia.

[515] During these 15 days one bathes three times a day, in secret (in principle nobody knows that you have this ɔbia).
[834] During these periods one must have no relation with a woman, even to talk to her.

They state that someone who has a man nẽŋge ɔbia can be struck by blows of a machete and even receive a gunshot with impunity.

[173] They believe that this ɔbia, in the past called man feti ɔbia, was obtained by the ancestors at the time of the wars against the whites; still today it inspires an unshakeable con-
[164] fidence. /250/ In October, 1952 we saw M..., a man of 45
[752] with great good sense, make a deep gash in his leg while cutting a liana, in spite of his ɔbia. Doubt did not cross his mind for a second: he told us that certainly he had unknowingly eaten something contrary to the kina of the ɔbia. Since we were working near some villages, he went immediately to find the master of the remedy to have the power restored. For nothing in the world would he have left for a long round of work in the bush with the feeling that he was at the mercy of an accident.

/250 cont./

789 There exist special ɔbia for the building of boats. The
396 opening of the hull in the fire, a delicate operation, sometimes fails. To insure its success everyone possesses a personal recipe inherited from his father or uncle. It does not call by name and directly upon the action of a god; the Boni do not have a clear idea about the origin or the nature of these rites. It is a matter of a maceration of two or three kinds of leaves, generally belonging to the secondary flora which surrounds the villages, and they vary from one man to another. One pours this maceration over the overturned boat before the burning is begun, while saying: "The boat must not split, it must open well."

832 The laws of Odun forbid the use of charms aimed at
[673] forcing the love of a woman one desires; that would infringe on a person's freedom, therefore wisi. It is very /251/ possible however that certain people go to get charms of this kind from Creole magicians. But they take for granted, on the other hand, the ɔbia believed to permit men who have little success with women to have more in the future.

951 There does not seem to be any hierarchy of ɔbia nor is
789 one category of ɔbia believed to be stronger by nature than another; in fact, the Refugee Blacks are seen to go readily to ask one divinity for an ɔbia in order to protect themselves from another. Here is an example:

464 In 1951 the administration had a systematic cleaning of
[648] the Petit Inini River begun, in order to rid its course of innumerable pieces of fallen wood which were making the use of motors on boats difficult. A team of Boni were employed in
[776] this work under the direction of a Creole foreman. While the
[787] work was being done, a Papa gadu "came into the head" of an old woman named M... of the Awara Bakka lo. It revealed that it was opposed to this work, for it lived in exactly this
464 place and the noise of the motors bothered it. Upon their return
776 to Boni country, the men charged with this work learned the

/255 cont./

784 262 A... of the Dju lo, about 28 years old in 1958, must observe six kina:

--The cayman and the jaguar as bwasi kina.

--The otter (yundu) as akka kina. /256/

These three kina have been imposed on him since his first years, but the meaning of them was explained to him only later on.

[751] --The eel (mɛ̃nsi) was imposed on him as a kina by his father when the latter gave him a man nɛ̃ɔge ɔbia, ɔbia of protection against machete or gun, materialized by an iron bracelet.

[841] [834] To this ɔbia is attached another kina. A... must not speak to a woman having her menstrual period.

[751] [789] --Finally, the crab (kaabu), kina attached to an ɔbia of which the man concerned only spoke with reticence, probably a Kumɛ̃nti bui (bracelet of Kumɛ̃nti, instrument of divination).

A... has no gadu kina in the strict sense of the term.

There exists no food kina common to all the Boni; the cayman is generally forbidden to them as bwasi kina, associated with another animal; but this is not absolute; we know at least one Boni who has not received this kina.

If someone has broken a kina inadvertently, he can have himself cleansed of this offense by Ɔbiaman. But if he broke it willfully, he cannot escape the punishment attached to the offense.

845 /28 Beliefs about twins. They have the idea that twins and children who follow twins are of a nature different from other men, participating in a divine principle.

[755] Twins cannot live (since they do not belong to ordinary humanity) if they are not treated with a special remedy known only to certain lineages especially rich in twins.

845 /257/
875 This worship is celebrated each time there is occasion
782 to protect newborn babies. They are washed with a certain
751 decoction of leaves.

845 Every four or five years on the average a big dance takes
535 place, then the father and mother of twins and the twins
751 themselves are washed in order to maintain their powers and keep them in good health.

[784] If these dances are not held, dead twins will show their
[753] anger by making living twins and parents of twins sick.

845 Lineages that do not have twins do not practice these
613 rites. If twins are born to them, they will apply at the place
778 of worship of another lineage.

Papalston and Lapé have this cult particularly highly developed.

842 Tɔɔe pikin. It is assumed that a woman may be made pregnant
776 by a river god, either a Papa gadu snake god or by the Wata Iggi, which look like Indians. Children thus conceived are called tɔɔe pikin.

A...., of Papalston, had cut a clearing opposite a remarkable white rock called Weti sɛ̃. where she used to moor her boat. She had not had any children for several years
[787] and she became pregnant. When her daughter was born a
[778] possessed person revealed that she was born of a Papa gadu
[782] snake god which lived there: since then her parents /relatives/ go regularly to this rock to make offerings.

About 1910 Alama (Kormotibo) had followed her husband to a shipyard on the lower river; one day while walking in the forest she met an Indian having the appearance of a Galibi Indian, who was carrying a newborn baby. She stopped and admired the baby. The Indian said to her: "Do you wish to raise him?" She acquiesced. He said: "We shall see each other again"; then he went away so quickly that she had the impression that he had disappeared on the spot.

241 /259 cont./
776 Cult of Mama gɔ̃. Mama gɔ̃, mother of the earth, is repre-
[532] sented by a crude statue of white clay provided with enormous
[331] breasts, symbol of fecundity, which can be seen in a little
[778] hut situated on the open place of Boniville village. Each
243 year, when the time for cutting the clearings approaches, the
[782] grand man, surrounded by many other people, prays to the god to grant fertility to the plantings. If rain does not fall, an offering of water and tafia is made and the statue is sprinkled.

811 The Boni do not appear to associate the idea of women's fecundity with that of the fertility of the soil, and we have not heard anyone say that the grand man prays on this subject.

241 776 Neither do they appear to have a very clear idea about the relationships of this worship with that of the gɔ̃ gadu, local gods of the soil.

776 533 787 Every three years a great possession dance takes place in Boniville on January 1, /260/ in which the Papa gadu gods dance in front of the sanctuary of Mama gɔ̃. We have not been able to obtain specific information on the meaning of this rite.

241 776 [784] Cult of the gɔ̃ gadu. It is assumed that every portion of land is under the sway of a local god, gɔ̃ gadu. Its power is limited only by the fertility of the soil, and he who neglects its worship cannot be attached in his person or in his goods, but only punished by a poor harvest.

What is the nature of these gods, what is their place in the cosmogony? These are questions which not one of our informants had ever asked himself. In their minds, gɔ̃ gadu has a de facto existence, and is rendered de facto worship. This worship consists essentially of:

[782] --Offerings made at the moment of planting;

[527] --The observance of a local day of rest, kina dɛ, corresponding to the god's day of rest.

/262 cont./

824 778 door; it was a particularly feared kĩndu that no thief would have dared to remove.

825 778 [776] --The Kĩntamasu are the divinities, especially maleficent and hostile to men, who live in the termitaries (these are termites proper, who make their nest in the earth, and not wood lice, much more common). There is one to each termitary.

[789] After a meticulous examination of the soil of the clearing, one marks all the termitaries /263/ and sprinkles each of them with a preparation containing leaves, pink clay kukusa, and manioc juice. One adjures the genie to go away, no matter where.

It happens that in spite of all the precautions taken a termitary is forgotten. Then, several days later, one will [789] [784] have the consternation of seeing the Kĩntamasu reveal itself in someone of the lineage; it announces that it is going to exercise its kunu (curse). It is temporarily appeased by offer- [782] ings of tafia, various drinks, red cloth.

776 198 787 The Kĩntamasu call themselves the Akɔlo. Through the mouth of their bearers they speak a language nobody understands. However, when they wish to be understood by those present they speak Kumẽnti.

755 784 Observation in Boniville, January, 1957:

A...., boatman of the border-fixing mission, asks for three days off. His wife, Masauman, has been ill for several days; divination (in this particular case the gita of a female relative in his lineage) showed that it was the doing of a Kĩntamasu injured in the burning of the clearing which he himself, A...., cut for his wife in October. The Kĩntamasu has not yet manifested itself directly, but a kunu threatens; to appease it he must put in action the remedy known only 000 to M...., an old man of Asisi. He will go to the spot, following

765 /263 cont./ He will go to the spot, following
782 at a good distance M..., bearer of the remedy, with which he will sprinkle the surface of the clearing, and of offering objects. When the offering has been made, they will wait some time to see whether Massouman is better and if she is, they will deem the god appeased.

The Yali Festival

796
[805] The Refugee Blacks, who do not count the days that elapse, contenting themselves with lunations in order to follow the course off the year, make inquiries from Europeans and Creoles to set the time for the Yali festival which marks the new year. Everyone accumulates provisions, especially tortoise meat, varied drinks, and many firecrackers.

On the evening of December 31 each one dances in his own village..

The festival lasts all night, tafia gushes forth, firecrackers go off everywhere.

[787] At the end of the night several gods "rise" in the heads of their bearers, at least of those who are not completely drunk.

[535] During the day dances resume intermittently in the order awasa, sayglé, susa. It is customary for the people of one lineage to go to dance in the village of another, then they

[574] invite them back. People make many individual visits. Some have set up in front of their hut a sort of small buffet on which they have arranged about ten glasses, five to six liters of tafia, four or five bottles of beer, lemonade, and syrup.

Observation in Boniville, January 1, 1958:

The grand man, who scarcely leaves his habitation downstream from Boniville any more, did not /264/ put himself out. He delegated his functions to Lébiman and Fintiman, men about 560 years old, belonging to the fraction of the Kotika and Dju lineages residing in Boniville.

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448 It seems that in these relations, both bring more patience and tolerance to bear than toward the people of their own group. It is excessively rare to see disputes arise between Indians and Boni, when there sometimes are some within each group.

186 The feelings which the Boni have toward the Indians are complex: they feel superior in physical strength, effectiveness, and organization; they make fun of the Indians' puerile eagerness for beads and jewelry, of the begging attitude of certain

829 ones among them. But they admire them for their cleverness, their intimate knowledge of the forest, and fear them for the supernatural powers they attribute to them. Sure of themselves, fearing nothing from the bush, never getting lost, unrivalled hunters and fishermen, the Indians appear to them to be endowed with unique faculties which other men do not possess. We have happened to hear in camp reflections such as this: "It is going to rain, the Indians are making shacks."

829 152 The Boni feel an intense fear of Indian magic. Not one of them would dare to seriously displease an Indian, and even if he feels he has been wronged, in most cases he will not dare complain (1).

961 • 787 829

1. In the search for the magic causes of death, it happens that divination may incriminate the action of an Indian medicine man. In such a case the legal action of the Boni is extinguished, for the principle is that the Indian medicine man does not hurt anyone without a reason. It is considered that the deceased must have gravely injured him and that he deserved his fate.

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114 Here desirous of remaining on the plane of strict scientific objectivity, we shall avoid entering the discussion of the benefits springing from this action, which, moreover, would necessitate a long development. We shall limit ourselves to showing that it appears to us to be doomed to failure.

871 --The experiment of schooling has been made for more
177 than 30 years among the Boni in the village of Kotika. Half a dozen children, doing well in their studies, left for Surinam and broke with their native group. In the others, the teaching received left only faint traces. As a matter of fact, there is no room in a normal intelligence to receive at the same time the mass of technical knowledge necessary for holding one's own in the society of the Refugee Blacks and ordinary school in-
[829] struction. One necessarily drives out the other; now the Boni are extremely fond of their free life on the great river, which assures them very satisfactory material conditions of living.

797 --Evangelization has been carried on with perseverance
177 for more than 200 years with the Refugee Blacks of Surinam. It has not given appreciable results. It has been the same in
184 French Guiana with the action carried on with the Saramaka working /299/ near the communes of the coast (1), and more

[648] 1. The Saramaka not only have no tendency to be converted, but they exert a significant influence on the population of the communes. On the Oyapok the Saramaka healer
[756] has numerous clients, and in spite of
[787] the clergy's interdiction, many women go to the possession dances of the Papa gods serpent gods.

recently with the Boni of the Upper Maroni.

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791 The Boni, as we have shown, do not feel that they are pagans. They think they worship the same god as the Christians, in a different way but just as valid; they feel that their moral principles are not inferior to those of the Christians, that they are expressed in practice by the same prescriptions and are in fact better obeyed(2).

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2. We report here faithfully the point of view of those concerned without making any judgment of its worth; let us recall that their principles of living do not assume any moral conscience in the individual and rest entirely upon the fear of material punishments in the present life. But even this base gives them great practical effectiveness.

829 Only in their conception of their kinship and the family, in the absence of family life based on the indissolubly united couple, do they recognize that they live under another law. But they do not fail to notice that the populations of the Guianas who profess Christianity hardly put it into practice in their family life: the stability of marriages is appreciably greater among the Refugee Blacks.

787 776 828 As for the cults of possession, the Boni feel that they worship de facto entities whose existence appears as tangible to them as light or weight to us. These ideas are bound up with a characteristic way of perceiving, touching deep zones of the mind which reasoning does not reach (3).

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3. Actually, it is observed in Black Africa that where cults

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of possession exist, the populations are particularly impermeable to Christian influence. Apparently destroyed, these cults soon reappear in another form, sometimes in Christian guise (possession by the saints).

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Let us add that one of the great strengths of the custom of the Refugee Blacks is the privileged position it gives to the woman. Women, shielded from the direct influence of Europeans and Creoles, and besides practically inaccessible to all reasoning, are hostile to changes which would infringe on their privileges. Now it is they, in fact, who have the education of the children in their hands.

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Thus it does not appear possible to "assimilate" these populations by destroying their original culture. The attempts inspired by fanaticism for civilizing will have as their only result its impoverishment, pushing the Refugee Blacks to dissimulate their beliefs, to abandon their art, costume, songs, and dances, all that makes up their joy in living. But the social structure based on the fear of ancestors and gods could be destroyed only by violence. We may hope that nobody thinks of coming to that.

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As for us who have lived a long time in the midst of the Refugee Blacks, we feel a deep esteem for them. By their historic past, the originality of the customs they have developed, the good relations they have been able to create with the other populations, they have proved their creative abilities; they deserve to be allowed to evolve in their own way. /blank page/

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174 separate villages and the more important even burst out into
613 several villages whose heads were recognized as "captains" by the
614 gaabi man and then by the government. The number of Djuka
621 captains recognized by the government of Surinam has not stopped
growing; it was 28 these last few years.

571 The Io no longer represented an effective social unit, but its members kept common worships. For example, it is said that
[188] the Dju ~~ŋ~~ŋge go each year as a ritual to get earth from the Savanc dee Iuih /Savanna of the Jews/ where their ancestors were slaves.

[114] This explanation seems probable. The kin-group is not the only social unit known to Africans; the bond between man and land has equal importance in their eyes; the fact that their fathers had lived together, that they had been buried in the same cemetery created a among the rebel slaves a de facto bond which was able to suffice, at the beginning of the rebellion, to found villages and a social organization.

[114] However, this theory cannot be entertained without reservations. It has not been possible to verify it by systematic studies, the Djuka and Saramaka having firmly opposed until now any ethnographic investigation involving the statement of genealogies and the inventory of the population of the villages.

[184] It contradicts what we have pointed out among the Boni. In that group six great lineages are counted, of which four (Dju, Kotika, La Paix, Dikan) have a name also alluding to the plantations from which their ancestors fled.

Nevertheless it is certainly a question of lineages in the proper meaning of the term, and nobody remembers that any other organization ever existed. Also, in the absence of systematic studies of the Djuka and Saramaka, the problem of the origin of
[184] their kin groups remains obscure. The future will permit verifying one or the other of the two hypotheses:

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The rites of the worship of Odun are known only by the grand man and by an old man who replaces him when he travels. They are practiced only on the occasion of the collective oath against wisi, renewed every two or three years, and when it is necessary to implore Odun's mercy toward an offender. The officiant bathes the latter's body with a maceration of leaves that he alone knows.

To question Odun and know whether he pardons, they make use of a sacred object named afalaku, placed on a board put on the heads of two men. The answers yes and no are deduced by interpretation of the movements of the bearers, as in the interrogation of the dead.

The oath before Odun is also practiced as a legal test, permitting a man unjustly accused of theft or any misdeed whatever to justify himself.

Thus, in November, 1959, B... of Asisi, accused by two Dyoka of being responsible for the burning of a large cabin /carbet/ in which objects of value were stored, asked to justify himself before Odun.

Odun's laws, which have the effect of forbidding violence, vengeance, and every form of oppression, give to the society of the Refugee Blacks a unique atmosphere of dignity and serenity which is not found to the same degree in animistic African societies. Most African societies censure sorcery and murder, but they accept vengeance and various forms of oppression. It is probable that the men who, two or three centuries ago, deep in the forests of Surinam, developed these laws, were inspired more or less consciously by Christian ideas; but they introduced them into an African system of thought, associating them with the idea of material sanctions in the present life, without which they would have been powerless.

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791 teacher and who teach a small group of disciples - kineki -,
789 without distinction of villages or lineages and under their sole
[794] responsibility; each one, man or woman, is absolutely free to pursue his teaching.

/202/ These teachers are not themselves possessed, but they are believed to know the processes which permit the neophyte to obtain possession with the minimum of risks. They accept the
[796] fact, however, that that involves dangers, for one cannot oblige a particular gadu to come into someone, and one may in its place obtain an undesirable gadu.

791 Procedures vary according to the categories of gadu sought.
789 But they involve three elements which are always found in one
796 form or another:

--They begin by teaching the pupil the language of the
[798] divinity, or rudiments at the very least (as we shall point out further on, these languages appear to be in decline); these lessons are private;

--On behalf of a group of pupils, the teacher prepares
[824] infusions of certain leaves which are suited to the divinity in question. It is thought that the god likes these plants and that they have the power to attract it.

In certain cults it is required of the pupil to utter at the
[788] same time formulas inviting the god to come into him. But this is not general; in the cult of the Papa gadu especially, the teachers bathe the students in the greatest silence.

791 At the end of the session, the student is often asked to
789 drink a little of the infusion. One might believe that it is a
824 matter of a process having a physical action, certain plants possibly containing hypnotic substances; but except for one aspect of the cult of the Kumẽnti of which we shall speak later, this does not seem true; especially about the plants believed to attract the Papa gadu, it seems that they have received this role because of their color or odor. Our feeling is that, at least
[562] for the Papa gadu cult which appeals more especially to women, suggestion plays an essential part.

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153 containing seeds). Sometimes, when a god has entered a pupil,
791 the teacher puts the latter's passivity to the test by insulting the
787 god with the help of the drum. The Kumẽnti gets angry, breaks
782 bottles and swallows ground glass, walks in the fire, hits him-
[789] self with machete blows, all without any wound resulting, they say, on the body of its bearer.

[302] These frenzied dances, whose participants completely covered with pemba (white clay) are as if hallucinated, have a bizarre aspect which is perceptible to some of the Boni themselves. They do not have any secret character and constitute,
[522] on the contrary, a fine spectacle for the village people. The spectators double up with laughter at the contortions and strange
[521] actions which the gods inspire in those possessed. They are talked about at length /207/ afterward in the evenings, humorists imitating what they saw done there, without any fear whatever of irritating the gods.

791 Each "teacher for Kumẽnti" owns a small gadu ɔnu in
787 which are lined up the implements of the cult. One finds in
346 general in these chapels a post crudely carved in the shape of a human bust, a block of stone, jaguar skulls, some kɔkɔti (shrub-stalks with a spontaneous double bend, thought to be the prop of spirits in the bush), and a saka (maraka), the whole sprinkled with white clay (pemba). One finds also beside the door a seat and a trough which are used for the ablutions of the pupils.

153 While bathing his body with the infusion of leaves pre-
791 pared by the teacher, the neophyte repeats, in ordinary language,
787 a series of invocations: "Come to me, enter into me. But be-
788 fore entering into me, it is necessary to teach me the things of thy country; O God, when thou art in me, may I be able to dance on broken glass without its cutting me; may I be able to dance in fire without its burning me. If tomorrow someone takes a machete to hurt me, he shall not be able to come forward. If someone takes a gun to shoot me, (his weapon) must break, must not be able to take off. If someone is sick, make an ɔnia for him, he must recover."

776 /209 cont./
wata Bugi. Indians of the water. In certain spots, people have
[778] known since the time of the ancestors that there resides such a
[784] Bõnsuqki, whose name they know; when they pass there, they address a prayer to it while making a sacrifice of tafia.

776 (The Bõnsuqki must not be confused with wata mama, the
171 mama-of-the-water of the Creoles, a dreaded divinity but one which the Boni do not appear to worship. The wata mama lives at the bottom of deep holes in river beds and never allows her face to be seen; she sometimes abandons one of her long hairs on the rocks and he who finds it becomes rich).

776 /210/ The Bõnsuqki can enter into human beings, exclusively,
787 it seems, into women. They give a different gita from those
[562] of the Kumẽnti. The possessed person dances at the edge of the water, then swims and dives for a long time. They affirm that
[789] if its possession is sufficiently intense, the genie carries the possessed woman along to the bottom of the water, where she stays for a very long time without any harm! That is supposed to have happened especially in Asiti village to a woman named Dabusa.

Possession by the Bõnsuqki is not frequent. In 1952 it was known in Boni country in only three women.

[562] As for men, they may perceive these divinities in dreams
[788] and receive benefits from them. For that they go to the place
[782] where it resides and bathe, uttering an invocation: "O god, watch over me, protect me, come to me at night when I sleep, speak to me, act so that I may not be sick, so that I may get rich." The following night, the divinity will come in a dream, demand a sacrifice (beer in general), say that it /grants/ the prayer.

776 The Vaadõ (1). These are gods much feared for their evil

1. This word is obviously a deformation of the Dahomey word vodũn.

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153 special drum is used, about two meters long and very narrow,
791 devoid of any decoration, which is called Ifaga dzã or papa
787 dzã.
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To call on her gita, the possessed woman (they are almost
787 always women) stands, puts on a piece of cloth which she always
[562] keeps nearby and always takes along with her when she travels:
this is the garment of the god; it consists of a sort of scarf
crossed in front; then she throws white clay, pemba, on her feet
from right to left and left to right while invoking the god.
Possession is almost immediate. One sees the woman's eyes
roll up and her expression become haggard. The god does not
cover himself entirely with pemba like the Kumẽnti, he makes
himself a sort of headband on the forehead with white clay.
787 He begins with an invocation to Masa Gadu said in ordinary
788 language.
639
[182]

"Masa gadu, gi mi pimisi, beka mi na pikin nfage; ala
sani di mi ɔ taki, na yu mu gi mi kaakiti, beka na yu abi mi
kaakiti, da mi pũfaiu gi yu."

"Mash Gadu, I implore you, for I am a humble creature;
(in) all that I am going to say, it is you who will give me
strength, for my strength is in you; I shall exalt you."

787 Next come formulas of welcome to those present, which
788 are the exact translation of the formulas of greeting of everyday
[148] life, then songs, all in the Papa language. After about a quarter
of an hour, it enters a hut and sits down, answering in ordinary
language the questions of those present, always in a singing
tone.

787 Possession by Papa gadu does not have the bestial character
of possession by Kumẽnti; outside of the dances, it does not
involve brutish gestures or bizarre acts; the possessed woman
hums softly in a shrill voice, moving with graceful gestures.
[531] /212/ Sometimes she draws strange signs on the huts; the Boni
state that that is a kind of writing, that other possessed people

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439 "I heard that you are buying things we make, as you did last year in my village. I have come with balata from my uncle, and I brought a stool to sell. Would you like to see it?"

And so Bayo brought us his stool. It was not well carved. Indeed, compared with even the least skilled carvings on benches and combs and trays and food-stirring paddles, the workmanship was crude. But one does not refuse a proffered article bruskly, and we sat down to talk with him about it.

531 322 It was Bayo who gave us our first insight into the meaning of Bush Negro designs, gave us our first information about this, as about so many other customs and practices. What is carved on the wood which the men work with such care has significance, and carries meaningful symbols which the Bush Negro is unwilling to reveal. That there might be symbolism in the art we had before suspected, but usually, when we asked, we heard the skillful evasions of which the Bush Negro is master. He did not know. Only the carver himself could say, but the carver was away or long dead. Or we would hear that it was carving, that it was carved to beautify it, that it was of an in-and-out design. Or, with carefully pointing finger that indicated the ornamentation, the Bush Negro would say, "This is wood."

531 So we talked to Bayo about his stool, expecting to hear one of the usual replies. But this time and without any urging we heard what we had so long wondered about. "Look," he said, tracing out the lines of the interwoven pattern, "this is a man, this a woman. This is her head, those her breasts, this her womb. Here are his head, his arms, his legs. We call this *womi-ko-mays*—man-and-woman. Here are the children which they will make," and his hands traced another series of designs on the top of the stool.

479 789 We bought his stool, and he stayed and talked of many things. Did we want to buy an *obia*—a charm? One day he would like to become an obia man. Already he could make obias which protect the wearer when he walks on the water.

WHILE THE RIVER WAS HIGH

Had we provided ourselves with the necessary obias with which to travel to the country of the Granman? He had never been so far up the river. He would like to go there. Ai-yo! He would like to go and see Dahomey, the sacred city, and look at the Tapa Wata falls, and visit the Granman's village. Did we have all our paddlers? He was strong, and he liked to make a boat walk up the rapids. He could get his father to come with him as steersman. His father had strong obias and knew the river. We could not go until the river went down, but he would stay with us here and wait, and if we wished it he would go back upstream to his village and get his father and food, and be ready for us in time. He needed the money the Bakra would pay, too, for he wanted to be married soon, and he would have to buy many things for his woman and her mother.

When he left us, he went to one of the little enclosed houses that were there for travelers, choosing the one closest to us, and built a small fire. His younger brother and the white dog that came in his boat sat with him. The dog wore a cord about his neck, covered with red ochre, to keep him safe in the bush. That night as we ate we could see Bayo, his brother, and the dog squatting close to the fire and eating, too. And all the next day, and for several days to come, as we waited, Bayo was with us, talking, laughing, explaining, and making and buying obias for us to carry us safely on our journey to the Granman.

5

In the afternoon one of the political chiefs of the neighboring Christian village came to hear our phonograph. But when we asked him to sing into it, he said, "Ask me later. Now I am alone. We Saramacca people never do anything when we are alone." We had the year before acquired a powerful obia against slander and bearing false witness against us, and found the occasion useful for corroborating the invocation we had been given. The man, however, spoke with the greatest reluctance and looked

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got for the timber he and his great-grandfather had floated down the river, he had two fine cloths. One was older and was intended for visiting the villages on the way, and the new one was for the Granman's village. For this occasion, too, he was saving a pair of newly woven garters, though he would wear the two strands of small coral and yellow beads in some of the villages on the way. At Lamé, for instance.

Ai-yo! He would see to it that he looked well at Lamé, for Lamé had handsome women, and at Lamé the women knew how to love. His own powerful love obia had come from Lamé, and there it was in his canister and there beside it was a potent fighting obia which his uncle, who was surpassed by few on the river in the strength of his obia spirits, had made for him. Some day, when Bayo was older, he, too, would know all these secrets, for his uncle had given him some of his gods, and at dances he already showed that he had a strong spirit. Until that time came, he had the obia from Lamé to win for him the love of his fellow men, and should it not avail against the magic of some surly fellow who wished him ill, then he had the other which would serve him in trouble. And on his upper arm was his Kromanti obia—the magically potent iron band—which, by tightening, would warn him when trouble was impending. That was the way to go through life—a man asked the gods to help him meet whatever might come, the good spirits with good, and the bad with yet greater evil.

Up above, whirling past him in the pale dawn, the parrots flew, making a screeching chorus in the stillness, and rousing him to the murmur of the next rapids which he was approaching.

What was that? A boat. Going downstream, he was soon alongside it.

"*Tio*, greetings," he called to the man, speaking in the subdued ceremonial voice.

"Thank you, tio," answered the older man, for he addressed a stranger.

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but he did face about, and forgetting his seketi began to pole in earnest. 502 484

In a few moments his body glistened with the exertion, and over the circle and snake of kamemba in the small of his back the perspiration ran down in a trickle. When he had almost caught up he slackened his speed, and he and Bibifo talked about the river. Old Bibifo knew the river well. He was born beyond the Granman's country. A snake swam across the path of the boat, Bayo said. It was good luck. "See, look," he called. His eyes were sharp. The old man saw it, too, and then he called to us. There, close to the shore, a little ahead of us, a constrictor twined its tail about a liana, hanging head down, with a salamander slowly disappearing into its mouth. There was a slight jerk, the liana shook, the snake swallowed, and another bit of the salamander was out of sight. 484 [825] [777] [136]

Farther ahead we heard the report of a gun, and the crying of the mate of the wounded bird followed us for a long while. Bayo and Bibifo identified each cry, called by name the things that grew, planned about their timber rafts when they got back, until the next rapids were reached and passed and the conversation could be resumed, and then they talked about things which they did not care to have the Bakra know, and though they spoke none of the words of their ritual language, we could not understand anything they said. It was not until later that we learned to work out some of the elisions in their speech. [98]

A strip of sandy beach showed where a village stood, and as we passed it, we could see the azang, the spiritual guard of palm fronds, preventing evil spirits from entering the village. We saw also a strip of white hanging from the end of a stick which had been put up for the ancestors, and beyond, the low shelter for the roughly carved and weathered image holding an obia pot on its head. Under the azang the path stretched like a narrow ribbon which was soon lost as the walls of green converged. 778 789

"Is that another village?" we said, pointing at a pale stretch across the river. 361

688 Marowyne to earn money that he needed for marrying. He was in good health, and he learned about the river "*so te*—until . . . " he knew how to travel on the river safely. But after he had been away only a short time, word came to Kasanya's village that he was ill, and before he could be brought home, he died. They brought back his hair and nail clippings so that his spirit might rest among [764] his own people. They held a big *dede wosu*—wake—for him for six days in the village, with the little coffin and the offerings which were to accompany the spirit, and dancing and Anansi stories and the adji game, just as though he had died at home. There were many guns, too. Everything was done, and the spirit of the dead son was asked to help the family against the kunu which was brought to them by the deed of his mother's mother's brother.

The second son died in the bush. His own gun went off accidentally as he tripped on a hidden liana and killed him, [789] though Kasanya had provided him with all the hunting [229] obias a man would want, and he himself had a strong Kromanti spirit, so that no gun was supposed to have power to hurt him. The third was married when he died. His boat went over in the rapids. His body was never recovered.

782 "Tomorrow we shall all go and pray to the Mother of the River that she carry us well, that our journey be pleasant, that we reach the Granman's village safely. . . . There across the river is her shrine."

3

761 It soon became clear that two things dominate the fore-
776 ground of the spiritual life of the bush—death and kunu. In
688 the last analysis, however, the two are perhaps but one force, for kunu slowly, inexorably, brings death to one member after another of the offender's kin, and it is largely the dead ancestors and the gods who are responsible for the meting out of kunu, in order that the ancient traditions and beliefs may go on. And so it was that daily, and many times daily, incidents not of our special seeking arose to document our knowledge of kunu.

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Chapter V

THE SHRINE TO THE RIVER GODS

I

ON THE narrow strip of land below the Mamadam, our hammocks were slung between trees whose trunks leaned well over the water, so that once we stretched out on the canvas, it was like swinging over an abyss to the rhythm of water wearing down rock.

At one time the shrine to the gods had stood on this clearing, but boats had gone aground in the falls, and rafts which needed but little urging when the spirits were friendly were swung about in the current and lost to their kingdom at the river bottom. Even now a great log lay wedged in between rocks in the middle of the stream. The water had worn grooves into its hard surface, yet there it was, held fast against the timeless flaying of the falls.

Nor was that all. One year when the time for the new rains came, the rain did not fall. In the villages the priests climbed the ladders within the sacred enclosures and from on high poured out libations to the ancestors, beseeching them to intercede in behalf of the living. Those who had river spirits went to the waterside when the moon was dead to dance to the gods. But the drums gave back a dull sound, and the dancing was listless. Those who plunged into the river to swim against the rapids while the drums intoned the exhortations did not remain under water long, and when they came up they uttered no oracles. Many who were known to be possessed by powerful spirits paced back

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and forth on the sandy bank to the rhythm of the voicees in 871
the drums, but their gods would not come. They could not 782
dance, they could not find peace while the drums spoke, and 789
so this disconsolate pacing went on week after week, on 776
those days when the river gods might be danced to. Sometimes the pulse of the drumming, quickening for an interval, stirred the dancers. A shudder would go through the body of one or another and the dry throats would fall to uttering the sacred cries, but almost the next instant the hand of the drummer would go limp, and once more the listless, agonized pacing would continue. The gods were angered. When the drums called them from the river bottom, they came grudgingly and remained sullen, refusing to make their wishes known, and no gods or ancestors came to counsel the wise men in their sleep how to bend the will of the spirits of the river.

In the fields the parched earth baked in the merciless heat until it was like whitened bone. The few plants that 731
had pushed their way up through the sandy soil were now 776
brown dust which any wind might scatter. But there was no wind. No rain, no wind, for in the river the god of the wind dwells, and in the sky the rain god, and these gods are twins, and twins have but one soul, since it is with the [845]
gods as it is with humans.

No rain, no wind. Famine was upon the land.

At last, at the village of Opoku a woman had a dream. [987]
She was a pure albino, one of the type who, together with [826]
those who show by the slight turn of red in their wooly hair a strain of albinism, are called Toné people, and are identified with the river gods. To this Toné woman the gods came in sleep, and spoke their will.

"And what was it you gave to the gods?" we asked 776
Sedefo, who had fallen silent at this point in his story. 782

"Mati," he said, after a pause, "I am not an important 731
man. You ask what I may not tell. My mouth cannot take upon itself to speak what concerns our big men." [829]

This much he would say. A boat filled with things had been sent down the river. Men standing at the river bank

REBEL DESTINY

574 609 In his own house, Fandya continued to urge our staying. "Ame'ika Fandya," he said—the year before he had given his own name to the white man—"remain with us tonight and tomorrow. I am an old man. I would like to know that you saw a dance in my village. When you go to the Neng'e country, I would like you to say that Captain Fandya knew how to treat a stranger who came as a friend. Last year when you were here you said you would come with your wife. You have come. Your wife has come. Last year you came, and since then all has gone well in our village. Today there are not many people about. The women are [462] away in the fields harvesting the rice; the men are in the bush hauling lumber. But tomorrow night the women will come in from the planting grounds, because the day after they may not work in the fields, and tomorrow, too, the men will come. Stay and see our dances."

And the bassia, the man second in command, said, "Mati, last year I took an obia against the evil eye from my [789] own door and gave it to you to hang over yours, that enemies entering your house might not bring in with them bad magic. All has gone well with you. Stay. The gods have shown they favor our friendship."

2

361 The will of the Gankwe men had, however, prevailed, and we reached the village of Pa'aba that day in good time. It was one of the largest on the river. In front of the azang 501 which guarded the road new boats lay on their sides, and farther up the path were others in the making, some black inside with charring, others huge hollowed-out logs, like gigantic drums, waiting for the hand that would set their pulses beating. These boats were as large as any we had seen on the river, as large as the boat Sedefo had rejected because it rolled and he had to think of his kunu.

[556] Kasanya said, "This is a prosperous village. They make the best boats on the river here."

And Bayo said, "Ai, this village has strong men."

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did not eat deer's meat, or his brother-in-law the meat of the bush-hog. 784 962

There are many kinds of tchina. There are the obia tchina. A man wearing or carrying with him a charm—an obia—will have several prohibitions imposed on him. If these are observed, the potency of the magic in the object given him will remain, but if they are violated, it will become a worthless ornament. When an obia is bought, its maker will take the hands of the man for whom he has made it in his, and pass his own lightly over them, blowing softly, so that the power of the spirit he had called upon when making it may enter into the man for whom the obia was made. Then the obia man will lean over and whisper, that no one might overhear, "When you wear this, do not get into a boat backwards," or, perhaps, "Never eat crab meat while you have this about your neck," or "Do not eat cassava and rice out of the same calabash." 780 784 [262]

But with the personal tchina it is otherwise. At birth each individual falls heir to a number of taboos. They come to him from his father. When a woman is with child she observes her husband's taboos as well as her own, for the child might otherwise be harmed in the womb by being nurtured on what is hateful to his father, and therefore to himself, since his father's taboos are his own. Male and female children take these tchina from the father. Their mother's tchina are no concern of theirs. Those which she observes had come to her from her own father. What makes the father ill will make the children ill, too. This holds for their entire lives, and the male children transmit their tchina from generation to generation. 784 424 [843]

A simple instance of this is the one which happened at our base camp when Bayo, who we knew could not eat out of a cooking pot, came one day to ask us for a dish. "My father forgot his eating dish. Will you let him use one of yours? He cannot eat out of a cooking pot."

When one man says of another, therefore, "He has the same tchina I have," he is saying that the two of them are related in the father's line. [602]

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602 789 But when one man shares a tchina with another it does not mean that they only share prohibitions. There are privileges as well. There is the right to lift a *kandu*, for example.

789 The outsider among the Bush Negro people cannot go long without learning of kandu. Many times we had noticed a small bundle of twigs hanging from a nail over a doorway of an uninhabited hut, or had remarked a small strip of colored cloth and a feather or two knotted together and swinging from an orange tree, or a calabash filled with hardened sacred clay, suspended from a limb where a creek entered the river. When we asked about them, we learned that each was a kandu, a spiritual lock, which by the potency of the magic put into it by the maker protected the house, or the tree, or the fishing creek—whatever we happened to be discussing at the moment—from thieves. It was a guard which no man dared violate.

Bayo had made one for us early in our visit to the Suriname bush.

"I will make you something to keep away thieves. I will make you a kandu."

He had asked us for a needle, and from wood of a special kind which is used only in kandu he fashioned the representation of a human head. Some native fiber and two kinds of sacred grass held the needle and the carved image together. This he covered with white clay, the sacred pemba, and the red coloring of the kuswe plant, which is also sacred. When he had spoken his invocations, and dipped the kandu in the river to purify it, he brought it to us.

"Put it where you keep your money. I have put strong magic into it. Your possessions will be safe. Anyone who opens the chest and sees this, will not touch what is inside. . . . But do not eat out of a cooking pot. It will lose its power. I have given it my own tchina."

But it seemed that a kandu did not always remain inviolate.

[593] "It would not be good," Bayo explained, "if a man went away and left a kandu over the house, and no one but he

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could enter it until he took the kandu away. Suppose a man went to hunt, and a friend came back to the village with a message from the hunter to get something inside the house. If no one at all could get it, it would not be good." 789 593

"What happens then?"

"The friend would seek out the man's own child—a child the man himself had made—and ask him to lift the kandu."

"Suppose his wife lifted it? Or his sister's child?"

"They wouldn't. The spirit in the kandu would punish them. His true, true child could touch the kandu, and his brother, or his sister, or his brother's children," said Bayo.

"The sisters' children?" we asked again.

"No, no! They would lift their own father's kandu."

Was there anyone else, we inquired, who could remove the kandu from a man's house?

Bayo considered. "Anyone who is born with the same tchina can lift it," he said, finally. "Those with the same tchina have the same fathers. Those whose fathers are the same, a kandu cannot harm."

7

We were talking one night with some men of the Anago clan. 628

"Is it true," asked one, "that in the Negro country there are great warriors, and many wars?"

In olden times, we said, it was true, but today the African peoples were at peace.

"So it is now on the Saramacca River," he replied, but with a laugh he added, "Sometimes there are quarrels."

For instance, there had been a quarrel on the river not very long ago over lumber which had been cut by members of one clan on land belonging to another. The men knew they had no right to the timber, but they cut it down. The first time they were warned, and fines were demanded. The second time it happened, however, the men of the clan who owned the bush where these trees stood surprised the trespassers, and beat them.

824 796 Later, through the gathering darkness, the people of the neighboring villages went home, paddling their boats which were loaded down with the fish that had been netted. And from this time on, everyone knew that this neku vine was [423] the property of him who had found it, and of his family, [428] down through his mother's line, forever.

"Ai, mati, you would have seen something, if you had got here for the neku dance!"

6

361 Like any other Bush Negro village, S'ei was a series of sandy clearings about which were grouped huts of woven palm fronds and palm thatch. All about was the big bush. [487] The trails which led from the village were each guarded [789] by a magically treated palm azang, and shrines to the ancestral spirits who saw to it that evil was kept away. Where the several paths led, a stranger was not encouraged to discover. Down one, women were to be seen disappearing [482] in the morning with trays on their heads, their infants astride their backs, held inside the folds of a cloth which was fastened high above their breasts, and caught up again below them. In many upper river villages, this path led to the fields, some distance away. Others were the way to [778] shrines, erected to those spirits which must be worshiped outside the village. Another path might lead to a brook, which the villagers held sacred. There were trails, too, which connected neighboring villages, and led perhaps farther yet, but for the stranger, the highway was the river, [486] and no matter how short the distance between one settlement and another, he was not invited to make his way through the bush.

"You do not want to go through the bush, white man. In the bush are evil spirits," we heard many times.

A village clearing was divided into quarters. Each quarter was inhabited by one of the *mbe*, or extended families, and 361 the quarter bore its name. It was composed of several house- 592 holds—five or six or more, depending upon the size of the

A NIGHT AT S'EI

A girl of ten or eleven led the chorus. She had a string 535
about her waist, and the strip of cloth that was tied about 533
her neck as a ceremonial garment hung down cape fashion. About her navel and on her face the cicatrized patterns had been completed. Her voice was the shrill voice of a child, and the answering chorus was as shrill.

"Chaka, chaka!" called the bassia who was directing 535
the dance. He was demanding those movements which bring into play the muscles of the hips.

The women waited. They had come in all their finery, their tunics of the newest cloth, their coils of brass bracelets and anklets made to gleam by rubbing with sand, their [301]
skins dark and glistening with the oil rubbed into them for [302]
the ceremonial occasion. Those whose hair was worn in braids had redressed it that day. About their necks were beads. Their cloths were fastened tightly about them, so that their figures showed plainly.

The men, also in their best, waited with them. The iron 535
Kromanti obias on their upper arms fitted tightly, and 789
showed the great muscles above and below them. Those who wore beads had two or three strands of yellow and red intertwined, the small beads worn by men, small almost [301]
as okra seeds. One or two wore love obias—cowrie shells [832]
sewed on a band of white cotton, and then dipped into water which was thickened with white clay. One or two wore a small black bell-shaped obia—half the size of their thumbs—on a black string, and with swagger had swung it about so that it hung at the back. There were obias below the knee, and obias which were great brass rings for the big toe of the right foot. But one or two of the old men, and the young man who was in training for an obia man, wore a jaguar tooth on a string of native twining.

Drums . . . drums. Would there be drums? 535

The word was whispered from one to the other, and passed like a wave over the waiting figures.

But there would be no drums. This was the day when [776]
two gods might come. The god of the ant hill, for which men and women might dance, and the buzzard god of the men's Kromanti society.

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pieces of red and blue cloth worked with this thread, so that again the white vertebrae showed. Bayo and Angita wore their beads, and each had a garter below the knee of the right leg. Their garters were white in color, but of a whiteness which only new, unwashed cotton has. They were about an inch and a half wide and were so tight that the muscle of the calf bulged prominently. On their upper arms were Kromanti rings of iron which, by contracting, warned the men of impending danger. In addition, Sedefo and Angita wore the bell obia of the Gankwe people, and Bayo his love obia which had come from Lamé.

"When do you go, Sedefo?"

"When the G'aman speaks. When we finish a piece of work, then we do not want to be paid at once. We do not leave at once. It would be as if we had not gone together in pleasure and wanted to be away as soon as possible. With the white man it is one thing. In the bush we do not do it so. Here in the G'aman's village, we do as we do with our own people in the bush," he paused for an instant, and looked about toward the clearing outside the palings. "There is another thing. In the G'aman's village, men cannot leave until the G'aman gives permission. When the G'aman is ready, he will call us. We will speak together. Then we will speak with him again. Then we will ask to go."

Bayo had been looking about the council house with an interest which was not unmixed with awe at the Granman's possessions, and he spoke in whispers.

"Ai, when the G'aman gives permission, then we go."

As he spoke, the cloth over the doorway was gently thrust aside. Bassia Anaisi of the Granman's village entered. He was the man who had fired the saluting gun the day of our arrival and who had at the Granman's call come to serve the visiting chiefs with rum. He now greeted each in turn but did not take down a bench. For a moment he stood there, head lowered out of deference to the character of the place where he was, then he coughed slightly and, turning to us, said, "The G'aman is ready for you. The chiefs are here."

623 Our paddlers rose at once and left the council house. A
643 moment later And'u entered, followed by a group of elders
[291] with closely drawn kerchiefs covering their heads. Among these only Kasanya and Bibifo were known to us. Kasanya brought his bench close to ours and moved it yet closer, with a gesture of the head that he wanted to continue the intimacy of our ten days' journey together.

"White man," he said, leaning over and whispering, "call your man from the city. At a krutu a man has someone to speak for him. So we do here."

576 And so, we soon saw, it was. Address in the council of the
623 Saramacca people was always by indirection. If the Gran-
643 man wished to speak to one of his chiefs, then he gave his message through another chief, though the man for whom the words were intended might be closer to him or more clearly in view.

643 Others came in, until the room was half filled when the
623 Granman entered. Today he wore a printed red and black
[292] loose coat of knee length, and over it the ceremonial cloth
302 worn by men here in the bush, so that where other men's
291 bare shoulders showed was the sleeve of his coat. On his head were both kerchief and sun helmet. The men were anointed with oil, and many of them wore the jaguar's tooth obia. The last to enter was a man who was well past middle age, and he was followed by the young *obiaman* from S'ei. Both of these men wore the cloths required of men when not at work, but they were not so uncreased, or so new. Nor were their bodies bright with oil. The older man had several broad stripes of white clay from wrist to shoulder of his right arm, and from knee to pelvis on the inner left thigh. Slung from one shoulder and reaching across to the opposite thigh was a white obia made of native fiber, and on his neck were several others. To these
[289] obias were added iron bands on his arms, while below his right knee and at the ankle of his right foot were other obias made of fiber and twisted black thread.

623 The men we knew greeted us as they took down their benches and found places against the wall farthest from the

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84 It appeared that nothing in a woman's life was so dreaded
85 as childbearing, nothing more coveted than fertility, and no time so difficult and so anxious as when a woman was rearing her children.

787 "The day before a girl marries she prays all day to her
584 gods," said Dida, who with Fenekonde and several other women had joined us. "I begged my god Kesekia and gave him rice and rum. All day they played the agida. I begged
[840] him not to hate my husband. I begged him to give us children."

843 When a woman conceived, her husband made her many
[831] obias, and especially a black sack obia with four cowries
751 sewed on it, to keep her safe on the paths which led from
789 village to village, and from village to her field. The fear of the power of bad magic at this time was so great that, if we but looked at one of the pregnant women, or let our eyes rest on the several obias she wore, she grew nervous, covered them with both her hands, and disappeared in fear that the very power of our glance might weaken the potency of the charms. She did not believe in the white man's magic, but she was not in a condition to wish to put it to a test.

844 "When her time comes, a woman sees to it that she is in
782 her own village," said Fenekonde. "It is not good to give birth in the bush, or on the river."

This had almost happened to Wilhelmina with her last child. She was on the river alone in a boat. Chief Sungi of Dahomey met her and called on his gods to delay the coming of the child until he brought her home. He had strong obia, and so the misfortune was averted.

When the woman felt the first labor-pains, she prayed to the gods, and to her personal spirits. On the great Sky God she called, and the Earth Mother; on her ak'a, her soul; on the Yorka, the ancestors; and then she prayed to her personal gods, and particularly to whatever snake gods she might have, for some of these were known to be jealous of a coming child. But none of the gods dared be slighted.

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342 uninhabited. Its posts and walls and thatch were in
643 excellent condition, and there was not even the weather-beaten appearance about it of a house which had been closed for some time. Nor had it the kandu, the spiritual lock of unoccupied houses.

778 To one side of this house was the open shrine to the
346 great gods, the pole to the Sky God, the smaller one with a checked tunic across the middle of it for the Earth Mother. But there was also a figure of wood with a broad white cloth hung from it like a flag, and this, the villagers said, was the image of the Granman's father. When the dead man's spirit came to the village, it was this image he animated. In times of need and on days fixed by ritual, it was to this image that prayers and food were brought.

Some distance from this shrine, standing close to the uncleared bush, was a house that had been deserted. Half of it the great bush had already reclaimed. The thatch of the roof and one entire side wall had altogether disappeared, and in place of these were garlands of leafy vines, so closely interwoven and so brilliantly green in the sun as to give to the asymmetrical mass of weathered grayish palm, and the strangling green, a strange beauty. Not quite two years ago it had been abandoned, and soon it would be completely lost to the bush.

But the villagers looked the other way when we photographed it.

A little to one side of the house with the doorposts which showed the Granman's crests was a smaller hut, before
[189] whose door stretched a magic azang of palm fronds that marked it as a shrine.

[196] "This house is for the Apuku gods," said an old woman who heard our inquiry. "It belongs to me. It was built when my god told me to make it."

And without hesitation she led the way under the palm fronds through the opening.

This was the first time we had been permitted to enter a closed shrine. We had had descriptions of shrines from men with whom we had talked of the gods. There were some,

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533 surprised us that night at S'ei, and when he paused for a
106 moment the women took up the chorus. From one song to
179 another he went, and the hand clapping grew louder, and the chorus joined in more frequently, often breaking into his recitative, so that there was harmonizing of theme and chorus.

Once or twice the Granman called for a song we had already recorded, in order to give Mapasi a rest.

"Play us something from the lower river, white man. Let them hear their own songs, too, sung by others."

When the excitement of hearing the machine reproduce the song they had just sung had grown less intense, the singers repeated the song the phonograph was reproducing for them, for to listen to music without singing was difficult for them, just as when they sang, they could not but move their feet, though there was scarcely more than room for them to stand one close to the other. But a Bush Negro needs little room for his dancing, so that as the phonograph played their songs for them, they clapped their hands and danced in place. For a short interval, at least, the existence of the whites was forgotten in their pleasure of singing with the machine.

Until late into the night we played our records for them, and they sang for us. Whatever the consequences to the frail records of soft wax, we decided to play as long as they would listen, because of something in the manner of the Granman, something of wistfulness, let us say, and something, perhaps, which went deeper yet, as he sat there—a black Hamlet following a mute soliloquy while he looked on with his clever, perplexed eyes.

"Ai, so it is," he said at last, "and now let us go and get sleep." He rose and the others followed him out of the council house.

II

183 Early the next morning, while the tent on our boat was
182 being finished, the Granman came into the council house
189 with a calabash and a buzzard's feather in his hand. He
574 came up to each of us in turn, and struck with the medicine-
602 dipped feather the tops of our heads, brushed the eyes,

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touched the palms of our hands, and struck against the calves three times. 123

"This is obia," he said simply, and when he was finished, he went out. 782 789

Our cook knew this obia. It was Opete obia, medicine bearing the name of the sacred buzzard. It was given us that we might have a good journey down the river. 574 609

"Did you see how he was careful to touch the eyes?" our cook pointed out to us. "The Opete gets the eyes when it comes to a person, just like Kromanti goes into the head, and Vodu into the belly." [illegible]

When we went out for a moment, and walked toward our storeroom, we saw the Granman splash water out of a calabash onto the floor and front wall of the house which held our supplies. Was it that our belongings might be safe on our journey down? It was no time for questions, and we asked none.

Women and children again came crowding about the white woman. Though they had been warned not to talk, there was still something of the warm feeling of earlier times which a command did not entirely destroy. Then, too, the order was that the sendoff was to lack no formality. As we stood there, a dog came running down the path. He was on his way to the river. In his mouth was a large ball of something which had been thoroughly charred. It was an offering to the river spirits, perhaps. It might have been less pleasant magic. He had been sent by men who were busy in the ancestral shrine. 123 231 782

When the white woman called attention to the dog, and asked what he held, the women recoiled with amazement that she should have seen the dog at all. Part of the magic might have been, as it was in some formulas we recorded, that he was to pass by invisible to the strangers. But this is conjecture. . . .

The moment before we went down the path to the river, Amasina came up alone, and gave us her hand. She was gracious, and completely at her ease. Whatever was said, she had faith in her god Towenu, who had vouched for our friendship. 123 609

REBEL DESTINY

531 The greater part of these carvings men made for women,
431 and it was a rare woman who did not take pride in the excellence of the carvings given her, though often it must have been the pride in something which had traditional value, for it would be false to assume that among any people are all men equally endowed with creativeness and all women with sensitive appreciation of what is created.

462 As among so many peoples, two or three types of art
530 were to be found. There was the same sex division in the
300 art of these people as existed in all other aspects of life, and the men were the wood carvers. The sharpest division in the art of the men was that between the secular and the religious. The religious art was crude. A block of wood, roughly shaped, with several cuts to indicate a face, perhaps a break in the line to represent the neck, and a few more strokes in the wood to differentiate the upper part of the woman's body, and there stood an ancestral image, or a village god. Often white clay was added to this, and sometimes alternate stripes of white and red, or white, red, and black, but when seen on a village path underneath a low open shelter, what color there once was had become
[308] weathered to a dull gray. The sacred art also included the
[289] charms called obias, worn on the neck, and about the upper
[301] arm, or wrist, or below the knee, or at the ankle. Many of these made pleasing ornaments. The white fiber dipped in red clay became a deep golden brown as the sun paled the crimson, and there would be the added color of a finger's length of blue and orange parrot feather, fastened inside the woven fiber square, and extending below the fringe of the weave. Into this woven square cowries might be sewn, two facing each other, or three, or four.

532 There was also the art of modeling, but this was so secret and so specialized that we were assured that not even all Bush Negroes knew of its existence, and modeled objects appeared only in the most important of the shrines.

With the religious art might also perhaps be grouped the red and white striped crooked sticks of the Kromanti

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Chapter XVI

BAYO, THE PLAYBOY

I

IT HAD been a day of hard travel, down the Mamadam, through the Musumba Prati, and down the long wearying stretch of quiet water until we reached the Tita Buka Falls. The memory of the up-river passage of these troubled stretches had not yet worn down sufficiently to allow of contemplating the downgoing without a measure of strain, but our anxiety turned to astonishment when the paddlers, skirting above the thunder of the water, steered the boats into a barely visible channel down which we floated by easy stages.

"Mati-o," said chief Mataibo to the young men, when we had made the singularly fine passage, "the gods are taking them with pleasure. We must do the same!"

Passing the Gran' Creek he prayed from midstream, calling on the spirit of the creek, whom he addressed as ancestor, to give us long life in our white man's country.

Now we were here at Djamungo, at Bayo's village where, if he were only there, we should be seeing a fine dance, and where, what at the moment was far more important for us, many sacred objects awaited us. Djamungo was a village about whose magic other villages on the river were uneasy.

"Bayo is at Gankwe waiting for you. He is helping the men haul lumber, but when he hears you are back, he will come," said a woman who came up saying she was his

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609 mother. The woman who had made Bayo was her sister, she told us.

142 The resemblance between this woman and Bayo was marked. She had the same dark skin, the same stocky, muscular build, the broad nose, the same general cast of features we had known so well in Bayo. Similar, too, were the sharply etched scars on her face, which were so black and so prominent as to bespeak her great vitality and rugged health. There were other likenesses, we learned, and of these the most valued was the strength of their gods.

789 794 562 We had not been long in her hut before we noticed the iron arm-band she wore. It was, we knew, a "*tapu*"—a magical preventive which, in this instance, warned its wearer of danger, and kept her from harm in a combat. Seeing it on the arm of a woman was astonishing for many reasons. Not in all our encounters on the river had we seen a woman wearing an arm obia of iron. Iron was the sign of the Kromanti, a men's group, composed of those men [595] who had the Kromanti spirit. It was in part warriors' secret society, and in part, when it was Obia Kromanti, the men's religious society which controlled the powerful supernatural forces of preventive and healing magic which played so prominent a part in the spiritual life of the Bush Negro. Now there were, we had been told, some women who inherited the Kromanti spirit, but these were few, and not until after their menopause could they enter a Kromanti house, and when this came they were too old to participate in the dance, but they sang the songs when the spirit came to them and did whatever else was known to the initiated of their years.

But this woman who was Bayo's mother's sister was not an old woman. As she talked to us, in fact, her breast was [853] swung over to the side, and against her ribs was the head of the child on her back who was nursing. Yet on her arm was the fighter's "tapu," as the emblem of membership in the Kromanti group.

This was so important an anomaly that, following the etiquette of the bush, we hastened at once to talk about something else.

BAYO, THE PLAYBOY

"Will Bayo be married before we leave the bush?" we 115
asked, telling her that only a short time would see us returning to our own country.

We had often talked of marriage with Bayo on our trip up river and had offered to make up what he lacked in gifts and money that we might witness the festivities of marriage. He had, of course, promised to have matters arranged.

Bayo's aunt laughed, however, when she heard the question, and turned to the other woman who was with us in the dimly lighted hut.

"Did you hear what the white man asks?" she called 584
out to her companion. "White man, let me tell you some- 115
thing. Bayo is a long way from marrying yet. Why, his girl's breasts haven't begun to come yet!"

It seemed that Bayo had also to see to many things before he could marry. He had not yet cut the field for his mother-in-law, nor had he made any of the carvings which he needed to give his betrothed and her mother, for Bayo was a poor carver.

"Bayo has cunning in his eyes, and his head, but his 115
fingers have no cunning, Bak'a. . . . But you know this, Bayo is strong."

Her train of thought turned at the last phrase to our journey up river. Had we traveled well with Bayo? Had he got on with the other men? Awa, she knew that people liked him. It was the obia he had, and his own gods, but his gods were bad, too.

"When he was in his mother's womb, he troubled her [843]
much. He tore at her. Ai, she had no happy time of it with Bayo."

We remembered the incest kunu in Bayo's family, which 684
lay in wait for all its members, killing off one by one until 776
the line was wiped out. We ventured a cautious question.

"You are the sister of Bayo's mother?"

The answer, however, did not take us to kunu, but rather 115
to the iron on her arm. 776

"Ai, and of his father who is now dead. In our family we 789
have strong gods. It is these that have come to Bayo. . . ."

"So we see from the Kromanti obia on your arm." Was she, a woman, possessed of the war-like Kromanti spirit? we asked her.

"It is as you see. I am a woman, and I have Kromanti—and it's strong Kromanti."

"We had not heard of women your age getting Kromanti."

"Ai, there are not many, but when my spirit comes, I dance heavy. I dance like the men."

We must have appeared unconvinced, for she became more emphatic.

"What they do in other villages, white man, I do not know. But I have Kromanti, and when the drums speak here at Djamungo I, too, come."

She rose and went into the inner chamber of the house, where the hammocks were hung, and brought out several objects wrapped in old cloth.

"Bayo said I should have obias for you when you came. He said you would pay well for obias. I have these for you."

The trading commenced. There were two small images—"*gadus*" they were called, both crudely carved. One was called Winti Nyamusi. It was a spirit which gave children to women.

"When I come to ask for children, then I take sweet rum in my mouth, and I spray the gadu, then I say, '*Naymusi, da wa' buno mi'i*—O Spirit Naymusi! Give me a fine child.' Then the child will come."

What was the other image, the larger one, with anteater's bristles inserted at sides and top?

"That is a Kromanti obia. It is the Opete spirit, the buzzard. When you take it with you, you must speak to it so. You must say, 'Obia-o, I am carrying you away with me. You must look after me, you must see that my life is spared, O great spirit.' Then you must spray it with rum, but not the sweet rum, not for Kromanti."

There were other obias she had for us, some to be worn about the neck, and others to be worn below the knee.

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"Bayo has asked me to find a strong *asumani* for you," she said, naming the obia she held with the word for such magically endowed properties used by the Ashanti today, on the West Coast of Africa. In rapid succession she gave us the African words of the Kromanti designation for the white clay, for the ancestral pot, and for several other ceremonial objects we discussed with her.

"Did you make these for us?"

"Ah, no. Women do not make obias. My brother made them for you."

The next morning when we were leaving Djamungo she came to the landing place with us. In our hands were the images we had bought. The young paddlers looked on them with fear. On no account would they even come too close to us who carried them. It was not the image, nor the external properties of a sacred object which disclosed its power, but rather the magic that had been called to reside in it, and the strength of the gods of him who had been instrumental in bringing the magic to the figure of wood, the brass bell, the cowrie shells, the ant-eater's bristles, or whatever else was used.

"Tell them in your village," Bayo's mother's sister called after us, "that here at Djamungo the Kromanti spirit does not come to men only. When women get Kromanti, they, too, can fight."

2

We had not been back at our base camp for more than a day when Bayo came up the path calling the greeting of a comrade. Had we fared well with the Granman?

He had, he told with pride, seen all those things a man who went on so long a journey should see, and he had been to Lamé again, where there were strong obias and where the women knew how to love. Now he would remain with us until we left the bush, and he might even decide to go with us to the city, and from there to the French shore, where there was money to be got. What with the money he had earned for timber, and the money we had given

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115 him, and what he could get on the Marowyne in a year,
[58] it would be possible for him to see to it that his betrothed
[58A] had all the gifts that a man of position gave to his woman. There were, too, other things to bear in mind. Already he had seen a girl who would make a desirable second wife, but that would require still more money.

115 "But, Bayo," we interposed, "we saw your mother at
593 Djamungo. She told us your girl will not be ready for marrying for some time."

"Did she say that? Did she tell you that I am still a child?"

"What's the matter, Bayo? Don't you like her?"

"Awa, I like her. Not too much. She likes to talk."

231 We thought it politic to give the subject a new turn.
224 Close beside Bayo lay the dog that had accompanied him the first time he came to us here, before our journey up the river. His was a curious color, a faint pinkish hue which puzzled us.

"What is the color of your dog, Bayo?"

"He is white when he does not have obia on him. He is a hunting dog. Tross is his name. He will stay with me. The obia comes off when he goes into the river."

We laughed. "Does Tross hunt in the river, Bayo?"

"No. In the bush. But if I leave him behind, he swims out to my canoe."

231 Tross was to become better known to us as the days went
789 on. He had a great affection for his master, and this feeling extended to all those who appertained to Bayo. After Bayo had attached himself to our camp, we, too, came under the aura of his dog's regard, though this may have been made the more reasonable by the fact that the netting of the mosquito guards of our hammocks appealed to Tross as a comfortable place to spend the night. He was a good watchdog, and sometimes we were awakened by his low growl, and a voice saying "*Cho!*—Be quiet!" Just now we were interested in the cord about his neck, and we asked Bayo about it.

"It is more obia. It is strong, too. Nothing happens to Tross when he goes in the bush. You will see."

him about it as he came to take the white man through the bush trails to a neighboring village. 302 115

One of the girls who admired him had achieved this, but how she had managed to make the minute braids was difficult for us to see, for Bayo's hair the day before, long for him, had not seemed sufficiently yielding to permit of braiding. Yet here he was, his head covered with innumerable small braids which divided the white scalp into sections and showed lines where the many regular parts had been made. This made quite a new man out of Bayo. He was no longer the warrior who went without food because he was bored with the idea of preparing the food—a woman's task or, at best, that of an old man like his great-grandfather Bibifo who had cooked on the up-river trip. Now he was a dandy. [569] [887]

"Ai-yo!" he crowed back as we speculated on the labor that had gone into the creation. "It took her almost all the night! It is hard work."

"She must like you, Bayo."

"She likes me well, ai!"

"Are you going to have her for your third wife?"

"Who knows? But a man doesn't marry every woman who braids his hair."

Soon Bayo and the white man were off through the bush, Tross going ahead as scout. Back and across the path he would dart and for the white man, unaccustomed to the sounds of the bush, it was difficult to tell whether the rustling he heard was caused by the dog, or by the small animals stirred up from time to time. Once a snake coiled on the path moved lazily away as they approached; Tross had disturbed it, and the snake had no mind for more encounters. Once a small animal of some sort dashed across the trail ahead, the dog in close pursuit, and for some moments we could hear them tearing through the underbrush. 484 231

"Aren't you afraid that some animal will hurt Tross, Bayo?"

"He is a good dog. And I have put strong obia on him." [789]

Chapter XVII

SARAMACCA OBIA

I

NO WORD of African origin which has survived in the New World has taken on such grim meaning as has the word *obia* in many of the islands of the Caribbean. No Negro there will speak of it, and its practices and properties are secret. When obia strikes in the islands, it is usually a matter for the government, and the forms its vengeance knows too often take a grisly turn. [789] [791]

In the life of the Bush Negro, however, obia is everywhere, and its name the commonest of bywords, for among the Suriname Negroes obia is not black magic, or witchcraft, or sorcery. Black magic in the Suriname bush is *wisi*, and wisi is never confounded in the Bush Negro's mind with obia. [754]

"Obia is good. Obia heals," they say in Suriname.

"Obia warns, obia protects."

"Obia protects a man against the force of a bullet, the thrust of an iron weapon, the dangers of fire."

"You want to know what obia is, Massa?" our cook asked one day. "We have this *komfo singi*—this priest's song: [533] [539]

> "*I am no master,*
> *And I am no slave,*
> *Yet when the masters come,*
> *They carry water for me.*"

REBEL DESTINY

This, he went on to explain, had the meaning that obia was not so great as the very great gods, and it was not to be ranked with the lesser deities who served as emissaries for the great gods, yet when the great gods wanted to help mankind, it was through obia that they healed and purified, it was to obia that men were instructed to turn.

It seems that when the Sky God created the Earth Mother and the Mother of the River, he also created man and beast. Man had a poor time of it, pitting himself against the forces of earth and sky and water. And so that man might survive, the Sky God had had to send obia into the world to help man. Obia was not a god, it was a spirit. It gave people knowledge of herbs which cured, and herbs which prevented sickness. Obia warned of danger, and made known those properties of earth and water and air which healed and calmed. Obia taught the use of the band of metal on the arm, or the string about the waist which forewarned of evil, and made man wary and alert.

After obia came into the world, the Sky God sent Akantamasu, the god of the ant hill, to plague man. Perhaps obia had made of man an overbearing creature, defiant even against the great gods, so that the Sky God brought the Akantamasu spirit into being to teach him humility.

The answer of the Bush Negro was, of course, that so it was, and so it had been long ago, but why, he did not know. The Sky God had willed it so, and the Sky God was so far from man that he never vouchsafed explanations to human beings, and they in turn rarely taxed him to ease their bewilderment.

There was also the power of the ancestors, but our Bush Negro friends were never certain as to how they ranked in the supernatural hierarchy. Some said they ranked after the Earth Mother and the Mother of the River, that they were greater than obia, because the ancestors punished as well as helped mankind, and when angered their punishment came swifter than that of the powerful Akantamasu gods. Others said the ancestors were greater than obia, because obia had been given to the ancestors long ago,

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and it was they who in dream or vision, or in a state of possession, instructed living men in the ways of yet greater and greater obia. But there were those who held that obia ranked after the greatest of the deities, that obia surpassed the power of the ancestors, for obia knew how to make "*yorka tapu*"—preventives against troublesome ghosts, and obia men could summon the dead to enter the body of a living man to make revelations.

Whatever the position of obia in the supernatural world, its place on earth was to serve man, for of all living beings, man alone knew obia.

2

What were the manifestations of obia in the life of the Bush Negro as we found them?

A black pot with its magic powers was an obia pot, the charm worn about the neck was called an obia, the medicines we gave the natives for their eyes or their cuts were called white man's obia, and their own mixture of weeds steeped in water, which stood in the burning sun gathering a green scum until it should be ready for use, was also obia. Young Yamati who had danced susa for us did not have a cord about his neck, but, he had assured us, he had obia for long life as did his partner Sabape, though his own could not be seen, since it consisted of several obia cuts made shortly after birth, which served instead of the cord. The strings about the waists of children were obias. The slight cuts to be noticed on men's arms, on thighs, below the knee, below the shoulder blades were obia cuts, too.

Nor was that all.

Bayo had said to us, "When obia comes a man does bad things. He destroys. When mine comes, it is ugly sometimes."

It was obia, too—Apanto's obia—which had stopped our phonograph, and obia again, invoked this time by Bayo, which had strengthened the spirit of the machine.

We talked about obia to an elder, a village head, from one of the down-river settlements, which was not, however,

776 important enough to be the residence of a clan chief. His
789 clan's magic was strong, and, being well past middle age, he could afford to speak of these matters with the whites, for like all Bush Negroes he was proud of the black man's obia.

"Ya-hai, white man, obia may well puzzle you. It is no small matter. No man knows all there is to know about obia. The greatest of obia men is never done learning. You
[A1] say you spent more than twenty years learning your kind of work. Twenty years is nothing. All his life an obia man spends learning. The ancestors let him see a little at a time, and a little more. 'One step at a time,' as the G'ama' says. So it is, white man."

When did the learning begin, we asked him?

869 "In the bush here children see what we do, and they
776 learn much by watching. They learn to recognize the kind
778 of obias a man wears, they learn to know the names of obias, and about the *tchina*—taboos—that go with the wearing of obias. That is the beginning." All children knew that, but only boys could aspire to learn the secrets of obia.

A boy's definite training in these things began with adolescence. The ceremony was not formal, for it concerned only the boy and his immediate relatives. When the time came to teach the novice about the gods, his father and
[604] his mother's brothers met with him, and they held a krutu. Other men also came, men of the village and elders of their great family. The outsiders sat by and said nothing, while
881 the instruction was carried on by the father and the boy's maternal uncles.

869 "First the father gives him his gods, and he tells his son
776 the name of each god and how he must serve him."

There were songs to be learned and dances and invocations; there were the offerings which had to be made, and the manner of prayer memorized. He was told when he might call on the god and what names the god bore, for each god had several names, just as had each human being. There were many names to learn for the gods—their day names, their "strong" names.

REBEL DESTINY

776 A man who wished to buy a god for his son went to a
432 renowned obia man and agreed to pay him a certain sum
424 of money if, at the end of the period of training, the god came to the boy.

"When the obia man says the boy is ready, they give a dance. At this dance, the drum is played for the god, and
[987] the boy must dance. If the god comes to him, then the obia man gets his money, but if the god does not come, then he does not get what was promised him, because they had made an agreement for a god, and no god came."

881 The training was not very difficult—it was not like the
869 training for becoming an obia man. A boy was given obia
776 water to wash in. Every eight days the water in the obia pot was changed, and this bathing continued for three
[983] moons. When the ritual of purification was over, he was taught the drum rhythms of the god, the invocations which the drum sounded, and the spoken invocations. Songs, and make-up for the dancing, and the dancing itself he was taught, and when he might call upon the god, and what he must do when the god comes, and what offerings the god was to receive. If the god spoke "tongues," he was also instructed in the appropriate language. There were the words of the mocking little Apuku gods and the sounds which only Toné people made, and there was the "Kromanti tongo."

"Can all the gods be bought?" we asked.

432 "Kweti, kweti!" he shook his head in emphatic denial.
776 "The river gods cannot be bought. You are born a Toné
989 man or woman, or the Toné god comes to you from your family. But all the Vodu gods you can buy; and the god Bongo, the alligator; and the ant hill gods and the gods of the kankan tree, and the Apuku bush gods." He paused for an instant, as if he were considering something. "And men buy Kromanti for their sons, if they have none to give them. Almost every man in the bush has Kromanti. If he hasn't it, then he tries to buy it for his sons. A man needs Kromanti. When he has the Kromanti spirit, fire cannot hurt him, nor glass, nor anything that cuts—

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anything made of iron—nor can a gun shoot him, nor an 432
arrow pierce him. If he goes through a thicket of thorns 776
or climbs a thorny palm tree when the spirit comes to him, 789
he is not harmed. That is Kromanti."

"How much does a person pay an obia man for giving a boy Kromanti?" we asked.

"It costs plenty, white man. But a good obia man never [435]
asks too much. If a man says he will give the boy Kromanti, for not too many guilders, then we know he will do it. But if a man asks forty, fifty, then we know he is not an honest man, and he is not a good man. I have heard, though, of a good obia man who took as much as twenty-four guilders, but he gave the boy a strong Kromanti spirit, and it took much time to teach him."

3

From time to time members of Bayo's family visited 791
our camp. Each time we were introduced to a new brother, or father, or *suwagi*—brother-in-law. Among these visitors was a man whose name we never learned, though we had talked with him a good deal. He was, we later came to know, a man who knew obia. He was a scholar among his people, a thoughtful man who often went about alone, instead of being accompanied by a fellow clan member or a member of his family, as is customary among these people. Like Bayo, he had an incest kunu, and at his age, he had already had occasion to see what kunu planned for 791
him. He coughed badly. When men went to cut timber, 164
he could not go with them because of his cough and the fever which went with the cough.

"Have you been to a good obia man?" we asked him.

He smiled. Of what use to go from one diviner to the next, from one man who had special magic to another, when a [753]
man knew that what was troubling him was kunu?

"Come to the city with us," we said, when we knew him better, "and we will take you to a doctor. He may be able to do something for you."

REBEL DESTINY

791 He promised readily enough to go with us, but Bayo
753 told us later that he would not come.
789 "He says the white doctor cannot do more than obia
776 can do. He says a man must take what kunu brings."

Was there no obia against kunu? we asked of Bayo.

"No, but kunu is not greater than obia. It is something else. When the Sky God gave obia to man, he gave it to help man live, not to help him do bad things. When men
[688] and women earn a kunu for their family, it is because they do what is hateful to the great gods and ancestors. Obia was not sent to save men from punishment."

"Does obia never punish, Bayo?" We were thinking of what he said about his own obia, of how when it seized him, he destroyed things.

But he would say no more. "I am too young, Bak'a, to
[888] speak of these things. At my age I know only a little obia. You must ask the old men."

4

554 The conversation led us one day to the obia men on the
791 river. They were, we knew, important persons in the Bush Negro communities. An obia man of reputation was not only consulted by his own villagers and clansmen, but men and women came to him from distant villages, when those who were nearer had failed them. It occurred sometimes that even from the Awka villages on the lower river, these Saramacca obia men were sought out—perhaps this was because of the same tradition which encouraged the buying of strange gods to enlarge the family pantheon, perhaps it was because of something which touched still deeper beliefs.

868 How did a man become an obia man?

From what we had already heard, it was apparent that
867 here was something which approached the formal education of our own civilization, a form of education, indeed, which we pride ourselves is unique to our own way of life.

All other knowledge the Bush Negro child gains by being about with members of his family who are busy at

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756 and how to cure fever, and fio-fio. He is shown how to make
791 obia medicine for lesions of the skin, and for colds, and for
868 diseases of children. He is taught the protective obias for
881 the woman who conceives, and those which help conception, the obias which keep people safe on the river, and those which guard them in the bush against enemy spirits.

It may be, too, that during this first period of training, the initiate is shown how to trap and treat the snakes from which the snake "cuttee" is made. This cure for snake bite is famous in Suriname among Bush Negroes and whites alike, but the secret of preparing the cuttee is known to the Bush Negroes alone.

While the young man is in training, he may not go with
[984] a woman, and there are many more prohibitions which he must observe.

"Not all men can become obia men."

"Does a man need obia in order to have Kromanti?" we asked.

"To have Obia Kromanti, yes. . . . Now do not ask about Kromanti, white man," said Bayo's uncle with a smile. "Only a Kromanti man knows about Kromanti. Do not ask, because I cannot tell you."

5

789 Men and women constantly drifted to our base camp with
439 carvings for our collection. Many brought us obias. Some
778 of these obias they took from their persons and sold to us, but others were newly made for us, for some of those they themselves wore, they would not part with, whatever the inducement.

"Why do you want my obia, white man?" a Bush Negro asked one day. "Do you want an obia to carry you well to your country? I will make one for you, but do not ask for mine. Mine has kept me in good health. I cannot give away an obia which has served me well. The spirits would be angered."

He returned after a day with one which resembled his own, and as he gave it, he placed it on the upturned palms

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of the white man and blew on it, drawing both his hands lightly over the hands which held the obia. When he had done this, he whispered its tchina.

"Do not let the obia come near a menstruating woman, and do not eat the meat of the crab."

Types of obias varied. Some were of fiber twisted into a cord and woven into bands to fit an arm or a leg, some were worn around the neck, and ended with a few cowries and a bell or a black sack with cowries sewn on them or some bristles and a brilliant bit of a parrot's feather. There were also the plain bands of iron, the Kromanti obias worn by men.

One of the most interesting obias was the coffin obia. It was not to be worn casually, as were all the others we had heretofore acquired. When our cook saw this one he paled.

"Mi Gado," he cried, and then turned to the English at his command to give us a warning which would not be understood by those who stood near. "What you got there? Put that away! You wan' fo' die?" Nor would he come near it until it was well out of sight.

It was, we saw, best hidden, if we wanted to continue our course up the river.

The man who had sold it had himself impressed us with its potency. "This obia is strong. . . . Look, it is made of cedar, the same wood from which we make the big coffins, and it is wrapped in the cloth we use to cover the coffin in which the dead man lies. Now that you have the power which is in the obia, I can tell you that the black on it is the soot from the fire, the white is pemba, and the inside ring is woven from the maripa palm. It will carry you well on the river. Nothing can harm you when you already carry your coffin with you."

The logic of his last remark was not so convincing to the whites as it was to the obia man, but it seemed unwise to question him about it.

"To keep it strong, you must spray it with rum twice a month. When the moon is full you must do it, and again

789 before the new moon comes, and when you do this, you
778 must say,
439

"*Obia-o,*
Your spirit must stay,
[539] *Your power must not leave this.*
Do not go elsewhere,
Do not become defiled."

789 There was the obia on which Bayo had lavished all the
778 magic he could command so that his friends might be safe in the bush. From the sacred grass known as *s'a*—the same grass from which the woven ceremonial dancing skirts are made here on the river—he made several long lengths of twine. These he wove into a square which later became the pendant of this neck obia. On this, as a base, he sewed two cowries facing each other, and in the middle of the fringed border of this pendant he fastened a bit of a macaw's feather, blue and orange in color.

The twisted cord about the neck had several knots in it where the cord met the pendant. Tying is the symbol of attaching, of binding, so that if an invocation was uttered in the making of these knots, and the twine was then drawn taut, the power was certain to be lodged inside the knots. Then, too, knots form links, and links, whether they be in a metal chain or in fiber or wood, symbolize union, and any object or ornament with links is, therefore, much valued in bush and in town. A linked chain is a favorite
[775] gift to please the akra, the soul, among the coastal Negroes. A woman who wishes to attach her man to her will rise at
[832] night noiselessly and will knot a hair from the man's head three times, speaking her invocation. In the bush few obias are found which do not have several knots in them.

In his exuberance Bayo placed so many prohibitions on this finely woven obia, that we asked him if he could not nullify some of them.

784 "For very strong obias, we have many tchina. It is best
789 so, because no one who wants to harm you will guess all of them and so succeed in robbing the obia of its power.

SARAMACCA OBIA

But if the tchina are too difficult to observe, then the man who made the obia can take the tchina away." 784 789

Suiting his action to the word, Bayo took some water from the river into his mouth and, spraying it over the obia, said, "The tchina I gave you, I take away. The breaking of these tchina must no longer defile you or take away your power."

There was nothing more hateful to the gods and the spirit of obia than an unclean woman, yet if an obia man wished, he could instruct the power in the obia not to take offense at unintentional contacts with menstruating women, or at cloths belonging to such women, or at food prepared by such women. But to accomplish this, an obia man had to be very powerful and, even so, he could not feel sure that the obia spirit would countenance such violations indefinitely. 784 841 791 789

All of these personal obias had definite attributes. One was made to guard an individual on the water, another in the bush. There were obias for successful hunting and fishing, for being safe against the evil spirits at the crossroads, for slander, and for envy. One obia saw to it that the soul remained strong, another that no illness sent by an enemy might lodge itself in the body of the wearer; there were love obias, and fighting obias, and obias which kept ghosts away. 789 798

Yet whatever such obias were made of, the object in itself had no validity. A simple fiber with a jaguar's tooth attached to it might well have greater powers for safety in the bush than an elaborately wrought obia, whose maker had not a strong obia spirit to give it spiritual power. Without this supernatural potency, it would be like a village god that had been allowed to rot because of itself it was merely a block of wood, and the deity for whom it had been made had not come to animate it.

6

Long ago, the Anansi stories tell us, there was a bird that knew obia. The cries of this bird shook all the kingdoms 773

of the earth. In one kingdom, a ruler sent the heralds to proclaim throughout the land that he who killed the bird would get half his kingdom, and his daughter in marriage. Anansi, the spider, killed a hawk and brought it to the ruler. But Anansi lied when he said this was the bird that shook the earth with its cries. At the very time he was trying to persuade all the people that this was the bird, the cries of the ominous bird were heard. So they put Anansi in jail. Now one day there was born to a woman a child who at birth wore a cloth of pieced designs, and a hunting sack. This boy said to his mother, he said, "Give me a little water, mother, and I will go out into the world to learn wisdom. God has sent me to kill the bird which troubles mankind."

When the boy grew to manhood he succeeded in trapping this bird that knew how to cook obia without fire. He killed the bird and took the obia pot with him, and that is how he came by the secrets of obia. He passed on his knowledge to the men of his family, and this has been going on till today, so that obia is being spread throughout the world by the descendants of this man who killed the bird that knew obia.

But obia was not one thing only.

"Obia," Bayo's uncle had said, "is first of all the spirit. It is everywhere. But there are many kinds of obia. There is black man's obia, and there is white man's obia. Here in the bush black man's obia is the strongest.

"A man who has the obia spirit makes obia to wear, and obia to drink, and obia to rub the body with, and obia water for bathing. He can make obia drums and obia benches. The spirit tells you how to do things, and it tells you what to do. When we say a man has strong obia, we mean his spirit is strong."

The Bush Negro obia man, said Bayo to us one day, knew the things the white doctor knew—he knew how to heal—and he knew other things, too. He knew how to keep sickness away. The things an obia man gave for healing were

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called obias. The charms he gave for warding off illness and evil were obias, too. 756 751

"So we call all these things. But each obia has a name. Every charm I wear is an obia, but if I wore the one you are wearing, it would be a soul cord, an *ak'a tetei*. One below the knee we call *asumasi* in my village, and one for the wrist *afimu*. The one on the upper arm is named *ando*. But there are many names, and they are all obia, because inside them is the spirit obia which gives them power. When a man sells you an obia and passes its power on to you, he breathes on your hands as they hold the obia. When he does it, he gives you the obia spirit which went into the making of this obia. If he did not make it himself, the spirit was given him by the obia man, and he gives it to you." 789

Obia, then, is the spirit; obia is the preventive and curing agent; obias are the charms that are worn by people to help them. Some have called these obias "fetiches," but even a slight understanding of them should be enough to bring the outsider to the realization that the object of itself is meaningless, and that it is only the power that has been given the charm that makes it effective. 776 951 789

Yet it is not strange that the importance of the fetich has been overestimated, for if the visitor did not draw out the Bush Negroes about their gods and their theories of the universe, the existence of these higher powers would almost go unrecognized. For everywhere there are to be found obias guarding the village, obias screening paths, obias worn by the people. That they are important to the Bush Negro is obvious. But they are important for day-by-day existence, and they do not possess the overwhelming importance of the great spirits who control the universe. 776 789

Many of these charms came to us as tangible evidence of the belief in obia. Some of those we acquired were of a unique character because of the power that was latent in them, some because of the intricacy of their taboos. Yet all of them paled in interest and in arresting quality beside the Kromanti Mama that came to us one night in secret.

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Chapter XVIII

"OBIA COMES!"

1

789 778 WHITE and gaunt and staring in the dim light, the Kromanti Mama rested on its whitened bench, and about it coiled a snake modeled from the same sacred clay.

It had come to us in stealth, and as we responded to the awe it inspired, we could not but wonder what had prompted the man who had brought it to reveal one of the most secret religious objects known to his people. He came late one night, his burden carefully wrapped so that no one might suspect what he carried. That night only, while in whispers he told us what it was and wherein lay its powers, was it out of those wrappings, for not alone during the remainder of our stay in the bush but while we were in the city, we were careful to respect the man's trust.

"When you take it to your white man's country, and some man sees it who has a Tiger spirit, he will shout the cry of the tiger. All who have Tigri are related. Wherever the Kromanti Mama goes, there the Tigri obia goes, too."

2

776 Obia, we were told, came into the world to heal and to warn and to protect mankind. Of all obia, Kromanti is the strongest. Why, then, is the Kromanti obia so feared?

The clue to an answer to this question lies in the behavior of the men to whom this obia comes when they are possessed with it. The man who is actuated by Kromanti obia is

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776 of the secret societies which flourish there is the Leopard
575 Society, and this African feline is not very different from the one which gives its name to the Tigri obia. Other societies which chastise and protect have often been designated as "devil" societies.

789 Kromanti is feared, then, because of the kind of preven-
776 tive it is. The man to whom this obia comes cannot be
575 harmed by bullets shot from guns, by glass, by swords that cut, or by thorns which lacerate. Such a man is protected in combat from the weapons of his enemies and from thorny barricades that might be raised against his attack. It is protection for the warriors, and when it comes, the warriors who have the obia do not hesitate to test their immunity and to try that of others. A friendly, unassertive man seized by the Tiger Kromanti is in the grip of a power which transforms him into a tiger. When obia comes in the sacred dances, it is Kromanti obia. The Bush Negroes do not dance for the healing, protecting spirit that is obia in general. It is too remote. But when they dance and Kromanti comes, the women often flee, and the men who do not have Kromanti discreetly disappear. Only those who have Kromanti have nothing to fear from the attacks of their fellows, for they are protected by the power common to them all—the power of being unharmed by machetes or guns.

575 What is inside the Kromanti obia houses we cannot say,
346 for we were never permitted to enter them. When we recognized their presence in villages we visited, the fact that they were Kromanti houses was acknowledged, but we were never allowed even to inspect the outside closely, and we were never accorded permission to photograph one of these shrines.

From our informants we learned that inside these houses there are paintings on the walls in black and red, the Kromanti colors, and in the white of the sacred pemba. There were, we were told, whitened benches that had about their tops the grass skirt of a kind worn by the obia man when he danced.

In the Kromanti house, too, was the Kromanti Mama. But until our friend brought us the one he had made for

us, with its attendant bench and modeled snake, we had only heard the term. 595 342

3

In the dim light of our oil lantern, we listened and wrote in our book, while our informant told us about the Kromanti Mama. 126

"You must take it down carefully," he said, "or it might harm you."

The figure on the top of the bench was named Agbo. This was the watchman, and to this figure came news of all impending evil. About the neck of the figure was a Kromanti fighting obia. A stout iron ring, with red and blue cloth tied about one-half of it, it rested near the base of the watchman. 789 778 532

The eyes of this watchman were its most arresting feature. They were represented by deep sockets, and the effect was heightened by the beak-like character of the nose. Two ears completed the head, and on the body breasts were modeled. It was the only piece of Bush Negro modeling we had ever seen. This most secret of art forms was evidently little practiced.

"The watchman sees all," said our informant, "the Kromanti Mama knows when there is something about that will harm. She tells the snake."

Coiled about its base, this snake was treated in the same realistic style. The head of the snake and its tail almost met at the side of the clay figure which it encircled.

"His name is Bimbawai," we were told.

The bench itself was not unlike the obia stools we had seen in the shrines of the gods. Its rectangular top, curving toward the center, was fastened to the two boards which formed the legs. Like other obia stools, it was difficult to tell whether, under the thick coating of white clay, the wood was carved or not. In one respect it differed from all others we had seen—the bench wore, fringe-like, a grass skirt of the kind worn by the *komfo*, the priests. This was suspended from the top of the bench, the cord going outside [352]

789 the space where the snake was modeled, but never touching
798 it.
532 The man who was explaining the bench to us pointed once more to the snake. "It is not always lifeless as you see it here," he said.

When the snake came to life, trouble was brewing. It turned red, the color of blood, and all who came into the Kromanti house and saw it were warned of danger.

"How does the snake know when to come to life?"

[794] "It is Agbo, the guard, who tells the snake. When she tells him there is trouble, he turns red, and then we know."

Immunity as well as knowledge was afforded by the magical powers of this stool and its snake and the Kromanti Mama.

"A man who has Kromanti sits down on the stool, and puts Agbo on his head, and when he has done that, nothing can harm him."

[789] Thus is safety attained. But this only comes if the image has been propitiated by the Kromanti men. Rum, not of the sweet kind, must be offered it and prayers transmitted to its spirit on the drum which Kromanti recognizes—the apinti. If this is done, the Kromanti Mama will not lose its power, and the snake will continue to turn the warning color when danger threatens, and the bench will give protection to the men who have the Kromanti obia.

4

796 Not long after we had entered the bush we saw our first Kromanti dance. The people of several neighboring villages came to our base camp to dance for us. They asked, "Will you be afraid if the dancing brings Kromanti?" We told them we should welcome whatever spirits came.

Late that afternoon canoes brought people to our encampment for the festivities. Some, with an eye to trade,
[439] had brought carvings and obias, and, as we sat and talked with them about what should be given for the pieces they offered us, we could watch the dance outside our open hut.

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7

787 The next day was our last among the Saramacca people. Bayo came to us early to help with the packing. He was apparently none the worse for his seizure and, as he worked, we could tell from his manner how release had come to him and how the tension we had noticed the past few days had left him.

On his body were no marks. His mouth showed no cuts where the glass was bitten off and chewed. When we told him about the glass, he knew nothing of it. Had he not known about this eating of glass, he might well have doubted our word, for when we examined his lips and palate and tongue, not even a scratch showed.

"What did you drum last night, Bayo?"

"When, before the obia came to me?"

He remembered nothing after he had leaped from the improvised apinti to run into the bush.

"Not when you drummed apinti, but when you came back here and took the tumao to the river."

"I don't remember. Did I do that?"

8

609 789 Despite the early hour we had to leave in order to catch the weekly train for the coast, the boats of our friends began to be seen off the landing place as they came to say their farewells. The good woman Tita, whom they called [B76] [480] Mother Snake behind her back, was the first to arrive. She walked slowly up from the river bank, pipe in mouth, a pot on her head, and one in each hand. The pots held obias which, she said, were made especially for us, to give us great powers in our own land—one to keep us safe from the ghosts of those we had wronged; one to guard us against the acts of the unfriendly living; one to make all those from whom we sought advantage "love" us.

123 Sedefo's younger wife came with her child on her back to [B54] collect whatever tin cans were about, and some gift for the child when it wakened, knowing that something was

"OBIA COMES!"

The river had fallen. Whole stretches appeared as dry as the sandy village clearings. The green-heart trees were in full bloom, looking like giant flowering mimosas with heads lifted high above the green wall of matted bush. As we sped past the village landing of Gankwe, women washing their clothes and children at play called out a last "*Adiosio-o-o-o*," but in a moment we rounded a bend of the river and were out of sight.

Our only stop was at New Village, not far from the railroad, where the chief had promised to have an apinti for us. He was expecting us, and with him was his friend, the chief of Kadyu, whose village lay below the railhead.

"I had trouble finding a skin for the head," he said, "but one of my men shot a deer, and so I have a fine one for you. . . . And here is an obia to keep you alive on the water." He transferred the power of the obia to us, and then, as we rose to leave, he added, "When you get to your home, tell the headman of your village 'Howdo' in the name of the Chief of New Village, and his friend, the Chief of Kadyu."

9

As we floated up to the landing place where men were waiting to take our boxes to the train, we saw an hibiscus tree in bloom before the little shop kept by a British Guiana mulatto who did some trading with the Bush Negroes.

"What do you call this tree, Bayo?"

"Which one, this with the red flowers? I don't know. That's a Bak'a sani—a white man's thing."

Bakra sani!

The hibiscus tree, the mulatto who for the Bush Negro is also a Bakra, ourselves and our phonograph and flashlights—all were white men's things, intruders in his bush, strangers. Only by the grace of his powerful ancestors, and of the gods of his ancestors, might such things be allowed life and a measure of joy there, as witness the bright blossoms, the livelihood the mulatto earned, and our own good health.

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104 is analogous to the interpolations, "Oh, Lord," "Glory," "Yes, Lord," "Hallelujah," and "Too true," used in Negro churches in this country. These interpolations occur in speech and ceremonies in West Africa, particularly on the Gold Coast.

kerki, church. From the Dutch.

Kessekia, a snake deity. In Togoland this god is known as the wife of one of the sky gods.

keskesi, monkey.

kodjo, cudgel.

kodo, expression of affirmation. It is employed as an interpolation in narrative, and in proceedings at council meetings.

komfo, a person possessed by the spirit of an African diviner. In this sense the word is used in both bush and town. It is of Ashanti-Fanti origin.

koti-go, cut across.

'kra, soul. This word is that of the Gold Coast, a contraction of *akra*. Saramacca people also drop the "r" and say *ak'a*.

104 515 ●789 *Kromanti*, the name of a category of amulets which help the fighter, and also, we have strong reason to believe, of a male secret society. The former is known as *Kromanti obia*. The word can be most easily traced to the small kingdom of Coromantyne on the Gold Coast of Africa and to the slave factories in the coastal cities of Little and Great Coromantyne. The origin is often traced also to the Ashanti oath of this name, commemorating a battle in which the Ashanti King Osai Tutu was killed. Everywhere in the New World the Coromantyne Negroes were known as intractable, and it is claimed that they were the instigators of most of the slave rebellions in the New World, especially Jamaica and in the United States. In the Saramacca bush the rôle of the *Kromanti* group is in all respects akin to that of the Asafotche companies on the Gold Coast today. In both instances they are companies of young men—in more ancient times, warriors. In both instances they have magic to help them in war. In both instances this magic includes powers which endow the members with resistance to bullets, and to all things that cut or lacerate, like knives and thorns and glass. In both instances the power comes from the enshrining of magic, in Suriname called *obia*, and on the Gold Coast called *suman*. In some of the old Asafotche songs sung on the Gold Coast the word *Kromanti* appears. The opening of all Asafotche songs with "fire, fire," a euphemism for calling the alarm to indicate the need for all members to gather, is heard in the *Kromanti* songs. The role of the young men of punishing for trespassing against clan or village property, and of watching over the chief's rule, exists in the Saramacca country as it exists on the Gold Coast.

krutu, council, counsel. The Saramacca pronunciation is *k'utu; krutu wosu*, council house.

104 *kuma*, a formal greeting. It is used especially in the Granman's village. The entire interchange when two people of the Saramacca tribe meet follows the West African pattern.

kunu, a supernatural force controlled by the ancestors and gods, which punishes with extinction the families of those who violate the laws of the ancestors. It would seem to be derived from the Ewe (Togoland) word *kunu*, "death."

kwesti-kwesti, no, no. A ceremonial interpolation used in council.

kye, exclamation of surprise and entreaty. Sometimes pronounced *ke* and sometimes *tye*. This phonetic shift occurs in Negro speech everywhere in the New

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437 sleeping in their own hammocks slung under a shed provided for the purpose by the company. The next day they make their way back up the river, in the corial which they brought down with them tied behind the raft. They bring back no money; it is useless.

262 Cassava is very filling; yams are sweet; mareepa oil gives a sense of well-being; peanuts are pleasant while palavering; a few pieces of bahkra candy are toothsome to eat, but still the pot lacks meat. A slice of the white breast of a bush turkey, the *powese,* or a piece of the carcass of a red howler, or a slice of fat meat from the tapir or bush cow, or the second joint of *mom,* the bush hen, or the sweet Djuka substitute for ham, *pingo,* the peccary—these are morsels that black men dream about.

224 After resting a few days, one of the blacks wishes to try
789 out his new gunpowder, and makes preparation for a hunt. The bahkra powder is too strong for the thin walls of his
[411] cheap shotgun. He dilutes it with charcoal, adding a bit of pemba dotee, the sacred white clay, to help the shot find the game. A bit of dried nekku leaf from the medicine man adds to the straightness of the aim. The gun likewise must be sprinkled with high wine, squirted from the mouth. All

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this is bush magic. Around his neck several amulets are hung, one to enable him to find the game, another to keep him from getting lost, and the third, a small pouch of dried leaves, to make him shoot well. With these he takes the game trail behind the village, by the cassava fields where the women are working.

The trail does not last long; he begins to stalk like a black shadow through the bush. Overhead, parrots are cackling noisily, green as the jungle leaves. They eye him suspiciously as he snakes his way noiselessly through the tangled bush. In the dim blue jungle light the game is hard to see. But the Djuka, accustomed to it, approaches the tree where the parrots are. Some fly away.

Down on his haunches, like a Russian dancer, the hunter advances in a squatting position until he is directly underneath. He holds his gun at arm's length, the stock resting not on the shoulder but placed in the palm of his left hand, which is extended in front of him. This is a remnant from the old flintlock days, when the pans would occasionally flash back and burn the side of the face, unless the gun were held practically at arm's length. There is the added advantage of permitting a quicker movement of the barrel over a wide arc, especially when the hunter is crouched in this squatting position. He fires and the body of a parrot comes tumbling down through the leaves.

Accompanying the Djuka hunter is his highly prized hunting dog—a mangy little terrier. It is stained all over with a red nut-juice to lend it prowess in the pursuit of some par-

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224 648 The next day the hunters rouse early and breakfast in the freshness of the warm morning. Two of the Djukas refuse absolutely to accompany the bahkra any further. The white man, they say, goes through the jungle like a thunderstorm and brings bad luck. The prospects of getting any game with him around are exceedingly small. They get out their hunting amulets, and rub on their gun-barrels a concoction prepared by the medicine man. Daniels laughs at this, but they refuse to be teased. [789]

"You'll see!" they assert doggedly, certain of their magic.

The party splits up to go in three directions. Two bearers remain with us, one posted out ahead as a tracker, and Daniels, who brings up the rear as gun-bearer. The other two Negroes go in different directions and are immediately out of sight. We continue ahead, cutting the way through the bush—there are no trails. For two hours we tramp along without sighting game, realizing that *more things see us than ever we see*. The jungle is not teeming with game, as popularly believed. There is an occasional herd of bush hogs, but in general it is necessary to hunt long and hard to bag any amount of meat. It is doubtful if a man could subsist on the food his gun brings in, not because the game is lacking but because of the difficulty of seeing it. [136]

224 The Djukas also hunt in other ways. One device is "still hunting"—sitting motionless in a tree beside a game trail, waiting for some animal to come along underneath. The Indians' *curare* and the blow-gun which shoots the poisoned dart are not employed by the Negroes. The only co-operative [411]

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The Azang Pau. Phantom Barrier Over Paths Leading to Village. Upper Surinam River.

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 776

drums carry farther toward heaven than the talkee-talkee 782 776 of a lone supplicant.

It is not easy to distinguish between the primitive's magic 756 and his medicine. In the village organization a distinction is 793 sometimes made between the *medicine man,* who is concerned with remedies for sickness, and the *obeiah priest,* whose business is charms and rituals. There are two o[illegible] obeiah priests to each village. Their profession is the propitiation of spirits, that is, magic and religion. The magic of the obeiah men is largely secret. Once we arrived at a village while a ritual of some nature was going on. Pots were stewing in the centre of the clearing, while obeiah men were moving around them. One held a rattle, which he shook monotonously. The bahkra was asked to leave. It was magic in the making.

The Bush Negroes possess an extensive system of primitive 824 medicine. Various roots, herbs, and nuts are gathered in the jungle, and their use is mingled with various superstitions. The witch doctor or medicine man who prepares infusions 756 from these herbs holds no exalted position in the esteem of the villagers; he is simply following a particular profession to which no special prestige is attached. He may, however, [793] be an obeiah priest in addition to being a medicine man.

He prepares several kinds of medicine, among them the 756 *snakee-kutti,* or snake-bite cure. It cures the bites of all rep- 789 278 tiles and makes the person immune from future attack. Snakee-kutti is made in this way: a venomous snake is killed and the head and the tail-end are cut from the body; the tail

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756 789 278 is placed in the mouth of the snake and the whole is roasted over a slow fire, along with certain herbs. Incantations accompany the business. After the materials are thoroughly charred they are reduced to a homogeneous powder, which is administered in two ways: first, internally, and second, by making a small incision in the arm and rubbing some of the powder into the wound. At first we were inclined to think that some of the venom might remain in the poison glands of the reptile's head, and so act as an antigen to set up a real immunity. But the heat of the roasting fire would probably destroy any such toxin remaining, leaving the resultant powder non-antigenic.

Even in Paramaribo enthusiastic accounts of the marvellous powers of snakee-kutti are common. It is supposed by some to have the power of making snakes turn and flee. Being curious we tried it ourselves, but noticed no effects.

778 789 Some doctors are skilled in the preparation of a certain strength-giving concoction especially in demand by Bush Negroes before a fight. If by the following day the combat has not taken place, the man who swallowed the medicine must get it out of his system by hacking viciously at a tree with his bush-knife; otherwise he will become ill.

According to Abaisa, men who drink this magic potion sometimes become so strong that with one blow of the machete they can make all the leaves of a tree fall off.

Bathing is another way of acquiring extraordinary strength. Three baths in water infused with *bimbe* leaves will give a man the power to pick a red-hot axe-head out of the midst

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of a burning fire without being harmed. Bathing every day for nine days in water in which rusty scrap iron and peanut husks have been boiled renders a man impervious to the cut of a knife and his flesh capable of turning any blade. Stomach-ache is treated by drinking an infusion from the hollow handle of a dance rattle. Especially potent in all magic preparations are the bristles of *tamanua,* the anteater. *Obeiah watra,* another infusion, is drunk by men before going into the bush, to give them luck and strength. It is also possible to acquire strength or other virtues by rubbing one's body with the putrescent fluid gathered from the corpse of a dead man who possessed those qualities.

If a person should find fecal material in front of his hut or rotten eggs along the trail in such position as to make it likely for him to step upon it, it is certain that this material was placed there by a member of the community who is attempting to *wissi* or bewitch him. Anyone who removes this matter is liable to insanity.

Minor cuts and wounds may be treated with the bark of the *aproconyo* tree. This is ground up and mixed with the brew prepared from the leaves known as *pekein fol caca* (little rooster).

/149 cont./

249 pikien keeng, small variety with thin stalks; is not cut with a
[789] cutter but broken off by hand; obia (1) is made from it;

1. obia = spirit medicine.

[262] switi-keeng, the ordinary variety which is most used: the stalks
[263] are eaten fresh (chewed) or the juice is expressed with the wooden
[407] sugar-press (ma) and boiled down to a syrup (lika) which is used in coffee or in crushed awarra (2).

2. awarra = prickly palm which supplies edible fruit.

273 For festivals one cuts the stalks in pieces and allows the juice to be extracted from them in water in a short korjaal (komata). This water is later heated in a pot and fermented into an alcoholic beverage (djojo).

245 Pineapple (nanási).

This is regularly grown, the shoots standing scattered on the grounds; after one year the plants produce fruit. Two varieties are distinguished:

bigi nanasi, a white variety;

indji nanasi, likewise a white variety, but sweeter.

[262] The fruit is eaten fresh. Together with sugar cane and bananas, pineapples continue to grow for a long time on the old grounds.

Papaya (papái).

Few papayas stand on the grounds, but many along the edges of the villages, where they grow into long tall trees.

[262] A long red variety is called bobi papai; a short yellow variety,
[252] papai. The fruit is eaten fresh, sometimes also boiled green.

/150/ Tobacco (tabáka).

249 Tobacco is cultivated on a modest scale in various places. The leaves are ripe for picking after 4-5 months (April to May); the man-high plant blooms after seven months with small, pink blossoms.

/152 cont./
245 white cucumber-like fruit flesh is eaten. The taste is refreshingly
262 tart.

249 Ricinus /castor-oil plant/ (karapata).
789 Is to be found in all villages and especially on refuse heaps.
302 The leaf is used for obia, the oil from the kernels as a hair oil.

Pepper (pépre).
244 Grows as a small shrub near the houses or along the edge of
[252] the village. The variety with small red fruit occurs especially frequently. The fruit is eaten boiled in meat soup.

Koemboe (komoe).
245 Stands in individual specimens in and along the villages and
[252] in the forest. The kernels of this palm are gladly eaten, softened with warm water and pounded into koemboe soup. The fruit is ripe in February-May. A large variety is patawah.

Maripa (maïpa).
[262] Absent in not a single village. The fruit provides a white,
[252] fatty fruit-flesh that is eaten fresh (May). The pits are dried and pounded to pieces with a stone in order to obtain the three kernels. After having dried these (in the sun), one boils from them a food oil.

Awarra palms (awá).
[263] Stand in little groups in each Bush Negro village. The orange fruit, which is ripe in February-March, sometimes also in June

/121 cont./

843 Sexual relations continue during the whole pregnancy,
[827] for they are reputed to be indispensable for the formation of the mind of the child, which is thought to come from the father; also, for a man whose wife is pregnant there can be no question of abandoning her nor even of leaving for a long trip without the permission of the head of her lineage.

843 Forecasting of the birth. Divinatory rituals are carried out from
787 the first months of pregnancy to forecast whether the childbirth will be easy or not. For that one goes to an old man who "knows" one of these remedies. There are several: one consists in making a small hole in the center of a cross outlined on the ground, pouring into it a decoction of magic herbs kept secret, and putting an egg into it. The remedy-master then says: "If the childbirth is to be easy, the egg must be crushed as soon as my foot bears down /122/ on it." They state that sometimes the egg resists crushing: from this they deduce that the delivery will be difficult.

844 When the time for delivery arrives, concern is centered on the danger of maleficent human entities, ɔgi sani, which try to become incarnate in the child. The woman is shut up in
[789] the house, all of its exits are blocked off, and ɔbiaman are called to perform rites of protection all around the house. If
[845] delivery is difficult, that is attributed to the fact that one of these entities succeeded in getting into the house in spite of the precautions taken.

The ɔbiaman are called to "wash" the woman with the help of appropriate remedies.. Only in serious cases are men
846 allowed to enter the house. As a general rule, during the first
602 eight days only women related to the mother may enter. (Care is even taken as far as possible to get as midwife (mena) an old woman related to the mother.)

764 /169 cont./
787 They will be paid when the gita has been "arranged," that is,
776 has lost the bestial character of the beginning and when the god
428 can express itself in intelligible fashion.

There and then they busy themselves with transferring
764 the god out of the body of the deceased. An ɔbiaman well
787 known in the cult of the Papa gadu, Goutu (Dju) and his pupil
789 Balan (Aw.B.) come with calabashes containing infusions of leaves. Four or five women having a Papa gadu come and line up behind them. The heiress, with an extremely vexed air, takes her place among them, clothed with the emblems of the god of the dead woman; they are going to call their gods who will dance in honor of Kotoïda's god.

The ɔbiaman and his pupil for several minutes trickle the infusion of herbs over the coffin, using packets of herbs like sponges, then they "wash" the women, including the postulant; he gives them the rest of the calabash to drink. One of the women, Samabun, falls immediately to the ground, attacked by the lowest form of possession: she drags herself on her belly like a snake (these are the first forms of the gita when it has not yet been "arranged." In her case that has lasted four years, contrary to what ordinarily happens. The scene was certainly anticipated, for she had put on European panties. The other women also drink but are not possessed; they leave to dress for dancing.

[534] The agida drum taken out of the god's chapel begins to beat, accompanied by two apinti.

The female bearers of Papa gadu arrive at the sound of the agida, smeared with pemba and carrying /wearing?--Tr./ the insignia of the god. Six come in all. They are not in a state of possession; only two will reach it. The first possessed woman keeps crawling on the ground, gropingly approaching the drum which she embraces, lying on her back. It is torn away from her. The ɔbiaman continue to come to "wash"

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her from time to time in order to help the god to manifest itself. The crowd presses around the women dancers who execute the greatest variety of figures. At times they embrace each other two by two in the Boni manner. The onlookers jump for joy.

The scene lasts about half an hour, then, at the signal given by one of them, the possessed ones scatter and begin to run through the village: this is the moment for the gods to pay the musicians. Each person rushes to hide his belongings, for the gods will steal anything in the village without anyone being able to prevent them: this is their way of paying.

Soon the possessed women come back, putting down at the feet of the musicians a heap of incongruous objects: /170/ calabashes, cloth, paddles, etc., which their owners come to recover by means of bottles of beer and eggs. Then the women who were truly possessed come back to their normal state and all go home.

This dance was not a success; those present think that it is because the women bearers had drunk tafia, which the Papa gadu detest.

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Inheritance. The dead woman is asked to whom she bequeaths her clearings. She answers: "To her family," this being understood because the bearers move parallel to the people present without designating anybody. Under these conditions the property must be distributed (Kotoïda having no children) among her classificatory nephews. Actually, the plantations still farmable will go to Samabun, her sister's daughter.

[591]

Inheritance of the house does not come up, for the dead woman lived in her husband Empalé's house.

The boat is left to Samabun.

Held back are the personal objects, money, jewelry, fabrics. When the mourning is lifted, the eldest of the surviving brothers or sisters in the classificatory sense will make the distribution among the near relatives.

/193 cont./

772 The Refugee Blacks consider beings and things as distributed on several levels:

--The creator god;
--Lower gods;
--Ancestors;
--Men;
--Animals;
--Plants and inanimate things.

To each of these levels corresponds a level of life and a level of force (kaakiti). A higher force may act on a lower force, but not the reverse.

771 One may say that the cults of the Refugee Blacks have as their goal to capture the vital force of the gods and the ancestors and to bring it back to the level of men, giving them strength, luck, and fecundity. To thus increase one's vital force can be defined as good. Evil (negative magic, wiri) is, on the contrary, to capture the vital force of another man in order to increase one's own.

754 The idea that one has wisimi is that he uses a higher force (especially an ancestor's yoka) which he has succeeded in capturing by magic and in subjecting to his will in order to dominate someone else. Reduced to his own strength alone he could do nothing.

789 824 [772] The magic of the Refugee Blacks might allow one to believe that they think they act directly on men through the medium of plants to which magic virtues are attached. This would be a grave error; in their minds, animals and plants are placed at a lower level absolutely incapable of acting on man by itself. Plants are thought to act only insofar as they appear capable of attracting, of holding like storage cells, the vital force emanated from the gods.

/200 cont./

787 --Possession is manifested by kinds of trances called gita or kSmfo, of a varying nature according to the divinity concerned, which sometimes involve phenomena of insensibility and acts impossible to perform in a normal state;

789 --The first time the divinity enters a man, it imposes
792 a kina (interdiction) upon him which will henceforth be the
784 sign of his function. This is what is called a gadu kina. This kina varies from one divinity to another, but in principle a given divinity imposes the same kina on its divers bearers. The divinity names itself and indicates to its bearer a means of calling it back in case of need: make such-and-such gestures, scatter such-and-such a liquid or powder.

All that is recorded by those present who reveal it to the person possessed when he has come round.

It is taken for granted that the god protects its bearer as long as the latter respects the laws of its cult and observes its kina (in the opposite case the god may punish him cruelly).
787 Conversely it is assumed that the man has a certain power, a
796 certain right over the god who possesses him. They say that he
789 is the master of it, masa, word which is habitually used in the
428 sense "to be the owner of." At his death he can bequeath this god in the forms and according to the laws regulating the inheritance of property. Of course the god is capable of not ratifying this decision, and it is free to manifest itself in anyone it wishes. But they affirm that in most cases it follows docilely the choice of its bearer. We shall see that this inheritance of gods plays an essential role in the functioning of the kunu.

787 Apprenticeship for possession. What goals does a man pursue
181 who desires thus to have a gadu? Above all he seeks strength. To succeed in life, to be protected against his enemies, to be respected: Such are the goals generally pursued and openly recognized by the Refugee Blacks who "have a gadu."

/206 cont./

776 The Kumẽnti. These gods are common to the Saramaka
787 (Kromenti) (1), Djuka, and Boni. The Kumẽnti are considered
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1. There is no doubt about the origin of this word; it is a deformation of Coromantin, name given in the 18th century to Ashanti country. The "Coromantin Negroes," reputed to be particularly intractable, played a large role in the slave revolts. The Kumenti cult of possession must originally have been a cult peculiar to the Coromantin nation.

to be benevolent gods and friends of men, so their possession is very much desired. They do not come into men spontaneously, they are obtained only by applying to a teacher. In principle
[562] only men can obtain Kumẽnti, while on the other hand only women can have Bũnzunki /sic/.

776 The Kumẽnti are specialized in protection against fire
787 and against machete and gun wounds. These dangers hold the
951 largest place among the anxieties of the Refugee Blacks, who spend almost all their life in the bush and with whom nearly
[189] all sores become infected and have serious consequences. Thus the Kumẽnti cult holds an important place in their magic; even someone who is not possessed will try to obtain from these gods an obia that will protect him from these various dangers.

153 The instruction of the disciples of these gods takes as its
791 pattern the procedures described above, but the collective dances
787 appear to play an essential part. The teacher calls on the gods
786 by beating a special rhythm on ordinary drums (apinti) and by
[533] uttering invocations punctuated by the rattle of the saka (Indian
[534] maraka, that is, hollow calabash provided with a handle and containing seeds).

/206 cont./

153 containing seeds). Sometimes, when a god has entered a pupil,
791 the teacher puts the latter's passivity to the test by insulting the
787 god with the help of the drum. The Kumẽnti gets angry, breaks
786 bottles and swallows ground glass, walks in the fire, hits him-
[789] self with machete blows, all without any wound resulting, they say, on the body of its bearer.

[302] These frenzied dances, whose participants completely covered with pɛmba (white clay) are as if hallucinated, have a bizarre aspect which is perceptible to some of the Boni themselves. They do not have any secret character and constitute,
[522] on the contrary, a fine spectacle for the village people. The spectators double up with laughter at the contortions and strange actions which the gods inspire in those possessed. They are
[521] talked about at length /207/ afterward in the evenings, humorists imitating what they saw done there, without any fear whatever of irritating the gods.

791 Each "teacher for Kumẽnti" owns a small gadu ɔsu in
787 which are lined up the implements of the cult. One finds in
346 general in these chapels a post crudely carved in the shape of a human bust, a block of stone, jaguar skulls, some kɔkɔti (shrub stalks with a spontaneous double bend, thought to be the prop of spirits in the bush), and a saka (maraka), the whole sprinkled with white clay (pɛmba). One finds also beside the door a seat and a trough which are used for the ablutions of the pupils.

153 While bathing his body with the infusion of leaves pre-
791 pared by the teacher, the neophyte repeats, in ordinary language,
787 a series of invocations: "Come to me, enter into me. But be-
788 fore entering into me, it is necessary to teach me the things of thy country; O God, when thou art in me, may I be able to dance on broken glass without its cutting me; may I be able to dance in fire without its burning me. If tomorrow someone takes a machete to hurt me, he shall not be able to come forward. If someone takes a gun to shoot me, (his weapon) must break, must not be able to take off. If someone is sick, make an ɔbia for him, he must recover."

/208/

153 In proportion as the pupil perfects himself, the god ex-
791 presses itself more easily with the help of his body, begins to
787 do coordinated acts and to speak. They say that the gita has
[195] been "arranged" (seeka). The Kumēnti speak with a gruff,
jerky voice, characteristic, which humorists love to imitate in
the evenings' recitals.

In order to call on his gita voluntarily, the pupil crouches down, feet together, throwing pumba from right to left at the level of his feet and uttering the formula: "O Kumēnti, djumpo ku a mi." Then he remains immobile in this position and waits; possession takes place generally at the end of a few minutes.

776 The Kumēnti which enter thus into men are exclusively
787 male gods; it is known that they have wives because they talk
about them, but they never manifest themselves.

[812] The Kumēnti are generally benevolent; still, no more than any divinity of the Refugee Blacks, do they represent a principle of goodness and justice in itself. They watch in a partial fashion over the interests of their bearers. Thus it is that A...., of the Dipēlu II lo, has a Kumēnti which reacts in a violent way when it has the impression that danger threatens
[158] its bearer. It enters into him suddenly, takes a machete and storms through the village, while people prudently barricade themselves in their houses.

787 In certain circumstances, when their trances are particu-
789 larly intense, the people possessed by Kumēnti are capable, it is said, of walking in fire, dancing on broken glass, climbing thorny awara palm trees, and even having themselves struck with blows of a machete without any wound resulting from it. Professor de Goeje gives impressive personal testimony on this subject, such as the case of a possessed man who overturned a pail of boiling water on his body (1). Mr. Mathieu, Director of

1. In a note in Mr. W.F. van Lier's work, § 37.

787 the Forestry Society of Saint-Laurent, told us of seeing in 1937
789 among the Paramaka a possessed man take firmly in his hands a red-hot axe-head and keep it between his two hands for an appreciable length of time.

Personally we have several times seen possessed people thrash themselves with spiny awara branches and break bottles on their heads with such violence that the pieces flew several meters;; some of them were hurt, but others presented an intact epidermis.

There is no special instruction for the exercises of invulnerability. The possessed person does what he feels capable of, strikes himself progressively harder and harder, breaks bottles, etc.

It is affirmed that certain possessed people are capable of climbing the thorny awara palm trees. If the gita then abandons them, they can no longer come down. Those who know the Kumenti /sic/ language well then evoke the god by formulas so that he will come back.

787 Theoretically, if someone wrongs a man who has a
578 Kumēnti, his gita "rises" immediately. The guilty one can
[173] do no more than flee. They say that in the old days possessed people were seen /209/ to kill those who had done them wrong. No kunu can result from this if the victim is in the wrong. Nothing like this has been seen for a very long time.

The principle is that if one has nothing to reproach himself about with respect to the possessed person, one has nothing to fear from him. This is why people do not hesitate to interpose themselves between the possessed one and the object of his wrath.

[789] If two men having a Kumēnti get into an argument, their gita "rise" simultaneously and they strike each other with machete blows without, it is said, any harm resulting to either one, until someone separates them.

776 /209 cont./
[778] wata ŋgi, Indians of the water. In certain spots, people have
[782] known since the time of the ancestors that there resides such a Bũnsuŋki, whose name they know; when they pass there, they address a prayer to it while making a sacrifice of tafia.

776 (The Bũnsuŋki must not be confused with wata mama, the
171 mama-of-the-water of the Creoles, a dreaded divinity but one which the Boni do not appear to worship. The wata mama lives at the bottom of deep holes in river beds and never allows her face to be seen; she sometimes abandons one of her long hairs on the rocks and he who finds it becomes rich).

776 /210/ The Bũnsuŋki can enter into human beings, exclusively,
787 it seems, into women. They give a different gita from those
[562] of the Kumẽnti. The possessed person dances at the edge of the water, then swims and dives for a long time. They affirm that
[789] if its possession is sufficiently intense, the genie carries the possessed woman along to the bottom of the water, where she stays for a very long time without any harm! That is supposed to have happened especially in Asisi village to a woman named Dabisa.

Possession by the Bũnsuŋki is not frequent. In 1952 it was known in Boni country in only three women.

[562] As for men, they may perceive these divinities in dreams
[788] and receive benefits from them. For that they go to the place
[782] where it resides and bathe, uttering an invocation: "O god, watch over me, protect me, come to me at night when I sleep, speak to me, act so that I may not be sick, so that I may get rich." The following night, the divinity will come in a dream, demand a sacrifice (beer in general), say that it /grants/ the prayer.

776 The Vɔɔdũ (1). These are gods much feared for their evil

1. This word is obviously a deformation of the Dahomey word vodũn.

/214 cont./

787 their legs with this white clay; they prophesy in a singing tone, without the usual voice of their bearer's ceasing to be recognizable, expressing themselves in the Saramaka language.

796 The Ampuku have the appearance of men similar to Blacks, but unknown. They reside in the depths of the woods; [184] some are good, others bad. One can gain their good will by worshiping them, which is especially developed in Saramaka country.

776 535 [103] Baliki, of Kormotibo village, tells of having been present one day at a dance of the Ampuku, when he was traveling to the Saramaka village of Baien.

"During the day, people went on the paths far into the bush to put down calabashes containing certain herbs. At night were seen to come out of the forest a large number of unknown men, dressed in the manner of the Saramaka. They danced all night, and at dawn left again as they had come."

776 The Ampuku gods, considered to be maleficent gods of the bush, exercise their influence on everyone. When a person [789] [824] has slept in the bush, he "washes" himself free of Ampuku with an infusion of leaves of five plants which are part of the secondary flora surrounding the villages and of which the principal plant is the sangaafu (Costus cylindricus).

791 787 Frequency of possession. In 1956 teachers or bas were very scarce in Boni country. For the Kumenti gods, only S... (Kotika) remained; for the Papa gadu, since the death of Antinon (Dju), there remained only M... (Papaïston) and B... [619] (Asisi). People were commonly going to receive instruction from Djuka teachers in the villages of the Tapanaoni.

787 562 It would be a great error to believe that nearly all the men have gods. On the contrary, this is an exception. According to the evaluations we were able to make, there is not more than one adult man out of six or seven who is possessed.

/214 cont./

562 On the other hand, possession is much more frequent among
787 women: it can be estimated that on the average, one adult woman out of three or four has a gadu.

162 For example in Boniville, out of 115 persons including
776 about 70 adults, one reckons about 30 gods including 8 to 10
787 Papa gadu, 8 to 10 Kumẽnti, 1 Bunsunki, and 2 Ampuku.

791 Apprenticeship for possession can begin from adult age,
787 but it seems /215/ that in general it is between 35 and 50 that
561 women take heed of obtaining a gadu. Would that not be, very
562 unconsciously, the desire to stay in the limelight and indirectly to keep a hold over men, once the age of sensual attraction is past?

787 Possession continues for life, and it is out of the question for a god to be transmitted before the death of its bearer. For example, in 1957, the centenarian grandmother in Asisi village, Kuluba, still kept her Papa gadu god. She had not participated any more in the dances of possession for long years, but her gita was always consulted.

But it can happen, if a possessed person stops taking part in dances and practicing the rites that have been shown him, that any manifestation ceases at the end of a few years.

We observed that in B... of the Dipélu II lo, in 1948 and 1949. He used to exhibit strong attacks of the gita of Kumẽnti. He stopped his instruction, finding that it was costing too much and was taking time. In 1952 he exhibited only latent manifestations of his gita at rare intervals. In 1956 nothing was any longer observable.

787 It can happen, on the other hand, that attacks of pos-
789 session become so frequent and so strong that the person concerned risks losing his reason; if it concerns a god which did not come of its own initiative, one can try to expel it. In
[824] order to "wash" someone free of a gita, he is made to pass between two rows of ɔbiaman who hold dry palms, pina tɔ̃ŋgo, in their hands and utter adjurations.

787 /215 cont./
789 in their hands and utter adjurations. We saw this rite performed
[114] in 1949 but without being able to observe the exact details.

The frequency of the phenomena of possession and the
787 importance accorded to them imprint a remarkable character
791 on the religious life of the Refugee Blacks: all these manifestations have for each one the character of obvious material fact. How, then, doubt that one lives with the gods, sees them, and
[177] speaks to them? Because of this fact the society of the Refugee Blacks is utterly impermeable to European influences.

787 Some plants utilized in the rites of possession. The preparations
824 with which the possessed people "wash" their bodies consist of macerations of leaves. The plants used, which for the most part belong to the secondary flora which develops in the old clearings, are very numerous. However, some are regarded as
[789] having a very unique power. The first five especially are utilized by all the Boni to "wash off the Ampuku" when they have slept a night in the bush.

Aluku Name	Identification (1)	Use
[122]	1. Identification by Mr. Hoock, botanist connected with the Institut français d'Amérique tropicale (IFAT) in Cayenne.	
Lebi katu	cotton	cult of the Ampuku
Kɔnɔpo wiwi	Ayptis atrorubens (Labiaceae)	---- /216/
Foo kākā	Tiaridium indicum (borraginaceae)	----
Sume wiwi	Ocimium sanctum (?) (labiaceae)	----

/217 cont./

774 Most of the Boni are not concerned with their akka. The only ones who take heed of it are those who have reasons to believe it irritated. The worship rendered varies a good deal from one individual to another in the nature and frequency of the rites performed.

774 777 [648] For example, K...., of Papaïston village, prey to a persistent streak of bad luck, went to consult a Creole lukumã from Surinam, who revealed to him that it was the doing of unsatisfied desires of his akka. His akka wanted a black dog and a copper bracelet. He procured both for himself, and since, he says, he no longer has the same bad luck.

774 778 B...., head of T... village, has in a corner of his hut a post crudely carved in the shape of a bust with a half calabash from which emerge stalks of saŋgaafu on its head. At the side is a small fraga tiki. He tells me that this is the god of the cult of his akka; these rites are strictly personal with him.

774 [822] Most of the akka esteem white beads and red cloth. If one sees a Boni wear a red cloak, one can be almost sure that it is by order of his akka.

[787] If someone's mind wanders or he has bizarre dreams, he may see in this the feeling that his akka wishes to leave him and that he is in danger of its happening. He then goes to ask [789] an ɔbiaman to make him an akka tetɛy: this is a ring of fibers worn on the big toe and which is supposed to prevent the akka from going away.

These rites vary a lot from one individual to the other, but they have a common principle. If someone begins to attend to his akka, he cannot abandon the worship during his lifetime, or else the akka will avenge itself.

Akka worship is strictly personal and is not bequeathed upon death.

791 /237 cont./
688 Not just anyone may resort to divination on behalf of
888 someone else: only the eldest have the right to do it, and it has happened that the grand man punished offenders severely.

777 Fate. The Refugee Blacks do not attribute all misfortunes
[752] to suprahuman causes. They have the notion of natural accident, ɔŋgɔɔku. They say ɔŋgɔɔku miti mi, or again ogi miti mi,
[761] misfortune met me. They also accept the idea of natural death. They usually regard as natural death that of the very old, the infirm from birth, and sickly children.

[787] Divination blames fate in ten to 20 per cent of accidents.
[752] It is the usual explanation for hunting accidents.

772 /238/ Magic Forces

As we have shown, the Refugee Blacks consider beings and things as a world of forces capable of acting on one another, outside of time and space, according to laws which men cannot understand but of which they believe they have a partial and empirical knowledge transmitted by tradition since the
754 time of the ancestors. They distinguish negative magic forces,
789 wisi, which have the effect of diminishing the vital force of men, which makes them sick or kills them, and positive magic forces, ɔbia, which come from the gods: the ɔbia comes to increase the vital force of men, giving them protection, immunity, or knowledge. But no power is in essence a principle of good or evil; nothing is impossible for him who knows the formulas; this is why the magic of the Refugee Blacks is reduced to a perpetual and indecisive struggle between ɔbia and wisi.

754 Wisi. Wisi is sorcery in the African sense of the term, that is,
[673] the use of magic procedures to harm others; wisi is for the Refugee Blacks the pre-eminently criminal act, at the same time against morals and against society. The struggle against

754 /246 cont./
755 The maïtif asked 2,000 francs from him as the price of
648 his consultation.

789 Curse. Someone who judges himself victim of evil-doing has at his disposal a supreme resource: /247/ cursing his adversary, that is, appealing directly to the supreme God, Masa Gadu, to ask him to punish his adversary. This is called seni gadu -- sending God -- against someone. To do that, while asking God to kill him or make him sick, one kneels and strikes the ground with both hands in the presence of the adversary or in front of his house. This act is regarded as totally different from wisi, for one is relying on the justice of God, who judges with equity and punishes only the guilty.

However that may be, cursing is for the Refugee Blacks a very serious act. It may happen that, feeling guilty, the source of the injustice asks pardon and promises to make amends for his misdeeds. The one who uttered the curse again implores Masa Gadu in order to take back the words he spoke: "He has given me satisfaction, do nothing against him." But oftener still it happens that a complicated affair is involved, that both parties concerned are persuaded of their legitimate
[692] ground and curse each other. The case must then be carried before the grand man and straightened out at once or misfortunes
[695] may pounce upon both lineages. The grand man judges without appeal and inflicts a punishment on the one who was wrong on the main issue of the debate. Then he obliges the ad-
[778] [762] versaries to be reconciled before the fraga tiki, where the offering of tafia and water is made.

[828] The effect of these conceptions is to render nearly im-
[754] possible hidden hatreds and rancors, which the Refugee Blacks fear very much, for they are the source of wisi.

688 In general, the act of getting angry in public and serious-
689 ly insulting somebody is considered as an offense against moral and religious law, capable of attracting misfortunes; it is an

688 /247 cont./
689 attenuated form of wisi; in serious cases the grand man may inflict a severe punishment on the guilty ones.

789 ɔbia. The Refugee Blacks use the word ɔbia (1) to designate

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1. The term ɔbia is used by the Refugee Blacks when they are speaking to outsiders, to designate positive magic, but in reality this term has a very different meaning in their language. It designates any kind of magic action, negative as well as positive; likewise the term ɔbiamã has the sense of sorcerer as well as that of holder of a remedy.

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The Boni among themselves use the word deesi, remedy, instead of ɔbia. They do not use the word deesimã in place of ɔbiamã. It is said, for example, of a man who knows the rites of a cult of possession "A sabi Papa gadu sani" (he knows the things of Papa gadu).

[787]

The term gadumã designates one who is possessed of a god, and not one who knows how to bring on possession.

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In the rest of this work we shall continue, nevertheless, to use the terms ɔbia and ɔbiamã to designate positive magic, in order to facilitate collation with the English- and Dutch-language authors who have used it in this sense.

/247 cont. /

789 the object to which is attached a magic force, as well as that force itself. But there is no confusion in their minds; the object is only a simple support, it is nothing by itself. The traveler [755] who sees them prepare an infusion of leaves for a sick person may be tempted to believe that they attach to this leaf the power of acting against a certain disease; that would be an error, they attach to these leaves and to the white clay, pɛmba, the power of holding, /248/ of condensing the vital force which emanated from a certain god. It is the god which "makes ɔbia," and not men; men do nothing but collect this energy and apply it.

755 787 The Boni distinguish two categories of magic remedies:

--Those which come from a god through the medium of a possessed person. The god must be consulted each time, and the remedy it gives is effective only for the asker alone, and for a limited time; it can act only when the god has been paid, usually in the form of drink or piece of cloth; in principle nothing is owed to the possessed person (they admit that he benefits by the payment made to the god), but the custom is to give him a bottle of tafia.

Consultation of a possessed person is in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks the normal mechanism by which the ɔbia descends from the god to men.

755 776 Certain Ampuku gods might give remedies effective for a particular disease and for any asker, remedies which could be transmitted from one man to another. Unfortunately we could not obtain exact information about this.

755 756 --Those whose origin is unknown, and which have been transmitted from one man to another for a very long time. It is believed that these are remedies which were found empirically by a man in days past; this is the case with many remedies specific for this or that disease.

In such a case payment is made to the possessor of the remedy and to him alone.

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789 396 There exist special ɔbia for the building of boats. The opening of the hull in the fire, a delicate operation, sometimes fails. To insure its success everyone possesses a personal recipe inherited from his father or uncle. It does not call by name and directly upon the action of a god; the Boni do not have a clear idea about the origin or the nature of these rites. It is a matter of a maceration of two or three kinds of leaves, generally belonging to the secondary flora which surrounds the villages, and they vary from one man to another. One pours this maceration over the overturned boat before the burning is begun, while saying: "The boat must not split, it must open well."

832 [673] The laws of Odun forbid the use of charms aimed at forcing the love of a woman one desires; that would infringe on a person's freedom, therefore wisi. It is very /251/ possible however that certain people go to get charms of this kind from Creole magicians. But they take for granted, on the other hand, the ɔbia believed to permit men who have little success with women to have more in the future.

951 789 There does not seem to be any hierarchy of ɔbia nor is one category of ɔbia believed to be stronger by nature than another; in fact, the Refugee Blacks are seen to go readily to ask one divinity for an ɔbia in order to protect themselves from another. Here is an example:

464 [648] In 1951 the administration had a systematic cleaning of the Petit Inini River begun, in order to rid its course of innumerable pieces of fallen wood which were making the use of motors on boats difficult. A team of Boni were employed in this work under the direction of a Creole foreman. While the [776] work was being done, a Papa gadu "came into the head" of an [787] old woman named M... of the Awara Bakka lo. It revealed that it was opposed to this work, for it lived in exactly this 464 place and the noise of the motors bothered it. Upon their return 776 to Boni country, the men charged with this work learned the

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751 789 Renewal of the power of the ɔbia. The Refugee Blacks have the idea that no magic power can last if it is not renewed by formulas and offerings appealing to the god from which it came. [824] Each year, at variable dates for each ɔbia, one must renew the power of the ɔbia by dipping the support object into a maceration of certain leaves. This renewal may not take place on January 1. On that day all leaves lose their power. /252/

[768] Mr. W. F. van Lier writes that among the Djuka, objects (bracelets, etc.) serving as support for a magic remedy are thrown away upon the death of the owner for they have lost [184] all power. The Boni do not have this conception; with them, [428] these objects keep their value for the dead person's son provided that before dying he voluntarily transmitted them to him by giving him mula.

789 428 613 Transmission of ɔbia. An ɔbia is often bequeathed simultaneously to a son and to a nephew. Care is taken not to lose the ɔbia for the lineage. Thus it is that certain lineages have certain ɔbia as their specialty.

789 [171] Kãndu. The Refugee Blacks call kãndu a magic object intended to protect property (houses, harvests) against theft. This procedure is also very much used by the Creoles.

There are three common kinds of kãndu:

--Piiti tiki kãndu. It is made of a split stick stuck into the ground, in the slit of which dry banana leaves or small sticks are placed horizontally. This device originated in Dahomey.

--Sikopu kãndu. It involves a shovel stuck into the ground in front of the house (the idea of the shovel is associated with the idea of death, for this instrument is used particularly in digging graves).

--Bɔɔ kãndu, made up of a bow and arrow planted in the ground.

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789 The one who installs a kãndu utters the formula: mi poti yu ya, ɛfu a sama kɔm fu fufu mi sani, yu mu siki ẽn (I put thee here; if someone comes to steal my belongings, thou must make him sick).

[784] If someone goes beyond /iɩ/ and commits a theft, he will be struck sooner or later with various sicknesses.

According to the conceptions of the Refugee Blacks, the kãndu is blind and strikes as well the friend who came to take objects because he received previous authorization to do it. So, many forego placing kãndu, as with us, people hesitate to set wolf-traps for fear of causing accidents.

789 784 428 However, the kãndu does not act upon the people who have the same basic interdiction (bwasi kina) as the one who placed it. This conception shows that these interdictions transmitted from father to children really are the mark of true patrilineages.

674 789 754 In fact, we have ascertained several times, there are burglaries in Boni country in spite of the kãndu and people do not succeed in uncovering the burglars; it is infinitely probable that one must not see in this the stamp of freethinkers who do not believe in sorcery; these are people who have obtained from a wisimã a talisman of black magic stronger than the kãndu! At least this is the explanation their victims give.

789 751 One can lift a kãndu on behalf of any man, whom one wants, for example, to send to get an object which one has forgotten; for that it is sufficient to give him mula: one blows into one's hands and lays them on the man's head, saying: mi puu a kãndu gi yu, a 'ã mu du a sani ãŋga yu: I withdraw the kãndu for thee, it must not do anything to thee. /253/

Mula can be given retroactively: If someone perceives that he has inadvertently incurred the chastisement of a kãndu, he has several days to be able to ask for mula from the owner, for the action of the kãndu is slow.

/253 cont./

Various Beliefs

578 Fyo-fyo. If a Boni is on bad terms with someone of his lineage or of another lineage, he has the absolute right to turn a cold shoulder to him and stop having anything to do with him. But
828 if, hiding his rancor, he seeks, from selfish motives, to main-
753 tain the appearance of friendly relations, he risks falling ill, be-
761 ing struck by various calamities, or even dying from the effect
789 of what the *Refugee Blacks* call a fyo-fyo. The nature of this
[825] force is not clear; they know only that its support is a small, common insect named fyo-fyo. They declare that if a person dies from the consequences of a fyo-fyo, one of these insects will be seen leaving his body through the nose at the moment of death.

776 Taku sani. By this name the Refugee Blacks designate maleficent
[775] entities of the bush, which they imagine as of nonhuman nature by contrast to the taku yɔrka, wandering spirits of dead people
[753] rejected by society. These entities are lower beings devoid of
[828] consciousness but dangerous for men into whom they may enter, rendering them sick or mad. Certain of these entities are believed to reside in plants, like the kɔtkɔti, others are thought to take on the appearance of dwarfs (baku), whom certain people believe they sometimes see at dawn on the outskirts of villages.

751 One protects oneself against taku sani by special ɔbia, and those who do not feel completely secure take a certain number of precautions in addition, like that of tearing up the leaves they have used for drinking water from creeks.

/253 cont./

751 417 [824] Tyifunga (1). This is the name of the magic enclosures made

1. They also use the word azãg, borrowed from the Fon of Dahomey.

of shoots /"tongues"/ of pinot palm, pina tõngo, attached to a string, with which on certain occasions a village is completely surrounded. These enclosures are thought to bar the passage of the evil spirits of the bush (taku sani); they are put up especially in the case of an epidemic, as well as before the great festivals which attract a crowd of persons among whom wisimã can slip in. After putting the enclosure in place, people arrange themselves in a line at one end of the village and move along slowly so as to sweep its whole surface, firing guns, making all the noise possible by striking metallic objects and striking the ground with reeds to expel the evil spirits. This is what is called naki tyifunga. The elders repeat the formula: "U naki tyifunga fu ɔgi na: mu ku a so (We strike tyifunga so that the evil (spirits) may not be able to come to earth)."

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751 417 The magic fence is then left in place until it is rotten.

753 76 Beliefs about leprosy. Lepers are buried at the limits of the cemetery, but they are not considered cursed, and mourning for them is carried out normally.

753 784 /254/ They take for granted that if someone is attacked by leprosy, it is because he has "broken" his bwasi kina. They think that an enemy can, because of ill will, hide a bit of the forbidden fare in the food. This is why the Boni do not willingly tell one another their interdictions.

/254 cont./

784 If someone realizes that he has broken his kina, he goes
756 to see, not an ɔbiaman, but the specialist-healer of leprosy
751 and asks him to treat him by way of prevention.

411 Beliefs about guns and hunting. The gun, which entered the
832 everyday life of the Refugee Blacks two centuries ago, has taken
[177] an important place in their magic. It is the symbol of virility.
[558] A Refugee Black who no longer has a gun is a man humiliated and almost dishonored. As one of them explained to us in begging us to help him replace his old gun eaten by rust: "If you cannot present yourself before the women with a machete, hunting bag on your shoulder, and gun in your hand, you are not a man."

411 This idea has been transposed onto the plane of magic
754 and they take for granted that the wisimã can, by putting evil spells on a gun, attack the owner of the weapon in his virility. It is supposed to be enough for someone to put his finger into the barrel of the gun while uttering a formula of vengeance, or even being moved by hate for the owner of the weapon, for this gun to be no longer capable of hitting the mark. So, to avoid these misfortunes, the Boni never part with their guns and never
411 lend them to anyone. If, in spite of these precautions, they
789 have the impression that a gun no longer fires so well, they will go to an ɔbiaman to have it washed of maleficent influence. There exist for that purpose several remedies all of which consist of soaking the gun for one to three days in infusions of leaves, which has the unfailing result of making it rust. We have seen a hammerless, latest model gun spoiled thus by an intelligent Boni head boatman, a clever mechanic and usually full of good sense.

224 We have never witnessed among the Boni any individual or collective hunting rites claiming to attract game or to promote meeting it (when, on the contrary, hunting piayes are extremely widespread among the Creoles).

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842 997 A few weeks afterward she found herself pregnant, and it seemed obvious to all that this was the doing of a Wata Inni.

845 No magic power is attributed to the tine pikin, any more than special mental or physical characteristics. But it is assumed that they are the object of a special protection, and that they cannot be harmed with impunity.

771 The sacred character of payment. Relations between the gods 789 and men always have the character of a bargain, among the 935 Refugee Blacks: an irritated divinity is never appeased by repentance or good will; it requires that it be paid; likewise, an 2bia is of value only for the person who has paid for it. Refugee Blacks will never utilize ready-made magic recipes: uttering certain words, making certain gestures; face to face with such a recipe they will ask immediately: "From what [912] god does this 2bia come, and whom must one pay?" It seems that in their conception every transference of a spiritual power or a magic force disturbs something in the proper functioning of the universe; payment restores this equilibrium, it is the [911] mark of legitimacy. Some Creoles of African ancestry transpose the same idea with respect to Christianity, and this is /258/ why they insist so much on paying for masses and buying 759 558 "orisons" (1). One observes likewise that free medical care

1. Written prayer to which is attached protective power. This notion, borrowed from the rustic magic of 17th-century France, seems to have been introduced into Guiana by the first European colonists.

lowers the prestige of the doctor in the eyes of all.

/261 cont./

241 neglecting these rites. Their rigorous observance has the effect of preventing farming from becoming for them a commercial activity and of keeping a religious and family feeling in it.

824 --The kɔ̃kɔ̃ri (silk-cotton tree) is a much feared tree, 778 for according to the elders each one of them shelters 12 cate- 784 gories of divinities, especially a Papa gadu and an Ampuku. [196] So it is absolutely impossible to cut it. One must even be very careful not to injure its roots which spread far. The site of every one felled is preserved. Likewise people watch carefully so as not to injure the roots of the big silk-cotton trees often found in the villages.

824 Still, the fact that their site was chosen for setting up 778 a village shows that people believe they can make an alliance 778 361 with the divinities which reside in a silk-cotton tree and draw their protection upon themselves.

824 --The katu tree (Bombax Surinamiensis), tree of very 778 large size, living in symbiosis with a parasitic liana which 784 appears to enclose it in a gigantic net, also shelters maleficent [196] divinities (Ampuku, Papa gadu, Bumba gadu). One may cut it down after performing rites whose purpose is to transfer these divinities into another tree.

First, one must have procured from a man who possesses this remedy a pot of ɔbia containing an infusion of leaves in the middle of which is a bracelet of fibers. /262/ It costs [435] two liters of tafia, four liters of beverage (beer for example), one large piece of cloth, and one machete.

Having arrived at the foot of the tree, one bathes his body and machete with this infusion; one puts the fiber bracelet on one's arm. One also bathes several small sticks provided [822] with squares of white cloth (for the Papa gadu), dark blue and red (for the Ampuku), and a pinot palm (pina tɔ̃ɔ̃o) leaf.

One plants the sticks at the foot of the tree, one strikes the trunk with the palm leaf while invoking the divinities of

/262 cont./

824 778 789 the tree: "Ala sani di dɛ na a udu ya, da mu kumɔto, beka mi ɔ faa ɛŋ. Kɔm na a pina tɔŋgo: All things (suprahuman entities) who are in this tree, leave it, for I am going to throw it to the ground; come into this palm leaf." One takes away the palm leaf and the little flags far from there into the interior of the lands, to a spot where nobody is likely to come to fell trees, and one arranges them beside some big tree. The divinities will come and settle there. Nevertheless, it is still necessary to wait almost a month to cut the katu tree, probably to leave the maleficent influences time to dissipate.

824 778 [771] [171] The Boni are so afraid of this tree that many of them, deeming these precautions insufficient, give up the idea of cutting it down and go to establish their clearings elsewhere. The Creole gold miners of the Haut Maroni, who call it cottonwood, also attribute a maleficent influence to it and some of them do not cut it.

The Refugee Blacks fear also, but to a lesser degree, what they call kɔtkɔti, that is, the small trees of any species which, instead of having grown straight, have two angles in their trunk like a Z. This is a very rare anomaly. In such a shrub is hidden a maleficent entity, taku sani, capable, if a man cut the trunk unintentionally, to take revenge on him by paralyzing a limb or even the whole body in a bent position. In order to see whether or not the entity is present in the shrub, there exists, according to the Boni, a very simple means: one gently brings the finger near the bent part. If he feels his finger held there to the point where he has trouble drawing it back, the genie is present! The power of autosuggestion characteristic of the Refugee Blacks shows itself clearly here.

[176] [184]

[189] Rites exist for rendering the kɔtkɔti harmless, for cutting them with impunity, and even for using them in magic preparations, but we do not know the details. Kɔtkɔti are among the objects usually found in the chapels (ɔbia ɔsu) of Kumɛnti; we have even happened to see one used to fasten a

/262 cont./

824 778 door; it was a particularly feared kɛndu that no thief would have dared to remove.

825 778 [776] --The Kɛntamasu are the divinities, especially maleficent and hostile to men, who live in the termitaries (these are termites proper, who make their nest in the earth, and not wood lice, much more common). There is one to each termitary.

[789] After a meticulous examination of the soil of the clearing, one marks all the termitaries /263/ and sprinkles each of them with a preparation containing leaves, pink clay kukusa, and manioc juice. One adjures the genie to go away, no matter where.

It happens that in spite of all the precautions taken a termitary is forgotten. Then, several days later, one will [787] have the consternation of seeing the Kɛntamasu reveal itself [784] in someone of the lineage; it announces that it is going to exercise its kunu (curse). It is temporarily appeased by offer- [782] ings of tafia, various drinks, red cloth.

776 198 787 The Kɛntamasu call themselves the Akɔlo. Through the mouth of their bearers they speak a language nobody understands. However, when they wish to be understood by those present they speak Kumɛnti.

755 784 Observation in Boniville, January, 1957:

A..., boatman of the border-fixing mission, asks for three days off. His wife, Masauman, has been ill for several days; divination (in this particular case the gita of a female relative in his lineage) showed that it was the doing of a Kɛntamasu injured in the burning of the clearing which he himself, A..., cut for his wife in October. The Kɛntamasu has not yet manifested itself directly, but a kunu threatens; to appease it he must put in action the remedy known only 000 to M..., an old man of Asisi. He will go to the spot, following

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*539 Anansi said: "Brother deer, go over there; you will find a trident I use for hunting; pull it out of the ground." The deer came back saying: "It is done." He showed him another trident which he himself had brought and hidden. Then Anansi said (to the genie): "Throw me to see." He threw him to the summit of the trees. He fell back on the trident. The deer knocked him down with a club, cut out his liver, and took it to Wénon. He said to Wénon: "Anansi and I killed a tapir. He stayed to smoke it. He sent the liver for you to cook." She prepared the liver and boiled rice. They ate to the last mouthful. Then the deer said: "All livers are good but Anansi's liver is the best." Wénon grabbed a pestle to strike him, but he was already far away.

3) Anansi and the Magic Frying-Pan

(One day) Anansi went exploring in the bush, comrades. He went into the bush one day, until... he was hungry. And now he saw a frying-pan hooked in the air. He went near, he said: "Frying-pan, why art thou beautiful thus?" It said: "I am beautiful, but I am not beautiful for nothing." He said: "Let me see." It began to fry all sorts of things, fritters, meat. He said: "Put that down on the ground in front of me." It put them before him. Then Anansi ate, he ate until... his belly was full. He said: "Frying-pan, I beg of thee, stop." It stopped, gran! He said: "What kina dost thou have, in truth(1)?" It said: "It is the lemon, lemon juice, and the

[189]
[184]
[311]

1. Let us remember that in the minds of the Refugee Blacks, to the exercise of any magic power corresponds a kina (interdiction).

enrich the soil. Now before a field is chosen for cutting, it must be surveyed carefully to see that there are no snakes to be injured; that no trees which have strong spirits like the silk-cotton tree, or the parasitic akatasi, will be destroyed; that no ant hill whether on the ground or on a tree be disturbed. But Kasanya's wife's mother's brother was careless, or unlucky. A small ant hill had escaped his notice. 688 [824] [825]

"The *Akantamasu* god is powerful. It is a bad god," Kasanya said over and over, making of it a refrain to his story. [716]

When the ant hill was destroyed, its spirit fixed itself upon the family. Kasanya's wife's mother became ill, and although the contents of one obia pot after another were used up in bathing her with sangrafu and the serabaki and chembe leaves, she did not get better. Her husband, an able obia man, made special charms for her to wear about her neck, and sprinkled her with medicine with the feather of the sacred opete, the vulture, but still her illness kept on. At last they went to a diviner. To the village of Dahomey they went, the village where the most powerful obia was lodged, and there she learned that the Akantamasu god had come to the family. The diviner told her how to serve the god so that she might have respite—the days that were sacred to him, the dances she must dance on these days, the sacrifices to make. They knew that it would never be a friendly god to them, for it had come as a kunu. There was more trouble and more. The family gave many offerings, and the possessed woman danced whenever the spirit seized her, but soon she died, and the others have been dying since. [755] [787] 688 [791]

"What happened to the man who destroyed the ant hill? Did he get the Akantamasu gadu?" 688

"No, not he himself. His mother, and his sister, and his sister's children."

"But why?"

The answer was that kunu worked that way, and he went on to tell us about his sons. The first son had gone to the

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be possessed by them. Between the roots of the tree offerings were placed—two or three bottles on their sides, or a calabash filled with sacred clay. 824 776

When the time came to dance to the gods of the kankan tree, a tunic of cotton was placed about its trunk. While the drums spoke to the gods, white clay was spread over the bark, a chicken was killed, and its blood allowed to spray the tree and drip into a calabash placed on the ground to receive it. Eggs inside obia pots were put beside the tree, and bottles filled with sweet liquor and the juice of sugar cane. All about its wide trunk the dancers swayed and leaped, each dancing to her own spirit until, at the height of their ecstasy, there were a few among them who would climb the great tree itself, and dance on its branches. The drums continued until the frenzy ebbed. Had they stopped sooner, those in the tree could not have remained there safely or in safety have descended to the ground. 824 796 776

At other times, women came to Gedeonsu to ask him for children, and those who were troubled by his spirit brought offerings, though the great dances were held when the old year came to an end, and the big offerings were then made. [842] [782]

"If a man were to cut down a kankan tree, Gedeonsu would cut off his foot. I myself saw it happen," said a man to us at S'ei. "And his sister got the god." [688]

The kankan tree gods could be bought, too. A woman who wanted fertility would seek to buy Gedeonsu. Others might wish to have Tinné. Only an individual who had a spirit which gave him the right to make obias and call the gods could get the spirit for one who wished to buy it. Such a man would take an obia pot, fill it with water and place inside it cowrie shells which had not been cleansed. After speaking his invocation, he would add a sacred white stone, called an obia stone, and with a calabash in one hand and a bell in the other, he would go to the tree and address the spirits as he rang the bell. When the water became ruffled, it was a sign that the god had entered it. Quickly he would cover the calabash with a cloth and take it away with him. [842] [432] 791 824 776 796

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village. A household was not confined to one building only, but few who were not men of rank and means had more than three. One was for the woman and her children, another for storing the crops, and the third was the man's treasure house, where women might not come. It was like the matter of wives. Only men of position could afford more than one. But if a man had two wives and both lived in his village, then perhaps five huts would bear a design identified with him on the carved side posts which outlined the low doorway. This design would recur in the various carvings he had made for his women—it was his crest. And though a man from another village, who was not related to him, might like it, and liking it copy it, this practice would be socially frowned upon.

A village quarter, however, did not contain only dwelling places, and storehouses, and men's treasure houses. Certain families also had in their part of the village an enclosed shrine for the family gods. If in a given family a powerful Vodu, or snake god, had come to an ancestress and had in a dream, or in a seizure, or through a revelation made to an obia man, chosen her as his *'asi*—his priestess or medium—then with this disclosure came the instructions for the place of locating a house of worship to that Vodu, and the type of house it was to be. Such a shrine, once erected, would be kept in the quarter, and worshiped by the members of that family. Sometimes in front of a dwelling hut, a low enclosure, the size of a small kennel, would stand a little to the side of the door. This was a house to Tonê, the river spirit. In one such house lived a woman who had a great Tonê god. She had the gift of prophecy. When the men gathered for a council meeting in the village of the Granman, then she, too, would sometimes be bidden to come and sit with the men, though, being a woman, she could never speak at council meetings.

"Touch her skin," the other women said, pointing out this albino woman, "and you will have your desires fulfilled."

In each quarter, too, there was an open house where the women did their cooking, and perhaps a platform or two,

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As we made a tour of the village, we discussed all this with the chief and his bassia, and with the other men who accompanied us. When we reached the open place sacred to the great gods, we stopped. The shrine was a fenced-in space, perhaps eight or nine feet long and almost as wide. Inside was a slender pole, with a head carved on its top, and a cotton tunic about its middle, and this was the wife of the Great God, the chief said. The ladder with the platform on it, on which stood a bottle, was the shrine of the great Sky God. At the base of the image with the tunic were several bottles, some white clay, and a few empty glasses, and everywhere were sticks with cloth on them, many with the cloth in tatters. Where the cotton had altogether rotted away, the stick alone remained. 778 776

"Let us go in," said the chief to the men.

With the chief came a young man whose hair was braided, and who wore several obias on neck and arms. He was training to become an obia man. The bassia signaled us to follow, but the others remained outside. 791 [302]

The young man took up a bottle and poured some of its contents into an earthen jar, and from the jar he poured out a libation to the Earth Mother. The captain prayed, explaining that we were white people on our way to the Granman, that he was leaving in the morning to notify the Granman of our approach. Would the gods take him and us in safety, and would they see to it that all we saw should be seen with the eyes of friendship? Then he prayed for a child in the village who was ill, and for his people, and for the clan of the Granman, the Matchau lo, and for his own family. After each prayer he paused, and those outside the paling clapped their hands and sang out, "Great thanks." 782

Before the chief's prayer was finished, an old man came by with a bush knife in his belt, and his gun. He was just then returning from the hunt, and he stopped to thank the great gods for the kill he had made. He spoke in a whisper, but his intonation was as conversational as the chief's had been. [411]

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yet his findings might in time serve the enemy. We were soldiers bringing toys, as the image of the krutu had suggested. 123

Since life in the bush, for strangers like ourselves, was lived in terms of days, and each day was taken for what it might bring, we were grateful to those gods who had spoken for us, and watched the effect of the ancestral edict.

Before dawn of the day which followed the ceremony of asking the will of the ancestors, men came to counsel with the Granman, and from then onward many men were about the village. The young boys found their toy guns again, and the little girls played on the river bank. The widow who was so susceptible to evil influences no longer appeared in the central clearing with her child on her back, stamping her rice, or drying her peanuts. Her door was shut. Fenekonde was no longer about, for she had gone to the menstrual house, and Tenemi who came to sweep the council house each morning now wore a new obia on a long, twisted, white cord, hung from shoulder to side. She was polite, formal, and she worked fast.

Late that afternoon the obia man who had appeared at the first council meeting with wide stripes of clay came again, and his wife accompanied him. They were the best diviners on the river. From the corner of the council house the large mat which had been standing rolled up was carried into a closed hut, so that he might sit on it, and perform his magic to see what the future held for the destiny of the Saramacca people, and what immediate threat the white man's coming boded. Before leaving for the hut where the mat was prepared the man and woman sat with us in the council house in the company of the Granman. They apparently needed to know our individual names for their task. While we sat there, the white woman absently began to play with the obia about her neck, and this seemed a signal for the other woman to take hers into her hands and begin to mutter an invocation, for the stranger's careless playing appeared to her as the white man's way of casting a spell. 123 791 787 [285]

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532 fascinated. It showed, in its purest form, the retention of the African mask-like head. Sometimes on the prow of a boat we would see in cruder form the outlines of a mask, and once an old woman came with a food stirrer to us. Its handle ended in a knob which with a few strokes of the knife had been formed into a double representation of the human [191] head, a perfect parallel to the type of mask that is associated with the people of the Ivory Coast.

532 Aside from the decorated apinti drum, only some of the 191 workaday art forms of Africa—combs, paddles, mortars, among other such objects—were retained. For their decoration the designs that in Africa had been cut into the base of figures or about the borders of masks had been remembered and reinterpreted in terms of the ancestral cults. And from those memories the Bush Negroes had developed the unique art which is theirs.

532 Thus, in the main, the art was symbolic, and many of the 181 designs represented the urge for reproduction. Some 84 stemmed from the fertility cult, though not entirely of it. There was, for example, the double-bladed food stirrer, which was given by a man to his wife with a curse woven [626] into its curves for the woman if she committed adultery.

532 There were carvings that did not deal with sex at all. On the lower river we sat on the shore as a canoe came up. Prow and stern were carved. On one of the seats was a representation of the head of a feline, done with the utmost realism.

"You have *tigri?*" we asked the man, as we bargained for the seats.

"I will sell you this, but do not ask me what it means."

The bird-headed paddles were also examples of this kind. [501] When laid on their sides, they showed the form of the parrot, or whatever bird they represented—the exaggerated beak, the head, the neck, the wings, and the feet. The design called *Alukutu folo*, an emblem of those who [791] could see into the future, was engraved on many benches on the upper river in particular, and these carvings were parted with only with the greatest reluctance, lest we try

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"Suma de, ai," he acknowledged.

6

Bayo remained in the bush, but he did not come to the city with us, though he took us into the Awka villages as captain of our boat. While at the base camp, he busied himself with making small models of traps and snares, and whatever other examples of Bush Negro work we needed to augment our collection.

He was a poor weaver, for he was no craftsman at all. But on the river he showed almost superhuman strength, and his knowledge of obia and the gods showed his potentialities for achieving what he most desired—to become an obia man. It may well be that his great kunu had planted this ambition in him. Perhaps, if he became a renowned obia man, one of the greatest on the river, he would outwit the combined power of ancestors and gods. His physical strength was such that all seemed possible to him, and his eye was quick, his curiosity unbounded. As a child of incest, a twofold member of his clan, he had certain immunities from the gods, though his line would all the more be flayed by the punishment which his parentage had earned.

"White man," he would say to us, "the next time you come, I will go with you to Africa. By then, I shall have given my wife children, and my sister's children will be grown. I want to go to Africa to learn obia."

His young brother was not strong. Bayo allowed them to cut no kamemba on the boy, who was now almost eleven, and it was clear that he would not be able to go through the Kromanti initiation, that he would have few gods.

"What will you do then, Bayo?"

God alone knew. He did not expect that even in Africa he could learn all he needed to know to help his young brother.

"Would he go with Bibifo?" we ventured, remembering that Bibifo had become Adrian.

He laughed. The white man asked many questions.

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important enough to be the residence of a clan chief. His clan's magic was strong, and, being well past middle age, he could afford to speak of these matters with the whites, for like all Bush Negroes he was proud of the black man's obia.

"Ya-hai, white man, obia may well puzzle you. It is no small matter. No man knows all there is to know about obia. The greatest of obia men is never done learning. You say you spent more than twenty years learning your kind of work. Twenty years is nothing. All his life an obia man spends learning. The ancestors let him see a little at a time, and a little more. 'One step at a time,' as the G'ama' says. So it is, white man."

When did the learning begin, we asked him?

"In the bush here, children see what we do, and they learn much by watching. They learn to recognize the kind of obias a man wears, they learn to know the names of obias, and about the *tchina*—taboos—that go with the wearing of obias. That is the beginning." All children knew that, but only boys could aspire to learn the secrets of obia.

A boy's definite training in these things began with adolescence. The ceremony was not formal, for it concerned only the boy and his immediate relatives. When the time came to teach the novice about the gods, his father and his mother's brothers met with him, and they held a krutu. Other men also came, men of the village and elders of their great family. The outsiders sat by and said nothing, while the instruction was carried on by the father and the boy's maternal uncles.

"First the father gives him his gods, and he tells his son the name of each god and how he must serve him."

There were songs to be learned and dances and invocations; there were the offerings which had to be made, and the manner of prayer memorized. He was told when he might call on the god and what names the god bore, for each god had several names, just as had each human being. There were many names to learn for the gods—their day names, their "strong" names.

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anything made of iron—nor can a gun shoot him, nor an 432
arrow pierce him. If he goes through a thicket of thorns 776
or climbs a thorny palm tree when the spirit comes to him, 789
he is not harmed. That is Kromanti."

"How much does a person pay an obia man for giving a boy Kromanti?" we asked.

"It costs plenty, white man. But a good obia man never [435]
asks too much. If a man says he will give the boy Kromanti, for not too many guilders, then we know he will do it. But if a man asks forty, fifty, then we know he is not an honest man, and he is not a good man. I have heard, though, of a good obia man who took as much as twenty-four guilders, but he gave the boy a strong Kromanti spirit, and it took much time to teach him."

3

From time to time members of Bayo's family visited 791
our camp. Each time we were introduced to a new brother, or father, or *suwagi*—brother-in-law. Among these visitors was a man whose name we never learned, though we had talked with him a good deal. He was, we later came to know, a man who knew obia. He was a scholar among his people, a thoughtful man who often went about alone, instead of being accompanied by a fellow clan member or a member of his family, as is customary among these people. Like Bayo, he had an incest kunu, and at his age, he had already had occasion to see what kunu planned for 791
him. He coughed badly. When men went to cut timber, 164
he could not go with them because of his cough and the fever which went with the cough.

"Have you been to a good obia man?" we asked him.

He smiled. Of what use to go from one diviner to the next, from one man who had special magic to another, when a [753]
man knew that what was troubling him was kunu?

"Come to the city with us," we said, when we knew him better, "and we will take you to a doctor. He may be able to do something for you."

791 He promised readily enough to go with us, but Bayo
753 told us later that he would not come.
789 "He says the white doctor cannot do more than obia
791 can do. He says a man must take what kunu brings."

Was there no obia against kunu? we asked of Bayo.

"No, but kunu is not greater than obia. It is something else. When the Sky God gave obia to man, he gave it to help man live, not to help him do bad things. When men
[688] and women earn a kunu for their family, it is because they do what is hateful to the great gods and ancestors. Obia was not sent to save men from punishment."

"Does obia never punish, Bayo?" We were thinking of what he said about his own obia, of how when it seized him, he destroyed things.

But he would say no more. "I am too young, Bak'a, to
[888] speak of these things. At my age I know only a little obia. You must ask the old men."

4

554 The conversation led us one day to the obia men on the
791 river. They were, we knew, important persons in the Bush Negro communities. An obia man of reputation was not only consulted by his own villagers and clansmen, but men and women came to him from distant villages, when those who were nearer had failed them. It occurred sometimes that even from the Awka villages on the lower river, these Saramacca obia men were sought out—perhaps this was because of the same tradition which encouraged the buying of strange gods to enlarge the family pantheon, perhaps it was because of something which touched still deeper beliefs.

868 How did a man become an obia man?

867 From what we had already heard, it was apparent that here was something which approached the formal education of our own civilization, a form of education, indeed, which we pride ourselves is unique to our own way of life.

All other knowledge the Bush Negro child gains by being about with members of his family who are busy at

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the tasks which will fall to his lot when he reaches adulthood. Half in play, the boys and girls help their elders and in that way learn how to work, how to conduct themselves, how to sing and dance, how to make cicatrizations, and how to pray to the gods. What they learn when they come by their gods is also taught them by members of their family. A boy's father and maternal uncles instruct him in the gods they give him. A girl is made familiar with the will of her gods and their manner of worship when her mother and her mother's sisters give their gods to her. Knowledge is, therefore, shared in the family, and much of it, the Bush Negro says, comes to each individual from his gods, since not every boy who watches a fine carver can rival the carving of his teacher. When he does show promise of excellence at a given task, it is because he, too, has a god who helps him do his carving. It is the same with drumming, and singing, and telling stories, and making love. 868 867

But obia is learned formally and slowly. An obia man may teach his own brother, or his sister's ablest son, or his own son, even, what he knows, but the learning process will be gradual, for no man may disclose too much to an untrained mind. At times, however, an obia man trains men who are not related to him. He may himself decide upon a young man of promise to whom he cares to impart his knowledge. A considerable sum of money may be offered him by members of an influential family who wish to have an obia man of their own kin and who send a young man to him for training. In a dream or during possession it may become known that the ancestors wish a certain young man to apprentice himself to the obia man they name. 791 869 881

The apprenticeship lasts from three months to a year. The novice goes to live with the obia man, working with him and observing all that his master does. During this period of intensive training he goes with the obia man into the bush and is shown the herbs which heal. He is trained in the manner of bathing for the *ak'a*—the soul— 756 791 868 881

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756 and how to cure fever, and fio-fio. He is shown how to make
791 obia medicine for lesions of the skin, and for colds, and for
868 diseases of children. He is taught the protective obias for
881 the woman who conceives, and those which help conception, the obias which keep people safe on the river, and those which guard them in the bush against enemy spirits.

It may be, too, that during this first period of training, the initiate is shown how to trap and treat the snakes from which the snake "cuttee" is made. This cure for snake bite is famous in Suriname among Bush Negroes and whites alike, but the secret of preparing the cuttee is known to the Bush Negroes alone.

While the young man is in training, he may not go with
[784] a woman, and there are many more prohibitions which he must observe.

"Not all men can become obia men."

"Does a man need obia in order to have Kromanti?" we asked.

"To have Obia Kromanti, yes. . . . Now do not ask about Kromanti, white man," said Bayo's uncle with a smile. "Only a Kromanti man knows about Kromanti. Do not ask, because I cannot tell you."

5

789 Men and women constantly drifted to our base camp with
439 carvings for our collection. Many brought us obias. Some
778 of these obias they took from their persons and sold to us, but others were newly made for us, for some of those they themselves wore, they would not part with, whatever the inducement.

"Why do you want my obia, white man?" a Bush Negro asked one day. "Do you want an obia to carry you well to your country? I will make one for you, but do not ask for mine. Mine has kept me in good health. I cannot give away an obia which has served me well. The spirits would be angered."

He returned after a day with one which resembled his own, and as he gave it, he placed it on the upturned palms

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But if the tchina are too difficult to observe, then the man 784
who made the obia can take the tchina away." 789

Suiting his action to the word, Bayo took some water from the river into his mouth and, spraying it over the obia, said, "The tchina I gave you, I take away. The breaking of these tchina must no longer defile you or take away your power."

There was nothing more hateful to the gods and the 784
spirit of obia than an unclean woman, yet if an obia man 841
wished, he could instruct the power in the obia not to take 791
offense at unintentional contacts with menstruating women, 789
or at cloths belonging to such women, or at food prepared by such women. But to accomplish this, an obia man had to be very powerful and, even so, he could not feel sure that the obia spirit would countenance such violations indefinitely.

All of these personal obias had definite attributes. One 789
was made to guard an individual on the water, another in 798
the bush. There were obias for successful hunting and fishing, for being safe against the evil spirits at the crossroads, for slander, and for envy. One obia saw to it that the soul remained strong, another that no illness sent by an enemy might lodge itself in the body of the wearer; there were love obias, and fighting obias, and obias which kept ghosts away.

Yet whatever such obias were made of, the object in itself had no validity. A simple fiber with a jaguar's tooth attached to it might well have greater powers for safety in the bush than an elaborately wrought obia, whose maker had not a strong obia spirit to give it spiritual power. Without this supernatural potency, it would be like a village god that had been allowed to rot because of itself it was merely a block of wood, and the deity for whom it had been made had not come to animate it.

6

Long ago, the Anansi stories tell us, there was a bird 773
that knew obia. The cries of this bird shook all the kingdoms

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787 181 One also often finds as an avowed goal the idea of being useful to his lineage.

Disinterested mystical impulses appear totally absent from these cults.

787 154 But that is only one aspect of the phenomena of possession; they really seem to be, in large measure, unconscious and involuntary. Everyone can try to obtain a gadu, but everyone 787 791 does not succeed; one must have a certain predisposition. [154] "One cannot oblige a gadu to enter a man," say the Boni; it certainly seems, in fact, that in nearly half the cases possession takes place spontaneously and sometimes to the great terror of the person concerned: this is observed especially in the kunu.

[776] Mimi, a woman about 46 years old in 1958, of the Kotika lineage, was possessed by two gadu, an Ampuku and a Papa gadu. Here is how her near relatives relate the fashion in which they came into her.

[158] About ten years before, Mimi was showing signs of mental derangement. Her mind wandered, she sometimes used to leave the village to run in the bush at random, she uttered disconnected words (1). Then she fell very ill (pleurisy?).

[828] [171]

1. It is necessary to note on this subject the very widely held idea among the Refugee Blacks, as among the Creoles, that certain forms of mental imbalance are due to the action of an entity which is trying to manifest itself in a man and does not succeed. In order to cure this man, he must be "washed" with appropriate leaves so that the god can come to manifest itself in him; the rest of the time he will be normal.

[755]

/201 cont./

The elders then consulted the oracles and perceived that Mimi was victim of an Ampuku named Maogan which for a very long time had been pursuing the Kotika lineage with its vengeance (kunu). In order to protect herself, she sought to have herself given a more powerful god, and she became the pupil of an obiaman specialist in the cult of the Papa gadu. In this way she had a Papa gadu named Ayaémé, divinity of beneficent character to which, in difficult cases, her family applies in order to obtain advice, protection, and remedies. She had a little hut built beside her house, where the god goes to rest when it has finished each of its trips to the country of men. Ayaémé imposed on Mimi its kina which concerns a fish. But even with all this she was not rid of her kunu of the Ampuku; and one day, something it had not yet done, the latter revealed itself in her and spoke through her mouth. It announced that it would continue to exercise its kunu against the Kotika lineage. They appeased it by sacrifices of red cloth and beer; since then, it seems calm and in rather good humor. It comes into Mimi from time to time and speaks in Saramaka language. They are very afraid of it, but they do not hesitate to question it and ask it for remedies, which it sometimes indicates. It laid on Mimi three gadu kina concerning the acouchy, the agami, and the armadillo.

Organization of the cults of possession. Strictly speaking, no religious brotherhoods exist in Boni country; there are only teachers - bas(2) - who have received their power from another

2. It does not seem advisable to translate this word by "priest." In the minds of the Refugee Blacks, this is a matter of a teacher teaching pupils; they use the same word to designate a European or Creole schoolmaster.

/201 cont./

791 teacher and who teach a small group of disciples - kineki -,
787 without distinction of villages or lineages and under their sole
[794] responsibility; each one, man or woman, is absolutely free to pursue his teaching.

/202/These teachers are not themselves possessed, but they are believed to know the processes which permit the neophyte to obtain possession with the minimum of risks. They accept the
[776] fact, however, that that involves dangers, for one cannot oblige a particular gadu to come into someone, and one may in its place obtain an undesirable gadu.

791 Procedures vary according to the categories of gadu sought.
787 But they involve three elements which are always found in one
776 form or another:

--They begin by teaching the pupil the language of the
[798] divinity, or rudiments at the very least (as we shall point out further on, these languages appear to be in decline); these lessons are private;

--On behalf of a group of pupils, the teacher prepares
[824] infusions of certain leaves which are suited to the divinity in question. It is thought that the god likes these plants and that they have the power to attract it.

In certain cults it is required of the pupil to utter at the
[788] same time formulas inviting the god to come into him. But this is not general; in the cult of the Papa gadu especially, the teachers bathe the students in the greatest silence.

791 At the end of the session, the student is often asked to
787 drink a little of the infusion. One might believe that it is a
824 matter of a process having a physical action, certain plants possibly containing hypnotic substances; but except for one aspect of the cult of the Kumênti of which we shall speak later, this does not seem true; especially about the plants believed to attract the Papa gadu, it seems that they have received this role because of their color or odor. Our feeling is that, at least
[562] for the Papa gadu cult which appeals more especially to women, suggestion plays an essential part.

/202 cont./

153 --Pupils are taught, individually or collectively, to dance
791 in the manner of the god. Indeed, each divinity has a charac-
787 teristic form of dance, which it executes sometimes by using
796 the bodies of its bearers when it comes into them. The pupil
535 must imitate as best he can the individual movements and the
[868] rhythm of this dance, while the teacher, using the appropriate drum, beats out the calling formulas.

If the god is satisfied with the student, he will be able to come into him.

791 These exercises appear to have as their goal the creation
787 in the pupils of forms of conditioned reflexes; they have nothing
785 in common with the very harsh ordeals which the medicine man
153 of the Guiana Indians imposes upon himself, and do not involve any form of asceticism. It does not seem that chastity, even temporary, is demanded of the student, any more than fasting or doing anything contrary to his inclinations.

787 The idea of a spiritual death and resurrection of the
791 possessed person, with all the ritual it entails: long reclusion of the neophytes, change of name of the one possessed, who is supposed to relearn all the activities of ordinary life, does not appear to have been kept by the Refugee Blacks. In a general
[152] way, the atmosphere of solemn seriousness, /203/ of secrecy, and of fear, which characterize the Dahomey cults of possession is not found among them.

791 These lessons are always paid for and are even very
787 expensive. Payment is made in pieces of cloth, in demijohns
435 of tafia.
[436] Having a Kumẽnti amounted in 1958 to at least 25,000 francs. This payment is not only compensation for the teacher;
[181] it is the mark of legitimacy. What has not been paid for is not, for the Refugee Blacks, legitimately acquired. We shall come back to this important point later.

/203 cont./

153 789 791 Possession begins progressively; in the beginning the divinity does not find in its bearer sufficient passivity, it does not succeed well in expressing itself through his mouth, spectators observe only incoherent gestures and hear only unintelligible stammerings. The pupil must continue his training for a long time in order to become a suitable bearer.

789 The god, when it has just entered a man, always begins by rendering homage in its language to Masa Gadu, proclaiming that it acts only in his name and by his will.

[576] [198] Then it greets those present, employing formulas which are the exact transposition into its language of the ordinary Boni formulas of politeness; that even if it is getting ready to speak to them in the harshest manner.

The god speaks then in its language, saying not very intelligible things to the audience that appear to be related to what goes on in its country, to its family (for it is believed that these lower gods have a family). Finally, it begins to speak in ordinary language in order to be understood by those present, and answers questions.

796 789 825 Various categories of gods capable of bringing on possession. The Refugee Blacks assume that four categories of lower gods exist:

The first category consists of a series of gods which present themselves to men under very different aspects but which are nevertheless felt to be of the same nature. All speak the Kumenti language, all are well disposed toward men and do not exercise against them the kunu, that is, the curse;

--The Kumenti, which have the appearance of jaguars and live in the bush;

--The Djadja, which have the appearance of ocelots;

--The Opete, which have the appearance of the urubu and which reside in the air;

/206 cont./

776 The Kumẽnti. These gods are common to the Saramaka
787 (Kromenti) (1), Djuka, and Boni. The Kumẽnti are considered
[184]

[174]

1. There is no doubt about the origin of this word; it is a deformation of Coromantin, name given in the 18th century to Ashanti country. The "Coromantin Negroes," reputed to be particularly intractable, played a large role in the slave revolts. The Kumenti cult of possession must originally have been a cult peculiar to the Coromantin nation.

to be benevolent gods and friends of men, so their possession is very much desired. They do not come into men spontaneously, they are obtained only by applying to a teacher. In principle
[562] only men can obtain Kumẽnti, while on the other hand only women can have Bũnzunki /sic/.

776 The Kumẽnti are specialized in protection against fire
787 and against machete and gun wounds. These dangers hold the
751 largest place among the anxieties of the Refugee Blacks, who spend almost all their life in the bush and with whom nearly
[789] all sores become infected and have serious consequences. Thus the Kumẽnti cult holds an important place in their magic; even someone who is not possessed will try to obtain from these gods an ɔbia that will protect him from these various dangers.

153 The instruction of the disciples of these gods takes as its
● 791 pattern the procedures described above, but the collective dances
787 appear to play an essential part. The teacher calls on the gods
786 by beating a special rhythm on ordinary drums (apinti) and by
[533] uttering invocations punctuated by the rattle of the saka (Indian
[534] maraka, that is, hollow calabash provided with a handle and containing seeds).

/206 cont./

153 containing seeds). Sometimes, when a god has entered a pupil,
791 the teacher puts the latter's passivity to the test by insulting the
787 god with the help of the drum. The Kumẽnti gets angry, breaks
786 bottles and swallows ground glass, walks in the fire, hits him-
[789] self with machete blows, all without any wound resulting, they say, on the body of its bearer.

[302] These frenzied dances, whose participants completely covered with pemba (white clay) are as if hallucinated, have a bizarre aspect which is perceptible to some of the Boni themselves. They do not have any secret character and constitute,
[522] on the contrary, a fine spectacle for the village people. The spectators double up with laughter at the contortions and strange
[521] actions which the gods inspire in those possessed. They are talked about at length /207/ afterward in the evenings, humorists imitating what they saw done there, without any fear whatever of irritating the gods.

791 Each "teacher for Kumẽnti" owns a small gadu ɔsu in
787 which are lined up the implements of the cult. One finds in
346 general in these chapels a post crudely carved in the shape of a human bust, a block of stone, jaguar skulls, some kɔkɔti (shrub stalks with a spontaneous double bend, thought to be the prop of spirits in the bush), and a saka (maraka), the whole sprinkled with white clay (pemba). One finds also beside the door a seat and a trough which are used for the ablutions of the pupils.

153 While bathing his body with the infusion of leaves pre-
791 pared by the teacher, the neophyte repeats, in ordinary language,
787 a series of invocations: "Come to me, enter into me. But be-
788 fore entering into me, it is necessary to teach me the things of thy country; O God, when thou art in me, may I be able to dance on broken glass without its cutting me; may I be able to dance in fire without its burning me. If tomorrow someone takes a machete to hurt me, he shall not be able to come forward. If someone takes a gun to shoot me, (his weapon) must break, must not be able to take off. If someone is sick, make an ɔbia for him, he must recover."

/207 cont./

153 The teacher has the pupil turn in a circle around the
791 mortar in which has been prepared the infusion of leaves, until
787 he is dizzy. Alternately he makes him turn and "washes" his body with the infusion. Possession occurs by itself at the end of a certain number of sessions.

[296] In the practices intended to make the gita of Kumēnti
[171] "rise," the absorption of toxic substances enters, especially tobacco juice, method employed by the Indian medicine men. But once the reflexes are created, there is no further need for these substances; the gita appears as soon as the calling procedures are used, which are of two kinds:

--Personal procedures: The man voluntarily calls on his gita while putting on the god's costume and taking a certain posture;

--Outside procedures: The gita may be released from *outside either by calling the god by name or by beating the* corresponding rhythm on the drum.

787 When the pupil begins to feel the gita of Kumēnti, that
158 is first manifested by trances. We have very often been present at these attacks, which usually come on at night in the forest, but commonly also during the day. The one possessed suddenly lets go of the objects he was holding (for example, if he was in the process of eating, he drops plate and spoon), and rushes forward running through the forest howling rhythmically as if he had become an animal. His eyes are rolled upward, he no longer is conscious of his surroundings; he is not in any way threatening; these fits are totally inoffensive in spite of their
[147] impressive aspect. One sees possessed people in this state do things which are difficult to explain, such as running in complete darkness in the most impenetrable underbrush without falling or hurting themselves, or climbing up in a few seconds on a craggy rock which would have been hard to scale in full daylight.

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153 791 787 In proportion as the pupil perfects himself, the god expresses itself more easily with the help of his body, begins to do coordinated acts and to speak. They say that the gita has [195] been "arranged" (seeka). The Kumēnti speak with a gruff, jerky voice, characteristic, which humorists love to imitate in the evenings' recitals.

In order to call on his gita voluntarily, the pupil crouches down, feet together, throwing pemba from right to left at the level of his feet and uttering the formula: "O Kumēnti, djumpo ku a mi." Then he remains immobile in this position and waits; possession takes place generally at the end of a few minutes.

796 787 The Kumēnti which enter thus into men are exclusively male gods; it is known that they have wives because they talk about them, but they never manifest themselves.

[812] The Kumēnti are generally benevolent; still, no more than any divinity of the Refugee Blacks, do they represent a principle of goodness and justice in itself. They watch in a partial fashion over the interests of their bearers. Thus it is that A...., of the Dipélu II-lo, has a Kumēnti which reacts in a violent way when it has the impression that danger threatens [158] its bearer. It enters into him suddenly, takes a machete and storms through the village, while people prudently barricade themselves in their houses.

787 789 In certain circumstances, when their trances are particularly intense, the people possessed by Kumēnti are capable, it is said, of walking in fire, dancing on broken glass, climbing thorny awara palm trees, and even having themselves struck with blows of a machete without any wound resulting from it. Professor de Goeje gives impressive personal testimony on this subject, such as the case of a possessed man who overturned a pail of boiling water on his body (1). Mr. Mathieu, Director of

1. In a note in Mr. W.F. van Lier's work, § 37.

/210 cont./

776 [825] The Bumba gadu, other gods of the same nature and equally feared, have as bearers other categories of snakes, principally the great anaconda water snakes.

[984] [812] The Vodû, we have said, are feared; they can exercise on a lineage the collective curse called kunu. But, no more than the Kumênti do not represent a principle of good, they do not represent a principle of evil. Not all are so badly disposed toward men, and even if one of them is the enemy of a lineage, it is not for that reason badly disposed toward the rest of men.

787 178 [562] However this may be, the cult of possession of the Papa gadu is not at all in decline among the Boni. According to the cross-checking we have been able to do, of the 670 persons living on the French bank there are at least 40 to 50 who have a Papa gadu, the great majority of them old women.

787 784 /211/ The Vodû /sic/ are much feared, and for that very reason much respected. They are oracles which are consulted very often, without consideration of the evil their kunu has done and will still do. A god which exercises the kunu but which is provisionally declared appeased may be consulted without danger; it is always assumed that in any case its bearer, if he respects its commands, has nothing to fear from it.

787 562 It is possible that, very unconsciously, women use the fear that the Papa gadu gods inspire in order to maintain their independence and privileged position in Refugee Black society.

153 79 787 [198] [178] [515] [824] [534] Instruction in possession appears to take as a pattern the same principles as that which correspond to the Kumênti. It involves the teaching of the Papa language; this language appeared to us to be in decline; in fact, it is used only for formulas of greeting; then the possessed people vaticinate in ordinary language. Instruction in possession also involves daily ablutions with decoctions of leaves; certain of these mixtures are particularly complicated (it is said that they include more than a hundred different kinds of leaves). Instruction is essentially individual; however it also includes dances; on this occasion a

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153 special drum is used, about two meters long and very narrow,
791 devoid of any decoration, which is called lɛ̃ŋga dɔ̃ or papa
789 dɔ̃.
534 To call on her gita, the possessed woman (they are almost
787 always women) stands, puts on a piece of cloth which she always
[562] keeps nearby and always takes along with her when she travels:
this is the garment of the god; it consists of a sort of scarf
crossed in front; then she throws white clay, pemba, on her feet
from right to left and left to right while invoking the god.
Possession is almost immediate. One sees the woman's eyes
roll up and her expression become haggard. The god does not
cover himself entirely with pemba like the Kumɛ̃nti, he makes
himself a sort of headband on the forehead with white clay.
787 He begins with an invocation to Masa Gadu said in ordinary
788 language.
539 "Masa gadu, gi mi pimisi, beka mi na pikin nɛ̃ŋge; ala
[782] sani di mi ɔ taki, na yu mu gi mi kaakiti, beka na yu abi mi
kaakiti, da mi nyãfalu gi yu."

"Masa Gadu, I implore you, for I am a humble creature;
(in) all that I am going to say, it is you who will give me
strength, for my strength is in you; I shall exalt you."

787 Next come formulas of welcome to those present, which
788 are the exact translation of the formulas of greeting of everyday
[198] life, then songs, all in the Papa language. After about a quarter
of an hour, it enters a hut and sits down, answering in ordinary
language the questions of those present, always in a singing
tone.

787 Possession by Papa gadu does not have the bestial character
of possession by Kumɛ̃nti; outside of the dances, it does not
involve brutish gestures or bizarre acts; the possessed woman
hums softly in a shrill voice, moving with graceful gestures.
[531] /212/ Sometimes she draws strange signs on the huts; the Boni
state that that is a kind of writing, that other possessed people

/214 cont./

787 their legs with this white clay; they prophesy in a singing tone, without the usual voice of their bearer's ceasing to be recognizable, expressing themselves in the Saramaka language.

796 The Ampuku have the appearance of men similar to Blacks, but unknown. They reside in the depths of the woods; some are good, others bad. One can gain their good will by [84] worshiping them, which is especially developed in Saramaka country.

796 Baliki, of Kormotibo village, tells of having been present 535 one day at a dance of the Ampuku, when he was traveling to [103] the Saramaka village of Balen.

"During the day, people went on the paths far into the bush to put down calabashes containing certain herbs. At night were seen to come out of the forest a large number of unknown men, dressed in the manner of the Saramaka. They danced all night, and at dawn left again as they had come."

796 The Ampuku gods, considered to be maleficent gods of the bush, exercise their influence on everyone. When a person [789] has slept in the bush, he "washes" himself free of Ampuku with [824] an infusion of leaves of five plants which are part of the secondary flora surrounding the villages and of which the principal plant is the sangaafu (Costus cylindricus).

791 Frequency of possession. In 1956 teachers or bas were very 787 scarce in Boni country. For the Kumenti gods, only S... (Kotika) remained; for the Papa gadu, since the death of Antinon (Dju), there remained only M... (Papaïston) and B... [619] (Asisi). People were commonly going to receive instruction from Djuka teachers in the villages of the Tapanaoni.

787 It would be a great error to believe that nearly all the 562 men have gods. On the contrary, this is an exception. According to the evaluations we were able to make, there is not more than one adult man out of six or seven who is possessed.

/214 cont./

562 On the other hand, possession is much more frequent among
787 women: it can be estimated that on the average, one adult woman out of three or four has a gadu.

162 For example in Boniville, out of 115 persons including
776 about 70 adults, one reckons about 30 gods including 8 to 10
787 Papa gadu, 8 to 10 Kumẽnti, 1 Bunsunki, and 2 Ampuku.

791 Apprenticeship for possession can begin from adult age,
787 but it seems /215/ that in general it is between 35 and 50 that
56 women take heed of obtaining a gadu. Would that not be, very
562 unconsciously, the desire to stay in the limelight and indirectly to keep a hold over men, once the age of sensual attraction is past?

787 Possession continues for life, and it is out of the question for a god to be transmitted before the death of its bearer. For example, in 1957, the centenarian grandmother in Asisi village, Kuluba, still kept her Papa gadu god. She had not participated any more in the dances of possession for long years, but her gita was always consulted.

But it can happen, if a possessed person stops taking part in dances and practicing the rites that have been shown him, that any manifestation ceases at the end of a few years.

We observed that in B... of the Dipélu II lo, in 1948 and 1949. He used to exhibit strong attacks of the gita of Kumẽnti. He stopped his instruction, finding that it was costing too much and was taking time. In 1952 he exhibited only latent manifestations of his gita at rare intervals. In 1956 nothing was any longer observable.

787 It can happen, on the other hand, that attacks of pos-
789 session become so frequent and so strong that the person concerned risks losing his reason; if it concerns a god which did not come of its own initiative, one can try to expel it. In
[824] order to "wash" someone free of a gita, he is made to pass between two rows of ɔbiaman who hold dry palms, pina tɔ̃ŋgo, in their hands and utter adjurations.

/235 cont./

787 But divination is more than that; the interpretation it
626 gives of the events of daily life is the very mover of the ani-
182 mistic society; presenting calamities /236/ as the punishment
571 of offenses against customary law, it is constantly vitalizing that law, conserving its practical value and its efficacity. What it expresses is not the hidden influence of chiefs or priests -- there are in fact neither chiefs nor priests among the Boni -- but the very consensus of the group, the deep feeling it has of its unity.

787 There are two large categories of divination:

The first consists of calling on a divinity through the medium of its bearer. For that, one applies to a person (of his [791] lineage if possible) who has a gadu. This is a service which is rarely refused. This person employs the appropriate procedure for calling his gita and enters into trances. The god speaks, the question is put to it; if it is well disposed, it may give the explanation or the advice requested. For example, one asks for advice before looking for another sector to make his clearings.

787 Suggestible as the Boni may be, they do not fail to per-
776 ceive that all the gods interrogated do not give the same directions. So they think that certain ones are stronger than others; there are people whose gita is considered to be particularly good, others whom they have stopped consulting entirely. The [791] defunct head of Kotika village, Bayo, used to have a gita so remarkable that people would come from very far to consult it.

[829] The general opinion is, furthermore, that nowadays
[178] everything is degenerating and that good gita are no longer seen as in the olden days.

787 These consultations involve only a very modest remuner-
[791] ation, a bottle of tafia at most (1). If it is not a matter of a

1. The remuneration of the possessed person is in question; the god always demands a payment for itself, of variable size according to its whim.

/236 cont./

787 very serious question, the asker contents himself with going to interrogate a divinity in which he has confidence. If, when put to the test, the advice turns out to be bad, he goes to consult others and if he obtains the same advice from two different directions, he stops there. If not, he appeals to the elders of [888] his village to bring into play the processes of divination which [791] they alone know.

A second category of divinatory procedures consists in the [428] use of "remedies," whose origin is unknown and which are transmitted like a personal belonging.

The process reputed to be the surest, in which everybody has confidence, is called pusu. The instrument is composed [824] simply of a rope made of fibers of the Mauritia (2) palm tree

[439]

2. Palm tree which grows in the coastal savannas and whose fibers are bought from the Galibi Indians. The word pusu, like gita, kandu, mula, is of Congolese origin. In Kikongo, mpuusu = raffia palm tree.

which has been dipped in an infusion of herbs; it is stretched horizontally between two stakes. The elder brings near it a machete blade heated red-hot, at the same time asking the question. If the answer is positive, the rope is cut when the iron has scarcely touched it. If the answer is no, they state that the red-hot iron remains in contact with the rope for an appreciable length of time without the rope's being cut.

They will say for example: ɛfu na Ampuku siki X, a how a 'ã mu do: fosi a kɔti: If it is an Ampuku which is making X sick, the machete must cut (the rope) before (even) reaching it.

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787 In this way they put a series of questions entailing yes or no answers and which narrow down the problem more and more.

791 For this divinatory procedure, they pay the man who has brought it into play three liters of tafia, two pieces of cloth, and one machete.

787 695 This procedure is put into play to confound thieves and adulterers. The plaintiff publicly calls on the accused to come and undergo the test: Mi ɔ tya yu go a swel! If he refuses, it is the equivalent of a confession.

In 1947, Liki (Aw.B.), accused of having stolen 20 grams of gold by a man from Loka, was thus put to the test. The rope was not cut. He was declared innocent and it was the plaintiff who had to pay the price of the test.

In 1950, the uncle of Tabayé (Dip. I) accused him of having committed adultery with his wife. He denied it, but he was put to the test which gave a positive result; he confessed immediately and begged his uncle's pardon. Then they were reconciled. Of course it was he who paid the price of the test.

787 Another important divinatory procedue is the Kumẽnti bui (ring of Kumẽnti). This is a surprising form of divination by pendulum. The ring, which is made of ibets, is ordinarily kept hidden by its owner. Very few people have any. The ring, suspended at the end of a string, is put in oscillation. Its owner puts a question to it. If the answer is affirmative, it oscillates from right to left. If it is negative, it describes a circle.

[825] Another procedure is sometimes used after a sacrifice to know whether the god has received it favorably: it consists of killing a rooster to examine the color of its testicles: if they are found to be black, the sacrifice has not been accepted.

/237 cont./

Not just anyone may resort to divination on behalf of someone else: only the eldest have the right to do it, and it has happened that the grand man punished offenders severely.

Fate. The Refugee Blacks do not attribute all misfortunes to suprahuman causes. They have the notion of natural accident, ɔnɛgɔɔku. They say ɔnɛgɔɔku miti mi, or again ogi miti mi, misfortune met me. They also accept the idea of natural death. They usually regard as natural death that of the very old, the infirm from birth, and sickly children.

Divination blames fate in ten to 20 per cent of accidents. It is the usual explanation for hunting accidents.

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Magic Forces

As we have shown, the Refugee Blacks consider beings and things as a world of forces capable of acting on one another, outside of time and space, according to laws which men cannot understand but of which they believe they have a partial and empirical knowledge transmitted by tradition since the time of the ancestors. They distinguish negative magic forces, wisi, which have the effect of diminishing the vital force of men, which makes them sick or kills them, and positive magic forces, ɔbia, which come from the gods: the ɔbia comes to increase the vital force of men, giving them protection, immunity, or knowledge. But no power is in essence a principle of good or evil; nothing is impossible for him who knows the formulas; this is why the magic of the Refugee Blacks is reduced to a perpetual and indecisive struggle between ɔbia and wisi.

Wisi. Wisi is sorcery in the African sense of the term, that is, the use of magic procedures to harm others; wisi is for the Refugee Blacks the pre-eminently criminal act, at the same time against morals and against society. The struggle against

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755 823 [174] White clay, pɛmba (the word and the rite are of Congolese origin), does not undergo any special preparation. In the thought of the Refugee Blacks it has the power to fix upon a man's body the magic influence of the infusion of leaves.

791 Among the Boni, except for the cult of Odun, there are no priests, strictly speaking, invested with a function at the same time social and religious. A large number of persons 756 791 are regarded as "knowing remedies." This notion implies at once knowledge and power. In general the ɔbiamã is believed to hold only a specialized power: for example, he knows how to prepare a hunting ɔbia, or an ɔbia for protection against wisimã. This power he received from his father (as an exception, it seems, from his uncle), who instructed him, before dying, in the specialized rites it requires and transmitted his power to him by giving him mula.

To give mula to someone, one blows into his hands, one puts them on his head while uttering a formula by which one transmits to him a certain power or piece of magic knowledge.

What is the criterion of legitimacy? Who has the right to call himself an ɔbiamã? It seems that basically everything is reduced to this: the ɔbiamã has the conviction, the sensation that he holds this power; as for his clients, they believe they observe the efficacy of his ɔbia; if they stop having confidence in his remedy, they will abstain from coming to ask it of him, that is all; no social prohibition comes to limit the action of the ɔbiamã. The grand man intervenes only against someone [754] who might claim to hold remedies to harm another person or to capture his will, which would be wisi.

[888] /249/ The Boni accept the possibility of deception as regards ɔbia, especially by people who are too young, but they have the conviction that the elders (people over 55-60) possess wisdom and that one can apply to them with complete confidence.

/251 cont./

464 776 decision of the god and under some pretext or other refused to resume work. In August, 1952, while we were on a work trip /en mission/, an ɔbiamã made it known that an Ampuku was willing to give a tapu, that is, an ɔbia of protection, against this Papa gadu. We were present at a discussion in the course [465] of which several Boni planned to take up this work again, but asking for raised wages to cover the expenses of the ɔbia (1).

751 79

[171]

1. Situations of this kind are common in the Guianan forest, even among Creoles. For difficult or unusual work, the high wages demanded serve in part to remunerate magicians.

751 435 79 These expenses amounted to about 5,000 francs per person, or:

--3,000 for the payment of the god, including red cloth, dark-blue cloth, white beads, beer, rum, cowries; the ɔbiamã would take them to set them out in the forest.

--1,500 for payment for the work of the ɔbiamã, including a piece of canvas /toile/, beer, a container /bidon/ of powder, a chicken.

751 The remedy would consist of an infusion of leaves with which one should "wash one's body" morning and evening for the duration of the work.

As for the Creole foreman, he prudently had himself assigned to another job.

751 776 They have the habit of asking an Ampuku for protection against a Papa gadu and conversely (we have cited an example of this above), but they do not ask a Kumẽnti for protection; the Kumẽnti occupy themselves only with illnesses.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

man of each tribe has a uniform given him by the Dutch; it 648
consists of a high silk hat, a braided frock coat, a drum-major's baton, and a metal plaque suspended around the neck, with the arms of Surinam on it. The ensemble is picturesque in the extreme. Captains have uniforms, too, but less ornate ones. The great full-dress occasion is the palaver at Paramaribo, held on or about the Queen's birthday, toward the end of August. This is an occasion of festivity throughout the colony.

The Governor receives the Bush Negro chiefs as he would any foreign ambassadors, and the dignity of these men, the aristocracy of their bearing, cannot be exceeded by white plenipotentiaries. There is one difference: most of the Djuka females remain at home. Indeed, Jankoeso has forbidden his daughters to go to Paramaribo on any occasion whatsoever. He himself must make a pilgrimage to the sacred medicine city of Dahomey in preparation for the trip, at which time he undergoes a purifying ritual at the hands of the high [783
obeiah priests, to muster good obeiahs for a salubrious passage. 743]

The only attempt of the Dutch to exercise any authority over the Bush Negroes is in regard to the burial ceremony. This has been a bone of contention for many years. The 648
Djuka custom is to allow the corpse to remain unburied for 764
a long period. The Dutch tried to stop this, not from any desire to interfere with the customs of the natives, but for sanitary reasons. The disagreement was finally compromised by a time limit of three days between death and burial. This regulation is usually not observed. Once they get back into
their remote villages, the Bush Negroes do as they please.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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drums carry farther toward heaven than the talkee-talkee 782 776
of a lone supplicant.

It is not easy to distinguish between the primitive's magic 756
and his medicine. In the village organization a distinction is 793
sometimes made between the *medicine man*, who is concerned with remedies for sickness, and the *obeiah priest*, whose business is charms and rituals. There are two or three obeiah priests to each village. Their profession is the propitiation of spirits, that is, magic and religion. The magic of the obeiah men is largely secret. Once we arrived at a village while a ritual of some nature was going on. Pots were stewing in the centre of the clearing, while obeiah men were moving around them. One held a rattle, which he shook monotonously. The bahkra was asked to leave. It was magic in the making.

The Bush Negroes possess an extensive system of primitive 824
medicine. Various roots, herbs, and nuts are gathered in the jungle, and their use is mingled with various superstitions. The witch doctor or medicine man who prepares infusions 756
from these herbs holds no exalted position in the esteem of the villagers; he is simply following a particular profession to which no special prestige is attached. He may, however, [793]
be an obeiah priest in addition to being a medicine man.

He prepares several kinds of medicine, among them the 791
snakee-kutti, or snake-bite cure. It cures the bites of all rep- 784
tiles and makes the person immune from future attack. 278
Snakee-kutti is made in this way: a venomous snake is killed and the head and the tail-end are cut from the body; the tail

/509 cont./

October 1958 – January 1959), expeditions whose principal aim was the sociological study of these populations.

/510/

Social Structure and Way of Life

The Boni Refugee Blacks. The Boni are one of the above-mentioned tribes of the Refugee Blacks, reconstituted in the course of the eighteenth century by rebel African slaves who escaped from Surinam plantations (Dutch Guiana).

These tribes (Saramaka, Djuka, Paramaka, Boni) live for the most part along the rivers of the interior of Surinam. They group together a total of 25,000 persons.

With very rare exceptions, the Refugee Blacks are pure Africans. These populations, vigorous and well adapted to the country, have experienced in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a remarkable demographic increase, attested to by all the authors. Descended from small rebel groups which could not have contained more than a few hundred women, they are now estimated at more than 25,000 persons.

The Boni of the Upper Maroni, the subject of the present study, number approximately 800, of whom 660 are on the French bank (the villages of Boniville, l'Enfant Perdu, Loka, Asisi, Papaliton, and Kormotibo) and 140 on the Surinam bank (the village of Kotika). These villages were established long ago.

Each of them groups together a matrilineage, i.e., the descendants in the uterine line of one single founding ancestress; certain villages know their genealogy in its entirety back to this ancestress, who must have lived at the end of the eighteenth century. The members of the lineage are united by the cult of the ancestors, which binds them firmly to their natal village and to their land. The social system is based essentially on this cult, the chief of the village being above all the priest of the ancestors.

Strictly speaking, there is no marriage, but only an acknowledged concubinage which entails neither a contract between the

/56 cont./

613 554 The small, recently founded lineages attached to a lo each designate a head: for example, the Afi lineage has Awéni as head. But this head remains subject to the authority of the captain of the lo and his office has no official existence.

/57/ The appointment is made by a council - kuutu - of the lineage, but it is not valid until endorsed by the grand man.

[717] When the deceased captain did not, while living, designate any successor, his yeika is interrogated in order to know whom he prefers. That does not have the force of law but can influence the council.

The council meets several days after the end of mourning for the deceased captain. All the male members of the lineage, regardless of age, give their opinion. Strictly speaking, they do not vote: but the nomination is considered valid only if three-quarters of those present are in agreement. If not, they disband without having decided anything, and the lineage can remain without a head for years. On this topic can be cited the example of the Awara Bakka lo, which remained without a head from 1935 (?) to 1953, until the appointment of Kondulu. During this time the [643] grand man had designated Captain Popo, head of the Lapé lineage, to secure the interim. As for the religious functions, they were taken care of by the Joyen of the lineage.

The captain has the following functions within the lineage:

1) He is priest of the ancestor worship and presides over [793] the prayers and offerings made before the fraga tiki. In this duty [769] he is replaced in case of absence by the oldest man of the lineage.

In case of the death of a member of the lineage from the [761] effect of the kuno, the captain convokes all his people in order [782] to proceed to collective prayers and offerings intended to appease the gods:

/72 cont./

643 The grand man acts as land head for the whole of the tribe.
798 It is he who has the care of the sanctuary of mama gɔ̃ and who
241 prays each year in the presence of a large gathering of people for the fertility of the soil.

643 The grand man is the priest of Odun, divinity whom the Boni
743 regard as avenger of offenses against moral and religious law; by
796 virtue of this, he alone is qualified to administer the oath against
982 wɔ̃i (sorcery) and to implore the mercy of Odun toward those who have gone against his laws by fighting with arms.

643 In his religious functions this usually weak and unobtrusive
152 man acts with sovereign authority and assurance, and we have several times seen people tremble before him.

643 If someone has seriously transgressed the customary laws, or
681 if he has stolen, committed adultery, given blows, poured forth
[73] serious insults or curses, the grand man inflicts on him punishment proportional to the gravity of the offense, such as making planks, /73/ a boat, pounding rice (if it is a woman). The product of the punishment is acquired by the grand man, as are the fines in money which he imposes in less serious cases.

643 For example in October, 1952, two adolescents of Boniville,
685 Awétipay and Adyuka, were surprised while they were trying to break into an inhabited house; the grand man sentenced them forthwith to three days of forced labor, in the course of which he made them clean the approaches to the village and collect for his benefit wood for heating.

643 He can also punish disobedient or disrespectful young men
689 by making them do work reserved for women, such as weeding
422 the approaches to the village and the removal of dog droppings.

643 The grand man can confine a man to Boni villages by for-
681 bidding him to go beyond l'Enfant Perdu to the north and Kormotibo to the south; that is called sitafu sama (sitafu • captive). The man concerned, deprived of means of earning his living, thus becomes dependent on his family until he makes honorable amends.

/259 cont./

791 to the god, and their words of thanks lasted scarcely half a
[782] minute (1). At the time of our first trip on the Maruini, in

1. Yet custom expressly provides for this rite of thanking.

1948, the same scenes had unfolded, going as well as coming back.

241 791

Rites Relative to Agriculture

These rites occupy a relatively minor place in the religious life of the Refugee Blacks, which may be attributed to the great regularity of the climate and the absence of calamities affecting the yield of crops.

[613] It does not seem, at least among the Boni, that a religious bond is assumed between the lineage and the land, and rites intended to insure the fertility of the soil are carried out by each one for himself in the neighborhood of his own field; the lineage head does not appear to play any particular role
241 796 in this regard. In the thought of the Boni, the fertility of the soil depends upon a local divinity, to which is offered de facto worship; the temporary or permanent users of the lands situated in the domain of this god perform on their own behalf the rites of this worship without any distinction of origin, whether they are Boni, Djuka, or Saramaka.

[796] The only collective worship existing in Boni country is
[793] the worship of mama gɔ̃, of which the grand man is priest.
[643] Its rites are limited to a short annual prayer.

609 mother. The woman who had made Bayo was her sister, she told us.

142 The resemblance between this woman and Bayo was marked. She had the same dark skin, the same stocky, muscular build, the broad nose, the same general cast of features we had known so well in Bayo. Similar, too, were the sharply etched scars on her face, which were so black and so prominent as to bespeak her great vitality and rugged health. There were other likenesses, we learned, and of these the most valued was the strength of their gods.

989 We had not been long in her hut before we noticed the
● 994 iron arm-band she wore. It was, we knew, a "*tapu*"—a
562 magical preventive which, in this instance, warned its wearer of danger, and kept her from harm in a combat. Seeing it on the arm of a woman was astonishing for many reasons. Not in all our encounters on the river had we seen a woman wearing an arm obia of iron. Iron was the sign of the Kromanti, a men's group, composed of those men
[595] who had the Kromanti spirit. It was in part warriors' secret society, and in part, when it was Obia Kromanti, the men's religious society which controlled the powerful supernatural forces of preventive and healing magic which played so prominent a part in the spiritual life of the Bush Negro. Now there were, we had been told, some women who inherited the Kromanti spirit, but these were few, and not until after their menopause could they enter a Kromanti house, and when this came they were too old to participate in the dance, but they sang the songs when the spirit came to them and did whatever else was known to the initiated of their years.

But this woman who was Bayo's mother's sister was not
[853] an old woman. As she talked to us, in fact, her breast was swung over to the side, and against her ribs was the head of the child on her back who was nursing. Yet on her arm was the fighter's "tapu," as the emblem of membership in the Kromanti group.

This was so important an anomaly that, following the etiquette of the bush, we hastened at once to talk about something else.

/69 cont./

562 828 [191] It is assumed once and for all that women are shrews on whom one cannot count and from whom one can get nothing. The Refugee Blacks are inexhaustible on this subject and their opinion about the women of their group is very similar to that of Africans in general: they call them ill-natured, devoid of feeling, selfish, greedy, and unfaithful.

562 571 [165] In general, women are held apart from regular social life; no form of customary society of women exists. In the mourning ceremonies, which correspond to a veritable mobilization of the village, they play no role, except to prepare the meals.

562 789 794 Yet the women play indirectly an important role in the social life by way of the cults of possession. The Papa gadu gods so formidable have women nearly exclusively as bearers, and we shall see in studying the functioning of the kunu that they are the principal actors in this. Through this activity, which is exerted in arbitrary fashion on the outskirts of the institutions of regular social life, the women maintain around themselves an atmosphere of fear; it is not impossible that the functioning of these cults is influenced by the concern of the women to maintain their privileged position in the society of the Refugee Blacks.

562 157 Many women are charitable and have a certain generosity toward the members of their family, insuring the maintenance of the old men without resources. But their benevolence is essentially subjective and extends only to a small circle of personal friends and their nearest relatives. As soon as the elders appeal to them for a question of general interest, claiming to give them orders or even advice, they meet an attitude systematically malevolent and stubborn. /70/

[613] The lineage heads avoid giving them orders directly, for they run a strong risk of getting themselves insulted, as we have observed many a time.

/194 cont./ -

776 [184] The great gods Gwangwéla and Gédéosu of the Djuka are not known to the Boni.

[194] Strictly speaking, no cult of Masa Gadu exists. No edifice is reserved for him, he has no priests, and no collective 776 ceremonies are conducted on his behalf. He is nevertheless 769 constantly present in the religious life of the Boni, associated with ancestor worship. Every ceremony of ancestor worship 776 includes an invocation to Masa Gadu. From time to time, for 769 specific motives such as the illness of a member of the lo, 755 people go /195/ specially to the fraga tiki to invoke Masa Gadu. [613] The oldest man of the lo officiates, while a younger one pours [998] a little water and tafia at the foot of the fraga tiki; the elder addresses Masa Gadu in everyday language, in simple terms, in a familiar conversational tone, asking him for the cure of illnesses or the end of calamities. Those present, seated in a semicircle, punctuate the end of the speech with some rhythmical applause, uttering the ritual formula of thanks: "Gaã tãgi tãgi fi yu, Masa Gadu."

776 Outside of these ceremonies which hardly go beyond the 782 framework of the lineage, everyone may address Masa Gadu directly by praying aloud, if, for example, he finds himself alone in the bush and prey to an illness. One never addresses Masa Gadu other than for a specific material purpose. Inner prayer for the purpose of spiritual perfection does not exist to our knowledge among the Refugee Blacks.

776 One applies directly to Masa Gadu when one believes [755] oneself to be the victim of an iniquitous action (see curse). How- [784] ever, although the Refugee Blacks have a very lively sense of justice, they never call Masa Gadu to witness for the cruel and arbitrary vengeances (kunu) which the lower divinities are [812] believed to exercise on them. It is taken for granted that all these divinities do conform to the role which Masa Gadu has assigned to them and that the suffering they inflict on men is indispensable to the proper working of the universe.

/195 cont./

794 [181] The laws of Odun. The cult of Odun (Odŭ) is the keystone of the social and religious structure of the Refugee Blacks. It is a very secret cult; its rites are not practiced in the presence of outsiders and all curiosity about it meets with frank hostility. The Boni, who talk rather freely about the cults of possession, [123] are mute on the subject of Odun, and one may spend years among them without even hearing this name uttered.

794 184 The worship of Odun is common to the Boni and the Saramaka (perhaps this is what explains the trustful relations which exist between the two groupings). Among the Djuka it is replaced by the worship of Gwangwéla (Grantata), which has exactly the same functions and rites.

776 Odun is not to be confused with the creator God Nana (Masa Gadu). The myths explaining the relationship of these two entities were not known by our informants, but it is clear that Odun was sent to men by Masa Gadu as legislator and judge.

671 Odun's laws have a profound originality, as much by their content as by the sanctions which accompany them. It is not excessive to speak of a religious and moral doctrine of the Refugee Blacks.

These laws appear in negative form. A certain number [641] of acts and behavior are forbidden to those who have entered the society of the Refugee Blacks by taking an oath which binds 784 them for good and all. Offenders will be punished without the direct intervention of men, by the all-powerful action of Odun, who will kill them or /196/ strike them down with sicknesses. As a general rule, Odun's punishment is death; this is what explains the fear his name inspires.

673 Odun forbids:

[754] --Sorcery, wisi, in the most general sense, that is, any magic action having as its purpose the killing, making ill, and in a general way doing harm to another person.

/199 cont./

581 The Refugee Blacks change their attitude immediately as soon as one speaks to them about marriage. Men and women are unanimous in considering marriage as an intolerable violation of individual freedom and as a tie without purpose; they talk about it with veritable indignation, even having the feeling of an offense against morality.

Cults of Possession

787 794

The phenomena of possession are extremely frequent [171] among the Blacks of America (possession by saints or inspiration by the Holy Spirit among the Blacks of Brazil and the United [171] States, voodooism in Haiti). With the Refugee Blacks they make up the very base of religious life to the point of being the normal means of communication between the gods and men; they have profound effects on all social life.

The cults of possession practiced by the Refugee Blacks of Guiana differ from those of the Blacks of Brazil and Haiti and do not appear to be directly connected with the African cults which have been described.

[128] We shall give here only very concise information about the ritual of these cults and we shall mainly try to show their place in relation to the institutions of the Refugee Blacks, and their functioning.

787 Possession is believed to be the entrance into a man of a suprahuman entity (divinity, spirit of an ancestor) which, during a variable length of time generally rather short (a few minutes to several hours), uses the body of this man and expresses itself through his mouth. They say that the man has become the horse - hasi - of the divinity. They also say: "Such-and-such a divinity entered his head." The possessed person is called [114] gadu mii (gadu umii for a woman). This word has been translated improperly as "priest" in the first works treating of the Refugee Blacks.

[787] /201 cont./
[791] The elders then consulted the oracles and perceived that Mimi
[776] was victim of an Ampuku named Maogan which for a very long
[613] time had been pursuing the Kotika lineage with its vengeance
[784] (kunu). In order to protect herself, she sought to have herself given a more powerful god, and she became the pupil of an obiaman specialist in the cult of the Papa gadu. In this way she
[782] had a Papa gadu named Ayaémé, divinity of beneficent char-
acter to which, in difficult cases, her family applies in order
[346] to obtain advice, protection, and remedies. She had a little hut built beside her house, where the god goes to rest when it has finished each of its trips to the country of men. Ayaémé
[784] imposed on Mimi its kina which concerns a fish. But even with all this she was not rid of her kunu of the Ampuku; and one day, something it had not yet done, the latter revealed itself in her
[784] and spoke through her mouth. It announced that it would con-
[782] tinue to exercise its kunu against the Kotika lineage. They appeased it by sacrifices of red cloth and beer; since then, it seems calm and in rather good humor. It comes into Mimi from time to time and speaks in Saramaka language. They are very afraid of it, but they do not hesitate to question it and ask it for
[784] remedies, which it sometimes indicates. It laid on Mimi three gadu kina concerning the acouchy, the agami, and the armadillo.

[791] Organization of the cults of possession. Strictly speaking, no
[787] religious brotherhoods exist in Boni country; there are only
[794] teachers - bay(2) - who have received their power from another

2. It does not seem advisable to translate this word by "priest." In the minds of the Refugee Blacks, this is a matter of a teacher teaching pupils; they use the same word to designate a European or Creole schoolmaster.

/201 cont./

791 teacher and who teach a small group of disciples - kineki -,
787 without distinction of villages or lineages and under their sole
[794] responsibility; each one, man or woman, is absolutely free to pursue his teaching.

/202/ These teachers are not themselves possessed, but they are believed to know the processes which permit the neophyte to obtain possession with the minimum of risks. They accept the
[776] fact, however, that that involves dangers, for one cannot oblige a particular gadu to come into someone, and one may in its place obtain an undesirable gadu.

791 Procedures vary according to the categories of gadu sought.
787 But they involve three elements which are always found in one
776 form or another:

--They begin by teaching the pupil the language of the
[798] divinity, or rudiments at the very least (as we shall point out further on, these languages appear to be in decline); these lessons are private;

--On behalf of a group of pupils, the teacher prepares
[824] infusions of certain leaves which are suited to the divinity in question. It is thought that the god likes these plants and that they have the power to attract it.

In certain cults it is required of the pupil to utter at the
[788] same time formulas inviting the god to come into him. But this is not general; in the cult of the Papa gadu especially, the teachers bathe the students in the greatest silence.

791 At the end of the session, the student is often asked to
787 drink a little of the infusion. One might believe that it is a
824 matter of a process having a physical action, certain plants possibly containing hypnotic substances; but except for one aspect of the cult of the Kumênti of which we shall speak later, this does not seem true; especially about the plants believed to attract the Papa gadu, it seems that they have received this role because of their color or odor. Our feeling is that, at least
[562] for the Papa gadu cult which appeals more especially to women, suggestion plays an essential part.

/205 cont./

776 613 428 [789] Still, they assume that the gods that have entered a matrilineage tend to be transmitted within this group. If, for example, a woman is possessed by a Papa gadu, at her death she must bequeath it in the same way as her property, and she can bequeath it only to someone of her lineage.

We have seen in studying the transmission of the god of Kotolda († 1956), that only the women of the Afi lineage to which she belonged could inherit.

776 613 984 Even if the god is not bequeathed, which sometimes happens, if it exercises the kunu, it will manifest itself sooner or later in a member of the lineage. But long years may pass before it shows itself. This conception is absolutely clear to the Refugee Blacks, and furthermore, if it did not exist, the idea of the kunu would be without support. People have therefore wrongly believed in a transmission of gods from father to son. [114] [428]

346 789 794 613 Material organization of cults. A material organization of the cults of possession exists within the limits of the localized lineage (lo). This organization is completely independent of the apprenticeship of these cults. It permits the members of the lineage to easily practice cults they have received anywhere, on their own responsiblity.

In each lo there exists in general one single chapel (obia ɔnu) for all the divinities of the same category.

For example in the Awara Bakka lo quarter in Asisi (140 persons), for about 15 women having a Papa gadu, there exists only a single one. There is an obia ɔnu for the Ampuku (three or four possessed persons) and another for the Kumenti (about ten possessed people).

The chapel of the Papa gadu is placed under the responsibility of the head of the lo. On this subject it is to be noted that the individualized lineages Aw. B, 3 and Afi, which however have separate gods, are included in this organization.

/205 cont./

346 794 787 613 The objects placed in these chapels are simply the clothing, beverage, and tools of the gods when they come to visit men; they correspond nearly to what the Refugee Blacks leave in a farming habitation where they go to work regularly. For example, in the Papa gadu ɔsu of the Awara Bakka quarter of [293] Asisi, which serves for about 15 gods, each one has a definite place on the shelves to lay out especially the scarf which serves it as a garment and a bottle of beer (a bottle is always kept in readiness by the bearer of the god) (1).

1. The Papa gadu do not like tafia. If the usual bearer of one of these gods has drunk tafia, it cannot come into him.

[534] They still stow the Papa dɔ̃ drum in this chapel. This drum, like the chapel itself, is believed to belong to the Papa gadu god which first came into a member of the lineage to exercise the kunu. In the example mentioned of the Awara [428] /206/ Bakka lo of Asisi, in 1957 it was the centenarian grandmother Kuluba who had borne this god since her youth, having herself received it, by several successive transmissions, from a distant ancestress.

[621] In villages like Boniville and Papalston where fragments of lineage of entirely different origins coexist, each has its own organization.

For example in Boniville there is a Papa gadu ɔsu for the fragment of the Lapé lineage (it belongs to Téréza whose god exercises the kunu on this lineage). The fragment of the lineage has another.

In Papalston the Tolna (Bambuchi) lineage, reduced to half a dozen persons, has a Papa gadu ɔsu of its own.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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764 of him from whom it had dropped. The same belief in the
995 identification of the essence of one's being with any part of
one's body which actuates so many primitive peoples, and
[171] is so characteristic of West Africa, exists among the Bush
Negroes. It is for this reason that when an African or
a Bush Negro dies away from home some of his hair and
nail parings are sent to his native village for ceremonial
burial. And it is for this reason, too, that for three mornings
we saw the party of five young men go out from Gankwe
to dig the grave of Sedefo's brother and heard the drum's
invocation,

[539] *Orio tintin*
Orio be'e dyo.

2

776 The night was still and dark. The natives said the moon
• 996 was dead and this was the time for the dances to the river
gods, but since there was a death in Gankwe all the gods
might be danced to, for in times of important rituals, like
death or the breaking of mourning or harvest festivals, it
was not necessary to wait for the day sacred to each god
to dance.

"They dance well at Gankwe," said our informant, as he
sat by, and then after listening for a few moments he added,
"They're dancing already."

We, too, walked out on the path to listen, and gradually
we separated the sound of the falls above our camp from
what seemed like the pulse of the night itself.

"It doesn't boom, does it?" we asked each other, remem-
bering the accounts of impressionable travelers.

Soon Sedefo himself appeared and another, and we
started for Gankwe.

"*Waka boni*, Sedefo," called our host at camp as we put
off. He was evidently uneasy about us and asked the
paddlers to be careful, for it is not safe on the river at night
with the rapids below and the spirits that hover about.

ooo The paddles cut the water so soundlessly that it did
seem as if the spirits were carrying the boat downstream.

if it was smaller still it would plague the members of the 996
family with sickness, or bad luck, or it might make them poor and send all kinds of trouble to them.

"Kunu," he went on, "attacks the family of the offender, but almost never the person who has done the evil thing himself. That would be too easy. If I wanted very much to do something I should not do, then I might be willing to take death in the end. But to punish my whole family until it is ended—that is too much."

"But what is kunu?" we asked.

"Kunu is a spirit. We dance to it and serve it with offer- 996
ings. It is not the same in every village, but in our village 982
we dance kunu in this way. If we dance it during the next 996
moon, then we dance one day only, and two months later we dance kunu again. Then we wait eleven months and dance again. We do this every year in the same way."

"Is this enough to keep kunu away? Would it not be better to dance more often?"

"It would do no good at all to dance kunu more often. The spirits would only be angry if they were disturbed all the time. If you have kunu, you have it," we heard again.

But why, we asked, were not people careful? Why, if they knew that kunu was hard, did they not walk more softly still, so that they might avoid this trouble?

"Ma, kye! There are always things happening, people always do things they shouldn't."

"Then life is hard for you Saramacca people," we said. "You must always think of kunu."

Our seriousness amused him. It was, after all, this way 996
with kunu. When you had it, you did what you could. If a wrong was done, then it had to be paid for. But the Bakra should not think that the Saramacca people weren't happy. There were good spirits, too. While some spirits punish, others protect.

"Have you seen our women dance, Bakra? A Saramacca 535
woman's foot can do things, mati. Have you seen them dance bandamba? Have you seen them *chaka*—shake?" he said, laughing, and turning to the men about him, he added, "We will show them how our women dance—and our men!"

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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be possessed by them. Between the roots of the tree offerings were placed—two or three bottles on their sides, or a calabash filled with sacred clay.

When the time came to dance to the gods of the kankan tree, a tunic of cotton was placed about its trunk. While the drums spoke to the gods, white clay was spread over the bark, a chicken was killed, and its blood allowed to spray the tree and drip into a calabash placed on the ground to receive it. Eggs inside obia pots were put beside the tree, and bottles filled with sweet liquor and the juice of sugar cane. All about its wide trunk the dancers swayed and leaped, each dancing to her own spirit until, at the height of their ecstasy, there were a few among them who would climb the great tree itself, and dance on its branches. The drums continued until the frenzy ebbed. Had they stopped sooner, those in the tree could not have remained there safely or in safety have descended to the ground.

At other times, women came to Gedeonsu to ask him for children, and those who were troubled by his spirit brought offerings, though the great dances were held when the old year came to an end, and the big offerings were then made.

"If a man were to cut down a kankan tree, Gedeonsu would cut off his foot. I myself saw it happen," said a man to us at S'ei. "And his sister got the god."

The kankan tree gods could be bought, too. A woman who wanted fertility would seek to buy Gedeonsu. Others might wish to have Tinné. Only an individual who had a spirit which gave him the right to make obias and call the gods could get the spirit for one who wished to buy it. Such a man would take an obia pot, fill it with water and place inside it cowrie shells which had not been cleansed. After speaking his invocation, he would add a sacred white stone, called an obia stone, and with a calabash in one hand and a bell in the other, he would go to the tree and address the spirits as he rang the bell. When the water became ruffled, it was a sign that the god had entered it. Quickly he would cover the calabash with a cloth and take it away with him.

This ritual might have brought Gedeonsu, or Tinné—whoever was called. The two could not, however, be taken at the same time, for one of them had to be left to care for the child Dyombie. If two of the kankan tree gods were wanted, then mother and child, or father and child, would be sought.

"The kankan tree spirits are not bad, but people fear them. They are not as bad as the Akatasi gods."

The Akatasi gods were those which animated the kato liana, and were related to the gods of the ant hill. This kato bush was a terrible parasite which, getting its strangle hold on a tree, would rise higher than the tree itself and at last kill it.

The silk-cotton, however, was a friendly tree and cruel only when its spirits were tampered with by those who did not know how to control the gods. When the ancestors came into this river, which "in early days was only a creek," it was they who had sought out these trees, and had made their villages where they stood. Now the trees had become great, and the villages were great.

Here was the silk-cotton tree at S'ei, one of the greatest of all. Its roots made ridges in the path to the village. Under the spiritual guard they spread, and to the large oval of wood fixed on a wooden base which stood a short distance from it, and to the low shelter where, on the head of a crudely carved image, rested a whitened covered pot, and farther to the mound of earth on which stood offerings. Farther still the roots followed the path, and into the village itself, until, perhaps half a mile from the tree, they reached the Kromanti house and the village council house and the home of the chief. It was as though these roots were the arteries which fed strength to the Kromanti spirits dwelling there, and as if they brought the wisdom of the ancestors to the shelter where the men of the village gathered to hear and try cases, to discuss the will of men and gods as they touched upon the well-being of the people.

Upon our arrival we were bidden to the council house, where men and women were waiting about. This was an

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834 848 "Don't go off into the bush with a man. A child born to you will have a bad bush god, if you do," she added as an afterthought.

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123 179 In the other corner, Chief And'u, the bassia, and about half a dozen men were talking of the great book about their ancestors which the white man had.

"It is large so," said the chief to one of the older men, indicating an imaginary size which multiplied the size of the actual volume at least tenfold. "And people say it has in it pictures of the Apuku gods, small as we ourselves know them, and a picture of the evil Apuku who appear as fire in the distance. . . . Mati, white men have gone into the Kromanti houses in the country of our ancestors and have made pictures!"

"It is impossible!"

"I want to see!"

The old man said, "I will not look. Books are not for us, mati."

"But mati, the G'aman has heard, and he wants to see."

The old man shook his head. He would have nothing of pictures that figured what should never have been allowed to be photographed.

It seemed prudent to give the conversation a new turn. 137 Down river, the men had said that a man of this village had lately found a new *sekw* liana. Was it so?

"The man who found it was my son," said the old man, "you should have come for the dance. You would have seen how we do things here in the bush. But pictures you could [822] not take. No, mati, if you photograph, you take the soul."

The festivities for the find had been especially joyful, he 824 explained, for the boy had only recently come by his gods, 176 and this had been yet another proof that he would serve his family capably. For though the find was his own, all his relatives in the mother's line would enjoy its use. Here- [318] [326] after, when the poison of its leaves and its slender branches

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was wanted for killing fish in a creek, they would have their own neku.

When a man found a neku vine, he first had to cut some of it, and bring it home with him. Then he sent word to all the men of his village to come and carry the branches of the neku to the place of ceremony. He named the place and day for the pounding of the neku. The invitation was given in the name of the old men of the village, and the headman sent his bassias, those men who assist him in village affairs, with messages to neighboring settlements. When this had been done, the finder of the vine appointed five or six men of his own choice, and these were called "Bassias of Neku." It was they who had charge of the ceremonies. The night preceding the dance these men went about crying, "Tomorrow we will have neku. All must come." Again the men went to the bush where the neku vine had been found, and brought to the village some more of the vine for pounding.

Early the following morning a horn was sounded, and the men from the neighboring villages who had come for the festivities also went and cut some of the neku, and brought it to the pounding place. When the men were gathered, each took up a stick and pounded the neku. And what they crushed they put into corials filled with water. These corials were then sunk in the stream. In a short time the poisoned fish floated to the surface of the water, and all the men took up their long-handled scoops and began to fish. The bassias of neku, whom the finder of the plant had appointed for the ceremony, directed the fishing. When a quantity of fish had been caught, those who were not of the village where the owner of the vine lived gave of their catch to the finder of the neku plant, and some went to the chief of the village, and the elders, too, had a share of what the outsiders had caught, though in some villages only the owner of the vine profited by the gifts of the others. Then the men joined the women, who were dressed in their finest cloths, and the dancing began.

824 Later, through the gathering darkness, the people of the
796 neighboring villages went home, paddling their boats which were loaded down with the fish that had been netted. And from this time on, everyone knew that this neku vine was
[913] the property of him who had found it, and of his family,
[881] down through his mother's line, forever.

"Ai, mati, you would have seen something, if you had got here for the neku dance!"

6

361 Like any other Bush Negro village, S'ei was a series of sandy clearings about which were grouped huts of woven palm fronds and palm thatch. All about was the big bush.
[487] The trails which led from the village were each guarded
[784] by a magically treated palm azang, and shrines to the ancestral spirits who saw to it that evil was kept away. Where the several paths led, a stranger was not encouraged to discover. Down one, women were to be seen disappearing
[892] in the morning with trays on their heads, their infants astride their backs, held inside the folds of a cloth which was fastened high above their breasts, and caught up again below them. In many upper river villages, this path led to the fields, some distance away. Others were the way to
[778] shrines, erected to those spirits which must be worshiped outside the village. Another path might lead to a brook, which the villagers held sacred. There were trails, too, which connected neighboring villages, and led perhaps farther yet, but for the stranger, the highway was the river,
[886] and no matter how short the distance between one settlement and another, he was not invited to make his way through the bush.

"You do not want to go through the bush, white man. In the bush are evil spirits," we heard many times.

A village clearing was divided into quarters. Each quarter was inhabited by one of the *wlo*, or extended families, and
361 the quarter bore its name. It was composed of several house-
592 holds—five or six or more, depending upon the size of the

774 at the time approaching a state of possession, had provoked great anger.

"If you do not know what the Dyo-dyo is, then you are not human. Then I won't talk to you. Have you never walked and felt something in back of you, yet nothing was there? Have you never had a dream?"

The Dyo-dyo was one of two souls with which each individual was born, the old woman had later been persuaded to explain, for each man had his akra, his personal soul, which if he were mindful of it, remained with him, and allowed no evil to come to him; and each man had his Dyo-dyo, his wandering soul. At death the soul which had [795] wandered came back to the body. If it were permitted to stray once more, this soul, which had been ever restless in life, would wander about troubling the living.

•796 765 But now, sitting among the women in back of the Granman's shrine, it seemed again best to admit that she knew nothing of the adyo ceremony. Fortunately, there was no outburst of anger this time, for here in the true, true Saramacca country, it was soon evident that there was a [184] pride in their magic, and their language, because these were held to be uniquely their own.

"We give a big play for the breaking of mourning." All [534] the drums were played, and the rattles sounded, and the *kwakwa*—the hard-wood bench played with two sticks—was beaten.

For this important ceremony, the oldest living brother [293] of the dead man provided food and rum, and, when the time came to partake of this food, he and the *kri mandu*—the people of rank—sat about the doorway of the widow's house. She herself stood inside the house, behind the threshold, scattering food for the dead, and pouring rum on the ground. Rice and peanuts and sugar cane were thrown [248] away, but not yams or plantains, for those things were not given in their village to the ancestral spirits. As the widow "threw away" the food she wept. In the clearing those who did not eat danced adyo. In a circle, men and women danced in close file, one behind the other, each

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holding a stick the size of a well-grown boy's arm. Round and round they went, as the widow from her doorway moaned her lament, and guns sounded in honor of the dead. The more important the man, the more guns were fired. Their own men had been the Granman's brothers. There was shooting till . . . till late afternoon, when they could not delay the bathing at the river any longer.

Before dark, all had to go to the river to bathe, and the widow, too, was led there with the others. There she purified herself, and discarded her mourning clothes, drawing on new cloths, and making herself fit with ornaments for the ceremony of rejoicing. This was followed by dancing which lasted late into the night. All the gods might be danced to at an adyo ceremony—Adonko; Vodu, the snake; Opete, the buzzard; Tigri, the jaguar; and all the gods of the bush and the ant hill—and, at the beginning, the seketi social dances and the half-sacred awasa. These dances were held for the spirits of men and women alike, and it did not matter whether the dead, or the living members of the family of the dead, shared these gods with the rest of the villagers, or not.

"But mourning is not over yet," said Fenekonde.

Seven months more elapsed, she showed on her fingers, before a woman might cohabit with her brother-in-law. If there was no brother-in-law to take her, then a woman had to wait twelve months after the adyo ceremony, instead of seven.

"If a woman doesn't care for her brother-in-law," continued Fenekonde, "or he doesn't care for her, then, when the seven months have passed, he comes to her hammock for two nights. Then she can go to another man at once."

When the husband who had died left no brothers, and there was no one else in his family to take the widow, the family of the dead man sought out a husband for her.

"They look and they look, until they are weary," said the Granman's younger wife, "but a man must be found before a woman can come out of mourning."

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887 "Perhaps the women were wrong. She may not be a
891 woman yet."

"*Ma kyel*" Angita exclaimed. It seemed he knew better.

And there was the woman Amasina. She wore as many armlets and anklets of brass as the shy dancer, as many as the wife of the bassia of S'ei, whom the gods had prospered. Her cloths were of the finest, and in colors which were most often of yellow and blue stripes, with a thread of black interwoven, and another of twisted red and white. She was good-looking, but in her manner there was no smoldering challenge and no undue reserve. With ease she went from one group to another, and the women treated her neither with too much familiarity nor with restraint.

609 Amasina felt at ease, too, with the white people. In the bush they had an explanation for this feeling of well-being with strangers. If a man and a woman were both born on
581 the same day, they did not get on very well together, for they were both apt to have the same powers to grasp things which came within the province of the gods who also had come into the world on that day. Such a man and woman would at once perceive each other's mistakes or would be given to speaking continual warnings to each other. But there were days which were especially congenial affinities for marriages, and even friendships. These, we were led to see, were days which represented a male and female deity in the Bush Negro pantheon, whose mating had brought well-being to themselves and the living world.

"You and Amasina like each other, ai," they said in the village, and this friendship had a sequel of importance for us.

776 One late afternoon we were sitting with the women talking about the gods. Dida said the white on her body was for her god Kesekia. Chief And'u had washed her for her god when he was here in the village, and tomorrow she would dance. Kesekia, she said, was a Vodu god, who had come to her from the French shore. When he came to her, he spoke tongues; he knew French.

796 "Tomorrow they will play the agida drum, and I will put
776 a kerchief on my head tied so," she said, showing how she

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would fasten it in back, letting the ends hang down, "and I will tie my breasts with another." She took a proffered kerchief, folded it into a triangle, and from the back brought the ends between her breasts and knotted them twice.

Amasina now joined us, and stood by listening.

They danced for Vodu gods on Sunday and Monday, and for the spirits of the bush on Tuesday and Wednesday. All the obia dances were held on Friday. All spirits had their special days, when they were worshiped and when they manifested themselves.

As we talked, each woman showed on her fingers how many gods she had. Dida had two other Vodu gods. Three fingers, two, three, four—hands went up with pride, but what the names of the gods were, they would not say, for if they called the gods, they would come. It was well enough for Dida to talk, for having the god it was not she who was speaking, but the god himself. Very possibly he was deciding to come to the white woman, for that was what gods did if they chose. Intermingled with this banter was some concern for their visitor if the god should decide to come to her.

Faced with the opportunity of coming by a spirit, the visitor asked to be made wise in the ways of the gods. What was the name of the Earth Mother? And the Mother of the River? And of that very important snake god called Papa who came to women only, because only women gave birth to children?

Amasina, who had seated herself beside the white woman, leaned over, and calmly spoke.

"I will tell you. The Earth Mother is Asaase, and Hene Tonugbwe is the name of the Mother of the River, and Towenu is the Papa god. Now do not ask more, and never speak these names to any one, unless you get the god."

789 the space where the snake was modeled, but never touching it.

The man who was explaining the bench to us pointed once more to the snake. "It is not always lifeless as you see it here," he said.

When the snake came to life, trouble was brewing. It turned red, the color of blood, and all who came into the Kromanti house and saw it were warned of danger.

"How does the snake know when to come to life?"

"It is Agbo, the guard, who tells the snake. When she tells him there is trouble, he turns red, and then we know."

Immunity as well as knowledge was afforded by the magical powers of this stool and its snake and the Kromanti Mama.

"A man who has Kromanti sits down on the stool, and puts Agbo on his head, and when he has done that, nothing can harm him."

Thus is safety attained. But this only comes if the image has been propitiated by the Kromanti men. Rum, not of the sweet kind, must be offered it and prayers transmitted to its spirit on the drum which Kromanti recognizes—the apinti. If this is done, the Kromanti Mama will not lose its power, and the snake will continue to turn the warning color when danger threatens, and the bench will give protection to the men who have the Kromanti obia.

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796 Not long after we had entered the bush we saw our first Kromanti dance. The people of several neighboring villages came to our base camp to dance for us. They asked, "Will you be afraid if the dancing brings Kromanti?" We told them we should welcome whatever spirits came.

Late that afternoon canoes brought people to our encampment for the festivities. Some, with an eye to trade, had brought carvings and obias, and, as we sat and talked with them about what should be given for the pieces they offered us, we could watch the dance outside our open hut.

"OBIA COMES!"

Two boys, each armed with two sticks, were striking the flat top of a wooden bench called the *kwakwa*. There were other rhythms than the steady beat made by the concerted impact of the four sticks on the bench, but this set the time for the hand clapping and songs that accompanied the dances.

The young girls began the dancing. They were showing how well they could dance bandamba, and pair by pair they would take up the dance, the older women standing by, singing and watching closely to see how they controlled the muscles of their buttocks. When one girl showed clearly that she outdid her partner, we could see an old woman step between the dancing couples and put her arm about the shoulders of the better dancer, congratulating her with the crooning syllables, "Adoo! Adoo!"

As we went outside our hut, watching and joining in the applause, more and more people came up from the river, and among them were some older boys carrying drums. These were not the regular drummers, but an evening is long, and the sun had not yet set. This was the time for the younger boys to gain practice in drumming the intricate rhythms of the dances.

The drumheads tightened to give the proper tones, the boys began to play, and, with the kwakwa, swung into rhythms of the seketi. We had already seen it at Gankwe when they danced for the dead man, but there were always new words to these popular tunes, and these words were often diverting.

Slowly the sun set, slowly the dusk came on. The singing and dancing, the drumming and hand clapping continued without intermission, as people came up the path from the river bank. These late comers were almost all men. Some of them we had seen at the Gankwe funeral, and we knew we were to see good dancing. One by one, the boys at the drums were replaced by men, and at intervals one or the other of the three players gave up his place to a newcomer who, by his manner of testing the tightness of the drumhead and the increasing minuteness of the adjustments he made

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79% in the cords, was recognizable as a more able musician, a more experienced drummer.

Now the beat changed once more, and there were no more young dancers to be seen. They were dancing awasa, preparing for the spirits to come, so that during the long preparation the fury with which obia would burst upon them would be eased. In this awasa dance, the dancers patterned the massed movements after the solo and response of the song to which the dance was carried on.

Our paddler, Angita, acted as soloist against a chorus of women. The seed rattles on his ankles clashed at the [534] proper intervals of the music, adding a new sound to the combined notes of the drums and the monotonous pounding of the kwakwa. Forward he danced as he sang his solo, and the line of women opposite him retreated as he advanced. Then, as they sang the refrain, he danced backwards, as the women came closer toward him.

His rhythmic control surpassed any dancing we had seen on the river—never since have we seen a dancer who exhibited such perfect coordination of feet and muscles of the body as did Angita. This time there was no interruption, for he danced on until, voluntarily relinquishing his place, it was taken by another man, taller and more lean, who began a new awasa refrain, as he continued the dance. Occasionally a woman, brass on her wrists and at ankles, stepped from the line of women, and the dance became a wooing, the man advancing, the woman retreating, luring him on.

A new note sounded in the drums. In front of the hut where we were sitting, the drumming beat upon our ears with the persistence of the flaying tropical rain. This new note soon superseded the other. Obia was being called by the drummers—and obia came.

The light of the crescent moon threw into paler shadow the oil lamps in the clearing. Overhead, screening the starlit sky, branches hung from the trees of the big bush. Our cook came up with our sun helmets.

"What are these for?"

"OBIA COMES!"

"Put them on. See the moon? You will catch fresh colds if you sit in the moonlight with your heads uncovered." 796 [897]

So with sun helmets on our heads we sat, and, as we listened to the new rhythms of the drums, there came a shriek from the river which brought us to our feet. Those who were not dancing ran up the hill away from the drums. 781 796 796

"Obia! Obia comes! It is the Kromanti!" were the cries, and our cook and our town man placed themselves in line across the front of our hut, watching uneasily. 787

"They will destroy all you have if they get inside," they called to us, "we must try to keep them out."

Up from the river, along the path he had trodden but a while before, came a man whom we could not recognize in the disguise given him by the paint on his face. Half his face was white, half a deep red, and we later learned what we did not then know, that this was the face marking of the Djadja Kromanti and that this man was possessed by one of the two Kromanti spirits which carry danger to those who are present when the seizure comes. He advanced toward the drums, machete in hand, as though he were stalking his prey, his legs raised high at every step, trailing some enemy. At his mouth the foam was gathering, and the words he uttered were in the Kromanti tongo, the sacred speech not understood by the uninitiated. [198]

The songs changed in character, and the singers were men. The women who had not run away were dancing a quick accompaniment to the drum beats, adding their shrill voices to the singing and the intensity of the cries of the possessed man. When the possessed man reached the hut, he stopped in front of the drummers. As their rhythms poured out of the barrel-like drums, he answered stroke for stroke with shouted cries in his sacred secret language, raising his machete higher and higher, until, with a quick stroke, he slashed at two of the players who were seated side by side on a log. He missed them by what seemed a hair's breadth as his machete, whistling through the narrow space between their bodies, sank deep into the log on which they sat.

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Other cries now came to us, and from the bush a second possessed man burst into the clearing. He, too, had a machete, and he made straight for our hut. But obia did not prompt him to insist on entering, and he came close to us, gibbering in our faces, and then, stepping high as had the other, went his way to slash at our washbasins, sending one of them, that we treasure as a memory of that night's adventure, hurtling into the bush with a deep dent in its side.

From the river came renewed shouts, and some of the men dashed to the bank to jump into a canoe and paddle into the rapids, so that they might watch the possessed man who had leaped into the river to pit his strength against the fast water. On and on he swam upstream in the foaming water, as from the bank we watched his progress uneasily in the clear light of the moon. Finally obia left him, and the men in the boat seized his inert form and brought him back to shore.

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When we returned to our hut, we found several others possessed. Obia had claimed six or seven, some with faces painted half white, half red, as was that of the first man, others with faces whitened, while still others had white faces with black markings. These last had Tigri, and the white was for Opete. Those who danced for the buzzard had no machetes, but went about in a circle, moving with bodies bent forward from their waists and with arms thrown back in imitation of the bird from which their spirit took its name.

One man with the Tigri face-painting took away the apinti from the drummer and placing it in the center of the clearing leaned over it and began drumming faster rhythms. Now indeed obia itself was drumming.

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Long before this, we had observed the amenities of the occasion. As hosts, our duty was to provide the ceremonial rum with which the spirits needed to be regaled, and our cook, holding the bottle of rum for us, filled and refilled the small glass which we offered to men and women. Some did not drink at all but poured part of the rum on the

ground, rubbing the remainder over arms and upper body. Some took a sip and, like the others, poured the rest as a libation to the Earth Mother. Few drank more than a little, and only the men had as much as half of the small wine glass we were using.

The bassia of Gankwe came to us. "Do not be afraid. Obia has come strong, but we have prepared for it. The men will not hurt people."

Led by him, we passed from one dancer to the next, giving to this one a sip, to that one a taste. But there was one elderly man who would not drink.

"Not until I get obia," he said, "and obia does not come to me tonight."

Not all the possessed men were slashing about with cutlasses. One man pulled up grass, eating part and throwing the rest over his head. Another in the strength of his possession uprooted large clumps of brush, and one broke off a liana of some size and wrapped it about his body, and danced with it.

Songs, dancing men, dancing women, machetes flashing in the moonlight . . . and over all the beat of the drum. This was the dance of the Kromanti obia.

Now the man who had refused a drink came up. He was trembling.

"Obia comes!" he cried. "Give me rum!"

As he tossed off the drink, he dashed toward the possessed men. In his hand was a rattle, the first we had seen at this dance. The rattle is sacred to the Kromanti, and possession can be brought on by shaking it even when there are no drums. As he danced, he supplemented the rhythm of the drums with his rattle, and his dancing surpassed in its fury that of all the others. Men kept out of his way as he dashed back and forth in his contortions, and he continued his gyrations as those with painted faces, whom obia was releasing, began to feel exhaustion.

The drums never stopped. As long as obia remained unsatisfied, they would need to play on and on. While the drummers beat the Kromanti rhythms, and the man with

his rattle danced his dance, the moon sank behind the screen of branches.

It was late. Slowly the last dancer came out of his orgy of possession. One by one the drums stopped until, for a moment, all was quiet. Then, taking the apinti drum up the path beyond our clearing, one of the drummers drummed an invocation to the spirits that had come.

We trained our flashlights on the path which led to the river, lighting the way of the dancers to their waiting boats, while they sang for us the seketi song we had heard the night of Zimbi's funeral.

Thank you, thank you, white man,
For coming to the Saramacca River,
For bringing us your diamond fire,
To light the darkness of our path.

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At the village opposite our base camp, a girl had died shortly before our return from up river. The eighth night after the death was to be commemorated with the usual dancing of "eighth-day night," and with the ceremony of throwing away food for the spirit of the dead.

"Come tonight and we will dance for you," the men of the village said. It was agreed that they should come for us when they were through with the ceremony for throwing away the food, for the bereaved family would not look kindly upon the intrusion of the whites at the ceremony.

As we waited for the messenger, Bayo prowled about uneasily. He had been nervous for the past few days. His spirits had been troubling him, and he said he needed to dance. It was some time since he had danced, and his spirits were vexed with him for this neglect.

"If they dance Kromanti, I will dance, too," he said.

We talked with him of the rum we would have to take. The strength in which it was distilled made it necessary to cut it with water. Bayo watched us as we took out one bottle, prepared the rum, and then took up another. His hand interposed.

"OBIA COMES!"

"Do not take too much rum," he said. "When there is much to drink, obia does not come." 964 996

The bottle ready, we waited. Eight, half-past, nine o'clock. When we had decided they were not coming for us, the sharp bark of Troes signaled the approach of a man up the path from the river bank. As he came into the circle of light, we recognized Apanto.

"Everything is ready, Bak'a," he said. "Come."

It was not an important village, this one across the river from our camp. It was smaller and had much less power than Gankwe, the seat of a clan head. But enough men had assembled for the ceremonies to make a dance, and the women were standing about waiting as we came from the river through the palm-frond guard. The moon was again up, but moving clouds hid it from view or covered it with a haze which dimmed its brilliance. A few houses fronted on the little clearing where the dance was to be held, and here and there some oil lanterns had been placed.

Not everything, we soon learned, was ready, for drums were lacking. They had an agida, but the two others which were needed were not there. Poor villages very often had to borrow their drums from other settlements. The dancers stood about waiting. [926]

We offered the tumao we had acquired, and Bayo returned to our camp for it. A large tin basin, turned upside down, gave the same metallic tenor voice as the apinti, and so with the makeshift orchestra the dancing began, two younger boys playing the kwakwa. 964 534

For a time it seemed as though we were only to see seketi. The children had had no opportunity at all to perform, and they stood about watching, while their elders danced the social dance we had seen so often. There was a tall man from a friendly village farther down the river whose dancing that night stood out. The careful awkwardness of his legs as he danced facing us, the carefully timed movements of arms and body showed us that in seketi, too, as the proverb ran, there were truly men on the lower river, as there were on the upper. 964 996

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Surinamese

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A light rain fell, and for a while the dancing stopped. Deserting our benches, we joined the natives who clustered under the overhanging eaves of the houses, and sheltered ourselves from the shower. But the rain was soon over, and the moon came out again. The drummers took their places and the dancers resumed their seketi.

"Dance Kromanti," we urged, remembering Bayo, "we have seen much seketi."

"You will have to look out," said Apanto. "We have strong Kromanti here," as the drums began to call obia.

Bayo had been sitting behind us during the seketi. His face mirrored a frame of mind that was none too happy, for this was not the sort of dance that he had looked forward to. When Apanto gave the word to play Kromanti, however, Bayo rose, and when we next saw him, his head was low over the inverted tin basin which served for an apinti, and he was making the night throb with the intricacy of the messages he was sending to the strong spirits which were troubling him with their insistence for expression.

Where we sat, we could see the men becoming aware of the voices of the drums. Several rattles had made their appearance, and the sound they made as they were shaken in concert caused the men's bodies to grow rigid, while the women hovered uncertainly about. By now the evening's "play" was begun in earnest. No children remained to look on. At the moment, there was no dancing, for the men with the rattles, and those who were merely waiting for the spirit to come to them, moved about in the open place reserved for the dance, back and forth, waiting for their Kromanti spirits to enter their bodies. One man struck up a song, and the chorus carried the refrain, until interest in that song died down and another was sung.

These Kromanti songs were not of the lilting, rhythmic kind which other dances required. Some of them were slow and mournful, some quick and martial. Now they were singing to the Opete. The leader sang

"OBIA COMES!"

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Opete kwazi Adjaini-o
Opete kwazi Adjaini-obia-o
Opete kwazi
Tide Adjaini-a weti kwaa, kwaa, kwaa, kwaa.

The chorus repeated,

Opete kwaa, Adjaini-o-yi
Opete kwaa, Adjaini-o-yo
Opete kwaa, Adjaini-o-kwaasi!

They were becoming more and more agitated. The rattles sounded a faster tempo, the drums beat louder, and the music swung into another song.

Amanu Djadja-o
O-o-o-o-o-o
Amanu Djadja-o
O yo-o-o
Kuma, lulu, mowa,
O-o Mama-o
O-o-o-o-o-o-o-o . . .

This was a song of greeting for the Djadja spirit. Bayo still urged the rhythms out of the improvised apinti which he was playing. The drummers were calling all the Kromanti spirits, the buzzard called Opete, the jaguar, Tigri, and Djadja, the "devil." Would they come? 964 533

The question was answered soon enough. Out of the forest into the clearing ran one whose obia had come to him. It was Opete obia and, in his strength of possession, he had torn off two branches from a palm tree in the bush. These he held under his arms, so that, as he pranced about in his dance, he impersonated the awkwardness of the great carrion bird which gave its name to his obia. The tufts of palm leaves projecting from behind his flexed arms were wings. He leaped as in flight, then with startling rapidity he began turning round and round to the flapping of his wings. 787 789

Apanto suddenly seized a stick we held and, whirling it about our heads, was off to his dance, joining the six or 787 796

seven men who were dancing the individual dances of their spirits. His dancing was unlike any we had seen on the river. There was a stealthy, effeminate grace in his movements, which produced a strange effect on the visitors. Suddenly it struck us—Apanto was one of those who had the dreaded Tigri! When he fought, he fought with his finger nails, not his fists, and when he danced, he danced with the feline grace of the tiger trailing his prey.

Suddenly the drums faltered. People near us cried out. Voices were heard.

"Bayo!"

"Bayo has gone into the bush!"

"Sound the drums to bring him back!"

In the silence of the moment, we could hear from the direction of the river the cries of our friend, now in the grip of obia. "*Hoi, hoi, hoi! Obia! Hoi!*"

The lull in the drumming was only momentary, for instantly another man jumped for the makeshift drum, which Bayo had left, and the voice of the spirits once more rolled out. Ten, twelve men were whirling before us in their dance, and now more joined them, until it was impossible to remain seated, and we rose, and stood on guard.

More cries. These came from the village. Someone else had got obia.

A woman dashed up to us. "Run, white people, run! Come inside my house! Obia has come too soon! Obia is bad tonight! You will be hurt!"

As we shook our heads, she hurried to a near-by house, and we could hear the slam of the door and the sound of the wooden bolt as it was shot to. She had done what she could for the visitors. If they would stay, let them take the consequences.

Before us a creeping figure appeared, with eyes fixed upon us, his muscles tense, as if ready for a spring. The dancing men who were not yet possessed, closed in front of us. They held him as he crouched there, glaring. Those who restrained him called to the others.

"See to the guns!"

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his hold on the *babouda*. The child is finally allowed to remain. He can keep time well enough and that is what the *babouda* is for. 533

It is now night, jungle night. The tomtoms crash out in a full-throated chorus. It is a driving, compelling rhythm of hollow sounds. The timbre is heavy, hypnotic, maddening. The drummers achieve a difference of tone by striking near the edge, which gives a shrill sound, and then returning to the centre, which booms by contrast.

The effect of the drums may be a species of hypnosis. Hypnosis can be produced experimentally by the sound of rhythmical tapping, without any condition of sleep.

The patting of the fingers on the drum-head of dried skin seems to induce in these primitives a type of hypnoid exaltation. The cause of it is the monotonous, rhythmical repetition of booming sounds. Fatigue falls away. Memories of other evenings around the jungle fires come crowding back. They imagine that Apüku seizes their bodies. Demoniacal possession is a phenomenon well known to history; here we have it in the South American bush. Here it is called *winti*. 533 151

The hypnoid stimulus—monotonous repetition—is reproduced in the other instruments that accompany the tomtoms. The first of these is the *saka-saka*, a gourd stuck on a handle and filled with pebbles. Then there is the *quaqua*, a flat board of resounding wood that is beaten with a hard paddle. Now the primitive orchestra is in full swing. [534]

By this time the crowd has arranged itself in a circle, with a bare space in the centre. The fires glow luridly on black 533 796

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535 faces. The drummers stop to tune to the desired pitch, driv-
796 ing in the pegs with the back edge of a bush-knife. Then they resume, rattling out a sharply insistent tempo. Women begin to sway. Some of them start a plaintive jungle song. The drums never stop.

796 A woman disengages herself from the crowd and enters
535 the open space. She bends forward from the waist at a right angle. Her arms form a circle beyond her head, saffron palms outward. She sways from the hips, her torso contorted with sinuous suggestion. Then her feet on the bare earth rap out the tempo that the brown fingers of the men are drumming on the dried skin. The others begin patting juba.

It is a false start. The woman interrupts her dance to criticize the orchestra for not playing in her mood. The crowd is not yet possessed.

Dodo, the woman *bazaria*, or boss, goes about urging the women to begin. Meanwhile the bahkra slips through the [123 crowd pouring out drinks of high wine to add to the dark 792 hilarity of the occasion. Always before drinking they will 273] spit on the ground a libation to the gods. A mother gives the rum to her seven-year-old child, who does not flinch from the burning potion.

A new tempo. Three little girls, slim in their nudity, enter the central space. The oldest is about eleven. They stand with their backs to us and begin the *bandamba* dance. The evening is on.

Standing still in the firelight, hands behind their heads, they arch their loins and raise their buttocks up and down.

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Shadows roll on the brown skin and quiver with the firelight. 796

It is a vivid picture, these naked girls standing still in the 535
flickering light of the fire, making their muscles dance to the monotony of the drums. Sweat breaks out on the foreheads of the drummers and runs down their faces, dropping off their chins unnoticed. The music grows louder and louder. 796
Apuku is coming. The stalwart black with the saka-saka 535
holds it at arm's length, braces his feet apart, and delivers his 153
whole body to the rhythm. The little girls, loath to stop, are seized by their proud mothers who rush out to embrace them, cheek to cheek. Others press forward with compliments for the excited girls. There is no stopping of the drums now. Louder and faster the metre becomes, a veritable pandemonium. No conversation or restrained observation is possible, due to the noise; the psychological effect is to wipe out the inhibitions of daily life and induce a state of semi-hysterical exhilaration. The white man, forgetting civilization for a time, feels like stamping his feet and shaking himself. And over all is the insistent monotony of the drums.

A woman has attached dried rattling nuts to her ankles, [534]
and enters the clearing to be swayed by the drums. She too bends her body at a right angle, palms outward, caressing invisible curves in time with the beat of the drums. Her torso writhes, in time to the beat of the drums. She would be crying aloud, were it not for the pulsation of the drums. Two other women come out and accompany her, then another, then more, until finally eight or nine are dancing in the

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79b 535 158 centre clearing, no longer caring, no longer entirely conscious, their bodies driven by the rhythm of the drums.

No man has yet danced. Now a young buck of nineteen jumps into the centre and begins the *awasa* dance. His movements simulate the flying of a hawk, arms out like wings, pirouetting gracefully. His bare feet stamp the earth, hard enough, it seems, to break his bones. Another man joins him, waving his arms at full length, like an eagle in flight. They chant in talkee-talker an *awasa* song:

"Foowu mo luku bon nanga akga."

[537] It means: The fowl must be careful of the hawk; in other words, the girls must be careful of the men. They circle from the waist like birds soaring into the blue.

79b 132 Now a man begins dancing toward a woman. She retreats. No dancer has yet touched another, or even noticed another. But this one is making definite love advances to the woman. He mimics coitus. Coyly she evades his approaches, and will have none of his movements. They are not serious. When she definitely refuses his copulatory advances, the drums stop. He takes a drum from one of the men, puts it under his arm, and follows her, dancing around the clearing, beating out a message of love. They weave a pattern of movement, in and out, in this dance of courtship to the lone muttering tambour.

[202] There is a halt. The drummers rap out a message to other canoes coming up the river, telling them to hurry. Soon more strangers arrive for the final round.

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Then comes the *saraire* dance, accompanied by songs of 796
the rebellion. Ancient heroes live again. Once more raids are 535
made on outlying plantations. The spirit of defiance that Stedman found at Boucou is still kept alive. Then come softer songs—songs of love. *"Te e dormi e songa me, grandanke,"* a girl sings plaintively. She is telling her lover, "When you sleep, dream of me, many thanks." *"Te kai me* [p.32]
u srai neseco, bexan na bosu soni e ta leyme"—"When you lead me to deceit I will not follow; such things you should not teach me."

Again the dancers find fault with the orchestra, protesting loudly. They are not satisfied with the rhythm. Abruptly the chief dancer seizes a drum and rolls out a call to Apuku, god of the forest, asking Apuku to come.

Dimly through the darkness they can feel some response. 796
Apuku is coming. Everyone runs back a few steps and utters 535
a slight scream. The spirit of the bush god is entering their 776
bodies. He is welcomed with a little dance, jerkily done, in 159
which all participate. Then comes the special Apuku dance, where writhing, circling, snaking arms simulate the twisted lianas of the jungle, which is the god's home.

Once the spirit of the bush god has entered them, they cannot stop. The drums increase their volume and tempo, until the rhythm is too rapid and intricate for white ears to follow. Now truly they are hypnotized by the feverish monotony, the shuffling beat of fingers on the drum-heads. Because of this trance, fatigue is forgotten. The little *baboula* keeps steady time, throbbing like a heart-beat. Flat hands

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796 shade out strange metres on the *sanda*. There is a break; the
535 orchestra stops, and the interval is filled in with the heavy
776 booming of the *apenai*. Often the drummers seize a bush-
158 knife and batter at the pegs, stretching the dried skin to the
[300] proper tone. Mist from the river has dampened their hair, unnoticed. The dance will continue until morning; they must play until the spirit of Apuku has gone.

796 Everything is set for the climax. Some are still watching
535 while the others dance. Since the old men are too dignified,
158 their places are taken by younger men from sixteen to twenty-five. There are more women dancing than men, anyhow. The white man is wondering how it is going to end. Despite the excitement there has been no orgiastic episode.

Grand finale. There is a tremendous screech from out of the blackness beyond. Three practically naked blacks come rushing up from the river, their faces and bodies daubed
[302] hideously with pemba doree, the ceremonial white clay. One has stripes around his arms, belly, and legs, his face all white. Another's face is bisected with white and yellow pigment. The third is Adjobo, the medicine man; he has circles of clay on his forehead, cheeks, and chin, and rings around his neck. The presence of the ceremonial clay indicates the presence of a god. There is no doubt but that the hideousness of these men inspires a feeling of awe.

They burst into the circle of dancers and scatter them. Everyone retreats before them, with actual or pretended fright. The children become hysterical and cling frantically to their mothers for protection. Women in the crowd are cry-

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ing. The vibrating tomtoms are pouring out a great volume of tangled sound. The three religious dancers whirl like furies. One dances with a wicked-looking machete; he makes it whistle through the air and brings it down with all his might into the ground between two drummers. They do not budge. A second dancer dashes into the bahkra's hut with his whirling bush-knife, hacking at everything in sight. The others seize him and overpower him, not before he has damaged many things with his vicious chops.

This ominous fury characterizes the hysterical possession of the *Cromanti* dance, the wild, mad dance of the evil spirit of the *con con dree*. The crowd keep clear of the chopping knives of the possessed men. They mutter unknown incantations in *odo*, making wild turns and gyrations. One falls on his knees to eat of the earth. Another bites the door of a hut like a dog. The third frees himself from a group of the struggling men who seek to restrain him, jumps into the rapids, swims against the great rush of water with feverish strength, and finally would drown were it not that his family rescues him with a canoe. There is nothing mystical about the extreme muscular endurance of such states; it can be produced experimentally in the laboratory.

The remaining obeiah dancers have a sham battle, fencing skilfully and dangerously with their bush-knives. First they stalk an imaginary enemy with poised machetes. Their muscular torsos held in strained attention would delight a sculptor. Picture a black, arms thrown out and head thrown back, eyes closed in frenzy, tense and foaming lips laying bare his

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796 clenched teeth, stamping the earth like an animal. Then two
535 such blacks, with glazed eyes, slashing at each other with
158 yard-long knives. This is the obeiah dance. Nothing can stop it until the dancers are exhausted and drop from sheer fatigue. Then the spirit of the god has fled.

796 Until that time, protesting is useless. It is useless for the
535 bahkra to protest that he wants to go to sleep: *"Me wanny go seepy."* No attention is paid to that. It is dawn before the dancers finally stop. The visitors go down to the river to get in their corials. We light the dim path for them with a flashlight. They are grateful, and compose a little song of thanks. Even after the corials draw away from the bank, excited women get up in the boats and continue to dance, palms outward, hips high. It is no wonder that the marines in Haiti must confiscate the drums to keep the Negroes quiet. So long as the primitive holds to his intoxicating tom-toms, which manufacture courage automatically, he will never be a coward.

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so. In accordance with the voodoo ceremony, sacrifices of 825
white chickens are occasionally offered to Papa Gadu, the 778
snake god. Sacrifices are especially made to the large land and water boas. Human sacrifices, if they occur, are kept secret from all outsiders. We have no reason to believe in their occurrence.

A most interesting *Winti* dance was witnessed by Mr. 825
Charles de Goeje, leader of the Dutch government expedition 796
to the Tumac-Humac Mountains in 1908. This dance was for the purpose of propitiating the spirit of a snake which had been accidentally burned to death while a provision ground was being prepared for cultivation.

About 10 P. M., Mr. de Goeje relates, the drums began to play furiously. There were two apenti and one large ageedah drum. The people began to sing in an unusual manner, and the wife of one of the headmen, thickly smeared with pemba dotee, sat immovable as an image upon a carved wooden stool. After the drums had gone on for a while, there was heard the exclamation, *"Pour watra!"* A man came with a basin; he dipped a palm leaf in it and sprinkled the seated woman while the drums beat furiously. The woman seemed to awaken and began to turn around and around on her stool; she twisted and turned her body sometimes slowly, sometimes quickly. When she had reached a high pitch of excitement, she began to dance.

Several other women smeared with pemba dotee rose and took part in the dance. They danced around the long drum, gesturing as if the drum were speaking to them. They then

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825 embraced the drummers, streaking the men's heads with
796 pemba dotee. A number of women in the audience also caught the spirit. One of them began to shake and convulse; when
825 she awoke from her trance, she ran to her hut in the village.
796 Another woman began to murmur as though in a dream.
158 Still another one ran about among the assembly streaking and rubbing others with the sacred white clay. This dance continued until very late, and the whites, overcome by fatigue, were forced to retire.

The next morning at daybreak they again assembled. One of the women began to chant in a thin strange voice, and at 6 A. M. the dance started again. A couple ran dancing into the village clearing and smeared a man with pemba dotee; he also began to prance and became hysterical. This is known as *winti kiki,* or the transference of winti from one person to another. Several others, obtaining the spirit in the same way, began to dance. One man, after dancing a long while, ran around the clearing and finally fell flat on his face. He remained there until others carried him away. The man who had been playing the ageedah drum circled around with his drum between his legs like a hobby horse. Some of the women fell on their knees and continued to dance thus. One fell to the ground and beat the earth with her arms and legs. This ceremony ended at 10 A. M., after which the body of the snake, which had all this while been carefully guarded, was buried with great solemnity.

The dancing recommenced at four o'clock in the afternoon. The women went to a little Gadu house. One had a

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severe attack of winti. She fell upon her knees and appeared 825
half lame. The others lifted her up. A youth came with a 776
green stick; he bit into it and spat on the woman's calves, 158
legs, feet, and arms. After a while she was able to stand alone. This seemed to constitute the end of the dance. It had somehow become known that the Papa Gadu, the snake spirit, was angry, and this big *gadu pray* (god's spread) had been necessary in order to propitiate him.

The women who are seized with the winti sometimes mutter a few words. The others regard these as the utterances of a spirit and say: *"Ya, gadu"*—"yes, God." Upon inquiry among the women who had caught the winti spirit, Mr. de Goeje found that they all complained of feeling very dizzy or giddy when in such a trance.

Certain localities, as well as individuals, may be possessed 776
by evil spirits. The Pwaba Creek is such a place. Were a 751
Djuka to go up this creek with any clothing on, he would never come out alive. So upon entering the waters of Pwaba the Djuka strips off all his clothes. That nullifies the bad magic.

Every Bush Negro, to protect himself from all varieties 751
of black magic, wears a number of charms or amulets. He 778

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The decoration of
177 objects with cowrie shells comes by way of Africa. The
[328] monkey dance said to be practised by the Djukas is described
[796] as similar to the gorilla dance of the West Coast. The coiled wire bracelets and anklets are of African design, and the
[301 291] general mode of dress is the same.

The Djuka attitude toward the silk-cotton tree is common among the tribes of the Guinea Coast. "Throughout West
[824] Africa from Senegal to the Niger the silk-cotton tree is regarded with reverence and believed to be the abode of a god or spirit. This general consensus of opinion is no doubt due to the stupendous size attained by some of these trees, which tower far above all others of the forest."

[524] *Adji-boto,* a game in which seeds are placed in round holes in a board, is played not only by the Bush Negroes but also by the Town Negroes of Paramaribo; it is found along the Gold Coast, Benin, Sierra Leone, West Sudan, and, in modified forms, in many other parts of Africa. The fish spear
[227] of the Djukas is found in Liberia, Mandingo, and the Gold Coast. Shooting fish with a bow and arrow is an African
[224] custom, but it is also widespread among the aboriginal Indians of South America. On the other hand, according to Dr. W. Roth of Demerara, a number of traps and hunting devices now used by the Guiana Indians are of African origin and have been borrowed from the Negroes.

[372] The Djuka fire fan, woven of split rattan, is borrowed from the Arawak Indians, but different types of the same device can be found also among the Tshi- and Ewe-speaking people and in Liberia, Cameroons, etc. The Bush Negro

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obeiahs, house gods, fetish houses, menstrual huts, and matrilineal system of inheritance are all to be found as ancient customs among the forest tribes of the West Coast. Other details, such as the use of chickens for sacrificial animals, the huts with their rectangular walls, the manufacture of butter from the palm worm, the sacredness of snakes and alligators, the use of drums for religious supplication, and the beating of them with the hand instead of with a stick as the Indians do, are also customs which are similar to West African customs and probably derived from them. The impaled turtle-shell on a staff, the badge of the witch doctor's profession, represents the symbol for the female genitalia among some West African tribes. The Bush Negroes' boats and paddles are typically African in design. The *awasa* dance of the Saramaccaners was borrowed from the Aucaners, among whom it is a direct West African survival.

From the study of these culture survivals among the Djuka tribes it can be seen that most of the jungle civilization of the Bush Negroes is derived from their West African ancestry, modified here and there by contact with the Indians of their new home. The remainder of the material culture of the Bush Negroes is borrowed from the white settlements along the coast, from which gunpowder, fish-hooks, bush-knives, and other articles filter upstream.

[p. 192 is blank]

/11 cont./

252 They always prepare their food with much native pepper (5)

5. All Capsicum species.

and in their soup or blaf cook various forest greens (6), which they

6. Kraroe, kalalve from the Amarantus oleraceus, taja leaves from an Arum species.

then eat with finely pounded bananas (called afoefoe) or else with cassava bread or rice dipped into it.

412 They make their spoons from a long strip of the calabash rind.

262 They are great lovers of pinda (7), a kind of groundnut, from

7. Arachis hypogoea L.

which they make various delicacies.

[439] They are particularly fond of bacon and buy it whenever they are in town, salted and smoked; they frequently take barrels of it with them into the bush and are very sparing with it.

/12/ They buy flour or meal only when they have had a bad rice harvest.

273 As drink they use rum or dram, and sometimes they make

[439] from the juice of the sugar cane, which they acquire on plantations, a kind of fermented drink which they use especially at festivals. They prefer gin and beer to wine, of which they are no great lovers. The women are very fond of liqueur.

276 Many men and women smoke American tobacco in short clay pipes. The taking of snuff is a passionate habit among some.

Chapter VIII

Festivals, Games, Gods

● 796

273 They do not have fixed times for the veneration of their gods, and they do this only then when they are amply supplied with strong drink and want to have a gay time for three or four days.

/12 cont./

796 Then they call all the neighbors together to take part in the
273 festivities to be held, which consist of invoking their gods amidst continuous dancing and excessive drinking.

They begin the festivities only on a Friday and usually finish on a Sunday or Monday, depending on the larger or smaller
[147] supply of drink, so, lacking this, the festival ends. After the conclusion they are usually extremely tired and listless and give themselves up entirely to rest for at least two or three days.

It is a definite requirement at these festivities to be very amply supplied with strong drink, because one must drink without
[782] interruption in order to remain in a continuous narcosis. With each drink they first pour a little on the ground, -- so that it, too, on which they find themselves so gay, may participate in their enjoyment.

[262] The merrymakers then take care that they will by no means
[577] be lacking in fish, wild game, bacon, rice, etc., since it is a matter of honor with them to display the most lavish hospitality on such occasions.

776 The gods that they worship are:

Loango Gado,
Papa Gado,
Cromantie Gado,

/13/ names certainly derived from the various African tribes of these names.

In the first two they glorify nature and everything created, from which it therefore appears that these are merely subordinate
[787] gods of the unnamed, single great spirit. The last is above all regarded by them as the mediator who transmits their wishes to the great spirit; he is invoked especially at burial ceremonies and for consultation in connection with serious illnesses.

796 They do not have any other cult or religion, so far as I was
[771] able to discover, but only the fixed habit of still celebrating to-
[132] gether and with their chief and captains on the first Friday of the new moon in the month of October or November, after the long
[783] dry period has set in for good, a great feast [illegible] goal a general atonement, to cleanse them of the misdeeds that they have committed.

/13 cont./
796 [782] committed. This feast, at which pigs and poultry are sacrificed, must last for four weeks and thus ends with the following new moon. They pray, dancing and singing, while from time to time they kneel in order to ask for blessings.

[778] In the place where their idol stands they plant long sticks in the ground at certain intervals, on which they let flutter a number of long narrow strips of white cotton in the manner of flags.

[781] They celebrate this feast, for which no costs are spared, with all possible solemnity; it is attended by old and young and is very important among them.

Chapter IX

Conceptions about Death and Eternity

775 They believe that at death the existence of the human being ends, but that the spirit of the deceased does not disappear altogether and remains among them for a long time. Also they believe in unlucky spirits, which, as a result of an earlier evil life, must wander about restlessly, while the life on earth of the peaceful spirits is supposed to have been free of misdeeds.

They do not assume rewards in the hereafter for good deeds; /14/ misdeeds, however, in their opinion, are punished with restless wandering about.

[755] They say that those spirits know all that happens, and that they can come in contact with them at their feasts, that they receive many a hint and information, and through concealed signs come to know remedies against diseases, to which they attach the fullest confidence.

Chapter X

Marriage and Marital Life

584 Their marriages take place with few ceremonies. Frequently young men and even men ask pregnant women, in case they should bring a daughter into the world, to designate that girl as their wife,

614 /31 cont./
769 Another very important principle in the minds of the Refugee
•796 Blacks is that prayers must be collective; the principal ceremonies,
such as the New Year's prayer, must bring together, at least in
613 principle, the total lineage.

These notions certainly have influenced the custom of the
182 Refugee Blacks with respect to residence and marriage. The lineage
613 cannot allow the permanent departure of a woman from her native
614 country any more than that of a man. In the populations of Black
Africa with matrilineal filiation, this conception is reconciled
591 with the necessities of practical living in the following manner:
[171] the wife leaves her relatives to settle down with her husband, but
when her children reach adulthood they must return there. Thus
one cannot attribute to this preoccupation alone the special system
of marriage among the Refugee Blacks, which does not involve
the permanent cohabitation of man and wife. We shall see that
this system was inspired by social and psychological necessities.
But concern for the unity of the lineage, to which it corresponds
perfectly, has surely contributed to make of it a rigorous principle
of customary law.

601 Kinship within the matrilineage. The kinship terms translate a
613 purely classificatory system. It depends only on the number of
generations separating from the foundress. The sons of women
611 descended from the foundress in uterine line are regarded as mem-
bers of the matrilineage and united in the system of appellation.
The children of these men are no longer part of the matrilineage.

/259 cont./

771 to the god, and their words of thanks lasted scarcely half a
[782] minute (1). At the time of our first trip on the Maruini, in

1. Yet custom expressly provides for this rite of thanking.

1948, the same scenes had unfolded, going as well as coming back.

241 771

Rites Relative to Agriculture

These rites occupy a relatively minor place in the religious life of the Refugee Blacks, which may be attributed to the great regularity of the climate and the absence of calamities affecting the yield of crops.

[613] It does not seem, at least among the Boni, that a religious bond is assumed between the lineage and the land, and rites intended to insure the fertility of the soil are carried out by each one for himself in the neighborhood of his own field; the lineage head does not appear to play any particular role in this regard. In the thought of the Boni, the fertility of the
241 776 soil depends upon a local divinity, to which is offered de facto worship; the temporary or permanent users of the lands situated in the domain of this god perform on their own behalf the rites of this worship without any distinction of origin, whether they are Boni, Djuka, or Saramaka.

[796] The only collective worship existing in Boni country is
[793] the worship of mama gɔ̃, of which the grand man is priest.
[643] Its rites are limited to a short annual prayer.

/259 cont./

241 776 [532] [831] [778] [643] [782] Cult of Mama gɔɔ̃. Mama gɔɔ̃, mother of the earth, is represented by a crude statue of white clay provided with enormous breasts, symbol of fecundity, which can be seen in a little hut situated on the open place of Boniville village. Each year, when the time for cutting the clearings approaches, the grand man, surrounded by many other people, prays to the god to grant fertility to the plantings. If rain does not fall, an offering of water and tafia is made and the statue is sprinkled.

811 The Boni do not appear to associate the idea of women's fecundity with that of the fertility of the soil, and we have not heard anyone say that the grand man prays on this subject.

241 776 Neither do they appear to have a very clear idea about the relationships of this worship with that of the gɔɔ̃ gadu, local gods of the soil.

796 535 787 Every three years a great possession dance takes place in Boniville on January 1, /260/ in which the Papa gadu gods dance in front of the sanctuary of Mama gɔɔ̃. We have not been able to obtain specific information on the meaning of this rite.

241 776 [784] Cult of the gɔɔ̃ gadu. It is assumed that every portion of land is under the sway of a local god, gɔɔ̃ gadu. Its power is limited only by the fertility of the soil, and he who neglects its worship cannot be attacked in his person or in his goods, but only punished by a poor harvest.

What is the nature of these gods, what is their place in the cosmogony? These are questions which not one of our informants had ever asked himself. In their minds, gɔɔ̃ gadu has a de facto existence, and is rendered de facto worship. This worship consists essentially of:

[782] --Offerings made at the moment of planting;

[527] --The observance of a local day of rest, kina dɛ, corresponding to the god's day of rest.

765 /263 cont./ He will go to the spot, following
782 at a good distance M..., bearer of the remedy, with which he will sprinkle the surface of the clearing, and of offering objects. When the offering has been made, they will wait some time to see whether Masauman is better and if she is, they will deem the god appeased.

The Yali Festival

796

[805] The Refugee Blacks, who do not count the days that elapse, contenting themselves with lunations in order to follow the course of the year, make inquiries from Europeans and Creoles to set the time for the Yali festival which marks the new year. Everyone accumulates provisions, especially tortoise meat, varied drinks, and many firecrackers.

On the evening of December 31 each one dances in his own village.

The festival lasts all night, tafia gushes forth, firecrackers go off everywhere.

[787] At the end of the night several gods "rise" in the heads of their bearers, at least of those who are not completely drunk.

[535] During the day dances resume intermittently in the order awasa, sɔŋgɛ, susa. It is customary for the people of one lineage to go to dance in the village of another, then they [574] invite them back. People make many individual visits. Some have set up in front of their hut a sort of small buffet on which they have arranged about ten glasses, five to six liters of tafia, four or five bottles of beer, lemonade, and syrup.

Observation in Boniville, January 1, 1958:

The grand man, who scarcely leaves his habitation downstream from Boniville any more, did not /264/ put himself out. He delegated his functions to Lébiman and Fintiman, men about 50 years old, belonging to the fraction of the Kotika and Dju lineages residing in Boniville.

/264 cont./

796 769 539 [126]

At seven o'clock, about ten men assemble at the fraga tiki. They pour water first, then tafia, while uttering the prayer whose whole text follows, taken from a tape recording:

Fintiman (pouring the water):

"Ancestors, hail! We have come to you; it is for the new year that we have come to you! as you yourselves used to do when you were (alive). May God protect us until the new year comes back again; thus it is that you yourselves used to pour the water on behalf of the ancestors. We have come to our place of prayer to speak with you, to ask you to carry our words to God."

(The same formulas are repeated several times.)

Lébiman:

"This is the New Year's Day water. It is God's day. He has arrived. Grand man Awensay (1), (because) I have

1. Predecessor of Grand Man Difu, who died in 1936. In each village the last dead head is invoked by name in order to ask him to call the more ancient dead.

not known the more distant ancestors, it is you alone that I call; call all the others."

"It has arrived, God's day. As for the grand man himself, a slight hindrance has come to him, he could not come, but it is not that he is no longer interested in the village."

"Watch over all the people who are there... we have come to pour water on your behalf, so that you will watch over the chickens and dogs of the village (and up to the living men) (2). Protect the grand man; if misfortune was about to

2. Usual prayer formula.

/264 cont./

796 769 539 happen to him, may it pass to one side. Thus we have come to pour (the water) to beg you to protect the village. The year has changed today, it is a new year. May we have money and food, we beg of you, ancestors; watch over our plantings, may they prosper, may the young women who fish at the wharf catch fish."

"All the captains pour (the water), the fiskal, the majors pour (3) for all the lineages; protect the villages."

[184] [622]

3. Honorific titles imitated from the Djuka but which, among the Boni, do not really mean anything; the head of Kormotibo village bears the title fiskal and the one of Kotika village the title major.

Fintiman:

"The people who have pure hearts, protect them, big and small. But the people whose hearts are not good, who do evil spells to kill others and decrease the village, we do not pray for them; turn them out."

"Watch over the grand man; if something happens to him, it must not be said that we, the people who are seated there, have not prayed well. Great ancestors, we supplicate you, if we were on the point of meeting misfortune, that we may find the good."

(They begin to pour the tafia.)

/265/ "Grand Man Awemay ...." (Thanks follow for a trip which was carried out without hindrance.)

Lébiman:

"May the grand man live long with us, may misfortune not happen to him."

/265 cont./

796 "Great ancestors who are in God's country, it is you who,
769 have the strength of the village."
539 (The tafia gushes forth.)

"Drink, drink, but do not get drunk to the point of being deluded, look with favor upon the righteous, scatter the wicked."

796 Next, Fintiman goes off to make an offering of tafia
782 accompanied by a few words at the chapel of Odun. Then he goes to the edge of the mortuary shed to pour water, tafia, and coffee on behalf of Samalobi, the grand man's brother, for whom mourning has not been lifted.

He goes next to the house of the deceased grand man Awensay to make an offering of coffee (Awensay, like the other grand men, used to drink coffee).

796 The prayer of the preceding year (January 1, 1957),
782 presided over by grandfather Samalobi, had had a higher
829 inspiration. After praying in about the same terms as above for the Boni, they prayed for the Djuka, explaining that in days gone by Boni and Djuka had fought, but that all that was forgotten. They prayed next for the Saramaka, then for the Indians, finally for the Europeans. I asked why; they answered: "It is because the Europeans were the ones who brought us to this country which has become ours." /p. 266 is blank/

/267/

CHAPTER VIII

538
765

TALES -- PROVERBS

Tales (Anãsi tɔli) and Proverbs (ɔdo) retain an important social function among the Refugee Blacks. It is always by tales that the great customary ceremonies of the lifting of mourning begin. Their function is to concentrate the attention of the

798 The other white man was the Catholic missionary who
797 for years had been living in the Gran Rio. He was a friend of the Saramacca people, and they liked him. Now this white man wanted to see Dahomey. He said that he, too, had a strong God who protected him. He asked so many times that they at last promised to take him there. But when he got to Pempeh he fell asleep, and he slept till . . . till they reached the Granman's country. So his life was saved. The gods, knowing that he was a friend of the Saramacca people, did not want to kill him. They put him to sleep until Dahomey was well out of reach.

"And this is what happened to you, Bak'a. The gods did not want to hurt you, so you did not see."

2

133 Past these rapids and another stretch of rough water, and then before us lay the highest falls of the Saramacca. To the right, over a ledge of rock spreading in an unbroken sweep across its entire width poured the Gran Rio, the
[361] river up which lay the villages of the Loango clan, and beyond, the untrodden jungle which barricaded the way to the country of the Indians, and the basin of the Amazon. To the left was the final bit of fast water that remained between us and the village where the Granman awaited us. We were at last in the Pikien Rio.

Here the stream narrowed, and we could see on both banks the people who were waiting to see us pass. The
[574] gay colors of the women's cloths were brilliant against the background of green, and their hallooing reached our ears above the rush of the water. A canoe with several young men came alongside.

"We are here to help you with your boats. We have been sent by the Granman. Fire three shots to let him know you are in the Pikien Rio."

576 We fired, and instantly there was an answering salute of
[201] three guns. With the reinforcement of paddlers, it did not take long to reach the island which separated us from the landing place of Asindopo Lantiwe. Here all strangers

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

is used as a living-room; cooking is sometimes carried on there, but more often in an open communal kitchen used by the entire village. Some towns have several such open sheds.

We enter the hut where the headman of the village lives, and find him lying in his hammock. It is perhaps a bit of conscious arrogance, to demonstrate his independence of the white man, that the captain does not rise to greet us. He rises, however, to greet Abaisa.

"Well, friend, how are you?" we begin. In talkee-talkee the question runs: *"So, matti, fie you tang?"*

He replies civilly, complaining a little, perhaps. We offer him a few leaves of tobacco, always acceptable. While we parley with the chief, the men of the village are carrying our equipment up from the corials to the village. This they always do, without being asked and without being paid. Even small children take part in the portage. Nothing is ever stolen.

Quite conscious of the heat inside the dark hut, we do not palaver long. Leaving the two chiefs lolling in hammocks we pass out of the breast-high doorway into the clearing, and go about examining the living-quarters and the people. This is a village of the Saramaccaner tribe, descended from the Saramacca rebels of two hundred years ago. All the huts and villages of this tribe are quite similar. Among the Aucaner tribe, descended from the Ouca rebels, are villages of a different type.

One does not doubt the good intentions of the Moravian Brothers and certain Catholics who have established missions at a few points on the rivers. But their evangelical efforts have

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

797 done no little harm. Bush Negroes are not converted to Christianity except in a most superficial way; in moments of stress they quickly revert to the jungle gods. The mission stations incongruously bring into the South American bush not only the God of Israel but also his tribal taboos concerning clothing. The missionaries censure the idea of nakedness, despite the fact that the wearing of clothing produces a higher death-rate among the Christianized Negroes. If a black, drenched in the torrents of frequent rain, is dressed only in a scanty loin-cloth, the sun soon dries and warms his skin. If, on the other hand, he is swathed in flimsy cotton cloth that becomes soaked with water, there is an evaporation and radiation of heat from his body which leaves him chilled and cold. He is then an easy prey to pneumonia or tropical malaria, since his lowered resistance may permit the dormant parasites already present in the blood to proliferate. Thus, imported ideas of sin raise the pneumonia and malaria death-rate.

291 Bush Negro clothing is simple and effective. While working on the river the men wear only a short loin-cloth, consisting of a small piece of gaudily striped cotton goods. It is held in place by a string of plaited grass, called *cumu* grass. On full-dress occasions the Bush Negro dons another garment, a toga thrown over one shoulder and caught with a knot. The *camissa,* as it is called, is usually of variegated squares and bits of bright cotton sewn together. The brilliant hues against the black skins of the natives make a study in colourful contrast.

The women wear either one or two garments. The com-

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

When there is a conflict between villages over their hunting and fishing territories, the captains and bosseias of each town meet on some neutral ground and arbitrate the matter. Then, indeed, the parley becomes wordy and rhetorical. Each cause is championed with long speeches, setting forth oratorically the rights and conditions involved. But once an agreement is arrived at, the matter is closed.

Local disputes, excluding those over women, are not nearly so common or so serious as they are among civilized white men. There is a minimum of quarrelling among the Djukas; they get along together in an almost idyllic way. Wherever there are women, there will, of course, be quarrelling, for, in the words of Confucius, "Disorder does not come from heaven, but is brought about by women." Outside of this factor there is little friction in the Bush Negro community. Their highly communalized government works exceedingly well.

The Granman and his captains have an annual council to make laws for the coming year. This and other assemblies are known as *krutu*. The captains and bosseias from surrounding villages concentrate at some important town to meet the Granman there. The Council near Gansee, the trading-post, included the villages of Nu, Lombe, Biodoti, Ganya Condree, and Adawai. Jankoeso refused to hold his parley in the town proper, although Gansee is the largest village in the entire tribe, because there is a Christian mission station there, conducted by the Moravian Brothers. Jankoeso is in favour of retaining the ancestral gods of the jungle, and does not look with favour upon the white proselytizers.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

361 that point has no further permanent habitations of the Bush
103 Negroes. Past the realm of the Aucaners on the Lawa River (the confluence of which with the Tapanahoni goes to form the Marowyne) we find the continuation of the Boni tribe, consisting of the villages of Tahbiki, Pulumuffo, the seat of the Granman, Loka, Papai-Seton, Agodai, Komuntibo, Cottica (the only Boni village on Dutch territory, but whose inhabitants also owe allegiance to the French), Akuba, and the last of all the Bush Negro villages, Assisi, past the mouth of the far Assisi Creek.

177 The Bonis, although the most remote of the Bush Negroes from the plantations from which they originally escaped as slaves, have certainly succumbed the most to the influences of the white civilization. Even the village of the Saramaccaner tribe, Santi Gron, only some twenty miles from Paramaribo, maintains in true aboriginal fashion its African customs and its heathen gods.

797 The French Catholic priests have been more successful in making converts among the Boni than have the Dutch among the other tribes. In one village, however, we saw the usual heathen fetishes on full display, but we were told that they only afforded real protection to those who *believed* in them. Some of these tribesmen wear trousers and the headcloth of the French Guiana Town Negroes. We have even heard it whispered that some of the Boni own shoes, which
[689] is an unspeakable offence against the code among any of the other tribes.

Although the huts are of Africanesque architecture, similar

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

784 These food trafers are sometimes chosen by the individual,
262 and are acquired also by inheritance. A certain Bush Negro
[424 got his trafer in this way: His grandmother had a vision,
787] called *papa winti,* and she informed her grandson that she had been possessed. This made him feel the spirit of Cromanti. In that bad state he got the *idée fixe* that shooting a turtle would be reprehensible and dangerous. This animal then became his tabooed food, and for the rest of his life it is trafer so far as he is concerned.

797 So far only a slight attempt has been made to Christianize the Djukas. The Catholics and Moravian Brothers have established mission stations at a few points along the rivers. Their efforts at conversion appear on the whole to be unsuccessful. The Bush Negroes are converted in small numbers and very superficially; in moments of stress they will revert back to their jungle deities. The whole spirit of Christian customs is foreign to their mode of life. They have the Gran
776 Gadu, an adequate enough image of divine power. Their
782 prayers are sometimes said directly to him, or they pray to their ancestors to intercede with the Gran Gadu for aid. Sometimes the prayer is said by being beaten out on the tom-
[778] tom, for the tomtom is sacred, and the throbs of the great

/198 cont./

167 old woman of 90, A..., who died in Asisi in January, 1957.
754 Having lived with Creoles in her youth, she had come back to live in her native village for at least 30 years and had never given occasion for any unfavorable remark. Nevertheless, upon her death it appeared that she had wisi.

771 Attitude toward Christianity. The Refugee Blacks, who are
829 acquainted better than one might believe with the conceptions
177 of the populations in the midst of whom they live, have a clear feeling of the relationship which exists between their metaphysical and moral conceptions and those of Christianity. They think they worship the same god as the Christians, in a com-
[797] pletely different way but just as sound. They have no animosity whatever toward the Catholic and Protestant clergy, and most of them agree willingly to wearing crosses or medals. But they have not the least intention of abandoning their beliefs for that. They do not perceive the contradiction and do not understand that people might want to oblige them to choose.

851 Like the Creole gold miners, they attach great importance
171 to baptism, considered as an obia protective against the dangers of the bush. On Christmas, 1957 they were strongly impressed
165 by the accidental death of a Djuka Christian living at the
797 Kotika school. He refused to observe mourning for his wife
[688] according to the custom of the Refugee Blacks, and used to go
[273] to drink in the cabarets of the Creole villages. On Christmas
[784] evening, when drunk, he drowned himself. That was attributed to a suprahuman punishment. We heard /199/ the following reflection on this subject: "He was baptized and he drowned himself just the same. That is therefore not worth the trouble."

61 Actually, the matrilineal structure of the Refugee Blacks
581 and their conception of marriage form an irreducible cleavage,
571 which appears immediately as soon as one leaves the metaphysical conceptions to pass to the plane of practical living.

/298 cont./

114 Here desirous of remaining on the plane of strict scientific objectivity, we shall avoid entering the discussion of the benefit springing from this action, which, moreover, would necessitate a long development. We shall limit ourselves to showing that it appears to us to be doomed to failure.

871 --The experiment of schooling has been made for more
177 than 30 years among the Boni in the village of Kotika. Half a dozen children, doing well in their studies, left for Surinam and broke with their native group. In the others, the teaching received left only faint traces. As a matter of fact, there is no room in a normal intelligence to receive at the same time the mass of technical knowledge necessary for holding one's own in the society of the Refugee Blacks and ordinary school in-
[829] struction. One necessarily drives out the other; now the Boni are extremely fond of their free life on the great river, which assures them very satisfactory material conditions of living.

797 --Evangelization has been carried on with perseverance
177 for more than 200 years with the Refugee Blacks of Surinam. It has not given appreciable results. It has been the same in
184 French Guiana with the action carried on with the Saramaka working /299/ near the communes of the coast (1), and more

[648] 1. The Saramaka not only have no tendency to be converted, but they exert a significant influence on the population of the communes. On
[756] the Oyapok the Saramaka healer
[787] has numerous clients, and in spite of the clergy's interdiction, many women go to the possession dances of the Papa gudu serpent gods.

recently with the Boni of the Upper Maroni.

REBEL DESTINY

764 [539] "On the sacred apinti drum we speak to the spirit; we tell it we go to dig the grave." So the drum spoke. From the shore we could see five figures in the small corial, and, as they came closer, we saw also the drum, the food the men carried, and the muddy hoe. They would do this the next day and the next, for to dig a grave takes a long time.

I

775 769 171 Although separated by many generations from their African places of origin, the Bush Negroes of Dutch Guiana have held to the traditions and beliefs of their aboriginal home. In the Suriname bush, as in Africa, the responsibility which an individual bears toward his social group does not end with death. His clan, his village, and his family look to him, when he has joined the spirits of his ancestors, to protect them against the magic of their enemies, to help them in time of drought or pestilence, and at all times to intercede for them with the gods.

As in Africa, the spirit of the dead is powerful for good or evil, and the rites of death must be carried out as tradition demands, so that the dead man may feel he has received honor among the living and proper introduction to the world of the dead. As in Africa, we found that the first care for the dead is to place the body on the central portion of a broken canoe; that rum and tobacco are included in the water with which the body is washed; that in washing the dead, the back must not be touched; that the number of those who wash the body must not be an even one—five is the number preferred, though three persons are used, and seven; that those chosen must not be young, for it takes age and the knowledge of controlling the spirits which age brings to approach the dead without suffering harm.

764 171 [801]

764 While the body lies in the open house of the dead, relatives and the village elders are in attendance on the spirit night and day. It is they who all night tell stories about the trickster, spider Anansi, to amuse the spirit, and they who play traditional games. The dances begin when

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

361 "This is the entrance to the farm of a Gankwe family. And there, can you see? That's a broken village. Many people died there. The others left it. This happened when Bayo was small."

4

● 805 "How many hours, Bakra?" Bayo asked. He could tell time by the sun and guessed almost exactly. "They are stopping on the rocks there. It's time to eat."

264 The Bush Negro usually has two meals a day, one in the early forenoon and another at night after dark when work is over. He eats little. These men were on the river with us ten or eleven hours a day, poling upstream, loading and unloading the boats where the rapids were so high that it was impossible to take the heavily loaded boats across them, and what we saw them eat was some cassava bread [267] dipped in river water to soften it, and some cold rice with a little palm oil in it. They had no time to fish, and it was a bad year for fishing, too. Of game there was little. [224] A few toucans and a monkey were all they could get along the shore—game was scarce even in the deep bush. For more than a score of decades their ancestors had been shooting game along the river, and now the animals kept away.

In the other boats Asikanu was the first served.

"Look, here is your food."

The front paddler put a calabash filled with rice and some cassava bread on the water, and the stream carried it to Asikanu.

"Did you catch it?"

"Ai."

484 In Sedefo's boat the cassava cakes were green with mold. 261 One by one these disks of a finger's breadth in thickness and perhaps thirty inches in diameter were laid on the hot rocks to dry. On a trip such as this, enough must be taken to feed a man during his entire absence from home. Well in advance a man's wife, or his mother or sister, or a maternal aunt will be told of such a trip so that she may

/217 cont./

774 583 If someone marries a girl, he must not only pay her
[782] mother the price of virginity but must also pay the girl's akka.
For that he offers white beads and cloth which the bride will
[784] wear, as well as sweets which will be consumed by her. If the
price of virginity were not paid, the woman's akka, humiliated,
might make her sick or kill her. /218/

774 /218/ There are seven categories of akka, masculine and
feminine, one for each day of the week.

[114] Crevaux in 1877 was able to establish the complete list(1):

[191] 1. This conception is widespread in the Agni-Ashanti culture area, among the Ewé and Mina, and as far as western Dahomey. The names reported among the Mina correspond very exactly, except for some differences in pronunciation, to the ones kept by the Boni.

[805]

	Men	Women
Sunday	Kwasi	Kwasiba
Monday.	Kɔdyo	Adyuba
Tuesday.	Kwami	Abeniba
Wednesday	Kwaku	Akuba
Thursday	Yao	Yaba
Friday	Kɔfi	Afiba
Saturday	Kwamina	Amba

[184] All these names are known to the Boni, but none of our
informants was capable of reciting the complete list. It is
[551] well understood that a name like Kɔfi, Kɔdio /sic/, etc. is
the akka's name and not at all the man's name (2).

765 /263 cont./ He will go to the SPOT, following
782 at a good distance M..., bearer of the remedy, with which he will sprinkle the surface of the clearing, and of offering objects. When the offering has been made, they will wait some time to see whether Masauman is better and if she is, they will deem the god appeased.

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[527] --The observance of a local day of rest, kina dɛ, corresponding to the god's day of rest.

/271 cont./

*539 Anansi said: "Brother deer, go over there; you will find a trident I use for hunting; pull it out of the ground." The deer came back saying: "It is done." He showed him another trident which he himself had brought and hidden. Then Anansi said (to the genie): "Throw me to see." He threw him to the summit of the trees. He fell back on the trident. The deer knocked him down with a club, cut out his liver, and took it to Wénon. He said to Wénon: "Anansi and I killed a tapir. He stayed to smoke it. He sent the liver for you to cook." She prepared the liver and boiled rice. They ate to the last mouthful. Then the deer said: "All livers are good but Anansi's liver is the best." Wénon grabbed a pestle to strike him, but he was already far away.

3) Anansi and the Magic Frying-Pan

(One day) Anansi went exploring in the bush, comrades. He went into the bush one day, until... he was hungry. And now he saw a frying-pan hooked in the air. He went near; he said: "Frying-pan, why art thou beautiful thus?" It said: "I am beautiful, but I am not beautiful for nothing." He said: "Let me see." It began to fry all sorts of things, fritters, meat. He said: "Put that down on the ground in front of me." It put them before him. Then Anansi ate, he ate until... his belly was full. He said: "Frying-pan, I beg of thee, stop." It stopped, gban! He said: "What kina dost thou have, in truth(1)?" It said: "It is the lemon, lemon juice, and the

[189]
[784]
[811]

1. Let us remember that in the minds of the Refugee Blacks, to the exercise of any magic power corresponds a kina (interdiction).

776 /194 cont./
[184] The great gods Gwangwéla and Gédéosu of the Djuka are not known to the Boni.

[194] Strictly speaking, no cult of Masa Gadu exists. No edifice is reserved for him, he has no priests, and no collective
776 ceremonies are conducted on his behalf. He is nevertheless
769 constantly present in the religious life of the Boni, associated with ancestor worship. Every ceremony of ancestor worship
776 includes an invocation to Masa Gadu. From time to time, for
769 specific motives such as the illness of a member of the lo,
755 people go /195/ specially to the fraga tiki to invoke Masa Gadu.
[613] The oldest man of the lo officiates, while a younger one pours
[798] a little water and tafia at the foot of the fraga tiki; the elder addresses Masa Gadú in everyday language, in simple terms, in a familiar conversational tone, asking him for the cure of illnesses or the end of calamities. Those present, seated in a semicircle, punctuate the end of the speech with some rhythmical applause, uttering the ritual formula of thanks: "Gaã tãŋgi tãŋgi fi yu, Masa Gadu."

776 Outside of these ceremonies which hardly go beyond the
782 framework of the lineage, everyone may address Masa Gadu directly by praying aloud, if, for example, he finds himself alone in the bush and prey to an illness. One never addresses Masa Gadu other than for a specific material purpose. Inner prayer for the purpose of spiritual perfection does not exist to our knowledge among the Refugee Blacks.

776 One applies directly to Masa Gadu when one believes
[755] oneself to be the victim of an iniquitous action (see curse). How-
[784] ever, although the Refugee Blacks have a very lively sense of justice, they never call Masa Gadu to witness for the cruel and arbitrary vengeances (kunu) which the lower divinities are
[812] believed to exercise on them. It is taken for granted that all these divinities do conforms to the role which Masa Gadu has assigned to them and that the suffering they inflict on men is indispensable to the proper working of the universe.

/208/

153 In proportion as the pupil perfects himself, the god ex-
791 presses itself more easily with the help of his body, begins to
787 do coordinated acts and to speak. They say that the gita has
[195] been "arranged" (seeka). The Kumēnti speak with a gruff, jerky voice, characteristic, which humorists love to imitate in the evenings' recitals.

In order to call on his gita voluntarily, the pupil crouches down, feet together, throwing pemba from right to left at the level of his feet and uttering the formula: "O Kumēnti, djumpo ku a mi." Then he remains immobile in this position and waits; possession takes place generally at the end of a few minutes.

776 The Kumēnti which enter thus into men are exclusively
787 male gods; it is known that they have wives because they talk about them, but they never manifest themselves.

[812] The Kumēnti are generally benevolent; still, no more than any divinity of the Refugee Blacks, do they represent a principle of goodness and justice in itself. They watch in a partial fashion over the interests of their bearers. Thus it is that A..., of the Dipélu II lo, has a Kumēnti which reacts in a violent way when it has the impression that danger threatens
[158] its bearer. It enters into him suddenly, takes a machete and storms through the village, while people prudently barricade themselves in their houses.

787 In certain circumstances, when their trances are particu-
789 larly intense, the people possessed by Kumēnti are capable, it is said, of walking in fire, dancing on broken glass, climbing thorny awara palm trees, and even having themselves struck with blows of a machete without any wound resulting from it. Professor de Goeje gives impressive personal testimony on this subject, such as the case of a possessed man who overturned a pail of boiling water on his body (1). Mr. Mathieu, Director of

1. In a note in Mr. W.F. van Lier's work, § 37.

/210 cont./

776 [825] The Bumba gadu, other gods of the same nature and equally feared, have as bearers other categories of snakes, principally the great anaconda water snakes.

[984] [812] The Voodū, we have said, are feared; they can exercise on a lineage the collective curse called kunu. But, no more than the Kumēnti do not represent a principle of good, they do not represent a principle of evil. Not all are so badly disposed toward men, and even if one of them is the enemy of a lineage, it is not for that reason badly disposed toward the rest of men.

787 178 [562] However this may be, the cult of possession of the Papa gadu is not at all in decline among the Boni. According to the cross-checking we have been able to do, of the 670 persons living on the French bank there are at least 40 to 50 who have a Papa gadu, the great majority of them old women.

787 784 /211/ The Voodū /sic/ are much feared, and for that very reason much respected. They are oracles which are consulted very often, without consideration of the evil their kunu has done and will still do. A god which exercises the kunu but which is provisionally declared appeased may be consulted without danger; it is always assumed that in any case its bearer, if he respects its commands, has nothing to fear from it.

787 562 It is possible that, very unconsciously, women use the fear that the Papa gadu gods inspire in order to maintain their independence and privileged position in Refugee Black society.

153 791 787 [198] [178] [515] [824] [534] Instruction in possession appears to take as a pattern the same principles as that which correspond to the Kumēnti. It involves the teaching of the Papa language; this language appeared to us to be in decline; in fact, it is used only for formulas of greeting; then the possessed people vaticinate in ordinary language. Instruction in possession also involves daily ablutions with decoctions of leaves; certain of these mixtures are particularly complicated (it is said that they include more than a hundred different kinds of leaves). Instruction is essentially individual; however it also includes dances; on this occasion a

/231 cont./

761 --In 1952, Dolo (Awara Bakka) dies almost all of a
[784] sudden with the symptoms of peritonitis: kunu, punishment for
[684] incest committed by another member of the lineage.

--In 1952, Maièndo, ten years old, son of Osaya (Awara Bakka) accidentally drowns: natural accident (ɔ̃gɔ̃ɔ̃ku).

[784] --In 1954, Béniti (Dju) dies at nearly 75 years of age:
[776] kunu of a Papa gadu.

[784] --In 1954, Agyémési (Aw.B.) dies almost all of a sudden:
[754] killed by Odun (he was a wisimã).

--In 1955, Tabiki (Awara Bakka) dies at over 80: natural illness.

[784] --In 1955, Kotoida /sic/ (Afi lineage) dies suddenly,
[775] aged about 50: kunu of a yɔrka.

784 --In 1957, F..., (Lapé) is gravely ill with symptoms of
776 typhoid: kunu of a Papa gadu.

[753] --In 1957, Sokodo (Dip. II) dies at 40: kunu of a
[761] Kintamasu.

75 /232/ One observes that in the 15 cases cited here, the kunu
761 interferes ten times, while in three cases natural causes: ill-
784 ness, accident, were assumed.

In reality, the Refugee Blacks do not have the conceptions of a natural world, subject to known or knowable laws, which is set against a supernatural world. The intervention of a Papa gadu is neither more nor less natural than an illness or an accident. There is only, on the plane of human life, more or less frequent intervention by suprahuman forces. The intervention of these forces is made according to laws which embrace the totality of beings and things, laws which men cannot understand but of which they believe they have a partial and empirical knowledge.

/257 cont./

842 A few weeks afterward she found herself pregnant, and
797 it seemed obvious to all that this was the doing of a Wata Ingi.

845 No magic power is attributed to the tone pikin, any more than special mental or physical characteristics. But it is assumed that they are the object of a special protection, and that they cannot be harmed with impunity.

771 The sacred character of payment. Relations between the gods
789 and men always have the character of a bargain, among the
435 Refugee Blacks: an irritated divinity is never appeased by repentance or good will; it requires that it be paid; likewise, an 3bia is of value only for the person who has paid for it. Refugee Blacks will never utilize ready-made magic recipes: uttering certain words, making certain gestures; face to face with such a recipe they will ask immediately: "From what
[912] god does this 3bia come, and whom must one pay?" It seems that in their conception every transference of a spiritual power or a magic force disturbs something in the proper functioning of the universe; payment restores this equilibrium, it is the
[911] mark of legitimacy. Some Creoles of African ancestry transpose the same idea with respect to Christianity, and this is /258/ why they insist so much on paying for masses and buying
759 "orisons" (1). One observes likewise that free medical care
558

1. Written prayer to which is attached protective power. This notion, borrowed from the rustic magic of 17th-century France, seems to have been introduced into Guiana by the first European colonists.

lowers the prestige of the doctor in the eyes of all.

/291 cont./

157 Wishing to take advantage of all the possibilities which
464 turn up, the Refugee Blacks are led to learn simultaneously the
463 traditional techniques of their group, boating, boat-building, felling of trees, squaring of wood, and /building/ framework. In these techniques they may be considered specialized workers.

157 Proud of their strength and knowledge, sure of themselves,
812 the Refugee Blacks are never worried about the future and consider life as an exciting adventure, ceaselessly bringing new things. If the past year has been bad, the new year will be better, with God's help. Nobody doubts that he will find gainful work again.

152 Influence of jealousy: absence of specialized professions and
182 trade. Another strong psychological tendency having a direct influence on the economy is jealousy.

152 The effect of jealousy, and the fear of jealousy, is to
828 limit enrichment and to maintain a de facto equality: it often
556 happens that talented people forego undertaking profitable work
753 in order not to give occasion for the jealousy which would render
777 their position in the village difficult and might draw misfortunes upon them; for people have the idea that jealousy draws down illnesses and calamities upon him who is the object of it and on his near relatives, by the action of a natural force, even without sorcery being formulated.

754 Fear of sorcery interferes in the same way; one who be-
556 comes unusually rich is almost inevitably accused of being a
441 sorcerer and may be obliged to leave the country. Particularly
829 vulnerable are those, very rare, who engage in trade. People do not suspect of sorcery a man who is seen to become rich by /292/ working ceaselessly. But the trader whose wealth increases without his furnishing obvious work, is quickly regarded as a "committed one," accused of having his good luck as a result of a pact with the devil.

/21 cont./

601 has been pushed by the Refugee Blacks to its extreme limit with-
613 out any attenuation. Everything turns on the number of generations separating from the founding ancestress. Age does not come into it. The fact of belonging to an older or younger branch with respect to such-and-such an ancestress does not come into it, either. The custom of the Refugee Blacks is hostile to any discrimination which could lead to a scission of the lineage.

At the same number of generations from the foundress, they call one another uniformly brother, baala, or sister, sisa, without consideration of age or degree of relationship. Absolutely no nuance exists in the language to differentiate the brother proper from the brother in the classificatory sense.

The people closest to the foundress of a generation are uniformly called uncles, tiyu, or aunts, tiya.

601 The thinking of the Refugee Blacks on the subject of kinship
602 centers above all around knowledge of those ties which can be
613 called horizontal; they consider them as ties in fact which they were taught in early childhood, and few of them worry about knowing the exact origin of them. It is enough for them to know
[814] that N... is their brother and M..., their uncle. Knowledge of the genealogies remains the province of the most wide-awake minds; the others take no heed.

602 This conception of kinship permits the maintenance of the
613 unity of a lineage even when the genealogical ties are forgotten
614 and when the group is in this respect cut into several fractions. The members of the lineage can be unaware of this fractioning, as we have observed in several cases.

[601] Thus in Figure 3 (fictitious example), Adam knows he must call Baïna brother, Afanis uncle, and Sota nephew.

[104] That is why we use the term extended lineage to translate the word bee (1).

[See category 116, P. 31--Analyst]

/42 cont./

601 So-and-so, and So-and-so, can be regarded as sure. On the other
128 hand, we have considered that there was a break in the genealogy when, going back in time, we arrived at this single datum: Ma X... was the sister of Ma Y..., for it could be a question of kinship in the classificatory sense.

No form of birthright existing among the Boni, there is some uncertainty about the order of birth of brothers and sisters for persons long dead. We have adopted the order kept by oral tradition without trying to rectify it.

613 In many African populations a special tradition is connected
814 with perpetuating the memory of the founder, at least his name,
829 the place of his grave. With the present-day Boni absolutely nothing like this is found; they are not concerned in any way with the true foundress of their lineage; no memory, no legend, not even a name has come down to them. It even seems as though these distant ancestors interest them little because they are less able to act in behalf of their present-day descendants. Indeed, with each new generation the memory of an ancient one dies out.

173 On our first trip in 1948 we called attention, unfortunately without
[126] noting them down precisely, to /43/ very interesting oral traditions going back to the time of slavery, especially the names of the slave-owners who showed themselves to be the most cruel. In
[814] 1952 the last old man who knew them had died; the very memory of what he had said was already effaced.

829 As a matter of fact, Boni thought, strictly practical and
602 utilitarian, is concerned principally with keeping the memory of the part of the genealogy indispensable to the living to know their kinship ties. Memory of women whose posterity has died out and of men who did nothing remarkable is dead from the second generation on.

114 Since none of the travelers of the 19th century understood
613 the importance of taking genealogies, it is probable that the names

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Chapter V

THE SHRINE TO THE RIVER GODS

I

ON THE narrow strip of land below the Mamadam, our hammocks were slung between trees whose trunks leaned well over the water, so that once we stretched out on the canvas, it was like swinging over an abyss to the rhythm of water wearing down rock.

133 At one time the shrine to the gods had stood on this clearing, but boats had gone aground in the falls, and rafts which needed but little urging when the spirits were friendly were swung about in the current and lost to their kingdom at the river bottom. Even now a great log lay wedged in between rocks in the middle of the stream. The water had worn grooves into its hard surface, yet there it was, held fast against the timeless flaying of the falls.

Nor was that all. One year when the time for the new rains came, the rain did not fall. In the villages the priests climbed the ladders within the sacred enclosures and from on high poured out libations to the ancestors, beseeching them to intercede in behalf of the living. Those who had river spirits went to the waterside when the moon was dead to dance to the gods. But the drums gave back a dull sound, and the dancing was listless. Those who plunged into the river to swim against the rapids while the drums intoned the exhortations did not remain under water long, and when they came up they uttered no oracles. Many who were known to be possessed by powerful spirits paced back

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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and forth on the sandy bank to the rhythm of the voicees in 821
the drums, but their gods would not come. They could not 782
dance, they could not find peace while the drums spoke, and 789
so this disconsolate pacing went on week after week, on 776
those days when the river gods might be danced to. Sometimes the pulse of the drumming, quickening for an interval, stirred the dancers. A shudder would go through the body of one or another and the dry throats would fall to uttering the sacred cries, but almost the next instant the hand of the drummer would go limp, and once more the listless, agonized pacing would continue. The gods were angered. When the drums called them from the river bottom, they came grudgingly and remained sullen, refusing to make their wishes known, and no gods or ancestors came to counsel the wise men in their sleep how to bend the will of the spirits of the river.

In the fields the parched earth baked in the merciless heat until it was like whitened bone. The few plants that 731
had pushed their way up through the sandy soil were now 776
brown dust which any wind might scatter. But there was no wind. No rain, no wind, for in the river the god of the wind dwells, and in the sky the rain god, and these gods are twins, and twins have but one soul, since it is with the [845]
gods as it is with humans.

No rain, no wind. Famine was upon the land.

At last, at the village of Opoku a woman had a dream. [787]
She was a pure albino, one of the type who, together with those who show by the slight turn of red in their wooly [826]
hair a strain of albinism, are called Toné people, and are identified with the river gods. To this Toné woman the gods came in sleep, and spoke their will.

"And what was it you gave to the gods?" we asked 776
Sedefo, who had fallen silent at this point in his story. 782

"Mati," he said, after a pause, "I am not an important 731
man. You ask what I may not tell. My mouth cannot take upon itself to speak what concerns our big men." [829]

This much he would say. A boat filled with things had been sent down the river. Men standing at the river bank

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THE COUNCIL OF THE ELDERS

"Kodo!" 623

"Another letter has come, Bak'a. Will you read that one, too?" 648

This was a communication written by a lumber factor down the river. One of the villages, it seemed, was in dispute with another over timber rights. The case was laid before the Granman by the factor, who asked that the controversy be settled promptly, since the dispute was keeping the men of both villages from cutting the lumber which had been promised him. 692 643 648 578 313 623

Yankuso now spoke again: "You have heard the message, friends. The man who buys timber asks that I settle this dispute between two of our clans. Their villages are far from here. The clans of the Saramacca people can settle their own disputes."

"Gbolo!"

"So I say, friends. I can look at the cows, but from a distance I cannot tell how many there are. It is not for us here to decide this."

"*Kweti, kweti!*—No, no!"

"It is true, friends, as the Saramacca people say, 'The G'aman's breasts are for all his children.' But it is not my children who have come to me. Bak'a," he said, suddenly turning to us, "later you will write for me to this man who buys lumber. Tell him that for the sake of sweet soup a man eats sour dumplings. So I say."

The Granman looked about him. The heat of midday filled the darkness of the council house, and old Bibifo had dozed off. The gaze of the chief fixed him.

"Mati!" he said, when Bibifo stirred. "Sleep is death!"

Slowly the Granman's eyes circled the room until they came to us.

"The Bak'a has come," he repeated, with his slow intonation, every syllable clearly enunciated. "When the Bak'a came, the rain fell. From Asindopo Lantiwe we shot guns of welcome, from Abenda Konde guns were shot. In the heavens, the gods spoke them welcome. There was thunder." 643 574 821 623

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643 "True, true, G'aman."

82 "Captain And'u, the gods sent the rain to cool everything when the Bak'a came. The gods of the river carried the Bak'a without mishap. We have heard of what the Bak'a has done. He has been at your country, at S'ei. He says he comes to learn. He says he does not come to buy wood or to work gold. What he says is good. Yet a full creek does not clear the bank of weeds. Tell us what the Bak'a did in your country, Captain And'u."

706 623

609 "The Bak'a came to S'ei. All that was there he looked at. He walked about the village. His woman talked to our women. The Bak'a spoke with our men. He asked about the obias in the krutu house. His woman asked our women about their gods. What was the name of the wife of the Gran Gadu, he wanted to know."

123 623

With every sentence, came the affirmation of the chief.

"So I know."

"So it is."

"By Ando!"

"So I heard."

And'u continued. "The Bak'a knows the land of the Negroes—*a sabi Afrika*. With him he has a great book. In it he has pictures."

"True, true."

"There are pictures of obias."

"Ya-hai!"

"There are pictures of the Kromanti houses."

"So it is!"

"There are pictures of people who have the gods."

"*Kweti-kweti*—No, no!"

"Yet pictures in S'ei the Bak'a did not make. The Bak'a said, 'If your ancestors tell you not to talk, do not talk. But when you talk, do not lie!' That which we did not wish to be done he would not do, his woman would not do."

"Gbolo!" exclaimed the Granman, "this is as I have heard. Now the Bak'a has come up the river. His woman has light hair, she is as our Toné people. The river has treated the Bak'a well. The gods of the river have let the Bak'a pass.

[976]

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Bak'a pass. Friends, the river is more than I am. . . . Let us hear what the Bak'a has done on the river. Friend Kasanya, you have traveled with the Bak'a. Speak of what he has done." 609 123 623

"It is as Captain And'u has said," Kasanya began, "what was forbidden, the Bak'a did not do."

The Granman interposed an objection.

"I sent a message to the Bak'a by the husband of my daughter. To him I said, speak to the Bak'a, say that at all villages on the Saramacca you will be received. But two villages have not walked well with the G'aman. At those you will not stop. Yet at one of them the Bak'a stopped."

"So it is, cunning master. This was how it happened. Darkness was falling. Everywhere was the big bush. A storm was on its way."

"So I know."

"There were no other villages near. The next one could only be reached after dark. There were bad rapids ahead."

"So I understand."

"The Bak'a woman was in the boat. To make camp before the storm came was not possible. We had a krutu. We spoke with the Bak'a. The Bak'a said we must go where we could find a roof."

The Granman grunted, was silent for a moment, then took up the story. 623

"Friends, night overtook the white man in the bush. He had a woman with him. The men said they could not make camp at night. The white man took his woman to where there was shelter. Into the village he did not go. At the first house he slept. Early in the morning he left. He does not know the river. The men brought him at dark to the forbidden village. The gods sent a great wind when the Bak'a crossed the river to show their displeasure, but the Bak'a and his woman they did not harm. The gods took it into their hands. The gods are more than I am." 82 776

"So it is, G'aman."

"Friends, the children of the bush know what is done in the bush. Yet a man's lips must speak for himself. Let 609 623 123

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the Bak'a himself tell why he has come the long way to the Saramacca river and what it is he seeks."

There was a general chorus of agreement, and silence awaited our accounting.

As the town man began to repeat our words to the Granman, the quiet of the house was heightened by an occasional stirring outside the paling. From where we sat, we could see brown motionless feet, which told us that there were many more than those inside, who were listening to the white man's reason for being in the b[illegible]

Again the Granman made the traditio[illegible]ponses.

"So it is, white man."

"True, what you have said, bassia."

Finally our telling was at an end. Again there was a silence as we sat, tensely waiting.

The Granman again broke the silence.

"Friends, chiefs, you have heard. The white man is here. He comes to learn of our life. The gods of the river have brought him and his woman safely. The Great God sent the rain to cool the air when he reached Asindopo Lantiwe. The gods are more than I am. The river is more than I am. But the Saramacca people are also more than I am. It is you, headmen of the Saramacca people, who must speak."

"Ai, G'aman," said the man who had the stripes of white on him and who wore the many obias. "But have the ancestors spoken?"

"Truly you ask, friend," was the response. "It is well that you think of these things. In the bush, we think before we speak. Do you go aside and consider well."

Slowly the members of the krutu arose from their benches. Softly, with bent form, each passed out of the doorway. We were alone with the Granman, who waited with us for the reply of the chiefs.

5

As the elders slowly filed out of the council house, it was as though a jury were leaving the courtroom to decide a case which had been laid before it. And as we learned more,

"OBIA COMES!"

"Put them on. See the moon? You will catch fresh colds if you sit in the moonlight with your heads uncovered." 796 [881]

So with sun helmets on our heads we sat, and, as we listened to the new rhythms of the drums, there came a shriek from the river which brought us to our feet. Those who were not dancing ran up the hill away from the drums. 781 796 796 787

"Obia! Obia comes! It is the Kromanti!" were the cries, and our cook and our town man placed themselves in line across the front of our hut, watching uneasily.

"They will destroy all you have if they get inside," they called to us, "we must try to keep them out."

Up from the river, along the path he had trodden but a while before, came a man whom we could not recognize in the disguise given him by the paint on his face. Half his face was white, half a deep red, and we later learned what we did not then know, that this was the face marking of the Djadja Kromanti and that this man was possessed by one of the two Kromanti spirits which carry danger to those who are present when the seizure comes. He advanced toward the drums, machete in hand, as though he were stalking his prey, his legs raised high at every step, trailing some enemy. At his mouth the foam was gathering, and the words he uttered were in the Kromanti tongo, the sacred speech not understood by the uninitiated. [198]

The songs changed in character, and the singers were men. The women who had not run away were dancing a quick accompaniment to the drum beats, adding their shrill voices to the singing and the intensity of the cries of the possessed man. When the possessed man reached the hut, he stopped in front of the drummers. As their rhythms poured out of the barrel-like drums, he answered stroke for stroke with shouted cries in his sacred secret language, raising his machete higher and higher, until, with a quick stroke, he slashed at two of the players who were seated side by side on a log. He missed them by what seemed a hair's breadth as his machete, whistling through the narrow space between their bodies, sank deep into the log on which they sat.

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Chapter IV

KUNU

I

501
872

EVENTS on the river, as it turned out, showed Sedefo's fears of the large boat that rolled, and of his kunu, only too well grounded. It was to him that there occurred the only mishaps of the entire up-river journey. That what happened proved to be no more serious was, according to the general understanding of our men, to be credited to that personal boat of Sedefo's, whose spirit he had tried on many journeys, and had propitiated with offerings of sacred rum and prayer.

It was also whispered among our men that the Bakra's magic from Africa—a wholly imaginary thing, but which explained to the Bush Negroes our ability to do or withstand things that were not expected of us—had something to do with it, too. For kunu was kunu, and the one in Sedefo's family had shown its hand but too many times of late. Had not the family lost another man only a few months earlier? Had not Zimbi just been buried? And Zimbi's wife, dead less than a year before.

Thanks, then, to his boat, Sedefo's life had been spared. It was not for nothing that he had taken every care when making this boat, that before he had felled the log out of which he had made it, he had addressed himself to the spirit of the tree, explaining that he had need [982] of its wood for a boat, that he would therefore cut it down. He had rendered his thanks for the spirit's permission, as

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was needful, and since then he had often made prayer to his boat, and the boat had carried him safely.

But this is what happened.

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On our fourth day up the river we were on our way early, because the men said the falls ahead were difficult, and they wanted to be through them before they stopped to eat. It took us more than an hour to pass the rapids, for the land rose higher and higher, and the water cascaded from one ledge to the next, often in curving channels of swift water that were too deep to allow the use of pole-sticks, and too swift for the paddles to cope with.

There were also those stretches which were without the piled rocks to give the men a footing for pulling the boats over, so that a rope had to be used, and the going was slow and treacherous. Each of the dugouts had this long rope fastened to its prow, and ahead, on the first ledge, were two or more of the men, the other end of the rope in hand, waiting for the signal to start hauling, while holding on to the sides of the boat as they swam were as many men as could be spared, so that if the rope broke, the boat would not be swept downstream, to go crashing against the rocks. These men who faced the fast water of their river, worked as though at the sight of it their Kromanti fighting spirit had entered their bodies, as if not men were there, but an impersonal force pitting itself against the force of the river. Even where the water was not too deep, and they could haul the boat, care could not be slackened for an instant—a wrong turn, and the boat would be capsized, or, what would be as serious, the impact of a rock might cut a gash in its side or bottom, filling it with water faster than they could manage to bring it to a bank. But at last the sound of the falling water was behind us, and the men, once they were in the still water again, went on with the casualness that they fell into with their river when the danger was over, and cast about for a pleasant place to stop and eat.

All at once there was a shout from behind us. Each boat echoed it shrilly. What's that? Whose boat?

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834 848 "Don't go off into the bush with a man. A child born to you will have a bad bush god, if you do," she added as an afterthought.

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123 177 In the other corner, Chief And'u, the bassia, and about half a dozen men were talking of the great book about their ancestors which the white man had.

"It is large so," said the chief to one of the older men, indicating an imaginary size which multiplied the size of the actual volume at least tenfold. "And people say it has in it pictures of the Apuku gods, small as we ourselves know them, and a picture of the evil Apuku who appear as fire in the distance. . . . Mati, white men have gone into the Kromanti houses in the country of our ancestors and have made pictures!"

"It is impossible!"

"I want to see!"

The old man said, "I will not look. Books are not for us, mati."

"But mati, the G'aman has heard, and he wants to see."

The old man shook his head. He would have nothing of pictures that figured what should never have been allowed to be photographed.

It seemed prudent to give the conversation a new turn. 137 Down river, the men had said that a man of this village had lately found a new *neku* liana. Was it so?

"The man who found it was my son," said the old man, "you should have come for the dance. You would have seen how we do things here in the bush. But pictures you could [802] not take. No, mati, if you photograph, you take the soul."

824 176 The festivities for the find had been especially joyful, he explained, for the boy had only recently come by his gods, and this had been yet another proof that he would serve his family capably. For though the find was his own, all [278] [226] his relatives in the mother's line would enjoy its use. Hereafter, when the poison of its leaves and its slender branches

787 [412] of the mortar in which she had been pounding maripa nuts was the Granman's younger wife. The pestle had fallen from her shaking fingers. She gave the intruders no attention, for she, too, was possessed by her god,—by Toné, god of the river.

"*Ke-ke-ke-ke-ke-ke! Ke-ke-ke-ke-ke-ke!*" The syllables fell from her and, as the white people stood by, her shaking stopped, the sounds did not go on. Then they began again, her body racked, her voice choked. The Toné people do not speak when they are possessed, it is through sounds such as these that the god of the river makes known his wishes.

Women came running toward us. "Your boat is ready, Bak'a," they said.

787 431 173 The whites returned with the bracelets to find that the two women to whom they brought their offerings had come as far as the Granman's quarter of the village. Affi's greeting of "Ondyi!" had died down to a whisper. Disconsolately she followed Amasina, who, in the white cloth which reached almost to her ankles, looked tall and sinuous, and moved as though there were something in the still air to send her body curving to one side and to the other.

As the possessed women and those with them entered the quarter, the elder wife of Yankuso came toward Amasina with a large calabash of rice.

"All those who have the same god come with gifts. Amasina has the strongest god of all. It is a white god," a woman explained.

[892] White was the color for the ancestors, and hers was the god of a great priestess of the family. It was the god Towenu, the great Papa god, the giver of children, the jealous one, who came to her. If he cared for his priestess too well, he allowed her no children. The mention of his name the day before had brought him, and, coming, he vouched for the friendliness of the strangers.

Amasina put her arms about the older woman as she had done to the others who came to her. She sang once more her message:

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173 With this obia, and unafraid, Apatu went. He reached the French shore, and found work. Years later he was asked to guide an expedition against the Indians. They came to a cave. At the other end of it Indians waited with their poisoned arrows.

The French officer said to him, "Apatu, are you afraid?"

"I will go, I am not afraid of death," Apatu said to the officer.

He led the way through the cave, calling out, "Mafi, Yanku na'a, hi!"

Three times the Indians tried to shoot him, and each time they failed.

"The French officer gave Apatu a gold piece for saving his life. That was when they sent him to Pali, and it was written down that he was a great man," ended the Granman.

7

822 "Do you know what they asked me in the city when I was there?" the Granman said one day, when his elders assembled. "'Chief Yankuso,' they asked me, 'which is better, light or darkness?' I said to them, I said, 'Darkness is better. When it is day we work and we struggle. At night we go into our hammocks with our women, and we find peace.'"

He turned to us as he told the story.

"Is it not so, white man? You yourself are young."

8

123 A few days after the gods had spoken, the Granman asked us if we would that evening show the pictures of the country of the Negroes which we had brought. We had shown him earlier the simple projector, actually a flashlight with a lens attached, through which a roll of film passed to flash images, one by one, on a screen. On the film were photographs of illustrations from books on Africa.

Mechanical objects of all kinds fascinated these men of the bush, and they would ask again and again to see our flashlights or the inside of our phonograph. Though un-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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less. Blue beads are very effective in bargaining, for blue is the Djuka's favourite colour. Ear-rings are also good, but not perfume; they prefer the acrid odour of insecticides.

The Djukas bargain shrewdly, and are greedy in exactly the sense that children are. The trading begins in the dark interior of a hut, where a Bush Negro lolls in his hammock.

We say: *"Me wanny buy timbeh"*—"I want to buy wooden pieces."

The Negro's common reply is that he has none to part with: *"Me no habbe, massra."* The word *massra* is a corruption of "master," a vestige of the slave days.

We point to a pierced and inlaid stool and say *"How many?"* meaning, how much does he want for it.

"Me no wanny fu selly"—"I don't want to sell it."

To show him we mean business, a concrete offer is made, *"Me gon gibbe sixa banknoto"*—"I'm going to give six banknoto."

The bargaining is in silver half-guilder pieces, called *banknoto*. The Djukas do not understand large sums of money, except when counted in half-guilder pieces.

If he refuses six coins, we offer seven, eight, nine, and throw in the added temptation of some tobacco leaves. To each of these offers he shakes his head in negation, saying doggedly, "No, no."

Finally, in a tone of voice that indicates we are amazed at our own generosity, we say: *"Me gon gibbe tena banknoto, nanga twee weefee tabak"*—"I'm going to give ten banknoto, as well as three leaves of tobacco."

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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754 More than one person may be involved in the black magic
[805] that brings about death, and the burial ceremony may indicate several persons as guilty. This magic is similar to that employed by other primitive peoples. A spirit or soul resides
[774] in each living person; if this spirit is destroyed, the person will die. A man can cause the death of his enemy by summoning the spirit out of his enemy's body with herbs and charms and incantations; the spirit can then be shot with a gun. Or else he may procure some of his enemy's nail parings or hair, or any object of close personal association. He should also know his enemy's birthday and secret name. Rites are performed and, as a result, the enemy dies. His spirit has been slain. Magic, therefore, consists of the use of rituals for the purpose of compelling supernatural powers to do one's bidding.

123 For this reason many natives object to being photographed.
774 The black camera, they believe, if pointed at them and
● 822 clicked, will draw out their souls. The person owning the camera can then mutilate or destroy their souls at will. On our first expedition among the Bush Negroes all attempts at photography were difficult. When the attempt was made to take a native's picture the black would cry out, *"No pura me!"*—"Don't draw me out!" They firmly believed that the photographer was trying to draw out their spirits for magical purposes. On the second expedition, returning to the same villages with the developed photographs, we showed them to the natives and watched their reaction. The Negroes examined the snapshots curiously, turning them around, not

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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Aucaner

being able to accommodate their eyes to the tiny grey perspec- 123
tives. When the significance of the chiaroscuro dawned upon 774
them, they broke into broad grins and were mightily pleased. 822
After that most of them readily consented to being photographed.

A woman was suspected of causing by witchcraft the death 683
of the late Granman, Amekti, of the Aucaner tribe. She was 766
severely beaten and was not allowed to attend the ceremony 643
of *Broko Day* (breaking day), the time when mourning is broken.

Broko Day is held four or five months after the death of 766
the Granman. Game is hunted and cassava cake prepared 643
for many days prior to the great feast. It is a time of great festivity; there is dancing, singing, and general merry-making. At this time the *Songai*, the *Pekein play*, and the *Susu* dances are held. The participants are generously smeared with pemba dotee and they wear costumes and decorations which are not seen at any other time. Then, as many of the tribe as is possible gather in the village of the erstwhile Granman, and the feast lasts for about a week. Dancing and feasting continue night and day. At this time the ageedah drum—six to eight feet tall—is played, as well as [534]
the smaller instruments already referred to. Toward the end of the ceremony, the hair and nails of the corpse are buried, a new Granman is inaugurated, and the deceased ruler is relegated to the position of an ancestor. Prayers may then ascend heaven-ward to him.

Captain Acrowsie of the Aucaner tribe told us some in-

114 /30 cont./
648 in hiding a significant advantage for the colony, since the lack of workers in agriculture makes itself felt with increasing urgency.

202 Accordingly they promised to satisfy my wish by putting
[123] up the signs customary among them, which would make known to those in hiding my wishes to acquaint them with the good news.

In order to let those in hiding know that they were requested to come out of the forest they go to work in the following manner.

202 They tie white and blue, also perhaps white and black
822 patches of cotton half an ell long and three thumbs wide in Rhineland fashion to the upper branches of the trees, starting in the deepest part of the forest and progressing to the river /31/ bank. The little flags placed highest are of a dark color, while the patches tied progressively lower toward the river are white.

Those in hiding, who stay in the district and cross through the forest to hunt, discover these signs and see by them that there is something going on; either that others in hiding want to establish contact with them or that they have to fear danger.

The manner in which the signs are attached to the trees makes them understand that if they go more deeply into the forest there will be born for them a dark and dangerous future, whereas, if they can decide to go to the river bank they can walk a white, that is, a bright path and that, following the little white flags, they will find people who either want to make common cause with them or wish to give them important information.

202 Since these persons in hiding are constantly afraid of
152 surprise attack or deception, trust in these signs is not always im-
648 mediately established and thus at first only some of them go down with cunning and caution. When they come into the more inhabited districts, they watch and investigate everything that they wish to know; frequently this investigation extends all the way to Paramaribo. Now the Bush Negroes thought that if they followed their custom in this it would be clear to them why these signs had been placed in the bush and that as a result of these they would very quickly become acquainted with the declared amnesty.

202 I must add here also that in fact many fugitives or
648 persons in hiding later came out of the forests, among whom must

/35 cont./

123 Also, I am led to believe that for me they cherish a
466 more than general respect, since already for ten years now they have been faithful workers for me, a privilege to which no inhabitant in this colony other than myself can lay claim.

123 A family among them, whose head recently died --
778 according to their statements, through poisoning, which misdeed
[761] is supposed to have taken place out of envy, since I gave him preference above others, which he deserved on account of his faithfulness and industry -- has built a hut in the vicinity of its idol signs, in which they placed a crude image cut out of cedar-
[237] wood and painted with white paint. Beside that image they placed a little table and on it laid a number of quill feathers from the pouwies (1), a little bottle with black liquid, symbolizing ink,

1. A pheasant, the Crax alector L.

as well as some slips of paper. Near this little table they dug a number of steps into the ground, and at the lowermost step they made a gutter that runs in the direction of the river. Now when they have a festival with dancing and they want to pay respect to me, they place near it a number of children who constantly pour water brought in jugs, which, flowing down the steps into the gutter, streams riverward. While this ceremony takes place, songs in my honor are sung by the festive crowd.

[822] Now the image, according to their conception, is sup-
[829] posed to be a representation of me, /36/ the white color-the sign that I am a white, while the quills, paper, and ink are the attributes of the Whites' higher civilization, the streaming water that I stem from the colonists who have come here from across the sea.

123 The wife of the headman referred to above came to me
589 in the town shortly after the death of her husband and remained to choose my household as her permanent residence, to which I gladly consented. Faithful and considerate, she performs not only a great many household services, but even anticipates in this respect the wishes of my wife, and out of love for us refuses any monetary compensation.

/180 cont./

765 are divided up equally among all the inhabitants of the village. But if the dead person had near relatives in the village, children, nephews, or brothers, it is they who stand the main burden.

[613] Members of the dead person's lineage who are settled in other villages contribute equally to the expenses and the organizing of the funeral, but in a symbolic fashion. /193/

[123] A council (kuutu) of the village inhabitants sets the date; during the two weeks preceding each one is busy. The women 765 hull and winnow rice, prepare great quantities of 262 couac and sugar-cane juice. The busimã scour the bush and have meat and fish smoked. Each one, according to his means, buys tafia, sugar, chocolate, and other articles of food liked by the Refugee Blacks.

765 The celebration of the rites occupies a whole week. This 775 is because, the Refugee Blacks think the influence of the dead person can be eliminated only progressively by the repetition of the rite of separation.

The first day, the yɔrka of the dead person whose mourning is going to be lifted is called by formulas beaten on the [535] apinti drum. Then possession dances take place.

765 The second day is reserved for the material preparation for the ceremonies to follow.

[613] The third day, the spouse in mourning, if there is one, is conducted by the members of the dead person's lineage under [822] the mortuary shed. He is dressed in red and is congratulated for having kept the mourning well. Then he is led to the river, [783] and old women of the dead person's lineage begin to bathe him [775] while adjuring the yɔrka to part company with him.

The fourth day at nightfall, all those present assemble at the mortuary shed. They recite tales (Anãsi tɔli), [538] improvisations (mato), and riddles (ɔdo). This phase of the [781] festival has as its object the concentrating of the attention of the hearers; it creates a warm, collective atmosphere which impregnates those present, bringing to them intense and highly colored emotions.

/217 cont./

774 Most of the Boni are not concerned with their akka. The only ones who take heed of it are those who have reasons to believe it irritated. The worship rendered varies a good deal from one individual to another in the nature and frequency of the rites performed.

774 For example, K.... of Paoalston village, prey to a
777 persistent streak of bad luck, went to consult a Creole lukumã
[648] from Surinam, who revealed to him that it was the doing of unsatisfied desires of his akka. His akka wanted a black dog and a copper bracelet. He procured both for himself, and since, he says, he no longer has the same bad luck.

774 B..., head of T... village, has in a corner of his hut
778 a post crudely carved in the shape of a bust with a half calabash from which emerge stalks of saŋgaafu on its head. At the side is a small fraga tiki. He tells me that this is the god of the cult of his akka; these rites are strictly personal with him.

774 Most of the akka esteem white beads and red cloth. If
[822] one sees a Boni wear a red cloak, one can be almost sure that it is by order of his akka.

[787] If someone's mind wanders or he has bizarre dreams, he may see in this the feeling that his akka wishes to leave him
[789] and that he is in danger of its happening. He then goes to ask an ɔbiaman to make him an akka tetɛ: this is a ring of fibers worn on the big toe and which is supposed to prevent the akka from going away.

These rites vary a lot from one individual to the other, but they have a common principle. If someone begins to attend to his akka, he cannot abandon the worship during his lifetime, or else the akka will avenge itself.

Akka worship is strictly personal and is not bequeathed upon death.

/261 cont./

241 neglecting these rites. Their rigorous observance has the effect of preventing farming from becoming for them a commercial activity and of keeping a religious and family feeling in it.

824 778 784 [776] --The kākāti (silk-cotton tree) is a much feared tree, for according to the elders each one of them shelters 12 categories of divinities, especially a Papa gadu and an Ampuku. So it is absolutely impossible to cut it. One must even be very careful not to injure its roots which spread far. The site of every one felled is preserved. Likewise people watch carefully so as not to injure the roots of the big silk-cotton trees often found in the villages.

824 778 776 361 Still, the fact that their site was chosen for setting up a village shows that people believe they can make an alliance with the divinities which reside in a silk-cotton tree and draw their protection upon themselves.

824 778 789 [776] --The katu tree (Bombax Surinamiensis), tree of very large size, living in symbiosis with a parasitic liana which appears to enclose it in a gigantic net, also shelters maleficent divinities (Ampuku, Papa gadu, Bumba gadu). One may cut it down after performing rites whose purpose is to transfer these divinities into another tree.

First, one must have procured from a man who possesses this remedy a pot of ɔbia containing an infusion of leaves in the middle of which is a bracelet of fibers. /262/ It costs [435] two liters of tafia, four liters of beverage (beer for example), one large piece of cloth, and one machete.

Having arrived at the foot of the tree, one bathes his body and machete with this infusion; one puts the fiber bracelet on one's arm. One also bathes several small sticks provided [822] with squares of white cloth (for the Papa gadu), dark blue and red (for the Ampuku), and a pinot palm (pina tɔŋgo) leaf.

One plants the sticks at the foot of the tree, one strikes the trunk with the palm leaf while invoking the divinities of

502 484 too deep for the pole-stick. When we go in the center, it is slow. . . . *Koti go!*—Cut across!" he shouted in his shrill voice, as our boat and the others after us veered over to the other side of the stream where the current was less strong.

"How do you know just where these places are?" we asked. "There are so many channels, so many islands. How can you tell?"

"*Ma, kye!* What would you? I belong to this bush. An old man knows his river."

Steadily the boats went ahead in this long, quiet stretch. For fully half an hour the men worked in silence, doggedly going upstream close to the bank, until under the shade of a tree they saw a boat resting.

"Tio, odi! Tio, odi!" Each of our men addressed the two in the boat.

[576 609] "Tangi, tio! Tio, odi," they answered each one, until finally they said, "Odi, Bak'a," greeting the stranger last, as was the custom.

Our men explained, "We are going to the Saramacca country, up the river to the Granman. We are carrying the Bakra to the Granman. They belong to America country. They traveled in a fire ship for twenty-one nights and days to come to the Saramacca. Twenty-one nights and days, mati, without resting. *G'an sundyi*—A great state of affairs."

The man said, "We come from the Marowyne. The river is high. The next rapids are difficult. Let us travel together."

And so we were five canoes. Ahead, we could already hear the dull murmur which would soon crescendo to the final roar. This was the water pouring over the first rocks in the distance.

"What rapids are these?"

[823 796] "We must not talk about this here. Wait until we pass them. If we speak the name, the spirit will come, and he will be angry. The boat might go over. We might lose part of our load."

Now we came closer to the line of white, which rose higher and higher. Except for the bits of white foam like

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609 the Bak'a himself tell why he has come the long way to the
603 Saramacca river and what it is he seeks."
173 There was a general chorus of agreement, and silence awaited our accounting.

As the town man began to repeat our words to the Granman, the quiet of the house was heightened by an occasional stirring outside the paling. From where we sat, we could see brown motionless feet, which told us that there were many more than those inside, who were listening to the white man's reason for being in the bush.

Again the Granman made the traditional responses.

"So it is, white man."

"True, what you have said, bassia."

Finally our telling was at an end. Again there was a silence as we sat, tensely waiting.

The Granman again broke the silence.

"Friends, chiefs, you have heard. The white man is here. He comes to learn of our life. The gods of the river have
[906] brought him and his woman safely. The Great God sent the
821 rain to cool the air when he reached Asindopo Lantiwe.
[823] The gods are more than I am. The river is more than I am. But the Saramacca people are also more than I am. It is you, headmen of the Saramacca people, who must speak."

"Ai, G'aman," said the man who had the stripes of white on him and who wore the many obias. "But have the ancestors spoken?"

"Truly you ask, friend," was the response. "It is well that you think of these things. In the bush, we think before we speak. Do you go aside and consider well."

Slowly the members of the krutu arose from their
[576] benches. Softly, with bent form, each passed out of the doorway. We were alone with the Granman, who waited with us for the reply of the chiefs.

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623 As the elders slowly filed out of the council house, it was
693 as though a jury were leaving the courtroom to decide a case which had been laid before it. And as we learned more,

/204 cont./

776 This shows that in the minds of the Refugee Blacks, the
787 animal is simply a prop for the god. The god borrows this body
825 in order to manifest itself, but it is not bound to it by nature. These conceptions are totally contrary to those of the Indians, who tend to personify in their minds the beings and phenomena of nature.

776 As we have said, the Boni do not see these gods since the
787 person possessed loses consciousness. But in the time of the ancestors, there were people who used to see the gods, and it is through them that their present-day descendants have an idea of their appearance; on the other hand, certain gods such as the Ampuku and the Bũnsuŋki may be seen in dreams.

Sometimes the residence of this or that god is known, for it has revealed it through the mouth of its bearer; the god's
[823] name is then given to that place. For example, at the mouth of the Abounami there is a fall named Ma Akoti Gadu Sula. It is there that the god resides which revealed itself in olden days in an old woman named Akoti.

776 Connections with the group of relatives. The idea of a god
613 protector of the lineage, whose worship, brought by the founder of the group, is regarded as indispensable to the life of the collectivity, is not found clearly among the Refugee Blacks. There are actually many divinities which have entered the lineage and which are worshiped collectively. But these di-
[784] vinities are intruders; they have penetrated into the group by force in order to exert an inexorable vengeance against it.
[782] People do not apply to them to ask for protection, and they are worshiped only because they cannot be expelled.

776 /205/ There is not believed to be any kinship tie between the
602 gods and men, nor any tie of a systematic or exclusive character.

/209 cont. /

787 784 If someone has a Kumẽnti, certain objects used in the cult: pestle, mortar, machete, must not be raised near him. His gita "would rise" immediately. Likewise while he is eating, neither tiger nor gun must be mentioned. To prevent their gita from rising, those concerned may take the precaution of putting a small piece of wood behind the ear while they eat.

787 178 [771] [781] [484] [743] [755] These past years the cult of the Kumẽnti was clearly declining among the Boni, as was the whole of their religious life; every one, indeed, no longer thought about anything but earning money and was always traveling in order to do this, which made difficult the indispensable meetings and dances. On the other hand, cared for effectively when they are ill in the Maripasoula hospital, the Boni feel the cult of the Kumẽnti less necessary, of which the principal social function is to cure. So, while in 1948 we used to be present very often at manifestations of the gita of Kumẽnti, in 1952 they were becoming much rarer and more secret /modest/. They were tending to fall to the level of the latent manifestations of which we shall speak further on. In 1956 we did not observe in the course of the forest [346] work any spontaneous attack of this gita. The chapels dedicated to the Kumẽnti are scarcely maintained and are falling into ruins; such is the fate of the gods judged benevolent toward men. [751] Nevertheless people continue to lay great store by the ɔbia of Kumẽnti, especially the man nẽŋge ɔbia which protects against the machete and the gun, and the Kumẽnti bui, ring of Kumẽnti, instrument of divination.

776 [823] [787] The Bũnsuŋki. The Bũnsuŋki are gods which live in the waters, by preference at the head of falls, beside rocks bearing copses of detached trees; they can also reside ordinarily in these trees themselves. They appear sometimes in dreams to men as well as to women in the aspect of Indians, more commonly Indian women with long hair. This is why they are sometimes called wata Iŋgi, Indians of the water.

/248 cont./

755 823 [174] White clay, pɛmba (the word and the rite are of Congolese origin), does not undergo any special preparation. In the thought of the Refugee Blacks it has the power to fix upon a man's body the magic influence of the infusion of leaves.

791 Among the Boni, except for the cult of Odun, there are no priests, strictly speaking, invested with a function at the same time social and religious. A large number of persons 756 791 are regarded as "knowing remedies." This notion implies at once knowledge and power. In general the ɔbiamã is believed to hold only a specialized power; for example, he knows how to prepare a hunting ɔbia, or an ɔbia for protection against wisimã. This power he received from his father (as an exception, it seems, from his uncle), who instructed him, before dying, in the specialized rites it requires and transmitted his power to him by giving him mula.

To give mula to someone, one blows into his hands, one puts them on his head while uttering a formula by which one transmits to him a certain power or piece of magic knowledge.

What is the criterion of legitimacy? Who has the right to call himself an ɔbiamã? It seems that basically everything is reduced to this: the ɔbiamã has the conviction, the sensation that he holds this power; as for his clients, they believe they observe the efficacy of his ɔbia; if they stop having confidence in his remedy, they will abstain from coming to ask it of him, that is all; no social prohibition comes to limit the action of the ɔbiamã. The grand man intervenes only against someone [754] who might claim to hold remedies to harm another person or to capture his will, which would be wisi. /2 /

[888] /249/ The Boni accept the possibility of deception as regards ɔbia, especially by people who are too young, but they have the conviction that the elders (people over 55-60) possess wisdom and that one can apply to them with complete confidence.

/258 cont./

461 On the material plane the same conception explains
829 the high importance attached to fair payment for work done,
431 the holy fury which takes possession of Refugee Blacks who consider themselves wronged; it also explains why they can interpret a free gift only as a mark of weakness except in exceptional cases (present given by a high official on the occasion
431 of a visit). A gift which does not have the character of an ex-
829 change has no spiritual value for them; it brings only scorn and near hostility, for they feel that the object has not been legitimately acquired and that they are not in tune with their moral law.

Local Divinities

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823 The Refugee Blacks assume the existence of local divinities exercising a de facto power on such-and-such a portion of the country. Since their very special mode of life leads them to circulate almost exclusively along rivers, with them this idea has been transposed into a double notion: the divinities of the rivers and the gods of the soil. In their minds those are two entirely separate conceptions: the power of the god of the soil stops at the edge of the water and conversely.

De facto worship is rendered the divinities of the river according to the rites set by the first users of the river. In practice, worship is rendered only to the divinities of dangerous rivers where accidents are frequent. People do not bother with the others.

These gods are designated indiscriminately by the words gadu and sani (thing, being), indicating that their nature is not known.

/258 cont./

776 One of the best known of these gods is that of the Maruini.
823 It is assumed to control all the tributaries of the Maruini as far
778 as their sources. Its place of worship is a thicket situated downstream from the dangerous Kubi Sula Falls, at the mouth
782 of the river. Before starting to go upriver in August, 1956,
[539] the crews of our three boats, in an atmosphere of great meditation, lined up behind the eldest of them, who made the offering of water and tafia, uttering these words: "God who commands this river, watch over us, keep us from being sick, let no accident happen to us; if there is on this river an interdiction which we do not know (2) and which, through

2. It is obvious here that this is a case of de facto worship of a divinity about which nothing is known.

ignorance, we do not observe, pardon us. Bring us back to our villages safe and sound." The boatmen came one after the other to make the offering of tafia. The scene lasted more than a quarter of an hour. This ceremony was not without nobility, engendering belief in that sincere fervor of animists so often mentioned in the /259/ ethnographic literature.
771 But our return at the end of our work trip took place in a completely different atmosphere, showing the strictly practical and utilitarian side of the religion of the Refugee Blacks. Once past the Kubi Sula, the three boss boatmen could not persuade any of their men, who were in the act of eating their meal, to accompany them as far as the place of worship to thank the god. Some told us straight out that they were scoffing at this god from now on, having no intention of
[782] coming back on the Maruini. As for the boss boatmen themselves, they measured stingily the quantity of tafia offered

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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enrich the soil. Now before a field is chosen for cutting, it must be surveyed carefully to see that there are no snakes to be injured; that no trees which have strong spirits like the silk-cotton tree, or the parasitic akatasi, will be destroyed; that no ant hill whether on the ground or on a tree be disturbed. But Kasanya's wife's mother's brother was careless, or unlucky. A small ant hill had escaped his notice.

"The *Akantamasu* god is powerful. It is a bad god," Kasanya said over and over, making of it a refrain to his story.

When the ant hill was destroyed, its spirit fixed itself upon the family. Kasanya's wife's mother became ill, and although the contents of one obia pot after another were used up in bathing her with sangrafu and the serabaki and chembe leaves, she did not get better. Her husband, an able obia man, made special charms for her to wear about her neck, and sprinkled her with medicine with the feather of the sacred opete, the vulture, but still her illness kept on. At last they went to a diviner. To the village of Dahomey they went, the village where the most powerful obia was lodged, and there she learned that the Akantamasu god had come to the family. The diviner told her how to serve the god so that she might have respite—the days that were sacred to him, the dances she must dance on these days, the sacrifices to make. They knew that it would never be a friendly god to them, for it had come as a kunu. There was more trouble and more. The family gave many offerings, and the possessed woman danced whenever the spirit seized her, but soon she died, and the others have been dying since.

"What happened to the man who destroyed the ant hill? Did he get the Akantamasu gadu?"

"No, not he himself. His mother, and his sister, and his sister's children."

"But why?"

The answer was that kunu worked that way, and he went on to tell us about his sons. The first son had gone to the

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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itself, an open shelter under a thatched roof resting on four posts. Inside it, upon the ground, lay a flat stone whitened with sacred clay, and on this a bottle stood. Directly behind the stone was the altar, a low table on which lay several egg-shaped pieces of the sacred pemba—the white clay—and some egg-shaped stones which had come from the bed of the river. A circle of iron, perhaps two fingers' breadth in thickness and having a diameter of ten or twelve inches, rested on the ground under the altar. A stick had been planted to face the thicket of wild pineapple that made a wall at the back, and from it hung a strip of white cotton for the ancestors. To the left of this was a simply carved stool, the tracery of its design become all but indistinguishable under the coat of white clay which covered it. Several bottles lay at the foot of this stool.

"Ya-hai, mati, you are praying to the Mother of the River. It is well," said Kasanya, as he came up to us with his pole-man and the men from Gankwe and interrupted our scrutiny of the shrine.

Followed by Sedefo and Asikanu, he entered the shrine, while the others stood with us outside the railing which connected at sides and back the posts upon which the roof rested. Kasanya called on the Sky God first. "*G'an gadu*," he began, "Mother of the River, Ancestors, grant that we travel safely. Grant that we bring the white man safely to the country of the Granman. Grant that the white man pay us well. I thank you."

As he finished, the listening men clapped their hands in unison, and spoke in chorus, "Great thanks!" Some distance away, down the slope which dropped to the river, was Bibifo, who wanted to be called Adrian. He did not come too near the shrine, but there he was, halfway up, with head bent, his lips moving as he muttered a prayer of his own.

Now Sedefo came forward, and Kasanya left the shrine and disappeared behind the pineapple bushes. When he came back he held leaves in his hand, which he said were sacred. He would crush them and put them in water dipped

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783 here at the Mamadam, and later he would bathe with this
824 that he might be purified. Meanwhile Sedefo and Asikanu, each in his turn, addressed the Mother of the River, each speaking his errand and asking that his journey be prospered.

782 Bayo came up alone when the loading was quite finished. He sat down on a crosspiece of the shrine to one side of the flat rock, poured some of the contents of the bottle on the stone, and, taking up one of the egg-shaped pieces of pemba, he rubbed it between his fingers and touched the
[302] moist stone with his whitened hands. Now with his fingers he streaked his upper arm, just below the shoulders and over the muscles which played to the swinging of the pole-stick, and then his chest and knees.

"Mother of the River, give us a safe journey. Carry the white man and his woman without sickness. I thank you."

Later, when we were about to make off, he turned to us with his ready laugh. "You will walk well, Ba'ka. I have a strong spirit. I said things to the Mother of the River under my breath which you did not hear. The Mother of the River will look after you."

"What is this log, Bayo, right here on top of the falls? Why has no one claimed it?" we asked, pointing to the log of purple-heart close by, which we had noticed lying across the Mamadam.

"When it was sent down, something happened to turn it sidewise, and it was caught so. No one will touch it. It must be that the gods wanted it for themselves."

4

798 There are many shrines on the river. At the G'an Creek a
784 man would speak his prayer from a distance, call the creek "ancestor," state his errand, and continue his journey. Far up the stream, where the juncture of the Pikien Rio and the Grand Rio forms the river which the Bush Negroes call the Saramacca, is the Tapa Wata shrine. There, our men said, we would do well to avoid looking, though our boat rested across the river more than a quarter of a mile

bush for some months, and when he came back he did not feel well, and they quarreled often. When they quarreled she refused to cook for him, and so he said bad things to her. He began to say the child was not his. Now when a father takes away his 'kra, his soul, from the child while it is in the mother's womb, it is not good. When the child was born, it was a very small child. Afterwards the man left the woman. He still said the child was not his, but he used to bring money to the woman sometimes to buy things for the child. The neighbors said she must not take the money. If she took it, they said, the child would die of fio-fio. But the woman took the money. Nowadays many of them don't believe in the old things, until they find out. When the child was four months old it died. Everybody knew it was fio-fio."

He told other incidents of what happened to people who had fio-fio.

"I tell you all this because sometimes the men in the boats talk about the whites, and they think you don't understand. But you know what they say, and you are angry. If you give them a present of leaf tobacco later, or rum, then they or you may become sick. . . . The men in the bush know what to do about fio-fio, Massa, and you must learn, too. The proverb says: 'How is a boat to go, if it has no paddles?'"

3

At the entrance to the village of S'ei a gigantic silk-cotton tree stood. Its trunk was massive, and the roots which projected outwards like so many buttresses made of it a great somber cathedral. The curiously twisted grooves which these buttresses made were said to house many spirits, and particularly the three who lived in the kankan tree, as the natives called it. Gedeonsu, the male god, and Tinné, his wife, lived there with their child Dyombie, the most dreaded of them all. The kankan tree gods were thought of as women's gods, though a few men might be found, here and there, who would, on occasion,

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be possessed by them. Between the roots of the tree offerings were placed—two or three bottles on their sides, or a calabash filled with sacred clay. 824 776

When the time came to dance to the gods of the kankan tree, a tunic of cotton was placed about its trunk. While the drums spoke to the gods, white clay was spread over the bark, a chicken was killed, and its blood allowed to spray the tree and drip into a calabash placed on the ground to receive it. Eggs inside obia pots were put beside the tree, and bottles filled with sweet liquor and the juice of sugar cane. All about its wide trunk the dancers swayed and leaped, each dancing to her own spirit until, at the height of their ecstasy, there were a few among them who would climb the great tree itself, and dance on its branches. The drums continued until the frenzy ebbed. Had they stopped sooner, those in the tree could not have remained there safely or in safety have descended to the ground. 824 776 776

At other times, women came to Gedeonsu to ask him for children, and those who were troubled by his spirit brought offerings, though the great dances were held when the old year came to an end, and the big offerings were then made. [842] [780]

"If a man were to cut down a kankan tree, Gedeonsu would cut off his foot. I myself saw it happen," said a man to us at S'ei. "And his sister got the god." [688]

The kankan tree gods could be bought, too. A woman who wanted fertility would seek to buy Gedeonsu. Others might wish to have Tinné. Only an individual who had a spirit which gave him the right to make obias and call the gods could get the spirit for one who wished to buy it. Such a man would take an obia pot, fill it with water and place inside it cowrie shells which had not been cleansed. After speaking his invocation, he would add a sacred white stone, called an obia stone, and with a calabash in one hand and a bell in the other, he would go to the tree and address the spirits as he rang the bell. When the water became ruffled, it was a sign that the god had entered it. Quickly he would cover the calabash with a cloth and take it away with him. [842] [434] 791 824 776 776

REBEL DESTINY

This ritual might have brought Gedeonsu, or Tinné—whoever was called. The two could not, however, be taken at the same time, for one of them had to be left to care for the child Dyombie. If two of the kankan tree gods were wanted, then mother and child, or father and child, would be sought.

"The kankan tree spirits are not bad, but people fear them. They are not as bad as the Akatasi gods."

The Akatasi gods were those which animated the kato liana, and were related to the gods of the ant hill. This kato bush was a terrible parasite which, getting its strangle hold on a tree, would rise higher than the tree itself and at last kill it.

The silk-cotton, however, was a friendly tree and cruel only when its spirits were tampered with by those who did not know how to control the gods. When the ancestors came into this river, which "in early days was only a creek," it was they who had sought out these trees, and had made their villages where they stood. Now the trees had become great, and the villages were great.

Here was the silk-cotton tree at S'ei, one of the greatest of all. Its roots made ridges in the path to the village. Under the spiritual guard they spread, and to the large oval of wood fixed on a wooden base which stood a short distance from it, and to the low shelter where, on the head of a crudely carved image, rested a whitened covered pot, and farther to the mound of earth on which stood offerings. Farther still the roots followed the path, and into the village itself, until, perhaps half a mile from the tree, they reached the Kromanti house and the village council house and the home of the chief. It was as though these roots were the arteries which fed strength to the Kromanti spirits dwelling there, and as if they brought the wisdom of the ancestors to the shelter where the men of the village gathered to hear and try cases, to discuss the will of men and gods as they touched upon the well-being of the people.

Upon our arrival we were bidden to the council house, where men and women were waiting about. This was an

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834 848 "Don't go off into the bush with a man. A child born to you will have a bad bush god, if you do," she added as an afterthought.

5

123 177 In the other corner, Chief And'u, the bassia, and about half a dozen men were talking of the great book about their ancestors which the white man had.

"It is large so," said the chief to one of the older men, indicating an imaginary size which multiplied the size of the actual volume at least tenfold. "And people say it has in it pictures of the Apuku gods, small as we ourselves know them, and a picture of the evil Apuku who appear as fire in the distance. . . . Mati, white men have gone into the Kromanti houses in the country of our ancestors and have made pictures!"

"It is impossible!"

"I want to see!"

The old man said, "I will not look. Books are not for us, mati."

"But mati, the G'aman has heard, and he wants to see."

The old man shook his head. He would have nothing of pictures that figured what should never have been allowed to be photographed.

It seemed prudent to give the conversation a new turn. 137 Down river, the men had said that a man of this village had lately found a new *neku* liana. Was it so?

"The man who found it was my son," said the old man, "you should have come for the dance. You would have seen how we do things here in the bush. But pictures you could [822] not take. No, mati, if you photograph, you take the soul."

● 824 The festivities for the find had been especially joyful, he explained, for the boy had only recently come by his gods, 776 and this had been yet another proof that he would serve his family capably. For though the find was his own, all his relatives in the mother's line would enjoy its use. Here- [278] [226] after, when the poison of its leaves and its slender branches

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was wanted for killing fish in a creek, they would have their own neku.

When a man found a neku vine, he first had to cut some of it, and bring it home with him. Then he sent word to all the men of his village to come and carry the branches of the neku to the place of ceremony. He named the place and day for the pounding of the neku. The invitation was given in the name of the old men of the village, and the headman sent his bassias, those men who assist him in village affairs, with messages to neighboring settlements. When this had been done, the finder of the vine appointed five or six men of his own choice, and these were called "Bassias of Neku." It was they who had charge of the ceremonies. The night preceding the dance these men went about crying, "Tomorrow we will have neku. All must come." Again the men went to the bush where the neku vine had been found, and brought to the village some more of the vine for pounding.

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Early the following morning a horn was sounded, and the men from the neighboring villages who had come for the festivities also went and cut some of the neku, and brought it to the pounding place. When the men were gathered, each took up a stick and pounded the neku. And what they crushed they put into corials filled with water. These corials were then sunk in the stream. In a short time the poisoned fish floated to the surface of the water, and all the men took up their long-handled scoops and began to fish. The bassias of neku, whom the finder of the plant had appointed for the ceremony, directed the fishing. When a quantity of fish had been caught, those who were not of the village where the owner of the vine lived gave of their catch to the finder of the neku plant, and some went to the chief of the village, and the elders, too, had a share of what the outsiders had caught, though in some villages only the owner of the vine profited by the gifts of the others. Then the men joined the women, who were dressed in their finest cloths, and the dancing began.

824 796 Later, through the gathering darkness, the people of the neighboring villages went home, paddling their boats which were loaded down with the fish that had been netted. And from this time on, everyone knew that this neku vine was [423] the property of him who had found it, and of his family, [428] down through his mother's line, forever.

"Ai, mati, you would have seen something, if you had got here for the neku dance!"

6

361 Like any other Bush Negro village, S'ei was a series of sandy clearings about which were grouped huts of woven palm fronds and palm thatch. All about was the big bush. [487] The trails which led from the village were each guarded [789] by a magically treated palm azang, and shrines to the ancestral spirits who saw to it that evil was kept away. Where the several paths led, a stranger was not encouraged to discover. Down one, women were to be seen disappearing [882] in the morning with trays on their heads, their infants astride their backs, held inside the folds of a cloth which was fastened high above their breasts, and caught up again below them. In many upper river villages, this path led to the fields, some distance away. Others were the way to [778] shrines, erected to those spirits which must be worshiped outside the village. Another path might lead to a brook, which the villagers held sacred. There were trails, too, which connected neighboring villages, and led perhaps farther yet, but for the stranger, the highway was the river, and no matter how short the distance between one settle- [486] ment and another, he was not invited to make his way through the bush.

"You do not want to go through the bush, white man. In the bush are evil spirits," we heard many times.

A village clearing was divided into quarters. Each quarter was inhabited by one of the *mbe*, or extended families, and 361 the quarter bore its name. It was composed of several house- 592 holds—five or six or more, depending upon the size of the

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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776 over all things. Among his other names are *Gran Tata* (Great Father) and *Old Nengre*. Subordinate to the chief deity is Apuku, spirit of the jungle. There is also the spirit of the river, *Tonai*, or *Amucu*, or *Watra Mama*. Then comes the snake spirit, whose ritual was once a thing of horror, *Papa Gadu*, whose other name is *Voodoo*.

The evil spirit, the bad, wild spirit of the bush, is *Cromanti*, who possesses the dancers in their midnight fury. His dwelling-place is the silk-cotton tree. In the jungles of both West Africa and South America the silk-cotton trees (*Ceiba pentandra* or *Bombax ceiba*) grow to an immense size, towering above all the other vegetation. The Bush Negroes [824] consider this *con con dree* sacred, refusing to touch it with a knife or axe. Any man who cuts one down is accursed. Once, during the construction of a village, a man was forced to cut one down. Cromanti went into his wife and killed her in six weeks. Similar to the silk-cotton is the *kotu con con dree*, and any man so foolhardy as to molest it will get into dangerous trouble.

The kindly spirit is *Aflamu*, who protects the Djukas against the invisible men who live in the jungle. The fetishes to Aflamu have two eyes, one looking forward and the other placed backward, to indicate his unceasing vigilance in all directions. In *The Golden Bough*, Frazer mentions the Djukas as setting up a Janus-faced image on the village paths. We have never seen one of these and doubt their existence. The fetish to Aflamu is placed on the village path, however, and the same idea is involved in the eye set in the back.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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drums carry farther toward heaven than the talkee-talkee of a lone supplicant.

It is not easy to distinguish between the primitive's magic and his medicine. In the village organization a distinction is sometimes made between the *medicine man,* who is concerned with remedies for sickness, and the *obeiah priest,* whose business is charms and rituals. There are two or three obeiah priests to each village. Their profession is the propitiation of spirits, that is, magic and religion. The magic of the obeiah men is largely secret. Once we arrived at a village while a ritual of some nature was going on. Pots were stewing in the centre of the clearing, while obeiah men were moving around them. One held a rattle, which he shook monotonously. The bahkra was asked to leave. It was magic in the making.

The Bush Negroes possess an extensive system of primitive medicine. Various roots, herbs, and nuts are gathered in the jungle, and their use is mingled with various superstitions. The witch doctor or medicine man who prepares infusions from these herbs holds no exalted position in the esteem of the villagers; he is simply following a particular profession to which no special prestige is attached. He may, however, be an obeiah priest in addition to being a medicine man.

He prepares several kinds of medicine, among them the *snakee-kutti,* or snake-bite cure. It cures the bites of all reptiles and makes the person immune from future attack. Snakee-kutti is made in this way: a venomous snake is killed and the head and the tail-end are cut from the body; the tail

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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The decoration of
177 objects with cowrie shells comes by way of Africa. The
[329] monkey dance said to be practised by the Djukas is described
[796] as similar to the gorilla dance of the West Coast. The coiled wire bracelets and anklets are of African design, and the
[301 291] general mode of dress is the same.

The Djuka attitude toward the silk-cotton tree is common among the tribes of the Guinea Coast. "Throughout West
[824] Africa from Senegal to the Niger the silk-cotton tree is regarded with reverence and believed to be the abode of a god or spirit. This general consensus of opinion is no doubt due to the stupendous size attained by some of these trees, which tower far above all others of the forest."

[524] *Adji-boto,* a game in which seeds are placed in round holes in a board, is played not only by the Bush Negroes but also by the Town Negroes of Paramaribo; it is found along the Gold Coast, Benin, Sierra Leone, West Sudan, and, in modified forms, in many other parts of Africa. The fish spear
[227] of the Djukas is found in Liberia, Mandingo, and the Gold Coast. Shooting fish with a bow and arrow is an African
[226] custom, but it is also widespread among the aboriginal Indians of South America. On the other hand, according to Dr. W. Roth of Demerara, a number of traps and hunting devices now used by the Guiana Indians are of African origin and have been borrowed from the Negroes.

[372] The Djuka fire fan, woven of split rattan, is borrowed from the Arawak Indians, but different types of the same device can be found also among the Tshi- and Ewe-speaking people and in Liberia, Cameroons, etc. The Bush Negro

As
532 one woman said: "He gave me this piece when we were
322 first married. I won't part with it now." Usually an elaborate
439 parley is necessary. The women are undecided whether to sell or not. They laugh, giggle, put their finger coyly in their mouths, joke bashfully with bystanders, and cannot make up their minds as to the price. They never know how much to ask for a piece. Sometimes they will mention a preposterous figure, hoping like a naïve child that the strange bahkra will pay that much. But on such occasions a rebuke will make them more reasonable. Once an arrogant witch doctor intervened in a transaction with a Bush Negro woman, demanding angrily that she receive an exorbitant payment. His anger was squelched with a few sharp words, and, contrite, he sat up all night to carve an ornate implement to present to the bahkra as a peace-offering. Cunning Adjobo, the medicine man!

412 The Bush Negro implements are carved out of jungle
322 wood. Some are made of lignum vitæ, the hardest wood
[24] known. A few of them are made of soft wood, light and spongy, but these are not popular. The small paddles are used for stirring in the cooking pots, and the combs are
[30] actually used for the hair. They are never worn as personal ornaments, and when not in use are hung up on the walls of the hut. The utensils are all made with common trade
[71] jackknives and compasses which are used as dividers. It is principally with these dividers that the serpentine motifs
322 are executed. After the carving is finished the piece is smoothed off by rubbing it with matted grass and river

682 /8 cont./
[672] culprit is condemned to find the requital in his offspring. His
[567] children, children's children, and great-grandchildren must render slave services for the family of the person poisoned.

692 Moreover, they usually act in accordance with the judgment and the decision of their elders or council members. Most punish-
681 ments consist of whip lashes.

Chapter IV

Weapons

411 These consist of rifles, machetes, bow and arrow, and lances.
278 In some cases they also use a kind of cudgel (1). The most dangerous
682

1. An Indian weapon called apoetoe.

one that they possess, however, is an assortment of vegetable poisons with which they can secretly strike their enemies and whose effects manifest themselves slowly, but are usually lethal. They not only mix these with one food or another, or in snuff or tobacco, but in the case of some can merely bring them in contact with a part of the body and thereby produce to the most infectious results.

/9/

Chapter V

Dwellings, Practices, Customs, Housekeeping

342 Their huts are constructed low above the ground from un-
824 worked round wood, covered with pina, the leaves of a palm species (1), and surrounded by palisade pales.

1. Euterpe oleracea Mart.

352 The couches and sleeping places within are also made of paling.

354 Inside the hut is found the hearth or place for the fire, on
372 which they cook and in which they constantly maintain a fire for

354 /9 cont./
[372] they do not like to be without it; at least they do not like to
[353] sleep without a fire. Their weapons hang above their sleeping
[513] place, which is a hammock, in which man and wife sometimes lie together. Rarely do more than one man and one woman with their
342 small children live in a single hut.

296 Their articles of clothing, as well as other small belongings,
251 are kept in pagalen, a kind of plaited basketwork, while they keep
415 water, strong drinks, sugar juice, rice, salt, and so forth in
824 calabashes and godos (2).

2. Both hollowed-out fruit rinds of the Crescentia cagete L. and the Cucurbita lagenaria L., plants from the family of the Cucurbitaceae.

415 Some of them have cedarwood clothes-chests, which must be specially mounted with a great deal of copper; one also sometimes finds liqueur cellars with gilded bottles.

353 For the rest everything is left out in the open in the hut.

264 Often many men come together in one hut for their meals and eat out of one large bowl or calabash. The women withdraw after having placed on very low tables several calabashes or bowls of food for their husbands in the circle in which they are seated, never forgetting to add a large calabash with clean water for washing the hands before and after the meal. The women gather in another hut in order to consume what they kept out for themselves beforehand and what has been left by their husbands.

[888] If an aged person or a highly placed person is in their midst,
[554] he is offered the calabash of food first, so that he may take from it what he wants and eat it by himself from an ordinary plate, although seated in the circle, /10/ while the others partake of their meal from the large bowl. In general they talk with one another during the meal, the highly placed person also taking part in the conversation.

/10 cont./

574 The politeness shown toward a guest springs from the idea that unknowingly one of them might easily take the very piece that the important person wished to have, and although no comment would be made on this, it could nonetheless happen that this would trouble the guest for whom they cherish special respect, 888 or that he would thereby consider himself insulted. It is particularly to old age that they pay great respect.

Chapter VI

Household and Agricultural Implements

412 [322] [824] [531] The Bush Negroes mainly use adzes in order to hew their corjalen or canoes out of trees partially burned out beforehand; furthermore, they use planes and chisels in order to work their (usually cedarwood) (1) stools and parels or paddles (2). They are

1. Cedrela odorata L.

2. Hand oar.

especially fond of having these carved with many figures. For them the machete is an indispensable tool that they always carry around and use as a chopping knife, sword, and knife, indeed, even to cut splinters or thorns out of the foot with the tip. They use field axes or hatchets to cut down the bush in order to lay out their small cultivation grounds and to work the wood that they float by rafts and sell.

562 412 [824] [413] The women possess, aside from a machete or knife, also mattocks with which they keep their lands and the place near the dwelling neat; they make brooms from the pina palm racemes or from rice ears bound in sheaves. They like to have scissors, needles, and pins, while for knitting they use a pointed and bent nail.

413 [283] [286] They spin their sewing thread from cotton with a certain tool which they call kéké; they also have a round, wooden tool called sepoe, with which they very nicely and sturdily /11/ make

/15 cont./

585 white cotton sleeping blanket, various colored cloths and pantjes,
[583] some earthenware, such as bowls and plates, iron pots and pans, and the like, while he is obligated on the occasion to provide for an ample supply of strong drink and sugar wine.

They do not have festivities, games, or dancing in connection with their marriages.

586 If a marriage is dissolved, then each of the two parties again goes to his own family; in case those concerned in it and the elders disapprove of this, however, it happens that man and wife are forced to continue to live with each other, especially when there are no substantial reasons and grievances.

593 The man is obligated to provide his wife or his wives with food, clothing, and ornaments; she, to follow the man everywhere, to cook for him, to wash, and to take care of the housekeeping.

264 The wives are neat in an exemplary fashion; plates, bowls,
252 and pans are always kept extremely clean, and they also see to it that everything is extremely clean in connection with cooking.

841 If they find themselves in a period of menstruation, they
302 indicate this immediately to the husband by withdrawing from his dwelling and staying in seclusion with other women; they neither cook nor do the least thing for him in this state, do not even come within sight of him, and remain secluded to the end; when they have cleaned and dressed themselves, they decorate their shoulders and arms with white stripes as a token /16/ that they have again
[386] returned to their normal state. The stripes are made by mixing
[824] pounded adroe (1) with ground chalk and water.

1. A tuberous root-stalk from the Cyperus rotundus L.

Sometimes they also smear the forehead and the neck in this way and appear thus before their husbands.

841 During their seclusion another woman, who is a member of
571 the family or possibly a female friend, daily prepares and brings the
252 food, which, however, is at the expense of the secluded wife. They perform this service for each other mutually.

/17 cont./

765 In these tales, called anansitori (spider-head story), the
[538] spider usually plays the main role as a personal being.

The close female relatives wear as a sign of mourning for husband, father, and mother, for a year, white or blue cloths around the head and a white cloth around the body. The men wear a white cloth around head and body only for three months, but during an entire year (since they then may not go completely clothed) they cover themselves with only a black loincloth. They also refrain from wearing ornaments for a whole year.

766 If one of them dies in the working place, in the town, or elsewhere, then the corpse has some hair shorn from its forehead and is subsequently buried without ceremonies. This hair is wrapped in a new piece of linen or cotton and brought to Auca, or their permanent dwelling place, where it then undergoes a proper burial, on which occasion all the customary ceremonies are observed as though the corpse were there.

766 Whenever one of them dies suddenly or from a strange
787 disease, which can arouse a suspicion of poisoning, immediately
[824] after death and before being washed the corpse is placed in a boesipapaja (1) tree (which, split and then tied together, is just

1. It is a hollow tree of very soft and unusable wood which, when split open, resembles bamboo from the inside; the leaves are broad and rasp-like.

like a halved hollow tree) at least five feet long. This kind of coffin is carried from east to west, past all those present, who for this purpose must be ranged in two rows, by two completely strange and impartial men, who are invited from other places for this purpose.

Now the place where the corpse through heavy pressure on the /18/ head forces the two bearers to stand still is where the inquiry begins, and one asks the corpse whether this place where they are now standing still is where clarification can be provided. If one notices a distinct movement of the hollowed-out tree, this is corroboration. If, after the question has been repeated three

/20 cont./

262 milk. She does eat cheese, however, saying that there is absolutely no milk in it.

/21/ Chapter XIII

Diseases, Afflictions, and so forth

164 The greatest affliction among them, too, is the lepra boasi (leprosy and elephantiasis Fuchs), venereal diseases, leg and body
757 pains, and sores. They cure themselves mainly with herbs, which they possess in great quantities and with which they frequently work with special success. They cut open abcesses themselves; in most cases they cup themselves, making the cups from small calabashes.
[824] For many pains they rub themselves with spirits steeped in paradise seed (1) and with carapa oil, which they get from the carapa nuts (2).

1. Sem. paradisie Ningre kondre pepre from the Amomum paradise Afsel.

2. Carapa gujanens Obl.

755 In difficult cases and dangerous illnesses, however, they ask for advice from the Cromantie gado, which can only be done by means of song and dance, on which occasion a great deal is drunk.
[756] A wentie man (African idol-priest or priestess) qualified for this, or an influential person, is able by means of drink, song, and dance among the others to excite himself to such an extent that in a mad way, without consciousness of what he is doing, he makes superhuman leaps, turnings, and twistings with his body, jumps and dances in the fire, until he finally falls to the ground unconscious and, rolling like a tub, foaming at the mouth, utters the most repulsive and strange sounds, which lasts until he is finally put down somewhere for dead. So long as he remains lying without any movement or sound as if in a deep sleep, one may absolutely not come near him or touch him, but must always take care to keep out of his way in his course and not to hinder him in anything.

/23 cont./

551 The boys born on Sunday Kwassie; the girls Kwassiba.
" " " " Monday Kodjo; " " Adjuba.
" " " " Tuesday Kwamina; " " Abenie.
" " " " Wednesday Kwakoe; " " Akoeba.
" " " " Thursday Jauw; " " Jaba.
" " " " Friday Kofi; " " Afie.
" " " " Saturday Kwami; " " Amba.

538 Their odo or proverbs as a rule have reference to their simple bush life, for instance:

539 "Te pikien boessi kiebrie joe boen, dan joe no moesoe falla biegie boessi te joe toeka naka hen"; that is,

"If you are protected by a small bush, be content with it and do not demand the bigger one that you may happen to see."

Another meaning is:

"If the little suffices, then do not strive for the greater."

"Na srefie avie die de falla pikien bon, de falla bigie wantoe"; that is,

"The ax that cuts down little trees also cuts down big trees."

Another meaning is:

"God, who does not forsake the worm, will not forsake a man either," or:

/24/ "Nobody is so unhappy but that days of good luck come for him"; also:

"Regard your enemy not too lightly."

Chapter XV

General Knowledge

824 This is on a very low level among them and is confined mainly to a thorough knowledge of varieties of wood and medicinal herbs in use among them.

/27/
534 holds out the longest and is the fastest and most accurate performer
535 of the specific steps for this is cheered as the winner.

Banja or baljaar is one of the true African dances. This name is also given to the African guitar, a musical instrument formerly generally known in the colony, but now totally vanished. This dance is performed to the beat of the two drums and the
[824] kwakwa stool. For this dance the women provide themselves with a saka-saka, a toy having the shape of a great rattle and made from a calabash filled with corals or pits of the Canna indica and Canna lutea, also called viengoe by them. They turn and shake this saka-saka according to the beat of the song taken up by them, which produces a peculiarly strange sound.

Chapter XIX

Clothing, Ornaments, Tattooing

291 Their clothing is very simple. The women ordinarily wear merely a piece of colored linen or cotton strip, called bont, two ells long and one and a quarter ells wide. They wrap this around their middle and allow it to hang down below the knee joints, calling it pangi. This undergarment of the Negro women is thus named
301] after pano (Spanish) and pagne (French). As a rule they have the upper body bare, while around the neck, the wrists, and the ankles
302 they wear strings of coral, which greatly take their fancy. They usually plait the head hair into a large number of small braids and bind the ends of these with white cotton threads. Some of them wear their hair combed out, as a result of which their heads,
301 seen from a distance, resemble large mop-heads. They are very fond of blood corals, which are greatly valued among them for ornamentation.

[292] When they celebrate a festival, they also wear a large number of colored cloths of cotton or muslin around the neck, and further adorn themselves with copper and iron rings around the wrists, among which there are strings of coral in the same manner

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[For information on various types of buildings and other physical structures or facilities present in each of the Boni villages, see the village plans on pp. 66, 68, 70, 72, 74, and 76, category 116. Included are data on the occurrence of menstrual huts (munu), kitchens, granaries, and sundry other outbuildings, religious structures (gadu), mortuary sheds, boatbuilding yards, guest houses for visitors, wharfs, fraga tiki (i.e. lineage ancestor cult shrines and objects), and useful trees within the village area which are personally owned.]

/6 cont./

133 Flooding is very variable according to the configuration of the rivers and the nature of the terrain.

133 At the Creole village of Grigel, situated at the bottom of
361 a glove-finger loop of the Waki River, the June flooding reaches
171 a level of eight meters above the average level in the dry season; the Creole and Indian villages of the Waki are established on hills. On the contrary, along the Lawa whose course is rectilinear, the variation in level is seldom greater than four meters. The maximum water level is 50 centimeters to one meter /above/
[342] the soil of the alluvial terrace. Several of the Creole and Boni
[484] villages of the Lawa are even established at the very edge of the great river; the houses are built on piles and their occupants go home by boat during several weeks of the year. Nevertheless, most of the villages and farming habitations are outside the reach of flooding on terraces situated about five meters above the high-water mark, which are found from place to place at the edge of the river and which perhaps mark vestiges of an ancient terrace. This is notably the case with Boniville and Loka villages.

137 The whole of the territory is entirely covered by equatorial forest: a forest continuous and dense which extends over hundreds of kilometers without a village, without a clearing, without a trail.

The Guiana forest is less high than is ordinarily thought. It is an infinite succession of trees of all dimensions and of extremely varied species, among which true giants are rare; the average height of the cover is around 30 meters, and large trunks are rare.

•824 The variety of species is very great; and the useful ones, few in number and dispersed, are difficult to exploit. The Refugee Blacks, who have a deep knowledge of the forest and its resources, utilize scarcely ten species out of the some 200 which they differentiate, judging the others unusable either because their

/6 cont. /

824 wood is too hard to be worked with ordinary instruments or, on the contrary, because it is too soft, too easily attacked by insects, or
311 has a tendency to rot. The zone exploitable by native procedures is limited (for the floodable zones /7/ do not allow fine woods) to the slope of the hills bordering the valley of the watercourses accessible to pirogues; beyond, the cartage of felled trunks becomes impracticable.

137 A very dense epiphytic vegetation connects the trees with
136 their upper parts; it is there that life blossoms out: flowers, birds, insects, and monkeys.

484 Progress through the forest is very arduous. The undergrowth,
487 shrubs, bushes, bound together by fine and elastic lianas, offers
[132] a constant obstacle, the machete /sabre/ must be wielded at each
[412] step. The nature of the terrain, a succession of bogs and hills
[133] with steep and slippery slopes, makes walking for heavily loaded men exhausting. On the trail one succeeds with difficulty in making more than 15 to 20 kilometers a day; in the uninhabited forest one can scarcely advance five to six kilometers a day by cutting the strict minimum as one does when hunting. The opening of a route permitting the passage of heavily laden men cannot progress more than three kilometers a day on the average.

137 The great forest offers few real dangers, but it is an environ-
182 ment profoundly hostile to man, which does not present spontaneously any food resource and allows establishment of villages and cultivated areas only at the price of great efforts.

136 One meets few animals in the interior of the forest, and the resources for hunting are very limited; on the other hand, there are few harmful animals; wild beasts are few and practically do not appear; snakes are much rarer than on the coast and represent
164 only a slight danger. The most real dangers of the forest come from the fall of branches and epiphytes, principally when it is cleared for cultivation; each year there are accidents of this kind in Boni country. Besides, work in the forest is the occasion for many wounds which tend to ulcerate.

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There are no gardens around the cabins because the conditions of the soil and climate render permanent cultivation impracticable. The nearest thing is a few persons planting some banana trees around the hut at the foot of which they spread the hearth ashes. As a general rule villages are closely hemmed in by secondary brushwood, and people plant far from one another and sometimes very far from the village.

If it does not admit the appropriation of land to individuals, custom does admit, on the other hand, the ownership of trees. In the villages the useful trees (coconut trees, maripa palms /attalea excelsa/, mango trees, cashew-apple trees, etc.) all have owners. The tree is considered as personal property and is transmitted by inheritance in the same way as a gun or a canoe. The procedure employed by the Boni for the dispersion of the inheritance among the members of the lineage of the dead man sometimes has the effect of transmitting the ownership of a tree to a person who is not of the village. For example, in Boniville where a fraction of the Kotika lineage lives, two caumou palms were bequeathed a long time ago to members of the lineage living in Kotika, who come each year to gather the fruit.

Appendix

Local Chronology Used for Determining Ages

1876	Death of Grand Man Atyaba.
1877	Trip of the explorer Crevaux from the Maroni to the Yari and the Amazon, in the company of Apatu, head of the Boni village.
1882	Apatu secedes, taking with him about 150 persons and founds the village which bears his name on the lower course of the Maroni.

/160 cont./

764 As soon as the death is announced, the kisimɛ̃ hastily construct a platform called papay (1), while waiting for the

[824]

1. Papay = canon wood /F. canon, from L. canna reed, pipe, tube -- Tr./ (Cecropia Sp.), rapid-growing shrub similar to the African parasol-tree; it is used for the construction of the platform because of the great lightness of its stem.

building of the coffin which will be undertaken the next day.

The wasimɛ̃ bathe the dead man with warm water after transporting him to a special place in the village. A hole is dug for the run-off of this water and closed up again afterward. This place is strictly reserved for this use; people do not go there any other time (at Boniville it is behind hut No. 5).

[767] The wasimɛ̃ are two in number, two men and two women; in each lineage there are at least one man and one woman who are acquainted with this work.

The wasimɛ̃ remove from the dead man every object (metal, ɔbia, etc.) and dress him in clean clothes. Cotton is [775] put in his nostrils and a chin-strap put on, all of which will be removed at the moment when the coffin is closed (so that the yɔrika of the dead man will not be impeded in its life beyond the grave).

The body placed in the papay is carried under the mortuary shed (krɛyɔsu = house /161/ of tears). A tuft of hair and the fingernails are taken, which are wrapped in a cloth and hung inside the krɛyɔsu.

/161 cont./

764 The dead person's spouse, his nearest relatives, and his children come and hang their hammocks inside the krɛyɔsu, where they will live until broko dɛ (eighth day after the death).

[533] [535] The village people begin the tukka songs and dance, which will last part of the night, while the friends and near relatives of the dead man lament seated, head covered with a cloth.

[824] The first day after the death, as soon as it is morning, the kisimã arrive, and begin to make the coffin, using mahogany boards always kept on hand, thanks to the head of the village.

[613] The women of the dead man's lineage prepare a meal which is offered to the kisimã about 1:00 P.M. at the end of their work.

While the coffin is being made, the dead man's friends and distant relatives arrive in crowds from the neighboring villages, bringing tafia and cloth as offerings. Two kisimã lay these pieces of cloth one by one on the body saying, "So-and-so buries you."

[767] These pieces of cloth are divided up; about 15 are put into the coffin by the kisimã, part of the rest serve as pay for the kisimã, part as pay for the ɔlɔmã; another part, finally, is used for dressing the widower and his co-wives (or the widow), showing thus that during the whole mourning period they live dependent on the dead person.

Then the kisimã close the coffin without any other rites' taking place. The late arrivers who bring more cloths knock the coffin saying, "I bury you," and put them down on the ground.

[892] The work of the kisimã is over; they bring the body outside the krɛyɔsu, in front of which has assembled the council called lãnti kuutu, which constitutes the judicial apparatus of the Boni.

765 /184 cont./
[202] "You who with obia so that the machete will not cut you, so that the broken glass will not wound you, what are you waiting for? You remain seated, are you afraid?"

765 At these words, several of those present stand up and
786 begin to dance, seeking the trance of possession. Some run
787 into the village and come back running, carrying banana-tree stalks. Others drag thorny spathes of awara; two brandish an old, demolished boat.

The drum furiously beats the rhythm of Kumenti. Part of the dancers, taken hold of by a furious delirium, jump and
[824] prance about. Certain ones take thorny spathes of awara (2)

> 2. Thorny palm (astrocaryum vulgare) whose sharp thorns nearly 10 centimeters long are particularly formidable. It is impossible to pick up an awara spathe with bare hands without hurting oneself.

under the arm or pass them around the neck.

Part of those present are taken hold of in their turn by trances, including people of mature age and serious character like Fintiman, who is carried off in a faint.

Two possessed people, a man (Ernest, Kotika) and a woman (Awini, Boniville), smeared with pemba, are subject to extraordinary contortions. Ernest breaks a bottle over his head with such force that the pieces fly several meters. Both /185/ dance on their knees for an appreciable length of time (but the next day Awini will come to have herself cared for). Those present manifest frenzied joy.

765 About five o'clock the sange dance begins. Three apinti
535 drums are placed at the west wall of the shed. The orchestra
534 is completed by an old overturned boat which seven to eight men strike with sticks.

/193 cont./

772 The Refugee Blacks consider beings and things as distributed on several levels:

--The creator god;
--Lower gods;
--Ancestors;
--Men;
--Animals;
--Plants and inanimate things.

To each of these levels corresponds a level of life and a level of force (kaakiti). A higher force may act on a lower force, but not the reverse.

771 One may say that the cults of the Refugee Blacks have as their goal to capture the vital force of the gods and the ancestors and to bring it back to the level of men, giving them strength, luck, and fecundity. To thus increase one's vital force can be defined as good. Evil (negative magic, witi) is, on the contrary, to capture the vital force of another man in order to increase one's own.

754 The idea that one has wisimɛ is that he uses a higher force (especially an ancestor's yɔrka) which he has succeeded in capturing by magic and in subjecting to his will in order to dominate someone else. Reduced to his own strength alone he could do nothing.

789 824 [772] The magic of the Refugee Blacks might allow one to believe that they think they act directly on men through the medium of plants to which magic virtues are attached. This would be a grave error; in their minds, animals and plants are placed at a lower level absolutely incapable of acting on man by itself. Plants are thought to act only insofar as they appear capable of attracting, of holding like storage cells, the vital force emanated from the gods.

/193 cont./

778 824 A currently widespread idea about animism would lead one to think, for example, that before felling a tree a Refugee Black addresses words and offerings to it. That is entirely absent from his thought: either this tree is likely to serve as support for a god, in which case it can be touched only after complex rites having the aim of transferring the god elsewhere, or it is simply a tree, and one cuts it down without further ado.

784 825 One very clear aspect of these conceptions is the dagu kunu, a curse resulting from the killing of a dog. Any animal may be killed with impunity but not a dog, because "a dog is almost a man."

[613] At the opposite extreme from the true kunu, a curse extending to a whole lineage, the dagu kunu applies only to the guilty person and draws only limited misfortunes upon him.

[772] No feeling whatever with respect to the dog enters into this conception, but only the idea that he is placed on a particular plane, near the plane of the human and his level of force.

776 /194/ The Great Gods

The Boni recognize a supreme God, Nana (1), more

1. This term comes from the Agni.

commonly called Masa Gadu, and Kedi Amu, Kediampon in Kumenti language. He created the lower gods and all that lives on the earth.

773 Here is how the old Boni men relate the myth of the creation of the world:

God created a brother and sister, Adam and Efa. They were twins. He put them in a place where they lived happily without working. But he forbade them to touch the fruit of the custard-apple tree.

/201 cont./

791 teacher and who teach a small group of disciples - kineki -,
787 without distinction of villages or lineages and under their sole
[794] responsibility; each one, man or woman, is absolutely free to pursue his teaching.

/202/These teachers are not themselves possessed, but they are believed to know the processes which permit the neophyte to obtain possession with the minimum of risks. They accept the
[776] fact, however, that that involves dangers, for one cannot oblige a particular gadu to come into someone, and one may in its place obtain an undesirable gadu.

791 Procedures vary according to the categories of gadu sought.
787 But they involve three elements which are always found in one
776 form or another:

--They begin by teaching the pupil the language of the
[198] divinity, or rudiments at the very least (as we shall point out further on, these languages appear to be in decline); these lessons are private;

--On behalf of a group of pupils, the teacher prepares
[824] infusions of certain leaves which are suited to the divinity in question. It is thought that the god likes these plants and that they have the power to attract it.

In certain cults it is required of the pupil to utter at the
[788] same time formulas inviting the god to come into him. But this is not general; in the cult of the Papa gadu especially, the teachers bathe the students in the greatest silence.

791 At the end of the session, the student is often asked to
787 drink a little of the infusion. One might believe that it is a
824 matter of a process having a physical action, certain plants possibly containing hypnotic substances; but except for one aspect of the cult of the Kumēnti of which we shall speak later, this does not seem true; especially about the plants believed to attract the Papa gadu, it seems that they have received this role because of their color or odor. Our feeling is that, at least
[562] for the Papa gadu cult which appeals more especially to women, suggestion plays an essential part.

/210 cont./

776 character, touchy and vindictive. In speaking of them one
[576] says Papa gadu (papa does not mean "father"; it is a term of respect used for important personages (2)). They are believed

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2. This is the interpretation given by the Refugee Blacks. However, 18th-century documents on the origin of the slaves draw attention to the existence of an African tribe called Papa. Allusions contained in documents of the archives of Surinam, recently studied by Madame Silvia W. de Groot, would tend to identify the Papa with one of the populations of present-day Dahomey. In this hypothesis, the cult of the papa gadu would represent an archaic form of the Dahomey cult of the snake gods.

776 They are believed
[825] to have as habitual bearers the boa snakes (dagowe) (3) which

3. This word appears to be the deformation of the Dahomey word dägbe.

are not to be confused with the great water snakes (anaconda) that the Refugee Blacks call mboma sineki. They may also
[824] reside in silk-cotton trees (kankan tree) and in the trees called katu udu (Bombax surinamiensis).

[787] The Vɔɔdū which incarnate themselves in humans may be of either sex; if a male god is concerned, it is called "tata vɔɔdū."

/210 cont./

776 [825] The Bumba gadu other gods of the same nature and equally feared, have as bearers other categories of snakes, principally the great anaconda water snakes.

[984] [812] The Vɔɔdũ, we have said, are feared; they can exercise on a lineage the collective curse called kunu. But, no more than the Kumẽnti do not represent a principle of good, they do not represent a principle of evil. Not all are so badly disposed toward men, and even if one of them is the enemy of a lineage, it is not for that reason badly disposed toward the rest of men.

787 178 [562] However this may be, the cult of possession of the Papa gadu is not at all in decline among the Boni. According to the cross-checking we have been able to do, of the 670 persons living on the French bank there are at least 40 to 50 who have a Papa gadu, the great majority of them old women.

787 784 /211/ The Voodũ /sic/ are much feared, and for that very reason much respected. They are oracles which are consulted very often, without consideration of the evil their kunu has done and will still do. A god which exercises the kunu but which is provisionally declared appeased may be consulted without danger; it is always assumed that in any case its bearer, if he respects its commands, has nothing to fear from it.

787 562 It is possible that, very unconsciously, women use the fear that the Papa gadu gods inspire in order to maintain their independence and privileged position in Refugee Black society.

153 79 787 [198] [178] [515] [824] [534] Instruction in possession appears to take as a pattern the same principles as that which correspond to the Kumẽnti. It involves the teaching of the Papa language; this language appeared to us to be in decline; in fact, it is used only for formulas of greeting; then the possessed people vaticinate in ordinary language. Instruction in possession also involves daily ablutions with decoctions of leaves; certain of these mixtures are particularly complicated (it is said that they include more than a hundred different kinds of leaves). Instruction is essentially individual; however it also includes dances; on this occasion a

/212 cont./

755 is answering in ordinary language the questions posed. The sick
[753] boy's mother asks the god if it is really he who made her son
[784] ill. He answers that it is he and gives two reasons: first, a
[824] week before, Féni damaged with a blow of the machete the root of a silk-cotton tree in which precisely he himself was living; moreover, his sister Pamasa was sick for 15 days, he did not go to visit her.

The mother begs the god: "Ubegi yu, yu abi leti, gi ɛŋ paadɔ, a 'ɪ be sabi bʊ̃-bʊ̃. (We beg you, you are right (but) pardon him, he had not realized well /what he did/.)"

Then the god directs a treatment: an infusion of a certain number of leaves, with which the sick boy will wash his body. It states that the sick boy will quickly get well.

Pamasa then comes back to her ordinary state. The scene has lasted about three-quarters of an hour in all.

164 Observation in Asisi, October, 1956.

On October 21 at 8 o'clock I am told that Bugi, a woman of about 45, is gravely ill; she suffers from violent pains in the chest and a general tremor. The sick woman is stretched out on the ground, supported by her brother and surrounded by old women who are comforting her. She appears to suffer atrociously, her body is covered with sweat, her lower limbs are agitated with an incessant trembling; she presents the symptoms of a
755 heart attack (2). In front of the house, the ɔbiaman are

2. Bugi had already been hospitalized in Maripasoula for a heart attack.

preparing a "remedy," /213/ for they suspect that this is a question of a manifestation of the Papa gadu of which Bugi is the bearer.

/214 cont./

787 their legs with this white clay; they prophesy in a singing tone, without the usual voice of their bearer's ceasing to be recognizable, expressing themselves in the Saramaka language.

796 The Ampuku have the appearance of men similar to Blacks, but unknown. They reside in the depths of the woods; [84] some are good, others bad. One can gain their good will by worshiping them, which is especially developed in Saramaka country.

796 535 Baliki, of Kormotibo village, tells of having been present one day at a dance of the Ampuku, when he was traveling to [103] the Saramaka village of Balen.

"During the day, people went on the paths far into the bush to put down calabashes containing certain herbs. At night were seen to come out of the forest a large number of unknown men, dressed in the manner of the Saramaka. They danced all night, and at dawn left again as they had come."

796 The Ampuku gods, considered to be maleficent gods of the bush, exercise their influence on everyone. When a person [789] has slept in the bush, he "washes" himself free of Ampuku with [824] an infusion of leaves of five plants which are part of the secondary flora surrounding the villages and of which the principal plant is the sangaafu (Costus cylindricus).

791 Frequency of possession. In 1956 teachers or bas were very 787 scarce in Boni country. For the Kumenti gods, only S... (Kotika) remained; for the Papa gadu, since the death of Antinon (Dju), there remained only M... (Papaïston) and B... [619] (Asisi). People were commonly going to receive instruction from Djuka teachers in the villages of the Tapanaoni.

787 It would be a great error to believe that nearly all the 562 men have gods. On the contrary, this is an exception. According to the evaluations we were able to make, there is not more than one adult man out of six or seven who is possessed.

/214 cont./

562 On the other hand, possession is much more frequent among
787 women: it can be estimated that on the average, one adult woman out of three or four has a gadu.

162 For example in Boniville, out of 115 persons including
776 about 70 adults, one reckons about 30 gods including 8 to 10
787 Papa gadu, 8 to 10 Kumẽnti, 1 Bunsunki, and 2 Ampuku.

791 Apprenticeship for possession can begin from adult age,
787 but it seems /215/ that in general it is between 35 and 50 that
561 women take heed of obtaining a gadu. Would that not be, very
562 unconsciously, the desire to stay in the limelight and indirectly to keep a hold over men, once the age of sensual attraction is past?

787 Possession continues for life, and it is out of the question for a god to be transmitted before the death of its bearer. For example, in 1957, the centenarian grandmother in Asisi village, Kuluba, still kept her Papa gadu god. She had not participated any more in the dances of possession for long years, but her gita was always consulted.

But it can happen, if a possessed person stops taking part in dances and practicing the rites that have been shown him, that any manifestation ceases at the end of a few years.

We observed that in B... of the Dipélu II lo, in 1948 and 1949. He used to exhibit strong attacks of the gita of Kumẽnti. He stopped his instruction, finding that it was costing too much and was taking time. In 1952 he exhibited only latent manifestations of his gita at rare intervals. In 1956 nothing was any longer observable.

787 It can happen, on the other hand, that attacks of pos-
789 session become so frequent and so strong that the person concerned risks losing his reason; if it concerns a god which did not come of its own initiative, one can try to expel it. In
[824] order to "wash" someone free of a gita, he is made to pass between two rows of Obiaman who hold dry palms, pina tɔ̃ngo, in their hands and utter adjurations.

/215 cont./

787 in their hands and utter adjurations. We saw this rite performed
789 in 1949 but without being able to observe the exact details.
[114]

The frequency of the phenomena of possession and the
787 importance accorded to them imprint a remarkable character
791 on the religious life of the Refugee Blacks: all these manifestations have for each one the character of obvious material fact. How, then, doubt that one lives with the gods, sees them, and speaks to them? Because of this fact the society of the Refugee
[177] Blacks is utterly impermeable to European influences.

787 Some plants utilized in the rites of possession. The preparations
824 with which the possessed people "wash" their bodies consist of macerations of leaves. The plants used, which for the most part belong to the secondary flora which develops in the old clearings, are very numerous. However, some are regarded as
[789] having a very unique power. The first five especially are utilized by all the Boni to "wash off the Ampuku" when they have slept a night in the bush.

Aluku Name	Identification(1)	Use
[122]	1. Identification by Mr. Hoock, botanist connected with the Institut français d'Amérique tropicale (IFAT) in Cayenne.	
Lebi katu	cotton	cult of the Ampuku
Kɔnɔpo wiwi	Ayptis atrorubens (Labiaceae)	---- /216/
Foo kãkã	Tiaridium indicum (Borraginaceae)	----
Sume wiwi	Ocimium sanctum (?) (Labiaceae)	----

787 /216 cont./
824

Aluku Name	Identification	Use
Sɔ̃ɔgaafu	Costus cylindricus (zingiberaceae)	cult of the Papa gadu and of the Ampuku
Malimbelimbe	Piper sp. (?)	——
Filli (Hɔligɔɔ)	Chamaesyae sp. (?) (euphorbiaceae)	——

828 Beliefs Concerning the Human Person and Its Development
Ancestor Worship

[171] The Refugee Blacks of the various tribes have precise and identical conceptions on this subject, which are found also, more or less mixed with Christian conceptions, among the West Indian populations of African origin. For them, man is formed of three elements: the body, the yɔɔka which may be translated by personality, and a higher principle called akka.

[184] It goes without saying that among the Boni, who have not elaborated these conceptions and received them from the Djuka, nobody is capable of discoursing on them. But numerous con-
[128] ceptions having to do with magic and to the relationships with the ancestors permit of rather reliable cross-checking.

774 The akka. It is not possible to translate akka (1) by soul in the

1. This word appears to be a deformation of kla (Agni-Baoulé), word to which a very comparable meaning is attached.

sense we understand it. The akka is an immortal divine element

/236 cont./

[787] very serious question, the asker contents himself with going to interrogate a divinity in which he has confidence. If, when put to the test, the advice turns out to be bad, he goes to consult others and if he obtains the same advice from two different directions, he stops there. If not, he appeals to the elders of [888] his village to bring into play the processes of divination which [791] they alone know.

A second category of divinatory procedures consists in the [428] use of "remedies," whose origin is unknown and which are transmitted like a personal belonging.

The process reputed to be the surest, in which everybody has confidence, is called pusu. The instrument is composed [824] simply of a rope made of fibers of the Mauritia (2) palm tree

[439]

2. Palm tree which grows in the coastal savannas and whose fibers are bought from the Galibi Indians. The word pusu, like gita, kandu, mula, is of Congolese origin. In Kikongo, mpuusu = raffia palm tree.

which has been dipped in an infusion of herbs; it is stretched horizontally between two stakes. The elder brings near it a machete blade heated red-hot, at the same time asking the question. If the answer is positive, the rope is cut when the iron has scarcely touched it. If the answer is no, they store that the red-hot iron remains in contact with the rope for an appreciable length of time without the rope's being cut.

They will say for example: ɛfu na Ampuku siki X, a how a 'ɛ mu do: fosi a kɔti: If it is an Ampuku which is making X sick, the machete must cut (the rope) before (even) reaching it.

/251 cont./

751 789 Renewal of the power of the ɔbia. The Refugee Blacks have the idea that no magic power can last if it is not renewed by formulas and offerings appealing to the god from which it came. [824] Each year, at variable dates for each ɔbia, one must renew the power of the ɔbia by dipping the support object into a maceration of certain leaves. This renewal may not take place on January 1. On that day all leaves lose their power. /252/

[768] Mr. W. F. van Lier writes that among the Djuka, objects (bracelets, etc.) serving as support for a magic remedy are thrown away upon the death of the owner for they have lost [184] [428] all power. The Boni do not have this conception; with them, these objects keep their value for the dead person's son provided that before dying he voluntarily transmitted them to him by giving him mula.

789 428 613 Transmission of ɔbia. An ɔbia is often bequeathed simultaneously to a son and to a nephew. Care is taken not to lose the ɔbia for the lineage. Thus it is that certain lineages have certain ɔbia as their specialty.

789 [171] Kãndu. The Refugee Blacks call kãndu a magic object intended to protect property (houses, harvests) against theft. This procedure is also very much used by the Creoles.

There are three common kinds of kãndu:

--Piiti tiki kãndu. It is made of a split stick stuck into the ground, in the slit of which dry banana leaves or small sticks are placed horizontally. This device originated in Dahomey.

--Sikopu kãndu. It involves a shovel stuck into the ground in front of the house (the idea of the shovel is associated with the idea of death, for this instrument is used particularly in digging graves).

--Bɔɔ kãndu, made up of a bow and arrow planted in the ground.

/253 cont./

751 417 [824] Tyifunga (1). This is the name of the magic enclosures made

1. They also use the word azãg, borrowed from the Fon of Dahomey.

of shoots /"tongues"/ of pinot palm, pina tõngo, attached to a string, with which on certain occasions a village is completely surrounded. These enclosures are thought to bar the passage of the evil spirits of the bush (taku sani); they are put up especially in the case of an epidemic, as well as before the great festivals which attract a crowd of persons among whom wisimã can slip 789 in. After putting the enclosure in place, people arrange themselves in a line at one end of the village and move along slowly so as to sweep its whole surface, firing guns, making all the noise possible by striking metallic objects and striking the ground with reeds to expel the evil spirits. This is what is called naki tyifunga. The elders repeat the formula: "U naki tyifunga fu ɔgi na: mu ku a so (We strike tyifunga so that the evil (spirits) may not be able to come to earth)."

751 417 The magic fence is then left in place until it is rotten.

753 76 Beliefs about leprosy. Lepers are buried at the limits of the cemetery, but they are not considered cursed, and mourning for them is carried out normally.

753 784 /254/ They take for granted that if someone is attacked by leprosy, it is because he has "broken" his bwasi kina. They think that an enemy can, because of ill will, hide a bit of the forbidden fare in the food. This is why the Boni do not willingly tell one another their interdictions.

/261 cont./

241 neglecting these rites. Their rigorous observance has the effect of preventing farming from becoming for them a commercial activity and of keeping a religious and family feeling in it.

824 778 784 [776] --The kākāti (silk-cotton tree) is a much feared tree, for according to the elders each one of them shelters 12 categories of divinities, especially a Papa gadu and an Ampuku. So it is absolutely impossible to cut it. One must even be very careful not to injure its roots which spread far. The site of every one felled is preserved. Likewise people watch carefully so as not to injure the roots of the big silk-cotton trees often found in the villages.

824 778 776 361 Still, the fact that their site was chosen for setting up a village shows that people believe they can make an alliance with the divinities which reside in a silk-cotton tree and draw their protection upon themselves.

824 778 789 [776] --The katu tree (Bombax Surinamiensis), tree of very large size, living in symbiosis with a parasitic liana which appears to enclose it in a gigantic net, also shelters maleficent divinities (Ampuku, Papa gadu, Bumba gadu). One may cut it down after performing rites whose purpose is to transfer these divinities into another tree.

First, one must have procured from a man who possesses this remedy a pot of ɔbia containing an infusion of leaves in the middle of which is a bracelet of fibers. /262/ It costs [435] two liters of tafia, four liters of beverage (beer for example), one large piece of cloth, and one machete.

Having arrived at the foot of the tree, one bathes his body and machete with this infusion; one puts the fiber bracelet on one's arm. One also bathes several small sticks provided [822] with squares of white cloth (for the Papa gadu), dark blue and red (for the Ampuku), and a pinot palm (pina tɔ̃ŋgo) leaf.

One plants the sticks at the foot of the tree, one strikes the trunk with the palm leaf while invoking the divinities of

/262 cont./

824 778 789 the tree: "Ala sani di dɛ na a udu ya, da mu kumɔto, beka mi ɔ faa ɛŋ. Kɔm na a pina tɔ̃ŋgo: All things (suprahuman entities) who are in this tree, leave it, for I am going to throw it to the ground; come into this palm leaf." One takes away the palm leaf and the little flags far from there into the interior of the lands, to a spot where nobody is likely to come to fell trees, and one arranges them beside some big tree. The divinities will come and settle there. Nevertheless, it is still necessary to wait almost a month to cut the katu tree, probably to leave the maleficent influences time to dissipate.

824 778 [781] [171] The Boni are so afraid of this tree that many of them, deeming these precautions insufficient, give up the idea of cutting it down and go to establish their clearings elsewhere. The Creole gold miners of the Haut Maroni, who call it cottonwood, also attribute a maleficent influence to it and some of them do not cut it.

The Refugee Blacks fear also, but to a lesser degree, what they call kɔtkɔti, that is, the small trees of any species which, instead of having grown straight, have two angles in their trunk like a Z. This is a very rare anomaly. In such [776] [784] a shrub is hidden a maleficent entity, taku sani, capable, if a man cut the trunk unintentionally, to take revenge on him by paralyzing a limb or even the whole body in a bent position. In order to see whether or not the entity is present in the shrub, there exists, according to the Boni, a very simple means: one gently brings the finger near the bent part. If he feels his finger held there to the point where he has trouble drawing it back, the genie is present! The power of autosuggestion characteristic of the Refugee Blacks shows itself clearly here.

[789] Rites exist for rendering the kɔtkɔti harmless, for cutting them with impunity, and even for using them in magic preparations, but we do not know the details. Kɔtkɔti are among the objects usually found in the chapels (ɔbia ɔsu) of Kumẽnti; we have even happened to see one used to fasten a

/262 cont./

824 778 door; it was a particularly feared kɛ̃ndu that no thief would have dared to remove.

825 778 [776] --The Kɛ̃ntamasu are the divinities, especially maleficent and hostile to men, who live in the termitaries (these are termites proper, who make their nest in the earth, and not wood lice, much more common). There is one to each termitary.

[789] After a meticulous examination of the soil of the clearing, one marks all the termitaries /263/ and sprinkles each of them with a preparation containing leaves, pink clay kukusa, and manioc juice. One adjures the genie to go away, no matter where.

It happens that in spite of all the precautions taken a termitary is forgotten. Then, several days later, one will [789] have the consternation of seeing the Kɛ̃ntamasu reveal itself [784] in someone of the lineage; it announces that it is going to exercise its kunu (curse). It is temporarily appeased by offer- [782] ings of tafia, various drinks, red cloth.

776 198 787 The Kɛ̃ntamasu call themselves the Akɔlo. Through the mouth of their bearers they speak a language nobody understands. However, when they wish to be understood by those present they speak Kumɛ̃nti.

755 784 Observation in Boniville, January, 1957:

A..., boatman of the border-fixing mission, asks for three days off. His wife, Masauman, has been ill for several days; divination (in this particular case the gita of a female relative in his lineage) showed that it was the doing of a Kɛ̃ntamasu injured in the burning of the clearing which he himself, A..., cut for his wife in October. The Kɛ̃ntamasu has not yet manifested itself directly, but a kunu threatens; to appease it he must put in action the remedy known only 000 to M..., an old man of Asisi. He will go to the spot, following

/271 cont./
*539 rice-straw broom (2). If you rub me with it, I lose my

[264]
[824]

2. The Refugee Blacks have the practice of using lemon juice for scouring dishes.

power."

He said: "That's good; please agree to come into my ɔbia house, so that I may frustrate my wife Wénon and my children. They tire me." It said: "Very well, I shall go with you." He walked, he put it on his head. His belly was full, comrades, his intestines were full. He walked until he arrived at the outskirts of the village. He shouted: "All the people of the village, shut yourselves up, I am carrying my ɔbia to my ɔbia house." They said: "What art thou saying?" He repeated: "I am carrying my ɔbia pot to my ɔbia house." Gban! Gban! The people slammed the doors of their houses, gban!

Anansi walked to his ɔbia house, opened the door, he hung up the frying-pan in a corner.

That day he did not eat in Wénon's house. Wénon cooked spinach for him. He said: "My belly is full." He waited until midnight, then he went out. He said to the frying-pan: "Frying-pan, why are you beautiful thus?" It said: "I am beautiful, but I am not beautiful for nothing." He said: "Show me so that I may see."

It began to fry for him as much food as he could eat. /37./
/272/ One of his children named Akpwatitikwati said (to his brother) Asingébélé: "We are cleverer than Anansi. I am going to keep an eye on my father until I surprise him." Then he began to watch him and surprised him. He saw and cried: "So that's how he did it."

Anansi said he was going hunting; then he went away to hunt. (Immediately) the children came; they said: "Frying-pan... " ... (same formulas).

/273 cont./

*539 mother." Comrades, they suffered from pian (1)! All together

[164]

1. Skin disease from which most Refugee Black children used to suffer.

they entered the Obia house. Again: "Whips, why are you so handsome?"

(same formula)

Viop! viop! Anansi ran, he shut the door; he said: "Let me see, whips, strike so that I may see!" viop! viop!

(Somebody in the audience) "Wénon was inside?" -- "Wénon was inside!" (laughs). The whips hit them until their skin was bloody, their pian pimples cut, so that the blood flowed over them.

(cruel laughs from the audience)

Then Anansi opened the door and they fled.

The end.

4) Anansi and the Bat

Anansi was looking for someone to go with him to a festival which was taking place in a neighboring village... because the more who come, the more they give you to eat. He asked the bat, who said to him: "I haven't been to a festival for a long time. I'll go on the day you wish." The day they had set arrived. They started out; they walked until they had arrived near the village. Anansi said: "Comrade bat, see this lebi weko (?). If I begin to shout: "My belly.

[824]
[278]

2. Lebi weko: bougouni (Inga alba) tree whose bark is used in the native pharmacopoeia.

/278 cont./

#539 so that the people will see you." She answered: "It is I who will drag you as far as the bush." They discussed it to the insult stage, and wagered. They agreed to set Sunday as the test time; she should pull the end of a rope going out from the village. She said: "Very well." -- "I am proud of my ancestors, Bush-Mama. You will not drag me into the bush, I am the one who will drag you inside the village."

Then he came back to the village and went to the river. He rushed into the water, dyou! he went up to the Water-Mama. He said to her: "Will you have a tug-of-war against me? The Water-Mama answered: "It is I who will drag you into the river." Anansi said: "I am sure to drag you up on land so that the people will see how you look." Again they wagered and set Sunday as the test day. He said: "Very well, on the day set I shall come into the water to hold out the end of a rope to you." The Water-Mama said: "Very well. I shall stay there to take the end of the rope." We shall see who is a man and who is not."

He went back to his village. Saturday afternoon he set up a tyifunga (2) enclosure around the village, as far as the river

[751] [325] [419] [783]

2. Magic enclosure made of pinot palm leaves strung on a cord, to which is attributed the power to stop bad influences. After putting up the enclosure they purify the village by cleaning it completely.

and as far as the bush behind the village. He cleaned the village completely. He cut a long and strong rope, he went to slip one end of it into the river, he went to put the other in the bush.

On Sunday the Bush-Mama and the Water-Mama came and each pulled on an end of the rope. Anansi himself was not

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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but he did face about, and forgetting his seketi began to pole in earnest. 502 484

In a few moments his body glistened with the exertion, and over the circle and snake of kamemba in the small of his back the perspiration ran down in a trickle. When he had almost caught up he slackened his speed, and he and Bibifo talked about the river. Old Bibifo knew the river well. He was born beyond the Granman's country. A snake swam across the path of the boat, Bayo said. It was good luck. "See, look," he called. His eyes were sharp. The old man saw it, too, and then he called to us. There, close to the shore, a little ahead of us, a constrictor twined its tail about a liana, hanging head down, with a salamander slowly disappearing into its mouth. There was a slight jerk, the liana shook, the snake swallowed, and another bit of the salamander was out of sight. 484 [825] [717] [136]

Farther ahead we heard the report of a gun, and the crying of the mate of the wounded bird followed us for a long while. Bayo and Bibifo identified each cry, called by name the things that grew, planned about their timber rafts when they got back, until the next rapids were reached and passed and the conversation could be resumed, and then they talked about things which they did not care to have the Bakra know, and though they spoke none of the words of their ritual language, we could not understand anything they said. It was not until later that we learned to work out some of the elisions in their speech. [198]

A strip of sandy beach showed where a village stood, and as we passed it, we could see the azang, the spiritual guard of palm fronds, preventing evil spirits from entering the village. We saw also a strip of white hanging from the end of a stick which had been put up for the ancestors, and beyond, the low shelter for the roughly carved and weathered image holding an obia pot on its head. Under the azang the path stretched like a narrow ribbon which was soon lost as the walls of green converged. 778 789

"Is that another village?" we said, pointing at a pale stretch across the river. 361

5C2 484 other bank, and now as we reached the opposite shore, we saw the small opening of a minor channel which we were to take. With astonishing nicety the tip of the juncture of the main stream and this smaller channel was reached at the same instant. Loin cloths were adjusted, and once more the pole-men took up their pole-sticks and continued the slow passage against the current.

484 The boats were now again traveling close to the bank, so that the details of the forest which fringed the river could be clearly seen. Straight from the water rose the [133] wall of sheer green, all of a dark, almost dull purplish color—a wall of fifty, a hundred, a hundred and fifty feet and more, as the lianas dropped down from the upper branches of the great trees which gave these parasitic growths their support. Here and there we saw a brilliant wing of a bird, and a Bush Negro, ever ready to augment [411] his meager food supply, would unlimber an ancient shotgun, steady himself, and shoot. In Sedefo's canoe, Angita, his pole-man, saw a blue and golden macaw silhouetted as it sat on a slender branch. Out came the shotgun. The macaw, startled but unhit, flew to another branch farther upstream. We crept slowly, noiselessly ahead, and when we were close by Angita shot again, and missed again. The macaw now did not trouble to fly away, and when Angita made aim once more, Sedefo stopped him.

• [825] "No, mati—Let him be, friend. The gods are protecting him. Put away your gun."

Again we cut across, as we regained the wide channel, this time so that the men might speak their errand to the spirit of their great ancestor, the god of the large creek. We did not go too close, however, and all we could see was an azang again, the spiritual guard of palm fronds, and beyond the whitened trunk of a tree and a slender stick with a bit of white cotton attached to its end.

Sedefo spoke conversationally. "*Aso*—ancestor—we are [182] going up the river. We are working for the American Bak'a. We are on our way to the G'ama's country. Grant

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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enrich the soil. Now before a field is chosen for cutting, it must be surveyed carefully to see that there are no snakes to be injured; that no trees which have strong spirits like the silk-cotton tree, or the parasitic akatasi, will be destroyed; that no ant hill whether on the ground or on a tree be disturbed. But Kasanya's wife's mother's brother was careless, or unlucky. A small ant hill had escaped his notice. 688 [824] [825]

"The *Akantamasu* god is powerful. It is a bad god," Kasanya said over and over, making of it a refrain to his story. [716]

When the ant hill was destroyed, its spirit fixed itself upon the family. Kasanya's wife's mother became ill, and although the contents of one obia pot after another were used up in bathing her with sangrafu and the serabaki and chembe leaves, she did not get better. Her husband, an able obia man, made special charms for her to wear about her neck, and sprinkled her with medicine with the feather of the sacred opete, the vulture, but still her illness kept on. At last they went to a diviner. To the village of Dahomey they went, the village where the most powerful obia was lodged, and there she learned that the Akantamasu god had come to the family. The diviner told her how to serve the god so that she might have respite—the days that were sacred to him, the dances she must dance on these days, the sacrifices to make. They knew that it would never be a friendly god to them, for it had come as a kunu. There was more trouble and more. The family gave many offerings, and the possessed woman danced whenever the spirit seized her, but soon she died, and the others have been dying since. [755] [787] 688 [791]

"What happened to the man who destroyed the ant hill? Did he get the Akantamasu gadu?" 688

"No, not he himself. His mother, and his sister, and his sister's children."

"But why?"

The answer was that kunu worked that way, and he went on to tell us about his sons. The first son had gone to the

said, "It is not a woman and a snake, as you might imagine from this," and she indicated one or two lines of the design. "We do not carve the snake in my family. We have a *tchina*—a taboo—against carving snakes, for snakes are our kunu. . . . Years ago my brother went to the French shore and worked for a white man. The white man asked him to kill a snake, and he was afraid, but the white man laughed at him, and because he had a weak ak'a, because his soul was not strong, he killed the snake. If he had told us about it and had sent a piece of the snake, we would have held a burial, as would have been right. But he did not do as he should have done, and so now the snake is not a good spirit for us. We must give it offerings, and dance kunu. It is bad to have a weak soul. My brother did a bad thing, and now I and all my children, and my daughters' children, and their daughters' children on and on will have this kunu."

Farther up the river, in the deep interior, we stopped at the village of Opoku. As we walked to the house of the village head to give him our greetings, we noticed an unusually large house. It was a *libo-wosu*, a house with an upper story, more substantially built than any we passed, and ornamented with elaborate carvings, as were all personal houses of the men. The owner of it, we heard, had been dead eight months. Four more would need to go by before it could be entered. It had been owned by a powerful man, and his belongings were many. We could see some of them through the openings between the slats which formed its walls—an apinti drum, magnificently carved, tall earthen demijohns of rum, boxes, the edge of a metal canister and a lamp. Inside there were guns, and machetes, and native carved paddles, and implements.

Our men joked about the contents of the demijohns as they passed, speculating on the strength of the rum when the containers were opened, and when we asked about the house later—whether, for instance, we could not buy the drum, we were told that the twelve-month interval between a man's dying and the dividing of his property was not yet passed. When the time came, his brothers and sisters

THE PROVISION GROUND

It is told that this practice of isolating the provision ground was a heritage of the days when the ancestors were escaping from slavery, for then the whites were at war with them, and villages had often to be deserted. But to desert a village was one thing. What local spirits were there could be urged by the proper magical invocations to follow to another site. Men did not, after all, derive their food supply from a village. It was the provision ground upon which life depended. The provision ground had at all costs to be saved. Access to it was, therefore, made difficult. Trails were never clearly marked, and were often marked to mislead the invading enemy. The river bank was allowed to give no hint of shielding, behind the thicket, a clearing where crops grew to feed the warriors and their families. When a village was destroyed by the enemy, the Bush Negroes fell back on their fields and maintained life. To this day, it is said, this practice holds, for though hostilities ended more than a hundred years ago, the planting grounds are rarely found close to a village. 251 [487]

Walking behind Kasanya in the darkness which gave to each down-hanging vine the outlines of the great aboma snake, held sacred in this bush, we fell to wondering whether in this, as in so many instances, the accounting for current beliefs, in terms of the experience of slavery alone, would prove inadequate. 361 [325]

"We have arrived, Bak'a," said Kasanya, interrupting our speculations. His eyes were sharper than ours, for not even when he spoke did we see the widening of the path and the clearing beyond. Yet fewer than a hundred additional paces found us facing four small huts scattered about a sandy open place, and a woman who was on her way from one house to another turned toward us. She listened to what Kasanya said, with her head slightly averted, pulling at her pipe all the while.

"Ai, they can stay," she said, pointing to the largest of the four houses. "As many of you as can, sleep there. The house next to it is for provisions. We have not much to offer here."

THE GODS SPEAK

"The openings in the wall there," she explained, when we asked her about the two squares cut into the wall behind the altar, "are for all things that fly. In this place they must come and go as they like. Bats come here, and insects of all kinds, and when they want to go back to the bush, they must be able to go as they like. That is the wish of the gods. So they told us long ago."

6

We were led from house to house. The gods had spoken. We were friends, and as friends who came not to harm, we were given the hospitality of friendship. There were other shrines, but we did not have to ask about them. They were pointed out to us with the other sights of the village.

The closed low hut near the Apuku shrine we had entered was to the river god Toné. It was a very small enclosure, and before it was a plant which covered the low entrance. It belonged, we were told, to an albino woman who was possessed by Toné. But she was not in the village now. Farther down the path was a larger house, another shrine. This had a piece of iron over the door and, when we asked about it, the girls who were following us ran, and the men merely said that it was the place of the Kromanti obia and passed on.

As we continued on our way, each woman was anxious not to have us slight the house her man had built her or fail to admire the carvings that were inserted into the weave of the palm walls. The huts were swept clean—the cleanliness of the entire village was even more striking than that of others we had visited—and but for a few stools, which were brought out for the strangers while they spoke with the old people who lived in the quarter, they were entirely bare. In every house, however, there was sure to be a shelf, large or small, or several shelves, on which stood prized food trays with carvings which covered both inner and outer surfaces. Combs and food stirrers were taken down and shown us, and the calabash dishes made by the women

1tHerskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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Saramacca

173 Alabi, as the Granman called him, was the Araby of history, the great rebel of whom Stedman, who campaigned against the Bush Negroes long ago, wrote.

"White man, Alabi did not know how to work gold, or to earn great wealth, but he had stories in his head." He had called the first black krutu. And from Alabi had come Danieh who built Gansee, which was even now one of the most populous villages on the whole river.

"Long ago in the bush here, we had men, Bak'a!"

There was G'ama' Okosu, a Nomerimi Negro, the leader of those men who had escaped to the swamps on the coast, instead of going into the bush, and whom the people were afraid to touch.

"G'ama' Okosu could change into a kwatta monkey when he liked. He could cross the river without a boat."

The Dombi Negroes had their man, too. He was Sabaku. He was leaving his people to run away from slavery. He was going into the bush. "If we do not meet again in life, we shall meet in death," he said. He had no boat in which to cross the river, so he went to Yank'o, the buzzard, and he asked him to carry him. "I have no home, O Yank'o," he said to the buzzard, "but I will get on your back, and there my home will be. You who fly high, who fly over water, and over the high bush, carry me to safety."

The Granman himself was part Dombi and part Matchau, he said.

[825] "That is why we do not shoot a buzzard. If we shoot him by accident, then we must say 'Many thanks.'"

There was Tata Wadia who opened up this bush, who was still sung about by the Negroes of the city when they invoked the Kromanti spirit.

"I have the stick which he used."

"Will you let us see it, Granman?"

"Gbolo!"

[126] "We will photograph you holding the stick, Granman, and when we show it in our country we will tell the story."

He nodded. But the photograph was never taken.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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these animals. So the hunter is occasionally surprised to find 224
a big cat responding to his game call.

Far up the river, jaguars have been known to come near 224
a provision clearing and carry off an infant while the mother 136
was at work in the cassava field. The grown Djuka, however, is not afraid of these cats. The jaguar is a medium-sized feline, the third largest of the cat family, but it is essentially cowardly. If a lone Negro encounters one on a game trail, a duel commences that usually ends with the shooting of the jaguar. On one occasion we saw a hunter come back from the game trail, armed only with a machete, who had met and killed one of these cats.

There are several smaller cats in the South American jungle, ranging in size from the puma to the diminutive jaguarundi. The boa constrictor is not the menace that some travellers make it out to be. The Bush Negroes will not kill either a boa or an alligator, nor will they allow a white man to do so. If they see the white man aiming his gun at snakes, [825 778 262] they will knock up the muzzle. Such reptiles are sacred. Some of the Indians of the district, on the other hand, are fond of snake meat, and hunt it regularly. But the Bush [129] Negroes look down on them.

In setting traps the Bush Negroes exhibit the typical cun- 224
ning of jungle dwellers. They have preserved the West African types of traps. Trails on which armadillos forage are set with a shotgun, in the middle of the path. By seizing the bait the animal shoots itself.

At night on the game trail the lone hunter builds a lean-

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moving air, roared like an open steam valve. We are rudely 132
awakened by Daniels, who shakes our hammock violently. He shouts over the uproar; everyone must leave the huts at once. A giant tree close to the windward is about to fall and might crush the huts while we sleep.

We quickly abandon the hut and are immediately drenched. Imagine such disconsolate men, staring at the moving wilderness of leaves damning all trees and all weather that takes them out of their hammocks at two o'clock in the morning, and almost reconciled to the idea of being crushed in comfortable hammocks in preference to standing out in the open, expecting a tree to fall on them anyway. But in a short time the storm subsides sufficiently to allow us to return.

The next morning we break camp and trek another day 224
back into the interior. There are no camps now, no huts of 678
any kind, no men. Only the high bush. We make an early start to look for the puma that escaped the night before. There is a bloody bed of sheltered leaves where the puma rested, but the rest of the path is obliterated by the storm.

We turn and begin the trek back.

A curious custom widely prevalent among the Bush Ne- 224
groes is that called *Dressy Dabgo*, or dressing the dog, in 831 825

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224 other words, preparing a dog in such a manner that it will
231 be capable of hunting a particular species of game. There are
125 several methods of accomplishing this. The Negro may grasp the animal between his knees and pour the *dressy* through the nose of the dog. This substance is composed of pieces of the animal which they desire the dog to hunt. Most commonly it is the foot; this is dried and then infused with water. The infusion is also rubbed on the dog's feet. Such preliminaries are usual in hunting peccary.

If the hunter desires to prepare his dog for pursuing the *labba*, a type of water rodent, he cuts the flesh from the nose of the labba and also from its feet, prepares an infusion with water, and then pours this through the dog's nose. Still another method is to mix the hair of the animal which is to be hunted with pepper, and then to rub the dog all over with this mixture.

A fourth way is to feed a piece of the liver of the desired animal to the dog; but it is essential that the liver be placed on a knife, allowing the dog to eat it from that.

224 There is an interesting superstition among the Djukas that
845 anyone who is related to a twin will seriously disrupt a hunting party. On one occasion a large quata, or spider monkey, was sighted by some hunters who, however, failed to bring the animal to earth after fifteen shots. Their ill-luck
to the fact that one of the huntsmen "belonged to a tw

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226 The most primitive way of fishing, among the Bush Negroes, is with the bow and arrow. It takes a steady arm and eye. The fish arrow has a barbed point, which, besides being [227 411] glued on the shaft with gum, is tied to the centre of the shaft by a string of singrassi. When the fisher sights along the shaft and lets fly, skilfully impaling a fish just under the surface of the water, the point of the arrow may break off, but the string retains the shaft. It threshes around in the water behind the wounded fish, marking its location.

226 The Djukas are clever folk. One species of fish, the *cumaru*, 825 feeds on the seed of a certain tree, the *walaba*, that grows by the river bank. When the seed-pod of this tree is ripe, it explodes with a loud *pop!* For the fish this sound is associated with the falling of the seed into the water. They swim toward the sound to find and eat the seed. To attract these fish the Djukas imitate with a slap of the hands the noise of the cracking pod. The cumaru draw toward the spot, where the fisher is waiting with poised arrow. The result is more fish for the evening pot.

226 The women have a way of fishing in which they knock [227] the bottom from a bottle and put crumbs of cassava into it, up near the neck. The trap is placed beside the bank, in shallow water where it can be watched. Minnows enter the submerged bottle after the crumbs, and the waiting women snatch out the bottle before the fish can escape. These minnows belong to the Rosy Barb species, highly prized by collectors of tropical fish.

[227] Other traps are carefully constructed of bamboo slats and

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778 other points throughout the village, one also sees posts, hav-
782 ing attached to them cross-pieces, from which a length of white cloth is flying. A few bottles usually stand around at the base of these posts. Here one comes to address the Gadu (any divine being), or the spirit of a deceased person, when one has something to request, or wishes to return thanks for good luck. This petitioning is accompanied by the pouring of water or strong drink ("high wine" or *sopie* as it is called by the Bush Negroes) on the ground. One may encounter these cross-pieces with the white cloth at almost any place in the village, as for example, near a sacred tree or on some of the paths leading to or from the village. We may also see various *krom-tiki*, sticks or pieces of bush vines which have grown in a peculiar zigzag fashion. These, too, are supposed to have protective powers against evil.

§25 Snakes, excepting the venomous varieties, are held in
778 reverence, and their worship is woven through the whole religious pattern. If a snake enters a hut, it is not molested, but allowed to return to the outside. If it shows no disposition to depart, it is chastised gently with a little broom-like contrivance and chided for not knowing its proper home. The bahkra who tries to kill a snake is prevented from doing

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so. In accordance with the voodoo ceremony, sacrifices of 825
white chickens are occasionally offered to Papa Gadu, the 778
snake god. Sacrifices are especially made to the large land and water boas. Human sacrifices, if they occur, are kept secret from all outsiders. We have no reason to believe in their occurrence.

A most interesting *Winti* dance was witnessed by Mr. 825
Charles de Goeje, leader of the Dutch government expedition 776
to the Tumac-Humac Mountains in 1908. This dance was for the purpose of propitiating the spirit of a snake which had been accidentally burned to death while a provision ground was being prepared for cultivation.

About 10 P. M., Mr. de Goeje relates, the drums began to play furiously. There were two apenti and one large ageedah drum. The people began to sing in an unusual manner, and the wife of one of the headmen, thickly smeared with pemba dotee, sat immovable as an image upon a carved wooden stool. After the drums had gone on for a while, there was heard the exclamation, *"Pour watra!"* A man came with a basin; he dipped a palm leaf in it and sprinkled the seated woman while the drums beat furiously. The woman seemed to awaken and began to turn around and around on her stool; she twisted and turned her body sometimes slowly, sometimes quickly. When she had reached a high pitch of excitement, she began to dance.

Several other women smeared with pemba dotee rose and took part in the dance. They danced around the long drum, gesturing as if the drum were speaking to them. They then

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825 embraced the drummers, streaking the men's heads with
796 pemba dotee. A number of women in the audience also caught the spirit. One of them began to shake and convulse; when
825 she awoke from her trance, she ran to her hut in the village.
796 Another woman began to murmur as though in a dream.
158 Still another one ran about among the assembly streaking and rubbing others with the sacred white clay. This dance continued until very late, and the whites, overcome by fatigue, were forced to retire.

The next morning at daybreak they again assembled. One of the women began to chant in a thin strange voice, and at 6 A. M. the dance started again. A couple ran dancing into the village clearing and smeared a man with pemba dotee; he also began to prance and became hysterical. This is known as *winti kiki*, or the transference of winti from one person to another. Several others, obtaining the spirit in the same way, began to dance. One man, after dancing a long while, ran around the clearing and finally fell flat on his face. He remained there until others carried him away. The man who had been playing the ageedah drum circled around with his drum between his legs like a hobby horse. Some of the women fell on their knees and continued to dance thus. One fell to the ground and beat the earth with her arms and legs. This ceremony ended at 10 A. M., after which the body of the snake, which had all this while been carefully guarded, was buried with great solemnity.

The dancing recommenced at four o'clock in the afternoon. The women went to a little Gadu house. One had a

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severe attack of winti. She fell upon her knees and appeared 825
half lame. The others lifted her up. A youth came with a 776
green stick; he bit into it and spat on the woman's calves, 158
legs, feet, and arms. After a while she was able to stand alone. This seemed to constitute the end of the dance. It had somehow become known that the Papa Gadu, the snake spirit, was angry, and this big *gadu pray* (god's spread) had been necessary in order to propitiate him.

The women who are seized with the winti sometimes mutter a few words. The others regard these as the utterances of a spirit and say: "*Ya, gadu*"—"yes, God." Upon inquiry among the women who had caught the winti spirit, Mr. de Goeje found that they all complained of feeling very dizzy or giddy when in such a trance.

Certain localities, as well as individuals, may be possessed 776
by evil spirits. The Pwaba Creek is such a place. Were a 751
Djuka to go up this creek with any clothing on, he would never come out alive. So upon entering the waters of Pwaba the Djuka strips off all his clothes. That nullifies the bad magic.

Every Bush Negro, to protect himself from all varieties 751
of black magic, wears a number of charms or amulets. He 778

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were killed. When we told Abaisa about this, he nodded approvingly, not at all surprised that his obeiah charm had warned us of the impending danger. 778

Other bush beliefs come under the head of *trafers*, or taboos. Primitive behaviour is very largely governed by categorical rules; although the individual is unaware of the origin and purpose of these rules, violation of a taboo is unthinkable. It is trafer, for instance, to sit on the ground. This explains the many intricately carved stools in our collection of Djuka art objects. It is also trafer for a Bush Negro woman to have intercourse with anyone outside of her own tribe. This was not so in the old days, for Stedman mentions that the white commissioners parleying with the rebel blacks were liberally entertained and provided with women for the night. Such a thing would be trafer now. It is taboo to harm the alligator, and if you were, by some unspeakable chance, to kill one, its ghost would return and destroy all the children in your family. 784 [325]

Besides these general taboos, there are personal trafers and food taboos that differ for each individual. If one man shoots a sloth (*seloss*) it will spoil his gun, but his brother or his neighbour may kill one with impunity. It is that particular Djuka's trafer. Another man may have the turtle as his food taboo. The turtle is a well-known figure in Djuka folklore. The *sacri patu*, also called *logosu* and *kaw*, is spoken of as "walking like a sick man." The belief that when a turtle bites a man it will hold on until it thunders, a common belief in parts of rural America, is also found in Djuka land. 325 784

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of a burning fire without being harmed. Bathing every day for nine days in water in which rusty scrap iron and peanut husks have been boiled renders a man impervious to the cut of a knife and his flesh capable of turning any blade. Stomach-ache is treated by drinking an infusion from the hollow handle of a dance rattle. Especially potent in all magic preparations are the bristles of *tamanua*, the anteater. *Obeiah watra*, another infusion, is drunk by men before going into the bush, to give them luck and strength. It is also possible to acquire strength or other virtues by rubbing one's body with the putrescent fluid gathered from the corpse of a dead man who possessed those qualities.

If a person should find fecal material in front of his hut or rotten eggs along the trail in such position as to make it likely for him to step upon it, it is certain that this material was placed there by a member of the community who is attempting to *wissi* or bewitch him. Anyone who removes this matter is liable to insanity.

Minor cuts and wounds may be treated with the bark of the *aprocoayo* tree. This is ground up and mixed with the brew prepared from the leaves known as *prkein fol caca* (little rooster).

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obeiahs, house gods, fetish houses, menstrual huts, and matrilineal system of inheritance are all to be found as ancient customs among the forest tribes of the West Coast. Other details, such as the use of chickens for sacrificial animals, the huts with their rectangular walls, the manufacture of butter from the palm worm, the sacredness of snakes and alligators, the use of drums for religious supplication, and the beating of them with the hand instead of with a stick as the Indians do, are also customs which are similar to West African customs and probably derived from them. The impaled turtle-shell on a staff, the badge of the witch doctor's profession, represents the symbol for the female genitalia among some West African tribes. The Bush Negroes' boats and paddles are typically African in design. The *awara* dance of the Saramaccaners was borrowed from the Aucaners, among whom it is a direct West African survival.

From the study of these culture survivals among the Djuka tribes it can be seen that most of the jungle civilization of the Bush Negroes is derived from their West African ancestry, modified here and there by contact with the Indians of their new home. The remainder of the material culture of the Bush Negroes is borrowed from the white settlements along the coast, from which gunpowder, fish-hooks, bush-knives, and other articles filter upstream.

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241 and sugar cane, while in the third year some pineapples, bananas, and sugar cane are also harvested.

Thereafter one surrenders the ground to the second growth (kapoeweri) shooting up, here called "kauwé," and to the weeds, like the cutting grass "baboen nefi" (Scleria secans), which prevent further growth of the cultivated crop.

This system of clearing grounds requires much land. It is a severely predatory cultivation which can only be employed when sufficient free land is available. Only after many years can one return to the same piece of forest to lay out a new ground, depending on the recovery of the forest, more particularly on the top growth.

[592] Among the Bush Negroes of the Marowijne it is the rule that
[476] each household provide for itself. The man clears the ground with help of family /familie/ members or friends, who in return for food are taken in during this time. If the man has /138/ one wife, then ordinarily two grounds per year are cleared; if he has more than one wife, then he clears two grounds for each wife.

[622] The captain /kapitein/ of a village lays out his ground him-
[643] self, helped by his villagers. The granman /chief/, however, does not work himself, but, regardless of the number of his wives, has his family and other helpers clear grounds in return for food for the
423 workdays. The products of the grounds of a household are not joint
593 property, but rather the wife asserts her rights over the produce from one ground, while the man claims that from the other ground. Thus a distinction is made between the agrarian property of the wife and that of the husband.

3. The Plague of Ants and the Ant-bushes

241
825 In the agriculture of the Bush Negroes the plague of ants plays a significant role. The leaf-cutting or parasol ants (Atta sexdens and Atta cephalotes) are very destructive because of their attacks on the leaves in the plantings. The first-named species is the greatest evildoer in the interior districts of Surinam. Cassava in

/138 cont./

24 825 particular suffers greatly from this type of ant, but maize, tajer, and bananas are also eaten. This plague is so serious that the clearing of a new ground is partially determined by the occurrence of the nests of these ants at the place. Normally these nests lie fairly far apart in the forest, but as soon as the crops of the grounds come within the domain of the ants, the nests grow rampantly. In addition, at just about planting time the ants produce numerous sexual forms, which, as a result of the cleared lands, have a favorable opportunity to swarm and found new colonies. The leaf-cutting ants are therefore "Kulturfolger" /followers of culture/.

As a result of this plague of ants, it is usually not possible for the Bush Negroes to cut extensions to the existing grounds for longer than two to three years. After all, the kapoeweri of the abandoned pieces of ground functions then as a hiding place for the younger ant-nests, and one drags, as it were, the ant plague along with one. There is no combating the ants, and through impotence the Bush Negro is forced to yield the field. This flight before the ants consists in the search for new grounds farther into the bush or, in case this is no longer possible for some reason, in the occupation of new lands elsewhere along the river.

137 136 /139/ Stahel (1) has pointed to the fact that among the Bush

[113] 1. Het Bosnegervraagstuk en het Coronieplan /The Bush Negro Question and the Coronie Plan/, Department Landbouwproefstation Surinam /Department of Agriculture Research Station, Surinam/, Report No. 9, October, 1944, 28 pp.

Negroes the older grounds change into a low second-growth, called by him "ant-kapoeweri" /ant-bush/. In effect, in many places where a dense Bush Negro population is found, such a strip of second growth occurs along the rivers. According to Stahel, this inferior bush comes 13 about through the presence of the great nests of leaf-cutting ants. Ac- [114] cording to his calculation, at a density of six ant nests per hectare (a maximum which is confirmed in the vicinity of Paramaribo, but which, according to my own observations in the Bush Negro lands,

/141 cont. /
241 of this predatory cultivation has been reached. The nearby
423 agricultural lands are kept in use with too brief a rest period, with
[134] the result that the soil is overworked and the periodic recovery
[825] of the forest proceeds at an ever slower pace. In addition one
struggles to an increasing degree with the problem /142/ of the
leaf-cutting ants, which keep the easily accessible places occupied.

241 The consequence of this circumstance is that the Bush Negroes
311 are forced to make the grounds farther and farther from their vil-
[484] lages. One travels for hours up or down the river in order to
[422] reach good land. When one cannot make good use of a forest
creek in order to transport the produce from the field, one is
forced to carry the harvest for one or two hours through the forest
to the river. The Bush Negro does not go farther than a two
hours' walk (about six kilometers from the river) (see the map /see
p. 13 /).

241 On the Tapanahoni one spends even days in traveling to less
311 populated areas in order to plant and to harvest. One then estab-
361 lishes so-called work camps along the river, from which one
[103] operates in the surrounding areas. This is the case, among others,
between Godoholo and Granbori for people from Drietabbetje or
311 other centers. That one does not go even farther up river, all the
423 way past the last village, Granbori, has to do with a prohibition
643 by the granman of the Aucaners. That is, the latter wants to re-
serve the lands lying beyond this point as hunting lands and there-
fore will not make them available for agricultural purposes.

241 The inhabitants of the villages along the lower Tapanahoni,
311 such as Sajé, Clementi, and Malobbi, frequently lay out their food
423 grounds in the Lawa, where they can have at their disposal agri-
361 cultural lands as far as the Aboenasoengoe Falls. Farther upstream
103 on this river the Bonni or Aloekoe Negroes assert their rights.

5. Differences between Aucaners and Paramaccaners

101 The conditions given above apply in the main to the Aucaner
162 Bush Negroes of the Tapanahoni. They number today approximately
[311] 6,500 persons. The Paramaccaner Bush Negroes of the Marowijne,
approximately 1,700 in number, are in somewhat more favorable

/145 cont./

252 with the matapi (2) and subsequently baked on the baking plate (pan).

2. matapi = long tube of plaiting with which one expresses the juice and the water out of the grated cassava.

during which the granular mass is constantly stirred. The kwak [251] ultimately consists of dry yellow grains. One can keep kwak in good condition longer than bread. It is softened with water and eaten with some sugar (if available).

A less-used product is "afringi." For this one grates freshly peeled cassava, then expresses the grated cassava in the matapi, and dries the meal on the fire or in the sun. Subsequently one pounds this meal in the matta (3) and then kneads it with water

3. matta = large wooden mortar.

into little balls. These are boiled together with fish or meat into a soup. One calls this soup "afringi," which literally means "to throw," presumably because one throws the little balls into the pot. The same product is called "apitie" on the Surinam River.

244 Sweet cassava (kasàba-swieti) is little planted; the tubers are [262] harvested after three months and eaten boiled.

[252] The most important pests in the cassava are: leaf-cutting [825] ants, which cut off the leaves; deer, which eat the young tips and also bite off the stalks; tapirs, which consume the stalks and leaves and also trample many; koni-konis (4), which dig

4. koni-koni = Surinam rabbit.

out and gnaw the tubers; pingos and pakieras (5), which root the

5. pingo and pakiera = wild pigs.

tubers out of the ground and consume them.

/146 cont./

243 During the sowing one experiences a great deal of trouble
125 from "stondoifies" (1), which eat up the seed; the maturing ears

1. stondoifies = small pigeons, literally stone pigeons.

are plundered by a species of blackbird, "andokie," grain parakeets or pikoetoes, and the little rice bird, "tie." The loss that is suffered through these birds is frequently considerable. Other pests in the rice are not further known, or mentioned.

Bananas (bâna).

245 These are always planted, but, in comparison with the cassava, less frequently. One ordinarily sets the plants in the ground somewhat later than the cassava shoots, in order to let them grow at the same time. It also happens that a certain section of a ground is planted exclusively with bananas and bacoven because otherwise these hinder the other crops too much with their shade. After 10-15 months the bunches are ripe.

There are various varieties in use:

granbâna, ripe five months after the appearance of the bunch, fruit long;

oemanbâna, ripe three months after the appearance of the bunch; fruit long;

patamacca-bâna, idem; fruit short and somewhat sour in taste;

doengoe, idem; fruit long; frequently with twin fingers;

kodjakondre, idem; fruit short.

252 The bananas are boiled as "green bananas" or, as ripe bananas, are first boiled and then pounded fine into "tomtom." Ripe bananas are also pounded uncooked, then mixed with cassava flour, and baked into a "koekoe."

/193 cont./

778 824 A currently widespread idea about animism would lead one to think, for example, that before felling a tree a Refugee Black addresses words and offerings to it. That is entirely absent from his thought: either this tree is likely to serve as support for a god, in which case it can be touched only after complex rites having the aim of transferring the god elsewhere, or it is simply a tree, and one cuts it down without further ado.

784 825 One very clear aspect of these conceptions is the dagu kunu, a curse resulting from the killing of a dog. Any animal may be killed with impunity but not a dog, because "a dog is almost a man."

[613] At the opposite extreme from the true kunu, a curse extending to a whole lineage, the dagu kunu applies only to the guilty person and draws only limited misfortunes upon him.

[772] No feeling whatever with respect to the dog enters into this conception, but only the idea that he is placed on a particular plane, near the plane of the human and his level of force.

776 /194/ The Great Gods

The Boni recognize a supreme God, Nana (1), more

1. This term comes from the Agni.

commonly called Masa Gadu, and Kedi Amu, Kedrampon in Kumenti language. He created the lower gods and all that lives on the earth.

773 Here is how the old Boni men relate the myth of the creation of the world:

God created a brother and sister, Adam and Efa. They were twins. He put them in a place where they lived happily without working. But he forbade them to touch the fruit of the custard-apple tree.

/203 cont./

153 789 791 Possession begins progressively; in the beginning the divinity does not find in its bearer sufficient passivity, it does not succeed well in expressing itself through his mouth. spectators observe only incoherent gestures and hear only unintelligible stammerings. The pupil must continue his training for a long time in order to become a suitable bearer.

789 The god, when it has just entered a man, always begins by rendering homage in its language to Masa Gadu, proclaiming that it acts only in his name and by his will.

[576] [198] Then it greets those present, employing formulas which are the exact transposition into its language of the ordinary Boni formulas of politeness; that even if it is getting ready to speak to them in the harshest manner.

The god speaks then in its language, saying not very intelligible things to the audience that appear to be related to what goes on in its country, to its family (for it is believed that these lower gods have a family). Finally, it begins to speak in ordinary language in order to be understood by those present, and answers questions.

796 789 825 Various categories of gods capable of bringing on possession. The Refugee Blacks assume that four categories of lower gods exist:

The first category consists of a series of gods which present themselves to men under very different aspects but which are nevertheless felt to be of the same nature. All speak the Kumenti language, all are well disposed toward men and do not exercise against them the kunu, that is, the curse;

--The Kumenti, which have the appearance of jaguars and live in the bush;

--The Djadja, which have the appearance of ocelots;

--The Opete, which have the appearance of the urubu and which reside in the air;

/203 cont./

776 --The Bɛnsuɔki, which have the appearance of Indian
789 women and which reside in the waters of the rivers;

825 The second category is that of the Ampuku, much feared
[784] gods of the bush, likely to exercise the kunu against men. The
[198] Ampuku speak a language which is very well known to the Saramaka but which nobody speaks in Boni country. When they wish to be understood, they speak the ordinary Saramaka dialect. They can, it is said, /204/ be seen at night in the bush in the form of unknown men dressed in the manner of the Refugee Blacks;

The third category is that of the Vɔɔdɛ or Papa gadu, gods still more feared, which become incarnate in the boa snake
[198] dagowe. They speak the Papa language;

776 Finally, much feared also are the Kɛntamasu, gods of
789 the termitaries, which speak a language which nobody under-
[198] stands and use the Kumenti language to make themselves understood.

It is important to note that there is not a god Kumɛnti, a god Ampuku, etc., as there was in the pantheon of the Ancients a god Mars, a god Vulcan. For the Refugee Blacks those are generic names like Frenchman, Englishman. Questioned about a phenomenon of possession, they will answer: "It is Ampuku who makes," but in the same way they would say in front of a boat: "It is Saramaka who makes."

776 The relationships between these gods and their animal
789 form are obscure. For the Vɔɔdɛ it is clear that people believe
825 they really live in the dagowe snakes, since the accidental death of one of these snakes in the burning of a clearing is considered a calamity which risks bringing a kunu. But that does not prove that a divine character is attributed to the snake itself. As for the Kumɛnti, there does not appear to be any precise bond between the genie and its jaguar appearance. If one meets a jaguar, one may fire on him all the same without inconvenience. If he is the support of a Kumɛnti, the shot will not be able to touch him, the god will not get angry about it.

/204 cont./

776 This shows that in the minds of the Refugee Blacks, the
787 animal is simply a prop for the god. The god borrows this body
825 in order to manifest itself, but it is not bound to it by nature. These conceptions are totally contrary to those of the Indians, who tend to personify in their minds the beings and phenomena of nature.

776 As we have said, the Boni do not see these gods since the
787 person possessed loses consciousness. But in the time of the ancestors, there were people who used to see the gods, and it is through them that their present-day descendants have an idea of their appearance; on the other hand, certain gods such as the Ampuku and the Bïnsuaki may be seen in dreams.

Sometimes the residence of this or that god is known, for it has revealed it through the mouth of its bearer; the god's
[823] name is then given to that place. For example, at the mouth of the Abounami there is a fall named Ma Akoti Gadu Suta. It is there that the god resides which revealed itself in olden days in an old woman named Akoti.

776 Connections with the group of relatives. The idea of a god
613 protector of the lineage, whose worship, brought by the founder of the group, is regarded as indispensable to the life of the collectivity, is not found clearly among the Refugee Blacks. There are actually many divinities which have entered the lineage and which are worshiped collectively. But these di-
[184] vinities are intruders; they have penetrated into the group by force in order to exert an inexorable vengeance against it.
[202] People do not apply to them to ask for protection, and they are worshiped only because they cannot be expelled.

776 /205/ There is not believed to be any kinship tie between the
602 gods and men, nor any tie of a systematic or exclusive character.

/210 cont./

776 character, touchy and vindictive. In speaking of them one
[976] says Papa gadu (papa does not mean "father"; it is a term of
respect used for important personages (2)). They are believed

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2. This is the interpretation given by the Refugee Blacks. However, 18th-century documents on the origin of the slaves draw attention to the existence of an African tribe called Papa. Allusions contained in documents of the archives of Surinam, recently studied by Madame Silvia W. de Groot, would tend to identify the Papa with one of the populations of present-day Dahomey. In this hypothesis, the cult of the papa gadu would represent an archaic form of the Dahomey cult of the snake gods.

776 They are believed
[825] to have as habitual bearers the boa snakes (dagowe) (3) which

3. This word appears to be the deformation of the Dahomey word dagbe.

are not to be confused with the great water snakes (anaconda)
[824] that the Refugee Blacks call mboma sineki. They may also
reside in silk-cotton trees (kankan tree) and in the trees called
katu udu (Bombax surinamiensis).

[787] The Vaadi which incarnate themselves in humans may
be of either sex; if a male god is concerned, it is called "tata
vaadi."

/210 cont./

976 The Bumba gadu, other gods of the same nature and
[825] equally feared, have as bearers other categories of snakes, principally the great anaconda water snakes.

[984] The Voodû, we have said, are feared; they can exercise
[812] on a lineage the collective curse called kunu. But, no more than the Kumênti do not represent a principle of good, they do not represent a principle of evil. Not all are so badly disposed toward men, and even if one of them is the enemy of a lineage, it is not for that reason badly disposed toward the rest of men.

787 However this may be, the cult of possession of the Papa gadu is
178 not at all in decline among the Boni. According to the cross-
[562] checking we have been able to do, of the 670 persons living on the French bank there are at least 40 to 50 who have a Papa gadu, the great majority of them old women.

787 /211/ The Voodû /sic/ are much feared, and for that very reason
784 much respected. They are oracles which are consulted very often, without consideration of the evil their kunu has done and will still do. A god which exercises the kunu but which is provisionally declared appeased may be consulted without danger; it is always assumed that in any case its bearer, if he respects its commands, has nothing to fear from it.

787 It is possible that, very unconsciously, women use the fear
562 that the Papa gadu gods inspire in order to maintain their independence and privileged position in Refugee Black society.

153 Instruction in possession appears to take as a pattern the
79 same principles as that which correspond to the Kumênti. It
787 involves the teaching of the Papa language; this language ap-
[198] peared to us to be in decline; in fact, it is used only for formulas
[178] of greeting; then the possessed people vaticinate in ordinary
[515] language. Instruction in possession also involves daily ablutions
[824] with decoctions of leaves; certain of these mixtures are particularly complicated (it is said that they include more than a
[534] hundred different kinds of leaves). Instruction is essentially individual; however it also includes dances; on this occasion a

/222 cont./

776 --The Papa gadu (Vɔɔdũ). The kunu that one of them
784 exercises upon a lineage comes uniformly from the fact that in
613 times past, one of the ancestors had inadvertently killed a
[825] dagowe snake (boa), usual bearer of the Papa gadu. For example,
the snake might have perished in the burning of a clearing.
[789] Some time after, the god had possessed a member of the lineage
and revealed that henceforth it would exercise a kunu;

--The Ampuku. The kunu of an Ampuku begins in an analogous way; in days gone by an ancestor had, for example, cut a katu tree without performing the rites suitably, or had made a clearing in a place where an Ampuku was residing;

--The Kĩntamasu (who call themselves Akɔɔ), gods of the termitaries, much feared, may exercise a kunu if, before cutting a clearing, someone has, in spite of all his searching, allowed a termitary to escape him, which thus was not the object of the indispensable rite;

775 --Finally, the kunu may be brought by a dead person's
784 yɔɔka. For example, a man of lineage A had once upon a time
613 unjustly accused a man of lineage B. The latter committed
762 suicide out of revenge. The meaning of this act is not the same as in Europe. It is not a question of making one's enemies live in shame and remorse, but by sacrificing one's life to cause an eternal vengeance to be wreaked upon one's enemies. Some time after the suicide, the yɔɔka reveals itself in a man of his lineage and announces that it will pursue the members of lineage A eternally with its kunu.

784 Thus the offenses which the kunu punishes are not moral sins as we understand them, but involuntary acts without inner meaning. The purifications and sacrifices demanded are likewise purely exterior acts.

/237/

787 In this way they put a series of questions entailing yes or no answers and which narrow down the problem more and more.

791 For this divinatory procedure, they pay the man who has brought it into play three liters of tafia, two pieces of cloth, and one machete.

787 695 This procedure is put into play to confound thieves and adulterers. The plaintiff publicly calls on the accused to come and undergo the test: Mi ɔ tya yu go a sweli! If he refuses, it is the equivalent of a confession.

In 1947, Liki (Aw.B.), accused of having stolen 20 grams of gold by a man from Loka, was thus put to the test. The rope was not cut. He was declared innocent and it was the plaintiff who had to pay the price of the test.

In 1950, the uncle of Tabayé (Dip. I) accused him of having committed adultery with his wife. He denied it, but he was put to the test which gave a positive result; he confessed immediately and begged his uncle's pardon. Then they were reconciled. Of course it was he who paid the price of the test.

787 Another important divinatory procedure is the Kumẽnti bui (ring of Kumẽnti). This is a surprising form of divination by pendulum. The ring, which is made of fibers, is ordinarily kept hidden by its owner. Very few people have any. The ring, suspended at the end of a string, is put in oscillation. Its owner puts a question to it. If the answer is affirmative, it oscillates from right to left. If it is negative, it describes a circle.

[825] Another procedure is sometimes used after a sacrifice to know whether the god has received it favorably: it consists of killing a rooster to examine the color of its testicles: if they are found to be black, the sacrifice has not been accepted.

/239 cont./

754 [774] [829] On this point it is taken for granted that Indian magic is much more powerful than African magic, and that any Indian is capable of attracting his enemy's akka.

--Transforming himself into a vampire (azemɛ̃) and flying at night in search of sleeping men in order to suck their blood and eat them in spirit; this conception, closely related to the one which the West Indians have of the soucougnan, comes from Dahomey (in Fon, aze = sorcery). It is said, as in Dahomey, that the azemɛ̃ flies by emitting fire through the anus.

--Seni ɔwi sani: this is what the Creole: call "sending bad baggage." This is acting upon a living being or an inanimate object to make it behave in abnormal fashion at the expense of the enemy. For example, if someone is bitten by a snake or if a child is carried off by a tiger, the action of a wisimɛ̃ will be blamed first, for normally snake and tiger do not attack. But there is no material limit to the action of the wisimɛ̃, who can make a branch fall on his enemy's head or make a cartridge of dynamite burst prematurely.

[825] The idea that the sorcerer may transform himself into a jaguar, dog, or other animal is not assumed by the Refugee Blacks. Neither do they have the idea of brotherhoods of sorcerers.

754 695 How does society defend itself against the wisimɛ̃? There is first of all the test oath. At regular intervals, every two or three years for example, the grand man gathers together all the Boni to the last man before Odun's chapel, and makes each one drink a little of a magic liquid while inviting him to utter the formula: ɛfu mi e meki wisi fɔ dede a sama, mi mu dede: If I do sorcery to make someone die, I must die. This is what is called diggi sweri, to drink the test. Actually, it is a harmless liquid, but each one is convinced that a wisimɛ̃ would not be able to drink it without dying from it. If someone stubbornly refuses to present himself at the ceremony, he is not obliged to, but he has denounced himself: suspicions will be directed on him henceforward.

6:Hurault--398 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SRB Bush Negroes SRB
Boni

/253 cont./

Various Beliefs

578 Fyo-fyo. If a Boni is on bad terms with someone of his lineage or of another lineage, he has the absolute right to turn a cold shoulder to him and stop having anything to do with him. But 828 if, hiding his rancor, he seeks, from selfish motives, to main- 753 tain the appearance of friendly relations, he risks falling ill, be- 761 ing struck by various calamities, or even dying from the effect 789 of what the Refugee Blacks call a fyo-fyo. The nature of this [825] force is not clear; they know only that its support is a small, common insect named fyo-fyo. They declare that if a person dies from the consequences of a fyo-fyo, one of these insects will be seen leaving his body through the nose at the moment of death.

776 Taku sani. By this name the Refugee Blacks designate maleficent [775] entities of the bush, which they imagine as of nonhuman nature by contrast to the taku yɔ́ɔ́ka, wandering spirits of dead people 753 rejected by society. These entities are lower beings devoid of 828 consciousness but dangerous for men into whom they may enter, rendering them sick or mad. Certain of these entities are believed to reside in plants, like the kɔ́ɔ́kɔ́ɔ́ti; others are thought to take on the appearance of dwarfs (baku), whom certain people believe they sometimes see at dawn on the outskirts of villages.

751 One protects oneself against taku sani by special ɔ́bia, and those who do not feel completely secure take a certain number of precautions in addition, like that of tearing up the leaves they have used for drinking water from creeks.

/262 cont./

874 door; it was a particularly feared kĩndu that no thief would
978 have dared to remove.

875 --The Kĩntamasu are the divinities, especially maleficent
978 and hostile to men, who live in the termitaries (these are
[776] termites proper, who make their nest in the earth, and not wood lice, much more common). There is one to each termitary.

[989] After a meticulous examination of the soil of the clearing, one marks all the termitaries /263/ and sprinkles each of them with a preparation containing leaves, pink clay kukusa, and manioc juice. One adjures the genie to go away, no matter where.

It happens that in spite of all the precautions taken a
[989] tergitary is forgotten. Then, several days later, one will
[784] have the consternation of seeing the Kĩntamasu reveal itself in someone of the lineage; it announces that it is going to
[782] exercise its kunu (curse). It is temporarily appeased by offerings of tafia, various drinks, red cloth.

776 The Kĩntamasu call themselves the Akɔ̃o. Through
198 the mouth of their bearers they speak a language nobody under-
989 stands. However, when they wish to be understood by those present they speak Kumẽnti.

755 Observation in Boniville, January, 1957:
784 A...., boatman of the border-fixing mission, asks for three days off. His wife, Masauman, has been ill for several days; divination (in this particular case the gita of a female relative in his lineage) showed that it was the doing of a Kĩntamasu injured in the burning of the clearing which he himself, A...., cut for his wife in October. The Kĩntamasu has not yet manifested itself directly, but a kunu threatens; to appease it he must put in action the remedy known only
000 to M...., an old man of Asisi. He will go to the spot, following

538 [965] /267 cont./

audience and to create an atmosphere of participation in the rite.

This ritual character makes it so that the Anansi Toli cannot be recited any time and in any old way. The story-teller may speak only at night, in the presence of a respondent and of an audience of at least two or three persons. A ritual formula: "diriniri" -- the response of the audience: "ndaeti," precedes each new story. It is only with extreme repugnance that informants consent to listen to and comment in the day-time on a tale recorded on tape, particularly if their parents are still living, for it is said among the Refugee Blacks as in Black Africa that telling stories in full daylight makes one's father and mother die.

[124] [126] [96]

These tales belong to an authentically African accumulated store, practically unchanged in spite of the borrowing from the Creole Blacks of Paramaribo of several themes concerning automobiles, steamboats, etc., inserted in droll fashion into the traditional themes.

[174] [179]

The usual hero of these tales is Anansi, the crafty one. Anansi is the name of the Mygale spider (1). It is noteworthy,

[325]

[191]

1. The spider cycle is characteristic of the Akan (Agni-Baoulé-Abron) culture area. Anansi is the name of the Mygale spider among the Agni.

however, that this spider does not appear to play any special role in the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks and that no divinatory power is attributed to it. In fact, in the tales of which he is the hero, Anansi is nearly always represented as a man.

538 /2.7 cont./

Habitually figure in these tales:

Wéuse	Anansi's wife
Akpwatitikwan	his sons
Asongbeli	
Pankinapu	
Bigimofu	
Santadimoyu, his daughter.	

(525) /268/ Also included under the title of Anansi Toli are tales in which only animals appear: Ien, the elephant (whose description the Refugee Blacks have kept through oral tradition), kiyeoni, the agouti (1), who knows everything that happens

1. Rodent the size of a rabbit.

in the bush, kariaku, the deer, a sly old blade who thwarts all tricks (2).

2. It is strange to see this animal play the role of the fox of our fables; the deer easily escapes the hunter thanks to his acute vision, but he does not really have intelligence.

The tales transcribed below are 14 in number; they have been chosen from about 30 and represent the most characteristic themes as well as the best-constructed narratives.

About half of the tales of the Refugee Blacks turn upon two fundamental themes:

--Hunting rites, whereby Anansi succeeds in killing all the animals of the bush except one who, cleverer than he, succeeds in turning the trick and killing him in turn;

*539 /281 cont./
to sell, bananas and yams. He sold it all and got two sous; he took the two sous and bought a little snake(4). He came

• [825]

4. Mboma (couleuvre of the Creoles) is the large anaconda water snake.

back home, they asked him: "Where is the money?" He said: "That is what I bought, a little snake."

They whipped him until he was nearly dead. He went into the bush until he found a place; he dug a fine round hole. He filled it with water and put the snake in it. He gave it small fish.

The next day he took food again. He walked, walked until he came to the market. Comrades, again he sold all the food. He saw a woman at the entrance to the market with parrots. He said to her: "Woman, how much is a parrot?" She said: "I sell one for one sou." He said: "Give me this one." He took the parrot. He saw another woman who had rats. He said: "Woman, how much is a rat?" She said: "I sell one for one sou." He bought the rat.

He went back home.

They asked him: "Where is the money?" He said: "That is what I bought, a parrot /282/ and a rat." Comrades! They took the boy, they hit him until he was nearly dead.

His mother said to his father: "All that happens there is thy fault. He must not be given food to sell any more."

The next day, they did not give him any. Pikinbaya kept quiet and busied himself with his snake until the snake told him: "I am hot, I want to go into a brook." He lifted it, put it on his neck. He carried it to the brook and put it in. Then he came back to the village.

In Herskovits & Herskovits E-6 (1929-1930) 1934
Box Dahomey 1931
Kumasi

and forth on the sandy bank to the rhythm of the voices in the drums, but their gods would not come. They could not dance, they could not find peace while the drums spoke, and so this disconsolate pacing went on week after week, on those days when the river gods might be danced to. Sometimes the pulse of the drumming, quickening for an interval, stirred the dancers. A shudder would go through the body of one or another and the dry throats would fall to uttering the sacred cries, but almost the next instant the hand of the drummer would go limp, and once more the listless, agonized pacing would continue. The gods were angered. When the drums called them from the river bottom, they came grudgingly and remained sullen, refusing to make their wishes known, and no gods or ancestors came to counsel the wise men in their sleep how to bend the will of the spirits of the river. 931 987 989 996

In the fields the parched earth baked in the merciless heat until it was like whitened bone. The few plants that had pushed their way up through the sandy soil were now brown dust which any wind might scatter. But there was no wind. No rain, no wind, for in the river the god of the wind dwells, and in the sky the rain god, and these gods are twins, and twins have but one soul, since it is with the gods as it is with humans. 931 996 [845]

No rain, no wind. Famine was upon the land.

At last, at the village of Opoku a woman had a dream. She was a pure albino, one of the type who, together with those who show by the slight turn of red in their wooly hair a strain of albinism, are called Toné people, and are identified with the river gods. To this Toné woman the gods came in sleep, and spoke their will. [987] [824]

"And what was it you gave to the gods?" we asked Sedefo, who had fallen silent at this point in his story. 996

"Mati," he said, after a pause, "I am not an important man. You ask what I may not tell. My mouth cannot take upon itself to speak what concerns our big men." 987 931 [829]

This much he would say. A boat filled with things had been sent down the river. Men standing at the river bank

had seen a hand reach out for the boat, had seen it vanish out of sight. The gods had accepted the offerings. That year the Granman from the city, the white Granman, had to send rice from a far country to feed them, but the next year the crops were good, and all had been well since that time.

"And was that when this shrine was removed to the other island?"

"*M'an sabi. A kan de*—I do not know. It is possible."

2

"When you get to the Mamadam," we had been told by a priestess in the city, "wash your face in the running water, and call on the Mother of the River three times."

Another had said, "If your foot should trip anywhere, be sure to call on your ancestors, but if you should happen to slip at the Mamadam, you must go at once to the river, strike the water three times, and ask the Mother of the River to release your soul. It is a bad thing to lose your soul there."

And our principal story-teller in the city, who was something of a wit, had said: "You both have light eyes. Your hair is not dark. You are not unlike the Bonkoru people who are light, and who, up the river, you will hear called the Toné folk." He was speaking of albinos. "It may be that you have a river god without knowing it. When you come to the Mamadam the spirit may come to you. You may find yourself speaking the tongue that only the Toné people know, and dancing the dances to the river gods, and swimming up the rapids. It will be a fine sight to see you dance to the drums. There was once such a woman. A woman white as you are, you hear? I myself saw her dance. When she danced, she wore red, and put a plug through her lip, and as she danced her color changed. She became black. When the spirit was satisfied, it let her go, and she paled and was a white woman again. I myself saw that woman dance. I saw her grow black while she danced, and saw

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

wash every day until Wednesday came to permit her to dance. When she washed with the sacred moistened clay, she rubbed the white on her children. 751 776 783

"Will all the women dance on Wednesday who have the same god as you?"

The child's mother shook her head. "If the god comes to them, yes. If he doesn't come, they can't dance."

And the bassia's wife said, "The women who are in the menstrual house can't dance. When they hear the drums, they are troubled, but they must remain quiet." 841

The woman had spoken too eagerly and too loudly, for her husband, overhearing her, said something in a low rapid voice, and at once the women fell silent and several of them remembered errands they had to see to. 593

4

"When men are in the council house, you mustn't interrupt," said the bassia's wife to the white woman. "If we did what you did just now, our husbands would scold us when they got home, and if we did it again, they would beat us." 576 [593]

She had taken upon herself all the prerogatives of friendship, and continually criticized the manners of her visitor.

The old were to be greeted last. A gift was to be received by another. When returning a piece of carving to another's hand, the carving should rest on the outstretched palm, while the elbow of that arm lay on the palm of the other hand. In the presence of men, a woman who took a stool should turn it about and sit on its narrower side.

"Never sit on the bare earth. The spirits don't like it," she said one instant, and the next, "Don't play with your fingers on top of your sun helmet. Your breasts will get long. Drumming is not a thing for women." [806] [567]

There had been other warnings during earlier visits to Bush Negro villages, but none had borne down so heavily upon the shortcomings of the stranger.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

village. A household was not confined to one building only, but few who were not men of rank and means had more than three. One was for the woman and her children, another for storing the crops, and the third was the man's treasure house, where women might not come. It was like the matter of wives. Only men of position could afford more than one. But if a man had two wives and both lived in his village, then perhaps five huts would bear a design identified with him on the carved side posts which outlined the low doorway. This design would recur in the various carvings he had made for his women—it was his crest. And though a man from another village, who was not related to him, might like it, and liking it copy it, this practice would be socially frowned upon.

A village quarter, however, did not contain only dwelling places, and storehouses, and men's treasure houses. Certain families also had in their part of the village an enclosed shrine for the family gods. If in a given family a powerful Vodu, or snake god, had come to an ancestress and had in a dream, or in a seizure, or through a revelation made to an obia man, chosen her as his *'asi*—his priestess or medium—then with this disclosure came the instructions for the place of locating a house of worship to that Vodu, and the type of house it was to be. Such a shrine, once erected, would be kept in the quarter, and worshiped by the members of that family. Sometimes in front of a dwelling hut, a low enclosure, the size of a small kennel, would stand a little to the side of the door. This was a house to Toné, the river spirit. In one such house lived a woman who had a great Toné god. She had the gift of prophecy. When the men gathered for a council meeting in the village of the Granman, then she, too, would sometimes be bidden to come and sit with the men, though, being a woman, she could never speak at council meetings.

"Touch her skin," the other women said, pointing out this albino woman, "and you will have your desires fulfilled."

In each quarter, too, there was an open house where the women did their cooking, and perhaps a platform or two,

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
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Chapter XI

THE COUNCIL OF THE ELDERS

I

GRANMAN Yankuso's day began before the break of dawn. When the day was at its coolest men's hearts were cool, people said here on the river, and when hearts were cool they could be trusted with weighty matters. But long before men came to stand outside the Granman's house advising with him as he lay in his hammock, the women arrived to report in low monotones the happenings of the previous day, and to take orders for the one to follow.

Lying in our hammocks in the council house, separated from the speakers by the wall of palings and perhaps five feet of clearing, we could hear voices outside from a little after three in the morning, until with the coming day the soft footfalls died down and gave way to the sound of stamping mortars and the cries of children recalling their mothers from early tasks.

What was being said outside we could not hear, but as the days wore on we learned to recognize the voices of the speakers. We learned to know from the rapid, contradicting flow of words which followed upon one of the Granman's orders, that it was his principal wife who spoke, or from the halting, crooning phrases, the voice of his eldest daughter, who had mastered her father's gentlest intonations and now of a morning brought them forth as though she were speaking her lesson. We learned to know as well the range and intensity of the subdued grunts with which

/196 cont./

673 --Vengeance; if someone believes himself to be the
[754] victim of witchcraft, he must under no circumstances engage
[627] in counterwitchcraft or invoke his ancestors against his enemy.
He may ask only for the protection of the obia. It is Odun who
[784] will avenge him by sooner or later killing the evil-doer.

--Violence in any form whatever. It is regarded as a
[683] particularly serious offense against the laws of Odun to strike
with an armed hand and to make human blood flow (1).

[684]

1. That explains the strictness with which the society of the Refugee Blacks limits the right of punishment granted to the wronged husband, who must strike only with bare fists in front of witnesses, never in the bush nor on the river. Fear of seeing
[826] human blood flow explains the
[952] reticence of the Boni toward minor surgical operations.

[641] --Any attack on personal liberty by material or moral
[586] coercion; in particular, neither a man nor woman may be constrained to remain in a marriage which has ceased to please him; nobody may be forced to reside here or there.

[232] The forms of magic so popular among West Indians, aimed at capturing a person's love, are for this reason rejected by the Refugee Blacks and considered as a form of wisi.

[769] --Any evocation of the spirits of the dead, even to ask
[754] them for protection, other than in the public ceremonies provided for by custom. Thus nobody must go to the cemetery to pray alone on his parents' grave. Whoever would do that would immediately be considered as wisima.

AT THE COURT OF THE GRANMAN

Two of its walls were of the plaited palm fronds which were 344
entwined into so pleasant a pattern on the houses of the 353
Bush Negroes. The side walls, however, were carpentered of slats which formed a paling, and over this the slanting roof hung. Through the spaces between the slats we could see the brown feet of the passing villagers, an occasional flare of a gay tunic, or a corner of a man's cloth. Occasionally the big eyes of a child who had wandered over to the paling peered through, to see what was happening inside. Through the slats of the wall nearest to the Granman's house we saw tall earthen jars resting on a plank. There [815]
were perhaps four of them, all of varying sizes, and these held creek and river water to which the magic properties of weeds and incantations had been added.

The purposes of these slats were manifold. Not everyone 344
could sit within the council house when the tribal chiefs 623
gathered. Only those whose rank qualified them appeared [554]
inside when court was held. But to those sitting quietly outside those palings which formed the side walls of the house, what was spoken inside was clearly audible, and it was thus that many listened for the decisions which they awaited. Then, too, since this was an enclosed council house and when the door was open a plaid cloth hung over the doorway to insure privacy, the only light which penetrated came through these openings in the side walls. The eaves hung low, barring much of the light that might have come through the palings, and this allowed but the grayest flicker even at midday and brought into the council house the atmosphere which symbolized to them the cool of morning. The word "cool" was their image for peace, and health, and fairness, and deliberation, and justice. Inside the council house, then, was a light which "cooled the [827]
heart," for heart and head are synonymous to the Bush Negro when he speaks of emotional states.

It was not a large house, and it appeared smaller because 344
of the many furnishings that were in it. Against the wall 352
facing the door a number of magnificently carved benches lay on their sides, one on top of the other, there obviously

174 /30 cont./

613 1st. Lo = de facto grouping of rebels of any provenance,
614 which has in the long run split up into lineages but which remains
621 in the form of a common worship;

571 2nd. Lo = lineage, from the very beginning.
184

Conceptions Relative to Kinship and Marriage

769

[121] Ties between the individual and the ancestors. Before examining more deeply the social and family structure of the Refugee Blacks, it is indispensable to study what religious ties are implied between [184] the individual and the ancestors. Here one is in the presence of basic beliefs which seem identical in the various tribes of Refugee Blacks of Guiana and of which their structure is the consequence.

In the civilizations of Blacks Africa it is supposed that a [171] current of life and /31/ strength circulates from the divinity to men through the medium of the ancestors. Among the Refugee Blacks it is taken for granted that in this respect each man is bound [782] to his ancestors through the maternal line only. If he falls prey to illness, injustice, or adversity, he can call only on them in his prayer.

593 That does not mean that the tie with the father is ignored or considered as having little importance; it is taken for granted, [827] as we shall see, that in the creation of man certain psychic elements are transmitted from father to son. But the current of strength binding the individual to the ancestors does not pass through the father. One cannot pray usefully to the soul of one's dead father. [755] If I am sick and divination incriminates the action of my dead [782] father's soul, I cannot address either prayer or offering directly to him; for that I shall have recourse to one of his near relatives in the maternal line.

/121 cont./

843 Sexual relations continue during the whole pregnancy,
[827] for they are reputed to be indispensable for the formation of the mind of the child, which is thought to come from the father; also, for a man whose wife is pregnant there can be no question of abandoning her nor even of leaving for a long trip without the permission of the head of her lineage.

843 Forecasting of the birth. Divinatory rituals are carried out from
787 the first months of pregnancy to forecast whether the childbirth will be easy or not. For that one goes to an old man who "knows" one of these remedies. There are several: one consists in making a small hole in the center of a cross outlined on the ground, pouring into it a decoction of magic herbs kept secret, and putting an egg into it. The remedy-master then says: "If the childbirth is to be easy, the egg must be crushed as soon as my foot bears down /122/ on it." They state that sometimes the egg resists crushing: from this they deduce that the delivery will be difficult.

844 When the time for delivery arrives, concern is centered on the danger of maleficent human entities, ɔgi sani, which
[789] try to become incarnate in the child. The woman is shut up in the house, all of its exits are blocked off, and ɔbiaman are called to perform rites of protection all around the house. If
[845] delivery is difficult, that is attributed to the fact that one of these entities succeeded in getting into the house in spite of the precautions taken.

The ɔbiaman are called to "wash" the woman with the help of appropriate remedies. Only in serious cases are men allowed to enter the house. As a general rule, during the first
846 eight days only women related to the mother may enter. (Care
602 is even taken as far as possible to get as midwife (mena) an old woman related to the mother.)

764 /162 cont./
787 business of the tribunal. The people of the dead person's lineage
761 will have to settle that among themselves after the obsequies.
[784] The role of the tribunal is to make official the cause of death and give it the force of law.

764 Then the inheritance is taken up in the presence of the
787 near relatives of the dead man. The questions are asked suc-
428 cessively: "To whom dost thou leave thy boat...?" "To whom dost thou leave thy gun (1)...?" The coffin moves each time

> 1. That, unless the dead man has, before his death, in front of witnesses, formally indicated the apportionment of his belongings; in such a case, questions are asked only for the objects whose attribution had not been clearly specified.

toward one of the people present. /Figs. 22 and 23 appear here/

764 /163/ At the end of the third day after the death the
[789] burial is prepared; the dead person is asked from daybreak on whether he is ready for that; if not it can be postponed until the next day.

[767] The [illegible] have been working at the cemetery since the beginning of the day. They are young and strong men who have
[827] to work slowly, for not a drop of sweat may fall into the grave or their akka would risk remaining prisoner in it.

About 4:00 P.M. the bearers promenade the dead person one last time in the village for a supreme adieu. The near relatives go to the wharf. The dead man is hoisted into a canoe
[534] while the apinti drum calls his yorka so that it will not remain
[975] in the village.

GRANMAN MOANA YANKUSO

"Granman Yankuso is the tallest man on the river, and the darkest," they said. "He speaks little. When he is angry, his growl strikes terror in all who hear him." 643 159 157

People said, "The Granman is a clever man. You can tell him about your work in the way you would speak to your own educated men, and he will understand you."

"They will take away everything you have up there on the river."

"They will never bring you to the Granman. He will see to it."

In the villages of the Saramacca country we heard again and again proverbs he had originated, which were quoted when men told of this almost mythical personality.

"The Granman says, 'No one must die, but the burial place cannot lie idle,' " Bayo once quoted him. [538]

"What does it mean, Bayo?"

"It is deep, white man. The Granman is wise."

Kasanya once quoted another of the Granman's proverbs. "If the gods say take one step at a time, do not stand still, and take two steps the next time in anger." [538]

On this river they told us that Granman Moana Yankuso knew all that went on. It was a kind of magic he had: whatever men did anywhere, he knew.

And they said, too, that men were afraid to cross him, not alone because of his rank, but because his spirits were strong.

2

It is difficult to be objective about Moana Yankuso. In the terms his own people use, the explanation of his personality would be the explanation given of any other. 828 643

"He has strong gods."

If we urged them to explain what were the gods of a man they were praising, they would describe the Tiger spirit the man had, and what knowledge of healing and future events his Opete obia, his buzzard spirit, gave him, and how he had come by a special obia which had passed down to him from a famous magician of the earliest times.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Other evil spirits are *Bakru, Yorkas* (a Carib word), *Aze-* 776
man, and *Lybba.* The Bakru are very ugly. A Negro picked up a crying child and sat him on his shoulders. His companion noticed the child's eyes and said: "That is a Bakru." The Negro dashed the child down. The child was instantly transformed into an ape and said: "I missed you that time, but next time I'll get you." The Bakru may also take the form of little mannikins with large heads.

Yorkas are ghosts. They are very similar to our conception of haunting spooks. They may be the ghosts of dead [775] people, more especially of dead enemies who have returned to do harm.

The Azeman are the most awful of all spirits. They leave their skins every night and travel about in the form of persons without any skin. Consequently they are an ugly, bleeding sight. At dawn they assume their covering. But if the skin is found and salt placed around it, it shrinks so that it becomes too small for the Azeman to get back into. This causes them to vanish. Another method of getting rid of the Azeman is to scatter rice about. They dislike rice very much and stop to pick the grains up out of the way. In their preoccupation they do not notice the coming of dawn, which is very harmful to them.

The Lybba are spirits or ghosts similar to the Yorka.

A sleeping Bush Negro must be waked with care, as his 828 774 personal spirit, the soul, or kra, may not be able to get back 5/3 in time if he is too suddenly aroused.

The Djukas may be possessed by almost any spirit. During

/65 cont./

613 It seems that they expect unanimity to occur and that
571 basically (here are found again the mental mechanisms peculiar to the Refugee Blacks), they expect it to take place by itself, to impose itself as if obvious. If nothing of the sort happens, they separate without deciding anything.

613 This public discussion of all important questions results, in
571 the thought of the Refugee Blacks, not so much from a belief in
828 the wisdom of assemblies as from fear of malevolence. If questions were debated in a small group, there would immediately be mistrustful and jealous minds who would see dark intrigues in it. The constant concern of the Refugee Blacks, when they have something important to say, is to find witnesses. That is in fact the role of the council, and it is why there is neither a lower age limit for taking part nor a precise rule governing the fashion of conducting the discussion.

613 The Captain or hedemã. The head of each of the great lineages
554 which have been part of the tribe since its origin is recognized by the grand man as hedemã or "captain" (this word had been used since the original settlement of Europeans in Guiana to designate the chiefs of Indian tribes).

[692] The captains preside over the lãnti kuutu, supreme council whose functions are principally judiciary.

No precise rule of succession exists, and the choice of the members of the lineage is entirely free with regard to kinship ties.
[693] When the old people are questioned about this, they usually answer that the successor must be chosen from among the classificatory "nephews" of the dead man, that is, from among the members of the lineage who are one more generation away from the foundress.

/69 cont./

562 828 [171] It is assumed once and for all that women are shrews on whom one cannot count and from whom one can get nothing. The Refugee Blacks are inexhaustible on this subject and their opinion about the women of their group is very similar to that of Africans in general: they call them ill-natured, devoid of feeling, selfish, greedy, and unfaithful.

562 571 [965] In general, women are held apart from regular social life; no form of customary society of women exists. In the mourning ceremonies, which correspond to a veritable mobilization of the village, they play no role, except to prepare the meals.

562 787 794 Yet the women play indirectly an important role in the social life by way of the cults of possession. The Papa gadu gods so formidable have women nearly exclusively as bearers, and we shall see in studying the functioning of the kunu that they are the principal actors in this. Through this activity, which is exerted in arbitrary fashion on the outskirts of the institutions of regular social life, the women maintain around themselves an atmosphere of fear; it is not impossible that the functioning of these cults is influenced by the concern of the women to maintain their privileged position in the society of the Refugee Blacks.

562 157 Many women are charitable and have a certain generosity toward the members of their family, insuring the maintenance of the old men without resources. But their benevolence is essentially subjective and extends only to a small circle of personal friends and their nearest relatives. As soon as the elders appeal to them for a question of general interest, claiming to give them orders or even advice, they meet an attitude systematically malevolent and stubborn. /70/

[613] The lineage heads avoid giving them orders directly, for they run a strong risk of getting themselves insulted, as we have observed many a time.

593 /128 cont./
429 ○S... 1947 raised by Kulina, Eliana's sister by the same mother (Dju, E9);
○S... 1947 raised by her mother
and three young children raised by their mother.

[163] One sees unusual situations like that of Mimi (Boniville, Kotika), who gave her only child to her sister to raise and is bringing up another child in its place.

[163] In 1957, Téké (L1, F44, Loka village), who had seven living children, was not bringing up any of them.

△ C... 1945 raised by Mélita, Téké's mother (L1, E32);
△ A... 1947 raised by Akomédi (L1, F34), Téké's classificatory sister;
△ M... 1950 raised by Mélita;
△ C... 1952 raised by his father Baïna (Dip. II);
○ K... 1953 raised by △ Mato (Aw.B.1), her father Baïna's father;
○ F... 1956 raised by Mélita. /129/

Baïna, whom we have known for a long time, was incapable of giving the least explanation for his wife's strange behavior. Besides, he had given up a long time ago understanding the psychology of Boni women.

On the other hand, a certain number of women obstinately refuse to be separated from their children, deciding to raise [163] them all, girls and boys, by their own means. This was the case for example with Magdaléna (Kormotibo), a woman of intractable character, who raised her eight children herself at [828] the cost of the worst difficulties. In such a case, they say of the mother that she is a selfish woman and that she has a bad character, but there is no question of taking a child away from her by force. Nobody would risk that, no more her brothers or uncles than the head of the lineage. Only her mother could do it, and the women who behave thus have generally lost their mothers.

/174 cont./

764 Children are buried with the normal ceremonies only from about the age of six on. The rule is the following: A child is buried in the cemetery and broko dɛ is done for him if the next child of the same mother is beginning to walk.

766 Young children are buried without a coffin at a special site on the edge of each village; a board is simply placed on the body before filling the grave. They have the idea that very young children have no vital force, and that their yɔrka cannot do any harm. /Fig. 25 appears here./ /175/

[828] [775]

Mourning

764

After the burial the wives of the dead man (or the husband if it is a woman), the nearest relatives on the maternal side, as well as the children, sojourn eight days more in the mortuary shed, until the broko dɛ.

765 From then on the obligations of mourning are limited, for the near relatives of the dead person, to abstaining for a year from dancing, wearing jewelry or too fine clothes; it goes completely otherwise for the spouse of the dead person; the Refugee Blacks indeed take for granted, like the Creoles of Surinam, the persistence of the sexual jealousy of the dead person, whose yɔrka is thought to remain in contact with the living for a year.

[831] [775] [171]

State of the spouse in mourning. The principle is that the surviving spouse, until the lifting of mourning, is subject to the will of the dead person. In order to materialize that in an obvious way, he cannot, during this whole period, wear his usual clothes but must dress exclusively in pieces of cloth appropriated for him from among the ones the dead person possessed, or given by the nearest maternal relatives of the dead person.

/201/

787 181 One also often finds as an avowed goal the idea of being useful to his lineage.

Disinterested mystical impulses appear totally absent from these cults.

787 154 But that is only one aspect of the phenomena of possession; they really seem to be, in large measure, unconscious and involuntary. Everyone can try to obtain a gadu, but everyone does not succeed; one must have a certain predisposition. 787 [154] "One cannot oblige a gadu to enter a man," say the Boni; it certainly seems, in fact, that in nearly half the cases possession takes place spontaneously and sometimes to the great terror of the person concerned: this is observed especially in the kunu.

[976] Mimi, a woman about 46 years old in 1958, of the Kotika lineage, was possessed by two gadu, an Ampuku and a Papa gadu. Here is how her near relatives relate the fashion in which they came into her.

[158] About ten years before, Mimi was showing signs of mental derangement. Her mind wandered, she sometimes used to leave the village to run in the bush at random, she uttered disconnected words (1). Then she fell very ill (pleurisy?).

[828] [171]

1. It is necessary to note on this subject the very widely held idea among the Refugee Blacks, as among the Creoles, that certain forms of mental imbalance are due to the action of an entity which is trying to manifest itself in a man and does not succeed. In order to cure this man, he must be "washed" with appropriate leaves so that the god can come to manifest itself in him; the rest of the time he will be normal.

[755]

787 824 /216 cont./

Aluku Name	Identification	Use
Sagaafu	Costus cylindricus (zingiberaceae)	cult of the Papagadu and of the Ampuku
Malimbelimbe	Piper sp. (?)	----
Filli (Holigɔɔ)	Chamaesyae sp. (?) (euphorbiaceae)	----

828 Beliefs Concerning the Human Person and Its Development
Ancestor Worship

[171] The Refugee Blacks of the various tribes have precise and identical conceptions on this subject, which are found also, more or less mixed with Christian conceptions, among the West Indian populations of African origin. For them, man is formed of three elements: the body, the yorka which may be translated by personality, and a higher principle called akka.

[184] It goes without saying that among the Boni, who have not elaborated these conceptions and received them from the Djuka, [128] nobody is capable of discoursing on them. But numerous conceptions having to do with magic and to the relationships with the ancestors permit of rather reliable cross-checking.

794 The akka. It is not possible to translate akka (1) by soul in the

1. This word appears to be a deformation of kla (Agni-Baoulé), word to which a very comparable meaning is attached.

sense we understand it. The akka is an immortal divine element

[774] /216 cont./ The akka is an immortal divine element
[775] attached to a human person for the duration of his life and which, at his death, returns to the domain of the divine, no longer keeping any contact with men.

[828] The akka is the source of life from which the human personality is nourished, but it is not this personality.

The Refugee Blacks consider the akka as a personal protector god; they are apt to say mi gadu, my god, for mi akka.

The concept of the akka was spontaneously transposed by the West Indians into that of the guardian angel. They speak in Haiti of the "big good angel."

For Refugee Blacks the life, health, and destiny of a man depend above all on the akka; they think that if the akka went away, the body and mind of the man could not remain bound together; he would die or lose consciousness. This is, a little, what happens each night, for they believe that the akka leaves the body to wander, which brings on the loss of consciousness.
[754] /217/ So the wisimã, the sorcerer, tries to profit by this to capture the akka so that the man may become insane.

The akka is thought to have tastes, desires, and goals foreign to those of the personality and of which the man, in his
[753] ordinary consciousness, has no knowledge. The akka can make the man sick if he behaves in a way that it does not like. So
[755] when someone is sick, he resorts to divination in order to know whether it is not the deed of the akka and, in the affirmative, for what motive. One might think that the akka behaves like a conscience in the moral sense of the term; that it gets angry if its bearer does something evil. But in reality the akka shows itself to be as arbitrary, wicked, and venal as the lower gods of the Refugee Blacks. If it gets angry (they say: mi akka mãndi), this is because its bearer wears clothes of a color it does not like, or because it wants an offering. We have never, on the other hand, heard a case spoken of in which the akka might have become angry with its bearer because he was a thief, liar, or adulterer.

/218 cont./

774 775 The yɔrka. (The Boni say yɔɔka, the Djuka and the Creoles of Surinam yɔrka.) The expression yɔrka is used only to designate the spirits of the dead. But of course the elements of the yɔrka are present in the living man.

774 828 /219/ The yɔrka is the ordinary consciousness of the man, his memories, tastes, aversions, all that constitutes his personality. All that, for the Refugee Blacks, does not come from the divine plane but at least in part from former human existences, and after death will not reach the divine plane. The Refugee 775 Blacks seem to believe that after death, the yɔrka remains unchanged, will keep the same desires, the same aversions, the same thoughts; it is simply no longer in ordinary life, it has passed to another plane, intermediate between the divine and the human, from whence it continues to remain in a certain fashion in contact with men. The various informants we questioned on this subject declare that they have no idea of the fate of the yɔrka after death, of its place with respect to the divinities, of the rewards or punishments of which it may be the object according to the manner in which the man lived. These are questions they never ask themselves openly and which hardly interest them, all their interest being centered on earth- [754] ly life. The idea of a paradise is absolutely foreign to them; they acknowledge however in the case of the wisimã that they will be stripped of the force that every living being receives from the divine, and that thus destroyed as beings, they will no longer be more than empty shadows.

769 The gaã yɔrka, spirits of the ancestors, are believed to watch over their descendants and are subject to worship.

[771] Ancestor worship. Among the Refugee Blacks, ancestor worship is intimately bound up with all the acts of family and social life. They assume that the yɔrka of the ancestors are always present near their descendants and that they protect them. It is through them as intermediaries that the force emanated by the divine is received by the living.

/220 cont./

769 778 782 her voice changed, imitating a man's; eyes staring, she appeared to have no longer any consciousness of what was around her. Then suddenly the attack would cease and she would busy herself with her household occupations in the most natural fashion. The yɔrka which was believed to become incarnate thus in Mili's body spoke of very commonplace things, repeating indefinitely sentences concerning minor happenings of the day, or asking for a small offering of tafia on its behalf at the fraga tiki. A psychiatrist would doubtless have thought of an attack of mental dissociation.

[784] These yɔrka are not feared by their involuntary bearer, since none can exercise a kunu against his own lineage; they manifest themselves only exceptionally, sometimes indicating remedies or warning of dangers. Thus it is that A... of the Dipélu II lo, who has a Kumẽnti besides, also has a yɔrka which revealed itself in him without ever having been called on. According to his comrades, this yɔrka sometimes steps in with a cavernous voice, notably in September, 1952, during a hunting expedition, where it shouted: "Let us not go that way, we shall meet a jaguar." A... lost consciousness for only a few seconds and had not been aware of anything. /Figs. 26 and 27 appear here./ /221/

795 828 The nẽmseki (1). Each Refugee Black has a nẽmseki, that is

1. This word seems to be a deformation of English "namesake" (homonym).

to say that certain elements of his personality are thought to originate from the reincarnation of a certain ancestor. This is a very obscure conception with the Boni, and without apparent correlation with their notion of the akka and the yɔrka; they never say: "I am the reincarnation of So-and-So," but simply:

/221 cont./

775 "My nɛ̃mseki is So-and-So." Mr. W. F. van Lier, speaking of
828 the Djuka who have much clearer conceptions on religious
[184] questions, gives an important clarification: in 1915 Grand Man Oséisi became incarnate in a newborn baby of the tribe, nevertheless he continues to be invoked as an ancestor before the fraga tiki. It seems, then, that it is a case of certain elements of the personality which are believed to be reincarnated, and not of the yɔrka as a whole.

787 It is important to distinguish the nɛ̃mseki from possession by a yɔrka. Possession by a yɔrka is an exceptional occurrence which is manifested in the form of trances, the yɔrka speaking through the mouth of its bearer; outside of these possessions, this yɔrka is believed to reside in the abode of the ancestors.

[613] A yɔrka can reveal itself thus only in a person of its matrilineage.

775 The nɛ̃mseki, on the contrary, exists in all men. The
828 ancestor who is thus partially reincarnated is generally on the paternal side, but this is not an absolute rule.

A man is not conscious of his nɛ̃mseki and is acquainted with it only because his parents have revealed it to him. This nɛ̃mseki does not manifest itself in anything in everyday life; it does not impose any kina whatever and does not ask for
[753] offerings. However, when a young child falls ill, divination
[755] may reveal that it is the doing of the nɛ̃mseki which is indignant at being misunderstood. People hurry then, always with the help of divination, to find out the name of the nɛ̃mseki, proceeding by elimination. As a general rule, they allow themselves to be guided by resemblances of physiognomy, birthmarks calling to mind, for example, certain scars of the dead ancestor.

It is believed that the older a man is when he dies, the more time he will allow to elapse before being reincarnated.

754 /238 cont./ The struggle against
781 wisi is one of the foundations of their social life, protection against the undertakings of the wisimã one of the most constant worries of each person. Nobody knows these wisimã with certainty; one is reduced to vague suspicions of this or that person, which one dares not formulate for lack of proof. No one knows exactly how they operate. Yet each one feels their enterprises everywhere about him, and those who by reason of their wealth or successes with women have the most reason to believe themselves exposed to jealousy live in anxiety.

754 Intense jealousy or hate are already a form of wisi, and
[828] this is why each one must try to drive them out of his heart;
[784] besides, he would risk falling ill or being subject to all sorts of calamities for having broken his oath. But the wisimã employs explicit procedures:

--Burying a bottle (beli bata) containing sorcery under his enemy's door. When the latter comes home, the sorcery will
[751] penetrate into him. So some Refugee Blacks carry a special obia against this kind of aggression: thanks to this obia, they will feel a sharp pain in the tip of the foot when approaching the bottle, which they will thus uncover easily.

754 --Kisi akkaa, stealing the akka of the enemy. The latter
774 then becomes mad. The Boni believe that the wisimã operates at night, taking advantage of the fact that the enemy's akka has left his body to wander. He captures it by attracting it with what it likes. For that, one must know the name of his enemy's akka, know its tastes and preferences; all things which each Refugee Black will carefully hide, even from his comrades. What the wisimã does with the akka was not clear to any of our informants. He tries either to capture it in order to deprive his enemy of it, or to make it hostile to its bearer, or to inspire it with abnormal ideas or tastes. If someone manifests an abnormal change /239/ in tastes or behavior, people will be inclined to think that a wisimã was able to act upon his akka.

/240 cont./

754 be wisimã. We were able to draw up the list of these from
775 information from diverse sources which agreed very well.
787 In nearly every case persons were concerned who had already been accused, during their lifetime, of being wisimã; and on whom suspicions had been directed either by reason of their solitary life and irascible character or as a consequence of a series of coincidences.

754 In general, they tend to accuse of wisi any individual
828 who systematically isolates himself, shows ill will in the observation of customary law, or shows himself particularly selfish, irascible, or jealous.

754 /241/ They tend also to suspect those who in their youth had
648 abandoned the tribe for years to settle among the Creoles, and those who frequent the Creoles of the region, known as quimboiseurs, or who go too often to Saint Laurent or Paramaribo to consult lukumã (clairvoyants) (1).

1. Consulting a clairvoyant is not contrary to the laws of Odun. Infringement of these laws begins when one claims to act upon other people.

754 Also deemed suspect of wisi is anyone who gets rich too
434 quickly or shows an immoderate love of money. A hard-
828 working man who earns his living in broad daylight is never accused of wisi. But the one who engages in trade is suspect. It is thought, for example, that G..., who furnished a shop and earns much money, is a "pledged man." It is said also of F..., a fishing contractor particularly greedy for profit. But neither has been accused openly.

/241 cont./

152 828 Jealousy. To speak of jealousy as a negative magic force is
754 not to be false to the thought of the Refugee Blacks. They re-
777 gard it as an attenuated force of wisi, capable of bringing mis-
fortunes even if no sorcery has been formulated. Jealousy is
152 157 very marked in their character, associated with an individualism
verging on asocial tendencies. When somebody is accused of
754 wisi, jealousy is the commonest explanation of the crimes
152 828 attributed to him; it is thought for example that a man can be
jealous of his brother's growing rich to the point of making him
die; that a woman may be jealous of the beauty or health of
152 her sister's children. Not laying themselves open to jealousy
156 is the constant preoccupation of the Refugee Blacks; one ob-
828 576 serves it in daily behavior, for example in the greetings which
they exchange on the river. They never say, "I am well,"
but: "I feel only fair." If they come back from hunting they
say, "I found a little."

152 Examples are not lacking of people who avoid building
156 a fine house or buying an outboard motor in order not to give
828 cause for jealousy. This preoccupation has profound reper-
[182] cussions on the material life and the economy of the Refugee
[463] Blacks; it explains in particular the absence of specialized
professions and trade among them.

Many aspects of the customary law of the Refugee Blacks
[183] have no other function than to exorcise, if one may say so,
[571] tendencies toward jealousy and selfishness which, if they were
given free rein, would poison the life of the collectivity.

76 The rites of death and mourning, which we have shown
181 to constitute the pivot of the social life of the Refugee Blacks,
725 are entirely based on the idea of preserving the surviving spouse
828 from the effect of the jealousy of the deceased.

754 /246 cont./
755 The maïtif asked 2,000 francs from him as the price of
648 his consultation.

789 Curse. Someone who judges himself victim of evil-doing has at his disposal a supreme resource: /247/ cursing his adversary, that is, appealing directly to the supreme God, Masa Gadu, to ask him to punish his adversary. This is called seni gadu -- sending God -- against someone. To do that, while asking God to kill him or make him sick, one kneels and strikes the ground with both hands in the presence of the adversary or in front of his house. This act is regarded as totally different from wisi, for one is relying on the justice of God, who judges with equity and punishes only the guilty.

However that may be, cursing is for the Refugee Blacks a very serious act. It may happen that, feeling guilty, the source of the injustice asks pardon and promises to make amends for his misdeeds. The one who uttered the curse again implores Masa Gadu in order to take back the words he spoke: "He has given me satisfaction, do nothing against him." But oftener still it happens that a complicated affair is involved, that both parties concerned are persuaded of their legitimate
[692] ground and curse each other. The case must then be carried before the grand man and straightened out at once or misfortunes
[695] may pounce upon both lineages. The grand man judges without appeal and inflicts a punishment on the one who was wrong
[778] on the main issue of the debate. Then he obliges the ad-
[262] versaries to be reconciled before the fraga tiki, where the offering of tafia and water is made.

[828] The effect of these conceptions is to render nearly im-
[754] possible hidden hatreds and rancors, which the Refugee Blacks fear very much, for they are the source of wisi.

688 In general, the act of getting angry in public and serious-
689 ly insulting somebody is considered as an offense against moral and religious law, capable of attracting misfortunes; it is an

/253 cont./

Various Beliefs

578 Fyo-fyo. If a Boni is on bad terms with someone of his lineage or of another lineage, he has the absolute right to turn a cold shoulder to him and stop having anything to do with him. But 828 if, hiding his rancor, he seeks, from selfish motives, to main- 753 tain the appearance of friendly relations, he risks falling ill, be- 761 ing struck by various calamities, or even dying from the effect 789 of what the Refugee Blacks call a fyo-fyo. The nature of this [825] force is not clear; they know only that its support is a small, common insect named fyo-fyo. They declare that if a person dies from the consequences of a fyo-fyo, one of these insects will be seen leaving his body through the nose at the moment of death.

776 Taku sani. By this name the Refugee Blacks designate maleficent [775] entities of the bush, which they imagine as of nonhuman nature by contrast to the taku yɔrka, wandering spirits of dead people 753 rejected by society. These entities are lower beings devoid of 828 consciousness but dangerous for men into whom they may enter, tendering them sick or mad. Certain of these entities are believed to reside in plants, like the kɔtkɔti, others are thought to take on the appearance of dwarfs (baku), whom certain people believe they sometimes see at dawn on the outskirts of villages.

751 One protects oneself against taku sani by special ɔbia, and those who do not feel completely secure take a certain number of precautions in addition, like that of tearing up the leaves they have used for drinking water from creeks.

/255 cont./

784 262 A... of the Dju lo, about 28 years old in 1958, must observe six kina:

--The cayman and the jaguar as bwasi kina.

--The otter (yundu) as akka kina. /256/

These three kina have been imposed on him since his first years, but the meaning of them was explained to him only later on.

[751] --The eel (mãnsi) was imposed on him as a kina by his father when the latter gave him a man nẽŋge ɔbia, ɔbia of protection against machete or gun, materialized by an iron bracelet.

[841] [834] To this ɔbia is attached another kina. A... must not speak to a woman having her menstrual period.

[751] [787] --Finally, the crab (kaabu), kina attached to an ɔbia of which the man concerned only spoke with reticence, probably a Kumẽnti bui (bracelet of Kumẽnti, instrument of divination).

A... has no gadu kina in the strict sense of the term.

There exists no food kina common to all the Boni; the cayman is generally forbidden to them as bwasi kina, associated with another animal; but this is not absolute; we know at least one Boni who has not received this kina.

If someone has broken a kina inadvertently, he can have himself cleansed of this offense by ɔbiaman. But if he broke it willfully, he cannot escape the punishment attached to the offense.

845 828 Beliefs about twins. They have the idea that twins and children who follow twins are of a nature different from other men, participating in a divine principle.

[755] Twins cannot live (since they do not belong to ordinary humanity) if they are not treated with a special remedy known only to certain lineages especially rich in twins.

/291 cont./

157 Wishing to take advantage of all the possibilities which
464 turn up, the Refugee Blacks are led to learn simultaneously the
463 traditional techniques of their group, boating, boat-building, felling of trees, squaring of wood, and /building/ framework. In these techniques they may be considered specialized workers.

157 Proud of their strength and knowledge, sure of themselves,
812 the Refugee Blacks are never worried about the future and consider life as an exciting adventure, ceaselessly bringing new things. If the past year has been bad, the new year will be better, with God's help. Nobody doubts that he will find gainful work again.

152 Influence of jealousy: absence of specialized professions and
182 trade. Another strong psychological tendency having a direct influence on the economy is jealousy.

152 The effect of jealousy, and the fear of jealousy, is to
828 limit enrichment and to maintain a de facto equality: it often
556 happens that talented people forego undertaking profitable work
753 in order not to give occasion for the jealousy which would render
777 their position in the village difficult and might draw misfortunes upon them; for people have the idea that jealousy draws down illnesses and calamities upon him who is the object of it and on his near relatives, by the action of a natural force, even without sorcery being formulated.

754 Fear of sorcery interferes in the same way; one who be-
556 comes unusually rich is almost inevitably accused of being a
441 sorcerer and may be obliged to leave the country. Particularly
829 vulnerable are those, very rare, who engage in trade. People do not suspect of sorcery a man who is seen to become rich by /292/ working ceaselessly. But the trader whose wealth increases without his furnishing obvious work, is quickly regarded as a "committed one," accused of having his good luck as a result of a pact with the devil.

/299 cont./

771 The Boni, as we have shown, do not feel that they are pagans. They think they worship the same god as the Christians, in a different way but just as valid; they feel that their moral principles are not inferior to those of the Christians, that they are expressed in practice by the same prescriptions and are in fact better obeyed(2).

[828]

2. We report here faithfully the point of view of those concerned without making any judgment of its worth; let us recall that their principles of living do not assume any moral conscience in the individual and rest entirely upon the fear of material punishments in the present life. But even this base gives them great practical effectiveness.

829 Only in their conception of their kinship and the family, in the absence of family life based on the indissolubly united couple, do they recognize that they live under another law. But they do not fail to notice that the populations of the Guianas who profess Christianity hardly put it into practice in their family life: the stability of marriages is appreciably greater among the Refugee Blacks.

787 776 828 As for the cults of possession, the Boni feel that they worship de facto entities whose existence appears as tangible to them as light or weight to us. These ideas are bound up with a characteristic way of perceiving, touching deep zones of the mind which reasoning does not reach (3).

171 177 787

3. Actually, it is observed in Black Africa that where cults

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SRS Bush Negroes SRS
Saramacca

and forth on the sandy bank to the rhythm of the voicees in 871
the drums, but their gods would not come. They could not 782
dance, they could not find peace while the drums spoke, and 789
so this disconsolate pacing went on week after week, on 776
those days when the river gods might be danced to. Sometimes the pulse of the drumming, quickening for an interval, stirred the dancers. A shudder would go through the body of one or another and the dry throats would fall to uttering the sacred cries, but almost the next instant the hand of the drummer would go limp, and once more the listless, agonized pacing would continue. The gods were angered. When the drums called them from the river bottom, they came grudgingly and remained sullen, refusing to make their wishes known, and no gods or ancestors came to counsel the wise men in their sleep how to bend the will of the spirits of the river.

In the fields the parched earth baked in the merciless heat until it was like whitened bone. The few plants that 731
had pushed their way up through the sandy soil were now 776
brown dust which any wind might scatter. But there was no wind. No rain, no wind, for in the river the god of the wind dwells, and in the sky the rain god, and these gods are twins, and twins have but one soul, since it is with the [845]
gods as it is with humans.

No rain, no wind. Famine was upon the land.

At last, at the village of Opoku a woman had a dream. [987]
She was a pure albino, one of the type who, together with [826]
those who show by the slight turn of red in their wooly hair a strain of albinism, are called Toné people, and are identified with the river gods. To this Toné woman the gods came in sleep, and spoke their will.

"And what was it you gave to the gods?" we asked 776
Sedefo, who had fallen silent at this point in his story. 782

"Mati," he said, after a pause, "I am not an important 731
man. You ask what I may not tell. My mouth cannot take upon itself to speak what concerns our big men." [829]

This much he would say. A boat filled with things had been sent down the river. Men standing at the river bank

THE PROVISION GROUND

"I'll tell you how it is mostly," he went on, after a silence. "Sometimes a woman will lie about the father of her child. The child will grow up keeping the trefu of a strange man. But it won't be his real trefu. His mother, you see, lied about his father. In the end, if nothing is done, this child will be sick, and later he will become a leper. Only a bad woman will lie about her child's father, because only a bad woman will want to hurt her own child. It doesn't happen among the girls who wear kerchiefs and live the way the old people live. These girls dance to the spirits. They are afraid of the ancestors. They are afraid of their *akra*—their soul—and the Earth Mother. But those girls who wear hats—ai, Massa, those girls do anything!"

But here in the bush, it seemed, they had other beliefs about leprosy, he went on. Here they believed it was a kind of a spirit, too. When a leper died he was not given a good burial. No wakes were held for him. He was given no coffin. He was buried in the Bad Bush, where the sorcerers were thrown.

"When a leper dies, they don't want him to come back again. They don't treat his spirit well. They do the same with him as with a madman. They bury him with no more ceremony than a child, who came on earth, and would not stay. They say it's all because of a bad spirit, and they don't want bad spirits on earth."

4

"Why do we plant away from the village?"

It was the old woman talking, as we sat and smoked with her. The moon had come up above the maripa palm trees behind the house where the leper had been helped into his hammock, and it was pleasant out-of-doors.

"Why, you ask? Well, sometimes when the bush is burned, a wind comes up suddenly, and sends the flames down, down, beyond the cleared ground. How would it be with a village, if we cleared our grounds too close to it, and this happened? No, Bak'a, we people of the bush know better. . . . What do you say? Why do we do our clearing

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

643 159 In our own terms, if we were to picture the Granman as a splendid savage, cheerful, guileless, childlike, flattered by our interest, we would be belying his gifts of sophistication, and he would thank us little for these romantic outlines which, according to the values of his own civilization, would be insulting.

829 [538] 776 The code of life among these people was expressed in the proverb we had heard often spoken. "There are men on the upper river, there are men on the lower river, too." For survival in this bush, a man needed to match his strength and his wits and his magic, his kindliness and his enmity against those of any other. And the Bush Negro is a realist, for, as we had seen, not even the gods could be depended upon to be consistent—consistently good or consistently evil. The Bush Negro's gods, like humans, often did things for unaccountable reasons, because of a momentary whim, because of a desire to try the untried.

829 181 It was good to be guileless, but sometimes a man had to be a tiger, had to stalk his prey from behind. It was well enough to be a tiger, but sometimes a man needed the cunning of the bush hero, spider Anansi, who knew how to outwit the tiger. It was well enough to be an eagle, and be free and fly high, but sometimes a man needed the wit of the little bird konubri, who became king of all birds, because, when in the kingdom of birds there was a contest for the throne, it was he who, by perching on the back of the eagle, flew highest of all.

643 159 In the simplest of our own terms, Granman Moana Yankuso could be said to be a superb politician. In his villages, marriage alliances were calculated with the nicety of the best statesmanship. Whatever his own views, he saw to it that he never defied the arbiters of magic or the clan of the seat of magic, the Dahomey people. Toward the women of strange villages who came to see the white man and his woman, he showed an easy gallantry, which could not have been but flattering. When addressing the women who carried children astride their backs, he would speak gently to them and call them "mother" in greeting, and

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

these animals. So the hunter is occasionally surprised to find 224
a big cat responding to his game call.

Far up the river, jaguars have been known to come near 224
a provision clearing and carry off an infant while the mother 136
was at work in the cassava field. The grown Djuka, however, is not afraid of these cats. The jaguar is a medium-sized feline, the third largest of the cat family, but it is essentially cowardly. If a lone Negro encounters one on a game trail, a duel commences that usually ends with the shooting of the jaguar. On one occasion we saw a hunter come back from the game trail, armed only with a machete, who had met and killed one of these cats.

There are several smaller cats in the South American jungle, ranging in size from the puma to the diminutive jaguarundi. The boa constrictor is not the menace that some travellers make it out to be. The Bush Negroes will not kill either a boa or an alligator, nor will they allow a white man to do so. If they see the white man aiming his gun at snakes, [825 778 262]
they will knock up the muzzle. Such reptiles are sacred.
Some of the Indians of the district, on the other hand, are fond of snake meat, and hunt it regularly. But the Bush [829]
Negroes look down on them.

In setting traps the Bush Negroes exhibit the typical cun- 224
ning of jungle dwellers. They have preserved the West African types of traps. Trails on which armadillos forage are set with a shotgun, in the middle of the path. By seizing the bait the animal shoots itself.

At night on the game trail the lone hunter builds a lean-

/6 cont./

175 pacified Bush Negroes. From then on they received from the
648 Netherlands Government annual presents consisting of guns, herbs, lead, tobacco, rice, salt, dram, and so forth.

648 In later times, however, these were gradually decreased
829 by the government and finally completely abolished, as a result of which the Negroes no longer so willingly and without remuneration want to be of service to the government; since they believe that with the conclusion of the peace they came to an agreement with the government that on their part the Whites would no longer be hindered in anything, while they would endeavor to assist the government whenever that should be necessary, in return for which the presents mentioned above would be handed out to them annually on the part of the government. At present they complain about their treatment by the government and refuse to believe that they can and may trust the Whites.

101 The Bush Negroes are divided into four tribes: /7/
103 1st. Aucaners, who have their dwelling place, Auca, on the
133 river Marowyne; and they have their working places on the river above Cottica, where they come from the Marowyne by way of the Wanakreek. Among themselves they are called Joeka /Djuka/ and by the Whites, Aucaners, after the plantation Auca, where on 19 October 1760 peace was concluded with them.

2nd. Saramaccaners, who live on the river above Surinam, principally near the waterfall Arasoebanja near Gjengjen and Prakieki, and have their working places along the same river and in the cove /kreek," creek, cove"/ Taaiboto Kouloegrou and Kassipora. They are called Saramaccaners by the Whites, after the river of that name (where they formerly lived), and among themselves Wousie or Moejére.

3rd. Mantoewari, who have their dwelling place on the river above Saramacca and their working places along the same river on Maripaston and in the cove Mindrinetie. They are names like the Saramaccaners, since they, too, although separate, live on the same river.

/33 cont./

439 When, for instance, the Bush Negro has cut down a
437 tree deep in the forest and discovers that it is almost hollow on
313 the inside, then he works it, this defect notwithstanding, into a
186 squared log, taking care to make the visible cavities above and below invisible by hammering wooden pins into it. After that he takes clay and mud and is able to make every trace disappear, a fraud which is thus rarely discovered before a piece is sawed off the log.

Also they practice a great deal of deception by unloading on the buyer as good stuff various qualities of timber of great and little value, but which resemble each other, for instance, by selling a low quality black kabbes (1) for brown hardwood (2),

1. Andira retusa H. B. K.

2. Andira called wassila among the Arrawakken /Arawak/ Indians.

two varieties which can be distinguished only by timber experts.

/34/ If they have worked timber that on one side is already somewhat rotten, or is worm-eaten or split, then they know how to place it in such a way in their rafts that the good side lies upward, a deception that can be discovered only when it has been hauled ashore and one becomes aware of it by turning each piece around and inspecting it carefully.

186 If it is possible to steal something from the Whites,
648 they will not fail to do so. They are also guilty of lying and give themselves the names of those who still possess the confidence of the Whites, which they can do with impunity because the similarity of their coloring and facial features makes it extremely difficult for the Whites to recognize them after an absence.

[829] This repeated trickery has accordingly made the Whites declare them to be scoundrels and liars, but the Bush Negroes, although they do not do so openly, say the same of them and
577 regard themselves as much more trustworthy and honest. That they do this with some appearance of justice cannot be denied; after

/35 cont./

123 466 Also, I am led to believe that for me they cherish a more than general respect, since already for ten years now they have been faithful workers for me, a privilege to which no inhabitant in this colony other than myself can lay claim.

123 778 [761] A family among them, whose head recently died -- according to their statements, through poisoning, which misdeed is supposed to have taken place out of envy, since I gave him preference above others, which he deserved on account of his faithfulness and industry -- has built a hut in the vicinity of its idol signs, in which they placed a crude image cut out of cedar-wood and [237] painted with white paint. Beside that image they placed a little table and on it laid a number of quill feathers from the pouwies (1), a little bottle with black liquid, symbolizing ink,

1. A pheasant, the Crax alector L.

as well as some slips of paper. Near this little table they dug a number of steps into the ground, and at the lowermost step they made a gutter that runs in the direction of the river. Now when they have a festival with dancing and they want to pay respect to me, they place near it a number of children who constantly pour water brought in jugs, which, flowing down the steps into the gutter, streams riverward. While this ceremony takes place, songs in my honor are sung by the festive crowd.

[822] [829] Now the image, according to their conception, is supposed to be a representation of me, /36/ the white color the sign that I am a white, while the quills, paper, and ink are the attributes of the whites' higher civilization,-the streaming water that I stem from the colonists who have come here from across the sea.

123 589 The wife of the headman referred to above came to me in the town shortly after the death of her husband and remained to choose my household as her permanent residence, to which I gladly consented. Faithful and considerate, she performs not only a great many household services, but even anticipates in this respect the wishes of my wife, and out of love for us refuses any monetary compensation.

B
Q /516 cont./
121 by the effect of medical care, we shall take 1 January 1950 as the
165 date of reference for the calculations of mortality among the Boni.

/517/

II. — Demography of the Boni

Census. — Estimation of Age.

B
125 Method used. The demographic study of the Boni presents the difficulties inherent in all populations without civil records:

1. Difficulty of determining the ages of individuals;

2. Difficulty of determining for each woman the deceased children in relation to the surviving ones.

B
125 We attempted to establish a local chronology by linking the
173 ages of individuals to events of known date that had stuck in their minds.

More particularly we fixed the ages of the old men from the voyage of the explorer Crevaux (1877) and from the death of the grand man Anato (1891), the ages of middle-aged persons from events which occurred between 1915 and 1924, death of the grand man Ochi (1915), end of World War I (1918), hydroplane accident at the mouth of the Inini (1921), installation of a rosewood factory (1925).

B
125 The persons born after 1930 were placed without difficulty, for we knew a certain number of them as children or adolescents in 1948.

Starting with a certain number of men whose age could be fixed with considerable accuracy, all the others, men and women,
B
829 were placed by comparison. In fact, if the Boni do not know their age, they are able to say that they are, for example, two or three years younger than so-and-so (6).

B
[755] 6. Their attention is brought to bear on these age differences because, if a group isolated in the bush is led to address a prayer to the ancestors for the curing of a sick person, this prayer has to be pronounced by the oldest person.

/525 cont./

III. – Demography of the Oayana Indians

B 125 162 361 The inquiry covered the five Oayana villages on the French bank, grouping together 170 persons in December 1957. We were able, moreover, to interrogate most of the women of the villages on the Surinam side, with the result that the actual dimension of the group studied comes to approximately 240 persons (12).

E 101 125 161 E 128 12. In January 1959 we studied the Oyampi and Emerillon Indians of Oyapok, about 190 in number, whose demographic characteristics are very close to those of the Oayana. The data obtained, compared to those concerning the Oayana, are indicated below.

R 621 166 Conditions of the inquiry. The Oayana villages do not have a stable population; a simple disagreement suffices to provoke the departure of a faction, which goes to join another village. R 758 [166] About half of the Oayana studied here came from the Yari (Brazil) during the years 1951 and 1952 and have benefited from medical help only since that time. We can therefore acknowledge that the total population has benefited from medical care since 1951.

R 161 Since 1952, even if the internal composition of the villages has varied, we are dealing on the whole with the same population, which may be regarded as relatively stable.

R 125 [101] [484] /526/ The inquiry, conducted at three times (December 1956, December 1957, and November 1958), allowed us to cover the whole group except for some units (absent on a journey to Brazil).

B R [648] [829] The determination of the ages has been made by comparison with the Boni. Oayana and Boni, acquainted since childhood, can say with precision which ones are close to their age.

R [175] Historic guidelines have also been used, notably from the voyage of the explorer Laveau, 1913-1915.

/19 cont./

613 621 571 The principle of localization of matrilineal kin groups, each in a separate village, continues respected. However, as in all African populations, the actual structure is noticeably different from the theoretical organization:

1st. Fragments of paternal kin groups, as well as several small groups of heterogeneous origin, insufficient in number to form a separate unit, have been agglomerated with the lo. Such is the case for example of the Toïna lineage, a small group which fled from Surinam at the end of the 19th century and agglomerated with the Papaïston lo;

[578] 2nd. Scissions have been produced within the lo as a result of disagreements. A group issuing from the Papaïston lo founded Wétiti village in the Lower Maroni beside Apatu. A group issuing from the Kotika lo founded Ma Imma village in the same region. Finally, from the Dipélu II lo a group separated which settled in Asisi. Asisi village is thus in fact nowadays the juxtaposition of three villages: Asisi-Dju, Asisi-Awara Bakka, Asisi-Dipélu II, each having its organization and its separate territory.

[829] These scissions have no appreciable repercussions on the social life of the Boni, for the groups thus separated from the lo, in addition to being very small in numbers, are not recognized by [769] the grand man as distinct social units. They remain subject to the head of the lo to which ancestor worship attaches them.

361 613 621 Besides the residence villages, a certain number of Boni have personal farming habitations distributed on the lands of their lineage along both banks of the river and on the islands. These habitations designated by the word kapu, camp, have no permanent character; their existence does not violate the principle of localization of the lineage; each Boni is obliged at least in principle to build a house in his native village and to live in it part of the year. [769] The village of origin of each /20/ lineage is called "great village": [778] it is there that the members of the group meet to pray to the ancestors in front of the fraga tiki.

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613 We have said that the recently founded lineages, being of
571 only very small size, cannot constitute a distinct social unit and are placed under the authority of one of the lo heads. That is not a condition imposed by force or any moral coercion whatever, but a practical social necessity. A lineage, reduced in numbers though it may be, keeps in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks imprescriptible collective rights; and if these members agree to group in a separate village and work separate soil, nobody will stand in their way.

128 Such are the elements which stand out after a first study of
613 the kin groups as it can be deduced from interrogating the heads
614 of these units. It leaves unresolved some important problems:
[115] The Boni have the idea that their kin groups are lineages
[829] in the real sense of the term. Nevertheless, questioning on genealogies does not permit all to /21/ go back to the founding ancestress. Three of them, the most important numerically, prove in this respect to be divided into several fractions. Can we be sure that these fractions are actually of the same origin and that the people concerned are not deceiving themselves in believing it? In the social structure of the Refugee Blacks are there no mechanisms leading toward assimilation, to fusion of groups of heterogeneous origin?

We cannot answer these questions directly. First of all it is indispensable to study the conception that the Boni have of kinship ties within the matrilineage. Then we shall examine the genealogical tables of the various lineages, and for those that the study of genealogies shows to be divided into several fractions, we shall study the interrelations of these fractions.

601 Kinship within the matrilineage: The kinship terms translate a
613 purely classificatory system. The principle of classificatory kinship

/37 cont./

583 (this was especially the case with the Afi and Toïna lineages
591 cited above), that does not entail any compensation. It is contrary to custom and disapproved of, but if the wife absolutely insists on leaving her kin she is free to do it. Nothing can be claimed from her husband's lineage.

The usual interpretation of matrimonial compensation, regarded as a mechanism for exchange of women among groups, thus does not seem valid here. If a woman leaves a Boni lineage for good to go and found a family, for example among the Djuka, her descendants are lost to the lineage without any possibility of compensation. Yet this society so deeply rooted in African soil does not make provision for any allowance or payment in such a case.

613 Things are clearer if the lineage is considered not as an
771 effective material grouping but as a spiritual community subject to the same religious law. In the thought of the Refugee Blacks,
[829] the fundamental religious tie which joins the individual to his ancestors in uterine line cannot be broken whatever anyone does.

[591] Wherever she may go, the emigrant woman remains a mem-
[784] ber of the spiritual community; she remains, she and her children, subject to the same kunu. Nor can this religious tie be transferred from the maternal kin group.

581 Understood thus, marriage breaks no spiritual tie, creates
583 none; it thus affords no reason for any compensation.

000 These considerations show that the African "dowry" as conceived by patrilineal societies is not only a mechanism for the exchange of women among materially constituted groups. It can also have as its end, without those concerned even being aware of it, to compensate the spiritual community of the lineage for the loss of the children the woman will bear, their passage to another cult.

/42 cont./

601 So-and-so, and So-and-so, can be regarded as sure. On the other
128 hand, we have considered that there was a break in the genealogy when, going back in time, we arrived at this single datum: Ma X... was the sister of Ma Y..., for it could be a question of kinship in the classificatory sense.

No form of birthright existing among the Boni, there is some uncertainty about the order of birth of brothers and sisters for persons long dead. We have adopted the order kept by oral tradition without trying to rectify it.

613 In many African populations a special tradition is connected
814 with perpetuating the memory of the founder, at least his name,
● 829 the place of his grave. With the present-day Boni absolutely nothing like this is found; they are not concerned in any way with the true foundress of their lineage; no memory, no legend, not even a name has come down to them. It even seems as though these distant ancestors interest them little because they are less able to act in behalf of their present-day descendants. Indeed, with each new generation the memory of an ancient one dies out.

173 On our first trip in 1948 we called attention, unfortunately without
[126] noting them down precisely, to /43/ very interesting oral traditions going back to the time of slavery, especially the names of the slave-owners who showed themselves to be the most cruel. In
[814] 1952 the last old man who knew them had died; the very memory of what he had said was already effaced.

829 As a matter of fact, Boni thought, strictly practical and
602 utilitarian, is concerned principally with keeping the memory of the part of the genealogy indispensable to the living to know their kinship ties. Memory of women whose posterity has died out and of men who did nothing remarkable is dead from the second generation on.

114 Since none of the travelers of the 19th century understood
613 the importance of taking genealogies, it is probable that the names

/63 cont./

571 that he can protect himself only by submitting to the law of the
626 group. In this doubtless must be seen the deep reason for the im-
156 portance attached to death and mourning, events around which is
[18] centered the activity of the usual societies and which entail a
[76] veritable mobilization.

626 It would be very difficult to condense the custom of the
771 Refugee Blacks into a rigorous code. If one wished to do it, one would have to write as Article 1: "The living will conform to the will of the gods and the ancestors as it is expressed through the mouths of those possessed and by the movements of the bearers of the dead."

613 Each one of the tribes of the Refugee Blacks is formed of a
619 certain number of matrilineages.

There is no limit on the number of these lineages, and it can be asserted that if any lineage whatever, detached from another tribe, asks to live in the midst of the Boni, it will be welcomed. From the first generation the children consider themselves as Boni.

In this regard one can cite the example of the Awara Bakka 3 lineage and that of the small lineage founded in Boniville by a Djuka woman, wife of Grand Man Ochi. All her descendants consider themselves Boni. /64/

[829] But only the great lineages which constituted the tribe at its
[643] origin are social units recognized by the grand man, and only their heads are called to be members of the council.

128 We shall study first the interior functioning of the lineage, then the institutions going beyond the framework of the lineages.

/70 cont./

643 613 In 1957 the Dikan lineage was practically extinct. There remained only Grand Man Difu and his elder brother Samalobi, very old.

[829] The present grand man does not know the genealogy of his lineage beyond his grandmother. /Fig. 14 appears here./ /71/

[648] At the death of Awensay it was Samalobi, eldest of Awensay's classificatory nephews, who was to be named; but the French administration thought they had to oppose it, judging him too old; he yielded with good grace.

613 [165] [554] Samalobi, the ancestor, the patriarch of the Boni, died in May, 1957 at over 100 years old. Although very weakened by his infirmities and nearly blind, he kept great prestige and no important decision was made without his consent.

173 The son of Apatu, companion of Crevaux, he had retained an exact memory of the explorer whom he had accompanied during part of his trip in 1877. It is thanks to his memories that Crevaux's prestige has remained so great on the Maroni.

643 692 578 The grand man judges without appeal disputes between members of different lineages. Truly serious affairs are extremely rare, if one keeps in mind that:

[613] [583] [586] --Disputes over the payment of dowry, paying it back in case of divorce, and the assignment of the children, which form the main part of the cases argued before ordinary African jurisdictions, do not exist among the Refugee Blacks;

643 613

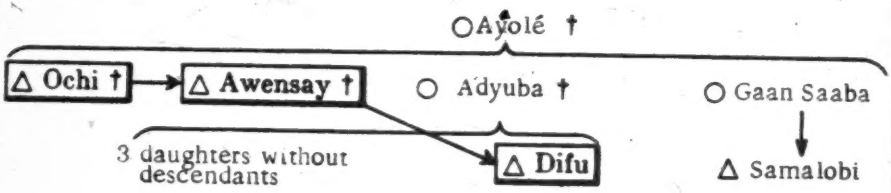

Fig. 14. Filiation of the last three grand men of the Boni.

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643 644 586 The present grand man, contrary to his predecessors, has only one wife. She is dressed like the other women and works at her clearing like everyone else, /74/ but her marriage to the grand man imposes special obligations on her: she can not divorce him; neither can he repudiate her.

643 829 The attitude of the Boni toward the grand man is a curious mixture of respect and disparagement. They regard him as the living symbol of their nation, and each one resents as if it were a personal insult an outsider having an incorrect attitude toward him. But their undisciplined spirit kicks up at the measures he is obliged to take to make them respect customary law, and even the authority of a poised and benevolent man like Grand Man Difu is not willingly accepted. As a matter of fact, the Boni stand for [754] the authority of the grand man as they adhere to the worship of [775] their gods, by the feeling of an absolute and inexorable necessity; in their minds the grand man is above all the priest of Odun; if the grand man were not there, they would be without defense against the wisiman, without recourse against the vengeance exercised by the yɔrka of the dead of other lineages.

The political power of the grand man is entirely based on these beliefs, and if they were to collapse, he would disappear [626] with them. Nobody would submit to any other law than that of the lineage, founded upon fear of the ancestors.

692 693 The lãnti kuutu. This is the assembly of the men, without distinction of age (1) or kinship; this council (lãnti = law) constitutes

> 1. There is no precise rule for fixing the age from which an adolescent may sit in this council. [561] It is apparently when he has reached full physical development and earns his living by his own efforts, about 18 to 20 years. He does not have to be married.

the legal apparatus of the Boni.

/75 cont./

571 In fact, the society of the Refugee Blacks has not elaborated
771 true political institutions; it is essentially a grouping for collective
692 defense against suprahuman perils. The council, like the grand man, has power and authority only insofar as it remains closely bound to this function.

511 Absence of subordination. Among the Refugee Blacks no privileged
[565] class exists, /76/ and they all face life on a footing of rigorous equality; all receive the same education, must cultivate the soil,
[254] build their boats and houses, and live by paid work. The differences in standard of living observed from one to another stem basically from intelligence and work; and that, in spite of the belief in the possibility of getting rich by sorcery, is clearly understood by all.

565 Although the Boni willingly engage in paid work for one
[465] another in transportation by boat, there exists no tendency toward the formation of a class of rich people and one of wage-earners.
571 No servants exist among them, and one observes in their mutual
461 relations no exploitation of the weak. Neither does one observe that
[357] a rich man tries to have done by another, for pay, the customary
[462] jobs he must carry out for the benefit of his wife (clearings, building of boats). This would be looked on with great disfavor. The grand
[643] man himself, if his grandson is not there to help him, goes himself to draw water from the river and he does it ostensibly, even though he has a constant concern for his prestige.

• 829 The misfortunes undergone by their ancestors are certainly at the base of this conception; for they have inspired in the Refugee Blacks a particular sense of human dignity which is not found to the same degree in Africa.

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/76 cont./

No form of trade (1) is traditionally observed among them,

1. Since 1954, one of them, enriched by boat transport, set up a food business at Kotika, but this is a man more than half "creolized" and one who established himself in the midst of Creoles.

this activity being for them manifestly tied to the idea of the exploitation of others; there is not even any market in the villages. Each person produces, or finds among the people of his own lineage, what food he needs; as for imported objects, the Boni buy them in the course of their trips from the coast traders. That plague of African societies, pseudo-trade or parasitism, is unknown to the Refugee Blacks. Just as one meets among them neither ragamuffins nor beggars, one perceives nothing nasty or low in their social relations.

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[735]

In their collective life there is something aboveboard, clean, which strikes one on first meeting them and which one does not tire of admiring, the further one penetrates into the functioning of their institutions.

765 /182 cont./
(which is the case here), they wait still longer in order to be able to group the lifting of mourning for several dead people from the same village in a single ceremony. The unfolding of the rites shows that much more importance is attached to Béniti than to the two young boys; in fact, the ceremony is devoted almost exclusively to her.

765 621 613 [829] The mourning-lifting ceremonies in Boniville are particularly interesting, for this village includes members of five different lineages. The distribution of functions and duties allows one to better understand the thought of the Boni relative to social organization; the principle of residence plays the determining role. The ceremony takes place in the village where the dead people lived, whatever their lineage was. The burden of organization is divided up about equally among all the inhabitants of the village. The /183/ members of the lineages of the dead people living in other villages are present at the ceremony, but their contribution is much less important.

765 [251] On November 8 (day called busimã kɔm) at noon, the festival begins with the arrival of the buchiman who, the week before, had caught and dried fish for the festival.

The buchiman are put under the authority of Tofioto (K). They are all volunteers (one who would excuse himself from rendering this service would lay himself open to being abandoned alone on the day when he would have to bear the weight of mourning for one of his near relatives). The main weight of mourning is borne by Boniville village. The people of the principal fraction of the Dju (Asisi village) furnish a rather large contribution as regards time spent fishing but symbolic as to the furnishing of tafia and imported foods.

[226] [251] [621] [613] These buchiman had been at work since October 25, catching and salting fish:

/191 cont./

771 What constitutes the religion of the Refugee Blacks is a
174 synthesis of elements originating with various peoples of West Africa, especially the Ashanti, Agni, Mina, and Fon and also Congolese elements. This synthesis seems to have been born
[619] among the Saramaka, the first tribe formed at the beginning of the 18th century, and to have been adopted thereafter with modifications of detail by the Djuka, tribe created about 1760. The Boni, the last tribe formed, probably received these beliefs during the time of slavery which they spent under the tutelage
[184] of the Djuka, from 1815 to 1860. The beliefs of the Boni and
[178] those of the Djuka have an identical base; the rites and their effects on social life are exactly the same. Nevertheless, the Djuka, almost ten times more numerous, have been able to keep very differentiated conceptions and specialized cults, involving priests in the literal sense of [illegible]m.

The Boni have kept only the ess[illegible], and many conceptions, especially the myths which serve as support for the whole tradition, are very much blurred among them.

829 The Boni like to imagine that Africans constitute only one nation, and that they have inherited in a lump the traditions and social forms of this nation. They know now (especially from having seen a good deal of the Senegalese riflemen of the 1937 French mission) that numerous tribes exist, but that has not shaken the veneration they have for Africa, source, for
178 them, of all knowledge and all strength. However, almost nothing of the culture peculiar to each one of the great tribes has reached them; no name of an African nation has remained in their memory, and /192/ none of the languages of their land of origin has been kept (1); everywhere the vehicular language

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1. One observes, however, that a certain number of disconnected details of African life have come down to them by oral tradition;

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167 754 old woman of 90, A..., who died in Asisi in January, 1957. Having lived with Creoles in her youth, she had come back to live in her native village for at least 30 years and had never given occasion for any unfavorable remark. Nevertheless, upon her death it appeared that she had wisi.

771 829 177 Attitude toward Christianity. The Refugee Blacks, who are acquainted better than one might believe with the conceptions of the populations in the midst of whom they live, have a clear feeling of the relationship which exists between their metaphysical and moral conceptions and those of Christianity. They think they worship the same god as the Christians, in a completely different way but just as sound. They have no animosity [797] whatever toward the Catholic and Protestant clergy, and most of them agree willingly to wearing crosses or medals. But they have not the least intention of abandoning their beliefs for that. They do not perceive the contradiction and do not understand that people might want to oblige them to choose.

851 171 Like the Creole gold miners, they attach great importance to baptism, considered as an obia protective against the dangers of the bush. On Christmas, 1957 they were strongly impressed 165 797 by the accidental death of a Djuka Christian living at the Kotika school. He refused to observe mourning for his wife [688] according to the custom of the Refugee Blacks, and used to go [273] to drink in the cabarets of the Creole villages. On Christmas [784] evening, when drunk, he drowned himself. That was attributed to a suprahuman punishment. We heard /199/ the following reflection on this subject: "He was baptized and he drowned himself just the same. That is therefore not worth the trouble."

61 581 571 Actually, the matrilineal structure of the Refugee Blacks and their conception of marriage form an irreducible cleavage, which appears immediately as soon as one leaves the metaphysical conceptions to pass to the plane of practical living.

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784 613 [428] The kunu and Boni family life. It follows from the detailed examination we have just made of the situation of the various lineages that the transmission of the kunu within the uterine kin group is a rigorous law which suffers no exception whatever. [571] [602] The process of assimilation which permits in a certain measure, on the social plane, the integration of fragments of paternal kin (like Awara Bakka 3) into a group does not come into play here. [611] [829] Unity with respect to the kunu can therefore be regarded as a rigorous criterion of a common matrilineal origin. The Boni feel it as an obvious fact and in such a case it is the proof that comes to their minds: "We are of the same origin since we have the same kunu."

784 613 571 182 Thus the kunu appears as the principal cement of the unity of the groups. It opposes the dissociation of the lineages; this curse which weighs collectively upon a group and which can be exorcised only collectively is an iron bond which nothing can break. It obliges the Refugee Blacks to surmount their individualistic tendencies, their egoism which, if they acted freely, would soon have scattered them into a dust of [888] separate persons. In the face of adversity each one accepts with good grace obedience to the elders, who alone know how [672] to talk to the gods and appease them. Nobody ever is indignant or even surprised to be struck down for the offense of another; there is not a movement of revolt or hostility against the one who by his inattention or inconsiderateness has brought on misfortune. On this plane the members of a lineage feel like cells of a single body.

784 613 672 The collective legal responsibility of the members of a group in the domain of customary law flows from the kunu. We have observed that several times, notably at the time of the obsequies for Kotoïda (Afi lineage) in October, 1956. The president of the lãnti kuutu condemned the members of

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787 626 182 571 But divination is more than that; the interpretation it gives of the events of daily life is the very mover of the animistic society; presenting calamities /236/ as the punishment of offenses against customary law, it is constantly vitalizing that law, conserving its practical value and its efficacity. What it expresses is not the hidden influence of chiefs or priests -- there are in fact neither chiefs nor priests among the Boni -- but the very consensus of the group, the deep feeling it has of its unity.

787 There are two large categories of divination:

The first consists of calling on a divinity through the medium of its bearer. For that, one applies to a person (of his [791] lineage if possible) who has a gadu. This is a service which is rarely refused. This person employs the appropriate procedure for calling his gita and enters into trances. The god speaks, the question is put to it; if it is well disposed, it may give the explanation or the advice requested. For example, one asks for advice before looking for another sector to make his clearings.

787 776 Suggestible as the Boni may be, they do not fail to perceive that all the gods interrogated do not give the same directions. So they think that certain ones are stronger than others; there are people whose gita is considered to be particularly [791] good, others whom they have stopped consulting entirely. The defunct head of Kotika village, Bayo, used to have a gita so remarkable that people would come from very far to consult it.

[829] [178] The general opinion is, furthermore, that nowadays everything is degenerating and that good gita are no longer seen as in the olden days.

787 [791] These consultations involve only a very modest remuneration, a bottle of tafia at most (1). If it is not a matter of a

1. The remuneration of the possessed person is in question; the god always demands a payment for itself, of variable size according to its whim.

/239 cont./

754 [774] [829] On this point it is taken for granted that Indian magic is much more powerful than African magic, and that any Indian is capable of attracting his enemy's akka.

--Transforming himself into a vampire (azemã) and flying at night in search of sleeping men in order to suck their blood and eat them in spirit; this conception, closely related to the one which the West Indians have of the soucougnan, comes from Dahomey (in Fon, aze = sorcery). It is said, as in Dahomey, that the azemã flies by emitting fire through the anus.

--Seni ɔgi sani: this is what the Creoles call "sending bad baggage." This is acting upon a living being or an inanimate object to make it behave in abnormal fashion at the expense of the enemy. For example, if someone is bitten by a snake or if a child is carried off by a tiger, the action of a wisimã will be blamed first, for normally snake and tiger do not attack. But there is no material limit to the action of the wisimã, who can make a branch fall on his enemy's head or make a cartridge of dynamite burst prematurely.

[825] The idea that the sorcerer may transform himself into a jaguar, dog, or other animal is not assumed by the Refugee Blacks. Neither do they have the idea of brotherhoods of sorcerers.

754 695 How does society defend itself against the wisimã? There is first of all the test oath. At regular intervals, every two or three years for example, the grand man gathers together all the Boni to the last man before Odun's chapel, and makes each one drink a little of a magic liquid while inviting him to utter the formula: ɛfu mi e meki wisi fu dede a sama, mi mu dede: If I do sorcery to make someone die, I must die. This is what is called diŋgi sweri, to drink the test. Actually, it is a harmless liquid, but each one is convinced that a wisimã would not be able to drink it without dying from it. If someone stubbornly refuses to present himself at the ceremony, he is not obliged to, but he has denounced himself: suspicions will be directed on him henceforward.

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461 On the material plane the same conception explains
829 the high importance attached to fair payment for work done,
431 the holy fury which takes possession of Refugee Blacks who consider themselves wronged; it also explains why they can interpret a free gift only as a mark of weakness except in exceptional cases (present given by a high official on the occasion
431 of a visit). A gift which does not have the character of an ex-
829 change has no spiritual value for them; it brings only scorn and near hostility, for they feel that the object has not been legitimately acquired and that they are not in tune with their moral law.

Local Divinities

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823 The Refugee Blacks assume the existence of local divinities exercising a de facto power on such-and-such a portion of the country. Since their very special mode of life leads them to circulate almost exclusively along rivers, with them this idea has been transposed into a double notion: the divinities of the rivers and the gods of the soil. In their minds those are two entirely separate conceptions: the power of the god of the soil stops at the edge of the water and conversely.

De facto worship is rendered the divinities of the river according to the rites set by the first users of the river. In practice, worship is rendered only to the divinities of dangerous rivers where accidents are frequent. People do not bother with the others.

These gods are designated indiscriminately by the words gadu and sani (thing, being), indicating that their nature is not known.

/265 cont./

796 "Great ancestors who are in God's country, it is you who
769 have the strength of the village."
539 (The tafia gushes forth.)

"Drink, drink, but do not get drunk to the point of being deluded, look with favor upon the righteous, scatter the wicked."

796 Next, Fintiman goes off to make an offering of tafia
782 accompanied by a few words at the chapel of Odun. Then he goes to the edge of the mortuary shed to pour water, tafia, and coffee on behalf of Samalobi, the grand man's brother, for whom mourning has not been lifted.

He goes next to the house of the deceased grand man Awensay to make an offering of coffee (Awensay, like the other grand men, used to drink coffee).

796 The prayer of the preceding year (January 1, 1957),
782 presided over by grandfather Samalobi, had had a higher
829 inspiration. After praying in about the same terms as above for the Boni, they prayed for the Djuka, explaining that in days gone by Boni and Djuka had fought, but that all that was forgotten. They prayed next for the Saramaka, then for the Indians, finally for the Europeans. I asked why; they answered: "It is because the Europeans were the ones who brought us to this country which has become ours." /p. 266 is blank/

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CHAPTER VIII

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TALES -- PROVERBS

Tales (Anãsi tɔli) and Proverbs (ɔdo) retain an important social function among the Refugee Blacks. It is always by tales that the great customary ceremonies of the lifting of mourning begin. Their function is to concentrate the attention of the

*539 /282 cont./

He hunted (to feed the snake), caught small fish for it. One day the snake (which had grown) said to him: "Pikinbaya, I don't want to stay any longer in this brook. Take me to a big river." The snake went down the brook, Pikinbaya walking along the bank. They went down until... they came to a big creek. The snake stayed there. The boy went away but came back (regularly) to see the snake. He used to hunt for it and bring it meat. The snake grew bigger! It became adult. One day when he had come to see it, it told him: "Pikinbaya! I want to go to the river, I want to feed on fish like other snakes." It went downstream, Pikinbaya walked along the bank until... they had arrived at the river. The snake said: "Well, Pikinbaya, I am going away."

(A confused and boring passage follows. It takes Pikinbaya along to the village of the snakes and gives him a talisman enclosed in a pot, which will guarantee him luck and prosperity.)

....Pikinbaya stayed there until... he understood that it would come back no more. He set out on the path, walked, walked until he came to his village. His family was poverty-stricken. They did not even have any more salt to eat. The boy arrived. He hung the pot on a cashew apple tree /pommier cajou/.

(Immediately Pikinbaya's village became prosperous.)

Comrades! Even Paris was not so rich as it. Big ships came alongside Pikinbaya's village.

Now this country was governed by a king who was very rich; he said to himself: "That astounds me, Pikinbaya is richer than I. All my workmen leave me to go to him. He pays up to ten florins a day(1). I am going to send my eldest daughter to

[829]

1. The Refugee Blacks cannot imagine a king otherwise than as a boss paying his workmen.

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426 here, 5,000 there. But these loans are never large and do not constitute an effective process for grouping financial assets.

159 525 The so-called subscription societies so common in Black Africa are totally contrary to the thinking of the Refugee Blacks, in the same way as games of chance. In 1958 the Maripasoula post, on the occasion of a festival, had organized a tombola. When the principle of it was explained to the Boni, they were unanimous in thinking that the Europeans had odd amusements. Few of them agreed to buy tickets, and the ones who had not won anything left embittered, with the feeling of having been involved in an immoral operation.

159 571 High esteem attached to contracts. This inaptitude for forming groups and combining assets contributes very much toward crystallizing the society of the Refugee Blacks in its present form by opposing all large-scale initiative. On the other hand, 159 597 it develops the sense of personal responsibility. The Refugee 426 Blacks are especially strict with respect to money (1).

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1. This with regard to their mutual relations; as for debts to Europeans, they are not prompt in paying them back; but marked deception, borrowing done for the purpose of swindling, are very rare with the Refugee Blacks.

[829] Custom lays down as a strict principle that everything must be paid for. No one may live at the expense of someone [613] else, no one may borrow without paying back. If a man died before repaying a debt, the members of his lineage would club together to pay it off.

/291 cont./

159 Wishing to take advantage of all the possibilities which
464 turn up, the Refugee Blacks are led to learn simultaneously the
463 traditional techniques of their group, boating, boat-building, felling of trees, squaring of wood, and /building/ framework. In these techniques they may be considered specialized workers.

157 Proud of their strength and knowledge, sure of themselves,
812 the Refugee Blacks are never worried about the future and consider life as an exciting adventure, ceaselessly bringing new things. If the past year has been bad, the new year will be better, with God's help. Nobody doubts that he will find gainful work again.

152 Influence of jealousy: absence of specialized professions and
182 trade. Another strong psychological tendency having a direct influence on the economy is jealousy.

152 The effect of jealousy, and the fear of jealousy, is to
828 limit enrichment and to maintain a de facto equality: it often
556 happens that talented people forego undertaking profitable work
753 in order not to give occasion for the jealousy which would render
799 their position in the village difficult and might draw misfortunes upon them; for people have the idea that jealousy draws down illnesses and calamities upon him who is the object of it and on his near relatives, by the action of a natural force, even without sorcery being formulated.

754 Fear of sorcery interferes in the same way; one who be-
556 comes unusually rich is almost inevitably accused of being a
441 sorcerer and may be obliged to leave the country. Particularly
829 vulnerable are those, very rare, who engage in trade. People do not suspect of sorcery a man who is seen to become rich by /292/ working ceaselessly. But the trader whose wealth increases without his furnishing obvious work, is quickly regarded as a "committed one," accused of having his good luck as a result of a pact with the devil.

/292 cont./

754 556 441 438 366 In that can doubtless be seen the most likely explanation of the absence, in the tribes of Refugee Blacks, of any internal trade. There are not even markets in the villages. In practice only Creole and Asian traders are patronized.

463 829 [438] The repugnance which the Refugee Blacks have for trading with one another contributes toward preventing the development of specialized professions among them. Specialization does actually exist: one man is particularly good at building boats, another is a competent carpenter, still another devotes himself mainly to fishing; but the Refugee Blacks exercise these specialties with respect to other peoples and not with respect to one another. Nobody fails to build his own boat, his house, to cut his clearings himself. If it were otherwise, classes and castes would rapidly be created, and that is precisely what the moral law of the Refugee Blacks condemns. A special effect of this conception is to preserve family custom from deteriorating, by preventing the rich from becoming great polygamists maintaining idle mistresses. We have never heard it said that a richer man paid someone to perform for him the customary work he owes to his wives, clearings, house, boat. Whatever his wealth may be, he continues to do these jobs by the sweat of his brow, and that contributes toward maintaining in its meaning and value the tacit contract concluded between husband and wife.

463 829 593 182 461

182 157 433 648 Thus the geographic conditions, associated with influences of a social and psychological order, impose on the Refugee Blacks a unique economy, based on a symbiosis with the coast populations in the form of piece-work or temporary wage-earning.

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Relations with the Other Populations

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The tribes of Refugee Blacks do not constitute a closed world. They have lived since their formation in close symbiosis with the neighboring populations: autochthonous Indians, Europeans, and Creoles. Their traditions and their conception of life have been strongly influenced by these, not because they have lost anything of their interior unity, but because they have accepted, at least collectively, the idea that they have bonds and duties toward other men.

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648 829

Just as their economy on the material plane is based on exchange, so they consider the symbiosis of their group with the neighboring groups as the normal order of the universe. The misfortunes undergone by their ancestors have given them an extreme horror of violence; they consider peace a precious blessing common to all nations, and their moral principles which forbid harming anyone extend to all men. It is clear that these notions are less clearly understood on the individual level and that there are, as elsewhere, some thefts and abuses of trust. But, on /293/ the collective level, the relations between the Refugee Blacks and their neighbors are established on a base of trust, loyalty, and honesty not found to the same degree in Africa.

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619 [643]

Relations with the other tribes. The Boni do not have any well-defined political ties with the other tribes of Refugee Blacks, but the grand men have semiofficial relations through the medium of messengers, and consult one another rather frequently.

[578]

The Boni have harbored a tenacious resentment against the Djuka for having in former times allied themselves with the Dutch against them, but this resentment, chiefly collective in nature, has died down with time; it does not prevent individual relations from being cordial.

/293 cont./

619 829 The Saramaka are very highly esteemed everywhere, for it is unanimously assumed that their magic is stronger, their techniques more perfected, than those of the other tribes.

175 648 Relations with the Indians. The relations between the Boni and the Oayana Indians are extremely curious and interesting. They were probably established from the end of the 18th century on. Several writers have stated that Boni and Indians fought each other for a long time; the examination we make of authentic archive documents, unfortunately few in number, capable of throwing light on the history of the Maroni, does not confirm this hypothesis (1). One can think on the contrary that symbiotic

175 726

1. The only combats pointed out took place about 1840 between the Boni and the Wayakulé "Oyaricoulets" Indians, a very primitive tribe who lived on the Oulémari and was itself at war with the Oayana.

175 648 727

The Boni were certainly already allied with the Oayana at the time of the battles on the Maroni in 1793, since after their defeat the survivors, grouped around Agosu son of Boni, took refuge on the Maruini River which they went up as far as the region of its sources, where nobody could catch up with them. Now it was precisely there that the Oayana Indians were living at the end of the 18th century. They would not have tried this maneuver if they had not had the certainty of finding refuge

/293 cont./

175 648 727 with their allies. The sites of their villages, marked on Coudreau's map (1888) are in immediate proximity to those of former Oayana villages.

175 648 [643] relations must have been created rapidly and in a very natural fashion. The grand man of the Boni is in a way the suzerain of the Indian chiefs; this situation was not imposed by force; it results from the privileged situation of the Boni on the river, which until recent times obliged the Indians to deal through them in order to trade with the outside world.

Although the Boni took advantage of this situation in days gone by to impose arbitrary rates of exchange upon the Indians, this relation must not be imagined as the exploitation of conquered by conqueror. It is based on the absolute respect of each 648 829 group for the beliefs and social structure of the other, and an activity for each befitting its inclination. The proverb says: [439] "To the Boni the river, to the Indians the forest." Thus it is that the Boni traditionally buy arrows from the Indians, while the latter buy paddles from them; the meaning of this symobl is perfectly understood by both.

648 582 Marriages between the two groups, without being forbidden, are regarded as contrary to custom (2).

159 156 643 648 582 2. The marriage of Grand Man Awemay to an Indian woman about 1915 was inspired by complex motives. Toward the end of his life, Awemay could no longer stand the Boni, his imperious personality putting up badly with their individualism and their taste for discussion. He had established the Indian country a farming habitation in which he lived nearly all

/294 cont. /

618 It seems that in these relations, both bring more patience and tolerance to bear than toward the people of their own group. It is excessively rare to see disputes arise between Indians and Boni, when there sometimes are some within each group.

186 The feelings which the Boni have toward the Indians are complex: they feel superior in physical strength, effectiveness, and organization; they make fun of the Indians' puerile eagerness for beads and jewelry, of the begging attitude of certain
829 ones among them. But they admire them for their cleverness, their intimate knowledge of the forest, and fear them for the supernatural powers they attribute to them. Sure of themselves, fearing nothing from the bush, never getting lost, unrivalled hunters and fishermen, the Indians appear to them to be endowed with unique faculties which other men do not possess. We have happened to hear in camp reflections such as this: "It is going to rain, the Indians are making shacks."

829 The Boni feel an intense fear of Indian magic. Not one
152 of them would dare to seriously displease an Indian, and even if he feels he has been wronged, in most cases he will not dare complain (1).

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829

1. In the search for the magic causes of death, it happens that divination may incriminate the action of an Indian medicine man. In such a case the legal action of the Boni is extinguished, for the principle is that the Indian medicine man does not hurt anyone without a reason. It is considered that the deceased must have gravely injured him and that he deserved his fate.

/294 cont./

648 A picturesque incident once more showed us this attitude in the course /295/ of a circuit on the Litani in 1952. When [262] we passed through AloÏké village, our four Boni boatmen, who had killed some coumarou, had prepared a very appetizing dish for themselves; they had scarcely begun to eat when several Indians arrived unexpectedly who joined in the conversation, sat down beside them, then began to dip their spoons into the pot. Other Indians came and, continuing to talk things over deliberately and without hurrying, came and took their share of the feast. The Boni were progressively pushed back to the [152] second row and finally gave up. Three of them laughed about [829] this incident which was familiar to them; the fourth was furious but he did not dare say anything, for, said he to us, if he struck the Indians as he wanted to, he risked being bewitched.

648 643 In truth, what is the nature of the authority that the grand man of the Boni is supposed to exercise over the Indians? Does it involve precise obligations, a tribute, vexatious measures? Not in the least: it is reduced nowadays to two things:

--The principle of the obedience of the Indian village heads to the person of the grand man;

--The interdiction of transport by boat in the Boni fashion.

One can only approve of this interdiction which protects the Indians more than it harms them. As for the personal influence of Grand Man Difu, it is extremely favorable; he has a profound knowledge of the language and customs of the Indians, toward whom he has always exhibited an interest and sympathy which are certainly sincere. When, during the ceremonies at the fraga tiki, he appeals to the ancestors to ask them to watch over the Boni, he does not fail to add: gaã yɔɔka, de mu luku de Ïïgi: Ancestors, watch over the Indians.

648 It is also said of the Boni that they are interested in the Indians only in order to traffic with them. Even if that were true -- we have shown how inexact this assertion was -- we should hold all the same that it is much less dangerous for the

/295 cont./

648 Indians to trade with them than with the Europeans and Creoles; the Boni are a graded society in which things tend to take place according to well-defined norms. It suffices to compare the Oayana Indians, who have kept the essentials of their civilization, with the Indians of the Oyapok to be convinced that the Boni have protected the former much more than they have oppressed them.

[464] Relations with the Creoles. The Boni are in constant contact with Creole gold miners and traders, for the benefit of whom they carry out many kinds of work (boating, tree-felling, con-
[191] [829] struction). Most of them speak the Creole dialect very well and are well informed on the Creole type of life.

On the whole, relations between the two groups are good.
[829] On the Upper Maroni, it is mainly a matter of Creoles of African blood, who have come from the British West Indies, whom the Boni do not consider to be extremely different from themselves. Many have been settled there for a very long time, and individual friendships have become established; yet the two groups have not the least tendency to merge.

/296/ The Creoles have only scorn for the civilization of the Refugee Blacks, which reminds them of a detested African past. They have a feeling of superiority and do not cease exhorting the Boni to adopt their clothing and way of life.

829 The feelings that the Boni have toward the Creoles are complex; they clearly perceive that the activity of the gold miners is artificial and that isolated people are incapable of living by their own efforts in the midst of this pitiless forest. When they have become old and sick, the gold miners experience the worst distress and literally die of hunger until they are
888 evacuated to the hospice of Saint Laurent. Among the Refugee Blacks, old men are assured of a decent life in the midst of the members of their lineage, who surround them with affectionate respect.

/296 cont./

888 This is a point of view which has great importance in the
829 eyes of the Boni, for whom finishing one's days at the hospice or being reduced to asking for the help of outsiders constitutes the worst downfall.

829 They fear, moreover, as we have shown, Creole magic which they liken to a form of wisi.

On the other hand, they are impressed by the attainments of the Creoles, the real spirit of initiative and the strong personality of some of them; moreover, the Boni who have been to Cayenne have noticed the solicitude of the administration
829 with respect to the population of the communes. For all these
177 reasons there exists among the Boni a certain body of opinion
178 in favor of creolization. But the very unique type of life of the
[114] Boni and their desire to keep their special customs attach them to their ancestral form of life; about 1890 the explorer Coudreau, observing the same facts, was predicting imminent creolization of the Boni. In fact, this did not happen, and it is unlikely to.

648 Traditional relations with Europeans. The Refugee Blacks con-
464 stitute an important element in the economic life of the Guianas; on behalf of the administration and European enterprises they perform many jobs (boating, wood-floating, tree-felling).
648 They are not well adapted to other kinds of work, but in these
461 activities which fit with their traditional mode of life they are
[465] equal if not superior to any labor. Very highly paid, they work with speed, effectiveness, and intelligence, exhibiting an initiative and sense of duty not commonly found in Africans(1).

[177]

1. It is to be noted that if they stop leading their traditional kind of life, for example if they settle permanently near European establishments, they rapidly lose these qualities.

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648 So relations between the Europeans and Refugee Blacks have nothing in common with what one observes in Africa: one notes their faults without indulgence, but one admires them for their strong personality, their art, and their techniques, and one bears an esteem for them which is not feigned.

• 829 The Refugee Blacks feel neither hate nor jealousy toward Europeans. This /297/ may surprise one at first, for they have had to put up with cruel wars fought against them, which have left a precise memory with them; but the explanation is simple: the Boni have no hate because their life is happy, and they have no jealousy because they do not try to imitate the Europeans and are satisfied with their own civilization.

173 186 On this subject it will be noted that the Refugee Blacks recall the time of slavery without shame and without any inferiority complex; this is simply because they do not have the feeling of being the descendants of slaves; they feel themselves to be the descendants of warriors who imposed their independence by force of arms; the Djuka, exaggerating to themselves the scope of the successes won by their ancestors, even have a certain superiority complex. Proud of their ancestors, the Refugee Blacks do not feel in any way inferior to the white man and behave toward him as equal to equal.

648 [184] The Boni, like the Djuka and the Saramaka in Surinam, live under a de facto regime which is equivalent to internal autonomy. This regime was instituted for the Boni from their first contact with the French administration in 1861; it has always been associated with perfect loyalty.

The French administration, which until recent times did not have any permanent establishments in the interior of the country, has never tried to interfere with the interior functioning of the tribes which went on and still goes on according to their own law. The Refugee Blacks have thus been spared that hybrid jurisdiction, applying a customary law altered by European ideas,

/297 cont./

648 which in Black Africa has so powerfully contributed toward the destruction of traditional structures.

[829] Truth to tell, the problem was simpler, for the conceptions of the Refugee Blacks, involving no form of oppression of individuals and assuming the right of the woman to self-determination, reduce to the vanishing point the sources of disputes between individuals and groups.

[162] In 1946 the administrative post of Maripasoula was created, near the confluence of the Lawa and the Inini. Since that time, the gendarmerie has administered to the satisfaction of all and without any incident a heterogeneous population of 2,000 persons, gold miners, Refugee Blacks, and Indians, scattered over [743] a vast territory. The medical post created at Maripasoula in 1949 is very much frequented by the Boni and performs an extremely useful function on the psychological as well as on the social level.

The relations of the various groups give rise to very small frictions, one with another, but the Refugee Blacks never give occasion for intervention in the internal affairs of their groups. [505] Respectful of the administration, they carry out punctually their commitments to their employers, insuring all the transport on the river according to a modus vivendi established for a long time (1).

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On this subject it is to be noted that disagreeable incidents occur each time the Boni deal with inexperienced travelers who do not know the customs of the river or do not wish to apply them. In a general way the Refugee Blacks, of their own accord respectful of anyone who comes to do a useful job, loathe tourists; they cannot stand being photographed or observed like queer animals.

/298/

648 Never do they appeal to the courts to settle their differences, still less their family quarrels; never do they beg for help.

●829 The Europeans' material superiority does not impress them: the whites are more able in mechanics, but they are more able in magic, that is all. The efficacy of European medicine does [758] not shake their convictions: if someone has reasons to believe himself victim of the anger of a gadu, he begins by making the sacrifices intended to appease it, then asks it for authorization to have himself cared for by the whites. Personally we have [123] never done anything to disabuse the Boni of this idea which [753] satisfies at the same time the requirements of medicine and those of social discipline, for it must not be forgotten that for them 177 sickness is punishment for an offense. Thus one sees that unless it is deliberately brought to bear against tradition and against the leaders, the influence of Europeans is without appreciable effect on the civilization of the Refugee Blacks. It is no longer the same when contacts become too frequent, tend to alter drastically the way of life, and especially when these influences become openly "civilizing."

178 The Future of the Refugee Blacks

Obliged to solve all the problems of life by their own means, the Refugee Blacks have been able to adapt with intelligence to the evolution of the modern world, and their custom 648 has kept all its vigor and effectiveness. Their future would not seem to be threatened if a wave of opinion had not come to the surface these past years, in French Guiana as well as in Surinam, to destroy their civilization, deemed primitive and barbarous, and to fuse them into the population of the coast. This result would be obtained in particular by schooling and evangelization.

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114 Here desirous of remaining on the plane of strict scientific objectivity, we shall avoid entering the discussion of the benefit springing from this action, which, moreover, would necessitate a long development. We shall limit ourselves to showing that it appears to us to be doomed to failure.

871 --The experiment of schooling has been made for more
177 than 30 years among the Boni in the village of Kotika. Half a dozen children, doing well in their studies, left for Surinam and broke with their native group. In the others, the teaching received left only faint traces. As a matter of fact, there is no room in a normal intelligence to receive at the same time the mass of technical knowledge necessary for holding one's own in the society of the Refugee Blacks and ordinary school in-
[829] struction. One necessarily drives out the other; now the Boni are extremely fond of their free life on the great river, which assures them very satisfactory material conditions of living.

797 --Evangelization has been carried on with perseverance
177 for more than 200 years with the Refugee Blacks of Surinam. It has not given appreciable results. It has been the same in
184 French Guiana with the action carried on with the Saramaka working /299/ near the communes of the coast (1), and more

[648] 1. The Saramaka not only have no tendency to be converted, but they exert a significant influence on the population of the communes. On
[756] the Oyapok the Saramaka healer
[787] has numerous clients, and in spite of the clergy's interdiction, many women go to the possession dances of the Papa gudu serpent gods.

recently with the Boni of the Upper Maroni.

/299 cont./

771 The Boni, as we have shown, do not feel that they are pagans. They think they worship the same god as the Christians, in a different way but just as valid; they feel that their moral principles are not inferior to those of the Christians, that they are expressed in practice by the same prescriptions and are in fact better obeyed(2).

[828]

2. We report here faithfully the point of view of those concerned without making any judgment of its worth; let us recall that their principles of living do not assume any moral conscience in the individual and rest entirely upon the fear of material punishments in the present life. But even this base gives them great practical effectiveness.

• 829 Only in their conception of their kinship and the family, in the absence of family life based on the indissolubly united couple, do they recognize that they live under another law. But they do not fail to notice that the populations of the Guianas who profess Christianity hardly put it into practice in their family life: the stability of marriages is appreciably greater among the Refugee Blacks.

787 776 828 As for the cults of possession, the Boni feel that they worship de facto entities whose existence appears as tangible to them as light or weight to us. These ideas are bound up with a characteristic way of perceiving, touching deep zones of the mind which reasoning does not reach (3).

171 177 787

3. Actually, it is observed in Black Africa that where cults

Ah, but they knew each other. 484

Bayo began paddling faster to keep up with him.

"There is to be a council meeting at Gankwe. I had to 623 hurry away last night, and I must get back there in time. 775 We must have permission from the spirit of the dead man to go back to work, and Sedefo has to find out if he can start up the river, and if he does go, we must all pray to the ancestors because four men will be going from Gankwe, and [782] the *Gran Sembe*—the village elders—have things to decide . . . "

Now, fearing that he might have said too much, he doubled his speed, and Bayo understood that the other preferred to be alone. They belonged to different clans, Bayo to the same as the headman of the tribe, and the Gankwe people to another. Gankwe was sending important men to take the Bakra up the river. The chief's own brother, Asikanu, was to go, although it was said he was [684] being sent out of the way while his adultery case was being settled. There had been talk about this case up and down the river. The Gankwe clan head had given a chief's [778] sanctuary to the offender because he was his own brother, people said. Well, if the injured husband committed suicide as he threatened, and sent a kunu to the family of the brother, and even the village and clan, it would be an ugly thing. But so it was with trouble about women. It was as they said,

> "*Sleep is death* [538]
> *Woman kills man.*"

He half chanted the proverb and smiled, for he looked 831 forward to his trip up the river with an eye to a visit in Lamé, where the women knew how to love. And he began singing the seketi song which he liked so well. Both the melody and the words were old, but he sang the refrain as if it were quite his own—whatever hardships there were on the river, at Lamé one slept with the women!

At the village of Akunkun an old man and a boy of 484 about nine were at the landing place ready to start. Bayo

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

him. He has taken boats up and down the Marowyne. He is my grandson. If I had one of my own blood, I would have had him accompany you. . . . But my sisters' children sleep," he ended, using the euphemism for death. 603 888

When we came to know the young man, we asked him about this incident with the Granman. Was he not afraid to interrupt him?

"Ma kye! But he is my grandfather! With my grandfather I make sport."

Again we went to the old men and sought in village after village for their own explanation of this behavior toward grandparents.

There were, we learned, age distinctions that were deeply felt. A man was on easy terms with those of his own generation. Between parents and children, and those of the generation of their parents, however, there was a definite code of behavior. For example, no young man or woman might talk of sexual matters with either parent, and this lack of sanction for frankness in sexual discussions with parents became an actual taboo with parents-in-law. Encounters with the "pai" and "mai," as they were known, were hemmed in by countless prohibitions. A man might not sleep in the same house with either of them, nor might he eat with them out of the same dish. If he met either of his parents-in-law as he went along the path, he had to turn aside, make way for them, and cover his face. He might not pronounce their names, nor might they speak his. These observances held for women, too, and the ones we mention were by no means all. 561 576 606 [593] [831]

With grandparents, however, a vastly different situation obtained. 603

"He is my grandson. I call him mati—friend. I make sport with him!"

"She is my granddaughter. She calls me husband. She makes free with me!"

"She is my granddaughter, we talk about everything. She calls me kambo, and I call her kambo." Again, we

194 the Granman punctuated the pauses of the men, though not often their meaning.

623 But whatever the reports of the women, and the commands given by the Granman, the word for white man interspersed all of the morning's recitals, and the questions of the Granman and the answers often came fast.

Of the men, the Granman asked little. They came up in pairs usually, and now one, now the other took up the report. Clan names were spoken, and occasionally a village name was mentioned, but on the morning preceding the council of the chiefs, only one village was discussed, and one clan. The name of the village was the forbidden one where we had stopped for the night against the Granman's orders, and the clan was that of one group of our paddlers.

2

574 Early on the morning after our arrival at Asindopo Lantiwe, our paddlers came to see us in the council house. The Granman was busy outside his own house with the chiefs who had gathered for the council meeting, and these men who, like ourselves, were strangers here, came as comrades of an adventurous journey to visit with us and talk over the impressiveness of our reception and the allure of the women of the Granman's village, who were famous everywhere on the river. It was a village where chastity [831] among the girls was closely watched, and where its women [582] were given in marriage to the most influential men on the river.

302 291 The men were gotten up splendidly. Their bodies glistened with oil, their cloths were made of the long strips, pieced together by their women, and of patterns which the sun's rays had had no chance to pale. Sedefo's was particularly fine, we thought, but he assured us that it did not compare with the one the river had claimed. His cloth was also made of strips, but the stitching which connected them was a lacy weave, worked in triangles, and made to resemble the vertebrae of a snake. The border was of triangular

REBEL DESTINY

4

532 The cult of fertility came to the Suriname bush from
831 Africa. Deepseated today in this civilization, it is not strange that it should be invoked again and again in the carvings, that men and women in sexual congress, and animals in the act of reproduction should dominate the art motifs, and in particular those carvings which men make for their women.

532 The symbolism is known to all on the river though, as we have indicated, a gifted artist might play with his medium, and even give his own name to what he had designed. Evidences of nontraditional playing with technique were, to be sure, not met with often, but one or two instances stand out. One that was especially striking was a hinged folding stool, fashioned after a bench seen in the
[352] city, and decorated in traditional fashion, where the prob-
199 lem of decorating unfamiliar surfaces was met.

Bayo could take up many of our photographs of pieces,
532 acquired during our first visit and brought here into the
123 bush to show the natives how their pieces were exhibited,
177 and describe the symbols to us which made up the carvings. There was one which interested him especially. He used to sit with the photograph in his hand, running his fingers over the glossy surface, as though he felt if he continued doing it long he would actually feel the texture of the wood which was so clearly imaged.

532 "Everything shows. Here's a crack, see?" Then his hands touched one motif after another. "This and this are women, and these are men. A man and woman to one side, and a man and woman facing them. It's like having the tray here, white man." The small designs close to the rim of the tray, facing each other, were the children to be
[845] born of these unions. "This is a boy, and this a girl. That is for both women to make twins."

We were looking over his shoulder as he explained the symbols, but still could not distinguish in the symbols to the side which represented the male child and which the female.

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[539]

REBEL DESTINY

"You have come to go, come to go far, come to go far to bring the wood to the water. But it is long, it is far, to the river. Thank you, friends."

Then the song was taken up by the workers and, with each rhythmic measure, the great piece of lumber went farther through the jungle on its way to the river. When he had chanted for us the greeting to the men, Bayo began to sing a song relating to men's casual exploits with women and, as he finished the song, he laughed. "White [831] man, if you came with us, you would hear what songs the men make up about women!"

3

126 The phonograph had delighted Bayo from the first. When Apanto had summoned the spirit of his obia to fight the machine, Bayo had watched. When the white man's glue had repaired the broken belt, and the hot sun had made the machine "walk" once more, Bayo had approved.

"The machine is not weak," he had said. "I will sing for it."

And sing for it he did.

But the curse of Apanto still troubled the machine, for up the river and down there had been difficulty with it. Often when there was a particularly good song to be recorded, the belt would give, the machine would fail the white man. The story of the prowess of Apanto had gone up the river with the Gankwe paddlers, and when the machine stopped, heads nodded, and we would catch the word "obia" among the murmurs of the bystanders.

126 Bayo thought, it seemed, that the machine's proud
123 spirit was by this time properly chastened and, since twice
782 the machine had refused to work while he was singing into
796 it, twice had made him stop the song and its drum accompaniment, he decided to take matters into his own hands.

"White man," said Bayo, shortly after our return from up the river, "I will help the spirit of the machine. I will

REBEL DESTINY

115 Bayo knew the bush as he knew the river. At one point
584 he stopped and, clipping off a long, slender branch with his bush knife, he trimmed it and began to strike at a palm
[249] tree. He was after maripa nuts, and soon they began to pelt the ground. Their pink, slightly astringent meat was highly prized by the Bush Negroes as a delicacy, and the white man also found them good. Both munched them as they walked farther into the bush. It was a good time to speak of Bayo's marriage.

"Your mother said you needed to work hard before marrying."

"Ai."

"Is it money you need?"

"Much money, and goods besides."

"What will your girl do with all this money, and all of these goods?"

"They are not all for her. She would have me without them. It is her mother who must get things, too."

That Bayo was attractive to women, we had often seen, but that his betrothed would have him without the wealth demanded for her by right of whatever position her family held, seemed doubtful. However, this was not the time to argue the point.

"Your girl is still young. Do girls her age know enough to choose a man?"

The question brought us to the story of how Bayo became betrothed.

His girl, he told us, was of good family. She had lived in his village, because her mother at marriage had come to live with her husband at Djamungo, but a few years after Bayo had become betrothed to the girl, his mother's sister took her away to the family seat up the river.

"Do you care for your girl, Bayo?"

"*M'an sabi, Bak'a*—I do not know. We shall see how we
[831] get on. But her family is good, and they are looking after her chastity, as families who have position do."

"What if you don't get on after you are married?"

586 "We will separate. She will go back to her own family. Sometimes, if a man doesn't like a woman too much, and

was called, and the couple were left alone, while outside the villagers danced and sang of fertility all night. 585

In the morning the man's brothers come to the house to find out if she had ever before been to the hammock with another man. 831 585 696

"What happens if they find that she has?"

Bayo's reply was prompt. "Usually nothing. The man doesn't give her as many presents as he would have given her. If he had promised her thirty pangi, he would only give her fourteen. If he liked her, he wouldn't turn her away."

"What would happen to her, though? Would they punish her?"

"They say Bak'a, sometimes a man likes her better for it. It shows him other men had cared for her. But her family scolds her, and sometimes punishes her, too, and the women of the village talk plenty. They pull their lip at her the next morning, and later, whenever there is a quarrel, they talk about it again."

But if the girl were found to have been a virgin, then all the people danced, and there was a great feast, with dances to all the gods.

"You must come back for my wedding, Bak'a, you and your woman. Then you will see dancing!" 585

"But your girl is still a child, Bayo."

"Ah, no. She is getting her cuts on her thighs. She wears a cloth." He knew, because on his way down from the Granman he had stopped at her village and when the family was not about he had made sure. "If you come next year, we will both be ready." 881

The two men still followed the bush trail when Bayo had finished his account of how the marriage was conducted. Now and then Tross would appear, wag his tail, and be off into the underbrush again. 000

"Tell me, Bayo," the white man began, "do many girls go with a man to the hammock before they are married?" 836

He waited for a moment before he answered. Smiling, he ran his hand over his newly braided head with the innumerable little braids between the lines of white.

"About half of them, I guess," he said.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
— SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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322 ing illustrated in this book, the most casual observer will discern a great beauty of form and design. The sense of line, the feeling for balance, combined with elaborate conception and execution, compare well with the productions of the highly sophisticated artists of our urban civilization. All of the wood carvings, collectively known as *sanni* or *timbeh*, follow certain traditional patterns. The individual motifs, however, are products of the individual imagination, and, judging by the variety and originality of the designs shown herewith, that imagination is evidently quite fertile.

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/519 cont./

128 Fertility. We have classed the women, according to the year of
163 birth, into four categories, for fertility has varied considerably in the course of time. The study has been made by five-year age-blocks. The table below /see p. 16 / shows the cumulative fertility (total of figures obtained for the various age-blocks from 15 to 50 years of age). For the women of categories three and four, the number obtained is the result of an extrapolation.

842 Among the Boni there is no custom leading to a diminution of fertility, and the voluntary restriction of births is unknown.

163 The vertical fall of fertility between categories one and
164 two results from the invasion of venereal diseases, which seems
[177] to have coincided with the period (1920) when the search for the balata brought into the interior a heavy traffic of adventurers
[831] accompanied by numerous prostitutes. The very free morals of the Boni favor the propagation of the illness, which, since that time, has not ceased its ravages, stemmed only, but not eliminated, by the medical effort of these last years.

/137 cont./

429
428

She bequeathed thus her guardianship over Fintiman (46 years) to the grand man
over Klémenti (43 years) to Samalobi, the grand man's brother
over ○ Kulina (38 years) to Samalobi
over ○ Eliana (40 years) to the grand man.

But she bequeathed nothing concerning her last two children, ○ Baïkom (35 years) and ○ Maria (28) respectively brought up by △ Malobi, Béniti's husband, and by ○ Aliki, an old woman of the Dju lineage. It will behoove these two persons to bequeath, at their death, the spiritual tutelage over the girls they have raised.

581

Marriage

It is for lack of a more appropriate word that we use the word "marriage" with respect to the Refugee Blacks; the word concubinage is unpleasant to use; nevertheless it fits better what the union of a man and woman represents in the thought of the Refugee Blacks as in their social life.

In the organization we have just described no stable and permanent tie between a man and woman is implied.

831

Actually the Refugee Blacks, with rare exceptions, appear to be incapable of associating a strong and lasting emotional tie with sexual union. They are unstable in this respect, always in search of new adventures and not settling on any one. Their unions are more inspired by material concern (getting the

/137 cont./

831 necessary food) than by a sentimental motive. It is very rare to meet among them the appearance of sincere and lasting love for a woman; that is sometimes seen, but it is the exception.

562 It is not enough to say that they have few emotional feelings with respect to women. In the conversations heard in the evening around the campfires a deep contempt is expressed on this subject; they even speak of the Boni women as of a foreign and almost enemy nation; they consider them besides as half irresponsible. This attitude shows through in the custom concerning adultery, which decrees that the lover be beaten but not the wife. [684]

581 Among the Refugee Blacks marriage is in fact a contract of maintenance between a man and woman, which provides for the execution of such-and-such work by the one for the benefit of the other, and for the wife the obligation to be faithful. [586] This contract can be cancelled unilaterally without any sort of indemnity. It does not directly involve the relatives of the [965] spouses; it involves them only in case of the death of one spouse, for the surviving spouse must /138/ put up with the subservience [613] of mourning. It is principally for this reason that a marriage must be officially known by both lineages, and that a divorce must be proclaimed without delay.

582 613 614 Exogamy. Marriage is forbidden between persons of the same lineage. In expressing this prohibition the Refugee Blacks employ the word bee (lineage in the restricted sense) and not the word lo.

613 As we have seen in studying the situation of the various lineages, the various Boni kin groups follow different rules in this regard:

--The Dju lineage, which forms only one single group from the genealogical point of view, does not allow marriage between its members;

/174 cont./

764 Children are buried with the normal ceremonies only from about the age of six on. The rule is the following: A child is buried in the cemetery and broko dɛ is done for him if the next child of the same mother is beginning to walk.

766 Young children are buried without a coffin at a special site on the edge of each village; a board is simply placed on the [828] body before filling the grave. They have the idea that very [775] young children have no vital force, and that their yɔrka cannot do any harm. /Fig. 25 appears here./ /175/

764

Mourning

After the burial the wives of the dead man (or the husband if it is a woman), the nearest relatives on the maternal side, as well as the children, sojourn eight days more in the mortuary shed, until the broko dɛ.

765 From then on the obligations of mourning are limited, [831] for the near relatives of the dead person, to abstaining for a [775] year from dancing, wearing jewelry or too fine clothes; it goes [171] completely otherwise for the spouse of the dead person; the Refugee Blacks indeed take for granted, like the Creoles of Surinam, the persistence of the sexual jealousy of the dead person, whose yɔrka is thought to remain in contact with the living for a year.

State of the spouse in mourning. The principle is that the surviving spouse, until the lifting of mourning, is subject to the will of the dead person. In order to materialize that in an obvious way, he cannot, during this whole period, wear his usual clothes but must dress exclusively in pieces of cloth appropriated for him from among the ones the dead person possessed, or given by the nearest maternal relatives of the dead person.

/259 cont./

241 776 Cult of Mama gɔɔ̃. Mama gɔɔ̃, mother of the earth, is represented by a crude statue of white clay provided with enormous [532] [831] breasts, symbol of fecundity, which can be seen in a little [778] hut situated on the open place of Boniville village. Each [643] year, when the time for cutting the clearings approaches, the [782] grand man, surrounded by many other people, prays to the god to grant fertility to the plantings. If rain does not fall, an offering of water and tafia is made and the statue is sprinkled.

811 The Boni do not appear to associate the idea of women's fecundity with that of the fertility of the soil, and we have not heard anyone say that the grand man prays on this subject.

241 776 Neither do they appear to have a very clear idea about the relationships of this worship with that of the gɔɔ̃ gadu, local gods of the soil.

796 535 787 Every three years a great possession dance takes place in Boniville on January 1, /260/ in which the Papa gadu gods dance in front of the sanctuary of Mama gɔɔ̃. We have not been able to obtain specific information on the meaning of this rite.

241 776 [784] Cult of the gɔɔ̃ gadu. It is assumed that every portion of land is under the sway of a local god, gɔɔ̃ gadu. Its power is limited only by the fertility of the soil, and he who neglects its worship cannot be attacked in his person or in his goods, but only punished by a poor harvest.

What is the nature of these gods, what is their place in the cosmogony? These are questions which not one of our informants had ever asked himself. In their minds, gɔɔ̃ gadu has a de facto existence, and is rendered de facto worship. This worship consists essentially of:

[782] --Offerings made at the moment of planting;

[527] --The observance of a local day of rest, kina dɛ, corresponding to the god's day of rest.

/268 cont./

538 --Deception, more particularly associated with gluttony; in many tales, complicated ruses have for their purpose eating the neighbor's share.

Half the tales are improvisations on extremely varied themes and are impossible to classify. A large proportion are fantastic stories, disconnected and incoherent, recalling the progress of dreams. We have given no room here to this type of tale which in fact presents little of sociological interest.

[831] The Anansi Toli never have a licentious character.

In a general way, the tales of the Refugee Blacks do not reflect any definite concept. The same character is represented from one tale to another in contradictory aspects; he has no fixed personality. For example, the character Anansi, generally represented as lying, thieving, jealous, greedy, and cruel, is not associated with any definite concept. Some tales show him bringing Death among men, but others show him humiliating, to the great joy of men, the maleficent goddesses of the water and the bush. Most of the tales represent him as a swindler, but in some he figures as a judge. These contradictions are not perceived by the Refugee Blacks.

The storyteller himself succeeds with difficulty in following the thread of his story, losing himself in details, often recounted with wit. Sometimes the theme turns aside completely in the course of the narrative, like the ornamental motifs of the Refugee Blacks in which human limbs end in volutes, giving a harmonious whole but without great meaning. In this respect there is a great difference from one storyteller to the other. Certain ones construct more highly organized narratives; most are satisfied with the incoherent and fantastic tales.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

got for the timber he and his great-grandfather had floated down the river, he had two fine cloths. One was older and was intended for visiting the villages on the way, and the new one was for the Granman's village. For this occasion, too, he was saving a pair of newly woven garters, though he would wear the two strands of small coral and yellow beads in some of the villages on the way. At Lamé, for instance.

Ai-yo! He would see to it that he looked well at Lamé, for Lamé had handsome women, and at Lamé the women knew how to love. His own powerful love obia had come from Lamé, and there it was in his canister and there beside it was a potent fighting obia which his uncle, who was surpassed by few on the river in the strength of his obia spirits, had made for him. Some day, when Bayo was older, he, too, would know all these secrets, for his uncle had given him some of his gods, and at dances he already showed that he had a strong spirit. Until that time came, he had the obia from Lamé to win for him the love of his fellow men, and should it not avail against the magic of some surly fellow who wished him ill, then he had the other which would serve him in trouble. And on his upper arm was his Kromanti obia—the magically potent iron band—which, by tightening, would warn him when trouble was impending. That was the way to go through life—a man asked the gods to help him meet whatever might come, the good spirits with good, and the bad with yet greater evil.

Up above, whirling past him in the pale dawn, the parrots flew, making a screeching chorus in the stillness, and rousing him to the murmur of the next rapids which he was approaching.

What was that? A boat. Going downstream, he was soon alongside it.

"*Tio*, greetings," he called to the man, speaking in the subdued ceremonial voice.

"Thank you, tio," answered the older man, for he addressed a stranger.

A NIGHT AT S'EI

A girl of ten or eleven led the chorus. She had a string 535
about her waist, and the strip of cloth that was tied about 533
her neck as a ceremonial garment hung down cape fashion. About her navel and on her face the cicatrized patterns had been completed. Her voice was the shrill voice of a child, and the answering chorus was as shrill.

"Chaka, chaka!" called the bassia who was directing 535
the dance. He was demanding those movements which bring into play the muscles of the hips.

The women waited. They had come in all their finery, their tunics of the newest cloth, their coils of brass bracelets and anklets made to gleam by rubbing with sand, their [301]
skins dark and glistening with the oil rubbed into them for [302]
the ceremonial occasion. Those whose hair was worn in braids had redressed it that day. About their necks were beads. Their cloths were fastened tightly about them, so that their figures showed plainly.

The men, also in their best, waited with them. The iron 535
Kromanti obias on their upper arms fitted tightly, and 789
showed the great muscles above and below them. Those who wore beads had two or three strands of yellow and red intertwined, the small beads worn by men, small almost [301]
as okra seeds. One or two wore love obias—cowrie shells [832]
sewed on a band of white cotton, and then dipped into water which was thickened with white clay. One or two wore a small black bell-shaped obia—half the size of their thumbs—on a black string, and with swagger had swung it about so that it hung at the back. There were obias below the knee, and obias which were great brass rings for the big toe of the right foot. But one or two of the old men, and the young man who was in training for an obia man, wore a jaguar tooth on a string of native twining.

Drums . . . drums. Would there be drums? 535

The word was whispered from one to the other, and passed like a wave over the waiting figures.

But there would be no drums. This was the day when [776]
two gods might come. The god of the ant hill, for which men and women might dance, and the buzzard god of the men's Kromanti society.

been shown by the bassia's wife how to clap her hands to the rhythm of the song, and now she could not stop for an instant, though her hands ached. 535 [123]

"*Batu mau*—Clap your hands!" the bassia's wife called to her, the instant her visitor's zeal slackened. She herself was dancing in place, her infant on her back, sound asleep.

"*Chaka*—Shake!" she too began to shout, and once she was so carried away by her hand clapping that she joined the dancers, and danced facing the obia man.

Tall and slender as she was, she crouched opposite the man, her child on her back, and executed the most amazing steps. It was as though every muscle in her body had been set in motion by some invisible dynamo.

An old woman interrupted them. She stepped into the circle, and put her arm about the bassia's wife. "Adoo!" she crooned, and brought her to her feet. Another woman had done the same for the obia man.

Now one of the men who wore both a love obia and a brass ring on his great toe began a song. The melody was only a variant of the one Bayo had sung and the seketi songs we had heard at Gankwe and elsewhere. But here the recitative of the leader was longer. What he sang was not unlike one of our own ballads. He recounted the experiences of a young Saramacca man on the Marowyne River. He had met a Djuka woman, who had taken up with him for his money, and in the end she had exposed him to her people. 533 [832]

Another man sang of a war that white men had with each other. Hard times came to the Saramacca people. There was no work. Then their Granman sent a message to the white elders. The Granman told them people should live in peace together.

The bassia had no need now to spur on the dancers. The small open space was a heaving mass. Nothing seemed immobile. The stars darted, the lights of the small oil lamps held by the bystanders flickered, the very posts which held the thatch of the houses in place and ended some feet 535 533

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

pieces of red and blue cloth worked with this thread, so that again the white vertebrae showed. Bayo and Angita wore their beads, and each had a garter below the knee of the right leg. Their garters were white in color, but of a whiteness which only new, unwashed cotton has. They were about an inch and a half wide and were so tight that the muscle of the calf bulged prominently. On their upper arms were Kromanti rings of iron which, by contracting, warned the men of impending danger. In addition, Sedefo and Angita wore the bell obia of the Gankwe people, and Bayo his love obia which had come from Lamé.

"When do you go, Sedefo?"

"When the G'aman speaks. When we finish a piece of work, then we do not want to be paid at once. We do not leave at once. It would be as if we had not gone together in pleasure and wanted to be away as soon as possible. With the white man it is one thing. In the bush we do not do it so. Here in the G'aman's village, we do as we do with our own people in the bush," he paused for an instant, and looked about toward the clearing outside the palings. "There is another thing. In the G'aman's village, men cannot leave until the G'aman gives permission. When the G'aman is ready, he will call us. We will speak together. Then we will speak with him again. Then we will ask to go."

Bayo had been looking about the council house with an interest which was not unmixed with awe at the Granman's possessions, and he spoke in whispers.

"Ai, when the G'aman gives permission, then we go."

As he spoke, the cloth over the doorway was gently thrust aside. Bassia Anaisi of the Granman's village entered. He was the man who had fired the saluting gun the day of our arrival and who had at the Granman's call come to serve the visiting chiefs with rum. He now greeted each in turn but did not take down a bench. For a moment he stood there, head lowered out of deference to the character of the place where he was, then he coughed slightly and, turning to us, said, "The G'aman is ready for you. The chiefs are here."

789 before the new moon comes, and when you do this, you
798 must say,
439

"*Obia-o,*
Your spirit must stay,
[539] *Your power must not leave this.*
Do not go elsewhere,
Do not become defiled."

789 There was the obia on which Bayo had lavished all the
798 magic he could command so that his friends might be safe in the bush. From the sacred grass known as *s'a*—the same grass from which the woven ceremonial dancing skirts are made here on the river—he made several long lengths of twine. These he wove into a square which later became the pendant of this neck obia. On this, as a base, he sewed two cowries facing each other, and in the middle of the fringed border of this pendant he fastened a bit of a macaw's feather, blue and orange in color.

The twisted cord about the neck had several knots in it where the cord met the pendant. Tying is the symbol of attaching, of binding, so that if an invocation was uttered in the making of these knots, and the twine was then drawn taut, the power was certain to be lodged inside the knots. Then, too, knots form links, and links, whether they be in a metal chain or in fiber or wood, symbolize union, and any object or ornament with links is, therefore, much valued in bush and in town. A linked chain is a favorite
[795] gift to please the akra, the soul, among the coastal Negroes. A woman who wishes to attach her man to her will rise at
● [832] night noiselessly and will knot a hair from the man's head three times, speaking her invocation. In the bush few obias are found which do not have several knots in them.

In his exuberance Bayo placed so many prohibitions on this finely woven obia, that we asked him if he could not nullify some of them.

784 "For very strong obias, we have many tchina. It is best
789 so, because no one who wants to harm you will guess all of them and so succeed in robbing the obia of its power.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

796 centre clearing, no longer caring, no longer entirely con-
535 scious, their bodies driven by the rhythm of the drums.
158 No man has yet danced. Now a young buck of nineteen jumps into the centre and begins the *awasa* dance. His movements simulate the flying of a hawk, arms out like wings, pirouetting gracefully. His bare feet stamp the earth, hard enough, it seems, to break his bones. Another man joins him, waving his arms at full length, like an eagle in flight. They chant in talkee-talkee an *awasa* song:

"Fooru mo luku bon nanga ahga."

[539] It means: The fowl must be careful of the hawk; in other words, the girls must be careful of the men. They circle from the waist like birds soaring into the blue.

796 Now a man begins dancing toward a woman. She re-
832 treats. No dancer has yet touched another, or even noticed another. But this one is making definite love advances to the woman. He mimics coitus. Coyly she evades his approaches, and will have none of his movements. They are not serious. When she definitely refuses his copulatory advances, the drums stop. He takes a drum from one of the men, puts it under his arm, and follows her, dancing around the clearing, beating out a message of love. They weave a pattern of movement, in and out, in this dance of courtship to the lone muttering tambour.

[202] There is a halt. The drummers rap out a message to other canoes coming up the river, telling them to hurry. Soon more strangers arrive for the final round.

2:Kâhn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

the age of about thirty-five. Another motive for separation is 586
a husband's inadequacy as a hunter, fisher, and provider. Or the woman may simply be bored with him and like some other man better. The husband is liable to be teased a bit by his friends, but after a few days he forgets and marries again.

Open licentiousness or sexual suggestiveness is never seen 834
in public. The personal modesty of the Djukas has already been noted. Exposure of themselves, or public intercourse, such as is common in some tribes in Africa, never occurs. After the dances, for instance, no open promiscuousness occurred. There is one orgiastic dance known as the *ogalusa,* [786 535]
which means "mating like loose hogs."

Two aphrodisiacs are used liberally by the natives. One is 832
prepared by infusing the bark of a bush vine called *debbil dour* with water or weak alcohol. The liquid when drunk is supposed to give an erection of several hours' duration. Some of it was brought back by the expedition and tried on laboratory animals, with no effect. It is well known, however, that witch doctors will substitute other roots or herbs when giving their medicines to white men.

Another aphrodisiac that we found used among the Aucaners is the seed of the mucca-mucca plant, which grows on the banks of most of the rivers of the colonies. The seed is mashed into fragments and then inserted into the urethra. This acts as a tremendous irritant and is supposed to bring about erections of long duration. If used frequently, a persistent and disagreeable type of urethritis is produced.

At the hospital near the mines of the Surinam Bauxite

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

832 Company, some ninety miles in the interior, we were informed by the physician in charge that it is not infrequent to have Bush Negro women report for internal disturbances, which upon examination prove to be irritation and small hæmorrhagic areas. The physician believed that this condition was due to the men's practice of using the mucca-mucca seed.

844 During childbirth the mother stays in her own hut. She is often attended by her mother, her female relatives, and friends. In every village there are one or more women who are skilled in the art of midwifery; these women are called *pekein mama*—either "little mother" or "mother of little children." At the time of childbirth, the pekein mama is assisted by four little girls from about ten to twelve years of age. The pekein mama uses a liberal quantity of hot water in the process of delivery. In the event of an abnormal condition, it is the duty of the pekein mama to deliver the child as skilfully as possible. The woman bears the ordeal of childbirth with the usual primitive fortitude, although the pains of labour seem to be as great among these people as among 846 women of more civilized countries. The mother must drink 844 only hot water for three months after the birth of the child.

853 Children are nursed at the breast for a period of three months. They are then fed a little mush made of cassava to which is gradually added rice, a small amount of meat, eggs, and plenty of fruit, but periodical nursing may sometimes continue for as long as two years. The mothers often chew the food before giving it to their babies.

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tion of falling in love, and the woman is inordinately proud of her pieces of wood since each one betokens the affection of a male. A great part of the love-life among the Djukas is wrapped up in these carved household implements.

Those unfortunate natives who are not clever at handling a knife must trade fish or game or some other personal possession for sanni produced by a more deft handicraftsman. Almost any Bush Negro can hunt, fish, and care for a wife, but a man's value is enhanced in the eyes of the woman when he can carve artistically. The women appreciate him and the men respect him. Wood carving, therefore, is assiduously cultivated by the Bush Negroes from early childhood.

As sanni is a prized commodity everywhere, exchangeable for female favours, a great deal of time is spent on each individual piece. A single comb may take weeks to carve. The women are very good judges of sanni, and can tell a good piece at a glance. With such a critical audience, the Djuka artist is careful of his skill, and few awkward or ill-formed designs are seen. Boys between the ages of eight and ten years may be proficient carvers, and critical elders preside over their work, ready to point out any minute mistake. The father or uncle who is expert with the knife will train his son or nephew in the same tradition, so that certain families are known for their beautiful work.

This erotic significance of the wood carvings makes them difficult to obtain. The woman who sells one is not parting with a domestic utensil so much as with a treasured memento. Sentimental attachments are bound to appear. As

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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number of pieces. The first of these is the snake motif. It 532
takes the form of serpentine coils and twists, fancifully involuted and superimposed. The same general design is also interpreted as a liana motif, referring to the twisted tendrils of the jungle vines, convoluted and snarled. The second most important is the chain motif, an attempt to duplicate the links of iron chains.

The vulva motif is commonly found, and is consciously employed as a love symbol. The natives have no hesitation in [532] ●
interpreting this design as referring to the female genitalia; it is impressed on articles as a symbol of desire. The bill-bird, or toucan, provides another motif that can be recognized on a variety of pieces. Another West African survival is the [171]
bone motif, for the human scapula is frequently seen conventionalized on calabash objects. A few of the white man's objects also furnish themes for wood carvings, such as the rifle stock.

Other motifs are entirely without symbolic intention, and 531
represent symmetry and proportion only. The cross-hatch and notch motifs are African in origin, and can be found on West African objects. Other details of execution vary widely, without especial significance. The tines of the combs may be rounded or square. The food paddles may have two handles and one blade, or two blades and one handle. The size of the pieces varies considerably, from small combs a few inches long to the great six-foot canoe paddles. Outside of the vulva [532
and penis motifs there is little erotic symbolism. 532]

A peculiarity of Aucaner wood carvings is the system of

/196 cont./

673 --Vengeance; if someone believes himself to be the
[754] victim of witchcraft, he must under no circumstances engage
[627] in counterwitchcraft or invoke his ancestors against his enemy.
He may ask only for the protection of the *obia*. It is Odun who
[784] will avenge him by sooner or later killing the evil-doer.

--Violence in any form whatever. It is regarded as a
[683] particularly serious offense against the laws of Odun to strike
with an armed hand and to make human blood flow (1).

[684]

1. That explains the strictness with which the society of the Refugee Blacks limits the right of punishment granted to the wronged husband, who must strike only with bare fists in front of witnesses, never in the bush nor on the river. Fear of seeing
[826] human blood flow explains the
[952] reticence of the Boni toward minor surgical operations.

[641] --Any attack on personal liberty by material or moral
[586] coercion; in particular, neither a man nor woman may be constrained to remain in a marriage which has ceased to please him; nobody may be forced to reside here or there.

[832] The forms of magic so popular among West Indians, aimed at capturing a person's love, are for this reason rejected by the Refugee Blacks and considered as a form of *wisi*.

[769] --Any evocation of the spirits of the dead, even to ask
[954] them for protection, other than in the public ceremonies provided for by custom. Thus nobody must go to the cemetery to pray alone on his parents' grave. Whoever would do that would immediately be considered as *wisima*.

/250 cont./

789 396 There exist special ɔbia for the building of boats. The opening of the hull in the fire, a delicate operation, sometimes fails. To insure its success everyone possesses a personal recipe inherited from his father or uncle. It does not call by name and directly upon the action of a god; the Boni do not have a clear idea about the origin or the nature of these rites. It is a matter of a maceration of two or three kinds of leaves, generally belonging to the secondary flora which surrounds the villages, and they vary from one man to another. One pours this maceration over the overturned boat before the burning is begun, while saying: "The boat must not split, it must open well."

832 [693] The laws of Odun forbid the use of charms aimed at forcing the love of a woman one desires; that would infringe on a person's freedom, therefore wisi. It is very /251/ possible however that certain people go to get charms of this kind from Creole magicians. But they take for granted, on the other hand, the ɔbia believed to permit men who have little success with women to have more in the future.

951 789 There does not seem to be any hierarchy of ɔbia nor is one category of ɔbia believed to be stronger by nature than another; in fact, the Refugee Blacks are seen to go readily to ask one divinity for an ɔbia in order to protect themselves from another. Here is an example:

464 [648] In 1951 the administration had a systematic cleaning of the Petit Inini River begun, in order to rid its course of innumerable pieces of fallen wood which were making the use of motors on boats difficult. A team of Boni were employed in this work under the direction of a Creole foreman. While the [796] work was being done, a Papa gadu "came into the head" of an [789] old woman named M... of the Awara Bakka lo. It revealed that it was opposed to this work, for it lived in exactly this place and the noise of the motors bothered it. Upon their return 464 796 to Boni country, the men charged with this work learned the

/254 cont./

784 If someone realizes that he has broken his kina, he goes
756 to see, not an ɔbiaman, but the specialist-healer of leprosy
751 and asks him to treat him by way of prevention.

411 Beliefs about guns and hunting. The gun, which entered the
832 everyday life of the Refugee Blacks two centuries ago, has taken
[177] an important place in their magic. It is the symbol of virility.
[558] A Refugee Black who no longer has a gun is a man humiliated and almost dishonored. As one of them explained to us in begging us to help him replace his old gun eaten by rust: "If you cannot present yourself before the women with a machete, hunting bag on your shoulder, and gun in your hand, you are not a man."

411 This idea has been transposed onto the plane of magic
754 and they take for granted that the wisimã can, by putting evil spells on a gun, attack the owner of the weapon in his virility. It is supposed to be enough for someone to put his finger into the barrel of the gun while uttering a formula of vengeance, or even being moved by hate for the owner of the weapon, for this gun to be no longer capable of hitting the mark. So, to avoid these misfortunes, the Boni never part with their guns and never
411 lend them to anyone. If, in spite of these precautions, they
789 have the impression that a gun no longer fires so well, they will go to an ɔbiaman to have it washed of maleficent influence. There exist for that purpose several remedies all of which consist of soaking the gun for one to three days in infusions of leaves, which has the unfailing result of making it rust. We have seen a hammerless, latest model gun spoiled thus by an intelligent Boni head boatman, a clever mechanic and usually full of good sense.

224 We have never witnessed among the Boni any individual or collective hunting rites claiming to attract game or to promote meeting it (when, on the contrary, hunting piayes are extremely widespread among the Creoles).

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

181 one feels any grudge against society. There is small temptation to theft. There are, therefore, no questions of capital and labour, no leisure class, no organized industries, no exploitation either of men or of raw materials, no banks to rob, no checks to forge. Under such conditions economic crimes are practically eliminated. Man lives off the jungle and the streams which intersect it, and there are at his disposal uncounted miles of stream and of jungle. Such crimes as exist among the human inhabitants of these forests arise chiefly in quarrels over women. But where divorce is free and instantaneous, and sexual relationships are taken lightly, even the difficulties between men and women are enormously simplified.

And as these Djukas stood curiously staring outside the prison gates of St. Laurent, they seemed to me to stand in judgment. When I watched them get into their canoes and paddle upstream, returning to their green jungle fastnesses, and heard them call to one another from canoe to canoe, and heard their laughter ring out across the sunlit water, I felt that they went back to the forest, well content that their slave ancestors of two hundred years ago had fled from the white man and all his ways, back to the jungle, there to lead the primitive life of their African forbears.

I had gone to French Guiana to study the convict life of the Devil's Island Penal Colony. And when that had been completed, my husband and I made a journey through the interior of Dutch Guiana, travelling by the streams and trails used by fugitives from the French prisons. This is how we

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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768 Upon the father's decease, his property does not descend to his children, but reverts to his wives, sisters, mother, or brothers. As the wives may be living in different villages, each wife inherits only that property which happens to be in her village. If the man has no wife in a certain village where there are maternal relatives, they inherit all his property within that village. This pertains more to personal than to real property, as the latter tends to be communally held.

648 One thing more must be said regarding the sex life of the
● 133 Djukas. The white men seldom receive overtures from Bush Negro women. It is, of course, taboo for Djuka women to have intercourse with white men, Indians, Town Negroes, balata bleeders, or anyone except her own tribesmen, among whom she is promiscuous. One Djuka woman, running her hand over the skin of a white arm and shoulder, shuddered in repulsion. When asked why, she said that she did not care for white-skinned men. We, however, were marked out for special feminine favour. We received from a woman the gift
[431] of a bracelet of delicately filed iron wire, because, as she said, our eyes put her in mind of those of her dead husband.

/179 cont./

765 431 [606] Before coming out of mourning, the widow must procure for herself at the minimum the money necessary for a demijohn of tafia as a contribution to the festival of the lifting of mourning. She must make a present of several cans of couac to her husband's mother.

765 843 184 A pregnant woman undergoes mourning exactly according to the general law. The custom described by several authors for the Saramaka, according to which the pregnant woman must join one of her husband's "brothers," does not apply to the Boni.

765 888 There are some attenuations of the harshness of mourning with respect to old women. For example in 1956, Lémiki (70 years), living in Boniville, was in mourning for her husband Tabiki (Awara Bakka, but residing since childhood with the Lapé lineage in Loka /180/ where he had been raised by his [768] [602] father). Lémiki alternately spent three weeks in her house and three in her husband's. It was Asamani, Tabiki's sister by the same father, who exercised authority over her.

765 768 [613] This remarkable example shows that as regards mourning (rights and duties), the principle of residence plays an essential role. He who has been reared by his father is in this respect taken out of his lineage, which loses all rights and all control over the conduct of the mourning.

765 [775] The co-wives of a widower are subject to mourning on the same grounds as he, and for the same motive, since they are targets for the jealousy of the dead woman's yɔrka.

[768] However, they are authorized most often to live with their maternal family. When the period of dipi baaka has ended, 765 833 they may take up conjugal relations again with their husband, but at intervals of several weeks and without his being able to spend the night with one of them. Each time he must ask per- [613] mission of the head of the dead woman's lineage.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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Saramacca

834 848 "Don't go off into the bush with a man. A child born to you will have a bad bush god, if you do," she added as an afterthought.

5

123 170 In the other corner, Chief And'u, the bassia, and about half a dozen men were talking of the great book about their ancestors which the white man had.

"It is large so," said the chief to one of the older men, indicating an imaginary size which multiplied the size of the actual volume at least tenfold. "And people say it has in it pictures of the Apuku gods, small as we ourselves know them, and a picture of the evil Apuku who appear as fire in the distance. . . . Mati, white men have gone into the Kromanti houses in the country of our ancestors and have made pictures!"

"It is impossible!"

"I want to see!"

The old man said, "I will not look. Books are not for us, mati."

"But mati, the G'aman has heard, and he wants to see."

The old man shook his head. He would have nothing of pictures that figured what should never have been allowed to be photographed.

It seemed prudent to give the conversation a new turn. 137 Down river, the men had said that a man of this village had lately found a new *neku* liana. Was it so?

"The man who found it was my son," said the old man, "you should have come for the dance. You would have seen how we do things here in the bush. But pictures you could [802] not take. No, mati, if you photograph, you take the soul."

824 796 The festivities for the find had been especially joyful, he explained, for the boy had only recently come by his gods, and this had been yet another proof that he would serve his family capably. For though the find was his own, all [208] his relatives in the mother's line would enjoy its use. Here- [226] after, when the poison of its leaves and its slender branches

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

301 his much-loved ornamentation. Leg-bands of cotton cloth are frequently worn by both sexes, and where wire can be secured it is fashioned into arm or leg coils and paraded proudly.
[751 Many necklaces and bracelets are used because they con-
778] stitute magic amulets against evil spirits. Our own bracelets and necklaces can probably be traced back to this same origin.
302 The hair is another means of personal decoration, and therefore it is always dressed with deliberation. Carefully made partings divide the black skull into geometrical designs.
834 Despite the scanty nature of their clothing, the Djukas are quite modest, and never expose themselves. If a bahkra does, they avert their heads. It is a curious reflection on civilized morality that the almost naked blacks possess a large amount of dignified restraint, while the uncomfortably clothed white man is shameless in his nudity.

322 Here and there inside the dark huts can be seen bits of ex-
531 traordinary wood carving. These are not crude utensils; every stirring-paddle or comb is a work of art worthy of a place in a museum, designed and executed in a way that is
437 far from "primitive." The only way to acquire these objects is to bargain for them in Dutch money or tobacco, or cheap knick-knacks. Among the more distant villages money is use-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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the age of about thirty-five. Another motive for separation is 586
a husband's inadequacy as a hunter, fisher, and provider. Or the woman may simply be bored with him and like some other man better. The husband is liable to be teased a bit by his friends, but after a few days he forgets and marries again.

Open licentiousness or sexual suggestiveness is never seen 834
in public. The personal modesty of the Djukas has already been noted. Exposure of themselves, or public intercourse, such as is common in some tribes in Africa, never occurs. After the dances, for instance, no open promiscuousness occurred. There is one orgiastic dance known as the *ogalusa,* [786 535]
which means "mating like loose hogs."

Two aphrodisiacs are used liberally by the natives. One is 832
prepared by infusing the bark of a bush vine called *debbil dour* with water or weak alcohol. The liquid when drunk is supposed to give an erection of several hours' duration. Some of it was brought back by the expedition and tried on laboratory animals, with no effect. It is well known, however, that witch doctors will substitute other roots or herbs when giving their medicines to white men.

Another aphrodisiac that we found used among the Aucaners is the seed of the mucca-mucca plant, which grows on the banks of most of the rivers of the colonies. The seed is mashed into fragments and then inserted into the urethra. This acts as a tremendous irritant and is supposed to bring about erections of long duration. If used frequently, a persistent and disagreeable type of urethritis is produced.

At the hospital near the mines of the Surinam Bauxite

/122 cont./

846 Interruption of conjugal relations after the birth. For three
834 months after delivery the mother must stay away from men and
856 even avoid touching them. Conjugal relations must be interrupted until the child begins to walk alone (eleven to 14 months). However, it is tolerated (but disapprovingly) that they be interrupted only for the time until the child begins to drag himself
[842] on his knees /123/ (eight months). They cite the example of Baïna's wife who has puny children after pregnancies at too short intervals.

846 Actually, the interruption of conjugal relations tends to
834 be reduced more and more, the women having condensed milk
862 available and tending to reduce the duration of breast feeding.
178 Each woman acts as she wishes in this respect; the husband
593 has no power to restrain her.

The Name

551
553 Existence of several independent names. Each Boni has two names, the gaã nɛm or big name, given by the father, and the pikin nɛm or little name, given by the mother.

These two names are given in totally independent fashion. Generally the pikin nɛm is given first; in former days they used to wait until the child was six to eight months old; nowadays it is given at the end of a few weeks. The head of the lineage does not intervene either in the choice or the giving of the name.

As a matter of fact, nearly three-quarters of the Boni are designated by one single name, either because the father and mother agreed to give the same name or because one of the two names fell into disuse.

To these two principal names may be added any number of names and cognomens given by the grandparents and later by friends or spouse; often one of the names ends by being given

/145 cont./

582 Generally speaking, the custom of the Refugee Blacks used to consider as immoral the marriage of a very young girl to an old man, or of a very young boy to an adult woman.
588 178 The weakening of family morals is clearly demonstrated by two events which happened during the summer of 1960. A boy of thirteen and a half, K... of Boniville, left his guardian to join an Assisi woman, A..., 20 years older than he and with a very bad reputation to boot; some months later his example was imitated /146/ by a boy of 14 who began living with a
[684] woman of 29. Nothing like that had ever been seen, and
[613] people inveighed against the scandal of it; but in both cases, guardians and lineage heads showed themselves incapable of making their authority respected by force.

882 Marriage of girls. It can still be said (although things are in
[562] the process of changing rapidly) that girls, kweyi umã, occupy a place apart in the thought of the Refugee Blacks; the reprobation which embraces women does not extend to them.
882 People say that girls "have good manners," and in fact most
834 of them, although naked except for a little apron, have a re-
[291] served attitude, a becoming bearing, which contrast with the attitude of the married women. To tell the truth, this virtue is not so much due to natural inclinations as to the strict
[593] vigilance with which their mothers surround them. The mothers literally do not let them out of their sight and permit no man to speak to them out of their presence. "Until dawn, until the cock crows, she keeps vigil," says the song, alluding to the mother who watches over her daughter's virtue. If a girl
[836] comes to lose her virginity without being properly married,
[597] pɔti na ɔsu, "established in a house," it is a dishonor for her mother and her near relatives.

/158 cont./

848 If children are born of these irregular liaisons, the mother
[784] takes care to know with certainty who the father is, for if there
[753] were any doubt, the child, respecting a kina which would not be his own, would contract leprosy. On this subject the Boni
842 have a remarkable belief: they think that it is the first man with whom a woman has had relations after the end of a menstrual period who is likely to make her pregnant.

836 These adventures always involve gifts in kind (cloth,
431 jewels); so the men who have the most success with women are always short of money.

581 A woman who has lived thus in notorious fashion has a little more difficulty than another in finding another husband, but if she is young and winsome she succeeds.

548 Prostitution as such is very rare in Boni country, and the women who give themselves over to it openly (three or four for all the villages on the French bank) have generally left the
[836] tribe to settle in the gold miners' villages. Dissoluteness is not considered dishonorable by the Refugee Blacks when it is carried on within the tribe and when it has no other purpose but pleasure; but prostitution is judged shameful.

834 Except for these few prostitutes, we have never heard it
648 said that a Boni woman had relations with a European; on this point tribal discipline is observed with extreme rigor.

581 Conclusion. The average duration of marriages, which was
[178] from 15 to 20 years for the preceding generation, tends to become shorter and can be estimated nowadays at about ten years.
[191] In spite of this evolution, the stability of marriages among the Refugee Blacks remains noticeably greater than that observed
548 among the black populations of South America. Among them is not seen the form of prostitution so widespread in South America, the supported mistress who does not work and who lives entirely at the expense of her successive lovers.

/249 cont./

751 [787] Possession by a Kumẽnti gives, they say, invulnerability during the time of the trance, but in his ordinary state the individual remains vulnerable (they say only that in case of danger the gita "rises" immediately).

Someone who has a man nẽŋga ɔbia has no trances of possession, but they state that he is permanently invulnerable (except for breaking of the kina). In order to obtain this ɔbia one must have himself "washed" for a very long time by an elder who knows the leaves in question. He delivers them already crushed so that no one may be able to know this secret outside of the son or nephew to whom he bequeaths it.

It is necessary to continue to be washed four times a year for 15 days each time, to keep up the force of the ɔbia.

[515] During these 15 days one bathes three times a day, in secret (in principle nobody knows that you have this ɔbia).

[834] During these periods one must have no relation with a woman, even to talk to her.

They state that someone who has a man nẽŋge ɔbia can be struck by blows of a machete and even receive a gunshot with impunity.

[173] They believe that this ɔbia, in the past called man feti ɔbia, was obtained by the ancestors at the time of the wars against the whites; still today it inspires an unshakeable con-

[164] [752] fidence. /250/ In October, 1952 we saw M..., a man of 45 with great good sense, make a deep gash in his leg while cutting a liana, in spite of his ɔbia. Doubt did not cross his mind for a second: he told us that certainly he had unknowingly eaten something contrary to the kina of the ɔbia. Since we were working near some villages, he went immediately to find the master of the remedy to have the power restored. For nothing in the world would he have left for a long round of work in the bush with the feeling that he was at the mercy of an accident.

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841 Woman's magic power. The Refugee Blacks assume that a woman, during her menstrual periods, is impure and has the power to destroy the power of ɔbia. So during these periods she must withdraw into a special hut, munu ɔsu, and prepare her meals in special dishes; she may not prepare her husband's food, for by doing this she would destroy the power of his ɔbia, and must abstain from touching objects he habitually uses, particularly his gun, which would lose its good points for shooting. Even in the little farming habitations which consist of only several huts, one may be sure that one of them serves as a munu ɔsu.

841 343 462 [465] The munu ɔsu are very simple sheds built by the women themselves, using reclaimed materials taken from huts being demolished; some belong to one woman only; for others, three or four women get together. They have recourse to men only for assembling the framework, remunerating them with several cans of couac or several baskets of yams.

841 /255/ A man who has a powerful ɔbia like the man nɛ̃ŋge ɔbia must abstain from speaking to a woman who has her menses.

[751] The Boni assume there are women wicked enough to willfully hide their menses in order to destroy the power of a man's ɔbia, but he who has a good man nɛ̃ŋge ɔbia cannot be a dupe: the iron circle warns him of the danger by squeezing his arm.

184 841 68 According to Mr. W. F. van Lier, the act of willfully hiding her menses is for the Djuka one of the gravest offenses a woman can commit, and the most severe punishments are inflicted on her. It is not the same with the Boni: in such a case a woman risks only being insulted and banned.

752 834 171 Another deeply rooted belief among the Refugee Blacks, and which exists with many Creoles, is the necessity for the

752 /255 cont./
834 ɔbiaman who treats a wound made by a firearm to observe
[171] chastity during the whole duration of the treatment. It is for this reason that the Boni hesitate to have gunshot wounds cared for in hospitals.

784 Kina. The interdictions of the Refugee Blacks generally have
[262] to do with food. There are five categories of them to our knowledge:

[753] --Bwasi kina, basic kina, mark of patrilineages, the breaking of which gives leprosy;

--Akka kina, often called gadu kina, established by divination and believed to be imposed by the akka;

--Gadu kina, mark of possession by a divinity;

--Obia kina, interdiction attached to each object involving a magic power, and which must be observed for this power to last;

--Finally, local kina, particularly the kina dɛ, days of rest, going back to the idea of the day of rest of the local divinity. They observe, for example, that the Mana River has a kina dɛ on Sunday. The Saramaka observe it strictly. The Boni we took on the Mana in 1949 went to find out from the Saramaka, and asked us to stop navigation on Sunday,
[648] for this kina was very urgent. It is noteworthy however that the Boni bow in such circumstances before the will of the Europeans, as with respect to their own kina dɛ of Friday; in effect they are assuming that if they are ordered to be on duty, it is the European alone who bears the responsibility for breaking the kina.

[428] It is possible that the kina alluded to by Mr. W. F. Van
[114] Lier and which, among the Djuka, would be imposed on a
[613] whole matrilineage are also local kina; in any case no kina is transmissible through the mother, all the Refugee Blacks are explicit on that point.

/255 cont./

784 262 A... of the Dju lo, about 28 years old in 1958, must observe six kina:

--The cayman and the jaguar as bwasi kina.

--The otter (yundu) as akka kina. /256/

These three kina have been imposed on him since his first years, but the meaning of them was explained to him only later on.

[751] --The eel (mānsi) was imposed on him as a kina by his father when the latter gave him a man nēŋge ɔbia, ɔbia of protection against machete or gun, materialized by an iron bracelet.

[841] [834] To this ɔbia is attached another kina. A... must not speak to a woman having her menstrual period.

[751] [787] --Finally, the crab (kaabu), kina attached to an ɔbia of which the man concerned only spoke with reticence, probably a Kumēnti bui (bracelet of Kumēnti, instrument of divination).

A... has no gadu kina in the strict sense of the term.

There exists no food kina common to all the Boni; the cayman is generally forbidden to them as bwasi kina, associated with another animal; but this is not absolute; we know at least one Boni who has not received this kina.

If someone has broken a kina inadvertently, he can have himself cleansed of this offense by ɔbiaman. But if he broke it willfully, he cannot escape the punishment attached to the offense.

'45 Beliefs about twins. They have the idea that twins and children who follow twins are of a nature different from other men, participating in a divine principle.

Twins cannot live (since they do not belong to ordinary humanity) if they are not treated with a special remedy known only to certain lineages especially rich in twins.

Ii Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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Saramacca

the vengeance of the gods? Was it conscience? Was it morality? Was it destiny? Was it all of these, traditionalized into one abstract philosophical concept which, for the average Bush Negro, was no more formulated than are the underlying sanctions of any civilization to the vast majority of people who live in it? We sought out Bayo again, Bayo, who had the great kunu, to see what light his own experience would shed. 776

"Almost everyone has some kind of kunu, Bayo," we said. "Now why is it that Sedefo, who has a kunu, is so careful, while you who, let us say, also have a kunu, seem not to take any notice?"

We had, as a matter of fact, often wondered about this. Why was Bayo so sure on the river? Why did he carry himself like a man so much older than he really was? What was behind his great self-confidence? Was it luck? Was it a temperamental carelessness? We had watched his amazing strength in taking up our boat almost singly through the rapids, for Bibifo was so old that when he tried to hold the boat in the current, his arm could give no steadying power to the paddle, and the pole-stick he was too old to use at all. Was it all his luck? Our luck?

He answered circumspectly. Let us suppose, he explained, that in making him his father and mother had incurred the greatest kunu of all—the kunu that comes from incest. Now, in that case, he, as a child of such a relationship would be a *gowi*, a "child of the earth," for he would belong twofold to the land which was in the possession of his clan, and thus would be doubly a clan member. He would, therefore, be protected by the spirits. For the gods, it appeared, declared a truce with the child of such a union and gave him a pass of free conduct among the world of spirits. But the children of a man such as this . . . but here he stopped. 835 588 776

"You know," he said, with his delightful smile, "A man who has a kunu like that doesn't talk about it. Kunu aren't talked about. He might not get a wife. . . . "

REBEL DESTINY

6

776 115 Fa'aku was chief of his clan. He was a handsome man, with a quick, clever eye, and a reputation for great honesty everywhere on the river. To him we appealed for more light on kunu. We had met him in his village on our way upstream and we had seen him in the tribal council house when we had sat at the great krutu held there by Granman Yankuso. When we stopped again at Fa'aku's village on our way down the river—this village that was so close to Dahomey, the seat of magic—it was evident that the gods favored us. We had come safely through the great rapids. We had stayed at Asindopo Lantiwe in good health, and the spirits had even spoken for us through some of the women whom they had possessed. Fa'aku spoke with greater freedom than we had yet met with.

"There are different kinds of kunu, and some are big and are very bad; but some are small and do not make much trouble," he began.

835 776 582 681 The greatest kunu came from making a child with a member of one's own family, with one's true, true sister or, what would be almost as bad, with a child of one's mother's sister. Murder was a great kunu, too, and perhaps next to that was the kunu that came to the Bush Negro if he informed to the white man against one of his own kind. Then there were the kunu that one got for false accusation, and for repeated stealing, and even for lying, if it were done too much. For lying is not good, lying makes too much trouble among people. And there were many more kinds of kunu, some of which he mentioned. Killing a snake or a tiger and not burying it with honor brought on a kunu, and cutting down a silk-cotton tree was kunu.

776 When a big kunu came into a family, it wiped it out. One by one the members of the family died. Men died, women died, and children were never born, or they died when they were small. "This goes on until the family is finished," Fa'aku said. A lesser kunu could kill as well, but its vengeance would be directed only against the women who carried on the line of succession to office and property, or

/20 cont./

613 571 Thus the lo appears to us above all as a social and political unit, based in principle on matrilineal relationship but easily able to welcome heterogeneous elements. It is the framework by means of which the individual is integrated into the collectivity.

614 Functions of the lineage (bee).

—Members of the same bee form a joint group from the legal point of view, even if they do not live in the same village and are under different authorities. They recognize a common legal responsibility; for example, they are obliged, at least in principle, to pay the debts contracted by one of them. Reciprocally, the inheritance of one of them is shared among them all.

614 784 —They have the same religious responsibility, that is, they are subject to the same kunu. The kunu is a curse called down upon a group by a divinity since an ancient era. It is transmitted exclusively by the mother. We shall show in the remainder of this work the considerable importance of this notion in the social life of the Refugee Blacks.

614 —They cannot (at least in principle) contract a union with one another. The bee thus constitutes in principle the unit subject to the law of exogamy.

[235] An offense against exogamy, pikadu, incest in the wide sense, is regarded as very grave.

613 Functions of the lo: The lo transposes onto the material plane the legal principles resulting from the conception of the lineage: joint rights over land, common legal responsibility. Each of them forms a social unit in principle sufficient unto itself, possessing an ancestor worship peculiar to it, a head acting the role of ancestor priest and judge, materially grouped in one village, enjoying exclusive rights over a well-defined soil.

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684 This prohibition is of a purely religious nature and does
688 not entail any social sanctions; those concerned are convinced
984 that in such a case a suprahuman sanction would strike them in the form of sickness or accident.

582 Prohibitions limiting marriage. Outside of the great interdiction,
[613] pikadu, which is attached to unions within one matrilineage and one patrilineage, two prohibitions limiting marriage are found among the Refugee Blacks, which they express thus:

[595] --I cannot have two wives at the same time in the same lineage. For example I am forbidden to marry two "sisters"
[589] at the same time, but if I break with my wife, I may marry her classificatory "sister" or any other woman of the same lineage;

[835] --I may not have relations, even passing ones, with a
[589] woman who has been married to my brother by the same mother; in particular, if my brother has just died, I shall not be able to marry his widow.

The Boni are not capable of explaining the deep reasons for these interdictions, but they interpret them as purely social
[584] and not religious prohibitions. The offender is simply threatened with being beaten.

[171] The fuss of these rules seems very widely accepted in Black Africa, as much in patrilineal societies as in a matrilineal system.

[171] The second of these rules is characteristic in the Akan (Agni, Baoulé) culture area and shows that the family custom of the Refugee Blacks is related much more directly to that of the Agni-Ashanti group than to that of the Dahomey.

184 One can note that this rule is exactly contrary to the
589 Saramaka custom, which obliges the widow to marry one of the
114 brothers of the dead man; this custom has been interpreted by several authors as coming from imitation of the levirate of the Jews, with which certain rebels were acquainted (it is known that among the slaveowners there were many Jews).

was called, and the couple were left alone, while outside the villagers danced and sang of fertility all night. 585

In the morning the man's brothers come to the house to find out if she had ever before been to the hammock with another man. 831 585 626

"What happens if they find that she has?"

Bayo's reply was prompt. "Usually nothing. The man doesn't give her as many presents as he would have given her. If he had promised her thirty pangi, he would only give her fourteen. If he liked her, he wouldn't turn her away."

"What would happen to her, though? Would they punish her?"

"They say, Bak'a, sometimes a man likes her better for it. It shows him other men had cared for her. But her family scolds her, and sometimes punishes her, too, and the women of the village talk plenty. They pull their lip at her the next morning, and later, whenever there is a quarrel, they talk about it again."

But if the girl were found to have been a virgin, then all the people danced, and there was a great feast, with dances to all the gods.

"You must come back for my wedding, Bak'a, you and your woman. Then you will see dancing!" 585

"But your girl is still a child, Bayo."

"Ah, no. She is getting her cuts on her thighs. She wears a cloth." He knew, because on his way down from the Granman he had stopped at her village and when the family was not about he had made sure. "If you come next year, we will both be ready." 881

The two men still followed the bush trail when Bayo had finished his account of how the marriage was conducted. Now and then Tross would appear, wag his tail, and be off into the underbrush again. 000

"Tell me, Bayo," the white man began, "do many girls go with a man to the hammock before they are married?" 836

He waited for a moment before he answered. Smiling, he ran his hand over his newly braided head with the innumerable little braids between the lines of white.

"About half of them, I guess," he said.

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of some other woman, and exercises authority over her children rather than over his own.

The Djuka family, then, consists of a group of people all descended from a single woman, and related to each other through the female line. Whatever family authority exists resides in the mother's or grandmother's brothers; to them the children defer; from them the children will inherit property and title. The paternity of the children is unessential. This type of social organization is called matrilineal.

We should, perhaps, not expect to find romantic love, as we know it, among the Djukas. The peculiar transports and attenuated delights of romantic passion are a rather extraordinary phenomenon which, according to Briffault, does not exist outside of Western civilization. Romance requires a high development of individuality among women so that one may be desirable above all others. Where women are mutually interchangeable, romance cannot exist. The Djuka black does not love a woman; he loves women. Love among the Djukas is not a brainstorm but a physiological release, and marriage an economic device.

The young people have complete knowledge and some experience of sex at an extremely early age and are usually married at sixteen or seventeen. They are fairly promiscuous before marriage and extremely so afterward. This, again according to Briffault, is the rule in tribes retaining the matrilineal tradition. Since intercourse before marriage is a practice that the Djukas make little effort to restrain, sex is a common affair, not particularly connected with marriage.

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It is indulged in as naturally as the other bodily functions.

581 "Marriage" is a convenient term for describing cohabitation among the Djukas, but it must be remembered that to them marriage is a purely economic institution. There is little ceremony. No one objects to getting married, because divorce is instantaneous and easy. The bonds of marriage are loose, and adultery, to use our harsh term, is customary.

584 Courting consists in presenting the prospective bride with elaborate wood carvings of useful implements. This wood carving has been developed by the Djukas to a high point of artistic perfection, as can be seen from the illustrative specimens, of which more will be said later. The approaching marriage is not looked upon as a departure from the maternal group; it is simply an arrangement for providing the man with a cook and the woman with children. The marriage of a captain or a Granman differs in no wise from any other; no especial care is taken of his bride.

We encountered two varieties of the process of choosing a husband. In the first, the girl has little to say, her husband being selected for her by her parents. In the second and more frequent practice the woman marries the man of her own choice, the parents making sure that the intended husband is a good provider. But since every Djuka buck is trained to the jungle crafts from childhood, this requirement can almost be taken for granted.

582 The husband marries frequently. He may marry outside of his village, or outside of his lo, but never outside of the tribe. Marriage requires a bride price, consisting of pieces of

/126 cont./

551 553 The only case in which custom governs the choice of name is that of twins.

Male twins are called Adam and Agosu.

Boy and girl twins are called Adam and Efa (2).

[197]

2. This is connected with a myth derived from the Biblical tradition, which we shall set forth later.

Female twins are called Chimba and Sisi.

Social Relations within the Lineage

429 604 [593] Guardianship. Until he is old enough to work, the child is placed under the responsibility of the mother and, one step farther away, that of the eldest of his classificatory uncles. To a lesser degree all the uncles have authority over the child; guardianship is collective.

The custom of the Refugee Blacks, hostile to any division of the lineage, does not recognize any right peculiar to the mother's brothers (still, in fact, they seem to be consulted by preference about matters of small importance). [584] For serious matters, such as authorizing a marriage, the classificatory uncles meet and deliberate; they do not vote, strictly speaking, but the proved opposition of three or four of them causes the project to be abandoned.

429 593 604 [836] It is to the mother that people will come to complain about the child, and not to the father. She it is who decides to refer the thing to the uncles if it is serious (example of Doni, 18 years old, who deflowered Elina, 15 years old. Elina's mother came to complain to Doni's mother. Doni's mother went to notify her older brother Fintiman, who took the matter in hand).

/145 cont./

582 Generally speaking, the custom of the Refugee Blacks used to consider as immoral the marriage of a very young girl to an old man, or of a very young boy to an adult woman. 588 178 The weakening of family morals is clearly demonstrated by two events which happened during the summer of 1960. A boy of thirteen and a half, K... of Boniville, left his guardian to join an Assisi woman, A...., 20 years older than he and with a very bad reputation to boot; some months later his example was imitated /146/ by a boy of 14 who began living with a [684] woman of 29. Nothing like that had ever been seen, and [613] people inveighed against the scandal of it; but in both cases, guardians and lineage heads showed themselves incapable of making their authority respected by force.

882 Marriage of girls. It can still be said (although things are in [562] the process of changing rapidly) that girls, kweyi umã, occupy a place apart in the thought of the Refugee Blacks; the reprobation which embraces women does not extend to them. 882 People say that girls "have good manners," and in fact most 834 of them, although naked except for a little apron, have a re- [291] served attitude, a becoming bearing, which contrast with the attitude of the married women. To tell the truth, this virtue is not so much due to natural inclinations as to the strict [593] vigilance with which their mothers surround them. The mothers literally do not let them out of their sight and permit no man to speak to them out of their presence. "Until dawn, until the cock crows, she keeps vigil," says the song, alluding to the mother who watches over her daughter's virtue. If a girl [836] comes to lose her virginity without being properly married, [594] pɔzi na ɔsu, "established in a house," it is a dishonor for her mother and her near relatives.

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583 A girl's marriage does not involve any dowry in the African sense of the term, but it involves payment of the price of virginity to the mother. This payment is made after consummation of the marriage (or after defloration if there has been a clandestine union). It consists of seven pieces of cloth, a demijohn of tafia, and various imported objects (the whole representing in 1958 about 8,000 francs, which is relatively small for the Refugee Blacks). It really has to do with the price of virginity, for nothing is paid back if there is a break-up. The man moreover gives the girl white beads /possibly "pearls" --Tr./, red cloth, and sweetmeats which constitute the payment of her akka.

[429] The price of virginity is paid to the person who has raised the girl, even if it is a man. This person divides it equally with the mother or, if the latter is dead, with the mother's sisters.

For example, for O Balkom (D,u, F10), brought up by her father Malobi in Loka village, her husband Moomu (Kotika) paid the price of virginity to Malobi who shared it with his wife Bêniti.

[604] [613] No payment is made to the uncles or to the head of the lineage.

• 836 [599] The fact that a girl may carry on a clandestine affair and be deflowered without having been properly proposed to is considered a shame for the mother; but if the seducer confesses and pays the price of virginity, honor is restored.

Defloration does not necessarily entail marriage, for the seducer does not always intend to take on the maintenance of a household.

If the girl is deflowered too young, her mother does not give her the pagi and continues to forbid her to have sexual relations, for she fears that she may become pregnant. Now for 848 a girl, becoming pregnant without having concluded a contract 568 of maintenance with a man is an extreme shame, for that means she is not worth anything.

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848 If the girl is pregnant, the man may not abandon her: that would make a great to-do between the two kin groups: he must stay with her at least until the birth of the child.

883 Nowadays among the Boni things tend to happen complete-
836 ly otherwise than custom makes provision for. The general
178 opinion is that girls can no longer be held down, that they
[582] escape more and more from the authority of their mothers; many of them begin to run wild at about 14 or 15, and people are obliged to marry them off precipitately at 15 or 16. It is difficult to say what the proportion of these hasty marriages is, but the recriminations heard on all sides on the subject of the shamelessness of girls give the idea that it is increasing. In the
[582] villages on the French bank, out of nine girls married in 1958
[848] there were only four marriages concluded according to regulations; the five others had been arranged hastily either because the girl was pregnant (two cases) or because she had laid herself open to scandal. /148/

582 Nearly all girls married between 1952 and 1956 were 15 to 17 years old.

584 This is about how things happen:

A man who is attracted by a girl tries to exchange a few
[537] words with her unknown to her mother. There are special forms for these declarations. One speaks in a low voice, very fast, using special formulas. This is how one of our boatmen, one evening in October, 1952, addressed young Lomé, age 15, of Booiville village, who had gotten away from her mother on the pretext of going to get water for us.

584 "Woman, I love thee, I wish to live with thee, I wish to
539 marry thee. That which God put in me I cannot take away (1).

1. Which means: I cannot change, you must take me as I am.

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584 539 I do not know whether thou lovest me, whether thou will answer yes or no; perhaps I am not so handsome as thou, but I cannot help loving thee. If thou lovest me, tell me clearly. I have come, I have attached my boat to a rock, I have wet my feet before reaching land (2)."

> 2. High-flown words to which no precise meaning can be attached; it is a kind of verbal music whose formulas vary infinitely.

"Come back tomorrow, come back, I cannot answer thee today, I cannot."

"I know for today, but not for tomorrow (3); yield to me,

> 3. One must understand: It is necessary to decide today.

be mine, I shall give thee the garment (4)."

> 4. The man lays down one of his garments at the home of the woman who has agreed to marry him.

584 Our departure on our tour the next day put an end to his attempts for the time being!

836 584 It often happens that the girl allows herself to be seduced; her mother soon learns of it from the village people. She flies into a passion, beats her daughter to obtain a confession without [558] which she can obtain nothing from the supposed seducer. It is an extreme shame for a mother not to receive the price of her

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836 684 [558] daughter's virginity: the other women will make fun of her and as for the men, they will be unanimous in laughing cruelly at the new trick played on the women. Now certain girls refuse obstinately to confess, or they have already had several adventures, so that nobody succeeds in knowing the truth. After many recriminations and arguments the affair proceeds no further.

If it has been possible to identify the seducer with certainty, the mother, arming herself with a stick, goes from village to village to find him; his uncles intervene and end by settling the business by asking the mother to accept, since there is nothing else to do, the payment for virginity. This sum absolutely must be paid; if the young man were not able to do it, his uncles would pay it for him even if they have to turn against him ultimately. The mother accepts the payment, honor is safe.

583 In many cases the couple consider themselves as joined, at least temporarily; the man prepares, if he is hard working, to build a house for his wife. If he is not hard working, he simply promises to make one for her some day; in reality he has spared himself this great labor; the woman will have to wait for years unless her mother or one of her uncles dies, bequeathing her his or her house. /149/

836 684 Observation in Boniville in October, 1956:

A village woman comes to complain to Fintiman that his nephew and ward Doni has deflowered her daughter Elina, 15 years old, in July of the same year. She learned it indirectly, and the daughter expressly confessed it. Doni admitted the facts; he promised to pay the indemnity at the end of the border-fixing mission when he has received his pay. Elina continues to wear the kwey until further orders and does not show any embarrassment. Doni comes back in the evening. I hear Fintiman reprimand him, but only for form's sake: "Deflowering a girl when one does not intend to live with her is something which is

/149 cont./

836 684 not done." He advises Doni above all to remit to the girl the payment of her akka, namely two camisas, a string of white beads which she will wear on her left wrist, and a bottle of syrup which she will offer to her akka while drinking it. Doni does not bother to face the mother and does not intend to see the girl again; it is his sister Maria who will attend to the errand.

That done, the mother will accept the fait accompli and will not show her anger. She will wait for the payment.

584 836 One also hears talk rather often of the clandestine consummation of a properly arranged marriage, the engaged couple wishing thus to force the hand of their guardians and obtain their freedom sooner.

587 Remarriage of widows or divorcées. It does not give rise to any payment, but the marriage proposal is made to the woman's uncles and the head of her lineage in the same form as for a girl. In such a case it is no longer a question of asking for an authorization (a man would have to have the worst reputation for the woman's lineage to refuse the marriage) but to obtain the benediction of the ancestors on the household. Moreover, it is [613] very important for the heads of both lineages to be notified of this marriage, for in case of the death of husband or wife the other will have to bear the weight of the mourning.

581 Women are guided in their choice by sensual attraction but largely also by self-interest. They take care to marry a man who has, as it is said among us, some future, a position. The owners of outboard motors do not fail to pass at reduced speed by the villages in order to be admired by the women.

Men who have a reputation for "working hard" (for work is the sole wealth in Boni country) are frequently chosen by girls even though they may have one or two wives already.

/156 cont./

586 [128] The estimate of the average number of divorces for women born before 1896 is probably lower than the actual number, their first divorces not being well known to our informants. It is probably in the neighborhood of two.

586 593 178 The increase in frequency of divorces among young women is striking. It is related to the weakening of the authority, very strong in former times, exercised by mothers over their daughters.

Here are two examples concerning two girls we have known since their childhood.

836 Lomé (L2, F74, Boniville) born in 1938, began to cause people to talk about her in 1954. She was deflowered by N...., who did not want to marry her. Then she had relations with Asadam (K, Boniville), who didnot want to marry her either. She was beaten; she continued to see him. Now this is extremely shameful for a girl because it is placing herself in a state of inferiority with respect to a man, when her self-respect consists in making a contract between equals. [558]

582 Her brother Amèmbé beather, and she ended up by marrying Pitipiti (Aw.B.2, Asiri village), who formally asked for her in marriage in 1956. This marriage lasted less than a year. 586 587 In 1957 Lomé divorced him to marry Djoni (Kotika village).

584 Aguba (D u, G14), girl of Asiri-Dju village, born in 1941, had been proposed to with the customary formalities in May, 1956 by Paltiki (L2, Loka village), a young man of 18. It was agreed that the engaged couple would wait two years. 584 585 But Paltiki did not wait and consummated the marriage clandestinely at the end of a few months. Ronga, Aguba's aunt and guardian, became very angry and beat her. [429] She did not give her the [illegible] until May, 1957. The marriage lasted only a few months. 586 /587/ By the end of 1957 Aguba was breaking off with Paltiki and beginning openly to look for adventures.

/157 cont./

589 A woman who has just been divorced does not remarry
[589] immediately. Several months, sometimes a year or more, may go by between two unions, a period during which she thinks only of "living it up," indulging in all the adventures she wishes. This attitude is considered normal, and the elders have nothing to say to her provided that she does not fall into pikadu, or cause any scandal, and that the period does not last too long.

[586] We have cited the example of Aguba, a pretty girl of 18, who at the end of 1957 had just broken with her husband Patfiki /sic/ after only one year of living together. She was living with Lènga who brought her up; she was cutting a small clearing herself. Beyond that, she had no other concern but to indulge in all the adventures she liked. Men used to come to solicit
● [836] her favors discreetly, each one reserving his day. From one she would ask for a camisa, from another, soap, kerosene, etc.

[429] Her guardian Lènga used to press her to take another husband, but she could not forbid her to live thus, having given with the Nègi her freedom as a woman.

[587] She contracted a new marriage in May or June, 1958 after leading an irregular life for more than six months.

836 As a matter of fact, things go on with great discretion. A man is notified in secret by his sister or /female/ cousin that such-and-such a woman noticed him during a dance, that she will await him at her home on such-and-such a night. At night on the river, one perceives boats which pass close to the shore,
[504] advancing silently. In each village there are secondary landings which allow nocturnal visitors to arrive at night without being noticed and to leave again before dawn. /158/

[584] If a woman lacks this discretion and if her life is openly dissolute, her mother will beat her and the head of the lineage will inflict punishments on her, but she will not be sent away; in no case can anyone be expelled from his natal village.

/158 cont./

848 If children are born of these irregular liaisons, the mother
[784] takes care to know with certainty who the father is, for if there
[753] were any doubt, the child, respecting a kina which would not
be his own, would contract leprosy. On this subject the Boni
842 have a remarkable belief: they think that it is the first man
with whom a woman has had relations after the end of a menstrual
period who is likely to make her pregnant.

836 These adventures always involve gifts in kind (cloth,
431 jewels); so the men who have the most success with women
are always short of money.

581 A woman who has lived thus in notorious fashion has a
little more difficulty than another in finding another husband,
but if she is young and winsome she succeeds.

548 Prostitution as such is very rare in Boni country, and the
women who give themselves over to it openly (three or four for
all the villages on the French bank) have generally left the
[836] tribe to settle in the gold miners' villages. Dissoluteness is
not considered dishonorable by the Refugee Blacks when it is
carried on within the tribe and when it has no other purpose but
pleasure; but prostitution is judged shameful.

834 Except for these few prostitutes, we have never heard it
648 said that a Boni woman had relations with a European; on this
point tribal discipline is observed with extreme rigor.

581 Conclusion. The average duration of marriages, which was
[178] from 15 to 20 years for the preceding generation, tends to be-
come shorter and can be estimated nowadays at about ten years.
[191] In spite of this evolution, the stability of marriages among the
Refugee Blacks remains noticeably greater than that observed
548 among the black populations of South America. Among them
is not seen the form of prostitution so widespread in South
America, the supported mistress who does not work and who
lives entirely at the expense of her successive lovers.

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"Marriage" is a convenient term for describing cohabitation among the Djukas, but it must be remembered that to them marriage is a purely economic institution. There is little ceremony. No one objects to getting married, because divorce is instantaneous and easy. The bonds of marriage are loose, and adultery, to use our harsh term, is customary.

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342 ings inside, to give the idea of affluence. The women looking
556 into the dim interior are awed by the numerous boxes. They are usually empty, however.

● 837 When men go away on hunting or fishing trips, adultery
689 frequently occurs. If it is discovered by the husband's family, they seize the wife and beat her. Her own family rushes to her aid, and a general mêlée ensues. The village is soon in
[572] an uproar, and to the captain belongs the unpleasant and thankless task of stopping the fight. There is considerable excitement for a few minutes. Many a hot listless evening is provided with a momentary thrill because someone's wife has been careless. After the mêlée the wife is usually forgiven, and the village returns to its normal routine.

586 Divorce is easy. A married woman merely informs the bosscia and captain, and moves out of her husband's hut, going back to her parents or to her lover. Even this formality may be dispensed with if she simply locks the door and refuses to let her husband enter. There is an heroic simplicity to this procedure. The husband may do the same, divorcing any one of his wives without assigning any reason for his action. The parting—we hesitate to distinguish it as a divorce—is usually on the woman's initiative; men leave their wives not so often as their wives leave them. Usually a husband will endure a wife until domestic dissension makes his life unbearable. Among women the motives for divorce vary; a husband's impotence is a very adequate reason, for of all masculine virtues the Djuka women esteem virility the most. Impotence seems to be common among primitive peoples after

/34 cont./

577 all, toward one another as fellow tribesmen they are very honest and trust one another's word. Frequently it happens that among them one family leaves the camp to go on a journey or else is absent for some other reason, and that it must leave behind unfenced the cultivated land planted with rice, tubers, bananas, bakoven, and sugar cane. But never will another of them steal any of that. And similarly their dwellings are open, since the entrance is not closed off by any door; upon their departure they leave one thing and another in it, but they will never miss any-
626 thing upon their return. Certainly contributing to this is the circumstance that in the vicinity of everybody's property there is a sign or idolatrous image, which they call obia, to which great power is ascribed, and for those who might want to commit dishonest acts, the legend can be observed, as for the European:
729 "Beware of mantraps." The fear that they have of these obias is not unjustified, for if it should happen at any time that misuse of trust took place, then the culprit, however long it takes, upon discovery will not escape the revenge of the deceived, revenge which frequently consists in the administering of secret remedies whereby terrible diseases and sufferings, if not death, come about.

152 They are very concerned about the faithfulness of their
● 837 wife or wives, /35/ for the Bush Negro is very jealous, whereas the wives cannot be exonerated of being susceptible to seduction. Accordingly it happens among them more than once that marital fidelity is violated.

184 Of the various tribes, the Aucaners are the most
177 civilized, but over against that also the craftiest, which can be
157 attributed to their more frequent intercourse with Europeans.
161 Among their tribes they are the most powerful, and their numerical strength is estimated at 4,000 to 5,000 souls.

123 According to the declaration of the Bush Negroes, no White has previously enjoyed the trust and attachment that I experienced from them. However, secretively they always conduct themselves toward the Whites, with respect to me they make an exception. If there is something secret among them that I should like to know, they will, upon my request, immediately and without any diffidence communicate it to me.

/151 cont./

595 Sticking to statistics, one could say that the Refugee Blacks are monogamous in the proportion of 85 per cent. But
581 it is an apparent monogamy, for unions are not stable; their
586 average duration is about ten years; in fact the Refugee Blacks are practicing polygamy over a period of time.

595 A man who takes another wife apologizes to the first and gives her a liter of tafia, asking her to live on good terms with
[586] the co-wife. A certain number of wives do not accept co-wives and get divorced.

587 Most men have had, in general, four or five wives
586 successively. Most of the time these marriages have been
163 broken by the wife. /152/

Example S... (65 years old in 1957) had at least seven wives:

-- Nanay (Dip. II)†	1 child	divorced
Baakauman (K) †	3 children	"
1 Paramaka woman	1 child dead	"
Saumè (Dip. I)	1 child	"
Paata (Boniville)	no children	"
Emma (Asisi-Aw.B.)	no children	"
Masé (K)	"	marriage extant in 1958

Kwami (50 years old in 1958) had four wives:

-- Apinda (Asisi)	no children	divorced
Saayé (Dip. I)	several children	"
Do (Lapé)	1 child dead	"
Noémi (Asisi-Aw.B.)	1 child	marriage extant in 1958

159
582 Example of the family life of G... (50 years old in 1958).
About 1935 G... married M... (Kotika), a serious-minded and
159 intelligent woman who was very attached to him. Neverthe-
837 less, about the same time he had a clandestine affair with S....,
[847] classificatory sister of M...., whom he made pregnant (abortion).

159
595
[837]
[613]

/152 cont./

Since it is forbidden to have two wives at the same time in the same lineage, that produced a scandal and his uncles had to intervene so that he would not be beaten.

After that, without leaving M..., he took officially another wife, A... (Papaïston). They lived together nearly eight years, but A... began to deceive him while he was on a trip. The first time, he only threatened her; the third time he repudiated her.

[839]
[586]

[619] Again he officially took another wife, T..., a Djuka from the Tapanahoni.

[589] A year later A..., who wished she had him back, had her uncles intervene so that she might come back into his favor. G..., through deference to her uncles, accepted against his will.

Thus he found himself engaged in three unions, M..., A..., and T.... He thought this situation was leading him to ruin and sacrificed T... although he had no fault to find with her.

[586]

[586] Some time afterward A... began to deceive him again and he repudiated her once and for all.

Finally he took a last wife, B... (Asisi), by whom he had no children.

On each of these undertakings he had to submit to violent scenes by his first wife M..., who was very attached to him and would have liked to keep him for herself alone. Nevertheless, she never divorced him and did not provoke difficulties with her co-wives.

[842] He had a child by M... after more than 15 years of sterile marriage.

In 1958 G... was living with M... and B..., who got along well together. He was not looking for any more new adventures.

/153 cont./

684 with repudiation in case of a second offense. The rule is to
586 repudiate her, under pain of ridicule.
[626]

In 1951 G..., of Kotika village, was informed that his
837 wife A..., of Asisi village, 25 years old, was deceiving him
684 with a boy of the same age named K.... The first time he encountered K in a village he took issue with him; K... confessed without difficulty. G... delivered a strong punch which threw him to the ground, and that was all. He did not ad-
[586] minister any punishment to his wife but immediately let her know that he was repudiating her. Some time after, K...
[576] asked to be reconciled with him. He asked his pardon and
[431] gave him a bottle of tafia (this is obligatory for reconciliation). Since, the two men have again been friends.

It also happens that the grand man levies a more or less stiff fine on the guilty man.

837 According to the elders, adultery was rare in former
[586] times. If a woman was tired of her husband, she divorced him openly, but she did not deceive him. Nowadays it seems to be rather frequent.

586 Divorce. The Refugee Blacks divorce each other as easily as they join together; in general it is the woman who decides to break up the union because she finds her husband too poor, too lazy, or simply because she wants to change. /154/

In the case of divorce the woman keeps all that her husband has given to her or made for her (utensils, house, boat), but of course the man keeps all his own belongings; this rupture changes nothing about the possession of property since no object was owned jointly.

581 The rule is the following: at the time of the marriage the man puts down symbolically several personal objects (fabrics, utensils) in the woman's home. As long as these objects are in her home the marriage remains in force, the wife is held to fidelity or at the very least, if there is adultery, it is regarded as such and entails the sanction related above.

/157 cont./

586 If one considers all Boni women together without any age distinctions, one can estimate that on the average they have been divorced 2.5 times during the course of their lives between 18 and 65 years of age. The average duration of marriages (not counting unions broken by the death of one of the spouses) could be evaluated, for the period before 1950, at about 15 years. It tends to decrease in proportion as a generation brought up [178] under less strict discipline reaches adulthood (1).

1. Doctor Étienne Bois, revising in September, 1960 our card file stopped at the end of November, 1958, recorded for the villages on the French bank 28 divorces which had taken place in the course of this period of 1.8 years. [162] The number of women of marriageable age in these villages being about 160, this figure corresponds to 0.1 divorce per woman and per year, or to an average duration of unions of about 10 years.

[837] Dissoluteness of the women. It appears that most wives are faithful to their husbands for the duration of the union. But since they have the possibility of breaking this union with no need of authorization by anybody whatever, they leave their husband very readily, whether they have stopped liking him or whether they intend to marry a richer man.

Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1834
Bush Negroes
Saramacca

It appeared that nothing in a woman's life was so dreaded as childbearing, nothing more coveted than fertility, and no time so difficult and so anxious as when a woman was rearing her children.

"The day before a girl marries she prays all day to her gods," said Dida, who with Fenekonde and several other women had joined us. "I begged my god Kesekia and gave him rice and rum. All day they played the agida. I begged him not to hate my husband. I begged him to give us children."

When a woman conceived, her husband made her many obias, and especially a black sack obia with four cowries sewed on it, to keep her safe on the paths which led from village to village, and from village to her field. The fear of the power of bad magic at this time was so great that, if we but looked at one of the pregnant women, or let our eyes rest on the several obias she wore, she grew nervous, covered them with both her hands, and disappeared in fear that the very power of our glance might weaken the potency of the charms. She did not believe in the white man's magic, but she was not in a condition to wish to put it to a test.

"When her time comes, a woman sees to it that she is in her own village," said Fenekonde. "It is not good to give birth in the bush, or on the river."

This had almost happened to Wilhelmina with her last child. She was on the river alone in a boat. Chief Sungi of Dahomey met her and called on his gods to delay the coming of the child until he brought her home. He had strong obia, and so the misfortune was averted.

When the woman felt the first labor-pains, she prayed to the gods, and to her personal spirits. On the great Sky God she called, and the Earth Mother; on her ak'a, her soul; on the Yorka, the ancestors; and then she prayed to her personal gods, and particularly to whatever snake gods she might have, for some of these were known to be jealous of a coming child. But none of the gods dared be slighted.

539 fascinated. It showed, in its purest form, the retention of the African mask-like head. Sometimes on the prow of a boat we would see in cruder form the outlines of a mask, and once an old woman came with a food stirrer to us. Its handle ended in a knob which with a few strokes of the knife had been formed into a double representation of the human [191] head, a perfect parallel to the type of mask that is associated with the people of the Ivory Coast.

539 191 Aside from the decorated apinti drum, only some of the workaday art forms of Africa—combs, paddles, mortars, among other such objects—were retained. For their decoration the designs that in Africa had been cut into the base of figures or about the borders of masks had been remembered and reinterpreted in terms of the ancestral cults. And from those memories the Bush Negroes had developed the unique art which is theirs.

539 181 84 Thus, in the main, the art was symbolic, and many of the designs represented the urge for reproduction. Some stemmed from the fertility cult, though not entirely of it. There was, for example, the double-bladed food stirrer, [626] which was given by a man to his wife with a curse woven into its curves for the woman if she committed adultery.

539 There were carvings that did not deal with sex at all. On the lower river we sat on the shore as a canoe came up. Prow and stern were carved. On one of the seats was a representation of the head of a feline, done with the utmost realism.

"You have *tigri*?" we asked the man, as we bargained for the seats.

"I will sell you this, but do not ask me what it means."

The bird-headed paddles were also examples of this kind. [501] When laid on their sides, they showed the form of the parrot, or whatever bird they represented—the exaggerated beak, the head, the neck, the wings, and the feet. The design called *Alukutu folo*, an emblem of those who [791] could see into the future, was engraved on many benches on the upper river in particular, and these carvings were parted with only with the greatest reluctance, lest we try

716 186 gods do not come to them." There was in her voice contempt for women who had no gods. She was of a reddish-brown color, taller and more slender than most, and the great coils of brass about her arms and ankles told that her [301] beauty had had full recognition. These had come to her at [585] marriage, as had the small earrings of gold which the bassia had brought to her from French Guiana. With these, too, had come cloths and handkerchiefs, beads and carvings.

609 123 If white women had no gods, did they know any of the other things which women must know? Did the white [841] woman wear an apron underneath all her cloths, as women should? Were her thighs cicatrized? Did she cook for her husband, or other men, when she should be isolated in the special house provided for women's monthly visits? [841] Did she purify herself with sacred clay when she emerged from isolation in order not to spoil her husband's obias, for which contact with a woman who has her menses is the deadliest taboo? Why, having borne children, did her figure not show it?

[534] "Have you drums?" the bassia's wife asked. "Without drums, how do you pray? How do you dance?"

[535] Dancing without drums availed nothing.

"White women have no gods. The gods do not come to them. They are not troubled by the need to dance. White women do not pray," she concluded, seeing that what dancing the white woman did could only be a feeble affair.

"I will send my son to your country. The men who go to the French shore say it is good to know how to count the white man's way. My woman-child I will never send," she finished with finality.

Now it was the white woman's turn to ask a few questions, having done explaining how her boots laced, and why it was that she was dressed very much as her husband was dressed.

951 716 983 The white clay in the hair and on the face of a small child was medicine. The child's mother had washed for her god that morning. He was a god whose day for dancing was Wednesday, and now, feeling the god stir in her, she would

In Herskovits & Herskovits E-8 (1929-1929) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Saramacca

wash every day until Wednesday came to permit her to dance. When she washed with the sacred moistened clay, she rubbed the white on her children.

"Will all the woman dance on Wednesday who have the same god as you?"

The child's mother shook her head. "If the god comes to them, yes. If he doesn't come, they can't dance."

And the bassia's wife said, "The women who are in the menstrual house can't dance. When they hear the drums, they are troubled, but they must remain quiet."

The woman had spoken too eagerly and too loudly, for her husband, overbearing her, said something in a low rapid voice, and at once the women fell silent and several of them remembered errands they had to see to.

4

"When men are in the council house, you mustn't interrupt," said the bassia's wife to the white woman. "If we did what you did just now, our husbands would scold us when they got home, and if we did it again, they would beat us."

She had taken upon herself all the prerogatives of friendship, and continually criticized the manners of her visitor.

The old were to be greeted last. A gift was to be received by another. When returning a piece of carving to another's hand, the carving should rest on the outstretched palm, while the elbow of that arm lay on the palm of the other hand. In the presence of men, a woman who took a stool should turn it about and sit on its narrower side.

"Never sit on the bare earth. The spirits don't like it," she said one instant, and the next, "Don't play with your fingers on top of your sun helmet. Your breasts will get long. Drumming is not a thing for women."

There had been other warnings during earlier visits to Bush Negro villages, but none had borne down so heavily upon the shortcomings of the stranger.

cloths, their hair disheveled, their faces without the glint 787
which the oil gave to their dark skins, and their eyes without the touch of dark flame which the gleaming skins brought out. One of these women stood leaning against a doorpost trembling. Her hands were clenched, and her mouth moved without pause, and without sound.

"She hears the agida!"

"Ai. She wants to dance, but she can't. Her god is troubling her."

The white woman must not stop with them longer, and she must not come closer, the two women who stood beside their quivering companion called out at once, for the obia which she wore about her neck would be contaminated if brought too close to them, and its power to protect the wearer against danger would leave it at once.

"Do not come too close. Tomorrow I will return to my house, and after I have bathed and washed in pemba, I will be clean again, and then I will come to see you," the younger of the two women said.

The other said, "When you go there," and she pointed toward the woman's path, "do not go by the way of the broken calabashes. That is the unclean way. It is the path [341] for the women who stay in this house."

Down the clearing the white woman continued until, 343
when she turned, the open cooking shelter of Bassia Anaisi's quarter faced her. The floor of the shelter was of red clay, raised well above the clearing itself. A woman was laying a fire there, putting down the long sticks one end close to the other in the center, so that they radiated outwards in what seemed a perfect circle. Her child, who was fitted out with obias on neck and wrists and right ankle, sat [524] near by watching her, and playing with a gourd doll.

The voice of the agida had a moment before died down, 533
and now a song reached the white woman. It came not from across the river, but from somewhere directly behind the houses grouped about the clearing beyond the cooking shelter. The song was a repetition of several melodic phrases, sung in varying rhythms, so that it had a disturb-

SARAMACCA OBIA

of the white man and blew on it, drawing both his hands lightly over the hands which held the obia. When he had done this, he whispered its tchina.

"Do not let the obia come near a menstruating woman, and do not eat the meat of the crab."

Types of obias varied. Some were of fiber twisted into a cord and woven into bands to fit an arm or a leg, some were worn around the neck, and ended with a few cowries and a bell or a black sack with cowries sewn on them or some bristles and a brilliant bit of a parrot's feather. There were also the plain bands of iron, the Kromanti obias worn by men.

One of the most interesting obias was the coffin obia. It was not to be worn casually, as were all the others we had heretofore acquired. When our cook saw this one he paled.

"Mi Gado," he cried, and then turned to the English at his command to give us a warning which would not be understood by those who stood near. "What you got there? Put that away! You wan' fo' die?" Nor would he come near it until it was well out of sight.

It was, we saw, best hidden, if we wanted to continue our course up the river.

The man who had sold it had himself impressed us with its potency. "This obia is strong. . . . Look, it is made of cedar, the same wood from which we make the big coffins, and it is wrapped in the cloth we use to cover the coffin in which the dead man lies. Now that you have the power which is in the obia, I can tell you that the black on it is the soot from the fire, the white is pemba, and the inside ring is woven from the maripa palm. It will carry you well on the river. Nothing can harm you when you already carry your coffin with you."

The logic of his last remark was not so convincing to the whites as it was to the obia man, but it seemed unwise to question him about it.

"To keep it strong, you must spray it with rum twice a month. When the moon is full you must do it, and again

SARAMACCA OBIA

But if the tchina are too difficult to observe, then the man who made the obia can take the tchina away."

Suiting his action to the word, Bayo took some water from the river into his mouth and, spraying it over the obia, said, "The tchina I gave you, I take away. The breaking of these tchina must no longer defile you or take away your power."

There was nothing more hateful to the gods and the spirit of obia than an unclean woman, yet if an obia man wished, he could instruct the power in the obia not to take offense at unintentional contacts with menstruating women, or at cloths belonging to such women, or at food prepared by such women. But to accomplish this, an obia man had to be very powerful and, even so, he could not feel sure that the obia spirit would countenance such violations indefinitely.

All of these personal obias had definite attributes. One was made to guard an individual on the water, another in the bush. There were obias for successful hunting and fishing, for being safe against the evil spirits at the crossroads, for slander, and for envy. One obia saw to it that the soul remained strong, another that no illness sent by an enemy might lodge itself in the body of the wearer; there were love obias, and fighting obias, and obias which kept ghosts away.

Yet whatever such obias were made of, the object in itself had no validity. A simple fiber with a jaguar's tooth attached to it might well have greater powers for safety in the bush than an elaborately wrought obia, whose maker had not a strong obia spirit to give it spiritual power. Without this supernatural potency, it would be like a village god that had been allowed to rot because of itself it was merely a block of wood, and the deity for whom it had been made had not come to animate it.

6

Long ago, the Anansi stories tell us, there was a bird that knew obia. The cries of this bird shook all the kingdoms

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

881 have a last look at the child's penis, as they will never see it again. Then the boy is proclaimed a man, and given clothes.

So far as could be observed, there is no circumcision of either the male or femal, although such mutilations are indulged in by West African tribes in the region from which the Djukas came. The girls wear only the *coyo*, or a larger cloth known as *pangi*, until their first menstruation, when their mothers give themcloths. This is done in private. Menstruating women are required to leave their homes and retire
871 to a separate hut situatedoutside the village on a by-path; they may not return until three days after the period is over. Under no condition are they alowed to go to the provision fields during this time.

584 At the age of about sixteen or seventeen the children are
[532] ready to be married. Sometimes they are betrothed in infancy, and occasionally a pregnant woman will betroth her child before it is born, conditionally, of course, upon its sex. Once the child is betrothed the ceremony must take place,
[754] otherwise the disappointed prospective mate will call down a *kunu*, or curse, on the entire perjured family, and they will all die. The pubescent child does not look forward to marriage as time for leaving its family, nor is marriage an
[591] initiation into sex relations. For these two reasons, getting
[549] married is not a serious step, and there is little illegitimacy because there is no reason for objecting to a marriage.

858 Youths must remain standing until their elders invite them
576 to be seated. It is customary for older people to receive much
888 respectful attention, for the older people are the sources of tradition and authority

/15 cont./

585 white cotton sleeping blanket, various colored cloths and pantjes,
[583] some earthenware, such as bowls and plates, iron pots and pans,
and the like, while he is obligated on the occasion to provide for
an ample supply of strong drink and sugar wine.

They do not have festivities, games, or dancing in connection with their marriages.

586 If a marriage is dissolved, then each of the two parties again goes to his own family; in case those concerned in it and the elders disapprove of this, however, it happens that man and wife are forced to continue to live with each other, especially when there are no substantial reasons and grievances.

593 The man is obligated to provide his wife or his wives with food, clothing, and ornaments; she, to follow the man everywhere, to look for him, to wash, and to take care of the housekeeping.

264 The wives are neat in an exemplary fashion; plates, bowls,
252 and pans are always kept extremely clean, and they also see to it that everything is extremely clean in connection with cooking.

● 841 If they find themselves in a period of menstruation, they
302 indicate this immediately to the husband by withdrawing from his dwelling and staying in seclusion with other women; they neither cook nor do the least thing for him in this state, do not even come within sight of him, and remain secluded to the end; when they have cleaned and dressed themselves, they decorate their shoulders and arms with white stripes as a token /16/ that they have again
[386] returned to their normal state. The stripes are made by mixing
[824] pounded adroe (1) with ground chalk and water.

1. A tuberous root-stalk from the Cyperus rotundus L.

Sometimes they also smear the forehead and the neck in this way and appear thus before their husbands.

841 During their seclusion another woman, who is a member of
571 the family or possibly a female friend, daily prepares and brings the
252 food, which, however, is at the expense of the secluded wife. They perform this service for each other mutually.

/254 cont./

841 Woman's magic power. The Refugee Blacks assume that a woman, during her menstrual periods, is impure and has the power to destroy the power of obia. So during these periods she must withdraw into a special hut, mumu ɔsu, and prepare her meals in special dishes; she may not prepare her husband's food, for by doing this she would destroy the power of his obia, and must abstain from touching objects he habitually uses, particularly his gun, which would lose its good points for shooting. Even in the little farming habitations which consist of only several huts, one may be sure that one of them serves as a mumu ɔsu.

841 The mumu ɔsu are very simple sheds built by the women
343 themselves, using reclaimed materials taken from huts being
462 demolished; some belong to one woman only; for others, three
[845] or four women get together. They have recourse to men only for assembling the framework, remunerating them with several cans of cousac or several baskets of yams.

841 /255/ A man who has a powerful obia like the man nɛ̃ge ɔbia must abstain from speaking to a woman who has her menses.

[751] The Boni assume there are women wicked enough to willfully hide their menses in order to destroy the power of a man's obia, but he who has a good man nɛ̃ge ɔbia cannot be a dupe: the iron circle warns him of the danger by squeezing his arm.

184 According to Mr. W. F. van Lier, the act of willfully
841 hiding her menses is for the Djuka one of the gravest offenses
68 a woman can commit, and the most severe punishments are inflicted on her. It is not the same with the Boni: in such a case a woman risks only being insulted and banned.

752 Another deeply rooted belief among the Refugee Blacks,
834 and which exists with many Creoles, is the necessity for the
191

/255 cont./

984 A... of the Dya lo, about 28 years old in 1958, must
242 observe six kina:

--The cayman and the jaguar as bwasi kina.

--The otter (yundu) as akka kina. /256/

These three kina have been imposed on him since his first years, but the meaning of them was explained to him only later on.

[951] --The eel (mɛnsi) was imposed on him as a kina by his father when the latter gave him a man nɛgge ɔbia. ɔbia of protection against machete or gun, materialized by an iron bracelet.

[841 834] To this ɔbia is attached another kina. A... must not speak to a woman having her menstrual period.

[951 989] --Finally, the crab (kaabu), kina attached to an ɔbia of which the man concerned only spoke with reticence, probably a Kumɛnti bui (bracelet of Kumɛnti, instrument of divination).

A... has no gadu kina in the strict sense of the term.

There exists no food kina common to all the Boni; the cayman is generally forbidden to them as bwasi kina, associated with another animal; but this is not absolute; we know at least one Boni who has not received this kina.

If someone has broken a kina inadvertently, he can have himself cleansed of this offense by ɔbiaman. But if he broke it willfully, he cannot escape the punishment attached to the offense.

845 Beliefs about twins. They have the idea that twins and
221 children who follow twins are of a nature different from other men, participating in a divine principle.

[955] Twins cannot live (since they do not belong to ordinary humanity) if they are not treated with a special remedy known only to certain lineages especially rich in twins.

REBEL DESTINY

Among the people of one group, the principal ceremony may be held in the clearing itself. The drums are brought, and men and women and children pray for fertility. The beautifully carved apinti drum sounds the invocation to the Great God and to the ancestors, while the tall agida drums are brought to call the earth spirits. Two by two the men dance susa, the dance which in pantomime reproduces an ancient warrior's combat with spear and shield, the winner taking on a new combatant, until the final winner is given a wand as a reward, and gains for himself the title of "G'aman of Susa" until the next dance is held. Other dances follow. Perhaps the women now line up in two long rows facing each other, and dance bandamba, the dance which celebrates marriage and the birth of twins, and the birth of a child who is born feet foremost. The motions are the slow rhythmic manipulations of the muscles of hips and abdomen. It is a dance of fertility, danced by the very young girls as well as by those who have borne children. But the women who are past the age for dancing sit with their men, arms interlaced, swaying to the rhythms of the songs they sing. . . . There are offerings to the earth spirits, poured upon the earth out of black obia pots and calabashes, while other offerings are set upon the ground for the ancestors.

In another settlement, the ritual would be chiefly carried on in the village itself, and there might be a local dance of fertility, danced nowhere else on the river. "An old, old ancestress taught it to us," the villagers would say.

When it is time to plant, the woman plants with the man's help.

"When I plant a new field," said the younger woman, "I pray as I work."

And this is her prayer:

O Sky God, Mother of the Earth, Ancestors,
I am planting a field,
Make it bear;
People who come to me must eat,

REBEL DESTINY

968 "If it is the man who is dead, then the woman takes her
995 girl children to live with her, but her sons she sends away to live elsewhere. A man's spirit will not harm his daughters. He loves them. But his sons, he will kill. . . . When a woman dies, then it is the sons that the man will keep with him in the house, and the daughters must go away. The yorka of a woman will protect her sons, but she will destroy the daughters when she visits the place where she once lived."

§

602 To her child the Bush Negro mother gives at birth
851 membership in all her own blood groups. The child is of her *wuru*, or household. He belongs to her *mbi*, or great family, which is an aggregate of many households. He is a member of her *lo*, or clan, which is composed of a number of great families, and which holds political sway over a given
613 portion of the land. The tie of all these groupings is a blood tie, a common female ancestress who lived long ago, or several women, daughters of the same mother, who had been the first to live with the runaway ancestors here in the bush, or several women who came from one people in Africa, and were the first to bear children to the rebels in the jungle. Every legal, every economic implication which this tradition of descent and inheritance through the female line might hold, is faithfully adhered to.

611 The mother does indeed count, as the tales told us in the
593 city insisted. But what of the father?

That the Bush Negro understands fully the rôle that
849 both father and mother play in the procreation of the
532 young was everywhere apparent. The wood carving which a father made for his young daughter had designs on it of the kind which bore the general designation "*womi ko' mayo*—man and woman." Whatever the traceries on the carvings given by a man to his woman during courtship, or after marriage, whatever animals might be represented, the essential symbolism was that of fertility, and the

figures of a male and a female in congress were often introduced into the design.

The ignorance of the physical rôle of the male parent, said to exist among other primitive peoples with a similar linkage of relatives on the mother's side, is not found among the Suriname Negroes. At a religious ceremony in which townspeople alone were dancing, a woman turned to us, and said, "Now they are dancing Afrekete. When *Ma Aize*—an Earth goddess—and *Pa Lebbe*—he who guards the crossroads—make a child, it is called Afrekete." Similar genealogies of spirits were vouchsafed us by Bush Negroes as well, and always, there was the male god as well as the female, and always the recognition that both made the spirit which was their offspring.

These are examples derived from the art of the people, from their ritual, and from the concepts they have of the forces that actuate the universe. There also were many incidents to show the attitude of fathers and children toward each other in the everyday run of life.

Awingu did not hesitate when he answered that the child who was with him belonged to his wife. But he added that it was he who made him, and his affection for the little boy, and the child's fondness for him was apparent even to the casual onlooker. Kasanya, in talking to us about the kunu of his wife's family which had destroyed his sons, mourned them as a father. He had made them, and he had taught them to run the rapids, and to carve. He had given them his own gods to protect them, he told us when recounting the tragedy of the kunu which killed them. Misomba, the brother-in-law of Kasanya, had made Adyabu. There was no ambiguity about who the boy's father was. The boy was Kasanya's heir, but he was Misomba's son. Sedefo had brought the child to his brother Zimbi's coffin, saying, "I bring you your child. Try to protect him. . . ."

There was the matter of slipping. It is dangerous to slip. Losing one's step may bring the soul to the ground in an unguarded moment, where the earth spirits, or what

be possessed by them. Between the roots of the tree offerings were placed—two or three bottles on their sides, or a calabash filled with sacred clay.

When the time came to dance to the gods of the kankan tree, a tunic of cotton was placed about its trunk. While the drums spoke to the gods, white clay was spread over the bark, a chicken was killed, and its blood allowed to spray the tree and drip into a calabash placed on the ground to receive it. Eggs inside obia pots were put beside the tree, and bottles filled with sweet liquor and the juice of sugar cane. All about its wide trunk the dancers swayed and leaped, each dancing to her own spirit until, at the height of their ecstasy, there were a few among them who would climb the great tree itself, and dance on its branches. The drums continued until the frenzy ebbed. Had they stopped sooner, those in the tree could not have remained there safely or in safety have descended to the ground.

At other times, women came to Gedeonsu to ask him for children, and those who were troubled by his spirit brought offerings, though the great dances were held when the old year came to an end, and the big offerings were then made.

"If a man were to cut down a kankan tree, Gedeonsu would cut off his foot. I myself saw it happen," said a man to us at S'ei. "And his sister got the god."

The kankan tree gods could be bought, too. A woman who wanted fertility would seek to buy Gedeonsu. Others might wish to have Tinné. Only an individual who had a spirit which gave him the right to make obias and call the gods could get the spirit for one who wished to buy it. Such a man would take an obia pot, fill it with water and place inside it cowrie shells which had not been cleansed. After speaking his invocation, he would add a sacred white stone, called an obia stone, and with a calabash in one hand and a bell in the other, he would go to the tree and address the spirits as he rang the bell. When the water became ruffled, it was a sign that the god had entered it. Quickly he would cover the calabash with a cloth and take it away with him.

REBEL DESTINY

"Tonight there will be dancing for you," Ané'u said, when we left the shrine. "I will go and pray again before the dance, and then I will go to my hammock early, for I leave at sunrise. We will meet again at the G'aman's."

The bassia's wife followed us to our house.

"You are a woman, yet you went inside the shrine. Maybe you do have gods, white woman. When you go in again will you pray to the Earth Mother for the woman Kupa, who is my sister? Twice she bore girl children, and both sleep. Now she is with child again. She wears many obias about her neck, and daily she washes with white clay. She is the woman with the wooden obia doll hanging between her breasts. No, not the one who has the small black sack about her neck. Any woman who is with child wears that. You will know her when you see her. She is beautiful."

7

The dance was held in the bassia's quarter, in front of one of his houses. The bassia was a man of wealth. He had three wives, while the chief had but two. Whether one of the three was only nominally his wife and had come to him at the death of a brother, we were unable to learn, but that his means were large was apparent. The house where his personal possessions were stored was built high on posts. A house so raised stood out from those about it and bore the same name as the moon. Underneath it, in the shelter made by the posts, lay a partly made drum, some carved wooden implements, and carpenter's tools. There was also a forked stick in the ground upon which rested a black obia pot with water and weeds in it.

The children began the dancing.

Ayo, ayo
Ayo, ayei,
Agida comes,
Ayo, ayo,
Earth spirits come,
Ayo, ayei.

84 It appeared that nothing in a woman's life was so dreaded
85 as childbearing, nothing more coveted than fertility, and no time so difficult and so anxious as when a woman was rearing her children.

782 "The day before a girl marries she prays all day to her
584 gods," said Dida, who with Fenekonde and several other women had joined us. "I begged my god Kesekia and gave him rice and rum. All day they played the agida. I begged
• 848 him not to hate my husband. I begged him to give us children."

843 When a woman conceived, her husband made her many
831 obias, and especially a black sack obia with four cowries
751 sewed on it, to keep her safe on the paths which led from
789 village to village, and from village to her field. The fear of the power of bad magic at this time was so great that, if we but looked at one of the pregnant women, or let our eyes rest on the several obias she wore, she grew nervous, covered them with both her hands, and disappeared in fear that the very power of our glance might weaken the potency of the charms. She did not believe in the white man's magic, but she was not in a condition to wish to put it to a test.

849 "When her time comes, a woman sees to it that she is in
782 her own village," said Fenekonde. "It is not good to give birth in the bush, or on the river."

This had almost happened to Wilhelmina with her last child. She was on the river alone in a boat. Chief Sungi of Dahomey met her and called on his gods to delay the coming of the child until he brought her home. He had strong obia, and so the misfortune was averted.

When the woman felt the first labor-pains, she prayed to the gods, and to her personal spirits. On the great Sky God she called, and the Earth Mother; on her ak'a, her soul; on the Yorka, the ancestors; and then she prayed to her personal gods, and particularly to whatever snake gods she might have, for some of these were known to be jealous of a coming child. But none of the gods dared be slighted.

WOMEN AT WORK

"Before she begs the gods, she is seated on a mat, or on cloths. Over her head a white cloth is thrown. The woman who is there to look after the coming of the child takes a calabash with water. Then she throws the water on the ground where the woman is seated. She begs the great gods, and the ancestors, and the woman's soul, and the woman's gods. 844 780

"When the pains come, she ties a cloth about her belly tight, tight, until it hurts. The woman who helps her gives her some water if she wants it, and she presses down on the belly and makes the cloth tighter and tighter, until the child comes. The cord is cut with a knife." 844

The knife was the same as the kind they used for cicatrizing, and the after-birth was buried behind the house, in a small hole into which food and a piece of the sacred sangrafu wood was thrown. [412]

"The child is washed, and then *pemba*—kaolin—is put on its forehead, and after that the mother and the child bathe every day and then wash in pemba. Sometimes a moon comes and wanes, and another comes, and the mother still puts the white on herself and on her child." [751]

But if the birth proved to be difficult, then the husband was told, and he besought his own ancestors and his own gods to help his woman and child. 845

"If the child doesn't come, then it's a bad spirit. Then they call the obia man."

When a woman had difficulty, everybody was troubled about it. If a woman had been unfaithful to her husband and had not confessed it, it would be that which would be killing the child in her womb, and killing her as well. Sometimes it was *wisi*—black magic—and everybody wondered who had sent it to their village. Sometimes it was a god who was envious. [754]

"If it is a god, then, when the woman is strong again, she goes to a more powerful god and buys from him the next child to come into her womb. The strong god sees to it that the jealous one finds no way to harm the child." 845 717 845 ●

What happened when a child was born dead? [766]

name which was kept secret and never spoken except in states of possession or when the obia man called on a person's spirit. For girls, Amba for a Saturday child, Affi for one born on Friday, Adjuba for Wednesday; and for the boys some of the names were Kwaku, for Monday, Yao for Thursday, Kofi for Friday, and Kwasi for Sunday. Then there was the name which the father gave, and after that any of the family who cared added a name and made the child a present. 551

From the day it was born until it was at least two years old a child fed at its mother's breast. For twelve moons and five more of this time the woman could not go to the hammock with a man. It was then that her husband went to the distant French shore to work or to the railhead. But after seventeen months of nursing were past, he came back. 853 846 844

"If a child is made before a woman gets back her menstrual flow, then it is a god. It is Kesefu. A child born feet first some call Agosu, and some Asaeng. The child born after twins we call Dosu, and twins are Hohobi. Now it is in your book. You will give those names to your children, and your sister's children. No one will know at all what names these are. No one will be able to harm them." [842] [845]

6

In the quarter immediately adjoining that of the Granman there was great activity. Six or seven men and boys were at work on a new house, for the youngest daughter of the family was ready for marrying, and now the men were helping her suitor to build a house for her in her village. 585 476

From the same quarter, behind a house which stood in the shade, came the laughter of young girls. We made our way past the house and saw four girls ranging in age from thirteen to sixteen seated on a log. One of these held her head back, and an older girl was bending over her. They called to us as we passed. 304

"We are cutting kamemba. Do you want some cuts, too?"

These were not new cuts which were being made, for with perhaps one exception, the girls were all nubile, and

REBEL DESTINY

"So we see from the Kromanti obia on your arm." Was she, a woman, possessed of the war-like Kromanti spirit? we asked her.

"It is as you see. I am a woman, and I have Kromanti—and it's strong Kromanti."

"We had not heard of women your age getting Kromanti."

"Ai, there are not many, but when my spirit comes, I dance heavy. I dance like the men."

We must have appeared unconvinced, for she became more emphatic.

"What they do in other villages, white man, I do not know. But I have Kromanti, and when the drums speak here at Djamungo I, too, come."

She rose and went into the inner chamber of the house, where the hammocks were hung, and brought out several objects wrapped in old cloth.

"Bayo said I should have obias for you when you came. He said you would pay well for obias. I have these for you."

The trading commenced. There were two small images—"*gadus*" they were called, both crudely carved. One was called Winti Nyamusi. It was a spirit which gave children to women.

"When I come to ask for children, then I take sweet rum in my mouth, and I spray the gadu, then I say, '*Naymusi, da wa' buno mi'i*—O Spirit Naymusi! Give me a fine child.' Then the child will come."

What was the other image, the larger one, with anteater's bristles inserted at sides and top?

"That is a Kromanti obia. It is the Opete spirit, the buzzard. When you take it with you, you must speak to it so. You must say, 'Obia-o, I am carrying you away with me. You must look after me, you must see that my life is spared, O great spirit.' Then you must spray it with rum, but not the sweet rum, not for Kromanti."

There were other obias she had for us, some to be worn about the neck, and others to be worn below the knee.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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not severed gently enough. During the nursing period it is often customary for the mother to abstain from intercourse, and judging by the size of the nursing children this period may last for two years.

The children are carried in the West African manner, astride on their mothers' backs and held by a band of wide cloth that goes around both mother and child. This is unlike the local Indian custom, in which the squaws carry their offspring on their hips. The children are washed often, being bathed several times a day beside the river; they stand and gurgle as the water is being poured over them.

The number of births among the Djukas is not as great as might be inferred from their promiscuity. This suggests, of course, that some means of contraception is practised. In one village on the Saramacca River a medicine man showed the bahkra a yellow berry, an infusion of which is supposed to have abortive properties; it is known among the natives of British Guiana as "Doctor Doolittle." We doubt that the infusion has any such properties as are assigned to it. We also heard that the Djukas practice mechanical abortion, but their crude instruments must make this very dangerous.

Excepting during the first two or three years of the children's lives, mothers actually have little to do with their care. There are usually several older children in the family, sisters, brothers, or cousins, to whom is relegated the care of the younger ones. Besides their ordinary names, children are also called according to the day of the week on which they were born, such as Monday-child, Tuesday-child, and so on.

B /513 cont./
164 the birth rate of the Boni is scarcely influenced by malaria. This is an essential difference between Blacks and Indians.

This immunity, regarded as an hereditary characteristic of the African Blacks, was well known by the Europeans of past centuries. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was thought that on account of this fact only the African Blacks could furnish a regular force in tropical countries. This is one of the principal causes of the slave trade.

/514/ -- An important impairment by skin affections. The Boni, before the creation of the Maripasoula medical center, showed many cases of pian, which attacked most of the children, leaving infirmities and widespread incapacities in certain adults.

Also observed were numerous cases of American forest cutaneous leishmaniasis (pian-bois), involving ulcers, sometimes very widespread, almost always infected, and able to lead to a terminal cachexia. Finally, 1% of the Boni manifested cases of leprosy in the course of development. The total incidence of the disease was estimated in 1957 at approximately 3%.

B
[842]
[161]
-- An important invasion of venereal diseases, notably of blennorrhagia, leading to the sterility of a large number of women and stopping the demographic increase.

This aspect of the pathology seems in keeping with the very free morals of the Boni and the instability of their unions.

In 1948 the Boni attributed an important part of the infant mortality to a form of meningitis which they call "pikin nenge siki," "the sickness of the little Blacks"; the symptoms described seem to fit cerebrospinal meningitis.

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Pathology of the Oayana Indians. Doctor Douvier, examining the Oayana in 1937, wrote: "The Indian does not show sores like the Negro; the Indian has epidemics."

Doctors who have examined the Indians of the interior in the course of recent years have made agreeing observations on their pathology, which can be summarized thus:

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-- the Indians, in contrast to the Blacks, suffer severely from malaria; no immunity appears among adults, who are more severely attacked than children. The size of the spleen in most cases simply increases in the course of life.

/519 cont./

128 163 Fertility. We have classed the women, according to the year of birth, into four categories, for fertility has varied considerably in the course of time. The study has been made by five-year age-blocks. The table below /see p. 16 / shows the cumulative fertility (total of figures obtained for the various age-blocks from 15 to 50 years of age). For the women of categories three and four, the number obtained is the result of an extrapolation.

842 Among the Boni there is no custom leading to a diminution of fertility, and the voluntary restriction of births is unknown.

163 The vertical fall of fertility between categories one and 164 two results from the invasion of venereal diseases, which seems [177] to have coincided with the period (1920) when the search for the balata brought into the interior a heavy traffic of adventurers [231] accompanied by numerous prostitutes. The very free morals of the Boni favor the propagation of the illness, which, since that time, has not ceased its ravages, stemmed only, but not eliminated, by the medical effort of these last years.

/122 cont./

846 834 856 Interruption of conjugal relations after the birth. For three months after delivery the mother must stay away from men and even avoid touching them. Conjugal relations must be interrupted until the child begins to walk alone (eleven to 14 months). However, it is tolerated (but disapprovingly) that they be interrupted only for the time until the child begins to drag himself on his knees /123/ (eight months). They cite the example of Baïna's wife who has puny children after pregnancies at too short intervals. [842]

846 834 862 178 593 Actually, the interruption of conjugal relations tends to be reduced more and more, the women having condensed milk available and tending to reduce the duration of breast feeding.

Each woman acts as she wishes in this respect; the husband has no power to restrain her.

The Name

551 553 Existence of several independent names. Each Boni has two names, the gaã nɛm or big name, given by the father, and the pikin nɛm or little name, given by the mother.

These two names are given in totally independent fashion. Generally the pikin nɛm is given first; in former days they used to wait until the child was six to eight months old; nowadays it is given at the end of a few weeks. The head of the lineage does not intervene either in the choice or the giving of the name.

As a matter of fact, nearly three-quarters of the Boni are designated by one single name, either because the father and mother agreed to give the same name or because one of the two names fell into disuse.

To these two principal names may be added any number of names and cognomens given by the grandparents and later by friends or spouse; often one of the names ends by being given

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[837]
[613]

/152 cont./

Since it is forbidden to have two wives at the same time in the same lineage, that produced a scandal and his uncles had to intervene so that he would not be beaten.

After that, without leaving M...., he took officially another wife, A... (Papaïston). They lived together nearly eight years, but A... began to deceive him while he was on a trip. The first time, he only threatened her; the third time he repudiated her.

[839]
[586]

[619] Again he officially took another wife, T...., a Djuka from the Tapanahoni.

[589] A year later A..., who wished she had him back, had her uncles intervene so that she might come back into his favor. G...., through deference to her uncles, accepted against his will.

Thus he found himself engaged in three unions, M...., A...., and T.... He thought this situation was leading him to ruin and sacrificed T... although he had no fault to find with her.

[586]

[586] Some time afterward A... began to deceive him again and he repudiated her once and for all.

Finally he took a last wife, B... (Asisi), by whom he had no children.

On each of these undertakings he had to submit to violent scenes by his first wife M..., who was very attached to him and would have liked to keep him for herself alone. Nevertheless, she never divorced him and did not provoke difficulties with her co-wives.

[842] He had a child by M... after more than 15 years of sterile marriage.

In 1958 G... was living with M... and B..., who got along well together. He was not looking for any more new adventures.

/158 cont./

848 If children are born of these irregular liaisons, the mother
[784] takes care to know with certainty who the father is, for if there
[753] were any doubt, the child, respecting a kina which would not be his own, would contract leprosy. On this subject the Boni
842 have a remarkable belief: they think that it is the first man with whom a woman has had relations after the end of a menstrual period who is likely to make her pregnant.

836 These adventures always involve gifts in kind (cloth,
431 jewels); so the men who have the most success with women are always short of money.

581 A woman who has lived thus in notorious fashion has a little more difficulty than another in finding another husband, but if she is young and winsome she succeeds.

548 Prostitution as such is very rare in Boni country, and the women who give themselves over to it openly (three or four for all the villages on the French bank) have generally left the
[836] tribe to settle in the gold miners' villages. Dissoluteness is not considered dishonorable by the Refugee Blacks when it is carried on within the tribe and when it has no other purpose but pleasure; but prostitution is judged shameful.

834 Except for these few prostitutes, we have never heard it
648 said that a Boni woman had relations with a European; on this point tribal discipline is observed with extreme rigor.

581 Conclusion. The average duration of marriages, which was
[178] from 15 to 20 years for the preceding generation, tends to become shorter and can be estimated nowadays at about ten years.
[191] In spite of this evolution, the stability of marriages among the Refugee Blacks remains noticeably greater than that observed among the black populations of South America. Among them
548 is not seen the form of prostitution so widespread in South America, the supported mistress who does not work and who lives entirely at the expense of her successive lovers.

845 /297/
842 This worship is celebrated each time there is occasion
782 to protect newborn babies. They are washed with a certain
751 decoction of leaves.

845 Every four or five years on the average a big dance takes
535 place, then the father and mother of twins and the twins
751 themselves are washed in order to maintain their powers and keep them in good health.

[784] If these dances are not held, dead twins will show their
[753] anger by making living twins and parents of twins sick.

845 Lineages that do not have twins do not practice these
613 rites. If twins are born to them, they will apply at the place
778 of worship of another lineage.

Papalston and Lapé have this cult particularly highly developed.

842 Tɔne pikin. It is assumed that a woman may be made pregnant
776 by a river god, either a Papa gadu snake god or by the Wata Iagi, which look like Indians. Children thus conceived are called tɔne pikin.

A...., of Papalston, had cut a clearing opposite a remarkable white rock called Weti stɔ, where she used to moor her boat. She had not had any children for several years
[787] and she became pregnant. When her daughter was born a
[778] possessed person revealed that she was born of a Papa gadu
[782] snake god which lived there: since then her parents /relatives/ go regularly to this rock to make offerings.

About 1910 Alama (Kormotibo) had followed her husband to a shipyard on the lower river; one day while walking in the forest she met an Indian having the appearance of a Galibi Indian, who was carrying a newborn baby. She stopped and admired the baby. The Indian said to her: "Do you wish to raise him?" She acquiesced. He said: "We shall see each other again"; then he went away so quickly that she had the impression that he had disappeared on the spot.

/257 cont./

A few weeks afterward she found herself pregnant, and it seemed obvious to all that this was the doing of a Wata Ingi.

No magic power is attributed to the tine pikin, any more than special mental or physical characteristics. But it is assumed that they are the object of a special protection, and that they cannot be harmed with impunity.

The sacred character of payment. Relations between the gods and men always have the character of a bargain, among the Refugee Blacks: an irritated divinity is never appeased by repentance or good will; it requires that it be paid; likewise, an obia is of value only for the person who has paid for it. Refugee Blacks will never utilize ready-made magic recipes: uttering certain words, making certain gestures; face to face with such a recipe they will ask immediately: "From what god does this obia come, and whom must one pay?" It seems that in their conception every transference of a spiritual power or a magic force disturbs something in the proper functioning of the universe; payment restores this equilibrium, it is the mark of legitimacy. Some Creoles of African ancestry transpose the same idea with respect to Christianity, and this is /258/ why they insist so much on paying for masses and buying "orisons" (1). One observes likewise that free medical care

1. Written prayer to which is attached protective power. This notion, borrowed from the rustic magic of 17th-century France, seems to have been introduced into Guiana by the first European colonists.

lowers the prestige of the doctor in the eyes of all.

did not eat deer's meat, or his brother-in-law the meat of the bush-hog.

There are many kinds of tchina. There are the obia tchina. A man wearing or carrying with him a charm—an obia—will have several prohibitions imposed on him. If these are observed, the potency of the magic in the object given him will remain, but if they are violated, it will become a worthless ornament. When an obia is bought, its maker will take the hands of the man for whom he has made it in his, and pass his own lightly over them, blowing softly, so that the power of the spirit he had called upon when making it may enter into the man for whom the obia was made. Then the obia man will lean over and whisper, that no one might overhear, "When you wear this, do not get into a boat backwards," or, perhaps, "Never eat crab meat while you have this about your neck," or "Do not eat cassava and rice out of the same calabash."

But with the personal tchina it is otherwise. At birth each individual falls heir to a number of taboos. They come to him from his father. When a woman is with child she observes her husband's taboos as well as her own, for the child might otherwise be harmed in the womb by being nurtured on what is hateful to his father, and therefore to himself, since his father's taboos are his own. Male and female children take these tchina from the father. Their mother's tchina are no concern of theirs. Those which she observes had come to her from her own father. What makes the father ill will make the children ill, too. This holds for their entire lives, and the male children transmit their tchina from generation to generation.

A simple instance of this is the one which happened at our base camp when Bayo, who we knew could not eat out of a cooking pot, came one day to ask us for a dish. "My father forgot his eating dish. Will you let him use one of yours? He cannot eat out of a cooking pot."

When one man says of another, therefore, "He has the same tchina I have," he is saying that the two of them are related in the father's line.

which went on, so that she might recount it to her father. The women of the village walked "softly" with this older daughter. "Daughter of the G'aman," they called her when they addressed her, and her mildly spoken, persuasive suggestions were never ignored.

Wilhelmina, however, busied herself at her work, and if anything were asked of her, she would look up with an expression of bewilderment. Differing from other women of the village, who had come to live there after marriage and knew the speech of the less aristocratic down-river settlements, Wilhelmina had never been any distance from Asindopo Lantiwe. The other women were, therefore, constantly interpreting the questions which were being put to her.

She was dark of skin, as dark as her sister, but her face had a flush of red in it, as though she had brushed it with the sacred red kuawe. A little above her wrists gleamed wide bands of tin. These were bracelets her husband had made for her, and they were much prized. The brass coils which she once wore had been filed through and removed, for when the ankles of a woman who bore children swelled, it became necessary to be rid of these ornaments.

In a small mortar, decorated with carvings, she was pounding maripa nuts. The ends of the pestle were bordered with finely cut cross hatchings.

"Ai, we use much palm oil here," she said.

Her mother was paring cassava. At her feet were several baskets and pieces of bark, shaped like miniature canoes, into which she threw the peeled cassava. Near these containers lay a sifter, woven of palm fiber, and a grater, made of a thin board perhaps sixteen inches long and half as wide, into which long slender nails had been hammered and their points filed to a needle-like sharpness. When the tubers were peeled, Wilhelmina began the grating, first squatting down, then dropping to her knees, better to work. The grated cassava was then packed into the matapi, the cassava press which had before leaned against the house. This matapi was of a basket-like weave, golden in color

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[illegible] Sub Negroes [illegible]
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And Fenekonde said, "Mourning is hard. The widow must not go to the river alone to wash. Other women must take her there. Her husband's spirit might seize her. Her hair must be cut. If not, he will get her by the hair. Her clothes must be ugly. She must keep herself unclean, so that his ghost will not long for her when he sees her."

But mourning was difficult not only for a woman. A man's mourning period was no less burdensome, they added. He too wore old clothes. When he went to wash, his wife's brother took him to the river. If he had another wife, he did not go into the hammock with her, for the dead woman would be envious and would kill him.

There were times, however, when women did not go into mourning for their husbands. If a woman carried a child in her womb, then she did not put on mourning clothes at all. She did not weep, she was not allowed to show any grief. That same night the dead man's oldest living brother would come with her in the hammock. If there were no brother, another man would come, for some man had to come.

"He must come. It cannot be otherwise. She cannot go to her hammock alone. So it is every night when a woman carries a child in her womb. A man must be with her, for the sake of the child."

3

In the clearing the widow stood stamping rice. About her the rice hulls flew and made a half circle of gold at her dark feet. Her mortar, which was made of a hollowed-out log, like a drum, was large and reached almost to her hips. On the ground was a large tray which she used for winnowing the rice. With slow, regular beats she lifted and dropped the pestle, and as her body swung with its slow motion the head of the sleeping child on her back rolled this way and that.

Her two small boys had gone to live in her mother's village, but this girl child remained with her. She was born

WOMEN AT WORK

§

Tenemi made ready to carve a calabash dish. She sat down on her work stool, and on the ground beside her she put down a small knife, a piece of broken glass, and half of a calabash shell. The inner pulp had just been removed, and both the inside and outside of the gourd were of a pale green color. She had dipped it in water before she brought it here, and now with the point of her knife she deftly marked her design. The curves in the center, covering almost the entire inner surface, formed the body of a woman, she said, who was big with child. The geometric tracings in parallel narrow lines across one portion of the top was the Aboma snake, euphemistically called the G'an Tetei, the great creeper, or vine. Taking up the piece of glass, she began to scrape away carefully the soft pulp inside the outlines of her design. 302 532

In the entire village there was no woman who worked faster at carving calabash dishes than did Tenemi. In less than half an hour the dish was ready to be placed on the high platform where the maripa nuts were drying. With the sun upon it, the calabash would turn a deep cream color, but where the knife had borne down, it would show a golden brown, and where the glass had scraped away the pulp, the color would be a paler gold, so pale that it would be almost the cream of the unornamented outer surface.

"The large closed gourds are not done fast. These are carved on the outside, and must be worked cleverly. But this does not take long. I am making this for you. When it is finished I will bring it to you. You must give it to your girl-child when she grows big." [431]

She herself had made four children, but only two of them were living. The oldest, a daughter, carried a child in her womb. Tomorrow she would come to the village, and Tenemi would bring her. 165

"She was afraid to come. Women who are with child must be very careful." [343]

Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1931-1932) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Surinam

It appeared that nothing in a woman's life was so dreaded as childbearing, nothing more coveted than fertility, and no time so difficult and so anxious as when a woman was rearing her children.

"The day before a girl marries she prays all day to her gods," said Dida, who with Fenekonde and several other women had joined us. "I begged my god Kesekia and gave him rice and rum. All day they played the agida. I begged him not to hate my husband. I begged him to give us children."

When a woman conceived, her husband made her many obias, and especially a black sack obia with four cowries sewed on it, to keep her safe on the paths which led from village to village, and from village to her field. The fear of the power of bad magic at this time was so great that, if we but looked at one of the pregnant women, or let our eyes rest on the several obias she wore, she grew nervous, covered them with both her hands, and disappeared in fear that the very power of our glance might weaken the potency of the charms. She did not believe in the white man's magic, but she was not in a condition to wish to put it to a test.

"When her time comes, a woman sees to it that she is in her own village," said Fenekonde. "It is not good to give birth in the bush, or on the river."

This had almost happened to Wilhelmina with her last child. She was on the river alone in a boat. Chief Sungi of Dahomey met her and called on his gods to delay the coming of the child until he brought her home. He had strong obia, and so the misfortune was averted.

When the woman felt the first labor-pains, she prayed to the gods, and to her personal spirits. On the great Sky God she called, and the Earth Mother; on her ak'a, her soul; on the Yorka, the ancestors; and then she prayed to her personal gods, and particularly to whatever snake gods she might have, for some of these were known to be jealous of a coming child. But none of the gods dared be slighted.

BAYO, THE PLAYBOY

"Will Bayo be married before we leave the bush?" we 115
asked, telling her that only a short time would see us returning to our own country.

We had often talked of marriage with Bayo on our trip up river and had offered to make up what he lacked in gifts and money that we might witness the festivities of marriage. He had, of course, promised to have matters arranged.

Bayo's aunt laughed, however, when she heard the question, and turned to the other woman who was with us in the dimly lighted hut.

"Did you hear what the white man asks?" she called 589
out to her companion. "White man, let me tell you some- 115
thing. Bayo is a long way from marrying yet. Why, his girl's breasts haven't begun to come yet!"

It seemed that Bayo had also to see to many things before he could marry. He had not yet cut the field for his mother-in-law, nor had he made any of the carvings which he needed to give his betrothed and her mother, for Bayo was a poor carver.

"Bayo has cunning in his eyes, and his head, but his 115
fingers have no cunning, Bak'a. . . . But you know this, Bayo is strong."

Her train of thought turned at the last phrase to our journey up river. Had we traveled well with Bayo? Had he got on with the other men? Awa, she knew that people liked him. It was the obia he had, and his own gods, but his gods were bad, too.

"When he was in his mother's womb, he troubled her [843] ●
much. He tore at her. Ai, she had no happy time of it with Bayo."

We remembered the incest kunu in Bayo's family, which 684
lay in wait for all its members, killing off one by one until 776
the line was wiped out. We ventured a cautious question.

"You are the sister of Bayo's mother?"

The answer, however, did not take us to kunu, but rather 115
to the iron on her arm. 776

"Ai, and of his father who is now dead. In our family we 789
have strong gods. It is these that have come to Bayo. . . ."

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

778 carvings. Still another magic device is a red necklace of macaw feathers, to bring luck in hunting. Another obeiah with
[843] a tinkling bell is worn around the neck by pregnant women to tell the unborn child that everything is auspicious in the outside world.

Some of the beliefs accompanying these amulets are odd
[774] and child-like. The Djukas think that spirits are afraid of strangers, and flee in terror when a stranger is encountered. The inhabitants of the little town of *Pekein Say* (Talk a Little Bit) have the power to call back hunters who are lost in the bush, a virtue peculiar to these townfolk alone. These curious beliefs persist despite the fact that they could easily be tested and exposed. Any coincidence will strongly reinforce them. Late one evening, going up the river, we came to an Aucaner village and stopped to spend the night. Not liking the looks of the place we told our paddlers to push on to the next village before night. Tired, they grumbled at this. To give weight to our decision we told the blacks that our obeiahs were warning us not to stay, and that it would be dangerous to let this warning pass unheeded. Impressed with the gravity of the warning, they acceded to our wishes. We went on, although not being able to reach the adjacent village in time we were forced to spend the night in the bush.

Later, coming back down the river, we learned that the village we had passed by had held, on that very night, a great and disastrous dance. There had been much drinking of high
[579 731] wine, and, in the drunken and hysterical excitement that followed, half the town was burned down and three men were killed.

/121/

CHAPTER VI

FAMILY CUSTOM

17
105

The family custom of the Refugee Blacks presents more unity than their beliefs. Contrary to the Blacks of Brazil and Haiti, among whom the influences of Dahomey and the Yoruba country have dominated, the Refugee Blacks of Guiana have borrowed the essential part of their family custom from the Agni-Ashanti culture area. One finds again especially such characteristic traits as the prohibition of inheritance of widows, customs relating to birth, isolation of the dead in cemeteries away from habitations.

But on several essential points:

--The marriage system.

--Institutions relative to death and mourning, and the central place given to them in the whole body of customary institutions.

The Refugee Blacks have separated themselves cleanly from the conceptions of their ancestors, and the conceptions they have elaborated may be in large measure considered as an original creation.

Birth

843

Beliefs. As soon as a woman is pregnant, her husband is subject to special obligations. He may not use a shovel nor drive nails. These operations which, among the Refugee Blacks, have as their primary purpose the digging of graves and the making of coffins, might be supposed to make the child die. Neither he nor his wife may cut their hair; he is subject to food interdictions, especially the maïpouri (tapir).

/121 cont./

843 [827] Sexual relations continue during the whole pregnancy, for they are reputed to be indispensable for the formation of the mind of the child, which is thought to come from the father; also, for a man whose wife is pregnant there can be no question of abandoning her nor even of leaving for a long trip without the permission of the head of her lineage.

843 787 Forecasting of the birth. Divinatory rituals are carried out from the first months of pregnancy to forecast whether the childbirth will be easy or not. For that one goes to an old man who "knows" one of these remedies. There are several: one consists in making a small hole in the center of a cross outlined on the ground, pouring into it a decoction of magic herbs kept secret, and putting an egg into it. The remedy-master then says: "If the childbirth is to be easy, the egg must be crushed as soon as my foot bears down /122/ on it." They state that sometimes the egg resists crushing: from this they deduce that the delivery will be difficult.

844 When the time for delivery arrives, concern is centered on the danger of maleficent human entities, ɔgi sani, which try to become incarnate in the child. The woman is shut up in [789] the house, all of its exits are blocked off, and ɔbiaman are called to perform rites of protection all around the house. If [845] delivery is difficult, that is attributed to the fact that one of these entities succeeded in getting into the house in spite of the precautions taken.

The ɔbiaman are called to "wash" the woman with the help of appropriate remedies.. Only in serious cases are men allowed to enter the house. As a general rule, during the first 846 602 eight days only women related to the mother may enter. (Care is even taken as far as possible to get as midwife (mena) an old woman related to the mother.)

/179 cont./

765 431 [606] Before coming out of mourning, the widow must procure for herself at the minimum the money necessary for a demijohn of tafia as a contribution to the festival of the lifting of mourning. She must make a present of several cans of couac to her husband's mother.

765 843 184 A pregnant woman undergoes mourning exactly according to the general law. The custom described by several authors for the Saramaka, according to which the pregnant woman must join one of her husband's "brothers," does not apply to the Boni.

765 888 There are some attenuations of the harshness of mourning with respect to old women. For example in 1956, Lémiki (70 years), living in Boniville, was in mourning for her husband Tabiki (Awara Bakka, but residing since childhood with the Lapé lineage in Loka /180/ where he had been raised by his [768] [602] father). Lémiki alternately spent three weeks in her house and three in her husband's. It was Asamani, Tabiki's sister by the same father, who exercised authority over her.

765 768 [613] This remarkable example shows that as regards mourning (rights and duties), the principle of residence plays an essential role. He who has been reared by his father is in this respect taken out of his lineage, which loses all rights and all control over the conduct of the mourning.

765 [775] The co-wives of a widower are subject to mourning on the same grounds as he, and for the same motive, since they are targets for the jealousy of the dead woman's yɔ́ka.

[768] However, they are authorized most often to live with their maternal family. When the period of dipi baaka has ended, 765 833 they may take up conjugal relations again with their husband, but at intervals of several weeks and without his being able to spend the night with one of them. Each time he must ask permission of the head of the dead woman's lineage. [613]

REBEL DESTINY

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1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

WOMEN AT WORK

"Before she begs the gods, she is seated on a mat, or on cloths. Over her head a white cloth is thrown. The woman who is there to look after the coming of the child takes a calabash with water. Then she throws the water on the ground where the woman is seated. She begs the great gods, and the ancestors, and the woman's soul, and the woman's gods. 844 78

"When the pains come, she ties a cloth about her belly tight, tight, until it hurts. The woman who helps her gives her some water if she wants it, and she presses down on the belly and makes the cloth tighter and tighter, until the child comes. The cord is cut with a knife." 844

The knife was the same as the kind they used for cicatrizing, and the after-birth was buried behind the house, in a small hole into which food and a piece of the sacred sangrafu wood was thrown. [412]

"The child is washed, and then *pemba*—kaolin—is put on its forehead, and after that the mother and the child bathe every day and then wash in pemba. Sometimes a moon comes and wanes, and another comes, and the mother still puts the white on herself and on her child." [751]

But if the birth proved to be difficult, then the husband was told, and he besought his own ancestors and his own gods to help his woman and child. 845

"If the child doesn't come, then it's a bad spirit. Then they call the obia man."

When a woman had difficulty, everybody was troubled about it. If a woman had been unfaithful to her husband and had not confessed it, it would be that which would be killing the child in her womb, and killing her as well. Sometimes it was *wisi*—black magic—and everybody wondered who had sent it to their village. Sometimes it was a god who was envious. [754]

"If it is a god, then, when the woman is strong again, she goes to a more powerful god and buys from him the next child to come into her womb. The strong god sees to it that the jealous one finds no way to harm the child." 845 718 845

What happened when a child was born dead? [766]

1t Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

name which was kept secret and never spoken except in 551
states of possession or when the obia man called on a person's spirit. For girls, Amba for a Saturday child, Affi for one born on Friday, Adjuba for Wednesday; and for the boys some of the names were Kwaku, for Monday, Yao for Thursday, Kofi for Friday, and Kwasi for Sunday. Then there was the name which the father gave, and after that any of the family who cared added a name and made the child a present.

From the day it was born until it was at least two years 853
old a child fed at its mother's breast. For twelve moons 846
and five more of this time the woman could not go to the hammock with a man. It was then that her husband went to the distant French shore to work or to the railhead. But after seventeen months of nursing were past, he came back. 844

"If a child is made before a woman gets back her men- [842]
strual flow, then it is a god. It is Kesefu. A child born feet [845]
first some call Agosu, and some Asaeng. The child born after twins we call Dosu, and twins are Hohobi. Now it is in your book. You will give those names to your children, and your sister's children. No one will know at all what names these are. No one will be able to harm them."

6

In the quarter immediately adjoining that of the Gran- 585
man there was great activity. Six or seven men and boys 476
were at work on a new house, for the youngest daughter of the family was ready for marrying, and now the men were helping her suitor to build a house for her in her village.

From the same quarter, behind a house which stood in 804
the shade, came the laughter of young girls. We made our way past the house and saw four girls ranging in age from thirteen to sixteen seated on a log. One of these held her head back, and an older girl was bending over her. They called to us as we passed.

"We are cutting kamemba. Do you want some cuts, too?"

These were not new cuts which were being made, for with perhaps one exception, the girls were all nubile, and

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

832 Company, some ninety miles in the interior, we were informed by the physician in charge that it is not infrequent to have Bush Negro women report for internal disturbances, which upon examination prove to be irritation and small hæmorrhagic areas. The physician believed that this condition was due to the men's practice of using the mucca-mucca seed.

● 844 During childbirth the mother stays in her own hut. She is often attended by her mother, her female relatives, and friends. In every village there are one or more women who are skilled in the art of midwifery; these women are called *pekein mama*—either "little mother" or "mother of little children." At the time of childbirth, the pekein mama is assisted by four little girls from about ten to twelve years of age. The pekein mama uses a liberal quantity of hot water in the process of delivery. In the event of an abnormal condition, it is the duty of the pekein mama to deliver the child as skilfully as possible. The woman bears the ordeal of childbirth with the usual primitive fortitude, although the pains of labour seem to be as great among these people as among [846 women of more civilized countries. The mother must drink 784] only hot water for three months after the birth of the child.

853 Children are nursed at the breast for a period of three months. They are then fed a little mush made of cassava to which is gradually added rice, a small amount of meat, eggs, and plenty of fruit, but periodical nursing may sometimes continue for as long as two years. The mothers often chew the food before giving it to their babies.

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

We took particular pains to gather as much information 163
as possible on fecundity, infant mortality, and the death-rate of mothers in childbirth. Sixty women were questioned. The fecundity we found to be variable; one of the women claimed to have borne twelve children—the highest number encountered—and some had no offspring at all. The usual number of children was found to be two or three. Interestingly enough, there is a low infant mortality; that is to say, a low death-rate for infants during the first six months after birth, but a high child mortality. The higher death-rate occurs 165
among children from the ages of two to six years. There 844
seemed to be a considerable number of premature births, and deaths of mothers at the time of birth or shortly thereafter are numerous. After much questioning, we found this to be one of the grievances of the Djukas, for they consider the Dutch medical authorities could do a great deal in alleviating such a condition. The precautions surrounding the mother at the time of childbirth or shortly thereafter are very crude and they may lead to infections and end in death by puerperal sepsis. 164 844

The birth of a child is usually the occasion for some slight [852]
celebration. The umbilical cord is severed with a knife (unsterilized, of course) and buried behind the hut. The placenta is thrown into the river. *Trismus neonatorum,* a tetanus infection by way of the umbilical cord, occasionally occurs, due to the extremely unclean conditions surrounding parturition. As can be seen from the photographs, some of the Djuka children suffer from umbilical hernia, because the cord is

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

164
844 not severed gently enough. During the nursing period it is
[853] often customary for the mother to abstain from intercourse, and judging by the size of the nursing children this period may last for two years.

854 The children are carried in the West African manner, astride on their mothers' backs and held by a band of wide cloth that goes around both mother and child. This is unlike the local Indian custom, in which the squaws carry their offspring on their hips. The children are washed often, being bathed several times a day beside the river; they stand and gurgle as the water is being poured over them.

842 The number of births among the Djukas is not as great
847 as might be inferred from their promiscuity. This suggests, of course, that some means of contraception is practised. In one village on the Saramacca River a medicine man showed the bahkra a yellow berry, an infusion of which is supposed to have abortive properties; it is known among the natives of British Guiana as "Doctor Doolittle." We doubt that the infusion has any such properties as are assigned to it. We also heard that the Djukas practice mechanical abortion, but their crude instruments must make this very dangerous.

854 Excepting during the first two or three years of the children's lives, mothers actually have little to do with their care. There are usually several older children in the family, sisters, brothers, or cousins, to whom is relegated the care of the
351 younger ones. Besides their ordinary names, children are also called according to the day of the week on which they were born, such as Monday-child, Tuesday-child, and so on.

/121 cont./

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846 602

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

and forth on the sandy bank to the rhythm of the voicees in 871
the drums, but their gods would not come. They could not 782
dance, they could not find peace while the drums spoke, and 789
so this disconsolate pacing went on week after week, on 776
those days when the river gods might be danced to. Sometimes the pulse of the drumming, quickening for an interval, stirred the dancers. A shudder would go through the body of one or another and the dry throats would fall to uttering the sacred cries, but almost the next instant the hand of the drummer would go limp, and once more the listless, agonized pacing would continue. The gods were angered. When the drums called them from the river bottom, they came grudgingly and remained sullen, refusing to make their wishes known, and no gods or ancestors came to counsel the wise men in their sleep how to bend the will of the spirits of the river.

In the fields the parched earth baked in the merciless heat until it was like whitened bone. The few plants that 731
had pushed their way up through the sandy soil were now 776
brown dust which any wind might scatter. But there was no wind. No rain, no wind, for in the river the god of the wind dwells, and in the sky the rain god; and these gods are twins, and twins have but one soul, since it is with the [845] gods as it is with humans.

No rain, no wind. Famine was upon the land.

At last, at the village of Opoku a woman had a dream. [987]
She was a pure albino, one of the type who, together with those who show by the slight turn of red in their wooly [876] hair a strain of albinism, are called Toné people, and are identified with the river gods. To this Toné woman the gods came in sleep, and spoke their will.

"And what was it you gave to the gods?" we asked 776
Sedefo, who had fallen silent at this point in his story. 782

"Mati," he said, after a pause, "I am not an important 731
man. You ask what I may not tell. My mouth cannot take upon itself to speak what concerns our big men." [829]

This much he would say. A boat filled with things had been sent down the river. Men standing at the river bank

REBEL DESTINY

782 Among the people of one group, the principal ceremony
241 may be held in the clearing itself. The drums are brought,
535 and men and women and children pray for fertility. The beautifully carved apinti drum sounds the invocation to the Great God and to the ancestors, while the tall agida drums are brought to call the earth spirits. Two by two the men dance susa, the dance which in pantomime reproduces an ancient warrior's combat with spear and shield, the winner taking on a new combatant, until the final winner is given a wand as a reward, and gains for himself the title of "G'aman of Susa" until the next dance is held. Other dances follow. Perhaps the women now line up in two long
[585] rows facing each other, and dance bandamba, the dance
[845] which celebrates marriage and the birth of twins, and the birth of a child who is born feet foremost. The motions are the slow rhythmic manipulations of the muscles of hips and
[842] abdomen. It is a dance of fertility, danced by the very young girls as well as by those who have borne children. But the women who are past the age for dancing sit with
[888] their men, arms interlaced, swaying to the rhythms of the songs they sing. . . . There are offerings to the earth spirits, poured upon the earth out of black obia pots and
[769] calabashes, while other offerings are set upon the ground for the ancestors.

In another settlement, the ritual would be chiefly carried on in the village itself, and there might be a local dance of
[842] fertility, danced nowhere else on the river. "An old, old ancestress taught it to us," the villagers would say.

462 When it is time to plant, the woman plants with the
241 man's help.

"When I plant a new field," said the younger woman, "I
782 pray as I work."

539 And this is her prayer:

O Sky God, Mother of the Earth, Ancestors,
I am planting a field,
Make it bear;
People who come to me must eat,

Li Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SRS Bush Negroes SRS
Saramacca

get the tchina which, if we do not break them, will let us stay healthy. Both our parents care for us." 593 574 604

He thought for a moment, and then, with a laugh, he wondered as Awingu had wondered that early morning at the planting ground.

"Is it not so in your country, Bak'a," he said, "that you ask me so often about these things?"

8

"Massa cow," we heard Bayo call out again and again to his great-grandfather Bibifo, when he wanted to indicate to the old man that he knew what he was about. Bibifo accepted the reproof with unvarying meekness and good humor. 603 888

This relationship between them puzzled us. Yet the other men, overhearing Bayo's brusque words to Bibifo, made nothing of it. Before strangers, Bayo was subdued, shy. He stuttered ceremonially when he addressed a man of rank. He pitched his voice only a little above a whisper when he was in a strange village. Toward Kasanya and Sedefo and Asikanu he was respectful, and showed reserve. When he wanted his hair trimmed he came to Angita for help, or, better still, to the young man at the prow of Kasanya's boat who, like Kasanya, was of his own clan. [576]

The old man was not a forceful fellow. That was, perhaps, the reason, we thought at first. Then we wondered if it was not because Bibifo had become Adrian, and no longer wore obias to carry him well on the water—because he had forsaken the old gods. But the other men treated Bibifo with the respect due an old man. When Kasanya killed a monkey, and his own pole-man could not share it with him because he was a twin and twins did not eat monkey, he turned to Bibifo with the pole-man's portion, and not to Sedefo, or to Asikanu, who was the brother of a clan head, and himself a possible successor to his brother's chieftainship. 845 262

WOMEN AT WORK

"*A naki apinti, ai!*—He is playing the apinti," his father said, laughing, and a woman who stood by said that when he grew up he would have an important god. It would be a good god, too, and it might be a great Komfo—a priest reincarnated in him. 856 533 868

Among the little girls who were with us most often, and now stood by with Yankuso's grandson, were the two daughters of Dida, the wife of Chief And'u of S'ei, who went about the Granman's village with white on her face and body. The little girls were also washed in the white clay, and there was white in the wool of their hair. They had the quick, startled movements of their mother, and one of them in particular was a nervous child, shy and easily frightened. She never came too close to the strangers, and, for a time, if they but caught her eye, she would begin to tremble with fear. 857 [609]

"Your daughters are handsome, Dida."

"Ai, they come from a good line," she said, laughing. 776 868

The Granman's younger wife said, "They will have many gods when they are big. They will have them from their mother, and theirs will be stronger yet. They are twins." [845]

It was possible, she explained, by looking at a child to know if it would have the gods of the family. Sometimes the gods took a dislike to a child and refused to give it of their wisdom or protection, and sometimes the gods liked it so well that they gave it many gifts—the gift of a fine singing voice, the ability to dance better than others, and the good fortune to be liked.

"Until they are grown, the gods do not trouble them much," she added, "but we in the bush know a child who will have important gods, and we know if the gods will be kindly."

"Do you mean you know because of kunu?"

"*Ma kye*, all gods do not come from kunu."

4

One day when sitting among the women, the talk was of twins. 845

REBEL DESTINY

845 "The next time you come to the Saramacca country, you must have twins here," the women said, laughing, "then you will see what a play we give for them. And for a child born after twins, and for a child who is born feet foremost."

The last, however, was not good, and they were really not in earnest, they explained, in wishing that type of childbirth upon the stranger.

"Such a child has a bad spirit. The mother almost always dies when giving birth."

"Is there no obia to save her?"

"The gods can save the mother if they wish. . . . "

There were special songs for twins which were sung when bandamba was danced. Several of the women, and Dida among them, began to sing them. The songs praised the generative powers of the man and woman who had "made" twins. As the women began their songs, they rose from their work and danced, for just as they could not remember the words of a song apart from its melody, so they could not sing the melody without the accompanying dance movements which went with it. Words and melody and movements of the body were all part of the image evoked by the word "bandamba." With arms firmly planted on their hips, and feet slightly apart for balancing, the slow rhythmic play of abdomen, hips, and buttocks went on and on.

533 535 845

But as they sang and danced, the Granman's younger wife suddenly remembered that their voices must carry to the council house, and abruptly the women stopped, covering their faces.

"We're ashamed," Dida explained.

"But the men see you dance bandamba when you give your plays for twins, and the child after twins, and for marriages?"

"Yes, but then it's singing and dancing at a play."

When an occasion called for these songs and dances, it was quite another matter, she implied.

"It is not good to do this for sport."

WOMEN AT WORK

"Before she begs the gods, she is seated on a mat, or on cloths. Over her head a white cloth is thrown. The woman who is there to look after the coming of the child takes a calabash with water. Then she throws the water on the ground where the woman is seated. She begs the great gods, and the ancestors, and the woman's soul, and the woman's gods. 844 780

"When the pains come, she ties a cloth about her belly tight, tight, until it hurts. The woman who helps her gives her some water if she wants it, and she presses down on the belly and makes the cloth tighter and tighter, until the child comes. The cord is cut with a knife." 844

The knife was the same as the kind they used for cicatrizing, and the after-birth was buried behind the house, in a small hole into which food and a piece of the sacred sangrafu wood was thrown. [812]

"The child is washed, and then *pemba*—kaolin—is put on its forehead, and after that the mother and the child bathe every day and then wash in pemba. Sometimes a moon comes and wanes, and another comes, and the mother still puts the white on herself and on her child." [751]

But if the birth proved to be difficult, then the husband was told, and he besought his own ancestors and his own gods to help his woman and child. 845

"If the child doesn't come, then it's a bad spirit. Then they call the obia man."

When a woman had difficulty, everybody was troubled about it. If a woman had been unfaithful to her husband and had not confessed it, it would be that which would be killing the child in her womb, and killing her as well. Sometimes it was *wisi*—black magic—and everybody wondered who had sent it to their village. Sometimes it was a god who was envious. [754]

"If it is a god, then, when the woman is strong again, she goes to a more powerful god and buys from him the next child to come into her womb. The strong god sees to it that the jealous one finds no way to harm the child." 845 707 843

What happened when a child was born dead? [766]

845 The women had spoken with greater and greater re-
966 luctance about troubled births and now moved uneasily.

"You must not ask this," said Dida, rising. "Never talk about such things to young women."

Not until later, when Fenekonde and Tenemi were left alone with the white woman did they talk about birth customs again.

When a child died at birth, a hole was dug somewhere in the family quarter, or just outside it, and the child was buried there. There was no wake, no mourning. All those who had been living in the house where it died found other quarters, and for a month the house was washed with obia water. But if this had occurred before to the same mother, they would break the house where the child was born and would cast the pieces into the unhallowed bush. Some people on the river even broke it down at the first occurrence. There were never any wakes for very small children.

961 "Children die because they are bad spirits come in the
845 form of a child. When they do not stay, we know it is a bad
966 spirit. When the house is broken, they do not know their way to come again."

"What if a woman died?"

845 This was whispered so softly that only Fenekonde heard
966 it, but she did not conceal her distaste for the question.

"When a woman dies she is put in a flat coffin. Some villages give her no coffin at all. Weeds are put into her eyes. All the girls in the village wash their eyes with obia weeds and water. They must never see this again. There is no wake. There is no dancing. No guns are shot. They break the house, and throw it after the coffin, as the men carry it away. She must not come back again."

But the white woman must not imagine that all deliveries were difficult. Often a woman bore a child, and, when the after-birth came, she herself rose and bathed and washed in pemba.

551 A child was given many names. Even in early childhood four or five names were not too many. There was the day

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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name which was kept secret and never spoken except in 551
states of possession or when the obia man called on a person's spirit. For girls, Amba for a Saturday child, Affi for one born on Friday, Adjuba for Wednesday; and for the boys some of the names were Kwaku, for Monday, Yao for Thursday, Kofi for Friday, and Kwasi for Sunday. Then there was the name which the father gave, and after that any of the family who cared added a name and made the child a present.

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first some call Agosu, and some Asaeng. The child born after twins we call Dosu, and twins are Hohobi. Now it is in your book. You will give those names to your children, and your sister's children. No one will know at all what names these are. No one will be able to harm them."

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"We are cutting kamemba. Do you want some cuts, too?"

These were not new cuts which were being made, for with perhaps one exception, the girls were all nubile, and

REBEL DESTINY

4

532 The cult of fertility came to the Suriname bush from
831 Africa. Deepseated today in this civilization, it is not strange that it should be invoked again and again in the carvings, that men and women in sexual congress, and animals in the act of reproduction should dominate the art motifs, and in particular those carvings which men make for their women.

532 The symbolism is known to all on the river though, as we have indicated, a gifted artist might play with his medium, and even give his own name to what he had designed. Evidences of nontraditional playing with technique were, to be sure, not met with often, but one or two instances stand out. One that was especially striking was a hinged folding stool, fashioned after a bench seen in the [352] city, and decorated in traditional fashion, where the problem of decorating unfamiliar surfaces was met.

Bayo could take up many of our photographs of pieces,
532 acquired during our first visit and brought here into the
123 bush to show the natives how their pieces were exhibited,
177 and describe the symbols to us which made up the carvings. There was one which interested him especially. He used to sit with the photograph in his hand, running his fingers over the glossy surface, as though he felt if he continued doing it long he would actually feel the texture of the wood which was so clearly imaged.

532 "Everything shows. Here's a crack, see?" Then his hands touched one motif after another. "This and this are women, and these are men. A man and woman to one side, and a man and woman facing them. It's like having the tray here, white man." The small designs close to the rim of the tray, facing each other, were the children to be
[845] born of these unions. "This is a boy, and this a girl. That is for both women to make twins."

We were looking over his shoulder as he explained the symbols, but still could not distinguish in the symbols to the side which represented the male child and which the female.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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224 other words, preparing a dog in such a manner that it will
231 be capable of hunting a particular species of game. There are
825 several methods of accomplishing this. The Negro may grasp the animal between his knees and pour the *dressy* through the nose of the dog. This substance is composed of pieces of the animal which they desire the dog to hunt. Most commonly it is the foot; this is dried and then infused with water. The infusion is also rubbed on the dog's feet. Such preliminaries are usual in hunting peccary.

If the hunter desires to prepare his dog for pursuing the *labba,* a type of water rodent, he cuts the flesh from the nose of the labba and also from its feet, prepares an infusion with water, and then pours this through the dog's nose. Still another method is to mix the hair of the animal which is to be hunted with pepper, and then to rub the dog all over with this mixture.

A fourth way is to feed a piece of the liver of the desired animal to the dog; but it is essential that the liver be placed on a knife, allowing the dog to eat it from that.

224 There is an interesting superstition among the Djukas that
845 anyone who is related to a twin will seriously disrupt a hunting party. On one occasion a large quata, or spider monkey, was sighted by some hunters who, however, failed to bring the animal to earth after fifteen shots. Their ill-luck
to the fact that one of the huntsmen "belonged to a tw

/121 cont./

843 Sexual relations continue during the whole pregnancy,
[827] for they are reputed to be indispensable for the formation of the mind of the child, which is thought to come from the father; also, for a man whose wife is pregnant there can be no question of abandoning her nor even of leaving for a long trip without the permission of the head of her lineage.

843 Forecasting of the birth. Divinatory rituals are carried out from
787 the first months of pregnancy to forecast whether the childbirth will be easy or not. For that one goes to an old man who "knows" one of these remedies. There are several: one consists in making a small hole in the center of a cross outlined on the ground, pouring into it a decoction of magic herbs kept secret, and putting an egg into it. The remedy-master then says: "If the childbirth is to be easy, the egg must be crushed as soon as my foot bears down /122/ on it." They state that sometimes the egg resists crushing: from this they deduce that the delivery will be difficult.

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• [845] delivery is difficult, that is attributed to the fact that one of these entities succeeded in getting into the house in spite of the precautions taken.

The ɔbiaman are called to "wash" the woman with the help of appropriate remedies.. Only in serious cases are men
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846 [515] Since we were leaving on our trip, it remained to find someone to take his place in fulfilling one of the husband's duties: cutting the supply of wood for heating the water necessary for the hot douches /showers?/ the mother was going to be given several times a day for about three months. He made an agreement for that with Kwata, his mother-in-law's husband, to whom he will pay about 1,000 francs. [465]

851 613 [603] Presentation of the chil[illegible] On the eighth day the maternal grandmother (or great-grandmother if she is still living) takes the child and gives it to another ancestress of the same lineage, stationed in front of the house. The latter presents it to the family. Then the head of the lineage, without taking the child, goes to the fraga tiki to make an offering of tafia, asking the ancestors to protect it. [769] [778] [782]

For example, for the birth of A... (Lapé Tabiki village), son of O Yundu (L2, G60), it was Asakundu, grandmother of Yundu and great-grandmother of the child, who came to take him in the house and gave him over to her sister Térésa (L2, E57) to present him to the family (see genealogical table of the Lapé lineage, fraction 2).

/194 cont./

773 One day, the devil came in the form of the serpent dagowe. He told them: "Eat the seeds of this tree and you will know all things like God himself."

Adam allowed himself to be tempted and ate a custard apple, he had Efa eat some of it. He found this fruit good and said: "God had deceived us." His heart changed, he ceased looking at Efa as a sister and united with her. She became pregnant.

Some time afterward, God came upon the earth and saw what had happened. He said to Efa: "Thou shalt bear a child in pain." And to Adam: "Thou shalt eat only what thou hast harvested by the sweat of thy brow." He gave him a stone axe and told him: "Go on the nearby mountain; thou wilt find the seedlings of what thou wilt have to plant henceforth in order to feed thyself."

Efa had two twins whom she again called Adam and Efa, and other children. From these children all men have descended.

[777] This Biblical myth, transposed into the African way of thinking, explains the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks concerning [845] twins. It was two twins whom God created first. Twins are beloved of God and share his nature.

776 The idea most generally accepted among the Boni is that Masa Gadu is the source of force from which all living beings derive theirs; men are connected with him through their ancestors.

It happens that Masa Gadu may intervene directly in the lives of men, and in such a case he acts necessarily according to justice, without any magic whatever being able to protect the guilty one. But in most cases he does not intervene, showing himself in that way to be as arbitrary as the lower gods.

/255 cont./

784 262 A... of the Dju lo, about 28 years old in 1958, must observe six kina:

--The cayman and the jaguar as bwasi kina.

--The otter (yundu) as akka kina. /256/

These three kina have been imposed on him since his first years, but the meaning of them was explained to him only later on.

[751] --The eel (mãnsi) was imposed on him as a kina by his father when the latter gave him a man nẽŋge ɔbia, ɔbia of protection against machete or gun, materialized by an iron bracelet.

[841] [834] To this ɔbia is attached another kina. A... must not speak to a woman having her menstrual period.

[751] [787] --Finally, the crab (kaabu), kina attached to an ɔbia of which the man concerned only spoke with reticence, probably a Kumẽnti bui (bracelet of Kumẽnti, instrument of divination).

A... has no gadu kina in the strict sense of the term.

There exists no food kina common to all the Boni; the cayman is generally forbidden to them as bwasi kina, associated with another animal; but this is not absolute; we know at least one Boni who has not received this kina.

If someone has broken a kina inadvertently, he can have himself cleansed of this offense by ɔbiaman. But if he broke it willfully, he cannot escape the punishment attached to the offense.

845 828 Beliefs about twins. They have the idea that twins and children who follow twins are of a nature different from other men, participating in a divine principle.

[755] Twins cannot live (since they do not belong to ordinary humanity) if they are not treated with a special remedy known only to certain lineages especially rich in twins.

/256 cont./

845 961 678 613 When twins die young people almost always blame a disagreement which has arisen in the lineage. The twins did not want to live in a disunited family. The head of the lineage then exhorts his people to be reconciled with one another at any cost in order to avoid new misfortunes.(1).

[753] 1. In general they have the idea that dissensions occurring in the lineage have as a consequence illnesses or misfortunes striking the members of the lineage. [182] This notion plays a major role in the social life of the Refugee Blacks; after the kunu, it is the principle cement holding groups together.

845 778 One who harms a twin is sure to fall ill. Conversely, it is assumed that the twin must not abuse his power, that he must lead an upright life and avoid quarrels. He is nearer to God than other men.

They assume for example that Efa, of Papalston village, herself a twin and the mother of twins, has a very special power. Nobody would risk harming her.

[613] [774] In lineages having many twins there exists a place of worship sacred to a vital principle called Twilenge. The nature of this principle is not clear. The Boni define it as the soul of twins. Is it a matter of the first twins Adam and Eve? Or of a collective worship offered up to all deceased twins?

845 782 751 /257/ This worship is celebrated each time there is occasion to protect newborn babies. They are washed with a certain decoction of leaves.

845 535 751 Every four or five years on the average a big dance takes place, then the father and mother of twins and the twins themselves are washed in order to maintain their powers and keep them in good health.

[784] [753] If these dances are not held, dead twins will show their anger by making living twins and parents of twins sick.

845 613 778 Lineages that do not have twins do not practice these rites. If twins are born to them, they will apply at the place of worship of another lineage.

Papa'ston and Lapé have this cult particularly highly developed.

842 776 Tɔne pikin. It is assumed that a woman may be made pregnant by a river god, either a Papa gadu snake god or by the Wata Iɔgi, which look like Indians. Children thus conceived are called tɔne pikin.

A..., of Papa'ston, had cut a clearing opposite a remarkable white rock called Weti stɔ̃, where she used to moor her boat. She had not had any children for several years and she became pregnant. When her daughter was born a possessed person revealed that she was born of a Papa gadu snake god which lived there: since then her parents /relatives/ go regularly to this rock to make offerings.

[787] [778] [782]

About 1910 Alama (Kormotibo) had followed her husband to a shipyard on the lower river; one day while walking in the forest she met an Indian having the appearance of a Galibi Indian, who was carrying a newborn baby. She stopped and admired the baby. The Indian said to her: "Do you wish to raise him?" She acquiesced. He said: "We shall see each other again"; then he went away so quickly that she had the impression that he had disappeared on the spot.

/257 cont./

842 A few weeks afterward she found herself pregnant, and
996 it seemed obvious to all that this was the doing of a Wata Ingi.

845 No magic power is attributed to the tɔne pikin, any more than special mental or physical characteristics. But it is assumed that they are the object of a special protection, and that they cannot be harmed with impunity.

771 The sacred character of payment. Relations between the gods
789 and men always have the character of a bargain, among the
435 Refugee Blacks: an irritated divinity is never appeased by repentance or good will; it requires that it be paid; likewise, an ɔbia is of value only for the person who has paid for it. Refugee Blacks will never utilize ready-made magic recipes: uttering certain words, making certain gestures; face to face with such a recipe they will ask immediately: "From what
[P/2] god does this ɔbia come, and whom must one pay?" It seems that in their conception every transference of a spiritual power or a magic force disturbs something in the proper functioning of the universe; payment restores this equilibrium, it is the
[M] mark of legitimacy. Some Creoles of African ancestry transpose the same idea with respect to Christianity, and this is /258/ why they insist so much on paying for masses and buying
759 "orisons" (1). One observes likewise that free medical care
558

1. Written prayer to which is attached protective power. This notion, borrowed from the rustic magic of 17th-century France, seems to have been introduced into Guiana by the first European colonists.

lowers the prestige of the doctor in the eyes of all.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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832 Company, some ninety miles in the interior, we were informed by the physician in charge that it is not infrequent to have Bush Negro women report for internal disturbances, which upon examination prove to be irritation and small hæmorrhagic areas. The physician believed that this condition was due to the men's practice of using the mucca-mucca seed.

844 During childbirth the mother stays in her own hut. She is often attended by her mother, her female relatives, and friends. In every village there are one or more women who are skilled in the art of midwifery; these women are called *pekein mama*—either "little mother" or "mother of little children." At the time of childbirth, the pekein mama is assisted by four little girls from about ten to twelve years of age. The pekein mama uses a liberal quantity of hot water in the process of delivery. In the event of an abnormal condition, it is the duty of the pekein mama to deliver the child as skilfully as possible. The woman bears the ordeal of childbirth with the usual primitive fortitude, although the pains of labour seem to be as great among these people as among women of more civilized countries. The mother must drink only hot water for three months after the birth of the child.

[846 784]

853 Children are nursed at the breast for a period of three months. They are then fed a little mush made of cassava to which is gradually added rice, a small amount of meat, eggs, and plenty of fruit, but periodical nursing may sometimes continue for as long as two years. The mothers often chew the food before giving it to their babies.

/121 cont./

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/122 cont./

846 834 856 Interruption of conjugal relations after the birth. For three months after delivery the mother must stay away from men and even avoid touching them. Conjugal relations must be interrupted until the child begins to walk alone (eleven to 14 months). However, it is tolerated (but disapprovingly) that they be interrupted only for the time until the child begins to drag himself [842] on his knees /123/ (eight months). They cite the example of Baïna's wife who has puny children after pregnancies at too short intervals.

846 834 862 Actually, the interruption of conjugal relations tends to be reduced more and more, the women having condensed milk available and tending to reduce the duration of breast feeding.

178 593 Each woman acts as she wishes in this respect; the husband has no power to restrain her.

The Name

551 553 Existence of several independent names. Each Boni has two names, the gaã nɛm or big name, given by the father, and the pikin nɛm or little name, given by the mother.

These two names are given in totally independent fashion. Generally the pikin nɛm is given first; in former days they used to wait until the child was six to eight months old; nowadays it is given at the end of a few weeks. The head of the lineage does not intervene either in the choice or the giving of the name.

As a matter of fact, nearly three-quarters of the Boni are designated by one single name, either because the father and mother agreed to give the same name or because one of the two names fell into disuse.

To these two principal names may be added any number of names and cognomens given by the grandparents and later by friends or spouse; often one of the names ends by being given

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164 844 not severed gently enough. During the nursing period it is [853] often customary for the mother to abstain from intercourse, and judging by the size of the nursing children this period may last for two years.

854 The children are carried in the West African manner, astride on their mothers' backs and held by a band of wide cloth that goes around both mother and child. This is unlike the local Indian custom, in which the squaws carry their offspring on their hips. The children are washed often, being bathed several times a day beside the river; they stand and gurgle as the water is being poured over them.

842 The number of births among the Djukas is not as great 847 as might be inferred from their promiscuity. This suggests, of course, that some means of contraception is practised. In one village on the Saramacca River a medicine man showed the bahkra a yellow berry, an infusion of which is supposed to have abortive properties; it is known among the natives of British Guiana as "Doctor Doolittle." We doubt that the infusion has any such properties as are assigned to it. We also heard that the Djukas practice mechanical abortion, but their crude instruments must make this very dangerous.

854 Excepting during the first two or three years of the children's lives, mothers actually have little to do with their care. There are usually several older children in the family, sisters, brothers, or cousins, to whom is relegated the care of the 551 younger ones. Besides their ordinary names, children are also called according to the day of the week on which they were born, such as Monday-child, Tuesday-child, and so on.

/151 cont./

595 Sticking to statistics, one could say that the Refugee Blacks are monogamous in the proportion of 85 per cent. But
581 it is an apparent monogamy, for unions are not stable; their
586 average duration is about ten years; in fact the Refugee Blacks are practicing polygamy over a period of time.

595 A man who takes another wife apologizes to the first and gives her a liter of tafia, asking her to live on good terms with
[586] the co-wife. A certain number of wives do not accept co-wives and get divorced.

587 Most men have had, in general, four or five wives
586 successively. Most of the time these marriages have been
163 broken by the wife. /152/

Example S... (65 years old in 1957) had at least seven wives:

-- Nanay (Dip. II)†	1 child	divorced
Baakauman (K)†	3 children	"
1 Paramaka woman	1 child dead	"
Saumè (Dip. I)	1 child	"
Paata (Boniville)	no children	"
Emma (Asisi-Aw.B.)	no children	"
Masé (K)	"	marriage extant in 1958

Kwami (50 years old in 1958) had four wives:

-- Apinda (Asisi)	no children	divorced
Saayé (Dip. I)	several children	"
Do (Lapé)	1 child dead	"
Noémi (Asisi-Aw.B.)	1 child	marriage extant in 1958

159
582 Example of the family life of G... (50 years old in 1958).
About 1935 G... married M... (Kotika), a serious-minded and
159 intelligent woman who was very attached to him. Neverthe-
837 less, about the same time he had a clandestine affair with S....
[847] classificatory sister of M...., whom he made pregnant (abortion).

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834 848 "Don't go off into the bush with a man. A child born to you will have a bad bush god, if you do," she added as an afterthought.

5

123 179 In the other corner, Chief And'u, the bassia, and about half a dozen men were talking of the great book about their ancestors which the white man had.

"It is large so," said the chief to one of the older men, indicating an imaginary size which multiplied the size of the actual volume at least tenfold. "And people say it has in it pictures of the Apuku gods, small as we ourselves know them, and a picture of the evil Apuku who appear as fire in the distance. . . . Mati, white men have gone into the Kromanti houses in the country of our ancestors and have made pictures!"

"It is impossible!"

"I want to see!"

The old man said, "I will not look. Books are not for us, mati."

"But mati, the G'aman has heard, and he wants to see."

The old man shook his head. He would have nothing of pictures that figured what should never have been allowed to be photographed.

It seemed prudent to give the conversation a new turn. 137 Down river, the men had said that a man of this village had lately found a new *neku* liana. Was it so?

"The man who found it was my son," said the old man, "you should have come for the dance. You would have seen how we do things here in the bush. But pictures you could [802] not take. No, mati, if you photograph, you take the soul."

The festivities for the find had been especially joyful, he 824 explained, for the boy had only recently come by his gods, 79 and this had been yet another proof that he would serve his family capably. For though the find was his own, all his relatives in the mother's line would enjoy its use. Here- [818] [226] after, when the poison of its leaves and its slender branches

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881 have a last look at the child's penis, as they will never see it again. Then the boy is proclaimed a man, and given clothes.

So far as could be observed, there is no circumcision of either the male or female, although such mutilations are indulged in by West African tribes in the region from which the Djukas came. The girls wear only the *coyo,* or a larger cloth known as *pangi,* until their first menstruation, when their mothers give them cloths. This is done in private. Menstruating women are required to leave their homes and retire
841 to a separate hut situated outside the village on a by-path; they may not return until three days after the period is over. Under no condition are they allowed to go to the provision fields during this time.

584 At the age of about sixteen or seventeen the children are
[582] ready to be married. Sometimes they are betrothed in infancy, and occasionally a pregnant woman will betroth her child before it is born, conditionally, of course, upon its sex. Once the child is betrothed the ceremony must take place,
[754] otherwise the disappointed prospective mate will call down a *kunu,* or curse, on the entire perjured family, and they will all die. The pubescent child does not look forward to marriage as time for leaving its family, nor is marriage an
[581] initiation into sex relations. For these two reasons, getting
[348] married is not a serious step, and there is little illegitimacy because there is no reason for objecting to a marriage.

858 Youths must remain standing until their elders invite them
576 to be seated. It is customary for older people to receive much
888 respectful attention, for the older people are the sources of tradition and authority

/147 cont./

583 A girl's marriage does not involve any dowry in the African sense of the term, but it involves payment of the price of virginity to the mother. This payment is made after consummation of the marriage (or after defloration if there has been a clandestine union). It consists of seven pieces of cloth, a demijohn of tafia, and various imported objects (the whole representing in 1958 about 8,000 francs, which is relatively small for the Refugee Blacks). It really has to do with the price of virginity, for nothing is paid back if there is a break-up. The man moreover gives the girl white beads /possibly "pearls" --Tr./, red cloth, and sweetmeats which constitute the payment of her akka.

[429] The price of virginity is paid to the person who has raised the girl, even if it is a man. This person divides it equally with the mother or, if the latter is dead, with the mother's sisters.

For example, for O Baïkom (D,u, F10), brought up by her father Malobi in Loka village, her husband Moomu (Kotika) paid the price of virginity to Malobi who shared it with his wife Béniti.

[604] No payment is made to the uncles or to the head of the
[613] lineage.

836 The fact that a girl may carry on a clandestine affair and
[599] be deflowered without having been properly proposed to is considered a shame for the mother; but if the seducer confesses and pays the price of virginity, honor is restored.

Defloration does not necessarily entail marriage, for the seducer does not always intend to take on the maintenance of a household.

If the girl is deflowered too young, her mother does not give her the pagi and continues to forbid her to have sexual relations, for she fears that she may become pregnant. Now for
848 a girl, becoming pregnant without having concluded a contract
558 of maintenance with a man if an extreme shame, for that means she is not worth anything.

/147 cont./

848 If the girl is pregnant, the man may not abandon her: that would make a great to-do between the two kin groups: he must stay with her at least until the birth of the child.

883 836 178 [582] Nowadays among the Boni things tend to happen completely otherwise than custom makes provision for. The general opinion is that girls can no longer be held down, that they escape more and more from the authority of their mothers; many of them begin to run wild at about 14 or 15, and people are obliged to marry them off precipitately at 15 or 16. It is difficult to say what the proportion of these hasty marriages is, but the recriminations heard on all sides on the subject of the shamelessness of girls give the idea that it is increasing. In the [582] [848] villages on the French bank, out of nine girls married in 1958 there were only four marriages concluded according to regulations; the five others had been arranged hastily either because the girl was pregnant (two cases) or because she had laid herself open to scandal. /148/

582 Nearly all girls married between 1952 and 1956 were 15 to 17 years old.

584 This is about how things happen:

A man who is attracted by a girl tries to exchange a few [537] words with her unknown to her mother. There are special forms for these declarations. One speaks in a low voice, very fast, using special formulas. This is how one of our boatmen, one evening in October, 1952, addressed young Lomé, age 15, of Boniville village, who had gotten away from her mother on the pretext of going to get water for us.

584 539 "Woman, I love thee, I wish to live with thee, I wish to marry thee. That which God put in me I cannot take away (1).

1. Which means: I cannot change, you must take me as I am.

/158 cont./

848 If children are born of these irregular liaisons, the mother
[784] takes care to know with certainty who the father is, for if there
[753] were any doubt, the child, respecting a kina which would not
be his own, would contract leprosy. On this subject the Boni
842 have a remarkable belief: they think that it is the first man
with whom a woman has had relations after the end of a menstrual
period who is likely to make her pregnant.

836 These adventures always involve gifts in kind (cloth,
431 jewels); so the men who have the most success with women
are always short of money.

581 A woman who has lived thus in notorious fashion has a
little more difficulty than another in finding another husband,
but if she is young and winsome she succeeds.

548 Prostitution as such is very rare in Boni country, and the
women who give themselves over to it openly (three or four for
all the villages on the French bank) have generally left the
[836] tribe to settle in the gold miners' villages. Dissoluteness is
not considered dishonorable by the Refugee Blacks when it is
carried on within the tribe and when it has no other purpose but
pleasure; but prostitution is judged shameful.

834 Except for these few prostitutes, we have never heard it
648 said that a Boni woman had relations with a European; on this
point tribal discipline is observed with extreme rigor.

581 Conclusion. The average duration of marriages, which was
[178] from 15 to 20 years for the preceding generation, tends to be-
come shorter and can be estimated nowadays at about ten years.
[191] In spite of this evolution, the stability of marriages among the
Refugee Blacks remains noticeably greater than that observed
548 among the black populations of South America. Among them
is not seen the form of prostitution so widespread in South
America, the supported mistress who does not work and who
lives entirely at the expense of her successive lovers.

84 It appeared that nothing in a woman's life was so dreaded
85 as childbearing, nothing more coveted than fertility, and no time so difficult and so anxious as when a woman was rearing her children.

787 "The day before a girl marries she prays all day to her
584 gods," said Dida, who with Fenekonde and several other women had joined us. "I begged my god Kesekia and gave him rice and rum. All day they played the agida. I begged
[842] him not to hate my husband. I begged him to give us children."

843 When a woman conceived, her husband made her many
[831] obias, and especially a black sack obia with four cowries
751 sewed on it, to keep her safe on the paths which led from
789 village to village, and from village to her field. The fear of the power of bad magic at this time was so great that, if we but looked at one of the pregnant women, or let our eyes rest on the several obias she wore, she grew nervous, covered them with both her hands, and disappeared in fear that the very power of our glance might weaken the potency of the charms. She did not believe in the white man's magic, but she was not in a condition to wish to put it to a test.

844 "When her time comes, a woman sees to it that she is in
782 her own village," said Fenekonde. "It is not good to give birth in the bush, or on the river."

This had almost happened to Wilhelmina with her last child. She was on the river alone in a boat. Chief Sungi of Dahomey met her and called on his gods to delay the coming of the child until he brought her home. He had strong obia, and so the misfortune was averted.

When the woman felt the first labor-pains, she prayed to the gods, and to her personal spirits. On the great Sky God she called, and the Earth Mother; on her ak'a, her soul; on the Yorka, the ancestors; and then she prayed to her personal gods, and particularly to whatever snake gods she might have, for some of these were known to be jealous of a coming child. But none of the gods dared be slighted.

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768 "If it is the man who is dead, then the woman takes her
775 girl children to live with her, but her sons she sends away to live elsewhere. A man's spirit will not harm his daughters. He loves them. But his sons, he will kill. . . . When a woman dies, then it is the sons that the man will keep with him in the house, and the daughters must go away. The yorka of a woman will protect her sons, but she will destroy the daughters when she visits the place where she once lived."

5

602 To her child the Bush Negro mother gives at birth
851 membership in all her own blood groups. The child is of her *wosu*, or household. He belongs to her *mbe*, or great family, which is an aggregate of many households. He is a member of her *lo*, or clan, which is composed of a number of great families, and which holds political sway over a given
613 portion of the land. The tie of all these groupings is a blood tie, a common female ancestress who lived long ago, or several women, daughters of the same mother, who had been the first to live with the runaway ancestors here in the bush, or several women who came from one people in Africa, and were the first to bear children to the rebels in the jungle. Every legal, every economic implication which this tradition of descent and inheritance through the female line might hold, is faithfully adhered to.

611 The mother does indeed count, as the tales told us in the
593 city insisted. But what of the father?

That the Bush Negro understands fully the rôle that
842 both father and mother play in the procreation of the
532 young was everywhere apparent. The wood carving which a father made for his young daughter had designs on it of the kind which bore the general designation "*womi ko' muye*—man and woman." Whatever the traceries on the carvings given by a man to his woman during courtship, or after marriage, whatever animals might be represented, the essential symbolism was that of fertility, and the

/122 cont./

845 [621] Observation at Maripasoula, November 3, 1956. The wife of Baïna, boatman of the border-fixing mission, gave birth at Pikin Tabiki, small farming village where she works with her mother and the latter's husband. Baïna went to be present at the delivery.

It was very long and dramatic. According to Baïna, an ɔgi sani had entered the child's body, making him stiff and impossible to extract. As a last resort they called a neighbor, T..., known for having a good gita. He called his gadu who revealed an efficacious remedy, since after the body of the sick woman was bathed with the prescribed leaves, the delivery ended successfully.

846 [515] Since we were leaving on our trip, it remained to find someone to take his place in fulfilling one of the husband's duties: cutting the supply of wood for heating the water necessary for the hot douches /showers?/ the mother was going to be given several times a day for about three months. [465] He made an agreement for that with Kwata, his mother-in-law's husband, to whom he will pay about 1,000 francs.

851 613 [603] Presentation of the child. On the eighth day the maternal grandmother (or great-grandmother if she is still living) takes the child and gives it to another ancestress of the same lineage, stationed in front of the house. The latter presents it to the family. Then [769] the head of the lineage, without taking the child, goes to the [778] fraga tiki to make an offering of tafia, asking the ancestors to [782] protect it.

For example, for the birth of A... (Lapé Tabiki village), son of O Yundu (L2, G60), it was Asakundu, grandmother of Yundu and great-grandmother of the child, who came to take him in the house and gave him over to her sister Térésa (L2, E57) to present him to the family (see genealogical table of the Lapé lineage, fraction 2).

/198 cont./

167 754 old woman of 90, A..., who died in Asisi in January, 1957. Having lived with Creoles in her youth, she had come back to live in her native village for at least 30 years and had never given occasion for any unfavorable remark. Nevertheless, upon her death it appeared that she had wisi.

771 829 177 Attitude toward Christianity. The Refugee Blacks, who are acquainted better than one might believe with the conceptions of the populations in the midst of whom they live, have a clear feeling of the relationship which exists between their metaphysical and moral conceptions and those of Christianity. They think they worship the same god as the Christians, in a completely different way but just as sound. They have no animosity [797] whatever toward the Catholic and Protestant clergy, and most of them agree willingly to wearing crosses or medals. But they have not the least intention of abandoning their beliefs for that. They do not perceive the contradiction and do not understand that people might want to oblige them to choose.

851 171 Like the Creole gold miners, they attach great importance to baptism, considered as an obia protective against the dangers of the bush. On Christmas, 1957 they were strongly impressed 165 797 by the accidental death of a Djuka Christian living at the Kotika school. He refused to observe mourning for his wife [688] according to the custom of the Refugee Blacks, and used to go [273] to drink in the cabarets of the Creole villages. On Christmas evening, when drunk, he drowned himself. That was attributed [784] to a suprahuman punishment. We heard /199/ the following reflection on this subject: "He was baptized and he drowned himself just the same. That is therefore not worth the trouble."

61 581 571 Actually, the matrilineal structure of the Refugee Blacks and their conception of marriage form an irreducible cleavage, which appears immediately as soon as one leaves the metaphysical conceptions to pass to the plane of practical living.

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monest is a simple piece of cloth wrapped around the torso 291
from the breast to the knee. Sometimes the breasts are left bare; sometimes they are covered. This is a matter of individual taste, and has no ceremonial significance. Over this lower garment another cloth is sometimes thrown, and clasped at the shoulder. Near the mission stations, of course, and on visits to Paramaribo, much more clothing is used.

The Bush Negroes are not allowed to appear in loin-cloths on the street when they come down to visit Paramaribo, except on the river's side where they land in their canoes. They must have a pair of trousers for any further promenading. There is no objection to the upper parts of the man's body being bared; but the women may not walk about the streets of the capital with their breasts exposed.

If a Bush Negro is not fortunate enough to own a pair of trousers, he may rent one for ten Dutch cents a day (four cents in American money) from small shopkeepers who have their stores near the bank of the river. The traded cloth is fashioned into rough but brilliant trousers for the men, and crude bodices for the women. Even a straw hat may occasionally be seen. In the more remote villages, on the other hand, the women often wear only a short bit of cloth before their genitalia. Most of the children of both sexes wear no clothing until a few years before puberty. About the age of ten they are dressed in their first cloths. For the boy this is a ceremonial [852] occasion, but the girls quietly begin clothing themselves without notice being taken of the event.

In addition to these garments, the Bush Negro indulges in 301

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We took particular pains to gather as much information 163
as possible on fecundity, infant mortality, and the death-rate of mothers in childbirth. Sixty women were questioned. The fecundity we found to be variable; one of the women claimed to have borne twelve children—the highest number encountered—and some had no offspring at all. The usual number of children was found to be two or three. Interestingly enough, there is a low infant mortality; that is to say, a low death-rate for infants during the first six months after birth, but a high child mortality. The higher death-rate occurs 165
among children from the ages of two to six years. There 844
seemed to be a considerable number of premature births, and deaths of mothers at the time of birth or shortly thereafter are numerous. After much questioning, we found this to be one of the grievances of the Djukas, for they consider the Dutch medical authorities could do a great deal in alleviating such a condition. The precautions surrounding the mother at the time of childbirth or shortly thereafter are very crude and they may lead to infections and end in death by puerperal sepsis. 164 844

The birth of a child is usually the occasion for some slight [852]
celebration. The umbilical cord is severed with a knife (unsterilized, of course) and buried behind the hut. The placenta is thrown into the river. *Trismus neonatorum,* a tetanus infection by way of the umbilical cord, occasionally occurs, due to the extremely unclean conditions surrounding parturition. As can be seen from the photographs, some of the Djuka children suffer from umbilical hernia, because the cord is

/68 cont./

613 624 [562] The basia are the mouthpieces of the captain, and not at all deputies having specific authority over a definite fraction of the village. There are three or four per village; in addition there are one or two women basia through whom the village head commands the work reserved for the women.

613 554 241 782 The head of the lineage possesses no religious powers over the land. The Refugee Blacks assume that the fertility of the soil depends exclusively on local divinities, to whom each one prays on his own behalf.

613 554 681 The captain, no more than the council, does not have the right to expel a member from the lineage, even for marked unworthiness. This is one of the most remarkable aspects of the legal conceptions of the Refugee Blacks, tied to the idea that a lineage represents only one single life. There again the thought of the Refugee Blacks can be regarded as the extreme opposite of the thought of the Bamiléké, with whom the head alone retains possession of the rights over the land, expulsion constituting the supreme social sanction.

881 Initiation; age classes; men's society. These African institutions seem totally unknown to the Refugee Blacks. No form of initiation of adolescents exists, and no ceremony marks collectively their entrance into social life. Circumcision and excision are not practiced. For the children, boys and girls, there are two stages: that of the first garment, which is given upon the appearance of the pubic hair, at about 12-13 years, without ceremony, and the end of education which coincides with marriage. [304] [852] [561]

561 The society of the Refugee Blacks rests however in large part on age hierarchy; strictly speaking there are no age classes involving a fixed organization, but they exist tacitly:

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name which was kept secret and never spoken except in 551
states of possession or when the obia man called on a person's spirit. For girls, Amba for a Saturday child, Affi for one born on Friday, Adjuba for Wednesday; and for the boys some of the names were Kwaku, for Monday, Yao for Thursday, Kofi for Friday, and Kwasi for Sunday. Then there was the name which the father gave, and after that any of the family who cared added a name and made the child a present.

From the day it was born until it was at least two years 853
old a child fed at its mother's breast. For twelve moons 846
and five more of this time the woman could not go to the hammock with a man. It was then that her husband went to the distant French shore to work or to the railhead. But after seventeen months of nursing were past, he came back. 844

"If a child is made before a woman gets back her men- [842]
strual flow, then it is a god. It is Kesefu. A child born feet [845]
first some call Agosu, and some Asaeng. The child born after twins we call Dosu, and twins are Hohobi. Now it is in your book. You will give those names to your children, and your sister's children. No one will know at all what names these are. No one will be able to harm them."

6

In the quarter immediately adjoining that of the Gran- 585
man there was great activity. Six or seven men and boys 476
were at work on a new house, for the youngest daughter of the family was ready for marrying, and now the men were helping her suitor to build a house for her in her village.

From the same quarter, behind a house which stood in 304
the shade, came the laughter of young girls. We made our way past the house and saw four girls ranging in age from thirteen to sixteen seated on a log. One of these held her head back, and an older girl was bending over her. They called to us as we passed.

"We are cutting kamemba. Do you want some cuts, too?"

These were not new cuts which were being made, for with perhaps one exception, the girls were all nubile, and

609 mother. The woman who had made Bayo was her sister, she told us.

142 The resemblance between this woman and Bayo was marked. She had the same dark skin, the same stocky, muscular build, the broad nose, the same general cast of features we had known so well in Bayo. Similar, too, were the sharply etched scars on her face, which were so black and so prominent as to bespeak her great vitality and rugged health. There were other likenesses, we learned, and of these the most valued was the strength of their gods.

189 We had not been long in her hut before we noticed the 794 iron arm-band she wore. It was, we knew, a "*tapu*"—a 562 magical preventive which, in this instance, warned its wearer of danger, and kept her from harm in a combat. Seeing it on the arm of a woman was astonishing for many reasons. Not in all our encounters on the river had we seen a woman wearing an arm obia of iron. Iron was the sign of the Kromanti, a men's group, composed of those men [595] who had the Kromanti spirit. It was in part warriors' secret society, and in part, when it was Obia Kromanti, the men's religious society which controlled the powerful supernatural forces of preventive and healing magic which played so prominent a part in the spiritual life of the Bush Negro. Now there were, we had been told, some women who inherited the Kromanti spirit, but these were few, and not until after their menopause could they enter a Kromanti house, and when this came they were too old to participate in the dance, but they sang the songs when the spirit came to them and did whatever else was known to the initiated of their years.

But this woman who was Bayo's mother's sister was not an old woman. As she talked to us, in fact, her breast was [853] swung over to the side, and against her ribs was the head of the child on her back who was nursing. Yet on her arm was the fighter's "tapu," as the emblem of membership in the Kromanti group.

This was so important an anomaly that, following the etiquette of the bush, we hastened at once to talk about something else.

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§32 Company, some ninety miles in the interior, we were informed by the physician in charge that it is not infrequent to have Bush Negro women report for internal disturbances, which upon examination prove to be irritation and small hæmorrhagic areas. The physician believed that this condition was due to the men's practice of using the mucca-mucca seed.

During childbirth the mother stays in her own hut. She is often attended by her mother, her female relatives, and friends. In every village there are one or more women who are skilled in the art of midwifery; these women are called *pekein mama*—either "little mother" or "mother of little children." At the time of childbirth, the pekein mama is assisted by four little girls from about ten to twelve years of age. The pekein mama uses a liberal quantity of hot water in the process of delivery. In the event of an abnormal condition, it is the duty of the pekein mama to deliver the child as skilfully as possible. The woman bears the ordeal of childbirth with the usual primitive fortitude, although the pains of labour seem to be as great among these people as among women of more civilized countries. The mother must drink only hot water for three months after the birth of the child.

§33 Children are nursed at the breast for a period of three months. They are then fed a little mush made of cassava to which is gradually added rice, a small amount of meat, eggs, and plenty of fruit, but periodical nursing may sometimes continue for as long as two years. The mothers often chew the food before giving it to their babies.

§48 not severed gently enough. During the nursing period it is
§49 often customary for the mother to abstain from intercourse,
[§50] and judging by the size of the nursing children this period may last for two years.

§51 The children are carried in the West African manner, astride on their mothers' backs and held by a band of wide cloth that goes around both mother and child. This is unlike the local Indian custom, in which the squaws carry their offspring on their hips. The children are washed often, being bathed several times a day beside the river: they stand and gurgle as the water is being poured over them.

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§55 younger ones. Besides their ordinary names, children are also called according to the day of the week on which they were born, such as Monday-child, Tuesday-child, and so on.

Seeing him, our host gave an exclamation of pleasure. 439
"But this is Ajako, the husband of Granman Yankuso's daughter!"

"*Kuma, Bakra. Kuma, Bakra waye*—Good morning, 576
white man, good morning, white woman," he said, and our answer was, "*Ajako, kuma*—Ajako, good morning."

Had we awakened, no? This, in the Saramacca idiom, was how one asked if we were well, if we were alive, since the euphemism for death is sleep. We answered him in their patterned phrase.

"*Hafu so,*" we said, using their equivalent for fairly well, only half so.

Ajako laughed. The white man had learned. "Are you no better? I hear the gods like you well," he replied.

And so the conversation went on, each giving [illegible] himself.

Finally Ajako said, "Granman Yankuso waits for you, 648
Bakra. He sends you his greetings, and says he will welcome you in Asindopo Lantiwe, his village. You have the freedom of the river. The village chiefs know of your coming. They will receive you. The river is not too high now, for top-side the rains are at an end. Here on the lower river, too, rocks that today are under water will appear tomorrow or the next day. The water is not too high now. The Granman sends word to you that you can start."

But what of him? Would he not come with us as our chief paddler, to show us the way through the many channels? But he smiled and said he was going to the Marowyne. He could not turn back, he told us, for he had 771
the boats to sell, and money to earn there, while his wife 854
was nursing her infant. When the child was seventeen, eighteen months old, then he would be back with his wife again, cutting new fields for her, and making children. While the infant was at the breast, he would be away working.

There was more talk, leading gently—*safri*, softly, as the 648
Bush Negro himself says—to the subject of certain unfriendly villages. There were two of them up the river that

REBEL DESTINY

And Fenekonde said, "Mourning is hard. The widow must not go to the river alone to wash. Other women must take her there. Her husband's spirit might seize her. Her hair must be cut. If not, he will get her by the hair. Her clothes must be ugly. She must keep herself unclean, so that his ghost will not long for her when he sees her."

But mourning was difficult not only for a woman. A man's mourning period was no less burdensome, they added. He too wore old clothes. When he went to wash, his wife's brother took him to the river. If he had another wife, he did not go into the hammock with her, for the dead woman would be envious and would kill him.

There were times, however, when women did not go into mourning for their husbands. If a woman carried a child in her womb, then she did not put on mourning clothes at all. She did not weep, she was not allowed to show any grief. That same night the dead man's oldest living brother would come with her in the hammock. If there were no brother, another man would come, for some man had to come.

"He must come. It cannot be otherwise. She cannot go to her hammock alone. So it is every night when a woman carries a child in her womb. A man must be with her, for the sake of the child."

3

In the clearing the widow stood stamping rice. About her the rice hulls flew and made a half circle of gold at her dark feet. Her mortar, which was made of a hollowed-out log, like a drum, was large and reached almost to her hips. On the ground was a large tray which she used for winnowing the rice. With slow, regular beats she lifted and dropped the pestle, and as her body swung with its slow motion the head of the sleeping child on her back rolled this way and that.

Her two small boys had gone to live in her mother's village, but this girl child remained with her. She was born

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7

The next day was our last among the Saramacca people. Bayo came to us early to help with the packing. He was apparently none the worse for his seizure and, as he worked, we could tell from his manner how release had come to him and how the tension we had noticed the past few days had left him.

On his body were no marks. His mouth showed no cuts where the glass was bitten off and chewed. When we told him about the glass, he knew nothing of it. Had he not known about this eating of glass, he might well have doubted our word, for when we examined his lips and palate and tongue, not even a scratch showed.

"What did you drum last night, Bayo?"

"When, before the obia came to me?"

He remembered nothing after he had leaped from the improvised apinti to run into the bush.

"Not when you drummed apinti, but when you came back here and took the tumao to the river."

"I don't remember. Did I do that?"

8

Despite the early hour we had to leave in order to catch the weekly train for the coast, the boats of our friends began to be seen off the landing place as they came to say their farewells. The good woman Tita, whom they called Mother Snake behind her back, was the first to arrive. She walked slowly up from the river bank, pipe in mouth, a pot on her head, and one in each hand. The pots held obias which, she said, were made especially for us, to give us great powers in our own land—one to keep us safe from the ghosts of those we had wronged; one to guard us against the acts of the unfriendly living; one to make all those from whom we sought advantage "love" us.

Sedefo's younger wife came with her child on her back to collect whatever tin cans were about, and some gift for the child when it wakened, knowing that something was

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

142
291
501
854

Bush Negro Group Showing Unfinished Dug-Out Canoe Hewn with Axe.
Photo by Gerard

[Facing p. 40]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

●854
301
291
531

An Aid to Busy Mothers.

[Facing p. 108]

164 §44 not severed gently enough. During the nursing period it is
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609 ago, so long that no one knew just when it happened, instruct-
123 ed that no one might impart to another, a stranger, more than half of what he knew. Moreover, no young person dared to speak at all of the supernatural, and such matters as inheritance were regulated by the laws of the gods and ancestors, who punished infractions with the scourge of kunu—a term we were to hear so much in this Suriname bush.

302 Tenye's head as we looked down upon it was a mound of wool, with little braids, each no more than an inch or an inch and a half long, fastened by a bit of black thread, each braid pointing upwards. This was called "tatafi," we knew, and to change the subject we talked about the styles of
• [855] hairdressing. A child's hair usually was closely cropped, and the heads of both Yamati and Sabape looked as smooth as blackened gourds. Tenye's hair had been cut but a little while ago, a moon perhaps, when the braids had grown so long that it had been too much bother even to make the hair look well in the fashion of what was called the coiled head, or the earth furrow style. Both of these types of hairdressing consisted of braids which diverged from the center in many rows, appearing at the outer edge at intervals of one inch, or slightly more. These ends were caught up and rebraided around the head, to form either the one coil of "lollo 'ede," or the several coils of "gon wi." There were also the single long braids—the "pitto"—and the "pina bonsu" way of hair combing, where the head when properly dressed makes a design of narrow strips of scalp showing between flat ribbons of braids, which look like so many snake vertebrae, radiating from the middle of the head outwards.

"When you come back from up river, I will dress your hair," said Tenye to both of us. "You," she said, pointing, "will become an obia man in your white country, and you will look so well that your husband won't ever remember to go to his other wives."

302 But now Tenye's maternal aunt who had approached
454 unobserved came to call the children away. She was not in

782 Now she could but say that the Granman had asked her to see to this.

"It is good medicine. Do not be afraid," she added, reassuringly.

She led the way to her quarter, but before we had gone past the open shrine she stopped, and her eyes narrowed as she tried to come to a decision. From the quarter we were approaching came a crooning, moaning sound.

787 "A god speaks. The Apuku god has come to a woman this morning. Come. We will go to the G'aman's women," she said as she retraced her steps.

644 888 On a squared log in back of the enclosed shrine which adjoined the council house sat the Granman's principal wife. She was a woman who in her prime must have had beauty, but, though still erect, she had deep grooves on her face, and her breasts were the breasts of an old woman. Her head was closely shorn, as was the way of women whose children were grown. Like any other woman of the village she wore only the short cloth and the bit of kerchief which showed at her waist. Like the others she went to the provision ground almost daily. She and her younger daughter, who was named Wilhelmina for the Queen of Holland, [412] cared for their field together, and now they were working side by side.

644 Wilhelmina was more robust than her mother could have been at her age. She was tall, more her father's daughter. It was she who served his food and looked after his personal needs. She was the wife of the man who had brought the boat which Sedefo had rejected, because he did not trust its spirit. As she worked, her two children were with her, [838] the elder a child of three, sitting on the ground at her feet, and the other on her back, or in her lap nursing while she did her tasks.

Unlike her older sister, Wilhelmina had little of her father's astutness, of his quick eye, or his schooled tongue. She went about with the slow, sensuous grace of someone not quite awake, while her older sister busied herself with making the rounds of the village, observing this and that

484 through them, would have meant courting the displeasure of the spirit which animated the troubled stretch, and would have been dangerous. He was a Man Nengere and knew all this well, for was he not ready to marry Dida any 582 time now? He would have to wait as yet, but perhaps [85] during the next planting her breasts would come, and then in a month, two, three, she would be ready to marry. He was, in fact, in the mood even to cast about for a second wife, though his marrying her would have to wait many years. All that would come, for what with the money he already had earned, and the sums he would get for the wood he might bring down the river later, and this money the Bakra would give him, he would have enough to pay for the hammock, the cloth pangi, the handkerchiefs, the [584] bracelets and beads, and whatever else a man needed to give to his woman and her mother for a fine marriage.

484 Going through this stretch of still water, which Bayo always found dull, he thought of this and that, for there was no work for his muscles but the monotony of the dip and stroke of the paddle. Going upstream it was different. There the challenge of the slipping pole-stick against submerged slime-covered rocks made a man prove himself. It spoke to the warrior blood in him, which found no outlet in these quiet times. But this was only idling, and his mind found pleasure in wandering, especially if it happened, as now, to be dark enough to make it worthless for him to look about for the things that grew and stirred in the bush.

Yes, it would be almost three hours before the sun was high, and when it stood there—he indicated the place in the heavens to himself with his eye—he might be loading the Bakra's boats to go up river, for word had come from top-side that the Mamadam would be safe in a few days, and now if the Granman meant for the Bakra to get to the upper river, he would be sending word down almost any time. And he, Bayo, was ready for the journey. 484 Here in the blue canister, which he had bought in the city 574 on the Queen's last birthday with part of the money he had

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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more than a year before her father's death and therefore had not saved her mother from mourning.

"My sons are big so," she showed, pointing to the mortar, "and already my brother takes them with him down the river, and when they are with him he tells them about the creeks and the trees, and where the villages are which are friendly to our people. But when they come here to see me, then they play. They have play guns and play arrows which they make themselves. Into the uncleared bush they shoot them until I call them away to eat. Here I have no man from whom they can learn. Here they only play."

But boys liked to be with men. When the rains came, her brother would let them sit by when he carved, and, seeing him work, they would take up a knife and begin whittling. That was how boys learned to do men's work.

Women children played with "gossi." She put down her pestle, and felt about in her cloth where the child slept, and brought out a gourd, resembling in size a small cucumber. It had beads on top for eyes and a few deft cuts to indicate nose and mouth, while above the eyes was crosshatching for the hair. Until girls were old enough to be of use in the fields, they sat about in the clearing playing with these dolls.

"When they are four and five, then they like to work."

There was, of course, dancing. All dances were opened by the children, and at six and seven the girls knew seketi and awasa, and bandamba, and the boys danced susa.

"Do you dance susa?" we asked the Granman's five-year-old grandson, who was standing with us beside the widow.

"Ai," he said, but once our attention was turned to him he said also, "White man, the children say you carry money in this." He touched a water canteen which hung from the stranger's belt. "I know it is water."

He knew also that shaving cream was soap, and not white people's sacred clay, and now as women came with bottles for the white man's obia water—a name they gave

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856 644 609 to all the medicine we had for them—he took it upon himself to instruct them to wash the bottles carefully, as he followed us to the storehouse, and to warn them that what was given was not to be taken internally.

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The coming of the strangers had eclipsed all desire for [257] familiar diversions here. From early morning the children of the village stood about watching us, so that the brushing of teeth and the lacing of boots were carried on under excited supervision which continued day after day. But to this small grandson of Yankuso we were visitors in his quarter, and whether we were alone in the council house or were in the small house reserved for privacy, he would find his way there and stand about asking questions.

Sometimes, however, when he found us at work and saw that we did not wish to be interrupted, he would lean against the wall for a long time watching us in silence, until presently he would come to life, as it were, walk over to the table, and begin beating the Kromanti rhythm on it.

856 533 868 But he was not the only child who knew the drum rhythms. In the last village in the Pikien Rio, we met a two-year-old child who came to us with more than usual readiness and followed us about, his hand in ours until we came to his mother's house, where he left us to sit down on a wooden plank which lay near it. We had been in conversation with the older people and did not notice his going, until all at once we heard the slow beating of the rhythm to the Sky God. It was this child of two, drumming against the plank on which he sat.

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WOMEN AT WORK

"*A naki apinti, ai!*—He is playing the apinti," his father said, laughing, and a woman who stood by said that when he grew up he would have an important god. It would be a good god, too, and it might be a great Komfo—a priest reincarnated in him. 856 533 868

Among the little girls who were with us most often, and now stood by with Yankuso's grandson, were the two daughters of Dida, the wife of Chief And'u of S'ei, who went about the Granman's village with white on her face and body. The little girls were also washed in the white clay, and there was white in the wool of their hair. They had the quick, startled movements of their mother, and one of them in particular was a nervous child, shy and easily frightened. She never came too close to the strangers, and, for a time, if they but caught her eye, she would begin to tremble with fear. 857 [609]

"Your daughters are handsome, Dida." 726

"Ai, they come from a good line," she said, laughing. 868

The Granman's younger wife said, "They will have many gods when they are big. They will have them from their mother, and theirs will be stronger yet. They are twins." [845]

It was possible, she explained, by looking at a child to know if it would have the gods of the family. Sometimes the gods took a dislike to a child and refused to give it of their wisdom or protection, and sometimes the gods liked it so well that they gave it many gifts—the gift of a fine singing voice, the ability to dance better than others, and the good fortune to be liked.

"Until they are grown, the gods do not trouble them much," she added, "but we in the bush know a child who will have important gods, and we know if the gods will be kindly."

"Do you mean you know because of kuno?"

"*Ma bye*, all gods do not come from kuno."

4

One day when sitting among the women, the talk was of twins. 845

5: Hurault--17KE-5 (1948-1959) 1959 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

/52/

165 Mortality. The principal interest of this study is to establish the
128 curve of survival showing, for 100 children born alive, the number surviving at one year, five years, ten years, etc., until the extinction of the group. The life expectancy at birth is given by this curve.

For the Boni, we can make this study with the assumption that the lives of the individuals stopped on the first of January 1950, the date on which one may consider that the conditions which influence mortality have changed, above all as far as the children are concerned.

The study of the mortality of the children born since the first of January 1950, dealt with in part, will furnish useful elements of comparison.

Establishment of the mortality table. Taking up again the records of the 193 women whose lives are completely known to us, and including the children who died in early infancy (10), we have marked down all their children, year by year, on a table.

Table of Mortality Referring to 1 January 1950 (10)

165

Year of birth	Deceased children			Surviving on 1-1-50	Surviving	Average age on 1-1-50	Deceased between 1-1-50 & 1-1-60
	0-1 year	0-5 years	More than 5 before 1-1-50		Total children	years	
1880-1899 inclus.	13 (30 %)	13 (30 %)	5	16	16/23 - 69 %	50	2
1900-1909 inclus.	13 (28 %)	20 (37 %)	8	26	26/34 - 68 %	45	1
1910-1919 inclus.	21 (34 %)	30 (35 %)	8	47	47/55 - 85 %	35	1
1920-1929 inclus.	30 (32 %)	38 (31 %)	7	50	50/56 - 89 %	25	3
1930-1939 inclus.	36 (34 %)	32 (30 %)	8	66	66/106 - 62 %	15	3
1940-1949 inclus.	60 (33 %)	.....	1	122	122/175 - 70 %	5	8

165 10. We were particularly careful in asking about chil-
123 dren who died in early infancy, an important cause of
[156] error in populations without civil records. The age of
[162] the children at the time of death has been estimated according to the following guidelines based on the study

/521 cont./

165 10. (cont.)
128 of the development of ten children born in
• 856 1956 and 1957: sitting up, 7 months; be-
862 ginning to walk, 1 year (a remarkably clear guideline among the Boni); end of weaning, 14 to 18 months. Beyond that, the ages were estimated by comparison with children living at the time of the inquiry.

165 The survival curve results directly from these values. It shows the high mortality of children (30% during the first five years).

/122 cont./

Interruption of conjugal relations after the birth. For three months after delivery the mother must stay away from men and even avoid touching them. Conjugal relation must be interrupted until the child begins to walk alone (eleven to 14 months). However, it is tolerated (but disapprovingly) that they be interrupted only for the time until the child begins to drag himself on his knees /123/ (eight months). They cite the example of Belina's wife who has puny children after pregnancies at too short intervals.

Actually, the interruption of conjugal relations tends to be reduced more and more, the women having condoned milk available and tending to reduce the duration of breast feeding.

Each woman acts as she wishes in this respect; the husband has no power to restrain her.

The Name

Existence of several independent names. Each Boni has two names, the gali nem or big name, given by the father, and the pikin nem or little name, given by the mother.

These two names are given in totally independent fashion. Generally the pikin nem is given first; in former days they used to wait until the child was six to eight months old; nowadays it is given at the end of a few weeks. The head of the lineage does not intervene either in the choice or the giving of the name.

As a matter of fact, nearly three-quarters of the Boni are designated by one single name, either because the father and mother agreed to give the same name or because one of the two names fell into disuse.

To these two principal names may be added any number of names and sobriquets given by the grandparents and later by friends or spouse; often one of the names ends by being given

THE PROVISION GROUND

It is the woman's task, then, to see to the food which the Earth Mother yields, while the men are busy hewing lumber and making boats, hunting and fishing, and carrying the white man's loads to the city. In the leisure of the rainy season, while the women cut up the trade cotton cloth into long, narrow strips and sew them into cloths of traditional design, the men are at work carving fine things out of wood.

When the big rains come a man might busy himself carving doorposts for his new house, or he might make a paddle to put away in his personal treasure house, so that, when he is ready to take a second wife, he might have the proper gifts to make her. Another might be making a small canoe paddle for his first daughter. She is four, perhaps, and already is of help to her mother in the field, carrying water from the river in a small Indian jar. Soon she will be strong enough to have the cutting of the kanembu begin—a few slashes about the navel at first . . . He will cover the surface of the paddle with beautiful traceries, each design a meaningful symbol, and to add to its beauty he will darken it with a mixture of oil and charred rice hulls. When it is finished it will be of a reddish-brown color, slender, and smooth to the touch of his fingers as the skin of his women-child. Combs, food stirrers, trays, stools, peanut pounding boards, and, if a man likes, mortar and pestle—all these are carved when the rains are heavy and there is no work to be done on the river or in the bush.

So the work is divided. A man does a man's work—wood, iron, hunting the game animals of the bush, and catching fish in traps, making baskets of wood fiber—all that is a man's affair he does. And the woman, tending the fields and cooking for her family, pounding palm nuts in her mortar to make palm oil, grating the bitter cassava to make flour free from the poison that is in the root, caring for her house and carving calabash dishes with the symbols of men and women and fertility—women does what is woman's lot to do.

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Ii Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1929-1930) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Saramacca

"*A naki apinti, ai!*—He is playing the apinti," his father said, laughing, and a woman who stood by said that when he grew up he would have an important god. It would be a good god, too, and it might be a great Komfo—a priest reincarnated in him.

Among the little girls who were with us most often, and now stood by with Yankuso's grandson, were the two daughters of Dida, the wife of Chief And'u of S'ei, who went about the Granman's village with white on her face and body. The little girls were also washed in the white clay, and there was white in the wool of their hair. They had the quick, startled movements of their mother, and one of them in particular was a nervous child, shy and easily frightened. She never came too close to the strangers, and, for a time, if they but caught her eye, she would begin to tremble with fear.

"Your daughters are handsome, Dida."

"Ai, they come from a good line," she said, laughing.

The Granman's younger wife said, "They will have many gods when they are big. They will have them from their mother, and theirs will be stronger yet. They are twins."

It was possible, she explained, by looking at a child to know if it would have the gods of the family. Sometimes the gods took a dislike to a child and refused to give it of their wisdom or protection, and sometimes the gods liked it so well that they gave it many gifts—the gift of a fine singing voice, the ability to dance better than others, and the good fortune to be liked.

"Until they are grown, the gods do not trouble them much," she added, "but we in the bush know a child who will have important gods, and we know if the gods will be kindly."

"Do you mean you know because of kunu?"

"*Ma kye*, all gods do not come from kunu."

4

One day when sitting among the women, the talk was of twins.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SRS Bush Negroes SRS

were born, such as Monday-child, Tuesday-child, and so on.

The boys of about seven to ten years of age form themselves into groups and play at hunting or fishing, or canter in and out of the village. There seems to be very little organized game playing among the children. For that matter the adults have no organized games aside from that of gambling with the *adjo-boto* board. The little girls play at house making, or follow pursuits of a less arduous nature than do the boys, and to them in particular is given the care of the young children, although the boys often do their share in this matter. The arts of hunting, fishing, canoe work, and *jungle craft in general* are usually taught the boy by his maternal uncle, or by some other male relative of his mother's family, and less often by his actual father. At irregular intervals there are canoe races, and the young men indulge in wrestling as a pastime.

We know of no initiatory rites for ceremonially admitting children into the tribe at puberty. Among the Auguers, however, the boy does undergo a slight ceremonial to indicate that he is at last a full-fledged adult. Most of the children of both sexes are entirely nude, and no notice is taken of the fact. At about the age of ten the boy begins wearing around his waist a string of singrani, in anticipation of a loin-cloth. When the maternal uncle judges that the boy is old enough, he stands the boy up before the entire village, assembled for the purpose, and gives him a loin-cloth and cannon. But first the uncle rips off any cloth that happens to be on the boy's body and draws attention to his nudity. Everyone is told to

family. The children of the second wife belong to the family of the second wife. A woman calls her husband's other wife by the name of kambwa. Do you know what kambwa means?" he asked, laughing. "*Kambwa*—the woman who makes trouble for me. So, you see, we people of the bush learned from our ancestors to give each wife her own house, where she might live with her own children."

But not alone the woman needed to have a house of her own. The man, too, built a house for himself. In it he stored his possessions. It was his sanctuary. No woman might enter it. On the carving of its door, a man lavished all his love of ornamentation, all his artistry.

"A man likes to have his own house for his possessions," explained Kasaya. "If he is a rich man, it is better that his wives do not know how much he has. You know what women are. They always ask for presents. But if a [illegible] know it. If they know, they will make life hard for him with nagging. They will talk of leaving him. And all the village will know, too."

In this house, then, which a man built for his wife, the children were reared. Sometimes, it is true, if the harvests were poor or the father had met with ill luck, the mother's brothers would come for the children, for children are the cows to carry on the line. It is through them that clan rank and material goods are inherited.

But if all went well with the father, then the attachments of the household were the closest, and they continued even after death. For the household was not entirely disrupted after the death of a parent. Unless the one who died had been a sorcerer, a leper, or a madman, the house where he lived was not torn down.

"When a man dies," Kasaya said, "the wife goes on living in the house, once it has been purified. If a woman dies, then the man keeps on living there."

"What of the children?" we asked. "What becomes of them?"

have a last look at the child's penis, as they will never see it again. Then the boy is proclaimed a man, and given clothes.

So far as could be observed, there is no circumcision of either the male or female, although such mutilations are indulged in by West African tribes in the region from which the Djukas came. The girls wear only the *cayo*, or a larger cloth known as *pangi*, until their first menstruation, when their mothers give them clothes. This is done in private. Menstruating women are required to leave their homes and retire to a separate hut situated outside the village on a by-path; they may not return until three days after the period is over. Under no condition are they allowed to go to the provision fields during this time.

[illegible] ready to be married. Sometimes they are betrothed in infancy, and occasionally a pregnant woman will betroth her child before it is born, conditionally, of course, upon its sex. Once the child is betrothed the ceremony must take place, otherwise the disappointed prospective mate will call down a *kwow*, or curse, on the entire perjured family, and they will all die. The pubescent child does not look forward to marriage as time for leaving its family, nor is marriage an initiation into sex relations. For these two reasons, getting married is not a serious step, and there is little illegitimacy because there is no reason for objecting to a marriage.

Youths must remain standing until their elders invite them to be seated. It is customary for older people to receive much respectful attention, for the older people are the sources of [illegible] and authority.

/16 cont./

868 The children learn their dances and games at a very early
● 858 age and are always present at the festivals.

847 From earliest youth on they are taught to respect and
689 venerate older persons; offenses against this obligatory respect are severely punished.

862 The boys in particular are taken along to the fields at an early age and remain one in connection with the processing of wood or other operation, as well as for hunting and fishing, and very quickly learn to run.

515 Men, women, at children bathe separately in the river every day.

Chapter XI

Burial Ceremonies and Other Ceremonies

796 p They celebrate a burial services with great solemnity. If one of them dies in Ace, that is, they land, then the corpse is cleaned, the [illegible] anoint, and is placed in a coffin, in which various and especially [illegible] articles of clothing of the deceased are placed and up with all [illegible] also a new piece of cloth (usually blanket and pareos) as remembrances, a farewell token on which nobilities is placed. Hence they always take care to have a sufficient stock of new and unused cloths.

Ordinarily the corpse lies in the open coffin for one day before the interment takes place, in order to bid it farewell. The relatives then sit round the coffin and weep constantly /537/ in a mostly singsong manner peculiar to them, in which the women also join from time to time.

745 After the interment the closest blood relatives proceed to hold the days of mourning on a mat spread out on the ground for
538 eight days. During this time they weep loudly by turns, at the same time making stranger gestures, while day and night, generally by turnabouts starting with many allusions, and always ending with a mat solution, are held.

/126 cont./

It is necessary to distinguish this principal guardianship, which is imprescriptible, from the secondary guardianship designated by the uncles to the man or woman charged with bringing up the child. /127/

Designation of the guardian. When a child reaches five or six years, the mother and the uncles decide who will be charged with his education and will become his guardian. The thought of the Refugee Blacks is that a child is much better educated if he is removed and placed directly under the responsibility of an adult.

In order to decide who will bring up the child, they do not have a general meeting of the lineage. Everything is arranged among the mother and her brothers proper, the maternal grandmother, and the great-grandmother if she is still living. The child's classificatory uncles are consulted only if there are no uncles in the ordinary sense. Grandfathers have a preponderant influence in the decision as they do in all that concerns the [illegible] as the child advances in age.

There is no precise rule for the devolution of the guardianship, and nobody can take advantage of a right over the child.

The guardian, male or female, carries out the responsibility of the education, but he can make no decision without asking the opinion of the uncles, whose decision is final. The guardianship can always be withdrawn.

This guardianship is exercised by one single person, man or woman.

It is very often the mother. In a large number of cases the mother raises her children, boys and girls, alone, with the assistance of her husband, who often is not the father. Actually the husband has no rights over them. Whether the children

Gilmanit--191 K-5 (1969-1910) 1961 588 Bush Negroes 180
Rest

Recapitulation:

70% of the boys
80% of the girls are raised in the mother's lineage

27% of the boys
10% of the girls are raised in the father's lineage

3% of the boys
7% of the girls are raised by outsiders to both lineages.

It is important, moreover, to emphasize in what proportion the children are brought up by women or men:

67% of the boys
80% of the girls are raised by women

33% of the boys
20% of the girls are raised by men.

This preponderant role of women in the education of the children is one of the fundamental aspects of the social structure of the Refugee Blacks. In fact, women consider that the children belong to them, and if they give some to men to bring up, it is only as many as they wish to. This conception which is found to be widespread among the Blacks of America, in the West Indies or in Guiana, explains, much more than the frequency of divorces, the impossibility for them to make up patrilineages in the shadow of coercion exerted upon the women.

Several important pieces of information may still be drawn from these tables:

//1st cont. //

[192] Whereas little girls before puberty are left free to come
[193] and go, older girls are the object of constant surveillance.
They are always under the surveillance of one of their near
[195] relatives specifically designated. If they have permission to
go dancing in another village, they must present themselves
upon arrival to an uncle, an aunt, an older brother who will
watch over them all evening.

Sometimes they build for a girl a little house where she
sleeps alone ... but she is double-locked into it for the night.

[196] At nightfall, when their mothers are busy with the prepa-
ration of the meal, the girls are sent to get water or to angle
for fish; there is wandering in the surveillance, and women
know how to profit by it.

[197] Until recent times girls were held by their mothers in
[198] the bonds of a strict authority, and although engaged very
[199] young, they were not authorized to marry before reaching
complete physical development.

[200] It often used to happen that a girl might be promised by
her mother to a man more her elder (fifty-five say, although
that is no longer permitted, you note so well, "to put his
match on a girl," meaning by that to have received a promise
of marriage). This plan always used to remain subject to the
girl's assent when she grew up and did not constitute a contract,
strictly speaking; it did not involve any payment or compensa-
[201] tion whatever. A girl could not be obliged to a marriage
which was absolutely displeasing to her, but the mother's
authority was great enough to make these marriages come about
in most cases.

[202] If a girl had not been promised, the young man who
wanted to marry her used to try to attract her attention during
a dance and to exchange a few words with her. //[203]// Later he
would give her a pebble bearing symbols of fecundity and the
representation of a house and a hoe. If the girl accepted the
pebble, he could propose to her officially.

/Pile cont. /

2. Although it happens that people receive as a name an akka name, sometimes accompanied by a qualificative, such as Lêkikwaki.

Actually, each one knows his akka's name, which was revealed to him by his parents when he was a child; to this name is attached an akka kina or food prohibition relative to the akka. Both are carefully kept secret even from near relatives and friends, for knowing them could help the wisondi take possession of the akka. On this subject people often use the term gadu kina, as they say mi gadu instead of mi akka. This term is easily confused with the prohibition imposed on the possessed person by the gad which incarnates itself in him; these are two very different matters.

The akka kina is unique for each man. It is sought by the parents when the child is completely weaned. They try to draw parallels between the foods he has eaten and the health disorders he may exhibit, and these suppositions are confirmed by divination procedures.

A man does not ordinarily pray to his akka. He addresses prayer to it only if he is sick, to ask it for protection, or before leaving on a long trip, to ask it to watch over him. If he comes back safe and sound, he thanks it by making an offering to it, in the form of a bottle of syrup (meni sopi), which he turns upside down over his head.

According to Mr. W. F. van Lier, the Djuka have the idea that the shadow (fasiko) is the visible image of the akka; the Ndyuka do not appear to have this conception; one does not observe that they attach any importance whatever to whether a man's shadow passes over them; on the contrary, one must not step over a man lying on the ground, that might injure his akka.

/102 cont./

To this traditional knowledge, which remains indispensable, has been added for the past several years educational knowledge of mechanics, because the use of outboard motors is becoming more and more common; this knowledge is transmitted in empirical fashion as it has been acquired. It must be recorded that the motors go and that they are well kept up.

The system of education employed by the Refugee Blacks is rarely effective; their children are extremely turbulent and very difficult when they are in a group. When they are divided up individually in the midst of adults, they are placed under the best conditions for learning the techniques and traditions of their group.

The person charged with the education of a child does not willingly entrust him to another and takes him along wherever he moves. However, by concern for propriety, the mother guardian sends the children she is raising to sleep in other houses on the days when her husband comes to visit her. Boys go to sleep at the house of a brother, an uncle, a cousin; the same for girls who have not yet reached puberty; but it is not the same for girls who have reached puberty; they are subjected to strict supervision.

This is one of the reasons why the Boni find it repugnant to [illegible] Dutch school of Kartika. Without wishing to tackle here the sad problem of its future women, we must state that this teaching, entirely inappropriate and disposed by teachers who look down on the Refugee Blacks, has results nearly similar to those observed generally in Africa, the main one being to make the children strangers to their own families and misfits in their own country. There is practically no example of a case where the Boni nation has benefited from having one of its children go to school: if the child succeeds, he leaves for Paramaribo and never comes back again. If he fails, he then has much more

/192 cont./

difficulty in learning the techniques of his group, for the years when the mind is most plastic have been lost in this regard; as for the knowledge acquired at school, it is so foreign to the life of the Refugee Blacks that at the end of a few years most of it remains except vague memories.

In general, the process of education employed among the Refugee Blacks is imitation of the adult. A child is rarely given a lesson as such. He sees something done, he tries on his own initiative, and little by little he learns. For example, /193/ he sees his guardian make a boat; he is simply asked to go and get dry palm branches and to take away the chips; he hears the adults discuss the job as it goes on. At about the age of 12 or 13 he tries to make a first boat for himself with the help of an older comrade. He progressively acquires knowledge of this technique.

Boys begin to take part in farm work from the age of six or seven, principally weeding and planting. At about ten or eleven they begin to handle the machete and help to cut through the bush; at about 12 they begin to handle the axe and learn to fell trees. At 14 or 15 they begin to make small boats. An adolescent of 16 or 17 is in general capable of cutting a clearing for his mother or sister.

Most often the guardian takes his role very seriously, giving his own attention or machine the child all that is necessary. If it is a woman, she asks her women to teach the techniques of hoeing and building.

The principle is to develop very early a sense of responsibility in the child by making it progressively necessary for him to earn his living. The guardian does not furnish pocket money, and with the exception of a loincloth every other year, no manufactured objects (children under 11-12 years are being clothed, he has almost no expenses for clothing). But he gives the child progressively chances to earn money by his work. From ten years on, the child begins to render some services: for example for the construction of a boat, he helps transport the dry palm branches needed for the hoeing. If the boat is being

/132 cont./

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/Life cont./

Until very recent times the authority of the guardian had remained very strong and was prolonged very long; he had the right to strike his ward to make him obey, and he exercised his powers until the time when, judging the child's education finished, he authorized him to marry, which formerly seldom happened before 25-27 years.

Figeiras (of Senoville), about 50 years old in 1958, with that his father, surrounded with his upbringing, did not authorize him to marry before he was completely established as a carpenter and boat-builder, at about the age of 27. Until then age he remained subject to the most tyrannical authority; his father invented especially to forbid him to go out in the evening, and in order to carry on a clandestine affair he had to use numerous fishing expeditions as a pretext.

When a boy's guardian judges his education finished, he helps him to build his house and gives him tools, a trunk containing clothes, and a bedstead. Nevertheless the boy must make his own way in life.

And during his lifetime he will continue to show the greatest respect to the person who raised him and often, speaking of that person, he will say: "my father" or "my mother."

When a Refugee Black says in the course of a conversation, "my father used to do this," he often means the man who brought him up; if he wishes to speak of his own father, he will say, "My own father" [illegible] "my grandfather," he usually means a great-uncle. This confusion makes research on family life risky as long as one does not possess any census by names; apparently it has led several authors one over, making them believe that among the Refugee Blacks the father brings up his children himself, when this is on the contrary the exception.

/501 cont./

16. (cont.)

of the development of our children born in 1906 and 1907: sitting up, 7 months, beginning to walk, 1 year (a remarkably close correlation among the data), end of weaning, 14 to 18 months. Beyond that, the ages were estimated by comparison with children living on the time of the inquiry.

The survival curve results directly from these values. It shows the high mortality of children (24%) during the first five years.

Mortality. The principal interest of this study is to establish the curve of survival showing, for 100 children born alive, the number surviving at one year, five years, ten years, etc., until the extinction of the group. The life expectancy at birth is given by this curve.

For the best, we can make this study with the assumption that the lives of the individuals mapped on the line of January 1950, the date on which one may consider that the conditions which influence mortality have changed, above all so far as the children are concerned.

The study of the mortality of the children born since the line of January 1950, dealt with in part, will furnish useful elements of comparison.

Establishment of the mortality table. Taking up again the records of the 100 women whose lives are completely known to us, and including the children who died in early infancy (1-2), we have marked down all their children, year by year, on a table.

Table of mortality following on 1 January 1950 (10)

Year of birth	Deceased children 1-2 years	Deceased children 2-5 years	Deceased children (Sum 1-2 + 2-5)	Surviving (Sum 1-2 + 2-5)	Surviving Total children	Average age at death (in years)	Deceased between 1-2 and 2-5
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	0	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	0
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	0	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	0	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	0
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	0	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	0
[illegible]	[illegible]	.....	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	0	0

11. We were particularly careful in noting down children who died in early infancy, an important cause of error in populations without civil records. The age of the children at the time of death has been estimated according to the following guidelines based on the study

//[illegible] mos. //

Interruption of conjugal relations after the birth. For three months after delivery the mother must stay away from men and even avoid touching them. Conjugal relations must be interrupted until the child begins to walk alone (eleven to 14 months). However, it is tolerated (but disapprovingly) that they be interrupted only for the time until the child begins to drag himself on his knees //[illegible]// (eight months). They cite the example of Saluu's wife who has many children after pregnancies at too close intervals.

Actually, the interruptions of conjugal relations tend to be reduced more and more, the women having condoned with prudence and tending to reduce the duration of breast feeding.

Each woman acts as she wishes in this respect; the husband has no power to restrain her.

The Name

Existence of several independent names. Each Boni has two names, the gali ngoi or big name, given by the father, and the pikin ngoi or little name, given by the mother.

These two names are given in totally independent fashion. Generally the pikin ngoi is given first; in former days they used to wait until the child was six to eight months old; nowadays it is given at the end of a few weeks. The head of the lineage does not intervene either in the choice or the giving of the name.

As a matter of fact, nearly three-quarters of the Boni are designated by one single name, either because the father and mother agreed to give the same name or because one of the two names fell into disuse.

To these two principal names may be added any number of names and cognomens given by the grandparents and later by friends or spouse; often one of the names ends by being given

/132 cont./

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891 when the mind is most pliant have been lost in this regard; as
156 for the knowledge acquired at school, it is so foreign to the life of the Refugee Blacks that at the end of a few years none of it remains except vague smatterings.

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868 initiative, and little by little he learns. For example, /133/ he sees his guardian make a boat; he is simply asked to go and get dry palm branches and to take away the chips; he hears the adults discuss the job as it goes on. At about the age of 12 or 13 he tries to make a first boat for himself with the help of an older comrade. He progressively acquires knowledge of this technique.

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462 or seven, principally weeding and planting. At about ten or eleven they begin to handle the machete and help to cut through the bush; at about 12 they begin to handle the axe and learn to fell trees. At 14 or 15 they begin to make small boats. An adolescent of 16 or 17 is in general capable of cutting a clearing for his mother or sister.

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/133 cont./

866 461 434 made for sale, the guardian gives him a small sum out of the money gained. At 14 an adolescent begins to satisfy nearly all his own needs.

883 465 For example, from June to December, 1956, Tass (14 years), son of Fontiman (Boniville) had earned about 15,000 francs:

June	helped his father build a large boat for the administration (65 days)	6,000
October	went to Saint-Laurent as auxiliary boatman .	3,000
December	helped convoy a boat of the border-fixing mission; went back empty to Maripasoula . .	6,000
		15,000

882 868 His father, entrusted with his education, let him use this money as his own way; he pointed out to us with pride that for the first time in 1956 his son had been able to satisfy all his own needs, but that it was important to keep him under a firm hand until he was capable of doing a man's work alone: for that, five or six years of apprenticeship would not be too much.

868 54 [55] In fact, many times we had the chance to verify it, it is in this prolonged apprenticeship that are developed the seriousness of mind and the technical skill so remarkable among the Refugee Blacks. At 20 years, most of them still do not know how to do anything worthwhile, and it is scarcely before 25 or 27 that they [582] become capable of /134/ painstaking work; in this respect the [178] present tendency of the young boys toward precocious emancipation (the marriage age of men is going down to 20 and even 18 years) runs the risk of having very unfortunate consequences for the future of the Refugee Blacks.

429 The person charged with the education of a girl exercises the powers of a mother toward her. It is she who authorizes [582] her to marry, and by giving her the *ahagi*, married women's garment, gives her symbolically her freedom as a woman. It is [583] to her that the first husband pays the price of the virginity of the girl.

[illegible] DESTINY

He promised readily enough to go with us, but Bayo told us later that he would not come.

"He says the white doctor cannot do more than obia can do. He says a man must take what kasa brings."

Was there no obia against kasa? we asked of Bayo.

"No, but kasa is not greater than obia. It is something else. When the Sky God gave obia to man, he gave it to help man live, not to help him do bad things. When men and women earn a kasa for their family, it is because they do what is lawful to the great gods and ancestors. Obia was not sent to save men from punishment."

"Does obia never punish, Bayo?" We were thinking of what he said about his own obia, of how when it seized him, he destroyed things.

But he would say no more. "I am too young, Bob's, to speak of these things. At my age I know only a little obia. You must ask the old men."

•

The conversation led on one day to the obia men on the river. They were, we knew, important persons in the Bush Negro communities. An obia man of reputation was not only consulted by his own villagers and clansmen, but men and women came to him from distant villages, when those who were nearer had failed them. It occurred sometimes that even from the Aseba villages on the lower river, these Saramacca obia men were sought out—perhaps this was because of the same tradition which encouraged the buying of strange gods to enlarge the family pantheon, perhaps it was because of something which touched still deeper beliefs.

How did a man become an obia man?

From what we had already heard, it was apparent that here was something which approached the formal education of our own civilization, a form of education, indeed, which we pride ourselves is unique to our own way of life.

All other knowledge the Bush Negro child gains by being about with members of his family who are busy at

the tools which will fall to his lot when he reaches adulthood. Half in play, the boys and girls help their elders and in that way learn how to work, how to conduct themselves, how to sing and dance, how to make circumcisions, and how to pray to the gods. What they learn when they come by their gods is also taught them by members of their family. A boy's father and maternal uncle instruct him in the gods they give him. A girl is made familiar with the will of her gods and their manner of worship when her mother and her mother's sisters give their gods to her. Knowledge is, therefore, shared in the family, and much of it, the Bush Negro says, comes to each individual from his gods, since not every boy who watches a fine carver can steal the carving of his teacher. When he does show promise of excellence at a given task, it is because he, too, has a god who helps him do his carving. It is the same with drumming, and singing, and telling stories, and making love.

But this is learned formally and slowly. An obia man may teach his own brother, or his sister's eldest son, or his own son, even, what he knows, but the learning process will be gradual, for no man may disclose too much to an untrained mind. At times, however, an obia man trains men who are not related to him. He may himself decide upon a young man of promise to whom he cares to impart his knowledge. A considerable sum of money may be offered him by members of an influential family who wish to have an obia man of their own kin and who send a young man to him for training. In a dream or during possession it may become known that the ancestors wish a certain young man to apprentice himself to the obia man they name.

The apprenticeship lasts from three months to a year. The novice goes to live with the obia man, working with him and observing all that his master does. During this period of intensive training he goes with the obia man into the bush and is shown the herbs which heal. He is trained in the manner of betting for the *ai'e*—the soul—

/16 lines./

The chiefs have their houses and gardens at a very early age and are very present at the festivals.

From their youth on they are taught to respect and venerate chieftains. Offenses against this obligatory respect are severely punished.

The be is particular are taken along to the farms at an early age accounts there to concentrate with the processing of wood or chieftainships, as well as for hunting and fishing, and very quickly are to helps.

Men, women, and children bathe separately in the river every day.

Chapter XI

Burial Services and Other Ceremonies

They observe the burial services with great solemnity. If one of them is there, that is, they land, then the corpse is cleaned, their are cut, and it is placed in a coffin, in which various and socially costly articles of clothing of the deceased are placed and to which all the relatives also add a new piece of cloth (multiplicities and poverty in remembrance, a farewell token on its much value is placed. Since they always take care to have sufficient stock of new and unused cloth.

Deliver the corpse lies in the open coffin for one day before the funeral takes place, in order to bid a farewell. The relatives that around the coffin and weep constantly /XV/ in a manly singing manner peculiar to them, in which the visitors also join from time time.

After ceremonies the closest blood relatives proceed to hold the wake mourning on a mat spread out on the ground for eight days. During this time they weep loudly by turn, at the same time using the strongest gestures, while day and night, generally by rot, bride songs with many allusions, and always ending with moral solution, are said.

[illegible]

[illegible] was discovered in the quiet of the early morning. A stillness so pronounced that we could feel it surrounded us in the base camp, for as Gaudens the drums had been replaced in the shrines of the gods for whom they speak, and as more goats sacrificed the spirit of Zimbi, so warded away the evil dead with the powder which was demanded to glower. Zimbi was buried, the grave diggers had bathed and put on fresh loin cloths, the village had been purified, and all was well.

From our shelter, overlooking the base lift, we could see that the river had fallen; the tangled grasses at the bank showed fully a hand's breadth of fresh brown that had the day before been under water. With the coming of the sun things began to stir. The insects appeared, the chickens came to peck at our shoes, looking for crumbs, and birds began to make shadows across the opposite bank, as the Gaudens women in their small outside huts to their fields. At the hut would be a little girl, or a pot smaller boy—as young as four perhaps, for the older ones must with the men to learn a man's work—helping to take the from up the last water. All this went on quietly, until we espied three boats coming down the rapids and pivoting about in the still water toward our landing place. As they came nearer, we could see that the boats carried no load, and our host, the director of the latex-collecting station, explained that these boats were new and were being taken down river for trade.

"All the large boats come from top-side," he said. "The men take them down around to the Wawayya River by way of the canals and then carry loads in them to the stations in the interior. The Iwamaxa men are fine canoemen. They live there on the Wawayya. . . . You could see a large boat for your trip up river. Maybe the man will sell one."

The man in charge of the little fleets stood more than six feet tall. His face was intensely circumspect, and he carried himself with a dignity and reserve that surpassed even the way of the village chiefs.

WOMEN AT WORK

and an hour a hour of day, moved steadily on the market. Her fingers moved fast, for she did not require too far a thread. The raw cotton, she said, she got from a wild "cotton tree." Cotton which was picked in the fields and which grew from seeds planted in the ground, she did not know at all. Was there such cotton?

Working in the fields, she continued, was not too difficult. It was a woman's work. A woman did not mind it. From earliest childhood girls followed their mothers about, and learned how to work the fields.

"What is hard is having to run my own field. I have no man to run it for me. I must run it myself."

She paused for an instant to right her thread.

"When I plant my field, and pray to the gods to make the wild grow, then I ask the Earth Mother to help me find a way to get a man to run my field for me. 'Earth Mother,' I say, 'help me find a man to run my field. I have great need of a man to turn my ground.'"

Being two women approach, she said, "Freedomite here is like myself, she too needs a man to run her field."

But this needed explaining. Here were two women who called the Creatman "husband," and who shared the difficulty of having to clear their own fields.

It was soon made apparent, however, that both of these women were only nominally wives of the Creatman. They had married into his family. When men, however, killed one successor to his office after the other, these women were made widows. Like the widow who now worked alone before her house which fronted the clearing, where stood the shrine to the great gods and the Creatman's principal houses, they had worn tattered clothes, and a veiled handkerchief as a band on their heads. For five months this had lasted, and then a dance was given.

Did the white woman know about the ceremony called *pai Adjal*?

The white woman had heard the word Dwadjo from natives of the town many times. Once, indeed, a question about it put to an old woman, who is now deceased was

more than a year before her father's death and therefore had not saved her mother from mourning.

"My sons are big men," she showed, pointing to the mortar, "and already my brother takes them with him down the river, and when they are with him he tells them about the cranes and the cows, and about the villages are which are friendly to our people. But when they come here to see me, then they play. They have play guns and play arrows which they make themselves. Into the unshaved bush they shoot them until I call them away to me. Here I have no man from whom they can learn. Here they only play."

Her boys liked to be with men. When the rains came, her brother would let them sit by what he carved, and, seeing him work, they would take up a knife and begin whittling. That was how boys learned to do man's work.

Women children played with "gourd." She put down her pestle, and left about in her cloth where the child slept, and brought out a gourd, something to size a small cucumber. It had heads on top for eyes and a low bit cute to indicate nose and mouth, while above the eyes was crosshatching for the hair. Until girls were old enough to be of use in the fields, they sat about in the clearing playing with these dolls.

"When they are four and five, then they like to work."

There was, of course, dancing. All dances were opened by the children, and at six and seven the girls knew where and women, and bachelors, and the boys danced men.

"Do you dance men?" we asked the Grandmen's five-year-old grandson, who was standing with us beside the widow.

"No," he said, but once our attention was turned to him he said also, "White man, the children say you carry money in this." He touched a water canteen which hung from the stranger's belt. "I know it is water."

He knew also that shaving cream was soap, and not white people's second clay, and now as women came with baskets for the white man's also water—a name they gave

[illegible] DOUTOUT

[illegible] to all the medicine we had for them—for each is upon himself to instruct them to wash the bottles carefully, as he followed us to the storehouse, and to warn them that what was given was not to be taken internally.

"*A tabi, a tabia, a' ne ma' bdo*—He says, he is saying, you must not drink this," he explained, with something of his mother's persuasiveness in giving instructions.

His grandmother had said one day half in jest that he would have a tiger spirit which would need to be reckoned with when he grew to manhood. He was a sturdy-limbed, wiry child, not troubled with the umbilical hernia so often seen with in children born in the bush, or with the distended "camera belly."

The coming of the strangers had eclipsed all desire for familiar diversions here. From early morning the children of the village stood about watching us, as they did breaking of earth and the laying of beans were carried on under excited supervision which continued day after day. But to this small grandson of Yankuma we were rajiyan to his quarter, and whether we were alone in the council house or were in the small house reserved for privacy, he would find his way there and stand about asking questions.

Sometimes, however, when he found us at work and saw that we did not wish to be interrupted, he would lean against the wall for a long time watching us in silence, until presently he would come to life, as it were, walk over to the table, and begin beating the Kwanzari rhythm on it.

But he was not the only child who knew the drum rhythms. In the last village in the Fitaou Rio, we met a twelve-year-old child who came to us with more than usual readiness and followed us always, his hand in ours until we came to his mother's house, where he left us to sit down on a wooden plank which lay near it. He had been in conversation with the older people and did not notice his going, until all at once we heard the slow beating of the rhythm to the Sky God. It was this child of ours, drumming upon the plank on which he sat.

WOMEN AT WORK

"I will spoil, oh!—He is playing the spirit," his father said, laughing, and a woman who stood by said that when he grew up he would have an important goal. It would be a good goal, too, and it might be a great Kwaio—a great statesman to him.

Among the little girls who were with us most often, and who stood by with Tsukani's grandson, were the two daughters of Dida, the wife of Chief Ruf'a of Fa, who were about the Governor's village with white on her face and body. The little girls were also washed in the white clay, and there was white in the wool of their hair. They had the quick, excited movements of their mother, and one of them in particular was a nervous child, shy and easily frightened. She never came too close to the strangers, and, for a time, if they had caught her eye, she would begin to tremble with fear.

"Your daughters are handsome, Dida."

"Ah, they come from a good line," she said, laughing.

The Governor's younger wife said, "They will have many gods when they are big. They will have them from their mother, and there will be stronger yet. They are twins."

It was possible, she explained, by looking at a child to know if it would have the gods of the family. Sometimes the gods talk a dialect to a child and refused to give it of their wisdom or protection, and sometimes the gods liked it so well that they gave it many gifts—the gift of a fine singing voice, the ability to dance better than others, and the good fortune to be liked.

"Until they are grown, the gods do not trouble them much," she added. "But we in the bush know a child who will have important gods, and we know if the gods will be kindly."

"Do you mean you know because of dreams?"

"Ah-ha, all gods do not come from dreams."

Once they when sitting among the women, the talk was of [illegible]

[illegible]

He promised readily enough to go with us, but Bapu said we knew that he would not come.

"He says the white doctor cannot do more than ohia can do. He says a man must take what fears brings."

"Was there no ohia against fears?" we asked of Bapu.

"Oh, but fears is not greater than ohia. It is something else. When the Sky God gave ohia to man, he gave it to help man live, not to help him do bad things. When men and women wore a bone for their family, it is because they pay what is lawful to the great gods and ancestors. Ohia was not sent to save man from punishment."

"Does ohia never punish, Bapu?" We were thinking of what he said about his own ohia, of how ohia is subject him, he destroyed things.

But he would say no more. "I am too young, Bob's, to speak of these things. In my age I know only a little ohia. I am man with the old man."

[illegible]

The conversation led on one day to the ohia man on the river. They were, we knew, important persons in the Bush Negro communities. An ohia man of reputation was not only consulted by his own villagers and clansmen, but men and women came to him from distant villages, when those who were nearer had failed them. It occurred sometimes that men from the Djuka villages on the lower river, these Saramacca ohia men were sought out—perhaps this was because of the same tradition which encouraged the buying of strange gods to enlarge the family pantheon, perhaps it was because of something which touched still deeper beliefs.

How did a man become an ohia man?

From what we had already heard, it was apparent that here was something which approached the formal education of our own civilization, a form of education, indeed, which we pride ourselves is unique to our own way of life.

All other knowledge the Bush Negro child gains by being about with members of his family who are busy at

[illegible]

the radio which will fall to his lot when he reaches adulthood. Half in play, the boys and girls help their elders and in that way learn how to work, how to conduct themselves, how to sing and dance, how to make elucidations, and how to pray to the gods. When they learn when they come by their gods in also taught them by members of their family. A boy's father and maternal uncles instruct him in the gods they give him. A girl is made familiar with the will of her gods and their manner of worship when her mother and her mother's sisters give their gods to her. Knowledge is, therefore, shared in the family, and much of it, the Bush Negro says, comes to each individual from his gods, since not every boy who watches a fine carver can find the carving of his teacher. When he does show promise of excellence at a given task, it is because he, too, has a god who helps him do his carving. It is the same with drumming, and singing, and telling stories, and making love.

But this is learned formally and slowly. An elder may teach his own brother, or his sister's eldest son, or his own son, even, what he knows, but the learning process will be gradual, for no man may disclose too much to an untrained mind. Or, rather, however, an elder may train men who are not related to him. He may himself decide upon a young man of promise to whom he wishes to impart his knowledge. A considerable sum of money may be offered him by members of an influential family who wish to have an elder man of their own kin and who send a young man to him for training. In a dream or during prayerful it may become known that he succeeds with a certain young man to apprentice himself to the elder man they name.

The apprenticeship lasts from three months to a year. The novice goes to live with the elder man, working with him and observing all that his master does. During the period of intensive training he goes with the elder man into the bush and is shown the herbs which heal. He is trained in the manner of healing for the all or—the evil—

GOOD OBEAH

[illegible] and how to cure fevers, and fevers. He is shown how to make obia medicine for bellyache of the obia, and for colds, and for diseases of children. He is taught the protective obia for the women who conceives, and those which help conception, the obia which keep people safe on the river, and those which guard them in the bush against enemy spirits.

It may be, too, that during this first period of training, the initiate is shown how to cut and treat the snakes from which the snake "cotton" is made. This cure for snake bite is known to Surinamese among Bush Negroes and white obia, but the secret of preparing the cotton is known to the Bush Negroes alone.

While the young man is in training, he may not go with a woman, and there are many more prohibitions which he must observe.

"Not all men can become obia men."

"Does a man need obia in order to have Kromanti?" we asked.

"Do have Obia Kromanti, you. . . . Now do not ask about Kromanti, white man," said Boyo's uncle with a smile. "Only a Kromanti man knows about Kromanti. Do not ask, because I cannot tell you."

2

Men and women constantly drifted in and have come with carvings for our collection. Many brought us obia. Some of these obia they took from their persons and sold to us, but others were newly made for us, for some of them they themselves were, they would not part with, whatever the inducement.

"Why do you want my obia, white man?" a Bush Negro asked one day. "Do you want an obia to carry you safe to your country? I will make one for you, but do not ask for mine. Mine has kept me in good health. I cannot give away an obia which has served me well. The spirits would be angered."

He returned after a day with one which resembled his own, and as he gave it, he placed it on the upturned palms

were born, such as Monday-child, Tuesday-child, and so on.

The boys of about seven to ten years of age form themselves into groups and play at hunting or fishing, or come in and out of the village. There seems to be very little organized game playing among the children. For that matter the adults have no organized games with from that of gambling with the *ayi-bum* board. The little girls play at house making, or follow pursuits of a less arduous nature than do the boys, and to them in particular is given the care of the young children, although the boys often do their share in this matter. The arts of hunting, fishing, canoe work, and jungle craft in general are usually taught the boy by his maternal uncle, or by some other male relative of his mother's family, and less often by his actual father. At irregular intervals there are canoe races, and the young men indulge in wrestling as a pastime.

We know of no initiatory rites for ceremonially admitting children into the tribe or puberty. Among the Ancasmen, however, the boy does undergo a slight ceremonial to indicate that he is at last a full-fledged adult. Most of the children of both sexes are entirely nude, and no notice is taken of the fact. At about the age of ten the boy begins wearing around his waist a string of singrass, in anticipation of a loin-cloth. When the maternal uncle judges that the boy is old enough, he stands the boy up before the entire village, assembled for the purpose, and gives him a loin-cloth and contain. But first the uncle rips off any cloth that happens to be on the boy's body and draws attention to his nudity. Everyone is told to

The children learn from their elders and parents at a very early age and are always present at the festivals.

From earliest youth on they are taught to respect and reverence older persons. Offenses against this obligatory respect are severely punished.

The boys in particular are taught along to the farms at an early age and remain there in connection with the processing of wood or other agriculture, as well as for hunting and fishing, and very quickly learn to swim.

Men, women, and children bathe separately in the river every day.

Chapter III

Social Services and Other Ceremonies

They celebrate the burial services with great solemnity. If one of them dies at home, that is, their land, then the corpse is cleaned, the nails are cut, and it is placed in a coffin, in which various and especially costly articles of clothing of the deceased are placed and to which all the relatives also add a new piece of cloth (usually blankets and pareos) as remembrances, a farewell token at which much value is placed. Hence they always take care to have a sufficient stock of new and sound cloth.

Generally the corpse lies in the open coffin for one day before the ceremonies take place, in order to bid a farewell. The relatives lies up around the coffin and sing consistently [illegible] in a jointly singing manner peculiar to them, in which the women also join from time to time.

After the ceremonies the closest blood relatives proceed to hold the days of mourning on a mat spread out on the ground for eight days. During this time they sway loudly to tunes, at the same time making the strangest gestures, while they eat eight, generally by turns, little meals with many relatives, and always washing with a moral solution, are told.

/[illegible] /

The region is entirely covered by equatorial forest which the cultivators clear for their crops, practicing a shifting agriculture on burned-over land.

Life is closely tied to the river, on the edge of which are established villages and crops. They scarcely move except by water. Everybody, man, woman, or child, has his pirogue, and the children learn to paddle at the same time that they learn to walk.

The principal activities of the two populations are agriculture, fishing, and canoeing.

There is scarcely any difference between the dietary resources of the Indians and the Bari. The principal portion is manioc, eaten in the form of couscous (flour cooked on a plate or of stiff cooked and granulated flour). Then come taboo, yam, [illegible], "Czech cabbage" /taro/ and sweet potatoes, bananas and plantains. The Bari in addition plant sesame rice, from which the yield is small; in season, they eat brown bananas.

The protein value is furnished essentially by fish, never fresh or smoked. The Indians, skilful fishermen, never lack them. Game furnishes a less regular, but important resource.

Animal husbandry, confined to a few chickens raised mainly to sell, represents only an insignificant part of the diet.

The fat from fish and from animals killed while hunting constitutes the principal portion of lipids. The Bari are in addition, for preparing their meals, a small quantity of orange palm oil.

Vitamins come from fish (papaya, pineapple, mangoes), which the Indians eat in greater abundance than the Bari. Both will quench, rich in Vitamin A, and palm nuts (mesos and caumas), eaten in great abundance during the rainy season.

Neither of the two populations is undernourished. The Indians might have been so momentarily during epidemics, when the adults, having been sick for a long time, were unable to clear sufficient land. But they can supplement an inadequate harvest with a great variety of wild foods that can be gathered.

The diet seems poor in mineral elements and especially in calcium. Traces of rickets are noticeable among some of the Indian children.

/[illegible] cont./

[illegible]

[illegible] They show the economic and stability of the women of the Refugee Bantu. The proportion of boys and girls brought up by the mother, the paternal grandmother, the father, etc., is noticeably changed from one generation to the other. There is no tendency for the proportion of children raised by the father to increase; it even seems to decrease, which may be related to the increasing instability of marriages. In fact, in spite of European influences, no evolution is observed toward patrilineal structures among the Refugee Bantu.

[illegible] The fact that part of the children are raised outside of their own lineage has two consequences for the unity of the group: for most of them, when their education is finished, come to settle down in one of the villages belonging to their lineage.

Of 89 men born before 1936, 28 were raised outside their lineage; 21 of them came back to live, only seven, or less than 8 per cent, settled down in other lineages.

Of 70 women born before 1936, 12 were raised outside their lineage, of whom only four, or 5 per cent, settled permanently outside their group.

[illegible] Education of children. If the education of girls does not necessitate a difficult apprenticeship, it is not the same for boys; the sum of knowledge that /[illegible]/ a Refugee Bantu must possess to carry out effectively the techniques of his group is considerable. In particular, he must:

—Know more than 300 kinds of trees with their uses, the way to fell them, the way to work their wood;

—Be capable of constructing bows of at least 15 kilogs (1,000 kilograms of load). This technique alone requires several years of apprenticeship;

—Acquire sufficient knowledge of carpenter work to build his house and that of his wife;

—Learn how to handle bows on the river and the techniques of canoeist bearing.

/100 cont./

To this traditional knowledge, which remains indispensable, has been added for the past several years educational knowledge of mechanics, because the use of outboard motors is becoming more and more common; this knowledge is transmitted in empirical fashion as it has been acquired. It must be recorded that the motors go and that they are well kept up.

The system of education employed by the Refugee Blacks is rarely effective; their children are excessively turbulent and very difficult when they are in a group. When they are divided up individually in the midst of adults, they are placed under the best conditions for learning the techniques and traditions of their group.

The person charged with the education of a child does not willingly entrust him to another and takes him along wherever he moves. However, by concern for propriety, the woman guardian sends the children she is raising to sleep in other houses on the days when her husband comes to visit her. Boys go to sleep at the home of a brother, an uncle, a comrade; the same for girls who have not yet reached puberty; but it is not the same for girls who have reached puberty; they are subjected to strict supervision.

This is one of the reasons why the Boni find it repugnant to put their children in school (French school of Maripasoula, Surinam school of Kenika). Without wishing to tackle here this sad problem to its fullest extent, we must state that this teaching, entirely inappropriate and disposed by teachers who look down on the Refugee Blacks, has results nearly similar to those observed generally in Africa, the main one being to make the children strangers to their own families and misfits in their own country. There is practically no example of a case where the Boni nation has benefited from having one of its children go to school: if the child succeeds, he leaves for Paramaribo and never comes back again. If he fails, he then has much more

/132 cont./

C48 S91 156 difficulty in learning the techniques of his group, for the years when the mind is most pliant have been lost in this regard; as for the knowledge acquired at school, it is so foreign to the life of the Refugee Blacks that at the end of a few years none of it remains except vague smatterings.

861 In general, the process of education employed among the Refugee Blacks is imitation of the adult. A child is rarely given a lesson as such. He sees something done, he tries on his own initiative, and little by little he learns. For example, /133/ 868 he sees his guardian make a boat; he is simply asked to go and get dry palm branches and to take away the chips; he hears the adults discuss the job as it goes on. At about the age of 12 or 13 he tries to make a first boat for himself with the help of an older camrade. He progressively acquires knowledge of this technique.

561 462 Boys begin to take part in farm work from the age of six or seven, principally weeding and planting. At about ten or eleven they begin to handle the machete and help to cut through the bush; at about 12 they begin to handle the axe and learn to fell trees. At 14 or 15 they begin to make small boats. An adolescent of 16 or 17 is in general capable of cutting a clearing for his mother or sister.

429 86 Most often the guardian takes his role very seriously, giving his main attention to teaching the child all that is necessary. If it is a woman, she asks her brothers to teach the techniques of boating and building.

866 461 834 [291] The principle is to develop very early a sense of responsibility in the child by making it progressively necessary for him to earn his living. The guardian does not furnish pocket money, and with the exception of a hammock every other year, no manufactured objects (children under 11-12 years not being clothed, he has almost no expenses for clothing). But he gives the child progressively chances to earn money by his work. From ten years on, the child begins to render some services: for example for the construction of a boat, he helps transport the dry palm branches intended for the burning. If the boat is being

/133 cont./

866 made for sale, the guardian gives him a small sum out of the
461 money gained. At 14 an adolescent begins to satisfy nearly all
434 his own needs.

For example, from June to December, 1956, Tasa (14
883 years), son of Fintiman (Bonivilie) had earned about 13,000
465 francs:

June	helped his father build a large boat for the administration (45 days)	6,000
October	went to Saint-Laurent as auxiliary boatman .	3,000
December	helped convoy a boat of the border-fixing mission sent back empty to Maripasoula . .	4,000
		13,000

882 His father, entrusted with his education, let him use this
868 money in his own way; he pointed out to us with pride that for the first time in 1956 his son had been able to satisfy all his own needs, but that it was important to keep him under a firm hand until he was capable of doing a man's work alone: for that, five or six years of apprenticeship would not be too much.

868 In fact, many times we had the chance to verify it, it is
561 in this prolonged apprenticeship that are developed the seriousness
[153] of mind and the technical skill so remarkable among the Refugee Blacks. At 20 years, most of them still do not know how to do
[582] anything worthwhile, and it is scarcely before 25 or 27 that they
[178] become capable of /134/ painstaking work; in this respect the present tendency of the young boys toward precocious emancipation (the marriage age of men is going down to 20 and even 18 years) runs the risk of having very unfortunate consequences for the future of the Refugee Blacks.

429 The person charged with the education of a girl exercises the powers of a mother toward her. It is she who authorizes
[582] her to marry, and by giving her the pagi, married women's garment, gives her symbolically her freedom as a woman. It is
[583] to her that the first husband pays the price of the virginity of the girl.

/158 cont./

156 The Boni woman, poor in emotional feelings, and jealous of her independence with respect to men, puts her pride into subsisting by her own efforts.

178 The young women, even the ones with the freest habits, [156] stay firmly attached to their village, to their plantings, and to the mode of life they received from their grandmothers. In fact, because of its structure and customs, the society of the Refugee Blacks has much less likelihood of suffering from the poison spread by modern life than the patrilineal societies of Black Africa.

761 /159/ Death; Burial Rites

Death is for the Refugee Blacks an event of extreme gravity.

795 In order to ward off danger and permit the ɔbika of the dead person to take its place among the ancestors, the unstinting coeperation of everyone is required.

764 The ceremonies which have to do with death and mourning
765 are by far the most important ones in the day-to-day life of the
181 Refugee Blacks; for each one they represent a very heavy material load which is accepted without recriminations. It is [621] really a veritable mobilization, which takes place within the framework of the village and not of the lineage. The apparatus [619] set into motion is independent of the lineage, for it must function in the same way for an outsider, Djoka or Saramaka, who dies during a trip.

764 Participation in the burial rites is for all an essential
868 religious duty. From childhood the Boni are prepared for this
767 task and become, some of them kisimɛ̃ (coffin-makers), others ɔlɔmɛ̃ (grave-diggers), some others wasimɛ̃ (bathers of the dead).

767 Kisimɛ̃ and ɔlɔmɛ̃. It can be said that in each village, ɔlɔmɛ̃
467 and kisimɛ̃ constitute customary societies, provided with an organization and wielding veritable powers for the duration of their work.

/203 cont./

153 --Pupils are taught, individually or collectively, to dance
791 in the manner of the god. Indeed, each divinity has a charac-
787 teristic form of dance, which it executes sometimes by using
785 the bodies of its heavens when it comes into them. The pupil
535 must imitate as best he can the individual movements and the
[343] rhythm of this dance, while the teacher, using the appropriate drum, beats out the calling formulas.

If the god is satisfied with the student, he will be able to come into him.

791 These exercises appear to have as their goal the creation
787 in the pupils of forms of conditioned reflexes; they have nothing
785 in common with the very harsh ordeals which the medicine man
153 of the Guiana Indians imposes upon himself, and do not involve any form of asceticism. It does not seem that chastity, even temporary, is demanded of the student, any more than fasting or doing anything contrary to his inclinations.

787 The idea of a spiritual death and resurrection of the
791 possessed person, with all the ritual it entails: long reclusion of the neophytes, change of name of the one possessed, who is supposed to release all the activities of ordinary life, does not appear to have been kept by the Refugee Blacks. In a general
[152] way, the atmosphere of solemn seriousness, /203/ of secrecy, and of fear, which characterize the Dahomey cults of possession is not found among them.

791 These lessons are always paid for and are even very
787 expensive. Payment is made in pieces of cloth, in demijohns
435 of tafia.
[436] Having a Kumêtis amounted in 1958 to at least 25,000 francs. This payment is not only compensation for the teacher;
[181] it is the mark of legitimacy. What has not been paid for is not, for the Refugee Blacks, legitimately acquired. We shall come back to this important point later.

[illegible] [illegible]

important enough to be the residence of a clan chief. His clan's magic was strong, and, being well past middle age, he could afford to speak of these matters with the whites, for like all Bush Negroes he was proud of the black man's obia.

"Ya-hai, white man, obia may well puzzle you. It is no small matter. No man knows all there is to know about obia. The greatest of obia men is never done learning. You say you spent more than twenty years learning your kind of work. Twenty years is nothing. All his life an obia man spends learning. The ancestors let him see a little at a time, and a little more. 'One step at a time,' as the G'ama' says. So it is, white man."

When did the learning begin, we asked him?

"In the bush here, children see what we do, and they learn much by watching. They learn to recognize the kind of obias a man wears, they learn to know the names of obias, and about the *ndwa*—taboos—that go with the wearing of obias. That is the beginning." All children knew that, but only boys could aspire to learn the secrets of obia.

A boy's definite training in these things began with adolescence. The ceremony was not formal, for it concerned only the boy and his immediate relatives. When the time came to teach the novice about the gods, his father and his mother's brothers met with him, and they held a kruto. Other men also came, men of the village and elders of their great family. The outsiders sat by and said nothing, while the instruction was carried on by the father and the boy's maternal uncles.

"First the father gives him his gods, and he tells his son the name of each god and how he must serve him."

There were songs to be learned and dances and invocations; there were the offerings which had to be made, and the manner of prayer memorized. He was told when he might call on the god and what names the god bore, for each god had several names, just as had each human being. There were many names to learn for the gods—their day names, their "strong" names.

So it was th such god, until the boy was ready to be initiated into Kwanari Society.

"There among, many lovers, white men, for a boy has much to lear"

When thewho directed the lovers were satisfied that the boy hadlearned how to serve the gods he had been given, that knew their powers, and those things which were hatefuls them and would incur their displeasure, then a dance was held for him so that he might demonstrate before the assembled Ionive villagers that he was ready for manhood.

"We give big play for a boy who gets his gods for the first time. We the gods come to him at this dance at the building of chiwan, and he dances hard, then his family is pleased. When boy dances, then we know what is in him. We know wether his gods are strong, whether he is to be feared."

Once the ther had transferred his gods to his son, he did not dancemuch himself. He might continue to play the drum at such dances, but dancing and drumming were for the young men. His son's worship of the gods through the dance caused the father for the study of chiw. With the graduatiidiw, the father took up his ciln as a chief member whoseught the will of the ancestors when new tasks were tim undertaken.

"What happens if the father has few gods to give his son?" we said.

"Then hisother's eldest brother gives his to the boy."

"What if a boy's uncle has none to give?"

That happed so seldom that he could not remember such an instan, but he had heard it said that this had occurred onceor twice.

"A man not have gods to help him live. If his family can give himone, then they buy gods for him. Sometimes there are gos in the family that are not too strong, and they want thboy to have strong gods. They go to a man who knows aout such things and who himself has strong gods and buys god for the boy from him."

GOOD DRUMS

A man who wished to buy a god for his son went to a medicine man and agreed to pay him a certain sum of money if, at the end of the period of training, the god came to the boy.

"When the elder man says the boy is ready, they give a dance. At this dance, the drum is played for the god, and the boy must dance. If the god comes to him, then the elder man gets his money, but if the god does not come, then he does not get what was promised him, because they had made an agreement for a god, and no god came."

The training was not very difficult—it was not like the training for becoming an elder man. A boy was given elder water to wash in. Every eight days the water in the elder pot was changed, and the bathing continued for three months. When the ritual of purification was over, he was taught the drum rhythms of the god, the invocations which the drum sounded, and the spoken invocations. Songs, and make-up for the dancing, and the dancing itself he was taught, and when he might call upon the god, and what he must do when the god comes, and what offerings the god was to receive. If the god spoke "tongues," he was also instructed in the appropriate language. There were the words of the mocking little Apuku gods and the sounds which only Twsi people made, and there was the "Kromanti tongs."

"Can all the gods be bought?" we asked.

"Kwei, kwei!" he shook his head in emphatic denial. "The river gods cannot be bought. You are born a Twsi man or woman, or the Twsi god comes to you from your family. But all the Vodu gods you can buy, and the god Bongo, the alligator, and the ant hill gods and the gods of the kankan tree, and the Apuku bush gods." He paused for an instant, as if he were considering something. "And men buy Kromanti for their sons, if they have some to give them. Almost every man in the bush has Kromanti. If he hasn't it, then he tries to buy it for his son. A man needs Kromanti. When he has the Kromanti spirit, fire cannot hurt him, nor glass, nor anything that cuts—

the tasks which will fall to his lot when he reaches adulthood. Half in play, the boys and girls help their elders and in their way learn how to work, how to conduct themselves, how to sing and dance, how to make circumlocutions, and how to pray to the gods. When they learn when they come by their gods is also taught them by members of their family. A boy's father and maternal uncle instruct him in the gods they give him. A girl is made familiar with the will of her gods and their manner of worship when her mother and her mother's sisters give their gods to her. Knowledge is, therefore, shared in the family, and much of it, the Bush Negro says, comes to each individual from his gods, since not every boy who watches a fine carver can steal the carving of his teacher. When he does show promise of excellence at a given task, it is because he, too, has a god who helps him do his carving. It is the same with drumming, and singing, and telling stories, and making love.

But obia is learned formally and slowly. An obia man may teach his own brother, or his sister's eldest son, or his own son, even, what he knows, but the learning process will be gradual, for no man may disclose too much to an untrained mind. At times, however, an obia man teaches men who are not related to him. He may himself decide upon a young man of promise to whom he cares to impart his knowledge. A considerable sum of money may be offered him by members of an influential family who wish to have an obia man of their own kin and who send a young man to him for training. In a dream or during possession it may become known that the ancestors wish a certain young man to apprentice himself to the obia man they name.

The apprenticeship lasts from three months to a year. The novice goes to live with the obia man, working with him and observing all that his master does. During this period of intensive training he goes with the obia man into the bush and is shown the herbs which heal. He is trained in the manner of bathing for the ai'e—the soul—

[illegible] cont. /

To the traditional knowledge, which remains indispensable, has been added in the past several years educational knowledge of mechanics, because the use of outboard motors is becoming more and more common; this knowledge is constituted in empirical fashion as it has been acquired. It must be recorded that the motors go and that they are well kept up.

The system of education employed by the Refugee Blacks is rarely effective; these children are extremely nervous and very difficult when they are in a group. When they are divided up individually in the midst of adults, they are placed under the best conditions for learning the techniques and traditions of their group.

The person charged with the education of a child does not willingly entrust him to another and take him along wherever he moves. However, by reasons for property, the women guardian sends the children she is raising to sleep in other houses on the days when her husband comes to visit her. Boys go to sleep at the home of a brother, an uncle, a comrade; the same for girls who have not yet reached puberty; but it is not the same for girls who have reached puberty; they are subjected to strict supervision.

This is one of the reasons why the Ibos find it repugnant to put their children in school (French school of Mangamba, Bafiman school of Kotto). Without wishing to tackle here the vast problem in its fullest extent, we must state that this teaching, entirely inappropriate and disjointed by teachers who look down on the Refugee Blacks, has results nearly similar to those observed generally in Africa, the main one being to make the children strangers to their own families and misfits in their own country. There is practically no example of a case where the Ibos nation has benefited from having one of its children go to school: if the child succeeds, he leaves for Paramaribo and never comes back again. If he fails, he then has much more

/[illegible] years./

[illegible] difficulty in knowing the inclinations of his group. In the years when the child is most plastic [illegible] in this regard, so in the knowledge acquired at school. It is so foreign to the life of the Refugee Blacks that at the end of a few years some of it remains except vague shadowings.

[illegible] In general, the process of education employed among the Refugee Blacks is imitation of the adult. A child is rarely given a lesson as such. He sees something done, he sees as his own initiative, and little by little he learns. For example, [illegible] he sees his guardian make a boat, he is simply asked to go and get dry palm branches and to take away the chips; he hears the adults discuss the job as it goes on. At about the age of 12 or 13 he tries to make a free boat for himself with the help of an older comrade. He progressively acquires knowledge of the technique.

[illegible] Boys begin to take part in farm work from the age of six or seven, principally weeding and planting. At about six or seven they begin to handle the machete and help to cut through the bush; at about 12 they begin to handle the axe and learn to fell trees. At 14 or 15 they begin to make small boats. An adolescent of 16 or 17 is in general capable of cutting a clearing for his mother or sister.

[illegible] Most often the guardian takes his role very seriously, giving his main attention to teaching the child all that is necessary. If it is a woman, she sets her brothers to teach the techniques of hewing and building.

[illegible] The principle is to develop very early a sense of responsibility in the child by making it progressively necessary for him to earn his living. The guardian takes not farmed pocket money, and with the exception of a hammock every other year, no manufactured objects (children under 11-12 years not being clothed, he has almost no expenses for clothing). But he gives the child progressively chances to earn money by his work. From ten years on, the child begins to render some services: for example for the construction of a boat, he helps transport the dry palm branches intended for the burning. If the boat is being

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

was called, and the couple were left alone, while outside the villagers danced and sang of heroics all night.

In the morning the man's brothers came to the house to find out if she had ever before been to the hammock with another man.

"What happens if they find that she has?"

Boyo's reply was prompt. "Usually nothing. The man doesn't give her as many presents as he would have given her. If he had promised her thirty pengi, he would only give her fourteen. If he liked her, he wouldn't turn her away."

"What would happen to her, though? Would they punish her?"

"They say, Bob'o, sometimes a man likes her better for it. It shows him other men had cared for her. But her family scolds her, and sometimes punishes her, too, and the women of the village talk plenty. They pull their lip at her the next morning, and later, whenever there is a quarrel, they talk about it again."

But if the girl were found to have been a virgin, then all the people danced, and there was a great feast, with dances to all the gods.

"You must come back for my wedding, Bob'o, you and your women. Then you will see dancing."

"But your girl is still a child, Boyo."

"Ah, no. She is getting her cote on her thighs. She wears a cloth." He knew, because on his way down from the Governor he had stopped at her village and when the family was not about he had made love. "If you come next year, we will both be ready."

The two men still followed the bush trail when Boyo had finished his account of how the marriage was conducted. Now and then Tyson would appear, wag his tail, and be off into the underbrush again.

"Tell me, Boyo," the white man began, "do many girls go with a man to the hammock before they are married?"

He waited for a moment before he answered. Smiling, he ran his hand over his newly braided head with the innumerable little braids between the lines of white.

"Most not of them," Boyo said, at last.

[illegible]

important enough to be the emblem of a clan chief. His chief's magic was strong, and, being well past middle age, he could afford to speak of these matters with the whites, for like all South Nigerians he was proud of the black man's ebia.

"Ta-ha, white man, ebia may well puzzle you. It is no small matter. No man knows all there is to know about ebia. The greatest of ebia men is never done learning. You say you spent more than twenty years learning your kind of work. Twenty years is nothing. All his life an ebia man spends learning. The ancestors let him see a little at a time, and a little more. 'One step at a time,' as the G'ward says. So it is, white man."

When did the learning begin, we asked him?

"In the bush here, children see what we do, and they learn much by watching. They learn to recognize the kind of ebia a man wears, they learn to know the names of ebia, and about the *ebiam*—taboos—that go with the wearing of ebia. That is the beginning." All children knew that, but only boys could aspire to learn the secrets of ebia.

A boy's definite training in these things began with adolescence. The ceremony was not formal, for it concerned only the boy and his immediate relatives. When the time came to teach the novice about the gods, his father and his mother's brothers met with him, and they held a lesson. Other men also came, men of the village and elders of their great family. The outsiders sat by and said nothing, while the instruction was carried on by the father and the boy's maternal uncles.

"First the father gives him his gods, and he tells his son the name of each god and how he must serve him."

There were songs to be learned and dances and invocations; there were the offerings which had to be made, and the manner of prayer memorized. He was told when he might call on the god and what names the god bore, for each god had several names, just as had each human being. There were many names to learn for the gods—their day names, their "strong" names.

So it was with each god, until the boy was ready to be initiated into the Economic Society.

"There are many, many levels, white man, for a boy has much to learn."

When those who directed the levels were satisfied that the boy had learned how to serve the gods he had been given, that he knew their powers, and those things which were hateful to them and would incur their displeasure, then a dance was held for him so that he might demonstrate before the assembled native villagers that he was ready for manhood.

"We give a big play for a boy who gets his gods for the first time. When the gods come to him at this dance at the beating of the drum, and he dances hard, then his family is pleased. When a boy dances, then we know what is in him. We know whether his gods are strong, whether he is to be feared."

Once the father had transferred his gods to his son, he did not dance much himself. He might continue to play the drum at sacred dances, but dancing and drumming were for the younger men. His son's worship of the gods through the dance released the father for the study of skin. With the governing elders, the father took up his rôle as a clan member who sought the will of the ancestors when new tasks were to be undertaken.

"What happens if the father has few gods to give his son?" we asked.

"Then his mother's eldest brother gives his to the boy."

"What if the boy's uncle has none to give?"

That happened so seldom that he could not remember such an instance, but he had heard it said that this had occurred once or twice.

"A man must have gods to help him live. If his family can give him none, then they buy gods for him. Sometimes there are gods in the family that are not too strong, and they want the boy to have strong gods. They go to a man who knows about such things and who himself has strong gods and buy a god for the boy from him."

GOOD SOUTHY

A man who wished to buy a god for his son went to a medicine ohia man and agreed to pay him a certain sum of money if, at the end of the period of training, the god came to the boy.

"When the ohia man says the boy is ready, they give a dance. At this dance, the drum is played for the god, and the boy must dance. If the god comes to him, then the ohia man gets his money, but if the god does not come, then he does not get what was promised him, because they had made an agreement for a god, and no god came."

The training was not very difficult—it was not like the training for becoming an ohia man. A boy was given ohia water to wash in. Every eight days the water in the ohia pot was changed, and this bathing continued for three months. When the ritual of purification was over, he was taught the drum rhythms of the god, the invocations which the drum sounded, and the spoken invocations. Songs, and make-up for the dancing, and the dancing itself he was taught, and when he might call upon the god, and what he must do when the god comes, and what offerings the god was to receive. If the god spoke "tongues," he was also instructed in the appropriate language. There were the words of the mocking little Apuku gods and the sounds which only Tonó people made, and there was the "Kromanti tongs."

"Can all the gods be bought?" we asked.

"Kwei, kwei!" he shook his head in emphatic denial. "The river gods cannot be bought. You are born a Tonó man or woman, or the Tonó god comes to you from your family. But all the Vodu gods you can buy; and the god Bongo, the alligator, and the ant hill gods and the gods of the kankan tree, and the Apuku bush gods." He paused for an instant, as if he were considering something. "And men buy Kromanti for their sons, if they have none to give them. Almost every man in the bush has Kromanti. If he hasn't it, then he tries to buy it for his sons. A man needs Kromanti. When he has the Kromanti spirit, fire cannot hurt him, nor glass, nor anything that cuts—

the tasks which will fall to his lot when he reaches adulthood. Half in play, the boys and girls help their elders and in that way learn how to work, how to conduct themselves, how to sing and dance, how to make circumlocutions, and how to pray to the gods. What they learn when they come by their gods is also taught them by members of their family. A boy's father and maternal uncles instruct him in the gods they give him. A girl is made familiar with the will of her gods and their manner of worship when her mother and her mother's sisters give their gods to her. Knowledge is, therefore, shared in the family, and much of it, the Bush Negro says, comes to each individual from his gods, since not every boy who watches a fine carver can steal the carving of his teacher. When he does show promise of excellence at a given task, it is because he, too, has a god who helps him do his carving. It is the same with drumming, and singing, and telling stories, and making love.

But obia is learned formally and slowly. An obia man may teach his own brother, or his sister's eldest son, or his own son, even, what he knows, but the learning process will be gradual, for no man may disclose too much to an unwilling mind. At times, however, an obia man trains men who are not related to him. He may himself decide upon a young man of promise to whom he cares to impart his knowledge. A considerable sum of money may be offered him by members of an influential family who wish to have an obia man of their own kin and who send a young man to him for training. In a dream or during possession it may become known that the ancestors wish a certain young man to apprentice himself to the obia man they name.

The apprenticeship lasts from three months to a year. The novice goes to live with the obia man, working with him and observing all that his master does. During this period of intensive training he goes with the obia man into the bush and is shown the herbs which heal. He is trained in the manner of bathing for the *ab'a*—the soul—

756 and how to cure fever, and fio-fio. He is shown how to make
791 obia medicine for lesions of the skin, and for colds, and for
868 diseases of children. He is taught the protective obias for
881 the woman who conceives, and those which help conception, the obias which keep people safe on the river, and those which guard them in the bush against enemy spirits.

It may be, too, that during this first period of training, the initiate is shown how to trap and treat the snakes from which the snake "cuttee" is made. This cure for snake bite is famous in Suriname among Bush Negroes and whites alike, but the secret of preparing the cuttee is known to the Bush Negroes alone.

While the young man is in training, he may not go with
[1184] a woman, and there are many more prohibitions which he must observe.

"Not all men can become obia men."

"Does a man need obia in order to have Kromanti?" we asked.

"To have Obia Kromanti, yes. . . . Now do not ask about Kromanti, white man," said Bayo's uncle with a smile. "Only a Kromanti man knows about Kromanti. Do not ask, because I cannot tell you."

5

789 Men and women constantly drifted to our base camp with
439 carvings for our collection. Many brought us obias. Some
1178 of these obias they took from their persons and sold to us, but others were newly made for us, for some of those they themselves wore, they would not part with, whatever the inducement.

"Why do you want my obia, white man?" a Bush Negro asked one day. "Do you want an obia to carry you well to your country? I will make one for you, but do not ask for mine. Mine has kept me in good health. I cannot give away an obia which has served me well. The spirits would be angered."

He returned after a day with one which resembled his own, and as he gave it, he placed it on the upturned palms

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

were born, such as Monday-child, Tuesday-child, and so on.

The boys of about seven to ten years of age form themselves into groups and play at hunting or fishing, or canter in and out of the village. There seems to be very little organized game playing among the children. For that matter the adults have no organized games aside from that of gambling with the *adji-boto* board. The little girls play at house making, or follow pursuits of a less arduous nature than do the boys, and to them in particular is given the care of the young children, although the boys often do their share in this matter. The arts of hunting, fishing, canoe work, and jungle craft in general are usually taught the boy by his maternal uncle, or by some other male relative of his mother's family, and less often by his actual father. At irregular intervals there are canoe races, and the young men indulge in wrestling as a pastime.

We know of no initiatory rites for ceremonially admitting children into the tribe at puberty. Among the Aucaners, however, the boy does undergo a slight ceremonial to indicate that he is at last a full-fledged adult. Most of the children of both sexes are entirely nude, and no notice is taken of the fact. At about the age of ten the boy begins wearing around his waist a string of singrassi, in anticipation of a loin-cloth. When the maternal uncle judges that the boy is old enough, he stands the boy up before the entire village, assembled for the purpose, and gives him a loin-cloth and camissa. But first the uncle rips off any cloth that happens to be on the boy's body and draws attention to his nudity. Everyone is told to

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

881 have a last look at the child's penis, as they will never see it again. Then the boy is proclaimed a man, and given clothes.

So far as could be observed, there is no circumcision of either the male or female, although such mutilations are indulged in by West African tribes in the region from which the Djukas came. The girls wear only the *coyo,* or a larger cloth known as *pangi,* until their first menstruation, when their mothers give them cloths. This is done in private. Menstruating women are required to leave their homes and retire
841 to a separate hut situated outside the village on a by-path; they may not return until three days after the period is over. Under no condition are they allowed to go to the provision fields during this time.

584 At the age of about sixteen or seventeen the children are
[582] ready to be married. Sometimes they are betrothed in infancy, and occasionally a pregnant woman will betroth her child before it is born, conditionally, of course, upon its sex. Once the child is betrothed the ceremony must take place,
[754] otherwise the disappointed prospective mate will call down a *kunu,* or curse, on the entire perjured family, and they will all die. The pubescent child does not look forward to marriage as time for leaving its family, nor is marriage an
[581] initiation into sex relations. For these two reasons, getting
[348] married is not a serious step, and there is little illegitimacy because there is no reason for objecting to a marriage.

858 Youths must remain standing until their elders invite them
576 to be seated. It is customary for older people to receive much
888 respectful attention, for the older people are the sources of tradition and authority

/61/

173

1937	Mission to determine the trijunction point of the frontiers of French Guiana-Brazil-Surinam.
1939	Declaration of war.
1944-45	Not a precise point of reference. The Boni confuse the liberation of the territory with the end of the war.
1948	First I.G.N. mission.
1949	Mr. Aubert de la Rüe's mission; second I.G.N. mission.
1952	Third I.G.N. mission. /blank page/ /63/

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

571 The social institutions of the Refugee Blacks diverge noticeably from those of the African peoples from whom they issued. [561] They do not include age grades, men's societies, or initiation; [505] marriage involves neither a contract between kin groups nor [881] "dowry." [583]

In a general way these societies founded by rebel slaves who 571 had retained an extreme horror of all oppression were organized 626 so as not to have any material constraint weigh upon the individual. Their institutions are entirely founded on the idea of protection [771] against suprahuman perils; the individual remains perfectly free, and he adheres /to these institutions/ only in proportion as he is [156] conscious of these perils. The custom of the Refugee Blacks, devoid of any means of material coercion, tends to develop within the individual the feeling that he is constantly threatened.

/68 cont./

613 624 [562] The basia are the mouthpieces of the captain, and not at all deputies having specific authority over a definite fraction of the village. There are three or four per village; in addition there are one or two women basia through whom the village head commands the work reserved for the women.

613 554 241 702 The head of the lineage possesses no religious powers over the land. The Refugee Blacks assume that the fertility of the soil depends exclusively on local divinities, to whom each one prays on his own behalf.

613 554 681 The captain, no more than the council, does not have the right to expel a member from the lineage, even for marked unworthiness. This is one of the most remarkable aspects of the legal conceptions of the Refugee Blacks, tied to the idea that a lineage represents only one single life. There again the thought of the Refugee Blacks can be regarded as the extreme opposite of the thought of the Bamiléké, with whom the head alone retains possession of the rights over the land, expulsion constituting the supreme social sanction.

881 Initiation; age classes; men's society. These African institutions seem totally unknown to the Refugee Blacks. No form of initiation of adolescents exists, and no ceremony marks collectively their entrance into social life. Circumcision and excision are not practiced. For the children, boys and girls, there are two stages: that of the first garment, which is given upon the appearance of the pubic hair, at about 12-13 years, without ceremony, and the end of education which coincides with marriage.

[304] [852] [561]

561 The society of the Refugee Blacks rests however in large part on age hierarchy; strictly speaking there are no age classes involving a fixed organization, but they exist tacitly:

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

WHILE THE RIVER WAS HIGH

2

Toward us came Tenye, a young friend of last year, and two small boys. She had seemed but a child the year before when she had danced bandamba with the other little girls while the men were getting ready for the Kromanti dance. But now she looked quite grown, and instead of the small apron she had worn, was wearing a cloth of a woman. 882

"You've grown, Tenye."

"*Ay, a kisi bobbi kaba,*" one of the youngsters said. "She has her breasts already," and he went on to say that soon she would marry. "Two moons more," he said, showing two fingers.

"You will soon have many bracelets, Tenye, and when you dance you will be splendid."

"Ai," the boy went on speaking eagerly, "Abane will teach us how to dance when he comes back. He went to the French shore. Abane made Tenye, and he made me, too. I am Yamati, and he made Sabape, here." But they had not the same mother, nor did they live in the same village. "When I grow up," the child went on, "I will dance with seed rattles at my ankles. I will dance like Abane." The rattles his uncles would have to buy for him, or when grown he might buy them for himself, but his father would give him his gods when he was of age, and good dancing, too, was a thing of the gods. 883

"Who will get Abane's seed rattles, Tenye? Will you get them because you are the oldest child of the first wife?"

"Ah, no!" both she and the indomitable Yamati exclaimed at the same moment, and then both lowered their heads and would say no more, while the small Sabape looked away.

Now we had the year before discovered why we were so often met by young and old with the phrases, "I do not know," or better still, "*Massa Gadu sabi*—God alone knows," when it was evident that the speakers knew the answer very well indeed. The reason lay with the will of the G'an Yorka, or the G'an Zombi, or the Nana, as the ancestors are variously called. The ancestors it seemed had long 609 123

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"It hurts, doesn't it?"

"*Ma kye!* It is beautiful. The men like it too much," said the girls in a chorus, laughing at the suggestion that the pain of the cuts would deter them from having them made.

Sometimes, of course, the older girl admitted, the wounds did become ugly. There was the girl from Godo, whose suitor had kept bringing her more gifts because she was growing handsomer and handsomer. She was all but ready for marrying, when one of her thighs became infected after the cuts. The wounds were so ugly that she could not even wear the tunics of the grown girl. The family was sacrificing to all the spirits of the earth, begging them to heal the wounds.

7

These days there were many visitors in the Granman's village. There was the girl the Granman had summoned to dance for his guests. She had, perhaps, that very summer got her cloths, and her reputation as the best dancer on the river had won for her a suitor who gave her many armlets and anklets. Her voice was fresh and flutelike in quality, and so fine that when she sang she placed a folded cloth over her mouth, or danced with her head low. This was the way of modesty before people, and humility before the gods.

The women said, "Her spirits dance well," when they watched her.

There was the large girl from a village down river who came almost daily. She had the body of a woman, yet she went about unclothed, and sometimes she appeared only with a string about her waist.

"She is ready for *pangi*—cloths—ai," the women said, "but her people do not want to give them to her yet."

They would not explain, however, why the attire of a grown woman was denied her. We could only conjecture about it. Perhaps she had no suitor. The man to whom she had been promised might have died. There might be other reasons.

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"Perhaps the women were wrong. She may not be a woman yet."

"*Ma kye!*" Angita exclaimed. It seemed he knew better.

And there was the woman Amasina. She wore as many armlets and anklets of brass as the shy dancer, as many as the wife of the bassia of S'ei, whom the gods had prospered. Her cloths were of the finest, and in colors which were most often of yellow and blue stripes, with a thread of black interwoven, and another of twisted red and white. She was good-looking, but in her manner there was no smoldering challenge and no undue reserve. With ease she went from one group to another, and the women treated her neither with too much familiarity nor with restraint.

Amasina felt at ease, too, with the white people. In the bush they had an explanation for this feeling of well-being with strangers. If a man and a woman were both born on the same day, they did not get on very well together, for they were both apt to have the same powers to grasp things which came within the province of the gods who also had come into the world on that day. Such a man and woman would at once perceive each other's mistakes or would be given to speaking continual warnings to each other. But there were days which were especially congenial affinities for marriages, and even friendships. These, we were led to see, were days which represented a male and female deity in the Bush Negro pantheon, whose mating had brought well-being to themselves and the living world.

"You and Amasina like each other, ai," they said in the village, and this friendship had a sequel of importance for us.

One late afternoon we were sitting with the women talking about the gods. Dida said the white on her body was for her god Kesekia. Chief And'u had washed her for her god when he was here in the village, and tomorrow she would dance. Kesekia, she said, was a Vodu god, who had come to her from the French shore. When he came to her, he spoke tongues; he knew French.

"Tomorrow they will play the agida drum, and I will put a kerchief on my head tied so," she said, showing how she

/133 cont./

866 made for sale, the guardian gives him a small sum outof the
461 money gained. At 14 an adolescent begins to satisfy nearly all
434 his own needs.

For example, from June to December, 1956, Taa (14
883 years), son of Fintiman (Boniville) had earned about 13 000
465 francs:

June	helped his father build a large boat for the administration (45 days)	6,000
October	went to Saint-Laurent as auxiliary bossman .	3,000
December	helped convoy a boat of the border-fixing mission sent back empty to Maripasoula . .	4,000
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882 His father, entrusted with his education, let him use this
868 money in his own way; he pointed out to us with pride that for the first time in 1956 his son had been able to satisfy all his own needs, but that it was important to keep him under a firm hand until he was capable of doing a man's work alone: for that, five or six years of apprenticeship would not be too much.

868 In fact, many times we had the chance to verify it, it is
561 in this prolonged apprenticeship that are developed the seriousness
[153] of mind and the technical skill so remarkable among the Refugee
[582] Blacks. At 20 years, most of them still do not know how to do
[178] anything worthwhile, and it is scarcely before 25 or 27 that they become capable of /134/ painstaking work; in this respect the present tendency of the young boys toward precocious emancipation (the marriage age of men is going down to 20 and even 18 years) runs the risk of having very unfortunate consequences for the future of the Refugee Blacks.

429 The person charged with the education of a girl exercises
the powers of a mother toward her. It is she who authorizes
[582] her to marry, and by giving her the pãngi, married women's
garment, gives her symbolically her freedom as a woman. It is
[583] to her that the first husband pays the price of the virginity of the girl.

/145 cont./

582 Generally speaking, the custom of the Refugee Blacks used to consider as immoral the marriage of a very young girl to an old man, or of a very young boy to an adult woman.
588 178 The weakening of family morals is clearly demonstrated by two events which happened during the summer of 1960. A boy of thirteen and a half, K... of Boniville, left his guardian to join an Assisi woman, A...., 20 years older than he and with a very bad reputation to boot; some months later his example was imitated /146/ by a boy of 14 who began living with a
[684] woman of 29. Nothing like that had ever been seen, and
[613] people inveighed against the scandal of it; but in both cases, guardians and lineage heads showed themselves incapable of making their authority respected by force.

882 Marriage of girls. It can still be said (although things are in
[562] the process of changing rapidly) that girls, kweyi umã, occupy a place apart in the thought of the Refugee Blacks; the reprobation which embraces women does not extend to them.
882 834 People say that girls "have good manners," and in fact most of them, although naked except for a little apron, have a re-
[291] served attitude, a becoming bearing, which contrast with the attitude of the married women. To tell the truth, this virtue is not so much due to natural inclinations as to the strict
[593] vigilance with which their mothers surround them. The mothers literally do not let them out of their sight and permit no man to speak to them out of their presence. "Until dawn, until the cock crows, she keeps vigil," says the song, alluding to the mother who watches over her daughter's virtue. If a girl
[836] comes to lose her virginity without being properly married,
[577] pɔti na ɔsu, "established in a house," it is a dishonor for her mother and her near relatives.

/146 cont./

•882 Whereas little girls before puberty are left free to come
[858] and go, older girls are the object of constant surveillance.
They are always under the surveillance of one of their near
[883] relatives specifically designated. If they have permission to
go dancing in another village, they must present themselves
upon arrival to an uncle, an aunt, an older brother who will
watch over them all evening.

Sometimes they build for a girl a little house where she
sleeps alone ... but she is double-locked into it for the night.

[883] At nightfall, when their mothers are busy with the prepa-
ration of the meal, the girls are sent to get water or to angle
for fish; there is wavering in the surveillance, and seducers
know how to profit by it.

[593] Until recent times girls were held by their mothers in
[584] the bonds of a strict authority, and although engaged very
[582] young, they were not authorized to marry before reaching
complete physical development.

584 It often used to happen that a girl might be promised by
her mother to a man from her first years (they still say, although
that is no longer practiced, pɔti mɔfu na umã, "to put his
mouth on a girl," meaning by that to have received a promise
of marriage). This plan always used to remain subject to the
girl's assent, when she grew up and did not constitute a contract,
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[593] tion whatever. A girl could not be obligated to a marriage
which was absolutely displeasing to her, but the mother's
authority was great enough to make these marriages come about
in most cases.

[431] If a girl had not been promised, the young man who
wanted to marry her used to try to attract her attention during
a dance and to exchange a few words with her. /147/ Later he
would give her a paddle bearing symbols of fecundity and the
representation of a house and a boat. If the girl accepted the
paddle, he could propose to her officially.

WHILE THE RIVER WAS HIGH

2

Toward us came Tenye, a young friend of last year, and two small boys. She had seemed but a child the year before when she had danced bandamba with the other little girls while the men were getting ready for the Kromanti dance. But now she looked quite grown, and instead of the small apron she had worn, was wearing a cloth of a woman. 882

"You've grown, Tenye."

"*Ay, a kisi bobbi kaba,*" one of the youngsters said. "She has her breasts already," and he went on to say that soon she would marry. "Two moons more," he said, showing two fingers.

"You will soon have many bracelets, Tenye, and when you dance you will be splendid."

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/147 cont./

848 If the girl is pregnant, the man may not abandon her: that would make a great to-do between the two kin groups: he must stay with her at least until the birth of the child.

883 836 178 [582] Nowadays among the Boni things tend to happen completely otherwise than custom makes provision for. The general opinion is that girls can no longer be held down, that they escape more and more from the authority of their mothers; many of them begin to run wild at about 14 or 15, and people are obliged to marry them off precipitately at 15 or 16. It is difficult to say what the proportion of these hasty marriages is, but the recriminations heard on all sides on the subject of the shamelessness of girls give the idea that it is increasing. In the [582] villages on the French bank, out of nine girls married in 1958 [848] there were only four marriages concluded according to regulations; the five others had been arranged hastily either because the girl was pregnant (two cases) or because she had laid herself open to scandal. /148/

582 Nearly all girls married between 1952 and 1956 were 15 to 17 years old.

584 This is about how things happen:

A man who is attracted by a girl tries to exchange a few [537] words with her unknown to her mother. There are special forms for these declarations. One speaks in a low voice, very fast, using special formulas. This is how one of our boatmen, one evening in October, 1952, addressed young Lomé, age 15, of Boniville village, who had gotten away from her mother on the pretext of going to get water for us.

584 539 "Woman, I love thee, I wish to live with thee, I wish to marry thee. That which God put in me I cannot take away (1).

1. Which means: I cannot change, you must take me as I am.

/134 cont./

429 Until very recent times the authority of the guardian had
561 remained very strong and was prolonged very late; he had the
[861 right to strike his ward to make him obey, and he exercised his
[582 powers until the time when, judging the child's education finished,
he authorized him to marry, which formerly seldom happened
before 25-27 years.

Fintiman (of Boniville), about 50 years old in 1958, tells that his father, entrusted with his upbringing, did not authorize him to marry before he was completely established as a carpenter and boat-builder, at about the age of 27. Until that age he remained subject to the most tyrannical authority; his father intended especially to forbid him to go out in the evening, and in order to carry on a clandestine affair he had to use nocturnal fishing expeditions as a pretext!

429 When a boy's guardian judges his education finished, he
884 helps him to build his house and gives him tools, a trunk containing clothes, and a hammock. Henceforward the boy must make his own way in life.

429 All during his lifetime he will continue to show the greatest
576 respect to the person who raised him and often, speaking of that
601 person, he will say: "my father" or "my mother."

601 When a Refugee Black says in the course of a conversation, "My father used to do this," he often means the man who brought him up; if he wishes to speak of his true father, he will say, "My own father who made me." Likewise when he says "My
[128 grandfather," he usually means a great-uncle. This confusion
[114 makes research on family life risky as long as one does not
possess any census by names; apparently it has led several authors
[593 into error, making them believe that among the Refugee Blacks the father brings up his children himself, when this is on the contrary the exception.

/136 cont./

593 429 769 The fact that some children are under the guardianship of their father changes nothing about their position with respect to ancestor worship and does not entail any payment or compensation whatever on the part of the father. When the child has grown up he will be able to come back to live in his maternal kin group (which he does most often) or stay in his father's village. On this point there is no precise customary obligation.

591

593 884 The father plays an important role with respect to the children when they reach manhood; he procures their ɔbia for them and transmits the knowledge and magical powers which he himself received from his father.

429 428 Inheritance of guardianship. At the death of the guardian, his office is bequeathed in the same way as his goods and according to the same principle of dispersion of the inheritance. If he was raising several children, the guardianship of each one will be bequeathed individually.

For example Béniti († 1944) was raising ○K... 1944, daughter of her daughter Baïkom, and ○W... 1942, daughter of her son Fintiman and a woman of Papaïston village. She bequeathed the first to her daughter Kulina, the second to her daughter Baïkom settled in Loka village. W... thus found herself taken to a village which was neither that of her maternal nor her paternal relatives. Such cases are not rare. The child's uncles, who in principle could take back the guardianship, never seem to oppose, in practice, its being bequeathed. /137/

The spiritual power kept by the guardian over his ward after he becomes adult is bequeathed in the same manner. Thus, in the preceding example, Béniti († 1955) /sic/ bequeathed the spiritual tutelage she was keeping over each one of her adult sons and daughters whom she had raised herself, in part to outsiders to her lineage.

SARAMACCA OBIA

So it was with each god, until the boy was ready to be initiated into the Kromanti Society. 881 869

"There are many, many krutu, white man, for a boy has much to learn." 776

When those who directed the krutu were satisfied that the boy had learned how to serve the gods he had been given, that he knew their powers, and those things which were hateful to them and would incur their displeasure, then a dance was held for him so that he might demonstrate before the assembled festive villagers that he was ready for manhood.

"We give a big play for a boy who gets his gods for the first time. When the gods come to him at this dance at the bidding of the drum, and he dances hard, then his family is pleased. When a boy dances, then we know what is in him. We know whether his gods are strong, whether he is to be feared."

Once the father had transferred his gods to his son, he did not dance much himself. He might continue to play the drum at sacred dances, but dancing and drumming were for the younger men. His son's worship of the gods through the dance released the father for the study of obia. With the governing elders, the father took up his rôle as a clan member who sought the will of the ancestors when new tasks were to be undertaken. 886 869 776 [535] [533]

"What happens if the father has few gods to give his son?" we asked.

"Then his mother's eldest brother gives his to the boy." [604]

"What if the boy's uncle has none to give?"

That happened so seldom that he could not remember such an instance, but he had heard it said that this had occurred once or twice.

"A man must have gods to help him live. If his family can give him none, then they buy gods for him. Sometimes there are gods in the family that are not too strong, and they want the boy to have strong gods. They go to a man who knows about such things and who himself has strong gods and buy a god for the boy from him." 432 776 424

623 614 their nephews took up the dancing for the gods, their interests were directed more and more toward the clan rule.

"I do not dance any more," Sedefo had told us, "My [887] sons dance Kromanti now. I must do now what is expected of a man of my years. I must see that our people act wisely in all things which touch this world, and the world of our ancestors."

A clan krutu was a self-sufficient unit made up of members whose maturity fitted them for looking after the worldly and supernatural welfare of their people, for in the larger organization of the tribe it was the clans who stood one with another in perfect equality to complete the whole—the Saramacca people.

614 681 622 The chieftain of the principal village of the clan was the clan head. In him was vested the right to speak for the large grouping, and in the krutu which he conducted the etiquette approached that of the tribal krutu in its intricacy. The village where the clan head lived was inhabited predominantly by his people. In other villages on the river his people might be one of several clan groups. Several villages were inhabited by three or even four clan groups, each of which had its own captain. But such villages were not the seats of clan heads. Where a clan chief ruled would be not only the clan krutu house, but the shrines raised to the important dead of the clan, the clan ancestors whose spiritual powers to help and advise the living were as great as the feats they had accomplished when alive. Here, too, [878] at the village where the clan head lived would be the shrines to the gods who had the clan under their special protection. Above all, here under the direction of the chief were not only those who guided the worldly destinies of the clan, but those who knew how to control the supernatural forces. Here were the obias owned by the clan, those spiritual and unique healing powers whose magic would respond only to the will of clan members who had undergone the training which taught them to operate those forces their ancestors had left for them.

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644 252 and tall as the Granman's wife herself, though in circumference no larger than the post of the house against which it leaned. The woven strands were caught together in the loops with which it was finished on top and bottom.

When it had been filled, the matapi was hung from the stub of a stout limb, and one end of an equally stout stick was inserted into the bottom loop, while the other rested on the ground. Now Wilhelmina and another woman sat down on this stick, and under the pressure exerted by their combined weight the matapi slowly contracted. A milky white fluid containing the poison which made the raw bitter cassava so deadly filtered through the woven strands, trickling into the gourd placed to receive it. Steadily the poisonous fluid was forced out until it was not long before the gourd was filled, and the cassava pressed dry. When there was much work to be done, and the white woman was not about to ask questions, the women would not waste their time sitting on the stick, but instead would suspend heavy stones from thongs tied to the bottom loop, and they were then free to be about their other tasks. Now, however, it was more amusing to sit and talk.

Whatever the method, when the meal was rid of the poison, it was worked through the sifter into a closely woven basket, and in that kneaded and made ready for baking [111] on the large iron griddles. The use of the bitter cassava they had learned from the Indians, and the names for the sifter and the cassava press were to this day Indian, as were their weave and shape, but the griddles came from the white man's city.

[415] [111] [88] "We use Indian water jars, too. The red pottery we do not make. But black obia pots are Negro things. These our old women mold," said the Granman's wife.

2

644 286 As she spun cotton for the garters she would later make, the woman they called the Granman's younger wife sat and talked of working the fields. Her spindle, a small iron

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they told us, though never willing to name the villages 778 where they stood, whose walls were most elaborately 346 ornamented with symbols marked in red and black and [531] white, the three sacred colors which appeared on the stools and which the men used for painting their faces and bodies for the dances. On the upper river we had been told that these shrines were in the villages below, and on the lower river it was always intimated that it was up above where the great shrines stood. We had been told of stools which were whitened with sacred pemba, and blackened with soot in the *Fa'aka Pau* houses—the houses of the ancestral spirits—and of the covered whitened vessels which were in [769] the Vodu and Apuku houses, the shrines for the bush and snake deities, placed there for the spirits when they chose to animate them.

So we found it in this house dedicated to the spirits of the bush.

The hut was narrow and long, with walls of woven palm, and a floor made of hard smooth clay into which bare feet had nevertheless worn grooves. To one side of the door stood a drum of the type called *tumao*—the long drum. [534] It was cylindrical, and narrowed but slightly toward the bottom. White clay had once covered it, but now there were irregular lines of white marking the cracks in the wood.

On the other side of the door, against the same wall, lay several large balls of clay. These the old woman was keeping 887 for the obia pots she would make from time to time. Among 778 the Negroes of the town as well as in the bush, these black 323 pots, made by women of the bush, were held to have great magical potency.

"I never make too many pots at once," the old woman said. "I make them for myself as I need them and for the young people of the family." A woman who had not passed her period of childbearing could not make them. "Obia pots are things for old, old women. I cannot tell you about making them."

Leaving these lumps of clay, the woman led us farther 778 into the enclosure, until we stood in front of a raised altar 346

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him about it as he came to take the white man through the bush trails to a neighboring village. 302 115

One of the girls who admired him had achieved this, but how she had managed to make the minute braids was difficult for us to see, for Bayo's hair the day before, long for him, had not seemed sufficiently yielding to permit of braiding. Yet here he was, his head covered with innumerable small braids which divided the white scalp into sections and showed lines where the many regular parts had been made. This made quite a new man out of Bayo. He was no longer the warrior who went without food because he was bored with the idea of preparing the food—a woman's task or, at best, that of an old man like his great-grandfather Bibifo who had cooked on the up-river trip. [562] [887] Now he was a dandy.

"Ai-yo!" he crowed back as we speculated on the labor that had gone into the creation. "It took her almost all the night! It is hard work."

"She must like you, Bayo."

"She likes me well, ai!"

"Are you going to have her for your third wife?"

"Who knows? But a man doesn't marry every woman who braids his hair."

Soon Bayo and the white man were off through the bush, 484 231 Tross going ahead as scout. Back and across the path he would dart and for the white man, unaccustomed to the sounds of the bush, it was difficult to tell whether the rustling he heard was caused by the dog, or by the small animals stirred up from time to time. Once a snake coiled on the path moved lazily away as they approached; Tross had disturbed it, and the snake had no mind for more encounters. Once a small animal of some sort dashed across the trail ahead, the dog in close pursuit, and for some moments we could hear them tearing through the underbrush.

"Aren't you afraid that some animal will hurt Tross, Bayo?"

"He is a good dog. And I have put strong obia on him." [789]

WHILE THE RIVER WAS HIGH

The sun stood over the sacred silk-cotton tree toward the Gankwe side of the land. Across the path leading from somewhere in the back of our shelter the parasol ants, each with its strip of green many times its size, made their way toward an unknown spot where no shelter stood, and no one trod. Like a wave the wide ribbon of green rose and fell as it crossed the ridges of the pathway. In unending numbers they came, and the lizards darting in and out of the brush swerved in the direction of the shelter to avoid the marching line, so that at our feet things moved now up, now back again.

While the men were at the landing place, one of the women who was drying rice on the high flat rocks opposite our shelter paddled over in her boat, and, passing the men with a formal greeting, walked on and stopped to talk with us. She was not a young woman. Her time for childbearing was long over, her wrinkled breasts sagged almost to her waist. The cicatrized designs which once had stood out so clearly, and in her youth had been so valued, were but faintly penciled on her face and about her breasts. Had she cared, she might have reopened the cuts, might have had ashes rubbed into them to make the keloids stand out black and alive against the dark brown of her skin. But what need had a woman her age to care? What need to urge life into symbols of fertility on face and between breasts and about her navel, when her time for fruitfulness was over? Of what use to reanimate the incised scrolls between her thighs, when the legend they told in terms of reproduction was for her a dead legend?

She came toward us slowly, balancing a bottle on her head. A faded cloth covered her from waist to knee, and at her waist a bit of the kerchief necessary to the attire of the married woman, even at work, could be seen. She wore a few beads on a cord about her neck, but she had no other ornaments, for ornaments were for festive occasions, and the cloth tied about the neck and worn cape fashion was for women who had children to carry straddling their backs, and woven garters below the knee were conceits of the young.

888 young. Once she, too, had liked to have her calf look round and full.

[437] [376] "Will you exchange this bottle of palm oil for tobacco?" she asked, showing her empty clay pipe.

She came in, saying she would like to rest, and began unfastening her top tunic so that she might make a pad of it on which to sit down on the ground, for the earth spirits [784] forbid women who had reached puberty to sit upon the bare earth. In her second tunic, somewhat fresher than the top one, she stood hesitating, looking about her for a place to sit down, until we brought her a carved stool we had bought the day before. Instead of putting on the top pangi again, she used it to cover her knees.

[576] "*Bak'a muye,*" she said, "white woman, you ought to cover your knees, too, when you sit."

And sitting there, examining us and our belongings, she muttered her comments about our appearance and dress as she smoked, and muttering she swayed slightly, until the swaying rhythm seemed to bring a melody into her head, and she began to sing.

[533]

"*The American Bak'a*
Have come from far,
American koni
Has brought them
To the Saramacca River,
To the Saramacca people;
They must not sicken
They must not die."

While the men on the shore talked and called upon their gods to keep them free, the woman rocked and sang this invocation for our safety, forgetting for the moment that we were whites, whom the ancestors hated.

"You have so much wealth," she said to the white man, looking about her at our provision boxes, "you must have many wives."

And back again she went to her song, repeating the words over and over, until seeing people approach she rose slowly and went back to the river where her rice was drying.

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that we walk the Bak'a with pleasure, that he treat us well, that we walk in safety. Thank you." 484 [782]

The men in the other canoes, who had gathered about Sedefo's boat, clapped their hands, as Sedefo had done, and said "Thank you," then took up their paddles.

We had noticed that when Sedefo spoke, Bibifo's lips had moved, as though he were either repeating the prayer, or speaking his own, but when the others joined in the voiced "Gran' tangi!" he was silent.

"Did you pray, Bayo?" we asked. Yes, he had. He had prayed for us, too. Did Bibifo also pray for the white man? But before Bibifo could answer, Bayo laughed aloud.

"Bibifo is *kerki suma*—a church man. Call him Adrian, it will please him. I call him Bibifo, nothing else."

"And you, Bayo?"

"I—you will take me with you to Africa. I want to learn African obia, and come back to the Saramacca, and be a big obia man here on the river." [152]

5

Old Bibifo accepted his great-grandson's jibes with good humor. We were sorry for the old fellow who was so little at ease with the other men, and was so mercilessly twitted by the youngster in the b[illegible]. 888 522 578

If the old man were to make a suggestion to him about a channel which Bayo had decided against, then he would turn brazenly, and exclaim, "Massa cow!" This is part of the proverb which says that a man who owns the cow has the best right to say where it shall graze. If Bibifo objected when Bayo attempted to do something that seemed impossible, he would face about smilingly and say, "The power which has raised the monkey from the ground and taught it to live safely in the trees is not dead yet." [538]

"Bibifo," we said, making conversation with the old man, "Why do we go close to the shore?"

"In the center the current is swift and the river deep. When we go in the center, then we use only paddles. It is 502 484

REBEL DESTINY

782 Among the people of one group, the principal ceremony
241 may be held in the clearing itself. The drums are brought,
535 and men and women and children pray for fertility. The beautifully carved apinti drum sounds the invocation to the Great God and to the ancestors, while the tall agida drums are brought to call the earth spirits. Two by two the men dance susa, the dance which in pantomime reproduces an ancient warrior's combat with spear and shield, the winner taking on a new combatant, until the final winner is given a wand as a reward, and gains for himself the title of "G'aman of Susa" until the next dance is held. Other dances follow. Perhaps the women now line up in two long
[585] rows facing each other, and dance bandamba, the dance
[845] which celebrates marriage and the birth of twins, and the birth of a child who is born feet foremost. The motions are the slow rhythmic manipulations of the muscles of hips and
[842] abdomen. It is a dance of fertility, danced by the very young girls as well as by those who have borne children. But the women who are past the age for dancing sit with
[888] their men, arms interlaced, swaying to the rhythms of the songs they sing. . . . There are offerings to the earth spirits, poured upon the earth out of black obia pots and
[769] calabashes, while other offerings are set upon the ground for the ancestors.

In another settlement, the ritual would be chiefly carried on in the village itself, and there might be a local dance of
[842] fertility, danced nowhere else on the river. "An old, old ancestress taught it to us," the villagers would say.

462 When it is time to plant, the woman plants with the
241 man's help.

"When I plant a new field," said the younger woman, "I
782 pray as I work."

539 And this is her prayer:

O Sky God, Mother of the Earth, Ancestors,
I am planting a field,
Make it bear;
People who come to me must eat,

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get the tchina which, if we do not break them, will let us stay healthy. Both our parents care for us." 593 212 604

He thought for a moment, and then, with a laugh, he wondered as Awingu had wondered that early morning at the planting ground.

"Is it not so in your country, Bak'a," he said, "that you ask me so often about these things?"

8

"Massa cow," we heard Bayo call out again and again to his great-grandfather Bibifo, when he wanted to indicate to the old man that he knew what he was about. Bibifo accepted the reproof with unvarying meekness and good humor. 603 888

This relationship between them puzzled us. Yet the other men, overhearing Bayo's brusque words to Bibifo, made nothing of it. Before strangers, Bayo was subdued, shy. He stuttered ceremonially when he addressed a man of rank. He pitched his voice only a little above a whisper when he was in a strange village. Toward Kasanya and Sedefo and Asikanu he was respectful, and showed reserve. When he wanted his hair trimmed he came to Angita for help, or, better still, to the young man at the prow of Kasanya's boat who, like Kasanya, was of his own clan. [506]

The old man was not a forceful fellow. That was, perhaps, the reason, we thought at first. Then we wondered if it was not because Bibifo had become Adrian, and no longer wore obias to carry him well on the water—because he had forsaken the old gods. But the other men treated Bibifo with the respect due an old man. When Kasanya killed a monkey, and his own pole-man could not share it with him because he was a twin and twins did not eat monkey, he turned to Bibifo with the pole-man's portion, and not to Sedefo, or to Asikanu, who was the brother of a clan head, and himself a possible successor to his brother's chieftainship. [845] [262]

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888 We had had occasion to observe a not dissimilar manner of interchange between a young girl and an elderly woman in one village after another.

In one such village, a girl, who did not yet have her breasts, answered an old woman's reprimand with, "No, kambo, I will go down to the river later."

Kambo! She who makes trouble for me. . . .

The old woman said nothing.

603 888 The most striking instance, however, occurred in the village of the Granman. Moana Yankuso was held in no little fear everywhere on the river. It was not his rank alone as headman of all the clans, however, that had won him the reputation of a man to be obeyed. He was a powe ful man, a great politician, and in every sense a personali a man who knew how to dominate men and situations. O day in his council house, while he was surrounded by n chiefs, who sat on the low stools, their heads averted from him as is the way when men are in the presence of the great, the plaid strip of cloth which covered the door was brushed aside, and a young man entered. He took up a stool, brought it close to the Granman, and sat down. But he did not avert his face nor did he wait to be addressed.

"Howdo, mati," said he to the Granman, "I hear you want to see me."

We waited for the swift and terrible rebuke which the chief could give. None came.

"I sent for you," began the Granman, "because the Bak'a is leaving us. I am sending the captain of the village to take charge of the boat the white man and his woman will travel in. You will take the front paddle of the boat. You will see to it that his journey is pleasant. You must take care in going through the rapids. . . ."

"Mati," interrupted the young man, and his manner did not disguise his impatience with the injunctions of the Granman. "Mati, I am a man. I know how to run a boat. Why do you tell me all this?"

Instead of finding fault with the forward youth, the Granman turned to us and said, "You will be safe with

him. He has taken boats up and down the Marowyne. He is my grandson. If I had one of my own blood, I would have had him accompany you. . . . But my sisters' children sleep," he ended, using the euphemism for death. 603 888

When we came to know the young man, we asked him about this incident with the Granman. Was he not afraid to interrupt him?

"Ma kye! But he is my grandfather! With my grandfather I make sport."

Again we went to the old men and sought in village after village for their own explanation of this behavior toward grandparents.

There were, we learned, age distinctions that were deeply felt. A man was on easy terms with those of his own generation. Between parents and children, and those of the generation of their parents, however, there was a definite code of behavior. For example, no young man or woman might talk of sexual matters with either parent, and this lack of sanction for frankness in sexual discussions with parents became an actual taboo with parents-in-law. Encounters with the "pai" and "mai," as they were known, were hemmed in by countless prohibitions. A man might not sleep in the same house with either of them, nor might he eat with them out of the same dish. If he met either of his parents-in-law as he went along the path, he had to turn aside, make way for them, and cover his face. He might not pronounce their names, nor might they speak his. These observances held for women, too, and the ones we mention were by no means all. 561 576 606 [593] [831]

With grandparents, however, a vastly different situation obtained. 603

"He is my grandson. I call him mati—friend. I make sport with him!"

"She is my granddaughter. She calls me husband. She makes free with me!"

"She is my granddaughter, we talk about everything. She calls me kambo, and I call her kambo." Again, we

782 Now she could but say that the Granman had asked her to see to this.

"It is good medicine. Do not be afraid," she added, reassuringly.

She led the way to her quarter, but before we had gone past the open shrine she stopped, and her eyes narrowed as she tried to come to a decision. From the quarter we were approaching came a crooning, moaning sound.

787 "A god speaks. The Apuku god has come to a woman this morning. Come. We will go to the G'aman's women," she said as she retraced her steps.

644 888 On a squared log in back of the enclosed shrine which adjoined the council house sat the Granman's principal wife. She was a woman who in her prime must have had beauty, but, though still erect, she had deep grooves on her face, and her breasts were the breasts of an old woman. Her head was closely shorn, as was the way of women whose children were grown. Like any other woman of the village she wore only the short cloth and the bit of kerchief which showed at her waist. Like the others she went to the provision ground almost daily. She and her younger daughter, who was named Wilhelmina for the Queen of Holland, [962] cared for their field together, and now they were working side by side.

644 Wilhelmina was more robust than her mother could have been at her age. She was tall, more her father's daughter. It was she who served his food and looked after his personal needs. She was the wife of the man who had brought the boat which Sedefo had rejected, because he did not trust its spirit. As she worked, her two children were with her, the elder a child of three, sitting on the ground at her [855] feet, and the other on her back, or in her lap nursing while she did her tasks.

Unlike her older sister, Wilhelmina had little of her father's astuteness, of his quick eye, or his schooled tongue. She went about with the slow, sensuous grace of someone not quite awake, while her older sister busied herself with making the rounds of the village, observing this and that

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of earth which filled the rest of the hut. In the left-hand corner was a covered whitened vessel for the god called Kentina Dagowe. This Kentina Dagowe was a deity who was the offspring of the Dagowe snake, and the Apuku god of the bush whose name was Kentina. In him, as in so many other of the spirits, we found exemplified the Bush Negro's concept of the world which held that the gods mated as did humans, that all which stirred and had life came into being by such matings.

Other spirits also came to this house, the woman went on. Mundewaya, another of the bush gods, was worshiped at the white-covered pot in the opposite corner, while beside it lay the vessel to which the spirit of a third might come. This one was the most powerful of all bush gods, and his name was Danhowao. There were other objects on the platform. Two stools, daubed with sacred clay, had their place there, and in the center was an image of wood, a rounded pot set on a base that tapered from the ground toward it, and this was to the Nanai, the ancestors.

The old woman said, "For the Apuku gods, we only play the tumao drum. The Apuku are mostly women's gods, but some men have them, and the men who have them play the drums. When the god comes to you, then if you are not too old you dance. But we old women do not dance. When the god comes to me, then I begin to shake. I go into this house on the day we call him, and they play the drum. Then I talk to the god. If I have something to beg of him for myself, or for someone else, then I put the pot which belongs to him on my head, and the drum calls him. When my body begins to shake, then it is the god. He has come, and when I speak it is not I but the god speaking."

From the clearing the talk of those who had remained outside came through the thin woven walls of the shrine. From one to another we could hear the news spread that in the village of the Granman across the river the gods had spoken for the whites.

In the hut, we listened to the old woman inside whose shrine we stood.

791 He promised readily enough to go with us, but Bayo
753 told us later that he would not come.
789 "He says the white doctor cannot do more than obia
791 can do. He says a man must take what kunu brings."

Was there no obia against kunu? we asked of Bayo.

"No, but kunu is not greater than obia. It is something else. When the Sky God gave obia to man, he gave it to help man live, not to help him do bad things. When men
[688] and women earn a kunu for their family, it is because they do what is hateful to the great gods and ancestors. Obia was not sent to save men from punishment."

"Does obia never punish, Bayo?" We were thinking of what he said about his own obia, of how when it seized him, he destroyed things.

But he would say no more. "I am too young, Bak'a, to
[888] speak of these things. At my age I know only a little obia. You must ask the old men."

4

554 The conversation led us one day to the obia men on the
791 river. They were, we knew, important persons in the Bush Negro communities. An obia man of reputation was not only consulted by his own villagers and clansmen, but men and women came to him from distant villages, when those who were nearer had failed them. It occurred sometimes that even from the Awka villages on the lower river, these Saramacca obia men were sought out—perhaps this was because of the same tradition which encouraged the buying of strange gods to enlarge the family pantheon, perhaps it was because of something which touched still deeper beliefs.

How did a man become an obia man?

868 From what we had already heard, it was apparent that
867 here was something which approached the formal education of our own civilization, a form of education, indeed, which we pride ourselves is unique to our own way of life.

All other knowledge the Bush Negro child gains by being about with members of his family who are busy at

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881 have a last look at the child's penis, as they will never see it again. Then the boy is proclaimed a man, and given clothes.

So far as could be observed, there is no circumcision of either the male or female, although such mutilations are indulged in by West African tribes in the region from which the Djukas came. The girls wear only the *coyo,* or a larger cloth known as *pangi,* until their first menstruation, when their mothers give them cloths. This is done in private. Menstruating women are required to leave their homes and retire
841 to a separate hut situated outside the village on a by-path; they may not return until three days after the period is over. Under no condition are they allowed to go to the provision fields during this time.

584 At the age of about sixteen or seventeen the children are
[582] ready to be married. Sometimes they are betrothed in infancy, and occasionally a pregnant woman will betroth her child before it is born, conditionally, of course, upon its sex. Once the child is betrothed the ceremony must take place,
[754] otherwise the disappointed prospective mate will call down a *kunu,* or curse, on the entire perjured family, and they will all die. The pubescent child does not look forward to marriage as time for leaving its family, nor is marriage an
[581] initiation into sex relations. For these two reasons, getting
[948] married is not a serious step, and there is little illegitimacy because there is no reason for objecting to a marriage.

858 Youths must remain standing until their elders invite them
576 to be seated. It is customary for older people to receive much
●888 respectful attention, for the older people are the sources of tradition and authority

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tradition and authority. The older women's opinions bear considerable weight, for it is chiefly they who maintain the customs of the tribe. The mother-in-law and father-in-law are held in special esteem.

Unlike divorce, death is an occasion of genuine sorrow. If a man's wife dies, he may go into mourning for a whole year. His mourning consists in staying in his hut and doing no work, while his dead wife's family brings him food and supports him. When the year is up, he makes a sacrifice to "the little ground god, Amu" before taking another woman. He slaughters a fowl, letting the blood flow from the throat on to the earth. After this ritual sacrifice a big dance is held, and he is permitted to marry again. It is his next wife who insists upon this ritual.

When a man dies, it is sometimes incumbent upon his widow to have intercourse with his oldest surviving brother and marry him. The fact that he may already be married makes no difference whatever. It is imperative that they live together for several months; after that, if there is no affection between them, they can separate. This is a widespread custom among primitives, and there are remnants of it in the present-day customs of orthodox Jews.

Among the Aucaners it is not necessary for a man to have intercourse with his deceased brother's wife. He must, however, take care of her for a period of six months, after which time she is free to remarry.

A woman may publicly mourn her deceased husband by singing a dirge every little while.

354 /9 cont./
[372] they do not like to be without it; at least they do not like to
[353] sleep without a fire. Their weapons hang above their sleeping
[513] place, which is a hammock, in which man and wife sometimes lie together. Rarely do more than one man and one woman with their
342 small children live in a single hut.

296 Their articles of clothing, as well as other small belongings,
251 are kept in pagalen, a kind of plaited basketwork, while they keep
415 water, strong drinks, sugar juice, rice, salt, and so forth in
824 calabashes and godos (2).

2. Both hollowed-out fruit rinds of the Crescentia cagete L. and the Cucurbita lagenaria L., plants from the family of the Cucurbitaceae.

415 Some of them have cedarwood clothes-chests, which must be specially mounted with a great deal of copper; one also sometimes finds liqueur cellars with gilded bottles.

353 For the rest everything is left out in the open in the hut.

264 Often many men come together in one hut for their meals and eat out of one large bowl or calabash. The women withdraw after having placed on very low tables several calabashes or bowls of food for their husbands in the circle in which they are seated, never forgetting to add a large calabash with clean water for washing the hands before and after the meal. The women gather in another hut in order to consume what they kept out for themselves beforehand and what has been left by their husbands.

[888] If an aged person or a highly placed person is in their midst,
[554] he is offered the calabash of food first, so that he may take from it what he wants and eat it by himself from an ordinary plate, although seated in the circle, /10/ while the others partake of their meal from the large bowl. In general they talk with one another during the meal, the highly placed person also taking part in the conversation.

/10 cont./

574 The politeness shown toward a guest springs from the idea that unknowingly one of them might easily take the very piece that the important person wished to have, and although no comment would be made on this, it could nonetheless happen that this would trouble the guest for whom they cherish special respect, 888 or that he would thereby consider himself insulted. It is particularly to old age that they pay great respect.

Chapter VI

Household and Agricultural Implements

412 The Bush Negroes mainly use adzes in order to hew their [322] corjalen or canoes out of trees partially burned out beforehand; [824] furthermore, they use planes and chisels in order to work their [531] (usually cedarwood) (1) stools and parels or paddles (2). They are

1. Cedrela odorata L.

2. Hand oar.

especially fond of having these carved with many figures. For them the machete is an indispensable tool that they always carry around and use as a chopping knife, sword, and knife, indeed, even to cut splinters or thorns out of the foot with the tip. They use field axes or hatchets to cut down the bush in order to lay out their small cultivation grounds and to work the wood that they float by rafts and sell.

562 The women possess, aside from a machete or knife, also 412 mattocks with which they keep their lands and the place near the [824] dwelling neat; they make brooms from the pina palm racemes or [413] from rice ears bound in sheaves. They like to have scissors, needles, and pins, while for knitting they use a pointed and bent nail.

413 They spin their sewing thread from cotton with a certain [283] tool which they call kéké; they also have a round, wooden tool [286] called sepoe, with which they very nicely and sturdily /11/ make

/68 cont./

561 198 The class of the young people, yuŋku sama, has definite activities; "style," that is to say, elegance, dancing, singing; it has a special language made up from taki-taki by inversion or addition of syllables. When the language begins to be known outside the group of young people, it is abandoned and another is invented. These past years the language in vogue was akɔɔpina, of Djuka origin; it had given rise to a whole folklore of songs.

561 Two other age classes appear to be rather clearly differentiated: that of the elders /69/ - gaã sama - (older than some 50 years), whose voices are preponderant in the councils, and that of the old men - gaãndi sama - (older than 65 to 70 years).

[888] It is conceded by all that only the elders possess wisdom and knowledge, and in principle, in a discussion, the opinion of the eldest of them has the force of law.

575 Neither does one perceive among the Refugee Blacks any customary societies playing a role comparable to the men's society 571 in the Sudan for example. In a general way their social life, very individualistic in spite of appearances, knows no other organization than the one resulting from kinship ties.

767 Nevertheless, the organization of the men within each village with an eye to the mourning ceremonies can be regarded as a rough approximation to customary societies:

--Kisimã or coffin-makers;

--Olɔma or grave-diggers.

But these societies are narrowly specialized and their customary powers exist only as long as the duration of their effective work.

562 571 Men and women. Even within the lineage where men and women call one another brother, sister, aunt ... the relations between men and women are marked by mistrust.

/127 cont./

429 are his or not, he maintains them indirectly by maintaining
593 his wife. He has only precarious authority. Every connection
[586] with the children disappears in case of divorce.

429 Guardianship is often exercised by the maternal grand-
603 mother, by an aunt, or even by an older sister.

[604] If the maternal grandmother (or the great-grandmother if
[593] she is still living) insists on bringing up a child, the mother cannot refuse; one sees a rather large number of cases of women who have only one child and have given it to their mother to raise; it is true that since they live together, it is not a great sacrifice for the mother.

429 Thus one sees women over 70 years old, having had ten
603 children or so, bringing up three or four of their grandchildren.
888 The ancestress of Asisi village, Kuluba († 1957), after having
[163] had 12 children, brought up about ten of her children and
[165] grandchildren during the course of her long existence; when she died in 1957 at 100 years of age, she was still raising a child, one of her great-grandsons 12 years old. Of course she had not been working any more for a long time and was fed by her family, as the child was. But it was she who held the power of guardianship over him.

429 If it is the father who is charged with the child's education,
593 he takes him into his own maternal family. His sisters will help him to bring up the child as long as he needs the presence of a woman.

From then on the father will exercise guardianship corresponding to that which the mother usually exercises under the responsibility of the uncles.

Sometimes a man is seen bringing up a daughter. Generally speaking, if a man /128/ has had three or more children by one woman, it is considered normal for him to be given one to raise, but that does not constitute a right; he cannot demand anything.

/179 cont./

765 431 Before coming out of mourning, the widow must procure for herself at the minimum the money necessary for a demijohn of tafia as a contribution to the festival of the lifting of mourning. She must make a present of several cans of couac to her husband's mother. [606]

765 843 184 A pregnant woman undergoes mourning exactly according to the general law. The custom described by several authors for the Saramaka, according to which the pregnant woman must join one of her husband's "brothers," does not apply to the Boni.

765 888 There are some attenuations of the harshness of mourning with respect to old women. For example in 1956, Lémiki (70 years), living in Boniville, was in mourning for her husband Tabiki (Awara Bakka, but residing since childhood with the Lapé lineage in Loka /180/ where he had been raised by his father). Lémiki alternately spent three weeks in her house and three in her husband's. It was Asamani, Tabiki's sister by the same father, who exercised authority over her. [768] [602]

765 768 This remarkable example shows that as regards mourning (rights and duties), the principle of residence plays an essential role. He who has been reared by his father is in this respect taken out of his lineage, which loses all rights and all control over the conduct of the mourning. [613]

765 [775] The co-wives of a widower are subject to mourning on the same grounds as he, and for the same motive, since they are targets for the jealousy of the dead woman's yɔrka.

[768] However, they are authorized most often to live with their maternal family. When the period of dipi baaka has ended, they may take up conjugal relations again with their husband, but at intervals of several weeks and without his being able to spend the night with one of them. Each time he must ask permission of the head of the dead woman's lineage. 765 833 [613]

/229 cont./

784 613 [428] The kunu and Boni family life. It follows from the detailed examination we have just made of the situation of the various lineages that the transmission of the kunu within the uterine kin group is a rigorous law which suffers no exception whatever. [571] [602] The process of assimilation which permits in a certain measure, on the social plane, the integration of fragments of paternal kin (like Awara Bakka 3) into a group does not come into play here. [611] [829] Unity with respect to the kunu can therefore be regarded as a rigorous criterion of a common matrilineal origin. The Boni feel it as an obvious fact and in such a case it is the proof that comes to their minds: "We are of the same origin since we have the same kunu."

784 613 571 182 Thus the kunu appears as the principal cement of the unity of the groups. It opposes the dissociation of the lineages; this curse which weighs collectively upon a group and which can be exorcised only collectively is an iron bond which nothing can break. It obliges the Refugee Blacks to surmount their individualistic tendencies, their egoism which, if they acted freely, would soon have scattered them into a dust of [888] separate persons. In the face of adversity each one accepts with good grace obedience to the elders, who alone know how to talk to the gods and appease them. Nobody ever is indignant [672] or even surprised to be struck down for the offense of another; there is not a movement of revolt or hostility against the one who by his inattention or inconsiderateness has brought on misfortune. On this plane the members of a lineage feel like cells of a single body.

784 613 672 The collective legal responsibility of the members of a group in the domain of customary law flows from the kunu. We have observed that several times, notably at the time of the obsequies for Kotoïda (Afi lineage) in October, 1956. The president of the lãnti kuutu condemned the members of

/232 cont. /

787 In a general way, they consider that the bearer of a god
784 exercising the kunu has nothing to fear from it personally if he
776 rigorously observes the kina which have been imposed upon
him. On the other hand, this god will punish any injury to
[562] its bearer. Thus these bearers (almost always old women) live
[888] surrounded by respect and fear.

784 /233/ Observations in January, 1958 (misfortunes attributed to
769 vengeance of ancestors on their own lineage).
613 Do (Lapé) is taken ill on January 7, 1958 with a violent
75 attack of dysentery. The same day his five-year-old son is
grievously hurt at the wharf by falling on a broken bottle.
[787] Alarmed by this coincidence, the members of the Lapé lo
assemble and proceed to question a possessed person. The latter
reveals that it is the doing of an old woman of the lineage,
Atala, dead for two years. Several lineage members have al-
ready been sick from this; the dead woman wanted to sanction
offenses committed by the people of the lineage.

The same day in Boniville, Klémenti (Dju), to whom I
am recounting this affair, tells me that before the lifting of
mourning for his mother Béniti, he and his sisters were sick.
[787] Divination showed that it was the doing of Béniti, who wished
to hasten the celebration of the ceremony.

784 The kunu and social peace among the Boni. Role of the grand
775 man. The kunu exercised by a yɔrka creates very strange re-
613 lations among the Boni lineages. As blind and arbitrary as the
571 vengeance attributed to the yɔrka may be, the Boni have the
sense of the legal unity of the lineage too much for any resent-
ment to exist: "They are killing our family..."; and yet the
two lineages find themselves henceforth irreparably bound to-
[787] gether. The victims of the kunu can no longer get along without
people of the lineage of the yɔrka which pursues them with its
vengeance, since they alone, by their prayers, can appease
temporarily the anger of their ancestor. One conceives of the

/236 cont./

[787] very serious question, the asker contents himself with going to interrogate a divinity in which he has confidence. If, when put to the test, the advice turns out to be bad, he goes to consult others and if he obtains the same advice from two different directions, he stops there. If not, he appeals to the elders of [888] his village to bring into play the processes of divination which [791] they alone know.

A second category of divinatory procedures consists in the [428] use of "remedies," whose origin is unknown and which are transmitted like a personal belonging.

The process reputed to be the surest, in which everybody has confidence, is called pusu. The instrument is composed [824] simply of a rope made of fibers of the Mauritia (2) palm tree

[439]

2. Palm tree which grows in the coastal savannas and whose fibers are bought from the Galibi Indians. The word pusu, like gita, kandu, mula, is of Congolese origin. In Kikongo, mpuusu = raffia palm tree.

which has been dipped in an infusion of herbs; it is stretched horizontally between two stakes. The elder brings near it a machete blade heated red-hot, at the same time asking the question. If the answer is positive, the rope is cut when the iron has scarcely touched it. If the answer is no, they state that the red-hot iron remains in contact with the rope for an appreciable length of time without the rope's being cut.

They will say for example: ɛfu na Ampuku siki X, a how a 'ã mu do: fosi a kɔti: If it is an Ampuku which is making X sick, the machete must cut (the rope) before (even) reaching it.

791 /237 cont./
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888 Not just anyone may resort to divination on behalf of someone else: only the eldest have the right to do it, and it has happened that the grand man punished offenders severely.

777 Fate. The Refugee Blacks do not attribute all misfortunes
[752] to suprahuman causes. They have the notion of natural accident, ɔŋgɔɔku. They say ɔŋgɔɔku miti mi, or again ogi miti mi,
[761] misfortune met me. They also accept the idea of natural death. They usually regard as natural death that of the very old, the infirm from birth, and sickly children.

[787] Divination blames fate in ten to 20 per cent of accidents.
[752] It is the usual explanation for hunting accidents.

772 /238/ Magic Forces

As we have shown, the Refugee Blacks consider beings and things as a world of forces capable of acting on one another, outside of time and space, according to laws which men cannot understand but of which they believe they have a partial and empirical knowledge transmitted by tradition since the
754 time of the ancestors. They distinguish negative magic forces,
789 wisi, which have the effect of diminishing the vital force of men, which makes them sick or kills them, and positive magic forces, ɔbia, which come from the gods: the ɔbia comes to increase the vital force of men, giving them protection, immunity, or knowledge. But no power is in essence a principle of good or evil; nothing is impossible for him who knows the formulas; this is why the magic of the Refugee Blacks is reduced to a perpetual and indecisive struggle between ɔbia and wisi.

754 Wisi. Wisi is sorcery in the African sense of the term, that is,
[673] the use of magic procedures to harm others; wisi is for the Refugee Blacks the pre-eminently criminal act, at the same time against morals and against society. The struggle against

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755 823 [174] White clay, pɛmba (the word and the rite are of Congolese origin), does not undergo any special preparation. In the thought of the Refugee Blacks it has the power to fix upon a man's body the magic influence of the infusion of leaves.

791 Among the Boni, except for the cult of Odun, there are no priests, strictly speaking, invested with a function at the same time social and religious. A large number of persons 756 791 are regarded as "knowing remedies." This notion implies at once knowledge and power. In general the ɔbiamã is believed to hold only a specialized power: for example, he knows how to prepare a hunting ɔbia, or an ɔbia for protection against wisimã. This power he received from his father (as an exception, it seems, from his uncle), who instructed him, before dying, in the specialized rites it requires and transmitted his power to him by giving him mula.

To give mula to someone, one blows into his hands, one puts them on his head while uttering a formula by which one transmits to him a certain power or piece of magic knowledge.

What is the criterion of legitimacy? Who has the right to call himself an ɔbiamã? It seems that basically everything is reduced to this: the ɔbiamã has the conviction, the sensation that he holds this power; as for his clients, they believe they observe the efficacy of his ɔbia; if they stop having confidence in his remedy, they will abstain from coming to ask it of him, that is all; no social prohibition comes to limit the action of the ɔbiamã. The grand man intervenes only against someone [754] who might claim to hold remedies to harm another person or to capture his will, which would be wisi. /250/

[888] /249/ The Boni accept the possibility of deception as regards ɔbia, especially by people who are too young, but they have the conviction that the elders (people over 55-60) possess wisdom and that one can apply to them with complete confidence.

/295 cont./

648 Indians to trade with them than with the Europeans and Creoles; the Boni are a graded society in which things tend to take place according to well-defined norms. It suffices to compare the Oayana Indians, who have kept the essentials of their civilization, with the Indians of the Oyapok to be convinced that the Boni have protected the former much more than they have oppressed them.

[464] Relations with the Creoles. The Boni are in constant contact with Creole gold miners and traders, for the benefit of whom they carry out many kinds of work (boating, tree-felling, construction). Most of them speak the Creole dialect very well and are well informed on the Creole type of life.

[191] [829]

On the whole, relations between the two groups are good. On the Upper Maroni, it is mainly a matter of Creoles of African blood, who have come from the British West Indies, whom the Boni do not consider to be extremely different from themselves. Many have been settled there for a very long time, and individual friendships have become established; yet the two groups have not the least tendency to merge.

[829]

/296/ The Creoles have only scorn for the civilization of the Refugee Blacks, which reminds them of a detested African past. They have a feeling of superiority and do not cease exhorting the Boni to adopt their clothing and way of life.

829 The feelings that the Boni have toward the Creoles are complex; they clearly perceive that the activity of the gold miners is artificial and that isolated people are incapable of living by their own efforts in the midst of this pitiless forest. When they have become old and sick, the gold miners experience the worst distress and literally die of hunger until they are evacuated to the hospice of Saint Laurent. Among the Refugee Blacks, old men are assured of a decent life in the midst of the members of their lineage, who surround them with affectionate respect.

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888 829 This is a point of view which has great importance in the eyes of the Boni, for whom finishing one's days at the hospice or being reduced to asking for the help of outsiders constitutes the worst downfall.

829 They fear, moreover, as we have shown, Creole magic which they liken to a form of wisi.

On the other hand, they are impressed by the attainments of the Creoles, the real spirit of initiative and the strong personality of some of them; moreover, the Boni who have been to Cayenne have noticed the solicitude of the administration with respect to the population of the communes. For all these reasons there exists among the Boni a certain body of opinion in favor of creolization. But the very unique [illegible]pe of life of the Boni and their desire to keep their specia[illegible]s attach them to their ancestral form of life; about 1890 the explorer Coudreau, observing the same facts, was predicting imminent creolization of the Boni. In fact, this did not happen, and it is unlikely to.

829 177 178 [114]

648 464 Traditional relations with Europeans. The Refugee Blacks constitute an important element in the economic life of the Guianas; on behalf of the administration and European enterprises they perform many jobs (boating, wood-floating, tree-felling). They are not well adapted to other kinds of work, but in these activities which fit with their traditional mode of life they are equal if not superior to any labor. Very highly paid, they work with speed, effectiveness, and intelligence, exhibiting an initiative and sense of duty not commonly found in Africans(1).

648 461 [465]

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1. It is to be noted that if they stop leading their traditional kind of life, for example if they settle permanently near European establishments, they rapidly lose these qualities.